Appendix

The American Ideal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very great address which has been prepared for delivery tomorrow afternoon at 2 o'clock by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The title of the address is "The American Ideal." It is to be delivered at the Freedoms Foundation annual awards at Valley Forge, Pa. I believe my colleagues and the people of the country generally will want to read the address by this wise American, J. Edgar Hoover.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN IDEAL

(Address of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, at Freedoms Foundation annual awards, Valley Forge, Pa., February 22, 1957)

This day and this place are dear to the hearts of all true Americans who realize the meaning of the freedoms which our forefathers won for us. So long as this Nation endures, we pray that men will gather—as we have today—to do honor to the memory of the man, George Washington, who was "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

The American Revolution was kept alive by the dreams and the genius and the indomitable spirit of George Washington. In those dark hours here at Valley Forge, he and his men fanned the flame of liberty to inspire by their determination others who had lost hope or had grown faint of heart.

Because of George Washington and his valiant men, this place is hallowed ground. Here, our American heritage was made secure. Here, our own "freedom fighters" stood firm to protect our infant Republic, and refused to permit the forces of tyranny to crush their dream.

It, indeed, it fitting that Freedoms Foundation should be centered at Valley Forge—where the laying of the foundation of our American heritage was assured by the willing sacrifices of those brave men to whom liberty was dearer than life; liberty, not alone for themselves, but for the generations which were to inherit the precious fruits of their sacrifices. The foundation's location lends emprasis to its purpose—of passing on, through knowledge of its real meaning, the torch of freedom.

In this historic setting and in this reverent atmosphere, I am deeply honored to be selected to receive Freedoms Foundation's George Washington Award. In honoring me, you also are honoring the loyal men and women of the Federal Bureau of Investigation who have made its achievements possible.

Our America was born out of the yearning for freedom, the same yearning which only recently spurred heroic Hungarians to fight enemy tanks with stones and homemade bombs. Our shores have become the haven of the oppressed and beckon to those in the old world to come and to be free; to worship God as they choose; to seek the opportunities which America offers to those who are willing to work and fight to preserve a way of life which gives so much to so many.

The American ideal is woven of a thousand things. It is woven of unfaltering faith in God, faith in the destiny of this Nation, of battles and of Valley Forge, and Gettysburg, and the Marne, and Anzio, and Iwo Jima. Threaded through the fabric is the patience of a Washington, the wisdom of a Franklin, the humility of a Lincoln, the integrity of an Eisenhower, the courage of an unknown soldier, the vision of a Jefferson and the sacrifice of a Nathan Hale. It is laced with the memory of men's words: "I have not yet begun to fight!" and "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

The American ideal is embodied in our Nation's integrity and honor and in our homes in which respect for the rights of others is taught by precept and example. It is part and parcel of our Bill of Rights and the constitutional concepts which recognize that all men are free and equal, endowed by their Creator with the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The American ideal embodies the sum total of the wisdom, the courage, and the sacrifices of our Founding Fathers. Its foundation is the faith of our fathers.

The American ideal has its roots in religion. Without its religious sanction and inspiration, the American ideal would pale and wither to extinction. It is the American precept that men shall live as equals under a government by law, which is embodied in the greatest of all laws:

"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets."

From those bleak days in Valley Forge, men have fought and died for the American ideal. We know ideals can be preserved only through eternal vigilance. Our own ideal of freedom and our way of life are under ceaseless attack both from within and without. We fail in achieving our ideal every time an American home fails by producing a juvenile delinquent. The failure is that of adult America. Youth needs only to be guided along the proper path and to be given the direction and training to determine right from wrong; good from bad; the true from the false; belief in the dignity of man; belief in themselves; and faith in a supreme being.

Every law-abiding person who wishes to preserve our American freedoms certainly must recognize that they cannot long endure without respect for authority which is dedicated to preserving civil liberties rather than to destroying them. Without freedom, a society loses its meaning, and without protective authority, it becomes anarchy.

The primary mission of our constitutional Republic is to preserve the proper balance between freedom and authority. Our generation has witnessed assault after assault on this constitutional balance of freedom and authority.

The pseudo liberal and the neo-Fascist seek either license or an excess of authority. The pseudo liberal has increasingly conceived committees in the name of defending every freedom, but none to uphold authority. When he has succeeded in lessening freedom by curtailing authority, he has claimed social progress. These self-styled social reformers seek to substitute license for freedom. They have become the ready tools of the Communist conspiracy and their refusal to recognize the difference between authority for the common good, and oppression, has aided in making possible an era of Communist expansion.

To be sure, the psuedo-liberals proclaim themselves as anti-Communist. They have made efforts in recent years to curtail the Government's authority to defend our national security. Some of them may be honest and sincere but they are misguided. Others seek the pseudo-liberal cloak to conceal more sinsister objectives, because deceit is the very essence of communism.

The tragedy of our generation has resulted from our spiritual shortcomings, from the disastrous moral failures of our age, and from the failures of the last war and the last peace.

Our generation has suffered two world wars. After World War I, the free world awoke to the realization that the war "to make the world safe for democracy" was not finished. After World War II, a tired and peace-seeking people had the satisfaction of knowing that the Fascist monster had been destroyed. Then came another shock. Soviet Russia launched a cold war against the West and a not so cold one against other defenseless peoples to extend its orbit of destructive influence over one-fourth of the earth's surface and approximately 40 percent of the world's peoples.

The free world has been slow to recognize the Communist approach despite the blueprints for action which the Communists have proclaimed to all with ears to hear and eyes to read. From the time the Communists came to power in Russia until today, they have used duplicity, propaganda, treason, and even armed force to distort truth. In the 109 years since the Communist Manifesto was written they have never won power in any country by the free vote of a majority of the people.

Communism is doomed ultimately to fall, because it is anti-God and denies the dignity of man. The day will come when it will be rejected by all the peoples of the world. But that day never will come through wishful thinking. It will come only when the fires of freedom burn bright and the sinews of freedom are strengthened. No brutality can erase the urge to liberty which surges in every man's heart. The fall of worldwide communism will come only when the world, both the free and the enslaved, resolves that this heartless dictatorship shall end. We can hasten that day by eternal vigilance in protecting the American ideal against abuse and by extending the power of its influence.

The present generation of fathers and mothers must decide now for the future generations—whether that future shall hold freedom or slavery, depends on how completely the challenge of communism is met and vanquished.

Let there be no mistake, the fires of freedom smoulder even in the heart of Communist strongholds. Even the power of Stalin and his successors has not been able to extinguish it.

The Hungarian freedom fighters give testimony to the ruthlessness of the Communist might and to the strength of peoples yearning to be free. Last November Nikita

Khrushchev, the present head of the Russian Communist Party and the principal spokesman for the Soviet Union, in referring to the freedom-loving countries of the West, stated: "Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you."

More recently, Khrushchev has praised Stalin and even had the atheistic audacity to call upon God to send more men like Stalin to fight for communism.

It cannot be denied that 10 of the 11 members of the present governing body of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were puppets for the old tyrant Stalin, and whatever they learned in the art of governing by force they learned from him.

The gyrations of the Soviet Communists have produced a chain reaction in Communist Parties around the world. American Communists have put on a dazzling performance of shifting and turning. In the days and weeks which lie ahead, they will resort to every time-proven Communist trick to deceive the American public by advocating a peaceful transition to socialism, by appealing to the masses with trumped-up charges of injustices, by seeking to build a broad coalition of Socialist forces, by recapturing the naive, and mobilizing the pseudo-liberals.

Behind all this still prevails the determination to intensify the class struggle with resort to deceit, misrepresentation, and the use of force and violence when necessary.

Their aims and tactics are obvious. The Communist conspiracy has been exposed for what it is in courtrooms, by congressional committees and by the press, radio, and television. Its new look and program are designed to enable the American Communists to regroup and develop a militant party to accomplish their historic mission of destroying American freedoms. Soviet-style communism remains the ideal, and the Communist Party intends to do its best to impose it upon this country.

Crippling blows have been dealt to the Communist cause in the United States. But there is a greater task which rests with our teachers, the moulders of public opinion, the ministers of every faith, our labor leaders, and our industrialists. In short, the responsibility of education to preserve the American ideal rests with every American home. Truth and education are the ultimate answers in the fight to preserve the American ideal.

The Nation can be thankful for a Freedoms Foundation which stands as a sentinel, as did our Revolutionary freedom fighters here at Valley Forge, which is the vivid symbol of their suffering.

If we have the courage and the determination to face the future with the humility and the dedicated sacrifices of our Founding Fathers, then the Star-Spangled Banner shall continue to fly over this, our home of the free and land of the brave, and freedom fighters in other lands may eventually secure these blessings which are ours. This is the goal of the American ideal.

America's Economic Responsibilities in the World's Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a speech which I delivered in Washington on February 12, 1957, before the Fourth National Conference on International Economic and Social Development, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY BEFORE THE FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 12, 1957

Ladies and gentlemen, my good friends of the Fourth National Conference on International Economic and Social Development, you have asked me to say a few words at your opening luncheon on the topic "America's Economic Responsibilities in the World's Crisis." There could be no more timely topic.

Rethinking our foreign economic aid, a process which is going on these days all over Washington, is merely part of a needed broader reexamination of American foreign policy. This reexamination has been prompted by a series of changes in the world situation. If you will permit me at this point in your day's program, I would like to sketch some of these world changes, as I see them.

Since 1951 nearly all our foreign aid, totaling about $25 billion in 6 years, has gone to arm and maintain a circle of allies around the Communist bloc. No matter what else the Republicans or anyone else may call it, this is our policy of containment. We have sought to establish a ring of pacts, of military bases, a ring of standing armies, a ring of political and economic strong points, a ring of information, pamphleteering and propaganda for freedom. Consequently, about 60 percent of our foreign aid went for military hardware, another 25 to 30 percent for budgetary and financial support of governments which were maintaining armies therwise beyond their means, and approximately 10 percent for technical and developmental assistance.

It is fair to say, I believe, that we have never really had a definite policy for speeding up the economic growth and development of friendly non-Communist countries. Whatever we have done along this line was basically only incidental to our military containment policy. Hence, the appropriateness of the term defense support for much of our development aid.

Last summer some Members of Congress, I among them, thought it was time to reexamine the basic premises of our foreign aid program, which had remained unchanged since the start of the Korean war. It was time we took a look at the changes in the world which might require alteration of our aid programs. In 1956 this call for a reexamination led to the creation of the Fairless Committee by the White House, and to separate investigations by the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees.

Frankly, I think it is important that we all understand the world change that many in Congress had in mind. Many of these changes have no connection with economic development. Yet the changes in policy which they suggest may very well affect economic development. Here are some of them that bothered many of us last year when the reexamination began:

First, the Russians had achieved an extraordinary break-through in developing a long-range Air Force and the intermediate missle, which brought into question the usefulness of many of our overseas bases. While this was happening, Congress chopped $900 million off the foreign military budget and added the same amount to our domestic Air Force.

Second, the American development of tactical atomic weapons raised very serious questions about the development and size of the NATO ground forces in Europe.

Third, the Russian propaganda for coexistence had seriously weakened the bonds among our North Atlantic allies.

Fourth, the rapid growth of the Russian economy had permitted the Communist bloc for the first time to offer a steel mill to India, to pave the streets of Kabul, to build a technological institute in Rangoon, and even to dicker tentatively with Egypt about the Aswan Dam. This raised the question whether we should try to outbid the Russians. In fact, it was a panic of outbidding that produced the original offer to finance the Egyptian dam, just as it was our subsequent reversal, very clumsily done, which immediately precipitated the Suez crisis.

Fifth, the growing unrest in the satellites brought into doubt our East-West trade rules, which treated these puppet governments exactly the same way we treat the Russians.

Sixth, Soviet participation in the United Nations technical-assistance program caused some Members of Congress to oppose our participation, or at least they wished to scale down our contribution. That was a factor in the amendment to limit American participation to one-third of the funds.

Seventh, and finally, there was a wave of nationalist fervor among African and Asian nations which challenged and exposed some of our political attitudes toward colonialism and neutralism, and raised serious questions about the adequacy and purpose of our economic programs.

This is not an exhaustive list of the world changes that affected our aid programs, but it will serve as a sufficient backdrop for the points I wish to make.

Different Members of Congress have reacted very differently to these seven changes. For me, they pose one overriding question: Is "gunboat diplomacy" an adequate policy for the leader of the free world.

Even if we bring up to date that Coolidge-era phrase about gunboats, and call this "H-bomb diplomacy," or "military pact diplomacy," or "massive retaliation diplomacy," my question remains: Is this an adequate policy for the United States?

I do not question the need for adequate defense; I support it. For some time, however, I have publicly doubted whether the United States has begun to develop the kind of affirmative and constructive policies, which show what we are for, as well as what we are against—policies which can draw together the forces of freedom everywhere, policies which can ultimately establish a secure world climate for the freedoms we cherish here at home. Our foreign policy needs a new emphasis. It needs the emphasis of economic growth, and progress, along with national independence for free people and nations. Military containment must give way to economic and social development.

This dynamic policy can be compounded of many elements. The policy includes a vigorous support of the United Nations and its agencies, in deed as well as in word. It includes a rethinking and reemphasis of our educational exchange programs, of our information programs, of our diplomatic representation, to make them adequate to the new world situation. We need to back up openly the new plans of the Western European union, Euratom, and the common market. We must support the embryonic North African Federation, the regional stirrings in Africa south of the Sahara. We need to speak out in responsible Jeffersonian language on the subject of colonialism and national independence, and Wilsonian idealism on self-determination. The rest of the world honors two Americans above all others in the 20th century: Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. It is high time that the United States Information Service and the Voice of America mentioned them once in a while.

Our disarmament efforts must be more than posturing and slogans; they must be serious, practicable, and believable. We need a much broader program for stimulating private trade, private investment, public loans; and we need to take a new look at a public investment program.

All of these things the Eisenhower administration endorses in its forwardlooking speeches. And some actions have been taken. But for the most part, these ideas remain generalized slogans.

This brings me back to the subject of this conference. A vigorous approach to world economic growth has been advanced as one of the important tools in a dynamic American offensive for freedom. I agree. This is one of the keys to a practical and effective foreign policy.

I don't mean the kind of half-hearted effort we have undertaken in the past, hidden under a label of military containment. I mean the kind of bold, affirmative proposal which could capture the imagination of the entire world. Such a plan has been supported by some of you on humanitarian grounds. It has been defended by economists on economic grounds. There is good justification for each position. But I suspect the approach to world economic development that has the greatest chance for political action in the United States is the one which stresses positive American leadership in the free world.

So, if I may sum up what I have thus far said in a roundabout way: World economic development is but part of a much broader discussion about the adequacy of American foreign policy, and an economic-aid program offers one of the most important ways to demonstrate a positive leadership.

My second point is closely related to my first: There will be no significant departure in our economic development programs in 1957 unless President Eisenhower gives us both a proposal bearing his name, and more than his customarily mild, detached leadership.

I have heard some optimistic opinions about the magic effect of a Vandenberg-type resolution in the Senate, or a Stimson-Paterson type committee to stir up public support for a new policy, or something like the Harriman and Krug committees of 1948 to gather the facts for a new program. As you know, these steps played a significant part in the launching of the Marshall plan. But sober politicical thinking must make us realize that without General Marshall's speech at Harvard, without President Truman's prompt and vigorous support, without the meeting of European representatives to draw up a European recovery program, there would have been no Marshall plan. Then, as now, the leadership of the top officials of the executive branch was the critical element.

Yet, frankly, I find no evidence today that President Eisenhower is preparing a recommendation for a bold departure in foreign economic policy. The Fairless Committee, according to all present reports, is prepared to recommend a reduction in foreign aid. The House Foreign Affairs Committee is already studying a report by its recently retired chairman, Mr. Richards, which proposes a reduction in foreign aid. I will not presume to speak for the other members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, since we are scheduled to submit recommendations on the same subject within a month or two.

I am convinced that the United States will sooner or later be driven to a more far-reaching foreign economic policy, if not by the logic of groups like yours, then by successful Russian economic penetration of the free world, or by a series of political disasters in Asia and Africa, which can only be ameliorated by bold economic action.

Let me say a word about the so-called Eisenhower doctrine in this connection. All of us know that in the Middle East there are real and present dangers of regional war, subversion, and poverty. Nothing in the Eisenhower doctrine atempts to meet these real dangers except for the request for discretionary reallocation of some economic aid already appropriated. We do not even know where that economic aid is to go, to what governments, and for what purposes. In fact, I may say that I am gravely worried that the economic-aid aspect of the Eisenhower doctrine may do the cause of economic assistance generally grave harm.

I am a champion of economic assistance for underdeveloped nations when there is a realistic probability that this assistance will be used for economically and socially progressive results. In places like India, Burma, Pakistan, and Turkey—nations where hopeful, democratically oriented, welfare-conscience governments are in power—the case for economic assistance is a strong and persuasive one. The state which most conspicuously offers that kind of opportunity in the Middle East, Israel, presumably will not benefit from the economic assistance aspects of the Eisenhower doctrine. Indeed it appears that the nations of the Middle East most likely to receive new financial benefits from the United States are those nations ruled by the most feudal and reactionary regimes.

By deliberately asking a Congress, already increasingly skeptical of economic-assistance programs, for authority apaprently to bribe feudal Middle Eastern potentates under the guise of an economic-assistance program, President Eisenhower may well have done a disservice to the cause of economic assistance generally.

I have never been known as a pessimist. I hope I am wrong about what I have just said, as well as about the chances for a new program this year. But I believe your discussions at this conference will be more realistic if they are based on the hard, discouraging outlook that there is not likely to be a substantial change in American foreign policy leadership this year. I think this is deplorable, but I believe it is the fact of the matter.

This leads me to my third point. I also believe that forward-looking groups such as yours can perform a service in advancing ideas and establishing a favorable climate for a new American economic leadership. I suggest this can be done best by identifying those key issues, those leading questions, on which a shift in American policy must be based. I have not studied this subject at length, as some of you have, and I am sure this list of issues can be improved by your discussions. In a very abbreviated form, here are my suggestions on those key questions, and my personal answers to them.

Question No. 1: Have underdeveloped countries, especially those in Asia and Africa, acquired a new importance to the United States and the free world that requires us to work out policies of accommodation to their legitimate needs, just as we have long worked out accommodations with Western Europe?

My answer is an unqualified yes. No one privileged to serve on our American delegation to the United Nations, as I have been at the current session, can fail to grasp that these new and developing nations of Asia and Africa, now numbering 27, control over a third of the votes in the General Assembly. By the end of the year, two more may be added, that is, Ghana, formerly the Gold Coast, and Malaya. Almost all future additions to the family of free nations will lie in Asia and Africa. The outcome of the great struggle between freedom and communism will unquestionably be decided by the turn of events in these countries.

Question No. 2: Is economic development the most important relationship which the United States can employ to build a position of trust and respect among developing nations?

Unquestionably it is. All the more reason, therefore, why the new economic approach must be accompanied by more sensitive attitudes toward neutralist foreign policies and toward the remnants of colonialism.

Question No. 3: Is it a fact that the developing countries need, and can wisely use, a substantially larger flow of outside capital?

I have talked to no reputable economist who does not confirm this fact. One of the ablest authorities on the subject, Professor Rostow of MIT, has been advising our Senate committee, and is appearing on your program. When you think back on the large amounts of capital which the United States found it necessary to import from Europe in launching its own development process, it is not surprising that these newly developing countries likewise look to older economies for their initial capital.

Question No. 4: Can private investment provide a sufficient capital flow for these purposes or must we look also to public investment?

The United States has not done nearly enough to encourage its citizens to invest abroad. More private investment is certainly possible. But I never heard of a private investor prepared to finance hospitals, malaria control, a teacher training school, a county agent operation, or a community development project. We know that these steps are often necessary before private investment can go into an area. The conclusion seems inescapable that public investment must supply a substantial portion of the capital, at least in the early years.

Question No. 5: Have we fully explored the use of our abundance of food and fiber as an integral part of a general economic assistance program?

Recognizing the political difficulties confronting a large-scale economic assistance program, it is all the more important that we explore the possibilities of increasing our activities by means of programs such as the Agricultural Trade and Development Act of 1954. Congress originally spelled out the use of foreign currencies accruing from the food and fiber sales under Public Law 480 as follows: (1) to expand international trade; (2) to encourage economic development; (3) to purchase strategic materials; (4) to pay United States obligations; and (5) to foster in other ways the foreign policy of the United States.

Merely to list these objectives answers the question of whether we have used this law to its fullest extent. The answer is clearly no. Both in my role as a delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, and as a member of the Senate Agriculture Committee, I have recently proposed increasing this type of program, including the actual extension of Public Law 480 for a 2-year period with an authorization for $3 billion.

Already we have gained practical experience under this program in India, Turkey, Spain, and certain South American countries. Further development of national food and fiber reserves, coordinated with the progrm of the Food and Agricultural Organization, operating under the auspices of the United Nations, remains to be explored. We have merely scratched the surface of the real possibilities in this field.

Question No. 6. Should we look to national governments like the United States, or international bodies like the United Nations, to adminsiter such a program?

I fail to understand why this question is so often posed as an either-or proposition. We need both. But I do think the greatest gap in our present economic development machinery is an international fund which can finance sound projects in underdeveloped countries. That is why I have always supported the Special United Nations for Economic Development (SUNFED),

though I recognize that the present proposals for the capitalization of SUNFED are wholly inadequate. We need a good deal more thinking on what the relationship of such a fund should be to the International Bank and the International Finance Corporation, for unless that question is worked out satisfactorily, there will be little inclination of the donor countries to entrust funds to an international body. Nor should we neglect the possibility of regional economic development authorities, especially in the Middle East.

Question No. 7: How long will this proposed development program continue?

The only honest answer is that it will continue throughout our lifetime, and probably throughout the lives of our children. Our initial commitment should not be for less than 4 or 5 years. If we think this is a quickie job for political expediency, we would do better to keep the money in our pockets and forget the proposal.

Question No. 8: What would this proposal cost?

There have been many estimates. Last year the Committee for Economic Development suggested from $500 million to $1.5 billion in new capital each year, over and above the present flow. The most detailed estimate I have seen was that advanced by the MIT study project, which came up with a total cost of $2.5 billion a year, of which some part would be borne by other industrialized countries, part could be financed with American farm surpluses, and the balance of about $1.5 billion a year would be provided by American public funds. This represents a little less than we are now spending on so-called economic aid, though, of course, under the MIT proposal this amount would go entirely for economic development, rather than military support.

Question No. 9: Can we afford it?

In 1956 the United States spent 1.1 percent of its gross national product on foreign aid. Nine years ago, during the first year of the Marshall plan, we spent 1.7 percent of our gross national product, a proportion half again higher. Can you blame the United Nations members for hanging their heads in embarrassment when our Government told the Economic Committee 2 weeks ago that we cannot support SUNFED because we cannot afford it? Actually two U. N. members—Canada and France—are making larger contributions to international development, in relation to their present economies, than is the United States. Western Europe and Canada combined are making larger net investments in foreign countries than is the United States.

The question has never been whether we can afford it, but whether our national interest will assign a sufficiently high priority to this foreign policy leadership to justify the use of our resources. It is one of the purposes of this conference, I trust, to help establish that priority.

In closing, let me quote the speech of President Eisenhower, delivered 3 weeks ago at his second inauguration. It was one of his great utterances. He said:

"We must use our skills and knowledge and at times our substance to help others rise from misery, however far the scene of suffering may be from our shores. For wherever in the world a people knows desperate want, there must appear at least the spark of hope, the hope of progress—or there will surely rise at last the flames of conflict." The President concluded: "We are called to meet the price of this peace."

I should like to conclude with the hope that he will help us meet it, with the active leadership the situation so urgently requires. If such leadership is forthcoming, I need not tell the President that you and I and all others devoted to the cause of a more enlightened foreign policy will support his efforts wholeheartedly.

Thirty-Ninth Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, on February 17 of this year, Mr. Joseph Kajeckas, Counselor of the Lithuanian Legation, spoke at the commemoration of the American-Lithuanian Society of Washington, D. C., on the 39th anniversary of the proclamation of Lithuania's independence.

The remarks of Mr. Kajeckas were, in my opinion, most timely and worthy of consideration. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have his speech printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY JOSEPH KAJECKAS, COUNSELOR OF THE LITHUANIAN LEGATION, ON THE OCCASION OF THE 39TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF LITHUANIA'S INDEPENDENCE, AT THE COMMEMORATION OF THE AMERICAN-LITHUANIAN SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D. C., AT THE HOTEL DUPONT PLAZA ON FEBRUARY 17, 1957

It is seven and a half centuries since the founding of the united Lithuanian state by King Mindaugas and 39 years since the resurrection of the Lithuanian Republic to independent life. It is also 30 years since the death of a great Lithuanian, the patriarch of Lithuania's renaissance, Dr. Jonas Basanavivius.

The aspirations of the Lithuanian nation, after long years of slavery, were still very much alive. Heartened by determination to defend the resurrected state, and encouraged by a whole pattern of favorable international circumstances, among them the right of self-determination of nations proclaimed by President Wilson, the Lithuanian people made a reality of their longstanding dreams for independence.

The delicate flower of independence strengthened and blossomed; God blessed the efforts of the long-suffering nation. Progress flourished, welfare increased. Some nations we succeeded in equaling, others we even surpassed. We were proud of our achievements; we had passed the test of a free people.

Then came the Second World War. The Baltic States proclaimed their neutrality, an act not to the Soviet liking. The Kremlin, following in the footsteps of Czarina Catherine II, conspired against the Baltic people by concluding the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement. By that agreement, Lithuania was made an object of exchange by neighboring despots. The will of the Lithuanian people and their solemn treaties were trampled upon by these despots and Lithuania was enslaved. The greatest crime of the latter 18th century was once again perpetrated in the 20th century.

Shortly before that enslavement, the Soviet official newspaper, Izvestia, on May 16, 1940, took off its mask. It proclaimed that the neutrality of the smaller nations, not supported by sufficient military force, belonged to the sphere of fantasy. By condemning the neutrality of small nations, the Soviets hoped to see the Baltic countries lean toward them. Not only self-interest but also Lithuanian decency would not permit Lithuanians to soil their good name by freely entering into such friendship. Lithuania could have been saved only by respect for freely contracted international treaties. Lithuania was protected by treaties as though by a veritable chain of fortresses. However, the Communists do not sign treaties to fulfill them.

At the same time, I may point out, the Soviets did not show any more respect for the neutrality of Nazi-occupied countries: Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and others.

Today the Soviets react to the Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East by sounding an alarm against intervention in Arab affairs. Soviet tactics led Molotov to a similar attempt to mislead the world in October 1939. He affirmed that rumors of impending sovietization of the Baltic States was pure nonsense and merely the work of provocateurs. Events have proved that talk of sovietization was by no means nonsense and that the greatest of all provocateurs proved to be Molotov himself. Only a few days ago Shepilov, in a statement endorsed by Gromyko on the Suez Canal, appealed to "law and justice." Alas, to the appeal for law and justice of the Lithuanian nation that cries out to heaven for vengeance he and the Kremlin remain deaf. Russian deeds clearly proved and continue to prove that falsehood is one of the greatest weapons in the Communist arsenal to enslave nations and that their solemn pledges are entirely worthless.

Last summer the Kremlin exhibited feigned scandalization because a Communist woman athlete in London was accused of shoplifting some hats. The Soviets considered it an insult to incriminate a Communist for appropriating the property of other people. The Lithuanians have physically experienced the fact that the Bolsheviks are capable of appropriating hats even with heads. They subjugate entire nations with all their freedom and foreign territory with all its wealth. They substantially reduce the pocketbooks of Lithuanian-Americans and Lithuanians in their homeland or in exile in Siberia by exorbitant fees whenever a modest gift package is being forwarded to their beloved ones. According to the Lithuanian historian, Mrs. V. Sruoga: "They * * * appropriate even our history just as they appropriated our independence and freedom."

A number of years have passed since the Iron Curtain descended on Lithuania. It has been said that time works to the advantage of the Communists in captive nations. The Hungarian insurrection destroyed that myth. In Lithuania, as in Hungary, the vaccine of slavery was and is incapable of killing the longing of the people for freedom. Lithuania was actually the first Hungary. The Lithuanians were the first of all captive nations who dared to rise en masse against the Red occupant in the summer of 1941. Many of you present here today were participants in or witnesses of that uprising. Only recently we celebrated its 15th anniversary. After the second so-called Soviet liberation the Lithuanians again fought against their occupant for several years. Finally Lithuanians also participated actively, according to eye-witnesses, in the first uprising in the very midst of the Soviet colonial empire, in the slave-labor camps of Vorkuta, during the summer of 1953.

However, the cry of these Lithuanian blood-plebiscites did not, at the time, find as great a response in the free world as did the Hungarian uprising, although Lithuanian insurrections resulted in even greater losses. In spite of this, we rejoiced at the heroic struggle of that country, with which Lithuania's history was once bound, since that insurrection symbolized the spirit of all enslaved people and their thirst for freedom. We rejoiced because that courageous act shook the very foundation of the Soviet colonial empire. We also rejoiced because that

daring act shook the conscience of the free world. We were reminded that once already in Lithuanian history a march of freedom began in the Carpathian Mountain regions. We rejoiced at the uprising, but were also saddened because of its failure. We were disappointed that the United Nations lacked the courage to effectively support the Hungarian Nation and that it lacked the courage to deprive the Soviet aggressor of membership, following the example of the League of Nations at the time of Russia's aggression against Finland.

The Hungarian revolt did not solve the fate of captive nations. We continue to live in times of great importance. The free world is grouping, the Eisenhower doctrine is being proclaimed, their is much talk of unity, integration, federations, and need of close international relations.

Lithuanian history and Lithuania's leading figures have always stressed the importance of unity. Having gone through such schooling, Lithuanians are united in their enslaved homeland and in Siberian exile. We hope that this unity will always be effectively practiced by Lithuanians living in the free world, since it is one of the prerequisites to Lithuania's liberation.

Besides unity, we are also in need of friends. We do not lack them, but there are never too many. On this solemn occasion, we consider it an honor and a pleasure to remember at least some of our friends. Availing ourselves of the opportunity of this commemoration of the Nation's Capital, we wish to extend our public gratitude in the first place to the President of United States, Mr. Eisenhower, and to the Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, for the nonrecognition of the Soviet occupation of Lithuania, its condemnation of that occupation, and the support extended to that nation on numerous occasions. We would also like to extend our gratitude to the Secretary of State for his encouraging statement made yesterday in connection with this celebration. The honorable Under Secretary of State and Mrs. Loy Henderson had planned to be with us at this commemoration. Unfortunately, he was prevented from attending because of illness. Nevertheless, they are both with us in spirit. Mr. Henderson is probably the only official at the present time in the State Department who witnessed the early struggle, the spirit of sacrifice, and the real will of the Baltic people to be free and independent. Mr. Henderson was also an eyewitness of our first enthusiastic commemorations of February 16 in the homeland. We appreciate very much his desire to be with us and wish him a speedy recovery. We are deeply grateful also to the Chief of the Baltic Section in the State Department, the Honorable Howard Trivers. We owe a debt of deep gratitude also to numerous governors of States, Senators, Congressmen, mayors of cities, all other honored guests present at this commemoration, and, in general, to the American people for their sympathy and support of Lithuania.

Lithuania is also in need of tireless, courageous work for Lithuania's liberation.

The Lithuanian nation is a Christian nation. Thus, it is only natural that her hope in Lithuania's brighter future is based on God.

At one celebration in Cana of Galilee, the mother of God took pity on the guests and, having approached Christ, said to Him: "Son, they have no wine." And, as we know, wine was provided. Probably no nation is more devoted to the Holy Mother of God than is Lithuania. It is thus impossible that on the occasion of this, the greatest day of the Lithuanian nation and people, the gracious Madonna of Ausros Vartu (the Gates of Dawn) in Vilnius would not intercede with her Son for her devoted children's freedom. Her intercession will bring only one possible result: Yes, Lithuania will rise again, and of the slavery it now suffers, there will remain but a ghostly memory of the past.

Big Business Gets Most of Government Subsidies for Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Federal Government pays for almost two-thirds of all research and development in the United States, and 95 percent of these subsidies are paid to companies employing more than 500 workers.

This is another example of the squeeze being put on small business in the country today.

The facts about this particular small business dilemma are set forth in a recent column by Sylvia Porter appearing in many newspapers throughout the country. I ask unanimous consent that Miss Porter's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Government itself well may be giving the kiss of death to independent small business in our land—through the Defense Department's program of channeling huge amounts of funds for research and development year after year almost exclusively to big business.

The importance of this cannot be overestimated.

In our age of technological revolution, research has become crucial. In more and more industries, what a corporation gets out of research decides whether it thrives or dies.

Yet, despite the Government's oft-repeated concern about the trend toward concentration of industrial power, its own policies are contributing to this trend. And no one who has the facts can deny it.

The House Small Business Committee of the 84th Congress has just released its final report on its investigations in 1955 and 1956. I have studied every page of the chilling 191-page document which leads its chairman, WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, to predict that if the trends of the past 5 years continue, within 18 years, all manufacturing business and most of the distribution and service business of the Nation will be controlled by corporations having more than $100 million of assets.

But this colorful comment of the controversial PATMAN is not what impressed me. Rather what hit me was a chapter tucked far back in the report entitled "Government Subsidies for Research and Industrial Advancement," for it tells the following tale:

The Government currently pays for almost two-thirds of all research and development in our country.

The Defense Department is by far the biggest spender of the funds, and it alone passes out about $1.5 billion of research money annually to private companies, 100,000 times as great as the small lending program, designed to assist small business expansion.

Now where does the money go?

A full 95 percent of it goes to companies employing more than 500 workers. This certainly fits the definition of big business firms.

In the past 3 years, research contracts totaling $4.7 billion have been awarded. Of this, $4.6 billion, or 98.1 percent, has gone to the 500 largest contractors.

What are some of the implications of this?

The companies doing the research turn up not only inventions for defense but also products for civilian uses.

To quote the Attorney General himself, "Processed foods, electronic devices and pencillin, to list only a few present-day commercial products, were all originally developed under research and development programs for defense purposes."

The companies have the privilege, under our national patent policy, to patent and control an invention if they want to. In the past 5 years alone, the companies have claimed rights to at least 6,788 inventions.

Again, this leads the Attorney General to make the extraordinary admission, "What indications are available warn that the Government expenditures may not run counter to the industry trend toward concentration but in some degree may even enforce it."

So what, then, should be done? At a minimum, the report suggests:

The administration should eliminate the statistical vacuum that exists on who's geting what for reserach so a sound program can be worked out that will better protect our competitve system.

It certainly should greatly simplify the contract bidding process so smaller companies won't be under so brutal a disadvantage.

It should make sure that the officers in charge of awarding contracts don't discriminate against small business because of their cautious tendency to deal only with firms which have an established reputation.

It surely should begin at once a reexamination of our whole patent policy to see what amendments are in order.

The Government pays lipservice daily to the health of small business. Its research program is shiveringly close to the kiss of death.

Contest Between Democratic India and Communist China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, several times on the Senate floor, I have had occasion to emphasize the great contest now being conducted on the continent of Asia between democratic India and Communist China—a contest in economic development and political philosophy.

The noted columnist, Dorothy Thompson, has recently been in New Delhi, and her column on January 28, 1957, was entitled, "Will Asia's Future Depend on Nehru?"

I ask unanimous consent that the text of her column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Star of January 23, 1957]

WILL ASIA'S FUTURE DEPEND ON NEHRU?

(By Dorothy Thompson)

NEW DELHI.—It is odd that if anywhere a national leader acts out of a completely consistent philosophy of life and politics, he should be opposed and misunderstood in some parts of the world.

Among world leaders today there are few—if there are any others—who are as all of a piece as Jawaharlal Nehru.

It has taken the better part of half a century as a student, an intellectual, a revolutionary (constantly in and out of jail), and, finally, as the undisputed leader of India, to make him what he is.

His revolutionary experience and international outlook fit together. The Indian resistance, eventually resulting in the withdrawal of the British from India, is the unique example in history of national liberation achieved by nonviolence.

Except for the frightful communal war that subsequently broke out through the unwillingness of part of the Moslems to remain with the Hindu majority, thus bringing about partition, the evolution of the Indian union, considering the vast divisive influence, has been remarkably peaceful and accomplished by democratic processes through democratic institutions, to which Nehru is not only committed but dedicated.

If ever a man was in a position to make himself a dictator, Nehru held that position and many factors might have pushed him toward it: the need to achieve unity by almost any means; the challenge of enormous problems whose solution is retarded by democratic machinery; the extreme disparity between rich and poor and the hopes of the people for rapid alleviation.

The pull of communism on long-ossified societies retarded in economic development is less ideological than its demonstrated capacity to accomplish things, in themselves desirable, in a hurry.

But Nehru could not possibly be sympathetic to communism because of its theoretical and applied emphasis on violence and class war. He knows that social classes exist. He desires to attain a classless society, through equality of opportunity, but he does not think the way to attain it is by chopping off heads.

He believes in civil liberties and law, and is convinced that means determine ends. He is, as a superbly educated and cultivated man, allergic to intellectual rigidities or to the assumption that any man, movement, religion, or creed has a monopoly on truth.

He is conscious of two forces, one propelling societies toward change and the other restraining them by tradition. And although he is distinctly a man of the left, he seeks to bring about change, as far as possible, within tradition, knowing that tradition is the cement of a nation.

On whether and how quickly he or his successors succeed in lifting India into enduring unity and a modestly decent life for all by democratic processes and without totalitarian machinery may well depend the future of all Asia.

There are two great and populous states in Asia—India and China.

In both countries the hopes of the teeming, long-exploited masses, mostly villagers, are now vibrant. If India, with its slower but in Nehru's mind surer evolution, can year by year sufficiently fulfill those hopes to keep alive confidence in progress, India is likely to be the model for the rest of Asia.

If India fails and China succeeds, China will exercise the greater magnetism.

One thing we may be sure of: the future of Asia will not be determined in Washington, London, or Moscow, but in Asia itself, and most notably in New Delhi or Peiping.

The policies of America, Europe, and Russia may influence choices but will not determine them. In fact, anything that smacks of intervention—military, political, of applied political economy—will ricochet. One can help India and other countries struggling to create democratic institutions, but we shall not be aiding such institutions if we condition economic aid upon participation in the cold war.

The cold war is not their war. Their war is upon hunger, poverty, disease; upon ossified institutions; upon the inheritances of colonial rule; upon illiteracy, ignorance, and superstition; upon a long-ingrained position and habit of inferiority with its dangerous tendencies to oversensitivity and overcompensation.

Nehru's foreign policy is part and parcel of his internal policy. It is the only conceivable foreign policy for India.

Educational Television

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, out of fairness to Federal Communications Commissioner T. A. M. Craven, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD Mr. Craven's letter to me dated February 20, 1957.

Mr. Craven takes exception to my remarks of February 18 and the article, Educational TV's Case, which appeared in the February 18 issue of Newsweek magazine.

While Commissioner Craven offers a defense of his proposal to reassign unused educational television channels, he admits that if, under his proposal, educational television channels are not used within a reasonable time, his plan provides for other uses of such channels. This is precisely what I am opposed to, for it means that these channels will go to commercial operators, and it forces educators to determine now their future use of educatinal television channels. Educators need further time to develop educational television, which is just coming into its own.

Without the reservation of educational television channels, such as that which currently exists under FCC regulations, desired television channels are unlikely to be used for educational purposes. In my own State of Oregon, educational television hopes to be on the air in Portland and Corvallis by next fall on the good, low-frequency, VHF channels.

Since Commissioner Craven questions remarks by Mr. Ralph Steetle, executive director of the joint council on educational television, I have asked Mr. Steetle for a statement in answer to Commissioner Craven. This is only fair. I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, Mr. Steetle's answer to Commissioner Craven's letter.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., February 20, 1957.

Hon. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR NEUBERGER: I have noted your remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 18 in which you state the following:

"Mr. President, the Federal Communications Commission has under study a report by FCC Commissioner T. A. M. Craven, which would open for commercial application those television channels set aside by the Commission for educational television.

"I protest most vigorously any attempt which would deny to the people of the United States the limited number of television channels set aside for educational use. This is what the Craven proposal amounts to."

I regret to state that you have been misinformed. The facts are exactly the opposite.

In my recommendation to the Federal Communications Commission to delete the table of assignments I also included the following:

"Announce that in the distribution of television channel facilities to States and communities, the Commission will take into special consideration the needs of educational institutions in each State which plan to utilize television channels for educational as contrasted to commercial purposes. In this connection the educational institutions will be requested to make their needs and plans known to the Commission."

It is my belief that my proposal not only favors educational television in a constructive manner but also goes further than the Commission's existing policy relating thereto in terms of flexibility and efficiency. For example, prior to taking office as a commissioner, I was a consulting engineer for the Board of Education of the State of Connecticut. It was my opinion that the Commission's allocation of educational channels to the State of Connecticut was most inefficient because the transmitting stations had to be located in such a manner as to render ineffective coverage to the State. My present proposal will eliminate such inefficiency.

There are some States which do not desire to utilize television as a part of the educational system for many years to come. If the educational institutions and organizations in these States notify the Commission that they do not intend to use television within a reasonable time, it is true that my plan would provide for other uses of such channels. However, if there is any indication of a desire to utilize television in a State's educational system, my plan offers most extensive cooperation and encouragement.

In June 1937 I prepared a report on communications for the National Resources Committee. This was published as part of a report of that Committee entitled "Technological Trends and National Policy." In my report was included the following statement with reference to education:

"In education, the application of these modern methods of communication may well effect a complete change in methods of educating not only the child and the adult but also the entire public. The new communication development may also revolutionize the present school systems of the country."

I also note that in your extension of remarks you have quoted a statement from Mr. Steetle of the Joint Council on Educational Television. Mr. Steetle has not even given me the courtesy of ascertaining from me personally what my recommendation was and what my intentions are. Apparently he has acted merely on rumor and has jumped to erroneous conclusions. If this loose thinking is typical of educational television headquarters in Washington, it would appear that the real educators of the country are not being advised logically.

I know that you are fair-minded enough to insert this letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to offset the injustice promoted by Mr. Steetle.

Very respectfully,

T. A. M. CRAVEN,
Commissioner.

JOINT COUNCIL ON EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION,
Washington, D. C., February 21, 1957.

Hon. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR NEUBERGER: Commissioner T. A. M. Craven, of the Federal Communications Commission, has courteously sent us a copy of his letter to you dated February 20, 1957, in which he makes reference to your remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 18 regarding his proposal to abolish the table of television assignments including educational reservations. With respect to his letter, we would like to make the following comments:

In 1952 the Federal Communications Commission reserved 242 television channels for education. Additional reservations since that date bring the total to 257. Developments during the past 4 years have fully justified the wisdom of this action. While the full utilization of these channels has not yet been realized, what has already happened represents one of the greatest achievements for education in communications history. The American public is indebted to the Federal Communications Commission for making this remarkable development possible.

Recently the Joint Council on Educational Television submitted to the Commission a progress report indicating that 24 educational television stations are in operation and 10 others are under construction. In at least 20 more communities strong local and State organizations are planning to build educational stations and have substantial money and/or equipment on hand or pledged.

In at least 25 additional towns and cities with smaller populations, prospects look good for the eventual use of reserved channels.

As we pointed out in our report to the Commission, today we can document more than $50 million spent or pledged the past 4 years for research and experimentation in educational television and the construction and operation of stations.

Educational stations now on the air are providing adult education in many ways—they are bringing into the homes of America the reality and beauty of famous museums, art galleries, and educational centers.

They are making available on a regular basis the discussions of distinguished scholars in the fields of science, philosophy, and literature, and the performances of artists in the fields of painting, sculpture, music, drama, etc. A new pattern of television programing for children has emerged, which emphasizes wholesome and constructive living with a format which is both entertaining and instructive.

During the past two years there has been a great increase in the use of television in the schools. Also, thousands of adults are enrolled in college telecourses. Much experimentation already completed has clearly demonstrated the effectiveness of this medium as a teaching tool. New research projects and program developments underway presage its wide and more effective use at all levels in the educational process. The educational television stations have already demonstrated their ability to help solve the problems that face education in today's world.

In the light of television's meaning to education, reports of proposals to abolish the television allocation table, including the educational reservations, give us cause for concern. We believe that the adoption of any such action at this time would seriously jeopardize the development of educational television throughout the United States and unquestionably deal a fatal blow to plans for the establishment of educational stations in virtually all communities that do not now have stations on the air or under construction.

In a substantial number of communities, local and State educational organizations are pushing ahead with plans to build educational stations. In these cities substantional money and/or equipment is available or has been pledged for the construction of stations. Because of special problems which these communities have faced, as yet they have not achieved their ultimate goal. Nevertheless, they are continuing their efforts to secure the necessary funds for construction and initial operation and we believe that they will succeed within a reasonable period of time.

Precipitant deletion of educational reservations in these communities, however, would block these plans. These channels would immediately become available for commercial application. In most cities where VHF channels are involved, the only way in which the educators could seek to use the channels would be to file competing applications for construction permits. In most cases this would involve them in long and expensive hearings. It is our opinion that very few, if any, educational organizations would be able to expend the time, effort, and public funds in contested hearings, the outcome of which would be uncertain.

It is our considered opinion on the basis of our experience with educational organizations and our knowledge of the protracted character of contested television proceedings that the elimination of the TV reservations would virtually put an end to any further development of the educational television service. We do not believe any qualified observer will disagree with this opinion.

In numerous towns with limited resources and small population where channels have been reserved, there is active interest in building educational stations; but more time obviously is needed in order to effectuate plans. As the Commission indicated in its sixth report and order and in its decisions implementing that order, it was because of this expected circumstance that the Commission made the reservations in the first place. One of the compelling considerations for adopting the reservations was to make sure that educational institutions in small communities would have time to make plans for stations. It is crystal clear that abolition of the allocation table including the reservations in these small towns and communities would increase the concentration of these valuable television facilities in the large urban centers. A healthy, nationwide television service should include facilities not only in the large metropolitan areas, but also in the smaller cities.

Literally millions of American citizens have given their time and energies to bring educational television to its present stage of delevolpment. Thousands of organizations, including a substantial portion of educational institutions throughout the country, business and civic groups, many foundations and charitable organizations, have contributed millions of dollars for research, experimentation, and for construction and operation of educational television facilities.

As a result, it has been clearly demonstrated that television is one of the most effective means for improving the quality of education and helping meet the critical teacher shortage at all levels of learning; and is a powerful device for accelerating and extending adult education and helping meet such social problems as illiteracy, crime, mental and physical illness and other threats against our national security.

Because of these facts, reports which suggest that serious consideration is being given to a proposal to delete the educational reservations have alarmed educational and civic leadership throughout the country.

In his letter to you, Commissioner Craven has pointed out how he believes educational television interests would be served by his proposal. However, for the reasons set forth above, we believe that a deletion of educational channels would be a serious barrier to the further expansion of educational television throughout the country.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH STEETLE,
Executive Director.

Talmadge Bills Lauded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Talmadge Bills Show His Quality," from the LaGrange (Ga.) Daily News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TALMADGE BILLS SHOW HIS QUALITY

HERMAN TALMADGE is stepping wisely in the United States Senate. His recent introduction of three bills designed to curb usurpation of power and encroachment upon individual rights by the Federal judiciary evidently required much forethought. The result is that none of the bills smack of southern extremity, all are reasonable, and each should merit objective attention from representatives of each section of the Nation.

The three Talmadge-sponsored bills forelay the rightful argument projected by those who hold the State in high esteem in clear, unadulterated language. The bills would (1) remove school integration suits from Federal jurisdiction; (2) require 5 years' experience as a judge to qualify as a Justice of the Supreme Court; and (3) require jury trials for persons cited for contempt of court because of alleged actions outside the court.

Georgians are familiar with the first two measures, particularly since Senator TALMADGE pledged his support to both during his senatorial campaign last summer. The first bill is purely and simply a proposal to insure State sovereignty where State sovereignty is justified. The second measure is a pressing need where judicial understanding is a prime requisite.

A reading of TALMADGE'S third measure would cause this Nation's Founding Fathers to gasp were they around today. They would be astounded that any measure was needed to guarantee a person the right to a jury trial at this late date in American

history. But it is clear that the racial issue has enveloped so many constitutional government supporters in a fog of confusion that a basic American right has been seriously threatened and even abused.

Senator TALMADGE—less than 2 months after he entered the upper House Chamber in Washington—has well represented his State of Georgia and the Nation in voicing the above-mentioned bills. For those who anticipated cautious yet firm action by the freshman Senator, HERMAN TALMADGE has given them affirmation. For those who expected the former colorful Georgia governor to enter the Senate in a blaze of boisterousness and thus be categorized a rabble-rouser, he has given them reason to change their minds.

Country's First Arsenal Located in Springfield, Mass., in 1794

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to call to the attention of the Members on the occasion of George Washington's birthday tomorrow the following article which appeared in the Springfield, Mass., Daily News on February 19 pointing to the fact that President Washington recommended that the country's first manufacturing arsenal be located in Springfield in 1794, and that this facility, known as the Springfield Armory and the birthplace of the famous Garand rifle, is still operating as a key unit in the Nation's defense for the research and development and manufacturing of small weapons.

WASHINGTON'S CHOICE MEANT CITY INDUSTRY—OBSERVANCE OF FIRST PRESIDENT'S BIRTH ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT TO ARMORY

The far-reaching effects upon the city of Springfield resulting from a decision by George Washington to locate a national armory in this area is emphasized in a Washington's birthday statement issued by Springfield Armory authorities today.

The gunplant will observe the birthday anniversary of the first President on Friday by closing down all production facilities for the day. Only such essential duties as performed by guards, firemen, and telephone operators will be maintained for the national holiday. The museum will also be closed for the day.

The armory statement follows:

"SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE

"The birthday of George Washington, celebrated as a national holiday on Friday, Feb. 22, is of particular significance to employees of the Springfield armory and to residents of the greater Springfield area.

"The strategic location of Springfield, together with a natural abundance of skilled gunsmiths in this area, led to the recommendation by George Washington for placing this country's first manufacturing arsenal at its present location in 1794. The economic growth of Springfield from an agricultural settlement to a prosperous industrial city is a direct result of that decision.

"Equally important, as a result of the choice by George Washington, was the development of religious diversification and the consolidation of weapons craftsmanship in what is now known as the greater Springfield area. Recognition of the role played by the Springfield armory in the development of the city of Springfield is attested to by the incorporation of the main arsenal in the seal of the city of Springfield.

"PRESIDENT'S FORESIGHT

"The foresight of George Washington in providing for a small arms center has contributed materially to the economic security of this city and the national defense of this country.

"It is with appropriate appreciation," the statement concludes, "that we recognize Friday, Feb. 22, as a national holiday in commemoration to America's first military commander in chief whose wise decisions have meant so much to Springfield armory employees, residents of the greater Springfield area and to the free citizens of a free United States of America."

School Aid Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Chicago Daily News of February 7, 1957]

SCHOOL AID ISSUE

When the bill to provide Federal funds for school construction came up in Congress a year ago, Representative ADAM POWELL, Democrat, of New York, raised a rude question. Why, he asked, should one branch of the Government give money to southern school systems that refuse to obey the integration order of another branch, the Supreme Court?

POWELL'S amendment, which provided that no segregated school system could receive the proposed Federal school aid, resulted in defeat of the bill in the House. Many northern Congressmen seized the opportunity to vote for the amendment to demonstrate their opposition to segregation. After the amendment passed, some of the same Congressmen joined with southern segregationists to defeat the amended measure.

Repeating his request for school aid this year, President Eisenhower openly urged Congress not to bring up the "complex problems of integration" in connection with the bill. Representative POWELL, however, says he plans to do just that. Another fight on the issue is almost certain.

Proponents of Federal aid howled loudly last year that their foes had cast aside all scruples to adopt the Powell amendment and then use it as a club to kill the entire bill.

In their zeal to get the Federal Government into the school business they profess to see no connection between policies of Congress and the Court. On the contrary, we fail to see how the segregation issue can possibly be avoided in any consideration of Federal money for schools.

If Congress passes the bill but ignores segregation it gives its approval and a monetary reward to the South's costly and artificial system of separate education of the races. Federal funds would be used to strengthen the very practices outlawed by the Federal Government through the Supreme Court.

There are many reasons for objecting to the Federal-aid bill. Probably it should not be passed, even with a restriction such as POWELL'S amendment. But it certainly should not be passed without it.

Comdr. Harry R. Swanson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Boulder (Colo.) Camera of December 15, 1956. This article describes the outstanding career of Comdr. Harry R. Swanson, USNR, who is now serving as administrative assistant to Gov. Robert D. Holmes, of the State of Oregon. Commander Swanson served valiantly and outstandingly during World War II in the South Pacific and in the bitter and tragic conflict in Korea. All of us from the State of Oregon are most pleased to have a person of Commander Swanson's ability, patriotism, and integrity associated with our new Governor in the executive offices at Salem, Oreg.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HARRY R. SWANSON TO BE ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO GOVERNOR-ELECT HOLMES, OREGON

Gov.-elect Bob Holmes, of Oregon, has appointed Harry B. Swanson, former member of the Navy ROTC staff at the University of Colorado, as his administrative assistant, it was learned here today. Mr. Swanson, with the rank of commander, was assistant professor of naval science at CU from October 1950 to December of 1952, when he was recalled to active duty as a lieutenant commander, and assigned to Korea. He remained there until released from active duty in December of 1953.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Swanson and their children, Christine, now 13, and Harry III, 10, made many friends during their residence in Boulder. They were members of the country club, also of the dancing club. When Mr. Swanson was called into active service Mrs. Swanson and children went to Astoria, Oreg., to be with her parents.

The Astorian Evening Budget, received in Boulder, says:

"Swanson will resign his present position with the Columbia River Packers Association, with sales and public relations duties. He is 40 years old, has been a resident of Oregon since 1937, and of Astoria since finishing duty in the Korean war as a commander in the Navy.

"IS OMAHA NATIVE

"Swanson has been an active citizen of Astoria during his residence here. He is a board

member of the chamber of commerce and of Rotary Club, has just been elected president of the Navy League chapter here, and has just finished serving as chairman of the United Fund-Red Cross drive. He is a vestryman in Grace Episcopal Church, and member of the Elks lodge and Scandinavian Benevolent Society.

"Born in Omaha, Nebr., in 1916, Swanson attended the United States Naval Academy, University of Nebraska, and Oregon State College, where he was graduated with a bachelor of science degree in forestry and where he is affiliated with Sigma Nu Fraternity.

"SERVED IN TWO WARS

"Swanson served in World War II on small craft in the Aleutians and South Pacific, and served in several amphibious landings.

"After the war Swanson was an assistant professor in the Navy ROTC at University of Colorado, Boulder, until recalled to active duty for the Korean conflict. In that war he served at Chinhae, Korea, as member of a Navy advisory group handling the training program for the Republic of Korea Navy. He won the Korean Uichi award, presented to him by President Syngman Rhee, among other decorations.

"Swanson married Josephine Waffle, of Astoria, in 1940. They have 2 children, Christine, 13, and Harry III, 10.

"The Swansons also sponsor a Korean student, Lee Kyu Baik, at Star of the Sea High School.

"Swanson is a lifelong Democrat.

"Mrs. Swanson and children will remain at 3652 Duoni Street, Astoria, until school is out. Mr. Swanson begins his new duties December 15. The inauguration is January 4."

The Eisenhower Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the column of Daniel K. Grahl, editor of the Fort Valley (Ga.) Leader-Tribune, as it appeared in the issue of January 31, 1957.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEACHLAND JOURNAL
(By Daniel K. Grahl)

PRESIDENT ASKS FOR A DANGEROUS POWER

There has been a great deal in the news lately about the power President Eisenhower asks in order to be in a position to enforce his Middle East doctrine.

It is a grave and dangerous power he asks.

There is always the possibility that his Middle East doctrine will be wrong, and if he is in a position to try to enforce it by the use of American troops there is always on hand the fear of precipitation into war. And we have had enough of war and its results.

We are convinced that Eisenhower wants a lasting peace, but we also are aware of the fact that if the troops are not so readily available, there is a lot less likelihood that he will use them without a period of deep and sober thought.

In the first place, we think it is time for the Government to stop trying to finance the entire world. At least until we get to the point where we are financing our own country on a sound, 100 cents to the dollar, dollar.

The Middle East countries are all ruled by men and dynastys that are "loaded" with money or the things which make money.

If those countries are so direly in need of money and the things it will buy, why don't they see that their rulers relinquish some of their enormous wealth to ease the pain.

And, if the rulers of those countries don't think enough of their own people to help them out of their health and welfare squalor, why should "Uncle Sugar" take it upon himself to ease the burden? Aside from the belief that we are our brothers' keeper, the Good Book also says that the Lord helps those who help themselves.

Activities of Radio Free Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the activities of Radio Free Europe have recently been commented upon extensively in the press in connection with the Hungarian revolt. Differing statements have been made concerning the role of Radio Free Europe during those critical days last November. This background lends all the more interest to the study of Radio Free Europe just completed by Robert T. Holt, instructor in political science at the University of Minnesota. On January 29, the Minneapolis Star carried an article by its staff writer, Ted Kolderie, summarizing Mr. Holt's study. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STUDY COMMENDS RADIO FREE EUROPE
(By Ted Kolderie)

The Polish, not the Hungarian, rebellion is the kind of political change that Radio Free Europe has been trying to encourage in the satellite countries of Eastern Europe. At least that's the conclusion of Robert T. Holt, political science instructor at the University of Minnesota, who has just completed a year-long study of the psychological warfare agency.

"Radio Free Europe (RFE) sees no possibility of driving Russian forces out with violent uprisings and western intervention," Holt said.

"RFE feels that for a long time 'liberation' can mean only a gradual evolution of these countries into independent but nonwestern governments. This is the philosophy that underlies its political commentary."

Radio Free Europe is a private American voice carrying news, entertainment, and political comment to Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Rumania. It is financed with contributions raised in the United States by the Crusade for Freedom.

After the Hungarian revolt, the organization was accused of inciting the Hungarians to rebel and making rash promises of Western aid. It has denied the charges.

Holt said that RFE officials are sure they did nothing deliberately inciteful. RFE tried not to press any particular set of demands nor back any particular leader. The main task RFE set for itself, Holt said, was to tell the Hungarian people as fully as possible what was going on in their country, and what Western reaction was.

RFE monitored and played back the broadcasts from the five Hungarian provincial stations captured by the rebels. It carried a full report on the U. N. debate—being careful to emphasize that this was only a parliamentary action and that the U. N. was all tied up in the Suez affair.

Rash promises were made, according to Holt, by one radio station near Frankfurt, Germany, which broadcast in Hungarian: "We stand ready to send aid and volunteers. Send someone to the border to meet us."

This station—operated by Russian exiles—was turned over during the rebellion to a right-wing group of Hungarian army veterans now living in Germany, Holt said.

Despite an impressive technical operation, a certain discouragement had begun to creep into RFE by 1953 Holt said.

Unwilling to incite the people to a violent revolution and unable to promise a liberation by Western military force, the radio seemed limited to harassing the regime and supporting the people's morale.

Then in June 1953, came the workers' protests at the Skoda works in Czechoslovakia and the riots in East Berlin. Out of its analysis of these discontents and of the regimes' response to them RFE began to develop its philosophy of liberation.

This, Holt said, was RFE's analysis:

The uprisings indicated the existence of substantial opposition among workers and young people.

The fact that the protests were put down ruthlessly indicated that the regimes were uncertain about Communist policy in the post-Stalin period. It showed that the regime needed the workers' cooperation in the effort to raise productivity.

A practical way toward liberation, RFE concluded, lay in encouraging the workers to use their latent strength to resist sovietization and to win increasingly large concessions from their leaders.

The propaganda line that developed, Holt explained, was not a call to arms but a reasoned attempt to explain to the people that certain basic historical forces were inevitably working for their freedom.

The Hungarian rebellion, however, which began as a spontaneous reaction to events in Poland, lacked strong leadership and drifted in a pro-Western direction, Holt said. He said the Western governments failed tragically.

Their diplomatic and military pressure was seriously weakened by the British-French invasion of Egypt, and the United States did little, he said, to encourage the Russians not to intervene in Hungary.

"We stood to gain if neutralist governments could be established in Poland and Hungary," he said. "Our diplomats could have suggested to the Russians that in return, we would be willing to guarantee the existing frontiers, or to negotiate on German rearmament and reunification.

"If we had held out such an offer, then Russia would have had a political loss to weigh against the gains she expected from intervening in Hungary."

"I came away from studying the RFE organization much impressed," Holt said. "They are competent, responsible people—keenly aware that they're operating an instrument of American foreign policy."

Government Aid to Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have

printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Newark (N. J.) Star-Ledger on January 26, 1957, and a copy of my letter to the editor of the Newark Star-Ledger which was published in that newspaper on February 8, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Newark Star-Ledger of January 26, 1957]

SENDING HIM TO COLLEGE

New Jersey's Senator CASE has made the observation that youth is being priced out of the college market. He cites the increased cost of operating colleges which, reflected in higher tuition rates, is actually denying higher education to a large number of promising students.

The Senator suggests Federal aid to States to help expand and construct 2-year colleges as a means of extending educational opportunities to those unable to afford 4 years in college.

CASE's proposal has considerable merit, but unfortunately it could become immersed in a serious educational question that has been argued for a long time. This debate involves the role of the 2-year colleges and their ability to fully prepare students for highly technical careers.

On the one side it is pointed out that 2-year colleges serve a highly useful purpose in training young people for stenographic, nursing, art and some types of medical careers. On the other side, it is argued that they cannot train engineers, scientists, teachers, doctors and other technical people for whom there is such a great need.

Thus, until the debate is finally decided and the roles of the two types of colleges are established to the satisfaction of both, it would seem better to use any available Federal grants for the production of skills most needed at the present time. That would not only be of enormous value to the Nation but at the same time would fulfill the now unattainable dreams of many deserving, youngsters.

This aid could take the form of State or Federal scholarships to talented though needy students who currently lose out on a college education because of the limited number of private endowments. The bulk of the private scholarships now go to class valedictorians. But what of the student with straight 90's who wound up 3d, 4th or 5th in his class? Scholarships available to this group are usually insufficient to help him clear the 4-year hurdle. Result: A wasted resource.

If the Federal Government is to embark on an extensive college aid program, this seems to be the field which would produce the greatest harvest.

[From the Newark Star-Ledger of February 8, 1957]

CASE ASKS COMMUNITY COLLEGES

I have read with great interest the editorial which appeared in the Newark Star-Ledger of January 26, 1957, on my suggestion for expanding facilities for college education.

While I recognize that many youngsters do need financial help in obtaining a college education, it seems to me, the major problem is one of providing colleges for them to attend. The vast growth in our population and in the percentage of youngsters desirous of obtaining a college education has meant that many qualified young men and women are finding there is no room for them.

It is clear we do need additional college capacity throughout the country. As you know, the New Jersey State Board of Education has warned that by 1963 1 out of every 3 young people in New Jersey wanting to go to college will find no place unless we move to create facilities.

It seems to me that actually there is a need for both kinds of college training—the 2-year type, which would help develop the semiprofessional and technical workers who have become so essential in our society, as well as the 4-year colleges and professional schools which produce the engineers, scientists, teachers, and doctors.

Of course, many of the students who complete the work in the 2-year colleges continue in higher education. The American Association of Junior Colleges estimates this number at 65 percent.

Many of these will emerge as the engineers, scientists, teachers, and doctors we need. On the other hand, if they have no place to go for the first 2 years, we may lose their talents entirely for these fields.

The goals of the community colleges are to meet these two particular needs at the lowest cost per student:

(1) to provide 2 years of college education in preparation for the final 2 years at a 4-year college;

2. To provide a terminal program of 2 years of post-high-school general education with opportunities for vocational training for the subprofessions and occupations of a technical nature.

It might be useful to describe the kind of vocational training offered in some of the 2-year junior or community colleges. In general, the colleges offer advanced training in all the occupations taught in the high schools. They have the staff and equipment to instruct in air conditioning, refrigeration, airplane construction, air transportation, housing construction, radio and television, and the manufacture of synthetic products. In a State like New Jersey, with its highly diversified industry, such training should be particularly helpful.

In addition, community colleges provide training for senior professional workers beyond the range of high-school education—for architectural and mechanical draftsmen, dieticians, technicians in medical and industrial laboratories, bookkeepers, automotive and electrical technicians, dental hygienists, nurses' aides, assistants in doctors' and dentists' offices.

The President's Commission on Higher Education in its 1947 report estimated that in many fields of work there are 5 jobs requiring 2 years of college preparatory for every one that requires 4 years.

Your suggestion about a scholarship program is indeed an interesting one. I recognize the need for attracting our brightest minds into the college classrooms, and I think that a general expansion of capacity will have this effect. A scholarship program by itself, it seems to me, would help the brilliant youngster enter college, but unless total capacity is expanded, he cannot help but displace a less talented youth.

Comments such as yours will be helpful in bringing this need to the attention of the country and I am hopeful that out of this will come a real drive to do something about it.

CLIFFORD P. CASE,
United States Senator.

Repeal of Federal Cabaret Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill to repeal the Federal cabaret tax.

Before attempting to discuss the effects of this legislation, I shall, first of all, give a few brief facts about this tax.

At the present time the Federal Government imposes a tax of 20 percent on amounts charged for "admission, refreshment, service—including checkroom service—or merchandise at any roof garden, cabaret, or other similar place furnishing a public performance for profit by or for any patron or guest who is entitled to be present during any portion of such performance."

Before the outbreak of World War II the rate of this tax was as low as 3 percent with an exemption granted to charges under $2.50. During this war, when Federal revenue requirements were sharply increased, this rate was increased to as high as 30 percent in 1944. The following year it was reduced to 20 percent, which is the current rate prevailing today. Some reductions in existing amusement taxes were effected by the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1954; but the Federal cabaret tax has remained unchanged since the war.

Revenues from the Federal cabaret tax reached their highest peak in 1946. Since that time they have steadily declined until today this tax brings in only about half of what it produced in 1946. The total amount collected each year in my own State of Michigan and in the United States as a whole since 1946 is as follows:

[In thousands of dollars]

Fiscal year—	Federal cabaret tax receipts	
	United States	Michigan
1946	72,077	3,312
1947	63,350	2,968
1948	53,527	2,765
1949	48,857	2,673
1950	41,453	2,266
1951	42,646	2,423
1952	45,489	2,138
1953	46,691	2,276
1954	38,312	1,832
1955	39,271	1,617
1956	42,255	1,686

I strongly recommend the repeal of the Federal cabaret tax for the following reasons:

First, repeal of this tax will stimulate business and employment in the entertainment field. Because of this high tax, there has been a marked reduction in patronage which has caused numerous places of entertainment in hotels, restaurants, et cetera, to close. The American Hotel Association has reported that because of this tax the number of entertainment rooms declined from 700 in 1946 to 250 in 1950. The closing of these places of entertainment has brought about the unemployment of thousands of entertainers, waiters and waitresses, cooks, kitchen help, and other personnel.

The abolition of this tax would tend to stimulate the patronage of these cabarets since many individuals would then be able to afford this type of entertainment. This would bring about the reopening of many additional entertainment rooms providing employment for musicians, waiters, cooks, and others. The National License Beverage Association estimated in 1954 that repeal of this tax

would encourage 2½ times as many establishments to use live entertainment. It has also been estimated that such repeal would cause payrolls for music and entertainment to double in volume. repeal would cause payrolls for music ness and increase employment not only in cabarets, but also in other lines of enterprise, since consumers would have to pay less for entertainment and would have more money available for other purposes.

Secondly, it is not believed that there would be any net loss in Federal revenues if this tax were repealed.

The increased employment of musicians, entertainers, and other personnel would provide additional income tax revenue to the Federal Government. This would offset the loss in cabaret tax receipts which would result from the abolition of this tax. As may be seen in the figures on collections presented above, since 1946 this tax has produced diminishing revenue.

Total collections have declined $30 million from an alltime high of $72 million in 1946 to $42 million in 1956. Similarly, collections in Michigan have been cut in half, having decreased from $3.3 million to $1.7 million in this same period.

Thirdly, continuation of the Federal cabaret tax is no longer justiable in peacetime. Only in time of such national emergency as war when the Government must tap every possible source of income, and where the curtailment of an activity may even be desirable for manpower or austerity reasons is such tax defensible. More than 11 years have elapsed since the close of World War II, and we find this tax still on the statute books. There is no present justification for this tax.

Fourthly, repeal of this tax would create a more favorable economic climate for the training and development of musicians and other entertainers who have a real contribution to make to American culture. This tax has worked a real hardship on these individuals in the past. Continuation of it will tend to discourage gifted individuals from embarking on such an uncertain career. In time, the entertainment world would suffer a shortage of real talent.

Finally, the repeal of the cabaret tax will encourage the opening of more desirable places of entertainment for our young people.

With the closing of so many entertainment rooms in hotels, young people, seeking a place to dine and dance, have been compelled to patronize less desirable taverns and night clubs for their amusement. Repeal of this tax will enable many hotels to open rooms which will offer more wholesome surroundings for our Nation's youth.

Repeal of this tax is now long overdue. I, therefore, strongly urge immediate adoption of my bill which will bring this about.

The Trade Agreements Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

PRESIDENT'S FIRST ANNUAL REPORT ON OPERATION OF THE TRADE AGREEMENTS PROGRAM

(Statement by O. R. Strackbein, chairman, the nationwide committee of industry, agriculture, and labor on import-export policy)

The President's first anual report dated February 11 on the operation of the trade agreements program as required by the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955 was late, grudging, and fragmentary.

It greatly overvalues the trade program, claiming for it things that happened in spite of it; and short-changed Congress through failure to mention important failures and shortcomings of the program.

Principally, the report was used as a sales talk and the President used it to give his OTC proposal another shot in the arm, something it badly needs if it is ever to get back on its clay feet.

The whole GATT system that the President also tries to refurbish to make it look good has become an unwieldly patchwork without much life left in it.

The President gives a wide berth to the abysmal failure of the trade agreements program to accomplish its principal professed mission: to find markets abroad for our farm surpluses.

In 1955 and 1956 the foreign market for our cotton virtually collapsed after 20 years of stimulation under trade agreement bargaining. Congress came to the rescue with Public Law 480 and with the Agriculture Act of 1956.

We are now buying back with public funds, in the form of hundreds of millions of subsidy dollars, what the trade agreements program in the meantime, according to its zealous advocates, was gaining for our farm products all the while, i. e., expanded export markets.

The objectivity of the report can be judged by its oppressive silence on other excrescences and malformations of the great program. Notorious among the absentees is the coup recently engineered outside of GATT by the Departments of State and Commerce in behind-the-scenes negotiations with Japan. Evidently GATT was too weak a vehicle. Or was it because 14 members of GATT, including Britain and France, have so far refused to let Japan come in through the front door? Perhaps it should be noted that the arrangement with Japan was mentioned as a fait accompli in a footnote in the President's report, while nothing was said of its gestation or genesis.

Equal silence greeted the European proposal for a free trade area. However, since GATT was able to adapt itself to the Coal and Steel Community of Europe and despite its firm stand against the British Imperial preference system, it seems safe to guess that it will be able to swallow the much more ambitious European proposal.

There is one obvious conclusion to be reached from the President's report. The President has accepted the State Department's guiding principle in his assessment of the trade agreements program. This is, swallow anything from contradiction, duplicity and backtracking to wrapping, buckling and failure so long as and to the extent that so doing will keep the control over our foreign commerce in the hands of the State Department and the President and out of the hands of Congress. Nothing else seems to matter.

The Facts on the Benson Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter and accompany chart which I have received from Hon. Frank Binford, former mayor of Thomaston, Ga., which cite pertinent and revealing facts about the operation of the Benson farm plan in Upson County, Ga.

There being no objection, the letter and chart were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRANK BINFORD SUPPLY CO.,
Thomaston, Ga., February 19, 1957.

Hon. HERMAN E. TALMADGE,
United States Senate,
United States Senate Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR HERMAN: I personally want to thank you for the prompt action you took on behalf of the cotton farmers recently.

As you know, I didn't have a cotton acreage, but merely was reporting the conditions as they existed.

The farmers of Upson have expressed deep appreciation in the way you went to bat for them, and, now that additional funds have come through, they are making many complimentary remarks as to the fine way you have represented them on this cotton soil-bank issue. You were the first to challenge the Secretary of Agriculture on the way he handled the matter, and we are all proud of you.

Now, I am enclosing a statement, given me yesterday, of the 9 years our local livestock sales barn has been in operation. Please analyze carefully:

As I see the picture, it is this: 1952 was the last year the Democrats were in office. That year we sold 8,998 head of cattle, 9,108 head of hogs—18,106 head of hogs and cattle—for $1,143,852.26.

Now look at 1953, 1954, 1955, and 1956, the years Mr. Benson has been in office.

Finally, in 1956 we sold 16,795 head of cattle, 16,825 head of hogs—33,620 head of cattle and hogs—for $1,146,624.29.

This means to me just one thing—that the Georgia farmers are having to produce twice as many head of cattle and hogs to receive the same money in 1956 under the Republican administration as they did in 1952 under a Democratic administration.

Now, HERMAN, I imagine this picture would be true as a whole on a nationwide basis. I don't think our sales barn is much out of

line with others over the country. Would you?

Mr. Benson tells us our livestock income is only down a few percentage points. Actually, ours here at this barn is up a few points, but, at the same time, we have had to produce twice as much, which in turn has pyramided our cost. Also, I don't notice any appreciable drop in beef prices when we go to the market for finished meat sold over the counter.

HERMAN, this report impressed me very much, as I had not seen such figures elsewhere and didn't know if you had seen such a summary of actual sales or not.

Best regards. I am,

Sincerely yours,

FRANK BINFORD.

Georgia Farm Products Sales Corp., Thomaston, Ga., comparative statement of auction sales

	Democratic					Republican			
	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
January		$48,141.91	$66,269.72	$93,550.37	$90,444.79	$80,244.91	$82,205.57	$90,253.72	$92,580.08
February		41,617.78	60,887.10	82,663.69	82,282.04	63,696.05	73,712.87	55,203.78	67,819.99
March		60,466.63	45,614.31	88,728.71	86,725.75	101,707.14	97,121.22	76,651.60	73,124.26
April		37,555.80	42,502.03	92,170.78	86,167.77	72,847.00	89,128.76	74,929.56	104,792.07
May		59,991.08	70,087.65	80,997.56	91,607.34	71,499.88	117,867.71	121,528.79	86,343.42
June	$30,512.25	59,106.99	68,742.76	78,955.18	82,427.43	75,051.19	81,909.55	113,753.72	89,042.35
July	31,943.19	48,059.94	92,946.90	119,537.12	88,547.46	73,575.27	68,971.41	80,336.22	115,577.04
August	53,225.66	62,833.40	118,323.84	112,817.04	86,777.28	94,981.69	105,806.65	136,890.23	88,730.30
September	41,487.88	93,710.43	73,931.12	131,165.18	160,662.58	82,113.47	94,230.98	100,587.60	108,222.53
October	42,292.28	62,032.05	104,224.61	166,351.39	92,175.89	83,062.36	110,443.95	111,319.79	137,307.49
November	48,857.97	51,233.14	90,887.68	102,241.77	104,788.40	107,419.28	107,944.33	88,053.17	93,707.79
December	37,488.13	32,988.73	59,138.44	89,711.04	91,245.53	70,134.94	63,322.41	87,713.97	89,356.84
Total	285,807.36	657,747.88	803,556.16	1,238,889.78	1,143,852.26	976,933.18	1,002,075.51	1,108,222.15	1,146,624.49
Number cattle sold	2,748	4,376	6,734	8,648	8,988	12,436	16,085	16,694	16,795
Number hogs sold	1,008	2,743	4,543	8,329	9,108	12,354	10,343	13,147	16,823
Number goats sold	18	73	63	84	97	194	108	126	158
Number horses sold	4	6	15	23	45	39	48	41	44

Message of Hon. Luis Muñoz-Marín, Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, to the Third Legislative Assembly, First Regular Session, January 17, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

MESSAGE OF HON. LUIS MUÑOZ-MARÍN, GOVERNOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO, TO THE THIRD LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, FIRST REGULAR SESSION, JANUARY 17, 1957

Considering the great complexity of our problems, I am pleased to inform you that the state of the commonwealth is excellent. Perhaps I should refer to the pace of the country's progress. For instance, with stimulation and help from the state, net private income increased by about 7 percent. For reasons to be discussed later, the overall income gain of the economy as a whole was about 2 percent.

We felt the cumulative effects of past capital investments; the program of industrialization was intensified; good use was made of the excellent economic conditions in the United States, our principal market. It is interesting to note that, during the year, Puerto Rico itself provided more capital than it imported. The fact that Puerto Rico improved its economic conditions despite considerable curtailments in Federal expenditures here is encouraging. The curtailments were in defense spending and were evidently made for purely military reasons; nonmilitary Federal contributions were increased rather than diminished.

That indicates that Puerto Rico's economic development now depends less than formerly on factors beyond Puerto Rico's own will and effort.

Manufacturing continued its dynamic growth, and produced a net income 17 percent greater than that of the preceding year. During the past 2 years, Puerto Rico has laid a firmer foundation for the establishment of new industrial groups, a new type of basic industries which attract other industries. That new economic form is represented by the two large oil refineries. As formerly, the past year was also characterized by industrial diversification. In addition to expansion in textiles and clothing, new factories were established for electronic products, drugs, chemicals, and metalwork. All of which greatly strengthened our purpose that, in an increasing number of industries, minimum wages shall reach the United States level, fixed at $1 per hour.

External trade continued to expand. Exports of goods and services came to $602 million; imports reached the unprecedented level of $808 million. Occasionally one encounters confusion over that lack of balance. It is assumed that the balance of trade fully expresses Puerto Rico's economic relations with the rest of the world. If that were the case, and if the negative balance represented consumer goods, we would have a serious problem. But it is not the case. Forces other than the balance of trade are in operation, remittances from Puerto Ricans in the United States; Federal help for roads, hospitals, public welfare; the transfer of capital from abroad to Puerto Rico; pay for veterans and the families of soldiers, etc. By coming here without Puerto Rico having to export in return, those unilateral disbursements tend to counteract the negative balance of trade. Thus the loss in balance of payments, covering the import and export of goods and services, was not $206 million, that was the negative balance of trade; it was $92 million. Even that negative balance was favorable to Puerto Rico, since a large part of the increased imports consisted of machinery and other capital goods designed for industrial and agricultural expansion.

Fixed investments reached $213 million during the past year—almost 19 percent of the total production—as compared with 17.5 percent during the preceding year. More than half of the funds needed for that high percentage of investment came from Puerto Rico's economy: depreciation reserves, undistributed profits, public funds invested in industrial and other permanent improvements rather than being spent for services. That means that we are not consuming the seeds, but are rather sowing a considerable proportion of them for a new and better harvest. During the year, in the executive mansion, I personally initiated a development service designed to stimulate and facilitate the investment of Puerto Rican capital. Our increasing economic vigor is again indicated by the fact that $21 million invested abroad by individual Puerto Ricans and institutions were withdrawn during the year and invested in Puerto Rico. The average annual income reached $2,400 per family.

We are concerned over the fact that agriculture, despite notable progress in certain of its branches, lags behind other sections of the economy in its general contribution to Puerto Rico's progress. Except in coffee and cattle, agricultural expansion has been relatively small. However, coffee suffered considerable damage from hurricane Santa Clara.

A paradoxical situation exists in Puerto Rico. Aside from ourselves, the people of Puerto Rico, the soil is virtually our only natural resource. There are no fuels or minerals, at least in sufficient quantities to be economically significant. With the soil as our only natural resource, the danger looms nevertheless that the intense development of other branches of our economy may create so great a difference between nonagricultural and agricultural wages—to say nothing of wages in the United States—that a considerable part of our land may find itself in the position of having nobody to work it, or of being able to obtain workers only on the basis of wages which preclude all incentives for profits. That possibility would confront us with the paradox of a country which, because of its progress in all that part of its economy for which it lacks natural resources, is forced to leave unused a part of the only natural resource that it does possess. And that, while a part of its rural population—much smaller of course than a few years ago, but always deserving of all the interest and help we can give it—continues to live at levels of undesirable poverty.

We must redouble our dedication in that area of our collective life. We must create muscles of progress for that part of our problem. It is not an easy task, but the Puerto Rico of our generation has gained prestige—in its own eyes and the world's—through the accomplishment of difficult tasks. Above all, the task requires devotion and creative imagination. Among other things, the government must do its best to end the lack of coordination which has hitherto existed among agricultural agencies, each of which labors with genuine interest

for the improvement of our people. Not for the first time do I mention this in a message. The lack of coordination is due in part to the differing legal origins of the various agencies which work in agriculture. Because of the legal situation, insular and federal, impedes executive coordination, we should be all the more determined to make a maximum effort toward the fullest efficiency in government actions in agriculture.

The men and women participating in that governmental struggle—every one of whom has my most sincere esteem as well as, I am sure, that of the legislature—all of them together must see to it that the best possible use of Puerto Rico's soil emerge from the good faith of all and the great interest of farmers and workers.

Certain sections of our land could be used efficiently through mechanization—and their workers be paid high wages, competitive with those in other branches of the economy. In bringing that about, however, we must exercise the widest possible sense of social responsibility, remembering that mechanization—despite being necessary and an economic asset permitting much better wages—also causes painful temporary dislocations, increasing unemployment among some of the workers. Whatever is done along those lines should be accompanied by the best social measures permitted in every case by the economic situation.

Because of topography and other conditions, another section of the land cannot be worked by mechanical means. In many cases it will not be possible to pay wages that are either desirable or competitive. Probably a part of that land cannot be made productive except on a basis of tenure in small, family-worked farms. The problems of credit, markets, industrialization of agricultural products, improvement of seeds, and others, must be tackled vigorously. Particularly, a solution must be found for the problem of credit. The recently inaugurated experiment of guaranteed credits has to date failed to bring satisfactory results. I don't believe that it should be abandoned; we must seek solutions for the difficulties revealed by the experiment.

Cooperating with other agencies, the Government Development Bank has made a study of agricultural credits which I will transmit to the legislature at an early opportunity.

In my budget message I recommended the continuation and strengthening of the programs which are already successful—like that for pastures, the improved coffee program, that for guaranteed minimum prices, and the seed program; in adidtion I recommend a substantial appropriation for the subsidiaries which the land authority will have to create, under a law previously approved by you, as important parts of the dynamic effort on behalf of our agriculture. Hitherto, the land authority has been an instrument almost exclusively devoted to the more equitable distribution of the fruits of production. Now we must add the function of aiding in the increase of agricultural production.

In case your studies lead to the conclusion that other measures should be taken, or that more should be done than I recommend here, don't hesitate to do so—as is your full right—making the decisions needed for instituting proper action, either through reducing other appropriations or through an increase in revenues.

With reference to living conditions among the workers: Employment rose by 20,000 during the year, though unemployment—because the labor force increased by 8,000—was reduced by only 12,000. In the sense of increased stability, the quality of employment was also improved. Nevertheless, employment opportunities diminished in agriculture and home needlework.

More workers with more employment in manufacturing, saw their average wages increased about 13 percent during the year. That was due to economic development, the actions of labor organizations, and government actions toward increasing minimum wages. In the United States, during the same year, hourly wages in manufacturing increased only about 3 percent, although the gap is still large between wages in Puerto Rico and in the States. The minimum wage laws of both the Commonwealth and the Federal Government have contributed to the end of lessening that gap. Our law is broader, since it covers both interstate and international commerce as well as local, and includes agriculture.

It is our aim to create in Puerto Rico an economy of wages adequate for serving as a foundation for a good civilization, as well as an economy which succeeds in abolishing unemployment. It is extremely difficult to accomplish both at the same time. As in the case of agricultural mechanization, factors which permit wage increases may simultaneously create a certain amount of unemployment. Nevertheless we note that average wages rose substantially during the last fiscal year while unemployment was also reduced—though less substantially. It must be pointed out, however, that this result was produced within the framework of a migration to the United States which kept Puerto Rico's population at the level of the preceding year—or approximately 2,270,000 inhabitants.

Unquestionably, were it not for that opportunity for migration and work abroad, Puerto Rico's entire great and heroic productive effort, in which all social classes participate, could not prevent its heading more or less rapidly in this stage of our development toward economic disaster.

That means that Puerto Rico, with all its productive muscles tensed, its economic life notably invigorated, its private initiative effectively stimulated and accompanied by public initiative and effort, still lacks the means for coping with its great natural population growth which would vitiate all effort—were it not for the fact that everybody who wishes has the opportunity freely to cross the frontier which leads to new opportunities without leading to new citizenship. Obviously, we should not be permanently content with that situation. Our production should solve that problem also.

To offset the impact of technological unemployment, I recommend legislation providing compensation for those who suffer such unemployment. It is not necessary that such compensation come in all cases from the public treasury. It may be possible to provide it through collective bargaining—though that may require enabling legislation. Wherever possible, technological unemployment should be leveled off through intensification of economic development in the affected areas. The Economic Development Administration has been instructed to pay special attention to that matter, offering special incentives, constructing—in advance—factory buildings which will serve to channel the movement of new industries toward those regions. Unemployment insurance will also help.

To alleviate the human suffering caused by seasonal unemployment, I recommend an appropriation for the initiation of a plan for light public works—in addition to the basic public works plan—which can provide incomes for the unemployed in times of reduced employment in Puerto Rico's various regions.

The wage increases required for arriving at income goals basic to a good spiritual and material civilization are daily more compatible with the growth of our economic system. Low-wage jobs are also disappearing in Puerto Rico—as is natural to the development of a dynamic economic system aimed at the elimination of extreme poverty. But meanwhile a part of our population which merits our esteem and will have our support is left in destitution. We must face the anguish as well as the hope of those changes.

It seems to me well to consider the possibility of a retraining program for those whose means of earning their bread is threatened by the same progress that we are creating for their children. On the one hand, that might include training in the management of small farms, since part of our land can ultimately be used for the solution of that great social problem, and on the other training in the newly emerging industrial skills.

With regard to education, I am pleased to inform you that enrollment has exceeded established goals at all school levels. Ninety-four percent of the children of proper age attended elementary schools; the original goal was 91 percent. In no country in the world is the figure 100 percent, and in the United States it is about 96 percent. Attendance in intermediate schools was about 84 percent, with a goal of 75 percent. The high schools were attended by 43 percent of the children of appropriate age; the original goal was 41 perecnt.

During the year, the first group of Puerto Rican English teachers was sent for instruction to the United States, to live in English-speaking communities. A difficulty encountered in the teaching of English—which is from all viewpoints so badly needed as a second language of the Puerto Ricans—is that the great majority of English teachers are people whose vernacular is not English. It is neither possible nor desirable to import thousands of teachers from the United States to replace other thousands of teachers in Puerto Rico. Nevertheless it is clear that a good English teacher must be truly familiar with the language's usage. In the years to come, more groups—more than a thousand teachers—will therefore be sent to spend a full year in United States communities where there are few other Puerto Ricans, and where they can so accustom themselves to the daily, familiar use of the language the teaching of which is their main task. Ninety were sent this year. It is planned to send 200 or more every year. The plan deserves the legislature's full support, which, I am sure, it will receive.

Funds are recommended for eliminating double enrollment—which means half education. All arrangements for introducing educational television in Puerto Rico have been virtually completed. The station of the department of education will probably be in service before the middle of the year. The Secretary of Education has made major efforts toward the establishment of that new means of education. It can become extremely useful, not only to the children and youths in the schools—after methods of using it in the classroom have been perfected—but also as a means of raising the cultural level of the entire population. Television is one of the great instruments given to man by science and technology. Man everywhere, with the natural imperfections of his wisdom, is not using it anywhere near as well as it deserves to be used in the service of great human values, which, after all, tend to be more simple and profound than complex and superficial. Together with private stations, the educational station should strive to raise the use of that great medium to the level of its potentialities. The fact that it is free from all commercial incentives will help in fulfilling that great obligation. The station will transmit neither commercial nor partisan political programs.

In the University of Puerto Rico, the school of dentistry is about to be opened, with the aim of developing it to the high level attained by the school of medicine.

Not only that school, but also the development of other postgraduate courses—such as in the social sciences—deserves support. Because of the many demands on the public treasury, we cannot give to the school system or to higher education all the funds that they need and merit. We must make efforts to approximate them as closely as possible. I believe that in the future, in an age in which humanity must face atomic energy, the democratic world will come more clearly to understand the fact that greater abundance and quality—enormously greater—must be given to education, even at the expense of luxuries and other matters which are much less important to a man's life. A good military force has a far greater chance of preventing war if accompanied by an excellent education. Not having to maintain a military force, Puerto Rico should be all the more dedicated to education.

Despite the fact that it must still struggle with important handicaps from the days when it was capriciously administered by remote control, our educational system has rendered great services to Puerto Rico, especially in strengthening our people's natural democratic attitudes. Since coming to depend on Puerto Rico's own democratic institutions, it has made important contributions to our society's improvement—in the form of libraries, literacy campaigns, community education, radio programs at high levels, the production of didactic materials, free schools of music, educational experiments like the Morovis plan, adult education, and the multiplication of school lunchrooms.

On the other hand, Puerto Rico is undergoing changes so rapid, and at times so drastic, that a careful revision of the educational sysetm may well be advisable. Toward that end I invoke the cooperation, not only of the elements closely related to the Government—the department of education, the University of Puerto Rico, this legislative assembly—but also of the other and many groups which form part of the educational process—parents, teachers, magazines, newspapers, publishing houses, radio and television stations, social, civic, and religious organizations, political parties.

I do not consider it necessary to choose between education of the masses—which democracy demands—and optimum instructional facilities for the more gifted. The two aims are compatible, one with the other. Both serve democracy. Let us base our efforts on that conviction.

With regard to health—the average life span has risen to 68 years. Infant mortality continued its notable decline, reaching an annual figure of only 56 deaths per thousand of children less than a year old.

A large hospital and a school for nurses were opened in the Ponce district. Fifty-eight new school lunchrooms were established, bringing their total number to 1,579; the rural aqueduct service was extended to 10,000 new families, bringing the total number of families receiving that service in our countrysides to 194,000; approximately 400,000 people were vaccinated against infantile paralysis.

During the year, with help from the United States Public Health Service, and the Rockefeller Foundation, we completed a study toward the establishment of regional, integrated medical services—in a large area served by the hospital of the Bayamón district, which includes 17 municipalities. In the same sense, I believe it would be well to experiment in relation to all Government services, not merely the medical, and some preliminary plans have been drafted in that connection. I will communicate with the legislature at the proper time, requesting cooperation. I will also have to approach you with regard to the development of better and less expensive medical facilities for the middle class.

Housing problems, which lie in the realm of social welfare, as well as problems of public welfare in the official sense, require increasingly careful attention from our Government. The Committee on the Reorganization of the Executive Branch, presided over by James Rowe, which I appointed in 1949, has this to say about the administrative problem:

"Like many of the states and cities, Puerto Rico will probably at some time find it necessary and desirable to establish an independent welfare agency for the administration of all major programs for the care of the needy, the handicapped, and the aged."

I believe the time has come for the establishment of a Department of Social Welfare, apart from the Department of Health, which is itself carrying a large burden of great responsibility. I also believe that an effort should be made to unite within a single organization all the Government agencies charged with providing adequate housing for the people. The Government feels that public housing should be temporary—as long as the family's economic situation permits nothing else—but that the fact should be recognized that it is the aim of every Puerto Rican family to own its own home. I know I can count on the legislature's cooperation in that matter.

Housing is one of the most difficult problems confronting us. In 1950, 94,000 out of 226,000 urban homes, or 43 percent were in slum areas. There conditions were counter to the legitimate desire of every Puerto Rican family for a good home. In a study by the Planning Board, the foundation has been laid for an attempt—including of course the work already done since 1950—to solve that problem for at least half of those families by 1960.

Nevertheless, the problem is more difficult than here indicated. In the country are thousands of homes which are inadequate according to the concepts of our people and Government of what a good rural home should be. That was shown during the last hurricane, by the large number of homes damaged or destroyed in the rural areas. I consider it necessary—though of course it cannot be done quickly—to face that problem, toward the end that rural construction consist, every day to a greater extent, of concrete or other wind-resisting materials. Probably the best means of reaching that goal is the plan of mutual cooperative aid under which the Government supplies materials at half price, as well as supervision, and the families desiring to improve their housing supply the work. The plan deserves continued support from the legislature.

As indicated, our objective should be that every family come to own its home, and that that home, though often modest, be always decent and solid. All measures should be taken toward putting the cost of those homes within the reach of families of small means. For those who cannot as yet begin to acquire their own homes, we should continue to provide public housing, and for those who do not want to live in the public developments we should provide lots with the minimum essential urban services to permit them to build their own houses, with or without the cooperative method of mutual assistance.

I recommend strongly that legislation be approved to permit the families which live in semi-urban public housing developments to purchase their homes in those developments, through payment of the debt still remaining—by a liberal payment plan. Since that may require changes in Federal regulation, I have sent the head of the Puerto Rican Housing Authority to Washington to take the proper measures with Federal authorities. In many instances the taxes that tenants would have to pay when they become owners will be considerably higher than the payments they have to make now—which will aggravate the solution of their housing problem. I therefore believe that tax exemption for a number of years should be included in the appropriate legislation. Since the aim is to provide individually owned housing for those families, and not to plunge them into real-estate speculation, it seems well, also, to restrict the right of sale for a reasonable number of years.

This message is becoming longer than I had intended. I will mention other important matters very briefly. Most of them can be found in greater detail in the budget message that I submitted to you on the session's first day. I will communicate with you about the others from time to time.

The Financial Council has been established by Executive order to advise on the investment of public funds held by the Treasury, on policy re public debt, on legislation and administrative practices relating to banks and investment companies, on the investment of pension funds. Its aim is to make Puerto Rico's financial power as effective as possible in its contribution to the country's economic growth.

The program of rural electrification should be strengthened and accelerated.

I regard as urgent the legal establishment of the Cooperative Development Administration, which today exists as part of the Governor's office.

I recommend legislation to finance the legitimate expenditures of political parties, equally for all, and prohibiting large contributions from any source. It is needed for the purpose of freeing all political parties from undue ecnomic influence. I also believe that the system of dues accepted from employees of the government, which has been in effect in Puerto Rico throughout this century, has accomplished a certain public end in freeing political parties from subordination to great economic powers; however, it should be discontinued once the problem has been solved through the public appropriations that I recommend.

As you know, I asked Mr. Roger Baldwin, eminent defender of civil liberties everywhere, member of the American Civil Liberties Union, and adviser on civil liberties to the United Nations, to direct a study toward protecting civil liberties in Puerto Rico in the most effective manner possible. I believe that this is the only government in the world which has made such a request. When the report is completed, I will take administrative action on the parts demanding it, and will have the honor to submit the report to you for whatever legislative action this Assembly may deem appropriate.

I should not end this message on the State of the country without brief observations on its state of mind.

I believe that the country desires a spirit of profound unity among our people, without dimunition of the most energetic expression of differences in ideas, or in the appreciation of facts and the support of aims. Insofar as possible, the country desires that that vigor be intellectual. The majority and the minorities owe loyalty to the people of Puerto Rico—loyalty in public debate; loyalty to the respect of democratic decisions; loyalty to the right to question those decisions—but only before the people of Puerto Rico themselves; loyalty to all the rights of the minorities. All these are loyalties to democracy itself.

The country's spirit should be at ease, absolutely at ease, regarding its political status. Under no circumstances can it be replaced by another without consulting the people and accepting their will. As far as the Puerto Rican Government is concerned, all may rest completely assured that this government favors, supports, and will continue to support, permanent association with the United States of America. The further de-

velopment of the Commonwealth status, far from implying separation, implies a deeper mutual understanding. It is obvious that the less power is exercised by some citizens over others, within their great common citizenship, the greater must be the feeling of union between them. As yet we know of no American citizen anywhere who is averse to increasing his freedom. We Puerto Ricans should not be the exception.

Simple Justice for Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in its final report the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives made a number of recommendations of great importance to the welfare of the 4 million small businessmen of our country.

No one of these recommendations was more important that "(5) That the appropriate committees consider legislation to repeal the excise taxes imposed during World War II, or reimposed during the Korean period, be promptly repealed, and that the necessary revenue which these taxes might yield be provided for in setting the progressive rates on corporate incomes, as already recommended."

According to the House Small Business Committee, these excise taxes, imposed during periods of national emergency, had as their purpose not merely the necessity for raising revenue, but also the purpose of discouraging unessential uses of scarce goods and discouraging the use of scarce materials and labor in the production and distribution of items which were considered not to contribute to the national defense. This latter purpose has now disappeared, and it is manifestly of doubtful wisdom to maintain, in periods of relative surplus, taxes which discriminate among goods and services which consumers may want to purchase. Yet the taxes continue on a variety of so-called luxury goods, such as cosmetics, luggage, musical instruments, household appliances, and so on.

The heavy impact of these taxes, as it happens, is on the smaller business firms. Furthermore, the transportation tax on freight shipped by common carrier discriminates as between small firms and their direct competitors in the big business segments of industry. Small manufacturers and other small suppliers tend to depend upon common carriers for transporting their goods to markets, in which case the tax enters into the cost of the delivered goods. In contrast, big manufacturers can avoid the impact of the tax by operating their own private transport systems, or by employing contract carriers to assemble their needed supplies and deliver their finished goods to market.

I include here a letter and a press release which I have received from George J. Burger, vice president, National Federation of Independent Business.

Mr. Burger also has some very interesting and important things to say regarding the excise taxes:

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS,
Washington, D. C., February 21, 1957.
Hon. FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Due to your consistent and sincere interest in the welfare of small business, I trust that you will find the attached press release of considerable interest and, more important, of interest to your colleagues in the Congress.

What we are trying to do is correct a rank injustice in the present excise-tax levy on tires and tubes that are carried by approximately 300,000 independents in the tire sales and servicing field. In simple words, their stocks of tires and tubes carry the excise tax as soon as they are delivered. On the other hand, in the case of certain large tire manufacturers, who own and operate retail stores which are in direct competition not alone with their own independents but with all other independents, their stocks of tires and tubes are exempt from the excise-tax levy until the tires are sold to the users.

This discrimination has existed for 15 years and both the House and Senate Small Business Committees have recommended steps to correct this unfair situation.

Apparently there can be no correction by the Treasury Department until the Congress enacts remedial legislation.

Small business is not asking for any special consideration but merely justice in the tax levy.

Thanking you for your usual cooperation and help to small business,

Sincerely,

GEORGE J. BURGER,
Vice President.

RELEASE OF FEBRUARY 19, 1957

George J. Burger, vice president, National Federation of Independent Business, today dispatched the following telegram to all members of the Ways and Means Committee. The full text of the telegram is quoted below:

"As the full Committee on Ways and Means Committee will meet in executive session on Tuesday, February 19, to consider the report of the Subcommittee on Excise Taxes which was made public on January 14, in behalf of small business and particularly independent members of the rubber tire industry we urge the full committee to reconsider section 112 in particular of the subcommittee's report as it pertains to the excise tax levy on stocks of tires delivered to the independents and the manufacturers' retail store stocks of tires being exempt from such levy until their stocks are sold.

"We contend it may be found the subcommittee's statement: 'The quantities of tires marketed through these outlets represent only a very small fraction of the total volume,' is in error, and to substantiate our contention we are quoting from a communication from a responsible source in the independent tire trade, which states: 'I am amazed that the committee would conclude "that the quantities of tires marketed through these outlets" (through company-owned stores) "represent only a very small fraction of the total volume" because as a previous manager of one of these company-owned stores, I am sure that the volume produced by these three company-owned stores is greater than any six independent competitors in this area.'

"We are in further disagreement with the subcommittee report where it states: 'Considerable time usually elapses between the date that the independent tire dealer receives tires from the manufacturer and the date that he pays for them.' Again substantiating from a responsible source, he says: 'What a laugh. It is customary for our supplier to close his books on or about the 25th of the month—any tires bought prior to that time are due for payment the 10th of the following month, which includes the excise tax, so that tires bought on the 23d or 24th are paid for in about 20 days. This is a long time before it is collected from the customer.'

"The federation will never present a problem to any congressional committee unless the facts are the truth and the whole truth, and never will the federation be charged with giving misleading information to any congressional committee. We are merely asking for justice—that tire manufacturers retail store stocks of tires carry the same tax burden as is now applied to approximately 300,000 independent handlers of tires throughout the Nation.

"Is this too much to ask of the committee and the Congress? Bear in mind that the rubber manufacturers, through their spokesman, in testimony given on November 28, 1956, expressed willingness to pay the tax on the company-owned store stocks of tires, and in view of their agreement it would seem obvious there should be no reluctance on the part of the full committee to write in the proper regulation applying the tax to the tire manufacturers' retail store stocks of tires.

"All we are asking is simple justice and a fair break for small business."

Chemical Additives in Our Food Supply Can Cause Cancer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. DELANEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, in 1950, 1951, and 1952, I was chairman of a select committee which investigated the use of chemical additives in foods and cosmetics. A large number of leading medical authorities, public health officials, scientists, and representatives of food, cosmetics, and chemical interests appeared before the committee.

Testimony given in the hearings established the fact that the enormously expanded use of a constantly growing number of new chemical additives in foods constitutes a definite hazard to public health and that new legislation is needed to bring the situation under control.

For this purpose, in the 84th Congress I introduced H. R. 4014, a bill to protect the public health by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act so as to provide for the safety of chemical additives in food. No action was taken by that Congress, so on January 29 I reintroduced the bill, which is now H. R. 4014.

Mr. Speaker, although over 5 years have elapsed since the committee terminated its investigation, evidence continues to accumulate showing the urgent need of this legislation. The following letter, sent me by one of the noted cancer experts of the country emphasizes the urgency.

I know that Members of Congress have many things to claim their attention, but this letter is of such importance that I hope my colleagues will take the time to give it serious study.

I believe that if they will do so, they will agree that no time should be lost in taking action on legislation that will insure our citizens a safe food supply.

The letter follows:

ENGLEWOOD, N. J., *January 28, 1957.*

Hon. JAMES J. DELANEY,
Member of Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DELANEY: This is in response to your inquiries in your letter of January 7 and at our conference on January 21.

I have studied the bill which you propose to introduce in the present Congress under title "A bill to protect the public health by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act so as to provide for the safety of chemical additives in food." I note that this bill is identical with the bill (H. R. 4475) which you introduced in the 84th Congress under this title, and which you proposed after extensive hearings on chemicals in foods conducted by the House Select Committee that you served as chairman.

I believe your bill is a good bill. It provides long-needed arrangements to require pretesting for safety of chemical food additives, and demonstration of their usefulness to consumers, before such substances can be marketed. Your bill would correct the present situation, which permits exposure of the public to harmful food adulterants for years pending scientific and legal procedures required of the Food and Drug Administration to detect and prove harm.

I find, however, that manufacturers and distributors of food additives have not supported your bill, but have supported other bills, which, although providing for pretesting, omit specification that food additives must be useful to consumers. Proponents of these bills have argued that this omission is inconsequential in that additives would not be used if they were not useful. Government witnesses, however, have indicated that this omission would oblige them to permit adulteration of food with any chemical that at some level of concentration would not harm test animals. This omission in effect converts the pretesting arrangement into a device for introducing any chemical into food. It opens flood gates to legalize adulteration of foods on an unprecedented scale. Furthermore, these bills, but not your bill, provide for appeal through declaratory judgment proceedings, which greatly increase legal obstacles in the way of Food and Drug Administration efforts to protect consumers.

I believe the above points are amply documented by statements by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, by the Commissioner and Counsel of the Food and Drug Administration, and by others, including proponents of the above bills, in hearings before the Subcommittee on Health and Science of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce last year. These statements also made clear that your bill did not contain the defects of these other bills.

At these hearings the American Public Health Association's food and nutrition section submitted the view that decision to approve an additive should be based, not only on assurance that it will be "safe" but also that it will benefit the consumer. As evident from testimony on page 86 and elsewhere in these hearings, all bills, except your bill, could not prevent replacement of butterfat in ice cream by anything from plastics to glue, provided evidence were offered that such substances were "safe." Any bill automatically legalizing this type of food adulteration would not seem in the public interest.

From the above considerations, it appears that your bill promises protection to consumers of additives, whereas other bills protect the additives. It would seem urgent that any bills proposed this year be examined for the defects cited.

It seems particularly urgent that any bill to amend the food law should contain a specific provision enabling the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to in no case approve for use in food any substance found to induce cancer in man or in tests upon animals. Need for this provision arises from the recent Aramite decision. Briefly, the Food and Drug Administration found that cancer was induced in rats by a pesticide, Aramite, and issued an order preventing contamination of food with this substance. This order has had to be reversed upon proceedings initiated by a manufacturer (exhibits A and B). The precedent established by this decision creates a loophole for introduction of so-called safe quantities of cancer-inciting additives into food. This loophole seriously impairs the protection consumers might have expected from the arrangements proposed by all bills for pretesting of additives upon animals. This loophole can be closed by a provision specifically excluding cancer-inciting additives from food.

This provision could conveniently be incorporated into your bill by—

1. Insertion of a comma and of the word "carcinogenicity" in section 409 (b) (2), following the words "acute and chronic toxicity."

2. Insertion at the end of section 409 (d) of the sentence: "The Secretary shall in no case approve for use in food any substance found to induce cancer in man or in tests upon animals."

Furthermore, it seems urgent that any bill to amend the food law, including your bill, should expand the definition of chemical additive to include chemicals administered to lower animals destined for use as food. You will recall that this provision was suggested by the Secretary at hearings in the last Congress. You will also recall that your committee heard testimony from inspectors of the Food and Drug Administration to the effect that residues of a cancer-inciting drug, diethylstilbestrol, are commonly found in marketed poultry to which this drug is now commonly administered. My colleagues and I have assembled data to show that this drug is not destroyed by cooking and that marketed poultry have contained per bird up to 342,000 times the amount of this drug sufficing as a daily dose to induce cancer in mice (exhibit C). We have forwarded this exhibit for review to the National Cancer Institute, United States Public Health Service. It has been reviewed by the National Cancer Institute, with endorsement of our view that administration of this drug to food animals constitutes a hazard to consumers (exhibit D).

The remainder of this letter offers support for preceding points. A suggestion for further action is contained in a closing paragraph relative to limitation of additives in the manner now employed for food colors.

As qualification for the present purpose, I submit that I received the degree of doctor of medicine in 1938 from the Johns Hopkins University and have since that time engaged in medical research as a full-time member of the staff, successively, at the Harvard Medical School, the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, the Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research, and, until 1956, as associate professor of industrial medicine at New York University. I am executive secretary of the Cancer Prevention Committee, which is devoted to study of environmental factors in cancer (exhibit M). I hold a fellowship from the American Academy of Nutrition for study of nutrition in relation to cancer. I am writing this letter as a private individual in response to your inquiry, and not as a spokesman for any of chemicals that are harmful in higher concentration. Need for the above specific reference to cancer-inciting substances (carcinogens) in food arises from the fact that all proposed bills, including your bill, relax present law to permit addition to food of safe quantities of chemicals that are harmful in higher concentration. Now, it is true that safe doses can be established for many substances, but responsible bodies of experts have clearly stated that safe doses cannot yet be established with certainty for carcinogens (exhibits E and F). This situation is due in part to the fact that cancer-inciting effects of carcinogens are determined not solely by dose but more importantly by (a) how long the individual lives after he receives a dose, and (b) the condition of the dosed individual.

In man, many years may elapse between exposure to a carcinogen and the time when cancer appears. Purveyors of food containing a carcinogen cannot know whether that food will be consumed by an elderly person at little risk or by a child at much greater risk. In the case of the dye, paradimethylaminoazobenzene, formerly used in foods and drugs, quantities failing to induce cancer in well-fed test animals did induce cancer in animals on less adequate diets. Purveyors of food containing a carcinogen cannot control the diet of those consuming it.

These points are well documented in the scientific literature. In my own experience, I have induced cancer later in life in hundreds of animals by injecting them when young with a single dose of a fraction of a milligram of the carcinogens methylcholanthrene, benzpyrene, dibenvanthracene, or 9, 10-dimethyl-1, 2-benzanthracene. With such single, very small, doses, I have induced cancer from skin, stomach, lung, bladder, ureter, thyroid and prostrate tissues (exhibits G, H, I). With a colleague, I have induced lung tumors in animals by treating their mothers during pregnancy with urethane (exhibit J), a drug sometimes used for human beings. For 8 years, I have engaged in the testing of industrial materials for carcinogenicity by experiments upon animals. In the course of this work, I have induced cancer with a wide range of materials, in upward of a thousand animals ranging from mice to monkeys.

As shown by the Survey of Compounds Which Have Been Tested for Carcinogenic Activity (U. S. Public Health Service publication No. 149), a large percentage of artificial substances have already been found to induce cancer. Chemical industries not infrequently have to weigh such findings against technical and commercial advantages of products. In many instances, it has been possible to develop reasonable and feasible procedures for safe handling of such products through appropriate arrangements for protecting workers against exposure to them, through limiting the number of workers who must handle them, and through medical checks to detect and treat cancer early in such men as are exposed (exhibit K).

On the other hand, a different set of problems is created when carcinogenicity is discovered in a product intended for use on or in food. This involves intentional exposure of large populations who cannot be carefully traced for results of exposure, and who receive no pay for risks they run. Moreover, the hearings brought out that the declaratory judgment provision of industry-supported bills would prevent compensation of consumers even after demonstrated injury by a food additive, since a declaratory judgment would establish the additive as legally harmless no matter what subsequent evidence arose.

A test case seeking tolerance for a known cancer-inciting pesticide in food is recorded on page 7,301 of the Federal Register for

September 30, 1955 (exhibit A). It is there shown that the Food and Drug Administration attempted to prevent contamination of food by a pesticide (Aramite) through establishing a zero tolerance for this substance. It is there shown that a chemical manufacturer thereupon filed a petition requesting that this decision be reviewed by an advisory committee and that a tolerance be established. Exhibit B is the report of that committee. It found that FDA had demonstrated tumors in the livers of rats fed Aramite, but that this substance might be safe if fed at some lesser concentration. Upon this advice, FDA issued an order published in the place cited above (exhibit A) tolerating residues of Aramite in apples, blueberries, cantaloups, celery, cucumbers, grapefruit, grapes, green beans, lemons, muskmelons, oranges, peaches, pears, plums, raspberries, strawberries, tomatoes, watermelons, and sweet corn but not forage thereof. The last phrase indicates that Members of Congress and their constituents can be obliged to eat this substance, but a cow cannot.

The report of this advisory committee (exhibit B) contains the following FDA interoffice communication: "An experiment with any lower dosage level will not remove the onus that Aramite is a known carcinogen. The Division of Pharmacology cannot recommend that such a substance be used on human food." This position was, nevertheless, overthrown; and the resulting order affords a precedent that can be cited by anyone who wishes to introduce a technically valuable but carinogenic additive into food under the so-called safe quantity or conditions of use clauses of the proposed bills, including your bill, concerning food additives. This loophole can and should be closed by amendment specifying that the Secretary shall in no case approve for use in foods any amount of any substance found to induce cancer.

That "safe doses" cannot be safely established for carcinogens in the present state of knowledge has been expressly stated in resolutions adopted by responsible bodies of experts (exhibits E and F). Some reasons for this situation have been cited earlier in this letter.

Need to assure protection of consumers against substances found to induce cancer in animals is attested by the facts that the cancer-causing actions of certain tars, oils, dye intermediates, metallic and radioactive compounds were discovered through exposure of human beings and only later confirmed by tests on animals. Since an announced purpose of pretesting food additives on animals is to anticipate and prevent further such experience, tumors induced in animals by a proposed food additive must disqualify that additive. Although some compounds have induced cancer in one species but not in another, any substance that induces cancer in any species, if used as a food additive, requires consumers to participate without consent, in the experiment of exposure to learn whether man is or is not a susceptible species, or what percentage of human beings respond to the dose involved. Such tests upon man would require detailed studies of large groups of human beings throughout their life spans, since it has been amply shown by many investigators that cancer can arise late in life, both in man and animals, from exposure to carcinogenic materials early in life. These points, together with the point that harmless levels of concentration cannot now be safely established for carcinogens, have been expressly stated by responsible bodies of experts (exhibits E and F).

Exhibit E is the report of a meeting on the prophylaxis of cancer held by the German Research Council in May 1954, at Bad Godesberg. The attendance at this meeting included some 39 scientists from 11 West European countries, notably distinguished public health officials and representatives of major pharmaceutical and chemical industries, whose names and affiliations appear in the exhibit. The following statements are excerpts from the authorized English translation on pages 15 to 19 of this exhibit:

"All participants at the meeting unanimously recommend international cooperation to prevent injury to health through toxic agents, particularly carcinogenic factors in foodstuffs.

"The meeting made the following recommendations:

"1. Basic principles: Staple foods should principally not have any foreign additives to food and should not be artificially colored, if legislation does not decide expressively otherwise.

"2. For the admittance of foreign additives to food the following suppositions were required:

"(a) The additives should be authenticatedly innocuous for human health.

"(b) There should be an actual need for their use.

"(c) The consumer must not be misled as to the true value of the food.

"3. Toxicological evaluation of food additives:

"Substances with reversible, toxicological actions must be judged differently from those with irreversible (e. g., carcinogenic) actions.

"For substances producing reversible toxic effects threshold doses can be laid down, so that concentrations with a satisfactory safety margin can be regarded as harmless. With substances producing irreversible summative toxic effects, on the other hand, there is no nontoxic threshold doses. For this reason very small doses of such substances must be considered dangerous if they are taken continuously, and possibly for the whole duration of life.

"(a) Food additives for human use can be considered harmless according to present day knowledge only if after continuous administration to animals and after observation over the whole lifetime in high concentration which must be considerably higher than would be present in human food so as to give a reasonable margin of safety, they have no toxic effects, do not shorten the average expectation of life on sufficiently defined animal strains, and especially if they in maximum tolerated concentration and on animals demonstrably receptive for such actions do not induce cancer or damage germ cells. The tests should be carried out over three generations.

"(b) No substance, which, tested under these conditions, has any toxic effect or in tests at any dose level induces any type of malignant tumor in any species of animal, at a significantly higher rate than the spontaneous incidence can be considered innocuous to human health."

Exhibit F is resolutions adopted by the symposium on cancer prevention, which I served as chairman, at the Sixth International Cancer Congress conducted by the International Union Against Cancer in July, 1954, at São Paulo, Brazil. These resolutions were adopted unanimously by 12 experts whose names they bear after hearing presentations that included, among others, data showing that the dye, para-dimethylaminoazobenzene (which has been used in foods and drugs) administered as a small single dose to young animals led to development of cancer in them late in life. Similar results with other carcinogens have been repeatedly observed and reported in the literature by many investigators, including myself (exhibits G to J).

These resolutions (exhibit F) were accepted by the International Union Against Cancer and published in its journal, Acta Unio Internationalis contra Cancrum (vol. XI, No. 1, 72–76, 1955). The Union is composed of representatives of cancer organizations in about 50 countries. The general secretary is Dr. Harold F. Dorn, United States Public Health Service, Washington, D. C. These resolutions, which I submit on my own initiative and not at the request of the Union, included the following statements:

"2. In view of evidence that certain types of cancer result from exposure to agents that enter the body from the external environment, a basis for the prevention of these types of cancer is afforded by identification of sources of exposure to such agents and development of feasible measures for minimizing exposure of human populations.

"3. In the case of agents that are known to be capable of eliciting cancer in man, the desirability of minimizing exposure to such agents is clear.

"4. In the case of agents whose carcinogenicity for man is not known but which elicit cancer in experiments conducted upon animals, although it is recognized that the development of cancer in response to such materials may be conditioned by the type of exposure, notably the species of animal or the route of administration, it is not prudent to regard such agents as harmless for man.

"5. Evidence exists to show that the time of appearance of tumors after exposure to carcinogenic agents is, within limits, dependent upon the dose and the frequency of exposure; but small doses and even a single dose may elicit tumors, notably after prolonged latent periods. In view of the latter finding and in view of the summative carcinogenic effect of repeated small doses, concepts of 'safe, threshold doses' are dubious where complete control of a hazard involving exposure to carcinogenic agents is desired.

"9. The Godesberg proposals (the Godesberg proposals are exhibit E) are recommended to the International Union Against Cancer as providing sound general concepts for guidance of thought in the matter of food dyes and additives.

"10. In view of the contamination of foods by residues of pesticides, weedkillers and other foreign materials applied to food or to food-precursors for various purposes, and in view of the carcinogenic action upon animals of certain of these substances, cancer resulting in a variety of internal organs, and in view of the exceedingly great technical difficulties in detection by epidemiological methods of any possible cancer hazards for man presented by such materials, it is felt that such materials should be subjected to the same toxicological scrutiny recommended in the Godesberg proposals (the Godesberg proposals are exhibit E) for evaluation of food additives."

Nearly a score of carcinogenic food additives and contaminants were described in the September 1956 issue of the AMA Archives of Pathology (exhibit L) in an article by Dr. W. C. Hueper, chief, Environmental Cancer Section, National Cancer Institute, United States Public Health Service.

This article was presented at the recent symposium on food additives conducted by the International Union Against Cancer in Rome in August 1956. That symposium was attended by 40 scientists from 21 countries, including officials of the United States Public Health Service and Food and Drug Administration. Resolutions adopted at that symposium will be published in a forthcoming issue of Acta Unio Internationalis Contra Cancrum. I note you have an advance copy of those resolutions, which specifically endorse the position that no substance should be approved for use in foods if it induces cancer in any species of animal at any dose.

In view of these repeated findings by large groups of experts, consumers cannot have confidence in the safety of their food supply if new legislation fails to specifically exclude from food substances found to induce cancer.

High levels of consumer protection have been achieved against well recognized hazards, but a basic advance in philosophy is needed for protection against the more subtle, delayed-action hazards, such as carcinogens. Consideration of these chemical agents of disease stands about in the position of thought 50 to a hundred years ago on microbial agents of disease. It was long doubted that a few tiny microbes could propagate in the body and cause disease. Today, there is much incredulous inertia over the public health aspects of discoveries that a few tiny molecules can start a body cell propagating to form cancer. Yet it is upon this molecular-cellular level that the phenomena of cancer causation take place.

In the United States, where 1 in every 4 persons is estimated to develop cancer, prudence requires every effort to minimize exposures to chemical agents known to incite this disease. These agents are of widely varying molecular structure, but among them a recurring common denominator is that they tend to be biologically foreign substances that cells have not in the course of evolution learned to handle. This is a basic reason for concern over the growing custom of adding biologically foreign substances to food for various immediate technical purposes. It is simply not in the public interest to expose consumers to the unforeseeable risks of a host of biologically foreign food additives that may provide eye-appeal or advertising values but offer no nutritive benefit.

Pretesting of food additives upon animals, called for by all food-law amendments proposed in the last Congress, is unquestionably a desirable screening procedure; but it would be dubious practice to permit on this basis the addition to food of any chemical whatsoever simply on the grounds that such chemicals had not harmed some animals. Yet this is implicit in the industry-supported bills. At hearings in the last Congress, the American Public Health Association's food and nutrition section endorsed the National Research Council's position that decision to use an additive in food should be based, not only on assurance that it will be safe, but also that it will benefit the consumer; and pointed out that tests on animals cannot provide absolute assurance that an additive or any given dose of an additive will be completely safe for human beings. As an example, beta-naphthylamine, from which some presently-used food dyes are manufactured, is recognized as capable of causing cancer in man but not in rats or mice. If a single substance of this sort slips by the pretesting arrangements of the proposed bills, incalculable harm can result.

The wisdom of diverting large sums and a substantial part of the scientific personnel of the Nation to the testing of innumerable nonnutritive food additives for safety is dubious when fundamental questions as to what constitutes good nutrition remain to be solved. The consumer needs food for life and health, not protestations that he is paying his money for nonnourishing substances that someone else thinks will probably not harm him.

Public confidence in such protestations cannot be enhanced by the facts that the cancer-inciting action of one of the most dangerous carcinogens was discovered by the staff of a leading chemical manufacturer, but the senior scientist who made the discovery promptly lost his job. For the nearly 20 years that have since elapsed, manfacture of this substance has continued and it has been used to make food dyes. Meantime, consumers have been required to wait several decades for decisions by juries of test rats and dogs as to the safety of these dyes. While the argument has gone on, upward of half a million pounds of dyes made from this substance have been certified for use in food.

This type of experience is not unique. Although industrial research can be justly proud of high levels of achievement and integrity, there are instances where industry, government and university scientists have been fired or had their research terminated when their studies touched hazards associated with products of commercial interest.

In pretesting additives on animals, effects of carcinogens can be suppressed by intention or accident through solvents or diets, as apparent from testimony before your committee by Dr. Willard Machle. Proposed amendments to the food law require the Secretary to act on admission of new food additives within 90 days after receiving pretesting data from manufacturers. This period would not permit FDA to restudy a proposed additive for carcinogenicity under different solvent, diet or other conditions of test, which FDA has stated require several years. Yet the industry-supported bill would enable the manufacturer to take FDA to court and force approval for the additive on the basis of the manufacturer's data as to its safety. A declaratory judgment obtained under such circumstances would place a lasting seal of approval on the compound.

In view of these circumstances, in view of many considerations among which a few have been touched upon in this letter, in view of the need for conservative prudence in all matters affecting the food supply of the Nation, it seems clear that food additive legislation to safeguard consumers could evolve more soundly if food industries agreed upon their fundamental needs for genuinely useful additives, and then sought approval for a minimum of necessary, thoroughly studied substances mutually and generally agreed upon as safe and beneficial.

A precedent for this procedure is afforded by the 1938 agreement to limit artificial food colors to a list specified in FDA Coal Tar Color Regulations. This list could logically be extended to additives other than colors. Consumers merit such primary consideration, for a large part of the population does not raise its own food, but is dependent on processed foods and is a captive population in respect to what it can eat and what food adulterants it must accept.

The human digestive tract provides an endless and understandably attractive outlet for products of chemical ingenuity; but the health and power of the Nation depend in large part on its food, and it is to our peril if the human digestive tract is legislated into the role of a sewer for disposal of chemicals that afford only commercial advantages.

Reluctance of some major food industries to become outlets for byproducts of chemical imagination was indicated in hearings before your committee by Dr. L. G. Cox and Dr. Roy C. Newton, representing leading food processors. Their statements and the statements of food industry organizations at hearings in the 84th Congress emphasize the desire of food industries to perform to the best of their ability their vital and honorable role in providing the Nation with wholesome food.

In 1823, President Monroe enunciated the doctrine that the Americas were no longer open to exploitation by foreign powers. It seems time to enunciate the doctrine that the American stomach is no longer open to exploitation by biologically foreign food adulterants.

In the present Congress, food industries have the opportunity to take a definitive stand for wholesome foods through support of your bill with provision that cancer-inciting substances should under no circumstances be introduced itno food.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM E. SMITH, M. D.

EXHIBITS

1. Exhibit A: Federal Register, September 30, 1955, page 7301.

2. Exhibit B: Report of the Food and Drug Administration Advisory Committee To Consider Aramite.

3. Exhibit C: G. F. Knight, W. C. Martin, R. Iglesias, and William E. Smith, Possible Cancer Hazard Presented by Feeding Diethylstilbestrol to Cattle. Symposium on Medicated Feeds, Medical Encyclopedia, Inc., New York, 1956, pages 167–170.

4. Exhibit D: Letter dated March 15, 1956, with enclosures, from J. R. Heller, M. D., Director, National Cancer Institute, to Dr. William E. Smith, secretary, Cancer Prevention Committee.

5. Exhibit E: Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Council), Bad Godesberg. Summary of a Meeting of West European Scientists on the Prophylaxis of Cancer. May 1, 1954.

6. Exhibit F: International Union Against Cancer. Committee on Cancer Prevention. Resolutions. Acta Unio Internat. contra Cancrum, XI, No. 1, 72–76, 1955.

7. Exhibit G: William E. Smith, The Tissue Transplant Technique as a Means of Testing Materials for Carcinogenic Action, Cancer Research, 9: 712–723, 1949.

8. Exhibit H: William E. Smith, Tumors Elicited From Gastric Epithelium, Journal Experimental Medicine, 85: 459–478, 1947.

9. Exhibit I: William E. Smith, Tumors Elicited From Pulmonary Epithelium. Journal Experimental Medicine, 91: 87–104, 1950.

10. Exhibit J: William E. Smith and Peyton Rous: Lung Adenomas in Baby Mice as Result of Prenatal Exposure to Urethane, Journal Experimental Medicine, 88: 529–554, 1948.

11. Exhibit K: R. C. Page, J. P. Holt, N. V. Hendricks, R. E. Eckardt, William E. Smith, et al., Symposium on a Cancer Control Program, AMA Archives of Industrial Hygiene and Occupational Medicine, 4: 297–345, 1951.

12. Exhibit L: W. C. Hueper, Potential Role of Nonnutritive Food Additives and Contaminants as Environmental Carcinogens, AMA Archives of Pathology, 62: 218–249, 1956.

13. Exhibit M: Proceedings of the Cancer Prevention Committee, AMA Archives of Industrial Hygiene and Occupational Medicine, 5: 185–289, 1952.

Morality and Security: The Forgotten Equation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. PASTORE

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. Preisdent, I request permission to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, of the Atomic Energy Commission. A reprint of this article appeared in the magazine America on December 1, 1956.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORALITY AND SECURITY: THE FORGOTTEN EQUATION

(By Thomas E. Murray)

The Christian effort at peacemaking from its origin undertook the task of civilizing warfare. It set itself against pacificism—the notion that war is always immoral. But it

set itself even more strongly against barbarism—the notion that the use of armed force is not subject to any moral restraints. Against these two extremes the tradition asserts that war can be a moral action, but only if it is limited in its purposes and methods by the norms of justice.

The fact today is that the Christian tradition of civilized warfare has been ruptured. The chief cause of the rupture has been the doctrine of total war fought to total victory—the kind of victory that looks to the total ruin of the enemy nation. This doctrine of totalization of war represents a regression toward barbarism. It is contrary to the central assertion of the civilized tradition, that the aims of war are limited, and that the use of force in war is likewise limited, not merely by political and military counsels of expediency, but primarily by the moral principle of justice.

THE DRIFT INTO BARBARISM

I need not trace the history of the rupture of this civilized tradition; many of you doubtless know it better than I. The patriotism of the French Revolution gave birth to the concept of the nation in arms, which led to the idea of universal military conscription. Our own Civil War foreshadowed the fatal notion that victory in war means unconditional surrender. A further step toward the concept of total war to total victory was the rejection by the belligerent governments and peoples of Pope Benedict XV's proposals, made on August 1, 1917, for a negotiated peace.

The historically decisive stride in the same direction was taken in World War II by the inception of obliteration bombing. One purpose of this new kind of air attack was to terrorize the enemy civil population, in particular the industrial worker. The developing logic of total war showed itself in the disastrous announcement at Casablanca in 1943 that unconditional surrender was the war aim of the Allied Powers. The immoral decision that the civilian population has no claim to immunity from destruction in war was ratified, with most fearful effectiveness, by the unfortunate American decision to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Since World War II the technical possibilities for obliteration bombing have now become unlimited. The United States discovered the secret of the hydrogen bomb; later the Soviet Union came upon the same secret. The significance of this technological achievement cannot be exaggerated. Weapons of war have moved up into a new order of magnitude. Now the barbaric doctrine that everybody may be killed in war is assured of success. Now everybody can be killed in war—easily, quickly, cheaply.

Throughout the course of this whole historical development, no one has ever made the argument that war ought to be made total as a matter of reason and right. War simply became more and more total as a matter of fact and possibility. The immoral impulses of exaggerated nationalism began the development. The material achievements of modern technology completed it. Technological progress has finally removed all the limitations formerly imposed on warfare by pure circumstances—by restricted financial resources, by difficulties in transport and communications and, most important, by inferior weaponry.

This is the historic juncture at which we now stand. If limitations are to be imposed on warfare today, they can be imposed only by the free decisions of men. No other source of limitation presently exists. This is why we stand at a parting of the ways. Two paths are open. In his encyclical of November 2, 1956, Pope Pius XII called one "the road of justice," and the other "the steep slope of violence."

MAN AT A MORAL CROSSROADS

Man can choose to let the mad logic of total war dictate his decisions with regard to military policies and weapons programs. This steep slope of violence, followed far enough, leads toward the totality of ruin implicit in the today's technologically certain fact: Everybody can now be killed in war.

Or man can choose to shake off the hold which this mad logic has fastened upon his mind. He can elect to return to the road of justice—to the civilized tradition of limited warfare. He can recognize that the enterprise of war is inherently subject to certain limitations in its purposes and methods; that these limitations find their original source and their final authority in the moral order; that this order is sanctioned by God; that its precepts are therefore absolute in their command over all human action, including the action of war.

Only along this path of moral choice, as I shall say, will men find their way to security. In the last analysis, only the principle of justice can draw the line between civilized warfare and sheer massacre, between legitimate defense of the basic order of human life and the barbaric destruction of all order in human life. Unless this line is drawn, with absolute firmness, there can be no solid foundation for human security.

I do not say that it will be easy to draw the line at which the civilian claim to immunity from violence in war asserts itself in the face of the counsels of military expediency. But I do say that this civilian claim is made in the inviolable name of justice and that all military operations, defensive or retaliatory, must respect it. All expediencies cede in the face of right.

Similarly, I do not maintain that it will be easy to reverse the trend of a century-old regression into the immoral concept of war as total, and to reaffirm the trend of the Christian tradition toward the concept of war as limited. But I do maintain that this task is not impossible. It is always within the power of man to abandon false ideas and to dismantle the institutions built upon them. He can therefore do away with the idea and institution of total war, if only he decides firmly enough that he wants to do so, and that in the nuclear age he must do so.

He has already been powerfully helped to this decision by the facts themselves. On the practical level, the bankruptcy of any policy of total war is today amply evident. A total nuclear war, fought to a total victory, could only mean total woe. It would mean woe to the vanquished, in a sense far beyond the savage meaning of that barbarian cry. And it would mean woe to the victor too, when he found himself in a world of ruins, amid a humanity which would bear death in its very bones. Here is an argument that must give pause even to the most cynical exponents of violence.

For us, however, the rejection of total war must be more solidly based. Our appeal must be to the high principles of justice that lie at the heart of the western tradition of civilized warfare. Human reason has never refuted these high principles; the will of man has simply abandoned them. The tradition did not succumb to argument, but only to fact—to the fact of man's passions, as they are aroused by the violence of war and proceed to arm themselves with the products of technology.

Here perhaps I should note that the reason and moral conscience of America, too, have been obscured by the dark fires of wartime passion. Upon us, as upon other nations, there rests a responsibility for the rupture of the tradition of civilized warfare. For this reason, no less than for any other, there rests upon us a responsibility for repairing the breach.

The principles of the traditions are still with us, in all their undiminished vitality. The problem is to translate them into practical conclusions in two areas of urgent concern—first, in our military policy in general, and second, in a weapons program that will support our military policies. Here is the way I see the structure of the problem.

OUR PRESENT DEFENSE PROBLEM

The present goal of all the policies of the United States is to force the conflict with communism out of the field of armed violence into the areas of diplomacy, politics and economics. These areas are highly competitive indeed; but competition in them does not mean bloodshed. They are the chosen areas in which we undertake to urge the cause of justice for all men. Moreover, we must be continually mindful that the conflict with communism is basically spiritual; therefore, our victory will not be won without recourse to the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God.

The primary military contribution toward this general American goal must be the maintenance of the capacity to deter all unjust aggression, even of a limited kind. The primacy of this function of force is reinforced today, because our principal enemy will be restrained from the use of force only if we convince him that it will prove too costly to him.

This policy of deterrence may fail. Military aggression of one kind or another may occur. Peaceful methods of rectifying the injustice thus committed may likewise fail. We shall then be forced into war. This contingency must be faced now. The problem is to determine, in advance of this contingency, the military policies that will be consistent with the tradition of civilized warfare.

At one extreme, justice requires that we reject the concept of total nuclear warfare. The bald fact that large nuclear bombs can wipe out whole civilian populations does not put an end to the claim of the civilian to immunity from the violence of war.

At the other extreme, our tradition of civilized warfare does not require that we succumb to the deception involved in the Soviet proposal that all use of nuclear weapons be outlawed. This propaganda aims to make the world believe that any use of nuclear weapons inevitably means the totalization of the conflict. This is not true. A nuclear war can still be a limited war. To believe otherwise is to deny that man is a rational being capable of controlling his own actions. It is likewise to assert that American military men are incapable of making intelligently moral use of their new weapon.

Furthermore, in the present situation of international lawlessness, a total renunciation of nuclear armaments by the United States would mean the betrayal of our moral tradition, which requires that we should not abandon the cause of justice or leave ourselves unprepared to defend it effectively.

Both of these extremes contain the moral fallacy of totalization. Between them we must find a middle course, the road of justice. It leads to a firmly defined but flexible military policy that will recognize two principles as controlling in the use of nuclear arms: first, the military principle of necessity of usefulness; and, second, the higher moral principle of justice in the use of force.

This brings me to the next question. It is the practical question of developing a nuclear-weapons program which will be consistent with the foregoing general military policies.

Here I want to lay all possible emphasis on the initial principle that our military policies must control our weapons program. The fatal error we are presently in danger of making is that of allowing weapons to dictate policy. The danger is really twofold: First, lest we allow weapons technology to

control the weapons program; and second, lest we allow the stockpiled results of the weapons program to control military policies with regard to the use of the stockpile. To succumb to these related dangers would be to turn the whole of United States policy upside down.

RATIONAL NUCLEAR ARMAMENT

Early this year I outlined a nuclear-weapons program that would avert these dangers and give to moral principles and military policies their proper primacy over weapons. To the program I gave the title, "Rational Nuclear Armament." There were three proposals.

The first concerned the size of thermonuclear bombs. Three considerations led me to my position. I stated the first in a speech given on November 17, 1955, when I said that the advent of the H-bomb "taught us, not only that we had a new weapon, but that we had a different kind of weapon * * * The thermonuclear bomb crosses the threshold into a separate category of power" (America, December 3, 1955, p. 269).

The second consideration, closely related to the first, is the fact that it is technologically possible to enlarge indefinitely the qualitatively new dimension of destructiveness created by the hydrogen bomb. I adverted to this fact in a statement before the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament on April 12, 1956, in these words: "We know that there is no upper limit to the size of bombs that can be made" (America, April 28, 1956, p. 100).

The third consideration is likewise something that we know. As I put it in the November 1955 speech cited above, "there is a limit to the number of large thermonuclear explosions that the human race can withstand without harmful bodily effects," consequent on radioactive products.

From these three considerations a conclusion follows. We ourselves must make a responsible decision with regard to the size of H-bombs that we undertake to manufacture. This decision is not only technological and military, but also moral. It must be controlled by the moral principle of justice as well as by the military principle of usefulness. My proposal was that we make this imperative decision, setting an upper limit to the size of H-bombs to be placed in stockpile. I have already given it as my conviction that the weapons we have in hand are large enough. Indeed, they may prove to be too large. Once we make this decision regarding size, we can be free to give attention to the problem of improving the deliverability and consequently the military usefulness of weapons in the range up to this limit. In addition, we should set a limit to the number, as well as to the size, of the large weapons that we accumulate. The reason is the presumption that there are only a limited number of uses, militarily and morally justifiable, to which they might be put.

My second proposal was that we concentrate increasingly on the development of nuclear weapons in the lower order of destructiveness and that we equip ourselves with a wide range of weapons in this order. The purpose of this policy is to strengthen our capabilities for waging all the kinds of limited warfare into which we may possibly be forced.

Third, I came to the question of tests. Recently there has been much debate concerning the hazards to health involved in past and continued testing of large nuclear weapons. This is an area in which at the present time a great deal of uncertainty exists. The greatest possible study ought to be given to the entire problem of the dangers to health involved in the testing and use of nuclear weapons. However, my proposals have grounds of their own, even apart from the problem of these hazards. They follow from the two major policy decisions I have recommended. My proposals are, first, that no tests should be held of weapons whose magnitude would exceed the upper limit which we must set to the size of our nuclear weapons. Second, that we should accelerate the testing of a wide range of weapons in the lower order of nuclear force. The reason is that our objective should be a balanced stockpile, suited to every strategic and tactical need, but confined within the bounds set by justice to the use of force.

The weapons program I proposed is rational in two senses. It is consistent with the moral principles of the civilized tradition, and it is adapted to the military necessities of the nuclear age.

One further comment needs to be made. My proposals for a rational weapons program have to be considered as a structured unit, consistent in themselves and with their premises. This is particularly true of the proposal with regard to tests. This proposal cannot be called substantially similar to any of the proposals that were made during the recent election campaign.

The program that I propose is designed to carry us through the critical era of uncertain duration which confronts us. The crisis concerns, at bottom, the nature of man. But by the same token, it concerns the nature of war as a human action. The danger in the crisis is lest we commit ourselves to the steep slope of violence that ends in the abyss. But let us not overlook the opportunity which the crisis likewise presents—the greatly historic opportunity to choose the road of justice and to undertake the restoration of the tradition of civilized warfare.

It is with a view to grasping this opportunity that I put forward my program for rational nuclear armament. Its several proposals are counsels of strength, not of weakness. But the strength they counsel is both military and moral. Therefore, they constitute a program for security in the present crisis. They recognize that the security of America does not reside solely in its military power but more basically in its moral strength—the kind of strength that ultimately controls the use of power and makes it serve the ends of justice.

MORALITY AND SECURITY

Our national and international security has been undermined today largely by the rupture of the tradition of civilized warfare. This, and not the discovery of atomic energy, lies at the root of the terror experienced by the world at the thought of war. There will be no security as long as the rupture of the tradition endures. We shall have no security as long as we are prisoners of the moral fallacy of totalization, that is, as long as we consent to the immoral notion of total war, as long as we dream of the impossible notion of total victory, and as long as we cherish the empty illusion that our national security is totally reposed in massive military might. These fallacies furnish the impulse toward the steep slope of violence.

A program of rational nuclear armament would go far toward rescuing us from these disastrous fallacies. In setting us on the road of justice it would likewise set us on the road to security.

A balanced stockpile, resting on a broad base of small atomic weapons, would not indeed be the most destructive stockpile that we are capable of producing. It would not contain the increasingly immense weapons that the United States could manufacture, if we wanted, but that we could not use without carrying the enterprise of warfare over that fixed line, drawn by the principles of justice, which divides civilized warfare from barbarism. Moreover, the kind of stockpile I propose would not be the cheapest that could be assembled; it would not equip us to deal out the greatest number of deaths for the least number of dollars.

But for my part, I reject the reckless line of thought which would identify our national security with the accumulation of the most destructive possible nuclear arsenal and the cheapest possible nuclear arsenal. This kind of armament, heavily overweighted on the side of megaton bombs, would make neither military nor moral sense. It would not strengthen our military position in the face of threats from the Soviet Union or from other sources. Still less would it buttress our moral standing in the eyes of the international community. On the contrary, it would endanger both. And it would, in consequence, undermine our security.

This brings me to what I call "the forgotten equation." I mean the equation between morality and security. This equation is inherent in the Western tradition. The first security that a civilized nation must protect is the security of its own moral life. The nation is secure in proportion to its fidelity to the moral norms that form the spiritual substance of the national life. Concretely, if the United States is obliged to have recourse to armed force in its own defense, it must understand that it is committed to a moral use of force, on penalty of self-destruction—I mean the destruction of its moral self.

The security which America seeks cannot be simply physical. It must also mean the protection of the spiritual identity of America as a member of the family of civilized nations. If America were to lose its own soul by sins of unjust violence, it matters little what else it might gain.

The tragedy is that in our day this equation between security and morality has been forgotton. We have come to believe that security means only one thing—massive power. And we have forgotton that the methods of power, when used in violation of the canons of justice, will undermine the basic moral security of the whole edifice of civilization which they should undertake to protect.

The equation between morality and security is, I say, part of our tradition. The nuclear age has confronted us with another equation whose ultimate terms are terrible indeed. I mean the equation between the immoral use of nuclear force and the destruction of all human security, even the fundamental security of human life itself. Surely this new equation should serve to jog our memories and bring to mind the old equation that we have forgotton. The reforging of the broken link between morality and security is itself an important element in the restoration of the tradition of civilized warfare.

To this task of restoration we are summoned today by the stringent demand of a moral obligation. It is a duty that we owe to ourselves as a civilized Nation. It is further a duty that we owe to Almighty God, whose percepts presided over the formation of our constitutional commonwealth.

God's Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, one of Arizona's outstanding citizens, Mr. Stephen C. Shadegg, has written for the Episcopal Church and its members a paper entitled "God's Time." This writing is so thought provoking and so typi-

fies the people of this country who recognize our real strength as being a spiritual one, that I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, so that all may benefit by reading it.

Stephen C. Shadegg is senior warden of Trinity Cathedral, Phoenix, Ariz., and is in his third year as chairman for laymen's work in the missionary district of Arizona; 1952 man-of-the-year in Phoenix, Mr. Shadegg is in the pharmaceutical manufacturing business.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOD'S TIME

(By Stephen C. Shadegg)

Not long ago a friend of mine was returning from an assignment he had accepted as a layman in the church. He found himself sharing a pullman seat with a clergyman of another communion. Their conversation started, naturally enough, with their present travels.

My friend explained where he had been and what he had been doing. He told of his work as a member of the presiding bishop's committee on laymen's work in the Episcopal Church.

The clergyman was most interested. He congratulated my friend for his efforts and said, "And you do this all on your own time?"

My friend replied, "No, I do all these things on God's time."

GOD'S TIME

Our lives are truly lived on God's time. He gives us life, health, talent, all our physical and mental resources, and then confirms His omnipotence by giving us freedom of choice.

If we accept these great gifts and acknowledge the Giver, then our total attitude toward our every day life must change. And every Christian layman must make this basic acknowledgment before he can become an effective instrument of God's work.

BE MINDFUL OF THE OWNER

I once loaned a friend a power tool from my hobby shop. He used it with great care to complete a project at his home. Each night he put it back in its case with the chips and sawdust brushed away. When he returned it to me he said, "I was mindful each time I used this thing that it belonged to you."

Since our lives belong to God who gave them to us, should we not also be mindful as we use them each day that we are holders only in temporary possession of the bountiful gifts of a loving Father.

Certainly God means for us to use our lives in our every day work to acquire shelter and food for our families, to earn those things which add to our creature comforts. But this fact only increases our debt to Him.

DO IT YOURSELF

There is a current enthusiasm for "do it yourself" projects. We are constantly bombarded by advertisements telling us we can paint the bathroom or repair the cellar steps or build a bookcase or a planting box, and a great many of us find relaxation and profit in doing these things which are not connected with our regular occupation.

Our Lord was speaking to laymen like you and me when he said "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel." And He did not reserve that statement for commencement exercises at some theological school.

THE TIME IS NOW

Our world is currently divided into two armed camps. Most of us, who are not completely preoccupied by the material productivity of our civilization, are aware of this struggle. We know there is a conflict of ideology which will never be resolved without total victory for one side or the other.

We are sometimes vaguely, sometimes acutely, aware of the disharmony of our times. Some of us even get around to the point where we ask ourselves, "Is there something I can do about it?"

FIRE

If the house halfway down the block suddenly caught on fire, you would not turn your back, shrug your shoulders and say, "It is the fire department's job to discover fires and to extinguish them."

Our world abroad and at home is flaming with a force far more destructive than fire. Can we turn our backs and say "It is the clergyman's job to overpower the forces of spiritual and moral decay which threaten us"?

PASSIVE ACQUIESCENCE

Monday through Saturday we are quite willing to accept all the benefits of freedom and of peaceful society here at home which were created for us by the Holy Spirit. Our political institutions, which we prize, were not the result of the signing of any declaration or constitution by a group of individuals. Yet we have come to accept the privilege of political freedom, of economic opportunity and social advancement as rightful possessions.

Our failures can best be recognized when we admit that most of us are only passively acquiescent when we say, "Almighty God, Father of all mercies, we, Thine unworthy servants, do give Thee most humble and hearty thanks for all Thy goodness and loving kindness to us."

Americans are great for organizations. We organize the umpteen agencies of the Community Chest. We help feed the orphans in Korea. We give our blood to the Red Cross. We unite with service clubs which are organized with lofty ideals as an objective. But too many of us do these things without knowing why we do them.

The only compelling reason for you to work on the Community Chest, give blood to the Red Cross, or serve on the Boy Scout Council is to be found in this direction: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind * * *. And * * *. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

GIVE ME A JOB

In any church there are always many people who express a sincere desire to do something. They serve on vestries, they work in the women's organizations, the every member canvass, and all the multitudinous groups which go to make up the parish life.

Concerned Christians are always seeking some program, but we must recognize that it is absolutely necessary to be God's servant before you can do God's work. This is not an easy arrangement to achieve, it requires complete and total surrender and commitment.

How many times have you refused something because you say, "I do not want to be under any obligation."

The ego in man rebels against acknowledging our total indebtedness to the Creator. Yet there is no other point of departure. We must confess our total obligation before we can make total commitment. If we are totally committed, then we can no longer discharge our obligation to Almighty God by giving Him an hour of His time on Sunday morning, and for our previous passive acquiescence we substitute a passionate affirmation.

Only total commitment can make us true witnesses, that our hearts may be unfeignedly thankful; and that we show forth Thy praise, not only with our lips, but in our lives, by giving up ourselves to Thy service.

There is an old bromide that a public speaker should stand up to be seen, speak up to be heard, and sit down to be appreciated. It might be said that a Christian layman must necessarily kneel before God in humility, stand up for God in gratitude, and speak out for God with courage.

GOD'S WORK: OUR PLACE IN IT

God's work is to bring peace to all men and our assignment is to work and to pray and to give for the spread of Christ's kingdom on earth.

The committed layman will find that every hour of every day there is opportunity to use God's time for God's purpose. He will measure every act of his life, every statement he makes, every business arrangement he concludes against that one perfect standard of morality and love and conduct established for all men to see and follow by our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

St. Paul says, "There are varieties of gifts but the same spirit. There are varieties of service but the same Lord. There are varieties of working, but it is the same God who inspires them all in every one. To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good."[1] And then he says that all men receive certain gifts, some of knowledge or of faith, some of healing, some of prophecy, some of working miracles.

OUR ASSIGNMENT

So we are commissioned, you and I, to use what gifts we possess for the good of all men. God, the Holy Spirit, is in each one of us. Therefore, we must be committed to His divine purpose. We must both be and do. God's church grows and functions through us, and we function and grow through God's church.

DEEPEN THE WORSHIP SERVICE

It is our task as Christian laymen to deepen and strengthen the worship of our church. We cannot be God's servants and do God's work unless we know God's purpose for us. We cannot do, be, or know without God's help.

To help us in this phase of our assignment, we have the gospel of the word and sacraments, the strengthening help of daily prayer, and the inspiration of a vital faith preserved and bequeathed to us by the Church of the Apostolic Succession.

To deepen our own worship and that of those about us, we must certainly know more about the worship of the church through the study of scripture, through the reading of church history and doctrine, through the participation in quiet weekends and meditations.

Because we are weak human beings, the habits and patterns we establish in our lives are important. It is easy to be in church every Sunday. It is most difficult to make it just once a month.

We deepen and strengthen our worship when we bring God into our daily lives and daily conversations, and certainly in all our plans for the future.

EXTEND CHRIST'S KINGDOM

It is also our responsibility to extend Christ's Kingdom on earth, for we are members of that blessed company of all faithful people which is the mystical body of our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

When our commitment to Him becomes total, when we substitute a passionate affirmation for a passive acquiescence, we are then compelled to be evangelists by our lives and our every act.

We can and should survey the needs of our church. We should be familiar with the church's program at home and overseas. Perhaps there is a parish mission near us which needs activating. Perhaps it is the

[1] Revised standard version.

man at the next desk who needs an invitation to join you in the worship of God.

We go through life knowing many people on a rather casual basis. We are willing to discuss politics, business, baseball, the world's affairs, the boss' failure, and sex with almost anyone we know. Why should we then be reluctant to discuss the one thing most important in our lives and in the life of every individual we meet?

SUPPORT

Whatever we give to God is no more than returning to Him what is already rightfully His. Some people will criticize the rector for always discussing money. Some people will say, "The church never calls on me unless there is an every member canvass."

Unfortunately, many clergymen are frightened by money and budgets. We have compelled the church in many instances to live on handouts and by subterfuge such as waffle suppers, ice cream socials, Chinese auctions, and so forth.

Certainly our Lord discussed money many times. Every activity in which you and I participate costs us something, lodge membership, politics, the country club, service club, the polio foundation, and usually a man's interest in a project can be measured by the amount of financial support he gives to that project.

St. Paul lays enormous stress on the importance of the gift of faith. If you want to strengthen your personal faith, deepen your personal religious life, and extend God's Kingdom, you take the first great step when you begin to tithe. The every-member canvass is the opportunity to do something in a concrete material way to express our faith, and it is far more beneficial for the giver than for the receiver.

USE YOUR SPECIAL TALENTS

As God gives us wisdom, knowledge, faith, healing, miracles, and prophecy, and as we accept these gifts, we also accept the responsibility of using them in God's service.

Businessmen can assist with the business affairs of the church and its fiscal policies. Advertising men can use their special skill to make the church known. Engineers and social workers can survey the needs and opportunities of the parish. Each man, in his own work, can and must be a missionary.

God's time is eternity. You and I have only a few fleeting seconds in history. Ours is a desperate urgency.

With God's help, we can be His servants. With God's help, we can do His work. For this we were created. For this God gave us our talents. For this God loans us His time.

We beseech Thee, give us that due sense of all Thy mercies, that our hearts may be unfeignedly thankful; and that we show forth Thy praise, not only with our lips, but in our lives, by giving up ourselves to Thy service, and by walking before Thee in holiness and righteousness all our days; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with Thee, and the Holy Ghost, be all honor and glory, world without end. Amen.

Postal Deficit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. JAY NIMTZ

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. NIMTZ. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the South Bend, Ind., Tribune of February 18 concerning the problem of ever-growing deficits in the operation of the Post Office Department:

MAIL FINANCING PROBLEM

In good and bad economic times, the Post Office Department has operated in the red. A series of balanced annual budgets in that Department would be sensational news.

The habit of regarding this condition as normal, however, is becoming more embarrassing now. The idea that ever-bigger postal deficits can be safely added to the general tax load is definitely outmoded.

Since the end of World War II the "traditional" postal deficit has been ballooning. In this period the total postal operating loss has soared to almost $5 billion. A deficit of more than $700 million is indicated in the current fiscal year.

This, of course, is intolerable. The old argument as to whether the Post Office Department should be operated strictly as a business or as a public service, no matter how much it loses, is being watered down.

Even those who put all the emphasis on public service, irrespective of actual costs, must admit that the service is becoming too expensive for taxpayers in general. The sensible thing is to make actual users of the service pay more for it.

Apparently this will be done in the current session of Congress. The postage rate increases probably will not produce a balanced Post Office Department budget but they will cut the annual deficit substantially.

A letter can be mailed today for the same first-class postage that was in effect the depths of the great depression back in the 1930's. This doesn't make sense while the postal operating deficit is soaring.

Maybe we can't reasonably expect our postal service to be entirely self-supporting. But postage increases at least to reduce the operating deficit are in order. The deficit has increased $150 million since Congress refused to pass a postage increase last year. This time, it looks as if the legislators have to do something about it.

It would be encouraging if, meanwhile, the top postal officials were exerting themselves for all possible internal reforms. The bookkeeping practices in the postal department are not entirely in harmony with the realities. All the losses in the carrying of certain types of mail are not as real as the bookkeeping makes them appear.

The Hoover government reorganizing commissions found a lot of flaws in the Post Office Department, and recommended changes for economy and efficiency. Postal officials and Congress have not acted for complete reform on that pattern.

The need of better service will be spotlighted if Congress sanctions higher postage rates. Greatly improved service and smaller annual deficits, if any, apparently can be achieved without spectacular increases in postage.

More Evidence on H. R. 11

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I include a letter from the Washington Gasoline Dealers' Association, Inc., whose offices are in Seattle.

Many conflicting statements are being made about H. R. 11, but here is strong evidence that the small independent gasoline retailer has been put on the spot to oppose legislation which the big oil companies do not favor.

This is the text of the letter:

WASHINGTON GASOLINE DEALERS' ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Seattle, Wash., February 11, 1957.

The Honorable THOMAS M. PELLY,
Representative in Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PELLY: I wish to thank you for mailing me the excerpt of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Your statement is true, in that major supplying companies are requesting their lessee operators to write to their Congressmen, asking them to oppose the passage of H. R. 11, the equality-of-opportunity bill.

We have received information that some oil companies demand a copy of the operator's letter to his Congressman. This really puts the operator on the spot. Most of them have short-term leases and must comply with the requests or be subjected to retaliation by their supplier.

If the operator does not write his Congressman the supplier will know, because they will not have received a copy, they will want to know why, and if he does write he must make sure it complies with their requests. The pressure exists in either case, and I sincerely hope I have presented this in a manner that you will fully understand the reasons for the letters from operators opposing this bill.

If this pressure did not exist, I am positive you would find the letters from the operators highly in favor of this bill, just as they were during the last session.

We sincerely hope you will do everything within your power to secure adoption of the equality-of-opportunity bill, which will curb price discrimination.

Respectfully yours,

MERLE N. DIHEL,
Managing Director.

Moral Tone of the Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the President has permitted Robert Tripp ROSS to resign. This is quite in keeping with the President's refusal to dismiss any of his official family, no matter what they do. The following article by Gerald W. Johnson appeared in the New Republic on February 18, 1957, and is, in my opinion, an accurate estimate of the moral tone of the present administration:

THE HIGH MORAL TONE

(By Gerald W. Johnson)

James Reston, bubbling with enthusiasm, said in the New York Times that the way Mrs. Charles E. Wilson called Ike's hand in the National Guard affair was the nicest thing that has happened in Washington since Bess Truman told Harry to watch his language. Mr. Reston had something there, but one nicer thing could have happened—Mr. Wilson could have resigned on the spot.

The nicest part of that would not have been the elimination of the Secretary of Defense. It would have been finding someone quitting this administration on a point of honor, and not in order to avoid or to cover up a stink. Wilson told the truth about draft dodgers who rushed into the

National Guard hoping to escape Korea, whereupon the President publicly called the statement unwise and made without thought.

That was enough, but worse was behind it. Just a few days earlier the Secretary of State had made a remark that seemed to be an unwarranted reflection on the courage of British and French soldiers. But did the President call that unwise and thoughtless? He did not. On the contrary, he said that Dulles is the greatest Secretary of State in history, thereby sweeping under the rug Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, and William H. Seward.

So it seems that when Wilson gets out of line he is unwise and thoughtless; but when Dulles gets a great deal further out of line, he is a great man. If that isn't harsh discrimination, what is it? If Wilson had resented it to the point of quitting his job, the act might have been foolish, but it would not have been snide, and it certainly would not have been smelly.

Back in the old days, before the moral tone of Washington had been elevated by substituting Republican for Democratic jobholders, men were always quitting or being fired for reasons that had no evil smell at all. From the time when Moley pulled out because he didn't like the direction the New Deal was taking, to the time when Truman bounced Henry Wallace for denouncing an administration policy in a public address, many men departed suddenly for reasons that were no reflection on their ethical standards. But the last man who has quit this administration on such a point was Martin Durkin, and that happened so long ago that it has been forgotten.

The Democrats, with their low moral tone, regarded an influence-peddler as a rogue, and their idea of handling a rogue was to give him the boot. Once, and only once, they caught an official ranking as high as an assistant to the Attorney General using his office for personal profit, and they threw him down the front steps amid an uproar that woke the babies in Baltimore.

But things are different in the purer moral atmosphere that now bathes Washington. When in long succession a chairman of the national committee, a Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, a Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, a Secretary of the Air Force, and a Secretary of the Army are charged with using their official positions to line their pockets in a way that makes the unlamented assistant to the Attorney General look like the smallest of pikers, never a harsh word is spoken. We are asked to believe that they are noble characters, only slightly misguided, and they are fet go with silver trays, with medals, with honorary reviews, with eulogies on White House stationery. Far from being kicked, they are, as Truman put it, "kissed on both cheeks."

An elevated moral tone is a wonderful thing.

Roosevelt "canned" his Secretary of Commerce ruthlessly, but it was because he needed the job for Henry Wallace, not because there was any suspicion that Jesse Jones was making a private profit out of the office, nor even that, like Hobby, he had been asleep on the job. Dean Acheson quit Government service as a protest against devaluation of the dollar, not because he had been advising Government, on one hand, and private contractors dealing with Government, on the other, like the Dixon-Yates man.

Many Democrats quit the Government in wrath, some in chagrin, a few in genuine despair, but only one high-ranking official quit it in shame. And his shame was broadcast to a scandalized world; the immoral Democrats had not discovered the use of official goose grease to palliate stenches. They knew only one way to sweeten the atmosphere and that was to eject the stinker from the premises.

How different it is now that the moral tone of Washington has been elevated. Not only is the grease barrel inexhaustible, but once the misguided character has been duly greased at the White House, the one-party press can be relied to stand by with rosewater in gallon buckets to drench him 'n case any slight fetor should continue to permeate the air.

Still, there are some people who remain hard to convince that all is sweetness and light—for example, Mrs. Wilson—and who insist on injecting candor, apparently never seeing how ruinous it can be to a high moral tone.

The Confederate Battle Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an address by Senator John D. Long, of Union County, on The Confederate Battle Flag, which was delivered to the Senate of South Carolina on Tuesday, January 22, 1957; also a senate resolution which was unanimously adopted Tuesday, April 10, 1956.

The speech and resolution are as follows:

Mr. President and gentlemen of the senate, first permit me to acknowledge my indebtedness and give thanks to Dr. J. H. Easterby, of the South Carolina Archives Department; also to Prof. E. Melton Coulter, professor of history in the University of Georgia; and to the Historical Quarterly edited and published by the Georgia Historical Society at the University of Georgia at Athens, Ga., for the historical information contained in my remarks on this occasion.

The Confederate battle flag hanging officially beside Old Glory and the Palmetto State flag in the senate chamber is the symbol of the only nation known to history whose soldiers wore themselves out whipping and chasing the armies of the enemy and thus lost a war by utter exhaustion and collapse.

During its short life span the Confederate States of America had many different flags, but only one battle flag. The Confederate battle flag is of chief interest to us and it is appropriate that our attention be directed to it.

The first provisional flag of the Confederacy was called the Stars and Bars and it looked so much like the Stars and Stripes that the similarity caused much confusion on both sides during the smoke and fury of the battle of First Manassas (called Bull Run by the Yankees). It led each side to charge the other with having used each other's flag for purposes of deception. And particularly a unit in this battle which turned out to be Confederate and which brought victory to the Confederates, was for a time anxiously viewed by both sides, each hoping it to be their own.

Out of this situation arose the famous Confederate battle flag, the flag which is so widely waved today and generally considered the national flag of the Confederacy.

Immediately after the battle both Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard and Gen. Joseph E. Johnston decided that the Stars and Bars should no longer be used by the Confederate armies under their command.

General Beauregard thought that the solution of the dilemma lay in supplanting the Stars and Bars with another Confederate flag and in pursuance of the idea he wrote to William Porcher Miles of South Carolina, who had been appointed chairman of the flag committee in the Montgomery convention, to have the provisional Congress of the Confederate States supplant the Stars and Bars with another Confederate flag.

Miles replied on August 27, 1861, that he, too, thought that the Stars and Bars should be changed and that he had never favored its adoption. He felt that the question of a new flag should be left to the congress of the permanent government, which would come into existence the next year, actually February 22, 1862.

In the meantime the editor of the Southern Literary Messenger (Richmond, Va.), volume 34 (January, 1862), page 67, said that everybody was tired of looking at the Stars and Bars, which resembled the Yankee flag, "and that is enough to make it utterly detestable."

Thereupon Beauregard and Johnston, with Gen. Gustavus W. Smith of the Shenandoah Command agreeing, decided to devise a battle flag of their own. Many designs were submitted to this group of generals.

The one finally chosen in September was the flag that Miles had originally urged on congress instead of the Stars and Bars and so history records that to a South Carolinian belongs the honor of designing the famous Confederate battle flag.

And for that reason there is a unique and added appropriateness to the hanging of this famous and beloved banner in the legislative halls of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, the first State to secede from the Union in the formation of the Confederacy.

The flag was to be a square at the instance of General Johnston, 4 feet by 4 for infantary, 3 feet by 3 for artillery, 2½ feet by 2½ for cavalry. It was a red field, across which from corner to corner ran a Saint Andrew's cross in blue, in which were set 13 white stars. The blue cross was separated from the red field by a small white fillet or border.

The three colors used in the flag are red, white and blue. The colors are well contrasted and durable. It is significant that the colors are emblematic of the three great virtues of valor, purity, and truth, and are the same colors adopted by the first American Republic. Thereby tradition ran true from the old to the new.

Like the Stars and Bars this flag was never adopted by Congress, but the War Department issued it to the troops and thereby gave its approval. The flag soon came to be carried in all the Confederate armies and after the first battle of Manassas was used throughout the remainder of the war. The Confederate battle flag thus came to be honored and loved both by soldiers and civilians as the flag of the Confederacy.

However, the flag could not be used on ships at sea for it could not be reversed as a sign of distress, since it was the same in either position. Therefore, the Navy used the Stars and Bars until successive national flags, three in number, were adopted by the Congress, and such use is the extent of their historical significance.

And now so much for the history of the Confederate battle flag which is the flag that is universally known and recognized as the flag of the Confederacy. The banner is often referred to as the symbol of the lost cause. Be that as it may there are those who believe, nevertheless, that no cause is lost whose principle is right.

The nation the Confederate battle flag represented perished at Appomattox, but the

flag waves on. The men who fought and died under the folds now furled won the admiration of the world by their valor. Let me close with the tribute of a great English poet to valor that befits so aptly the Confederate cause and the Confederate soldier in risking all against invasion of their homeland.

"For how could man die better—
Than facing fearful odds—
For the ashes of his fathers—
For the temples of his gods!"

The Confederate battle flag was draped in the senate under the following senate resolution unanimously adopted Tuesday, April 10, 1956:

"S. 749, Mr. Long: a senate resolution to provide for the draping of the battle flag of the Southern Confederacy in the chamber of the Senate of the State of South Carolina;

"Whereas the battle flag of the Southern Confederacy represents an era in the history of America immortalized in the hearts of all southerners; and

"Whereas this flag symbolizes the divine cause of human freedom for which our forefathers fought and for which the men, women, and children of the South displayed a courage and devotion to duty unparalleled in the history of the world; and

"Whereas the battle flag of the Southern Confederacy inspires our dedication to the resurrection of truth with glorious and eternal vindication; and

"Whereas the battle flag of the Confederacy does not hang in the senate chamber; and

"Whereas it is believed that the flag should have such a place: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate of the State of Carolina, That a committee of three from the senate composed of the chairman of the finance committee, the chairman of the judiciary committee, and the chairman of the education committee, act with the clerk of the senate to secure a battle flag of the Southern Confederacy, select an appropriate place in the chamber of the senate, and supervise the draping of the flag. Such expenses as are necessary in the purchase of the flag and for the installation shall be paid from the approved accounts of the senate."

The Stars and Stripes of the United States, the Palmetto State flag of South Carolina, and the Confederate battle flag of the Confederated States of America now are draped above the rostrum of the senate with the following plaque: "Flags of the sovereign people and the senate."

E-Bond Interest Boost Too Little and Too Late

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, with further reference to my bills, H. R. 2480 and H. R. 2481, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Leslie Gould, financial editor of the New York Journal-American. The article appeared in that paper on February 15, 1957:

E-BOND INTEREST BOOST TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE

The Treasury's proposal of a 3¼ percent interest rate on the savings E- and the H-bonds is a case of too little and too late.

In order to collect the 3¼ percent interest on the savings E-bonds, the buyer must hold the bonds until maturity—1 month short of 9 years. If he sells before 3 years, he will get less than 3 percent.

While this new program is slightly better than the present 3 percent return on the old bonds, the average saver still is better off just leaving his money in a savings bank or a commercial bank that pays immediately 3 percent or better.

The rate should be at least 3½ percent. The Treasury, though, apparently is pinching pennies where the little, thrifty citizen is concerned. On short-term borrowing the Treasury has been paying as high as 3⅓ percent very recently. These are 90-day loans, usually bearing the lowest interest coupon.

In the present market, Treasury notes maturing next year are selling at prices that yield 3.28 percent and on 3-year paper the interest return is 3.36 percent. Yet, under this new program, the savings E-bond holder gets less than 3 percent if he sells before 3 years.

This is a ridiculous and unfair situation and discrimination against the small, thrifty citizen.

TOPPED OTHER BONDS AT FIRST

When the savings bonds were first advanced, they paid an interest above the current market for other Government bonds—a half percent or more.

Regular bonds were returning 2¼ to 2½ percent against 3 percent for the savings bonds.

As a result of Government financial policy and Federal Reserve action this spread has been eliminated, and in recent months other Government bonds have been returning higher yields—substantially so.

For more than 2 years this column has been urging a higher interest on the savings bonds. Patriotism is no longer involved. This is simply a case of hiring money in a competitive market. The competition is with the bond market and banks.

Because there is this discrimination against the smaller saver, the redemptions of savings bonds have been running ahead of sales. The new proposed 3¼ percent hardly is enough to change this.

SHOULD BE TAX EXEMPT

The smart investor will, as noted above, leave his money in a savings bank or a commercial bank. If his tax bracket is high enough, he will buy tax-exempt municipal, State, and public authority bonds. These now return 4 percent or better and the income is exempt from Federal income taxes.

The savings-bonds interest is subject to income taxes. As an additional "sweetner," this interest should be made tax exempt, with possibly a limit on the amount of bonds any individual can hold.

The Treasury is proposing that the present limit of $20,000 bonds to an individual be reduced to $10,000. That, too, is silly, unless the bonds are made tax exempt.

Tito Unwelcome

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 6, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker and distinguished colleagues, several months ago millions upon millions of genuine American citizens were suddenly tormented by the rumor that a Communist dictator might receive an official invitation to visit the United States. At once the thought of such an unprecedented spectacle caused a mighty wave of protest that was heard from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico.

I myself along with other Members of this distinguished body was one who raised a strong voice of protest against any forthcoming visit of Marshal Tito whose hands are still red with the blood of thousands of Yugoslavians.

Mr. Speaker, let us not forget the American airmen slaughtered by this henchman, let us not forget the persecution of all forms of religion that he sponsored in Yugoslavia, let us not forget the countless other crimes that Tito committed against humanity. Above all, let us never insult the dignity of the American people by permitting such a tyrant to come to the shores of this Nation.

One of the most factual, clear-cut, and concise opinions on any forthcoming visit of Marshal Tito came to me from the Valley Council No. 23, Knights of Columbus, of Ansonia, Conn. So impressive was the Valley Council's letter that I ask unanimous consent to insert it here as a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS,
VALLEY COUNCIL No. 23,
Ansonia, Conn., January 26, 1957.

Representative JAMES T. PATTERSON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: Valley Council No. 23, Knights of Columbus, with a membership of 487, earnestly requests you to make the following representation to Secretary Dulles and to the Department of State:

"If we thought, and rightly so, that it was impossible to do business with Hitler, what hope is there of dealing with the partner of Satan—Josip Broz? His accomplishments to date—murder of American airmen, persecution of all forms of religion, oppression of a million Croats—are public knowledge. No temporary political advantage gained by such a visit, can ever balance the frustration that all must feel, who still believe in our elected leaders and the Divine Authority from whom they derive their power."

Sincerely yours,
JOHN F. RYAN, *Lecturer.*

The Problems of Disarmament—a Speech by Hon. Kenneth Keating at Bangkok, Thailand, at Meeting of Inter-Parliamentary Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like include the thoughtful, important address delivered by Congressman KENNETH B. KEATING of New York at the November meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Bangkok, Thailand. I do this with considerable enthusiasm because I am reliably informed that both speeches given in Thailand for the distinguished

delegates to the Inter-Parliamentary Union by our friend, the Honorable KENNETH B. KEATING, were judged to have been among the most meaningful presented for the consideration of the world gathering of statesmen. The principles and the facts emphasized by Representative KEATING may be looked upon as an affirmative hopeful program for eventual disarmament with security, justice, and peace for all the peoples of the earth. The address follows:

SPEECH OF REPRESENTATIVE KENNETH B. KEATING ON THE PROBLEMS OF DISARMAMENT

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the Committee on Reduction of Armaments is to be congratulated for the splendid report which so well summarizes the history of disarmament efforts ever since the first known treaty on this subject in 1817 limiting the naval forces maintained between the United States and Canada on the Great Lakes. Men have been thinking of disarmament for at least the century and one-half since that treaty. The committee's report is most illuminating as to the efforts of our governments in the four decades since the end of World War I and the creation of the League of Nations.

Surely no one can read this chronicle, of committees, commissions, and debates and drafts resolutions, without admitting that the efforts of our governments have been tremendous. And yet the chronicle is one of failure upon dismal failure. All efforts have produced precisely nothing. Our committee rightly concludes that there is a lack of trust and confidence among the negotiators—and that this lack is fatal to any real possibilities of agreement. Our committee implies, I fear, that the situation is hopeless.

To this I say we cannot abandon hope. We must carry on our efforts, and double them and double them again. I do not know the way. I fear that none of us in this great assembly will be able to point the way with clearness and certainty. But in my heart, there is good will. In my heart there is determination, to go on struggling with this Gordian knot until some one of us, or all of us together, find a way to lay it open.

In the sessions of the Interparliamentary Union this year and in the previous years I have seen and felt the same good will, the same high determination, all around me among our fellow delegates. I think we are brought closer, as spokesmen in this great assemblage from so many nations, by the very strains and stresses that threaten so blackly to pull our world apart. It is my personal hope—even a quiet prayer—that we shall meet again next year, and in succeeding years, with more harmony, more freedom of action, and ever more of the very mutual trust and confidence which are so rightly emphasized in this report.

Now I wish to offer briefly for these debates some observations about the problems of disarmament which seem most important and most troubling to me. Some of our negotiators, particularly in recent years, have become more and more like hagglers in the market place who do not really want to buy or sell. The good price, the fair bargain, and the sincere offer are scorned and cheapened just as lustily as the outrageous proposition. If the buyer nods agreement to a price, the seller shifts what he is offering and changes his terms. Yet, this is the most crucial series of negotiations being conducted in the whole range of human activities on the face of the earth today and the need for bargains that will stick—to make disarmament work—is plainly more urgent than it has ever been in all times past since we began recording the history of mankind.

For the simple, inescapable truth is that disarmament has become the practical equivalent of peace. The weapons we command today are so frightfully destructive that men cannot live at peace with them. The fireball itself has assumed the proportions of a mortal enemy, an evil genie who may be no respecter of the master who uncorks him.

My country has the bomb. My country has pressed forward with the awesome testing needed to keep pace with developments in the laboratories of our scientists. But let no one believe for an instant that we would not give it up and have done with the whole undertaking. Thoughtful leaders among my countrymen have long since realized that this is a burden and a responsibility from which no one can profit. We recognize it as a great liability, and we shall go on straining to find some way in which it can be safely put aside forever.

I would be less than candid if I did not note that my country's persistent efforts have not been matched in other quarters. Immediately after the war, when the United States alone held the secret of nuclear fission, we urged a plan for international control of all fissionable material, with controls to prevent the production of weapons and inspection to enforce the controls. This plan encountered the stonewall of Soviet opposition and drew a Soviet veto when it was proposed to the United Nations Security Council. Ban the bomb first, the Russians said, and then we will talk about controls.

From that day to this, the Communist leaders have flatly refused to countenance any limitations based on mutual rights of inspection. It is painfully obvious that with the development of fission and fusion weapons of total destruction, the advantage of surprise, enjoyed by treacherous aggressors, has also become total. Therefore, the need for direct assurances about the war preparations of one's potential enemies has also increased to a near-absolute degree.

In the last decade the production of these atomic weapons has gone forward to a point where it would no longer be practical to limit production alone. There are too many stockpiles, capable of being hidden away until they are needed. So any inspection system upon which confidence can be based must also include regular observation of what the experts call "delivery systems." We must watch each other's guided missiles sites, and the activities of bombers and submarines and fighter squadrons, to have full protection against the dangers of a sudden knockout blow.

Our efforts to share the secrets of the atom for peaceful uses, launched in 1953 in President Eisenhower's ringing speech to the United Nations General Assembly, were obstructed from the outset by Russian opposition to any kind of open-handed disclosure. The President's open-sky proposal at the Geneva meetings in July of last year were met with the same Communist insistence on exchanged promises without exchanged inspectors and observers. At present my country is strenuously urging an interchange of teams of observers for limited inspection missions; as well as experimental inspections in small strips of territory dedicated for the purpose by each nation. We have also offered to exchange advance notice of every movement involving our Armed Forces abroad, in international territory or on foreign soil. But the opposition still says: "Ban the bomb; take our word that we will do the same; and then we will talk about controls."

In our efforts to achieve reductions of conventional armaments, we have encountered the same frustrating techniques: our Soviet rivals are willing to talk only of cuts in manpower, not of reductions in the number or potency of their weapons; and they keep urging fractional cuts in their standing forces while at the same time absolutely refusing to tell us the number against which the fractions are to be applied.

I have strayed a little into this explanation of the frustrating deadlock that grips my own country. But I think the problem merits emphasis. In my opinion, until we throw down the walls and expose ourselves to free observation by our neighbors, there can be little of the mutual trust and confidence on which the report we are considering grounds so much. Full, open, free, and honest inspection is needed to separate the empty claims of propagandists from those offers and protestations which may constitute real steps toward peace.

Now I shall turn to one of the more general points I wish to make—namely, that many nations may soon have these frightful weapons. Some years ago, the United States, and with those nations who share our heritage of freedom, held the bomb in an uneasy monopoly. This was short-lived. Now, there is not a nation in the world community, once possessed of the secrets which cannot be guarded very long, which would find itself unable to produce this weapon. Ultimately, and perhaps not too far in the future, many many national leaders will share the awesome responsibility of having total destruction at their command. What will happen to mutual trust and confidence then? What will happen to the traditional processes of diplomacy? And what will then be the plight of the troubled citizen watching the sky in constant anxiety lest this new lightning shall destroy his world? If we do not force a resolution of the stalemate now, we may find our problems multiplied to infinite and hopeless lengths.

Next, I would like to observe that in my my opinion our basic premise with respect to armaments becomes each year less valid. Most nations have believed that an adequate level of armaments meant security. We made ourselves strong so we could resist attack and protect our vital interests in the community of nations. I submit that this no longer works as it did for our predecessors. The security which any nation can fashion for itself by excelling in modern armaments may prove illusory, because such excellence now means vastly disproportionate insecurity for everybody else. With the conventional arms of half a century ago, to be powerful and well prepared for war meant only to assert a moderate threat against those with whom you might compete. If they were powerful and well prepared too, they threatened moderately in return. In a test of arms, there would be injury inflicted, losses and probably some devastation, and a separation between the victors and the vanquished.

I question whether this is true for us today. He who threatens, threatens absolutely. There may be no victors and no vanquished, but only victims and insufferable devastation. So I think we should recognize that the menace of armaments, and the resulting insecurity of those who are threatened, has greatly weakened the usefulness of the concepts of security by strength and alliances which are traditional in our thinking about international relations.

Another point which should be emphasized is the inefficiency of modern armaments to solve any of the real problems that beset us today. Aat peace, the burden of modern armaments is crushing to everyone who carries it. The costs have mounted and mounted, until far more than half the total costs of all of our governmental and social services are drained off for weapons and the specialists of modern warfare. This means food for the hungry, medical care for the sick, education for our children and more of the good things of life for everyone, diverted and drained off for the uneconomic and nonproductive functions of increasing our military potential.

And could the super bombers or the guided missiles ever solve the problem that really concern us? Of course, they could not. There are fundamental ideological differences between the totalitarian and democratic forms. They cannot be resolved by guns.

There is a competition between the Soviets and the Western world in the economic sphere. Both they and we are dedicated to different methods of the production and distribution of the things men want and need. We feel that our system is the best that men have ever devised. We have produced abundance, and we have faith that we can go on upholding a better, richer way of life than that achieved by the Communists. But could that competition be resolved by warfare? Would anyone gain if their system were forced upon our country, or ours on them, at bayonet point? Of course not.

But would the world gain if we could achieve a lusty honest competition of economy with economy? Would we threaten each other if we undertook to prove that the good things of life flow more freely in our economy than in theirs? If we could ever turn to it, and get into that kind of competition, we would enter it with great confidence but all the world would win no matter who achieved the laurel wreath. So the positive aspects of disarmament are as important as the negative. If we can put the burden aside, there is no limit to the wonders of the golden age we might achieve.

Lastly, there is another point which we might as well face squarely, that time is running against us. The cruel reality is that we have achieved disarmament twice in this century, by the catastropic expedient of dissipating our armaments in global warfare. We have reduced the tensions and diminished our strength by knocking ourselves prostrate in the aftermath of each of these Armageddons. And it is in these aftermaths that the possibilities of disarmament look best.

In 1919, President Wilson caught the imagination of the world with his leadership in the League of Nations. In 1945, the beginnings of the United Nations at San Francisco were auspicious and the world was full of hope. Must we wait for such an opportunity again? Or will it be possible to change the course and interrupt the cycle? Let us bend every effort here and now, this day and tomorrow and in the immediate future, to expose the truths about this problem of disarmament, then to face them realistically and find a way to do something about them.

Unsanctioned Sanctions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Post of February 12, 1957, makes most interesting reading:

UNSANCTIONED SANCTIONS

Secretary General Hammarskjold has done a good day's work in recommending against United Nations sanctions on Israel. This probably will not end the talk of punitive action under the proposed Arab-Asian sanctions resolution, but it should remove any immediate threat of a vote in the General Assembly. It should serve to take the United States off an ugly hook. More important, it should facilitate Mr. Hammarskjold's task of persuading Israel to withdraw her troops behind her borders.

The General Assembly cannot, as Mr. Hammarskjold noted, actually impose sanctions, although it can recommend them. Legal considerations apart, a vote for sanctions against Israel would come with bad grace after the failure of the Assembly to act against Russia in the case of Hungary. No sanctions have been voted by the Security Council against India, either, in the case of Kashmir (and happily India seems to be modifying her attitude under pressure of world opinion). As a practical matter sanctions against Israel at this time would be a very one-sided kind of justice in the absence of reasonable assurance against renewal of hostilities by Egypt. Mr. Hammarskjold is quite right in saying that sanctions might introduce new elements of conflict.

Obviously Israel must comply with the U. N. withdrawal resolution. But the corollary is to use U. N. troops to enforce the 1949 armistice in such a way as to provide Israel the security to which she is entitled and at the same time permit Egypt to save face. This delicate task, rather than punishment, is what ought to occupy the constructive attention of the General Assembly.

Dean Erwin N. Griswold's Tribute to Zechariah Chafee, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., died February 8, 1957. I knew him as a teacher and as a friend. The following is a tribute spoken by his colleague, Erwin N. Griswold, dean of the Harvard Law School at a memorial service I attended at Memorial Church, Harvard, on Sunday afternoon, February 10, 1957. I know that Professor Chafee's many friends and admirers will agree with and appreciate the words Dean Griswold spoke on this occasion and which are as follows:

We are met together—family, colleagues, and friends—to pay our heartfelt tribute to Zechariah Chafee. Here, truly, was a gentle man; and here, too, was a great scholar who wove many threads into that endless fabric we call the law, and added fundamentally to man's understanding of the problems of living with his fellow men.

He was a native of Rhode Island and always designated himself as "of the Rhode Island bar." It is fitting that he will rest in his native State. But a proper share of his spirit will surely stay here, where so much of his work was done, and where his influence was so great.

It was nearly 47 years ago that Zechariah Chafee came to Cambridge to enter the Harvard Law School. He had graduated from Brown University several years before, and had spent some time at the beginnings of a business career. He retained his interest in business and practical affairs throughout his life. But his abilities and natural inclinations brought him before long to the law school. Three years after graduation he returned as a member of the faculty. In this capacity, he served, with great distinction, for 40 years, a period of time exceeded by only three other persons in the school's history. It was last June that he retired, of his own choice. Yet even in retirement, he continued his active work. He was appointed by the university one of its first television lecturers, and gave throughout the fall and winter a series of lectures on human rights and the Constitution. It was only 10 days ago that he gave the final lecture, completing what he had planned. We had not yet come to think of him as retired.

Professor Chafee was a great lawyer. His courses in equity brought enlightment to many generations of students. For a number of years he taught bills and notes, one of the most technical fields of the law, and he made extensive and important written contributions to its problem. He had great interest in the problems of unfair competition and equitable remedies, and wrote extensively on them. His many articles on interpleader were monumental. There is nothing else which approaches them in quality. And he was instrumental in drafting and procuring the adoption of the Federal Interpleader Act, which is the biggest step forward in this field in a century. I suspect that if he had been asked what was the one thing he had done of which he was most proud, he would have pointed to this act. This was really law, and he loved technical law. And he was superb in analyzing and explaining it. His work would have been outstanding if he had done this alone. The depth of his knowledge, his vigorous standards of scholarship, and his command of clear and graceful English, spoken as well as written, made him a great teacher, respected and admired by thousands of students now practicing throughout the land.

But he also entered another and perhaps larger and more importbant area, that of human rights, and liberty and freedom. I am not sure, but I suspect that his activity in this field was almost accidental. At a fairly early age, more than 35 years ago, he was himself the focus of an important controversy about academic freedom. Out of the attack on him based on his article on the Abrams case, Harvard crystallized much of its thinking on these problems. It was because of this event, which was too important to be called an episode, that he dedicated the definitive edition of his free speech in the United States to President Lowell—using his words—"whose wisdom and courage in the face of uneasy fears nad stormy criticism made it unmistakably plain that so long as he was president no one could breathe the air of Harvard and not be free."

In recent years Professor Chafee devoted a large part of his time and talent to matters of liberty and freedom. He prepared a collection of documents on human rights. He probed in two series of published lectures into the origins of human rights in the Constitution. And he published only last spring his volume on the Blessings of Liberty. These are all distinguished contributions to pressing problems of our time. But they are problems which are a part of the stream of history. And Professor Chafee presented them with the light and skill which came from his rare ability as a legal historian. His approach to these problems was always constructive and conservative, in the true sense of that term. As he himself wrote,

"The boughs of the tree of liberty may be swayed this way and that by recent gales, but their strength to withstand the wind comes from the depth and toughness of their roots in the past. The greatest danger to the American people is that they themselves may erode these roots by forgetfulness and indifference, the slow smokeless burning of decay. In the long run the public gets just as much freedom as it wants.

"Therefore, this book has been written in the hope of helping men and women to remember how the human rights in our Constitution grew strong before they gained a place there. These things were not found under a gooseberry bush. They were shaped and achieved through centuries of struggle, through the willingness of men to languish in prison and die there, through long thinking and endless tedious work. Others have labored and we have entered into their labors. Generations gave these human rights to us, and it is for us in turn to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and

our posterity, strengthened and enriched while in our hands."

I have spoken of Zechariah Chafee as a scholar and teacher, and as a leader of thought on fundamental public questions. He was, too, a man, a friend, a human being of rare warmth and charm. Those of us who were privileged to know him as a colleague will always treasure our memories of him—the bright phrase, the cheerful expression, the willing hand and mind, his quick entry into your room, his generous appreciation and encouragement. He believed in leisure. His was the voice that defended Washington's Birthday as a holiday, and sought to add other days to the list. His way was easy. Yet he was a prodigious worker. His scholarly production was of first-rate quality. Yet its quantity was always great. He was never hurried or impatient. His writing was never careless. The range and depth of his writings and interest were extraordinary. He had an inquiring mind.

Zechariah Chafee was a great American. He loved its country and its people. He believed in its traditions. He had ideals. He had ideals for his country and he believed that a country should at least try to live up to its ideals. He knew that that was not easy, and he thought that it was worthwhile for him to help. There were some who did not understand him, but it was not from want of friendly effort on his part to lead them to the light.

That there should be death is inherent in the fact of life. There is an infinite sadness in the parting. But there is joy, too, in the life that has been lived and in the influence it has wrought. God's greatest gift vouchsafed to man is a full and rich and productive and useful life. Zechariah Chafee, through his talent, his energy, and his character has left his blessing on us and on all his fellowmen.

"So live, that when thy summons comes to join
The innumerable caravan which moves
To that mysterious realm where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of death,
Thou go not, like the quarry slave at night,
Scourged to his dungeon; but sustain'd and soothed
By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave,
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

"Day full-blown and splendid—day of the immense sun, action, ambition, laughter,
The night follows close with millions of suns, and sleep and restoring darkness."

Getting the Job Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I am sure Members of the House will be interested in reading an address delivered by the Honorable Clifford R. Hope, a former member of the House and for many years was the ranking member or chairman of the House Agriculture Committee. Mr. Hope delivered the following address at St. Louis, Mo. on the occasion of the annual meeting of the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts on February 6, 1957.

GETTING THE JOB DONE

If there is one lesson which comes down to us through the pages of history, it is that the nation which neglects its soil and water resources will die and that the fall of nations in the past has been due more to erosion than to war—more to the loss of soil fertility than loss of battles; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that loss of battles has followed rather than preceded the loss of soil fertility.

For centuries observers have noted that poor land means poor people—poor in body, poor in mind and poor in spirit. We have seen this happen in our own country in areas where much of the land is worn out. Illustrations of this fact abound throughout the world, and almost invariably the dominant nations are those which have fertile agricultural areas of their own or trading nations which are able to import what they lack at home in the way of good and nourishing food.

Too often, I think, we overlook the fact that the marvelous progress of our own Nation has been due in a large measure to the fact that we started out a comparatively short period back in history with tremendous soil and water resources. I shall point out in a moment how far we have gone in wasting these resources, but nevertheless no nation in the world except a few others similarly situated to our own, such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand, has been able to furnish its people with a domestic food supply containing the minerals, vitamins and proteins which the people of America have enjoyed throughout their history.

And yet, rich as our national resources were in the beginning, much of what we had has been destroyed or dissipated.

One thing which we in this country must never overlook is that much of our best land, by reason of its topography, climate and rainfall pattern, is especially subject to erosion. The extent of this destruction is hard to measure in figures—and the figures vary—but a survey made as recently as 1953 showed that of 478 million acres used for crops in the United States, 121 million acres were deteriorating at a critical rate and an additional 128 million acres was deteriorating at a serious rate.

The fact is that although there were voices crying in the wilderness against the destruction of our soil 200 years ago, as long as there was new land farther west which could be taken up and farmed, little attention was paid to their warnings although conspicuous exceptions can be found. Thus we have the story, too often true, of the farmer who bragged that he had worn out 3 or 4 farms in his lifetime.

It is now less than 30 years since we, as a nation, inaugurated a national program of soil and water conservation as such. The beginning of that program was an amendment on the floor of the House to an agricultural appropriation bill in 1923, which made money available for research covering soil erosion on farmlands. Under that and subsequent appropriations, 10 erosion research stations were set up to study the causes and control of erosion. Farm and watershed demonstrations, soil conservation work in cooperation with farmers followed through the Soil Erosion Service set up by Executive order in 1933, and subsequently the Soil Conservation Service authorized by Congress in 1935.

Then, 19 years ago last August 4, the first soil conservtion district in this country was established by a vote of the farmers in Anson County, N. C. This was truly a historic occasion. From that small beginning we have come a long way.

It is encouraging to see how much progress we have made. At the same time, the enormity of the task and the tremendous job that remains to be done cannot help but put a damper upon over-enthusiastic contemplation of our accomplishments.

Naturally enough, at the outset the emphasis was on preventing soil erosion. As conservation technology and experience progressed, we began to pay more attention to sustaining and building soil fertility. Still more recently, special emphasis has been placed on water management, particularly in creek-size tributary watersheds.

However, I want to make it clear that the recent upsurge in attention to watershed development is not a new thing in our conservation effort. The Soil Conservation Act of 1935 clearly contemplated both soil and water conservation. In fact, it was based on the idea with which I am sure all of us are in agreement, that soil and water conservation are so closely connected that there is no way that they can be separated. They must be considered together.

Thus in 1953 when the pilot plant projects were set up, it was done without any new legislation and the appropriations were made under the authority of the original 1935 act. It will be recalled also that some of the earliest soil conservation districts were based upon watershed areas rather than by following county lines. However, in order to give specific direction to watershed activities as such, Congress has in recent years passed legislation dealing directly with the subject.

The first specific action of Congress relating to upstream water development was a provision in the 1936 Flood Control Act. In that act the Secretary of Agriculture was authorized to make surveys on watersheds in the interest of soil erosion prevention, waterflow retardation and sediment control.

Under the authority of this legislation, 11 projects were approved and authorized in the Flood Control Act of 1944. Those were all large projects. Not one of them has yet been completed. Annual appropriations have been made for them ever since their commencement back in the late 1940's, but these appropriations have been so meager compared with the amount of work to be done, that it will still be many years before the projects are completed although appropriations in recent years have been stepped up somewhat.

Although only 11 projects have actually been started, surveys covering a considerable number of additional projects have been made by the Department of Agriculture but never acted upon by Congress.

Let me now recount briefly other legislation which has been enacted by Congress to expand our soil conservation program. All of us of course are familiar with the agricultural conservation payment program, which was set up in the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act of 1935.

Then there is the pilot-plant program, which, as I stated a few moments ago, is based upon the authority contained in the 1935 act.

There is Public Law 566 of the 83d Congress, the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, and Public Law 1018 of the 84th Congress which amends and expands it.

Another important piece of conservation legislation is the amendment to the Water Facilities Act, which provides for insured loans for soil and water conservation purposes. I believe that this legislation will grow in importance as time goes by, although for the moment it is adversely affected by the tight money market.

Then there is the amendment to the internal revenue laws which was passed by the 83d Congress after urging by farmers and conservationists for many years, and which permits farmers and ranchers to treat expenditures for a number of soil conservation practices as current annual expenses which may be deducted from farm income in computing income taxes.

Thus we now have Federal authority of the broadest scope for carrying out soil and

water conservation programs. Many States have supplemented this legislation through State laws, especially along the lines of State activity in water conservation, so that I think it can fairly be said that we have sufficient legislation on our statute books to carry out a comprehensive program. Of course as time goes on, it will be necessary to amend this legislation as to detail, when trial and error may demonstrate the need for the same.

But laws of course are not self-executing. To make progress we must have action, and there has been a great deal of action in carrying out our basic conservation legislation. Nearly 13,500 soil-conservation district supervisors, directors, and commissioners are now unselfishly shouldering the local direction of the soil-conservation program in the more than 2,700 organized districts. They work without compensation except the satisfaction which comes from service in a noble cause.

As of July 1, 1956, we had organized 2,721 soil-conservation districts comprising an area of 1 billion, 546 million acres. New districts are being formed at an average rate of about 4 per month. Again as of July 1, 1956, the estimated land in farms in the soil-conservation districts was 1 billion 2 million acres, which is 86 percent of the total farm land in the continental United States.

Within this area were an estimated 4,890,000 farms and ranches, which is 91 percent of all farms in the United States under the 1950 census.

An additional 60,246 farms and 3,450,000 acres of farm land are in districts in the Caribbean area, Alaska, and Hawaii. A third of all the States, as well as Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands are 100 percent covered by districts.

District conservation farm plans total 1,034,000, covering 286 million acres. The soil survey on which the conservation farm planning is based embraces 476,500,000 acres, plus 43,500,000 of range site surveys.

Contour cultivation has been adopted on about 30 million acres, stripcropping on 29 million acres, terraces on more than a million acres, tree planting on 2.5 million acres, and 667,000 farm ponds have been built.

In soil-conservation districts we have real farmer control on matters pertaining to the welfare of the land. The formation, control, and operation of these districts have presented to the Nation a perfect example of democracy in action from the first step of circulating a petition for a referendum through voting in the referendum to the election of district supervisors after farmers have voted in favor of the establishment of a district.

Never before in the history of this or any other country has there existed such a large and active body of volunteer, unpaid agricultural leaders as the force of soil conservation district supervisors, directors, and other district officials. Certainly all of us can be proud of the great job which has been done so far.

However the amount which remains to be done is staggering. All in all, it is probable that not more than 10 percent of the work needed to be done has yet been accomplished. That constitutes a challenge to every one of us.

There are two immediate and pressing problems which confront us from a conservation standpoint at the present time. One is the result of the drought which has prevailed in parts of our country for as long as the past 7 years. At least 15 States are now seriously affected by this drought, which has brought tragedy and desolation to some of the finest farming land in our country. In the Great Plains area from Canada to Mexico, there are vast areas in which, if the drought continues and unfavorable weather conditions prevail during the next 2 or 3 months, untold damage can result. In many areas the rainfall during the year 1956 is the lowest since weather records have been kept. Absence of severe wind during the fall and winter months has prevented great and lasting damage already. Credit must be given also to the fact that farmers in this area, equipped with proper tools and possessed of the knowledge which we have learned in controlling wind erosion during the past 25 years, have done a heroic job in keeping the land in the best possible condition under the circumstances which prevail.

This is short-range work, but as is well known, the Department of Agriculture under the leadership of the Soil Conservation Service, is about to start on a long-range program covering the entire Great Plains area.

The other problem of great immediacy in many parts of the country is that of water. I have already referred to the fact that soil and water conservation are inseparable and that water conservation has been considered as an integral part of soil conservation since the program first began. But it is only during the last 5 or 6 years that we have begun to realize that in many parts of the country, including some of the humid areas, the question of an adequate water supply is of immediate and pressing importance.

This is in part due to the tremendous increase in water consumption coincident with our increase in population, in part to the expansion of industry, the increase of irrigation, and also in expanded consumption for household purposes. Today the use of water in this country amounts to 200 billion gallons a day with the prospect that it will not be many more years until we will be using twice as much.

When we realize that our steel industry uses 4 trillion gallons of water a year, that the petroleum industry uses 1½ trillion gallons every year, and that the daily household water use per American citizen amounts to more than 50 gallons—we can get some idea of how our total economy depends upon water conservation.

If we are going to increase our water supply in this country, we must begin right where the rain falls. We must proceed on the basis that the ground is the greatest and most wonderful reservoir of all; that there is more natural water storage capacity in the earth than in all the man-made structures and reservoirs we can ever hope to build on top of it.

I do not mean to say that anything we can do to the land and the small streams in the upper watersheds is going to cause all the water to soak into the ground and to prevent forever the rapid accumulation of runoff water sufficient to cause floods in the river valleys down below. What I do mean to say is that every drop of water which can be retained in the area in which it falls, either in the earth or in small retarding structures, is one drop subtracted from a potential flood and one drop added to our useful water supply.

The sad part about our approach to the question of conserving water is that in too many cases we have started at the wrong end. We have put the cart before the horse. Instead of spending our money and doing our work by holding the water near the place where it falls and storing it in the ground where it will be ready for use and in a useful form when we need it—we have spent nine-tenth of our funds in building great dams and reservoirs to hold the water which should not have gotten away in the first place, and which would not have done so had proper conservation measures been applied.

I have heretofore referred to the 1936 Flood Control Act and amendments thereto. That act provided for upper watershed development as well as downstream projects. It has been in effect for 20 years. During that time, including the 1957 fiscal year, there has been appropriated for upstream flood prevention, $61,200,000 embracing 11 projects. By way of comparison in round figures, the flood control improvements completed and placed in operation by the Corps of Army Engineers to control the water after it got away from the land and into the channels of larger streams have cost to date $1,500,000,000. In addition, projects which were in a construction stage in 1955 were estimated to cost $4,200,000,000. Projects in the planning stage were estimated to cost $3,300,000,000. The estimated cost of flood-control projects authorized but on which no work has been accomplished were estimated to be $2,100,000,000.

In other words, the total flood-control program on the major rivers of the Nation today including projects completed, under construction, in the planning stage, and authorized, represents a total estimated cost of $11,100,000,000.

Practically all of this is Federal money, since it is estimated that the total non-Federal contributions to the national flood-control program so far have been less than 6½ percent.

Of course some of this money has been and will be spent, but in my opinion, if we carry out an adequate soil and water conservation program on the land and in the upper reaches of our streams where the work ought to start, a very large percentage of the funds expended or to be expended by the Army Engineers for flood control would not be necessary.

I am not opposed to flood control by reservoirs on our major streams as a means of conserving and controlling the runoff which may occur after we have placed into effect a sound soil and water program on the land itself; but as I said awhile ago, the tragedy is that we have started at the wrong end.

I do not want to sound too discouraging. We have made great progress in many ways—we have laid a solid foundation for the future. We have the authority now—and I think adequate authority, subject to such changes as may be found necessary through experience, to carry out a great soil and water program in this country. The machinery which has been set up, beginning with our soil-conservation districts and going up to the Soil Conservation Service in the Department of Agriculture, is geared to the job. There are cooperating agencies, all of them in the main working effectively with the Soil Conservation Service in carrying out work on the land. I am referring to the Agricultural Conservation Program Service, the Farmers Home Administration, the Forest Service, the Department of the Interior and its several agencies, the Soil Bank—as well as State and private forestry programs. The Extension Service in most cases has done a grand job in carrying out the educational phases of the soil and water conservation program.

The machinery is set up to do the job, but it can't be done without money. We must operate on a larger scale. I do not favor attempting to move any Government program faster than we can find competent personnel to carry it out, but the time has come when the thing which is impeding an adequate soil and water program is the lack of funds in the Federal budget.

This indicates to me that we need to do more in an educational way in convincing the country, the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of the Budget, and the Congress that a greatly expanded program is urgently needed.

We cannot afford to sit by complacently and say that the problem is being solved because we know how to deal with it in a technical way and because the machinery has been set up by which conservation programs can be carried out and because most of our people are intellectually or emotionally convinced that conservation is a fine thing.

If we look back into history we will find that many of the great nations of the past which neglected their land and which finally failed on that account, knew a great deal about how to deal with the problems of erosion.

The areas in the world which perhaps show the greatest effects of soil neglect are those around the Mediterranean, such as north Africa, the Near East, Greece, and Spain, and southern Italy—and yet ancient documents as well as remnants of work done on this land hundreds of years ago, show that the people whose neglect ruined the land in those areas centuries ago, knew a good deal about conservation and conservation practices.

China is a land which has suffered tremendously from erosion. Much of its best land has washed into the sea, and yet 2,000 years ago the people of China knew much of what we now know about conservation methods.

Here in our own country Washington and Jefferson in their time were concerned with the dangers of erosion. Patrick Henry is credited with making the statement that "he is the greatest patriot who stops the most gulleys," and yet in spite of the example and activity of these great men, it was almost 150 years before we began serious governmental efforts to deal with our soil and water problems.

May I say again, it is not enough that we are conscious of the problem. It is not enough that everybody is in favor of conservation as a principle. It is not enough that we have developed a well-organized program of governmental assistance. What we need is action, and action on a scale commensurate with the size of the job which needs to be done.

I know of no organization which has done more and which can do more than this one in bringing an adequate conservation program to a realization in this country. I say this with full knowledge that there are many other great and influential organizations working for the same objective. They are all making a genuine and effective contribution. Between them they have accomplished wonders in making the people of this Nation more conservation minded.

But you who comprise the officers and members of this organization have a background which peculiarly qualifies you to furnish the leadership in a crusade to speed up this great program of soil and water conservation. You are men of the soil; you are leaders in your own States and communities; you have the confidence of your fellow farmers; you are dedicated to the idea of conservation, and yet you are practical men who know that the big job ahead can only be accomplished by hard work, persistence, and cooperation. Yours is a truly great responsibility. You have accomplished much and because you have, much more is expected in the years ahead. More power to you.

Schools and the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL K. McCONNELL, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Journal of Commerce of January 31, 1957:

SCHOOLS AND THE FUTURE

We live in an age in which standards of training and skill required of the working population are high and steadily getting higher.

It is also an age in which the strong trend toward automation is changing established patterns of working and living. Side by side with these trends new and rather urgent problems are emerging. What to do about untrained workers? What to do about the technologically displaced workers? The cost of ignoring these problems may prove quite high to business, to labor, and to society generally.

This being so, the Federal aid to education bill which the President sent to Congress on Monday rates top-flight priority on economic as well as social grounds. The urgency of expanded facilities for adequate training is already illustrated by the great lengths to which many businesses are forced to go today in order to obtain personnel with reasonably specialized abilities.

Scarcities of adequately trained persons are already bottlenecking development of many types of automated equipment, to use just one illustration. And the scarcities are limiting not only the use of such equipment, once developed and produced, but also the development and production of automated equipment itself.

If the situation is already difficult, it will be accentuated as times goes on. As the President warned, pupils in the public schools jumped by 5,500,000 in the past half decade, and our facilities are already bursting at the seams. They will increase by another 6 million in the next 5 years, while enrollment in institutions of higher education may triple in 10 to 18 years.

Without care and foresight, then, we may be moving into a situation characterized by acute shortages of adequately equipped workers on the one hand, and growing numbers of poorly equipped, technologically displaced job applicants on the other.

It is accordingly fitting that the President chose the Federal aid to education bill to lead off his procession of special legislative requests to the new Congress.

The President's proposal is about as economical an approach to a compelling national need as could be devised. It will prove controversial for that very reason. The formula which it supplies for allocating funds to the States, like that used in the President's bill last year, does not spread money around quite so freely as some of the Democrats would prefer. By and large, it is a good formula, for it tries to put the money where the need is greatest.

The antisegregation issue remains a threat to the legislation. But this issue need not prove insurmountable if the President carries through with the sense of urgency which marked his initial message, and proves willing, if need to be, to take his appeal to the people of the country to get a bill. There is need for strong leadership and determination within the administration and in Congress to counteract a defeatist attitude on this legislation.

In addition to providing for grants on a matching basis, the bill recognizes that some school districts may be unable to obtain borrowed funds at reasonable rates. Hence, provision is made for the Federal Government to purchase up to $750 million of such construction bonds over the 4-year period.

This is a realistic and sensible approach to a problem which could hamper the program when it begins to get underway. By substituting Federal credit for local, it does not increase the total amount of borrowing.

It does, however, because of the more favorable terms which are available to the Federal Government, make funds available more cheaply where the ability to pay may be limited.

While the proposed basis for allocating grants to the States is preferable to the democratic formula, the precise terms ought not to be permitted to become a further source of delay. Any reasonable compromise should be speedily accepted by both sides.

The administration might well agree to throw out that part of its formula which gives added weight to "effort" or "performance" by the State. This concept, while theoretically desirable, deviates from the criterion of need and has caused too much argument already.

It is by no means crass to say that education is good business. The uneducated and economically unintegrated may suffer wasteful and needless disabilities in a highly technical age. The ability of our youth to find their economic and social place in our increasingly complex environment will measure the social and economic cost of delay to the Nation in the years to come. Congress should lose no time in getting the aid to education bill underway.

United States Must Beware of Efforts To "Prussianize" Joint Chiefs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego (Calif.) Evening Tribune of Thursday, December 6, 1956:

UNITED STATES MUST BEWARE OF EFFORTS TO "PRUSSIANIZE" JOINT CHIEFS

Continuing pressure to substitute a Prussian-style supreme general staff for our time-tested, war-proven Joint Chiefs of Staff is a step toward weakening American defenses.

This pressure is coming from a small group of active and retired military figures.

This is not a matter to be shrugged off as just an argument among the "brass."

What is at stake is a workable American concept of defense.

What is being devious proposed in its place is an alien concept that has invariably led to military disaster and national collapse.

If this judgment seems overly dire, just consider:

The single chief of staff-supreme general staff idea enabled the Prussians to gain military and political control of Germany under both the Kaiser and Hitler and goose-step that nation along the road of militarism and disaster.

This autocratic concept was seized by Tojo and his militaristic clique to rule Japan and launch that nation on a course of catastrophe.

It provided Mussolini's Fascist dictatorship with its foredoomed basic military pattern.

In substance, it is the system by which the Kremlin makes the Red army a tool in its scheme for world conquest by communism.

Congress—fortunately for the Nation's strength—has resolutely rejected attempts to impose this Prussian system on our Joint Chiefs of Staff concept.

It needs the continued firm backing of an alert and informed citizenry.

The advantages of the Joint Chiefs concept are overwhelming.

First of all, this is a thoroughly American system—as American as our Government itself, with its built-in system of checks and balances against the excesses of any single individual, any single idea, any single interest.

The Joint Chiefs can bring to bear on any problem, all the military talent, the combat

experiences, the staff support, and the operational capabilities of all our Armed Forces.

With the exception of the Chairman, each member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is the uniformed chief of his respective service.

He is in constant touch with his own service as well as with day-to-day changes in the world situation.

So when the Joint Chiefs sit down to a problem, they can pool all of their viewpoints and experiences to strive for decisions in the light of the best overall answer.

There is no super know-it-all at the top.

Naturally, differences arise among the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

This not only is natural, but highly desirable.

This is the sort of competition in ideas that has made this Nation so strong in other fields—commerce and industry, education and politics.

It supplies our Nation's defense organization with imaginative and flexible ideas.

It is our best guaranty against a deadly rigidity in military thinking.

It acts as an effective deterrent to the always-present danger of a fatal strategic blunder when a supreme authority is isolated from realities.

On the shoulder-to-shoulder solidarity of our American Joint Chiefs of Staff rests the best safeguard for this Nation's future—the lives of our sons and daughters, our resources, and our freedom.

It is an awesome responsibility, and one that Americans will not want to see sapped by the imposition of an alien Prussian system.

New Tax Idea Under Railroad Retirement That Will Prove Beneficial to Railroad Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, legislation has been introduced that will enable railroad workers to claim a deduction in filing income tax returns for moneys that are paid as a tax into the Railroad Retirement Fund. It is a new idea but worthy of serious consideration and approval.

I include as part of my remarks an editorial appearing in the Courier Post newspaper of Camden, N. J., under date of February 19, 1957, and entitled "New (and More Honest?) Tax Idea." The editorial reads as follows:

NEW (AND MORE HONEST?) TAX IDEA

Congressman WOLVERTON is cosponsor of an interesting bill to give railroad employees higher retirement and unemployment compensation benefits at no cost to themselves.

As ranking minority member of the House Commerce Committee, WOLVERTON has joined Chairman HARRIS, Democrat, of Arkansas, in sponsoring this novel legislation which may have far-reaching effects on future tax policies.

The Harris-Wolverton bill would boost retirement and survivor benefits 10 percent and would liberalize other benefits in various ways through higher retirement tax payments. It would require employers and workers to pay 7¼ percent each into the railroad retirement system (which takes the place of social security for railroad employees) on the first $400 of a worker's monthly wages. The present tax is 6¼ percent each on the first $350.

But the new and far-reaching feature of the legislation is that the entire amount of the worker's retirement tax payments would be exempted from the Federal income tax. At present, the amount withheld from a railroader's wages for retirement taxes is counted as part of his income for income tax purposes, just like the money withheld from other workers' wages for social security.

Obviously, under such a setup the railroader could afford to pay more taxes toward retirement than he does now and yet would save money instead of being out of pocket the extra amount.

The legislation is backed by the railroad unions and in fact was sought by them last year. How good a chance of passage it stands now remains to be seen.

It is hardly exaggerating to call the implications of the bill revolutionary, so far as the personal income tax is concerned.

If Congress grants permission for the railroad workers to exclude their retirement tax payments from their income in computing their income taxes, will it not be obliged in all equity to grant the same favor to everyone paying social security taxes, and exclude those payments also from adjusted net income—or whatever the technical name for it may be?

Come to think of it, would that really be a favor on the part of Congress, or the correction of a long-standing moral wrong?

Is there morality or fairness in superimposing the income tax on the social security tax as the law now does, and pretending that money which the Government takes away from him before he gets it, through the social security levy, is income?

Or is a transparent deception and an unjustifiable fraud for which the Government should hang its head?

Indiana's (Pa.) Bootstraps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 18, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, success stories are a marvelous stimulant to young and old alike. I have such a story for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It needs to be enshrined in the history of American Government because there it will be available as a lighthouse for other communities that may become inundated in a sea of economic despair.

Indiana's Bootstraps, by George Swetnam, appearing in the Pittsburgh Press for January 6, 1957, is an account of the fabulous business rejuvenation—brought about by the faith, spirit, courage, independence, and industry of a townspeople—which has taken place in a town which I am proud to say is a part of the congressional district I represent. I commend it to the attention of all America:

INDIANA'S BOOTSTRAPS
(By George Swetnam)

If you want to see what a hardhit community can do for itself in the American way, look at Indiana—the town and county.

It's one of the hottest spots in Pennsylvania today, growing like a whole patch of weeds. Yet only 8 years ago it was about the last area you'd figure for a boom.

There sat Indiana, a typical "coal poor" Pennsylvania town and country. Its business was on the skids, and the relief rolls were full.

During World War II, Indiana County had close to 9,000 men working in its coal mines, and things were booming.

By 1948 everything had changed. Some of the mines were worked out. Other were closed because they couldn't be profitably operated. Still others had switched to mechanized equipment or had become strippping areas, throwing many men out of work.

Only 2,300 miners had jobs. Indiana's only other industry of any size employed not more than 300 to 350 men at best. The rest of the displaced workers eked out a precarious existence at odd jobs, tried farming, or moved away.

Today more than half those displaced workers are back at solid industrial jobs, and new plants are coming into the country faster than they can be completed.

And the whole thing has been done without any "angels" any lucky breaks, any Government subsidies or miralces. Indiana has lifted itself by its own bootstraps.

It has been done with only the assets available to any other conveniently located community—unless you count an unusual degree of what we call the American spirit.

VERY INDEPENDENT

"There is a great deal of independence about Indiana," says William L. Ingersoll, who has been active in the town's revival.

Mr. Ingersoll is a former Philadelphia newspaperman, who became secretary of the Indiana County Chamber of Commerce just after its first attempt to revive business almost ended in failure.

"Indiana County people don't give up easily," Mr. Ingersoll says, "nor are they looking for somebody to do anything for them. They like to do things for themselves."

Indiana's upward climb started when things were right at their lowest, when a tool plant offered to come to the county if people would raise $6,000 for its moving expenses.

After a desperation campaign they only managed to get $5,000, but the company agreed to come to the county anyway.

After all, the county offered many advantages. It lies high in the Appalachian Plateau, but most of its land rolls smoothly enough for good building, farming, and transport. The town is located at the crossing of two national highways, 119 north and south, and 422 east and west. It is 50 miles from Pittsburgh, 50 miles from Altoona, and the same distance from the great recreational area around Dubois. It is only 8 miles from the new U. S. 22, has good connections with the Pennsylvania and Ohio Turnpikes, and is served by two railroads. These are the Pennsylvania branch to the main line at Blairsville, and the Baltimore & Ohio between Pittsburgh and Buffalo.

The tool plant was successfully located between Indiana and Homer City, one of the best industrial areas, and now employs some 500 workers.

Then, despite the near failure, the chamber of commerce decided to try again. Encouraged by Mr. Ingersoll at the helm, it set out to raise $278,000 to build a factory for a sportswear concern.

Almost any other community might have been discouraged at such a task, just after having failed in an attempt to raise less than one-fortieth as much. Instead, Indiana looked at the benefit that had come from the first campaign, and rolled up its sleeves.

The first move was to set up an Industrial Development Corporation, to raise the money, build the plant, and rent it to the new industry, which could buy the factory later if it wished.

Right away, the campaigners went to the town's three banks and laid the plan before them. After making sure it was sound, all three promised full cooperation.

Then the drive workers went straight to the people of Indiana with the plan, pointing out the benefit already brought by the tool plant, and how much more another industry would help.

The plan worked. The campaign brought in $90,000 in cash gifts, and another $77,000 invested in no-interest bonds issued by the Development Corp. The 3 banks cooperated by lending the other $121,000 on a 4 percent mortgage.

Before the end of 1952, the Indiana Sportswear Co. was in operation near the tool plant, busily making blazers and sports jackets.

The sportswear factory gives steady employment to 220 workers, with a healthy payroll. But that isn't all—it's hardly half.

Recall that the company leased the plant with an option to buy. It quickly decided to purchase the factory, on a plan that would pay it off in 10 years. Now it has increased its payments to a figure that will pay off in 7½, instead. And it has announced plans to enlarge the factory enough to employ double its present working force.

When the sportswear plant is paid off, that will release $278,000 for use in another similar endeavor. But Indiana hasn't waited for that day to arrive.

"After the sportswear project, when the community saw what it could do, they just started going," says Mr. Ingersoll.

The next thing that came in sight was a chance to attract the Robertshaw-Fulton Co., which makes heat controls and similar things. But this job wasn't going to come cheap, costing close to half a million dollars.

All Indiana did was to roll up its sleeves and go to work, and that was all that was needed. All but $170,000 of the amount was raised by popular subscription to 3 percent mortgage bonds, the rest on a bank mortgage at the same figure.

Some 3 years ago the 70,000 square-foot building was completed and occupied by the controls company, on a lease basis, with jobs for about 350 men. But already the company has taken over the mortgage and started buying the building on a 10-year payment plan. And work has been started on a second and even larger building for the same company, with plans to increase employment to around 1,000 workers.

Already the Indiana people have gone after and secured another plant, this time that of the United Door Co. A short campaign quickly raised the necessary fund of over $350,000, to assure construction of the building, which was contracted for on a 10-year purchase plan.

The factory, starting with about 150 workers, will later include also an aluminum-extrusion plant.

The people of the area look with pardonable pride upon Indiana State Teachers College, one of the livest and fastest-growing in Pennsylvania. Only a small school for years, its enrollment passed the 2,000 mark this year, and is expected to continue its increase. Its plans include five new buildings.

Along with other schools (and Indiana boasts two of the newest and most modern public schools anywhere) and with the churches, the college is a major cultural force for the area.

The boom has swept along with it the Indiana Hospital, built 40 years ago when the district was just a coal area. Improvements there include $1,300,000 for a new wing and other modernization and equipment. A drive for $600,000 cash for this cause took only 8 weeks, and ended close to $20,000 over the goal.

Surveys are now underway, too, for modernizing and enlarging the water and sewage systems. Originally planned to serve perhaps 5,000 people, they are now bursting at the seams with 5 times that load, with more calls to come.

Other late improvements have included the Jimmy Stewart Airport, named in honor of Indiana's movie hero son, and the beautiful new Mack Recreation Center, which cost $2 million, and for which another half-million-dollar building is planned.

This alone of the achievements was a gift to Indiana. It was provided by the J. S. Mack Foundation, set up by an Indiana family which has had a leading part in building up the G. C. Murphy chain.

Another windfall may come along soon. The Government is looking over Indiana County for a site for a $180,000 armory to serve as an Army school and training center for 100 men.

With so much activity, private construction also is booming. Several contractors are busy building new homes, but the one serious problem of the area today is a housing shortage.

As you look around the town and county, your mind turns back to the words of a railroad calendar on Bill Ingersoll's wall at the chamber of commerce. Something makes you feel its spirit if not the slogan has taken hold on Indiana.

It reads—"Constantly doing things better."

IS INDIANA GROWING?

Just look at this list of accomplishments in less than a decade:

Raised $5,000 to secure Syntron Co. plant employing 500.

Raised $278,000 and built plant for Indiana Sportswear Co., employing 220. Plans enlargement.

Raised $500,000 and built plant for Robertshaw-Fulton Co., employing 350. Building enlargement to 1,000.

Raised $350,000 for United Door plant, to employ 150. Enlargement already planned.

Raised $600,000 cash and building $1,300,000 addition to hospital.

Built $2 million Mack Recreation Center. Enlargement planned.

Several new college buildings completed, three more already voted by State.

Two new school buildings completed, more planned.

Jimmy Stewart Airport in operation.

Army $180,000 armory planned.

Besides rapid growth as a principal Christmas-tree center and cabbage growing area of the East.

Mr. Speaker, individuals are the components of communities, and these units of society may also find opportunity for advancement and success in patterns set by groups of forebears or by groups of contemporaries.

In an era when paternalistic governments are depended upon to a progressively greater degree, a narrative on the accomplishments of a town which, through the ingenuity and determination of its own citizenry, extracted itself from the doldrums of business stagnation and unemployment to economic effervescence and stability is especially refreshing and reassuring.

Mr. Speaker, I am confident that the community of Indiana, Pa., under the effective leadership of the chamber of commerce, will continue to grow and grow.

Brotherhood Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, as you know, Brotherhood Week will be observed this year from February 18 to February 22. Numerous speeches will be delivered and many editorials written extolling brotherhood.

Two thousand miles from this Capitol there is an organization which is not merely giving lip service to the subject of brotherhood. It is practicing brotherhood. I would like to tell you a little about this fine old institution, the National Jewish Hospital at Denver.

Back in the eighties and nineties there was a steady procession of victims of tuberculosis from the slums of the East to the clear, healthful heights of Denver. In those days climate was an important factor in the treatment of this scourge. Many tuberculosis sufferers journeyed to the West by covered wagon. However, when they reached their destination in Denver, large numbers literally died in the streets. There were no hospitals, sanatoria, or other facilities to care for them.

In this situation the Jewish community of Denver founded the National Jewish Hospital. The first building was completed in 1892 but because of a depression the trustees were unable to open it. The building remained unused until 1899 when B'nai B'rith, the Jewish service organization, provided funds for operating expenses.

The first patient was a Catholic girl from Chicago. From that day, the hospital has never considered religion, race, or national origin in its admission of patients.

Here is a living example of brotherhood. In its patient population National Jewish Hospital at Denver has Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. It has white Anglo-Saxons from New England, Negroes from Texas, Spanish-Americans from Arizona, and Indians from South Dakota. Although Israel and her neighbors are at sword's point, Jewish nationals from Israel and Moslem patients from Indonesia receive their medication, side by side, at the famous medical center. For the tubercle bacillus which causes the dreaded tuberculosis can afflict anyone regardless of color, nationality, religious persuasion, or economic status. This organism is completely without prejudice, even as is National Jewish Hospital.

I should tell you that despite a widespread misconception and despite great progress that has been made in the last decade, tuberculosis remains a formidable health problem. Approximately 15,000 of our fellow Americans died of this disease last year and nearly 100,000

new cases were reported to public health authorities. For every reported case there were an estimated two unreported cases.

You will agree that much remains to be done in this area by the research scientists and doctors at National Jewish Hospital at Denver. Meanwhile, however, the personnel of this great, nonsectarian institution is deeply involved in other medical programs. The hospital treats all diseases of the chest. Recently it expanded its programs of treating heart defects which can be corrected by surgery. This cardiac program, like all others at the hospital, is completely without charge to the patient.

National Jewish Hospital at Denver is supported almost entirely by voluntary contributions from the public. Warmhearted citizens who practice what they preach about brotherhood make possible its lifesaving work. The hospital slogan is and always has been, "None may enter who can pay; none can pay who enter." For 58 years National Jewish Hospital has given its patients some four million days of care for which these patients paid not 1 cent.

It is appropriate to review the policies and activities of National Jewish Hospital at Denver on the occasion of Brotherhood Week. Here is a monument to brotherhood which all of us might well study and try to emulate.

No Sanctions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, to invoke sanctions against Israel would be as unconscionable as our failure to invoke them against the actions of Russia in Hungary. In this connection, the following editorial, which appeared in the New York Journal-American of February 7, 1957, makes most interesting reading:

NO SANCTIONS

From the statements of President Eisenhower at his press conference yesterday and those of Secretary Dulles the day before there arises the implicit probability that the administration would go along with the United Nations if it voted to impose sanctions against Israel.

We agree with Senate Republican leader, KNOWLAND, that such administration action would be morally insupportable. We think it would be also a diplomatic defeat and another cheap triumph for the little Hitler of the Middle East, Egypt's Nasser.

There is no question that a primary condition of establishing peace in the Middle East is Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza strip and the Gulf Aqaba area.

It is equally basic that a primary condition of withdrawal should be the firm assurance to Israel that Gaza and Aqaba will be under the protection of the U. N. Emergency Force.

Egypt insists on a blank check withdrawal. If the administration should support a U. N. sanction vote it would be endorsing President Nasser's blank check, and it might turn out to be a rubber check as well.

As Senator KNOWLAND points out, the U. N. Assembly adopted 10 resolutions against Soviet aggression in Hungary, which Russia spurned.

Did the U. N. take punitive action against Russia? It did not.

Did the U. N. take action against India for moving into Kashmir? It did not.

Did it take any action against Egypt for ignoring the resolution on the Suez Canal? It did not.

Has the U. N. considered any sanctions on evidence that the armistice terms have been and are being flagrantly violated in North Korea? It has not.

The case for Israel is good enough to stand on its own, and against such a background of U. N. sidestepping it becomes impregnable.

The President said yesterday this Nation is committed to support the U. N. Very well. The best way to stop a sanction vote, and thus avoid the embarrassment of supporting it, is to let the U. N. know the administration's opposition, and to know it now.

Certainly the administration will not deny that its influence in the U. N. is always formidable and often decisive.

Rhode Island National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an item from the Evening Bulletin, Providence, R. I., for February 11, 1957. This item is a letter to the editor from Mr. Anthony A. Pelliccia, better known to me as "Sharkey," a man who has given many years of devoted service to the National Guard in my State of Rhode Island. I know that he speaks for the thousands of guardsmen in Rhode Island who deeply resent the gratuitous slur contained in the recent remarks of the Secretary of Defense. That their loyal, patriotic efforts in defense of this Nation should be so rewarded is certainly most unfortunate. I would like to take this opportunity to assure my good friends in the Rhode Island National Guard that we in the Congress of the United States are aware of the great contributions they have made and that we sincerely regret the blanket aspersion made on their organization:

CALLS FOR APOLOGY

This letter is an answer to the regrettable remarks made by Secretary of Defense Wilson, published in the Providence Journal of January 29, regarding draft dodgers within the National Guard of our United States.

In the year 1950, during the Korean conflict, I was appointed recruiting sergeant for the 169th AAA, AW, BN (SP) 43d Division. We were set up downtown at the mall in the city of Providence. Many boys and men in the age group from 17 through 40, including veterans of World War II, enlisted in the National Guard without even knowing the destination of the 43d Division.

This division was already federalized at that time. Many of these boys and men were sent to Korea after training at Camp Pickett, Va.

Mr. Wilson's remarks must make the families of those lost in action in Korea feel very good to hear their loved ones died as draft dodgers. Also, those who served honorably, were discharged, and came back to their loved ones and their country, must feel good to hear such a shameful remark.

These men served their Nation and fought for the only words we all know—freedom and democracy. I ask Mr. Wilson, were these boys and men draft dodgers?

In closing, may I say that I think it is the moral duty of President Eisenhower, who is responsible for any actions of his Cabinet members, to apologize to the entire Nation for the remarks made by Secretary Wilson.

ANTHONY A. PELLICCIA.
PROVIDENCE.

Delaying Tactics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following from the Boston Herald of February 19, 1957:

DELAYING TACTICS

Everybody would be happier if Israel acceded to the President's appeal and withdrew its troops from Egypt at once. But one can easily understand why it holds back.

Israel is a nation under siege. It is surrounded by frankly hostile neighbors and has known nothing else since its birth 10 years ago. Its borders have been forged in war and maintained by armed vigilance. To the Jews the invasion of Sinai was a purely defensive move. It was aimed at wiping out bases from which Egypt was raiding Israeli territory and attacking Israeli shipping. The Israeli Government is naturally reluctant to give up everything it has won without some assurance the Egyptian attacks will not be resumed.

The compromise proposals which Mr. Dulles put forward last week recognized Israel's basic position. Our Government supported the U. N. demand that Israel withdraw without condition. But at the same time it engaged to urge U. N. occupation of the Gaza strip and, more importantly, to press unilaterally for recognition of the right of free passage through the Gulf of Aqaba.

As the President put it Sunday, "Israel has legitimate grievances and should, in all fairness, see a prospect of remedying them."

The pity is that, having recognized the necessity of providing Israel some quid pro quo, we haven't provided enough to win it over. The Jewish state has had offers of moral support before. In the tripartite agreement, for example, the United States, Britain, and France guaranteed Israel's borders against aggression. And subsequently the U. N. formally asserted Israel's right to send ships through the Suez Canal. But Israel's borders continued to be violated and no Israeli ship was allowed through the canal.

Israel obviously welcomed Mr. Dulles' latest proposals. They were more generous than anything the U. N. could offer. And the Aqaba Gulf suggestion in particular seemed to open great possibilities for the Jewish state. But under close examination they didn't stand up so well.

The United States has promised to assert the right of free passage through the gulf to Israel's port of Elath. But if the Egyptians oppose, what then? When asked this question, the State Department announced that we would under no circumstances use force. Can one "assert" a right, while anonuncing in advance one will not fight for it? Perhaps one can, but it isn't the kind of assertion in which the experience-sharpened Israeli have much faith.

Surely there is something more to be said to the Israeli. If we really believe that the Gulf of Aqaba is an international waterway, we can at least state our position unequivocally. And we need not abjure the use of force if our rights are forcibly denied by countries bordering the waterway.

Technically Israel is quite wrong to defy the U. N.'s withdrawal order. But if the delay drives us and the other Western Powers to find some positive answers to Middle Eastern problems, it will have been more than justified. We should not be too quick to censure.

Organization for Trade Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter from a resident and businessman in my district which illustrates a basic problem that undoubtedly will be multiplied if every precaution of protection is not afforded by legislation in connection with the proposed Organization for Trade Cooperation likely to come before the 85th Congress.

Certainly this case should be food for thought for every Member of Congress interested in preserving the sound foundation of equitable competitive business in these United States.

The above mentioned follows:

R. S. BACON VENEER CO.,
Chicago, Ill., January 29, 1957.

Hon. HAROLD R. COLLIER,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. COLLIER: We are advised that congressional approval of the Organization for Trade Cooperation will be sought in this session.

We would like to urge you in the strongest manner possible to act in the interest of American industry, and testify against any bill to approve OTC when it comes up for hearing.

Our business, and a good share of our industry, has been drastically affected by the tremendous flood of cheap plywood coming into this country. Over 70 percent comes from Japan, and imports have now taken more than 45 percent of the domestic hardwood plywood market.

How are we and our employees to compete with 14-cent-per-hour labor in operations with dirt floor factories and working conditions far below American industrial standards?

Again, we urge you to first retain at all costs the congressional control on tariffs; and, secondly, to consider what is happening to such segments of industry as our own during what we read in the papers is a great economic boom.

Mr. Speaker, this letter was received from Joseph F. Mertes, a resident and businessman of my district: Joseph F. Mertes, president of the R. S. Bacon Veneer Co., of Chicago.

Hunting Abuses May End With Military Land-Grab Checks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Evening Star publication for Thursday, February 14, 1957. Investigations conducted by the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee have shown that there are many abuses of hunting and fishing rights on lands now controlled by the military establishments.

This article demonstrates that some military commanders rule their reservations like baronial estates, reserving hunting privileges on these reservations to themselves or their privileged guests.

I am happy to report that the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has had this matter under consideration for 2 years, and corrective legislation will be presented to the Congress during this session, which I strongly endorse and support.

The Evening Star article follows:

HUNTING ABUSES MAY END WITH LAND-GRAB CHECKS

(By Martin S. Hayden)

Everybody—the civilian hunter, GI's victimized by discriminatory State laws, and the Nation's wildlife—stand to gain from pending congressional action to end open warfare between military commanders and State and Federal conservation officers.

New "rules" being drafted by the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will simultaneously:

1. End an era of total and often-scandalous rule of vast military reservations by post commanders who have permitted hunting from helicopters and with everything from machine guns to bazookas, who have disregarded game seasons and rules protecting does and fawns, and who have, at times, threatened virtual armed action against State and Federal conservation officers who sought to interfere.

2. Open up many military reservations to controlled civilian hunters, providing individual States reciprocate by ending discrimination against and pricegouging of sportsmen in uniform.

3. Permit proper wildlife controls on military lands that are now happy hunting grounds for civilian poachers and havens for animal and bird marauders doing great damage to surrounding areas.

HITS MILITARY GRABS

The reforms are part of the campaign of Representative ENGEL, Democrat of California against what is being called the "military land grab," the uncontrolled program which has seen the Army, Navy, and Air Force gobble up—in the name of defense and modern weapons testing—some of the Nation's best hunting lands.

In two series of hearings, Mr. ENGEL has traced military confiscation of 25 million acres of public lands. He has shown that much of the land has been taken needlessly and permanently destroyed by poison gas and unexploded bombs, cartridges and missiles. Also he has documented a wildlife indictment.

He has shown that, while 40 States give equal treatment to soldiers stationed within their borders, seven do not. In Arizona, Colorado, Indiana, Oklahoma, Wyoming and North and South Dakota the GI is treated as a "nonresident" and virtually barred from hunting by prohibitive license fees.

WANTS BREAK FOR GI

Where such discrimination is continued, Mr. ENGEL's new law will provide the States cannot expect concessions from the military. Where regularly assigned soldiers are regarded like other residents, the new code will give balancing benefits to the community.

In some cases, the committee studies show, the big need is for a lot of open hunting—quick.

One such is a major Army ordnance depot in Nebraska. Successive commanders, unwilling to admit civilian hunters, have avoided trouble by also banning shooting by station personnel. The result is a plague of rabbits who happily scurry out each night to devastate surrounding farmlands and return with the dawn to their protected refuge.

Similarly, at Camp McCoy, Wis., the Army is only indirectly to blame for the trouble. The 80,000-acre reservation is completely Federal and principally used for summer training. Its skeleton winter detail cannot police it completely and it is a haven for civilian poachers who, technically, can thumb noses at State laws and game wardens.

ASSAILS ARROGANCE

Elsewhere, however, Mr. ENGEL's committee counsel, George W. Abbott, of Grand Island, Nebr., has documented cases of simply military arrogance and disregard of conservation rules.

At the Cherry Point, N. C., marine base deer have been hunted from helicopters and, in December 1953, there was a Cherry Point slaughter of does, fawns, and other protected creatures when the commanding officer approved a shoot of everything that moves.

Helicopter hunting also has been reported at Fort Bragg, N. C., where the State's official complaints were climaxed by a charge that deer were rounded up, transported by military aircraft to Fort Benning, Ga., and turned loose for the pleasures of Army hunters there.

At Fort Huachuca, Ariz., State conservation officers got a criminal warrant for the commanding general following the shooting of 58 deer late in 1955. Then, according to testimony from a United States Fish and Wildlife Service witness, the general retaliated by harassing a herd of State-owned buffalo on the reservation.

GENERAL UPBRAIDED

"One day," said the witness, "the general would move the herd to one end of the refuge and 2 days later he would have it driven to the other. That kept on until finally the State threw in the sponge. They had no other lands to move the buffaloes on so they had to have a public hunt, or public execution, because there was no sportsmanship."

From Fort Bliss, Tex., there has been running trouble with New Mexico over military misuse of game on the artillery range in that State. When State officials announced that, since they couldn't invade the reservation,

they were going to stop unlicensed Army hunters on the public roads, the angry commanding general retaliated with a counter-announcement that he would move animal carcasses to Bliss by military aircraft, or by military convoys that would run through police lines.

In an overall summary of the situation the Engel committee found that:

"On the side of the military, it is clear that Federal legislation is needed to define precisely the applications of State fishing and hunting laws to military reservations. It is equally clear that the military is unwilling or unable to recede from the position it has taken in many local-conflict areas without congressional guidance."

The Baghdad Pact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by the Right Honorable Anthony Nutting, former British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of January 17, 1957. In his article, Mr. Nutting analyzes the rift between this country and Great Britain and prescribes measures which may help to heal this deplorable situation:

NUTTING'S PLAN FOR MIDEAST BIDS UNITED STATES JOIN BAGHDAD PACT—HE SAYS MOVE, PLUS ECONOMIC AID, WOULD STIFFEN RESISTANCE OF ARAB COUNTRIES TO RED PRESSURE

(By Anthony Nutting)

The tragic chapter of accidents leading up to the Suez crisis has revealed all too clearly the bankruptcy of Anglo-American policy in the Middle East and the very real danger of Russian penetration. The Arab bloc—as even Nasser confessed to me two years ago—is too rickety to stand on its own. If Britain and America are going to stay in the Middle East and keep the Russians out both countries must develop a common and coherent policy and stick to it.

While some of the ruling classes of the Arab world may be alive to the Russian danger, there is also a deep-rooted suspicion of Western designs. The Anglo-French action over Suez has not exactly improved matters. In our dealings with the Middle East, therefore, we must be careful not to allow our influence to appear too directly. We must work through the Baghdad Pact, the U. N. and the press and radio of our Arab friends.

This does not mean that we should leave it all to our friends, or to the U. N. On the contrary, we must invest in friendship and give our Allies the moral and material backing to go to work on our behalf. We have failed lamentably to do this. Britain by her Suez policy has strengthened Nasser's hand and weakened Iraq's. America until now has leaned too heavily on the U. N. But the United Nations is an agency and not an alibi. It cannot be a substitute for constructive Anglo-American action to build up the political, military and economic defense of the Middle East against communism.

SAYS UNITED STATES SHOULD JOIN BAGHDAD PACT

The recent success of Russian penetration has been due in the main first to the lack of organized and visible American military strength and economic aid, and second, to the lack of political defense in depth behind the Baghdad Pact. True, there have been Presidential declarations—Tri-Partite declaration of 1950 and the declarations of April and November 1956 and now the declaration of January 5, 1957. But a declaration is not the same as an organized system of defense. Western Europe could never have withstood the Communist threat these last 8 years if America had been content with a policy of defense by declaration. Europe needed NATO with America a full participant and with United States forces visibly stationed in the area. Britain could not have done the job alone any more than she can in the Middle East. The President's new policy pronouncement must become part of an organized system of defense—the Baghdad Pact—and the United States forces that are to give effect to it must be physically and visibly based in the region, that is, Cyprus. It should therefore be followed up by the United States joining the Baghdad Pact as a full member. Nothing would stiffen more the resistance of such countries as Iraq and Persia to Russian pressure.

Then there is the question of aid, economic as well as military. Iraq has had pitifully little to show for having thrown in her lot with the West, either from America or from Britain. Cairo radio has contrasted this with Russian generosity to Egypt. If we are to show that friendship pays dividends we must step up assistance to Iraq and her allies, both in arms and in technical know-how to defeat the enemy within—poverty, illiteracy, and disease.

EXPANSION OF PACT HELD NECESSARY

But the Baghdad Pact must have more than Western beneficence and support. It must have defense in depth to mop up the soft spots of Soviet penetration in its rear; it must expand. Previous efforts to achieve this, by trying to get Jordan in, have failed badly. This was largely because Britain played her hand too openly which allowed Nasser to incite the Jordan mob to rebel against British imperialist designs. If the Baghdad Pact is to be extended, it must be done by Iraq, with Western moral support, not the other way round. This means getting the Iraqi project for the Fertile Crescent off the drawing board and into production.

This project for the federation of Iraq, Syria, and Jordan has been in the mind of Premier Nuri as-Said for a long time. But so far he has made no move to carry it through largely because of a lack of the necessary backing and encouragement. I know from personal experience of him that Nuri is a very shrewd operator, not the type to leap into dubious ventures. Otherwise, he could not have survived in office and as a friend of the West for over 30 years. We must back him in putting this project into action.

There can be no security for the Baghdad Pact countries while Syria remains an ally of Nasser and a virtual satellite of Russia and while Jordan wobbles ever closer toward Nasser clutches. Britain cannot continue indefinitely to prop up Jordan as something she never can be, an independent state. The Fertile Crescent would resolve these problems by bringing Syria and Jordan into the wider security arrangement of the Baghdad Pact and by giving them the stability and prosperity of Iraqi influence and money.

SYRIA ADVANCE BASE FOR RED ACTIVITY

Time is not on the side of Iraq and her friends. Syria, whose governments go from worse to worse, is becoming the main advance base for Soviet activity in the Middle East. Syria might well try to act first, with Russian and Egyptian backing, to create an "infertile crescent" under Syrian-Egyptian dominion. This would destroy the Baghdad Pact and open the Arab world to Soviet subversion.

So far, Nasser has had the success. But if Iraq could pull off this coup it would make Nuri, not Nasser, the success story of the Middle East. The Arab world would then listen to Baghdad instead of Cairo radio and look to Iraq, not Egypt, for Arab leadership. It would be an investment in the friendship of our most stable and reliable Arab ally.

It would secure rather than weaken Israel. For the result would be part of an alliance including Britain and the United States and designed to turn Arab eyes away from the Israeli-Arab conflict and toward the Russian threat.

This realinement of the Middle East would also help Britain to make changes in the present concept of ground forces and bases in Jordan and Libya, changes which are required to divert the rising waters of nationalism. If the U. N. forces can take over the Israeli frontier and Iraq takes over the defense of Jordan, British ground forces will be superfluous. We should then make with Jordan and Libya arrangements similar to what we have with Iraq, whereby British air forces, although in effect almost permanently stationed in Iraq are technically visitors flying in to train with Iraqi squadrons.

This arrangement would, however, depend on ground forces being available in an emergency in Cyprus. And the Cyprus base is at present in a state of siege.

CYPRUS PARTITION PLAN OPPOSED

Speaking as a southern Irishman, I do not like the latest partition solution. Partition only breeds friction, and that is, after all, what we are trying to cure. A lot has been said, too, about a NATO solution. But this is, I suggest, barking up the wrong defense organization. Cyprus may be European in population, but strategically and geographically it is part of the Middle East. It should, therefore, come not under NATO, but under the Baghdad Pact. And Greece should be brought into the pact.

There have recently been increasing signs that Greece is anxious to settle Cyprus. At the same time Turkey's interest must be cared for. The root of Turkish fears is not the future of the Moslem minority in Cyprus; it is the possibility of a military base being in the hands of a Greek Communist government on an island only 40 miles from Turkey. I have no doubt whatever that Greece would agree to the Cyprus base being administered in perpetuity by the Baghdad Pact countries. This would place the base in the care of a permanent majority of Moslem countries. It would take care of Turkey's security interest and would enable Britain to settle Cyprus without letting down the Turks.

We would then be able to do the one thing the Greeks insist upon and whch Turkey has so far refused—set a term of years for the exercise of self-determination by the Cypriot population. We should then have removed this dangerous quarrel between friends and secured the base of Middle East defense.

Argentina Sponsors Ben Franklin Anniversary Stamp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 29, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, congratulations to the people of Argentina in sponsoring the stamp commemorating the 250th birthday of Ben Franklin.

Of course, we Pennsylvanians are doubly proud of the fact that Ben Franklin was a Pennsylvanian, but he was essentially a prototype of the modern Atlantic Basin man where we all live. As a man of inquiring spirit, and friendly disposition, with the art of phrasing basic thoughts in pithy and homely words, Ben Franklin continues to live today in spirit among all of us in the Western Hemisphere.

As a Congressman who took part in the program for the celebration of the 250th birthday of Ben Franklin in Philadelphia recently, I wish to particularly congratulate our good Argentine friends for this recognition of the brotherhood of all people of spirit such as Ben Franklin, whose scientific approach and friendly spirit in troublous times are a current inspiration to all of us in the difficult time in which we of this present generation are living.

Text of Address Delivered by Lt. George W. Lee in Philadelphia at Victory Banquet Honoring Dr. Robert H. Johnson, Grand Exalted Ruler of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order Elks of the World, January 26, 1957, in Crystal Room, Broadwood Hotel

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a victory banquet was held in Philadelphia on January 26, 1957, honoring Dr. Robert H. Johnson, grand exalted ruler of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World. Under the leadership of Dr. Johnson and his highly competent associates, this great fraternal organization has achieved a record of service in fraternalism, educational, and civic leadership, which has contributed much toward good citizenship and good government.

The address was delivered by Lt. George W. Lee, of Memphis, Tenn., the grand commissioner of education, through whom Dr. Johnson has worked in the field of scholarship and education, in which area so much has been accomplished that reflects great credit upon this organization and its officers. Lieutenant Lee's address is of sufficient interest I feel that it should be made available to the Members of Congress and the public through the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Somehow I have the feeling that I have come to a high point of a story of tragic grandeur and impassioned beauty. When I first saw Bob Johnson, it was on a drill field in the heart of Maryland. A picture of him rises before me as a last night's dream. He wasn't at that time the handsome giant of a man capable of attracting the heart of the lovely woman who today bears his name. He was then a lean, hungry-looking rookie in the rear ranks of a squad. It was during the time when war crashed suddenly against our shores and men girdled their talents and buckled their loins for the sacred work of defending their country and rescuing humanity from that strangling gulf of despotism.

I saw him grow into a full-fledged soldier with confidence in himself and confidence in his comrades. I saw him lead his squad up the rocky slopes of glory without stumbling over a stone. I was his lieutenant then—today he is my captain. His life symbolizes the spirit of America where an obscure boy can rise from the dust of the day's long road to the pinnacle of a laughing star. Bob had the genius to appropriate opportunity when it knocked. He is the recognized leader of the greatest fraternal order in the world. Great not because of its numbers, 500,000 Elks whose lodges and temples extend east to the booming crossroads of the world; west to where the Rockies lose themselves in the haze of the distance; south to the sun-kissed Everglades, Florida.

The voice of Elkdom can be heard in China where Confucius taught the golden rule 500 years before Christ, in Africa above the tomtoms that rise like winged music through eternity, in the Bahamas where night comes down on a rope of twilight and kisses the waters of the Pacific. Elkdom is great because it has great ideals and has prosecuted them with success, a million and a half dollars raised for education for young men and women of all races who lacked the opportunity or suffered from the blight of poverty. Through its department of civil liberties a fight has been made to develop a proper sense of values within the individual so that crude conduct, bad language, rock-and-roll attitudes might be thrown away so that emphasis cannot only be placed on civil rights but on civic responsibility as well. Through the shrine department the John Brown Farm has been purchased and is now being developed to inspire the desire of the Negro to sacrifice if necessary life and treasure for freedom.

As the breath of pure mountain air on the mountaintop is to the elk as he goes forth to feed in the sunset shadows, so is liberty to the soul of our leader and the order he heads; as necessary as the morning sunshine is to the wild flowers that sweeten the air with their perfumes. "As vital as the general rainfall is to vegetation that waves and waves lazily in the meadows and in the sweltering river bottoms. So necessary and so universal must freedom be to assure contentment in the hearts of Americans."

It is appropriate that we gather here tonight around our leader when treason breaks above his head like distant thunder and poison pens and poison tongues lash out to destroy him and to destroy the usefulness of this great order of ours that for half a century has prosecuted its great task of justice, charity, fidelity and brotherly love with the sagaciousness of an outstanding success.

We have just witnessed his triumph over the slavish, fawning imposters who have darkened the name of Elkdom and beshamed finer, nobler aspects of their own people. Excellence, however, from the moment of its first blooming in the human heart has never winced nor cried out at the approach of cowardice. When harnessed to true leadership it becomes the irrisistible force and its conquests are as often as its engagements.

There are several philosophies of leadership. Emerson in one of his essays gives us the essence of one in a line which says, "See how men worry themselves into nameless graves while here and there a great unselfish soul forgets himself into immortality." Jesus gave a picture of true leadership when He said, "If I be lifted up I will draw all men unto Me." Judas gave another picture when he said, "I will get mine and then retire."

The Bob Johnson type of leadership has kept the Elks as a meeting ground for all men, a community of fellowship where the banker meets the porter, the doctor meets the garageman, and the woman from the the washtub mets the woman from the dressshop in an atmosphere of complete democracy and where youth meets age, youth as brown as the evening sun, as dark as night's soft shadow, as fair as the snows on the mountain. All have their place without being penalized about how they look or what they are.

History looking about for something that has endured will pick up the broken pen of promise and write the names of a half dozen leaders who have lived their brief hour then passed on leaving the world richer with the fruits of their labor. It will write the name of Douglas the advocate who in impassioned eloquence cried justice so loud that the cheeks of the world were made to blanch. It will write the name of Washintgon, the educator who dipped his pen in the blood and sweat of slaves and wrote into the curriculum of time, industrial education. It will write the name of Robert S. Abbot as the crusador who inspired the exodus of 2 million people of color to northern communities as a protest against their subjugation in the South.

It will write the name of J. Finley Wilson who inspired united action. Because of unity among black people today, Negroes are riding in unsegregated buses, trains, and all sorts of travel. As we view our progress on the civil rights front our faith mothers the belief that justice still lives in the minds of the descendants of the Founding Fathers who met in Philadelphia a long time ago and declared all men are created equal.

It will write the names of Bob Church and Robert Vann who led the protest against the Hoover administration for making the southern race policy the policy of the Republican Party of that day. Bob Church wrote his immortal letter of condemnation of the Hoover administration and Bob Vann his scorching editorial on There Stood the One Hundred. The editorial which pointed to a hundred Negroes standing in front of the White House while the eloquent Roscoe Simmons cried, "Speak, Mr. President, speak." A political revolution was started that shook heaven and earth and almost dismembered the Republican Party.

It will write the names of DuBois, Walter White, and Thurgood Marshall for developing in men of color the greatest emotional urge to throw off their oppressors since John Brown assaulted the arsenal at Harper's Ferry.

It will write the name of A. Phillip Randolph who inspired an era of Fair Employment Practice and Martin Luther King whose spiritual vision has accomplished much in the field of religion.

What the judgment of history will be on the leadership of Robert H. Johnson is in the lap of the future, but when history speaks it will say he took over an empire left by Finley Wilson and extended its frontiers to undiscovered horizons. I believe history will say that he saw the gathering storm against the Constitution rising in the southland. He launched a successful natiowide registration campaign to register 6 million Negroes and by this organized vote to force the political party in power to protect the Negro's rights and Congress to pass adequate civil-rights laws.

I believe that history will say when Bob Johnson heard the cry of the people of China, the people of Africa, and other lands against the shame of subjugation, he threw the weight of his organization behind a program to destroy colonialism in the world. He pointed out to the President of the United States that so long as colonialism exists all talk about stopping the reds is futile. He asked the President to propose a conference

with our allies for the purpose of maping out a plan for its elimination. He made sagacious observation when he said there are some 800 million people in the world who are not committeed between communism and democracy, America can win these people if it takes the lead in a plan to end colonialism.

Standing here today we can appreciate Bob Johnson's firm grasp of the international picture and the important part Africa will play in the future in assisting America to its rightful place of world leadership. Africa has the people and the raw natural resources to give the forces of the free world a needed power and strength against the eastward flow of communism. A large percent of the manganese with which America makes its steel comes from the Belgian Congo. The greatest supply of uranium known to the world is in Africa. Our chrome, cobalt, tin, rubber, and tungsten come from sections of the earth inhabited by dark people who are waiting to see if America will lead the way to a free world.

Bob Johnson in the lodges and temples of this great order is carrying the torch of first-class citizenship to sections of hate and oppression not in hatred but with determination to break the shackles of enslavement everywhere. May God give him strength and courage to carry on until every man, woman, and child within the American borders can truly say, "I am free."

Citizenship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, I would like unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address delivered by Col. John J. Griffin, vice president of the First National Bank of St. Louis. The address was on the subject of Citizenship, a subject of unusual interest to all legislators. The address was delivered before the Lemay Kiwanis Club.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITIZENSHIP

(Address by Col. John J. Griffin)

The definition I like of a "citizen" is the one given in Webster's: "A person, native or naturalized, who owes allegiance to a government, and is entitled to protection from it." I think that definition probably fits everyone in this country, qualified. So, let us look into the record and see how they who are today enjoying the blessings so abundantly showered upon them in this great country are measuring up to the responsibilities imposed upon them by the acceptance of these blessings.

There is no doubt in my mind if anyone were to accuse over 50 percent of our population of the crime of not being a good citizen, they would find a reaction from those so accused that would not be pleasant. But are they good citizens?

My definition of a good citizen is one who not only accepts the protection this great Government offers him, but realizes that with the acceptance of such, there comes a responsibility upon him to meet the obligation that the acceptance of such blessing brings. What are these obligations? Under the laws of this land, you are entitled to the protection of your rights, and it is the duty and the obligation of the Government to so protect your rights that they shall not be infringed upon; but with this also comes a direct obligation upon you, as a good citizen, of obedience to the laws as prescribed in the particular community, State, and Nation, so that you shall not violate the rights of others.

Unfortunately, today there are too many people in this country who have disregarded completely all law and are living a lawless, selfish existence for their own benefit and their own benefit only, in defiance of both the moral and legal law.

That, of course, you may say, is a far-fetched statement. Nevertheless, the record shows the statement to be true. So, let us again consult the record. Uniform Crime Reports, as published by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, report that every 5 minutes during 1950 someone in the United States was feloniously assaulted or killed; during each day of the year 1950, 146 persons were robbed, 458 cars were stolen; 11,029 places were entered by burglars; and every 30 seconds throughout the year a larceny was recorded. During that period of time, the crime record has increased in percentage figures from 1½ to 10 percent above the 1949 figures.

The sad part of it is that the record also shows that in 41 percent of those arrests for major violations, age 21 predominated in the frequency of arrests, and, believe it or not, 9.6 percent of the total were females. I am merely outlining and sketching this report, but if you wish to make a more detailed study, by city, town, and State, you can write to J. Edgar Hoover and I am sure he will be happy to send you a copy. A study of the figures in these reports will show an alarming trend of the people to utterly disregard the law. That is an indication there is much opportunity and need of an educational program to bring people back to living in reality under the laws, honestly and decently, which after all, are the only worthwhile things in living. Since 1950 all crime has continually increased. In 1955, it was 26 percent above 1950 while the population increase in the same period is 9 percent.

Of course, you can say to me that "I do not violate any law; this doesn't apply to me." That may be true, perhaps there is no record of your having violated the law, but examine your conscience, and you will find there are many, many times that you have been violators and have not been apprehended. When you drive your car, are you considerate of your fellow travelers on the highway? Do you observe the speed laws? Do you observe the stop signs, and are you careful of the safety of the pedestrians, particularly the observance of the traffic regulations surrounding the schools? Violent deaths on the highways would not indicate an increase of law observance.

Now, there are many ways in which you can become an indifferent citizen, and, therefore, by inference, not a good citizen by failing to do the things that good citizens should do.

It is an alarming situation wherein we find ourselves when we realize that in the last national election, only approximately 60 percent of the people of this Nation, eligible to cast a ballot to elect the President of the United States, were sufficiently concerned to go to the polls and cast such a ballot. Therefore, by their indifference, and neglect, they disfranchised themselves—they, the people, individually—the only ones under the law with the power to disfranchise themselves—did so. They failed to exercise the blessings of an American by going to the polls, and without fear of reprisals of any kind, cast a ballot of freemen in the process of picking and choosing the type and kind of men whom, in their opinion, were qualified, competent, and able to assume the tremendous responsibility placed upon them for the governing, operation, and control of this Government at a time it is facing one of the greatest crises in its history. Particularly, is that true now.

Never a time in the history of our Nation was it more necessary to elect men to office, whether it be in high or low places, who are more concerned about the safety and security of this Nation than they are with personal gain or party success. And to my way of thinking, the people who were eligible to vote and did not vote, either through indifference or neglect, cannot be called good citizens because they failed in an obligation placed upon them to exercise the right of suffrage, to express their choice of the type and kind of men to represent them in the operation of this Government. And, remember, you will get the type and kind of government you ask for—no better, no worse, and you only, personally, and individually are responsible and must answer to, not only yourself, but your fellow citizens for any and all disappointments which come through your indifference and neglect.

As a good citizen, it is a duty and responsibility which not only cannot be shirked, but should be performed with pride and a prayer of thanksgiving in your hearts that today you still have the right to express your likes or dislikes at the ballot box. There are millions of people behind the Iron Curtain who would gladly and willingly change places with you, and who, I am sure, would not fail their responsibility in this respect.

You may tell me you are not interested in politics; that all politicians are crooked; that all politics is dishonest—therefore, you do not vote. By your very neglect and indifference, you are contributing to whatever fault you may find in the operation of your government, whether it be local, State, or national, because you have done nothing to protect it.

Of course, you may say to me (and truthfully so), "I have not violated any of the laws; I have not failed to exercise my right of suffrage, and that does not apply to me."

Now there is another phrase of good citizenship equally important in the exercise and just as disastrous in the avoidance—and that is jury duty. I would venture to say that were an officer of the law to appear in this room tonight and serve jury summons on everyone here, requesting them to present themselves before a court to qualify as jurors in a trial, greater than 50 percent of those present would make every effort to avoid such jury service. The judges of your courts can give you the answer to that. It may not be as prevalent in the small community as it is in the large city; but how many times do you find people who are too busy; who haven't the time; who are going to be out of town; who use political influence, and who even attempt to get medical certificates to avoid jury service—that, in my opinion, is not a mark of good citizenship.

If and when you are served with a summons to appear to qualify for jury duty, before attempting to avoid such service, stop and ask yourself this question: If I, personally, were on trial, would I want the better class of citizens avoiding the duty imposed by a law of granting me a trial by a jury of my peers? Why is it that your professional men, your businessmen, your outstanding citizens are too busy to give the few hours a year they would be called upon to give, to uphold the laws of the land, in granting to a fellow citizen, no matter what his status in the social or financial world might be, an opportunity of a trial, of being judged by 12 men, chosen by the court for such purpose, without any attempt of any of the 12 to evade the responsibility?

I have just scratched the surface of how one can, through indifference and neglect, take unto himself the title of bad citizenship. This description, of course, could be expanded and would require not only hours

but probably days and weeks, to go into its entirety.

You might say, "What are we going to do about it?"

One of the first things we must do is to take our place on the firing line of civic responsibility and assume the obligation of performing the duty imposed upon us by acceptance of the honor and privilege of being a citizen of this country. Let us not forget that if every community in America were to clean up its own local situation; and if each and every citizen in each small community in America were to assume the responsibility of citizenship that is imposed upon him, then the major problems in America would become minor, because the government is you. The United States is merely a gathering together of all the small communities into statehood, and all the States to make the national picture. As each community meets its responsibility, then the State must meet its responsibility and that in turn, assures us of a national picture that is healthy, wholesome and secure.

We must, in our system of education, train youth in such a way that they will have a thorough knowledge and understanding of the responsibilities they assume as citizens. Teaching the youth in our schools to recite the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights verbatum, word for word, does not answer the question because you could teach a parrot to do that. But teach them the meaning of that Constitution and that Bill of Rights; what they mean to them; what it cost this Nation in the sweat and blood of our forefathers to preserve them intact as a heritage to hand down—that is important and will plant the seeds of good citizenship in the youth of this land, where it will find fertile growth.

It is a peculiar situation in these times of increasing crime and violence in our Nation, it has been declared unconstitutional to teach a child in the schools about God, and the things that God stands for. But it has not been declared unconstitutional to teach them there is no God.

As we look forward, do we realize the great danger we are in—of losing everything we hold sacred and dear?

Our enemies must receive tremendous consolation as they look at the crime record; as they examine the sorry spectacle of our indifference and neglect in exercising our right of suffrage; as they gleefully enjoy our avoidance of jury service, adding these up—they take it for granted there is a complete breakdown of the moral law in this land. What pleasure they must derive from it, because to them it looks as though the democracy of free men has failed; that it has disintegrated, they look with joy and glee to the day they can become victors, not by force and violence, but by the disintegration of the moral fiber of our people, and the most insidious enemy we have—defeat from within.

I think it would be well if all of us were to obtain one of the small circulars Uncle Sam is distributing to promote the sale of savings bonds—to bring into your home the message of a soldier who asks you to look out your window onto your front lawn and see there a fox-hole with a cold, tired, and hungry soldier—alert, defending your home.

That is exactly what every man in every war has done.

Now what a mockery it would be if you and I, through our neglect, cause those defenders of our homes to lose here what they fought for over there. It is your community, it is your State, it is your Government—yours, personally and individually. It will be as honest, decent and great as you wish to make it, or it will degenerate to the depths you force upon it through your neglect of exercising the rights that are granted to you to participate in the operation and the support of your Government.

Joint Committee To Evaluate Fiscal Requirements of Executive Agencies of United States Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 17, 1957

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the usual furor, concern, and dismay that annually surrounds the creating and adoption of a new budget is upon us again following the submission of the proposed budget for fiscal 1958 to the Congress by President Eisenhower.

The job of determining what will be the final form and size of the budget now rests solely in the hands of Congress. We can adopt a good budget or we can adopt an ill-advised budget. Many of us believe that the budget as proposed is too high and needs to be trimmed or reduced if we are ever to make progress in the way of tax reductions. Few would or could, for that matter venture to say with certainty exactly how or in what way the budget should be cut.

The making of a budget and the planning of Federal expenditures is an extremely complicated process and is becoming more so. Not only does it involve the expenditure of vast amounts of the taxpayers money with myriads of items to be considered, but more and more the decisions to spend money involve considerations of a complex technical nature, or involve complicated and far-reaching social, economic, and foreign policy considerations, to name but a few.

Though the Appropriations Committees as presently constituted and organized, perform their difficult tasks ably and commendably, it is becoming increasingly clear that these committees, and the Congress in general, should be equipped with additional machinery to cope adequately with the complicated job of planning and evaluating Federal expenditures.

On January 3, 1957, I introduced H. R. 1169, the purpose of which is to provide for more effective evaluation of the fiscal requirements of the executive agencies of the Federal Government. This bill would create a Joint Committee on the Budget, composed of 24 members, to be drawn from both the House and Senate Appropriations Committees and from the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee.

It would be the duty of the joint committee to make a detailed study of the annual budget of all the Federal agencies and furnish the Appropriations Committees of both Houses with information on items contained in such budgets as may be necessary for the committees to give adequate consideration thereto.

The joint committee would also study the President's messages on the state of the Union and economic report, all information relating to estimated revenue, essential programs, and the general economy, and would report to the House and Senate Appropriations Committee its findings concerning budget estimates and revisions in appropriations required to hold Government expenditures at a minimum consistent with the requirements of Government operations and national security. It would also report its findings on revenue matters to the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee.

In addition it would report to appropriate standing committees of the House and Senate with respect to existing laws and their effect on the efficiency and economy of the Government, and would make reports and recommendations to standing committees of either House on matters relating to deviations from basic legislative authority, matters relating to appropriations approved by Congress which are not consistent with basic legislative authority, and matters relating to cutbacks in previously authorized programs which require appropriations.

The joint committee would employ a staff and be authorized to utilize the services of experts from business, industry and commerce, and in addition it would have subpena powers. Staff members would have the right upon authority from the chairman or vice chairman, to examine fiscal records of any Government agency.

Mr. Speaker, in connection with this proposed legislation, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members a very interesting and informative editorial by Mr. David Lawrence which appeared in the February 8, 1957, issue of the U. S. News & World Report entitled "The Budget That's Too High."

In this editorial Mr. Lawrence presents a searching analysis of the budget-making process of the Federal Government and concludes:

Someday Congress should set up large enough committees with proper staffs—perhaps a joint committee of both houses—to study continuously throughout each year the workings of the budget system and gather the necessary information to guide Congress.

Because of the pertinence of the editorial to this proposed legislation, and also because it is material at this time when Congress is deeply involved in budgetary and fiscal matters, I submit the entire article for inclusion in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

THE BUDGET THAT'S TOO HIGH

(By David Lawrence)

Seventy-two billions of dollars is a big sum of money for a Federal budget. It is an amount difficult, even for Members of Congress, to evaluate. They cannot possibly familiarize themselves with the wide variety of items in a budget.

Someday the American people will demand that the system of budget making be reformed. Today's methods are absolete and inadequate. The Government is too big to be run as it was 36 years ago when the present budget law was passed.

For the truth is Congress created a Bureau of the Budget but made it a subdivision of the Office of the President. It gave no power to the Budget Director himself to change the estimates furnished by heads of departments and other governmental agencies. It made the Budget Director only a sort of information gatherer for the President. It did not even require the Budget Director to be confirmed by the Senate.

No member of the Cabinet—not even the Secretary of the Treasury—has the official duty of reviewing the whole budget to determine what items should be included or eliminated.

The President receives estimates from each department or agency and depends on the Director of the Budget for explanatory data. But the decision in the last analysis as to how much shall be included must, by law, be made by the President himself.

Does anybody believe for a moment that any President can make a detailed examination or review of a present-day budget of the Government of the United States and do anything else?

There are, of course, items that do not change from year to year—obligations that grow out of existing laws or previous commitments. The President cannot, for instance, assume that certain laws will be repealed even though he may dislike them, yet they involve recurrent expenditures of many billions every year.

A President, to be sure, is the head of the Government and represents the national interest. He cannot be biased in favor of this or that special interest or locality. He must weigh judicially the demands of pressure groups. He must be sensitive to public opinion—for the continuance of his party in power depends on whether he has in general satisfied the wishes of the electorate.

When the budget law was passed in 1921, it was recognized that officials of the various departments might not be satisfied with the sums allotted to them in the budget and might complain to Congress. Strict regulations—which are still in force—were, therefore, issued by the President forbidding executive department employees from going to Congress to obtain higher appropriations than those set forth in the budget. This has been ingeniously circumvented by Congress itself. Officials are usually invited to testify at congressional hearings, and from them is elicited the information on which champions of particular causes base their demands for enlarged appropriations.

The voting of about a billion dollars more than the President and the armed services themselves asked for at the last session of Congress was so transparently the result of political demagogery and collusion with overzealous advocates of larger spending within the executive departments that the incident makes one wonder whether strong laws rather than mere regulation should not hereafter govern the behavior of executive employees who connive with Members of Congress to lobby for increases in the budget.

In all fairness, however, it must be said that the armament-spending group doubtless felt it was as much entitled to the taxpayers' money as the groups pressing for some of the so-called welfare items in the budget.

But who is to weigh all the facts and say for what the taxpayers' money shall be spent? The budget recently presented by the President was, according to his own admission, very high. He said he hoped it could be cut.

Congress has the sole duty of deciding what the final budget shall be. Under the British and Canadian system, the budget is submitted by the Prime Minister and then the Parliament must accept or reject it as it is, for both the executive and the legislative branch are controlled by the same political party. In America, where divided Government prevails today, the people pay a high price for their failure to fix responsibility in a single party.

Someday Congress should set up large enough committees with proper staffs—perhaps a joint committee of both houses—to study continuously throughout each year the workings of the budget system and gather the necessary information to guide Congress.

Nobody likes the size of the new budget—neither the President nor the Congress. Certainly the taxpayers don't like it. For they see the Federal budget going higher and higher, with no relief in sight from heavy taxes on the incomes of individuals and businesses.

How much longer will taxpayers tolerate such a haphazard system of budget making as we have today?

Shades of Chamberlain's Munich

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, as background to the President's address to the Nation last evening, and as further background for the discussions which I hope the Members will join with me in conducting next Tuesday or Wednesday, the following article by Constantine Brown in the Washington Evening Star of February 19, 1957, is most thought-provoking. The lessons of history certainly deserve our closest scrutiny at this time, and Mr. Brown has done a distinct service in reminding us of an important part of it:

SHADES OF CHAMBERLAIN'S MUNICH—UNITED STATES ATTEMPTS TO AVERT WAR IN MIDEAST COMPARED TO SUDETENLAND CRISIS OF 1938

The tenseness of the international situation has been described to this reporter by an important figure in the Government as "very similar to that which existed in Europe in 1938." The locale only has changed from Munich to New York.

Then as now the great Western democracies were hankering for peace at any price in their dealings with dictators. They accepted Hitler's promise that once the Sudetenland (German-populated portion of the Czechoslovakian Republic) was handed over to the Reich he would make no further territorial demands and would cooperate for the establishment of lasting peace.

In the Middle Eastern conflict, which at this moment is confined only to the Egyptian-Israeli disputes, President Nasser is not giving even a vague promise.

Israel has asked us to give positive assurances that the international waters of the Gulf of Aqaba would not be denied to Israeli shipping and that the international forces would be stationed in the Gaza strip to prevent further incursions of guerrillas into its territory.

The United States has answered that after Israel has fully complied with the United Nations resolutions providing for complete withdrawal from Aqaba and Gaza it will use its efforts and prestige in the U. N. to see that both just demands of the Israeli Government are satisfied. But our Government is not willing to spell out how it intends to make Colonel Nasser live up to our promises. He has never indicated that he indorses our point of view regarding freedom of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba.

Secretary of State Dulles favors economic sanctions against Israel in the U. N. in the event that country does not withdraw its forces unconditionally. Last week it was pointed out to him that such a step would be opposed by two Republican leaders, Senators KNOWLAND and BRIDGES, who are on record as favoring sanctions against Israel only in the same measure as applied to all other nations which have flouted U. N. decisions. He is reliably reported to have answered that the two legislators are wrong since sanctions against the U. S. S. R. would mean war while sanctions against Israel would mean peace.

The fact that the views of BRIDGES and KNOWLAND are being strongly favored by a large majority of both Houses of Congress and also by a large segment of the American people has not impressed either President Eisenhower or the Secretary of State. They maintain that even the highest ranking legislators do not have the proper perspective of the international situation.

The contention of the administration policymakers is that unless Israel is made to yield—and hope for the best we can do for her after she has complied with the U. N. resolution—we may have a situation with unforeseeable consequences to the peace of the world on our hands."

The fear of another conflict is paralyzing the minds of at least some policy makers in the administration. And they seem inclined to think that by yielding, another world catastrophe can be averted. They point out that America has assumed far greater global responsibilities than Britain had in 1938 when the consensus was that a conflict with the Nazis could be localized to a European war.

The international situation is shaky all over the world and Europe is less threatened than Asia and the Middle East. The Communist forces are poised to strike at Korea and Formosa; Indian forces are reportedly massing on the border of Pakistan; and Soviet intrigues have made the Middle East the tinderbox of the world. Any ill-advised movement on our part—regardless of how just the claims of Israel may be—might set the spark to the powder keg in that section.

Russia is less directly involved than we are. But she is providing at this very moment the hardware the Egyptians and Syrians need to start a conflict. Her agents under the Nationalist—not Communist—camouflage are extremely active in Iraq, Jordan, Iran, and Yemen. Who can say what far-reaching results may come from another armed clash between Israel and her neighbors, ask our almost panicky policymakers in the executive branch.

Military experts admit that the Israeli Army could cut to pieces once more the forces of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. But what after that, ask our diplomats? Unless we take strong military measures to stop Israel, won't we have the whole Arab world, including the present friendly Iraq, against us?

Expediency, say policymakers in the State Department, might be distasteful to the men on the Hill. But diplomatically, they say, it is the only thing we can do at present. Moreover, they add, we could compensate materially the economically hard-pressed Israel for all the discomforts it may suffer from the actions of Egypt in the Suez Canal and the Gaza strip.

The lessons of history that we cannot avoid the worst by making concessions to dictators do not seem to have made a dent on our diplomats, who find themselves in the same position Prime Minister Chamberlain and his advisers were in in 1938.

Ships Now Are Good Risks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 23, 1957

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the stumbling blocks to ship construction in the United States for many years

has been the lack of private capital available for financing such construction. This block has apparently been removed by legislation presented by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries which was enacted into law by the 84th Congress. The law provides for 100 percent Government insurance on ship construction mortgages. There is no cost to the Government, and the law is now operating to make millions of dollars of private capital available for ship construction and conversion. An interesting article in the Maritime Reporter of February 15, 1957, so indicates:

SHIPS NOW ARE GOOD RISKS

Recently the Bowery Savings Bank of New York proudly announced that it had made a mortgage loan of $2,625,000 on the passenger ship *Leilani*. The money was used to help finance the purchase of the ship from the Government and to modernize and rehabilitate her for the Hawaiian Steamship Co.'s, passenger service between the west coast and Hawaii.

At the same time, the bank said it had under consideration another ship loan of $16 million on a new 60,000-ton tanker, that would be built for service under the American flag.

The bank did not make the loan on the *Leilani* nor is it considering a loan on an American-flag tanker as a solely patriotic gesture toward building up the Nation's active merchant fleet. The main factor in the loans is the element of sound investment at an adequate interest rate.

It was not so long ago that ship owners were finding it impossible to arouse any interest among financial houses in advancing loans on ship construction. Yet today, when credit is acknowledged to be tight all over the world, we hear that all sorts of investment funds are available for mortgages on ships. Sources include insurance companies, pension funds and some of the most conservative banks.

Why have American ships suddenly become most attractive investments?

When the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 was adopted, it provided two methods for financing new tonnage. The first was for the Government to build ships and to sell them to eligible steamship companies on the installment plan, with the Government holding the mortgages; the second was for the companies to purchase the vessels with the aid of private financing.

Until the Eisenhower administration there was scarcely any thought of using the second method because banks and other lending institutions did not consider American ships good risks for mortgage loans.

The Republican administration, pledged to getting the Government out of business as much as possible including the investment business, sought to induce private loans on ships by guaranteeing 90 percent of any mortgages made by private investment firms. Although no steamship company had defaulted on a Government loan since the 1936 Merchant Marine Act was passed, the result was still a complete lack of interest.

Maritime Reporter was one of many industry spokesmen that called for the Government to raise its guaranty to 100 percent. As one of its final acts last fall, Congress took this historic step.

The full Government guaranties of ship mortgages have not only aroused interest among financial institutions in salting their funds away in loans on merchant vessels, they have stimulated renewed interest in building ships and operating them under our flag.

The National Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 6, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following from the Reynoldsville (Pa.) Star of February 14, 1957:

(By Bill Wescoat)

Everyone has been, to some degree I would guess, sort of "national budget" conscious since the President made his request for the record $71.8 billion deal, and not without good reason.

As you may know, the $71.8 billion will be a record peacetime expenditure. There have been only 4 other budgets higher in the Nation's history—3 during World War II and the 4 during the Korean conflict. It is little wonder that economists in particular and some high officials in general are "viewing with alarm" this tremendous burden the taxpayers are being asked to shoulder.

With Washington's Birthday just ahead we might remind ourselves—and our Government—of a few of the many wise words uttered by that gentleman. Washington is quoted as saying, "As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible."

Washington's thoughts on this probably constitute a part of the reason the proposed increase to the budget is being opposed in some quarters. Most of us are inclined to believe that the increase is caused by military spending in the interest of national security. This isn't quite true.

The proposed spending for 1958 is some $6 billion greater than in 1955, with the military spending only $2.7 billion greater. The Government is spending more and more on its domestic programs—which seems to be the logical place for economy, if economy is to be achieved.

As far as the burden of paying taxes goes, it makes little difference to the taxpayer whether his dollars are being used for defense costs or civilian programs. The money is just as hard to ante up, regardless of how the Government plans to spend it.

It seems logical to assume that if the expenditure for domestic civilian purposes had been attacked during the years 1953 to 1955 with the same vigor as was displayed in dealing with the military and other national security purposes, some 20 percent would have been cut out of this part of the budget.

This would have reduced the total spending for 1955 from the actual $64.6 billion to approximately $60 billion * * * a sizable savings. The truth is, however, that neither Congress nor the administration has been successful in reducing or eliminating civilian programs.

Besides raising the hair on the necks of the taxpayers the whopping big budget and its increased appropriations for domestic spending, is not making friends among the States. Opposition has arisen to the noticeable expansion of Federal grants to the States.

State officials and business organizations are voicing disapproval of encroachment by the Federal Government in the affairs of State and local communities. Economy-minded Congressmen believe many of the welfare programs present fields for economies, and contend that many civilian activities carried on by the military can be cut back without affecting the military program.

Everyone knows and believes that with the tense world situation, our country must be both militarily and economically strong, and they are willing to provide the money to see that this is so. But if we are not domestically strong, how can we discharge the responsibilities of international leadership which we have assumed.

Perhaps the administration had better take a long look at drastically pruning unnecessary Federal expenditures. This is the only way taxes can be reduced, and the growth of business encouraged. As a member of the administration's official family is reported to have said, "you can't spend your way to prosperity."

Hoodlums Threaten Law and Order in the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I insert several editorials from Virginia newspapers with reference to the spectacle that Walter E. Hoffman, judge of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, is making of himself in his philippics in the handling of segregation cases before him.

The great tragedy of the bitter controversy rising in the South as a result of the segregation decision of the Supreme Court and the pendency of the civil-rights bill is that the leadership in the solution of racial problems is passing out of the hands of men of good will and of sound reason and into the hands of hoodlums.

As the men who are responsible for violence against Negro citizens are hoodlums, so, too, are those, including members of the Federal judiciary, who do violence to the orderly administration of justice.

The editorials follow:

[From the Richmond News-Leader of February 13, 1957]

MAXIMILIAN ON THE BENCH

Norfolk's remarkable Judge Walter E. "Beef" Hoffman wound up a busy 2 days yesterday. On Monday, without leaving the bench, he decreed an end to segregation in the public schools of Newport News. Yesterday, without leaving the bench, he decreed an end to segregation in Norfolk. In both cases, he went beyond the bounds of mere adjudication, in order affirmatively to suggest the sort of legislation he thought desirable. He fawned upon his masters of the Supreme Court of the United States, and he got in another swat at the General Assembly of the State of Virginia.

His Eminence, it is plain, does not comprehend the separation supposed to exist in this Republic between legislative and judicial powers. Just as plainly, he does not comprehend the separation of State and Federal powers which lies at the very basis of our Constitution. His bad temper is ex-

ceeded only by his bad law. Listen to the man:

"When the Supreme Court rendered its decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* on May 17, 1954, and thereafter supplemented the same in 349 U. S. 294, it apparently did not contemplate that the various State legislatures would enact laws taking away from the local school boards the right to make assignments of pupils, as well as providing for the automatic closing of schools in the event of any mixing of races and the automatic cutting off of State funds if the mixing of races occurred in any school, whether by action of a pupil placement board or by any court order."

What possible difference does it make what the Supreme Court did or did not contemplate in this regard? Local school boards, His Eminence to the contrary notwithstanding, have no inherent "right" to make assignments of pupils. They have had, in the past, the power to assign pupils; and that power was granted to them by the General Assembly of Virginia, which body assuredly has both the right and the power to take it away. Similarly, the State of Virginia stands under no Federal compulsion to operate any school system; not even the Supreme Court itself has suggested—thus far—that a State could not choose to abandon schools rather than to integrate them. The High Court did not hold that schools must be integrated; it held they could not be segregated.

His Eminence does not comprehend this, for he continues:

"Now that this situation has been presented, this court cannot believe that the Supreme Court intended that the effect of its decision could be completely destroyed by action of the State legislature. If this court is incorrect in this conclusion, the Supreme Court decision is meaningless and may be disregarded. If this court is correct in its ruling, then it follows that [local school officials] are held responsible for the good faith implementation of the Supreme Court's decision."

What Judge Hoffman is saying here is that local school officials, regardless of the limits placed upon their authority by the General Assembly, must "implement" a race-mixing decree. They must exceed the authority vested in them by the State, he implies, or go to jail for contempt. And looking over the bench yesterday, Judge Hoffman assured these local officials he would give them "complete protection" if they would follow his commandments and integrate Norfolk schools anyhow.

We are reminded in reading Judge Hoffman's opinions of the Emperor Maximilian, "whose passion," said Gibbon, "was the love of power, and who neither desired present tranquillity nor future reputation." So vast an arrogance has not been seen on the Federal bench in this State since Chase presided over the trial of Callender nearly 160 years ago.

So Hoffman will protect local officials from Virginia? Who, we may inquire of the Governor and the Assembly, will protect these officials from Judge Hoffman?

[From the Richmond News-Leader of February 15, 1957]

LET THERE BE CHAOS

Among the exhibits offered to Judge Walter E. "Beef" Hoffman in Norfolk on Tuesday was an affidavit by J. J. Brewbaker, the city's superintendent of schools. Judge Hoffman gave the exhibit no more than a nod and a bow before tossing it to one side; inevitably, the affidavit received small attention in the news.

Yet it is worth resurrecting, because Mr. Brewbaker had some things to say that merit sober consideration by the people, white and Negro alike, whether or not Judge Hoffman chooses to heed them. Mr. Brewbaker is 61 now. He is a native of Botetourt County; he started as principal of Buchanan High School, went to St. Paul High School in Wise County, and then to Norfolk in 1927. He became superintendent there in 1949.

Mr. Brewbaker began his statement with a detailed comparison of white and Negro schools in Norfolk over the past 20 years. It made a dramatic story.

In 1936–37, the average teacher's salary in Norfolk was $1,365 for white teachers, $880 for Negro teachers. By 1950–51, the salaries were almost equal. In 1955–56, the white teachers' average was $3,704, the Negroes' $3,863.

In 1936–37, Norfolk spent $56.88 per white pupil, $33.40 for each Negro child. Last year the white per pupil cost was $229, the Negro per pupil cost $237.

Twenty years ago, the teacher load was 30 pupils for each white teacher, 33.3 for each Negro teacher. Today the difference is negligible—24.7 for white, 25.1 for Negroes.

In 1936–37, Negroes represented 35.3 percent of Norfolk's school population, and occupied school buildings representing 18 percent of the value of school property. Today Negro pupils make up 31 percent of the school population; their property is almost directly proportionate, at 29.3 percent.

Curriculum offerings are virtually identical in white and Negro schools. Instructional materials—audiovisual aids, textbooks, supplies, and library services—are supplied on an exactly equal basis without regard for race. The same supervision of curriculum and instruction is provided white and Negro schools. Norfolk maintains a large night school program; the courses offered are practically the same and might well be identical, for any course is offered in the white or Negro night school whenever as many as 12 students apply for it.

In brief, the Negro children of Norfolk have equal facilities, services, and excellently trained teachers. Public education is maintained at a high level for them no less than for white students. And yet, regrettably, a profound difference in educational achievement exists between the two races.

Three-fourths of the white sixth-grade pupils make higher scores on the total achievement test than three-fourths of the Negro sixth grade pupils. Similarly, three-fourths of the white eighth grade pupils attain a higher rank on the total achievement test than three-fourths of eighth grade Negro pupils. This means that in the sixth and eighth grade, one-fourth of the Negro children rank with the upper three-fourths of the white, while three-fourths of the Negro children rank with the lower one-fourth of the white. * * * Since the facilities, services, and appurtenances are of uniform high quality, the cause of the lack of achievement must be found elsewhere; for example, the degree of cultural and home environmental development.

What would be the result if integration were ordered in Norfolk? Mr. Brewbaker's reply was blunt and to the point: "Under the existing State laws, the result would be chaotic."

If the city of Norfolk is compelled to admit white and Negro pupils to the same classroom, in order to satisfy Federal judges, the city of Norfolk will lose the State aid it now receives. This amounts to some $2,360,000 annually, Mr. Brewbaker said, or about 23 percent of total school costs. By reducing the teaching staff by 25 percent, the city's school system could achieve an annual saving of nearly $1,700,000. To cut expenditures by an additional $660,000, it would be necessary to eliminate most of the supervisory program, all coordinate activities (nurses, doctors and dentists), all funds for equipment, all adjustive services, all expenses for night school and special education. Instructional supplies would have to be cut by 50 percent, and the program of education for homebound children abandoned. With these and other smaller economies, Norfolk might keep integrated schools open on local and Federal funds alone.

Yet if this were to happen, said Mr. Brewmaker "I dread to think of the type of school system that could be operated. I do not see at this time how it could be done at all. * * * Any locality that is forced to make the change under these conditions is bound to commit irreparable damage to its school system."

Even in border States, in which Negro population is small and no social tradition of racial separation exists, "we find the transition has required many years." In Norfolk, where the Negro population is large and the tradition is deeply ingrained, steady efforts have been made by interracial committees and faculty groups to study school problems and achieve a community of interest.

"I feel that both races will benefit if we are allowed to continue working in this manner on the adult level," said Mr. Brewbaker. "It is my opinion that neither race is ready for integration in this community, and that any attempt to commence integration in the near future will greatly retard, if not destroy, the progress which has been made by a voluntary course of action over the preceding years."

That was the affidavit of a thoughtful, temperate educator, with 35 years of intimate experience in the schools behind him.

Judge Hoffman's answer was for Mr. Brewbaker to get his schools integrated by next September or go to jail for contempt.

[From the Strasburg (Va.) Northern Virginia Daily of February 13, 1957]

DON'T PUNCH JUDGE HOFFMAN

Consider this a plea for coolness at a time when tempers can justifiably run hot.

Please, don't punch Judge Hoffman in the nose.

This week Federal District Judge Walter E. Hoffman with two quick raps of his power-crazed judicial gavel stamped into the records the time when Newport News and Norfolk public schools must desegregate. The date he set was August 15 of this year in both cases.

Virginia will appeal both decisions and thus delay the effectiveness of the decision by at least another year. But Judge Hoffman's intent is plain. If it were left up to him, he would immediately integrate by injunction the public schools within his jurisdiction.

Judge Hoffman would do this despite the overwhelming evidence placed before him pointing up the evils of such a move.

In the Newport News case all of the top local officials pleaded for more time and requested Judge Hoffman to follow the decision of Judge Sterling Hutcheson who refused to set any time for desegregation in Prince Edward County because the county was not yet ready for desegregation. Two Negro parents testified for the NAACP at Newport News stating that they had sought admission to white schools and admission had been denied. The NAACP introduced but one other witness, the clerk of the school board who verified the petitions.

For the State and the locality those who testified were the city manager of Newport News, the chairman of the school board, the superintendent of schools, the mayor and the chief of police.

According to the news dispatches of the hearing, Judge Hoffman treated these witnesses as gruffly and discourteously as he treated the Virginia attorney general, J. Lindsay Almond, who has appeared before him previously.

Judge Hoffman needled each witness asking him to name a lapse of time that the witness thought sufficient. Of course, this is

a ridiculous question because no man can forecast such things. What should have been clear to Judge Hoffman, however, is that Newport News is not now ready for integration, it will not be ready on August 15 and perhaps it will not be ready for many, many years to come. This also holds true for Norfolk.

It is quite easy to get angry at a man so blind to the realities of life, a judge so callous to official pleas, a drudge so servile he will obediently follow an erroneous decision of a higher court with no attempt to modify, to correct its unfairness.

The decision of Judge Hoffman in the Newport News and Norfolk cases is enough to anger all Virginians, especially those who reside in that great tidewater area of our State. The superior air, the nasty and snide remarks which the judge has uttered from the bench are more than enough to irritate the concerned people of the entire South.

But, please, don't anyone lose his temper and punch the judge in the nose.

For if Judge Hoffman is punched in the nose, he will become a northern integration martyr molested by rowdy southern segregationists. The South cannot afford such adverse publicity. The judge does not deserve such notoriety.

Resolution by Mid-Peninsular Dental Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 31, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, at the request of one of my constituents, I submit for the attention of my colleagues a resolution passed by the Mid-Peninsula Dental Society, composed of 124 members:

RESOLUTION TO SUPPORT THE JENKINS-KEOGH PROPOSAL

Whereas self-employed persons, due to the Internal Revenue Code, are now unable to obtain tax benefits as do corporate officers and employees with their pension and retirement plans; and

Whereas there seems to be no relief for the self-employed individuals in this discrimination; and

Whereas the Jenkins-Keogh bill sets forth a means to correct this inequity in the Internal Revenue Code; and

Whereas the above-mentioned bill, over a period of more than 6 years, has gained the approval of both political parties, the President, prominent tax experts, a great many private organizations, and millions of the self-employed; and

Whereas a proposal closely alined to this one is proving to be a success in Great Britain; and

Whereas it would help greatly the Federal Government's anti-inflation program by encouraging retirement plans: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Mid-Peninsula Dental Society does approve the Jenkins-Keogh proposal and asks the Congress to make it law at the earliest possible time; and be it further

Resolved, That the Mid-Peninsula Dental Society requests Senator WILLIAM KNOWLAND, Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL, Representative J. ARTHUR YOUNGER, Representative CHARLES S. GUBSER, Representative JERE COOPER, Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, and Senator HARRY F. BYRD, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, to use their utmost effort to have this proposal enacted into law at an early date.

Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, on February 16 Americans of Lithuanian ancestry commemorated the 39th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Lithuania. All over the world, Lithuanians gathered to renew their efforts and to encourage one another to continue to work for the independence of their homeland. In Baltimore, the Council of Lithuanian Societies also observed this anniversary with a large rally and dinner, which it was my privilege to attend. On this occasion, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

At the annual banquet, commemorating the 39th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Lithuania, sponsored by the Council of Lithuanian Societies of Baltimore, Md., held on the 16th day of February 1957, at Lithuanian Hall, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas during the past year Soviet leaders in the Kremlin have had serious disagreements among themselves as to the methods, doctrines, and accomplishments of their former idol, Joseph Stalin; and

"Whereas unrest and uprisings in Russian satellite nations have demonstrated that the yearning for freedom still burns strongly in the hearts of the people of subjugated countries existing behind the Iron Curtain; and

"Whereas in particular the spontaneous October rebellion in Budapest, Hungary, against Kremlin rule certainly indicates that Soviet imperialism is in trouble; and

"Whereas many thousands of Hungarian refugees, leaving behind their martyred companions, escaped from their homeland rather than submit to Soviet tyranny and found haven in the United States of America; and

"Whereas the spirit displayed by the Hungarian people in their fight for freedom from Soviet rule is a shining example to the subjugated people of Lithuania and their Baltic neighbors, Latvia and Estonia; and

"Whereas the Hungarian cause of independence is essentially the same as and synonymous with the Lithuanian cause; and

"Whereas the signs of disintegration of the Soviet regime hold out a new ray of hope to people everywhere to strive unceasingly until liberty and freedom are again achieved: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the leaders of our country be urged to continue to maintain the fight for peace, justice, protection, and freedom for all people; and be it finally

"*Resolved*, That any new immigration laws to be enacted by Congress take into consideration that loyal Lithuanians are just as desirous of finding freedom and refuge in the United States of America as the patriotic Hungarians."

In Lithuania the bright flame of freedom which lighted that nation with such promise and progress has been darkened by the bitter night of communistic tyranny.

Thirty-nine years ago, Lithuania stood forth as an independent, democratic republic with a happy, prosperous people who faced the future with confidence in their destiny.

Today, the bright star of Lithuania's freedom has been clouded over by the violent storms of oppression. We gaze with sadness upon the advancinng tragedy of sacrifice to ruthless Russian imperialism that has enveloped Lithuania.

The world does not know all the terrible details of what has happened and is still happening to Lithuanians behind the dark, impenetrable Iron Curtain. However, we do know that behind that dreadful Iron Curtain, hundreds of thousands of God-fearing Lithuanians have been liquidated, martyred for their patriotism, their religious faith, their steadfast resistance to tyranny.

Hundreds of thousands of good Lithuanians, just as the unfortunate people in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and other satellite nations have been torn from their families and their homes for service as slaves in Siberia. It is slave labor that the Communists are using to equip Russia for further expansion, for further despotism, for further persecution, and perhaps even for war.

Certainly we cannot continue and must not continue to close our eyes to this injustice, to close our ears to the calls for help, to close our hearts to the suffering we know is going on behind the Iron Curtain.

Without losing our honor, we cannot much longer ignore the human tragedy the Iron Curtain conceals. We cannot much longer hold up our heads in self-respect, if we continue to give silent approval to a group of atheistic political leaders who have demonstrated themselves to be devoid of Christian humanity and sense of Christian justice.

The cause of Lithuania and the other small nations is a challenge to the moral conscience of this Nation and the United Nations to establish the great, basic principles of freedom and liberty for all peoples.

To rally the support that we ourselves must have from God-fearing nations of this world, we must openly state that we will work for the liberation of all countries that have been enslaved by the Red Russian imperialism.

There is no other course to follow if Christian peace and freedom is to be retained on this earth. With the help of Almighty God and the persevering sacrifice of all Christian peoples, I believe that all of us will see the dawn of a new era of freedom and peace for Lithuania and the world.

May that day be not far away.

Free Will and the Academic Criminologist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, in the June 1956 edition of Federal Probation, there is a most intriguing and thought-provoking treatise on the power of free will in our modern society. The following article, written by Father Edward Coogan, S. J., chairman, Department of Sociology, University of Detroit, shatters a great many misconceptions that have

been long accepted in the field of modern criminology:

FREE WILL AND THE ACADEMIC CRIMINOLOGIST

(By the Reverend John Edward Coogan, S. J.)

The story is told of an inebriate who, finding a large tree in his path, carefully felt his way again and again about its trunk. Finally, giving up in disgust, he exclaimed, It's no use; I'm walled in. Is the almost boasted impotence of the determinist more objective? Is his denial of free will the consequence of more compelling observation? Of course determinism is the mode among many social scientists today. And, as Dr. Arnold W. Green, of Pennsylvania State, remarks: "Probably more than any other group of social scientists, students of criminology are acutely aware of this."[1] Is not this eagerness of the academic criminologist to repudiate freedom of the will astonishing? The long-term convict in his cell can think of nothing so glorious as freedom. And yet the determinist criminologist hems himself in by his own theories as closely as is a fly in amber. With the last act of the free will he renounces freedom—a voluntarist suicide.

CRIMINOLOGY TEXTBOOKS COMMONLY ASSUME DETERMINISM

Examples of such renunciation we have in such declarations as that of Dr. Maurice Parmelee that "the progress of science has destroyed for all practical purposes the theological and metaphysical doctrine of a free will. * * * In view of these ineluctable facts * * * freedom of the will fades away into nothingness."[3] That Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes makes the same renunciation is, of course, well known. It has been a generation since he could approach the free-will concept without mingled impatience and amusement; this because "Modern physiological chemistry, dynamic psychology, and sociology have proved the free moral agent theory of human conduct preposterous alike in its assumptions and its implications.* * * * There is not the slightest iota of choice allowed."[4] Donald Taft even charges that in some "important and basic way" the religious stand for free will and human responsibility makes the church a factor in the causation of crime.[5] And Professor Shalloo, University of Pennsylvania, accuses the belief in free will of having "probably set back our understanding of human conduct at least 500 years."[6]

This academic trend toward determinism is especially highlighted in the recent Criminology: A Book of Readings. The volume contains three selections concerned with human responsibility; all are deterministic. Apparently it was thought well not to let the student see more than the one side. Hence we have Enrico Ferri telling us that "the illusion of a free human will (the only miraculous factor in the eternal ocean of cause and effect) leads to the assumption that one can choose freely between virtue and vice. How can you still believe in the existence of free will, when modern psychology armed with all the instruments of positive modern research, denies that there is any free will and demonstrates that every act of a human being is the result of an interaction between the personality and the environment of man?"[7] Professor Arnold W. Green is the second cited antivoluntarist, asserting the "effective refutation of all free will theories of personality."[8] The third selection is from Dr. Sidney J. Tillim, psychiatrist, proclaiming flatly that "The assumption that man functions by a 'free will' is a myth thoroughly exploded."[9]

Such deterministic denials are usually by gratuitous assertion. Hence the article, Concept of Responsibility, by Robert A. Fearey, in the May-June 1954 issue of the Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, was in this respect a refreshing exception. But that author cited no single established scientific fact against voluntarism. He treated the age-old controversy without reference to its literature or to any contrary opinion. The attempted justification of the determinist stand consisted of rhetorical questions, surmises, and affirmations in which the author forever assumed the determinist conclusion where a single voluntarist response would have proved fatal.[10] In a sense, all that I shall say here is reply to that attitude. But in partial but specific rejoinder let me cite the English philosopher, A. D. Ritchie, University of Manchester: "When an elaborate, theoretical argument is used to show that something that appears to be a plain statement of fact is really an illusion, it is generally safer to conclude that the argument is untrustworthy than that the apparent fact is an illusion, unless we have direct evidence that our faith in the fact deceives us. That men are free, within limits, to choose what they will do, is such an apparent fact." Ritchie concludes strongly: "This theory (complete determinism) seems to me to be pure dogmatism without any sort of foundation in experience or reason. It is generally supposed to be a consequence of our faith in physical laws, but I fail to see any logical connection."[11]

FREE WILL FREQUENTLY MISREPRESENTED

Not content with assuming the death of free will, the usual academic criminological determinist leaves at the bier a nosegay of misconceptions of the very meaning of free will and its implications. Thus Dr. Barnes tells us the concept means "that man was perfectly capable of choosing any type of behavior, irrespective of the peculiar circumstances of his biological background and his social environment. Entirely independent of his ancestry and training, it was held that any person was at any time perfectly free to decide, for example, as to whether on a Sunday night he would enter a church with an air of piety and penitence or remain outside to cast stones at the structure in derision."[12] Dr. Parmelee gives us much the same concept of free will, declaring that its teaching of only partial or no responsibility in the immature and deranged is "totally inconsistent with the belief in a free will, for if the will is indeed free it must be independent of merely material conditions, and could not be influenced by such inconsequential matters as physical and mental immaturity, an undeveloped or deranged nervous system, an organism poisoned by alcohol, drugs, etc., and other unimportant physical conditions over which the spirit should ride triumphant."[13] Other common misconceptions of the free will concept are that it means motiveless and uncaused willing. Sixty years ago William James was complaining that "caricatures of the kind of supposition which free will demands abound in deterministic literature."[14]

What then is the meaning of "free will"? A sociologist need not go farther than his own Dictionary of Sociology to be told: "The capacity to govern personal behavior by choice among two or more possibilities. The capacity to balance one stimulus or impulse against another, and to select the one which is believed to be preferably from the point of view of the major interest of the individual concerned. The concept of will carries the implication that human behavior is something more than the result of a mere parallelogram of forces and that the ego has the power to give arbitrary weight to one impulse in preference to others * * *"[15] As obvious a source of information as the Encyclopedia Britannica, in an able article by Dr. Abraham Wolf, philosopher of the University of London, adds that "No one means by free will that any man is free to make any choice at any time. Obviously there could only be freedom within limits. A man's choice is limited by his heredity, by the conditioning to which he has been subjected, by social pressures, by his opportunities, by the means at his disposal."[16] The Dartmouth professor of philosophy, Wilbur Marshall Urban, sums up the matter by saying, "Freedom means simply the ability to have conscious motives, to understand the meaning of our actions, and to have the power to modify them in the direction of some end or ideal. Both responsibility and freedom must, by their very nature, have degrees."[17] That the free-will concept does not imply "burplike" willing, uninfluenced by circumstance, and that consequently the "limited free will" or "no free will" conceded by the voluntarists in the case of the immature and the disturbed is not, as Dr. Parmelee has charged, a belated and self-contradictory dodge of discredited theology and metaphysics, we may see from the following reference to Thomistic teachings some 700 years old: "A thing is said to be under our control through the reason and will; and therefore the more the reason and will do anything of their own accord, and not through the impulse of a passion, the more is it voluntary and under our control * * * sometimes * * * passion is not such as to take away the use of reason altogether. In that case reason can drive the passion away by turning to other thoughts, or it can prevent it from having its full effect."[18] These Thomistic limitations on free will, a Dominican commentator on St. Thomas thus briefly sums up: "Ignorance puts a shroud over the eyes of the intelligence; malice twists and distorts its vision; and passion interferes with the clarity of its judgments."[19]

VOLUNTARISM FINDS SUPPORT IN AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY

Few determinists seem to think that even this limited voluntarism has any standing today in the world of ideas. Many would subscribe to Dr. Barnes' assertion that "free will has not been accorded any respect by reputable contemporary philosophy, grounded in realistic psychology and science."[20] The philosophic fact seems to be that instead of being tried and found wanting, the voluntarist idea still commands respect where the evidence is given serious consideration. Where the idea has lost ground the reason frequently is that today, as Santayana has complained, "Ideas are abandoned in virtue of a mere change of feeling, without any new evidence or new arguments. We do not now refute our predecessors, we pleasantly bid them goodby."[21] But let us poll a fair list of competent philosophers, confining ourselves to our own America in deference to the limits of time and space. Beginning in the East of an earlier day and advancing in time as we move West: Charles Sanders Peirce, of Harvard, charged that even the determinist believes in free will "when he is not theorizing."[22] Peirce scoffed at the idea that determinism is a "postulate of scientific reasoning." Moreover, to "postulate a proposition," he insisted, "is no more than to hope it is true."[23] The Yale professor of philosophy, George T. Ladd, was as uncompromising: "Metaphysics and ethics cannot properly dictate their facts and conclusions to the science of physiological psychology; but, in turn, this science cannot properly dictate to metaphysics and ethics the conclusions which they shall draw from facts of consciousness, by giving out its myths and fables in the garb of well-ascertained history of the cerebral processes."[24]

Prof. James Bissett Pratt, of Williams College, protests against the determinist robotlike concept of human conduct: "We are not

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

theaters within which impulses struggle with each other * * * until the stronger defeats the weaker. * * * We can and often do reinforce the weaker by the strength of our wills and thereby defeat the stronger. * * * The investigation as to whether or not this is the case plainly cannot start out by defining the stronger impulse as that which eventually wins; to do this (and it has often been done) would be a ludicrously patent and naive case of begging the question." Pratt here points out how to avoid that ingenuous deterministic assumption: "If we are to distinguish a weaker from a stronger impulse at all, plainly the only way * * * is to appeal to introspection. The stronger impulse is the one that immediately feels stronger; for 'as a psychic existent feels so it must be'." [25] The Princeton University professor, Henry Norris Russell, presents the determinist with a dilemma: "This much at least we may say. If our personal freedom and responsibility are illusions, so is the blue sky above us and the solid earth beneath our feet. * * * Our freedom is at least as sure as sunrise, as solid as rock, as immovable as the everlasting hills, and need we ask more?" [26] The following short but outspoken commitment to free will is from the Columbia University professor of philosophy, William Pepperell Montague, who takes his stand with those who "from Epicurus back in ancient Greece down to our own Charles Peirce and William James, have held that freedom, at each present moment, to modify and supplement our past by a spontaneous effort not predetermined by that past, is both morally essential and physically real. * * * Each present moment has for its prerogative the thing we call free will. That freedom is the living, fighting front of life itself. It robs fate of a final victory and lights our path with hope." [27]

PRESENT-DAY THINKERS CONVINCED OF FREEDOM

In the Harvard of today, the philosopher John Wild in no uncertain voice speaks for indeterminacy: "Man alone is free because he understands his end, as such, and the necessary means to his end. Furthermore, he is free, because he is left to devise and to choose his own contingent means, meeting his own individual circumstances, making his own way through the mazes of concrete, human history, toward or away from that ultimate goal of perfection which every man and every woman at least dimly understands." [28] Harvard's Raphael Demos, too, is insistent: "The experience of choice is there demanding recognition—to be naturalized rather than deported; and the judgments of practical reason are bound up with our life in all its phases, not to be brushed aside simply because they appear to be inconsistent with the judgments of theoretical reason. Our practical beliefs enter into our practice; and [here Demos hits hard] a philosophy which refuses to impute validity to them lays itself open to the charge of insincerity." [29] From Boston University, its professor of philosophy, Edgar Sheffield Brightman, points out: "We are directly conscious of freedom, purpose, and value in nearly every moment of experience, of freedom, it is true, less continually than of purpose and value. Spiritual facts are as directly experienced as are sense data." Brightman discerningly concludes: "When I choose to pick up a red rose rather than a green leaf, I experience my free choice as directly as I experience the red of the rose or the green of the leaf." [30]

The following citation from Yale, too, meets the determinist head-on; it is from Douglas Clyde Macintosh: "The scientific mind tends almost inevitably to assume that as a matter of course all events must be completely predetermined. But of course this is dogma, not science." Macintosh will not permit himself to be misunderstood: "Complete predterminism cannot be demonstrated inductively, nor can it be proven deductively. The attempt to deduce it involves either a begging of the question in the beginning or a non sequitur in the end. Psychologically considered, it is the outcome of the rationalization of jealousy for the scientific method." [31] The Middle West, too, can speak plainly, as we see from the following words of Joseph Alexander Leighton, philosopher of Ohio State University: "Mechanistic behaviorism is a sheer rationalistic dogma that gains its plausibility from the general prestige of physical science." Leighton then clearly points out the voluntarist position: "True freedom consists, as James rightly says, in the capacity of the self to hold in the center of consciousness a thought, an ideal of value, which the self chooses to emphasize until it dominates and crowds out all incompatible ideas and impulses; and so all the warmth and dynamic of the core of selfhood supports it and makes it go." [32]

We next consult a philosopher-become-judge, Jerome Frank, of the United States circuit court of appeals. This is his verdict on free will: "To be free we must employ our intelligence, we must first study our situation to discover, as well as we can, what chances exist for the accomplishment of our aims, what is and is not open to us, and then step out wisely into the open spaces." Judge Frank finely concludes, "When we so act, we are free; we manifest 'determination' as distinguished from 'determinism'." [33] Another very competent and outspoken midwestern champion of free will is W. H. Werkmeister, philosopher of the University of Nebraska. Werkmeister scores the easy determinist assumption: "The determinists * * * must show how it is possible for man to be thoroughly and completely determined and yet to feel free. Merely to say that our feeling of freedom is an illusion is no explanation. * * * Our feeling of freedom, our feeling of authorship and responsibility, and our sense of guilt—intertwined though they are—are unmistakable facts of first-person experience; and that is the reason for accepting them as evidence." [34] Our last witness in the field of philosophy we choose from the University of Southern California. Ralph Tyler Flewelling gives the determinist a quiet warning: "However much the philosophers, or the scientists for that matter, may deny freedom, it will continue to be the commonest of human experiences and beliefs." [35]

PSYCHOLOGISTS RESPECT FREEDOM WHEN THEY DON'T IGNORE IT

But one might ask, why should not our first witnesses to the fact of free will have been psychologists? As Francis Aveling, psychologist of the University of London, reminds us of the problem of free will, "All the data for its solution must evidently be derived from introspection." Aveling adds, however: "Psychologists, and especially experimental psychologists, as a rule carefully avoid this problem and make no pretence of attempting to solve it. Fearful, perhaps, of compromising themselves as professors of an empirical science, they leave it to the philosophers as a problem of ontology or ethics, and shut their eyes to the patent fact that it is essentially a psychological problem." [36] With that explanation the Encyclopedia of Psychology essentially agrees, asking frankly: "How could this ambitious young science hope to enter the academy of the sciences with an uncaused 'will' as the ground of character?" Earlier psychology had been less purely experimental, making considerable use of philosophy; but now "psychology has largely broken with its parental discipline * * * As a result of this break, many of our scholars look askance today at anything smacking of metaphysics or introspection, call philosophical psychology obsolescent." [37] Consequently, "The position of most psychological writers is," as the Harvard psychologist, Gordon W. Allport, remarks, "one of naive determinism." [38] Dr. Boring, also of Harvard, puts himself on record with the frank avowal: "I doubt if the psychologists know anything about [free will]. They think they do; they think there is none. But they are not experts. It is a problem that is prior to their field and which they are not competent to examine. They assume determinism, most of them, and go ahead from that premise." [39]

Among American psychologists there is even the unwillingness to treat of "will" as pertinent to character. This attitude is in sharp contrast to the European. Dr. Leonard Carmichael, the Tufts College psychologist, calls attention to the abundance of such studies, especially in Germany and England. [40] Thus the University of London psychologist, Dr. Aveling, is notable for his researches regarding will activity. In reply to the question of its freedom, he declares, "Quite apart from any consciousness we may have of freedom, the answer must be 'Yes'; and for this reason * * * we have the power not only of apprehending our experience but of transcending it." He flatly places the appeal for personal freedom to "personal experience." [41] Consequently he declares the conviction of free will is not only "the persuasion of the unsophisticated person," but "despite the difficulties raised against it by metaphysical postulates such as that of the uniformity of nature, it is the pragmatic principle upon which every one of us acts, both as a private individual and as a member of the social community." [42] His English psychologist-confrere, Joseph Rickaby, adds that "The determinist, in England at least, shuts his determinism up with his books; and, in active life, uses his free will vigorously." [43]

We shall end these testimonials from psychologists with two citations from Harvard University, one of our own day, the other of happy memory. Our contemporary, Gordon W. Allport, remarks that while the axiom of determinism is useful in the psychological laboratory, outside the scientist customarily rejects it: "He proceeds, for example, on the assumption that he and his fellow men have freedom of choice respecting their conduct. He praises and blames, admonishes and exhorts, judges and punishes, consults his conscience and puts forth effort—none of these activities consistent with the axiom of determinism." [44] And finally we give this rejection by William James of the entire materialistic, mechanistic, deterministic position: "I can, of course, put myself into the sectarian scientist's attitude, and imagine vividly that the world of sensations and of scientific laws and objects may be all. But whenever I do this, I hear that inward monitor * * * whispering the word 'bosh.' Humbug is humbug, even though it bear the scientific name, and the total expression of human experience, as I view it objectively, invincibly urges me beyond the narrow 'scientific' bounds." [45]

DETERMINISM DESTRUCTIVE EVEN AS THEORY

Heretofore in our discussion we have been concerned to establish free will as a fact. Now we would show that the opposing theory, determinism, is harmful even as a theory. Here we have Dr. Barnes again as a forthright opponent. He contends that according to the free will conception, a child born of the finest parentage and given every educational opportunity "yet might at any time burn down an orphan asylum or rob the

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

vaults of the Salvation Army."[42] We have only to turn to William James for a direct rejoinder to Dr. Barnes: "A favorite argument against free will is that if it be true, a man's murderer may as probably be his best friend as his worst enemy, a mother be as likely to strangle as to suckle her first-born, and all of us be as ready to jump from fourth-story windows as to go out of front doors, etc. Users of this argument should properly be excluded from debate till they learn what the real question is." But wherein lies their error? "Free will," James insists, "does not say that everything that is physically conceivable is also morally possible. It merely says that of alternatives that really tempt our will more than one is really possible * * * Persons really tempted often do murder their best friends, mothers do strangle their first-born, people do jump out of fourth-story windows, etc."[43]

Under the free-will concept of human nature, no matter what the heredity, even the offspring of Bill Jukes and Sadie Kallikak, born squarely on the wrong side of the tracks, of a broken home drenched in alcohol, and raised on horror comics, even such a one can face the future with grim assurance. For, provided only he is brought to appreciate the fact that there is an alternative, law-abiding course for which he sees an adequate motive, he can without presumption affirm, "I have what it takes to make good." Be the past what it may. Be the force of habit, passion, associates what they will, he is not merely the "tail end of the tapeworm of ancestry," nor the synthetic product of the mistakes of chance. In future crises, he need not meet life lying down. And representatives of the law can without falsehood assure him that in every future crisis of his salvaged life the decision can be made on the side of decency provided only his awareness of the possible choice and adequate motives be maintained. That this is so, even the determinists logically concede when they testify frankly to what happens in their own deliberate decisions. For, as the determinist psychologist, Prof. Max Wertheimer, has acknowledged, "Fortunately, men believe in their will, and even if they are philosophically convinced of determinism, they will not make use of it in actual situations."[44]

The achievements of any of us depend upon our concept of what for us we deem possible. As Professor Hocking of Harvard insists, "The first task of education is to bring (the child's) full will into existence."[45] Gordon W. Allport remarks that "an adroit mind will readily perceive that the degree and type of freedom a man has depends in part upon what he believes. If he thinks he is hopelessly bound he will not exert himself, and if he fails to exert himself he will not improve his lot."[46] This is the warning the Duke University psychologist, William McDougall, insisted upon as so vital and by the determinists so ignored. According to determinist theory, "My conduct will be what it will be, the issue of conditions that existed and determined it in every detail long before I was born; therefore it would be foolish of me to take pains to choose the better course and to make efforts to realize it. This is the real crux of this dispute. This is the legitimate inference from determinism. This is its moral difficulty, which has seldom been squarely faced by its advocates, and never overcome by them * * * One may suspect that the determinists, most of whom try to put aside this difficulty by some scornful reference to Oriental fatalism, are in general really afraid of it, and have entered into a conspiracy resolutely to ignore, since they cannot dispel, this dark shadow on human life."[47] So destructive does this determinism seem to Dr. Fleming, the University of Southern California philosopher, that he warns us, "All our political and social institutions are built upon the presumption of freedom. Without it civilization would perish. What is written so deeply into social necessity and the common understanding of man we have no hesitancy in proclaiming to be a fact."[48] And Dr. Wolf, philosopher of the University of London, addressing himself to the needs of criminology, asserts: "The view of freedom as partial self-determination offers a sound basis both for the deterrent and the corrective conception of punishment, as well as for that humane conception of the partly preventive and partly curative treatment of offenders which advancing civilization increasingly favors."[49]

Denial of free will is one of those things which the Harvard Psycho-Educational Clinic has found among "Causes of Mental Ill Health Among College Students": "The first reaction is one of disillusionment, with its consequent self-depreciation at the thought of being so gullible in the past, accompanied by an intense dislike for those people and institutions that had led him along blindfolded for 20 years. * * * The second reaction is generally an intense feeling of worthlessness, a feeling that man is but an animal slightly higher than the beasts of the field."[50] The psychiatrist, Dr. William Sadler, speaking from 30 years' experience, concurs regarding the importance of the free will concept for mental health. "It is," he says, "in the treatment of various types of disorders of the personality that the physician is brought to realize how much harm is done by the teaching that determinism, and not free will, rules life. * * * The training of the will by self-denial and self-control is extremely important. * * * Here is the secret of the increasing prevalence of neurotic symptoms in recent years."[51] Dr. Sadler need not go farther than to William James himself for an example of this importance of the free-will concept for mental health. In James' Letters we read that before he broke the stranglehold of determinism upon his mind by daring to assert free will, "suicide seemed the most manly form to put my daring into." A year later, delighted with the change the free-will assumption had worked in him, he exclaimed, "Bless my soul, what a difference between me as I am now and as I was last spring, at this time. Then so hypochondriacal * * * and now with my mind so cleared up and restored to sanity. It's the difference between death and life."[52]

VOLUNTARISM THE INSPIRATION OF THE FREE WORLD

We need be little moved by the warning that the scientific spirit requires us to bar freedom of the will. Sorokin, taking the long view, points out that the determinist credo was particularly fashionable in the 19th century but as a mere "mentality fashion" which "like any fashion comes, blossoms, and fades away. At the present time even in the physiochemical sciences a belief in an iron determinism is over, melted down into a mere theory of probability."[53] The distinguished physicist, Arthur H. Compton, gives point to this reminder by championing free will no matter what may be the fact regarding determinacy in physics; and this because—as he says—"My experience of the effectiveness of purpose is more direct and cogent than any logical argument based upon scientific generalizations. * * * That it pays to try is more basic in our psychology than is even the will to live."[54] Under the freewill concept man maintains his position of unique value, with no disparagement of science. For free will is consonant with much determinism in nature, whereas determinism is destructive of all freedom.[55]

Today America is spending itself to inspire the free world to dare all for its freedom. The enemy is not content to face us with the greatest peacetime military force the world has known. He must prepare us for defeat by first weakening us in things of the spirit. As the jurist, Jerome Frank, warns us: "We live in the midst of a world-wide struggle for mastery in the field of ideas. Determinism is one of the powerful contending ideas. It has infiltrated into American education. In America it is opposed by the American tradition of individual and group free will. Those of us who believe in that tradition must fight for it. Neither our victory nor our defeat is predestined."[56] In the name, therefore, even of our common patriotism as well as of science and commonsense, we must insist that we are not "graven images, pushed from behind," nor are we "molecules in the (red) wave of the future." Our future is largely of our own making; and—as Judge Frank inspiringly says, "we must make good." For the determinist the first step toward that making good is a heeding of the friendly warning of the Harvard Psychologist Edwin G. Boring, that "The problem of freedom of the will is still with us, and the deterministic psychologist (or criminologist) who denies it may be said to shut his eyes to an obvious fact of mind."[57]

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] Vedder, Koenig and Clark, Criminology: A Book of Readings, Dryden Press, 1953, p. 519 f.

[2] Criminology, Macmillan, 1921, p. 379 f.

[3] Current History Magazine, June 1926, p. 366.

[4] Wood, Arthur Evans and John Barker Waite, American Book Co., 1941, p. 484.

[5] Criminology, rev. ed., Macmillan, 1950, p. 224.

[6] Federal Probation, "Trends in Criminological Research," Oct.–Dec. 1942, p. 21.

[7] Vedder, Koenig and Clark, op. cit., p. 134.

[8] Ibid., p. 519.

[9] Ibid., p. 525.

[10] "Concept of Responsibility," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, May–June 1954.

[11] "Freedom: Can Commonsense Be Trusted?" Hibbert Journal, XXXVII, pp. 203, 301.

[12] Living in the Twentieth Century, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1928, p. 11.

[13] Op. cit., p. 385.

[14] Principles of psychology, Holt & Co., 1890, vol. II, p. 577a.

[15] Henry Pratt Fairchild, ed., Philosophical Library, 1944, p. 338 f.

[16] 1950 ed., vol. p. 748 f.

[17] Fundamentals of Ethics, Henry Holt & Co., 1930, p. 405.

[18] Anton C. Pegis, ed., Basic Writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas, Random House, 1945, p. 640 f.

[19] Robert E. Brennan, Thomistic Psychology, Macmillan, 1941, p. 227.

[20] Federal Probation, April–June 1944, p. 32.

[21] Quoted, I. L. Kandel, The Cult of Uncertainty, Macmillan, 1943, p. 14.

[22] Hartshorne, Charles and Paul Weiss, Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce; vol. I, Harvard University Press, 1931, p. 161 f.

[23] Op. cit., vol. VI, p. 30 f.

[24] Elements of Physiological Psychology, C. Scribner's Sons, 1887, p. 544.

[25] Personal Realism, Macmillan, 1937, p. 322 f.

[26] Fate and Freedom, Yale University Press, 1927, p. 57.

[27] "Free Will and Fate," The Personalist, vol. XXIV, No. 2, April 1943.

[28] Introduction to Realistic Philosophy, Harper & Bros., 1948, p. 481.

[29] Ruth Nanda Anshen, ed., Freedom: Its Meaning, Harcourt, Brace, 1940, p. 611.

[30] Ibid., p. 503.

[31] "Responsibility, Freedom, and Causality," Journal of Philosophy, Jan. 18, 1940, p. 49 f.

[1] The Individual and the Social Order, D. Appleton & Co., 1930, pp. 281, 289.
[2] Fate and Freedom, Simon and Schuster, 1945, p. 145.
[3] A Philosophy of Science, Harper & Bros., 1940, pp. 434 ff.
[4] Creative Personality, Macmillan, 1926, p. 56.
[5] Personality and Will, D. Appleton & Co., 1931, p. 194.
[6] Philip Lawrence Harriman, ed., Philosophical Library, 1946, p. 458.
[7] Hazen Foundation Report, Survey of College Reading Materials, Yale University Press, 1948, p. 103.
[8] Personal letter, October 17, 1944.
[9] Manual of Child Psychology, John Wiley & Sons, 1946, p. 741.
[10] Personality and Will, pp. 207 f, 205.
[11] Op. cit., p. 193.
[12] Free Will and Four English Philosophers, Burns & Oates, 1906, p. 234.
[13] The Individual and His Religion, Macmillan, 1952, p. 115.
[14] Varieties of Religious Experience, Longmans, Green, 1923, p. 519.
[15] Living in the 20th Century, p. 52.
[16] The Will To Believe and Other Essays, Longmans, Green, 1923, p. 157n.
[17] Ruth Anshen, ed., Freedom; Its Meaning, p. 562.
[18] Human Nature and Its Remarking, Yale University Press, 1923, p. 258.
[19] The Individual and His Religion, p. 71.
[20] Introduction to Social Psychology, 1926, p. 240f.
[21] Creative Personality, p. 286f.
[22] Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. 9, 1950, p. 748f.
[23] George E. Gardner, Annals * * * May 1930, p. 117.
[24] Theory and Practice of Psychiatry, Mosby, St. Louis, 1936, p. 1052ff.
[25] The Letters of William James, edited by his son, Henry James, Atlantic Monthly, 1920, vol. I, pp. 148, 169.
[26] "Is Accurate Social Planning Possible?" American Sociological Review, Feb. 1936, p. 14.
[27] The Human Meaning of Science, University of North Carolina Press, 1940, p. 49f.
[28] Herman Harrell Horne, Free Will and Human Responsibility, Macmillan, 1912, p. 61.
[29] Fate and Freedom, p. 343.
[30] A History of Experimental Psychology, Century Co., 1929, p. 158f.

Declaration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, during the many activities connected with the inauguration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON, a cultural event of more than passing interest took place at Constitution Hall. At the official inaugural concert on January 20, the National Symphony Orchestra under the baton of Dr. Howard Mitchell presented the world premiere of a new symphonic composition, based on the beginnings of the United States through the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence. Written by noted composer conductor Morton Gould, the work is entitled "Declaration." It was entirely fitting that Declaration be performed for the first time at the inaugural concert.

Declaration is considered by Dr. Mitchell to have lasting merit and will be performed regularly by the National Symphony Orchestra. It is unusually significant that this newest work by an important composer was commissioned by the NBC owned radio and television stations in Washington, D. C., stations WRC and WRC–TV. In the past, the custom of art patrons commissioning music composers to write works for specific celebrations or occasions was not unusual. However, the commissioning of Declaration by WRC and WRC–TV is an unusual situation for modern times. NBC vice president Carleton D. Smith, general manager of the stations, has established a precedent by sponsoring creative artistic efforts which other business leaders might well emulate.

Early in 1956, WRC and WRC–TV staff members James E. Kovach and Jay Royen conceived the idea of setting the Declaration of Independence to music for broadcast use each July 4. Mr. Smith encouraged development of the idea and promised financial backing to the extent of several thousand dollars. Dr. Howard Mitchell was approached and was immediately enthusiastic. Dr. Mitchell further suggested that Morton Gould would be the best possible composer to undertake the work as a commission by WRC and WRC–TV. The stations, in turn, expressed hope that the work would be performed for the first time by the National Symphony Orchestra in Washington.

Composer Gould accepted the commission with enthusiasm and completed his composition only a few weeks before the inaugural concert. Declaration is in the form of a speaking narrative for orchestra, two solo speakers and a speaking male chorus. Baritone Paul Arnold of WRC was selected to narrate the role of a Tory and Tom Kelly of the Catholic University was chosen as the town crier for the premiere performance. The 13 voice male chorus, representing the original American colonies, was played by the Singing Sergeants of the United States Air Force.

The movements of Declaration are Liberty Bell, Midnight Ride, Concord Bridge, Summer '76, Statements, Credo and Celebration. Plans are being made for a major recording company to make a record of Declaration so that it may be used by WRC and other radio stations throughout the Nation, as well as in our Nation's schools.

This new interest in early American history, through the medium of symphonic music, is certainly a worthwhile activity on the part of the stations of the National Broadcasting Co. As a cultural and patriotic gesture it is an activity for which WRC and WRC–TV are to be highly commended.

These stations have been serving the Washington area since 1923 and 1947 respectively. It is noteworthy that both stations have performed many other outstanding public service activities for the benefit of the people of the Washington area, including Maryland and Virginia. For several years now, WRC–TV has been in the forefront of efforts to end the pollution menace in the Potomac River. Through extensive radio and television publicity the public health menace in the Potomac has been brought before the public and much has been done to alleviate the situation. This unselfish pioneering work by WRC and WRC–TV will certainly deserve the thanks of future generations who may enjoy the recreational advantages of a clean Potomac river.

It also comes to mind that WRC–TV is one of the Nation's first commercial television stations to make a contribution in the field of educational television. For over 4 years, WRC–TV cooperated with the District of Columbia public school system to produce and telecast daily lessons into Washington public school classrooms. These daily hour-long lessons in music, history, science, civics and other subjects provided valuable information on television teaching techniques not only for Washington area teachers, but also for educational systems throughout the country.

The cultural, educational and civic activities of both WRC and WRC–TV indeed represent the finest traditions of the American broadcasting industry.

Entered here now is the script of Declaration as presented at the inaugural concert on January 20, 1957:

DECLARATION

(By Morton Gould, commissioned by stations WRC, WRC–TV of the National Broadcasting Co.)

(The excerpts from the Declaration of Independence used by Mr. Gould are included in secs. V and VI)

I. Liberty Bell (Passacaglia), orchestra.

FIRST INTERLUDE

Town Crier: Hear ye! Hear ye! News from the Colonies. Things are stirring all over and there's trouble afoot. Up Massachusetts way Sam Adams says more King's soldiers are debarking daily. Rumor is they are ready to march and arrest committee leaders, and seize all supplies. Sons of liberty and minutemen are calling for volunteers—and warn all members to be on the alert, and hold themselves in readiness. Mr. Revere, the silversmith, will bring the news and spread the alarm.

One if by land—two if by sea. Hear ye! Hear ye! News from the Colonies.

II. Midnight Ride (Scherzo), orchestra.

SECOND INTERLUDE

Tory: Bad times. Bad times. These are bad times. Agitation up and down the land. No respect for proper constituted authority. Loyal citizens of His Majesty are victims of scurrilous attacks.

Mobs are destroying property—dumping merchandise in the ocean. Oh, bad times. The country is full of rabble rousers, radicals, traitorous rebels. Well, they've got their heads in a noose this time. The King's troops are out—they'll round up the disloyal lot of them. Those loud-mouthed trouble-makers and their farmers' militia won't dare to stand up to His Majesty's army. If they do, it means armed insurrection. Death and destruction. Bad times—bad times, I tell you. Bad times——

III. Concord Bridge (memorial), orchestra.

THIRD INTERLUDE

Town Crier: Hear ye. Hear ye. The committee has called a special Congress this summer. Delegates are riding in posthaste from all the Colonies. New arrivals every day—taverns and inns are full up—hardly a room to be had in town.

The report is serious disagreements and arguments amongst the committeemen. A lot of independence talk in the air.

Alamanac says a warm July and good crops.

Hear ye. Hear ye. Special meeting of Congress.

IV. Summer '76 (serenade), orchestra.

FOURTH INTERLUDE

Tory: Bad times. Bad times. Bad times. The last peaceable summer we'll see for years to come. Revolution. That's what is happening, what these committees are brewing. And all this rubbish about independence—and United Colonies. What has a Boston trademan in common with a South Carolina planter? Imagine a Vermont farmer taking orders from a Virginia colonel. And a rank amateur soldier at that—their Mr. Washington. Rebellion and treason, I say, hiding behind high-flown propaganda and crackpot ideas. All these seditious acts stem from disloyal malcontents—inciting each other, setting neighbor against neighbor to further their own tyrannical power. Mark my words, if this movement is not suppressed, these poisonous thoughts will spread and overthrow and destroy established order—not only in this country but on the Continent as well.

Bad times. Bad times.

Town Crier: Hear ye. Hear ye. Hear ye. The Congress has been called to session. The delegates are arriving from all the Colonies. Young Tom Jefferson is come to Philadelphia with his own special writing desk. Franklin and Adams are on the way. Representatives from the Thirteen Colonies are gathering for the rollcall; New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia.

V. Statements (Fugato), speaking chorus and orchestra.

Speaking chorus: We have suffered just grievances. Over many years now we have petitioned for redress to no avail. We cannot tolerate the worsening conditions—and call ourselves freemen.

We have suffered repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment, by the present King of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within. He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their subsistence.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislatures.

He has effected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

FIFTH INTERLUDE

Town crier: Hear ye, hear ye. July 3, this year 1776, the Congress is met. They are declaring for independence.

VI. Credo (recitative), speaking chorus and orchestra.

Speaking chorus: When, in the course of human events, it become necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States: and that as free and independent States they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor. (John Hancock, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Stephen Hopkins, Edward Rutledge, Benjamin Harrison, Philip Livingston, Robert Morris, Francis Hopkinson, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Rush.)

SIXTH INTERLUDE

Town crier: Hear ye! Hear ye! All is well in the 13 independent and united States. A new nation is born. There will be celebrations through the land. Sing Hallelujahs and blow the bugles. Ring out the bells.

All is well. All is well. All is well.

VII Celebration (chorale and fugue), orchestra.

Farben Pays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, time moves inexorably forward. Man cannot return and erase the blots of the past. He can, however, obliterate them with the brilliance of present deeds. Recently, men of good will representing the remnants of Europe's largest industrial monolith and the remnants of a persecuted people met, without sanctimonious fanfare and of their own volition, to reach an agreement to compensate, inasmuch as is humanly possible, victims of the brutality engendered by the Nazis.

On February 6, 1957, representatives of the I. G. Farben in liquidation, the officials designated by the victorious allies to liquidate the old I. G. Farben combine, and the Jewish Material Claims Conference—speaking for free world Jewry—concluded an agreement whereby the conference would receive some 27 million marks—about $6,750,000—for distribution as compensation to the more than 3,000 former Jewish inmates of the Nazi concentration camp at Auschwitz who were compelled by the Nazi SS to work in I. G. Farben installations during World War II.

The chiefs of I. G. Farben in liquidation, although disclaiming any legal responsibility, have no doubt felt a moral obligation toward those whom the Hitlerians compelled them to use as forced labor in their facilities. They have met on an equal basis with the 22 Jewish organizations representing Jewry in the free world, and together they have reached an agreement for equitable compensation for some of the horrible wrongs committed during the Nazi era. The hatreds of the past are best buried. Both the Jewish Material Claims Commission and I. G. Farben in liquidation are to be congratulated for this significant contribution to the renascence of international conscience.

The Chicago Daily News, the Chicago Sun-Times, and the Milwaukee Sentinel have all expressed editorially their thoughts on this matter, as evidenced from the following.

The editorial of the Chicago Daily News of February 7 is as follows:

FARBEN PAYS

The extent to which the present leaders of West Germany are seeking to wipe out the

stains of the Nazi era is illustrated in an agreement signed yesterday in Frankfurt.

Under its terms, the liquidators of the mammoth I. G. Farben Co. are setting aside about $7.5 million to pay former concentration camp victims who were forced by the Nazis to work in the Farben plants. Many of these victims now live in the United States.

Of this total, about $6.5 million will be distributed by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany. The remainder will be paid directly to non-Jewish claimants.

The I. G. Farben agreement, which is over and above any compensation undertaken by the Government, marks a significant step toward healing the wounds left by the infamous Hitler regime.

The editorial of the Chicago Sun Times of February 7 is as follows:

CARTEL WITH A CONSCIENCE

More than 3,000 former inmates of Auschwitz concentration camp who were forced by the Nazi SS to work as slave laborers for the I. G. Farben chemical cartel will receive $7,140,000.

An agreement to this effect was signed yesterday in Frankfurt by liquidators of the company and the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany, which is made up of 22 Jewish organizations from all over the free world.

The payment has no relation to the official German government compensation to Jewish victims of the Nazi regime. This is a separate private payment that is an effort to make up, at least financially, for the misery and human indignity suffered by some of Hitler's slaves.

There is a test case for such compensation in the German courts, but the liquidators of the company, although claiming they have no obligation to do so, have decided to pay off before the case is decided. They want to clear their conscience as well as their books.

That such a private settlement can be made without government pressure is a sign of the new spirit in Germany which seeks to make redress for the wrongs of the Nazi era. It is a spirit the rest of the world should know about and appreciate.

The editorial of the Milwaukee Sentinel of February 10 is as follows:

IN CONSCIENCE

One of the most significant, encouraging, and important events since the formal cessation of World War II took place, in relative quiet, in Frankfurt, Germany, last week.

It was the signing of a historic agreement between the trustees of the former I. G. Farben chemical combine and the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany.

The Conference is composed of 22 Jewish organizations within the non-Communist world.

Under this signing, the liquidators of the Farben cartel agreed to set aside about $7½ million with which to compensate those who survived the horrors of slave labor at the Farben plant near the infamous Auschwitz concentration camp during World War II.

The Conference on Jewish Material Claims will distribute about $6½ million of this sum to the more than 3,000 Jewish survivors.

The rest will be received directly by non-Jewish claimants.

Many of these survivors now reside in this country.

This settlement becomes all the more significant, encouraging, and important when it is noted that it has come not as a result of action of any government, but is purely the result of individual human beings who have acted, in deep conscience, to somehow endeavor to erase the brutal marks which Hitler-aroused racial hatred etched upon the history of man.

Indeed, this is an outstanding example, particularly in these days in which governments continue to clash with governments, of what individuals of faith and good will and of mutual understanding can do by themselves if they but choose to do so.

It is, then, a great ray of hope on a world scene which all too long has been darkened by hatreds and oppressions and by failure to recognize God-granted human dignity.

Drought Has Been Disastrous

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. CHRISTOPHER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Mr. Speaker, Secretary Benson's recent decision that the State of Missouri did not belong in the drought-disaster area is very difficult to understand. We in Missouri have suffered 5 consecutive years of very subnormal rainfall, and we now have an accumulated moisture shortage of 60 inches, or 5 feet, of water for this period below the 10-year average. Could it be possible that the way a majority of Missourians voted in November 1956 fails to meet with the approval of the Secretary, and that this has become a contributing factor in his complete lack of cooperation?

[From the Missouri Farmer of February 1957]

DROUGHT HAS BEEN DISASTROUS—CAN ANYONE CALL IT A BLESSING?

(By Fred V. Heinkel)

Almost every day for the last 4 years letters have reached my desk from farmers over the State, bringing out drought problems which they were facing. Your Missouri Farmers Association has had a representative serving on Governor Donnelly's State Drought Committee since its formation in 1953. This committee has continued to function because of the drought problems which had to be dealt with every year since 1953.

Though I do not believe this condition warrants the conclusion that Missouri is becoming a permanently arid State, I do feel that we should study the happenings over the past few years as a basis for our future planning.

The interrelation between drought problems and economic problems facing farmers is obviously so close that one set cannot be considered without the other. Consider for a moment some of the economic factors in the United States over the past few years, from 1952 to 1955.

According to a Department of Labor report, industrial stock prices were up 62 percent and corporate profits (after taxes) were up 32 percent. Nonfarm income was up 14 percent. But net farm income was down 23 percent.

Furthermore, as evidence of low farm prices and drought conditions, farmowners borrowed $2.4 billion on farm mortgage security in 1955, the largest amount since 1923. And the total farm debt reached $18.5 billion by the end of last June, with total interest payments expected to reach $1 billion by this year.

THEN ADD DROUGHT TO THIS

Now, against the background of these figures which indicate the farmer's economic plight nationally, consider the effects on Missouri farmers caused by the extended drought, and consider too what measures have been taken to combat these disastrous effects.

We remember all to clearly the latter part of 1953, when the devastating summer and fall drought left us with very little grain produced in some sections of the State and with virtually no hay and roughage in any part of the State. After months of making surveys, and in response to repeated requests, the Federal Government made available a limited surplus grain program in some sections of the State, which was certainly helpful to those eligible to receive it.

FEDERAL ACTION DELAYED

At the same time repeated requests were made to Secretary Benson to initiate a roughage program. However, no action was taken until after Governor Donnelly had called a special session of the legislature at which $6½ million was appropriated to provide aid to Missouri farmers by paying half the transportation cost of importing hay and roughage from outside the State. The railroads, you will recall, reduced freight rates by one-half on hay coming into Missouri.

Finally, after the State had appropriated the $6½ million and hay was already arriving from other States, only then did the Federal Government contribute $1,604,000 to the program.

Early in 1954 it became evident that the available funds would not be sufficient to meet the need, and a second special session was called, when an additional $2,750,000 of State funds were appropriated.

The purpose of this program was to save the livestock and dairy industries of the State of Missouri, and I am proud to say your Missouri Farmers Association not only gave full support to the program, but also served importantly as an agency in providing farmers in Missouri with thousands of tons of hay and roughage at a price they could afford to pay.

The amount of Federal aid was so little and granted so late that had the State not taken positive action many livestock and dairy herds of Missouri would have had to be liquidated. Such a loss would not only have thrown hundreds of farmers into bankruptcy, but would have disrupted the economy of the entire State.

Under the roughage program, some 82,000 drought-stricken Missouri farmers purchased over 700,000 tons of hay at a price not in excess of $22 per ton.

Late in 1954 and through the early spring of 1955, after many surveys and repeated requests, the Federal Government advanced $500,000 for an emergency hay program in Missouri. Under this program, in which the Federal Government paid one-fourth of the transportation costs, some 15,000 farmers purchased approximately 85,000 tons of hay and roughage.

THIS SPRING NORTHWEST MISSOURI HARD HIT

In the spring of 1956 the northwestern and central sections of Missouri received practically no rainfall until the latter part of June. Winter wheat dried up, oats did not germinate, and corn did not come up. Ponds and creeks were dry, and pastures were nonexistent.

After numerous surveys and repeated requests by the Governor, a personal representative of Secretary Benson made a survey of the area. On the basis of his report, only four counties in the entire area were designated drought counties, and only for the grazing of soil-bank reserve acreage, most of which was as barren as the middle of the road.

Last September, October, and November we experienced the driest fall in the history of Missouri weather records. Farmers in many sections of the State started feeding both grain and roughage. In some sections they

had to start as early as July. This was particularly true in southwest Missouri, where they had suffered 5 schorching years, and where as of December 1, 1956, there was more than a 5-foot deficit in rainfall.

DROUGHT COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS AID

On October 8, the Missouri Drought Committee recommended to Governor Donnelly, who in turn recommended to Washington, that 93 counties in Missouri be declared drought disaster counties. On October 10, Secretary Benson visited Missouri and met with the drought committee. Before leaving, he promised an immediate reply to the Governor's request.

Besides his request for drought designation of 93 counties, Governor Donnelly recommended:

1. Allow the pasturing of soil-bank reserve acres.
2. Provide funds to initiate a program of seeding small grain for pasture on a cost-sharing basis.
3. Provide funds to renovate farm ponds which were dry.
4. Provide funds to accelerate Bangs eradication program.
5. Expand the beef purchasing program.
6. Instigate a coordinated hay, roughage, and surplus grain program.

Secretary Benson kept his promise and replied to Governor Donnelly's request within a few hours. However, he rejected every request except one. He even rejected the request for a surplus grain and hay program, the need for which was serious at that time and has since become critical. The only request approved was permission to graze soil-bank reserve acreage in 93 counties, which meant very little.

Two of Secretary Benson's personal representatives spent a week in Missouri, and not only saw the conditions, but at a series of meetings, heard hundreds of farmers in southwest Missouri describe their farming conditions and outline their needs. Farmer after farmer explained that with 4 or 5 years of drought added to worsening economic conditions, he was just about through unless surplus grain was made available at reduced cost and a roughage program set up to aid him.

FARMERS WITHOUT PASTURE

Many testified they had no fall pasture because drought conditions had prevented their wheat, barley, and rye from germinating and growing. They had already started to feed both grain and roughage in increased amounts—some as far back as July. Their supply was exhausted, or would be by January 1.

I ask you, how could any human being, with anything warmer than "icewater" in his veins, see these conditions at first hand and hear hundreds of farmers describe their sorrowful plight, and still reject all requests for help * * * even for the surplus grain which is supposedly held by the Federal Government to meet such emergencies.

What can be the reason why the Secretary of Agriculture, instead of using the surplus grain to help farmers recover from drought damage, prefers to give it to a foreign nation, or else hold it while it deteriorates and while he raises a continual hullabaloo about storage charges?

Can it be that Secretary Benson sees the disastrous conditions as a blessing which can reduce the number of farmers to the point where only the large farmers—his so-called efficient operators—will be all who survive?

To this end, at any rate, he is being successful, as the recent census of agriculture shows. Some 600,000 farmers in the United States have been forced off the land since 1953 * * * 28,431 of them in our own State of Missouri.

Needless to say, I cannot share this view. To me, the drought is a disaster, spreading and deepening the depression in agriculture. And its results are tragic insofar as farmers are being forced off the land. Each time another farm family has to leave, it is to me another tragedy, and so unnecessary. Steps could be taken to change this trend, and I certainly hope they will be taken soon.

Ronne's Ship Battles 70 Miles of Ice in Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 23, 1957

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, an excellent article concerning the activities of Capt. Finn Ronne in the Antarctic appeared in the January issue of the Evening Star.

Capt. Finn Ronne is one of the only two Americans who will be wintering in the Antarctic for the fourth time. He is military commander and scientific leader of the Ellsworth International Geophysical Year Station.

In 1948 he led his own expedition which resulted in discovery of new land in the Antarctic larger than the State of Texas. Flights into the unknown proved the Antarctic is one continent. Three-quarters of a million square miles were covered by aerial photographs and investigations were conducted in 11 branches of science.

The article follows:

RONNE'S SHIP BATTLES 70 MILES OF ICE IN A WEEK

(By Capt. Finn Ronne)

ON BOARD THE ICEBREAKER "STATEN ISLAND" IN THE WENDELL SEA, ANTARCTICA.—Ours is the first American ship ever to enter the Weddell Sea and the first of any nation to smash through the heavy floes of 8-foot-thick icerafts that have sealed off this desolate bay for more than a year.

The obstacles to navigation have been fearful. In over a week we have navigated only 70 miles and now we are encased in tremendously heavy ice off Gould Bay, still 370 miles from our destination, Bowman Peninsula in Edith Ronne Land where we hope to set up the station where we will live for the rest of 1957. Yet we may be forced to set up our base nearer at hand.

Something of the loneliness and heartbreak and heroism of Arctic exploration was brought home to us this week as we paid a visit by helicopter to the eight men at the British base in Shackleton Bay.

This group, led by Ken Blaiklock, lost their stores and fuel on the treacherous bay ice last year and were forced to winter over in tents with a temperature down to minus 64 degrees. Only 2 months ago were they able to complete building a hut, where we sat around a stove and watched their elation at seeing new faces. In a few days they will be joined by the group under Dr. Vivian Fuchs and Sir Edmund Hillary aboard the supply ship *Magdan*.

FIRST VISITORS IN YEARS

On New Year's Eve Capt. Edwin MacDonald and I flew by helicopter to another isolated British base where we were the first visitors in more than a year. Here at Halley Bay I met again my old friend Dr. V. David Dalgleish, in command of a nine-man party. We took his aide, George Lush, of Portsmouth, England, back to the *Staten Island* for an X-ray of a broken wrist that was found to be healing satisfactorily in spite of the 10 different casts it had in 4 months.

I say New Year's Eve—but of course at this time of year the sun shines 24 hours a day, and work goes on around the clock. It was at 4 a. m. on January 2 that we lost a helicopter in an accident that miraculously spared the pilot, Walter Strait and Walt Disney Cameraman William Fortin.

The 'copter had engine failure at 8 feet off the deck, flipped over and ground up the deck with its rotor blade. The machine and Fortin's CinemaScope camera were damaged beyond repair.

While our two ships, steadily battling the ice, moved slowly forward toward our ultimate destination, the remaining 'copter flew Captain McDonald and an Argentine observer, Lieutenant Dansel, to the Argentine Belgrano Base, 17 miles away. During their visit with eight Argentines, their leader, Gen. Hernan Pujato, expressed his desire to meet me, which request Captain McDonald radioed aboard.

As my 'copter, piloted by Lt. Edgar Newall, approached the barrier cliff I saw a small beaver plane, 10 sled dogs, 4 weasels and radio masts which were visible. One man popped up, seemingly from nowhere, and greeted me most heartily in Spanish. It turned out to be the general himself.

OLD MAGAZINES POPULAR

Others were soon on the surface, including Captain McDonald, who returned to the ship in the 'copter which had brought me. The Argentine doctor, who spoke English well, led the way to a small boxlike opening where we climbed down a vertical ladder to a landing, where a low tunnel led to their living quarters, buried deep into the barrier. Although congenial General Pujato had been here continuously since his base was built in January 1955, it was only a few weeks ago, during a reconnaissance flight, that he learned the existence of the nearby British Shackleton Base.

The eight Argentines had explored southward in Edith Ronne Land and discovered a 130-mile-long glacier, mountain ranges as high as the Alps and gathered scientific data.

Since we are the first ships to arrive this year, none of the men at these three bases has seen outsiders in more than a year. They heartily welcomed our visits and devoured our old magazines.

We are now breaking our way, foot by foot, westerly through treacherous pressure ice and narrow leads. Southerly cold winds which previously cleared our way of ice have suddenly shifted to warm winds from the north and caused a tight pack which is impossible to penetrate. Knowing well the shifting mood of the ice, Captain McDonald has decided to await southerly winds and a slackening of the pack before attempting another onslaught.

EIGHT HUNDRED YARDS IN 10 HOURS

On one occasion the icebreaker made only 800 yards in a 10-hour period. Continual poundings did not rock the mighty barriers of rafted ice. These rafting and pressure ridges measuring more than 20 feet above the crushed, upheaved, tattered and jumbled icefields are all around us.

On all of my four expeditions to the Antarctic I have never experienced the size and mass of ice that surrounds us here. No hope for a change is in sight until southerly winds break up the pack.

Captain MacDonald has tenacity of purpose and a tremendous drive to get the Ellsworth station set up. He will keep on plugging, and believes we will get there before the winter darkness closes in around us. However, if conditions do not change by January 20, it is planned to establish the base near our present position at Gould Bay. The

ships must depart about February 15 for home.

This is the area where in 1913 Filchner's ship, the *Deutschland*, was beset in the ice for 10 and a half months and where in 1915 Shackleton's ship, the *Endurance*, was so crushed by the intense pressure that she eventually sank.

We can feel the cruelty of the Weddell Sea while still marveling at the beauty it can produce. Last week I witnessed the most beautiful awe-inspiring sight of my four expeditions while steaming southward in the ice-free, mirror-reflecting water along snow-white Luitpold Coast with flowing gleaming tabular icebergs, sheer walls of ice, 100 feet high, and higher brilliant sun-lit snow-hills in the background.

It made me feel as if I were in dreamland on another planet and it is as good a reason as any as to why men return to the Antarctic.

Brotherhood Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the week of February 17 to February 24 is being observed throughout America as Brotherhood Week. It is sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews and is designed to spread the spirit of brotherhood throughout the land.

Throughout America, under the sponsorship of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, every community is conducting an event set aside to stimulate our national struggle against intolerance. Intolerance is the greatest enemy of our democratic institutions and has no place in our American democracy. The National Conference of Christians and Jews renders a tremendous service in organizing the fight against intolerance and clearing the way for a stronger and more sturdy union of the American people.

Every year the National Conference of Christians and Jews designates recipients of the national human relations award granted by the conference to some individual distinguished for his devotion to brotherhood.

On Sunday, February 24, Mr. A. M. Luntz, president of the Luntz Iron & Steel Co., of Cleveland and Canton, Ohio, will be awarded the national human relations award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews at a civic dinner which will be attended by over 1,000 persons at the Hotel Carter in Cleveland. The award, the highest honor of the conference, is being made for Mr. Luntz' lifetime of devotion to the cause of the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God and his assistance to all peoples regardless of religion, race or nationality.

The dinner will also mark the close of the 1957 Brotherhood Week under the national chairmanship of another Clevelander, Louis B. Seltzer, editor of the Cleveland Press. It is the first time in the history of the National Conference that both the national award winner and the National Brotherhood Week chairman come from the same city. Cleveland also has the distinction of being the only city in the United States to have three citizens who have received the National Human Relations Award. In addition to Mr. Luntz, John A. Greene, president of the Ohio Bell Telephone Co., won the citation in 1956 and Mr. Seltzer in 1951.

Addressing the Luntz dinner will be national personages from every walk of life including Senator John F. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, Senator Frank J. Lausche of Ohio, Henry A. Roemer, board chairman of Sharon Steel, Gov. C. William O'Neill of Ohio, Mayor Anthony J. Celebrezze of Cleveland, Mayor Carl Wise of Canton, Ohio, Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, National Conference president, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of The Temple, Cleveland; Rt. Rev. Nelson M. Burroughs, bishop of the Ohio Episcopal District; Msgr. Albert J. Murphy, pastor St. Ignatius Church, Charles F. McCahill, senior vice president, Forest City Publishing.

We in the Cleveland community are proud of Mr. Luntz and the honor which will be bestowed upon him for his devotion to the cause of brotherhood. We are also proud of the tremendous service which has been rendered by Mr. Louis B. Seltzer, editor of the Cleveland Press, as national chairman of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

REA Cooperatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. CHRISTOPHER
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Mr. Speaker, the propaganda advertising of the private electric power monopoly is going to unheard of lengths to discredit and destroy public power and REA cooperatives. The private-power companies had many years in which to take the blessing of electric light, power, and refrigeration to American farm homes. They not only failed to do this, they did not even attempt it. Now they brand public power and the REA cooperatives as socialistic, but the fact remains that without REA co-ops, the American farmer would still be in darkness without either refrigerator or power.

Some of their propaganda is silly to anyone who actually knows conditions as they exist. Millions of dollars are being spent on radio, television, and full-page ads in their attempt to discredit and destroy the public-power programs that have made electricity an almost universal servant in the American farm home. These ads are very costly, but they are not paid for by the private-power companies as they claim. They are paid for by the consumers of the electric current generated and sold by the private-power companies. Much of the current used by REA cooperatives is purchased from private companies—so the REA users themselves are paying a part of the cost for this propaganda barrage designed to destroy REA cooperatives.

The following letter from Clyde T. Ellis, general manager, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, is very revelatory and contains information with which every Member of the House should be familiar. I suggest that my colleagues read this letter:

NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC
COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., February 11, 1957.
Hon. GEORGE H. CHRISTOPHER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHRISTOPHER: Attached for your information is the latest ad in the propaganda series of the power companies. We wrote to you on this matter with a copy of an earlier ad on December 31.

We want to call to your attention the following part of the ad:

"These companies can have this power ready when you need it because they don't have to wait for an act of Congress—or for a cent of tax money—to build the plants. The same experience, imagination, and enterprise that electrified the Nation in a single lifetime are at work shaping your electric future. That's why in the years to come, as in the past, you will benefit most when you are served by independent companies like the ones bringing you this message."

These statements are simply not true.

When the power companies say that they don't have "to wait for an act of Congress—or for a cent of tax money"—they are implying, and falsely, that they do not receive any subsidies from the Federal Government. The facts are that they have already received certificates entitling them to interest-free loans of $1.4 billion and ultimate subsidies of $4.7 billion under section 168 of the Internal Revenue Act of 1954, and they stand to obtain benefits far in excess of those amounts under section 167 of the same act.

When the power companies attribute to themselves the credit for electrifying "the Nation in a single lifetime," they are rewriting history by denying credit to local and State governments for activities along this line which date back to 1882, and they are erasing the ugly record of most of the private companies in excluding rural people from receiving modern electric service until rural people and the Congress through the rural electric systems with funds and technical assistance from the Rural Electrification Administration did most of the rural job and forced the power companies to move into the field.

Placed against the background of the long propaganda campaign of the power companies, using funds supplied by electric consumers, this ad is pointing to a bright future and propagandizing against the Federal power program, State and local electric systems, and the rural electric program, i. e., against all enterprise in the electric industry except private monopoly.

We do not question the right of any American to free speech. We do question the privilege exercised by utility monopolies to spread false and misleading propaganda against our program. And we wish to protest as strongly as polite language will permit the right of the power companies to finance this kind of propaganda out of funds collected from electric consumers, including a majority of the consumers of our own member systems. And we protest the privilege the power companies exercise in declaring such expenditures to be a part of the legitimate expense of serving people with electricity, and deducting these expenses from their profits before taxes. Since electric

utilities operate, in effect, under cost-plus contracts with the electric consumer, they should not be permitted to add the cost of misleading propaganda to the ratepayers' bill and reduce their income taxes simultaneously.

We sincerely hope that the Congress will take action affirmatively to prohibit these activities, leaving the officials and owners of the power companies free to say whatever they please as individuals, provided they do it at their own expense.

Sincerely,

CLYDE T. ELLIS,
General Manager.

Statehood for Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 10, 1957

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, as a Member of Congress, as a member of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and as a Republican, I have during all of my service in Congress supported statehood for Alaska.

I have done so with the expectation that Alaska, after being granted statehood, would send Democrat Senators and a Democrat House Member to Washington. I have also sponsored legislation to permit Alaska to elect its own governor with the knowledge that this too would mean that a member of the Democratic Party would in all probability become Alaska's first elected chief executive.

The issue of statehood—the question of whether residents of Alaska should be represented in Congress by voting members—should, I feel, be above politics. I have so conducted myself in supporting this legislation.

For this reason, I am greatly disturbed by some newspaper accounts of the action of the Democrat-controlled Alaskan Territorial Legislature. The headline story of the Anchorage, Alaska, Daily Times of February 5, 1957, reads as follows:

THIRTY-SIX TURNED DOWN BY LEGISLATURE—POLICE BOARD HIT HARDEST BY SOLONS

JUNEAU.—Acting Gov. Waino Hendrickson was faced today with the task of nominating 36 persons to 28 Territorial agencies who will be more acceptable to the Democratic majorities in the legislature than his original choices.

The heaviest shucking came on Hendrickson's nomination to the Territorial board of police commissioners. The senate and house—in voice votes—refused to confirm any of Hendrickson's nominations to the commission which sets the policy for the Territorial police.

Here is another story from the same newspaper:

CURB ON POWERS OF NEW GOVERNOR URGED BY KAY

JUNEAU.—Wendell Kay, Anchorage, retiring speaker of the house, has called for the stripping of the appointive governor's patronage powers in order to frustrate the aims of Republican leaders in Washington.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know to whom he refers when he says "Republican leaders in Washington." I certainly know of no Member of Congress who has plans afoot to build a Republican machine in Alaska. I suspect that the Democrat leader is trying to justify actions taken by his party to embarrass the appointees of our Republican President, actions that are clearly political in intention and scope. I am perfectly willing to recognize the Alaskan Legislature's right to object to some nominees for State positions submitted to it by acting Governor Hendrickson. But for the members of the legislature to reject, in sweeping voice votes, 36 nominees to almost all of the Alaska governing boards is nothing but politics and politics at its vindictive worst.

In supporting statehood for Alaska, I have assumed that the residents of that State had achieved the political maturity to govern their own affairs wisely and well. The actions of the Democrat majority of the Alaskan Legislature have shaken this assumption. As a Member of Congress who must vote on the issue of statehood, both in committee and on the floor of the House, I intend to keep a close watch on the developments in Alaska. As a Republican, I deeply resent political reprisals against duly constituted authority in the Territory of Alaska, solely because the authority happens to be a Republican also. Let the Democrat members of the Alaskan Legislature weigh this observation while they are passing resolutions urging me and other Republican Members of Congress to vote them statehood.

No Sanctions Against Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, all of us are deeply concerned over the situation in the Middle East. We are concerned over the fate of Israel and its security and survival as a free and independent state. We are concerned over the attitude of some of the Arab countries, especially Egypt, because of their friendly relations with Communist Russia and for enabling that country to obtain a foothold in this vital area. We are concerned over Russian efforts to gain control of the Middle East, capture its oil resources, weaken the West and endanger our whole position. Most particularly, are we concerned lest events in this area might lead to a new world war with more dire consequences than in the past.

Unfortunately, our country has pursued a policy of drifting and stalling in recent years as far as the Middle East is concerned. We have not acted with firmness, as befits a world power such as the United States. Today, Nasser of Egypt and others of his ilk are dictating the terms and putting forth the demands—instead of the United States telling them what to do in the best interests of the free world. Many of these countries are dependent on us for foreign aid, then they turn right around, flirt with the Russians, purchase arms from them and keep the whole Middle East in turmoil.

The State of Israel could no longer withstand the constant provocations from Egypt and the raids by Arab gangs across its borders, and was forced to march into the Sinai Peninsula to wipe out the attackers in defense of its population. Britain and France could no longer stand idly by while Nasser seized the Suez Canal and disrupted their commerce, and they sent troops to occupy the canal. What did we do? Did we pursue a policy of aiding our friends and allies? No, we criticized them severely and condemned them in the United Nations. We insisted that Britain and France leave the Suez Canal at once. We helped maintain Nasser in power from which he was about to topple—and now we have a worse mess in the area.

Then we insisted that Israel give up the Sinai Peninsula, withdraw to its previous borders, and relinquish the Gaza strip, which never belonged to Egypt anyway. Now that Israel asks for firm guaranties for its shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba and protection against the renewal of raids from Gaza, we are talking about applying sanctions against Israel in order to strangle this little state, the only true democratic state in the Middle East.

Many of the leaders of both parties in Congress have warned that imposing sanctions against Israel is not only immoral and unjustified, but that it would be a most shameful way of meting out punishment to the weak and small states. Soviet Russia was permitted to get off scot free for her acts of murder and brutality against the people of Hungary. India has taken over Kashmir, while completely ignoring world opinion. Egypt seized the Suez Canal, has obstructed passage through the canal to the detriment of Western Europe, is agitating its neighbors to rise up in arms against France, and has carried on a constant state of war and provocations against Israel—but not a word from the United Nations or the United States to apply sanctions against her.

Is it right that there should be a double standard of morality, one for the weak and another for the strong? Can sanctions against Israel be justified, if no similar measures were taken against Soviet Russia, India, and Egypt? Can the United States, which is recognized far and wide as the moral leader of the free world, still continue in that role if we support sanctions against Israel?

It is high time for the United States to point out the hypocrisy involved here, or else be branded in the eyes of all the little and weak nations as being on the side of the bullies and the demagogs. I should not like to see our country placed in the same category with such preachers of morality as Russia's Khrushchev and India's Nehru. The world, the right-thinking people in this world, sized them up for what they are a long time ago.

The United States has the power to stop any harsh and foolish action in the United Nations which can only serve the purposes of Communist Russia in keep-

ing the Middle East stirred up. Let us not be a partner to such deeds which we may regret for many years to come and which may take a long time to rectify. Sanctions against Israel, whether moral, economic, or military, will not bring its people to their knees; it will only make them more miserable, more bitter, more desperate. What may come out of a situation of this kind is not difficult to understand.

I earnestly hope that this country will not allow itself to become involved in supporting the double standard of morality as currently practiced in the United Nations. In the long run, it will prove more dignified and more secure for our country to defend the rights of the little countries. It may also help save the United Nations from its present ineffectiveness and make it a valuable instrument of peace, instead of tearing it down completely.

Our policy now should be: No sanctions against Israel. Let us state it in clear and unequivocal terms.

Max Abelman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the New York Sunday Mirror of February 10, 1957, and which was written by Ken Rosenberg:

An able man at raising a dollar for any worthy cause is Max Abelman, 35 Tennis Court, Brooklyn. In his 50 years of fund-raising the stocky septuagenarian has raised more than $100 million, including almost $44 million in one gigantic Liberty Bond rally during World War I. He has just concluded a substantial effort in a Jewish charity's fund drive.

"We staged a big Liberty Bond show featuring Irving Berlin and opera star Eleanor Cisneros," Abelman retaliates, "and then Eleanor and other celebrities sold kisses to the people buying bonds. It was really funny to see the way some of our richest men rushed forward to buy kisses."

From 1932 until his retirement in 1954 Abelman served in various official capacities at the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn, an institution which he helped to set on its financial feet in his first real fund-raising campaign in 1909.

The Rumanian-born Abelman was introduced to fund raising in a novel way in 1907. "My father, who was a contractor, needed money to continue a project, so I went directly to one of the richest men in the city to ask his assistance," he recalls.

"Not only did he help my father, but he sent me to Nathan S. Jonas, the president of the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities, who gave me a temporary job as a clerk," Abelman recounted.

By October of 1909 he had turned his temporary clerk job into the post of executive director of the federation, and he stayed until 1923 when he resigned to become an officer of the Manufacturers Trust Co. One of his presentations for the federation which featured Violinist Fritz Kreisler netted $1 million in 1 night.

"At another of our offerings," he remembers, "we had an orchestra of 200 and some of the greatest voices of the operatic world vying with live canaries singing throughout the room."

On the philanthropic front Abelman was instrumental in founding the big brother and big sister movements, and has been active all told in the affairs of some 300 organizations including the Boy Scouts and the Red Cross.

Abelman had a heart attack last year. He is under doctor's orders to take it easy, but nevertheless he was a prime figure in the recent Federation of Jewish Philanthropies campaign.

"We've got to keep active to help the needy," explains Abelman, who has operated under a motto which has summed up his work down through the years: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Another Tribute to Congressman Albert Morano

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 6, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker and distinguished colleagues, I wish to call your attention to an article that appeared in the Bridgeport (Conn.) Post on February 16. This article shows the high esteem that is held for my distinguished colleague from Connecticut, Congressman ALBERT MORANO.

I should like to add that I too have been an eyewitness of the outstanding work done in Congress by ALBERT MORANO. He is a tireless worker for the cause of his constituents, and their welfare is his constant goal. Mr. Speaker, the great people of Connecticut's Fourth Congressional District can certainly rest assured that their Representative in Congress is down here doing a great job in their behalf.

I ask unanimous consent to insert here in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article from the Bridgeport Post of February 16:

MORANO BOOMED BY OHIO SOLON—W. H. AYRES ADDS MUSIC TO LINCOLN DAY TALK IN STRATFORD

"Congressman ALBERT MORANO is the one man who could give your present governor a real run and beat him," Congressman WILLIAM H. AYRES, of Ohio, told an audience of more than 350 persons attending a Lincoln Day dinner last night in the Stratford Masonic Temple.

Said Congressman AYRES, "I know him well; I have watched him at work in Washington for the past several years. I know how sincere he is and how capable and qualified he would be to head your government here in Connecticut. He has appeal, and the Republican Party would do well to seriously consider his capabilities when selecting the next candidate."

During his address, in which he said that the days of party hacks as candidates has passed and that the Republican Party must place before the people candidates who can sell themselves, the speaker asserted. We should have learned from the last campaign that the people liked Ike, but that there were an awful lot of others on the ticket they didn't like.

LAUDS WOMEN'S EFFORTS

The speaker lauded the women for their work in the last election, declaring, "If it hadn't been for them, we wouldn't have elected the Republicans we did."

The speaker said that the party workers must consider the candidates as products and themselves as salesmen, if you like the product, then you can sell it.

Discussing the national situation, he asserted, "With all the criticism of our foreign policy by the Democrats, it was well to take stock and realize that the true test of foreign policy is, Are we at war or are we at peace. When we think of that we can thank God for Eisenhower. There was a period in the past when every time we sat down to talk with the Russians we came up with a piece of paper and they with another piece of land, but that is not today under President Eisenhower."

The First Hungarian Refugee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, written by Miksa Frankl, the first Hungarian refugee to receive a United States visa, appeared in the Jewish Digest of February 1957. It is "must" reading for all freedom-loving people:

THE FIRST HUNGARIAN REFUGEE

(By Miksa Frankl)

In can sleep at night. That's the main reason I'm so happy to be in the United States. I can sleep and stop worrying that someone is watching me. I escaped from the jaws of death, and I am free.

This is not my first experience with barbarians. My first wife and our two children—one 8 months old, the other 3—died in Auschwitz at the hands of the Nazis.

After liberation I returned to my home in Sopron, Hungary, and tried to make a new life for myself. Living was a bit harder than it was before the war, but anything was better than living under the Nazis.

I got a job as a porter in a railroad station. Later, I remarried.

Things were not too bad, but as the months went by, they became worse. Everything produced in Hungary went to Russia. Russia gave us nothing—that is nothing but false promises.

Prices started going up and even everyday necessities became scarce. Soon it took a half month's pay to buy a suit of clothes. I had to work for a whole month to buy a coat.

By 1950 I had been made a conductor on the railroad. My salary of 5,200 florins (about $43) wasn't enough to maintain for my family above a near-starvation diet. We could buy some food and had to pay the rent—but we still didn't have enough for clothes, even for the children.

When the revolt came in October, I heard that people were getting across the border into Austria. I took my wife and three children and fled during the night.

Since I came to the United States, many people have asked me why Hungary chose communism. Our leaders were fooled by the Russians. The people did not elect a Communist government. The Russians—

through their occupation forces and the police—slowly worked their way into positions of power, and after a while we had no choice

I hope people know that we Hungarians were not Communists, and that even now most are not Communists; that we love freedom and that we will fight and die for this freedom.

To return to my story—my job as a railroad conductor was not too hard, and the wages were not too bad compared to many of my fellow countrymen. But still I could not afford to eat even lunch in a restaurant, and my wife brought me my meals.

Party members lived well, though. The lowest paid party member made almost twice as much as I did.

My first real idea of what the Russians were like came in 1948. In that year I, and many other Jews in Hungary, aided Rumanian Jews who had left their homeland to cross the border into Austria. Most of us were arrested and imprisoned. I spent 8 months in jail. My wife was jailed for 3 months. A relative took care of the children.

When I was released, I was allowed to return to my job, but I started thinking of leaving the country. I gave the idea up, though, because I knew there were mines and barbed wire at the border. I could make it, maybe, and perhaps my wife could. But, I couldn't take a chance with the children.

There were ways of leaving Hungary "legally," but I couldn't do that, either. The Russians announced that some persons over 50 years of age could apply for exit permits to leave the country. But there was always the danger that you would be considered disloyal to the regime and thrown in jail if you applied. They asked a great deal of money—I don't remember how much—and I didn't have it. I wrote to my brothers and my sister in New York, but they were not well off and could not help much. Even if I had the money, I probably could not have left. They asked so many questions and made you fill out so many forms that it made it almost impossible to leave.

On last October 20 I heard that some students were planning a demonstration in Budapest against the Russians. Four days later I heard that the demonstration was held and that there was fighting in the streets. I knew that there could be a lot of trouble ahead.

On November 4 I heard that Russian troops were 8 kilometers from our city. I left my job, went home, and told my wife to get ready. We packed only a few extra things for the children. I wore my conductor's uniform because it was the warmest and only complete suit I had.

Sopron is only 12 kilometers from the Austrian border. We walked all the way. It took us 5 hours and it was cold. When we arrived at the border, the Hungarian police said my wife and children could cross, but that I had to stay in Hungary. I told my wife to take the children and go to Austria, and I went back.

I met a group of men and together we decided to try to cross the border through the woods. We waited until dark. Then we walked quietly through the woods. It was freezing cold and the ground was iced up. It took us 3 hours of slipping and sliding, but we finally came to Austria.

I went immediately to the nearest village and there I found my wife and children.

We slept in a farmer's barn that night. The next morning one of the townspeople told us to go to a displaced persons' camp near Vienna. We had a choice of walking the 75 miles to the Traiskirchen camp or spending part of the little money we had for bus fare.

The children were tired and cold and we decided to take the bus. We boarded the bus and I held out money to the driver. He refused to take it. "You will be my guest," he said. I later found out that our Hungarian money was worthless in Austria.

We were in Traiskirchen that afternoon. Though it was crowded, we were given clean quarters. We were given food, too. That night we slept our first night in a free land.

The next day a man came from Hias (United Hias Service, the worldwide Jewish migration agency) and questioned me about my relatives in the United States. Two days later the man came again and took us, this time to Vienna.

In the Vienna office of Hias, we filled out forms and were told that my sisters and brothers in America had been notified that I was safe. The Hias people said my relatives could not afford to sponsor me, but that Hias would attend to that detail. I was asked to go next door and talk to the Joint Distribution Committee people.

The Joint Distribution Committee found a place for us with a Jewish family in Vienna. Two days later, 5 o'clock in the morning, I was awakened by a telephone call. The Hias man asked me to report with my family to the American consulate at 9 o'clock in the morning. I was there 2 hours early.

Mr. Gerety (Pierce J. Gerety, deputy coordinator of the United States refugee relief program) was presenting visas. Since I had been fully processed by Hias, I was first in line, and I received the first visa. That night I was on a plane for America. It was the first time I had flown, but I was so excited I don't remember much about the flight.

When we landed, we were greeted by Government officials and then taken to Camp Kilmer, N. J. We filled out papers, and 6 hours later we boarded a bus which took us to the Hias Shelter in New York.

At 10 o'clock that evening, the bus arrived at the Hias Building and my family and I stepped off. I heard a scream and saw a woman run toward me. At first I didn't recognise her, but then I knew it was my sister, Laura, whom I hadn't seen for 35 years. I threw my arms around her and then I cried. I am not ashamed to say it. I cried. I went into the building and there were my brothers, Henry and Leslie. I hadn't known such happiness for so long, it was hard to remember when.

A Hias man came up to me and said there was food waiting for us. We all went into the dining room and ate and talked. At midnight we went to our rooms in the building and finally fell asleep, from sheer exhaustion.

I was up at 8 o'clock. I found out that it was some sort of an American holiday—Thanksgiving, they called it. What an appropriate holiday for someone like I who had so much to be thankful for.

We had turkey. I had never tasted turkey because it was so expensive in Hungary, but I knew what it was. The children had never even heard of it. But we loved it, and we ate much—too much.

Later that day, a Hias man asked me if we would like to go on a television program. We went to the program and I won $1,000 in prizes. They wanted us to go on more programs, but I did not want it. There are other people. We had received so much already.

My family and I stayed at the Hias Building for a few days and then we moved to an apartment in Brooklyn. I got a job washing store windows. It is not hard work, and I like it. I am making very good money, and I will make more as I learn more.

Our children are happy—and I am glad that in February we will have an American citizen son or daughter born into our family.

Transition of a Stock Yards in 70 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 18, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, there have been many changes in American life over the past half century or more. As new generations come along, unless those in the older group pass down the history of the years that they have lived much of what we should know about the past will be lost.

It is always interesting therefore when some of the veterans in our various walks of life impart to others the experiences that they have had. Much history has been made at the National Stock Yards in East St. Louis and in many other stockyards throughout the country. It reads best and found most interesting when recalled by one who has lived through it. For this reason, I would like for my colleagues to have the benefit of the years of experience of Mr. John Wolfe who has spent almost 70 years working in some capacity at the National Stock Yards. Mr. Wolfe recounts in an interesting article which appears in the St. Louis Daily Livestock Reporter on Monday, February 11, 1957, follows:

JOHN WOLFE, NATIONAL STOCK YARDS OLDTIMER RECOUNTS EARLY DAYS

One of the real "oldtimers" around National Stock Yards reached another milestone Monday. John Wolfe is 87 years old and almost 70 of those 87 years have been spent around the yards.

John commented on a recent visit to the Livestock Reporter, for which he worked as mat boy, that the stockyards opened in 1870, the same year he was born. "I came to National Stock Yards from Flora, Ill., when I was 15 years and 18 days old."

He began recounting history of the yards. "When the yards opened it handled mostly Texas and Oklahoma cattle and a few years later some native stock began coming in. I think that was about the time Swift and Armour moved into the yards. I do know that Armour was the first company to start buying calves by weight.

"The western calves were selling then by the carload at $6 to $8 a head.

"Then the longhorn Texas cattle came by trainloads, and there was so many shippers accompanying them that the Terminal Railroad built cabins on the tender of the engine to take care of the shippers."

Telling of some of the past glory of National Stock Yards, Johnnie said, "I saw the largest horse and mule market in the world here. I saw it come and I saw it go.

"During my time at the yards, I have driven a lot of cattle—I really don't know how many—with my dog and pony. Most of the cattle were driven by day, but I drove some by the light of the moon at night."

He recounted a story of one of his daylight drives, saying: "One day Thomas White sent me over to Johnnie McClain's ferryboat with eight big old whitefaced Texas sausage bulls.

"It was a very hot day, and one of the bulls did not want to stay with the lot. I was driving them, and one of the bulls went up on a porch and a woman fainted. I got

him off the porch and a little further on my way to the boat this same bull went into a yard with a clothesline.

"My pony ran under the line and it caught me under the chin and dragged me off the pony. I was lucky that my pony was gentle and stopped.

"I finally got the bulls down to the ferry and drove all of them on. When we got a little way from shore, this same bull jumped off and swam the Mississippi River behind the ferry. He was so tired when we got to the other side that he was ready to join the others on the riverbank."

Mr. Wolfe recalled the names of some of the prominent men at National Stock Yards. "In the early days, Charlie Jones was general superintendent of all departments. Other superintendents were Rudolph Hunsigar, cattle yards; Yank Thomas, hog house; and Louis Farris, sheep house.

"Later on when the horse and mule business moved off of Broadway in St. Louis, Mr. Jimerson was made superintendent of that department.

"Most of this happened when there was only one exchange building and the restaurant was in the basement. At that time there was only one girl working in the yards and she was Rosie Summers, cashier in the restaurant."

Mr. Wolfe went on to recount more of the old days at the yards, "In 1892 or 93, A. G. Godair and his father moved in from Chicago and opened a firm and for a time handled nothing but western cattle and calves."

It was this firm that Mr. Wolfe worked for as yardman. He said, "Mr. Godair was manager, W. B. Stickney worked in the office, Nelson Emerson was cattle salesman, and Godejohn also worked for them."

"Did they handle lots of western cattle!" he commented. "The western cows and steers came in by the trainloads. Later on when they got to handling native stock they put Jim Pearce from Mexico, Mo., to selling the hogs."

Mr. Wolfe continued, "When Nelson Morris began buying hogs here, Warren Nichols was his head buyer and I was his assistant. Then a boy was sent down from Chicago to take my place with the firm.

"In those days, there were no pens allotted to anyone and there were no parking charges for automobiles—there weren't any. There were big shedded pens in B alley for horses and buggies and there was a hitching rack in front of the Exchange Building for tying up the horses.

"I wonder what has happened to all the western business. Nowadays the long trains of western cattle don't circle the whole yards. And they tell me that no western ponies or buffaloes are coming in."

Mr. Wolfe goes down to Dyer, Tenn., every couple of months with his son and daughter-in-law to visit her parents, E. K. Flowers.

He told how, on a recent trip, he took a copy of the Livestock Reporter with him. He was chatting with the farmers around the courthouse in Trenton, Tenn.

"I gave a Reporter to two farmers to read and one said to me, 'There are no horse and mule quotations in the paper.' The farmers remembered how they had shipped plenty of mules to National Stock Yards at one time.

"I told them that the horse and mule days are gone," Mr. Wolfe said. "There aren't any horse and mule quotations now."

Mr. Wolfe lives at 526 North 29th Street in East St. Louis now and is still quite active. Though retired, he still likes to come over to the yards and see how they're running things.

A Statement by the Honorable Wilber M. Brucker, Secretary of the Army, Regarding the Accomplishments of the United States Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on January 28, 1957, Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker appeared before the House Committee on Armed Services and submitted the following report on the accomplishments of the United States Army during the past year:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY OF THE ARMY HON. WILBER M. BRUCKER BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON JANUARY 28, 1957

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, last year when I testified before your committee in respect to the United States Army, I spoke in terms of plans and hopes for the future. This year I am happy to report many concrete accomplishments and much significant progress. You are interested in whether our country is receiving the maximum return for its tremendous investment in defense. You wish to be assured that it is financing the kind of an Army which meets our day-by-day responsibilities and which also reflects the rapidly changing technology of warfare. I am able to answer this question definitely and emphatically in the affirmative.

The active Army of fiscal year 1958 will consist of a million young men and women in uniform. There will be 17 combat divisions, 9 regiments and regimental combat teams, a few atomic support commands, and about the same total number of antiaircraft battalions as in the preceding year. I will leave to General Taylor the detailed presentation on the strength, organization, and deployment of these forces, and particularly the new Pentomic structure of the Army's divisions. I have seen the Army around the world and I assure you that our country has never put into the field a more thoroughly equipped and superbly trained Army than the one which is now stationed along the outposts of the free world. These forces, together with our strategic reserves at home, are unmistakably ready to fight now if the need should arise. This readiness is an impressive deterrent against aggression and a powerful force ready to fight if deterrence should fail.

The United States Seventh Army—the most splendidly trained operational army the United States has ever had in time of peace—is deployed across Western Germany. With its ever-increasing atomic power, the Seventh Army is the keystone of NATO's ground defenses. Its major forces consist of 5 crack divisions—2 armored, 2 infantry and 1 airborne—together with 3 armored cavalry regiments. These are backed by units armed with Corporal guided missiles, Honest John rockets, and 280-millimeter guns, all capable of delivering atomic warheads. Also, an Army regiment in Berlin is solid evidence of America's military might to the citizens of that heroic island of freedom, and ever-present reminder and warning to the surrounding Communists that America means business. These forces in Germany are supported by a line of communications from the Bay of Biscay across France that constitutes a logistical pipeline. It is as modern and fully equipped as we can make it.

In northern and eastern Italy, the Army's Southern European Task Force provides atomic support for NATO divisions defending that vital area. Equipped with Honest John rockets and Corporal guided missiles, this task force is the forerunner of a number of atomic support commands specifically designed to reinforce our Army with the most modern weapons.

In Korea the Eighth Army, a corps of two United States combat divisions is deployed along the demilitarized zone, helping to guard against a renewed attack by the Communist forces in position on the other side of the narrow armistice corridor. Here the Army also continues to aid—with equipment and training—the 20 divisions constituting the valiant army of the Republic of Korea. Army troops are supporting other mutual defense agreements in the Pacific area which involve Japan, the Nationalist Chinese on Taiwan, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Vietnam, and Pakistan. The combat readiness of Army forces stationed in Japan, in Korea, and in Hawaii, and their ability to move rapidly within the Far Eastern areas if trouble should arise, give material substance to our national intent to preserve the peace.

Here in the Western Hemisphere, the Army provides for the continental defense of the United States against airborne or seaborne troops. Nine Army combat divisions are held in strategic reserve in order that we shall be able to reinforce our overseas garrisons if the need should arise. From far up in Alaska, where the Army is manning our northernmost outposts, all the way to the Caribbean, Army troops are protecting the hemisphere approaches. Likewise, they are guarding the Panama Canal. Army antiaircraft units—a majority of them armed with the powerful and effective Nike Ajax guided missile—night and day share responsibility for the defense of major cities and industrial areas in the United States against air attack.

The United States is associated with 45 other nations in the most powerful system of collective security ever created. The Army stands guard shoulder to shoulder with the troops of our allied friends along the Iron and the Bamboo Curtains as a potent reminder that we are ready to honor our international agreements promptly. In support of our mutual defense alliances and other arrangements, 40 percent of the million young men and women in our Army is stationed overseas in 73 countries. Army missions in 44 countries of Europe, Asia, and South America are busy with the continued strengthening of our allies. Thousands of highly qualified Army troops are directly engaged in helping to train more than 200 allied foreign divisions—a sizable part of the free world's military strength.

On the other side the Soviet-Sino bloc has a gigantic military machine consisting of 8½ million men in its ground forces. The Soviet Army ground forces alone number over 2½ million men organized into 100 rifle divisions, 55 mechanized divisions, 20 tank divisions, and supporting units. Most of these divisions are located in the border regions of the U. S. S. R., except for 22 divisions in East Germany, 2 divisions in Poland, and 2 in Rumania. The normal garrison of 2 divisions in Hungary was reinforced by about 5 more divisions from the

...the effectiveness of the Nike missile ... Reserve under the provisions of the Reserve ... against which progress can be measured and

U. S. S. R. and Rumania for the suppression of the revolution.

The Soviets last year made much of an announced intention to reduce their armed forces (ground, sea, and air), by a total of 1,200,000 men. So far we have no evidence to show that such reductions have been made.

The Soviet ground forces have been in large measure reequipped since World War II. This reequipment program has provided them with a complete new family of small arms, new artillery pieces, new trucks, medium tanks, and amphibious vehicles, as well as helicopters. As an example of the extent of the reequipment program, we estimate that about 28,000 of the new T-54 medium tanks have been produced. Soviet forces in East Germany have received approximately 4,000 of these.

The Chinese Communists also maintain large army ground forces—2½ million men organized into approximately 150 divisions plus supporting units. This army has been undergoing an important reorganization and modernization program since 1952 to include standardization of weapons, increased service and support units, and a vastly expanded military school system. The North Korean and Viet Minh armies add to Communist military capabilities in the Far East. In Eastern Europe the satellites maintain fairly large armies, but, in view of the recent developments there, we believe that the majority of these forces would not be sufficiently reliable for offensive operations against the West.

The savage purge of liberty in Hungary, the unmistakable attempts of the Soviet Union to establish a foothold in the vital Middle East, the increasingly brazen efforts of the Kremlin to foment discord, exploit unrest, and sap the power and resolution of the Free World have sounded a clarion warning. They have used the threat of force to exert the pressure of political domination on world affairs. There is no reasonable doubt as to what would be in store for us if we should fail to man our own defenses with strength, determination, and constant vigilance. We must be ready to counter aggression not only in general war but also in any form. There is a corresponding need to proportion our force to the threat in whatever form it may take.

It must be our consistent aim to prevent the outbreak of a general war which can have no other effect than global devastation. This is the philosophy and the background upon which is based the Army's budget request for fiscal year 1958 of $9,721,000,000. This is a sizable financial outlay that must of course be justified in detail before your approval can be expected. I can only point out at this time that the Army's budget request represents months of detailed study and the considered opinion of the most mature military leadership that this country has to offer. It is drawn in the light of the many-sided threat confronting us.

The Army programs for fiscal year 1958 represent the activities and functions essential to the security of our Nation. These programs are mutually supporting. The curtailment of one necessarily affects the others—and each bears on our overall effectiveness. I trust that the Congress will see fit to support the Army by approving the budget request which has been submitted for fiscal year 1958. Any reduction in this budget would considerably handicap us in our efforts as a member of the defense team to provide adequately for the security of the United States.

We have made progress in many fields during the past year in organization, business management—research and development of new weapons and materials—in our general state of readiness, in our morale and well-being, in our reserve programs and in many other fields. We are in a state of rapid transition to new weapons, new concepts, and new and greater capabilities. At the same time we have kept a steady grip on present-day realities.

I am proud to announce that the Army is now in the process of a major reorganization of its principal combat units the purpose of which is to improve our ability to fight effectively under conditions of atomic warfare without loss of capability to conduct so-called conventional warfare. This is the culmination of many years of planning, testing, and experimentation. This decision marks the first real progress in organization for ground combat since World War II.

We are also organizing atomic support commands which are particularly suitable to provide atomic support for the forces of our friends and allies abroad. This year for the first time we are activating additional atomic support commands along the lines of the Southern European Task Force—SETAF—which backs up NATO forces in Italy with its nuclear weapons. Next year additional atomic support commands will be formed.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

We are requesting $400 million to finance our research and development program in fiscal year 1958. During this period we will concentrate on developments in the field of missiles, target acquisition devices, faster and better communication systems, and mobility through aerial vehicles. We intend to keep the Army fully effective in carrying out its ground and antiaircraft combat mission. All of our weapons and weapons systems must be closely integrated with the needs of the field commander.

As a result of ever-increasing emphasis in the field of research and development, we are stocking our arsenal with an adequate variety of atomic weapons precisely tailored to our needs and which can be used with discrimination against close-in, as well as far-distant targets with complete accuracy, day or night, despite rain, snow, fog, or other weather conditions. Thirteen years of pioneering experience in the missile field is paying rich dividends.

At the same time we are not overlooking the importance of continued development of conventional weapons which are needed to accomplish a great many tasks for which atomic weapons would be totally unsuitable. We are continuously developing lightweight material and equipment with an aim toward ever-increasing mobility. We are looking forward to the day when we can augment the capability of the tank, the truck, and other heavy and relatively slow vehicles with lighter airborne equipment and more effective aerial vehicles.

Illustrating our efforts to move forward as rapidly as possible in the modernization of the Army is the continuing high proportion of our procurement and production appropriation to be devoted to guided missiles and guided missile equipment. Of the $1.9 billion obligated in fiscal year 1956 under the procurement and production appropriation, approximately 23 percent was for guided missiles and related equipment. Of the $1.7 billion estimated direct obligations for fiscal year 1957, 45 percent is for these items; and of the $1.4 billion planned for fiscal year 1958, 48 percent is for this purpose. This transition to guided missiles and atomic weapons requires the creation and maintenance of new types of production facilities in our production base. Wherever possible, existing Government facilities are being utilized.

One great source of satisfaction is the fact that the Research and Development Program has decisively moved out of the promise into the progress stage. During the past year the R&D Program introduced—

The greatly improved Nike-Hercules.

The M56 self-propelled 90mm gun.

A new general purpose machine gun, cal. .30 M60.

A new lightweight ¼ ton jeep, XM 151.

The mechanical mule.

An improved version of the M48 medium tank with greatly increased combat range.

New aircraft, such as the H-40 Utility Helicopter, the H-37 Transport Helicopter, and others.

A new communications system.

One recent development project of which we are proud is the Army's first nuclear power plant at Ft. Belvoir which is rapidly nearing completion. It is anticipated that dedication ceremonies marking the completion of this atomic reactor will take place in late April. Subsequent models of this atomic reactor power plant are under consideration for remote military installations.

We have under development smaller, lighter nuclear powerplants which can be broken down and transported by air. These plants are designed to supply electrical power for remote and isolated stations.

In order to assure the development of an intermediate range ballistic missile at the earliest possible date, the Secretary of Defense has authorized the Army to continue for the time being the development of the Jupiter missile, although the employment responsibility for that weapon has been assigned to the Navy and to the Air Force.

The Army Ballistic Missile Agency at Redstone Arsenal has recently achieved some outstanding progress in connection with the Jupiter IREM. We are well ahead of schedule and tests to date indicate that this missile will meet the criteria established for it.

AIR DEFENSE

We are proud of the increasingly important role of the Army in the air defense of continental United States. The responsibility for defending the United States against a possible sneak attack rests, of course, with the continental Air Defense Command, of which the Army's antiaircraft command is a major component. Army Nike missile units of the Army's Antiaircraft Command are joined with the forces of the Air Force and the Navy in the unified and integrated air defense system. By the end of fiscal year 1958, approximately 70 percent of the antiaircraft battalions assigned to continental air defense will be Nike missile battalions. By 1960 we hope that the National Guard will man 25 percent of the Nike sites in the United States. The ultimate goal is to have Reserve components of the Army manning 50 percent of the Nike sites in the continental air defense system.

Last year we spoke extensively about the imminent development of an improvement of the original Nike antiaircraft missile which at that time we identified as Nike B. I am sure that you will be pleased to hear that development of this missile, which we now call Nike Hercules, is now nearing completion. This missile is presently undergoing tests at the White Sands Proving Ground and will soon be added to the national arsenal. We estimate that a Nike Hercules battalion will be many times as effective as current missile battalions.

You can easily understand that a group of Nike batteries stationed in a circle around one of our cities require intricate coordination so that two missiles will not engage the same target. This formidable problem has been solved by development by the Army of an elaborate electronic system called the Missile Master which will produce information necessary for Army units to obtain the most efficient distribution of fire against the available targets. The Missile Master can operate independently or in conjunction with the Air Force Sage system when that system becomes operational. The first Missile Master is now being installed at a key installation in the continental United States. The employment of Missile Masters will greatly

increase the effectiveness of the Nike missile defense.

CAREER INCENTIVES

The Army is forever seeking means of making a military career more attractive to both its officers and enlisted personnel. We will continue to do everything possible to encourage qualified men and women to stay with us and to recognize the value of their service to this country.

I am sure that you are interested in knowing whether or not the various career incentives which the 84th Congress enacted into law have produced the desired effect. Certain of these measures have not been in effect for a sufficient period of time to permit a complete evaluation. We believe, however, that the legislation providing additional medical care for dependents will have a pronounced and beneficial effect over a long period. We believe also that the servicemen's and veterans' survivors benefits will be viewed by the great majority of military personnel as an additional attraction of military service.

The provisions of readjustment pay for members of reserve components who may be involuntarily released from active duty cannot help but improve morale. We have high hopes for the ultimate effect of the Regular Army augmentation program which will reduce the high rate of turnover in the officer corps while increasing career security.

Other aspects of the career-incentive program have been in effect long enough so that we are able to properly and fully evaluate their effect. We know, for example, that legislation continuing authority for retirement in the highest temporary grade has had an extremely beneficial effect, encouraging a number of highly capable officers who otherwise would have left the Service to stay on active duty and continue to offer their valuable services.

We also know that there has been a marked improvement in the situation with respect to medical and denal officers since the enactment of the doctors' incentive-pay legislation. During the last 6 months of 1956, applications for appointment in the Regular Army from among doctors and dentists increased by 65 percent over the same period in 1955. While other factors may have contributed to this increase, we believe that the improvement is mostly due to increased pay.

No picture of incentives would be complete without mention of the family housing situation. Here, the Capehart Act has been extremely helpful. We will reduce our housing deficit by 23,000 units in fiscal year 1957 and 28,000 in fiscal year 1958. All but 6,000 of these units will be Capehart housing.

Some of the most appealing features of the service are intangibles which cannot be counted in dollars or measured in privileges. In this connection we have initiated procedures to continue the lineage of our famous regiments, regardless of the forms which our future tactical organization may take. We shall institutionalize these regiments and, as our Army changes between peace and wartime, vary the number of their component units. By perpetuating the organizations associated with such names as Valley Forge, Gettysburg, San Juan Hill, Chateau Thierry, Normandy, the Pusan Bridgehead, we can make every man feel the link with the past, as well as his identity with progress.

In recognition of the basic importance of "belonging to an outfit" we have revised our concepts for handling replacements.

RESERVE FORCES

A vital and integral part of our Army team is its Ready Reserve which stands ever ready in the event of emergency to put aside civilian pursuits and participate with the active forces. Our splendid National Guard, traditionally the backbone of our reserve strength, is large and well equipped. At the same time we are building a dynamic Army Reserve under the provisions of the Reserve Forces Act of 1955. Since the passage of the act—a little over a year ago 48,200 young men have entered the United States Army Reserve to take advantage of the 6 months active training program. The number enlisting the past week was 1,158. To obtain these results the Army has conducted the greatest publicity campaign in its history to focus attention on the provisions of RFA–55.

The quality and intensity of the publicity campaign was attested to by the award to the Army of the Silver Anvil trophy by the American Public Relations Association for the best public relations program conducted by any governmental agency during the year. The Army worked closely with 370 national organizations in obtaining support for the Reserve programs, including the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the United States Chamber of Commerce, Boy Scouts of America, and numerous academic, industrial, and trade groups.

An Assistant Chief of Staff for Reserve Components has been established as a part of the Army staff here in Washington. A Deputy Commanding General for Reserve components has been established at Headquarters, CONARC, at Fort Monroe. Each of the six Deputy Continental Army Commanders has been designated to coordinate and supervise Reserve affairs.

By January 25, 111,834 men had enlisted under the various provisions of the act since its inauguration in August 1955. Over 10,000 personnel, 17 to 18½ years of age, have completed the 6 months training program and approximately 20,000 are in training right now.

The fiscal year 1958 budget provides for a steady and important increase in the size of the Army Reserve. The number of Reserves in drill pay status will increase from 256,000 at the end of fiscal year 1957 to 300,000 at the end of fiscal year 1958. The National Guard will continue on at 400,000.

We are emphasizing quality in the Reserves by a vigorous screening process. Although we may have some minor legislative proposals to make, we are generally satisfied with the act.

Our objective is to have a well-organized, highly trained, and effective mobilization-Ready Reserve of moderate size rather than merely large numbers of partially trained, partially equipped units and individuals. The Army is going forward with the program that requires all enlistees to have 6 months' active duty training. Since all personnel entering the United States Army Reserves already is required to have this training as a minimum, it is essential that our first line reserve forces, the National Guard, adhere to the same standard. We are confident that unit and organizational effectiveness of the National Guard will be greatly enhanced by such active duty training.

MANAGEMENT

The Army firmly believes that good management cannot be overemphasized. Any waste or inefficiency in the employment of money, materiel, or manpower is directly reflected in reduced combat power—and combat power is the root and branch of the Army's ability to carry out its historic responsibilities for national security. In this field we are continuing to make notable progress in managing our worldwide complex of commands and facilities.

The Army Command management system integrates previously separate basic Army business management processes of programing, budgeting, accounting, performance analysis, and manpower control, so that they are fused into a single management system. This integration assists greatly in producing a cost-of-performance budget, which is not only a financial forecast, but is also an operating plan of performance and costs, against which progress can be measured and workload controlled. This system will be completely installed throughout the Army by January 1, 1958.

The use of electronic and other automatic data-processing systems has also been substantially increased during the year.

We are impressed with the advantages of the so-called Single Manager System, which has been instituted under directives of the Department of Defense. Under this system, the Secretary of one military department becomes the Single Manager for a common service or for wholesale supply of a certain commodity to all of the military services. He receives gross requirements from each of the services, computes net Department of Defense requirements, and initiates procurement. He finances all wholesale stocks from a revolving fund, and each service purchases its needs from him.

The Army has been made the Single Manager for subsistence, clothing, and textiles, and traffic management.

Since the system provides one manager for the computation of net requirements, procurement, distribution, inventory accounting, etc., and makes interservice supply virtually automatic, and since it provides for more effective utilization of transportation resources, it will undoubtedly result in increased effectiveness and economies.

Although we are happy with the progress which has been made in the past year, there is no tendency in the Army to rest on our oars. In the next year we will continue to work toward our goal of making Army units faster moving, harder hitting, and more self-sufficient. We will complete the reorganization of our divisions into smaller, extremely mobile pentomic divisions—five element units geared to atomic warfare, but also fully capable of fighting nonatomic battles. At the present time we are conducting intensive field tests of this new concept and expect to learn a great deal that will lead to further progress.

The Army visualizes continued progress in fiscal year 1958—progress that will make the United States Army an even greater power for peace and deterrent to aggression.

Congressman Dollinger's Annual Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, it is my practice to send a report to my constituents at the close of each session of Congress. When the 1st session of the 85th Congress ends, I shall include in the RECORD my report covering legislation and accomplishments of the Congress during the session. I feel that it is important that the people I represent be given such information.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

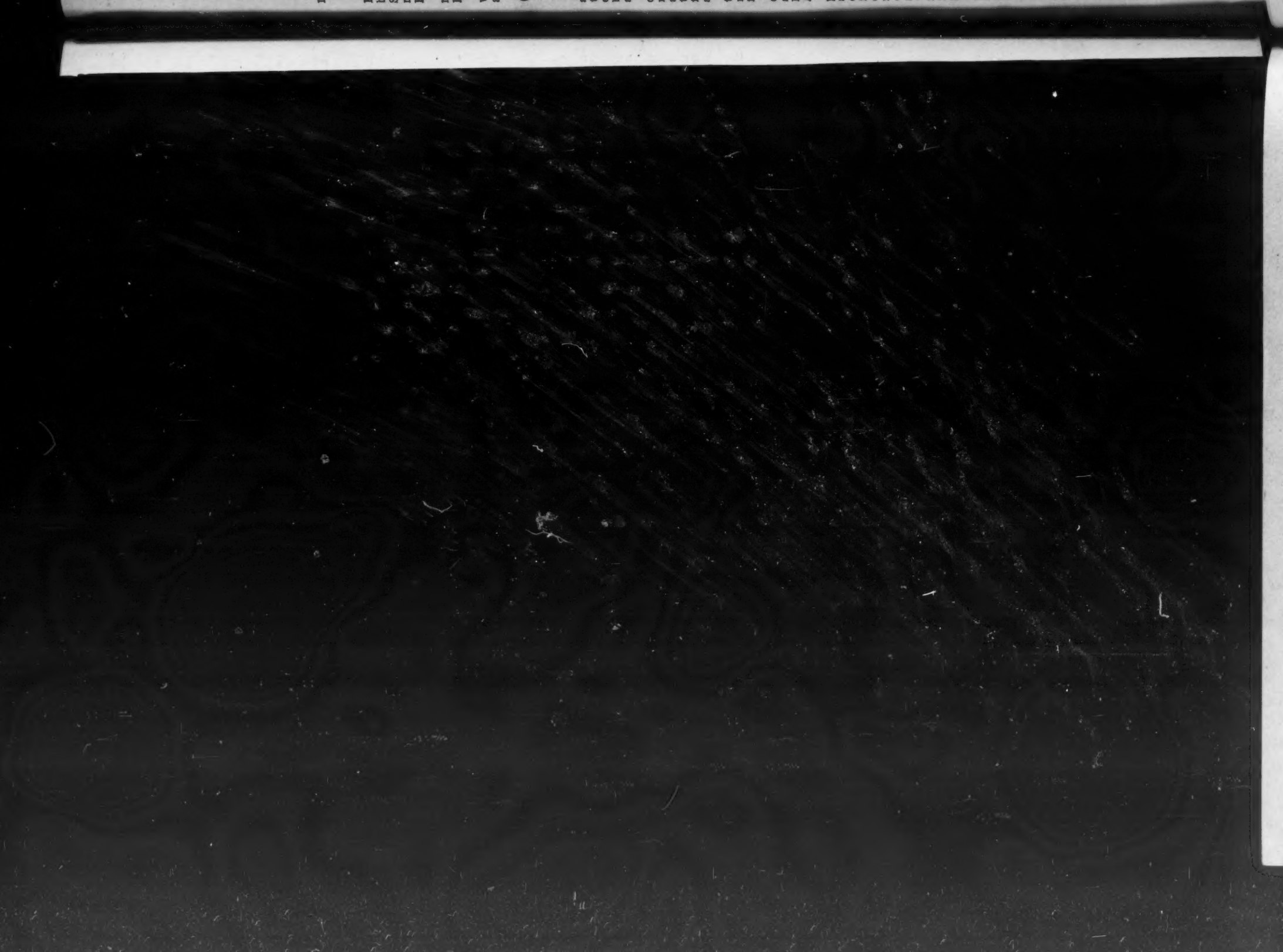

Appendix

Looking Ahead on Forest Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on February 13, 1957, I delivered a speech before the Washington section of the Society for American Foresters. My remarks were entitled "Looking Ahead on Forest Policy."

I ask unanimous consent that my remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOOKING AHEAD ON FOREST POLICY

(Address by Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat, Minnesota, before Washington section of Society of American Foresters, February 13, 1957)

It is a pleasure to have this opportunity to appear before your Washington section of the professional Society of American Foresters, founded here just over 50 years ago by Gifford Pinchot. His ideals still inspire and guide us today.

Our forest programs which assure us of our present-day timber supplies, are in large measure due to the dedication of Pinchot and his fellow foresters to the philosophy that government has an active responsibility for the custodianship of our God-given resources.

All of us concerned with conservation need to keep that philosophy to the forefront, and make sure our Government does not neglect its responsibilities.

Fortunately, ever since Pinchot's time foresters have continued to give strong leadership to the conservation movement. They have earned a distinguished place among the American professional groups.

Foresters have stood four-square in the public interest against those pressures from seekers of privilege who would corrupt governmental processes for personal gain. Never in the history of the Forest Service, which employs large numbers of you and which is responsible for custodianship of billions of dollars of national assets, has the breath of scandal touched a professional forester. In the widely publicized Al Serena case which involved national-forest timber, not a single forester was involved. It was, in fact, a deal put over in spite of your opposition.

I sincerely hope the American people realize and appreciate your unselfish devotion to an ideal. And I hope that this great tradition among professional foresters in their devotion to the public interest will continue unchanged, despite mounting pressures from those seekers of special rights in the property belonging to all citizens.

I was particularly happy to hear, tonight, that your society is sponsoring a discussion next month of both the pros and cons on the wilderness bill which I have sponsored. That is as it should be.

Foresters as a profession must look farther ahead than most groups in American life, because of the time involved in growing trees. Perhaps that is one of the reasons you are a group of men with real vision and idealism. Too often today there is a tendency to fall into the rut of conformity and to consider differences of opinion as unpleasant—or to allow personalities to blind us to the issues.

Discussion, debate, and dissension are the very stuff of which American democratic life is made. I have often referred to them as the "Three D's of Democracy." Never be afraid to dissent from popular ideas. History reveals that the unpopular dissenter of today is often the prophet of tomorrow.

But do not make the mistake of thinking you will keep free from political turmoil, or that it is professionally undignified or unethical to stand up and be counted at a time when courage and decision are called for. Preservation of a weak neutrality, at a time when the public interest is threatened, is equivalent to lining up on the wrong side. Pinchot could not do it in the Bollinger case, and it can not be done today. And these are times in the conservation movement when the men are separated from the boys.

In recent years, some have come to think that the battles over control over our natural resources have no application today. Perhaps we have lulled ourselves into a sense of false security because we have made great achievements in the widespread application of soil conservation, reforestation, and wildlife management measures. These technical applications are vital to sound conservation. Nearly everyone today agrees that proper soil, water, and forest conservation techniques should be applied extensively.

But that is only a part of the conservation battle.

Pinchot observed 50 years ago that control over natural resources gives control over the economic and political life of the Nation.

Make no mistake, gentlemen, the conservation battles of the last 4 years have been over the control of our national forests, waterpower sites, and oil-underlain wildlife refuges, rather than over the technical applications and practices to the resources.

This is a never-ending struggle.

It should certainly surprise no one that this struggle becomes reflected in American political life, for political action is a means of achieving our aspirations and objectives in a democracy.

The fact that conservationists want the cooperation and support of elected officials or administrative officers of both political parties in our country should certainly never become a bar to recognizing and approving what a political candidate stands for or does that is right, nor to recognizing and repudiating just as firmly whatever a political candidate or administration stands for that is not right.

For example, whatever our political affiliation, I think that we would not be honest if we did not recognize that the New Deal gave new impetus to the conservation movement that had lain dormant since Teddy Roosevelt's day.

And whatever our political affiliation, I think that all of us interested in the conservation movement had a right to be shocked by some of the excesses and deterioration of resource programs during the past 4 years.

Believe me, I am not just being partisan when I express my own conviction that the great tradition of your profession was quite properly advanced into the last political campaign when leading foresters, soil conservationists, wildlife management specialists, and others in the conservation movement, concerned about what was happening under the existing administration, left their nonpartisanship behind and organized a political committee in behalf of the Democratic presidential candidate.

These men could have stayed home and avoided some of the diatribes which I understand were levelled at them. Instead, they answered a high call to public duty. One of the functions of an American political campaign is to air issues of public discussion—and this committee of conservationists did their job with dignity and responsibility. Not one of their nine charges of misdirected resource policy was ever met, or denied by the Republican administration. They made their charges stick. And make no mistake—the effect of this committee's charges were not lost on the administration, which is now giving signs of attempting to amend some of its past follies. You may have noticed in the papers that certain proponents of a partnership program were soundly defeated last November 6 at the polls.

We need more, not less, emphasis on these vital resources issues in our political campaigns—and we need conservation leaders with courage enough to speak out boldly when they see the public's interest being ignored.

And, gentlemen, as one spokesman for the Democratic party, I want to assure you that if we ever get into a situation involving mismanagement of our public resource programs, I hope you will give us the same treatment. We will have it coming. But rest assured I shall do my best to prevent that kind of a situation from ever developing.

Now, let me make it clear that I am not professing to come before you as a forestry or resource expert. You are the experts. I am just a conservation-minded public official having to rely, to a great degree, on you experts and technicians for advice and guidance. However, I do have a responsibility of helping establish resource policies which I do not treat lightly.

As a United States Senator from the great State of Minnesota which has 20 million acres of forest land, including 2 of our oldest national forests—the Superior and the Chippewa—I have made it my business to learn something about forestry, wildlife, water, and soil conservation.

We in Minnesota have in some degree most of the forest problems found fairly generally over the United States. We have large paper and other wood cellulose converting plants and many sawmills supplied by thousands of small farmer-loggers who depend upon pulpwood and other forest products for part of their winter income.

Our forest-fire control and reforestation programs are making real headway in restoring commercial forests to the barren cutover lands left after the first wave of logging. Our State- and county-owned and managed forests of the north are steadily supplying industry with needed raw material, while at the same time assuring an independent livelihood to many of our people. Thus, we in Minnesota face not only Federal, State, and county forest management problems but those of private owners—small and large—which are in most respects similar over the country.

Forest policy is a broad field to try and cover in a limited time, so primarily tonight

I am going to outline what I feel should be some of the important objectives in forestry which we in our generation should reach—and to suggest some of the policies which I feel will work in the direction of assuring adequate timber supplies, watershed protection, wildlife, and other recreational benefits from our forest land resources.

We are the posterity which Pinchot, Teddy Roosevelt, Franklin Roosevelt, and other foresighted leaders prepared for when they set aside the National Forests, extended fire protection programs, put unemployed boys to work planting trees and improving timber stands.

Now, upon our shoulders, rests the task of providing for the posterity of the year 2000. And, gentlemen, we have no vast forests of virgin timber to bequeath our grandchildren. We must grow timber—lots more of it than we are today—if they are to continue to enjoy the fruits of our high American standard of living. And a timber cropping economy takes some real effort, as you foresters are only too well aware.

According to figures which I have seen from the Forest Service's Timber Resource Review, we are going to need a lot more timber to supply our rapidly expanding population—almost half again as much as we now have when the year 2000 arrives.

Either we begin to grow this timber today, or our children will have to pay absurdly high prices for what little there is left by then.

I realize that the style lately has been a scoff at Pinchot's prediction of a timber famine.

But if we look at timber production figures, which have stayed nearly constant for 50 years while prices have risen much faster than for other commodities, I think we will find Pinchot closer to being right than his critics.

Of course, the decision on how much timber we will need is one for the foresters and economists to make. But it is up to those of us in political life to translate those goals into policies and programs which you men can carry out.

Our political economy is so complex today that in this field, as in most others, we need to have the advice of technical people in making our decisions. I hope that foresters will not shun this duty under some sort of mistaken assumption that it is improper to advise your Congressmen and Senators, or to take a position in favor of what you believe to be sound forest policy.

In making our plans for the next 50 years in forestry we have to develop one set for use on the greater areas of public forests occupying one-fourth of our forest land, and another set for the large area of private forest land. The first calls for direct action by public agencies, while the second, for cooperative working relationships with private owners—large and small.

We in the Congress, and in the State legislatures, too, must continue to assure that sufficient funds become available for management of public lands, including tree planting, protection from insects and diseases, and stand improvement measures. We must make sure that the Federal Government's share of the cooperative programs with the States for fire protection, nurseries, and extension work are properly met—and on a scale which will expand tree growth to meet our future needs.

But the job does not stop with Federal appropriations, and the Government is not in the business of dictating to private owners what they should do.

The proper role of Government toward private forest lands seems to me, in our democratic political economy, to be one of providing a favorable economic and social climate for individual owners to do those things on their forests which are in the public interest.

Both the public forests and the larger industrial tracts are apparently being fairly well managed, and such management will improve as your professional techniques improve. But I am told that lack of a solution of the small-owner forestry problem is one which is giving foresters much concern. And well it should, for such lands make up the majority of our commercial forest area.

Apparently more experimental research along the lines of cooperative action is needed to achieve a solution. I should like to offer my help for sound proposals which include research efforts on this difficult problem, at any time it is possible to do so.

The plain facts are, gentlemen, that none of us have clear-cut answers to the small-owner problem. The Congress is willing to do all it can to help, but the ideas must come from the forestry profession. One thing seems clear: If we are to have a strong and vital forest economy, greater research effort must be given to the problems of the small owner and independent logging operator. For example, forest-products marketing data were almost absent from the USDA 1954 Yearbook on Marketing. I might be so bold as to suggest that one reason you are so far along in the solution of your public and industrial forestry problem is because you foresters have done an excellent job in those fields. But, conversely, your lack of success with extending to small ownership is because you are devoting comparatively little research to this problem.

Because it does embrace several millions of small owners and thousands of independent farmer-loggers, our forest economy is a vital part of rural America.

It represents one of the remaining parts of our economy which has not been swallowed up by huge combinations of corporate enterprise. I hope it will never be.

Our forest industries, even the large ones, are highly decentralized and provide markets for the products of the self-employed logger. Our public forests and those under the ownerships will continue, I hope, to assure that this great group of independent woodsmen will have free access to raw material which will not have to be cleared through a Washington bureau office or a New York corporation office. If that ever happens, I think America will have lost more of her free and independent spirit than I care to contemplate.

That is one reason I introduced my price-reporting measure last year in Congress. I know of instances in Minnesota where farmers have worked hard all winter to produce pulpwood at a certain price quoted by a dealer or buyer, only to find in the spring, when the farmer was ready to ship, that the buyer could not pay his figure—saying that the price had dropped. How is the farmer-logger to know whether or not he is just being taken?

A price and market program for forest products would have kept such a producer regularly informed of price changes and the demand. He would know whether it paid him to cut his timber or just let it grow. I am sure, gentlemen, that forestry will have to pay its way or you will not have much forestry. If a man does not know what price his timber will bring, he will never get very interested in growing it.

We have heard a lot of talk about free enterprise over the years. It has become a catchall slogan which means many things to many men, but is seldom defined. Let's think for a minute what free enterprise in forestry means. To most people it means freedom to buy and sell at the market place without crippling interference by Government or by monopoly. It means further that buyer and seller have equal access to market and price information.

So it sems to me that independent forest owners and timbermen have a right to such information as well as farmers, stockbrokers, packinghouses and papermills. Yet this simple information is being denied them.

If we are to have a free-forest economy, price data should be available to buyers and sellers alike, and I cannot understand why some of those who give lipservice to free enterprise go to such efforts to deny this rightful information to a large group of people.

These same groups have opposed adequate forest-fire appropriations, the farm forestry cooperative program, tree planting in the soil-bank law, and now price reporting—everything that would help the small owner and operator.

All through our debates in the Senate, and later in conference with the House, heavy pressure was put upon us bemoaning the tremendous burden which would be placed upon the small operator.

I think you know what groups were behind the great flurry of telegrams which reached conferring Congressmen—and whether or not their real concern was to help the small operator. The groups which went to such lengths to block price reporting by distorting its intent and purpose may have a representative or two here tonight. I hope that they will use better judgment in the future and argue this issue on its merits, rather than try and mislead Members of Congress. You will recall that some oil and gas interests which used inspired telegrams to Congress ended up thoroughly discredited.

But I will tell you what the real worry of these groups was and is. They are afraid that objective price data in the hands of small timbermen will stiffen their bargaining hand in future transactions.

Too often one large buyer can take advantage of many small sellers under conditions where the buyer has all the information. If that is free enterprise, then the definition has been badly abused.

Other things that we need to shore up the small-forest economy are better access to credit and research in marketing to find out more about how timber products are bought and sold. All of these measures and programs have ben available to agriculture for years, and there is no longer any reason for withholding them from forestry owners embarking on a timber-farming program. I would hope to see more foresters speak up for these very necessary programs.

So far, I have discussed primarily some of my views on objectives for public policy in relation to private forests. Let's now consider our public forests.

Generally, our Federal forestry picture looks better now than it did 2 years ago. In my opinion, the 84th Congress deserves the credit for this. The record seems crystal clear that during the last 4 years the executive branch has not requested the funds needed for the expanded role our national forests and other Federal forests are now required to fill. The record also shows the Congress increased the funds.

There are still some weak spots in our Federal programs, and these should be corrected.

First, foresters need to convince the top-level people that certain minimum expenditures are necessary. Future generations are entitled to receive our Federal forests with the benefits of conservation management plainly evident on every hillside. This is the duty of our generation.

Further, these forests can be profitable to us today—providing industry with the sinews of trade, recreationists with enjoyment, and our people with pure water from unsilted streams.

We also need to reduce the duplication and waste of productive effort that exists because our Federal forestry functions are not consolidated. I am glad that last year the Congress endorsed again the principle of consolidation along the lines of the Hoover Commission report. I think that the President should send up a consolidation plan—

and if he fails to, the Congress should act.

Let me say quite frankly, however, that I feel it would be far better for the President to use the authority he has under the Reorganization Act so that he has a full opportunity to iron out all the wrinkles himself.

In the operation of our public forests there is a growing need for greater sensitivity to the needs of small business. Our Federal forests came out of the custodial era not so much because they grew in stature, but because private timber has been diminished. During the custodial period, many small-business men cooperated with the Federal agencies. They brought public timber in small sales and helped the forester rid the land of diseased and dying trees. Even if this had not often been the case, our policy must preserve the ability of small business to grow and foster in a competitive economy.

Our forest policy now should be directed toward obtaining the full sustained yield cut from the forest. In doing this we must get more timber access roads, adequate, properly compensated personnel, and develop the highest efficiency in administration.

New demands are being felt already, and as more and more mills turn toward our public forests, these problems will be aggravated.

Overcutting and allocation of timber will be urged, and acres set aside for special uses will be marked for elimination. I think that these three factors form the hub upon which our Federal forests policy will spin for the next several years.

Let me discuss these points briefly. First let me say that I believe these problems will occur mainly in the Far West, where the forest industry is vigorous and often geared to use four times the timber that grows in a year. In addition, it is out there where Federal timber is such a big factor that it will be a target.

As local communities near Federal timber find that adjacent communities which have run out of private timber are coming over to bid upon the Federal timber near them, the demand to allocate timber or restrict bidding will probably rise.

In other communities, with productive capacity beyond the ability of private and public timber combined, as the private timber is cut out, some may seek allocation or they may seek to overcut the Federal timber.

It is going to take strong administration and well-informed public opinion to insure that conservation principles and our faith with future generations are not breached.

I am not down here tonight to deal in platitudes but to talk about policy, and policy must be fashioned in the face of the realities that exist. You cannot put up a tree farm sign then make a speech about more timber and presto there it is. So I say to you that the foresters administering public land are going to be subjected to pressures to overcut that their predecessors never fully envisioned or experienced, as private timber disappears into the mills and the green gold of the national forests stands as the sole salvation for many of the 3,000 hungry sawmills of the West.

And thus in any consideration of Federal policy we come down to a discussion of why did we create our national forests; and what uses do we envision will be made of them. As foresters, I am sure you will agree these forests shall not be sawed down as rapidly as possible. When the forests were created, the Congress, with some wisdom, set forth their purposes: To improve and protect the forest and waters and to furnish a continuous supply of timber.

In the process of operating the forests certain sound use patterns have been developed. Foresters have coined the phrase "multiple use" to describe it. In operation, multiple use has never meant that on every acre of the forest we will obtain timber, water, forage, and recreation. Many areas provide only one or two resources. Water is produced from every acre, yet very often immediately after logging there is a temporary change in the quality and yield. As the forest is replaced the water picture continues to change. Before the forest is cut it may contain many ideal undeveloped recreational areas. After logging picnic areas are changed, vistas altered, game populations may climb, and fishing of some types decrease. Grazing may result in some soil compaction which adversely affects water or logging may change grazing capacity. In some areas, sheep, cattle, and hogs, if admitted to the forest, may do damage to young trees. While in other places this may not be true. Therefore, "multiple use" is not applied to every acre, but to a large forest area.

Foresters have set aside special areas where they have recognized one use as superior to other possible uses.

Western communities and 600 hydroelectric plants depend upon the national forest for water. There are 21 million acres irrigated by water from the national forests. These users must be protected, and lumbering, grazing, and recreational use must be compatible with water production.

On the Mount Hood National Forest a huge watershed is set aside and recreation is even excluded, although perhaps it need not be. The Forest Service here is conducting a cooperative experiment with the city of Portland to determine how this watershed can be logged without damaging soil and streamflow and even increasing water supplies.

In addition to numerous campgrounds in our national forests, there are some 79 areas embracing 14 million acres set aside for specialized types of recreation. These 14 million acres, less than 8 percent of the national forests, are the network of primitive, roadless, wilderness and wild areas where to varying degrees recreation is the primary use. When the areas were originally created, the national forests were operated mainly on a custodial basis, and there was no problem of conflicting use. Today this is not true.

Senator MORSE was telling me not too long ago that in the 1940's a company acquired a large timber tract in the Willamette National Forest near his home that had gone begging on the market for some time. Today, they have yielded to demands made to reduce the nearby Three Sisters Wilderness Area by 50,000 acres to make more timber available locally. I have not heard of a case that more dramatically illustrates the change that has taken place.

This brings me to the avenue of approach to getting more timber that, in my judgment, will be widely tried.

For example, Rayonier, Inc., has been sponsoring ads in national magazines as a part of its private campaign to get more timber. They recommend a reduction of the size of the Olympic National Park.

Those of us in the Congress who are vitally interested in multiple use and conservation are worried, and I think with good cause. We see the pressure that is coming, and as elected representatives it is our clear duty to do something before the horse is out of the barn. There seems to be a crisis every day in the world in which we live, and the only way we are going to change this is by looking ahead and taking timely action.

That is what my wilderness bill proposes that we do. Instead of waiting until the crisis has engulfed us, I proposed that we make secure the preservation of those areas that do now, in fact, constitute our national wilderness system—the areas that are now, in fact, being handled as wilderness, even though they serve other and consistent purposes also. Doing that now means providing security for what we already have. This will perpetuate the multiple purpose programs we now have on these areas, but it will make sure that multiple purpose on these lands always includes wilderness preservation.

Let's look at the bill. The preamble describes the impending problem, declares a policy, and defines wilderness type areas. The bill then lists all of the present areas.

I would like to say here—and note this well—the national forest areas have all been set aside by the Secretary of Agriculture on what he deemed sufficient authority in the broad language of statutes that do not mention wilderness as such.

What one Secretary thinks he can do another may think he cannot do.

Secretary Chapman thought, at the very lease, he did not have to issue the Al Sarena mining patents until the claimants complied with the administration practices procedures. Assistant Secretary Davis brushed this contention aside and issued the patents without a word to even the Secretary of Agriculture.

Similarly, a future Secretary of Agriculture could brush aside the position adopted by the several secretaries that preceded him. If you doubt me, listen to what Assistant Secretary Peterson recently said to the Association of State Foresters when he spoke of conservation. I quote:

"To me there is one thing it doesn't mean—preservation. Resource conservation means resource use. It does not mean locking up—no use. Our great natural heritage has no meaning and significance except as it is used to provide the materials and services which as a people we must have to enlarge and enrich our living. In a very real sense our very lives depend on our basic natural resources. Resources unused are sterile—of little value."

I quote no more. I hope Secretary Peterson recognizes that, as far as our areas of wilderness are concerned, preservation is use—the very best use that we can possibly make of these particular areas of outdoor America. If he does not so recognize, I say to you that his statement is a clear warning that we may be closer than we think to the danger of having our entire system of national-forest wilderness areas thrown out the window to satisfy our desires for material things.

You know, I read this in the same issue of American Forests with a letter to the editor from Professor Chapman in which he wrote that the persons associated with the wilderness bill, and I quote:

"Had no confidence whatever in the integrity, wisdom, or public spirit of trained forestry executives."

I say to you that this is not true. I have the highest confidence in our foresters. This would indeed be shaken if Assistant Secretary Peterson's words were the words of the Chief of the Forest Service. But they are not. This is the word of a political leader in the administration, and the Chief of the Forest Service is responsible for carrying out the policies that he directs be carried out.

The fact is the wilderness bill has been prepared in accordance with the wilderness policies, programs, and practices of the Forest Service, and in admiration for them. The bill is designed to strengthen the Forest Service's hands in carrying out these policies and programs.

The national forest areas that will be included in the wilderness system are those that have been designated by the Forest Service as wilderness, wild, primitive, or roadless. And the bill provides that these areas shall be administered under regulations that would be drawn up in the Forest Service.

The wilderness bill, I emphasize, will not interfere with, but will perpetuate, the present multiple-purpose administration of these national forest areas. Its central concept is that our present areas of wilderness can be preserved within the existing land-management pattern if this preservation purpose is made a matter of fundamental policy.

Rather than upsetting the multiple-purpose program of the Forest Service, the effect of this legislation will be to prevent the upset in this program that will result if the wilderness areas are not protected from the uses that would destroy them as wilderness.

Now what are the bogey men in this bill?

The bill authorizes all the existing wilderness and wild areas and provides for the addition before January 1, 1966, of the primitive areas, but only after the Forest Service has determined what their boundaries are to be.

Section 2—(a) and (f)—states that the Secretary of Agriculture can make additions, modifications, or eliminations—and I repeat additions, modifications, or eliminations—to the system, and that these will take effect within 120 days unless either House of Congress passes a resolution opposing the proposed action.

In a nutshell, this bill then does these things. It sets forth a policy that will protect the wilderness system, and it provides a sound procedure for making changes. It gives the technicians full authority to recommend whatever action they feel is warranted, and it prevents abuse by the executive heads.

It gives the people a chance to secure a real referendum through the action of their elected representatives, and protects them from the whims of a political appointee who does not have to face the voters.

It maintains the wilderness areas as integral parts of the national forests, serving their important multiple purposes just as they now do.

Finally, as regards the wilderness bill, I wish to make clear that it is in no sense in conflict with, or in competition with forestry for forest products. On the contrary it actually is dependent on foresters for its success. If ever the American people come to the borders of our wilderness areas with a need for timber that cannot be met elsewhere, then, gentlemen, I say to you our wilderness areas are doomed. It is to the foresters of America and their effective programs for sustained yield cutting, on our production forests, that we shall have to look eventually for success in wilderness preservation. We recognize this, and we face our present program in a spirit of cooperation and with a feeling of dependence on the intelligent foresters of America for support.

I think that all true conservationists should consider the bill in this light. In my judgment it will provide a means for making orderly changes in our wilderness system so that these areas will truly fulfill our needs and not one bit more. It will give us a chance to provide a really sound wilderness system by truly democratic processes.

In summing up my discussion, I want to emphasize my conviction that the policies and objectives which I have advocated are consistent with the ideals set forth by Gifford Pinchot—and are necessary, in fact, if we are to live up to the goals he set for us.

Let me just give you a brief quotation from Pinchot's autobiography, Breaking New Ground, which I accept as my guide for resource policy:

Conservation policy, Pinchot said, has three great purposes:

"First, wisely to use, protect, preserve, and renew the natural resources of the earth.

"Second, to control the use of the natural resources and their products in the common interest, and to secure their distribution to the people at fair and reasonable charges for goods and service.

"And, third, to see to it that the rights of the people to govern themselves shall not be controlled by the great monopolies through their power over natural resources."

That is the end of his quote. His advice is as urgently needed today as it was 50 years ago. We would do well to heed it better than we have. I urge each of you, tonight, to reread the warning contained in the last chapter of Pinchot's autobiography—and apply it to conditions we face today.

Conservation is where it is today because so many people have made genuine contributions to this unselfish course. Over the years we in the Congress have helped fight the battle for conservation along with the technicians who have made solid advances in the field.

Team work is a part of everything we do, and it takes dedicated people in the field backed up by conscientious and farsighted people in the top offices of the executive branch, the Congress and our courts, too, to forge ahead on the road to a better future for America.

I would like to close on this note, and to assure you that forest policy will receive increasingly more considerate attention by the Congress. We are proud of you foresters in public and private employ who are so dedicated to our Nation's priceless heritage. We will back you up with the needed improvements in forest policy.

The Southwest Drought

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, back in Texas I have a friend to whom I frequently turn to get my bearings on questions involving farm life, in general, and the great Southwest drought, in particular.

My friend, Henry Fox, is a farmer, and, in his own words, one who is drought stricken. He is an articulate man; he is a writer and a wit, although sometimes his laughter is a little sad when he talks about the drought.

I recall his reaction to a much-discussed magazine article last year which referred to pampered tyrants and country slicking back on the farm. My friend, Henry Fox, replied:

All I've got to say is I sold a hog last week that had $20 worth of corn in him, plus $7.45 worth of supplement, for $23.71, and what I'd like to do is get my hands on the farmers who have country slicked us into such a situation.

Henry Fox is a frequent contributor to the newspapers of central Texas. In the Taylor (Tex.) Daily Press he signs his articles "The Circleville Philosopher." I was particularly impressed last week with a letter he wrote to the Daily Press editor, and I ask unanimous consent that his letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIRCLEVILLE PHILOSOPHER BAFFLED BY EXPERT'S OPPOSITION TO DROUGHT LEGISLATION THAT MIGHT NOT WORK

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Circleville Philosopher on his Johnson grass farm on the San Gabriel has been doing some drought-stricken thinking, if you want to call it that, his letter this week indicates.)

DEAR EDITOR: I was reading along in a news article out of Washington last night with my mind sort of idling when suddenly I went back over the same item because something in it had slipped up on me and shocked me awake.

There it was in the second paragraph. It was a statement by an agricultural expert who was opposing a drought-relief bill in Congress on the grounds that it "would create more problems than it would solve."

This brought my feet down off the chair they were propped on and set me to thinking hard.

This is one of the strangest reasons for opposing anything I ever heard of.

If people are going to stop passing bills or thinking up inventions or doing anything else just because they'll create more problems than they solve, we might as well call off Congress, close up the State legislatures, shut down the colleges, and outlaw the automobile.

Take the automobile, for example. In view of the fact more people have been killed in car wrecks than in all the wars we have ever fought, who is there to say the car has not created more problems than it has solved? But also who is there to say the car ought to be outlawed, right when most people haven't got theirs half paid for?

Or take Taylor. Anybody knows there are more problems on the piece of ground occupied by Taylor now than there were when it was still in cultivation. Parking problems, traffic problems, paved-street problems, sewer problems, water-main problems, fire problems, school problems, juvenile delinquency problems, tax problems * * * obviously the people who built Taylor created more problems than they solved, but I have an idea you'd be the last person who'd be in favor of abolishing the place.

You set up the standard that every move mankind makes has to solve more problems than it creates and modern civilization will come to a halt.

Drought legislation may create more problems than it solves, but to a man in the middle of a drought, having some problems he can't solve is standard fare, nothing new to him in that, and if anybody wants to legislate in favor of a drought-stricken man, you won't hear him complaining. It's pretty hard to take a long-range view on short-term credit.

Fund for the Republic Award of Honor to Representative John B. Orr, Jr., of Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the courage to stand alone for what is right is the most sublime of all forms of valor. Christ stood alone against persecution and tyranny. Ever since, mankind has honored this finest manifestation of the immortality of the human soul.

On February 21, the Fund for the Republic honored a man who, in our time, stood alone. His name is John B. Orr, Jr. As a member of the Florida Legislature, Representative Orr stood alone in opposing proposed legislation to preserve and continue racial segregation in Florida's public schools. The vote in the Florida house on this bill was 89 to 1. Representative Orr risked political extinction, financial ruin, and even personal danger.

The case of Representative Orr was selected from among many distinctive deeds in behalf of freedom throughout our land. The panel of judges who chose the example of Representative Orr was itself headed by a great man whose bravery and courage are a symbol of true Americanism, the illustrious Gen. William F. Dean, of the United States Army, who won the Congressional Medal of Honor for his heroism in Korea, when he defied the torture and humiliation inflicted upon him by his Communist captors.

Other members of the panel of judges were as follows: James Carey, president, International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL–CIO; Mildred McAfee Horton, former president, Wellesley College; Henry L. Nunn, retired president, Nunn-Bush Shoe Co.; Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, presiding bishop, Protestant Episcopal church; Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, counsel to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman; Most Rev. John J. Wright, Catholic Bishop of Worcester, Mass.

Mr. President, it was the privilege of Mrs. Neuberger and me to attend the dinner in honor of Representative Orr and others at the Mayflower Hotel on February 21. Many Members of Congress were likewise in attendance, including the veteran and distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, and the distinguished chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, JAMES E. MURRAY, of Montana.

The chairman of the banquet was the famous public-opinion analyst, who is chairman of the board of the Fund for the Republic, Elmo Roper. Presentation of awards was made by Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, of New York City, who served as counsel to both the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and to President Harry S. Truman. The Pulitzer-prize historian of the Civil War, Bruce Catton, delivered a most inspiring and scholarly address on the course of freedom and liberty in the United States from the time that Thomas Jefferson first raised his eloquent voice and pen against the iniquitous alien and sedition laws.

I ask that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the complete account of the personal and political courage of Representative John B. Orr, Jr., of Florida, as it was included in the program of the American Traditions dinner which was held in Washington, D. C., on February 21, 1957.

There being no objection, the account was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIRST AWARD WINNER

The story of the Honorable John B. Orr, Jr., has been selected for first prize by the panel of judges for the American traditions project.

Mr. Orr is a native of Florida, a graduate of Duke University and the University of Florida, is a practicing attorney, a veteran of the Air Force, and a member of the Florida House of Representatives. He is 37 years old.

Six entrants wrote to the American traditions project about Mr. Orr's record as a champion of free speech and of the other basic freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. The first prize therefore will be divided among the six entrants.

The writers of the six letters that led to the awards cited Mr. Orr's consistent efforts on behalf of minorities and in defense of civil liberties against attempts at suppression and denial.

These qualities and convictions were displayed dramatically during a special session of the Florida Legislature in 1955, called to consider resolutions designed to preserve racial segregation in the State's public schools. A freshman legislator at the time, Representative Orr stunned his colleagues by taking the floor in opposition to the measures and by casting the only vote against them. In mild and patient terms he told the members of the house:

"I believe that * * * had we devoted as much energy, time, and talent to discovering means to live within the law instead of defiance of it, we could have found a way * * *.

"Perhaps the most dangerous byproduct of our activity in this special session is the attitude of disrespect for our laws and the principles of common decency that is developing. To defy the highest Court in our land is unthinkable to me. * * *

"I hope that God gives us the wisdom and strength to conquer prejudice and bigotry and to renew our faith in our Constitution."

His address promptly brought calumny, insults, and threats of violence. It was taken as a foregone conclusion that Representative Orr, who at the time was a candidate for reelection, had committed certain political suicide—that he could not, as one correspondent predicted, get enough votes "to make pallbearers at your political funeral."

But by setting this example of free speech, Mr. Orr encouraged others who had been stilled by fear, and he stimulated public discussion of what had been virtually a forbidden topic. Community leaders and plain citizens who previously had been silent, wrote to express their agreement with his views; and many civic, fraternal, church, veteran, and other groups invited him to speak openly on a subject that had been taboo. This he did during his election campaign—reasonably, candidly, understandably, and without heat. And when the election returns were in, Representative Orr had been reelected by 27,000 votes.

Apparently the voters in his district shared the view of another member of the Florida Legislature who, though disagreeing with Mr. Orr on the issue in question, rose on the floor of the House to tell his colleagues:

"I want you to know that I respect this man. He refused to compromise with his conscience. If I am ever faced with the same problem I hope I have the same courage."

Representative Orr reinforced and strengthened the American tradition by refusing to remain silent on a question of civil rights in the face of overwhelming opposition; by risking his political life to remain true to his beliefs; by giving heart to many others of like conviction but lesser courage; by contributing to the free and open exchange of views which is at the heart of the democratic process; by giving the public the right and opportunity to hear both sides of a controversial subject; by proving once again that freedom of speech and discussion are held dear by the American people—that an elected official can break with prevailing popular opinion, take issue with a local custom of long standing and, in so doing, earn the respect and the votes of his constituents.

Trouble Spots in the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, while the eyes of the whole world seem to be focused on the complex problem in the Middle East, it is obvious that we must not forget that other areas of the world contain trouble spots—trouble spots that could spring into an explosive situation.

The Tuscaloosa News, in its Saturday, January 26, 1957, issue, calls attention to the need of keeping watch on trouble spots in other areas of the world. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORK NEEDED ON OUR FENCES

The tense situation in the Near East during the past few months has caused the eyes of the world to turn from the always simmering, sometimes boiling pot of the Western Pacific area and its many problems.

One of these problems becomes apparent when a map of the general area is examined and United States military defense bases are point out. These bases extend from a northern point in Japan to Manila and include installations throughout Japan, on Okinawa and central Luzon. They form a bulwark facing the bulge of Red China's eastern coastline and are a vital and integral part of the United States farflung defenses.

They are formidable installations and most impressive with their arrays of huge bombers capable of carrying atom bombs thousands of miles and with many jet fighters sitting on ready. There are huge supply depots, warehouses, and mountains of equipment ready for any possible emergency.

This is a comforting picture of military preparedness essential to meet the ever-present threat of Communist aggression. But shadows have begun to darken the picture and a troubling note of uncertainty creeps in which questions the precise military value of the entire system of bases.

The first indication of this came from Japan when the United States proposed the extension of certain of its airbases there to provide adequate facilities for improved and late model jet bombers. The Japanese Government gave the green light to the proposed projects, but when plans actually got underway, public reaction, sometimes violent, completely, and effectively stopped the extension and revealed most clearly that sentiment was against United States military tenancy in Japan.

Other incidents followed—in Okinawa where economic factors entered into the picture in the form of disagreement over rentals to be paid by the Army for military bases, and in the Philippines where disputes arose over title, acreage, and legal jurisdiction on United States bases.

It becomes apparent that the lessening of tension in this area of the world has given rise to an increased feeling of nationalism and the idea that the various governments and countries involved are no longer so dependent on United States military might

that they can afford to be generous with their welcome.

We do not mean to infer that the United States is in danger of losing its positions in the western Pacific defense arc. But it is obvious that a reexamining of the situation is badly needed and an effort must be made to more thoroughly understand the viewpoint of host countries. This would lead to a better working arrangement with our friends of the Pacific area and create a much stronger position for our country.

At the same time it would be well for the various other countries and governments concerned to reevaluate their positions and reaffirm the hard fact and basic truth that they do need the power and might of United States military forces and that, they will continue to need them.

A closer working together will go a long way toward the preservation of this most important arc of defense and may prevent the crumbling of this bulwark which could be undetermined by an increasingly hostile attitude on the part of the local populations toward the United States.

Tax and Spend—One Out of Four

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, all of us are now considering appropriations and the cost of Government. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able editorial entitled "Tax and Spend—One Out of Four," which was published in the Philadelphia Inquirer of yesterday.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TAX AND SPEND—ONE OUT OF FOUR

When the Department of Commerce reported a few days ago that the gross national product of the United States—the total value of goods and services—in 1956 was $412 billion, probably few people paused to reflect on an important part of the picture:

That taxes—and spending by State, local, and Federal Governments—accounted for nearly one-quarter of this sum.

The figure itself is significant—$100 billion collected from American taxpayers and spent for them by Government.

But more important is the trend. At the beginning of the century governmental units collected and spent about $1,500,000,000. That was $1 out of every $15 spent in the country. Now Government spends about $1 out of every $4 spent in the land.

If anyone is looking for the deep-down basis for growing concern about Government spending, particularly the new Federal budget, here it is. For with a tax burden of $1,900 for each American family, on the average, taxes, spending, and trends are everybody's business.

It would be misleading to suggest that we can go back to the ways of 50 years ago. We can't. Costs have risen, the economy has expanded, population has grown. It would be incorrect to blame all of the increase on the Federal Government. New records in State and local budgets are being set, in almost all areas, every year.

But it would be equally misleading to argue that the rise in Government spending and taxes is all due to international crises, the demands of security, and defense. Defense spending, according to the Committee for Economic Development, decreased in the past 4 years; nondefense spending increased. Besides, the spending of local governments rose drastically, and just about all of it was for nondefense purposes.

These are facts every Congressman ought to consider as he prepares to vote on the $71,800,000,000 Federal budget proposed for the next fiscal year. They are facts every citizen and every taxpayer should study.

For if the trend to more and more Government spending is to be halted and reversed, it will be because an aroused public recognizes the danger of letting the Government, rather than the people, decide how their money is to be spent.

Freedoms Foundation Essay Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, today at Valley Forge, the Freedoms Foundation is honoring a number of individuals who have made a contribution to basic liberties we all prize. Among the people being recognized today is Corporal Charles V. Gallagher of the Marine Corps whose essay, "My Vote—Freedom's Privilege," was awarded first prize in a contest conducted by the foundation for members of the Armed Forces.

Far more valuable than the $1,000 cash prize which Corporal Gallagher will receive today is the knowledge that the simple eloquence of his essay speaks to all of us in unmistakable terms to reemphasize the value of the right to vote.

The essay in the form of an immigrant father's letter to his son in the service is something every voter should read. Under unanimous consent I am having it printed here:

DEAR BILL: Your mother just gave me your letter and it sounds as though you are happy at your new post. You mentioned that you will be there the rest of the time that you are in the Marines; if so, I hope that you continue to enjoy it there. You did mention one thing that bothered me, though. You implied that it is too difficult to vote there at the post. Are you sure that you are not just too lazy? Son, remember what your people had to go through to get a chance to vote. It took your mother and me years of saving to get to America, and then more years of study to become citizens. But we stuck to it. We know what can happen in a land where the people don't have a voice in the Government. It is a tragedy that we do not want to see reenacted in this our new country.

Bill, you are compelled by law to serve your country in the Armed Forces, but have you ever stopped to think why? It is not that the leaders of this great land want to break up your youth or keep you busy and out of trouble for a few years. It is to keep our country free from a dictatorial form of rule. We are carrying out a tradition started by Patrick Henry when he said, "Give me liberty or give me death." Being ready to fight and possibly die is not the only duty freedom imposes on us. No, son, there are things that are maybe not as glamorous but just as important to the protection of this country that we must all do. And one of them is to vote. Here is a little phrase that I copied out of a public-service folder that was distributed in the shop the other day. It's put in a way that you being in the service will understand: "A citizen who fails to use his vote is like a combat soldier who fails to use his weapon. He risks not only his own safety but that of his fellows." You and your buddies would have some rather strong words for such a man; but be sure they don't fit you before you criticize others. There are many men who are trying to take over this country without fighting. Your vote is your only weapon against them, son. Don't lay down your weapon; don't jeopardize your freedom and that of your buddies.

I hope these few words will give you the motivation you needed to get out and vote, son. Remember it's your duty.

YOUR FATHER.

Near East Versus Eastern Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following letter from Mr. James Warburg appeared recently in the Washington Post and Times Herald.

Mr. Warburg is very familiar with the problems of the Middle East and of Europe. It seems to me that he has really put his finger on a possible and untried solution of our difficulties in the area. We must, it seems, use the bargaining powers we have and we must start leading from strength, instead of standing helplessly by, threatening to do all manner of things that gradually become less and less possible of accomplishment:

NEAR EAST VERSUS EASTERN EUROPE

Once more we have allowed the Soviet Union to beat us to the diplomatic punch, this time by means of the Shepilov proposal for a mutual hands-off agreement in the Middle East.

Four of the six points in the Soviet proposal should be entirely acceptable to us. These are:

1. Maintenance of peace through the settlement of all disputes in or as to the area, exclusively by peaceful means.

2. Noninterference in the internal affairs of the Middle Eastern countries and full respect for their sovereignty and independence.

3. Mutual renunciation of the supply of arms to countries in the area.

4. Cooperation toward the economic development of the area without attempting to impose any political, military, or other conditions.

These four points should constitute a succinct statement of our own objectives, if our purpose is to neutralize the Middle East and to assure its free and full development rather than to dominate the area ourselves.

The remaining two points are:

(1) Mutual renunciation of any attempt to include the Middle Eastern countries in military packs; and (2) liquidation of foreign bases and withdrawal of foreign troops.

These two points are unacceptable because they involve a unilateral renunciation of

bases, alliances, and—in the case of Britain—colonial possessions without any counterpalling relinquishment by the Soviet Union. Russia has no bases in the Middle Eastern countries, no known military alliances and no troops other than perhaps a few technicians.

Where we have missed the bus is in our failure to take the initiative with respect to Eastern Europe, where the situation is reversed.

The obvious quid pro quo for the neutralization of the Middle East, in which the Western powers have certain preferential positions which admittedly threaten Soviet security in the event of war, is the retirement of Russian coercive power from that part of Europe which lies between the present line of demarcation and the Soviet frontier.

The problems of Eastern Europe and of the Middle East are interlocked. The Soviet Union has taken the initiative in the area where the West is weakest, because of the existing remnants of the British colonial position, the dependence of Western Europe upon Middle East oil, existing commitments arising from the Baghdad Pact and the hostile atmosphere created by the recent Anglo-French invasion of Egypt.

This observer has for months suggested that our Government should take the initiative in proposing a carefully phased withdrawal of Soviet and Western forces from central Europe, leading ultimately to a general European security agreement and the neutralization of Europe west of the Soviet frontier. This would have opened the discussions in the area where the West enjoys the strongest negotiating position.

For us to reject the Soviet proposal out of hand—which is probably what the Kremlin wants us to do—would be the height of folly. What we should do is to accept in principle the proposed neutralization of the Middle East—and, specifically, the four points first mentioned—stating, however, that we shall be willing to discuss the remaining two points only in the context of a corresponding Soviet withdrawal from Eastern Europe. Any other answer will leave us in a wholly invidious position in the eyes of the peoples of the Middle East.

JAMES P. WARBURG.

WASHINGTON.

The Keogh Brothers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, they are not twins, except in their twin endeavors in every worthwhile community endeavor.

Most of us know our very distinguished colleague from New York, EUGENE J. KEOGH. Not so many have had the pleasure of knowing his able brother, J. Vincent Keogh, who graces our State supreme court with honor and distinction.

I am pleased to direct attention to the following editorial which appeared in the New York Journal American of February 7, 1957:

KEOGH BROTHERS

Seldom is a community so fortunate as to have two native citizens who have made their mark as notably as Brooklyn's Keogh brothers.

Supreme Court Justice J. Vincent Keogh and his brother, Representative EUGENE J. KEOGH, have been life-long borough residents.

EUGENE was 29 years old in 1936, when he became the "baby" of the New York delegation to the 75th Congress.

Justice Keogh began teaching at P. S. 183 at the age of 18.

The brothers traveled the road to success at a rapid pace as each added laurels to his career.

But the Keoghs, in their energetic lives, have never forgotten the Brooklyn in which they were born.

They've exhibited outstanding leadership and service to the community. The Flatbush Chamber of Commerce wants all Brooklyn to know of the Keogh brothers' untiring efforts for the borough.

The chamber will formally honor them at its 42d annual feast, set for March 19 in the Hotel St. George.

Borough and city officials will line up to shake the hands of these brothers, who are indeed a credit to their community.

We would like to tender an advance handshake to the Keoghs.

And congratulations.

Reply to Wilson Remarks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, in the Florence (Ala.) Times of February 17, 1957, there appeared an article which contained a statement by Lt. Col. Vernon S. Brown, commanding officer of the 78th Antiaircraft Artillery Battalion of the Alabama National Guard, at Florence, Ala., relative to the Wilson remarks about the National Guard. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOCAL GUARD OFFICIALS REPLY TO WILSON REMARKS

Lt. Col. Vernon S. Brown, Florence, commanding officer of the 278th Antiaircraft Artillery Battalion, Alabama National Guard, today issued an open letter to the citizens of the Muscle Shoals area challenging Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson's statement that the National Guard provided a refuge for draft dodgers during the Korean emergency and replying to Mr. Wilson's demands that the guard accept an arbitrary 6 months' basic-training period.

Colonel Brown's letter stated:

To the citizens of the Muscle Shoals area:

Within the past month, Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson has seen fit to cast doubt on the integrity and courage of the officers and men of the Alabama National Guard. In addition, Mr. Wilson has issued a decree that will require all future guardsmen recruits to take 6 months training in the Active Army as a condition of enlistment. Whether by accident or design, this requirement threatens to do grave harm to the National Guard.

As commander of the National Guard unit in the Tri-Cities, I would like to present you with some of the concrete facts of the situation.

The National Guard is the oldest military organization in the United States. Before there was a United States Army, a Department of Defense, or even a United States, National Guardsmen, then known as colonial militiamen, fought and died to keep the 13 Colonies free from Indian attack and from domination by foreign empires.

National Guard units fired the first shots of the Revolutionary War and, with the Regular Army and, later, the Army Reserve, formed the nucleus of our victorious armies in every subsequent conflict, including the Korean war.

For nearly 200 years, when neither State nor Federal Government would provide adequate funds for training and equipment, the officers and men of the National Guard sacrificed of their own time and funds to make sure that at least some form of reserve military force would be available in time of need.

Now we are asked to believe that this force which has striven so nobly in its country's defense for over 3 centuries became, during the Korean war, a refuge for draft dodgers, and undependable. What are the facts?

Eight National Guard divisions and many smaller units were ordered into Federal service immediately following the outbreak of the Korean war.

When it became apparent that the entire National Guard would not be called to active service, the National Guard Association made the first of several requests to the Department of Defense that the guard be mobilized.

The purpose behind this request was to provide trained units that could be rotated, as units, into the combat zone to relieve units that had borne the brunt of the fighting.

The National Guard's request for all of its units to be called into active service was denied. Instead, the Department of Defense chose to rely on replacement by individuals, a system that already had proven disastrous to morale and to unit efficiency during World War II.

Callup of individual National Guard units continued throughout the Korean emergency. In all, 1,833,600 National Guard men served in the Korean conflict with their guard units. Thousands more volunteered for active duty and served with units of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps.

A large proportion of the mobilized National Guard units, including two full divisions and scores of smaller units, served in combat in Korea. One of these units, the 955th Field Artillery Battalion of the New York National Guard, is credited with having destroyed 68 enemy heavy guns, 5 enemy tanks, 16 enemy vehicles, and with having inflicted 14,000 casualties on the enemy.

Of local interest, the total Alabama National Guard was mobilized immediately, including all of our Tri-Cities units. Of the 11,082 Alabama Guard men, 11,029 were federalized. Many units were shipped to Korea within a few months of mobilization.

This is, indeed, a strange way of dodging the draft.

Of the officers and men left, a high proportion were and still are, combat veterans of World War II. What sort of draft dodgers are these?

Of the men between 17 and 18½ who were allowed to join the National Guard and become draft deferred, not one was at the time of his enlistment eligible for the Korean war draft. Each and every one of these became available for immediate Federal service. Only because of them was it possible for the United States to maintain an effective Reserve force against the possibility of a third world war, or the extension of the Korean conflict.

With this record in mind, I do not feel that any officer or enlisted man of the Alabama National Guard, even among those skeleton-size units that remained at home,

need feel any shame over his willingness to participate in this country's defense.

As to Secretary Wilson's decree that every man enlisted by the National Guard after April 1, 1957, must take 6 months' training in the active Army, the records show that the National Guard, throughout its history, has fought for some effective form of universal military training.

The National Guard has recommended that instead of the unrealistic, arbitrary, compulsory 6-month requirement, a potential recruit be given a choice between taking the 6-month training or taking an 11-week basic-training period, 1 summer, and following it up with further training at his hometown armory and summer field training and where possible with attendance at an Army service school later in his enlistment.

By this means, the high-school junior who enlists in the National Guard could, at the age of 17, complete his basic training in the summer vacation between his junior and senior years and continue his training with his own unit.

I urge all of you to visit any of our three local armories at your earliest convenience to familiarize yourself with the rules and regulations, the training program, and equipment, and above all, the men of your National Guard.

I am convinced that when you return home, you, too, will be convinced that the Alabama National Guard remains true to its proud tradition of sacrifice, accomplishment, and glory.

VERNON S. BROWN,
Lieutenant Colonel, Artillery, Alabama National Guard.
FLORENCE, ALA.

Spiraling Cost of Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LeROY H. ANDERSON
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON of Montana. Mr. Speaker, while farmers and ranchers of our Nation face subnormal income and mounting costs, so, too, do the people of America's cities face a critical situation as concerns the spiraling cost of living.

Somewhere, there is something critically wrong. While production prices on food and fiber of our farms and ranches spiral downward under the relentless policies of the Secretary of Agriculture, the end results in the markets of our land spiral in the other direction, always upward. Meanwhile, giant corporations set alltime profit records.

On the front pages of today's newspapers I read where the cost of living rose to a new record high for January. It was the fifth consecutive month it has set a record. Simultaneously, it was announced 1.4 millions of workers would get automatic cost-of-living pay boosts, averaging about a penny per hour. Those few pennies, however, I do not believe will materially bridge the gap in mounting costs of living.

Obviously, there is a need for Congress to determine the facts, and take action in this mounting crisis. That is why today, on the occasion of this newest cost-of-living price advance, I am introducing a measure which calls for a broad investigation of the rising costs of living and the widening spread between prices received by farmers and those paid consumers for agricultural commodities. This measure asks the establishment of a joint congressional committee to carry out the investigation, and asks also that Congress provide $250,000 annually for this purpose. The committee could make recommendations on the basis of its findings to reduce the farm-to-consumer price spread so as to increase prices to the farmers and lower them to consumers.

Contradiction of Erroneous Information Concerning Certain Military Personnel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RILEY
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. RILEY. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that certain erroneous information concerning the activities of two of the finest generals in the Air Force, Maj. Gen. E. J. Timberlake, commander of the Ninth Air Force, and Brig. Gen. Stephen B. Mack, commander of Shaw Air Force Base, has recently been made public by way of newspapers, radio, and television. In the interest of justice and in fairness to these officers, I believe that the true facts should be given equal publicity.

I can vouch for the authenticity of the attached article which appeared in the State newspaper, Columbia, S. C., on February 20, 1957. I know personally the people, both civilian and military, mentioned therein.

I have contacted the officials of the Sumter County Citizens Council and have obtained an affidavit from two of its officers. These officials are men of the highest integrity as are all other members of the council whom I know. This affidavit states that neither General Timberlake nor General Mack has ever attended any of their meetings. A copy of this affidavit is attached.

The Shaw-Sumter Community Council, referred to in the article, has as its sole purpose the maintaining and betterment of the fine public relations existing between the city and the airbase. A similar organization has been in existence since the activation of Shaw Field early in World War II, and it was my privilege to serve as a member of this group prior to my coming to Congress. It has no connection with any other organization.

I feel that the FBI or some other agency of the Government should thoroughly investigate the source of this erroneous information and make a report of their findings to responsible officials so that there will be no repetition of such irresponsible charges. I am requesting Attorney General Brownell to order such an investigation.

The article and the affidavit follow:

SHAW GENERALS DENY POWELL CHARGE OF MEETING WITH CITIZENS COUNCIL

SUMTER, February 19.—The Ninth Air Force and Shaw Air Force Base commanders tonight denied emphatically allegations of Representative POWELL, Democrat, of New York, revealed earlier today that they had attended a meeting of the White Citizens Council in Sumter.

The denial came after Representative POWELL, 1 of 3 Negro Members of Congress, asked Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson in Washington today to investigate reports that an Air Force general had attended such a meeting at Sumter.

POWELL wired Wilson that he had received "confidential information" that the February 16 meeting had been attended by the Ninth Air Force and Shaw Air Force Base commanders, and that the meeting was held in Elks Lodge No. 855 of Sumter.

The telegram was promptly turned over to the Air Force.

Elks Club Manager W. Norman Chandler declared tonight that no meeting of the White Citizens Council had taken place Saturday night, February 16, or for that matter at any other time.

He pointed out that the confusion may have arisen over the fact that the Elks Club often plays host to meetings of the Shaw-Sumter Community Council, a group set up to better relations between the city and the nearby base.

General Mack often attends these meetings, which have nothing to do with States rights or the segregation issue, according to members of the group.

The last known meeting of the Sumter County Citizens Council was held Thursday, February 7, at the Edmund High School auditorium, at which time Representative JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, of Mississippi, was the featured speaker.

Prior to the meeting, a supper was held at the Elks Club sponsored by the executive committee of the Sumter County Citizens Council for the honored guests. No military personnel were present at this gathering as far as could be determined.

General Mack said tonight: "General Timberlake and I have never attended a meeting of the White Citizens Council (if that is the correct name of the group) nor have we ever been invited to do so."

A similar denial was issued by Lt. Col. H. R. KATZ, special assistant to the Ninth Air Force commander.

Timberlake is on a staff visit inspecting Ninth Air Force bases.

In his telegram POWELL had asked Wilson: "Does the Defense Department allow its commanding officers who are under Presidential Executive order to abolish all segregation to join or attend meetings sponsored by un-American groups such as White Citizens Councils, Ku Klux Klan or the Communist Party?

"Would appreciate an immediate reply following your investigation."

AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
County of Sumter:

Personally appeared before me Robert O. Purdy III and F. E. Gibson who, each being first duly sworn, say:

Robert O. Purdy III is chairman of the Sumter County Citizens Council of Sumter, S. C., and has been chairman since November 1956. For 1 year prior to November 1956, he was recording secretary of this organization.

F. E. Gibson is chairman of the policy committee of the Sumter County Citizens Council of Sumter, S. C., and has acted in such capacity for approximately 2 years.

We are thoroughly conversant with all phases of activity engaged in by the Sumter County Citizens Council and we have at-

tended every meeting held by the Sumter County Citizens Council for approximately 2 years.

We have read the news release which appeared February 19, 1957, wherein ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR., Congressman from New York, charged that certain commanding officers of the Ninth Air Force and of Shaw Air Force Base, S. C., had met with the Sumter County Citizens Council at the Elks Club in Sumter and in which he accused the Sumter County Citizens Council of being un-American and classified this organization along with the Communist Party and the Ku Klux Klan.

The Sumter County Citizens Council has never held a meeting at the Elks' Club in Sumter, S. C., as charged by ADAM CLAYTON POWELL.

The Sumter County Citizens Council has never held a meeting which was attended by either General Timberlake, commanding general of the Ninth Air Force, or General Mack, commanding general of Shaw Air Force Base, S. C., as charged by ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Jr.

The Sumter County Citizens Council has never held a meeting at which any commanding officer of Shaw Air Force Base, S. C., was present.

We are informed that the date on which this alleged meeting was supposed to have occurred was February 16, 1957. The Sumter County Citizens Council held no meeting of any kind on such date.

On the night of February 7, 1957, the Honorable JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, Congressman from the State of Mississippi, spoke in Sumter, S. C., before a gathering of approximately 1,400 citizens at a meeting which was sponsored by the Sumter County Citizens Council, but which was open to the public. Prior to this meeting, seven members of the Sumter County Citizens Council, including deponents, were present at a dinner given in honor of Congressman JOHN BELL WILLIAMS at the Elks' Club in Sumter, S. C. Neither General Timberlake nor General Mack was present at this dinner, and neither of these gentlemen was in the presence of Congressman JOHN BELL WILLIAMS at any time during his stay in Sumter, S. C.

As to POWELL's false accusation that our organization is un-American and is to be classed with the Communist Party, we merely call attention to the fact that we have never been endorsed by the Communist Party, as has the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whose policies POWELL so fervently supports with irresponsible, headline seeking misrepresentations.

ROBERT O. PURDY III.
F. E. GIBSON.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of February 1957.

[SEAL] EDWARD V. ATKINSON,
Notary Public for South Carolina.

When Sanctions Weren't Imposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by George E. Sokolsky, which appeared in the New York Journal American of February 13, 1957, is most timely.

It points up the fact that the President and the State Department close their eyes to all international inequities and open them only when Israel is charged with wrongdoing, if protecting one's self can be called wrongdoing:

WHEN SANCTIONS WEREN'T IMPOSED

(By George E. Sokolsky)

During the Korean war, Red China intervened, took over the war, defeated the United Nations police (consisting mostly of American troops), and entered upon prolonged negotiations over prisoners of war, negotiations which are being continued to this very day.

Did the United Nations impose sanctions upon Red China? Not at all. Red China is not a member of the United Nations; therefore it could seize Tibet; it could take a chunk of territory out of Burma; it could create a sphere of influence in Nepal without suffering any consequences. It could stir up a war in Indochina and permit its territory to be used as a military base.

There is an enormous advantage in not being a member of the United Nations because then it is possible to engage in imperialist war enterprises and not suffer any consequences. Red China, subsequent to these acts of imperialism, conducted an active campaign to be admitted into the United Nations and has encountered considerable sympathy and support, particularly among those Afro-Asian nations which apparently favor rewarding such improprieties by permitting a country to shoot its way into the United Nations.

BRUTAL IMPERIALISTIC ACTION

Furthermore, there has always been a cynical element in the State Department which prides itself on its ultra-realism and which therefore favors Red China's entrance into the United Nations on the pragmatic ground that nothing suceeds like success and the torture and murder of American citizens are routine hazards of international relations.

So, Soviet Russia, a member of the United Nations, sent an overpowering army, including tanks which rode roughshod over women and children, into Hungary to repress an uprising of the people for self-government. Never in modern times was an imperialistic action so overt, so brutal, so frank.

Did the United Nations impose economic or other sanctions upon Soviet Russia for its genocide in Hungary? Not at all. There were about 10 resolutions concerning Soviet Russia's conduct in Hungary, but Russia flouted them all and laughed at the United Nations and its pretenses at power. Dag Hammarskjold, its highest official, wished personally to go to Hungary to see what was going on, but they would not admit him. They treated him like what he is, a paid jobholder of an international debating society.

Did our State Department threaten to vote sanctions against Soviet Russia over Hungary? Don't be silly.

Apparently there was even a denial that American radio facilities were used to encourage the Hungarians to declare their independence, although the balloons could not be denied because they are demonstrable. It pays to be a strong power in the United Nations, with a permanent seat on the Security Council and the right of veto, because then it is possible to tell anybody to go to the devil.

SILENT ABOUT KASHMIR

India went into Kashmir the way Red China went into Korea and Soviet Russia went into Hungary. The United Nations proposed a plebiscite. India rejected a plebiscite because Nehru calculated that he would lose the plecicsite. Parkistan suggested a U. N. police force to hold Kashmir in escrow. Nehru rejected that, too. In Kashmir, Nehru ceases to be the man of peace, the middleman among nations, the gentle talking merchant offering the world nirvana at a price. In Kashmir, Nehru is an imperialist, taking what he can take and sending his devil's disciple Krishna Menon, to make a 7-hour long speech until nausea overtook that body, accustomed though it is to gargling and retching.

Did the United Nations impose economic sanctions against India for its imperialism and its rejection of United Nations resolutions? Not at all. The United Nations is silent about Kashmir. And the State Department is silent about Kashmir.

It is only against Israel that the United Nations and the State Department seek to impose sanctions perhaps as a challenge to discover whether manna will truly drop from Heaven when the Israeli have nothing to eat but the sand of the Sinai Desert. It does not pay to be small and not to have oil wells and not to have blackmail powers in this current, pragmatic era.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, to further express the sentiments of the people of the State of Indiana in regard to Federal aid to education, under unanimous consent, I include Senate Concurrent Resolution 6, introduced in the current Indiana General Assembly, in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Senate Concurrent Resolution 6

Concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to resist the efforts of proponents of centralization of government to invade the field of education and usurp or encroach upon the right and duty of the people in the local communities to provide for and supervise the education of their children

Whereas the matter of education of the children of this State is now, and always has been of utmost concern to our citizens, both individually and collectively, and they have never hesitated to provide funds through taxation and otherwise in sufficient amount, both locally and statewide, to meet their obligation to provide proper educational facilities; and

Whereas the differential that existed between construction and/or staffing of education facilities and student population arose through no fault or lack of interest of the people but was caused by wartime stresses and conditions when all peacetime construction and career planning, of necessity, was deferred in order that a maximum war effort could be put forth; and

Whereas through thoughtful planning and economical and efficient use of available financial resources this State, and the local communities therein, have at this time, for all practical purposes, achieved an equalization between school facilities and school population without sacrificing quality of school plants or personnel, and, further, the office of superintendent of public instruction of this State, in cooperation with local school authorities has instituted an education planning program so as to provide properly for the future population growth; and

Whereas in recent years, through the efforts of certain national groups there has developed a strong movement to have the Federal Government step into or invade the education field on the pretext that the State and local authorlites are unable to cope with

the school problem, whereas the real reason therefor is to remove the whole field of education from the supervision, operation, and control of the people of the local communities; and

Whereas any such movement is objectionable upon several grounds, among which are:

(a) Any Federal program must be regulated which in turn calls for creation, establishment, and staffing of various boards and bureaus with the usual waste, inefficiency, and consequent dissipation of badly needed tax money attendant thereon;

(b) Apart from financial or economic considerations is the even greater danger that such movement could and eventually would remove from the observation and control of the people of local communities the teaching methods, philosophy, source material, and like matters, thus paving the way for a subtle insinuation of the teachings of subversive ideologies into school curriculums and resulting in the possible warping, twisting, and poisoning of the impressionable minds of children against our democratic principles and processes; and

Whereas since the very inception of this program of unwarranted, attempted usurpation of these inalienable rights and duties of the people the State of Indiana has fought it militantly and unyieldingly, as a result of which the aforesaid national groups have intentionally, knowingly, and unconscionably issued reports containing absolutely false misstatements and discolorations of fact and truth concerning this State's educational facilities and program in an insidious attempt to discredit, embarrass, and belittle it and its citizens before the Congress of the United States and the people of this country; and

Whereas such action upon the part of said national groups strengthens and confirms our suspicions that the tears they shed for the educational welfare of the children of this State and Nation are truly crocodile in nature and serve but to camouflage the ulterior socialistic motives they so poorly conceal; and

Whereas the aforesaid distortions and untruths by said groups concerning the situation in the State of Indiana lead but to the conclusion that statements concerning the educational facilities and programs in other States are equally erroneous and fallacious; and

Whereas this State, and the citizens hereof, are now, always have been, and always shall be unequivocally, incontrovertibly and unalterably opposed to any Federal invasion, encroachment, or infringement of the fundamental right, obligation, and duty of the people and their local governmental authority to provide, supervise, and control the education of the children of this State or the educational processes concomitant thereon: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana (the House of Representatives concurring):

SECTION 1. That the Congress of the United States be and it is hereby memorialized to reject any and all efforts to obtain the passage of legislation by the terms of which money would be appropriated and made available to the States, through grants-in-aid or otherwise for school building or other purposes, which either indirectly or directly would infringe upon the rights, duties, and obligations of local and State governments or authorities to provide, supervise, and control the education of the children of this country or the accompanying educational processes.

SEC. 2. That a copy of this resolution be sent to the following:

1. The Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower, President.

2. Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

3. All representatives in the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

4. The governors of all other States of these United States.

5. The commissioner on interstate cooperation in each of the other 47 States.

Savings Bond Relief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, since 1951 I have been introducing legislation in an effort to make United States Savings Bonds a more attractive investment. In this session my bills are H. R. 2480 and H. R. 2481, both introduced on January 10, 1957.

In this connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of February 13, 1957:

SAVINGS BOND RELIEF

Reports from Washington this week have hinted that action may at last be near at hand looking toward improving the relative position of the savings bond holder vis-a-vis other types of investors. The fact that the current rate yielded by savings bonds isn't considered too attractive doesn't come as exactly an overnight revelation. In 1955 sales of new E- and H-bonds, for example, exceeded redemption by about $700 millions; in 1956, however, when interest rates on all other forms of investment were steadily rising, sales declined from the 1955 level of $5.4 billions to $5 billions and redemption rose from $4.7 billions to $4.8 billions.

This trend has been even clearer recently. During each of the last 5 months of 1956 redemption of these 2 types of bonds, tailored particularly to meet the requirements of the small investor, have exceeded sales. This week figures have been released showing the result of the first month of the new year, and these figures serve to dramatize the situation even more sharply than at the time a similar problem was encountered 6 years ago and resulted in raising the rate on E bonds in 1952 from 2.9 percent to 3 percent. For in January redemption of savings bonds of all kinds amounted to $547 million as compared with sales of $465 million. While the 2 situations are not completely comparable, it is a noteworthy fact that cash-ins in January 1957 were the largest of any month since March 1946.

What steps the Treasury has in mind to restore the attractiveness of savings bonds to their holders has not been officially indicated. A few months ago it might have been sufficient to change the pattern of the annual redemption values—which in the case of the early years of their life reflect an interest rate that is little more than nominal. At present, however, with the ceiling on savings accounts raised to 3 percent and with long-term Government securities selling on a yield basis of about 3½ percent, it is doubtful that such a modest program of liberalization would accomplish any real results. It would appear that at this stage of developments the Treasury can hardly stop short of asking Congress to raise the ceiling on the interest yield of these securities substantially above its present 3 percent.

The Oil Price Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Oil City (Pa.) Derrick of February 13, 1957:

THE OIL PRICE SITUATION

Oil still is the favorite whipping boy in Washington.

That's the only conclusion that can be drawn from the hue and cry over the recent price increases in petroleum and some of its derivatives—a hue and cry that completely ignores the age-old law of supply and demand, the cost structure, and other factors that vitally affect this industry the same as any other in the economy.

Yet, it's significant to note that in the past 10 years all major industries have advanced the prices of their products with methodical precision and regeularity. There was scarcely a peep in Washington. Nary a stir followed these advances.

But the recent oil increase—the first general increase in about 4 years—loosed a torrent of abuse upon the industry and a flood of unwarranted charges of monopoly, conspiracy, and the like. In the forefront of the attackers was the coonskin-capped gentleman from Tennessee—ESTES KEFAUVER—who seems ready at all times to take pot shots at the oil industry but never loses a chance to ride the bandwagon for higher peanut and cotton subsidies.

The oil price increases can be fully justified. In fact, the increases were long overdue and, in the opinion of those in position to know the real status and problems of the industry, are wholly inadequate to permit producers to meet steadily increasing demands and replenish reserves in the face of mounting costs.

In the last 10 years crude oil prices have increased only 28 percent. During the same period average hourly wages paid in the producing industry have increased 61.3 percent, oil field machinery prices have advanced 55.6 percent, oil well carbon casing 77.8 percent, oil well alloy casing 87.5 percent, carbon line pipe 117.8 percent, finished steel products 80.7 percent, and automobiles 45.9 percent.

Just since the last general crude oil price adjustment, in June 1953, the oil-producing industry has absorbed 5 rounds of increases in basic steel prices and 4 rounds of wage increases.

In the face of these increased costs—increases that have put the cost of finding and producing petroleum 6 to 10 times higher than it was 10 years ago—the industry is expected to set new records of production to meet increasing demands and, at the same time, continue discovery work in order that proved reserves may be maintained in keeping with the growing needs and in preparedness for any emergency.

During 1956 the statistical record of the industry shows that demand and production increased approximately 5½ percent, but drilling increased less than 1½ percent. This lag in drilling was due primarily to the fact that crude oil prices remained unchanged while producers continued to absorb mounting costs.

There's a limit to the power of the oil industry, or any industry for that matter, to absorb spiraling costs. When that limit

is reached there is no alternative but to increase prices.

That's the situation in which the oil industry finds itself. The disparity of crude oil prices must be eliminated if the industry is to be able to meet demands and maintain reserves at an adequate level. The recent price increase was a step in that direction. And, despite the furor created by the boost, it's doubtful if the increase is sufficient to bridge the gap between producing costs and justifiable revenues.

A realistic view of the whole situation indicates that the oil industry, rather than being subjected to the attack now being made upon it, deserves commendation for resisting so long, and at burdensome cost, the inflationary pressures which engulfed it.

Our Share of the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SID SIMPSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. SIMPSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Quincy (Ill.) Herald-Whig of February 19, 1957:

OUR SHARE OF THE BUDGET

There has been a lot of talk about that $71.8 billion Federal budget. It is talk that has ranged from minor key grumbling to outright screams of anguish. And it is confusing, at best, for even in this day, when talk gets around to figures like $71.8 billion; the figures are just too big to comprehend clearly.

It is interesting, therefore, to read a more localized breakdown of the budget, as prepared by the taxation department of the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce.

Analyzing budget figures, the chamber estimates that Illinois' share of the big budget is $5,356,280,000. And using the July 1956 Illinois population figure of 9,432,000, that breaks down to $568 for each man, woman, and child in the State, or $2,272 for every family unit of 4.

Going further, the State chamber calculated what each county's share of the Federal budget would be, on the basis of available indices of buying power and sales-tax collections. The results are jarring.

Getting back to the whole State's share of the Federal budget, it is pointed out that Illinois will have to dig up $354,470,000 more than it did on the last budget.

It is reported, too, that the amount to be borne by Illinois taxpayers is 6.4 times the total amount of property taxes payable in 1956 for the support of all local governments—counties, cities, schools, townships, park districts, etc. Or it is nearly 8 times the total of taxes collected during the fiscal year which ended last June 30 to finance Illinois' State government.

Getting still closer to home, the county breakdown calculated by the chamber estimates that Adams County will cough up $30,227,000 for the Federal budget, or 6.1 times the taxes collected for all local governmental units.

Neighboring Brown County, it is estimated, would provide $2,551,000 for the Federal budget, exactly 5 times the total of local budgets. Pike County would provide $7,598,000, or 4.4 times local budgets. McDonough County would pay $12,970,000, or 4.8 times the total of local budgets. And Schuyler County would provide $2,985,000, or 3.8 times local budgets.

The relationship of local shares of the Federal budget to local taxes varies widely through the State, as might be expected. Peoria County, for example, would pay proportionately the most, $109,513,000, or 7.8 times the total of local budgets. And little Putnam County would pay $1,411,000 toward the Federal budget, or only 2.8 times the total of its local budgets.

These are figures that bring close to home the cost of Federal Government. Think about them. They're worth some study.

Federal Aid for Newell School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial in the Newell (S. Dak.) Valley Irrigator which thoughtfully expresses why the so-called Federal aid to education is not practical:

FEDERAL AID FOR NEWELL SCHOOL

Congressman E. Y. BERRY puts his finger on a matter of interest to some Newell people this week, when he writes:

"FEDERAL AID

"It appears to me that if States need assistance to carry on their educational programs or their school-construction programs, it is either because the Federal Government has preempted the tax base or the State has never had sufficient tax base to produce the needed revenue for schools."

He continues that he has again introduced legislation directing that 1 percent of the Federal income tax collected in each State be turned directly to the treasury of the State from which it is collected for school use.

"If the States need this added income for educational purposes, let's give it to them direct without any Federal strings attached. The Federal Government already has all the machinery set up for the collection, there would be no additional payroll for either the State or Federal Government and no controls from Washington"—which we believe is the most interesting and worthwhile proposal yet to come out of the Nation's Capital in regard to Federal aid for education.

Another proposal under consideration by Congress is a big-sounding $600 million Federal-aid program for our schools. Broken down, however, such aid would amount to around but $4 per capita.

In contrast, BERRY's proposal would retain in South Dakota about $800,000 or slightly more than $1 per capita.

But in case of the proposed larger $600 million Federal aid for schools and its relation to the Newell school district—if the local district could show political and economic justifications for securing even a per capita share—it is interesting to note that the total wouldn't pay the architects for designing half of our present school building needs.

Nor would it be out of line to suggest that the pittance of Federal aid resulting would fall far short of meeting costs of submitting and securing approval of local building plans by a Federal bureau which would be set up to direct such operations.

However, the principal purpose of this writing is to allay the hopes of some local citizens that the Federal Government is going to come to the aid of the Newell school district in meeting its building needs. President Eisenhower's White House Conference on Education, the largest and most representative gathering of its kind in the United States, reported in December 1955 that "No State represented has a demonstrated financial incapacity to build the schools it will need in the next 5 years."

We seriously doubt that either Berry's proposal or that for a $600 million Federal aid program for the Nation's schools will be adopted by the present Congress. Even more, we doubt, if either is adopted it will help the situation now facing the local schools. And the sooner we realize that our lack of adequate educational facilities are costing our children more than needed school buildings will cost us, the sooner the taxpayers of Newell school district are going to insist upon being given the opportunity to solve their own school inadequacies.

Flood Control by TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR.
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tenn., by the Honorable Alfred Mynders, editor, appearing on February 2, 1957. This article clearly demonstrates that TVA is fulfilling the purposes for which it was established:

FLOOD CONTROL BY TVA

(By Alfred Mynders)

But for the TVA system of dams and reservoirs, Chattanooga right now would be experiencing a major flood. Local rains hereabout and up the river a piece sent the water above flood stage, but the damage is slight indeed compared to what it would have been.

The TVA has been managing the waters all the way from the mountains of east Tennessee to Kentucky Dam in west Tennessee. By spilling water from the main stream dams from Watts Bar through Kentucky Dam, TVA has kept the main stream lakes fairly low with reserve space for unexpected floodwaters and during the disastrous flood in upper Tennessee, in Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia, TVA has been storing water in the lakes in the tributaries to the Tennessee River.

Good old Norris Dam. Its lake has been the main stopper to the Clinch River flood. A day or two ago the Clinch and Powell Rivers, twin tributaries of Norris Lake, were pouring waters down at an estimated 80,000 cubic feet per second. That would mean the greatest Clinch River flood in the 21 years since Norris Lake was impounded.

And but for the TVA dams that great wall of water would be roaring down the Tennessee River toward Chattanooga, the most vulnerable flood point in the entire TVA system.

The Holston River was sending water at the rate of 37,200 cubic feet per second into Cherokee Lake. Two upstream lakes held back some of the water from Cherokee Lake and prevented it from being a greater flood. But for the TVA dams, the Holston flood would be joining the Clinch River flood in the Tennessee River.

The flood in the French Broad River would have added to the threat to Chattanooga but for the Douglas Dam. Douglas Dam has held back that flood of 31,900 cubic feet per second.

The TVA flood-control machinery is a marvelous thing. The experts at various points on the Tennessee system are in full cooperation all along the river. Indeed, it is understood that some of the TVA personnel here in Chattanooga have been on the upper river during the present flood threat, helping check on the great waters.

What does TVA flood control mean to Chattanooga? TVA experts have estimated that the recurrence of a flood as high as the maximum flood of record, that of 1867, would do more than $105 million in damage at Chattanooga alone. The flood which TVA dams apparently have held back from Chattanooga in the present crisis might not have approximated that record flood of 1867, but it might have been serious.

The TVA estimates that the control exercised by the present TVA reservoirs could reduce the $105 million damage from the maximum flood on record in Chattanooga to about $12 million.

The Tennessee is the only river system in the world which has been so marvelously harnessed. And it should not be forgotten that the TVA Kentucky Dam Reservoir is one of the greatest things yet perfected for reducing floods on the Mississippi River.

The TVA has nearly 12 million acre-feet of storage space reserved to control floods on the Tennessee and to aid the control of floods on the lower Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

The dramatic demonstration of the TVA flood-control system during the past several days refutes the oft-made charges by critics that the TVA is more interested in producing electricity than in preventing floods.

The TVA strictly observes the flood-control priority.

As a 1956 report shows, in 1 year TVA spilled from its reservoirs water equivalent to 560 million kilowatts of electricity in order to maintain the reservoirs at the required flood-control levels. Had power generation been the major objective, as with privately owned companies, the water would have been retained in the reservoirs for later use in generation of power.

During the flood season especially, the TVA lowers its lakes in order to leave room for floodwaters coming in. After March 15, when the flood season is nearing an end, the reservoirs are filled as rapidly as possible so as to procure maximum electricity production. Although about 2,500,000 acre-feet is always reserved for flood control, by refilling the lakes after the flood season TVA is able to release water in the dry periods of late summer and fall to maintain the flow of the stream for power production and navigation.

TVA electricity benefits every point in the seven-State Tennessee Valley Authority area. The flood-control system benefits Chattanooga more than any other town or city on the whole river.

Love those TVA dams.

Our Senior Citizens Still Have Much To Contribute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial appearing in the Nashville Tennesseean under date of February 18, 1957. It calls attention to a new organization in the capital city of Tennessee called the Senior Citizens of Nashville, Inc. It has as its objective a service to our senior citizens who have reached retirement age. These citizens, of course, have not exhausted their usefulness. In terms of experience and knowledge they form a valuable pool. Many of them are still active and alert in business and other avocations of life.

The editorial follows:

OUR SENIOR CITIZENS STILL HAVE MUCH TO CONTRIBUTE

Fourteen million people in the United States are over 65 years of age. At present they have a life expectancy of 13.3 more years. By 1975, a man of that age can expect to live 14.5 years longer, and estimates are that there will be 21 million of retirement age.

These senior citizens do not like to think of themselves as being a problem. But in terms of the social evolution that the Nation has been going through, the compulsory retirement idea on the part of business, medical progress having added to life expectancy and failure on the part of most communities to take note of the peculiar status of these elders, they have become a problem.

One of the biggest hurdles for those who have reached retirement age is that of adjusting from a hitherto busy and rather active life to one with time on their hands and nothing to do.

The senior citizens by no means have exhausted their usefulness. In terms of judgment, stability, and dependability most can still do well as or better than younger workers. In terms of experience and knowledge they form a valuable pool. In overall performance, for instance, a National Association of Manufacturers survey of 2,500,000 employees rated 23 percent of older workers superior, 70 percent equal, and only 7 percent not equal to younger workers.

There are individual difficulties, of course, such as health and finances. For the former, medical progress continues to help. For the latter there are increasing benefits such as social security pensions, company pensions, personal tax exemptions, and such. A great many do have financial problems. But overriding this is the problem of adjusting to a changed life, and that is where the community comes in.

The Senior Citizens of Nashville, Inc., has taken a step forward in recognizing the adjustment problem, and is establishing a permanent day center for persons of retirement age. It is the first such center in Tennessee and will include recreation and health facilities as well as adult education classes and personal and vocational counseling.

In setting forth their plans, the leaders in organizing this day center have noted they are aware that these citizens want to continue to be useful to their communities; want something to do whether it is a job or a hobby; need guidance and self-assurance to step back into an active role. The center proposes to aid them.

But this is one center in one area. By location it cannot hope to serve all. It is a first step toward extraordinary possibilities, and it is hoped that this center can formulate a policy of help, a set of guiding rules and solutions that can extend its influence to other sections and other communities. By its own example, others may be encouraged to similar action and by its experience avoid the pitfalls. As a start it is a commendable example of what community leadership can do. In its success will lie large rewards both to the communities and to those persons who still have a great measure to contribute, despite age.

Arabian American Oil Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday I called the attention of the House of Representatives to the reports which have come to my attention that the Arabian American Oil Co., commonly known as Aramco, has been treating its oil-royalty payments to King Saud as a tax rather than as a royalty. If payments to King Saud or the Saudi Arabian Government by the Arabian American Oil Co. are treated as a tax rather than as a royalty, the Arabian American Oil Co. can deduct the payments made to King Saud from income taxes due the United States and thereby take its profits on Saudi Arabian oil almost tax free.

The American people have made tremendous commitments of manpower and dollars to provide King Saud with economic aid and with weapons which have the principal effect of protecting the oil-production contracts of the Arabian American Oil Co. with King Saud. In the light of these developments and the tremendous commitments by our Government, the structure of the Arabian American Oil Co. and its treatment of tax obligations to the United States Government are no longer a matter of private business which can be properly concealed from the American people.

The American people have a right to know, and it seems to me that it is the duty of the Arabian-American Oil Co. to make a public disclosure of its contract with King Saud and its tax contribution to the American Government which has pledged so much to protect and preserve the integrity of Aramco's oil contract with King Saud.

Following is a letter which I have yesterday addressed to Mr. R. L. Keyes, president of the Arabian American Oil Co.:

FEBRUARY 22, 1957.

Mr. R. L. KEYES,
President, Arabian-American Oil Co., New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. KEYES: Yesterday, on the floor of the House of Representatives, I made a statement alleging that for the purposes of United States income taxes your corporation treats oil royalty payments to the Saudi Arabian Government as tax paid to a foreign government and therefore deductible from income taxes due to the Government of the United States.

In view of the tremendous commitments of economic and military aid made by our Government to the Saudi Arabian Government, which promise dollars and soldiers to protect Saudi Arabia and the government of King Saud, it is extremely important for the American people to know what part of this tremendous investment in the Middle East flows back to the United States Treasury in the form of taxes. They are footing a tremendous bill and underwriting an obligation which may entail the lives of American citizens.

The American people, through their elected representatives, are expressing their good faith in pledging economic and military aid to stabilize the conditions in the Middle

East. It seems morally incumbent upon your corporation, which is the principal beneficiary of this situation, to make clear the intricacies of your organization and your compliance with the spirit as well as the letter of the Internal Revenue laws of the United States.

Your cooperation in this matter is very much needed to clear up the record.

Sincerely yours.

O. K., So Drop It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial of February 17 from the Indianapolis Star:

O. K., So Drop It

Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, told a House education subcommittee the other day that Congress might as well drop the idea of Federal aid to education unless something along that line is done this year. We had not expected such quick, official confirmation of our own recent editorial remarks that, "The urge for speed in Federal action stems from an obvious cause. It's almost now or never. The way things are going, pretty soon there won't be any more problem."

The way Folsom's testimony shapes up on analysis, the only problem bothering the Federal-aiders right now is not the shortage of school classrooms about which so much has been said. Rather, it is whether the Federal Government is going to get there fast enough to beat the States to supplying the money, thus allowing the Central Government to take out its percentage for the support of an expanding new branch of bureaucracy.

With unexpected and probably unintended candor, Folsom told the House subcommittee that States and school districts throughout the United States are holding up their own school-building projects until they see whether Federal aid will be forthcoming. Folsom added, "We ought to make up our minds. If we keep holding out hope, we'll be holding back construction. If we are not going to have Federal legislation, we ought to know it now." In other words, if the Federal Government doesn't hurry, the States will build their own classrooms.

Folsom's factfinding did not go far enough. The truth is that the States are overcoming the classroom problem right now. If, as he says, there are additional projects which are being held up to see which way the Federal money bag splits, that means there is no problem at all that could not be quickly solved by dropping the whole idea of Federal aid. Classrooms now being built by States and local communities are more than twice the number needed to take care of all the children in the country who are on half-day sessions. Building programs already blueprinted will not only replace existing obsolete facilities but also keep up with expected enrollment increases.

In the last 10 years the States and local communities have been catching up fast on the school overcrowding which resulted partially from building restrictions during World War II. Building exceeded current school population growth in that period by 179,000 classrooms. The excess construction whittled down the shortage left over from war and is on the verge of overcoming it entirely, while going on to meet future needs. No wonder Folsom says Congress had better drop the whole thing if it doesn't act this year.

The absurdity of Folsom's desire to get the Federal Government into the classroom-building business is apparent. The money for Federal construction would be supplied by the same taxpayers who supply money for State and locally controlled construction. It would pass through the hands of the same local officials, but with strings attached. Nowhere would fewer people, fewer expenses, or greater efficiency be involved. Federal construction would accomplish nothing that cannot be done better at the local level. It would only stack a gigantic Federal agency on top of the already existing State and local machinery. The man who pays the bill—the taxpayer—would simply get less for his dollar.

Since the only emergency involved in Federal aid to education is the Federal fear that there won't even be the pretense of an emergency to talk about next year, Congress can do everyone's pocketbook a service by accepting Folsom's alternative and forgetting the whole business.

TVA Handles a Flood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR.
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following reprint of an editorial from the New York Times entitled "TVA Handles a Flood," appearing in the Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tenn., February 14, 1957:

NONCONTROVERSIAL

As this newspaper recently said, TVA's great demonstration of how to handle a rampaging river will cause the great valley development to be copied in more and more distant lands. Preventing an economic blow of at least $50 million in Chattanooga, TVA was fulfilling a purpose even more important than its electric power setup.

The New York Times, in an editorial captioned "TVA Handles a Flood" points out that while there are arguments about TVA power, there can be none about the advantage of preventing a major flood. The New York Times declared:

"A lot has happened since 1933, when Congress directed the newly created Tennessee Valley Authority to regulate the stream flow of the Tennessee River primarily for the purpose of promoting navigation and controlling floods. Electrical power was to be produced so far as may be consistent with such purposes. During the intervening years TVA has produced enormous quantities of electricity, and because of the pressure of the Federal atomic plants it is actually producing by steam close to three-quarters of its generated power.

"But TVA still works at its original task. It has storage reservoirs capable of holding back 12 million acre-feet of water—or nearly enough to cover the whole State of Tennessee, if laid out flat, to a depth of about 6 inches. The reason that a good part of the valley including the city of Chattanooga, has not been inundated so far this year is that waters retained in the TVA storage dams cut the flood crest from about 52 feet to about 32 feet. A little damage was actually done at Chattanooga, but TVA probably saved the city somewhere between $50 and $100 million worth of damages.

"In order to have storage space for expected flood waters the reservoirs must be drawn down to relatively low levels. The result is that some of this water is spilled without turning the generators that produce electricity. A careful balance has to be maintained. To draw the reservoirs too low is wasteful. To keep them too high is to risk expensive flooding. So far TVA has been doing pretty well.

"The establishment of the power facilities of the TVA stirred up a controversy nearly 25 years ago that is still going on—although many of us believe that one of the great strokes of luck this country had during the Second World War was the existence of an agency that could feed power into the atomic plants. But there is no controversy about the advantage of not having floods."

A Great Plains Winter Wheat Farmer Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD the following article I have received from Mr. Wallace R. Cleaver, one of my constituents residing in Clark County, Kans., with reference to the farm situation:

Recently, a manufacturer said to me, on learning my business was that of winter wheat farming, "You farmers have surely had a good racket for the last few years. The Government has been guaranteeing a good price for your wheat and now, in addition to this protection for your business, you are paid for another crop each year in the form of soil-bank payments. I know this is true because, for the last year I've been hearing about it on the street, at our business meetings and on the radio." My reply was, "Yes, I have been hearing these same reports and not one of them has come from a wheat farmer; now, please listen to the truth from one who has spent his entire 60 years in the Great Plains, the last 40 of them being devoted to winter wheat farming. In order to help put the record straight, let me ask you a question: If, in 1953, you found it necessary, for the next 3 years to cut your factory production one-third from its normal output, reduce the selling price of your products 10 percent and pay increasingly higher prices for everything you would have to buy, how long would you have figured you could stay in business?" The factory owner's answer was, "About 1 year." "All right, I said, we wheat farmers of the Great Plains have been for the last 3 years trying to operate under just those conditions. In order to avoid stiff penalties for overseeding our wheat acres (above allotments fixed for us by the Government program), since 1953 we have reduced our normal seeding by one-third and the price guaranty in the form of Government loan rates has been lowered each of the 3 years for the wheat we produced on our skimpy acreages. Now, in regard to the soil-bank payments, we do appreciate them in this time of extreme drought in our area, but the purpose of these payments was to induce further reduction of seeded wheat acreages and not necessarily to add anything to our skimpy incomes. It merely happened that

severe drought conditions beat the Government payments to the punch in the further great reduction of wheat seeding in our Great Plains area. So we admit the soil bank money will help us hobble along." On parting, the manufacturer and I agreed with the Indian who said something like, "Do not judge a man until you have walked in his moccasins for two moons."

But when business picks up for us again in the form of normal rainfall, and conditions, perhaps as soon as next fall, become good for seeding of winter wheat, where do we go from there? Due to the last 4 or more years of short wheat crops, together with the added punishment of wheat-acreage restrictions, hundreds of thousands of wheat farmers are like myself in that they have nothing left but mortgages, empty wheat bins, and flat pocketbooks. We have again reached the status we suffered in the miserable thirties, the only difference being we went broke then on short crops and poor wheat prices with a dollar, if we had one, worth a dollar and a half; now, we're worse than "broke" for the same reasons with wheat acreage allotments added to the misery, with a dollar, if we have one, worth about 50 cents. With the present type of farm program continuing in effect, even if we could have our weather made to order, there can be no start for us on the road to financial recovery. Whether we accept the soil-bank payments or seed our small wheat-acreage allotments, in this era of "champagne spending," we will have to continue fighting a losing game with the prospect of nothing but "beer incomes." We were promised in 1953 if we'd go along with marketing quotas and acreage allotments for 2 or 3 years, there would be ample rewards for our sacrifice; the big wheat surplus would be greatly reduced and, as a result, we wheat farmers could return to seeding our normal acreages and higher prices for the wheat we raised. We were granted the bigger crops but they were of debts and mortgages, not wheat. The higher prices came, too, but for everything we have to buy and not for wheat. Now, after all of these years of drought and acreage reductions, we are informed the great so-called burdensome wheat surplus is still with us and that smaller wheat-acreage allotments and still lower wheat prices are in store for us. As a result of 3 years of control by this ill-conceived program which proved itself ineffective after the first year, losses to us farmers of the Great Plains have been many times what we may receive in the form of soil-bank payments. The introduction of the soil-bank program was an admission in itself that the acreage-allotment program has failed completely; but we were told, "Continue to take the medicine as prescribed, for in the long run it will be good for you."

This brings us to the question: "Why have these years of restricted plantings together with short crops failed to make any appreciable dent in the Nation's wheat surplus?" To almost any farmer in the Great Plains, the answer is obvious; we did not produce it so it had to come from the great area to the east of us known as the Corn Belt. Due to insufficient rainfall, we cannot increase our wheat yields by using commercial fertilizers. However, hundreds of thousands of our farmer neighbors to the east (according to reports from many representatives of farm organizations and from farmers themselves from various Corn Belt States) have been going all out in stepping up their wheat yields during the last 3 years. Whereas before wheat allotments came into being for the 1954 crop, corn, soybeans, and other crops were much preferred; since 1953 wheat has greatly gained in favor in the Corn Belt. Frequently, yields have been more than doubled by using a field on the farm with the best soil and by a greater expenditure for commercial fertilizers. This results, in many cases, in a much greater annual production of wheat on a given farm than normally raised, even though the acreage has been rduced in order to comply with the allotment program. What has been the incentive? First, probably the prospect of higher wheat prices resulting from the acreage reduction and drought in the Great Plains area and second, the continued low prices for corn and soybeans. If acres alone filled the wheat surplus bins of the Nation to overflowing, the allotment program would have attained its objective. But since we have learned by the method of trial and error that bushels, not acres, are responsible, why don't we do something about it?

Bushel, instead of acreage allotments, is the only effective and at the same time equitable type of program, or perhaps bushel marketing quotas without acreage allotments would be a better term. For what has been going on since the present program went into effect, let's take Farmer A as a typical example in the Corn Belt. A's base wheat acreage in 1953 was 40 and his normal yield was found to be 20 bushels per acre, making an average production for his farm at 800 bushels. In line with the acreage allotment for 1954, A was reduced to 30 acres with the mistaken idea his yield would be limited to 20 bushels per acre in 1954 and future years. A plants his allotment of 30 acres on one of his better fields and applies plenty of fertilizer, getting a 40 bushel per acre yield in 1954 or 1,200 bushels, a 50-percent increase over his former normal production of wheat. A repeats this procedure in 1955 and again in 1956. Now, let's see what happens to A with the proposed bushel-allotment program. We start with his normal base production of 800 bushels and set his 1958 bushel allotment or marketing quota (regardless of seeded acreage), at 600 bushels. If A decides to plant his entire farm to wheat and have all of his farm bins filled with wheat which cannot be sold, fed or otherwise turned into cash without a severe penalty, that is his hard luck, for 600 bushels is his annual quota. With the incentive removed to increase wheat production, A will no doubt return to his old standby crops of corn, soybeans, oats, alfalfa, and so forth, and forget about wheat. The expected higher wheat price did not come; therefore, Farmer A may have received little or no reward for increasing his wheat production over that of pre-wheat allotment years; however, in these days of cost-price squeeze for practically all farmers, he cannot justly be blamed for trying.

A typical case in the Great Plains area is that of Farmer B, who operates 600 acres of straight wheatland, as tenant, paying one-third, delivered to the nearest elevator, as the landlord's share of wheat produced. B's normal seeding, before allotments, was 450 acres and the remaining 150 was summer fallowed each year. The wheat allotment set for B under the present program is 300 acres with the normal yield of 16 bushels per acre. Two-thirds of a normal yield times B's allotment of 300 acres, at the present Government loan price of $1.90 per bushel, will barely pay a year's operating expenses. With the present program continuing in effect, B's farming situation is hopeless. The soil-bank payments, if he accepts them for leaving his farm out of production, will merely offset the expense of tillage operations on the 600 acres in an effort to prevent weeds from producing new seed crops and to keep the soil from blowing; or perhaps some of the money from these payments would be used for seeding of cover crops which would be left to protect the land.

The question may arise, "Why cannot B raise maize, kafir, or other crops on his land which is not in the acreage reserve, thereby adding to his income from soil-bank payments?" The answer is that over a large part of the Great Plains area, wheat is the only profitable crop which can be produced, especially with maize and kafir around the dollar-per-bushel mark. The so-called tighter soils are not well adapted to grain sorghums but grow good yields of wheat with sufficient rainfall, hence the reason for the term "straight wheat farm." The average Great Plains farmer has only one possibility of paying his debts, new and old, and putting his farm business back in the black; that of being permitted, under a new farm program, to seed his wheat acreage each fall without restrictions and limiting him only on the number of bushels of wheat which may be marketed from his farm each year in the same manner as has been proposed for A in the Corn Belt area. Again returning to the case of B, with 450 acres of winter wheat set up as the normal seeding for his farm and the average yield at 16 bushels per acre, the base production would be 7,200 bushels per year. Like A in the Corn Belt, B's marketing quota would be reduced 25 percent from the base production, permitting B, without penalty, to sell, feed, or obtain the CCC loan on 5,400 bushels of wheat each year. His two-thirds share of this quota, 3,600 bushels, at the present loan rate at B's nearest market, $1.90 per bushel, would bring $6,840 and this could well mean $1,000 profit for the year. If B should be lucky enough in any one year to produce wheat in excess of the marketing quota, the wheat can be stored in farm bins (his and the landlord's excess); if, in the following or subsequent years B's production is less than the farm's marketing quota, stored wheat may be marketed or fed or the CCC loan obtained without penalty, up to the amount required to equal the quota. When the Nation's wheat surplus is sufficiently reduced, both A in the Corn Belt and B in the Great Plains would be favored with an increase in their annual wheat-marketing quota. They should be favored also with better prices for all their products.

What can be wrong with changing to the type of program which has been outlined? It can work no hardship on farmers in the Corn Belt, but should succeed in bringing about the reduction in the raising of wheat in that area which was intended in the first place. It will stop this continued unjust punishment in the form of acreage wheat-planting restrictions for wheat farmers over the Great Plains area who have contributed little to the maintenance of the Nation's wheat surplus during the last 4 years. And there is no reason why such a program cannot be successfully administered and supervised. During and for several years after World War II, we handled many programs through State and county agricultural agencies and a good job was done because we had to do it. Those were emergency programs and so is this one, so let's get it done. It is regrettable but true that the policy of the National Government has been and is to urge not only we winter wheat producers but all farmers over the Nation, in times of war or other emergency periods, to produce the greatest possible amount of food and fiber. Then, after a farmer has invested in more and bigger equipment and has his farm geared to maximum production, the emergency has passed and demand for his products returns to normal.

In this period of time between wars and other emergencies, to the Government, farmers appear to be considered more or less a general nuisance. Certain farm commodities accumulate in storage to the extent of a 2 year's supply and to many men in high Government positions, the annual cost of this storage seems an outrage and an almost unbearable burden on the United States Treasury. These same men, however, may not hesitate in approving a multi-billion-dollar gift to foreign nations at the taxpayers' expense. Contrary to the thinking of some of these Government officials, we old timers who have seen more of famine than of feast, firmly believe the day will come when every pound of surplus stored food and fiber will be needed badly. In the meantime, the

millions of dollars spent by the United States Government for storage and care of these surpluses stay for the most part in the United States and a goodly share of these millions goes back to the Government Treasury in the form of various Federal taxes. But practically all of the billions sent abroad apparently goes down the drain. If the American farmers, whose business makes up the backbone of the Nation's economy, could have the same consideration from their Federal Government as is afforded so-called big business, they would not, at this time, be forced to pay wartime prices for the things they have to buy and receive peacetime prices for their products.

Another feature of the present farm program which we farmers believe could be changed for the better is the "Parity Formula." We believe that using the years 1909–14 as a basis for wheat parity price, and other grains for that matter, is comparable to the United States Post Office Department using the days of the Pony Express as a basis from which to determine salaries for present day mail carriers. The average price my father received for wheat during that period was from 90 cents to 95 cents per bushel; corn, 50 cents to 55 cents; maize, kaffir, feterita and cane seed, 45 cents to 50 cents. (The higher prices mentioned were for No. 1 grade.) These are prices received at the nearest market, Bloom, Kans., 1909 through 1914. The 1956 Government support prices were approximately double the above-mentioned amounts for wheat and maize and if corn loans were being made in that area, I presume the support price would be in about the same proportion. My father, having moved to Kansas from Illinois in 1889, would plant some corn each spring but seldom raised any; he was the first man to plant maize in the area and soon learned that wheat was the only crop which could be raised profitably on that farm, as far as grain was concerned. I operate the same farm today and the same things hold true. Below is listed comparative costs of items: 1909–14 and 1956:

Comparative costs of items

1909–14		1956	
Equipment to farm 600 acres; includes 15 horses or mules, harness, new machinery; no land or buildings	$4,000.00	New equipment to farm same; includes tractor and required machinery, etc.; no land or buildings	$16,000.00
Interest on investment at 6 percent	240.00	Same	960.00
Depreciation per year, 10-year basis	400.00	Same	1,600.00
If land owned (mother owns unimproved, one-fourth tax)	15.00	Same; one-fourth still unimproved	101.64
Business trips to town, average 30 miles	50.00	Same, with mechanized farming	400.00
Telephone expense	12.00	Same	120.00
Hired labor, per day, plus board	1.00	Same, for general work	7.50
Semiskilled (repair wells, binders, etc.)	1.50	Same, driving tractor, etc	10.00
Carpenter, skilled, to build farm building, per hour	.30	Same (if obtainable), per hour	3.00
Carpenter's helper	.20	Same	2.00
Doctor's office-call fee, including pills	.50	Same, but no pills included	3.00
Doctor's call at farm, 30-mile trip	5.00	Same (if obtainable)	30.00
Hospital room, private	2.00	Same (if obtainable)	16.00
Repairs and maintenance, farm equipment, 1 year	75.00	Same	750.00
Personal taxes on farm equipment, 1 year	20.00	Same	120.00
Fire insurance, farm building and equipment	25.00	Same (including tractor, combine, car, truck, pickup, etc.)	300.00
Pair heavy denim bib overalls	1.00	Same quality overalls	3.00
Pair heavy workshoes	2.00	Same quality shoes	6.00
Federal income tax, 4 percent, probably none.		Federal, from 20 percent up and up.	
State of Kansas, none.		Kansas income tax, from 1 to 4 percent.	
Federal excise tax; automobile, truck, and pickup tax, gasoline tax; State sales tax; social-security tax; and many others, as well as taxes on money required to pay taxes, none.		All of them, and more being added.	

As can be seen from the above data, about the only similarity between farming during the 1909–14 period and 1956 is the fact that in both cases the soil is tilled. In this highly mechanized age with the farmers' operational costs being established and increased each year by the Nation's big corporations and the Federal Government, why not select a base period which would be workable for determining parity prices for farm commodities and one which is in keeping with modern times; not the horse and buggy era. In 1946 I talked to many wheat farmers over the western one-third of Kansas after the wheat crop of that summer was harvested. Wheat was bringing around $2 per bushel and a popular make of wheat farming tractor, powered to pull a 10-foot oneway plow to a satisfactory depth, could be brought new for $1,600. (At this writing, the same make and type of tractor, with perhaps a couple more horsepower, costs, new, $3,000.) Those farmers agreed, 1946 should replace 1909–14. Why not?

George Washington and the Importance of Ideas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, it seems proper and fitting that on the anniversary of the birth of George Washington we should consider the great contribution he made to mankind in promoting and advancing the idea of self-government and the freedom and liberty of man to use his own initiative in improving himself, and helping others to do likewise.

George Washington's high ideals, his great courage, his patience, and his great talents were freely given in establishing the United States, and in following the ideas of Washington we have become the greatest nation on earth.

I am including in my remarks the following article by Dr. John D. Garwood on the importance of ideas, which I recommend to all Members of Congress to read:

THE IMPORTANCE OF IDEAS

(By Dr. John D. Garwood, professor at Fort Hayes, Kans., State College)

A well-known philosopher of the 20th century observed: "The ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed, the world is ruled by little else. Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back. I am sure that the power of vested interests is vastly exaggerated compared with the gradual encroachment of ideas."

Victor Hugo once said that nothing in this world is so powerful as an idea whose time has come.

Another philosopher long ago said: "Tell me today what the philosopher thinks, the university professor expounds, the schoolmaster teaches, the scholar publishes in his treatises and textbooks, and I shall prophesy the conduct of individuals, the ethics of businessmen, the schemes of political leaders, the plans of economists, the pleading of lawyers, the decisions of judges, the legislation of lawmakers, the treaties of diplomats, and the decisions of a state a generation hence."

Throughout the centuries man has acknowledged that the pen is mightier than the sword, that ideas live on past battlefields and shape the conduct of man wherever he may be. It is not necessarily that an idea be right that makes it dominant, it is that it dominates the waking hours of some thinker. He in turn interprets it and puts it forth as the truth, and this truth in turn leads to a course of action among men.

Thus, reasonable and prudent men are persuaded that this idea represents the good way of life. These men include our lawmakers, our judges, our businessmen, our teachers, our laymen. It is in this fashion that a nation's economic and social philosophy is formed, changed, or maintained.

The American Revolution represented a new economic and social frame of reference. The Founding Fathers believed that: "Each of us has an inalienable right to life. The right-to-life concept requires the right to protect one's life and right to sustain that life, sustenance of life being the fruits of one's labor or, bluntly, one's honestly acquired property. The right to life without these secondary and corollary rights is utterly meaningless. To secure these rights we will appoint ourselves an agent. It shall be the duty of this agent to do for all of us collectively but equally that which we have a right to do for ourselves individually. The agent (government) shall defend our lives and our livelihoods, shall invoke a common justice, and shall keep the records incidental thereto. It will otherwise leave us free to pursue our own interests, whatever our interests may be."

These ideas were revolutionary in that the people had made themselves completely sovereign. Government was relegated to the position of a servant of the people. The individual was to keep the fruits of his labor.

The 20th century has been one of change of ideas in economics. The magnitude of the conflict in labor and industrial relations, the demand for protective legislation of various kinds, the demand for price supports and subsidies, the stupendous costs of two world wars in a generation, the concomitant problem of inflation and debt management, the stringent tax program necessitated by increased Government spending, these are forces of imponderable import on the thinking in the field of economics.

In the midst of change in ideas concerning the truth, in a half century where concepts have been streamlined and tailored to particular situations, it may be worthwhile to turn back and examine the initial premises upon which our economy was founded.

Professional economists will readily recognize the premises as those expounded by the great Scot economist Adam Smith in his epoch making book Wealth of Nations. These were the ideas upon which our capitalistic ideology was founded.

How should an economic system be organized? The classical economists of which Smith was one, talked in terms of competition as the regulator of the economy, i. e., competition as an allocator of resources, as the determinant of prices—determined in a competitive market. Thus, what is to be produced, how it should be produced, and who shall get it, all are determined by price and competition freely operative.

The classicists postulated private ownership of the means of production as a necessary ingredient if a nation were to become wealthy and powerful. Thus, private property and right of inheritance were deemed essential. Profit was visualized as the carrot to induce production and motivate activity. Firms would go into a field if a profit were possible and thus produce only those goods wanted by consumers who were willing to pay the price.

Freedom of contract and the rights and duties of contract were part of the capitalistic ideology.

The principle of laissez faire dominated classical economics. It was believed that if Government would keep hands off the economy, self-interest of individuals would lead them into channels of activity most salutary for themselves and hence most beneficial for society. It was thought that the public weal would be maximized only by a minimum of Government interference. The Government would presumably protect its citizens from foreign foes and from brigands and lawbreakers at home.

Individual freedom, unfettered economic and social activity, is the sine qua non of Smith's thinking. In his Theory of Moral Sentiments (1759) on the Character of Virtue he makes these observations:

"As he (the individual) grows up, he soon learns that some care and foresight are necessary for providing the means of gratifying those natural appetities, of procuring pleasure and avoiding pain, of procuring the agreeable and avoiding the disagreeable temperature of heat and cold. In the proper direction of this care and foresight consists the are of preserving and increasing what is called his external fortune.

"Though it is in order to supply the necessities and conveniences of the body that the advantages of external fortune are originally recommended to us, yet we cannot live long in the world without perceiving that the respect of equals, our credit and rank in the society we live in, depend very much upon the degree in which we possess, or are supposed to possess, those advantages. The desire of becoming the proper objects of this respect, of deserving and obtaining credit and rank among our equals, is perhaps the strongest of all our desires; and our anxiety to obtain the advantages of fortune is, accordingly much more excited and irritated by this desire than by that of supplying all the necessities and conveniences of the body, which are always very easily supplied.

"In the steadiness of his industry and frugality, in his steadily sacrificing the ease and enjoyment of the present moment for the probable expectation of the still greater ease and enjoyment of a more distant but more lasting period of time, the prudent man is always supported and rewarded by the entire approbation of the impartial spectator, and of the representative of the impartial spectator, the man within the breast.

"The wisdom of every state of commonwealth endeavors, as well as it can, to employ the force of the society to restrain those who are subject to its authority from hurting or disturbing the happiness of one another. The rules which it establishes for this purpose constitute the civil and criminal law of each particular state of the country. The principles upon which those rules either are or ought to be founded, are the subject of a particular science of all sciences by far the most important, but hitherto, perhaps, the least cultivated—that of natural jurisprudence; concerning which it belongs not to our present subject to enter into any detail. A sacred and religious regard not to hurt or disturb in any respect the happiness of our neighbor, even in those cases where no law can properly protect him, constitutes the character of the perfectly innocent and just man.

"Every man, as the Stoics used to say, is first and principally recommended to his own care; and every man is certainly, in every respect, fitter and abler to take care of himself than of any other person. Every man feels his own pleasures and his own pains more sensibly than those of other people. The former are the original sensations—the latter the reflected or sympathetic images of those sensations. The former may be said to be the substances—the latter the shadow."

This concept of individual well being is nowhere more striking in evidence than in the early history of our country. When the early settlers came to this country each family made the things it needed, i. e., the family grew its own food, spun its own yarn, made its own cloth and clothes, built its own house. The pioneer knew that his welfare depended upon his individual efforts.

As the number of settlers increased and towns came into being, people stopped doing everything for themselves. One man would fish, another would grow wheat. Another would make shoes.

When the fisherman traded fish for wheat and the farmer wheat for fish, each knew he was trading his own work for the work of another. Because each knew how hard he had worked, each wanted to get the most he could for his work. Hence, each would bargain very competitively. If trade occurred, it took place because each thought it to his advantage to trade. Money lubricated the wheels of trade and commerce.

Many of the early settlers came to America to get away from the force of government. The concept of the individual and his rights to act singly or in concert as he wished, was burned deep in the hearts of these people from the coasts of Europe.

In both Plymouth and Jamestown the colonies started out by putting all their food in a common storehouse and letting each family share it. The plan did not work well. Unmarried men did not like to work to support the wives and children of other men. Fathers of families did not like their wives to wash clothes for unmarried men. Lazy colonists did not do their share—and the hard-working ones did not like to raise food for the lazy.

In both settlements the people almost starved—then they stopped trying to live in common. They let each person work for himself and his family. Conditions improved almost at once. The colonists soon had enough to eat.

As trade increased, stores, warehouses, and ships were needed. Farsighted men saw that the colonists would be willing to pay for these additional trade conveniences. Thus, these men looked ahead, saved enough money to stock the stores, build the ships, and the warehouses.

For their work these men were rewarded with profits in place of wages.

The concept of the rights of private property became engendered in the minds of people. It was apparent that all profited by respecting the right of each individual to use his capacities and property as he saw fit.

Briefly, although the colonists did not speak the academic jargon and the great majority of them did not know of Adam Smith, nevertheless, experience indicated that Smith's economic philosophy worked.

Thus, competition, the free market, respect for private property, rewards for work, and limited Government action made for a hearty, prosperous, and dynamic economy. Where these principles were violated the group suffered. The colonists learned their lessons well.

Following Smith's rules of individual and collective conduct, Americans have won the highest standard of living on earth. In less than two lifetimes they swarmed across the mountains and plains to the Pacific Ocean. Everywhere they went they invented some better way to do something. They invented the cotton gin, the steel plow, the reaper, and interchangeable machine parts. They put the steam engine to work. They made the first practical use of electric motors. Each of these inventions and developments made it possible to get more work done in less time with less human energy.

At the present time in the United States machines do about 94 percent of the physical work, animal power 3 percent, and manpower 3 percent. In 1850 it was manpower 15 percent, animal power 79 percent, and machine power 6 percent. As late as 1900 it was manpower 10 percent, animal power 52 percent, and machine power 38 percent.

Use of machines means capital invested, invested capital results from savings, and savings accrue because the saver has not spent all of his money for consumption. Our economic frame of reference has created a situation where more could be produced than consumed and, at the same time, has permitted these savings to be used as the owner saw fit to use them. The end product of this has meant the highest standard of living in the world.

In 1956 the people of the United States, with a sixth of the land surface of the world, with about 6½ percent of the world's population, produced 60 percent of the world's goods. The United States gross national product in 1956 was at an alltime high of $412 billion, a figure larger than the most optimistic had hoped for.

The United States spent more on highways alone than the entire value of Norway's economy. New-home construction totaled more than the total economy of Spain. New-car construction was greater than the combined economies of Mexico, Denmark, and Australia.

Americans own three-fourths of all the automobiles of the world. They own half of the world's telephones, half of the world's radios, three-fourths of the television sets.

Two-thirds of all oil utilized is used in the United States half of the world's coffee consumption takes place in the United States. Two-thirds of the world's silk finds its way to American markets.

American factory workers earn more real wages than any worker in the world. The United States factory worker can buy about four suits of clothes with a month's wages; the Russian a half a suit.

An American worker earns about $10 in an 8-hour day, the Englishman about $4.22, the Russian under communism about 99 cents.

In the field of housing we have about 8 times as much living space per person as the people of Russia. More than half of all American families own their own homes.

Americans are so used to having enough to eat that they forget that about half of the people of the world go to bed each night hungry. The Americans are about the only large group of people in the world who never has had a famine. Until a little over a hundred years ago famine came frequently even in Europe.

Mankind has been on the earth a long time. Records go back about 6,000 years. Two-thirds of known history happened before the birth of Christ. It was 1,492 years from the birth of Christ to the discovery of America. It was almost 300 years more before our Constitution was adopted. We have been under our Constitution less than 200 years.

Our life as a nation is only a wink in the eye of history. Yet in that short time Americans have made a record that exceeded all man's previous hopes. Two of the main reasons for this almost unbelievable achievement have been individual freedom of choice and personal freedom of action.

We overlook the virtue of the old, the tried, the proven. There are some old things that made this country. There is the old virtue of religious faith. There are the old virtues of integrity and the whole truth. There is the old virtue of incorruptible service and honor in public office.

There are the old virtues of economy in Government, of self-reliance, thrift, and individual liberty. There are the old virtues of patriotism, real love of country and willingness to sacrifice for it. These old ideas are very inexpensive. They would even help to win hot and cold wars.

But some of these old things are slipping badly in American life. And if they slip too far, the lights will go out in in America, even of we win these hot and cold wars.

Rural Slums Mold Indian of Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include part of an article by Carl Rowan, Minneapolis Tribune staff writer, printed in the February 18, 1957, issue. Mr. Rowan presents a vivid word portrayal of the extreme poverty and hardships of everyday living experienced by the Standing Rock Sioux Indians. My home is on the Standing Rock and I can verify the dire need of many of these people. One of the greatest challenges facing our Nation is the need to improve opportunity for our first Americans. The plight of many American Indians today, approaches a national disgrace.

The article follows:

ON THE RESERVATION: SANCTUARY FOR MISERY—RURAL SLUMS MOLD INDIAN OF TODAY

You walk down what seems an endless dirt road, leaning against a chill wind that sets the dust dancing in little pirouettes. All around you, ugly brown hills hide the horizon.

A round-faced child in an oversized red dress—probably the gift from some church mission—screams as she patters barefoot along the road.

To your left stands a cluster of cabins—logs stuck together with mud. Behind them the day's wash for many families flutters in the breeze.

Four small sets of eyes peek from a hole in a one-room cabin where you stop to chat with with an old man who sits watching chokecherry patties drying under a brush tent.

The 11 persons in that cabin found cool refuge under these matted branches during the summer when the sun beat down so mercilessly on the barren prairie.

Now the bright white spire of a little church breaks the pattern of squalor and stands, with the red gasoline tank in front of the rickety post office, as the first noticeable symbols of the 20th-century America.

This is Indian country—Bullhead, S. Dak. You are on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation.

This land is in America, but not of it. The people who live here are Americans, but they are not quite citizens.

These are Indians—frail old men, weary old women, crying little girls and undernourished little boys almost hopelessly wedded to land once forced upon them as perpetual sanctuary.

They are people tied by time to a land that was to be their refuge against the invading white man as long as the grass shall grow.

The grass grows exceedingly short here these days, and few white men seem eager to invade this sanctuary. Still the Indian stays, for this is home; the world outside has gone off and left him, unprepared and unable to prepare himself to be a part of it.

You move on to Cannon Ball, to Wakpala, to Fort Yates, and Little Eagle, and the picture is the some: 1,064,122 acres of rural slums.

Here families try to live on less than $800 a year in a country enjoying the highest standard of living known to mankind—a country where the average family lives on four times as much.

Out of every 100 families, you find 61 of them in log cabins, most of them of a single room; 15 of them in inadequate frame dwellings; 24 of them in tents, tarpaper shacks, and miscellaneous dwellings of unbelievable crudity.

Russia Wants All Without Risk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, experience must, or at least should, teach us that the insatiable appetite for power and control of Russia will stop at nothing to take all she can with force if necessary, without risk, if possible.

Here is an excellent article by Harold Lamb on Russia's mad drive for power and control:

RUSSIA WANTS ALL WITHOUT RISK

Once a brilliant statesman was asked the question: "What does Russian policy want?" He answered: "It's really quite simple. The Russians want anything they can get."

That was said a half century ago, but it's still the best answer to the question. With one amendment, however. They want what they can get outside their frontiers, without risk. That means without war.

The record of history shows that they move with military force only when the way is safe. During the autumn of 1939, for instance, the Red army occupied half of Poland only after the German Wehrmacht had crushed the Polish Army; Moscow pinched off the small Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia only when that same powerful German Army was occupied in taking over most of Europe.

Muscovite power did invade Finland that winter, expecting Finnish resistance to be a pushover, which did not prove to be the case. Years later Moscow pushed Balkan Communist forces into war, to take over control in Greece, and when the Yugoslavs were excommunicated, that effort had to stop; the North Korean Army was utilized in Korea, to be backed up by the Chinese Communist manpower, not the Russian. Through all those years Moscow was careful to avoid risk, and it is doing the same in the Middle East today.

At the same time, however, Moscow got full control of the outer narrow Sea of Okhotsk, off Japan, by the very safe process of accepting it as a gift from us and our allies; she claimed control of the Baltic by simply occupying what had been the Polish and German Baltic coast; she tried to round out her hold on the Caspian in 1945–46 by taking over the Iranian coast but was warned off; she moved to "protect" the strategic Dardanelles Strait on behalf of her satellites, Bulgaria and Rumania, but the Turks would have none of such protection. (An American general officer at AMAT in Turkey told me a couple of years later: "We estimate it would cost the Soviet Union 750,000 casualties to fully invade Turkey.") No such attack was made.

That is one reason why the Baghdad Pact has become important. Both Turkey and Iran have a frontier of close to 1,000 miles with the Red army outposts; the Afghan-Soviet frontier stretches for 600 miles, ending in the mountainous corner of Pakistan.

Iraq does not adjoin the territory of the Soviet Union but stands between Turkey and Iran squarely in the path now sought by the Muscovites toward the great oil fields and the southern ocean. Accordingly both Turkey and Iran have old trade ties and hence economic interests with the Muscovite state.

Singly, none of the four pact-frontage nations could hope to withstand a fullscale Soviet invasion for long. United, they could make such an invasion a painful and costly experience for Moscow. With their combined frontier (except for Afghanistan, which was visited by Messrs. Khrushchev and Bulganin 14 months ago) backed as it now is by the power of the United States, the way to military invasion of the rich Middle East by Moscow appears to be blocked as long as the pact holds good. The cost outweighs the possible profits.

Accordingly the pact drew upon it the ire of Marshal Bulganin in his summing-up address of December 1955, to the Supreme Soviet, as—he proclaimed—"a military grouping" and "a manifestation of colonialism in a new form."

There must be force available to the Western Powers to use at need against Moscow's moves in the Middle East. That force must be great enough for the planners in the Kremlin to estimate the cost to them in meeting it.

With the withdrawal of the British armed forces from the region, beginning with India and ending at Egypt, this potential restraining power can only be supplied by the United States—until British prestige is restored again, which may take a long time.

The hour the equation shifts, and the profit of invasion (in any form) outweighs the risk, Moscow is capable of making use of force. That was proved late last October when the unfortunate Israeli-French-British attack on Egyptian territory was launched. Almost overnight Moscow's policy in Hungary changed from conciliation and withdrawal of troops to a return to punishing

military occupation. The lesson of Budapest must not be forgotten in thinking of the Middle East.

An American intelligence officer with 5 years' experience of countering Moscow's moves in Berlin put it this way: "I don't believe the Russians here have a fixed plan; but they are very quick to take advantage of any mistakes, including their own."

Even while the brief battle for the Suez Canal was going on, Moscow broadcast its now-famous offer to send 100,000 volunteers to Egypt's aid. Those volunteers never existed, and the offer was a bluff. But it caused a good deal of confusion at a most critical time in the councils of the Western Powers.

Radio broadcasts are cheap, and subversion in outlying countries by Moscow-trained technicians or local agents entails little risk for Moscow itself.

We are familiar enough with the efforts of Moscow to break down any western alliance, such as NATO, to attack American prestige in Middle East lands (as oil imperialists or warmongers or—of late—colonializers) and with Moscow's moves to gain a foothold on the Suez Canal, or the vast oilfields of Arabia, Iraq, and Iran. But it is not so apparent that Moscow can combine an open offer of economic aid with a concealed threat of force.

That happened in Iran in 1945–46. Iran was then a member of the United Nations; at the Teheran Conference no less a person than Stalin had pledged her economic and territorial integrity. Then, openly, Moscow requested an oil concession in the northern Province of Azerbaijan, to establish a new economic base, it was said, for the region.

More silently, members of the Soviet Embassy confided in members of the Iranian Parliament that the Soviet Union needed northern Iran as a security zone. One parliamentarian was deeply puzzled by this term, new to him. "As security against what?" he asked me. "An invasion of the Soviet Union by Iranians?" Then he thought it over. "If we concede them northern Iran, then they will require southern Iran as a security zone for the north. And after that we would have to move into the sea."

At the same time, in complete silence, Muhammid Said, the Prime Minister, was summoned to the Soviet Embassy—where Stalin and Churchill and Roosevelt had been toasting his country not so many months before—and he was told: "If the concession of Azerbaijan is not granted, we cannot answer for the consequences to your country."

It was not granted, Muhammid Said resigned, and the Parliament stalled until hard pressure by the United States and Great Britain in the United Nations forced the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Province. The risk of seizing it had become greater than the gain in holding it.

So long as that is true of the other countries, as well as Iran, peace can be maintained in the Middle East.

Soviet Espionage and the American Communist Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 5, 1957, I included in my remarks a brief account by John O'Donnell of a notable address on Soviet Espionage and the American Communist Party in the Nation's Capital on January 31, 1957, by Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby before the 27th Annual Convention of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies.

Since that time I have received the full text of General Willoughby's statement as edited by him and distributed by the American Coalition. Accompanying it is the following editorial note by its author, concerning the address and his distinguished career in the United States Army:

An impartial analysis of political, economic and military events in the critical areas of the world, derived from confidential sources, with emphasis on facts that have not been made fully public. Editor: Maj. Gen. C. A. Willoughby, United States Army, retired. MacArthur's chief of intelligence, 1939–51; instructor in United States service schools 1930–39. Attaché American Embassies in Venezuela, Columbia, and Ecuador, 1923–29; writer, lecturer, publisher, Ustad Publication Karl Marx series. Author: Maneuver in War (1939), The Sorge Espionage Case (1947), The Spanish Bridgehead (1948), Intelligence in War (1950), The Shanghai Conspiracy (1952), MacArthur: 1941–1951 (1954), contributor to Cosmopolitan, Reader's Digest, Freeman, and other publications. Awards: (United States): Distinguished Service Medal, Distinguished Service Cross, SS; LM. (British): OBE. (France): LH; MH AE. (Philippine): DSC. (Venezuela): OL. (Ecuador): AC; OM (Netherlands): CO and N. (Italy): SM and L, COI.

To make General Willoughby's valuable contribution readily accessible to responsible agencies of our Government, especially congressional investigating committees, and the country at large, under leave granted to extend, I include the full text:

SOVIET ESPIONAGE AND THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY—ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. CHARLES A. WILLOUGHBY, UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED

This report is limited to strictly personal experiences, based on eyewitness observations, as MacArthur's chief of intelligence, in the period of 1939–51. A complete documentation, aggregating over a million words, was filed with Washington security agencies and certain congressional commmittees, under the title: "A Partial Documentation of the Sorge Espionage Case," printed in Tokyo.

A condensed, popular version appeared under the title "Shanghai Conspiracy" (E. P. Dutton, N. Y., 1952) and some reference is again made in my MacArthur: 1941–51 (McGraw Hill Co., N. Y., 1954).

In time of war, military intelligence is concerned with observations of the enemy and estimates as to his potential; in time of peace, it is concerned with security, sabotage, and subversion through a counter-intelligence section—a sort of military FBI. Based on Tokyo, the field of investigation covered communism in Asia and espionage in Japan, under Soviet direction.

We made a number of important discoveries through years of painstaking research. We found international Communists, including Americans, operating from Shanghai to San Francisco. The creeping menace could not be isolated. It reached everywhere. It was global and it followed a recognizable pattern.

Under the Potsdam Declaration (as much an instrument of folly and evil as the Yalta Conferences which recently shocked the world) we were compelled to open up the Japanese jails, ostensibly to liberate political prisoners. We also liberated a fine crop of assorted criminals including a Russian espionage ring under a fabulous master spy, by the name of Richard Sorge.

The Sorge case is a classic of its kind. It revealed in detail how Russian espionage and subversion operate, in a remarkable example of infinite patience and global, long-range planning. It took the Russian over 20 years to establish his cover, his identity, as a roving journalist. In the end they succeeded in planting him in the German Embassy in Tokyo, as press attaché. Prior to that time, he worked in China, with headquarters in Shanghai, with important links with American collaborators, supplied by the American Communist Party.

Sorge's embassy position gave him access to German high-level information. But he also had powerful Japanese collaborators: Hidemi Ozaki who had access to Prince Konoye, the Japanese Foreign Minister, and Prince Saionji who moved in highest social and governmental circles. Communist infiltration in Government is now recognized as almost inevitable. We need only recall the cases of Hiss, White, Burgess, MacLean, and others.

The significant point about Prince Saionji, however, is the fact that he was associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations; then and now, he was the head of the Japanese Branch. This is where past history meets the present. This institute has been under recent congressional investigation. The Committee on the Judiciary, of the 82d Congress has indicted the institute: "as an instrument of Communist policy." It was used to promote the interest of the Soviet Union, a vehicle to orientate American-Far Eastern policies toward Communist objectives.

Sorge, Saionji, and Ozaki operated exactly in this sense—they worked for a collision of Japan and the United States. In that respect, they shaped history. Historically, Japan and Russia were competitors along the Siberian border. The Russians maintained strong forces in Siberia that were badly needed in Europe.

Conversely, certain interests in Washington worked for war with Japan. The congressional committee investigating the IPR said: "* * * A group of persons operating within the 'Institute of Pacific Relations' exerted a substantial influence on the United States far eastern policy policy—to orientate this policy toward Communist objectives—to accommodate Communist ends."

The motivation of the Japanese and American branches of the IPR were obvious. A Japanese-American war could only benefit Russia accommodating Communist ends. It worked out that way. In October 1941, the Japanese decided to move south toward Manila and Pearl Harbor. This is historically important. Freed from a Japanese threat to Siberia, Stalin moved his eastern division to the European theater and was able to stop Hitler.

Richard Sorge, the master spy, was fully advised of this plan as early as October 1941 and relayed this vital information to Moscow, to Stalin. This message changed the course of World War II. We had no such advance warning, and the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor took place. While a number of Americans were associated with Sorge at various times, there was no one to warn Washington. Likewise, Stalin made it a point not to advise London. Then and there I decided to concentrate on Sorge's American associates.

Sorge's greatest triumph was short-lived. The October message was his last. He was arrested by the Japanese police, as well as some members of his ring, his principal Japanese assistant Ozaki, and Klausen, his radio operator. His transmitter was moved frequently. It is typical of the IPR ramifications, that one Gunther Stein, a British journalist of the Manchester Guardian and

an IPR member, sheltered Sorge's apparatus for some time.

In the period 1941–44 (when he was executed) Sorge wrote a revealing set of personal memoirs; he never doubted that his Russian masters would bail him out. When they failed to rescue him, he wrote quite openly. The trial record, as well as the more important memoirs, were seized by me. A study of Sorge's papers led us straight to China, to Shanghai. There I was able to obtain a fairly complete file of the Shanghai International Police, a British and French prewar institution.

We found evidence of the communization of China, as a long-range plan, directed by the Third International, the Soviet apparatus for foreign subversion. More than 20 years ago, the American Communist Party sent their highest officials to China: Earl Browder, Eugene Dennis, W. Haskell, J. H. Dolson, George Hardy, etc. The master plan was traced to an even earlier period, to a conference in Hankow, attended by British, French, Indian, and German delegates.

Following the general Communist pattern, applied in every country, Earl Browder established a front organization, the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. We have many such fronts in the United States. Under innocuous titles, their business is sabotage and subversion. Browder's work followed a well-defined pattern:

i. Infiltration of labor unions in key industries.

ii. Organization of maritime and dock workers.

iii. Formation of goon squads, for riots and plant sabotage.

From industrial disorder to revolution is only a short step. The Soviets actually conduct special schools to train these agitators, the expert leaders of future fifth columns. That's how it was done in Spain, Greece, Korea, British Guiana, and Guatemala. The loot now behind the Iron Curtain was acquired by these postgraduates in treason and revolution. Tonkin and North Korea are the latest examples.

The virus of communism works slowly. The dates when these American Commies gained their spurs in China may sound like ancient history—but they are still with us: Earl Browder became the Secretary General of the American Communist Party. He was succeeded by Eugene Dennis, who worked with Sorge in Shanghai under the alias of Paul Walsh. H. T. Dolson operated for years in Cincinnati until the FBI picked him up recently in their arrest of second-string Communist leaders—and there were many others. But there was no one to warn about Pearl Harbor. It had to happen because it suited Russia's interest.

As we began to track down these people, we ran across a woman, the late Agnes Smedley. She had worked with Sorge in China in 1935. She was a writer of Communist literature, known as such for years. An intimate of the Chinese General Chu-Teh, she accompanied him and his army in their retreat from Chiang Kai-shek, in the thirties. She wrote a book about it. Her dedication read: "To my blood brothers of the Ninth Red Army."

What made her interesting is that she turned out to be a protegee of Harold Ickes, a former Secretary of the Interior. There is some agitation, at this time, about leftist leanings of certain tax-exempt foundations. It is no surprise, that Miss Smedley enjoyed the opulent benefits of such a foundation.

Tokyo developed the Sorge material over a period of years. By 1949, we have filed something like a million words. The documentation was complete, incontestable, checked by the best legal talent available to MacArthur's Headquarters. Copies were filed with certain congressional committees and the FBI.

After waiting for 3 years, the War Department released a minor part of this story. It became an overnight journalistic sensation. The press was waiting for details which Tokyo was entirely able to furnish. Suddenly, an incredulous Tokyo Headquarters learned that Washington had repudiated its own release.

The Army Public Relations officer stated flatly: "We have no proof to back up the charges against Miss Smedley. No names should have been used." He must have known of the successive Tokyo reports. What pressures induced him to deny their existence? But there was worse to come: the Secretary of War himself took up the cudgels in behalf of Miss Smedley. On February 27, 1949, he appeared on Meet the Press and said: "The spy release was made inadvertently. The Army should run for cover." He must have known of the successive Tokyo reports. What pressures induced Secretary Royall to repudiate his own release and the reports of a commander of the caliber of MacArthur? We challenged the Secretary at once in an open broadcast. Miss Smedley, whom the Communist Party used as a feminine front, was sufficiently encouraged to sue for libel accepted promptly and she lapsed into prudent silence.

Then Harold Ickes got into the act. This crafty politician (who hated MacArthur for some obscure reason) published a syndicated column, at the time. He delighted in being known as "the old curmudgeon," a completely phony phrase, suggesting rugged homespun, cantankerous honesty. He orated: "* * * No one who knows Miss Smedley would ever accuse this courageous, intelligent American citizen to stoop to spy for any country—not even her own, to which she is so deeply attached."

All these alarms were sufficient to scare the press away from a story that Washington itself apparently repudiated. By these maneuvers, the early exposure of international communism, involving American Communist Party, was discouraged, stopped, emasculated.

At this point, indignant congressional committees stepped in. The House Un-American Activities Committee issued a subpena for Smedley. They found that she had skipped the country, although there was a clamp on her passport and was finally traced to England. Gunther Stein, who had harbored Sorge's radio transmitter, also vanished at the same time.

In England, Smedley was engaged in writing a biography of her friend General Chu-Teh who also happened to be the Red commander of Chinese "volunteers" in Korea. When the committee applied pressure to compel Smedley's return for testimony, she died in London under mysterious circumstances, which must be regarded as an astonishing "coincidence in timing" and silenced her forever.

Indicative of her real feeling for America Smedley left her residuary estate to General Chu-Teh, the Chinese Communist commander, as "sole heir of royalties due from published works, United States Government bonds, and anything of value." Her will ordered her body cremated and her ashes flown to China, to General Chu-Teh, "there to be laid to rest at any place designated by him." Events have a conclusive way of answering Ickes and Royall.

The ashes of Ickes' protege were placed in a magnificent marble shrine, especially erected in her honor by the Red Chinese Government. This was a tell-tale distinction for an American citizen, at a time when United States troops were piling up their dead on the dismal battlefields of North Korea. Suggestive of the incredible geographical range of the Communist conspiracy, I saw a recent picture of Smedley's shrine. I spotted several individuals: D. D. Cosamby, head of an Indian delegation; Rewi Alley from New Zealand, and one Dr. John A. Kingsbury, a former relief administrator of the city of New York. I naturally raise the question of what Kingsbury was doing in China, at a time when the conscripts of his own Queens and the Bronx were fighting Chinese Reds in Korea.

The story is frustrating and somehow futile, except for the superb and relentless work of congressional committees, bipartisan committees who have done effective work in exposing the Communists, the local fellow-travelers and the gullible liberal stooges. As far as my own efforts are concerned, I am reminded of an oriental saying: "It is better to fail in a cause that must ultimately succeed, than to succeed in a cause that must ultimately fail."

(a) It is evident in my report that congressional committees intervened successfully. This applies especially to two major committees, the House Un-American Activities and the Senate Subcommittee on the Judiciary. Over the years, these committees have dug deeply into the Communist conspiracy; completely bipartisan, they have performed a brilliant though herculean job. Their reports are a goldmine of useful information. They have succeeded in exposing hundreds of Communists and their liberal stooges, from Alger Hiss to the Rosenbergs. In cooperation with the FBI, they work with small staff and modest appropriations, compared with the millions that are poured into Socialist, cripto-Communist channels by tax-exempt foundations.

(b) The chairmen of these committees have had a rough time, notably Senators McCarthy and Jenner. There is an obvious parallel between the protection Agnes Smedley enjoyed and the furtive cast of Major Peress' promotion. This protection, incidental or calculated works only for the benefit of Communist agents, sympathizers, and fellow travelers. This trend toward protection has lately become apparent in certain Federal court actions. The evolution is as interesting as it is disturbing. The recent trials and convictions of top-flight Communists—and we must regard them as the hand-picked representatives of Moscow, the American Politburo, Russian trained to take over the United States—have been based on the so-called Security Act of 1950. The act has teeth in it and the Communists of every hue have ample reason to fear it.

(c) In October 1955, the Supreme Court received a petition to repeal the Security Act; it was signed by 360 signators. This group of alleged outstanding American citizens contained a sprinkling of card-holding Commies, a fine collection of fifth-amendment refugees, a large number of veteran Communist fronters, and the usual appendage of gullible joiners that will sign anything. The press reported: Rev. Dr. Elliott White, Episcopal clergyman; William Pattson, veteran Communist Party leader; James W. Ford, perennial vice-presidential candidate on the Communist Party ticket; Prof. E. D. Burgums of New York University; Angus Cameron and Albert E. Kahn, the publishers of Harvey Matusow, etc. It will come as no surprise for the cognoscenti, that this phony petition was reinforced, around Christmas time, by a personal letter of Eleanor Roosevelt's to President Eisenhower.

(d) It is not established that the learned judges were impressed by this spurious, tainted petition. However, right on its heels, there followed a series of juridical decisions which were of great comfort to Communist agitators while adversely impeding anti-Communist law enforcement. The Court did not repeal the Smith Act under which prominent Communists have been successfully prosecuted, but they held that the act precludes State sedition laws that have run for many years. The case centered around the conviction in the courts of Pennsylvania of a notorious Communist agent, one Steve Nelson. He can be termed an American Richard Sorge; indeed, he was associated with the same Shanghai spy ring.

(e) Nelson is a trained Communist, a graduate of the Lenin School, Moscow, center

of treason, subversion, and sabotage. The alumni operate all over the world. Nelson was in Shanghai in 1933 under orders of the Comintern. He appeared inevitably in the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), as the political commissar of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, composed of American volunteers to fight in Spain. On his return to the States, Nelson became a top official on the board of the American Communist Party. Operating in California, he established contact in 1943, with the Russian consulate in San Francisco, and specialized in the acquisition of top-secret atomic information that was relayed to Moscow; Nelson is no better nor worse than the Rosenbergs but seems to have a charmed life. He was finally apprehended in Pennsylvania and was tried and convicted under the State sedition laws. The Supreme Court set aside his sentence and no one knows how long a retrial will drag on.

(f) The latest link in what could be considered an incidental chain of events occurred only a few days ago. On January 28, 1957, the press reported that the FBI closed in on another Russian espionage ring, directed by a Soviet Embassy official, operated by East European immigrants, an ethnic group that has furnished the largest percentage of agitators and Communists who can combine the benefits of American citizenship with the betrayal of their refuge and their neighbors. The FBI worked years on that case with the infinite patience and precision for which this famous agency is known. It is merely a repetition of the Sorge case: Hang one spy and another steps in his shoes, the ranks are filled by these soldiers of the night and the war goes on. One more proof that international communism wages war against Western civilization relentlessly, without pause, without pity, without compunction.

Almost on the same day that the FBI disclosed their arrests, in the shadow of the U. N. glass house, the Supreme Court in Washington ordered a new trial for a convicted Communist, an old-time operator in the same category as Nelson, probably part of the American Communist hierarchy that is slated to rule the Soviet Republics of North America, in an orgy of blood and terror, as they have ruled Hungary, from Bela Kun to Rakosy.

We have here a shocking juxtaposition of highly efficient police investigations, consuming years of patient surveillance, practically nullified in a ruling of a few minutes by a Court that is rapidly piling up juridical precedents, that give aid and comfort to international traitors, in ivory-towered decisions that apparently take no cognizance of the clear, worldwide evidence of the Russian conspiracy that will destroy the very basis on which the security of the Court rests. Perhaps, the learned judges will face realities or find an opportunity to continue their hair-splitting legalism behind the barbed wires of a Russian concentration camp.

Lincoln Day Address by William R. Pearce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, on February 12 I was the guest of our colleague, the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG], and of the legislature of the State at a joint session of its house and senate which was held to observe Lincoln's Birthday.

The people of North Dakota are to be commended for their splendid State capital building. It is modern in design and construction. Its planners and architects departed from the dome as the dominating feature of its design, just as in the case of the capitol in my home State of Nebraska. While tradition was thus sacrificed, many benefits were gained thereby. The overall result is highly pleasing and efficient.

I was privileged to observe some of the proceedings prior to the joint session. I witnessed the legislative business of the State being conducted with due regard for form and substance, and with fruitful result.

Mr. President, as I observed these things, I experienced feelings of renewed and even greater respect and appreciation for the wisdom and vision of this Republic's Founding Fathers in creating the Federal system of Government, with the allocation to each State of its share of responsibilities in the great American experiment in self-government. Again I express the fervent and earnest hope that there will always be left to the States their proper sphere of activity without undue encroachment from the National Government, including the part thereof which is composed of its legislative branch, of which the Senate is a part.

It was in the North Dakota Legislature and in the building where it now meets that our colleague, Senator YOUNG, served for 13 years as a member. It was in a large part the experience and the record he gained there as a legislator which have made him such a worthy contributor to the workings of our National Legislature.

Mr. President, the principal speaker on the occasion of the Lincoln Day program at that joint session was William R. Pearce, Esq., of Bismarck, a member of the North Dakota Bar. Of the many addresses on Lincoln which it has been my experience to hear or read, I would place this one high on the list, for its direct and meaningful message, its logical composition, and the clarity and the effectiveness of its delivery.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF WILLIAM R. PEARCE

Governor Davis, Lieutenant Governor Duffy, Mr. Speaker, Senator Young, Senator Hruska, members of the legislature, ladies and gentlemen, first, I would certainly like to say that I appreciate the privilege of being asked to address you. It is seldom that I see the House from this vantage point. I can only think, as I stand here in this chamber, that in 1883, James Bryce came over from England and toured the United States. Then he wrote the penetrating comment which is called the American Commonwealth. On a day in 1883 he found himself in Bismarck, which he said was a "western town on the Missouri River." He was here for the laying of the cornerstone of the first capitol in Bismarck. The only thing he could think to ask was why they were building the capitol over a mile from the town and he was told that it was obvious that before many years the capitol would be in the center of the city. Since that time, of course, the old capitol has outlived its usefulness and is gone, and we are now if not completely surrounded by the city, at least there are now buildings on all sides of the capitol.

Mr. Bryce also remarked that the people of Bismarck, with whom he talked, thought that Bismarck, N. Dak., was the most important place in the world, because Bismarck is in the center of North Dakota, and North Dakota is in the center of this continent, and this continent is in the center of the world—therefore Bismarck must be the most important place in the world. While I don't necessarily root for Bismarck, I will say that I think the State of North Dakota is a most important place, New York notwithstanding.

It is difficult to talk about Lincoln. There have been over 5,000 books written about him and no one knows how many speeches made about Lincoln. It would be idle to recite to you Lincoln's life, the bare facts of his career, and it seems to me that in celebrating his birthday, as we do today, that we in the West have a peculiar reason for doing so, and I thing we ought to consider more why this legislature, for example, should suspend its business and meet in this type of session to talk about Abraham Lincoln. We have had many great heroes in this country—military heroes and civilian ones, too. We have had many great patriots, but I think none have been closer to the hearts of the American people than Abraham Lincoln. And I think we might examine for a moment why, because to me it explains his greatness and explains why we do, year after year, commemorate the anniversary of his birth. The bare essentials are that he came from the poorest surroundings that anyone could ask. Although he wasn't the first American President to have been born in a log cabin, he was the first to come from as low a place in the economic and social scale. He had no advantages except those that he created for himself. He had practically no education except what he got for himself. He had many disappointments and heartbreaks. He had a personal life that would, and has, driven many greater men down to the depths of despair, but he didn't bow down to despair. He didn't do a lot of things—just because he didn't do them. The story is told that one time he was at a political meeting where Senator Douglas was the host. Whether by design or otherwise, in addition to a pitcher of water on the sideboard, there was also a pitcher of liquor of some kind. Somebody asked Lincoln to have a drink. He said, "No." They asked him, "Are you a member of some temperance society?" He said, "I am not a member of a temperance society, except I don't drink." That was Lincoln. That was his way—what he didn't do, he didn't do—what he did do, he did.

Lincoln entered politics at a fairly early age, after a period of complete despair—after his prospective bride had died of fever. He was elected several times to the Illinois Legislature. He didn't particularly distinguish himself there except that he built a reputation among all who knew him for several things. One was his absolute integrity and one was exactly speaking his mind—and when I say "exactly," that is just what I mean. He had the faculty for saying exactly what he meant. There was no evasion and no circumvention. He said what he meant in language of the people and that the people understood.

Lincoln would have liked very much to have been the United States Senator from Illinois, but he never was. He did go to Congress but he went to Congress during the Mexican War. He didn't exactly ingratiate himself by proposing on the floor of the House, the so-called Spot Resolution, in which he called on President Polk to designate the exact spot where American blood had been shed by Mexicans. The Mexican

War was popular in Illinois. They were very patriotic for several regiments had performed valiantly in this war and so for a time he was called Spotty Lincoln in Illinois after his so-called Spot Resolution. In fact he disturbed and defied his popularity in Illinois. His term in Congress was only one. He came back completely discouraged and he decided that politics was not for him—that he might just as well practice law. He applied himself to the study and practice of law and of course his study of law was entirely upon his own account, with very few facilities available to him but he started the study of law with the same vigor that he started everything in which he believed. While to some people he was always a small-town, backwoods lawyer, the truth is that he soon became one of the leading lawyers of Springfield. He didn't always represent the poor and defenseless though he often did, but he also represented the railroads and other corporations. One time he had to sue the railroad for his fee, and after looking Mr. Lincoln over, they decided to pay his fee and keep him on their side.

There is nothing stated that he was directly concerned with abolishing slavery. He was never an abolishionist. He was concerned with slavery. In the Eastern part of the United States, there were many men most vocal in the cause of abolishing slavery—Charles Summer, Thaddeus Stevens, Wendell Phillips. Lincoln certainly had not declared himself for abolishing slavery because Mr. Phillips called him the Slaver from Illinois. He took a legalistic approach to slavery. He had the courage to take men at their word. Slavery was guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, as a property right. Lincoln believed it should be declined, but not forced on the face of the country—he didn't believe that that would work. Lincoln didn't believe in force. But finally something happened—2 men that you may not remember, ran for office and in 1826 enacted the Missouri Compromise, which was going to end the free soil and the slavery question forever. They believed in those days, that a pronouncement could settle problems forever. The Missouri Compromise drew a line across the United States from the East to the West—below that you could have slaves—above that was free soil. That compromise was sacred—men sacrificed their careers to achieve it, but in 1854, Senator Acheson, who was strongly proslavery was opposed by Mr. Benton. It was a vigorous campaign and at that time it was proposed to create the States of Kansas and Nebraska. They were north of the Missouri Compromise line. Senator Acheson, apparently assisted by Senator Douglas, probably the leading man of his party at that time, coined the phrase "popular sovereignity" which provided that the people of Kansas and Nebraska, and the people of other new States should decide whether their soil should be slave or free. There was great excitement in the United States for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. That fired Abraham Lincoln. It was against all his principles. It indicated to him that slavery was becoming more powerful and instead of dying out that it was increasing, and that it intended to encroach upon the rest of the country. He began to make speeches. He made one speech called the "Lost Speech." We don't know what he said because the man who had been taking notes of Mr. Lincoln's speeches, was so carried away that he threw down his pencil and paper. He could no longer do anything but listen to it. We would like to have had that speech—but we don't have it.

Mr. Lincoln soon made a reputation for himself among political circles as a man who spoke the same peculiar doctrine and the thoughts of the people. Lincoln had the faculty for doing that—he spoke what the people felt in their hearts, but that they themselves could not articulate, so he plunged into the fight—not against slavery, but for the country. By that time he could see evidences of disunion. To him, I think, nothing more horrible could have been in prospect than the dismemberment of this country. He was proposed as a vice-presidential candidate, but he didn't make it. However, in 1865, in the Wigwam in Chicago, after showing an amazing strength on the first ballot against William Seward, the self-proclaimed at least, leader of the Whig Party, which had become the Republican Party by that time, on the third ballot he was nominated. Pandemonium broke loose among the people. He was the people's candidate. He had enumerated his doctrine in speeches. He had spoken his mind clearly, and he had a hand in the framing of the party platform. He had written his supporters to make no commitments in his behalf. Fortunately, they didn't completely accede to that advice. Lincoln never compaigned. When anyone asked him what he stood for, he said: "I have already given that—all you have to do is look to what I have already said." He left the decision entirely in the hands of the people. Such a campaign is inconceivable today.

Lincoln was elected. It has been the misfortune of a number of Presidents of the United States to be President during a war. It has not been the misfortune of any other President besides Lincoln to have taken office only a few short days before one of his own countrymen, with pride in his heart, fired the cannon on Fort Sumter and thus began the so-called irrespressible conflict. Lincoln had outlined his stand in a series of famous debates when running for the Senate against Stephen Douglas. Opposition at that time was expressed in four presidential candidates. Lincoln did not, in that election, receive a majority of the votes of the people, yet he spoke for them. Lincoln, almost as soon as he took his seat in the White House, was faced, not with a country to administer but with a rebellion. How he met that, I think, most of you know. Times were discouraging. The North thought, as we thought some years ago when war with Japan was talked about, that it would be a matter of a week or so to go down there and win the battle. Members of Congress drove out in the carriages from Washington to watch the first battle at Bull Run, as though they were spectators in an arena. They rode so close, in fact, that some of them did not get back to Washington but were captured. This was a tremendous blow to morale in the North, but things got even worse. They went down and down. Thousands upon thousands of loyal young men and older ones, too, were cut down and family after family had someone in their family who had lost their life. The North got discouraged. Lincoln was often discouraged but some people thought he didn't appreciate the gravity of things. Some people were shocked that Lincoln often started a Cabinet meeting by telling stories for the first 10 or 15 minutes—and they were not always stories that the Cabinet members could take home with them. But Lincoln was approaching a goal. He was a man who held steadfast to his purposes, but he was willing to compromise, willing to talk and willing to negotiate. Lincoln went on several foolish errands in the hopes that he could stop the conflict. He went down to several so-called peace conferences that were dreamed up by visionaries. He was looking for promises for peace and he said, "Yes, I want peace—there is only one thing you need to do to insure peace tomorrow—lay down your arms, and acknowledge the sovereignty of the United States of America."

After 4 years, the people including the men who were going out to be killed, to be shot at, to be fed hardtack and raw bacon (and very little of that), put Lincoln back in office. People believed in him. There was only one time that Lincoln did not speak what the people had in their minds and that was after Lee surrendered his sword to General Grant at Appomatox Courthouse in 1865. Washington was ablaze; they had illuminated bonfires and torches; the populace was excited and Lincoln—when a lesser man would have exalted in his victory—would have proclaimed his part in it and would have humbled his foes—all Abraham Lincoln had to say that night (and while it disappointed the people that night, it doesn't disappoint posterity)—all he had to say that night was about his plans for binding up the wounds of the conflict; his plans for reconstruction and the rehabilitation of the broken country. And it is the great tragedy of all America that only a few days later he was cut down by an assassin. His successor, Andrew Johnson, didn't represent the people as Lincoln did. He didn't speak their language because he probably didn't hear their heart speaking. No one knows what might have been accomplished had Lincoln lived. Had he been able to apply the charity and wisdom of his belief that all men are created free.

One time Lincoln, in a few sentences wrote out what he thought of as a democracy. He said: "I would not be a slave so I would not be a master. This is my idea of a democracy. Any other idea that says much less than that is that much less than a democracy. No slavery and no masters, only a free people. That is the heritage of living left to us."

Abraham Lincoln was cut down at the age of 56. His real public career was limited to 4 years, yet in that time he has left the real meaning of America and that was the turning point of America, when the Union was saved. In the 30 years after 1865, as many people came to the United States as lived in the country in 1830. We, in the West, I think, owe our position to the fact that a man had the courage to follow his principles through—come what may—to compromise with nothing; to keep on to his main goal and with the courage and fortitude and the feeling that he had that after all the fight was over and the issue was settled—that he could then say "With charity for all and with malice toward none." With faith to do the right as God gives us to do the right and that is the only standard, I think, that we need from here on.

System of Gasoline Rebates Should Be Investigated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am today asking the Honorable Herbert Brownell, the Attorney General of the United States, to order an immediate investigation of possible improper use of rebates by oil companies in dealing with service stations in the Seattle area.

If the trade practice outlined in the following letter from a Seattle service station operator is being followed, certainly the rebate system is vicious and discriminatory. It has the earmarks of being an indirect method of attempting to fix prices and, if legal, would surely indicate the need of legislation such as H. R. 11 to protect independent retailers.

FEBRUARY 15, 1957.

Hon. THOMAS D. PELLY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PELLY: As the owner of a service station in Seattle I must point out how badly we need legislation to help protect us from the exploitations of the oil companies if we are to remain in business.

I am vitally interested in H. R. 11 and S. 11, the equality of opportunity bill. The passage and enforcement of this bill is a necessity to prevent myself and thousands of other service station owners throughout the country from going broke.

The system of rebates, or dealer aid as it is sometimes called, as being practiced generally by the oil companies is one of the most ruthless discriminatory business practices I have ever experienced.

The practice is in no way utilized for the protection of the dealer. Rather it is a method of price fixing employed by the oil companies. By using rebates as a means of fixing prices they start, encourage and prolong gas wars. Without these rebates there would not and could not be any gas wars.

The Seattle area has been in a gas war condition for the past 4 months. Most of the dealers have been receiving rebates of one type or another. These rebates, however, vary from dealer to dealer and many dealers are not and have not been receiving any rebates at all.

I received no rebates during this gas war and as a result for a period of approximately 1½ months during November and December other service stations, even those handling the same brand of gasoline as I and those in my immediate competitive area, were retailing gasoline at less than my wholesale cost.

With a price differential such as this, made possible by the discriminating use of rebates, it has been impossible for me to compete, or maintain my customers. My wholesale cost of gasoline was 27.2 cents per gallon whereas many of the other stations including those of the same brand as mine were advertising and retailing their gasoline at 26.9 cents per gallon. (These prices are in reference to regular. Though prices on ethyl were slightly higher the comparison was the same.)

Since that time the prices have raised somewhat but many dealers, again in my immediate area and again those handling the same brand as I, are receiving rebates varying from 1 cent to 3 cents per gallon.

In order for me to get this rebate from the oil company I would have to set my retail prices at the particular price the oil company stipulates. The dealers who are and have been receiving these rebates are receiving them because they have cooperated with the oil company in this respect.

And these rebates are going to more than 90 percent of the dealers in the Greater Seattle area.

Approximately a month ago the wholesale cost of gasoline was raised 5 cents per gallon. But since most of the stations are still receiving rebates the oil company is in effect absorbing this increase. Therefore in actuality the only ones whose wholesale gasoline cost was increased are those few dealers not receiving rebates.

Because of this gross discrimination it is impossible for service station owners to operate in the black. However the entire situation would be corrected if either all rebates were eliminated or rebates were issued equally to all dealers.

My station is an average size 2-man neighborhood unit. The rebates I didn't receive would have totaled some $1,200 to $1,400 during the past 4 months had I been on the same buying price as most of the other dealers. This of course is a substantial differential for a small business.

The oil companies have expressed no desire or intention of equalizing this situation. Therefore legislation such as the equality of opportunity bill is the only way to stop this monopolistic price discrimination. Such legislation will save thousands of small-business men like myself from bankruptcy.

Please do everything posible to secure passage and adoption of this bill at the earliest possible date.

DAN FLANAGAN,
Mobilgas Service.

SEATTLE, WASH.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Ideals of the Order of Elks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which the Honorable RUSSELL V. MACK, Representative from the State of Washington, delivered Thursday, February 21, 1957, at a banquet of Washington Lodge No. 15, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, in celebration of its 75th anniversary.

Washington Lodge, since its organization in February 1882, has grown from a membership of 41 to a present-day membership of 2,213, and is still going ahead rapidly and vigorously.

Representative MACK is a leading Elk in the State of Washington, where he served as exalted ruler of his lodge, as district deputy, and as president of his State's Elks association.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IDEALS OF THE ORDER OF ELKS

(Address by Hon. RUSSELL V. MACK)

Exalted ruler, Brother Ambrose Durkin, Past Grand Exalted Ruler Barrett, my brothers and friends, we are met tonight in one of the most joyous and gala occasions in all the history of Washington Lodge No. 15 of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, the celebration of its 75th anniversary—its Diamond Jubilee.

My brothers, I was honored when you invited me to be your speaker at this birthday banquet. I am grateful to you for that honor. I only hope that my remarks tonight pay adequate tribute to you Elks of today and those who preceded you in the great work of building this lodge. You have built better than you know.

Washington Lodge, truly, is the little acorn that grew into a mighty oak. When in 1882, your lodge was born it had a charter membership of only 41. Today, its membership is more than 2,200.

Once when I was a young man, a merchant sold me a new suit. He grabbed a handful of the loose cloth at the back of the coat and as was the custom of salesmen of those times and then said, "It fits you like the paper on the wall." I went out to a football game in my new suit. It was raining. In those days there were no covered bleachers. Soon, I was soaking wet. My coat sleeves climbed up toward my elbow and the pants' legs climbed upward toward my knees. I returned to town in my shrunken suit. The merchant saw me approaching in my shrunken suit and perhaps, suspecting I would seek a rebate cried out, "My goodness how you have grown."

I cannot refrain, tonight, from saying to you Washington Elks, "My goodness how you have grown."

But, extraordinary as has been the growth of Washington Elks Lodge that of the Order of Elks has been even more remarkable. When Washington Lodge came into being 75 years ago, the Order of Elks was 14 years old. It consisted at that time of only 15 lodges and the total membership of all 15 was less than 1,800.

Today, the Elks have not 15 but 1,799 lodges and its membership in 75 years has increased from 1,800 to more than 1,200,000. The entire possessions of all 15 lodges 75 years ago were valued at "about $5,000." Today, the Elks own property appraised at almost a quarter of a billion dollars. Each year the order spends more than $7 million on charitable and patriotic work.

No enterprise grows without their being a cause. There are reasons why the Elks have grown so great and been so successful.

The first of these is the Elks ritual. The order was fortunate in that for the first 15 years of its existence most members were men of the stage—actors, producers, and playrights. These pioneers produced a ritual rich in dramatic appeal, with lines as beautiful and swift flowing as those of Shakespeare. Take for example, "The Eleven O'clock Toast" which has been in the Elks ritual for more than 80 years.

Think of its dramatic appeal. A great room is filled with a multitude. There is the babble of voice, the blare of music and the confusion incident to great merrymaking. Then, suddenly a chime, at the hour of eleven, strikes. It tolls out 11 strokes. The hubbub subsides and ere the peal of the 11th stroke has died away utter quiet prevails.

Then, out of the stillness comes the Exalted Ruler's voice, saying "My brothers you have just heard the tolling of 11 strokes. This is to remind you that with Elks the hour of 11 has a tender significance. Wherever an Elk may roam, whatever his lot in life may be when this hour falls on the dial of nights, the great heart of Elkdom swells and throbs. It is the golden hour of recollection, the mystic roll call of those who will come no more."

And ,at those words there comes to each Elk's mind, as there always does to mine, memories of the faces and personalities of brothers whom we once know, loved and have lost for awhile. What finer tribute to our departed brothers than each evening keeping alive in our minds memories of them.

And then, the exalted ruler resumes, "An Elk is never forgotten, never forsaken. Morning and noon may pass him by but ere the shadows of midnight shall fall the chimes of memory will be pealing forth the friendly message"—and then in unison, we all say—"To our absent brothers."

Could anything be more beautiful? Could Shakespeare or William Cullen Bryant have written anything better? I think not.

Whether it be the "eleven o'clock toast," the opening or closing lodge services or the funeral ritual, all Elks' services are beautiful and like a good play or enchanting opera one never tires of hearing them reenacted and reenacted by competent officers. The ritual properly rendered has much to do with keeping alive the interest men have in the Order of Elks.

But there is more to the Order of Elks than a ritual. The principles for which we stand and by which we, as Elks, live make Elkdom really worthwhile. Those principles are best expressed by the three emblems at the Elks' altar.

Mankind, since the dawn of civilization, has employed emblems and symbols to express his deepest sentiments and highest ideals. Primitive man employed the sun, the moon, the crescent, and the stars, as his symbols of his belief in the immortality of the soul.

Moderns employ the cross as an emblem of their faith in Christ and their belief in a life beyond the grave. White is with all men a symbol of purity, and to all nations the dove, the emblem of peace.

A crude and commonplace piece of wood of no intrinsic worth, when fashioned into a two-headed hammer, called a gavel, in the hands of an exalted ruler of an Elks lodge or the Speaker of the House of Representatives or the Vice President of the United States as they preside over Congress becomes the emblem of constituted authority. Because we as Americans are obedient to the constitutional authority the gavel symbolizes, a democracy of the people, by the people, and for the people has worked and endured in the United States for almost 2 centuries.

At the altar before which every Elk assumes the obligations of this order, there are the three emblems of Elkdom—the flag of our country, the book of law and the antlers of friendship. To the cynic our antlers are only bone; to the atheist our Bible is but paper and to the Communist our flag is only a rag. But to you and to me and to every true Elk our order's three emblems are the symbols of the three greatest loves in every Elk's heart—the antlers for love of friend and family, the Bible for faith in God and the flag for devotion to that common mother of us all—our country.

The antlers are the emblem of an Elk's two most valued possessions, friends and family, without which life would be empty. Wealth, it is said, has wings and not infrequently vanishes more rapidly than it was accumulated. Power and place, laboriously built up by years of planning and effort, often are washed away in the returns of a single election. Only family and friends remain constant and stick with us through thick and thin, to rejoice with us in our seasons of success and to console and comfort us in hours of misfortune and sorrow. Only our friends and family write our faults in the sands and our virtues on the tablets of their love and memory. The antlers are the emblem of that intangible something that binds Elks together with hoops of steel in a great American fraternity dedicated to the betterment and happiness of mankind.

I, sometimes, have observed that some men go through life as collectors of stamps, of coins, of antiques, or even of donkeys and elephants, but the wisest and happiest collector is the collector of friendships. Friendships such as one can make in the Brotherhood of Elks can, and often do, endure a lifetime. The emblem of the antlers teaches us as Elks that the easiest and most effective way to collect friends is simply by being a good friend to others.

The second emblem on an Elks' altar is the Bible, the Good Book on whose teachings is founded justice. It is the symbol of the the man each of us aspires to be—of the man our mothers fondly believe we are. Since each of us is a human and not a god, none ever attain the perfection the Bible teaches but in the trying each becomes a better man, a better husband, a better father, and a better citizen.

The great British statesman Gladstone once said, "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." The Bible, in a very real sense, is the symbol of that Constitution for it was the teaching of this book that gave the Founding Fathers the inspiration for many of the principles incorporated in that matchless document. Among these are that the weak should be protected against the strong, that right should ever be the master of might, that justice and mercy should rule mankind and that peace is better than war. When we as Elks place the Bible on our altar we each renew our pledge to defend the Constitution against all enemies, at home or abroad, who would undermine or destroy it.

The third emblem at our Elks' altar is the flag of our country. It is the symbol of all the past glorious achievements of our Nation, of the reality of the present well-being and happiness of its 170 million people and an expression of all our combined bright hopes for the future of the Republic.

To an Elk the flag is not woven of strands of silk. To him, it is woven of the threads of the lives of the millions who so lived, so labored, and so died that they left to all Americans a heritage of liberty and of freedom and the opportunity for its fullest enjoyment. Our flag is woven of the threads of the lives of those living or dead, who in peace or in war have contributed to the greatness, strength, and glory of the Nation.

In the flag are the threads of the lives of those dauntless spirits, Columbus and others, who in frail, storm-tossed ships braved the dangers of a transatlantic voyage in order to establish in a new world a new country dedicated to liberty and freedom. Also, in that flag the threads of the lives of those rugged men who, with one hand on the musket and the other upon a plow, battled with the savages in the vast wilderness of Virginia and New England to lay the foundations of our first States.

We see in the red of the flag the threads of the lives of those who have fought, bled, and died on farflung battlefields that the principles laid down for us by the Founding Fathers might endure and all mankind might enjoy the blessings of a government of law.

As our flag fans the breeze we, in imagination, hear it whisper such immortal electrifying phrases as "Give me liberty or give me death," "Don't give up the ship," "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country," "We have just begun to fight," and "Damn the torpedoes; full steam ahead."

But to an Elk the flag is the emblem of peacetime achievements as well as heroic deeds in war.

We behold in it the threads of the lives of the long generations of farmers who have cleared the land, cultivated the soil, and raised the stock animals that have provided the food and fiber that has made us the best fed and best clothed people in all the history of the human race.

We see in it the threads of the lives of the woodsman and lumber workers whose labors have made Americans the best housed people of all time.

We see in it the threads of the lives of those in mines, furnace rooms, and factories and in transportation and communication who have made our Nation strong and secure in war and prosperous and happy in peace.

In our flag are the threads of the lives of the preachers, teachers, writers, actors, and others who have stimulated our minds and enriched our souls and thereby made each succeeding generation more competent of self-government than the last.

When we as Elks and Americans proudly salute the flag, that salute is not an empty, meaningless gesture to a silken banner. It is a salute to all those Americans, living and dead, who by their labors and sacrifices made the reality of our present security and happiness possible.

May we always, as we salute the flag at our altar, think of all these with a prayer of gratitude in our hearts.

The Bible, the flag, and the antlers, these three are our emblems. They symbolize the great ideals of Elkdom—for God, for country, and for friends and family. As long as we Elks are true to those ideals our order will never falter in growth or success and will go forward to greater and better anniversaries.

This is the 75th birthday of Washington Lodge No. 15 of the Elks and the 89th anniversary of the great Order of Elks. In 11 years, we will be celebrating the 100th anniversary of the order. I have a suggestion to make for that celebration.

Washington is the most beautiful city in the world. It is the heart and shrine of the entire Nation. More visitors come here to see its monuments and historic buildings than to any city.

This great American Order of Elks, now with 1¼ million members and still growing, should have in Washington, ready for dedication by the order's 100th birthday, the finest Elks temple in all our land—one that every Elk and every American citizen will want to see. It should be a temple monumental enough to be a fitting tribute to the present and future greatness of the order.

Washington lodge, alone, of course, cannot finance the construction of such a building. All Elks of the Nation should, and I believe, gladly will join in helping to build such an Elks shrine for the National Capital.

Washington lodge, of course, assisted by the lodges of Maryland and Virginia, should provide the leadership and a larger share of the funds for its construction than other lodges because it would be the home of Washington Elks as well as a monumental temple to all Elkdom.

I hope this is a dream that can be realized. What a grand 100th anniversary of Elkdom it would be if that day could be marked with the dedication by this greatest of American fraternal orders of a monumental national Elks temple here in the world's most beautiful Capital City.

Labor Racketeering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of the recent address by the Honorable James P. Mitchell before the Catholic Institute of the Press, in New York City, on February 14, 1957, concerning the important subject of labor racketeering. I commend this excellent address by Secretary Mitchell to the Members of the Congress.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR RACKETEERING

(An address by James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor, before the Catholic Institute of the Press, New York, N. Y., February 14, 1957)

It is a genuine pleasure for me to have this opportunity to speak to distinguished Catholic members of our Nation's news media, and to present my views on a subject which I am sure is of great concern to you as it is to me—the menace and fact of labor racketeering in the United States. As newsmen you look upon labor racketeering as a topic of great current interest. As Catholics, inheritors of the doctrine of social justice as propounded by the great Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI, you look upon it as the social evil it is. You have here, then, both a story and a cause.

Incidentally, I do not think that this is an era in which men of faith and ability should, like Gideon's men, hide their light under a basket. In spiritual darkness of a secular culture, it is incumbent upon men like yourselves to show an affirming flame. In an age searching for faith in the racks of magazines and pocketbooks, an age when popular taste is too often untempered by the moral view of man's nature and place in time, the relief of man's spiritual ills will not be found in silence and acceptance. Because you have ability and position, you are capable of asserting truth. Because you have faith, you are required to assert truth. The truth of the proper nature of society is but a part of the larger truth of the nature of man, who comes before society.

For these reasons, the Catholic members of the press have been ardent crusaders for social justice and social charity, the two ideals that Pope Pius XI identified as the rightful directing principles of all economic life.

The Catholic press in particular has a unique advantage in judging the evil of labor movement abuses. For that movement is deeply indebted to the social teachings of the church. The proper goals of a good labor movement and a good newspaper are similar in many respects. Both are instruments of social advancement—one by deed, the other by word. Both defend the individual against unlawful exploitation. Both recognize and condemn immoral abuse of power, and immoral use of wealth. An enlightened newspaper shares the same concept of a just and charitable society which animates the labor movement.

Because newsmen of good will share in the spirit that motivates American labor, the evil of abuses in labor means more to them than a good story. Especially to Catholic members of the press, who have been so close to social progress since the encyclicals of the Popes pointed the way, racketeering represents a genuine and dangerous threat to the future of American labor.

The great Pope Leo XIII said, "Nothing is more useful than to look upon the world as it really is." So let's look at the world of American labor as it really is.

Throughout its history, it has been a social movement with a cause. The cause has been, and continues to be, based on an ethical view of society like that of Leo. Just distribution of wealth, ownership of private property, recognition of the dignity of workers and their right to representation, all of these things are in the spirit—many in the letter—of the principles first laid down for workers' associations by Leo XIII in his magnificent social document, On the Condition of Workers, issued in 1891.

The pontiff declared that "workers' associations should be so constituted and so governed as to furnish the most suitable and most convenient means to attain the object proposed, which consists in this, that the individual members of the association secure, as far as is possible, an increase in the goods of body, of soul, and of property."

American organized labor has certainly been a great force for good in our land. It has improved immeasurably the welfare of American workers. It has been an important and effective social force. It has made many, many concrete advances in the fight to end discrimination in employment. It has insisted on equality of opportunity, and it has helped lift many outstanding mem-

bers of minority groups over the high walls of prejudice that confronted them.

Finally, American labor has made an immense contribution to the emergence of the American worker as a man of property. In a country where civilian employment averaged 65 million persons in 1956, 52 million American families and unattached individuals received an average personal income of $5,000 per family or person.

Seventy-three percent, or 37 million, American families owned automobiles.

Sixty percent—29 million—of all America's houses are owned by the families living in them. We have 38 million television sets, 45 million refrigerators, 31 million vacuum cleaners; 81 percent of all wired homes are equipped with television, 96 percent with refrigerators, 66 percent with vacuum cleaners, and 86 percent with electric washing machines.

This material wealth is presented here to give you an idea of the extent to which the wage earner has become a man of property.

In the particulars enumerated by Pope Leo XIII, then, the labor movement in the United States has been an effective instrument for the advance of social justice.

The second point to be considered in looking at the world as it really is, is to realize that any movement with an ethical base is bound to be the object of men with varying ethical ideas. Some of these men have been genuinely interested in human progress, if mistake on the best ways to achieve it. Such were the early Socialists with their materialistic and mechanistic view of society.

Others have been men of a different ethic—that of the jungle. They have been drawn to the labor movement for these reasons: First, the ethical nature of the movement provides an excellent and sturdy blind behind which to hide their own desires for personal gain. By acting constantly in behalf of the workers, so they say, while actually lining their own pockets, they have avoided the detection of public opinion to some extent. Secondly, the democratic structure of the labor movement with its many divisions and subdivisions provides cover and opportunity for a man of ill will. Thirdly, the wealth that has accumulated in some union treasuries is considerable and presents a great temptation to unscrupulous men.

I would like to examine these dangers—which are both philosophic and material—in greater detail.

When socialism was an experimental philosophy, a few decades ago, it seemed to some a logical answer to the imbalance in industrial society. The world was divided into the few owners and the vast majority of nonowning workers. As Pope Leo described it in 1891, "a very few rich and exceedingly rich men have laid a yoke almost of slavery on the unnumbered masses of nonowning workers."

Samuel Gompers, that great statesman of labor, was interested enough in the theory to examine it closely for a number of years. Then he spoke for the entire labor movement when he said to the Socialists, "I am entirely at variance with your philosophy. Economcially you are unsound, socially you are wrong, and industrially you are an impossibility."

Gompers and men like him put the labor movement squarely on the road to free enterprise, to private ownership, to just distribution, to the creation of standards in keeping, not with the needs of an economy but the needs of individual human dignity.

It is also interesting to note that among the very first to identify the menace of communism were the Catholic Church and the American labor movement. Pope Pius XI, disturbed by the spread of communistic doctrines, wrote in 1931: "We cannot without deep sorrow contemplate the heedlessness of those who apparently make light of the impending danger. * * *" That danger presented itself to the labor movement in short order. Working with secrecy and stealth, apostles of the communistic doctrine wormed their way into places in the movement. Some attained fairly responsible positions. A few reached policy levels.

If the cancer had been allowed to grow, it would sooner or later have infested the entire body, bringing discredit and reprisal from other segments of society and negating the brilliant work of leaders of the past. The labor movement, however, had too rich a tradition of moral strength and political wisdom to allow this to happen. Labor accepted the responsibility for cleaning its own house, and it proceeded to do so effectively. Unions that had become tainted were expelled. Phony leaders were cast out.

Today the labor movement is faced with a different kind of threat.

Labor racketeering begins when a labor leader ignores the advice of Pope Leo XIII: "Have nothing to do with men of evil principles" who, he said, excite foolish hopes that usually end in useless regrets. It is promulgated when an employer ignores the similar advice from the great Pope: "Do not use men as things in the pursuit of gain." For both these persons, Leo has a final word: "To gather one's profit out of the need of another is condemned by all laws, human and divine."

There are two types of labor hoodlums—the corrupted apostle of labor's cause and the committed criminal who, after a life of crime, attaches himself to the labor movement. The second invariable depends upon the first to gain access to the movement. Thus, the labor leader who tolerates the existence of racketeering elements in his union is himself suspect. If his crime is ignorance, it is correctable. If it is willful and results in material gain to himself, he is subject not only to expulsion by the labor movement itself, but also to trial and punishment by the civil authority.

This much is obvious—the hoodlums in labor are parasites upon an otherwise healthy body. The labor leader and union members that tolerate them, and the employer to whom financial gain and a soft union are more important than honesty and integrity, both feed the parasite and give it strength. It is well to realize that a weak man might be tempted beyond his powers to resist. It is also important to realize that a genuine gangster cannot get into the door of any labor movement unless a dishonest labor leader opens that door and a dishonest employer keeps it open.

It was, as a matter of fact, the work of the real gangster that precipitated public outrage: Larceny, murder, extortion, theft—the marks of a criminal. The creation of entire criminal segments, the threat of gang war hovered over the labor movement like a black cloud. The jackals had come to fill their bellies, but the lesser criminal, the corrupted leader who wanted only financial reward and the blind employer who wanted the same, pointed the way.

Labor racketeering will not be stamped out until the labor leaders who are criminals and hoodlums are cast out; until the labor leaders who have tolerated their existence are castigated; until the employer who sees in a racket a chance for his own gain is made to suffer the consequences; and until all union members themselves repudiate unprincipled leadership and assure themselves of the kind of leader whom they can trust and who will bring dignity to their association and themselves.

How can this be done?

In the first place by the labor movement which is accepting and discharging its responsibility in this area. I have the greatest faith, gentlemen, that labor will once again accept the challenge and clean its own house.

Today's true labor leaders have preserved and act upon the ethical principles of their predecessors. George Meany is such a man.

The great leaders of today realize that the lice that inhabit and infect a few labor unions do more than merely injure those unions. They deprive the labor movement of its very meaning. They make it a mockery. They destroy public confidence. They mitigate the progress of the past. Like the sharks they are, they devour their own substance. Leaders like George Meany know that what is at stake here is not merely the future of a few unions but the future of the entire movement.

Their response to this challenge, as evidenced in both the statement of policy and the ethical code released from Miami Beach last month, has been magnificent.

The statement calls attention to the fact that the trade-union movement is a moral one and has a responsibility not only to itself but to society in general to remain free of corruption. This wise and statesmanlike view has always been labor's greatest strength. The statement reads in part:

"No institution or agency, whether labor or business, public or private, enjoys special immunity from the equal application of the laws, from appropriate investigation by duly constituted legislative committees and from scrutiny of its operations by the members of the press or the general public."

While recognizing the right of any citizen to invoke his constitutional prerogative and plead the fifth amendment, the statement warns any labor official that if by so doing he is attempting to hide corruption, then he faces expulsion.

The tide is starting to run against labor criminals. The AFL–CIO code of ethical practices forbids labor leaders from maintaining compromising personal ties with an employer—a warning to the soft leader who opens the doors to the criminals. As to labor leaders who are criminals themselves, the code is a weapon for cutting them out of the movement.

As for the Government's part, it will enforce the applicable laws vigorously and fairly.

I would call your attention to the fact, also, that the President requested and the Department of Labor prepared legislation to protect the beneficiaries of employee welfare and pension plans by requiring registration and full disclosure of the financial operations of the plans. A bill was introduced in the Congress but no legislation was finally enacted. I look for passage of appropriate legislation this year.

Government cannot do the job as effectively as labor itself. However, Government has the responsibility to help the labor movement help itself by strengthening the hand of honest labor leaders. The present congressional investigations are healthy for the reasons pointed out in the AFL–CIO Miami statement.

As I testified before the Labor Racketeering Committee last month, however, I think that such an investigation will be healthy only if it takes into account the fact that its energies are directed against the hoodlum who has appeared in the labor movement contrary to the desires of most union leaders. This is not a case of general disease but of localized infection.

The AFL–CIO's Miami statement reflects the determination of the labor movement to intensify its drive on racketeers in its ranks. Its assurance of cooperation with congressional committees augurs well for the future.

Finally, to the force being exerted by the leadership of organized labor, by Government and by public opinion, must be added the efforts of union members themselves. They must accept the responsibility which is theirs in our democracy. They must vigorously support the course charted in Miami by seeing to it that unscrupulous leaders are uprooted from their unions and cast out. The power is theirs and in the last analysis they must use it.

If I were a labor racketeer; if I were a weak labor leader who tolerates the rackets; if I

were a weak employer who finds immorality profitable, I would not sleep with any comfort these days. Society's scrap heap is littered with the dishonored remains of such men. Their turn in the evolution of American labor toward ever richer promise has come. You might say, even, that these crooks have done labor a favor. For principles are made strong in the testing. Faith is made firm by conflict. Devotion to the ethical way as proclaimed by the great Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI is made firm in the struggle against those who would turn society and its elements away from the truth and the right.

Thank you.

Military Order of the Carabao

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the Military Order of the Carabao is one of the most historic of our various veterans organizations. Its membership consists of officers who served in the Philippines during certain periods. It takes its name from the carabao, a beast of burden which was the system of transportation in the early days of the empire. Annually the members of the order have a dinner where they express good fellowship, and discuss better relationship between our Nation and the Philippine Republic.

This year, the Order had the privilege of hearing a very able address by Adm. Arleigh Burke, Chief of Naval Operations. I ask unanimous consent that the address by Admiral Burke be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY ADM. ARLEIGH BURKE, UNITED STATES NAVY, CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS, BEFORE THE MILITARY ORDER OF THE CARABAO, WILLARD HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 9, 1957

It's wonderful to be able to get together the way we are doing this evening. For 56 years now the members of our grand old organization have been meeting annually for an evening of fun and fellowship, and good feeling flows as freely as the wine.

We watch each other get a little older, a little greyer—and maybe a little wiser. And we live again the great days of years gone by—some grim, some happy—but all of them witness to our long struggle to preserve freedom and independence in the western Pacific.

This struggle goes on, muted by an armed truce, but as earnest and deadly as ever. It is now fused with the larger contest between the free world and Soviet communism. And one senses that the real issue before us is not whether we shall have peace or war, but whether we shall live like men or like sheep. These things we know: that there is no meaning in peace without honor; in security without justice; or in riches without freedom.

In the years ahead it will be of surpassing importance that we be able to distinguish between ends and means, between the true and the false, between the passing and the permanent. For we will have no single clear and certain choice between survival and extinction.

There will be only an endless succession of choices—little matters which add up to the same thing. These choices will enter every phase of our military, our political, and our economic life. They will shape our policy and our outlook, both foreign and domestic. In sum, they will register our ability to see what needs to be done, and our willingness to do it.

But it is in these little choices that our great danger lies: For it may often appear that the cost outweighs the gain; that we are risking much to save little, when the very opposite is true. There may be the temptation to yield, to skimp, to compromise on vital matters because the results of these acts may be distant and obscure.

But the reality remains that our physical strength and our moral courage are the last clear chance for freedom in our world. Every gain to communism is a loss to us, and we must know that when other peoples lose their freedom the danger to our own is increased thereby.

The free world is all one, and we shall stand or fall together.

The Military Order of the Carabao has been a symbol of this unity of freedom-loving peoples for 56 years. We have seen the people of our sister republic in the Philippines fulfill the long-range plan for their independence under the benevolent protection of our own Government. Our members fought to make that independence secure against aggression. The friendship between our peoples is a direct reflection of our joint efforts in the cause of freedom—efforts in which members of the Carabao played a conspicuous part.

May this friendship in freedom grow with the years. And may it always be a matter of lasting pride to those who did so much to bring it about—the members of our grand old Order of the Carabao.

Nineteen Hundred and Fifty-six Calf Crop Down—Texas Hardest Hit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Department of Agriculture has reported a drop of approximately 1 percent in the United States calf crop last year, as compared with the year 1955.

In Texas, the Nation's leading cattle-producing State, the calf crop showed a decline of 2 percent, more than twice the national decrease.

Mr. President, that drop in the Texas calf crop is a direct result of the drought that has plagued our State for 7 years or more. It is a reduction that reflects a heavy slaughter of cattle owned by men who could no longer feed them.

This trend toward smaller herds, as reflected in the decrease in the calf crop, is a matter of the utmost seriousness. It points up the urgent, immediate need for an adequate program of assistance for the hard-pressed stockmen and farmers in the drought area.

I ask unanimous consent that the report of the Department of Agriculture be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, and I express the hope that at as early a date as possible, so that we may get the measure to the White House, we may have a conference on the deficiency appropriation bill which contains relief for the hard-pressed ranchmen.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIX CALF CROP REPORT

The United States calf crop in 1956 totaled 42,317,000 head, down less than 1 percent from the 42,566,000 head born in 1955, according to the Crop Reporting Board. The 1956 calf crop was 16 percent larger than the 1945–54 average. The decrease in the calf crop during the past year resulted from a decline in cows and heifers 2 years old and over during the year. The number of all cows and heifers 2 years old and over on January 1, 1956, was 48,729,000 head—1 percent less than the number on hand a year earlier. Cow slaughter continued high during 1956 and cow herds were reduced during the year in all regions, except the South Atlantic area.

The number of calves born in 1956 expressed as a percentage of cows and heifers 2 years old and older on January 1, 1956, was 87 percent—the same as the previous year, and 3 percentage points above the 10-year average of 84 percent. This percentage is not strictly a calving rate since the January 1 inventory of cows and heifers 2 years old and older does not include all the heifers which gave birth to calves during the year. The percentage is calculated to show the trend in productivity over a long period of time. It may fluctuate from year to year due to variations in cow slaughter and trends in breeding herd replacements.

The calf crop of 17,831,000 head in the North Central States was 1 percent smaller than in 1955, but 12 percent larger than the 1945–54 average. In the East North Central States, Ohio and Wisconsin showed more calves born than in 1955 while the other States showed minor declines. In the West North Central States, Minnesota, Iowa, and North Dakota showed more calves born in 1956 than during the previous year. All other States in this region showed fewer calves. In the North Central States the numbers of cows and heifers 2 years old and over on January 1, 1956, was 19,547,000 head, a decrease of 2 percent from the 19,877,000 on farm January 1, 1955. The calf crop expressed as a percent of cows and heifers 2 years old and over was 91 percent compared with 90 percent in 1955.

The Western States showed a calf crop of 7,110,000 head in 1956 compared with 7,221,000 born in 1955. Only 3 of the Western States, Montana, Idaho and New Mexico, showed more calves born in 1956 than in the previous year. All other Western States reported smaller calf crops. The number of all cows and heifers on farms and ranches on January 1, 1956, totaled 8,248,000 head—an increase of less than 1 percent from January 1, 1955. The calf crop expressed as a percentage of cows and heifers 2 years old and older was 86 percent compared with 88 percent the previous year.

In the South Central States, the calf crop is estimated at 10,973,000 head compared with 11,031,000 in 1955. The number of all cows and heifers 2 years old and older on January 1, 1956, totaled 13,056,000 head—a decrease of 1 percent from 1955. The calf crop expressed as a percentage of all cows and heifers 2 years old and older was 84 percent—unchanged from 1955. Texas, the leading cattle producing State, showed 4,113,000 calves born—2 percent below the 4,200,000 head born in 1955. The number of cows and heifers 2 years old and older on January 1, 1956, in Texas was 4,728,000 head—2 percent below 1955.

In the North Atlantic region, the calf crop totaled 3,098,000 head compared with 3,086,000 head in 1955. The number of cows and heifers 2 years old and older on January 1, 1956, was 3,626,000 head compared with 3,599,000 head on January 1, 1955. The calf crop was 85 percent of the number of cows and heifers 2 years old and older on January 1, 1956.

In the South Atlantic States, the calf crop was 3,305,000 head—less than 1 percent above the previous year. The number of cows and heifers 2 years old and older on January 1, 1956, totaled 4,252,000 head—only slightly smaller than a year earlier. The calf crop was 78 percent of the number of cows and heifers 2 years old and older on January 1, 1956.

Calf crop report, 1956

State and division	Calves born			Cows and heifers 2 years and older Jan. 1			Calves born as percent of cows and heifers 2 years and older Jan. 1 [1]		
	10-year average, 1945–54	1955	1956	10-year average, 1945–54	1955	1956	10-year average, 1945–54	1955	1956
	1,000 head	*1,000 head*	*1,000 head*	*1,000 head*	*1,000 head*	*1,000 head*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Maine	110	115	115	130	132	132	84	87	87
New Hampshire	60	64	63	72	73	74	83	87	85
Vermont	238	271	268	299	323	327	80	84	82
Massachusetts	107	109	106	134	128	125	80	85	85
Rhode Island	16	16	16	21	19	19	80	84	82
Connecticut	98	102	101	122	122	120	81	84	84
New York	1,233	1,344	1,346	1,446	1,527	1,547	85	88	87
New Jersey	123	129	130	156	161	161	78	80	81
Pennsylvania	863	936	953	1,019	1,114	1,121	85	84	85
North Atlantic	2,849	3,086	3,098	3,399	3,599	3,626	83	86	85
Ohio	990	1,021	1,023	1,160	1,173	1,162	85	87	88
Indiana	848	890	873	953	1,000	981	89	89	89
Illinois	1,282	1,380	1,363	1,448	1,516	1,482	89	91	92
Michigan	877	848	847	1,025	998	996	86	85	85
Wisconsin	2,254	2,452	2,489	2,505	2,665	2,676	90	92	93
East North Central	6,251	6,591	6,595	7,090	7,352	7,297	88	90	90
Minnesota	1,590	1,702	1,730	1,764	1,830	1,840	90	93	94
Iowa	1,762	1,990	1,997	1,942	2,140	2,080	91	93	96
Missouri	1,534	1,810	1,793	1,701	2,011	1,970	90	90	91
North Dakota	720	895	913	822	984	1,026	88	91	89
South Dakota	1,082	1,492	1,393	1,239	1,587	1,639	87	94	85
Nebraska	1,485	1,792	1,777	1,680	2,036	1,901	88	88	93
Kansas	1,448	1,666	1,633	1,647	1,937	1,794	88	86	91
West North Central	9,621	11,347	11,236	10,795	12,525	12,250	89	91	92
North Central	15,871	17,938	17,831	17,885	19,877	19,547	89	90	91
Delaware	32	36	34	41	45	43	79	79	80
Maryland	220	264	259	262	311	308	84	85	84
Virginia	546	650	647	661	803	779	83	81	83
West Virginia	266	293	281	316	341	343	84	86	82
North Carolina	341	444	455	449	576	576	76	77	79
South Carolina	183	259	273	242	345	346	75	75	79
Georgia	479	683	671	631	864	849	76	79	79
Florida	480	661	685	752	1,001	1,008	64	66	68
South Atlantic	2,548	3,290	3,305	3,352	4,286	4,252	75	77	78
Kentucky	744	886	876	863	995	995	86	89	88
Tennessee	750	900	888	872	1,046	1,032	86	86	86
Alabama	590	800	821	776	1,051	1,052	76	77	78
Mississippi	714	1,028	1,074	1,002	1,408	1,432	71	73	75
Arkansas	580	703	710	719	890	887	81	79	80
Louisiana	671	966	946	899	1,164	1,213	75	83	78
Oklahoma	1,322	1,539	1,545	1,527	1,769	1,717	86	87	90
Texas	3,849	4,200	4,113	4,771	4,828	4,728	81	87	87
South Central	9,221	11,031	10,973	11,430	13,151	13,056	80	84	84
Montana	852	1,141	1,164	955	1,214	1,238	89	94	94
Idaho	395	542	546	466	602	600	84	90	91
Wyoming	439	483	476	533	568	553	82	85	86
Colorado	742	828	790	870	920	908	85	90	87
New Mexico	548	579	605	690	689	729	80	84	83
Arizona	361	377	367	471	477	465	77	79	79
Utah	258	331	313	311	364	364	82	91	86
Nevada	216	260	236	284	317	314	76	82	75
Washington	403	504	482	482	560	561	84	90	86
Oregon	481	619	608	596	728	724	80	85	84
California	1,240	1,557	1,523	1,506	1,769	1,792	82	88	85
Western	5,934	7,221	7,110	7,163	8,208	8,248	83	88	86
United States	36,423	42,566	42,317	43,229	49,121	48,729	84	87	87

[1] Not strictly a calving rate. Figure represents calves born expressed as percentage of the Jan. 1 inventory of cows and heifers 2 years old and over on Jan. 1 and not the number of all cows and heifers giving birth to calves during the year.

Northwest Jobs and Electric Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement entitled "Northwest Jobs and Electric Power," made by Mr. C. Girard Davidson, National Democratic committeeman from the State of Oregon, before the panel on water, power, and conservation on February 16, 1957. I desire to associate myself completely with Mr. Davidson's remarks.

Mr. President, at this time I should like to say to the Presiding Officer [Mr. NEUBERGER in the chair) that it is particularly apropos to request at this time that Mr. Davidson's remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD in view of the fact that only a few minutes ago the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER], while on the floor, submitted for printing in the RECORD statistics in regard to the employment situation in the State of Oregon. I am very proud to have the privilege of requesting unanimous consent that Mr. Davidson's statement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NORTHWEST JOBS AND ELECTRIC POWER

The Pacific Northwest is one of the richest and most important regions of the country in physical resources. But, this week United States Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Democrat, asked the Labor Department to classify Portland, Oreg., as an area of high unemployment. He asked that the second largest city in the Pacific Northwest be designated a distressed area.

Oregon's economy is now almost exclusively dependent upon lumber and agriculture. Lumber has been hard hit by the administration's tight money policy, which has crippled new housing. When housing is hurt lumber sags badly. Each day in our State another lumber mill or plywood plant closes its doors.

The situation is no better in agriculture. In 1952 net income of Oregon farmers was $197 million but in 1955 it was down to $144 million. The soil bank and price support program apply relatively little to the farm crops grown in Oregon.

Since 1952 per capita income has gone up 11 percent for the country as a whole but only 5½ percent in Oregon. We are affected by the national inflation but do not have the rising incomes to meet it. In 1952 per capita incomes of the people in Oregon were $97 higher than the national average. This past year they are $10 below the national average.

A recent report from the United States Department of Labor, November 20, 1956 says:

"A look at economic trends in the region (Pacific Northwest) indicates that the creation of new job opportunities in the region has lagged in the past 5 years. Significantly, this slow-down in the development of new jobs has occurred at the same time that the economy of the Nation as a whole has expanded dramatically."

What does this mean—is the Northwest becoming an impoverished region? Are the area's resources used up? The answer is, of course, a definite "No."

With 9 percent of the country's land area the Pacific Northwest has only 3 percent of its population. It contains 40 percent of the Nation's saw timber stands. It has 40 percent of the Nation's hydroelectric power potential and with the small fraction of electric power developed to date the area produces 35 percent of the Nation's primary aluminum. The area contains about 26 percent of the Nation's irrigated acres with a potential 150 percent larger than heretofore developed. Its Columbia-Snake River system could give the region a completely navigable stream longer than the Rhine. Its mineral resources are virtually untapped.

During the two decades from 1930–50 when President Roosevelt and President Truman occupied the White House there was a determined effort to develop the Columbia River system on a comprehensive basis for low-cost power, and maximum flood control, navigation, and recreational benefits. Bonneville, Grand Coulee, Chief Joseph, Hungry Horse and other dams were built during this period as a part of the comprehensive river control and development plan of the Army engineers and Bureau of Reclamation.

New industries rushed to the Northwest to use low-cost power so made available. From 1940 to 1950 the region's labor force increased at an annual rate of 3.5 percent while in the Nation as a whole the labor force increased only 1.5 percent. During the same period the region's population increased 34.4 percent while the Nation's population increased only 14.6 percent.

Yet our United States Senator is now asking that Portland, Oreg., the city nearest the mouth of the Columbia River, a city that could be thriving—through full use of the river's resources, be declared "a distressed area." And this for the second time since the Republicans went into office in 1952. In view of this is it any wonder that the three Republicans running for the United States Senate in the area were soundly rejected? That, in addition, Oregon and Washington elected Democratic Governors and my State picked up two new Democratic Congressmen.

Only this week our Portland papers carried news stories of large industries who wanted to settle in the Northwest but decided to go elsewhere because we no longer had enough low-cost power.

Since 1952 the Pacific Northwest has been below the national average in both population and labor force growth.

This has occurred in the region where the Columbia-Snake River system is capable of producing over 30 million kilowatts of power, and where less than one-fourth of this potential has yet been developed.

The Eisenhower administration has done less than nothing to develop the great power resources of the Pacific Northwest, and through low-cost power attract new industry and create new jobs for the area. I say less than nothing, for its action in giving away the best and one of the lowest-cost power sites in the country at Hells Canyon effectively precludes the development of low-cost power at that site. And unless the Congress or the courts stop the Idaho Power Co. from building its small dams at Hells Canyon, whose power will cost twice as much as that from the high dam, the best incentive for new industry to locate in the region will be destroyed.

As a result of the Eisenhower administration's much vaunted partnership policy there hasn't been a single new start of a dam on the Columbia-Snake system. True, because the Democrats controlled the House of Representatives and the United States Senate, Ice Harbor Dam is now under construction, but no help on this was received from the administration and the money was added to the President's budget by the Congress itself.

The license granted by the administration to the Idaho Power Co. to effectively destroy the high Hells Canyon Dam site is now before the Supreme Court of the United States. But in this fight for our economic lives in the Pacific Northwest we must depend on the Congress. We trust it will look into our plight, which is also a misfortune for the whole country, promptly, and authorize the construction of the high Hells Canyon Dam without delay.

We also trust the Congress will instruct the agencies in the executive branch of the Government concerned with the development of the Columbia-Snake River system to return to sound engineering principles, the laws of conservation, and human values, rather than a shoddy political expediency when they seek to harness the great Columbia River.

Sermon Delivered by Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, Minister of Christ Church Methodist, New York City

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, minister of Christ Church Methodist, of New York City, delivered a most inspirational sermon at the National Presbyterian Church on February 17.

I ask unanimous consent that this sermon be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as I feel it is a message which should be read by every American.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PIONEER OF LIFE

(Sermon delivered by Dr. Ralph W. Sockman at the National Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., February 17, 1957)

The occasion was rather an ordinary one. Beggars frequently gather at the gates of churches in eastern countries. On this particular day, a lame man was sitting on the steps of the Temple at Jerusalem, asking alms. He accosted Simon Peter and John as they were entering the temple. Peter gave the man no money, but he did restore his health. A crowd gathered and Peter made an address, which is recorded in the third chapter of the Book of the Acts.

In his sermon, Peter chided his countrymen because they had recently asked for the release of Barabbas, a murderer, and called for the crucifixion of Jesus. He said, "You killed the Prince of Life." When Moffatt translates the passage, he does it thus: "You killed the pioneer of life."

At first sound, the words "prince" and "pioneer" seem to connote almost the exact opposites of living. When we hear the word "prince" we think of that which is established. When we hear the word "pioneer" we think of that which is starting. Prince suggests rich environment; pioneer suggests rough and rugged surroundings.

Yet different as they seem to be, both words fit Jesus of Nazareth. I am not surprised Peter called Jesus the "Prince of Life." He was of the royal line of David according to the Gospel genealogy. He was regal in His bearing. He was princely in His power. Also Jesus was a pioneer. He started something so significantly new that we date our calendar from His birth. The hinge of history was on the stable door at Bethlehem.

And today I should like to focus our thoughts on this twofold translation because it suggests certain combinations which our day desperately needs to make.

First the world "prince" turns our thought to background. The word "pioneer" sets us thinking about foreground. And our day needs to make a better combination of background and foreground.

We can divide any gathering of people into two groups according to their attitude toward background and foreground. On the one hand are those who are so enamored of the past that they close their minds against anything new. On the other hand are those who are so impatient with the past that they run restlessly and sometimes recklessly toward anything new.

I do not believe Christ would have his followers go with either group. I feel that Christ would have us keep a viewpoint somewhat analogous to that given by the chauffeur's mirrow on our motor cars. The little mirror is so adjusted that the driver can see the road behind him without taking his major gaze off the road ahead. On our crowded highways it is quite as important to see what is behind us as to see what is ahead. There is almost more danger of collision from the rear than from the front. And it is most necessary to see what is behind us when we make a left turn.

In our social thinking we have the expression, "turning to the left," meaning thereby turning to the new and unorthodox. And it can hardly be denied that the 20th century has been turning leftward. It is precisely because we have been turning to the left that we need to see what is behind us, lest some old fallacy carrying a

license plate come dashing down the road to wreck us. Some of the ideologies now current overseas are old fallacies with new and deceptive names. We need a better awareness of our background, both secular and spiritual. Hence we should behold Christ as the Prince of Life to bring the past into the focus of our thinking.

We need to see the background of our secular living. If there ever was a time when we needed to study history, that time is now. It is important that we look back to see the principles and purposes on which our Nation was built. We Americans should spend more time studying what makes America and less time telling the world what America makes.

And we need to see the background of our religious faith. There never has been a genuine revival of religion in Christendom without a revival of Bible study. We must see whence came our churches. Many of our church buildings are comparatively new. We have seen how they were built. A community is settled. The people want a place to worship and a Sunday school in which to teach their children. So a plot is bought and a church is built. Then we so often think of the church as just one of the manmade community institutions like the school, the hospital, or the library. But the church is more than a community institution. It is the body of Christ enduring through the centuries, outlasting all governments. Remember that your denomination, whether it be Presbyterian or Baptist or Methodist, is part of Christ's holy church. Therefore, let us think of Christ as the Prince, the head of the church, the head of the oldest and vastest organization in the world.

But now while we think of Christ as the Prince, the head of an old and established church, we must also think of Christ the Pioneer, who leads us forward into the future. There is always danger of getting so attached to the good old days that we fail to see the good that is ahead. We must not become like the old lady who complained once to the editor of the magazine Punch that his magazine was not as good as it used to be. The editor replied, "Madam, it never was." Sometimes things do not look as good as they used to be because we are looking back to the past through a golden haze of retrospect.

This proneness to regard the past as better than the present or future is an attitude which tends to grow on us as we get older. We must beware of it. When does a person pass his prime? Physically, perhaps in his fifties. Mentally, maybe in his sixties. But spiritually a person never passes his prime until he begins to think the best is behind him. As long as a person feels as did Browning's Rabbi Ben Ezra:

"Grow old along with me,
The best is yet to be
The last of life for which the first was made."

I say, as long as one feels that the best of life is still ahead, he has not yet passed his prime. And that is the outlook which Christ helps to preserve. Jesus never talked about the golden age as being in the past. He always pictured it ahead.

John Buchan, former Governor General of Canada, said that we speak of youth as climbing the hill of the years, and then after middle age we speak of going down the hill of the years. But, said Buchan, we should remember that when we are climbing a hill we have to turn around to get the long view, but when we are going down a hill, the long view is straight ahead of us. That is the perspective which Christ the pioneer gives. He helps us to see the long vista stretching ahead even beyond the valley of the shadow of death.

Therefore, let us behold Christ the Prince to give us perspective on the background of life and Christ the pioneer to give us hope and confidence for the foreground.

Now, we turn to a second combination which this twofold translation suggests. The word "prince" suggests government, organization; the word "pioneer" suggests personal, individual effort. Think how resourceful the early pioneers were in doing things for themselves. Our day needs a better combination of organized effort and individual effort.

Surely we recognize the need of organization in our complex living. Robert Wicks reminds us that if a fire broke out in the old-fashioned one-room country schoolhouse, all that was needed was to cry, "Fire, everybody for himself." But if a fire should break out in one of our large 3- or 4-story city school buildings and the cry went up, "Fire, everybody for himself," the result would be panic, chaos, perhaps death.

Of course, we must be organized if we are to live together.

Yet while we recognize the need of organization in business, industry, labor and government, it is amazing how many do not seem to see the need of it in religion. I find many persons who say they believe in God, even in Christ, but who have little or no use for the church. Sinclair Lewis, the famous writer, once said in private conversation that he believed in religion, but he said, "Why organize it? The moment you organize religion, you kill its spontaneity."

I see Mr. Lewis' point. Organization does sometimes destroy the spontaneity of religious expression. But religion must be organized if it is to exert influence in reforming the civic life of a community. We need organization if we are to have effective religious education for our youth. And moreover, we need organization to make our worship of God more personally helpful. To be sure, we sometimes have our most intimate and vital contacts with God when we are in private or in family devotion. One of God's noblemen died recently long past the age of 90. He was Joseph R. Wilson, of Moorestown, N. J. A lawyer by profession, he gave much of his time to promoting his idea of a chapel in every home. Yet Mr. Wilson was also a devout churchman for he knew that church worship fertilizes the soil for private devotion. Not many people who never darken the door of a church keep up a vital personal devotional life.

Those persons are not realistic who say that they believe in God and Christ but have no use for the church. The church is the body of Christ and through it he makes his spirit active in the world. Therefore, let us exalt Christ as Prince, the head of the church, the vast organization which belts the globe, builds hospitals and schools, beautifies the earth with cathedrals, and enriches life with the noblest music and art.

But in thinking of Christ, the Prince, we must not lessen our emphasis on Christ, the pioneer, who encourages personal exploratory experience. One of the points we have to watch is to preserve the individual in the midst of our mass living. We Americans are much given to organization. No doubt we are all familiar wtih William Allen White's oft-quoted remark that if three Americans fell out of an airplane they would be organized before they reached the ground into a president, a secretary, and a treasurer. Yes, we multiply organizations and then try to substitute them for personal responsibility and effort.

As the organization grows, the individual tends to shrink. It is harder to keep the same per capita civic interest in a city of a million than in a town of ten thousand. It is more difficult to develop personal responsibility and activity in a church of three thousand than in a church of three hundred. One of the most baffling problems of contemporary life is how to preserve the personal in the midst of our growing cities and organizations.

The vitality of personal experience as well as the welfare of the group depends on individual effort. Nothing is really vital until it becomes personal. For instance, when I took chemistry in high school, the subject did not mean much to me while I was just listening to the teacher talk about it. The only thrill I ever got out of chemistry came when I was sent into the laboratory and told to perform some experiments. I blew up some test tubes, I burned my finger. But I caught an interest in chemistry.

Let me ask you, where do our young people so frequently drop out of church attendance? Is it not at the point where we fail to take them over the lecture stage to the laboratory stage of religion. We talk to them in classes and in junior church, but we so seldom say to them: "Here is a principle of Jesus and here is a situation. See how you can work it out." When we set out to apply a principle of Christ to a concrete problem, then our faith comes alive.

Recall how Jesus stopped his disciples about halfway through their course at Caesarea Philippi and asked them, "Who do men say that I am?" And they told him the current reports that some said he was John the Baptist, and some said he was Elijah returned to earth. And some said he was one of the prophets. Then Jesus pressed them further asking, "But who do you say that I am?" (Matt. 16: 17–18.) Simon Peter replied, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God." And Jesus answered him, "Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jona!" Why blessed? Listen further: "For flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father who is in heaven." That is, Peter's conviction had not come second hand from others but had come through his direct experience with God. Then Jesus went on to say, "And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church." We of the Protestant faith believe that Christ founded his church not on Peter the man but on Peter's faith in the deity of Our Lord Jesus Christ. And remember, Peter's faith was a firsthand conviction begotten by experience.

The Christian church was founded and grounded in first-hand experiences of God in Christ. And if it loses that, no organizations, however large, can save the vitality of the church. But Christ, the pioneer, can go forth this very day with you or myself and help us to do something so uniquely personal and interestingly original that religion would come alive to us.

And we cannot close without glancing at a third situation which this twofold translation gives. The word "prince" suggests power over, the word "pioneer" suggests power for. When for instance we speak of a person as a pioneer in education we mean that he has been a power for it. A person becomes a pioneer by bringing others into larger ways of living.

Jesus had power over many things. Power over the mind, power over the body, power over crowds. And churches today are greatly emphasizing the power which religion can give in peace of mind and physical health. But let us remember that Jesus said: "He that is greatest among you is he that serves," and also that the "Son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister." The power which we seek must be for service.

Herein lies a crucial issue which cuts across the world. Shall nations seek power over other peoples in order to make them satellites, or shall they seek power for other peoples in order to make them self-supporting? Here is the test between the Kremlin and the cross. And this Nation unto God must stand with Christ, the pioneer of life, who came to give life and to give it abundantly to all the peoples in the world.

Therefore, feeling ourselves "surrounded by so great a cloud of witnesses, let us also

lay aside every weight and the sin which clings so closely, and let us run with perseverance the race that is set before us, looking to Jesus the pioneer and perfector of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is seated at the right hand of the throne of God."

Mystic Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Mystic Lincoln," written by Norman Vincent Peale, which was published in the St. Paul Sunday Pioneer Press.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MYSTIC LINCOLN
(By Norman Vincent Peale)

I have been reading about Abraham Lincoln. It is hard to do all the reading I would like to do about him because more has been written about his life than about any other single figure in American history. He was, without question, one of the most amazing personalities who ever lived. Why is it that all these years after his death he continues to fascinate people of all kinds all over the world?

Is it because, although ungainly in form, born in a poverty-stricken log cabin, and self-educated, he rose to the top in our country?

Is it because he had a great heart filled with sympathy, pity, and love?

Is it because he left behind him, in the words of his speeches and public papers thoughts that are as true and important today as they were a hundred years ago?

Yes, it is all these things. But it is also something more.

Here was a man who had a hard job to do, and who did it superlatively well. How did he do it?

With his own wisdom? To be sure, he had a great deal of native, shrewd intelligence. But it was said by one who knew him intimately that Lincoln was great because he was always open to the infinite. This mystic and spiritual quality manifested itself in various ways.

The night he was elected President, he was lying on a couch resting. There was a mirror in front of him and, suddenly, he noticed that he could see his face twice: one colorful and healthy; the other ashen as death. He got up and examined the mirror and found no distortion in it; he lay down again and continued to see his face twice. The incident troubled him and he sensed a profound meaning in it. He said to himself, "Perhaps I shall live through my first administration and die in the second."

He saw other strange portents all through his life. Three days before he died, he dreamed there was a funeral at the White House. In his dream he went to the casket and saw his own face. On the afternoon of the day he was shot, he came back from a late afternoon walk with his guard, Crook. He would always dismiss Crook with "Good night, Crook." This time he said, "Goodby, Crook."

During the days of the Civil War we are told that Lincoln, night after night, would lie prone on the floor on his face, a Bible before him, telling the Lord that he did not have the wisdom to handle the great responsibilities and asking the Lord to help him. We know now that the Lord granted him the insight he needed through those tumultuous and critical days.

Lincoln was a man saturated in the infinite; open to it in every pore of his mind. His life is the best example of how to do a hard and difficult and even unpeasant job effectively: Don't try to do it all by yourself. Saturate your mind with God, open it to the infinite, let the great forces of the universe guide you, as the Bible says, in "rightly dividing the word of truth."

As Lincoln did, put into your mind that infiniteness, that quietness, that confidence which takes the strain from you and gives you an optimtistic and positive picture of the result to be obtained. There is a deep and profound subtlety in human experience. If you get into the spiritual flow of the universe with God, that which is hard becomes, if not easy, at least possible.

American Cooperative Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was pleased to note in last Friday's, February 22, issue of the La Crosse Register, the official newspaper of the diocese of La Crosse, a most thorough writeup of an important address delivered right in my home area, before the Chippewa Valley Cooperative, by the distinguished executive secretary of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Father Michael P. Dineen.

Father Dineen set forth six basic principles for the American cooperative movement—a movement which, in my judgment, and I am sure in the judgment of many of my colleagues, is one of the most invaluable contributions to the well-being of American agriculture and of our country as a whole.

I know that the comments will be of deep interest to my associates, and for that reason I send to the desk now the text of the La Crosse Register writeup and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFFICIAL OF NCRLC PRAISES UNITED STATES CO-OPS IN CORNELL ADDRESS

CORNELL.—In an address before a meeting of the Chippewa Valley Cooperative here February 1, Father Michael P. Dineen warned against placing the principles of the cooperative movement in jeopardy.

Father Dineen told some 2,200 persons that co-ops make people responsible owners. "Ownership produces freedom, stability, and security," he said, "those are our strongest weapons against those isms which have invaded countries whose citizens were oppressed and despoiled."

Father Dineen, executive secretary of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Des Moines, Iowa, outlined six principles forming the foundation of the true cooperative.

Members of a cooperative must contribute their proportionate share to the common good, according to Father Dineen, and social justice and social charity must form the soul and spirit of the true cooperative.

He told the group coordination of local units must be secured without sacrificing local autonomy through centralized control. He added sales must be made at current rates and current prices and the distribution of the profits must be made to the patron and producer on an equitable basis.

"A cooperative also must be founded on a spirit and interest born out of knowledge and understanding of the history, purpose, and principles of the cooperative movement," he said.

Excerpts from his address follow: "A true cooperative must be founded on these principles:

"1. One vote must be allowed to each member, no matter how large the investment or how great the use of the services of the cooperative.

"This democratic procedure is quite unique in the world of business. If a cooperative were only a business, then the system of giving to all the same power of vote might well be abolished in favor of a more expeditious method.

"It is true that a cooperative is a business, and it must be an efficient, orderly, well-managed, organization. But, it does not stop there. In this it is singular for the true co-op's greatest aim is the welfare of every human being, within and without its association. It is this concept that underlies and necessarily supports the one-vote principle.

"It bears out the truth that man's best interests are served when each man has opportunity to select those who govern, direct, and serve him. You will hear objections to this one-vote rule. May we remind the objectors that the freedom we prize in this Nation has survived many struggles because every citizen has had the opportunity and responsibility to vote for the public servants who make up our Government."

LOYALTY

"2. Members must contribute their proportionate share to the common good, and only if this is done will the cooperative be of value to the individual and the group. He who joins the cooperative solely or primarily to get something for himself will cooperate only so far as he thinks it is in his own interest. His desire will be to get without giving. He lacks the loyalty essential in time or stress, and unless there are immediate returns, he deserts the cause.

"At times your dividends may be smaller because your cooperative needs to extend its services and enlarge its facilities to serve more people. This is the test time of the true member, and he should stay with the cooperative during this period of reduced dividends. The co-op member will understand that in the long run the more served, the greater the spiritual and cultural and economic wealth of the entire area.

"Eventually, even from a purely economic point of view, service will be cheaper because more will be participating and each individual's burden will be less. Elect a good board, and then believe in their decisions, for they are made with your welfare and your future in mind."

JUSTICE

"3. Social justice and social charity must form the soul and spirit of the true cooperative.

"Justice requires that every man has that which is due him. Social justice obligates individuals to help one another acquire that which is their due. It also imposes an obligation on those who have benefited from a movement such as this cooperative to contribute to and support the cooperative and assist in its program to help others.

"This support is not only financial but also moral and physical through attendance

at meetings, through discussions with neighbors, and through sugested ideas.

"Man was created for a much higher goal than material comfort. We are created for eternal happiness, and all our striving for certain material goods is but to pave the way toward that eternal goal. Certain basic material necessitites are important in reaching our eternal goal."

CONCERN FOR OTHERS

"Therefore, as one family, we must be apprehensive about our neighbor's material and spiritual welfare, for, by the very nature of things, we are social beings, working, playing, and striving for happiness together.

"Social charity in essence is love of all our neighbors and doing whatever we can for them as a group. Actually, cooperatives as well as fostering social justice, are a real form of Christian social charity, for in the words of Pope Pius XI:

" 'When all sections of society have the intimate conviction that they are members of a single family and children of the same Heavenly Father * * * then only will it be possible to unite all in a harmonious striving for the common good.'

"And as Bishop McDonald of Antigonish, Nova Scotia, has said, 'The true spirit of charity does not wait for a crisis to reveal itself. It looks for the opportunity to serve. It is constantly engaged in a positive and constructive work. It is a good thing to feed the hungry. It is a better thing to do away with hunger resulting from economic conditions.'

"This you are doing through your cooperative—all 7,000 members are truly united in a program of Christian social justice and charity. What greater motivation is needed to maintain a strong interest in your association?"

LOCAL AUTONOMY

"4. Coordination of local units must be secured without sacrificing local autonomy through centralized control. Remote and absentee control is one of the serious hazards of a cooperative.

"Under remote control a cooperative may easily be drawn into partisan politics and may be used by individuals to promote their own ends.

"The ideology of a true cooperative implies that through united loyalty and persistent effort, combined with an understanding of their problems, a group can become masters of their own economic destiny."

EQUITY

"5. Sales must be made at current rates and current prices and the distribution of the profits to the patron and producer on an equitable basis. However, it must always be remembered that as G. W. Russell pointed out:

" 'Farmers are manufacturers and as such are entitled to buy raw materials for their industry at wholesale prices. Every other manufacturer in the world gets trade terms when he buys * * * seed, fertilizer, electrical power and needs, implements and feed are the raw materials of the farmer's industry * * * Is it any wonder that agriculture decays in countries where the farmers are expected to buy at retail prices and sell at wholesale prices?' "

KNOWLEDGE

"6. Finally, a cooperative must be founded on a spirit and interest born out of knowledge and understanding of the history, purpose, and principles of the cooperative movement.

"Cooperation is no simple matter. It is born of study, of mutual trust, and of understanding. It cannot be sold on a purely materialistic basis: That is, on the basis of saving money and cutting prices. That is too shallow and does not do justice to the great spiritual content of socio-economic cooperation. Cooperation can liberate the people only if it is intelligently presented to them as a practical method of bearing one another's burdens. * * *

"The purpose of it all, of course, is the welfare of man—economic and social justice that we may better serve God. This cooperative association is an institution for people. It makes the great power of electricity accessible and available to more and more human beings. In doing so, your cooperative, like other cooperatives, preserves ownership, insures freedom, and provides security. It acts as a basis for the preservation of our way of life in this country."

HOOVER REPORT

"There is much discussion today about the direct interest our Government has in the support and furtherance of the co-op movement. There are recommendations in the Hoover report to limit and even give up entirely the REA.

"What the real motivating factors in these recommendations are, we are not sure. But of this we are certain—that the true cooperative institution has done, is doing, and can do more to preserve the rights, freedom, and opportunities for the citizens of this Nation than any other institution.

"Co-ops make people responsible owners. Ownership produces freedom, stability, and security. These are our strongest weapons against those isms which have invaded countries whose citizens were oppressed and despoiled. If our Federal Government desires greater efficiency, it must well consider not less but greater support of true cooperative institutions."

Soviet's Advantage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article entitled "Soviet's Advantage," written by George Sokolsky, and published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 21, 1957. I recommend an analysis of the article by my celleagues in the Senate, in connection with the discussion of the great issue which is now before the Senate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THESE DAYS
(By George Sokolsky)

SOVIET'S ADVANTAGE

Soviet Russia has only one advantage over the United States and it is a tremendous one: The Russians can formulate a program of action based on a design for achievement and can put behind it all the resources of government. This the United States has not been able to do since John Hay was Secretary of State.

Current examples may suffice:

Soviet Russia made the infiltration of the Moslem world a basic policy, trained specialized personnel for it, discovered the particular individuals who would serve the Kremlin's purposes. Whereupon, by the provision of arms, Soviet Russia came into the possession of the foreign policies of Egypt and Syria, stimulated revolutionary and nationalistic movements aimed at the destruction of the last remnants of the British and French empires and the nullification of NATO, particularly the weakening of the Greek and Turkish alliances and the sacrifice of Pakistan to the ambitions of Nehru. By this program, Soviet Russia hoped ultimately to eliminate the offensive capacity of NATO, to vitiate the effectiveness of the Balkan alliance, to destroy the Baghdad treaties and, in due course, to include the entire Arab world in the Soviet universal state.

Having devised so grandiose a program, Soviet Russia moved slowly, permitting the course of events to work themselves, depending, in a measure, upon contradictory conduct of the Western Powers.

The United States has never developed a consistent policy toward the new nations which have been carved out of the Ottoman Empire. Except for the support of doctrinaire anticolonialism, the United States has supported Nasser, a dictator of the Hitler type; it has supported and opposed Israel; it has sold arms to Arab countries and withheld arms; it has poured billions into France for rehabilitation and also favored every revolution against France in North Africa; it has built the alliance between Turkey and Greece, and it has also been sympathetic toward the aspirations of Cyprus which can only lead to a war between Turkey and Greece.

Having done more than any other country to establish Israel as a separate state, it prevented Israel from rectifying its borders and has come up with a proposal for solving the Israel-Egypt situation which defies analysis and understanding. Having encouraged the separatism of Pakistan, the United States has flirted wildly with Nehru, even to the extent of ignoring his imperialism in Kashmir.

These confusions of policy in one area of the earth's surface have covered 3 administrations, 2 Democratic and 1 Republican. It can be taken, from its persistence, as characteristic of policymaking. But one can go much further back to show how characteristic this confusion is. The United States has fought two wars, at great cost in life and wealth, to save Great Britain. It has financed, out of its taxation, Britain's economic recovery, making up its deficits to the tune of tens of billions of dollars.

However, at the same time, going back to when Woodrow Wilson was President, it has been American policy to support independence in India and it can be said that the Gandhi movement would never have achieved its strength were it not for American support. Ultimately, India became a soverign country to the great damage of the British Empire. The United States has since encouraged Nehru in every way possible to build an Afro-Asian alliance which to date has served Red China but never the United States or Great Britain.

The final nail in the coffin of British imperialism was the seizure of the Suez Canal by Nasser which the United States woggled over with such unworkable devices as the users' association, ending in the catastrophic attempt of Great Britain, France, and Israel to counter Russian intrigue in Arabic countries by eliminating Nasser. This effort could have succeeded but for American intervention which has reduced Great Britain further as a power and shifted its interest from the battle against Russia to a free trade market in Europe.

The question that must arise is whether the inability of the United States to formulate policy and to maintain it is a functional failure, or a personnel inadequacy. The answer probably lies deeper. It probably lies in the basic idealism of American thinking, our incapacity to grasp the fact that the human race is not like two peas in a pod. And different kinds of men have different ideas and different ways of life.

Dr. Clarence E. Macartney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, Dr. Clarence E. Macartney was an outstanding preacher of the Gospel. He wrote more than 50 books on religious, historic, and biographical subjects.

He was a great student of Washington and Lincoln.

He passed to his reward a few days ago, and it seemed almost predestined that he would be buried on Washington's birthday.

This significance is borne out by an article appearing in the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of February 22, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BURIED ON HIS BIRTHDAY—WASHINGTON HERO TO DR. MACARTNEY

On a Sabbath morning, 8 years ago today, the Rev. Dr. Clarence E. Macartney, historian pastor of First Presbyterian Church, had this to say:

"On the 19th of December 1799, John Marshall of Virginia arose in the House of Representatives, then meeting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, he said:

" 'Mr. Speaker, Washington is no more. The hero, the patriot, the sage of America, the man on whom in all kinds of danger every eye was turned, and all hopes were placed, lives now only in his own great actions and in the hearts of an affectionate and afflicted people.

" 'Mr. Speaker, I hold in my hand these resolutions. They are written by General Lee of Virginia. I regret that he is not here to read them:

" '1. That this House join with the President in condolence of this mournful event.

" '2. That the Speaker's chair be shrouded with black and the Members and officers of the House wear black during the session.

" '3. That a committee, in conjunction with one from the Senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.' "

A FULL LIFE

On this Washington's Birthday Dr. Macartney's own funeral was held in First Presbyterian Church.

Like the service for Washington it was not one particularly of mourning but rather of general appreciation by everyone for the common good which comes of full and complete Christian lives.

CHRISTMAS THEME

The Reverend Dr. J. Robertson Macartney, Clarence's preacher brother, set that confident Christian theme a week ago.

When friends inquired about the dying man's condition, he said:

"His Lord is robing him for his coronation."

Arthur G. Ashbrok, a lay friend of Dr. Macartney, suggests the following excerpt from the Macartney First Church sermon of 8 years ago as appropriate on this day:

"What would they (Washington and Lincoln) say on the subject of universal military training if they were here and read the final report of the former Chief of Staff, General Eisenhower, in which he spoke of the dangerous conditions in the world, the possibility of a wheat harvest being destroyed by a bacteria war, and Pittsburgh and other cities which produce the heavy material of war being blotted out?

"A LESSER EVIL

"I feel sure they would say that although universal military training is undoubtedly an evil and far from the American plan of life it is not so great an evil as conquest and subjugation.

"Still the voice of Washington, speaking clearly after the passage of 148 years would say what he said in Congress in 1790: 'To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving the peace.'

"LORD'S JUDGMENTS

"What would they say of us today on the subject of religious faith and national morality? In his sublime second inaugural Lincoln recognized the working of the moral law in the history of nations and today he would remind us again and tell us 'that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"As for Washington, he would again say:

" 'Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are the indispensable support. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness * * *.'

"To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of Washington is alike impossible. In solemn awe pronounce the name and in its naked, deathless spendor, leave it shining on."

TVA Bears Brunt United States Defense Power Load

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial in the Florence (Ala.) Times of February 11, 1957, captioned, "TVA Bears Brunt United States Defense Power Load." The editorial was written by Mr. Louis Eckl, the very able editor of the Times, and is most timely and challenging.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TVA BEARS BRUNT UNITED STATES DEFENSE POWER LOAD

The radical shift in the Tennessee Valley Authority's power function which has produced the current power crisis in the valley is clearly demonstrated by recent information.

From TVA's beginning until as late as 1950, TVA's main job was to furnish power to the valley, servicing a relatively minor Federal Government demand on the side. Within the past few years, TVA's main job has become one of furnishing power to the Government, servicing the valley demand on the side.

Since 1950, the normal power users of the valley, residential, commercial and industrial, have doubled their demand for power. But in the same period, the Atomic Energy Commission and other Federal agencies increased their demand by 15 times.

Whereas in 1950 Uncle Sam's agencies used about 15 percent of TVA power, last year they used 57 percent.

Whereas in 1950 the normal valley consumers used about 4½ times more TVA power than Uncle Sam in 1956. Uncle Sam used 1½ times more than all other TVA customers combined.

All the dams on both the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers in a good wet year could supply less than half the power Uncle Sam himself takes from TVA. About 75 percent of the tremendous expansion in TVA's power generating capacity was necessitated by Uncle Sam's own essential but fantastic power requirement.

It is the suddenness as well as the enormity of the Federal defense demand which has jammed the power load against the ceiling of TVA power capacity.

Ever since the end of World War II, TVA, sole power supplier of the Tennessee Valley region, has been in a desperate race against a power shortage. The race has been literally neck and neck all the way; and in fact, during the 5 years from 1950 to 1955, the peak demand for power in the winter months has exceeded TVA generating capacity practically every year.

It appeared for a time that TVA would lose the race hopelessly sometime in the period 1957–58. No additional capacity had been authorized for 3 years. Had TVA been forced to face the coming years with only the capacity completed by the end of 1956, it would have been about 500,000 kilowatts short in 1957, 1 million in 1958, and nearly 1½ million in 1959. Fortunately, with the approval of the 84th Congress it has begun construction of new capacity to be paid for with power revenues.

If it can make those additions on schedule and if the forecast load is not increased by some severe contingency, TVA hopes to have a margin of capacity over peak load of around 1 percent in 1958 and 2 percent in 1959. This is a pale, frail margin. Private utilities like to maintain between 6 to 8 percent.

Several contingencies could easily arise to dim the picture (and possibly even the homes, stores, and factories of the valley). The schedule presumes, for example, that the Memphis steam plant will come into operation in 1958 and that its capacity will both relieve TVA of the Memphis load and provide some excess for TVA. Any real delay in activation of the Memphis plant would more than consume the 1 or 2 percent margin.

TVA is also assuming that the AEC and other Federal agencies will not up their demand for power violently in the years immediately ahead. However, a world situation which required expansion of atomic material production to safeguard the national security could swell the load not only beyond the TVA margin but even beyond the margin of the surrounding systems with which TVA is interconnected and on which it would have to draw for power.

Similarly, the forecast is based on reasonably normal rainfall in the TVA watershed. One or more dry years like 1955–56 could reduce hydro generation and therefore total generating capacity beyond the slender margin.

Even if all goes well, however, the race is by no means won; nor does the prospect permit any complacency. It takes at least 3 years to add new generating capacity. The load will continues to increase in the years beyond 1960. To meet that increase, TVA must begin additional capacity by 1958 at the rate of 750,000 kilowatts a year.

TVA cannot build that capacity out of accruing power revenue, as it is building the present additions. It is able to pay for the present program only by drawing on the reserves of profit and depreciation it has built up over the years, and by committing the expected profits and depreciation of the next several years. The normal annual prof-

its and depreciation will fall far short of the capital required to keep up with the normal growth of load.

Unless TVA obtains authority to issue its own bonds, or new appropriations from Congress, it will have lost the race against the power shortage about 1960. It will start losing the race, in any case, unless it is able to begin new capacity within a year or so.

Once more it is later in the valley than all may yet have realized.

Room for Opposition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial by Mr. Ted. R. Wylie, entitled "Room for Opposition." This editorial appears in the February 18, 1957, issue of the Northwest Arkansas Times.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROOM FOR OPPOSITION

An Arkansas resident, in a letter written to a newspaper, bemoans the fact that some Senators, including Senator FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas, are not willing to go along with Secretary of States Dulles and President Eisenhower without question. The writer appears ready to trust the judgment, without question, of the President on all matters, including foreign affairs, and states that the majority of people will go along with the President no matter how or in what manner he leads.

On the other hand, Adlai Stevenson, speaking in San Francisco Saturday night, declared "The people have had enough of the administration's rock-and-roll diplomacy," which he said has brought the Nation perilously close to disaster in the Eisenhower years.

"We missed our great change, and Hungary was crushed in blood," he declared. "Russian influence has penetrated the Middle East for the first time. Israel is isolated again. Britain and France have blundered and been badly hurt. Our great alliance is tottering. NATO is enfeebled. The Suez Canal is still closed, its future unsettled. Our best friends are crippled by the oil shortage.

"And whose friendship have we won? Nasser's (of Egypt)? I doubt it.

"This is the sorry harvest of appeasing and provoking the Arabs, of misleading and exasperating our friends."

Mr. Stevenson pointed out also, that it was only "yesterday," just before the presidential election, that the President said the crisis in the Middle East appeared to be over, that NIXON said Mr. Eisenhower's leadership has prevented armed conflict over there, that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles described as "amazing" the close policy bond between this country and France and Britain.

He pointed out that after the election, Eisenhower and Dulles proclaimed the Middle East crisis unusually serious, and Dulles warned that any delay in passage of the Eisenhower doctrine resolution would mean domination of the Middle East by the Communists.

Nations of the world have lost confidence in the United States, and there is no wonder. As Mr. Stevenson points out concerning the resolution sought by the President from Congress regarding the Middle East—"The danger isn't overt Communist aggression; but covert Communist penetration: the danger isn't military aggression from the outside, but from the inside."

"The resolution doesn't protect Israel from the Arabs or the Arabs from Israel," he explained. "We won't be on the road to stability until we face real economic and political problems."

There is plenty of room and much reason in Congress for members of the opposite party to take a stand correcting the President and the Secretary of State. The people of America should be grateful for this opposition and the frankness of the Members of Congress who are not afraid to know their views when they realize mistakes of the administration.

Woe to this country if the day ever dawns when all Members of Congress and the people, too, must swallow without an effort not to, all that is cooked up by 1 man, 2 men, or even all the men in any 1 party. Democracy is made up of free-thinking people, and free-thinking representatives of the people. That is the way democracy lives. If ever we have 1 party or 1 man who can say jump and be echoed everywhere without derivation, we've had it—we'll be on the way to ruin.

Marquette Discusses Problems of the Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was pleased to note that 2 Mondays from now there will be held at one of the great educational institutions of America, Marquette University, a regional conferference of the President's Committee for Employment of the Physically Handicapped.

This conference, entitled "The Handicapped at Work," will bring together some of the outstanding leaders in fuller utilization of the resource presented to our country by handicapped folks.

In my judgment, America can go a long way toward resolving her skilled manpower shortage by working with industry and labor toward better use of the skills of the disabled.

Employing the handicapped pays off in every conceivable way—directly and indirectly—tangibly, and in intangible ways.

I have in my hands the text of the advance announcement of the Marquette conference, listing the very fine folks who will contribute to it.

I have also the text of a most interesting article which was carried in the January 27 issue of the Sunday New York Times, written by one of America's greatest experts on rehabilitation, the noted Dr. Howard A. Rusk.

I send to the desk the text of both items, and ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the announcement and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED, REGIONAL CONFERENCE, BROOKS MEMORIAL UNION, MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY, MARCH 11, 12, AND 13, 1957

THE HANDICAPPED AT WORK

Honorary chairman: Robert W. Hanson, judge, municipal court, city of Milwaukee, chairman, Wisconsin Governor's Committee.

General chairman: K. W. Haagensen, director, Public Relations Division, Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., Milwaukee.

Co-chairmen: John S. Coleman, president, Burroughs Corp., Detroit, Mich.; Dwight D. Guilfoil, Jr., president, Paraplegics, Inc., Franklin Park, Ill.; Jess Hogans, director of safety, Fairbanks Morse & Co., Beloit, Wis.; Roy C. Ingersoll, chairman of the board, Borg-Warner Corp., Chicago, Ill.; William Jahn, president, Inland Steel Products Co., Milwaukee, Wis.; Dr. H. Worley Kendall, Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, Peoria, Ill.; Gordon Kennedy, Bendix Aviation Corporation, South Bend, Ind.; B. E. Kuechle, vice president, Employers Mutual Liability Insurance Co., Wausau, Wis.; Jennings Murphy, secretary, Wisconsin Pharmaceutical Assn., Milwaukee, Wis.; Lloyd R. Norris, National Metal Trades Association, Chicago, Ill.; Harris Peristein, chairman, Pabst Brewing Co., Chicago, Ill.; W. W. Tudor, vice president in charge of personnel and employee relations, Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill.

Committee chairmen: Attendance—Andrew K. Wilson, vice president, industrial relations division, Kearney & Trecker Corp., Milwaukee, Wis.; exhibits—William Jahn, president, Inland Steel Products Co., Milwaukee, Wis.; L. A. Mingenbach, vice president, Hardware Mutuals, Stevens Point, Wis., institute—Dr. Russell L. Moberly, director, management center, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis.; program—Willet S. Main, district manager, Milwaukee office, Wisconsin State Employment Service; promotion and publicity—Sam Sherman, manager, public relations, Pabst Brewing Co., Milwaukee, Wis.

National officers: Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, Chairman, President's Committee, Washington, D. C.; Vincent P. Hippolitus, National Coordinator for Regional Meeting, Liaison Officer, President's Committee, Washington, D. C.; William P. McCahill, Executive Secretary, the President's Committee, Washington, D. C.

Program

Monday, March 11, 1957

9 a. m.: Registration.

10 a. m.: Welcome and introductions.

A Nation on the March, Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, Chairman, President's Committee.

11:30 a. m.: Official opening of exposition.

12:30 p. m.: Luncheon. Speaker, the Honorable Harvey V. Higley, Administrator of Veterans Affairs, Washington, D. C.

Awards presentation.

2:15 p. m.: Panel, Importance of Community Organization. (The job of increasing employment opportunities for the handicapped is the job of the community where these problems actually exist. The community is the scene of action. Here the physically handicapped worker is known. Here his problem can best be considered in relation to job opportunities available in the area. Here the employer is known. Here is where actual employment of the physically handicapped must be accomplished. Here is where organization is most important.)

Moderator: Arthur W. Motley, Assistant Director in Charge of Employment Service, United States Employment Service.

Establishing Need for Community Organization: Justin Johnson, Hughes Aircraft Co., chairman, California Governor's Committee.

Developing Community Interest: John J. Lee, Wayne State University, chairman, Michigan Governor's Committee.

Organizing the Community's Resources: Frank Starkey, Department of Employment Security, chairman, Minnesota Governor's Committee.

Community Committee Year-Round Program: Leslie Jones, Division of Employment Service, chairman, Kentucky Governor's Committee.

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

9 a. m.: Medical panel, What Are the Problems of Employing the Physically Handicapped—Personnel Problems and Medical Problems. (There are many real and imaginary problems raised in connection with employing the handicapped. These divide themselves into personnel problems and medical problems. The purpose of this panel is to bring these problems up for discussion and to bring out various solutions.)

Clifford P. McBride, personnel manager, Pabst Brewing Co., Milwaukee.

Reynolds Olson Tjensvold, staff consultant, Kearney and Trecker Corp., Milwaukee.

Arthur W. Laage, vice president, Industrial Relations, Beloit Iron Works, Beloit, Wis.

Dr. Elston L. Belknap, professor and director of the Department of Occupational and Environmental Medicine, Marquette University, Milwaukee.

Dr. Richard P. Jahn, assistant physician in charge of Milwaukee Works, International Harvester Co.

12:30 p. m.: Employer Institute luncheon. Speakers: National Representative of Business and Industry Stanley L. Hanson, assistant vice president, Liberty Mutual Insurance Co., Boston, Mass.; National Representative of Labor William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer, A. F. L.–C. I. O., Washington, D. C.

2:15 p. m.: Management panel, Translating Interest Into Action. (Many times employers are seriously interested in making progress in employment of the physically impaired, but they do not translate this interest into action chiefly because they are impeded by lack of general knowledge regarding policy or of the steps to be taken in recruiting, evaluating, inducting, and supervising such workers. This panel is designed to answer many of these questions.)

Moderator: William J. Grede, president, Grede Foundries, Inc., Milwaukee, past president, NAM.

Enunciating Policy and Gaining Acceptance: W. W. Tudor, vice president in charge of personnel and employee relations, Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill.

Adapting Employment Practices to Policy: W. J. McGowan, director, industrial and community relations division, Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., Milwaukee, Wis.; Dr. Elston L. Belknap, director, Department of Occupational and Environmental Medicine, Marquette University, Milwaukee.

Supervising the Handicapped: Robert P. Walbridge, Lakeside Bridge & Steel Co., first vice president, National Management Association.

Safety: Edward Haverberg, safety director, American Motors Co., body division, Milwaukee, Wis.

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Exposition open to schools and general public from noon to 9 p. m.

[From the New York Times of January 28, 1957]

ALL-AROUND ADVANTAGES FOUND IN EMPLOYMENT OF HANDICAPPED

(By Howard A. Rusk, M. D.)

Last year industry made increasing use of physically handicapped workers—to the mutual advantage of both. Once-skeptical employers discovered that such employees, when properly trained and placed in the right job, are valuable company assets.

They have equal or even higher production rates, fewer accidents, less absenteeism, and much less turnover than their nonhandicapped colleagues.

In the first 6 months of 1956 State employment agences found jobs for 150,000 handicapped workers. That was nearly 32 percent more than in the first half of 1955 and more than 25 percent above the average for the first 6 months of 1951–56.

Some of this increase resulted from the general high level of employment. Much of the credit, however, goes to the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped and State and local counterparts. The continuing efforts of these groups is having a pronounced effect on industry's attitude toward the problem.

LOWER INSURANCE RATES

Employers have learned, for instance, that insurance rates do not increase when they hire handicapped workers. In fact, the opposite is true.

The initial rate for workmen's compensation insurance depends on the type of job. Rates for clerical help are lower than those for construction workers, since their work is less dangerous. These basic rates are adjusted yearly, depending on the number of accidents and the amount of payments made by the insurance company. Studies have shown that disabled workers are not particularly prone to minor injuries, and those they do suffer are no more disabling than injuries of nonhandicapped workers.

Another factor that has aided in placing the handicapped is an increase in personnel specializing in such work in State employment offices. When one specialist was assigned to work with the handicapped in the St. Louis office of the Missouri State Employment Service, the number of placements more than doubled.

Placement specialists agree that practically any disabled person, regardless of the severity of his disability, can do some productive work if sufficient time and effort are expended in helping him. In the past, however, public employment agencies have not had large enough staffs to provide these. The situation is somewhat improved now, but if additional public funds were invested in such services the returns would be even greater.

In addition to the handicapped workers placed by public employment agencies are thousands of disabled persons who find jobs through commercial and voluntary agencies.

An unusual and effective voluntary organization devoted to placement of the handicapped is the Just One Break, Inc., in New York. Founded 7 years ago by a group of young businessmen, JOB placed 246 disabled men and women with 116 employers last year, 23 percent more than in 1955.

In seeking a short cut to the slow process of employer education, some persons have advocated that the United States adopt a program similar to the provisions of the British Disabled Persons (Employment) Act of 1944. The essential features of this program are:

Registration by the Government of all disabled persons, both employed and unemployed.

Requirements that all employers hire a certain quota of disabled persons.

Reservation of certain jobs, such as elevator operator and watchman, exclusively for handicapped persons.

But authorities in the United States have been strongly opposed to any compulsion in employing the handicapped.

Foreign Affairs—When A Moslem Land Eats Pork

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article dealing with the situation in Afghanistan. The article was written by C. L. Sulzberger, was published in the New York Times, and was written on February 19, at Kabul, Afghanistan.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—WHEN A MOSLEM LAND EATS PORK

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

KABUL, AFGHANISTAN, February 19.—Afghanistan's foreign policy is compounded of faith, hope, and geography, these three; but the greatest of these is geography. The faith is in assumed ability to accept massive aid from Moscow without losing independence. The hope is that Washington will help this nation escape too stifling a Soviet embrace. And the geography is a 1,400-mile border with the dynamic U. S. S. R.

While London ruled the Indian subcontinent the Afghans played off rival aspirations of the British and Russia Empires. But, as Britain weakened, Russia, strengthened. In 1921 nervous Afghanistan signed a treaty with Moscow guaranteeing independence for the neighboring Central Asian states of Khiva and Bukhara. Almost immediately the Soviets devoured them. All Kabul could do was protest, send a handful of soldiers and rescue from what is now Stalinabad the dissolute Bukharan Emir and his harem.

It would have been convenient for Afghanistan had Hitler won World War II and smashed Britain and Russia. Instead the U. S. S. R. emerged a superpower while the British withdrew entirely from this area, leaving India and Pakistan to squabble in Kabul's rear.

The bosses of this country have no inhibition about using the world "vacuum," so unpopular in other portions of the world. They felt a vacuum behind them sucking the Russians southward. Nervously they shopped about for a new sponsor to replace the disliked but convenient British. They turned to Washington.

But the United States displayed remarkably little interest. While building up the military potential of Iran and Pakistan, we rebuffed every Afghan effort to equip its tiny army. We maintained a moralistic

hands-off attitude on the row between Kabul and Karachi over frontier tribes. Eventually Afghanistan was isolated from the outer world by a Pakistani blockade.

A WARNING TO WASHINGTON

One of the most distinguished local leaders warned Washington: "The Koran forbids Moslems to eat pork. However, its infinite wisdom permits us to ignore this ban when it is a question of starvation. Do not force us to eat Soviet pork."

Soviet pork, unfortunately, became the diet. Since 1954 Kabul has accepted Communist-bloc committments worth about $150 million. About $30 million of this is military.

The extent of this aid can be comprehended only if one realizes that Afghanistan's total annual income is but $18 million at real exchange rates. Can the impoverished land ever repay its Soviet loans and still have any exports left for elsewhere? Has the saturation point been reached?

Prince Naim, simultaneously the King's cousin, the King's brother-in-law and the King's Foreign Minister does not think so. With an air of great sincerity he promises: "You can be sure that we accepted no conditions in our agreements with Russia. We are not the satellite of anyone. We are free and independent, and we intend to remain so."

During the past 2 years, fortunately, the United States appears to have awakened to a certain sense of responsibility in this portion of the world. We urged Kabul and Karachi to dilute the intensity of their fruitless quarrel. Pakistan's embargo has been relaxed. Afghanistan again exports its pitiful larder of goods westward over the Khyber and down to Indian Ocean ports.

RESUMPTION OF AMERICAN AID

We have also decided to resume our own economic assistance—which had bogged down after almost $40 million was poured into a dam and irrigation project without spectaculatar results. We are financing new airline connections and matching Russian engineers in airport construction. And perhaps we are on the verge of helping to extend spurs of Pakistan's maintrunk connections into this still railless land.

Possibly we may yet enable Afghans to avoid too tight a Soviet involvement. Certainly the more commerce they develop through other channels the less they need rely upon the Soviet orbit. But if we hope to help at this late hour we must move swiftly and decisively.

Will we? It is considerably more than a month since Kabul asked Washington if it was considered Middle Eastern in terms of the Eisenhower doctrine. No answer has been received. This Government would appreciate a protective umbrella and material support. It hints its policy might alter. The absence of reply is most discouraging.

Meanwhile affable Soviet technicians filter through towns and villages. Soviet steamrollers pave the capital streets. Soviet engineers build bakeries, dams, gas depots, airfields. And Soviet diplomacy endorses Afghan claims.

Nevertheless the family triumvirate that runs Afghanistan—King Mohammed Zahir, Premer Prince Daud and his brother, Prince Naim, are by inclination conservative anti-Communists. They would welcome precise assurances of American concern. Kabul wishes nothing more than to recommence its traditional balancing act between great-power influences north and south. Do we admit the obvious fact that this is part of Middle East geography? Or will lassitude and indecision let Soviet power drift unchallenged to the Khyber Pass?

Scholarship Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the New York Times on February 4, 1957, concerning most important legislation proposed by the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS].

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FUND IS PROPOSED FOR SCHOLARSHIPS—SMATHERS INTRODUCES BILL—FINANCING WOULD COME FROM SEIZED ALIEN PROPERTY

An unusual measure to increase the Nation's scientific brain power is pending in the United States Senate. Introduced without fanfare by Senator GEORGE A. SMATHERS, Democrat, of Florida, the proposed legislation is entitled the "Veterans' Children's Scholarship Act." It would authorize a fund of $3 million to provide a minimum of 1,500 scholarships a year for study in various fields of science.

The scholarships would be open to an estimated 2,500,000 college-age children of veterans of both World Wars and the Korean conflict. The winners would be selected on the basis of ability, citizenship, and loyalty, with wide distribution being made among the States and Territories.

The unusual aspect of the proposal:

Under the bill no appropriation would be needed to finance the educational program. The funds would come from moneys and properties seized by the United States under the Trading With the Enemy Act. Referring to these assets, Senator SMATHERS remarked:

"I think it only fitting and proper that seized enemy property be used to strengthen our country. This is particularly true since our former enemies have agreed that we keep these seized assets as our only reparations, a point that seems to be too often overlooked."

THREE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLAR BALANCE

Out of about $575 million in enemy assets, some $275 million has been disbursed. Of that amount $225 million went to the war claims fund and $50 million for administering the properties. A balance of $300 million remains, part of which must be held in trust pending the outcome of litigation over some of the vested property. Other sums have been set aside by the Alien Property Custodian for operating expenses.

The Smathers bill would make $100 million available immediately to the Treasury for investment in interest-bearing United States Government securities and also would provide for the continued transfer of additional funds to the Treasury as they became available. The resulting income would be turned over to the National Science Foundation to finance the scholarships.

The Foundation was set up by Congress in 1950 to award scholarships and graduate fellowships for scientific study and scientific work in the mathematical, physical, medical, biological, engineering, and other sciences of accredited institutions of learning." It is spending $3 million a year.

It has been estimated by the Manufacturing Chemists Association that the shortage of scientific personnel will reach 475,000 by 1965, the year of college graduation for students now starting high school. According to the organization, the Nation's technical force totals 930,000, against a need of 993,000, for a shortage of 63,000. By the end of this year, the shortage is expected to grow to 98,000 and thereafter to rise sharply

Oahe Irrigation Project in South Dakota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two letters which I have received from seventh and eighth grade students at the Wessington Independent School, at Wessington, S. Dak.

Not only am I gratified that these young people take enough interest in their Government to be wholly aware of statements made by President Eisenhower, but also that their interest in their own community and State welfare is such that they have been prompted to write concerning the Oahe irrigation project in South Dakota.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WESSINGTON, S. DAK., *February 13, 1957.*
Subject: Oahe unit irrigation feasibility study, and Missouri River water allocation.
To: Hon. Senator CASE.

I am a pupil in the seventh grade at Wessington Independent School. I am interested in our State's future.

We in the seventh grade listened to President Eisenhower's state of the Union message in class and heard what he said about water reclamation in South Dakota: "Advance planning studies are scheduled to continue through 1958 on the Oahe unit in South Dakota, if there is sufficient interest to justify doing so."

We are vitally interested in seeing that the Bureau of Reclamation continues the feasibility study of the Oahe irrigation unit.

We are also vitally interested in seeing that South Dakota interest in the Missouri River water allocation is protected at all times. I know you will do your best for the future voters of your State and mine.

Sincerely yours,

TERRY SIEVERS (age 12).

WESSINGTON, S. DAK.

WESSINGTON, S. DAK., *February 13, 1957.*
Subject: Oahe unit irrigation feasibility study, and Missouri River water allocation.
To: Hon. Senator CASE.

I am just a pupil in the eighth grade of Wessington Independent School, but we are interested in this State's future. You make the laws that we follow.

We are all in the eighth grade and listened to President Eisenhower's state of the Union message in class and heard what he said: "Advance planning studies are scheduled to continue through fiscal 1958 on the Oahe unit in South Dakota if there is sufficient interest to justify doing so."

We are vitally interested in seeing that the Bureau of Reclamation continues its feasibility study of the Oahe irrigation unit.

We are also vitally interested in seeing South Dakota's interest in the Missouri River water allocation protected at all times. I hope you will try to do your best, I know you will.

Sincerely yours,

JOYCE ARLENE BONESHAKE (age 14).

WESSINGTON, S. DAK.

Government Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "It's Time To Back Senator BYRD in His Long Fight Against Government Buildup," published in the Edgefield (S. C.) Advertiser of February 13, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NO HALFWAY MEASURES—IT'S TIME TO BACK SENATOR BYRD IN HIS LONG FIGHT AGAINST GOVERNMENT BUILDUP

There are no half-way measures in the application of science, in the splitting of atoms and in the design of electronic devices and mechanical machines.

The calculations are precise. The weights and measures run to many decimal places; the tolerances are microscopic.

But it is customary to use half-way measures in the application of honesty and good sense in the furtherance of free institutions.

Either one believes in the American system to the extent of a willingness to reduce Government spending and Government itself, or one accepts the antethesis of it.

America is going through the shadowy area of political regression. The failure to honestly draw the line, and name those who are found on either side of the political fence is taking a heavy toll among free institutions.

The outcome is not known.

Despite the view that Federal Government is helpless to reduce spending unless the people stop demanding more services, Senator BYRD of Virginia is making an effort to cut the national budget to avoid further inflation and at the same time the increasing dangers of a depression.

Cities, especially, should stop seeking Federal appropriations for pet projects. Let them do their own financing. If local taxes become too heavy a burden, then will come a demand for less Federal spending and a lowering in Federal taxes.

Political leaders must stop the ever-widening search for Government jobs for "influential" constituents.

Political power based on the number of favors that can be handed out at Government expense must be forfeited.

Families must encourage something better than an ambition for Government employment and catering after political big wigs.

It's time to back Senator BYRD in his long fight for a reduction in Government spending and Federal powers. He has been fighting for economy in Government a long time.

Oil Industry Regulation Invited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, recently I urged that in any investigation or study of the oil industry the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce include the Pacific Northwest. In particular I pointed out the recent sharp increase in the retail prices of fuel oil for heating in the Seattle area.

A memorandum of the General Petroleum Corp. was immediately furnished me covering the so-called misinformation in my remarks, and in fairness to the oil industry, under unanimous consent, I ask to have it printed in full without deletion of any kind in the RECORD following this statement. Under unanimous consent I also ask to include the posted price chart of the Home Oil Co., a distributor of heating oils, showing the prices in the Seattle area starting January 1, 1955.

Mr. Speaker, both the consumer and the industry are entitled to a presentation of the facts in the court of public opinion. Corporations are entitled to profit as the consumer is entitled to protection in the event full and free competition in the market place does not exist.

I sometimes wonder if the situation in the oil industry is not such as to justify Government regulation similar to regulation of other sources of energy under a public utility commission. Then a fair profit and depletion allowance could be established and prices approved which protect the public. I am not prepared to say this is the answer, or even that the industry by monopolistic control of the production and supply of petroleum and petroleum products should be considered a public utility, but I do say there are indications such regulation is being invited. Every householder who has an oil furnace or heater is finding his fuel bill painfully and increasingly high. If the same people discover oil company profits are likewise climbing there will be a rising demand for Government action.

The following is a posted price chart of the wholesale and retail prices in the Seattle area starting from January 1, 1955:

P. S. 300—Light fuel

Date	Wholesale price	Dealer margin	Retail price
Jan. 1, 1955	$2.60	$0.40	$3.00
Oct. 18, 1955	2.80	.40	3.20
Feb. 8, 1956	2.95	.50	3.45
Apr. 10, 1956	3.00	.50	3.50
Nov. 26, 1956	3.50	.57	4.07
Jan. 19, 1957	3.65	.59	4.24

These prices are based on 30 barrel deliveries of P. S. 300 (light fuel oil), which is the most common type of delivery. However, there are variances in the prices according to quantity delivered.

Taking the posted price of January 19, 1957, the schedule below is, and has been for the past 30 years, followed:

Barrels delivered:	Cost per barrel
10–14	$4.45
15–25	4.37
26–49	4.24
50–99	4.16
100 and up	3.81

MEMORANDUM TO HON. THOMAS M. PELLY FROM GENERAL PETROLEUM CORP., RE PACIFIC NORTHWEST PETROLEUM PRICE INCREASES

We have noted from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 31, 1957, that on that day you announced that you have requested that the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee include the Pacific Northwest in any investigation of the oil industry which the committee contemplates.

In your request for this investigation you referred to information that had been given to you on added overall supply of petroleum on the west coast and recent price increases in the Pacific Northwest. We feel that you were misinformed on these two points and are accordingly taking the liberty at this time of advising you of the actual petroleum supply and demand situation on the west coast, and the facts relative to recent price increases in the Pacific Northwest.

First, you stated: "In the Pacific Northwest the situation has changed greatly in the last few years, which I think bears looking into. For example, we have added to the supply by an oil pipeline from Canada, and this connection have a new refinery at Ferndale, Wash. Also there is a new refinery at Anacortes, and a third one in the process of construction. Other companies have announced that they are putting in refineries in the near future. But the point is that the supply of oil from Canada should have increased the overall supply, and accordingly reduced the cost of petroleum products in the area."

Canadian crude oil has not increased the overall supply of oil on the west coast but has merely assisted in supplementing a growing deficiency of California oil.

Historically, the Pacific coast area has been self-sufficient in petroleum. For many years, California crude oil, refineries and transportation facilities, have supplied the demands for petroleum products in this area, plus the Pacific foreign and intercoastal markets in times of peace, and added military demands in times of war.

Now, however, the California industry has reached a point where local crude oil is no longer adequate to meet current demands. Total stocks of crude oil and products are close to minimum working level, and supplemental supplies of both are being brought into this area to meet current demand. This change has occurred principally because demand for petroleum products increased faster than the west coast industry was able to discover and develop new crude oil reserves, despite an aggressive exploration program in California.

In the last 5 years the deficiency of local supply has increased from 42,000 barrels per day in 1952 to 226,000 barrels per day in 1956.

West coast petroleum industry supply versus demand, 1952–56

[Expressed in thousands of barrels per day]

Year	Local supply	Total demand	Deficiency
1952	1,064	1,106	42
1953	1,085	1,152	67
1954	1,059	1,155	96
1955	1,056	1,284	228
1956	1,044	1,270	226

During 1956 it was necessary to import 179,000 barrels per day of crude oil and 66,000 barrels per day of finished products to meet current demands and replenish inventories which were then below the desired minimum working level. The crude oil came principally from Canada, Middle East, Far East, and Venezuela. Finished products were obtained from United States sources.

California crude oil production has declined from a peak 1,010,000 barrels per day in 1953 to a current rate of production of approximately 940,000 barrels per day. Crude oil reserves in California are being liquidated. The deficit in 1954 was 31 million barrels. In 1955 it was 87 million barrels. The figure for 1956 is not yet available, but it will be substantial. It is anticipated that in future years the West Coast will have to look to outside sources for increasing quantities of oil to satisfy the ever-increasing demands.

Refineries in the Pacific Northwest using Canadian crude are an important part of the West Coast industry program to supplement California supply. However, the two refineries now operating at Ferndale and Anacortes, and the 1 building at Tacoma when operating at capacity, will supply only one-third of the total current demand for petroleum products in the Pacific Northwest. These three refineries will have a throughput capacity of approximately 90,000 barrels per day, whereas the demand for petroleum in Washington and Oregon alone is close to 275,000 barrels per day.

While these three refineries have the capacity to supply approximately 33 percent of the total demand for petroleum in Oregon and Washington, they would not be able to supply more than 20 percent of the demand for fuel oil. The refinery yield of fuel oil from a barrel of Canadian crude oil is approximately 13 percent. Processing 90,000 barrels a day of Canadian crude oil would yield 12,000 barrels per day of fuel oil. The demand for fuel oil in Oregon and Washington during 1956 averaged 70,000 barrels per day. It is evident that even though these three refineries had been operating at capacity during 1956, there would have had to be 58,000 barrels per day, or 83 percent, of the fuel oil used in Washington and Oregon supplied by tanker from California refineries.

Second, you said: "In the face of these new developments do we find that the consumer is benefitted and the cost has been reduced? On the contrary, I have just received a strong protest regarding the enormous increase in fuel oil prices by the major oil companies and their subsidiaries in this area. In this connection I am told that fuel oil—Pacific specifications 300 and 400—prices have been raised from $3 per barrel to $4.24 per barrel within the last year. The last raise, according to my information, was 17 cents per barrel effective January 19, 1957, which is included in the total price raise shown for the past year."

The price increases referred to here (P. S. 300), from $3 per barrel to $4.24 per barrel, did not occur during the past year but actually over the past 4 years.

The price of $3 per barrel for Pacific specification 300 fuel oil at Seattle was established in February 1953, at the expiration of OPS controls.

The current price per barrel of Pacific specification 300 and Pacific specification 400 at Seattle is 85 cents and 65 cents per barrel, respectively, higher than prices in effect in February 1956. During this same 12-month period the price of California heavy crude oil, the principal crude oil from which heavy fuel oil is refined, has increased 65 cents per barrel. As the following table illustrates, justification of recent United States crude oil price increases has been well documented in the press and in hearings before congressional committees.

Date	California heavy crude oil Midway 14°	Light fuel P. S. 300 tankwagon Seattle	Bunker C fuel oil P. S. 400 Seattle
February 1956	$1.98	$3.35	$2.40
March 1956		3.40	2.45
November 1956	2.38	3.90	2.90
February 1957 (current)	2.63	4.20	3.05
Increase	0.65	0.85	0.65

The current price of Canadian crude oil (37° gravity) delivered to refineries in Washington is $3.58 per barrel. Fuel oil refined from this crude oil sells in Seattle for $3.05 per barrel (P. S. 400), and $4.20 per barrel (P. S. 300). Therefore, one grade of heavy fuel oil sells for $0.53 per barrel less than the crude oil from which it is refined, and the second grade for $0.62 more than the cost of the cost of the crude oil. The average price of these two grades of heavy fuel oil is $3.625 per barrel, only 4.5 cents per barrel more than the crude oil from which it is refined.

	Per barrel
Canadian crude (37°) delivered to Washington refineries	$3.58
Banker C fuel oil PS 400 Seattle	3.05
Light fuel oil PS 300 tankwagon Seattle	4.20
Average price of two grades	$3.625

Of course, the cost of the crude oil is only one of the many costs that must be recovered in the price of the finished products. Refining and marketing costs are major elements of total costs which are also increased due to increases in wage rates, material prices, transportation rates, taxes—all of the elements entering into costs.

West coast industry stocks heavy fuel oil have been below desired minimum working levels since July 1955. Current stock of approximately 12 million barrels are 5 million barrels below the desired level. Heavy fuel oil price increases have been necessary, not only to offset increased costs, but also to prevent excessive shipments to outside domestic and foreign markets where fuel oil is in short supply and where prices are higher than on the west coast.

Fuel oil prices at Seattle are lower than on the east coast.

	Seattle	New York
Bunker C fuel oil—P. S. 400	$3.05	$3.30
Light fuel—tankwagon—P. S. 300	4.20	5.34

The petroleum industry welcomes the availability of natural gas in the Pacific Northwest. We are intensely interested in the industrial development of this area and feel that with natural gas making all three sources of energy now available: petroleum, natural gas and hydroelectric power, new industries will be attracted to this area which will be to the general welfare of this great and growing section of the United States. We do not look upon natural gas as an unwanted competitor, but rather as a partner in sharing the burden of supplying energy for the citizens and industries of the great Pacific Northwest.

We hope that we have been of some service to you in furnishing you with this factual data on the petroleum situation on the Pacific Coast, and more particularly the Pacific Northwest. If we can be of any further service to you, now or in the future, we will consider it a privilege to do so.

West coast crude and product prices used here are those posted by General Petroleum Corp., one of the principal refiners and marketers of the Pacific Northwest.

Although petroleum products are priced on a volumetric basis rather than on a weight basis, as many commodities are, it is interesting to note that fuel oil used in Seattle which has been shipped by tankers from California refineries, 1,100 miles away, or refined from Canadian crude oil delivered to Washington refineries, via a 700-mile pipeline, is selling today at less than 2 cents per pound. Compared to the price of any other commodity with like importance to the general welfare and security of our country there is no doubt that fuel oil and all petroleum products are reasonably priced. The industrial supremacy of the United States and our standard of living, undreamed of in other parts of the world, are due largely to the ability of the petroleum industry to furnish petroleum products in quantities required, when and where needed, and at prices that encourage rather than restrict their usage.

The Wave of Mergers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address given by me before the Economic Club of Southwestern Michigan, at the Whitcomb Hotel, St. Joseph, Mich., February 21, 1957:

THE WAVE OF MERGERS

This evening I should like to discuss with the distinguished members of the Economic Club of Southwestern Michigan a matter of deep national concern—the wave of industrial and bank mergers that is reorienting our system of free, competitive enterprise.

My plan is to examine into the nature and extent of the present merger movement; the purpose of the Celler-Kefauver Antimerger Act; its enforcement by the Attorney General and the Federal Trade Commission; and finally, the necessity for additional legislation.

DIMENSION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MERGER MOVEMENT

At the outset it is clear that in recent years the rising tide of mergers both in the industrial and banking fields has played a key role in hastening the reduction of competition and concentrating economic power in the hands of industry superstructures.

Let me cite a few figures to indicate the extent of this trend. Considering only the industrial segment of the economy, in the 6 years from 1951 through 1956 there took place 4,686 mergers.[1] Of this amount, 2,267 were corporate mergers and acquisitions in manufacturing and mining.[2] Beyond that, in 1956, the number of mergers in manufacturing and mining set a 26-year record and proceeded at a rate four times that of 1949. As the New York Times concluded, "The wave of mergers is now more like a floodtide so wide and pervasive has it become."

This corporate merger trend has taken many different forms. For one thing, through so-called conglomerate mergers, huge corporations, not content to dominate

Footnotes at end of speech.

one industry, are penetrating many other industries where the product or service offered is wholly unrelated to their original field. Justification frequently offered is that such activity is necessary to provide greater diversification or round out a product line. Whatever the merits of this argument, in many instances when this kind of consolidation ocurs, the sheer economic power and vast financial resources of the giant entering a new industry threatens the continued existence of smaller competitors.

The pattern of diversification is indeed a grotesque one. A leading hard coal producer announces purchase of an underwear company. A textile company enters the electronics business. A bus and engine manufacturer takes over food wholesalers and retail food chains. Little wonder that the Wall Street Journal commented that "the type of merger activity now going on strikes an old fogy with a sense of complete bewilderment. Rail equipment builders enter the road machinery and electronics field. A coal mining organization acquires oil, shipping construction machinery, and machine tool firms. A construction contractor acquires a steel mill and a paint maker."

Not only do many such mergers have serious anticompetitive implications, there are other considerations too. Frequently when a company is taken over by another, the plant of the acquired concern is closed down, people are thrown out of work and the economic stability of the entire community is threatened. The textile industry is a case in point. Because of widespread merger activity by large textile companies, many mills have been shut down, causing severe unemployment and community distress. Indeed, in many instances, the closed mills formed the economic heart of the community upon which local jobs, stores, professions, services, and churches depended for income.

I recognize, of course, that not all mergers have had these unfortunate consequences. Many—and those in the automobile industry are typical—have helped competition by strengthening the market position of the combined companies and their ability to compete more vigorously. Also on the positive side of the ledger, some corporations have averted bankruptcy in this way. And some firms have assured themselves of adequate supplies in periods when materials are scarce and of guaranteed market outlets in periods of recession.

On the other hand, many corporate acquisitions have not had such a fortunate competitive result. Certain giant corporations with a voracious appetite, which is sometimes stimulated by tax considerations and personal factors of prestige, have taken over growing, efficient, profitable and vigorously competitive businesses.

In dealing with this problem there are, I think, a few obvious fundamentals which are sometimes lost sight of, if not ignored entirely. The basic objective of the antitrust laws is the preservation of a free competitive enterprise system in which economic activity is controlled so far as possible by the market and not by men. Those who enacted our antitrust laws believed that the market should control business decisions, not business men the market. They strove to safeguard and preserve genuinely workable, effective competition, the kind where prices, output, wages and other rewards depend not on the decisions of a few but result from the day-to-day actions of rival business firms, independently motivated. This decentralized brand of decision-making, Congress believed, would ensure a maximum not only of individual opportunity, but of political liberty.

The inescapable fact is that these basic objectives have been frustrated in considerable part by mergers which have resulted in giant aggregations that have obtained economic power to control price and supply and to dominate many industries. Indeed, the long-term rise in industrial concentration in this country is due in considerable measure to what may economist friends refer to as external expansion of business, which is another name for mergers. Thus, the power of the industrial leaders in steel, copper, cans, dairy products, to name but a few, is primarily attributable to this reaching out and buying up other concerns, not to natural growth. Without overlooking the part tax considerations haye played in pushing forward the merger movement I think it significant that many major companies in this country have acquired nearly all their assets by merger.

Beyond this, many mergers have a competitive effect that mushrooms out. The impact reaches small firms which may have to compete with a consolidated corporation; it reaches customers of the acquired enterprise who have found their former source of supply cut off; it reaches former suppliers of either of the combining corporations who find that their products or services are no longer needed; and, it reaches firms who have lost an important outlet for their products as a result of the acquiring corporation's decision to have its products sold exclusively to the marketing organization of the acquired corporation.

Up to this point I have referred to the rash of mergers that has beset the industrial sector of the economy. Let me hasten to add that the financial world is likewise experiencing a multitude of bank mergers that has concentrated the Nation's banking business into fewer and larger banks. In the period from 1950 through 1956, for example, some 1,017 of the country's commercial banks have disappeared by way of mergers or consolidations in a rapidly accelerating trend that represents a major development in banking.[3]

The banking system of this country traditionally has relied for its vitality on vigorous competition by a multitude of independent banks, locally organized, locally financed, and locally managed. Unlike other countries, such as Great Britain and France, where a few institutions control nearly all of the banking facilities, the American system is based on unit banking—that is, strong, growing community banks which provide a wide range of financial services to the people in that area. Contrary to these fundamental principles, the spate of bank mergers is contributing to unprecedented concentration in our present-day banking system. There is hardly room for complacency when the 100 largest banks in the Nation now control over 46 percent of all the commercial banks in the country and more than 48 percent of the Nation's commercial bank deposits; when in each of a majority of the leading financial centers of this Nation, a handful of banks control a predominant share of all the commercial bank assets of the area. In my own city of New York, for example, the financial center of the Nation, the 4 largest banks control over 60 percent of all commercial bank assets while the 2 largest alone control over 42 percent of these assets.

Let me say emphatically that this trend presents a serious danger to the independent banking system; permitted to continue unchecked, it could have the most dangerous consequences for the entire competitive economy which depends for its lifeblood upon banking credit.

THE CELLER-KEFAUVER ACT AND ITS ENFORCEMENT

Against the background of a wave of mergers in the industrial field, the Celler-Kefauver Antimerger Act was placed on the statute books in 1950. Its principal purpose—to limit future increases in the level of economic concentration resulting from corporate acquisitions and to block resulting monopolistic tendencies in their incipiency.

This act closed a widely exploited loophole in the Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914, which existed because section 7 of that act applied only to corporate mergers accomplished by stock purchases. Companies could circumvent the law by the simple device of buying up a plant or other assets of a second concern, thus leaving the enforcement agencies virtually powerless to proceed. The new law, among other things, plugged this convenient gap by amending section 7 to forbid corporate mergers no matter if accomplished by purchase of assets of purchase of stock if the effect may be substantially to lessen competition or tend to monopoly in any section of the country.

I would add that this new law does not prohibit all mergers; nor does it prohibit mergers between competitors where the effect on competition is not substantial. Imbedded in the legislative history is the principle that consolidations which enable smaller concerns in an industry to compete more effectively are in the public interest.

The act made another significant change. It enlarged the coverage of old section 7 to apply to all types of corporate mergers and acquisitions—horizontal, vertical, and conglomerate—which have the specified effects on competition.[4] As the House report observed, this change was intended "to permit intervention * * * when the effect of an acquisition may be a significant reduction in the vigor of competition, even though this effect may not be so far-reaching as to amount to a combination in restraint of trade, create a monopoly, or constitute an attempt to monopolize. Such an effect may arise in various ways, such as elimination in whole or in material part of the competitive activity of an enterprise which has been a substantial factor in competition, increase in the relative size of the enterprise making the acquisition to such a point that its advantage over its competitors threatens to be decisive, undue reduction in the number of competing enterprises, or establishment of relationships between buyers and sellers which deprive their rivals of a fair opportunity to compete."

But passage of legislation such as this can be largely nugatory unless accompanied by vigilant, hard-hitting enforcement. For that reason most pertinent is the antimerger enforcement record of the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission—agencies which have concurrent responsibility for administering the provisions of the Celler-Kefauver Act. To assess this record, our House Antitrust Subcommittee made extensive investigation and conducted lengthy hearings in 1955. Another purpose was to ascertain the dimensions of, and generating forces behind, the merger movement; and to obtain recommendations as to the need for additional legislation.

On the basis of this investigation, the committee found, in its report issued December 1955, that the merger enforcement record of the two agencies was far from reassuring. It pointed out that in the 5 years since the Celler-Kefauver Act was adopted, but 11 complaints were filed, 5 by the Department of Justice, and 6 by the Federal Trade Commission. It also found that no case had even reached the point of final decision either in the courts or in the Commission.

Viewed against the backdrop of over 3,000 corporate mergers, this paucity of proceedings led the majority of the Antitrust Subcommittee to conclude that the "Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission * * * made but a token gesture at enforcement"; that "both * * * agencies * * * failed to execute the provisions of law promptly, vigorously, or effectively."

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

The committee added that "merger enforcement activity has been seriously hampered by lack of sufficient funds which has prevented the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission from assigning more than a corporal's guard of attorneys and economists to merger work." In the committee's opinion the "merger movement is too widespread and too pervasive for anything less than a full-scale, concentrated enforcement effort to produce adequate results and adequate results can be accomplished only if necessary funds are made available."

In view of these considerations, the committee recommended that "Congress make a substantial increase in its appropriations to the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission, with the increase earmarked specifically for merger work."

I am happy to report that the efforts of our Antitrust Subcommittee have borne some fruit. The Congress has followed its recommendation and appropriated an additional $1 million to the Federal Trade Commission for the fiscal year 1957 with the increase specifically allocated by the Congress to merger enforcement work. Result is that about one-fourth of the money and manpower of the Commission is now designated for such work.

What is more, the Commission has stepped up sharply enforcement of the Celler-Kefauver Act. Since December 1955 when our committee issued its report on corporate and bank mergers, the Commission has started proceedings in 11 cases, which is almost double the number of cases filed by the Commission in the 5 years from December 1950 to December 1955. Moreover, since December 1955 the Antitrust Division has brought 6 new merger cases, which exceed the number brought in the preceding 5 years. Equally important, the Antitrust Division intends that merger surveillance occupy a major place in its enforcement program this year.

The new emphasis given corporate mergers is a most salutary development and one deserving of commendation.

In one respect, though, both the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice have fallen down by failing to proceed against so-called conglomerate mergers. Despite the fact that the Celler-Kefauver Act applies with equal force to such transactions and that such mergers encompass over half of the present mergers and acquisitions, each agency seems to assume that enforcement action is not possible. In fact, their attitude in this area seems to be one of futility.

I do not minimize the difficulty in demonstrating competitive effects of a given conglomerate merger. But the problem is not an insuperable one. Other agencies of the Federal Government have successfully coped with far more vexing questions. It is imperative that the Commission and the Department of Justice overcome their attitude of passive acceptance of conglomerate mergers, develop appropriate standards of enforcement, and proceed vigorously in this vital area of corporate activity.

THE NEED FOR ADDITIONAL LEGISLATION

In addition to these considerations, investigation by our Antitrust Subcommittee has pointed to the need for additional remedial legislation dealing with the mounting tide of corporate and bank mergers. It has pointed to the need for a measure such as the premerger notification bill, H. R. 2143, which I introduced on January 7, 1957. That bill combines substantially the provisions of two bills I introduced during the last Congress which passed the House of Representatives unanimously and were pending in the Senate when Congress adjourned.

The first purpose of my bill, H. R. 2143, is to prevent bank mergers achieved by acquisition of assets where the effect may be substantially to lessen competition or to tend to create a monopoly in any section of the country. Section 7 of the Clayton Act, as amended by the Celler-Kefauver Act, now covers bank mergers achieved by stock acquisitions but fails to include bank mergers accomplished by means of asset acquisitions. This bill will close the gap in existing law and will provide the Federal Reserve Board and the Attorney General with the same authority to move against asset acquisitions by banks as against stock acquisitions.

The second objective of my bill is to require parties to a proposed merger to notify the Attorney General and the Federal Trade Commission or other appropriate board 60 days in advance of the transaction. Under the bill, parties to a proposed merger where the combined capital structure would exceed $10 million cannot consummate the transaction until 60 days after notice is given to enforcement officials. With the notice merging corporations would be required to furnish to the Government specifically enumerated information to enable the Attorney General or the appropriate agency to assess the merger's probable impact on competition. Willful failure to submit the notification or to furnish the required information would be subject to a penalty of from $5,000 to $50,000.

The bill sets forth 10 categories of corporate transactions which are exempt from the notification and waiting provisions of the bill. In addition, the bill requires the Federal Trade Commission or other appropriate Government agency, upon approval of the Attorney General, to establish procedures for waiving all or part of the notification of waiting requirements in categories of cases where notification and a waiting period is deemed unnecessary to effectuate enforcement of the antimerger law.

Under the bill, failure by the Department of Justice or the Federal Trade Commission to bring suit within the 60-day waiting period does not constitute approval of the transaction or prejudice the Government's right to institute proceedings at a later date to challenge the legality of the merger. Nor does the bill require in any way advance agency approval of mergers.

The third purpose of the bill is to provide the Federal Trade Commission with authority to seek a court order to prevent consummation of a merger pending the issuance of a complaint and the completion of the Commission's administrative proceedings. This amendment would give the Federal Trade Commission, which has concurrent jurisdiction with the Attorney General to enforce the merger provisions of the Clayton Act, authority similar to that now possessed by the Attorney General to seek a preliminary court injunction restraining consummation of a merger while adjudication of its legality is pending.

There follows some of the reasons why such legislation is imperative.

At present the staff of the antitrust enforcement agencies must rely upon newspapers, financial periodicals, trade journals, and other publications for information regarding proposed mergers which the companies themselves could readily supply. These procedures are unsatisfactory, especially since many significant mergers are not publicized in advance of consummation.

The enforcement agencies also are confronted with the problem of collecting elementary information about the companies involved in a proposed merger in order to determine the merger's impact upon competition and whether a full investigation should be made. While such information is ordinarily requested from the companies, at present they have no legal obligation to furnish the information requested, or to make it available expeditiously.

Not only will premerger notification ease this enforcement burden, it will afford the enforcement officials a reasonable period of time in which to study the competitive implications of a merger before deciding whether to seek a preliminary injunction restraining its consummation pending a determination of legality.

Furthermore, lack of a provision giving the Federal Trade Commission authority to seek a preliminary court injunction to prevent merger consummation has created a most serious loophole in the Celler-Kefauver Antimerger Act. Under present law, companies can obtain the benefits of a completed merger even though its legality has been challenged by the Federal Trade Commission and notwithstanding the fact that pending final disposition of the complaint, the merger may have caused the very damage to the competitive structure of the industry which the Celler-Kefauver Act was intended to safeguard. Then, too, in many mergers the acquired competitor is completely swallowed up and disappears as an identifiable entity, making it practically impossible hereafter to restore completely the preexisting competitive situation.

In this context, while premerger notification is a necessary preliminary step, it is just as important to provide the corollary power to seek an injunction preventing the commingling of the assets, management, and productive facilities to a point where they cannot be effectively unscrambled.

Despite the clear purpose of this measure, some business organizations have not only misstated its objective, but have incorrectly fostered the notion that it requires advance agency approval of corporate mergers. For instance, as Judge Hansen, head of the Antitrust Division pointed out recently:

"A survey of business opinion regarding premerger notification legislation, conducted by the Diversification Institute, Inc., came across my desk. That survey asked 500 industrial corporations, among other things: 'Do you favor legislation similar to H. R. 9424[5] described in the accompanying insert?' It, however, is dangerously misleading. For that description apparently assumed that H. R. 9424 provided, not for premerger notification, but rather for premerger approval. Thus the accompanying description averred 'approval [I repeat, "approval"] of the proposed merger would not exempt the parties from subsequent antitrust attack. Nor [and I still quote from the description] would disapproval deprive them of any defense available to them in such proceedings, in the event they went ahead with the transaction notwithstanding the disapproval.' Small wonder, then, that many questioned objected that the proposed legislation 'would give Government agencies powers that belong to the courts.'"

It is my considered judgment that should the business community be informed fairly and adequately of the details of this legislation, it would have no objection to its passage particularly since evenhanded enforcement requires notification. With that requirement incorporated in the statute, the company that tries to obey the law and seek advance clearance from the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission will no longer stand by and watch its competitor, who chooses to remain silent, consummate a merger and thereafter rely on the natural indisposition of the enforcement agency to bring suit to unscramble the commingled assets at some later date.

It must also be observed that enactment of such legislation would benefit the business community itself, since disruption of business plans is lessened by agency action before merger consummation. Some companies, in fact, argue that if the Federal en-

---

Footnotes at end of speech.

forcement agencies are to proceed at all, they should sue before consummation.

Certainly there is much that an organization such as yours can do in stimulating public discussion so that the import and objectives of legislation such as this can be fully understood.

---

[1] Data recently supplied the House Antitrust Subcommittee by the Federal Trade Commission show the following number of industrial mergers for each year since 1951:

Year:	Annual total
1951	703
1952	822
1953	793
1954	617
1955	846
1956	905

[2] The Federal Trade Commission reports the following number of mergers in manufacturing and mining for each year since 1919:

Year:	Annual total
1919	433
1920	760
1921	487
1922	309
1923	311
1924	368
1925	554
1926	856
1927	870
1928	1,058
1929	1,245
1930	799
1931	464
1932	203
1933	120
1934	101
1935	130
1936	126
1937	124
1938	110
1939	87
1940	140
1941	111
1942	118
1943	213
1944	324
1945	333
1946	419
1947	404
1948	223
1949	126
1950	219
1951	235
1952	288
1953	295
1954	537
1955	525
1956	537

[3] The following table supplied the House Antitrust Subcommittee by the Federal Reserve Board shows the annual number of bank consolidations and absorptions for each year from 1921:

Year:	Annual total
1921	305
1922	394
1923	392
1924	373
1925	363
1926	462
1927	567
1928	534
1929	636
1930	769
1931	798
1932	433
1933	322
1934	231
1935	160
1936	176
1937	186
1938	100
1939	119
1940	96
1941	59
1942	89
1943	86
1944	72
1945	79
1946	93
1947	84
1948	75
1949	77
1950	91
1951	82
1952	100
1953	116
1954	207
1955	232
1956	189

[4] Horizontal acquisitions are those in which the firms involved are engaged in roughly similar lines of endeavor; vertical acquisitions are those in which the purchase represents a movement either backward from, or forward toward, the ultimate consumer; conglomerate acquisitions are those in which there is no discernible relationship in the nature of business between the acquiring and acquired firms.

[5] H. R. 9424 is a bill I introduced last year which is essentially similar to my present bill, H. R. 2143.

Death of Rabbi Joseph Rauch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, last week the citizens of Louisville, Ky., sustained a great loss in the death of Rabbi Joseph Rauch. The entire community mourns his passing. The community he loved and served in so many ways paid immediate tribute to his memory. Flags flew at half mast atop the city hall and Jefferson County Courthouse. A proclamation of sympathy was issued by the Mayor of Louisville.

Monsignor Felix N. Pitt, secretary of the Catholic school board, referred to the late rabbi as "an untiring and unpaid public servant—a man who loved the people."

Dr. Duke K. McCall, president of the Baptist Theological Seminary, characterized him as "a man of deep spiritual convictions and spiritual insights which he combined in an unusual way with hardheaded, practical commonsense."

"He threw his unusual personality into every forward movement of the community," said Methodist Bishop William T. Watkins.

Dr. Rauch was born in a small village in Austria, and came to this country by himself at the age of 12. He received doctorate degrees in theology, divinity, and law. Despite his scholarliness, he never lost the light and informal touch. To his fellow-Rotarians—and he was an eager Rotarian—he was Joe Rauch. He was 1 of 3 men who organized Louisville's first Community Chest campaign. His services to his community are too many to list here. No one has done more for Louisville, and no one will be more missed than Dr. Joseph Rauch.

To Mrs. Rauch, who was his faithful helpmate during so many years in Louisville, I express my deepest sympathy.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Louisville Courier-Journal, which is a tribute to Joseph Rauch.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GREATNESS OF SPIRIT IN A SIMPLE FRAME

It is given to few men to be both respected and beloved by an entire community. Such a rare individual was Joseph Rauch. It is hard to think of any resident of Louisville whose death could bring such a feeling of personal loss to so many and such varied people.

He was proud to be a Louisville citizen. He gave infinite time and patient effort to civic affairs, not as a duty, but as a willing tribute to a community he loved. His far-ranging civic activities brought him into close touch with thousands of people who never heard him preach a sermon at Temple Adath Israel in all his 44 years there. Other thousands who never met him fell under the influence of his warm, benign, richly tolerant nature as it was displayed on the WHAS Moral Side of the News.

It was of only secondary importance that Rabbi Rauch happened to have been born in one of the more remote villages of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, that he was technically an immigrant, and that he belonged to a relatively small religious group in the community. If there is any significance in these facts, it is only that they demonstrate what loving service a man can bring to an adopted land and an adopted city.

Dr. Rauch's interested were world wide. His mind was an instrument of adventure and exploration down to the very last evening of his life. Yet this keen traveler in the broad realms of the intellect was happily at home in Louisville, with his well-loved wife at his side. He was never bored, never impatient, never without the humor that bubbled up from the depths of a truly kind heart.

This small, modest, self-effacing man will be remembered as a great human being.

Mount Rushmore Is Powerful Magnet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial taken from the Sioux Falls, S. Dak., Daily Argus Leader, calling attention to the nearly 1 million persons who visited this national shrine during 1956.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MOUNT RUSHMORE IS POWERFUL MAGNET

Annual meeting of the trustees of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Society this month emphasized again the tremendous popularity of the extraordinary memorial in the Black Hills.

Close to 1 million persons visited the site in 1956, and there are possibilities that even more persons will come in the years ahead

as the extensive program of development now under way is completed.

The memorial is becoming more and more firmly established as one of the "musts" to see in the United States. Even visitors from abroad display an interest in the memorial and ask to have it included on their sightseeing trips.

All of this means much to the Black Hills and to South Dakota as a whole. Rushmore is a great attraction and one of which we may well be very proud.

Tribute to the Late Senator Norris, of Nebraska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD portions of a tribute from the Denver Post of February 18, 1957, by the distinguished columnist, Roscoe Fleming, which highlights the illustrious career of the late Senator George W. Norris, of Nebraska.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GEORGE NORRIS OF NEBRASKA AMONG THE GREATEST SENATORS?

(By Roscoe Fleming)

The present United States Senate seems to me as good as any in modern times, and perhaps as good as any in history. We tend to downrate our contemporaries, maybe just because they are not glazed over with the glamor of the past.

The Senate's quality was distinctly improved in the late election, despite Ike's well-meant efforts to water it down. Such able new men as JAVITS, COOPER, MORTON, CARROLL, CHURCH, and CLARK join such able returnees as HENNINGS, HILL, MORSE, MONRONEY, FULBRIGHT, and others; though returning Republicans, unlike some of the new ones, add no luster.

A Senate committee headed by young Senator KENNEDY, of Massachusetts is commissioned to select the five greatest Senators of all time, so that their portraits may be hung in the Chamber.

Webster, Clay, and Calhoun seem already in. That is what I mean by the glamor of the past. Webster was a venal man for interests which paid him money.

No present Member is eligible, although there is only one who in my opinion might qualify as among the "greatest" and that is PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois. Some of the younger men might well make it though, when their records are complete.

There seems to me only one clear choice for one of the two remaining places and maybe for the title of greatest Senator, and that is George William Norris, of Nebraska.

His name is written larger on legislation and the present framework of our society than that of any other Senator in history, which should have some bearing on the matter.

Senator Norris was always the same all the way through, not veneered, and his substance was solid oak. He was a stocky, plain man with one drooping eyelid, and he had no eloquence.

We reporters used to go to his office for press conferences which were more like roundtable gabfests, and he would sit with his feet on his desk, and talk just as he did in the Senate. He had no secrets, no reservations, and no subtleties; his only judgment of a course was whether he thought it good for the whole people of the United States.

It was he who hung on like grim death to the great public works at Muscle Shoals when Coolidge and Hoover were trying to give them away in an earlier version of the partnership policy; and who was responsible more than any other one man for TVA.

Likewise for REA, which lighted the farm homes of the Nation and lightened the labors of millions of farmers, their wives, and families.

He sponsored and drove through the anti-lame-duck constitution amendment, which ended the anomaly of a whole lame-duck session of Congress after a new administration had taken over.

His name is on much constructive legislation like the Norris-LaGuardia law that outlawed "yellow dog" contracts by which a man to get and keep a job, had to promise not to join a labor union.

Outside Congress he was the father of the Nebraska unicameral legislature.

There is some criticism of him as one of the little group of willful men who filibustered against declaring World War I. But that was George Norris for you. He had the courage to follow his convictions wherever they led.

Yet George Norris may not make the list of greatest. Besides KENNEDY, the committee members are MANSFIELD, of Montana; BRICKER, of Ohio; BRIDGES, of New Hampshire; RUSSELL, of Georgia.

Why Single Out Israel for Punishment?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, the Asheville Citizen for February 23, 1957, contained an excellent editorial entitled "Why Single Out Israel for Punishment?" I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY SINGLE OUT ISRAEL FOR PUNISHMENT?

The gravity of the Israeli-Egyptian dispute was underscored by President Eisenhower's decision to take his views to the American people in a TV-radio address.

The President stands firm in the opinion that Israel should obey the U. N. General Assembly which called upon her to complete withdrawal behind the demarcation line of 1949.

The United States has no choice but to exert pressure, Mr. Eisenhower holds, if Israel fails to heed the U. N. demand, but his view is not shared by a considerable body of congressional opinion. Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, Democratic leader of the Senate, agrees Israel should withdraw, but feels withdrawal should be accompanied by adequate U. N. action that will not leave that country defenseless.

The problem for Israel is acute. She does not trust Egypt. Without guaranties, she sees the possibility of continuance of the blockade in the Gulf of Aqaba and renewed fedayeen (commando) raids based on the Gaza strip.

The problem traces back to 1945 when seven Arab States united to prevent the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. After the State of Israel was proclaimed in 1948, the Arab league armies invaded the new nation. The following year an armistice was signed, but economic and diplomatic boycotts and border raids declaration.

In a tripartite declaration, the United States, Britain, and France, in 1950, said they would take action if any Mideast nation violated the frontiers or armistice lines.

After that, in the same year, Egypt prohibited ships bound for Israel from using the Suez Canal. In 1951, Egypt refused to obey a United Nations resolution calling for an end to the embargo on Israel-bound shipping.

Trouble flared anew in July 1956, when Israel and the Arab States accused each other of massing troops on Israel's borders. In October Israel launched an attack on Egypt in reprisal for border raids by Egyptian fedayeen. On November 5, British and French troops began an invasion of Egypt, but under U. N. and Soviet pressure they agreed to a cease-fire and withdrawal. The U. N. sent in a police force to supervise cessation of fighting.

Israel, however, did not complete her withdrawal and expressed determination to remain in the Gaza strip and Gulf of Aqaba area until she had guaranties from Egypt that the latter would refrain from raids based on Gaza and from further blockade based on Sharm el Sheikh of the Gulf of Aqaba.

The United States, acting through the United Nations, has continued to urge withdrawal, making proposal after proposal.

The problem the United States faces is in the nature of a dilemma. Its chief allies, Great Britain and France, are sympathetic toward Israel's case against Nasser of Egypt. Yet America does not wish to alienate the Arab-Asian bloc which supports Egypt's position in the United Nations.

It appears that the Arab-Asian bloc will insist on sanctions against Israel, but no mention is made of sanctions against Egypt for failing to obey the U. N. demand of 1951 for an end to the embargo on Israel-bound shipping.

Mr. Eisenhower feels the United States must support pressure against Israel. There is a moral basis for pressure against any nation that resorts to aggression (as Israel did because of grave provocations).

But pressure against a small nation cannot be exercised from a high moral plateau when it is singled out for punishment while other nations, equally guilty, are not penalized.

It is true Israel is hurting her standing in the U. N. and in the opinion of the world. But to put the entire onus on Israel and take no action against Egypt does not appear to be based on the principle of equal justice for all.

Japanese Imports of Plywood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated February 21, 1957, addressed to me

by Mr. Frank B. Best, manager of radio station WDIX, of Orangeburg, S. C., together with the news release which was sent with the letter.

There being no objection, the letter and news release were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RADIO STATION WDIX,
Orangeburg, S. C., February 21, 1957.

Hon. J. STROM THURMOND,
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR STROM: Enclosed is a copy of a story from our news of today regarding a plant closing and loss of employment here due to Japanese imports of plywood as the principal cause.

Satisfactory import quotas on cheap foreign plywood are urgent. Thank you for what you are doing to get this and other cheap foreign labor competition under control.

This brings our warm regards.

Cordially yours,

FRANK B. BEST, *Manager.*

Orangeburg's United States Plywood is closing one of its plants. Manager B. P. "Phil" Adams said today that Japanese imports of cheap plywood is the chief reason. The old plywood plant on old Calhoun Street will close within 3 weeks. Production from the old plywood plant is the cheapest of the products made here by United States Plywood. "We have been unable to compete with low-paid labor of foreign imports," Mr. Adams states. The new plant on the Five-Chop Road will continue to operate and to expand. New equipment is being installed in a three-quarter-million-dollar addition to the new plant. United States Plywood is employing over 600 people in Orangeburg now. How many will be out of jobs due to closing the old plant, Mr. Adams does not know at this time. "We are trying to consolidate. It will take about 3 weeks before we know." Mr. Adams told employees today that the consolidation would put some out of jobs at both plants. Mr. Adams told the employees today, "I am saddened by this." United States Plywood hopes in time and with its new facilities on the Five Chop Road to rebuild employment to the present level.

Salaries of High Officials in Various Branches of Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a communication which I have received from James F. Hughes, past president, Central Labor Union, AFL., Lawrence, Mass., to the editor of the Labor News.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDITOR, LABOR NEWS:

During the last session both Houses of Congress raised the salaries of Senators and Congressmen to approximately $25,000 annually. Organized labor, following out its traditional policy, favored the increase but, and I feel unintentionally, both Houses omitted including an increase in the salary of the President of the United States and so did organized labor. The President of the United States fills the most important position in the world, is responsible for the welfare of 165 million American citizens, is confronted with the chaotic conditions which prevail in foreign countries, has to make decisions which may drive us into or keep us out of war, has to administer the domestic affairs of the Nation in an impartial manner, has to discuss foreign affairs with diplomats, ambassadors (and God knows who else) of foreign countries, never losing sight of the fact America first, and he is available 365 days in the year. A rather rough assignment.

Some of the presidents of large corporations receive an annual salary of $800,000, expenses included, and are not responsible for the welfare of 165 million American citizens, whose labors keep industry rolling at top speed. Their job is to keep production at a high level, favorable markets for the products produced, and profits and more profits for the industry and the stockholders whom they represent. The President of the United States, whether a Republican or a Democrat, is the choice of the electorate of the Nation, he is entitled to the full cooperation of every citizen and for his services should receive an annual salary of $500,000, expenses included, tax free, and should, at the earliest possible moment, be given the suggested salary; he earns it; he is entitled to it.

The salaries of the governors of the States should be $50,000 annually. Lawmakers at the Nation's Capital, in the States, and organized labor must be consistent.

JAMES F. HUGHES,
Past President, Central Labor Union, AFL., Lawrence, Mass.

Representative Holt's Budget Comment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, Benjamin Franklin said:

If you would be wealthy, think of saving as well as of getting.

Representative JOE HOLT, of California, made a comment the other day to the effect that both Senators and Representatives should look in their own backyards to see if they could not find a means of saving a little money in connection with the outlandish budget which has been presented. In view of the timeliness of his remarks, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article on that subject which appeared in the Valley Times of San Fernando Valley, Calif., on February 13, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GEORGE TODT'S OPINION: JOE HOLT'S BUDGET COMMENT

"If you would be wealthy, think of saving as well as of getting."—Benjamin Franklin.

In simple down-to-earth language, Congressman JOE HOLT has gone to the heart of the problem in the matter of the controversial budget which has been submitted—with some misgivings—by President Eisenhower to the Congress.

Writing in his newsletter, Reports From Congress, of January 28, the valley Congressman said:

"The budget is high, but I am glad the President has welcomed the cutting down of his budget by Congress. I agree with him and will be very happy in voting against many of the recommended projects.

"The blame for this high budget cannot be placed entirely at the doorstep of the White House. Every Congressman has a pet project. I am equally guilty, because we have $2 million in the budget for our Los Angeles flood-control project in the West Valley. All are for reducing the budget by eliminating projects in somebody else's congressional district.

"I do, however, believe there are places where appropriations can be reduced and eliminated and I shall vote accordingly. I shall work very hard for a tax cut for the American people. The only one we have had in recent years has been under this administration, but I believe that even with the world situation requiring top military strength, there can be a tax reduction again.

"It is the best way to stop spending—take the source of revenue away."

Mr. HOLT has put his finger on the hole in our economic and budgetary dyke with the key words, "The blame for this high budget cannot be placed entirely at the doorstep of the White House. Every Congressman has a pet project."

This is literally true. And because every Congressman has his pet project, he has to play ball with the majority of his fellow legislators—and their own pet projects—if he expects to have any chance of getting his own section of the gravy train passed for his constituents at home. And if he doesn't? Well, maybe he won't get reelected the next time around.

Now, Congressmen are just as practical as the next businessman. Most of them see it something like this. If they can bring home the bacon to their homefolks—they can likely keep their jobs. If they don't—they may be job-hunting but soon. So what would you do yourself in such a case? Wouldn't you be willing to help your fellow legislators on their legitimate problems, which incidentally required cash to be appropriated from the taxpayers, providing they were also willing to help you with your legitimate problems in return? The answer is obvious. It's team play that wins.

The trouble with this approach is that it somehow resembles Santa Claus. That latter whiskered old gentleman usually turns out to be Joe Doakes, himself. And Joe Doakes knows that too many legitimate requests can break the bank. Much as he may wish to honor everyone—good guy that he is—he is at last forced to the realization that what is needed in the end is self-denial of sorts for himself and his family. But where to start? And with whom? Where does self-denial and discipline commence?

Providing Interim Assistance Through the Federal National Mortgage Association

SPEECH
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 20, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration House Joint Resolution 209, to provide interim assistance through the Federal National Mortgage Association in relieving the shortage of funds for home loans

pending further investigation of housing credit conditions.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, since the end of World War II the private home-building industry has produced more than 10 million new single-family homes in the United States. Even after adjusting for changes in the purchasing power of the dollar, it is significant to note that this total includes approximately 4 million new homes priced at $10,000 or less.

House Joint Resolution 209, which will increase the total borrowing authority of the Federal National Mortgage Association by $500 million, is not intended as a permanent solution to the problem of financing new-home construction. It will, however, help prevent the whole home-construction program from grinding to a near halt because of a collapse of the market for home loans.

The administration's tight-money policy has had a very serious effect upon low-cost privately produced housing. The FHA and VA home-financing programs have accounted for the great bulk of the low-cost housing built in the past decade. Since, roughly, 7 out of every 10 houses built for less than $15,000 are being produced under FHA or VA programs, the importance of maintaining FNMA secondary mortgage operations can hardly be overemphasized.

While the distinguished members of the Banking and Currency Committee consider what legislation may be necessary to help maintain a long-range high level of new-home construction, this resolution will help meet the immediate need for action to sustain current FHA and VA programs. These programs have proven of great value to all parts of our country. They have been of particular imporatnce to those rapidly growing areas of the South and West where the demand for credit has been very heavy, but which have developed too recently to have accumulated the large pools of private capital such as exist in New York and New England.

I am grateful for this opportunity to express my support for this resolution.

Expenses Cut Income of Members of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I believe Members of Congress and the country generally will be interested in an editorial in the form of a letter recently written by John A. Kennedy, of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., who is the editor and publisher of the Sioux Falls Daily Argus-Leader.

Mr. Kennedy was inspired to write this informative piece as the consequence of a recent Gallup poll revealing that many persons in this country have a somewhat erroneous impression concerning the factors appropriately determining the compensation received by Members of Congress in this day and age. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Kennedy's observations may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FROM THE PUBLISHER'S DESK: EXPENSES CUT INCOME OF CONGRESS MEMBERS

Mr. FRED C. CHRISTOPHERSON,
Editor, Sioux Falls Argus-Leader.

DEAR CHRIS: I was shocked Sunday by the Gallup poll figures in the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader revealing that the average American believes we should pay Members of Congress only $10,000 a year.

It makes me wonder whether we in the newspaper business are doing a good enough job in informing our readers on what goes on in Washington and what our elected representatives are asked to do for us in the Nation's Capitol.

For the past 35 years I have been watching the operations of Congress. From 1922 to 1935 I was a member of the Press Gallery covering Congress. Since then, as editor, publisher, radio and television operator, and nearly 6 years in the Navy, I have witnessed Congress at work.

Let us take up what a Member of Congress receives—and what happens to that income in the terms of take-home pay.

He gets $22,500 per year and no expense account.

The first thing that happens to the base amount is the tax bite Uncle Sam takes before the Senator or Congressman can call the money his own—just like the rest of us.

TAXES THEY PAY

If they have no children, a married couple pay $5,774 Federal income tax on an intake of $22,500 which leaves $16,726 unless they live in a State or city that has an additional income tax.

If they have children, their taxes are somewhat lower but for every child exemption, their costs are many times that figure for food, clothing, housing, and schools.

Then comes the matter of social security—actually retirement in their case—and the bite for that is substantial but unlike people in private business, they, the Congressmen, pay the whole bill themselves as the Government contributes nothing.

The Senator or Congressman has to have a roof over his head in Washington—that in addition to keeping up his residence or apartment back home.

A furnished apartment or house in Washington costs a staggering amount, the most modest probably $3,500 to $4,000 per year including utilities and other nominal charges.

WASHINGTON EXPENSIVE

Then they have to eat and buy clothes. We want them to be presentable as they move around Washington doing our jobs for us. The costs in the District of Columbia are higher than they are in South Dakota.

I doubt if any of our South Dakota Members of Congress have much in the way of independent sources of income or capital.

So they should—and probably do—carry some life, health, and accident insurance to protect their families against want.

A constituent comes to Washington seeking legislative or departmental assistance. The Senator or Representative may have time to take him to lunch in the House or Senate restaurants to sample the bean soup and other food. The bill is paid for by the legislator unless the constituent (and that, perhaps, is rarely the case) thoughtfully grabs the check.

The Congressman or his assistants have to go to the various departments and bureaus. He takes his own car—and pay the bill himself. If he were an employee in a Government bureau or department and had to come to the Capitol, the executive agency would provide him with transportation free.

OTHER EXPENDITURES

I suppose the average Senator and Congressman also has to make donations to churches, chambers of commerce, charitable, business, fraternal, and other groups. Of these, of course, only the church or charitable contributions can be deducted, but even then he pays at least half the bill out of what is left from his taxed funds.

Your guess is as good as mine as to what that amounts to per year, but I am sure it is not inconsequential.

He gets one mileage fee to go back and forth to the sessions in Washington, but when he comes back to his State or to the district unless it is in connection with some official Federal hearing being held in the State, he pays transportation, hotel, and similar costs.

WHEN THEY ENTERTAIN

I am sure our South Dakota Congressmen and Senators entertain very modestly. You and I know that when Mrs. Mundt and Mrs. Berry had a reception for South Dakota visitors for the recent inaugural, the crowd overflowed their adjacent apartments.

Mary Mundt and Rose Berry worked practically the entire time in the kitchen making sandwiches and hot bits of food while other ladies pitched in to help, washing dishes and passing trays, much as we would in South Dakota for our neighbors and friends. But even the food for that costs money. In that case the Berrys and Mundts paid for it.

I imagine our Congressmen and Senators get invitations or announcements of weddings and anniversaries in excess of perhaps a hundred per year, you can figure out what that costs them.

Also, their bill for flowers to ill and deceased friends would be sizable.

Christmas cards must be privately purchased and, as you have noticed, carry a regular postage stamp on them which means the Congressman or Senator has paid that out of his pocket, too.

STORY SHOULD BE TOLD

Maybe we should tell our readers all of these things and maybe our Senators and Congressmen could have expense accounts, not lumped, but funds to take care of legitimate and proper expenditures, and secondly, reimbursement for normal business, travel, entertainment expense just as they would if they were engaged in private practice of their professions or businesses. At least these expenses should be tax deductible, but better still, fully reimbursed.

If this were the case, I am sure we could get more people to devote their lives to public service.

The same thing goes for governors, legislators, State, county, and city officials.

You and I know, Chris, that none of our public servants get rich or save money on their jobs.

JOHN A. KENNEDY,
Publisher, editor in chief.

Free European Market and Atom Pool

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in our concern with the Mideast crisis, we have

overlooked, to a greater extent than we should have overlooked, a very important development in the unification and integration of Europe. This was announced last week in connection with the signing of a pact for so-called free markets among the six principal free European powers; also for the creation of an atom resources pool and a European Atomic Energy Commission.

I know of no single event which is more portentous for Europe's own desire to put itself in accord with modern conditions, and to maintain its viability and strength as the second principal element of the free world, than these developments. I hope very much that all Americans will note them, and I hope very much, as we come to debate our various foreign aid and other programs this year, we may give full recognition and support to what is probably the most important step which has taken place economically in Europe, and perhaps in the free world, since the end of World War II.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the news report from the New York Times of February 21, 1957, announcing these great events: a communique on Europe issued by premiers and foreign ministers of six member nations of the European Common Market and the European Community of Atomic Energy; also an analysis from the Wall Street Journal of February 21, 1957, as to the meaning of the free market in world trade.

There being no objection, the article and statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of February 21, 1957]

SIX EUROPEAN PREMIERS JOIN FOR ATOM RESOURCES POOL AND A TARIFF-FREE MARKET—PACT SIGNING NEAR—CEREMONY TO COMPLETE UNITY PLANS EXPECTED IN ROME IN MARCH

(By Harold Callender)

PARIS, February 20—What may prove to be the greatest step so far toward the economic and, eventually, the political union of Europe was taken in Paris today.

The heads of governments of six nations agreed on the basic provisions of two treaties tending to merge their economies.

One would pool their nuclear resources under a European Atomic Energy Commission not unlike that of the United States.

The other would introduce gradually, over a period of 12 to 17 years, a single or common market without tariffs or other barriers covering both the European and the overseas territories of the six nations.

The nations, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, already are joined in such a common market for two basic commodities in the European Coal and Steel Community. Their leaders expect that the treaties to broaden this economic union will be signed in Rome in March.

STEP IS CALLED DECISIVE

In a final communique the heads of the governments of the six nations "reaffirm the will of their countries to pursue their efforts for a European integration growing increasingly closer." They described the two treaties as forming a "decisive step" toward this goal.

The leaders of the six nations did not appear to share the apparent fears of the British that extension of the common market to the European overseas territories, even on the experimental basis now planned, might hamper the British-proposed free trade zone in Europe. This zone would include the six nations, Britain and such other European countries as might care to join it.

While the states in the common market would adopt a common tariff, the others in the free-trade zone would each fix their own tariffs. The common market area would, of course, levy no tariff on goods from other members of the free trade area but would levy one against goods for nations outside both areas.

Continental leaders contended that if the common market project should fail, there would be no free-trade zone; and that if the common market materialized there would be plenty of time and scope for negotiating on the supplementary free trade zone.

They saw the common market as far on the way to reality, with ratification of the treaty later this year, while they considered the free-trade zone a project that could hardly take shape for a year or so. Therefore, they opposed modifying or delaying the common market in the interest of a still academic free trade zone.

The gradual inclusion of overseas territories in the common market raises a new problem for the free trade zone project. This is now under discussion by the 17 nations in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.

So far as these territories eventually enter this market, they will enjoy the six nations' tariff preferences to the disadvantage of other overseas areas, notably British, unless Britain comes into the free-trade zone, which is not the British expectation.

A similar issue already has arisen over farm products, which the six plan eventually to include in the common market but which the British want excluded from the free-trade zone.

Since the inclusion of continental colonies in the common market is regarded as tentative, at least for a 5-year provisional period, the continentals did not believe tonight that this arrangement necessarily eliminated all chance of a free-trade zone.

Some suggested that Britain was so eager to associate in this way with the common market that she would find means of doing so, in spite of differences over colonies and farm products.

ADVANTAGES SEEN FOR FRANCE

The French, after a hard fight, made an apparently very favorable agreement for their colonies. Their aim was a deal by which they would gradually open their overseas domains to the trade of the five other European nations in return for help from those nations in financing economic development, and even public works, in the overseas areas.

This the French achieved. The agreement is understood to be that during 5 years the French will gradually increase the imports from their European partners into French overseas territories, while in the same period the European partners will invest in those territories about $312 million.

France, herself, will contribute $200 million in the 5 years to the common investment fund for the overseas territories of 4 nations in the common market having such territories.

From the 5 other nations the French territories are expected to receive investments beginning at $30 million in the first year and reaching $120 million in the fifth year.

While the other French territories will enter the common market step by step, as European investments in them grow, Algeria will enter the market on much the same basis as France, according to French officials. But Algerian labor will not share the freedom of movement of other labor in the six nations, nor will it receive wages or social insurance at European rates.

NEW PACT DUE IN 5 YEARS

At the end of the 5 years there will be a new agreement on overseas territories. If the experiment succeeds, the quotas for European imports into the territories will rise, as will the capital from the common investment fund.

If the experiment does not succeed to this extent, the territorial import quotas will not rise but tariffs protecting the territories will nevertheless fall, as will European tariffs within the common market.

Some observers suggest that the economic assimilation of France's African territories into the common market would bring an end to the French colonial system by placing the territories ultimately under European, rather than French, responsibility. Meanwhile, France would share with her neighbors, mainly West Germany, the capital cost of those territories. It is noteworthy that West Germany would put into the investment fund the same amount as France.

EXCEPTIONS ARE PROVIDED

The trade of the 6 countries with nations outside the common market would be subject to customs duties, which would be the same in all 6 countries. In accordance with the rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the 6 have agreed in general to fix their common tariff on the basis of a mathematical average of 4 tariff levels—those of France, West Germany, Italy, and the Benelux Customs Union (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg).

But for some products the common tariff has been fixed by negotiation among the six, and will be so fixed for others. If 1 of the 6 feels harmed by tariff levels fixed in either of these ways, it may remove tariffs on fixed quantities of imports, as the Netherlands now may do for chemical products.

After the 4-year period of transition, when the tariffs within the six-nation common market are to drop 30 percent, a further step toward the common tariff against outside countries will be taken.

Where this tariff differs between any of the 6 by less than 15 percent, the average tariff of the 6 will be applied. The result will be a common tariff intermediate between the high one of France today and the low one of the Benelux Customs Union.

Logically a common market should lead to a common currency. It requires at least stable and convertible currencies among the member countries.

This has caused the report that it would necessitate devaluation of the overvalued French currency. This might prove true, but not immediately, since France will retain her import taxes and export subsidies. The Benelux Customs Union has not produced a single currency in Belgium and the Netherlands.

The nuclear union, called Euratom, will be patterned after the Coal and Steel Community. A European Atomic Commission will hold title to all fissionable materials within the six nations, except those that are diverted to military uses.

The latter will become the property of the nations receiving them. They will pass out of the control of the commission but under that of the Western European Union, which embraces the six nations and Britain with the mission of coordinating their armaments.

The prospective military use of nuclear material applies so far only to France. Jean Monnet, who contributed much to the planning of the nuclear treaty, intended that it should entail only the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. In that case the six, by signing it, would forego military uses.

This brought a protest from French military men, who had begun to plan for the French manufacture of nuclear weapons.

They exacted from Premier Guy Mollet a promise that the nuclear pool would not deprive France of the right to make these weapons, although West Germany had been deprived of that right by the treaties authorizing her armament.

Hence the treaty permits the transfer of nuclear materials for military ends. It is suggested here that the uranium so used will be of European origin, not that supplied by the United States. Most of the six nations will rely on the the United States for their nuclear materials for a long time.

M. Monnet emphasized the greater productive capacity that Europe should acquire from the common market containing 160 million consumers and from the nuclear union, which he saw as the solution of the current European problem of a shortage of power.

Prospects for ratification of the nuclear pool and common market treaties by the French National Assembly were regarded as favorable. Opposition seemed likely only from the Communists, the right-wing Poujadists, and the Radical minority led by former Premier Pierre Mendès-France.

[From the New York Times of February 21, 1957]

COMMUNIQUE ON EUROPE

PARIS, February 20.—Following is the text of a communique issued today after the final meeting of premiers and foreign ministers of the six member nations of the European common market and the European Community of Atomic Energy (Euratom):

"At the invitation of Premier Guy Mollet the heads of government and the ministers of foreign affairs of the states taking part in the Brussels conference for the common market and for Euratom met in Paris on the 19th and 20th of February 1957.

"The following took part in the meeting: For Germany, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and Dr. Heinrich von Brentano; for Belgium, M. Achille van Acker and M. Paul-Henri Spaak; for France, M. Guy Mollet, M. Christian Pineau and M. Maurice Faure; for Italy, Mr. Antoni Segni, Dr. Gaetano Martino and Mr. Bardini-Confalonieri; for Luxembourg, Mr. Joseph Bech, and for the Netherlands, Mr. William Drees, Dr. Joseph M. A. H. Luns and Mr. Van Der Beugel.

"An agreement has been reached on the problems relating to the association of the overseas territories with the common market.

"It has been agreed that the treaty shall contain the principles expressing the will of the six states to associate with the European common market those overseas territories which are linked to them and to contribute to the economic and social investments which the development of these territories call for.

"A first convention concluded for a period of 5 years which will be annexed to the treaty will define the terms of application of these principles.

"It will fix the participation of the member states to the important investment effort which they are willing to undertake in the overseas territories. Furthermore the convention will establish the conditions under which the market of the member states and of the overseas territories will be thrown open progressively to reciprocal trade.

"Before the expiration of this first convention a new agreement will be negotiated within the council of ministers.

"Furthermore it has been agreed that the European Community of Atomic Energy will have the property rights in special fissile materials.

"At the end of this meeting the ministers took note of the fact that their work, conducted under the active impulse of M. Spaak, is sufficiently advanced in order for the results of this work to be submitted shortly to their respective council of ministers and that the signature of the two treaties can be hoped for shortly in Rome.

"The six heads of government on this occasion reaffirmed the determination of their countries to pursue their efforts for an increasingly close European integration of which the Euratom and common market treaties constitute a decisive step."

[From the Wall Street Journal of February 21, 1957]

EUROPE'S UNITY: NATIONS MOVE CLOSER TO FREE TRADE SYSTEM; MANY INDUSTRIES FRET—PLAN WOULD LOWER BARRIERS BETWEEN MEMBERS, RAISE THEM FOR UNITED STATES, OTHERS—UPSHOT: STIFF COMPETITION

(By Kenneth Miller)

PARIS.—Warning to America's foreign traders: Europe has moved a big step closer to a vast trade upheaval.

That is the significance of yesterday's agreement between prime ministers of France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg. Assembled here, they informally approved a common market plan to knock down the trade barriers between their countries and erect uniform tariff walls against outsiders.

The idea behind all this is trade liberalization, but 19 months of almost frenzied give and take between high-tariff lands like France and Italy and the low-tariff low countries have produced some provisions that look remarkably like new trade obstructions—to the outsiders. Reason: In the process of fixing the same external tariff scales, some countries, notably Belgium, Holland, and Germany, will have to boost their levies.

HOLLAND AND ITALY

Some American chemical goods now skip into Holland duty free, but stagger into Italy under a 30 percent tariff load. Under the common market plan, the same goods would find Italian levies halved, but they would suddenly bump into a tariff wall as high as 15 percent, perhaps, in Holland.

That is just a sample, of course, of the shifting tariff and trade patterns likely to develop. Some other prospects: Growing commerce among European countries and, therefore, less buying abroad; stiffer competition for United States firms everywhere in the world from European companies thriving on a customs-free market larger than the United States; and new business opportunities for United States companies with manufacturing subsidiaries in Europe.

The Common Market Pact still must be ratified by the parliaments of the six member countries and some detailed differences still must be ironed out. Moreover, the common market is only a part of Europe's two-package plan for economic unity; a companion scheme, called the free trade area and bringing in a half dozen more countries including Britain, still is in rough draft form and negotiations won't be completed before July, if then.

BOOSTING THE ODDS

Nevertheless, most experts think yesterday's action greatly boosts the odds that both of these complicated, overlapping trade liberalization projects will begin working by the end of next year.

The hoped-for result: One big customs-free market for the products of a dozen or more European nations, embracing as many as 240 million consumers.

This would take time. Customs barriers would be lowered gradually. But experts predict the last of the trade barriers between member nations would disappear by 1975, at the latest.

This sounds far off in the future, but Europe's businessmen already are bracing for the shocks. Britain's Prime Minister Harold Macmillan has warned his countrymen that some national industries may "go to the wall" in the first rush of duty-free continental goods into the United Kingdom. A bulletin from the British Hosiery Manufacturers Association, for example, dourly observes that "some of our companies feel they've been given 10 years to prepare to go out of business."

CONTINENTAL COMPETITION

The big British General Electric Co., Ltd., has advised its manufacturing colleagues that the "opportunities and possible dangers are now so great" that all hands must work together to gather marketing data and study up on likely continental competition.

This company also recommends rushing reinforcements to sales forces in Europe.

The president of France's Federation of Mechanical Industries has called on the membership to "start making the necessary contacts," to drum up business in the face of stiffening competition. All over Europe, trade associations are similarly rallying their member companies.

Even in prosperous Germany, the Berliner Gesellschaft, a big commercial bank, is warning that the common market "inevitably will lead to a displacement of present commercial currents, heavy with consequences."

Despite these rumblings, the common market members now plan to sign their 250-page document in Rome next month. Getting it by all six parliaments will be no easy chore and most observers think the French will be the toughest problem. The strategy is to try to win French approval while Guy Mollet, a stout European, still is in power; there is some danger his government may topple by spring. In Germany, too, there's a now-or-never approach on the part of common market advocates since Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, also a backer of the plan, is up for reelection in September.

PROGRESSIVE CUTS

If all goes well, the plan calls for progressive whittling of all customs duties on manufactured goods produced and traded within the community. At 18-month intervals after the plan goes into effect, the partners are pledged to slash their tariffs on each other's goods by 10 percent over a 12-year period. However, in the case of dire economic difficulties, the process can be stalled up to an extra 5 years by any member. Import quotas would vanish gradually in the same way.

External tariff walls also would be readjusted in stages. High-tariff countries gradually would lower their rates, while low-tariff nations would boost theirs until they arrive at a common rate, roughly an average of today's divergent scales, for each item imported into the customs pool. But plenty of exceptions reportedly have been negotiated, mostly in the direction of keeping tariffs high for the protection of France and Italy.

The experts expect the final rules will prescribe that most raw materials from outside the market be dutiable up to 3 percent, semimanufactures about 10 percent, and finished products between 15 and 25 percent.

Dutch and Belgian industrialists, highly dependent on imported materials, claim Benelux tariffs will almost double as a result, and they're nagging their governments about the potential harm to their competitive position on home and export markets. Security Gen. A. Rom Colthoff of the Association of Netherlands Employers even worried aloud in a weekend broadcast whether common-market disadvantages do not outweight the benefits.

Over the weekend, the bulletin of the Federation of Belgian Industries issued a broadside against the negative aspects of the plan for fairly stiff external tariffs. Its adoption, the federation claims, constitutes a funda-

mental error which will rapidly prove evil for the expansion of the European economy.

Exact estimates of duty boosts are difficult, but the Dutch paper and building industries figure, for example, that levies on timber and cellulose, now admitted duty free, would climb about 5 percent and 8 percent, respectively. Duty on automobile parts imported largely from the United States for Belgian and Dutch assembly plants would be raised from 6 to 22 percent, it's calculated. American aircraft sold to Belgian Sabena or Dutch KLM would pay 19 percent duty instead of the present 10 percent, while marine engine tariffs might zoom from 6 to 18 percent in the Benelux area.

In Germany, the Dusseldorf Chamber of Commerce, representing Ruhr interests, states that some 70 percent of all German tariff schedules would rise, with production costs increasing accordingly; a memorandum calls for rejection of the common-market plan unless the worst features are eased.

Comments the big Belgian newspaper, La Libre Belgique, the plan threatens to become a collective-protectionist enterprise, not at all what was wanted.

It's worth noting that roughly two-thirds of all United States exports to the would-be common-market partners go to Germany, Belgium, and Holland, where duties are most likely to climb under the plan. For the first half of 1956, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation puts United States exports to Belgium and Holland at a total of $438 million; to Germany, $340 million; and to high-tariff France and Italy, $387 million combined.

Of course, while some tariffs are rising, nonmembers of the new market may be able to profit by shrinking duties in the high-tariff nations. For example, the duty on imports of machine tool parts, now fixed at 25 percent of value initially and up to 22 percent in France, would slide to about 10 percent for shipments from outside the six-nation pool.

Right now, the prospective partners do about 35 percent of their trading with each other; optimistic authorities believe this figure might almost double after the market gets rolling, under the stimulus of low cost, high volume production techniques.

French automakers Renault and Simca, for example, though highly modernized, are protected from the competition of Germany's Volkswagen by tariffs which push the cost of that little car in France to $1,800, compared with $1,150 in Germany. With the French duty gone, French automakers will be under heavier pressure than ever to streamline their operation, cut costs, and step up sales to fight off the challenge.

The market planners recognize that many little marginal enterprises in Europe will be squeezed out by the competitive pressure, and they've tried to ease the pain somewhat by writing into the program a provision for a Europeap investment bank. It would have a capital of $1 billion, insiders say, to finance industrial development and modernization, training and relocation of workers, and conversion of stricken firms into new lines of business.

To oversee this complex setup, the member nations plan to set up a Council of Ministers representing each of the nations, but probably guided in practice by the majority vote of France, Germany, and Italy. For day-to-day supervision of tariff cutting or boosting and other chores, a European Commission will be set up. The outfit even will come complete with a parliamentary assembly to make recommendations.

Evolution in the Communist World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, on February 16, 1957, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology held its Mid-America Conference in Chicago. This great educational institution has made very important contributions to the country in the fields of radar research and the air defense system, and now in its various curriculums it is putting considerable stress on the humanities.

Dr. James R. Killian, chairman of the institute's board of consultants on foreign intelligence activities, works very closely with the Honorable Allen Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Mr. Dulles addressed the closing session of the conference. It was rather unusual for him to make a public speech, but he presented a rather complete, integrated picture of conditions behind the Iron Curtain. He reviewed problems confronting the Russian leaders, but at the same time, he did not minimize the dangers which still confront the free world.

I think this is an eminently significant speech, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EVOLUTION IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD

(Address given by Allen W. Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Mid-America Conference held in Chicago, Ill., on February 16, 1957)

It is a great pleasure to have this opportunity to meet with the Mid-America Conference. Its sponsor, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is playing a central role in the shaping and maintaining of America's scientific genius. Like our country which it serves so well, MIT has made important and dramatic forward strides in the past half century.

Winston Churchill, at a convocation of this institute 8 years ago, spoke admiringly of MIT's resolution to maintain a faculty of the humanities. Your fruitful contacts with so many foreign students and scholars and your launching of a Center for International Studies are further examples of a broad and imaginative approach to the place of technology in the modern world.

There have, indeed, been many changes since those earlier days when MIT was a small institution on Boylston Street, Boston. America then was a young Nation relatively free of the troublesome concerns of world politics. But times do change; and we in this country have never shrunk from the challenge of changing conditions.

In fact, having generally accepted the idea that we live in a world of change, it is perhaps rather surprising that we have been somewhat slow to recognize that this principle also applies to political and social life in the Communist world.

We ascribed to Hitlerite Germany a political solidity which it never had though it took a world war to prove this. Today many of the experts on Soviet and satellite problems have been forced to revise their calculations and pay closer attention to new forces within the Communist world which have been dramatically revealed during the year 1956.

When Khrushchev denounced Stalin a year ago, he said those fatal words which destroy faith and which once said can never be explained away. The flood of self-questioning let loose by the anti-Stalin crusade has plumbed the depths of doubt about the integrity of the Communist political structure.

When history is written the Khrushchev statement of February 1956 may well be described as the Kremlin's admission of the general crisis of communism.

STALIN'S LEGACY

Stalin died in March 1953, leaving one of the most reactionary, despotic police states the world has ever known. He had given himself a name which meant steel. He expressed his views in a journal named "truth." He had concentrated more power in his own hands than had been commanded even by his own great historical idol, Ivan the Terrible. For nearly 30 years he had exercised arbitrary rule over his own and many other peoples. He had killed most of his friends, and transplanted or annihilated innumerable people.

The prospect of ruling this leviathan without Stalin awed his successors. Indeed the official announcement of his death spoke of the need to "prevent any kind of disorder or panic." This defensive note on the part of the heirs to a seemingly all-powerful state may have been the first of the many hints we were to get of the complexity of the problems faced by Russia's new rulers.

The evolution of the U. S. S. R. over the last 4 years can be explained in terms of the new Soviet leaders' response to three main problems: problems with themselves, problems with their own and subject peoples, and problems with the outside world.

A PROBLEM WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP

The first problem that the new leaders faced was an elementary one: that of clearly reestablishing their ultimate authority. This is no simple problem in a revolutionary regime with no roots in either historical traditions or popular consent. Dictatorships are rarely transferrable or inheritable, and Stalin like most dictators made no provision for the succession. He had been busy playing his lieutenants off against one another; he appears to have had no real No. 2 man—just a group of No. 3 men.

This group set up an uneasy oligarchy, the so-called collective leadership. Shortly they agreed to get rid of Stalin's police chief, Beria, and mitigated some of the worst excesses of his secret police system.

But these very changes were only to help bring to the surface internal problems that had been artifically suppressed during the Stalin era.

A PROBLEM WITH THEIR PEOPLES

One of these problems was that of restoring initiative and enterprise to a people numbered by long years of discipline and fear. Little Stalins had set themselves up at the local level throughout Russia, and the satellites, and people everywhere in the Soviet sphere had decided to play it safe.

Thus, while the system may have been functioning satisfactorily in terms of the relative increase in industrial production, it was slowly running out of steam.

Having let up a little on the stick of the secret police, the oligarchy tried to budge the populace with a carrot.

In the economic sphere, this carrot took the form of the so-called new course announced by Malenkov in the summer of 1953. This policy promised to give greater attention to the manufacture of consumer goods, which had long been subordinated to the basic Soviet emphasis on heavy industry.

In the intellectual sphere, a prominent Soviet writer called for a new turn to sincerity in literature. Writers and artists began to speak of a thaw as arrests ceased within their ranks and long-imprisoned artistic and literary figures trickled back from Siberia. The leaven of mass education was beginning to work; and while this paid off handsomely in the field of technology, it had other consequences which proved most unwelcome to the worried men in the Kremlin.

The regime soon found that use of the carrot had to be checked. In the months leading up to the Writers' Congress of December 1954, attempts were made to reassert the Communist Party's right to regulate art and literature; and Khrushchev reasserted the primacy of heavy industry at the time of Malenkov's demotion early in 1955.

However, the Soviet leaders discovered that they could not go back all the way to conditions as they had prevailed under Stalin; for they found themselves faced with the most serious of all challenges to a totalitarian regime, the revolution of rising hope and expectations.

When a tyrant gives real hope to the oppressed, then, in the long run, the position of tyranny as a system tends to become hopeless.

Rising expectations were most serious and hardest for the U. S. S. R. to control on the periphery of Stalin's empire in the East European satellites. The new economic course was taken farthest in Hungary under Imre Nagy in 1953–55; Hungary went considerably beyond the Soviet Union in playing down heavy industry in favor of consumer goods, and even deemphasized one of the most hated of all Stalinist exports, the forced collective farm.

Meanwhile, writers in Poland as well as Hungary were going farther than their Soviet counterparts in voicing the pent-up feelings of their countrymen.

Of special importance was a poem which became a cause celébre behind the Iron Curtain, "A Poem for Adults," by the Polish poet, Adam Wazyk, which was published in Poland in August 1955. Wazyk spoke with the scourging hate that both writers and ordinary people were coming to feel toward the hypocrisy of their Communist overlords.

He recalled how a forerunner of Marx "charmingly foretold that lemonade would flow in seas. Does it not flow? They drink sea water, crying 'lemonade' returning home secretly to vomit."

These were ominous rumblings. They can be read in retrospect as harbingers of the great upheavals in Poland and Hungary. However, the problem of rising expectations was a common problem throughout all the lands which Stalin had ruled. Indeed, popular expectations proved far in front of the policies of the reactionary regimes administering Stalin's colonial empire.

A PROBLEM WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

Throughout all their troubles, Communist politicians have to continue believing that they are riding the wave of the future. The expectation of the Communists continues to be, as Khrushchev recently put it, that "we will bury you,"—the "you" being the free world. Nevertheless, Khrushchev appears to have concluded that Stalin's policies had ceased to be profitable; that, so to speak, our "burial," the predicted doom of capitalistic society, was being unnecessarily delayed.

To shift the metaphor a little, Stalin had been piled up on the line of scrimmage in Korea, as he had been earlier in Greece and Berlin. The new quarterback was deciding that, instead of continuing to run linebucks, he should try a few end runs, reverses, and forward passes to test the enemy's secondary. Accordingly the Soviet leaders finally agreed to a truce in Korea and took a compromise settlement in Indochina.

When menacing threats of the Stalinist variety failed to prevent a continued growth in free-world unity—evidenced by the further consolidation of NATO and the adherence of West Germany—the pressure increased for drastically new tactics.

THE SMILES CAMPAIGN OF 1955

Thus, beginning in the late spring of 1955, the Soviet leaders launched their famous smiles campaign. In a remarkable series of policy reversals they sought to dispel the evil image that the world had acquired of the U. S. S. R. and to win new friends and the ability to influence people abroad.

They agreed to an Austrian peace treaty; began to court Tito with an elite pilgrimage to Belgrade; relinquished their Porkkala base in Finland; and struck friendly poses—with Molotov waving a cowboy hat to American photographers and Khrushchev and Bulganin posing smilingly at the Summit Conference at Geneva.

In a second round of activity later in the year the Soviet leaders began to deliver economic and military aid to non-Communist states, stepped up their public-relations campaign with a trip to India and Burma, and stopped their monotonous vetoing of new members' applications to the United Nations.

The Soviets seemed to be making some progress with their new policy as 1955 went into history, even though their stand at the Foreign Ministers Conference in the autumn of 1955 made it clear that they did not intend to budge on basic international issues.

As it turned out, however, these smiles and concessions may have cost the Soviet leaders dearly, for, if they did mislead some people abroad, these actions continued to feed rising expectations in the farflung Soviet Empire.

THE TWO GREAT EVENTS OF 1956

Two great events in 1956 deeply affecting the Communist world followed from the new Soviet domestic and foreign policies. The first was the attempt to persuade the leading Communists in the U. S. S. R. and the satellites that the Soviet leaders had really broken with the dreadful past of the Stalin regime. The second was the attempt by Poland and Hungary to secure the freedoms which they felt were implicitly being promised them by Moscow.

Although Stalin's heirs had downgraded his importance fairly consistently since his death, Khrushchev's secret revelation of Stalin's crimes at the 20th Party Congress in February 1956 represented a real turning point.

These revelations destroyed the myth of infallibility of the Soviet system and its leaders. It was this belief in infallibility, which—however wrong—had inspired the faithful and given them the courage to sacrifice everything including commonsense and their very lives to advance the cause of communism.

Many questions—including the obvious one of "where were you, when all this was going on?"—continue to be asked in the Soviet Union. Stalin's heirs had been morally compromised. The ideological foundations of this secular religion had been seriously shaken.

The circumstances surrounding the Khrushchev secret speech remain a mystery to this day. It was delivered at an unexpectedly summoned meeting of the 20th Party Congress attended by the 1,400 members from the U. S. S. R., but with the exclusion of visitors and delegates from the rest of the Communist world.

Apparently it was felt that it was too heady medicine for the Soviet people, since the secret speech has never been published in the U. S. S. R. and only small parts of it have been allowed to creep out in the Soviet press, though copies of the speech were distributed among Soviet and satellite leaders.

It is hard to understand the Kremlin's apparent failure to assess accurately the damage to their position from the publicity which the speech would eventually receive. Some very impelling domestic reason must have made them take the calculated risk they assumed.

Possibly they felt that such a thorough denunciation was required if initiative was to be liberated from the pall of fear at home, and if the image of the U. S. S. R. abroad was to be brightened.

The second event unsettling the Communist world in 1956 was, of course, the uprising in Hungary and Poland. When the Soviet leaders made their peace with Tito in June 1955, they implicitly recognized, as Stalin never had, that genuinely different national paths were permissible within the Communist world. This idea was given some encouragement at the 20th Party Congress, which urged Communist Parties to use different, perhaps peaceful rather than violent means in seeking to gain power in non-Communist states. During the state visit of Tito to Moscow last June, the Soviet leaders formally recognized the validity of different paths of Socialist development.

But no sooner had they done this, than the people in Poland and Hungary began to demand the right to determine their own destinies. Hardly had Tito returned home, when the workers in Poznan rose up to demand "bread and freedom."

The contagion spread to Warsaw in spontaneous meetings of workers and others who demanded an end to Soviet rule. In Hungary the people went even further in their assertion of complete independence of Moscow.

Throughout the summer Soviet policy zigged and zagged. When they were confronted with the events of late October, the Soviet leaders acquiesced reluctantly to some important changes in Poland, and temporarily appeared to do the same in Hungary before falling back on cruel repression.

Through it all, the Soviet Union was discredited internationally; and no non-Communist was left to justify the savage slaughter of the heroic Hungarian people. Small nations in Asia, which are special targets for Communist blandishments, recognized the moral of Hungary; and young countries like Burma, Nepal, and Laos voted for condemnation of the Soviet Union.

In the fact of these events, the Khrushchev position of trying to take bits and pieces of both a Stalinist and an on-Stalinist policy became increasingly untenable.

If the Soviet leaders want to increase productivity and initiative they have to lift controls still further. If they want to improve their reputation abroad, they cannot continue to act as they are doing in Hungary. But, if they go too far in conciliating the people, they fear for their own positions.

STIRRINGS IN THE U. S. S. R.

There are stirrings in the U. S. S. R. as well as the satellites. Pressures for change appear to be coming from industrial managers and professional classes, who seem anxious to gain a greater share in running the economy. These groups appear to have increased their responsibility at the expense of professional party administrators in the recent reshuffling of the planning apparatus.

Perhaps even more disturbing to the Soviet regime are the rumblings of discontent which involve the very groups which communism claims to favor: the workers and the students.

From the workers in the U. S. S. R. there have been growing indications of discontent in the past year, including several strikes and strike attempts and demands to know more about the patterns of worker administration and control which have come into being in the Polish workers councils.

Even more important, perhaps, is the increasing unrest among the students; which has been evidenced in riotous meetings and illegal handbill-type journals. The regime has staked much of its appeal to youth and the new Soviet intelligentsia which is hoped years of careful indoctrination would produce. But it has found, that, in educating large numbers of youths to fill the positions required for the administration of a large modern state, it has taught people to think and ask embarrassing questions for themselves.

The youth in the Soviet Union are suffering from boredom with the drabness of their system. This discontent cannot very logically be dismissed as a holdover from the past; and the regime cannot dismiss it all as hooliganism—the Soviet version of juvenile delinquency.

Student unrest in the U. S. S. R., like recent events in Poland and Hungary, show what many of us seem to have forgotten: That the love of freedom has deep roots.

The bravery of the youth in Budapest, who had known only totalitarian rule, serves as a reminder that modern weapons do not provide the final answer to moral forces.

There are numerous signs in Soviet intellectual life that this human desire for individual integrity and free expression is making itself felt. The major Soviet journals in the fields of history, philosophy, and literature have all come under official Communist Party censure recently for deviations from the party line. There has been a revival of interest in long-neglected writers including Dostoevski, whose major writings had been taboo under Stalin. Probably the most widely discussed single book in Russia today is a new novel with the distinctly non-Communist title of "Not by Bread Alone."

The hero of this novel is a persecuted inventor who succeeds not because, but in spite of, the system. A true individualist, he refuses to be bought off at the end by the very men who had sent him to Siberia on trumped-up charges. He hangs on them the label of "Meshchanskii (middle class, Philistine) Communist," thus bringing back to the Russian vocabulary a traditional adjective of abuse from Czarist times.

There is no pattern to tell us precisely how this intellectual ferment may affect the political development of a modern totalitarian and technocratic State. But it is doubtful indeed that these pressures for change can be satisfied merely by Khrushchev's combination of limited reforms and exhortations to observe party discipline.

In particular, the disaffection of thinking youth—their restless desire for real integrity and honesty in their society—must deeply concern a regime which needs their services and shapes its claims to allegiance on an ideology.

THE GENERAL CRISIS OF COMMUNISM

For many years now that ideology has predicted the doom of capitalism—recently with a little less assurance as to the date of doomsday. The Communist leaders have not, however, given up the dogma that World War I marked the beginning of a new epoch which would witness the general crisis of capitalism. According to all good Communists, this general crisis would embrace many individual crises caused by wars over markets and colonies, by workers' revolutions in protest against economic depressions, and by capitalist greed. These inner contradictions, the doctrine preached, would inevitably lead to the collapse of capitalism and the triumph of the Communist system.

Today, with a great deal more assurance, we can advance the thesis that it is they, rather than we, who face a general crisis. A Yugoslavian Communist, Milovan Djilas, alerted the world to this crisis of communism in his famous article of last November. He said this: "Despite the Soviet repression in Hungary, Moscow can only slow down the processes of change; it cannot stop them in the long run. The crisis is not only between the U. S. S. R. and its neighbors, but within the Communist system as such. National communism is itself a product of the crisis, but it is only a phase in the evolution and withering away of contemporary communism. * * * World communism now faces stormy days and insurmountable difficulties."

With the flood of self-questioning loosed by the anti-Stalin crusade and by the events in Hungary and Poland, the Soviet system certainly evidences inner contradictions that are harder to cope with than anything now facing the non-Communist world.

The Soviet leaders have been trying for some time now to cover up the cracks in their ideological plaster by talk of a return to Leninist norms of party life. They tell their people to avoid the cult of personality by going back to Lenin for guidance but is not this a new cult of personality? And who is to say what part of Lenin is to be kept and what rejected? Why should they not follow the advice Lenin gave in May 1917, that: "If Finland, if Poland, if the Ukraine break away from Russia there is nothing bad about that. What is there bad about it? Anyone who says there is, is a chauvinist. * * * No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations."

THE CHALLENGE TO THE U. S. S. R.

No regime could stand still in the face of events such as those of the past few years. Sooner or later, the challenge facing the U. S. S. R. at home and abroad must be met.

A well-known passage in Toynbee's Study of History is relevant to the U. S. S. R. today: "The unanswered challenge can never be disposed of, and is bound to present itself again and again until it either receives some tardy and imperfect answer or else brings about the destruction of the society which has shown itself inveterately incapable of responding to it effectively."

What is the shape of the society which might develop out of the evolutionary forces presently at work in the U. S. S. R. if the Kremlin leaders do not blindly seek to reverse them?

Domestically, the U. S. S. R. would take cognizance of human dignity in its society. Censorship of thought would be eliminated and greater emphasis placed on satisfying the economic wants of the individual. Here it must be noted that the U. S. S. R. has taken a forward step in doing away, at home, with the special tribunals and some excesses of the secret police.

In the foreign field, such a development would require the U. S. S. R. to accept a genuine cooperation with other nations as distinct from the tactical, Leninist idea of a temporary truce. It would have to concede to those lands it has occupied the freedom of political choice. It would have to assume a constructive role in the United Nations.

Of course, such an outcome is not yet in sight. The future is still cloudy, and the possibility of an atempted reversion to a hard line remains.

Nevertheless, the reality of pressures for change is undeniable, and they seem unlikely to diminish with the passing of time. An evolutionary accommodation to these forces may even be more likely than the convulsive developments which the history of the Ancien régime in France or the Roman Empire might lead one to expect.

CONTINUED DANGER

Of course, it would be folly to assume that international communism is on the verge of collapse. It continues to possess and develop increasing physical power; and we face the very real danger that it may bolster up its position in two particularly sensitive areas.

The first of these is, of course, the Middle East where a general policy of aid, infiltration, and stirring up troubled waters offers considerable prospects for creating serious mischief.

The second area of danger—which is perhaps not receiving as much public attention as it deserves these days—is the Far East. Communist China, during the past few years, has been posing an ever-increasing threat to many nations in the area which are relatively unsophisticated in the ways of Communist subversion. Within the Communist world, the prestige of Communist China has been relatively enhanced by the fact that its leaders have not been so morally compromised by the revelations about Stalin.

MACAULAY'S PROPHECY

While there is no justification for complacency in the free world, there are some real signs of hope. Sporadic success abroad will not change the basic problems within the U. S. S. R. if we correctly assume that the evolutionary process has started. And even in Communist China, as revolutionary fervor dims, the reaction may come as man's reaching for freedom and human dignity asserts itself.

In a prophetic speech in 1833, Macaulay spoke words which might well be pondered by the leaders of the Communist world as they face the problems that lie before them today. Macaulay was urging his countrymen not to shrink back in fear from the possibility that education and modernization would lead the people of India to seek independence.

"What is that power worth," asked Macaulay, "which we can hold only by violating the most sacred duties, which, as governors, we owe to the governed? We are civilized to little purpose if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilization. Do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition?"

And Macaulay concludes: "It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may at some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history."

When the day of freedom for Russia and the peoples under Soviet rule may come, no one can prophesy. But when it comes, it will be the proudest day in Russian history.

If that day is to be hastened, we cannot afford to be timid in asserting profound faith in our democratic institutions, and in acting decisively on that faith. I sincerely believe that the time has come when no reasoning, thinking peoples with freedom of choice can continue to believe that communism is the wave of the future. The lasting, enduring values are in our free way of life.

The Welfare State and Honesty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the following is an article which came across my desk the other day. I took the time to read it and I am impresesd by it. I think it should be made available to the Members of Congress and anyone who might be interested and for this reason I am inserting it in the RECORD. The American Economic Foundation, 295 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y., which published this editorial, has made and is making a great contribution toward a sound national economy, without which we cannot have a sound government:

[From the Economic Facts of Life of February 1957]

THE WELFARE STATE AND HONESTY

(By Fred G. Clark and Richard Stanton Rimanoczy)

One of the most interesting developments since World War II has been the transformation of Norway under the Socialist government that took over after that country was liberated from the Germans.

There is, in Norway, an unsually well edited magazine called the Norwegian Weekly, whose Editor Trygve Hoff has been kind enough, for the last 10 years, to keep us on his mailing list to receive his editorial reprints.

Mr. Hoff is as good a reporter as he is an editor and we have never failed to find his material interesting and stimulating.

Last month his editorial reprint was entitled "The Welfare State and Honesty."

What follows is a condensation.

"The Norwegians were once considered one of the most honest peoples on earth—before the war, honesty was taken for granted—the locking of doors deemed unnecessary.

"But things seem to have changed. Some time ago a foreign businessman, of Norwegian descent, expressed his disappointment with Norwegian honesty. To sound out public opinion we staged a small-scale Gallup poll of our own, asking 'Have you the impression that Norwegians are honest?' The answer was: 'No; not since the war'."

After giving due emphasis to the actual war conditions and the drift away from Christianity, Mr. Hoff went on—"And then there are the consequences of the welfare state. Once it is accepted that everyone shall share in the good things of life, irrespective of whether or not anything has been done to deserve them, it is but a short step to the attitude that one is entitled to help oneself to what one hasn't got.

"This view has been strengthened by the confiscatory taxation policy. When it is clear that the rich are the ones who are to be fleeced, there seems comparatively little wrong in helping the process on its way. When official robbery in the form of crippling taxes is legalized, private robbery appears a less serious offense."

The impact of this change is not only a moral one: it is also economic, because when there is neither morality nor reward to stimulate an honest day's work, the full fruits of the economy will never be realized.

It is a frightening testament to the power of the something-for-nothing appeal of socialism, because for more than 1,000 years this virile race of industrious, intrepid Teutons had carved its living out of a rocky, barren peninsula that extends 300 miles within the Arctic circle.

Only about 4 percent of Norway's land is useful for agriculture.

A less hardy people would have long since perished or drifted off to easier lives elsewhere.

Their courage and fortitude under German occupation were magnificient.

Then came socialism and decay.

The moral of this piece is, Never underestimate the seductive power of a free meal.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I have been much interested in the many proposals for Federal aid to schools. In connection with my study of this problem I have read many publications on the subject which express differing opinions.

In reading the Mount Holly (N. C.) News of Friday, February 22, 1957, I was impressed by an editorial entitled "Let's Think About Federal Aid To Education." This editorial constitutes a succinct statement of the basic problems involved in any consideration that we may give to Federal aid programs in connection with the public schools. I commend it to my colleagues as being worthy of their attention, and I, therefore, submit it for the consideration of the general public and those having a legislative interest in Federal aid programs:

LET'S THINK ABOUT FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

We want to remark again there are great dangers to our public schools in any Federal-aid bill. We have some of it now in the guise of grants, and it is something we think this community, county, and State can very well get along without. If we pay taxes to Washington in order to get some back for our schools, you may rest assured that between one-fourth and one-half will be taken out before we ever receive it.

When President Eisenhower himself was president of Columbia University, he strongly opposed Federal aid to education. He denounced it as a forerunner of Federal control, and we believe he was nearer right then than he is now in his reversed stand.

Another great factor that stands up as an authoritative argument against Federal aid to education is the stand of the American governors. The governors at their meeting last year strongly opposed Federal grants for education. They realized full well that it would quickly bring Federal control and that this control would be hard to throw off.

One of the factors that prove the argument that Federal aid will mean Federal control is already on the board now. The Government gives our schools surplus foods. Do they give the food without strings attached? No. The school lunchroom cannot be used, right here in this community, for any function whereby a civic club or church could sell tickets to make money for a worthwhile local project. They have controls on the food and, in other words, our local school authorities have very little to do with the use of our own school cafeterias.

People should stop and think about this matter. Let's keep our schools free and operate them ourselves. To do this we will have to vote tax levies to keep them up, but it will be cheaper and better on all of us in the long run to keep our schools.

That's the "catch" in Federal aid. You send the money to Washington in taxes. The Government hires people to decide what to do with this money, where it shall be spent, and when. It hires people to approve building plans, because you can't spend Federal money without meeting Federal standards. The Government hires still other people to see that you pay wage rates set by the Department of Labor—not prevailing local wage rates, mind you.

What's the result? Not as much of your tax dollar comes back in Federal aid as you sent to Washington in the first place. Part of it was eaten away by administrative costs and Government redtape.

The plain fact is that the money the Federal Government would dole out to States in Federal aid for school construction would have to come from the people in those States in the first place. The plain fact is that a certain percentage of that money would be lost in the shuffle of Government costs and would never get back to the States.

No matter how you slice it, you are going to have to pay for your school buildings out of your own pocket. You can do it a lot more cheaply by spending your money at home instead of processing it through Washington.

California's 1956 Employment Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 24, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, California's booming prosperity is reflected in the following report of record-breaking employment in the diversified manufacturing which is a large part of California's expanding economy.

Full employment is urgently necessary in California because of the tremendous increase in population which California is absorbing from all parts of the United States.

The employment report for 1956 follows:

CALIFORNIA: MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT

(Report of State of California Department of Industrial Relations Division of Labor Statistics and Research)

California factories employed more workers at year end than in any previous December in history, Ernest B. Webb, California director of industrial relations, announced today.

The manufacturing work force last month of 1,232,300 wage and salary workers was 87,100, or 8 percent. higher than in December 1955.

Almost every manufacturing industry boosted employment in the past 12 months. During the year about 34,000 workers were added in aircraft, 20,000 in electrical equipment (including electronics), 11,000 in ordnance, and 9,000 in machinery.

Employment was lower than a year ago in textiles, apparel, automobiles, and in fish canning and preserving.

Between November and December, factory employment dipped by 6,700. Seasonal declines in food processing and lumber more than offset expansion in aircraft, automobiles, electronics, and ordnance. While employment in the automobile industry in-

creased from November, the gain was not great enough to bring the employment level back to that of December 1955.

In December 1956, four manufacturing industries were at alltime employment highs: printing and publishing, ordnance, primary metals, and electrical equipment.

Employment in aircraft of 277,000 was at a postwar high and accounted for about one-fifth of the total California factory work force.

St. Lawrence Lesson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, as a Representative from the Ninth Congressional District, and as a member of the Committee on Public Works which considered the St. Lawrence seaway project, I was happy to vote for the bill in committee and, of course, to support the legislation when it reached the floor of the House.

For a number of years, there was much information about the importance of this seaway program. Many who did not understand the true worth of the seaway program for improved shipping and for the development of the abundance of electric power in our part of the country, thought that this development would seriously affect and bring injury to our economy. When I studied the whole matter, I came to the very definite conclusion that it would be helpful, and certainly not hurtful, to all sections of the United States. I have long believed that any improvement in the economy and welfare of one section of this great Nation would affect the general welfare of all sections of the country.

Over a long period of time, we have recognized the value of the Tennessee Valley Authority in harnessing the waters of the Tennessee River for the production of electricity, in the control of floodwaters, and in bringing about improved recreational advantages. I call special attention to an editorial which appeared in the Memphis Commercial Appeal, one of the great newspapers of the Nation, which relates the importance of the St. Lawrence seaway to the very philosophy which has made TVA so important—not only to the economy and welfare of the area which it serves, but to the Nation. It must be recognized that TVA operates within a certain geographical area.

This Authority is repaying to the Federal Treasury the amounts of money advanced to it for its construction program. Ultimately, all of the capital expenditures are reverted to the gain of the country as a whole. In other words, within 40 years its earnings, above the expenses of operation, will be returned to the Federal Government and those benefits will be shared by all of the people of the country. A great many people do not realize that all of this will be accomplished by the consumers of electricity in this limited geographical area who, by paying their power bills, will in time hand to the rest of the country a very valuable, paying business which will provide revenues to the country to be used for purposes far beyond the area served by the Authority.

The editorial follows:

ST. LAWRENCE LESSON

It seems to us there is a possibility of the St. Lawrence seaway becoming a beneficial influence in congressional consideration of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

There has been a tendency of anti-TVA spokesmen at a distance to scoff at the idea of multipurpose dams. To them TVA was designed for the power business, with some byproducts. They totally reject the idea that flood control has the loudest voice in saying how high the water stands in TVA reservoirs.

But the multipurpose dam is about to be demonstrated in upper New York State, within view of millions of New Englanders.

Beyond a doubt the main reason for the St. Lawrence seaway is to let bigger ships into Great Lakes ports. It will allow ships of 25-foot draft to sail into Detroit, Milwaukee, Chicago, and other cities. More than 14 feet of draft means a ship must stay outside now.

But the dams that deepen the water for the new locks are multipurpose dams which will also produce electricity in huge amounts. A single dam near Massena, N. Y., will produce 12.6 billion kilowatt-hours a year. That is more than the 11.6 billion kilowatt-hours produced by all 26 TVA dams during the most recent year.

The St. Lawrence will be producing really big power because of multipurpose design. Assuming that this idea is accepted when seen in action, the people will be more inclined to accept TVA.

But they are unlikely to really know the TVA situation for it is most unlikely that, after they have put the new power to work in homes, factories, and barns, Government plants will be set up to require all the new electricity.

Battle of the Billboards Takes National Prominence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT HALE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following articles:

[From the Wenatchee (Wash.) Daily World of February 18, 1957]

BATTLE OF THE BILLBOARDS TAKES NATIONAL PROMINENCE

The battle of the billboards is starting up again, this time on a national level.

With some 41,000 miles of interstate highways included in the Federal roadbuilding program, representing an investment of some $33 billion of American taxpayers' money, we ought to be interested. Almost everyone will have a share in the investment.

And almost everyone too has an interest in the scenery along our American highways. How to reconcile the two is the problem.

A bill proposed by Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, of Oregon, who has long been a champion of preserving our scenic rights, would have our Secretary of Commerce prepare a code of limitations on the erection of billboards within 500 feet of the right-of-way on superhighways. He would restrict the signs to three classes.

1. Those needed for highway information and directions.
2. Those which would advertise the sale of property adjacent to the right-of-way.
3. Those advertising services to the motorist on property adjacent to the highway, and accessible from the highway.

Under NEUBERGER's bill, the Secretary would decide on the size and design of such signs, as well as the location.

There are many angles to the roadside sign proposition, but two of the important ones are scenic and safety.

With the increased speeds on our superhighways, anything that distract the attention of a motorist becomes a safety hazard. Both sides are using this argument in their campaign.

As Senator NEUBERGER says, however, speaking of some of the opposition to his proposed bill, "They tell you that if you look at the lakes and trees and mountains as you drive along, you go to sleep, but if you look at the billboards advertising whisky, gasoline, cigarettes, or automobiles, you stay awake."

He says further: "It is the motorist's money that makes the billboard site available. If the highway were not there, the signboard would not be worth a dime. Thus we have the motorist's dollar making valuable the signboard he is forced to look at as he drives along."

"Surely our Federal and State Governments owe it to the touring public to keep the magnificent American outdoors from being scarred and marred by a parade of billboards," NEUBERGER adds.

There are many motorists in the Pacific Northwest who will go along with Senator NEUBERGER on this.

One of our valuable assets in this part of the country is the outdoor scenery, and we want to keep it unmarred. Our anti-litterbug campaigns are bringing results in keeping our roadsides clean. Let's also keep the roadside signs far enough away from our roads so we won't be driving down a billboard alley as we travel through our mountain passes.

Ogden Nash's classic verse still stands.

"I think that I shall never see
A billboard lovely as a tree.
In fact, unless the billboards fall,
I'll never see a tree at all."

[From the AAA News Service]

FEDERAL PROTECTION FOR INTERSTATE SYSTEM ROADSIDES URGED BY AAA

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 19.—Prompt Federal action to protect the roadsides of the 41,000-mile National System of Interstate and Defense Highways against billboards, uncontrolled commercial development, and unlimited access from side roads was urged today by the American Automobile Association.

Harry I. Kirk, of Chicago, president of the AAA, pointed out that the national motoring body of five and a quarter million members has long urged State and local governments to protect highways from blight resulting from intensive commercial development along the roadsides. Today's recommendation asks for Federal action, but only to protect roadsides on the interstate system.

"In view of the fact that highway user taxes, collected by the Federal Government, will pay for 90 percent of the cost of this interstate network," AAA President Kirk said, "the Congress is fully justified in protecting the billions of dollars invested in these highways.

"Long and bitter experience has demonstrated that it is economically unsound to invest large sums in highway construction unless the roadsides are protected against blight that destroys a major part of roads capacity, safety, efficiency, and enjoyment.

"Unregulated development along the roadsides, including the uncontrolled erection of billboards, adversely affects the State, the community, and the motorist," Mr. Kirk went on to say. "The highway user, whose taxes pay for the huge costs of highway modernization, has every right to demand not only safeguards for his investment in the highway itself, but also adequate roadside protection."

A number of bills designed to regulate outdoor advertising along the Interstate System has been introduced in Congress. It is understood that special studies of methods whereby the Federal Government can encourage and assist the States in providing roadside protection are being made by the United States Bureau of Public Roads and that recommendations on this matter will be presented to Congress shortly by Bertram D. Tallamy, the new Federal Highway Administrator.

Snags in the Plan To Aid Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I enclose an article which appeared in the Washington Star of February 8, 1957, written by Constantine Brown and entitled "Snags in the Plan To Aid Poland," which contains thoughts that the officials of our Government should give profound consideration to in connection with any negotiations with representatives of the present Government in Poland.

I also enclose a letter which appeard in the New York Times of February 9, 1957, and written by the Honorable Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, former Premier of Poland.

In the world of today, an important element of the cold war or the hot war whichever one might want to call it, is the economic aspects and the strains upon the Soviet Union. There is no question but that the Soviet Union is undergoing severe strain at the present time. Its farfetched commitments to Red China and other countries—the fact that the satellite nations must receive aid and assistance—and the Hungarian situation are noticeable symptoms of strains upon the Soviet Union. It seems to me that those strains should be capitalized for our benefit.

There are many persons who honestly feel that giving economic assistance to any satellite nation to rebuild its internal economy would be of invaluable assistance to the Soviet Union, and such persons feel that such a course on the part of our Government is unwise. There is logic to such thought. Any negotiations should be viewed with caution.

The above mentioned follows:

[From the Washington Star of February 8, 1957]

SNAGS IN THE PLAN TO AID POLAND—SOME ADVISERS FEEL ECONOMIC HELP WOULD PULL MOSCOW OUT OF HOLE

The administration's plans to send economic help to the Communist government of Poland, headed by Prime Minister Gomulka, is hitting some snags. Some of Secretary of State Dulles' advisers doubt the wisdom of such action. Their opposition is not based on the general theory that no Communist government should be helped unless it is willing to look askance at Moscow. It is based on practical reasons.

Soviet Russia continues to have serious economic difficulties. Despite the glowing terms with which the Soviet hierarchy has described the progress of the various 5-year plans, there still is a serious lack of consumer goods. While Soviet industry has made great strides and is considered second only to ours, the bulk of its production still is confined to war materials. Now the Kremlin is besieged with demands for economic help from its subject nations.

After the Soviets set up the satellites in Europe to avoid another German aggression, as Stalin explained to the gullible Western World, the Muscovites proceeded to their systematic milking of the satellite economies.

The bulk of the crops and cattle in agricultural countries such as Rumania and Bulgaria were sent to Russia. The industrial output of factories in Czechoslovakia and Poland, as well as Polish agricultural and coal products, also found their way into Russia. Factories in East Germany, besides those in West Germany, were transported across borders to Red areas. These thefts were clothed with the pompous title of "Economic Cooperation with the Socialist Countries." After the Communist conquest of China, similar cooperation with carried out in that vast area.

The economic "cows" eventually went dry. The Russian rulers find themselves now in the unpleasant position of having to help out the satellites lest there be other uprisings on the Hungarian pattern.

It has been said in this country by the advocates of unending foreign economic assistance and of the point 4 program that communism thrives on empty stomachs. This may or may not be so. But competent observers say definitely that empty stomachs among peoples subjected to Communist tyranny produce revolutions against the oppressors. The men in the Kremlin have begun to realize that people can't live on Marxist-Leninist theories.

Figures issued in Moscow last month show the Soviets have agreed to provide Poland this year with 1.4 million tons of grain on credit and grant her a long-term loan of 700 million rubles (about $150 million). Even Rumania, a large grain-producing country, is being given a loan of 450,000 tons of wheat and corn, in addition to credits to cover the purchase of urgent needs wherever she can.

Hungary, after the turmoil of last fall, is in an even more desperate plight. The shooting may be over in Budapest and other cities, but the unrest continues. There are near sitdown strikes in factories, and the farmers are reported to plant only enough for their own subsistence. Any attempt on the part of the puppet regime to use force, as in the past, is likely to be answered with another revolution. Hence, Prime Minister Kadar is making frantic appeals to Moscow to send immediately food and the bare industrial necessities to keep the country going until the revolutionary wave has been suppressed completely.

Moscow has ample machineguns and ammunition available. It can provide them in any quantities needed, not only to the satellites, but also to the Middle East. But the Kremlin is in a quandary when it comes to sending what every human being needs—a minimum of food, fuel, and clothing.

A few of Secretary Dulles' advisers believe that we should take advantage of this situation to weaken further the Soviet economic structure. By extending economic assistance to the Gomulka government, for example, we would merely strengthen the hand of Moscow in that country.

Therefore, ask some of our more realistic obervers, why not add to the Kremlin's burdens and worries by withholding economic assistance to their satellites?

[From the New York Times of February 9, 1957]

AID FOR POLAND: DISTINCTION MADE BETWEEN HELP FOR PEOPLE AND FOR COMMUNISTS

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The New York Times, in an article published on January 27, presented my attitude on the matter of aid to Poland as completely negative. My attitude now as in the past has always been clearly and positively in favor of aid to the needy Polish people.

I am, however, against aid of any kind which instead of helping the Polish people would help the Soviet Union and the shaky Communist economy.

I make a clear distinction between immediate help given to the Polish people and help to the Communist government in the form of long-term credits. Food, medical supplies, clothing and sizable donations from the American farm surplus, including cotton, should be granted to the Poles as soon as possible.

I favor also the granting of economic aid to Poland in the form of long-term credit. But since the Communist system is so economically destructive, since the Polish people will have to pay back the credit and since Poland is forced to bear the expenses of arming the Soviet forces stationed in Europe and is exploited by Russia through secret state agreements, such credit should be granted under the following conditions:

The Polish nation will have the opportunity to choose a system of government and an administration through free elections;

The Polish Government will disclose the terms of all its international secret trade agreements, and in the future will be free to make trade agreements based upon prices prevailing in the world markets;

The Polish Government will guarantee that credit granted for the restoration of agriculture will be used to improve the productive capacity and the equipment of the peasant-owned farms, and that any new plans to drive the peasants into kolkhozes, whatever their form, will be abandoned.

STANISLAW MIKOLAJCZYK,
Former Premier of Poland.

WASHINGTON, *February 4, 1957.*

On Federal School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, editorial notice was taken by the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal on a suggestion recently made by our esteemed colleague, OTTO PASSMAN, from the State of Louisiana.

It occurred to me that both his idea and the editorial are provocative of serious thought. The editorial follows:

ON FEDERAL SCHOOL AID

As Congress moves toward consideration of Federal taxes for building new schools there is at least one member with a better idea.

He is OTTO E. PASSMAN, a Democrat from Monroe, La. Mr. PASSMAN recently proposed

lowering of Federal taxes as the best way to help finance new schools. With the Federal pressure removed, State and local taxes could be adjusted to do what needs doing.

"When you go to the Federal Government for funds, before the money can be supplied the Government must collect the taxes in the States, bring the money to Washington, and then reallocate it to the States. And in this process the tax dollar collected shrinks by some 30 percent before it is returned to its original source," he says in asserting a truth now receiving more recognition.

It is a truth that includes the shrinkage of money collected by State taxes before it is returned to the communities where county, city, and school taxes could accomplish the same purposes better.

There is a consideration of even higher importance than efficiency in handling tax money. As Representative PASSMAN says it:

"Federal aid to education would give the Central Government in Washington control over the public schools of the Nation * * * Local self-government and local responsibility and independence would be bound, sooner or later, to disappear."

Federal Support for the Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address by Beardsley Ruml before the American Association of School Administrators meeting at Atlantic City on February 18. With the thoroughness and insight which has characterized all of Mr. Ruml's major contributions to the public welfare as private citizen, as public servant, as adviser to Presidents, this address cuts away much of the cloud of confusion that surrounds the issue of support of education. The facts Mr. Ruml points out are important enough, his recommendations are significant enough, to command the attention of every Member of the Congress.

The address follows:

FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(By Beardsley Ruml)

A Federal duty to support the public schools flows both from the national interest and from the fact that access to the growing income of the country is most directly and most equitably imposed through the Federal income tax.

Support implies interest and duty. Certainly we have a Federal interest in making certain that our future citizens can communicate and can compute. These are the basics on which our society rests; and having a Federal society as we do, a Federal interest as well as a Federal duty in safeguarding the basics of education follows inescapably.

State and local bodies will add to the foundation of support built federally as their vision, conscience, and means provide. However, there is neither prudence nor equity in making plans such that the basic requirement of the public schools would have to be met from resources to which State and local bodies have access.

The phrase, "Federal support for the public schools" deliberately uses the term "public schools" rather than the broader term "education." The public schools are an essential but not an exclusive instrument in the Nation's educational program. State and local bodies, private schools, churches, families, formal, and informal voluntary agencies will have plenty to do in expressing the variety of their own insights in the general educational fabric of which the public schools are a part. Federal support for the public schools should therefore provide the more formal important substance to every community's education program without the rigidity and interference usually associated with responsible use of Federal funds.

The question immediately arises, "Can Federal support for the public schools be provided in a form that carries no danger of objectionable interferences?" I believe that Federal support can be so provided once the point of view of aid and the means test is set aside.

Most suggestions that have been made for Federal support of education involve some kind of equalization formula to distinguish between the richer and the poorer States, and also some test as to whether any particular State was doing its full part in the support of its schools.

Equalization, involving as it does, some measures and tests of need, ability, and willingness to meet need, always threatens to bring about Federal dominance or control of education. The possibility of the Federal Government coercing the States in education matters would always exist. This should be avoided and it could be avoided by distributing Federal support for the public schools on a per capita, schoolage child basis. Each State government would receive this money each year upon certification that the funds would be spent that year for the support of public schools as defined by the State.

If Federal funds are distributed on a per capita basis, the definition of public school to be made by each particular State, then the wealthier States that now pay the larger share of the Federal income tax might be expected to be able to take care of public education on any level they feel suitable, and indefinitely. This I doubt; but even if it were so, it still remains true that a child in a wealthier State is also at the same time a child of the United States and deserves equal Federal support for the basic costs of his school system.

We speak here of Federal support of the public schools not of Federal aid for education. Federal aid implies giving help where help is needed, of sharing with the poor or the less fortunate. It implies the means test, the handout.

The concept and the term, Federal aid for education takes us back to the early thirties when the means test and the handout characterized public and private programs for aiding the unemployed and people of advanced years. I well remember an incident told to me in those unhappy years of an elderly man applying at the proper bureau for assistance for himself and his ailing wife. He was asked a question proper to the times, "Do you have any money of your own?" "Yes," he replied, "I still have $83 left in my savings bank." The answer was routine. "Come back when that is gone and we will see what we can do."

The means test and the handout is no longer the conventional method of taking care of unemployment and old age security. They will not and should not completely disappear, since human life enfolds both deep tragedy and instant generosity. However, our society today is not the society of 25 years ago with respect to provisions for the aged and the unemployed. And since the phrase "Federal aid for education" implies a point of view now obsolete in other areas, the phrase should be dropped and a phrase adopted which states a modern point of view "Federal support for the public schools."

On what scale of expenditure should we think about Federal support for the public schools? This question will be deeply studied and long debated. My suggestion is that a start be made for fiscal 1958 with a per capita child in public school payment by the Federal Government of $20 and that this amount be continued in fiscal 1959. In subsequent years the amount should be raised to $80 per capita in 2 or 3 steps, reaching this figure in fiscal 1961 or 1962. The aggregate amount need only be estimated roughly at this time; the payments at the $20 per capita rate would be about $750 million and at the $80 per capita rate in fiscal 1962 would be about $3½ billion. These figures though important, are not unmanageable, particularly when account is taken of projected increases in national income. It should also be observed that no new or increased Federal taxes would be required, since these amounts can be obtained by reducing present taxes somewhat more slowly than might otherwise have been the case. Some perspective is given as to relative magnitudes when it is realized that an increase of $100 in the present exemption in the individual income tax would result in loss of revenue at present national income figures of about $2¾ billion. A reduction of 7 percentage points in the corporation profits tax, that is from 52 percent to 45 percent, would reduce tax revenue from this source at present profit levels by about the same amount, $2¾ billion. These examples showing the relation between tax rates and revenue show clearly that the suggested scale of Federal support for the public schools would constitute no significant burden to the taxpayer.

Some explanation of the suggested per capita rates and timing is in order. The $20 figure is intended to give a period of time to allow for the development of administrative, accounting, and auditing procedures. I have mentioned fiscal 1958 as the starting date in order to give time for the passage of legislation and for determination by State and local authorities as to how the funds will be distributed and used.

As to the $80 figure, some gradualism in arriving at this point is clearly desirable. If it can be reached efficiently in 2 steps, that is certainly better than 3. Time may show that the $80 figure is somewhat too low in view of rapidly mounting population at the high-school age level. Eighty dollars per capita is about one-third of the amount now being spent by the States, exclusive of interest and amortization of school building costs. If local expenditure is substantially higher by 1962, a somewhat higher Federal support figure would seem appropriate. It would seem undesirable for the Federal support figure to exceed the per capita expenditure of the lowest State.

How do these Federal support figures compare with projected public-school needs? The National Citizens Commission's report on the public schools report estimates a range of from $13.5 billion to $19.2 billion for 1965 requirements for public, private, and parochial schools. The Federal support at the $80 level, amounting to $3½ billion, would thus be between 25 percent and 18 percent of the projected estimates. Such percentages, particularly at the higher expenditure levels, still leave a very heavy financial burden for education on non-Federal sources of revenue.

The suggested level of support should be related also to projections of increased gross national product. The current figure of $412 billion is up $40 billion since 1953. Estimates of $425 billion for 1960 and $525 billion for 1965 are likely to be exceeded in the light of current trends. Federal support for the public schools of $3½ billion 5 years from now is clearly no substantial withdrawal from increased productivity.

Although at the level of broad purpose and policy Federal support for the public schools on a per capita basis offers no difficulty except the effort to get it going, there are nevertheless several sensitive points that

must be anticipated and dealt with. Of these I shall mention five.

First, the definition of what is a "public school" must be left to the individual State. The definitions will vary and will seem to some fanciful and even inconsistent with prevailing notions of what a public school really is. Some will define a public school in terms of its top controlling board, some in terms of its availability to students, some in terms of the character of its support. Some States will define parochial schools as public schools, others will not. Latitude must be given to the State to define "public school" as it sees fit. This is a prime consideration for State freedom from Federal control.

Second, there must be a definition of what is a "child in school." This is the unit in terms of which support will be given. Here are some of the questions: What is a child, that is, from what age to what age is the child to be counted as such? When is he in school, that is how many days a year, how many hours a day? Must he be on the school premises, or only under school supervision? These points as a statement of minimum standards should be a matter of Federal determination.

Third, what about present funds now going to the schools from State and local bodies? Must they be maintained? My answer here is that the maintenance of existing funds should not be required, otherwise the Federal support is not really the discharge of a Federal responsibility, and the State would be coerced as a result of a history that may or may not be currently in tune with overall needs as the State itself presently appraises them.

Fourth, what about desegregation? I feel that aid should be given to all States on a per capita basis without regard to how the administration of the public schools is currently handled. Law enforcement of national policy is in the hands of the courts. Improved educational opportunity will be a powerful force in aiding in the establishment of a rational and humane democracy.

A special problem arises however if a State defines what is ordinarily considered to be a "public" school as a "private" school for purposes of evading the intent of national desegregation policy. Should a State be permitted to define "public school" in one way for the Supreme Court and in another way for the Comptroller General? Personally, I feel that one definition is enough, and "public school" once being defined, that concept should prevail uniformly in all judicial and administrative matters where the public school as such is involved.

Fifth, what about current proposals for Federal aid to States and communities for the building of schools? The best that can be said for them is that they are harmless and a gesture of good intent. The worst that can be said is that they are wholly inadequate, expensive and that they evade the central duty of Federal support for the public schools.

Per capita appropriations to the States will permit them to finance the schools they believe they need, and to determine for themselves the balance locally desirable between educational structures and teaching functions.

Finally, the dreary question of accounting and auditing. Here I feel that the accounting should be done by the State, certified to by some high agency other than the school authority. The auditing should be done by an agency of the Federal Government, and the rules of the audit should provide whatever uniformity and flexibility in accounting the State machinery will use as its guide to procedure and to form. Such Federal supervision is not an interference with the educational program of the State, it is only the assurance that the declared policy of the State has been performed in terms that reflect Federal responsibility and accountability.

Opposition to Federal support for the public schools is rarely heard on economic grounds, that the burden on the Federal budget would be too great. It is frequently contended that the States could do more if they only wanted to, by means of reassessments, higher rates of real-estate taxes, higher general and specific sales taxes, new taxes on business turnover, and the like. There is no doubt some truth in these contentions; but what is not always recognized is that States and local communities have many public responsibilities other than the schools, and that growth and shifts of population have created many a new problem for local government. In any case catching up with school necessities and keeping up with school demands will require more State and local funds than have ever been planned for, even with moderate assistance in Federal support.

The most vocal opposition to Federal support for the public schools comes as expressed apprehension that Federal money means Federal interference and ultimate Federal control of education. The right of each State to determine what kind of education it wants is constantly asserted, a somewhat legalistic position considering the interference of the State in the educational affairs of local communities and of both in the decisions of the individual family, which after all should have some final rights as to how the children should be brought up.

It is true that the protestations of fear of Federal interference are mostly based on the assumption of an equalization formula, of the means test, hand-out policy which always presented a potential danger. If, however, the measure of Federal support is on a per-capita child in public-school basis, the only Federal concern would be to prevent false reporting or fraud of other kinds.

The opposition will now come from those who favor Federal aid because they expect at the same time to get Federal influence on local educational policies and standards. This opposition feels that working through local citizens groups is too slow and too uncertain, and that unless there is conformance to Federal standards there should be no Federal aid. Whether or not this group is large, it is extremely vocal; and recent disclosures as to what the Soviet Union has been able to accomplish educationally by means of central expenditure and central control makes this group understandably impatient with the slower policies of popular consent and popular will.

There is, however, another angle to this controversy—one that is very old and very deep. Briefly it is the question of whether the burden of social programs, such as education, should be borne by a tax on real property or by a tax on income.

This issue was brought home to me very vividly in 1931 when I was a dean at the University of Chicago. Prof. Charles H. Judd had just returned from New York where he had attended a small private meeting of businessmen and educators. The subject under discussion was increasing the required age of school attendance. I asked him how the meeting went. He said, "Fine. There was unanimous agreement that the compulsory school attendance age should be raised." I was surprised and asked him to explain. "Well," said Judd, "the educators and the businessmen have a common interest. The educators want more children to teach and the businessmen want to put the burden of unemployment on real estate."

This conflict between the income taxpayer and the real estate taxpayer or renter is not a conflict between the rich and the poor. We now have over 44 million income taxpayers, and the median taxable income on which income tax is paid is only $3,800. To make it concrete, here is a man making $100 a week who has a wife and three children. He now has $3,000 in exemptions. If the exemption allowance should be raised $100 per person, since his highest bracket is 20 percent, he will increase his income after taxes by $100. If, instead of raising the exemption, $80 is put into the public schools (on the per capita child in public school basis), his children if they are in public school will get $240 more spent for their education. Which do you think this head of a family would prefer—$240 more spent a year on the education of his children or $100 a year of his own to do with as he pleases? Well, your guess is as good as mine.

From the point of view of the national welfare the choice is clear. The $240 more a year for the better education of the three children is more desirable than $100 a year spent or saved beyond the family's present consumer status.

Obviously this is an illustrative generalization, and exceptional cases can be imagined. But the exceptions will fall on both sides around this average, and the balance is clearly in favor of Federal support of the public schools.

We are now in a time of historic change in education. The old traditions are falling apart under the pressure of the new necessities. And in a curious way the new necessities derive from a will to provide for all children the educational opportunities which the old traditions were designed to give the few.

The period from 1929 to 1939 was a period of economic disorder. The institutional pattern was no longer able to support the basic demands of production and distribution. We were confronted for a decade with the paradox of need for goods and need for work in a setting of abundance of raw materials and the highest technical competence the world had at that time known. Later the folly of war revealed the folly of the old economic and financial traditions. The reluctantly adopted palliatives of the early thirties became established as the guides to institutional economic reform.

In 1946, after 15 years that were marked by both depression and war, a national policy was formulated in the simple preamble to the Employment Act of 1946. This policy has become more creative as the years have passed. It declared that the Federal Government has responsibility consistent with a fundamental belief in free, competitive enterprise to utilize all its plans, functions, and resources for the purpose of creating and maintaining conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities, including self-employment, for those able, willing, and seeking to work.

At the time the Employment Act was passed, there were misgivings, even fear. The New York Herald Tribune on June 14, 1946, spoke of the act as "perhaps the most serious threat to free enterprise and democracy with which the country has been confronted in the 170 years of its existence." But today the act has bipartisan support at the highest levels, and all sectors of the economy recognize its policy as a necessary element in protecting the national welfare.

The period from 1949 to 1959 is a period of educational disorder. The old institutional structure can no longer contain the urgent demand for general and selective educational opportunity. The public schools in 1956 are in the same position that the banks were in 1931. In a year or two or three, more and more public schools will become educationally insolvent. Unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, there can be no run on the schools that will force them to close. But the present inadequacies will become more apparent as the needs become more acute, and we can look forward to an Education Act of 195x whose preamble may well be a paraphrase of that of the Employment Act of 1946.

Such a preamble to the Education Act of 195x might read in part as follows: "There is a Federal responsibility, consistent with the constitutional rights, the privileges and the duties of the States, to utilize all its plans, functions, and resources for the purpose of creating and maintaining conditions under which there will be afforded useful educational opportunities, including self-education, for those able, willing, and seeking to learn."

A Place To Save Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, an editorial from the January 31, 1957, issue of the Marion Star of Marion, Ohio, I believe, accurately reflects the thinking, in at least one State, on Federal aid to education. I hope that this sensible analysis of the problem will appeal to people who are tired of Federal bureaucracy and fed up with the high cost of Federal agencies—especially when everyone is hopeful of reducing the present budgetary requests.

The editorial follows:

A PLACE TO SAVE MONEY

The only thing the Federal Government could do for schools that they sometimes have trouble doing at local and State levels is to provide more taxing power for school support.

This is the only kind of school aid from Washington that would be acceptable—the use of Federal taxing power.

If Congress merely gave back to each State a fair percentage of taxes collected under its authority, with the proviso that the money be used for school aid, that would be excellent.

But that is not what a school-aid-minded Congress would do. It would divvy up Federal funds under some school-aid formula to share the wealth between wealthy and poor States.

That is the only plan that would be acceptable to southern Congressmen, representing the bulk of the poor States.

The plan would give many States a net deficit in their own school-aid resources; they would lose in the deal. It is, moreover, a plan that would give the Federal Government a net deficit in its Treasury because no new taxes are being proposed to underwrite a school-aid program.

Secretary of Treasury Humphrey has been talking about the importance of each of us coming to grips with runaway spending in Washington. He says we as individuals have ourselves to blame for a budget that has reached $72 billion and shows no sign of stopping.

Secretary Humphrey says he and President Eisenhower have talked this over and agree that the only way to save Federal money is to save it—like that.

The Federal school-aid bill, whatever it turns out to be when the committeemen get through with it, would be a fine place to save a couple billion dollars' worth of Federal money—like that.

We predict that Congressmen will quickly realize the absurdity of talking about Federal school aid when what they mean is a scheme for sharing the wealth between States already paying the cost of education and States that have been waiting for assistance, some of them with two school systems—one for whites, one for colored.

Felix Ullrich, Jr., of Newark—An Outstanding Young Scientist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, next week in Washington, we will have the 40 most promising young scientists in the United States. They have been selected in the 16th annual talent search from high schools all over the Nation to come here to participate in the 5-day Science Talent Institute. I am proud to say that Felix Thomas Ullrich, Jr., a young man from my district in Newark from Barringer High School—the same high school that I attended—is included in this outstanding group. Felix intends to become a physicist or an electrical engineer.

These young people will compete for the Westinghouse scholarship in the finals of the science talent search directed by science clubs of America which are administered by Science Service. The winners have passed difficult aptitude test, submitted scholarship records and recommendations, and written a report entitled "My Science Project." One of these outstanding young men and women will win a $2,800 scholarship and the runner-up will receive a $2,000 scholarship. In all, scholarships totaling $11,000 will be awarded to this group.

The story of Felix Ullrich, Jr., must give heart to all Americans. At 17 years of age he has already distinguished himself in the field of his choice. He is an outstanding example of a young man seeking knowledge to prepare himself for an important future in a science-minded age. On his own, he has studied theoretical physics and mathematics during his vacations. For a science project, he has designed and built a small radio frequency heating unit which he used to heat material in a vacuum. His accomplishments have led him to be elected to the National Honor Society. He is also a member of the Science Clubs of America and a mathematics club. He hopes to attend the University of California at Berkeley. The fact that Felix is a member of the Ground Observer Corps shows that he is a good citizen as well as a good scientist.

Felix Ullrich, Jr., is an example of the fine young men and women included in the Scientific Talent Institute here this week. I am sure that we are all well aware of the crucial need for scientists. The role that these young people will play in the future of our Nation is an ever growing one. The young scientists in this group are stepping forward to help their country in an era of great scientific competition. The Soviet Union is known to be placing great emphasis on scientific advancement and the nations behind the Iron Curtain are making large strides in this field. We are dependent on the young scientists of America to provide for our national survival by their contributions to a competitive and very important field. I wish to commend these young scientists on their accomplishments.

How Reducing the Corporate Income Tax Will Help Unincorporated Businesses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, many small-business people whose businesses are unincorporated are asking how they will be helped by our proposals for reducing the corporate income tax on small corporations.

I introduced in the last Congress, and again in this Congress, a bill which would substantially reduce the corporate income tax on small corporations. This bill—H. R. 7—would also reduce the tax on medium size and even moderately large corporations; it would, however, make slight increases in the tax rates on the very large, the giant, and the supergiant corporations. The increased rates which these latter corporations would pay are proposed for compelling reasons.

First, the bill is not intended to bring about any reduction in the total revenue which the Government would receive from the corporate income tax. On the contrary, the bill would simply substitute for the present uneven progression of rates, a uniform progression which is calculated to yield the same revenue.

There is, however, a second purpose to be served by a uniform system of progressive rates on corporate incomes. The purpose is to bring about a more even and equitable distribution of the actual burden of the corporate income tax and thus correct a condition of the present tax structure which is bringing about a rapid concentration of business into the hands of a few corporate giants.

PRESENT TAX RATES DISCRIMINATE AGAINST SMALL BUSINESS

As we know, the corporate income tax falls on many small corporations in exactly the same way that the individual income tax falls on an individual's income. That is to say, the corporation is left, after paying the tax, with just that much less income to spend than it would have had if there had been no corporate income tax. These are the smaller corporations. They do business under sufficiently strong competitive conditions that they cannot arbitrarily decide what their incomes are going to be. In short, they do not have a market control which enables them to shift the tax.

On the other hand, many of the bigger corporations do in reality shift the corporate income tax. This is readily admitted by many of the executives of these very corporations. These corporations do not necessarily have a monopoly in the legal sense of the term, but they do have sufficient control over the market that they can rearrange their price and production policies to accommodate the tax. They thus continue to take whatever amount of profits, after taxes, they consider to be most desirable from the viewpoint of their long run self-interest.

For example, corporations in the public-utility fields do not actually pay a corporate income tax for the simple reason that when this tax is imposed, or increased, it is the custom of the State utility commissions to allow these corporations to raise their rates sufficiently to absorb the tax. For similar reasons the giant corporations in the unregulated fields of business do not pay the tax, because they are not required to seek the permission of any regulatory body before raising their prices.

An across-the-board corporate income tax is therefore far from even and undiscriminating in its effects on corporations of different sizes. At one extreme, there are corporations that actually bear the burden, or substantially all of the burden, of the tax. In this case the tax actually reduces—and it reduces substantially—the amount of earnings which the corporation has left to pay dividends and to invest in business expansion. At the other extreme, there are corporations that can and do shift substantially all of the tax, and these are in practical effect left untaxed. And in between these two extremes there are corporations which can and do shift the tax only in varying degrees and these are in practical effect taxed in varying degrees.

At present the effective tax rate on corporate incomes—that is, the normal and surtax combined—progresses in a very curious fashion. It is, first, a flat rate on corporate incomes ranging between nothing and $25,000; then the rate progresses steeply on corporate incomes up to about $400,000; and after that the rate is flat again, so that a corporation having a net taxable income of several billions of dollars pays the same rate as a corporation having a net income of about one-half million dollars.

BIG CORPORATES SHOULD START PAYING TAXES

The result of a system of progressive rates then would be this: No matter in what general segment of the size scale an industry may occupy, the smaller competitors in that industry would pay a lesser rate than the bigger corporations, and the rates would vary in proportion to the relative size of the competitors. This would tend to prevent the bigger competitors from shifting the tax, or at least limit the extent to which the tax could be shifted. The result will be therefore that many of the giant corporations would, for the first time, actually bear the burden, or a large part of the burden, of the taxes which they have been paying, or going through the motion of paying.

HELPING UNINCORPORATED BUSINESSES.

As a result of having introduced a tax bill of the kind I have just described, I have received over the past year, and am still receiving, quite a few letters about this matter. As I indicated, many of these letters are from small-business people whose businesses are not incorporated and who ask this question: "How will reducing the corporate income tax help small partnerships and proprietorships?" On January 9 I received a letter from a small-business man who put the question in a rather typical way. I offer for insertion in the RECORD a portion of this man's letter to me, together with that portion of my reply to him which deals with taxes, in the hope that this correspondence will help clarify the matter for others who may have the same question. This will show how, under section 1361 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, small unincorporated businesses might take advantage of any reductions that are made in the corporate income taxes.

The letter to me reads, in part, as follows:

I, as a small retailer, have watched with considerable interest the reports of congressional aid to small businesses.

To date all references to such aid seem to mention tax relief for small corporations, although the bulk of small businesses are unincorporated by more than 10 to 1. The small unincorporated businesses need aid immediately, in matters such as tax relief, pension plans, reserves for operating capital, allowable deductions, etc., questions in which the corporations have a decided advantage over the unincorporated businesses. For example, maximum taxes in corporations is 52 percent—individual taxes, unlimited. Corporations may hold certain amounts of profits for operation or expansion of business, whereas the individual cannot.

My reply to this small-business man has been, in part, as follows:

I fully agree with you that unincorporated firms need tax relief. In fact, I believe more so than the small corporations. The corporate form of organization provides some shelter from the high and steeply progressive rates on individual incomes. This usually means that small corporations, if they are profitable, can save some money for business expansion. Executive salaries are of course deducted as any other business cost before the tax is computed.

I have been pushing for tax relief on small corporations however, for the reasons, first, because the same relief will be, or can be, made available to unincorporated businesses; and second, this seems to be the only feasible way of equalizing the presently unequal tax as between big firms and small firms.

NONINCORPORATED FIRMS MAY BE TAXED AS A CORPORATION

Most small-business people don't seem to know about it, but section 1361 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 gives to unincorporated firms the option of being taxed as a corporation. This means, as I have said, that if we can get the tax rates on small corporations down, unincorporated firms can utilize the advantages which would result. I should add that very few unincorporated firms have actually availed themselves of section 1361.

One of the reasons appears to be that while the Collector of Internal Revenue is supposed to issue regulations covering this section, I believe, as yet, he has not done so. The Small Business Committee, of which I am chairman, has recently recommended that this matter be reviewed for the purpose of removing any undue obstacles to small businesses' use of the section.

In addition, I have introduced a bill, H. R. 23, which would help both incorporated and unincorporated firms that want to acquire or improve business property. This would allow the firm to charge off an investment, up to $50,000, as a business cost within the year in which the expenditure is made. Or it would allow the firm to amortize the expenditure over any number of years it might choose.

The District of Columbia School System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, during the very thorough investigation made last fall by a special subcommittee investigating the District of Columbia school system, Hon. William Gerber, accomplished and reputable attorney of Memphis, Tenn., served as the chief counsel. It must be agreed by all thinking persons that he performed a fair, impartial, and thorough service to the committee, which had as its chairman the Honorable JAMES DAVIS, of Georgia.

It is my judgment that this committee, in making an exhaustive and factual report to the Congress, and of course, to the Nation, accomplished great good in the field of this highly controversial subject. In the limited time provided this committee, I was amazed at the amount of constructive work which was accomplished.

Recently, Mr. Henry Edward Schultz, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, with headquarters in New York, released to the press, in the name of the Anti-Defamation League, a statement made by Dr. Hansen, of the District school system, wherein he made a report entitled "A Miracle of Social Adjustment." This statement and report sought to reflect unfavorably upon the work of this committee.

I have known Mr. Gerber since we were very young men. He is a fine citizen of Memphis. He was born in Russia, came to this country at a very early age and by his own efforts, supplemented by the contributions of fine parents, obtained his education. He was elected by the people of my congressional district to the important office of district attorney general, and his record as a prosecutor was outstanding. He is a former president of the Memphis Bar Association and served as president of the Memphis chapter of the B'nai B'rith. He carries the very highest rating for ability and character in the law directory. Active in worthwhile civic affairs, while enjoying a lucrative law practice, his reputation is well known in our wide area.

He wrote a very splendid letter to Mr. Schultz, in answer to his implied criticism, and I have been given permission to include a copy of that letter in my remarks because I would like to have the greatest number of people have the benefit of its reading. The letter follows:

FEBRUARY 20, 1957.

Mr. HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ,
National Chairman, Anti-Defamation League, B'Nai B'rith,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. SCHULTZ: I have just read your letter of February 15, 1957, and the press release in the name of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith on Dr. Hansen's report entitled "A Miracle of Social Adjustment." In answer to this distortion of the facts and your continued meddling in this highly controversial matter in the name of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which is resented by thousands of American Jews, I wish to make the following reply.

The NAACP and other irresponsible organizations and individuals with whom you, as national chairman of Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, appear to be in full agreement, have accused those conducting the recent investigation into school conditions in Washington of presenting a one-sided and negative picture of the school integration program in Washington.

Instead of devising ways and means of eliminating the deplorable and disgraceful conditions that were revealed through the testimony of highly reputable principals and teachers, the prointegrationists, in a desperate effort to divert attention from the findings of the subcommittee, have been desperately seeking to make it appear that a conspiracy was entered into between so-called bigots on the subcommittee and me to defame the Negroes in Washington and deliberately make a case against public school integration. This is a deliberate falsehood and no fair-minded individual will swallow that sort of tripe, whether it comes from the NAACP or the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The fallacy in imputing that the members of the subcommittee from the Deep South were bigots, interested in a biased and prejudiced investigation to injure school integration is totally refuted by their appointment of me as chief counsel.

My appointment was wholly unsolicited. It was made after I had acquainted the Members of the subcommittee with the fact that I was born in Russia, that I was a Jew, that I was a past president of the local B'nai B'rith lodge, and that after admonishing some of the Members of the subcommittee that my sympathies would naturally lean toward minority groups. If they were looking for a chief counsel who would conduct a biased and prejudiced investigation, they had a number of applicants from which they could have made such a selection.

I was advised by the subcommittee that the resolution called for an investigation into public school standards and conditions, and juvenile delinquency in the District of Columbia. Not a single member of the committee either intimated or suggested that the investigation was to be focused on integration in the Washington schools, nor did any member suggest to me as to how the investigation should be conducted. The strategy for its conduct was entirely my own.

During the course of this investigation I personally interviewed approximately 500 members of the Washington school system. They consisted of all of the members of the Board of Education, District Commissioners, principals, teachers, and school custodians. There was no intimidation or coercion practiced and the power of subpena was not invoked. It was all conducted on a voluntary basis.

While you shed crocodile tears over the unwarranted charge that this was a one-sided investigation, you close your eyes completely to the campaign that was waged by the NAACP not only to stop the investigation, but to intimidate, coerce and terrorize respectable teachers into refusing to voluntarily appear and testify before the subcommittee for fear of reprisals.

You have now taken it upon yourself to propagandize, in the name of the Anti-Defamation League, a report by Dr. Hansen, entitled "A Miracle of Social Adjustment," which you say represents fair comments on your part on the basis of the facts.

This so-called miracle of social adjustment in the Washington schools since integration is a figment of Dr. Hansen's imagination created while sitting behind a desk at Franklin School and doing a lot of daydreaming and wishful thinking. His report is not supported by the facts. It ignores the statements and testimony of a large number of school personnel who were on the firing line and gave firsthand information.

As testified to by reputable school personnel, this "miracle of social adjustment" of which you seem to be particularly proud brought about disciplinary problems in the predominantly integrated schools that were described as appalling, demoralizing, intolerable, and disgraceful. Fighting, lying, stealing, vandalism, obscene writing, vulgar talking, absenteeism, tardiness, and truancy increased to alarming proportions.

Mental and physical suffering affected the health and morale of many white teachers as a reaction to these unexpected disciplinary problems. As a result some white teachers resigned, some retired before the fixed date of their retirement, and others indicated they were going to leave the school system as soon as possible.

Integration brought about a situation where teachers were required to police the corridors, playgrounds, and cafeterias, and police officers were called to many of the schools constantly.

This miracle of social adjustment brought about a curtailment of normal social activities. Plays, dramatics, and dances were discontinued. The sex attitude of the Negro was found to be dangerous and revolting. Reputable teachers reported deplorable conditions in sex contacts. Reports of attempted rape, assaults, chasing girls, and even teachers, Negro girls soliciting boys at school, sex talk, and suggestive talking and attempted fondling and feeling of white girls, sex perversion, indecent exposures of the person, and innumerable sex affronts were reported by the school personnel that was interviewed. Indeed, all this was a "miracle of social adjustment."

Dr. Hansen's "miracle of social adjustment" fails to take into consideration the report of the Department of Public Health of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year 1955. The report shows that out of 13,267 cases of venereal diseases reported, 12,621 were colored; that out of 854 cases of gonorrhea reported among children of school age, 834 were colored; that out ofg 1,184 illegitimate births reported among children of school age, 1,089 were colored; that 1 out of every 4 colored children born in Washington is illegitimate.

Dr. Hansen's statement that the exodus of white residents to the suburban areas of Virginia and Maryland is not the result of school integration is not supported by a scintilla of evidence. Teacher after teacher stated that the exodus of white residents from Washington was accelerated by the persistent agitation for integration. That the establishment of school boundaries and a forced mixing of the races caused many whites to move to the suburban areas. This is a matter of common knowledge, and you could very easily verify it by talking to people at random in Washington. The Washington school census reveals that where a few years ago there were 59,582 white students and 33,498 colored students, the school census as of October 1956 shows that the school population is now 34,750 white students and 73,723 colored students.

This "miracle of social adjustment" even saw Dr. Hansen adjusting his living conditions by moving into an area removed from the predominately integrated school districts. He testified before the committee that he would not have selected a home in a colored area.

I sometimes wonder if the creation of the theme song, "miracle of social adjustment" by Dr. Hansen, which is unsupported by any evidence, was not done for the purpose of ingratiating himself with the pro-integrationist members of the Board of Education in order that he might be considered for the position of superintendent in event of the retirement of Superintendent Hobart Corning.

The statement by Dr. Hansen that there was preparation and careful planning for the integration of the Washington schools is not supported by the evidence. On the contrary, the school personnel interviewed stated that there was not any serious consideration given or preparation made for the integration of the Washington schools. If Superintendent Corning had any kind of workable plan it was not communicated to the teaching personnel. The proof was practically unanimous that the integrated school system in Washington was not successful and that it would take many years to determine this question.

At the time the Washington schools were integrated the school administration had no idea as to the wide mental, social, and educational difference that existed between the white and colored students. If there had been any careful planning, the school administration should have given the national standardized mental and educational achievement tests before the schools were integrated. Had they done so there would not have been such a hasty decision to integrate the schools. It was not until the races were mixed and chaos broke out that these tests were given in the spring of 1956. These tests revealed that the intelligence quotient of the average white student was in the upper 5 percent of the Nation and the intelligence quotient of the average Negro was in the lower 5 percent of the Nation. That there was a range of between 2 and 4 grades in the educational achievement of the white students and Negro students. What a "miracle of social adjustment" developed when these students were hastily mixed to appease the wishes and desires of the NAACP and the politicians who were only interested in Negro votes.

The witnesses stated that the chaos and confusion created by the hasty integration of the Washington schools was a nightmare. This condition was recognized by Dr. Hansen, who, in an effort to combat the deterioration in educational achievement being suffered by the white students, created the four-track plan. This plan has for its purpose the grouping of students according to their educational achievement and ability to learn. It is a reversion to segregation. Instead of having segregation under a dual system of schools, we now have segregation under the same roof. This action, taken by Dr. Hansen, proves conclusively that his report entitled "A Miracle of Social Adjustment" is a distortion of the facts intended to cover up the true conditions in the integrated Washington schools.

I have never been a member of any organization that favors segregation in the public schools, nor have I ever expressed an opinion on the subject. I will say, however, that my experience in Washington leads me to the conclusion that hasty integration of the

public schools in any community will bring about "a miracle of social adjustment" theretofore unheard of in decent society.

Why the Anti-Defamation League should have become so saturated with its importance in this highly controversial matter is beyond the comprehension of thousands of American Jews who have not been consulted or given an opportunity to express their views on the merits of this policy. A small group of so-called leaders in the order, who are biased in favor of integration, are attempting to speak and act for thousands who do not support your views and resent reading in the press your partisan criticisms on a matter that does not come within the purview or functions of the league.

The NAACP was created for the purpose of advancing the causes and protecting the interests of the American Negro. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith was created for the purpose of preventing the defamation of Jews. If you will let the NAACP take care of the Negroes and confine the best efforts of the Anti-Defamation League along the lines for which it was created, we will all be much better off.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM GERBER.

New Industry for Central Kansas Drought Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter to President Eisenhower, copy of which was sent me by the Lyons Chamber of Commerce, of Lyons, Kans.:

FEBRUARY 11, 1957.

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER: We, the board of directors of the Lyons Chamber of Commerce, Lyons, Kans., ask that you consider the economic problems that are facing business and agriculture here in central Kansas.

As you well know, our farm income has softened considerably as a result of the drought conditions and the price structures that have prevailed the past 3 years. We have been fortunate in having considerable oil activity in this area for the past 20 years. All this has provided comfortable income to many, but we are now losing it gradually, as our oil reserve becomes depleted and our oil exploration people are moving to other more productive areas. With the loss of both farm income and oil income, our business is feeling a definite pinch.

We believe our greatest hope to increase our productive incomes lies in developing new industry in this part of Kansas. We have already exerted considerable energy in an attempt to attract industry, small and large, from the more congested parts of the United States. We have met with scant success, and have lately been directing our efforts toward locally developing industry as a means of stabilizing our productive economy. The results of this endeavor have been very encouraging, and have served to point out to us the determined desire of our people to help themselves by their own creative efforts.

We have the finest supply of potential labor to be found anywhere in the United States. Many of our farmers find they must have other income in addition to what they can expect to earn on a farm. To do this, they are willing to do any kind of honorable work to supplement their depleted income from farm work. They have a background of good character that creates a pride in workmanship, and they represent a great asset to any employer.

We believe that this part of Kansas could be beneficial to certain types of industry producing both Government contracts and commercial items, since we are located in the very center of the United States, and we believe that industry should be encouraged to consider this area for future development.

We further suggest that a Government-sponsored emergency program be established to assist existing small industries, to aid in the development of new industries in this area, and to share in the national defense program subcontracts. Technical advice, financing, aid in obtaining necessary machine tools, and Government direction in seeing that contracts are divided more evenly among rural communities of our central area is most important.

We sincerely make these proposals in the hope something can be worked out to provide this productive development, and help to offset the growing softness in our local rural economies.

Very sincerely yours,

The Board of Directors, Lyons Chamber of Commerce: Dale H. Snyder, President; Lloyd H. Buell, Vice President; W. W. Chandler, Jr., Treasurer; John M. Neely, Secretary-Manager; Raymond Biggs; Willis Fankhauser; A. B. Martin; Dr. James T. Grimes, M. D.; James Ludes; Bill King; Mrs. Helen Six; Robert F. Young.

The Late Honorable C. Wayland Brooks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I want the RECORD to show that I was privileged to be a close personal friend of the late Senator C. Wayland Brooks, known to all his many friends as "Curly." He was such an outstanding man, who meant so much to me personally and did so much for me as a friend, that I am constrained to make certain somehow, perhaps in this way, that now and for all time the people will know not only my personal feelings but also some measure of the contribution he made to Illinois and to the country as a whole.

Whatever one's political faith, whatever one's views on a particular legislative issue, all agree that no man served in the United States Senate who has shown more courage of his convictions than "Curly" Brooks and few men had the ability with which he was endowed to express so persuasively what he believed.

As great as he was as an attorney, as great as he was a Senator from Illinois, as great and as many his accomplishments in the practice of law and the making of law, for me his real greatness was his love of his fellowman, his understanding of other people's problems, his constant efforts to help them in arriving at solutions, and his complete humility regardless of the many honors he attained.

I shall miss "Curly" Brooks. I shall miss his wise counsel and advice. I shall miss him as a man for whom I had great affection as a friend.

Echoes From Capitol Hill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of the membership of the House this article by the very able Washington correspondent for the McClatchy newspapers, Ed Dickson, which appeared recently in the Fresno Bee. The article comments favorably upon three well-known Democratic personalities who have added much to the luster of the Democratic Party. I am proud that Mike was once a resident of my district.

The article follows:

ECHOES FROM CAPITOL HILL

(By Edward H. Dickson)

California has a sort of proprietary interest in the makeup of the Democratic congressional campaign committee.

The chairman is Congressman MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, of Youngstown, Ohio. His assistant is Kenneth Harding, of Washington, D. C.

But these addresses do not tell the true California connection of the pair whose duty is to elect righteous Democrats to the House of Representatives and defeat sinful Republicans come campaign time every 2 years.

Incidentally, the virtues of the Democrats and the malfeasance of the Republicans are in direct ratio to the number of days before election.

In off election years, such as this, both KIRWAN and Harding have been known to break down and admit that after all Republicans are human, even though misguided.

But they never have been reckless enough to put this in writing.

KIRWAN, known as MIKE to all and sundry, is suspected of being of Gaelic ancestry. In fact, Joe Friday would find this out in about a minute's conversation and without asking a single "ma'am."

KIRWAN got his start in life as a worker in the oilfields of Kern County, Calif., which did not entitle him to a 27½ percent depletion allowance such as the absentee owners enjoy.

It was a beneficial arrangement for both KIRWAN and California for they formed a sort of mutual admiration society.

KIRWAN remembered years later the parched lands he saw there as a youngster. As a key member of the House Appropriations Committee he helped see that the Central Valley project received substantial appropriations.

California's wandering son is regarded as one of the great conservationists of our time despite the fact his own home Ohio district receives but little from the Interior Department's appropriation bill.

KIRWAN, in fact, regarded it as a sort of personal triumph when one year in present-

ing the Department's bill he was able to include an 80-cent item for the purchase of a new wick for a lighthouse on Lake Erie.

The California roots of Harding are planted even more deeply. Like his dad before him, the very much loved and respected Victor Harding, he is a native Californian.

While Ken takes a lively interest in the election returns from all 435 House districts, he is especially conscious of the count which comes in from San Mateo County.

That is the home ground, so to speak.

"Cap" Harding, his late dad, once taught political science at Stanford University, which is the alma mater of former Republican President Herbert Hoover.

Their political philosophies, however, varied more than somewhat.

Ken is doing fine as his dad's successor but "Cap" is regarded as having been one of the greatest keepers of the mace in all the long history of the House of Representatives.

The mace, it should be explained, is a symbolical club of authority featuring the Roman fasces.

"Cap" made the hall of fame as a keeper of the mace because he was always Johnny-on-the-spot when the Congressmen quit calling each other "able and distinguished" and referring to each other as "gentlemen" and started using those short and ugly words which make men fighting mad.

"Cap" would run up with the mace and shake it in their faces and a world crisis would be averted.

Not to mention the dignity of Congress.

The Estonian People Still Long for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 4, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, when Estonia declared her independence on February 24, 1918, a proud and historic people gave the world renewed evidence that the true spirit of freedom can never be quenched. Even though Estonia had lain for more than two centuries under Russian domination, she was determined to build her own destiny.

It is important to recall this anniversary of Estonian independence because it reminds us of our own high resolve that the right of all nations—small or large—to self-determination shall remain one of the goals which our country must always seek. Our Nation was itself conceived on the principle that it is the inalienable right of a people to govern themselves. That principle must guide us in the future as in the past.

Despite the oppression of the Soviet tyrants today, the Estonian people still long for freedom. Those of Estonian descent who have come to this Nation to mingle with their fellow Americans from many lands have brought that spirit of liberty with them. America must open its door in hospitality to all those who seek refuge from dictatorship.

We sense today a new spirit of dedication to freedom's cause behind the Iron Curtain. I believe that this rising ferment makes it imperative that the United States take the lead in calling on the United Nations to expose for all to see the shame of Soviet tyranny over Estonia and her neighbors of Baltic and Eastern Europe. On February 24, 1957, let us be as true to democratic ideals as the Estonian patriots were true to them 39 years ago.

The Overton Waterway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I have repeatedly urged, during the time which I have been privileged to represent the Fourth District of Louisiana, action on our part to promote and support the construction of the Overton Waterway in central and northwest Louisiana. I have stated and have demonstrated numerous times that water navigation is of utmost importance to the continued growth and development of the Red River Valley. This project is vital and drastically needed in this Southwest area.

There are those in Louisiana who are evidently against progress in any form. Those forces which are urging the use of the Red River for navigation purposes are actually fighting to destroy the possibility of navigation in the Red River Valley. Red River, because of the nature of its shifting banks, which constantly crumble and slough off into the river, is unstable. Stabilization of its banks and navigation of the Red River are, therefore, impossible without a vast expenditure of money. The cost of such a project of bank stabilization and the other measures necessary for navigation completely rule out the use of Red River.

I want to point out specifically that the river route is 75 miles longer than the Overton Waterway project and this fact alone will increase the costs tremendously, and would increase navigation costs up and down the river, in the event efforts are made in the future to use the river channel instead of the proposed canal. The proposed Overton Canal would be only 205 miles in length, as opposed to more than 280 miles for the Red River route, and the swift current of Red River resulting in constantly changing channels and unstable banks, requiring at least 12 locks and dams, as against only 9 needed for the Overton Waterway, definitely rule out the river itself as usable for navigation.

It it were determined to use the Red River channel for navigation, the costs would run from $200 million to $300 million, whereas the Federal costs for the Overton Waterway would be less than $100 million.

In 1945 the Army engineers studied this entire matter and came up with the report that the channel of Red River is not susceptible to modern navigation. They recommended the use of a series of bayous like Bayou Pierre, Cane River and Old River as a feasible, slack water route for water travel from the lower part of Red River to Shreveport, La.

Those forces urging a study of the use of the channel of Red River for navigation purposes, disregard the findings of the Army engineers made in 1945, which have not been seriously disputed, and are out to destroy efforts to obtain navigation in the Red River Valley. Without navigation we cannot hope to have major new industrial development at Alexandria, Natchitoches, and Shreveport.

U. S. S. "Long Beach"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 28, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the Secretary of the Navy announced the first nuclear-powered guided-missile surface ship of the Navy, a cruiser, will bear the name U. S. S. *Long Beach*.

The decision to name the cruiser after the southern California city which I have the honor to represent was made after a long and careful study of many names which had been proposed for the ship by individuals, groups, and associations, all of whom have manifested the keenest interest in the remarkable new Navy being created for our country's defense.

It is a long-standing custom to name cruisers for cities of the United States, but no cruiser has ever borne the name of Long Beach before. The area for which the new ship has been named is the site of one of the earliest seaboard settlements on the Pacific coast. Richard Henry Dana, in his classic "Two Years Before the Mast" describes early commercial shipping activities in the then sparsely settled area, where Yankee merchant skippers loaded hides and tallow from the ranchos served by the harbor area.

Long Beach has long been a major center for naval operations on the West coast and the city and its suburbs have been home for many years to the officers and men of the fleet and their families. The port has expanded and been improved over the years, and now includes a naval shipyard, a naval station and serves as the headquarters for various commands both afloat and ashore. Long Beach currently is the home port of the greater part of the active cruisers of the United States Pacific Fleet.

The relationships between the Navy and the people and civic government of Long Beach have been excellent through the years. It will be remembered that last August the city joined with the Fleet Reserve Association and the Navy to organize and conduct a "Mrs. U. S. Navy" contest, which served as a means of recognition of the important part Navy wives play in helping the service to fulfill its mission.

There has been only one United States warship, a World War II frigate, to bear

the name of *Long Beach* before. Built in Wilmington, Calif., immediately adjacent to Long Beach, she served in the Pacific area during World War II with a distinguished combat record. She was taken from the Reserve Fleet in 1953, recommissioned, and is now on lease to the Japanese naval defense force.

The new cruiser is being built by the Bethlehem Steel Co., at Quincy, Mass. Her atomic reactors are being built by the Westinghouse Corp. and her ultramodern steam turbine by the General Electric Co. She is scheduled for completion in late 1960. She will have the dual distinction of being the first United States cruiser to be designed and built from the keel up since World War II, and the first surface ship to be armed with a main battery of guided missiles and powered with a nuclear powerplant.

The *Long Beach*, marking a milestone as she does with her distinction as the first nuclear-powered surface ship, will not only be a forerunner of the constructive use of nuclear power to propel not only warships, but peacetime ships across the seas as well. She will be a graceful craft about 700 feet long with a displacement of around 14,000 tons. She will have a distinctive topside appearance because of the absence of conventional naval artillery. Her long decks will be smooth and unobstructed to permit most efficient firing of her missile batteries.

The ship's $87.5 million cost, including $18.3 million for her reactors, will be recovered by the Nation not only in her value as a defense weapon in being, but also as a testing ground for the many new tactical and strategic concepts which will be developed to permit most effective use of this revolutionary development in naval warfare. At no time since Rear Adm. Alfred Thayer Mahan, United States Navy—1840 to 1914—developed the importance of sea power in his Influence of Sea Power on History and other writings have more bold possibilities for the implementation of national policy through naval instrumentalities been presented than with this, the forerunner of our nuclear-powered Navy.

For the city of Long Beach, the naming of the vessel means the coming of age of the city as a Navy town. But not only is it a matter of prestige. There are tangible benefits that go with the distinction of having a ship named after a city. Every time that ship is involved in the news, the name of the home town is publicized. As the world's first atomic powered, guided-missile cruiser, the U. S. S. *Long Beach* will be mentioned frequently in the news as long as it remains in commission and as long as naval war equipment remains significant. It is a prototype ship and will be mentioned in connection with all future ships in the same classification. They will be known as ships of the *Long Beach* class. Such national notice simply could not be purchased by the city through any kind of promotional campaign.

Almost the day plans for the cruiser were announced many civic groups and individuals in the city of Long Beach began work to claim the name. Possibly the idea was generated by Harry Fulton, a correspondent for the Long Beach Independent newspaper in which columns a suggestion of the name first appeared. The Independent Business Men's Association, the Long Beach Chamber of Commerce, the Long Beach Naval Shipyard Employees Association, the Long Beach City Council, and other civic groups were constantly alert to forward naming of the ship after the city.

The Washington correspondent of the Long Beach Press-Telegram, Virginia Weldon Kelly, carried on a ceaseless campaign among her many friends in high naval and civilian circles in Washington to gain victory in what turned out to be a high-spirited sweepstakes amongst many contending cities for the name. Not only were cognizant naval officials themselves bombarded by Mrs. Kelly, but their all powerful spouses also fell within the Kelly line of fire. Wife of a retired admiral herself, she apparently shared his homework in the science, tactics, and strategy of successful warfare, for her part in forwarding the name U. S. S. *Long Beach* was played with consummate skill, redoubtable courage, and unflagging perseverance.

However, all the hopes and aspirations of the city of Long Beach and its citizens might have gone unrealized had it not been for the magnificent assistance freely offered by some eighty Members of the House of Representatives who joined me in asking the Secretary of the Navy to designate this name. Of both parties and from all sections of the country, these eighty Members in their considered judgment believed the ship should be named the U. S. S. *Long Beach* and went on record by saying so. These men and women have the sincere gratitude of my city and myself.

In closing these remarks, I assure you that as long as the U. S. S. *Long Beach* sails she will have every assistance and support that the people of her namesake city can give the ship, and her officers and men.

Farm Credit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include a resolution sent me by Mr. J. H. Dean, of Hutchinson, Kans., who holds an office on the Wichita Bank for Cooperatives. The following resolution was adopted by the Wichita Bank for Cooperatives at a meeting held on January 28 and 29, and they request its serious and favorable consideration by Members of the House and Senate if and when any legislation might be introduced:

It was stated in the Farm Credit Act of 1953 to be the policy of Congress that increased borrower participation in the management, control, and ultimate ownership of the institutions operating under the Farm Credit Administration should be encouraged and facilitated. Then the 1955 and 1956 Farm Credit Acts covering the reorganization of the banks for cooperatives and the Federal intermediate credit banks were enacted to carry out the policy as set forth in the Farm Credit Act of 1953.

Therefore the advisory committee of the Wichita Bank for Cooperatives, being in favor of the objectives and purposes of the Farm Credit Act of 1953, hereby set forth their opposition to any amendment of the Farm Credit Acts of 1955 or 1956, which would increase Federal budgetary control over the Federal intermediate credit banks or banks for cooperatives under the Government Corporation Control Act or in any way give the Federal Government, after the Government capital in the banks is retired, a continuing interest in the surplus existing in such banks for cooperatives and Federal intermediate credit banks on the effective dates of such acts, or which would abolish the revolving funds available for emergency capitalization of the banks for cooperatives, Federal intermediate credit banks, or the production credit associations.

Two Hundred Million American Dollars for What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 18, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an article by George Barnes that appeared in the Reporter for February 7, 1957. The subject matter relates to the request by the President to use $200 million in the Middle East to stop the march of communism. This article by Mr. Barnes sets out some interesting facts and I commend it to all Members who are interested in the matter of foreign-aid spending:

TWO HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS FOR WHAT?
(By George Barnes)

So far as the economic aspect of the administration's historic gamble for the Middle East is concerned, the Secretary of State apparently means to hold his hand pretty close to the vest. Hours of questioning on Capitol Hill has failed to evoke from Mr. Dulles any real explanation of how he is going to use the $200-million-a-year fund the administration wants from Congress.

No one who knows the desperate poverty of the region and understands the irrepressible surge of its peoples toward something better will challenge the premise that the United States must respond to their needs if we hope to dissuade them from further adventures with communism. The question to which Mr. Dulles' reticence gives rise, however, is whether the administration's new economic program can actually produce the results we look for in the present crisis.

It may be, of course, that the Secretary of State has excellent reasons for his reluctance to expose his hand at this stage of the game. It is well known that money can work wonders in the Middle East if you are not too finicky about how you use it; and it is at least possible that Mr. Dulles does not intend to be finicky. If this is the case, his noncommittal attitude at this stage is understandable.

On the other hand, if the administration intends to pursue a major development program in the Middle East on the crash basis suggested by the President, Mr. Dulles' reticence may derive from the plain fact that he doesn't know what the money is going to be used for. We have been trying for 5½ years to get an effective economic-development program going in the Middle East, and we haven't had much luck at it.

WE CAN'T GET RID OF THE MONEY

The fuzziness of the administration's new program makes comparisons with this past effort hazardous. We do not know, for example, what countries or what kind of projects are to be included in the new program. The general impression is that it is to embrace a wide area extending from Libya to Pakistan and from Turkey to Ethiopia.

From all that has been said, however, it may be assumed that the main focus will be on the Arab States at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, where the greatest pressure of Communist penetration is being felt. A look at our previous efforts at economic development in these countries may serve to illustrate certain problems Mr. Dulles apparently prefers to ignore.

Between July 1, 1951, and June 30, 1956, the United States allotted a total of $136,295,000 to five Arab States—Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia. Of this "allotment," which means money earmarked for a particular country, $129,627,000 was "obligated," which means earmarked for specific purposes, development assistance and technical cooperation, within a particular country. But of the obligated funds, only $73,054,000 has actually been spent. In other words, over a 5-year period, it has been impossible to spend 45 percent of the money we had planned to spend in the 5 Arab States.

Eliminate the technical assistance funds from the totals, and the picture is even less promising. For development projects alone—presumably the kind of aid contemplated by the administration's new program—we obligated $84,134,000 for 3 Arab countries—Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt—in the 5 years between 1951 and 1956. Of this amount, only $36,487,000 has actually been expended, which is to say that 56 percent of the money we planned to spend for economic development in Arab countries over a 5-year period is still in the Treasury.

Two Arab States—Iraq and Saudi Arabia—have received no development aid at all, preferring, presumably, to rely on their own oil royalties. One Arab country has refused assistance of any kind. This is Syria, ingrown, suspicious, unstable, and now deeply penetrated by Soviet influence and heavily endowed with Soviet arms.

Parenthetically, it may be noted that for Israel, the United States development aid funds obligated during the same 5-year period totaled $252 million, of which $234 million, or 92 percent, has actually been put to work. If the amount allocated to Israel exceeds by many times the amount allotted to individual Arab States—a fact Arab leaders are fond of pointing out—the reason may be that the Israelis have had the political stability, the will, and the skill to plan and carry out development programs as rapidly as financial assistance becomes available. Washington has long wished for similar competence and initiative on the part of Israel's neighbors.

In short, there is little or nothing in our past Middle East experience to justify the contention that the administration can get real economic development under way in the region if Congress will only put up several hundred million dollars with no strings attached. There is even less to suggest that such an expenditure will deter Soviet penetration or win for us the abiding friendship of the Arab peoples. Certainly the $136 million of economic and technical aid we have allotted to them in the last 5 years has done neither.

The basic fallacy in the economic aspect of the administration's new proposal, so far as one may judge from Mr. Dulles' generalities, is that it appears to treat only the symptoms and disregards the causes of the illness that plagues the Arab world. Despite our past experience, the administration seems ready to go right on putting money ahead of the Arabs' fundamental needs—peace, stability, and regional cooperation. It should be clear by now that just spending money won't work any miracles.

DOUBLECROSSING OVER JORDAN

The Jordan Valley project is a case in point. This was a plan initiated by the United States to conserve and harness the waters of the Jordan for irrigation and power. The plan was a natural both from the engineering standpoint and as sound economic development, offering more than 200,000 people—about a fourth of the Arab refugees—a decent livelihood from irrigated agriculture in what is now an all but barren valley. But there was a joker—the project required the agreement of 4 Middle Eastern states, all of which had legitimate claim to a share of the river and 3 of which were bitterly hostile toward the fourth. The countries were Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Israel.

In October 1956 President Eisenhower asked Eric Johnston to go to the Middle East as his personal ambassador to try to persuade the four Jordan Valley states to agree on the project. Johnston set out with no illusions as to the difficulty of the assignment but with a firm conviction that such a plan, if carried out, would help to resolve the urgent refugee problem, establish a pattern for intraregional development, and perhaps open the way for a general relaxation of Arab-Israel tensions.

No man ever worked harder at a job than Johnston worked at this one. On the four separate visits to the Middle East over a span of three years on which I accompanied him as an adviser, I watched him argue and cajole his way through hundreds of weary hours of the most detailed and harassing negotiations it is possible to imagine. He burned the midnight oil in every United States Embassy in the area preparing argumentation and counterproposals for the next meeting with one side or the other. American ambassadors winced at his tough talk to presidents, prime ministers, and kings, watched him shatter all the rules of diplomatic exchange, and ended up with a considerable amount of admiration for what several of them now call the "Johnston technique."

In the end, his persistence and persuasiveness brought the three Arab States and Israel into agreement on the economic and engineering aspects of a plan for developing the Jordan Valley for the benefit of all four states. He had accomplished the unprecedented feat of working out a project that was acceptable to both sides.

In late September 1955 a special committee of Arab engineers reported to the Arab League that the Johnston plan, revised and refined through negotiation, was equitable, workable, and compatible with Arab interests. This put it squarely up to the political leaders of the Arab States—whether or not to assent to a project involving the expenditure of some $200 million in their countries over a 10-year period, the creation of a major new agricultural area, the development of power for industrial expansion, and the permanent settlement of several hundred thousand of their people on the land.

On the night of October 11, 1955, in the Cairo office of the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Johnston was handed a brief statement that had just been adopted by the Arab League. It requested "more time" to consider the "technical" details of the project. This was diplomatic double talk: rejection of the plan had nothing to do with technical matters. The League's action was motivated wholly by political considerations. It was a clear reflection of the obsessive hatred of Israel that pervades the Arab world. The effect of the League's action was to kill any immediate possibility of going ahead with a major undertaking that offered indisputable benefit to the Arab States themselves.

The negative vote that killed the project under the Arab League's unanimity rule was cast by Said el-Ghazzi, then Premier of Syria, who feared the possible political consequences of acceptance. Both Lebanon and Jordan, the other principal beneficiaries, were in favor of acceptance. On the following morning, an exceptionally well-informed Egyptian newspaperman told me that el-Ghazzi had acted under instructions from Nasser of Egypt, who had repeatedly assured Johnston that he would support the plan.

A PAIR OF PREREQUISITES

This case history of what happened to a sound and desperately needed large-scale Middle Eastern development project is cited to illustrate several of the realities that Mr. Dulles appears to disregard in his projections of the administration's economic plan.

One is that economic progress in the area which is of greatest concern to us in the Middle East cannot be achieved until there is peace and a reasonable political rapprochement between the Arab world and Israel. Continued military tension imposes a staggering economic burden on the economy of every state in the area, diverts the energies of the people from constructive to destructive ends, strengthens the hand of Nasser and lesser Arab demagogues, and invites further Communist intrusion. So long as Arab leaders feel it necessary to pursue the politically popular line of vengeance against Israel, United States offers of economic aid are going to run a poor second to Soviet offers of planes and tanks.

The second reality is that the Middle East can move forward economically only as a region. Its progress depends on regional integration and cooperation between the various states that make it up.

This becomes abundantly clear from even a cursory exploration of major development possibilities.

The Jordan River project, as has been pointed out, requires assent and cooperation by four governments. Development of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley would call for agreement among Iraq, Syria, and Turkey. The Nile—in spite of Nasser's emphasis on the Aswan high dam—can only be harnessed for maximum benefit through agreement and cooperation among Egypt, the Sudan, Ethiopia, and the territorial governments of Kenya, Tanganyika, and the Belgian Congo.

An expansion of tourist travel to the Holy Land would produce immediate new revenues for the hard-pressed states of Jordan and Israel, with ancillary benefits to their neighbors. It would, in addition, stimulate the construction of new hotel and resort facilities, new transport lines, new highways. Yet, here again, a regional approach is necessary if the traveler is to have free access to all that he wants to see.

One of the region's most urgent needs is a modern highway system linking the Mediterranean seaboard with inland cities and the Persian Gulf. One imaginative and practicable project would involve the construction of a modern toll road, with feeder highway, from Lebanese and Syrian seaport cities across the desert to Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Such a project would be feasible only as a joint undertaking.

The regional approach in the present state of Middle Eastern affairs is admittedly not an easy one. Not only are the Arabs still actively at war with Israel; tensions within the Arab world itself are acute. Nasser's ambitions to weld the Arab nations into an Egyptian-dominated federation have in fact

produced precisely the opposite effect. To the south, the Sudan and Ethiopia are increasingly apprehensive of Nasser's machinations, suspicious of his intentions regarding the Nile, angry at his constant propaganda aimed at their minorities. Any constructive effort to start the region along the road to greater economic well-being must begin by dealing with these pressures and conflicts which continue to plague the Middle East.

There is not the slightest doubt that a carefully planned economic attack, carried out on a regional basis under conditions of real peace, could contribute immeasurably to the progress and emancipation of the area. But the mere expenditure of a few hundred million dollars in a crash operation designed to halt Communist penetration by paying for a project here and there won't get us anywhere at all.

If this is all Mr. Dulles has in mind, he might as well save our money.

Senator Javits, of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the February 1957 issue of the Jewish Digest with respect to the background of my able colleague from New York, Senator JACOB K. JAVITS.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIFTEEN MILLION CONSTITUENTS

(By Bernard Postal)

One out of every 11 people in the United States is a constituent of JACOB KOPPEL JAVITS, the new junior United States Senator from New York. His constituency of 15 million is larger than the population of more than half the members of the United Nations. In winning the seat vacated by Herbert H. Lehman, JAVITS polled nearly twice as many votes as there are Jews in the State of Israel.

His victory over New York City's popular Mayor Wagner by a plurality of more than 400,000 votes surprised many of the experts. But representing large numbers of people and staging political upsets are old stuff to JAVITS. He first won political recognition as an active follower of the late Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia in whose 1941 campaign he played a key role. Offered the Republican nomination for Congress from a district that had been predominantly Democratic for 25 years, JAVITS accepted. Everyone expected him to take a licking in the heavily Jewish 21st District of upper Manhattan.

Averaging six speeches a night, he startled his Republican colleagues and dismayed the Democrats by endorsing price and rent controls, championing higher immigration and lower tariffs, defending organized labor, and attacking the National Association of Manufactures. His surprise victory in a 3-way campaign helped the Republicans take control of the 80th Congress. When he took his seat in 1946 he represented more people than some United States Senators, since the 21st District has a population of more than 300,000. One of his constituents was Dwight D. Eisenhower, then president of Columbia University.

As a freshman Congressman, JAVITS quickly won a reputation as a liberal. He voted against the Mundt-Nixon antisubversive bill and against funds for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He was for aid to Greece and Turkey in their struggle against communism and for the establishment of the Voice of America. He fathered an unsuccessful FEPC bill. As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, he organized a group of 30 Republicans who pushed for adherence to the traditional American pro-Israel policy. With another Congressman, he toured Europe's displaced-persons camps and helped prepare a report on displaced-persons problems.

The Democrats gleefully thanked God for JAVITS because, they said, "in a tight spot we can almost always count on him for another vote." Most Republicans regarded him as a heretic and a maverick but the party leadership understood his convictions and recognized that he represented the thinking of his district. Once when JAVITS sought apologetically to explain to GOP Leader JOE MARTIN an antiparty vote, MARTIN said: "Don't worry. Your job is to represent your district. That's what you're here for. We want you back."

JAVITS was returned to Congress for three more terms. He won his second term in 1948 by bucking a Democratic landslide to defeat the brother of New York's Mayor O'Dwyer. In 1950 he was seriously considered as the Republican-Fusion candidate for mayor of New York when O'Dwyer resigned. By 1952 he was one of the leaders of the liberal wing of the House and a recognized authority on foreign affairs. He had been to Israel three times and fought hard for an American foreign policy that would give Israel a square deal. On one trip to Israel, at his own expense, he was chosen to name the steamship *Haifa*, the first vessel to carry the flag of the Israel-American Line.

In 1954, when the Democrats chose Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., to run for attorney general of New York no one gave JAVITS much chance as his Republican opponent. In fact some Republican leaders objected to JAVITS' nomination because of his liberal record in Congress. While Averell Harriman was leading the Democrats to a statewide victory, JAVITS surprised everyone by walloping F. D. R. Jr., by 170,000 votes. He was a cinch to be the Republican nominee for Senator until his brush with the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, which had received anonymous charges against him of softness to communism. But again he won and the nomination was his.

During the senatorial campaign JAVITS came under heavy criticism for his support of the Eisenhower administration's Middle East policies. For a time it looked as if the Middle East situation might cost JAVITS the election. A few days before the vote, he promised to go to Israel if elected to resurvey on the spot problems facing Israel and the Middle East. And he did, carrying with him a message from Eisenhower to Ben-Gurion.

JAVITS was born on New York's lower East Side (he says that's the New York equivalent of being born in a log cabin) in 1904. His father was an Austrian rabbinical student who came to America in 1887. His mother, a native of Palestine, was an orphan. Today there's a street named for her in Safed, dedicated in 1955 by her distinguished son. The Senator's father became a pants-maker and later a tenement-house janitor, who did petty favors for Tammany Hall. The Senator's mother, illiterate until she was 50, helped support her family by peddling dry-goods from a pushcart.

The future Senator worked his way through school and later through New York University Law School as a candy-store delivery boy, bill collector, and salesman. JAVITS became a Republican because he remembered how his immigrant father had been sent vote-buying by Tammany Hall. In World War II JAVITS served in the Chemical Warfare Service, rising from captain to colonel.

During his first climb up the political ladder, JAVITS found time to be active in a number of Jewish organizations. He is an overseer of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and a trustee of the Jewish Memorial hopsital. His son (he also has two daughters) Joshua is named for the late Rabbi Joshua Loth Liebman.

The inscription under JAVITS' picture in his high-school yearbook says: "You can't tell from first appearances." That's been the whole story of his life.

Old Santa Fe Monument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article appearing in the Dodge City Daily Globe, Dodge City, Kans., printed in the February 13, 1957, issue, with reference to the proposed site of the Old Santa Fe Trail.

The article follows:

TREMENDOUS TONNAGE PASSED OVER OLD SANTA FE TRAIL

Long one of the most interested students of the history of the Santa Fe Trail, James P. McCollom is among the leading boosters for preservation of the traces of the old trail between here and Cimarron.

He is among those taking an active part in the effort to have the trail remains made a national monument.

In connection with the move, Mr. McCollom has prepared a well-written condensed summary of the case for the Santa Fe Trail traces as a national monument. His summary reads:

"In the fall of 1803, President Jefferson consummated the deal for the Louisiana Purchase. In the spring of 1804 Lewis and Clark were paddling their way up the Missouri River toward Fort Mandan and the Northwest Territory. Simultaneously Baptise Lelande, from Kaskaskia, Ill., with his packsaddles loaded with merchandise was plodding along the Arkansas River to Old Santa Fe in Mexican territory over a course which soon was destined to become known as the Santa Fe Trail.

"There quickly followed over the same course, other merchant traders and explorers. Zebulon Pike, in the course of his explorations, in 1806 followed the trial in western Kansas and in Colorado as far as the mountains. Those were history-making days in the expansion of the United States.

"In 1804 there were 17 States in the Union, all east of the Mississippi. In the 68 years that followed there passed over the old Santa Fe trail, in its history making, a tonnage so heavy, a march of the military so extensive, a trek of gold hunters to California in 1849 and gold hunters to the Pikes Peak region in 1859 so numerous, which all combined with the home-seeking emigrant, made a staggering total to contemplate. It never has been surpassed in history-making travels by any other trail in North America.

"Within the boundaries of the State of Kansas are approximately 700 miles of the

old Santa Fe trail, including the Cimarron cutoff route, the so-called dry trail in Ford, Edwards, and Pawnee Counties, with a few other lesser side trails.

"There are many historical places along the old Santa Fe trail in Kansas, but unfortunately only a few traces of the trail are left intact. The plow, the railroad builders, the highway builders and the city builders have erased all but a few rare traces. We have here in west Ford County and east Gray County about 2 miles of the old trail over the rolling hills, and alongside U. S. 50S and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway that are remarkably intact and are sodded over with buffalo and other native grasses. They should withstand nature's leveling processes for 1,000 years.

"Too, this section of the old trail is mainline travel, as there were no branches or side trails from Fort Dodge to the Cimarron crossing in Gray County and that explains the enormous wear that made many large trail traces here so visible and interesting.

"Mr. Kenyon Riddle, of Raton, N. Mex., a noted civil engineer, explorer of trails, and author of Records and Maps of the Old Santa Fe Trail, has this to say in a recent letter: 'I am certainly pleased to know that you are still pursuing the site 10 miles west of Dodge City as an outstanding example of display of the old Santa Fe Trail route. In the 10 or 12 years that I spent in preparing the maps of the old trail route, I actually inspected practically the entire distance from Kansas City to Santa Fe, making measurements, taking notes and pictures, including aerial surveys, and I believe the section of the trail you have chosen, offers the best example of study and explanation of the different aspects of trail travel that I know of.'

"This site on the trail is almost exactly midway between Independence, Mo., and old Santa Fe, N. Mex. It provides a magnificent view overlooking U. S. 50S Highway, the main line of the Santa Fe Railroad, and the Arkansas River and Valley.

"A wonderful sight, these old trails sealed with nature's sod and steeped in the 68-year history-making years of toil, sweat, and blood by man and beast. Let us erect here to the memory of the old Santa Fe Trail a national monument equal to the national monument to the Oregon Trail at Scottsbluff, Nebr."

Estonian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 18, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to join with my friends of Estonian descent in commemorating Estonian Independence Day, which occurred yesterday.

Estonia's long history is studded with her attempts to gain freedom from various forms of political domination. Throughout these years her desire for freedom has never faltered, nor have Estonia's people lost their distinctive culture and mores.

It was 39 years ago, on February 24, 1918, that Estonia proclaimed herself a republic. For some years she thrived as a member of the family of free nations. However, in 1940, the Soviet Union, violating previous promises, marched in and occupied the country. Disregarding American protests, the Russian invaders embarked on a particularly brutal campaign to wipe out the heart and fight of the Estonian people.

It is a tribute to their faith in God and faith in the eventual triumph of freedom and justice that these brave people have not bowed down before the tactics of mass deportations, murders, arrests and other terrorist activities. No, Estonia's spirit has not been broken and her people continue to resist the Red oppressors.

There is, of course, no celebration today of what should be a joyful occasion. But it is fitting that on this 39th anniversary of Estonian independence we assure these noble people that they have not been forgotten, and that we in America hope and pray for the day when they will once again enjoy the freedom which is the birthright of all men.

Appointment of Former Congressman Ellsworth to the Civil Service Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith two editorials on the subject of the appointment of former Congressman Harris Ellsworth to the Civil Service Commission.

These commendatory editorials are from the Oregonian of Portland, Oreg., and the Denver (Colo.) Post:

[From the Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian, of February 18, 1957]

ELLSWORTH RECORD GOOD

The Washington Post and Times Herald, in an editorial entitled "Why Ellsworth?" digs up the bleached bones of the Al Sarena mines case in complaining about President Eisenhower's nomination of ex-Congressman Harris Ellsworth, of Oregon, to be a member of the United States Civil Service Commission. Obviously, the Post is either not well informed on Al Sarena, Ellsworth and his record, or is carrying political bias to deplorable lengths.

The Post might consider, for example, that it was legislation proposed by Representative Ellsworth which plugged the loophole in the laws by which scores of mining claims patentees were enabled to harvest timber not needed for mining. Mr. Ellsworth's intervention with the Interior Department to clear up the Al Sarena claims, which ex-Secretary Chapman left buried in red tape and delay, was legitimate representation of a constituent's interest. But the law needed tightening, and Mr. Ellsworth sponsored the bill to do it.

There is no validity to the Post's assertion that Mr. Ellsworth's "role as a champion of private interests against public interest in natural resources administration and legislation is not reassuring." Mr. Ellsworth's honest and conscientious service in Congress for 14 years is appreciated by his colleagues and by citizens of Oregon. Oregon's Democratic Senators have said they will not oppose his nomination.

[From the Denver Post of February 21, 1957]

WHY NOT MR. ELLSWORTH?

President Eisenhower has nominated former Representative Harris Ellsworth, of Oregon, as a member of the Civil Service Commission along with Christopher H. Phillips and Frederick J. Lawton, the latter (a Democrat) for reappointment.

The Washington Post and Times Herald approves the nominations of Phillips and Lawton, but questions the qualifications of Mr. Ellsworth on grounds that "his role as a champion of private interests against public interests in natural resource administration and legislation is not reassuring." The Washington paper mentions specifically Mr. Ellsworth's part in pressing for mining patents in the controversial Al Sarena case, which involved mining versus Oregon's timber resources.

We are fully cognizant of Mr. Ellsworth's part in that case as we are with the details of the case itself. We are also aware that Mr. Ellsworth was charged with unduly favoring private timber owners who found themselves in conflict with the Forest Service, and why. But we do not believe that his views, with which we were also in varying degrees of dissent, either impugn his "general attitudes toward public responsibility and the spoils system," or reflect adversely on either his integrity or his capabilities as a public servant.

Mr. Ellsworth was defeated last November after 14 years in Congress. His retirement was said to be partly a result of his position on the foregoing issues and partly as a result of a Democratic sweep that almost wholly swamped the Republicans of that State. Still, we believe Mr. Ellsworth is an honorable and dedicated man whose appointment to the Civil Service Commission would be in the public interest.

The Al Sarena mining case was a compound of then existing bad mining laws (since corrected) and errors of omission and commission not alone by the Eisenhower administration but also by its predecessor. Harris Ellsworth was not alone responsible for real or imagined abuse of public policy if indeed responsibility, under circumstances then applying, can be fixed at all. And it is, in our opinion, nonsense to suggest that a man of great experience in the Congress, of demonstrated talents in government and of proven interest in the public welfare is "disqualified" for administration of civil service by virtue of his views on natural resources. Mr. Ellsworth should be confirmed.

Hyprocrisy—Where Is Thy Sting?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, for further comment on the moral tone of this administration, here is a good example from a recent newsletter of my good friend and distinguished colleague Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER:

HYPOCRISY—WHERE IS THY STING?

From George Dixon's syndicated column of January 22, 1957, in the national capital's leading newspaper, the Washington Post and Times Herald:

"Champagne flowed like Niagara Falls at the inaugural balls last night, but not a bottle was in sight. President Eisenhower personally issued the order to keep those

bottles off the tables. He didn't want them showing up in photographs. Inaugural ball officials kept close vigil all through the night. They wouldn't even let a bottle be brought up to a table. They insisted that the stuff be poured somewhere in outer darkness and then carted to the tables in camouflagons. The reason for the Presidential ban on bottles was that Ike was furious 4 years ago over the vile vial pictures."

And, to herald this event, the following appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald the day before the inaugural balls:

"Also 'on the house' is champagne donated by California vineyard growers for a toast to President Eisenhower. This treat, much protested by temperance organizations, won't be consumed in the Presidential presence because waiters have been instructed to keep glasses out of sight when the Chief Executive appears."

Alfred E. Smith was wet and unashamed. Herbert Hoover was dry and proud of it. But.

Some Chickens Coming Home To Roost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, February 24, 1957, in the New York Times, there appears an article by James Reston, entitled "Some Chickens Coming Home To Roost," which deplores the lack of a vigorous United States foreign policy backed by the willingness to use force, if necessary, in support of just compromises. I want to commend to the attention of my colleagues the points made by this interesting article:

SOME CHICKENS COMING HOME TO ROOST

WASHINGTON, February 23.—There is an intriguing and disturbing paradox in much of the reaction to President Eisenhower's proposal to force Israel's troops back within their own borders.

This is that, while all well-informed observers agree that Israel should withdraw and that the President is now grappling more realistically with the Arab-Israeli conflict than ever before, there is more opposition to the President's Middle East policy than at any time since he took office and outspoken criticism against putting economic pressure on Israel to rely on his promises.

Why is this? How could it be that the man who enjoys the overwhelming confidence of the people of the United States cannot get the support of the Congress, the Canadians, the British, the French, the Danes and many other sympathetic governments for his proposals?

WHAT ARE THE ANSWERS?

There are a number of answers to these questions, including the following:

United States verbal promises are no longer as valuable as they once were on the international market. The same goes for U. N. resolutions. The U. N. has been calling for an end to Egyptian commando raids on Israel for years. The United States has supported these calls, but the raids have continued.

The United Nations Security Council passed a resolution in 1951 calling on Egypt to stop blocking Israeli ships in the Suez Canal. The United States voted for that resolution, but Egypt defied it for over 6 years, and the President, as late as the first week of this month, said he didn't know there was any such resolution.

This is one answer which the Nation refuses to recognize; there is, to put it bluntly, a crisis of confidence in United States leadership in the world.

The proposals of the United States for the Gaza strip and the Gulf of Aqaba in the last 2 weeks have, in the opinion of many observers here, been more realistic than anything Mr. Eisenhower has proposed in the past. Mr. Dulles' offer to establish freedom of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba and try to get U. N. troops there and in the Gaza strip was perhaps the most imaginative stroke in the entire controversy, but it depends upon confidence in the will and ability of the United States to carry out its promises through the U. N., and that confidence does not exist.

PARADOX AND TRAGEDY

In an administration that has talked more of confidence and good faith than any other in the world, this is not only a paradox but a tragedy.

For the fact is that there has been a noticeable change of heart here. The President and Mr. Dulles are no longer prepared to acquiesce in Egypt's defiance of the right of free navigation in the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba. It is unfair to charge them, as some of Mr. Dulles' detractors have done, with putting up bogus promises merely to entice the Israelis to withdraw. Therefore, many observers here think the Israelis have misjudged the situation. But the issue of confidence remains, and it has not been removed by the President's solemn speech of Wednesday night.

For this speech contained several things which have added to the sense of uneasiness about the conduct of American foreign policy. The President implied that it was no argument to say that the U. N. should not put pressure on Israel since it did not put pressure on the Russians in Hungary.

But last November he proclaimed after the invasion of Egypt: "We cannot subscribe to one law for the weak; another for the strong. * * * There can be only one law or there will be no peace."

Also, the speech not only contained a factual error suggesting that Ben-Gurion had broken his word to Mr. Eisenhower, but put the President in the position of inciting the U. N. to economic pressure on Israel before the possibility of negotiating a compromise had been exhausted and before the question had even been discussed in detail with the other nations concerned.

CONFIDENCE IN THE U. N.?

More important, the President once more emphasized his determination to rely on the U. N. in dealing with Egypt, and ruled out the use of force in settling these international differences. And this has increased the general sense of uneasiness, for other Governments are more and more convinced that the United Nations, as presently constituted, is no substitute for vigorous United States diplomacy backed by the willingness to use force, if necessary, in support of just compromises.

These are the things responsible men are saying here in private but seldom saying in public about the present situation. They are not saying that these things justify the mulish determination of Ben-Gurion to overplay his hand, or that the United States has not finally begun to grapple sincerely with a highly complex and tragic situation.

But they are saying that noble pronouncements out of Washington are not enough to clear away the misunderstandings, illusions, hesitations, and mistrust, of the past.

Small Business Selling to Big Business—Is There a Future in It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Small Business Committee receives hundreds—I believe thousands—of letters from small-business people who have some specific and acute problem with which they need help.

The committee also receives, however, many thoughtful letters from small-business people who are not asking for help, but are advancing constructive ideas to help others. Such a letter came to me on January 29 from a small-business man in Pennsylvania. I believe that the Members will find two points of interest in this letter. First, the writer advances an idea for forming local committees of small-business people within the local civic clubs, such as the Kiwanis Club. Second, all of the advertising and all of the special studies which we receive from the big corporations about how much they purchase or subcontract from small firms conveys to us a much rosier picture about big business purchasing from small business than the small-business man encounters when he calls on the big corporate purchasing agent with catalogue and order book in hand.

I would like to insert the letter at this point and then make a few concluding remarks:

PURCHASING AGENTS VERSUS ADVERTISING DEPARTMENTS

JANUARY 28, 1957.

I am watching with interest your committee's spendid work in exploring the complex problem of small business and realize that you have a tremendous task in working out how the small-business man may continue to survive in the ever-increasing economic bigness.

We are small—with about 15 people on our payroll. We have our problems and are doing all we can in order to continue in business. It requires hard, persistent work to maintain our position in the business world.

Our main competition is in the big firms in our field. However, in some ways, the very bigness of our competition works to our advantage. Like all small business we can offer a personalized service. In fact in some of our advertising we are starting to use the slogan "Small Business Gives You Personal Service."

In fact, this type of slogan, actually followed up, can be of value to small business.

However, the one fact that I have been confronted with in my job of selling has been that of the lack of interest on the part of purchasing departments to give the small manufacturer consideration. The top officers of a large corporation will advertise, talk about, and publish the fact we do this for small business. You go to these firms that are receiving from the Government money for the products that they can best produce, and when you talk about your product and service you notice a notable lack of interest because you are small.

I feel that your committee, among many things, can do a job bringing to Government,

management and the public that small business is the basic foundation of our economy and that big business is the result of small business growing greater with the passage of time. So that encouragement to small business is good business.

I feel very keenly about small business and only this week we are organizing a small-business committee in the Kiwanis Club of my hometown. We feel, that service clubs, being made up of small-business men in the main, have a common exchange of ideas that could result in worthwhile ideas that come from the grassroots.

A small-business man is a "breed unto himself," for instance, as owner of this company of mine I must be financier, traffic manager, purchasing agent, production manager, sales-manager, new product developer—yes, even janitor.

I must work with my hands and head. I must spend many, many hours reading and thinking of my business. My mind is framed with a dollar mark because my time must be spent in thinking of money from every angle.

However, I feel that small business will continue. We still have rugged people that don't want to be part of a big machine but want to get out and do something on their own—work for themselves—not beholden to anyone or corporation. They will do this despite the complex obstacles thrown in their way by current conditions.

* * * * *

Trusting that you'll find this of interest and will show that we in the small-business world are rooting for you and your efforts on our behalf, we are.

Sincerely yours.

BIG COMPANY BACK SCRATCHING

The writer of this letter points out that in contrast to all of big business' advertising about its fondness for purchasing supplies and parts from small firms, the big corporations are in reality usually not interested in the small firm's product. He hopes that some means can be found for appealing to the big corporations to be more generous in this respect. I hope that this can be done, and I believe that to a certain degree such an appeal can succeed.

There are terrific barriers, however, which the small-business man frequently does not appreciate. The fact is that a very large portion of the total volume of business transacted in the country today is buying and selling between one giant corporation and another. Frequetly there is reciprocal buying between a pair of giant corporations. Take for example the auto tire or the auto battery or other auto accessories which we might buy in the local filling station. Behind those products we find buying and selling arrangements like this: A major oil company, or a pair of major oil companies, sell the raw stock for making synthetic rubber to one of the big rubber companies. Then the oil company buys auto tires—as well as batteries and other auto accessories—from its rubber company-customer, for distribution through its retail gasoline stations. In other words, this is a packaged deal. The small-business man who makes things the rubber company makes, is wasting his time to try to sell to the oil company. And so, too, the small-business man who sells things the oil company sells is wasting his time trying to sell the rubber company.

Our business system today is riddled with arrangements of this kind, but usually these arrangements are somewhat more complex, and their outlines are not so visible to the eye of the small-business man. There are complex financial ties where 1 big bank, or 1 big insurance company, is the financier of both the buyer and seller corporation; and there are other more elaborate reciprocal buying-selling arrangements which parallel the elaborate patterns of interlocking boards of directors among the giant corporations. As arrangements of this kind spread and increase in the community, interest between and among the giant corporations becomes more closely knit and there is less and less opportunity for the small-business man. The quality of the service he offers and the price at which he can offer a product will have nothing to do with his breaking into a market like this.

SMALL BUSINESS PEOPLE SHOULD DEVELOP THEIR OWN IDEAS

As for the idea of establishing "small-business committees" within the local civic clubs, it seems to me this is both wholesome and constructive. Small-business people are extremely busy people. As this small-business man points out, in his own firm he must be "financier, traffic manager, purchasing agent, production manager, sales manager, new product developer," and "even janitor." Being busy, the small-business man does not have sufficient time to keep informed on the general economic and legislative issues which affect his well-being. Consequently, small-business committees such as have been suggested should provide an opportunity for small-business people to exchange information and discuss their problems. This kind of exchange of information and frank discussion will not find a hospitable home in some of the national business organizations such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce. Such get-togethers among small-business men would, then, serve a very real need for giving expression to ideas coming up from the "grass roots." In the organizations I have just mentioned, the ideas, the propaganda and the "party line" all seem to flow down from the top.

I have heard many small-business people say that the giant corporations use these organizations to propagandize the small-business man against his own interests.

I believe that the democratic processes provide our best assurance of progress, as well as our best safeguards against economic totalitarianism. Small-business people must learn to make the best uses of these processes.

Meatpackers Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 6, 1957

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, in President Eisenhower's economic report transmitted to Congress January 23, 1957, he emphasized the importance of a competitive economy in producing the abundance we have enjoyed in America.

The report states:

> The preservation and strengthening of competition must, therefore, be a leading objective of public policy. * * * Vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws is basic to the obtainment of this objective, for threats of encroachment on competition are always present and assume constantly changing forms.

Most of us in Congress are in agreement with this objective. However, there is an important area of our economy which for decades has escaped antitrust scrutiny or enforcement. This is the meatpacking industry.

In the years prior to 1921 the Federal Trade Commission was vigorously investigating monopolistic practices among the packers. The Justice Department brought antitrust suits against the Big Five packers, and to escape prosecution they signed a consent decree in 1920 by which their activities were restricted.

In 1921 the Packers and Stockyards Act transferred monopoly and fair-trade control from the Federal Trade Commission to the Department of Agriculture. However, Congress has never given the Department of Agriculture an appropriation for an enforcement staff. Thus, meatpacking is the only industry in America which escapes Government supervision of unfair trade practices by which giant companies can force small competitors out of business or artificially lower prices for produce sold to them.

Today, Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and its antitrust subcommittee, and I are introducing identical bills to amend the antitrust laws so as to vest in the Federal Trade Commission jurisdiction to prevent monopolistic practices in the meatpacking industry. Senators ARTHUR V. WATKINS and JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY are introducing the same bill in the Senate.

Strict antitrust enforcement is urgently needed, because the packing industry is heavily concentrated. This puts the consumers, the small independent meatpackers and the cattlemen in a vulnerable position. Ten national packers slaughter 50 percent of the cattle, 60 percent of the calves, 70 percent of the hogs, and 77 percent of the sheep under Federal inspection.

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson is to be commended for his recent announcement that the Department is making a survey of activities and problems concerning unfair trade practices. Secretary Benson has also indicated he expects to ask for funds to build an enforcement staff if that function remains in his Department.

However, more economic and effective antitrust enforcement against the packers over the long run would result from transferring enforcement to the Federal Trade Commission for the following reasons:

First, the FTC could do the job with little or no expansion of staff, with consequent economy to the taxpayers. It has been estimated that for the Department of Agriculture to adequately assume

this enforcement would require an additional staff of as high as 60 people.

Second, scrutiny of unfair buying or selling practices would likely be accomplished with considerably greater efficiency by an agency with decades of experience in antitrust enforcement than by a newly established organization.

Third, over the long run the Department might be restrained from pushing antitrust enforcement, because the success of some Department activities, such as marketing news services and Federal meat grading, requires cooperation of the meat packers.

During the summer and fall of both 1955 and 1956 I spent considerable time visiting with stockmen from most of the 25 counties in my congressional district in Utah. There men are almost universally requesting vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws against the meat packers. In addition a growing list of powerful regional and national organizations is taking a strong stand in favor of the bill, which I am introducing to transfer authority from the Department of Agriculture to the Federal Trade Commission. These include the National Milk Producers Federation, the Western States Meat Packers Association, the National Wool Growers Association and the United States Wholesale Grocers Association.

Passage of this bill should mean added protection to livestock producers, meat consumers, and independent packers.

When College Boys Decide To Stay Down on the Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "When College Boys Decide To Stay Down on the Farm," which appeared in the February 19, 1957, issue of the Courier-Journal, of Louisville, Ky.:

WHEN COLLEGE BOYS DECIDE TO STAY DOWN ON THE FARM

A recent poll of young men in colleges showed that 53 percent of those who are farmers' sons planned to make a career of farming. This is a notably high figure. The average was only 16 percent for boys planning to follow their father's profession.

These are college boys, remember, boys who have been away from home and have seen something of the world. They are not likely to be swayed completely by the old argument that "what was good enough for Dad is good enough for me." Young people today are seldom bound by such feelings of tradition.

It must be true that these young men are thinking in terms of a genuine career of farming. A great many of them are taking special training in agriculture, so that they will enter their life's occupation at least as well prepared on the technical side as the average boy who goes into business or industry.

There was a time when it was the less able, the less ambitious youths who were more likely to stay on the family farm, while their brighter brothers sought their fortunes out in the world. Many became farmers by default, because they had no other vocation. There are still some situations, of course, where opportunity is too restricted to satisfy a young man of ambition, especially where there is a big family living on a small, poor farm. But there is a significant trend of college-trained youths to go right back to the old home farm for a prosperous, happy life.

Our cities have drained population from the farms for many years. Where 60 percent of Americans lived in rural areas in 1900, only 36 percent were there by mid-century.

Yet agricultural production has gone on rising, due to new equipment and new methods of farming. Rural life has grown steadily less lonely, less isolated, less cut off from the main stream of America's development. We have seen evidences that many of the young people now settling down on family farms are the cream of the crop. The farm contests run each year by the Courier-Journal, Louisville Times, and WHAS turn up a heavy proportion of young people as prize winners who are joining their fathers on the farm as a career.

Loss of quantity in the farm population is not important if there is a steady gain in quality. We see that kind of gain on Kentuckiana farms, and we are happy about it.

Impossible Job of Secretary of State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 30, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times magazine of February 24, 1957:

IMPOSSIBLE JOB OF SECRETARY OF STATE
(By Paul H. Nitze)

WASHINGTON.—President Eisenhower in a recent press conference described the position of Secretary of State of the United States as "the greatest and most important job in the world."

When the President made his statement his main purpose undoubtedly was to emphasize his personal support for John Foster Dulles at a time when Mr. Dulles was under serious attack in the Congress and elsewhere. Furthermore, the President probably did not mean to suggest a comparison in greatness and responsibility between the office he himself holds and that of his Secretary of State. Nevertheless, the description is not to be lightly dismissed. A strong case can be made that the office of Secretary of State of the United States is a more difficult office to fill well than the Presidency—that, if not the greatest, it is the world's most difficult job. The most important exercise of the President's power and responsibility, provided he decides not to do the job himself, is his choice of a Secretary of State.

Clausewitz makes the point in discussing military organization that a supreme commander can lead, direct, and supervise 8 to 10 intermediate commanders, but that each of these intermediate commanders should not be assigned more than 4 subordinate units. His explanation was that an intermediate commander must look up as well as down, that he must concern himself as much with his relationship to his commander as with his realtionship to his subordinates, and that the number of unts he can therefore direct is more limited than in the case of the supreme commander who needs only to look down.

The relationships with which the Secretary of State must concern himself are many, but probably the first and most essential is that with his immediate superior, the President. The powers and responsibilities with which the Secretary of State is dealing derive almost entirely from those of the President. He acts in the President's name with authority delegated from the President or else the President acts in his own name but on the advice and recommendation of his Secretary of State.

Any lack of understanding or of confidence between the two is a flaw that will rapidly undermine all possibility of successful conduct of the Secretary of State's office. When President Roosevelt ignored Secretary of State Cordell Hull on vital matters of foreign policy Hull's usefulness as Secretary of State was seriously impaired. When Secretary of State James F. Byrnes slighted his obligations to keep President Truman fully informed and allowed doubt to arise as to whether he was fully reflecting Truman's wishes his usefulness as Secretary of State was at an end.

But this relationship up—to the source of his power and authority, to the office in which the responsibility for his actions and those of all his subordinates is centered—is only one of the many relationships that the Secretary of State must simultaneously cherish. To the 15,000 members of the State Department and the Foreign Service the Secretary is the man in whose name and on whose responsibility all their actions are taken. A Secretary who permits lack of confidence, or misunderstanding, to arise between himself and the organization of which he is the head soon finds himself in a very weak position.

In his first speech to the State Department employees after he took office Mr. Dulles said he could take personal responsibility only for those matters of which he had personal cognizance. But it is impossible for the Secretary of State to divorce himself from responsibility for what the organization as an organization does. He cannot possibly do everything himself. He must, to a large extent, rely on others. He cannot avoid concerning himself with the competence and morale of the organization on which he and the President must rely for much of the development and execution of their policies. In this role the Secretary of State must be an executive, the second most important executive, of the executive branch of the United States Government.

The Secretary of State must concern himself with two other sets of relationships of the utmost importance. One of these is internal, within the United States, and finds its most critical expression in the Secretary's relations with Congress, particularly the Senate. The other is external, the Secretary's relations with the governments and peoples of the countries with whom the United States is allied or who are otherwise important to the conduct of our foreign policy. Both of these relationships are in part direct and personal, and in part dependent on public opinion and thus on all those things that help to mold public opinion, including the press.

During the years that Mr. Dulles served as special adviser to the Secretary of State in the Truman Administration he had an opportunity to watch at first hand the development of these relations under Dean Acheson.

It was my impression that Dulles found little fault, and in fact found much to praise, in the way Secretary Acheson handled his external relations, particularly his relations with the leading men of the countries allied

to us or uncommitted to either side. Dulles did, however, question Acheson's success in handling his internal relations, particularly his relations with Congress and the press. It was Dulles' view that the mounting bitterness toward Acheson on the part of an important segment of Congress and the press was destroying his ability to carry out the courses of action on which he was embarked and therefore undermining his usefulness as Secretary of State. Dulles was determined not to repeat what he considered to be Acheson's errors in handling Congress and the press.

The question remained, and still remains, whether it is possible for a Secretary of State simultaneously to maintain the good will of Congress and of the press, and also maintain the respect and confidence of our allies and friends abroad.

There are those who believe that the job of the Secretary of State as it has evolved in the last 20 years is an impossible job. They say that one can conceive of a man—a first-class executive and leader of men, an expert in the field of foreign affairs—who is able to serve both as a loyal and dedicated staff officer to his President and as an executive and leader to his subordinates. They further say that it is possible to visualize this man conducting our foreign policy in a manner that merits and secures the respect of our friends and allies abroad and the fear and respect of our enemies.

But, they say, to imagine that this same man can also manipulate, weave through, accommodate and placate the myriad pressures, prejudices and opinions that are to be found in Congress, the press and domestic public opinion is just asking too much.

Some have suggested that what we need is a Secretary of State who has been through the domestic political mill, who has been elected to high office—either to the Senate or to a governorship—and who, because of this experience, will be better equipped to deal with the domestic scene and with Congress than any of our recent Secretaries of State have been. They argue that the Secretary of State, to be effective, must have domestic political power in his own right. They do not argue that experience and success in domestic politics are, by themselves, enough to qualify a man to be Secretary. They urge that he have this background in addition to all the other qualities necessary for him to carry out well the demands of his job.

Others would question whether such paragons exist. They suggest that a choice has to be made, and that priority should be given to those qualities of character and experience which best fit a Secretary of State to deal effectively with people and governments abroad. After all, the prime business of a Secretary of State is the effective conduct of our foreign relations.

What are the qualities of character and experience that best qualify a Secretary of State for this part of his job, the guidance and conduct of United States policy in what the Supreme Court once called "this vast external realm?"

I think most observers would probably list courage at the top of the list of essential qualities. The conflicting pressures on a Secretary of State are so intense, the issues he is dealing with so important, and the merits, costs and dangers of any course so difficult to sort out, that unless he has by innate character a disposition to energy, fortitude and consistency—in other words, courage—his guidance of foreign policy will fluctuate and be uncertain.

In addition to consistency of policy, it is important that the policies pursued have a reasonable prospect of success, that they be based upon actual conditions and possibilities and not on prejudice, bias or lack of understanding. The Secretary of State is assisted by the full organization of the Foreign Service, by the State Department staff in Washington and by the various intelligence agencies. They collect, digest and evaluate information from a myriad of sources but, in the last analysis, it is the Secretary who must decide on the final evaluation or recommend such a decision to the President.

This kind of judgment requires something more than experience; it requires a particular sensitivity, a power of intuition, an ability to put one's self into another person's place, to see how a given course of action will appear not just to representative Americans, but to people abroad—some friendly, some hostile, all human beings, but all having somewhat different backgrounds from ourselves.

Combined with this sensitivity, a Secretary of State has to have somewhat the same capacity for toughness as a military commander. A general cannot hesitate to send a unit into an action that will almost certainly result in its destruction, if that action is necessary to the success of his overall strategy. From time to time, a Secretary of State is called upon to make decisions requiring a similar toughness of spirit. He is in no position to give orders to any foreign citizen or official; therefore this toughness often finds expression in a well developed ability to say no, but it is toughness nevertheless.

If one were to ask foreign observers, observers basically friendly to our interests, what quality in a United States Secretary of State is most important, I believe they would say honesty. A reputation for honesty has long been stressed by students of diplomatic history as being the key to success in diplomacy and statesmanship. It is not that the diplomat or statesman should be a blabbermouth or have no secrets. It is that the statesman and the diplomat are presumed to have considered their remarks before they make them, to be precise in giving expression to their thoughts, and to mean what they say.

Even in negotiations between basically hostile states, a high degree of precision in expression is necessary if misunderstandings leading to consequences desired by neither side are to be avoided. In the conduct of alliance diplomacy, and particularly in the case of a nation that plays a role of leadership in a coalition or system of alliances, precision of expression and a reputation for honesty are absolutely essential.

It is important at this point to draw a distinction between that precision of expression which one finds in the fine print of a legal contract and precision of expression which conveys in a politically significant manner the meaning one intends. Henry L. Stimson, when he was Secretary of War, was asked to approve a statement that his staff had prepared. When he objected that it was unclear, members of his staff pointed out that all the points he had in mind were covered somewhere in the language they had prepared.

His reply was that in the world of politics one should never forget that any public statement is to be judged as though it were a poster, not a photograph. The overall impression, not just the detailed words, must correspond with the thought that is intended.

It would be wrong, of course, merely to stress honesty and precision of expression without regard to the content of what the Secretary of State wants to express. People abroad are fundamentally interested in two questions. The first question is whether we in the United States consider them to be part of the group in whose behalf we are conducting our policy of leadership, or whether we view them as mere counters to be played this way or that in a game in which they really have no part.

The essence of leadership is to promote successfully the basic interests of those one is attempting to lead. If the developing course of history has thrown on the United States the burden of leading a coalition of those who do not wish to accept Soviet hegemony in the world, then the Secretary of State must have a sufficiently broad point of view to associate himself with the basic interests of the members of that coalition. He must be tough in saying no to those who would have him espouse interests that are partial and are not basic. Interests that really are vital to the members of the coalition must be vital to our Secretary of State, and to us, if we propose effectively to lead the coalition.

The second question in which people abroad are interested is whether as a country we have the will and the determination to carry out the policies that we purport to be pursuing. A Secretary of State who promises more than he can deliver debases the currency of our prestige as a country. Every concrete success of our foreign policy tends to improve our chances of further success. The close balancing of stated objectives with capacity for performance is an art that the Secretary of State must constantly have in mind.

Our ideal Secretary of State, then, is a man of many and seemingly contradictory virtues. He is a loyal subordinate to his chief while he is a leader and executive of the State Department and Foreign Service. He is courageous, and he is sensitive. He is honest, and he is precise and careful in his expression. He is broadminded, and he is tough. Perhaps one should add one other set of virtues. He must be proud and he must be humble. Without pride, he would be unable to face the responsibilities that press upon him. Without humility, he would crack under the strain.

In practice no actual Secretary of State will fully meet our ideal. He will have great strengths and he will have weaknesses. The task of good government organization is to make it possible for human beings to carry superhuman responsibilities. The President, the White House staff, and the leaders of the political party in power can carry a major part of the burden of protecting the Secretary of State from unfair congressional pressures and criticism.

The State Department and the Foreign Service can assist the Secretary of State to the limit of their ability in the actual formulation and conduct of policy. Our friends abroad are willing to do what they can to help if given a chance. It is only as a team that the job can possibly be done at all. The Secretary of State must permit—and help—the other members of the team to help him. Personal diplomacy is not enough. But even if he seeks and receives the fullest assistance others can give him, the unavoidable pressure of responsibility and burden of decision upon the Secretary of State make his job, if not the greatest, probably the most important, and certainly the most difficult, in the world.

Twenty-four-Hour Quarantine Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 4249, the 1957 deficiency appropriations bill, is in conference. On the last printed House Calendar I received it showed no House conferees had yet been appointed. I trust this matter will be taken care of

speedily, and agreement reached. In particular I want to stress the desirability of retaining a provision for reestablishment of 24-hour quarantine service. The February 21, 1957, issue of the New York Herald Tribune contained the following article which explains this service:

MORE QUARANTINE SERVICE

Steamship lines and shippers in American ports have been trying for a number of years to obtain 24-hour quarantine service, instead of being limited to the hours between 6 a. m. and 6 p. m. Passenger vessels arriving at other hours can obtain radio clearance if there is a doctor aboard, but the many freighters carrying the cargo which constitutes the bulk of the traffic cannot. They must anchor, in the case of New York, off Quarantine on Staten Island until the station opens in the morning, and then, arriving at their piers at 10 or 11 a. m., lose practically half a day in unloading.

Not that the lines haven't been willing to pay overtime if additional doctors were available between 6 p. m. and 6 a. m. But article 101 of the World Health Organization states that no charge shall be made for medical examinations such as those required by the Quarantine Inspection Service. Otherwise the line would be glad to reimburse the Government for the extra service because of the savings in quicker unloading, loading and turnaround, which have been estimated at $10 million a year. They already do so in the case of customs and immigration officials.

The supplementary appropriations bill passed earlier this week has an item of $67,500 inserted by the Senate for just such purposes. This will provide round-the-clock inspection until June 30, and a $150,000 item for the next fiscal year has been included in President Eisenhower's new budget. As Representative PELLY, of Washington, pointed out, it is false economy not to provide such inspection in view of the large subsidy which our merchant marine receives from the Government. Increased costs simply mean higher subsidies, and if an appropriation of $150,000 will save the merchant marine an estimated $10 million, if not more, it should certainly be included in the bill which finally goes to the President for his signature.

More Oil Pipelines Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have a unanimous-consent request that I feel sure will be welcomed by all. It is for permission to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the remarks of Gen. Ernest O. Thompson, of the Railroad Commission of the State of Texas, at a meeting of the Panhandle Chapter of the Texas Society of Professional Engineers at Amarillo, Tex., February 22, 1957. General Thompson, a recognized and unchallenged expert on oil and gas matters the world over, is a beloved and honored son of the Panhandle of Texas, and one of which we are deeply proud. He recently appeared before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce as a witness to testify concerning the oil problems that grew out of the closing of the Suez Canal. His concise, but complete explanation of the situation measurably eased much of the fear and trembling that had been generated by many unfounded and unwarranted statements on that subject matter.

His splendid remarks well illustrate the clear and brilliant thinking of a public servant dedicated to his task and to his country. I am pleased and honored to have the opportunity to make these available to all Americans:

MORE OIL PIPELINES NEEDED

(An address by Ernest O. Thompson, Texas railroad commissioner, before Panhandle Chapter, Texas Society of Professional Engineers, Amarillo, Tex., February 22, 1957)

It is a great pleasure always to discuss our oil problems. Today oil of the Middle East has world attention. The stoppage of Suez Canal emphasizes this point. Europe's oil supply was interrupted. Since November 1, 29 million barrels of crude and products have gone to Europe from the United States. Persian Gulf oil has had to be diverted around Africa to Europe. But the job has been done. The lesson learned was the need of more pipelines. This applies here at home and in the Middle East.

Petroleum has become increasingly important in the life of everyone in America and throughout the world. Our ever-expanding peacetime economy and our national security in time of war depend upon petroleum. In the United States the oil consumption is increasing 5 percent per year. In Europe and Asia the rate of increase is 12 percent annually. By 1975 the United States will need 14 million barrels of oil per day. That is nearly double our present oil production in the United States. We can find the oil, but we must have adequate pipelines to move it safely and cheaply. Without gasoline and lubricating oil, even the atomic bomb could not be delivered by ship, plane, truck, or tank. Therefore, even with the atomic weapons, we must have gasoline and oil to carry them to the point where they will be delivered most effectively to preserve the peace of the free world.

At this point I make reference to a top editorial in the Houston Chronicle under date February 20, 1957, on page 6B, entitled "Texas Doing Its Part in Oil Emergency, Thompson Shows":

"The tirade of abuse directed at Texas oil producers and the Texas Railroad Commission should stop now that Gen. Ernest O. Thompson of the commission has given the facts to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and high administration officials.

"As Representative WALTER ROGERS of Texas said Saturday, if one listened to charges made by some Congressmen and some Eastern and European newspapers, he would think that the entire continent of Europe was freezing to death and that Texas had cornered the entire fuel market and was refusing to make it available to the cold and hungry.

"General Thompson set the record straight. He told how Texas had increased its production at least 270,000 barrels daily since the European emergency arose and would have raised it higher if transportation had been available.

"Europe's oil shortage is due in no part to American indifference or rapacity. It was caused, of course, by the sinking of ships in the Suez Canal and the blowing up of the Iraq pipeline in Syria. Europe is still on short oil rations, despite American efforts to make up the deficit, because the pipelines and tankers are not available to get all the oil she wants to her. The shortage currently is about 250,000 barrels a day, but this will be erased shortly, barring further political troubles, by clearing of the canal and repairs to the pipelines.

"Representative ROGERS brought up another point. He said that this country still is importing almost 900,000 barrels of oil daily, and that if 30 percent of this quantity could be diverted to Europe, the situation there would be relieved.

"Meanwhile, there would be less criticism of the oil industry for the recent increases in prices of crude oil and gasoline if people would read the facts and figures.

"Compared with the prices of almost everything else, and considering the increased costs incurred by the industry, oil prices have been overdue for an increase for some time. Rising stocks of oil had operated to prevent a raise in prices. The price rose when the overhanging supplies were cleared out by the European demand."

We are in perilous times, and conservation of oil and gas becomes increasingly important each day. When World War II came, it was found that by careful conservation of oil and gas by the Railroad Commission of Texas for 10 long years prior to Pearl Harbor we had been able to build up in Texas a daily reserve oil-producing ability of 1 million barrels per day; and never at any time did Texas fail to supply every barrel of oil that was needed. Sixty percent of the overseas tonnage during World War II was composed of petroleum and its products, and 80 percent of this petroleum and the products thereof came from Texas oil fields.

Today we are faced with a situation where Europe, by the closing of the Suez Canal, has been cut off from its oil supply that formerly came through this route. Diversions of Middle East oil have had to be made around the Cape of Good Hope, and additional petroleum and products have had to be sent to Europe from the United States. We have sent about 29 million barrels to date. This burden has fallen largely upon Texas because of the fact that our production was great and that our pipelines led to the gulf coast. We again had the reserve producing ability built up by conservation.

Last week I was invited to appear before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the United States House of Representatives to discuss some of the problems that have come up with this closing of the Suez Canal.

I made that appearance after having been graciously introduced by our distinguished Speaker of the House, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, and I was vouched for by our majority leader in the Senate, the Honorable LYNDON JOHNSON.

These endorsements helped me greatly.

I opened my statement by saying that I was glad to learn that our Government was requesting that refinery runs of crude oil be reduced and that the cut of the throughput be changed to make less gasoline per barrel of crude. This will help work off gasoline stocks and replenish residual oils to be sent to Europe. They say they don't want gasoline. They want crude.

I stated also that I was glad to learn that the Office of Defense Mobilization, which is an executive arm of the President, had directed that a study be made to divert Venezuelan crude imports from this country directly to Europe instead of bringing this crude to the United States and then loading up these ships with American crude to be sent to Europe.

I am encouraged to believe that both of these objectives will be achieved.

I told the committee that we had in Texas 8,344 unconnected oil wells in the State, and I brought out with all the emphasis that I could that the most important thing that could be done for our national security at this time would be to immediately construct a crude oil pipeline from Texas to the east coast—and by the east coast I mean Philadelphia or that neighborhood so that, come war, if war should come, we would not be faced with the same difficulty that we faced in World War II of having to build oil pipelines after the war started. You will remember we had to build the Big and Little

Inch both from Texas to the East after the war started by reason of evermounting sinkings of tankers by German submarines, even right off the coast of Florida within plain sight of people on land. The pipelines did the job.

Reliable information is that Russia has constructed more than 400 new submarines aimed at the destruction and sinking of oil tankers with the view of leaving our Army, Navy, and Air Corps short of fuel and immobilizing them.

I told the committee that I thought the inquiry they were making was timely, and that if the construction of a big inch crude pipeline from Texas to the east coast could come out of their proceedings that it would be worth all the effort. A new pipeline to the west coast has been announced already.

The committees of Congress are composed of serious-minded men. These committees study their assignments with all the care that is possible to be put into critical, careful, constructive study. The Congress follows their committee recommendations.

Our Texas delegation is keenly attentive to the interests of Texas and to the security of our Nation; and as such, naturally, they are keenly interested in seeing that Texas oil production is properly protected.

I told the committee that I took a good deal of pride and happiness and satisfaction in the fact that the judgment of the Texas Railroad Commission had been vindicated in that we did not jump in suddenly and raise Texas allowables to a point where we could not move the oil in November, December, and January, and that excessive stocks in gasoline should be worked off.

Crude oil stocks today are 250,927,000 barrels in tanks above ground. That is 1 percent less than they were this time a year ago. However, the reduction in crude stocks in the last 5 weeks has been very considerable. Texas crude stocks were drawn down more than 200,000 barrels per day during February.

Crude stocks are today 10 million barrels below what should be called minimum working stocks. This great reduction in stocks of crude and the great reduction in residual fuel oil and the shortage of crude oil on the coast were the reasons that your Railroad Commission increased the daily production of Texas crude for the month of March by 210,000 barrels per day at our hearing on Tuesday of this week. There was a firm market demand for this crude. There was no dissent among the purchasers. There are some who indicated at the first instant that they wanted somewhat less, but said that they had a firm demand for the additional crude if we would allow it to be produced; and the testimony was that 210,000 additional barrels could be produced without waste and that much could be transported to the coast or to the North, then down the Mississippi River.

The reason that we have large stocks of gasoline on hand at this time, to my mind, is as follows: After World War II the Government of the United States encouraged refiners to add an additional 1 million barrels' refining capacity to their plants in the United States, giving them, in most instances, appreciated depreciation, on the theory that they were national-security wartime facilities and would not be needed for peacetime. But these refiners, once they get a plant built, cannot resist the temptation to run the refinery at full capacity once the stills are fired up.

This is the reason that I have been pushing the idea of trying to get our Government to urge European buyers to buy more gasoline and less crude. But Europe, as usual, wants to run their refineries full tilt—even at the expense of our refiners having to run at less than capacity.

I told the congressional committee that I was not alarmed at the situation at all, that our Railroad Commission had proceeded with caution about increasing allowables. Texas has contributed as we saw the need, in view of the testimony presented before our Commission. We carried out our statutes clearly and fully, because we believe that our Government is one of laws and not a government of men.

We have proceeded in our hearings in an orderly fashion. Notice is given of the hearing at which the allowable will be considered. Witnesses are required to testify under oath and are cross-examined thoroughly. A record is made; and we make a finding of fact and conclusions of law, and on that we base our order.

I told the committee that I further believe that most of the so-called crisis was a newspaper crisis, because it made good scare headlines; and I felt that the Government had not given out full and complete information on the oil-lift movements to Europe.

And with that I closed my statement. That took me about 15 minutes. And for 2 hours and a half I was quizzed and questioned by every member of the committee. I must say that they were very courteous. They were anxiously and earnestly seeking to get all the information they could on this oil situation.

I think these hearings are good, but they are exhaustive and exhausting on the witness.

I want my friends here to know that we are not running out of oil. We have great oil reserves in this country—a total of 32 billion barrels, 15 billion barrels of which are located in Texas. In 1956 the United States produced 2.5 billion barrels, of which Texas produced 1.1 billion barrels.

For many years after oil was discovered in Pennsylvania in 1869, people were interested only in securing coal oil or kerosene to light their lamps. The gasoline went down the creeks of Pennsylvania. Then when the inventive genius of man brought forth the internal combustion engine, gasoline was required to motivate and power these internal combustion engines in automobiles and other installations.

Accordingly, the maker of all good and perfect gifts permitted man to discover the great Spindletop field in 1901, which furnished the oil to make the gasoline for the beginning of the gasoline age. Then later on came in the great Panhandle oil field; still later the east Texas oil field. About the time we thought oil was getting scarce, Canada came in with great discoveries. Then Venezuela had brought in great discoveries prior thereto. And then, to cap it all off, there have been discovered around the shores of the Persian Gulf more than 200 billion barrels of oil reserves where they are producing today—or were producing just before Suez—approximately 3 million barrels per day, which is a little less than the State of Texas produces.

With good conservation methods that we practice and require to be practiced in Texas, and which are being followed in many other States of the Union and parts of the world, we are able to get out of the reservoir 3 or 4 times as much of the oil in place as was formerly recovered under old open-flow conditions. This is because of better methods of maintaining reservoir energy, which is the pressure at the bottom of the hole in the producing formation.

This is the story of conservation and the present oil situation.

The pressing need for our ever-expanding peacetime economy and the imperative need and requisite essential for our national security and that of the free world is more and bigger oil pipelines. We are at our pipeline capacity when Texas' March allowable production starts to flow. Come war, tankers will be sunk by enemy submarines. We must at once construct a big pipeline from Texas to the eastern coast.

Strife Over Our Middle East Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 31, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith a column by Frank R. Kent, which appeared in the Washington Star on Sunday, February 24:

STRIFE OVER MIDDLE EAST PLAN

In ignorant fury against John Foster Dulles, and by reason of reluctance to support the President, even on a question that should be high above politics, there is a certain type of Democrat apparently willing wholly to ignore logic and truth. A striking example of this is given in the Democratic opposition, in and out of the Senate, to the Eisenhower-Dulles resolution concerning the Middle East problems that appear to threaten the peace of the world.

This resolution, as has been repeatedly stated—and without contradiction—does not confer upon the President any powers that he does not already possess. It merely serves notice to the world that should he deem it essential to use these powers, the Congress would be with him. In other words, in a crisis on foreign policy, the United States will always be found united. Aside from the fact that the President's resolution seemed indisputably sound, this was the reason it so promptly gained press and popular support all over the country. So clear was it that the people generally approved the resolution and wanted it adopted by Congress that the House committee favorably reported it, and the House quickly passed it by an overwhelming vote. Also, it was endorsed by Democratic Speaker SAM RAYBURN, by ex-President Harry Truman, and a good many others.

DIFFERENT STORY IN SENATE

There was, however, a very different story when the resolution hit the Senate. There it fell into the hands of the truculent and intolerable Democratic Senators, HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, and MORSE, of Oregon, who apparently are equally convinced that everything about Mr. Eisenhower is evil and that anything he proposes must necessarily be opposed and torn to pieces if it can be done. Certainly that seems the view of Adlai Stevenson, recently defeated for the Presidency by Mr. Eisenhower so overwhelmingly as almost to establish a record. It also appears the view of Chairman Paul Butler of the Democratic National Committee, of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., of the Americans for Democratic Action, and others of the left-wing New Dealers, of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and most of the New Deal labor politicians who see in the Democratic Party their real political future, when organized labor will come into its own and run the country without opposition—save only such as occurs in its own ranks.

DELAY WILL PLEASE RUSSIA

The first thing that occurred was a violent name-calling debate in the Senate committee during which Senator LONG, Democrat of Louisiana, asked Secretary Dulles if the late Franklin D. Roosevelt had a right to station troops in Iceland during World War II. Mr. Dulles simply replied that he did not know. On this basis Senator LONG told the Senate "this was a falsehood and everyone in the committee room knew it was not true." Senator LONG offered nothing whatever to support his statements. Then Senator MORSE, of Oregon, probably the most violent and virulent of all the Senators, proceeded to call Mr. Dulles' testimony an "outrageous lies." Later the Washington Star character-

ized this sort of talk as a barroom debate and expressed the view that Mr. Dulles' reputation for integrity and veracity was sufficiently established not to be damaged by attacks from such antagonists. It also voiced the conviction that the level of the debate would not be raised by the new amendment to the Eisenhower-Dulles resolution. This amendment, offered by Senator HUMPHREY, seeks to clarify the amendment offered by Senator FULBRIGHT. "No one, we think," said the Star, "will ever know what this amendment really means."

There still seems every reason to believe that the President's resolution will eventually pass in a shape satisfactory to him. But apparently now it will not be without a period of delay and denunciation well calculated to please the Soviet and to bolster and nourish the propaganda of our enemies everywhere. It seems typical of those who profess and aspire to lead the Democratic Party these days. But it seems unlikely to succeed—even with the aid of the self-admitted economist, Senator DOUGLAS, of Illinois.

Federal Employees Entitled to Pay Adjustment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 31, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, a salary increase for Federal employees whose positions are subject to the Classification Act is amply justified. I am proposing a formula for such an increase in H. R. 5243, which I introduced on February 22.

Congress has provided pay raises for these employees in recent years, but at no time were they sufficient to restore their salaries to their prewar level of purchasing power. They have to wait too long for each increase for the raise to give them any lasting benefit. For that reason there should be no delay in taking action on this matter as soon as possible.

The bill I have introduced would increase the first $2,500 of salary by 10 percent. That part of total salary which exceeds $2,500 would be increased by 24½ percent. In the case of a salary now in excess of $7,500 that portion above $7,500 would be increased by 27 percent. Thus the employee now receiving $3,415, the entrance rate for grade GS–4, would receive $250 as 10 percent of the first $2,500 of his total salary and an additional $224 as 24½ percent of the $915 by which his salary exceeds $2,500. His total raise would be $474.

In the first four grades the proposed increases would be well substantiated by the increased cost of living and the overall advance of productivity. Raises in the middle grades would be brought up to approximate equality with the cost-of-living level of salaries for the same grades in 1939. However, even at the rates of increase I am proposing, the salaries provided would not be sufficient to withstand even a further small increase in living costs.

The entrance salary for grade GS–7 would be increased by only $71 a year above the amount needed to restore the rate for that grade to its purchasing power in 1939. In grade GS–9 the proposed rate would be only $10 above the 1939 cost-of-living level.

The salary problem is a very real and pressing problem. For the Government it is a matter of attracting and holding employees who are qualified and reliable. The Government has been fortunate in being able to recruit many unusually capable employees. They are in fact dedicated to the public service. But the Government should not exploit this attraction which the public service may have over and above the remuneration which it offers.

For the employees it is a matter of simple justice. Workers outside the Government service have received increases well above those in the Federal service. We cannot match industry in paying the salaries offered persons in the higher administrative and professional positions, but there is not the slightest reason we cannot do as well or better than industry in paying employees in the first few grades of the Classification Act salary schedule.

In searching for a solution to the immediate pay problem, we should keep clearly in mind that the maintenance of buying power is common to all who earn a livelihood. Prices of commodities and services which people generally need for ordinary comfort have risen considerably since the end of World War II. The trend upward has not ended. This fact has only one meaning—a pay increase is needed now and it should be large enough to prevent Federal employees from continuing to lose a sizable portion of the purchasing power of their salaries in earlier years.

Naval Flight Training Program Should Be Reviewed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 6, 1957

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include an article which appeared in the magazine, Nation's Business. In this article the assertion is made that the Navy could save $7 million by employing civilian contract schools in their training program. If this is true, I feel that a thorough investigation should be made into the Naval Training Program.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to have served as a naval aviator, and admittedly the Navy does have an outstanding training program. However, $7 million is a tremendous expenditure, and in my opinion, the Navy should be required to explain why they are unable to train aviators competitively, or why they have not enacted the recommendations of this civilian report.

Mr. Speaker, I am including this article in the RECORD today, as I feel it should be called to the attention of my colleagues. The article is as follows:

NAVY REJECTS $7 MILLION SAVING—CIVILIAN SURVEY MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS UPSETTING TRADITIONAL TRAINING METHODS

A plan that could save at least 7 million tax dollars a year is being bypassed by the United States Navy.

Such a saving would be equal to all the Federal taxes that approximately 26,600 average American families will pay this year.

The survey which recommends the cost-reduction changeover is classified and the Navy refuses to make it public.

The Navy's official position, in classifying the survey, is that it involves national security.

This has aroused some officials who say that the classification stamp in this case is merely a convenient means of avoiding adoption of the survey's recommendations.

The study involves the primary training of new fliers. The Navy spends a great deal more to train a new flier than the Air Force spends, and the report reveals that the Air Force primary training system is more efficient.

The Air Force provides primary flight training through privately operated contract schools.

The classified study concludes that it is not only feasible and practical for the Navy to do likewise but that a substantial saving could be achieved.

Not intended as purely a dollar comparison, the study also concludes that contract flight training is actually better than the present Navy program.

The Air Force, which now trains all its new pilots with civilian instructors, has graduated about 285,000 military aviators trained in this manner. The Army, after evaluating the Air Force contract plan, will switch to civilian teachers for helicopter and fixed wing pilot training in January.

In addition, college students in Air Force and Army Reserve Officers' Training Corps units at universities across the Nation will be offered flight training this year for the first time. This training will be handled by civilian instructors.

The Navy says it has no plans to provide ROTC flight training at universities.

Although $7 million would appear to be a small saving when compared to total Federal expenditures of almost $70 billion anticipated for the year ending next June 30, it could help to make an impressive dent in the rising cost for the operation and maintenance of the United States Military Establishment.

Major national defense during the current fiscal year is expected to cost $40.8 billion. That's about 60 percent of all 1957 Federal expenditures, and $454 million higher than the administration anticipated earlier.

All phases of naval flight training will cost the taxpayers about $91 million this year, compared to $87 million during fiscal year 1956. Of that sum, the proportion which will go for training new fliers is a large question mark. It could be anywhere between $40 million and $55 million—depending on which source you ask.

One official Pentagon source says: "The Navy's latest figure on the cost of 18-month training program which leads to designation as a naval aviator is $89,500 per student."

Another says the figure is $68,000.

A third says the figure cannot be ascertained.

Comparable Air Force training averages $40,000 per student, of which $8,872 goes for the cost of primary training.

The Navy told Nation's Business that it could not say what proportion of the total pilot cost is attributable to the primary phase.

Although it appears that the Navy could reduce its cost for training new pilots, some top naval officers are so thoroughly against the contract plan that the survey seemed doomed before it arrived in the Pentagon.

One high naval officer told Nation's Business:

"I find it difficult even to talk about the matter. It's so dead set against the contract plan that I can't discuss it without emotion."

Even before the survey was completed, another high officer of the Navy expressed his opposition to the contract concept. He is Capt. R. E. Riera, Chief of Staff, Naval Air Training Command.

He told a news conference at Pensacola, Fla., where the Navy teaches primary flying: "The Air Force was forced against its wishes to go into civilian flying school contracts for its primary training.

"We believe that our primary training is better than that of the Air Force. We believe also that there would not be a cost variation of as much as five percent between the two systems."

Later, when the report—made by Robert Heller & Associates, of Cleveland—was delivered to the Pentagon, the Navy classified it. Although it was expected that the Navy soon would declassify the report, it has not done so.

The Navy told Nation's Business: "It is apparent that cost studies conducted in the past are invalid and their release would serve no useful purpose."

The Navy also says: "The study of costs of civilian contract training contains some inaccuracies since certain hidden costs were not considered."

The Navy does not identify hidden costs and does not explain why any costs should have been hidden from the Heller firm which it was paying $40,000 for a survey.

The study served a useful purpose, the Navy continues, because "it pointed to certain areas of the Navy program where revisions have been made to effect economies."

"Because of advances in performance of aircraft and changes in composition of the naval operating forces, major revisions to the flight training program are in progress or planned for the near future. These include a reduction in the time devoted to primary training and the introduction of a jet trainer into basic training.

"The Navy's decision not to adopt civilian contract training at this time stems primarily from the inherent advantage of using instructors who have recently returned from the operating forces to indoctrinate the young student aviator.

"This system," the Navy adds, "has produced the finest aviators in the world and the Navy considers it most unwise to shift to a different system."

Notwithstanding this official opposition, there appears to be some pressure to adopt the contract plan for the primary stage.

Advocates of the plan point not only to the dollar savings but to the proficiency of civilian flight instructors as specialists in the business of teaching flying. Proponents of contract schools say that the use of civilians would help release regular Navy personnel—as it does in the Air Force—to teach others the complex operations of new weapons systems, called by one high official the Navy's most serious problem.

Of more immediate importance, it would release Navy fliers from the job of elementary instruction to the job for which they were trained—flying with the fleet to maintain a state of combat readiness. It would release aviation mechanics from tending primary trainer planes to the job of taking care of operational aircraft.

Proponents of this viewpoint to the need for more efficient use of Armed Forces manpower.

Opponents of contract instruction say only a Navy man can train a Navy man. Esprit de corps, high in the Navy, can be achieved—a high naval official says—only if a Navy-trained and fleet-experienced flier indoctrinates a fledgling.

They point to the safety record of the naval training program as an achievement of this system. One fatality is recorded for each 32,000 hours of flight training. (The Air Force safety record is approximately the same.)

Idea for the Heller study originated in the office of James H. Smith, Jr., then Assistant Secretary of the Navy (for Air), a post now held by Garrison Norton. Discussing contract training, Mr. Norton told Nation's Business:

"I would be strongly in favor—in peacetime—of a completely in-house pilot training operation for the Navy. I believe this is the best policy when you have the time to use it."

"In-house" is Pentagon language for a program conducted within the Navy.

"Dollarwise," he said, "contract training might show up well, but the quality of training, no."

He added that, in any contract operation, he believes the contractor would do the minimum required by the contract.

The Army's attitude toward contract flight schools was expressed when the requirements for large cargo helicopters were increased. Maj. Gen. Paul D. Adams, former head of Army operations and training, told a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations during Army hearings:

"Since contract training of cargo helicopter pilots can be conducted by civilian institutions at considerable savings, and would parallel the system now used by the Air Force for their primary fixed wing pilot training requirements, it is considered that this means of accomplishing the training should be utilized.

"Available Air Force experience and studies," General Adams said, "indicate that it is more economical to conduct this training by such contract.

"The primary flight training—which is just learning how to fly an airplane and before the military aspects of flying are introduced—can be done quite well by the civilian flight training schools."

Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD, of Pennsylvania, asked if the training was just as good.

"Yes, sir," said General Adams.

The first Army helicopter course conducted by private enterprise will begin next January 7. New classes of approximately 50 students each will enter every 4 weeks. Training for about 700 a year is planned.

The contract (for $890,215) was awarded to the Southern Airways Co., of Atlanta, Ga. Training, with about 65 civilian instructors, will be conducted at Camp Wolters, Mineral Wells, Tex.

Southern Airways was one of 66 firms solicited for proposals on the helicopter pilot training school. The company's proposal was 1 of 21 made by 16 different firms.

William J. Graham & Son, of Pittsburgh and Marianna, Fla., was given the contract (for a little less than $2.4 million) to train Army airplane pilots at San Marcos, Tex. The first class of 100 students will arrive in January. New classes will start each 3 weeks. The Army expects to graduate about 1,275 new pilots annually in this contract operation.

A flight training program for Reserve Officers' Training Corps students, both Army and Air Force, will also get underway during the 1956–57 school year. Next year the program will be enlarged. College students in 180 Air Force and 40 Army ROTC training units will be offered flight training.

Civilian instructors will teach the college students. In most cases the training will be handled by contract schools cooperating with the universities. About 20 universities, however, have their own facilities and already offer flight training as part of the regular college curriculum. They will enlarge their programs to take care of ROTC students.

An estimated 1,625 Air Force ROTC students will get beginning flight training during the current school year. The program will be stepped up to about 4,300 next year. The Army plans to train about 400 this year and about 800 a year beginning in 1957–58.

Each student will receive 35 hours of instruction in small airplanes, as well as classroom instruction in subjects associated with aviation.

Cost per student will vary from $430 to $455 for the entire flight course. Total cost of these programs for the first year is expected to come to about $865,000. Eventually the Government will be paying civilian schools about $2.1 million a year for ROTC flight training.

The Department of Defense states the purpose:

"The new flight training courses will . . . permit an earlier screening of the cadets' adaptability for flying while still in student status."

The training of military pilots by civilian specialists was first conceived in 1939. At that time the Army Air Corps had only 21,556 officers and men. A small group of civilian aviation school operators was called to Washington. These barnstormers, shouted the skeptics, could never train military aviators. Results astounded everyone. By 1944 the Air Corps, later to become known as the United States Air Force, had almost 2.4 million officers and men. Civilian instructors were turning out military pilots at the rate of 110,000 a year, and setting safety records while doing it. In that year of peak training only 1 fatal accident occurred for every 43,478 hours of flight in the primary program. A year later the ratio improved to 1 for every 63,000 hours flown.

The Air Force has estimated that the privately operated contract schools saved $250 million a year.

After World War II, with more pilots than could be kept on active duty, the program was discontinued, but not permanently. The matter of civilian instruction was studied continuously. Military planners wanted to know: Does contract pilot training afford in the present situation or in future emergency similar advantages as to efficiency, cost, and mobilization potential as were manifest before and during World War II?

A study by the Stanford Research Institute provided some of the answers. On the basis of the Stanford study and surveys of its own, the Air Force revived contract schools in 1951.

Today nine civilian schools train all new Air Force pilots. They are: Anderson Air Activities, Malden, Mo.; California Eastern Aviation, Inc., Mission, Tex.; Beiser Aviation Corp., Marana, Ariz.; Garner Aviation Service Corp., Bartow, Fla.; Pittsburgh Institute of Aeronautics, Marianna, Fla.; Hawthorne School of Aeronautics, Moultrie, Ga.; Serv-Air Aviation Corp., Kinston, N. C.; Southern Airways School, Bainbridge, Ga.; and Texas Aviation Industries, Inc., Hondo, Tex.

Each contract school has about 700 civilian personnel, 130 of whom are flight instructors. About 20 USAF officers and 15 airmen are based at each school. A comparable military operation at Goodfellow Air Force Base—now closed—required about 2,100 military personnel.

The flight student gets 140 hours of air training and 240 hours of academic training.

Under contract, each base operator is reimbursed for allowable operating expenses and is provided a flat fee per flying hour, ranging from about 65 to 95 cents. Each contract is renegotiated and amended to meet changing requirements.

Average net profit after taxes is about $32,000 a year per school, according to a new study by the Aeronautical Training Society, a national organization of flight school oper-

stors. Average net profit is 1.75 percent of gross receipts before taxes, or 0.864 percent after taxes.

Cost to the Government averages $8,872 per student—called by the Air Force "perhaps the greatest training bargain in history."

Propeller-driven training planes—similar to those used by the Navy—are used for the primary stage. After primary, students go on to other bases where military instructors continue their training in jets or multi-engine planes, with emphasis on the military aspects of their assignments.

Beginning in 1958 a small jet trainer will be used in the primary flight stage. The plane, a Cessna T-37, provides side-by-side seating for student pilot and instructor. Although slow for a jet aircraft (310 m. p. h.) it will provide—at considerably lower cost—the training necessary for easy transition to speedy jet and rocket aircraft of the future.

The Aeornautical Training Society explains some of the advantages of the contract program.

"A major key to the success of the contract schools," the association says, "—aside from the fact that civilian enterprise can use industrial methods to a larger extent than can any purely military setup—is the civilian flight instructor.

"He averages about 33 years of age, is married, has a home and children. He is a professional flight instructor because he likes to instruct. To him the task of converting recurrent batches of fledglings into airmen is not a repetitive bore but an interesting, challenging task.

"Because of him and the other civilians, the Air Force sends only a small military detachment to each school for supervision.

"As a result of this use of civilian know-how and employees—many of whom are beyond combat age—the Air Force is saving the taxpayers millions of dollars a year and is making available thousands of airmen in places where they can serve more usefully."

The Buffalo as a Highway Pioneer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial written by Adele Brandeis of the Courier-Journal, of Louisville, Ky. This editorial is entitled "The Buffalo as a Highway Pioneer" and same appeared in the February 19, 1957, issue of the Courier-Journal:

THE BUFFALO AS A HIGHWAY PIONEER

It costs anywhere from a half million dollars up to a million a mile to build a modern toll road here in this southeastern quadrant of the country. Our ancestors did it more cheaply, the natural easy way, but the toll paid in those days was often death, not two bits or a couple of dollars.

The earliest north and south road or track where those travelers crept along in fear and darkness, for it was safer at night, was the Natchez Trace, the badly named Path of Peace, which the Chickasaw Indians followed, linking long fragments of trails and bypaths they found waiting for them. This ran for 500 miles linking Natchez and Nashville. It was the only land link between the gulf and the eastern settlements, for it ran from Nashville eastward through Tennessee, finally connecting up with Daniel Boone's Wilderness Trail.

Men used that trace, twisted like a slack thread, through forests and valleys and swamps, praying to God that they might survive nature's perils and attacks by Indians or cutthroats.

PATHFINDERS OF LONG AGO

And who laid out that track before the days of our recorded history? Buffaloes, vast herds. They beat a path along the ridges, and the edges of bogs, returning year after year to their favorite feeding grounds, where the lush cane flourished, and to lick the salt earth near the mineral springs.

In those days as John J. Audubon wrote in his Western Journal near the opening of the last century: "Daily we see so many of the beasts (buffaloes) that we hardly notice them, but this cannot last, there is such terrible destruction by the Indians * * * that before many years, like the great auk they will have disappeared." The Indians linked those tracks and soon there was a very rough trail.

But this was, except for the buffalo's hunger habits, a purposeless trail. In 1800 came the purposeful following of the trace. (The name was derived from the French word meaning tracks or a line of footsteps.) The principal users were the "Kentucks" the flatboat men who floated their big barges laden with cotton, flour, and grain down the Mississippi. The flatboats never came back. They couldn't be poled against the current. They were too heavy, and so they were usually scrapped and sold for lumber at New Orleans.

This created a demand for some well-marked road by which the rivermen could return to the Tennessee River or the Ohio from which they had started. They walked that 500 miles or so back north in about 3 weeks, 25 miles a day and beat a hard path along the Indian trails. The "Notchy" was its nickname, from the notched trees that marked the route. Those "Kentucks," with their beards, their long, tangled hair, tattered leather jackets and leggings, were strong, rough men; they had to be or they wouldn't have survived. They boasted they could wade the Mississippi or leap the Ohio and whip their weight in wildcats. But the great danger was not the animals, it was the Indians, the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. Many of the travelers never got home. And besides the Indians, there were floods and disease.

By 1800 the Federal Government took cognizance of the trace and began to improve it—to a slight extent. Taverns, most crude, and even more primitive shelters called "stands" appeared, but with them came bandits, and fearful brawls. Meriwether Lewis died of bullet wounds in an ambush at a Tennessee stand. He was one of the famous early pioneers and statesmen who rode or walked the trace a century and a half ago. Audubon, on his way back from Mississippi without a cent in his pocket; Henry Clay, Aaron Burr and Andrew Jackson were among many others.

The trace was finally connected with one farther north. It came down from Illinois through our own Kentucky. It was called the Buffalo Trace and is now almost obliterated. It too was stamped out first by buffalo moving south from the prairies of Illinois down to the bluegrass region. It was first surveyed in 1805.

It came down through what are now French Lick and Paoli, and crossed the Ohio at the falls, where it became the Louisville Trace. It turned east toward Maysville where it continued as the Buffalo Trace, always near water, salt licks, and verdant patches of grass. For decades the mudholes or wallows could be found. Tales are that sometimes 50 to 100 animals waited while their leader made the wallow, 2 or 3 feet deep, 12 feet across, and that they crossed the river in hundreds when it was low.

At Blue Lick and Big Bone Lick near Maysville they beat a path wide as a wagon road. Incidentally Big Bone Lick is one of the Nation's prehistoric bone yards. Even mastodon and Arctic elephant bones have been found there.

A MORE ROMANTIC WAY

A series of unexampled frigid winters in the early part of the 19th century froze all the big growth and the starving herds moved out to the Great Plains. But the "couriers du bois," the French salt hunters, the pioneer settlers, and later the express messengers who preceded the post, kept the trace clear.

There may be a lesson in this, "Tut, tut, everything's got a moral if you can only find it," said the Duchess to Alice, or it may be just a fascinating bit of history. It is not possible to import buffaloes, and the thousands of employees of the highway department would hardly like to tramp out a trail south. But it would make road building more romantic and following a trace would make you feel a bit nearer to the past.

I Am the Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VINCENT J. DELLAY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. DELLAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following tribute to the National Guard:

I AM THE GUARD

Civilian in peace, soldier in war, of security and honor
For three centuries I have been the custodian,
I am the Guard.
I was with Washington in the dim forest, fought the wily warrior, and watched the dark night bow to morning.
At Concord's bridge, I fired the fateful shot heard 'round the world.
I bled on Bunker Hill.
My footprints marked the snows at Valley Forge.
I pulled a muffled oar on the barge that bridged the icy Delaware.
I stood with Washington on the sun-drenched heights of Yorktown.
I saw the sword surrendered.
I am the Guard.
I pulled the trigger that loosed the long rifle's havoc at New Orleans.
These things I knew—I was there.
I saw both sides of the war between the States—I was there.
The hill at San Juan felt the fury of my charge.
The far plains and mountains of the Philippines echoed to my shout.
On the Mexican border I stood.
I am the Guard.
The dark forest of the Argonne blazed with my barrage.
Chateau Thierry crumbled to my cannonade.
Under the arches of victory I marched in legion.
I was there.
I am the Guard.

I bowed briefly on the grim Corregidor.
Then saw the light of liberation shine on the faces of my comrades.
Through the jungle and on the beaches, I fought the enemy, beat, battered, and broke him.
I raised our banner on the serene air of Okinawa.
I scrambled over Normandy's beaches.
I was there.
I am the Guard.

Across the 38th parallel I made my stand.
I flew the MIG Alley.
I was there.
I am the Guard.

Soldier in war, civilian in peace.
I am the Guard.

I was at Johnstown, where the raging waters boomed down the valley.
I cradled the crying child in my arms and saw the terror leave her eyes.
I moved through smoke and flame at Texas City.
The stricken knew the comfort of my skill.
I dropped the food that fed the starving beast on the frozen fields of the West, and through the towering drifts I ploughed to rescue the marooned.

I have faced forward to the tornado, the typhoon, and the horror of the hurricane and flood.
These things I know,
I was there—
I am the Guard.

I have brought a more abundant, a fuller, a finer life to our youth.
Wherever a strong arm and valiant spirit must defend the Nation—in peace or war, wherever a child cries, or a woman weeps in time of disaster.
There I stand.
I am the Guard.

For three centuries a soldier in war, a civilian in peace—of security and honor.
I am the custodian, now and forever.
I am the Guard.

Morris Weisberger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, another of my constitutents has reached a high post from which he can continue to serve the public interest.

The vacancy caused by the untimely death of Harry Lundeberg, leader of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, has now been filled by the election to that important position of Morris Weisberger.

It was typical of Mr. Weisberger's anti-Communist activities to immediately announce, upon his assuming this important post, that there will be no change in the union's policies from those followed by his predecessor, indicating in no uncertain terms that the union will continue to support the American way of life and oppose all leftwing activities.

Mr. Weisberger came up from the ranks, having been a deepwater sailor on all types of ships.

He is a good, solid American with hard common sense, who can be relied upon to do the right thing for the members of his union without being unfair to employers, and always giving due regard to the public interest.

His many friends wish him well.

An Anniversary Not To Be Celebrated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am informed that today is the 24th anniversary of the Federal income tax. Frankly it is not my purpose to suggest that this is reason for American taxpayers to celebrate. Over a hundred years ago Karl Marx and the Socialists dreamed up the principle of this tax, and maybe we should be thankful and celebrate that the per capita tax has only increased 400 percent since 1913. Of course, the Communists think the Government should take all the people's income and property, and that Government employees and legislators can spend it better than the people themselves.

If each Member of the House of Representatives would take a few minutes today to compare on the one hand income taxes and on the other hand the budget, perhaps there would be more Members in support of House Resolution 170, to limit Federal spending in fiscal 1958 to $65 billion. I am told the Rules Committee will hold a hearing on this resolution later this week. I hope so—and meanwhile I suggest that witnesses intending to testify first study a few statistics in the following article which appeared in the Port Orchard Independent, a weekly newspaper in my district:

FEBRUARY 25: THE BIRTHDAY OF INCOME TAX

Next Monday is a birthday for which nobody will bake any cakes.

On February 25, 44 years ago, the Federal Government was authorized the power to levy an income tax on individuals. It was felt at the time that rates could never reach 10 percent.

The first year of the tax total corporate and individual income levies brought the Government $80 million. Dividing this by the population of 1913 shows that the per capita tax bite was 82 cents.

By contrast, in 1956—two world wars and a police action later—the income tax brought the Federal Government $55 billion. This is a per capita tax bite of $328.

Per capita annual income was $358 in 1913; today it is about $1,647. In this 44-year period, per capita income increased 4½ times while the per capita tax payments increased an even 400 times.

Other comparisons of then and now are of equal interest. For instance, in 1913 the single personal exemption was $3,000 compared to $600 today.

In 1913, a single man with a $5,000 a year income paid $20 tax; today, he pays $944. Rates the first year were 1 to 6 percent; they range today from 20 to 91 percent.

Mr. Taxpayer's total tax bill in 1913 was distributed 70.5 percent for State and local government and 29.5 for the Federal Government. Today the Federal Government takes 72.3 percent, leaving 27.7 percent for State and local units.

In 1913, people did locally what they wanted done. Today, they give their money to the Federal Government and fight among themselves to see who can get the most back.

Estonian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the observance of Estonian Independence Day today, because Estonian Independence Day fell on Sunday, February 24, is an act of devotion to the permanence of political morality and of dedication to the future of a free Estonia, restored to her rightful sovereignty among the family of nations.

Let us keep in mind that Estonia was a free nation for 2,000 years before the first aggressive neighbor temporarily subjugated her. "Temporarily," I say, for it cannot be Estonia's destiny to remain subjugated. History proves this. Despite the tyranny of Czarist Russia for over 200 years, on February 24, 1918, Estonia declared herself "an independent, democratic republic." As many another newly born State, as our own infant United States, she was immediately compelled to fight to prove her determination to remain free. Not until German occupation forces were expelled, and a new Russian invasion repelled, was Estonia truly established, a democracy based upon a constitution which, like ours, guarantees representative government, civil rights, and civil liberties.

It is ironic to recall that the Soviet Government recognized Estonia's independence in a peace treaty signed in 1920. This was the same Soviet Government which, 19 years later, in secret negotiations with Nazi Germany, started steamrolling over Estonia by placing her, with other Baltic States, under Russia's "sphere of influence." This dangerout phrase was too soon to become a notorious synonym for overrunning a smaller country which the circumstances of war had left in helpless isolation. It became a formula for injustice by force, for enslavement by starvation.

In Estonia the repulsive pattern was set. Under the pretext of wartime necessity, at the beginning of World War II, the Soviet Government saturated the country with military establishments. A puppet government followed, never, of course, acknowledged by the United States. A second German occupation, from 1941 to 1944, repressed Estonia's desperate attempt to reestablish her independent government, but the hardships endured during this period were only the beginning. More followed the return of Soviet might in 1944.

The story has not been told in full. Estimates have been made that about 150,000 Estonians have been deported to

the Soviet Union, most of them to slave-labor camps. Thousands were murdered. Other thousands simply disappeared.

So the picture looks dark, indeed, today. Estonia is a land voiceless and isolated, a Soviet military bastion, a people stripped of liberty and of economic opportunity. Nevertheless, there must be hope. This celebration of the 39th anniversary of her independence is not a vain gesture. It is our acknowledgement that we feel deeply that the Estonian people will be free again as they have been free in the past, that Estonia's spirit is alive and surging, and that in Estonia, as in every country where independence has been enshrined as the greatest treasure, there can be no other ending. It is our acknowledgement that we feel deeply that the Estonian people will be free again as they have been free in the past, that Estonia's spirit is alive and surging, and that in Estonia, as in every country where independence has been enshrined as the greatest treasure, there can be no other ending.

Billion Minutes Since Christ's Birth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Billion Minutes Since Christ's Birth," which appeared in the February 21, 1957, issue of the Madisonville Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky.:

BILLION MINUTES SINCE CHRIST'S BIRTH

A billion is such a huge figure that the average person has no idea what a Government figure or an economist or a professor is talking about when he mentions a billion dollars or a billion anything else.

The fact that the average person can't comprehend a figure as big as 1 billion makes it easier, perhaps, for him to be imposed upon by those who make up budgets, incur national debt, and otherwise shoulder responsibilities to pay vast sums upon the citizen.

What is needed, of course, is for everybody to get a clearer understanding of what $1 billion means. Then he could get a clearer understanding of what $72 billion means.

In the Wall Street Journal the other day a letter writer named G. W. Hearle wrote from Minneapolis that he had worked out a good example to help the average American understand what is $1 billion.

It is to recall, and ponder seriously, that scarcely 1 billion minutes have passed since the birth of Christ.

The Minneapolis writer invites the individual to try the following bit of ciphering, either on his calculator, if he has one, or with a pencil and piece of paper: 60×24×365×1,956 equals 1,028,073,600.

Then, when we think about a budget of $72 billion, such as has been suggested for the Federal Establishment for each of the next 2 years, the sum arrived at in the above calculation should be multiplied by 60 (the number of seconds to the minute).

Then the fellow who is beginning to appreciate what a billion means, or what 72 billions mean, will find from his calculator or from his sharp pencil that less than 62 billion seconds—seconds, that is, have passed since the birth of Christ.

It wouldn't be a bad idea if the little exercise in arithmetic, and its application to our annual rate of spending and to our national debt, were posted upon every available bulletin board in America—schools included.

Federal Transportation Tax Is Both Outmoded and Unfair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 4, 1957

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, to provide the revenue on which our Government operates, we must have taxes of various sorts. They are accepted by the people with good grace when they do not place an undue burden on one segment of our people.

Some of our taxes, such as the unjust transportation taxes are highly discriminatory. The present 3-percent tax on freight bills and 10 percent on travel tickets places a disproportionate burden on industries and citizens of Western States.

These transportation taxes were enacted during World War II as an emergency revenue source. They have no place in a peacetime economy when we are trying to encourage economic expansion of industry. Our western plywood, lumber, paper, and aluminum producers must ship their bulk products greater distances to reach consuming markets in the heavily populated East. They must pay higher freight rates and a correspondingly greater tax. This places them at a competitive disadvantage with eastern and southern industries.

Transcontinental travelers are also forced to pay unduly high travel taxes and for this reason many of them are crossing into Canada and buying rail and travel tickets on Canadian lines to escape this 10-percent tax. Canada has no such travel tax.

The Seattle Times, one of the Northwest's leading newspapers, presented a thought-provoking editorial on this subject recently, and I request permission that it be inserted at this point.

[From the Seattle Times of February 17, 1957]

FEDERAL TRANSPORTATION TAX IS BOTH OUTMODED AND UNFAIR

One of the most flagrant illustrations of the maxim that a tax once imposed stays on the books forever is the unjust Federal transportation tax that was enacted by Congress as a war measure in 1941 and 1942.

This is the 3-percent tax on the transportation of freight and the 10-percent tax on passenger travel, originally levied for purposes of emergency war revenue and, in the case of the tax on passengers, to discourage civilian travel when transportation facilities were over-burdened with troop and supply movements.

The freight transportation tax was enacted in 1942 as a 3-percent tax—4 percent on coal—and has remained at that level until the present time. The passenger tax, first enacted in 1941, then was a 5-percent tax. It was raised to 10 percent in 1942 and 15 percent in 1944. In 1954, it was reduced to the present rate of 10 percent. Both taxes are charged against users of American rail, air, bus, and truck transport carriers.

As a war measure, for purposes it was intended to fulfill, this tax was cheerfully accepted by the American public, as were many other wartime inconveniences. But it was not to be expected that this attitude would be continued indefinitely, long after the war emergency no longer exists. In the Pacific Northwest and other western sections of the country, the levy has become particularly objectionable.

This is partly because this region and all the west coast are far from principal centers of distribution of many commodities and far from eastern travel destinations. The long-haul shippers and long-distance travelers are required by this tax to make an entirely disproportionate and unjust contribution to Federal revenues. In this sense it is a highly discriminatory tax. It includes some absurdly discriminatory rates on air travel between Seattle and the cities of Alaska and between Seattle and Honolulu.

Across the northern section of the United States, moreover, it discriminates against American transportation lines to the profit of Canadian carriers. Passengers originating in Seattle, for example, can easily travel to Vancouver, British Columbia, and save considerable sums on fares on Canadian rail and air lines, escaping the transportation tax they would be required to pay here.

The Seattle Chamber of Commerce and the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce are taking the lead in their respective areas in efforts to have this Federal transportation tax repealed during the present session of Congress. It would be helpful if the Washington Legislature would join in this movement by memorializing Congress, urging that the tax be rescinded this year.

George Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I like an editorial tribute to George Washington that appeared in the Passaic, N. J., Herald-News, on February 22. In a few well-chosen words it gives the key to Washington's success.

The editorial follows:

GEORGE WASHINGTON

George Washington lived at a time when this land was blessed with men who would have merited the adjective "great" in any age.

Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, John Adams were men of remarkable stature. In company such as this, it would be understandable if Washington had been relegated to the background.

The fact is, however, that Washington was the tower of strength, the undisputed leader. He appears to have been indispensable in the winning of the Revolution, the welding together of the Nation thereafter, and getting it started successfully.

What qualities made it possible for Washington to harness brilliant opposites like

Jefferson and Hamilton? What made this dignified, reserved man, who seemed almost cold, universally beloved and trusted by his countrymen?

The explanation lies in Washington's integrity. He was a leader of iron determination, but so have other leaders in history been. What set Washington apart was that he was utterly honest, unselfish, honorable, and devoted to the cause of freedom.

Washington stands as an everlasting rebuke to cynicism, selfishness, and easy morality in men who serve the public.

You Too Can Be a Pundit (or, Do-It-Yourself Political Thinking)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Martha Gellhorn appeared in the February 18, 1957, issue of The New Republic. Miss Gellhorn is a novelist and magazine writer, and a correspondent for the New Republic in England. I believe that many of our colleagues will find the article of interest. It follows:

YOU TOO CAN BE A PUNDIT (OR, DO-IT-YOURSELF POLITICAL THINKING)

(By Martha Gellhorn)

I do not see why every American, or any American, should not now become a Political Thinker. In view of the general low level of professional political thinking, it would seem to be a career wide open to amateurs.

We have certainly no reason whatever to believe that our official political thinking is revealed religion, judging by results; nor is there cause to imagine that our leaders are guided by Voices, and that the White House and the State Department are either the Delphic Oracle or the Burning Bush. And amateur political thinkers might, in their youthful excitement, express themselves in plain, coarse language which would be a welcome change.

Anyone can do it. Or anyone can try, which is all the professionals do. The professionals have "sources" which are not open to the amateurs; the professionals read top secret meaning fairly confidential documents which they send around among themselves, and they talk to each other at high level conferences. The amateur has newspapers and other forms of public communication, the amateur has all his like-minded or opposing friends, and every bar can easily become a little Geneva.

I hereby submit, to fellow amateurs, some political thinking.

When are the British going to notice that the United States Government all but kicked out their Prime Minister? Of course there were contributory causes, not least of which was Sir Anthony Eden's ill health. (In Europe, which is a backward area, if a man has a grave operation and weakened physical resistance, his doctors do not say that he is much stronger because of this; they say that he is not. Since Europeans are poor, and therefore practical, they expect their public servants to work all the time or make room for someone who has the health to stand the gaff. That is a long parenthesis.) The fact is that Eden has departed and Dulles remains. Eden was not going to get that essential invitation for a chat at the White House because everyone around the White House is cross with Eden. Now reports come in that the White House et al. are pleased with Eden's successor, and Mr. Dulles likes Mr. Macmillan best of anybody. The British may begin to brood on this and ask themselves whether they enjoy having their Prime Minister's fate depends so much on United States Government approval. Looking back over the last 10 years, there seems to be a long record of the United States Government helping to kick the British out of where they were, without consoling rewards for the British, and without the United States Government bothering to replace what was kicked out. The British might begin to make a mental picture of the Anglo-American Alliance as a giant boot, which is the United States, and a relatively smaller bottom, which is Britain.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The waiting world has now been told of the Eisenhower doctrine. The waiting world might wonder what is the use of a doctrine which does not mention the active cause of all the trauble, but only says very grandlike that it is going to prevent something that has not happened. Most amateur people have understood that the central issue in the Middle East is Israel and the Arab States. Many have different explanations for what is wrong, and why, and what to do about it, but all are convinced that so long as the Arab leaders think Israelis belong in the sea, there will be no order in the Middle East. People speak of Israel quite openly, everywhere, but the United States Government seems to be shy of that name or embarrassed. Why the Arab leaders wish to push the Israelis into the sea is another matter, and many believe that the Israelis are nothing by whipping boys for the Arab leaders who have to give their people something to be good and mad at or else their people might be good and mad at their own Arab leaders and at their own lives. But surely the United States Government must put first things first and from there work to second things second and so on. The Israelis, of course, expect nothing so logical and possibly effective, for they are well aware that they possess no oil. On the other hand, oil has to be paid for, so the Arab leaders do not have it entirely their way. Instead of talking about Marines, who anyhow are not meant to appear except in unlikely contingencies and when asked for by the very people who will not, by then, want them, wouldn't it be better doctrine if the United States Government thought and talked hard about Israel and the Arab States, emphasizing the fact that the Israelis are on land to stay? Other whipping boys could be found for the Arab leaders, such as poverty, ignorance, and an inadequate supply of water.

THE UNITED NATIONS

Lately the United Nations appears to have become a sacred cow in America, which is a new and interesting condition for the United Nations. On the whole, a love of sacred cows interferes with thinking about facts. The United States Government could remind the American people who exactly makes up the United Nations, and how many of the member nations are honorable God-fearing secret-ballot democracies, and how many are anything but. It is not possible to rely on a parliament of nations to do the noble things that secret-ballot democracies consider correct, if a great number, nearly a majority, of that parliament do not even consider secret ballots correct. The United Nations can do nothing to protect the people of Hungary from cruel slaughter by a foreign power. The United Nations can, very late and with much wangling, pass a resolution; but nary a United Nations inquirer may enter Hungary, even to do something so modest as ask questions. Meantime there are Hungarians whose condition must cause all men of good will to sleep poorly and feel their souls sick with shame. The United Nations cannot help the Hungarians nor us because a powerful United Nations member objects. For years the U. N. Mixed Truce Commission has been unable to stop the nagging, destructive Arab attacks on Israel and therefore has been unable to stop the Israeli reprisals. Even now, after all the schemozzle, the daily Arab raids, from Jordan into Israel this time, have started again. Israel protests; nothing happens. Israel masses troops on the Jordan frontier, since Israel must protect itself if the U. N. can't. Jordan protests; Mr. Hammarskjold calls a meeting. This is the form of the status quo ante. If the United Nations cannot do a small job—policing the Israel-Arab frontiers—nor a large job—calling Russia to account in Hungary—but can only force obedience on that limited group of secret-ballot nations who are, relatively in a sinful world, good boys anyhow, is the United Nations quite the sacred cow which Americans now think it? Perhaps more realism and less prayerful hope would be the most sensible attitude which the United States Government could take toward the United Nations.

In conclusion (this is not full-scale political thinking but only a trial balloon, a phrase I have learned from political thinkers), what about money? Money is what we Americans have got. Money is about all anybody wants from us, since they cannot rely on our political thinking, which is not conspicuous for avoiding or solving dangerous muddles. We do give money, and truckloads of it. But do we give it right? If so, it is odd that money seems to have accomplished so little. Or perhaps money is not much good unless it is used as a guided missile, with solid principles and careful plans to direct it. If the money is not guided but simply handed out as nervous bribes, first a bit here, then a bit there (and then switch the bribes and scold some of the bribe receivers) it would seem to create havoc. Far from being loved for generosity, the money-bags come to be regarded as a menace. And money, with moralizing, appears to be the most futile cure-all that exists.

Foreigners, who never see our point of view, are apt to feel that the American national motto is: "God's in His heaven, all's right with America." We cannot hope to be understood by the definitely hostile foreigners. But whatever the friendlier foreigners may think of God, they are pretty sure all's not right with them, and they are not completely sold on the idea that all's right with America except for being undeniably rich. The friendlier foreigners might prefer to be treated less like poor relations or shocking nuisances, and more like people with whopping problems and a strong desire to survive. America has no corner on the instinct of self-preservation.

Farm Income

SPEECH
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN] has made an outstanding statement. Already he has shown a broad knowledge of the farm problem and a deep sympathy for our family farmers.

In the course of this debate, several phases of our farm program have been discussed fully. I have one addition.

As our colleague from Montana [Mr. ANDERSON] has pointed out, the Secretary of Agriculture has been claiming that farm income in 1956 was higher than in 1955.

This is not the case according to statistics provided by the Department of Agriculture and published in the February 1957 Economic Indicators. Page 7 of the current issue is devoted to farm income. At the top of the page are these words:

Gross farm income (seasonally adjusted annual rate) rose at the close of 1956 for the fifth successive quarter. Despite an increase in farm production expenses, net farm income was up $500 million in the fourth quarter of 1956.

As you read the columns of statistics on that page, you will note, however, that there was such an increase in net income only if you exclude net change in inventories. If you include net change in inventories, the statistics show that net farm income in 1956 was $11.6 billion, down $100 million from 1955.

Inventories are the livestock, the grain, and the other farm commodities which the farmer has on hand. They are like the goods on the storekeeper's shelves. A storekeeper who juggles his books to show that he is making a profit only by ignoring a decrease in his inventory, will not be in business long.

The net change in inventories cannot be ignored in figuring net farm income either. It means that our farmers had to sell off their livestock and their stored grain at prices which were below previous levels in order to get enough money to pay their bills.

By this statistical method, our farmers have 1 year of Benson prosperity left. They can sell their farms to pay their bills next year and still show a profit.

This claim that farm income actually rose last year is phony.

Corporate Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address given by me before the Management Club of the Whirlpool-Seeger Corp., in St. Joseph, Mich., February 22, 1957:

CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY

I welcome this opportunity to discuss with you some of the problems that today confront the management of our leading corporations. These problems involve social and political responsibilities, both domestic and international. They flow from the extensive economic powers now possessed by the managers of the corporations that form the foundation for our modern American society and its current prosperity.

As managers of the Whirlpool-Seeger Corp., your operations clearly involve these responsibilities. Since the merger in September 1955 of the Whirlpool Corp. and the Seeger Refrigeration Co., your organization has risen to rank 127th among all the industrial corporations of the United States. Your importance to the country is indicated by the cold statistics of the economists. With assets of $146,217,000, in 1955 you had net profits of $14,130,000 on sales that amounted to $280,363,000.

Already Whirlpool-Seeger produces by far the greatest volume of laundry appliances of anyone in the field. As your engineering and research department accomplish their projected advances in automation, there is no doubt that your organization will challenge the leaders in every segment of the home appliance industry.

The magnitude of your activities is impressive. Whirlpool-Seeger directly provides jobs for 16,000 people in 7 communities in the States of Minnesota, Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, and in its regional sales offices across the Nation. In addition, your organization provides the basis for the substantial operations and investment of 81 independent distributors and their employees throughout the United States.

In light of these considerations as managers of this business, I am sure you realize your responsibility not to your stockholders alone, but responsibility, as well, as trustees for the entire community affected by its activities.

Since World War II there has been extensive debate over the dangers posed to the American system of free enterprise by the industrial phenomenon commonly designated "the increasing concentration of economic power." This condition has aroused my personal interest because of my conviction that the principles of private enterprise embodied in our antitrust legislation in the main have released the essential energies underlying our industrial and technological development. The principles of private enterprise have kept us free.

As a consequence, as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's Antitrust Subcommittee, I have conducted a number of inquiries to ascertain the degree of concentration in American business and its relationship to our political and social institutions. I think it would be well to summarize some of the outstanding observations that have been made about the corporate structure and the nature of competition that typify our present economy.

The extent of economic concentration of power may be very briefly stated. Prof. M. A. Adelman, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in his 1951 study indicated that 135 corporations own 45 percent of the industrial assets of the United States. This is nearly one-fourth of the manufacturing volume of the entire world.

Although there is dispute about the rate of increase in concentration, everyone agrees that the top corporations control a growing percentage of American business life. This is indicated by the fact that at the end of 1952, corporations with more than $100 million in assets had 52 percent of all assets of manufacturing corporations. By the middle of 1955, 57 percent of these assets were held by corporations of this size.

The extent of industrial concentration is perhaps most graphically expressed by the following: At the present time 3 companies make more than 90 percent of all our silk; 3 companies make over 95 percent of our tin cans and tinware; 3 companies make 90 percent of our linoleum. Three corporate organizations dominate the production of cigarettes, aluminum, whisky, and automobiles.

My good friend Adolf A. Berle, professor at Columbia University, in his book The 20th Century Capitalist Revolution (published in 1954), directed attention to the outstanding characteristic of the modern American corporate economy. He stated, "A pattern has emerged, that we may christen the concentrate," a pattern that covers roughly 70 percent of all American business. It is the situation where a few large corporations dominate the trade in their industry.

Professor Berle described this characteristic to our Antitrust Subcommittee as follows: "In industry you find a standard pattern of not less than 2, nor more than 5, large corporations which have 50 percent or more of the volume of that industry between them." The remainder is divided among small firms that must necessarily live under conditions established by the "big two," the "big three," or the "big five." This pattern, Mr. Berle said, "* * * is typical of more than half of American industry, and the most important half."

Moreover, the economic power of the large companies in the concentrate is not fully revealed by a study limited to consideration of the assets they actually own. The ability of the large corporation to direct economic activity and to make decisions transcends the area of the plants and facilities it owns.

In the automobile industry, for example, the power of the big three manufacturers extends to their franchise dealers, who themselves have investments greater than $5 billion and employ more than 600,000 people. Although nominally "independent," their policies, operations, and for all practical purposes their prices, are determined by their supplying manufacturer. The same extension of the concentrate's power to peripheral relationships exists in other industries that distribute through dealers, as, for instance gasoline retailing and farm implement distribution.

It is immediately apparent that one result of corporate growth during the last 60 years, is that American private free enterprise no longer resembles the classic system where numerous sellers competed on equal terms in a free market composed of equally numerous buyers. The picture presented by our economic system now is one where the American community depends upon the operations of a relatively few very large corporations. It is a picture that shows the basic industries that support our business life have become concentrated in the hands of an extremely small number of powerful units.

Significant changes in the nature of competition have accompanied the development of the concentrate structure of American industry. First, competition no longer takes the form of vigorous price rivalry. It has been superseded by acceptance of a situation in which pricing is no longer the primary factor.

In industries where the "concentrate" prevails, there appears to be a "follow the leader" policy in pricing. Each member of the industry, both the large and small concerns, individually elects to follow the policy of not changing prices until the "leader" changes his prices. Price movements of the leader are followed almost automatically.

This condition is difficult to correct under the antitrust laws. If the Government can establish the existence of an actual agreement or tacit agreement among the companies in the industry to adhere to or to follow the prices of the market leader, then the companies can be charged with a conspiracy or combination to restrain trade. In most instances, however, evidence is not to be found of an actual agreement and the courts have been reluctant to infer the existence of conspiracy in the absence of some direct evidence of an agreement.

This is one of the problems of concentration that has plagued antitrust enforcement officials since the war. In all probability the absence of price competition often results from recognition of the mutual hazards of a price war among the members rather than from an "agreement" to adhere to the pricing system that exists.

A result of the development of the "concentrate" has been to reduce competition to a struggle for power, to balance supply against demand rather than to secure addi-

tional customers by price competition. This type of competition requires industry to create elaborate planning organizations that can predict the future market conditions, needed to permit a planned production that can be disposed of at anticipated prices. And I stress the word "anticipated."

In many industries the drive for stability in supply has resulted in direct Government participation in basic production decisions. In the oil industry, for example, supply is limited by State regulatory bodies on the basis of demand estimates prepared in the Federal Bureau of Mines from information obtained from importing and purchasing oil companies. In the sugar industry, the same result is accomplished by the Secretary of Agriculture limiting sugar imports to his estimate of the future market. Planning for stability in supply by means of Government instrumentalities now is accomplished in vast areas of the American economy. To name but a few of these areas, in addition to oil and sugar, there are: banks and banking, railroads and trucks, electric light and power, radio and television, shipping, meat products, aviation transport, and aircraft production.

Professor Berle noted this phenomenon of planned supply with the following comment:

"In greater or less degree, the practice of national industrial planning is now familiar throughout great areas of the 20th century capitalist system. Participation in it is frequently a function, and in any case an occupational hazard, of the management of large corporations."

Planning any substantial part of the economy has significant implications. In the first place, planning does not reduce power, it increases it. More important, in the hands of the people who do the planning rests the future course of our economy. It is they, as far as is humanly possible, who will determine the level of prosperity, the nature of social organization, and the artistic and moral values that society shall reward.

Concurrently with the increase in concentration there has been a removal of many of the outside checks upon the routine business decisions made by corporate officers. No longer does management have to submit its past record and its projected operations to the judgment of the market place in order to secure needed capital. Major corporations in most instances now do not seek capital. They form it themselves.

According to a 1953 study made by the economists of the National City Bank, an aggregate of $150 billions was spent by all businesses in the United States for capital expenditures to enlarge corporate plant and equipment in the period 1946–53. Sixty-four percent came from internal sources, i. e., retained earnings and reserves set aside for depreciation, depletion, and amortization.

The remaining 36 percent was divided among the following groups: 18 percent was raised by current borrowing chiefly, bank credit; 12 percent was raised by issue of bonds and notes, half of which was privately placed rather than disposed of through the capital market and, only 6 percent of the total $150 billion was raised by issue of stock.

The private investor, who determined the use to be made of capital, gave capitalism its name. His function in large measure has vanished as the determinative force in corporate decisions. Direction formerly supplied by the sum of the investor's decisions in the capital markets have been replaced by corporate boards of directors. These, in practice have tended to become small self-perpetuating oligarchies. The only substantial control that limits and guides their economic and social action is their philosophy and their assessment of future public reaction. Perhaps, that is why the public relations divisions loom so large today in the corporation setup.

In broad outline, the features we have been discussing are the outstanding characteristics of our present American economy. It is clear that the powers now possessed by the "concentrate" corporations impose impressive responsibilities to the public.

Participation in industrial planning, by necessity nationwide and frequently international in scope, involve decisions much broader in range than the specialized functions of running their businesses. Their obligations involve assurances that conditions will prevail for employment of vast numbers of people. The goods and services they decide to provide, the manner in which they are marketed, the employment conditions they create, and the plants they build, all exert widespread influences on the framework of community life. Their decisions with regard to expenditures in pure research, and their support to educational institutions lead and shape the content of the future. In apportioning capital expenditures, they direct the continued growth of one section of the country as against another. Decisions to move plant and equipment may make ghost towns of the communities from which they withdraw.

Decisions of their personnel offices in security matters determine the ability of the individual worker to earn his livelihood. Unwisely applied they may deprive him unjustly of his rightful place in the community.

In their international operations, large corporations have developed relationships to the other countries that rise to the stature of treaties between governments. In its operations, the international corporation directly affects the amount of foreign exchange brought into or taken away from the foreign country, and in small countries this materially affects the position of its own currency. Expansion of its activities in a small country may affect materially the level of employment and the level of wages. The taxes it pays frequently are a major item in the country's revenue.

In a word, the corporation cannot disassociate its activities from the policies of the countries in which it trades. Moreover, decisions in foreign operations of necessity must be accommodated to the overriding policies of the United States Government in that area.

The concentration of economic power into a relatively few corporations brings continual pressure for increased Government action in the industry. When corporate management has failed to act responsibly in its relationships to the community, eventually an aroused public opinion forces the Government to step in.

A notable example of this Government-business relationship is found in the legislation enacted by Congress last year to readjust the bargaining position of franchise automobile dealers to their automobile manufacturers. This legislation was a direct result of the concentration of economic power in the automobile manufacturing industry and the widespread abuse by manufacturers of their superior position with respect to their dealers.

Implicit in this legislation is the conclusion that in the automobile industry concentration of economic power had resulted in conditions where traditional concepts of contract law no longer were adequate. The bill also was a recognition that the antitrust laws were not adequate to cope with concentration in this instance.

The "auto dealers day in court bill," in essense, affords a dealer an opportunity to secure a judicial determination, irrespective of the terms of his contract, as to whether the manufacturer failed to act in good faith in performing the provisions of his franchise or in canceling, terminating, or not renewing his franchise. In addition to the provisions of any contract, in its definition of "good faith," the bill imposed a duty on each party to act in a fair and equitable manner toward each other, so as to guarantee freedom from coercion, intimidation, or threats of coercion or intimidation.

This type of legislation constitutes a new departure in adjusting corporate powers. It necessarily is an experiment and may not apply to other corporate areas. Its significance is the demonstration that an aroused public will require the Government to step in and adjust situations where corporate powers are not exercised in a responsible manner.

Possibly, the greatest danger that accompanies the concentration of corporate power in the United States is to our political institutions. If the power is used unwisely and fails to keep the public substantially satisfied, it unavoidably will lead to some form of State socialism with excessive Governmental control over the lives of individuals. Such extensive Government supervision and regulation is not in the heritage of the American people, and I am convinced is not the desire of the American people.

In this connection, it is significant that, because of the difficulties surrounding attempts to correct abuses by means of antitrust laws, some advocates advance alternative proposals for dealing with the problem of concentration. These alternative methods invariably call for an increase in the Federal Government's supervision and regulation over economic behavior.

Prof. Louis B. Schwartz, professor of law, University of Pennsylvania, for example, recommended to the Antitrust Subcommittee the creation of a "free enterprise commission" to take over the anti-monopoly functions of the Federal Trade Commission. Such a commission would have the power by regulation to define and prohibit anti-competitive practices and to prohibit integration and merger unless specifically approved. The commission would also have the power to compel reorganization of large enterprises in order to reestablish competition, as well as other broad regulatory powers over the economy.

Other witnesses before the Antitrust Subcommittee have recommended enactment of legislation comparable to the Public Utilities Holding Company Act. Legislation of this type would empower agencies of the Government to compel, in appropriate instances, the dissolution of the giants in the economy and the creation of smaller economic units.

Whether concentration has progressed to the degree that requires such far-reaching proposals is at this time highly debatable. I would much prefer that the solution to the problem of concentration be reached within the basic framework of our existing antitrust legislation. I am reluctant to have imposed additional Government supervisory over the economy unless the growth of large scale firms and the misuse of their powers preclude any other solution for adequate protection to the public. Unless corporate management, however, discharges its responsibilities so that the public continues to be substantially satisfied, there is real danger that existing corporate concentration could result in a far greater degree of Government control over business than it has today.

The petroleum industry illustrates many of the characteristics of the modern economy that we have been discussing. It also provides numerous examples of abuse by corporate leaders of their responsibilities to the public.

Structurally, the industry is composed of 20 fully integrated large concerns under the general hegemony of 5 companies that operate both domestically and internationally. The big five in the oil industry, Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), Socony Mobil Oil Co., Inc., Gulf Oil Corp., the Texas Co., and Standard Oil Company of California, in terms of assets rank No. 1, 6, 8, 9, and 11,

respectively, among American industrial organizations.

The Government has granted many benefits to the petroleum industry. I have already discussed the Government's activities in stabilizing supply with the industry's estimate of the future demand for their products. In addition, the industry receives unique favors under the income-tax laws of the United States. These special tax benefits, granted to encourage explorations and development amount to a virtual Government subsidy to the industry. I refer to the 27½ percent depletion allowance in the production of oil and its corollary, the privilege of writing off completely all drilling and development costs.

These benefits amount to a double deduction with respect to the same capital investment and, in addition, the depletion allowance goes on indefinitely. It does not end when 100 percent is reached as in the case of depreciation.

In companies that are engaged only in the production of oil, these benefits are substantial. The January 1946 issue of Fortune magazine described Amerada Petroleum Co.'s tax benefits as follows:

"Amerada's tax situation is a businessman's dream. The corporation quite literally does not have to pay any Federal income tax if it does not want to. This is due to the highly reasonable provisions of the internal-revenue law designed for producers of crude oil. Amerada pays so little in Federal income taxes that it does not even segregate the tax item in its annual reports. In wartime, though Amerada's profits soared, it made no provision for excess-profits taxes, and from 1943 to 1944 its normal Federal income tax actually declined. In 1944, on a gross of $26 million, a gross profit of $17 million and a net after all charges of $5 million, Amerada's allowance for its Federal income tax was only $200,000."

Even among the integrated companies the depletion allowance and the drilling write-off are significant in their operations. Humble Oil & Refining Co., a company owned by Standard Oil Company of New Jersey is integrated to a certain extent, and it distributes about one-sixth of the products of Texas. Its own operations make it a big crude-oil producer. According to the record before the antitrust subcommittee, in 1952, Humble Oil & Refining Co. made net income after taxes and expenses of $145,292,144, and paid Federal income taxes of $30,500,000. In that year it took a depletion allowance of $88,488,000. For tax purposes it wrote off another $63,044,110, in intangible drilling costs.

In addition to production controls and tax benefits, the Government virtually permits the petroleum industry in times of emergency to conduct its own affairs. This is accomplished by the industry staffing the Government agencies responsible for its performance. The Government agency then works through a myriad of committees composed of oil company officials. These committees provide most of the coordination and undertake the joint activities desired by the Government.

At the height of World War II in 1943, the Petroleum Administration for War in the Department of the Interior was staffed in its important positions by oil company executives serving on a without-compensation basis. The Petroleum Administration for War discharged its responsibilities through 155 industry committees with 1,635 members, of whom 1,136 were officials and employees of the major oil companies.

The same type of committee activity was invoked during the Korean emergency; it was used to resolve the crisis in the industry that occurred when Iran nationalized the concession of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co.; and it is currently being used as a device to resolve the crisis posed by Egyptian seizure of the Suez Canal. It is significant in all these joint activities the industry asks for, and obtains, immunity from the antitrust laws.

Despite these special favors granted to the petroleum industry, the record of the industry discloses notable abuses of corporate power. A series of actions that started with corruption of Government officials in the famed Teapot Dome scandal and extend to the industry's 1956 effort to influence enactment of natural gas legislation had made "oil" synonymous with corporate irresponsibility in both political and public opinion.

During World War II, the relationship of our leading oil firm, Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey) with the I. G. Farben cartel stimulated severe criticism of the industry. Hearings conducted in the Senate disclosed that this company's relationship with I. G. Farben over a 13-year period had stifled synthetic rubber production in America and had put control over that vital defense product in the hands of the German Government. In addition, Thurman Arnold, then Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Antitrust Division, testified that as late as February and March 1941, Jersey Standard had sold gasoline and enabled Axis airlines operating out of South America to defeat the British blockade. Indignation over these disclosures caused the then Senator Harry S. Truman to remark "I think this approaches treason."[1]

An aroused public after these hearings required Jersey Standard to relieve the principal officer involved from his duties in the company.

Another example of oil industry officials' failure to act responsibly is found in the remarks of Mr. P. C. Spencer, president of the Sinclair Oil Corp., at a meeting of the National Petroleum Council on September 29, 1953. On that occasion Arthur S. Flemming, Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, had requested the Secretary of Interior, Douglas McKay, to explore with the oil industry construction of standby pipeline facilities that would be required in the event of an emergency. In his request, Mr. Flemming noted "* * * it is apparent that timely provisions of this additional capacity could not be achieved, if construction were to be deferred until after the emergency arose."[2]

Mr. Flemming's request was presented to the National Petroleum Council, whereupon Mr. Spencer opposed the construction of standby pipeline facilities. He stated:

"Surpluses not properly handled or controlled are an anathema, because they have a way of destroying price structures, they have a way of breaking down progress, and they can destroy an industry. It certainly would be a tragedy, gentlemen, to attempt to protect our national security by building up standby facilities which in the end make the industry so feeble it could not do the job in any event.

"I am talking particularly here about standby pipeline facilities. It applies with equal force to standby tanker facilities, standby refining facilities, standby storage, and, if you please, standby production. It applies all through the line."[3]

As to his solution for the maintenance of a proper mobilization base, Mr. Spencer said:

"I am a rank amateur as a strategist in war or logistics, but it seems to me, perhaps somebody told me, that the greatest cushion in the world for petroleum reserves is in the elasticity of and the flexibility of civilian demand. Take it away from them, if we are going to have a war. * * * We have tried to make war too comfortable and too convenient for civilians. * * * War should be tough. We should cut back the civilian demand. I think that is the greatest reserve cushion we have."[4]

It is submitted that these statements hardly reflect the requisite degree of corporate responsibility for the problems of the American public.

Currently, the Senate is again investigating the petroleum industry in connection with the actions the industry has taken to resolve the crisis presented by closure of the Suez Canal. In this instance, it appears that the oil industry has again acted with a view toward corporate profits rather than the welfare of the American public. At a time when stocks of gasoline were at all-time highs, the industry used the Suez crisis as an excuse to impose additional price increases. As of February 8, 1957, the industry had nearly 200 million barrels of gasoline in stocks. This was an increase of nearly 4 million barrels over the preceding week and 12 million barrels over the stocks in storage a year ago. It now develops that the crisis presented by the Suez shutdown was not as extensive as originally feared. In fact, there is a widespread belief that the public relations campaign surrounding the seriousness of the crisis were based in large part upon recommendations made by the major oil companies in order to justify an increase in crude petroleum prices.

In conclusion, I think you will all agree that the problems presented by the existing concentration in American industry are most intricate.

Let no one doubt that benefits from our existing corporate structure are substantial. I believe it is fair to say that the United States as a community has profited mightily in the development of our current corporate economic structure. The system of large scale distribution and mass production made possible by these large institutions can fairly claim the credit for changing the face of our country for the better. As a result, poverty, in the sense it is understood elsewhere in the world, in America has been reduced to minimal proportions.

The most dramatic social revolution in history has occurred through natural growth and without the bitter divisions that have darkened the political life of other nations. It gave the lie to Karl Marx.

All to the good, but the good must not be diminished. Unless the powers that have been concentrated in corporate management are exercised prudently and with vision, it is apparent that this concentration will force the Government to take action and direct the complex itself, and freedom will be the price we pay.

I am convinced that it is essential to maintain in full vigor enforcement of the antitrust laws to cope with these problems even though in some respects results have not been satisfactory. Change must be made slowly. The problem presented by existing concentrates are of such gravity that precipitous action by the Government on any particular phase would be unwise. Tinkering with the economic process without full comprehension of the results likely to ensue, could create more problems than are solved.

We must hope the determination of the type of economic life of and the nature of political institutions which are to be enjoyed by the American people in the future, rests in the hands of those who understand freedom best.

---

[1] Hearings, Current Antitrust Problems, vol. 2, House Antitrust Subcommittee, 84th Cong., 1st sess., p. 755.

[2] Hearings, WOC's and Advisory Groups, pt. 4, House Antitrust Subcommittee, 84th Cong., 2d sess., p. 2636.

[3] Ibid., p. 2640.

[4] Ibid., p. 2640.

Frances Knight—From Editor's Secretary to United States Passport Director

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, writing for the February 1957 issue of Charm magazine, Margaret B. Parkinson tells the most interesting story of Frances Knight, United States Passport Director.

Speaking as one who has had to do business with our country's Passport Office for 33 years, I can bear testimony bearing on the remarkable performance of the lady director. But this magazine's article gives us some background fortifying the editor's forecast that success in Frances Knight's undertakings is certain.

Charm's article follows:

FRANCES KNIGHT—FROM EDITOR'S SECRETARY TO UNITED STATES PASSPORT DIRECTOR

(By Margaret B. Parkinson)

If you look like your passport picture, somebody said once, you really need the vacation. It wasn't a bad gag, but it probably won't be good for much longer. What's likely to change the picture is one woman's notion that traveling Americans don't have to present themselves abroad as grim, unsmiling thugs.

To voice her belief that passports don't have to make us look like such a sorry lot, she wrote a magazine article not long ago called Let's Put Our Best Face Forward—and was thereupon deluged with letters from photographers who wailed, "But we thought passport pictures had to be unsmiling."

The look is only a minor part of a major retouching job that's been going on in agencies of the United States Passport Office since Frances Knight moved in as Director in 1955.

It's one of the few Government agencies that meet the public on a day-to-day, face-to-face basis, and Miss Knight is resolved to make the meetings agreeable. Public service is a phrase she is busy retranslating to mean that getting a passport needn't be a tedious chore costing endless hours of standing in line in dank rooms about as full of decorative interest as the average railroad station.

THE NEW LOOK

Miss Knight is revamping passport-issuing offices to include just about every comfort short of softly piped-in Kostelanetz. Application time is being cut in half with readily available blanks, information counters, and boldly displayed posters that tell you what you need without your having to queue up to find out. And passports themselves have been simplified, reduced in bulk, and put into plain, delegalized English.

Innovator Knight's conception of public service extends to the idea of cooperation with the travel industry, too. Travel agencies and carriers are on the grateful receiving end, these days, of the kind of information that helps them serve the public. Statistics never before gathered are being made available to them—who's doing the most traveling, where they're going, why they're going, how and when they can be expected to go.

Frances Knight is a bug about statistics. "You can prove almost anything with them," she says. But adds, seriously, "You can't chart a working future without knowing the past." The future of United States citizens, as charted by their recent past, looks anything but stay-at-home. The number of passports issued and renewals granted in 1956 (570,711) was up 82 percent over 1950. By 1960, with the jet age really here, the Passport Office expects an increase over 1956 of 56 percent.

PASSPORT TO SUCCESS

To let you draw an earthbound breath, we pause to say that Miss Knight's own statistics add up to a remarkable documentary of personal success. An expanded passport version might read something like this:

Age: 50.

Appearance: Nice. Tall. Blue eyes, blondish.

Citizenship: Born in United States of a British father, Czech mother. Father's business took him around world, wife and daughter in tow.

Education: Early schooling in France, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Monaco, New York. Later, Hunter College, New York; New York University School of Journalism. Still later, night courses at Columbia University and N. Y. U.; business school training.

Travel experience: All 48 States, Hawaii, 34 foreign countries.

Occupation: Top woman in the United States State Department.

Job journey: Starting point in Government—the very bottom. She took a job as a clerk, one grade above custodial service, because she wanted to be a writer.

To untangle that tie-up, we go back to Frances Knight's very beginnings as a wage earner. In college, she had decided she wanted to be a journalist, and to get a foot in the door of publishing, she took a job in New York as secretary to the editor of a church magazine. That was in 1925. She enrolled for a course in magazine makeup at New York University's night school, convinced her boss that she had learned enough to be tried out as a helping hand in the production department. By the time she left the magazine in 1934 she was handling that entire end of it.

Miss Knight left because the magazine itself moved to Boston, and because she wanted to take a stab at writing. The most exciting thing in the country to report on, she thought, was the New Deal, and Washington was where she would get the inside dope for a series of articles. She went there and didn't get a thing but the brushoff—Government executives were too busy to sit down and give her the time of day, much less any inside dope.

KNOCKING ON DOORS

All right, she'd get inside herself, do her reporting from within. She went around to 11 different Government agencies, filled her finger-aching way through endless application forms.

Then she did not sit back and await developments. She began a telephone barrage of the agencies, politely inquiring, Is there any job today, please? Just as politely, she filled in some time by paying courtesy calls on Senators and Congressmen from New York. (She's still a believer in calls: Within 3 months of taking over as Passport Director, she had dropped in on all 98 Senators and the chairman of every House committee, just to find out if there was anything her office could do for them.)

In answer to her prayers and phone calls, she got in finally as a clerk with the National Recovery Administration. Mostly she filed, but there were occasional typing jobs. Typing up a budget presentation one day, she spotted an error in figuring of $7 million. Her impressed supervisor rewarded her with slightly more interesting typing—press releases and speeches—and it wasn't long before she was making editorial corrections as she typed. Her reward this time was to be made assistant to the special assistant in charge of industrial information—working with industrial trade papers and magazines. It kept her so busy she never got around to any of her proposed free-lance articles. What she did get around to was realizing that she liked Government work so much she wanted to stay in it.

In 1936 the NRA folded, and Miss Knight transferred to the Works Progress Administration, where she became deputy director of its Public Information Division. "I heard there was an opening, so I applied for it," she explains. "Too many people think Government jobs are just a matter of pull. I never got anywhere by pull, because I never had any to use."

She stayed with the WPA for 3 years, was then assigned (1940) to the just-born National Defense Advisory Commission. The Commission served to advise the President on those areas of national life (transportation, labor, etc.) which would assume primary importance in time of war.

Miss Knight was special assistant to the Commissioner in charge of consumer affairs. A large part of the job was one of public education, and she dealt a lot with housewives, women's organizations, women's magazines. (Remember the beginning the guns-and-butter days, when we first started saving grease and tin cans?)

When war actually came, the NDAC was absorbed by the Office of Emergency Management. Because she had had experience with the woman's angle, Miss Knight was switched to the Office of Civilian Defense. "They thought only women needed to be taught what to do when the sirens sounded," she says dryly, "but I wound up talking to as many Rotarians as I did Soroptimists."

It was a much bigger thing, of course, than just lecturing. It was essentially an idea job: thinking up ways to put a message across, knowing where to go, whom to contact. (Examples: getting the American Express Co. to put defense posters on its trucks; persuading a cereal outfit to print air-raid instructions on the labels of its products.)

With the war over, she took a break from Government service. A friend of hers was president of an organization in Washington called the American Retail Federation—a countrywide association of department stores. He thought it was time the organization strengthened its liaison with the Government—after all, stores were being tremendously affected by such agencies as OPA. He held out a big salary offer, snared Miss Knight (who felt she could use both change and folding money) as his Government relations expert.

She stayed with the association 2 years, "but I hadn't really shrugged off my case of Potomac fever." In 1947 JOHN TABER—one of the New York Congressmen she had paid a courtesy call on 12 years before—came and asked her to be his special assistant. He was then chairman of the House Appropriations Committee and needed someone to do a research and documentation job for him. "Poring over the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD every day," she says, "is what got me into my first pair of reading glasses."

With the congressional change of 1948, TABER lost his committee chairmanship, and his research assistant's next job was with the United States Information Agency as a script reviewer for the Voice of America. It was not an especially happy association. Miss Knight had traveled abroad enough, both on business and pleasure, to feel that the VOA programs weren't appropriate for the people of the Iron Curtain countries she had been in. She stuck with the job until 1952, though, when she heard from Scott McLeod.

He had just been appointed Administrator of the new Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, and since he was familiar primarily with the congressional world (Miss Knight had known him when he was Senator BRIDGES' assistant), there were lots of staffing and administrative problems on which he wanted help. Miss Knight was transferred to lend it—as acting Deputy Administrator.

Under the reorganization setup, the Passport Office had become a part of McLeod's bureau. When Passport Director Ruth Shipley retired in May 1955, she recommended Frances Knight to fill her place. So did no less than 30 Senators and Congressmen.

Organizationally, it might look as though it were a step down for ex-Deputy Administrator Knight. But in terms of prestige, the challenge of needed revamping, and the satisfactions of running one's own shop, it was a step she was glad to take. And the step looks as though it's turned into a stride of welcome progress for travel-minded United States citizens.

To round off her documentary, there are a couple more passportish statistics we ought to thrown in:

Marital status: Wed in 1935 to Wayne Parrish, Washington publisher of aviation trade journals. (Kept her maiden name on the job.) A traveling man himself, Mr. Parrish has logged 900,000 miles in 70 countries.

Clubs and associations: None. (She's an unexplained, unapologetic nonjoiner.)

Destination of traveler: Success in current job. (Editor's forecast: Success certain.)

Exempt Social Security Benefits From Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 14, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill today which would exempt the benefits received by social security pensioners from all taxation.

The law at present is that such benefits are exempt from execution. This results in a rather confused tax status in that Federal, State, and local governments cannot reach the proceeds of social security payments to pensioners, but nevertheless can place social security pensioners in jail for nonpayment of taxes on these benefits. Because of this muddled status few governments attempt to tax social security benefits. Of course, with the very low level of income that social security pensioners receive the amount of tax which could be recouped by any tax on social security benefits is extremely small. In fact, so small as to be administratively hardly worth the trouble.

At the present these benefits are exempt from Federal taxation through an interpretative ruling. Since there is no specific provision in the Internal Revenue Code exempting social security benefits from taxation, it is entirely possible that a different ruling could be made at some future date.

This matter has been brought to my attention by a recent attempt by the government of the District of Columbia to tax the payments received by social security pensioners in the District of Columbia. The various inequities in the law as well as the fact that social security payments are presently so small as to verge on pauperism make me feel that introduction of such legislation as this and its passage at a very early date is necessary, not only to benefit social security pensioners but to help clarify an unclear state of law on this subject.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

endorsing the
Eisenhower to
t forth in the
hich was re-
e Judiciary.

Appendix

United States Foreign Policy Today and Tomorrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on February 11 the distinguished minority leader, the senior Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] inaugurated the first of a series of lectures at Georgetown University. The lectures are a part of the Father Edmund A. Walsh lecture series. On that occasion the distinguished minority leader made a speech, which I believe to be entitled not only to the consideration of this body, but also to the consideration of the House of Representatives and the country as a whole. As usual, he was constructive and fair-minded, and he laid before the American people a proposition for their consideration.

Mr. President, on last evening I had the opportunity and the honor of following the distinguished senior Senator from California, at which time I spoke on the subject "United States Foreign Policy Today and Tomorrow." I ask unanimous consent that the speech I made last evening at Georgetown University be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY TODAY AND TOMORROW

(Address by Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, Montana, Father Edmund A. Walsh lecture series, Georgetown University, February 25, 1957)

More than 35 years ago the late Father Edmund A. Walsh saw the fulfillment of a dream for which he had labored with steadfastness of purpose and great energy. It was the foundation at Georgetown University of the school of Foreign Service which now, fittingly, bears his name.

The circumstances of its birth are familiar to you all. A terrible war had ended. Father Walsh recognized the demands which coming events would make upon the intellectual resources of the Nation. He properly estimated the importance of having an informed citizenry and a trained and dedicated personnel to discharge the responsibilities of this country in the cause of world peace.

Yet Father Walsh could not have anticipated the extent to which the life of our people was to be dominated by the subject of foreign policy, or the scope of its development. The world is quite a different place today from what is appeared 35 years ago. When I was a student, our problems, our interests were predominantly local or national. We were concerned almost exclusively with domestic matters. The United States was an immense country, so immense that even what happened on the west coast touched the east but lightly. Our relations with foreign governments were for the very few who were qualified to understand the meaning of incidents around the globe.

Today one has only to look at the curriculum of the average university to appreciate the extent of our preoccupation with foreign affairs. Main Street knows, and insists on knowing, why Washington proceeds in one way or another; for Main Street is directly affected by decisions on countless matters to which, a few decades ago, it paid little or no attention. Areas of the world which were merely places in a book are common topics of conversation, because they are vital to our national interest.

Foreign policy has become the business of everyone. And it is just about the biggest business of our Government right now. National defense, commerce, and agriculture are all involved in the determination of our policy toward other nations. Tangible proof of this regularly comes across my desk.

A few days ago I received a routine distribution of Department of State press releases. One of these dealt with an agreement for the sale of United States surplus agricultural commodities to Korea under Public Law 480. The purpose of this agreement was to assist in stabilizing the Korean grain market and the entire Korean price structure. Defense equipment will be procured by the Korean currency generated in the transaction.

Another press release informed me that the United States and Mexico had reached agreement on the use of standard band radio broadcasting channels. Another set forth the latest facts concerning the failure by the Chinese Communists to release imprisoned Americans, as they had undertaken to do. Still another contained word that the Italian Government had notified the United States of its intention to limit the export of velveteens to this country during 1957 to 1.37 million square yards.

Now, this was only 1 day's announcements. But observe the broad range of subjects involving issues of foreign policy, which bear directly on activities of our people within the United States. Decisions of our Government in the field of foreign relations reach down into every corner and crossroad of the country, affecting the farmer, the blouse manufacturer, the dairy producer, the watchmaker, the wheat rancher, the radio broadcaster. This trend will grow, as the world is more closely knit together, as technology advances and as the major problems of each nation are identified with the problems of every other nation. In the past 10 years we have concluded almost 2,000 agreements with other governments on matters of mutual concern.

If the United States is to be equipped adequately to meet these problems, our reservoir of human talent will have to be enlarged. There will be more and more demands for trained personnel in overseas posts. At the present time there are approximately 100,000 Americans working abroad. If current trends continue, it is not unlikely that in another 25 years that figure will reach 200,000.

Yet before the Second World War the average college graduate gave hardly a thought to utilizing his special training in foreign countries. The opportunities inviting him abroad today are so many and so attractive, even apart from the career Foreign Service, that they should not be overlooked in the planning of a graduate's future. As the intercourse of nations widen, the burden of universities to feed this reservoir will grow heavier. We are already feeling the pinch, in a shortage of those skills we should like to make available to other governments—particularly engineering—under the point 4 program.

The development of a competent corps of overseas personnel, and particularly of the career service, is a most vital matter for the future of this Nation.

No policy, no matter how brilliantly conceived, can be effective unless it is executed with skill. Even more important the actual policy which is adopted will, in large measure, be determined by the resourcefulness, ability, and quality of the men and women who represent the United States Government in the field. This is what is meant when it is sometimes said that foreign policy is made by the cables to the Department of State. To a considerable degree this is true. Yet, as impelling and compulsive as those cables may be, it is what the Secretary of State does with them which, in final analysis will measure the success or failure of a policy. The freedom of action they permit may often be very restricted. Yet within those narrow limits, a decision must be made, and made correctly. Peace and war may hinge upon it. Certainly the recent events of the Middle East have evidence how true this is.

To an outsider, to one not in a position to appraise all the facts, the policy indicated in a particular situation may seem to offer no difficulty. The question may appear clearcut, black and white, an open and shut case.

But things are not always what they seem—not even in foreign relations. We cannot always do what we might like to do. Let me cite just one example: During the last session Congress received mounting protests from eastern cotton blouse and shirt manufacturers against ruinous competition from Japanese exporters. The Japanese were able to market their finished product here for about one-fourth of what identical cotton goods could be sold in this country. Some American plants had already closed down in consequence. And so, pressures grew for an increase in tariff rates against the Japanese blouses. A simple and obvious solution—or so it seemed.

But when the Committee on Foreign Relations held hearings on a bill introduced for that purpose, we found it was not so simple or obvious. Japan was manufacturing shirts from cotton imported from the United States. In fact, Japan has been the largest single export market for American cottongrowers. To deny the Japanese the American market would have inflicted serious injury upon American agriculture. A particular segment of industry would have been protected at the expense of a much larger branch of our agriculture. The Carolina shirtmakers—and I might add, a great many newspapers—could see only a local consequence, not the overriding national interest on which the policy decision had to be based. Their remedy might well have been worse than the disease. Happily, Japan by a self-imposed quota on exports to this country has partially relieved the tension.

I have oversimplified this illustration for convenience. But there was a more subtle point involved. We were not only dealing with a tariff and trade problem. Indirectly, had the bill passed we would have been tinkering with the national security. It is, of

course, to our interest that Japan should find an adequate outlet for her exports, if it is to maintain a viable economy. Unless Japan can do business with the West and the so-called neutralist powers, it may be forced to draw closer to the Communist trade orbit. Such may well prove to be the ultimate outcome, in any event; and I do not wish to imply that American business should be sacrificed to the trade requirements of another Government. I merely mention this as one of the many veiled elements in what, on the surface, appeared to be a relatively uncomplicated problem.

I do not believe that ever before in our history, at least in peacetime, have we been so preoccupied with the security of the United States, as we have been during the past 10 years. The quest for national security preempts almost every other issue in the life of our country; directly or indirectly it cuts across both domestic and foreign policies. It dominates the budget; it is a brake upon atomic progress for peaceful purposes; it is the principal cause for the growth in the national debt, the drop in the value of our dollar, and the burden of taxation which you and I must carry. And, most regrettably, there is little on the visible horizon to encourage the hope that the search for security will not continue to be the principal concern of American foreign policy for the next decade. The general elements in that policy are, as you well know, support for the United Nations, the system of regional defense pacts capped by NATO and the Rio Treaty, and our foreign-aid program. All these have the same predominant purpose—security.

We are all aware that the broad lines of our foreign policy have been conditioned for the past 10 years by the designs of the Soviet Government. And as long as that Government seeks control over the rest of the world, it will not be possible for the people of the United States to cultivate with the people of Russia those bonds of human friendships which could enrich their existence and ours. Years in advance of most of his contemporaries, Father Walsh, who visited Russia not long after the revolution, sounded a warning to this country of the peril which the Soviet Union offered.

We have seen a reflection of that peril in Hungary. That tragic episode has caused a worldwide reappraisal of a principal source of Soviet power. It is recognized to a larger degree than never before throughout the world that this source is naked force. It is clearer now that in the satellite countries, at least, Soviet control is maintained largely by force of arms or threat of force. Given any kind of a chance, the oppressed peoples of central Europe will light the flame of freedom again and again.

The emergence of Russia as the most powerful nation in Europe and Asia has compelled a course of action upon the United States and a preoccupation with the problems of other nations which would have been unthinkable a few decades ago. And yet it is not, in my view, necessarily the most significant long-range political development of recent years insofar as our policy is concerned. Nor is the emergency of China as an industrial society, nor indeed the effect of atomic energy on world relations.

I think one of the most shattering events in our time so far as United States foreign policy is concerned, has been the impact of developments affecting the United Kingdom. For it was Britain during the 19th and early 20th century that played the role of world policeman; and it is no mere accident that this period coincided with what now seems like the golden age of international law and order. By and large, an agreement between nations then was meant to be kept. It was not a treacherous artifice employed to bring down a government's guard, an instrument of hostility bound with a red ribbon. The sanctity it received was undoubtedly due to the fact that the nations of Europe respected their heritage of Christian morality in a manner foreign to the Soviet tradition. Indeed, the Soviets have taken advantage of this very heritage.

Because the relative decline of British power has occurred in our lifetime, its ultimate effects may appear more obscure than they very likely will to a historian 50 years hence. To this country, however, it has already meant a vast increase in worldwide responsibilities. You have only to glance at a map of the world to see some of its immediate consequences. One of these consequences we can see right now, in the Middle East.

Before I go any further into that matter, let me make one thing clear. During the last 15 years, the executive branch under both Republicans and Democrats has frequently invoked the so-called principle of bipartisanship to obtain congressional backing for the conduct of foreign relations. I do not view bipartisanship—or, more accurately, nonpartisanship—other than as cooperation with the President on policy proposals which merit cooperation. It does not, and it cannot, signify blind acceptance of any policy merely because the Executive tells us it is a good policy and that it is needed. Nor does it signify announcing a policy first, then informing congressional leaders afterward. This administration, as administrations before it, can make unwise decisions. And Members of Congress have a duty to the American people to criticize constructively, and oppose any policy which does not seem to them to serve the national interest.

I would like to emphasize the word "constructively." For the purpose of criticism of our foreign policy must be to make it a better policy if the national interests are to be served.

Yesterday morning we had an example of responsibility when Secretary Dulles met—for 2 hours—with the congressional leadership to discuss amendments to the Mideast resolution and the question of sanctions. The meeting was both fruitful and worth while. Mr. Dulles is to be commended for the frankness and understanding he displayed.

Last week we had another example of the effectiveness of genuine bipartisanship or, what I prefer to call responsible cooperation between the President and Congress. You will recall that President Eisenhower conferred with members of both parties at the White House on the crisis in the Middle East. I attended this serious, nonpolitical conference on matters which affect the vital interests of all the people of the United States. There was a free and frank exchange of ideas. Members of Congress came away with a better understanding of the situation which confronts us in the Middle East. On his part, the President obtained the views of members of both parties. This meeting last week, and the Dulles meeting on yesterday, may well mark a new start in the field of responsible cooperation between the executive and legislative branches of our Government.

On the night of the meeting last week, the President, in response to a suggestion by the distinguished Senator RUSSELL of Georgia, addressed the entire Nation. In his speech, Mr. Eisenhower made clear for the first time the scope and gravity of the situation in the Middle East. I do not agree with all of the propositions which he advanced. It is not necessary to agree with all of them, however, in order to recognize in his address the beginnings of a more intelligible policy directed at the problems of the Middle East. Because he had spoken with Members of Congress, the President was in a far better position to talk not only to the people of the United States but to the people of the Middle East and the world as well. That was because, in calling the conference which preceded his speech, the President was availing himself of a cross-section of both party and regional leadership.

May I say at this point that there is, I believe, a somewhat mistaken concept that the Democratic Party is run by only one section of the country, by the South alone, or more specifically by Texas alone. That is a tribute to the distinguished services to the party and the responsible cooperation of LYNDON JOHNSON, the majority leader in the Senate, and Mr. SAM RAYBURN, the Speaker in the House. Those gentlemen, I am sure, would be the first to point out that there can be no effective leadership of a great national party without participation of all sections of the country. And all sections of the country are in fact represented in the leadership of the Democratic Party in Congress. That leadership in the Senate, in addition to LYNDON JOHNSON of Texas, is composed of CARL HAYDEN of Arizona, our distinguished President pro tempore, the Secretary of the Democratic Conference, the very able TOM HENNINGS of Missouri, and myself as party whip. In the House of Representatives, the party is guided not only by Mr. RAYBURN but by the outstanding majority leader, JOHN MCCORMACK of Massachusetts, and CARL ALBERT, the very capable whip from Oklahoma.

Is there any merit at all in nonpartisan support of foreign policy? In the proper sense, I think there is. The most obvious advantage, of course, is that it presents to the outside world a united front on vital issues, to obtain the maximum effect where desired.

With the kind of problems we now face, however, it has become increasingly evident that unity on a national, nonpartisan basis is not enough. The point has been reached where something akin to an international nonpartisanship must be developed. By this I mean that more effective relationship must be achieved between ourselves and friendly democracies, so that we may avoid a repetition of the appalling sequence we have witnessed in the Suez area. There are more rewarding pastimes than to continue our incredible unpopularity contest with the Soviets in France and England.

Policies of the western democracies during the past few years and particularly with respect to the Middle East question have given the appearance of a kind of diplomatic Tower of Babel. It is time for all to try to act with something approaching a singleness of purpose, even if we cannot speak with one tongue, if we are to avoid further disaster. In this respect, the Communist orbit has one important advantage. It knows where it is going. That has repeatedly been made clear to us, just as Hitler's purposes were made clear in Mein Kampf. In contrast, the United States and its western allies have had little common perception of where we are going, and still less of an agreed idea on how to get there. If we had, some of the recent defeats might have been avoided. What is even worse, too many of us do not seem to be aware that we have suffered these defeats at all. It is in this, I believe, that the real danger lies.

If we compare the relative position of the United States—and the West—with the Soviet Union, we will have to concede that the Western position has deteriorated. Anyone who doubts this need only review on the map the gains made by the Soviets, at the expense of the West. The most recent of these, after two centuries of effort, was in the Middle East. The Communists are in there with both feet, without the use of military force, and despite the so-called northern tier defense system. If reports concerning the Syrian arms buildup are correct, the Kremlin may well have succeeded in turning the flank of the Baghdad nations without firing a shot. This paramount fac-

tor is going to influence and direct our policy action in that area for the foreseeable future.

What is most tragic about this crisis is that it did not descend upon us suddenly. There was every reason to anticipate it; and there was a great deal we might have done to prevent it. It had been germinating for several years, ever since the Israeli-Egyptian armistice agreement of 1949.

For the United States, it is a sorry illustration of the failure of a policy—or rather a lack of policy—since our aberrations in this area hardly qualify as a policy. There has been temporizing. Politics, domestic and international, have been played. We have done everything, so it seems to me, except face up to the problem and take the minimal steps necessary to keep peace in the Middle East.

It is all very well to say, as has been said by the administration, that we seek our answer to the difficult problems of the Middle East through the United Nations. And it is all very well to find, as a distinguished, able and outstanding Republican Senator, a man of great integrity, did find in discussions before this group, that the United Nations has fundamental weaknesses. I think we can agree—I know that I do—with both the administration and Senator KNOWLAND. The administration, as it says, has certainly placed a large part of our trust in the United Nations to solve the Middle East dilemma. And the United Nations, in dealing with this and other problems, as Senator KNOWLAND says, has displayed basic inadequacies.

Both the administration and Senator KNOWLAND, in my opinion, are correct but where does that leave us? If we are going to find the answer to this question, I believe we have to start by accepting the premise of the President and the very able and hard-working Secretary of State that peace, stability, and the preservation of the independence of the nations of the Middle East is in our vital national interests. We ought then ask ourselves whether we were correct in entrusting such a large measure of the defense of our vital interests in the Middle East to the United Nations which as Senator KNOWLAND correctly says, has basic structural weaknesses?

Where, then, do we go from there? It seems to me that we must either reassume part of the defense of those interests ourselves or seek to correct some of the basic structural weaknesses in the United Nations. I regret to say that I have seen no evidence of an eagerness on the part of the executive branch of the Government to do one or the other.

On the contrary, that branch seems willing to content itself on the one hand with sending to Congress an urgent resolution which on its own admission is directed at no immediate danger or difficulty in the Middle East. On the other hand, it continues to rely solely on the United Nations in dealing with the immediate and difficult problems of that area.

That seems to me to be a formula for inertia, for drift, dodge, and delay and ultimately for disaster. It is a policy which would make the United Nations the scapegoat for our irresponsibility. A scapegoat may relieve the executive branch of a sense of frustration in this situation, but it will hardly serve the interest of the United States. Either the Middle East is or is not vital to these interests. If it is, as the President says it is, then we had better defend those interests through the United Nations or otherwise.

The tendency to impose tasks on the United Nations beyond its capacities, then to bemoan the inadequacies of that organization but to take no initiative in their correction can ultimately bring us to only one end. This tendency, if persisted in, will eventually destroy even the limited capacity which the United Nations now possesses for constructive action. Before we are much further along this road, I think we had better stop for a moment to consider the consequences. I think we had better decide whether it is in the interests of the United States—our long-range interests—to continue in that direction.

My own view is that it is a highly dangerous direction. It is not, as some may think, the road of return to a secure national isolation. Scientific developments of the past two decades have closed off all roads back in that direction. Rather, it is the road to isolated internationalism; it is the road to the disastrous delution of omnipotent national power.

The position I have assumed with regard to the President's proposal on the Middle East is related very directly to this matter. I have been critical of this proposal. While I accepted the premise on which it is based, namely, that developments in the Middle East involve the vital interests of the United States, I do not accept fully the manner in which the President has proposed to protect them.

It has seemed to me that two basic steps are essential if these interests are to be protected. First, we must be prepared to reassume that portion of the responsibility which we have shifted to the United Nations which is beyond its present capacity; and, I may add parenthetically, that within our Government we must apportion the reassumed responsibility as between the executive branch and Congress more strictly in accord with the Constitution so as to avoid a misuse of power. Second, we must be prepared to enlarge the capacity of the United Nations to discharge responsibilities in the Middle East and elsewhere if the enlargement can be brought about. To that end I have proposed an amendment to the President's resolution which would make clear our support of the United Nations emergency force in the Middle East as a force for peace in that area. I have also proposed an amendment which would make clear our initiative in seeking international control of the present unrestricted arms traffic in the Middle East, one of the principal causes of the tension in that region.

The western nations face a serious predicament in the Middle East and we are not entirely without responsibility for it. Today Suez is in hostile hands—that is, hands hostile to the West. French strength is dispersed in Algeria, bogged down in a revolt. The British are gone from the canal area—with our encouragement—without retaining adequate guaranties for freedom of maritime transit. The supply of Europe's vital fuel is thus delivered over to the caprice of one Middle Eastern nation, which has yet to display a sense of its international responsibility. With the current drain on world shipping resulting from this situation, where would we be if another Korea broke out somewhere in the world? Is there not something incongruous in a policy which produces this kind of a result, a policy which alienates our friends and invites the Soviets to give aid to the Arab nations?

No American can take satisfaction over this unhappy record. Recriminations over how we got to the present point would be futile. On the other hand, an examination of the steps which, under Democratic and Republican administrations, led to the disaster, could contribute to the formulation of future policy. What is essential is that we should recognize what has happened for what it really is—a serious setback for the West. And we must begin without delay to repair the damage.

With respect to the Arab world, further penetration by the Soviet Union is not only possible but inevitable unless we bring our energies to a solution of the issues which have plagued the Middle East since 1948; unless we base our actions upon principle and not upon expediency; and unless we can persuade all the nations in the Middle East that we have no desire to replace Britain and France in the vacuum we helped to create.

It must, instead, be made clear to them, by every means at our command, that our objective is the preservation of their independence—and not necessary only their independence of Russian communism. That is the menace today. Tomorrow the menace may arise elsewhere.

With respect to Western Europe, it is imperative to restore the former confidence which has been shattered and to rebuild the foundations of mutual understanding. This applies to all relations with our allies, including their problems with dependent territories. It is well and good to support bona fide nationalist movements and the natural desire of peoples to be independent. Let us take care, however, to avoid paths which conflict with our vital interests.

Of the many lines of action we might follow there is one that should be pursued immediately. I believe we should do what we can to enable Europe to reassert its former influence in the councils of the world. We can do this by encouraging the nations of Europe to draw together in closer association, as is the case in the coal-steel community. Separately, each of these nations has lost much of its former authority in international affairs. Drawn together in a common enterprise, the collectivity of Europe can once again exert the power which is commensurate with its magnificent heritage and the great capacities of its inhabitants.

We should also give very serious thought to encouraging a pooling of the economic and technological resources of Western Europe and the development of close ties ourselves with that pool. It is almost ludicrous that the western nations should be withholding their markets and technical processes from each other, while bidding against themselves for the Kremlin's trade.

Such is exactly what the Communists want. Europe's leaders may be coming to see this. They are, at the moment, concluding negotiations to establish a common market through the elimination of trade barriers and the creation of Euratom. I consider these important first steps which the United States should support; but they are only the first steps to that cooperation which must exist among the nations of Europe and with the United States. We can only achieve it, if we proceed with an urgency of purpose, recognizing that, in truth, we are met upon a major battleground.

Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAT McNAMARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a statement I have prepared relating to Federal aid for school construction be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET US BUILD SCHOOLS

Even though the United States Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1912, I have always suspected a stubbornness on the part of that organization to acknowledge the presence of the 20th century.

Today we have further proof of the chamber's antediluvian outlook on life.

We are informed by the chamber, according to an article in the Washington Star of February 20, that the organization is opposed to Federal aid for school construction.

This is not very shocking.

It is consistent with the chamber's apparent desire for a return to the good old days—which means government for the benefit of the robber barons and others out to gouge the public.

Efforts by the Federal Government to be genuinely helpful to all the people are summarily rejected.

But while denouncing Federal aid, the chamber also took another long step along its dusty trail back to the dark ages when it proclaimed there was actually a surplus of classrooms today.

According to this same article, the chamber puts this surplus at 14,000 classrooms.

This outrageous statement is directly contrary to the opinion of the President of the United States, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the National Education Association, a large part of Congress and the authorities of most of our States—not to mention the children stacked like cordwood in our present schools.

However, the chamber has never been known to be swayed by the facts.

I will not attempt to explain the mathematical whimsy by which the chamber of commerce arrives at this 14,000 figure. Nor do I intend to enter into a numbers game.

I don't know exactly how many classrooms we are short. But even the most conservative estimate of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare puts the current shortage at 159,000 rooms.

The shortage exists—the shortage is critical.

No distortions by the chamber of commerce can hide this basic need of our country.

Again I urge the Senate to move promptly to consider the school construction measures that have been introduced.

Middle East Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD remarks which I delivered before the Bernalillo County Democratic convention at Albuquerque, N. Mex., on February 18, 1957.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MIDDLE EAST PROPOSALS

(Remarks of Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON before the Bernalillo County Democratic convention, Albuquerque, N. Mex., February 18, 1957)

This week the Senate of the United States will start its debate on the Eisenhower Mideast resolution. Next week it expects to vote. Possibly we should ask how the Democratic Senators on the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees have been acting in your behalf.

As you know, the combined committees reported out the Eisenhower Mideast resolution by a vote of 20 to 8, with Senators JOHNSON of Texas and LANGER absent. There were a number of attempts made to improve the resolution and to take into consideration the basic difficulties in the areas, such as the Arab-Israeli dispute, the Suez Canal question, the Soviet Union arms traffic, and the like; but no success was achieved, as a solid Republican bloc voted down all but the Humphrey amendment which, in effect, reaffirmed the President's constitutional authority as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and under it the power to act instantly in case our security was in danger.

It is my belief that if some of the amendments had been accepted, there would have been fewer votes against the proposal. It is my further belief that if this bill is not amended on the Senate floor in such a manner as to recognize the basic difficulties, there will be a sizable minority—possibly numbering about 25—against it.

This resolution as it was presented might have been regarded as unnecessary because the President had the constitutional right to exercise the military power and had the funds in this year's Mutual Security Act to carry out what, if any, economic ideas he may have had. However, this resolution means that we act on a unilateral basis; it means in the words of Senator RUSSELL, that despite weeks of effort to find out what the administration proposed to do in the matter of economic assistance, the Senate members of the two committees were given nothing they could hang on to, and in effect were "buying a pig in a poke."

Personally, I do not believe that the administration has a program for the Middle East. I think the resolution is a prelude to a policy, but not a policy in itself, and I am fearful that we may become committed in an area where we will find ourselves at a great disadvantage. Some Democrats felt that the military and economic sections should be separated, others felt that more consideration should be given to the basic difficulties inherent in the area, and others felt that a grave constitutional question was involved which was both against the interest of the Congress by, in effect, giving the President some of the constitutional authority belonging to the Congress, and against the interest of the President by putting a limitation on his own constitutional powers. There is absolutely no similarity between the President's proposal on the one hand and the Greek-Turkish doctrine and the Formosa resolution on the other. No country has requested us to come into the Middle East. The situation is extremely precarious because of the instability of all the Arab States except Iraq, and unless something definite is embodied in the final draft of the resolution, its chances for ultimate success are, in my opinion, not too good.

While we all recognize that the President has a primary and great responsibility in the field of foreign affairs, it is well to keep in mind that every Senator individually, and the Senate collectively, likewise has a great stake in the field of foreign policy. If we are going into an adventure in this area of the world, I think we are entitled to know much more in the way of facts than we know at the present time. In that respect our knowledge of what we intend to do, on the basis of testimony before the committees, is practically nothing.

But the Democratic Senators on those two committees have measured up to the standards of a party of responsibility. They studied with care the proposals of the President and his Secretary of State. Senator MANSFIELD, of Montana, early delivered on the Senate floor a memorable address which was universally praised in the press as outstanding in its fairness and in its appeal for true bipartisan conduct of our foreign affairs. Senator FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas, followed up his statement of January 24 with a strong Senate speech on February 11, just 1 week ago. I want to quote some sentences from it to show why reasonable and internationally minded Democratic Senators have trouble signing on the dotted line, whatever the President asks.

"In form and substance, the resolution as prepared by the administration wants something from this Chamber, the mere asking of which would have led to a national outcry under any other administration back to Washington's. It asks for a blank grant of power over our funds and Armed Forces to be used in a blank way, for a blank length of time, under blank conditions, with respect to blank nations, in a blank area. We are asked to sign this blank check in perpetuity or at the pleasure of the President, any President.

"Who will fill in," asks Senator FULBRIGHT, "all these blanks?"

"The resolution says that the President, whoever he may be at the time, shall do it. And that's not all it says. It says that in filling in the blanks, the President need not consult, much less be accountable to any other constitutional organ of Government. He shall be the counsel—judge—jury of the national interest.

"His judgment about world realities shall be the sole warrant for his deeds in committing our forces to battle and our funds to who knows what purpose.

"His office shall be the only archive holding the record of his transactions, except as he reports the results once a year to the Congress.

"And, finally, he shall decide autonomously when his autonomous powers shall expire."

Now I say to you that in situations like this one we need representatives in the Congress—and this convention is held to select the delegates who will pick the proper one in the State Democratic convention—who will not be afraid to take time to consider the implications of every Presidential proposal and then vote upon each as they believe the welfare of the Nation demands.

It has been 10 years since I sat in the Cabinet Room of the White House and discussed with a group of the Nation's leaders headed by President Truman, the need for aid to Greece and Turkey if these lands were not to surrender to the pressures of communism. A great Republican statesman sat just at my right, the late Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan. The situation in Congress was comparable to the present—only reversed. The Congress then as now was controlled by the opposite political party to the President. I have not forgotten that the Republican Senators of 1947 exercised their full right to proceed with caution on the statesmanlike proposals of President Harry S. Truman for the aid of Greece and Turkey. I will neither be surprised nor shocked if Democratic Senators 10 years later examine with equal care the much more drastica proposals of President Eisenhower to stabilize conditions in that same area.

Every mile of the road is marked with signs reading, "Proceed With Caution." What the administration asked us to do was not to pass a simple Senate resolution expressing our composite view, nor a concurrent resolution in which the House of Representatives added its voice, but a joint resolution which when signed by the President has the force of law, and thus becomes a blanket transfer to the executive of the constitutional right vested in the Congress to declare war.

I am ready and willing to vote for a resolution which clearly states and pledges the support of the Senate to the President as he seeks to oppose the spread of Communist influence in the Middle East. With the amendment proposed by Senator HUMPHREY, a Democrat, of Minnesota, and adopted by the two Senate committees engaged in the Middle East hearings, I believe the resolution comes closer to that objective and I shall probably vote for it. But the span of hearings and debate upon it has persuaded me, if I needed any proof or persuasion, that the position of Representative in Congress is one of tremendous importance to the people of

New Mexico, and that the Democratic Party should do its utmost to select a strong candidate and win the April election in an impressive manner.

The Middle East Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one unfortunate result of the recent discussions over the situation in the Middle East is that we tend to lose sight of the basic factors in the problem. We have become so preoccupied with details that we have forgotten some of the long-term realities.

An editorial in the New York Times this morning sums up this situation with great clarity. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CRUX OF THE MATTER

Although negotiations for Israel's withdrawal to the armistice lines are proceeding in a somewhat more hopeful atmosphere, there is danger that the crucial issue in the whole conflict may become buried under a mass of detail. This crucial issue is whether the problem of Palestine is to be solved by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations or by war and warlike acts in violation of the Charter. Unless this issue is resolved, all the guaranties to either Israel or the Arab States, however important in settling the immediate controversy, will not end the conflict itself or banish the possibility of new explosions.

Contrary to widespread assumptions in the United Nations and in Washington, the issue is not originally the result of Israel's armed invasion of Egypt. The issue was raised by Egypt's longstanding insistence on maintaining a "state of war" with Israel and implementing it by both guerrilla raids and a double blockade in the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran. It was this Egyptian maintenance of a "state of war" and the exercise of belligerent rights which Egypt derives therefrom that resulted in Israel's military counteraction. Egypt has made no public move or promise to end the "state of war" or to renounce the belligerent rights.

The Egyptian claim to belligerent rights under its self-proclaimed "state of war" against another United Nations member is both absurd and illegal. It is ruled out not only by the charter, which bars the use or threat of force in settling international disputes, but also by the armistice agreement of 1949, which Secretary General Hammarskjold interprets as a virtual nonaggression pact. It was specifically rejected by the Security Council in 1951, when it denied Egypt any belligerent blockade rights. And it was Mr. Hammarskjold himself who, in his report of January 25, called for assurances that the parties to the armistice agreement, "will not assert any belligerent rights (including, of course, such rights in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Strait of Tiran)."

In other circumstances it would seem that the first duty of the United Nations should be to call on Egypt to end the "state of war" and renounce its claim to belligerent rights as a first condition of peace in the Middle East. Only if Israel then refuses to follow a like course would sanctions against it become a legitimate course of action.

Program of American Farm Bureau Federation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was pleased to read in the February 1957 issue of Badger Farm Bureau News a most handy summary of the 1957 resolutions of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

In one brief listing, the major program objectives of this great national organization and of its Wisconsin affiliate were presented so that the members of the federation could be up to the minute on the organization's position.

I sent to the desk the text of the article, and ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AFBF RESOLUTIONS SET NATIONAL POLICY

When delegates to American Farm Bureau Federation (AFBF) annual meetings adopt resolutions, they become the official national policy of county and State farm bureaus as well as AFBF. If they are to be made effective they need substantial membership support.

Printed below in shortened form are some of the 1957 AFBF resolutions. The full text runs near 20,000 words. Some call for action. Others are statements of farm bureau's approval or disapproval of Government programs and policies of business, labor, and others.

WE SEEK HIGHER NET INCOME, OTHE GOALS

Farm bureau national policy goals include:
Higher net farm income.
Generally lower tariffs.
Repeal buy American act.
Repeal cargo preference.
Extend Public Law 480.
Sponsor international trade conferences.
Continue young farmer trainee program.
Expand school milk program.
Adequate support for extension services.
Eradication of brucellosis nationally by 1960.
Eradication of hog cholera, vesicular exanthema.
Right to work legislation.
Low cost farm credit for young farmers and others.
Permanent plan for disaster relief to farmers.
Preference to co-ops for purchase of federally produced electric power.
Action on water pollution.
Improved standards for grading farm products.
Labeling law for farm-product imitations, substitutes.
Poultry-meat inspection by United States Department of Agriculture.
Repeal of Fair Trade Act.
Establish principle of selecting Supreme Court Justices from high courts.
Federal milk-market orders that are not restrictive to movement of milk.
Reasonable access for farmers to new superhighways.
More adequate compensation for rights-of-way.
Railroads to mark cars with luminous paint for safety.
Clarification of water law and farmers' rights.
Rural-mail delivery to all accessible farms.
Labor unions made subject to antitrust laws.
Majority rather than two-thirds vote on corn allotments.
We oppose:
Universal military training.
Socialism, monopoly, Government secrecy.
Harvesting or grazing soil-bank land.
Expansion in Federal aid to education.
Compulsory social security for farmers.
A Federal sales tax.
Substantial railway rate increase
Compulsory checkoff for commodity promotions.
Extension of TVA to areas not now served.
Federal crop insurance that is not based on sound actuarial experience.
Giveaway of United States surplus farm products.
Industrywide bargaining by labor unions.
AFBF board of directors was directed by voting delegates to study certain issues and report to the membership. These include:
A way gradually to eliminate Government regulation of farming.
Acceptance by State governments of watershed program administration.
Development in State of marketing facilities for fruits and vegetables.
More equitable tax treatment for farmers.
Reasons for decline in farmer's share of consumer dollar.
Federal condemnation laws and procedures with a view to improving them.
Development of program provided in watershed protection and Flood Prevention Act.

SUPPORT U. N., PACTS WITH ALLIES

Farm Bureau favors and supports:
Military pacts with allies.
United Nations and its agencies.
Selective service.
Federal price support and production adjustment programs.
Paying for soil bank with CCC surplus commodities.
Putting land in soil bank as a qualification for price support.
Soil bank contracts to run more than one year.
Research to find new uses for farm commodities.
Balanced budget in good times, deficit financing in times of deflation.
Reduction in national debt before tax cuts.
Hiring of foreign nationals for seasonal farm work.
Giving States rather than United States the power to acquire highway right-of-way.
Strict enforcement of truck weight limit laws.
Private investment overseas.
United States technical assistance to friendly countries.
Competitive pricing of United States exports.
Legislation to raise quality of United States farm products sold overseas.
Legislation for the conservation and beneficial use of water.
Government policies contributing to stable price level.
Marketing orders where producers want them.
Active participation by individuals in political parties.

The Eisenhower Doctrine Turns Into a Sideshow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. PASTORE
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, a timely and thoughtful editorial appeared in the Providence Evening Bulletin of Monday, February 25, entitled "The Eisenhower Doctrine Turns Into a Sideshow." I wholeheartedly agree with the editorial, recommend it to my colleagues for reading, and ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE TURNS INTO A SIDESHOW

The fact that Senate debate on the Eisenhower doctrine has been completely overshadowed by discussion of the United States position toward Israel is most revealing. It seems to confirm the impression that the proposed effort to resist Communist aggression in the Middle East is a good deal less than the historic and decisive development the administration has tried to make it appear to be.

The so-called doctrine has been misrepresented on three counts. First, it does not really change the American position in the Middle East very substantially. We would probably have fought overt Communist aggression in that area almost any time during the past 10 years, just as we fought it in Korea, with or without a specific commitment to do so.

The President now wants a formal statement of our intentions in this respect, and there may be merit in his contention that this will help prevent a Soviet miscalculation. Congress will undoubtedly support the President, but it may well do so largely on the negative ground that no harm will be done by spelling out a commitment already implicit in our own strategic interests, our relationships to the Baghdad Pact and NATO powers, and our interpretations of the U. N. Charter. The congressional attitude has already made it apparent that the Eisenhower doctrine is not to be considered a significant new departure in American foreign policy, in the sense that the Truman doctrine or the Marshall plan were.

In the second place, the new doctrine seems of less importance than advertised because it is addressed exclusively to the most remote danger in the Middle East—overt Communist military aggression againts countries which may request our assistance. How we propose to meet the real threats of Soviet penetration through subversion and arms shipments is not specified, although there may be hidden possibilities in the request for a $200 million military-economic assistance fund to be spent for deliberately unspecified purposes.

Finally, but most importantly, the reason the Congress has been more preoccupied with the Israeli situation than with debating the Eisenhower doctrine is that the President's plan does not touch the real source of danger in the Middle East. That is the undying hostility between Israel and the Arab States. The arguments over Israeli troop withdrawals and possible U. N. sanctions against Israel obviously relate directly to this issue. The President's concern with preventing a Soviet invasion of the Middle East is only incidental to it.

No wonder the scheduled great debate in the Senate ran out of both speakers and listeners on its second day. Events have conspired to make the administration's big pitch look more and more like a sideshow.

The Minnesota Code for Parents and Teen-Agers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the Minnesota State Youth Conservation Commission last spring drew up some ground rules which have now been incorporated in the so-called Minnesota code, a suggested guide to help Minnesota parents and teen-agers find their way through the difficult adolescent years. An interesting feature article which was published in the American Weekly magazine for February 17, 1957, describes this Minnesota program. Written by Jean Libman Block, the article is entitled, "Minnesota Gets Everybody Into the Act With Its Conduct Code for Teen-Agers."

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MINNESOTA GETS EVERYBODY INTO THE ACT WITH ITS CONDUCT CODE FOR TEEN-AGERS

(By Jean Libman Block)

The judge's 15-year-old daughter, Kay, invited 60 classmates to a party after the season's big basketball game. The 60 arrived, but that was only the beginning. Friends of those invited rolled up with carloads of their friends. By 11:30 more than 200 teen-agers, many of them strangers to the hostess, were dancing, playing records, milling through the house. Judge Theodore Knudson and his wife ran relays from the kitchen to the recreation room to keep the kids supplied with soft drinks and snacks.

"They made an awful lot of noise and there were too many of them," the judge told his daughter after the last of the mob had finally departed, "but it was sure a swell party."

By morning, however, the judge had changed his mind. For daylight revealed a carton of empty beer cans in the driveway. A search of nearby lawns turned up a large basket-load of beer cans and an empty fifth of vodka.

"I was circulating among those kids all evening," Judge Knudson exclaimed to a neighbor. "How could they have been drinking?"

The neighbor had complaints of his own. Teen-age party crashers had broken into his liquor cabinet. Another neighbor told of a car borrowed and wrecked by teen-agers. Still another was shocked when a group of 14-year-olds refused to go home at 11:30 insisted their parties always lasted until 1:30.

Such typical skirmishes between parents and children took place last year in the pleasant suburban community of St. Louis Park, Minn.

But this year things are different. Hordes of kids are not crashing parties. Adolescent drinking has diminished. Youngsters are saying amiably to parents, "Expect me home about 11 o'clock; I'll call if I'm delayed."

This astonishing truce went into effect this past fall when St. Louis Park became the first city in the State to adopt the Minnesota Teen-Age Code. In his dual capacity of junior high PTA president and chairman of the governor's advisory council on children and youth, Judge Knudson sparked the movement.

The Minnesota code, unique in that it is statewide, is a suggested guide to help parents and teen-agers find their way through the stormy growing-up years. In 2 sections, 1 for junior high and the other for senior high age levels, it covers such hotly controversial ground as: Parties—at home if possible; use of car—based on mutual agreement; sensible hours; appropriate dress; party crashing—outlawed; respect for the rights and property of others; smoking—forbidden by law under 18; and drinking—illegal under 21.

While offering plenty of suggestions on how young people should behave, the code also asks parents to toe the line in supervising parties, enforcing liquor laws, providing transportation, encouraging their children to entertain at home.

The code opens with this basic rule: "Parents should know where their sons and daughters are while away from home, what they are doing, and with whom they are spending their time. Parents should also know what time their young people return home."

"It's time we had some ground rules around here," I heard a high-school football player remark when he first saw the code.

The ground rules, in rough form, were drawn up last spring by the Youth Conservation Commission, a State agency concerned largely with the prevention of delinquency. The draft was submitted in May to 370 youngsters from all parts of the State attending the governor's youth conference. They tore the code apart and took it home to discuss with their families and friends. Their comments, mailed to the commission, indicated overwhelming teen-age support for a code.

Some, naturally, wanted to liberalize the hours for terminating parties. But most surprising was the number of youngsters who proposed tightening code provisions.

"Is there a State law to prosecute parents who make alcoholic beverages available to minors?" a girl from Faribault demanded. There is such a law and the code now warns irresponsible adults they may be charged criminally for serving alcohol to other people's children.

A St. Paul boy found inadequate the section on young drivers assuming their portion of responsibility for the maintenance and appearance of the family car. He added: "The young person should also fill the gas tank after using the car."

A Duluth girl urged outlawing kissing games.

"Doesn't mention profane language," an Albert Lea girl noted.

"What about parents' control over the necklines of formals?" a young man from upstate inquired.

One Minneapolis 12th grader underlined this sentence: "Young people should understand it is foolhardy to ride with a driver who is under the influence of alcohol, and should seek safer means of transportation."

"Call a cab or call your parents," he advised. "They'd rather be inconvenienced than have you dead."

Revised by the youngsters, the code was next checked over by the 300 adult members of the governor's advisory council. Then thousands of copies were mailed to every

PTA president, school superintendent, and student council president in the State. Adults and teen-agers in each town were urged to study the code, talk it over, change it, reject or adopt it as they saw fit.

In nearly 100 towns throughout Minnesota, parents and their young are now engaged in a lively debate about such touchy topics as dating, drinking, and driving.

Wherever the code is up for discussion, unprecedented crowds turn out. In St. Louis Park 100 were expected at one PTA meeting and more than 1,000 persons, old and young, packed the hall. "This is really a PTSA meeting," said Darlene Anderson, an enthusiastic student, "a parent-teacher-student association."

"In many places," says Dr. Hyman Lippman, distinguished St. Paul psychiatrist, "parents and young people are getting together for the first time to find out what each expects of the other."

"I never before had a convincing answer for the familiar 'everybody's-doing-it' argument," a Duluth father declared. "But from the code I've learned that everybody is not doing what my youngsters say they're doing, and I can put my foot down when demands are outrageous."

In St. Paul, the Women's Institute, one of the country's outstanding women's groups, has taken the initiative in making the entire city code conscious. A special St. Paul code was drawn up by community leaders and students. This document particularly stresses the joint responsibility of parents and young persons to work out problems. "Parents should make young people feel that they can bring their problems, mistakes, and aspirations to them," the code states.

The institute has blanketed St. Paul with 40,000 copies of the code, posted them in schoolrooms and asked disc jockeys to read excerpts on their radio programs.

"My husband is in Korea and I was having a hard time raising my 14-year-old daughter," a grateful mother told me. "But now, with the code on the kitchen bulletin board, whenever a touchy question comes up, we both say, 'Let's look at the code.'"

"Our goal," explains Mrs. Agnes Kennedy Ridder, founder and president of the Women's Institute, "is to help make what is right popular among teen-agers."

Minnesota does not claim to have found an easy answer to the teen-age puzzle. The code won't reach the grossly negligent parent who doesn't give a hoot where or how his children spend their time. Neither will it make a civilized gentleman of a confirmed rowdy. But, as Gov. Orville L. Freeman puts it, "The code is a constructive action toward solving many of the problems facing young people and their parents today."

From the stir already created, it seems likely that many other States will turn to Minnesota's pioneering code as a basis for their own teen-age programs.

These are the key provisions of the Minnesota code:

A parent, or some other responsible adult, should be home and on call when teen-agers entertain, but should allow the youngsters a sensible measure of privacy.

No crashers allowed at parties.

"Lights out" games have no place in a well-ordered party.

Dress to suit the occasion. Informal clothes are to be accepted as all right for informal get-togethers.

Young people and their parents should agree in advance on a definite time for getting home from dates.

Young people should come directly home from an evening out unless other plans have been approved by parents.

Going steady in junior high school should be discouraged.

Parental consent for the privilege of driving the family car should be based on: (1) Possession of a driver's license; (2) young people's proof of ability to control themselves and the car; (3) a healthy attitude regarding the rights and welfare of others.

Riders have a share in the responsibility for safe driving. Dares and jeers from riders have been responsible for many deaths.

Young people should understand that it is not a disgrace to decline an alcoholic drink.

Suggested times for terminating social affairs on nonschool nights:

	7th grade	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th
Formals	------	11:30	12:00	12:00	1:00	1:00
Informals	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30	12:00	12:00
Home parties	10:00	11:00	11:00	11:30	12:00	12:00
General dating	------	10:30	11:00	11:30	12:00	12:00

Affairs on school nights are not encouraged for junior high-school students. Senior high-school gatherings should be over by 10 o'clock on school nights, except for special occasions.

The Record of the 84th Congress in Heart Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I believe that all of us are rightfully proud of the record of the 84th Congress. One of the brightest chapters of that Congress was the constructive achievement in stepping up research into the diseases which beset mankind.

For heart ailments alone, appropriations amounted to more than $33 million. If we continue this research attack on the killers of mankind, we can eliminate a great scourge of humanity.

The question naturally arises: Does this kind of attack pay off? The question is answered extremely well by an editorial in this morning's Washington Post.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HEART RESEARCH PAYS

Last year a big frontal attack, costing around $15 million, was made on this Nation's No. 1 killer, heart disease. The amount allocated for heart research through public and private sources was more than six times that spent in 1949. Naturally Americans ask: Has it paid off?

Dividends from these 8 years of research, as recently reviewed in this newspaper by Nate Haseltine, are remarkable. Half a dozen major developments in heart surgery have saved the lives and increased the capacity for living of countless children, young people and adults. Medical advances have made possible prevention of recurrent sieges of rheumatic fever, the second most common cause of death by disease in the 20–24 age group, and the leading cause of death, except for accidents, among school-age children. Through new drugs, high blood pressure can now be better controlled; blood clotting in persons who have had heart attacks prevented; and the heart's work-load in those having coronary disease relieved.

The three organizations that sponsored this research—the American Heart Association, the National Heart Institute and the Medical Life Insurance Research Fund—are furnishing eloquent proof that money wisely expended can purchase longer and fuller lives for many persons who otherwise would fall victim to heart disease.

Results of Questionnaire—First Congressional District, Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am inserting the results of a January questionnaire which was sent to about 10,000 people in the First Congressional District of Wisconsin. I believe the results will be interesting to Members of the House:

RESULTS OF THE JANUARY 1957 QUESTIONNAIRE FROM CONGRESSMAN LAWRENCE H. SMITH, FIRST DISTRICT, WISCONSIN, FEBRUARY 18, 1957

1. Do you approve the exchange of atomic secrets with other countries? Yes, 262; no, 1,731.

2. Do you favor the development and use of atomic energy by private enterprise? Yes, 1,662; no, 233.

3. Do you approve the use of military force by the United States as proposed by President Eisenhower? Yes, 866; no, 940.

4. Do you approve large sums of money for use in developing Middle East countries? Yes, 198; no, 1,764.

5. Do you think the Middle East problem is one for the United Nations only? Yes, 1,085; no, 874.

6. Do you think the United States should proceed in its own way to establish peace in that area? Yes, 648; no, 1,254.

7. Do you think the Federal Government should continue its support programs of agricultural products? Yes, 803; no, 1,072.

8. Do you favor immediate balancing of the Federal budget? Yes, 1,620; no, 354.

9. Do you favor reduction of taxes before balancing the budget? Yes, 587; no, 1,397.

10. Should Federal spending be reduced? Yes, 1,975; no, 61.

11. Do you approve direct Federal grants to States to help build schools? Yes, 667; no, 1,336.

12. Do you approve an increase in the minimum wage? Yes, 467; no, 1,441.

13. Should labor union welfare funds be regulated by law? Yes, 1,848; no, 159.

14. Would you approve legislation providing for 4-year terms for Members of the House of Representatives? Yes, 1,535; no, 456.

15. Do you favor an increase in postal rates to meet postal deficits? Yes, 1,321; no, 663.

16. Do you believe there should be some relief from payment of Federal taxes? Yes, 1,700; no, 217.

17. Do you approve an amendment to our immigration laws to admit more people to this country? Yes, 291; no, 1,656.

18. Should American taxpayers support underprivileged nations? Yes, 301; no, 1,579.

19. Should Russia be expelled from the United Nations? Yes, 429; no, 574.

20. Should we break off diplomatic and other relations with Russia? Yes, 1,280; no, 665.

More than 2,000 replies have been received at this time. This is approximately 20 percent return.

Pfc. John D. Kelly, USMC (Deceased)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I consider it a great privilege and honor to pay tribute to an American marine from my district who made the supreme sacrifice by giving his life on the battlefield of Korea. He died so that his beloved America might live.

Thursday, in Homestead, Pa., the entire community gathered to pay homage to the memory of this great hero.

The following lists the events which led to the death of this brave American boy. His mother, Mrs. Emma Kelly, of Homestead, may be justly proud of her valiant son for gallantry in action, far, indeed, beyond the call of duty:

PFC. JOHN D. KELLY, USMC (DECEASED)

Marine Pfc. John D. Kelly, 24, of Homestead, Pa., has been awarded the Nation's highest military decoration, the Medal of Honor, for his heroic action of May 28, 1952, against the Communist aggressor forces in Korea during which he fell mortally wounded.

As a radio operator with Company C, 1st Battalion, 7th Marines, Private First Class Kelly distinguished himself by conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in the face of superior enemy forces. His platoon was pinned down by intense mortar, artillery, small-arms, and grenade fire; to make a move was to risk one's life. Kelly requested permission to leave his radio in the care of another man in order to join the assault on enemy key positions. His citation follows:

"For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty while serving as a radio operator of Company C, 1st Battalion, 7th Marines, 1st Marine Division (reinforced), in action against enemy aggressor forces in Korea on May 28, 1952. With his platoon pinned down by a numerically superior enemy force employing intense mortar, artillery, small-arms and grenade fire, Private First Class Kelly requested permission to leave his radio in the care of another man and to participate in an assault on enemy key positions. Fearlessly charging forward in the face of a murderous hail of machine-gun fire and hand grenades, he initiated a daring attack against a hostile strongpoint and personally neutralized the position, killing two of the enemy. Unyielding in the face of heavy odds, he continued forward and singlehandedly assaulted a machinegun bunker. Although painfully wounded, he bravely charged the bunker and destroyed it, killing three of the enemy. Courageously continuing his one-man assault, he again stormed forward in a valiant attempt to wipe out a third bunker and boldly delivered pointblank fire into the aperture of the hostile emplacement. Mortally wounded by enemy fire while carrying out this heroic action, Private First Class Kelly, by his great personal valor and aggressive fighting spirit, inspired his comrades to sweep on, overrun, and secure the objective. His extraordinary heroism in the face of almost certain death reflect the highest credit upon himself and enhances the finest traditions of the United States naval service. He gallantly gave his life for his country."

He enlisted in the Marine Corps in August of 1951, in Pittsburgh, Pa. Following his initial training at Parris Island, S. C., he was transferred to Camp Pendleton for further training prior to joining the First Marine Division in Korea.

Private First Class Kelly was born July 8, 1928, at Youngstown, Ohio. Later his family moved to Homestead, Pa., where he attended grade school and high school. He graduated from high school in 1947, and was attending Arizona State College, prior to entering the Marine Corps.

Private First Class Kelly is the son of Mrs. Emma Kelly, 126 Locust Way, Homestead, Pa.

American Business and Free Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following speech made by Mr. R. Perry Shorts, chairman, Second National Bank, Saginaw, Mich. The speech is entitled "American Business and Free Enterprise" and was made at the 58th midyear convention of the Michigan Association of Insurance Agents in Detroit on February 21:

AMERICAN BUSINESS AND FREE ENTERPRISE

The American banker of today has an interesting job. His daily work rubs him against businessmen of all sorts and descriptions. He learns their business problems and all the tricks of their trades. And he soon discovers that when he loans them money, he is temporarily in business with them—and sometimes permanently. Many a trusting banker has loaned money to a scrap dealer one day—and found himself in the junk business the next. I speak feelingly on this subject. But they talk the same language and they feast or starve together. In fact, I heard of one businessman who specified in his will that all of his pallbearers should be bankers, and when asked for an explanation he replied, "Well, these bankers have been carrying me all my life and I'd like to have them finish the job."

And the American insurance man, too, has an interesting job—I found that out over 50 years ago when I was in the business. In those days, competition especially in the accident and health lines was of the cut-throat variety. You would go to bed at night wrinkled and withered and worn by your overexertions of the day, and just as you were drifting off into the alluring arms of Morpheus, one of your men would telephone you excitedly that your business was being "twisted" by the Golden Rule Casualty Co. (which you thought was a friendly competitor). "Twisting" and "rebating" were everyday affairs. And quite similar conditions applied in life insurance too.

As a result, casualties among the insurers themselves occurred. Some died overnight and many large companies were built over the graves of deceased competitors. Reinsurance was the soft method used to avoid bankruptcy—it sounded better, smelled sweeter, avoided lawsuits, and saved attorneys' fees, court costs, and flowers. These were the catch-as-catch-can days of the business and only the strongest survived. But now things have changed; insurance has become a profession, and we find national and State associations of agents bound together by high standards of efficiency and business morality. The 1,000 members of your own association are now writing, fairly and squarely, probably four-fifths of all the fire and casualty premiums in the State.

And look at the modern tools you agents have to work with—fire policies with extended coverage; liability and burglary protection added to your dwelling contracts; casualty policies which cover everything from A to Z in a single document; accident and health policies with medical, surgical, and hospital aid; homeowners' and commercial package policies covering fire, public and employee liability, theft and risks of every sort; and bankers' blanket bonds covering risks formerly insured under half a dozen separate policies—and at reduced rates too. All these coverage extensions have so increased the demand that today no sensible man will run a business, build a building, drive a car, or even walk on the street without insurance protection. Everybody wants it—and so all you agents have to do to increase your production is to get out and call on 15 prospects a day. That was the success formula 50 years ago—and it's a safe bet that easy office chairs cause insurance agents (present company excepted, of course), to lose more new business today than wine, women, and song all put together.

When you stop to think that the total property insurance premiums right here in Michigan are now running over $670 million per year; that our State's automobile coverage premiums alone were over $205 million in 1955; that our population is increasing at an astounding rate, and also our building of homes and factories and schools and highways, you can form some conception of the unlimited opportunities for you insurance men to participate in this ever-increasing prosperity and at the same time render an ever-increasing service to the public.

And now let us take a broader look to include American business as a whole and its prospects and promises for tomorrow.

You and I are living in the grandest country in the world. You don't have to be even brilliant to make a good living here. All you have to do is to use your God-given brains and follow the simple formula of thrift, hard work, and old-fashioned honesty. Money used to do all the talking, but now it whispers reverently in the presence of brains. Henry Ford had a good idea, but no money. He finally induced a few men who had money, to risk $28,000 of it to make more money by developing his idea. Thus, one man with brains, other men with risk capital, and a few good workmen, went into partnership and they all prospered—and in the process hundreds of thousands of other stockholders have since benefited and new jobs have been created for over 185,000 employees. His idea created new wealth, new business, and new jobs.

Here, and right in front of our eyes, is the American free-enterprise system at its best—a combination of capital and labor and brains—and through its countrywide operation, prosperity has been spread over millions of our people and we have become the richest and strongest nation on the earth. This broad spreading of business ownership, is one of the greatest achievements of our American system. Our thousands of corporations are now owned by over 8,60,000 stockholders, over half of whom are women. Anyone who has saved $100 can buy one or more shares in almost any corporation in America. The American Telephone & Telegraph alone is owned by nearly 1,500,000 stockholders with average holdings of only 42.1

shares. Critics attack our capitalistic system, but no one attacks the standards of living it provides—broadest ownership, highest wages, shortest hours, lowest prices, and greatest abundance of the good things of life. Away back in ancient times, Horace, the wise old philosopher, said, "If a better system is thine, impart it; if not, make use of mine." This is America's challenge to the world today.

One of our important blessings is the opportunity we all have to employ other men of outstanding ability to work for us. Of course, no man is rich enough to hire Harlow Curtis for example, as his employee—but he can indirectly accomplish this very result by investing some of his savings in General Motors stock. From that moment on Harlow Curtis is working for him, and he will receive his full share of the fruits of his labors. Most of the managers of our big corporations today were once poor men who saved their wages, bought their company's stock, and then worked like beavers to climb to the top. They won their high stations through thrift, hard work, and old-fashioned honesty. So when you spot some good business manager in whom you have great confidence, buy some stock in his company and get him working for you.

And don't let any politician tell you that our laboring men can't share in the prosperity of American business. All they have to do is to save their money and invest it wisely. Why, do you know that if the 1,058,000 railroad employees in America today (who are so frequently striking for higher wages) would just set aside $125 each, they could buy the controlling interest of the whole New York Central Railroad system—and if each would save just $125 a year for 5 years, they could buy the controlling interest of all the railroad systems from Chicago to the Atlantic seaboard. Or, as Ben Fairless tells us, if the 223,000 employees of the United States Steel Corp., who have struck 5 times since World War II, would just set aside $20 a week they could buy the controlling interest of the whole corporation in less than 7 years' time.

Right here and now in America, we have an economic system that beats socialism and communism a mile, where the workers themselves can own and control their own corporations—and do it without a bloody revolution, or any change whatever in government. All our workers have to do is to save their money and buy the corporations they want to own. They could then fire their present bosses, elect their own boards of directors, and raise their wages whenever they liked. Perhaps they would then be surprised to learn that their real employers were not their bosses at all, but the customers of their corporations—and if their costs ran up too high, it wouldn't be long before they would lose first their customers, then their jobs, and finally their investments, too. Corporations need manual labor all right, but they can't prosper unless they have management brains to run them.

And think of the promising growth that lies ahead of us. Since World War II, over $145 billion have been invested in new plants and equipment—and this pace is still continuing. Look at the new insurance business there. This means that our most powerful businessmen are betting their billions that America's future is going to be prosperous. This big capital investment out of somebodys' savings is the chief cause of the constant advance in the earning power of labor. Without it, labor would be at a standstill. More plants mean more production—more production, more jobs—more jobs, more income—and more income, more demands for still more goods. Expansion feeds on itself. And as we are producing new goods, we are also producing new customers to buy them at the rate of 11,000 new babies per day (or 4 million per year)—and more people mean more business. Surely that's good news for our candymakers, for it doesn't take much sales talk to sell candy to babies.

And look at the new products that are constantly coming on the market and the new jobs being created to make and sell them—orlon and dacron, vitamins and wonder drugs, synthetic rubber and electric batteries charged by the sun—to say nothing of plastics, electronics, aeronautics, and many other great fields of industry hardly yet scratched on the surface. And then recall that 40 percent of all the products on the market today were never even heard of 50 years ago—when even I was young. General Electric now hires over 45,000 new people making products which didn't exist 11 years ago—and 81 percent of RCA's present billion-dollar-a-year business is in products that didn't exist even 10 years ago—when even you were young.

But, of course, American business has many problems. Red lights are always flashing and it takes a fast thinking businessman to know when to step on the gas and when to step on the brakes. All these tremendous investments in new plants and equipment are speculations with investors' money—to produce more goods and produce them cheaper. This program, however, keeps us constantly exposed to overproduction, and overproduction causes more business failures than any other single cause. Right now, there are about $31 billion of installment purchases outstanding (over twice as much as 10 years ago) and this just about covers the excess goods produced over and above what the people could buy and pay for. Does this show overproduction by producers or over extravagance by consumers—or both? Many people nowadays don't even get the installments paid on the old car, before they buy a new one. Some don't even ask the price of goods—all they want to know is, "How much a month?" I heard of one young husband who cheerfully said to his wife: "Mary, dear—one more payment and the baby is ours."

Now, we all know that prosperity is with us when there is a constant flow of money from industry to consumer and from consumer to industry. Depression is with us when consumers stop buying and industry shuts down—and that always happens when prices get so high that the people refuse to buy. If you could tell in advance just when that is going to happen, you could get rich overnight. The "stock market's" action of late would indicate that thousands of investors are already doing some guessing. I've seen times so bad that even the "dead beats" who never intended to pay, stopped buying. When workers force wage raise after wage raise upon the "boss" without proportionately increasing their production, they themselves increase the price of products—for labor alone usually constitutes from 60 to 80 percent of the entire production cost. Higher prices mean fewer sales—fewer sales mean fewer jobs—and finally there are no jobs at all—and sadly but surely we learn again the same old lesson—"You cannot help the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer." During the past 50 years, we have had 11 depressions, large and small—and they all succeeded periods of high wages and prosperity.

Mass production is fine, but only until the public's stomach is filled—and evidence of "indigestion" is prevalent in some lines today. Perhaps we should all "sit steady" for a while and not "rock the boat." If you produce an abnormal quantity of goods, you are skating on thin ice unless you can also produce an abnormal market to buy them. There comes a time, however—automation or no automation—when the increased cost of manufacturing and selling, swallows up the savings of mass producing—and when the smoke clears away, you show a big volume, but no profit—a profitless prosperity—and then your stockholders complain, your banker calls your loans, your workers are laid off, and you have a depression all by yourself. Too bad—but there must have been some poor thinking somewhere in your organization.

Another big problem that is always with us in competition. Statisticians tell us that only 5 businessmen in 100 are what we term successful; that the average life of manufacturing concerns is 7 years, and of retail stores 7.1 years; and that nearly 50 percent of all corporations on the average don't make a dollar of profit.

Phonograph manufacturers were once smothered in luxury as a result of unheard-of prosperity, when some brilliant genius invented a radio and the Victor Co. passed its dividends and the rest went to the industrial hospital. Tanners used to brag, "There will always be a demand for sole leather as long as babies are born barefoot"; but rubber soles are now coming strong and babies' feet are still born bare. Oil is fighting coal to heat the country and electricity is fighting ice to cool it; and now gas makes a bid to monopolize the whole show by producing both heat and cold. Waterpower is fighting steampower, plastic is fighting glass, steel is fighting wood, cement is fighting steel, lumber is fighting cement, and Celotex is giving lumber the greatest fight of its long and honorable career.

You just get one good product started when somebody thinks up a better one, or a substitute that is cheaper. These "thinkers" are the fellows who are raising the devil with business, and the only thing to do is to follow the advice of the Scotchman, "If you can't beat 'em, join 'em," and do some scientific thinking for ourselves.

And, worst of all, there is inflation, which pushes prices up and the value of money down. We have too much of it now, and George Humphrey warns us that if we don't slow up we will all have curly hair. I agree with Mr. Humphrey that our greatest economic problem of the day is the defense of the dollar. Since the 1930's Congress has created many controls to prevent a bad depression; but what has it done to prevent a bad inflation, which is far more serious? Depression can hurt many of us, but inflation can ruin practically all of us. Certainly it is time for our political leaders, our labor leaders, and our industrial leaders to read the handwriting on the wall and take the necessary action to stop this wage-price spiral and keep America strong.

Our Government started this inflation when it took us off the gold standard in 1933 and put us on a "tax, spend, and elect" inflation program, and then started its pump-priming and spending sprees. As a result, our dollar is now worth 52 cents and is still going down. There are many ways, however, by which the Government could now check inflation and help put us back on the straight and narrow path:

Let it get out of thousands of business activities and turn this business back to private enterprise;

Let it carry out the Hoover recommendations and reduce operating expenses $4 billion or $5 billion a year;

Let it stop granting income-tax exemption or favoritism to co-ops and business associations of every sort which compete against taxpaying corporations (if democracy means anything, it means tax equality for all—somehow or other we resent paying more taxes to make up for what they don't pay); and

Let the Government get out of the give-away business and stick exclusively to the business of governing our people.

But in spite of all our problems, looking ahead 20 years, we can see greatly enlarged production over what we have today. Where will it all come from? From capital and labor and brains, with ever-improving cooperation between all three of them.

Close cooperation is the key to our economic progress, because these three production forces are dependent one upon the other. Capital can't get anywhere without labor and brains—and brains can't get anywhere without capital and labor. It is all very well for capital or labor to deny the power of brains and attribute all progress to itself, but did either ever stop to think that we can now telephone from Detroit to San Francisco not because of capital, and not because of labor, but because of the brains of Alexander Bell. These politicians who rant and rave against our big men and our big corporations always fail to tell you that they do increase jobs and hold down prices. How much higher would the cost of living be today but for mass-producing machinery?

And, yet, any sound-thinking laboring man can see that the advent of machinery has not been to the detriment of the man who toils but rather to his everlasting benefit. Machines do not reduce jobs when the decreased costs bring lower prices, they make more jobs for more people and permit higher wages. Fifty-seven years ago there were 29 million jobs in the United States and today there are nearly 63 million. The typewriter temporarily threw a lot of penmen out of work, but it now makes jobs for hundreds of thousans of stenographers. Thirty-seven years ago (before dial telephones had ever been heard of) the Bell System employed 131,000 operators, and today it employs over 232,000. Livery stables used to employ 100,000 men, but automobiles (which put them out of business) now make jobs for over 4 million. In 1940 General Motors employed 258,000 people and 17 years later is now employing over 617,000.

But don't forget that capital also plays a star part in this dramatic story because it takes from $8,000 to $10,000 of somebody's actual money investment in plant and equipment for every worker's job. We have more capital investment now than ever before, and with it all more plants, more products, more jobs, and higher wages.

Today we have more automobiles, more telephones, radios, and a host of other products in America alone, than in all the rest of the world combined. We are told that we can now put 163 million people on the road at one time—with all the back seats empty. And this reminds me of the minister who said we should sing hymns while driving our automobiles. At 50 miles an hour we should sing Highways Are Happy Ways; at 70 miles an hour, When the Roll Is Called Up Yonder, I'll Be There; and at 90 miles an hour, Lord, I'm Coming Home.

But the more we study the more we come to see that scientific research (which only brains can perform) is the chief discoverer of all these new products and our greatest insurance of continuing prosperity.

The half has never yet been told about the great blessings which research has brought to mankind. George Goethals figured out the Panama Canal and made two oceans one. Otis thought out the elevator and made practicable our 80-story buildings of today and the concentration of millions of people upon a few acres of ground. Stevenson developed the locomotive and gave us railroads—one of our greatest job producers and distributors of wealth. Faraday searched and found the theory of electromagnetic induction, and today we have our great electrical industry spreading light and power and comfort to the peoples of all the earth. And Thomas A. Edison, the noblest Roman of them all, (who started his work here in Michigan) spent a long life in laborious experiment, succeeding here and failing there, searching, ever searching to find new blessings for mankind—plodding ever onward into dark and strange unchartered fields with an inspiration in his heart and a lantern in his hand. These great men of science have rendered as beneficial service to the world as all of the statesmen of their times.

And right here, let me make a suggestion for the benefit of our young men who are just launching out on the rough seas of American business. Big successes always come from a succession of little ones. Every young man should learn, first of all, that neither capital nor labor nor scientific research ever has or ever will develop a substitute for personal courage. Obstacles appear at every turn in the road—and obstacles are things to test the stuff we are made of. You can't win all the time in any line of endeavor. The best baseball team in the world loses from 50 to 60 games a season. Frank Woolworth worked hard to save his first $50 and then saw 3 of his first 5 chain stores absolutely fail. Cyrus H. K. Curtis lost over $800,000 on the Saturday Evening Post before he could make it pay a single dollar of profit. Du Pont worked 11 years and spent $27 million before the first pound of nylon was sold. Frank Munsey's remarkably successful career after repeated failures, might be tersely described as 40 failures, 40 successes, 40 millions. Abraham Lincoln suffered one failure after another—was badly defeated in 5 different elections—and finally became our country's greatest man. Courage is the first essential of the successful businessman.

And now, Mr. Chairman, just one more thought and I am through. Our own experience has proved that it is free enterprise, and not government, that makes America grow and prosper. And yet, we find in our country today a bloc of so-called liberals who are constantly fighting to promote Government ownership—and they will never be happy until every industry, every public utility, steel plant, and factory of every sort is owned and run by the Government. And all this—in spite of the fact that history records not one single case where government planning ever raised the standards of living of any people.

We know that there is more danger in big government than in big business—that big government always means big bureaucracy and big waste. And we also know that the welfare of our country rests on economic grounds; that when business prospers, everybody prospers; that any law that hurts business, hurts everybody; and that the best friend of the people is not the politician, nor the Government—but the businessmen of America, large and small, in every city and village and town, whose success or failure casts a profound influence upon every job, every school, every family, and every home in the whole United States. Strangle business and you strangle everybody, including the Government.

It is free enterprise that builds our cities, bridges our rivers, erects our skyscrapers and our schools and our churches, promotes our industries, furnishes our jobs, and passes prosperity around—and it is free enterprise, not Government, that gives every man a chance to rise and win his share of God's blessings to mankind.

And so, as good Americans who love our country and want to pass on its blessings to the generations yet to come, let us exert our best efforts to support those particular leaders in Washington today who are dedicated to the constructive, patriotic cause to preserve for America, free enterprise for our people, and efficiency, solvency, and morality for our Government. Thus will our good old Ship of State sail proudly on—in good times and in bad times—safely and surely—to ever-enlarging strength and freedom and progress.

Labor Investigation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a select Senate committee headed by our highly respected colleague, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], opened its hearings this morning into improper practices in the field of labor-management relations. It is safe to say that this is one of the most important investigations the Senate has undertaken in recent years, and is one that will be welcomed by the American people.

The select committee will perform a vitally important purpose. It is thus doubly important that it be one which commands our respect.

An editorial in the Baltimore Sun this morning sums up very well the background of the investigation. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR INVESTIGATION

Eight Senators especially designated by their colleagues and operating under a revised (some might even say a reformed) set of rules, will open today a committee investigation bound to be of importance. This is the examination into labor racketeering by the select committee under Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN. Other Democratic committee members include the former judge, ERVIN, of South Carolina, MCNAMARA, a labor man from Michigan, KENNEDY, the impressive (and some say presidential-looking) gentleman from Massachusetts. The Republicans are MCCARTHY, who is not unknown, MUNDT, IVES, an Eisenhower-type Republican and labor expert from New York, and GOLDWATER, rightwinger from Arizona.

The committee will be operating under a set of rules derived from those adopted by the standing subcommittee on investigations at the time Senator MCCLELLAN took over its leadership from Senator MCCARTHY. Counsel for the committee is Robert F. Kennedy, brother of the Massachusetts Senator and, though a young man, a veteran of the congressional investigation. The rules aim to keep the control of the hearings in the hands of the Senators (where it belongs); but to maintain the rights of witnesses in fair balance against the right of the community to information as a basis of possible legislation.

Thus witnesses will be permitted to submit questions to be put (if the committee agrees) by the chairman to other witnesses. There will be safeguards against one-man committee hearings and closed sessions. The Republicans will have power to call a committee meeting if reluctance should develop in the Democratic delegation. A person considering himself damaged by committee testimony may be allowed to appear or to file a sworn statement in his own behalf.

The committee's personnel, the Senate's special statement of its jurisdiction, its rules and the business which will engage it all assure maximum public attention to its work. One of the best things about the outlook is

that the legitimate labor movement, speaking through AFL–CIO President Meany, has already expressed approval. A thorough investigation, firmly but fairly pressed, could purge the labor movement of excrescences. It could also remind a public somewhat confused by certain recent investigating tactics how useful the congressional investigation really is as an instrument of free and responsible government.

Arms Aids Harms United States Aims in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the distinguished former Ambassador to India, Mr. Chester Bowles, is currently in the midst of a visit which is taking him to India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Soviet Union, and Western Europe. I am sure that many Members of Congress have been following his reports, which have appeared from time to time in Washington and New York newspapers.

In a recent issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald there is a report from Afghanistan which I believe is worthy of special attention. Mr. Bowles discusses the disrupting effect on regional controversies of American-arms aid in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. He proposes that American diplomacy attempt to negotiate a general moratorium on arms traffic in both the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Similar suggestions have recently been made in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament. At various times during the past year, and as recently as my floor speech on the Middle East on February 11, I have ventured similar suggestions.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Bowles' article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Let me point out that the article is very germane to our present discussion of the Middle East resolution. The article is in the form of a dispatch from Kabul, Afghanistan, an area in the Middle East where Mr. Bowles has visited.

I suggest that before the Senate votes on the Middle East resolution, all Senators give careful attention to the observations made by Mr. Bowles as a means of better acquainting ourselves with all of the meaning and possible application of the pending joint resolution.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARMS AID HARMS UNITED STATES AIMS IN ASIA

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Chester Bowles currently is on a 10-week trip to India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Germany. This is another in a series of reports by him. Bowles has served as head of the Office of Price Administration, Governor of Connecticut, and Ambassador to India. He is the author of several books, including The New Dimensions of Peace, American Politics in a Revolutionary World, Africa's Challenge to America, and Ambassador's Report.)

(By Chester Bowles)

KABUL, AFGHANISTAN.—Tomorrow we fly in a Soviet plane over the Hindu Kush Mountains to Tashkent, the showplace of Soviet Central Asia.

Behind us we leave the turbulent Indian subcontinent, the political center of the vast area of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, whose future course will probably determine the power balance between the nations of the Atlantic community and the Communist world.

Historically Afghanistan is not so much a nation as a passage—a passage from Central Asia to the lush valleys of the Indus and the Ganges, where invaders hoped to secure not only riches but the power to control one-fifth of the human race.

We went overland from Peshawar, last citadel of the British Empire in the northwest frontier province, to Kabul, capital of Afghanistan. It took 14 hours over some of the most mountainous roads I have ever traveled. Our car broke down at the Khyber Pass. But we were lucky. The jeep station wagon of the United States courier who carries the diplomatic pouch with State Department documents came by on its regular schedule to Kabul and gave us a lift.

ONLY 12 MILES AN HOUR

We averaged 12 miles an hour for 180 miles over bumpy, almost impassable roads, across riverbeds, up mountains above the snow lines and down into deep valleys. We followed in reverse the trail of the Aryans, Darius and his Persians, Alexander the Great, Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, the Pathans and the Moghuls, who in ages past fought their way through the Khyber Pass to the promised land to the south.

In the last two centuries the threat from the north has come from Russia, first from the Russia of the Czars and then from the Russia of the Communists. Every mile between the Khyber Pass and Kabul is marked by forts, some built more than 1,000 years ago, others only very recently.

In the pass itself we saw many plaques carved in rock commemorating British and Indian regiments for their role in three Afghan wars that were fought to block Russian expansion south—the Khyber Rifles, the Fifth Punjab Infantry, the Third Gurkhas, the Maratta Light Infantry, and others. Now British power has departed, but the struggle to control this gateway to South Asia continues in new forms.

When we reached snow-covered Kabul the incredibly rough road suddenly merged into broad, smooth paved streets. They were recently paved by the Russians. A young Afghan we met at an inn when we stopped for tea along the way told us about other expanding Russian projects. "There are too many Russians here," the young man said thoughtfully.

AMERICANS THERE ALSO

There are Americans here, too, and some of our projects—the Helmand River development undertaken by Morris-Knudsen, the American engineering firm, on contract with the Afghan Government—are promising. Through the International Cooperation Administration, the University of Wyoming and Teachers College at Columbia are helping to reorganize the education system.

Unfortunately these earnest American efforts to help Afghanistan maintain its independence are increasingly crippled by our policies in south Asia and the Middle East. Our stepped-up shipments of arms to Pakistan which were designed to keep Soviet military power behind its borders are in reality opening the doors for Soviet economic and political penetration on a massive scale.

Although both Pakistan and Afghanistan are Muslim states, they are at least as suspicious and fearful of each other as are India and Pakistan. When we move into a complex situation of this kind to send a flood of the most modern arms to one country, we antagonize the others, increase the divisions among them all, and upset the balance of power in the entire region.

Most Pakistanis welcome these arms not because they fear a Russian attack but because their newly created power strengthens Pakistan's hand in her continuing conflict with her immediate neighbors, India and Afghanistan.

This leads the latter two nations to turn more of their own scarce resources into defense.

PLAYS INTO RUSSIAN HANDS

This plays directly into the hands of the Russians. To help match the arms we gave Pakistan, Moscow offered modern arms to the Afghans and their offer was accepted. No one knows the extent of the shipments, but they are substantial.

Taking further advantage of the Afghans' fears and needs, Moscow then offered an economic assistance loan of over $100 million. This is a huge sum for such a thinly populated country. On a per capita basis it is equivalent to a loan to India of $4.5 billion.

In India the Soviet approach is similar although as yet not fully developed. Soviet economic aid to India is now in the neighborhood of $220 million. Soviet military aid has so far been refused.

Yet Indians say that Marshal Zhukov, on tour there, is now stressing the inability of the Indian Army with its World War II equipment to stand up against the well-equipped Pakistani divisions. Whether the Indians will follow the Afghans into an arms agreement with the Soviet Union is anybody's guess.

India's opposition to communism is clear to anyone who knows the present Indian leadership. My talks this week with Prime Minister Prince Da'ud, Foreign Minister Naim, and other Afghan officials convinced me than Afghanistan, too, is determined to maintain its independence. Yet fear, whether reasonable or unreasonable, is a powerful force, and these two nations are afraid.

INDIA MUST DIVERT FUNDS

Already the developing power of the American-equipped Pakistan army and air force has frightened the Indians into spending $100 million of their dwindling foreign exchange to purchase comparable weapons at regular prices from Britain and France. This meant a diversion from badly needed economic development projects of twice the sum the United States gave India in economic assistance in 1956.

The immediate Russian threat should not be exaggerated. The Soviet is not about to take over Afghanistan, and the Afghans are a vigorous people with plenty of indigenous resistance to communism. Nor is India in immediate danger. But America's overemphasis on military arms in the whole region is facilitating the long-run Russian aims.

Already Afghanistan's oil comes over the mountains from the U. S. S. R. to Kabul. Approximately 50 percent of its trade is with the Russians. Five hundred Russian technicians, diplomats, and military emissaries are here, and many of them are able to speak to the Afghans in their own languages.

Our narrow military focus is particularly ironic. For in arming one side in the Pakistan-Afghanistan-Indian regional conflict we are doing what we rightly criticized Russia for doing in Egypt. In that case, Israel, frightened by the flood of Soviet arms, suddenly struck out.

Despite my deep misgivings about current American policies I have voiced no public criticisms on this trip. Frequently I have

been asked to express my views on American foreign policy. But in America I have heard foreigners gain a passing popularity by attacking their own country from afar. American policies are sufficiently unpopular here to make it easy for one to gain popularity this way. But I have resolved to save my views for home consumption where they might do some good.

EMBARGO IS SUGGESTED

In this letter home I would however, like to add to my criticisms a constructive suggestion. The way out of the dilemma is, I believe, this: A prompt proposal in the United Nations for an embargo or moratorium by America, the Soviet Union and all others or the shipment of arms to both the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent for a period of years.

Such an embargo would check the future flow of Soviet arms to Egypt, Syria, and Afghanistan. It would relieve Israel of the terrible pressures which led her last fall to risk a preventive war.

In return for these very substantial gains we would forego arms shipments into Pakistan, Iran and Iraq. (Turkey, as a member of NATO, would not, I should think, come within such an agreement.)

Only by a bold move of this kind can we put a stop to the arms race between the neighbors of this strategic subcontinent, as well as of the Middle East, and encourage them all to apply their energy and resources to their greatest need, the elimination of poverty, disease, and ignorance among their people.

From my talks with Pakistanis, I believe that such a moratorium, if vigorously pressed by us, would be acceptable, particularly if some of the masive aid which now goes to them as guns, tanks, and jets would then go to speed their economic and social progress.

We must soon make some such bold step, for time in South Asia and the Middle East is steadily running out.

Congratulations, Miss Willis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial taken from the Camden (S. C.) Chronicle, February 22.

Miss Willis is a native of the Fifth Congressional District of South Carolina, and has brought many honors to our State, as the editorial will show. She exemplifies in every way the graciousness, modesty, and all the other attributes of a young lady, and I deem it a privilege to join with thousands of others in honoring her with Carolyn Willis Day:

CONGRATULATIONS, MISS WILLIS

Carolyn Willis, of Chesterfield, S. C., "Miss Everything," has, for the past 2 or 3 years, been something of a one-woman ambassador of good will for the State, and the many honors bestowed upon her during Chesterfield's Carolyn Willis Day yesterday were most deserving.

The vivacious little Carolyn won the first of her many and varying titles in 1953 when she was judged the best appearing majorette of South Carolina. Since then she blazed her name across the Nation's press with the following titles:

Miss Majorette of America, Miss International Television, Miss South, Carolinas' Carrousel Queen, National Miss Majorette, first runner-up Miss Grand Bahama Island, Miss Majorette of South Carolina, 1954, Miss Majorette of South Carolina, 1955, and Best Appearing Majorette of South Carolina in 1953 and 1954.

She has been star guest of honor at three national conventions: (1) American Legion convention, (2) Vets of Foreign Wars convention, and (3) Lions International convention.

Last year the pretty little brunette had a beautiful new variety of camellia named for her. And now she's going to Hollywood and, we suspect, to a lucrative job in the movie industry.

Thank you, Miss Willis. South Carolina owes you much. The very best of luck in your future sojourns.

Michigan and Wheat Moisture Content

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include herewith a letter dated February 21 which I received from Mr. H. M. Brown, assistant professor in the department of farm crops, College of Agriculture, Michigan State University, East Lansing.

Professor Brown sets forth objections to proposed changes in grain grading standards which concern lowering wheat moisture content from 14.0 percent to 13.5 percent. Because of circumstances of climate characteristic of Michigan, this ruling would work great hardship on Michigan wheat farmers. As Professor Brown indicates, Michigan wheat farmers will be able to meet these standards only with great difficulty and by hazarding their entire crops.

While I assume that grain standards are established only after careful study and investigation, I nevertheless strongly feel that national regulations ought to make due allowance for significant regional production variables. Professor Brown's letter will indicate the importance of such considerations:

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY,
DEPARTMENT OF FARM CROPS,
East Lansing, February 21, 1957.

Hon. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN,
Representative from Michigan, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE CHAMBERLAIN: Due to your interest in Michigan wheat growers and the wheat situation in Michigan I am presenting to you our attitude with regard to one of the proposed changes in wheat grading standards. The proposed change has to do with lowering wheat moisture content from 14 percent to 13.5 percent. This reduction is certain to cause considerable loss to our Michigan farmers, even though they exercise great care in the harvesting and subsequent handling of the crop.

May I call to your attention that Michigan weather is very uncertain through the harvesting period. This means that while it might be and has been possible to get wheat harvested with the moisture down to 14 percent, or slightly under, there would be many acres which could not be harvested as low as 13.5 percent moisture without lowering other quality factors. Wheat, if handled properly, has been kept satisfactorily when its moisture content has been 14 percent to 13.8 percent moisture. Under the proposed change all of this would grade "tough" with the consequent loss of income to the farmer.

Experience has shown that, if our farmers try to meet the lower moisture requirement by delay in harvesting and/or by shortening the harvesting time during the day, there is great likelihood of having 3 other adverse conditions occur, 2 of them fully as serious in their effect on wheat quality as the moisture content between 13.5 percent and 14 percent.

I refer to drop in test weight of mature grain while it stands in the field exposed to rains or heavy dews. This condition is not met with on the Great Plains but is very real in Michigan.

A second condition, applicable primarily to our white wheat, is that periods of wet weather with high humidity after the grain is ripe, has induced sprouting to a detrimental extent. This is not limited only to our white wheats but is more pronounced in our white wheats. This is a condition which can easily be aggravated by delaying harvest to meet a needlessly low moisture requirement.

The third adverse condition, which is certain to be met by many farmers delaying wheat harvest to meet the lower moisture requirement, is that wheat harvest will interfere with the harvesting of spring sown barley and oats, both of which are found on many Michigan farms along with wheat.

For these reasons we are opposed to a lowering of the moisture requirement from 14 percent to 13.5 percent.

Enclosed is a copy of an extension folder F-134: Prevent Damage to Stored Wheat. On pages 3 and 4 are our comments on moisture content.

It may be possible that the grading factors for some classes of wheat should be changed from what they have been, but we think that the moisture grading factor for soft white winter and soft red winter, the classes which predominate in the North Central and Northeastern United States, should not be lowered.

Thank you for giving these suggestions your earnest consideration before final action is taken by the Grain Division of the Agricultural Marketing Service and by Congress.

Very truly yours,

H. M. BROWN,
Assistant Professor.

Dear Mark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following editorial from the Fort Lauderdale Daily News, by Mr. Jack Gore. Mr. Gore has been one of Florida's and the Nation's outstanding editorial writers and has received many awards for his fine editorials on democracy and citizenship. I particularly would like to call to the attention of the membership of the House the editorial

entitled "Dear Mark," which I think sets forth some of the basic tenets of good citizenship which are so important today:

DEAR MARK

Mr. MARK SNARSKY,
Edgewood School,
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

DEAR MARK: This week, in a very intelligent and thoughtful letter from a 9-year-old boy, you asked if I could please take time to explain to you and your classmates the meaning of good citizenship.

You wrote that all during this school year your good citizenship class had been trying to be good citizens. You pointed out that the class had elected good citizenship club officers and that every boy and girl has reported deeds of kindness, thoughtfulness, unselfishness, and examples of living by the Golden Rule each day. You also wrote that at each class meeting committees on beautification, industry, loyalty, health, manners, honor, fair play, and safety make reports for the benefit of all your class members.

Apparently, Mark, you have been wondering if all these things you have been doing will help you to be a good citizen. And like all boys and girls you have an inspiring faith in the ability of older people to give you the right answers to the problems that children of your age have to meet these days.

I wish, Mark, that I did have the ability to tell you in clear, simple terms just what does go into the making of a good citizen. That, however, is quite a difficult job, for you see just about everybody in this world of ours today has his own ideas of what a good citizen should be. Nearly everybody likes to think of himself or herself as the ideal good citizen and since we all don't think the same way it's a little hard sometimes for people to agree on the things that do make a person a good citizen.

I think, however, most people will agree that for a person to be regarded as a real good citizen some things are absolutely necessary. Respect, for instance, is one quality every good citizen must possess. He must have respect for the rights of other citizens. He must have respect for the laws that govern us. Not only for the written laws without which there could be no civilization as we know it today, but also for the moral laws which God handed down to Moses a long, long time ago.

A good citizen must also have respect for himself and the God-given rights that have been conferred upon him. He must stand ready to demand that others respect his rights and, if necessary, he must be willing to fight and to shed his blood to protect not only his own rights but those of his fellow citizens.

As you study your history books, Mark, you will find that many times good citizens have had to fight and to shed their blood to protect their rights and their dignity as free citizens. Today, for instance, we celebrate the birthday of the first President America ever had. You have already learned something about George Washington in your studies and you no doubt already know the terrible struggle George Washington and his little army of brave citizens went through before they won their fight to create a Nation wherein the freedom and the dignity of the individual citizen would reign supreme.

We can never stop fighting, Mark, if we wish to keep our freedom and dignity as citizens of a great Nation. Even today there are men and forces which would like nothing better than to destroy our country and all it stands for. There are many, many nations in the world where freedom and dignity for the common citizen are nonexistent. The people of these nations would dearly love to have the rights that we have over here in America. But they have lost their rights and they face a terribly long and hard fight to even regain them again.

We are more fortunate. We won our fight for freedom almost 200 years ago, and now our battle is only to protect what we won. But don't think, Mark, that this is an easy task. In many ways we are already losing that fight as too many of our people, mostly adults who should know better, fail to understand that every good citizen has certain duties he must shoulder.

He must take an interest in his Government for the citizens of this country are the Government. Many people think today they can do nothing about changing things in their Government they don't like. But you will find, Mark, as you grow older, that the people who are always complaining about their Government are the ones who don't bother to go to the polls to vote; who seldom, if ever, write a letter to their representatives in Washington to make a complaint; and who are always too busy with their own personal affairs to take an active part in the many worthwhile projects that good citizens everywhere are constantly working on in an effort to make their own particular town or city a better place to live for themselves and for their children.

Your letter, Mark, indicates that even at the tender age of 9 you and your classmates are already learning what it takes to be a good citizen. Don't forget these lessons, Mark. Learn them well and as you grow older don't listen to those around you who might say you are a fool for trying to live up to the Golden Rule, for being respectful of your fellowman, his rights and his opinions, and for trying, in your own small way, to make this a better world.

We need boys and girls like you, Mark, to straighten out some of the terrible messes we older folks are going to leave you with. We need you, too, to remind us that out of the mouths of children sometimes come important truths we adults have forgotten.

You are young and you are strong, Mark, and your mind hasn't yet been twisted by the prejudices, the ill-will, the eternal hates, and the selfishness that afflict so many of us older but supposedly wiser citizens. You, and your classmates, are our hope for the future, Mark, and if you put to good use the lessons you are learning now, I have no fears about that future or of your place in it as a very good citizen.

JACK W. GORE, *Editor.*

Veterans' Hospital Situation in California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Lewis S. Sloneker, director of the rehabilitation commission of the American Legion, department of California, appeared before the California congressional delegation on Monday afternoon, February 25, 1957, and gave one of the clearest statements regarding the veterans' hospital situation in California that I have seen.

The main point of his position is that the population in California has increased 63 percent in the last 10 years—from 8,500,000 in 1946 to 13,321,000 in 1956, with an equivalent increase in the veteran population in California and the number of veterans requiring hospital care of one kind and another.

Notwithstanding this phenomenal increase of veterans' hospital requirements, the allocation of hospital beds to California proceeds at a level equal to or somewhat less than the national average. Mr. Sloneker gives a point by point bill of particulars regarding veterans' needs in California.

Under unanimous consent, I make his excellent statement part of the RECORD:

Mr. Chairman and members of the California congressional delegation, we are pleased to again have this opportunity to meet with you, and we bring you greetings from the American Legion, department of California. As citizens of California and members of the American Legion, we are mutually interested with you in all the problems concerning the welfare of our State and its residents.

Today we wish to discuss with you some of the major problems of war veterans and their dependents in California. We feel qualified to do so because of our experience and background in the field of veterans' rehabilitation. Your earnest and sincere consideration of these problems will be appreciated.

Many veterans in California who are sick, broke, and badly in need of hospitalization and medical care are finding it most difficut, if at all able to find any place for such care. Some of them receive little or no medical care. Literally thousands of them eventually find their way to a State or county hospital. Those doing so almost without exception are there at the expense of the taxpayers of California. The expense for the care of veterans is part of the expense of war or the result of war. It should be shared by all of the taxpayers of all of the States in the Nation. A good example of what we are talking about is that 5,500 veterans are patients in California State hospitals. Over 400 veterans per month are admitted to the Los Angeles County General Hospital. This is exclusive of tuberculosis and neuropsychiatric cases. There are approximately 120 veterans per month committed to State mental hospitals from Los Angeles County alone. The number admitted to other county hospitals for treatment or commitment would be smaller but the percentage of the total patient load would be about the same.

It is true that the so-called waiting lists of the Veterans' Administration hospitals in California do not begin to show the need for additional hospital beds for veterans. Literally hundreds of telephone calls are made to the Veterans' Administration hospitals or medical clinics by private practicing physicians for the purpose of trying to get veteran patients in a Veterans' Administration hospital, who are turned down because no beds are available. This large number of veterans in need of hospitalization do not appear on the Veterans' Administration's waiting lists because no formal application (VA form 10–P–10) was made. Veterans hospitalized by reason of service-connected disabilities in State or other hospitals whose hospitalization is being paid by the Veterans' Administration do not show on the waiting lists, yet they do indicate a further need for Veterans' Administration beds. Every day there are hundreds of applicants for hospitalization who are given an appointment date for some time in the future to report to a Veterans' Administration hospital. In such cases they are not placed on the waiting list or if they are already on, they are removed. They are, in fact, waiting to be hospitalized, but are not recorded as waiting for a bed.

Any reasonable long-range planning of hospital beds for veterans in California is at least 10 years behind time. Ten years ago, almost to the day, we were here in meeting with our California congressional delegation,

thanking them for their part in having the Federal Government approve, in October 1946, the construction of a new 1,000-bed neuropsychiatric hospital for the San Francisco area. The rate of progress made toward the final construction of this hospital since then is deplorable. We are told that sometime in the near future bids will be called for. This means we will have to wait a minimum of at least 3 to 5 years longer before this hospital is constructed and made available to receive patients.

Some things that have happened during these past 10 years which have an important bearing on this subject are well known to each of you, but we feel they are worth reviewing at this time. The population in the State of California has increased by 63 percent, or, in other words, from 8,500,000 in 1946 to 13,321,000 in 1956. The Veterans' Administration's Chief Medical Director has stated to us that, insofar as California is concerned, about 1 out of every 6 people in our State are veterans, while about 1 out of every 7 in other States are veterans. In other words, there were, in 1946, 1,417,000, and, in 1956, there were 2,222,000 veterans in our State, an increase of 805,000. According to Veterans' Administration estimate, only 1,378,000 of our State's total veteran population were residents of California prior to entering service, leaving 844,000 who entered service from some other State.

The Federal Government has failed miserably to adequately provide sufficient hospital beds in California for this large veteran population increase. During this 10-year period 1 new 250-bed general medical and surgical Veterans' Administration hospital has been constructed at Fresno, 1 961-bed neuropsychiatric hospital has been constructed at Sepulveda, in San Fernando Valley. During this same period general medical and surgical hospital beds for veterans in California have been reduced by cancellation of contracts the Veterans' Administration had with other Government hospitals, as follows:

Mare Island Navy Hospital	250
Letterman General Army Hospital	175
U. S. Public Health Marine Hospital, San Francisco	50
Oak Knoll Navy Hospital	400
Pasadena regional hospitals	100
Long Beach Navy Hospital	400
Corona Navy Hospital	225
San Diego Navy Hospital	140
Total	1,740

Such action as this not only ignores the fact that all of these beds were needed and occupied by deserving veterans before they were done away with, but it further ignores the better than three-quarters of a million increase in veterans' population. We know of no other State where such conditions exist or such action has been taken.

The fact of the matter is that only three other States show an increased population today over and above the number that went into military service from their State. They are: Arizona, 5,000; Florida, 65,000; and Oregon, 2,000. Here we have a situation existing in California where there has not only been a much higher increase in number and percentagewise of veteran population than in any other State in the last 10 years and during this same period of time a reduction in hospital beds for veterans.

HOSPITAL BEDS PLANNED FOR THE FUTURE

In addition to the over-10-year plans for constructing a new 1,000-bed neuropsychiatric hospital for the San Francisco Bay area, there are plans to construct a new 500-bed general medical and surgical hospital at Martinez, Calif., to replace the present Veterans' Administration 712-bed general medical and surgical hospital in Oakland. Here again we are faced with another reduction of 212 general medical and surgical beds for veterans.

The Veterans' Administration will tell you as they have us, that the reason for this planned reduction is because their plans called for 250 of the 1,000-bed neuropsychiatric hospital planned for the San Francisco area, are to be general medical and surgical beds. This would leave 750 beds for neuropsychiatric patients. Most of the 250 general medical and surgical beds planned for this hospital would be needed for medical and surgical patients from among the neuropsychiatric patients in this hospital and their neighboring 1,400-bed neuropsychiatric hospital at Palo Alto. Apparently California is the only State which is continuously faced with an increase in veteran population and at the same time a reduction in the number of hospital beds for veterans.

Here is what the United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, has to say about the increase in population between 1940 and 1950 of some of the heavier populated counties in the Oakland Veterans' Administration hospital territory:

County:	*Increase percentage*
Alameda	44.3
Contra Costa	197.6
Napa	63.5
Sacramento	62.7
San Joaquin	49.6
Solano	113.4
Stanislaus	69.9
Sutter	40.5
Yolo	29.2
Yuba	43.4

All experts are agreed that the veteran population in California increased at a higher percentage than the general civilian population during this 10-year period, and even at a higher rate subsequent to 1950. In spite of this, the Federal Government's plans call for a reduction of 212 beds for veterans in this area. If there is any doubt as to whether the 250 general medical and surgical beds planned for the new neuropsychiatric hospital to be constructed on the Stanford University grounds at Palo Alto, will be needed for veterans in that immediate area, assuming they would not all be needed for general medical and surgical cases among the neuropsychiatric patients, at this new hospital, and the present neuropsychiatric hospital at Palo Alto, the United States Census Bureau shows the following increases in population by counties during the period of 1940 to 1950:

County	*Increase percentage*
Monterey	63.5
San Mateo	110.8
Santa Clara	66.1
Santa Cruz	47.7

We cannot urge you too strongly to correct this situation and would like to suggest that you start immediate action to have the replacement hospital for Oakland be increased to 1,000 beds, 800 of which will be for general medical and surgical cases and 200 for use of intermediate, or perhaps more appropriate to say, for nursing and attendant care for long term chronic cases.

OTHER VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITALS IN CALIFORNIA IN NEED OF REPAIRS OR REHABILITATION

Fort Miley Hospital, San Francisco: Fort Miley is long overdue for much needed repair.

Fresno Hospital: This hospital building is in excellent condition. There is a great need for the installation of an elevator in the empty elevator shaft already available.

Livermore and San Fernando Hospitals: These hospitals are in reasonably fair condition.

Long Beach Hospital: The first phase of the construction program to replace the badly deteriorated temporary construction, is progressing very satisfactorily.

Palo Alto Hospital: Practically nothing with the exception of emergency alterations and repairs, have been undertaken at this hospital since it was constructed in 1922. All buildings are in need of alterations and repairs. Some may have to be replaced.

Veterans' Administration Center, Los Angeles:

The new pathological wing under construction for the Wadsworth General Medical and Surgical Hospital at this center, is progressing satisfactorily. The building being used for hospital purposes is inadequate and should be used for long-term chronic cases in need of nursing and attendant care. A new 1,000-bed hospital should be constructed as a replacement for general medical cases. This center is badly in need of an administration building. Administration offices are housed in domiciliary barracks. An addition to the women's cottage for domiciliary care for women should be constructed. There are many, many other things that are badly needed at this center, as the report from the manager to the Chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee will show.

We would like to again call to your attention that 85 beds for general medical and surgical cases are closed at the Wadsworth Hospital, for lack of funds.

Veterans' Administration regional office, Los Angeles:

For approximately 12 years, this regional office has been forced to operate in 2 separate and wide-apart locations. One location is in the old quonset hut temporary-type construction on Veterans' Administration property in West Los Angeles, known as the Douglas Building because it was constructed by the Federal Government for Douglas aircraft during World War II. The other location is some 12 or 14 miles distant in the Western Pacific Building, in downtown Los Angeles.

This divided operation is expensive, difficult to manage, and most unsatisfactory from every standpoint. It is reasonable to say that the added cost of this type of operation over this 12-year period has been sufficient to pay for constructing a permanent building on Veterans' Administration property in West Los Angeles, large enough to house the entire regional office. Some interesting figures on space and cost have been obtained for your information.

	Douglas Bldg.	Western Pacific Bldg.
Space:		
Gross square footage	123,300	151,834
Net square footage	105,415	141,539
Difference (nonusable corridor space)	[1] 17,885	[2] 10,295
Rental:		
Annual rental costs (1956)	[3]	$302,926.04
Average rent per square foot per year	None	2.023
Additional costs for upkeep (charged by VA center, includes all utilities, but not the cost of janitorial services or painting)	$140,088	None
Janitorial contract	18,576	None
Painters and laborers	6,077	----------
Total	164,741	302,926.04
Total, 1956	467,667.04	

[1] Los Angeles regional office pays additional costs involved in janitorial service and painting at the Douglas Bldg.
[2] No additional costs for janitorial service or painting in the Western Pacific Bldg. VA is not charged for nonusable space in the Western Pacific Bldg.
[3] None, VA owned.

As of February 19, 1957, the estimated cost to the Veterans' Administration for the past 10 years for the space at the Western Pacific Building is $3,585,777. This is based on an average of 169,540 square feet per year at an average cost of $2.115 per

square foot. The estimated cost for the upkeep, utilities, and other services for the Veterans' Administration owned Douglas Building, is estimated at $1,647,000 for the last 10 years, or a total cost for rental, upkeep, and other services for this divided regional office, for the last 10 years, is $5,232,777, to say nothing of the added cost of motor vehicles and travel necessary between the two buildings.

This divided operation has also added greatly to the cost for personnel. Working conditions are so unsatisfactory in the Douglas Building because of the inconveniences of noise, dirt, dust, poor ventilation, etc., that the turnover of employees is about 100 percent a year.

We are informed that the General Service Administration is interested in a proposal that a building be erected under lease purchase contract on Veterans' Administration property in west Los Angeles, which would include space for the regional office.

We highly recommend for efficiency and economy and a better convenience to all concerned, to use your best efforts to have a satisfactory building of permanent-type construction, constructed under a lease purchase contract on Veterans' Administration property in west Los Angeles with adequate space for this regional office.

VETERANS' HOME OF CALIFORNIA

Last year we told you of the need for Federal aid for capital outlay on a matched basis with State funds, for our veterans home. We also told you of the need and justification for the Veterans' Administration to pay the cost of transportation of bodies of veterans who die in the State Veterans' home on the same basis as it does for the bodies of those veterans who die in Veterans' Administration hospitals. We feel it important enough to repeat what we had to say to you on this subject last year.

A majority of States have established, and operate veterans' homes for domiliciary and/or hospital care of disabled war veterans. The Federal Government has recognized the assistance given by the States in caring for thousands of disabled war veterans through Federal-aid subsidies in part payment for the operating expense of maintaining veterans' homes.

The ever-increasing veteran population, eligible to our California Veterans' Home, has continuously required additional construction, modernization, additions and/or improvements of domiciliary, hospital, and auxiliary buildings. Financial assistance is required by California and several States in providing additional and planned facilities in relation to the veteran patient and member population.

Our State government has been very generous in maintaining and modernizing our California Veterans' Home. It is considered the finest in the land today. At present, there are 2,000 members, both male and female, in domiciliary, chronic, and convalescent, and hospital. Modernization and construction of new additions are presently underway. The overall plans call for accommodations to care for a maximum of 3,250 members.

Bills have been introduced and are now pending in the Congress which, if acted on favorably, would grant Federal aid subsidy to State veterans' homes for capital outlay, which would be in accordance with our Department and national mandates on this matter.

When a veteran dies in a Veterans' Administration hospital or domiciliary home, payment for transporting the body for burial to any place in the continental limits of the United States may be authorized. Veterans in our States veterans' home must meet Veterans' Administration requirements for hospital or domiciliary care. When they die, the next of kin or the State of California now have to pay for the transportation of their bodies to the place of burial.

We believe, and it is our recommendation, that provisions for payment by the Veterans' Administration for cost of transportation of the bodies of veterans who die in State veterans' homes be on identically the same basis as it is for the bodies of those veterans who die in Veterans' Administration hospitals. The Veterans' Administration advises that to do this will require legislation.

NEED FOR NATIONAL CEMETERY IN LOS ANGELES AREA

It is important and long overdue that we have a national cemetery in the Los Angeles area. We are again repeating what we had to say to you on this subject last year.

It is reliably estimated that there are over 818,000 veterans residing in Los Angeles County. There are well over a million veterans residing in the Los Angeles area. There are many next of kin from this area who cannot afford transportation to Golden Gate Cemetery, San Bruno, or Fort Rosecrans, San Diego, for the purpose of attending the funeral and/or burial of their loved ones, where it is the desire to bury them in a national cemetery. We know of no place in the United States with such heavy concentration of veterans where a national cemetery is not more closely situated. The Veterans' Administration cemetery in West Los Angeles is not available for burial of deceased servicemen or veterans who die outside of Veterans' Administration hospitals.

SURVIVORS OF DECEASED VETERANS CONFUSED AND DISAPPOINTED

We are very sorry to report the difficulty survivors of those killed while in active military service or of veterans who have died of service-incurred disabilities are having, because of some of the unreasonable restrictions in Servicemen's and Veterans' Survivors Benefits Act of 1956 (Public Law 881, 84th Cong.). It is not believed that the Congress intended, by the passage of this act, to take away benefits to which these survivors were entitled to and drawing prior to December 31, 1956. Many such survivors are, however, being hurt by having their benefits reduced because of applying and accepting what they thought and what the Veterans' Administration thought to be an increase over what they were previously receiving.

The many problems these survivors are faced with and the many problems the Veterans' Administration is faced with in trying to administer this law could come in for a very lengthy discussion. Just to cite 1 or 2 examples: A widow drawing death compensation and servicemen's indemnity insurance applies for benefits under Public Law 881. The Veterans' Administration checks the records and finds that under this new law the widow would be entitled to a higher payment of dependency and indemnity compensation than she is drawing, then make up a new award for payments under the new law. The widow receives her first check and then remarries. She is no longer entitled to anything. On the other hand, had she not elected to receive benefits under Public Law 881, all she would have lost by reason of her remarriage would have been her death compensation. She would have continued to draw her servicemen's indemnity insurance. This could amount to a loss up to $7,000 or $8,000.

A dependent mother drawing $75 per month death compensation, makes application for benefits under Public Law 881, may receive payment in the same amount, as this is the maximum. Assuming she has another son who was disabled while in military service and he dies, the mother is the beneficiary for national service life insurance. This may cause this almost destitute mother who has lost 2 sons as the result of military service in time of war, to lose her death compensation because under the new law this insurance would be counted as income.

There is a provision of this law that makes an election once made irrevocable. What possible justification is there for this? It is contrary to all prior laws and Veterans' Administration regulations granting benefits to veterans and the dependents of those who have died. Regulations now in effect permit the Veterans' Administration where two benefits are payable, such as, service connected compensation or pension, to pay the one offering the most. The same right is given those in receipt of retirement pay to elect and reelect. How can we possibly justify taking advantage of aged and dependent parents and their lack of understanding and penalize them by reducing indemnity compensation payments if later they become entitled to national service life insurance, part III, social security, and so forth? While speaking of dependent parents, what justification is there for considering payments of national service life insurance and Government life insurance for which premiums were paid as income? Why penalize a widow struggling to live on meager death compensation and servicemen's indemnity for electing to receive the few dollars more of servicemen's indemnity payments and then losing it all on remarriage, resulting in her losing probably thousands of dollars of servicemen's indemnity to which if she had not made the election, she would still be entitled?

How can we possibly justify a law that permits a situation which provides if a veteran dies on December 31, 1956, say of disability in combat, his widow is entitled to nothing; but the widow of another veteran who dies of the same disability on January 1, a day later, may be entitled to as high as $262 a month the rest of her life?

Post Office at Fort Mill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an article from the Fort Mill Times regarding delays in erecting new post office at Fort Mill:

I suppose nobody in Fort Mill was surprised last week when it was announced from Washington that plans for a new post office building in Fort Mill had been suspended. After all these years of Government promises and subsequent letdowns, Fort Mill folk have grown accustomed to disappointment at the hands of the Post Office Department.

Probably most citizens hereabouts are familiar with the Fort Mill post office story. But possibly there are a few who are not; so briefly, I'll rehash it:

Back in the thirties almost every city of Fort Mill's size in the United States was the recipient of a handsome new post office. This was true even in South Carolina and York County. Rock Hill, York, and Clover all received spacious new post office buildings.

About 1937 postal authorities agreed that the small building here which for many years had been rented for a post office was too small and its facilities inadequate. With typical Government slowness the Department set about in quest of a lot on which to erect a new office. Finally, a nice centrally located lot was secured from the late L. A. Harris. The deal was consummated in 1939

and for a time it looked as though the building actually would be erected. A service station that occupied the site was moved to another location. The start of construction seemed imminent.

But simultaneous with the drawing of the plans for our new post office, Hitler's plans for conquering the world were also taking shape. The war clouds rolled in. The announcement was made that the Government would erect no more post office buildings until a more propitious time. It was promised, however, that the local office would be one of the first to be built after the cessation of hostilities.

When peace came, talk of this city's new post office also came. Not only in Fort Mill, but from official sources in Washington. At regular intervals announcements would come out of Washington that the Budget Commission, the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, the Senate Post Office Committee, the Post Office Department, etc., had authorized the expenditure of such-and-such an amount for a new post office in Fort Mill. The hopes of some local citizens would rise, only to be smothered out a short time later by the familiar postponement announcement.

I hesitate to state how many times these contradictory announcements have come out of Washington because they have been so numerous—possibly averaging once a year for the past decade.

Then the Post Office Department instituted its lease-purchase plan, whereby a private contractor would erect the building and the Department would lease it and pay for it over a 20-year period with a very low rate of interest on the contractor's investment.

A couple of years ago a delegation of Fort Mill citizens headed by Mayor Luther G. Patterson and Postmaster W. H. Nims went to Washington in an attempt to speed the building's erection. They were accorded a warm reception from South Carolina's Congressmen and Senators, and an equally cool one from postal officials.

Eventually it was agreed that a building costing $49,000 might be erected here under the terms of the lease-purchase plan. Many local citizens were of the opinion that this amount would not erect a postoffice that would be a credit to the community. But Postmaster Nims stated that it would build one so much larger and more adequate than the little rented room we now have, that he was happy over the prospects.

Architects were engaged to draw plans. They drew plans for a building that they estimated would cost around $50,000 and submitted them to postal officials in Washington. The local report is that officials of the Post Office Department in Washington, anxious for an excuse not to erect the building, placed an arbitrary figure on the plans as an estimated cost, said it was too much and abandoned the project.

All of this leaves us back where we started in 1937 with local postal employees trying to handle an ever-increasing volume of mail in the same cramped quarters that have been home to Fort Mill's postoffice for more than 40 years. If Fort Mill needed a new postoffice when it was first recommended two decades ago, how much more we need it today, considering our little city's steady growth.

If the string of broken promises and disappointments weren't so bitter it would remind one of the story of the council in a small town which unanimously passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That Red River will erect a new town hall.

"*Resolved*, That the new town hall will be built of the materials which are salvaged from the old town hall.

"*Resolved*, That the old town hall must not be torn down until the new town hall is completed."

The Post Office Department may not have passed this resolution in connection with the construction of the Fort Mill Post Office. However, it has obtained the same results.

Cut Spending, Not Our Throats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BYRON G. ROGERS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial that appeared in the Denver Post, Denver, Colo., of February 20, 1957.

The editorial is as follows:

CUT SPENDING, NOT OUR THROATS

If anyone wants to argue that taxes are too high and that Government spending should be reduced, we are willing and eager to listen. There are a lot of things we would like to buy if our tax bill were lower.

When the Government takes a dollar out of our pocket, it takes money we had hoped to spend on a refrigerator or a suit of clothes and says, "Uncle Sammy will spend this dollar for you—for public purposes. A few cents will go to buy weapons. A few to build roads. A few to bolster farm prices. A few for veterans benefits. A few to support the post office. A few to protect public health, stockpile minerals, build dams, aid the disabled, conduct atomic research, pay the expenses of Congress, guarantee home loans, improve fishing, help foreign countries strengthen their economies, help cities clear slums and build airports, pay interest on the United States debt, prosecute criminals, inspect coal mines, protect national forests from fire, maintain national parks, operate lighthouses, etc., etc., etc."

If taxes and Government spending are too high, the sensible way to economize is to hunt for expenditures which can be eliminated without doing any particular harm. We recommend this course to all tax complainers and hope they can come up with some good suggestions.

A less sensible way to try to reduce taxes and spending it to try to scare people into a belief that failure to ax the Federal budget will bring on a depression or inflation. This is the method Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey and ex-President Hoover have been using.

It has been echoed by scores of businessmen who have taken up the theme that because of Government spending the country is drifting toward bankruptcy.

The trouble with scare tactics is that they can upset business confidence, do more harm than good, and never reach the real problem of reducing Government spending at all. We had a brief demonstration of this the other day when Mr. Humphrey had to explain that, in spite of his previous statement about a hair-curling depression, he considers the country in good financial condition.

That second statement repaired some of the damage to business confidence and the stock market promptly staged a rally. Business Week magazine believes this scare talk warrants an admonition:

"Pull yourselves together, gentlemen. Button up those lips. You may be talking us into a lot of needless trouble, and some of your friends are beginning to worry about you."

Business Week takes the position we are in no danger of runaway inflation, there is no resemblance to 1929 at this time and the real cause of the strange statements that have been coming out of Washington is the frustration the Eisenhower administration feels in desiring to reduce spending without being able to discover how to do it.

Depression talk would be more easily excusable if all the economic statistics did not prove that the country has just had the 4 most prosperous years in its history—and that at a time of high Government spending.

It has just been announced that the gross national product in 1956—the total value of goods and services produced and performed by the American people—reached an alltime record of $412 billion. How Mr. Humphrey can talk about a hair-curling depression in the light of that performance is difficult to understand.

As much as we would like to see Government spending reduced, we believe it is entirely possible that big Federal budgets have contributed to the record business performance. Certainly, some Federal spending, such as aid to farmers, payments to veterans, and so forth, have helped maintain consumer purchasing power.

As Business Week puts it:

Whatever caused the 1929 collapse . . . it wasn't a rise in Federal spending of the sort that Humphrey and Hoover have been decrying.

This may be heresy among those who would like to reduce taxes by scaring people silly but it happens to be true and cannot be ignored.

Outdoor Advertising and the New Superhighways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Printers Ink of January 24, 1957:

OUTDOOR ADVERTISING AND THE NEW SUPERHIGHWAYS

Outdoor advertising should be outlawed on the new Federal-State $50 billion road network, says Robert Moses, New York's parks and highways administrator.

In a widely discussed article in the December issue of Harper's magazine, Moses continues his long crusade against the outdoor medium. He writes in such vitriolic and exaggerated fashion that a patrician disdain toward all advertising is evident.

Advocating an amendment to the Federal law setting up the highway program in order to control billboards and advertising devices, he says: "We face the prospect of speedways built in gasoline gullies, obliterating scenery,

and confined between continuous rows of offensive advertising."

In his language Moses violates the good taste he is so concerned about with respect to the Nation's scenery. His article contains ridiculous exaggerations in such phrases as: "Continuous barricades of monstrous billboards." Nevertheless his acknowledged public service and the very violence of his opinions combine to get a hearing for his views. And, from his point of view, he evidently means there should be no outdoor advertising—not even along the highway connections that have a heavy and predominantly commercial function; that lead to and through urban areas; through thousands of miles of cities and business areas.

Moses ignores completely the contribution of advertising in general and of outdoor advertising specifically to our economic welfare. He also ignores the continuous and successful efforts made in recent years by the outdoor industry in voluntarily controlling their medium in terms of taste, crowding and location. He ignores the fact that the vast majority of American consumers do not share the opinion of the few who carry on a continuous esthetic crusade against outdoor advertising. Advertisers would hardly use a medium that, because of public objection, would redound against them. Incidentally, an American public that will accept in its living room, via television, a depiction of the gastronomical tract down which the aspirin tablets flow is again evidently not composed of esthetes of the Moses caliber.

There are several points that need to be made about Moses' proposal to ban by legislation outdoor advertising along the new highways. First, everyone in advertising—especially those allied with an advertising medium other than outdoor—should take the Moses proposal as a reflection on the whole advertising business. He recognizes no economic contribution of it, while his fundamental complaint is one that could be leveled at many other media.

Today the important job advertising has to do—and outdoor is an important segment of advertising as a whole—is to see that this Nation's productivity is consumed. Advertising today is a necessity as we seek to maintain prosperity in the face of communistic hopes that capitalism will collapse.

On the other hand, the outdoor-advertising industry, more than ever, has to exert vigilance, good taste and regard for minority opinion if it is to stave off legislation being pushed by a minority that evidently has a fanatical zeal in its makeup.

ELDRIDGE PETERSON,
Publisher.

The America We Lost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 24, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, some of our more modern historians and students of government may get a shock out of the following statement by Dr. Mario A. Pei, a naturalized citizen of the United States, a native of Italy, who fears that we are losing some of the precious things that made the United States the great Nation that it is.

Perhaps all of us could take a leaf from his book and benefit from his sound advice which comes from personal experience.

I recommend the following as good reading for any and all Americans:

THE AMERICA WE LOST

(Dr. Mario A. Pei, who came to this country from Italy in 1908, is an associate professor of romance philology at Columbia University in New York. He is the author of several distinguished books and numerous magazine articles. This article appeared in the Saturday Evening Post of May 31, 1952.)

When I first came to America, 44 years ago, I learned a new meaning of the word "liberty"—freedom from government.

I did not learn a new meaning for democracy. The European country from which I came, Italy, was at that time as democratic as America. It was a constitutional monarchy, with a parliament, free and frequent elections, lots of political parties and plenty of freedom of religion, speech, press, and assembly.

But my native country was government-ridden. A vast bureaucracy held it in its countless tentacles. Regardless of the party or coalition of parties that might be in power at the moment, the government was everywhere. Wherever one looked, one saw signs of the everpresent government—in the uniforms of numberless royal, rural, and municipal policemen, soldiers, officers, gold-braided functionaries of all sorts. You could not take a step without government intervention.

Many industries and businesses were government-owned and government-run—railroads, telegraphs, salt, and tobacco among them. No agreement, however trivial, was legal unless written on government-stamped paper. If you stepped out of the city into the country and came back with a ham, a loaf of bread, or a bottle of wine you had to stop at the internal-revenue barriers and pay duty to the government, and so did the farmers who brought in the city's food supply every morning. No business could be started or run without the official sanction of a hundred bureaucrats.

Young people did not dream of going into business for themselves; they dreamed of a modest but safe guovernment job, where they would have tenure, security, and a pitiful pension at the end of their plodding careers. There was grinding taxation to support the many government functions and the innumerable public servants. Everybody hated the government—not just the party in power, but the government itself. They had even coined a phrase, "It's raining—thief of a government!" as though even the evils of nature were the government's fault. Yet, I repeat, the country was democratically run, with all the trappings of a many-party system and all the freedoms of which we in America boast today.

America in those days made you open your lungs wide and inhale great gulps of freedom-laden air, for here was one additional freedom—freedom from government.

The Government was conspicuous by its very absence. There were no men in uniform, save occasional cops and firemen, no visible bureaucrats, no stifling restrictions, no Government monopolies. It was wonderful to get used to the American system: To learn that a contract was valid if written on the side of a house; that you could move not only from the city to the country but from State to State and never be asked what your business was or whether you had anything to declare; that you could open and conduct your own business, provided it was a legitimate one, without Government interference; that you could go from one end of the year to the other and never have contact with the National Government, save for the cheery postman who delivered your mail with a speed and efficiency unknown today; that there were no national taxes, save hidden excises and import duties that you did not even know you paid.

In that horse-and-buggy America, if you made an honest dollar, you could pocket it or spend it without having to figure what portion of it you "owed" the Government or what possible deductions you could allege against that Government's claims. You did not have to keep books and records of every bit of income and expenditure or run the risk of being called a liar and a cheat by someone in authority.

Above all, the national ideal was not the obscure security of a Government job, but the boundless opportunity that all Americans seemed to consider their birthright. Those same Americans loved their Government then. It was there to help, protect, and defend them, not to restrict, befuddle and harass them. At the same time, they did not look to the Government for a livelihood or for special privileges and handouts. They were independent men in the full sense of the word.

Foreign-born citizens have been watching with alarm the gradual Europeanization of America over the past 20 years. They have seen the growth of the familiar European-style government octopus, along with the vanishing of the American spirit of freedom and opportunity and its replacement by a breathless search for security that is doomed to defeat in advance in a world where nothing, not even life itself, is secure.

Far more than the native born, they are in a position to make comparisons. They see that America is fast becoming a 19th century model European country. They are asked to believe that this is progress. But they know from bitter experience that it just isn't so.

Prophets of Debt and Doom?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BYRON G. ROGERS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial that appeared in the Denver Post, Denver, Colo., February 20, 1957.

The editorial is as follows:

PROPHETS OF DEBT AND DOOM?

(By Roscoe Fleming)

Again we've had with us the gentlemen who tell us down to the dollar that we each owe $1,909 as our share of the public debt, or $7,636 per family of four. This deftly introduces their thesis of national ruin; that "worra-worra," all that's left for us is to drive to the poorhouse in our tail-fin Caddies. No wonder, they say, that newborn babies squall. They've just learned how much they already owe, etc., etc.,

These prophets of debt and doom are usually well-paid agents of other people who are not nearly so interested in cutting down the total burden of taxes, as in conning the 99 percent of us into taking over more of the burden.

Also, they stop short. It really ought to scare us into conniption fits, and the babies into retreat to the womb to learn how much we each owe of the total debt, public and private.

This would figure out to about $4,400 per person, or $17,600 per family of 4. "Golly, Pa, move over on that park bench; it's going to be cold tonight."

I don't maintain for a second that the public debt is not too big, and that we all oughtn't to help cut it down, even if neces-

sary by such means as paying our way more nearly as we go, by higher Federal income-tax rates.

The times cry out for this anyway as a deflater of inflation; that is, if our agents in Government are really serious about the perils of inflation.

But the "I want to make yer flesh creep" approach is all washed up because of its very insincerity. What is our country worth? What could we get, to move out to the moon or somewhere and let some tribe with lots of money but no home move in, like selling your house fully furnished? What would we sell for?

Of course, we wouldn't sell at any price, but would $3.2 trillion interest you as a possible valuation of the physical United States of America?

Then the public debt is just 10 percent of what the United States of America is worth. And the total debt is just 24 percent. Show me a young couple who don't go in deeper than that, when they buy their first home.

But, you say, we don't own all that; some of us own most of it, and most of us own much less of it, grading down to nothing? And that this is the American way?

Now you get the point, as the harpooner said to the whale: If it is fair to tell us that we all owe the debt equally, and that Mr. John R. Bigg, the well-known multimillionaire, owes only $7,636 of it along with his wife and two, exactly the same as his clerk Bob R. Cratchit and his wife and two—well, how about going the logical step further?

That would be to divvy up also all the wealth that the debt is balanced against, and thus let us all share equal joy in owning the United States of America, along with our equal gloom in owning the debt.

In other words, these gentlemen who so deftly slice up the debt in equal shares outmarx Marx—and I do mean Karl and not Groucho—when it comes to sharing the burden.

But when it comes to sharing the wealth that the debt is balanced against—why, they cry, that's communism; you ought to have your mouth washed out with soap after being investigated by the authorities and fired from your job.

The joke is that what they perhaps ingenuously seem to advocate—dividing up the burden equally but not the benefits—is already on full and daily view in Russia.

There the hapless comrade learns anew each morn that his is the full staggering share of the burden, heaped high and higher; but that the benefits are reserved for the minority of his comrade betters.

Is the U. S. S. R. their model for the United States?

Future Farmers of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, as you know last week was National Future Farmers of America Week.

The FFA chapters have made many outstanding contributions to our American society. The primary interest of the program is to promote better farm practices; however, good citizenship, and strong character are important features of the training.

The following is an article which appeared in the Manhattan (Kans.) Mercury newspaper for Tuesday, February 19, 1957. This newspaper account clearly shows the excellent results of FFA activities.

Kansas can be proud of the many fine records achieved by Kansas FFA chapters, such as is presented in this article regarding the Manhattan, Kans., high school FFA chapter. The article follows:

FORTY-ONE WORTH $25,753—MANHATTAN CHAPTER HAS 58 IN FFA WORK

(By Max Good)

The Future Farmers of America is a national organization of boys who are students of vocational agriculture in the public high school. Nationally the FFA has more than 9,000 chapters and 380,000 members. All over the Nation, FFA members are celebrating FFA Week.

The Manhattan chapter has 58 members, with Gerald Havenstein, president of the organization. Forty-four members are enrolled in Manhattan High School and 14 are graduates who keep an active interest in FFA projects started in high school.

The FFA program of work is built around eight headings. They are:

Supervised farm practice, cooperation, community service, leadership, earnings and savings, conduct of meetings, scholarships, and recreation.

Each member keeps a Kansas vocational agriculture record book which includes his diary agreement, inventory and net-worth statement, receipts and expenses, livestock and crop production records and analysis of his farm business. The drought last summer made it difficult for several boys to show a profit, but overall progress is gratifying The 41 members now in school show a total net worth of $25,753.74, with a gain of $5,360 for 1956.

Beef cattle is the most popular enterprise with 25 members participating. Eighteen have hogs, 16 have poultry and rabbits, 4 have dairy cattle, and 2 have bees. Feed crops for the livestock were raised by 26 members and 24 raised gardens.

Other activities include a trip to the Topeka Free Fair, National FFA Convention, and a trip to the American Royal Livestock Show at Kansas City.

Manhattan's FFA judging team consisting of Harold Bailey, Gerald Havenstein, and Walter Rudolph participated in the national dairy judging contest at Waterloo, Iowa, last October.

Last week seven members judged poultry at the Solomon District contest. The Manattan Chapter plans to judge crops at Hope; farm mechanics at Clay Center; dairy and dairy products at Riley, and they will sponsor the district livestock judging contest.

All of this activity is in preparation for the State high school agriculture and farm mechanics contests to be held at Kansas State College April 20 and 30.

Members of the Manhattan chapter are as follows:

Ninth grade: Kent Dial, Douglas Diederich, Mike Leasure, Vincent Miller, Douglas Mitchen, Larry Moss, Loren Parks, Alvin Stewart, George Stauffer, and Keith Umscheid.

Tenth grade: Robert Brook, Bruce Conrad, Bill Ensley, Dale Finney, Donald Genger, George Hall, Charles Langford, Larry Mummert, LeRoy Padgett, William Rogers, Henry Rosencutter, John Rosencutter, Richard Spain, Arnell Springer and Joe Stater.

Eleventh grade: Larry France, David Isaacson, Jerry Graves, Jackie Hignite, George Jensen, Richard Malone, Wayne Moritz, Cleo Petersen, Gerald Powell, Dave Richards, and Robert Stewart.

Twelfth grade: Dennie Anderson, Harold Bailey, Jim Beiter, Richard Britt, Gerald Havenstein, Kenneth Kientz, Larry Lake, Larry Rogers, Jim Walters, Albert Wood, and Eddie Woodyard.

Those who have graduated but still maintain FFA projects are:

Dale Lind, Jesse Estes, Alfred Heidel, Paul Heidel, Roy Wood, Willis Wood, Larry O'Neill, Walter Rudolph, Paul Ehm, Harold Ehm, and Anton Strauss.

FFA project work is widespread and in Kansas more than 7,500 young men participate in its various offerings in the field of farming. During the first 28 years of its history the Kansas association of the FFA has elected 2,059 members to the State farmer degree; 93 members have received the American farmer degree; one member was declared star farmer of America, and 2 members from the Sunflower State won the national FFA speech contest.

National FFA Week is observed in February every year during the week of the anniversary of George Washington's birthday. Although usually considered first as a great general, our first President and an engineer, Washington's first love was the farm he called Mount Vernon. There he was one of the first in the Nation to practice contour farming, crop rotations, and other soil-conserving methods. Thus it is out of deep respect and admiration for George Washington, that Future Farmers annually observe their national FFA Week at the time of his birthday.

Power Utilities Would Throw Away Yardstick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, if Secretary of the Interior Seaton is permitted by Congress to sell the falling water of the Trinity Dam in California to the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., it will set a most disastrous precedent for other similar projects throughout the Nation. In my considered opinion, if the Seaton plan is accepted, it will give the green light to virtual monopolization by the utilities of hydroelectric power resources in the West.

One of the best insurances against too high power rates is competition. This fact seems to have totally escaped both former Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay and the incumbent Interior Secretary, Fred A. Seaton. These men appear to have forgotten, if they ever knew, the value to the people of a public yardstick measuring the cost of electricity in this country.

The Sacramento Bee of Sacramento, Calif., in its February 21 issue, editorially calls attention to the fact that the lowest rates charged by private utilities are in areas of the United States which also have access to public power. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

POWER UTILITIES WOULD THROW AWAY YARDSTICK

One thing which never impressed itself upon former Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay and apparently no more so on the present Secretary, Fred A. Seaton, is the value to the people of a public yardstick measuring what electricity should cost.

It is argued that State regulative bodies set the power rates of the privately owned utilities and this is a safeguard to the consumers in lieu of competition.

But it has not worked out that way.

The lowest private utilities rates are in the territories which also have access to public power.

It can be shown graphically and spectacularly that, the farther one is removed geographically from the Tennessee Valley area, the Government developments in the Pacific Northwest, and the Central Valley's project, the higher are the rates he is charged by the privately owned utilities.

This hardly can be marked down as a coincidence. The pattern is definite. It is consistent. To insure the consumers the most economical power costs there needs to be the yardstick which public power affords.

The comparison in rates between privately and publicly owned power utilities long has been odious to the private power lobby—and its No. 1 objective is to eliminate this comparison by the simple expedient of eliminating every vestige of public power.

Secretary Seaton has fallen in step with this move by recommending the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. be given the power generating facilities of the Trinity project.

He presents some questionable figures to the effect the Government would be something like $55 million better off at the end of 50 years than if it developed the hydro itself.

Even if these calculations were correct two glaring fallacies enter into his reasoning.

The $55 million would be paid by the customers of the utility and they also are taxpayers, so how would they gain? They would not.

United States Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL made this crystal clear when he said of the proposed Trinity partnership:

"I have studied the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior. I disagree with them. They do not serve the interests of the people of California. I cannot and will not support them."

If the yardstick of public power rates is removed the utility customers in California and everywhere in the United States will be charged many times $55 million through higher power rates. Of that there can be no doubt.

The power yardstick is a concept inherent in the reclamation program inaugurated in 1902 by President Theodore Roosevelt. But it has escaped the Eisenhower administration which views a matter of such vital, personal concern to every citizen only as "creeping socialism."

Is Sectional Discrimination Evil, Too?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the February 21 issue of the Pageland (S. C.) Journal.

IS SECTIONAL DISCRIMINATION EVIL, TOO?

Believing that every point of view should be understood and appreciated for its true worth, this newspaper has long maintained an open-door policy toward letter writers, printing frequently opinions that vary sharply from those of the editors, in the interest of better understanding.

Recently a letter from a resident of the State of Maine, the most northeastern of all the 48 States and in many ways the most rock-ribbed, geographically as well as politically, of the States, was published in the Christian Science Monitor, one of the very best daily newspapers in America. The writer, obviously a man of breadth and wisdom, presents the forced integration question in a new light, one that assumes at the outset that people are capable of harboring more than one idea at a time.

We find the letter interesting, its presentation reasonable, and its rather new idea provocative. It follows:

"SECTIONAL DISCRIMINATION

"To the Christian Science Monitor:

"If we once admit the principle that a majority in Congress may enact laws bearing mainly (or almost wholly, in practice) upon one section of the country, over the vehement protests of representatives of that section, we are denying the very basis of representative government and laying ourselves open to a tyranny which might be no less oppressive than that of a dictator.

"This will perhaps be more apparent if we think of it in terms of economics. Time was when manufacturing had its principal home in the northeast. Suppose that during that era a majority representing the other parts of the country had rail-roaded through Congress some Federal legislation doing away with the protective tariff. You could have heard the screams of New England clear to the Pacific coast.

"I might make this thesis more general and state that no branch of the Federal Government, either legislative or executive, is entitled to force restrictions not already provided for by law upon any section, except where such action is essential to the preservation of the union, as in the case of war. The question is, therefore, not whether integration is morally right, nor does it depend upon the merits of the contemplated civil-rights bill per se. It has to do rather with the basic concept of government on which our Nation was founded. I think it is both interesting and important in the present argument over civil rights (so called) that expression be given to this point of view, and particularly so when it comes from someone removed about as far as possible from the South.

"JOHN T. ROWLAND.

"NEWCASTLE, MAINE."

How American Communities Are Handling Their School Shortage Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the Bloomington Sun, of Bloomington, Minn., has recently printed a series of articles, by Miss Betty Wilson, on how various American communities are handling their school shortage problems. As an indication of the interest of one Minnesota community, I should like to bring these articles to the attention of my colleagues.

I ask unanimous consent that two of the articles, entitled, respectively, "What Are Other Communities Doing About Space Shortages?" and "Construction Costs Are Compared," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SCHOOL PROBLEM: WHAT ARE OTHER COMMUNITIES DOING ABOUT SPACE SHORTAGE?

(By Betty Wilson)

"There was an old woman
Who lived in a shoe;
She had so many children
She didn't know what to do."

The lack of adequate school buildings is now alarming. The shoe is pinching all over the United States.

Other crowded communities are employing stop-gap measures, including hectic triple shifts in New York City, Texas, and California, temporary wooden portable schools in Minneapolis, Tacoma, Wash., and El Paso, and belt-tightening "economy" schools in Robbinsdale, Minnetonka, Glen Lake, and Hopkins.

Some hard-pressed districts have rented space in churches and firehouses. Others have used buses, abandoned railroad cars and converted chicken coops.

In districts where rigid State statutes have prohibited adequate financing and where property assessments have been unrealistic to meet the added need for new schools, new methods of financing have evolved.

In several communities across the country, big builders are experimenting with ideas designed to open the school doors as soon as new homes are occupied.

These include schools for rent, cottage schools which can be reconverted into small homes and schools financed by slightly higher home prices.

Examples are Linda Mar, Calif., Park Forest, Ill., and El Paso, Tex.

In Linda Mar the school board could not find enough room for the influx as new families arrived in the area.

Builder Andres F. Oddstad, Jr., built a temporary school of 11 houses.

By leaving out room partitions and connecting the buildings by a covered breezeway, 10 classrooms and an administration building were provided.

Financed as unfinished homes and FHA insured, the school is being rented to the district for $750 a month until a new permanent school is ready to operate.

At that time it is planned that the builder will put in partitions, remove the walks, and garages, and sell the houses as homes.

El Paso has a similar cottage school plan for first and second graders in suburban areas.

Besides their temporary advantages, school authorities here believe that these small, homelike schools provide an especially suitable atmosphere for very young children.

Six years ago Park Forest, Ill., was an open prairie. Its 1955 population was 23,000, including 9,000 children under 14.

To meet the classroom crisis last year builders turned over a dozen row-house apartment units as temporary school quarters.

Ten ranch-type cottages modified as 2-classroom schools, each accommodating 40 to 50 pupils, are rented to the district by the builder through a not-for-profit school corporation at actual debt-service cost, computed on a 20-year 4.5-percent mortgage basis.

The company has given the school district $500,000 in operating subsidies, loan assistance, and land at par value.

In addition it has advanced nearly $1.4 million of working capital to the not-for-profit corporation.

Builders in Park Forest recently proposed to contract with the district to make a gift of $200 to $250 to the corporation out of the proceeds of each house sold.

(The average middle- or lower-income house here goes on the assessment lists at a figure from $200 to $250 too low to meet the

added need for new schools for children who will live in the house.)

Some communities have saved time and money by converting large private homes, hotels, community centers, or other buildings into schools.

Here consideration must be given safety and health, maintenance costs, and fire insurance.

In Bucks County, Pa., it has been found practical to convert prefabricated one-family houses to one-room schools, moving them from one part of the district to another as needed.

Prefabricated self-contained classrooms and expandable schools also are coming into use on a permanent basis.

In Pennsylvania, builder William Levitt set aside land for schools in his new community of 16,000 homes outside Philadelphia.

He financed and built two 20-room schools at a half-million each and leased them to the board, giving title to the district after 20 years.

The schools rent for $38,000 a year.

If the board had floated a 35-year bond issue for similar schools, costs would have been about $67,500 a year.

CONSTRUCTION COSTS ARE COMPARED

(By Betty Wilson)

Some communities have developed cluster and campus designs clustering small numbers of classrooms in individual building units attached to, or near, separate nonclassroom space used by all.

The general effect is like a small college. This kind of arrangement has been used for years in some private preparatory schools.

A pioneer among campus-type public schools was the Heathcote Elementary School in Scarsdale, N. Y.

Cluster plans also have been adopted for the Oak Meadow Primary School in Fairfax, Calif., San Carlos, Calif., and Groton, Conn.

The Hollow Tree Elementary School at Darien, Conn., has 16 classrooms housed in eight 1-story buildings and attached at intervals to a long multipurpose central building.

Each classroom has its own outside entrance and small court.

In the central building are offices and a dining room-assembly space equipped with a pullout stage and library shelves.

Economy in construction is achieved by the elimination of corridors.

This was 1 of 5 winners in the 1954 competition for better school design sponsored by the School Executive.

There is a trend in some areas toward schools with small window areas.

Here in Minnesota a brick wall used instead of glass saves 50 cents per square foot.

Howarden, Iowa, is an example of a new school with a small window area. Artificial lights are used most of the year.

They maintain there is a marked saving in cleaning costs and small heat loss as well as cutting down glare of natural light.

They also suggest that a solid wall gives children a feeling of security they cannot have from bringing the outside into the classroom through large sheets or walls of glass.

Westmor High School at Daly City, Calif., uses a loft plan with windowless classrooms.

The architect figures that heating requirements will be 45 percent less because of the minimum exterior surface, few openings, and day-long electric light.

Public School 220 in New York City uses combinations of aluminum, glass and masonry with an aluminum window wall, and aluminum paneling in place of masonry, as does Fort Couch, Pa., and Fairmont high school in Minnesota, and a new school coming up at Moorhead.

Advocates say the advantages are the light weight permits use of smaller foundations, lighter structural steel framework; larger and fewer wall facing units; preassembly methods in shop; low transportation load to construction site with less freight charge; greater interior heat retention in winter; better exterior heat resistance in summer; ease and speed of wall erection reduces labor costs, brings earlier occupancy.

The Christian Brothers school on highway 100 north of Robinsdale is considered a unique school in economy design. Asphalt tile is used here instead of terrazo floors; block walls in the corridor instead of structural.

Each room has its own heating plant.

The small simple schoolhouse has many advocates. It can be built cheaply without sacrificing educational quality.

In saving construction time it saves on labor costs.

It also simplifies lighting and heating as it has few expensive corridors and few if any stairways.

Perhaps the biggest saving comes from the fact that competitive bidding can be thrown open to a wide area, and on-the-spot home builders here.

It can be built more easily on an irregular site.

The small home builder who not long ago would have hesitated to undertake a school can tackle without qualms many of today's small schools.

The small school's warmth and un-institutional character contrast favorably with schools of the past.

In it, small children adjust to school more easily.

It eliminates expensive special rooms and makes full use of a multipurpose room instead of separate large rooms for lunch, auditorium and gym.

It would, however, involve greater operating costs.

According to figures from the building department of the State department of education, other Minnesota communities are getting more economical buildings for quite a bit less per square foot than Bloomington through use of different type of materials going into the building and different types of rough construction.

There seems to be no question that dollar-wise Bloomington is getting its money's worth in construction, but the people must decide if we can afford this type of school building.

Recent new schools show a cost of $11.5 to $12 per square foot at Mound View, about $12 at the Richfield Portland Avenue School, $14 at St. Louis Park, slightly under $15 for Edina's newest elementary school, and $15 for Valley View, Bloomington's newest school.

Before a hasty conclusion is drawn here, consideration must be given as to whether some economies permitting initial saving are also long-range economies, or whether they are false economies.

For example, in one new economy school in suburban Minneapolis, classroom shelves were eliminated, leaving expensive encyclopedias stacked on the floor.

Asphalt tile floors are cheaper to install than terazzo, but will they hold up as long and are they as safe?

Plans for the new Humboldt Heights School call for 9-foot ceilings as against traditional 12-foot ceilings, meaning a saving in both construction and maintenance costs.

Bloomington has some unique problems.

It would seem that some revolutionary solutions are needed.

In solving these problems, there is a great opportunity for Bloomington to pioneer the field and come up with ideas that will set the pace for the country.

The challenge is here now for citizens of the community and school officials.

Gold Is a Job for Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. L. L. Hulelsdonk, manager of Best Mines Co., Inc., at Downieville, Calif., made one of the best statements I have seen on gold at the national western mining meeting at Denver, Colo., on February 8, 1957.

Mr. Huelsdonk has a very clear picture of the problems of the gold-mining industry as well as the relationship of gold to our currency. He clearly points out that this is a subject matter which should have a thoroughgoing study by the Congress. He calls attention to the dangers of our presently dwindling gold supply and to the powerful influence that gold may exercise in international affairs hereafter—for those who have it. Mr. Huelsdonk's statement follows:

GOLD IS A JOB FOR CONGRESS

(By L. L. Huelsdonk)

In order that there shall be no misunderstanding in regard to the attachment of currencies to gold, I will begin by reading paragraph (a) of section 1 of article IV of the final act of the Bretton Woods Agreement:

"(a) The par value of the currency of each member shall be expressed in terms of gold as a common denominator or in terms of the United States dollar of the weight and fineness in effect on July 1, 1944."

When gold is priced in terms of a currency, its supply must keep pace with the issuance of that currency, or imparity between these values develops. Such an imbalance invites disaster, and yet, today, the easy devices of monetary management have progressively upset this equation over a long period of time without great economic disturbance. Furthermore, advocates claim that this phenomenon is not accidental; that it is not dependent upon crisis after crisis; but that it is a "planned thing" for the continuity of sound money.

This scheme enjoys the official blessing of major money managers throughout the world and "gold revaluation" (with its power to increase bank reserves) is held back as a secret weapon to combat depression. In the meantime the United States is charged with an international responsibility to hold the overall price of gold down by standing ready at all times to buy and sell without limitation at the official price. Further arguments to justify such action delve into the complications of mutual aid agreements, rallonges, foreign policy, daily arbitrage, credit quotas, tariffs, trade balances and many other implications of unendable controversy.

Rebuttal arguments easily demonstrate that continuous devaluation of currency under this strategy has been real and unavoidable—because the average age of today's monetary systems is about 6½ years and more than a dozen of them are younger than 2 years.[1] Moreover, no present currency unit in the world has existed for more than 23 years without legal devaluation. The United States dollar, which is listed among the oldest five, was given a deceptive devaluation as late as 1945 when its gold reserve requirements were lowered from 40 percent to 25 percent—and it is doubtful if 10 percent of

---

Footnotes at end of table.

the Congressmen, who "rubberstamped" this legislation knew that they had directly voted to inflate the dollar by 37½ percent.

These "direct" devaluations invariably combine with other factors to generate "indirect" devaluations in the form of constantly rising prices—which in a big sense challenges the prudence of "printing-press" money. Current warnings by the administration and its sudden devotion to a tight money policy lends a degree of credence to this challenge. At the same time it points to a call for help that can only be answered by the revaluation of gold, because when economic factors force threats of administrative discipline over a population, it simply means a choice between the acceptance of communism or a return to the people's control of an economy through monetary discipline.

However, confused debate and official contravention has antagonized this situation into a desperate dispute which needs the service of Congress as a referee to protect the interests of the public. Legislative action on 24 gold bills subsequent to World War II drew recognizable interest by less than a handful of the lawmakers—departmental and agency recommendations were rubberstamped without question. Such complacency should not be allowed to continue. A thorough, energetic congressional investigation should be called now. This would not only open the way for honest appraisement, but would also cut down the wanton indifference accorded this subject in Washington.

A gold crisis is on the horizon—because long overdue adjustments have not been made to balance the spread between the economic value of gold and the official price paid for it in terms of the inflated dollar. This maladjustment, which crippled the entire domestic gold mining industry, has reached out in many other directions which should be scrutinized. For instance, prior to World War II industrial users required a yearly average of less than $500,000 worth of gold to supply their needs. During the first full year of major warfare (1940) over $4 million worth was purchased for this alleged purpose, and demand rapidly claimed enormous yearly increases until in 1946 $137,133,857 worth of the metal was sold by the mint and private smelters (under Treasury Department licenses) for industrial, professional, and artistic uses. (See chart.) It was ironical that the Government closed the gold mines under WPB Order L–208 with the statement that gold had no strategic value in a war economy—and then sold, on a yearly basis, over 270 times the peacetime requirements during a war economy. It was ironical that these sales, at $35 per ounce from monetary stock, exceeded the domestic production and occurred at a time when foreign free market prices were tremendously high. Who granted these special privileges and why? Was strategic use shown for this gold? Were smuggling operations involved? Were income taxes evaded? Even at this late date, Congress should look searchingly into these questions and find the answers. It may seem irrelevant to back up to the war period at this time, but figures indicate that Congress was asleep at that time, and there is nothing to indicate that they are not asleep now.

Today many phases of the gold question demand the attention of an alert and responsible Congress because over 90 percent [2] of the world's present production is being channeled to central banks and governments for use in the control of currency and trade. International banking alliances have built a wall against an official price increase by a policy which morally obligates the United States to hold the price down as a responsibility to the rest of the world. This allows a foreign buildup of gold and dollar reserves with long-range aims toward equilibrium of monetary reserve backing and ultimate convertibility. Good banking practice dictates that more dollars be held than gold, because dollars draw income; and with proper short-term investments, these can readily be redeemed in gold at the official price from the United States Treasury.

The merits of such a policy cannot be challenged from an international viewpoint. However, it poses a threat to the gold of the United States over which Congress should stand guard. The December 1956 Treasury Bulletin shows that short-term banking liabilities to foreigners rose steadily from $10½ billion at the end of 1952 to over $15 billion by October 1956. Simple arithmetic indicates that at this rate the total United States gold reserve of nearly $22 billion could, theoretically, be taken by foreign deman within 6 years. This is only a threat now, but it will probably substantially materialize just prior to a general call for gold revaluation—which will enhance the position of the foreign central banks—first, by the accumulation of American gold through conversion of their dollar holdings; and then by the sell-back of the revalued official gold for a proportionate increase in American dollars. Who can say that such a manipulation is wrong? America would get her gold back and the foreigners would get extra dollars which might otherwise be given them in the form of aid programs. However, since this manipulation can be repeated again and again, it seems like a serious matter for Congress to look over. There is also the danger that the foreigners may decide to hold rather than sell back the revalued gold. In such an event our dollars would be home without gold to back them—or if—in a protective mood—we decided to repudiate our gold redemption agreement for foreign-held dollars—dollar prestige would be lost.

A review of the disturbing gold question would not be complete without comparing Russia with the free world. The present low price for gold is lending progressive advantage to Russia. First; because the increased production costs in the free world have prevented a proper ratio of gold production to the increase in population and anticipated cost rises for future production will further maladjust this position. Second; because, with slave labor, costs do not affect Russian production materially. Besides, having the second largest reserve in the world (now estimated at $7.3 billion [3]) she has become the second largest producer with an anual estimated output of 13.2 million ounces including production from her satellites. Most European officials agree (even in the face of the Hungarian situation) that this cheap gold is good for Russia and good for Europe, as it allows Russia to purchase imports which she and her satellites need and provides trade, which the European needs. Russia could not materially increase her gold production under the influence of a price raise, for her capacity is tied to her present physical ability to increase mining facilities. In other words, no matter what the price, her present all-out effort is her limiting factor; whereas the free world could multiply production by many fold through the resumption of closed operations and by the mining of present marginal ores. It is not strange that the two major gold producing countries in the world mine with virtually slave labor; it is the only way they can mine with the present fixed low price for gold. However, the difference lies in Russia's ability to continue this practice whereas South Africa is at the mercy of the free world's increasing prices.

This should be a matter of deep concern to Congress, since the present status points to a definite trend toward more and more confidence in the Russian ruble.

And, finally; the domestic gold mining industry finds itself at the brink of death—under an exclusive 15-year-old depression—in a land of plenty. Congress should move immediately to revitalize this important industry which may, someday soon, be called upon to strengthen the financial fences of the free world. This could be no stronger illustrated than by the words of President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message to Congress—

"I believe the time has come to conduct a broad national inquiry into the nature, performance, and adequacy of our financial system, both in terms of its direct service to the whole economy and in terms of its function as a mechanism through which monetary and credit policy takes effect."

This warning should alert Congress to its responsibility in carrying out a complete and unbiased investigation into the controversial gold question. Only by this search and the finding of facts can the confusion be cleared up. Congress, this task is up to you. It is your duty and a grave responsibility of your office.

Remember this well—a battle for influence in the Middle East—where gold has no peer—will require more and more gold—or else—major warfare.

[2] Pick's Currency Yearbook, 1956.
[3] Bulletin 556, Bureau of Mines.
[3] Pick's Currency Yearbook, 1956.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Comparison of gold statistics, values at $35 per fine ounce

Year	United States production	U. S. Mint sales to industry, arts, and professions	Private smelter sales to industry, arts, and professions, under Treasury Department licenses	Total sales to industry, arts, and professions
Prewar period:				
1934	$108,191,400	$775,155	None	$775,155
1935	126,324,900	383,347	None	383,347
1936	152,508,800	722,857	None	722,857
1937	168,158,900	514,248	None	514,248
1938	178,143,400	244,004	None	244,004
1939	196,391,000	316,365	None	316,356
Total	929,718,400	2,955,976		2,955,976
World War II period:				
1940	210,108,700	241,057	$3,763,785	4,004,842
1941	209,174,600	1,104,500	7,956,415	9,060,915
United States war and L–208 period:				
1942	130,963,210	7,996,775	11,711,735	19,708,510
1943	48,808,270	17,502,973	23,507,820	41,010,793
1944	35,778,330	41,589,833	23,694,090	65,283,923
1945	32,511,255	82,763,912	19,688,760	102,452,672
Total	667,344,365	151,199,050	90,322,605	241,521,655

Comparison of gold statistics, values at $35 per fine ounce—Continued

Year	United States production	U. S. Mint sales to industry, arts, and professions	Private smelter sales to industry, arts, and professions, under Treasury Department licenses	Total sales to industry, arts, and professions
Postwar period:				
1946	$51, 182, 390	$123, 253, 662	$13, 880, 195	$137, 133, 857
1947	75, 786, 130	44, 851, 003	24, 998, 190	69, 849, 193
1948	70, 891, 800	38, 000, 289	24, 739, 120	62, 739, 409
1949	67, 298, 215	78, 727, 710	21, 963, 165	100, 690, 875
1950	80, 104, 780	80, 383, 098	25, 691, 610	106, 074, 708
1951	66, 315, 410	67, 539, 694	21, 172, 515	88, 712, 209
1952	67, 445, 000	68, 413, 021	18, 424, 804	86, 837, 825
1953	68, 950, 000	55, 026, 722	18, 904, 537	73, 931, 259
1954	65, 065, 000	29, 310, 442	15, 003, 038	44, 313, 480
Total	613, 008, 725	585, 505, 641	184, 777, 174	770, 282, 815
Grand total	2, 210, 071, 490	789, 660, 667	275, 099, 779	1, 014, 760, 446

Source: U. S. Department of the Treasury, Bureau of the Mint.

NOTE.—All figures on calendar year basis.

Today's Republicanism Is in Essence the Republicanism of Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, during the Lincoln Day period it was my privilege to address a series of Lincoln Day dinners throughout the State of Pennsylvania, sponsored by the various Republican county committees. The final address in the series was delivered at the annual Lincoln-Washington dinner held at Greensburg, Pa., February 22, 1957, under the auspices of the Westmoreland County Republican Committee. The address follows:

It is a distinct honor to join you on this occasion as you pay deserving tribute to the immortal Abraham Lincoln.

It is a happy coincidence that this Lincoln Day Dinner is being held on the birthday of the first President—the Father of our Country—George Washington.

For years there have been friendly debates over the question as to who was the greatest American—Washington or Lincoln. While the issue is still a topic of discussion, nevertheless, the names of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln will always be enshrined in the hearts of the American people.

This year, the Republican Party through these Lincoln Day Dinners observes the 148th anniversary of the birth of the 16th President of the United States—the martyred Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln was a self-made man. A pioneer farm boy, he had barely a full year of formal schooling. He was truly a man of the people who worked as a hired man on a farm, on a flatboat crew, as a rail splitter and a store clerk. Then he was a storekeeper, a village postmaster, a surveyor and a solider.

He owed his outstanding quality of humanity and his deep insight into the hearts and minds of the people to this training in the school of real life. Continuing his self-education, he studied law and entered politics. He became a fabulous figure as a successful trial lawyer in Illinois. He served in the State legislature and for a term in Congress.

When the Republican Party was founded, Lincoln became one of its early leaders. He gained nationwide attention in a series of debates with Senator Douglas. From this point he moved forward as a gifted son of the United States. His feet were planted on the path of destiny to the Presidency—and his martyrdom.

Lincoln and the Republican Party led the Nation during the greatest crises any free government ever endured. Together they saved the Union and won equality for all men.

Today's republicanism is in essence the republicanism of Abraham Lincoln. It is an up-to-date application of his enduring principles. It is a projection of Lincoln's principles into the age of atomic energy, electronics and guided missiles. Truly, it is 20th century application of a faith which was firmly founded in the age of steam and muskets.

It is a faith based on Lincoln's timeless statement that:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all or cannot so well do for themselves in their separate and individual capacities.

"In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves government ought not to interfere."

This is basic republicanism. This is—and always has been—the philosophy of the Republican Party.

President Eisenhower referred to Lincoln's philosophy last April 3, when speaking on The Function of Government he said:

"There we try to stick to the old Lincolnian dictum that it is the function of government to do for people those things—(they) could not do for themselves and to stay out of things in places where the people can do things for themselves.

"We would hope, therefore, to have wisdom in government to help distinguish the line beyond which government should not go and yet be courageous in doing those things that it should do."

This is today's republicanism as defined in the words of President Eisenhower—a republicanism forged out of time and tested by the strains and stresses of this atomic age.

The Eisenhower administration has followed this Lincoln philosophy in its actions and its programs. It has taken to heart Lincoln's words: "To us it appears * * * the best sort of principle * * * the principle of allowing the people to do as they please with their own business."

The Eisenhower administration has restored the confidence of America in the free-enterprise system. It has chopped away at the systems of controls inherited from previous administrations. It has created a climate in which free enterprise can function at its best to bring us prosperity and full employment.

In the field of social legislation the Eisenhower administration has broadened and increased railroad and civil-service retirement benefits. New programs have been put into effect to help our farmers. New loan funds have been made available to help complete rural electrification, to improve rural telephone service, to aid small businesses. Funds have been made available to continue guaranties on GI mortgages.

A slum-clearance program is going full blast to make our large cities better places in which to live.

The Hungarian refugee program is underway on an expanded basis.

The Eisenhower program for modern highways was enacted—a program of today's republicanism to meet today's travel needs.

A modern school construction program remains a prime goal of the Republican Party—the party of peace, progress, and prosperity.

This forward-looking program of modern republicanism is in keeping with Lincoln's administration which encouraged the building of railroads to link East with West.

It also provided funds from Federal land sales for State agricultural and mechanical colleges—a program constantly trying to determine and solve the needs of all our people.

While doing all of these things, financial stability has been achieved. We are operating under a balanced budget—the first in almost a decade. Much effort has been made to put the Hoover Commission recommendations into effect and to add to the efficiency and economical operation of our Government.

As under Lincoln, the Republican Party is once again standing firm for the principle of equal rights for all men. Under the Republicans, today great strides are being taken in the fight against discrimination and injustice. The Republican policy of firmness and strength has gotten us out of one war and kept us out of others. We have made no secret diplomatic deals even with our allies. We stand for the right even when our friends do wrong. We worked to stop war in Egypt and are working to keep the peace.

Another quality inherited from Lincoln is a deep and ingrained respect for our constitutional republican form of government. As Lincoln said in his first inaugural address:

"A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinion and sentiments is the only true sovereign of a free people."

President Eisenhower, in his speech at San Francisco accepting renomination, said that the Republican Party "is the party of long-range principle not short-term expediency." He went on to say that "Our Founding Fathers showed us how the Federal Government could exercise its responsibility for leadership while stopping short of the kind of interference that deadens local vigor, variety, initiative, and imagination."

This respect for the rules and limits of our Constitution is typical of the Republican Party. The Republican Party of today has retained from Lincoln's time a great quality—that of moderation. As Lincoln said, "Now let us harmonize, my friends, and appeal to the moderation and patriotism of the people."

Harmony and moderation are the keynote of the present Republican administration.

Never have the people of the United States been so at peace with themselves—so prosperous, so satisfied. This Eisenhower administration—yes; this Republican administration—has been one of good will to all. The pettiness, personal animosities, and appeals to class hatred of previous administrations have no part in this one.

What a contrast exists, ladies and gentlemen, when you compare what took place during the 20 years under the New Deal and the Fair Deal. They sought to substitute a Government-planned and controlled economy for the free, competitive, private economy which made this Nation the greatest wealth-producing nation in the world.

Remember how the New Deal tried to regiment all American industry into codes in a Government-dominated NRA? Remember how New Dealers set up Government corporations in competition with our own citizens and pressed for Government monopolies over electric power? Remember how they tried to spread Government-controlled TVA's to other parts of the country in disregard of State lines and interests?

By piling bureau upon bureau and by extending the long arm of the Federal Government into every activity in the land, the New Dealers sought to make the farmer, factory manager, worker, and other large segments of our population subservient to Federal decrees and dependent upon Federal handouts.

Remember how the Fair Dealers kept production, wage, price, and rent controls long after the war was over? Remember how they tried to seize the steel industry, how they tried to draft railroad workers into the Army in order to force them back to work, and how they continuously raised taxes on all our people until the Government's tax bill demanded a quarter of the Nation's income?

Frankly, during the 20 years of Democratic rule the New Dealers and Fair Dealers had the Nation on a toboggan slide down the road to socialism.

Yes, ladies and gentlemen, down the road to socialism. And even though they were repudiated at the polls in 1952, and again by an increasing majority in 1956, yet this same group of New Dealers and Fair Dealers are today not only fighting to take over the Democratic Party, lock, stock, and barrel, but they are playing the role of a wrecking crew in their efforts to create disunity within the ranks of the Republican Party.

Regardless of what the Eisenhower administration proposes, whether it be a program for national defense or foreign or domestic policy, spokesmen for the New Deal-Fair Deal forces never miss an opportunity to launch vicious, personal, and partisan attacks on the Eisenhower administration in general, and in particular on President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, and Secretary of State Dulles.

These self-styled "liberals" who are experts in the field of political sniping charge the Eisenhower administration with failure of foreign policy, especially in the Middle East; yet former Democratic President Harry S. Truman on last January 1 said:

"If I were now a Member of the Senate, I would support the request of the President for congressional authority to use the Armed Forces of the United States against any Communist or Communist-dominated aggressor in the Middle East.

"And I would quickly approve granting him the funds he seeks to extend economic aid to help the Middle East nations maintain their independence."

In the field of national defense this New Deal-Fair Deal wrecking crew charges that the Eisenhower administration has weakened our national defenses, yet the military brains of the Nation have assured the American people time and time again that the United States has the greatest concentration of military force in its peacetime history.

Let me read a recent statement of Representative CARL VINSON, Democrat of Georgia and chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services, of which I am a member. Chairman VINSON said on February 1, 1957:

"The armed services have built not only strong defenses but have the ability to bring devastation on any nation that starts a war.

"The Military Establishment," he said, "was built for the defense of freedom and for the purpose of preserving peace, but it is capable of waging war, if necessary."

Echoing the attack they made in last fall's campaign in regard to the rise in the cost of living the New Deal-Fair Deal wrecking crew conveniently forgets that since President Eisenhower took office in 1953 inflation has been halted, the increase in the cost of living has been held to 3.6 percent, the dollar stabilized—and above all, we have full employment as well as increases in wages and purchasing power.

Then too, we are at peace with the world, with the American people accepting the 3.6 percent increase in the cost of living in preference to the wholesale slaughter of American youth on the battlefields of the world.

The New Deal-Fair Deal wrecking crew forgets that under Democratic President Harry S. Truman the cost of living from April 1945 to December 1952 rose 50 percent and that during his last term in the White House the cost of living increased 11 percent.

This same group claims that the Democratic Party is alone the friend of the common man. This myth is exploded when you study the tax record of the Democratic Party which shows that when they took over the Government of the United States in 1933 a married man with 2 children paid $68 in Federal income tax if he had an income of $5,000—but in 1952, when the Democratic rule ended, he was paying $461, or nearly 7 times as much. Since 1952, the Republican Party has granted two tax reductions which returned to the pockets of the wage earner and his family $2 out of every $3 granted in tax relief.

So, ladies and gentlemen, you can use your own judgment as to which political party is really the friend of the so-called common man.

The vicious personal and partisan attacks that led to twisting and distorting facts proved futile in last fall's campaign when the Democrats could not find a real issue they could use against the team of Eisenhower and NIXON despite the fact that during the Democratic-controlled 84th Congress they launched 218 congressional investigations and inquiries at a cost of nearly $9¼ million.

The present Democratic-controlled 85th Congress is at it again and to date has appropriated nearly $3 million for all sorts of investigations on every phase of Government as administered by President Eisenhower and his Republican administration. These investigations are designed to develop issues to be used against the Republican Party in the 1958 congressional campaigns.

In mentioning 1958, let me emphasize its importance because it has a twofold significance to every resident of Pennsylvania. First, we have to rid our State capital of the Leader administration by electing a Republican Governor and giving him a supporting Republican State legislature. Secondly, we have to elect a Republican United States Senator and Republican Members of the House of Representatives to support President Eisenhower.

If our efforts are successful in 1958, our success will mean the end to divided government in Harrisburg where we have a Democratic Governor and a Republican legislature—and in Washington where we have a Republican President and a Democratic Congress.

Experience over the years has proved that a divided Government does not function in the best interests of the American people.

Having mentioned 1958 as a crucial election year, let me make a few timely observations. To begin with, we are going to be faced with a militant Democratic Party headed by Governor Leader and gloating over its victory last fall in electing a Democratic Congress including Democratic Senator from Pennsylvania despite President Eisenhower's impressive victory.

Do you know that a study of the 1956 election results reveals that Republican congressional candidates last November ran over 7 million votes behind the 35½ million ballots cast for President Eisenhower?

In plain words, ladies and gentlemen, over 7 million voters who favored President Eisenhower did not even bother to vote for Republican congressional candidates.

This fact is alarming mainly because in 1958 we will not have President Eisenhower on the ticket. In other words, we Republicans will have to row the political boat alone. This situation hurls a challenge at the Republican Party. Mark you, to meet this challenge face-to-face we must rededicate ourselves to Republican principles and especially the Eisenhower brand of modern republicanism. In so doing, let us resolve to spend more time and effort at the precinct level in the education of voters on the objectives and accomplishments of the Republican Party.

Let us elect to public office Republicans in whom the voters have absolute confidence and respect. In short, let us become political missionaries by preaching the gospel of true republicanism, thus building a more vigorous and dynamic Republican Party.

Ladies and gentlemen, we can take pardonable pride in the fact that the Republican Party—the party of Abraham Lincoln—is the party of the future. It is growing in strength because it is attracting to its ranks thinking men and women of all political faiths.

In its early days a large percentage of the founders of the Republican Party from all walks of life were former Democrats who felt that their old party was not true to its original ideals and who, therefore, turned to the Republican Party as the true party of the people. In recent years, as more and more Americans felt that the party of their choice was not living up to its principles, the Republican vote for President rose from less than 17 million in 1936 to more than 35½ million in 1956.

Many of these Americans are going the full distance and becoming active in the ranks of the Republican Party which more nearly meets their ideals. The Republican Party welcomes all Americans to its ranks to participate in the building of a better future—a future in the true tradition of Abraham Lincoln.

The up-to-date application of Lincoln principles under sound Republican leadership has brought peace, prosperity, and progress to America. The United States is the strongest hope of a troubled world. Because of this the points of agreement between Americans are growing stronger every day under the principles of republicanism. Differences are settled by ballots, not by bullets. Never before in the history of the world have so many of the good things of life been shared in such abundance by so many Americans. America's progress is of a material and spiritual nature and is reflected by new homes—new factories—new autos—a greater interest in religion—and a stronger determination for peace.

Therefore, on this occasion, as we commemorate the 148th anniversary of the birth of the immortal Abraham Lincoln, let us face the future with renewed confidence because of the realization that, as Republicans, we have gone far toward living up to Lincoln's words:

"With malice toward none—with charity for all—with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in * * * to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and all nations."

Preparedness Day Now Before Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Preparedness Day Now Before the Senate," by Mr. Tom Hagen, editor of the Miami Daily News. The idea for designating December 7 as Preparedness Day originated with Mr. Hagan. I thought his idea an excellent one, and introduced House Joint Resolution 208 on January 29, 1957, which resolution has now been introduced on the Senate side. Mr. Hagan has written many fine articles on the subject of our country's preparedness, of which the attached article is one:

[From the Miami Daily News of February 14, 1957]

PREPAREDNESS DAY NOW BEFORE SENATE

Representative PAUL ROGERS of West Palm Beach introduced in the House of Representatives on January 29 a joint resolution designating December 7 in each year as Preparedness Day. The resolution, House Joint Resolution 208, was referred to the House Judiciary Committee.

Florida's Senators GEORGE SMATHERS and SPESSARD L. HOLLAND introduced in the Senate on February 7 an identical resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 52, and it was referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

This companion legislation, suggested on the editorial page of this newspaper last December 2, was endorsed by Senator SMATHERS in these remarks on the floor of the Senate:

"Mr. President, we all remember only too well December 7, 1941, as 'the day that will live long in infamy.' That day was, indeed, a dark one in the epochal history of the United States. It was a day that impressed upon all freedom-loving Americans the importance of the strongest possible national defense to the preservation of our democracy.

"I think it fitting and proper that this day be set aside and declared to be National Preparedness Day to serve as a constant reminder that we must be forever vigilant in keeping our defenses strong if we are to preserve for ourselves and posterity our American way of life and maintain leadership for world peace."

In behalf of Senator HOLLAND and himself, Senator SMATHERS then introduced the resolution which would designate December 7 each year as Preparedness Day.

It would also authorize the President to issue an annual proclamation calling on the officials of the Government to display the American flag on all Government buildings and invite the people of the United States to observe such day with appropriate ceremonies in schools, churches, and other suitable places. Senator SMATHERS concluded:

"I trust that the committee to which this joint resolution is referred will act promptly and favorably on it, and that it will be adopted by the Congress."

This newspaper is conscious of the fact that there are hundreds of so-called day bills introduced during each Congress to set aside a day for some specific purpose. Because there are so many days already set apart, the House and Senate Judiciary Committees are very reluctant to approve an additional day, particularly where national and legal holidays are declared.

Of course, there are relative merits in all fields of legislation and while there are hundreds of bills introduced in every Congress in this field, one is, in our opinion, deserving.

America has oblique reminders of the need for preparedness in Armed Forces Day every third Saturday in May, a public holiday by Presidential proclamation. The preparedness theme is also present on Armistice Day, the day World War I, and August 15, the day World War II ended. It is the background of Fourth of July and Flag Day, June 14, as well as a few other patriotic holidays.

However, there is at present no annual holiday with central observance and theme of preparedness.

We nominate Pearl Harbor Day as America's annual Preparedness Day, and of all Americans, those whose sons and fathers and other loved ones died that day should be the least regretful about the change in emphasis. If we had been prepared on December 7, 1941, the dead might have lived.

An Analysis of an Americanism Definition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, my friend, Arch Hale, the author of the analysis which follows, is one of the best loved citizens of the district I represent. Arch has devoted his life to the welfare of veterans and the promotion of all things that make for good citizenship:

AN ANALYSIS OF AN AMERICANISM DEFINITION

(By Arch M. Hale, national service officer, Disabled American Veterans)

On February 18, 1927, commanders of the five largest veterans organizations during a conference in Washington, defined Americanism as follows:

"Americanism is an unfailing love of country, loyalty to its institutions and ideals, eagerness to defend it against all enemies, undivided allegiance to the flag. A desire to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and posterity."

Consider unfailing love of country. Webster defines unfailing, as being incapable of being exhausted. Unfailing love, therefore, means that true Americans love their country during adversity as well as prosperity. It means to love country next to God. It means a burning, living consciousness, to thank God for our country above all things on earth. It means that we as individuals stand ready to take up arms, sacrifice all, including our lives, to save our country. Unfailing love of country means leaving our family and friends to fight, and being thankful that we are privileged to do so, and in the words of a great patriot of the past: "My country, may she always be right, but right or wrong, my country."

Second, loyalty to institutions and ideals. Actually our institutions are products of our ideas and ideals. Our churches, fraternal and veterans organizations, were at first only ideas that became ideals and the ideals resulted in our institutions which after fair trial became permanent and then became institutions.

Our greatest institution and ideal is, of course, our own democratic form of Government. This ideal will be consummated only when we make it work, and acceptable to the rest of the world. I think we in the United States know that democracy does work, but for a lot of years and at present communism is being preached in our country, under our very noses.

Communism is the worst form of monarchy, because it goes further. Monarchy confines itself to its own country, but communism seeks to enslave the whole world. If need be by armed force. Communism seeks to drag the best of us down to the level of the worst of us. Democracy seeks to pull the worst of us up to a level with the best of us. Communism holds that we the people do not have the brains to govern ourselves, therefore, a few are to use us as puppets on a string. This is why we as Americans must be loyal to our ideals and institutions.

Third, our eagerness to defend against all enemies. This has reference not only to serving in wartime but in peacetime as well. Knowing what communism stands for, I say, never give a Communist a break. All wars have demonstrated our eagerness to defend our country. The enlistments were so large that the armed services could not properly clothe or bed the thousands of volunteers immediately. This is one reason why they must have a draft, in order to take men and women into the armed service as they are able to take care of them. A good American enlisted soldier, therefore, must never hold himself better than a draftee.

Fourth, now, if you and I practice true Americanism as per the definition adopted by our great patriotic organizations, we will have secured the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity.

Fifth, undivided allegiance to our flag. This part of the definition of Americanism I have purposely left for the last, because in my opinion it is of uppermost importance. Our flag is a living symbol of Americanism. It was laboriously created by blood, tears, reverses, sacrifices, mistakes, and victories. It is the subject of our national anthem, The Star-Spangled Banner. It has been carried aloft through all wars, both hot and cold. Since 1776 it has never been trampled in the dust by an enemy. It is being flown atop our Capitol and other public buildings and schools every day. But, what are you and I as patriotic individuals doing about our flag? Nothing. I doubt if one-third of the families in the United States even have an American flag in their homes. I doubt that only a very few know when a national holiday arrives, with the exception of 3 or 4. I doubt if you can find an American flag, excepting a very small one for sale in our stores. We have grown careless. One man said it was corny. One dealer said he would not buy unless he had calls. Some merchandising. Because our flag is our national emblem let's show our appreciation to God and country. Yes, let's herald our patriotism to our neighbors and the world by displaying the flag from our homes on all national holidays. It is very simple and easy. How better can we demonstrate the love of country which is in every heart?

Mollycoddling No Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial

which appeared in the Gaffney (S. C.) Ledger of February 23:

MOLLYCODDLING NO ANSWER

As everyone who reads or listens to news accounts knows, juvenile crime has become a problem of grim dimensions in this country.

A leading authority, J. Edgar Hoover, of the FBI, has devoted a signed editorial to it in a recent issue of that organization's law-enforcement bulletin. He says: "Recent happenings in juvenile crime shatter the illusion that softhearted mollycoddling is the answer to this problem." And he asks, "Are we to stand idly by while fierce young hoodlums—too often and too long harbored under the glossy misnomer of juvenile delinquents—roam our streets and desecrate our communities? If we do, America might well witness a resurgence of the brutal criminality and mobsterism of a past era."

Mr. Hoover also demolishes the idea, held by some people, that there isn't any more juvenile crime than there used to be—that it's just better publicized. In the past 4 years the population of 10- to 17-year-olds has risen 10 percent. In the same time arrests of individuals in that age bracket have increased at twice the rate.

Finally Mr. Hoover makes a strong case against the common custom of not publishing the names of young criminals. As he puts it, "Publicizing the names as well as crimes for public scrutiny, release of past records to appropriate law-enforcement officials, and fingerprinting for future identification are all necessary procedures in the war on the flagrant violator, regardless of age."

Growth of Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD an editorial from the Monroe Monitor of February 21, 1957. The Monitor is a weekly newspaper published in the Second Congressional District of the State of Washington.

This editorial points out some facts that reveal the tremendous growth of the Federal tax structure since its inception 44 years ago. Many of my constituents have written me to request a curb on Federal spending. Many of them have noted the disparity between what they earn and what the Government takes from their earnings.

It is significant that the figures disclose the reversal of taxation between the local and Federal Government. I have long deplored the long round trip our tax money takes from local sources, through Federal agencies and then back to perform functions which could often be performed best, and with less cost to the taxpayers, if performed at home.

I believe this editorial poses questions which should give every American citizen food for serious thought.

Text of the editorial follows:

FROM 82 CENTS TO $328

Next Monday is a birthday for which nobody will bake any cakes.

On February 25, 44 years ago, the Federal Government was authorized the power to levy an income tax on individuals. It was felt at the time that rates could never reach 10 percent.

The first year of the tax total corporate and individual income levies brought the Government $80 million. Dividing this by the population of 1913 shows that the per capita tax bite was 82 cents.

By contrast, in 1956—two world wars and a police action later—the income tax brought the Federal Government $55 billion. This is a per capita tax bite of $328.

Per capita annual income was $358 in 1913; today it is about $1,647. In this 44-year period, per capita income increased 4½ times while the per capita tax payments increased an even 400 times.

Other comparisons of then and now are of equal interest. For instance, in 1913 the single personal exemption was $3,000 compared to $600 today.

In 1913, a single man with a $5,000 a year income paid $20 tax; today, he pays $944. Rates the first year were 1 to 6 percent; they range today from 20 to 91 percent.

Mr. Taxpayer's total tax bill in 1913 was distributed 70.5 percent for State and local government and 29.5 for the Federal Government. Today, the Federal Government takes 72.3 percent, leaving 27.7 percent for State and local units.

In 1913, people did locally what they wanted done. Today, they give their money to the Federal Government and fight among themselves to see who can get the most back.

Great Economic Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Sylvia Porter, which appeared in the Washington Star on February 3, 1957, makes interesting reading for all Americans in these days of spiraling prices:

GREAT ECONOMIC CHALLENGE

"One subject you haven't covered, which would be of great interest to me and to many thousands like me," the letter began, "is how to live on my meager income when I will soon have to retire."

In these expressive words, A. W., my correspondent, has reached the heart of one of the greatest economic challenges of our time. It is this:

Can we somehow—through the right combination of Government policies and of actions by millions of us—achieve the economic miracle of stable prices in a continuing period of full employment and general boom?

Or must we resign ourselves to this vicious prospect that we'll attain price stability only during periods of business slowdown, and over the years the outlook is for an ever-climbing cost of living and an ever-dwindling value of the dollar?

QUESTION IS BASIC

It's a basic question indeed! And its meaning to every American trying to build a nestegg for his children's education and his family's future security is profound.

Well, what does the record tell us?

After the enormous upsurge in living costs after World War II, prices did stabilize—and we approached the economic miracle during the last part of the Truman Administration and the early part of the Eisenhower administration.

But in the past 18 months, a new price-wage spiral has clearly been in the making. At the year-end, the official price index hit an all-time peak of 118—meaning it costs $1.18 to buy what $1 bought in 1947–49. The so-called living cost index is 3 percent above a year ago.

And now most prices are on the rise again. It's not a wide upward price sweep, but it's enough to compel Government officials to admit new highs in the cost-of-living index are coming. It's enough to lead even economists who expect 1957 to be a relatively "slow" year to predict a price rise of 2 to 3 percent.

And what does a "mild" price rise of 2 percent a year mean to millions who have nesteggs in cash and its equivalent?

It means that $100 in savings today will buy only $82 in the marketplace 10 years from today, only $67 in the marketplace 20 years from today, only $50 of goods 35 years from today. It means, in short, that in one generation, the dollar's buying power will be cut in half.

NOT MUCH COMFORT

What comfort, then, can I give A. W.? He can't "hide" in any other country. We're actually doing better on controlling prices than most.

He can't—unless he has a big backlog of cash, which he hasn't—invest it so that his profit and income offset the dollar's decline.

He can, of course, try to keep working to supplement his income. He can ask help from relatives. He can say "me too" and fight for bigger benefits from industry and Government. He can properly and vigorously support all those who are seeking the way to the miracle of prosperity-plus stable prices.

And that's about the best I can offer. I'm beginning to think the question for A. W. and me and the millions like us is not only whether we can manage to live to a healthy old age. The question is also whether we can "afford" to live to a healthy old age.

Nineteen Hundred and Fifty-six Growth and Expansion of Southern California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 24, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks I submit the following review of the growth and expansion of southern California in 1956:

REVIEW OF THE YEAR 1956

Business volume in the southern half of California during 1956 was at the highest level in the history of the area.

The past year was characterized by substantial increases in population, employment, income, nonresidential construction, and industrial expansion. In manufacturing, substantial employment gains occurred in the aircraft and electronics industries.

Increases did not occur last year in all sectors of the local economy, however. Noteworthy declines occurred in homebuilding and in new car sales. There were moderate declines in petroleum production and in the number of real-estate transfers.

Population in the southern half of California increased by an estimated 413,000 during 1956. That was a larger gain than oc-

curred in the preceding year, and larger than the average annual gain during the period since the 1950 census. In each of the past 2 years the net growth in the area's total population has exceeded 1,000 per day. Following are estimated population totals for the 14-county area and for the Los Angeles-Long Beach metropolitan area:

	14 southernmost counties of California	Los Angeles-Long Beach metropolitan area
Jan. 1, 1955	7,998,000	5,490,000
July 1, 1955	8,181,000	5,622,000
Jan. 1, 1956	8,375,000	5,760,000
July 1, 1956	8,582,000	5,910,000
Jan. 1, 1957	8,788,000	6,059,000

Personal income in the southern half of California during 1956 is estimated at approximately $20.2 billion, a gain of nearly 10 percent over 1955. In the Los Angeles-Long Beach metropolitan area, the total is estimated at $14.7 billion.

Retail sales totaled an estimated $8,600,000,000 in the Los Angeles-Long Beach metropolitan area during 1956. That represented a gain of a little more than 5 percent over 1955, the previous record year.

Total civilian employment in the Los Angeles area increased in December for the 11th consecutive month. Both the December figure and the annual average established new alltime records. The average of 2,453,800 persons gainfully employed in this area during the past year was 131,300 or 5.7 percent higher than the average for 1955.

Unemployment in the Los Angeles-Long Beach metropolitan area during 1956 was at the lowest level since World War II. The average of 64,300 listed as unemployed during the year was 8.5 percent below 1955.

Manufacturing employment in the Los Angeles-Long Beach metropolitan area increased in December to a new alltime high of 767,400. The 1956 average of 740,800 was 6.4 percent above the previous year, and a new record.

Aircraft employment in the Los Angeles area expended in December to 218,500—the highest point since World War II. New postwar peaks have been established in 11 of the past 12 months. The number of workers employed in the aircraft industry averaged 208,200 during the year 1956—a gain of 8.9 percent over the previous year.

New industrial plants and expansions announced for Los Angeles County during 1956 will involve a capital investment estimated at $345 million—the largest annual total in the history of the county. This figure represents a gain of 38.5 percent over 1955 and 4.4 percent over 1952, the previous peak year.

Construction: During the year just ended, the total of all building permits issued in the southern half of California, plus all contracts awarded for engineering construction, came to $2,832,000,000—a level 7.8 percent above last year's record of $2,628,000,000. A decline in residential building was more than offset by a gain in non-residential building and construction exceeding 20 percent.

Home building: Permits were issued in the Los Angeles-Long Beach metropolitan area during 1956 for 90,298 family dwelling units—a reduction of 14.4 percent from the 105,546 units authorized during 1955.

The reduction in home building which occurred in the Los Angeles area—and especially in Orange County—between 1955 and 1956 was not universal. Gains in the number of dwelling units authorized were recorded in San Diego, Riverside, Santa Barbara, and San Luis Obispo counties.

The consumer price index (i. e., the cost of living index) in the Los Angeles area averaged 1.6 percent higher in 1956 than in 1955. In November, the latest month for which figures are available, the index was 2.4 percent higher than it was a year earlier.

Earnings of factory workers in the Los Angeles area averaged $89.89 per week during 1956—an increase of 5 percent over the 1955 average. In December, average weekly earnings exceeded $94.

The Supreme Court Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AIME J. FORAND
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, in view of the national publicity given to the contest for the governorship of Rhode Island last fall—a contest that finally was decided on a constitutional point by the Supreme Court of the State of Rhode Island—I offer for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the decisions of our Supreme Court in the cases of *Dennis J. Roberts* v. *Board of Elections et al.* (M. P. No. 1198) and *John H. McGann* v. *Board of Elections et al.* (M. P. No. 1195).

They follow:

JOHN H. McGANN *v.* BOARD OF ELECTIONS ET AL.
(M. P. No. 1195)

OPINION

Paolino, Judge: This is a petition for certiorari to review and quash the record of the State board of elections declaring Alexander G. Teitz elected representative in the general assembly from the third representative district of the city of Newport at the general election held on November 6, 1956.

After the petition was filed Alexander G. Teitz, hereinafter referred to as the intervenor, requested an opportunity to be heard before we issued the writ. However, an examination of the allegations of the petition, which was sworn to, made it manifest that the legal and constitutional issues raised were so substantial that we were constrained to issue the writ forthwith. However, in order to give the intervenor an opportunity to be heard, as he had requested, we departed from our regular practice in such cases and included only a temporary restraining order and after notice to him assigned the case specially for a hearing thereon. At such hearing, however, neither he nor his counsel appeared and we thereupon continued the restraining order in effect until the merits of the petition were determined.

The respondent board, in compliance with the writ of certiorari, made due return of its records pertaining to the election in question. Thereafter the intervenor duly filed a motion to intervene and to take over the defense to the petition. In open court the respondent board by its counsel consented thereto and thereupon we granted the motion.

The intervenor however did not file any answer or plea to the petition for certiorari. Therefore the truth of the facts alleged therein are undisputed. But he did file a motion to dismiss such petition on the ground that this court has no jurisdiction over the subject matter thereof. The cause was thereupon set down for hearing to a day certain on both the motion to dismiss and on the merits of the petition.

Before considering the motion to dismiss, we shall state briefly the undisputed facts as they appear in the record of the instant case. A biennial general election was held in Rhode Island on Tuesday, November 6, 1956, in pursuance of the provisions of article 16 of amendments to the constitution of this State. Section 1 of said article provides: "The governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, attorney general, general treasurer, and senators and representatives in the general assembly, shall be elected at town, ward, and district meetings 'on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November,' biennially, commencing A. D. 1912."

At the general election on November 6, 1956, the petitioner was the Democratic candidate for representative in the general assembly from the third representative district of the city of Newport, and the intervenor was the Republican candidate for said office.

On election day petitioner received on the voting machines in the polling places throughout said third representative district 1,407 votes and the intervenor received 1,381 votes. In addition thereto each received a certain number of votes cast by members of the Armed Forces and the merchant marine of the United States in active service and absent from the State under article 22 of amendments to the constitution. None of such votes is in dispute and 29 of them were counted for the petitioner and 45 for the intervenor. Therefore the total uncontested votes for each candidate then stood as follows: 1,436 for petitioner and 1,426 for the intervenor. On the basis of these admittedly valid votes petitioner had a clear majority of 10 votes and if there were no other votes legally cast by qualified electors the board should have declared petitioner elected.

The procedure adopted by the board was substantially as follows: It first tabulated the State election returns of the votes cast on election day on the voting machines. It next proceeded to count certain ballots cast by electors absent from the State and hereinafter referred to as civilian absentee voters. Then it proceeded to count certain other ballots cast by electors described in article 23 of amendments to our Constitution as electors otherwise qualified who, by reason of old age, physical disability, illness or for other physical infirmities were unable to vote in person within the State. These will be referred to herein as shut-ins. The final step in the process was the counting of the war ballots, so-called, which were cast outside the State by members of the Armed Forces and merchant marine by virtue of article 22 of amendments to our Constitution. These war ballots are not in dispute here.

Before the count of all classes of ballots was finally completed by the board and prior to the declaration of the result of such count, petitioner challenged all of the civilian absentee and shut-in ballots on the ground that they were unconstitutional. He accordingly objected to the counting of any of such ballots by the board in the tabulation of the votes for the aforesaid candidates and requested that none of said votes be considered or counted by the board in arriving at the result of said election. At the same time the petitioner requested the board to segregate and mark for identification the inner envelopes, which contained the ballots cast by the civilian absentee and shut-in voters at said election. These envelopes by their color and by the jurat or official acknowledgment carried on the face thereof their own identification and separation as to the time and place of voting. The same request was made as to the outer envelopes and further as to all civilian absentee and shut-in ballots cast in said election. In this last respect, as will appear later in this opinion, petitioner did more than was required of him in order to raise the constitutional and jurisdictional issues here involved.

The petitioner protested before the board that it should not count any of such civilian absentee or shut-in ballots on the ground that article 23 of amendments was not self-

executing; that there was no valid legislation implementing it so as to validate the votes of these two classes of electors; and further that certain attempted amendatory legislation under which the ballots had been issued to said civilian absentees and shut-ins was unconstitutional. The board, however, in denying petitioner's motion that said civilian absentee and shut-in ballots be not counted stated that they had no authority or jurisdiction to consider and determine constitutional questions. They took the view that it was their duty to carry out the literal language of the law as purportedly amended and to count all such ballots, unless and until this court declared those statutes and votes to be unconstitutional.

The board thereupon proceeded to count and tabulate all the civilian absentee and shut-in ballots. Some of these, as clearly shown on the face of the inner envelopes in which the ballots were contained, were cast on election day and admittedly others showed they were cast before election day. By counting all such ballots, regardless of whether they were voted on or before election day, the board determined that the total votes cast for each candidate then stood as follows: 1,490 votes for petitioner and 1,561 votes for the intervenor, thus showing an apparent majority of 71 votes for the intervenor. On that basis the board declared the intervenor elected.

The petition thereupon promptly filed the instant petition and as stated sought and received a stay of the isuance by the board of a certificate of election to the intervenor until this court could determine the question of constitutional law, on which depended not only the validity of the civilian absentee and shut-in ballots but also the jurisdiction of the board to count them. Because of the importance of the issue involved we peremptorily assigned the case for a special hearing on the earliest possible date consistent with the right of counsel to make reasonable preparation.

The intervenor as stated has filed a motion to dismiss the petition on the ground that this court has no jurisdiction over the subject matter of the petition, or, in the alternative, if it has jurisdiction it ought not, in the special circumstances of this case, exercise its power. He bases this contention entirely on the provisions of article 4, section 6, of our State constitution which provides in part: "Each house shall be the judge of the elections and qualifications of its members * * *." It is true that in our system of government pursuant to the above constitutional amendment each house of the general assembly is the final judge of the elections and qualifications of its members. However, in the instant case we are not concerned with the ultimate issue of the seating or not seating of the petitioner or the intervenor. Nor are we called upon to decide the power of either branch of the general assembly in that regard.

On the contrary we are confronted with a fundamental question of constitutional law which was raised on the record before the board completed the count and in this petition. In both places petitioner expressly challenged the constitutional right of the civilian absentee and shut-in electors to vote at all and also the jurisdiction of the respondent board to count any of the ballots cast by such classes of electors.

Consequently the issues thus raised on the record present questions of constitutional and fundamental law and are therefore within the court's exclusive jurisdiction. (Rhode Island Constitution, art. 10, sec. 1 and art. 12 of amendments, sec. 1. *Taylor & Co.* v. *Place* (4 R. I. 324).) Therefore neither branch of the general assembly has any authority to determine the constitutionality of its own enactments or the legal consequences of the application thereof.

Since 1893 the law has been well settled that jurisdiction of this court to pass upon questions of law in cases brought before it involving elections for senators and representatives in the general assembly is not affected by the constitutional provision that each house of the general assembly "shall be the judge of the elections and qualifications of its members." *State* v. *Town Council* (18 R. I. 258). In that case at page 263 this court stated: "Again, it does not follow from the fact that one tribunal is the ultimate judge of a question when it arises in reference to a matter proper for its decision, that another tribunal may not entertain the same question independently when called upon to decide its own action or to compel the action of parties lawfully in its jurisdiction, and the recurrence of the same question in both fora does not exclude from the jurisdiction of either tribunal a case normally within it."

In the same case at page 262 the court held: "Under the constitution the action of each house with respect to the person claiming to be elected is valid and final; but none of the steps by which that action was reached and none of the reasons assigned by either house, though they were spread by resolution upon its records, would have any force as declaring the law beyond the case then decided. Neither house of the legislature by itself can either make or authoritatively interpret the law as a rule for others. The making of the law under the constitution requires the concurrent vote of both houses and the declaration or authoritative interpretation of the law so as to form a precedent for subsequent cases, is for the courts. * * * The late Chief Justice Ames, in *Taylor* v. *Place* (4 R. I. 324), says, page 361: 'Neither the convention which framed the constitution, nor its members, nor the members of the general assembly, nor even the general assembly itself can authoritatively expound the constitution, but only the courts.'"

The intervenor has not cited and we have not found any authority or case affecting State elections which we deem of sufficient pertinency and persuasiveness to cause us to depart from the well-established law on this issue as above enunciated. But petitioner relies strongly on a statement in *Corbett* v. *Naylor* (25 R. I. 520), to the effect that each house of the general assembly being "the judge" of the elections and qualifications of its own members is therefore the sole judge thereof.

However, he overlooks several points in this regard. First, the case was in mandamus to compel performance of a duty of the respondent moderator to count ballots which he already had done according to law. Therefore any observation about the power of each house of the general assembly, if taken literally and comprehensively out of context, was entirely unnecessary for the decision and is obviously dicta. Secondly, if this statement is read in the light of the nature of the case and the admitted status thereof on its fact, all counting of ballots had been legally performed and the ballots themselves according to existing law had been returned to and were being held for the sole use of the general assembly. At such juncture the statement in question is understandably correct, because the issue at that time was entirely as to the seating or not seating by a house of the general assembly of its own member. As to that narrow issue each legislative branch can be said to be the sole judge of the elections and qualifications of its members. But that is far from saying that each house of the general assembly is the sole judge to determine the constitutional right of certain classes of voters, the constitutionality and legal effect of its own statutes, and the jurisdiction of the board to count such civilian absentee and shut-in-ballots. Finally if the court meant what petitioner argues, it is strange that the case of *State* v. *Town Council, supra*, was not even mentioned much less overruled, since 3 of the 5 judges in the case of *Corbett* v. *Naylor, supra*, also participated in the earlier decision only 11 years previously.

On the other hand there is an abundance of authorities elsewhere supporting the view which has been so well stated in *State* v. *Town Council, supra*, which was not overruled by *Corbett* v. *Naylor, supra*, and has been consistently followed here. For example see *State ex rel. Benton* v. *Elder* (31 Neb. 169); *O'Ferrall* v. *Colby* (2 Minn. 180); *People ex rel. Fuller* v. *Hilliard* (29 Ill. 413); *People ex rel. Sherwood* v. *State Canvassers* (129 N. Y. 360); *State ex rel. Ingles* v. *Circuit Court of Spink County* (63 S. D. 313).

It is therefore the unanimous opinion of this court that it has exclusive jurisdiction to hear the purely legal and constitutional issues in this case. Therefore the motion of the intervenor to dismiss the petition for lack of jurisdiction in this court is denied. Consequently we shall proceed to consider the merits of the allegations of the petition.

The petitioner here, as he did before the board, contended that the latter lacked jurisdiction to count any civilian absentee and shut-in ballots in determining the final results of the election in question. He based his contention on the ground that General Laws, 1938, chapter 319, and all purported amendments thereto are unconstitutional in that they are in violation of section 1 of article 16 of amendments and because they are not in conformity with article 23 of amendments to the constitution of this State. This objection was expressly made by petitioner before the counting of votes in this representative district was finally concluded and before the result of the election was declared. At the same time petitioner requested that all civilian absentee and shut-in ballots, as well as the inner and outer envelopes in which they were received, be segregated and marked for identification by the board.

The intervenor, however, contends that we should not consider these constitutional questions on the ground that petitioner, by his failure before the board of elections to have the ballots marked for identification and segregated, is thereby barred from having the legal issues presented by the petition reviewed in this court. Inasmuch as there is a diversity of opinion among the members of this court on this point, we shall proceed to determine this issue before we consider the other contentions of the intervenor. The intervenor relies chiefly on *Brereton* v. *Board of Canvassers* (55 R. I. 23), and cases cited therein in support of his contention that the petitioner's objection before the board was not timely.

The facts and issues in the Brereton case are completely different from those in the instant case. In the first place the issues in the Brereton case concerned questions whether or not ballots though legally cast were nevertheless defective because of the manner in which the voters had marked them. Secondly, these questions naturally required an inspection of the ballots and markings to determine their validity. For these reasons this court found nothing to review legally and it quashed the writ of certiorari, which had theretofore issued on the basis of allegations in the petition which at the hearing in this court admittedly did not stand the test of legal proof. Thirdly, in that case the petitioner admittedly made no objection or request of any kind before the board of canvassers at any time, but sought to make his record of protest for the first time in this court. Fourthly, this court specifically pointed out in that case that no question of a lack or abuse or excess of jurisdiction had been raised by the petitioner therein either before the board of canvassers or before this court.

In the instant case we are confronted with a pure issue of constitutional law which was expressly raised on the record below, as to the right of civilian absentees and shutins to vote at all and as to the jurisdiction of the board to count any of the ballots allegedly cast by such electors. These issues are not to be confused with the question whether certain specific ballots, though cast legally, were or were not marked by the voter according to law. The petitioner before the completion of the count challenged the constitutional right to vote of all civilian absentee and shut-in electors and he further contended that none of the ballots cast by such electors should be counted because there is no valid statute implementing article 23 of amendments and authorizing such ballots to be issued, cast, and counted. Consequently a pure question of constitutional law was raised on the record and it must be determined, if at all, not by an examination of the ballots themselves, but rather by determination and application of pertinent constitutional and statutory provisions. Indeed an inspection of the ballots as such could not possibly aid the court in determining the constitutional and legal questions here involved and therefore their marking for identification would serve no useful purpose here.

The petitioner's claim of unconstitutionality also raises basically the question of the jurisdiction of the board of elections to count any of the civilian absentee and shut-in ballots. If the amendatory statutes in question are invalid, then the civilian absentee and shut-in electors had no legal right to vote in the first instance. It necessarily follows that the board likewise had no legal right or authority to count such ballots.

It is fundamental in our system of government under law that the question of jurisdiction over the subject matter can be raised at any time. In *Gorman* v. *Stillman* (25 R. I. 55), it is stated at page 59 "that if the court should be convinced that it has no jurisdiction over the suit it ought to dismiss the same at any stage of the proceedings. For, as said by Stiness, C. J., in *Hazard* v. *Coyle* (22 R. I. 435): 'When a court has no jurisdiction of a cause, it should stop at any point where the fact appears.'" Continuing, the court said: "Indeed, the court of its own motion should do this, because jurisdiction is the primary and indispensable thing in all judicial proceedings."

Likewise in *David* v. *David* (47 R. I. 304), the court held at page 306: "The question of the lack of jurisdiction could be raised at any time on motion, and should be determined at the earliest stage of the proceedings if possible * * *; whenever it appears that the court has no jurisdiction the court of its own motion should stop the proceedings." See also *State Loan Co.* v. *Barry* (71 R. I. 188), where it is stated at page 189: "This court has consistently held that the question of jurisdiction over the subject matter may be raised at any time before judgment. *Streeter* v. *Millman* (68 R. I. 456); *O'Neil* v. *Demers* (44 R. I. 504)."

In *O'Neil* v. *Demers*, supra, the court held that it was proper to entertain a motion in the Supreme Court to dismiss a complaint pending in the district court on the ground that the district court lacked jurisdiction. The case was then before the Supreme Court on a constitutional question certified from the district court of the sixth judicial district. After citing *Lace* v. *Smith* (34 R. I. 1), as authority for dismissing the complaint even when the case was before it only on certification, it was stated at page 507 with reference to that case: "The court based its action upon the broad ground that a question of jurisdiction may be raised at any stage of the proceedings in a cause before judgment, and said, 'If the motion should be granted, the whole case, including the constitutional questions raised therein, would terminate and cease to exist, therefore it becomes necessary to first inquire into the validity of the motion.'"

The same rule is followed generally in other jurisdictions. For example, in *Welton* v. *Hamilton* (344 Ill. 82), the court said at page 95: "It is contended by the appellees that the appellants waived the question of the constitutionality of the act because it was not raised by them at the hearing before the board of appeals. The question here presented is one of jurisdiction of the subject matter, and it is a principle which does not require the citation of authority that jurisdiction of the subject matter cannot be waived, or, as it is otherwise stated, cannot be conferred by consent of parties. * * * If a tribunal transcends the limits which the Constitution or the law has prescribed for it and assumes to act where it has no jurisdiction its acts will be utterly void. Any act of a tribunal beyond its jurisdiction is null and void whether without its territorial jurisdiction or beyond its powers. * * * Want of jurisdiction may be taken advantage of by plea in abatement, and must be taken advantage of before making any plea to the merits, if at all, when it arises from formal defects in the process or when the want of jurisdiction is over the person, but where the cause of action is not within the jurisdiction granted by law to the tribunal it will dismiss the suit at any time when the fact comes to its notice."

See also *City of Gainesville* v. *Brown-Crummer Investment Co.* (277 U. S. 54), where the Supreme Court of the United States in speaking of such jurisdiction said at page 59: "Of course a question of jurisdiction cannot be waived. Jurisdiction should affirmatively appear, and the question may be raised at any time."

The questions of estoppel, waiver and laches were not pleaded and strictly for that reason are not open to the intervenor. But even if pleaded it is well established generally that since the parties may not confer jurisdiction over the subject matter by agreement or consent, so they may not waive such jurisdiction by agreement or consent or conduct, especially where it concerns the constitutionality of a statute that affects the public interest. See 41 American Jurisdiction, Pleading, section 159, pages 403, 404, and cases cited.

Consequently after a careful examination of the issues raised by the motion to dismiss on the ground that petitioner did not make timely objection, it is the opinion of a majority of the court that his objection was raised on the record in time and that petitioner is properly here. Therefore the motion to dismiss is denied.

The main issues raised by the petition involve the constitutionality of General Laws 1938, chapter 319, as amended, which purported to give civilian absentee and shut-in electors a right to vote before election day. The petitioner contends that all such civilian absentee and shut-in ballots, even though conforming literally with the provisions of chapter 319, as amended, nevertheless were cast without valid constitutional or legislative authority. He also argues that article 23 of amendments to the constitution of the State of Rhode Island expressly annulled article 21 of said amendments and thereby annulled all laws enacted pursuant thereto, and that therefore on November 6, 1956, there was no valid legislation enacted by the general assembly pursuant to power granted by said article 23.

He further contends that the power of the general assembly under article 23 of amendments was limited by the same language which appeared in article 21 of amendments which was expressly annulled thereby; that such language of article 21 had been construed by the justices of this court in 1942 as not permitting absentee voting except on election day; that in the light of such opinion the people must be presumed to have used the language intentionally to limit the legislature as in article 21; that after the adoption of article 23 containing the language thus interpreted by the court, sections 6 and 7½A of chapter 319, as amended, were nevertheless further amended to provide for voting by civilian absentee and shut-in voters on or before election day; and that therefore in such respect both statutes were unconstitutional and void. In other words he contends that the constitutional pattern and language used by the people in adopting article 23, following the interpretation of the same language appearing in article 21, showed unquestionably an intention to limit the legislature so as to permit civilian absentees and shut-ins to vote only on the day of election.

On the other hand the intervenor contends that chapter 319, as amended, is constitutional, but that even if civilian absentee and shut-in ballots cast before election day should be deemed invalid, the statutory amendments are servable and, at least to the extent that they authorize ballots to be cast on election day, are valid and that such ballots are legal and should be counted.

The constitutional questions thus raised by the instant petition and by the contentions of the parties are basically the same as those in the case of *Roberts* v. *Board of Elections*, (R. I. —,) in which our opinion has this day been filed. In that case the issues and principles of law applicable thereto have been fully considered. We therein held that a liberal construction should be applied to the amendatory acts passed subsequent to the adoption of article XXIII; that accordingly they could be treated as manifesting a legislative intention to implement such article by reenacting the prior law by reference; and that in the circumstances such liberality was warranted in order to save as many of the civilian absentee and shut-in votes as was constitutionally possible.

For the reasons stated therein we are of the opinion that there is effective legislation implementing article XXIII to the extent that the board had authority to receive and count all ballots of civilian absentees and shut-ins provided they were cast on election day. We have considered the other contentions raised by the intervenor and we find them lacking in merit.

Mr. Justice Andrews, while dissenting on the ground that the petitioner because of his alleged failure to make a timely objection did not preserve the right to question here the constitutionality of the civilian absentee and shut-in ballots, nevertheless agrees that if this issue is before us then the constitution authorizes the general assembly to permit voting by civilian absentee and shut-in voters only on election day.

The petition for certiorari is granted, the record of the action of the board in counting certain civilian absentee and shut-in ballots contained in inner envelopes whereon it was clearly established by the jurat or official acknowledgement that such ballots had been cast before election day, and the declaration of the result based thereon, are quashed, and pursuant to our decision in this matter heretofore filed on January 1, 1957, the records certified to this court are ordered returned to said board.

Andrews, Judge, dissenting: As is shown by the decision filed on January 1, 1957, I dissented on the ground that the petitioner had not preserved the right to question the validity of the absentee and shut-in ballots. I have had an opportunity to examine the extended opinion of the majority on this day filed but am unable to agree with it on this point.

General Laws 1938, chapter 319, section 7, as amended, provides that after the board of elections has received all the absentee ballots it shall proceed to process, count, and

preserve them as therein provided. Specifically, the board is directed to see if the name of the voter appearing on the envelope enclosing the ballot is on the check list, and having done so, to open the envelope, remove the ballot, and, without looking at the inside of it, immediately deposit it in a covered box. The obvious purpose of the last requirement is to preserve the secrecy of the ballot. This procedure was followed by the board in counting all the absentee and shut-in ballots cast at the last general election and the 2 groups of lawyers representing the candidates for the 2 parties were given every opportunity to examine the envelopes before they were opened to see if the ballots in them were cast according to law.

Another candidate of the same party, the petitioner in *Roberts* v. *Board of Elections et al.* (M. P. No. 1198), challenged 270 ballots because the envelopes containing them did not bear a notarial seal or its statutory equivalent as required by said chapter 319. In each case, the board, before opening the envelope, covered the voter's name with masking tape to preserve the secrecy of his ballot and then took out the ballot and gave it and its envelope the same number to preserve the identity of the ballot should this court be later asked to pass upon its validity. In view of the command of the statute, this was at least a proper way to preserve the identity of the ballot, for once the unidentified ballot was put into the locked box with the other ballots it could never be matched up with its equally unidentified envelope. When either party challenged a ballot on this or any other ground the same procedure was followed. Neither party objected to this procedure and neither can now object to it. The shut-in ballots and the objections thereto were handled in the same manner as the absentee ballots.

After all the absentee ballots had been counted, the result was made known and the same was done in regard to the shut-in ballots. It was not until about 2 weeks after all the absentee ballots had been counted and about a week after all the shut-in ballots had been counted that the petitioner for the first time objected to any of them on the ground that they had been cast under an unconstitutional statute. He then protested and moved that the board consider none of them in the final count. As stated by the majority, he did at that time request the board to have the inner envelopes which contained the ballots cast by absentee and shut-in voters at said election segregated and marked for identification.

When this case was decided on January 1, 1957, I thought this petitioner, like the petitioner in *Roberts* v. *Board of Elections et al.* (M. P. No. 1198), had failed to ask the board to identify the ballots at the time he made his motion to have them excluded from the final count. My mistake in this regard has recently come to my attention and I freely admit it, but as I then stated to my brethren and continue to maintain that the petitioner should have had the ballots and their envelopes marked for identification at the time the envelopes were opened long before he made his motion, my mistake is of no legal significance. Otherwise, I would abandon my dissent if such a thing is now possible.

A few days after he made his motion the petitioner filed this petition for certiorari and in his brief and oral argument before us contended that he had properly preserved the right to challenge all the absentee and shut-in ballots, relying solely upon the following quotation from the opinion in *Brereton* v. *Board of Canvassers* (55 R. I. 23). I quote from page 5 of his brief immediately after he cites that case. "In that case the court said at page 30, citing with approval the case of *Adams* v. *Glen* (53 R. I. 41), and commenting upon the decision rendered in said case:

" 'Clearly the court then was of the opinion that in such proceedings only ballots, the rulings on which by the board of canvassers had been objected to before the board and which therefore should have been marked by the board for identification, should be considered by the court. Moreover, the view of the court then clearly indicates that if rulings of a board late in the counting of ballots of any election make one of the candidates wish to object to the ruling on any ballot previously counted or rejected, he still can and should make such objection and have the ballot marked for identification at any time before the counting is finally concluded and the decision made.' "

I do not read the rule of the quotation from the *Brereton* case to mean that a candidate can delay asking the board to identify ballots until a time when it cannot do so because of his earlier failure to have them identified when they could have been identified. And this is so, although at the time of the late request the ballots are still in the custody of the board and it is still counting ballots. That is just the situation in this case.

Further on in the *Brereton* opinion the court gave what has always seemed to me its reasons for the rule of the quotation when it said, pp. 31, 32, that to have the marking, segregation and rulings made in this court would be to make this court a super counting tribunal rather than a reviewing one and so it would not allow these things to be done there for the first time.

Had the petitioner challenged each ballot when its envelope plainly showed on its face when it had been cast and had such ballot and its envelope been identified with the same mark, as was done in the case of the 270 ballots, the board could at any time while the ballots were in its custody have determined for which of the contestants the good and bad ballots were cast, for it is for that ultimate purpose that identification is required.

The motion was to have all ballots disregarded in the final count and since some of them were entitled to be counted, said motion was too broad and was properly denied. *Hampson* v. *Taylor* (15 R. I. 83, 87 (1885)).

When the petitioner made his late motion doubtless he thought that all ballots were bad just as he doubtless thought that all the ballots were good when he failed to have them identified when identification could have been made; but the fact that he was wrong in both instances does not change the vital fact that the ballots cast before election day were bad and those cast on election day were good. Courts do not make the law; they only declare what it wat at the crucial time in the past. These ballots were always good or bad depending upon the time they were cast.

But the majority holds that the Brereton case does not rule this case on this point. It says in part: "The petitioner's claim of unconstitutionality also raises basically the question of the jurisdiction of the board of elections to count any of the civilian absentee and shut-in ballots. If the amendatory statutes in question are invalid, then the civilian absentee and shut-in electors had no legal right to vote in the first instance. It necessarily follows that the board likewise had no legal right or authority to count such ballots. It is fundamental in our system of government under law that the question of jurisdiction over the subject matter can be raised at any time."

I respectfully disagree with the majority that the petitioner raised the question of the jurisdiction of the board to count the ballots. He simply attacked the validity of the ballots which had long before been counted without objection by him—two profoundly different legal situations. It is abundantly clear that he did not consider that he had raised a jurisdictional question for he relied solely upon the Brereton case which did not involve jurisdiction. Nevertheless there can be no question of the right of the majority to reject the position taken on this point by the lawyers for both parties and to decide it on any ground it chooses. Neither can there be any question of the right of an appellate court to dismiss a case for lack of jurisdiction in the lower court over the subject matter and this, too, without being asked so to do.

I take this occasion to state that when this case was decided on January 1, 1957, the majority raised the question of lack of jurisdiction and rested its decision on this point of a lack of jurisdiction and that I then expressed my disagreement with its position.

There has never been any doubt in my mind of the board's jurisdiction, using that term as it has long been understood to mean—the power conferred by law upon a tribunal to enter upon the inquiry—the subject matter—here the counting of ballots. That power includes the power to make, in the course of the inquiry, erroneous rulings. It has also long been settled that such erroneous rulings are final unless they are reversed at the instance of the person against whom they are made, who has preserved his right to have them reversed by taking the proper steps at the proper time in accordance with the rules governing the inquiry, for example, the rules of the Brereton case.

Said section 7 conferred jurisdiction upon the board to count all the ballots not just those validly cast. The board of canvassers of Warwick had a like jurisdiction. The counting of each ballot is not a separate case. A tribunal that has jurisdiction to take an account, for example, that of an executor, administrator, or a trustee, has jurisdiction to allow items that should not be allowed. That is mere error in the exercise of jurisdiction, just as here it was mere error for the board to count, as it came to them, ballots cast before election day—error to be preserved for review as provided in the Brereton case.

The majority says that we are not concerned with certain ballots not properly marked in accordance with law. This was the situation in the Brereton case. That case did not involve a question of jurisdiction. I am unable to see, at least for jurisdictional purposes, any substantial difference between ballots invalid because they bear distinguishing marks and ballots invalid because their envelopes lack notarial seals or ballots invalid because they were cast before election day. In each case the ballots are invalid and no more or less so than in the other two cases.

I have examined the cases cited by the majority and they are in point on the question of the right of an appellate court to raise the lack of jurisdiction of the lower court over the subject matter without being asked so to do, but I find nothing in them that shows that in this case we have a lack of jurisdiction in the board.

State Loan Co. v. *Barry* (71 R. I. 188), cited by the majority, was an action at law commenced by a writ wherein the ad damnum was fixed at $1,000 returnable to the superior court. This court referred to the statute which provided that the superior court shall have exclusive original jurisdiction only when the damages laid in the writ shall exceed $1,000 and that the statute also provides that the district court shall have exclusive original jurisdiction of all civil actions wherein the damages laid in the writ do not exceed $1,000. Here we have a perfect illustration of lack of jurisdiction over the subject matter but it has no application to the facts of this case.

Jurisdiction must be conferred by the constitution or by statute and what better illustration of this rule can be found than in the very opinion of the majority. The intervener moved to dismiss this case because he

claimed that the petition showed on its face that this court lacked jurisdiction to hear it because the constitution makes each house of the general assembly the sole judge of the election and qualification of its members. I agreed with the majority that the reasoning of Mr. Justice Douglas in *State* v. *Town Council* (18 R. I. 258) is more convincing than that of the dissenter Mr. Justice Stiness who, unlike his associates, did not abandon the first opinion in that case. That does not mean, however, as might be inferred from the statement of the majority at the end of its consideration of that motion that I agreed that we should proceed to hear the so-called merits of this case. I did not so agree because as I have stated in my dissent filed on January 1, 1957, the petitioner had failed to preserve "the right to question here the constitutionality of the absentee and shut-in ballots."

Since my dissent was grounded solely upon the failure of the petitioner to properly preserve his right to be heard at all on the substance of his petition, had I received any support from my brethren the petitioner would have been stopped right at the threshold of the court. Such being my position I have confined this opinion strictly to the reasons that led to my position and to the reasons why I could not agree with the majority that we were dealing with lack of jurisdiction. Consistently with that position I have not discussed here anything concerning the court's decision of January 1, 1957, on the merits, except to emphasize the words of my dissent thereto, namely: "If this question is properly before us."

If it be said that my dissent is based on a procedural point, my answer is that it was upon this procedural point that this court refused to hear the merits of the Brereton case.

For the foregoing reasons it is my judgment that the instant decision should read: "The petition is denied and dismissed, the writ is quashed, the restraining order heretofore entered is dissolved, and the records certified to us are ordered returned to the board of elections with our decision endorsed thereon."

JOHN H. MCGANN *v.* BOARD OF ELECTIONS ET AL. (M. P. No. 1195); ALFRED B. GOBEILLE *v.* SAME (M. P. No. 1196); HAROLD E. SHIPPEE *v.* SAME (M. P. No. 1197)

DECISION

The above three cases were heard together, involved the same basic issues, and will be decided together.

The motion of the intervenors to dismiss the petition for certiorari in each case on the ground that the general assembly constitutionally is the judge of the qualifications of its own members is unanimously denied. We are not concerned with the ultimate issue of the seating or not seating of any member of the general assembly. The controlling issue before us is purely a question of constitutional law and therefore is solely within the court's jurisdiction under the constitution.

The majority of the court have agreed that, even assuming by extreme liberality there was in existence a valid statute giving the board of elections the right to count civilian absentee and shut-in votes so called, such statute cannot constitutionally and legally be extended to authorize such civilian absentee and shut-in voters to cast their ballots on any day other than election day, November 6, 1956.

Since the board has not informed this court of the number of civilian absentee and shut-in voters who, by the jurat or acknowledgment on the inner envelope, clearly established that they had cast their ballots on election day, we are able only to point out to the board that they should follow the principle as set forth in the case of *Dennis J. Roberts* v. *Board of Elections et al.*, (M. P. No. 1198), filed this day, and that they should count only the civilian absentee and shut-in ballots wherein the inner envelopes establish that they had been sworn to or legally acknowledged on election day.

The records and actions of the respondent board in counting civilian absentee and shut-in ballots contained in inner envelopes not in accordance with our above-stated conclusion, and the declaration of result in each case based thereon are hereby quashed. Our opinion will be filed later.

Andrews, Judge, dissents on the ground that the petitioners did not preserve the right to question here the constitutionality of the absentee and shut-in ballots. He agrees, however, that if this question is properly before us then the constitution allows voting of civilian absentee and shut-in voters so called only on election day.

DENNIS J. ROBERTS *v.* BOARD OF ELECTIONS ET AL. (M. P. No. 1198)

OPINION

Condon, Judge: This is a petition for certiorari to review the action of the respondent state board of elections in declaring Christopher Del Sesto, the other respondent, elected governor of the state at the general election held on November 6, 1956. We issued the writ and in compliance therewith the board made due return of its records pertaining to the election of governor. The respondent Christopher Del Sesto took over the defense to the petition, the board by its counsel expressly consenting thereto in open court. We shall hereinafter refer to him as the respondent. As such respondent he neither moved to dismiss the petition nor filed any answer or special plea to it, but proceeded to a hearing on its merits. Therefore the validity of the petition and the facts alleged therein are undisputed.

The facts are as follows: On election day petitioner received on the voting machines in the polling places throughout the State 190,259 votes and the respondent received 190,052 votes. In addition each received a certain number of votes cast by members of the Armed Forces and the merchant marine of the United States in active service and absent from the State, of which 2,056 were counted for petitioner and 1,552 for respondent. The total for each candidate then stood as follows: 192,315 for petitioner and 191,604 for respondent. On the basis of these admittedly valid votes petitioner had a clear majority of 711 votes, and unless there were other votes legally cast by qualified electors the board should have declared petitioner elected.

However, over the protest of petitioner the board counted certain ballots cast by civilian electors absent from the State and by other civilian electors "who, by reason of old-age, physical disability, illness or for other physical infirmities" were unable to vote in person although within the State. The electors of the first class are sometimes referred to as civilian absentee voters and those of the second class as shut-ins. They cast their ballots and forwarded them by mail under the provisions of general law 1938, chapter 319, as amended.

That chapter, as amended, purported to authorize such electors to vote in absentia on or before election day. It had been originally enacted pursuant to article 21 of amendments to the State constitution and authorized voting only on election day. Subsequently article 21 of amendments was expressly annulled by article 23 of amendments which also did not authorize voting before election day. Thereafter the general assembly undertook to amend chapter 319 apparently intending thereby to give effect to that constitutional amendment. Some of the ballots that were voted under such amended chapter had been cast on election day, but a much larger number had been cast before that day. After counting all of such ballots the board found that the total vote for petitioner was 194,547 and for respondent 194,974, and it thereupon declared the latter elected.

The petitioner protested before the board that it should not count any ballots cast by either the civilian absentees or the shut-ins, contending that article 23 of amendments was not self-executing and that there was no valid legislation implementing it; and he argued further that such attempted legislation under which the ballots had been issued to said civilian absentees and shut-ins was unconstitutional. The board refused to entertain petitioner's objection on the ground that it was without jurisdiction to pass upon the constitutionality of the election law and that it was its duty to count all ballots cast under such law unless and until this court declared it unconstitutional.

As a consequence of such ruling, petitioner promptly filed the instant petition and sought a stay of the issuance by the board of a certificate of election to the respondent until the questions thus raised affecting the legality of the civilian absentee and shut-in ballots could be determined according to law. We issued such stay and peremptorily assigned the case for hearing at the earliest possible date consistent with the right of counsel to make reasonable preparation.

The case has naturally aroused intense public interest. This is understandable in view of the ultimate issue involved. Notwithstanding the emotional overtones of the discussion of it elsewhere, it is worthy of note that the case was argued here strictly in keeping with the customary decorum of this court. With commendable ability and zeal, yet without rancor, counsel for each party urged every legitimate legal point in support of their client's interests. Their appeals were always addressed to the law and the precedents as they understood them, and never to the emotions. Such restraint on their part appeared to have communicated itself to others who crowded the courtroom far beyond its capacity. They, too, demeaned themselves in a manner befitting the time, the place, and the constitutional issue that was presented.

We mention these facts to show that we are not unmindful of the human emotions which tend to prevent a calm approach to the cold, legal aspects of this case. Others, without having the supreme judicial responsibility under the constitution, may indulge those emotions and play upon them, but we in this court may not do so. On the contrary we are in duty bound to put emotional arguments completely aside and to decide the case, as we do every other case, solely by the rule of law. Only in that way can the people of this State hope to retain and enjoy that priceless possession of free men, a government that guarantees liberty and justice under law. What then is the rule of law which governs the right of these civilian absentees and shutins to vote?

In this State the time and the place of voting for governor and other State officers was fixed by the constitution from the beginning. Article 16 of amendments, which now governs, expressly provides that they "shall be elected at town, ward, and district meetings on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, biennially, commencing A. D. 1912." For 87 years after the adoption of the constitution down to 1930 there was only one exception to the rule that an elector must appear in person at his polling place in order to exercise his right to vote. That exception was article 4 of amendments which was adopted in August 1864 and provided that an elector absent from the State in time of war in the actual military service may vote on the day of election by delivering a written or printed ballot with the names of the persons voted for thereon to the officer commanding his regiment or company.

In 1918 the judges of this court as then constituted, namely, C. Frank Parkhurst, William H. Sweetland, Walter B. Vincent, Darius Baker, and Charles F. Stearns, unanimously advised Governor Beeckman that no elector except those entitled to claim the privilege of article 4 of amendments could exercise his right to vote otherwise than in person in his town, ward, or district meeting on election day. In re Right of Electors in the Military Service of the United States, 41 Rhode Island 118.

On November 4, 1930, the people adopted article 21 of amendments which provided that any elector absent from the State and otherwise qualified to vote at the general election should have the right to vote for all officers and propositions on the State ballot. Unlike article 4 of amendments, however, it was not self-executing but required legislation to make it effective. This amendment expressly authorized the general assembly to enact such legislation, annulled said article 4, and further authorized the enactment of special regulations to govern the manner of voting by electors absent from the State in the actual military service of the United States.

Pursuant to that amendment the general assembly enacted public laws 1932, chapter 1863, which later became chapter 319 in the revision of general laws of 1938. This is sometimes referred to as the absentee voter law. That statute sets out in minute detail what the elector must do in order to exercise the exceptional privilege granted to him by the amendment. And in section 6, consistently with the views so clearly stated unanimously in *In re Right of Electors in the Military Service of the United States, supra*, it was expressly provided: "The absentee voter, upon receipt of the absentee voter's ballot as provided in this chapter, shall vote the same 'on said election day' at some place without the State of Rhode Island * * *." Thereafter the above language which we have not quoted appeared in two subsequent amendments of the chapter down to May 11, 1953, when chapter 3204 of the public laws of 1953 was approved. In that chapter for the first time it was provided that such ballot could be voted "on or before said election day."

In the meantime, 11 years prior to that amendment of the statute, the Honorable the House of Representatives had asked this court: "May the legislature authorize those absent from the State in the actual military service of the United States, in time of war, to cast absentee ballots, before the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, the time for holding biennial general elections?" The judges of this court as then constituted, Edmund W. Flynn, William W. Moss, Antonio A. Capotosto, Hugh B. Baker, and Francis B. Condon, unanimously answered that question in the negative and stated: "Whatever other power may be vested in the general assembly by the last sentence in article 21, section 1, that sentence gives no power to the general assembly to change the day of the general election held biennially, when the vote of a qualified elector, whether an absent elector or not, shall be cast." (Opinion to the house of representatives, 67 Rhode Island 465, 469.)

The general assembly apparently abided by that opinion and did not enact legislation to the contrary. Subsequently a constitutional convention was held on March 28, 1944, at which an amendment was proposed to the constitution which expressly authorized the general assembly to prescribe the time of voting by members of the Armed Forces. That amendment, which is article 22 of amendments, was adopted April 11, 1944, and besides specifically authorizing absentee voting by "members of the Armed Forces and the merchant marine of the United States in active service," it provided: "and the general assembly is also authorized and empowered to enact legislation prescribing the time, place, and manner and extent of voting by such members." The people thus extended the power of the general assembly so that thereafter it could constitutionally authorize such members of the Armed Forces and the merchant marine to vote on or before election day, but significantly nothing was provided expressly or by necessary implication in that amendment to authorize the general assembly to fix the time for voting by civilian absentee and shut-in voters.

However, some years later the general assembly proposed to the people article 23 of amendments, which the latter adopted on November 2, 1948. This amendment authorized not only electors absent from the State to vote as provided by article 21, but it also extended the privilege to electors within the State who were unable to vote in person at their polling places because of old age, physical disability, illness or for other physical infirmities. It also authorized such civilian absentees and shut-ins to vote for officers and on all questions on the city, town or water district ballots as well as those on the State ballot, which article 21 did not. It further provided that the general assembly should have the power to carry the amendment into effect, but again significantly it did not authorize that body to prescribe the time of voting by civilian absentees and shut-ins, as article 22 had done for those in the Armed Forces.

Apparently the general assembly recognized a distinction in the problems affecting the exercise of the special privilege by the members of the Armed Forces on the one hand and by the civilian absentees and shut-ins on the other, and accordingly it did not ask the people for the power which had been given to it by article 22. We are, therefore, unanimously of the opinion that the constitutional pattern is clear, and that article 23 does not authorize the general assembly to provide for voting by civilian absentees and shut-ins thereunder at any time other than on the day of election as expressly prescribed by the constitution in article 16 of amendments.

Under article I, section 4, of the Federal Constitution the legislatures of the several States are expressly authorized to fix the time of holding elections for Senators and Representatives in Congress, so that this opinion has no application to the election of such officers.

Article 23 of amendments to the State constitution expressly annulled article 21 of amendments and did not contain any saving clause preserving the legislation which had been enacted thereunder and under which civilian absentee voters had been exercising their privilege of voting in absentia since 1932. It is undisputed that article 23 was not self-executing and therefore required legislation to implement it. See Opinion to the Governor (The Registration of Electors; 22 R. I. 651).

The petitioner argues that the general assembly failed to enact such legislation. The respondent contends that since the general assembly, after the adoption of that article, did pass certain amendments to General Laws 1938, chapter 319, purporting to carry out the intent thereof, namely, Public Laws 1949, chapter 2316, Public Laws 1950, chapter 2637, Public Laws 1953, chapters 3204 and 3205, Public Laws 1954, chapter 3314, and Public Laws 1955, chapter 3456, it had effectively implemented the article of amendment. The petitioner claims such legislative amendments were abortive since they purported to amend a law which did not exist. He contends that such law fell with the express annulment of article 21 of amendments on which the law was based. In support of that claim he relies upon the well-recognized principle that, in the absence of a saving clause, legislation which is dependent upon or subsidiary to a constitutional provision which has been repealed falls with such provision, and he cites *State* v. *Tanks* (15 R. I. 385), *Williams* v. *Standard Oil Co. of Louisiana* (278 U. S. 235), *Dorchy* v. *State of Kansas* (264 U. S. 286), *Railroad Retirement Board* v. *Alton R. R.* (295 U. S. 330), *Carter* v. *Carter Coal Co.* (298 U. S. 238), and *United States* v. *Chambers* (291 U. S. 217).

We have examined those cases and we are in accord with the principle applied to the facts therein. However, in the case at bar we think the factual situation which confronts us differs in kind and degree to such an extent that a majority of the court feels that a liberal construction should be applied to the amendatory acts passed by the general assembly subsequent to the adoption of article 23 of amendments and that they should be treated as manifesting an intent on the part of the general assembly to implement such article of amendment by reenacting the prior statutory law by reference.

It is conceded that such a construction is extremely liberal and something may well be said by the petitioner in criticism of it. However, inasmuch as a rule of statutory construction only is involved in this phase of the case, we feel warranted in indulging such liberality in order that as many of these civilian absentee and shut-in votes as it is constitutionally possible to save may not be lost. Therefore we hold that such part of General Laws 1938, chapter 319, as amended, which authorizes voting on election day is valid and that part which purports to authorize voting before election day is invalid. See *State* v. *Clark* (15 R. I. 385). On that view we are of the opinion that there is effective legislation by reference substantially implementing article 23 of amendments so far as it concerns voting by civilian absentees and shut-ins on election day. The board is therefore lawfully authorized to receive and count the ballots cast by such electors on election day.

In view of the urgency of a prompt decision we directed the board to ascertain the number of those ballots. They have done so and have reported to us that 648 such ballots were cast on election day. By crediting the respondent with all of such ballots, notwithstanding some of them were probably cast for petitioner, the result favorable to petitioner as disclosed by the voting machine totals and the total of the ballots cast by members of the Armed Forces would not be altered. Consequently we find it unnecessary to examine 270 civilian absentee and shut-in ballots to which petitioner had objected for certain reasons pertaining to each ballot which had been segregated pursuant to such objection. In view of the official tabulation of the board as above disclosed, it is our further opinion that the board should issue a certificate of election to petitioner, since our order in this case is that the record of the board in counting certain civilian absentee and shut-in ballots which were cast before election day and the declaration of election of the respondent based thereon is illegal and void and must be quashed.

Before concluding we must advert to one other point because there is a diversity of opinion thereon among the members of the court. Although the respondent did not file any motion to dismiss the petition on the ground that petitioner was not entitled to prefer it, he contended in his brief and in oral argument that petitioner's failure, before the board of elections, to have all civilian absentee and shut-in ballots marked and segregated precludes him from having the board's action reviewed and the constitutionality of chapter 319, as amended, determined by this court in these certiorari proceedings. However, before the board he conceded that petitioner had the right to raise that question saying: "It is properly within the rights of Governor Roberts, if he wants to challenge the constitutionality of this section of the statute, nobody objects to his

right to do that." Transcript of the Board of Elections, page 715.

Nevertheless, he now seeks to make an opposite contention and relies chiefly on his interpretation of *Brereton* v. *Board of Canvassers* (55 R. I. 23). There are several answers to this contention insofar as it is urged against our considering the above issue. In the first place the determination of the validity of the statute does not require examination of any ballots. Secondly, petitioner objected to the counting of all civilian absentee and shut-in ballots before the count of all ballots was finally concluded by the board and the result announced. He thus properly brought in question upon the record the constitutionality of the statute upon which the jurisdiction of the board to receive and count all ballots cast pursuant thereto depends. See *State* v. *Garnetto* (75 R. I. 86).

The respondent has apparently misconceived the *Brereton* case. In that case the petitioner did not raise any objections to the rulings of the board of canvassers at the counting of the ballots although in his petition for certiorari he alleged that he had. As a result of such allegations the writ issued but at the hearing before us he was unable to sustain such allegations and we quashed the writ. Neither at the hearing before the board nor here did he question the validity of the election law and he did not raise any question of the right of any elector to vote. In fact no question of the constitutional right of absentees or shut-ins to vote was involved in that case. His contentions were based solely on the alleged illegal manner in which certain ballots were marked by the voter. We pointed out in our opinion that such questions could not be raised for the first time in this court but that they should have been raised before the board, and that each protested ballot should have been marked for identification and segregated there for purposes of review here. The petitioner at no time either before the board or in this court raised any question of the board of canvassers' jurisdiction to receive and count any ballots nor did he bring upon the record a question of the constitutionality of the election law.

In the case at bar the constitutional issue, which the respondent before the board conceded that petitioner had the right to raise, concerned the legal authority of two classes of voters to vote at all, and not whether certain specific ballots were properly marked by the voter in accordance with law. The sum and substance of petitioner's claim is that no civilian absentee or shut-in ballots should be counted, because there is no valid statute authorizing such ballots to be voted under article 23 of amendments, and therefore the board was without jurisdiction to receive and count them.

That is a pure question of law which may be determined wholly aside from an examination of the ballots. In fact an inspection of the ballots as such could not possibly aid in determining this fundamental question of law. Further, since it is a question of jurisdiction over the subject matter it could be raised at any time. Moreover, involved in petitioner's claim is the further contention that in any event the statute is unconstitutional. Such question having been brought upon the record before the board, there can be no doubt that certiorari lies in this court to have that issue finally determined. *Thayer Amusement Corp.* v. *Moulton* (63 R. I. 182). The majority of the court, therefore, have no hesitancy in holding that petitioner is properly here.

The respondent has raised a further objection, namely, that petitioner is estopped to question the validity of the statute under which the challenged ballots were cast because as governor he approved such statute. There is no merit in that contention. It would be a mischievous precedent if we were to hold that a governor or a member of the general assembly must submit to an unconstitutional law merely because in the performance of his official duty he had participated in the enactment of such law. We are aware of no case where any court has gone to that extent in applying the doctrine of estoppel to such officers and we doubt if any can be found. Without further prolonging this opinion we may say that we have considered the respondent's other objections based on estoppel, laches, and waiver and we find them all to be lacking in merit.

Our conclusions may be summed up in a few sentences. The people of this State have the sole power to say when and where the votes for officers on the State ballot may be cast. They have authorized the general assembly to allow members of the Armed Forces to cast them when and where it prescribes. They have not authorized the general assembly to allow civilian absentees and shut-ins to vote at any time other than on election day. If we were to give effect to that part of the statute which permitted them to vote before election day and allow such ballots to be counted, notwithstanding that we hold such portion of the statute unconstitutional, we would be usurping the power which the people have reserved to themselves.

This court may not evade its plain duty no matter how disagreeable the consequences. The power to keep the legislative department within its constitutional limits has been lodged here by the people and they have a right to expect us to exercise it in a proper case. Speaking of that power and the duty of the court to declare a statute which conflicts with the constitution void, the supreme judicial court of Massachusetts declared in *Bowe* v. *Secretary of the Commonwealth* (320 Mass. 230), at page 244: "It is a necessary function, if constitutional provisions are to be the supreme law, and not mere declarations of policy to be disregarded by the legislature at will."

And further on the same page that court stated: "The people by the constitution created the legislative branch of government as well as the executive and judicial branches, and conferred and at the same time limited the powers of each of them. Each must act pursuant to the constitution and within the authority conferred by it. Once the idea of enactments at different levels of authority is grasped, it becomes clear that a provision contained in a statute cannot have any force as law if it conflicts with any provision contained in the higher law of the constitution." Later in applying this principle they said at page 245: "When one party relies on some provision of a statute, and the other relies on some provision of the higher law of the constitution, with which, it is alleged, the statute conflicts, the court, in order to determine what the law really is, must first decide whether there is conflict. If there is, its duty is to apply the higher law of the constitution, and disregard the statute."

We recognize that this court, in keeping with those principles, is in a real sense the guardian of the constitution. To discharge that task it has been vested with the power to prevent the other departments of the government from transgressing the limits set for them by the constitution. We would be recreant to our trust if we did not scrupulously observe it ourselves. Being convinced beyond a reasonable doubt, as we are, that there is no constitutionally valid statute permitting civilian absentee or shut-in voters to vote before election day and no jurisdiction in the board to count their votes, it is our plain and imperative duty to declare all such votes illegal and void. *Carr* v. *Brown* (20 R. I. 215.) As was so well said by the judges of the Supreme Court of Connecticut with reference to the unconstitutionality of a similar election statute in that State, "• • • the people saw fit, in their determined intention that all elections should be regulated by constitutional provisions, unalterable by the general assembly, to prescribe in the clearest manner when, where, and how the elective franchise should be exercised, and these provisions must control the general assembly in all exigencies, until changed by the supreme will of the people, expressed in a new or amended constitution." Opinion of the Judges of the Supreme Court (30 Conn. 591, 600 (1862)).

The petition for certiorari is granted. The record of the board of elections pertaining to the counting of civilian absentee and shut-in ballots cast before election day and to the declaration of respondent's election as governor is quashed. Pursuant to our decision in this matter heretofore filed on January 1, 1957, the records certified to this court are ordered returned to said board.

Andrews, Judge, dissenting: The essential facts and principles of law material to my dissent in this case are substantially the same as in the case of *John H. McGann* v. *Board of Elections et al.* (M. P. No. 1195), in which I have filed a dissenting opinion and it seems to me unnecessary to file another extended opinion.

In my judgment the reasons which I have stated in the above-mentioned case apply here and the instant decision should read: "The petition is denied and dismissed, the writ is quashed, the restraining order heretofore entered is dissolved, and the records certified to us are ordered returned to the board of elections with our decision endorsed thereon."

DENNIS J. ROBERTS *v.* BOARD OF ELECTIONS ET AL. (M. P. No. 1198)

DECISION

The majority of the court have agreed that, even assuming by extreme liberality there was in existence a valid statute giving the board of elections the right to count civilian absentee and shut-in votes so-called, such statute cannot constitutionally and legally be extended to authorize such civilian absentee and shut-in voters to cast their ballots on any day other than election day, November 6, 1956.

On that view the board has informed the court that only a total of 648 civilian absentee and shut-in voters by the jurat or acknowledgement on the inner envelope established that they were casting their ballots on election day. Consequently all the civilian absentee and shut-in ballots, wherein the inner envelopes did not establish that they had been sworn to or legally acknowledged on election day should not be counted.

If we consider that all the 648 votes, which probably were divided, should nevertheless in the present circumstances be cast and counted for candidate Christopher Del Sesto, in accordance with the petitioner's concession in open court and in his brief, the petitioner will still have a plurality of all the votes legally and constitutionally cast, and a declaration of result and a certificate of election to the petitioner in accordance therewith should be issued by the respondent board.

The records and actions of the respondent board in counting civilian absentee and shut-in ballots contained in inner envelopes not in accordance with our above conclusions and the declaration of result based thereon are hereby quashed. Our opinion will be filed later.

Andrews, Judge, dissents on the ground that the petitioner did not preserve the right to question here the constitutionality of the absentee and shut-in ballots. He agrees, however, that if this question is properly before us then the Constitution allows voting of civilian absentees and shut-in voters so-called only on election day.

More Cooperation Needed in Voluntary Community Chest Efforts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, throughout this land, there are an increasing number of requests being made on our citizens for voluntary contributions and payroll deductions. The contributions are asked on behalf of an ever-wider variety of community health and welfare organizations.

The American people are a generous people. They gladly contribute to a larger proportion of private welfare activities than probably any other people on earth.

In recent years, however, there has been an increasing realization that there is still a good deal of duplication of effort among many of the private groups. And so, there is a feeling, at the grassroots of America, that there ought to be better cooperation and coordination. If that goal is reached, when a generous American contributes money, he will be sure that every dollar contributed will be used efficiently, with a minimum of overhead costs, and in a manner that will do the most good.

These objectives, too, have been of vital interest to the fine organization known as United Community Funds and Councils of America. I was interested to follow news reports last week from Chicago concerning the Midwest regional conference of that organization, which was attended by representatives of Wisconsin community chests and related groups.

I particularly invite attention to the sound remarks of the Assistant Surgeon General of the United States, Dr. Theodore Bauer, before that conference.

I send to the desk the text of an article from the Friday, February 22, issue of the Milwaukee Journal on this subject. I append two earlier articles describing the national biannual conference of the same organization, a conference in St. Louis which explored many significant community themes. I ask unanimous consent that these 3 articles—symbolic of grassroots thinking and cooperation in the American way—be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal of February 22, 1957]

CHEST LEADERS URGED TO COORDINATE EFFORTS—COMPARTMENTALIZING OF HEALTH SERVICES IS INEFFECTIVE, SAYS UNITED STATES MEDICAL AIDE

(By Ellen Gibson)

CHICAGO, ILL.—The Assistant United States Surgeon General Thursday appealed to community leaders to face the "enormous challenge" of coordinating local health services. "The services required by many long-term patients, despite the wide difference in the causes of their illness, are strikingly similar," said Dr. Theodore Bauer, Washington, D. C. "Home care, nutritional counseling, social service, rehabilitation service—these are just a few of the many communitywide programs that would benefit patients with heart disease, cancer, tuberculosis, mental illness, and many other disabling conditions. Health services for the aging, especially, cannot be effective if compartmentalized according to specific diseases."

RAPS MULTIPLE SERVICE

Dr. Bauer addressed the 422 professional workers and lay leaders attending the Midwest regional conference of United Community Funds and Councils of America (UCFCA) at the La Salle Hotel here.

He claimed that the multiplication of services for numerous small groups with specific health problems was not an effective way to assure that all essential services were readily available.

Voluntary agencies, able to act more independently than tax-supported ones, ought to lead the way in this coordinating job, Dr. Bauer said.

CITES INCREASED RESEARCH

He spoke of the increase in research in the last 10 years, due to greatly expanded funds from Government, foundations, and voluntary agencies, and noted that most of it was directed to causes of diseases, diagnosis, and treatment.

He said that the time was now ripe for research into the underlying factors in the lives of individuals or communities that contributed to the occurrence of heart disease, accidents, arthritis, mental illness, or the like.

This research—epidemiology—starts with the fact of a high death rate or incidence and probes the physical and social environment for clues to prevention.

STRENGTHENING PLEAS MADE

Proposals to strengthen the national organization in view of the dynamic growth of new forms of federated fund raising were put before the conference Thursday. The UCFCA represents the welfare planning groups and Community Chests or United Funds of 2,000 communities. The federated drives raise $380 million from 26 million givers annually.

Traditional Community Chests are being replaced or augmented in many communities by the newer United Funds, which include some of the big independent fund-raising bodies as well as the usual local Red Feather services.

Federation in one form or another is destined to spread to more agencies and more communities, it was emphasized here.

This trend requires a strong national movement the conference was told by Ralph H. Blanchard, New York, UCFCA director.

The organization has been a rather loose collection of autonomous local groups. He cited the need for field staff, national advertising expansion, and expanded campaign staff, and for a 22 percent increase in the dues paid by communities to finance the greater program.

"You can't drive a spike with a tack hammer," Blanchard warned. "We have got to strengthen this partnership to meet the dynamic new situation."

POPULATION BOOM DISCUSSED

Facing the population boom in this, one of the world's fastest growing countries, another session of the conference discussed how chests and councils should be meeting metropolitan growth.

Calvin S. Hamilton, Indianapolis, Ind., director of the Marion County metropolitan planning department, urged completely new forms of community organization.

Howard F. Gustafson, director of the Indianapolis Health and Welfare Council, said that councils as now set up could expand fairly rapidly to outlying counties.

"It will be a lot easier in health and welfare planning," he said, "than it is for official groups to expand their geographical basis, and our work may pave the way for the official groups working on other problems."

HIGH INCOMES CITED

As to financing additional services in suburbs, Gustafson said that many suburbs had such a high income level that the residents could support such things as new recreation service through fees.

Raymond S. McClelland, Milwaukee Community Chest campaign director, told how the Milwaukee Welfare Council was examining the possibilities of extending both services and fund raising across the county line. He said that any such expansion should follow a study of existing services and that the expansion should not go beyond those areas where a large proportion of the residents have a close contact with the central city.

LABOR ISSUES WARNING

A discussion on recruiting and keeping top community leadership in welfare councils and community chests brought a warning from organized labor.

Joseph T. Clark, labor representative on the United Fund of Greater St. Louis, Mo., said that labor participation could be had for the asking but not to be used as window dressing.

"Too often we find we are invited to take part only for the use of our name," said Clark. "Most of us resent that. If that is your motive, forget it. Once we are invited in and discover why, you may regret you extended the invitation," he said.

Clark said that community welfare leaders might be surprised at the contributions labor could make at all policymaking levels.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of February 1, 1957]

WELFARE NEEDS LINKED TO GROWING POPULATION—VISION OF A NATION WITH 60 MILLION INCREASE IN 20 YEARS DOMINATES LEADER CONFERENCE

(By Ellen Gibson)

ST. LOUIS, MO.—The vision of an America with 60 million more inhabitants in 20 years dominated the conference of 410 community welfare council leaders from the United States and Canada which opened here Thursday.

Laymen who sit on boards and committees of local health and welfare councils outnumbered professional social workers by 5 to 1 at the third biennial meeting sponsored by United Community Funds & Councils of America, Inc. Among them were representatives of the Milwaukee, Madison, Wausau, and Green Bay Community Councils.

Some 97 percent of the 60 million new citizens will live in the already sprawling metropolitan areas, they were told. Urban areas are growing fast, said Philip M. Hauser, University of Chicago sociologist and director of the university's population research center. Fringe areas, he emphasized, are growing seven times as rapidly as the central cities they surround.

NEGRO MIGRATION CITED

H. J. Heinz II, Pittsburgh, Pa., president of the H. J. Heinz Co., in a speech prepared for delivery, likened the original metropolitan areas to fried eggs, each with a central city as its yolk. Now clusters of metropolises are developing, producing areas that look like a giant pan of fried eggs. Eighteen such "urban regions" are now counted in the United States. It has been predicted, said Heinz, that in 50 years settlement will be solid from Boston, Mass., to Newport News, Va., and westward at least to Chicago.

Heinz was grounded en route to St. Louis by bad flying conditions. His speech was

read by John A. Greene, Cleveland, president of the Ohio Bell Telephone Co.

The population is changing in character as well as size, other speakers pointed out. There are more children and more old people. And in northern and western metropolitan centers, southern Negroes in mounting numbers are replacing foreign-born groups, by now assimilated into the wider community.

CASELOADS TO GROW

The Negroes will follow the identical pattern of the European immigrants, Hauser said. Both groups migrated in search of greater economic opportunity. As they move up in the economic scale, they move out of the city centers.

For a time, however, welfare agencies can expect a disproportionate number of Negroes in their caseloads, just as a few years ago the caseloads were top-heavy with European immigrants and their children, he said. To prepare for learning to live in northern cities, Negroes from southern rural slums have an average of only 4.8 years of schooling, he noted. He predicted, though, that their adjustment would be speeded by the booming economic conditions.

MORE WORKING MOTHERS

"At the moment, the Negro is the problem of the inner city," he said. "But it is only a question of time, and very little time at that, until the Negro is dispersed throughout the metropolitan area."

Another change significant to community planners is the increasing number of working mothers. In 20 years, half the women between 35 and 44 will be in the labor force, said Hauser. Because of early marriages, the youngest child in the average family is in school by the time the mother is 35.

"At 35, mother goes to work, a bridge club, or a psychiatrist," said Hauser.

The unprecedented population boom alone will force a tremendous expansion of health and welfare services," Hauser declared. Just to keep pace with the numbers will mean a 71-percent expansion in services for children 5 to 14, a 90-percent increase for older teenagers and two-thirds more services for those 65 and older.

The social problems produced by a swelling population may be vast, but the country will have the economic resources to meet them, Ewan Clague, Washington, D. C., Commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, assured the conference.

WORKERS BETTER OFF

To abolish poverty in this country—to bring all families up to a minimum level of health and decency—would take about 5 percent of the national income, he reported. Half of that would be required for medical needs, which prevent many persons from being self-supporting.

How to achieve this minimum standard for all is a problem for the "social engineers," said Clague. Simply diverting the income from other classes and redistributing it would not answer. The Nation is economically able to do it, but the method must not reduce the incentive and productivity which are essential to continued growth, he warned.

The 90 percent of American families who get their income from jobs are better off today than ever, Clague observed. Real purchasing power of workers in manufacturing, for example, has risen from an average of $22 a week in 1939 to $40 in 1956. However, familities dependent upon fixed incomes, pensions, public assistance, savings and the like—including the increasing number of retired persons—are having a tough time because of the mounting cost of living, he said. The need to supplement family income has driven many women to work.

OUTMODED METHODS HIT

Hauser sharply questioned whether present day health and welfare organizations are equipped to deal with the bigger America ahead. He scored the horse and buggy methods of social agencies. They share with local governments, he said, the dubious distinction of operating from long outmoded structures. Just as every metropolitan area has numerous local governments, so manifold welfare agencies and fund raising groups operate independently in a single locality.

He also challenged the welfare world to do something about getting the trained personnel which will be needed in expanded future services. The field has "lagged horribly" he said, in comparison with other professions, in salaries and other incentives offered.

Heins' speech urged closer relationships among all the planning bodies, such as welfare and urban redevelopment. He chided the planners for slowness. The public expects dispatch, he said.

BETTER PLANNING URGED

The democratic process of blending different points of view into a program takes time, he admitted, and gives force to the resulting plan. "However, we have used it as a smoke screen for our lack of tools to do the job, for our confusions, for our self-interests, for our efforts to manipulate and our failure to come to grips with basic problems," he contended. "Unnecessarily complex committee procedures and referrals damage the morale of both participants and the public. Let's smarten it up, tighten it up, speed it up."

Joseph A. Beirne, Washington, D. C., also was grounded en route to St. Louis, but in his speech read by D. Lloyd McCowen, district director of the Communications Workers of America, Beirne, too, called for more vigorous and courageous community planning. Beirne is president of the union.

The loud and vocal minority which has objected to planning as un-American or socialism is dwindling, he said. The greatest challenge to community planning today lies in the large group of uncommitted and unaware citizens. Action and example, not just good publicity, will be needed to get their interest and support, he said.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of February 2]

WELFARE COUNCILS NEED CHANGES, LEADERS SAY—MODERNIZATION URGED; INCREASING SKILLS ARE BEING USED, REPORTS AT SESSION AGREE

(By Ellen Gibson)

ST. LOUIS, MO.—Increasing skill is being brought to bear on community problems in this age of planning reports to the third biennial national conference of volunteer leaders from welfare councils have indicated.

But most of the 410 representatives carried home repeated challenges to modernize their community planning organizations so that they can deal with the greater social problems expected to arise from the sheer numbers of a rapidly growing population.

The 2-day conference here, sponsored by United Community Funds & Councils of America, Inc., ended Friday.

The laymen who contribute service and money to health and welfare causes won a tribute from Bishop-Elect John P. Craine, dean of Christ Church Cathedral in Indianapolis, Ind.

OUR RICHEST HERITAGE

"The fundamental difference between the United States and Russia," he said, "is the sense of responsibility voluntarily assumed by citizens of this country. National fascism or communism will never create that kind of citizenship. The willingness to give time to social planning is our richest heritage."

In a creature comfort society, where the greatest skill ever known has been exercised in the mass production and sale of articles and services, those who try to call attention to unmet human needs are not always able to attract attention, he said.

"Yet history has always marked as outstanding those men who felt most keenly their obligations to their fellow men," he said.

TALK OF CHANGES

Many participants in the round tables and general sessions seemed to agree that community welfare councils should cut out some of the cumbersome procedures that have grown up in them, reach out to groups with which they now have only distant kinship and free their professional staffs from petty details so that more time could be spent on planning and research.

Councils should provide forums for groups with similar interests, but they should not be just a collection of sovereign agencies. Instead, they should be regarded as a pool of skills in every area of service, the participants agreed. The council should be able to mobilise any combination of these skills to attack various community problems as they arise.

The welfare council should be strong and free enough to direct the realinement of services and help establish new ones, said H. Franklin Williams, vice president of the University of Miami, in Florida. A major function is to inspire community action through education on the issues and persistent leadership, he said, even if this means political action.

VALUE IN SHORTAGE

He said that to be effective, the council would have to enlist leaders of government, business, labor and all professions in its activities.

Hugh R. Jones, a Utica (N. Y.) attorney, even found something good in the chronic shortage of welfare funds.

This lack of money, he said, forces councils to judge the values of various proposals, set up priorities based on need and carefully select those which will get the limited dollars.

The multiple demands for money for health and welfare causes disturbed many participants. One delegate, who favored a single community-wide campaign for all agencies, suggested that the day might come when a virtual "collection agency" operated year round.

James H. Bond, a Dallas (Tex.) oil company executive, told how his city licensed local fund drives. The welfare council executive is an ex officio member of the licensing committee and the council often makes studies of proposed campaigns to guide that committee. Last year, he said, the committee licensed 71 drives and turned down requests for drives that proposed to raise $2,500,000.

CAMPAIGNS ARE CLEARED

As a further protection to contributors against unethical or unnecessary appeals, Dallas has a "citizens' council" made up of the bosses of big business and industry, Bond said. "All groups proposing to campaign submit their plans to this council. Only the drives that the council favors have a chance of success," he said. "Total dollar giving to health and welfare causes has increased in Dallas under this screening system," he said.

Two projects of the Milwaukee County Community Welfare Council attracted interest at conference roundtables. Mrs. Joseph F. Hacker described the experiment of five Milwaukee agencies in pooling their resources to serve preschool, mentally retarded children. The project is in its second year. It involves a nursery school at Neighborhood house, case work from family service, psychological testing from Jewish vocational service, medical service from the city health department, and the public school's special education supervisor.

The object is to prepare these children for special school classes when they are 8 years old, and do it without creating a new agency.

ANOTHER EFFORT DESCRIBED

The same method could be used to combine existing services into a program for the aged, listeners to her report agreed.

Steven E. Keane described the current effort to meet the needs of emotionally disturbed children. This, too, is being done without a new agency. After a council study showing that 84 percent of the known disturbed children in Milwaukee were not getting the care and treatment they needed, the council asked all agencies with an interest in the problem to submit plans on how they might alter or expand their own programs to help.

Keane reported that, in 3 months, 23 agencies had replied and that he was confident that a practical program would emerge in a short time.

"There is no limit to the amount of good which can be done," one delegate summed it up, "if you don't care who gets the credit."

Our Future Is in Our Own Hands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, at noon today, before the Advertising Club of Washington, at the Willard Hotel, Elisha Gray II, president of Whirlpool-Seeger Corp., one of the country's major manufacturers of household appliances, made clear some of the dangers which confront this country and clearly outlined the answers to some of our major problems.

In my judgment, his address followed the philosophy of our forefathers, who, realizing the dangers which confronted them, nevertheless went forward courageously and intelligently, gave us a Declaration of Independence and a Constitution which charted the course which gave us personal freedom, prosperity, and national security.

With the same courage and clear vision of the future, Mr. Gray gives us an outline which we may follow with profit.

Following is the text of his address:

Washington is the focal point for problems: here domestic problems and the world's problems are all grist for the mill.

As a visitor at the Nation's Capital, the temptation to throw into the hopper just one more problem is irresistible. Would it be imposing upon your hospitality if I discussed with you—as one businessman to another—a problem which appears to me to be one of the most crucial of our national life? It is the problem of whether our economy is growing fast enough for our survival as a major industrial power.

On today's international stage, power is industrial power—the power of science, technology and production. It is this complex which makes possible military strength. It is this industrial base which gives foreign policy its muscle. It is the magnet of attraction for that part of the world which we are pleased to call underdeveloped.

Today, the balance of world power is weighted in favor of the West because we still hold the edge over the Soviet Union in industrial power. But the balance is poised precariously.

It is quite possible that this 20th century may be known not only as the age when the atom was first split and man discovered the secret for his own annihilation, but also as the time when the Soviet Union and China surpassed the industrial power of the United States and Europe. Were this to happen, it would inevitably alter the whole course of world history and the world balance of economic power in which the United States now occupies the pivotal position.

Perhaps the outstanding event of our time is the emergence of the Soviet Union as a technological society capable of challenging—and, if you please, of overtaking and even surpassing—the technical supremacy of the West.

The Soviet Union has accomplished this prodigious achievement through enormous sacrifices, at a frightful cost in human lives and under the most primitive living standards of any industrial nation. The method used for this accomplishment is no secret: it was done with the whip, by sweating its people, by depriving them of virtually every consumer comfort, and by using investment primarily to build up heavy industry and military production.

Now to Western eyes this new Soviet technical society may appear as misshapen and as grotesque as the baggy, bell-bottom trousers of the typical Russian diplomat. But the stark fact remains that 28 years of forced-draft industrial growth has made the U. S. S. R. the second industrial and military power of the world. You laugh that one off, it seems to me, at your peril.

Downgrading the Russians, scoffing at their technical capabilities, and underestimating their economic accomplishments have become something of an American pastime.

You will recall—as do I—when it was fashionable to scoff at the Russians' capability for producing the bomb. Well, they have both of them.

You will recall—as do I—when it was something of a joke that the Russians could excel us in airpower. Our air specialists now tell us that in certain categories of combat aircraft the Russians may have outdistanced us. We are informed by our air technicians that they have certainly excelled us in the leadtime for aircraft production—a specialty, need I remind you, that was supposed to be uniquely American.

While we fill the Sunday papers with page after page of advertisements for engineers and raid each other's plants to obtain them, the Soviets have been graduating nearly three times the number of engineers as are coming out of our technical schools.

American and British scientists who have had the opportunity during the past 2 years to meet with their Russian counterparts have come away with a healthy respect for their technical attainments. Indeed, in the theoretical fields Soviet scientists are said to be as good as any in the world.

Soviet science, technology, and industrial production are progressing at a rate which exceeds that of any country, including our own.

Soviet gross national product is growing at a rate which is about twice that of ours.

As Prof. Gregory Grossman, of the Russian Research Center of Harvard University points out, "even a few additional percentage points per year in the rate of growth of Soviet industrial output and gross national product may shift decisively the balance of world economic power a decade or so hence."

Undoubtedly, there are a number of factors which will tend to slow up the rate of Soviet economic growth as the interactions between population, resources, and technology begin more nearly to resemble our own. But that time has not yet arrived.

True, there appear to be deep stresses and strains within the Communist system which may be developing into critical weaknesses. The violent convulsion among the Soviet satellites will undoubtedly add a further drain on the Soviet economy. Nevertheless, it would be well to give heed to the old proverb that the bear is most dangerous when he is wounded.

My point is simply this: How much longer can we afford to ignore, disregard, or underestimate these formidable Soviet trends and developments without risking the supreme error in human judgment—national destruction? Hasn't the time come when we'd better start "running scared," to borrow a political phrase?

It seems to me that the first place where we ought to start mending our economic fences, so to speak, is our attitude toward the benchmarks we use for measuring economic progress—gross national product.

Somehow these staggering annual figures of gross national product—$200 billion, $300 billion, $400 billion—have become tranquilizers—"happy pills"—which businessmen, economists, and Government officials begin swallowing with regularity after each New Year.

Last year's gross national product of $412 billion has set off the same chorus of hosannas and has been accompanied by the same back pummeling and hand thumping as in other years.

We are mesmerizing ourselves into thinking we've done a superlative job when in reality it's been mediocre. A $412 billion gross national product represents a growth rate of only 3 percent for the 8 years 1948–56, after adjustment for price increases. That's frightening in the light of what the Soviet Union is accomplishing.

Keep in mind, if you will, that during this same 8-year period of 1948–56 the population increase was 1.75 percent per annum. With an overall economic growth rate of only 3 percent, you have a margin of only 1¼ percent to cover the increases in living standards and whatever else we need for the implementation of foreign policy—a margin which could be easily wiped out if we are forced by international tensions to devote a larger percentage of output to national defense.

I venture to say that, if we can't do anything better than to produce a 3 percent economy; and if it is our national ambition to continue to jog along at this sedate 3-percent rate, the competition for primacy in industrial power will be forfeited to the Communist world.

In my judgment, the time has come when we must set our sights on nothing short of a 5-percent growth economy. That rate of annual growth would mean a gross national product of $640 billion by 1965 instead of the potential $535 gross national product which seems to be the boldest officially projected goal to date.

May I, in this same context, respectfully suggest for the consideration of the Joint Committee on the President's Economic Report that we ought to drop our preoccupation with full employment as an objective of national economic policy and substitute therefor the goal of economic growth and development.

The concept of full employment is a hangover of the great depression. Full employment is not the Nation's major economic problem. As a national objective, full employment puts the emphasis in the wrong place—on what we did last year instead of what we need to do over the next 10 years.

As a measuring gage of economic progress, the concern with full employment falls short of reaching the jugular of the problem of growth in a technological society—for instance: it ignores the role of research as the key industry of our economy, as the generating force behind our economic progress, as the source of new industries, new jobs, and a new way of living. Similarly, looking at a statistical scoreboard of last year's records doesn't help us businessmen to grasp the most important single problem which confronts each of us in our own businesses—the hard fact that one of the major consequences of our explosive population growth makes

increased productivity a dominant need of the American economy for the years which lie ahead. Just to hold our competitive positions, we shall need to produce considerably more than we do today, with less people, and with fewer hours of work. Plainly, in order to achieve an expanded economy we're going to have to step up productivity considerably over any current conceptions of an acceptable annual rate.

Our preoccupation with full employment causes us to concentrate exclusively on short-range considerations whereas the dynamics of our own technological society and the deepening shadow of the Soviet economy call for bold, imaginative national economic policies—policies which could serve as beacon lights for business, for labor, for agriculture—and for government itself—for the next decade and more.

Parenthetically, may I point out that, since the end of World War II, progressive corporate managements have increasingly placed their capital investment programs on a long-term basis.

In our kind of economy where research and development has become perhaps the most important, single factor in economic growth, the large corporation can no longer function effectively or successfully in the absence of long-range research, marketing, manpower, and capital investment programs.

What I have been endeavoring to say to you is simply this: There appears to be a lag between the how-did-we-do-yesterday statistics of those who are preoccupied with the essentially static concept of full employment, and the industrial planning and capital investment programing of our progressive, corporate managements (whose operations are largely geared to the dynamic, long-range needs and opportunities of the future).

It seems to me that business and government—at least on this subject—should be thinking alike and should be talking the same long-range economic language.

In soberest truth, I can think of nothing more important and urgent for our national well-being. It is my earnest hope that the Joint Committee on the President's Economic Report will lend their great understanding and assistance to this endeavor which I have been urging.

I should like now to turn for a brief discussion to some of the specific problems which confront us—problems of an expanded economy which require planning and programing in 1957 rather than 1967 when it will be too late for effective action.

First. There is the overriding and explosive fact of an estimated population of 200 million by 1966. For the businessman that is the most important single figure in the statistical workshop. It colors all of our thinking. It is the foundation for all of our planning. For that statistic equates into customers. Translated into economic realities this population statistic means food, shelter, water, transportation, highways, schools, hospitals. And it also means new industrial plant, more raw materials and energy.

Second. By 1975, there is every probability that in domestic raw materials and energy sources we shall be numbered among the major "have-not" nations of the world. Just how do you provide for this vast increase in population if you don't have on hand the raw materials and cheap energy to fuel your industrial plant? Either we must through scientific innovations obtain substitutes for our dwindling, domestic raw materials; or we must obtain them through more effective and imaginative social and political innovations in our dealings with the under-developed countries. Here, too, our very survival may depend upon our capacity to invent either or both of these solutions to our increasing raw material impoverishment. Moreover, it needs to be remembered that it is in this very area—whether it be in the Middle East, Africa, or Asia—that we are thrown into direct and immediate competitive conflict with the Soviet Union.

Third. What do you use for money to pay for this staggering capital investment just for new industrial plants, for new machine tools—our most basic producing equipment? To say nothing of the vast sums required for engineering, research, and development for new products and new processes?

You will observe that I haven't as yet touched upon the money needed to replace the wear and tear, old age, and obsolescence of existing plants and equipment. Let's dwell on that for a moment.

Last year, American business spent in that one period of 12 months around $30 billion solely to vercome the ravages of time on plant and equipment. Actually, this was an out-of-pocket cost which fell far short of meeting the real replacement demands in terms of today's prices or in terms of today's available technology. Mind you this $30 billion was merely the conventional tax allowance sanctioned under the rituals of the Internal Revenue Service regulations which are geared to the idea of the "wear-out" of the old rather than the creative replacement by the new. And it was still far short of even beginning to meet the actual growth needs of the country.

This problem of replacing and up-grading worn-out and decrepit production equipment is far more critical for an economy such as ours (which has been in the industrial business for a long time) than it is for a Johnny-Come-Lately such as the Soviet Union (which is just beginning its massive industrialization). Starting from scratch, it can move in immediately with the latest technologies.

West Germany—happily now an honored member of the free world—is another case in point. West Germany was enabled to make a spectacular comeback because in part it could resume industrial progress from scratch, picking and choosing the best technologies from everywhere and without being handicapped by the United States Internal Revenue Code.

At the risk of boring you, here permit me to place in juxtaposition a breakdown of the estimated capital expenditures for 1950–55 by the United States of America and the U. S. S. R.

Our capital expenditures were allocated during 1950–55; 53 percent for replacement and modernization and 47 percent for expansion.

In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, capital expenditures were allocated: 10 percent for replacement and modernization and 90 percent for expansion.

Those four figures underscore dramatically why we can't be content with an economy that creeps along at 3 percent.

We must devote the heaviest share of our capital expenditure dollar just for replacement of wornout equipment. The Soviets on the other hand, for years to come will be able to put the lion's share of their capital expenditure rubles into the expansion of new industrial plants.

The Russians are forcing the pace. This is Russian roulette for us with a vengeance.

Much more could be said (and with considerable additional refinement) on these several points which I have raised. There are still other facets of this question of economic growth which are of great moment and of high policy and which should properly be considered in this discussion. I have sought, however, to single out those few points which would have special significance to us, as businessmen.

I cannot emphasize too strongly that continuance of our technical superiority over the Communist system depends upon an environment which is hospitable to continued growth and change.

In a research economy accelerated change (in new products, new processes, new designs, new inventions, new materials, new talents) must constantly be fostered and encouraged. This is not the exclusive responsibility of the business or the labor side of the economy. I believe the responsibility has to be shared by the Congress and the executive branch. Moreover, in my lexicon "to foster and encourage" does not mean verbal exhortations replete with pious platitudes. I have in mind the kind of encouragement, for instance, which the appropriate committees of the Congress could provide by deliberation on and review of our existing tax regulations on depreciation, to take one example. Do our existing depreciation regulations enable the businesses which have expanded rapidly—the growth businesses of the country, the small, the medium sized and even the large companies—to draw down sufficient funds to meet the enormous requirements for modernization and replacement of our production equipment? The right answer to that question alone would carry us with seven league boots into the expanded economy which I have been urging.

To my way of thinking, we are largely prevented from moving more rapidly into an expanded economy by mental impediments unconsciously held and, therefore, often the most difficult for us to abandon. May I cite two examples?

The first of these mental roadblocks is the nostalgic yearning for a return to a simpler society in which small business would be the dominant type of business organization.

The second piece of superfluous mental baggage which could also be readily discarded is the dinosaur type of business mentality which regards competition as a form of original sin and wants to operate without the risks of the market place.

Both ideas are totally wrong.

Both ideas are profoundly antigrowth.

One would turn the clock back and revert to economic folk dancing on the village green—where the great mass production and mass distribution industries of America would be lovingly tended by native artisans and craftsmen (native, that is, to Hollywood).

The other would foist a gigantic collectivism upon us to be managed, of course, by very high-minded and high-principled businessmen—a system of administered capitalism instead of the capitalism of the market place.

I say that both of these conceptions are antigrowth because both are essentially static: neither allows for change or development.

I say that both of these conceptions are antigrowth because they would place the front-runners of business in a straitjacket.

Today's realities—the menacing threat of the growing Soviet industrial power and our own compelling domestic needs—seem to me to demand that we abandon these fixations about business because they are distracting us from the attention we should be directing to the big problem—the problem of economic growth.

At a time when we may be losing the economic race to the Soviet system, we should be thinking clearly how all business can operate in a fluid environment—an environment where little business has the opportunity to grow and to become bigger; where big business risks the loss of its market position whenever it is lacking in efficiency; and whenever it prices itself out of the reach of the consumer; or forgets that it is an organization of human beings, with definite community and public responsibilities.

Social acceptability in an expanding economy should not depend upon size alone—but rather on the kind of organization that it takes to do the job; on whether the particular type of organization (whether it be

big or small) is taking the risks and doing the pioneering to bring about accelerated growth.

It goes without saying that in this kind of economy there is plenty of elbow room for all—the small, the medium-sized, and the big.

In this same context in which I have been speaking, I think we are bound to recognize and to acknowledge—with candor and honesty—that in a technological and research era, only the big—indeed, at times, only the very big—can perform certain jobs well, with a maximum of efficiency and at the lowest manufacturing cost.

Surely, not even the most ardent admirer of small business would seriously urge in this day and age that we should, for example, atomize the great blast furnaces of the steel industry into a congeries of nationwide blacksmith shops; or that the great mass retail distribution system of our country (for which we are justly celebrated throughout the world) should be fragmentized into multitudinous corner drygoods stores?

To sum up:

1. We face the prospect of a revolutionary shift in the world balance of economic power within 10 years because the Soviet Union is surpassing us in industrial power, with the consequent loss of our international position.

2. To meet this threat we must speed up our economic growth. We have to do this not only for our own domestic well-being, but to supply a surplus of strength for binding together the free world. Without this kind of industrial power, you haven't any foreign policy worth talking about.

3. We should fix our goals and set our sights on a new conception of gross national product—one that will encourage the realization of a 5-percent growth economy.

4. We should clear away those mental roadblocks about business which divert us from the main issue of the day—moving more rapidly into an expanded economy.

The American people have successfully undertaken far tougher jobs than the one I am proposing.

This task is not beyond either our technology or our raw materials—if only we give it intelligence, effort, and priority.

The choice before us is not merely one of success or failure—it is the ultimate choice of whether we live or die.

With courage by all of our people, with the will to work, and with a determination to succeed in this undertaking, we can open wide the throttle of the American productive machine to secure our own freedom and freedom everywhere.

Statement of Hon. J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., on Proposed Civil Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a very able statement made by the distinguished attorney general of Virginia, the Honorable J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., before the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee considering the so-called civil rights bills.

The views and statements of Judge Almond are forceful and are incontrovertible. It is one of the finest statements I have heard in opposition to these vicious so-called civil rights bills.

His remarks are as follows:

My name is J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. I am the attorney general of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I thank you for according me this privilege.

I appear in opposition to the pending measures, viz, H. R. 1151 and H. R. 2145. I have no way of knowing which of these bills will emerge from committee. I have reason to believe that H. R. 1151 will in substance be acted upon by the House.

You are so thoroughly familiar with the purpose, scope, and content of both that I will not undertake to analyze either in detail.

Both would establish a Commission on Civil Rights in the executive branch of the Government.

Both would provide for an Assistant Attorney General.

Both would amend and supplement existing civil-rights statutes.

Both deal with the right of franchise.

Both are incongruous, inconsistent, and self-refuting.

This is the first time I have witnessed advocacy of the creation of a commission to investigate alleged conditions, ascertain factual situations and circumstances as a basis upon which to predicate subsequent remedial legislation and, in the same bill, seek to spread upon the statute books a substantive law designed to remedy the conditions which are so allegedly necessary to be investigated. The procedure, so ill considered and recommended, is to apply the cure to the alleged disease and diagnose the disease at a later date. Under such circumstances, no consideration is given to the prognosis of tragedy.

If it is necessary to create another bureaucratic and costly commission to run down propaganda and chase gossip relating to allegations infringing upon the right to vote and that "unwarranted economic pressures" are being applied it is incongruous, inconsistent, and self refuting to assume that the gossip is true and the economic pressures actually exist. If the commission is necessary, then broad expansion of substantive civil-rights legislation is not. If conditions justify substantive legislation, then the commission is useless and unnecessary and of itself constitutes "unwarranted economic pressure" on the back of the already overburdened American taxpayer.

There is one certain, and to many people salutary, thing that such a commission so proposed will accomplish. It will set up another costly bureau and add another tentacle to the Federal octopus. The 2-year limitation upon its duration will mark its first milestone to perpetuity. There will be just as many left-wing pressure groups howling for its permanency as now demand its creation. Considerations of political expediency which spawned it will not let it expire. Its hordes of employees and snoopers will perpetuate themselves on the public payroll. "The commission may appoint a full-time staff director and such other personnel as it deems advisable." It may "utilize services of voluntary and uncompensated personnel." It may pay their actual and necessary travel expense plus subsistence to the extent of $12 per day. Rest assured, with such comfort as you may, they will be legion and of that variety which produced Gunnar Myrdal's American Dilemma, that source of high judicial authority which brands the Constitution as a "near fraud on the people" and as "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions."

The commission is vested with sweeping powers so broad, so general and unbridled as to constitute it a board of inquisition and ex parte condemnation. It will provide a source of harassment to the several States which it will seek to victimize in derogation of their rights under the Constitution to administer their own internal governmental affairs. Without any criteria or standards for its guidance and direction or to require it to inform those against whom its inquisitions may be directed, it is commanded to investigate allegations, however chimerical or insubstantial, relating to the right to vote and "unwarranted economic pressures." What the form and substance of the allegations may be is left entirely to the whim and caprice of the commission or to the person, association, or corporation invoking its powers. However spurious the allegation or irresponsible its proponent, the commission is commanded to investigate. Who but the commission or the agitator is to determine what constitutes "unwarranted economic pressure"? Is the fact that a citizen alleges that he is too impoverished to pay a $1.50 poll tax as a prerequisite to the right to vote "economic pressure"? Is the fact that he must travel a considerable distance to the polls without means of transportation "economic pressure"? Is the fact that he is refused credit by a bank, merchant, or neighbor, and so alleges, sufficient to bring him under the guardianship of the commission?

Those who would regard this approach as facetious, I would call to their attention the case of *Griffin* v. *Illinois*, decided by the Supreme Court of the United States on April 23, 1956, when it was held that a State could deny an appeal in a criminal case without violating Federal due process and equal protection under the 14th amendment, but that when a State does allow appellate review it must pay for the transcript of the record if the appellant is too poor to pay for it himself. The effect of this decision was to establish economic equality for all defendants in criminal cases.

Under the sweeping language of this bill the Commission would be required to investigate an allegation of unwarranted economic pressure that a State judge had fixed bail in a criminal case at what he deemed a reasonable sum which a wealthy man could raise and a poor man could not.

The Commission is required to "study and collect information concerning economic, social, and legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution."

A decision of a State court subject to a review by a State court of last resort would be a legal development. The enactment of a statute relating to a matter of State concern is a legal development. The action of a governor in the exercise of his prerogatives in making a proclamation in an emergency or issuing an executive order or directive is a legal development. This act would require the Commission to inquire into and investigate the judicial, legislative, and executive branches of a State government and invest a nonjudicial body with power to adjudge their judgments, orders, decrees, enactments, proclamations and directives to bear the stigma of a denial of equal protection of the laws.

The right of an individual to invite into his home whomsoever he might choose, or a club, association or fraternity to select its members and guests are social developments. This measure would require the Commission to inquire into this if, perchance, it should decide that such constitutes a denial of equal protection of the laws.

The right of a State to prohibit miscegenatious marriages or to uphold and preserve its public policy relating to miscegenatious cohabitation is both a social and a legal development. Yet you require the Commission to inquire into this if it should imagine same to constitute a denial of equal protection of the laws.

As fantastical as it may seem, these are some of the duties which you impose on the

Commission in mandatory language. These are some of the powers with which you would invest it in utter abrogation of State sovereignty and in callous disregard of individual rights.

The Commission or any subcommittee of two members may hold hearings and act at any time suitable to its convenience at any place under the jurisdiction of the American flag.

One member, the Chairman of the Commission or the chairman of a two-man subcommittee, may require any person to attend at any time at any place designated anywhere in the United States. Such person may be required to answer any question propounded and any allegation made against him however ridiculous or frivolous the question or however embarrassing and unfounded in fact the allegation may be. The person summoned, be he private citizen, representative of a corporation, association, partnership, judge, governor of a State, member of a State legislature, public official, judge of an election precinct, member of an electoral board, or what not, may be required to produce any written matter, record, journal, ledger, or document, official or otherwise, and submit himself to examination and cross-examination at the hands of the Commission, any member thereof or any person designated by the Commission for the purpose. The person designated to examine and cross-examine might well be one of the voluntary and uncompensated personnel provided by the NAACP, the ADA, or some other professional agitator.

The Commission would have authority to summon to some distant place an election official on the eve or in close proximity to the date of an important election, thus causing him to absent himself from his post of duty and responsibility and compel him to produce records indispensible to the proper and lawful conduct of the election. The process and power of the Commission could be used to preclude the rights of innocent and law-abiding citizens in the exercise of their franchise and to interfere with and abridge the right of a sovereign State to conduct its own elections.

It should not require the citation of authorities, which are abundant, to sustain the proposition that the vesting of such unbridled authority in any Federal Commission or body is in transgression of the Constitution of the United States. To put it bluntly, it constitutes deliberate and unwarranted Federal interference in an essential phase of Government denied by the Constitution to the Federal Government and expressly reserved to the States.

It is as appalling as it is incredible to me that the President and the Attorney General of the United States would call upon this committee and the Congress to create a Frankenstein monster with powers far exceeding in scope and fraught with dangers more dire to the public interest than any power which the committee itself possesses, and which the Congress has ever seen fit to confer upon it. You are asked to create a Commission on Civil Rights and empower it to perpetrate civil wrongs.

In addition to this, any person who fails to appear before the Commission in obedience to a summons or to produce a truckload of records at his own expense and inconvenience at some remote and distant place in this country may, at the instance of the Attorney General, be fined and jailed for contempt. He may have a good defense to the contempt citation and yet may be required to travel from Virginia to California or from Texas to Maine to assert it. This is not the exercise of the normal functions and power of government. It borders too closely and too dangerously on the exercise of the power of tyranny.

AN ADDITIONAL ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

I have no objection to the Attorney General having all the assistance he needs to properly perform the necessary duties of his high office.

How many assistants to the assistant will be required remains unanswered. It is reasonable to assume that they will be legion. The Attorney General feels that it is necessary to have this additional assistant in order that he may be placed in charge of a new civil rights division in the Department of Justice. The design behind this is to give permanency and progressive continuity to the constant attempt to broaden and expand Federal authority into an area which belongs to the States. It is part and parcel of the program to constitute the Attorney General as father confessor, parens patriae, and special counsel at public expense to every person who fancies that he has a civil-rights grievance. It will enable the Attorney General of the United States to establish and promote a collection agency to process civil suits for damages at the behest of individuals who should employ and pay counsel of their own choosing. The Attorney General has full authority to assign an assistant to this division without creating the expensive burden of a new office.

TO STRENGTHEN THE CIVIL-RIGHTS STATUTES

This to me is diametrically opposed to every concept of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence.

The Attorney General not only proposes to violate the sacred precincts of the constitutionally embedded system of trial by jury, but he proposes to abolish it as the time-honored safeguard and means of applying the sanctions of a penal statute. He proposes to enlarge and substitute therefor the contempt powers of the Federal judiciary. He would set at naught and banish from the American scene the right of an accused person to demand the nature and cause of accusation against him, to be confronted by his accuser, to demand proof, to place himself in a position to plead former jeopardy and to cross-examine those adverse and hostile to his rights. In order to accomplish his purpose to amend the criminal conspiracy statute he would sacrifice these constitutional principles.

The proposed amendment would permit the Attorney General to institute a civil action for the United States or in the name of the United States for the benefit of a third party for redress or preventive relief whenever any persons have engaged or are about to engage in any conduct which would form the basis of a cause of action under the conspiracy statutes. He could apply for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining or other order. The application could be ex parte and without notice. The argument advanced in support of this procedure is puerile. It was a pretended dislike to invoke criminal sanctions because as against public officials they were inflamatory and productive of hard feelings. I ask what would be more productive of inflamatory feelings and conditions than to sneak into a Federal court, stigmatize a citizen with proof of illegal conduct in an ex parte proceeding, secure a temporary injunction or restraining order, and in effect convict him of crime without affording him an opportunity to be heard and to submit his cause to a jury of his peers?

Recognizing the sterility of logic in the reason first assigned the Attorney General comes forward with his real reason. I quote him "I don't want to amend the criminal statute because the leading case (*Screws* v. *U. S.*) on the subject holds that in order to convict under the criminal statute you must prove a willful intent." This is tantamount to saying: "I want to be in a position to harass and convict for an unintentional and inadvertant violation."

The Attorney General considers it nicer, less offensive and more conducive to public peace and tranquility to eliminate the essential component of intent as a requisite of guilt and to evade the burden of proving guilt beyond a reasonable doubt, while at the same time depriving the defendant of his right to trial by jury.

This amendment is totally unnecessary. The civil-rights statutes now provide for every reasonable safeguard. Every person who under the color of any law, custom or usage, the enjoyment of whose rights are threatened, or who is deprived of any of his rights, is afforded ample remedy at law or in equity against those offending. Revised Statutes, section 1979, title 42, chapter 21, section 1983.

We have a penal statute making it a crime to exclude any qualified citizen from jury service on the basis of race or color. Title 18, section 243. The Federal courts have exclusive jurisdiction over these matters. The President is invested by statute with power to direct Federal judicial and trial officials to conduct speedy trials. Revised Statutes, section 1988 (title 42, ch. 21, sec. 1992). Every reasonable and proper safeguard has already been thrown around the exercise of the right of franchise. There is no more reason to justify making the Attorney General personal counsel for private individuals in matters relating to civil rights than there is to assign him this novel responsibility in other tortuous fields. This, in my judgment, is a dangerous innovation in Federal substantive and procedural law. It would place in the hands of a partisan Attorney General a drastic weapon which could too easily be converted into a sword of oppression. It could confederate him with any and every pressure group whose stock in trade is to stir up strife and foment litigation. In these proceedings instituted by the Attorney General the United States would "be liable for costs the same as a private person." You would have the anomalous situation of the people of this country providing legal counsel for private individuals and guaranteeing payment of the cost of endless and voluminous litigation. A housewife who terminated the services of a cook or maid could be summoned under threatened penalty of contempt and compelled to make explanation. The results of her cross-examination before the Commission could form the basis of a civil action for damages brought against her by the Attorney General of the United States. You have had before you the pathetic and astounding picture of the Attorney General beseeching and imploring the Congress of the United States to place him and his high office in a position to, wittingly or unwittingly, become particeps criminis with runners and cappers and those who would practice barratry, champerty, and maintenance.

There has been much said about unwarranted economic pressures. The very powers which you would by this legislation create could and, I fear would, become the most deadly instrumentality of unwarranted economic pressures ever foisted upon any people.

The Commission on Civil Rights would function hand in glove with the sweeping powers of the Attorney General. Every person summoned before the Commission would be, in effect, subjected to the office and function of a bill of discovery. That person would stand under the dire and coercive threat of being amerced in damages through a civil suit brought immediately thereafter by the Attorney General. Enactment of this legislation would place in the merciless hands of unscrupulous pressure groups a weapon of coercion, intimidation and unwarranted economic pressures productive of racial discord, hatred, and strife of proportions appalling and inimical to the welfare of the Nation.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S DISTRUST OF STATE COURTS—ABOLITION OF ADMINISTRATIVE REMEDIES

There is no more salutary rule in American jurisprudence than the requirement for the exhaustion of State administrative remedies before resort to a Federal court. The pending proposals provide for its abolition in the amendment to the civil rights statutes

and the amendment relating to the right to vote.

Instead of abolishing this time honored rule of comity, it should be enlarged to include State judicial as well as administrative remedies.

It is rule of comity and a rule of commonsense. Wherever parties may have their rights adjudicated and remedies afforded at the State level, Federal courts should not interfere. The jurisdiction of State courts should not be ousted. State courts take due cognizance of Federal questions and construe and apply their own statutes with due regard and respect for the Federal Constitution. The writ of certiorari is always available with reasonable facility.

Federal legislation abrogating and rendering ineffectual administrative remedies provided by a State is an unwarranted interference with the orderly process and functions of State government. It is simply another strangling tentacle of the octopus of Federal encroachment.

I can only sum it up as a deliberate, open, and blatant expression of total lack of faith and confidence in the virtue, efficacy, and integrity of the State judicial system in particular and State government in general.

Instead of curtailing and limiting Federal jurisdiction already rapidly devouring our federated system and reducing the several States to inanimate marionettes, it is proposed by this legislation to enlarge it by striking down State law.

In Virginia it is provided by statute that any person denied registration to vote shall have an immediate right to appeal without payment of a writ tax or giving any security for costs. The procedure is so simple as to obviate the necessity of employing counsel. It is provided that the proceeding shall take precedence over all other business of the court and shall be heard and determined as soon as possible. Judgment in favor of the petitioner entitles him to register at once. If the judgment be adverse to him, he has the right of appeal to the supreme court of the State. The election machinery of the State or locality would not in anywise be impeded or affected.

The pending measures before you would enable the Commission or the Attorney General, or both, to harass, disrupt, impede, and obstruct the State's duly ordained election machinery, and would prevent the holding of any election at all, thereby denying to others their right to vote and produce governmental chaos.

That which is proposed here is not only wrong as a matter of policy, but directly contravenes the Constitution of the United States and in addition defeats the very purpose allegedly sought to be accomplished.

MEDDLING WITH STATE ELECTIONS

The proposed amendment relating to the right to vote reaches farther than ever before into an area explicitly reserved by the Constitution to the States.

Irrespective of any safeguards, however effective they may be, thrown around the exercise of the right to vote by a State, the Attorney General, without any limitations, may step in and virtually take over. State law, remedy, procedure, State right jurisdiction, and authority he may ruthlessly brush aside.

Here, no matter of race or discrimination is involved. This represents a bold and unprecedented arrogation of Federal power in utter and defiant exclusion of the constitutional rights of a State to regulate and administer her own electoral process. Neither the 14th nor the 15th amendments are here involved. The next step may well be for the Attorney General to prevail upon the Supreme Court to invoke its extra-constitutional doctrine of Federal preemption and implied supersession, and hold that Congress having legislated on the subject of elections for Federal officials has preempted the field to the total exclusion of State authority.

There is no such thing as a Federal election. There is no Federal election machinery, and the Constitution authorizes none. Every election for any office, high or low, is a State election conducted under the provisions of State law by State officials and State administrative agencies. The Constitution confers no authority on the Federal Government to provide for, conduct, regulate, or administer any election. The Constitution expressly negates every concept of any such authority in the Federal Government and on the contrary makes it abundantly clear that such authority resides only with the States. If this legislation which is designed to delve into and interfere with the election processes is necessary and in the national interest, let it be accomplished through the medium of an amendment to the Constitution. Its enactment is nothing short of a naked arrogation and usurpation of power by the Congress devoid of any semblance of constitutional sanction or warrant. It is not torture of the Constitution; it is ultra vires defiance of the Constitution.

We hear so much prattle today about "the supreme law of the land." It comes from those who lift this phrase bodily from its constitutional setting and context with no consideration for correlative and apposite constitutional language. Any enactment and any judicial pronouncement which is not under the authority of and pursuant to the Constitution does not and cannot bear the halo of "supreme law of the land."

Those who subscribe to or connive at the so-called doctrine of constitutional evolution are not only undermining the pillars of our constitutional system but are sowing the virus of disrespect for the Constitution itself.

Enactment of this legislation sets the stage, opens the door, and invites the Supreme Court to apply the nefarious doctrine pronounced by it in *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* v. *Steve Nelson* on April 2, 1956. With full knowledge of the danger ahead and the far-reaching implications of the Nelson case you will invite the application and extension of the doctrine of preemption that Congress has "occupied the field to the exclusion of parallel State legislation." Irrespective of the views of the Attorney General, I cannot conceive that the Congress intends to bring this to pass.

No pretense has been made that the pending proposals find any refuge in the 15th amendment. It is totally void of sanction under the 14th amendment. That amendment proscribes State action only. Here, you seek to deal with individual rights inter sese. The 14th amendment has heretofore been amended by the Supreme Court in violation of article 5 of the Constitution. Surely the Congress will not embark upon another amending voyage without submission of the issue to the people.

May I remind you of the language employed by a great liberal of commanding stature, Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, in *Baldwin* v. *Missouri* (281 U. S. 586):

"I have not yet adequately expressed the more than anxiety that I feel at the ever increasing scope given to the 14th amendment in letting down what I believe to be the constitutional rights of the States. • • • I cannot believe that the amendment was intended to give us carte blanche to embody our economic or moral beliefs in its prohibitions."

Then again Mr. Justice Brandeis in the Erie Railroad case:

"There stands, as a perpetual protest against its repetition, the Constitution of the United States, which recognizes and preserves the autonomy and independence of the State, independence in their legislative and independence in their judicial departments. Supervision over either the legislative or the judicial action of the States is in no case permissible except as to matters by the Constitution specifically authorized or delegated to the United States. Any interference with either, except as thus permitted, is an invasion of the authority of the State, and, to that extent, a denial of its independence."

In order for these measures to find lodgment in the 14th amendment it would be necessary to place a construction thereon never contemplated by those who wrote it, but in fact expressly rejected by them.

Judging solely from what has been said as a matter of public record in sponsorship of this legislation by the Attorney General, Members of the Senate and House of Representatives and their cohorts and confederates of the NAACP, the ADA and their prototypes it is shockingly punitive in purpose and design and aimed directly and insultingly at the Southern States. It was not conceived in response to the demands of the national interest, but engendered in hate and motivated by political expediency.

In opposing a measure similar in nature that great Republican statesman from Idaho, Senator William E. Borah, speaking in the Senate of January 7, 1938, said in reference to the Southern States:

"These States are not to be pilloried and condemned without a full presentation of the nature of the task which fate and circumstances imposed upon them, and not without a complete record as to the weight and difficulty of the task, what has been done, and with what good faith it has been met. I shall contend that the southern people have met the race problem and dealt with it with greater patience, greater tolerance, greater intelligence, and greater success than any people in recorded history, dealing with a problem of similar nature."

This problem was in the process of progressive and constructive solution in a spirit of mutual good will and in promotion of amity and concord between the two races. The course which this legislation will shape and direct will destroy much of the salutary gain already made and accentuate and stimulate the gravity and difficulty of a solution in the days ahead.

The following statement from President Coolidge is a logical and annihilative answer to the pending proposals:

"It is too much to assume that because an abuse exists it is the business of the National Government to provide a remedy. The presumption should be that it is the business of local and State governments. Such national action results in encroaching upon the salutary independence of the States and by undertaking to supersede their natural authority fills the land with bureaus and departments which are undertaking to do what it is impossible for them to accomplish, and brings our whole system of government into disrespect and disfavor.

"The Nation is inclined to disregard altogether too much both the functions and the duties of the State. They are much more than subdivisions of the Federal Government. They are also endowed with sovereignty in their own right."

Nor do I consider it ever inappropriate or untimely to invoke the sage counsel of Woodrow Wilson:

"Moral and social questions originally left to the several States for settlement can be drawn into the field of Federal authority only at the expense of the self-dependence and efficiency of the several communities of which our complex body politic is made up.

"Paternal morals enforced by the judgment and choices of the central authority at Washington do not and cannot create vital habits or methods of life unless sustained by local opinion and purpose, local prejudice and convenience—unless supported by local convenience and interest; and only communities capable of taking care of themselves will, taken together, constitute a nation capable of vital action and control.

"You cannot atrophy the parts without atrophying the whole. * * * It is the alchemy of decay." (Constitutional Government of the United States, 1956.)

This legislation repudiates the counsel, wisdom, and experience of the great and hallowed dead who practiced what they preached and are revered by the country they served.

Many of us, with faith and hope, were led to believe that President Eisenhower drew inspiration, strength, and wisdom from them when he made and often repeated this statement to the American people:

"I want to see maintained the constitutional relationship between the Federal and State Governments, for if the States lose their meaning, our entire system of government loses its meaning and the next step is the rise of the centralized national state in which the seeds of autocracy can take root and grow. We will see that the legitimate rights of the States and local communities are respected. We will not reach into the States and take from them their powers and responsibility to serve our citizens."

To me the record demonstrates the inescapable and irrefutable conclusion that the present leadership preaches one course of action and basic philosophy but advocates and practices its direct antithesis.

The Direction of Our Gratitude

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Dr. Liston Pope, dean of Yale Divinity School, as it appeared in the February 2, 1957, issue of Protestant Church Life:

THE DIRECTION OF OUR GRATITUDE

(By Dr. Liston Pope, dean of Yale Divinity School, written in the interest of the 1957 one great hour of sharing United Appeal for overseas relief, reconstruction, and rehabilitation, through which our churches support their programs to aid the hungry, homeless, and destitute abroad)

It is customary—as we give thanks to God for our blessings—for us to look backward.

We give thanks for safe conduct through the year that is past, for a bountiful harvest stored against the long winter, and for other evidences of prosperity. We look back with gratitude even far beyond the year that is past—back across centuries to those colonizers who first came to these shores.

We are grateful to these our forbears for the rugged perseverance with which they laid the cornerstones of a great civilization, and for sterling traits they built into the American character.

It is entirely appropriate that we should look backward gratefully. We are the heirs of great riches from times past. A vast continent has contributed to us her wealth. A dozen generations of men and women, from nearly every land on earth, from many races and religious faiths, have toiled here in one common dream: that men should be free and secure and unafraid.

We the the most fortunate people on earth—among the very few fortunate peoples in a miserable world. We are easily tempted to become somewhat smug, to assume that we are greatly blessed because of our superior virtue.

In our more thoughful moments we know that our blessings for the most part have been earned by others than ourselves. They have been won by the toil and devotion of many generations. They have been preserved by the valor, and the death, of millions who have gone forth to battle—and not even a majority of them were Americans.

By the supreme dedication of many others who fought for their homes, our homes too have been kept intact. We are debtors to a vast host of men and women from many lands who have given us their sons and daughters for the terrors of war and the pursuits of peace.

Most of all we are debtors to God, who gave all the riches of farm and field, of minerals and rivers, from which our riches have been created. We give thanks to Him, for He is the giver of every good gift.

When we attempt to give thanks to our benefactors, we are often thwarted. The Pilgrims, Puritans, Cavaliers, and all the others who joined in founding America live only in memory, and they cannot be thanked.

And all those whose kindnesses and help along the years have brought us as individuals to this hour—parents, teachers, friends of the long past—how can they be thanked, when so many are gone from the earthly realm?

If this is true for us as individuals, how much more is it true for us as heirs of mankind. Many of our most precious gifts have come from men and women forever nameless.

Some of the greatest inventors are completely unknown—those dawn-age men who first devised the wheel, and tamed fire, and produced agriculture; who invented worship, and surmised that men lived on after death, and first whispered, stumblingly and fearfully, the awesome name of God. These lie in unmarked graves, forgotten save in the scrolls of God.

For perhaps half a million years they have come and gone, these to whom we owe nearly everything, but to whom we can repay nothing. We are a part of all they have been and done, and debtors to them all, yet we cannot thank them.

But our primary obligation, after all, is not to those who have gone before. It is to those of every race and nation who travel with us and those who shall come after us. Gratitude is always owed to the past, but most often must be paid to the future.

As individuals we can show our gratitude by seeking to serve the needs of our neighbors and our neighbors' children as well as our own.

And as a nation we demonstrate our spirit of thankfulness by serving a distraught world.

America has in the past always been a nation with a frontier. First it was the geographical frontier on the west. That conquered, there rose the new frontier of industrial expansion still being explored after decades of remarkable achievement.

Now we face our third great frontier: that of helping to raise a broken humanity from poverty, from despair into hope, from darkness into light.

Our response as a world leader thus far has been based largely on enlightened self-interest. The events of the last 30 years have shown that communism thrives on human misery; to win the present struggle against communism we must help other nations to become secure and prosperous.

We say we are grateful for our heritage. But the gratitude if real must produce a disposition to settle our accounts with the future.

We honor our forbears most by extending their quest for freedom and their loyalty to faith in God into the decades that lie ahead. This is true even of our greatest debt, our indebtedness for life itself and for hope of life redeemed and eternal—an indebtedness we can never pay to Him who is our creator and our God. How can we thank Him for all His mercies?

What does He need, what does He lack, that we could do Him honor? If we love Him, we can feed His sheep. Many of them are hungry, homeless, hopeless, at this hour.

In service to them—giving thanks to God himself by ministering "unto the least of these my brethren"—we find a true direction for our gratitude for the bounty with which His Divine Providence has favored us.

The 1957 one great hour of sharing will be observed in most participating churches on March 31.

Address by J. N. Robertson, President, American Road Builders' Association, at the Second Annual Convention of the National Crushed Limestone Institute, Inc., Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C., January 24, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I include an address delivered by J. N. Robertson, president, American Road Builders' Association, at the second annual convention of the National Crushed Limestone Institute, Inc., held at the Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C., on January 24, 1957:

Mr. President, Captain Curtiss, ladies and gentlemen, this morning, when I had the privilege of seeing this movie that was shown, it took me back several years. From 1925 until 1941, I was assistant construction engineer and construction engineer for the District government. It made me feel proud to see the work that was being done in that film and felt that I would like to be back in the construction business instead of sitting behind a desk. I believe that you fellows in the field really are the ones that are getting the work done.

I am happy to appear on your program this morning. I have seen many of my friends from the Bureau of Public Roads here today as well as members of this association. I would like to discuss with you the American Road Builders' Association, its aims and objectives. I would also like to tell you briefly some of the accomplishments of this organization toward the betterment of the Nation's highways.

We have before us a tremendous new highway improvement program to be accomplished. The truth is that no a single segment of the highway industry can expedite this gigantic highway program that looms ahead, but the combined segments of the industry can, and that is where the American Road Builders' Association enters the picture.

The American Road Builders' Association is the national association representing all segments of the industry. This organization is not new by any means, as its thousands of members well know. ARBA has, in fact, grown up with motor transportation; it was organized in 1902 under the name of American Road Makers.

For more than half a century, ARBA has earnestly fostered a continuing and adequate highway program on a financially sound

basis, and it has insisted on better and safer highways and streets to accommodate the improved design and increased numbers of motor vehicles. At the same time, ARBA has helped impress on the general public the interwoven relationship between good roads and the physical, social and economic gain of America.

The American Road Builders' Association is composed of eight separate divisions—each made up of members whose interests lie principally within a well-defined field of the industry. Each division enjoys equal privileges and functions under its own bylaws.

I would like at this time to explain to you briefly the eight divisions to which I have just referred.

The county and local roads division embraces local officials concerned with the administration, finance, construction and maintenance of the vast mileage of secondary and farm-to-market roads. This division establishes and maintains relationships with the Bureau of Public Roads, the State highway departments, and the counties. It also promotes the raising of standards in local road administration and increasing the efficiency of operation.

The educational division opens its membership to faculty members, while organized groups of engineering students are admitted as student chapters upon proper certification by college officials. Student members pay only nominal dues of $1 a year, but are entitled to receive all association publications and other services. This division was created to improve highway engineering curricula; to encourage field experience along with academic training; to promote a close relationship between highway engineering schools and highway engineer organizations, as well as industry. Another major objective of this division is to encourage engineering students to enter the highway profession and ladies and gentlemen, that is a very serious thing at this time, as you know. We have got to get the boys interested in becoming highway engineers.

The manufacturers division sponsors the world-famous Road Show and performs a unique and valuable service for its membership composed of manufacturers of construction machinery and all of its components. This division has won special acclaim for its annual studies on the capacity of the equipment manufacturing industry to carry out increased highway construction programs, of which I will speak in more detail a little later. The manufacturers division is formally constituted as the Construction Industry Manufacturers Association. You all know that and have seen it.

The engineering and financing division is a new division composed of consulting engineers and engineering firms, banking houses and allied interests who are vital components to the advancement of the new road-building program. This division promotes the practical application of research findings and other technical data to encourage improved construction and maintenance methods and better utilization of materials and equipment. The engineering and financing division supplies data, based on ARBA's 30 technical committees, on the use of new engineering techniques in the design and construction of roads and in the use of new electronic devices. It also supervises publication of frequent technical bulletins and research reports.

The Pan American division is composed of engineers, officials, and contractors from Latin American countries. In addition, many United States contractors, export departments of manufacturers, export agencies, and professional engineering firms have memberships in this division. A principal aim of the Pan American division is to provide a continuous, beneficial exchange of technical information between United States and Pan American engineers and road-builders.

The municipal and airport division includes city and airport engineers and officials concerned with the design, construction, and maintenance of city streets, expressways and airport paving. Technical studies by committees cover engineer design, construction, and maintenance techniques and use of materials, as well as administration, finance, economics, and street traffic. The coordinated relationships between Federal, State, city, and county officials make a major contribution to the efficiency of the planning and the execution of the work.

The contractors division is composed of affiliated State highway contractor organizations and individual contractor members. It promotes and encourages the use of the contract method in road construction. I would like to point out that here in the District of Columbia all of the work is done under the contract system including the maintenance and repair of our city streets. We have been doing that for the last 15 years and have found it very economical. Also it takes some of the headaches from the highway official and gives it to the contractor. We get much more work done because the contractor is efficient in his operation. Such efficiency results in better prices.

This division also assists through cooperative committees in development of specifications and standards; acts as spokesman for the highway-contracting industry before Federal agenices; operates a Washington inquiry service to assist contractors in dealings with Government agencies; conducts a full-time field service; and offers low-rate group insurance to contractors.

The last division of this association is the materials and services division which consists of members who furnish materials and services used in highway construction, maintenance, and operation; producers of materials, service organizations; and technical services; including bonding and insurance. We have expanded since you last heard about the American Road Builders, and now include the whole cross section of the industry.

This division maintains close contact with Federal agencies and with national organizations and conducts continuing studies dealing with design standards and material specifications. At the annual ARBA conventions, this division sponsors a national exhibit of highway materials, supplies, and services. There was one little phrase that caught me and I would like to repeat it. These material boys are having a show within a show and it will be really a show.

The initial task-force studies of the American Road Builders Association, relating to the capacity of industry, were started back in 1954, in anticipation of a vastly accelerated highway program. Findings of our task-force studies have been presented to the President's Highway Advisory Committee. Request to make this study was made by the President's Highway Advisory Committee.

These findings were also presented to the Senate Subcommittee on Roads and to the House Committee on Public Works, first in the spring of 1955 and again in 1956, in connection with the pending Federal Aid Highway Act.

The first time that we appeared, Mr. S. Howard Brown was chairman of task force No. 3 on construction. Hal Sours was chairman of task force No. 1 on planning and design, and Fred Salditt was chairman of task force No. 4 on construction machinery and equipment. ARBA published two task force reports with the assistance of Mr. Curtiss, Mr. Radzikowski, and other officials of the Bureau of Public Roads. I would like to state that the other member of our task force committee was Mr. A. T. Goldbeck, who was chairman of the task force No. 2 on materials and supplies.

The first year that these studies were published, they were used by congressional committees and by practically everyone in the highway industry. After the proposed highway bill was first defeated in the House, and because considerable time had expired since the first task force studies were made, it was felt to be of great importance that these original studies be remade and brought up to date.

Consequently, ARBA once again began work on the task force reports under the chairmanship of the same gentlemen who had made the first studies, and when we appeared for the second time before the House and Senate, we were able to present to them the latest information on the ability of all segments of the highway industry to carry out this tremendous long-range highway program on a national basis.

These studies are available in pamphlet form and can be obtained from the road builders.

I want to thank Mr. Curtiss for his help on these reports and on all of our other projects. As president of ARBA and as Director of Highways for the District, I have worked closely with the Bureau. I have never worked with a finer group of men. I also want to thank Mr. Brown who so ably assisted us the last time we were up on The Hill.

The American Road Builders' Association again exerted its traditional leadership on January 9 and 10 when it responded to a request of the United States Senate for authenticated data on the readiness and capability of all branches of the highway industry to move ahead on time on the new national roadbuilding program. The specific inquiry came from the Senate Committee on Public Works through hearings called by Senator ALBERT GORE, of Tennessee, chairman of the Subcommittee on Roads. We were very fortunate because quite a few congressional Members were there. The first day of the hearings approximately 12 or 14 Members were there; the next day there weren't as many but the last two days an average of 8 to 10 attended. That is a good average to have that many interested in what you have to say. They are all so busy and have so many other things to do they sometimes like to read about it when they are at home and not able to attend meetings. We did have good representation and were able to present the story for the highway industry.

Good progress has been made by the highway industry in expanding its production facilities to meet the requirements of the new highway program. We are confident in the ability of the roadbuilding industry to proceed with the accelerated rate of construction with maximum efficiency and economy. I say that with a great deal of feeling for I know that the highway industry can do the job. There has never been any doubt in my mind and there isn't any today.

At this point, I would like especially to commend the Bureau of Public Roads for the fine cooperation they have shown in dealing with the State highway departments and the highway industry. It is a splendid example of the historic policy of cooperation between the States and the Federal Government in road building matters.

Now, I believe there is a subject that I was asked to talk about in the beginning. Mr. Koch said, "Would you say a few words about the association? Really, we want to hear about that motion picture you are going to put out."

I would like to tell you of a proposed project of ARBA consisting of a 16-millimeter color sound motion picture, to run for approximately 28 minutes. The main objective of this motion picture is to show the latest developments in highway engineering, with the thought in mind that we could increase the interest of college students in highway engineering as a profession. The picture would show how aerial photography, photogrammetry, digital computers, photographic

reproduction, and various other forms of electronics, have all been adapted to highway engineering.

We want to show the taxpayer how the highway dollars is going to be spent; that it is to be spent through competitive bidding by qualified contractors with the specifications prepared under State highway supervision and under standards established by the Bureau of Public Roads with the award of the contract being made to the lowest responsible bidder.

It is our intention to show that the highway dollar is being efficiently spent by demonstrating the latest techniques in highway construction and the latest developments in highway construction equipment.

The film is to be completely free of commercials. The people who will join in its sponsorship will be doing so as a public service with the thought in mind that by advancing the cause of industry, they will get their profits from the assured volume of work which will be forthcoming under the accelerated program, provided, of course, that there are no obstacles.

Another point which we expect to stress in this film concerns the characteristics of the Interstate System, that is, the limited access of controlled access characteristics. We expect to show the safety aspects of such a highway, and how it is expected to result in a marked reduction in fatalities and personal injuries. Also, it is our desire to bring out the economic impact on an area by the type of highway running through it and to show how this type of highway converts miles into minutes and makes possible developments for industrial, residential, or commercial uses in areas that were heretofore undesirable for such purposes.

This film, which will cost between $60,000 and $75,000 is intended to show the step-by-step construction of the modern highway, in not too great detail, but in sufficient detail so that an engineering student can look at this picture and feel that he has been given a visual textbook on highway construction. The film must also be entertaining enough so that it will be of interest to meetings of various local groups such as the Rotary Club, Kiwanis Club, Chamber of Commerce, Boards of Trade, just to mention a few.

With the new highway program on the books, we look forward to a continuing period of high activity in the field. According to ARBA Task Force studies, there is no question as to the ability of the aggregate production industry to support the anticipated increases in this program. For every billion dollars of construction, we need more than 76 million tons of aggregate. If we expand from five to eight and one-half billion dollars per year, then we can anticipate for each billion dollars increase, some 75 million tons of aggregate. In 1956, the aggregate requirement was approximately 540 million tons, which will be increased to approximately 800 millions tons when we reach the ultimate rate of $8½ billion per year.

In closing I would like to mention briefly the 1957 ARBA Road Show and Convention to be held in Chicago, Ill., January 28th through February 2d. I am happy that the National Crushed Limestone Institute, Inc., has seen fit to set up a booth at this road show and to exhibit its product. It is my hope that as many of you as possible plan to attend this most fabulous road show in the history of the country and to visit the booth of the National Crushed Limestone Institute.

Ladies and gentleman, I appreciate the opportunity afforded me today to discuss the American Road Builders' Association, of which it has been my extreme honor to have been president for the past 2 years. I trust that the information which I have just presented will give you a better understanding of the composition, aims and objectives of this national highway association toward providing safer and better roads for America.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement on civil-rights legislation as delivered to the Subcommittee on Civil Rights of the House Committee on the Judiciary:

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY, FIFTH DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA, TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 25, 1957

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee on Civil Rights, let me first express my thanks for the courtesy you have shown in arranging for me to appear before you today, and also to compliment you on the thoroughgoing manner in which you are proceeding in your study of the vital problem of assuring that none of our fellow citizens are denied the civil rights guaranteed them by the Constitution. Certainly when legislation is reported by this subcommittee no one can rightfully say that any aspect of the problem has been ignored, nor that full weight has not been given to all shades of opinion, pro and con. Because of my own lifelong efforts in support of equal opportunity for all races and creeds I have followed closely the progress of these hearings and those in previous Congresses. It is a tremendously good feeling to know that at last we seem to be nearing the goal of congressional action to chart such a course.

For my own part I have long believed that the United States, at a peak never reached by any nation in the history of the world, faces but two really crucial problems, and they are interrelated. The one is the relentless fight against world communism; the other the elimination of second-class citizenship as applied to any segment of our people by force of law or custom. As long as such discrimination exists in this land, based on group antagonisms rather than an evaluation of the individual as he stands on his own two feet, so long shall we be morally disunited and subject to the divisive threat of subversive forces.

We do not have to prove the existence of the problem. What we do have to prove is that we are looking for an honest solution. Left to themselves the States and local communities have failed, and we might as well admit it. And I speak not only of the South but of countless communities in the North as well—Detroit, where a critical problem is right now receiving the attention of the press; Chicago, New York, the Southwest, where Americans of Mexican ancestry are subject to the same type of treatment as Negroes in the South; and even my own area, the west coast, to some degree.

The executive branch of the Federal Government has also failed to use either the legal means now given it under discretionary authority, or the moral force of the Presidency to act against the evil. Where the administrative will is weak or subject to political opportunism, it is the inherent duty of the Congress to provide through laws which say "shall" and not "nay" the force which will implement the constitutional guaranties with which we are now concerned. The Constitution which guarantees to the States certain rights, does not guarantee them the right to do wrong. It does, however, contain in its preamble a guparanty of an overriding purpose to establish justice and to promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to all citizens, white, black, brown, yellow, or red, and it is that purpose we must now implement.

The legislation now before this subcommittee will let us take a long stride in the right direction. Your distinguished chairman and the equally distinguished ranking Republican member have both contributed much to clarifying the issues involved. By the legislation they have drafted they have charted a practical course for us to follow in beginning to right the wrongs under which generations of our fellow citizens have suffered. I personally believe that the Celler bill, H. R. 2145, because of the more explicit guide lines it lays down, should serve as the basis upon which the subcommittee acts.

The establishment of a Commission on Civil Rights to serve as an authoritative body for studying the legal and moral issues, and for formulating executive policy and recommendations is an absolute essential in bringing the executive branch of the Government to a proper exercise of its functions. As a counterpart in the Congress, the provision for a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights in the Celler bill is also necessary lest we tend to delegate too much of our responsibility to the executive authorities. A third requirement in setting up the legislative and administrative framework needed for active operations in the civil-rights field is provided for in the establishment of a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice. Such a new division will lay the proper stress on these functions of our law-enforcement agencies, functions which have been sadly neglected heretofore. Fourth, the Federal courts must be granted clear and undeniable jurisdiction over civil-rights violations if the framework we set up is to be complete.

However, it must be remembered that these provisions of the bills now before the subcommittee provide only a framework. If the legislative structure is to be complete, we must gird that framework with a definite body of principles and definitions upon which to act. The protection of the right to political participation and of other civil rights provided in the Celler bill, and the criminal penalties authorized for violations of these rights, are, it seems to me, an absolute minimum for our present purposes. Certainly there are other forms of discrimination widely practiced, such as that in the field of employment, to which attention must be given. But we must in deference to the great difference of views in so many of these problems, and because of the practical impossibility of immediate agreement on all phases, be content with a beginning aimed at the more basic discriminations.

I certainly agree with those who contend that mere passage of a law, however comprehensive, will not automatically solve the complex problems of racial discrimination, nor bring a new era of good feeling overnight. The deep-seated social attitudes and customs with which we are dealing are not that easily uprooted. We must be wary of any tendency to feel that once the job is begun it will finish itself. Automation has not yet reached that stage of development. The unhappy experience with the 18th amendment should be an example to us in this regard. Therefore, I feel quite strongly that we must be tolerant of intolerance to a degree at least in the initial stages of this vast undertaking. We must look to other measures than the law for a real and final solution of the unhappy problem.

In the last analysis, education must provide the answer. By that I mean not only providing book learning for those to whom it is now denied, but education in the deeper sense. We must educate ourselves to a full understanding and acceptance of the Golden Rule as it applies to our human relations with our fellow man. We must not attempt to force acceptance of a principle where we

ourselves are not willing to practice it. We must, in short, use "deliberate speed" in moving toward our goal of true brotherhood, but we must begin to move toward that goal. I believe that our education has now reached the stage where a fruitful beginning is in order through the legislative processes. For that reason, I urge the subcommittee to bring out a bill which will let us take the first step.

Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, February 16, 39 years ago, Lithuania threw off the shackles of czarist brutality and proclaimed her independence. For the following 22 years, every February 16 was joyfully celebrated by the Lithuanian people.

It was natural and proper that these free people proudly observed every independence day. Each year found Lithuanian growing in all the attributes that makes a free nation strong. Through the creative energy of her people Lithuania became a progressive independent democratic republic. With freedom there naturally followed internal consolidation. Industrial establishments grew in number. Socially, great strides were made to insure the health and general welfare of the people. Rapid progress was also made in education. Politically, Lithuania became a respected member of the international community.

However, now, on the 39th anniversary of independence, Lithuania is no longer free. Nevertheless Lithuanians throughout the world still commemorate this glorious day.

Unfortunately, today, the people in this enslaved nation will have to mark it in their hearts. For the past 17 years, Soviet oppression has prevented any open celebration of this day.

Consequently, it rests with the free world to transmit hope and aspiration to them on this occasion. It is especially important that the United States, the leader of the free world, speak for these silenced Lithuanians. It is just that we Americans remind these brave Lithuanians that we have not forgotten their suffering. It is also just that we assure these persecuted people that we will continue to renounce the fraudulent incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union; and continue to demand the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live.

The American people will not rest until Lithuania once more is master of her own fate. We will not sit idly by as long as any nation with such an historical record of independence remains enslaved.

The recent events in Hungary perhaps has provided us with an opportunity to aid these oppressed peoples. This revolution is indicative of the unrest that is spreading throughout the Communist-controlled world. Accordingly, it might be the opportune time to negotiate with Russia on the satellite problem.

With this in mind I recently joined with 10 other Democrats in offering President Eisenhower a plan for achieving the peaceful liberation of the satellite countries. This plan would provide a startling point for negotiation with the Soviet Union. Briefly, the plan included the demilitarization of the area between the Rhine and Soviet Russia; international guaranties of constitutional liberties in the liberated nations; and economic aid to promote regional federation and economic integration.

I think it is appropriate on the anniversary of Lithuanian independence that we Americans remind the captive Lithuanian people that we have not become reconciled to their fate. The plan that was submitted to the President is evidence that we are constantly trying to find a solution to the satellite problem. We assure the Lithuanian people that we will continue to work for conditions that will eventually lead to their freedom.

Winning Articles in Freedom Test

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I am herewith inserting with my own remarks, a story from the Council Bluffs Nonpareil of Council Bluffs, Iowa, about its editor, Mr. A. M. Piper, and a student of the Abraham Lincoln High School of that city, Miss Donna Reed, both of whom won freedom awards. I congratulate them most highly.

The newspaper story and winning editorials follow:

EDITOR PIPER, ABRAHAM LINCOLN HIGH SCHOOL GIRL WIN FREEDOMS AWARDS

Two Council Bluffs writers have received major awards in the annual Freedoms Foundation contest for editorials on the American way of life. They were:

A. M. Piper, editor of the Nonpareil since 1937.

Miss Donna Read, a senior at Abraham Lincoln High School.

The entries rated $100 prizes and George Washington honor medals. They were judged under separate classifications for professional and high-school journalists.

VALLEY FORGE CEREMONY

The foundation made the announcement Friday during special Washington's Birthday ceremonies at Valley Forge, Pa.

Mr. Piper named his editorial "Our Constitution Will Not Maintain Itself." It was printed February 10, 1956.

Miss Read, 18, is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Ben Read, of Neola. Her piece, entitled "Are Freedoms Privileges?" was in the A. L. Echoes on October 26, 1956. She was news editor for the publication last semester.

"In the chaotic conditions that have prevailed in recent years," Mr. Piper stressed, "many Americans have forgotten they must earn, over and over again, the rights guaranteed to them by their Constitution."

Miss Read developed the theme: "As freedoms are privileges, they are also responsibilities."

The editorials are reprinted in full on page 2. Other awards made throughout the United States also appear on that page.

WINNING ARTICLES IN FREEDOM TEST

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—These editorials won Freedoms Foundation awards Friday for two Council Bluffs writers.)

(By A. M. Piper, editor, the Nonpareil)

We look at the Constitution of the United States with pride. We regard it as a fulfillment of man's yearning for liberty, for authority which respects and permits human dignity. It symbolizes the overthrow of tyranny, the recognition of our rights as citizens of a Republic.

If one were to read the constitution of the Soviet Union, he might think, "What a haven of paradise. All these rights the people of Russia have. All the equity, all the justice. What a fortunate people!"

The Russian experience demonstrates what we ought never to forget—that a constitution is just a document.

It is only a promise. Words by themselves can be nothing but promises.

Since our Constitution, like that of Russia, is only a promise, its value depends upon those who are charged with carrying out its provisions.

Unless the American people elect officials who translate words into deeds, our Constitution is only a lot of words inscribed on a piece of parchment.

But our Constitution is more than a promise made to people. It is also a promise made by the people.

The Constitution brings us benefits but it also brings us duties and obligations.

In the chaotic conditions that have prevailed in recent years many Americans have forgotten they must earn over and over again the rights guaranteed to them by their Constitution.

It was Benjamin Franklin who said after the constitutional convention adjourned that it gave us a Republic, "if we could keep it."

We have kept it pretty well through the years but the trend is to repose more responsibility in the Federal Government and less in the States and the people.

Certain features of the Bill of Rights are ignored by seekers of Government benefits.

If we are not vigilant in defense of our rights we may lose them without realizing what is happening. We must always remember that these rights will not perpetuate themselves.

The United States will continue to be a great nation only so long as the people maintain the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution.

(By Miss Donna Reed, senior at Abraham Lincoln High School)

In order that we might have freedom our forefathers fought and died. However, we as Americans often take our rights and privileges for granted. Yet we would be the first to complain if they were denied us.

It is a privilege to enjoy these rights. As we practice the religion of our choice, speak the words of our thoughts, or meet in a group, we should think of those who are less fortunate. Some cannot even own property, move about as they please, or assemble without government supervision, restriction, or both. Think about these rights, examine them, and be conscious and appreciative of them.

As freedoms are privileges, they are also responsibilities. When we speak against injustices, we must remember not to defame. The right to worship as we please must be allowed everyone, not just us. Sometimes it is necessary for officials to place restric-

tions on some freedoms, such as privacy in our own homes and to move freely at home and abroad. It is only fair to accept restrictions as they are placed upon us for the benefit and safety of all concerned.

So stop a minute, think of these great opportunities, and remember our privileges are also responsibilities.

One Dollar and Twenty-five Cents Buys 5 Gallons of Water in Dry Dallas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article which appeared in yesterday's edition of the Washington Post and Times Herald.

This article points up in a dramatic way the impact families have suffered and are suffering in numerous communities where domestic water shortages are experienced.

The problem is both acute and growing throughout an increasing area of our country. The bills introduced by Senator JOHNSON of Texas and myself aim at providing a practical means of helping State and local governments to solve these shortages.

TO SLAKE A 7-YEAR THIRST: $1.25 BUYS 5 GALLONS OF WATER IN DRY DALLAS

(By Aubrey Graves)

DALLAS.—Here in this drought-stricken city is a preview of conditions which could exist in the Washington area if the waters of the Potomac are not cleaned up and conserved.

Front windows of chain grocery stores are filled with displays most likely to draw passersby inside. These displays are not luscious tropical fruits or fancy commodities from the North, but 5-gallon jugs full of water. They sell like hotcakes for $1.25 plus a $1.50 deposit on the bottle. The price was 50 cents a gallon before recent rains temporarily alleviated the situation.

For decades, Dallas depended on a municipal lake for its drinking water. Then came the drought, which is now extending into its seventh year. Lake Dallas has all but gone dry. To siphon more from it would kill the fish and make the remaining water unpotable.

In its desperation, Dallas looked to the Red River. This fabled stream, celebrated in cowboy ballads, courses through salt flats and separates Texas from Oklahoma. From it, water was brought at great expense more than 100 miles into the city's system.

This expedient did not prove satisfactory. What came out of the taps was so brackish that it brought nausea to the drinker. It killed the grass when sprinkled on long-parched lawns. It ruined the finish on automobiles and corroded air-conditioning systems.

Distillation plants have sprung up over the city and the precious fluid in the big demijohns is being quickly snatched up by those who can afford the price.

Hydraulic engineers, backed by rich oilmen, recently made a perfectly serious proposal to lay a giant conduit from Texas to the Great Lakes. They figured on receiving some Federal aid.

"If our Government can afford to send billions upon billions of dollars abroad," declared one promoter, "certainly it can afford to spend a fraction of that to quench the thirst of the Southwest."

Observed another, in less serious vein: "If Israel can qualify for foreign aid, why can't Texas, which is a more formidable ally?"

Dallas' city fathers have decided, however, to tap the Sabine River, separating Texas from Louisiana, for its future water supply. This will require a pipeline 200 miles long.

The story of the female chicken farmer just outside Georgetown, Tex., illustrates the prevailing sense of values among thirsty Texans. This farmer, a widow, drilled a deep well to supply her laying hens when her shallow-dug well went dry. Instead of striking water, she brought in an oil well—a real gusher. In great disgust she capped it.

"My hens can't drink that stuff!" she said. "I started after water and water I'm going to get." She's now drilling a third well.

This may sound like another tall tale from Texas but investigation has proved it substantially true.

American Bar Association Opposes Gore-Holifield Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION OPPOSES GORE-HOLIFIELD BILLS

RECOMMENDATION

Resolved, That the American Bar Association opposes Senate bill 151 (Gore) and H. R. 2154 (Holifield) (both 85th Cong., 1st sess.), identical bills which set up an "accelerated atomic-power program" through requiring the Atomic Energy Commission, at an initial expense of $400 million, to construct, own, and operate both large-scale and smaller prototype power reactors for the generation of electric energy in industrial or commercial quantities in competition with existing privately and locally owned power utilities; and further

Resolved, That, if it is the will of Congress that our atomic-power program be accelerated, that this be accomplished by an extension of the present Atomic Energy Commission power demonstration reactor program under which the AEC makes contributions toward the cost of power reactors proposed to be built by existing privately and locally owned utilities, thus reducing the burden on the Federal Treasury and hastening the achievement of competitive nuclear power.

REPORT

Federal versus private and local atomic power for civilian use

The above Gore-Holifield bills were introduced at the last session of Congress and received extensive study. Subsequent to the reporting out of the bills, they were amended in a number of highly important respects, not only for the protection of existing utilities but also the public. The amendments generally were considered by our committee to be desirable. However, the bills failed of passage. It appears the present bills, just introduced, incorporate none of these beneficial amendments.

We reported on these bills at the Dallas 1956 annual meeting with a resolution opposing them. We asked postponement of consideration in order to permit the mineral and public utilities sections to study the report. We are advised that there is no opposition from those sections. Accordingly, we renew our resolution in the form above in order to give some leeway to the association as to amendments in the event it is the will of Congrss to pass some acceleration program.

Under section 103 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 the Atomic Energy Commission has been carrying on a reactor-development program through private and locally owned public utilities. This program involves the development of various types of atomic reactors for use in the generation of electricity. As we pointed out in our report to the 1956 annual meeting, there are a number of large and small scale plants being constructed by private and locally owned utilities under agreement with the Atomic Energy Commission. Thus the Commission is already authorized to carry out this program with the help of such utilities.

These bill therefore raise fundamental questions with respect to the existing Commission policy since it would direct the AEC to undertake with public funds a major portion of the prototype-reactor phase. This committee agrees with the AEC that present privately and locally owned utilities, thus delivering a serious blow to the latters' reactor programs.

An important advantage of the present privately and locally owned utilities is that they must necessarily operate on an economically competitive basis. They have necessarily developed the industry in accordance with sound economic principles. Your committee fears these principles would be upset by Government owned and operated plants built throughout the country with no past experience in the economics of the operation in the various areas.

The chief argument of the public-power group backing these bills is that there is great need for haste in the development of nuclear power for civilian and other uses. Your committee has concluded that this argument is fallacious. Perhaps greater apparent progress might be made by the lavish use of public funds, but the entire program would eventually be delayed because only private and locally owned utilities working under economic incentive can select proper sites for the most effective channeling of power for industrial and commercial purposes.

The Commission would find itself caught in the crossfire of the Federal versus private and local power controversy. Your committee suggests that it would further involve our Government in business at the expense of private industry. The United States Government is already the largest electric power producer in the country. President Eisenhower on September 20, 1952, in an address in St. Louis, laid down the following policy:

"That no Federal project, large or small, will be undertaken which the people can effectively do or be helped to do for themselves; that no Federal project will be undertaken which private enterprise can effectively undertake; that no project and no program will be started on the Federal level which can be undertaken and effectively carried through on State or local level."

Respectfully submitted.

BENJAMIN WHAM,
Chairman.
JOHN B. BURKE.
MAURICE H. MERRILL.
GERALD D. MORGAN.
C. BREWSTER RHOADS,
ROSS RIZLEY.

Congressman JOHN J. FLYNT, JR., a member of the committee, takes no position on the Gore-Holifield bills at this time.

FEBRUARY 11, 1957.

Panama Railroad: Revitalization Program Started

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in my remarks on the Panama Railroad in the Appendix of the RECORD of February 5, 1957, I commented at some length and with considerable gratification on the recent decision to retain the Panama Railroad. This was brought about through the independent inquiry and action by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries as reported to the House in House Report 2974, 84th Congress.

I feel especial gratification at this outcome because, when the liquidation of the Panama Railroad was proposed by the Board of Directors of the Panama Canal Company, I was one of those who publicly proclaimed the strongest opposition to the proposal—this opposition being based largely on the grounds so well stated in the indicated committee report.

It is with equal pleasure that I have read, in the Panama Canal Review, the official organ of the Panama Canal Company, volume 7, February 1, 1957, page 1, a summary of the program to improve the efficiency of this vital transisthmian rail link.

In order that this account may be recorded in the annals of the Congress and made available to the Nation at large, under leave to extend my remarks, I quote the text:

IMPROVEMENT, EFFICIENCY PROGRAM IS STARTED FOR PANAMA RAILROAD

A positive and vigorous program to cut expenses and increase revenue of the Panama Railroad has already been initiated in conformity with the report and recommendations on railroad operations approved last month by the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

The House committee's report was based on a survey made last year by John T. Ridgely, formerly vice president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, who was employed by the congressional committee as a consultant on the railroad operations. Mr. Ridgely spent several weeks on the isthmus making the study which included finances, personnel, operating schedules, rolling stock, and potential business.

The House committee report, which Governor Potter has announced he considers as a directive, proposed the following principal points:

Continued operation of the railroad (the proposal to abandon the railroad led to the congressional study).

Diversion of military and company freight and passenger business from the highway to the railroad.

A study of piggy-back operation and other means of increasing freight volume.

Provision of refrigerated car service.

Revision of some rates and schedules.

TRAVEL BY RAIL

Shortly after the report was issued, the Governor issued instructions to curtail to the minimum the transportation of Company-Government employees across the isthmus by automobile. Bureau directors and the heads of independent units were also instructed to consider any means within their individual units to augment business for the Panama Railroad, cooperating with the Comptroller and Transportation and Terminals Director in an investigation on accounting and operating procedures.

One recommendation contained in the consultant's report has already been instituted. This was for the replacement of hand labor by a mechanical means for the control of weeds along the right-of-way. A chemical sprayer has already been placed in service and a force reduction of 17 men has been made in the track and roadway maintenance gang.

REFRIGERATED CARS

Six refrigerator cars are to be equipped with mechanical refrigeration units to haul frozen products. When these are in service the commissary division will switch back to railroad transportation for supplying quick-frozen foods to Pacific side units.

At present all refrigerator cars in service are chilled with ice but temperatures on these are not low enough for hauling products at near-zero temperatures. Only six of the refrigerator cars now in service are fit for conversion to mechanical refrigeration.

The Governor this week submitted a long-range capital program for the Panama Railroad to the board of directors. This includes the purchase of an additional six refrigerator cars next year, a completion of the track coding system begun several years ago, replacement of motorcar engines, and the purchase of 60 boxcars in the future years.

The track coding of the Panama Railroad is being done under a system developed several years ago by Robert S. Wood, signal supervisor. In "track coding," the rails are used in operation of the signal system, rather than the more expensive cable system.

The extent to which economies can be effected by personnel reductions, train schedule changes, and other suggestions is now being determined by studies being conducted jointly by the Transportation and Terminals Director, the Office of the Comptroller, and the executive planning staff. This study will also include means of increasing railroad volume, rate changes, and related subjects.

The general revitalization program for the Panama Railroad, which has been showing steadily climbing losses for the past 3 years, will be complicated by changes which are required under the 1955 treaty. Commitments under the treaty provide for the withdrawal of railroad service from the terminal cities of Panama and Colon and the transfer of those properties to the Republic of Panama. When this is done, new passenger and freight-handling facilities will be required in the Canal Zone.

These terminal facilities will include passenger sheds near the boundary line in Ancon and in Cristobal, and a freight house in Ancon. It is tentatively planned to convert the Tivoli Commissary, closed last month, for use as a freight depot.

Middle East Problems Defy Quick Solutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include the following reprint of an editorial by Mr. John S. Knight, the distinguished editor and publisher of the Miami Herald. This editorial, which appeared in the Miami Herald on Sunday, February 17, 1957, is one of the finest analyses of the Middle East situation which I have had the privilege of reading.

Mr. Knight has analysed a very complicated problem with admirable clarity. Last month, while sitting with the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I listened to the statements of many distinguished witnesses testifying on the administration's proposed Middle East resolution. In none of the testimony, however, do I recall hearing a more lucid summary of a very complicated problem than in this editorial by Mr. Knight:

MIDDLE EAST PROBLEMS DEFY QUICK SOLUTIONS

Former President Truman believes that a durable peace cannot be achieved in the Middle East unless "we can bring together into close economic cooperation all of the nations of that area."

He points out their common water resources in the Euphrates, the Jordan, and the Nile and suggests that if fully developed, a flourishing civilization such as existed in the ancient days would again come into being.

Mr. Truman makes a plausible case for joint action. But his plan is beset by many difficulties, all stemming from years of tension and strife in the Middle East.

It appears extremely doubtful whether any comprehensive solution can be found until the matters at issue are first resolved by a step-by-step approach.

ISRAEL AND EGYPT MUST BE BROUGHT INTO ACCORD

At present, the United Nations and the United States andeavoring to bring about the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Sharm El-Sheikh and the Gaza strip.

Reportedly, and subject to certain conditions, Israel will pull out of Sharm El-Sheikh but reject demands that she yield the protective Gaza strip.

The Israelis, who have been repeatedly harassed by Egyptians Fedayeen attacks, do not believe the U. N. emergency forces can guarantee security against further Egyptian raids. A spokesman for the Israeli foreign office has recited a series of recent instances in which the Fedayeen had penetrated through the U. N. lines to carry out murderous attacks against Israel for the third straight week.

The United States, as the Nation which is most neutral, is striving mightily to bring both sides into at least a temporary accord, and should continue to exert even pressure on both Israel and Egypt until a peaceful solution is found.

VITAL ISSUES IN MIDEAST REMAIN TO BE SOLVED

The cooperation among all countries in the Middle East, as advocated by Mr. Truman, must await the disposition of these vital questions:

1. Israel's expedition into Egypt was clearly an act of aggression, as defined in the United Nations charter.

But while her troops should be withdrawn from Egyptian territory, as demanded by a U. N. resolution, she is just as clearly entitled to adequate protection of her borders.

Until that is accompliished, there can be no peace.

2. Egypt, by its blockading of Israeli ships from the Gulf of Aqaba, is violating a promise of 1950 to respect the right of all ships to enjoy freedom of navigation in the gulf.

3. Israel, like all other nations, should have access to the Suez Canal.

4. Egypt is still trying to shrink Israel's borders as established by the 1949 armistice. She would like them shrunk to the 1947 boundaries, as then approved by the U. N.

This would lop off nearly one-quarter of Israel's present territory.

In addition, Egypt is demanding repatriation of Arab refugees back into Israel.

REVISION OF DOCTRINE CLARIFIES AMERICA'S STAND

The issues in conflict, charged with hatred and emotionalism, are so large as to hold little hope of early solution.

But, as Mr. Truman has indicated, unless prompt solutions are found, the areas will continue to deteriorate economically and armed conflict may explode at any minute.

The former President is impatient over the delays in approving the Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East.

But it seems to me that the Democratic-controlled Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees have made a distinct contribution in clarifying the language of the original resolution asked by President Eisenhower.

It expresses our interest in preserving the independence and integrity of the nations in the Middle East, but says that any use of United States Armed Forces "shall be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States and with the charter of the United Nations."

If this revision may be said to have the appearance of hair splitting, it nevertheless has the merit of removing any charge that the United States is intent upon filling a power vacuum in the Middle East for the purpose of grabbing this oil-rich territory.

FORGET TALK OF SANCTIONS WHICH DEPEND ON UNITED STATES VOTE

There should be no thought of "coercing" Israel through the employment of sanctions if the Israelis do not immediately withdraw to their own lines.

The United Nations is under pressure from Egypt and Arab allies to apply sanctions and the U. N. is stalling until it knows where our own country stands.

We are ourselves in somewhat of a predicament since President Eisenhower has said that if the U. N. voted for sanctions, "we are committed to the support of the U. N."

But he did not explain that how we cast our vote will determine what action by the U. N. we are committed to support.

So the U. N. is sitting on its hands until it finds out what we want.

ISRAEL CAN BE COERCED BUT NOT EGYPT

Our dilemma is that the Arab, Afro-Asian, and Soviet blocs would vote with the United States in the General Assembly to censure Israel but they also have the power to block any similar action against Egypt.

In other words, Israel violated the U. N. Charter by its invasion of the Sinai Peninsula, and the Gaza strip, by Egypt is also flouting the U. N. by blocking the Suez Canal, the Gulf of Aqaba and by conducting commando raids across the Israeli frontier.

But Israel can be coerced—while Egypt can't.

Under these conditions, it would be an act of incredible folly to vote sanctions against Israel and let Egypt go unrestrained.

PRESIDENT SHOULD AVOID ANY HASTY ACTION

Such are the intricacies of international diplomacy which confuse not only the average American citizen, but presidents, kings, and foreign ministers as well.

Admirable as Mr. Truman's concept of the Middle Eastern nations working hand in hand may be, only the most patient, persistent, step-by-step diplomacy can solve the complex problems which at the moment present such formidable obstacles to the objective he seeks.

Meanwhile, the President, through his fumbling Secretary of State, should avoid any precipitate action which the Soviet Union could employ as an excuse to set off new bonfires in the Middle East and possibly trigger a third world war.

JOHN S. KNIGHT.

Free World Prefers Better Living to Better Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by Edgar Ansel Mowrer:

FREE WORLD PREFERS BETTER LIVING TO BETTER DEFENSE

Last November, the Moscow men threatened to destroy Paris and London by guided missiles—and thereby forced France and Britain to desist from their attack on Egypt.

Marshal Zhukov in India has uttered several warnings to the United States concerning our persistence in seeking to realize an Eisenhower doctrine in the Middle East.

The Kremlin replaces as Minister of Foreign Affairs the moderately civilized Shepilov by Stalin's former U. N. hatchetman, Andrei Gromyko.

A third Israeli-Arab war could break out at almost any moment.

Hungary has demonstrated the falsity of the sheep's mask recently worn by the Soviet bear.

German military experts fear lest the U. S. S. R. announce it intends to bring about the reunification of that country under a Communist government by strictly old-fashioned, orthodox weapons—and dare the United States to stop it by H-bombs and all-out war.

All these items, plus other lesser warnings, amount to storm signals for the coming year or two. Indeed, some United States experts confess to feeling the possibility of another major war for the first time since 1945. One might have supposed that the free countries would react by increasing their own military defenses.

FREEZING OR CUTTING

If one had so supposed, one would have been wrong. The major Western countries, beginning with the United States, are either freezing their forces at heights which the U. S. S. R.—still unfrozen—may soon surpass or engaged in cutting them down.

The United States has frozen the Air Force at a lesser figure than formerly accepted and—if one may believe some experts—is ordering replacement for rapidly aging types so slowly that at a certain time we shall be well behind the Soviets.

Over in Europe, British conservatives have reacted to American failure to support them and their fruitless expenditures on the abortive Suez adventure by announcing an economy campaign that will cut British military expenditures by about one-quarter—and make that country's defense dependent to a greater extent upon the United States. A first result will be the reduction of NATO ground forces in Germany to a point that sent Commanding General Norstad to London to protest—only to be brushed off.

If Britain cuts back, France and Italy will surely follow. And it is questionable how long the Germans will continue raising an expensive force that will at best be completely incapable of preventing an invasion.

Years ago NATO planners calculated that it would take 90 divisions armed with strictly conventional weapons to halt a Soviet attack. Later, they said—and perhaps believed—that armed with superweapons, 30 divisions could do the trick. But General Norstad now commands—according to the Manchester Guardian—not more than 20 divisions, soon to be decreased by British withdrawals.

KREMLIN MAY NIBBLE

A first result of these cutbacks is to make any attack by the U. S. S. R., against any part of the NATO countries (or against neutral Sweden for that matter) either a thermonuclear affair, or a successful bluff. This situation may well tempt the Kremlin to nibble at Europe, hoping that the democratic governments will hesitate to unleash a general war for Danzig.

So, as I said, one might imagine that free world leaders would be planning to outspend the U. S. S. R. and company for as long as may be necessary. Yet they are doing just the opposite.

The reason, in my opinion, is their infatuation with good living. Each government, beginning with the United States, acts as though it were more important to maintain a rising living standard with full employment than to maintain a rising defense standard with fuller security. Each free government seems to feel that the possible risk to the national economy through greater military spending is larger than the risk to national existence by failure to spend. And all are acting accordingly.

It is a gamble, perhaps a successful gamble. It is also the biggest in which rational leaders have ever indulged.

Attorney Robert J. Hourigan Appointed United States Attorney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader Evening News of February 18, which comments on the appointment of Attorney Robert J. Hourigan, of Forty Fort, a Wilkes-Barre suburb, to the position of United States attorney for the middle district of Pennsylvania:

Appointment of Attorney Robert J. Hourigan of Forty Fort to the post of United States attorney for the middle district of Pennsylvania by judges of the Federal court enhances his chances for permanent designation to the vacancy, created by the resignation of J. Julius Levy.

The action of members of the bench was a compliment to Mr. Hourigan, who was first assistant to Mr. Levy until he assumed charge of the important office today. While it is primarily recognition for him personally, and an expression of confidence in his ability, it is also a logical step in view of his familiarity with the routine of the office as Mr. Levy's principal aide.

Mr. Hourigan is unusually well equipped for the heavy responsibility he assumed this morning. Before he joined Mr. Levy's staff, he served as deputy attorney general for Pennsylvania and assistant district attorney for Luzerne County, demonstrating a capacity for public service.

Mr. Hourigan's appointment also constitutes recognition for Luzerne County. The post was held by Attorney Arthur Maguire of Plains when Mr. Levy was named. Thus, it returns to this area after a lapse of 4 years, added cause for satisfaction in the middle district's most populous county which has been without a major Federal appointment.

Power of Congressional Committees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, when the House voted to recommend that the Justice Department have Mr. Arthur Miller, the noted playwright, cited for contempt of Congress, I found myself in a minority of eight in casting my vote against such action.

It is comforting to note that one of the leading newspapers of the United States, the Washington Post and Times Herald, has now printed an editorial which is in line with the position I took at that time, protesting a congressional abuse of power.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this editorial of February 24, 1957, in the RECORD:

CONSCIENCE AT THE BAR

We suspect that even zealous partisans of the unlimited power of congressional committees must feel a trifle uneasy about the case of Arthur Miller. The playwright has been indicted for contempt following his refusal—on grounds of conscience—to name acquaintances at a Communist-sponsored meeting a decade ago. Mr. Miller, of course, was hailed before the House Un-American Activities Committee at the time of his marriage to a celebrated actress last year. Some critics have suggested that the prospect of headlines stimulated the committee's interest in Mr. Miller, despite his assertion that he had long before lost any sympathy with communism.

Mr. Miller's honorably maintained position has ample precedent in the tradition of American dissent, but none in the realm of constitutional law. When he was asked to name writers who attended the Communist-sponsored meeting in 1947, he refused. The playwright said he was perfectly willing to discuss his own past, but that the commands of conscience would not allow him to name associates. The meeting in itself did not involve a violation of law, and Mr. Miller could not be expected to know the views of persons who might have attended innocently.

It can hardly be a surprise to Mr. Miller that a grand jury has voted a contempt citation—although the wisdom of the Government's pressing the case is doubtful. Under present law, there is a likelihood that the playwright may face a jail sentence. This would be a sad outcome, more embarrassing to Congress than to Mr. Miller because the problem is essentially one of Congress' conscience rather than the playwright's. Mr. Miller's appearance before the committee was essentially pointless; the committee's grilling of Mr. Miller after he had made his position clear was just another case of abuse of power.

On a larger scale, the case throws into sharp relief an enduring dilemma in every democracy: A loyal citizen has an obligation to assist the law officers of the Government in exposing crime and conspiracy, but how far can the legislature properly go in compelling an individual to violate his conscience? In time of war, this country's draft laws recognize that even in society's most perilous hour there should be leeway for the conscientious objector. It may be that Congress can compel a betrayal of conscience. But even advocates of unlimited congressional power might draw back from this ultimate conclusion. As John Stuart Mill once wisely observed: "A state which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes—will find that with small men no great thing can be accomplished."

Menace From the Sea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 30, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted to extend my own remarks and to include extraneous material, I wish to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the two articles by Don Whitehead on the "Menace From the Sea," appearing in the Washington Post and Times Herald issues of February 23 and February 24, 1957, respectively. I feel that the subject of Mr. Whitehead's articles is of utmost importance and that there is a need for serious consideration of the matters pointed out therein. The articles follow:

MENACE FROM THE SEA: SUBMARINES COULD DEVASTATE

(By Don Whitehead)

Without sending a single bomber into the air, the Soviet Union today can be assumed to have the capability of delivering shattering blows from the sea against major industrial and defense centers in more than 30 of the 48 States of this Nation.

This capability—largely overlooked in the intense interest in Soviet airpower—lies in the Soviets' development of long-range submarines which can be used as launching platforms for nuclear missiles having ranges up to 500 miles.

If only six enemy submarines escaped detection and took positions 100 miles off the harbors of New York City; Charleston, S. C.; Pensacola, Fla.; Galveston, Tex.; Los Angeles, Calif.; and Cape Blanco, Oreg.; they could shower destruction on most of the population and industrialized areas of the United States.

COULD BATTER PITTSBURGH

Even such far-inland points as the Oak Ridge atomic development in east Tennessee, the steel mills of Youngstown, Ohio, Pittsburgh's great industrial complex, the oilfields, and chemical industries of the South, all of New England, New York State, Pennsylvania, and the West Coast States are within range of this potential terror streaking out of the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Gulf of Mexico.

From the six vantage points named above, nuclear or nonnuclear missiles with a 500-mile range could be hurled against any point in these States: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Delaware, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, California, and Oregon.

Within range of these weapons also are eastern Ohio, eastern Kentucky, southeast Oklahoma, western Arizona, almost all of Tennessee, most of Arkansas, most of Texas, central and western Nevada, the southwest corner of Idaho, and actually the entire State of Washington.

WORSE WITH 1,000-MILERS

This threat becomes magnified to even more chilling proportions when it is realized that with the development of missiles with a 1,000-mile range, only 3 submarines standing 100 miles off New York City, New Orleans, and San Francisco could drop nuclear devastation onto defense and industrial areas in any State in the Union except Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota.

This growing Soviet potential in the field of submarines and missiles is the reason the United States Navy is now making a major, multimillion-dollar drive to strengthen this country's antisubmarine defenses.

Little is heard about this threat in the continuing debate over the United States relative position in the race with the Soviet Union for supremacy in airpower.

Secretary of the Navy Charles Thomas touched ony briefly on this threat recently when he went before the House Armed Services Committee to outline the Navy's program under the present budget. He said:

"* * * Our Navy holds the grave responsibility of controlling the high-speed, deep-diving submarine menace. At the outbreak of any general war, enemy submarines will try to sink our ships and cut our supply lines. They will try to close our harbors with mines. They will try to blast our exposed coastal and inland areas with missiles launched from the sea. * * * The security of our country (is) dependent upon the Navy's ability to meet and destroy this threat * * *"

Before the same committee, Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, reported that major emphasis is being placed on antisubmarine warfare.

When the Soviets succeed in installing nuclear powerplants in submarines (and Navy men say it must be assumed they already have achieved this in test models) then the potential for successful attack increases.

"* * * The greatest potential of the nuclear sumbarine is as a launching base for ballistic missiles. These can be able to hit practically any target in the world from a multitude of unknown, unpredictable and sovereign positions. They can approach their launching site at top speed, surface, fire a missile, submerge, and be gone. Their mobility, their ability to hide their lethal striking power, make the nuclear-powered, missile-equipped submarine a potent weapon."

This being true of American-made nuclear submarines—then the same capability for offense must be presumed to be held by the Russians. In their planning, military men say it would be foolhardy not to presume this capability.

Russia already has the greatest submarine fleet of any nation in the world—an estimated 500 undersea craft which basically are the same as the German Mark 21 models but with major improvements. And it is known that many of them are long-range models capable of carrying and launching missiles with a range equal to the Navy's Regulus 11 which can reach out well over 500 miles from the launching site.

Because of this country's vulnerability, the Navy is making an intensive effort to overcome the barriers to long-range detection of undersea raiders. And there has been encouraging progress in the direction of establishing a defense against a sudden and devastating nuclear attack from the sea.

NAVY GIVES TOP PRIORITY TO SUBMARINE DETECTION

(By Don Whitehead)

The Navy today is going all out to achieve breakthroughs in research into long-range detection and destruction of submarines which must be realized if this country is to be protected against possible nuclear attack from the sea.

Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, hinted at progress along this line recently when he told the House Armed Services Committee: "Progress in antisubmarine warfare detection equipment and weapons during the past 12 months has been encouraging."

Scientists have been moving forward in their efforts to unlock the secrets of how to

break through thermal barriers beneath the surface of the sea with sonar—the detecting device which does undersea what radar does above the surface. They are learning how to pinpoint at longer and longer ranges the location of submerged submarines.

All the problems have not been whipped, but the range of detection is reported rapidly increasing. The urgency in this program comes from the fact that in case of war, Russia can be presumed to have the capability of lobbing conventional or nuclear missiles into more than 30 of the 48 States. And this could be done if only 6 submarines escaped detection and took up positions to launch 500-mile-range missiles from strategic points 100 miles of the east, gulf, and west coasts.

The Navy is making a major, multi-million-dollar effort to checkmate this threat with "hunter-killer groups" of ships, planes, submarines and helicopters armed with new sonar, radar, and electronic equipment, and with new submarine-destroying weapons.

The offensive capabilities of submarines—particularly the fast nuclear-powered subs—have increased so greatly within the past 5 years that countermeasures have become a top priority in the Navy's defense effort. And the offensive progress in missiles has been spectacular.

British Defense Secretary Duncan Sandys announced last week that Russia "soon" will be able to launch 5,000-mile-an-hour guided missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads—and this fact is playing a great part in shaping the British military thinking.

The British expect the range of these rockets to be such that they could be launched within Soviet-controlled territory and reach Britain—weapons against which the R. A. F. fighters would be defenseless, just as the fighters were defenseless against the German V-2 rockets of World War II.

Mr. Sandys advanced the argument that "the power of defense is for the time being at a very low ebb in relation to the power of attack."

Be that as it may, the threat to the United States from nuclear attack from the sea perhaps is more real at this time than the threat of aerial bombardment, Admiral Burke told the House Armed Services Committee.

"The Navy places major emphasis on antisubmarine warfare. We have to be able to identify enemy submarines at long range, and kill them at long ranges. We are now making progress in these areas. Most ships and weapons the Navy now has, or has under development, are designed to play some part in antisubmarine warfare."

This means that ships, planes, helicopters and submarines are being equipped with new electronic devices designed to locate an enemy submarine whether it is afloat or submerged.

In this race with time, the defense against submarines are beginning to catch up with the offensive capability of the undersea raiders. But as long as a major gap remains—then the United States obviously is open to a devastating nuclear attack from the sea.

Facts About the National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following column from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader Evening News of February 19, 1957, written by M. Sgt. Stanley B. Krzywicki, of the 109th Infantry, Pennsylvania National Guard, in which Sergeant Krzywicki discusses the National Guard:

FACTS ABOUT THE NATIONAL GUARD

EDITOR, TIMES-LEADER NEWS:

Because of a statement made recently by a high ranking Government official concerning the standards and motives of the National Guard, and which put the guard in a "tinted limelight," I would like to forward some facts which may help give the residents of our community a better knowledge and understanding of the guard.

The Army National Guard, today at its highest strength in history, is campaigning to enlist young men and veterans in order to push its strength even higher. But emphasis during this recruiting drive is not on numbers alone.

The guard wants men who will take 6 months basic training with the active Army, or veterans.

By enlisting men in these categories, the guard will move toward a goal of greater mobilization readiness.

Today, for the first time in its 300-year history certain Army National Guard units are engaged in fulltime, active defense of the United States during peacetime.

Antiaircraft positions in eight key centers of high population are being manned around the clock by guardsmen to relieve Regular Army personnel for operating Nike sites.

This marks the first time any of our military reserve components have ever played a fulltime, active defense role along with the Regular Army during peacetime.

Why was the Army National Guard chosen for this important mission? A major part of the answer comes from Hanson Baldwin, famous military authority of the New York Times. Mr. Baldwin wrote in 1956 that the National Guard, has "moved ahead in both quantity and quality," a situation resulting from its having a "well established system of recruiting, and roots deep in the local communities."

These community roots Mr. Baldwin speaks of are as ancient as they are deep. The National Guard is the oldest military organization in this country, older even than the Nation itself. Its history dates back more than 300 years to the militia forces of colonial times.

Today, the National Guard is still as much a force in community life as were the earliest militia groups. There are more than 5,500 National Guard units in some 2,500 communities throughout the land. Their total strength is 472,000—408,000 in the Army Guard and 64,000 in the Air Guard. And in connection with what Mr. Baldwin wrote about the "quality" of the National Guard, it is important to note here that all guardsmen are volunteers. In other words they are in the National Guard because they want to be, not because they have to be.

There's still another important reason why the National Guard has been chosen for its unique role in our military defense. Everywhere across the country, wherever men are needed to do a military job, homegrown guardsmen are right there on hand to do it.

They are not here-today, gone-tomorrow military men. They are men who for the most part have lived and worked all their lives in their communities, and will continue to do so. This lends a stability to their job performance for the guard which is long sought but seldom achieved by any other military force.

There's still another National Guard factor—a pocketbook factor, which makes a lot of sense. A large and strong National Guard, composed of volunteer citizen soldiers, is about the most in the way of defense we can get for our money.

Most guard units have a long and heroic military past to back up their claim to competence. The National Guard has fought for its country in every major war of our history. Six Presidents of the United States were guardsmen. Of the eight American divisions rated "excellent" or "superior" by the German High Command in World War I, six were National Guard divisions.

In World War II, 14 guardsmen won the Congressional Medal of Honor, and guard units took part in 11 separate campaigns and 34 assault landings around the world. In the Korean conflict, 160,000 guardsmen were called to active duty, and two guard divisions—the 45th and the 40th—fought at the front.

One of the great benefits the Nation derives from the National Guard is its peacetime service in time of natural disaster. Hardly a disaster of major importance occurs but what hundreds of guardsmen are on the scene, saving lives, evacuating the sick and injured, patrolling against looters, hauling in vitally needed medicine and food and serving in innumerable other ways.

Guardsmen figured prominently in the relief operations at the San Francisco earthquake, the New England and south coast hurricanes and at Texas City. Wherever disaster has struck on a major scale, there you are sure to find the National Guard performing service in relief and rescue.

There is also the matter of guidance and leadership given by the National Guard to younger youth groups such as the Boy Scouts and school safety patrols. Thus, while the guardsman is learning from his commanders the essentials of discipline he is also able to exercise with the younger groups his talents for leadership.

In this day of shifting populations—the increased movement of people from one section of the country to another, from country to town, and from city to city—there's a premium on those community institutions which afford the cohesiveness of a common gathering place for community functions of all kinds. Such an institution is the National Guard armory. In hundreds of communities across the land these armories are a principal meeting place for all those gatherings, from political speeches to fashion shows, which sociologists tell us are such important stabilizing influences in community life.

The Guard is sometimes in the same group as a doctor or clergyman—seldom appreciated until needed.

M. SGT. STANLEY B. KRZYWICKI,
AMST, Tank Company, 109th Infantry, PNG.

Arbitrator Cuts Handbag Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT ZELENKO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, for some time it has been evident that unless steps are taken either by legislation or by judicial edict to prevent the undermining of certain American industries by the uncontrolled import of merchandise manufactured through sweat-shop methods by underpaid labor in foreign countries, great segments of American labor, American industry, and the American economy in general will suffer.

I am pleased to insert into the RECORD an article which appears in the New York Times of February 25, 1957, reporting a history making decision by the arbitrator of the pocketbook industry. This decision is the result of the fight by the Pocketbook Workers Union of New York, AFL–CIO, to prevent unfair competition from government subsized French and Italian manufacturers.

The article follows:

ARBITRATOR CUTS HANDBAG IMPORTS—KHEEL FORBIDS BRINGING IN OF PURSES OF TYPE MADE BY 33 WHO LOST JOBS HERE

Tight curbs on the freedom of New York pocketbook manufacturers to import bags from Europe were imposed in an arbitration award made public yesterday.

The decision was signed by Theodore W. Kheel, impartial chairman in the enforcement of contracts between the Pocketbook Workers Union and the employers of its 10,000 members in the metropolitan area.

Mr. Kheel forbade a manufacturer who had laid off 33 workers from importing bags of the type formerly made by the displaced New Yorkers. He allowed the company to continue bringing in other types of bags, but he emphasized that this concession was made only because the employer had been making such imports since 1920.

The decision reflected the general concern of unions in the needle trades over the adverse effects on New York employment and wage standards of goods produced abroad. Eighteen months ago an arbitrator ordered three local blouse manufacturers to pay the International Ladies Garment Workers Union $60,000 for importing blouses from Japan.

MILLION BAGS SOLD IN YEAR

In the pocketbook industry, the principal competition is from France and Italy. The union estimates that 1 million foreign-made bags were imported last year. This is nearly eight times the 1949 total.

Philip Lubliner, secretary-treasurer of the union, put the hourly cost of wages and fringe benefits for a worker here at $1.81, as against 51 cents in Italy and 62½ to 75½ cents in France. He added that both countries had set up a system of subsidies designed to encourage manufacturers to export their handbags to the United States.

The union chief said he would call on the industry to raise $500,000 to fight unfair encroachment of foreign-made products on the American market. The union itself plans to use strikes and legal proceedings before the Federal Trade Commission and the Customs Court to restrict European competition.

The company directly involved in the arbitration expressed no unhappiness over the award. It emphasized that the decision would in no wise curtail its right to carry on its busines as in the past or to offer a full spring line to its customers.

COMPANY CURTAILS OPERATIONS

The case arose when Gold Seal Importers, Inc., of 30 East Thirty-third Street, laid off 33 of its 50 factory employees as part of a decision by the company's president to curtail his operations because of advancing age and ill health.

Mr. Kheel absolved the company of any intent to substitute foreign imports for pocketbooks it had formerly manufactured itself. However, he formally restricted its import rights and gave the union the right to complain if it felt the ban was being violated.

He also directed the company to make severance payments to the ousted workers. These will range from 1 week's pay to 5 weeks' pay, depending on length of service.

Mr. Lubliner expressed certainty that the industry would greatly benefit from the Kheel award. He said the import problem had vexed the industry for a decade.

Brig. Gen. David Sarnoff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, there are many stories of immigrants to this country who worked diligently and rose to positions of importance. Among those who came to this country as a child and learned the meaning of democracy and freedom, who used to the benefit of his adopted country the knowledge he gained in the public schools of New York City, was David Sarnoff. The following editorial which appeared in the East Side News on 66th birthday of General Sarnoff aptly indicates the caliber of the man. It is a true to life Horatio Alger story. I commend it to my colleagues:

BRIG. GEN. DAVID SARNOFF

(By Abe E. Eisenstein)

"He has displayed in his career the opportunities America offers." (President Eisenhower.)

"Soon after I arrived in New York as an imigrant boy of 9, I jointed the Educational Alliance on the Lower East Side. There I was taught the meaning of freedom and democracy. I learned the English tongue, formed new friendships, learned to sing, and even tried public speaking." (Brig. Gen. David Sarnoff.)

February 27 marks the 66th anniversary of the birth of David Sarnoff, East Side and New York's famous son and one whose career is as amazing as those magical devices of farflung sound and vision which he has done so much to perfect. He is one of America's distinguished and public-spirited citizens and foremost industrialists and also an outstanding alumnus, honorary trustee, and member of the Hall of Fame of the world-famous Educational Alliance.

Son of Abraham and Lena (Privin) Sarnoff, David Sarnoff was born in Uzlian, Minsk, Russia, the eldest of 5 children (4 sons and 1 daughter), and was brought to the East Side 57 years ago. His father, a merchant, died in 1906.

Brig. Gen. David Sarnoff was an East Side schoolboy, an errand boy for a local butcher store, a newsboy, and a boy soprano in a synagogue.

At the age of 15, David became a messenger boy for the Postal Telegraph at $5 a week. ("With the first $2 I was able to save, I bought a telegraph key and a book of codes. Within 6 weeks I was able to send and receive Morse at a fair clip.") Later, he was an office boy for the Marconi Wireless Co. at $5.50 a week. Soon, David was sent as a junior telegraph operator to the isolated station at Siasconset (here he found an excellent technical library), on Nantucket Island, Mass., at $60 a month. Later on, he acquired practical experience as a marine radio operator on many sailing ships.

As the first wireless operator at the old John Wanamaker's New York-East Side department store, David Sarnoff played a leading role in one of the most dramatic and important events in radio's precipitous rise. He was first to receive the message: "CQD, S O S from MGY (Titanic call). We've struck an iceberg, sinking fast." ("For 3 days and 3 nights, on a continuous stretch of 72 hours, I sat with the headpiece clamped on tightly, straining to hear a word or detail that might come through the air.") Not until he could announce the name of the last survivor did David Sarnoff leave his station. He still has the old wireless key.

Chairman of the board of the Radio Corporation of America, pioneer in American broadcasting, television, and leader in color TV experiments, David Sarnoff was responsible for the beginning of the Marine Medico-Service that has saved the lives of countless seamen all over the world, and originated the idea of the combination radio and phonograph cabinet.

As general manager of RCA (1921) he borrowed a Navy transmitter and helped give a blow-by-blow broadcast of the Dempsey-Carpentier world championship fight. He created a sensation. Thousands of amateur wireless operators and others with home-made sets heard it at that time.

Trustee of the American Heritage Foundation, Pratt Institute, member of the Grand Street Boys Association, a director of the Chatham Square Music School, etc., David Sarnoff initiated the music appreciation hour conducted by the late Walter Damrosch, pioneered the broadcasting of grand opera from the stage of the Metropolitan in New York, and also had seen to it that the late Arturo Toscanini and the NBC Symphony Orchestra, and others, were heard by millions of Americans.

In 1928, he set up a special NBC station (B2XBS) to experiment with what is now known as TV. The first public demonstration of TV was made by NBC at the opening of the New York World's Fair on April 20, 1939, when David Sarnoff was seen and heard to say: "Now at last we add sight to sound."

He married the former Miss Lizette Hermant in 1917 and they are the parents of three sons, Robert William, Edward, and Thomas Warren.

East-siders, New Yorkers, and friends everywhere salute and congratulate you, David Sarnoff, on your 66th birthday, and may the Lord bless you with many more of them.

District Convention of United Mine Workers Held in Wilkes-Barre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader Evening News of February 18, 1957, calling attention to the recent district convention held by the UMW in Wilkes-Barre:

While the color and excitement are missing, the district convention of the United Mine Workers of America, opening here today, recalls memories to an earlier generation. It has been 33 years since Wilkes-Barre was the scene of such a gathering.

A great deal of water has gone over the dam since 1924. The industry has gone backward with attendant loss in jobs and members of the UMWA. But, on the other hand, the union has made considerable progress in wages and working conditions. Not the least of the advances in the intervening decades is the health and welfare fund.

There has been progress in another direction, too. We have in mind the union's relations with the industry. Adversity has made them teammates instead of rivals. They have learned to live together and to work together for their mutual advantage.

Wilkes-Barre today is generally recognized as the anthracite capital, with Scranton out of the picture because of the depletion of the Lackawanna coal reserves.

It goes without saying the delegates to the convention will be at home in this city. They will have reminders in every direction that they are among friends.

Mideast Policy Criticized

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I deem it a privilege to include the following article by Henry Hazlitt, a contributing editor to Newsweek magazine.

Of all the presentations and all the columns written on this vital subject, Hazlitt's article seems to pinpoint the question so clearly that there could be no doubt left in anyone's mind that unless the basic problem is understood and recognized, there can be no solution to the Middle East crisis. In any event, it strengthens the conviction that no sanctions should be imposed on Israel, thus setting up a double standard of justice by the United Nations:

MIDEAST POLICY CRITICIZED—EISENHOWER-DULLES STAND UNTENABLE, IT IS SAID

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Our policy in the Middle East crisis may be judged in three ways: legally, morally, and realistically—i. e., from the standpoint of whether it is best calculated to promote the peace, security, and interests of the United States and of the free world. From all three standpoints the Eisenhower-Dulles policy is untenable.

That policy seems to be based primarily on legalistic grounds. Its tacit assumption appears to be that Egypt was acting peaceably and wholly within its sovereign rights when it threatened Israel, barred Israeli shipping, and seized the Suez Canal. Only from such a prior assumption would it follow that Israel, France, and Britain in invading Egypt were the aggressors and the first to resort to force.

ANALOGY CITED

The legal presuppositions of the Eisenhower-Dulles policy are more than shaky. To take an analogy from private domestic law: Suppose B and C own properties that are only accessible through an easement on A's property; that this easement has been written into all three deeds, and adhered to, for 68 years; that A suddenly announces the seizure of this easement as exclusively his own, and claims the sole right to decide who shall use it and under what conditions. Such an action would clearly go beyond his own legal rights and invade the legal rights of B and C. His action would be rightly regarded as an act of force and aggression.

Secretary Dulles and President Eisenhower should have denounced Nasser as a treaty-breaker and a violator of international law on the day he seized the canal. They should have brought this threat to peace immediately before the United Nations. Instead, they futilely tried to appease Nasser. Their failure to acknowledge this initial blunder seems to have dictated their subsequent course. It led them to call Britain, France, and Israel the "aggressors" and to support an incredibly one-sided series of resolutions before the U. N.

Why cannot the President see that in refusing to reward the aggression of Israel he is in effect rewarding the original aggression of Nasser?

BASIS FOR INTERVENTION

Fortunately the right legal course in this instance would correspond with the right moral course and the right realistic course. If we intervene in this matter we must intervene two-sidedly. If we wish to unhold the prestige or authority of the U. N. we must uphold it universally and without exceptions or not at all. It is unrealistic as well as immoral to ask Israel to give up the only bargaining position it has left against Nasser in the hope that the more his own bargaining position is strengthened the more magnamimous and reasonable Nasser will become.

If the United States supports any further resolution within the U. N. let it be a resolution calling upon Israel to give up its positions in the Gaza strip and at the Strait of Tiran the moment Nasser restores the Suez Canal to its legal status before he seized it, the moment Russia starts actual withdrawal of its troops from Hungary and the moment India agrees to restore the legal status of Kashmir before Nehru forcibly annexed it.

Any resolution that now fell short of this general and simultaneous application would be discriminatory, hypocritical and ignominious.

HENRY HAZLITT.

NEW YORK, *February 22, 1957.*

Rev. Father Nicholas Chopey, of Wilkes-Barre, Lauded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial and news story from the Wilkes-Barre Record, as well as an editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News on the retirement of Father Nicholas Chopey, of St. Mary's Greek Rite Catholic Parish, Wilkes-Barre, after 59 years of outstanding service in the priesthood:

[From the Wilkes-Barre Record of February 18, 1957]

It would be difficult if not impossible to find a parallel to the record of Very Rev. Nicholas Chopey, newly-named pastor emeritus of St. Mary's Greek Rite Catholic Church, North Main Street. His retirement comes after a pastorate of 54 years and 59 years of service in the priesthood. The long tenure in one parish would in itself give him distinction. In addition he is only the second priest in the history of the Pittsburgh Byzantine Rite Catholic Diocese to be designated as a pastor emeritus.

But members of his parish and his numerous friends in the general community will remember him for more than his newly-attained honors. He has been a foremost member of the clergy of his denomination having served as dean of Wilkes-Barre-Scranton Deanery and as diocesan counselor. He was a recognized leader as well as a pioneer among Greek Catholic clergy of the region.

His own parish has known him as a builder as evidenced by the expansion of its properties and growth of its spiritual work. The community has recognized him as one interested in its welfare and advancement.

He is a native of Hungary and a member of a family with service in the priesthood a tradition followed in every generation for three centuries. Father Chopey's background and career are both notable and we hope will prove the forerunner of happy years of retirement in St. Mary's Greek Rite Catholic rectory where he and his family have lived over a remarkably long span, one fruitful for the parish.

[From the Wilkes-Barre Record of February 16, 1957]

FATHER CHOPEY RETIRES AFTER 54 YEARS DUTY—GREEK RITE CATHOLIC CLERGYMAN BECOMES PASTOR EMERITUS

After 54 years of active service, Very Rev. Nicholas Chopey, pastor of St. Mary's Greek Rite Catholic Church, North Main Street, has been named pastor emeritus of the church.

Announcement of Rev. Father Chopey's retirement from active service and designation as pastor emeritus, effective yesterday, was made by Bishop Nicholas T. Elko, D. D., head of Pittsburgh Byzantine Rite Catholic Diocese.

Rev. John Toptich, Pottstown, who arrived in this city yesterday, will become active pastor of St. Mary's Greek Rite Church.

By becoming pastor emeritus Rev. Father Chopey ended more than a half century of spiritual life in one parish, an accomplishment unique in the Pittsburgh Byzantine Rite Catholic Diocese. He becomes the second priest to be a pastor emeritus in the history of the diocese, the first being Rev. Joseph Hanulya, Cleveland, who retired from active service several years ago.

While pastor of St. Mary's Greek Rite Church Rev. Father Chopey celebrated three golden jubilees. November 22, 1948, he and his wife celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary; December 12, 1948, Rev. Father Chopey observed his 50th anniversary of ordination; and June 7, 1953, he marked his 50th year as pastor of one church, St. Mary's Greek Rite Catholic.

Rev. Father Chopey retired without change of rank because of long, faithful service. In bestowing this honor, Bishop Elko took cognizance of the fact Rev. Father Chopey's entire priestly life in America was spent in Wilkes-Barre. Rev. Father Chopey and his family will continue to reside in the rectory of St. Mary's Greek Rite Catholic Church.

Pioneer among Greek Catholic clergy of the region, Rev. Father Chopey has been dean of Wilkes-Barre-Scranton deanery, which extends from Nanticoke to Binghamton, N. Y., and has been diocesan consulter.

Born in the village of Perecseny, Hungary, January 2, 1876, Rev. Father Chopey was the youngest of 12 children of Very Rev. and Mrs. Gabriel Chopey. His father was archdean of Uzhorod County. Two of Rev. Father Chopey's brothers also entered the priesthood and six of his sisters married priests. This bore out a tradition of the family which, during more than 300 years, had contributed priests in each generation.

On November 22, 1898, Rev. Father Chopey married Paula Elizabeth Suba, whose father was Very Rev. George Suba, dean of the Munkcas District. On December 12, 1898, Rev. Father Chopey was ordained a priest.

After 12 months Rev. Father Chopey was appointed pastor of the church in the village of Vorocso, Hungary. Here, the two older children of Reverend Father and Mrs. Chopey died within 24 hours of each other during a diphtheria epidemic. Their third child, Charlotte, now Mrs. John B. Szabo, lives with her parents.

On recommendation of his bishop, Rev. Father Chopey was sent to the United States in 1903 by orders of the Holy See. At request of Apostolic Visitator Msgr. Andrew Hoboday, Bishop Michael J. Hoban of Scranton Diocese appointed Rev. Father Chopey as pastor of St. Mary's Greek Rite Church, North Main Street, and the Rev. Father Chopey said his first mass in the edifice, June 7, 1903.

First venture in acquiring church property resulted in the purchase of five lots on North Main Street, site of the present church and rectory. Seven lots adjacent to the church property, but facing Madison Street, were purchased later and a frame school was erected. As soon as nuns from the order of Sisters of St. Basil the Great were available, Rev. Father Chopey invited them to his parish and a convent was erected. A modern large brick school now accommodates several hundred pupils. In 1947 the church was completely renovated and a plot of 65 acres near Misericordia College at Dallas was acquired as a cemetery.

Starting practically from scratch, Rev. Father Chopey made St. Mary's Greek Rite Catholic property one of the best in the region. His last project was the erection of chapel in the parish cemetery at Dallas, which is to be completed in March or April.

Rev. Father Chopey made the motion in 1910 to organize the Sokol branch in Greek Catholic Union. For three terms he was spiritual adviser of Greek Catholic Union. He was active in strengthening Pennsylvania Slovak Roman and Greek Catholic Union by service as its spiritual adviser.

Rev. Father Chopey was the first priest in the Pittsburgh diocese given the Facultas Binanci—the privilege of saying two masses on the same day. This took place in 1908. He also preached the first English sermons. In 1953 Pope Pius XII bestowed on him the medal Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice.

In 1910, Rev. Father Chopey was chosen as representative of the clergy to go to Europe to plead for a bishop for the then rapidly growing Byzantine Rite diocese in the United States and as a result he was appointed a consultor from the United States to the mother diocese.

[From the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader Evening News of February 16, 1957]

A priest for 59 years, 54 of which have been spent as pastor of St. Mary's Greek Rite Catholic Church, North Wilkes-Barre, the Very Reverend Nicholas Chopey has retired with the title of pastor emeritus and the gratitude of countless thousands of coreligionists and others he served and, on occasions, befriended.

His retirement comes at a time when his native Hungary, which he left at the request of the Holy See to serve in the missionary field of America, is in the clutches of a ruthless Communist regime. Apart from this sad note because of the sufferings of many near and dear to him, termination of Father Chopey's career is a pleasant milestone because he now will be in a position to enjoy the rewards of a busy and fruitful life, replete with honors and achievements.

Father Chopey has been singled out for many distinctions. The Pope conferred on him "Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice," an award reserved for individuals whose service to the church has been outstanding. The Bishop of the Greek Rite Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh showed appreciation for his priestly zeal by naming him dean and consulter. Both the church and community, on numerous occasions, paid tribute to him at testimonials. Not many clergymen have had the unique privilege of observing the golden jubilees of their ordination, pastorate and marriage, as has been the case with him. Father Chopey, incidentally, is a member of a family that has supplied priests to the church for four centuries.

In extending congratulations and best wishes, Wilkes-Barre notes with no little satisfaction that Father Chopey will continue his residence in the place that has been home to him the greater part of his eventful life.

World, Take Notice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an address by the distinguished Secretary of the Air Force on February 22, 1957, to the sesquicentennial meeting of the Washington Light Infantry in Charleston, S. C.

This great American, who is more conversant with our air defense than any living American, delivered a magnificent address. My people were honored that he came to see us. His gentle voice spoke with authority. His soft tones let the world know that aggressors, bent on conquest, face retribution for any attack made against our Nation:

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE DONALD A. QUARLES BEFORE WASHINGTON LIGHT INFANTRY DINNER, CHARLESTON, S. C., FEBRUARY 22, 1957

General Clark, distinguished guests, gentlemen, I am highly honored to take part with you tonight in paying homage to the memory of our first President and to join you in marking the 150th year of the Washington Light Infantry. It is a special privilege to visit your beautiful city, so modern and at the same time so steeped in the traditions of the past. Then too, it is always a refreshing experience to get away from a Pentagon desk and to see such solid evidence of our national defenses, as the Citadel Corps of Cadets and the units at Charleston Air Force Base, and the citizen-soldiers of the Centennial Legion units.

Because of my special interest in the Air Force I know you will understand if I call attention to two other anniversaries we are celebrating this year: 1957 is the golden anniversary of the Air Force. Half a century ago an aeronautical division was established in the Army Signal Corps to (in the language of that day) "Have charge of all matters pertaining to military ballooning, air machines, and kindred subjects." Forty years later, in 1947, the Army Air Corps and the Army Air Forces had become a familiar phrase to all Americans and the importance of airpower as an element of a national defense had reached such proportions that the Air Force was established as a separate service in the Defense Establishment. This year we also observe the 10th anniversary of that event.

The number "7," which has some other lucky connotations, must also have some special historic significance: 1947, for the USAF; 1907, for military aviation; 1807, for the Washington Light Infantry; and 1607—350 years ago—when the Jamestown colonists established a bridgehead from the Old World to the New, a milestone in that history of our Nation in which Charleston and South Carolina have played such an important part. And, finally, of course, a lot of people across the country feel that 1957 started off as a good luck year with the January inaugural ceremonies in Washington, but I realize this is not quite a unanimous opinion.

When the average person thinks of Charleston, he is apt to think of its spacious homes, its beautiful and historic gardens, and the gentle way of life that has come down from generation to generation. From the history books one learns however that in this gracious setting there has burned, to an exceptional degree and from its earliest days, that spirit of freedom which is one of our most cherished heritages.

It was South Carolina which was the first State to throw down the gauntlet to royal tyranny, some months before the Declaration of July 4, 1776. It was the Palmetto flag which was first planted on the ramparts of Mexico City in 1847. Your Washington Light Infantry left a quarter of its members dead on the battlefields in the War Between the States. And later, in happier times, it has sought to erase the bitterness from the memory of that tragic conflict.

And so it has gone, right down to the present. We saw this same spirit today in the spectacular parade of the Centennial Legion organizations and the impressive display of the students of The Citadel, which has given so many fine leaders to our Armed Forces, and today is training future leaders for our Air Force, through its Air ROTC program. Perhaps the whole spirit could be captured in the one word, "readiness:" readiness to proclaim an ideal, and readiness to fight for it if need be.

Readiness is still the watchword of our Armed Forces, but readiness today has a new and even more urgent meaning. Today, we must be instantly ready or be engulfed by militant communism. This urgency is a product of the revolution in technology that has come so swiftly upon us since World War II; and the revolution in military strategy it has caused.

It was barely 10 years ago that we could still look to our ocean barriers to protect us from aggression. We could scarcely envisage a war that did not begin somewhere on a different continent and proceed through slow stages while we used the time thus given us to mobilize our manpower and our industrial potential. It was almost inconceivable to us that our mobilization base would itself become the target, and not merely a possible target, but the first and primary target of any future global war.

Like our pioneer ancestors at the frontiers of civilization, we must all live in peril, from day to day, that a potentially hostile power might decide to attack. Such is the extent of the revolution in the instruments of war that we have been forced to reconstruct our national defense policy and our traditional military concepts. With the progress in aviation the world has so shrunk in size that only a few hours of flight lie between us and the Iron Curtain; and with atomic explosives that are roughly a million-fold more powerful, pound for pound, than gunpowder or TNT, weapons of terrible destructiveness are becoming available. Since we cannot build a Maginot line to shield ourselves completely from this danger, we have had to meet it by a strategy of deterrence, that is, by creating and maintaining such striking power as to restrain any would-be aggressor from pursuing his aims through military means. To be effective, this policy of deterrence must do two things: it must persuade the aggressor that we mean what we say—that we will retaliate if our vital interests are attacked; and second, it must convince him that we have the means with which to retaliate so forcefully that not even in the most favorable circumstances could he hope to profit by a resort to armed force.

This policy has had the most profound impact upon our Military Establishment. It has made readiness our top military priority. In these days of air-atomic power, deterrence

is a function of what you can hit the enemy with in the first days and even hours after the outbreak of hostilities. If total war should occur, what we plan to have, or have under construction, will never get off the drawing board or the assembly lines in time to affect the outcome of those first critical days. Of course, such a war may continue for some time thereafter on land and sea as well as in the air, but the final outcome will almost certainly have been determined in the initial air battle. Success in this air battle depends, of course, on defensive forces to keep attacking bombers from destroying our air power on the ground, as well as retaliatory strike forces to destroy his base of air-atomic operations.

We can see solid evidence of our military readiness at work right here at Charleston Air Force Base. The 444th Fighter Interceptor and the 722d Air Control and Warning Squadrons are fine examples of our air defenses, while the 1608th Air Transport Wing is typical of our military transport capability.

Readiness is apparent in the 24-hour watch maintained by the A. C. & W. Squadron and the instant response to its warnings of the fighter-interceptor squadron. The 444th, incidentally, recently won an award as the outstanding squadron of the Air Defense Command, for its alertness and demonstrated ability to intercept what were fortunately friendly intruders.

Readiness while not so obvious is no less real in the case of the 1608th Air Transport Wing. To the average layman, MATS, the Military Air Transport Service, of which the 1608th is a part, represents a far-flung ocean-spanning air-freight and passenger line, notable chiefly for such exploits as ferrying U. N. troops from South America to Suez and Hungarian refugees from Europe to this country, in the recent Operation Safe Haven.

Perhaps Charleston sees the 1608th as the operator of the seventh busiest airport in the United States now set up to process from eight to twelve thousand military personnel and dependents a month from Charleston to overseas bases. It may be noted that since MATS operates no domestic air routes for other than medical purposes, all of these people will converge upon Charleston by bus, rail, or commercial air transport. To the people who travel on it, the 1608th is probably most notable for its fine safety record and the efficiency of its operations under Colonel Wasem's and Colonel Moomaw's leadership.

To the armed services, however, MATS represents one thing—readiness—a force trained for specific wartime functions, flexible enough to meet the demands of any likely situation, and ready for instant action should the H-hour of D-day ever strike.

The concept of readiness has also had its impact on a segment of our defense structure that is of particular concern to me as well as to all of you: namely, the Air National Guard and the Air Reserve Forces.

Here again, we must have individuals trained and ready to fill specific positions; and units that can operate as units when the whistle blows. If we are to win the initial critical air phase of the war we must do it with the airpower that is ready at the start.

This concept imposed upon our traditional Reserve organizations has inevitably caused some disappointments, and even some personal hardships. However, I have the utmost admiration for the way in which the individuals in our Reserve Forces have understood and accepted the changes made necessary by the stern realities of the air-atomic age.

This new look in the Air Reserve forces is already paying real dividends to the Air Force and the Nation. For example, one of our Air National Guard units is completely manning 24 hours a day one of our radar warning sites. At 19 other locations, squadrons of Air National Guard men operating fighter-interceptor units are voluntarily manning these stations around the clock, 7 days a week. These men are not only training for a future emergency. They are an integral part of our defense system, ready, today.

They must be trained and ready if they are to manage the highly complex weapon systems of air warfare that have been developed during the past 10 years.

I am afraid many of us still tend to think of flyers as a fraternity of carefree adventurers. Romantic as it is, this concept of the flyer does not begin to do justice to the men who operate our modern planes. Over and above their special aptitudes, combative spirit, and physical stamina, they must develop a high order of professionalism in the technical functions of instrument flying, cruise control, rocketry, gunnery, navigation, and so on. To highlight the greatly increased compounded demands we are today placing on our air crew members, and especially our pilots, let me give you an example. While up to 12 crew members were on hand to observe and correlate the readings and adjustment of approximately 130 instruments and controls on the B–29, we now have about 350 gages, switches, dials, buttons, and levers confronting only 3 crew members on a B–47. In a modern fighter, a single pilot may have to cope with about 100 such devices. He must operate an electronic system that is about as complex as a city power station and radio station combined.

We need to remember, additionally, something about the character of the environment in which these duties are performed. A G-suited, helmented B–47 pilot packs more weight on his mission than did the knights of old, in full battle armor. And on some extended missions, he packs it for 18 hours at a stretch, meanwhile giving full uninterrupted attention to countless details of plane performance and flight plan progress. If he lost oxygen and pressurization at the altitudes at which he must fly he would lose consciousness in less than a minute.

At supersonic speeds attained by modern fighters, pilots have only a matter of seconds to react after their electronic fire control devices have locked on to a target. Their closing speed may be well over a thousand miles an hour, a fact which complicates the problem of avoiding collision with friendly planes just as much as it complicates the task of getting in firing position, on an interception mission. Because fuel consumption is rapid and fuel reserve at flight destination is critical these fighter pilots must be able to navigate with precision up to the extreme range of their planes in any kind of weather, day or night.

As you can readily understand, the skills necessary to these operations cannot be acquired overnight. They must be learned painstakingly and practiced constantly, if they are to serve us instantly in time of need.

I have been talking a great deal about the importance of readiness, but of course the really crucial point is whether or not the Air Force that is ready to take to the air when the chips are down is the kind of Air Force that can perform its retaliatory mission and survive in sufficient numbers to go on and win the air phase of the war.

I believe it is important that we examine this question not just in terms of the individual components of our airpower but in terms of our air capability, as a whole; and in relation to our defense posture, as a whole. It is not just the numbers of planes in an air force that are important but it is the mission capability that these planes possess, in the aggregate. The requirements that the Soviets must meet in the air forces are quite different from ours, because of many factors, such as geography, climate, terrain, and so on. A mere quantitative comparison of the two air forces—theirs and ours—will not tell you which air force best achieves its misison capability.

Further, of course, our defense position is broader than airpower. It must take account, realistic account, of what each service component contributes under the conditions that are expected to prevail. And even that frame of reference is too narrow, because we must not think solely in terms of our national position. We must also take into consideration what our allies, some twoscore of them, will contribute to the defense of the free world, and also what help they will need from us to maximize their contribution.

It is not until all of these factors have been assembled, analyzed, and evaluated that we can begin to formulate a defense budget, and it is quite clear that if the total is not to reach astronomical figures, each item in the final budget must be rigorously justified. The point is not whether we would have a better Air Force if we spent more money on it; we certainly would. The point is whether the Air Force that we have and that we project for the future can perform its assigned mission.

As far as our own position is concerned, I can state without reservation that our present retaliatory deterrent force is much more powerful than it was a year ago. In basic terms, this means that the Air Force can deliver tremendously greater fire power on more targets, more quickly and more accurately than ever before. Our air-defense forces have progressed in a similar manner during the past year. Their fire power and ability to destroy attacking aircraft is being increased manifold. For example, last Wednesday the Secretary of Defense announced the deployment of nuclear weapons for air-defense purposes. We now can equip our interceptor aircraft with nuclear air-to-air rockets. Because of this great power, the employment of such weapons will greatly increase the effectiveness of our interceptor squadrons in stopping enemy bombers short of our cities and other strategic targets, and the Army is making similar progress with its new weapons. All these weapons provide a further deterrent to aggression against the free world.

Other examples of our growing deterrent power were seen recently when a group of B–52's circled the earth nonstop, in 45 hours and 19 minutes, and when, a few days later, one of our B–47's flew across the continent in 3 hours and 47 minutes.

In spite of some downward adjustment in the number of wings, the forces we forecast in the immediate future will continue to increase in power and effectiveness, as, indeed, they must do if we are to retain our deterrent position against the growing air/atomic power of the Soviets.

It is my opinion that we have an effective deterrent position today and that the fiscal year 1958 budget will provide us with the funds required to maintain this deterrent strength and to improve its effectiveness, and it will do this within a figure that the civilian economy not only can but must support.

I want to make it clear, however, that I would not hesitate to recommend budget changes if at any time it should appear that our estimates had been invalidated by new developments, whether here or behind the Iron Curtain. The present figures simply represent the best thinking of the military and civilian authorities in the Government. Above all, they represent the considered opinion of the President, whose judgment and experience in defense matters is so invaluable to our country at this time.

I have been talking mostly about things such as money and hardware, but we should never forget that the vital ingredient of any military organization is the men who wear the uniform. It is the men who make or break a military unit; who determine whether their unit will live in history or pass into

oblivion with others now long forgotten. These men must be capable, and they must be ready. And here once again I would like to use "ready" in the sense that I first used it, so well exemplified as a part of our American tradition by the men of South Carolina and the Washington Light Infantry, readiness to proclaim an ideal and the readiness to fight for it.

Is Your Child Surplus?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times once again has hit the nail squarely on the head.

In an editorial in this morning's edition, the Times has reduced the question of Federal aid to school construction to its simplest terms. The question, which every parent must answer is: Is your child surplus?

As the Times points out, 7 or 8 of every 100 children enrolled in our schools right now are surplus—that is there are no school buildings for them.

These surplus children are going to school in shifts or they are meeting in makeshift quarters, or they are being jammed into overcrowded classrooms.

These physical conditions are not conducive to the kind of education upon which our democracy rests. The remedy lies in H. R. 1, by our colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY]. I support this bill.

The Times editorial follows:

IS YOUR CHILD SURPLUS?

In the past 5 years the number of pupils in the Nation's public schools has increased by 5.5 million, and in the next 5 years it will jump by another 6 million. This extraordinary rise in school population, combined with a completely inadequate rate of school building, means that this year—right now—7 or 8 percent of the total number of enrolled schoolchildren in this country may be considered surplus in the sense that there are not facilities properly to take care of them.

The latest report of the United States Office of Education estimates the classroom shortage at 159,000, and the number of excess students at about 2.3 million out of a total of 31.5 million. This excess is taken care of, so to speak, by various expedients such as half-day or two-shift sessions, makeshift accommodations, or, most simply, by excessive overcrowding. While satisfactory physical conditions certainly cannot guarantee a good education, the absence of such facilities is pretty certain to prevent a child in the America of today from getting a good education.

As President Eisenhower said in his message on school building earlier this year, "solutions to all of the other problems in education will be empty achievements indeed if good teaching is not available"; and everyone knows that, by and large, teachers are disgracefully underpaid, and the teaching profession has yet to achieve the status in public esteem and support that is its due. Yet of all the many problems facing education in the public elementary and secondary schools today, perhaps the most critical and certainly the one where the Federal Government can be of most immediate and effective help, is the classroom shortage.

Considering the disproportion between the immense rise in national income during the last two decades and the relatively small rise in expenditures on the public schools, the country has to become as accustomed to thinking big in terms of schools and education, generally, as it already is doing in terms of highways and national defense. Surely there is no defense more important to a democracy than an educated and enlightened citizenry. We would like to see Congress produce action on a school bill as early in this session as possible.

Can We Trust Mr. Dulles Not To Aid Nasser in His Nefarious Schemes?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, written by Frank Kelley, from Paris, appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of February 12, 1957.

I believe that this article should be read by all of our colleagues at this time of crisis in the Middle East:

EGYPT-SOVIET PLOT IN AFRICA CHARGED—FRENCH SAY NASSER FOMENTS REVOLT BY MOSLEM ELEMENTS IN EIGHT AREAS

(By Frank Kelley)

PARIS, February 11.—With financial and political backing from the Soviet Union, Egypt has begun on a large scale an economic, religious, cultural, and ideological penetration of at least eight areas of Africa, it was learned today. The purpose is to foment eventual revolution by Moslem elements in these areas.

The task of developing this scheme is entrusted, sources here said, to Ali Sabry, one of President Gamal Abdel Nasser's closest associates.

In the wake of the French National Assembly's decision to set up 13 semi-autonomous "republics" in French West Africa and Equatorial Africa and the island of Madagascar, authoritative informants here disclosed the vast extent of Egyptian operations at several critical spots in the "black continent."

AIMED AT ETHIOPIA

The immediate goal, it appeared from diplomatic reports, is to strike southward down the Nile Valley and southeast along the Red Sea in a movement aimed at destruction of the Christian country of Ethiopia.

A longer-range objective on the West Coast of Africa poses problems for the British colony and protectorate of Nigeria and for the independent Negro republic of Liberia.

Soviet-Egyptian plans also include, sources here said, the undermining through Moslem rebel units of these countries: Libya, Somaliland, Kenya, Uganda and the island of Zanzibar in all of which there is a sizable population of Moslem malcontents.

NASSER'S BOOK

The Egyptian operations, sources said, are based on Col. Nasser's book "Egypt's Liberation: The Philosophy of the Revolution," in which he stated in part: "Not in vain is our country located in Northeast Africa, a position from which we can look over the Black Continent, which is today the scene of a hard fight between the white settlers and the black children. . . . The duty of Egypt is the creation of an immense power which will be able to drive these countries into revolutions."

In Libya, site of American and British military bases and the first country to gain independence under United Nations auspices, there is a Moslem majority of 93 percent in the population of 1,340,000.

There, sources said, Egypt has set up a corps of Agitprops—sometimes humorously known as Egyptprops—in an organization known as the Front for the Fight of the Libyan People.

This outfit is known to be engaged in a double effort: first, to push subversive propaganda against the Libyan government and, second, to make certain that 30,000 light weapons are distributed to Moslems in Libya for local use or transfer across the borders to Tunisia and Algeria.

In Somalia, an Italian trusteeship under the U. N., and in the British and French Somaliland areas, the Cairo radio is reported to have been making an effective campaign for the last 18 months to whip up the Moslems. Moreover, 250 young Agitprops have been brought to Egypt to study and undergo indoctrination at Egyptian expense. The League of Somali Youth is said to be financed mainly by Egypt. Its object is to create a united, free Somaliland.

In Kenya, a British crown colony with 5,900,000 people, which lies next to Somaliland and east of Uganda, the Egyptians are reported as of August to have begun "importing" promising young natives to study at Cairo and to enter special "African units" of the "Egyptian Liberation Army." In these units they are given large doses—on instructions, it was said, from Moscow—of old-fashioned national socialism of the Hitler variety.

MOSLEMS IN ETHIOPIA

In Ethiopia, the target is Moslems in a population of 8 million. The Cairo radio puts in a lot of time urging them to rebel. That is one reason why Emperor Haile Selassie recently turned down an invitation to visit Colonel Nasser.

Haile Selassie is also upset because, it was understood, Egypt is propagandizing Eritrea, the former Italian colony which under a U. N. vote in 1950 was to be federated with Ethiopia. The separatist line pushed by Cairo would, if successful, cut off Ethiopia from the Red Sea and hurt its economy.

In Eritrea the Egyptians are known to be operating a religious mission, and Eritrean students are sent up to Cairo for favored treatment at the university.

The Cairo radio is said to be making a big effort on Zanzibar, a British protectorate island 23 miles off the coast of East Africa. Broadcasts encourage revolt against the British. In 1955, Anwar Sadad, then in charge of Moslem affairs in Cairo, had long talks with Zanzibar's Moslem councilmen on the mainland at Mombasa.

The pattern is similar in Nigeria, where there are 15 million Moslems out of 31 million inhabitants, and in independent Liberia, a rubber-rich country of 2,700,000 people.

ARTICLE IN REVIEW

The tip-off to Egyptian aims was stated in August in an issue of the "Egyptian Economic and Political Review," a weekly, which said Egypt should establish a net of consulates in Africa, develop broadcasts in native African tongues, send religious and economic missions to African areas and grant scholarships to promising youths, create an African congress to be held yearly in Cairo, establish an Egyptian commercial air line linking all of Africa, and set up an institute for African Affairs with Cairo headquarters.

Do We Really Want Federal Aid to Education?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, how urgent is Federal aid to education? How much better quality of education will we get with Federal funds than we now get with State and local funds? Why are some of the States that can now afford better schools postponing their school construction programs? Are they waiting for Federal funds to do what they should be doing for themselves?

These and many other questions should be answered before we take steps to authorize Federal funds for education which, like all other such funds, lead to Federal direction and control.

The education of our youth has by tradition and custom been kept very close to their parents and under the jurisdiction of local authorities. Can we afford to invade that area of local authority or break that custom and tradition by providing Federal funds for education?

Does California want to contribute $28,364,000 to the Federal Government in order to obtain $14,180,000 back or should we use our own money and build and control our own schools.

Here is an excellent editorial from the Los Angeles Times which poses and answers some of these questions:

THE PRESIDENT'S SCHOOL SUBSIDIES

In his message on Federal aid to education President Eisenhower told Congress "the program must be recognized as an emergency measure * * * Federal aid must not infringe upon the American precept that responsibility for control of education rests with the States and communities."

EMERGENCY MEASURE?

In matters such as this the whole American public has learned to trust the President's sincerity and intentions. When he says that this proposal to pass out $2,200,000,000 of Federal aid to the States during the next 4 years is an emergency measure, that is surely what he thinks it is.

But most of the people who have been putting on the pressure for Federal aid have no intention whatever of letting Federal aid lapse. Their chief spokesmen assure us that they stand firm against Federal interference in the conduct of the public schools, yet they have projects not only for building schools with Federal money but for raising teachers' salaries with it and somehow using it to solve what they call the shortage of teachers.

President Eisenhower believes them when they say the Federal Government must not infringe on the schools, but do they really believe it themselves? How can they believe that the Federal Government will provide all the billions they want for the schools without having a hand in school management?

THE CASE OF TEXAS

Even the present proposal for building schoolrooms is in a way an infringement of State and local educational autonomy, for it attempts to change certain State educational preferences. Texas, for example, is a wealthy State, as any Texan will tell you, with money enough to set up a public-school system as good as California's, but she has chosen not to do so. In fiscal 1956 Texas was seventh in personal and corporate income taxes paid to the Federal Government among all the States.

Now President Eisenhower says, "The allocation of Federal funds among the States should take into account school-age population, relative financial ability to meet school needs and the total effort within the States to provide funds for public schools. An allocation system based solely on school-age population would tend to concentrate Federal aid in wealthy States most able to provide for their own needs. An allocation system which provides more assistance to States with the greatest financial need will reduce the shortage more quickly and more effectively."

But under the matching fund proposal, with the States required to put up various amounts in order to get various Federal subsidies, Texas would receive $19,842,000 in return for $13,846,000 of State money. California, the third State in fiscal 1956 tax payments to the Federal Government, would receive $14,180,000 in school subsidies if she put up a matching fund of $28,364,000. California would receive a lower Federal allotment per child ($5.58) than any other State except Nevada ($4.72).

SYSTEMS PENALIZED

The proposal penalizes some States not simply for being wealthy (by the tax return criterion), but for having good school systems. Michigan, just ahead of California in tax payments, would receive a subsidy amounting to $7.69 per pupil, paying in $16,233,000 to get $12,102,000.

There are schoolroom shortages in some of the States; that in California has been nearly acute. But on the whole the situation has ben exaggerated, with false representations to the Government founded on statistics which were uncritically if not fraudulently compiled. The President's Committee on Intergovernmental Relationships put a task section to work on the school situation 2 years ago and its findings on school needs, after careful analysis of the emergency alarms, made the representations of last year's school conference in Washington look very much inflated.

Good school systems need money to operate them, but they need something besides money. These are places in the United States where Federal money might save the day for public education, but if all the public schools in the United States had 3 times as much money as they have now the quality of education would not be 3 times as high.

The Tax Bite

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Sunshine magazine for March contains an interesting analysis of the amount of time we Americans devote during the working day to earn the money we pay out. It is as follows:

TAX BITE IN 8-HOUR DAY

Are you shocked by the fact that all government—Federal, State, and local—collected about $90 billion in taxes last year? Probably not, because that figure is just too big for most of us to even understand.

Putting the tax burden on a daily work basis, the Tax Foundation (a private research organization) has issued this information.

Here is how a $4,500-a-year man's 8-hour day is divided:

NEEDED TIME

To earn money for—
Taxes: 2 hours, 35 minutes.
Food: 1 hour, 37 minutes.
Housing: 1 hour, 24 minutes.
Clothing: 36 minutes.
Transportation: 42 minutes.
Medical and personal care: 23 minutes.
Reading and recreation: 20 minutes.
Other goods and services: 23 minutes.
Total: 8 hours.

Considering the Federal tax reductions recently, we might guess that a man saves about 2 minutes of the time spent working for taxes whenever the Government knocks a billion off its tax take.

Resolution on Defamatory Film

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 6, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, a film is currently being shown in many theaters throughout the country which contains certain derogatory remarks about Americans of Italian origin. I regard this as deplorable and highly objectionable. I do not consider it a contribution to Americanism and to the concept of brotherhood to besmirch any group in this country.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the text of a resolution adopted by the Columbian Lawyers Association in New York protesting against this film and the abuses contained therein. The resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION MADE BY COLUMBIAN LAWYERS ASSOCIATION, FIRST JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT, BRONX, AT A REGULAR MEETING HELD ON JANUARY 9, 1957, AT THE SHELTON HOTEL IN NEW YORK CITY

Whereas Warner Bros. has released the picture entitled "Baby Doll" produced by Tennessee Williams and Elia Kazan; and

Whereas the said picture depicts a character as an Italo-American and permits the said character in the dialog in at least five scenes to use the words "wop" and "dago"; and

Whereas said motion picture by permitting the use of those words is derogatory and defamatory of Italo-Americans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we the members of the Columbian Lawyers Association, First Judicial Department, declare—

First, that we are proud of our ancestry and origin as Italo-Americans and do hereby condemn the motion picture entitled "Baby Doll" as being defamatory and derogatory of Italo-Americans by the unnecessary use in its dialog in at least five scenes of the words "wop" and "dago."

Second, that the members of this organization on behalf of themselves and their families do hereby agree to boycott the said movie.

Third, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Warner Bros., Tennessee Williams, Elia Kazan, the Motion Picture Association of America, the Association of Theater Owners of America, the Catholic Na-

tional Legion of Decency, the Department of State of the State of New York, Board of Regents, Congressmen PAUL A. FINO, ALFRED E. SANTANGELO, VICTOR L. ANFUSO, United States Senator, JOHN PASTORE, NAACP, all of the local and metropolitan newspapers and magazines, and the United States Army, Special Service Division, United States Navy, Special Service Division.

Fourth, that a copy of this resolution be also forwarded to all of the Italo-American organizations in the city and State of New York.

Fifth, that a copy of this resolution be also forwarded to the United Jewish Appeal, Anti-Discrimination Division.

Respectfully submitted.

THOMAS CARTELLI,
President.
NICHOLAS IANNUZZI,
Executive Secretary.

The Trinity River Development in Northern California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 31, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, in the next few months, Congress will be calleed upon to make a decision regarding the proposed partnership agreement between the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. and the Federal Government with respect to the Trinity River development in northern California.

Recently, I have noted that the first two contracts for the Trinity project have exceeded the Bureau of Reclamation's estimates by more than 30 percent. I am sure my colleagues will be interested in this fact since it indicates that an even greater economy to the Federal Government can result from the partnership agreement which Secretary Seaton recently approved.

It appears to me that the issue involved in this proposed agreement is the fundamental one of public ownership as opposed to the free enterprise system. Admittedly, power is a commodity which is consumed by all of the people in our Nation. If public power were to serve all the people, perhaps I could find some merit to the public-ownership argument. But our power needs are so tremendous that even the wildest advocate of public power cannot hope for 100 percent ownership by the Government.

In the absence of Government monopoly, we find a situation where a selected group of power users receives low rates which are made possible by subsidies and tax exemptions at the expense of other taxpayers across the country. Though areas in my district would benefit from preferential rates, I do not feel that it is fair to taxpayers in areas who pay their own way. Public power for all may be a desirable objective, but public power for some at the expense of others is not fair.

Address of Hon. Carmine G. DeSapio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the address of the Honorable Carmine G. DeSapio, before the annual dinner of the New York Democratic State Committee, February 16, 1957:

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN CARMINE G. DESAPIO BEFORE THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 16, 1957, HOTEL WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK CITY

It's a great pleasure for me to join with and extend my greetings to this enthusiastic gathering of Democrats and to this warm union of old friends.

We meet here this evening as the representatives of a political party which finds itself in a very curious—indeed, a virtually unparalleled national position.

There are two historic precedents in our national political scene. For one thing, a President has been reelected with the congressional mandate given to the opposite party. If I remember my history, such a phenomenon has not occurred in over a hundred years.

Secondly, where the President is supposed to give leadership and direction to the Congress and to the country, we find, in our National Capital, that the responsibilities of Congress overshadow even those of the President, and that in the absence of positive executive leadership, it is the Congress which must guide America through 4 years which may prove to be the most critical and perilous since the recording of history.

All of which is a reflection on the innate good judgment and intuitive soundness of the American voters.

They elected a President in whom they reposed confidence and trust. But they said to the President: "We do not trust your party. We have no confidence in Republicanism or in the Republican philosophy of government, and we will, therefore, exercise the insurance afforded us by the constitutional system of checks and balances."

Now, you will recall, my good friends, that in 1952 Mr. Eisenhower was elected along with a Republican Congress. But 2 years later, in 1954, when the people had had an opportunity to observe Republicanism in action, they elected a Democratic Congress just as they did again in 1956. And if the American people, by their votes, have declared that they will not trust their futures, or those of their children, to the Republican Party, then it certainly clearly becomes our responsibility as Democrats—and our challenge as Americans—to put aside partisan interests and concerns, and to advance genuine and meaningful leadership for the welfare of our Nation and its people.

I am proud to report to you that the Democratic Members of Congress from our State already have established their determination to provide sound direction and meaning for our National Government.

1. Our delegation has pledged itself to the support of a strong civil rights bill, and has reaffirmed its determination to reject any measure which would compromise the constitutional rights of any American citizen.

2. Our delegation has gone on record in vigorous opposition to the attempts to impose United Nations sanctions against the State of Israel, and will insist upon redoubling all efforts to bring about a meeting of Israel and the Arab States at the peace conference table.

3. Our delegation will fight for the creation of an effective and workable program of Federal aid to education, and its members have signified their rejection of the kind of parliamentary maneuvering which enabled Republicans in the 84th Congress to defeat last year's bill.

4. Our delegation has taken a strong stand in favor of amending the McCarran-Walter Act to eliminate the discriminatory national-origins quota system, and to provide for the filling of unused quotas of nonparticipating nations by immigrants from countries which may have filled their own quotas.

5. Our delegation has voiced its determination to end the economic squeeze which, today, grips small business—through tax relief, through the extension of Federal loans, and through the medium of increased technological assistance.

6. Our delegation will press vigorously for the amendment of the Taft-Hartley law, and especially for the notorious provisions which have enabled some States to enact the repressive and cynically named "right-to-work" laws—those restrictive measures which, in reality, curtail the rights of working people, and seek to destroy local trade unionism.

7. Our delegation has rejected the proposal to raise the legal interest rate on loans to veterans, and will fight all measures to impose such financial burdens upon those who willingly have fought for our country.

In short, our delegation is bringing to Washington the kind of leadership; the kind of vision; and the kind of strength which have characterized the Democratic Party through years of service to the people, in the cause of progress for our country.

No, my friends, the voters do not trust the Republican Party. Why should they? How can they?

But they do clearly look to our party—through Congress—to restore faith and meaning to our National Government, to bring us from the brink of war to an era of understanding and peace and to secure for all free people a happier and better world in which to live.

With your continued support, and with God's help, we will fulfill this sacred obligation.

Thank you very much.

A Bouquet to the Junior Bar of Milwaukee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased that the Milwaukee Junior Bar Association has just received a $10,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic with which it will seek to revitalize community understanding of the Bill of Rights. The following editorial from the

Milwaukee Journal of February 23, 1957, well express my feelings:

A BOUQUET TO THE JUNIOR BAR

The community may be proud of the Milwaukee Junior Bar Association. The Fund for the Republic has singled it out, the first group in the Nation at its level of bar organization, to be entrusted with the constructive use of a $10,000 grant.

This is a substantial vote of confidence in the civic concern and thoughtfulness of these young men of Milwaukee, and the proven capacity of their organization to do real jobs of work. Fund staff members were convinced that this group had some worth while bones of ideas and would put some meat on them.

The fund's broad aim is to promote "redefinition" of American civil liberties in the public consciousness, and to help revitalize them in the practice of everyday affairs. Milwaukee Junior Bar plans to this end include preparing a mock trial to be enacted before school and civil groups, to show what civil liberties mean in court, and putting more local meaning into the constitutional "right to counsel" even for unpopular or penniless defendants.

Milwaukee is fortunate to have this kind of activity launched here, and in the hands of able, earnest young lawyers from whom it may expect some concrete results.

The Father of Our Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include an editorial which appeared in the East Side News in commemoration of the 225th anniversary of the birth of our first President, George Washington.

The article follows:

THE FATHER OF OUR COUNTRY—GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1732–99

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

Yesterday marked the 225th anniversary of the birth of George Washington.

In paying tribute to the Father of Our Country, Abraham Lincoln said: "In solemn awe pronounce his name and in its naked deathless splendor leave it shining on."

Washington was our first general. He was the President of the Constitutional Congress. He was the first President of the United States. He was first in the hearts of his countrymen.

Washington was the uncompromising foe of despotism. He was the eternal foe of bigotry. He was the great champion of the sovereignty of man. He was the greatest of good men and the best of great men.

Washington lived in the mountaintops of vision and hope. He was a child of the hills, with the great outdoors as his playground and the storehouse of his inspiration.

It was at Mount Carmel, amid the shouts of "the Lord, He is God," that fire was sent from the heavens to consume the altar so that Elijah could expose the false prophets of Baal.

It was on Mount Ararat that the ark rested and God's covenant was written in the many-colored rainbow in the clouds, that still thrills the imagination with wonder and awe.

It was on Mount Sinai, quivering from the lightning and thunder of the skies and engulfed in smoke and fire, that the law was given to Moses.

It was in the sacred precincts of the mountains that Christ permitted the chosen few to witness His divine majesty.

It was in Mount Vernon that Washington rose to lead his people from oppression and tyranny into the land of justice, freedom, and equality.

The story of his life is the heritage of every schoolchild.

Washington towers in history like the lofty monument in the Capital which bears his name.

Washington became the benefactor of the ages and bathed his name in the august halo of immortality. It was Washington's belief that the sacred rights of man are written, as with a sunbeam, in the whole volume of human nature by the hand of God and cannot be erased by mortal power.

Our sainted forebears preferred death to shackles.

Our Founding Fathers died for the American spirit of freedom. It is the spirit that represents our treasured traditions. It is the spirit which embraces the political institutions of the greatest Republic ever built by the genius and the daring statesmanship of man. It has given a new definition to home, a new ideal to fireside, a truer conception to the brotherhood of man.

The spirit of Washington hovers over our Nation. His voice comes ringing down to us with a commanding challenge.

It is a call to duty that comes from every battlefield in all the wars of the Republic. It is a call that comes from every cemetery where sleep our martyred dead whose graves number the page of our history.

America is determined to stand by and preserve the ideals and principles for which sons and daughters have fought, bled, and died. America is determined never to abandon or compromise them. America is determined to contest any hostile philosophy and repugnant ideology which holds in contempt the deepest yearnings of the human heart.

Liberty is a living thing. It is nutured by the living faith of a living people. It is the quality of the soul. It must be protected at all times.

Those who have sacrificed so much for liberty dearly appraise its value. They know that once liberty is lost, it may never be regained.

Let us in the name of the "Father of our Country" go forward to fulfill our great destiny. Let us be united in spirit and purpose. Let us emulate the lives of our deathless dead. Let us remember that their spirits hover over us, bidding us in the service of America to think in the highest that is in us to think, to be the noblest that is in us to be.

May we vow to protect and preserve our blessed land and all it stands for, "Our nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

More About E-Bonds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article written by the well-known financial writers, Paul Heffernan and Leslie Gould:

SHOW TREASURY OFFICIALS HOW THEIR OBSOLETE MERCHANDISE, THE E-BONDS, CAN BE RESTORED TO THEIR FORMER COMPETITIVE POSITION

You can be even more constructive and render still greater service to the millions of E bond holders and the country if you show the Treasury officials how their obsolete merchandise, the E-bonds, can be restored to their former competitive position. Take it for granted the Treasury officials and practically everybody knows the money market has changed and something has to be done and done quickly or there will be a "run" on the E and other bonds. The records show that the rank and file are slowly but surely waking up and cashing in their "dead stuff."

The question is, what should the Treasury do? Needless to say, everybody has a different idea of how and what to do to prevent this run or dumping, depending on his experience, his advisors, his interests, etc. There are many angles and slants to this, as you know. The Government could very easily take practically all the business away from the savings banks, etc., for example, if they continually offered a little more than the savings banks, that is, if they adjusted the rate periodically to meet competitors or the market. The problem is how much business should they take as a matter of policy or for the general good of all concerned.

The greatest service the financial writers and the best brains in the financial business—the set-up men in the houses of issue—and others who profess to be authorities on the matter, could render the country, would be to throw the light of day on this matter and present concrete, specific suggestions as to what should be done. Open it all up. State the pros and cons freely and frankly as to why the E-bonds shouldn't yield each year one-fourth of 1 percent more than the savings banks (and commercial banks that have big savings deposits like the First National City Bank) and be redeemable at the prevailing savings bank rate as long as depositors in savings banks can get their money back at any time guaranteed by the Government (FDIC up to $10,000). For all practical purposes a savings bank account is as riskless as E- or H-bonds, and it is easier and quicker to get the money in and out—by mail.

Who else can get billions for 20 years and not have to pay any interest whatsoever? No one who understands what this means can argue the money isn't worth more than one-fourth percent more than the savings bank rate. You shouldn't let the Treasury officials abuse this unique racket. The E- and H-bonds should be the same all the way through except the E's (accumulation bonds) get a bonus of one-half of 1 percent, or something, if held to maturity.

The old Treasury crowd were told time and time again that the accumulation scale has always been and is notoriously bad and must be corrected first of all. Most Treasury officials don't know or admit that the rank and file have been disillusioned about the Government's honesty and integrity when they didn't get what they could have gotten on their money in a savings bank while the Government had it, when they had to cash their E-bonds in. Many writers have touched on this matter. It is a long story, but everybody who has handled the sale of E-bonds knows that the rank and file felt they were gypped, as they expressed it.

It doesn't require a great deal of resourcefulness or ingenuity to tie the redemption price into the prevailing savings bank rate, the 90-day bill rate or to something so it will fluctuate and change with the market. The rank and file can understand that. They know the savings bank rate changes. Of

course, the savings bank people will fight that and anything that will make the Government's merchandise more attractive than their own. That is only natural, of course. The big question is, as it always has been, should the Government hold an umbrella over the savings banks, Federal loan associations, etc.

THE TREASURY WILL GAIN MORE THAN LOSE BY MAKING THE E-BONDS TAX EXEMPT

Of course, the E-bonds should be made tax exempt, as Leslie Gould and many others have suggested, as the Government would not lose much, if anything. Most of those who buy the E-bonds are in a very low bracket and, as is well known, very few of them report the interest they receive. It would cost too much to try to check them.

DRESS UP E-BONDS WITH LOTTERY FEATURE

The rate of interest as well as the redemption rate should be tied to something. No one is wise enough to work out a rate that will meet changing conditions, stand the test of time. Government securities, like all other securities and merchandise, must be kept continually polished up and competitively strong. They must fluctuate with the market. When asked what the market was going to do "J. P.'s" stock answer was, "It is going to fluctuate."

Some kind of a bonus or "kicker" should be put on them, as the foreign governments do, so they can be called "lottery bonds." Five percent or 10 percent of all those sold during the year could be made redeemable at double value, for example. There is certainly enough brains in the financial world to make them convertible into something attractive.

The Treasury officials are all fine men doing the very best they know how. What they don't realize is that their experience is rather limited—they don't know it all. Even the best of them, like George Humphrey and Randolph Burgess—strong, wonderful characters—cannot possibly have the feel of all the gadgets on this very complicated, intricate, delicate piece of machinery. Savings Bank Director John R. Buckley needs plenty of help.

EXTEND THE F-BONDS

The F-bonds, of course, should be extended, as so many people have told the Treasury officials, as the E-bonds were. Naturally, there are some "outs" about this, as there are about everything, but the advantages far offset the disadvantages. It certainly will cost much more to refinance them than to extend them. They could be extended for 10 years at a correspondingly higher rate and made callable in 5 years or so if there is some doubt about the future rate, or anything. This should be done at once to save the cost of refinancing them as they come due.

The indirect cost of issuing all the E-, F-, G-, and H-bonds is enormous. It is a terrible burden on all business, banks, etc. This should receive much more consideration than it has in extending the F-bonds.

How about forming a committee of the financial editors of the biggest newspapers and financial magazines and getting the best brains in the country to come to the rescue of the Treasury with suggestions for the best way to handle the E-, F-, G-, and H-bonds? Publish every day the suggestions of the best men in the country. It would pay the Government to offer $50,000 or $100,000 in prizes for the best ideas—to be decided by a disinterested, outside committee, George Humphrey to be Chairman.

If the ideas are good they'll sell themselves.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

One Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary of Birth of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, today marks the 150th anniversary of the birth, in Portland, Maine, of the poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Educated at Bowdoin College, following a Yankee boyhood which imbued him with many principles of versatility, Longfellow served his alma mater as professor of modern languages and librarian, before he joined the Cambridge community of great 19th century writers, in 1835. It was at Harvard College that Longfellow drew upon his Maine background to create some of the immortal poetry which has endeared him to Americans of later generations.

Longfellow's poems have appealed to the people of this country and of many foreign lands down through the years. He has rightly been recognized as America's first poet of the people, and certainly no other American writer has ever been loved by more citizens than Henry Longfellow. From schoolchild to old folk, there is hardly a person who cannot quote some favorite line from his works.

Henry Longfellow succeeded as no other poet had in capturing the spirit of a growing America. He drew from the heritage of the forefathers, the builders, and the leaders of the new Republic in writing such epics as the Midnight Ride of Paul Revere, Song of Hiawatha, Evangeline, and many others.

It is indeed fitting that we should pay tribute today to this great American. May we never lose sight of the spirit of freedom and love of mankind which Longfellow expressed so well to his fellow Americans. It has been this spirit which has contributed to the emergence of a powerful and free nation to assume the leadership of today's world.

It is a privilege for me to join with the many citizens of my State who today are honoring, at Bowdoin College, the memory of this great son of Maine.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD copies of two excellent articles on Henry Wadsworth Longfellow from the New York Times and the Lewiston (Maine) Journal.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of February 24, 1957]

THIS VOICE AMERICANS UNDERSTOOD

(By G. Stuart Demarest)

At this moment, close to the 150th anniversary of his birth on February 27, 1807, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow is a national poet only by courtesy of a vanished reputation. Although a few scholars and critics are trying to proclaim a revival, little more than a shadow of his former fame is likely to appear. With the ordinarily unpoetic folk to whom he once looked for his ultimate criticism, he is now a name associated with bad puns and some jouncing lines on sentimentalized history. Little has survived of a familiar affection that was almost personal.

In one sense the dismissal of Longfellow is serious. It has deprived the country of one of its best influences, not unlike Chaucer's, for keeping warm a sense of human history, that fourth dimension of reality. The continuity of mankind has received a palpable check, and a large segment of the past has been curtained off from the modern view. Because Longfellow's vast, miscellaneous, essentially personal poetry had animated reality for millions of people, literature gained a national vigor which later writers had cause to be grateful for. But those properties of life he had disclosed are no longer visible.

Today, it is true, he is often mildly puzzling. Swarms of critics once praised his noble sentiments, his high moral tone, and his sweetening style—suggestions of which sometimes crept into his work. And in the twenties he went down into oblivion, not without a hastening shove, for precisely these reasons. Yet how did this gentle poet reach the feelings of unimaginative Americans so well? Why, too, have so many ordinarily clear-minded critics, like Lowell, Whitman, Saintsbury, or Canby, felt a curiously uncritical pleasure in his poems?

One bar to a revealing evaluation of Longfellow's poetry has been the narrowed vision from a fixed point in history. The question which true judgment eventually turns upon is very simply: What, after all, does life look and feel like to the thoughtful mind? If Longfellow gave it too much allowance of sentiment and morality for our taste, it is because he granted spirit to reality, largeness of soul to men, and optimism to literature, all now relatively unfashionable and unreal.

On such grounds, nevertheless, must Longfellow's significance be found—or rejected. For in accepting as his poetic mission the finding of ideal meanings in a hitherto rather fixed and untractable world, he opened an almost unexplored cultural wilderness. At his hand were American life and the mellowed, sometimes shabby riches of European art and history. But in himself, with his love of books and his reflective moods, were a simple candor and the inclination to share his intellectual pleasures with a nation of plain people. By such gentle influences was American literature led out of library and college, without actually forsaking either, to meet American minds at their own hearthsides.

There had been forerunners equally able—in Franklin, Irving, Cooper, and Bryant; in John Neal and Charles Brockden Brown—who had summond America to look to its own life. But they had done more summoning than answering, and although the Nation had responded hopefully, it had not yet discovered itself, its mind or its literary character. With an exciting past, a challenging life in town and countryside, and a beckoning future, the Nation lacked the artistic instrument for getting at them—an artist who should stand in the dooryards and look out with his mind and America's eyes.

What seems to have carried Longfellow closer to American homes than his predecessors was his quiet conviction that life is, after all, real and not an empty dream or a formal design. This was his main difference from the sentimental classicist. The sturdy anatomy of his poetry was such as to render things, places, customs, and people fit for enjoyment by ordinary, healthy American minds. Often he rearranged reality. But the Viking, the Indian, the Pilgrim were at base recognizably human, and so also, for that matter, was the Psalmist. And in drawing as close to his subject as his experience, or his sometimes obtrusive sources, would permit, he sought in his strong, firm style to suggest its human implications. This may explain why, from the time of his first enchantment by Washington Irving, his work began to resemble a poetic sketch book of his own tastes. It may also explain how he came onto a rather bleak literary scene with a richness and a directness that both refreshed and heartened.

The record of how he developed his literary character and placed it at the disposal of the American people forms a sort of bibliographical biography. When he graduated from Bowdoin his confidence in his own talents had convinced him that what American literature principally needed was a writer with talents very much resembling his own. But Bowdoin offered him a professorship of modern languages, and literature stepped aside. A preparatory 3-year tour of Europe gave him mainly a rather unscholarly delight in taking trips to Europe, and when George Ticknor assisted him to a Harvard professorship 6 years later, he had to hurry back with his attractive wife for the rest of his scholarly training. The young professor was ready neither to teach nor to write—nor yet to live, as he presently discovered.

When Mary Longfellow died in Rotterdam, Henry faced what in fact was a choice between consuming himself in a romantic, Werther-like melancholy or becoming a national poet. His later, though temporary, rejection by the talented Frances Appleton of Beacon Street did nothing to make his conflict less bitter. In the misery of a solitary professor's life in Craigie House in Cambridge, his problem had little to do with poetry; it centered squarely on the man. Out of this, as Sir Philip Sidney showed him, came poetry.

His first book of verse, Voices of the Night, was for Longfellow his most important, because it contained A Psalm of Life, that much abused fragment of a man's inner battle. "From the cool cisterns of the midnight air my spirit drank repose," he signed in Hymn to the Night. Yet his Yankee temperament became persuaded that life is

real and earnest, that the past must bury its dead, and that a man must act in the living present.

From the American public he received a reply in sales and letters that confirmed his resolution. It was, in fact, A Psalm of Life that got America its poet. Sidney's admonition to look in your heart and write very seldom thereafter meant exhibiting it on the sleeve. The reposeful midnight moods became a kind of delightful laboratory, a step in the poetry making, in which experience could be savored and given shape. After his marriage to Fanny Appleton, he turned his gaze steadily outward for the materials of poetry. Even the moralizing had an external sound.

Ballads like The Skeleton in Armor had opened the realm of old stories for him. And in spite of the controversy over an unfamiliar hexameter, Evangeline advanced him to the top rank of American poetry. That he understood his talents now was clear when he wrote to his classmate Hawthorne, who had passed along the story: "This success I owe entirely to you, for being willing to forego the pleasure of writing a prose tale which many people would have taken for poetry, that I might write a poem which many people take for prose."

Eleven years after his marriage he was ready to leave Harvard and press for what may be his greatest work. In Hiawatha, the Indian was to receive at least poetic justice. Longfellow had known him in Cooper and Chateaubriand, but he had also known him on his very doorstep, and like many other Americans he realized he was not the noble savage of Cooper's pink-ribboned literature.

The scholar knew where to turn. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and others had reported their firsthand experience, and the poet needed only a series of sketches which would weave together their beautiful traditions. In 22 cantos of a verse that mildly suggested an Indian trot, he captured a forest life that was peculiarly Indian, ideally human, and characteristically Longfellow. In tales, episodes, songs, and fables; among tribal rites, village characters, animal personalities, and manifold natural symbols, the half-primitive, half-divine Hiawatha moved through his wilderness life toward the promise of peace in a white man's civilization. For the most part this was a physical world as the Indian might see it. Yet there was a haunting sense of pain and sadness consequent to his being merely mortal.

Longfellow's own happiness had to be maintained, during much of his life, from some sort of inner hearth. In 1861, with a rich career still before him, it was dashed to the rocks in a single evening. His wife, while sealing some locks of her children's hair, set fire to her dress. Longfellow clasped her against his own body and only burned himself. Fanny died next day, and Henry stepped in a moment from his domestic happiness into a lonely, grief-stricken world. The only cry he ever uttered publicly was The Cross of Snow, published after his death.

In his need to act in the living present, he resumed the translation of Dante, which had often served as relief from creative toil. Translating, he felt, was "like running a plowshare through the soil of one's mind." Still, he added, "it sometimes seems like an excuse for being lazy—like leaning on another man's shoulder." Here, in effect, he was confessing the scholar's habit, which brought Poe's wrath down on him, of forming his poetry out of existing materials. Something that already had a body of its own stimulated his genius for finding meanings. Yet from the companionable business of editing and translating Dante came the famous sonnets on "Divina Commedia."

His creative energies were still active, however. From earliest days he had planned to build some towering masterpiece with Christianity for a theme. Gradually the three-part "Christus," ideas for which can be traced across 40 years, took shape on the themes of hope, faith and charity. But whether because life had taken too much from him or because his countrymen were not ready, the work that had best promised an enduring name dropped quietly out of the public mind and was forgotten. Only the medieval Golden Legend was praised. The Divine Tragedy may have suffered from having been done better elsewhere. Longfellow was not to compete with the King James Version of the New Testament.

The third part, the twin "New England Tragedies," on the Quaker persecutions and the witchcraft delusions, was particularly disappointing. One of his biographers wryly observed that, "Rather than read of Giles Corey's fate, a generous man would prefer to pass a pleasant afternoon in the morgue. There is no light, no relief, no escape from the fateful march of events."

Such strange criticism of Longfellow suggests that his attachment to the real had at last carried him out of his own day and close to ours. Many of the dramatic speeches were lifted bodily from court records, from old chronicles and histories, as if the poet had discovered "noble meanings" in the living language. This way, of course, lay realism.

In his last 10 years he completed the "Tales of a Wayside Inn" (actually another sketch book) and a multitude of other short and long poems. But in "Michael Angelo" Longfellow rounded out the whole. Much he had planned was still unaccomplished, much had disappointed him. And death was now, he said, a constant companion. Yet he had completed for his country a full circle of its poetry—a poetry that had come from the mind, perhaps more than the heart or the soul, but still a man's poetry that had stirred the imagination of an awakening nation.

[From the Lewiston (Maine) Journal of February 23, 1957]

Maine's Great Poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, World Famed

(By Isabel Whittier)

This month of February marks the 150th anniversary of the birth of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Maine has every reason to take note of it. For the poet was born in Portland on February 27, 1807, in a house at the corner of Fore and Hancock Streets. Portland was his boyhood home, he was graduated from Bowdoin College, and he soon became a member of the faculty there. So Maine knew Longfellow before the whole world knew him.

Longfellow has often been called the children's poet and sometimes the people's poet. Some consider him the most popular of American poets. Many of his poems are familiar to all of us, and also to people of other lands. Arthur Jackson, president of the Longfellow Society, after being entertained some years ago by George VI said that both of the King's daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret, could recite lines from Longfellow.

Most Americans become acquainted early with the Village Blacksmith, the Courtship of Miles Standish, the Ride of Paul Revere, and later with Evangeline and Hiawatha.

Acknowledged Abroad

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, like his contemporary, Washington Irving, did a great deal to interest Americans in European culture. When Longfellow took up his duties at Bowdoin College as professor of modern languages in 1829, this young man of 22 was the most outstanding scholar in his field in this country. When he retired from his professorship at Harvard in 1854, he was well known throughout his native land and was acknowledged abroad as one of the outstanding poets of the 19th century.

This son of Maine, born in the beautiful town by the sea, had the seriousness frequently associated with the New England character. He was deeply religious. He did not possess the aggressiveness of the reformer or the narrow intolerance of the bigot. His antislavery poems show that he had the courage of his convictions and that he was stirred by injustice. His was a gentle nature and his sympathies were broad. There is a mixture of joy and sorrow in his works, and an underlying faith. His poems lift the downhearted and give new courage for the battle of life.

Take for instance lines from Hyperion:

"Look not mournfully into the past;
It comes not back again; wisely improve
The present; it is thine; go forth to
Meet the shadowy future without fear,
And with a manly heart."

Or from the Village Blacksmith:

"Toiling, rejoicing, sorrowing,
Onward through life he goes;
Each morning sees some task begun,
Each evening sees it close;
Something attempted, something done."

The Present Shrine

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was the second son of Zilpah Wadsworth and Stephen Longfellow. He was named after his mother's brother, who had died in Tripoli in 1804.

Most of Longfellow's boyhood was spent in Portland on Congress Street in the brick colonial house built in the year 1785–86 by his maternal grandfather, Col. Peleg Wadsworth.

The three-story building shaded by tall elms near Monument Square is now the property of the Maine Historical Society and is known as the Wadsworth-Longfellow House. Hundreds of sightseers visit it during the summer months.

As a young lad Henry took walks to Munjoy Hill with his Grandfather Wadsworth who had been a general in the American Revolution. Among his earliest recollections was the burial in Portland of men killed in a naval conflict off the Maine coast in the War of 1812. A United States frigate had fought one from England.

His parents were respected citizens in Portland. His father, a Harvard graduate, was a lawyer and an active member of the Unitarian Church. It is probable that his mother had a great influence in molding his character and temperament. Zilpah Wadsworth Longfellow was a quiet, devout woman.

Reader at Early Age

Henry never seems to have been much interested in sports and was not dependent upon others for amusement or even companionship. He was a reader at an early age. The boy spent only a very short period in a public school. He attended private schools, and then the Portland Academy.

In 1821 Henry, along with his brother Stephen, 2 years his senior, was admitted to Bowdoin College in Brunswick. His father was a trustee of this new college, then only 20 years old. The people of Maine felt that they should support this college of their own—which might in time rival the one in Cambridge. Henry was 1 of 44 to enroll for Bowdoin in 1821.

As was often customary at the time, the boys pursued their studies at home, the first year. Henry and Stephen went to Bowdoin in 1822 as sophomores.

Lived on Federal Street

They lived on Federal Street where some years later Harriet Beecher Stowe was to write Uncle Tom's Cabin. Henry wrote his mother that the house was cold and the room bleak. Later he moved into No. 27 Winthrop Hall. He showed a conscientious interest in his studies and was considered likable by his classmates.

He was a member of a Unitarian group of six. Unlike some of the students, he did not take an active part in pigeon and squirrel hunting or bat-fowling, but contented himself with walking along the Androscoggin and watching shipbuilding at Maquoit.

At Bowdoin his classmates were Nathaniel Hawthorne and Franklin Pierce, who was also enrolled in the belles-lettres course.

Henry's father was now a Member of the House of Representatives in Washington. The youth wrote to him, "I most eagerly aspire after future eminence in literature," and he wanted to go to Cambridge for a year and learn Italian and later become attached to a literary periodical.

"What I do study ought to be engaged in with all my soul—for I will be eminent in something," he said. He was studying modern languages and most of his publications while at Bowdoin dealt with European scenes.

In his senior year, a suggestion was made to him that after his graduation in September 1825 he should study in Europe and return to Bowdoin as professor of modern languages. This seemed a great opportunity, and he gladly agreed. In those days there were no passenger ships to Europe, and a fall or winter sailing across the Atlantic was to be avoided, so Henry read Blackstone in his father's office until spring.

IN EUROPE

He sailed from New York on May 15, 1826, aboard the packet *Cadmus* and landed a month later, June 14, at Le Havre in France. After some months in Paris studying French, he moved on to Spain.

Longfellow met Washington Irving in Madrid and was delighted with the city, where he studied Spanish for 6 months. Later he visited Toledo, Seville, Cadiz, and Granada where he was enthralled with the Alhambra.

After 8 months in Spain, he set out for Italy by way of Marseilles in southern France. Here he met a young man from Rhode Island—George Washington Greene, who was to become a lifelong friend, and their correspondence became a valuable source of information.

In Italy, Longfellow saw Genoa and Pisa and spent some time in Florence studying Italian, later going on to Rome and Naples, and then to Venice.

From Italy he went to Goettingen in Germany, later making a brief visit in England.

Longfellow spent 3½ years in Europe and returned to America in 1829 to become professor of modern languages at Bowdoin. His travels had done a great deal for him. One of his biographers, Herbert S. Gorman says "He became a bridge between the actualities of the Old World and the potentialities of the New World."

It was on September 14, 1831, when he was 24, that he married Mary Storer Potter, a girl of 19, daughter of a Portland judge. They set up housekeeping on Federal Street in Brunswick. Longfellow was the youngest member of the faculty and head of his department, and he was popular with his students.

After 5 years at Bowdoin he was approached about taking a position at Harvard as professor of modern languages. This appealed to Longfellow who had become restless at Bowdoin and was ambitious to get ahead. Another period of study in Europe was suggested and agreed to.

FIRST WIFE DIES

On this trip Longfellow spent some time in Sweden visiting both Stockholm and Upsala and then went to Copenhagen and later to Rotterdam. It was in Holland that his wife died as the result of a premature birth. Longfellow did not abandon his plan to study in Germany and later went to Switzerland.

In 1836 he became a member of the faculty at Harvard—rooming in the Craigie House and actually occupying the room in the southeast corner on the second floor, used by George Washington during the American Revolution when he had his headquarters in Cambridge.

In addition to his teaching Longfellow wrote textbooks for his classes. He played the flute, sang in the choir of the new Unitarian Church, and conducted a Bible class.

BRILLIANT SECOND WIFE

On July 13, 1843, he married Frances Appleton whom he had met in Switzerland some years before. Charles Sumner was his best man. His father-in-law purchased the Craigie House for the couple as a wedding gift. This was where Longfellow lived the rest of his life. His first son was born in June 1844 and his second in November 1845. Later Frances Appleton gave him three daughters, Alice, Edith, and Anne Allegra, who figure in the poem, The Children's Hour.

It was at Harvard that he wrote Evangeline, one of his great successes. Written in classic hexameter it dealt with the expulsion of the French from Acadia after the English acquired the territory. The ending has true pathos: "Side by side in their nameless graves, the lovers are sleeping."

While teaching at Harvard he started Hiawatha, which he finished in his retirement.

INTIMATE OF THE NOTED

Longfellow resigned from teaching in 1854 to devote all of his time to writing. He was now 47, a personage in the United States, and known abroad. At Cambridge he had become a close friend of Senator Charles Sumner. He also knew Thoreau, Emerson, Holmes, Lowell, Whittier, and William Dean Howells.

In July 1861 his work on Dante's Divine Comedy was interrupted by his wife's tragic death.

Frances Appleton Longfellow's summer dress had caught fire and she was fatally burned.

His poem, Morituri Salutamus, delivered in the First Parish Church in Brunswick in 1875, on the 50th anniversary of his graduation from Bowdoin, has been called the grandest hymn to age that was ever written:

"For age is opportunity
No less than youth itself, though in another dress,
And as the evening twilight fades away
The sky is filled with stars; invisible by day."

HIS DEATH IN 1882

The Maine Historical Society on the occasion of his 75th birthday in 1882 planned a celebration in his honor. Longfellow wrote that he appreciated the invitation, but was unable to attend because of his health. He was writing few letters and seeing few callers and he was now rising late and retiring early, he wrote to a friend. His death came after a short illness on March 24, 1882.

The pathetic story is told of Emerson—now failing and forgetful—attending the funeral for Longfellow. Twice during the services Emerson got up to look at the figure in the casket. "I can't recall my friend's name," he said, "but I know he was a good man."

In March 1884, within 2 years of Longfellow's death, his bust was placed in Westminster Abbey, the first American to be so honored.

THE SIMMONS STATUE

The Simmons' bronze statue of Longfellow at the intersection of Congress and State Streets in Portland—now Longfellow Square—was erected from money received by public subscriptions. The first money came from England and among other contributions were small sums from Maine school children.

The poet's own words from Hiawatha, make a fitting eulogy:

"All the many sounds of nature
Borrowed sweetness from his singing. * * *
For he sang of peace and freedom
Sang of beauty, love, and longing
Sang of death, and life undying
In the land of the Hereafter.
For his gentleness they loved him
And the magic of his singing."

The Girls' Drill Team of Reagan High School, Houston, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement giving the history of the girls' drill team of Reagan High School, of Houston, Tex., and the names of the members of the team who are in attendance today as visitors to the Senate, where they are now seated in the gallery. Their high school is one of the best in the largest city of Texas, and is one of the outstanding educational institutions of the Southwest. It has been a great pleasure to me to present these students—63 very charming young women—to the Senate.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JOHNSON OF TEXAS

The girls' drill team of Reagan High School, of Houston, Tex., is the oldest drum and bugle corps in that city. It was founded in 1926.

This is a leadership organization. The girls chosen for membership must have demonstrated a high degree of scholarship and conduct. They are carefully selected by a faculty committee which also sees to it that the same high standards are maintained after a girl is chosen for membership.

Mrs. Johnson and I had the privilege this morning of visiting with 63 members of this girls' drill team who are here for a tour of the capital city. This was a great pleasure to me, one which I shall not soon forget.

Sponsor of the girls' drill team is Mrs. Harry F. Noe, of Houston. Mrs. Noe accompanied the group to Washington, as did the following: Mr. Harry F. Noe, Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Cotton, Mrs. Gale and Miss Keller, Mr. Hank Worsham, and Mr. Lloyd Williams.

The following girls are included in the group that visited with me this morning and are in the Senate today: Judy O'Dell, Judy Walser, Barbara Long, Gladys Wallis, Mary Carol Lemons, Diane Dishroon, Delores Moore, Carolyn Kilgore, Beverly Brenner, Nancy Greer, Darlene Ming, Barbara Clark, Jeannine Davis, Camille Morrish, Judy Kelley, Jo Ann Elsik, Patricia Abernathy, Carolyn McKee, Frances Smith, Charlotte Ballard, Julia Kirkpatrick, Myrna West, Linda Patterson, Sharley Early, Vernita Cunningham, Mary Ann Evans, Virginia Huffington, Gay Chapin, Mary Carolyn Smith, Kay Menton, Bettie Scott, Sharon Andexler, Gladene Michel Barbara Duke, Julia Jeu, Barbara Vinsonhaler, Sherry Ledbetter, Barbara Wood, Hedy Hauk, Judy Gillespie, Shirley

Joynson, Glenda Swanner, Connie Su Collins, Sarah Boozer, Claudette Rogers, Paulette Darcy, Carol Petty, Carole Ann Guastad, Anne Gest, Shirley Miller, Marcelyn Bond, Mary Nell Ward, Linda Huffman, Pat Moore, Ann Hillyer, Terry Schoenemann, Lerma Engberg, Sigrid Haller, Carol Kay Morrison, Julia Schwartz, Carol Sue Pitchford, Daler Santell, and Francine Gordon.

The Coast and Geodetic Survey's 150th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, for the past 150 years the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey has given effective service to the people of this country. In observance of the 150th anniversary of that agency this month I should like to call the attention of the Senate to an article by Tom W. Gerber, in the Boston Herald, February 22, 1957, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY OBSERVING 150TH YEAR—AIDED RISE OF NEW ENGLAND INDUSTRY

(By Tom W. Gerber)

WASHINGTON, February 21.—A little-recognized Government agency that helped lay the foundation for New England's industrial growth is observing its 150th anniversary this month.

It's the Commerce Department's United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, the first technical bureau in the Government. The effects of its work stretch into every backyard in the Nation.

Though once restricted to mapping coastlines of young America, the agency's surveyors now range from ocean depths to mountain peaks, crisscrossing the Nation.

VITAL AID TO NEW ENGLAND

The bustling international trade and the fishing industry which set New England on its course toward national industrial leadership could not have flourished without the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

For this trade and fishing gave New England, and particularly Boston, the capital that was the original basis for the region's economic growth.

Before the Coast and Geodetic Survey was established by Congress in 1807, there were nearly 50 shipwrecks a year in New England waters.

But among the first charts of coastal areas produced by this tiny bureau were those of the New England coast. Within a few years, shipwrecks in New England's coastal waters dropped 80 percent.

Dr. A. Joseph Wraight, Commerce Department geographer-historian, told the Herald the effect of this was to "reduce marine insurance rates which in turn stimulated more shipping.

"In short," he said, "the progress and early charting of New England's waters by the Coast and Geodetic Survey contributed much to the vast commercial and industrial development of the region, and especially to Boston."

But charting coastal waters is only one of the farflung jobs of this obscure but essential technical agency.

Each year it distributes millions of marine and aeronautical charts and land maps to aviators, mariners, fishermen, pleasure yachtsmen, explorers, and other persons interested in knowing where they live in relation to the rest of the world.

These maps and charts are the payoff for the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

DANGER INVOLVED

Sometimes years of work, delicate calculations, and even dangerous assignments have gone into collecting the data from which the maps and charts are made.

Amateur mountain climbers, scaling a peak where they believe a human being never has trod, often are shocked to find a bronze Coast and Geodetic Survey marker at the summit.

The dividing line between your property and that of your neighbor probably was established by private surveyors who used a Coast and Geodetic Survey landmark as a starting point.

And this landmark is precise to the fraction of an inch.

For the Coast and Geodetic Survey allows for an error only cardboard thickness over a 10-mile distance.

The Survey not only maps land areas with infinite precision, but also determines topography of the ocean floor.

In the early days of American shipping, this was done by heaving overboard a lead weight attached to a long rope to determine water depth at various intervals.

But in 1904 the cruiser *Brooklyn* struck an uncharted underwater pinnacle near New Bedford, Mass. And this led to development of the so-called wiredrag for determining characteristics of the ocean floor.

The wiredrag, still used, is a device for sweeping the bottom to reveal hidden crests that may have been missed in the lead-heaving operation.

It was first tested in New England waters.

Because tides and ocean currents affect the topography of the ocean bottom, these surveys are reconducted periodically.

TO REMAP BANKS

Next month the Coast and Geodetic Survey will remap Georges Bank off the Massachusetts coast, a shoals area that makes up the principal fishing grounds for the New England fishing industry.

Fishing skippers and boat owners have reported changes in the shoals and channels that may have a drastic effect on the region's fishing activities.

The Survey hopes to have these studies completed by October. The last survey of Georges Bank was more than 25 years ago.

Results of this investigation also will be important to the United States Air Force's air defense command which has built Texas tower radar warning stations in the Georges Bank area.

Even as this study is underway the Coast and Geodetic Survey will be celebrating its sesquicentennial throughout the Nation.

A special postage stamp is expected to be issued in observance of the anniversary.

Open house will be held at Coast and Geodetic Survey headquarters in the Commerce Department building in the Nation's Capital and in field offices throughout the Nation.

Scientific and professional societies are planning special occasions in recognition of the Survey's contributions to science, public safety, commerce, and defense.

Hydrographic ships from which much of the basic data is assembled also will be opened to the public. And several booklets and a medal will be issued by the Survey to mark its 150th anniversary.

These celebrations will be under the direction of Adm. H. Arnold Karo, the Coast and Geodetic Survey Director.

MUCH ROUTINE

But even public inspection won't disclose some of the Survey's apparently drab activities that are such a part of everyday life few give them a second thought.

Each day, for instance, Coast and Geodetic Survey scientists check the movement of the earth on its axis. They keep close watch on seismographs that record violent movements of the earth's crust—even in the ocean depths.

And in this connection they advise builders how to prepare resistance against earthquake shocks.

Another constant job is to answer—regretfully—letters from small boys (and some not so small) who wants charts of sunken treasure.

The Survey also prepares tide tables, of vast interest to bathers and mariners, for virtually every spot along the United States coast. In fact, Survey scienfists can predict tides hundreds of years in advance.

Another link between this essential agency and New England is its former Director, retired Adm. Leo Otis Colbert.

The Cambridge-born scientist headed the Coast and Geodetic Survey from 1938 to 1950. He joined the bureau soon after he graduated from Tufts College in Medford with a civil engineering degree in 1907.

Now 73, Admiral Colbert is head of the Arctic Institute for North America and retains his lifelong interest in the Survey's work.

Announcement of Marshall Field Awards for Achievements on Behalf of Well-Being of Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was pleased to receive a copy of the public announcement of seven awards yesterday given in the name of the late Marshall Field in honor of individual notable achievements on behalf of the well-being of our Nation's youngsters.

These awards are a most fitting recognition of the outstanding services rendered by each of the recipients on behalf of America's children.

Regrettably, because of Mr. Field's untimely passing, the awards will not be continued after this year. I hope, however, that though other public-spirited sources, the idea of appropriate recognition for those who served the Nation's youngsters may be carired forward.

I send to the desk the text of the release by Marshall Field Awards, Inc., including the names of each of the award winners and the names of the very distinguished membership of the awards committee—each one a leader in one or more fields of endeavor, and each and every one a servant of American children in his or her own right.

I ask unanimous consent that this release be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the news release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

First Marshall Field Awards Presented

Seven awards for outstanding contributions to the well-being of children were made today by the Marshall Field awards. The awards, each consisting of $2,000 and an inscribed scroll, were presented for notable achievements in the areas of education, physical and mental development, social welfare, and communications. Two special awards were also given. Marshall Field established the awards in 1956, not long before his death, for the purpose of focusing public attention upon children's needs.

The recipients of the Marshall Field awards in their respective areas are:

Education: Martin P. Gunderson, of Five Points, Fresno, Calif., for extensively developing the educational facilities of the Westside Elementary School of which he is principal. The pupil enrollment fluctuates greatly during the school year because of the migrant children. Mr. Gunderson has instituted detailed vocational training, medical care, and a shoe and clothing bank. He brought the school's needs to the taxpayers' attention, has succeeded in raising the tax rate in the community, and has won wide support.

Physical and mental development: Lydia J. Roberts, of the University of Puerto Rico, for her studies, publications, and constructive programs in child nutrition in Puerto Rico. Formerly professor and chairman of the department of home economics of the University of Chicago, Dr. Roberts went in 1944 to assist the Puerto Rican Government in its plan to better the people's living conditions, especially diet. Her work in Puerto Rico has effected many specific improvements.

Social welfare (project): The California State Department of Social Welfare, for the marked extension and increased services to children needing adoption. Children with special needs and those with minority backgrounds have been given priority and California is the only State with public funds for adoptive services to children under the Refugee Relief Act. In 10 years, licensed adoption agencies have increased in number from 2 to 25, and in number of children placed, from 598 to 2,157 per year. The program was made possible by the aid and cooperation of the adoption survey committee and the citizen's committee on adoptions, and private and public licensed adoption agencies in the State. Funds for the study that preceded the program were provided by the Rosenberg and Columbia Foundations.

Social welfare (individual): Frank J. Cohen, of New York City, director from 1944 to 1953 and presently a staff member of Youth House, which was established as a detention facility in New York for delinquent children under 16 years old. His nonpunitive approach to children and his actual administration at Youth House established a new pattern of services in this neglected field of child care. Mr. Cohen is presently adjunct professor of institutional administration at New York University graduate school of public administration and social welfare.

Communications: Station WFIL and WFIL-TV in Philadelphia for pioneering the development of in-school radio and television in schools in the Philadelphia area. Programs produced are for curriculum enrichment and a wide range of subjects is presented. The station publishes an annual Teachers Manual to aid teachers in planning classroom activities around the programs.

Special listing:

Mrs. Nina Perera Collier, of Darlington, Md., for her contributions to children's musical education by introducing live, recorded, and filmed music, of exceptional performance and excellent commentary, into the regular curriculum of the Baltimore schools. The Young Concert Movement which she started has enabled local groups throughout the Nation to bring the highest standard of music to the attention of young people.

Margaret Scoggin, of New York City, for developing and moderating the radio program Young Book Reviewers, heard weekly over radio station WMCA. The program is an unrehearsed discussion by children over 12 who have read a specific book, always posted well in advance on school bulletin boards, with the author taking part when possible. New York City schools carry the program over WNYE, the board of education's official radio station, for use during school hours. Miss Scoggin has worked with teen-agers since 1928 in the New York Public Library, and in 1941 organized and became the first librarian of the Nathan Straus branch, a modern experimental library for children and young people.

Mrs. Ruth Pruyn Field, widow of Marshall Field, made the announcement of the awards. Because of Mr. Field's death, the awards will not be continued after this year.

In addition to Mrs. Field, members of the awards committee who selected the recipients of the awards are:

Leona Baumgartner, M. D., commissioner of health, New York City.

Mrs. Richard J. Bernhard, president, Arthur Lehman Counseling Service, New York City.

Sarah Gibson Blanding, president, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

James Brown IV, executive director, the Chicago Community Trust, Chicago, Ill.

Hon. Ralph J. Bunche, Under Secretary Without Department, United Nations, New York City.

Martha M. Eliot, M. D., former Chief, United States Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.

Leonard H. Goldenson, president, American Broadcasting-Paramount Theatres, Inc., New York City.

John Gunther, writer, New York City.

Herold C. Hunt, the Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C.

Charles A. Janeway, M. D., professor of pediatrics, Harvard University Medical School, Boston, Mass.

Clark Kerr, chancellor, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

Mrs. David M. Levy, president, the Citizens' Committeee for Children of New York City, Inc., New York City.

Ernest K. Lindley, director, Washington Bureau, Newsweek, Washington, D. C.

Leonard W. Mayo, director, Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, New York City.

William C. Menninger, M. D., the Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kans.

Hon. Justine Wise Polier, judge, Children's Court, New York City.

Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg, public and industrial relations consultant, New York City.

Howard A. Rusk, M. D., associate editor, the New York Times; chairman, Department of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, New York University Bellevue Medical Center, New York City.

Federal Aid to School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in a short time we will have before us for debate a Federal aid to school construction bill. At the present time two bills of the many which have been introduced on this subject are receiving the most consideration—H. R. 1, the Kelley bill, and H. R. 3986, the administration proposal.

In order that the representatives of each State may know what each bill offers to his State in the way of aid and cost, I have asked the Tax Foundation of New York to prepare the following table, showing the grant to each State under each bill as well as the cost to each State as their share of the tax burden imposed by the appropriation for each bill:

[In thousands]

	Federal grant		Share of Federal tax burden	
	H. R. 1	H. R. 3986	H. R. 1	H. R. 3986
Alabama	13,453	11,148	5,841	3,125
Arizona	3,807	2,524	2,804	1,500
Arkansas	7,971	6,620	3,037	1,625
California	41,319	14,180	56,426	30,186
Colorado	5,417	3,009	5,374	2,875
Connecticut	7,174	2,011	11,916	6,375
Delaware	1,253	381	2,979	1,594
Florida	11,436	6,309	12,442	6,656
Georgia	15,356	11,926	7,944	4,250
Idaho	2,538	1,801	1,519	812
Illinois	30,371	11,125	42,407	22,686
Indiana	15,340	8,021	14,194	7,593
Iowa	9,630	5,813	7,243	3,875
Kansas	7,125	3,744	5,958	3,187
Kentucky	12,477	8,917	6,425	3,437
Louisiana	12,135	9,204	6,834	3,656
Maine	3,367	1,932	2,745	1,469
Maryland (D. C.)	11,712	5,829	15,654	8,374
Massachusetts	15,860	6,782	20,970	11,218
Michigan	25,588	12,102	30,666	16,405
Minnesota	11,550	7,047	10,047	5,375
Mississippi	9,760	7,772	2,862	1,531
Missouri	13,762	5,885	15,129	8,093
Montana	2,391	1,405	2,044	1,094
Nebraska	4,831	2,856	3,972	2,125
Nevada	699	203	1,168	625
New Hampshire	1,920	1,074	2,103	1,125
New Jersey	17,016	5,489	23,949	12,812
New Mexico	3,481	2,643	1,986	1,062
New York	49,192	15,765	77,864	41,654
North Carolina	18,270	14,615	8,411	4,500
North Dakota	2,586	2,013	1,460	781
Ohio	30,355	11,321	35,982	19,249
Oklahoma	8,573	5,998	5,783	3,094
Oregon	5,840	3,099	5,724	3,062
Pennsylvania	37,659	18,803	40,947	21,905
Rhode Island	2,668	886	3,213	1,719
South Carolina	10,509	8,727	3,972	2,125
South Dakota	2,586	1,881	1,402	750
Tennessee	13,762	10,144	7,243	3,875
Texas	32,974	19,842	25,701	13,749
Utah	3,253	2,317	2,103	1,125
Vermont	1,448	1,007	1,110	594
Virginia	13,811	9,275	9,755	5,218
Washington	8,996	4,298	9,112	4,875
West Virginia	8,622	6,699	4,206	2,250
Wisconsin	13,111	7,365	12,442	6,656
Wyoming	1,171	674	1,051	562

Desirability of Security Guaranties to Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, it has seemed to me that there is one widely held misconception arising out of the current Middle East dispute. It is that granting Israel some guaranties of its security would somehow constitute a reward for aggression. The issue is far more complicated.

Roscoe Drummond, the scholarly and careful columnist for the New York Herald-Tribune, addressed himself to this issue this morning. With his usual

clarity, he points out that such guaranties would be simple justice—not a reward. I ask unanimous consent that his article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUT OF THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI IMPASSE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—A negotiated solution, which would bring about the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Egypt with assurances against new Egyptian raids and discriminations, seems within reach.

If this end is achieved in the next few days—and the ingredients of agreement appear definitely at hand—then everybody, with the possible exception of the Soviet Union, which prefers turmoil, will be the winner.

It seems to me that the United States has rightly committed itself, both morally and, in all reality, irrevocably, to establishing for all nations, including Israel, the right of innocent passage through the Egyptian-held Gulf of Aqaba to the Israeli port of Elath.

For its part, Israel now seems disposed to accept assurances, which are less binding than guaranties, as a basis for withdrawal. This would be a wise and justifiable act of faith in the firm intentions of the United Nations and the United States not to permit a resumption of the Egyptian actions which provoked the invasion.

What has brought this explosive and apparently irreconcilable impasse to the border of peaceful solution?

The Israeli position was that its very survival depended upon being guaranteed against repeated Arab raids from the Gaza strip and assured of uninhibited access to the port of Elath.

The United Nations position was that, despite the provocations, the Israeli invasion of Egypt in force was a massive violation of the U. N. Charter and that the U. N. couldn't give any guaranties to Israel as long as it was violating the charter.

The stalemate—no Israeli withdrawal without guaranties; no guaranties without Israeli withdrawal.

This deadlock could only be broken by two things:

Recognition by the United States that the U. N. had become so involved in the technicalities of the dispute that in the end it was dealing primarily with what it would do—that is, vote sanctions—if the deadlock were not broken, rather than dealing effectively with the substance of the deadlock.

Recognition by Israel that in the end its best interests would be served rather by relying on the United States and the U. N. than by provoking the aroused hostility of the free world through trying to obtain its rights by force.

It seems to me that there has been a confused and overelaborate concentration on the need of making sure that Israel is not rewarded as the result of its invasion of Egypt.

This would be an important concern were it not for two circumstances:

The responsibility for the series of conflicts between Egypt and Israel is so interwoven that a similarly interwoven solution is not only realistic but justifiable. Both countries are at fault, and I should think there is no moral reason why the conditions which would bring about a solution should not come into being simultaneously—or as nearly simultaneously as possible.

Secondly, the real test of whether the U. N. has rewarded aggression is surely not whether Israel withdraws before it has some solid assurance that Egypt's offenses against Israel will not be repeated but whether Israel is being given anything in the wake of the invasion that it didn't deserve before the invasion. It isn't.

Secretary Dulles' initiative to break out of this hobble is apparently yielding results. With increasing precision he is assuring Prime Minister Ben-Gurion that if Israel withdraws its forces, the United States will act to establish the international right of free passage through the Gulf of Aqaba. This is not reward; this would be righting a longstanding injustice.

Reports from Cairo suggest that Egypt may be ready to accept U. N. troops in the Gaza strip to prevent border raids. If not, the same protection could be achieved by Israel inviting the U. N. troops to stand guard on the Israeli border.

Craftsmen Donate Talents to Polio Victim

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, human generosity and kindness have fortunately been present in every age, including our own. These qualities were again demonstrated when an entire crew of carpenters, electrical workers, bricklayers, and other trade-union members went to work without pay in the community of Hillsboro, Oreg., to add a room to the home of Leo Helsby.

Mr. Helsby is an outstanding war veteran, ex-schoolteacher, and former union official, who has been stricken with polio ever since October 31, 1955. Due to excellent care and therapy which he received at the veterans hospital in Portland, Mr. Helsby has made a substantial recovery, although he is still severely crippled.

Under the leadership of a former schoolmate of mine, Harry Failing, of Portland, these trade-union members went to work unselfishly and voluntarily to add a room to Mr. Helsby's home so that his recuperation may be facilitated. In addition to the union members, many businessmen and lumbermen of the community of Hillsboro cooperated generously in the project.

I ask unanimous consent that articles from the Oregonian of Portland of February 25 and from the Oregon Labor Press of February 22, which tell of this good deed, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Portland Oregonian of February 25, 1957]

CRAFTSMEN DONATE TALENTS TO POLIO VICTIM

(By William Hilliard)

Labor worked overtime in Hillsboro Sunday—and without time and a half.

The carpenters, electrical workers, bricklayers, and other union men that labored overtime would be compensated all right, but not in extra wages.

Their overtime pay would be the happiness of a Hillsboro family of 4, cut to 3 temporarily more than a year ago when the father was stricken with polio.

The unionmen worked feverishly Sunday to build an addition to the home of Leo Helsby, 240 Southwest 282d Street, Hillsboro. They had only 1 day to complete the job.

Helsby, 29, was stricken with polio October 31, 1955, and has been hospitalized since. For 8 months, the ex-schoolteacher was confined to an iron lung, but now he is able to be without artificial breathing for more than 10 hours and he is coming home.

The new addition will be Helby's own room, fully equipped to take care of his every need. Mrs. Helsby, a registered nurse, and the children, Paula 4, and Michael 3, will also use the addition as a "family room."

HE SOLICITS HELP

Helsby will keep himself busy doing tutoring when he returns home. In his spare time he will probably paint, a hobby he picked up in occupational therapy at the veterans' hospital when he decided to find some use for his left hand.

Helsby, who used to do everything with his right hand, lost the use of the right hand following the polio attack that paralyzed his chest muscles and left his legs useless.

Harry Failing, 2469 Northwest Kearney Street, a polio victim who has recovered from his attack from the great crippler, is responsible for Sunday's activity at the Helsby residence.

Failing met Helsby while showing films to polio patients at Good Samaritan Hospital. He became interested in Helsby because, as Failing put it, "Leo was in a tremendous state of depression."

"I could see that Leo's recovery was not going to be very great," said Failing, "and that his future was going to be in a rest home."

MANY VOLUNTEER TO HELP

Failing said he talked to many people in Hillsboro called upon them to come to Helsby's aid. Failing was sure he could keep Helsby out of the rest home if he could give him encouragement.

He talked to local newspapers, unions, and individuals. All volunteered to pitch in and help see that a room was added to Helsby's home—an addition that would keep him as comfortable as in the hospital and allow him to come home.

Sunday's activity on 282d Street is the result of cooperation. Failing calls it "an investment to keep Leo out of the rest home."

To Mrs. Helsby it will be the family room, where she and the children can be with Helsby every day.

Man's faith in man paid dividends to Helsby and to Failing.

[From the Oregon Labor Press of February 22, 1957]

UNIONMEN WILL BUILD ROOM FOR HILLSBORO POLIO VICTIM

Union carpenters, plumbers, bricklayers, and members of other crafts will be giving their time and skill next Sunday for another union member.

Leo Helsby, former secretary of Pulp & Sulphite Workers 166, was stricken 15 months ago by polio. The disease took a severe toll of his body but not of his spirit. Although he does not have the use of his arms or legs, Helsby is determined to be self-supporting and more than a score of union members are determined to help him.

Helsby lives at 240 Southwest 282d, Hillsboro, half a block south of Oak (formerly 13th Avenue), near Hillsboro's east city limit.

The plan is to add a bedroom-sitting room to the Helsby house which will be adapted to his needs. Materials have been donated or secured at cost. The foundation has been laid.

Construction will be a 1-day project like an old-fashioned barn-raising on Sunday, February 24. Union craftsmen and friends will gather early and hope to complete the addition that day. Volunteers will be welcome, according to Harry Failing, a fellow polio victim now recovered, who has organized the project.

The Oil Price Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, there is now much talk in the country relative to the price of oil and oil reserves. Few seem to realize that oil has advanced very little in price, while the cost of production has greatly increased during the past 10 years.

The Oil City Derrick has published a very instructive editorial on this subject, and, the Guaranty Trust Co. has made a study entitled "Are We Running Out of Oil?" I ask unanimous consent that the editorial and article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Oil City-Franklin-Clarion (Pa.) Derrick of February 13, 1957]

THE OIL PRICE SITUATION

Oil is still the favorite whipping boy in Washington.

That's the only conclusion that can be drawn from the hue and cry over the recent price increases in petroleum and some of its derivatives—a hue and cry that completely ignores the age-old law of supply and demand, the cost structure, and other factors that vitally affect this industry the same as any other in the economy.

Yet it is significant to note that in the past 10 years all major industries have advanced the prices of their products with methodical precision and regularity. There was scarcely a peep in Washington. Nary a stir followed these advances.

But the recent oil increase—the first general increase in about 4 years—loosed a torrent of abuse upon the industry and a flood of unwarranted charges of monopoly, conspiracy, and the like.

The oil price increase can be fully justified. In fact, the increases were long overdue and, in the opinion of those in position to know the real status and problems of the industry, are wholly inadequate to permit producers to meet steadily increasing demands and replenish reserves in the face of mounting costs.

In the last 10 years, crude oil prices have increased only 28 percent. During the same period, average hourly wages paid in the producing industry have increased 61.3 percent, oilfield machinery prices have advanced 55.6 percent, oil well carbon casing 77.8 percent, oil well alloy casing 87.5 percent, carbon line pipe 117.8 percent, finished steel products 80.7 percent, and automobiles 45.9 percent.

Just since the last general crude oil price adjustment in June 1955, the oil-producing industry has absorbed 5 rounds of increases in basic steel prices and 4 rounds of wage increases.

In the face of these increased costs—increases that have put the cost of finding and producing petroleum 6 to 10 times higher than it was 10 years ago—the industry is expected to set new records of production to meet increasing demands and, at the same time, continue discovery work in order that proved reserves may be maintained in keeping with the growing needs and in preparedness for any emergency.

During 1956 the statistical record of the industry shows that demand and production increased approximately 5½ percent, but drilling increased less than 1½ percent. This lag in drilling was due primarily to the fact that crude-oil prices remained unchanged while producers continued to absorb mounting costs.

There's a limit to the power of the oil industry, or any industry, for that matter, to absorb spiraling costs. When that limit is reached, there is no alternative but to increase prices.

That's the situation in which the oil industry finds itself. The disparity of crude-oil prices must be eliminated if the industry is to be able to meet demands and maintain reserves at an adequate level. The recent price increase was a step in that direction. And, despite the furor created by the boost, it's doubtful if the increase is sufficient to bridge the gap between producing costs and justifiable revenues.

A realistic view of the whole situation indicates that the oil industry, rather than being subjected to the attack now being made upon it, deserves commendation for resisting so long and at burdensome cost the inflationary pressures which engulfed it.

[From the February issue of the Guaranty Survey]

ARE WE RUNNING OUT OF OIL?

The abrupt increase in demand for American oil due to the closing of the Suez Canal has sharpened interest in the question of present and future supply. Are we within sight of the end of our petroleum resources?

Some authorities have assumed that about half of the total reserves have been discovered, placing the ultimate figure somewhere between 150 and 200 billion barrels. Others are much more optimistic. The Department of the Interior says, for example: "A total of 300 billion barrels as the ultimate reserves of the United States and of the adjoining continental shelves seems to be a reasonable figure." Still other authorities believe that even the most optimistic of present estimates will eventually prove conservative.

NEED FOR CONSTANT DEVELOPMENT

One point on which all authorities agree is that the adequacy of the oil supply must always depend upon the continuous process of exploration and discovery.

The finding of oil is a costly and hazardous business. The cost of a well ranges from $20,000 to as much as $1 million, averaging about $90,000. Of every 9 discovery wells drilled, 8 are dry. Only 1 in 43 finds a field of a million barrels, which is close to the margin of profitability.

Recognizing these extraordinary costs and risks, Congress in 1926 enacted legislation permitting the holder of an oil-producing property to treat as depletion for tax purposes 27½ percent of the gross income or 50 percent of the net income from the property, whichever is less. Under this incentive, Americans have developed an oil industry that is one of the principal foundation stones upon which the 20th century standard of living has been built and have discovered new reserves fast enough to meet increasing current requirements and maintain provision for a decade or more of future years.

Yet the oil-depletion allowance has often been, and still is, under attack. Demands will probably be made in Congress this year, as in years past, for the repeal of this special-interest legislation. Representatives of the industry and of oil-regulatory agencies will probably be called upon to appear before congressional committees and explain anew why the depletion allowance is not special-interest legislation, but legislation in the public interest, because it provides no more than fair compensation for the special risks and costs involved in producing oil.

ECONOMICS OF DEPLETION

Rational analysis of the economics of the oil-depletion allowance confirms the verdict of experience. Against the existing legislative background, oil has taken its place among the great epics of American enterprise and welfare. Nothing could be more short-sighted than to jeopardize the future of a resource so vital to prosperity and national security by changes that cannot be justified even on theoretical grounds. Adequate production has always been a direct function of economic incentive. Expert opinion holds that our known oil reserves are not likely to become inadequate in the foreseeable future, provided we have the wisdom to maintain that incentive.

Statement of Representative James C. Davis of Georgia, Before a Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, February 25, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by Representative DAVIS of Georgia before a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary:

Mr. Chairman, I am glad to have the opportunity to appear before you and the members of this subcommittee in opposition to this group of bills you are now considering.

There are so many valid objections to this legislation that one individual can deal with only a small percentage of them.

There are many able Members of the House and Senate who want to present arguments, both factual and legal, against these bills. I felt when the announcement was first made that hearings on this legislation would be confined to 4 days, at such an early stage of this session, that that was a grave and serious mistake.

Your subcommitee has now extended the hearings, I believe, until tomorrow, February 26. I do not believe hearings on such far reaching and revolutionary legislation should be closed until ample opportunity has been afforded for full hearings to those desiring to be heard. I sincerely hope that you gentlemen will not close these hearings until that opportunity has been afforded.

I am opposed to this legislation, first, because it is unconstitutional; second, it is absurd and ridiculous; and third, it is unnecessary.

Advocates of this type of legislation have tried to create sectional prejudice. Some have promoted the false theory that the South, my section of the country, is prejudiced against Negroes and has denied them equal rights in education, jobs, housing, justice in the courts, and otherwise, while people of the North, East, and West, in direct contrast, eagerly extended to them the right hand of fellowship and gave them a warm

welcome into schols, churches, office, factory, and neighborhood community life.

In both respects these claims are false, and that attitude is false.

Some progressional liberals and professional South haters have had the brass and effrontery to assume a holier-than-thou attitude toward the South, and to deal with this question on the basis that it can be assumed without argument that the southern people hate Negroes, and make a practice of murdering them, cheating them, oppressing them, and depriving them of civil rights.

Whether this attitude stems from ignorance, political considerations, or an evil heart and mind, I do not know. I do know that such an assumption is unfounded, and first I want to give to you some facts in support of the proposition that the Negroes in the South (and the great bulk of them do live in the South) have fared better and received more consideration from white people than those who have left the South and gone to other sections of the country in search of the Promised Land.

Whatever opposition may exist in the South to integration with the Negro, has its counterpart in the North. The thinking people of all sections know this.

I want to quote a paragraph from an editorial in Collier's weekly for May 11, 1956:

"The people of the North can help most, we believe, by cleaning up their own mess—and this process might well begin with a general soul searching to discover what residues of prejudice remain there. When Harlem has been desegregated, when Negroes have been welcomed as neighbors in the present suburbs of New York and Chicago, when Chinese and Filipinos have been made to feel at home in San Francisco's Sea Cliff and Pacific Heights, there will be time enough to point a finger at the South."

That editorial writer faces the facts, and admits the truth, that there is no warmer welcome for desegregation in New York, Chicago, or San Francisco than there is in the South.

I do not, of course, have time to go into this situation in the great detail which the facts bear out, and in support of which thousands of instances could be cited from every section of this country. However, I do want to go into it to a sufficient extent to satisfy any fair-minded person that I am not dealing in isolated instances or referring to rare and unusual occurrences.

Former Senator Herbert Lehman, a supporter of integration, of New York, on June 3 last year, speaking at an Urban League meeting in New York City, said that conditions in Harlem, a large Negro and Puerto Rican community in New York City, are "a rebuke to us of the North." He further told them that "Harlem is an area of proverty, congestion, substandard housing and substandard schools." This is not the statement of a northerner talking about the South. It is not the statement of a southerner talking about the North. It is the statement of a former Governor and Senator of the State of New York talking about conditions existing in his home State and city.

The Christian Science Monitor carried in its issue of June 12, 1956, an article written by Mary Hornaday, bearing the title "Barriers Confront Negroes Seeking Housing in North." She quoted Alan S. Paton who wrote a survey of the Negro in the North for Collier's magazine, as saying "the cry of the Negro is no longer: " 'Let my people go'; it is: 'Let my people in.' "

I quote the following from her article:

"FREE CHOICE DENIED

"Here in New York City, where Negroes make up about 20 percent of the Manhattan population, they are still almost completely excluded from a free choice to buy or rent homes in the open competitive market. The Protestant Council of the City of New York recently found that 22 of the city's 27 major real estate operators turned down Negro applicants for apartments, though accepting white applicants of the same economic status.

"Into New York's Harlem are crowded more than a quarter of a million Negroes from the Southern States, West Indies, and Africa. Negroes began to move into Harlem in 1901 as a result of a deflated boom in real estate. Hundred of families deserted tenements on the west side to move into apartments built by speculative real estate promoters. Today Harlem contains Sugar Hill where affluent Negroes live in dignity and comparative splendor but it also contains some of the most notorious rat-ridden slums in New York."

I take it that these statements are true. Certainly no one would undertake to accuse the Christian Science Monitor as being either prosouthern or antinorthern.

On June 12 last year, Mr. Hal Dumas, formerly executive vice president of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. in New York City, said in a speech to the Atlanta Rotary Club that except for public transportation segregation is just as strong in New York City as any place in the South. He said:

"They make a great effort to condemn segregation in the South, but it (New York) is the most painfully racial and religious clique-minded town in existence."

Some writers who have devoted study and thought to these problems feel that Chicago gives New York City keen competition in the field of segregating Negroes. In the Christian Science Monitor of July 16, 1956, a news item by James K. Sparkman quoted a Negro director of the Urban League as saying that Chicago "is the most segregated city in the North," and that Negroes in Chicago "are situated in the middle of the Nation's largest racial ghetto."

He quotes the same Negro spokesman as saying that Negroes pay 30 to 50 percent more than a white man would pay for the same housing and that: "Negroes are not only denied freedom of movement, but they are ruthlessly exploited, overcharged, overcrowded, and disproportionately forced into slum living."

The article by Mr. Sparkman is quite long, but I want to quote a few paragraphs from it:

"CHICAGO NEGROES FIND OLD MANSIONS DISAPPOINTMENT

"(By James K. Sparkman)

" 'Many of our people thought that mansions were palaces. They have found them monstrosities.'

"This is how Roi Ottley, noted Negro author and Chicago radio commentator, brings home the point that for Chicago Negroes, achieving size in homes has not proved an answer to their longings.

"Mr. Ottley, along with Negro newsmen, welfare, and politician leaders, is quick to say that if jobs are the incoming Negro's primary gain here, housing is his area of least progress.

"Indeed, despite the visible evidence of changing home and apartment ownership, including that of many old South Side lakeshore mansions, little has been accomplished when compared with the growing problem, they argue.

"Less than a month ago, Edwin C. Berry, new executive director of the reorganized Urban League, concluded from the weight of the league's study data that Chicago 'is the most segregated city in the North' even though there has been progress in Negro housing.

" 'You and I,' Mr. Berry told delegates here to a red cap union convention, 'are situated in the middle of the Nation's largest racial ghetto.'

"It is, he said in describing the area lying parallel to Lake Michigan south of the Loop which takes in the site of the ill-reputed Mecca flats and a hefty fraction of Chicago's 23 square miles of densely populated slums, '8 miles long by 2½ miles wide and contains more people than the entire population of Columbus, Ohio.'

"Restrictive device

"By its nature, if not always by design, housing restrictions are 'a landlord's device for controlling rents,' one Negro spokesman observed here to this correspondent recently. The victimized tenant, if given poor return for his money, has little chance to flee. Said the Urban League on this subject:

" 'This residential segregation forced by Chicago custom means that Negroes are not only denied freedom of movement, but they are ruthlessly exploited, overcharged, overcrowded, and disproportionately forced into slum living.' Although no study of Negro rents in Chicago has yet been made, Mr. Berry estimates that Negroes pay 30 to 50 percent more than would a white man for similar quarters.

"Why has there been no answer to this problem—especially in an era of record home and apartment building? The causative forces are to be found deep in the nature of the steady stream of 1,000 to 2,500 Negroes which are believed settling monthly in Chicago.

"Some Negro spokesmen believe this figure should be smaller; southbound trains are daily full of Negroes, they note, who have decided they have stayed long enough in the Windy City."

Illinois, a State which produces so many knights in shining armor to point an accusing finger at the South, has been the scene of race riots with more violence and disturbance in one riot than in all of the Southern States combined. In 1951 the International News Services reported that an anti-Negro mob of 10,000 milled about an apartment building in Cicero, Ill., a west Chicago suburb.

These 10,000 Illinois people were stirred to a mob-violence pitch because a Negro war veteran undertook to move his family into an apartment building in a white neighborhood. This news item stated that Illinois National Guardsmen were lined up 4 deep holding back the crowd with guns and fixed bayonets, and that at least 6 persons were bayoneted by the guardsmen. The mob which began on Wednesday with 3,000 people, grew to 10,000 by Thursday.

The Atlanta Constitution of July 12, 1951, carried this news story of the mob violence taking place in Chicago on that occasion:

"SIX WOUNDED AS 10,000 BATTLE IN RACE RIOT

"CHICAGO, July 12.—At least 6 persons were bayoneted Thursday night while steel-helmeted troops and police fought to rout an anti-Negro mob of 10,000 milling about an apartment building in Cicero, west Chicago suburb.

"The most seriously wounded was identified as Vicent Kaduk, 20, of Cicero, who was jabbed in the left side with a bayonet.

"The others were reported to have suffered minor cuts.

"Illinois National Guardsmen were lined up four deep, holding fixed bayonets in a cordon about the building, trying to push the screaming crowd back.

"Although most of the crowd had edged back to 200 feet from the building, some of the mob kept breaking through to as close as 50 feet from the troop perimeter, tossing bricks, rocks, and firecrackers at the building.

"Several windows that had remained intact through two pillagings Wednesday night and Thursday were broken.

"Although the guardsmen were outfitted with guns, no shots were fired.

"The menacing crowd, kept a block away from the building since sundown, broke through police lines as the steel-helmeted

troops arrived aboard guard trucks and chartered buses.

"Earlier, police routed 25 persons who broke through their lines by firing pistols into the air.

"The violence stemmed from efforts of a Negro war veteran and his family to move into the apartment building. They would have been the suburb's first Negro residents.

"Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson ordered 500 troops to the apartment building Thursday after vandals rampaged through the building for the second time.

"An estimated 3,000 screaming, jostling Cicero residents gathered outside the building Wednesday night when teen-agers and hoodlums raced into the dwelling, ransacked four apartments, and made a bonfire of the furniture.

"Not a single family remained in the 12-flat structure."

Chicago people have not become more tolerant since the Cicero occurrence. In 1954, 2 years later, a mob of such size as to require approximately 2,000 policemen per day staged riots at the Trumbull Park's housing project in Chicago. This resulted, as in Cicero, Ill., from efforts to forcibly integrate a Negro family into a white housing project. Eighteen months after the riot started Police Commissioner Timothy O'Conner said that 313 policemen were assigned to the project daily, and that police details at the project have ranged to more than 1,800 men in a 24-hour period.

Michigan has pointed the finger at the South from time to time. In the 1952 Democratic National Convention, Michigan's Governor was brazen enough to say that delegates from the South should actually not be seated in the convention of the Democratic Party.

Yet Dearborn, Mich., is far more prosegregationist than Atlanta, Ga. Dearborn's mayor boasts in newspaper interviews that not a single Negro lives in the city limits of Dearborn.

One might judge from the breastbeating of the Michigan Governor that Detroit would be a model brotherhood city, to which Negroes might come as a place of refuge from the segregated South, and be welcomed with open arms. However, on April 5, 1956, a mob of nearly 500 people in Detroit threw rocks through the windows of the home of a 70-year-old retired private policeman who had just moved in. Although this man said he and his family were white people, the word got around among the neighbors that he was a Negro, and the same sentiment manifested itself in Detroit as in Cicero and Chicago, Ill. The news item about the Detroit incident is as follows:

"DETROIT MOB FORCES OUT FAMILY RUMORED NEGRO

(By Bem Price)

"DETROIT, April 5.—Aged John W. Rouse bowed today to his neighbors' belief that he and his family are Negroes.

"Rouse said he had decided to sell and move after a near race riot by nearly 500 people last night on quiet, tree-lined Robson Avenue in northwest Detroit. Two windows in the modest brick home were broken by rocks before police broke up the growing demonstration.

"Private policeman

"Rouse, a retired private policeman, insists that he and all of his family, wife, daughter, and two grandchildren, are white. The 70-year-old former watchman sold the house to the Belmont Subdivision Association for $18,500, a $2,000 profit.

"Under the terms of the sale Rouse has 2 months in which to move. In the meantime he has free rent. When the sale was completed a 6-foot red-lettered sign appeared on the front lawn, reading, "Settled." It was taken down an hour later by the association. Police blocked both ends of the street, cutting off the steady stream of curiosity seekers who had been driving past.

"People think that (sign) means they're going to stay here," one member of the association said.

"Mrs. Rouse, also 70, cried, 'How do they know we are Negro? They haven't even seen us. We didn't even get out here until after dark Tuesday. I think there is something very wrong. I could expect something like this in a foreign country."

"Youngsters play

"While Mrs. Rouse talked, her two grandchildren, a boy 7 and a girl 10, were playing with a baseball in the backyard under police protection.

" 'You know how children are,' she said. 'They don't know about things like this and I couldn't keep them in the house all day.

" 'I did not want them in the front yard where the other kids could make nasty remarks.'

"Girls giggle

"Off and on all day little girls in Bermuda shorts and long hose passed in front of the Rouse house giggling and occasionally yelling, 'There's a Negro in the crowd.'

"Large numbers of teen-agers gathered in knots across the street from time to time while housewives sat on porches in the warm sun gossiping about the neighborhood affair.

"Oddly, a reporter ranging the street could find no one who admitted having seen or known the Rouse family, but all insisted they knew they were Negro.

"Racial unit

"Sgt. Thomas Nickerson and Detective Ed Boggs, members of the special investigation bureau which deals with racial problems, tried all day to trace the source of the rumor which set off the demonstration.

" 'As near as we can determine,' said Boggs, 'it started with the movers. One of the workmen moving furniture into the house told a boy, "You ought to tell your folks there is a Negro moving in." It apparently started from there.'

"The gray-haired Mrs. Rouse said, 'I guess you know how all this started. I wish they had broken my dishes instead.'

"Trace rumor

"Boggs and the sergeant, in tracing the rumor, found it passed by word of mouth mostly from one agitated neighbor to another.

"The two officers said that their investigation showed that both grandchildren were registered at birth as white. Rouse said he is part Cherokee Indian and that his wife is Scotch-Irish and French Canadian."

As I prepare this statement for this subcommittee, newspapers are carrying stories of riotous demonstrations taking place night after night in Detroit to protest a Negro moving into a white neighborhood. These demonstrations began on February 11 this year, and continued nightly, the crowds ranging up to 250, and requiring 25 policemen to prevent breaches of the peace. The demonstrators are now not only demonstrating in front of the house of the Negro, but also are demonstrating in front of the home of the white woman two blocks away who sold the house to the Negro.

The Washington Evening Star on Thursday, February 21, 1957, carried the following news item, and I quote it for the purpose of illustrating the fact that Detroit white people today are exhibiting the same antipathy to Negroes moving into white sections which they exhibited last year in the case of the man who said he was an Indian and not a Negro:

"DETROIT CROWDS PROTEST NEGRO IN WHITE AREA

"DETROIT, February 21.—Nightly crowds demonstrating before the home of a Negro woman who moved into a white neighborhood February 1 have grown to more than 100 on Detroit's Northwest Side.

"Police said 100 to 150 were dispersed last night in the vicinity of 12356 Cherrylawn, a house recently purchased by Mrs. Ethel Watkins, a widow seamstress.

"Detroit's Commission on Community Relations said demonstrations began February 11 and have continued nightly since with most participants now also demonstrating before the home of a white woman who sold the home to Mrs. Watkins.

"The commission identified the white woman as Mrs. Eugenia Novak, who now lives two blocks away, and police said they had established an around-the-clock two-man guard there as well as at Mrs. Watkins' home.

"Police usually dispatch around 25 men to the neighborhood to disperse demonstrators and at times have barricaded Cherrylawn, turning back anyone who could not prove he lived there.

"There have been no daytime demonstrations and no peace breaches during the night gatherings, police said.

"David Gracie, field representative for the commission on community relations, said several demonstrators have been taken to the precinct police station and talked to, but none has been arrested.

"First crowds of demonstrators ranged around 200 to 250, but dwindled to 35 to 40 over the weekend, then increased last night and the night before."

Feeling between the races became so intense in Detroit in 1943 that the worst race riot in the Nation's history occurred there. I hold no brief for race riots. I have never seen a race riot. I have never been near one. I hope I never see one.

Race riots, of course, are illegal. They occur only when normal restraints are discarded, when respect for law and order is overcome by emotionalism. A race riot, or any kind of riot for that matter, is the final culmination of a feeling that anything is better than submission to the impending event.

We in the South have maintained all along that by reason of our experience with the race problem, we know better how to keep down race tensions, race riots, and ill feeling between the races, than those people in other sections who have not had the experience, and to whom the problem is a new one. We believe we are correct in this attitude and belief. I think the riots in Detroit, Cicero, Ill., the Trumbull Park housing project in the South Deering section of Chicago, the lake steamer riot in Buffalo, N. Y., the situation in Dearborn, Mich., where no Negro is permitted to live, and the evidences of race tension in many cities and areas throughout the country demonstrate the correctness of our views and position on this serious problem.

Regarding the 1943 Detroit race riot, the U. S. News & World Report of May 11, 1956, said:

"On that occasion, roving gangs of each race terrorized downtown Detroit and other parts of the city for 3 days—shooting, stabbing, beating, and looting. Before the United States Army could restore order, 25 Negroes and 9 whites were killed, 700 persons injured, and millions of dollars worth of property damaged or destroyed."

That magazine in the same issue May 11, 1956, quoted a Detroit Negro paper as follows:

"Detroit seems to be rapidly returning to its old pattern of a few years ago, when we lived from crisis to crisis in the the last 2 years there has been an unmistakable resurgence in organized resistance to Negroes based upon color prejudice no effort is made to correct tragic mistakes in attitudes which can only lead to the destruction of our whole town."

Another example of the resentment which the white people of Detroit have against Negroes moving into white sections is the occurrence in October 1955 when a Negro couple with 3 children moved into a home

on Chalfonte Street. A mob of about 1,000 white people collected and threw rocks at the home. Two policemen were injured. The family sold the house and moved. This was reported in the Sunday Star on May 13, last year.

There are some things which cannot be forced upon people. Mayor Orville Hubbard of Dearborn, Mich., told a newspaper reporter in an interview in regard to Negroes moving into that city: "That can't get in here. We watch it. Every time we hear of a Negro moving in—for instance, we had one last year—we respond quicker than you do to a fire. That's generally known. It's known among the Negroes here."

He was asked if the NAACP ever called upon him, and he answered: "No we'd chase 'em to hell out of town." He also is quoted as saying: "The politicians have made the race question a football. It's hot up here, but we've taken an open stand in our community. Detroit hasn't done it; they're in a hell of a mess. We're for complete segregation, no if's, and's or but's about it. That is my position and I tell the Negroes the same thing. I say 'we don't have equality among the whites and you don't have equality among the Negroes. Why stir up something when you are getting along all right' "

The newspaper reporter also quoted Mayor Hubbard as saying: "The politicians are trading out their votes. Our governor up here is way over on the thing. He's doing it for votes, right? And civilization is suffering over it."

While the mayor of Dearborn, Mich., states that he would chase the NAACP out if they called on him, they do call upon the mayor of Atlanta, the governor of Georgia, and any other public official in our State at will. They hold regional meetings in Atlanta; in Birmingham, Ala.; New Orleans, La.; without any trouble at all. And while we know they are troublemakers, and while we know that more than 41 percent of their officers and board of directors are listed in the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities as having connections with subversive organizations, and while we know that their program closely parallels the platform of the Communist Party, they are free to come and go as they please in our section so long as they are orderly and do not violate our laws.

We know, of course, that there is a breaking point in this problem of good race relations. We know that if attempts are made to force things beyond this breaking point by legislation, executive orders, or judicial decisions there finally will come violence. It is to avoid this tragic result that we are so vigorously protecting this legislation.

It is hypocritical for so-called liberals in other sections of the country to point an accusing finger at the South and say we are more intolerant and have more racial antagonism than other sections, in the face of such occurrences as fights between 300 white and Negro high-school students at the Kansas Municipal Stadium on April 24, last year; a fight between about 200 whites and Negroes, with thousands of spectators milling about, in Asbury Park, N. J., on July 2, last year; a fight between white and Negro sailors in Honolulu on June 9, last year, resulting in the death by stabbing of 1 white sailor; fighting between white and Negro Air Force recruits in Crocker, Mo., on June 1, last year; a racial disturbance in Muncie, Ind., on June 10, last year, resulting in the closing down of a newly integrated swimming pool in that city; Memorial Day race riots last year in Crystal Beach, Ontario, which was referred to in newspaper stories as "a nightmare of flashing knives and sobbing, frightened passengers"; a riot at Newport, R. I., among 1,500 white and Negro sailors and marines, their wives and women companions, on September 18, last year, which completely wrecked a club and sent 15 sailors to a hospital; 1,100 taxi drivers in St. Louis going on strike on August 18, last year, in protest against the hiring of Negro taxicab drivers. On July 25, last year, a Toronto judge upheld an apartment house owner in his refusal to rent to a Negro; cross burnings and court hearings in Columbus, Ohio, on November 14, last year, resulting from Negroes moving into a white section in Columbus; banishment of a Negro woman and 8 children from Cleveland, Ohio, on June 8, last year, although the woman tearfully protested she didn't want to return to Alabama.

Ohio seems to be learning something about the race problem. On August 1, last year, a Negro, one I. W. White, Jr., executive director of the council to aid migrant workers in Cleveland, wrote a letter to an Alabama schoolteacher, advising him to urge his pupils to stay in the South instead of coming North. He was reported as having said that "The exodus North of southern Negroes has hurt the battle of Negroes to obtain first-class citizenship." The Ohio Supreme Court on April 18, last year, upheld an amusement park near Cincinnati in refusing to admit a Negro.

The papers are constantly carrying news stories of similar occurrences and of racial problems in the North, East, and West. Several years ago Sgt. John Rice, an American Indian who was killed in Korea was refused burial in a privately operated Sioux City, Iowa, Memorial Park Cemetery. Burial in that cemetery is limited to Caucasian only and the body of the American Indian sargeant was finally interred at Arlington National Cemetery. Time does not permit me to give anything like a recital of all occurences of this nature even for only 1 year. I have taken the time and trouble to give you merely a few of those which occurred in 1956.

While we are thinking about the sectional aspect of this problem, it is well to bear in mind that the first court case upholding segregated schools for white and colored children was in Massachusetts, and not in Georgia or any other Southern State. The case was that of *Sarah C. Roberts* v. *The City of Boston* decided in 1849, 108 years ago. It is reported in 59 Massachusetts 198 (Cushing 5, 1849–50). The opinion was written by Chief Justice Shaw. It was a case where the parents of Sarah C. Roberts, a Negro girl, wanted her to go to a primary school supported by the city of Boston for white children only. She had been assigned to a primary school supported by the city for colored children only. She alleged that this was discrimination on account of race and color. The court denied the petition and held that it was proper for the city of Boston to send this child to a colored school. On the question of prejudice the court had this to say:

"It is urged that this maintenance of separate school tends to deepen and perpetuate the odious distinction of caste, founded in a deep-rooted prejudice in public opinion. This prejudice, if it exists, is not created by law, and probably cannot be changed by law."

On the question whether prejudice would not be as effectually fostered by compelling colored and white children to associate together in the same schools, the Massachusetts court said:

"At all events, it is a fair and proper question for the committee to consider and decide upon, having in view the best interests of both classes of children placed under their superintendence, and we cannot say, that their decision upon it is not founded on just grounds of reason and experience, and the results of a discriminating and honest judgment."

Although vote-hunting politicians are pandering to such groups as the radical NAACP in trying to force race mixing on protesting people, it is not succeeding. This is true in New York City as well as Atlanta, Ga. On February 7 this year, Robert C. Weaver, New York rent administrator, said that racial segregation is increasing in cities and suburbs. He said that "existing Negro ghetto in cities were getting larger, and newly lily-white subdivisions were growing beyond city lines." He also said "the majority of our dwelling units are still closed to minorities. Our failure to secure a wide distribution of ethnic groups throughout communities tends to increase segregation in all its forms."

He also said that the influx of Negroes into northern cities increased their concentration in those neighborhoods where housing was available to them, and this, in turn, resulted in some schools, parks, and other community facilities being utilized almost exclusively by Negroes while those in other neighborhoods served only white residents.

His statements are found in the following article in the February 8, 1957, issue of the Atlanta Constitution:

"NEW YORK RENT CHIEF FINDS SEGREGATION ON UPSWING IN CITIES AND SUBURBS

"NEW YORK, February 7.—Racial segregation is increasing in cities and suburbs, Robert C. Weaver, New York rent administrator, declared tonight.

"Despite scattered progress against discrimination in the sale and rental of housing, Commissioner Weaver said, existing Negro ghettos in cities were getting larger and new lily white subdivisions were growing beyond city lines.

" 'Signal gains have bene made in New York State in barring discrimination in publicly assisted housing,' he said, 'but the majority of our dwelling units are still closed to minorities. Our failure to secure a wide distribution of ethnic groups throughout communities tends to increase segregation in all its forms.'

"Weaver said the influx of Negroes into Northern cities increased their concentration in those neighborhoods where housing was available to them.

"He declared this, in turn, resulted in some schools, parks, and other community facilities being utilized almost exclusively by Negroes while those in other neighborhoods served only white residents.

"Weaver and Herbert Bayard Swope were guests of honor at a fund-raising party for the national and New York State committees on discrimination in housing. Two hundred persons were present in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Tree, 123 East 79th Street.

"Weaver was chairman of the committees from their organization in 1950 through 1954. He resigned to become deputy State housing commissioner. Swope was honored for his service as chairman of the New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations, which he held until last December 31.

"Weaver said passage at Albany of the Metcalf-Baker bill was 'imperative to extend nondiscrimination coverage to a broader segment of the housing market.'

"The bipartisan measure is now in the finance committee of the State senate and in the assembly's judiciary. It would outlaw discrimination in most of the 4 million private housing units in this State. The present Metcalf-Baker law bans discrimination in housing that receives any form of public aid.

"Algernon Black, chairman of the committee on discrimination in housing, declared passage of the Metcalf-Baker amendments would 'set an example in civil rights for the whole Nation.' He said it was the first anti-bias bill affecting private housing to be introduced in any State legislature."

It is a cruel fact that the hypocritical representations of some contemptible politicians seeking Negro votes have created false hopes in the minds of Southern Negroes. Some Negroes have accepted these hypocritical

statements at face value and are moving into such cities as New York City, Chicago, Ill.; Detroit, Mich.; Columbus and Cincinnati, Ohio, and elsewhere believing that they will be accepted into schools, churches, and all phases of community life.

When they arrive, they find the opposite is true. They are herded into squalid tenement quarters like cattle. They are overcharged. They are cheated. If they settle in a white neighborhood, the white people rush to move away as if the bubonic plague had struck the community. Although Negroes there are not segregated by law, they are segregated by reason of residence, and the only way their children can be sure of attending non-segregated schools is for the school authorities to haul Negro children from Negro communities, past Negro schools, and enter them in white schools in white communities, and on the other hand to haul white children from white communities, past white schools, and put them in Negro schools in Negro communities. This is pointed up by an article in the Wall Street Journal of January 29, 1957, entitled "School Migration," which is as follows:

"SCHOOL MIGRATION—NEW YORK CITY REGROUPS PUPILS IN EFFORT TO ABOLISH NORTHERN FORM OF SEGREGATION

(By Peter B. Bart)

"NEW YORK.—Every weekday morning several school buses pull up in front of Public School 93 in the Bronx and some 200 Negro children scamper off to class.

"Until last September these 7- and 8-year-old tots could walk to their own neighborhood schools. Today the city of New York takes them in buses the 20 city blocks or more to Public School 93.

"Their daily journey is part of an enforced migration of school children being launched by New York's board of education. It's a matter of racial integration. Until the Negro children were transferred to Public School 93, that school was attended almost entirely by white pupils living in the neighborhood. Now, like many of the 790 other New York public schools, it is mixed.

"Mixed is a big word in New York City these days. Without fanfare—but by no means without objections—city officials have begun a program of racial integration that involves more than a policy of nondiscrimination. As at Public School 93, many school youngsters are already being transported from one school district to another so the board of education can achieve what it feels is a proper balance.

"This is only a beginning. A master plan to speed up the integration process for New York's 925,000 public-school pupils has been drawn up by the subcommittee on zoning of the board's commission on integration. If approved, the plan will take effect next September. It proposes extensive use of city-financed buses to create racially balanced schools, and suggests that racial integration should be the sole objective of school zoning.

"Rotating teachers

"Also under consideration: A plan for the rotation of experienced teachers from 'good' schools to 'problem' schools so as to improve the quality of instruction in slum areas. Meantime, the board of education wants a $68 million boost—to $412 million—in its new budget; some of the additional money would be used to expand the work of the commission on integration.

"The aim of all this activity is to eliminate the school segregation that occurs in the North as an outgrowth of local housing patterns. To banish it the officials must also banish the traditional concept of the neighborhood school.

"Elsewhere in the North this campaign to abolish alleged de facto school segregation is also picking up in intensity—notably in cities like Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit. But the most impressive efforts are being made here in New York.

"Even here the size of the school migration can't be fully measured. One difficulty is that its operation is decentralized; school officials say they've made no attempt to add up the number of pupils transferred. Another is that the best informed officials hesitate to give a guess; they shy away from public comment because they think it is an explosive subject.

"Crisscrossed city

"Nevertheless, all concede that hundreds of New York students are already crisscrossing the city by bus and subway to schools far from home. In the slum-ridden Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn, full-scale transfers of children from zone to zone have brought about integration in at least 20 schools since the opening of the school year.

"Not only are children from Negro sections like Harlem traveling to hitherto all-white schools; in some instances, white pupils are crossing regular school zones to enter all-Negro schools.

"'One junior high school in my three Brooklyn districts was almost entirely Negro last year, and it's now 50–50 in racial composition,' says Samuel M. Levenson, an assistant superintendent of schools. He adds: 'In another junior high school white students were brought in from a mile or so away to prevent it from becoming 100 percent Negro.'

"'We've got busloads of Negro children coming in from big distances,' the principal of a formerly all-white school in Manhattan relates. 'I hate to think what it's costing the city.'

"In some cases, integration is being achieved by means of minor gerrymandering of school zones without much transfer of pupils. This is particularly true of schools in so-called fringe areas where white and Negro neighborhoods converge.

"Vigorous pursuit

"Spearheading the integration movement in New York and other cities, is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. At its 1956 convention in San Francisco, the NAACP resolved that 'the entire resources of this organization be dedicated to pursue with vigor the elimination of segregation in fact in the schools in northern communities. * * * We cannot wait for residential discrimination to be eradicated before something is done about the elimination of segregation in our northern public schools.'

"Backing the NAACP in a number of cities are such groups as the Urban League, Americans for Democratic Action, United Automobile Workers, plus local civil rights and religious groups.

"Not surprisingly, public officials are extremely sensitive on the issue. Consider the curious case of an obscure Brooklyn minister, Dr. Milton A. Galamison of the Siloam Presbyterian Church. Irritated by what he considered to be a delay in desegregating Brooklyn Junior High School 238, Dr. Galamison sent a personal telegram to Superintendent of Schools William Jansen, demanding the latter's resignation.

"To the minister's astonishment, Dr. Jansen personally called and 'asked for an appointment.' Later the telegram was released to the press along with a rather defensive explanation by Dr. Jansen of this position. Thus the affair attained citywide publicity. And Dr. Galamison was elected president of the Brooklyn branch of the NAACP.

"Moving away

"School authorities tend to discount the protests they hear. 'We had some white parents who threatened violent action if their children were transferred to Negro schools,' confides a Brooklyn principal, 'but in the end some of them just gave up and moved away.' Agrees Rev. Dr. David M. Cory, executive secretary of the Brooklyn division, Protestant Council: 'You hear a lot of talk about violent opposition to school integration, but I have yet to find any actual manifestation of it.'

"Nonetheless, some open opposition exists. The scheme to rotate experienced teachers from good to problem schools has already drawn sharp objections from the powerful High School Teachers Association. Its president, Mrs. Concetta T. Roy, warns: 'It will only create more dissatisfied high-school teachers.'

"And Rev. W. Sterling Cary, of Brooklyn, says: 'I just don't think the schools are the answer. The real problem lies in the housing ghettoes themselves which are the cause of northern school segregation. And I think all this rezoning could be a hardship on children who may have to travel great distances to school every day.'

"'I believe we're being stampeded into a dubious program,' contends the principal of a recently integrated Brooklyn school. 'We have incontrovertible evidence of large numbers of white children withdrawing from schools when Negroes are brought in from outside. Many New York schools will be 100 percent colored within 2 years after Negro children are introduced. The hard truth is that we can't have full-scale integration until both Negroes and whites are really ready for it.'

"But such voices seem unlikely to halt the rush. As one highly placed New York school official puts it: 'Any racial issue is political dynamite in a city like this. If anyone suggests that the integration program be slowed down while we find out where we're going he's immediately branded a racist'."

Any unbiased and objective study of the race question will show that where there is any appreciable number of colored people, generally the same attitudes exist and the same feelings are held, whether it be Detroit, Chicago, New York City, or below the Mason-Dixon line. One difference which exists is that people in the South are less hypocritical, and deal with the problem more realistically than people in other sections, to whom the problem is a new one.

At present rate of migration, the people in the North, East, and West are not going to remain unacquainted with the problem much longer. It is probably a good idea that Negroes are being attracted away from South into other sections by the pleasing stories they hear of higher wages, good living conditions, and integrated schools and dwellings.

This migration very likely will continue, unless such people as the Cleveland judge who banished the Negro woman and her eight children back to Alabama, and the Cleveland Negro who wrote to the Alabama schoolteacher to keep his pupils in the South, can convince southern Negroes that they are better off at home, and that they are not wanted in the North.

In the South, we have known for many years that if Negro children are to be educated, the cost of educating them would have to be borne by white people. I live in DeKalk County, Ga., a county whose population now is about 210,000. It was 186,000 in 1950. The city of Atlanta lies in Fulton County and DeKalb County. I want to give you some facts about our treatment of Negro children, which may be news to some of you. In 1950, I requested the superintendent of county schools in my home county to give me figures from his records regarding the number of Negro children in our county public school system, the cost of operating those schools, and by whom that cost was paid. These facts were that we had 2,042 Negro children in the county public school system; that the county (not including the State contribution) spent $85.33 per pupil on white and colored alike which amounted to

$174,243.86 the county paid toward the education of these Negro children.

His information further showed that Negro property owners in DeKalb County paid school tax upon 1,348 parcels of real estate, total valuation $357,320, net valuation after deducting the homestead exemptions $77,600. Negro property owners paid taxes upon 842 items of personal property, gross valuation $79,500, net valuation after homestead exemption $50,750. The Negro property owners thus paid school tax upon $128,350 of taxable property. Our school tax rate is $1.50 per 100. The total amount of school taxes paid by those property-owning Negroes was $1,925.35.

The county operated 4 Negro school buses to haul Negro schoolchildren to the county public schools at an annual expense of $2,000 each, or a total expense just for school buses of $8,000. So, the total school taxes paid by the Negroes of DeKalb County into the county school system was less than one-fourth the actual money spent by the county to haul their children to the school houses. The $1,925.35 would have provided less than $1 dollar per pupil for the 2,042 Negro children who attend the county public schools.

We have known all through the years that we have to carry the tax burden. We have carried it uncomplainingly, and are now carrying it uncomplainingly, because we know that if the burden of educating their own children were carried by the Negroes, they simply would not be educated. Last year, in 1956, I asked the county school superintendent to furnish me the same information which he previously furnished me for 1950. Last school year the State of Georgia paid $92.35 per pupil for operating purposes, and DeKalb County paid $51.70 per pupil, making a total of $144.05 per pupil. Of the $51.70 local payment the Negro taxpayers paid $1.93 per pupil; the white taxpayers paid $49.77 per pupil. In the past 6 years the DeKalb County Board of Education has spent $1,377,223.28 rehousing Negro children and purchasing school equipment for them. This represents $517.95 per Negro pupil in capital outlay.

The value of Negro property in my home county has grown now to $326,920, and their annual school taxes for 1956 amounted to $5,124.47, which, as I stated before, amounts to $1.93 per Negro pupil.

On Sunday, December 11, 1955, DeKalb County dedicated 13 new school buildings. Eight of those were for white children, and 5 of them were for Negro children. At this time all Negro children in our county are in new classrooms. All Negro schools meet full standards for accreditation; of the Negro teachers 17 percent hold master's degrees; 75 percent hold bachelor of arts or bachelor of science degrees, and only 8 percent have less than 4 years of college. No Negro teacher with less than a bachelor of science degree has been employed in the last 5 years.

Such legislation as that which you are now considering would disrupt our peaceful relations. Destruction of our segregated system of schools would carry with it destruction of the opportunities now enjoyed by qualified Negro teachers in the South. This is pointed up by a recent article written by a Negro named Davis Lee, who is publisher of the Newark (N. J.) Telegram. This article was written by Lee after visiting in Georgia and the South and seeing for himself what the conditions are. I quote several paragraphs from Editor Lee's article:

(By David Lee, Publisher, Newark (N. J.) Telegram)

"The efforts being made by certain paid agitators and pressure groups to have segregated schools in the South declared unconstitutional may cause southern Negroes to lose a lot more than they will gain. * * *

"Integration in the schools in the North and East is not a howling success. A Negro can attend most of the schools up here and get an education, but few of the States that educate him will hire him as a teacher. The State of Connecticut doesn't have 25 Negro teachers.

"Recently I visited Albany, the capital of New York State, and learned that the city only employed 3 Negro teachers. Our own city, Newark, with Negroes constituting 20 percent of the population employes 2,200 teachers, but only 70 of them are Negroes, and we don't have 1 Negro principalship.

"Nowhere in these integrated States do Negroes get anywhere near proportionate representation. Every device is employed to keep qualified Negroes from being assigned. Recently a reputable New York labor union made a report on the employment of Negro teachers in New York City and charged that a systematic scheme has been adopted to exclude Negroes as teachers.

"This is not true in the South. The State of Georgia employes 7,313 Negro teachers and paid them close to $15 million in salaries last year. North Carolina paid its Negro teachers over $22 million last year. Florida is another State that ranks at the top on teacher pay.

"If these States, that are now pouring millions of dollars annually into Negro pockets which provides our people with money that enables them to enjoy the dignity of man, to enjoy prestige and respectability, to buy homes and the necessities of life, are forced to abandon the segregated school, 75 percent of the Negro teachers in the South will lose their jobs. Not only that, but approximately 20,000 Negro principals will lose their jobs as well.

"Can the Southern Negro afford to take this sort of economic licking for the privilege of sending his kids to a mixed school? I don't think so. The price is too great. Again, what will happen to race relations in the South if school integration is forced down its throat? At present 50 percent of the southern Negroes assume very little personal responsibility. Their employers do everything for them including selecting an undertaker when a death occurs.

"Certainly ruling out segregation in the schools is not going to change the habits of these Negroes, but white employers will definitely change their habits, and to the detriment of these poor people who are not responsible for the force change. * * *

"This present movement to end segregation in the schools is merely the beginning of a well laid plan to completely end segregation in everything in the South. If this happens, the Negro will be thrown into direct competition with the white race, and our business institutions will crumble.

"No place in the world do Negroes own and control as much as do those in the South. Atlanta is without question the Negro capital of the world. It is the center of Negro culture, education, business and finance. And both Negroes and whites live, work and operate business without either being conscious of the other race.

"This movement to integrate the schools in the South is loaded with more racial dynamite than appears on the surface, and the Negro will be the one who is blown away.

"During the past 2 years I have spent more time in the South than I have in my office, and I have interviewed thousands of Negroes in all walks of life and I have found very few who favor mixed schools. They want their own schools, but equal facilities. This being the situation, one questions the fairness of forcing these colored citizens to accept what they don't want. If a little group of paid agitators succeed in forcing their will upon these people, it appears to me that they should at least be given an opportunity to be heard.

"Right now the southern Negro is in a better spot educationally, politically and economically than the Negroes any place else in the world. Race relations are continually improving. Every day more southerners are recognising the Negro as a man and according him the respect which he merits, but the southern Negro himself can do more about improving conditions than can courts, legislation or pressure groups."

In the 5-year period from 1951–55, a $274 million school construction program was carried out in the State of Georgia. More than half of this school construction, 54 percent of it to be exact, went into construction of Negro schoolhouses. The Negro schools are exactly the same modern, fully equipped schools as the white. In my own county Negroes have fared better than white students, because now all Negro students are in new construction while many white students are still using old schoolhouses. Here are photographs of some new schools constructed for Negro pupils.

We name the Negro schools after outstanding Negro citizens, which we believe is an inspiration to Negro children to become good citizens themselves.

We also provide for higher education of Negroes. There are Negro colleges and universities in Georgia, and the State has a scholarship assistance program under which, during the school year 1954–55, 2,290 grants were made to 1,825 Negroes studying at 67 institutions, at a cost to the State of $208,217.90 for that 1 school year. So you can see, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that the white people in my State and in my congressional district are giving the Negro children, almost wholly unaided by the Negroes themselves, unlimited educational advantages. We have done this, and we are doing this, uncomplainingly.

We encourage them to progress as much as possible. In my home district, Negroes have progressed to a remarkable extent. They own banks, radio stations, insurance companies, drugstores, grocery stores, office buildings, undertaking establishments, and commercial businesses of practically every description. In will probably shock some of you to know that there are Negro policemen serving on the Atlanta City Police Force and that a Negro member serves on the city of Atlanta School Board. There are some 25,000 registered Negro voters in the city of Atlanta. Everyone is registered who wants to register just as the white people are, and everyone votes who wants to vote just as the white people do. They do not have to vote to themselves. They stand in the same lines the white voters stand in and they use the same voting machines which the white voters use.

We insist upon segregation—yes, for the experience of generations and years has demonstrated that goodwill and the mutual advantage of both races is best served on a segregated basis. The Negroes know that as well as we do, and the peaceful relations which exist between us demonstrate unquestionably that our solution of the problem is the best solution.

So long as meddling busybodies will leave the whites and Negroes alone in our section, we have peaceful relations; we will live side by side on friendly terms; the Negroes will have unlimited educational opportunities, and will progress as fast as they are able to progress. They will fare better with us than they will in the North, and the sensible Negroes know it. Our segregated system keeps down the riots which you have had in Detroit, Chicago, Cicero, and other places when a Negro moves into a white neighborhood. We know the Negro must have a roof over his head, and we help him provide it in his own neighborhoods. If that neighborhood grows and expands, we help him get located in another neighborhood. He does not have to move into a section where he is not wanted, and where the white people gather by the thousands and throw rocks

through the windows and inflict personal violence upon the occupants.

Both Negroes and whites when left alone will voluntarily segregate themselves as to schools, churches, dwellings, and social affairs. This is demonstrated in Baltimore where the school pattern is substantially the same as it was before the fraudulent decision of the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954. It is demonstrated by the segregated pattern which is followed in New York City where the cheap politicians and the meddlers are now trying to bolster up a sagging integrated program by hauling bus loads of Negro children from Negro neighborhoods to white schools and bus loads from white neighborhoods to Negro schools, and by putting on a program of forced integrated dancing among the pupils as they are doing there.

This tendency of the races to voluntarily segregate themselves is proven here in Washington where in spite of all the frantic efforts to force integration of the races in schools, the introduction of Negroes into a white school does not turn it into an integrated school—it turns it into a Negro school within the course of a few years, just as fast as the white people can make arrangements to uproot themselves from the community and reestablish themselves over in Virginia or Maryland where they are not plagued with this crack-pot theory of forced integration. These things are the facts of life, and it is far better to settle them peacefully than it is to push things to the breaking point where law and order breaks down and violent rioting with its tragic consequences takes place.

Mr. Chairman, if the American people are to remain a Nation of self-governed people, government must be kept close to the people. There can be no dispute that our Government is a Republic of Sovereign States. Under our Constitution, control of local affairs is the function of the State. It also guarantees to the citizen the right of trial by jury. So long as these two constitutional provisions are respected and carried out, the American people will have self-government and protection of individual liberties and personal rights.

Local government should not be taken from the States and placed in the hands of bureaucrats in Washington. If local self-government is destroyed, and if the right to trial by jury is lost, then individual liberty and freedom will surely be lost along with those two constitutional bulwarks.

This legislation is an attempt to overturn those two constitutional provisions. The radicals who want to remake our Government and remake the world know well enough that substitution of judicial dictatorship for trial by jury is a long step toward that objective. This legislation goes hand in glove with such schemes. It is a strong threat to our form of government.

This legislation is also a threat, and a serious one, to law enforcement. The policemen and sheriffs who have the job of protecting the lives, safety, and property of law-abiding citizens have an extremely difficult task now of coping with the thieves, robbers, yokers, purse snatchers, rapists, and murderers. Even under existing laws, this radical organization, the NAACP, is continually bombarding the FBI, the Attorney General's Department, and other Federal Government agencies with false and unfounded claims that Negro criminals are being manhandled, mistreated, oppressed, and deprived of civil rights. To illustrate the absurd, ridiculous, and unreasonable extent to which these tactics are carried, I want to give you some figures from a statement of the Attorney General introduced by Chairman CELLER at a committee hearing before Subcommittee No. 2 of the Judiciary Committee on July 13, 1955. These figures appear on page 176 of that printed hearing. In the years for which total number of complaints of alleged civil rights violations were given and total number of cases tried and convictions secured, the figures given by the Attorney General were as follows: In 1940, 8,000 civil-rights complaints were received; no figures given as to how many cases prosecuted, or how many convictions secured. In 1942, 8,612 complaints received; prosecutive action taken in 76 cases; no statement as to how many convictions or acquittals. In 1946, 7,229 complaints were received in civil rights and political cases. Fifteen cases were prosecuted, in which 5 convictions were secured. In 1947, 13,000 complaints were received; 12 cases were prosecuted, of which 4 defendants were convicted. In 1948, 14,500 complaints were received; 20 cases prosecuted; no figures given as to convictions. In that same statement the Attorney General estimated that 15,000 complaints would be received during 1949.

Certainly when a situation exists where 13,000 complaints are filed alleging violations of civil rights, of which 12 were considered worth trying, and of that 12 cases tried 4 convictions were secured, undoubtedly the world's record is broken for the filing of groundless complaints.

Yet these groundless charges, stirred up by the NAACP, 41 percent of whose officers and directors are cited in the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities as having connection with subversive organizations, caused the harassment and hindrance, and in some cases intimidation, of policemen, sheriffs, prosecuting attorneys, and law-enforcement officers all over this country. It cost the taxpayers millions of dollars to process 13,000 groundless complaints. The Department of Justice, according to the testimony of witnesses, maintains in the Federal Bureau of Investigation 172 specialists on civil rights matters, and the Attorney General maintains in his Civil Rights Section 7 civil rights attorneys and 4 other civil rights employees.

While the Attorney General's office is spending millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money on this civil rights foolishness, he is costing the taxpayers of the country other millions of dollars which could be saved if money spent for employees in this useless Civil Rights Section were used to employ attorneys to try cases which are 5 years and more behind, in the Tax Division, and Court of Claims, cases in which interest is running against the Government, and will finally have to be paid, at the rate of $5,000 per day or nearly $2 million per year. If the Attorney General would use this money which he is wasting fooling with 13,000 groundless civil rights complaints, and hire lawyers to catch up with these untried cases in which interest is running against the Government, those millions of dollars could be saved. Testimony on this waste of taxpayers' money is found in the statement of Attorney General Brownell on page 56 of the Senate State, Justice, and Commerce Subcommittee hearings on May 10, 1956, and testimony of Mr. W. E. Burger on page 47 of the State, Justice, and Commerce Subcommittee hearings of the House on March 2, 1953.

One might well ask why the United States Department of Justice would continue year after year to encourage and magnify thousands of groundless complaints, which their experience of 18 years since the civil rights section was set up in 1939, has demonstrated to be groundless. I think the testimony of Mr. S. A. Andretta, administrative assistant to the Attorney General, on page 149 of the State, Justice Senate subcommittee hearings for fiscal 1957, let the cat out of the bag and gives the answer. That testimony is:

"Senator JOHNSON. Mr. Andretta, I want to ask you one or two questions.

"I understand that the appropriation carries provision for several lawyers in the civil rights section; is that right? I understand it is seven.

"Mr. ANDRETTA. Yes; it is.

"Senator JOHNSON. I understand that going back to 1951 you have had the same number.

"Mr. ANDRETTA. Yes; the same staff.

"Senator JOHNSON. If you were not asking for any additional people in the civil rights section in all these years, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, why is it that you are asking for a whole new division in an election year, 1956?

"Mr. ANDRETTA. I don't know the answer to that.

"Senator JOHNSON. Thank you very much."

Now the same question presents itself with reference to these pending bills. If the 18 years' experience with this civil rights section in the Justice Department shows that as many as 13,000 civil rights complaints will be stirred up and filed in a year, of which all but 4 were groundless, what reason is there for creating a new "civil rights division" which would be done under this legislation?

One reason, I think, is this: Although there are many good law-abiding Negroes in this country, nevertheless the bulk of the crimes of violence are committed by Negroes. The records show it, and there is no escaping the truth of it. This radical organization, the NAACP, under the guise of protecting civil rights, runs to the assistance of Negro criminals and seeks to protect them from the punishment for the crimes they commit. This has been their record.

This pending legislation, if enacted, would tie the hands of law enforcement officers throughout this country, and would place law-abiding men, women, and children at the mercy of brutal, merciless, hardened criminals.

Much of the crime of this country is committed by dope addicts. A Federal Narcotics Bureau report issued on February 15 shows that 60 percent of the drug addicts in the United States are Negroes. The news item giving this report follows:

"SIXTY PERCENT OF UNITED STATES DRUG ADDICTS ARE NEGROES

"Washington, February 15.—A Narcotics Bureau report that 60 percent of United States drug addicts are Negroes was made public Friday.

"Negroes represent about 10 percent of the total population, the report said. It was contained in testimony by Narcotics Commissioner H. J. Anslinger to a House appropriations subcommittee in closed hearing February 4.

"The Bureau's breakdown gave these other figures: White population, 87.8 percent of the total, with 29 percent of the addicts; Mexican, 1.5 percent of the population, 4 percent of the addicts; Puerto Rico, 0.2 percent of the population, 5 percent of the addicts; other races, 0.5 percent of the population, 2 percent of the addicts.

"Representative PASSMAN (Democrat, Louisiana) said in a statement the analysis was furnished at his request. He commented it shows an 'extremely one-sided' racial distribution of addiction, and he added:

"I think this is significant and should be brought into true perspective, so that the problem may be factually and objectively recognized by the public."

Here in the city of Washington, the Nation's Capital, where both white and black ought to make the best possible showing, crime records for fiscal year 1955 show that of major crimes committe, 82 percent were committed by Negroes, the figures being 1,947 committed by whites, 9,053 committed by Negroes.

The crime records of the Federal Department of Justice show that of 13 Eastern, Northern, and Western States, including Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, the rate per 100,000 of Negroes

in prison on felony charges was 681 percent over whites. The same crime record of the Justice Department shows that in 10 Southern States the Negro is a better citizen than his Northern counterpart, the rate of Negroes per 100,000 in prison on felony there being only 248 percent over the whites.

Law enforcement officers in every section of this country know that this pending legislation would seriously cripple law enforcement.

On February 1 this year, Police Chief William H. Parker of Los Angeles, Calif., in a speech at Fresno to the California Peace Officers' Association, pointed out the danger of this legislation. He told the association that these very bills pending before your subcommittee, being the civil-rights program offered by the Eisenhower administration through Attorney General Herbert Brownell "would put the police out of business." He further said that he opposes the proposal to establish a Federal Commission to Investigate alleged civil-rights violations by local law enforcement agencies. He declared that such a group (Federal Civil Rights Commission) would play into the hands of the Communists, "who know they cannot bring about a revolution or make advances in the face of a resolute police force."

The California Peace Officers' Association, after hearing Chief Parker, authorized its executive committee to petition Congress to "look at both sides and beware of legislation which might seriously cripple law enforcement."

The following news item regarding this action was carried in the Lost Angeles Times for February 2:

"PARKER HITS CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION—LAW ENFORCEMENT MAY BE HAMPERED, HE TELLS OFFICERS

"FRESNO, February 1.—The California Peace Officers Association, at the urging of Police Chief William H. Parker of Los Angeles, asks Congress to be careful of any civil rights legislation which would hamper law enforcement officers.

"The group's action was taken here today. The executive committee was authorized to caution Congress to 'look at both sides and beware of legislation which might seriously cripple law enforcement.'

"San Diego Police Chief Elmer Jansen, association president, said the action will not commit the organization to oppose or support any specific legislation but will state the organization's views.

"Parker declared the civil-rights program offered by the Eisenhower administration through Attorney General Herbert Brownell 'would put the police out of business.'

"He said he opposes a proposal to establish a Federal commission to investigate alleged civil-rights violations by local law-enforcement agencies.

"Parker declared such a group would play into the hands of Communists 'who know they cannot bring about a revolution or make advances in the face of a resolute police force.' "

Mr. Edward Scheidt, motor vehicle commissioner of North Carolina, a former FBI agent for 22 years, has already testified before your subcommittee. He has warned that this legislation would be an open invitation to any complainant to circumvent local governmental facilities by dealing directly with Federal authorities merely by claiming that some civil right was endangered or violated. This would bring law enforcement to a complete halt, inasmuch as there is no possibility that Federal courts can take over and expeditiously handle the trial of State law violations. There are not enough of them and they do not sit long enough.

There is no necessity for this legislation in order to protect voting rights. Ample law now exists to protect any person from being deprived of his right to vote. I can cite you to a case tried in Georgia in 1955 which will refute any claim to the contrary. The case was that of Charlie W. Thornton et al versus C. C. Martin et al., registrars of Randolph County, Ga. It was civil action No. 520 in the United States District Court for the middle district of Georgia, Columbus division. This is the congressional district so ably represented by my distinguished colleague, Congressman E. L. FORRESTER.

This suit was brought by nine Negro plaintiffs on behalf of themselves and others who alleged that their names had been illegally removed from the voters' registration list in 1954. A jury verdict was taken in which the allegations of the plaintiffs were sustained, and $880 damages was awarded to the named plaintiffs. A decree was entered by the court upon the jury verdict in which the registrars were ordered to place the names of 134 Negroes back on the voters list within 10 days of the decree, and the order was complied with.

If there are any other Negroes in Georgia who claim they are illegally deprived of the right to vote, the same remedy, under the same law, is available to them in the United States District Court just as in the Randolph County case. Being brought under Federal laws, in a Federal court, the same remedy is available to citizens of any State, a fact which is well known to the Attorney General, and to his civil rights section.

Mr. Chairman, this legislation is not only dangerous in that it threatens a complete breakdown of law enforcement; it is unconstitutional; it is absurd and ridiculous; and finally, it is unnecessary. I urge this subcommittee to so declare it.

Tribute Paid to Ruth W. Jessee Upon Receiving Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Nursing Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of February 25, commenting on the recent honors bestowed upon Dr. Ruth W. Jessee, of Wilkes College, Wilkes-Barre, who is the first nurse in the Wilkes-Barre area to receive a doctor of philosophy degree in the field of nursing education:

The tribute associates paid over the week end to Ruth W. Jessee, the first nurse in this area to receive the degree of doctor of philosophy in the field of nursing education, bespeaks the pride of the community as well as Wilkes College and the profession in her achievement. She is in charge of the nursing education program at Wilkes.

A bachelor of science and a master of science, Dr. Jesse has had a distinguished career, now heading for new heights as a result of the recognition that has come to her from the University of Pennsylvania.

Nursing is one of the oldest of the professions and it is making considerable strides as graduates of accredited nursing schools seek college degrees after completing the basic 3-year course, qualifying them as registered nurses when they pass State board test. Many nurses these days go in for specialization.

Like every line of endeavor, nursing offers opportunities commensurate with the talents of the individual. That is why an increasing number are going in for advanced training. Dr. Jessee has set a new standard with her accomplishment.

America's Indians Get a Chance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, recently I have read a number of articles which leave the impression there is little hope in our modern society for the American Indians. I cannot agree with this position. In this connection, I would like to insert an article appearing in the February 1957 issue of Together, the official organ of the Methodist Church, entitled "America's Indians Get a Chance." The author, James Daniel, was formerly a reporter for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, and is currently on the staff of Time magazine. I believe it is a much more accurate picture of present-day conditions.

The article follows:

AMERICA'S INDIANS GET A CHANCE
(By James Daniel)

Johnny Begay is a 10-year-old Navaho Indian boy with wide, dark eyes, straight, black hair, and a dazzling smile. Born in a 1-room, windowless, mud-and-log "hogan," third of 5 children of a poor, disease-cursed family (the first 2 children died in infancy), Johnny might have grown up to be just another blanket Indian, living on a Government dole like thousands of others on the huge Navaho Reservation in New Mexico and Arizona.

But one day when he was 7 and herding sheep, the principal of a school down in the valley drove up the canyon to talk with Johnny's father. Through an interpreter she explained that there was a new Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, Glenn L. Emmons, who was distressed because half the children of the Navaho Tribe, largest of all Indian groups, were not attending school. She quoted from a talk he was making to all tribal councils all over the country: "Other children can grow up to be doctors, lawyers, teachers, nurses, businessmen, bankers, skilled operators. They can be Congressmen, governors. Your children can, too, if they have the education and we give them their chance."

"What does she want me to do?" the father asked the interpreter uneasily.

"Put that boy in school," said the principal firmly.

"Oh, no," the father protested. "Who would do his work?"

"I will," spoke up Johnny's mother. "The strange woman has a good face. What she says is true. If we keep the boy here, he will never have any life but this."

Half an hour later Johnny was waving a shaky good-bye to his family and riding the rutted trail down to the reservation boarding school. Starting without a word of English, Johnny made such progress in the next 3 years that last fall he went with 500 other Navaho boys and girls to Gallup, N. Mex. There he lived in a big new dormitory staffed with house mothers and entered the city schools of racially cosmopolitan Gallup, striking up friendships and studying with chil-

dren of Yankee, Italian, German, Polish, Mexican, and other stock.

Johnny Begay stands for a new era in Indian relations. It is an era that began in 1952 when Presidential Candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower pledged to work out a solution of the age-old problems of our original Americans, in close and continuous consultation with the Indians themselves, and to bring them into the main stream of American life. To redeem that pledge the following year, he appointed Glenn Emmons, a small-town country banker from Gallup and long-time champion and friend of the Indians, as the 38th Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Under Emmons, Indian poverty, disease, and ignorance have been subjected to their most concentrated attack in history. Indians have been freed from humiliating laws that point to them as second-class citizens. Best of all, their own creative self-help potentialities have been powerfully stimulated.

"No longer is our problem prodding Indians to get going," confides a veteran Indian Bureau official. "It's trying to keep up with them."

Born in Alabama 61 years ago, Emmons got out the Army in 1919 and headed for Gallup and a job as a bank clerk. Gallup was a coal-mining town with hitching posts in front of the saloons. Indians and their squaws thronged the streets on Saturdays.

Many old Indian warriors still bitterly recalled the Navahos' terrible forced march into exile with Kit Carson. Until the Yankees came along, the Navahos had been a proud and powerful tribe. Now despised, they were discouraged, ragged, and dirty, and some drank themselves petrified to forget. But Emmons saw they were just ordinary people in trouble, and his heart went out to them.

Incensed that Indians, forbidden by law to mortgage their land, could not borrow money except at scandalous rates from professional moneylenders, he and a brother, who had built up a little bank of their own on borrowed money, experimented by making character loans to Indians. Sometimes Emmons struck out the bank's name on the note, substituting his own and advancing personal funds. He counted on the Navahos' natural thrift and skill as livestock men, and the Indians kept faith with him.

Emmons was one of the Southwestern leaders who joined behind the Indians' right to vote, which led, in 1948, to court decrees that Indians were being deprived of their citizenship rights by party machines in Arizona and New Mexico. And in 1952 Emmons urged Eisenhower to come to the Gallup Indian Ceremonial. There, at the big festival of Indian tribes from all areas of the country, Eisenhower signalized the political maturity of Indians by including them in his program, to bring them into the mainstream of American life.

After the election, the Navaho tribal council sent emissaries to Washington to urge Emmons' appointment as commissioner. The President waited until more than 150 tribes had had a chance to express themselves on this issue. Then in July 1953 he named Emmons as the preference of the elected tribal leaderships and promptly sent the new Commissioner on a 2-month tour of Indian reservations throughout the West.

When Emmons returned to Washington, he was the best-informed Commissioner since the job was created in 1824. He reported that "Indians want what other Americans want: help in overcoming ignorance, poverty, and disease, of which they have more than their share." He pointed out that Indian infant mortality was nearly 3 times as high as for the rest of the country, and tuberculosis mortality 5 times as high. Indians suffered 8 times as much infectious hepatitis, 10 times as much dysentery.

Despite solemn treaty promises, we had failed to provide Indians with even minimum education. Some 20,000 children of school age hadn't been in a classroom; many times that many adults were unprepared to earn a living. As recently as the 1940's Government policy strove to isolate the Indians on the reservations, on the theory that they were incapable of competing or even protecting themselves against modern American society. And so on the 54 million reservation acres, some of it so arid that it took 160 acres to provide forage for 1 horse, were crowded some 250,000 to 300,000 Indians. Furthermore, a high birth rate which even now is expected to double the Indian population in the next 21 years meant that every year the Indian standard of living, already abysmally low, would decline considerably.

In a move which Emmons approved, Congress cleared away an underbrush of archaic Indian law. It was ridiculous that in 1953 the Indians were denied the elementary right to own firearms. It was a Federal offense to sell liquor to Indians—a law that served to emphasize the alleged inferiority of Indians and was flagrantly disobeyed. Now, local option determines if there's to be prohibition and the Indian tribes, using their own police forces, courts, and jails, bear down on Indian drunkenness more effectively than the white man ever could.

Emmons succeeded in getting the United States Public Health Service to take over full responsibility for Indian health. Health cycles ordinarily respond slowly. But already this move, which led to an 87 percent increase in the number of sanitarians working among Indians, has caused such indices as tuberculosis deaths to decline markedly.

In education, Emmons started a crash program aimed at getting 100 percent of the school-age children into classes. On the Navaho Reservation, he speeded up the conversion of infrequently attended day schools into boarding schools, so that children would attend classes regularly. And one-room trailer schools were spotted over the reservation to test new school locations.

In a daring move, Emmons asked the cities of New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah to admit Navaho children to their public schools. Back came the reply: "Sorry. No funds."

"O. K.," said Emmons. "If we get you Federal money to build extra classrooms, put up Indian dormitories, and pay tuition, then will you take our children?"

Public opinion was on the spot. Racial prejudice long had been camouflaged by the practical argument that since Indian-reservation property is exempt from local taxation, it would be unfair to taxpayers to extend public services to Indians. Now this excuse wouldn't do, and after much public discussion Gallup and Aztec, N. Mex., and Holbrook, Winslow, and Snowflake, Ariz., agreed. A sixth town, Richfield, Utah, agreed to participate on a year-to-year basis with a limited number of Indian pupils.

Today, after only 2 years in operation, the public-school project has 1,400 Indian pupils and is the pride of the whole area. Of the 126 enrolled in Richfield, 86 made 3 grades in 2 years; 8 made 4 grades in 2 years; only 1 has failed.

Community attitude? Congressman H. A. DIXON, of Utah, reports that Indian children have been welcomed into Scouting; the Rotary Club has a standing committee in their behalf. The churches have given big dinners for them, and every single Indian child was invited into a Richfield home for Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners. Best of all, 14 Indian children have been placed in foster homes in the community.

In these schools young Indian lives that would otherwise be wasted are being made meaningful and productive. I recently spent a day at the Intermountain School at Brigham City, Utah, where 2,300 teen-agers are getting accelerated academic, combined with vocational, training. "We're doing a strictly profitable salvage job on these deserving youngsters," Superintendent George A. Boyce told me. "Forget, if you want to, that they deserve this. Remember that if we weren't helping them they would be on the taxpayers' backs for 50 years."

Boyce told me there is apparently a spontaneous movement among Indians toward Christianity. "It used to be that hardly any child came to us with a church affiliation or preference stated by the parents. Now hardly one comes without."

Intermountain has graduated a total of 518 boys and girls. Seventy-seven percent are holding down jobs, most of these off the reservations. The others are in service, or taking further education. Unemployment is an unbelievably low 3 percent. Typical graduates include a $297-a-month railroad-shop carpenter, a $258 sheet-metal worker, a $232 brick tender for an Ogden, Utah, construction firm; two $360 bricklayers in Denver; a $208 body-fender man for the Ford assembly plant in San Jose, Calif. Other young men are in the Army, Air Force, and paratroopers here and abroad.

Girl graduates go into domestic service, nursing, waiting tables, working in laundries, and clerking in stores—where there is work to be done. "They don't mind starting out humbly," says Boyce. "But get their foot on the first rung of the ladder and up they go under their own power."

Last fall an adult-education program stressing courses in English was launched among the Florida Seminoles, Arizona Papagos, South Dakota Sioux, North Dakota Chippewas, and Idaho Shoshones. "Thousands of people on reservations today are separated from the modern world by a language barrier," says Emmons. "No wonder they have such difficulty earning a living."

There's already proof that maturer Indians are employable, given a knowledge of English. During 1956 some 8,000 Indians, singly and in family groups, migrated from reservations to Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, and other cities, where the Indian Bureau has job-placement offices. Some were middle-aged, some had never seen a telephone or a streetcar. Yet Bureau officials estimate that these newly transplanted Indians pay an average of $210 a year in income taxes—ceasing to be dependents of the United States and becoming cosupporters.

There is a significant movement of industry to the reservations, with the Indian Bureau helping tribes get in touch with companies seeking new plant sites. Currently, Indians are working in electronics assembly plants in Wisconsin and footwear factories in North Carolina. A west-coast furniture company has started a new factory in Gallup and has contracted to use Indians for supervisory as well as bench jobs.

Today we see the reservation Indian moving eagerly, confidently, into our society. Johnny Begay is not one little Indian boy—he is thousands. In 3 years the Navahos, largest and till recently the most backward tribe, have raised their primary and secondary enrollment from 14,000 to 26,000.

A few years ago you could count on one hand the Navahos getting higher education. This year 250 are enrolled in colleges, medical schools, nursing centers, and business schools. Of these, 99 have full scholarships from the tribal council, which not only pays tuition and board but sees to it that Navaho students have as much spending money as other college youth.

There is a new-found pride in personal appearance and grooming. On a recent trip to the Navaho country I marveled at not seeing even one unkempt or shabbily attired pupil. "There's a reason," said Wade Head, Indian Bureau regional director. "The tribe appropriated $400,000 of their own money to buy clothes for any child needing them." They specified there was to be no institu-

tional garb, but attractive individual clothing.

All this is only an outward sign of an inward change. As wards and dependents of the Federal Government, the reservation Indians naturally were suspicious, resentful, and often demanding. Today they have something to give. Recently a Navaho girl graduated from an eastern college and was offered a position teaching back East. Having held a scholarship awarded by her tribal council, she had a moral obligation to return to teach on the reservation.

She took her problem to Paul Jones, the wise chief of the Navahos.

"Accept the offer," he told her. "Those people back East have been sending us teachers and doctors and nurses for a long time. I reckon the time has come for us to begin returning the favor."

The American Legion and the Salk Polio Vaccine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a press release of the Indiana American Legion and the resolution that the Indiana Department of the American Legion presented to the National Rehabilitation Conference in Washington, D. C.

The American Legion is to be complimented and congratulated on their attempt to help in making possible innoculation against polio. This is a worthy community service project being carried on by this public-spirited organization.

The press release follows:

THE AMERICAN LEGION AND THE SALK POLIO VACCINE

Department Comdr. Reed Beard, of the Indiana American Legion, today issued a call from the national rehabilitation conference in Washington, D. C., to the 464 Hoosier posts to make adult inoculation against polio their outstanding community service project of 1957.

Commander Beard's action call was given a tragic accent by the first reported 1957 polio death in Indianapolis.

Groundwork for the nationwide adult polio inoculation campaign was laid in Washington last Sunday by the national medical advisory board of the American Legion composed of distinguished doctors and surgeons. Following its recommendation that the American Legion support the inoculation of all American people to stamp out polio. Dr. N. R. Booher, of Indianapolis, national rehabilitation vice chairman of the American Legion, drafted a resolution which was adopted by the national rehabilitation commission. It urged the 17,105 posts of the American Legion to get behind the completion of adult polio inoculation before the end of March 1957.

Department Commander Beard emphasized that the Salk vaccine has given Indiana children substantial protection against polio.

"But if we are to stamp out polio as a public-health hazard in Indiana and the Nation, adults must also be protected against this dreaded disease," he stressed.

Commander Beard has sent the following call to all Indiana American Legion post commanders, adjutants, and service officers:

"Enclosed find a resolution on poliomyelitis inoculations unanimously adopted by the national rehabilitation commission in Washington on February 24.

"This letter is going to each of our posts in the department of Indiana with the urgent request that each post immediately contact its county medical society and local physicians and offer the services of the post in the polio inoculation drive in each community.

"This is a golden opportunity for each and every post in the Indiana department to render community service.

"I trust you will take immediate action on this important matter."

The resolution submitted by Dr. Booher and unanimously adopted by the National Rehabilitation Commission of the American Legion follows:

"Whereas a successful, effective and proved vaccine against poliomyelitis has now been developed by American medical scientists led by Dr. Jonas Salk and known as the Salk polio vaccine; and

"Whereas it has ben recognized that children up to 16 years of age and pregnant women are the most susceptible to poliomyelitis and therefore the early programs for inoculation with Salk vaccine while the supply was limited were confined to these groups; and

"Whereas the supply of this vaccine is now adequate for all purposes; and

"Whereas it is now recognized that persons in the age groups up to and including 40 years of age also are relatively susceptible to poliomyelitis and when the older age groups are stricken that their form of the disease is likely to be the most serious, bulbar type that brings early complete incapacity and death; and

"Whereas medical scientists including Dr. Salk are now on record as urging that the older age groups, certainly through 40 years of age or older should be inoculated; and

"Whereas it is the opinion of competent medical people that if polio is eradicated from the younger population it is likely to seize on the older citizens with increased vigor; and

"Whereas it is a proved fact that in many areas there is widespread public apathy to completion of the inoculation of the American public with Salk vaccines as shown by the best statistics available; and

"Whereas the medical profession is making strenuous efforts all over the Nation to complete these inoculations and help stop this disease before the next polio season in the spring of 1957: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the National Rehabilitation Commission of the American Legion, upon the advice of its medical advisory board, does hereby go on record as approving the inoculation of all of our American people against poliomyelitis; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That all means available to the American Legion be used to bring this message to the American people and that all means be exercised by all units of the American Legion to assist in the completion of this worthy and necessary endeavor before the end of March 1957, not only within this membership but the public at large."

Retirement of Rev. Robert Graham, of Ashley, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader Evening News of February 25, which comments on the retirement of Rev. Robert Graham, pastor, Ashley Presbyterian Church, after 35 years service to the congregation:

Retirement of the Reverend Robert Graham, pastor of Ashley Presbyterian Church, on Thursday after serving the congregation for 35 years, will sever another link with the past. He was ordained in 1917 and served only one other charge.

Earlier in the month, the Very Reverend Nicholas Chopey, pastor of St. Mary's Greek Rite Catholic Church, retired from active duty after 54 years in the North Wilkes-Barre charge. During the past decade or two, practically all of the veteran clergymen on the local scene have disappeared, leaving only a handful to carry on in the old tradition.

The Reverend Mr. Graham is the fifth minister in the history of the Ashley congregation that dates back to 1844, although it was not formally organized until 1866. The list includes the Reverend William Day, the Reverend Melvin Custer, the Reverend George H. Broening, and the Reverend McKeen Polk, all deceased. These clergymen, the Reverend Mr. Graham included, played a leading role in the community as well as in the denomination. Ashley Presbyterian Church, in fact, is older than the borough itself.

The Reverend Mr. Graham not only is loved by the congregation, but he is highly respected by the presbytery which honored him with the posts of moderator, stated clerk and delegate to the synod and general assembly.

While there will be regret that the Reverend Mr. Graham's fruitful career is drawing to a close, members of the congregation and other friends will rejoice that at long last he is about to reap the harvest of fidelity to duty in the form of leisure in the remaining years of a useful life.

Confusion in the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 4, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by David Lawrence:

CONFUSION IN THE U. N.—MOVE FOR SANCTIONS CALLED PREMATURE, IGNORING STEPS LAID DOWN IN CHARTER

How can fear between nations be removed? Is this the task of the United States alone or is it the responsibility of the United Nations? And if the U. N. has failed in the past to give assurances that it will act to remove fear of attack does this mean that it should not be asked by its members to try again?

These questions go to the heart of the Middle East crisis. They are answered in the words of the United Nations Charter. Skeptics and cynics point to the ineffectiveness of the U. N. heretofore, but the fact is that the major powers themselves failed to utilize the U. N. and make it effective.

Many people have a vague idea that the U. N. can somehow become effective as a means of maintaining peace in the world, but few persons really know how precise the language of the charter happens to be. A good example of this lack of knowledge is the emphasis recently given in the press to sanctions—as if this were a first instead of a last step and as if this is a discipline to be

finally imposed by the General Assembly when actually that body can only recommend and hasn't any binding authority on this subject at all under the charter.

What the founders of the United Nations drew up in 1945 was a charter which said specifically that "in order to insure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility, the Security Council acts on their behalf."

No other body—neither the General Assembly nor any U. N. committee—has such sweeping power and responsibility.

The charter itself recognized that fear of attack might be basic in bringing about the use of force to meet a threat. So the charter says that "all members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any member state."

If this is not heeded, the charter in article 40 declares: "In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in article 41, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such measures."

Now article 41 enumerates the possible sanctions—economic and military. But, so far as the United Nations is concerned, these can be imposed only by the Security Council. Individual members can, if the Security Council fails to act, impose sanctions collectively, but this is not a United Nations action and, under international law, the nation against which the sanctions are imposed can regard such sanctions as an unfriendly act or even an act of war.

So the problem is to get unanimity in the Security Council where in the past the Soviet veto has barred the way to enforcement action except in the case of Korea when the representative of the Moscow Government happened to be absent from the all-important meeting of the Security Council.

Would the Soviet Government or any other government today veto a resolution which calls merely for the pronouncement by the Security Council of an intention to devise a program of provisional measures that will be presented by the Council to both parties in the Israel-Egypt dispute? Certainly the withdrawal of Israeli troops could be more readily accomplished now if the Security Council under article 40 repeats the words of the Charter that "such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or positions of the parties concerned."

This is an orderly procedure designed to remove fear and to assure justice. It is a first step and an immediate one whereas sanctions is a last step to be taken only after all the other methods of settlement stipulated in the charter itself have been exhausted. Discussion of sanctions is therefore, at best premature, especially since article 33 of the charter prescribes that the Security Council shall first call upon the parties to settle their disputes by "negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional arrangements or other peaceful means of their own choice."

The world is waiting for the U. N. to function as its charter requires and in that way fear can be removed and faith in the effectiveness of the U. N. can be restored.

U. N. Policing Idea Gains Favor in United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions I have urged the administration to take the lead in exploring the possibility of establishing a permanent United Nations, police force. It is my feeling that present conditions offer us a great opportunity to establishing such a force. Indeed, the future effectiveness of the U. N. might well depend upon our seizing this opportunity to begin the development of a U. N. military force responsible directly to the U. N. itself.

In this connection I wish to insert an article from the Newark Star-Ledger of February 24, 1957, entitled "U. N. Policing Idea Gains Favor in United States," by Elmo Roper and associates:

THE PUBLIC PULSE: U. N. POLICING IDEA GAINS FAVOR IN UNITED STATES

From time to time many harsh words are spoken and written about the United Nations. It has been called everything from a glorified debating society to a threat to United States sovereignty—even a propaganda mouthpiece for the Communists.

So it becomes important to record the fact that with all its alleged faults and frailties, the United Nations nevertheless enjoys a high degree of confidence among the rank and file of the American people.

A short time ago we asked a sample of public opinion a long and detailed question about the U. N.:

"Some people say the United Nations should have a permanent police force in order to enforce or put teeth into its decisions. This would be composed of troops from all the United Nations countries, including the United States. Others are against having a permanent police force because the United States could not completely control what its own troops in the police force were used for. Would you favor or oppose a permanent U. N. police force with American troops in it?"

This is a very explicit question. Moreover, one reason for a "No" answer is prominently provided for anybody who wants to seize it. The question was not asked in a time of international relaxation, but against the grim background of the Suez crisis, and of the U. N.'s first sponstaneous and actual placing of such a police force in the field, so the overall answers have a great deal of significance:

	Percent
In favor of such a police force	57
Opposed	22
"Don't know" or "It depends"	21
	100

Such opposition as there is to a U. N. police force containing American troops is greatest in the South.

The Far West's vote of confidence in the police force idea is very high. The East is more restrained and the Midwest might be described as lukewarm. But even if every "Don't know" or "It depends" vote were ultimately cast against it, the idea of a police force with American troops would still gain a majority in every part of the country except the South, where the results would be only a 50–50 standoff.

Thinking in terms of an international force to keep world law and order is a new thing for the American people. Even when we were fully involved in World War II, 15 years ago, our obvious desire was to stay clear of actual ties with other countries once the war was won.

Against this background, it is remarkable that we find ourselves now taking the U. N. as much for granted as we do. It is even more remarkable that we are so ready to go along with the idea of a standing U. N. force—not one just thrown together hastily for a time of emergency, but one which would be a safeguard against emergencies arising, and ready to nip one in the bud if it did. Our old ways of thinking have been dear to us, but our survival seems to be dearer.

How much of this feeling is just a willingness to follow Eisenhower's lead? It is hard to tell. His own emphasis seems now to have shifted to more reliance on United States power and policy to prevent conflict from flaring up again. When we ask this question again some months from now, we shall be able to get some indication of how solidly grounded these attitudes are among the American people.

Attorney Arthur Maguire Sworn in as Judge of Luzerne County (Pa.) Orphans' Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Record of February 25 commenting on the newly appointed judge of the Luzerne County orphans' court, Attorney Arthur Maguire:

Having resigned as chief counsel for the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission, Attorney Arthur A. Maguire is scheduled to take the oath of office this morning as the newly appointed judge of the Luzerne County orphans' court. The honor comes as a climax to an eventful career which began with his admittance to the bar, September 14, 1929. He was named as assistant United States attorney in the middle district in 1934 and later became the United States attorney.

He comes from a family long prominent in educational circles in this area. A brother, John, was a well-known teacher in Wilkes-Barre, Dr. Frank Maguire; another brother was at East Stroudsburg State Teachers College for years. William was city editor of the Times-Leader for a lengthy span.

Enlistment in the Air Corps in 1917 cut Arthur Maguire's teaching career short and after the war he took to the study of law, completing a course at Georgetown University.

A ceremony such as today's has not been frequent in the history of the local orphans' court. Maguire will have had only seven predecessors going back to 1874. Judges Daniel Rhone served from that year until

1895; Alfred Darte, 1895 to July 20, 1901, dying in office; George H. Troutman, October 8, 1901 to 1902;" Andrew M. Freas, 1902 to 1922; E. Foster Heller, 1922 to October 26, 1940, died in office; Andrew Hourigan, Sr., December 16, 1940 to 1951; Ben R. Jones, 1952 to 1957.

Delay Vote on Israel Sanctions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of February 22, 1957:

DELAY VOTE ON ISRAEL SANCTIONS

Following the Israeli Cabinet's decision to to make another effort to reach an understanding with the United Nations, the imperative need is for the U. N. to delay for a few days any moves to punish Israel with sanctions for failure to withdraw her forces completely from Egyptian territory.

That Israel did not offer to withdraw at once, after President Eisenhower's speech outlining the position of the United States, and the U. N., may be disappointing to some.

But so long as Israel appears willing to negotiate further with the U. N., and has left the way open for eventual withdrawal if Israel's security can be protected, prospects of peace in the Middle East will be aided by go-slow tactics in the United Nations.

Even in advance of any U. N. vote on sanctions, Israel was under tremendous moral pressure to remove her forces from the Gaza strip and the Gulf of Aqaba without getting the guaranties she is insisting on.

Part of that pressure came from the U. N. General Assembly, which ordered Israel, as well as France and Great Britain, to withdraw after their invasion of Egypt last fall.

A greater part, perhaps, came from the United States, when President Eisenhower called on Israel to accept generalized assurances regarding the Gaza strip and rights of free passage through the Gulf of Aqaba and held it would be a setback for hopes of international order if the U. N. failed to exert its full influence to make Israel withdraw.

The President's argument was persuasive to many people. For Israel, with her record of respect for world opinion, to join Soviet Russia in flouting the U. N. might be a grave mistake. For the U. N. to fail to follow through on its moves to restore peace in the Middle East might drastically damage prospects of settling future disputes.

But the argument is not at all one sided. For if the U. N. should go to the lengths of voting sanctions against Israel, where it has failed to apply them to Russia for the crushing of Hungary's bid for freedom, it would be applying one law to the weak, and another to the strong.

'It is regrettable that the President in his speech did not emphasize what Egypt did to bring on the crisis, and is doing to prolong it. The background of Egypt's murderous border raids against Israel, and the vow of President Nasser to exterminate the infant nation, is vital to any discussion of the invasion.

Even before that, Egypt committed economic aggression against Israel by barring Israeli shipping from the Suez Canal. The U. N.'s order that Egypt lift the blockade was defied—and the U. N., it should be remembered, did not even consider sanctions.

These are matters the U. N. should consider in any further discussion of the situation in the Middle East. It ought to take account of the large share of blame borne by Egypt for provoking the invasion, and of the need for guaranties that if Israel withdraws, it will not merely set the stage for further provocation by Egypt or other Arab nations.

In offering to use American influence to secure the guaranties Israel wants in the Gaza strip and the Gulf of Aqaba, President Eisenhower went as far as he could to show that the United States sympathizes with Israel's problems. That should be borne firmly in mind by Israel's government in any further discussions of the crisis.

But the U. N. is in a position to offer stronger guaranties, which would certainly result in Israel's withdrawal. More than that, by recognizing that the crisis stems from Egypt's aggressive acts, the U. N. would show that justice, rather than the size of a nation, is the main factor in its search for peace.

United States Economic Aid to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader Evening News of February 25, which discusses the recent speech made by Attorney Charles Rozmarek, at Wilkes-Barre, with reference to United States economic aid to Poland. Attorney Rozmarek, a native of Wilkes-Barre, is now president of the Polish-American Congress:

In advocating United States economic aid to Poland, Charles Rozmarek, speaking here last night at the golden jubilee banquet of branch 790 of the Polish National Alliance, drew a line to distinguish between the Red regime in Warsaw and the people of Poland.

Far from asking the Government in Washington to throw in with Communists in Poland or elsewhere, Mr. Rozmarek, who is president of the Polish American Congress which represents 7 million Americans of Polish extraction, saw an opportunity to drive a new wedge between Poland and Russia, thus accelerating the demise of communism.

It is bold thinking and, in military circles, it might be regarded as a calculated risk. But battles are not won without taking chances. Victory usually goes to the side that has the courage of its convictions. This, of course, does not mean America should deliver to Poland a check for $100 million or some such sum with its blessing. That would be foolhardy and Mr. Rozmarek has not such assistance in mind.

He would limit assistance to credits in the United States, thus controlling the type and flow of aid. In addition to that, he would institute an American inspection system to follow through and take such other safeguards as are necessary to prevent any of the aid from finding its way to the Soviet Union or its satellites.

The people of Poland are hard pressed. They need so many things to keep body and soul together. If their insustry is built up, it will make them less dependent on Moscow and it will breathe new life into the faltering Polish economy. From a practical viewpoint, the country needs help to rehabilitate existing plants and its mining industry where working conditions are especially hazardous. The Polish farmers could use machinery and there are ever so many things that would ease the lot of these brave people who are on the front lines in the struggle for liberty.

There is ample precedent for the program Mr. Rozmarek proposes. Admittedly, there is a possibility the setup could fall flat on its face, but that is a chance we have to take if we wish to exploit development since the Poznan uprising. The alternative is to drive the national Communists back to the Kremlin for aid, not a very pleasing prospect.

Mr. Reserve in House: Overton Brooks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I include the following article from the New York Times:

MR. RESERVE IN HOUSE: OVERTON BROOKS

WASHINGTON, February 26.—Years of unspectacular legislative spadework in National Guard and military reserve affairs paid off in a spectacular way today for Representative OVERTON BROOKS.

MAN IN THE NEWS

Mr. BROOKS, a Louisiana Democrat who has trudged for 20 years in Congress without tasting national fame, suddenly emerged as the peacemaker in one of the hottest disputes of the day. His achievement: Settlement of differences between the Army and National Guard over active duty training requirements for National Guard recruits.

To bring about the agreement, Mr. BROOKS reports, he took on the role of mediator as an unofficial part of his duties as chairman of the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Reserve Forces Policies.

He held a series of separate conferences with spokesmen for each side, gently prodding first one and then the other to give some ground. The product, announced today, was a compromise formula that satisfied everybody concerned.

Mr. BROOKS attributes the successful outcome largely to the fact that the disputants came to know him well and to trust his impartiality over the two decades that he has worked on legislation in their field.

A strong Reserve, including a well-trained National Guard, has been his No. 1 project from the day in January 1937, that he first took the oath as a Member of Congress. Most of the major Reserve bills enacted since then bear his name as chief House sponsor.

STAFF AIDE FOR SPADEWORK

But he has been overshadowed consistently by the powerful and colorful figure of CARL VINSON, the Georgia Democrat who heads the full Armed Services Committee. His role, in fact, is likened by some colleagues to that of a staff lieutenant in charge of spadework for the general in command.

Mr. VINSON, however, has bestowed the title Mr. Reserve on his friend from Louisiana with the following citation:

"OVERTON BROOKS knows more about the Reserve and has done more for the Reserve than any Member of Congress."

At 56, Mr. BROOKS is the committee's ranking Democrat next to Mr. VINSON, and consequently is in line for the chairmanship should it become vacant with his party still in the majority.

Today, he looked forward to a new era in development of an effective Reserve program. He declared he had never before seen such a feeling of good fellowship between the National Guard and the Army Reserve.

His interest in building a well-trained Reserve goes back to his own service in World War I. He enlisted in the Army at the age of 18 and was thrust into combat as a private after 30 days of training.

He had never ridden a horse but found himself astride one, helping to pull an artillery caisson, on his first day of battle.

"I fell off three times," he recalls.

GOT OUT WITH HIS SKIN, BUT—

"I got out of it with a whole skin, received two battle stars and even rose to the rank of sergeant," he reports. "But I decided then that if I was ever in a position to do so I would see to it that others were never sent into combat without proper training."

Aside from that goal, his main continuing interest has been the advocacy of Federal flood control projects—a subject close to the hearts of flood-weary constituents.

This helps to explain why he seldom faces serious opposition in his biannual bid for another term. He is president of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, which has more flood-control projects as a major aim.

On other national questions, his line has been that of a more-or-less typical Southern conservative. He voted against most of the New Deal-Fair Deal proposals of Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, and has become increasingly hostile to foreign economic aid since the early days of the Marshall plan.

Though he could not be described as a colorful or dynamic person, Mr. BROOKS has won influence through diligent work and a detailed knowledge of his specialty. He does not speak often on the floor, and when he does his talks are sometimes tedious.

In conversation, he evidences the quiet charm of a serious-minded and thoroughly sincere schoolmaster.

Although he stands 6 feet tall and weighs 195 pounds, he is unspectacular in appearance. He dresses conservatively, combs his graying blond hair in a semipompadour and wears conventional horn-rimmed glasses.

Mr. BROOKS was born in Baton Rouge. He served his political apprenticeship as a young lawyer and later United States Commissioner in Shreveport, where he settled after graduation from Louisiana State University.

Mr. BROOKS married Mollie Meriwether of Shreveport in 1933. They have a daughter, Laura Anne, a student at Louisiana State, who also has political ambitions.

"I hope she changes her mind," Mr. BROOKS says. "It's a rough life."

Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1958

SPEECH
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 5189) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I take this time not to offer any change in the language of this legislation but to express the appreciation which I am sure is in the hearts of many Indian people in this country for the action taken by the committee with regard to funds for the work of the Indian Claims Commission. The work of that Commission has been lagging. It is a problem of which the House Interior Committee is well aware and which we are pleased to see cognizance has been taken of by the Appropriations Committee in providing additional funds.

I hope the Appropriations Committee will follow the very desirable action with regard to this appropriation by insisting that the Department of Justice when it seeks its appropriation will also secure sufficient funds to do the job that it needs to do to bring these cases to issue. Much of the lag that is present in the work of the Indian Claims Commission is due directly to the failure of the Department of Justice to file its pleadings in these cases and to bring these cases to trial.

I think this subcommittee has taken the very necessary first step toward getting this problem behind us, a very necessary problem to be resolved before we can actually have a full resolution of our Indian problems.

If the Committee on Appropriations will just follow up by seeing that the Justice Department also obtains the money and uses that money to get these cases tried, then I think the Congress will have taken a very, very long step toward a complete solution of the Indian problem. I want to thank the committee for the work done in this regard.

Letter to the President From Bronx Division, American Jewish Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter to President Eisenhower, copy of which was sent me by the Bronx Division of the American Jewish Congress:

FEBRUARY 13, 1957.

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The executive board of the Bronx Division, American Jewish Congress, respectfully urges you, as President of the United States, and as a person who is looked to by the entire world for guidance in its fervent quest for peace and the fulfillment of human dignity, to do all in your power to influence the Egyptian Government to cease its persecutions of the Jews in Egypt.

The Egyptian Government's harrassments, imprisonments, and deportations of its Jewish citizens has been so intensified as to touch the conscience of all men of good will.

The cast of this Egyptian program is so strikingly similar to that of the Hitler oppressions and the pattern of persecutions practiced in the Communist orbit as to increase our fears for the lives of those involved.

To date more than 8,000 members of the Jewish community have been forced to leave Egypt after being hard pressed, imprisoned, and deprived of even elementary means of making a living.

Jewish families, who have been long-time natives of Egypt, many having lived in Egypt for centuries, and who have no other allegiance and no other nation to whom they can turn for protection, have been expelled, their life savings and possessions seized and have been permitted to take with them only 1 suitcase of bare necessities and $56 to start life anew elsewhere.

In Nasser's "Egyptianization" program, we recognize a similar amoral "Aryanication" plan to liquidate the Jewish community. Concentration camps have been set up and at present Jews have been interned in them. At least 1 member of each Jewish family is being held hostage so as to silence those who are forced to leave.

The Bronx Division, American Jewish Congress, is fearful that unless the long delay by our Government in expressing itself strongly against these persecutions is ended that the entire Jewish community in Egypt will be annihilated.

We therefore urge you in the spirit of brotherhood, to intervene directly with the Egyptian Government to cease its cruel actions. Such persecution violates the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Fourth Geneva Convention, the United Nations Genocide Convention, as well as the moral principles of civilized human beings everywhere.

We urge you to instruct our delegate at the United Nations to secure a resolution condemning the Egyptian reign of terror against its Jewish community and directing it to desist from these actions.

We also urge that our Government do all in its power to make available asylum in the United States to the persecuted Jews of Egypt in the same generous terms that it is now providing asylum for the refugees of Hungary.

Respectfully yours,
HYMAN KORN,
President.
LOUIS L. SCHWARTZ,
Chairman, Commission on International Affairs.
DR. GEORGE SCHWARTZ,
Cochairman, Commission on International Affairs.
ALVIN F. KLEIN,
Cochairman, Commission on International Affairs.

TWA's New President: Carter L. Burgess

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the reputation which Trans World Airlines has earned as one of the world's foremost carriers may be attributed, in large part, to the vision, enterprise, and leadership of the men who have steered TWA's course of progress. No group of people is more aware of this fact than my constituents in Kansas City, Mo., where TWA has been a symbol of our city's economic growth since 1930.

. The recent election of Carter L. Burgess as president of TWA, succeeding the late Ralph S. Damon, presages another important chapter in TWA's history, and brightens the future not alone of that company, but also of the whole aviation industry to which Mr. Burgess brings his exceptional talents.

Although Mr. Burgess is just 40 years old, he is accustomed to assuming heavy responsibilities. His record as Assistant Secretary of Defense was outstanding, as was his performance in the other Government agencies where he has served.

In Carter L. Burgess, TWA has a dynamic administrator whose rare abilities and dedication to duty insure TWA's continuing success in the ever-growing field of air transportation.

With the jet-transport era fast approaching, new and increasingly complex problems confront the aviation industry. How effectively airline managements will respond to new and bigger challenges will depend upon the resourcefulness and acumen of men like Carter L. Burgess.

The future outlook for TWA is one of great promise. Kansas City shares the confidence and enthusiasm of TWA's 6,000 employees located in Kansas City, and TWA's personnel halfway around the globe in greeting their new chief executive officer.

The Optima Flood-Control Reservoir

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JARMAN
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include enrolled Senate Concurrent Resolution 6, as the same was adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the 26th Legislature of the State of Oklahoma:

Enrolled Senate Concurrent Resolution 6

Concurrent resolution memorializing the 85th Congress of the United States to act promptly and favorably and enact any additional authorizing legislation necessary or required to immediately begin construction of the Optima flood control reservoir (Hardesty site) on the North Canadian River located in western Oklahoma, and to provide the necessary funds to begin construction of the Optima reservoir project (Hardesty site) at the earliest possible date; directing that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, and to each Member of the Oklahoma congressional delegation

Whereas the Congress of the United States did authorize for construction the Optima Reservoir for flood control and other purposes under House Document 308, 74th Congress, 1st session, 1936; and

Whereas the Congress did reaffirm its prior authority for construction of the Optima project by enactment under H. R. 5472, Public Law 516, 81st Congress, 2d session, in 1950; and

Whereas the State of Oklahoma, through its Oklahoma planning and resources board, on July 1, 1942, did adopt a comprehensive plan for the control and development of the water resources of the North Canadian River which includes the Optima project; and

Whereas the present severe drought has demonstrated without question the urgent need for the additional regulation and control of the water resources of the Canadian River that would be provided by the Optima Reservoir; and

Whereas the President of the United States recently made a personal inspection of this area of Oklahoma to determine ways and means of relieving the economic stress in this area and to find a solution to prevent as nearly as possible a recurrence of the present situation; and

Whereas the construction of the Optima project at this time would greatly arrest the economic stress of the area, and at the same time provide a sound long-range investment in the general welfare of the area, the State and the Nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the 26th Oklahoma Legislature (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That we respectfully request the 85th Congress of the United States, now assembled, to act promptly to provide ways and means and the necessary funds to initiate construction of the Optima Dam and Reservoir at the earliest possible date; be it further

Resolved, That a duly authenticated copy of this resolution be transmitted to Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, and that a copy hereof be transmitted to each Member of the Oklahoma congressional delegation.

Adopted by the senate the 6th day of February 1957.

DON BALSHEIM,
President pro tempore of the Senate.

Adopted by the house of representatives the 7th day of February 1957.

GLEN HAM,
Acting Speaker of the House of Representatives.

CERTIFICATION

STATE OF OKLAHOMA,
County of Oklahoma, ss:

I, Leo Winters, secretary of the senate of the State of Oklahoma, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of Enrolled Senate Concurrent Resolution 6 as the same was adopted by the Senate and the House of Representatives Senate and the House of Representatives of the 26th Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, the original hereof being on file in the office of the secretary of state of the State of Oklahoma.

Witness my hand and the seal of my office at the State capitol this 19th day of February 1957.

[SEAL] LES WINTERS,
Secretary of the Senate.

Partnership With Government in Power Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, recently Secretary Seaton, Department of Commerce, recommended a partnership proposal for the Trinity project in California.

In connection with the history of these partnership proposals, I submit an article by Ralph A. Tudor, formerly Under Secretary of Interior:

PARTNERSHIP WITH GOVERNMENT IN POWER PRODUCTION

(Ralph A. Tudor, M. ASCE, consulting engineer, San Francisco, Calif., formerly Under Secretary of the Interior)

During the Presidential campaign of 1952, Candidate Eisenhower made a speech in Seattle, Wash., in which he supported a partnership between the Federal Government and local interests in the development of the Nation's potential hydroelectric resources. He opposed domination by the Federal Government. Since this was a national campaign the subject itself, which had been a somewhat dormant political issue, then became one for extended public debate. Significantly the political cleavage is not at all definite, for members of each party have been equally vehement in support of, and attack on, the partnership concept.

In the public debate that has ensued, many explanations of the partnership plan have been given; many questions asked; many assertions made that it is unworkable; and many other assertions made that it is entirely practical. There is thus some honest confusion in the minds of many. Without any reference to the political philosophy of public versus private power, free enterprise versus socialism, or States rights versus Federal paternalism, there are a great many people who simply want to know what is meant by this partnership proposal and whether it is practical from an economic and engineering viewpoint.

If the partnership proposal were new and untried there could well be reasonable doubts and a withholding of support and judgment until some limited trials had been made. But the partnership plan is not a new idea. It has been used repeatedly over a long period and it is ready to be judged. It is therefore appropriate—and the purpose of this article—to examine specific instances of where, when, and how it has ben used in the past, and to review some of the proposals now pending.

BEFORE 1953

The partnership concept has been used for almost 50 years and during that time has not been the exclusive property of any political party. It has been utilized under every administration, since it was first employed during Teddy Roosevelt's tenure of office, and during the tenure of the present administration it has, in various instances, been supported by strong blocs in both major political parties.

As early as 1906 the Bureau of Reclamation built three small hydroelectric plants in connection with an irrigation project in the Strawberry Valley in Utah. Under an agreement with the Bureau, these plants are operated by the local water users. This general plan was repeated in 1909 at the Roosevelt Dam in Arizona, in 1911 on the Newlands project in Nevada, in 1916 on the Yakima project in Washington, and in 1932 on the Grand Valley project in Colorado. In 1946 the Bureau of Reclamation made a comparable arrangement with the Pacific Power & Light Co.—a private utility—at the Cove Plant on the Deschutes River in Oregon.

In 1912, 1913, and 1914 local water users provided the funds for the Bureau to build as many powerplants on the Salt River project in Arizona. These three plants were then turned over to the local interests to operate.

Beginning in 1919 and running through 1941, the Bureau entered into partnership arrangements in six instances whereby local water-users' organizations built and operated the hydroelectric plants connected with reclamation projects built by the Bureau. Four of these were on the Salt River

project in Arizona, one on the Klamath project in Oregon, and another on the All-American Canal in California.

A unique partnership agreement was reached between the Bureau of Reclamation and the California-Oregon Power Co. in 1917. In this instance the private power company built at its sole expense a dam and powerplant on the Link River near the outlet of Upper Klamath Lake. The primary purpose of this dam is to control the level of the lake and regulate the release of water from it for irrigation of the Klamath project and for the generation of power at the dam and in plants downstream. The agreement provided that the company would convey the ownership of the dam and the property on which it was built to the United States, but would itself operate the dam first to provide water for irrigation and thereafter to produce power. In addition, the company agreed to furnish low-cost power to irrigators for irrigation and pumping. The company has an installed capacity of 3,200 kilowatts at Link Dam and an additional amount downstream to give a total of 50,000 kilowatts.

While the Bureau of Reclamation was making its own partnership arrangements with local public and private parties, the Army engineers were pursuing a somewhat different course but accomplishing similar results. The Army approach was to look to the Federal Power Commission to license local interests to build powerplants at navigation or flood-control dams and assess charges for benefits from the falling water.

As early as 1897 a Federal navigation dam was built on the Kentucky River. While the dam was capable of producing power, no equipment for this purpose was installed. However, in 1926 the Kentucky Utilities Co. sought and was granted a license by the Federal Power Commission to build a hydroelectric plant with installed capacity of 2,040 kilowatts. For this privilege the company pays the Government $4,708 and delivers not to exceed 17,500 kilowatt-hours for lock operation per year.

In 1917 a navigation lock and dam were built by the Army engineers on the Hudson River at Green Island near Troy, N. Y. Four years later, in 1921, a Federal Power Commission license was issued to Henry Ford & Son, Inc., and this industrial partner installed 6,600 kilowatts. It pays $5,000 and delivers up to 600,000 kilowatt-hours per year for this use of the falling water.

In 1923 the Ford industrial interests were granted another license to install 14,400 kilowatts of generating capacity at the navigation dam built in 1917 on the Mississippi River at the Twin Cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis. The yearly reimbursement to the Government in this instance is $95,440 and up to 60,000 kilowatt-hours for lock operation.

The Florida Power Corp. was licensed in 1924 to install a small 500-kilowatt plant at a navigation dam built on the Oklawaha River in 1925.

In 1925 a license was granted to the Louisville Gas & Electric Co. to install 80,320 kilowatts at a navigation dam under construction on the Ohio River. The fee is $95,000 per year and delivery of an unspecified amount of power for operation of the lock and dam.

A series of three navigation dams were built on the Kanawha in West Virginia from 1934 to 1936. These are the Marmet, London, and Winfield Dams. They cost the Federal Government a total of $13,175,000. Licenses were issued to Kanawha Valley Power Co. to install 43,560 kilowatts, which cost $4,717,000. The company pays $104,000 per year and is obligated to deliver 40,000 kilowatt-hours of power per month for lock and dam operation.

In 1941 the Army Engineers built the Narrows Dam on the Yuba River in California. Its primary purpose was to catch and retain debris from hydraulic mining operations upstream, and a charge was levied against miners for this service. The Pacific Gas & Electric Co. was licensed to install 9,350 kilowatts, and for the use of the falling water the company is obligated to pay $18,000 per year for the first 30 years and $48,000 per year for the remaining 20 years of the license.

Vermont has a partnership arrangement in connection with the Federal flood control dam built on the Waterbury River in 1938. In 1951 the Green Mountain Power Corp. was licensed to install 5,520 kilowatts. In this instance the State of Vermont is a third party for it operates the flood control features.

The Northern States Power Co. was licensed, in 1951, to install 8,000 kilowatts in the lower dam at St. Anthony Falls, Minn., on the Mississippi River.

Thus by 1953 there were at least 26 time-tested examples of partnership in power production between the Federal Government and local interests. They were to be found in 13 different States from Vermont and Florida on the east to Washington and California on the west. The local partners included 14 public bodies, 10 private utilities, and 2 industrial users. Twelve partnership agreements have been reached during Republican administrations and 14 during Democratic administrations. These items are tabulated in the accompanying table.

Partnership projects before 1953

State	Project name	Federal purpose	Power licensee or operator	Year of license or installation	Administration
Utah	Spanish Fork [1]	Reclamation	Water users	1908	T. Roosevelt.
Arizona	Roosevelt	do	do	1909	Taft.
Nevada	Lahontan	do	do	1911	Do.
Arizona	South Consolidated	do	do	1912	Do.
Do	Arizona Falls	do	do	1913	Wilson.
Do	Cross Cut	do	do	1914	Do.
Washington	Rocky Ford	do	do	1916	Do.
Oregon	Link River	do	California, Oregon Power Co.	1917	Do.
Arizona	Chandler	do	Water users	1919	Do.
New York	Green Island	Navigation	Henry Ford & Son, Inc.	1921	Do.
Minnesota	Twin City	do	Ford Motor Co.	1923	Coolidge.
Florida	Moss Bluff	do	Florida Power Co.	1924	Do.
Kentucky	Ohio Falls	do	Louisville Gas & Electric Co.	1925	Do.
Do	U. S. Dam 7	do	Kentucky Utilities Co.	1926	Do.
Arizona	Morman Flat	Reclamation	Water users	1926	Do.
Do	Horse Mesa	do	do	1927	Do.
Do	Stewart Mountain	do	do	1930	Hoover.
Colorado	Grand Valley	do	do	1932	Do.
West Virginia	Marmet	Navigation	Kanawha Valley Power Co.	1934	F. Roosevelt.
Do	London	do	do	1934	Do.
Do	Winfield	do	do	1936	Do.
Oregon	C Canal Drop	Reclamation	Water users	1938	Do.
California	All-America Canal	do	do	1941	Do.
Do	Narrows	Debris control	Pacific Gas & Electric Co.	1941	Do.
Oregon	Cove	Reclamation	Pacific Power & Light Co.	1946	Truman.
Vermont	Waterbury	Flood control	Green Mountain Power Corp.	1951	Do.

[1] 3 plants.

President Eisenhower felt, and rightly so, that the principle had been tested and found entirely workable. In order to meet the increasing demands of the industrial growth and ever-improving standards of living of the Nation, and at the same time avoid increasing the Federal tax burden, he strongly endorsed extension of this partnership formula.

SINCE 1953

A number of new partnership proposals were initiated after the Eisenhower administration took office. Some have been adopted while others are pending.

Markham Ferry Dam

One that has been approved by Congress and President Eisenhower is the Markham Ferry Dam and Reservoir on the Grand River in Oklahoma. This was strongly supported by local interests and Senator KERR was the driving force that successfully obtained congressional endorsement.

Actually, the Markham Ferry project goes back several years to 1937, when the Grand River Dam Authority, a State agency, started construction of the Pensacola Dam and Reservoir on the Grand River. This combined flood-control and power project cost $27 million, of which 60 percent was loaned and 40 percent granted to the authority by the Federal Public Works Administration. Under a Federal Power Commission license the authority installed 90,000 kilowatts. This was in itself a partnership arrangement. The entire project was owned and operated by a local body made possible in this instance by funds loaned and granted by the Federal Government.

In 1938 a general plan of Federal development of flood-control reservoirs on the Grand River was authorized by Congress. In 1941 Congress specified that this plan should include the already built Pensacola Dam and new projects at Markham Ferry and Fort Gibson, all to be operated as a coordinated unit in the interest of flood control and power development.

Subsequently the second in this series of dams—the Fort Gibson Dam and Reservoir—has been built and is now operated by the Corps of Engineers.

In the case of the third dam, Markham Ferry, it appeared that for fiscal reasons there might well be a long wait before the Federal Government could undertake its construction. Therefore, a partnership proposal was made by the local interests to the 81st Congress and again to the 82d Congress, but without success. The legislation was finally passed by the 83d Congress and approved by President Eisenhower on July 6, 1954.

The Markham Ferry Dam and Reservoir will be built, owned, and operated by the Grand River Dam Authority of Oklahoma. The Federal Government will contribute to the authority not to exceed $6,500,000 to pay for the flood-control features of the project. Flood-control operation will be in accordance with rules established by the Army engineers and to assure coordinated operation of the other two dams. The remaining cost of the project, estimated at about $32 million, will be provided by the authority from the sale of revenue bonds secured by power revenues from this and other facilities of the authority.

Thus there is here a partnership involving the coordinated operation of three dams built in the interests of flood control and power generation, with one dam built, owned, and operated by local interests using

loaned and granted Federal funds; a second dam built, owned, and operated by the Federal Government; and a third dam to be built, owned, and operated by local interests with funds partially supplied by the Federal Government and the remainder by the local interests.

Coosa River development

Another power-partnership plan authorized by the 83d Congress was that for a development on the Coosa River in Alabama and Georgia, which was approved by President Eisenhower on June 24, 1954. In 1945 there had been a Federal authorization for building a series of navigation, flood-control, and power dams on this river at an estimated Federal cost of $60 million. No construction funds were appropriated and no work accomplished. In 1954 all members except one of the Alabama congressional delegation and the Governor of the State joined in supporting new legislation for the development.

This legislation authorizes the development by a local interest, which will be the Alabama Power Co. The company has proposed to spend $100 million to build the dams—probably five—and to install initially 240,000 kilowatts with an ultimate goal of 360,000 kilowatts. The legislation requires that basic provisions be made for future construction of navigation facilities. It also requires that provisions for flood control be made as may be found economically feasible in the judgment of the Army engineers. Unlike the Markham Ferry project, where a Federal grant was made for flood-control costs, there is no grant at this time for these costs on the Coosa River. There is only a provision that if at some future time Congress adopts a general policy of compensating local interests for flood-control navigation costs, such general authorization will be specifically applicable in this instance.

The legislation provides ample safeguards to assure a development by the local interests that will be no less effective than one carried out according to the Federal plan. This project is an example of partnership where the Federal Government has authorized local development of a project that had earlier been planned and authorized for Federal handling. It is partnership in the broadest sense and looks toward the greatest possible participation by local interests.

Priest Rapids Dam

At Priest Rapids on the Columbia River in Washington, another partnership plan has been authorized. This is in many ways comparable to the Coosa River plan except that at Priest Rapids a local public body is the partner while on the Coosa the local interest is a privately owned utility. Here too the project was earlier (1950) approved by Congress for Federal development. It is a large project, estimated in 1950 to cost $364,000,000, of which $65,000,000 would be for flood control, $10,000,000 for navigation, and $289,000,000 for power production.

In this instance the legislation, which was passed by the 83d Congress and approved by President Eisenhower in 1954, authorizes a local public utility district to develop the project. Its plan must be approved and a license issued by the Federal Power Commission to assure optimum development of the resource.

The legislation provides that if the Federal Government requires the local utility district to include navigation and flood control facilities as a part of the initial construction, the cost allocated to these features will be paid for by the Federal Government in the form of a contribution to the district. If such features are not included in the initial construction, the district is required to provide basic features for future installation of these features and the cost of these basic facilities will be at the district's expense. Thus, according to present cost estimates, the local district would finance approximately $289,000,000 of the cost, and only if the Federal Government requires initial inclusion of navigation and flood control facilities will it participate in the cost. This Federal participation is now estimated at a maximum of $75,000,000.

An unusual partnership provision in the legislation is authority for the local district to have the Army engineers act as the construction agency since the district is relatively small and has no adequate construction organization of its own.

Several other partnership proposals are now being debated in Congress but have not been acted on.

John Day Dam

One of the most interesting of these is a proposal by local interests to share in the cost of the John Day Dam on the lower Columbia River where it forms the boundary between the States of Oregon and Washington. This is a navigation and power dam estimated by the Army engineers to cost $310 million of which approximately $273 million would be allocated to power production.

A group of local utilities have proposed that they advance to the Federal Government the full cost of the power allocation and that in return they receive the power from the project for a period of 50 years, less any power needed to operate the dam and its locks. In effect these utilities would pay in advance for their power, and this advance payment would be used to pay for construction. Ownership and operation of the dam would remain with the Federal Government. The Federal contribution would be about $37 million.

The legislation under consideration is such that any local utility wishing to do so may participate in the proposal, and if there are more applicants for power than there is power available, allocation is to be made by the Federal Power Commission. It also provides that the local utilities must pay their proportionate share of the costs of operation and maintenance of the power facilities and portions of the joint project costs allocated to power.

This plan has the merit of providing the navigation facilities which are badly needed now, and the power which the Pacific Northwest will surely need in a few years, without the delay that is inherent in waiting for large Federal appropriations.

It is significant to note that for the Priest Rapids and John Day projects on the Columbia River the Federal Government would be expected to invest an estimated $684 million exclusive of transmission-line costs, and to pay all maintenance and operating expenses unless some partnership arrangement is worked out. It is unlikely that this amount of money will be appropriated by Congress for this one geographical area without extended delay. If, on the other hand, the two partnership plans described above are effected, the Federal contribution will not exceed $112 million. If navigation and flood-control facilities are excluded in the Priest Rapids Dam, the Federal contribution will be nearer $37 million. This is a much more likely amount to expect Congress to appropriate in the reasonably near future.

Trinity River project

In northern California there is a proposal to develop the upper reaches of the Trinity River for power and irrigation. The Bureau of Reclamation has a plan which is estimated to cost $219,067,000. Of this amount $156,538,000 would be allocated to power and the remainder to irrigation, municipal, and industrial water, and fish and wildlife protection.

The Pacific Gas & Electric Co. has made a proposal that it build all the powerplants and transmission facilities under the existing licensing provisions of the Federal Power Act in very much the same manner as was done in those numerous cases described in the first part of this article. According to the company estimates, this would reduce the Federal investment by some $50 million, and during the 50-year license period it would pay the Government $3,500,000 per year for the use of the falling water to generate power. This is estimated by the company to be $36 million more net revenue than the Federal Government would receive from power sales if it does its own generating and sells at existing Federal rates in this area. In addition, the company estimates it will pay $135 million in taxes, of which $70 million would be Federal and $65 million to State and local governing bodies.

This project was authorized just before the Congress adjourned in August. The authorization includes a condition that the Department of the Interior fully investigate the proposal of the company and report to Congress on this phase of the plan within 18 months.

This review, while probably not a complete record of all the partnership-in-power projects involving the Federal Government that have been accomplished or are now under serious consideration, does demonstrate that the principle has worked and how. It demonstrates that there are no serious financial or engineering problems involved. On the contrary, it shows that in many instances a partnership arrangement has been the practical means of promptly financing a badly needed multipurpose project which includes power.

Acceptance or rejection of the partnership concept is therefore a matter of political ideology, and it is on that basis that the issue is being debated and will be decided.

Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JARMAN
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am privileged to include an article written by August W. Kopke, ex-president, Kansas State Elks Association, and past deputy grand exalted ruler, appearing in the Elks national magazine:

WASHINGTON

(By A. W. Kopke)

This month, February 22, we celebrate once again the anniversary of the man who has come to symbolize the independent spirit of this Nation; who refused a crown because he believed in a republic of brothers; and who left us a passion for freedom that has never been equaled. None can deny him the distinction he earned by leading an infant nation to freedom. A young Republic, which in less than two centuries later, stands as the dominant hope for the saving of civilization.

No discussion of the character of the man, Washington, would be complete today without making the unchallengeable statement that he is incomparably the greatest of all Americans. There are those who believe Thomas Jefferson to be the greatest; others that Abraham Lincoln deserves this honor; still others that Woodrow Wilson will one day attain this place in history. Great as these men were, they are all surpassed by the greatness of Washington, who stands today, like the pyramids above the boundless sands of the Egyptian desert—a towering giant among the world's immortals.

Many things have been said about Washington, but as a student of history I have tried to study his character, and the thing that struck me the most is: There is only one thing about Washington that moves the imagination. Think of that great sober figure; a very practical man; a man who could lead and govern; who knew how to appear before crowns, but who nevertheless had a stern resolve. The more people crowded about him the more silent he was. A man who never spoke to a great audience in his life, and who could not have stirred it if he had, but who, despite all this, impressed everyone with his passion for service because he had an abiding faith in the righteousness of his cause, which was the sacred cause of human freedom.

The writer doubts if there has been a President more revered and perhaps less understood by the great masses of today's Americans than the Father of Our Country. I think, however, we are all agreed on this: No great leader in all history faced graver trials, overcame greater handicaps, or achieved a greater victory against odds that were more overwhelming.

Supreme in war and in peace, hero, patriot, churchman, father of a nation, friend of mankind, who, when he had won all, renounced all, and sought in the bosom of his family and of nature retirement, and in the hope of religion, immortality.

Strength in Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an interesting article which appeared in the Daily Evening Item, Lynn, Mass., under date of February 25, 1957:

STRENGTH IN UNITY

Once more Western Europe has moved a big stride toward the economic and political unity which may in time bring it truly abreast of the modern industrial age.

France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg have just agreed to establish—over a 12- to 17-year period—a broad common market for their respective industrial products.

This means that their present constricting tariff walls and other trade barriers would go down and the 6 nations would in a very real sense become 1 country economically. In fact, the agreement also embraces all their overseas territories.

In addition to this, the six agreed upon a pool of their atomic-energy resources under a European atomic energy commission. To a continent continuously short of other power sources, this combine may prove of the most vital significance.

A common market for Western Europe already exists in coal and steel. What is now to be set up would be an extension of that arrangement to the full range of Europe's output.

Such a tariff-free union has been urged for years as a basic step toward giving the continent the real benefits of industrialization. The economists insist that mass production techniques, with consequent advantages in lower prices to consumers, cannot be realized without broad mass markets. A Europe chopped up into various walled-off segments fails to provide them.

It should be noticed that Britain is absent from the group of nations which will sign the Common Market Pact in Rome next month. But this does not mean Britain is different to the need for a wider European trade area.

Britain has in fact proposed a European free-trade zone which could include the common-market nations and any others who might care to join. Somewhat different rules would be applied to the use of tariffs, but the general aim would be the same.

All of these developments are viewed most hopefully in America, where for many decades the advantages of the broad single market have been apparent. Here mass production has reached its highest levels.

If these plans are executed well, Western Europe may also move toward a higher economic plane. And it may lay the groundwork for a political union that could contribute heavily to the peace of the world.

Ship Lines Join Forces in Two-Way Trade Promotion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. R. POAGE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, recently there appeared in the Journal of Commerce under date of February 18, 1957, an article by Mr. Larry Guerin entitled "Ship Lines Join Forces in Two-Way Trade Promotion."

This is a very interesting article and shows the importance that shipping plays in our economy in Texas. Under unanimous consent I place this article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

SHIP LINES JOIN FORCES IN TWO-WAY TRADE PROMOTION

(By Larry Guerin)

Expanding industry and agriculture in the Midcontinent and Southern United States, hungry for foreign sales outlets, are daily using the overseas promotion facilities of American-flag steamship lines to good advantage in developing export markets out of the gulf ports.

According to a recent report by the Department of Commerce, more than $1 billion worth of goods were exported from Mobile and New Orleans, two typical gulf ports, during the first 10 months of 1956. Exports from Mobile were $95.6 million, an increase of 41 percent over the corresponding period in 1955. Exports from New Orleans climbed 27 percent to $957.6 million. The gains in Mobile and New Orleans exceeded the 20.7-percent rise in value of exports recorded for the entire country.

IMPORT EXPANSION

Imports, too, increased sharply at Mobile and New Orleans in the 10-month period. Imports clearing through Mobile were up 8.3 percent to $75 million and imports through New Orleans climbed 7.7 percent to $545.9 million.

Lykes Bros. Steamship Co., of New Orleans, is a typical gulf steamship company that has been working with more than 600 firms in the area fed by the Mississippi River to boost sales abroad or to find new sources of foreign raw materials.

Lykes Bros. has found that it must budget generously to create new trade between the markets reached by its six ocean trade routes if it is to compete successfully with other American and foreign-flag lines.

Veteran steamshipman, J. R. Aston has been given the job of managing Lykes' Trade Development Division, established 6 years ago in Houston, Tex., with overseas offices in all parts of the world.

Aston's instructions from Solon B. Turman, president of Lykes, are "to keep our trade development division on its toes constantly to bring together buyer and seller and thus create the additional markets required to keep American production machinery humming."

PROMOTE NEW BUSINESS

Promoting new business between the countries they have an interest in is a basic policy with all American steamship lines serving essential world trade routes. It helps assure continuous cargo traffic.

American industry is fast learning that this promotion work of the lines is one of the best available sources for help in sizing up the opportunities and problems of distant world markets.

American-flag contract lines are just as enterprising in stimulating American imports in order to assure large and continuous return loads for their ships. More than 300 foreign businesses, for example, have made us of the know-how of Lykes' trade promotion experts in selling the American market, since its trade division has been in operation.

TEXAS BENEFITS MOST

Texas, more than any other State benefits from foreign trade and United States shipping, according to a study by the Committee of American Steamship Lines.

Lone Star exports are more than 2½ times the per capita national volume—and are increasing at twice the national rate.

Texas imports are about eight-tenths the per capita United States volume, but are increasing 2.82 times faster than the United States as a whole.

Texas foreign trade overall, then, is proportionally about twice that of the United States.

Mr. Texan's job, income, farm prices, and standard of living, therefore, are doubly influenced by the soundness of the United States maritime policy.

One million Texans in factories, service industries, and on farms benefit directly from merchant ships and foreign trade.

About two-thirds of the 500,000 Texans on 330,000-plus farms depend upon trade carried on oceanbound freighters.

More than 54 percent of Texas factory workers are in industries that rely in part on overseas markets.

DEPENDABLE SHIPPING

Dependable American-flag shipping, fostered by the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, makes the outstanding growth of Texas foreign trade possible.

The nearly 4,000 oceangoing ships calling annually at Texas ports reveal its immense productive capacity, yet its need for raw material imports.

Texas' 8 million residents are more evenly divided between industry and farming than those in most States. They also rely more on ships and foreign trade than the average American citizen. And their State is growing faster than most.

PORTS BOOST ECONOMY

Texas ports, at the mouth of the vast inland waterway system, have been vital to the State's economy. They offer both industry and agriculture the easy, low-cost access to world markets that must accompany high productivity.

Six natural resources—cotton, mineral oil, natural gas, wheat, sulfur, and iron—bring Lone Star residents 2,738,000 jobs, untold wealth, and an unmatched brand of living. Ships figure prominently in developing each of these resources.

One million Texans in factories, on farms, and in transportation and communications

industries, have jobs that benefit directly from the overseas sales and imports of raw materials that American ships help make possible.

Quibbling on Mideast Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 4, 1957

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by David Lawrence, appearing in the Washington Star of February 26, entitled "Quibbling on Mideast Doctrine":

QUIBBLING ON MIDEAST DOCTRINE

The Senate quibbles while the Middle East burns and American leadership is frustrated. Will the American people begin to ask themselves soon if they made a grave mistake in electing a Democratic Congress last November? For the effects of a divided Government—with one party in control of the White House and the opposite party in control of Congress—are growing so serious as possibly to endanger the peace of the United States.

The leadership of the United States—and particularly the leadership of President Eisenhower which has meant so much throughout the world to the cause of peace and the prevention of world war III—is being steadily undermined by a group of captious Democrats in the Senate. They are making all kinds of excuses for delaying passage of the Eisenhower doctrine resolution. This delay has every appearance of sabotage and filibuster.

The Senate has had ample time for debate—from the week of January 7 when the resolution was introduced. But after 7 weeks of drifting, the leader of the Senate Democrats, LYNDON JOHNSON, of Texas, had to say frankly to the Senate that one of the problems he had last week was to find 1 Senator to speak and another to be present. He said the Senate itself is "on trial" because the country cannot understand why so few Senators have been present during the discussion of an issue as important as the Middle East resolution.

Yet, when the Democratic leader attempted to set a time limit for the debate, a Democratic Senator promptly served notice he would object and, of course, only one objection is necessary to block an agreement to limit debate.

This has all the earmarks of a filibuster by a bloc of Democrats who do not favor the resolution but know that if it comes to a vote it will pass by a substantial majority. The Republicans generally have spoken in favor of it and are ready to vote, so the tactics of the Democrats now are to drag the debate along from day to day when 1 or 2 Senators to do the speaking.

But the country will hold the Democratic Party responsible for what happens in the Senate. The House, under the statesmanlike leadership of Speaker RAYBURN, Democrat, passed the resolution promptly by a vote of 355 to 61 on January 30, but the House has rules with which to limit debate and prevent an organized minority from filibustering.

It is a strange and unusual development to see Members of the United States Senate filibustering on a matter of foreign policy. The last episode of this kind was fatal. A handful of Senators—mostly Republicans—would not let a resolution pass which President Wilson, Democrat, wanted in order to arm American merchantmen and repel attacks by German submaries. The filibuster lasted till Congress automatically adjourned at noon on March 4, 1917. But the encouragement derived by the Kaiser from this disunity in America was such that unrestricted warfare by his submarines was soon begun against vessels of all flags, and the consequence was that within 4 weeks—on April 6, 1917—the United States had to enter World War I to defend the rights of American citizens to travel the high seas.

There are Democratic Senators who say they see no "urgency" in the situation, thus setting themselves up as better judges of the risks involved than the President of the United States with all the secret and confidential information available to the Chief Executive from all parts of the world concerning Soviet subversion and penetration in free-world countries.

The debate thus far in the Senate by the critics of the resolution has been a hodgepodge of excuses and conflicting claims. Some Democrats say the United Nations is being bypassed and that America should work more closely with it, while others say America should not place its reliance on the U. N. One Democratic Senator says the President already has the authority he requests, and another Democratic Senator says the President wants to use the Armed Forces without regard to the Constitution. One might infer that he thinks the President is right in asking for congressional authority, but other Democratic Senators say that's all wrong—that it's a power frequently exercised before by Presidents.

Most of these Democratic Senators have no common viewpoint except one—to block and delay. They disclaim partisanship in foreign policy and insist that only the Republicans are partisan. But the record shows that there is a remarkable unanimity on the Republican side of the Senate. The "isolationist" comments about "entangling alliances" are nowadays coming from Democratic Senators who usually call themselves "liberal." It's just a tragic fight against the administration by its opponents.

The issue that may emerge from all this is one the people may have to settle in the elections of November 1958—whether, when they voted overwhelmingly for President Eisenhower in 1956 and gave the Democrats control of the Senate by a narrow margin, they intended to vote for the chaos of a divided government in Washington and thus weaken the hand of their leader and spokesman before the world.

A Magnificent Obsession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the Minot (N. Dak.) Daily News on Thursday, February 7, 1957:

A MAGNIFICENT OBSESSION

When Harold Stassen served as Governor of Minnesota he was rated as a sound-thinking public official with every promise of attaining the rank of statesman.

All that would be required, it was held, was the seasoning that experience would bring.

The youthful governor commanded nationwide attention. He was classed by members of the Republican Party as the "white hope" of the years to come.

Stassen went into the armed services, was given a rank in the Navy and came out sound of body and mentally alert.

As president of the University of Pennsylvania nothing occurred to mar an otherwise good record.

However, all through these years Mr. Stassen appeared to place a high rating on publicity. He seemed to know how to bring the gentlemen of the press double-timing to get his ideas of just about any subject.

As candidate for the presidential nomination something must have happened to make him think he was appointed to save the Republican Party. Backed by a minority opposed to the accepted Republican organization he started a career that has mystified the Nation.

He decided that RICHARD NIXON was unworthy of holding the position of running mate with Dwight Eisenhower. It might have been expected that with the result of the San Francisco convention he would have quietly folded his tent and silently withdrawn from the Washington scene.

The ridiculousness of his position in blaming NIXON for the loss of Congress to the Republicans is developed by a survey conducted by U. S. News & World Report.

"Would Republicans have captured control of Congress if Christian A. Herter had been the party's nominee for Vice President?"

That was the query put to losing Republican candidates in 37 States. Of these 77 declared that DICK NIXON was a definite asset and assisted in the campaign. There were two who held Herter would have been better.

Congressman RICHARD M. SIMPSON, of Pennsylvania, summed the situation rather clearly when queried on the Stassen charge:

"This is a most absurd and ridiculous charge.

"As chairman of the Republican committee, I can say that nobody in the party campaigned as vigorously or as effectively for the Republican ticket, for the congressional and local tickets as DICK NIXON.

"In connection with Mr. Stassen's assertions I assume that Mr. Herter must have given his best for the Republican ticket in Massachusetts, and I note regretfully that Republicans lost the governorship in that State. This alone seems to belie Stassen's strange thesis."

We have heard of people going through life with an obsession of some kind or other. It would appear from where we stand that Harold Stassen's could be properly rated as a magnificent obsession, with the time properly at hand for him to remove himself from the Washington scene, and not further embarrass the administration, even though Mr. Eisenhower seems willing to further tolerate him.

The Year of Buildup for the Highway Era

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MYRON V. GEORGE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Kansas City Times of February 4, 1957.

The editorial is as follows:

THE YEAR OF BUILDUP FOR THE HIGHWAY ERA

This is the year that the United States will get ready to build the highway system of the future. By all past standards it is a program of almost fantastic scope. A country that has counted its modern freeways in a few hundred miles is preparing to build an arterial system of 41,000 miles in 13 years. And for most of the distance the goal is construction as modern as the turnpikes.

At this early stage you begin to hear conflicting reports that the program is moving both remarkably fast and discouragingly slow. Apparently the opinions depend on what each individual expected of the first year. According to prevailing estimates 1957 will show a total construction increase of amound $600 million over last year, a substantial step-up on the side of the optimists.

An emphatic opinion on the slow side comes from contractors in a Wall Street Journal roundup at the Chicago convention of the American Road Building Association. It is natural that the builders should compare the moderate 1957 increase with expectations for the program at its peak. The ultimate increase over 1956 may reach a staggering $3½ billion a year.

The brakes come both from the program itself and the national economy. Acquiring right-of-way on the superhighway scale is a tremendous undertaking. The routes must be planned for the greatest driving efficiency to serve the next generation. Such a highway cannot be turned aside to avoid the resistant property owners. And every objector who insists is entitled to hearings as well as a court fight.

Such a vast program is a challenge to the national economy. At the start contractors are being forced to wait for delivery of steel with delays of 6 to 8 months in some cases. And this is the situation in the early construction stage. According to the Wall Street Journal, this bottleneck may necessitate a shift from steel to prestressed concrete. When construction approaches its peak it will produce a tremendously increased demand for everything, for many types of machinery, cement, and asphalt, along with engineers and labor.

And the full plan of the program of today may be only a broad hint of tomorrow. Building to the scale of such a vision creates its own demand for more and more. This year, in fact, marks the beginning of an unprecedented era and no limits are in sight.

Poultry Inspection Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, on February 5, 1957, I introduced H. R. 4357, a bill for the compulsory inspection of poultry. This measure is the same as H. R. 12016, which I sponsored last year.

It would provide an excellent program of poultry inspection. However, I find that a great deal of misunderstanding about this measure has developed and has aroused fear in some sections of the poultry processing industry. Some processors have thought the measure dangerous to them.

These fears have no basis. H. R. 4357 would only help the poultry processing industry, just as it would benefit consumers, poultry workers and poultry farmers. But I would like to avoid all misunderstandings and suspicions lest they harm the chances for poultry inspection legislation, which is truly effective.

I am therefore, introducing a new poultry inspection bill today. This measure clearly spells out my views on all of the points which have previously disturbed some individuals concerned with this subject.

This new bill provides mandatory ante mortem inspection, to be carried out in such a manner as the Secretary of Agriculture may determine. There need be no fear about a bird-by-bird ante mortem inspection. If the Secretary decides to fulfill the ante mortem requirement by an examination of each flock, coop or batch, that will be satisfactory.

Post mortem inspection will be on the carcass of every bird. Plant sanitation and sanitary processing rules would be established by the Secretary of Agriculture. A processor who fails to meet the sanitation standards would not have his poultry inspected. Uninspected poultry would be banned from shipment in interstate commerce.

Areas of intrastate commerce in which poultry is handled or consumed in so great a volume as to affect interstate commerce, could be designated and brought into the Federal program. But the designation could be achieved only with the consent of the governing body of the area or locality affected.

The inspection would be handled by Federal employees working under the direction of the Agricultural Research Service of the United States Department of Agriculture. One of this Service's units has handled meat inspection for over 50 years. But to ease any industry fears that poultry might be subordinated to meat inspection, let me say that I look forward to the Secretary of Agriculture establishing a poultry inspection branch in the Agricultural Research Service, independent of and equal to the meat inspection branch.

The cost of inspection would be paid by the United States Government—except in the case of overtime of inspectors.

A farmer who slaughters his own poultry or a retailer who only cuts up poultry products, would be specifically exempt from the provisions of the bill. The measure would also establish sound labeling practices.

In short, Mr. Speaker, this bill would establish an effective and practical inspection program. It would truly benefit the poultry consumer, the poultry worker, the poultry farmer, and the poultry processor.

Fort Detrick Appreciation Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DeWITT S. HYDE
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an editorial from the Frederick News, dated October 17, 1956, and a statement by the mayor of Frederick, Md., in recognition of Fort Detrick Appreciation Week, which was held the week of October 15, 1956:

DETRICK APPRECIATION

For 13 years this community has enjoyed the associations and reaped the benefits accruing from Fort Detrick. That they have been highly advantageous is generally accepted.

It is only fitting, therefore, that Fort Detrick be given the public recognition the installation well deserves.

Such a move has been sponsored by the Frederick Chamber of Commerce, and as a result the current period, October 15–19, has been set aside as Fort Detrick Appreciation Week. To make the designation official, and at the same time exhibit cooperation on the governmental level, proclamations have been issued by the board of county commissioners and the mayor and aldermen of Frederick. Private citizens join with the commercial, industrial, and professional interests of the entire community in extending felicitations.

Any attempt to dwell herein on the cultural and economic benefits derived in this area through Fort Detrick would be repetitious. Suffice to say, they are legion. The personnel, military and civilian, particularly those from other sections, have been absorbed and many now occupy positions of leadership in all local activities. They have been sincerely welcome and similar greetings will be extended to the many others expected in the future.

No one knows better than we of the Frederick News-Post the extent to which Fort Detrick and its staff have become thoroughly integrated in our way of life—and to community advantage. Our press relations have been most pleasant and cooperative and, we believe, mutually beneficial.

The News-Post, therefore, joins all other local groups in expressing to the Fort Detrick military command, and all others under its supervision, our sincere appreciation for all you mean to us.

FORT DETRICK APPRECIATION WEEK

The civic bodies and service organizations of our community, the city government, and the chamber of commerce recognize the great service rendered to this community by Fort Detrick.

There is great tension in the world and the peace of the world is constantly challenged and the efforts of Fort Detrick helps maintain the peace and protection of our people.

During Fort Detrick Appreciation Week I am sure that every citizen of Frederick will want to join in the observance and extend a salute to the military and civilian personnel of Fort Detrick.

JOHN A. DERR,
Mayor, City of Frederick.

Some Thoughts on the $10 Billion Advertising Industry While Driving to Trenton, N. J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a companion

measure to Senator NEUBERGER's bill providing standards for the control and limitation of billboards within 500 feet of the right-of-way on each side of the highways to be built under the huge road program authorized by the 84th Congress.

This does not mean that I do not approve of billboards, but I fear what certain abuses can do to the landscape along this new highway system. In their proper place billboards serve a useful purpose and in that place I approve of them, just as I approve of the $10 billion American advertising industry.

I hope, however, that this new Federal highway system can be built to the high standards of excellence which have been set in my State by the New Jersey State Turnpike and the Garden State Parkway, for these highways are an inspiration to the entire country. Absence of an unsightly array of billboards has helped put these New Jersey highways so far ahead of some highways in some other States that it is hard to believe they are in the same country.

Certainly the practice of plastering our great traffic arteries from one end of the country to the other with an endless string of billboards carrying a monotonous repetition of advertising copy is one of the less appetizing aspects of American advertising—one that could well cost this essential $10 billion industry, and the American business firms which use it, much of the good will which they now have.

The great growth of the automobile in our country is due in part to its efficiency, and it has become a necessity in our everyday business life.

But there is in each of us something of the nomad, and we like nothing better than to get out on the open road, leave the clutter of the city behind and head for the country, the green fields, the woods, the fresh streams.

With the growth of urbanization, the countryside is diminishing and we find there is no escape from the city. It stretches along the Eastern seaboard for hundreds of miles. The green fields, the woods, the fresh streams these days are increasingly and effectively hidden behind an overpowering, depressing, and neverending forest of billboards.

Yet this is but one aspect of advertising.

There is another side, a side which we must foster. It is with this other aspect that I am particularly concerned. My measure is a hopeful attempt to save American advertising from excesses that undoubtedly will be harmful to it in the long run.

Let us look at the brighter side, the contribution of American advertising to educational and cultural values.

Today if we want Shakespeare and Shaw, Sibelius and Mozart, a lesson in music appreciation or the ballet, a collective lecture on literature from the foremost savants of our time, or a pictorial presentation of the great events of history it is no longer supplied us, as in the past, only through the classrooms of our schools. The education and the pleasures that go with it are ladled out to us in enormously expensive portions by Ford and General Electric, by Goodyear and Firestone, by Westinghouse and the manufacturers of kitchen appliances, cornflakes, soap and cosmetics, floor-coverings and hardware. This juvenile and adult educational curricula augments the education we receive in our schools.

The businessman, I imagine to his own amazement, has found a new bonanza of public relations and commercial approach. This approach is through the medium of the dissemination of the richest materials in western civilization.

Electronics is the new and additional conduit for the education of the American people. Instead of merely endowing a school, as in the past, the businessman or the corporation he runs, has now become in effect the board of overseers, the chancellor, the faculty board, and everything else in a new order of things where the classroom is the collective living rooms of America.

This is a potential of such significance to the progress of mankind that we here are too close to its origin and development to appreciate its significance for the future.

Just how much the advertising enthusiasm of our age has contributed to the public welfare and to the enlightenment that brought with it the hunger for better living and more and still more public education, I cannot say.

But the contribution has certainly been immense.

Recognizing all this, and with all due credit to business and advertising, I still say that gross imperfections have developed because it is not the primary function of business to educate us in the arts and the humanities. Nor, as we see from much of roadside advertising, for instance, does business make any pretense of being the educator of America and the promoter of America's cultural interests. The net effect is mixed. There is an obvious conflict between maintaining and improving America's cultural values and persuading us to buy a particular package of breakfast cereal or a particular automobile.

Nor can it be gainsaid that while the contribution of the businessman's advertising budget to the culture of our country has been considerable, much of the contribution cannot be called culture at all.

I am hopeful that America's $10 billion advertising industry will see its long-term interests in this matter and join me in supporting this measure which I am introducing.

American business, which consumes the raw materials and the rich resources of the earth in such phenomenal quantities, has become conservation minded and has adopted techniques for the wise and efficient use of these resources.

So I have hopes that American business and the advertising industry generally will do what it can to make America more beautiful, and support legislation which has this end as its purpose.

I include here an article from the New York Times of February 24, 1957:

A BILLBOARD BILL—NEW LEGISLATION TO RID UNITED STATES HIGHWAYS OF COMMERCIAL SIGNS IS EXPLAINED

(By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Mr. NEUBERGER, the junior Senator from Oregon, is sponsor of a bill to control and regulate billboards along the new Federal System of Interstate Highways.)

Despite the inexorable growth of industrial suburbs and residential subdivisions, the American countryside still retains some of its original glory and grandeur. Will motorists have a fair and fighting chance to thrill to this outdoor majesty as they drive through the land over the 41,000 miles of the new Interstate Highway System? The vista seen by these travelers either can be the green solitudes of trees and fields or else a never-ending stockade of signboards.

During the next 13 years an unprecedented sum totaling $25 billion is going to be invested in the expansion and rebuilding of an interstate road network which will link all 48 State capitals, to say nothing of its contacts with every major metropolitan center in the Nation. Because the Federal Government will contribute 90 percent of the huge amount, I believe Congress has an obligation to protect wayside beauty along this vast mosaic of four-lane roads from being blotted out by commercial signs and similar blemishes.

THREE REQUIREMENTS

For this reason I have introduced legislation in the Senate imposing three specific requirements. They are these:

1. The Secretary of Commerce shall prepare a set of standards for the control and limitation of billboards within 500 feet of the right-of-way on each side of interstate roads.

2. These standards will apply directly wherever the interstate system crosses Federal public lands.

3. On other lands the Federal Government will pay 90 percent of the cost of buying up advertising rights along the 500-foot adjoining strip beside the highways whenever any State wishes to join cooperatively in such a project.

Many nomads of the open road, unalterably opposed to a picket fence of billboards between them and God's country, will wonder why this method was chosen for approaching the problem.

It is a concession to the issue of States rights, which was successfully raised on the Senate floor against an antibillboard proposal that Senator ALBERT GORE, of Tennessee, and I had included in the original interstate highway bill of last year. After this earlier billboard-regulation clause had been eliminated, it seemed obvious that any future proposal must provide for joint action with the States in order to have the slightest chance of prevailing against the well-organized lobby which invariably represents the signboard interests.

My present bill attempts to meet the States-rights argument by offering to every legislature in America an opportunity to put into effect high standards of roadside beautification at little financial cost to the individual States.

The Federal Government will pay 90 percent of what is required to buy up advertising rights along the new roads. Furthermore, any State government declining to take advantage of this bonanza will be under heavy pressure from those among its citizens who feel that billboards and scenery do not blend.

OLDER ROADS

Because some of the interstate system merely will be reconstructed rather than started from scratch in the open countryside, motorists have expressed curiosity over the fate of signboards which already line a considerable number of these highways.

One method will be employment of Federal funds to purchase from adjoining landowners their rights both to existing and prospective use of their land for advertising purposes. Another proposal is to require the old signs to come down after they have been amortized over a period of 3 or 4 years. Such a delay might not be too serious because completion of the interstate system will require at least 13 years.

It also is well to remember that the prohibition against signboards under my bill will be absolute and final in one realm where such protection of the outdoors is most needed and merited—on the vast Federal lands of the Western States. This includes national parks, national forests, wildlife refuges, public domain and all other Government acreage threaded by roads. In some of these thrilling areas, billboards already are taboo. But in others they stand, competing uncouthly with the wide open spaces for the eye and attention of the tourist.

CRITICAL MOMENT

The urgent nature of antisignboard legislation at this particular moment should be self-evident. The Nation is about to begin upon the most ambitious roadbuilding program in American history. The time to protect these roads from defacement by commercial signs is now. Unless some proposal such as mine becomes law soon, more and more billboards will be erected beside thoroughfares destined to become part of the interstate system.

Some so-called grandfather rights will be acquired by these billboard owners. It will become more expensive to buy them out. Even under compulsion of Federal purchase, they will demand more time to amortize their investment. In addition, there will be protests of discrimination by advertisers who failed to get in under the wire against those already paralleling the new roads.

Lest I seem unduly harsh with the signboard companies, several points should be made clear. It is quite evident under my bill that advertising signs still will be legal in the crowded metropolitan areas, where most Americans now live. This bill is designed only to protect the scenic outdoors, not to redesign American cities. On top of all that, the bill specifically exempts any sign in a commercial area alongside the interstate highways which advertises a business or activity which takes place in such a commercial area.

The other side of the argument is crucial, too. The motorist pays for the highway with his fuel taxes, the excise levies on his car, and in a myriad of other invasions of his wallet. Because he has paid for the road, surely there should exist some right on his part to enjoy the road free of a clutter of signs and billboards. Without the road, the billboard would be worthless.

The highway gives the signboard its entire value. Thus the owners of the interstate system of highways—namely the traveling public of the United States—ought to retain final decision as to whether or not their roads are to be hemmed in by a corridor of billboards.

Where the Water Falls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MYRON V. GEORGE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial written by Herbert A. Meyer, Jr., editor of the Independence (Kans.) Reporter. The editorial of February 15, 1957, is as follows:

WHERE THE WATER FALLS

The drought-stricken Midwest and Southwest are not the only parts of the country having water troubles. The problem of assuring an adequate water supply is becoming more and more urgent in many areas.

Even in some rainy sections the need is pressing and will become more so. The reason is that industry and irrigation, plus a swift rise in population, have greatly increased our use of water. The figure is now about 200 billion gallons a day and it is going up rapidly.

There is no known method of obtaining more water than we are now getting. Thus, the problem becomes one of conserving and making better use of all available water. One way to do this is to capture the water where it falls—that is, upstream in the small watersheds.

Former United States Representative Clifford R. Hope, of Garden City, Kans., recently focused new attention on this method in a talk before the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts. Hope, who dealt with such matters during many of his 30 years in Congress before his retirement last term, thinks there should be a "greatly expended" Federal program of upstream water conservation work.

Certainly it would be sensible to allocate funds for an upper watershed program. Together with the large downstream dams and reservoirs already under construction or planned—like Fall River, Toronto, and Table Mound—the two programs combined would conserve water, save oil, and reduce the danger of floods.

Before either program individually or together can be successful, however, we must have consistent and adequate rainfall.

Men Who Come to Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the Boston Pilot on February 16, 1957:

MEN WHO COME TO DINNER

(By Rev. George W. Casey)

The troubles that the President is having over his invited guests of late brings out sharply the difficulties of keeping everybody happy in a democratic and pluralistic society. The Jews were shocked by his sitting down with Saud; the Catholics are shocked by the very thought of his sitting down with Tito; and wait until you hear the yell that will come from the Protestants when, and if, he invites Franco.

These troubles further serve to accentuate the great and thorny problems that arise from cooperating with those of different faiths, and the difficulties of determining how far a man approves, encourages and abets sin, heresy and opposition by association, for whatever purpose, with the sinner, heretic or foreign devil.

Mayor Wagner of New York implied that the President's invitation to King Saud gave so much comfort to his anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism and the slavery in his kingdom that his great city could have no part of it.

It is very obvious that the President did not feel that way at all. His main preoccupations these days are peace and containment of Soviet expansion. He feels that these three men whom he wants to talk with this winter can do more for him in the attainments of them than anybody else he could get. So, though without doubt he regrets any condonation of the moral and political heresies of these men, he is willing to risk it for what he considers the greater good. And if pressed, he could report that Mayor Wagner, in carrying out his administrative and political obligation in all probability also had to work with men who were not without sin of various sorts. He could add that when we were in desperate war with the Axis we welcomed Russia with all its sins, and now we are equally welcoming the alliance with Germany and Japan, with all our memories of Malmedy, and the Death March of Bataan.

Far be it for me to bother coming to the defense of a Republican for whom I have never voted, but this does not seem to me an indication that expedience is his only guide in high policy, or his judgment that right and wrong are merely relative. It is only that people who are wrong on some things can be right on others and working with them for the right does not necessarily confirm them in their wrong nor aid them in extending them. And furthermore that having nothing to do with those from whom we differ, whom we are deeply convinced are wrong, is not always and absolutely the way to serve truth and right.

Walls and curtains, Iron Curtains, Bamboo Curtains, Spanish Curtains, American Curtains (like our McCarran-Walter Act); inquisitions, segregation, nonfraternizations, etc., are old techniques for the preservation of truth and order as we see it. They do shut out undesirables, subversives, deviates, outsiders, and inferior stocks to a degree.

They also prevent, to a degree, contamination, innovation, curiosity, and skepticism. But they shut out many things besides. They shut out charity to begin with, and they also shut out the opportunity to correct, enlighten, elevate, and convert the infidel. And since, as St. Paul says, presumably even of the faithful, "we see now in a manner darkly" those who draw the various curtains may even shut out some new glimpse of truth vouchsafed to the others before themselves.

No compromise with evil, no communication with error, no cooperation with the wrongdoer are brave and ringing statements and they are the safest positions for those dedicated to truth and virtue to take. But spelling them out in detail is something else again. And carrying them out in our fluid and pluralistic society with everyone we meet, in every phase of life could lead to bitterness and division, to fanaticism and injustice, and as is possible in the case of the President and these very un-American fellows he is having to dinner, it could be the loss of some service to peace.

Whatever turmoil the President has stirred up for himself, he can take comfort from the fact that it was complained of the Lord as of himself that he "eats with sinners."

Anniversary of Estonian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, on February 24, 1957, the 39th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Estonian Republic was celebrated throughout the free world.

Like its Baltic neighbors to the south, Latvia and Lithuania, the country of Estonia has been held in the grip of Communist tyranny ever since 1940, with

the exception of a brief period during World War II when Soviet tyranny was replaced by the Nazi variety. But even this grim fact of 17 years of slavery under a totalitarian regime, even the unlawful and immoral incorporation of these three small countries into the Soviet Union, has not destroyed the hope of the Estonian people for freedom.

It is fitting and proper on this anniversary which has such great significance to the people of Estonia to remind them that the United States has never recognized or admitted the legality of their enslavement and still maintains diplomatic relations with an Estonian Government in exile. It is further fitting and proper to remind them that the United States Government has always expressed its hope and its belief in the peaceful liberation of all captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain. Surely the powerful combination of our determination and the burning desire for independence of the Estonian people themselves will one day bring freedom and self-determination to Estonia as it will to captive peoples everywhere. It is a privilege to salute the people of Estonian descent everywhere on the 39th anniversary of their independence and to assure them of my own solemn conviction that the day will soon come when their homeland will be freed from the chains of the oppressor.

George Washington's Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege on Thursday, February 21, 1957, to deliver the following address at the annual George Washington's Birthday banquet at the George Mason Hotel, Alexandria, Va., sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States:

SPEECH IN OBSERVANCE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY BEFORE THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS, ALEXANDRIA, VA., ON FEBRUARY 21, 1957

I am greatly honored by the invitation to address you in this historic city on the eve of George Washington's Birthday.

Washington belongs to Alexandria as Alexandria belongs to him.

At every turn in your city one is reminded of George Washington:

1. As a little boy on his brother Lawrence's barge bringing Mount Vernon tobacco to the Hunting Creek warehouse;

2. On horseback riding to the village of Belle Haven;

3. As a young surveyor carrying the chain to plot the streets and lots.

George Washington danced at the balls in Alexandria, visited the young ladies, drilled the militia, launched vessels, engaged workmen, and dined in many homes.

As a citizen of Alexandria he ran for office, sat as justice, sponsored the Friendship Fire Co., a free school, the Alexandria Canal, and other civic enterprises.

He was pewholder of Christ Church, and master of the Masonic Lodge.

George Washington came to Alexandria to collect his mail, to cast his ballot, to have his silver or his carriage repaired, to sell his tobacco or his wheat, to join the citizenry in celebrating independence.

His closest friends and daily companions were Alexandrians.

The dwellings, wharves, and warehouses of the town, were as familiar to him as his Mount Vernon farm.

In Alexandria Washington took command of his first troops.

From the steps of Gadsby's tavern he received his last military review.

An Alexandria doctor closed his eyes, and Alexandrians wept as he was carried to his last resting place.

The geographical location of Alexandria, in the shadow of our capitol dome, its intimate association with the lives of prominent men and the numerous historic points of interest, constitute an ideal climate for my efforts this evening—to pay tribute to the father of our country.

The boyhood of Washington was as healthy and normal as a Virginia boyhood could be.

VERY LITTLE STUDY—A GREAT DEAL OF OPEN AIR

He had, as a matter of fact, only some 7 or 8 years of formal schooling, but it is significant to note that period included an excellent grounding in mathematics and surveying.

For 4 years, under the hard necessity of earning his livelihood, he assisted in plantation work and took field lessons in surveying.

The private character of George Washington was to a great degree molded by his surroundings and the influences to which he was exposed.

Left fatherless at the age of 10 years, he fell under the influence of his brother Lawrence, his senior by some 14 years.

Lawrence had received a finished education in Europe.

The ambitions of young George were stimulated by the well-bred, graceful, easy, and polished manners of his tall and distinguished-looking brother.

At 17 Washington entered the public service and his life as an official and citizen began.

He was the appointed surveyor of Culpeper County.

During his lifetime, excepting 7 years, he was, in some capacity or other, in the public service.

He was surveyor, militiaman on the frontier, member of the colonial assembly, member of the Continental Congress, General of the Continental Army, President of the United States, and, finally, lieutenant general of the Nation in prospect of European war.

It is the destiny of America that, in periods of crisis, we have a vast reservoir of human resources from which to draw the leadership that sees us through.

In each of the trials that have beset America's growth and development the opportunity has been there for our form of government to prove its vitality, its wisdom, its greatness.

As we, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, observe Washington's birthday it is well for us to pause and recall that the Father of our Country in his time also faced perplexing and burning problems similar to those which confront us now.

All of us can profit by emphasizing that in those early years enemies both from without and from within beset the new Republic.

Truly, history repeats itself.

In George Washington's time the powerful nations of the world then stood ready to prey on our commerce, to stifle our economic growth, and to grab our territory.

In a message to both Houses of Congress in 1789 Washington pleaded for an "effective system for the Militia of the United States."

In terms that might well fit our present situation, he said: "It is unnecessary to offer arguments in recommendation of a measure on which the honor, safety, and well-being of our country so evidently and so essentially depend."

In those days it was the militia—soldiers on foot.

Today, along with the army, it is the navy, the marine corps, and the air force.

This Nation finds itself in the midst of a revolution in military affairs, brought about by scientific advances in the development of nuclear weapons and means of delivering them.

As the result, the capability to destroy has reached unprecedented proportions.

This capability to destroy, in my opinion, has forced upon the free world and Communists a nuclear stalemate which in plain words means that the free world or Communists can now accept the hazards of a full-scale atomic-hydrogen war.

From the United States standpoint the striking power of the United States Armed Forces, joined with those of our allies, and enjoying worldwide deployment by air, sea, and land around the Soviet perimeter, constitutes the deterrent element that makes the risk of war unacceptable in Soviet calculations.

In addition to the striking power of our Armed Forces and allies, designed for an atomic-hydrogen war, we must at all times maintain an all-around force to handle brush fire and local emergencies.

The striking power of our Armed Forces is mainly represented by:

(a) Increased nuclear firepower.

(b) Ever-increasing mobility of our three armed services.

(c) New types of aircraft.

(d) Navy nuclear-powered task force including carriers.

(e) Smaller and more mobile groups for the Army.

(f) Development of air supply.

(g) Wide dispersal of airfields and supply bases.

In our laboratories you will find the weapon of tomorrow with the trend continuing toward the guided missile with a nuclear warhead which, in the not too distant future, will provide the major element of firepower for all of our Armed Forces.

A strong and ready reserve force, designed to take its place alongside of the Regulars in the maintenance of combat-ready force for the present, while developing one to face up to defense threats of the future.

The maintenance at all times of a strong and expanding peacetime industrial structure, readily convertible to the tasks of defense and war.

In the building of such a force, we very definitely must take into consideration the importance of maintaining our economic strength at all times.

Otherwise, as a Nation, we could lose the war without military action.

National unity, so essential today, was of equal prominence in the days of George Washington—who constantly pleaded for unity among his people.

Disturbing elements tore our land with inward strife.

State was jealous of State, faith opposed faith, and race persecuted race.

Those were really dark days in the life of the infant Nation.

A great statesman, as well as a great general, Washington realized that the young Nation could grow in strength and take its place among the other nations only if intolerance and bigotry were conquered.

He feared what was happening, therefore he admonished his countrymen.

He pointed out how small are the differences that form the basis for misunderstandings and conflict.

He emphasized that love and pride of country must rise above selfish personal interests.

Today we realize that there are those nations in the world that are jealous of America's greatness.

In addition, they are fearful of our efforts to build a God-worshipping world. A world wherein freedom and happiness shall prevail for all mankind.

Our first President, I feel sure, would have been elated at this convincing evidence of our belief in his concept of the principles upon which our country is built.

If George Washington could step out of the pages of history tonight, I am confident he would repeat what he asserted in the struggling, creative days of our Republic, as he fought to create the civil and religious liberties of the American people.

To the United Baptist Churches in Virginia and other Protestants, George Washington wrote: "Every man ought to be protected in worshipping the deity according to the dictates of his own conscience."

To the Catholics in the United States he wrote in 1789:

"I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality.

"And I presume that your fellow citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the establishment of their Government."

To a Hebrew congregation in Rhode Island, he said:

"All, possess alike, liberty of conscience.

"The Government of the United States gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance."

Yes; we Americans do possess this precious heritage that now unites us, a legacy that transcends any political, religious, or economic difference.

Our heritage secures to us the ideals that mankind has longed and searched for since the dawn of time.

As one approaches our Nation's Capital from the South, driving through Alexandria, the George Washington Masonic Memorial, reminds us of his Masonic activity in the Masonic Lodge of this city.

But George Washington was not great because he was a Mason.

Nor was he great because he was from Virginia.

He possessed natural gifts and rare qualities of mind that enabled him to successfully meet and gain the esteem of the most distinguished diplomats of the Old World.

He was a man of magnificent presence.

He impressed all with respect and admiration, not only because of his excellent qualities, but on account of his unerring judgment, strong appreciation, and consideration of the rights of others.

He was not gifted with what we might term "eloquence," yet because of his honesty of purpose, both of heart and mind, he inspired his hearers with that confidence that carries with it conviction.

When we survey other characters in the American military and political field in the last quarter of the 18th century, we look in vain for anyone with Washington's unique combination of qualities and abilities to meet our country's need.

It is true that Washington was surpassed by others in various ways:

Patrick Henry was more eloquent.

Jefferson was a greater political theorist.

Thomas Paine a more ready writer, and some have thought General Green a more clever militarist.

But it is certain that no one had the combination of qualities which made Washington the "Father of His Country."

Someone has suggested that Washington became commander in chief of the Continental Army and first President of the United States merely through chance.

Such critics cite as examples his military experience in the French and Indian War and his financial independence obtained by a fortunate marriage.

But when in a nation-forming and world-changing crisis the one prepared leader appears, is it not more reverent to keep still about the wheel of fortune and acknowledge the working of divine providence?

The world needed America, America needed Washington, and he was prepared. God saw to that.

Washington's public service falls into four parts:

(a) The first was his work for Virginia, mainly preceding and during the French and Indian war, and it was preparatory to his greater accomplishments as our Founding Father.

(b) His second great service was as commander in chief of the Continental Army.

Here the value of his personality is most plainly manifest.

When Congress was well-nigh powerless to furnish money or supplies, when jealously, slander, and treachery were abounding and when trusted leaders proved traitors, Washington would not quit.

His persistent courage, his bravery, his poise, his unselfishness, and his deep sense of justice held together the tattered remnants of a hungry army.

A man of less character would have been disgusted, disgruntled, and discouraged.

He would have sent his resignation to Congress the first time that Gen. Charles Lee (no relation to any Virginian) misbehaved.

But not George Washington.

The Father of Our Country might have tried to make himself king.

Others have done it with less occasion.

But when his unpaid troops at the close of the war were ready to use military power on the Congress to enforce their rights, Washington persuaded them, with pleading eloquence, to preserve the civil authority and abide respectfully by the decisions of the Congress.

He assured them that he would use his influence to get just pay for them.

(c) Washington's third contribution was in connection with the Constitutional Convention, where he presided from May 25 to September 17, 1787.

He was a natural-born President.

He was by instinct and by training an administrator.

In the Virgina House of Burgesses, where Washington served for years in its colorful sessions, he had very little to say.

He shunned the free-for-all debates enjoyed by Jefferson, Madison, and Patrick Henry.

On the other hand, with Washington in the chair he was right at home.

Whether directing his servants at Mount Vernon, an army in the field, or a deadlocked constitutional convention, he had an instinct for avoiding rashness and for getting the right thing done.

And so, as chairman, he is said to have admonished the delegates as they began their task in these words:

"Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair.

"The event is in the hand of God."

And, as chairman, he signed that great document, the Constitution of the United States, which Gladstone said was "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

But signing the Constitution was one thing and its adoption by the States was another.

The sentiment in Virginia was closely divided, and without Virginia there could be no Union.

Washington, with his thorough knowledge of the Convention debates, threw his influence strongly in favor of adopting the Constitution and was without doubt responsible for the happy outcome.

This is George Washington, our Founding Father.

(d) It is little wonder Washington was chosen our first President.

This was his fourth great public service.

With no precedent to guide him he had to depend largely and often upon his deep sense of propriety as to how a President of the United States should act.

He acted like the gentleman and citizen of Alexandria that he was and set a worthy example for a long line of notable successors.

Washington was no infallible prophet.

He did not claim to be one.

He did not foresee the development of political parties in our country.

Neither did he know that within a century and a half one could travel from New York to London more quickly than he in his day could go from Alexandria to Philadelphia.

Yet even with his necessarily limited vision Washington enunciated some great principles of government when he said:

"My politics are plain and simple.

"I think every nation has a right to establish that form of government under which it conceives it may live most happy; provided it infracts no right, or is not dangerous to others; and that no governments ought to interfere with the internal concerns of another, except for the security of what is due to themselves."

The fame of George Washington stands apart from every other figure in history.

In conclusion, as we commemorate his birthday on this occasion, let us hold high the faith in America, which he bequeathed to us, and which the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States have constantly helped to preserve.

Yes; let us move forward through peace to preserve George Washington's ideals for all future generations.

Inventory at 63

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 31, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith the remarks of the Reverend James H. Strayer, of Calvary Methodist Church, in San Jose, Calif., with respect to his 63d birthday. I feel that the article entitled "Inventory at 63" might be helpful if considered by every Member of this very busy Congress:

INVENTORY AT 63

Next Sunday I plan to celebrate my 63d birthday. If my plans culminate properly I hope to preach a sermon on: "If I Were Young." It is always easy to speak on the shortcomings of youth since I will not pass that way again.

The year of my birth is contemporary with Coxy's army marching on the Capital. Neither of us succeeded well judging from an economic slide-rule scale. So far my business of living leaves me with a 60-percent heart, 90-percent vision, 85-percent hearing, and 90-percent[1] pedal digits since stumbling over the bathroom scales.

[1] Statistics based on personal guessometer.

Spiritually it seems I am more sympathetic with the unfortunate—which comprises most of whom I know. No longer am I interested in perfectionism in my fellow man since I care more and more for fellowship. One can't have both. The behavior pattern of people is of more concern than their oral expression. I am more certain that the world will go on with or without me although there is a constant interest in my being a part of it. I am learning to accept the limitations of increasing age without worrying about earning my salary. My value in my work is not measured by how much I do as in doing what is really important. I try to strike only when the iron is hot instead of banging away on cold metal. I envy no man his job, his success and with reasonable limitations, his material security. I have learned to believe my beliefs and doubt my doubts assuming that God loves honesty.

Professionally I try not to play a role that could not be acted in Bermuda shorts as well as in ornate flowing robes. I try to have the same estimate of my race, color, religion, and politics as I would have others estimate theirs. I have no desire to persecute nor be persecuted.

I have no interest in a morality not based on truth. The world has yet to build a moral culture where the brute facts of life are the foundation stones.

What joys and satisfactions come to me, and they are many, are due not to my own attainments so much as the good will of my fellow men. Beginning with my own fireside and broadening out through my church, community, and nation, there are compensations in living beyond description.

What is my wish for the world? Well, stripped of all nonessentials I think more than anything else the world needs a good night's rest.

The National Guard Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JARMAN
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include enrolled Senate Concurrent Resolution 5, as the same was adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the 26th Legislature of the State of Oklahoma:

Senate Concurrent Resolution 5

Concurrent resolution relating to certain statements made by Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense; requesting said Charles E. Wilson to reconsider said statements in the light of certain factual information and to determine whether a retraction should not be made; directing that copies of this resolution be forwarded to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Secretary of Defense Wilson and to each member of the Oklahoma congressional delegation

Whereas on January 28, 1957, there was released to the press, radio, and television mediums of the Nation a statement by Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, that "a sort of scandal * * * a draft-dodging business" developed in National Guard enlistments during the Korean military conflict; and

Whereas the National Guard has the longest continuous history of any military organization in the United States of America; and

Whereas the basic concept of national defense is "a small Regular force complemented by a large Reserve"; and

Whereas this basic military concept has been tested and proven successful in many wars, most recently in World War II and during the Korean conflict; and

Whereas Congress by its official action regarding military service did authorize certain services in the National Guard of the United States and in the United States Army as a means of fulfilling military requirements; and

Whereas the State of Oklahoma is proud of the record and achievements of the National Guard units of this Nation, and is especially proud of the record and achievements of the 45th Infantry Division, a National Guard Division composed exclusively of Oklahomans; and

Whereas the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma desires to call to the attention of the Secretary of Defense and to the people of this State and of the Nation the sterling record of the 45th Infantry Division; and

Whereas it is the feeling of this 26th legislature and of the people of Oklahoma that it is grossly unfair for the Secretary of Defense to urge, on the one hand, the enlistment of youth in the National Guard program as authorized by law and, on the other hand, following such enlistments in good faith by youths thus encouraged, to denounce such youths as draft dodgers; and

Whereas it is the further feeling of this 26th legislature and of the people of Oklahoma that the reputation of the 45th Infantry Division, and other National Guard divisions, has been done severe harm as a result of the above-quoted statement, and that such statement constitutes a gross and unwarranted insult to Oklahoma National Guard men and to those of other States, especially those who served during the Korean conflict; and

Whereas it is inconceivable that such a statement could be made, except in the heat of anger, or without proper reflection and due consideration of the history of such divisions as Oklahoma's 45th Infantry Division and others which have distinguished themselves in the defense of this Nation; and

Whereas this Oklahoma Legislature and the people of the State have awaited a retraction by the Secretary of Defense, but, instead, said Secretary has reiterated and expanded his initial statement: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the 26th Legislature of the State of Oklahoma (the House of Representatives concurring therein):

SECTION 1. The Legislature of the State of Oklahoma respectfully requests that Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, reconsider his statements in the light of the above facts and determine whether a retraction of said statement should not be made, especially as it relates to National Guard divisions, bearing in mind that the several National Guard divisions did not enact such legislation but acted faithfully in compliance therewith in all particulars.

SEC. 2. Be it further resolved, a copy of this resolution be made a part of the permanent journals of this 26th legislature, and that duly authenticated copies of this resolution be forwarded to Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, and to each member of the Oklahoma congressional delegation.

Adopted by the senate the 30th day of January 1957.

FRANK MAHAN,
Acting President of the Senate.

Adopted by the house of representatives the 13th day of February 1957.

B. E. HARKEY,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

CERTIFICATION

STATE OF OKLAHOMA,
County of Oklahoma, ss:

I, Leo Winters, secretary of the Senate of the State of Oklahoma, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of Enrolled Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 5 as the same was adopted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the 26th Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, the original hereof being on file in the office of the secretary of state of the State of Oklahoma.

Witness my hand and the seal of my office at the State capitol this 19th day of February 1957.

[SEAL] LEO WINTERS,
Secretary of the Senate.

Sanctions Against Israel

SPEECH
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, in the past week the Israeli-Egyptian conflict has reached a new stage of crisis. The United Nations called for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Gaza Strip and Sharm el Sheikh, the strategically important area along the Gulf of Aqaba. This Israel refused to do until it had ironclad guaranties that both areas would not be used by Egypt to stage future attacks. Pending in the United Nations General Assembly is a resolution calling for sanctions against Israel.

At first our Government had not entirely clarified its position on the issue of sanctions. It apparently took the position that some pressure ought to be exerted by the United Nations upon Israel. On February 26, however, the press reported that the Government was prepared to submit a resolution to the General Assembly which would call for the United Nations control of the Gaza and Aqaba areas but would omit any mention of sanctions.

In many respects the initial position taken by our Government was somewhat precipitate. No doubt it had reasons for this action; but the issue at stake goes far beyond the question of Israeli-American relations: It vitally concerns our relations with the entire Middle East.

In this complex of international politics our guide should be to seek justice and accomplish the objectives of our policy interests. The question is, Can justice and our enlightened self-interest be achieved by imposing sanctions on Israel? I think not. I welcome, therefore, the change of mood in our Government on this question. More than any other nation, Israel depends upon the United States for its economic sustenance. Were we to cut off all economic ties with Israel, that small democratic nation would be perceptibly weakened and clearly placed in an indefensible position. Certainly a course of action which would bring about such results would not be just. Nor would our best interests be served. Egypt is not without guilt in this present crisis. Indeed, it was the uncompromising hatred that Egypt so often voiced for Israel and the continued Egyptian threats to eradicate

Israel from the face of the globe that was the root cause of the crisis. And while America would not wish to reward Israel for her action, certainly it would not want to whet the Arab appetite for conquest by a move which would inevitably invite an attack on a economically weakened Israel.

The solution to this highly complex problem is difficult. The world has had this seemingly insoluble problem for over a decade, and the prospects are still not bright for reaching a reasonable agreement. However, sanctions against Israel are not the answer. A just solution would seem to require concrete guaranties to Israel that once withdrawal from the disputed areas was effected, Egypt would not use them to stage attacks on Israeli territory and shipping.

In addition, every effort should be made to persuade Egypt to permit the final clearing of the Suez Canal and to accept a form of control of the canal that would be consistent with both Egyptian national interests and the interests of the other nations of the world which look upon the canal as a vital waterway. Once success has been achieved in these matters all energies should then be directed toward building a broader Arab-Israeli understanding.

America has entered the Middle Eastern political arena in full force. Let our force, both physical and moral, continue to be applied to serve the ends of justice, as well as our own enlightened national interest, constructively at all times. Sanctions, gentlemen, are neither constructive nor do they serve our interests.

Your Congressman Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I herewith insert in the RECORD my address delivered Saturday, February 23, over Radio Station WHK, Cleveland, on the regular weekly program conducted by WHK Radio Station to enable the Congressmen from the Greater Cleveland area to offer regular reports from Washington to their constituents. This program is known as Your Congressman Speaks and my address follows:

This is my first report from Washington since last July when Congress adjourned.

Immediately upon the convening of the 85th Congress we were confronted with what the present administration called an issue involving war or peace. This has more lately been termed the Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East.

Congress was warned by the President and the Secretary of State that unless Congress adopted a resolution making clear to the Russians that the United States intended to prevent further infiltration of Russian influence in the Middle East area, the Russians would then engage in actions which might very well bring about World War III. This has been the overriding issue in Congress since the day it convened.

During debate on the floor of the House, I expressed very serious misgivings and grave reservations about the Eisenhower resolution. In the first place, the resolution was very limited in that it suggested opposition only to internationa communism. The clear inference was that national communism was acceptable to the administration. I expressed concern that the loose wording of the Eisenhower resolution would make it possible for the Communist dictator Tito to infiltrate the Middle East with his brand of communism and that the administration would not be empowered to stop him. Upon questioning during the debate, I was assured that the Eisenhower resolution did not intend to do this despite its faulty language. The second concern I expressed was that if Congress did pass the Eisenhower resolution we would, in fact, be endorsing support for what Secretary Dulles has fanatically defended as national communism or independent communism. I raised this question in the House because for many months I have been concerned with the lack of understanding shown by Secretary Dulles of the latest Kremlin tactical maneuver to confuse the leaders of the free world on the basic question of communism. To those people who have been compelled to live under the tyranny of communism, there is absolutely no difference between the two brands and it is obvious that the Russians have merely invented the slogan of so-called national communism as a device for confusing gullible people throughout the world. Again I received assurance that in voting for the proposed Eisenhower resolution, I would not be endorsing the devotion of Secretary Dulles to the misguided notion that we can defeat the Communist conspiracy by splitting its camp into various so-called national or independent segments.

It was only after receiving assurances on the floor of Congress on these vital points that I voted for the resolution. By this process I removed any doubt on these two critical points as to the intention of Congress with respect to the Eisenhower resolution. I shall keep a close watch on developments to make certain that the Eisenhower administration does not violate the spirit of the resolution or the intent of Congress.

Upon conclusion of Senate hearings, the resolution was amended to make it clear beyond any doubt that we are prepared to use force if the Russians move into the Middle East.

While Congress has been giving very careful study to the proposed Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East, Secretary of State Dulles suddenly and unexpectedly proposed that sanctions be imposed upon Israel unless it abided by a United Nations resolution calling for the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the Gaza strip. The new Dulles proposal for sanctions against Israel raises a series of very pertinent questions which apparently had not occurred to the Secretary of State or his advisers in the Department of State. Those questions are—

First, how could we recommend to the United Nations that sanctions be imposed against Israel for noncompliance with a United Nations resolution when we have made no effort to impose sanctions upon the most infamous aggressor, the Soviet Union, for its failure to comply with a United Nations resolution passed last December, calling for the removal of all Red army troops from Hungary. In this connection it will be recalled that after the Hungarian freedom fighters had driven the Russians out of Budapest and had won 4 historic days of freedom and independence, the Red army reinvaded Hungary in the early morning hours of November 4. At the very time the Red army had reentered Hungary with 5,000 tanks, 200,000 reinforcements of infantrymen and supported by a major effort of the Russian Air Force, the Russian representative in the United Nations, then meeting in emergency session, was assuring all the United Nations delegates that the Russian troops were withdrawing and there was no cause for the United Nations to be concerned with developments in Hungary. A few hours later, when the cruel and shocking truth of the Russian slaughter of the Hungarian patriots was made known to the free world, public indignation reached the point where forthwith and decisive action by the United Nations appeared necessary for the survival of the United Nations itself. This caused the United Nations General Assembly eventually to pass a resolution demanding the withdrawal of all Russian troops from Hungary, a resolution which the Russians and their satellites voted against and which, up until today, the Russians have refused to recognize.

It would be a violation of all that is just and decent if we, as a nation, were to support any resolution imposing sanctions against Israel unless equal sanctions were simultaneously voted against the Russian Communists. There is firm support for this position among all people who seek a just and lasting peace, and the prevention of world war III.

The second pertinent question raised by the Dulles proposal to apply sanctions only against little Israel is whether our current foreign policy is based upon the notion that we should punish little nations when they stand up for principle. It is important that the American people remember that Israel has taken a public stand against the Russian Comumnists and has pledged itself to fight against any Russian maneuvers in the Mideast area. Has Colonel Nasser, the Egyptian leader, given similar assurances to our Government? The answer is "No." The record shows that Colonel Nasser has been receiving military assistance and economic aid from the Russian Communists. Before the conflict in the Middle East broke out, it was a known fact among competent newspapermen—but apparently not to the Central Intelligence Agency of our Government—that there were over 5,000 so-called Russian technicians on Egyptian soil, who in fact were Russian military officers, jet pilots, and Russian secret-police operatives. It is also interesting to note that the Israeli troops captured a stockpile of 1 million Russian-made army blankets in the first days of the conflict—which indicates the number of so-called volunteers the Russians intended to parachute into Egypt. On the record, there can be no reasonable doubt that it would be national folly to put any dependence upon Colonel Nasser. He has collaborated with the Russian Communists and betrayed his own people.

Congress now has been called upon to cooperate with the administration by simply putting a rubber stamp on Mr. Dulles' proposals. We should not depart from our time-honored position as protector of the smaller and persecuted nations. We should not depart from the principle of equal treatment for all nations, large and small. We Democrats stand ready to give full cooperation to the Eisenhower administration in meeting any and all situations which in any way threaten the safety, progress, and security of the American people. We are prepared to take an active part in the formulation of foreign policy. We are prepared to help the administration out of its present confused position, but we must be in on all phases of planning the rescue.

It is regrettable that our Government took only half-hearted action in connection with the Hungarian revolution and the heroic effort of the Hungarian people to throw the Russian Communists out of their beloved homeland. If the courage of the Eisenhower administration in facing up to this matter was one-half that of the brave little chil-

dren of Hungary, the conspiracy of communism would be in its death throes and we would be on the way to lifting the terrible burden of taxation from the backs of the American people.

It will be to our everlasting discredit if we, as a nation, fail to take action in support of the cause of Hungarian freedom and national independence. It is not too late for us to take action. Popular public opinion can force the Eisenhower administration to call for the expulsion of the Russians from the United Nations unless they get out of Hungary.

Remove Political Restrictions on Government Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill which calls for the removal or elimination of certain restrictions imposed on the political activities of officers and employees of the Federal and State Governments under Public Law 252 of the 76th Congress. This is the law which is commonly referred to as the Hatch Act, passed by Congress in 1939.

It is my firm conviction that under this act the civil-service employees of our Federal and State Governments are relegated to a position of second-class citizens. I do not believe that this was the original intention of the sponsors of that act when it was enacted some 16 or 17 years ago. Nor do I think that the assertion of political privileges can be denied under the United States Constitution to a large segment of our population simply because they happen to be Government employees.

Political freedom and the freedom of expression should be granted on the same scale to Government employees as to all citizens of this Nation. Federal or State employment should not in itself become a means of depriving American citizens of rights guaranteed them in the Constitution. These people are entitled to express their views and opinions on political parties and candidates, regardless of their employment.

For this reason, I believe it is high time to ease such restrictions imposed on civil-service workers and that we extend to them the same privileges of participating in the political life of the country as all others enjoy. Originally, the Hatch Act was intended to curb unorthodox and pernicious political activities on the part of certain individuals or groups, who abused these privileges. It was not intended to punish all civil-service employees and to deprive them of the full benefits of citizenship. In the long run, our country will be the loser and our democratic processes will suffer if we continue to deny such rights to several million of our citizens, who are among the most loyal and most patriotic.

My bill simply seeks to remove the restriction contained in the Hatch Act which forbids any officer or employee in the executive branch of the Federal Government from taking any active part in political management or political campaigns. It also seeks to remove the same restriction with respect to officials and employees of any State or local agency whose principal employment is in connection with any activity which is financed by loans or grants made by the Federal Government or its agencies.

Mr. Speaker, our country is regarded as the moral leader and moral spokesman of the free nations of the world. As such, it does not befit the United States to deny basic rights and to discriminate against many of its citizens merely because they are employed by the Federal or State Governments. Government employment should be a badge of honor, not a status of second-class citizenship.

Chamber of Commerce Pays Tribute to the Cooper Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the East Side News, a publication circulated in the 19th Congressional District of New York. Cooper Union, as it is better known in New York City, or to use its proper name, the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, last week celebrated the 100th anniversary of its first charter. It is an institution well known and most beloved by the people of New York and one which we hope will continue to function for many years to come:

[From the East Side News, New York, N. Y., of February 23, 1957]

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE PAYS TRIBUTE TO THE COOPER UNION

A demonstration of mutual respect between the Cooper Union and its East Side neighborhood was a feature of the student-staff convocation, held last week in observance of Peter Cooper's birthday and the 100th anniversary of the Cooper Union's first charter.

The East Side Chamber of Commerce, with which the administration has long maintained a friendly relationship, presented to the Cooper Union at that time a congratulatory resolution. In behalf of the chamber, David I. Kaplan, president, presented to Dr. Edwin S. Burdell, president of the Cooper Union a framed manuscript, hand-lettered in color on parchment. The resolution reads as follows:

"Whereas the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art is situated on the lower East Side of the city of New York, where for 100 years it has welcomed countless students seeking knowledge and enlightenment in the arts and sciences, and by reason thereof has become their alma mater, and whose fame as an institution of higher learning has spread throughout the civilized world; and

"Whereas Cooper Union, as we lovingly call it, is celebrating the 100th anniversary of the granting of its original charter by the legislature of the State of New York to the immortal Peter Cooper: Be it unanimously

"*Resolved*, That the East Side Chamber of Commerce offers its homage to its illustrious neighbor, felicitates it on its centennial, and extends to its officers, directors, faculty, and students heartfelt wishes for many years of continued dedicated service to our city, State, and Nation."

Attitude of Jewish Citizens of America Regarding the Gaza Strip

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am gratified to have this opportunity to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD copies of letters dated February 25, 1957, addressed to the Honorable David Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister of Israel, and President Dwight D. Eisenhower, signed by Dr. Eugene H. Lehman, president of Monmouth College in West Long Branch, N. J. Dr. Lehman is a former instructor of Biblical literature at Yale University and, therefore, speaks with authority on a subject he knows something about. I think his views as expressed to President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Ben-Gurion are well worth reading and I think they aid in the clarification of a very much befuddled situation. The letters follow:

MONMOUTH COLLEGE,
West Long Branch, N. J., February 25, 1957.

The President, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: You will find enclosed a copy of a letter under date of February 25 which I sent to Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion.

I was prompted to send this letter partly because I know you desire to become acquainted with the attitude of at least some of the Jewish citizens of America with reference to the withdrawal of the forces of Israel from the Gaza strip and from the Gulf of Aqaba.

With reference to the charge brought up against you by your opponents to the effect that you are following one moral principle against strong Russia and the opposite principle against the comparatively weak Israel, there are, of course, several effective arguments you can make in reply.

I will here limit myself to merely one of them; namely, a resolution has already been introduced into the United Nations recommending the application of sanctions against Israel. If that resolution is adopted, you apparently intend to comply with it. If a similar resolution should be introduced into the United Nations recommending the application of sanctions against Russia and if that resolution should be adopted I assume you will, likewise, comply with it. Hence, there is no validity whatsoever in the charge that you are following one set of moral principles against Israel and a different set against Russia.

I have the honor to remain,
Yours faithfully,
EUGENE H. LEHMAN, *President.*

MONMOUTH COLLEGE,
West Long Branch, N. J.,
February 25, 1957.

The Honorable DAVID BEN-GURION,
Jerusalem, Israel.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: In the New York Times for February 22, 1957, you are quoted as having addressed the Kenesset in the following words: "These principles (of the prophets of Israel) are no less precious to

us than to any other people." These words imply that the State of Israel is founded on the principles enunciated by our prophets.

I am a former instructor in Biblical literature at Yale University. I have, therefore, made a fairly careful study of both the priestly element and also of the prophetic element in the Old Testament. These two elements were in constant and bitter conflict with each other throughout the entire Biblical days. Indeed, the conflict has continued almost uninterruptedly and with equal bitterness throughout Israel's long history down even to the present time.

The fundamental principle of the prophetic element is this: that the kings should build up a strong civil and political state supported by a large army. The priests were to play an important part in this state.

The fundamental principle of the prophetic element is this: that the people should build up a purely ethical and universal religion. Whenever a dispute arose between the military state and the ethical religion the priests invariably sought to overthrow the state and to perpetuate the religion.

The present State of Israel is, therefore, founded not on the prophetic element, but solely on the priestly element in the Old Testament. The aggressive action of the present State of Israel is in direct opposition to the fundamental teachings of the prophets. If Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah were alive today, not one of them would support such hostile action as you recently took against Egypt. May I, therefore, as a Jew and as a former instructor in the prophetic religion of Israel in one of America's leading universities, strongly urge you to comply with the frequent requests made to you by President Eisenhower. It is our President who is basing his action on the principles of the prophets. It is you who is basing your action on the teachings of the priests.

Yours faithfully,

EUGENE H. LEHMAN, *President.*

Max Abelman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD a brief article about Brooklyn's "good-will ambassador," Max Abelman. The article was published in the New York Journal-American, Sunday, February 17, 1957, and reads as follows:

MAX ABELMAN, 70, STILL HELPS CHARITY

Max Abelman, officially designated as "Brooklyn's ambassador of good will," just celebrated his 70th birthday with a capital F—for Flatbush, fund raising, and the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

He was on hand recently to participate in the final "Dial-a-Thon" telephone marathon to help raise $18,100,000 for federation's 116-member agencies.

Commuting from Brooklyn to federation headquarters, 130 East 59th Street, Manhattan, where he manned one of the 40 telephones installed to call in pledges and contributions, Abelman truly lived up to his surname, and proved himself to be an "able man" as one of the most persuasive fund raisers in federation history.

LONGTIME HELPER

The federation campaign goal did not perturb Abelman, who has devoted 50 years to fund raising for good causes in general, and the federation's institutions in particular.

Twenty years ago, when the Jewish Federation of Brooklyn Charities merged with the New York federation, Abelman had already established himself in the Brooklyn picture, both as an administrator and fund raiser.

He was called in by the late Felix M. Warburg, who was first president of the newly formed Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, to help in its organization and fund raising.

PROLIFIC NIGHT

Abelman had made a reputation by netting $1 million in pledges in one night for the Brooklyn federation along with Fritz Kreisler, the prominent violinist.

According to Brooklyn records, Abelman has raised more than $100 million in the borough during the past 50 years. At one event he organized for 44 banking institutions at the Brooklyn Academy of Music during a Liberty Bond drive, he chalked up a collection of $43,900,000 in Government bonds in one evening by staging a tableau and having the leading opera stars and celebrities of that era sell kisses for a good cause.

A grandfather of two, Abelman made a resolution on his 70th birthday to pass on his tradition of tolerance and philanthropy "even unto the third generation." He wants to continue being active in Brooklyn and in federation.

Teen-agers Form Council To Help Solve Vital Community Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 31, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the East Side News, a publication with wide circulation in the 19th Congressional District of New York. This district is a rather heterogeneous one with a population representing all parts of the world. It is heart-warming to know that when so much is being heard of juvenile delinquency and discrimination that this group of teen-agers has the foresight to make their own neighborhood a better place in which to live. This group will visit Washington in the early part of March to see for themselves how the Congress of the United States functions. I look forward to their visit and to the opportunity to acquaint them with their Nation's Capitol:

[From the East Side News of New York, N. Y., of January 14, 1956]

TEEN-AGERS FORM COUNCIL HERE TO HELP SOLVE VITAL COMMUNITY PROBLEMS—GRANT TO NEW YORK UNIVERSITY MAKES CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM POSSIBLE

The Lower East Side is one of the fortunate Manhattan areas whose teen-agers spend their leisure planning ways to help make their community a better place in which to live.

Twenty-one boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 17, Negro and white youngsters, including those of Puerto Rican extraction, this week launched a campaign to organize all of the neighborhood's teen-agers into a youth council that would undertake a constructive community program.

The 21 potential charter members of the council now belong to the New York University Social Club, which meets weekly at either St. Augustine's or St. Christopher's Chapel. Their adviser is Mrs. Shirley Jones, of 575 Grand Street, an New York University graduate student who is a leader in the university's current civic youth council program.

The goal of the overall New York University project, which includes a professional study and evaluation of organized youth groups in various sections of the city, is to help New York's teen-agers develop an interest in civic problems. The program was made possible by a grant of four Richard Welling Fellowships from the National Self-Government Committee.

Mrs. Jones, who holds one of the fellowships, selected the Lower East Side because she and her husband, Sande, have been associated for some time with programs of leadership for the youth of St. Augustine's Chapel. The Reverend Kilmer C. Meyers, of St. Augustine's, and Mr. and Mrs. Jones work with the teen-agers primarily on an auxiliary and advisory basis.

The 21 young people organized their New York University Social Club in July, when Mrs. Jones began her 1-year study, as a core group to attract the area's teen-agers, and, according to Mrs. Jones, to prove to the neighborhood's adults that they meant business when they pledged help in solving community problems.

The campaign for the larger youth council during the next few weeks will take the form of disseminating the social club's plans and goals for community improvement. The club members will emphasize the importance of a constructive youth council, and one that cuts across racial lines, in the changing neighborhood of the Lower East Side.

Once the council is formed, the teen-agers will concentrate on a program of leadership development. They hope then to obtain the sponsorship of the adult community group of the section, the Lower East Side Neighborhood Association. The teen-age organization, in return, will offer the energies and talents of its leaders to the adult association.

The teen-age group is especially interested in trying to help solve the housing problems of the Lower East Side, which at the moment, according to Mrs. Jones, is the most urgent in the area.

"Basically," Mrs. Jones says, "the youngsters' goal is to demonstrate to the adults that teen-agers of various ethnic origins can work together amicably for the good of the community. They are very much interested in proving that the community house and the settlement house is for and open to teen-agers of all races and colors."

Fortieth Anniversary of United States Citizenship of People of Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT ZELENKO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, March 2, 1957, will mark the 40th anniversary of the United States citizenship of the great people of Puerto Rico. I rejoice with them in the celebration of this memorable day.

Love of freedom and adherence to democratic ideals have been the outstanding characteristics of these fine Americans.

The present administration of the island, under the inspiring leadership of the Honorable Luis Muñoz-Marín, is to

be congratulated upon its almost unbelievable progress in all fields of social, political, and economic development.

May the years ahead see its continued growth and prosperity.

Excerpts From Address by Adlai E. Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the distinguished former Governor of Illinois, Adlai E. Stevenson, delivered an important speech in San Francisco on February 16, 1957. I ask unanimous consent that excerpts, including those portions of Governor Stevenson's speech dealing with foreign policy, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF SPEECH OF ADLAI E. STEVENSON, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONFERENCE, SAN FRANCISO, FEBRUARY 16, 1957

This meeting in San Francisco tonight has a special meaning to me, and I am not referring to the fact that I was born in California, or that it has now produced three Republican pretenders to the throne simultaneously—which certainly must establish California as the mother of candidates if not Presidents.

Rather I am happily reminded tonight that just a year ago this month I came to California, my birthplace, to celebrate my birthday, and to thank many of you for urging me to run for President again. It was a birthday party no man could forget. It began in Sacramento and ended a week later in San Diego. We counted 410 birthday cakes and about 410,000 friends along the way. And I'm glad to see so many of them again tonight, together with Democratic friends from other Western States.

As some of you may have noticed, something happened on my way to the White House—again. But I haven't lost heart. I haven't even lost weight, as I'm sure all of you have noticed.

Horace Greeley, you know, was, like myself, the victim of a presidential contest with a Republican general. When he said, "Go West, young man," I don't know whether he was thinking about Democrats, but this meeting here in San Francisco proves again what the election last fall has already told us—that our party has no greater source of hope for the future than in the West.

For here Democrats carried the standards of our party to success unmatched in any other corner of our Nation. We would have had a little pleasanter evening that Tuesday in November if the rest of the Nation had been as rational and perceptive as the West.

The record of the election entitles the Democrats of the West to speak in the councils of the party with a louder voice than ever before. I trust that you will not hang back. The Democratic Party of the Nation needs your counsel and your leadership.

* * * * *

For surely we know by now that if we working Democrats don't try to clear the air of the Republican incense no one is going to do it for us. We could, as I say, complain that the press in its columns and editorial pages should do a large part of the job for us. And it would be a just complaint. We know that most of the newspapers cast a more tolerant eye at the excesses and defects of Republicans than at those of Democrats. But this is a fact of life. We must do it ourselves—all of us, from United States Senators to private citizens in every walk of life.

To demand the truth, to get the facts, to denounce fraud, to unmask imposture; to revive the concept of a fighting opposition to its true dimensions—this is the greatest task before us. If we don't do it, if we fail in this—the supreme task of the opposition party, we face defeat not only in 1960 but in years beyond. God helps those who help themselves.

The conduct of American foreign policy illustrates our problem and affords us our greatest challenge and our greatest opportunity as a responsible opposition. For here is the Nation's greatest need for truth and reality; for here half truths and lullabys have done us the greatest injury.

We don't need to rake the ashes of the past, or revisit all of Mr. Dulles' "brinks," or recall all the foolish words about "unleashing Chiang," "massive retaliation," "the immorality of neutrals." And heroic Hungary, crushed and bleeding, is a mute witness to the hollowness of those cynical vote-catching boasts about "liberating the satellites."

We don't need to marshal the dismal record. The current scene is evidence enough that we have come perilously close to disaster in the Eisenhower years. We missed our great chance and Hungary was crushed in blood. Russian influence has penetrated the Middle East for the first time. Israel is isolated again. Britain and France have blundered and been badly hurt. Our great alliance is tottering. NATO is enfeebled. The Suez Canal is still closed, its future unsettled. Our best friends are crippled by the oil shortage. And whose friendship have we won? Nasser's? I doubt it.

This is the sorry harvest of appeasing and provoking the Arabs; of misleading and exasperating our best friends.

Yet it was only yesterday, just before the election, that President Eisenhower said of the Middle East: "It looks like there's a very great crisis that's behind us"; that Vice President NIXON said: "It appears that Mr. Eisenhower's tolerance and wisdom and leadership will serve to avert armed conflict in the Middle East"; that Secretary Dulles called it amazing, the degree to which the United States, Britain, and France had developed a common policy; that Secretary Wilson called it a relatively small thing; and the ineffable Mr. Dewey solemnly predicted a lasting and secure peace.

But then, after the election, they proclaimed the Middle Eastern crisis more serious than any we have faced for 10 years, more serious than the fall of China to the Communists; more serious than the threatened economic collapse of Europe; and Secretary Dulles said that even delay in passing the President's resolution would mean that in a short time the Middle East would be dominated by communism.

Before the election it was sweet peace; after the election it was the imminent threat of war.

And let it not be said that anything had changed; that British influence had suddenly died. It hadn't. It died when Britain withdrew from its great Suez military base 3 years ago—at our insistence, by the way.

I think we have had enough of this rock-and-roll diplomacy.

This is not the place to ask how they allowed this sense of isolation and reckless despair to develop among the people of Israel (and I winced when I heard our Government say it would consider sanctions to force Israel to withdraw from Sinai without any security for its borders or its shipping, when no such pressure was put on Russia for its defiance of the General Assembly on Hungary, or India's defiance over Kashmir, or, indeed, Egypt's defiance of the Security Council in respect of Israel shipping in the Suez Canal. You don't have to condone Israel's defiance of the General Assembly to feel a thrill that someone is ready to risk life itself for national survival.)

Nor is this the place to ask how the Eisenhower government allowed a situation to develop which caused Britain and France, our oldest and best friends, to act secretly and desperately. Nor need we recall that melancholy spectacle when the American delegate to the United Nations lined up with Russia against our allies to save a dictator's neck, or Mr. NIXON's shocking exultation over what he called our declaration of independence from Britain and France.

You don't have to condone what they did, or what Israel did, or anyone else to realize that people have lost confidence in us. The brilliant cross-examination by Democrats in Congress has amply demonstrated the failure of this Government to maintain, let alone advance, America's leadership in the Middle East.

Behind the ill-judged action of our friends was the pacifism of the United States, that lullaby about peace and prosperity, and the gloomy sense that America did not recognize the significance of Russian penetration, Israel's mortal danger or the utter dependence of Western Europe on oil and the Suez Canal.

It was, I suppose to correct the impression that the United States didn't care much and wouldn't do anything that President Eisenhower after the election suddenly and dramatically reversed himself and announced that the Middle East was about to be overrun by the Comunists and that he must have a resolution authorizing the use of force to resist them—an authority he already possessed.

Well, I was glad the President at last admitted what we Democrats had been shouting for over a year—that we're in plenty of trouble in the Middle East. But, I thought resistance to Communist aggression had been the settled policy of the United States for a decade and that Greece and Turkey and Korea were the best evidences of it. And I trust that the President's resolution wasn't intended to limits our resistance to Communist aggression to the Middle East alone.

I was glad to see the Democrats in the Senate start to clear up this resolution. It seemed to me not only to create an unnecessary and dangerous precedent, but not to meet the real problems. The danger isn't overt Communist aggression but covert Communist penetration; the danger isn't military aggression from the outside, but from the inside. And this resolution doesn't protect Israel from the Arabs or the Arabs from Israel. We won't be on the road to stability until we face the real economic and political problems.

The resolution looks less to me like a serious approach to the real problems of that area than another example of Madison Avenue diplomacy to distract public attention from the administration's failure.

Rhetoric and dramatics will not open the canal to the ships of all nations, or quell the strife between Arab and Jew, or fill the vacuum we hear so much about. Indeed, I think these past weeks have proved what some of us have been saying for a long time—that the first vacuum that should be filled is not in the Middle East but in the State Department.

But if I have misgivings about this effort to implicate every Member of Congress in everything that takes place hereafter in the Middle East, I have no misgiving that we must make it perfectly clear that this is an area of vital American interest. If we do no more than restore this strategic area to the condition it was in before the trouble began with a promise of protection from aggression and some economic improvement, we will have missed a great opportunity and perhaps the last.

Our objectives, I take it, are clear and simple: To open the canal to the traffic of all nations, to establish peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors, and while we

don't propose to dominate anyone ourselves, we don't propose that Russia dominate anyone either.

I would make it perfectly clear that we propose to pursue these objectives even at the risk of war, and call on all like-minded nations who want peace, national independence, and economic progress in the Middle East to join us. Obviously economic development is imperative and we should help generously, either alone, or in concert with others through the United Nations, or through a regional development agency.

If the disaster in the Middle East has jolted us into a realization of the enormity of our failures and our perils it may yet do some good. And the greatest peril of all is the collapse of our western alliance. I applaud the steps the administration is now taking to repair the damage and restore the Atlantic alliance which two world wars have shown is essential to our safety.

It will take time. I can imagine how we would feel if we had kept Russia out of the Middle East for a hundred years and thought Britain's blunders had let her in. And I can imagine how we would feel if we had no secure oil supply for our homes and factories and thought Britain was to blame for that, too. I think we must make it clear by firm deed as well as fair word that we don't propose to weaken the powers who alone have some stability in the free world, and that an expanding economy in Western Europe and the Atlantic community is still an abiding interest of America.

I have talked about the Middle East tonight not because it is the only great problem we face—there's China, Germany, the satellites and the great Afro-Asian revolutions—but to illustrate the opportunity and the obligations of our party. With the shrinkage of empire, the fateful shifts in world power in Asia yesterday and in the Middle East today—are dumping more and more responsibility in the lap of the United States. How are we doing?

Well, not very well obviously. It is evident everywhere you look that we have lost confidence and leadership. What we should be doing is asking ourselves why; for until we do resolutions, threats, gestures, and dollars won't do much good. And that's why I agree emphatically with Senator FULBRIGHT and Senator MANSFIELD and other Democratic leaders that the Senate should bring the whole international situation into perspective. Certainly we can't go on tottering from brink to brink and blunder to blunder while our leaders assure us that all is well and tell us to relax and buy another car or swallow another tranquilizer.

The other day I asked one of our greatest scholars what American needed most. "Foresight", he replied.

Well, I agree. Our duty as Democrats is identical with our duty as Americans. It is to face into the future, to ask hard and searching questions about where we are going, to help provide wise answers, and to help develop policies that will restore American leadership in the world.

This will not be an easy task, because it is not easy to work constructively with the President if he pays no attention to our suggestions, seeks no counsel and closes his mind to all our utterances. Mr. Eisenhower never uttered more revealing or disheartening words than his attack on his Democratic critics at his press conference on January 30: "I notice this: they don't bring out any particular project. They just talk about great blundering and lack of leadership. I have seen no proposals—no constructive proposals. * * * On the contrary, we just hear these generalized attacks."

If Mr. Eisenhower has seen no constructive proposals from Democrats on the Middle East and on other foreign problems during these past years, then I would plead with him to enlarge his reading and his listening.

Let no one mistake the mood of the Democratic Party. We believe that statesmanship is the goal of politics, and we will do everything we can, regardless of party interest, to support this administration in honest endeavors to meet the great challenges at home and abroad that are piling up on us. I know, you know, that patriotism must come before partisanship. I know, you know, that to do the right thing is the right thing to do.

But we resent, we cannot tolerate, slickness and hypocrisy. We resent the whole notion that the way to secure the solemn assent of a great democracy is through slogans, showmanship and half truths—through fairy tales in November and ghost stories in January. We want facts not fancy. We want the truth about our affairs, the whole truth, and all the time. We want foreign policy conducted for the Nation's advantage and security, not for the Republican Party's advantage and security.

Our problems are great; the Republican administration needs our help and our cooperation—in the foreign field above all. Let us give it to them with a will—on the condition of total honesty with the people.

It is time that we lifted these matters of life and death, of national security, out of the realm of petty politics and partisan interest. Our period is as dangerous as any since Lincoln. Democracy's command to think, to reason, to know gets ever more trying. But it can't be evaded. We have to shoulder our burdens, make our decisions—and lead. And we Democrats, in and out of office, have to help.

Herman Melville once reminded us Americans that: "We are the pioneers of the world, the advance guard sent on through the wilderness of untried things to break a new path in a new world that is ours."

We must help each other, Democrats and Republicans alike, to break this new path to the new world.

The Advance of Automation in Industry Makes Imperative Wise Planning Now for the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include a most timely and scholarly article concerning the threat of automation to our industrial society and emphasizing the imperative necessity of planning now against its threat of future disruption of our economy.

The article, authored by Mr. James B. Kelley, a consultant in the technical industrial research section of the New York State Department of Commerce, appeared in the February 16, 1957, issue of the magazine America, and I commend its reading.

The article follows:

MAN AND AUTOMATION

(By James B. Kelley)

A simple definition of automation might be: "Automation is mechanization with judgment." Labor-saving devices started with the wheel, but it was not for centuries that judgment was added. Some nameless genius recognized that a windmill was a pretty useless device unless it faced into the wind, so he added a rudder which automatically turned the mill into the wind. This added judgment to the mechanism which pumped the water from the ground.

Practically every adult in the United States who has lived in a home with a central heating system has heard of a thermostat. The thermostat is one of the most advanced of all the automatic-control instruments. The thermostat possesses feedback, which means that a part of the power generated is fed back into the system which controls the basic process. When a home thermostat is set at, say, 70 degrees Fahrenheit, the heating system will not become operative until the temperature around the thermostat drops below 70 degrees. As soon as the temperature rises again to 70 degrees, the heating system will shut off. If the homeowner wishes, he can install a cooling system and then, when the temperature rises above 70 degrees, the cooling system will be turned on and the temperature reduced. In this way the home temperature can be kept at exactly 70 degrees for an indefinite period.

Automation is really not very new when we think of it in this way. The farmer has been using it, the city dweller has been using it, and now the factory is using it. Without its technical name, it has been with us a long time. Only since it has shown such promise in the industrial life of America has it moved from the world of gadgetry to the world of economic significance.

MACHINES REPLACE MEN

Almost everyone will grant that a machine can do most things better than a man. Where many repetitions of an act are needed, a man finds it impossible to repeat it exactly even once, let alone hundreds, thousands, or tens of thousands of times. For a variety of physical and psychological reasons, repetitious acts dull a man's senses; the man becomes bored and, because of boredom, sometimes dangerously careless. Machines never become bored. Their accuracy remains high, and their reliability is extraordinary.

While a machine has not yet been made which will repair itself, it requires no special genius to build a machine which will signal when it is no longer operating as it should. Machines can select and reject with greater precision than the best of human inspectors. A machine can distinguish between two pieces of material which a man would consider identical. It can count, measure, weigh, examine for smoothness, geometric conformity, chemical composition, and general consistency of quality? Machines are now being built to accept experimental data previously recorded in a laboratory, and to analyze and report back to the experimenter how his work is going. The time and money saved by having a machine which does this can be appreciated only by a laboratory scientist.

The importance of computing machines, present and future, cannot be exaggerated. They have revolutionized office practice and increased the speed at which our vast paper empire moves. If the computer had no place in the field of business, but were limited solely to the world of research, it would still justify its existence.

Because the computer, or the "electronic brain," can do in minutes what the most expert of human computers might need months or even years to do, it has opened whole new areas of research. In the field of astrophysics, for example, there are certain types of equations which might well take teams of human computers decades to solve. The equations must be solved in sequence; hence putting more people on the job would not speed up the operation. The "electronic brains" reduce the time to a few years—and of these few years about 90 percent is expended in preparing the equations for insertion in the machines. The machines still must solve the equations sequentially, but it takes a machine a month or less to go through a sequence which might otherwise take 15 or 20 years. In the past such equations were just not solved, because neither time nor personnel was available.

This is only one of thousands of applica-

tions where results are obtained in a small fraction of the time formerly consumed. The machines thus release mathematicians and others for more important work, while at the same time doing a better job than the mathematicians were able to do.

Whether we are dealing with research, office practice or banking, it becomes clear that machines are replacing people. In some instances the replacement is necessary for efficient operation, and the loss of jobs becomes merely a shift in assignment within the organization. Insurance companies, for instance, have pointed out that the introduction of machines to replace office staff has, in fact, served to improve the staff's chances for advancement through retraining and reassignment. The companies claim that not a single person has lost his job; workers are merely doing something different, and frequently something they enjoy more.

AUTOMATION AND INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

Granting that all this is true, and that in many businesses the advent of the machine results in an improvement for the employee, we still must give some thought to the effect of automation on our industrial society as a whole. There is no doubt that, technologically speaking, almost any production line can be automated without special difficulty. If there are not more automated factories, this is solely because they do not at present appear to be economically advisable.

Automating a factory is a different undertaking from automating an office. A factory normally employs a larger number of skilled and semiskilled men and women, who are useful only in relation to the special skills they possess. They cannot be readily shifted within the organization unless there is some place where their skills can be used. An automobile plant will not, in general, be able to absorb the machinists it replaces with automatic equipment. Production can not only be maintained but can frequently be increased at the same time that fewer men are being employed.

We must realize that no matter how advantageous technologically an automatic assembly line can be made to appear, it is an economic quicksand if it destroys the earning power of a substantial segment of the working force in a community. At the present time it may seem fantastic to talk of a factory which employed 10,000 persons becoming automatic and employing only 100 persons. Yet, technologically there is nothing fantastic about it; such a thing can and will happen. Now, a working force of 10,000 could easily be the means of support for as many as 50,000 people. What happens when 99 percent of the means of support dries up? Talk about overall benefits to the economy can be pretty thin gruel for people who are already eating belt holes.

This, it seems to me, is the fundamental problem. What do we do for the workers who are forced out of jobs because automation can do the jobs better? There is going to be the problem of retraining and relocating the individual worker, and there is going to be the problem of keeping an entire community from following Atlantis into oblivion. For if 10,000 people are out of work, the butcher, the baker, and the fluorescent-tube maker have lost 99 percent of their customers.

The hypothetical situation we have imagined is not impossible; there are many one-industry towns in the United States. While a factory could dismiss almost its entire production staff and continue in business, it obviously doesn't make sense to put people out of work indiscriminately. It is true that machines do not go on strike; but neither do they buy automobiles, television sets, or washing machines.

Shortsighted men can do irreparable harm by holding out the hope that machines can be used to keep labor in line. Such an attempt to make automation an ally in an antilabor movement would be immediately frustrated by the business world itself. No matter how good the product may be or how low its cost to the consumer, there must be a consumer. The ultimate decision is made over the counter of the retail store.

CALL FOR COOPERATION

The threat which the prospect of a largely automated industry holds for many workers can be removed if all those involved—the State, the community, management and labor—realize the nature of the problem and resolve to do something about it. A factory is more than a place where people work; it is a place which produces wealth upon which the community depends for its life. An industry usually has a legitimate economic and technological reason for introducing automatic equipment. The pressure of competition—which can have the effect of putting the industry out of business and destroying jobs—and the need for a better product face every industrial concern every day.

At the same time, the industrialist himself is faced with the problem of treating fairly those who work for him, and of rewarding faithful service with reasonable securrity for the future. The labor force in the industry has a stake in seeing that the product does meet competition successfully, or else the failure of the business will cause the loss of jobs. Labor has also the responsibility to recognize the inevitability of human progress and to view such progress positively, not just to think of it solely as a device to frustrate labor.

The community, of which the workers and management may form a substantial group, must realize that it has an interest in maintaining an economic stability by holding purchasing power at the highest possible level. This can best be done by long-range community planning for diversified industry. The community that depends on a single industry, unless this industry is itself diversified, can be in for a bad time.

The State, of course, has an interest similar to the community's. Through its economic and industrial planning groups, it can offer advice and assistance in the development of new industrial prospects. Since it is doubtful that several industries in a given area would be automated simultaneously, diversification can offer great protection.

Workers are persons. This is not a superfluous statement. In these days of punchcards and magnetic tape, it is easy to reduce a human being to a series of holes in a card or blips on a cathode-ray oscilloscope. It is easy to talk about workers as though they were on the same level as nuts and bolts. I say this, despite the extensive happiness programs which many companies have introduced. Softball teams, weekend hikes, and the all one big, happy family routine can become a kind of private-enterprise socialism.

PEOPLE ARE NOT STATISTICS

The individual tends to lose his identity in a welter of industrial psychological jargon. He is assigned aptitudes and sometimes even a personality which he does not possess. The phrase "dynamic conformist" was recently used by a businessman to describe the ideal future executive. Originality was strangely missing from the prerequisites for success. Needless to say, independence of thought was not even mentioned in passing. The greatest danger to man in the development of the new industrialized society may be in his loss of individuality. This is something we might well ponder. Collective leadership can have its pitfalls and disadvantages.

It would be foolish to think that automation is not going to cause serious disruptions in the economic life of many individuals. It is going to have effects which will work definite hardships on many families. The extent of these hardships and the numbers of people affected can be controlled and curtailed, if we decide in advance that this is a problem that concerns all of us.

No matter, then, how effective a machine may be as a "thinking" device, it seems ridiculous to believe that it can outthink rational men who do not want to be outthought. Only if men remain in control will machines bring to our economy the benefit they are capable of bringing. Just as no automobile is foolproof when a fool drives it, so no machine can solve an economic or human problem which a man has previously refused or failed to solve.

The School-Shortage Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I have earlier brought to the attention of the Senate the articles from the Bloomington Sun, of Bloomington, Minn., by Miss Betty Wilson concerning the school-shortage problem. In her two concluding articles Miss Wilson discusses the prospects for legislative assistance and Federal aid.

I ask unanimous consent that these two articles, entitled "Any Legislative Help?" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SCHOOL PROBLEM, IV—ANY LEGISLATIVE HELP?

(By Betty Wilson)

Education and its financing will be among the most important problems facing both the State legislature and Congress when they meet next month.

To enable a complete examination of our local school problem, the Sun made inquiries of a number of elected officials as to their views on recommendations for Federal aid to education with a larger appropriation than proposed last year in order to do in 4 years what was planned for 5.

In 1955 he sent a message on education to Congress stating that emergency action was needed to meet a national crisis.

He indicated his concern about the inadequacies of education and made explicit his belief that the Federal Government must carry part of the financial responsibility for education, and that it could be done without Federal control.

This month the Presidential appointment of Lawrence G. Derthick to the post of United States Commissioner of Education was announced.

A Chattanooga, Tenn., school superintendent, Derthick is on record as favoring Federal school aid—not only for school construction but also State and Federal aid to education, and specific legislation coming up which will affect Bloomington and similar distressed school districts.

President Eisenhower's program, although not yet assembled, is expected to include for general school operations after local communities and States have carried as much of the load as they can fairly bear.

Senator THYE, of Minnesota, was one of the sponsors in the Senate of a bill for Federal aid for school construction during the past session, and assures constituents that he will continue the same stand and active support of this legislation in the next session of Congress.

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY told the Sun

last week that he intends to sponsor and support legislation in the next session of Congress to make Federal funds available for school construction.

It will be along the lines of the Elliot proposal, similar to legislation which he supported in the 84th Congress and which was defeated.

Senator HUMPHREY also stated that he intends to introduce an omnibus youth education bill which, among other provisions, will provide for a Federal scholarship program.

Third District Congressman ROY WIER said in a special interview last week that the same Kelley school construction bill defeated last July will be reintroduced to the House Committee on Education, of which he is a member.

WIER said he is confident the committee will again vote for its recommendation.

The Kelley bill was one of the most publicized issues before the 84th Congress and most debated since.

Supported by the National Education Association, liberal Republicans who backed President Eisenhower's views, many northern and some southern Democrats, the National Farmers Union, the AMVETS, and VFW, it was nevertheless opposed by traditional opponents of Federal aid to education.

These included the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Farm Bureau Federation, and the American Legion.

It was a bill providing for a flat-grant or flat-matching formula whereby the money that goes to any State must be matched dollar for dollar by that State.

Apportionment to the States would take place under a needs formula. For example, Mississippi, with the lowest rating would receive the most.

It provided for $100 million yearly grants for a 4-year program. Execution and control was to be vested in a State educational agency.

Before the rollcall vote, however, the controversial Powell amendment was tacked onto it, which would withhold funds from States operating racially segregated schools.

Whether or not this political maneuver was partisan or sectional has been much debated, but it was sufficient to kill the bill.

South Hennepin County legislator Alf Bergerud had this to say:

In the last legislature he was one of the authors of a bill that would create a revolving fund of $10 million to be utilized for loan purposes for construction and which was defeated.

"I am certainly mindful of the school problem," said Bergerud, "not only in Bloomington but in other fast-growing suburbs."

Bergerud, a member of the State legislative committee on education, does not feel that outright State grants are the answer, and says they could never be controlled.

He is also opposed to Federal school construction aid.

"A constitutional amendment to loan money to distressed school districts from the $150 million State trust fund is O. K. with me," he said.

But he believes this would be a battle between rural and metropolitan legislators

Representative Bergerud suggests that the State board of education should come up with some solution aimed at the trust fund and brief the legislature on the possibility of a constitutional amendment or change in statutes that would permit some loans to these districts in distress.

Last year Representative Bergerud, together with Senator Marvin Anderson, helped to pass a bill which allowed new homes to be placed on assessment rolls immediately, a bill which aided district 142.

A recent report to the Minnesota School Board Association by a committee headed by the MSBA executive secretary, W. A. Wettergren, endorsed the principle of more borrowing by local school districts from State funds.

School borrowing from Minnesota permanent trust funds is tightly restricted by the constitution, but proposals for liberalizing it are expected to get consideration by the 1957 legislature.

Some officials say our entire tax structure needs reforming with assessments made uniformly on the full and true.

School districts are limited to borrowing up to 50 percent of their assessed valuation, and Bloomington's assessing is now on a 40 percent basis of the full and true.

Many teachers throughout the State advocate a State withholding tax which they say would bring in more new revenue which could be used for schools.

FEDERAL AND STATE AID—PITFALL OR CURE-ALL, AND THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION

(By Betty Wilson)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the last in a series of articles on Bloomington school problems, their causes and the outlook for the future.)

Federal aid for education is not a new idea but as old as the Federal Government itself, beginning with the ordinance of 1787 which declared that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

Lincoln in 1862 signed the Morrill Act establishing an agricultural college in every State.

Wilson in 1917 approved the Smith-Hughes Act establishing and providing for the partial financing of a nationwide program of vocational education in public high schools.

In recent years, however, the Federal Government has appropriated large sums for almost every public service but the schools.

We find eminent men supporting both sides:

On record in opposition is John Foster Dulles. In favor was the late Robert Taft and Walter Lippman.

The principal arguments for Federal aid to educations are:

The Federal Government alone can assure equal opportunities for all to get a public school education.

The high mobility of our population makes the wide variation in local public school educational standards a problem of national concern. Federal aid is the only way to reduce these variations.

The Federal Government can provide adequate funds for schools without controlling schools.

The Federal Government has a fundamental interest in equality of education for all, since such equality is necessary for the progress of the Nation in peace and its security in war.

The principal arguments against Federal aid to education are these:

Federal aid to education would inevitably lead to Federal control of education.

The States and local governments can themselves meet their own school needs.

Traditionally the public schools in America have been the responsibility of State and local governments, primarily the latter.

Education is not mentioned in the Constitution. Therefore it is obvious the authors of the Constitution intended education to be a State or private responsibility.

For every dollar that the Federal Government takes away from local sources, only a portion is returned.

Each one of the foregoing points has many aspects too lengthy to discuss here.

The coming year in Congress will see this as one of the major issues with many arguments on both sides.

The Minnesota White House Conference on Education held at the Nicollet Hotel in May 1955 went on record against Federal aid to education other than the present program of aid for school lunches and vocational education.

Their report said, "The State of Minnesota has the resources for providing a high quality of education for its children at all levels."

The vote was 257 against increased Federal Government aid and 108 in favor.

A resolution favoring Federal aid by the minority was written into the report and signatures here included Minneapolis School Superintendent Rufus A. Putnam, Hennepin County Superintendent of Schools Viola S. Thompson, and Lt. Gov. Karl F. Rolvaag.

In 1954 President Eisenhower called for a national White House Conference on Education which met on November 28, 1955, in Washington, D. C., with nearly 2,000 participants from all over the country.

The agenda of the conference centered around six areas selected to cover the field of education and its problems.

To the disappointment of some no pat answers were found here to the solution of problems. The reports were presented in broad general language.

The conference did, however, favor Federal aid to education, saying:

"This committee also recommends that every community and every State do all that is economically possible to construct the buildings required, and that during such emergency periods as now exists, Federal funds also be used wherever shown to be necessary. * * *

"In the opinion of this committee, money for schools must continue to come from all three levels of government, with a portion of funds for school buildings being made available by the Federal Government on an emergency basis.

"Good schools are admittedly expensive, but not nearly so expensive in the long run as poor ones."

Nasser's Sanctions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, each time that Mr. Nasser applies a sanction of his own, he is told he is a bad boy and "mustn't do that again." It is anomalous, in my opinion, that we are in the midst of a world crisis because Israel has asserted herself. The following editorial, which appeared in the New York Times of February 25, 1957, is worthy of the attention of our colleagues:

NASSER'S SANCTIONS

While everybody else has been talking about sanctions to make the Israelis go away from the Gulf of Aqaba and the Gaza strip, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt has been quietly applying sanctions of his own.

The difference is that, whereas the sanctions discussed in Washington and at the United Nations have been aimed at Israel, Nasser's sanctions are aimed at practically everybody except the Israelis. Nasser's sanctions are the same sanctions he has been illegally applying for eight years past to keep Israeli ships and cargoes from going up to Elath or passing through the canal.

Nasser's sanctions consist in keeping the canal plugged, in spite of the efforts of U. N. salvage crews, operating with his explicit consent, to open it up. Nasser's sanctions are directed against those who profit by the normal operation of the canal. They include almost all customary users of Arabian oil. They are particularly damaging to Western Europe: To France and Britain, who obeyed the General Assembly's request to remove their forces from Egypt; to other oil-burning European countries, who never even sent troops to Egypt.

Lieut. Gen. Raymond A. Wheeler got his U. N. salvage fleet into operation on January 1, after Nasser had already caused as much delay as possible. General Wheeler believed he could have a 25-foot channel open, capable of carrying 10,000-ton tankers, by the end of March. The most formidable obstacle appeared to be a concrete-laden ship called the *Akka*. On February 15 two German salvage boats toted the *Akka* into the Great Bitter Lake and came hungrily back for more.

A vessel called the *Edgar Bonnet* then came into the limelight. General Wheeler has been trying since January 14 to get permission to take this craft out of the way. The Egyptians have replied that it was loaded with explosives which, for some peculiar reason, only their own divers could remove. Their own divers couldn't remove them either. At least they have been vainly trying for more than a month. The *Edgar Bonnet* remains on the bottom, 4 miles south of Ismailia, about midway down the canal. General Wheeler thinks he could get her out in 3 weeks and open the waterway to heavy shipping by May 1.

If President Nasser desired to convince the world of his good faith he could tell General Wheeler to go ahead. If he doesn't do this he is fatuous indeed to expect the United States or any other self-respecting nation to play his game by the use of pressure against Israel. Let us trust that this thought will arise at the United Nations as the debate on Israel reopens.

Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1958

SPEECH
OF
HON. KENNETH J. GRAY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 5189) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, I have the highest regard for my good friend the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KIRWAN] and I regret exceedingly that I find myself in disagreement with him and the other members of the committee concerning their actions relating to the defense minerals purchase program. As I explained to the House a few days ago when the emergency supplemental appropriations bill was being considered, we in southern Illinois produce approximately 50 percent of all domestic fluorspar and the failure to allow funds with which to continue this program will be disastrous to the entire fluorspar mining industry. Our operators have spent a considerable amount of money preparing their mines for operation under the assumption that the Government would continue its program as indicated by the passage of Public Law 733.

There are many reasons why this program cannot afford to be stopped. I will not take the time of the House to enumerate the many reasons, but instead refer anyone who is interested, to my remarks appearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on page 1377 under date of February 5. Surely the Congress is not going to break faith with those producers who have done much and will continue to do all they can to insure that this country has an adequate supply of defense minerals. My friend the gentleman from California [Mr. ENGLE] has given a very forthright and clear statement concerning the true facts surrounding this controversy. As he has told you, Dr. Arthur Flemming, Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, testified in the Senate this morning that this program is needed. I believe he is in a position to know.

I urge my colleagues to give this matter very serious thought as it means not only providing this country with an adequate supply of defense minerals, but in my district alone in southern Illinois where we have 30,000 able-bodied men and women unemployed, it will mean a further loss of 500 jobs if these funds are not restored and the program continued. This, we cannot afford.

There is one question to which my constituents are demanding an answer: They want to know why very few people raise their voice when millions are sent to foreign countries but find strong opposition such as this to a program that not only will help preserve an adequate defense, but help thousands of needy miners in this country. Would you deny your child a loaf of bread and give it to a stranger down the street? That, too often, seems to be the case with a lot of our domestic programs.

Distressed or Surplus Labor Area Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 18, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, for many years, I have been advocating enactment of so-called distressed or surplus labor area legislation. I have contended that such action is a necessary step toward achieving economic stabilization on a countrywide basis. It would serve to bridge the gaps and crevices which inevitably occur along the road to economic progress in a highly industrialized society.

My program calls for a Federal program designed to assist in maintaining a high level of prosperity and employment. It provides for the planning and construction of useful public facilities, not only to mitigate substantial unemployment, but to provide permanent capital improvements of a nature which will strengthen the national economy and increase the well-being of all citizens.

As a firm advocate of the free economic system, unfettered by Government restraints and devoid of Federal invasions into fields of business, I feel that my program would in effect serve to safeguard this philosophy. I believe that my proposal is especially necessary in a period of international uncertainty, for it would help to maintain the industrial flexibility required for a sound defense structure. It is additionally essential in an era of rapid technological advance in which local employment conditions are subject to sudden disruptions with extended applications of automatic devices. In brief, the legislation which I propose would tend to allay whatever fear might otherwise seize workingmen and women when automation threatens to dispense with their jobs.

Introduction of new machines has engendered consternation in human minds through the ages, at least since the time that the industrial revolution in England had a tragic impact upon so many families. Their jobs taken away by the use of power-driven machines, they were ruthlessly turned into the streets to forage for themselves. At times in isolated areas of this country there have been parallel cases, though to a lesser degree. The thought has continued to plague segments of the working populace. To counteract it, Congress should adopt my program and thereby substitute a feeling of security in place of trepidation.

Obviously, automation should be encouraged. One of the most lucid and logical explanations to be presented on this subject was contained in the testimony of Thomas Roy Jones, president of Daystrom, Inc., when he appeared before the Subcommittee on Economic Stabilization of the Joint Economic Committee last year. Mr. Jones started his engineering career as a laborer on a railroad signal gang, and in his rise to the top level of industrial management he has familiarized himself with the many advantages of technological progress. Here is a summary of his reasons for wanting to accelerate the application of automation:

First. Automation is essential to the economy in that it provides an opportunity for the American worker to increase his real wages through increased individual productivity.

Second. It is a psychological necessity that man continually seek to extend himself to the limit of his inherent capabilities.

Third. Automation is essential to the national defense, for it could determine the extent to which the civilian economy could support military production.

Mr. Speaker, some of the recommendations contained in Mr. Jones' testimony might well be adopted by Congress in its determination to accelerate training of technical talent and to encourage more of our youth to pursue a teaching career in science and engineering. I would suggest that, when the committee report is available, my colleagues peruse this convincing statement advocating a step-up in the drive toward further automation.

Once this philosophy is accepted, enactment of surplus labor area legislation should follow immediately. We in Pennsylvania have had ample evidence of the need for such a program. When coal mining companies invested in labor-saving machines to increase productivity, the United Mine Workers of America made no protest. They realized that employment would be affected, yet they refused to oppose progress. Had my proposed legislation been made into law, the surplus workers could have moved

into public works projects while waiting for new industry to enter the State and absorb them. Certainly it has not been fair to penalize this far-sighted organization for its unselfish attitude toward mechanization.

The solution to the situation calls for continued cooperation between management and labor, plus application of sound Christian social principles. The latter consideration requires passage of a surplus labor area bill as quickly as possible.

The Strategic Air Command—The Citadel Hears LeMay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an address by Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, Commanding General, Strategic Air Command, to the Corps of Cadets, the Citadel, Charleston, S. C., on February 9, 1957:

THE STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND

(An address by Gen. Curtis E. LeMay)

General Clark, members of the faculty, and students, 160 years ago, Thomas Jefferson wrote a letter to his friend Edward Rutledge in which he said: "A debt of service is due from every man to his country proportioned to the bounties to which nature and fortune have measured to him."

The very fact of your presence on this Citadel campus is evidence that you subscribe to Jefferson's view, and that you are determined to undergo the training that will fit you to discharge your debt to your country to the very best of your ability.

Your spirit of dedication, and of determination to be of good service excites the admiration of the more than 200,000 men and women of SAC. We know of and respect the Citadel tradition and the always honorable—frequently brilliant—records of Citadel alumni in the military service. With admiration, we recall that The Citadel was represented in Jimmy Doolittle's famous raid on Tokyo, with Eddie Rickenbacker throughout his ordeal in the Pacific, at Bataan and Corregidor, in the occupation of Iceland, with the commandos at Dieppe, in New Guinea, Guadalcanal, Europe, and more recently, Korea.

Today there are alumni of The Citadel in the Strategic Air Command as well as elsewhere in the National Military Establishment.

My purpose here is to discuss with you a problem that deeply concerns everyone, whether in the military service or not. It is the problem if how to wage peace successfully, now and in the future. It is truly said that even the degree of peace we are now enjoy will be lost unless the military front is continuously held by an effective deterrent force.

A little later on, I propose to give you SAC's definition of an effective deterrent force, and to outline SAC's ideas about what it will take to maintain that force on into the future. But as a prelude to that discussion, let me first put SAC in perspective with the other major combat commands of the United States Air Force. In all there are three of these combat—or fighting, commands. One, the Continental Air Defense Command, is charged with air defense of the United States proper. The other two, both offensive in nature, are the Tactical Air Command and the Strategic Air Command, widely known as SAC.

Of these latter two, Tactical Air Command has the mission of conducting battlefield—air operations in close coordination with the Army—such jobs as interdiction of enemy surface forces, troop carrier operations and relatively short-range bombardment. The Strategic Air Command, as most of you very likely know, is the Nation's long-range nuclear striking force, which has the responsibility of continuing readiness to conduct offensive air operations on a global basis.

We in SAC are deeply conscious of our responsibility for helping hold the military front; and we are pardonably proud of our record thus far in discharging that responsibility. We like to feel that Sir Winston Churchill was speaking for the whole free world when he said during a Parliament debate on air power only a year ago:

"The United States Strategic Air Command is a deterrent of the highest order and maintains ceaseless readiness. We owe much to their devotion to the cause of freedom in a troubled world. The primary deterrents to aggression remain the nuclear weapon and the ability of the highest organized and trained United States Strategic Air Command to use it."

What constitutes an effective deterrent force?

We in SAC define the deterrent force to be "an effective intercontinental nuclear air offensive force which is secure from destruction by the enemy regardless of what offensive and defensive action he takes against it. It must be of such size and composition and be alerted to such a degree that the Soviet Union will realize that an attack on the United States will mean committing national suicide.

You may be familiar with the widely discussed article entitled "Courage or Perdition? The Fourteeen Fundamental Facts of the Nuclear Age," written by Ferreus of the University of Notre Dame. To my mind, this article should be required reading for anyone concerned with the defense of this Nation. If you have not read it, I commend it to you as being well worth your time and attention. In his article, Ferreus clearly outlines the modern-day military task in these words:

"The military task, briefly, consists of maintaining armaments in such quantities and of such quality that the opponent of the United States will find it impossible to solve his military problem through the employment of nuclear weapons. More particularly, he must be prevented from knocking out the American retaliatory forces through surprise blows and from delivering a substantial portion of his atomic stockpile on American targets."

In other words, Ferreus says to us in SAC: "Now and in the future—at any hour of any day, of any year—you must be ready at a moment's notice to launch a strategic bomber force, armed with nuclear weapons, capable of destroying anywhere in the world any targets that constitute a threat to the security of the United States and its allies."

That is a large order. But if a deterrent force is to be genuinely effective, it must have unquestioned capacity to fill that order. And by unquestioned, we mean unquestioned by the potential enemy. Just so long as this Nation's capacity to win war is clearly recognized by the potential aggressor, there will be no war; but once the potential aggressor doubts this capacity, the peace of the world is in jeopardy.

The cardinal element of this Nation's war-winning capacity (hence its war-deterrent capacity) is its combat-ready airpower—in particular, its ever-combat-ready nuclear air arm of global reach.

As one would expect and understand, we of SAC cannot help being subjective in discussing this point; and so we submit these two pertinent questions for your objective consideration:

The first question is: "Would any future aggressor grant this Nation the time and the opportunity with which to build up military forces as we did following that shocking Sunday morning at Pearl Harbor 15 years ago?"

In pondering the question, we ask you to bear in mind that present-day bombers operate at altitudes above 10 miles; they fly faster than 650 miles an hour; with aerial refueling they can reach any significant target anywhere on earth; and a single bomber now can carry a nuclear weapon whose firepower equals that of the combined total of all high-explosive bombs dropped on Germany during World War II.

Is it probable that an aggressor possessed of such weapons would deliberately deprive himself of the decisive advantage to be gained by destroying the retaliatory force and perhaps the industrial plant of the United States in a nuclear Pearl Harbor type of attack? Surprise has always been important in war, but never more so than now.

From this does it not follow that if this Nation becomes engaged in nuclear war, that war will be fought—and the issue decided—by whatever forces are in existence on the day war begins?

The second question is: "Can any major power conduct any significant war operation on the surface of land or sea until after the airpower battle has been won?"

Of course SAC is subjective on this point also; but we know of no responsible military men—be they airmen, soldiers, or sailors—who would answer "yes" to that question. Objective planners in all military services now must start with a primary fact that airpower's long arm and smashing fist can reach and utterly wipe out any targets anywhere in the world. Therefore one primary task in war—a job that must be done early—is the defeat of the enemy's airpower, and particularly his long-range nuclear air arm. The air leaders of the Sino-Soviet bloc recognize this fundamental truth, just as we do.

And so we have identified two of the fundamental characteristics of an effective deterrent force:

First, it must be a force in being, everlastingly combat ready; and second, it must include forces which are capable of winning the air battle.

This task of winning the air battle requires a powerful offensive punch; and the strategic bomber provides that punch. This is not to say that air defense systems in themselves are not essential. However, all responsible airmen agree that it is an economic impossibility to provide an airtight defense against a well-coordinated and properly executed nuclear bombing attack.

Of course, a modern, skillfully operated continental air defense system can inflict losses upon the attacking bomber force. Such attrition will vary, depending upon the relative capabilities of offense versus defense; but a substantial part of the offensive force will always get through the defense. Therefore, the primary defensive force is actually the offensive nuclear strike force which can destroy enemy airpower at its roots. In this role, the strategic bomber actually becomes the intercontinental air defense system.

However, in order for our nuclear offensive force to be really effective, it must be able to write off the attrition exacted by the enemy's offense and defense, and still possess the punch required to accomplish its mission.

To retain this residual punch, such a force must be adequate, both quantitatively and qualitatively, by comparison with our best estimates of enemy strength. Moreover, it must be made as secure as possible from destruction by enemy surprise attack. Only then does our force possess the necessary relative superiority over the enemy.

Unless SAC possesses this relative margin of superiority over the Soviet long-range air force, and the Soviet continental air defense system, it cannot be considered an effective deterrent force.

Despite recent Soviet gains in aircraft and weapons technology and production, it is my considered judgment that SAC—now—possesses this relative margin of superiority. We must give increasing recognition, however, to the rapid strides being made by the Soviet Union, both in their long-range nuclear attack capability and in their continental air-defense systems. These Soviet gains are steadily narrowing our presently favorable margin.

Five years ago I would have said we could win a war with the Soviets without suffering serious damage to this country. But during the past 5 years the Soviets have built up their long-range nuclear capability to a point where, in my opinion, we are not now capable of preventing serious damage to this country in event of general war. As of now, I believe we could win such a war; but this Nation would suffer serious losses. And I feel further that unless we continue to improve the combat capacity, readiness, and security of airpower, we will be still more vulnerable to still greater damage by the Soviet long-range air arm 5 years hence.

Again, I must stress the importance of maintaining a satisfactory margin of relative superiority over the Soviet long-range air arm. This is not solely a problem of producing more long-range bombers than they do—although relative numerical strength is certainly a basic consideration. The present-day margin of relative superiority I am talking about includes (in addition to an adequate number of aircraft) five other principal elements: an adequate supply of the proper nuclear weapons, adequate operating bases (including overseas bases), thoroughly reliable refueling capability, unquestionably dependable maintenance of equipment, and combat air and ground crews possessing the highest degree of professional skill attainable through constant training and practice.

The sum of these six essential elements—aircraft, nuclear weapons, operating bases, refueling capability, maintenance dependability, and highly proficient crews—represents global combat effectiveness. This composite is what gives SAC, in my judgment, its present favorable margin of superiority.

Thus far, we have been talking mostly about SAC now—the present-day SAC. Let's turn then to the problem of maintaining SAC's deterrent capacity in the future.

The dynamic nature of this problem cannot be overemphasized. You are already aware of the accelerating pace of technology in the Soviet Union. They are allocating proportionately more of their gross national product to defense and to scientific education than we are. Their unexpectedly rapid progress in development of modern weapon systems that bear directly on SAC's deterrent effectiveness is already well known to you.

The crucial question is: Faced with this competition, what must we do to maintain SAC's deterrent capacity at the required level in the future?

In my opinion five principal actions are necessary. In outlining them to you, I am not listing them in order of their priority. All these actions are vital and pressing, and in my opinion, they should run concurrently.

1. We must continue to improve the range, speed, altitude, and penetrating ability of SAC's bomber force. As soon as possible we must free SAC from any vestige of dependence on refueling and on overseas bases.

2. We must accelerate the construction and improvement of suitable operating bases for this force—including bases necessary to permit its wider dispersal for physical security reasons.

3. We must continue improvement of the weapons which arm this force.

4. We must spare no effort in the development of reliable intercontinental missiles.

5. We must maintain a highly professional military force by seeing to it that material rewards in the military service are made commensurate with the rewards for corresponding skills in private industry and business.

As you know, President Eisenhower directed some time ago that the development of the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile be given first prority among all programs in which the Department of Defense is engaged. The Strategic Air Command is in complete agreement with this policy. You may wonder why SAC urges continued improvement and expansion of the manned bomber force and its bases, concurrently with strenuous efforts to develop the intercontinental guided missile. Don't we intend to replace manned bombers with missiles? Each program costs billions. Why the expensive duplication?

The answer is: As soon as the missile qualifies as a reliable weapons system there won't be any duplication; but until it so qualifies, the missile is not actually a deterrent.

No weapons system in the research and development stage—however attractive—can be considered an effective deterrent. As Secretary Quarles recently stated: "We must not forget, however, that our research and development program deals with the future whereas deterrence depends on our force in being."

Our potential enemies fully appreciate this elementary fact. Furthermore due to the nature of a democracy, they will always be better informed on what we are doing than we are on what they are doing.

It follows then that we cannot afford to curtail the expenditures necessary to keep our force in being currently effective as a deterrent. The promise of success in missile development does not weaken this logic. Putting it another way: To finance missile development at the expense of current deterrent capacity could have fatal end results.

Let me assure you that nobody in the free world wants reliable intercontinental missiles any more than we in SAC want them. SAC's combat air crews are devoting the best years of their lives in maintaining the ever-ready proficiency required to guarantee—within the limits of human error—accurate delivery of nuclear weapons on their assigned targets. Should war come, these air crews are ready and willing to stake their very lives on the long hazardous ride to their targets. In human self-interest, they would be delighted to turn this life-or-death task over to a robot. But being patriotic Americans, they are reluctant to relinquish their responsibility until they are sure the robot can do the job as well as manned bombers can.

Let me say again, in closing, that peace in these times cannot be successfully waged unless this Nation continues to maintain an effective deterrent force—and that means a force in being, everlastingly combat ready, and clearly capable of winning the air battle.

We in SAC are dedicated to the task of maintaining just such a deterrent force. It is an extremely difficult task, and we solicit support and help from all Americans who recognize their debt to this Nation. We know we can count on support from you here at the Citadel—in fact, the day is probably not far distant when some of you in this audience will join other Citadel alumni who are already in SAC.

To those future SAC members, I take this opportunity to extend a hearty welcome in advance.

The Critical Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of February 24, 1957, is most timely, and I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

THE CRITICAL WEEK

The coming week will be critical for the Middle East, for the United Nations, and for the policy of the United States. A resolution asking that military and economic sanctions be applied against Israel for its failure to withdraw from Gaza and the Gulf of Aqaba has been introduced by six nations. At the same time a White House statement on Premier Ben-Gurion's response to President Eisenhower's speech was friendly in tone and, what was more, promised to withhold any American presentation on the issue before the U. N. until Ambassador Eban can give his government's position in detail. There is still hope that an agreed settlement can be reached which will satisfy Israel's requirements for security without involving sanctions.

This newspaper has consistently held that unilateral sanctions against Israel are not the answer to the Mid-Eastern crisis or to the crisis of prestige that confronts the U. N. It has also recognized the need for a positive American contribution to a fair solution. As far back as September 23, before the shooting broke out in Sinai and the canal zone, we stated editorially that the policy of the United States in that area had "been a series of improvisations and inconsistencies, motivated by the high purpose of preventing violence but feeble in execution and confusing in effect." We have hailed every forward step made by the administration, the Eisenhower doctrine, and Mr. Dulles' proposals for free navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba; we have seconded the President's efforts to obtain an Israeli withdrawal by diplomatic action. But, believing as this newspaper said on November 6, that "some recognition is essential of the fact that the use of force, however regrettable, has changed the situation in the Middle East," we hold "that a return to the status quo ante between Israel and the Arab States is out of the question; that a permanent settlement of the underlying issues is necessary." This was asserted in an editorial on page 1 on November 29.

There is a widespread acceptance of the necessity of getting to the bottom of Israeli-Arab difficulties. Speaking of the breakdown of the 1949 armistice terms, Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold has said: "There is universal recognition that the condition of affairs, of which this deterioration formed part, should not be permitted to return." But how is the improvement to be brought about? Dr. Fawzi, the Egyptian Foreign Minister, said that Israel shall not "exact a price" for ending its "aggression" in Sinai and the Gaza Strip. Apparently, the Egyptian Government has given some private assurances to Mr. Hammarskjold about the stationing of UNEF troops in the disputed areas, just as the United States has given individual assurances of supporting Israeli claims to navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba and of endorsing U. N. entry into Gaza. But unless these assurances—which are private or individual, not those of the United Nations—are accepted, the Arab States demand, and the United States seems willing to indorse, sanctions on Israel.

Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, recently Ambassador to Italy, said in an exclusive interview in this newspaper on Friday: "I doubt that the time has come when the United States is prepared to say it wishes to vote for the destruction of Israel through sanctions, especially in view of the conduct of other nations which have flirted openly with the U. S. S. R. and insulted the United States and on whom we have not been able to impose sanctions." The Herald Tribune agrees. As Mrs. Luce said, "The cardinal principle of a statesman is that his nation has a right to survival." Israel's actions have been predicated on this principle, and while all its moves may not have been wise, the danger was very great. To invoke penalties against that state alone would be unjust. "For," as we said editorially on January 27, "unless the U. N. administers the law as an impartial international agency, it cannot morally prevent nations from taking the law into their own hands." And, speaking specifically of sanctions, the Herald Tribune stated on February 10: "To discipline the weak and give free rein to the powerful is no way to gain respect for an international organization or international law."

The President has made a distinction between those nations—like the Soviet Union—against which it is impractical to bring other than moral pressure and those, like Israel, which, he implies, should not need even moral pressure. But if sanctions are to have any moral connotation at all, if the workings of international law are to have respect, they must be based on equality and justice for all. Israel cannot be punished while the Soviet Union, India, Egypt itself go scot free. Therefore, the objective of the General Assembly in the coming debate must be to reach a settlement, not a one-sided judgment.

By the same token the United States must exert itself in the days ahead to see that the settlement is just; that Egypt's participation in the acts which led to this crisis is recognized and, for the future, corrected; that the pressures, in and out of the U. N., which have been directed toward Israeli withdrawal, are equally directed toward ending Egypt's belligerency.

The United States and the United Nations have an opportunity in this debate to demonstrate their capabilities for constructive contributions toward international peace. If they content themselves with Israel's stand alone, the opportunity will be lost. If they return to the principles of the American resolution of November 3, and seek to remove the underlying causes of tension in the Middle East and to achieve a final settlement between the parties of the general armistice agreement, they will have turned a crisis into a triumph for peace and justice.

Encouraging Higher Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on January 3, 1957, I introduced H. R. 712, to provide a 30 percent credit against the individual income tax for amounts paid as tuition or fees for higher education.

Nearly 40 percent of those qualified high-school graduates who do not continue their educations do so because of financial need. This bill would help these persons as well as the thousands of other families who barely have sufficient funds to educate their children.

Our country must encourage higher education, particularly in the scientific and technical fields. We are engaged in a qualitative defense race with Russia, upon which the survival of the free world depends.

Russia now has an estimated 890,000 trained scientists and engineers, while the United States has some 760,000. They are training this technical personnel at a more rapid pace than this country.

Through use of the tax credit, we would be encouraging more youngsters to continue their educations. In the long run, this would reflect in great benefits to our Nation—at home and abroad. It would also be a stimulus to the growth and development of our country's institutions of higher learning.

According to my bill, 30 percent of the total amount spent on tuition or fees for the individual at a level above the 12th grade at a recognized institution of higher learning, would be credited to the taxpayer. I believe the enactment of this measure is imperative.

A Matter of Morals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the Detroit News of January 29, 1957:

U. N. AND THE MIDDLE EAST—A MATTER OF MORALS

The best that can be said for Dag Hammarskjold's report on what the United Nations might do to settle the dispute between Egypt and Israel is that it occupies a legalistic middle ground so unsatisfactory to both sides as to insure its rejection by the U. N. Assembly. The worst is that the report implies moral bankruptcy in the U. N. leadership which not only admits helplessness to enforce a solution but inability even to come to grips with the rights and wrongs of the problem.

Mr. Hammarskjold still insists that Israeli troops must be withdrawn unconditionally from the Gaza strip and fortified places along the Gulf of Aqaba. He suggests then that U. N. troops might follow them into occupation here as they have elsewhere in the Sinai Peninsula. But he also maintains that the U. N. operates as a guest of the Egyptian Government. Colonel Nasser would, therefore, be free at his leisure to dismiss the guardians of the peace and resume his interrupted aggressions against Israeli frontiers and Israeli shipping.

This solution continues to assume that Israel has been an unprovoked aggressor and that Egypt desires a peaceful settlement. It ignores the central fact of the last 8 years, that despite the armistice, Egypt has steadily maintained a state of war with Israel and has openly pursued and justified acts of war against her. Colonel Nasser has never suggested that he seeks peace. On the contrary, he has repeatedly refused any negotiations that would remotely imply acceptance of Israel's right to exist at all as a nation.

These are political facts. They are also moral facts. If the U. N. wishes to maintain that war is wrong and undertakes to punish aggressors, it cannot condone, much less strengthen, a government whose avowed policy is to remain at war until its enemy is annihilated. It cannot pretend to work for peace by recreating the conditions of inevitable conflict.

The worst of this sorry business is that the U. N., abetted by the United States, is crucifying itself. A world organization so indifferent to international justice and so proper that it can keep peace only with the consent of those who are breaking it may be worse than useless. It may serve chiefly to promote anarchy among nations and hang a cloak of piety over international immorality.

How Not To Handle Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the following article from Reader's Digest titled "How Not To Handle Foreign Aid," by Bernard S. Van Rensselaer:

HOW NOT TO HANDLE FOREIGN AID

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—We want to help people in other countries to help themselves. Instead, we're perpetuating an entrenched bureaucracy of United States planners and spenders. The story of our mission to Iran shows how good-will millions can go down the drain.)

(By Bernard S. Van Rensselaer)

It is to the interest of the United States, and it is the aim of President Eisenhower, to maintain a sensible, constructive foreign economic aid program. But is our present program sensible? Is it constructive? For many months congressional investigations have been piling up damning evidence of waste, extravagance, and loss of international prestige.

It is time for the American people to seek the reasons for this woe. Chief reason is a group of free-spenders, who, through the years when free-spending was a Government policy, entrenched both themselves and their philosophy. Of this there are many case histories. Consider, as an example, the story of the International Cooperation Administration mission to Iran, and its head, William E. Warne. This case has recently been under investigation by the House Subcommittee on International Operations.

Warne's background for his ICA job is revealing. He joined the Department of the Interior in the 1930's as a writer of publicity, emerged as an advocate of public power and a skilled promoter of large hydroelectric-irrigation projects. A believer in Government spending on a grandiose scale, he advanced rapidly. He became Assistant Secretary of the Interior, charged with urging the Bureau of Reclamation to ever-faster spending for multipurpose dams.

At least $60 million worth of the dams promoted under this hurry-up policy turned out badly because insufficient attention was given to details. There isn't enough available water in the Rio Grande to fill the reservoir created by one of these dams. Another contains water so salty that to date it has not been put on crops.

With such a record to qualify him, Warne decided late in 1951 to join others of the planning-spending era who were finding in foreign-aid jobs a chance to test their socio-political theories on a worldwide basis. He was sent to Iran to help that country of 15 million rebuild its economy, which had collapsed after expropriation of the British-controlled Iranian oil industry.

Rarely, except in foreign aid, has there

been such a spending campaign as Warne launched in Iran. Some $300 million in economic aid have been passed out to that country to date. This is equivalent to the income taxes paid by 721,000 average $5,000-a-year American families in a year.

Warne spent some of the money usefully: for vaccination, sanitation, antimalarial work, and other such programs for which point 4 was designed. These advances are an important reason why Iran has so successfully resisted Communist infiltration.

But in addition Warne launched outright gift projects. For example, he built a beet-sugar refinery. It couldn't operate at capacity for 2 or 3 years because Iranians had to be taught to grow the necessary beets. Nevertheless, Warne bought machinery for a second refinery—which could only be stored. When there weren't enough ready projects for which to obligate funds, Warne, with the approval of his Washington chiefs, distributed United States Treasury checks directly to Iranian ministers. He provided cash with which the Iranians not only met their regular Government payrolls but raised their own salaries. He subsidized the national bank.

In doing such things, Warne built up a staff of more than 400 assistants in 10 regional offices. One of these offices needed 53 automobiles and 41 chauffeurs for its 55 employees (including clerks and office boys).

General Accounting Office auditors, sent out since to learn what happened in Iran, have reported finding new farm equipment unused because it was unsuitable for the region and no one had authority to send it elsewhere. Machinery and other physical assets worth at least $25 million were scattered in such a way that no one has yet been able to discover where they all went.

When any of these expenditures is questioned today by investigators, it is justified by Warne and the International Cooperation Administration as necessary to save Iran from communism. One might ask if it wouldn't have been possible to contribute a stated sum to the Iranian budget without creating a staff of 400 people and sponsoring questionable projects.

The first principle of foreign aid—as it has been sold to Congress—is that projects should be those which the beneficaries themselves propose and want, and which are economically necessary. Yet Warne would not advance $500,000 to enable Iran to supply Teheran, its capital, with one thing the country needed badly—steam-driven electrical generators. A public-power supporter, Warne wanted Iranian instead to have a great United States style hydroelectric dam on the Karadj River.

The story of Iran's great dam will interest everyone. Teheran's population was 1,200,000, but its electricity supply was that of an American town of 15,000. In serving 30,000 customers the overload was such that light bulbs at certain hours became as glowworms. To make matters worse there were 40,000 applications for new electrical connections, if and when further power became available.

These were not just applications for home use; they came from industrial plants which desperately required electricity in order to create jobs. Warne himself had handed out $2,246,000 to construct an ultramodern cotton mill for Teheran, but there was no power to turn its wheels.

The cheapest and most practical solution for Teheran was the one which Iranians had themselves evolved, based on their large resources in fuel oil. Their plan was to more than double their power supply by adding 2 12,500-kilowatt generators to their existing oil-fueled, steam-driven dynamos. Five hundred thousand dollars, combined with Iranian funds, would serve as advance payment to get manufacturers working on the generators. Why should Iran build a vastly expensive hydroelectric dam?

Warne's own power engineers studied the Teheran plan and approved it. The United States committed itself on January 15, 1953, to try to supply the needed funds. When the Iranians asked for the agreed-upon dollars, however, Warne wrote back that "it would be greatly to the advantage of the country to concentrate on the use of hydroelectric generation rather than steam generation in the Teheran area." He added that "any contribution in the immediate future" would go for such purposes. He later refused money for the Teheran plan but pledged United States funds for construction of what had long been little more than a promoter's dream—the Karadj Dam.

This dam had been proposed in the 1920's by a group of German engineers—a 565-foot-high concrete block to be thrown across an isolated, narrow mountain canyon through which flowed a stream that all but dried up in summer and briefly became a springtime torrent. Nothing came of it; the project would be very expensive and the electricity that could be generated for Teheran would be utterly inadequate.

A French company, however, won a Karadj contract, and a little site work was done before activity halted in 1951.

Now, Warne pledged initially $1,400,000 toward construction of the dam according to the incomplete French plans. More money followed. But, in justifying the project to Washington, Warne said the total cost would be $17,300,000, whereas the Bureau of Reclamation's preliminary reviews showed an estimated cost of at least $28 million. On Warne's justification alone the United States and Iran were committed.

Work on the dam site began immediately and continued until June 1955, although technical experts in Iran and in Washington were in immediate revolt. Everett Eslick, then Chief of the Power Branch in Washington, insisted that the dam could not be justified by Warne's information. So did Howard Morrison, the engineer who was the Washington manager for the Karadj project.

On the demand of these and other Washington technicians, an independent board of hydroelectric experts from three leading United States firms were consulted.

"The stream flow and reservoir capacity are not commensurate with the cost of this dam," the board reported. "The project will not provide Teheran with an adequate power supply. The thermal alternate [steam system] can be made available sooner, at smaller cost."

Warne appealed to the engineering headquarters of the Bureau of Reclamation for data to support his program. While Bureau engineers conceded that it was physically feasible to construct the dam, they said it was no substitute for steam power. To meet the comments of the board of experts, they could only propose a still higher dam.

"Nothing has been developed to change the board's original conclusions," the consultants replied, fixing the cost now at $90 million. "The Karadj Dam is not a wise venture for improving the economy of the Teheran area."

It was now obvious that the dam's construction was too expensive to be carried on indefinitely out of foreign-aid grants. As an escape, Warne assisted the Iranians in trying to prevail upon the Export-Import Bank to finance completion. Ever since, ICA has represented that, under tentative approval of financing given by the bank, the dam was no longer an ICA concern. The facts are that Export-Import representatives who looked over the project in Iran advised Iran to abandon it. Nevertheless, as a result of our aid to this project and the publicity accorded the dam, the Iranians couldn't withdraw. Though work has long since halted, they must resume this dubious undertaking in order to save political face, even though they may be compelled to offer a prior lien on their national oil revenues in order to attract a lender.

What does Iran have to show for all the cash we've handed out?

Well, north of Teheran deep into the wild mountain canyons, your guide points out an uncompleted 14-mile road hacked out of the mountainside and tunneled through solid rock; it provides a fine overlook of a dam that isn't there. There is also a construction camp, complete with swimming pool. It all cost $3,500,000, a price that would buy a lot of generators.

"But perhaps you need not worry too much for us," your guide says. Then he smiles. "You must understand that we are getting our generators after all—later than if you'd helped us with that down payment we wanted, but they're now being installed."

How? Did Warne and ICA finally make the money available?

"No," says your guide. "When times gradually got better, we bought the generators ourselves."

The Iranian experience with our foreign-aid program is a sad story. But it is not unique. There are similar stories about waste and mismanagement in country after country.

Despite recent pressure to eliminate boondoggling, the fact is simply that the entrenched holdovers from another political era believe that paternalistic social welfare, outworn share-the-wealth ideas and vast spending are synonymous with helping people help themselves. To them this represents what foreign aid really should be. It is a closely-knit club that can reward its members and punish those who don't cooperate.

Douglas Reeves, a comptroller sent out from Washington to improve the fiscal procedures of Warne's mission, reported back that there was laxity in handling funds, a charge since confirmed by State Department auditors and General Accounting Office investigators. Reeves was relieved of his post and transferred to other duties until his contract expired.

Robert Alexander, Warne's chief power and utilities engineer, continued to voice approval of steam power for Teheran as opposed to the Karadj dam. He lost his job. To keep him from talking, his critical report on Karadj was marked "Classified."

What happened to Warne? In ICA circles his Iranian program is pointed out as one of the agency's outstanding achievements. He has become economic coordinator in Korea, in charge of the biggest foreign-aid program of all.

The ICA club which makes possible such rewards stems back to the 1948 legislation which established the first foreign-aid organization. This legislation set up a large number of special jobs with salaries above the usual civil-service rates. These jobs were intended to be filled by foreign-trade experts, manufacturers, engineers and the like from outside government. Congress considered that much specialized practical experience was essential to the biggest international business operation in the world.

Most of these specialists retired after 1 or 2 years, however, and the vacuum was filled largely by theoretical economists from other Federal agencies and by social workers and planners. Earnest men and women, they had great ambition but little practical experience. These men brought in or elevated friends with similar backgrounds. The bona fide technicians and operating men were pushed into minor roles.

Evidence made public by the Senate Appropriations Committee in 1953 disclosed that a number of the key people in foreign aid were holding jobs for which they had no background of experience. An agricultural economist, for example, served as director of the industry division, charged with all industrial planning and procurement throughout the world. He was succeeded by a real estate man. The person in charge of increasing industrial productivity in all countries was a former civil-service

personnel man. These are not exceptions, even today.

Meanwhile the foreign-aid organization has constantly grown more complex. It has had four different names—Economic Cooperation Administration, Mutual Security Agency, Foreign Operations Administration, International Cooperation Administration. In addition, the agency has taken over the functions of the Technical Cooperation Administration. In the last 6 years it has had five titular chiefs. There are now so many different kinds of aid, embracing anything and everything the planners may want to do, that more than 2,000 projects are being carried on in some 50 countries.

Congress got lost in this morass. It couldn't keep track of what was going on. It didn't even know how the appropriated funds were spent. But now, at last, congressional frustrations are coming to a boil. At least three investigating committees have gathered data. Another investigation is being carried out by the White House. It is likely that Congress will attempt basic reforms.

Whatever remedies are undertaken, they should be aimed first at curing the fundamental troubles discussed here—the troubles caused by planners and spenders run wild, in an oversized, self-perpetuating agency. Otherwise there can be no sensible foreign-aid program—one which will give American taxpayers their money's worth in helping to build a strong and friendly free world.

Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Small Business Committee, I receive numerous letters from small-business men. The following letter, addressed to Mr. George J. Burger, sums up the tone of most of these communications.

With the writer's permission, I am pleased to commend this communication to the attention of our colleagues:

SALTER CANNING CO., INC.,
North Rose, N. Y., February 11, 1957.

Mr. GEORGE J. BURGER,
National Federation of Independent Business, Washington Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BURGER: I have your letter of the 6th, with a copy of your communication to the Senate Small Business Committee. At this late and repetitious moment, I feel the NFIB is altogether too polite. Events are reaching beyond the usual courtesies. We all, I believe, are tired of kicking this dead horse up the Capitol steps every time Congress convenes, only to see it roll down the Capitol steps when Congress disbands. Session after session the political mourners gather around, drop tears, spout platitudes, then take off for the nearest barbecue served up by consolidated corporations. It's time these delinquents quit shoving the fried chicken down their guts and exposed their brains to the elements. Travel through our large towns and our cities and observe how little anyone, locally, owns. Neither the fellow pumping gas nor those operating the retail outlets. You won't see it and I may not, but I have a hunch Dame History has a resounding thwack hidden in her satchel that won't be pleasant when time comes to use it.

First, let us get off our chest the idea that bigness means efficiency. My father-in-law was with the General Electric for 43 years and he had some great tales to tell of that outfit. He started with Edison in Brooklyn when Sam Insull was Edison's secretary, and was among the first to move into the Schenectady plant. The largest canner in our State, in recent years, has had ups and downs of earthquake proportions that would put the average small canner out of business. But he is kept afloat by his canmaker—and in the past year I believe both American and Continental Can have had to bolster him. Another large competitor takes so much time in loading trucks that carriers shy away from him. Truckdrivers tell us the story. We will load a truck in 30 minutes while at our large competitor's, 4 to 5 hours are required. Following the war and at least up through 1949 the Robinson-Patman Act was enforced and at the close of 1949 General Foods discontinued the canning of fruits and vegetables at some 20 plants across the land. One of its vice presidents informed me it was losing money heavily, being unable to compete with smaller operators. So much for bigness and efficiency. The TNEC investigations confirmed this almost 20 years ago. If you recited this to the House and Senate Small Business Committees, the members would be surprised. Recite it to them 12 months from now, they again would be surprised. "Surprise" is their specialty.

It is no secret that two rather famous antitrust proceedings under the Robinson-Patman Act virtually started in our office. In each the Government won. One was the action against the tin-can cartel that wound up in the San Francisco Federal court in 1949. There the judge hit the saddle but let the horse go. Neither the givers nor the receivers of fat kickbacks were fined and the receivers never handed back the loot. If a theoretical burglar in the dead of a theoretical night lifts a theoretical egg from under a theoretical hen, that in light of the law shakes the Republic to its foundation.

I have seriously proposed that, nationally, we have one giant corporation and one giant bank. That is where we are headed and the Federal Trade Commission, the Justice Department, and our high courts have provided substantial momentum in that direction. The recent release of Du Pont is a point. The court concluded Du Pont had no monopoly in cellophane for you could also pour food into derby hats, cowboy shoes, tin pans, wash basins, bass tubas, manholes, and kitchen sinks.

I enjoyed the professor's observations. The boys out of school have usually had, in school, only big business' point of view thrust upon them. I know because I had the same "big business massage" back in the mid-1920's. My school (Ivy League) has so dedicated itself to big business that I some years ago discontinued contributing to it. If big business is to run it, big business can support it. The boys, out of school, consider small business a dead duck; but few follow the picture through. At 45 or 50 they may be on the street, replaced with another crop of youngsters. I have seen this repeatedly. One occurrence was tragic: A swell fellow, about 55 years old, went to the Continental Can plant in Syracuse on a Sunday morning and hung himself in its lockerroom. Such dismissals rip families apart, not to mention that many of them are nomads, to be shoved all over the continent as the monster above dictates. I say "monster" as top management of giant business is now so thin and ethereal that its remoteness can be measured in astronomical light-years. Congressmen are impressed by this, also court judges. They call it genius.

The collapse of Collier's is a point. The mounting cost of paper was one major cause. The directors had the circulation and the medium by which to bring home to millions what is happening to free enterprise. Through words, Collier's could have stacked enough TNT under the international paper cartel to blow it high and dry. But no, the directors supinely surrendered—a measure of today's journalism and the pink-handed boys controlling it. Several other magazines are looking lageared, destined for the same ignominious grave.

Giant business wants yes-men, Arrow-collar slaves. Our constitutional form of government was built around the concept that property and enterprise should be widely spread, competitive and protected under the law. The basic concept was that economic freedom and security was the avenue to intellectual freedom. Of all the Arrow-collar slaves I have met—and I have met many—though college bred, they are 100 percent frightened to open their mouths. That is why I earlier dragged in dame history. I have a hunch that, under some unpleasant circumstances, this dam holding back intelligent minds may burst.

The financial seas must be running high to occasion Herb Hoover to stick his head out of the crow's nest and shout: "Rocks ahead." Soon, Congressmen may be attending a wake in the cloakrooms, the wreath at the bottom of the coffin reading: "In memory of our beloved free economy—from brethren of the local debating society and knitting club."

Most sincerely,

L. J. SALTER.

Near Eastern Policy

SPEECH
OF
HON. KENNETH J. GRAY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I yield.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I would not want the occasion to pass without taking this opportunity of congratulating the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT] for the very fine and forthright statement he has made on this very serious problem. I will not delay the deliberations other than to make some brief comments.

First, I would like to say to the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT] that I am sure the majority of Americans join with him in expressing the sentiment that the United States is taking the wrong attitude when we talk about imposing sanctions against Israel. The clouds over Israel are dark and heavy. I believe conditions will be worse instead of better if sanctions are imposed on that country. So I say to the gentleman that I hope his forthright advice made in this House today is heeded, and I hope that those people who are guiding the affairs of the United States in the United Nations will give some serious thought to the proposals made today. I reiterate that I predict that conditions will become much worse instead of better if sanctions are imposed.

I want to congratulate the gentleman. He has made a wonderful statement today, as he always does when he takes the floor. I thank him for his statement and agree with everything he has had to say on this very important subject. I am sorry that more Members were not present to hear his enlightening and eloquent statement.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I thank the gentleman.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT] has expired.

A Canadian View of the Eisenhower Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article written by J. B. McGeachy, associate editor of the Financial Post, Toronto, Canada:

WEEKEND REVIEW

(By J. B. McGeachy)

Tens of thousands of words, maybe millions of words, have still to be spoken and written to make plain the meaning of President Eisenhower's Middle East policy statement of yesterday afternoon. It will take weeks, maybe months, for these words to get themselves uttered. Therefore, anything I, or anyone else, can say now must be preliminary comment. It must consist largely of questions, rather than final judgments.

But let me begin with a tentative overall opinion. I think Mr. Eisenhower has taken a small step in the right direction. Perhaps he has gone as far as it was prudent for him to go (at the moment) seeing that this is a brandnew policy he has enunciated, a policy completely at variance with the position of the United States as recently as 2 months ago.

When Britain and France intervened in Egypt last November, Mr. Eisenhower could find no merit in their action at all. He used polite words in his public condemnation; but it is said on good authority that on the telephone to Sir Anthony Eden in London he allowed his indignation full play.

It was under American pressure that the British and French stopped short of their objectives and agreed to pull out. Washington's ukase at that point was that they should decamp forthwith and that the United Nations should take over. It appeared to be, quite seriously, the official American opinion then that U. N. resolutions, plus a small multilingual army with apparently nothing to do but act as sentry, plus Mr. Dag Hammarskjold's good offices could take control of the very untidy and dangerous situation that has developed in the Middle East.

It has not taken the President very long to recognize how unrealistic that policy was. Now he is prepared, in certain circumstances, to use American military force to do what Britain and France were obligingly prepared to do with their military force; namely, to buttress the western position in the Middle East against Soviet penetration.

This immediately raises several questions. Why did not the American Government give this commitment when invited to do so more than a year ago by Prime Minister Eden? Because, I suggest, it needed the events of the past 2 months, and especially the Anglo-French intervention, to wake Washington up to the seriousness of the Russian threat in the Middle East.

Why would it be moral and noble for the United States to send troops there to protect Western interests when it was immoral and ignoble for British and France to do just that?

Well, the correct answer might involve peevish comment on an American tendency to be self-righteous and to assume that only the United States can and does use its strength in an enlightened way for the general good.

But I think you should take note that another interpretation is being put upon events by some people in Britain. I will put it in the form of a question. It is a fact that United States oil investments in the Middle East now exceed British oil investments there. Can it be that, for this reason, Washington would like to substitute American for British influence in that part of the world?

I don't know; I merely mention this as one of the questions that ought to be, and may be, explored in the course of the debate now to begin in Washington. And I hasten to add that if one of the motives of the Eisenhower policy is the protection of American oil holdings, that strikes me as a wholly legitimate motive. But it would be nice to have it stated without hyprocrisy.

But—to return to what the President said. He is not proposing to move into the Middle East now having just ordered the British and the French to move out. That would be a bit too sudden. He has hedged his proposition in several ways to make it unassailable on legal grounds.

His first hedge is the mere fact that he asks Congress for authority to take certain military action. He has no need to do so. The authority is his already under the Constitution. I won't take time to give you the argument in detail. I merely assure you there's no doubt whatever, that as Commander in Chief, the President can order American Army, Navy, and Air Forces into action wherever and whenever he thinks fit.

However—specific congressional authorization to do this in the Middle East, which Mr. Eisenhower is pretty sure to obtain, will strengthen his hand and demonstrate American solidarity to the world; and that will be all to the good.

As to Mr. Eisenhower's other hedges, they don't strengthen his policy but weaken it to the vanishing point.

He says he will send American forces only in response to a request from victims of Soviet military aggression. But this is precisely the source from which he will never receive such a request.

The world has recently seen the Soviet military machine in action against the Hungarian patriots. Was there any call for help from the Hungarian government? Of course not, because that government is a Moscow puppet. If and when Moscow ever does move into the Middle East militarily, you may be sure that a similar puppet will already be performing—in Cairo, in Damascus or somewhere else; and it will be the Russians, not the Americans, who will get the call for help.

But in any case, it isn't Soviet military intervention in the area that's to be feared. It's the spread of Soviet power by coup, by economic infiltration, by propaganda. Suppose that Nasser, who's rated by many people a Soviet dummy now, suppose that Nasser takes orders from Moscow on the operation of the Suez Canal when it's reopened? (By the way, he has already proclaimed that British and French ships will not be permitted to use it until Israel has handed the Gaza strip back to Egypt—shades of Ferdinand de Lesseps.) But suppose that in this way Moscow becomes master of Suez without firing a shot, how does Mr. Eisenhower's policy apply? It doesn't appear to apply at all, but somebody, I suggest, is bound to raise the question—in London if not in Washington.

Mr. Eisenhower's final hedge is the most startling of all. Any military action he takes in the Middle East, he says, will be subject to the over-riding authority of the U. N. Security Council. Now, Russia has a seat and a veto in that body. Does Mr. Eisenhower really mean that he would send a force to, say, Egypt and then withdraw it if the Russians disapproved? It's hard to believe that this is what he means; but this is what he says.

You see how many questions there are to be asked about the new Eisenhower doctrine as it's called. It's to be welcomed as a sign or symbol of American acceptance of responsibility in the Middle East; but as a practical program it's as full of bugs as an ancient jalopy. And for lack of time I haven't even touched on the fact that Mr. Eisenhower doesn't propose to use American strength to influence the Suez settlement or the Arab-Israeli settlement. These are to be left to U. N.—heaven preserve us. It was U. N. that voted in 1947 for the creation of Israel in the first place, then left the Arabs and Jews to fight it out and proved completely, helplessly incompetent to stop or solve their quarrel. It needs a pretty vacuous optimist to suppose that U. N. can do any better from now on.

At this point I'm going to divert the discussion to a statement by Mr. Nehru I heard reported on the radio this morning. The Indian Prime Minister attached the theory of the power vacuum; the theory that when one strong power moves out of a country where it has ruled or exercised influence, another strong power moves in. Mr. Nehru is against this assumption.

He is, I suggest, talking about the world the way he would like it to be, not the way it is. His own country, it's true, has managed to stand on its own since British rule ended 9 years ago—thanks to a number of factors, including India's immense size and population, and the efficient political system, civil service and army Mr. Nehru inherited from the British period. But suppose the Government of Pakistan collapsed (as it very nearly did last year)—wouldn't Mr. Nehru take steps to fill that particular power vacuum by adding the Pakistani provinces to the Indian federal union?

I think he would; but we needn't discuss a hypothetical case. We're talking about the actual case of the Middle East. The United States has turfed Britain out of that region; this is not debatable nor is it denied in Washington. On the contrary, it's a matter of pride there. And the moment British influence evaporated, Russian influence appeared. Why? Because the Middle East, though it's rich in oil and populated by interesting people with an ancient culture, is divided into small countries that are jealous of one another and is hopelessly backward in both politics and economics.

With Russia standing on the sidelines, eager to snatch the strategic and material prizes of the area, does it make sense to suppose that a powerless body like the U. N. General Assembly, able only to express opinions, can settle anything at all that's at stake in the Middle East? Mr. Eisenhower, in my opinion, is gradually coming around to the rational view that it doesn't make sense. Gingerly and cautious, he is edging up to the responsibility that now belongs to his country because his country forced the British—and the French—to give it up. But he still has a long way to go, and he may already be too late.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Good Government Award to Senator Karl E. Mundt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Last Friday night, on the anniversary of the birthday of George Washington, the American Good Government Society presented its award for distinguished service to two great Americans, my senior colleague [Mr. MUNDT] and the honorable WILLIAM L. COLMER, of Mississippi, a Member of the House of Representatives.

The presentation to the senior Senator from South Dakota, my colleague, was made by another of our distinguished colleagues, the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND]. With the consent of the Senate, I offer for printing in the RECORD the citation given in the remarks of the Senator from South Carolina and, following that, the response by the Senator from South Dakota.

Then, to show that my distinguished colleague is not without honor in his own State, I ask leave to insert thereafter an editorial from the Rapid City Daily Journal.

There being no objection, the addresses and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY SENATOR STROM THURMOND, DEMOCRAT, OF SOUTH CAROLINA, ON PRESENTING THE GEORGE WASHINGTON AWARD TO SENATOR KARL E. MUNDT ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN GOOD GOVERNMENT SOCIETY AT THE HOTEL STATLER IN WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 22, 1957

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, any award made in the name of the first President of this great country should be made to a recipient who is of the same high character and integrity, and who has the same courageous statesmanship which set George Washington apart from others in the fight for representative government.

I congratulate the trustees of the American Good Government Society on selecting the man named on the scroll which I have the honor of presenting tonight. He measures up to the standards set in the early days of this Nation by the Father of Our Country.

In every way he has demonstrated that he possesses the ability, the integrity, the penetrating interest and understanding of public affairs, and the unbounded capacity for work, which are the essentials of an outstanding representative of the people of this country.

He had been successful in several fields of endeavor before entering public life. He is a compelling speaker whose words attract the attention of citizens all over this Nation. They recognize him for the patriotic public servant that he is.

After his experience as a member of the Un-American Activities Committee in the House of Representatives, he was instrumental in the enactment of legislation in 1950 to establish the Subversive Activities Control Board. Then, as now, many people did not see the necessity for such an organization, but all of us should be grateful to this man that he had the courage and vision to sponsor this legislation.

Another achievement I want to mention is the success he has had in developing a national consciousness of the desirability for reformation of the Electoral College system. Here again he has exhibited courage as well as a deep concept of how practical measures should be applied to the functioning of government so as to more truly reflect the will of the people.

Many times this man has shown his adherence to the principles of constitutional government by his advocacy of the rights of the States as delineated in the Constitution.

I am proud to call him my personal friend and I am happy to present this scroll to the senior United States Senator from South Dakota, the Honorable KARL E. MUNDT.

The inscription on the scroll reads as follows:

"KARL E. MUNDT

"Farmer, educator, statesman, master of forensic arts, has served the people of South Dakota and the Nation for 18 years in the Congress of the United States—the last 8 in the United States Senate.

"Among his notable achievements are the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950, which established the Subversive Activites Control Board to halt Communist subversion; and the creation by Congress of the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission, to reemphasize Hamilton's enduring contributions to the cause of personal liberty and national independence—separation of powers and checks and balances in State and Nation, honor and integrity in Government, and immortality of the public credit.

"Senator MUNDT has raised the twin standards of political realinement in Congress and reform of the electoral college, to the end that the separate powers of the President and Congress shall rest on the same principles of representation, thus serving his creed: 'A fair chance for a free people.'"

GEORGE WASHINGTON DINNER AWARD, AMERICAN GOOD GOVERNMENT SOCIETY, FEBRUARY 22, 1957

(Response by Senator KARL E. MUNDT, of South Dakota)

Mr. President, distinguished guests at the head table, fellow Americans. Certainly to receive a certification of this kind from an organization like this makes one at the same time feel very humble and very happy. I recall being in the audience in 1953 when the first annual Good Government Award was presented. It was presented at that time to two good friends of yours and mine, the late Senator from Ohio, Senator Bob Taft, and Senator HARRY BYRD, of Virginia.

Nothing was further from my mind that night certainly that the time would come when I would be standing here receiving an award of that type from the American Good Government Society. And for that, I certainly wish to thank you all very much indeed.

To you, Senator THURMOND, for that altogether too generous statement in connection with the presentation of this award, I am doubly grateful to have it come not only from a warm personal friend but from a great statesman in his own right from a great State in a great section of the country.

And to Senator BURKE, the president of the Good Government Society, and the trustees of the society, I am certainly more than grateful for the generosity expressed in the words recorded on the scroll which I have been awarded here tonight. I am especially grateful that this scroll referred to my work in connection with the Internal Security Act of 1950 because that was a bill which most of you recall as the old Mundt-Nixon bill, which we batted around the Halls of Congress for a good long while. You remember the long, hard, bruising battle that we had to finally get it enacted into law. I think virtually every Member of the Senate and the House who is here tonight voted for that bill when the chips were down and it was necessary to decide whether we could pass it over a Presidential veto as it ultimately was done.

I think that ensuing events have demonstrated that our decision then was right when we decided that the best approach to communism in this country was not an attempt to delude ourselves into a sense of false security by a statutory outlawing of the party but instead to permit it to operate but compel it to come out of the dark and into the open and expose itself.

The years since then have pretty clearly demonstrated what so many thought correctly was the situation then, and that is that the germs of communism on American soil once they were treated to pitiless spotlight of public opinion could not advance and grow when they had been identified so people could clearly know them for what they were. Communism can withstand almost any other attack on our homefront except complete exposure and pin-pointed identification. The cowardly self-serving little men and women who still cling to communism lack either the good cause or the great courage required to promote their doctrines effectively in an open battle for the minds of men. And this act, along with others, has caused the rats among us to come out of the dark and squeal ineffectively in the open or else perish in the confines of their own dark and infested dens.

I would also like to say here that it was the American Good Government Society that first interested me in the possibilities of an Alexander Hamilton Bicentenial Commission.

When I spoke before this annual dinner in 1954, on George Washington's Birthday—Yesterday and Today—I mentioned the fact the society has already established a committee to see that the 200th anniversary of Alexander Hamilton's birth was properly signalized. I remember praising the society for this leadership and offering whatever cooperation I could provide.

Sometimes it is wondered on Capitol Hill whether any of the many speeches that we give ever produce results or win decisions. I can testify to the fact that sometimes they do because I so convinced myself in talking about Alexander Hamilton that night that I introduced a resolution creating the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission and ended up as its chairman.

Most of you, I am sure, have seen or read something about the work of this Commission.

We have sent each Member of Congress a copy of the new book edited by Prof. Richard B. Morris of the Department of History,

Columbia University, entitled "The Basic Ideas of Alexander Hamilton." Preparation of this pocket-book compilation of the writings of Hamilton has led Professor Morris to a larger compilation of Hamilton's writings designed, I believe, to become the standard one-volume Hamilton reference work.

The third new book published this year is Alexander Hamilton in the American Tradition, by Dean Louis M. Hacker of the School of General Studies of Columbia University. We are also proud of the great project underway at Columbia University to edit and publish a definitive edition of The Papers of Alexander Hamilton. Dr. John A. Krout, whom you have already heard this evening, is chairman of the editorial board of this project which is financed by private funds of $200,000 made available by Time, Inc., and the Rockefeller Foundation.

I am sure you are all also aware of the new 3-cent Alexander Hamilton commemorative stamp issued in New York City on January 11th—his 200th birthday. In addition, a British stamp was issued the same day on the Island of Nevis where Hamilton was born.

Insofar as we have been able to determine, this is the first time in history the 2 governments have honored 1 man simultaneously with a commemorative stamp. Also, we are told it is the first time a British stamp has been issued in honor of an American.

In cooperation with the Department of the Treasury, your commission has established an Alexander Hamilton exhibit in the Department of the Treasury here in Washington. Displayed there, are priceless historical items and you are all invited to visit this exhibit.

A major undertaking was finalized this week when plans were completed for holding a series of contests in high schools and colleges for Alexander Hamilton commemorative scholarships and fellowships. Frederick C. Crawford, chairman of the board of Thompson Products Co., Cleveland, Ohio, has accepted chairmanship of a committee of prominent Americans who will raise $400,000 from private sources for this purpose.

However, our commission seeks not to glorify Hamilton, the man—but rather it is our purpose to emphasize the quality and permanence of his work on the foundations of the Government of the United States under the Constitution.

As has been indicated here by earlier speakers tonight, it seems that we face in this country a crisis in good government—a sort of constitutional crisis. For more than 20 years we have witnessed, all of us, a tendency for a growth of the Central Government—in power and strength and cost far beyond that anticipated by our constitutional forefathers. Certainly it has grown far beyond what we would anticipate by a careful reading of the 10th amendment of the Constitution which I have always construed to be the headstone of our Bill of Rights.

Since 1940, at least, we have had developing in this country what, in my opinion, is something of an American phenomenon because it has been a whole series of pretty sharp disagreements between the executive branch of Government and the legislative branch of Government. Disagreements over matters of substance and importance in policy and in principle. Disagreements which in the main have not been attributable to differences of political affiliations, not simply created out of a situation such as we have now where the President is of one political party and the Congress is of another or such as we had during the 80th Congress when with reverse English we had a President of one political party and a Congress of another. Differences which, in my opinion, are deeper rooted than that. Rooted in the fact that there is developing, it seems to me, an executive position or an executive attitude vis-a-vis a congressional or a legislative attitude in Congress and it seems to me as those differences become increasingly apparent we approach a crisis in this whole business of good government.

I might say here tonight for the benefit of those who have come from Mississippi and South Dakota and from many other States across the length and breadth of this land and who are not regularly inhabitants upon the hill, that you find here seated in this room tonight in the main Democrats and Republicans who while they have differed frequently at election time have agreed even more frequently when it comes to voting in the Halls of Congress. It has been a long source of personal perplexity to me why it is that a coalition or a working machine or a political mechanism which for 20 years has been able to go far and do much in Congress toward preserving constitutional government in America should not be able to extend its ramparts out to the voting precincts of this country so that parties can begin meaning more than they do once again in American political life, and so that like-minded people can vote together effectively for President regardless of where they live geographically or how they are registered politically.

I think it would be a wonderful thing if behind these congressional Democrats and Republicans represented here tonight in the Statler Hotel in this dining hall we could create lines of party affinity running into the courthouses and into the statehouses and into the voting places of all the States in the Union. I have a feeling that the course of events in American history would be different if we had this same kind of working arrangement among people generally that has done so much and meant so much to America as it has operated for many years in the Halls of Congress. I believe political realinement is long overdue in this country and that the time is here, now, when we should begin thinking about what our parties should clearly advocate and where we should best find ourselves to have the greatest degree of congeniality and sympathy with other people of the party.

In addition to that, another reason why this executive position and the legislative position have come to clash so frequently even among members of the same political party stems from the fact that we elect our Presidents from one voting constituency and elect our Congressmen from quite a different constituency.

This grows out of the electoral college system whereby practice, use, custom, and necessity we have gradually adopted the system of bloc voting in the electoral college—the system of winner take all in a general ticket approach—so that when the voters have voted in the polls in November, the electors whose votes actually chose the President vote in blocs when they meet in December to determine the deciding votes. In December of last year, for example, in all of our State capitols, members of the electoral college met to decide who should be the President of the United States, casting votes not in accordance with the way voters back home had cast them but casting them on a basis of winner take all. The winner taking the votes of the loser as well and voting them all one way for President.

Let's take what happened in December in New York State, for an example, our biggest, our most potent and powerful State of the Union. There in December at Albany, N. Y., 45 electors met to cast their votes in the electoral college. I wonder if it wouldn't be a splendid lesson in American political life if somehow or other on the same occasion we could have taken the 45 members of the New York congressional delegation and had their meeting at the same time in the city of Albany, N. Y. After all, with the exception of Senator IVES, all of the 45 had been elected in the same election, in the same campaign, at the same day in November as the members of the electoral college. But when they came to vote in the electoral college the 43 electoral votes given to New York State because of its 43 Congressmen and the two awarded it because of its 2 Senators, the 45 voted in toto—45 votes for the Republican candidate for President. Actually, of course, had the Senator and Representatives themselves done the voting, the men who had been elected at the same election by the people voting in their respective parties, the people from whom the electoral college delegates got the votes that enabled them to vote at all, we would have had quite a different vote because there, there were 27 Republicans and 16 Democrats elected to Congress from New York State last November.

It seems to me that points up to the fact that there is a reason why we find this growing tendency to have disagreement between the legislative branch of Government and the executive branch. Take Texas, for example; twice within 4 years the electoral college vote of Texas has gone unanimously for a Republican President and with 1 notable exception all the members of the Texas congressional delegation have been Democrats. Louisiana, in the last election, cast its electoral vote unanimously Republican and as far as I know, Louisiana has not sent a Republican Member to the Congress since the war between the States. I point this up to indicate that if we could find a way so that the same constituencies voted for President as voted for Congress, I think it would eliminate this tendency for a growing centralized government in Washington and the tendency for there to be an executive position differing from a legislative position.

In company with STROM THURMOND, in company with FRED COUDERT of the State of New York, and others, I have introduced a simple amendment which would do exactly that. It would have the electors to our electoral college elected from precisely the same districts as the Congressmen and at the same time, and in the same manner. So that each congressional district expressing itself for a Congressman could also express itself for an elector to vote for one candidate or the other. So that, in the main, you wouldn't have the kind of situation which you have with all the electors going one way and many Members of Congress going another. It certainly would bring about a closer meeting of minds on the problems which confront the voters as they try frantically once in 4 years to write the pattern of performance they would like to have in America.

This amendment would do something in addition to that—it would do away with the most conspicuous class of second-class voters that we have in the country and that is the situation whereby a single voter in New York State when he votes puts 45 electoral votes into motion. If one voter in New York breaks the tie of the popular vote his vote thunders with the power of 45 electoral votes. An equally intelligent voter, equally wise and careful and cautious and prudent, voting in the State of Delaware if his vote breaks the tie of the popular vote in that State, his vote counts for only 3 electoral votes. So each New York voter actually has 15 times as much vote power and influence in a Presidential campaign as an equally intelligent citizen from Delaware and measured against your own State wherever you live, the disparity is not quite as great but it is also there. You too are second-class citizens.

None of us are first-class citizens in a presidential election today unless we live in New York when it comes to voting for President under our present electoral college system. And that means, of course, the pressure groups operate to secure the clusters of votes available in the congested cities of America and that 8 or 10 or 12 crowded metropolitan areas have tended to have a tremendous influence in what we write in national platforms, in whom we nominate

for national President, and in how we elect the candidates for the other end of the Avenue because, necessarily, that great influence is imbedded in our electoral college system. But because it is not necessary for very many Congressmen to make apepals to clusters of votes in crowded areas, to make appeals to groups and pressure organizations, we get a different congressional viewpoint up on Capitol Hill and I think we should reconcile those points of view by constitutional amendment. To do so would go far toward correcting what I consider a most unwise tendency to have too much of our spending and to have too much of our tax authority and too many of our functions operated from Washington. My amendment would tend to put the Government back where Hamilton and Washington wanted it to be in the hands of the people. It would tend to give the people of all States an equal voice in selecting not alone their Members of Congress but also Presidents and Vice President. It would put the same constituency behind both groups of candidates and I think do more than any one thing to bring about permanent conditions which would keep budgets in balance and do more than any one thing to discontinue encroachments by the Feedral Government on the domains of the separate States. It would also do more than any one thing to dignify again the individual in America and in American political life because each of us then would be as important as a voter in the State of New York.

So I suggest as we conclude tonight that as we ponder over the changes that have occurred in the 225 years since the birth of Washington and the 200 years since the birth of Hamilton, as we try to find the causes for the situations of which we disapprove, so that we may find the answers to the problems which seem so prodigious, I propose that we think a little bit about our political machinery. Much of this mechanism isn't in the Constitution; it just grew up like Topsy and necessity compels each State of ours to cast its electoral votes en bloc—en masse—and if by constitutional amendment we break them up we move back in the direction of putting Government in the hands of the people. I would say in all sincerity to these fine Democrats here tonight with whom I have served so long and these fine Republicans from Capitol Hill, that after more than 100 years now of having our two political parties we're convinced I know that we want to maintain a two-party system in America. But perhaps we should reexamine what's behind the labels of the parties, perhaps a transmigration of political forces in this country would find most of us happier if we could surround ourselves with some new faces as we picked recruits from one area and lost supporters to another. We should rebuild our parties around principles and policies as clearly definable as the positions of the group of Congressmen you find here tonight quite regardless of their party preference.

I recall with Hamilton his words when he said: "We are laboring hard to establish in this country principles which are free from all foreign ingredients, so that we may be neither Greeks nor Trojans but truly Americans." We have something unique in America but something which we uniquely must continue to keep functioning and in tune with the times adjusted to influences which otherwise can use machinery which has not been kept up to date to challenge and undo the work of these great forefathers of ours.

And with Washington tonight let us conclude by saying as he did "Let us raise a high standard to which the wise and honest may repair. The event is in the hand of God." As it was then, so it is now. Thank you all very much indeed.

[From the Rapid City (S. Dak.) Daily Journal of February 5, 1957]

GREAT HONOR FOR SENATOR MUNDT

South Dakota's Senator KARL E. MUNDT has been selected for one of the American Good Government Society's two 1957 George Washington Day awards.

These awards are presented annually on George Washington's birthday, at a dinner in Washintgon. The honorees are chosen for outstanding contribution to good government.

Senator MUNDT will share honors this year with Representative WILLIAM M. COLMER, dean of the Mississippi congressional delegation.

Senator MUNDT was first elected as East River Congressman in 1938. He served most usefully and with distinction in the House of Representatives until 1948 when he was elected United States Senator. He was reelected to the Senate in 1954.

Among Senator MUNDT'S many accomplishments, perhaps his outstanding contribution has been his efforts to win the world batle for men's minds. He is coauthor of the Smith-Mundt bill which bring foreign students and leaders to this country where they have an opportunity to better understand the United States. The same law enables American students and leaders to travel abroad, learning the problems and getting to know the people of other nations.

Senator MUNDT also is the "father" of the Voice of America program and the United States Information Agency which tell the truth about America abroad through libraries, lecturers, and other mediums.

Senator MUNDT constantly works for the benefit of the people of his State. He has been influential in the Missouri River development program with its benefits of power, irrigation, navigation, recreation, and flood control.

He has worked hard to attract industry to South Dakota and to develop the national parks and forests, minerals and agriculture in the State.

MUNDT is coauthor of the pending Mundt-Coudert electoral college amendment which is designed to localize the power of minority groups in presidential elections.

He believes that conservative, patriotic Americans are in a big majority in this country, but that they are divided by traditional party ties. MUNDT is convinced that such a division has played into the hands of the Communists, Communist-fronters and other leftist elements in their program to divide the American people and destroy the system of private enterprise that has made ours a great Nation.

Senator MUNDT and Congressman COLMER will take places of honor by the side of Virginia's Harry Byrd and Howard Smith, Ohio's Bob Taft and George Humphrey, Texas' Allan Shivers, Herbert Hoover and Georgia's Walter George, who have received the Good Government Society's George Washington Day awards during recent years.

Mr. RUSSELL subsequently said: Mr. President, a moment ago, when the junior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. CASE] obtained consent to have an insertion made in the RECORD, I sought to get in one word edgewise, before he surrendered the floor. However, the controversy over the O'Mahoney amendment prevented my doing so. I understand that he inserted in the RECORD an award which had been made to his distinguished colleague the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] for his valiant services in the cause of good government.

Mr. President, I merely wish to make this brief observation: The information that this deserved award has been made gives me hope for the quality of awards of this kind which may be made in the future. In my book, if any Member of the Senate deserves to receive a reward for constructive service to good government and for courageous service to his country, it is the distinguished senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

Immigration and Anticommunism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able address delivered by the Right Reverend Monsignor Edward E. Swanstrom, executive director, Catholic Relief Services, NCWC, at Fordham University alumni dinner, on February 11, 1957. It is one of the most significant analyses on the subject I have ever heard.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IMMIGRATION AND ANTICOMMUNISM

It is not too many weeks since I saw one aspect of the Hungarian crisis at close quarters. I was standing not far from the border of Hungary in a camp of Hungarian refugees from the dark side of the Iron Curtain. They had started to come out in a human tide of agony and misery on that fateful November 4 when Soviet Army units, comprising 200,000 men and about 5,000 tanks, based outside of Hungary's borders, entered Hungary to perpetrate a massacre that has been termed a turning point in the history of our times.

I had seen the other waves of refugees that reached Western Europe since the end of World War II.

I had seen the displaced persons of Eastern European nationalities in 1945—just released from slave labor and from concentration camps—broken in body and so often broken in spirit.

Then had come the wave of millions of expellees into destroyed Germany, uprooted, dispossessed of home, of all that was meaningful in their lives, of hope. These were the 12 million ethnic Germans whose fate had finally been sealed by the Potsdam Agreement to which our own Government gave its signature.

I had stood in a great open railroad station covered with twisted steel as a train rolled in, out of which the dead, including children, were placed in waiting hands before the living descended on to the platform. It has been said that no less than 2 million of them died in that forced expulsion.

In sporadic groups in the following years came the escapees from Czechoslovakia, Poland and the other countries behind the Iron Curtain.

And here before me was the latest wave of refugees to reach Western Europe—a group of people to whom the whole world was in debt. Without an army, without a government to their own choosing, they had challenged a great slave empire that had gathered into its dark orbit of terror eight free nations of Western Europe—and having

straddled Europe, had extended its political and ideological power to the China Sea.

For 5 days Budapest and the greater part of Hungary were intoxicatingly, gloriously free. Film audiences around the world held their breath at the sight of exultant Hungarians, so many of the so very young, riding Soviet tanks, tearing down the Soviet star from the buildings of Budapest, toppling the great metal statue of Stalin from its pedestal, ripping Soviet emblems from the flag of Hungary.

The world that shared the feeling of exultant triumph could not participate in the actual struggle to maintain the triumph of freedom. From the maws of Russian tanks came death for the freedom fighters of a people's uprising—to the students, factory workers, peasants, poets, writers—who had made common cause against a common foe. But a significant thing had been accomplished—the conscience of the world had been aroused.

Just as events within Hungary had aroused the world's conscience, so this tide of human misery aroused the world's compassion. As I visited the camps of Hungarian refugees—camps so lately vacated by the Soviet troops garrisoning Austria—I saw evidence of help and concern from many nations—clothing, food, medicine, funds for the purchase of needed items. In many camps were missions from various countries, including Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia, arranging for the overseas migration of the newly arriving Hungarians. Every free nation in the Western World realized that Austria could not possibly provide for all of the refugees, and the offers to take them in were truly heartwarming.

As Catholics and Americans, you might well be proud of the part that the American bishops' agency—not because I happen to be its director—played during this great crisis. During those fateful days of freedom, our was the first American agency to get medicines and other relief supplies into Hungary and to extend aid to the refugees from that beleaguered country. I saw our American staff literally working round the clock.

On the very day the uprising broke out, we established an office at the border town of Nickelsdorf to expedite convoys of relief into Hungary. As events turned out, however, it was used largely to help the fugitives from terror. I believe we were the last American agency to get a shipment of relief supplies into the country before the Soviet again closed the border. One of the trucks in this final convoy never returned. The driver was imprisoned and returned to Austria a week later.

Naturally, America was as anxious as anyone else to provide refuge for some of the refugees. That took some doing. When the Hungarian refugees were arriving in Austria, the United States Refugee Relief Act was rapidly expiring. As of December 31, 1956, no further refugees or escapees could qualify for entry to the United States under emergency legislation. And, in any event, there were only about 6,300 visas still available under that act that could be used for Hungarians. Here we were caught with the tremendous challenge of the Hungarian crisis, the first major wound in the Communist world, and we could only counter with gestures and improvisations.

With the Refugee Relief Act about to end and our regular immigration law, familiarly known as the McCarran-Walter Act, too inflexible an instrument to deal adequately with such a crisis, there was no other course possible but improvisation. President Eisenhower declared that the 6,300 Refugee Act visas remaining should be made available to the Hungarians, and then arranged to have another 15,000 or so of them paroled into the country. Our leaders did the best they could, given the legal framework within which they have to act.

One significant aspect of the Hungarian crisis, then, is that it has pointed up the crying need for a more flexible immigration policy on the part of the United States. Our immigration policy is no longer a matter of merely national concern. It is intimately bound up with our foreign policy, with international crises as they present themselves and with the whole changing tide of events in Europe and the Far East.

The national origins provision, which makes our basic law so inflexible, is a holdover from the past, a cultural lag that prevents us from seeing the realities of the present. A basic immigration law which, by and large, restricts the yearly quota of 154,857 United States visas to national groups whose ancestors were lucky enough to reach these shores first is hardly in line with today's realities. Not only does the retention of such a law militate against real understanding with southern European peoples and the rising nationalities of Asia, but it fails tragically when an emergency such as the Hungarian exodus cries out for immediate action.

An American immigration policy that would permit the entry of about 250,000 people a year, based upon our national needs, and the need on the part of the immigrant for asylum or resettlement opportunities or his relationship to others in the country would be a reasonable approach. If such a law had been on the books when the Hungarians fled through snowdrifts, swampland, and rivers to reach the bright side of the Iron Curtain, the United States would have been in a position to meet this aspect of the crisis with a surer hand.

I have discussed the immigration aspect of the Hungarian crisis first, because it is the one where your opinion, expressed through the many channels open to free citizens in a democracy, may have great weight in the coming years. Perhaps I missed it—as I did so many other things that would have been helpful in later life—but I don't recall having studied much about American immigration policy in our student days at Fordham.

If you have the time and you would like some enjoyable and enlightening reading, get hold of John Higham's Strangers in the Land, and you will find that during the twenties when some of the older men among us were at Fordham, there was being developed in the United States an immigration policy and legislation that was in a great part built on false fears, prejudices, and hatreds. It took the McCarran-Walter Act of a few years ago, which was designed to be nothing more than a recodification of our immigration laws, to awaken us to the thought that there is something contrary to the ideas of our Founding Fathers—something very un-American and un-Christian about our immigration policy.

But now to the deeper and more significant aspects of the Hungarian crisis. We have been led to believe in various books of fiction and nonfiction that a steady diet of Marxism, or Stalinism, can so deform the human spirit that men become essentially different from what they were originally, or what they would be in a state of freedom. It was thought that a lie stated often enough so seizes the human mind that the mind loses its anchor in truth or its aim toward truth.

It was the youth of Hungary which was subjected to the barrage of Marxist propaganda, a propaganda which had the field to itself, since all other associations, including such religious youth groups as Catholic Action, were destroyed. Every medium of communication, including the entire press of the nation, was controlled by the Communist apparatus. All truth was to emanate from the party in power, and truth, it developed, was not constant, but could veer as the party veered.

The "truth" the Communist Party huckstered was one that was protected by terror from open questioning. Terror can unhinge rationality, can upset the balance of objective reasoning. But this is true only for a limited time, in a limited area, and for a limited group. A whole people cannot be consistently terrorized. The weapon of terror seems to lose its edge with time.

And after a decade of psychological conditioning, it was the youth of Hungary, the students and young workers, many of them in their teens, who sparked the revolt. Marxism with its inner contradictions and its lack of anchor in objective truth could not capture the youth of Hungary. I must confess—having seen the curtain come down on these satellite countries—Hungary, Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia—with its control of press, schools, organizations, everything—I was afraid that eventually the moral fiber of the young would be destroyed beyond repair. But no.

Many of these young people have been separated from religion through no fault of their own. We've already seen that in many of the young refugees who have come to Camp Kilmer, but here in a free country where the church flourishes we can repair that—please God—but we can never lose sight of the fact that their hunger for absolutes was never satisfied in anything offered by the Communist apparatus that ran Hungary.

Even now when the revolt for freedom has been crushed in blood and deportations, the spirit of the Hungarian people has not been broken. They know they are right and they have shown an amazed world that despite hunger, bloodshed, and terror, they can continue their demonstrations and protest strikes. A rather odd way for the so-called proletariat, who are supposed to be the mainstay of any Communist regime, to behave.

Observers who have just come out of Hungary report that morale is still high, that despite all the murders, deportations, and general privation, the people of Hungary are not cowed. Even the Soviets fear a second revolt in the spring. So terrified is the Kadar regime that it has decreed the death penalty for striking workmen.

I can testify to the spirit of the Hungarian exiles. Though they wept when they spoke of their dead, of the poor tortured country they had left behind them, they were not the pitiful, uncomprehending, helpless refugees I had known in earlier waves of refugees.

The Hungarians feel that the future will be a better one for their sacrifice, and that the glimpse of freedom they have given the people on the dark side of the Iron Curtain is only the first act of a great and inevitable drama to come.

What of the political significance of the Hungarian crisis.

A man is now in prison in Belgrade because he wrote an article whose main theme was "that the wound which the Hungarian revolution inflicted on communism can never be healed."

The wound in communism reaches from the Kremlin itself, right through the satellite world to the Communist Parties of the free world. There are persistent reports of a split within the Communist leadership—a split which betrays itself in a wavering party line—a return to a praise of Stalin as a good Communist. Tito, of Yugoslavia, a prophet of the national Communist movement, after attempting to whitewash the return of Soviet imperialism to Hungary, had to call it a fatal mistake.

There has been controversy in the American Communist Party, defections of top writers and leaders from the British Communist Party, general defection from the rank and file in the Italian Communist Party, and a general striving in the French

Communist Party toward a reorganization, a de-Stalinization, of the party itself.

In Poland, the spirit that moved 250,000 people to stand like men and women of stone before the Warsaw Palace of Culture while they demanded the return of basic freedoms still prevails. The Polish cardinal, freed from prison, exhorts his people to further sacrifice, and they remain immovable in their demands, relying on moral strength rather than violence.

He tells his people that they are known for being able to die heroically. "A man can die once and thus quickly cover himself in fame," he says, "but our lives are spent in long years of toil, trial, tribulation. This is still more heroic. This is the kind of greater heroism which the present time requires."

Perhaps such heroism is indeed the only weapon which seems feasible for the victims of the empire ruled by the Kremlin. Every revolt in the past decade, from the revolt of the young slave laborers in Vorkuta, to the riots in East Berlin, to the Poznan rising, to the Hungarian revolution, all have ended in bloody massacre. Perhaps the politics of the next few years must be a politics of patience, where moral strength without provocation of violence stands before totalitarianism with clear demands which mobilize the conscience of the world.

Finally, what was the significance of the Hungarian crisis to our church behind the Iron Curtain—called so often nowadays the church of silence.

When Father Fabian Flynn, an American priest who heads up our relief work in Austria, and who had been director of the American Catholic relief program in Hungary until banished by the Soviets in 1948, was leaving Budapest on the evening of October 31, after a lightning visit to the capital and to Cardinal Mindszenty, he was amazed that almost every house with unbroken windows had candles burning—some with as many as half a dozen alight in the one window.

It was Halloween, the eve of All Saints, and on that night it is a traditional Hungarian custom to begin to burn candles in memory of the souls of the departed. The streets of the city were black, but thousands upon thousands of candles shone bravely through the night. For 8 years the Hungarians had been forbidden to celebrate this feast publicly, and now, in the face of the Russians, they were celebrating it again for the first time. Here was one of the first of the restored freedoms, the right to honor one's dead in the tradition of one's fathers.

In that stricken city on the Danube, there is a prisoner of hope, a cardinal who was free, as was his See City, for 5 incredible days. To him, the past has its lessons. He has said: "History teaches us that all things on this earth are transitory, even as were the achievements of Genghis Khan, Napoleon, and Hitler. * * * When the bony hand of death touches such men, the peoples and the nations breathe once more."

As all Hungarians know, Cardinal Mindszenty knows, that Genghis Kahn's hordes, in speeding across Europe, got no further than Budapest. At that point, the Mongolian commander turned his men around and retreated to Mongolia because he received word that Genghis Khan, his grandfather, had died and all the men of the family had to return to choose a new Khan. The peoples and nations of Europe breathed once more since they had been in dread of the Tarter invader whom no European army had been able to halt.

This was one of the turning points of history in the 13th century. Seven centuries later, the Hungarian crisis in its human, psychological, political and religious significance, may in the profound designs of God be a similar turning point in history.

Gentlemen, let us pray, as did the Europeans of the 13th century, that the forces of brutality and oppression, now so seemingly invincible, be turned back by the mighty hand of God. They were turned back then, and can be again by that same mighty hand—more powerful than that awesome thermonuclear weapon held so threateningly in the puny hand of man.

Review of the Book Revolution on East River: The Twilight of National Sovereignty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BRICKER
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a review of the book entitled "Revolution on East River: The Twilight of National Sovereignty," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The author of the book, Mr. James Avery Joyce, explains how the United Nations is whittling away at the concept of national sovereignty. The review of Mr. Joyce's book was written by Mr. J. Boyd Stephens, and it appeared recently in the Indianapolis Times.

There being no objection, the review was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U. N. ASSAULT ON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

Whether you go down the line with Indiana's Senator JENNER, or whether you consider him "slightly to the right of Louis XIV," as one quipster has put it, some startling things are happening on the East River in New York, site of the United Nations.

It may be 700-plus miles away from Meridian and Washington, but the red light is flashing and the warning bell sounding—brightly enough and loudly enough to be heard here at the Crossroads of America.

Midwest isolationists will welcome the information. One-worlders will scorn it.

But all midwesterners sooner or later must take sides because economic observers, political forecasters, and most writers on international affairs foresee the day when Americans will go to the polls to elect a President who either is for or against world government.

The red light and the ringing bell may be found in many places. They invite attention this week in a book called Revolution on East River, the Twilight of National Sovereignty. It is written by James Avery Joyce and is published by Abelard-Schuman, New York. You can buy it for $3.50.

Mr. Joyce documents the revolution. He says, in effect, that the United Nations is aiming at "universal sovereignty," that the United Nations is superseding the national sovereignty of the United States, and that the United States soon will be a "minority of one" which will be left "strangled, high and dry."

The author has acted as consultant to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, the International Labor Organization, and UNESCO.

Some quotations:

"A casual reading of the daily newspapers * * * would produce a crop of examples of the steady erosion of the sovereignty of the United States, as of all states, over the last decade * * *."

"Experienced delegates and observers, administrators, and officials at the United Nations accept this whittling away of state sovereignty as a stubborn and inevitable fact * * *."

"National defense is obsolete. * * * No security can be collective any more unless * * * arms are taken out of the hands of national governments and put under world-wide supranational control."

"Daily de facto sovereignty is being transferred to the United Nations which * * * can never go back to national governments."

Citizens of the United States will change their minds about admitting Red China to the United Nations, Mr. Joyce predicts, when they discover the United States is a "minority of one." He calls the United States refusal to recognize the fact of Red China as "the greatest diplomatic blunder of all * * *."

He takes a passing whack at "the daily clatter of propaganda in press and radio, which sometimes passes as free speech across the United States."

How the "supranational" way of life is going to come about is outlined by Mr. Joyce. He indicates the office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and is doing the job.

"We now turn to the dramatic emergence of the Secretary-General as the symbol of universal sovereignty," he writes, "and as world citizen No. 1."

"Many of the functions of the old-school diplomat are being automatically absorbed by routine activities of the secretariat," he writes. "We are thus witnessing the supercession of the type of gunboat diplomacy on which the Western World was built. * * * Year by year, the United Nations organs are becoming integrated as policymaking and, to some extent, legislative bodies."

In commenting on the book, Mrs. Alice Widener, publisher of the magazine, U. S. A., in New York, writes: "Mr. Joyce has let the cat out of the bag." She notes his book "proves that patriotic Americans' fears about the United Nations are grounded on solid fact. * * * It scares the living daylights out of this writer, who knows from considerable study that most of Mr. Joyce's statements about the United Nations are true."

J. B. S.

What Partnership Did Not Do

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "What Partnership Did Not Do," which appeared in the February 24, 1957, issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT PARTNERSHIP DID NOT DO

The failure of the Eisenhower administration's partnership policy to bring new power production into being, and to make existing production effective, was strikingly shown in the Sunday Post-Dispatch. In the 1951–55 period United States production grew only 29 percent while Russian production grew 60 percent. These figures are not wholly comparable because United States production was so much larger than the Russian to begin with that every percentage point of gain required a great many more kilowatts. Still, they roughly measure the lack of aggressiveness in this country that has come about

from relaxing Government leadership in pressing forward.

The partnership policy's shortcomings in making existing power output effective are documented by the case of the Pacific Northwest. That region has for years been growing faster than its power supply.

The administration's private-power-alone policies, which have denied the region maximum development of new power sites, have also denied it the advantage of forming a grid through connection with the Central Valley Federal power system in California.

The tremendous advantages of the grid system—which means simply the exchange of productive capacities among neighboring systems—had been evident even before TVA, principally through the example of England. Yet, as the Portland Oregonian, a Republican newspaper, complains, the administration by selling its transmission line through central Oregon to a power company prevented connection between the two valleys.

One consequence is a one-third cut in aluminum production which could have been averted, says the Oregonian, by power brought in from Central Valley.

Not so-called partnership policy has failed because it is not a partnership, but a let-George-do-it. The partnership policy has failed because it is not a policy, but a drift.

Civil-Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "Civil Rights Bills Threaten Liberty," from the Greenville (S. C.) News of February 26, 1957. The able editor of this great newspaper is Wayne W. Freeman, and the distinguished publisher is former United States Senator Roger C. Peace.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS THREATEN LIBERTY

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following editorial is taken from a statement prepared by the editor of the News at the request of the Governor of South Carolina. The statement is to be offered to the subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee this afternoon by representatives of this State who are appearing in opposition to the civil rights bills.)

The civil rights bills of 1957, like those proposed during the last 20 years and more by individuals of both parties and by administrations of both parties, are anachronistic.

An anachronism is something that is misplaced in time. In this instance, it is a throwback to a more primitive age which is, at best, a misfit and, at worst, a destructive force in the age in which it occurs.

And when intelligent and otherwise dedicated men ignore more pressing and more serious problems and pass up greater opportunities for service to deliberately create such an anachronism, the result is bound to be tragic.

Even if we could assume, which we cannot, that the broad and untested powers these proposed laws would confer on an already oversized and unwieldy Federal bureaucracy would always be wisely and fairly administered, the need for them, if it ever existed, has long since passed.

The purposes now claimed for them have been better served by processes springing from the people themselves than ever they can be by pressure and threat of punishment imposed upon the people by an omnipotent and omnipresent "Big Brother" sort of government.

Furthermore, the instruments now proposed to protect liberty and to uplift men are such as to be capable of being used to destroy liberty and to oppress men.

To appreciate the origin of the civil rights bills and the natural resistance to them in many parts of the country, especially the South, one must consider them in their proper perspective with past history and present trends.

To put it bluntly, this legislation grows out of a latter day extension of the overzealous efforts of the abolitionists, who profited and were exalted during the era preceding the War Between the States. It is being pushed in the same sort of spirit that motivated the vengeant and vindictive planners and executors of the reconstruction.

Not even during the tragic and oppressive reconstruction did a Congress, which was dominated by radicals and in which the conquered South had few friends and spokesmen, see fit to enact such laws as now proposed.

There was military occupation and corrupt government imposed from Washington, but there was no permanent board of inquisitors that could be turned into an agency of harassment and intimidation. There was injustice, but there was no permanent overturning of the processes of the courts.

Purged by bloodshed of the sin of slavery, which was not his alone, nor his country's alone, the southern white resisted the reconstruction. He resisted it because he feared, with justification, that it was intended to take from him in order to give to the Negro. He resists court-decreed integration and the civil rights proposals for the same reason—again with justification for his fears.

NEGRO IS MISLED

The Negro was misled in those days, and he is being misled now.

The end of the abominable institution of slavery was inevitable, and it could have been accomplished without fratricide and without threatening the Union and creating abiding bitterness. As its end, the Negro was led to believe he could switch from the status of slave to that of master. In some instances, for a time, he did. In others, he was promised "40 acres and a mule," but more often than not he didn't know what to do with the 40 acres and he never got the mule.

The Negro again is being falsely led to believe that integration will solve all of his remaining problems and that all he needs to realize the millennium is a few more court decrees and Federal laws. He has been led to believe that political largesse will bring to him those things that he can best realize by earning and exercising the rights and privileges already available to him.

Until fairly recent decades, southern whites and Negroes engaged in a pathetic sort of competition for the lesser degree of poverty, but they have made progress together and they have achieved a mutual understanding. Education and a rising prosperity were easing the old bitterness and misunderstanding and improving relations between the races at a rate that has been positively amazing.

The tragedy of this era is that, since 1954, with the Supreme Court decision in the school cases, and especially since the renewal of agitation of civil-rights legislation with almost virulent vigor, this progress has been slowed down. And the Negro stands to lose the most. The bitterness and the old suspicions are being revived.

A few years ago in a prosperous South Carolina industrial city, a joint committee of white and Negro citizens conducted a survey of the needs of the Negro community, ranging from health and housing to transportation and recreation. Much progress came of it.

Also, a few years ago, with the help of the newspapers and interested white citizens, certain racial barriers in the public hospital were broken down and qualified Negro doctors were granted staff privileges for the first time on full equality with their white colleagues.

Along about the same time, the newspapers and interested white citizens campaigned for better housing for Negroes. City substandard housing laws were strengthened and better enforcement machinery established. The improvement in rental property has been marked.

Also, it was urged that property be made available to Negroes of means who wanted to build better homes away from congested areas in which Negroes tend to congregate. Subsequently, a fairly exclusive Negro residential section, near white neighborhoods, was started. There were no objections.

PROGRESS IS SLOWED

This sort of thing would be more difficult now, if not impossible, in no small part because the Negro is reluctant to cooperate. Both he and his white friends are subject to pressure and unpleasantness from radical elements among their respective races. The Negro apparently has been led to believe the moon may be within his grasp; and lawless and more extreme whites have been aroused.

In many cities in the South, the newspapers have sought for years to treat the Negro with the dignity any citizen deserves in their handling of the news. Special sections devoted to news of the Negro community, often prepared by Negro reporters, were started. Until recently, there was no protest. Now there are murmurs, direct protests and anonymous letters.

None of this has to do with integration. Neither race is ready for integration, and may never be. But if they become so it will be on the only basis of successful close human association—natural affinity, mutual appreciation and individual choice. Neither court decrees nor laws can create these conditions.

In his speech on conciliation with the American Colonies in 1775, Edmund Burke said, "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against an whole people."

With the help of the proposed legislation, and the injunctive process, the Federal Courts may one day find such a method, but the result will be the destruction, not the preservation of civil rights.

Burke also said in his "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontent" in 1770 that, "When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle."

This cause is not the South's alone. The extension of the judicial process into areas it was not intended to reach and stretching it for purposes it is incapable of serving; the striking down of the police power of the States in field after field; the unprecedented use of the injunctive power without jury trial to punish for contempt persons not before the court; all of these, as able judges and lawyers are solemnly warning, threaten the future security of all Americans.

The granting of the powers the Justice Department is now asking can only hasten this process. Even the layman can see that. The proposed commission, with power to investigate and harass at its own will could,

in the wrong hands, become an instrument of coercion and intimidation.

Like other Americans, no southerner of good conscience condones the denial of rights, either by violation of the law or by threat or violence. But the atmosphere created by agitation is not only inciting lawless elements to violence, but is making such incidents even harder to deal with.

Of laws we have aplenty. The Federal Government has ample power to deal with the violations the Attorney General alleges but doesn't specify. The States have laws against violence, and many of them, like South Carolina, have laws making violation of any citizen's rights a crime.

They should be left free to enforce them.

Opposition by Seneca Indians to Warren Dam on the Allegheny River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the building of dams in various places throughout the Nation, while most important, has created some controversy. In Pennsylvania and New York, where we hope to complete the flood-control work on the Allegheny River, the Seneca Indians, who have a 30,000-acre reservation, are protesting that it violates the treaty signed in 1795 guaranteeing the Seneca tribe domination over their lands forever.

The discovery of gas on this land makes it much more valuable.

A statement relative to this matter in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette and an editorial from the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of February 6, are interesting reading. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette]

SENECAS ARE FIGHTING MAD—WOULD DECLARE WAR ON UNITED STATES IF THEY COULD, INDIAN LEADER SAYS

The Seneca Indian Nation is fighting mad over Federal Government plans to build a huge dam at Kinzua, Pa., which would flood 9,014 acres of their 30,000 acre reservation at Salamanca, N. Y.

"In fact," said Cornelius Seneca, president of the Senecas, "if we were powerful enough we might declare war."

He smiled rather enigmatically after making that statement in an interview last night at the Penn-Sheraton Hotel, and then added:

"If it were a 100 years ago there would certainly have been violence. We would have never let the surveyors come on the land."

President Seneca and Attorney Edward O'Neill, of Washington, general counsel for the Senecas, are in Pittsburgh to tell their side of the Kinzua controversy. They will appear with other panelists on Allegheny Roundtable over KDKA radio Sunday night at 7:30 p. m.

Mr. Seneca and Attorney O'Neill say that the United States has a moral obligation to live up to the treaty signed in 1795 that guaranteed the Seneca tribe domain over their lands forever or until they decided to sell to the United States.

"That treaty would be abrogated if the United States Congress appropriates money to build this $100 million dam," said Mr. O'Neill.

He added that the Senecas ask only that the Army engineers give sincere consideration to alternate plans, one of which would replace the single big dam with several smaller ones; and the other of which would channel the upper Allegheny River into Lake Erie.

"The Indian has been secure in his belief down through the generations that the treaty would not be destroyed," the Seneca president said. "We call upon the Congress to live up to the treaty as the Seneca Nation has."

[From the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of] February 6, 1957]

THE WARREN DAM

In his annual report on the state of Pittsburgh Mayor Lawrence said:

"The city will continue to work with the Allegheny conference, the chamber of commerce, and our congressional delegation in urging the Federal Government to proceed with prompt construction of the Warren Dam.

"This dam will complete the flood-control program for the Allegheny watershed."

The Sun-Telegraph long has had the same attitude towards this project as that expressed by Mayor Lawrence.

We were influenced by the favorable reports of the United States Army engineers, the appropriations recommended for the project by Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Eisenhower, and the support given it by civic bodies throughout the Allegheny Valley, to call for prompt construction of the dam.

Recently the Sun-Telegraph has conducted an investigation of its own of the Warren Dam project, the results of which were published in a series of articles.

Important facts and considerations were discovered which if not suppressed had been ignored or given scant attention by the Army engineers.

The Corps of Engineers has been concerned almost exclusively in its study of the project with its effect on tthe volume of water going down the Allegheny and especially its potency in flood control.

The plan stems back, of course, to Pittsburgh's St. Patrick's Day flood of 1936. The Warren Dam is one of a series of storage reservoirs recommended after that disaster to protect us from another such visitation.

An undertaking as gigantic as the construction of this $100 million reservoir necessarily would involve momentous changes in the character of the terrain directly affected. Some of them might be beneficial, others harmful.

Moreover, the project might offer an opportunity for collateral enterprises worthy of consideration.

That the reservoir would flood the Seneca Indians' reservation on the upper Allegheny and drive them from their homes is one of the undesirable features.

In looking into this situation the Sun-Telegraph discovered other facts which had escaped attention.

One fact is that the reservoir would store more water than is required for flood control. And when the water should be released—for example, to improve the Allegheny's navigability when there was an unduly low stage downstream—a large part of the reservoir area would be left as stinking mud flats.

This of course would be detrimental to the use of the reservoir for water sports and other forms of recreation.

Since the reservoir as planned would store more water than is needed, the Sun-Telegraph became interested in a plan to divert some of the Allegheny River water to Lake Erie, which would be benefited thereby.

Engineers say the character of the terrain between the upper Allegheny and Lake Erie is such that a canal connecting them could be constructed without much difficulty.

This and other considerations involving conservation, recreation and preservation of natural beauty, in addition to regulation of stream flow, have given rise to a more comprehensive project than that which the Army engineers have in mind.

It would provide an ample supply of pure water not only for domestic use but also for industrial purposes throughout the Allegheny Valley and the upper Ohio Valley.

And it would make possible the creation of a recreational area suitable for aquatic sports which would be one of the finest in the Nation.

In the light of these possibilities and opportunities a reexamination of the Warren Dam project is imperative.

A comprehensive study is demanded—a study in which the correlative benefits we have indicated should receive the attention due them.

It must of course be a Federal project.

Congress should look into it. Perhaps a commission could be established to conduct the investigation.

But the Sun-Telegraph suggests that Mayor Lawrence also give it his attention—and not only Mayor Lawrence but the organizations which he mentioned in his speech as working for prompt construction of the Warren Dam.

They are the Allegheny conference, the chamber of commerce, and our congressional delegation.

Indeed, there is not a community in the Allegheny Valley in western Pennsylvania and western New York which would not gain from the plan.

Hence the cooperation of civic and commercial bodies throughout the valley might well be enlisted.

[From the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph]

GAS LEASE MAY BOLSTER FIGHT ON DAM

Discovery of natural gas beneath the Allegheny Indian Reservation may add steam to Seneca Indian objections to the proposed Kinzua Dam.

Gas has been found in an area of the reservation which would be under water if the dam is constructed near Warren.

J. B. Hurley, president of Devonian Gas & Oil Co., said findings indicate gas in the affected section of the reservation is worth millions of dollars.

The gas was discovered by the Devonian Co. Its headquarters are in the Keystone Building, downtown. Devonian leased 18,000 acres from the Seneca Nation of Indians, effective December 1, 1955. Drilling began last November.

Under its lease, the Devonian Co. must pay 12 percent of the gross income to the Seneca Nation.

Gas was encountered more than a week ago at 450 feet, at 803 feet February 14 and at 1,033 feet last Sunday.

Devonian's Seneca No. 1 well is about 8 miles southwest of Salamanca, N. Y., on the reservation. Hurley estimated its production at 500,000 cubic feet a day.

If the Indians are required to give up 9,000 acres of their 30,000-acre reservation for the dam, the gas will make the surrendered land more valuable, Hurley pointed out.

Devonian will start drilling next week about 2 miles west of No. 1 well. Six more wells probably will be drilled in the direction of Salamanca, Hurely said.

Address by Governor McKeldin, of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, earlier this week I had the privilege of attending the Lincoln Day victory dinner of the Republican State Central Committee of Anne Arundel County, Md. As could have been expected from the terrific job the committee workers are doing on all their projects, the affair was excellent. One highlight of the evening was an address by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland, who offered an eloquent comparison of President Eisenhower and President Lincoln. He also discussed other matters which have recently been considered in this Chamber, and I think the positive stand which he has taken will be of interest to everyone who has studied those issues. Therefore, I now ask unanimous consent that Governor McKeldin's remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY GOV. THEODORE R. MCKELDIN

If I were asked as to the manner in which the present executive head of this Nation most resembles the 16th President of the United States, I would not say that Dwight Eisenhower is a great Republican, even as Abraham Lincoln was—proud as we are of that fact.

I would not note that President Eisenhower is an outstanding American in his day as President Lincoln was in his; for that goes without saying, and each generation produces outstanding, loyal, and devoted Americans in both major political parties.

I would say that the most pronounced and most consistent likeness between Lincoln and Eisenhower was and is a love for all humanity—a freedom from that destructive hatred for individuals or peoples which, down through the ages, has separated men of lesser stature from the realm of greatness.

Each could despise and wage war against a system which enslaved the bodies and souls of men.

But if Abraham Lincoln had hated—as many of his contemporaries did—the men who directed the affairs of the Southern Confederacy and the men who fought for and believed in the southern cause—then he would not have saved the Union of these States; he would have wrecked the Union beyond the hope of reconstruction.

If the seeds of his love, his decency, and his forgiveness had not been planted well and nourished generously before his untimely death at the hand of a little man of hate, they never would have taken root, and, despite the victory of Union arms, the people of the South never could have been united again in spirit with the people of the North.

When there was no alternative to war, Lincoln waged it brilliantly and vigorously, but with sorrow. It was war against human slavery and against the theory that a great, young nation could be divided arbitrarily to satisfy the whims of a group of men, but the great man grieved that men must die in its prosecution.

There were men about him, unhappily, who counseled hatred—hatred for the people of the South—hatred for the people of England and of France.

Lincoln resisted the counsel, because there was no room for hatred of men in his heart of hearts.

When victory came at last it was easily recognizable at home and abroad not as a mere victory of one group of soldiers over another but as a victory of lasting signigificance to all mankind—a long and important step in the march of human freedom.

Today that victory has a new significance as an America united—North and South, East and West—stands as freedom's bulwark against other forces of oppression.

And today Dwight Eisenhower walks the path that Lincoln trod—a path of danger.

The horizons have been widened. The evil of human oppression concerns us now—not just in a section of our land—but in farflung places of the world. The war drums' threat is heard from many directions.

The President despises oppression, but the hazards of war and the dangers of a permanently divided world are lessened by the fact that Dwight Eisenhower hates no man and no people.

He speaks sternly; he acts courageously, but he listens with his heart. He seeks the good which he believes exists somewhere in the hearts of all men.

Disagreements are normal among men and nations—even among friends and allies.

With men of the Eisenhower stamp, the exercise of discussion to resolve disagreements can strengthen the tendons of friendship.

With lesser men, disagreement can become the culture plot of anger and hatred to produce a crop of enmity.

In each area of the world, I am sure, there are some in authority who recognize the sincerity of the President, who know that he wants justice for all people, and who realize that in justice lies the way to a lasting peace.

The America of Dwight Eisenhower is strong—not with the strength of ambition for conquest, not with the strength of personal or national aggrandizement, but with the strength of love for human freedom and respect for the dignity of man.

It is from this strength, personified in Dwight Eisenhower, that justice must come for all peoples and peace for all the world.

The Republican Party of Dwight Eisenhower is strong in his leadership, with the potentialities of far greater strength if we avoid the weaknesses of a too narrow partisanship—if we look upon our strength as a means to better government and not to personal or party aggrandizement.

Hatred of members of an opposition party does not make for good government in a democracy.

Good government, to be sure, calls for the assuming of party responsibility, but that government is blind which ignores or rejects the special talents of a man or woman merely because of his or her membership in another political party.

An example of such near-sighted narrowness is found this very day in the banshee cries of a few within our party against the President's nomination of David K. Bruce, a distinguished Marylander, to be our Ambassador to West Germany.

David Bruce is one of American's best informed men on public affairs, and in the constantly changing world of today, information is one of our most valuable commodities.

He has served this Nation as Ambassador to France. He was the Under Secretary of State. He is a valued member of President Eisenhower's Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Activities.

So he is not a Republican.

So all he has learned, all his knowledge and all his experience should be suspended in these trying times because he is a Democrat.

What utter nonsense is bred by narrowness.

The President isn't sending Dave Bruce to heel a German ward for some election. He is sending him to a sovereign power to carry the American message to that nation to report to the President and the State Department of the United States on conditions as they exist in that part of the world.

He is enlisting the trained ear of David Bruce and the trained voice of David Bruce to serve the United States of America and the cause of world peace. He is utilizing for the good of this country the love of country which David Bruce inherited from distinguished ancestors—a patriotism that surpasses party politics.

Thank Heaven the Republican Party is bigger in its thinking today than the carping few who, blinded by the trees of partisanship, cannot see the vast forest of world affairs.

Civil Affairs-Military Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an outstanding article which appeared in the February 16, 1957, issue of the Register. It is entitled "Civil Affairs-Military Government Story: Modern War Magnifies the Importance of CAMG." It was written by Maj. Gen. Charles K. Gailey, Chief of the Civil Affairs-Military Government branch of the Army, and one of our outstanding military leaders. General Gailey, a native of Conyers, Ga., and a 1920 graduate of West Point, has had a distinguished military career, in which he has served as commander of an infantry division and as a leading authority on military government. I know of no one more able to discuss the material contained in this article than General Gailey.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIVIL AFFAIRS-MILITARY GOVERNMENT STORY—MODERN WAR MAGNIFIES THE IMPORTANCE OF CAMG

(By Maj. Gen. C. K. Gailey)

In the consideration or conduct of war, there is all too frequently a startling lack of recognition, appreciation, or familiarity with the means of dealing with a major factor of war; the civilian population. While success in battle is the end of all military training, that success can be jeopardized by the commanders' ineptitude in coping with problems arising from the presence of civilians in the combat area.

If we were to go far enough back into history we could find examples of simple combat which were little affected by civilian populations and which, as a matter of fact, had little effect upon them. Small opposing forces championing the conflicting interests of their respective countries would seek out an area suitable for combat, meet, and battle it out until a decision of arms was reached. Their weapons were designed solely to inflict damage upon the persons of their adversaries and nonparticipating spectators could actually follow the conduct of the battle with relative impunity. The outcome of the battle was considered final and the victor imposed his will upon the nation represented

by the conquered force without further opposition. In general, everybody went on living much as they did before the battle.

Unfortunately, time and technical improvements in weapons and techniques of war changed all of this. In order to insure victory, larger forces were employed and the area of combat widened correspondingly. The number, power, and range of weapons was increased and spread the effects of war still further afield. Nations involved in war soon supported their fighting forces with the full potential of their mobilized resources and industrial capability. The effects of war were no longer limited to combatant forces.

Modern war with maximum development of the destructive capabilities of weapons and complete mobility, will affect not only whole nations but international balances as well. Under conditions such as these, war must, as never before, be conducted with full recognition of its effect upon the peoples of the countries involved and their political, economic, and sociological structures if the ultimate victory is, in fact, to be won.

THE CIVIL AFFAIRS AND MILITARY GOVERNMENT MISSION

The mission of the Army is "to defeat the enemy forces in land combat and gain control of the land and its people." (Department of the Army pamphlet No. 355–21, October 1955 Officers Call, "The Army in the Atomic Age," p. 2). A better understanding of the means of effectively accomplishing this dual mission is afforded by a consideration of the mission of civil affairs-military government which is defined as follows:

1. To assist, as an integrated part of a military operation, in the successful accomplishment of the military mission.

2. To further United States policy with respect to the country concerned.

3. To assist the commander in fulfilling the obligations imposed upon him under international law and the customs of warfare, to the civilians of the country concerned.

This threefold mission indicates that civil affairs-military government is the combat commander's means of accomplishing the military objectives in such a manner as to leave the bases upon which a peace can be built and to gain the support, or at minimum, compatibility of the population with United States aims and security objectives when the fighting ends.

From the time the first wave of infantry penetrates enemy territory, the commander is an occupier under the terms of international law and he immediately affects and is affected by the civilians in his area of combat. CAMG decisions must immediately be made not only to conform to the obligations imposed by international law; not only to initiate CAMG programs that will facilitate the attainment of United States policy objectives, but as an immediate means of directly supporting and facilitating his military operations.

SUCCESS IN COMBAT

His success in combat requires that he destroy the enemy force, and such force includes not only combat elements but the resources mobilized in their support as well as the political agency that directs such force against him. This destruction is essential to the primary objective of winning a war. Reason, however, dictates that force must be applied with discrimination; that destruction must be measured, not massive, and limited to actual requirements of the hour.

The application of even such force as is required to win a war has a tremendous effect upon the civil population * * * and the affected civil population, in turn, can have a tremendous effect upon the commander's ability to continue the application of required force.

Consider for a minute, the problems of civilians in the area of combat, be they avowed patriots, or people who have been subjected to internal pressures by a government not of their choosing, or people of other nations whose interest in the war is limited to measures of self-preservation. These people, regardless of category, commonly suffer the effects of war in personal loss, injury, deprivation, and lack of the barest essentials of life. They do not even have the assistance, guidance, or control normally provided by the former local government. Continuing damage contributes to mass hysteria and soon the previously normal populace becomes an uncontrolled mob, a multitude of scared, hurt, and disrupted people who seek only to flee from further injury with whatever possessions as are intact and obtain, by any means possible, that which is necessary to remain alive.

THE EFFECT

Now from the point of view of the combat commander, what is the effect of the problems posed by these civilians on his combat operations? They clutter the roads and interfere with, or prevent, the movement of troops and supplies. Their injured ring about his medical facilities in numbers beyond their capacity to treat. They take from his supplies if for no other reason than to stay alive. Their numbers screen enemy agents and saboteurs who harass troops from the rear. They do all this and more; they all but stop the military operation in its tracks * * * unless proper action is taken to anticipate and plan in advance such CAMG controls as will effectively prevent civilian interference with military operations and meet the emergency requirements of a war-torn people. This phase of military action is required fully as much by military necessity as by customs of war and the principle of humanity.

The commander's CAMG operation, with respect to civilians, must follow certain logical procedures. The civil populace must be informed, firmly controlled, provided minimum essential requirements in housing, food, clothing, and medical care. The knowledge by civilians that we wish to help them out of harm's way and provide their basic needs will reduce the civilian tendency in combat to hysteria and flight, make them more amenable to control, and promote their eventual support of United States objectives.

Initial information is provided the civilian population through the issue of proclamations and ordinances concerning the war itself and the conduct of the inhabitants of the area among themselves and toward the occupying force.

CONTROL ATTAINED

Control is attained through the reestablishment of local police force and essential governmental offices to the extent necessary to channelize civilian movement and implement relief activities under direction of CAMG elements. Depending on the situation, civilians must either be held in place or evacuated on routes not essential to the military effort to selected areas where they can be provided housing, food, clothing, and medical care as required. All such activities, directed and supervised by CAMG elements, are conducted by civil authorities themselves in order to capitalize on their ability to instruct their own people and on their familiarity with conditions and customs. This does not necessarily mean that refugee camps must be established. In many cases, civilians can be accommodated in towns in rear of areas under actual combat. Neither does it mean that all relief supplies and services must be provided by United States forces. A major purpose of CAMG is to mobilize local resources in support of civilian requirements. Services of civilian doctors are obtained to care for the injured refugees. Necessary supplies are moved from unaffected areas to points of need and only where such supplies are inadequate are they augmented by United States supplies.

CAMG operations are not limited to civil relief. In coordination with various other agencies, civilians are screened to insure the detection of enemy agents and prevent sabotage and rear-area disorders. Local civil defense and damage-control activities are coordinated with those of United States forces. Steps are taken to enforce directives and maintain a condition of law and order. Public health and sanitation are kept under surveillance to insure the prevention of epidemic disease that might affect the fighting effectiveness of United States forces. Information media are exploited to keep the civil populace informed of the policies and purposes of United States effort and further improve relations between our forces and the people of the country in which military operations are being conducted.

CAMG operations contribute materially to the military operation. The resources of the area are mobilized in support of our forces as well as for the satisfaction of minimum essential civilian requirements. Assistance is provided the technical services in the local procurement of required supplies at a considerable saving in time, shipping space and, often, money. CAMG elements assist in the procurement of port and rail facilities, communications, storage facilities, necessary housing and utilities. CAMG elements assist in obtaining local civilian labor for essential labor that would otherwise require the diversion of combat troops. The extensive CAMG organization functioning constantly at the grassroots level constitutes an effective source of information and intelligence which is of vital importance in the pursuit of combat.

THE COMMANDER AND THE COMMUNITY

The effective management of civil affairs entails a proper respect by the military for the customs, traditions, and habits of the civil populace. By and large, there is everything to be gained by respecting prevailing folkways unless they are demonstrably at odds with military necessity. Disregarding or flaunting dearly held customs will only prompt hostility and even open resistance. In most circumstances the commander will find it not only more practicable but by far more effective in the carrying out of his mission to pursue a policy of noninterference with the normal behavior of the civilian population.

The way of life of a people should not be disrupted any more than is absolutely necessary. Their attitudes toward politics, religion, and community life and other aspects of existence cannot be expected to be similar with those of the United States. The communities' way of life should never be challenged or subjected, without urgent necessity, to adverse comment.

The establishment of satisfactory relationships with the native community is to a large extent dependent upon the ability to deal harmoniously and sympathetically with people. This faculty is desirable in the conduct of military affairs; it is indispensable in the conduct of civil affairs. It entails, moreover, considerations not present in the military sphere.

PROPER UNDERSTANDING

A proper understanding of the techniques and basic principles of civil affairs will contribute immeasurably to the successful fulfillment of the civil affairs mission. The proper exercise of civil affairs principles can lend additional effectiveness to the influence of a military unit upon a civilian community. Civilian understanding, appreciation, and acceptance of the military role can be furthered and the basis created for smoother, swifter, and more satisfactory relationships between soldier and citizen.

The commander can enhance his effectiveness and his ability to perform his mission

by acquiring the broadest possible knowledge of the people with whom he must deal, their attitudes, politics, and problems. We should understand the communities' social structure to sharpen our awareness of areas of sensitivity and importance. We should be familiar with the general pattern of the economy, so that no unwitting interference with civilian livelihood occurs. An appreciation is required of the people's general cultural, religious, ethnic, historical, and political background.

The commander finally must appreciate that the establishment of good public relations, which underlies all civil affairs, is a command responsibility. Subordinates may be charged with specific assignments, or missions but the commander himself must establish the tone of civil affairs/military government. It is a profound command responsibility at all levels of command.

Federal Government Can Be Reduced

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the responsibility of every Member of Congress, it seems to me, is to evaluate the course of government in terms of basic principles. This is readily recognized at the beginning of a new term of Congress when, as at this time, the state of the Union message, the budget message, and the economic report outline the administration's program and the course recommended for study by the Congress. With these thoughts in mind, I was privileged to speak to a Lincoln Day dinner in Kingsport, Tenn., on February 23, 1957.

The following remarks comprise my views concerning the Federal Government at this time:

Mr. Chairman and fellow Republicans, it is unusual for me to be in the hills of Tennessee, but the gracious invitation of Congressman CARROLL REECE could not be refused. In fact, it's a real compliment to be wanted, and I hope you are not disappointed. My frequent feeling, as a newcomer to Washington, was that I was being carefully scrutinized and appraised. Sometimes I even felt the disappointment that I did not have two heads or some obvious abnormality to go along with being a Republican Congressman from Texas. Again, I hope you are not disappointed. However, you represent, in your Congressman, something of an outpost too, as I understand it. Possibly we have an unusual kinship between our districts. In any event I would be happy to enjoy the widespread acquaintance and friendship which your Congressman enjoys in Congress. There is much I could learn from CARROLL REECE, and, believe me, I am determined to learn. As a matter of fact, Texas has frequently benefited in the past from lessons from Tennessee. As you may know, a number of our statesmen came to Texas from Tennessee, although not all of them so revered in my family and district as is Davy Crockett. In this connection, were it not for Davy, my children would have been totally unimpressed with their father's new occupation.

Historically, men are judged after they leave us, and we see in Davy Crockett and in our revered President Abraham Lincoln a similarity of greatness which made this country what it is. Studying and remembering this remarkable man is a refreshing experience. Across the years his words are prophetic. With a background of 12 or more major defeats, including a nervous breakdown, death of a dear friend, and numerous unsuccessful political campaigns, he still said, "With God's help, I shall not fail." Of preserving our form of freedom-loving government and society as a beacon light for the entire world, Lincoln said, "We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last hope of earth * * * the fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the last generation."

This applies to each one of us, most obviously those entrusted in government, to represent his fellow men. At this point, you who are business people might ask yourself, as did I when approached, "Why be a Congressman?" Witnessing the typical businessman's participation in civic drives and other forms of community service, I might warn you that becoming a Congressman is just a further degree of that activity. So in my district it could have happened to any one of a number of businessmen.

However, worse things than this can happen, since public service is certainly a satisfying and gratifying experience. If anything, in maturing in this job I feel a greater humility as a result of serving 827,000 people of Dallas County and running head on into the great issues of the day on which I must vote "yes" or "no." The challenge is great and so is the opportunity for achievement. One other personal note, if you will permit: My reelection—and some highly placed political figures assured me I wouldn't return—has taught me something which I fervently hoped would be the case, and that is that a Congressman can vote his convictions and be reelected without regard for politics or political expediency as the end in itself, which I am afraid some public servants consider it to be. In the hustle and bustle of Washington affairs, with always more to be done than can be done, I am amazed at times how much work actually is accomplished under the peculiar strains imposed on the Congressmen. Maybe help from the Man upstairs is responsible as we try, in too short a time for deliberation, to solve the grave issues of the day in study and debate on the House floor. I remember the story told about Comer Jones. Do you remember his experience when he was a high-school coach? I don't know how smart we are, but we must try to find the right answers.

Maybe a Congressman on occasion is not as smart as the pressure groups would like him to be, yet a Congressman is always anxious to stay in touch with his constituents and to benefit from the ideas of the representatives of the various industries and businesses which he represents. We all recognize that the businessman's "pocketbook nerve" is always exposed and is very sensitive. Regardless of pressures, I endeavor to find the right answers to the troubling problems of our day. For example, since we are all quite interested in highways and transportation, let me illustrate with my experience on the Highway Subcommittee 2 years ago when I was the lone Republican in my committee and on the floor of the House to oppose the President's highway bond-financing program. It was necessary for me to debate against all the other Republican Members, including our respected Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey, who was representing the President's point of view. I maintained my position, believing in the pay-as-we-build principle, and it was with great delight that some months later Mr. Humphrey made it plain that he, too, believed in the pay-as-you-go plan for building the highways. He and the administration then supported the view that I had championed some time before. I learned then, if I had not known it before, that the best politics is no politics; that the answer to the great issues of our day lies in the facts and in principle and not in "political expediency," or "in order to get along you have got to go along." How interested in government are you, or better still, how interested in government should you be, for yourself, your children, and generations to come.

Certain I am that some politicians, motivated simply by the desire for reelection and political expediency, underestimate the intelligence of our citizens. However, there are those who say that the people are uninformed and uninterested in government, or to quote a Congressman during the debate recently on the new Federal budget and the terrific sums of money involved there, said rather pessimistically: "People do not seem to care any more." I wonder do you care or don't you? How much money is taken from your income for Government purposes, for programs which may not represent your philosophy of government at all? How interested are you in Government programs? You see, the Government has no money that it does not take from the people, and in the taking of the money and spending it again the Government subtracts a terrific amount for overhead—and with little accountability unless you, the people, demand Government be accountable and responsible for the money that is collected and spent allegedly in your interests.

There are four basic axioms which I follow. I shall document these briefly and then go on to make what I hope will be some positive suggestions for your further consideration. By the way, if I seem to get after you a little bit as though I were taking you to task or inferring that you should take an active part in government, let me assure you that it is the shoe pinching me that causes this approach on my part. As a businessman I neglected my civic chores, I am afraid, and now I am trying to make up for it.

You know when it comes to government, people are interested, I am sure, right up to the point where they are expected to do something themselves to make a contribution of their own time and effort toward good government, and at that point they conveniently find they are too busy with other things and too often fail to take the part they should to keep our representative form of government on course. Remember the story about the Negro preacher and his congregation. I hope you are not like this colored preacher's congregation. (At this point I shall tell a little story and end up with, "Let's not any of us be like the congregation who lost heart when confronted with the need to do something.)

Now, for the four positive suggestions as to what we should do in trying to keep our form of government on course, in order to preserve freedom and free enterprise and stem the tide toward the bureaucratic centralization of government at the Federal level, which ultimately, if unchecked, must deprive us of the freedom we hold so dear. These four points I intend to follow. First, let's stop increasing the size and functions of Federal Government; second, let's eliminate those functions of government in which the Government has no business being; third, let's decentralize the Government back as far as possible to the State and local level where the 10th amendment says it should be; and, fourth, let's rededicate ourselves to recognizing and keeping our faith in what comes from the Almighty, our basic rights and freedoms. Let's keep Government our servant, not our master. This fourth point is simply restating the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution in letter and spirit. Now to recapitulate, let's examine these four principles in the light of current events, in your business and in affairs of Government, all of which actually are your business.

If the state of the Union message did not cause you to sit up and take notice, surely the budget message and the economic report must have done so. I am talking about point No. 1, which was: "Let's stop increasing the size and functions of Federal Government." Government is already huge and swollen at the Washington level. Should we enlarge it? Of course not. The budget is twice the size of a Sears, Roebuck catalog, 6 pounds, 4 ounces, 9 by 11½ by 2½ inches, 1,521 pages, thousands of items, totaling $71.8, $3 billion more than fiscal 1957.

[In billions]

	1957	1958
Interest on public debt	$7.1	$7.4
National defense	38.5	39.5
Veterans' benefits	4.9	5.0
Foreign aid	4.9	5.0
Federal payroll	9.5	10.2
Miscellaneous subsidies, grants, etc	4.0	4.7
Total	68.9	71.8

Commendable features stress need for a sound dollar, combating inflation, balanced budget, surplus property sale, Government out of business, and natural gas bill endorsement. Self-contradictory? It's your money. Isn't this inflationary? Let's not justify any Government program by computing it to an even more questionable one, as some do of the foreign aid.

This calls to mind the three seemingly self-contradictory axioms of this administration, axioms the President early recognized and demonstrated. These were: First, Government expenditure can be decreased and national income increased. Rather than national prosperity being based on increasing Government expenditure, the reverse can be true. The Truman budget was cut $10 billion and taxes cut $7.4 billion. Second, that taxes can be reduced and the budget balanced. Third, that economic controls can be removed and economic stability maintained. Now, remember these three axioms because they prove once and for all that it is not necessary to increase further the size of Federal Government. Alright, now, let's think about the budget and economic message this year. We see the expenditures of the various Government departments are slated to go up. We see aid for new programs, like school construction; we see a new civil-rights program with a provision for unlimited new employees; we see additional public housing, public power, and other welfare measures; we see the highest peacetime budget in history. But like an iceberg, you only see part of it; you see this budget is not the whole story. It is an accounting budget and is not the cash budget. Actually the expenditures for the next fiscal year will not be $71.8 billion, as the budget shows, but rather $96 billion or more because the highway expenditures, social security, and other welfare and trust funds are not included in the budget. At the same time, income will not be $73.6 billion as it's anticipated, but actually in the neighborhood of $99 billion or more. Does this strike you as being just a little bit large? Is there any need for increasing Government further in size? Further, local and State cost of government should total $50 billion plus or minus, making a total of $150 billion for all government.

At this point I recall a conversation I had recently with Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey when we discussed at great length the current financial situation, which I well know affects you so keenly in your various business interests. The Secretary pointed out that money spent by the Federal Government is nonproductive money; that is, when money is taken from the taxpayer by the Government and spent by the Government for, let's say, defense weapons, as an obvious example, this money is not productive; whereas, if left in the pocket of the consumer, it would go to buy more goods which would mean more production, more jobs and higher standard of living.

We discussed at some length the tight money situation. Let me endeavor to pass on several of his view which strike me as good sense. First of all he put his finger, I believe, on the sore spot in the money market today and the key to the preservation of free enterprise, as opposed to bureaucratic control and inflation. He said there ought to be a flexible price for money; that interest rates must be left to change, depending on the supply and demand in the money market. This flexibility will serve as a natural governor of the cost of living and will preserve a virile economy, so that when the price of money rises it will tend to keep the demand for expansion in line with the supply of resources.

In this system, people's confidence in business is reaffirmed and the incentive to save and invest creates more and more savings; more savings means more money available for loans and for business expansion; this means more jobs and that means a higher standard of living and so on. This is the way he presented the formula to me. With the stimulus and incentive of a "natural" interest rate savings and investments are stimulated. This will make for high productivity because there will be capital available for plant expansion. Factories will expand more, machines will be put into operation because of the availability of the money. High productivity, in turn, means high wages because there can be no sensibly increased wages that are not tied to increased productivity. This is an axiom that labor and business must never forget. High wages, in turn, means the high standard of living.

On the other hand, inflation kills the entire process. Inflation can result from the arbitrary control by government of the supply of money, and by other Government controls of business economically. Government tampering as it was done prior to 1952 with the value of money, before the Federal Reserve Board was divorced from Government, resulted in watering the buying power of our dollar. The cost of living increased. There were artifically low interest rates. This, in turn, killed the incentive to save and invest. There was deficit financing, cheap money as it is known, and always inflation killing the desire to save. Today we see the earlier investments in Government bonds and life insurance have been watered because of inflation. Government dabbled in all kinds of controls—price, wage, rent, allocation of materials. Inflation naturally results when there is more money available than products to buy, people to work, and materials to use. These factors will always be out of kilter when Uncle Sam endeavors to run our intricate economy and most disastrously when without reference to the market places where supply and demand govern. Government will be in your picture; this we know. Here again it is hard to apply Lincoln's yardsticks today. President Eisenhower, dwelling on Lincoln's philosophy in 1954 said, "In all those things which deal with people, be liberal, be human. In all those things which deal with the people's money, their economy, or their form of government, be conservative." When applied to our present Federal Government, to me this becomes a succinctly-stated contradiction. Everything Government does take terrific expenditures, and this money comes from the citizens' pockets. Being liberal or conservative with one means being liberal or conservative with the other. All of which returns me to point No. 1, "We must stop increasing the size of Federal Government." Yet, the budget shows Government increasing in almost every department.

Now point No. 2: Let's eliminate government from those fields where it has no place being. As one reference, the Hoover Commission has spelled out the way this can be done and I commend it to you for such study as you can make. This may be of great interest to you. You will learn that the Defense Department is engaged in over 2,500 different business activities, many of them in direct competition with free enterprise. There are 2,000 water projects and 2,000 storage installations. Why should Uncle Sam, as TVA, manufacture fertilizer? Did you know that the last session of Congress actually passed a law that would prevent the Defense Department from getting out of business? The administration has made strides in eliminating government from many areas of business operation, but much more remains to be done, and looking at the current budget, I can suggest immediately several areas wherein the budget could be cut; where we could eliminate government and not be sacrificing any allegedly basic programs needed to preserve both our necessary services for the people and to stimulate our economy for future growth. First of all, would be the elimination of the Government from business enterprises, as the Hoover Commission outlines. In this connection, the Government is the Nation's biggest electric-power producer, the biggest power consumer, the biggest banker, the biggest employer, the biggest insurance company, biggest landlord, biggest tenant, and biggest publisher. In fact, Uncle Sam owns more wheat than the wheat farmers, more grassland than the cattlemen, and more trucks than General Motors. Our national debt is $279 billion and we have a hidden debt of $250 billion, plus or minus, and a tax rate overall of 30 cents on the dollar.

We know that wherever free enterprise can do the job, the Government should not be in business. Another example, there are 104 different lending agencies in government. We know some can be eliminated and some combined, all at a savings to the taxpayer.

Second, let's increase the sale of surplus property. Hundreds of millions of dollars in the last session of Congress were added to the Federal Treasury from the sale of such property. Much more of this can be accomplished.

Third. While there is a differing of opinions between many Congressmen, I maintain that parts of the foreign aid program can be eliminated where we have learned we cannot buy friends and where our experience shows there is waste and overlapping.

Fourth. We can eliminate many of the existing and proposed public works projects, including many of the public power developments where private industry can accomplish the task without a burden on the taxpayer.

Fifth. We should not start any new welfare or social programs, as for example, the school construction program when private initiative at the local and State level can do the job, nor the new Niagara power development nor the Frying Pan-Arkansas River project nor any of the new projects unless they are of such a nature that only the Federal Government can do them, if they must be at all.

Beyond this, all of us recognize the danger of a blank check to our Government for military and economic assistance to all the nations of the world. As evidenced in our President's inaugural address and state of the Union message, the United States has charted a new course in world affairs, namely that of unlimited responsibility for the free nations of the world, both as to their military defense and economic security. It seems to me we are going much too far for our financial ability. So much for the second point.

The third point, let us decentralize the Government wherever possible back to the State and local level. This is a belief in States rights. For example, take the current debate on the school construction program. There is no money that does not come from

the taxpayer and we get back only a fraction at the local level of what we paid to Uncle Sam. These schools can be built at the local level as they are being built—67,500 classrooms having been built in the last year. We are licking the problem without Federal aid and Federal aid means Federal control. In this, as in many other programs, let's leave it at the State level. If financial help is needed, leave 1 or 2 percent of the Federal income tax in the State. Or take the civil rights bill. It actually proposed that the State courts be bypassed and cases be taken directly to the Federal courts. Here again State facilities could be used in preference to further Federal centralization.

Point No. 4 is the most important of all in that it defines the proper role of government. Let's reaffirm our faith in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Have we really outgrown these simple truths? I do not think we have, not even in this jet and atomic age. As a matter of fact, what is the role of government? It can be most simply stated in this way—government should in practice reaffirm and reestablish the confidence of the people in themselves by bolstering and strengthening the free-enterprise system rather than undermining or weakening it through top-heavy Government intervention in our affairs, economic or otherwise. Our freedoms are so closely interrelated in this country that any loss of economic freedom ultimately means loss of all freedom.

In stressing these four basic principles or yardsticks to follow in government I recognize it is difficult at best to ever get the Government to retrench. There is a self-perpetuating, if not a built-in growth factor, in government that cannot be overlooked. There's good reason for a single citizen or group of citizens to feel somewhat helpless when faced with challenging this towering bureaucracy. But there is a way that it can be done if the people want to do it. Rest assured the Government will not retrench and economize and follow the basic axioms which I have discussed tonight, either in letter or spirit, unless the people demand it. Self-discipline is lacking in the pressure groups, in Members of Congress, and in the administration. The President recognized this in his state of the Union message, and I fear demonstrated far beyond what any of us care to see that self-discipline was lacking in the budget. In my brief time in Congress I can assure you I have frequently witnessed the lack of self-discipline in the Chamber as we debated and voted on current issues of the day.

Our role in world affairs is difficult to interpret and challenging. Lincoln, and President Eisenhower in quoting him, said, "Liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope for the world for all time." Again, it is a matter of interpretation. Our role in history, it seems to me, is by precept and example to inspire other nations to freedom, self-determination, and economic prosperity—not for us to make each nation militarily and economically secure. This goal is too gigantic and is impractical financially. Some nations are not ready in their own level of development for our United States philosophy and social standards. It seems mighty risky to me to impose one nation's will on another, no matter how idealistic the motivation. Anyway, I'm sure the philosophy of Abe Lincoln is timeless, as are all abiding principles, and will work today as yesteryear. It's just a matter of not misinterpreting.

To correct the lack of self-discipline in domestic affairs and protect our constitutional form of government in world affairs, let me outline five constitutional amendments, which, if supported and sponsored by the people, can help to solve the grave problems facing us today, both at home and abroad.

First, the Byrd-Bridges amendment. To require annual budget balancing by limiting congressional appropriations in any fiscal year to the estimated receipts of the Government for that fiscal year, except in times of dire emergency to be determined by three-fourths vote of the Congress.

Second, the Reed-Dirksen amendment. To eliminate to a large extent the heavy progressive rate feature from our income-tax system without impairing the power of Congress to raise revenue. This amendment limits the top rate of income taxes to 25 percent, but, unlike the rigid 25-percent restriction in the amendment which has for the last 17 years been going through the State Legislatures, this amendment permits Congress to exceed the 25-percent rate by a three-fourths vote, provided that in such event the top rate of tax shall not exceed the lowest rate by more than 15 percentage points. This amendment also returns to the States, where it belongs, the right to tax inheritances and gifts.

Third, the Mundt-Coudert amendment. To reform the electoral college by choosing electors by congressional districts, and 2 at large to correspond with each State's 2 United States Senators. This amendment is designed to take away the excessive power now exercised by the larger cities in the present electoral-college system, thus removing the excessive influence of minority groups in such larger cities.

Fourth, the Reed-Walter amendment. To give to the States full power to amend the Constitution without the intervention of Congress.

Fifth, the Bricker amendment. To prevent the changing of our Constitution and our domestic law by use of the treaty power. This amendment would make our Constitution inviolate so that no executive agreements or treaties, such as the U. N. Charter or the various multilateral pacts, could abridge our Constitution and would give us a measure of safety in our foreign affairs which we do not now enjoy. This week some of us witnessed the House transferring from Congress to the President the authority to wage war and then further transferring the jurisdiction over our troops to the Security Council of the United Nations, thus completely superseding and setting aside our Constitution.

These five amendments offer a blueprint of how the people, how you, can make your voices heard so that government must trim its sails, balance the budget, reduce taxes, reduce the debt, and keep government from growing out of hand. You can and must take a part. Believers in freedom and free enterprise, you really have no choice but to do so.

Today's world events and our domestic affairs alarm me considerably. I am convinced that in national policy, just as in daily conduct, the Lord helps those who help themselves. If we, all of us, individually and collectively, pray as though it all depended on the Almighty and work as though it all depended on ourselves in matters of government, we could have the calm and comforting knowledge that "Thy will be done" would have real meaning. We will have taken our legitimate and necessary part in directing the course of our Government and our lives.

No man's effort and fight for the right is wasted. As we face our individual problems in daily life and in government, endeavoring to solve our problems and the problems of this troubled world, knowing that the solution must be found or we perish, we might remember the debt we owe those who have gone before us—men like Lincoln and our combat buddies who did not return. We might now recall President Lincoln's prophetic words—"That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Government, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from this earth." Finally, "With God's help, we shall not fail."

Thank you.

Mr. Burwell, a Tungsten Producer, Debunks McKenna as "Mr. Tungsten"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 6, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, February 26, when the Interior appropriations bill was under consideration in the House the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Interior Appropriations, Mr. KIRWAN, referred to a series of letters written by Mr. Philip McKenna, of the Kennametal Co., urging the committee to refuse to appropriate the money authorized by Public Law 733, 84th Congress, to continue the production of tungsten and other minerals. On the basis of Mr. McKenna's statements, Mr. KIRWAN arrived at the conclusion that Mr. McKenna was an important producer of tungsten; in fact, referred to him as "Mr. Tungsten."

Those of us familiar with the matter believe that Mr. KIRWAN has been very badly misled by the statements made by Mr. McKenna. In order to clarify the record I wish to insert a statement on the subject made by Mr. Blair Burwell, of the Minerals Engineering Co., at Grand Junction, Colo. The statement, which deals with Mr. McKenna's position as a tungsten fabricator rather than a tungsten producer, is as follows:

MEMORANDUM ON TUNGSTEN

(By Blair Burwell)

It is our understanding that the House has omitted funds for purchase of tungsten and three other metals based principally on a series of letters from Mr. Philip McKenna, of Kennametal Co.

Mr. McKenna states that the tungsten stockpile is oversized for any war needs and recommends that this surplus be sold at the rate of 5 percent of the stockpile at public auction each year until it gets down to 5 years supply in order to keep Kennametal from being charged excessive prices by foreign interests.

Mr. McKenna states that a 20-year surplus exists at the present time and bases this statement on a chart and compilation of stockpile figures plus consumption to establish quantities, and upon the assumption that consumption will be reduced to a small portion of present consumption if Kennametal, a specialty variety of tool tungsten carbide is used instead of other forms of tungsten cutting steel now employed by industry.

As to the statements of Mr. McKenna relative to the quantity of tungsten now available, and which he believes should be reduced to 6 years, supply, Dr. Flemming yesterday testified that this supply would last 6 years under war needs (instead of 20 represented by Mr. McKenna), as follows:

Page 5, paragraph 14, question to Dr. Flemming by Mr. Redwine: "Can you say whether you have a 20-year supply of tungsten on hand?

"Dr. FLEMMING. Let us make the question very specific. That is a 20-year supply for dealing with a wartime emergency?

"Mr. REDWINE. Correct, sir.

"Dr. FLEMMING. The answer to that is, 'No; we do not have anything approaching that on hand.'

"Mr. REDWINE. Can you, without violating security, tell the committee approximately how many years supply you have on hand for wartime emergency?

"Dr. FLEMMING. Thinking in terms of the requirements for a wartime emergency, we have on hand enough to carry us through approximately a 6-year emergency."

Without quoting stockpile figures, which are secret, and which neither Mr. McKenna nor the writer of this letter, if he knew them, have any right to reveal, we wish to state that the compilation of stockpile data and tungsten deliveries of Mr. McKenna are grossly inaccurate and misleading.

In regard to the second factor which Mr. McKenna uses to support his contention that excessive tungsten supplies exist, it is interesting to note that Mr. McKenna represents himself to be the owner of the second largest mine in the country, a leader of the tungsten industry, and the inventor of tungsten carbide. He states that his invention, made in 1940, would make it possible to substitute 1 pound of his invented material for 60 pounds of tungsten used by industry today. He also states that he is the producer of 25 percent of tungsten carbide cutting tools. Mr. McKenna has convinced Mr. KIRWAN of these matters, and they are quoted on page 2309 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 26, 1957.

The facts in regard to these statements are as follows:

First as to the size of the mine that is operated by Mr. McKenna. The major mines of this country are as follows:

Name of mine	Ownership	Daily tonnage produced	Monthly units produced
1. Pine Creek Mine, California	Union Carbide Co	800	8,500
2. Haile Mine, North Carolina	Tungsten Mining Co	1,000	14,000
3. Lincoln Mine, Nevada	Wah Chang	750	8,500
4. Black Rock Mine, California	do	700	6,500
5. Browns Lake, Montana	Minerals Engineering Co	800	7,000
6. Red Button, Montana	Henderson & Ferguson (leased by Minerals Engineering Co.).	300	8,000
7. Riley Mine, Nevada	Upion Carbide Co	300	3,800
8. Getchel Mine, Nevada	Getchel Co	800	7,000
9. Nevada Massachusetts	Nevada Massachusetts Co	450	4,500
10. Nevada Scheelite	Kennametal Co	350	3,500
11. Climax	Climax Molybdenum	20,000	3,500

INVENTIONS

The invention of tungsten carbide was made by a German group, assigned to Krupp prior to 1930 and the rights purchased by General Electric Co. Mr. McKenna patented a variation in composition in 1940 and has marketed it under the name of "Kennametal."

POSITION IN THE MARKET

The Kennametal Co. use 660,000 pounds of tungsten metal annually of a total of 9,600,000 used by the tungsten consuming industry. As such, he is a manufacturer speaking for 7 percent of the tungsten consumed in manufacturing. He purchases this from foreign sources at this time. The price of his tools and product shows that he sold his product for approximately the same price, or slightly more, in 1955, when he was purchasing tungsten from foreign mines at $33 per unit, as he did in 1950 when he purchased tungsten at $48.84 per unit. He is obviously interested in getting tungsten as cheaply as possible, because his profit is that much greater.

POSITION IN THE PRODUCING INDUSTRY (MINING)

Mr. McKenna purchased a mine in Nevada in 1950 when foreign tungsten was selling at $73 per unit and because he needed tungsten to supply his factory. Mr. McKenna has so informed me, at that time of this acquisition. His mine operated to supply his needs when foreign tungsten was costing more than $63 per unit. When the price of tungsten declined below $63 per unit, he sold to the General Services Administration at the rate of approximately 3,500 units per month at $63 per unit and purchased foreign ore to supply his factory.

At this time, in case purchases of tungsten are not continued under Public Law 733, there is approximately 110,000 units of tungsten which will have to be sold on the open market. The quotation for tungsten concentrates has declined to $29 per unit in recent weeks from $35 per unit 6 months ago in anticipation of the dumping on the market of this distressed tungsten.

If the bill is not passed, it is estimated that the market will decline to $20 per unit under the impact of this distressed selling.

Mr. McKenna is recommending that this distress shall occur. In the event his counsel and advice to the Congress is allowed to destroy the industry, his gain from such destruction is conservatively as follows, per month of operation.

He consumes 55,000 pounds of tungsten metal per month. He would obtain this tungsten at a price of 56 cents per pound under his present cost. This is equivalent to $30,800 per month saving.

It is hard to believe that Congress would allow one man who only consumes 7 percent of the tungsten of the United States, destroy the economy of the industry at the same time that the evidence is overwhelming that he stands to profit by such a destruction. Before this should prevail, the Congress should investigate the interests and accuracy of the statements and allow the producing industry to defend its existence. I am sure Mr. KIRWAN would see the justice of this situation. The statements made herein are the result of my close connection with the mining of tungsten and the consumption of tungsten over the period of 20 years. In this period I have had responsible charge of the production of approximately 12 times the quantity of tungsten that Mr. McKenna has had handled in his manufacturing business. I am familiar with his mine in Nevada and my statements thereon were obtained from Mr McKenna, his manager at the mine, and from Government records. They have been carefully considered and I believe them to be accurate.

The Chippewa Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues a book on the Chippewa Indians which is an historical and highly readable account of the Chippewa tribes. The book is entitled "Chippewa Indians of Yesterday and Today" by Sister M. Carolissa Levi, FSPA., a Franciscan nun. The book is published by the Pageant Press of New York City.

I also wish to quote from a book review written by Sol Tax, professor of anthropology, a leading authority on the American Indian, University of Chicago. The review was published in the Natural History magazine:

> This is a lively account of a very alive people—the Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin. * * * Guided by solid sense and scholarly care, she has produced a book that is both sound and original.
>
> Sister Carolissa doesn't take account of the theoretical literature in anthropology, or on the Chippewa. But this isn't a book about social theory. It is a book about the Chippewa, and on that subject she has used the best descriptive and historical sources.
>
> Better than that, she has read newspapers and dug out documents. More important, she has talked to people and breathes life into the story she tells. * * *
>
> The 80-odd pages devoted to the present-day Indians on their six Wisconsin reservations against their historical background, constitute one of the fairest short accounts available on problems besetting Indians. * * *
>
> External trappings have changed, but Sister Carolissa did not have to engage in archealogy to learn about Chippewa customs; she could see or hear about most of them firsthand. This account of the Chippewa Indian makes fascinating reading.

Mr. Speaker, I highly recommend it as most informative and good reading for Members of Congress who must frequently act on legislation pertaining to these good people and I know that the book will help anyone who reads it to understand the Indians and their problems better.

Humane Methods in the Slaughter of Livestock

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, on January 3, 1957, I reintroduced a bill to require the use of humane methods in the slaughter of livestock and poultry in interstate and foreign commerce. This bill (H. R. 176) is now pending before the House Committee on Agriculture.

WHY COMPULSORY HUMANE SLAUGHTER LEGISLATION IS NEEDED

Over 30 years ago there was a strong movement throughout the civilized nations of the world for the institution of humane methods of slaughter. As a result of this movement the Netherlands, Norway, Scotland, Ireland, England, and parts of France, Germany, and Austria and other foreign nations enacted compulsory humane slaughter legislation. In the United States the meat-packing industry agreed to voluntarily insti-

tute humane methods of slaughter. In 1929 the American Meat Institute, the trade, research, and educational association of the meatpacking industry set up a special committee to develop improved methods of slaughter which would—

First. Be considered more humane than present practice.

Second. Be practical and economical in regular plant operations.

The efforts of the industry as a whole throughout the years indicate little or no real effort to solve the problems of developing improved methods of humane slaughter. Only in isolated plants has real progress or substantial results been achieved.

It appears obvious that the meatpacking industry has not chosen to proceed aggressively and conscientiously to voluntarily institute humane methods of slaughter and having had over 25 years in which to do so I believe one can assume that they never will institute such methods voluntarily.

Legislation in this area is certainly long overdue. Daily, we attempt to lead nations in matters of foreign affairs, often emphasizing and stressing the fact that we are a nation guided by humane principles. Such reasoning must appear hollow to people who long ago recognized the need for compulsory humane slaughter legislation and did something about it.

ECONOMIC FACTORS—(1) REDUCTION IN ACCIDENT RATE

Besides the humaneness of the thing, a compelling reason for modernizing slaughtering methods is the fact that accidents would be drastically reduced. The various humane methods—carbon dioxide or other gas, the captive bolt pistol and others would materially reduce the hazards present in our plants.

The latest figures of the Department of Labor show that accidents occur at almost double the rate in slaughterhouses as for all industrial activity combined. The average accident rate for all manufacturing in 1955 was 12.1 per million man-hours worked. For slaughterhouses the rate was 18.9 per million man-hours worked.

Preliminary figures from the Department for 1956 show a significant increase in the accident rate in slaughterhouses. For 1956 the accident rate jumped to 19.1 (first 9 months) per million hours while the average for manufacturing was 12.1 (first 9 months).

Here is a table setting forth these statistics for quick reference:

Accident rates per million man-hours

Year	General manufacturing	Slaughterhouses (includes slaughtering and dressing only, not processing)
1953	13.4	20.0
1954	11.9	19.4
1955	12.1	18.9
1956 [1]	12.1	19.1

[1] Estimates by Department of Labor for 1st 9 months of 1956.

These safety figures should not be construed as an adverse reflection on the industry or labor unions involved. Both labor and management are credited with making a continuous strong effort to reduce accidents but it should be emphasized that present methods of slaughter are hazardous and I submit the introduction of humane methods—whereby immobile, unconscious animals are substituted for kicking, screaming animals—would materially contribute to a reduction in packinghouse accident. Lost manhours, injury, and medical expenses are of benefit to none. Humane slaughtering methods can reduce this unnecessary economic loss.

(2) REDUCTION IN BRUISED AND DAMAGED MEAT

Apart from the compelling considerations to accord humane treatment to the animals involved, the use of humane techniques in slaughtering could have important and beneficial economic consequences for the meat packing industry.

Perhaps the most important would be the reduction in bruised and damaged meat. It is presently estimated that as much as $50 million worth of meat is rendered unsalable annually because of damage coincident with the slaughtering process. This loss could be reduced substantially if humane methods were employed. An unconscious animal is easy to work with, presents no problem in the subsequent killing process, and thus the prospect of loss in dressing is reduced to an important degree.

Secondly, it should be noted that meatpacking companies would be entitled to the generous depreciation rate of the internal revenue code in charging off the cost of new installations necessary to accomplish humane slaughtering.

Under the 1954 Revenue Act this depreciation can be accomplished at twice the rate previously allowed.

Enactment of this legislation requiring new installations would not place the packing industry in any less favorable position than other industries which are subject to legislation and regulation. All public carriers, for example, are obliged to maintain safety devices called for in law. These costs are a part of doing business.

The same circumstances would obtain for the packing industry under this proposed legislation. Furthermore the legislation gives the industry a voice in the final determination of the new methods to be used. There would be no arbitrary decision involved or enforced.

HUMANE SLAUGHTERING METHODS AND COSTS

One of the most frequently voiced objections to this legislation is the statement that advocates of humane methods do not agree on a specific technique to be used. This is certainly not a valid argument. The legislation would establish in law the fact that a humane system of slaughtering shall be practiced in those humane slaughtering plants whose products move in interstate commerce. The legislation reserves to the industry and the Secretary of Agriculture the right to determine the best humane method to be employed. Different animals present different slaughtering problems, and it is proper that the law allow flexibility to meet every need.

While it is difficult to estimate the total cost of converting the packing industry to humane methods, some useful data is available.

The captive bolt pistol and the new Remington stunning instrument cost less than $200. The electric stunning equipment is relatively inexpensive.

But perhaps the most significant advance in humane slaughtering in this country was the perfection of an immobilizing unit for hogs which is now in operation at the Austin (Minn.) plant of the George A. Hormel Co. This method using carbon monoxide gas to render the hog unconscious before sticking, was pioneered by Hormel engineers and has been in successful operation 3 years on a commercial scale.

Mr. L. W. Murphy of the Hormel Co. service division spoke before the American Meat Institute in 1952 and pointed out that the above method has the complete approval of the Department of Agriculture and he made these other significant observations:

> We are sure the method can be applied to other packinghouse livestock.
>
> • • • the hog was presented to the sticker so that he could operate at arm's length, accurately, safely, unhurried, and with cleanliness to himself.

Mr. Murphy pointed out with emphasis that the Hormel Co. has effected substantial savings in operating costs and has brought about improved working conditions. Mr. Murphy concludes:

> They alone (these savings) more than compensate us the cost of our years of research.

Incidentally, it might be noted that this company has reaped immeasurable benefits in good will because of this forward step.

This installation is concrete proof that humane methods can be combined successfully with practical business considerations. Several other smaller packing concerns have also adopted humane methods in recent years. These installations would seem to demolish the contention that it cannot be done.

The idea of protecting our animals from unnecessary pain and suffering is certainly not new and unique. It is, indeed, interesting to note that man at one time sought and received statutory protection for his animals before the same protection was given to human beings. In 1866 the first anticruelty legislation was passed in the United States. This legislation made cruelty to animals—such as the man beating his horse on the street—punishable by fine and imprisonment. At this time there were no statutory laws to prevent cruelty to children. Parents and guardians in the United States had the legal right, under the common law, to treat their children as they saw fit. The only deterrent to vicious and cruel treatment of children was a moral obligation not to do so.

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was constantly besieged with cases of cruel treatment to children but the laws at the time provided no remedy for such actions. Then one day the case of Mary Ellen was brought to the attention of Henry Bergh, a leader in the anticruelty movement. This little girl was daily the victim of viciously cruel treatment by her guardians. They kept her chained to a bedpost, dressed only in a thin and dirty chemise, unchained her only to do house-

work, and punished her regularly with a big leather whip and with fierce prods of scissors. Mr. Bergh could stand it no longer. He went to the State legislature and got the 1866 act—an act better to prevent cruelty to animals, amended—so that in 1874 it prohibited acts of cruelty to "every living creature"—and in November of 1874 the courts declared this to include children and thereby the Mary Ellens were given statutory protection against cruel and inhumane treatment. Soon specific legislation to prevent cruelty to children was enacted, and a society to prevent cruelty to children established.

In closing let me say that progress in any field has not come easily or willingly on the part of those persons, groups, or business interests affected. But when it can be demonstrated—as indeed the weight of evidence does in humane slaughtering—that a beneficiary result will be obtained for all concerned, we cannot, in good conscience, delay this legislation any longer.

It is my earnest hope that humane slaughter legislation will be acted upon favorably during this session of Congress. I am certain that you will find an overwhelming majority of our people in agreement.

David Bruce Named to Bonn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch of February 28, concerning my distinguished friend and constituent, Hon. David K. E. Bruce, of Staunton Hill, Charlotte County, Va.

Mr. Bruce has served with distinction in many important public positions, and it is a source of gratification that he has been nominated as Ambassador to West Germany.

The editorial is as follows:

DAVID BRUCE NAMED TO BONN

The minor uproar that has arisen over President Eisenhower's nomination of David K. E. Bruce, distinguished Virginian, as Ambassador to West Germany, seems likely to quiet down in short order. The reason is that the only argument advanced against Mr. Bruce is that he contributed $1,000 to the Democratic campaign presidential fund last year.

The fact that he made such a contribution can hardly be regarded as an argument in his favor, but neither should it cause his nomination to be rejected. (At least he didn't contribute to both campaign chests, as ambassadorial hopefuls have occasionally been known to do.)

Some of the more militant Republicans are pawing the ground and muttering that such plums as the ambassadorship at Bonn ought to go to members of the GOP.

But politics should be a secondary consideration in filling a post of this kind. Ability to carry out the duties devolving upon the appointee should be the determining factor. David Bruce would seem to meet this requirement.

As a matter of fact, there appears to be less and less difference between the two parties in the field of international affairs—especially between the wing of the GOP led by President Eisenhower, and the Democrats. The Democrats are now engaged in trying to show what bunglers the Republicans are, especially in the Middle East, but the basic approach of the two groups is similar.

Mr. Bruce has served abroad under both Democratic and Republican Presidents, so he is not firmly wedded to either party. Back in 1936 he actually supported Alf Landon, Kansas Republican, for President against Franklin D. Roosevelt. Hardly anybody else did; Alf carried Maine and Vermont.

More recently, Mr. Bruce was named Ambassador to France by President Truman, after he had held several important overseas posts, and apparently acquitted himself well. He then was named by President Eisenhower as Ambassador to the European Coal and Steel Community, and is now a member of the President's Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Activities.

Mr. Bruce, unfortunately, has been largely inactive in Virginia affairs for some 15 years, but he is known in the Old Dominion as a man of intelligence, generosity, and charm. We predict for him a successful and useful career in his West German post.

H. R. 5101

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H. R. 5101, which would amend the Internal Revenue Code to exempt from the manufacturers' excise tax certain automobiles furnished without charge to schools for use in driver-training programs.

This bill has the full endorsement of the National Automobile Dealers Association. Last year, the Nation's new car and new truck dealers loaned automobiles, valued at more than $20 million, to hundreds of schools where driver training and highway safety were taught as a part of the school's curriculum.

While the Federal revenue from this tax is relatively small the overall effect of the passage of this bill on the promotion of highway safety cannot be overestimated. Safety experts have continuously stressed the fact that highway accidents will best be curbed when drivers exercise greater care and caution. These experts stress the need for a stepping up of driver training as a most potent weapon against highway and traffic accidents. I am certain that a most substantial number of additional cars would be made available for behind-the-wheel training in our schools by the passage of this bill.

The following letters serve to manifest the great good which can come from the enactment into law of this measure. If it is not already obvious to Members of Congress that our highway safety can be immeasurably improved by the enactment of this bill into law, most certainly after each Member reads the following letters, he will clearly see the outstanding benefit which will result.

The loss in Federal revenue which would result is relatively small and would be more than offset by the reduction in highway accidents which, last year, killed more than 40,000, injured more than a million, and cost billions of dollars.

The first letter is from the owner of a new car motor agency in Hiawatha, Kans., Mr. Frank W. Sterns, of the Hiawatha Motor Co. The following letters are from students attending the Hiawatha High School, who were the recipients of Mr. Sterns' generosity when he contributed a car for use in their driver-education class at the high school. The letters follow:

HIAWATHA MOTOR CO.,
Hiawatha, Kans., February 26, 1957.
Congressman WILLIAM AVERY,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: I read last night in the Hiawatha Daily World where you have introduced a bill to exempt cars from Federal tax when used as driver-education cars. That is fine. It is something that should have been done a long time ago. We have been furnishing 1 or 2 cars every year and the dealer is the one who stands the loss. It certainly would be a great help to all the dealers who are public spirited enough to furnish cars.

Enclosed you will find a few letters from students thanking us for the use of our car. I thought you might want to read a few of them and see what the students think. The letters you need not return.

Respectfully yours,

FRANK W. STERNS.

HIAWATHA, KANS., *December 16, 1956.*

DEAR SIRS: As a student of the drivers' education class I feel it is my duty and privilege to thank you for the use of your car to promote safety and welfare among the future drivers of America.

This is the second year that you have furnished the drivers of Hiawatha High School a car to be used in our drivers' education class. I think I speak for the whole class when I say that I am very grateful for your contribution. I only wish every school in the United States had an opportunity to be as lucky as we have been.

Sincerely,

EDITH BRINKMAN.

HIAWATHA, KANS., *December 14, 1956.*
HIAWATHA MOTOR CO.,
Hiawatha, Kans.

DEAR SIR: I want to thank you for the use of your car. It has helped me and many other students to learn to drive a car safely and also learn the parts of the car better. We have learned traffic laws and how to prevent accidents. Through your cooperation and willingness many students like myself have learned to operate a car safely. There should be fewer accidents among the young drivers because of their training in drivers' education classes. I cannot thank you enough for your willingness in letting us use your car.

Sincerely yours,

MARGERY WARREN.

DEAR MR. STERNS AND MR. BAIRD: I would like to thank you for the wonderful thing you are doing by letting us use your car in our driver education class.

I appreciate it very much because I learned and will learn more about the handling and driving of a car.

There about 38,000 people killed each year and I think having driver education classes will help prevent accidents and make our highways a safer place for everyone.

Thank you again for letting us use your car in our course.

Sincerely,

JEANETTE HOAR.

HIAWATHA, KANS., *December 23, 1956.*

HIAWATHA MOTOR CO.,
Hiawatha, Kans.

DEAR SIR: On the behalf of myself, the students in drivers' education class and their parents, I wish to thank you for the use of your car.

I think every one of us realizes the importance of safe driving. The use of the car has helped us to practice safe driving and learn good driving habits. It is my opinion that you are not only helping reduce accidents by training student drivers but encouraging other motor companies to do the same. By this method we should be able to reduce accidents a great deal.

Thanking you again for the use of your car, I am

Respectfully yours,

LINDA MEYERS.

HIAWATHA, KANS., *December 13, 1956.*

DEAR MR. BAIRD AND MR. STERNS: I, as a student in the driver's education class in Hiawatha High School, wish to express my appreciation for the opportunity of learning to drive. This experience has been made most pleasant by the use of your modern car. We are sure you will be justified in knowing that you are helping to make better drivers in this community.

Sincerely,

JUDY WOLNEY.

HIAWATHA, KANS., *December 14, 1956.*

GENTLEMEN: I want to sincerely thank you for the use of the 1957 Chevrolet as a training car for driver education students.

We realize that adequate and proper training now will help to make us better, more courteous drivers in the future.

Our classroom work was important in learning the rules and regulations of driving but actually getting behind the wheel and proving to ourselves that driving is fun and must be done with care is far more important in my estimation.

With this car, young people can learn to drive correctly in order to prevent the large number of accidents which happen each year resulting in many thousands of deaths.

Sincerely,

ANN ENGSTROM.

Time To Speak Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial of February 21 from the Omaha Daily Journal-Stockman:

TIME TO SPEAK OUT

A midwestern stockman recently remarked that he was going to write his Congressman in Washington, protesting continued heavy spending by the Government. Judging from reports of the deluge of mail that many Congressmen are receiving in condemnation of the record high peacetime budget proposed by the administration for the next fiscal year, his inclination apparently is shared by many people.

Growing numbers of taxpayers are alarmed over the continued rise in Government spending and the swelling of the inflation tide. They are gravely concerned over what may happen to our economy if this trend continues unchecked. They worry over mammoth Federal expenditures and the increasing number of bureaucrats.

They point out that while the budget was balanced in 1956, this was achieved not by a reduction in Government spending, but by the huge tax take which, along with the continued rise in the cost of living, is gradually choking the lifelines of existence for many individuals and business firms. The administration predicts a surplus for the 1957–58 fiscal year. But the amount of it would be small, and the possibility of it is based on record "take" from the taxpayer and anticipation of proposed increases in postal rates. The latter, at least, would seem a rather shaky prop on which to base a prediction of surplus.

Reaction to this new budget proposal reveals that many still have faith in the old-fashioned philosophy of laying something aside during good times for a rainy day. Translated for application to Government, this means that during these years of prosperity the public debt should be reduced in preparation for a future period when deficit spending might actually become a necessity.

Furthermore, the taxpaying public appears to doubt the need for new social welfare programs as proposed in the new budget. From past experience, taxpayers know that while such programs often look small in the beginning, they usually mushroom with the passing years, with resultant new bureaus, more bureaucrats and the loss of more individual freedoms.

Finally, the plan to spend more on big Government just does not seem consistent with these times. The Executive asks the people to spend less and help check inflation. To the worker whose paycheck, after tax deductions, often fails to cover the necessities of life, or to the farmer, whose operations leave him with little or nothing to show for his efforts, such a suggestion is out of place. It is especially hard to take, in view of the fact that the Government plans no reduction, but, in fact, talks about the need to spend more.

The mood of the stockman who planned to write his Congressman about too much Government spending is typical of the sentiment of a growing number of people in all walks of life. If they will make their views felt in Washington and elsewhere, there is hope that the free-spenders may yet be curbed.

Cheating Our Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Kansas City Times, Monday, February 25, 1957, entitled "Cheating Our Children":

CHEATING OUR CHILDREN

The United States Chamber of Commerce says there is no critical schoolroom shortage, a strange head-in-the-sand attitude for businessmen who should be among the first to recognize the need for better educated generations. Certainly on another front, business has taken the leadership in generous private support of universities and colleges.

It is true, as the chamber points out, that the States and local units generally have made a valiant effort. Classroom construction has increased from 9,000 a year in the midforties to 63,000 last year. But is that sufficient?

Obviously the shortage cannot be pinpointed exactly. Opinions vary on the meaning of "inadequate" or "overcrowded." But the White House conference on education discovered "a shortage of 200,000 classrooms—about 150,000 of which represent the backlog needs and 50,000 the rooms required annually to handle increased enrollment."

So the States are able to build for the 1,250,000 additional pupils each year. But that leaves only 10,000 or so classrooms to reduce the shortage which had its inception in the depression period. It is not enough to keep pace with the rising enrollment; we must also make up for the inactivity of many years.

Ideally school construction should remain within the local province. But revenue troubles—and sometimes inertia—have precluded that possibility. And the child who can attend school for only half a day, or who shares a crowded desk, is not going to be helped by all this talk about whether a shortage exists, or whether Federal aid will mean Federal control.

The one solution is an emergency Federal program. The President suggests $1.3 billion over a 4-year period. That would eliminate the backlog. Then the Government could withdraw and leave the business of building schools to the States. Clearly this is the intention of the administration.

In Kansas City we have been particularly fortunate in meeting our school problem. But that should not blind us to the critical status of education in other sections. We can't wish it away by simply denying that there is a shortage. For here is a vital issue which affects not only our children but the future welfare of the entire Nation.

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GARDNER R. WITHROW
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. WITHROW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and to include therein an editorial taken from the Hillsboro Sentry-Enterprise, Hillsboro, Wis., of October 25, 1956:

FOREIGN AID

Most Americans are now resigned to the fact that aid to foreign countries is an essential part of our foreign policy. We have to help most nations because if we don't they'll fall for Soviet promises and become part of the Communist bloc. National legislators of both parties have accepted that view and most of them vote for at least some of the foreign-aid bills. However, even the most enthusiastic supporters of foreign loans, grants, or gifts generally have reservations regarding the effectiveness of American aid. Many, in fact, are disappointed in that American dollars shipped overseas often are fed into the industrial combines that compete with American factory production or become part of the personal fortunes of the ruling classes.

There is just reason for at least some of the criticism about the American program

of giveaway. Some embittered isolationist could explain his criticism this way:

The little land of Bergergartenheim has tough sledding—because of war damage or poor currency or political mismanagement. There is depression in Bergergartenheim—conditions aren't like they were in 1913. And so the news travels across the ocean and some Congressman is persuaded that it is his duty to tell the American Government how bad conditions have become in Bergergartenheim. He paints a sad picture. So heartrending is his story that soon the narrator and his fellow Congressmen are knee deep in tears. They are moved, indeed—and there follows an appropriation of a paltry few millions (it being economy day) in assistance to the deserving people of Bergergartenheim.

The money goes quickly overseas, for nothing travels faster than money these days. The poor Bergergartenheimers immediately begin removing the rust from machinery and washing the factory windows. Blueprints come out of cabinets. Newly bought steel is shaped by whirring lathes. The work goes on and on, and eventually a salesman finds a market in America for the goods produced.

Industrial products of Bergergartenheim are soon on the shelves of American shops. With the goods comes sales promotion and advertising telling how superior it is to anything that might be made in America. So convincing is this that within a matter of months thousands of Americans feel they just must buy the superior products of Bergergartenheim or they will have nothing worth looking at.

And so our picture becomes more understandable as we analyze its components. The American taxpayer has dug down into his pocketbook to help the poor people of Bergergartenheim—and, oddly enough, to build an efficient, competitive industrial machine. And as he buys the importations here he adds some more to the profit of the Bergergartenheimers while, at the same time nipping away a sale of some similar American product.

What is the net result?

1. America has saved Bergergartenheim from becoming a ghost area.

2. It has revived its industry to provide competition for American business and American labor.

3. The taxpayers have paid out to help set up an industrial plant whose sales here take more money from Americans while hurting our own industrial markets.

4. Worse still, those Americans who unwisely journey to Bergergartenheim find they are snubbed and looked at as something that is inferior to a true Bergergartenheimer.

This is the round of assistance in too many cases. And when Americans total up the whole experience, they find themselves crying over taxes and lost markets almost as strongly as they cried for the poor people of Bergergartenheim.

Smiling Passport Photos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I include therein an article from the New York Herald Tribune of February 27, 1957, which I am sure will be of interest to all Members of Congress:

SMILING PASSPORT PHOTOS

Whatever other useful functions they serve, passport photos have never been regarded as the epitome of art. This is said with no tinge of regret, for the truth is that most people expect very little of passport photos, least of all a good resemblance. Now, however, along comes an authentic expert on the subject, Miss Frances G. Knight, passport chief of the United States. Miss Knight has been looking through files of passport photos, a job that would try anyone's soul, and she comes up with the suggestion that travelers keep smiling.

Well, it's an idea. Of course, it raises the question that so many people ask as they travel through life: "What's there to smile about?" But surely tourists, particularly at the outset of their journeys, have every reason to don a cheerful mien. The situation might be different upon their return, when all the bills have been paid and the necessity for returning to work raises its unwelcome head. On the other hand, a passport is the closest that most of us get to appearing on a Federal document, aside from the income tax form. And in both cases a certain degree of solemnity is not altogether inappropriate.

Miss Knight deserves all possible support in her pleasant crusade and we cheerfully wish her the best of luck with it. But she has her work cut out for her. Some things in life are stern, inflexible and unyielding. And passport photos may well be one of them.

Stratton Has Right Idea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, our good Governor, William G. Stratton, in a recent speech in St. Louis discussed the problem of Federal aid as it has been proposed to alleviate the school shortage. The Governor of the great State of Illinois is in the position to know whereof he speaks.

The following editorial from the Peoria Journal-Star sums up the Governor's remarks very simply. The people of Illinois do not stand to gain a thing from Federal aid to education:

[From the Peoria Journal Star of February 26, 1957]

STRATTON HAS RIGHT IDEA

Governor Stratton has the right idea about the pending legislation for Federal aid to education—there isn't any benefit in it for the people of Illinois.

In a speech at St. Louis last week, he pointed out that both Illinois and Missouri would contribute far more to a Federal aid program than they would receive in benefits from it, thereby only intensifying the seriousness of the educational problems which exist in both States.

"In Illinois, which pays nearly 8 percent of the Federal income taxes, the Federal grant based on the need formula would be $11,125,000," the Governor declared.

"To receive that, Illinois taxpayers would contribute $23,595,000 in Federal income taxes, and would be required to match the Federal so-called gift with another $22,253,000, in Illinois tax money."

He said that the Federal aid program would take $8,417,500 from Missouri in return for a $4,885,000 grant to Missouri schools. Missouri taxpayers would have to match $6,424,000 in local money to participate in the program.

"It is inconceivable to me," the Governor asserted, "that in these times of prosperity that a State, if it sincerely desires to do so, can fail to meet its own school problems without help from the Federal Government."

Governor Stratton asserted that State aid to the schools had been achieved without extending the State's control of local school operations. It would be unlikely that a similar accomplishment would accompany added Federal aid.

As far as Illinois and Missouri, and a great many other States, are concerned the Federal aid program merely will intensify school building problems instead of solving them by draining money from these States to build schools in others and to finance the high administrative costs which go with any Federal program. Federal aid is no way of solving the school building problem in Illinois.

Not for the South Alone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURR P. HARRISON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include a particularly well-reasoned editorial which appeared in the Staunton News Leader, Stauton, Va., on February 27, 1957.

I commend the editorial to all citizens, of whatever section of the United States, who are sincerely interested in the preservation of individual liberties and due process of law. It points up the urgent need for wider understanding of the tyrannical implications of so-called civil-rights legislation now under consideration in the Congress.

The editorial follows:

If the civil-rights bills are so dangerous to liberty and self-government, a fact which should be evident to anyone who reads them, why is it that opposition to their enactment comes only from the South?

Are northerners and westerners and their Congressmen indifferent to the tyranny potential of these bills and confident that because they are aimed at the South they would never be applied in their sections of the country?

Are these measures simply bald appeals for the Negro vote, or do they steam from a sincere concern for the rights of all Americans, regardless of color?

There are no clear answers to any of these questions, for there is no doubt a mixed motivation behind the civil-rights bills. Some of their advocates are sincere, some no doubt see them as politically helpful, some have given plenty of evidence of being haters of the South. Whatever the causations behind persistent efforts to enact such dangerous legislation, the cure which Congress is asked to prescribe is so much worse than what discrimination is being practiced (and it is not confined to the South) that the absence of any but southern voices in opposition is astounding.

Representative BURR P. HARRISON, of this district, reports that some of his constituents

to whom he sent a questionnaire on issues before the current session of Congress showed skepticism over his brief summary of new Federal powers which would be created by these measures. So in his column in this and other newspapers, "Your Congressman Reports," he quoted passages from text. Rather than reprinting these passages, which should be required reading for anyone presuming to take a position on the bills, we brief them again:

A Federal commission with the function of protecting the civil rights of citizens on account of race or religion would be set up, with power to investigate claims of discrimination and subpena persons and records. The Attorney General would be empowered to bring law suits for recovery of damages for discrimination, expenses of such suits to be paid by the Government (taxpayers). Sentences to prison could be pronounced without jury trial. Persons could be charged and convicted not only for committing discriminatory acts, but for mere intent to commit such acts. Defendants would have to appear and defend themselves at their own expense, wherever the commission or its agents choose to require.

Enforcement officers and complainants, under pressure from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, from partisanly inspired commission members, Federal officials or Members of Congress, or for blackmail, could harass any employer on trumped-up charges of discrimination and at the least put him to heavy expense for defense. Tyrannically administered, the proposed laws would be the handmaidens of a Gestapo composed of an army of enforcement agents.

Representative HARRISON showed conclusively by citing Supreme Court decisions that the powers proposed for the Federal civil-rights commission and the Attorney General could be invoked without jury trial.

Virginia's attorney general, J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., on Tuesday told the House Judiciary Subcommittee which limited its hearings on this vicious legislation to only 4 days, that the bills are "shockingly punitive in purpose and design," and "not conceived in response to demands of the national interest, but engendered in hate and motivated by political expediency." He warned that the commission which would be created should the bills be passed would grow into another permanent "tentacle to the Federal octopus" and would choke off the last vestige of States rights. They would, he said, "inflict on some individuals the same unwarranted economic pressure they are supposed to prohibit against others.

One southerner after another has pointed out to the House subcommittee the tyranny potential of the civil-rights bills. Senator THURMOND, Democrat, of South Carolina, told the subcommittee:

"In other countries tyranny has taken the forms of fascism, communism, and absolute monarchy. I do not want to see it foisted on the American people under the alias of civil rights.

"Real civil rights and so-called civil rights should not be confused. Everybody favors human rights. But it is a fraud on the American people to pretend that human rights can long endure without constitutional restraint on the power of government."

In an address yesterday to the National Association of Secondary School Principals in Washington, Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, who has always been a friend of the Negro, said the civil-rights legislation "frightens and dismays the South—and should frighten and dismay the whole country."

Where are the spokesmen from other sections of the country who must see the vicious potentialities of the civil-rights bills? They are as silent as the grave, perhaps because, as Mr. Dabney said of the majority in Congress, they are "so bemused by the phrase 'civil rights' " that they are reluctant to speak out or vote "against anything that bears that label, no matter how dangerous its potentialities."

Since the House has previously passed this type of bill it may do so again. If so, it will remain for southerners in the Senate to block it by filibuster. It is unbelievable that Americans could ever be willing to create official instruments for tyranny patterned after institutions which our forefathers left Europe to escape, but that is what those outside of the South will be doing if they permit these bills to be enacted.

Trees Make a Forest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial of February 22 from the Omaha Daily Journal-Stockman:

TREES MAKE A FOREST

Perhaps it is human nature not to be able to see the forest for the trees, as the old saying goes. But this very human failure is costing Americans their historic freedoms and opportunities—piecemeal and one by one. Absorbed in our own little words of special interest, we fail to see the forest of socialism that is engulfing our country.

The above would seem to be the message offered us by a spokesman for a group of independent farmers in Michigan, who is quoted as saying:

"Our system of government may not be perfect, but it is certainly the most perfect yet devised by man and has brought more benefits to more people than any other the world has ever known. Even so, all that we have done in the past only brings us up to the present; it gives us no assurance for the future.

"In order to seize this opportunity which lies before us," he continues, "we must never forget the difference between a free nation and a slave nation. We must never forget that in a free nation the people accept responsibility for their own future and their own welfare, while in a slave nation they turn this responsibility over to government. And it makes no difference whether this government is the autocratic rule of the dictator or the state control of communism or the planned economy of socialism.

"We must bring an end to the undeniable trend among us in recent years to seek security rather than opportunity; that is, a security provided by government rather than by our individual efforts. * * * As we consider the past and prepare for the future, let's never forget that the only real security a man can have in this world is the opportunity to do something for himself with guarantee of certain inalienable rights that cannot be taken away from him. * * *

"If we forget this and are deluded by the promise of something for nothing, if we accept the government'll-take-care-of-you philosophy, if we surrender our freedom for a mess of socialistic pottage, then we have betrayed our heritage and all our battles for freedom, from Bunker Hill to Iwo Jima, will have been nothing more than a travesty and a farce."

Something to think about, anyway, isn't it? We can't have independence, freedom of action and choice and the opportunity to progress on our own merits, all traditional American ideals, if we turn our housekeeping and the financing thereof over to a government bureaucrat.

"He who pays the piper calls the tune." Guess who does the dancing.

Address by C. D. Curtis, Commissioner, Bureau of Public Roads, United States Department of Commerce, at the Second Annual Convention of the National Crushed Limestone Institute, Inc., Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C., January 24, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am most happy to include an address by C. D. Curtiss, Commissioner, Bureau of Public Roads.

"Cap," as he is affectionately known to all of us, has made a splendid record in his field of endeavors. He is one who is honest and sincere and his advice is given freely showing results of many hours of clear thinking. He is a great public servant. I am happy to include his remarks:

Mr. President, Mr. Robertson, ladies, and gentleman, I am always happy to appear on a program with Jack Robertson regardless of which hat he is wearing. I think the last time he was just Director of Highways of the District of Columbia and we appeared before a meeting of the American Society of Civil Enginers. One other time I remember he was an official of the North Atlantic Highway Officials—that is a longer name than this institute.

I have long been a dues-paying member of the organization which he honors by being its president. In fact, over a rather extended career I have attended many conventions but I perhaps remember the first one better than many of the others. It was back in 1913 when the American Road Builders' had a convention in Detroit. I am looking forward to attending the one in Chicago. I knew I was going to get this commercial in somewhere and I know that I am going to witness a tremendous change in the exhibits.

I want to thank you, also, for the kind words you said about the Burau of Public Roads and to reciprocate by saying we consider it a privilege to cooperate with you and your associates in the Highway Department of the District of Columbia.

It is a pleasure to meet with the members of your organization and discuss some of the mutual problems to be faced in carrying on the great national highway program.

Your members produce a product that we will need in enormous quantity. As your President indicated, I entered the highway field back in the days of the slip scraper, when horsepower was really horse power or mule power, shortly after graduation from college. At that time, the principal highway materials were crushed stone, sand, gravel, asphalt, tar, and cement. They still

are, and there is every indication that they will continue to be the principal constituents of highways. No material is required in greater quantity than crushed stone.

The name of the person who first used broken stone to make a highway surface is lost in the haze of antiquity. We do know that the Romans built and used broken stone roads to extend, control, and economically develop a great empire. The network of roads that radiated from Rome had great economic as well as military significance.

Highways are even more important to us today. We need them not only for national defense but also for the support of the industrial production facilities essential to sustain the high level of economic activity needed to support the defense of the Nation and to keep our country strong and prosperous. In one respect, we will not imitate the Romans. They used people captured in war and their own soldiers to produce the broken stone for roads. I am sure that your gentlemen know of a better way.

Before discussing some matters relating particularly to your business, it may be of interest to outline the scope of the new highway program.

In 1954, President Eisenhower addressed a dramatic appeal to the conference of governors for cooperation in obtaining authorization of a greatly enlarged highway program to meet the needs of the Nation. Subsequently, specific proposals were made in a report to the President, and Congress by the President's Advisory Committee on a National Highway Program. This is the so-called Clay Committee that Mr. Robertson referred to.

Although the Congress considered legislation in 1955 to implement the President's proposals, none was enacted that year although a bill did pass the Senate. However, the extensive hearings had convinced the Congress of the magnitude and urgency of our highway needs and of widespread public support for such a program and last year the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 was passed and approved by the President on June 29, 1956.

The 1956 act set the stage for the greatest roadbuilding and highway-improvement program in all history and also provided funds to cover the Federal share of the cost. This huge 13- to 15-year program for the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways will provide a 41,000-mile network of modern roads and expressways connecting all of our States and linking nearly all of our cities of more than 50,000 population. The importance to national defense which the Congress attaches to this system is indicated by the addition of the word "defense" to the name of the system, which was first authorized in the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944.

Twenty-five billions of Federal funds for the Interstate System are authorized for the 13-year period 1957–1969. This amount, plus State contributions will be used to construct a coast-to-coast system designed to provide for the traffic anticipated in 1975, when more than 90 million vehicles are expected. The Interstate System will carry millions of these vehicles smoothly across the countryside. Traffic will flow into and around large cities over safe, divided expressways of four to eight lanes, protected by carefully planned access, controlled access, to which Mr. Robertson referred. Some of the lightly traveled miles of this system will be two-lane roads, but the basic design and right-of-way requirements of these sections must allow for additional lanes as traffic increases.

While the long-range program for the Interstate System has been more publicized, the regular or ABC program was not neglected. In fact, the funds for this program were very materially increased by the 1956 act. For the 9 years following the close of World War II the regular program averaged $500 million per year. The 1956 act increased the authorization for fiscal year 1957 to $825 million and authorized funds for the fiscal years 1958 and 1959 in the amounts of $850 million and $875 million, respectively. These funds are divided as follows: for the primary system, 45 percent; for the secondary system, 30 percent; extensions in urban areas, 25 percent.

Both improvement of the Interstate System and of other classes of Federal-aid work are to be made according to the plan of cooperation with States established by the early legislation of 1916 and 1921 which established certain principles. These are as follows:

Cooperation with State highway departments.

Federal-aid funds to be expended in the improvement of selected systems, now totaling 755,000 miles of which 235,000 is primary and 520,000 secondary roads.

Initiative in the selection of systems, route locations, and projects for improvement rests with the States.

State highway departments to make the surveys, prepare plans, let contracts, and supervise construction, subject to approval of the Bureau of Public Roads.

States maintain at State expense highways constructed with Federal aid.

State funds are required to match Federal funds. Normal matching is 50–50, with a sliding scale in the West where there are large areas of public lands. On the Interstate System, the Federal Government will pay 90 percent of the cost.

Federal-aid funds apportioned among the States under formulas stated in the law involving the factors of area, population, and mileage of rural delivery and star mail routes. The law further provides that starting in 1960 interstate funds will be apportioned on the basis of estimated cost to complete the system. This method will permit all States to progress the work at a uniform rate.

You undoubtedly want to know what this program means to you as producers of crushed stone. Certainly, it will create the greatest demand for highway materials, supplies, and equipment ever known. Highway construction of all kinds in the 13-year period 1957–1969 will require about 50 million tons of steel, 1.5 billion barrels of cement, over 100 million tons of bituminous material, and almost a billion tons of aggregate.

We estimate that in 1955, 201 million tons of aggregate were purchased from plants such as yours for highway construction. In 1957, the demand on commercial producers should rise to 225 million tons. It is expected to increase to about 300 million tons in 1960, and remain at about that figure through 1967.

I am going to ask you a few questions but I don't expect answers right now.

How well are you prepared to meet this demand? Does your plant need modernization? Is it efficiently organized and operated? Would it pay you to increase your capacity in view of the assured increased and continuing demand? These are things to think about now. The demand for your product is not a vague, uncertain possibility of the future. It is now at hand.

Are there one or more weak spots in your processing of stone from the quarry face to the storage bin? Possibly there is and you don't know it. Is some other producer using equipment or methods that would enable you to increase output or reduce costs? We are interested in your knowing the answers to such questions. I am sure there will be some of the latest methods of stone crushing and all the tools that you use out at the show. That is a free commercial.

Back in 1918 and 1919 the Bureau of Public Roads made a detailed study of direct costs of producing broken stone at 23 selected quarries, ranging in size from small to large. We wanted to know the cost per ton for drilling, breaking boulders, delivery to crusher, crushing, all related to kind of rock and size of operation. There was a surprising spread in costs per ton for each of the detailed operations, due partly to the nature of the rock deposit and wage rates, but it was quite clear that suitability of equipment and efficiency of management played a big part. The highest total direct cost per on was six times that of the most efficient plant. In other words, it was costing six times as much in one quarry that we studied as it was in a much more efficient quarry.

We believe that our report was quite useful to quarry operators in evaluating the efficiency of each detailed operation and in reducing costs. The public eventually profited through reduced costs for its roads.

The data that we obtained are now obsolete and, with a large highway program on our hands, we are in no position to repeat the study. However, your group might wish to consider a study as an institute activity. Our early report would serve as a guide in planning the work.

Your product is an excellent highway material and has widespread use. Like other materials, however, it must meet certain specifications and these specifications must be revised from time to time if we are to obtain the greatest value from the use of the materials. As we learn more about proper mixes, more about bitumens, cement, these specifications must be revised.

The writing of these specifications is, of course, the highway engineer's problem but we feel that you, as an industry, can be of great assistance to us in making these specification revisions. You, the producers, know your material better than anyone else and, in addition, you know the economics of the production, or you should know, of the material. You, therefore, are in an excellent position to advise the highway engineer on both the improvement of the quality of the material and the economic impact of any change in material use. We, therefore, ask for the support of your industry in improving the safety, durability ,and construction economy of the highways built with your products. We are concerned, of course, about all three but above all we are concerned about the safety of the highways which we build.

In addressing a group such as this, I would be remiss if I did not also take advantage of the opportunity to point out some of the ways in which you, as individuals, can be of assistance in furthering the progress of the overall program. The aim of the program, an adequate highway system, has, of course, the support of all segments of our population. Everyone wants relief from the highway conditions that exist today. However, there are problems to be faced and opposition to certain phases that must be overcome. Our success—and when I say "our," I mean the State highway department and the Bureau of Public Roads, and the contractors, producers, everyone concerned with the program—that our success in carrying out the program on schedule, will depend in considerable measure on the support given by businessmen and civic leaders to moves made to give the State highway departments what they need to do the job.

The Federal Government has authorized a great highway program. Payment of 90 percent of the cost of the Interstate System with Federal funds is assured. The general location of the system and the standards are agreed upon. The standards for the Interstate System are adequate but not unduly high. Travel lanes are 12 feet wide, outside shoulders at least 10 feet wide and medians in rural areas at least 36 feet wide. Many States are now building expressways of

higher standards than the minimum required for the Interstate System.

In my opinion the most important and perhaps least understood standard is the one providing, as required in the 1956 act, for control of access. I think of controlled access as planned access. I certainly was pleased to learn about this movie which I think will be of tremendous help in acquainting the public with the benefits, in fact, the necessity, for controlling access on our main highways. I think of controlled access as planned access and planned access means that the State highway department in designing the highway plans the points of access and exit so that vehicles may enter and leave the main highway at certain points safely without interference with traffic in the through lanes. Experience on the mileage we have now indicates that control of access on arterial highways reduces accidents by two-thirds.

While the safety feature alone would justify control of access, it is the only way in which the traffic capacity of the highway may be preserved. Thus we must design these heavy traffic arterial highways with control of access or face the certainty of early obsolescense—which we cannot afford.

Naturally, in a program of this size there are obstacles to be overcome. There is a general shortage of engineers and technicians. In many instances highway engineers are leaving State highway employment to take better-paying jobs. This should not be allowed to continue. Even if it is stopped, however, the total available supply of engineers is still short of the requirement under present engineering methods and procedures. This fact was foreseen at least 2 years ago. The Bureau of Public Roads at that time undertook, in cooperation with State highway departments and manufacturers, to develop the use of the new electronic-computing devices in highway-engineering work. This effort has been most successful. At least 25 State highway departments and several highway consulting engineers have either installed or ordered electronic computers. The time required for earthwork computations, the first area of development, ranges from 5 to 10 percent of the time required by manual methods. Other engineering computation can be accomplished with as great or greater savings in scarce engineering time. Other new tools and new methods such as the use of photogrammetry, the use of new drafting and reproduction methods, the standardization of bridges and bridge details are also being developed. The adoption of these new tools and new methods should go far in alleviating the engineering shortage and you as substantial members of your community can do much to assist in their adoption by making your community aware of the problem and the facts as they actually exist.

Every State is in a position to match Federal funds in some degree, but some cannot match all of the funds in the years for which they are authorized and it is desirable that this be done. Congress has indicated that the Interstate System should be completed as nearly as practicable in 13 years. State highway departments are now preparing estimates for a period of years ahead for presentation to their legislatures. These needs must be met if the program is to proceed on schedule.

Additional State taxes may be necessary. There may be questions as to the equity of proposed highway-user taxes. Research is now under way that should indicate more definitely the relative tax burden of each class of vehicles. When this work is completed, any inequities found in the motor-vehicle taxation can be corrected but, in the meantime, we should proceed on the basis of present knowledge. There is already a large store of knowledge on the effect of various classes of vehicles on highways. We need the Interstate System now.

One of the biggest problems looming before the Bureau and the States is acquirement of rights-of-way with power to control access. Much of the Interstate System will be on new location. Each State must acquire parcels of land on a scale that only a few have known before. They must have the power to control access to the routes—a departure from the traditional practice of permitting landowners to enter where they will. Forty-five States have authority in some degree to control access, but not all of the governing laws are adequate. More adequate authority is needed to gear them to the expanded highway program. Steps should be taken quickly to fill gaps on State legislation.

To acquire parcels of land on the scale needed will require an organization of considerable size in State highway departments applying businesslike methods. There must be experienced appraisers, negotiators, title examiners, and people competent to prepare the numerous legal documents. They should be armed with authority to acquire land without long delay. They should have funds to acquire land well in advance of construction to avoid skyrocketing prices.

Some States are deficient as to right-of-way organization, legal authority to acquire land, and funds with which to do it. Legislative action is needed. Failure to act means delay in getting highways needed now and a substantial increase in cost, strictly in the right-of-way.

The law permits an advance of Federal funds of 90 percent of the cost of rights-of-way for interstate projects that will be placed under construction within 5 years. It is not necessary to have complete construction plans ready to take advantage of that provision in the law.

The new legislation requires each State highway department planning a major Federal-aid highway improvement going through or bypassing a city or town to hold a public hearing and consider the economic effect of a highway on the proposed location. There will be full opportunity for presentation of views of all concerned. Civic and business groups should be represented at these hearings. If you like what your highway department is doing, if you feel that they have reached the best possible solution, or even if they have reached a reasonable compromise between conflicting interests, you should appear at the hearing and give them your support. Those that favor the State proposal should use the hearing as a sounding board, as well as the objectors and the disgruntled. It is too often the experience at public hearings that only those who are opposed to something that is being proposed appear to voice their objections. The ones who are in favor of it take it as a matter of course that the project is going through, so they don't appear. You gentlemen, as individuals in your own communities, ought to help your State highway departments by appearing at these hearings and supporting, when you feel that you can, the projects which they are proposing.

Although a few States because of lack of previous planning or budgetary difficulties have not made any material progress on the interstate system, the program as a whole has made most excellent progress. Six States have obligated all of their 1957 funds and are well into their 1958 funds. A total of $742 million of Federal funds has actually been obligated since July 1, 1956, for engineering, right-of-way acquisition, and construction. I am going to interpret some figures I picked up this morning. Up to January 14, 1957, projects with a total cost of $993 million have been authorized since July 1 for interstate system improvements, including 682 bridges and 762 miles of construction. Although this is an excellent start, we are working with the slower States to speed up their program.

Excellent progress also is being made in carrying forward the Federal-aid primary, secondary, and urban programs. Authorizations for these programs totaled $700 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and $825 million for the fiscal year 1957. Federal fund obligations totaled $751 million during the 12 months ending December 31, 1956. The authorized projects had an estimated total cost of $1.5 billion and provided for 23,030 miles of Federal-aid primary, secondary, and urban highway improvements, including 4,020 bridges.

There is no question that the people of the country want a main highway system, built to the highest modern standards. The Federal Government stands ready to take prompt action on all proposed projects and will supply 90 percent of the cost on the interstate system. Your State highway department should be properly equipped with every tool legal and financial it needs to do its job. I urge you to support them.

The Great Atomic Role of the University of Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have been pleased to note an outstanding issue—a Founder's Day issue—of the Alumnus magazine of my alma mater the University of Wisconsin. This issue, commemorating the founding of our great State university on February 5, 1849, summarizes the university's role in the atomic age.

In article after article, the activities of industrious components of the university are outlined in a wide variety of breathtaking pursuits.

The subjects range from assistance in Madison in the construction of the world's biggest atom smasher to research into solar energy, and study of other forces which, when fully and peacefully harnessed, may revolutionize for the better the life of man.

I have selected several such articles as an indication of the great work done by the university. These include excerpts of outstanding presentations by:

(a) The Honorable Earl D. Johnson, former Under Secretary of the Army, now senior vice president of the General Dynamics Corp.

(b) Prof. Farrington Daniels, recipient this coming April of American chemistry's highest award, the Priestly medal. He is represented in this instance by excerpts from a 1956 convocation address.

(c) The able editor of the Wisconsin Alumnus, George Richard.

I ask unanimous consent that these articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POTENTIAL UNLIMITED

(By Earl D. Johnson)

About 50 years ago the University of Wisconsin, under the leadership of a small group of brilliant men, set in motion a social

experiment which was destined to have a profound effect upon the State and eventually upon the entire Nation.

This, as you all know, was the Wisconsin idea, a product of the combined thought and effort of Charles R. Van Hise, Richard T. Ely, John R. Commons of the university and governor, later Senator Robert M. LaFollette. The Wisconsin idea expanded to encompass what amounted to a complete regeneration of a society which had long since proved itself unable to cope with the social and economic problems of the industrial revolution.

In a very brief period, the industrial revolution had built a complex, interdependent economy in a society which continued to be governed by the principles and precepts of an earlier agrarian age. Yet few individuals of that day had any comprehension of the vast social implications which were flowing from the immense productivity of the machine.

There was a notable lack of analysis and planning for the future. Even those of our grandfathers' generation, who were disturbed by the evidences of extreme social imbalance in post Civil War America—the bloody strikes, the chronic depressions, the slums, the agrarian distress—either resigned themselves to a kind of economic-fatalism or followed the lead of Herbert Spencer in borrowing and applying Darwin's evolutionary theories to justify the survival of the fittest in society.

Although there were sporadic political protests and well meaning but highly theoretical analyses of the fast accumulating problems, nothing practical was advanced until the Wisconsin idea gave birth to the progressive movement. I need not spell out in any detail the progressive program, nor attempt to enumerate its many specific accomplishments. Suffice it to say that the Wisconsin idea was not only a positive and constructive force for its times but an enduring force for the future. Indeed much, if not all, of the social and economic legislation of the 1930's had its inception in this remarkable joining of the university with government and industry.

In my opinion, the Wisconsin idea was a logical analysis of social problems, and a practical application of far-sighted remedial legislation. It was, in all respects, a systematic plan for the future.

Those of us who were privileged to be graduates of such a great university could not help but be influenced by this illustrious example of leadership. Educated as we were in such a fine liberal tradition with its belief in social and economic progress, we look again to the university for leadership and understanding as we enter another era.

For American society is again in the throes of transition brought on by another revolution—the atomic revolution—which may well have an even greater impact than the industrial revolution.

What does this mean to us as individual Americans?

And especially, what does this mean to the university whose past contributions did so much to bring order and meaning out of the chaos of the industrial revolution?

These are two very difficult questions which deal with futures and which will doubtless occupy some of our best minds in the years to come. But as an interested layman with some knowledge of nuclear energy gained from my experience in Government and industry, I should like to comment generally on various aspects of the atomic revolution. I do this merely in the interest of the common understanding, so that we may evaluate some of the more obvious social and economic changes which are bound to follow.

Only through the analysis of future problems and potentials may we prepare to counteract the imbalance, the turmoil and the waste which characterized the industrial revolution. That kind of social and economic irresponsibility we must avoid at all cost because we are dealing now with forces so powerful that they stagger the imagination.

As John Jay Hopkins has stated so eloquently, "We live in an age of unfolding marvels—and of increasing anxieties. The world is uneasily balanced between the limitless opportunities of creative atomic energy on the one hand, and the fathomless destruction of atomic weapons on the other. It behooves all of us, therefore, to think and act in the broadest possible context. Above all, we must as individual persons and as individual nations cultivate and develop a definitive sense of common understanding."

• • • • •

The destructive aspects of nuclear energy are too well-known to require any review beyond the thought that worldwide nuclear war would in all probability not only destroy our civilization but make impossible the development of any future civilization. Harrison Brown has noted that the world is now existing on resources which can be extracted from the earth only with intricate and powerful machines. If nuclear war destroys these machines or the facilities to build them, men will then be unable to reach the materials out of which a new civilization would be built. Our arms would be too short.

It is obvious, then, that only through continued maintenance of our capacity for massive nuclear deterrence may the world continue to enjoy a measure of present security and a possibility for future survival.

Moreover, the peaceful or creative side of nuclear energy is so rich and so productive that it may in time eradicate the basic causes of war, purchasing for the world that security which can't be bought by atomic or hydrogen bomb stockpiles.

If we consider nuclear energy as merely a new power source, such as coal or oil or falling water which powered the Industrial Revolution, there is abundant evidence that we are, indeed, living in a new and revolutionary age. For nuclear power, in which I include the probability within this century of controlled nuclear fusion, is virtually inexhaustible. Most land areas of the world seem amply endowed with thorium and uranium, and all the oceans are potential resources for the hydrogen-helium process.

Indeed, if the power from the fusion of hydrogen atoms to form helium can be controlled, the world will have a power source to last for a billion years. With controls of atomic fusion, a single gallon of sea water might provide the same energy as 300 gallons of gasoline, and ships—to cite only 1 example—will draw limitless propulsive power from the very oceans in which they travel.

This possibility alone may and should, I think, alter drastically the traditional economic and military concepts of national strength and wealth based on fossil fuel resources that are now dwindling under the tremendous energy demands of a world which is as yet only one-fifth industrialized. In fact, a striking paradox exists today where atomic utilization and technology is retarded in the United States simply because of our great wealth in coal and oil, fuels which are irreplaceable and which in no way approach the potentials of atomic energy.

It is not inconceivable, then, that nations which have not as yet developed industrial societies, because of nonexistent or inadequate fuel sources, and whose foreign credit balances cannot be exhausted on the luxuries of costly imported coal or oil, will leap directly into the atomic age—while America and other coal-oil rich nations are still utilizing conventional fuels for power.

Atomic energy is not, as yet, competitive throughout the United States, but it is certainly competitive with conventional fuel in many other regions of the world. Therefore, it seems the sheerest of folly to me for Americans to waste precious economic and military time in what are essentially—from a world standpoint—pennywise arguments about competitive costs of fossil and atomic fuels.

Only an extremely provincial mind would restrict its thinking to the power situation in America today. Geographically, America is only a small part of this world. Utilizing the worldwide [and, I might add, the only correct] frame of reference, atomic power, even in the present, admittedly crude state of reactor technology, is economically competitive or better than competitive with all conventional forms of power.

This cost paradox could leave the United States, now the most advanced industrial state in the world, a laggard in the atomic era at a time when its coal and oil resources are being seriously depleted.

Commercial power is, however, only one aspect of the atomic revolution. Reactor-byproducts, such as radio-isotopes or transmuted elements, have already achieved consequences of revolutionary significance in agriculture, medicine, biology, and in transportation and industry.

Perhaps the most striking advances have been made in the study of two fundamental biologic processes, photosynthesis, the hitherto mysterious method whereby plants with the aid of sunlight convert carbon dioxide (CO_2) into sugar, and what might be properly termed protein-synthesis, or the equally mysterious method whereby tiny submicroscopic living particles are formed from organic chemical compounds. The unique properties of radio-isotopes have accounted for great advancement in these areas, and in the investigation of basic cell processes.

These investigations promise to yield much in the eventual control of cancer and other cell growth disorders, as well as the ultimate synthesis of protein itself.

Manmade photosynthesis and protein synthesis, of course, could also do much to improve the world's food supplies.

Also of great significance is the employment of radiation to accelerate mutation in both plants and animals. Although most mutations are bad, or of no use, occasionally one is of great value: the progenitor of a new and improved breed. In plant breeding, more improved species have been developed by exposure to radiation in the past decade than have occurred over the past century.

In medical research, atomic radiation of tumors is fast becoming one of the most effective agents in the battle against cancer. As a measuring device, radioactive tracers are proving of immense value in the petrochemical, chemical, machine tool, and other manufacturing industries.

Nuclear energy has already proven technically feasible for marine transportation with the successful operation of the world's first nuclear-powered vessel, the U. S. S. *Nautilus*. The *Nautilus*, as you may know, has now steamed over 55,000 miles before requiring new fuel. Recent studies indicate that nuclear marine propulsion is at present economically feasible for bulk carrying of freight low in cost per unit of volume. And as marine reactor power plants become more efficient with improved designs, we may expect that atomic-powered merchant and passenger vessels will rapidly displace many oil and coal powered ships. From 1960, nuclear energy will power all United States Navy capital ships.

Air transportation, too, bids fair to being revolutionized by nuclear power. An atomic-powered plane, which General Dynamics is currently developing, will be a reality. Practically limitless range, greater power and reliability, and independence from the atmos-

phere, are the vast improvements which atomic power will bring to air transport.

To the University of Wisconsin and to other American universities must go the major credit for many of these great advances. Although many major programs have been initiated and sustained by the Government and by industry, they have been carried out by university-trained scientists and engineers and frequently in university-owned laboratories.

Moreover, the university laboratory has acted as the prototype for all Government laboratories and has been a powerful force in determining the character of our vast national research effort. While making outstanding contributions in applied research and technology, the universities also continue to carry on, oftentimes without government or industry encouragement, those basic or pure research efforts for which no immediate application is visualized, but which form the essential matrix for all future scientific and technical, and hence, social and economic progress.

The University of Wisconsin, as it always has in the past, is playing a significant role in both the education and training of scientists and engineers and in nuclear research. Twenty research groups involving 15 university departments are studying, with the aid of radioactive isotopes, chemistry, soils, plant pathology, biology, zoology, enzymes, botany, entomology, physics, and several areas of medicine.

Of particular interest and importance is the research in physics. The university has just completed an advanced electrostatic generator which will be used in high-energy research. The university's first such machine, by the way, was spirited away in the dead of night under great secrecy to Los Alamos by the AEC during the early days of the war. The new electrostatic generator was designed and built by a university group working under Dr. R. G. Herb. (See p. 26, this issue.)

Midwest Universities Research Association (MURA) composed of eight Midwestern universities, including the University of Wisconsin, is seeking to build in the Midwest a multibillion-volt atom smasher costing millions of dollars.

Dr. Farrington Daniels, chairman of the chemistry department at the university, received last year the William Gibbs award for his atomic energy work during World War II. This year, Dr. Daniels was awarded the Priestly medal of the American Chemical Society for distinguished service to chemistry.

Dr. David Bradley, a University of Wisconsin alumnus, wrote the famous book on atomic radiation effects, No Place To Hide.

Dr. Edgard Chester Creutz, noted physicist now with General Dynamics as director of research of the General Atomic Division and director of the division's John Jay laboratory for pure and applied science, obtained his bachelor of arts degree in physics and mathematics from Wisconsin in 1936. He remained at Wisconsin until 1941, for a year as a research associate and later as an instructor in physics. He played a leading role in the World War II development of the atomic bomb and until recently was head of the department of physics and director of the Nuclear Research Center of the Carnegie Institute of Technology.

No one can specify what this peaceful atomic future holds. But of one thing we can be certain, it is permeating and will change in varying degrees the most intimate facets of our lives—our social, economic, political, and spiritual lives.

We may be entering an age of energy in plenty, ushered in by the almost unbelievably concentrated and versatile power of the atom. Abundance of energy means abundance of time for man to devote to creative, artistic, and spiritual values.

In this period of transition, however, man will need guidance and education as never before, not only to evaluate the essential meaning of this new age and adjust himself to it, but also to bridge the mighty cultural gap which separates scientific and technical advance from our lagging social and economic institutions.

* * * * *

I am confident that the University of Wisconsin, together with other American universities, and in consort with farsighted men of Government and industry, will make timely analyses of the probable consequences of the atom and will formulate new approaches to a changing social environment.

* * * * *

If the University of Wisconsin is to provide this guidance and education in the same eminent and inspired fashion it has in the past, it must possess the same freedoms as are reserved for our citizens by the Constitution. In such an atmosphere it can continue to serve as a market place for new ideas and thus train men and women for the future. Only in this way will the university produce the free, analytical, imaginative minds that will lead mankind to higher and higher material and spiritual levels in this fascinating, limitless, new atomic world.

Arthur O'Shaughnessy, that poet scientist of the industrial revolution, wrote:

"We, in the ages lying in the buried past of the earth,
Built Nineveh with our sighing, and Babel itself with our mirth;
And o'erthrew them with prophesying to the old of the new world's worth;
For each age is a dream that is dying or one that is coming to birth."

For the sake our our own and the unborn generations yet to come, our university must lead the way in realizing the full potential for good which the atomic dream that is coming to birth affords.

PATHWAY TO PROGRESS

(By Farrington Daniels)

Atomic fuel comes now from uranium; later it will come from thorium, and possibly from the hydrogen of the oceans in the distant future. Its use calls for very careful and expensive precautions to prevent damage from radioactivity. Because atomic power can be used for war and because it is possible to destroy a million people in a minute, great wisdom is needed to prevent the misuse of atomic power. A realization of the destructive possibilities of atomic power is the most sobering thought of our times. It is already at the heart of much international diplomacy.

Don't blame the atom for potential racial suicide. Don't blame the scientists and engineers who make the release of nature's energy possible. The carbon atoms of gasoline can be used either to power a death dealing military plane or to run a family automobile, and the nitrogen atoms of the air can be used either for military explosions or for fertilizer. These potentials for misuse exist. Someone has said, "The world would be a wonderfully fine place if it weren't for the people that live on it." But someone else has said, "Nothing is stronger than the atomic bomb except the heart and the mind of man." Let us have faith in man.

It will take all the wisdom of our statesmen, all the international good will that we can encourage, all that the United Nations can do and all that our young potential leaders can do to avoid international destruction and to continue on the road to abundant industrial energy. Let us not think, either, that all the responsibility lies on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Men in our own country have power over life and death such as was never before imagined. It is up to us to make sure that public opinion is vigorously expressed and that no irresponsible person ever gets into a position of power over our atoms. Our present energy-rich civilization is like a new super high-powered automobile—it calls for self-control, sobriety, and consideration.

Our future progress and safety depend on finding and educating leaders in science and technology, in statesmanship and administration, and in professions and business. It depends equally on the education of all our citizens so that they will understand issues clearly and help to make decisions wisely.

And in our international affairs, on which our safety depends as never before, we must realize that conditions have changed. We now have the sources of energy and the technologies with which to give vital help to the nonindustrialized countries. We have a broader base for unselfishness—the whole world—than any other nation has ever had. Let us give this help freely and wisely. The best road to happiness for a nation, as well as for an individual, is unselfishness.

THIRTY BILLION VOLTS

(By George Richard)

It'll be the race of the century, but no one will see it, not even with the most powerful of microscopes.

Stripped of its negative electron charge, the positive proton from a hydrogen atom shoots into a magnet-sheathed accelerating tube that's nearly a third of a mile round.

High-frequency voltages hurtle the proton faster and faster around the tube in an almost perfect vacuum. Soon it is streaking at nearly the speed of light.

In 2 brief seconds the proton travels 350,000 miles, held by a fixed magnetic field on its widening course.

Simultaneously another proton is being accelerated in a similar, adjacent tube.

Now both atomic particles are moving at top speed at the outside edges of their respective racetracks.

Quickly a physicist touches a control.

The two particles collide, coming together with fantastic force.

The impact is unimaginable. More than 30 billion electron volts of proton energy are developed. Mass converts to energy. Energy converts to mass. And, in all probability, this collision-created energy produces antiprotons, mesons, and new particles never before known to science.

This is a highly simplified account of the job which will be done by a great new atom smasher—the world's biggest—now being designed in Madison, Wis., by the Midwestern Universities Research Association.

Wisconsin is one of 15 universities involved in this highly significant project that's aimed at developing the most powerful research tool which nuclear physicists can devise.

Two dozen physicists, mathematicians, and engineers are working full time on principles and plans for the huge machine under a contract with the Atomic Energy Commission. If the project proceeds on schedule, construction of the atom smasher may get under way by the middle of 1959 and be completed 5 years later.

Then the physicists will have an unparalleled opportunity of exploring the minute world of the atom. They'll learn more about the tiny particles responsible for the forces which hold an atom together. And they'll assist in determining the laws of physics which apply to high-speed high-energy particles. Newton's laws have to be revised when 2 particles enter an area and 3 or 4 come out.

The scientists planning the atom smasher have their hands full. They're now building and testing pilot models which will help determine the most efficient type of magnets; the best means of producing a vacuum in a tube 500 feet in diameter; construction methods that will permit only twenty-thousandths of an inch variance in that same 500 feet, and a practical means of cooling the

hard-working accelerator, which will generate as much heat as 10,000 electric stoves.

Assisting the 24 scientists in the MURA research headquarters, a former automobile dealer's garage, are a dozen secretaries and administrators and 16 technical people who perform a variety of tasks vital to the undertaking. They draft plans. They construct machine parts. They maintain delicate electronic equipment. They operate a complicated IBM type 704 electronic computer.

That 704 computer is a modern marvel in itself. It is being rented for about $25,000 a month • • • but it resolves in hours what lesser computing systems might take days, months, or years to unravel.

About 35 students find part-time employment at MURA headquarters.

Although development of a project as vast and intricate as this must necessarily be based on individual and organization teamwork, credit for conceiving the basic principle that puts the MURA machine ahead of existing atom smashers goes to Prof. Keith Symon, now a member of the University of Wisconsin faculty. Improvements making his design more practical have been, and are now being, worked out by scientists from the MURA institutions.

Among them is Illinois Prof. D. W. Kerst, a 1934 graduate of Wisconsin and inventor of the widely-used betatron atom smasher. Professor Kerst is now technical director of the machine-design group in Madison.

• • • • •

Like all scholars engaged in fundamental research, the nuclear physicists make no specific predictions concerning the ultimate value of this work. But similar research helped produce our present age of atomic energy, and it is effort such as this upon which progress depends.

Long before the project's completion, however, MURA scientists have demonstrated results from their intensive efforts. By the end of 1956 more than 150 technical reports on MURA progress had been distributed to interested scientific people all over the world. Much of the information in them is immediately useful to workers in related fields.

The Midwestern Universities Research Association was incorporated in 1954, after individual scientists from several institutions informally began to discuss the need for joint research facilities. Obviously, a high-energy accelerator is too expensive, considering both finances and personnel, for one institution to tackle. Early financial support for MURA's initial study group came from the National Science Foundation, the Office of Naval Research, and from the universities concerned. At Wisconsin, the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation financed the university's participation.

Currently MURA is spending around $110,000 a month in the planning phase of its project. Present estimates place the final cost of constructing the complex machine at $75 million to $125 million.

Where will the FFAG atom smasher be built? The location hadn't been set by mid-January. University scientists would prefer to locate the machine close by a university. Under consideration are sites near Purdue, Minn., and Wisconsin. Another possible location is the Argonne National Laboratory in Illinois.

The pioneering scientists who are pushing toward completion of the accelerator are confident that this and other questions soon will, and must, be answered. For, as they put it in an official report:

"High-energy physics is, and surely will, continue to be for a long time to come, the major land of the unknown."

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herewith a letter dated February 11 which I received from Mr. M. J. Flannigan, chairman of the board, Kennedy & Parsons Co., Omaha, Nebr.

Mr. Flannigan sets forth his views after returning from an extended trip abroad and I thought this letter should be called to the attention of my colleagues:

KENNEDY & PARSONS CO.,
Omaha, Nebr., February 11, 1957.

The Honorable GLENN CUNNINGHAM,
United States Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR GLENN: I have just returned from a 3 months' trip which took me to Honolulu, Sidney, Melbourne, and Perth, Australia, Singapore, Hongkong, and Yokahama. I am writing you now to give you a couple of reactions I gained from this trip.

First, from the time we left Los Angeles until the time we returned to Vancouver, British Columbia, I never once heard or read about the imminence of war, invasion, Russian threat, or anything else along that line. It was only after I got back to the United States that I was apprised of the fact that the Russians might be attacking and overnight hitting us with thousands of bombers and submarines. I cannot help wonder where the inspiration for all this scare originates and if it is not part of a plan to keep things big by certain elements within the Government.

The second observation came from talking with many people who were passengers on our various means of transportation (one of which was 12,000 miles on a freighter, with passengers embarking and disembarking at various ports), and it seemed to be the consensus of opinion that the individual American is well liked and quite cordially received by most every country in the world today. However, there seems to be a general resentment against the policy of our State Department, particularly in regard to the way we are throwing money all around the world to gain, allegedly, power and prestige. This deep affection for the United States seems to fall into three categories. The first category is the country to whom we have not yet given money and it, therefore, feels neglected. The second category is the country who doesn't feel it needs our money but who has an enemy in another country to whom we have given money thus building up the strength of that country against the former one, and the third category is the country we have already given money to but who feels that we were stingy and gave them only about half enough. Putting the three categories together, it would seem that we have pretty well embraced most of the other countries of the world.

One other obseravtion, which to me seemed a little humorous, was that on the night flight from Honolulu to Sidney, 16 or 18 berths were available at an extra cost, and the extra cost, I might say, was considerable. While we had a full complement of passengers on our plane, the only 4 passengers who apparently felt they could afford the extra luxury of a sleeping berth were 4 members of our State Department.

Since my return I have been reading some of the copies of the World Herald that were saved for me, and I note therein your efforts in trying to hold down this ridiculous and asinine colossal spending of money by our Government, particularly in the field of foreign aid. Congratulations. I know it must be a very hard and disheartening matter because the odds seem to be against you, but I am certain that your constituents, and in all likelihood many American citizens who are not your constituents, appreciate what you are doing and are giving you their wholehearted moral support.

With best personal regards, I am,
Sincerely,

M. J. FLANNIGAN.

Max Abelman, Brooklyn's Ambassador of Good Will

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, congratulations and acknowledgments of his January birthday and his 50 years of philanthropies continue to draw attention to Max Abelman's many virtues. Mr. Abelman well merits the recognition of his many kindnesses and philanthropic accomplishments. His example is an inspiration to others, and the recognition given to him is in a sense recognition of the philanthropies of the many who do so much to further charity.

I am pleased to insert in the RECORD two letters and a newspaper article attesting to his virtues:

[From the New York World-Telegram and Sun of January 22, 1957]

FIFTY YEARS OF SERVICE: GOOD WILL ENVOY TO MARK 70TH BIRTHDAY

Max Abelman, "Brooklyn's Ambassador of Good Will," will celebrate his 70th birthday Saturday and round out 50 years of philanthropic service to the borough, the city, and the Nation.

Max, as countless Brooklynites know him, has coaxed more than $100 million out of borough residents in his 50 years of activity. The largest single amount he collected was $43.9 million, a sum he raised in 1 night when 44 Brooklyn banking institutions met at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in 1919 in a Liberty Bond drive.

BIG BROTHER ORGANIZER

But his services to his community extended far beyond the collection of money. He was one of the organizers of the Big Brother and Big Sister movement; he persuaded 2 artists to decorate 16 children's wards in the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital with gay murals and brought hundreds of celebrities to the hospital to autograph the murals. He worked constantly to better interfaith relations.

His motto was, and is, even in retirement, "Do something kind for somebody every day."

His kindness and his work have brought him many honors: a degree from the University of Manila, Philippines; the first hon-

orary membership in the Alumni Society of the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn; an award from Brooklyn College; and dozens of testimonial dinners and hundreds of letters of commendation from civic and fraternal organizations, from city and State officials, and from the Navy Department.

BEGAN CAREER IN 1907

Mr. Abelman began his philanthropic career in 1907 when he joined the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities. Two years later he began an association with the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn which ended, but only officially, in 1954, with his retirement as director of public relations for the institution. He also managed to squeeze a 9-year banking career and a 14-year career as executive director of the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities into his life.

Mr. Abelman married Bessie Schwartz on October 6, 1907, and they had one son, Alan Nathan. Mrs. Abelman died September 1955. Mr. Abelman lives at 35 Tennis Court.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAX ABELMAN,
Care Federation of Jewish Philanthropies:

We are both very pleased to be able at this time to send you our congratulations on the attainment of your 70th birthday and at the same time to wish you many more fruitful years. You have certainly contributed nobly and unselfishly to the welfare of others and we hope that some of the good you have done for others will be returned to you in a continuing long and prosperous life.

Congressman and Mrs. GEO. S. LONG.

JANUARY 31, 1957.

Mr. MAX ABELMAN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MAX: It is hard to believe what I read in the papers, that you are going to be 70 years old. You have led a wonderfully useful life. I congratulate you heartily on the birthday and wish you many, many more to come.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS E. DEWEY.

Statement of Jerry Voorhis, Executive Director, Cooperative League of U. S. A., Before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix a very important statement of Jerry Voorhis, executive director, Cooperative League of U. S. A., before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, February 28, 1957:

Mr. Chairman, and gentleman of the committee, my name is Jerry Voorhis and I am executive director of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A.

The Cooperative League is a national federation of consumer, supply, and service cooperatives. Its affiliated member organizations include in their membership approximately 13 million different families who have invested in the shares of cooperative businesses of various kinds through which they obtain farm supplies, insurance, consumer goods, electric power, savings and credit, health services housing and other needs. These people are providing the solution to their own economic problem and supplying their own economic needs without relying upon the Government or any other outside agencies. They are giving real meaning to the term "people's capitalism" for the rank and file of the American people. When a family owns one or more $5 shares in a credit union and hos opportunity to attend meetings where decisions are made about the business affairs of that credit union, it is taking responsibility of ownership and it has a part in a real "people's capitalism." When farmers invest their money in a cooperative fertilizer business or a cooperative oil business, they achieve a degree of ownership in one of these great industries, they assume the responsibilities of ownership, and they are able to help guide policies and the destinies of a part of those industries. The same can be said about the rest of the 13 million families to which I have just referred.

I appear before the committee not as an expert on technical aspects of atomic energy. I am here because of two concerns for the future of our country.

The first concern is for our position among the nations in atomic energy development.

The second concern is for the future pattern of our American economy as atomic energy development may affect it.

The material progress of mankind has been measured by his command of energy. Advances of civilization have largely been built on progress in harnessing new sources of energy. Nations and people have flourished when blessed with abundant and cheap power. They have stagnated when power and energy were expensive and scarce.

So it will be with us. The cheaper and more abundant the basic energy and power which we use to turn the wheels of industry and plow the furrows of agriculture, the stronger and more dynamic our economy will be. It has been reliably estimated that by 1980 the United States will need a 600-million-kilowatt electric generating capacity—5 times our present capacity. When we consider that farmers' use of electricity from their rural electric cooperatives has been doubling every 4 years, this estimate is not hard to accept.

If this estimate is anywhere nearly correct, we are going to have to use every resource we possess. And, certainly, major emphasis should be upon the one resource which appears to be inexhaustible—namely, atomic energy. We are also going to have to guard in every way against increases in the cost of electricity. For if it becomes more costly, we will be almost as badly off as if we suffer short supply.

Power company advertisements and Atomic Energy Commission oratory to the contrary, notwithstanding the plain facts, seem clear to show that our country is lagging seriously behind other nations in atomic power development. Whereas Russia has announced that by 1960 she expects to have over 2 million kilowatts of atomic power capacity completed, and Great Britain expects to reach 4 million by 1965, a generous estimate for the United States by the latter year, even if we include projects in the negotiation stage, is only about 1,100,000 kilowatts. Of course, one cannot foresee the future. But one can foresee the difference between progress likely to be made by nations proceeding with an eye only to progress on the one hand, and progress likely to be made by a nation proposing to wait until the very industry that has consistently blocked adequate development of power capacity finds it profitable to itself to take the admittedly great risks of atomic power development.

We have to be both rational and realistic. Our American economic system is a lot bigger than the private utility companies. There are always some difficult, costly, and yet absolutely necessary steps that must be taken in the development of any new resource which so deeply affect the general public interest that they should logically be taken by public bodies and under public responsibility. When they are, the whole of our economy and all our businesses and, above all, all our people benefit. Atomic energy is a case in point.

We did not wait for the private utility industry to find the way to release atomic energy. We found that way at public expense and by an intense national effort. The American people have an investment of over $15 billion in this, probably the greatest public resource known to history. Both from the standpoint of our country's relative position among the nations of the world and from the standpoint of potential benefits to our own economy, the people are entitled to a better record of progress in development of practical uses of this great new resource than they have had up-to-date.

We don't want Russia to take the lead over us in overwhelmingly the most important economic development of our time. If she does so, she'll come pretty close to winning the cold war. We don't want that to happen, even if we have to by-pass the private electric utilities to forge ahead—even if Congress has to require a change of policy on the part of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Let us be realistic enough to recognize that the position of the United States in atomic power development thus far is due entirely to Government research, development, construction and finance. Without Government initiation and without almost complete Government financing at Shippingport, Pa., there would be no sizable power reactor under construction in the United States today. Without the Government's submarine reactor program it would not have been possible for one of our big private companies to sell a reactor to Belgium. And so on.

This should tell us two things. First, the Government's job of research and development must be completed to its logical conclusion. Second, this must be done in such a way that the benefits and opportunities of atomic-power development will be spread broadly, evenly, and justly throughout the economy, so that monopoly does not result, and so the American people, as a whole, are not called upon to pay twice over for a great resource for which they have already paid once.

As to our domestic economy, the question is this: Will the coming of atomic energy into our economic life have the effect which, even after its emasculation in 1954, the Atomic Energy Act still requires? The act says that atomic energy shall be so developed as to strengthen the free-enterprise system and encourage competition. But the policies of the present Atomic Energy Commission and the practices and natural self-interest of the electric power industry of the country are calculated to bring about precisely the opposite result.

After Edison invented the electric light we did not adopt a national policy of waiting until the kerosene lamp companies decided it was to their special interest to develop electricity on a commercial scale. New companies sprang up to develop a new industry.

Today, our economy is showing unmistakable signs of age. This is not a pleasant nor a popular thing to say. But, it is true. Unless something is done to change the present course we will find America's economic life as monopolistic as that of Western Europe. In a recent speech before the American Management Association, Mr. T. M. Evans, president of H. K. Porter Co., said that the trend toward domination of our economy by a few giant corporations is "one of the quickest ways to socialism." He declared that unless the Government takes steps to ease the financing problems of small business,

"competition will be eliminated in the next 5 to 10 years, and we will end up with 1 or possibly 2 large companies in each of the major fields."

I will not burden the committee with a lot of detail on this point. You are, no doubt, better acquainted with the facts than am I. Suffice it to point out that only a few years ago there were 60 oil refineries in Oklahoma whereas today there are only 16, and only 6 of these are independents; that as a result of a process of mergers during the past several years, 3 large corporations control nearly all of the processing of dairy products in this country; and that the only reason there is any competition at all in the electric-power business is because some publicly owned projects and the rural electric cooperatives provide that competition to the private power companies which, however, dominate the industry with an 85 percent control.

The House Small Business Committee recently showed that our 500 biggest corporations, each with assets of over $100 million, owned 51½ percent of all manufacturing assets in 1952, but had boosted this percentage to 57 percent in 1955. From 1953 to 1955 there was a net loss of 19,000 manufacturing companies in the country. If present trends continue, the committee asserted, these 500 firms will own all the Nation's factories by 1978.

Our largest corporation has an annual turnover of business equal to one-sixth that of the Federal Government, including all our defense expenditures. There is no longer the slightest possibility of a new company gaining access to the automobile business. Profit rates for General Motors average about 30 percent a year, but one can't exactly blame General Motors for this because, while this is clearly a monopolistic profit rate, nevertheless, if General Motors slashed prices they'd probably run all their remaining competition out of business.

What we can blame is public policy that has permitted the automobile business to reach the point of no possible return to conditions of economic freedom or freedom of enterprise.

The power business is on the way to the same situation. It's a long way down that road. Once monopoly is established in the power business then we will be in for far more serious trouble than is the case with automobiles. For whoever controls a nation's power resource controls that nation's economy absolutely. And history has yet to record any monopoly that did not seek to maintain a scarcity of its product or service relative to demand and national need for it.

The American power companies have never proven an exception to this rule.

All these facts about the present alarming decline in economic freedom in the United States have got to be considered as we develop policy with respect to atomic energy.

Yet, our policy at present is to wait until the power companies get ready to develop it before we can have any real progress in peacetime uses of atomic energy. This, despite the fact that the American people have paid $15 billion of tax money for the development of atomic energy and that, beyond any shadow of doubt, they—the whole people—own basic rights to atomic energy today.

The rate of progress of our nuclear power program in the United States has been set by the private utility companies. It has been too slow a rate either for the Nation's safety or its welfare, or for justice to the people who have paid the bill.

There are only two agencies that can, at present, afford to develop, build, pay for and operate atomic powerplants on a commercially practicable scale. The last figure I have seen—and I expect it is too low a one by now—is that $60 million is the minimum amount of investment required for a commercial-scale atomic powerplant. Few companies indeed—and no small ones—can afford that kind of venture. Even the big power companies say that no one of them can do it. They ask substantial Government subsidy. They ask that the Utility Holding Company Act be amended to allow several of them to go together in building and owning atomic power. They insist that Uncle Sam foot the greater part of the insurance bill.

Among the large corporations of the country, there are a handful which have had the tremendous advantage of participating with the Government in its atomic energy projects. Add to this the fact that the compulsory licensing provisions of the original McMahon Atomic Energy Act were amended out of it in 1954 so that now private exclusive patents can be taken even on basic processes connected with atomic power development. Personally, I don't believe any special interest should be able to patent the energy of the sun.

Thus, it is clear that if present AEC policies are continued and if Congress does not take remedial action, then the best we can expect is that sometime, someday, we will begin to get atomic power from one or more of a mere handful of the mightiest corporations in the country. And they will conrtol and own both the know-how and the patent rights which will be the keys to participation in this new and revolutionary industry.

Aside from these few companies—or a combination of them—the only agency capable of pioneering the construction and operation of commercial-scale atomic powerplants is the Federal Government. If the Government does it, its findings, processes, know-how, patentable discoveries will be available on equal terms to all American business, large and small, corporate and cooperative, private and public. Under such circumstances, we could hope for rapid development of practical uses of atomic energy. Atomic power could become the means of revitalizing and rejuvenating our economic system. True costs of developing atomic power would be known for sure, by experience. They would not have to be guessed at. This may be very important in the future. The grip of monopoly would be loosened, maybe broken. There would be a chance for new companies to arise.

Power short areas of the country would be power short no longer. No more would the decentralization of industry be hampered by the need to locate in areas adjacent to natural sources of power. But, you gentlemen know far better than I the possibilities that exist if once atomic power can be produced at economically feasible costs. The big thing that has to be found out—and that can only be found out by practical operation of large scale plants—is exactly how atomic power can be so produced.

These are the basic reasons why passage of the Gore-Holifield bill—or at least a measure including its basic features—is, in my opinion, the most important single duty of the present Congress.

It may be observed that all the reactors provided for by the Gore-Holifield bill would not supply anywhere near AEC's own need for electric power, which at last reports was, I believe, about 13 percent of total national consumption. Hence, all the gains I am pleading for could be had without AEC actually selling a single kilowatt.

I have an additional reason for believing as I do. If we really want to maintain economic freedom; if we really want a true "people's capitalism"; if we want to have a minimum of governmental controls and regulations; if we also want to overcome the stultifying influences of monopoly, there is a very constructive way to accomplish all these objectives. That way is to have a portion—and it need not be such a very big portion either—of various industries owned, capitalized, and effectively controlled by the users of their services and the customers for their products. Wherever a part of an industry is owned and controlled by the same people who buy its products or use its services, you have a built-in yardstick of economic pricing, quality of service, and, above all, adequacy of production. The people who own a business that serves their own needs must pay all costs of operation, including all taxes, of course. But they won't seek to profiteer at their own expense, nor to provide themselves with inadequate service or poor quality products.

Hence, the competitive impact of cooperative business—for that is obviously what I'm talking about—is beneficial to everyone—even to their competitors. The mere fact that cooperatives, for example, carry on between 1 percent and 2 percent of various phases of the Nation's oil business led the president of an independent refinery association to remark, not long ago, that the major oil companies should be very grateful that the cooperatives are in their industry, since their very presence there proves that a degree of competition can still exist. And the presence of rural electric cooperatives in the field has caused rates charged rural consumers to decline as much as 50 percent from what they were before this consumer-owned competition was established by our farmers.

Naturally, therefore, I am deeply concerned that the rural electric cooperatives, which have contributed in such outstanding fashion to the progress and welfare of our country, should take their full rightful place in atomic-power development. I know that three cooperatives are now in preparatory stages of acquiring atomic-power plants. I hope and pray that they will turn out successfully and that they will prove economically practicable. But I confess I would feel a whole lot better about the outlook if the basic job which should have been done long since by AEC and which the Gore-Holifield bill would require it to do, had been done. I would feel a lot better if we had essential facts and data at hand from actual experience in building and operating full-scale atomic-power plants in the general public interest and with a view to national development and welfare.

The logical conclusion to the long and very expensive process of atomic-energy development which we, as a nation, have gone through is to bring atomic energy into practical use. The construction and operation by the Government of admittedly very expensive prototype reactors and powerplants in the only way to bring research and development to that logical conclusion. This is a job for the AEC—or, if it won't act—for some other public agency created by the Congress which will.

Let's finish the job. The firm base for broad development of atomic power in a free economic system has not yet been built. It won't be until we put the Nation's progress and welfare ahead of all special interests whatsoever. The Gore-Holifield bill proposes to do exactly that. It proposes to put the only logical keystone into the arch of atomic energy research and development. If that keystone is put in place, it will be no substitute for corporate and cooperative development, but rather the one sure way to bring about development by private corporate enterprise, private cooperative enterprise, and public bodies. In fact, I strongly suspect that much of the recent publicity about atomic-power projects in 1 or 2 areas of the country has been prompted by the mere discussion of the Gore-Holifield bill. If so, actual passage of the bill would, without doubt, have many times this same beneficial effect.

We live at one of the great turning points in history. No small consideration should determine our actions at such a time.

Atomic energy can be the death of man. It can be the death of economic freedom in America. But, if our policies are based on justice to all the people and to all parts of our economy, if our policies seek only the general welfare of our Nation and the relief of burdens throughout the world—then the atomic age can be one of greater hope, greater justice, and more enduring peace than past ages have dared to dream of.

Latins Feel the United States Is Neglecting Them

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article by Mr. Edward Tomlinson. This article, which appeared in the Miami Herald on Sunday, February 24, 1957, points out that we are in danger of overlooking the importance of our Western Hemisphere neighbors to our foreign policy.

The Latin American countries are vitally important to the United States. Their cooperation, in political, economic, and military affairs, is far too important to be taken for granted. Mr. Tomlinson's article follows:

LATINS FEEL UNITED STATES IS NEGLECTING THEM

WASHINGTON.—There is smoldering impatience among our Latin American neighbors over what many of them feel is official Washington's indifference toward Western Hemisphere relations, or at least a lack of top-flight attention to inter-American problems.

Whether justified or not, they watch with no little envy what one outstanding South American publisher calls, "the procession of European political bigwigs and neutralist, not to say anti-Western, potentates from Asia and the Middle East that marches on the North American capital to receive red-carpet treatment and the preoccupation of United States leaders with Old World affairs."

Latin American diplomats point out that the State Department has been without an Assistant Secretary of State for inter-American affairs ever since last summer, when Henry Holland resigned. According to some Latin observers, even when there has been a permanent Secretary for that Department, he was often left to grapple alone with the problems of the 20 southern republics.

As our critics down south see it, top officials in our Nation's Capitol take time out to bother with hemisphere matters, only when a real emergency arises, say the Communist penetration of Guatemala, or upon occasion to join in some good-will gesture, such as the meeting of presidents in Panama in July of last year. This is not literally true, of course, but many responsible Latins profess to believe it.

There is no general criticism of the ability of our professional diplomats, or the efforts of both those in the Department and others who represent us in the various capitals, to iron out the difficulties and keep relations on an even keel. Thanks largely to them, there are no dangerous issues confronting us in this field at the moment.

Whatever we may think about it, our neighbors cannot understand why friendly, free nations as big, rich, and populous as Mexico or Brazil, Venezuela or Chile, should not receive at least as much high official as well as public attention as the tiny, one-man kingdoms and principalities of Africa and the Middle East. For that matter, many of our own people feel the same way.

Some of our ablest and most experienced Foreign Service men admit that while we are in no immediate danger of losing Latin American cooperation, we can no longer afford for them to feel that we take their goodwill and friendship for granted. We have too much at stake in the 20 republics.

We have more investments in them than in all other parts of the world put together, Canada excepted. We need and must get from them, both in peacetime and in war, many key raw materials.

In World War II, 75 percent of all the food products we imported—such as coffee, sugar, meats, and vegetable oils—came from the other Americas. They supplied 40 percent of the strategic minerals and metals necessary to supply our factories and foundries.

Today 34 of the critical raw materials we are stockpiling against another international emergency come from these sources. Strategically they are the last bulwark of our defenses, when all others fail.

Never before has competition for their commerce and economic resources been so great. Not only the Western European nations and Japan, but both Communist Russia and China are busy day and night negotiating trade agreements and building markets below the border.

Communist agents and propagandists are spending enormous sums of money to build up anti-United States feeling among labor unions, and to inflame students, small time politicians and particularly the extreme nationalists against us. They spare no effort to discredit United States investments and industrial enterprises from Mexico to Argentina. Both the Reds and the nationalists harp on what they call Yankee neglect of Latin America.

No matter who the assistant secretary of state may be, or how able, he still is only an assistant. No matter how skilled our ambassadors in the different countries, they still are only representatives of Washington. The Latins want to feel that the head men in our Government also have Western Hemisphere problems very much on their minds. It is not only human for them to feel this way, but it is vital to us.

A Promised Land

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial which appeared in the Anchorage (Alaska) Daily Times of January 9, 1957.

At a time when the future of the homeless people of Hungary is bleak and foreboding and ways are being sought to extend a helping hand to them, I believe the suggestions set forth in the editorial may represent a means whereby life may be started anew for these deserving persons:

OPPORTUNITY MISSED

Alaska is missing a precious opportunity to increase its population.

The Federal Government is looking for a place for permanent settlement of thousands of refugees from Hungary. There is no known consideration being given the possibility of locating them in Alaska.

One of the greatest needs of the Territory is more people. There are opportunities here for new developments. The land and resources are capable of supporting millions but there are only 209,000 persons here.

Among the refugees are men and women skilled in all types of enterprise. Populations of entire communities in Hungary have been brought to the United States. They are not all industrial workers, although there may be a preponderance of them. There are craftsmen with special skills, professional people, farmers, and all the others who make a community.

From those thousands of refugees it appears reasonable to assume that several hundred could be selected for location in Alaska to develop the land and resources.

Several plans for settlement projects are known to have been drawn during the last 10 years. At least two of them looked toward the development of farming on the Kenai Peninsula.

A project of that sort could be made feasible for the refugees and of benefit to the Territory by proper planning.

The plan must include provisions for protecting and improving the economic status of farmers already here, as well as affording the refugees an opportunity to become stable and happy residents of the Territory.

These provisions must look into marketing facilities for farm products. Expansion and improvements in them are needed in order to lengthen the marketing seasons and widen the markets. All farmers would benefit from such developments.

The Kenai Peninsula is only one of several places where land, climate, and marketing conditions make a settlement project appear feasible.

A study by the Alaska Agricultural Experiment Station shows that Kenai development is not faring well. Fifty-nine percent of the land which has been patented or entered for homesteads was unoccupied or abandoned in 1955. Another 31 percent of it was being used solely for rural residences. On only 10 percent of this land were the owners farming or planning to farm.

Interest in farming was reported to be on the wane. In 1950 there were 80 homesteaders planning to farm. In 1955 only 27 of them were still interested. Out of 851 homesteads only 38 are being farmed on a full or part-time basis.

The reasons for the lethargy in Kenai farming point up the feasibility of a settlement project for refugees.

The experiment station report concluded that this generation is unwilling to undergo the pioneering hardships that their forefathers did. The report said:

"Today's homesteader leaves a highly mechanized, highly regimented social structure for semi-isolation in Alaska's wilds. A few settlers successfully make this transition—successful to the extent that they may depend largely on their own land for food.

"Many homestead families are considered ill-housed, ill-clothed, and rather backward members of their communities. Their neighbors usually take for granted stateside standards of housing, clothing, and services.

"It is generally not appreciated that surfaced highways, daily air and truck service, rural electrification, modern schools and many other niceties of modern farm communities are not compatible with homesteading.

"New farms fostered by current homestead legislation cannot afford these expensive services, yet without them, people can no longer be persuaded to live on the land. The burden of all these services cannot be borne by nonproductive land. Thus, for at least a

generation, these services must be provided from other sources.

"Failing in this, land will not be utilized because early utilization demands too much family sacrifice."

The refugees could be expected to place a different evaluation on the opportunities for land ownership and development. Coming from a strife-torn country where they never heard of rural electrification and many of the other refinements of life in America, they might be undeterred by the hardships that go with homesteading.

What looks difficult and forbidding to the modern generation of Americans might be viewed as "the promised land" to the refugees.

The Challenge of Tomorrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an address recently delivered by our colleague from Florida, the Honorable WILLIAM C. CRAMER, to the graduating class of Tampa University, and an editorial from the Tampa Morning Tribune of February 9, 1957, complimenting Mr. CRAMER on his speech:

THE CHALLENGE OF TOMORROW

(Address by Hon. WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida, before the graduating class, Tampa University, February 7, 1957)

I am highly honored and privileged to have this opportunity to address this group of promising young Americans who are looking forward to—and I am sure will be willing to accept—the challenge of tomorrow. You are to be congratulated for having spent many tedious and trying hours in preparing yourselves for more productive future lives through higher education. You have surmounted one of the important hurdles of life and are today being justly rewarded by receiving these degrees.

The community should be proud of the ability and tenacity which each of you has displayed in order to merit your degrees. You likewise, of course, are justifiably proud of your present successes, and I share with you in that pride and wholeheartedly compliment you.

It is fortunate that you have so equipped yourselves, for you have before you as young men and women, in my opinion, the greatest challenge of the ages. Our world today, of which the United States is a fulcrum point, is developing technologically, economically and spiritually with giant strides. The longer the stride over the shorter period being made today in the fields of science, medicine, the betterment of international relations, and industry, just as examples, indicates first how well the present generation has accepted their challenge and indicates further how greater the challenge will be to you.

What are some of these challenges? In the field of science and chemistry, you, the youth of today, will probably conquer space and answer the mysteries of outer space; you will be developing new and unheard of peaceful uses for nuclear and atomic energy. You will be thus accepting the challenge bequeathed to you by many of today's leaders. President Eisenhower has spoken to the world through the United Nations urging other free nations to join with us in the common goal of harnessing this newly discovered energy which, when fully developed, undoubtedly will mean better lives for all. Your Government last year appropriated $400 million for research in this field.

The doctors having answered the challenge already in our time presented by infantile paralysis, must now accept the challenge presented by the number one killer, heart trouble, and the second killer, cancer, and through research you will be participating in this challenge and the span of life through your efforts will be increasing even in greater measure than the some 20-year increase over the last 50 years of effort.

Yes, even military strategists, who we all pray some day will be needed only to police the peaceful nations of the world, at present and for a lengthy foreseeable future must accept the challenge of keeping America prepared and in the forefront in the development of war materiel. Recent experience has shown that we must deal from a position of greatest strength in order that our ultimate goal of world peace might be gained, and that the continuing threat of Communist aggression and oppression might be successfully met. The challenge of today and tomorrow in the field of military preparedness is the greatest in our history. This is a period of transition—transition to jet aircraft, intercontinental missiles, nuclear-powered ships, higher power through more effective rockets of every description, redeployment of troops and qeupiment to conform to this transition. Fifty-nine percent of this year's recommended budget of $71.8 billion is being spent to meet this challenge and that of national security. Your further challenge will be to see that these fabulous sums spent today for this purpose will not have been spent in vain and that this great strength shall be used by you as future leaders in the quest for permanent world peace.

The challenge to the ministers, the priests, the rabbis, is to keep all in this rapidly changing world of today in proper perspective; to keep us ever mindful when we are tempted to be preoccupied with such fast-moving events, that we must never become so self-centered as a result of our own accomplished miracles, that we forget that all of this springs from the fountainhead of Almighty God. To teach us further that if all of this is to mean anything, if our contribution is to be worthwhile in the short span of life given us, then our ultimate effort should be directed toward the permanent and peaceful brotherhood of mankind.

To the statesmen, to those of you who will participate, and I hope that each and every one of you will in some way, in what I believe to be one of the noblest professions, that of government, these swiftly moving events offer one of the greatest of all challenges. Ultimately the goal must be an orderly, lawful society where the rights of all are respected, where the duties of the collective republican form of government are fulfilled with the least individual coercion. You, as Americans, must be ever appreciative of the fact that you in your own right do the governing in our representative form of government where you choose your own leaders. It has often correctly been stated that bad government results from good people failing to participate.

Of course, the challenge is great in every other field, but I mention last but not least, the responsibility in the future of the educator whose job it is to make certain that the young men and women of all this Nation and the world seek out the truth, foresight, perseverance and training to make them, as yourselves, the future leaders in these fields; to equip you fully to be capable of accepting this challenge. This is the greatest challenge of the ages.

More and more in my short public life, particularly as a representative in the highest legislative tribunal in the world, the United States Congress, I realize how great are our responsibilities, not only to ourselves as American citizens, but to the world. Unquestionably, our Nation is in a dominant position, more so than probably at any other time in history. We are cast in the role of world leadership. I was taught in law school that every right which we enjoy under our legal scheme of things has a correlative duty. Likewise, when applied on a broader scale, our position of world leadership vests us with tremendous responsibilities. There is no doubt in my mind but that the inspirations gained by the people of Hungary, who learned of and know the freedoms we enjoy in this country, became the torch that lit one of the national revolts against communistic tyranny. The United States, and the freedom that its people enjoy, as exemplified by the torch held on high by the Statue of Liberty and seen by all who seek to gain admission to this Nation, is the light that gives hope in the hearts of the Communist-dominated peoples of the world and other freedom loving nations seeking selfdetermination. It is the hope of those, who like ourselves, seek the security of permanent peace, it is the hope of those who suffer in poverty and ill health, those who live in antiquity and discomfort. It is our responsibility to see that this torch of hope continues to burn ever bright.

In the position of world leadership, I believe the moral fiber of our country has stiffened in recent years and that America has found new courage and strength. Our country today is accepting its challenge, not only in the field of military preparedness in order that we might perform on the stage of world politics in a position of greatest strength, but we have also gained new moral stature throughout the world. Recent pronouncements from the executive and legislative bodies clearly pronounce to the world that we intend to deal firmly with those who refuse to abide by law and rightness. Doing so, in the hope of strengthening the United Nations is the greatest hope for the accomplishment of our ultimate goal. One of the most gratifying votes I have had the privilege of casting was that of confirming President Eisenhower's position on Formosa, stating to the world, as well as to Red China, that should that nation violate the territorial integrity of Nationalist China, that our answer would be swift and certain.

In that same year, the Congress of the United States, as representative of all the American people, took a significant stand on a sound moral basis condemning colonialism throughout the world. Already this session, the President's Mideast doctrine has cleared the House and undoubtedly will pass the Senate. This doctrine acknowledges fully the responsibility of this Nation, calling initially for $200 million in economic aid to the nations in this area needing such aid, and military aid to fill the power vacuum before the Communists do so. At the same time, the President, and now the House of Representatives, has importuned the United Nations with the full power of our country behind it to settle this dispute on a fair and honorable basis. Dealing from this position, with a sound moral foundation, with adequate preparedness, and dealing firmly, the goal as announced by our President in his inaugural address, it is our prayer, can be achieved; that goal is "the building of a peace with justice in a world where moral law prevails:". Thus the leaders of today are accepting the challenge. Your challenge of tomorrow will be even greater. This effort today will be history tomorrow. Tomorrow's history rests with you. Tomorrow's history is your challenge.

Just the few matters touched upon indicating the responsibilities of your government today I hope will be convincing proof that in future years it is essential, in that you are the leaders of the future, that you participate to the fullest extent in government, which is the medium through which history is made. Government work, elec-

tive, professional, or appointive, is noble work. The challenge is ever increasing as government becomes more complex and begins to accept greater responsibilities. Your government affects your everyday lives and under our system of representative government, by participating you can influence the effect that it has. What greater power over a person could an agency have than to determine whether you should be subject to service and sacrifice in time of war? What greater influence over a man's labors—over your labors, could there be than to oversee the negotiations of your working conditions with management—to deduct from your payroll taxes for the conduct of your government, social security for your future retirement? What greater control of your comforts of life than to supervise and license all public utilities and communications, to be responsible for the provision of adequate transportation facilities? These are just a few examples, but I believe just these few examples indicate the importance of your participation in the noble profession of government.

There are just a few thoughts concerning this profession and its fundamental philosophy that I would like to leave with you. I believe it essential that every American develop and cling to certain basic concepts, certain truths, that to me are self-evident in this field. Conviction with regard to these general concepts as expressed through your participation in working for those who will represent your beliefs is an essential element of our form of government. The expression of your conviction through your work is one of your greatest challenges. What are some of these convictions—these truths—that I believe to be self-evident?

The first, I believe, is that those who are governed best are those who are governed least. We must accept our responsibilities on the local level for solving the problems that are not specifically delegated to the Federal Government under our Constitution. We must reverse the trend most markedly developed in the last quarter century of looking expectantly to Washington for a solution to all of our problems. Obviously, carrying such an approach to its logical extreme will result in a concentration of power in one place, with a possible domination of one person, and eventually a socialistic state.

In connection with this, we must realize that the assumption by the Federal Government of jurisdiction over any program and the providing of Federal money to facilitate it, means at least to some degree, Federal control and if in the hands of wrong persons, could mean Federal dictation. There is, in my opinion, a very real threat being offered to these aforementioned concepts in Washington today. Perhaps the most concrete example is the proposal for Federal aid to education. We all want adequate schools but this has traditionally been accepted as a local responsibility.

I am firmly convinced that one of the major bulwarks guaranteeing future representative government is a diversity of teachings found best suited to serve not only the national but the local purpose, a finding which is presently determined in each locality. There should never be an opportunity presented for the Federal Government to control the teachings in our schools or the policies with respect to school operations. Although the President and I seem to disagree with respect to the wisdom of the school aid program, we do agree in the broader generality which he stated in his state-of-the-Union message in referring to his general concept of government: "May we know unity—without conformity." From a practical standpoint, tax money to support such a program comes from us on a local level and by the time it is returned from Washington it has been depleted by some 30 percent for administrative costs alone. This is one example of where we must accept the challenge on local responsibility. Failing to accept it undoubtedly will leave a void into which the Federal Government will asert itself and in so doing, will to some extent infringe upon our rights and privileges to control our local educational policies. I cite these concepts and the challenge offered by the effort to adhere to them in that I believe the trend towards the bigness of government in Washington and the accumulation therein of responsibility that has traditionally been State and local, has developed to alarming proportions of recent years and the necessity for reversing this trend is, in my opinion, the most imminent danger and the greatest challenge.

Though I do not intend to labor at length on these fundamental concepts, I would just like to cite 1 or 2 additional fundamental beliefs to which we must all adhere if we are to preserve the most successful form of government in the history of the world. We must at all times encourage the development of and curb encroachments on, our free enterprise competitive system, which, of course, is inimic to socialistic regimentation. Struggles concerning this are going on constantly in Washington today. Efforts are being made to get the Government out of businesses that can better be handled by private enterprise, particularly in the Defense Department. The great struggle over the question of whether the Federal Government or private enterprise should develop the great hydroelectric powerplants of the Nation continues unabated. These problems undoubtedly will be with you in the future.

The recognition of fiscal responsibility is essential in your Government as well as in private enterprise, as in the operation of your home. We should spend what we can afford to spend. We should operate on a balanced budget basis. We should accept the responsibilities of this generation to pay off our $269 billion indebtedness, that costs us $4 million daily in interest alone.

We must not solve emergency problems with permanent measures, but must recognize that such measures are temporary. They are only expedients at best, and, therefore, as soon as possible, we should relieve the American people of these emergency burdens. Some of these burdens have been relieved. Those imposed in time of war, such as price and rent controls, have been relieved. Others remain, such as excise taxes. But the real risk involved is that in the heat of a passing emergency, such as the present critical school shortage, we pass legislation of a permanent nature with which posterity will be saddled.

To sum up, and again to quote our President: "When dealing with peoples' problems, be human, be liberal. When dealing with their money, be conservative."

This is the challenge of tomorrow—this is the challenge of the ages. You will be called upon to meet this challenge. The manner in which you do this will constitute your legacy to posterity—to your children. You have, through your college education, better equipped yourselves to meet this challenge. I wish you every success and may your lives, each and every one, be happy and purposeful.

[From the Tampa Tribune of February 9, 1957]

STRAIGHT TALK FROM MR. CRAMER

Too many Southerners who shout about States' rights talk out of both sides of their mouths, as Gov. Marvin Griffin did in a recent message to the Georgia Legislature. In one breath he damned Federal intrusion upon State authority. In the next breath he boasted that Georgia led the Southeast in the amount of Federal aid funds obtained "in benefits for our people."

It is absurdly inconsistent to wave a States' rights banner with one hand and rattle a tin cup in Washington with the other. If the Federal Government takes over a State's financial responsibilities, it is inevitably going to take over more of that State's governmental powers.

This inconsistency of position has been particularly noticeable in the controversy over Federal aid to schools. Many Southern Congressmen apparently oppose a school building handout only if a desegregation string is specifically tied to it. Otherwise they'd vote for this new surrender of responsibility to Washington and brag to the voters back home how much Federal money they were bringing to the State.

We're happy to see that Congressman CRAMER, of the Tampa district, is not one of these.

In his talk to the University of Tampa graduating class, Mr. CRAMER pointed directly to the principle involved.

"We must accept our responsibilities on the local level for solving problems that are not specifically delegated to the Federal Government under our Constitution," he said. "We all want adequate schools but this traditionally has been accepted as a local responsibility. * * * It is time we reversed the trend of a last quarter century of looking expectantly to Washington for the solution of our problems."

And he pointed to a fundamental fact so often forgotten by voters and concealed by politicians: Federal aid is not "free" money. It comes right out of the pockets of local taxpayers—with the difference that a large part of it melts away in Federal administrative costs before it returns to the people from which it was collected.

The present special Federal aid to communities which, like Tampa, bear an abnormal school burden because of the presence of military installations can be justified. Here the Federal Government is helping meet a federally created problem.

But there certainly is no justification for the Federal Government to hand out money to meet normal public school needs which ought to be paid for from State and local taxes. Federal controls will follow this aid as surely as bills follow Christmas.

We commend to other Congressmen the stand taken by Congressman CRAMER. This is the kind of States' right talk which is good for both the South and the Nation.

Altoona, Pa., Now Has 3,600 More Persons Employed in New Jobs, Thanks to the Altoona Industrial Development Fund

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the February 20, 1957 issue of the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror tells the story of the accomplishments of the Altoona Enterprises, Inc., in securing 11 new industries with 3,600 new jobs which represents a boost in Altoona's annual payroll by $12 million.

The Altoona plan which has attracted the attention of thousands of industrial groups from all over the United States brought to Altoona the following manufacturing plants: Butterick Co., Inc.; Na-

tional United States Radiator Co., Inc.; S. K. F. Industries, Inc.; Butcher & Hart Manufacturing Co.; Altoona Shoe Co.; Sydney Chairs, of Pennsylvania; Pennsylvania Shoe Co.; Veeder-Root, Inc.; Stanley Electric Manufacturing Co.; Sylvania Electric Co.; and Cross Keys Manufacturing Co. All of these industries have found Altoona an ideal place for their manufacturing efforts and recognized the great desire on the part of Altoona residents to build for the community a stronger economy, thus providing jobs for the surplus labor in that area.

It has been a pleasure as representative in Congress from the 20th District of Pennsylvania to work in close harmony with officials of the Altoona Enterprises, Inc., and to join them in taking pardonable pride in this collective effort that has been made to build a bigger and better Altoona, Pa.

The editorial follows:

IS JOB WELL DONE

Altoona now has 3,600 more persons employed in new jobs, thanks to the Altoona industrial development fund, through their effort in the past 6 years, and more jobs are on the way as announcement will soon be made of new industries being located in this area.

Altoona Enterprises, Inc., Jobs for Joes, the committee of 100 and the Altoona Chamber of Commerce are responsible for Altoona's job growth and the contributions of most loyal citizens have brought about the city's industrial expansion.

In every section of the State Altoona's achievement, in procuring new industry, is highly lauded and what Altoona, through its enterprising citizens, has accomplished is praised.

Altoonans are more and more appreciating the Altoona Enterprises, Inc., whose members have been too busy getting new plants and possibly neglecting the eduaction of every citizen in the program. Now that results are plainly shown and new jobs created, citizens are climbing aboard the bandwagon.

Of course, there are some growlers about industry, but the only complaints come from some known grouches, and some jobless, and from organizations that collect dues but have never contributed any money nor have they offered their services.

The Altoona Chamber of Commerce has just issued a brochure that pictures most emphatically Altoona's success as regards the industrial fund and the achievement through money contributed by Altoona citizens. Eleven new industries to date is the record. These firms employ 3,600 people and more than 70 percent of the employees are men. The Altoona payroll has been boosted by $12,000,000 annually. That performance needs no defending. It speaks for itself. It should silence the grossly uninformed complainers.

The brochure tells how all the contributions were used. Since 1950, contributions amounted to $813,325 with an earned interest of $34,000, bringing the available industry fund up to $847,325. To this can be added the $134,000 held in second mortgage bond sales. Necessary expenditures over the 6-year period were $260,000 for land purchases, $22,000 for advertising and $62,000 for administrative work.

The industrial fund today has $469,000 invested in 5 new industrial plants, and this sum is being paid back in rentals.

"With your support Altoona will continue to grow" is the statement contained in the brochure. It's a fact that Altoonans have come to realize, but it requires the full cooperation of every citizen, which is most certainly deserved.

The Altoona industrial progress is supported by pictures of the new plants and no one can refute such evidence. Altoona has put contributed money to work and has achieved a fine success.

Perhaps we in Altoona should "talk it up" more extensively than has been done in the past. Other cities in the State talk favorably about the Altoona plan. We Altoonans should be the most appreciative of the program. The citizens directing the industrial expansion deserve, and should receive, the greatest praise from the home folks. Congratulations, committee members, for a job accomplished through hard work, diligence, and in the true community spirit.

Nebraska's Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow will be Nebraska's birthday. It was on March 1, 1867, 90 years ago, that President Andrew Jackson signed the proclamation making the Territory of Nebraska one of the United States of America, the 37th in the Union. Statehood was thus achieved after the first statehood bill had been vetoed by the same President.

Just this month, we have celebrated the birth anniversaries of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. That gave us a chance to glance backward through the years to see what Nebraska looked like during the terms of office of those great Presidents.

During Washington's administration, Nebraska was but rolling prairie land, cut through by many rivers, populated mainly by the Indians. At that time, the territory belonged to Spain and the Spanish were beginning to press their claims in the upper Missouri Basin.

Long before Lincoln's day, Nebraska had become the property of the United States as a part of the Louisiana Purchase. The territory had become settled in most of the eastern part. The Oregon Trail and the Mormon Trail had crossed Nebraska and the dream of a new State was in formation.

According to the Nebraska Blue Book, the huge fossil beds and glacial deposits of Nebraska give proof that in past geologic ages, this region was the bottom of an inland sea which was later elevated above the water. At one time, a tropical climate prevailed and during a later period glaciers covered the land. Archeological explorations have uncovered considerable evidence indicating the presence of prehistoric man in the State.

It has been estimated about 40,000 Indians lived in Nebraska at the time of the earliest white settlements. Presumably they had migrated to the area several hundred years before the first explorers.

The Spanish are presumed to have been the first white men to come to Nebraska. Right now there is a minor controversy on that point where Nebraska and Kansas are both claiming to be the last point of the northward penetration of the Spanish in the summer of 1541 when the Indians dominated the area and bison roamed the prairies by the thousands.

About the year 1700 French trappers began to venture up the rivers. By 1739 they had named the Platte River and traveled nearly the entire length of the State.

Spain, France, and England had all claimed the Nebraska region at one time or another. In 1803, after establishing her rights, France sold the region to the United States.

The famed Lewis and Clarke commanded the first American expedition to reach the area in the years 1804–06. There followed then the glowing story of the courageous pioneers who carved a great State out of the prairie wilderness.

The history of Nebraska built rapidly after the first military post was established at Fort Atkinson on the present site of the village of Fort Calhoun which is few miles north of Omaha. It had a population of over 1,000 people and was the location of the first school, library, brickyard, sawmill, grist mill, and the first extensive farming by white men within this particular territory.

Missionaries came early to minister to the needs of the Indians. By 1832 covered wagons had started the parallel ruts across the prairies that later became the Oregon Trail, which for the next 40 years was the greatest wagon road this world has ever seen. Other great trails across Nebraska included the Mormon Trail from Bellevue or Omaha west to Utah; the Denver Trail from the Missouri River to Denver, and the Nebraska City cutoff up the West Blue to the Platte and on to Denver. Thousands of wagons traveled over these trails each year until the construction of the Union Pacific made them no longer practical.

The most rugged frontier conditions reigned in Nebraska during those years but out of that prairie sod the pioneers carved homes. They started to farm and villages grew. The heat of summer, the blizzard of winter, the marauding Indians, the droughts, the grasshopper plagues, the prairie fires never for a moment daunted these courageous pioneers in their bright vision of a new land they could call home under the Government of the United States.

The Nebraska region was a part of the Territory of Indiana in 1804. The following year it was made a part of the Territory of Louisiana with its capital at St. Louis. After 1812 it became a part of the Territory of Missouri but was detached in 1821 when Missouri became a State. Nebraska then became a part of the great unorganized region commonly called the Indian Country.

Nebraska got its name from a river. The Indians called the Platte River "Nebrathka," meaning "Flat Water." The State claimed title to "Nebraska" and the river reverted to the "Platte."

The first bill to organize Nebraska Territory came in 1844. The Congress turned down the bill. Similar bills failed to pass in 1848 and 1853. The fourth

effort won success and Nebraska became a Territory in 1854 during the administration of President Franklin Pierce.

The first Governor of Nebraska Territory was Francis Burt, of South Carolina. Immediately a struggle was started between Omaha and Bellevue as to which would be the capital. Omaha won. Later the capital was moved to Lincoln.

It was in 1865 that the Union Pacific started to build the railroad across the State, the rails which revolutionized transportation in the area.

Nebraska had a long, hard fight to become a State. With a sharp division of interest between free and slave territory, many delays were encountered. Many residents were opposed to the very idea of statehood.

The Congress passed an enabling act April 19, 1864, and on June 2, 1866, an election was held to climax the stirring controversy. The tabulation showed 3,938 Nebraskans in favor of statehood and 3,838 against.

The Statehood Act was vetoed by President Johnson. The veto was overridden, and on the following March 1 the State of Nebraska was created.

Succeeding years found more settlements starting in all parts of the State except the sandhills. Pioneers were beginning to move into the extreme west end of the State. New railroads were built. Waves of homesteading immigrants came.

The new homestead law proved a major boon, and people came in from the many States to the east, most to live out their lives in Nebraska.

They came in various nationalities. These individuals blended into the communities. It was a hardy lot of pioneers who grubbed a living from the soil. Disappointments were many, but these people stayed on and on, raising their families despite incredible hardships all along the frontier. Regardless of periods of drought, Nebraska's pioneer farmers faced the future unafraid.

In the western part of the State, where the rainfall is sometimes scant, farmers looked at the lazy waters of the Platte going by to waste themselves in the sea.

Men of vision organized irrigation in the North Platte Valley. Crops boomed. Irrigation spread to other parts of the State and is still spreading. It is Nebraska's guarantee of crops despite the rainfall which may or may not come. Later the same water was put to another task—production of electric power.

Industry got started in Nebraska. Many farmers expanded their agricultural pursuits to include the raising and saw a new potential. Now millions of cattle, hogs, and sheep annually go to market. Stockmen looked at the green grass which covers the sandhills and saw a new potiential. Now millions of cattle graze those hills.

Nebraska boasts of having the finest steaks in the world. Every automobile license issued in Nebraska proudly proclaims it "the Beef State."

During the wars in which the United States was engaged Nebraska's young men and women served notably. Thousands of our servicemen have died for their country on the field of battle. Always we have tried to hold our flag high among those of the other great States.

Nebraska has grown up and tomorrow we will be 90 years young. In June Omaha is going to celebrate the 100th anniversary of its incorporation. Mayor John Rosenblatt and Gov. Victor Anderson have invited President Eisenhower to be the principal speaker at the jubilee. Other cities and towns across the State are celebrating other anniversaries this year.

We have in Nebraska a people of courage and ambition who seek to be good Nebraskans and good Americans.

A portrayal of the State is contained in this description of the great seal of Nebraska, adopted by the legislature in 1867:

The eastern part of the circle to be represented by a steamboat ascending the Missouri River; the mechanic arts to be represented by a smith with hammer and anvil; in the foreground, agriculture to be represented by a settler's cabin, sheaves of wheat and stalks of growing corn; in the background a train of cars heading toward the Rocky Mountains, and on the extreme west, the Rocky Mountains to be plainly in view; around the top of this circle, to be in capital letters, the motto "Equality before the law," and the circle surrounded by the words "Great seal of the State of Nebraska."

"Equality before the law," "honesty before men," and "reverence before God," are the precepts upon which Nebraska built and is building. These are the precepts which will keep Nebraska great and enduring through the years to come.

For tomorrow's 90th anniversary, I raise my hand in salute to the great State of Nebraska.

The Dream Imperiled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following thoughtful and eloquent editorial from the Los Angeles Tidings entitled "The Dream Imperiled," tells us in stirring words that the valiant, costly, and well-intentioned efforts of these United States to make real the dream of world peace is being imperiled in spite of our contributions because of the lack of courage of some and the indifference and materialism of other of our allies.

For those interested in the position of the United States in the United Nations, I recommend the following sound advice and counsel contained in this editorial:

THE DREAM IMPERILED

"May God give us the courage to preserve the basic principles of the American faith as we see unmoral diplomacy writing, with deceptive phrases, equivocations, and quibbles, the inglorious epitaph of the United Nations."

These sobering words of David Lawrence merit calm reflection in the interval between the celebration of the birthdays of Lincoln and of Washington. At least on these days of grateful remembrance we may extol our charters of freedom and recall the lights and shadows of the American dream, without some fervent one-worlder crudgeling us as chauvinists and isolationists. On the days we honor the founder and the savior of our country, we may be uninhibited lovers of the fatherland.

Let then words of rhetoric recall the splendor of rights inalienable endowed to man by his Creator. There is need in an hour of anxiety to know again the simple spirit, to hear again the simple truth that the liberties of freemen have a bastion unassailable only when moored in the bedrock of divinity. For if our freedoms are God-given, no man, no state can take them away. Tyrants may bludgeon the body but they can never silence the soul.

These are consoling thoughts as we lick our wounds in our idealistic escapade into the thistled bypaths of collective security. There is no disguising the fact that the United Nations has failed as an instrument for safeguarding the peace, failed because of the futile babble of diplomats false to the hopes that fill the freedom-loving world. The old League, without us, came to disaster after 20 years because it refused to meet decisively the issue of aggression. The new league, with us, fumbles into futility because it too is hesitant and afraid. Its sole contribution to these days is a set of standards which our friends are forced to accept, but which our enemies reject with derision.

The parallel in both quests for peace is so strikingly similar as to be shocking. There are the same pettinesses among friends and jealousies among allies, the same selfish desire for the mean advantage. There are fears for the need of further preparedness, the freightening specter of the alternative of a world cataclysm, and the rash hope in the eventual sweet reasonableness of a dishonorable foe. Irresolution will not stay the holocaust. Rather it whets the appetite for further aggrandisement, and any further sellout anywhere makes more imminent the new Armageddon.

We cannot go it alone in the pursuit of world peace. We are willing even yet to sacrifice our men and our fortune in a sincere struggle to preserve the hard-won freedoms of man. Our Armed Forces are serving in 49 foreign nations that peace remain as a boon to earth. We are yet prepared to scatter billions to light the lamp of hope for the world's destitute and despairing.

But our first duty is to look to our own safety and preserve the sovereignty of this land of sanctuary. To do this we need allies who will forever stand resolute with us in reciprocal responsibility. There are stirrings of economic stress at home to parallel the increasing international strain. In the cause of freedom we have not found friends prepared to make sacrifices commensurate with our own. Our policy is all the more perplexing in an abandonment all the more bewildering.

Why the Budget Is So High

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILL E. NEAL

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, it is my cherished belief that Members of this Congress try with might and main to cling to their responsibility as Representatives of their constituents in operating our Federal establishment with a minimum of confusion and inefficiency.

I believe, further, that a majority of this House shares with me a belief in the statement of Abraham Lincoln that "we should do neither more nor less than we gave the people reason to believe we would do when they gave us their votes." As a blueprint for following this very sound advice, the following editorial by Mr. David Lawrence which appeared not only in the Washington Star, but in my hometown paper, the Huntington Herald-Dispatch, of Huntington, W. Va., ought to have an extremely wide distribution.

I submit to you that there is a vast difference between a father's responsibility to his family and the obligation of Government to its citizens. On the one hand the head of a family earns and dispenses his substance to his dependency as the individual and collective need dictates. On the other hand, I strongly submit that Government is no more nor less than a steward of the public income. It does not earn, as does a family head; rather, it takes directly from its constituency and acts only as financial middleman in redistributing that income for the support of orderly Government.

Since I am certain that other Members of this House share with me the belief that Government is simply a steward for the general estate, the following comment by Mr. Lawrence may be of some assistance in helping them to assess their records of achievement thus far in this 85th Congress:

WHY THE BUDGET IS SO HIGH—SIZE BLAMED ON CONGRESS' COMMITMENTS WHICH, ONCE BEGUN, CAN'T BE HALTED

(By David Lawrence)

Just why is the Federal budget so high? Is Ike becoming New Dealish and a convert to big spending?

The answer to both questions is that, once a commitment is made to a certain line of welfare expenses, the annual outlays grow bigger and bigger. Whether President Eisenhower likes it or not, he has to go along with the programs which have been initiated under previous administrations and which it is almost impossible for him or any future President, politically at least, to abandon.

That's the real story of what's back of the high budget. And the lesson to be learned is never to start any new line of commitments, such as Federal aid to school construction, unless the American people, with their eyes wide open, realize that this means a constantly increasing expenditures indefinitely and not merely, as has been represented, a temporary plan for "just a few years."

The best way to explain the nature of these older commitments and what they mean in the course of only 3 years is to examine the expenditures for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1954, and note the increases that have been made in those same items for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1957.

In this short interval here are some of the increases:

1. Approximately $2,774,000,000 is the result of increases for military operations and upkeep, military housing and bases, military research, maintenance of Reserve forces, including one item of an additional $124 million for pensions for retired military personnel and another increase of $463 million to develop the atom.

2. Another huge addition—$4,042,000,000—has come about primarily because of a $3,696,000,000 increase in pensions for retired workers, widows and orphans, the needy aged, the blind, and the disabled, and a series of items such as $200 million for school construction, and $132 million for medical research. There is an increase of $17 million for school lunches, which now are to cost $100 million a year, and, if anybody in Congress proposes to cut out this last sum, he will get into trouble politically back home, though everyone knows American parents aren't starving and can afford to pay a few cents a day to the school to prepare hot lunches for their children. Other welfare expenditures of different kinds add up to an increase of $347 million over what was being spent 3 years ago for the same things.

3. Now in another category—veterans' beenfits—there's a total increase of $591 million, and it's hard for Congressmen to vote to cut that down.

4. In the aid given to the farmers, the total is up $455 million over what it was 3 years ago.

5. In the international programs, diplomatic activities show an increase of $440 million, but, even figuring this in and noting that economic aid has come down by $25 million since 1954, it would appear that the net increase for foreign aid is about $415 million. This excludes an item of $500 million which the United States Government will be spending to redeem its previously given notes of that amount to the International Monetary Fund. Presumably these notes could be floated in the open market and an equal sum collected.

6. Interest on the public debt has gone up $834 million, and there is an item of $940 million increase for general management costs in Government.

7. Another group of proposed expenditures listed in the budget includes $1,086,000,000 for highways, about $623 million for housing, and $212 million to promote aviation, with a couple of items of added expense in disaster relief amounting to $61 million and $53 million for civil defense against possible atom attacks.

What it all adds up to is about $12.5 billion more than was being spent 3 years ago, and a large part of it is directly related to congressional commitments to projects and policies initiated long before the present administration came into power. The annual expense now grows because prices have risen and costs are higher than ever before. Also, as the population increases, there are more individuals retired, more who are entitled to pensions, and more children who attend schools and need free lunches, and so on all along the line.

Once Congress starts a line of Federal expenditure, each Congress is up against the question either of stopping the whole project or meeting the added expense that each year brings.

The whole trouble is that, in the New Deal and Fair Deal years, elections were won by claiming that humanitarianism demanded all these welfare programs and now the uninformed voters—in a prosperous country, with States, cities, and counties that ought to be able to take care of their own obligations in these fields of welfare—have put the major burden on the Federal Government.

The outlay is growing and growing, and there will be no tax relief till the country discovers that the Federal Government really cannot afford to keep on paying for things the local units of government ought really to be doing for their citizens. The chances are the local units would do it more economically, too, because they are closer to the picture, but, when Washington is doling out the money, every part of the country has its hand out to get its share of the giveaways.

Increase in Postal Rates on First-Class Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, it is seldom that we receive in our mail a letter from a constituent who asks us to increase his cost of doing business. This letter that I append hereto was written by a person who understands some of the problems of our Government and is willing to pay for the benefits that he receives.

His letter certainly has a different approach from most of the letters we receive in regard to increasing postal rates on first-class mail. I commend this letter for reading.

The letter follows:

TELLS CONGRESSMEN UNITED STATES SERVICES MUST PAY THEIR OWN WAY

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Herman J. Tholen today mailed letters to Senators FRANK CARLSON and ANDREW SCHOEPPEL and Sixth District Representative WINT SMITH supporting the proposed increase in the postage letter rate to 5 cents. This is a copy of those letters.)

DEAR SENATOR CARLSON: I understand that the question of raising the letter rate of postage to 5 cents will be considered at this session of Congress.

I want to state at the outset that I believe all service departments of Government, on a fee or charge basis, should be self-supporting. There is no sound reason why the Post Office Department or any service department should be subsidized by the taxpayers in general. The users of the services receive the benefits and there is no good reason why the nonusers should help carry the burden for them.

I believe that not only the first-class letter rate should be raised to help wipe out the annual postal department deficit, but that all classes of postal rates should be reexamined and adjusted to equal the cost of handling each particular class.

ONE EXCEPTION

I would allow one exception, which I believe is in the general interest of very nearly 100 percent of the population; that is, the newspaper and book rates. There is good sound reasoning behind the idea that the dissemination of news and knowledge should be at a minimum expense to the public, so that even the poorest of the poor are not, by being priced out of the market, denied the advantages of keeping themselves informed.

I would not extend this exception to the slick-paper magazines if over 50 percent of their pages are devoted to paid advertising. Advertisers should pay for their advertising, including delivery to their potential customers. This, of course, applies equally to catalogs, circulars, etc.

Parcel post should be put on a cost-of-delivery basis. The Post Office Department should establish rates sufficient to cover the cost of handling parcel post, or get out of the express and freight business. The present rates possibly are high enough to cover the cost from the dispatching to the receiving post offices.

DELIVERY CHARGE

But if that is true, packages weighing over a minimum of, say, 1 pound, should be called for upon notice of receipt by the post office,

or a delivery charge added at a sufficient rate per pound to cover city and/or rural delivery.

Getting back to the letter rate, which seems to be the only rate mentioned in current dispatches, I am in favor of a 5-cent or even 6-cent rate, except for local delivery. I believe that simple justice demands that a distinction (as formerly it was) be made between local and nonlocal delivery. The present 3-cent rate for letters and the 2-cent rate for postal cards is high enough for local delivery. The card rate for nonlocal delivery I think should be raised to 3 cents.

I also believe that private cards, carrying the 2-cent local or 3-cent nonlocal rate should be limited in size, length, and width not to exceed the size of a standard large-sized envelope, about 4½ by 10 inches.

Air-mail rates, too, I am sure, should be revised upward. It doesn't make sense to grant Government subsidies to airlines, in order to make possible an air-letter rate of 6 cents. If it costs, say, 10 cents, to carry a letter by air, then, charge 10 cents.

If it is of enough importance to me to get a letter to New York in 24 hours, why should the taxpayer have to pay 4 cents of the cost to accommodate me?

As long as the Post Office Department is faced with annual deficits, it doesn't make sense to increase the deficit to give me the convenience of added speed in delivery of something that benefits me and not the public.

Sincerely yours,

H. J. THOLEN.

Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 4, 1957

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, having in mind the recent observance of the anniversary of the Lithuanian declaration of independence, the sympathy which all of us feel for those in Lithuania who have been forced behind the Iron Curtain, and the hope which we all entertain that a free Lithuania may one day again take its rightful place among the free nations of the world, I include, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, the following resolutions adopted by the Lithuanian Americans of the town of Norwood, Mass., in connection with Lithuanian Independence Day:

RESOLUTIONS UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE LITHUANIAN AMERICANS OF THE TOWN OF NORWOOD, AT A SPECIAL OBSERVANCE OF THE 39TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY THE LITHUANIAN NATION, HELD AT ST. GEORGE'S HALL ON THE 10TH DAY OF FEBRUARY 1957

Whereas Lithuania has suffered for almost 17 years and continues to suffer under the heavy and unbearable yoke of slavery imposed upon her through the brutal and merciless occupation of the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the passage of time has clearly exposed the totalitarian motives of the Kremlin masters, motives that have horrified the world and continue to engender fear in the hearts of all peace-loving people; and

Whereas the insidious machinations of the Kremlin despots are a constant threat to the rest of the free world; and

Whereas the Soviet Union has proved to the free world that it will never tolerate man's natural right to freedom, but will quash all such efforts with a stinging and unabated fury as witnessed by the free world, in the recent tragic plight of the Hungarian people: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this great gathering of loyal Americans of Lithuanian descent of the town of Norwood genuinely appreciative of the American heritage of freedom, fully aware of the gravity of the present international situation, and mindful of the sorrowful fate of the Lithuanian nation, pledge their unquestionable loyalty and unstinted support to this great country's genuine quest for a lasting peace and justice in the world; be it further

Resolved, That we urge the Federal Government of the United States to continue to condemn the Soviet occupation of Lithuania and the other Baltic States; be it further

Resolved, That we raise our voice in behalf of our brethren in protest to the slavery into which they have been plunged by the Communist imperialists and the latest demonstration of brutality in Hungary; be it finally

Resolved, That we express our deepest gratitude and appreciation to the Federal Government and the Congress of the United States for their constant, sympathetic, and vigilant attitude toward the eventual restoration of freedom to the people of Lithuania.

LITHUANIAN ROMAN CATHOLIC FEDERATION OF AMERICA No. 10.
WILLIAM KUDIRKA, *President*.
ANDREW T. VENCKERS, *Secretary*.

So-Called Civil Rights Measures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO E. PASSMAN
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news release:

"Force measures under the guise of protecting civil rights, but which in reality would create civil wrongs, constitute a monstrous threat to the liberties of all Americans, and could result in the sacrifice of old and basic individual rights and freedoms to possible political prosecution and persecution," United States Representative OTTO E. PASSMAN has warned congressional colleagues.

He said today, in a statement at Washington, that rights which have long been uppermost to all citizens "already seriously threatened by the Supreme Court's notorious school integration decision and the attendant activities of Federal courts in attempting to enforce that decision" now "stand in danger of being usurped" through precedents being set in Federal courts, and would be "even more seriously endangered" by passage of the civil-rights legislation being proposed by the administration and other proponents in Congress.

Representative PASSMAN, of Louisiana's Fifth Congressional District, charged that the "so-called civil-rights measures further threaten the individual's rights to be secure in person and property against individual arrest and seizure, the right of indictment by a grand jury, and trial by jury."

The proposed legislation includes establishment of an investigatory commission (with power of subpena), a civil-rights division (with injunctive authority) in the Justice Department, and "other interference" with individual and States rights, Congressman PASSMAN said. He asserted that the program, against which southern Congressmen are now waging vigorous opposition, would by-pass the need for a person to exhaust State judicial and administrative remedies before turning to the Federal courts.

His statement continued:

"It begins to look more and more as though the highly emotional and inflammatory question of 'segregation or integration' is methodically being used as a whipping boy to disguise an all-out attack upon constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of the American people.

"But there are areas, including the Southland, where the concept of civil liberties is still unclouded by the spectre of something called 'social equality.' We can see more clearly the steps to tyranny that are being taken, cloaked in a misguided sense of compassion for racial minorities.

"We must continue to hope and strive to awaken the majority of Americans to the grave threats to liberty that are being perpetrated and attempted in the name of something called 'liberalism.'

"May the majority of Americans—and consequently the majority of the Congress—realize before it is too late that liberty and liberalism are not, and never have been, one and the same."

Economic Changes in Rural America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. R. POAGE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by John Kenneth Galbraith, professor of economics, Harvard University, before University of Wisconsin Farm and Home Week, Madison, Wis., February 5, 1957:

ECONOMIC CHANGES IN RURAL AMERICA

I feel myself very fortunate this morning. It has been a pleasure to be here in Madison and to see many old friends once more. Those who planned the program were also most generous to me. That topic, Economic Changes in Rural America, is one that gives me a great deal of latitude. I am in the happy position of a minister who preaches a sermon against sin or in favor of the Ten Commandments. He has lots of room to move around; he can get by with a minimum of scriptural knowledge. I propose this morning to make full use of the latitude you have accorded me.

I feel favored in one more respect. A few days ago I met my wise and much beloved Harvard colleague, John Gaus, and told him that I was coming out to speak to you. Professor Gaus is well known here in Madison. He was for many years a most distinguished teacher in this university. He still counts himself a member of that magic fraternity—those who say, "I am a Wisconsin man." He told me he thought the Wisconsin Farm and Home Week provided the best audience a speaker ever had. When I asked him the reason for this high praise he said, "You like to hear a man speak his mind."

There are some matters on which I have been yearning to speak my mind. I welcome this occasion.

The first requirement for good farm communities is an elementary one. It is satisfactory farm income. I have heard, as have all of you, about farming as a way of life. So it is. But to say that farming is a way of life is not enough, for it can be a poor way of life and a good way of life. In the last an-

alysis, the thing that probably makes the most difference is the pay the farmer and his family get.

I am not suggesting that happiness depends directly on income—as a people we become richer every year, but I am not so sure that our total reward from life goes up proportionately. But the income of a family does need to be reasonably certain. A sudden drop in prices for the farmer, like a sudden layoff for the city worker, is an unmistakable hardship. We also know that having reached a given standard of income and a given standard of living it is hard to go down from that level. Rightly or wrongly, we all like the things to which we have become accustomed. The costs of living, like the costs of production, become adjusted to one level of price; it is very hard to move down to another.

Here, it seems to me, is the clue to the farm problem of recent years. It is true that net income per farm is still far above the levels of 20 or 30 years ago. Those who have pointed this out are being quite honest. The hardship is in the downward trend. And the drop has been great. In comparable prices, the average net farm income was $3,314 in 1946 and $2,849 as late as 1951. Last year it averaged only about $2,300.

A reduction of this size would be hard to take under any circumstances. It can mean the difference between a good community life and a poor one and a good family life and a poor one. It can mean the difference between a son going to school and, to cite a development in so many of our farm communities, a wife having to find a job. It has meant, for many farm people, the difference between hope and frustration.

But there is another aspect of this decline which seems to me even more troublesome. In recent years, not declining but increasing income has been normal. Every quarter—four times a year—we have a communique from Washington telling us how much the gross national product—very roughly the total of everyone's income—has gone up. Each January we have an explosion of statements telling how rich we have become. The incomes of virtually all other groups in the country have been advancing. Agricultural income, we would expect, would be rising too. But instead it has been falling.

Nor are the explanations of this disparity convincing. We are told, with great regularity, that this nearly unique agricultural trend is the inevitable readjustment following "the war." (It is not always clear whether it's World War II or the Korean war.) But those who come forward with this explanation do not tell us why it is only agriculture that has to "adjust." Why has there been no downward adjustment in industry? Or in the labor market? Agriculture greatly expanded its production during World War II, they say. But industry also expanded enormously. And so did the urban labor force. And these had no similar misfortune.

The cause of agriculture's troubles obviously lies deeper. Those who explain it by talking of the inevitable readjustment are engaging not in explanation but in apology. I confess that I have been amazed at the good nature—or possibly the gullibility—with which farm people have accepted this apology. Let me say, in this connection, that as you will presently discover I am not engaging in any partisan criticism. Before I am finished, I hope to distribute the blame very widely indeed—I shall even have some unkind words for our colleges of agriculture, although I take the sensible precaution of excluding the one which is our host here today.

The problem of agriculture is not one of transition or readjustment. These phrases were also used in the 1920's and the 1930's when the farmer was in trouble. The farm problem is the result of the fundamental and continuing weakness in agricultural bargaining power. Agriculture's weakness is that of the great unorganized industry in a world of highly organized corporate industry and a highly organized labor force. It is the problem of the one major industry which does not have any effective control over the prices at which it sells its products or the supply it offers. The large corporation has a built-in bargaining position based on its size and its position in the market. As a result it is able to keep its prices in reasonable relation to its costs. Thus it can minimize its market risks. The position of the workingman was no better than that of the farmer until he changed it by organizing trade unions. These have enabled him to bargain effectively on the price of his labor. No workman in this day and age doubts the improvement that unions have brought. Where unions are not effective the Government has stepped in to legislate minimum wages by law.

Only the farmer has remained essentially unorganized. I say essentially; I do not mean he is totally unorganized. In some places and to a very limited degree the cooperative provides the farmer with some bargaining strength. In most cases, however, the co-ops are too small, too limited, and hence too weak to provide effective bargaining power. And since 1933 the Federal Government, through support prices and to a lesser extent through purchase programs, has been undertaking to reinforce the farmer's bargaining position. It has stepped in, as it has stepped into the labor market, to enforce a kind of minimum wage for the farmer. This is what we know as the farm program.

In spite of the great progress of the last 20 years, the farmer's bargaining position is still far weaker than that of other groups. In my judgment it is getting still weaker—which is one reason farm income has been falling. And unless there is a real strengthening in agricultural leadership, I frankly see no prospect of improvement. Let me analyze the situation with you for a moment.

The first fact that strikes our eye is that while the modern large corporation and the modern labor organization are taken for granted by nearly everyone, the farm program—the farmer's source of bargaining power—is still regarded by a great many people as unwise, unsound, or a politically imposed misfortune. Any farm program which amounts to anything will, directly or indirectly, have something to say about the prices at which the farmer sells his products. That is its purpose—to insure a satisfactory price and thus to help insure a satisfactory income. A farm program can no more avoid the question of prices than a collective bargaining conference can avoid the question of wage rates. Particularly, as in recent times, when demand falters or fails to keep ahead of supply it is the purpose of the farm program to keep the terms of trade from turning disastrously against the farmer. This is a hazard which, under similar circumstances, the modern corporation can avoid through its inherent control of supply and prices.

Yet the agricultural programs which provide such protection—protection that is normal with industry and labor—are still viewed with suspicion. The farmer cannot bargain by himself. He must have the help of Government. General Motors can set the price of its cars. It can keep them from going to disastrous levels. The Wisconsin farmer cannot set the price of his milk. He must have the support of Government to do what General Motors can do as a matter of course. And if he is to have a life of reasonable security he must have this help; the question is not really whether but how. The farmer cannot, in his weakness, be left to the capricious and violent treatment which he has always been accorded by the market.

This seems elementary. As I say, it is the protection industry and labor have. But it is far from being agreed. The present Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson, said on taking office that price supports were useful only in the event of "undue disaster." I hope I am not being unfair when I say that there is no evidence that he has changed his mind. Only last week he cautiously expressed the hope that supports might one day be abandoned. The case for the flexible supports—which in practice are really rigid supports at a little lower level—is that they represent a step back toward the free market. The free market was never any blessing for the farmer; the ages of its rule were recurrently ones of hardship and even disaster for the man on the land. But still it remains the goal.

In disagreeing with Mr. Benson, I think it is only fair to point out that he reflects a view that is influential in agricultural leadership itself. An important segment of agricultural leadership has accepted the view that any interference with farm markets is wrong and dangerous. Much has been made of the doctrine that if farmers allow themselves to become dependent on Government price supports they will risk the loss of their basic freedoms—they will be taking the first step toward serfdom.

Our freedom does not depend on whether we support farm markets. If it had any such perilous foundation, we would have lost it long ago. Does anyone suppose farmers have less freedom today than 25 years ago? The American farmer will not become a serf because the Government helps him bargain for a fair price. There are more serious threats to liberty. For example, the man who has just come out of a sheriff's sale hasn't much freedom, and on the record of the last hundred years that remains a worse threat than Washington. American workers have repeatedly been warned in past years against surrendering their independence to their union bosses; workers have repeatedly been told that in the interests of their freedom they should defend the open shop, the right to work, and their independence from unions. Neither leaders nor rank and file have accepted these arguments. Both have probably recognized that a union involves some surrender of individual initiative. But they have also seen that the gains in stature, dignity—and therewith in other forms of independence or freedom—that are implicit in more nearly equal bargaining power much more than paid off in the end. In agriculture, I venture to suggest, we have been less wise and tough minded. Farmers have been led into a position of at least partial opposition to the idea of Government intervention on behalf of the farmer's bargaining power. As a result, the farmer's case has been badly weakened.

Farmers have also, I venture to suggest, been too willing to accept as substitutes for direct intervention on prices and supply such measures as the soil bank. The soil bank may be a useful conservation device. It may also be a legitimate form of subsidy. I don't think it at all comes to grips with the central problem of agriculture which is that of defending the farmer's bargaining power in the markets in which he sells.

The Government supports the farmer's bargaining position by helping him get a fair price—on occasion a better price than the market provides. Therefore, the man who defends price supports is on the right track. But I want to distribute my blame impartially. Not everyone on this other side of the argument has met his full responsibilities either. The man who asks a decent price must also be willing to deal with the production that price calls forth. The bargaining weakness of the agricultural industry lies in the tendency to overproduce at any decent price. (This is one of those things that shouldn't be but is.) That overproduction must be dealt with. One doesn't deal with it by proclaiming the sanctity of parity or the rightness of 90 percent of

parity. These slogans, unbacked by responsible measures, have also been damaging to the farmer.

This failure of leadership goes beyond the farm organizations and the political leaders. The colleges of agriculture have also played a part. The years since the farm program was first launched in 1933 have been years of great advance in American agriculture. As everyone agrees, we have had an enormous forward movement in farm efficiency. Yet a great many economists in the colleges of agriculture are still beguiled by the notion that the free market is the only proper norm, or goal, and the one to which we should return. There is considerable reason to think that Government intervention to increase price security has greatly aided forward planning by farmers, made possible bolder investment, and has raised all-round efficiency. Yet virtually every recommendation by economists since the war has been, in the last analysis, to get rid of price supports, to end Government interference, and get back to the free market. Four or five years ago, an impressive group of land-grant college economists turned the Searchlight on Agriculture, to cite the title of their pamphlet, and reached this conclusion. Last year another group, under the auspices of the Twentieth Century Fund came to the same solemn result. In the land-grant college system there have been almost no spokesmen for a strong and vigorous price-support program and the things that go with it. On farm matters reputations for wisdom are largely won by telling the farmer what he shouldn't have.

I am sure that, in the main, these attitudes represent honest convictions. We must defend them as such. But there may be another reason which I wouldn't defend. We cannot overlook the fact that the man who preaches the virtues of the free market and the dangers of interfering with farm prices is also the man who avoids controversy. He is sound, and these are days of economic conservatism. Anyone who argues the need for reinforcing the farmer's bargaining power is inviting sharp debate. He may even become a controversial figure, which many people think bad these days.

Well, it is not the business of the agricultural economist, or of any scholar, to avoid controversy but to speak his mind. A scholar who gets through life without being involved in an occasional row should count himself a failure. Unless he causes the president of his university at least a few troubled nights he probably isn't doing his job. Anyhow college presidents are not paid to have a tranquil time; they are meant by society to have a short life and a troubled one.

The farmer needs the support of Government in defense of his bargaining power. He has had to have it in every other advanced country—in Canada, England, France, Sweden, and Switzerland. Not one of these countries leaves the farmer to the mercies of the free market. For goodness' sake, let us recognize facts.

A few years ago it was my feeling that the farmer's effort to develop bargaining power—countervailing power—was largely won. Now I am by no means certain. He has lost the sympathy and support of the Federal Government. I think it is fair to say that the Government now defends the farm program with considerable reluctance. His own leadership is divided. He has lost the intellectual support of the colleges—or that part which is most vocal. Urban attitudes have also changed. Unless I am mistaken, most city people have also come to feel that the farmer is some kind of pampered profiteer who, in spite of everything, complains all the time. Perhaps here in the Middle West there is a better understanding by the city folk of the farmer's problems. What I say is certainly true of attitudes in my part of the country.

Finally, and most important of all, farmers are rapidly becoming a minor political force. About a hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln came here to Wisconsin and made a farm speech—as I recall, at a very early State fair. He said it was always a mystery to him why politicians said such nice things about farmers: he concluded it was because there were so many of them. This is true no longer. Farmers are no longer numerous. They comprise only about 13 percent of the population as compared with more than twice that proportion—30 percent—as late as 1920. Speechmakers still pay heed to the farmer at election time. This is partly a matter of tradition, and partly because politicians are notoriously unable to count. But the day is not far distant when farmers will have to go to town to hear the major political candidates—unless they happen to catch them talking on TV. The rural vote will be too small to worry about.

This may seem a dreary picture that I paint. But I do not believe that I exaggerate. I have had the good fortune of being able to watch and study the problems of agriculture from a position of some detachment for quite a number of years. The picture seems to me pretty dark. It may get better of its own accord. I think we would be wise, that farm folk would be wiser, to assume that it will only improve if it is made to improve.

Let me in these last few minutes suggest the lines along which improvement should proceed. What should we do?

First of all, there must be agreement that a farm program—one that deals with the essentials of farm income and farm prices—is here to stay. In this organized world it is indispensable. Farmers cannot be the only people without market power. And as long as this feeling persists that the program is wrong, that someday we will be rid of it, we won't do anything important to make it work. No farmer spends time and effort and thought fixing up a shed that he plans to tear down.

We must recognize that there is no future in the political debate over flexible and 90-percent supports. For most products there is no longer very much difference between the two. Both accumulate surpluses. Neither works for perishable products. Both have other faults in common. In short, neither is good enough.

While price and income protection is fundamental in a farm program, a farm program that doesn't deal with prices and income is like a wagon that doesn't carry anything; the present system of support is very poorly designed. We pile up our abundance instead of using it. We tend to keep feed expensive and animal products cheap. The public relations of a system that stores up large surpluses is bad. The public is much more conscious of surpluses than of the cost of the farm program. I have long felt that we could correct a lot of these defects by changing the technique of support; by allowing prices to find their own level and using production payments (and, of course, where necessary, production controls) instead of direct props. Nothing, I may say in passing, would do more to restore the competitive position of butter versus margarine than this method of support.

Production payments have been gaining support in recent years and the Eisenhower administration helped break the ice by applying them to wool. I wish, however, that the pace of such reforms might be faster. England has worked this kind of farm program in recent years with a maximum of protection to the farmer and a minimum of administrative trouble. Where farm policy is concerned we are very slow learners in the class.

Where other flaws and other faults develop we must move to correct them. Our present practice is to wait and hope that things will get better. We have learned, of late, that they can just as easily get worse.

Finally, we must strengthen the moral position of the farm program by making it serve better those who are the victims of major misfortunte. For a great many farm families misfortune is still the way of life; I have in mind the more than a million farm families whose total cash income, in these opulent days, is still less than a thousand dollars. And I have in mind the men and women whose livelihood, as we now so well know, is made insecure and even perilous by drought. Compared to these unhappy people, Wisconsin farmers are fortunate indeed. But the misfortunes of farmers in one region must now be counted the misfortunes of farmers everywhere. This is a very practical matter. I have already suggested that farmers are a dimishing political influence. If their voice is further divided by regions and by commodities, it will be negligible indeed. Henceforth they must hang together for they have no choice.

These things—acceptance of the continued need for a program, a reform of the present system of support, a will to change things when other flaws develop, a more specific succor for rural poverty and disaster—seem to me essentials. I would also suggest that these steps will appeal to the good sense and the sense of fairness of the American people.

The time is coming when farm people will have to pay close attention to essentials. And they will have to pay close attention to the effect of their programs on the public at large. Henceforth farmers will not get easily what they want. They cannot then afford the luxury of making mistakes. Goals must be simple and intensely practical. And they must also be such as will win the support of the people in town.

Near Eastern Policy

SPEECH
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I yield to my colleague from Massachusetts.

Mr. LANE. Like so many of your colleagues here on the floor of the House I too wish to commend the gentleman from California for bringing this to the attention of the House today. I wish also to commend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BOYLE].

This debate is long overdue. Since I had an opportunity of making a statement here on the floor in reference to the same subject matter earlier today I do not desire to encroach upon the gentleman's valuable time now except to say that the gentleman is to be complimented and congratulated for his very sincere, thoughtful, and worthwhile statement here this afternoon, and I too wish to join with the other Members of Congress in vigorous opposition to the imposition of any sanctions against Israel. This is a subject matter that should be of vital interest to every citizen of the whole United States at this crucial time.

I congratulate the learned gentleman on his excellent statement and his timely

action in bringing this matter to the attention not only of the people of our country but also of all nations of the world.

Msgr. Rt. Rev. Michael J. Scanlan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an excellent eulogy delivered by Rt. Rev. Augustine V. Hickey, vicar general of the archdiocese of Boston, and pastor of St. Paul's Church in Cambridge, Mass., at the funeral on February 21, 1957, of Msgr. Rt. Rev. Michael J. Scanlan, pastor for 35 years of the St. Rose Church in Chelsea, Mass.

Monsignor Scanlan for many years was the director of the Catholic Charities Bureau of Boston, teacher at Boston College High, and sponsor of the drive to raise sufficient funds to start the building construction of St. Elizabeth's Hospital at Brighton, Mass. He was not only active in religious matters but took a keen interest in the civic affairs of the city of Chelsea, and served as library trustee, chairman of the rationing board, member of the chamber of commerce, and in various other community endeavors.

The eulogy follows:

We are met to join with one another and with the priest at the altar in prayerful participation in the offering of mass for the eternal happiness of an outstanding and dedicated priest. We are here to pay our tribute of admiration and gratitude to the memory of Monsignor Scanlan, whose long life in this priesthood was truly notable for high and edifying example and for lasting achievement in advancing the interests and the influence of the church in this archdiocese.

It is an inscrutable evidence of God's condescension that Our Lord entrusted the extension and application of the merits of His Incarnation and Redemption to the minds and wills and hands of men. The Catholic priesthood is thus unique in meaning, purpose, and power. Its essential efficacy does not depend on the personal qualities or virtues of the priest but the functions and duties of the priest are such that everything he thinks and says and does must make manifest and express his divine mission to men. Only one who is good and genuine and complete as a man can be a good and genuine and complete priest.

Monsignor Scanlan was just such a man. Constant in character, steadfast in honesty, contemptuous of bitterness and shame, with no consuming concern for the good things of this world, his Christian sense of values was accurate indeed. He looked at life in the light of eternity. Invariably he followed his conscience. His conclusions rested on firm conviction. It mattered not whether the outcome brought him pleasure or pain. Monsignor Scanlan's devotion to principle evoked respect and affection from all with whom he came into contact. Strong he was but always generous in his attitudes and policies. Always understanding and patient in his relations with his neighbors. There was nothing small or revengeful in his character. In the fine quality of his humanity he represented what was highest and best. He read widely and he reflected constantly on what he read. With marked natural talent and its industrious use, he developed through the years a power and skill with the spoken and written word, reflective of a richly cultivated mind. Serene, dignified, he was satisfied with his principles of speech and conduct and he welcomed every opportunity to live them to the letter.

To such a man came the invitation of our Lord and subsequent ordination to the holy life of the priesthood. The powers of the priesthood do not operate in a vacuum. From the moment Monsignor Scanlan became a priest all his superior human qualities were applied without reserve to the advancement of the work of God in this world. His character, his personality, his talents had found worthy outlet and objective. His priesthood has been marked through the years by intelligent persistent devotion and, by the grace of God, it has been productive of manifest and permanent fruit.

After 5 years of service in a suburban parish in this archdiocese, Monsignor Scanlan was assigned to the Cathedral in Boston where his special interest and training in music equipped him to maintain in the cathedral boys choir the high standard of service in the worship of God for which the choir had been noteworthy for many years. While at the cathedral his love of profitable reading and study provided an appropriate background for the commission he was given to write a short history of the archdiocese of Boston which had wide and appreciative circulation during the centenary year of 1908.

In 1911 he was appointed director of the Catholic Charitable Bureau of Boston. In this responsibility for 11 years he was exceedingly active and happy. He was a pioneer in the field of Catholic social service and he laid the foundation of what is now a widely expanded and intensely efficient agency of Christian charity in this archdiocese. He established the summer vacation house at Sunset Point for underprivileged children. He organized and led to success a diocesan drive for $200,000, a very large sum of money 40 years ago, which provided the first new building of our now great St. Elizabeth's Hospital.

In his years at the charitable bureau he became deeply concerned about the need of awakening in qualified Catholics an ambition to devote themselves to the aid of their neighbors in the field of social service. To train such people professionally and in the Christian spirit he established and devoted for several years an evening course of lectures at Boston College High School. The present graduate school of social work at Boston College represents the full fruition of Monsignor Scanlan's vision and hope. Catholic charities in Boston and Monsignor Scanlan. These words belong together. The roots he planted with such care and exertion are baring abundant fruit today.

COMES TO ST. ROSE

In 1922, Monsignor Scanlan was named parish priest of this parish of St. Rose. The love of others so characteristic of his leadership in the Catholic Charitable Bureau found new opportunity for action here. He faced the responsibilities of parish priest with enthusiasm and joy and he never changed down through the years. In the days of his prolonged and final illness he was thinking always and was so eager to talk of things to be done for the good of his people here.

Monsignor Scanlan has left within the walls of this parish church an exquisite impressive monument to his understanding of the essense of the Christian life, of the primary duty of the parish priest and of the mission everywhere of the church universal. He planned a new baptistry. He insisted that architect and artisan spare no effort to make this holy place a place of beauty. And why? Because in the baptistry we are born again, we become new creatures endowed with a new life which Our Lord brought to earth from heaven. He made this life available to us by His death on a Cross. It is the singular and sublime mission of the Church Universal, of every parish and of every priest to nourish, nurture and strengthen this life in every baptized soul.

It all begins in the baptistry but in the life of Monsignor Scanlan it did not end there. His conspicuous zeal in guiding his people to love the mass, to use the sacraments, to grow in faith and love of God by virtue of sound instruction from the pulpit was but the effect of his abiding appreciation of what happens when we are baptized. To help his people to grow in the true Christian spirit was the absorbing ambition of Monsignor Scanlan's pastorate here. He began with youth. For years to the end of his active life he spent time every week instructing, inspiring young girls of St. Rose High School to live always worthy of the Christian life into which they had been baptized. He had no patience with divided minds. The Christian life is all of life. It is the chief business of the parish to teach the truth of Christian dignity and the blessedness of progress in the Christian spirit which is holiness of life.

CITYWIDE INFLUENCE

Here in Chelsea beyond the territorial confines of St. Rose Parish, Monsignor Scanlan's influence for good was unmistakable and effective. His fellow citizens all realized the spirit of good will and service to others which dominated his life as a citizen and as a priest. Those who know little of the mystery of the Catholic priesthood learned from Monsignor Scanlan's benign personality that the mission of the priest is the mission of our Lord, whose love is never denied to any human soul.

I have known Monsignor Scanlan for 55 years. I have known his sorrows and his joys. I am thankful for his example and for his influence in my own life. My gratitude is shared by the people of this parish, by the citizens of Chelsea and by unnumbered others who have been privileged to come under his influence and his care. For 55 years Monsignor Scanlan has made manifest to all of us how steadfast, how generous, how noble a true priest can really be.

In this hour of loss we give thanks to God who gave Monsignor Scanlan to us. We must pray frequently and earnestly for the prompt face-to-face union of this distinguished priest with God whom he always served with all his heart.

Youth Wants To Know

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, a young constituent wrote to me recently, asking for certain information. Such requests, I realize, are routine but perhaps the phrasing of this letter may be of interest to my colleagues. Addressing his letter to the Chamber of Congress, Washington, D. C., he wrote a single sentence. "Please send me any free information on the United States as a hole that I may use in school."

Rev. John H. Crawford

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following eulogy delivered by Rev. Albert C. Shannon, O. S. A., Ph. D., chairman of the department of social sciences, Merrimack College, at the funeral of Rev. John Crawford, at the Collegiate Church of Christ the Teacher at Merrimack College, North Andover, Mass., on February 15, 1957. Rev. John H. Crawford, O. S. A., was founder and dean of the division of engineering at the college:

May it please Your Excellency:

"Come to his assistance, you saints of God. Meet him, you angels of the Lord. Receive his soul, and present it to the Most High. May Christ who called thee, receive thee: and may the angels lead thee into the bosom of Abraham."

With these solemn words of exhortation the ordained priest of God, cloaked in a somber mantle, met Father Crawford's corpse at the door of the church. There, where first as a baby he was clothed in the white garment of innocence and admitted to the Communion of Saints as a militant Catholic, now, with the completion of his pilgrimage through life once again holy mother church receives him into her arms and leads him up the aisle to the altar of God. From the very first moment of his existence the Church has guarded his body as well as his soul, because here is the temple of the Holy Ghost, the partner of the soul for which Christ paid the last full measure.

Nothing must touch or hinder the unborn infant—through the temptations of life it must be guarded, unspotted, pure, innocent. Nor yet when the corpse lies finally at rest does the Church forget it, but bears it aloft through the high nave of God's house, amid the soft, multi-colored rays of the stained-glass windows, with burning tapers promising eternal light, the spiraling incense embalming the body and rising as our prayers before the throne of God. And here at the foot of God's altar, aye, at the throne of the Most High, he rests.

As a youth John Crawford answered the call of his Maker to dedicate his life in the fullest and most perfect way to the service of God. Following the evangelical counsels of Jesus Christ he proposed to devote himself entirely toward learning and practicing the worship of God under the direction of the Order of Hermits of Saint Augustine.

He learned that religious life consists in the internal perfection of his spiritual faculties according to the rule of Saint Augustine. His natural abilities were trained, disciplined, educated, and elevated by the regular monastic exercises. Through the slow, graduated steps of postulancy, noviceship, simple and finally solemn profession of the vows he had learned, he came to participate in the spiritual heritage of Holy Mother Church. Poverty, chastity, and obedience according to the Augustinian rule set the pattern for the young religious' spiritual odyssey.

He learned, too, that being a member of a religious community he had the obligation of preparing himself to serve God in whatever capacity his superiors might direct. It was for him to develop his abilities and temperament so as to willingly, generously, and whole-heartedly respond to the requests of his superiors.

Leading the regular life of the monastery with his Augustinian brethern he at the same time was ready at any moment to give himself fully and with enthusiasm, at the call of his provincial. Robed in the traditional habit of the Augustinian Friars he both contributed and profited from the daily horarium and found self-effacement in the anonymity of the religious life.

Having learned the religious life he was called by the bishop to the holy priesthood of which Saint John Chrysostom has written: "The priesthood is a dignity greater and more venerable than that of a king. Speak not to me of purple, nor of diadem, nor of garments decked with gold; all these things are but shadows, more fleeting than the flowers of spring. For all the glory of man, even that of a king, is as the flowers of the field. Speak not to me of these. But if you desire to see how great is the difference between a king and a priest, consider the measure of the power which is granted to each, and you will see the priest placed far above a king. Though the royal throne is an object of admiration on account of the gems which adorn it, and the gold with which it is encircled, yet to the king belongs only the administration of earthly things, nor beyond these has he any power. But the throne of priests is set in heaven, and they have power to determine heavenly things. Who has said this? The King of heaven himself. 'Whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven' (Matt. xviii, 18). What honor can be compared to this? Heaven receives from earth the princely power of judging. For the judge sits on earth, the Lord follows the servant, and whatsoever the latter decides here below the former confirms above. Therefore the priest stands as intermediary between God and man; bringing down to us the blessings that come from above, and bearing our prayers on high, appeasing the wrath of God against man, and rescuing us who have offended from his hands."

An Augustinian and a priest, Father Crawford was further required to bring his God-given talents to a high state of academic perfection through years of university education in order to assume the task of teaching collegians. Into this task he threw himself with a driving energy of a brilliant mind. His superiors had chosen well and he responded magnificently. For some quarter of a century he labored at the formation and training of students in the finest traditions of our Christian cultural heritage. "They that are learned shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that instruct many to justice, as stars for all eternity." (Daniel 12: 3.)

It is not for us to enter upon an encomium of Father Crawford. Who can evaluate the blessings obtained for mankind in offering the holy sacrifice of the mass through 34 years? Which of us knows the consolation and peace of the numberless souls he has counseled and shriven in the sacrament of penance? Who can calculate the effect of his years of teaching? Only the great high priest can total the labors and fruits of his ministry; Christ the teacher alone can measure—and not forget—the influence of his professional instruction.

We do know that he strove to make himself an adaptable instrument readily at the behest of his superiors; they knew they could call upon him for the most exacting tasks, knowing full well he would answer the need with all the talent and enthusiasm at his command.

Thus after 25 years at Villanova University he had no hesitancy in gladly coming to a new Augustinian college to establish and direct the division of engineering; he inspired the Engineering Guild, and was moderator of the present graduating class of all Merrimack. A genial adviser, inspiring confidence with his calm judgment and priestly zeal.

His last day on earth was our Lady's Feast. By reason of his office as sub-prior he led the Augustinian community in the recitation of Mary's Corona, her litany and the Salve Regina—devotions dear to the heart of every Augustinian. His quick step was halted as he was about to enter his classroom the next morning. And so he died as he had lived in God's faith, in His church, in His service and in His love.

And let us pray. No one knows the depths of the justice of God; one can only faintly imagine the intensity of the purification necessary that a soul be admitted to communion with its God. Let us pray that if there be some tiny obstacle which might detain him on his way to paradise, let us pray that through our intercession the God of mercy might soon remove it and grant him everlasting life.

Mother of God's priests, we give him into thy keeping. Mary, Mother of Consolation, take him into thy house of gold. Mary, our life, our sweetness, and our hope, we lay him in thy bosom.

Imports and Exports of Agricultural Commodities, 1936–37 and 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, there is considerable discussion among Ohio farmers concerning imports and exports of agricultural commodities in which figures for the year 1936–37 have been used as a base. In order to provide up-to-date information, I requested comparative tables for 1936–37 and 1955 which have been supplied by Assistant Secretary Earl Butz.

I believe these tables, together with the Department of Agriculture explanatory material on imports, may be of general interest. Under leave to extend, I include them with my remarks.

AGRICULTURAL IMPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES

The United States is the world's largest exporter and the world's second largest importer of agricultural products.

During the 1954–55 fiscal year, agricultural exports amounted to $3,143 million, or 21 percent of the total United States exports ($14,870 million).

During 1954–55, agricultural imports amounted to $3,787 million, or 36 percent of total United States imports ($10,422 million).

KINDS OF AGRICULTURAL IMPORTS

There are two general kinds of agricultural imports:

Sixty percent of the imports of agricultural products are commodities not produced by United States agriculture in commercial quantities. These products, such as cocoa, coffee, rubber, pepper, bananas, and cordage fiber, amounted to $2,271 million during the 1954–55 fiscal year.

Forty percent of the imports of agricultural products are commodities similar to those produced in the United States. These products, such as cotton, apparel wool, nuts, some

fruits and vegetables and their products, tobacco, hides and skins, grains, and sugar, amounted to $1,515 million in the 1954–55 year.

CAN THE UNITED STATES ELIMINATE AGRICULTURAL IMPORTS?

Sometimes the question arises as to why the United States does not eliminate agricultural imports, thereby directing more buying power to domestically produced commodities. The answer is not a simple one but contains a number of facets. There is, of course, no legislative authority for eliminating all imports of agricultural commodities that come from foreign countries.

In the case of the first group of commodities, apparently their elimination would have no appreciable effect on the home market for United States farm products. Since the United States does not produce such products as coffee, cocoa, tea, bananas, and spices, eliminating their import would merely mean that the United States public would do without them, and some lowering of the national level of living would result.

In the case of the second group of commodities, legislation has been established for those that currently are under support programs to protect the United States from interference by excessive imports. Commodities whose import currently is controlled under such legislation are wheat, cotton, dairy products, rye, flaxseed and linseed oil, peanuts and peanut oil. In 1954–55, United States imports of this group totaled $115 million, or only 3 percent of total agricultural imports.

Other commodities in the second group are necessary to supplement domestic production. Some vegetables, for instance, are imported in greatest amount during the offseason when United States growers do not produce in sufficient volume. Some cheese specialties, kid and goat skins, and various oriental tobaccos are varieties or types not produced commercially in the United States. Elimination of such imports would limit variety and quality of consumer products, and in the case of tobacco might even lead to reduced rather than increased marketing of the similar United States agricultural products. For example:

Tobacco imports are largely oriental and cigar leaf types, brought in to use with American tobaccos to produce flavor and aroma desired by smokers.

Hide and skin imports consist largely of kid and goat skins, used mainly in the making of specialty leather goods. United States hides and skins are largely cowhide variety, which do not fill the same place in the consumer market.

Apparel wool imports supply about 55 percent of United States annual requirements. These imports during 1954–55 were valued at $149 million, representing 4 percent of all United States agricultural imports. In addition, there was another $91 million of carpet wool imported; virtually none of the latter is produced in the United States.

Sugar imports come largely from neighboring Caribbean and Latin American countries and are one of the principal agricultural imports. During 1954–55, sugar comprised 10 percent of United States agricultural imports. Quotas are set by law to limit each year's sugar imports. This brings stability to the market and benefits both foreign producers and United States producers. Money spent by the United States in buying sugar from other countries is used largely by these countries in buying agricultural and industrial products from the United States.

United States agricultural exports and suppplementary imports for domestic use,[1] fiscal years 1936–37 and 1955–56

[In thousands]

Commodity	Unit	1936–37		1955–56	
		Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports
QUANTITY OF SELECTED ITEMS					
Corn, including meal [2]	Bushel	77,974	729	1,108	120,159
Wheat, including flour [2]	do	34,359	21,764	9,761	343,727
Soybeans	Pound	1,005	42	110	70,757
Vegetable oils, expr.[3]	do	1,516,805	41,604	472,074	1,274,730
Lard, including compounds	do	2,797	103,711	2	638,249
Tallow	do	57,662	1,229	1,493	1,329,687
Dry milk [2]	do	12,766	3,606	2,010	516,921
Cheese [2]	do	65,694	1,076	52,022	155,983
Meat and products	do	149,925	107,300	283,977	271,800
VALUE					
Above commodities	Dollar	222,936	62,061	266,681	1,538,618
Other commodities	do	643,839	670,413	1,316,228	1,953,990
All commodities [3]	do	866,775	732,474	1,582,909	3,492,608
Value of all commodities in 1955–56 dollars [4]	do	2,075,370	1,558,685	1,582,909	3,492,608

[1] Excludes imports in bond for reexport.
[2] Includes relief shipments.
[3] Imports include only commodities similar in use to those produced domestically (supplementary); excludes coffee, tea, and like commodities not produced commercially in the United States (complementary).
[4] This calculation makes comparisons between 1936–37 and 1955–56 more correct by eliminating the changes in value due to depreciation of the dollar.

Imports (for consumption) into the United States of specified agricultural commodities during 1955

Commodity imported	Unit	Year ended Dec. 31, 1955
Supplementary products: [1]		
Corn, grain	Bushel	1,087,929
Wheat, grain: [2]		
Unfit for human consumption.	do	5,198,631
Other dutiable wheat	do	1,052,389
Total	do	6,251,020
Barley malt	Pound	70,942,835
Rye, grain	Bushel	3,377,887
Tapioca	do	130,344,411
Hay (2,000 pounds)	Ton	25,670
Soybeans	Pound	60,110
Cottonseed oil	do	0
Butter	do	741,752
Cattle, dutiable:		
Less than 200 pounds	Head	3,795
200 to 700 pounds	do	191,849
700 pounds or more each:		
Cows for dairy purposes	do	26,676
Other cattle	do	73,696
Total cattle		296,016
Hogs	Pound	1,317,661
Meats and meat products:		
Pork, fresh	do	41,745,235
Hams, bacon and shoulders	do	107,347,609
Beef:		
Fresh	do	26,162,405
Canned	do	87,120,370

Imports (for consumption) into the United States of specified agricultural commodities during 1955—Continued

Commodity imported	Unit	Year ended Dec. 31, 1955
Meats and meat products—Con.		
Other meats and meat products	Pound	30,156,487
Total meats and products	do	292,532,106
Eggs, in the shell	Dozen	2,255,690
Eggs and egg products, frozen, dried, etc.	Pound	28,647
Yolks:		
Dried		(3)
Frozen		(3)
Egg albumen		(3)
Wool and mohair, unmanufactured: [2] Dutiable types.	Pound	181,474,762
Milk, dried	do	2,108,536
Hides and skins [4]	do	127,465,642
Molasses, inedible	Gallon	377,811,962

[1] Supplementary products are all those similar to agricultural commodities produced commercially in the United States and all other that are interchangeable in use to any significant extent with such United States commodities.
[2] Excludes free in bond for manufacture and export.
[3] Not separately classified.
[4] Excludes the weight of "other hides and skins," reported in pieces only.

Source: Foreign Agricultural Service. Compiled from official records, Bureau of the Census.

Exports (domestic) from the United States of specified agricultural commodities during 1932, 1937, and 1955

Commodity exported	Unit	Year ended Dec. 31—		
		1932	1937	1955
Corn, grain	Bushel	7,885,855	5,834,196	108,110,114
Wheat, grain	do	54,879,484	34,848,437	221,515,014
Wheat flour, wholly of United States wheat	Bag	[1] 11,359,106	4,449,390	21,469,725
Barley malt	Bushel	238,876	197,917	3,914,458
Rye, grain	do	1,095,704	4,261,819	5,327,056
Tapioca [2]				
Hay (2,000 pounds)	Ton	2,799	46,407	30,908
Soybeans	Bushel	(3)	76,240,524	67,289,138
Cottonseed oil	Pound	55,767,385	7,250,199	[3] 572,150,353
Butter	do	1,605,150	799,877	[3] 22,499,386
Cattle (includes breeding cattle)	Head	3,614	4,178	34,901

Footnotes at end of speech.

Exports (domestic) from the United States of specified agricultural commodities during 1932, 1937, and 1955—Continued

Commodity exported	Unit	Year ended Dec. 31—		
		1932	1937	1955
Hogs	Number	11,078	234	4,378
Meats and meat products:				
Pork, fresh	Pound	8,133,092	4,237,537	6,657,095
Hams, bacon, and shoulders	do	84,174,830	42,858,454	18,817,422
Pork, pickled	do	15,258,569	9,009,390	37,076,223
Beef, fresh	do	1,633,464	4,494,400	18,437,899
Beef, canned	do	1,003,328	2,078,556	5,094,375
Other meats and meat products	do	80,810,175	61,022,090	142,854,643
Total meats and meat products	do	191,013,458	123,700,427	228,937,655
Eggs and egg products:				
In the shell	Dozen	2,319,039	2,376,421	49,725,348
Egg products:				
Dried	Pound	(4)	(4)	557,637
Otherwise preserved	do	44,323	216,621	536,793
Wool and mohair, unmanufactured	do	179,161	67,917	6,338,405
Milk, dried:				
Nonfat dry milk solids	do	1,672,522	2,115,853	[3] 231,349,165
Dried whole milk	do	1,885,193	2,125,999	45,890,930
Hides and skins, raw	Number	[5] 1,088,761	[5] 1,109,526	[6] 10,277,811
Molasses, inedible	Gallon	[7] 640,188	[7] 12,502,794	10,895,309

[1] Includes flour from foreign wheat.
[2] Not separately reported in official export statistics. It is included in farinaceous and other vegetable starches.
[3] These figures do not include the amounts exported under "Food for relief or charity," which are as follows: Cottonseed oil and shortening, 50,964,000 pounds; butter, 104,151,000 pounds; and powdered milk, 254,889,000 pounds.
[4] Not separately classified.
[5] Includes cattle, calf and kip. All other hides reported in pounds.
[6] Excludes the weight of "other hides and skins," which are reported in value only.
[7] Includes edible molasses.

Source: Foreign Agricultural Service. Compiled from official records, Bureau of the Census.

Minnesota Official Says North Misinformed on Negro in South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, heretofore granted, I am pleased to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a news article which appeared on the front page of the Tuesday, February 26, 1957, issue of the Birmingham (Ala.) News, one of the fine daily newspapers of my district. The article is an account of an interview with Mr. Milton Rosen, commissioner of public utilities in St. Paul, Minn., on the occasion of his recent visit to Birmingham. The news article follows:

MINNESOTA OFFICIAL SAYS NORTH MISINFORMED ON NEGRO IN SOUTH

(By Paul Hogan)

"A lot of misinformation is being sent our way regarding the Negro situation in the South," Milton Rosen, commissioner of public utilities in St. Paul, Minn., said here today.

"We have the impression that Negroes are badly downtrodden and in a suppressed condition down here," Rosen said.

"On this visit, I have seen the Negro schools, golf courses, swimming pools, and other utilities.

"It's a whole lot of misinformation," he said. Rosen said the Negro's status in the South is much better than the impression Northern people have gained.

"Rabble-rousers have told us that Negroes are 'terribly mistreated'," he added.

"I think it would be a good thing if the South sent responsible representatives to the North to tell us what is going on."

Rosen also pointed out that northern people have the impression that people in the Birmingham area live in shacks. He said that although he had been here, before, he had not seen the fine homes that cover Birmingham.

He said his city is participating in the urban renewal program, which is being adopted in Birmingham. He said areas near the Minnesota State capitol building are being redeveloped under the plan.

Rosen, who first took office as a St. Paul commissioner in 1930, is visiting Birmingham for a look at the United States Pipe & Foundry Co.'s facilities. His city has bought many thousands of feet of pipe from the company, and law requires that he look into the plant where the pipe is made.

He said he entered politics when he found that he coud not sell merchandise to the city himself.

As a tire dealer, he said, he found that city contracts were controlled by favored companies. He said that with the help of the FBI we cleaned out every tout in St. Paul.

Federal Assistance Is Needed To Deal With Pockets of Unemployment That Here and There Mar the Nation's General Industrial Prosperity

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, this date with my colleagues from Pennsylvania, Representatives CARRIGG, FENTON, and SAYLOR, I introduced a bill known as the Area Assistance Act of 1957. This bill should be known as the administration bill as it reflects the views of President Eisenhower when he said, "We must deal with pockets of chronic unemployment that here and there mar the Nation's general industrial prosperity." In other words, the bill which I introduced today provides for the basic elements of the Eisenhower program to aid distressed areas.

Mr. Speaker, over a period of years, I have sponsored legislation on this subject and frankly, it was not until the 84th Congress that interest was manifested to the extent that we could get action of this type of legislation. As many will recall, last year the Senate passed the so-called Douglas bill in the closing minutes of the 84th Congress. Regardless of the determined efforts on the part of several of us, we were unable to secure consideration of the bill by the House before adjournment.

I think it is time to face the facts concerning the distressed areas of the Nation. At the present time there is pending in the Senate the area redevelopment bill, S. 2663, which is a revised version of the so-called Douglas bill of the 84th Congress. From what I am told, S. 2663 is not acceptable to the administration.

Mr. Speaker, the bill that I have introduced today known as the Area Assistance Act of 1957 has the blessings of the administration and while it may not be acceptable to everyone, I am hopeful that it can be amended and thus serve as a basis for providing aid to the distressed areas of the Nation now badly in need of relief.

The following is an analysis of my bill to assist distressed areas:

AREA ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1957

PURPOSE

"To assist areas to develop and maintain stable and diversified economies by a program of financial and technical assistance."

BASIC PRINCIPLES

1. Communities are to retain primary initiative and responsibility in planning and financing their economic redevelopment.

2. The program should aim at lasting improvement of economic conditions, not temporary relief.

3. Federal assistance is contingent upon the active financial participation in specific projects by the State or local groups identified with the troubled community.

4. A project will receive Federal aid only if it creates new job opportunities and does not merely transfer such opportunities from one area to another.

ADMINISTRATION

An Area Assistance Administrator who would be in charge of the program would be appointed by the President with advice and consent of the Senate.

To advise the Secretary of Commerce in the performance of his functions authorized by this act, there is formed an Area Assistance Advisory Board, consisting of these members: Secretary of Commerce (chairman), Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Secretary of Labor, Secretary of the Treasury, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Administrator of the Small Business Administration, and representatives of other interested executive branch agencies.

AREAS ASSISTED UNDER PROVISIONS OF THIS ACT

Areas certified by the Secretary of Labor as areas of substantial and persistent unemployment (that is, where the unemploy-

ment rate is currently 8 percent or more, adjusted seasonally, and has been at least 8 percent for the major portion of each of the preceding 2 years).

All other areas, with particular attention to one-industry communities, low-income rural areas, and other ecoonmically underdeveloped areas.

TYPES OF ASSISTANCE TO AREAS OF SUBSTANTIAL AND PERSISTENT UNEMPLOYMENT

Financial assistance in the form of loans for such purposes as: (a) Preparing land for industrial use; (b) constructing new factories; (c) modernizing old factories. (Total amount outstanding at any one time not to exceed $50 million.)

Grants for technical assistance, including studies evaluating the needs of, and developing potentialities for, economic growth. (Up to $1,500,000 annually.)

TYPES OF ASSISTANCE TO LOW-INCOME RURAL AREAS AND OTHER UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS

Technical assistance and direct field consultation in establishing new industries based on local resources, in expanding existing industries, and in economic diversification.

BASIC TERMS FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

1. To assure that State and local leaders join in the program, there must first be submitted by the area or community an overall program for its economic development, as well as a finding by the State that the project for which financial assistance is sought is consistent with that program. For the same reason, assistance is to be extended only to public or private persons approved by the State in which the project is located.

2. Assistance shall not be available for working capital, purchase of machinery or equipment, or to assist the relocation of establishments if this will cause unemployment in their original locations.

3. Borrowers must first exhaust the possibility of a loan on reasonable terms from private lenders or other Federal agencies before obtaining assistancec under the act.

4. Federal assistance in the form of loans may be granted up to 35 percent of project costs. These loans may be on a second-mortgage basis if necessary to assist the area. Private, State, and local sources are to provide no less than 65 percent of project costs (of which a minimum of 15 percent is to come from State or local sources). Under such authority, a first-mortgage loan from private sources representing 50 percent of the cost appears entirely feasible

USING EXISTING FEDERAL PROGRAMS

Activities authorized by this act are coordinated with existing Federal programs affecting local economic conditions in areas of substantial and persistent unemployment. The existing programs would be used on the problems of these areas so as to provide the maximum assistance from the minimum Federal expenditure.

1. The Secretary of Labor, in addition to certifying areas of chronic unemployment, is also authorized to carry out or assist in studies of capabilities of the labor force, development of its skills and assist in its training.

2. The Secretary of Health, Education; and Welfare may provide necessary assistance for vocational education services.

3. The Housing and Home Finance Administrator, under provisions of the Housing Acts of 1949, 1954, and 1955, as amended, may permit the following considerations:

(a) Priority will be given cities and similar bodies for financial assistance for needed public facilities and public works (such as water and sewerage systems).

(b) Financial assistance may be provided urban renewal projects for industrial or commercial redevelopment of land previously nonresidential in character.

(c) Planning assistance grants may be made to counties, cities, and other municipalities having a population of 25,000 or more according to the latest decennial census.

Pacific Northwest Fruit Growers Effect Long-Range Planning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Farmers Working Together Strengthen the Entire Economy," and published in the Wenatchee Daily World of Monday, February 11, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FARMERS WORKING TOGETHER STRENGTHEN ENTIRE ECONOMY

The Washington Growers Clearing House Association holds its 15th annual meeting Tuesday, providing an occasion on which to reflect on the changes which have been brought onto the orchard industry scene in those 15 years.

Back in the 1930's, influenced by a suffering national economy, the orchard industry was in bad shape. It has been estimated that each acre of our great fruit belt had an indebtedness of some $800.

One of the most depressing factors was the chaos of the market.

The fruit grower was a very little man, single handedly going against the giant of the marketplace. In a single day he could get a wide variety of price quotations for the same box of apples, ranging from 25 cents to 50 cents difference. He had no access to price and marketing information and often fell prey to sharp buyers. Often he let his apples go for prices far below their worth, far below the price he might have received elsewhere.

"Below price" fruits, entering the market, caused shakiness, making the fruit industry even sicker.

At last, with the aid of the Federal Government, certain remedies were given to this "sick patient." Among them was a proposal that growers form an organization which would provide them with marketing reports and other information affecting the price of their fruit. That brought into being the Washington Growers Clearing House Association, sponsored, financed, and directed by fruit growers through their own elected board of directors, one each from 21 districts of North Central Washington.

Today it has some 2,000 fruit-grower members or about 94 percent of our district's total number of growers. They financed the organization by an assessment of three-eighths of a cent per box of fruit produced. Every other day or so a clearinghouse bulletin goes to growers. It contains an appraisal of market prices of all fruits and grades. The result: Growers of the entire area know the true market value of their fruit at all times.

The clearinghouse is concerned not just with marketing. It has become the voice of 2,000 fruit growers in discussion of taxation, credit, research programs, and other matters affecting the fruit industry.

The fruit grower who, in the 1930's, was a little man facing the giant of the marketplace, has become strong through collective action and information.

In recent years we have seen the farmer gain similar strength through collective action here in north central Washington. We have cattlemen's associations, wheat-producer associations, the price-bargaining associations of the pear growers and peach growers, all welding individual farmers into groups big enough to survive in the highly competitive economy of modern America where bigness counts.

The clearinghouse and these other groups deserve commendation from all of us. Farmers, by working together to strengthen their own position, have very materially aided all of us in this agricultural area where everyone's welfare is based on the welfare of the man on the farm.

Sanctions Against Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in the midst of the recent debate on sanctions against Israel, a letter to the editor of the Washington Evening Star has come to my attention. The letter, written by Sanford H. Bolz, is in answer to an editorial which appeared in the Star on February 7. Mr. Bolz discusses with a precision of analysis which lately has been all too rare, the implications of the sanctions question. I ask unanimous consent that the text of his letter, which was published on February 12, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"SANCTIONS AND ISRAEL"

Unless I mistake your editorial of February 7, "Sanctions and Israel," your argument comes to this: That since the United Nations failed to impose sanctions against Russia for its utterly immoral and unjustifiable action in Hungary because Russia is strong enough to be undisturbed by sanctions, it follows that because Israel is weak enough to be seriously hurt by them, the U. N. should not fail to impose sanctions against her for her thoroughly moral and justifiable action in refusing to withdraw from the Gaza and Aqaba areas without guarantees that Egypt will not resume its belligerency there. This it is plain, is the specious non sequitur on the basis of which you justify the abandonment of elementary justice and morality and principle to the hard realities and stubborn practicalities of international life—and in connection, mind you, with a proposed U. N. resolution which, as you know, is not legally binding but depends for its observance upon its moral force.

It is perhaps ungentle to remind you that, Russia aside, Egypt herself has for some 6 years now been in open and notorious defiance of a 1951 decision of the U. N. Security Council that Israeli ships should be permitted to pass through the Suez Canal; that unlike a General Assembly resolution, which is merely a recomendation backed by moral force, such a Security Council decision is legally binding; and that not only by every test of justice, morality and principle, but even by your touchstone of hard reality and practicality, Egypt would have been even more vulnerable to sanctions than

Israel during these 6 years. Yet sanctions were never imposed by the U. N. nor, to my knowledge, ever advocated by your newspaper. Nor were you moved to such advocacy, or the U. N. to such action, by further Egyptian belligerency in denying Israel navigation of the Gulf of Aqaba and in sending murderous bands across Israel's borders (established by a U. N.-negotiated armistice agreement), which it is now widely conceded constituted serious threats to the peace and provoked Israel's action of October 29 against Egypt.

Was it hard reality that led the United States and the U. N. to acquiesce without sanctions in Nasser's defiance of the Security Council by refusing Israeli ships passage through the Suez Canal? Certainly it was neither justice, morality, nor principle. Is it too much to suggest that perhaps the success of that defiance encouraged the Egyptian dictator to seize the canal last year? Certainly that would be the inexorable logic of stubborn practicality. Does not the same logic commend the Soviet action in Hungary? Does the end justify the means? For myself and for my country, I had rather stand with principle and justice. Any other course is hardly realistic.

SANFORD H. BOLZ.

Importance of Flood Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, a thought-provoking column written by Publisher Wilfred Woods, of the Wenatchee Daily World, can provide important guidance for us as we, in the 85th Congress, plan greater flood prevention for our Nation.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the Wilfred Woods column of Monday, February 11.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TALKING IT OVER

(By Wilfred R. Woods)

Flood control is one of the activities of our Federal Government that doesn't get much publicity—except when something happens.

For instance, the Northwest has experienced only one major flood this century—in 1948.

As a result, we tend to forget flood control. We hear about power, all right. And navigation is frequently discussed in the press.

It seems that our memory is short when it comes to floods.

But there is nothing that can prevent snow from melting when the weather gets warm, nor is there any device to prevent rain from falling.

So floods will come again.

Our only protection is water storage—upstream dams, both in Canada and in our own country.

What flood control can do in other parts of the country was demonstrated just a week ago in Tennessee.

The biggest flood since 1883 would have crested at Chattanooga, Tenn., according to TVA engineers and the United States Weather Bureau.

The Tennessee River would have reached a height of 22 feet above flood stage. Much of the main business district of Chattanooga would have been under water, but for the TVA dams.

Instead of reaching 22 feet above flood stage, though, the river crested at just 2 feet above flood stage.

Damage would have totaled more than $50 million in the city limits alone, according to preliminary estimates.

That is what flood control dams prevented.

This kind of protection is not available on the Columbia River. And it gets farther away every time a large, key storage dam (such as high Hells Canyon) is replaced by lesser dams.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement recently made before a subcommittee of the House Committee on the Judiciary by the Honorable John J. Wicker, Jr., a former State senator and a distinguished attorney of Richmond, Va. This statement points out with exceptional clarity the inherent dangers and discusses with great force the unconstitutionality of the legislation currently being proposed as so-called civil rights bills. It should be read by every Member of this House.

STATEMENT BY JOHN J. WICKER, JR., ATTORNEY AT LAW, RICHMOND, VA., FORMER STATE SENATOR AND TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE 1945 CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF VIRGINIA, OPPOSING PROPOSED CIVIL-RIGHTS LEGISLATION (H. R. 1151, 2145, ETC.) BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, FEBRUARY 13, 1957

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, my name is John J. Wicker, Jr. I am an attorney at law, and for many years I have been a member of the bar of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, of the Federal courts in Virginia, and of the Supreme Court of the United States. I reside, as I have for most of my life, in Richmond, Va.

While I am here before you today at the suggestion and request of a number of Virginia citizens and organizations, my appearance is solely in my capacity as a citizen of the Commonwealth of Virginia and the United States of America, and not in any representative capacity whatsoever. I wish it to be distinctly understood that I am not appearing here, directly or indirectly, in behalf of any of my clients or any of the various organizations with which I am affiliated. In other words, the views that I express here today are purely my own and do not necessarily reflect the views of any other individual or group whatsoever.

OPPOSED TO H. R. 1151, 2141, ETC.

As a citizen, I appear to express my opposition to H. R. 1151, H. R. 2145, and other certain so-called civil-rights bills now pending before the House Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

NO NECESSITY SHOWN FOR PROPOSED CIVIL-RIGHTS LEGISLATION

It is my understanding that in considering proposed legislation, two questions are always highly important. First, is the proposed legislation necessary? Second, does the legislative body before which such legislation is pending have the right, as well as the power, to enact the proposed legislation?

Unless both of these questions are clearly and satisfactorily answered in the affirmative, then the proposed legislation should fail. And I conceive it to be the duty and burden of the proponents of legislation to establish both the necessity and the constitutional propriety of proposed legislation.

I believe I have read practically all of the available testimony given last year on similar proposed legislation both before the House Committee on the Judiciary and before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. The testimony thus far this year in favor of the pending legislation is substantially similar to that given last year. Analysis of this testimony will lead, I believe, inescapably to the conclusion that the proponents of this pending legislation have failed to adduce any satisfactory evidence or proof whatever as to the necessity of these proposals; and they have also failed to prove that the Congress has any right to enact legislation which would not only still further encroach upon the jurisdiction and rights of the several States, but also would in practice and effect, deprive citizens of their fundamental right to trial by jury whenever the Attorney General, or someone acting for him, desired to do so.

ATTORNEY GENERAL'S TESTIMONY NEGATIVES NECESSITY

The best examples of the failure of proof of necessity for this proposed legislation are to be found in the testimony of the Attorney General of the United States in connection with this legislation. For example, the principal reason advanced by the Attorney General for the creation of a Federal Civil Rights Commission was a quotation from President Eisenhower's 1956 state of the Union message in which the President said:

"It is disturbing that in some localities allegations persist that Negro citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and are likewise being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures."

Now there are over a quarter million localities in these United States. Yet the principal basis for setting up a new Federal bureaucracy which would spread its powerful pressures all over the Nation—not like the creeping socialism which we have heard a lot about, but more like a form of galloping paralysis—appears to consist of mere allegations that Negro citizens are being unfairly or unlawfully treated, merely in some localities—not in any widespread area or in any considerable number of localities.

On this flimsy ground of mere allegations, the Attorney General favors saddling upon the entire Nation the mental, spiritual and financial burden of a new national Commission operating independently all over the Nation; applying its inquisitions and intimidations whenever and wherever it chose; dragging citizens away from their homes and businesses at any time and for any distance and to any place the new Commission desired, upon the compelling force of subpenas; merely to investigate whether and to what extent these allegations are well founded and to try and bring about correction of any conditions the Commission determines to be civil rights violations.

The utter lack of necessity for the creation of any such Civil Rights Commission as is contemplated in this pending legislation is shown by the testimony of the Attorney General himself.

While dealing with another portion of this legislation, the Attorney General stated that in a recent case the United States Supreme Court had denounced systematic discrimination against Negroes in the selection of jury panels in Mississippi and that the De-

partment of Justice thereupon had instituted an investigation. Although the Attorney General said that "according to the undisputed evidence in the record before it" (the Court) "systematic discrimination against Negroes in the selection of jury panels had persisted for many years past in the county where the case had been tried;" nevertheless the Attorney General admitted that the investigation by the Department of Justice "showed that, whatever the practice may have been during the earlier years with which the Supreme Court's record was concerned, in recent years there had been no discrimination against Negroes in the selection of juries in that county."

Now, if the Department of Justice can proceed, by inquiry and investigation, as it did in this case, to determine that the unfair and discriminatory condition denounced in a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court no longer exists, and can do this without any new legislation and without the setting up of any new national Civil Rights Commission, why cannot the Department of Justice institute and conduct a similar investigation to ascertain whether or not "the disturbing allegations" mentioned in the President's state of the Union message are founded upon fact, or are without foundation, or refer to conditions which may have formerly existed, but which do not actually exist any longer?

Even if conditions in the field of Negro voting were such as to indicate the need for some remedial action or investigation, why should the Congress set up a new and independent national commission, clothed with vast inquisitorial authority and vested with the power to be autocratic, intimidating and oppressive, and necessarily involving the addition of a great horde of Federal investigators, agents, examiners, etc., at great expense to the already heavily burdened taxpayers?

There are many other fields of daily life of just as much and just as vital concern to the national and individual welfare which need investigation and remedial action far more. Yet the proposed legislation does not propose setting up any national commission to operate in these other areas. The safety of persons in their ordinary daily pursuits is certainly just as important as the right to vote.

Robberies and holdups, planned and executed on an interstate basis, accompanied by violence and extreme brutalities, are taking place in ever-increasing numbers, not just in some localities but in a large number of areas, north, south, east, and west all over the United States.

Right here in the Nation's Capital all of you know it is exceedingly dangerous to use the public streets in many sections of the city at any time of night and even sometimes in board daylight. Gang warfare and teenage hoodlumism, operating across State lines, take their toll of human life and property—frequently including many innocent bystanders—in practically all of the large cities of our Nation, and in some of the smaller places, too.

The enslavement of large numbers of our young people—beginning even in their youthful public school days—by the poisonous narcotic drug traffic organized and directed nationally—constitutes a serious menace to the very foundations of our national life.

These are just a few areas in which there is far more reason to be "disturbed by allegations" than in the matter of Negro voting. Some of these matters have engaged the intelligent attention of various congressional committees from time to time, and these congressional committees—composed of duly elected representatives of the people—have accomplished much good. But here we have a proposal for the creation of a brandnew independent national Commission to investigate merely one area in which there are "allegations."

ATTORNEY GENERAL'S PRESENT AUTHORITY SUFFICIENT

The proposed legislation would give congressional approval and special authorization for the appointment of a special Assistant Attorney General to direct the activities of a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice, in both the criminal field and the civil field. I submit that there is no necessity whatever for this legislation.

In his statement before both the House Committee and Senate committee last year, the Attorney General frankly stated that the Department of Justice had been operating a Civil Rights Section ever since 1939, but that the "noncriminal activity of the Department in the civil-rights field is constantly increasing in importance, as well as in amount." Accordingly, the Attorney General feels that "the Department's civil-rights activities, both criminal and noncriminal" (should) "be consolidated in a single organization." And he thinks that in order to bring this about a new Assistant Attorney General should be authorized by Congress.

If it is proper for the Department of Justice to busy itself in the civil field of civil rights (as the Attorney General admitted the Department had actually done in some cases) then he can certainly reshuffle his organization and personnel and designate one of his assistants to direct the activities of the Department, both in the civil and criminal phases of civil rights.

In his testimony before the Senate committee, the Attorney General was questioned rather pointedly on this proposed new Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice and the proposed new Assistant Attorney General to be in charge thereof. And he admitted that he already had authority to assign civil rights enforcement duties to any of the Assistant Attorneys General already authorized and serving under him. As he testified:

"The act, under which the Department of Justice is set up, does not specify any particular duties for any Assistant Attorney General."

One reason for the proposal is found in his testimony that the passage of any such legislation would be followed "almost automatically" by increased appropriations for the Department of Justice. Another reason is shown by the testimony of the Attorney General before the House Committee in which it was pointed out that the main reason for special authorization of an Assistant Attorney General in charge of Civil Rights was "to give emphasis and prestige in the enforcement of civil rights."

The Attorney General also said that if this legislation was passed, the activities of the Department of Justice would not only be greatly broadened but greatly increased in volume, as well as in scope. That was just a very euphonious way of saying that if this legislation is passed, then the Federal Department of Justice will encroach still further into the daily lives of our people in practically every State—especially the Southern States, of course—and will extinguish—by mere force and volume and power—even more of the safeguards and rights of the citizens to local government in local State affairs.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION FRAUGHT WITH DANGEROUS POSSIBILITIES

With the prestige of Congressional approval, the Department of Justice would undoubtedly "move in" in various States wherever and whenever the Attorney General thought it to be advisable from any standpoint. And he could subject the governments of those States and the governments of municipalities and counties, and the officials and citizens thereof to intimidations and powerful pressures against which there could be no redress.

In fact, the situation could be very much like that which occurs when a surging flooding river overflows its banks and breaks over or through whatever levees may be set up to contain it within its proper bounds and spreads, with devastating force and volume, over many areas which it is not supposed to invade. And even after its muddy tide has receded, great damage has already been done and cannot be undone. So it would be in this case.

If the Department of Justice under a politically minded Attorney General should be armed with Congressional authorization and sanction and blessing for this new Civil Rights Division, presided over by a new Assistant Attorney General, he could invade any State or any locality he chose at any time he chose upon any allegations, no matter from what source they came or how flimsy they were. And he could do this at such times and in such manner as to intimidate the officials and citizens of such States and localities and interfere with them, unjustly and unfairly, in the ordinary exercise of their constitutional and lawful rights.

And against this arbitrary and oppressive action—all of which would be paid for by the whole taxpayers of the United States—the victimized States and localities and officials and citizens would have no redress whatsoever. Perhaps after long and protracted litigation they might be able to drive the intruder back, but—as in the case of a receding flood—the damage would already have been done.

Please understand that I do not charge that the present Attorney General would actually and consciously exercise these powers and this new prestige in the oppressive and unfair manner indicated; but I do say that, if this legislation were to be passed, then you would be placing these powers in his hands.

And I do not believe that the record and the public expressions of the Attorney General give any indication that he would be either cautious or moderate in his approach or in his use of this power if he is vested with congressional sanction, approval, and prestige by this legislation.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION WOULD FAVOR INTERRACIAL MARRIAGES, ETC.

In its preamble, one of the most important of these so-called civil-rights bills (H. R. 2145) endorses and promises to secure "certain rights" included in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

It will be surprising and shocking to the American public to learn that this pending legislation—through its endorsement of this international "declaration"—would put the Congress of the United States on record as declaring that all adult persons in the United States have a right to engage in interracial marriages (art. 16); and a right to seek and impart information "through any media and regardless of frontiers" (art. 19); and a right to have any religion they choose and and to "manifest" their "religion or belief" in "teaching, practice, worship and observance" (art. 18).

And this so-called civil-rights legislation would pledge the United States to secure these so-called rights.

From our earliest time, the right of the several States to prohibit interracial marriages within their respective borders has been fully recognized. This so-called civil-rights legislation seeks to destroy that time honored and long established State right.

Not long ago the United States Government executed the Rosenbergs for imparting information "regardless of frontiers." If this pending legislation had been in effect it would have helped to thwart and frustrate the prosecution and punishment of those traitors. If it is enacted now, it will

be in conflict with our Federal laws against espionage.

In some parts of our country, until some years ago, polygamy was recognized as a part of a religion which thousands of Americans believed in and practiced. This so-called civil-rights legislation would be derogative of our antipolygamy laws.

Moreover, even today, there are some groups of American citizens whose conscientious religious beliefs sanction voluntary bodily disfigurement and even sacrificial deaths as an important part of the observance of their religion. This so-called civil-rights legislation would endorse the so-called right of individuals to engage in such religious practices.

The foregoing is illustrative of some of the many dangers involved in this so-called civil-rights legislation.

DEPRIVING CITIZENS OF RIGHT TO JURY

We come now to some of the most dangerous and objectionable of all the proposals which would have the effect of enabling the Attorney General, through the Department of Justice, to institute and conduct civil actions and proceedings in Federal courts all over the United States in the name of the United States of America—but really for the private and personal benefit of whatever individuals the Attorney General might choose to recognize or prefer. And he could do this whenever those individuals allege that any other person has "engaged or is about to engage in any act or practice" which would deprive the complaining individual of his free and untrammeled right to vote for or against candidates of his own choice for Federal office.

These bills would also have the effect of enabling the Attorney General, in whatever location and in whatever cases apparently involving civil voting rights he chose to recognize, to deprive the defendant or defendants of the fundamental right to trial by jury. These bills would also be bypassing and practically nullifying proceedings in State courts and other State tribunals now authorized to deal with present or threatened invasion of the civil rights of individuals.

All of these effects would do serious damage to our constitutional system of government, and would place in the hands of the Federal Department of Justice the power to inflict intolerable burden and expense upon individual citizens throughout the Nation and to intimidate State and local officials.

And, in a practical even though perhaps not in a narrow technical legal sense, they would authorize judicial conviction of violation of law, or of intent to violate law, without affording the accused the fundamental right of trial by jury.

In his testimony, the Attorney General told how the Department of Justice had intervened in a civil suit in Arkansas in a school board case, which was a civil proceeding for an injunction. Likewise, as already noted, the Attorney General testified that the Department of Justice had insituted and conducted an inquiry and investigation in the voting conditions in Mississippi. No doubt the Department of Justice has busied itself in other States and other localities in various civil proceedings having to do with civil rights. All of this has been done under the present laws and without the specific sanction and approval and blessing of any such congressional enactments as the Attorney General now advocates. This further illustrates the fact that there is no real necessity for this proposed legislation.

PROPOSED CIVIL PROCEEDINGS OFFENSIVE AS CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS

But the Attorney General insists that any activities of the Department of Justice in these matters which might lead to some criminal prosecution would inevitably "stir up such dissension and ill will in the State that it might very well" [do] "more harm than good."

The Attorney General seems to feel that State and local officials and local citizens would resent any Federal activity that might lead to criminal prosecution, but that they would not experience any similar resentment or ill will if such Federal activities were directed along the line of investigations and inquiries leading to the institution and conduct of civil proceedings and injunctions coupled with the threat of punishment by fine, or imprisonment or both, for contempt of court in the event of failure to respect such injunctions.

Such reasoning seems very queer and unrealistic to me.

In fact, I believe that the average State and local official and local citizen would much prefer that the issue of his guilt or innocence be determined, after investigation, by customary procedure where he is not only confronted by his accusers but where he has the constitutional safeguard of a trial by jury of his peers.

Instead, the Attorney General wants to have a Federal judge, sitting without benefit of a jury, determine either that defendants had been guilty of the alleged law violations in the past, or that they were about to commit these law violations in the immediate future. The humiliation and worry and trouble and expense to the defendants would be just as great, and perhaps greater, in such civil proceedings. But they would not have the protection that every accused deserves in the form of a trial by jury.

The Attorney General argues that these civil proceedings could be accomplished "without having to subject State officials to the indignity, hazards, and personal expense of a criminal prosecution in the courts of the United States.

State officials charged in a civil proceeding, either with past violations of law or with determination to violate the law in the future, and dragged into the Federal courts by the Department of Justice and subjected to long drawn out civil proceedings (in which no speedy trial is constitutionally guaranteed, and in which no jury is assured) would be subjected to just as much indignity, hazards, and personal expense as in a criminal prosecution—and perhaps even more.

CONCENTRATING ON ELECTION RIGHTS

The Attorney General argues that while the present statute (sec. 241 of title 18, U. S. C.) "makes it unlawful for two or more persons to conspire" against the exercise of civil rights by another, the statute fails to "penalize such an injury when it was committeed by a single individual."

However, in his testimony I do not believe the Attorney General referred to another statute, of equal dignity (sec. 594 of title 18, U. S. C.) which makes it a crime for any one person to intimidate or threaten or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten or coerce any other person for the purpose of interfering with such other person's right to vote for or against any candidate for Federal office.

While it is true that this latter statute refers only to civil rights in connection with voting, at the same time it is also true that the Attorney General's testimony indicated very strongly that the principal interest of the Department of Justice in legislation at this time is confined practically to the matter of voting and elections. In fact, in his testimony he conceded that there is really no necessity for any sort of antilynching legislation, especially since no lynchings had occurred in the United States since 1951.

Furthermore, in response to suggestions from the House committee chairman that he might comment upon "certain other proposals relating to civil rights now pending before the committee" (involving amendments to the "two principal criminal statutes intended for the protection of civil rights") the Attorney General testified last year that "there is grave doubt as to whether it is wise to propose at the present time any further extension of the criminal law into this extraordinarily sensitive and delicate area of civil rights."

ADDITIONAL UNTOLD BURDEN ON TAXPAYERS

In the testimony of the Attorney General, no attempt has been made to estimate the size or extent of the financial burden which would necessarily be involved, if these proposals are enacted into law, by the creation of a new and enlarged division in the Department of Justice, and the authorization of the Attorney General to become the Government-paid attorney for whatever complainants he chose to recognize in the vague field of civil rights.

Anyone acquainted with government, as you gentlemen are, will recognize the fact that the burden will not be small or inconsequential. Nor would it diminish as time went on, but instead it would spread and grow with the speed and fertility of noxious weeds.

For example, when questioned by the chairman of the House committee as to the expenses of the proposed Civil Rights Commission, the Attorney General testified that supplemental appropriations to cover new expenses "would follow almost automatically, I think, if the Congress authorized it * * *. If this Commission is authorized and the new division is authorized in the Department of Justice, it would be immediately followed by an appropriation."

EMPOWERS ATTORNEY GENERAL TO "PUNISH" OFFICIALS AND CITIZENS WHO OPPOSE SCHOOL RACIAL MIXTURES

Mr. Chairman, the more I have studied this matter and the more I have thought about it, the more convinced I have become that there is a great deal more to these proposals of the Attorney General than meets either the naked eye or the legislative eye.

In my opinion, the enactment of this proposed legislation, as advocated by the Attorney General, would result in the serious evils and grave injustices to which I have alluded. It would also eventually empower the Department of Justice to harass and intimidate and burden and punish citizens who believe that the Supreme Court of the United States went beyond its own lawful powers and usurped legislative prerogatives and encroached unconstitutionally upon the reserved rights of the States when it declared that public education of Negro children and white children in separate schools was unconstitutional.

By the same sort of devious reasoning exhibited in his testimony concerning this legislation, the Attorney General, if vested with the powers and prerogatives sought in this legislation, could very well conclude that the State officials and local officials and private citizens who did anything to preserve segregation in areas where there will not be any public education without segregation, were guilty of conspiring to deprive, or attempting to deprive, Negroes in their localities of some sort of so-called civil rights.

In the public school cases decided in 1954, it was clearly pointed out in the able brief of the attorney general of Virginia and his associate counsel, that Senator Trumbull, of Illinois, the leading sponsor of the 14th amendment, and one of the leading sponsors of the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875, flatly declared: "The right to go to school is not a civil right and never was" (CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, 42d Cong., 2d sess., at p. 3189).

It was also pointed out in the same brief that the congressional framers and sponsors of the 14th amendment and the legislatures of the States that ratified it were all agreed that public school education was

not within the purview of the amendment. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court, in its 1954 decision, blandly disregarded these cogent arguments and historical facts.

Consequently, there can be no assurance that the Supreme Court, as constituted at present, would attach any weight to the declared intentions of the sponsors of this proposed legislation. Therefore, if this legislation is enacted, and the Attorney General then chose to file proceedings against State and local officials, school board officials, officers and active members of various citizens groups, who believe that the Supreme Court's public school decision was unconstitutional and who, accordingly are unwilling to establish and maintain a mixture of races in their public schools, in all likelihood the Attorney General would be upheld by the Supreme Court. Such proceedings could result in mandatory and injunctive decrees by Federal courts followed by fine and imprisonment upon failure to comply therewith.

Some may think that these forebodings are far fetched, and that the Attorney General, if this legislation is passed, would not take such advantage of the situation and take such extreme measures. But I reply that whenever any court of last resort can completely ignore the plain provisions of the 10th amendment to the Constitution of the United States while giving to the 14th amendment a meaning completely contrary to the demonstrated intentions and opinions and belief of the Congress which proposed it and the States which ratified it, as was done by our Supreme Court in the public school decisions, then there is no fearsome consequence beyond the realm of reasonable possibility.

JEFFERSON'S PROTESTS AGAINST ENCROACHMENTS

If, perhaps, anything that I have said about the tendency of the present Supreme Court to usurp the rights of Congress and to ignore the constitutionally reserved rights of the States appears to be somewhat harsh, let me remind you of the opinions expressed over a century ago by one of the greatest Americans of all time. Commenting upon the encroachments upon States rights by the Supreme Court and as to how they might be checked, he said: "By reason and argument? * * * You might as well reason and argue with the marble columns encircling them."

Renouncing the use of force, he advocated that the States should "denounce the acts of usurpation until their accumulation shall overweigh that of separation." That was the opinion expressed by Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, in his letter to Giles, December 26, 1825. (See Beveridge's Life of John Marshall, vol. 4, pp. 38-39.)

So, in my opinion of the extreme lengths to which the Supreme Court seems willing to go in violation of the constitutionally reserved rights of States, I find myself in excellent company.

Of course, it may be argued that I am seeing a lot of fanciful situations and that the Department of Justice would not go to any such extremes under any circumstances, and if it did, that the Supreme Court certainly would not fail to interfere. Unfortunately, however, the recent decisions of the Supreme Court have shaken public confidence, and in many areas destroyed public confidence in any assurance that States rights will be protected.

We often hear it said that "the decision of the Supreme Court is the supreme law of the land." I do not believe that is always true.

Suppose the Supreme Court decided that New York State lawfully elected 100 persons to the United States Senate on the ground that New York's tremendous population entitled the State more Senators than other States. Such a decision could be based upon reasoning no more unreasonable and no more illogical than that which the court used in its May 17, 1954, public school decision. In such event, I do not believe the Congressmen and Senators from the other States would regard that decision, even if unanimously rendered, as the supreme law of the land.

During the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1788, John Marshall, in replying to Mason's argument about possible encroachment by Federal courts, replied that any such idea was absurd. Then he said:

"Has the Government of the United States power to make laws on every subject? * * * Laws affecting the mode of transferring property, or contracts, or claims between citizens of the same State? Can Congress go beyond the delegated powers? Certainly not. If they were to make a law not warranted by any of the powers enumerated, it would be considered by the national judges as an infringement of the Constitution which they are to guard. They would not consider any such law as coming under their jurisdiction. They would declare it void."

Obviously, the man who was later to become the great Chief Justic never had the slightest thought that in later years the Supreme Court would not only fail to protect the separate sovereign States from encroachment on their reserved powers, but would actually become the active executioner of those powers.

WHY HAVE THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND THE ADMINISTRATION BECOME SUCH ACTIVE SUPPORTERS?

During the testimony of the Attorney General before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary on May 16, 1956, it was brought out that, at various times in 1955 the late Senator Kilgore, as chairman of that committee, and Senator HENNINGS, as chairman of the Senate Civil Rights Subcommittee, had repeatedly sought to obtain the cooperation of the Department of Justice in connection with several civil-rights bills covering practically the same ground as those to which I have specifically alluded. The testimony further brought out that all of the efforts of these distinguished Senators to obtain cooperation from the Attorney General or the Department of Justice in these matters were unsuccessful. It was further brought out that in connection with those bills, the distinguished Senators were unable to obtain from the Department of Justice either support or recommendation, or, in several instances, even the courtesy of a reply to their official letters.

However, in the spring of 1956, with dramatic fanfare of publicity broadcast all over the Nation, the Attorney General proclaimed that, in keeping with a White House announcement, an administration program of civil-rights legislation would soon be placed before the Congress. The Attorney General's announcement was followed by the introduction of these so-called new bills which were substantially the same as the old bills.

Significantly enough the old bills, on which no cooperation had been obtained from the Department of Justice, were introduced in 1955 when there was no big national election; while the new bills proclaimed and acclaimed by the Attorney General and the administration were introduced in 1956, just a little over 6 months prior to the national election.

No doubt, some skeptical or cynical people might possibly suspect from this that the active and fervent support given to these new civil-rights bills by the Attorney General and the administration was, and is, actuated or inspired, in some way or other, by political motives. But, of course, I would not be so unkind as to intimate any such evil thing.

I do not question nor impugn the motives or intentions of the sponsors or patrons of this proposed legislation. At the same time I must point out that the all-important thing is the possible or probable result or effect of this proposed legislation.

If a mule (or an elephant, if you please) kicks you in the face, the results and effects are mighty bad, even though he may have had the kindliest motives and have been kicking you simply as a friendly gesture.

EFFECTS SERIOUSLY DAMAGING REGARDLESS OF MOTIVES

No matter how high and noble and honest the motives and intentions of this proposed legislation's sponsors and advocates may be, the fact remains—in my opinion and in the opinion of a large number of other citizens—that the results and effects of this legislation, if enacted into law, would be seriously and irreparably damaging to the constitutional rights of the States and of their governments, and of many of their officials and citizens.

For the reasons I have already indicated, therefore, I sincerely trust that this proposed legislation will meet with the defeat that it richly deserves.

Coast and Geodetic Survey Observes 150th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, this is a relatively young Nation, as nations go, and when one of our governmental agencies can point to a century and a half of uninterrupted and valuable service, it would seem only fitting that some formal recognition be accorded it. Particularly is this so when the agency in question has never sought public acclaim, but has devoted itself wholeheartedly to the accomplishment of the duties assigned it.

The year 1957 marks the completion of 150 years of service for the Coast and Geodetic Survey, which was established by act of Congress on February 10, 1807, to survey and chart the coast of the United States and off-lying islands. Its present name was adopted in 1878. I venture to say that many millions of our people, down through the years, did not know there was such an agency of Government, its work was accomplished so quietly and so efficiently.

Our Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has had particular opportunity to be cognizant of, and to appreciate, the work of this splendid organization. Most conversant with its accomplishments, also, are the various elements of our shipping and aviation industries, who depend upon the nautical and aeronautical charts, tide tables, and other information, the preparation of which is among the many highly important functions of the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

The Marine News for February 1957, pays tribute to this fine organization in a series of articles. One of these, entitled "Coast and Geodetic Survey," outlines the varied activities and responsibilities of this agency. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY

All vessels navigating the coastal waters of the United States and possessions depend on Coast and Geodetic Survey nautical charts, coast pilots, tide tables, and current tables for safe navigation. Airplane pilots similarly depend on the aeronautical charts published by the Bureau. Engineers and surveyors use its many thousands of monumented stations throughout the country in all kinds of projects such as highway construction, drainage, irrigation, and power developments.

The vital tasks accomplished daily by this oldest of the surveying and mapping agencies of the Federal Government are essential in safe guarding life and property at sea and in the air. During the past century and a half this old-line bureau of applied science has been a potent factor in developing the commerce of the United States and the world. Operating today as an agency of the United States Department of Commerce, the work begun in the early days of the Republic is ever increasing in scope and importance.

The Coast and Geodetic Survey was one of the original agencies designated to comprise the Department of Commerce and Labor when it was created by the act of February 14, 1903. In accordance with a general reorganization of the functions of this department, on March 4, 1913, the Department of Commerce was separated from the labor functions which were grouped into the new Department of Labor. The Survey was among the agencies remaining with the Department of Commerce.

The history of the Survey dates from February 10, 1807, when President Thomas Jefferson was authorized by the Congress to establish an agency for surveying and charting the coast of the United States and offlying islands. Congressional action in 1871 extended responsibility of the Coast Survey to the establishment of geodetic connections between the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts of the United States. The significance of these continental surveys was recognized in 1878 by adoption of the name Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Through the years additional functions have been delegated to the Bureau through congressional action. In 1925 the agency was charged with reporting on earthquakes, previously an activity of the Weather Bureau. Aeronautical charting was assigned to the Survey under the Air Commerce Act of 1926.

Functions of the Coast and Geodetic Survey now include: (1) Surveying and charting the coasts of the United States, its Territories and possessions, and the printing of nautical charts to insure safe navigation; (2) hydrographic and topographic surveying of some inland waters; (3) the determination of geographic positions and elevations along the coasts and in the interior of the country, to coordinate coastal surveys and to provide a framework for mapping and other engineering work; (4) the study of tides and currents in order to make annual tide and current forecasts; (5) the compilation and printing of aeronautical charts for civil aviation; (6) observations of the earth's magnetism for information essential to the mariner, aviator, land surveyor, radio engineer, and others; (7) seismological observations and investigations to supply data for designing structures resistant to earthquakes; and (8) gravity and astronomic observations to provide basic data for geodetic surveys and studies of the size and shape of the earth.

The work is carried on at the main office in Washington, at district offices and field stations throughout the country, by about 40 field survey parties, and by a fleet of 18 survey ships. The field offices are located in 9 coastal cities for the collection of data for revision of nautical charts and for cooperation with local engineers and organizations requiring specialized data; 6 offices are maintained for photogrammetric compilation, processing of hydrographic data, and computing geodetic data; and 2 offices are maintained for aeronautical chart liaison. In addition, the Survey operates 2 latitude observatories and 7 magnetic observatories.

The demands upon the Survey have grown with the national progress of the United States whose shoreline is now over 80,000 statute miles. The 150 years of dedicated service rendered the Nation by the Survey is being commemorated during the sesquicentennial year of 1957.

The organization of the Coast and Geodetic Survey is comprised of two forces—office and field. Rear Adm. H. Arnold Karo, the present Director of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, is the 15th in the long line of able heads of the organization beginning with Ferdinand R. Hassler, who served as the first superintendent until his death in 1843. As administrative head of the organization, the Director is responsible for all phases of the work, including standards of performance, efficiency of operation, fidelity of work, and the expenditure of appropriations.

The Assistant Director, Rear Adm. Robert W. Knox, serves as deputy and adviser to the Director on matters pertaining to the scientific and technical activities of the Bureau. He is directly responsible for coordinating and planning the operational functions of the eight scientific and technical divisions.

The Assistant Director for Administration, Capt. I. E. Rittenburg, is the principal adviser to the Director on all administrative matters concerning budget, finance, personnel and safety, organization and management, and administrative services. He coordinates and directs these functions to meet the requirements of the operating program of the Bureau.

The six operating divisions are: Coastal Surveys, Tides and Currents, Geophysics, Geodesy, Photogrammetry, and Charts. These divisions are directed by top-ranking commissioned officers. These operations in particular and the Bureau in general are supported by the Technical Services and Instrument Divisions.

Capt. Samuel B. Grenell, as Chief of the Coastal Surveys Division, is responsible for the planning and execution of hydrographic and planetable topographic surveys along the coast of the United States and its possessions. This Division compiles and publishes the coast pilots of the United States and is responsible for the surveying fleet, including ship personnel, construction, maintenance, and repair of vessels. Captain Grenell also directs the operation of shore-based hydrographic surveying units. Under his direction research is carried on in the design, improvement, and technical development of electronic and field equipment.

Capt. Kenneth G. Crosby supervises the Tides and Currents Division, which plans and directs tidal and related oceanographic investigations. This Division operates field parties engaged in tide and current work along the coast and inland waters of the United States and its possessions. Principal functions include: operation of a system of control tide stations, tide and current surveys, and observations of sea water density and temperature. Captain Crosby also directs the office processing of resultant data, including the prediction of tides and currents, publication of annual tide and current tables, tidal current charts, and other data. This Division makes studies of tidal and related phenomena, and improvements of equipment and methods. Captain Crosby collaborates in the operation of the seismic sea wave warning system. Special investigations and studies concerning tides and ocean currents are carried out in the interest of national defense.

Capt. E. B. Roberts, Chief of the Geophysics Division, is responsible for magnetic and seismological investigations in the United States and possessions. Magnetic operations include the determination of the value of the earth's magnetic elements, the establishment of magnetic stations, airborne magnetic surveys, the standardization of instruments, and the maintenance of national magnetic standards. This activity will be greatly accelerated by the new magnetic observatory and laboratory, recently built near Fredericksburg, Va. This station will be in full operation by the latter part of 1956.

Captain Roberts also directs the seismological work of the Bureau, which includes the collection of earthquake information, surveys of important earthquakes, vibration observations on engineering structures, and the operation of the seismic sea wave warning system in the Pacific Ocean.

Capt. Charles Pierce, Chief of the Geodesy Division, supervises the administration and technical operation of field parties operating throughout the United States and Alaska in establishing primary triangulation, traverse, and leveling. Other geodetic activities include baseline measurement; astronomic observations of latitude, longitude, and azimuth; and gravity determinations as required for surveying, engineering and research activities. Captain Pierce has supervision over variation-of-latitude observatories at Ukiah, Calif., and Gaithersburg, Md. Office activities of this division include processing and publication of field data in various forms required for use by the Bureau, other governmental agencies, and the public. Research is conducted by this Division involving the mathematics of map projections, coordinate grids, variation of latitude, size and shape of the earth, and improvements in surveying instruments and methods.

Comdr. L. W. Swanson, Chief of the Photogrammetry Division, assigns and supervises the work of field parties engaged in topographic and planimetric surveying and mapping of coastal and inland areas, as required for the support of inshore hydrographic surveys. He is also responsible for processing the resultant data for use in the production and maintenance of nautical and aeronautical charts. This Division is responsible for aerial photography, photogrammetric missions and airport surveys. Office activities of this Division include the compilation, review, drafting, and editing of topographic and planimetric maps compiled from aerial photographs by graphic or stereophotogrammetric methods as by-products of the compilation of nautical charts.

Commander Swanson directs the research and technical development of new methods and instruments for topographic mapping and photogrammetry. This Division is responsible for the dissemination of photographic data, photographs and maps to the public and other Government agencies.

Capt. Charles A. Schanck, Chief of the Chart Division, is responsible for the nautical and aeronautical charting programs of the Bureau including chart production, maintenance, and distribution. This Division reviews, verifies, and completes the hydrographic survey sheets obtained from field operations. These data are used in compiling new charts and maintaining eixsting charts through addition of new data.

Captain Schanck maintains liaison with the International Civil Aviation Organization and the Air Coordinating Committee. He directs the program of flight-checking aeronautical charts and provides for the establishment and inspection of Bureau sales agencies. This Division carries on research and engages in technical development of new compilation and reproduction techniques. Maps, charts, and related geographic data required as source material for activities are procured, evaluated and disseminated, including map information service to the public.

Intelligent Action on the Tight Money Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include a very timely and thought-provoking article on one of the most important problems facing the Nation today, the problem of tight money and its disastrous effect upon small business, municipalities, and home builders throughout the country.

This constructive contribution to intelligent solution of the problem appeared in the magazine, America, issue of January 26, 1957, and was authored by the Reverend Benjamin L. Masse, S. J.

The article follows:

THE DEBATE ON TIGHT MONEY

(By Benjamin L. Masse)

St. Brendan's isn't going to build that 8-room addition to the parochial school the good monsignor planned. Two weeks ago, after looking over the plans and examining the parish financial report, chancery officials said "No." They said it tactfully and regretfully, but they still said "No." To the good monsignor they explained that the people of St. Brendan's, for all their generosity and good will, simply could not afford the new classrooms. They didn't have the cash, and they couldn't prudently borrow—not at today's stiff interest rates. Where, then, was the money to come from?

Nor are parochial schools like St. Brendan's the only ones being hurt by the highest interest rates in 24 years. Public schools are having money troubles, too.

On December 10, Arthur Levitt, New York State controller, informed a congressional committee that the interest rate on school bonds had jumped from 2.760 percent last June to 4.078 in November. He told a distressing story about certain school districts in upstate New York that planned to spend $314 million on new school construction in 1957 and 1958. Over the term of the loans, it would cost them $62,077,800 more to borrow at the November rate than at the June rate. Mr. Levitt warned that the current high cost of money was creating a very serious problem for local governments.

The plight of St. Brendan's and the New York school districts is gradually transforming what has been up till now largely a professional argument into one of the great popular domestic controversies of the day. Over the past few months the rumblings of discontent over the Federal Reserve Board's hard or tight money policy have been growing progressively stronger. In fact, for 2 days last month, during which Representative WRIGHT PATMAN'S subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report held hearings on rising interest rates, the rumblings became so pronounced that, politically speaking, they shook walls all over Washington. With the legislators back on Capitol Hill, the political seismographs may soon be recording even bigger disturbances.

For our present purpose the roots of the tight-money debate go back to 1950 and the Korean war. With the economy roaring along under a full throttle, prices rose sharply and threatened to go still higher. The Federal Reserve Board, in pursuance of its function of keeping the economy stable and prosperous by controlling the supply and cost of money, wanted to permit interest rates to rise. The United States Treasury rebelled. Intent on managing the public debt as cheaply as possible, it insisted on freezing the interest rate on long-term Government bonds at 2.5 percent.

There was something to be said for both sides, and eventually it was all said, in caps and small caps and in every other possible way, before a special Senate committee headed by Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois. The committee decided for the Federal Reserve. Accusing the Treasury of feeding "the fires of inflation," it wrote a new declaration of independence for the Fed. The committee concluded:

"It is the will of Congress that the primary power and responsibility for regulating the supply, availability and cost of credit in general shall be vested in the duly constituted authorities of the Federal Reserve System, and that Treasury actions relative to money, credit and transactions in the Federal debt shall be made consistent with the policies of the Federal Reserve."

For some months longer the infighting in Washington continued. Finally, in the summer of 1951, President Truman bowed to the demand of Senator Douglas' committee. He cut the leading strings on which the Treasury had held the Federal Reserve since World War II days. Since that time the Fed has been striving to maintain a stable price level by making credit easy or tight, cheap or expensive, as in its judgment economic conditions warrant.

THE FED'S POSITION

All during 1956 the Board pursued what economists call a restrictive monetary policy. It tried to retard the expansion of credit in the various ways open to it. Several times during 1956, for example, the Federal Reserve raised its discount rate—the rate of interest it charges member banks for temporary borrowings. This had the effect of making money more expensive for all borrowers, since the banks in turn, in order to make a profit, had to charge higher interest rates to their customers. Sometimes the press referred to the Fed's policy as a tight money policy, signifying that the Fed was making money scarce and expensive. Sometimes it used the tag "hard" money policy, indicating that the purpose of the policy was to assure a dollar worth at all times as near 100 cents as possible.

The Fed did not, of course, embark on its tight money policy capriciously. Last year our high-flying economy zoomed through the $400 billion barrier. The final figures are not yet in, but the dollar value of the goods and services produced in this country during 1956—the gross national product—was somewhere in the neighborhood of $412 billion. With the economy spinning along at that rate, even the Fed's critics concede that pressure on the brake pedal, rather than on the accelerator, was indicated. As it was, though the Fed did keep the brakes on, the price level advanced throughout the year. Half the dollar gain in the gross national product reflected, not a solid growth in physical production, but only higher prices.

As the Federal Reserve Board read the economic barometer, the boom was beginning to generate excesses. Business was expanding all over the place. Spending on every level of government was high. Consumer demand, fed by high wages, steady employment, and a willingness to incur debt, continued to grow apace. When the total supply of goods was placed on one side of an imaginary line and the total demand for them on the other, there was an obvious discrepancy. In certain critical areas demand exceeded supply. Unless supply and demand could be brought into better balance, the inevitable result would be price increases.

There wasn't much the Fed could do about the supply factor in the equation, but it could diminish the demand. It could do this because much of the demand was fueled by borrowed money, and a large part of the borrowed money was created by the banks. By controlling the amount of money the banks could create, and by influencing the rate of interest they charged, the Fed could regulate both the volume and cost of credit. And the volume and cost of credit affect demand.

In making life more difficult and expensive for borrowers, the Fed wasn't aiming at stopping economic growth. It wanted rather to assure that economic growth took place in a sound, orderly way. "To keep expansion of credit within the limits of the growth in resources" was the way Chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr., described the Board's goal in his testimony before Congressman PATMAN'S committee. The Fed wanted only to discourage excesses that inevitably produce higher prices and severe economic maladjustments.

One can illustrate Mr. Martin's argument in this way. At the present time there are shortages in certain types of steel. If credit is freely and cheaply available, so that all those who want these types of steel are able to bid for them, the immediate result will be, not an increase in the supply, but higher prices for the supply existing. As Mr. Martin told the committee:

"Creating more money will not create more goods. It can only intensify demands for the current supply of labor and materials. That is outright inflation."

Higher interest rates counter inflation in another way, too. In addition to discouraging investors, they encourage savers. People are induced by an attractive return on capital to postpone spending and to lend their money to others. At any rate, that is the theory. By deferring spending they not only ease the pressure on a limited supply of goods. They also help to bring the supply of capital in line with the demand for it. This makes it less necessary to finance economic growth by a dangerous expansion of the money supply, that is, by creating money.

THE FED'S OPPONENTS

No one doubts that the Fed's tight money policy has discouraged some borrowing. St. Brendan's parish isn't the only prospective borrower that has in recent months decided to defer plans for expansion. It is also likely that high interest rates have encouraged personal savings. Last year individuals saved 7½ percent of their incomes; they saved only 6 percent in 1955. The controversy begins when one asks (1) whether the Fed has turned the credit screws too tightly, and (2) whether overall credit controls are by themselves a fair and effective way to deal with inflation.

With the first question we need not delay long here. Since monetary management is not a science, no decision the money managers make will ever be greeted with unanimous approval. Such decisions involve a judgment on a bewildering variety and number of complex factors. In the nature of things these judgments can never be more than probable opinions. Thus it happened last spring that the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor publicly dissented when the Fed gave another upward nudge to interest rates. A prominent auto executive was also critical, though, as it turned out, his fears that higher interest rates would discourage auto loans proved to be exaggerated. Differences of opinion like these are to be expected. They keep the money managers on their toes.

Much more important is the growing tendency to question the wisdom of relying on overall monetary controls as the Fed's exclusive, or chief, instrument for achieving economic stability and growth. In the Patman committee hearings this skeptical viewpoint

was strongly presented by Elliott V. Bell, editor and publisher of Business Week.

Mr. Bell made much of the uneven impact of higher interest rates. They create, he said, no serious problem for big and profitable corporations. Such companies are eligible for what is known as the prime rate, which today is 4 percent. Actually their loans don't cost that much. Since they are in the 52-percent tax brackets, and since interest payments are a tax-deductible expense, the cost of money to them is less than 2 percent. That charge would scarcely discourage big companies from borrowing as much money as they thought they needed.

On the other hand high interest rates severely pinch less affluent business borrowers as well as most nonbusiness borrowers. Among groups which have been hurt by the Fed's tight money policy Mr. Bell mentioned "home builders, small businesses, and municipalities that need to build schools and other improvements."

There is more to the story than that. The Fed's tight money program has revealed, says Mr. Bell, other weaknesses in Government monetary policy. The Fed, for instance, is able to hobble the banks; yet it cannot directly influence as such lending institutions as the life insurance companies, savings and loan associations and the Federal home loan banks. Furthermore, other Government agencies, such as the Housing and Veterans' Administrations, have their fingers in the credit pie, too, and what they do is none of the Fed's business. The fact that the Fed's rules only partially affect private nonbanking institutions and do not touch other Government agencies at all begets, said Mr. Bell, confusions, and even contradictions, in public monetary policy. To do away with these he called for a top-to-bottom reexamination of the Nation's 40-year-old monetary system.

This suggestion received powerful support on December 30 from the 27-member advisory committee of the Senate Banking Committee. It received still more powerful support when President Eisenhower, in his address on the state of the Union, asked Congress to appoint a commission of experts to undertake a broad-gaged study of the Nation's monetary and credit programs. Though some prominent Democrats were cool to the idea of turning the job over to outsiders—preferring to do the job through the appropriate congressional committees—a more or less intensive probe will very likely be approved.

One of the questions certain to come up in a study of this kind is the equity, not to mention the efficacy, of trying to promote a stable and prosperous economy through overall credit controls. In his testimony before the Patman comittee, Mr. Martin did not deny Mr. Bell's contention that the tightness of credit affected potential borrowers differently. Nevertheless he had no confidence in the alternative, namely, selective controls that would make exceptions for deserving borrowers unable to compete successfully for the limited supply of investment funds. Mr. Martin emphasized the great issue underlying this controversy:

"Experience would seem to demonstrate that allocations of credit through the market process are to be preferred to judgments—or guesses—of public authorities, however well intentioned.

In other words, the controversy raises the question of the nature and extent of the controls which are now generally conceded to be necessary to keep a private enterprise, capitalistic system on the rails. Mr. Martin would use only general monetary controls, leaving to the free forces of the market the rest of the job of allocating scarce money, materials and manpower. His opponents believe that additional controls are needed, not only to foster a sound prosperity, but also to achieve desirable social goals. They are not willing to permit the market alone to decide whether, at a time when demand exceeds supply, more auto plants and machine tools should be built rather than more schools and houses.

Those familiar with Pius XI's Quadragesimo Anno will recall the passage in which the Pope rejected a fundamental thesis of 19th-century, laissez-faire capitalism. He denied that "in free competition and open markets" economic matters possess "a principle of self direction better able to control them than any created intellect." It is a measure of the progress that has been made in this country that the issue in the debate over tight money is not whether the Government, as promoter and guardian of the common good, has a role to play in regulating the economy. It is rather the extent of that role and the means to be used in discharging it.

No Valid Reason for Delaying Hawaiian Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, those of us who attended the important Democratic National Committee meeting in San Francisco a few days ago heard some stirring and valid arguments for Hawaiian statehood.

They were made by Lorrin P. Thurston, of Honolulu, chairman of the Hawaii Statehood Commission, and they lay to rest, once and for all time, the lame excuse that communism threatens to dominate our vibrant and fast-growing Pacific Territory.

I ask unanimous consent that the address may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMUNISM DOES NOT, AND NEVER WILL, CONTROL HAWAII

Honorable Madam Chairman, Honorable Delegate BURNS, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, if you were an enemy of Hawaiian statehood you naturally would look around to find reasons why Hawaii is not deserving of first-class American citizenship. You would study the problems involved by non-contiguity; dilution of the Senate's strength; our economic ability, our education and health, our loyalty; and then if you were like a majority, you would seize on communism. That's the best thing to use in trying to defeat statehood for Hawaii.

It is so easy to say to yourselves and to others, "No—we do not want Hawaii as a state because Communists dominate the Islands. If Hawaii were a state, they would be able to send two Senators and two Representatives directly to the Congress, providing Moscow with a direct pipeline to the greatest law-making body in the world."

My talk is directed squarely on this entire issue—communism. I have not the slightest fear that the facts, if anyone cares to base their argument on facts, cannot in any possible way substantiate the claims of our enemies. The people of Hawaii are more aware of the dangers of communism, in my humble belief, than the people of any other state. Because they have this realization, they have taken more concrete steps to combat this influence—minor as it is in our economy—than have any other citizens of the 48 States.

In no State of the Union has communism been under more constant surveillance since 1946 when the leaders of the ILWU were identified prominently with the Communist cause. Reports of the FBI and other investigating agencies at that time indicated that within the Territory of Hawain they could locate 160 Communists. Four years later, in 1950, when the House Un-American Activities Committee investigated Hawaii at the request of the people of Hawaii they came up with a figure of 90; in 1952 J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI came out with a figure of 36. The official records certainly do not bear out the charges that communism is growing in the Islands; as a matter of fact, they will bear out the fact that nowhere under the American flag can one find economic factors which are less favorable to the growth of communism than those in Hawaii.

Communism flourishes only where low living standards and desperate economic conditions prevail.

The exact opposite is the case in Hawaii where the pay of agricultural workers, from whom the ILWU leaders get their major support, are the highest anywhere in the world.

Now let's see what the people of Hawaii have done to actively combat communism. Let's see how farfetched the claims of our enemies are, that communism is going to dominate the political situation in Hawaii. There is no greater travesty on truth. I am going to present only nine points for the record that prove this statement. There are many others, but I think these will do.

1. The 1949 dock strike: For nearly 6 months the ILWU blockaded the Territory of Hawaii; no ship came in or out, no help was forthcoming from anyone. So our Governor called a special session of the legislature which passed laws permitting, among other things, the Territorial Government to seize and work the docks in order to provide our people with necessary food and merchandise.

The ILWU leaders used every means at their command to block this legislation. They were unsuccessful.

2. The 1950 constitutional convention: This convention was authorized by the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii. Its purpose was to draft a charter for the new State of Hawaii. Sixty-three delegates were to be elected. Fourteen delegates with Communist sympathies ran for election; only two succeeded. Shortly after the Communistic affiliations of the first man were made known to the members of the convention, he resigned.

The convention refused to seat the second because of his unwillingness to answer questions about his Communist affiliations. So neither of them had a part in the convention.

The work of the convention proceeded satisfactorily producing a Constitution for the new State which brought forth universal praise of all who studied it. Under its terms the new State would be the first under the American flag to include in its charter disqualification of any Communist from holding any public office whatsoever.

3. The Korean war: At the same time that the constitutional convention was going on, America was engaged in the Korean war. The Communists everywhere did all they could to discourage America's participation, but not one of the many men from the ILWU who either enlisted or was drafted for service in this war, made a single effort to avoid serving their country. Too few people realize that the little Territory of Hawaii on a percentage basis lost 4½ times as many men killed in this war as any State in the Union, yet there was not one case of cowardice;

there was not one case of desertion; there was not one who refused repatriation. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, if you were the mother or the father of one of the 426 boys who were killed, how would you feel when you know that in spite of your boy having given his life in the service of his country he officially remains a second-class American?

May I ask, Is that American justice?

4. You are still in 1950. The new charter above referred to was placed, before the voters for ratification.

Again, the leaders of the ILWU did everything in their power to prevent that ratification. What happened? Is was approved by the voters by a 3 to 1 majority.

Where is the Communist power in Hawaii?

5. Smith Act trial: Seven members of the ILWU were set for trial under the Smith Act, the longest trial in the history of Hawaii. The trial started in 1952, and 8 months later, on July 8, 1953, all six were found guilty as charged, by as representative a jury as could be found in Hawaii.

How do you think the citizens of Hawaii feel, when today, almost 3½ years later, no decision has been rendered by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals here in California?

6. The 1955 legislature: This was the first legislature to be dominated by the Democratic Party. The speaker of the house, for some reasons known only to himself, presented a gavel to Harry Bridges. Members of the house rebelled against him, 25 to 5; but because they feared that his impeachment as speaker would hurt their chances of success in future elections, they permitted him to remain on as speaker.

But then what happened? After serving in eight sessions of the house, this gentleman decided it would be best not to run for the house again, but threw his hat into the primaries seeking election as mayor of Honolulu in the 1956 election. A political newcomer beat him 6½ to 1 in the primary election. In his own precinct he received only 8 out of 423 votes.

If this does not represent repudiation by the voters, I don't know what could.

7. We are still discussing the 1955 legislative session in Hawaii. The leaders of the ILWU had two pet measures which they wanted to put across: First was the repeal of the dock seizure law enacted in 1949; second, a new law which they wanted to have enacted granting unemployment benefits for agricultural workers.

Our enemies will say that the ILWU dominated the Democratic Party at this time. Nothing could be further from the truth. The ILWU leaders did not get half-way to first base with either of their measures, though they used every means at their command to accomplish their end.

8. 1956—the ILWU's defiance of the Eastland committee: Just last December the ILWU sought to whip up public indignation against Senator EASTLAND and his committee. What right had Senator EASTLAND to investigate the Communist situation in Hawaii? Harry Bridges would show them. He would call for a 1-day protest walkout by every one of his 26,000 members.

What happened? On the day the Eastland hearing started, some 1,500 men only, gave up their day's wages, got together crude placards, and went to the palace grounds where the hearing was being held, milled around for a few minutes, then sougth shelter from a tropic rain in an auditorium where they talked to themselves and the press. What about the other 24,000 union members? They did not like the situation. While Harry Bridges and his ILWU leaders had brought them tremendous economic advantages which have improved their living conditions immeasurably, did they want any part of this insult to a United States Senate investigating committee? They certainly did not. One minor leader on the island of Hawaii even resigned in protest.

We of Hawaii do not know what the result of the Eastland hearings is going to be, but we do know that they will contribute tremendously to this record, proving beyond a shadow of doubt that the members of the ILWU will not follow their leadership along political lines or lines which do not, in their opinion, relate to their economic welfare.

9. The 1956 election: Next week the Hawaii Legislature assembles for its 1957 session. Never have the ILWU leaders suffered a greater setback from the hands of the voters than they did in the last election. Senator Abe, of the island of Hawaii, bitterly opposed by the ILWU leaders, won. Senator Miyaki, from the island of Kauai, which is known as a stronghold of the ILWU, and bitterly opposed by the ILWU, was seated. The Honorable Oren E. Long, ex-Governor of Hawaii, who is here with us this morning, a bitter opponent of communism, was opposed with all of the forces at the ILWU's command, but he led the ticket on the island of Oahu on his debut for election to public office.

Also on the island of Oahu, Senator HERBERT LEE, who for years has fought the leaders of communism in Hawaii and was also opposed in every way, was reelected.

The Honorable Senator William H. Heen, president of the Hawaii Senate, who has already spoken to you this morning, was also bitterly opposed because he has had a part in every anti-Communist movement in the Territory. He was reelected handsomely.

The House of the Hawaii Legislature will also convene this coming week, with the Honorable Vincent Esposito unanimously elected as speaker.

If there is anyone in Hawaii that the ILWU leaders hate, it is Vincent Esposito. Where, I ask, is there a shred of proof that the politics of Hawaii are, or can be, dominated by the Communist leaders?

No, ladies and gentlemen, we are not afraid of these charges of communism. We are not afraid that the people of Hawaii will ever permit subversive leaders to make progress against American ideals or institutions. There is no single fact that our opponents can turn to which, if all of the backgrounds are truthfully explored, can furnish their argument with any comfort.

Finally, may I comment briefly on the much vaunted Communist propaganda machine in Hawaii on which they are reputedly spending one-quarter of a million dollars worth of union dues per annum. Their most costly and resultless propaganda machine is the Honolulu Record, a weekly newspaper whose editor is Kosi Ariyoshi, 1 of the 7 convicted in 1953 under the Smith Act as a Communist.

Let's look at this newspaper. According to their statement filed with the post office 3,500 copies a week are printed, compared with a circulation of over 1 million copies per week sold by Honolulu's two biggest dailies. Of the 3,500 copies that must serve an ILWU membership of 26,000 and a Territorial population of over 500,000, a goodly number of these copies are purchased by anti-Communists—businessmen, Government officials, newspapermen, intelligence operatives, and others, many of whom have no interest except to be alternately offended and amused by the crude propaganda which is dished out.

Let's take the last issue, February 7, 1957. It was an 8-page tabloid containing a total of 560 column-inches of space. What advertising support did it have? Just 3 inches. Why? The businessmen have absolutely no confidence in the credibility of this—the ILWU's most expensive propaganda medium.

Now let's look at their second propaganda means—a daily radio program in English and rebroadcast in Filipino, presented each weekday afternoon just before dinner. It enjoys less listenership than the dullest soap opera on the air. The most recent Hooper survey shows that at the time this program is presented, 6:45 p. m., an average of only 9½ percent of Honolulu's 100,000 radio sets are tuned in, on nine stations. Three television stations get and hold the mass audience. The ILWU program has a rating of 0.6 percent—in other words, this broadcast is reaching at most perhaps 700 listeners, but I believe this program has done more than anything else to convince the people of Hawaii that the leaders of the ILWU were and are following along the well-established lines by which communism in other places is encouraged and fostered—and they will have none of it.

It is for the above reasons that we believe that the ILWU leaders have not been able to make one single iota of progress in the political arena and are steadily losing face and power in Hawaii.

There is one thing which the Eastland committee hearing will help so much to bring out, and that is the great need for the Congress of the United States to enact a law making it illegal for any union which has known Communists as leaders, to be recognized under the Taft-Hartley Act as bargaining agents for its union membership.

Many unthinking people, and particularly the enemies of statehood for Hawaii, point to the fact that Hawaii employers are playing "footsy" with the ILWU in union negotiations "to make a quick buck." They cannot do otherwise. Because our Government recognizes the ILWU, if our employers did not negotiate with them, they would be subject to the penalties of Federal law. It is my sincere hope that the honorable ladies and gentlemen gathered in this convention will assist the businessmen of Hawaii and the businessmen of every other State in the Union who face the same problem, with national legislation which will cut from under the Communists these grounds on which they now stand.

It is only by an act of Providence that my only son who was wounded in the Korean war 4 days after he went into battle, is not among the 426 who gave their lives for their country. My only hope, ladies and gentlemen, is that that boy of mine, with the sons of countless other families of Hawaii who have risked their all in defense of their country, will one day be accorded their American privilege of being considered first-class American citizens. Thank you for your time, and please help us where and when you can, to achieve statehood—first-class American citizenship which we have earned the right to have granted to us.

Replies to Questionnaire Sent to Citizens of the Fourth District of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of the Fourth District of California have again shown a commendable interest in their government by responding in large numbers to my most recent questionnaire. One out of every sixth voter was asked to participate and, as of this date, over 20 percent have answered.

I am greatly encouraged by the substantive thought given to some of the most important current issues. The following tabulation may be of interest to my colleagues:

	Yes	No	No opinion
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
1. Do you favor the tight money policy of the Federal Reserve Board currently used to check inflation, recognizing that this policy tends to restrict the availability of mortgage money?	72	24	4
2. Is it your belief that Congress should grant a high priority to the school-construction bill designed to meet emergency needs for more classrooms?	75	22	3
3. Does the administration's civil rights package, including a commission to investigate asserted violations of civil rights, creation of a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice, enforcement of voting rights, and preventive relief through civil courts, meet with your approval?	55	33	12
4. The Post Office Department wishes to offset its deficit by increasing postal rates. Do you approve of a boost in 1st-class charges to accomplish this?	59	39	2
5. Do you support the President's proposal that permanent residence be granted Hungarian refugees recently arrived here?	49	46	5
6. Would you favor special tax relief for small-business firms?	72	24	4
7. If the Federal budget is again balanced this year, would you favor some reduction in the national debt before taxes are lowered?	65	33	2
8. Would you support President Eisenhower's request for more authority to admit refugees from Communist countries?	35	60	5
9. Do you favor legislation that would provide statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska?	79	17	4
10. Do you favor stronger antitrust laws, including closer Government scrutiny of merger proposals of large companies?	73	22	5

Inside Egypt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, in an exclusive report to the National Jewish Monthly, a correspondent reveals how some aides of Hitler, now working for Gamal Nasser, have pauperized Egypt's Jews; created Nazi propaganda apparatus in Egypt; set up five concentration camps; shot prisoners "while attempting to escape"; and imprisoned thousands. The article appeared in the February 1957 issue, as follows:

(This is the first comprehensive inside story on what is happening to the Jews in Egypt to be published. The identity of our correspondent must be concealed for reasons of personal security, but we have satisfied ourselves to the extent possible that the contents of this article are substantially correct. When a news story based on this material was released to the press prior to publication here, it created a sensation, and appeared in the leading newspapers from coast to coast. At the same time, President Philip M. Klutznick sent a copy of the article to the United States State Department, urging a complete investigation by the United Nations and the United States of the charges it contains. At press time, these charges had not been denied.—EDITOR.)

The violent actions taken by Nasser's government against British, French and stateless Jews resident in Egypt, the confiscation of their property, and their deportation on from 9 to 72 hours' notice, have provided the press with a flood of news which overshadowed the ominous fate that looms over the native Egyptian Jewish community of more than 10,000 individuals.

This ancient Jewish community is being systematically pauperized, maltreated, and interned together with common criminals in unspeakable places of detention. Together with the remainder of Egyptian Jews, they are left at the mercy of the State Security Cadre (SSC), which seems to be as precise a copy of the German Nazi Sicherheitsdienst as Egyptian inexactitude permits. This unit is the military junta's forceful arm which is responsible for Egypt's actions and policies to a far greater extent than is generally known.

The Commander in Chief of the SSC is Lt. Col. Al Nacher, formerly SS-Grossaktionsleiter Leopold Gleim, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the Nazi government's SD-Geheimgarde.

Addressing a luncheon in Cairo given in his honor by the representatives of the League for (East) German-Arab Brotherhood (Al-akhwah al-Almaniyah l'Arabiyah, i. e., Deutsch-Arabischer Bruderschaftsverband) on December 17, 1956—Gleim frankly pointed out the significance of the SSC as the "backbone of Egypt's protective apparatus against the aggressive elements of Zionism and imperialism." He thanked the League for its "vast help extended to this young State—a most significant contribution to the mutual efforts in the strengthening and stabilizing of Germano-Arabic friendship and relations."

Later on, during more intimate talks with members of the Bruderschaft—conducted in Hochdeutsch and made gemutlich by cigars, bourbon, and coffee—Gleim gave an outline of his unit's short history and structure. This outline, when pieced together with additional facts on hand and the already known procedures of the Cadre's activities, sketches a tolerably clear picture of the Egyptian version of nazism, which found in Egypt ideal conditions for its recrudescence.

The plan for the SSC was drawn up by several technical advisers of German origin, approved by the Ministry of Interior. The Cadre headquarters were set up in Cairo, and its administration handed over to the 6,249 arabized Nazis presently in Egypt (aided by perhaps 70,000 Egyptians). According to Gleim, the unit consists of the following departments:

A. THE PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT (PR-DPT)

The executive positions in this section are entirely manned by Germans who are holding Arab passports. The PR-Dpt. is headed by SS-Gruppenleiter Moser, a Sudeten German who has now assumed the name of Hussa Nalisman. His right-hand man is SA-Gruppenleiter Buble, now arabized into Amman.

The propaganda machine operates with German precision, according to the Goebbels-Stuermer pattern. Its main target for attacks is, of course, the Jews. Egyptian youth has been responding enthusiastically to this propaganda.

The PR-Dpt. has branches in Berlin (East and West), Vienna, Stockholm, Helsinki, Rome, Milan, and Bordeaux; it commands special squads of vans with loudspeakers, which cruise throughout Egypt constantly inciting against American, British, French, Imperialistic or Zionist Jews—the adjective changing with the broadcaster's mood; and it also owns an independent broadcasting station which assiduously cultivates the entire Arab world.

A flood of anti-Semitic literature is being published and distributed in the Middle East and Europe. Egypt's recent best seller, however, was the new, popular edition of Kefahi, the Arabic translation of Hitler's Mein Kampf. This is an abridged, illustrated version which contains photo reproductions beginning with Hitler's picture as a corporal in Hindenburg's army and up to his cockposing as the Fuehrer.

The complete and unabridged version of Main Kampf was first translated into Arabic in 1951 by the Syrian journalist, author, and owner of the Beirut Printing & Publishing House, Louis al-Haj, formerly Luis Heiden, director of Die Reichsdeutsche Presseagentur, Berlin.

Vulgar, colorful posters featuring the Israeli soldier as a bearded villain who bayonets an Egyptian baby, are blooming in many Egyptian towns. These posters urge the people of Egypt to rise in Jihad—the Holy War—against the Zionist threat to Islam.

Egyptian youth is being assiduously educated for militarism. One of the outstanding examples of this campaign is the target-tent pitched opposite the SSC–HQ in Cairo's Liberty Square, where schoolboys are given an interest in usuge of arms.

The PR-Dpt. also has a very special branch: the Youth Club of the Deutsch-Arabischer Bruderschaftsverband. Twice weekly this club has a closed session, when many Egyptian youngsters are sworn in by the club's chairman, Hussa Nalisman. This requires only one more comment; Col. Abdul Nasser is the honorary president of the club, and had been sworn in as member No. 3.

B. THE ECONOMIC DEPARTMENT (EC-DPT.)

The EC-Dpt., now so strongly associated with Jewish affairs, is a close enough translation of the SS-Wirtschaftsamt, and it operates on a similar basis. This department was founded on February 2, 1954; it controls the SSC treasury, which is indepedent of the Government's exchequer. Apart from the annual allowance granted to the SSC from the general defense budget, this treasury absorbs a considerable income from products of prison workshops throughout Egypt.

The archives of the EC-Dpt. have a Jewish section with a register of all Jewish property in Egypt. It contains up-to-date information on this vital subject, which has now become a major source of revenue to the SSC treasury. Upon the expulson of thousands of foreign and stateless Jews from Egypt, the EC-Dpt. cashed in 14 million Egyptian pounds in currency, policies, and securities, and 27 million pounds of real property and assets abandoned by the Jewish deportees. It is worthwhile noting that the majority of deported Jews had been very rich; this explains why there was no mass deportation of all foreign and stateless Jews, and why individual expulsion warrants were issued. The poorer stateless Jews have been left over, to be dealt with later on—as Col. Abd-al-Qadir Hatem explained.

Colonel Hatem, of the EC-Dpt., declared that "not a single piaster or brick has been confiscated, as the Zionist lies allege. We have documentary proof that property and currency abandoned by people who had to leave Egypt were voluntarily assigned to the administration of the EC-Dpt."

Another interesting branch of the EC-Dpt. is the Public Sales Center in Cairo. Whatever remained in the residences which the Jewish deportees "voluntarily" assigned to the administration of the EC-Dept.—furniture, clothes, paintings, refrigerators, radios, entire libraries, etc.—is being auctioned off. It brings to the SS treasury weekly profits ranging from 500 to 3,000 Egyptian pounds.

C. SECRET STATE POLICE

That name rings a bell somewhere. If translated into German it would be Geheime Staats Polizei; and if abbreviated: Ge-Sta-

Po. Its duties are now carried out by Army intelligence.

The major section of this department is the center of the Egyptian Intelligence Service. Next to it is a section headed by Lt. Col. Ben Salem, former SS-Bannfuehrer Bernard Bender, who owing to his knowledge of the Yiddish language, was during the war chief of the Gestapo Special Branch for detection of Jewish underground movements in Poland and Russia, and who is now playing an important role in Egypt's "economic and political administration." He is also the liaison between the secret state police and the EC-Dpt.

Nevertheless Lt. Col. Ben Salem is a very modest man, and while entertaining some of the young East German visitors he declared "I never wear a uniform because it makes one look more important than he really is." This is a moot matter, because in addition to all his known and unknown tasks, humble Ben Salem is also chief of the interrogation center of the SSC, better known to the Egyptians and to the Egyptian Jews in particular as "The Floating Hell."

The Floating Hell is an old, 12,000-ton cargo vessel, the former Italian "Marinajo Rosso," which has been converted into a floating prison of 80 cells where, according to Ben Salem, "only cases of special interest" are being held. The sole "practical device for bringing out the truth" which he was prepared to exhibit, was the recording center in the vessel's former radio cabin, from which a network of hidden microphones reaches all the cells. Thus, every word uttered during the interrogations or at intervals, while prisoners are together, is recorded.

The recording center is operated by two men only: tight-lipped Sergei Klinikin from Odessa; and his subordinate, Alexei Morganoff, a true Moscovite with an enchanting smile, huge feet, and a Swiss watch. Both have served under Ben Salem ever since General Vlassoff changed flags. Only, that was about all one could get out of them.

The Floating Hell performed a great service for Egypt by helping the famous Jewish banker, Mr. Elie Politi, succumb there to the interrogation methods, and sign a document that he had voluntarily assigned 112,000 pounds—all he possessed. The Floating Hell was also where Lt. Col. Ben Salem had been "most delighted to be able personally to handle the affairs of an Egyptian publisher, a Jew named Mr. Salama."

(Late news dispatches indicated that their confiscated businesses have been restored to a small number of Jews in Egypt.—EDITOR.)

Early in November the first phase of Salem's "Solution of the Jewish-Zionist Problem" began to take shape:

Conducting 3,000 men of the SSC Executive Force (municipal police units, plainclothes men, and army squads), SS-Grossaktionsleiter Gleim personally supervised the combing of the Cairo and Alexandria rural districts, throughout the duration of the curfew. This action resulted in the seizure of 1,711 native Jews—men, women and children—inclusive of the 6 Jewish fellahin families of Mit Ghammar, who are the last survivors of a Jewish community believed to have lived there since 90 B. C. E.

During this action, looting, rapine, and 8 killings were reported and confirmed. The officers in charge "regretted the incident which resulted due to the refusal of the subjects to follow instructions."

These captives have been classified as "Prisoners Category Alif (A)" and concentrated in the southern wing of the famous French-built prison, Des Barrages, in Cairo. No charges were made against them, but on the way to prison, all captives (exclusive of pregnant women and mothers of children below the age of 10) were handcuffed. The northern wing of Des Barrages is packed with "potential deportees," i. e., Jews who have no Egyptian nationality.

The sanitary conditions in which those prisoners are being held should be of special interest to those members of the U. N. and of the International Red Cross who, during interviews with foreign correspondents in Cairo, denied any knowledge of such conditions or of the above-mentioned arrests.

Cells intended for 10 persons presently shelter 30; and cell No. 73 is packed with 38 male Jewish prisoners "because they have their own water-closet," as explained by the chief warden, Hadji Mustaffa Ibn-Aziz, who is very friendly but responsive to bakshish only so far as "matters of nonpolitical nature are concerned, because now-a-days politics are dangerous."

The male prisoners are not allowed out of their cells. Their sole opportunity to breathe some fresh air is while they carry out the waterbuckets—a task eagerly done every morning in rotation by a couple of prisoners—and while fetching food and water.

The daily rations consist of 500 grams of Pittah-bread and 2 liters of soup per head. Water (2 liters per head) is being distributed only once daily, in the morning, and the male prisoners must drink it all at once, because they are not permitted to keep any containers in their cells.

Women are treated better

The female prisoners are granted 20 minutes a day to walk in the prison courtyard, and mothers may, in addition to that, spend half an hour daily with their children, who have been accommodated very comfortably in the former recreation hall for prison personnel. Mothers with babies up to the age of 3 are kept in the prison dispensary and have beds to sleep on. The babies are being provided with adequate and appropriate food and with daily rations of fresh milk.

The 18,000 Alexandria Jews (among them some 6,000 natives) classified as "Category Ba (B)" suffered an attack which completely crushed their economic life. Alexandria's military governor, Colonel Husseini, imposed under security act penalties, a permanent curfew which lasts from 5 p. m. to 9 a. m., and from 11 a. m. to 3 p. m. The rest of the time is left for purchase of food which is usually bought with funds obtained through the sale of jewelry or other personal assets, because by order of the SSC. EC-Dpt., 93 percent of every Jewish bank account has been blocked "until the position of Category Ba is clarified."

Colonel Hatem elucidated this hazy statement as follows: "The Alexandria Jews are known to have strong connections with Israel; but since we cannot bring them to justice without concrete proof and simultaneously cannot let them endanger the state security by letting them carry on with their underground activities, we are forced to take some slight precautions."

These are the slight precautions:

All Arab enterprises have dismissed their Jewish employees without any compensation whatsoever—as per Government orders.

Most Jewish enterprises, including the Circurel Stores and down to small shops, were taken over and only those few Jews who have intermarried were permitted to continue, but they closed their shops voluntarily because they were picketed by the Moslem Brotherhood and their showwindows were stoned. Any customers who attempted to enter Jewish shops were assaulted.

All Jewish professionals in Alexandria (with the exception of the few dentists) have been forbidden to practice. Seven hundred and ten prominent Jewish personalities, including a relative of Mrs. Mendes-France, Mr. Guy Cicurel, former president of the Maccabi, and Mr. E. Levy, president of Egypt's Stock Exchange Board, as well as most of the Jewish doctors, have been arrested. According to rumors, they will be tried on charges of treason in a closed session of the supreme military court.

The Cairo Jewish community, however, is undergoing an even greater crisis:

All the Jewish schools have been closed, all communal activities paralyzed. The Jewish hospital has been taken over by Arab authorities and all Jewish personnel and patients, regardless of their condition, were ejected on 1 hour's notice. Relatives of some of the more serious cases applied for their admission to Arab hospitals, but met with refusal.

Five hundred Cairo Jewish men have been indefinitely interned in the English Grammar School, which was closed down and converted into a detention center with the outbreak of the Suez Canal crisis. Their wives and children, totaling 622, are held captive and 456 Jewish men, women, and children are confined in the Hadrah Prison. Eight hundred and thirty Cairo Jews are being held in the ruins of Qalat al-Qahira, outside the city. Three of these prisoners were shot while attempting to escape—the old Nazi gimmick. It was, however, not explained how they happened to be shot inside the dead-end underground passage of the ruins where six mutilated bodies of Jewish girls were also found.

"This is only the first phase"

Being literally under house-arrest, imposed on them by the curfew, the remaining Cairo Jews are subjected to frequent raids of the Moslem Brotherhood. And over all this looms Nasser's state security cadre with its iron grip. Its commander, SS-Grossaktionsleiter Gleim, smilingly declared in front of his young German visitors that this is only the first phase.

It can therefore be easily guessed that the second phase will be the completion of Ben Salem's "solution of the Jewish-Zionist problem within territories of sovereign Egypt—a work which is now being implemented through five newly established concentration camps: the Heliopolis Fortress, destined to absorb 2,000 internees; the Gizeb barracks, which served during World War II as a POW camp, able to shelter 10,000 prisoners; two former army training centers, the Mustaffa Hanun-Pasha barracks near Almaza City, originally built for 16,000 men, and the Borg al-Arab barracks near Alexandria, which once sheltered two divisions of recruits.

A grim concentration camp

The most threatening of all, however, is the fifth concentration camp: the Samarra barracks in the Suhellia region of the desert, 200 miles west of Cairo. This camp, only recently vacated by the third regiment of the Egyptian Liberation Army (the unit which, commanded by Colonel Nasser in 1948, withstood the Israeli attacks on Faluja) is now being converted at a cost of 17,000 Egyptian pounds, and patterned on photo-copies of the original plan of the infamous Nazi Medizinisches Versuchslager Mannerheime bei Dachau, otherwise known as Block 10, where hundreds of Jewish girls were sterilized. The photo-copies of the original plan of this camp were supplied to the S. S. C. by Karl Clauberg's direct superior, SS-Hauptstabsarzt Heinrich Willermann, presently "arabized" into Lt. Col. Naam Fahum, who is now in charge of converting the Samarra barracks.

The stateless and foreign Jews still in Egypt are hoping probably against hope, that the U. N. will take them under its protective wings. Should, however, the U. N. decide otherwise, they will respond to Nasser's encouragement and leave Egypt impoverished, destitute, but alive.

But not the native Jews. They have tried to leave Egypt, but Nasser's government refused most of them exit visas, and most of the foreign consulates refused entrance visas as well as racial asylum—thus leaving this ancient and once fluorishing community in

the sinister grip of Nasser's legislative paradox:

Egyptian law imposes on them all its restrictions but deprives them of any rights or protection within sovereign Egypt; thus preventing any foreign intervention on their behalf, except for the U. N., maybe?

Maybe.

Because—in spite of the Cadre's strict censorship on publication of all events in Egypt and on news leaving the country—the U. N. has ample evidence and information on what is going on there. Why, then, its reticense? Why the passive attitude toward Nasser's rutheless violation of human rights? The U. N. must release the facts and warn the world of what Nasser is up to, so that appropriate measures can be taken. Because—although economically ruined, interned, maltreated, and humiliated—it is not too late yet. Egyptian Jewry is still alive.

Homebuilding Seriously Hurt by Tight Money and High Discounts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the tight money and high discount prevalent in the present money market is having serious effects on the homebuilders throughout the Nation.

These problems are not confined to the homebuilder but are reflected in the many other industries that are related to homebuilding such as lumber, home appliances, hardware, homefurnishings, and many other items in building materials.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HOMEBUILDING TO THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

Homebuilding is one of America's major industries, ranking second in importance perhaps only to food and food processing. The 12 million dwelling units provided since the end of World War II—an output in construction dollars alone of more than $100 billion—did much to spark and sustain the postwar economic boom. By its very nature, operating practically everywhere our people live, it affects the economic life of every community in America.

Our economic history indicates that homebuilding is a bellwether industry. What affects it, also affects eventually, practically every other sector of our economy. It is not too much to say that without a healthy homebuilding economy, geared to our people's requirements, we cannot long have a healthy overall national economy.

The value of new residential construction put in place in recent years has run close to $16 billion annually, accounting for one-fourth of new private investment. Taking into account land and other nonconstruction factors, the value of the industry's product is probably in the neighborhood of $20 billion annually.

In recent years it has provided directly approximately 2½ million jobs a year, with about half the total involved in work on the construction site. The impact of new housing is further extended by the market it provides for a multitude of products. About 3,000 different items go into every new home; thus, any change in home-construction volume is felt in thousands of factories and by thousands of suppliers all over the country, to say nothing of the thousands of builders and millions of workers employed in this industry. Residential construction uses one-third of our total lumber output, two-thirds of all brick, four-fifths of all gypsum.

Surveys indicate that the sale of a new home generates in the first year of occupancy alone about $1,500 per home in retail sales of furnishings and equipment. Homebuilding also creates additional demand for other types of construction—stores, churches, schools, utility expansions, and the like. Moreover, construction of new housing is a prerequisite to industrial expansion in many areas. Thus, apart from any sociological importance, homebuilding is a vital dollars and cents influence now and in the future in every part of our country, geographically and economically.

INFLUENCE OF TIGHT MONEY ON HOMEBUILDING

In view of the significance of homebuilding to our economy, the disadvantage at which homebuilding finds itself in the current money market is of importance to everybody. This disadvantage arises partly from the nature of home-mortgage lending; because of the relatively small dollar volume involved in any single transaction, because homebuilding is essentially a small businessman's business, it cannot compete for scarce funds on anything resembling even terms with the financing operations of major corporations.

Moreover, the nature of the mortgage instrument and the lack of satisfactory devices for mortgage financing have practically barred it from access to some of the fastest growing forms of savings such as pension and welfare funds.

It is absurd to consider our tight money policy as though it stands by itself, apart from other Government policies, particularly fiscal.

Our economy today is susceptable to management—to an extent generally unrealized—by the Government through a number of devices, primarily monetary policy—as exercised by the Federal Reserve—and fiscal tax and budget policy. While monetary policy goes off in one direction—presumably to restrain inflation—fiscal policy moves in another, furnishing large competitive advantages and incentives to industry for plant and equipment expansion through accelerated depreciation, fast tax writeoffs and a tax policy which, in effect, encourages business spending rather than saving. There has been little evidence that monetary restrictions have succeeded in restraining corporate expansion in the past year; in fact, as has been pointed out by prominent economic authorities, under current tax policy, corporate borrowing rates are actually lower than they have ever been in peacetime America.

At the end of 1956, corporate borrowings totaled $211 billion, a gain of $15 billion during the year. Between the first quarter of 1955 and the first quarter of 1957, business spending for plant and equipment soared from an annual rate of $26 billion to $38 billion, a gain of 48 percent and it is still going up.

Contrariwise, look at housing. With money tight, housing starts and builders' plans have been drastically cut. Between January 1955 and January 1957, the seasonally adjusted annual rate of private starts fell from 1,416,000 to 1,010,000—a drop of 29 percent. Housing starts began to decline in mid-1955. The decline has lasted all through the last 18 months, and 1956 volume was in total 200,000 less than the previous year.

That this result is not sheer accident is shown by a recent statement of the Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve, that he considers housing "postponable." In essence, he has undertaken to rewrite not only public policy in the housing field, but to bypass a clear declaration of congressional intent on our national housing policy, as embodied by the Congress in the Housing Acts of 1949 and again in 1954.

The net of a monetary policy of restraint and a fiscal and tax policy of encouragement to business expansion has been what might be expected; powerful forces working unevenly on the economy. In this setting, it is inevitable that the homebuilding industry suffer the major impact and be singled out for "postponability." It is for this reason that the industry has developed proposals, not to give it any unfair advantage, but merely, to restore a competitive position barred to it by conflicting governmental policies.

Move Over, Captain Nemo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I attach an editorial which appeared in the Chicago American on February 7, 1957, entitled "Move Over, Captain Nemo," relating to Rear Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, concerning whose exploits in the field of nuclear power the people of Chicago are particularly proud:

MOVE OVER, CAPTAIN NEMO

After 87 years, the United States Navy has caught up with Captain Nemo.

Jules Verne's doughty adventurer logged 20,000 Leagues Under the Sea in the fantastic novel of that title, published in 1870.

He did it in a weird underwater craft piloted by a secret and unknown force. Readers ate it up, albeit aware that it could never happen.

But it has happened. The nuclear-powered submarine *Nautilus* logged its 60,000th nautical mile (its 20,000th league) in an epic, 20-hour cruise.

Travels of the *Nautilus* to date have cost 3 pounds, or $21,000 worth, of fissionable uranium. Fuel for a conventional sub would have cost $100,000.

More nuclear subs are upcoming. And a former student at Chicago's Marshall High School started it all and gets much of the credit.

He is Rear Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, 56, who designed and developed the *Nautilus* and then trained her crew.

Chicago, then, may be permitted to join Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower, the revolutionary vessel's christener, in a salute right from the heart:

"Well done, Admiral! Well done, Navy!"

And by the way, have you noticed that nobody gives the sneering brushoff any more to "nutty ideas" put forth by our modern-day Jules Vernes?

Bold New Step Toward High Hells Canyon Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, in what may well become an historic step to return to our citizens of the Pacific Northwest what is rightfully theirs, Attorney General John J. O'Connell, of my State of Washington, has moved for a reversal of the ill-advised Federal Power Commission decision to give away both the site and the potential of the high Federal Hells Canyon Dam on the Snake River.

Attorney General O'Connell, on behalf of himself and our newly inaugurated Democratic Gov. Albert D. Rosellini, as well as on behalf of the rank and file of Washington citizens, has intervened as amicus curiae in the action by National Hells Canyon Association to obtain a writ of certiorari in the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.

Attorney General O'Connell points out many important things in his brief. For example, he says again, what many of us have pointed out in the Senate time and time again, that the Federal Power Commission in giving the Hells Canyon site to the Idaho Power Co., has "eliminated three-quarters of the flood control and storage features of the Hells Canyon project in the comprehensive plan, while at the same time providing barely half as much power production."

I ask unanimous consent that the complete text of the brief filed by Governor Rosellini and Attorney General O'Connell be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the brief was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, OCTOBER TERM, 1956—NATIONAL HELLS CANYON ASSOCIATION, INC., ET AL., PETITIONERS, v. FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION, RESPONDENT—ON PETITION FOR A WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

BRIEF OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON AS AMICUS CURIAE IN SUPPORT OF PETITION

I. Introduction

The attorney general for the State of Washington, upon request of the Honorable Albert D. Rosellini, Governor of the State of Washington, does hereby appear in these proceedings to file a brief as amicus curiae on behalf of the State of Washington in support of the petition of the National Hells Canyon Association, Inc., and others, for a writ of certiorari.

The previous administration of the State of Washington intervened and participated in the hearings below before the Federal Power Commission in support of the license applications of Idaho Power Co. and in opposition to the high Federal Hells Canyon Dam.

Accordingly, the position of said previous administration and the testimony presented in the Commission proceeding on behalf of the Honorable Arthur B. Langlie, former Governor of the State of Washington, are hereby repudiated as being contrary to the best interests of the State of Washington.

II. Interest of the State of Washington

The immediate and long-range interests of the State of Washington involved in the decision of the Federal Power Commission and affirmed by the United States Court of Appeals are as follows:

(a) Flood control planning is a vital component of any "comprehensive plan" for the development of natural resources in the northwestern United States. It is urged to this Court that the Federal Power Commission erred in giving insufficient weight to the factor of flood control planning in granting a license to the Idaho Power Co. in the case at bar and that this error was repeated and affirmed by the Court below.

(b) The economic future of the State of Washington, as well as that of other States in the Pacific Northwest, is dependent upon the fullest possible development of the great hydroelectric potential of the Columbia River system. A recent report of the United States Department of Labor points out that "the creation of new job opportunities in the region has lagged in the last 5 years," and warns that "unless there is an accelerated development of the resources of the Pacific Northwest, the region's labor force and population will continue to grow at subnormal rates." The Columbia River is the greatest of those resources. Because of the great impact this case will have, for better or for worse, on the development of that resource, the interest of the State of Washington in its outcome is immense.

III. Argument

A. This Is a Case of First Impression

This case is a case of first impression for this Court; an authoritative adjudication by the Court is necessary to resolve the questions here at issue and to eliminate uncertainty as to the future administration of the Federal Power Act.

In a previous case before this Court the principal issue was whether or not "approval" of a comprehensive plan by Congress had the effect of removing the site in question from the licensing jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission. *Chapman* v. *Federal Power Commission* (345 U. S. 153 (1953)). That issue is not involved here. Conversely, in the former case there was no question of compliance with the Corps of Engineers' comprehensive plan for the river basin involved, which is the primary question in the present case.

B. The Federal Power Commission Erred in Failing To Follow the Comprehensive Plan Intended by Congress for the Development of the Resources of the Columbia River Basin

The basic factor which spells the difference between full development of the Columbia River and serious underdevelopment is adequate upstream storage. Far more than most rivers, the Columbia needs storage reservoirs to even out its violently fluctuating flows, which historically have an annual maximum to minimum flow ratio of about 10 to 1.

With adequate storage as provided by the comprehensive plan of the Army engineers the rampaging flood waters of the spring melting season can be tamed and converted into year-around flows to keep spinning the turbines of hydroelectric generators which would otherwise be idle 9 months of the year. Without adequate storage the power potential of the river will be cut in half, and the unstored water will not only be lost; it will also continue to subject thousands of families in the lower Columbia Basin to the annual threat of spring floods.

It is difficult to imagine a more apt example of the principle so clearly stated by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1908 in his message transmitting to Congress the preliminary report of his Inland Waterways Commission, when he said:

"Every stream should be used to its utmost. No stream can be so used unless such use is planned in advance. When such plans are made, we shall find that, instead of interfering, one use can often be made to assist another. Each river system from its headwaters in the forest to its mouth on the coast, is a single unit and should be treated as such" (S. Doc. 325, 60th Cong., 1st sess., p. iv).

Such a plan does exist for the Columbia River; it has been largely ignored by the Federal Power Commission in licensing the three projects of the Idaho Power Co.

The Congress in 1927 authorized the preparation of the original comprehensive plan of the Army Corps of Engineers for the Columbia River and its tributaries (44 Stat. 1010). The present plan of House Document 531, 81st Congress, 2d session, is an authorized revision and expansion of that plan. The Federal Power Commission has here licensed for construction projects which eliminate three-quarters of the flood control and storage features of the Hells Canyon project in the comprehensive plan, while at the same time providing barely half as much power production.

The question thus presented is whether, under the best adapted requirement of section 10 (a), the Commission may substitute, for vital components of the official and only existing comprehensive plan for the Columbia River Basin, projects which are inconsistent with and of lesser benefit than the projects provided by that plan.

Amicus curiae submits that the action of the Commission in the present case constitutes such a substitution and that the substitution is a violation of section 10 (a) of the Federal Power Act.

C. The Commission Erred in Failing To Recommend Federal Development Under Section 7 (b) of the Federal Power Act

The problem of adequate flood-control storage capacity in the Pacific Northwest is annually becoming more difficult because of the economic growth within the potential reservoir areas. At the same time the necessity for flood control becomes increasingly important. In 1948 a major Columbia River flood resulted in property damage in excess of $100 million and the loss of 38 lives. It is estimated that such a flood today would cost in excess of $200 million in property damage in view of the economic development of the affected areas.

Private licensees will not build large and costly upstream storage reservoirs, because the feasibility of such projects depends to a great extent on the benefits they produce at downstream dams, and in these the private upstream developer has no interest. Nor has it any economic interest in adequate flood-control storage, which is quite properly a public problem.

A river once inadequately developed represents the permanent destruction of part of a perpetually renewable energy resources. As distinguished from other administrative decisions, the Commission's licensing decisions on river developments have irrevocable impact.

If the Commission is not required to interpret sections 10 (a) and 7 (b) of the act so as to obtain at the few remaining reservoir sites in the Columbia Basin the maximum feasible storage planned for those sites in the comprehensive plan, all hope of achieving adequate storage capacity will be forever lost, and the Columbia River will continue to flow unchecked to the sea in destructive and wasteful floods.

The only way to prevent such waste is for the Commission, under a correct interpretation of the act, to require as a condition of licensing, development of these storage sites to the full dimensions of the comprehensive plan—the "best adapted" requirements of section 10 (a)—or alternatively to propose Federal development under section 7 (b).

The State of Washington therefore maintains that the failure of the Commission to recommend Federal deevlopment of the Hells Canyon site to the Congress constitutes, in the circumstances of the present case, a violation of section 7 (b) of the Federal Power Act.

Conclusion

For the reasons stated above and in order to establish an authoritative interpretation of the Federal statutory law governing the Hells Canyon region, the State of Washington respectfully requests this Court to grant a writ of certiorari in accordance with the petition.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN J. O'CONNELL,
Attorney General, State of Washington.

E. P. DONNELLY,
Assistant Attorney General, State of Washington.

Temple of Justice, Olympia, Wash.
Dated February 14, 1957.

A Reasonable Mideast Blueprint

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very thoughtful editorial which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on February 27, 1957:

A REASONABLE MIDEAST BLUEPRINT

At this writing it is understood that the American resolution for solving the Middle Eastern impasse will follow the outlines of the 4-point plan described February 26 by Foreign Secretary Pearson, of Canada, with a deadline added for Israeli troop withdrawal. We hope this is true and that the program so embodied will be accepted by the Governments of Israel and Egypt; for that type of settlement would seem to represent a maximum of fairness attainable under the circumstances.

Mr. Pearson and his Government seem to have seen clearly from the first the practical necessities of the case as well as the elementary justice to be served in it. Secretary Dulles and Secretary General Hammarskjold have placed a legally correct emphasis on Israeli withdrawal prior to any discussion of terms. But in this case more than law is involved; there is also equity.

And equity demands that the nations look somewhat back of the date last October when Israel's army drove across the Sinai frontier. Reasons for that desperate act lay in two abuses from which the United Nations never successfully shielded Israel. One was Egypt's blockade of the Suez Canal against Israeli trade the other was a continuing employment of murderous fedayeen raids, boasted of by President Nasser's Cairo radio, against inhabitants of Israel.

Just to return to that situation would not be good enough. If the Gaza strip were simply turned back to Egypt, what guaranty would there be against further harassments? And if Egypt should be free again to mount guns at the Strait of Tiran, would the Gulf of Aqaba afford an alternative route to Suez?

To the Canadian mind it seemed no perversion of justice for the U. N. to demand not only that Israel withdraw but to stipulate conditions that should follow the withdrawal. In effect, President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles have come to a rather similar conclusion in negotiations with Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and Ambassador Eban.

Actually, what better support could there be for the right of innocent passage through the Strait of Tiran than a request for its affirmation by the U. N. General Assembly? And if the Gaza strip is to cease to endanger general peace, should it not be placed under international administration until its permanent status can be determined? If Egypt wishes Israel to forego the fruits of war, must not Egypt renounce the belligerent right to throttle Israeli commerce?

It is natural that the Arab bloc should continue to press for sanctions against Israel. But if the U. N. had enforced the Security Council request of 1951 regarding the canal and had taken effective cognizance of fedayeen aggressions, the present situation might not have arisen.

It is in character that the Soviet Union, through Deputy Foreign Minister Sobolev, should declaim against any western efforts to restore peace in the Middle East. But whatever the treatment of the Canadian-American proposals in the Assembly, and we hope it will be favorable, it is gratifying that the United States is back on a basis of cooperation with British Commonwealth countries, and through them with Britain itself, on matters of order and justice in the Middle East.

A New Route to Better ICC Enforcement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives an article entitled "A New Route to Better ICC Enforcement," by O. D. Shipley, Director Bureau of Highway Safety, Department of Revenue, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; and also a news release from Hon. Gerald A. Gleeson, Secretary of the Department of Revenue, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

A NEW ROUTE TO BETTER ICC ENFORCEMENT

This proposal begins with the story of an industry with a problem.

America's trucking industry has a grave responsibility in helping to solve the serious problem of traffic accidents—accidents which claimed the lives of over 40,000 Americans and injured over 2 million in 1956.

Probably no segment of highway users has accomplished more to promote highway safety than the organized trucking industry. Its efforts have paid dividends. Today, the "professional driver," the man who drives a truck for a living, has the best safety record on our highways. Despite sharp increase in traffic deaths on our highways during 1956, the Interstate Commerce Commission reports that accidents involving trucks showed a sharp decrease during 1956.

While trucks have fewer accidents per mile of operation than passenger cars, truck accidents get more publicity. When a truck accident occurs, because of the size of the vehicle the accident is usually more spectacular and more photogenic, and thus receives newspaper coverage often out of proportion to the importance of the event. Far too often this coverage is distorted. Accidents over which the driver of the truck had absolutely no control often are captioned "Tractor Trailer Truck in Fatal Crash." Editors and commentators rarely remember that a very small percentage of the Nation's drivers are responsible for a high percentage of our traffic accidents.

Most truck operators are responsible individuals with adequate safety programs. It is actually a very small percentage of truck operators whose vehicles cause a high percentage of accidents.

Let us see how the shortcomings of this little group of careless drivers and operators have produced a situation which may well result in forcing them to come up to standard or to get off the road.

The mountainous terrain of western Pennsylvania is laced by a network of highways heavily traveled by trucks which carry the Nation's commerce from the south and west to the eastern seaboard. A series of run-away truck accidents in this area during the past 18 months has brought into focus the need for drastic action to bring certain segments of the trucking industry up to par with the majority of the industry. These run-away accidents were not only spectacular—they killed many people and caused heavy property damage. What caused them? The writer was at the scene of all of the accidents and conducted a personal investigation of the causes. Here are my conclusions:

These accidents were caused by—
1. Underpowered equipment.
2. Inadequate maintenance.
3. Driver failure.
4. Inadequate highway signs.

Each of these factors was present in varying degrees in every one of the run-away truck accidents I investigated.

Now, all of the trucks involved in these "run-away" accidents were operating in interstate commerce and under the safety regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

While most of these trucks did not bear Pennsylvania registrations, the elected officials of the Commonwealth, the Pennsylvania State Police and the organized trucking industry in Pennsylvania were severely criticized and an excited "public opinion" demanded corrective action.

PENNSYLVANIA MET THE CHALLENGE THIS WAY

1. The Pennsylvania Motor Truck Association sent its safety director to the scene of these accidents, traffic surveys were completed and in cooperation with local and State highway department officials, proper warning signs were placed, "pull-off" inspection stops were arranged and enforcement was stepped up where possible.

The truck association designed special posters which were placed in truck stops for all drivers to read. The association also designed spot maps, bulletins, and special driver warnings which were given wide interstate distribution.

2. The Pennsylvania Legislature in record time passed an industry-supported measure requiring all trucks registered in Pennsylvania after January 1, 1957, to have adequate horsepower and braking capacity, and defi-

nitely making the permitted gross weight of the vehicles dependent upon brakes and power formula.

3. But PMTA and Pennsylvania authorities couldn't do the job alone, so PMTA requested the Interstate Commerce Commission to cooperate in a series of "roadblock" spot checks of all trucks coming into the State. The trucking industry's best maintenance engineers, specialists from insurance companies, the Pennsylvania State Police, the Bureau of Highway Safety and the Public Utility Commission were formed into inspection teams, each headed by an ICC safety inspector, and the checks were started. They went on, around the clock, for 2 weeks.

There was nothing startling in the results. Many of us who had been close to the problem knew in advance what we would find—these safety checks merely served to confirm our diagnosis. But although they had agreed to use the information solely to guide future action, the Interstate Commerce Commission released statistics that while not untrue, served to distort the overall picture and to send newspapers, legislators and others off on some pretty wild proposals. These checks did, however, highlight the need for adequate enforcement of existing ICC regulations.

PUBLIC SENTIMENT AROUSED

It was easy for newspapers, legislators and industry leaders to call for better ICC enforcement, but to accomplish this end was something else again. Let your imagination try to cope with these figures:

There are approximately 170,000 carriers operating over 1,700,000 commercial motor vehicles in interstate commerce in the United States.

Up until 3 years ago the Interstate Commerce Commission had but 20 safety inspectors in their employ. Two years ago this number was increased to 45 and a year ago the number of inspectors was increased to 100 men.

One hundred safety inspectors to enforce ICC safety regulations on 1,700,000 commercial vehicles. To do this job right, thousands more inspectors would be needed—and thousands of clerical persons behind them. Manifestly, this isn't the best route to our badly needed goal of better ICC enforcement.

Perhaps another route offers a less complicated, more efficient and economical avenue to our objective.

A NEW ROUTE TO ICC ENFORCEMENT

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania requires that every motor vehicle licensed in the Commonwealth be inspected by an authorized inspection station twice each year.

At present there are approximately 11,000 authorized inspection stations in the Commonwealth. Each of these stations must meet the requirements of the Commonwealth before securing a permit to operate. Requirements include adequate space, tools, equipment, competent mechanics, etc.

These authorized inspection stations are inspected periodically by the Pennsylvania State police. If they are found violating any provision of the regulations they lose their station permit.

Each station purchases from the Commonwealth official inspection stickers for 10 cents each. These stickers carry the date of inspection, the number of the approved station making the inspection and the date of the next inspection.

This is probably the most efficient compulsory inspection program in the United States. Many other States and foreign countries have studied this program and have copied it in whole or in part. Commercial fleets are permitted to operate their own stations under the same regulations as the privately owned station.

Admittedly, semiannual inspection of a commercial motor vehicle is no substitute for a sound maintenance program, but the results in Pennsylvania convince me that it does spur adequate maintenance and it would appear logical for the Interstate Commerce Commission to adopt a similar program on a nationwide basis.

In my opinion, the Interstate Commerce Commission, after due study of the problem, should adopt rules and regulations for the operation of such stations and set up a nationwide network of authorized ICC inspection stations, authorized to issue an official inspection sticker. ICC would require by regulation that every commercial motor vehicle engaged in interstate commerce be inspected semiannually and at all times carry an approved sticker on the vehicle. State and local police in every section of the country under this system would automatically stop any commercial motor vehicle found without a sticker and hold it until it had been inspected and approved by an official ICC inspection station.

This system would automatically provide a complete inspection, semiannually, of hundreds of thousands of commercial vehicles, which today under a completely inadequate ICC enforcement policy are receiving little or no maintenance or inspection and whose owners never see an ICC official. Many such vehicles are run until they fall apart. Some have fallen apart on the highways of Pennsylvania with disastrous results.

We also recommend to the Interstate Commerce Commission that they consider the adoption of regulation that will make adequate horsepower and adequate brakes (based on the square inches of brake surface and horsepower at governed speed delivered at the clutch) the determining factor in assigning the permissible gross weight of the vehicle. Enforcement of this provision could be accomplished simply by refusing to pass an inadequately powered or braked vehicle by one of the approved ICC inspection stations.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE, NEWS RELEASE, FEBRUARY 19, 1957

Secretary of Revenue Gerald A. Gleeson said today he has forwarded to the Interstate Commerce Commission in Washington "for its full consideration," a suggested program for required periodic inspection of commercial vehicles on a nationwide basis.

The proposal was prepared by O. D. Shipley, director of the bureau of highway safety, and Secretary Gleeson said, "The proposal blueprints one of the most effective traffic safety projects ever developed for the entire United States, and it is one that will save lives and reduce property damage."

Director Shipley's program is called a new route to better ICC enforcement. Secretary Gleeson forwarded it to Owen Clark, Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission, and to Ernest G. Cox, Supervisor, Section of Safety, Bureau of Motor Carriers, Interstate Commerce Commission.

The program calls specifically for a nationwide network of authorized ICC inspection stations which would inspect every commercial motor vehicle engaged in interstate commerce on a semiannual basis.

Official ICC inspection stickers would be affixed to interstate vehicles. Any vehicle not having such a sticker would automatically be stopped by State or local police in every section of the Nation and would not be permitted to proceed until it had been inspected and approved by an official ICC inspection station.

Most truck operators are responsible individuals with adequate safety programs, Mr. Shipley pointed out, but there are still thousands of commercial vehicles which are receiving little or no maintenance or inspection and whose owners never see an ICC official.

The compulsory nationwide inspection program would eliminate—in great measure—unsafe equipment from the highways.

Additionally, the proposal suggests that the ICC consider the adoption of a regulation which would establish the basis for adequate horsepower and braking surface necessary for the minimum safe operation of commercial vehicles. Enforcement of this provision could be accomplished by the refusal of the approved ICC inspection station to pass an inadequately powered or braked vehicle.

Pennsylvania, Secretary Gleeson declared, requires the semiannual inspection of commercial vehicles, and also was the first State in the United States to pass a law—fully endorsed by the trucking industry—which requires adequate horepower and braking capacity for commercial vehicles registered in the commonwealth.

In outlining his proposal for ICC consideration, Mr. Shipley emphasized that today there are just 100 safety inspectors assigned to the task of enforcing ICC safety regulations on 1,700,000 commercial motor vehicles engaged in interstate commerce throughout the United States.

Mr. Shipley believes that these safety inspectors could perform their duties more effectively by the policing of authorized ICC inspection stations, as suggested in his proposal.

Secretary Gleeson said, "Mr. Shipley, through his many years in traffic safety work, with particular emphasis on the commercial vehicle phase, is extremely well qualified on the subject. He was responsible, in great measure, for the series of round-the-clock maintenance and safety checks conducted in Pennsylvania some months back following a series of runaway truck accidents that caused loss of life and heavy property damage. These tests were conducted in cooperation with the State police, ICC officials, and the trucking industry. His conclusions and constructive recommendations, as set forth in his proposal, represent many hours of actual on-the-spot surveys on the subject and merit the complete and earnest consideration of the ICC."

Resolutions Memorializing the Congress of the United States To Enact Legislation Providing for the Elimination of Pollution in the Merrimack River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolutions adopted on February 18, 1957, by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

RESOLUTIONS MEMORIALIZING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO ENACT LEGISLATION PROVIDING FOR THE ELIMINATION OF POLLUTION IN THE MERRIMACK RIVER

Whereas it is essential for the welfare of the people living in cities and towns bordering or located near the Merrimack River that said river be free from pollution; and

Whereas the Merrimack River is highly polluted; and

Whereas said pollution is detrimental to the people living in the vicinity of said river; and

Whereas the city of Lowell will require the use of said river for drinking purposes in the years to come; Therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts memorializes the Congress of the United States to enact legislation providing for the elimination of pollution in the Merrimack River under the auspices of the United States Corps of Engineers and that the Federal Government assume the full cost of such work as is necessary; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the State Secretary to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to the members thereof from this Commonwealth.

House of Representatives, adopted February 18, 1957.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE, *Clerk.*

A true copy.
Attest:

EDWARD J. CRONIN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Homicide by Diplomats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, homicide by diplomats is the subject of an excellent article by George Sokolsky which I include as a part of my remarks.

A representative at the United Nations can actually kill an American citizen in the streets of New York without penalty and without even the usual financial responsibility toward the family of the deceased.

Diplomatic immunity, a device dear to the heart of diplomats, permits such things to happen.

An American serviceman stationed in any one of some 50 foreign nations does not enjoy such immunity. The diplomats have seen to it that he can be tried, imprisoned, and subjected to civil judgment for any violation of local law.

I think this is a contrast which should be borne in mind while Members read Sokolsky's article and when they consider H. J. Res. 16 which proposes to modify the status of forces agreements.

ABOVE THE LAW—YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR NOT ARRESTED AFTER FATAL AUTO ACCIDENT

(By George Sokolsky)

Dr. Joza Brilej, Yugoslav Ambassador to the United Nations, was blithely driving his car west on 66th Street in New York. He went through a red light; he bumped into another car; he went up on the sidewalk, killed Mrs. Ruth La Bartunek who was gently minding her own business but who was pinned against a building by this Yugoslav Ambassador's car which he was driving.

NOT SUBJECT TO LAWS

Dr. Brilej was quite sorry and sent some emissaries to the La Bartunek family to ask if he could contribute to the funeral expenses. Beyond that he had no responsibility because he is entitled to diplomatic immunity by which is meant that he lives in our midst under extraterritoriality and is not subject to our laws.

It is legal for him and for a few hundred other people conected with the United Nations to go through red lights. The police cannot arrest him because he has dipolmatic immunity. He can bump into another car and damage it but nothing can be done about that; he canot even be sued for damages because he is not subject to our laws. He can kill a woman, a mother of five children, but he cannot be arrested for murder or for reckless driving; the police may not investigate whether he was drunk or sober when he lost control of his car; the police may not even inquire as to whether he had a license to drive a car. He is a big shot, an ambassador, and enjoys extraterritoriality which includes the right to kill a woman going into a grocery store.

Of course, a man may be a diplomat and a gentleman, too. That has happened. Such a person would obey the traffic regulations of the place where he happened to be stationed, because a gentleman does not take advantage of his position. But it is too much to expect of the folks who have been thrown into high position by war and revolution that they would even know the meaning of noblesse oblige. So they go through red lights. They park their cars in front of fire hydrants. They double park and triple park to the inconvenience of taxpaying Americans, and now one has actually run down and killed an American woman. He killed her on a sidewalk as she was walking into a store.

It is an easy-going, soft people that takes that sort of thing lying down. There was a time when Americans were less refined and when somebody's fist would have settled this question of diplomatic immunity. What happens to all these heroes in our Westerns which millions follow every day on television, these heroic characters who protect womanhood and virtue? Do they not inculcate a sense of obligation to stand up for what is right? Or must we let these frisky ambassadors imperil our wives and children while they break every traffic law with cars bearing DPL license plates? DPL, indeed.

The least the State Department can do is to notify the Yugoslav ambassador that the streets of New York City are closed to him. He can remain in the United Nations building as long as Tito wants to keep him there, but he has committed a homicide on New York streets, and the streets are closed to him. Of course, the State Department will do no such thing because its personnel is made up of diplomats who do not speak rudely to diplomats and who believe in extraterritoriality because when they go to other countries, they live by it.

TITO RUDE

But Tito did not always practice it, and as I recall, when our ambassador to Yugoslavia was Richard C. Patterson, Jr., Tito was rude to him and to his lovely wife, and nobody made much of a fuss about that because, I presume, it was expected that Tito would be rude. That was before Tito was kicked out of the Cominform by Stalin and turned his face Westward to get a cool $1 billion of the American taxpayers' money.

May I suggest to Senator GREEN and Representative GORDON of the Senate and House Committees dealing with foreign affairs that they might hold public hearings into the misconduct of foreign officials in New York. They would get an earful, and the public would discover that when the striped pants come off, some of these fellows are no better than they were before the revolution.

Pax Justitiae Opus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, on October 23, 1956, a distinguished resident of Ridgefield, Conn., Mr. Henry R. Luce, editor in chief of Time, Life, and Fortune magazines, addressed the 81st banquet of the State Bar Association of Connecticut at the Statler Hotel, Hartford, Conn.

This address, entitled "Peace Is the Work of Justice," has recently been printed in booklet form. The basic moral philosophy espoused in Mr. Luce's talk—that peace is the work of justice, and justice is the work of law, that the United States should make use of the law in its drive for world peace, is a new concept and one which bears most serious consideration.

In order to bring it to the attention of my colleagues, I, under unanimous consent, include the entire address in the RECORD:

PEACE IS THE WORK OF JUSTICE

(By Henry R. Luce)

Your presidents, Mr. Jacobs and Mr. Robinson, have impressed on me that after 2 days of law talk, many of you will be primarily interested in getting out of here—soon. On the other hand—surely that is a good legal expression—on the other hand, I am myself so impressed by the extraordinary honor of this invitation that I desire to savor it with all its rights and privileges for the full allowable 30 minutes. What to do? I am required at the very outset to produce a judgment of Solomon. Unlike Solomon, I will not offer to cut my brain child in two. Instead I will make two speeches. The first of them takes 2 minutes—and here it is:

I am told that when that famous citizen of Hartford, Mark Twain, was asked to stipulate his full address, he answered: "My name is Samuel Clemens and I reside at 351 Farmington Street, in the city of Hartford, in the county of Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, in the United States of America, in the World, in the Solar System, in the Universe, in the Mind of God."

You will note that the first part of that stipulation is all very legal—city, county, State, Nation. But when you come to the World, there is no longer a legal ring to it. There is nothing lawful about the world: It is a lawless place. When you get past the world, all is again legal, for both scientists and theologians assure us that the universe and the mind of God manifest perfect law.

Gentlemen, the task of our generation is to make the world at last a lawful place—to make it at last a proper legal residence of man.

This is the task in which the legal profession must take the lead.

That is my 2-minute speech. My message is now delivered to this distinguished company—and you are all respectfully excused from hearing further argument.

However, for those who may feel that this banquet merits further digestion, I respectfully submit a somewhat more formal thesis:

In the decade since World War II, the Government and people of the United States have exerted themselves mightily for peace. They seem to have utilized every conceiva-

ble means to this end, both human and divine. All except one. We have not made use of the law. In the words of Professor Hocking, "Such use as we have made of the law has been timorous and unenterprising."

The neglect of law is all the more striking when we pass in review the massive efforts which the Government and people of the United States have put forth in other directions. They have prayed for peace—crowding their churches as never before. They have spent $50 billion of their national treasure to help foreign countries in the belief that economic progress would lead to peace. They have spent abroad other billions in private philanthropy. They have set up information and propanganda agencies in hundreds of cities. They have sent point 4 missionaries, dedicated people, to the remotest provinces of earth. They have developed and maintained fantastically powerful—and expensive—armaments. Si vis pacem para bellum. They have fought a bitter war in Korea, sending their sons into battle and gaining no clear victory. They have maintained the most powerful army and air force in Europe. They have built bases in far-off lands. Their fleets patrol the seven seas.

The Government and people of the United States have done all this—and more that would take the night long to recite—and they have received an abundant reward. For the United States prospers and civilization marches on. Far from having crumbled under the onslaughts of organized evil, civilization everywhere advances, and our own American civilization points to a new epoch of human power and freedom.

Nevertheless we have not achieved peace. Not in the proper meaning of the term—which is that peace should be the normative and expected state of affairs. The peace we have is precarious. It is continually subject to blackmail. It is not based on clear principle commonly accepted. Season after season we are faced by the distasteful choice between dubious war or partial surrender.

You will say perhaps that all this is in the nature of things in the 20th century. And I will agree; and in our minds there will be not only the untamed terror of the H-bomb; there are other equally explosive factors—such as democracy and old peoples becoming new nations. Reminding ourselves of the immensities of the problem, we would agree further in giving gratitude and honor to our American statesmen for their pilotage of a free America through the narrows of disaster.

Yet this is not our goal. Our goal is a peace of deeper satisfaction. My thesis is that the law is the most effective and the most necessary means for that kind of peace. This proposition is true in reason and philosophy. The wisdom of the ages supports it. Pax justitiae opus—and justice is the work of law. I shall respectfully assume that the philosophic truth of the relation of peace, justice, and law is a basic conviction of all the members of this learned profession—and I shall be mainly concerned here to illuminate that truth by some pragmatic tests and proposals.

My argument rests on the proposal that the United States should give to the promotion of law an absolutely primary position in its relations with all mankind—with all nations, races, and tribes, and ultimately with each individual soul that inhabits the globe. The phrase "peace-loving nation" is too easily used to confuse. The phrase "law-abiding nation" can be given clear, strong, and decisive meaning.

There is a distinction to be made between law within a nation and international law. But this distinction should not be exaggerated. In urging the promotion of the use of the law, I shall be referring both to the law within nations and to the law between nations.

For example, the problem of law is central to the question of so-called foreign aid. An expanding world economy is a vital interest of the United States. But how to bring it about? We are momentarily baffled. What is vulgarly called handouts, or more elegantly, donation diplomacy, has only a comparatively small role to play. From now on, the building up of economies is primarily a matter of trade and investment and reliable currencies. On this subject hear the words of President Rathbone, of Standard Oil of New Jersey. Apropos of Suez, he said: "The great issue is not whether the government has the right to nationalize property or not, but whether it has the right to abrogate contracts. * * * It is immoral and completely unethical for a government to grant a concession and then unilaterally abrogate that concession. What we need in the world today is a clear enunciation of this principle, recognition of the fact that they don't have to give these concessions, but once they do, they ought to abide by them. If we don't have that kind of a set of rules and that kind of atmosphere in the world, we are not going to have foreign investments in, or have the developments of, the natural resources of many countries."

That's plain, common sense. It is also a basic issue which the United States so far has failed to face.

In the pregnant phrase of Professor Dillard, the emphasis in international life must shift—and will shift—from torts to contracts. The ideal which must be restored to paramountcy is the ideal of the sanctity of contracts. Pacta sunt servanda.

So I speak of law in all its phases—from the smallest business transaction to the greatest negotiations at the summit of global politics.

So understood, the law will prove to be the most effective means to peace for many reasons, but notably the following three:

First, it is through the appeal to the idea of law that the United States can most effectively bind itself to other nations and peoples in mutual respect.

Second, it is by insistence on the fundamental importance of law that the United States can most effectively challenge our enemies, however contemptuous they may seem of law and justice.

Third, it is through the law that the United States can harness together our vast military might and our political and ideal purposes.

As to the first point—that law is a binder between us and other nations—let me speak first of those nations whom we consider our natural allies, our fellow members of Western civilization. What is the touchstone of this civilization? Some would argue that it is Christianity; others that it is the quest for liberty or the scientific method. But from the time of Solon in ancient Greece to the present, there is no stronger thread throughout the history of the West than its development of law. The secular history of the West is not just a series of wars and dynasties. It is also a series of great political decisions which have become the people's law. From Runnymede in 1215 to Connecticut's Charter Oak and on to Philadelphia in 1787, from the Treaty of Westphalia to the latest decisions of our Supreme Court, law is the language on all the political milestones of Western progress.

"The King is under God and the law"—so was it in royal Britain, and so it is with our own king, the sovereign people. Even liberty, the most sacred word in the American vocabulary, is known to us as liberty under law.

What then of those new and underdeveloped nations that do not share our western tradition and feel no natural allegiance to it—rather the contrary? In the rich history of the Orient, Christianity has played a minor role, and there is nothing which even faintly resembles our western quest for liberty. No Asian, until recently at any rate, ever tried to draw up a bill of rights. When oriental nations speak of freedom, they mean not personal but national freedom; and they seek economic advance, seen largely in terms of social justice. Justice is the operative word among these new nations. It is the word which strikes today a common chord throughout their world. But so does it in ours.

In politics, the greatest common denominator of human feeling and passion is the sense of injustice, which is the obverse of the desire for justice. It is our sense of justice, therefore, which will make Americans most at home with other peoples. And whoever speaks of justice must inevitably think of law. Once the sense of injustice transcends a brute desire for vengeance, it inevitably comes face to face with the oldest problems of law.

It is true that our western legal systems are fundamentally different from those of Asia. Our western legal systems have an objectivity and precision which are not in harmony with oriental tradition. Yet it should be noted that today many Asian countries are acquiring, and feel the need of, more objectivity in their law. The basic point is that no people, no tribe, however backward, is ignorant of law. Every nation under the sun, whatever its culture or ideology, has law of some sort. If, therefore, we wish to promote the rule of law in the world, we should first inquire of every nation: Tell us, what is your law? Such an inquiry, if launched by the President of the United States and other leading statesmen, could generate throughout the globe a marvelous concern for law and bestow on it in the minds of men the central role it actually occupies in our own society.

President Eisenhower electrified the world by his proposal for air inspection of armaments. What I am suggesting is that there should be initiated and continued forever an inspection of the law of each and every nation by each and every other nation. Thus we shall have made most vivid to all mankind the differences which exist between us all, and we shall discover the points where we can, and most need to, grow together in a common respect for law. And thus we shall undertake the glorious enterprise of building a lawful world through a tradition which becomes increasingly the common law of the world.

My second argument is that it is by a persistent appeal to law that we can most effectively confound our enemies. The most sensational event of 1956, until the revolts in Poland and Hungary this past weekend, was the 3-hour speech by Khrushchev at the 20th Soviet Congress. Anyone who read the full text of that speech must have been struck by the fact that fully one-half of it was directed to law. More than anything else, Khrushchev was determined to show that Stalin had violated Soviet law, and that, on the contrary, he, Khrushchev, would respect the law. Even a tyranny requires law. However shameless a tyranny may be, it cannot long afford to be ashamed of its own law.

The Soviet Empire today is full of troubles. Essentially the Kremlin problem is to base its rule to a greater degree on the consent of the governed—both within Russia and throughout the Soviet colonial empire. How to do this and yet retain their immoral and arbitrary power? That is their dilemma. Note, as a major example, their playing down of the secret police and the police state. They seek to give the appearance of the rule of law. And in politics, appearance is a large part of reality. If rulers feel that they must appear to be lawful, then to an extent they must be lawful. I do not wish to oversimplify, but there is a causal connection between the Khrushchev speech on law and the revolts in Poland and Hungary, which he ruled illegally.

My argument, then, is not merely that a great global inquiry into law would expose

the evils of the Soviet system; my argument is that a general concern for law would further incite concern for law within the Soviet Empire, that this would tend to more humane and rational law—and once that process began, we could expect in consequence either the last reactionary convulsion of tyranny or a gradual but profound transformation of the Soviet system. Either way, the challenge to be lawful confounds the evil in our enemies. The challenge to be lawful is the mose effective challenge at the bar of world opinion; it is also the most effective challenge inside the Communist empire.

My third argument for giving the highest priority to law in world affairs is that it is through international law that we can harness our vast military might to the service of our political and ideal purposes.

Whenever the subject of world peace is seriously discussed, we encounter some such sweeping dictum as that the world will be ruled either by the law of force or the force of law. Such a choice is unreal. You will always have force in the world—now more than ever before. And you will always have law in the world—we hope more and better. The problem is to get force and law together. What we really mean is that we seek the rule of law backed by force. As Justice Pollock said: "The sheriff and his posse lurk in the background of every rule of law."

Ultimately a vision of global peace requires a picture of world government, a government making world law and backing it by a monopoly of organized force. You will not, I think, deem me so naive as to be inviting your attention to world government, which is not the business of our generation and which none of us is likely to see. I invite your passing attention to world government only for the sake of ultimate logic. The business of this American generation is not to establish world government. Our business is to establish, through an ever larger part of the world, a rule of law enforceable within that area and defensible against any barbarians who may choose to remain outside. That, as I see it, is our task during the next 20 years. We have barely started. Yet I believe the time has come when we must and will launch this enterprise on a global scale.

One of my reasons for being, at last, optimistic, is the Suez Canal crisis. This crisis has done two things. It has put law—international law—into the headlines. It has had statesmen scratching their heads and wagging their tongues and generally fussing and fuming about international law as they have not fussed and fumed in a generation. The Suez crisis has had that blessed consequence—God be praised. And it has had another consequence—it has shown up glaringly how uncertain and inadequate international law is.

Anyone who was not in London and Paris soon after Nasser grabbed the canal cannot possibly know how strong were the emotions of the British and French. They were outraged. They wished to use force—the sooner the better. Their leaders and their editorial writers spoke in most outraged terms of violation of law. Yet, so far as I can learn, in those first weeks not 1 statesman nor even 1 editorial writer drew up what any lawyer could consider a serious legal indictment of Nasser. The statesmen of Britain and France, although they threw around phrases about international law, based their case instead on vital interests and had recourse to angry denunciations of Nasser as another Hitler. Emotion, national interest, and name calling took the place of solemn appeal to law.

However human this may be, this is not the West at its best. And this is not the way in which the West will achieve either unity at home within itself or the respect and trust of Asia and Africa—nations once described by Rudyard Kipling, that great poet of Pax Britannica, as "lesser breeds without the law."

My interpretation of the great role played in the Suez crisis by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is as follows:

Secretary Dulles himself was doubtful about the legal case against Nasser, and anyway he saw that the other powers were not resting their case on international law. Therefore, first of all, he discouraged the use of force in the service of national interests, and he proceeded with speed and skill to work toward a new international agreement which would be free of ambiguities, and which would provide legal and moral sanction for enforcement by economic or military means or both.

Two months later, when the powers brought their case to the United Nations, it was noteworthy that they were all making their case far more insistently in law. They did this for various reasons, sincere or insincere. But at least one reason was because Secretary Dulles' proposals pointed to a future where the legitimate interests of all nations could be sustained by international action under clear and solemn contract. Meanwhile, you will have noted that Nasser himself has repeatedly said: "I believe in international law"—and to prove it, he has conducted himself with considerable circumspection.

President Nasser is a devout Mohammedan. So there is surely written in his heart the famous words of the prophet: "One jurist is more powerful against Satan than a thousand unlearned men with their prayers." It is in that spirit that we can appeal to him, to the whole Moslem world and even to the whole of mankind.

However you look at it, the Suez crisis makes clear that there is imminent necessity for more and more international agreements clearly made and clearly enforceable. This is one reason why I believe that at last we shall embark on the surest road to peace, the road which requires ceaseless concern for justice in and between all nations, a concern recorded and registered, step by step in law.

I believe that President Eisenhower's second term will be characterized by a tremendous emphasis on the development of the law of nations in the 20th century. The greatest speech Dwight Eisenhower ever made was his address to the American Bar Association last year, on the 200th anniversary of Chief Justice John Marshall. Therein he testified to the supreme importance which he gives to the law in the life of the United States and to justice as the guide of foreign policy. I quote a few key sentences:

1. The President said: "Our Nation is ranged with those who seek attainment of human goals through a government of laws. Those laws are rooted in moral law, reflecting a religious faith that man is created in the image of God."

2. "Eagerness to avoid war can produce * * * agreement that injustices and wrongs of the present shall be perpetuated in the future. We must not participate in any false agreement."

3. "We must be tolerant but not complacent. We must be quick to understand another's viewpoint. But we must never agree to injustice * * * well knowing that if we accept destruction of the principles of justice for all we cannot longer claim justice for ourselves."

A valid criticism of Americans in their attitude to world affairs runs like this: We Americans are much too idealistic and moralistic in our approach to world problems. Then, when idealism or moralism does not produce quick results, we fall back on reliance on armaments and all-out war. We oscillate between reliance on "H" for H-bombs and "I" for idealism.

An emphasis on law can give stability both to our emotions and to our policy. We ought not to spend $35 billion a year just to prepare for world war III; that gigantic force should also be felt as a force behind the promotion of and the defense of law—every day, from season to season, year after year. The law is the indispensable vehicle of both idealism and national interest.

Once again to quote Hocking: We must achieve a vision of the law as that which "transforms the impact of naked power from common threat to common resource." But not even the President of the United States will be able to raise the banner of the law for all to see and to follow—unless the lawyers of America are wholeheartedly with him in this cause. It is extraordinary that in the United States of America, which owed its founding so much to lawyers, and which has been so largely ruled by lawyers—it is extraordinary that in this crisis decade, the legal profession as a profession has played so small a part in the great effort for peace.

Now, however, it seems clear that in the last few years the lawyers of America and of other nations have become aroused to the cosmic demands upon their vocation. A most dramatic instance of this awakening was the meeting in Athens a year ago when jurists from 49 countries produced the Act of Athens. (You have it in front of you tonight.) What a ringing declaration it is. And how profoundly encouraging it is that jurists from 49 countries can speak the same precious language of liberty under law. The Chief Justice of the United States referred to the Act of Athens in his powerful statement asserting the vital relation of law and peace. And then you saw him this summer make a tour of India—which I would say is symbolically the most important act of international relations that one man could perform in this stage of the world crisis.

More happened in 1956. Throughout this country, bar associations held special seminars on international law. An important guest of many of these meetings was Leonard C. Meeker, of the Department of State. With cautious optimism he asserted that our present era may prove to be an era of creative development in international law "as exciting and dramatic as the era when the law of England was emerging in the later Middle Ages or in the time when American law was emerging in the early days of the frontier."

That, I think, is true. That is our great hope. Indeed, I believe that the next 10 years will see the greatest development of law in the history of human society.

When the President of the United States faces anew the immense problems of human life on earth, and when he finds, as I believe he will and must, that the essence of the challenge is to build a lawful world, then I think he will also find that the lawyers of America are ready to put their skills, their intellect, and, above all, their hearts into this task. Thus, it will be demonstrated once again that the learned profession of the law is worthy of honor and gratitude.

I come to you as a layman urging this mission upon you. If you will give us the lead, we will follow.

The legal profession is far more than an occupation. It is, in the religious sense, a vocation. The legal profession is far more even than a pillar of society. In our tradition, lawyers are the architects of society, building and rebuilding on the shifting sands of time the temple of the dignity of man.

Case and Industries Plan for Nuclear Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the amount of planning being carried on by private industry into the potential uses, for civilians, of nuclear energy is impressive. We of the Congress ought to do what we can to encourage such planning, for the question of Federal versus private control of the facilities for serving civilians in the future is an important one in our political system.

In this connection, I am proud to note that studies to determine the feasibility of establishing a nuclear research and development center in Cleveland are underway at the Case Institute of Technology with the cooperation of several northern Ohio industrial companies.

This noted institute, and the companies, all of which are well-known in Ohio, and in fact throughout the Nation, are to be congratulated on this forward step. We wish them every success in their planning.

I should like to include an article from the Clevelander with reference to the above:

CASE AND INDUSTRIES PLAN FOR NUCLEAR RESEARCH

Studies to determine the feasibility of establishing a nuclear research and development center in Cleveland now are underway at Case Institute of Technology, with the cooperation of several northern Ohio industrial firms.

The intention is to plan a center to serve the special needs of both Case and northern Ohio industry. It would be used to train nuclear engineers and scientists as well as for industrial research, development, and testing.

Firms participating in the study phase of the project include Republic Steel Corp., Thompson Products, Inc., Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co., the Austin Co., and Standard Oil Company of Ohio, according to Dr. T. Keith Glennan, president of Case Institute.

Dr. Glennan, who was a member of the Atomic Energy Commission in 1950 and 1951, said other Ohio firms interested in utilizing atomic energy or its by-products and techniques in their industrial operations, are expected to take an interest in the nuclear center project.

These include firms in the fields of public utilities, mining, steel, aluminum, cement, chemical, oil, paint, automotive, aviation, electronic, rubber, instrument and general manufacturing industries, which are all heavily represented in the northern Ohio area.

Facilities at the nuclear center would include a reactor of approximately 10 megawatt capacity. Supporting facilities would include hot laboratories, hot caves, a counting room, gamma irradiation equipment, a neutron spectrometer, isotope preparation equipment and other laboratory and office space.

Director of the Case nuclear study group is W. W. Steel, who came to Case from Pasadena, Calif., where he directed the research and development work of the Pasadena, Calif., laboratory of the United States Naval Ordnance Test Station.

He previously had been manager of Douglas Enterprises, Inc., in Arizona and an instructor in marine engineering at the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md. A native of Cleveland and a 1940 graduate of Case, Mr. Steel also received a master's degree at Case and also did graduate work in industrial management at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

ISOTOPES IN USE

Mr. Steel says that industry already has made effective use of radioactive isotopes in hundreds of instances involving tracer techniques, irradiation of materials and use of isotopes in control mechanisms, thickness gages, and static neutralizers.

Cleveland companies, in addition to Republic Steel Corp. and Thompson Products, Inc., already using isotopes or radiation techniques in research or production, according to the Atomic Energy Commission, include: Atomic Energy for Industry, Inc., Clevite, Joseph Harsch Foundry, Harshaw Chemical, James H. Herron, Warner & Swasey, Bailey Meter, Designers for Industry, Dial Service & Manufacturing, Victoreen Instrument, Cleveland Industrial Research, Diamond Alkali, General Electric, Harris-Seybold, Horizons, Inc., and National Carbon.

The present and anticipated dimensions of peacetime nuclear industry, Mr. Steel believes, are so great that almost every segment of industry can expect some impact from this new technology.

Facilities for training as well as for nuclear research, development, and test are very expensive—so expensive, in fact, that very few industrial companies or privately endowed universities are able to afford them for their own exclusive use.

Preliminary studies on the nuclear center project were initiated by members of the Case faculty and an industry advisory group composed of men with extensive nuclear experience from various northern Ohio firms. This group included: Harry L. Browne, manager of nuclear projects, Thompson Products, chairman; Dr. C. E. Larson, vice president-research, National Carbon Co. division, Union Carbide & Carbon Co. and formerly Director of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory; Dr. R. G. Bauman, B. F. Goodrich Co., Neil J. Carothers, assistant to the president; the Albert M. Higley Co., Dr. Robert P. Petersen, director of Nuclear Research, Republic Steel Corp., and Clarence A. Dauber, director of civil and mechanical engineering, Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co.

The nuclear study group and others who have been engaged on the project have concentrated on determining the kind of reactor and laboratory facilities needed, location of a satisfactory site, the corporate structure, and means of financing.

They have been working with and getting advice and information from individuals at AEC owned and operated facilities, reactor designers, and fabricators, nuclear research laboratories, universities and colleges, northern Ohio industrialists, and the Case staff.

The Case staff over the years already had been active in the nuclear field in a variety of ways, including:

The research program in nuclear physics which had centered around a betatron built with Case funds and subsequently partially supported by an AEC contract.

The graduate program in nuclear physics in which more than 50 advanced degrees have been awarded since 1949.

Courses of instruction in nuclear engineering and nuclear chemistry in the mechanical engineering and chemistry departments.

The service of the Case staff in many positions of responsibility such as: Dr. Glennan, Prof. R. S. Shankland, who served as technical director of the material testing reactor during the summer of 1955; and Dean Elmer Hutchisson, who was a member of the Committee on Industrial Information of the AEC.

Israel Will Strengthen Rather Than Weaken Her Position by Withdrawing Her Troops

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 22, 1957:

RISKS BEFORE ISRAEL

Israel's refusal to heed the appeals for withdrawal of her troops is profoundly disappointing to her friends and damaging to her world position. Whether or not she finally complies with the United Nations resolution, her further delay is a very risky business. The fact that Prime Minister Ben-Gurion has dispatched Ambassador Eban back to Washington for new discussions indicates at least that the Government has taken President Eisenhower's plea seriously. But there is little room or time for bargaining. Sympathy for Israel will rapidly evaporate if she deliberately invites U. N. condemnation.

Mr. Eisenhower, in fact, made an extraordinary appeal which took a good deal of courage after the expressions in Congress against sanctions. He did not mention sanctions, but he did make clear his belief that the U. N. must be upheld in spite of its failures elsewhere. Any other course would pave the way for disintegration.

Moral condemnation itself could be very injurious, as the Russians have found in the pariah status which they occupy. Israeli and Russian defiance are not to be compared, but Israel, which is a child of the United Nations, has a special responsibility to be an exemplar. Even short of governmental action, a shift of opinion among Americans could quickly dry up many of the private funds upon which the Israeli economy is so dependent.

Yet Mr. Eisenhower also reiterated the American assurances to Israel about as positively as they could be put. He restated the promise about freedom of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba. He reasserted the intent to insure that the U. N. emergency force insulates the Gaza Strip against hostilities. He added that the United States would press for United Nations participation in administration of Gaza—a step that would complement Israeli offers to resettle some of the Arab refugees within Israel. For the first time, he placed the United States on record as insisting that any discrimination by Egypt against Israeli shipping in the Suez Canal after the waterway is reopened "be dealt with firmly by the society of nations."

The President also went a long way to recognize that the world community has been at fault for not paying attention to the considerations of justice that must accompany efforts to stabilize peace in the Near East. He gave welcome assurance to Britain and France that the world has a heavy obligation to see to it that they do not suffer as a result of their compliance with the U. N.—something that is threatened by the Israeli intransigeance.

Some Israeli misgivings over the role of the United States are understandable in light of the indifference and pussyfooting of the past about issues in the Near East. But Mr. Eisenhower's speech—indeed, the position of the administration generally in the current crisis—displayed the kind of positive leadership in foreign policy that sometimes has

been so lamentably absent. Even political opponents acknowledge that the administration's efforts in this situation have shown statesmanship of a high order.

This country has given what amounts to a solemn pledge that it will undertake to see that Israeli rights are protected in the United Nations and elsewhere. Israel cannot expect more, and if she cannot rely on the good faith of the United States, then she has no outside reliance of any kind. Surely the Ben-Gurion government cannot have become so insular and military minded as fatalistically to ignore the warnings (some from its own representatives) that a stand against the world can bring Israel only isolation and dismay.

Censorship Curtain Lowered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is my belief that the American people have a right to know the facts behind peace treaties as well as international covenants and conventions. In that connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Thomas L. Stokes which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of February 14, 1957:

CENSORSHIP CURTAIN LOWERED
(By Thomas L. Stokes)

The ideal of "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at" was expressed by Woodrow Wilson during the first month of the Conference of Versailles that met outside of Paris after the First World War to arrange the peace.

That was a splendid objective—to let the people of the world know what the diplomats were up to. He was frustrated in that, even as he was frustrated later by the United States Senate when that body defeated the League of Nations embodied in the Treaty of Versailles. For we learned gradually in the years following Versailles about all sorts of secret treaties among our allies, Britain, France, and Italy, rearranging the map of Europe.

During the interlude between the First and Second World Wars, idealists in our country started sporadic movements to let the people know about foreign policy. Once again we heard open covenants, openly arrived at as the Wilson injunction came to be boiled down.

Then came the Second World War, and with it various conferences among us and our allies, some of them during the war, as at Quebec and Cairo and Teheran and Yalta, and some after the war. Again the curtain was discreetly lowered and we have been learning in the years since about this and that secret agreement.

Then came the cold war with Russia. The screen of secrecy not only was drawn over many of our dealings with our allies, in order that Soviet Russia should not know what we were up to; but Russia pulled down across Middle Europe what Winston Churchill called the Iron Curtain between herself and the west, so that as little as possible could get in or out.

Meanwhile there was another development about which the greatest secrecy was kept, both on our side of the Iron Curtain and on Russia's—the atom bomb and its successors, including the hydrogen bomb.

Because of the potency of this awful weapon and because everything about it must be kept secret, only a few people in the world—a veritable handful wielding executive power—control it and make the decisions about it. Never was the fate of so many millions in the hands of so few.

All other secrecy in the history of the world pales beside that, and so does all other power ever entrusted to rulers over their people.

We can't think too much about that because there's nothing much we can do about it. We are mute prisoners of our own scientific brains. Against that mysterious and awesome background, however, the quarrels among nations, which sometimes seem so puny and petty, still go on, such as in the newest area of tense controversy, the Middle East.

Again we observe something that is not new, but it bursts upon you afresh every now and then.

This is the realization, all over again, of how we are kept in the dark, even people of a great democracy such as ours. It impresses the newspaper reporter in a very simple way in his routine work. It is symbolized in the single word, "deleted."

For example, as we thumb through the volume containing the recent testimony about President Eisenhower's Middle East doctrine before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee we come upon that which was in executive, or secret, session. That is now made public.

But it is all tracked up with the trail of the censor. Forty-one times in the 2 days of testimony in executive session by Secretary of State Dulles, you come upon the word "deleted" to indicate something that was censored. In the testimony of Adm. Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, you find the word "deleted" 68 times.

What did they reveal to the Senators? Was it something the American people ought to know? From the context you can infer the subjects—Russian activity in the Middle East, the amount of money we are spending there now, and the amount that is likely to be spent, and so on.

But beyond that we'll probably never know. All that we do know for sure is that we are called upon to place great trust in the President and Secretary Dulles and our Senators.

We are in time 38 years away from that January 8, 1919, when Woodrow Wilson spoke of "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at," and we should be moving forward. But, instead, we are really way back beyond that and seemingly still going backward, back toward the Dark Ages, when rulers told people nothing.

Catholic Press Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, as February draws to a close, I am happy to note that this month has been celebrated all across the country as Catholic Press Month.

As a regular reader of the Catholic Courier-Journal, the diocesan publication printed in Rochester, N. Y., I can testify at first hand to the fine work being done by our Catholic press. The Courier-Journal, which ranks high among newspapers of this type, consistently supplies complete, accurate, and readable news of particular interest to the Catholic reader. Its editor, Msg. John S. Randall, deserves praise for the way in which he has put into practice high standards of morality and journalism.

Mr. Speaker, the Catholic publications in this country are filling a vital need for an important segment of our population. I am delighted to have this opportunity to salute this significant branch of America's fourth estate, and to voice my confidence that the Catholic press of this Nation will continue to dispense its high caliber journalism.

The Best Guide to the Road of the Future Is the Knowledge of the Road of the Past

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Chester D. Tripp in Economic Trend Line Studies:

THE BEST GUIDE TO THE ROAD OF THE FUTURE IS THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE ROAD OF THE PAST
(By Chester D. Tripp)

If one will use the annals of history, one cannot help but be impressed by the great amount of human misery that has always existed and still exists and, at the same time, the occasional spurts in social organization that have developed relatively great, efficent, and constructive empires, empires which without exception have risen to spectacular heights and then disappeared. This is really a rather strange phenomenon. It would seem at first thought as though progress should be more accumulative, that it would be fairly easy to pass on from one generation to the next the accumulated culture, legal systems, and so on, that certain men at certain times have been able to develop.

One conspicuous example of this is to trace the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. It started from next to nothing 250 years B. C., and was cracking at the seams 250 A. D. During this period it devised a legal system that still has the respect of the world, a transportation system the remains of which still mark the known world of that time, a sanitary system that was far more complete and represented better engineering than present-day systems even in the same area and, above all, it developed a sense of human dignity and justice which has at least contributed much to the same categories at the present time.

The question comes up, Why this burst of accomplishment that lasted three times longer than the present history of the United States and then was engulfed by that great period of the Dark Ages that lasted at least equally as long?

You can only come to one outstanding conclusion and that is that the stupidity, selfishness, and ignorance of the population and its rulers brought on the collapse. So complete was the destruction that by the time the Dark Ages came to an end even the intellectuals of Europe hardly knew

there had been a Roman Empire and its accomplishments had to be picked up and reconstructed again. War, pestilence, misguided efforts toward defense, unbearable taxation, and national extravagance, in broad strokes, tells the whole story. Literally, the Roman Empire tore itself to pieces through the unwarranted demands of the population, the weakness and demagoguery of its rulers and the enormous burden of expense in defense programs against the so-called barbarians of what is now Far Eastern Europe, a location that is somewhat reminiscent of the present day.

The empire was slowly forced, or at least it thought it was forced, into a defense effort that by degrees developed a veteran class of such proportions that they became a political block who could not be gainsaid. To support this effort, taxation was raised to such a point that at least in the colonies, the areas like North Africa and Asia Minor which were the breadbaskets of the empire, simply disintegrated and an agricultural relief problem presented itself which again was of such proportions that its political influence was enormous. Then, in order to stem the tide of manmade difficulties, a soak-the-rich policy was developed which paid for a few years but, in the long run, increased the devastation and subsequently eliminated the middle classes which had been so important in creating the empire.

The late Dr. Rustovtzeff some years before his death wrote on the economics of the Roman empire and his conclusion was pretty much to the effect that, between the unruly masses and demagogic politicians and the elimination of real statesmen, the whole structure with all its accomplishments simply fell apart.

The world today thinks its only solution is a stupendous defense program. The brass in every country clamors for bigger and better weapons and contending politicians add their efforts. At the same time, another political block is gravely concerned about the housing situation. All of this has been subsidized for years but they would like to give it more subsidy. This effort is supported by groups of contractors and builders who, in my opinion, are trying to get their share of the pie regardless of the broad social consequences. Group after group would like handouts or concessions or benefits often expressing the view that, other groups are getting theirs, why shouldn't they try it. We are in a period today when, if you have the political backing and the proper number of votes, you can demand almost anything and have a fair chance of getting it.

This is well illustrated by the wage spiral that we have been facing. No one labor leader is sure of his job unless he can equal or outdo the accomplishments and promises of the others in his group and then the irony of the situation is that some of these leaders call for a congressional investigation as to high prices and the threat of inflation, while everybody should know, or does know, that something over 80 percent of all wage increases finally merges into the cost of production.

At just this juncture, there are a few things that should be seriously pondered unless we are perfectly willing to go into an inflation that might terminate our own social experiment in government. We might mention a few of them.

We have enjoyed quite a boom that has taken advantage of the shortages produced by two wars and, by unbelievable extravagances, is trying to avoid a third. The result of this intense activity has reduced the liquidity of American industry to a point comparable with 1932, and still the pressure is on for bigger undertakings and bigger expenditures.

Of course, we could use more housing and a comprehensive road system would be a good thing. There is much poverty that might be alleviated and there are many adjustments that, at first thought, money could fix. But this was all true in the days of ancient Rome, and will probably be true hundreds of years from now. The thing to keep in mind is that the dislocation produced, by such expectations, could now generate another Dark Age in which good roads disappeared from the face of the earth, where no houses were built except of mud, and where the only stone quarries that were worked were actually from the destruction of the ancient palaces of the day that had disappeared.

Secretary Humphreys was dead right in his recent remark that, if we did not stop this spending, we could generate a depression which would curl our hair. What we need is a slight letdown in business that would reduce the debt of the individual and the country and, after we get our breaths, slowly go ahead to better things. It is certainly a truism that the miseries that humanity has always faced are largely the result of its own foolishness, and there is nothing in the natural law that will change this situation. Unless we can handle our affairs by some sound intellectual processes, extravagances whether in defense or housing can cause a collapse on the inside that could be a most unexpected divergent from the objectives that we had in mind.

One interesting fallacy of the day I hear in many quarters is; namely, that we are the victims of a tight-money policy engineered by the Federal Reserve bank. Nothing could be further from the facts. We are experiencing money congestion not on account of any bank but as a result of the activities of 168 million people.

How Long Can They Stand It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LeROY H. ANDERSON
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 11, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON of Montana. Mr. Speaker, how long can the farmers of America stand the assault of economic pressure which is being used against them? A few days ago in the House I challenged the policies of the Secretary of Agriculture, whose claim is that the farm prices were 5 percent higher than a year ago.

PRICES DOWN, COSTS UP

It was announced by the United States Department of Agriculture, as of February 28, that prices received by farmers for crops and livestock fell another 2 percent for the month ended February 15, while, meanwhile, the cost of production and living supplies purchased by farmers rose nearly 1 percent during the month.

Agriculture now is taking a large share of the brunt of this perilous course of action which day by day is getting worse. How long can these 22 million people on American farms keep going? We need a courageous course of action by the policymaking people in the administration, not the slow whittling-down plan which could lead to the serfdom of our rural people. I stress again that a change in policy direction be made, and made soon. The United States Department of Labor only 1 week ago announced living costs for the fifth consecutive month had scored another record high.

Mr. Speaker, how long can the rest of America survive this?

Addresses of Hon. Clinton P. Anderson, of New Mexico, and Hon. Chet Holifield, of California, Before AFL–CIO Conference on Atomic Radiation Hazards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD, two addresses made yesterday by two of my distinguished colleagues on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, as delivered before the AFL–CIO Conference on Atomic Radiation Hazards, held here in Washington, D. C. This has been a very important and worthwhile AFL–CIO conference, and I believe that both of these addresses were also significant, both in their content and their thoughtfulness.

The first of these addresses was by the distinguished vice chairman of the joint committee, Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico. In his address, Senator ANDERSON discussed the problems in atomic-energy development, both in terms of domestic events and the international market.

The second address was by my distinguished colleague from California, Mr. HOLIFIELD, who has ably served his country both as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and also as chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Applications of the House Committee on Government Operations. In this address, Representative HOLIFIELD discussed the civil-defense problems facing our country in these perilous days of uneasy world tensions, the guided missile, and the atomic and hydrogen bombs.

I believe that both these addresses are worthy of study and reflection by every Member of Congress, as well as by the American people:

PROBLEMS IN ATOMIC ENERGY DEVELOPMENT

(Address of Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, Vice Chairman, Joint Committe on Atomic Energy, before the AFL–CIO Conference on Atomic Radiation Hazards, Washington, D. C.)

The topic assigned to me this noon is: "Problems in Atomic Energy Development." If I did a full-scale job, you would have to invoke cloture on me—and let's hope your chairman's gavel would work better than Senate rule 22—because, believe me, there are plenty of problems in the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy in this country. In fact, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy is near the end of 2 weeks of public hearings designed to explore current problems in atomic-energy development. The committe has heard from many well-qualified witnesses, including an excellent statement by my long-time friend, Andy Biemiller, of the AFL–CIO.

I will discuss problems in atomic-energy development on several levels. Each can have little more than a lick and a promise, but the levels are: First, some special problems in the AEC reactor licensing program because that subject is closely tied up with the subject of your conference, "Atomic Radiation Hazards"; second, some technical and other problems appearing in our domestic atomic-power program; third, the development of reactors for uses other than generating electric power; fourth, the international market for reactors; fifth, a legislative program to help overcome some of these problems; and sixth, a few words about labor's stake in the atomic-energy program as an introduction to the program for tomorrow noon.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN THE AEC REACTOR LICENSING PROGRAM

As you know, the 1954 act was intended to open the doors to facilitate rapid development of the atom by allowing private industry, for the first time, to possess nuclear fuels and to build privately owned nuclear reactors. However, the act also required that in order to obtain these materials or to construct and operate a reactor, one must obtain a construction permit or a license from the AEC.

This system of requiring licenses before permitting possession of nuclear fuels or construction of nuclear facilities was enacted by the Congress because of two main reasons:

First, in the interest of national defense and security, the Government has retained title to the nuclear fuel, in order to facilitate accounting and control—since the nuclear material may be used for weapons as well as for peaceful purposes. We need to know who has it and where it is.

Second, because of the radioactive hazards involved, the Government, in the interests of protecting the public health and safety, must carefully consider each application to possess nuclear fuel or build a reactor, and the AEC must make the determinations required by the act concerning safety before granting the construction permit or license.

Thus under the present procedures the entire atomic-energy industry in this country must grow up under this AEC licensing system—since one needs a license or a construction permit to go ahead.

Now for a brief glance at the problems that developed under this AEC reactor licensing procedure.

As the AEC began the program, in 1955 and 1956, it followed uniformly the procedure of granting the construction permit or license without any prior notice to the public or without holding a public hearing. Thus the AEC granted construction permits for three large power reactors near New York, Chicago, and Detroit, without giving any advance information to the public as to the health and safety factors involved, or the AEC's hazard analysis of the proposed reactor.

In one case, for construction of the fast breeder power reactor near Monroe, Mich., there had been an unfavorable report by the Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards which the AEC did not make public. In that case, there was no valid reason to protect the people from the truth, and so, as many of you know, after the AEC issued the construction permit, three labor unions and other parties intervened, and requested a public hearing. I stated then, and I repeat now, that the AFL–CIO unions in obtaining a public hearing on this construction permit are rendering a valuable public service.

This public hearing—the first ever held by the AEC on an application for a reactor license—is now in progress and is a very significant event. Because of the important health and safety questions involved in the development and construction of new reactor designs, it is advisable that the public obtain full information in this field and that the AEC make maximum information on proposed reactors available to the public. These purposes can perhaps best be accomplished by means of a full and open public hearing.

The method in which AEC issues its reactor licenses, and the amount of information it makes public, are important because they are two of the keys to the safe and orderly development of atomic energy in this country.

Prior to the requests for public hearing in the Monroe, Mich., reactor case, I had directed the staff of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy to undertake an investigation and study of AEC reactor licensing and construction permit procedures. On August 9, 1956, I wrote the chairman of the AEC, informing him that I was directing the staff of the joint committee to study three suggestions of fields in which the joint committee might wish to take corrective action by legislation to amend the Atomic Energy Act.

First, to require public hearings on all applications for construction permits or for facility licenses.

Second, to require that the AEC make public reports on the safety of all proposed reactors before issuing a construction permit or facility license.

Third, to separate the licensing and regulatory functions of the AEC from its other functions.

Accordingly the staff of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy therefore undertook a detailed study of AEC licensing procedures and organization and also a study of the procedures and organizations of certain other Federal agencies in order to obtain comparative ideas. This staff study has now been underway for about 6 months and the report is due soon. It will be made public.

While the staff study was in process the AEC changed its procedures significantly. In late December 1956 for the first time it announced ahead of time that it was intending to issue a construction permit for a small research reactor unless a request for a hearing should be received within 15 days. At the same time it made public a fairly detailed memorandum discussing the reactor in technical terms, including an extensive section as to reactor hazard analysis, even though this was a small research reactor of proven design. In addition to these changes concerning procedures and safety reports, the AEC has also indicated that it is considering some form of internal reorganization to separate its licensing functions from other functions of the AEC.

I have looked over a preliminary draft of the staff study on the questions of required public hearings, required public reports on reactor safety, and the separation of the licensing and regulatory functions of the AEC. I intend to discuss the whole subject with my colleagues on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. I hope we will have some legislative proposals in this field.

So much for the problems in the AEC reactor licensing program.

I turn now to the second major group of problems which I would like to discuss: the technical and other problems in the development of domestic atomic power reactors in this country.

TECHNICAL PROBLEMS

Now, as to the domestic situation and the technical aspects of the development of atomic power in this country, I should say right away that some progress is being made.

Out at the Argonne National Laboratory earlier this month, members of the Joint Committee had the pleasure of attending the official opening of the EBWR—the Experimental Boiling Water Reactor. This was a memorable occasion because the EBWR is the first real atomic powerplant in this country. Although the AEC first generated "juice" back in 1951, the new EBWR plant is the first atomic reactor designed specifically for the generation of electricity. It is the heart of a powerplant designed to produce 20,000 kilowatts of heat and 5,000 kilowatts of electricity, and represents a significant stride forward.

Next fall the 60,000 kilowatt Pressurized Water Reactor now under construction at Shippingport, Pa., is scheduled to become critical—and this will be the first full-scale civilian power reactor in the United States.

Meanwhile the General Electric Co. has been making good progress with construction of its 5,000-kilowatt boiling-water reactor at Vallecitos, Calif., and that reactor also is scheduled to commence operation next fall.

On the bright side of the picture also should be mentioned the career of the *Nautilus* which has just gone into drydock for refueling after completing over 60,000 miles—its 20,000 leagues under the sea—on its first core without refueling.

Another bright star in our atomic progress has been the tremendous growth in the beneficial uses found for radioactive isotopes.

Originally considered a byproduct in our atomic program, radioisotopes have progressed to the point where they can now be accurately heralded as our "first peaceful dividend from United States atomic investment"—the phrase used by the AEC in the testimony submitted last week to our congressional committee.

Radioisotopes have brought huge dollar savings to industry in thickness and density gaging, industrial radiography, and research, and applied industrial tracing. By developing new techniques and new products, radioisotopes are saving our United States industrial concerns close to $400 million annually—and last Monday Dr. Libby said that in 1958 or 1959 that figure would reach $1 billion each year.

Radioisotopes have brought additional blessings, in the extension of human life and the relief of suffering, and in plant treatment. These applications in medicine and agriculture cannot be measured in dollars.

These are truly satisfying advancements, all made realities by help from man's newest—and smallest—ally: the atom. These are a few of the bright spots in the overall program to seek economic nuclear power in this country. Let us now look at the other side of the coin and scan the many problems that beset those working in this field.

Practically all of the projects now actually under construction are encountering unforseen engineering and technical problems which are slowing schedules and raising cost estimates. Let us run through the list of just a few of the projects—public and private—which are running into tough sledding.

First, the Oak Ridge homogeneous reactor work received a setback last fall when chloride contamination was discovered in the leak-detector system. Although the defect was nonnuclear in nature, it was necessary to stop all pre-operational testing, and the startup of that reactor has been indefinitely postponed. (As an aside, it is interesting to note that many of the technical problems causing delay—in fact almost all of them—involve construction of nonnuclear components, as compared with nuclear components.)

In addition to the Oak Ridge work, experiments on homogeneous reactors were also being conducted at Los Alamos, but these encountered repeated heat exchanger leaks.

Similarly the North American Aviation Co. has run into constant delays and increased costs in the sodium reactor experiment work at Santa Suzanna, Calif.

At Argonne the EBR–2 schedule has dropped behind the original plans and expectations.

And, of course, there is the celebrated case of the second atomic submarine, the *Sea*

Wolf, which developed leaks in its sodium superheater system. These leaks were potentially hazardous because the reactor utilizes liquid sodium as a coolant, and sodium reacts violently if it comes into contact with water.

In addition to the setbacks in the Government program, private and semiprivate reactor construction groups are finding unwanted technical problems which give the tasks a two-way stretch—the completion date will be later and the cost will be higher. Thus the Yankee Atomic Electric Group, the Consolidated Edison, and the Consumers Public Power Group of Nebraska, and possibly others, have run into increased costs and difficult technical problems as development and design become more concrete, even though major construction work has not yet even begun on those reactors. In some cases it appears the costs will be increased as much as 30 to 40 percent above the original estimates.

Another significant straw in the wind is the recently published result of the atomic industrial forum's poll of persons and companies active in atomic-energy development, asking them to name problems slowing progress. The No. 1 obstacle was listed as "lack of economic incentive."

Also a whole morning session of the recent American Management Association meeting on atomic energy was devoted to the problem of economic incentive. This problem also has been mentioned time and time again in the current section 202 hearings before our committee.

Just last week the joint committee received two very significant letters.

One letter described increased costs at the Shippingport project. Total estimated costs are now increased from $37,500,000 to $55 million, and still not definitely fixed, of course. As Commissioner Murray said in his testimony before our committee last week, it takes a bold man to estimate the cost of electricity from Shippingport—our first full-scale atomic power plant—in mills per kilowatt hour.

The other letter we received last week described the preliminary work being done by the Consolidated Edison Co. on its reactor to be constructed at Indian Point, N. Y. This letter concluded by saying that the estimated total cost had now been revised upward from $55 million to $70 million.

The Consolidated Edison Co. is sincerely interested in building the atomic power plant it has undertaken. The letter indicates it intends to shoulder its increased burden, and do so cheerfully. I would praise the company and its officers. But the realities of increased costs are there. They cannot be ignored.

Let me emphasize one point: These plants are pioneers. They are the first of a handful of full-scale atomic powerplants. More will follow. In time costs will go down.

As surely as we have mass-produced automobiles, machine tools, and TV sets—and as surely as we have doubled our electrical generating capacities every 10 years in this country—someday we surely shall produce atomic-power reactors and components in volume. Of that I am sure. American industry and labor, working together, will achieve for us that goal. Someday we shall have safe, cheap, and abundant atomic power.

The only question is: When?

These are all difficult technical and economic problems. Perhaps the AEC move in proposing larger subsidies and making them retroactive under the third-round power-demonstration program is in recognition of these problems.

There are two ways to look at this. One way would be to point out that Members of Congress have worried about these problems and sought ways to accelerate the reactor program while optimistic words and sweet promises dropped from some official lips. It would be easy to say "I told you so." A wiser course might be to say that these problems were to be anticipated and to make the best of it. A little later I shall say a few words about how to make the best of it by looking toward other reactor applications, and the international market, as well as the Government-supported accelerated reactor program.

MANPOWER PROBLEMS

Besides the difficult technical problems, certain other problems have arisen in atomic energy development. There is a shortage of scientific and technical manpower. The AEC has made commendable efforts to overcome this shortage by the use of fellowships, grants, and aids to educational institutions, and by Commission-run schools to train nuclear scientists. My colleagues on the Joint Committee, Representative MEL PRICE and Senator JOHN O. PASTORE, have recently introduced bills to provide scholarships for high-school students to enable them to pursue mathematical studies in college. This is a more long-range approach to the problem, but it should bear fruit at some day in the future.

Another way of solving the manpower shortage, in my opinion, is to make better use of our existing labor force. Possibly there are jobs which have been labeled "graduate engineer" which a competent and trained nongraduate could well perform if given a chance. I urge, therefore, that the Atomic Energy Commission and companies doing work in atomic energy development, carefully consider their job-classification methods and make an effort to utilize our existing personnel to better effect.

INDEMNITY PROBLEM

Another significant problem in atomic energy development has been the indemnity insurance problem. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy studied this problem last year, and arranged a symposium discussion group and two sets of public hearings on the many legal, technical, and policy considerations involved. I have introduced legislation again this year and it is my hope that this roadblock can be substantially removed by appropriate congressional action during this session of the Congress. But the insurance companies will still have to do their part by providing insurance at rates which will not be impossible for this struggling embryo industry. We have just received proposed rates on some reactors and hope to analyze them during the current hearings.

INFORMATION PROBLEMS

Still another problem has been that of "secrecy and information." The recent AEC declassification announcement, if followed up by rigorous and effective AEC action, should go a long way toward solving this problem. Private industrial reactor development should receive a much-needed "shot in the arm" with the rapid declassification of all—and I mean all—of the reactor information not necessary to our national defense.

Thus, some of the problems in domestic atomic power development appear comparatively near to solution; others will be more difficult. Let us now look at areas other than domestic power development which hold promise for the future—namely, reactors for uses other than generating electricity, and the international market.

OTHER APPLICATIONS FOR LARGE REACTORS

Certain other applications for large reactors are receiving more attention recently—and probably should receive still more attention. Thus, reactors can be utilized for making process steam and the steam can be put to work in many industrial applications. Or the heat from atomic reactors can be used for space heating, to heat large factories or office buildings. Out in Hanford, Wash., the Columbia River has been used for many years to cool the large plutonium-producing reactors there. And the Columbia River does a good job, draining millions and millions of B. t. u.'s away from these reactors each day. In one of the newer Hanford reactors this heat instead of being drained away has been utilized to heat the building. Perhaps this approach could be used in large suburban housing areas.

Reactors for making processed steam or for space heating can operate at lower pressures and temperatures and have less troublesome materials requirements than power reactors. Perhaps many of the technical breakthroughs and economic applications can first be found in those applications.

Atomic reactors will be used to drive ships. Besides the Navy program, economic merchant marine application would not seem to be far distant. Last year Congress authorized construction of the first nuclear-powered merchant ship. The AEC and the Maritime Administration are now going ahead with plans for this ship, and the type that they have chosen is a combination dry-cargo passenger vessel.

In my opinion, the type of ship which holds the most promise for future development is a nuclear-powered oil tanker. An oil tanker combines long trade routes and fast loading time with national defense requirements and a growing commercial market. Many other countries are exploring the possibilities of atomic-powered oil tankers, and I hope that we shall maintain aggressive efforts along these lines because here again the economic market may soon create valuable purchase orders for American industry and our working force.

Thus, although problems develop in the domestic atomic power field, economic applications may soon be found in other fields.

INTERNATIONAL MARKET FOR ATOMIC REACTORS

Now let us take a look at the international market for atomic reactors and see whether our American industry can receive a shot in the arm by receiving orders from other countries.

We have recently had a visit here in Washington by three distinguished European industrial leaders who are called the "Three Wise Men." One is an Italian, one a Frenchman, and one a German, but they speak of themselves as Europeans and they are working together in laying plans for EURATOM, which is a six-nation European plan for the development of atomic energy. These six nations—Germany, France, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg—have set for themselves an ambitious program. They are currently importing, at high prices, 25 percent of their fuels. The coal figure is 100 million tons per year and they are willing to increase this to 160 million tons but they hope to hold it at that figure. To do this they hope to have an installed capacity of three million kilowatts of atomic power by 1963, and to increase this amount by three million annually for each of the succeeding 4 years to produce a total installed atomic capacity of 15 million kilowatts by 1967.

These are indeed ambitious plans. In fact, they are much more ambitious than those which private industry is willing to undertake in this country. It means building 30 reactors the size of the proposed Detroit Edison reactor by 1963, and an additional 120 reactors of this size (100,000 kilowatts) by 1967. We should offer full cooperation—and I will explain what I mean by the word "cooperation" in a few minutes—to these European countries. Historically our economy and our ties of friendship have always been closely linked with the nations of western Europe, and it is to our enlightened self-interest to help promote their prosperity.

I hope that we will be able to persuade them to build a substantial proportion of the same general types of reactors that we are building in order to pool information on technological developments. In addition, we should be willing to assist in developing types of reactors, such as natural uranium reactors, in which they may be more inter-

ested than we. These "poor men's" reactors may prove more economical in the long run. If their urgency is greater than ours, perhaps many of the breakthroughs and developments will first come in western Europe.

By the word "cooperation" I mean "two-way street." I think that we should be liberal in making our information and our uranium available, but we are entitled to expect something in return. I believe that we should get firm commitments as to receiving complete information on technological developments which we can antiticpate will be achieved by our western European friends.

Now let us look for a moment to England where the Calder Hall plant for the generation of 45,000 kilowatts was brought into operation last October and an additional 45,000 kilowatts is coming in shortly. From the point of view of kilowatts of "juice" on the line, the British are ahead of the United States and appear also to have ambitious plans for the future.

The AEC has executed an agreement with the British to give to them all the U. S. A. information on the design and operation of the *Nautilus* and other military reactors. Will we get valuable information from the British in return? I hope so.

We are now interested in developing gas-cooled reactors—along with other types already in our program. Will the British give us full and complete information—all the details—on their Calder Hall reactors, which are gas cooled? I hope so.

I realize that during the war the British made a real contribution to our atomic program, but I am concerned with the present situation, and I hope that there will be a quid pro quo, and that we will get something back from the British. I hope that our British friends will be completely open with us in giving us information concerning technological advances made by their reactor manufacturers using the gas-cooled approach. If we are going to assist other countries in their development and defense, I think we are entitled to something in return.

Looking to other international areas, we find that Japan is sincerely interested in both research and power reactors and I hope that we will be able to develop some mutually beneficial cooperation with that country. Also several American manufacturers have already arranged for export of research reactors to South American countries and other Asian and Africán countries also offer valuable potential markets for American atomic equipment manufacturers.

Speaking of Japan, and of Britain, I would like to quote briefly from a report the joint committee received last week. This report was made by a Japanese task force of nuclear scientists and engineers who visited both our country and Britain, to see whether they should build United States of America or British-type reactors. The joint committee received a copy of the report by the Japanese task force, and here is part of it:

"While taking future developments in the United States, and so forth, into full consideration, it is advisable that the first step to be taken by our country should be to introduce a British-type power reactor, a large prototype of which has been completed and for which the technical and economic problems involved therein can easily be explained."

In other words, the Japanese team recommended the British approach because they were further along than we.

Also on the international front you will watch with interest the developments leading to the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency. This should be a step along the difficult path toward a more peaceful and stabilized world.

Thus far I have dwelt mainly on the economic realities—domestic and international—in the atomic-energy field. There are also political realities. Whether we like it or not—and I do—atomic energy has become a part of our foreign policy. We are committed on "atoms for peace" and we must make it work, not only in industrially advanced countries but also in the so-called underdeveloped nations. These nations see in atomic energy a means of bridging the gap between a backward colonial economy and a modern indusrial economy. Obviously the immediate introduction of atomic power in such countries will not be economic, in terms of having an economy and industry entirely ready to receive it. But politically they are more than ready. Moreover, we have the stern alternative: if we do not help, the Russians will.

Hence, we find ourselves with a domestic atomic equipment industry which is not making any money, and whose domestic prospects look more gloomy because of greater technical problems than its promoters would have had us believe. Moreover, we have only one operating pilot plant in operation, and one full-scale plant scheduled to commence operation next fall. In spite of this situation, it appears that Europe and the underdeveloped countries will require a great number of reactors.

Facing that situation, what are we to do about it? If we are to develop a healthy and profitable atomic industry, it appears obvious that we should attempt to capture a portion of this greatly expanding foreign market. This market can't be captured at the rate we are going. We just celebrated our first 5,000-kilowatt atomic plant 3 years behind the Russians. We hope to celebrate our first full-scale atomic power plant at Shippingport next fall, 1 year behind the British.

From then until 1960 or 1961, the United States will experience a long hiatus when no additional full-scale plants will be completed and operated, whereas the British and the Russians each have over 2 million kilowatts scheduled for operation by 1959 or 1960. Since the American plants are being constructed primarily at private risk and with private money, we have no guaranty that they will not be further postponed or abandoned entirely.

In order to capture the international market, we must have operating reactors. This conclusion is supported by a recent survey of world opinion on atomic power development by the authoritative magazine, Nucleonics. The survey indicated that although a majority of people interviewed believe that the United States is ahead in technology, a majority of foreign industrialists believe that Great Britain is ahead of the United States in industrial applications of atomic power. It is these industrialists who will be setting the policies and actually buying the reactors.

Therefore, although there are problems in the international picture which require careful and intelligent handling, the international market for atomic reactors offers great promise to the American manufacturer. Moreover, if two-way cooperation is successfully worked out, this country should receive benefits from crash programs being pushed by our friends in other countries.

A LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

In order to solve the difficult, increasing engineering and technical problems affecting current reactor construction plans, and in order to get additional American reactors on the line, I believe that a legislative program along the following lines would be of great help:

1. There should be more funds authorized and appropriated for research and development, especially in the field of power reactor technology and construction.

2. There should be an accelerated power reactor program along the lines of the committee bill introduced in the Senate in the last session of Congress by Senators GORE, JACKSON, PASTORE, and me, and by Representative HOLIFIELD in the House.

3. There should be legislation providing Government indemnity to protect the growing atomic power industry and the public, together with certain procedural requirements to assure maximum safety in the AEC reactor licensing program.

LABOR'S STAKE IN THE ATOMIC ENERGY PROGRAM

Tomorrow you will hear about labor's stake in the atomic energy program, but let me have a few words of introduction to that subject.

First, labor has a legitimate interest in plant and employee safety standards, protective devices and records kept by employers and Government concerning safety of employees working in our atomic energy industry. In this connection the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has been studying for some time the problems of radiation hazards, and hopes to have hearings on this vitally important subject sometime this spring.

Second, labor also has an interest in reactor design and construction, and safety features affecting the general public.

Third, labor, working together with industry, has a stake in helping our country achieve its proper place of leadership in the expanding market for atomic power reactors throughout the world.

Fourth, and most important, labor has, as all of us as citizens, a stake in helping develop an atomic energy industry which will be expanding and prosperous and yet will not endanger the public health and safety.

Labor, industry and Government, working together, can achieve for our country continuing world leadership in the development of the peaceful uses of the atom. As our other fuel resources dwindle, we shall have this great new force, sent to us as if from Providence, to keep our country, and our people, prosperous and at peace.

RADIATION HAZARDS AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

(Remarks by Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD of California, at the AFL–CIO conference for affiliated unions on atomic radiation hazards, Mayflower Hotel, Washintgon, D. C, February 27, 1957)

"Radiation hazards and the public interest" is a timely and appropriate subject for discussion by this conference of organized labor. It is timely and appropriate for at least three reasons.

1. The Nation stands on the threshold of a great, new atomic industry. Organized labor has a great stake in this enterprise. Many of its members now are engaged in atomic occupations, and many more will become so engaged in the future.

This is the dangerous environment of reactor technology, with its complicated shielding apparatus, radiation measuring devices, protective clothing, and sanitation measures. New work habits must be learned, new industrial disciplines observed.

2. This Nation and several other nations of the world are building and testing nuclear weapons. Bomb explosions of the nuclear kind spread radioactive dust far and wide and contaminate the atmosphere with this deadly material. Weapons testing, if carried on at an increased rate and by more nations, will generate persistent radiation hazards affecting the health of all the inhabitants of this earth.

3. This Nation and the free world must reckon with the danger of the all-out enemy attack. We hope and pray that nuclear warfare, with its sinister portent of destruction of civilized society, will never come to the world. The search for world peace must go on unendingly. And yet, in the final analysis, Americans must learn the basic lessons of survival in the nuclear age.

These lessons which, for want of a better term, we call civil defense, will not be wasted in peace. In learning about the dangers of radiation to human beings and about the

necessary measures of control, we will know better how to preserve the health and safety of the people in advancing our atomic technology.

The public interest in protection from radiation hazards associated with peacetime development of atomic energy was recognized in the Atomic Energy Act of 1954. The congressional findings set forth in that act make frequent reference to the need "to protect the health and safety of the public."

The jurisdiction of the Atomic Energy Commission over the operation of atomic facilities by private industry is grounded in part on the potential danger of interstate damage from such operation. In the congressional findings, the possibility of interstate damage "places the operation of those (atomic) facilities in interstate commerce."

How effectively the Atomic Energy Commission will exercise its regulatory authority to protect the health and safety of the American people is a matter of great interest and concern to the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. I say this as one who has been privileged to serve on that committee since it was established by law, more than a decade ago.

Speaking as a member of the joint committee, I was happy to see the labor-union challenge to the construction of an atomic plant at Lagoona Beach, Mich.; the Atomic Energy Commission's proposed licensing arrangement did not give sufficient assurance that the safety problems were fully resolved. This challenge will have a healthy effect in testing Atomic Energy Commission procedures under its new regulatory authority and in bringing greater public awareness of the safety requirements in atomic-reactor construction.

The semiannual report of the Atomic Energy Commission for July–December 1956 devotes considerable space to detailing the "radiation safety" activities of that agency. It says, among other things, that "the total record of radiation safety in atomic-energy operations is believed to be without parallel in industrial history."

While this statement may be accepted as true on its face, the industrial history of atomic energy in its peacetime applications is just beginning. As atomic technology comes out from under the wraps of official secrecy and special military applications, we can anticipate that atomic installations will no longer be relatively few in numbers and confined to secluded sites.

In the years ahead, atomic powerplants will be located throughout the country, in or near large population centers. Radiation safety measures must contend not only with the protection of laboratory and plant technicians and workers but with protection of the public against explosions or other accidents which could contaminate large areas with radioactivity.

The Atomic Energy Commission tells us in its report that for 9 years or more of operation, 99.4 percent of nearly 200,000 workers of the Commission's 32 principal contractors have averaged an exposure of less than one-third the amount of radiation allowed by strict safety standards. The Commission seems to be saying that it is 99.44 percent pure.

But the frequency of these accidents or injuries, however minor they may appear in relation to the members exposed, cannot be lightly dismissed. Mishaps occurred despite the fact that the Atomic Energy Commission, with no lack of funds or scientific and technical brains, presumably took every precaution within reason to protect its workers and to insure the success of its operations.

As the Government relaxes its hold on atomic energy development and transfers an increasing burden of responsibility to private enterprise, will it be able to enforce the high safety standards in industry that it boasts for Government-sponsored operations? Certainly this is a question for which the labor unions can help to find the right answers.

And not only the labor unions, but State and local agencies of Government concerned with the health, safety, and welfare of their people will be increasingly drawn into this new area of atomic enterprise. Labor standards, community zoning ordinances, workmen's compensation laws, indeed a wide range of governmental powers over the daily life and work of America will have to be adjusted to this new industrial art which contains within it always the deadly menace of radiation.

This menace is the more deadly because it defies the senses. It cannot be seen, heard, smelled, or tasted. It attacks the body cells and the reproduction organs. Its harmful effects may not show up for years nor always be precisely associated with the cause. And the bodily impact of radiation, whether from the natural environment, medical X-ray and fluoroscope treatment, or bomb bursts, is cumulative in nature.

I foresee the time, not too distant, when every man, woman, and child in America will carry a radiation "bankbook" in which is entered the measurable doses of radiation received. When the entries add up to a certain quantity, the "account" becomes overdrawn in terms of personal bodily health. Workers exposed to radiation hazards in atomic occupations already have their "bankbooks."

In the course of atomic energy operations for the past 13 years, 69 Americans have overdrawn their accounts. Two died; the others suffered greater or lesser injuries. Of these 28 were military personnel overexposed to fallout in the testing of nuclear weapons.

The injuries in weapons testing occurred at the Eniwetok proving ground in March 1954. According to the Atomic Energy Commission, unexpected weather conditions caused heavy radioactive fallout on 4 Pacific islands. In this same test, 23 men on a Japanese fishing boat, the *Fortunate Dragon*, were caught in the open sea by the fallout. On 3 of the island atolls, 239 Marshall Islanders were exposed.

The American military personnel, who were stationed on Rongerik Island, received 78 roentgens, the Marshall Islanders varying amounts ranging from 14 to 175 roentgens. No data are given in the Atomic Energy Commission report for the dosages received by the Japanese fishermen.

The Atomic Energy Commission, in its above-mentioned report (p. 112), comes to this optimistic conclusion: "After 2 years, residual findings were minimal for all of these exposed to this fallout accident except for four cases which showed various amounts of skin damage." This statement, like so many others of the Commission, which play down the radiation danger, conveys the impression to the lay reader that all is now well, that the victims of this fallout exposure in the Pacific proving ground are now fully recovered, except for a few cases of skin damage.

Medical science has a great deal yet to learn about radiation injury, but on one fact all seem to agree: No amount of radiation is good for the human body, and radiation effects, as I have said before, are cumulatively harmful. In that sense there is never any recovery from substantial doses of radiation.

The radioactive material which fell on the luckless inhabitants of the island atolls caused skin lesions, whole body radiation injury, and bodily intake of certain radioactive materials. I have here a study of the Marshall Islanders by a medical team of the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission. The colored pictures of skin lesions following page 32 of the study are not pretty to observe.

And while these lesions may be healed in most cases, while those who lost their hair may now have it back, we really know very little about the long-term effects of these injuries. Whether they predispose the unfortunate islanders to cancer, or cause gene mutations, cataracts, lower fertility, slower growth, or shortened life span, are possibilities upon which the medical experts can only conjecture or await future studies.

One of the significant points in the report of the medical team on the Marshall Islanders was the finding that persons who received 175 Roentgens showed more serious effects than were expected in laboratory ratings. These effects indicated that people would begin to die at a dosage of about 225 Roentgens, and that half of the exposed persons would die at 350 Roentgens.

The dosage resulting in 50 percent fatalities heretofore has been put at 450 Roentgens. The medical observers see in their data a strong argument for lowering, or at least not raising, the 450 Roentgen estimate of 50 percent mortality used in current civil-defense planning.

The report on the Marshall Islanders, while it describes the fallout pattern in the proving grounds and gives considerable detail about the consequent radiation injuries to exposed persons, does not reveal any facts about the present state of radioactivity on the islands. Persistent radiation is an important factor in civil-defense planning. I have asked Chairman Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission to supply the data on Roentgen measurements on the islands as of January 1, 1957.

The first official release of the Atomic Energy Commission on the March 1954 weapons test and resultant fallout conditions was issued in February 1955, almost a year after the event. And this release, too, was couched in language which did not begin to convey to the average reader the enormity of the threat of high-yield nuclear weapons. No mention was made of persistent radioactivity, an omission which Dr. Willard F. Libby later acknowledged before my Subcommittee on Military Operations as inadvertent. The potential genetic damage from radiation was dismissed with the casual comment that "There is a rather wide range of admissible opinion this subject".

Radiostrontium, the bone-seeking, cancer-producing radioactive substance which can linger for years, gets brief notice in the 1955 release of the Atomic Energy Commission, but the public is almost told that the dangers are so remote as to be negligible. The public is further advised that the 1950 handbook, The Effects of Atomic Weapons, is being revised and brought up to date, but we are still awaiting its publication.

Although the Atomic Energy Commission has released a considerable body of technical data, scattered in speeches of commissioners and in scientific journals, it has been grossly tardy and negligent in educating the American public in the harsh realities of nuclear weapon effects.

This tardiness and negligence is characteristic, too, of the Federal Civil Defense Administration, which has not even begun to discharge its responsibility in any meaningful sense for the protection of the American people against nuclear attack.

As my time is limited I will refer to two bills, introduced in this Congress, which deal with atomic problems. Both of these bills have been endorsed by the AFL–CIO, I am happy to say.

The first bill is H. R. 2154, the Gore-Holifield reactor development bill. This bill advocates Government construction, without further delay, of 3 or 4 large power reactors in safe areas (away from heavily populated centers). Its purpose is to maintain United States leadership in the international race to harness the atom.

Cheap energy is the basis for an increased standard of living. If we can offer the key to cheap energy to the have not nations of

the world, we will have the advantage over Communist economic penetration. It's just as simple as that. If the Soviets beat us in this race, they will be able to penetrate the so-called neutral nations first on an economic base and then on a political base.

Our fight on this bill is against a stubborn administrative position backed by the huge, privately owned utilities and machinery manufacturers, who see in this new promise of cheap energy, only the opportunity for private profit and monopoly control of our future.

The second bill is H. R. 2125, a bill to authorize an effective civil defense in the United States. The administration has refused to face the problem of protecting our people from the horror of a possible nuclear war—a war in which deadly radiation would destroy many more millions than those destroyed by the immediate bomb hits.

The key to this effective civil defense is an underground shelter system which might cost 15 to 20 billion dollars.

I say this one-time-cost is small when compared with an annual military budget of 35 to 40 billion dollars.

If a nuclear war comes and we do not have these shelters, it is estimated that 75 to 100 million people could be destroyed. We should start now to prevent the possibility of such a catastrophe.

In closing, I ask of you continued alertness—continued support of the legislation which your organizations have endorsed.

Address of Hon. Charles H. Silver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues an address delivered by the Honorable Charles H. Silver upon the occasion of the commencement exercises of Brooklyn Technical High School on January 31, 1957.

Dr. Silver is the distinguished president of the board of education of New York City. His address follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES H. SILVER, PRESIDENT, BOARD OF EDUCATION, AT COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES OF BROOKLYN TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL, JANUARY 31, 1957

There is a certain program that some of you may have seen on television. It starts by showing a news commentator seated at a desk and turning a calendar back to a celebrated date in history. Then he says: "What kind of a day was it? It was a day like any other day. And you are there." The scene changes and the past unfolds, reliving a great moment in history. There is a great deal to be learned from the past. But this is the present. This is January 31, 1957.

What kind of a day is it? It is a day unlike any other day in the last 4 years you have spent at Brooklyn Tech, and you are here, about to graduate. Now, your scene will soon change as your future unfolds.

Many who are called to speak on occasions like this will counsel you to "face the future." They will urge you to face the future fearlessly and with a smile, and that is probably very fine advice. Yet, in a deeper sense, you cannot really face the future at all, because very few of us can possibly know anything about it. That is why I feel particularly fortunate and privileged that you have honored me with your invitation to be a part of your commencement exercises. Standing where I am, I need only turn to face you, the members of the graduating class, and I and all who are in this vast audience can look upon the future, for you are the future.

This is a strange and wonderful turning point in your lives. You are shutting a door forever on a great adventure which you have shared with 5,000 other students in one of the largest and most respected high schools in the world. More than that, you are opening another door upon an even greater adventure in which will come opportunities for further study for starting upon a useful career and for coming to grips with the trials of everyday living.

You could not be better equipped for the tasks ahead. Your high-school diploma is a precious symbol of preparation for life. Hold it as a torch to light your way ahead. Hold it with pride as a mark of achievement, on this unforgettable day when you carry forth into the world all that you have gained from the great tradition of Brooklyn Tech, from its remarkable faculty and that most gifted of men, your principal, William Pabst.

Even in the short while I have been among you, I have already felt a stirring awareness of the special atmosphere of this very special school. You could not have enjoyed a 4-year stay at Brooklyn Tech without absorbing something of its greatness. This school has a soul—and it will always be part of your own souls wherever the patterns of your destiny may take you.

When I say that your school has a soul, I do not mean just the heritage of its glorious history. Brooklyn Tech is more than history, more than stone and steel. Most of all, it is the people who work within its walls. They give it life and meaning—the teachers and the students. And just as this school will always be a part of you, you will always be a part of Brooklyn Tech.

The splendid record of this graduating class will be woven into the golden tapestry of your school's glorious achievements. I know how many of you have made outstanding progress in your studies. I know your fine records in winning merit scholarships, in the Westinghouse Science Talent Search, and in qualifying as future scientists of America.

Education, in our time, is taking on many new jobs. It has broken into our daily headlines and is breaking through narrow and outworn concepts. It stands as our first line of defense against mankind's oldest enemies, ignorance, want, disease and disunity among men and nations. We have learned that the wars and hatreds of the future can be eliminated here and now, not at diplomatic conference tables or by bloody revolution, but in the classrooms, the libraries, the research laboratories. We have come to know that civilization's greatest victories can be won and will be won in the schools.

We often hear that the fearful weapons, which science has developed, may lead ultimately to the destruction of our earth as we know it. But, in this school, and in others like it, scientific instruction is blended with the time-honored teaching of the humanities. We do not merely produce good young people of science; we produce young people of good sense. And we are helping to cultivate in them the high principles of character, integrity, moral, and spiritual awareness on which to build the road to preservation—this is our strongest hope of survival. This is how you will build a better world.

So tremendous have been the advances of science, that in the next days, or even hours, the world may face a final choice between unimagined chaos or unprecedented peace and progress. The elemental forces of the unknown have been harnessed to the will of men. But has man the strength and rightness of purpose to put these forces to their proper use?

You may shrug your shoulders, as too many of us do about too many important problems, and say: "Time will tell." But, ladies and gentlemen, I speak to you who are parents eager to pass on the abundance of life to our children. I tell you, there is no time. The time is now.

There will be no warning. There will be no battlefields, only buttons to push. But those buttons may never be pushed because a light is burning all night in the study hall of some solitary Einstein or a Compton bending over his books.

You will observe that I have described our scientist as solitary. That is the tragedy, for we live in a day when his name should be legion. We live in an hour when the Soviet Union, an avowed enemy of our way of life, is turning out 10 scientists, 10 engineers, 10 chemists, to our 1. That is the overwhelming tide we are struggling to stem with men like you in a school like this.

You are the doers, dreamers, and teachers who must pioneer in new dimensions of thought and distance and discovery. You are the ones who will control the atom and protect our tomorrow. Man's vision has leaped beyond the orbit of our earth to pierce the veils of superstition and fear, just as his rockets soon will pierce outer space. It will all be in your capable hands.

In this turbulent hour of tremendous decision, we who love learning and prize our hard-won freedom, rejoice that you have been prepared to meet the challenge of the future—to live triumphantly, in peace and happiness, among other men of good will in the greater world which science will help to build.

At this point, let me pause and pay tribute to a master builder of the future. It is sometimes your lot to meet a person whose excellence of character and abundance of ability are such that your own life is enriched by the time you have spent with him. Such a person, in my opinion, is your principal. I count it one of my great blessings in my work on the board of education to have had the privilege of knowing this great man of education. It is men with minds like his who will spin the world of the future to greater heights. I do not know of any administrative job in the field of education that he could not hold with skill and distinction. In fighting his way back to health, in fighting to keep Brooklyn Tech first among the schools of our city, he has inspired all of us who feel that only the best is good enough for the young people of New York. And you have known the best in knowing him. If there is one thing for which I envy you, it is the opportunity to have worked and studied and known his friendship for 4 years—years you will not forget because you spent them with Bill Pabst.

On behalf of the board of education, I congratulate the graduating class of Brooklyn Technical High School. I think it is quite proper that I congratulate your parents and your teachers, and your principal. They all have reason to share the pride we feel in the work you have done to reach this hour of reward.

And I would like to look ahead to another hour, to a far-off day when some all-seeing commentator may say: "It is January 31, 1977. What kind of a day is it? It is a day better than other days. It is a richer, brighter, greater tomorrow. It is a better world, because you are there."

Young men of the graduating class, go forth with our blessing. We give you to tomorrow. We give tomorrow to you.

Jews, Arabs, and Morality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Midstream, by James T. Farrell:

JEWS, ARABS, AND MORALITY
(By James T. Farrell)

I was discussing Israel with a sensitive and intelligent Jewish writer. He was well informed about the country, much better than I. My impressions were not original to him. But he was interested in what I thought of Israel in a different sense—in the moral one. What was my moral attitude toward Israel, toward its handling of the Arab question? And most specifically, what did I think of the position which the state has taken concerning the problem of the Arab refugees?

This conversation was but one of a number I have had about Israel in which I have become convinced that sensitive Jews are perturbed about Israel. The existence of a Jewish State has produced many agitated thoughts and feelings among Jews, even among some who deny this. I had the experience of listening to one writer who stressed that he is an American. Israel is another country, not his own, he insisted, even though he is not unsympathetic to Israel. However, the unevenness of his emotions as he spoke, his bursts of sarcasm, his tone of self-defense, and his reiterated protestations of his Americanism, convinced me that the subject is actively troubling to him. He is an American, but he does not regard Israel as he would any other foreign state. And the reason for this is that he is a Jew. In most instances the agitation, the scrupulous overconcern about ethical matters, and the readiness to be critical do not become fixed in a fear of dual loyalties. Many Jews who are pro-Israel do not have this fear of divided loyalties. Others who appear indifferent to Israel are likewise untroubled. There is not one standard Jewish attitude toward Israel, nor are there two, pro-Zionist and anti-Zionist. There are various attitudes, but more than differences of attitudes there is the rich, irrational variety of feelings, emotions, guilts, and prides.

The Jew is not the only minority group in America. Almost all of use have felt the pangs of inferiority and the loneliness of alienation. Each new group coming to American shores has faced the barriers of snobbery, prejudice and intolerance. However, in the case of the Jew, as well as of the Negro, the prejudice, exclusion and contempt have been such as to warrant the assertion that here we have a qualitative difference. Because of this, the sense of being a Jewish American or of beingn Negro is undoubtedly stronger than is that which I feel at being an Irish-American. It is easier for me to forget the "Irishness" of my background than it is for Jews to forget their Jewishness. The Republic of Eire causes no moral doubts in my mind. I wish it well, but the follies of its censorship and the bigotry of some of its citizens do not hit any of my personal veins of moral feeling. The passions of the partition question do not enter my spirit and cause me personal anguish. The fact that Ireland is not completely secularized does not cause me personal moral worry. Some years ago, an Irishman just off the boat visited me. He was not in my home more than 5 minutes before he was accusing me of being a bad Irishman because I supported the Marshall plan. To him, the Marshall plan was solely a means of aiding perfidious Albion in its invasion of Ireland. He was thinking, of course, of partition. And he regards the partition of Ireland as an invasion. Aid to Great Britain was, therefore, support of imperialism. Ergo, I was deserting my own and supporting the invading Saxon. He was as charming as he was impassioned, but give me no clean bill of Irish health. He only amused me. My feelings about Ireland are warm, even when sardonic. But Ireland causes me no moral torment. One reason for this is that the alienation of my people, and the alienation and sense of difference I felt as an Irish boy in Chicago, lacked the intensity with which a Jew so often feels similar emotions. This, of course, is not due to the Jew himself, but to Christian society, which has all to frequently placed the stamp of exclusion on him.

Today, though, we have the State of Israel. What is to be thought of it? The courage and self-sacrifice of the earlier Palestinian settlers have been widely recognized and admired. It was the men and women of the first and second Aliyot who created the basis for the modern State of Israel. But Israel was born in struggle and war. It must still fight for its very existence. This fact was dramatically revealed to the world in the Israeli attack on Egypt.

The question of the morality of the action taken by the Israeli Government became a world issue. Israel, with its population of about 1,800,000 was condemned by most of the nations of the world. It is still condemned by some delegates in the United Nations. Many Americans feel antipathetic to Israel because of this action, though the process of second thoughts in America has already resulted in many revisions and alterations of the original reactions of anger and disapproval. But in judging Israel we should apply to it the same type of criteria which we would use in considering any sovereign state. We have no right to demand of it, a small new state, more than we demand of ourselves or other states.

Arguments concerning Israel's right to be a state can be pro or con, depending upon how far back one goes in time. The Jewish claim is well known—that the Jews were dispersed and driven from their homeland, and now after centuries of this dispersion the exiles have returned to their homeland. The Arab spokesmen who refuse to recognize Israel insist that Palestinian Arabs were driven from their homes by the Jews. They blame modern Zionism for this, and further, many of them look upon Israel as an aggressive, alien nation which would conquer them. Had the Arab States recognized Israel and accepted the United Nations resolution of 1947, partitioning Palestine into Jewish and Arab States, there would be little argument and debate today on this issue. But there was war, caused by the attack which the Arab States launched jointly in May 1948. The end of the war resulted in the uneasy armistice which has existed since, with a succession of infiltrations, retaliations, and finally the Israel attack on Egypt last October. Having sanctioned the establishment of Israel, the United Nations has been unable or unwilling to guarantee its security. The United Nations observers have largely served as bookkeepers who kept a debit and credit account of raids, infiltrations, retaliations, and the number of bullets and mortar shells which have gone in either direction across the frontier. Israel has had to maintain a state of armed alert because its very existence is at stake, and failure to maintain such an alert may lead to its citizens being butchered in Nazi fashion. That these claims are not fantasy is obvious to persons with even a meager knowledge of the Arab-Israel conflict.

I cite here familiar facts because they warrant an important conclusion. Israel exists in a situation which is extreme rather than normal. Because this is so, one is justified in asking: is a state existing in an extreme situation and faced with the danger of total extinction to be judged in the same manner as another state whose relations with its neighbors are normal and whose existence is secure? The answer given to this question is of fundamental importance because it bears on the question of means and ends.

These considerations, to my mind at least, help to establish a framework within which moral judgments can be passed on the actions and policies of the Israel Government. They provide a basis so that judgments, whether of approval or disapproval, will not be mere out-of-hand or quick off-the-cuff conclusions.

When one thinks of the problem of the Arab refugees, one's pity and sympathy are immediately aroused. Here is an almost overwhelming human tragedy. I have been in two refugee camps and interviewed some of the refugees, either directly or through an interpreter. I found squalor and misery—and hatred. They have lived this way for some years now. A return to a normal existence would unquestionably require rehabilitation in order for many of them to live a normal life once again; and these hatreds, carefully nurtured by Arab leaders, have been festering for years. I asked the leader of a Moslem camp what he would do if he returned to Palestine.

"We'll have to kill the old Jews," he answered without hesitation.

Other refugees said they will go back, by war if necessary, and that they will accept rations only until they can afford to get revolvers. I was told by a Moslem camp leader that in every hut there is a printed motto which reads: "Remember who drove you out of Palestine."

This motto is presented as a lesson to the children.

But the Palestine of 1948 no longer exists. If all the refugees were to be repatriated, they would not be returning to the Palestine from which they fled. If they were repatriated while the extreme situation of near-war exists, and Israel's existence is not recognized by its Arab neighbors, then it is easy to predict the consequences that would follow. The danger of new explosions and war would be greatly aggravated and not lessened.

Other considerations must be weighed before advocating repatriation and maintaining that a refusal to repatriate is immoral. Could the economy of Israel survive the influx, especially if Israel remained blockaded and boycotted by the Arab States? Could schools be built for the children, especially when one realizes that about 50 percent of the refugees are under 16? Could doctors be found for their medical care? In other words, how could repatriation be practically handled and financed?

The question of responsibility for the wise of the refugee problem is presented differently by both sides in the Arab-Israel conflict. The Arabs claim that the Jews are responsible. The Jews hold the Arabs responsible. This is a question of fact and not of opinion, and even many of the facts reasonably establish the conclusion that the original responsibility for this situation is not attributable to the Jews, or at least not wholly so. There was fighting prior to the departure of the British from Palestine on May 15, 1948. But when the British left, ending the mandatory period, the Arabs marched. Palestine was invaded by Arab armies, superior to the Jews both in numbers and equipment. Arab leaders proclaimed a virtual jehad. Some of them made bloodthirsty claims. Prior to the Arab invasion, the great majority of the leaders of the

Palestinian Arabs had already fled. This left the mass of the Arabs leaderless, frightened, and bewildered. The Arab leaders urged them to flee, to get out of the road of the invading armies, and they were told that they would be able to return in a short period, a week, 2 weeks, 15 days.

The Arab leaders did not want peace. They were convinced that they would win the war in a hurry, and they attacked. Their moral case, then, should rest on a justification of their right to attack, and not on their later contentions. These later claims, to my mind, constitute political arguments and not moral ones which I accept. Furthermore, the Arab nations refused to accept the United Nations resolution on partition. Today when Arab leaders demand that Israel now abide by this resolution, they are asking and demanding that Israel do what they and their predecessors refused to do in 1948. They have not accepted the resolutions and will of the United Nations Security Council on various issues, specifically the 1947 partition resolution and two Security Council resolutions which called on Egypt to end its blockade of Israel shipping through the Suez Canal. The United Nations itself is open to criticism, or at least to the charge of inconsistency. When the Arab nations marched into Palestine in 1948, the United Nations did not act as it did when Israel swept into Sinai and Gaza in October 1956. It did not mobilize the moral sentiment of the world against the Arab nations. It passed its resolution but failed to set up workable machinery by which this resolution could be peacefully implemented.

The Palestinian Arab refugees are victims. They, and especially the children among them, deserve more from life than they are getting. Their plight can and should rend the heart and quicken the sympathies of every civilized person. The refugee problem is one which cries out for solution, and it does this simply in terms of humanity. But before we use the refugees' plights to condemn Israel, let us consider the policies of other governments who now seek to don the cloak of morality on refugee questions. The Soviet Union refused to admit Jewish refugees when the Nazis were bent on a policy of total extermination. The United States has on its books some heartless and discriminatory immigration laws. These situations are, of course, different from that prevailing in the Middle East. I cite them only to stress that other governments do not ignore practical considerations and always act out of sentiments of humanity when refugees are knocking pitifully at their gates. They exercise their rights of national sovereignty.

Neither morally nor historically can I see grounds to justify demands that the Israelis should bear sole responsibility for the Arab refugee problem or that they should repatriate all the refugees. Besides the factors which I have already mentioned, I would add that you do not achieve right by compounding wrongs. There can be no peace in the Middle East until the refugee problem is settled. But it cannot be settled by one side alone. In the relationships between nations and also within nations the great human problems are solved or left unsolved on the plane of politics. As long as there is dangerous and explosive politics at the core of the Arab-Israel conflicts, the refugee problem cannot be solved on the plane of a humanitarianism which is completely divorced from political solutions of the conflict.

The refugees are not primarily responsible for their plight, and the miseries, the frustrations, the squalor of their lives should be neither underestimated nor played with and used politically. But to keep simmering a hatred which has already been festering for so long only permits a political manipulation, and political use, of misery. To put war in the hearts and minds of the refugees is not to create the ground for a better future, for the refugees, for the Arabs, for the Jews, or for any of us.

I would assert that the moral issue concerning the refugee problem cannot be treated separately from the other issues that are crucial in the Arab-Israel conflict. The moral issue is not a matter solely of principles and of intentions. A moral solution will have political economic and psychological consequences. The 8 years of Israel's existence as a state cannot be undone or washed into historical forgetfulness. A solution is meaningless unless it is economically implemented. A solution also calls for consideration of the rights, the aims and the future of Israel and its citizens.

Parallel considerations are all relevant to the problems involved in the treatment of the 180,000 or so Arabs who are Israel citizens. Economically, the Israel Arabs are relatively well off—better off than they have ever been. There are tractor stations in the rural districts and the small Arab farmers can get the use of these on easy terms. Also, they can avail themselves of opportunities for cooperative marketing and, inasmuch as Israel needs to keep increasing its agricultural production, the Arabs are encouraged to produce and they find a ready market for what they grow. Health standards for the Arabs have been and continue to be improved. To many Americans, the Bedouins have been picturesque and romantic figures. Actually, conditions among them were very poor and these are being steadily improved. There is a mobile health unit in the Negev which cares for the Bedouins. Efforts are constantly made to educate them in terms of modern health methods, preventive medicine, diet, and child care. Clinics are being built in Arab villages. I saw one which had been but recently opened in a village near the Jordanian border in the area known as the Triangle. It was clean and modern. The doctor serving it was Jewish. He was only interested in medicine and I could not, despite a persistent effort, draw him into political discussion. There are Arab nurses at the clinic. It has beds for children and a maternity ward. I saw two children, one a recent entry who was merely skin and bones. The child was a severe malnutrition case. Another who had been brought in before was healthy, active, practically cured, and ready to be sent back to his parents.

Arab husbands at first objected to their wives bearing children at the clinic; most of all, they objected to a male doctor attending the birth. The Jewish doctor agreed that the local Arab midwife should attend the birth, but he also brought in a trained Jewish midwife who could teach her Arab colleague methods of sanitation. He also agreed to stay out of the delivery room unless there was a grave emeregncy. I saw the first two Arab women who had borne children in this new clinic, but when I attempted to ask them questions through an interpreter, they asked me to get out. But as the saying goes, they and their children were doing well. Plans are underfoot to use this clinic also as a cultural center and to show movies on its roof once a week.

After experimenting with separate Arab labor organizations, the Histadrut established an Arab department which is headed by an Iraqi Jew who has been many years in Israel and is an experienced, well-informed and modern progressive trade unionist. There are about 11,000 Arabs in the Histadrut. Arabs who own more than 25 dunams of land are ineligible to join but they can join cooperatives. This is a general Histadrut rule. In Histadrut, the Arabs receive all advantages but do not bear full responsibilities. They can vote for officials in their own union but not for national officials. Histadrut leaders claim this is necessary, not solely on grounds of the general danger which grows out of the Arab-Israel conflict, but also because the Arabs are not yet generally responsive to the idea of trade-union organization. They state that one of their great difficulties is conceptual, the difficulty of inculcating a consciousness of trade unions and trade unionism. The Histadrut seeks to gain the same wage levels and conditions of work for Arab workers as it does for all its other members. It has greater difficulty with Arab than with Jewish employers in negotiating. The Arab employers are not as experienced in these matters or, as a Histadrut official said, not as "educated" about unions. One of the Histadrut's problems is that of raising substandard wage levels of Arab workers employed by fellow Arabs. At the same time, the Histadrut has already an impressive record in gaining increased wages and better working conditions for Arab workers.

Steady efforts have been made to improve educational facilities for Arabs. Following the establishment of the state, there was a serious shortage of Arab teachers. Most of the Arab teachers had fled with the other Arabs who became refugees. Teachers with substandard qualifications an Iraqi Jews who spoke Arabic were used in the Arab schools. I spoke with Arab teachers in two villages on the Jordanian border and also with an Arab who teaches Hebrew in a private school in Haifa. The latter was rather disgruntled, and seemed to favor methods of teaching employed in the mandate period, when there was recourse to corporal punishment. A young Arab man and a young woman teacher in the Triangle area spoke enthusiastically of the more progressive methods of teaching introduced since the establishment of Israel. The man said he believed that instruction in Arab schools was as good as in Hebrew ones where there were qualified teachers. There has been an increased breadth in subjects taught and a relaxation from stricter methods. He claimed the children were learning better. He knew of John Dewey. The young Arab woman, who comes from a progressive and well-to-do family said that there is no comparison between teaching now and in the mandatory period when she was a child. Then girls did not attend school. Now, she said with a rush of enthusiasm, the children learn not only from books; they see, they feel, they learn.

A major source of Arab resentment about education relates to the Jews only incidentally. Many, especially in the villages do not want the girls educated, or at least not after the girls reach the age of 10. In many instances there are large families and the girls are needed at home to do housework and to take care of the younger children. Moreover a girl is considered by most Arabs to have reached the "dangerous" age at 10, and they believe that she should be kept isolated from boys. The Cadi of Acre, an Egyptian-born religious leader, discussed education with me frankly for an hour or so. He objects to the present system. During the period of the mandate boys could be punished. That, he asserted, made better citizens of them. Also he complained that with present methods of education and opportunities in Israel, there was not a sufficient future for Arabs. The Haifa teacher, whom I have mentioned above, shared this view. He was the interpreter in my discussion with the Cadi. A group of Arab business leaders of Acre and members of the local chamber of commerce shared his view. All of them were opposed to coeducation for girls after 10. One said in English: "We Arabs are fastidious about our ladies."

The Cadi, however, did add that he approved of intelligent Arab girls attending a coeducational college.

The Acre Arabs were critical, almost bitter, concerning the Hebrew University. The complaint was that Arab students were at a disadvantage because the entrance examinations are all in Hebrew. It was pointed out that many Jewish students were at a similar disadvantage since Hebrew was not their

first language either. Furthermore, Hebrew is a second language in the Arab schools in Israel and the Israelis hope that in the future, Arab students seeking to matriculate will have learned Hebrew well. The Cadi would not accept these arguments. He said that in Jewish homes, the children speak Hebrew; the Arab children, even when they learn Hebrew, do not speak the language at home. There are 21 Arab students at the Hebrew University. One of them is a girl. At the Technion in Haifa an effort is being made to get more Arab students. A decline in educational standards for Arabs following the flight of many teachers in 1948, as well as economic factors, have some connection with the number of Arab students in higher education. Most of the Arabs are poor or small farmers living in the villages. The villages are backward and only gradually is the standard of life improving in them.

The Arabs vote and there are Arab members in the Knesset. There are even Arabs who are Communist or pro-Communist. In Acre I saw an election poster which had been put on a wall by the General Zionist Party. It showed a picture of an Arab behind barbed wire. An Arab translated the slogan on the poster for me. It asked for Arab votes and called for an end to military government. In the Arab-inhabited areas, they also elect their own local officials. The mayor of Nazareth, for instance, is a Christian Arab; Arab villages are likewise governed by Arabs.

But there is military government in three areas. Arabs in a district where there is military government cannot leave the area without a pass or permit. To get a permit, they must give a legitimate reason. Except for suspect Arabs, it is usually easy to get such a pass. Those who work outside the district in which they live, for instance, usually get a yearly pass.

Is this policy justified? Is it an antidemocratic and discriminatory practice which is to be condemned as immoral? No clear cut answer satisfying to all can be given to this question. Here, too, the conclusion one reaches depends on the answer to the two basic questions posed which should guide our judgment about these issues. Does Israel have the right to exist? Is the situation in Israel normal or extreme?

It is a well-known fact that ever since its founding Israel has suffered from infiltrators. They have continually come over borders to steal and to kill. In every frontier area of Israel that I visited, and this means more than half of the frontiers, there were "incidents," shortly before my visit or not long after. The long frontiers cannot be continually patrolled and guarded. Infiltrators can come over, hide with relatives or disaffected Arabs and steal or kill. Israelis have evidence that this has happened, and this is the principal explanation and justification Israel officials offer when you question them about military governments.

Although it is true that many Jews and Arabs were friends during the mandatory period, relationships are now strained. Most Jews are not sure as to what the Arabs are thinking. It is difficult and often impossible to know. The Cadi of Acre, who like all Arabs was most hospitable, did tell me his views. They were, needless to say, not what Israelis would consider disloyal. But he and his friends spoke frankly about education, in the presence of some Israel Jewish women, one of whom worked for the government. Quite obviously, the Arabs of Acre were not terrorized. They felt no need to praise falsely. They complained openly. But on many questions, Israelis, including Histadrut officials, do not know what the Arabs are thinking.

There are reasons for this, and some of them are humanly understandable. When the boundary lines were established by the armistice agreements, families were separated. There are, of course, some contacts because the Arabs can go rather easily back and forth, although this involves risk. But contact, other than subrosa, as I have indicated, is strictly forbidden. There is smuggling. Disaffection rises and wanes with political tensions. The Israel Arabs can daily hear the Egyptian radio, with its ceaseless attacks on Israel and Zionism. This leaves them in many quandaries and dilemmas. Do they want war? Do they want peace? Numerous Arabs looked down upon the Jews or did not take them seriously. Palestinian Arab refugees in Lebanese camps told me that before the war the Jews had seemed to them like sheep and donkeys. Because many of them did not take the Jews more seriously in the past, their pride was all the more wrenched when the Jews won the war.

The Jews are using western methods, and this creates friction and resentment. I have already indicated how this happened in matters of education. With change and westernization, there are even signs of a stirring among Arab women. Some of the Arab girls are beginning to refuse to accept the men their fathers choose as husbands for them. Custom and habit are cracking, and this, too, leads to tension and resentment.

Daily the Arab sees Jewish boys and girls in army uniforms. Israel must have an army to defend itself. But against whom will these Jewish soldiers fight in war? Only Arabs, their brothers across the frontier. In Galilee, there was not the same Arab exodus as in other areas of Palestine. The fighting came there last. The chances of Arab victory were gone. But how many Galilean Arabs might have wanted to fight or flee? The Israelis cannot know. And should there be a war, who will win? Despite what the Arabs say, their defeat wounded their pride and frightened many of them. The recent Sinai campaign could only have produced new wounds and added fear. The quandary here is deep and real.

But from the standpoint of the Israelis, the danger is grave and pressing. Most Israelis are convinced that if attacked they will have to fight with their backs to the sea; fight or be driven into the sea—these are the only alternatives facing them as long as the present situation continues. They see the Arab minority as one which is wide open to dangerous disaffection.

The Government policy toward the Arabs is not one of terror. To the contrary, Israel goes out of its way to encourage integration and the development of sentiments of loyalty. It makes a considerable effort to aid Arabs economically and materially. It seeks to avoid any situations which may strain the loyalties of the Arabs and deepen the dilemma in which they find themselves. This is one reason why Arabs are not drafted into the army.

But the Israelis do not trust the Arab minority, and they feel that they have genuine reasons for such an attitude. The situation is clearly extreme and different from other situations. India and Pakistan, for instance, have relationships despite their sharp differences. A Hindu writer can go to Karachi, move about freely, associate with the Pakistanis. The Arab States don't talk to Israel.

The recent Israel attack on Egypt is fresh in everyone's memory. The considerations shaping moral judgments which I have already stated apply to this Israel action. From the Israel standpoint the attack was an attack of self-defense, and there are many facts to give weight to the Israel view. Arab leaders have proclaimed often enough that they will make war when they are ready. If one believes that Israel has the right to exist, then the Sinai attack can be viewed in the perspective which I have already outlined and described.

Prior to the 1948 war the Jewish settlers did not move into Palestine and expropriate the Arabs. They purchased the land, often buying the same land more than once. Eliezer Kroll, an old watchman and a kibbutznik, tells how one marsh in Galilee was bought three times. The Jews went into a desert. They went into malaria-infested marshes. They pioneered and fought bravely in their self-defense. They have gone far toward reclaiming a desert and building a democratic society. In Israel, Zionism does not mean what it does in America, where there are bitter polemics between Zionist and anti-Zionist Jews. The sabras do not argue about Zionism. Israel is their home. The State of Israel is a fact, not a theory. At least, this is the way it appeared to me, a non-Jewish visitor.

I do not believe that it is for me to pass abstract moral judgment from afar. The right to existence which Israel has gallantly earned is the fundamental point of issue at stake. Once this is accepted, the other issues fall into perspective, and there could then be the beginning of hope that these issues could be resolved. While these issues involve politics and economics, they are also moral and human. This is especially so concerning the Arab refugees. These victims of war deserve a new start. Their children do. Many of them live outside the surrounding Arab society in a world of squalor which they never made. If this problem is not solved, it will become a poison which can kill the nerves of progress all through the Middle East. The continuance of this problem hurts and damages not only the Jews. It is a growing threat to Arab society. It can poison the Arab future also.

But I cannot see how the refugee problem can be solved singly and apart from the other problems which divide Israel and the Arab States. These cannot be solved by polemics of hatred. They cannot be solved by Americans hacking away at each other over these issues. They can only be solved when there are direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab countries. The sound position to take here is, as I see it, to accept the fact that Israel is here to stay, and that peace by direct negotiations is the aim to be espoused.

Finally, it is important to stress and to repeat the truism that the polemics of hate only lead us away from facts. The crux of the issue is that of peace or war, existence or annihilation. Peace means cooperation and a willed effort to further progress in the future rather than to live on in the wounds and the festering hatreds of the past. There can be a new bloom over the desert of hate and division in the Middle East—if there is a courageous will to find peace.

Los Angeles Businessmen Propose Help for Physically Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, a group of thoughtful and enterprising citizens of Los Angeles have taken positive steps to effectively assist the physically handicapped by providing them with a profitable use of their talents and a means of independence and a livelihood.

The Los Angeles Committee to Formulate a Specially Designed Industrial Plant for the Employable Physically Handicapped has proposed to organize an industrial plant which will be de-

signed so that the physically handicapped can employ their skills and abilities. The proposal is to formulate a nonprofit corporation which will employ none but the physically handicapped. There is no intention of making it a charitable institution. Every man or woman employed with have to earn their pay.

Such a unique venture deserves wide community support of the great help it will render to the physically handicapped, many of whom possess excellent talents and skills in the trades, arts, and sciences.

I am submitting herewith a resolution adopted recently in Los Angeles by the committee which originated this splendid plan:

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE COMMITTEE TO FORMULATE A SPECIALLY DESIGNED INDUSTRIAL PLANT FOR THE EMPLOYABLE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Members of the committee to formulate a specially designed industrial plant for the employable physically handicapped, met today, February 14, 1957, at a luncheon at the Ambassador Hotel, presided over by Lt. Gov. Harold J. Powers. Representatives of major industries, officialdom of various city and county offices, and prominent civic personages attended, to discuss ways and means for the development of an industrial center especially designed to utilize the employable physically handicapped manpower.

The author of the proposed plan, Marshall S. Johnson, organized this committee for the sole purpose of creating an industrial center for the employable physically handicapped.

It was resolved and passed that the following informative data be embodied in a resolution to be presented to the President of the United States and the honorable Members of Congress and that the committee here and now sets forth this data:

"Whereas it is to be clearly understood that this industrial project is not to be construed as a charitable gesture nor is it to be considered as a competitive enterprise with smaller organizations having similar interests;

"Whereas its sole purpose is for industry to grasp the opportunity at hand to absorb this great manpower of employable physically handicapped, and by so doing, restore these groups to their God-given right to be useful human beings;

"Whereas it is understood and appreciated that if a properly designed industrial center could be erected on an industrial cooperative basis, it would serve as an important contribution and asset to the southern California industrial empire;

"Whereas it is a known fact that the physically handicapped have proven themselves diligent and efficient in various occupations in industrial and commercial fields, and have set an outstanding record of nonabsenteeism; that in the event of a national emergency, such a trained group would become, immediately, a safety valve to hold industrial output at necessary levels;

"Whereas a great majority of the ever-increasing population of the physically handicapped are products of war as well as victims of crippling diseases and also disabled by industrial accidents;

"Whereas their employment in vital industries would remove them from the rolls of charity and establish them as self-supporting citizens; that their desire to be independent and self-supporting should receive greater recognition whereby their services can be utilized by all fields of industry and commerce;

"Whereas an invitation is being extended to all industries and labor organizations to join forces for the establishment of such an industrial center;

"Whereas it may be visualized that many industries may join forces in creating specially designed facilities to be operated by the employable physically handicapped which would produce satisfactory results for both employer and employee;

"Whereas it is proposed that immediate constructive action be taken to assist this group in becoming a useful part of industry thereby helping them to meet this 20th century challenge of existence;

"Whereas it is the earnest desire of this committee to bring this matter to the attention of the President of the United States and to the honorable body of Congress with the hope and prayer that the Chief Executive of the United States and the legislative bodies of the United States may extend to this committee their goodwill and cooperation in some manner in assisting this plan to become a reality: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the committee to formulate a specially designed industrial plant for the employable physically handicapped submits this resolution as an informative document to the President of the United States and to the legislative bodies, with the request that it be read to both Houses and that it be engrossed as a matter of record in both the congressional journals; be it further

"*Resolved*, That we, as members of the committee to formulate a specially designed industrial plant for the employable physically handicapped, herewith respectfully place our signatures on this document, on this 14th day of February 1957."

Marshall S. Johnson, Gilbert W. Lindsay, Sanford Sill, Donald A. Davis, R. R. Sill, Harold J. Powers, R. A. Hearst, Robert A. Doyle, Margaret L. Larson.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

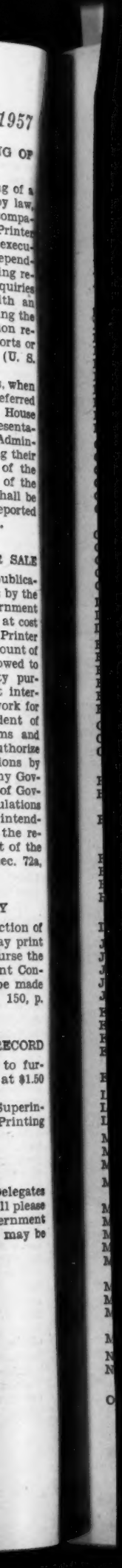

Appendix

Health and Hospitals—the National Picture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a most timely, informative, and excellent address delivered by Dr. W. Palmer Dearing, Deputy Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, before the Alabama Hospital Association, at its annual convention in Montgomery, Ala., on January 24, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HEALTH AND HOSPITALS—THE NATIONAL PICTURE

(By W. Palmer Dearing, M. D., Deputy Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service)

A few months ago an issue of the American Scholar carried an article by the renowned astronomer, Dr. Harlow Shapley, entitled "Man's Fourth Adjustment." The subject is man's relationship to the world and the universe. Dr. Shapley points out that man's first major adjustment came when he discovered that the world was not centered on him alone. Next he learned that the sun, not the earth, is the center of our solar system. Then he discovered that the solar system is not the center of the universe, but a part of one galaxy in a universe of millions of galaxies. Now, says Dr. Shapley, we may soon have to adjust our ideas to include the possibility science fiction writers have been suggesting for years—that there may be more highly developed and more intelligent forms of life in existence than our own.

I wouldn't want to be responsible for precipitating a panic in the medical and hospital professions, but I rather feel that I ought to warn you that an equally drastic revolution in the art and science of medical care has been sneaking up on us for several years.

Dr. George Packer Berry, dean of Harvard Medical School, speaking as president of the Association of American Medical Colleges, expressed it as well as anyone when he said, "Freedom of opportunity for good health is a basic human right. That this opportunity for good health should be provided for all is an insistent and growing demand. It is a major social and political fact today," says Dr. Berry. "The sooner we come to recognize this social phenomenon—that the people believe they are entitled to good health and are demanding it—the sooner we shall be able to convert the vast energies of our culture into more creative medical programs."[1]

[1] The Future of Medical Education and Administration, address by Dr. George Packer Berry at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., 1950.

For centuries we have been concerned mostly with what we call curative medicine. The development of sanitation and vaccination gave us a start toward preventive medicine. But we think of this preventive medicine, even today, in terms of the health officer, the sanitary engineer, and the public health nurse—of preventing the spread of malaria, typhoid, or tuberculosis. We have made progress in the practice of preventive medicine from the days when I was here in Montgomery, but our ideas of preventive medicine are still due for a revolutionary change.

Recently, Surgeon General Burney said that he believes it is the special privilege of the physician today to impart to his patients the concept of health maintenance. "Upon the premise of this concept," he said, "I believe the physician, for the first time in the history of all medicine will find his true fulfillment as guardian of the health of man, as architect of his well-being, as partner to his success and enjoyment of life."

As this concept of health maintenance advances from the realm of an idea toward a reality, it will inevitably bring about sweeping changes in the function and therefore in the organization and design of our hospitals.

Obviously, the pace at which the change comes upon us will be determined by the imagination and energy we devote to the organizing and financing of health services through insurance and other means, as well as by the pace of the progress of medical research, for example, in the areas of heart disease and cancer. Unfortunately, we can't expect these diseases to yield their secrets as readily as others, such as cholera, smallpox, typhus, and the other infectious diseases, where we were dealing with specific micro-organisms, vulnerable to specific drugs, medications or antibodies that can stop their growth or slow them down.

We are using all the drugs available that are known to bring down high blood pressure, but patients continue to die of hypertensive cardiovascular disease. On the other hand, cardiac surgery has developed to such an amazing degree that techniques once considered spectacular have become commonplace. We are even beginning to overcome that greatest of all limitations on heart surgery, the need for maintaining circulation of blood to the vital organs while the operation is going on. It won't be long until arificial kidneys and heart-lung machines will be standard equipment of the large general hospital. And more delicate heart surgery will be made possible through hypo-thermic anesthesia methods and drugs that will slow down the metabolic processes throughout the body.

The progress against cancer moves ahead slowly, with a small gain here and another there. But we still don't know what causes or how to block the wild, relentless growth of malignant cancer cells, so tough and viable they continue to grow even when transplanted from one body to another. Our techniques of early diagnosis are being refined every day. As we learn more, we will increase our ability at both diagnosis and the treatment of cancer.

Today, it seems quite possible that we may be able to virtually wipe out infectious diseases like tuberculosis, diphtheria, penumonia, and venereal disease with improved diagnosis and the use of antibiotics, vaccines, and other techniques. Even mental illness may begin to succumb to atack through drug therapy and blood chemistry.

As these and other advances are made in medicine, they will have both direct and indirect effects upon the hospital.

Perhaps the most apparent result of the technical changes that have come about so far is evident in the pattern of ambulation for the patient. For the past 10 years or so, there has been more and more attention in the medical and hospital professions to keeping patients out of bed, and to getting them on their feet faster when they go to the hospital. Before that time, it was conceded generally that a patient who was ill had better be carted off to the hospital as fast as possible if he was to benefit by the blessings of modern medical care. But the perfection of aspetic surgery, the development of the antibotics and improvements in diagnostic techniques are largely responsible for the growth of the idea that a patient doesn't always have to be bundled into bed before he can get well.

Today, hospitals are finding that the expansion of their outpatient departments has a number of virtues. First, a well-staffed and well-equipped outpatient department can be used to work up a comprehensive diagnosis before the patient is brought into hospital for treatment. Second, patients who do not need bed care can be served by the outpatient department, thus cutting down the constant demand for beds. Third, outpatient departments, by reducing the duration of hospitalization for patients, can help to reduce the cost of care.

Another extension of the same basic principle of health maintenance is evident in the development of home-service programs, where the services of the hospital are carried directly into the home of the patient.

Recently, Secretary Folsom took note of the changing concepts of hospital care when he set up a committee of leaders in the field to study the creation of different facilities specifically related to the degree of illness of the patient and his capabilities for looking after himself.

The committee is confining its present consideration to the needs of three specific groups of patients; those convalescing from acute illness, patients convalescing from chronic illness, and patients who require only diagnostic services and facilities. They will encourage hospitals to develop pilot studies which will produce practical recommendations for the establishment of facilities for patients who do not need the full range of services provided by the average general hospital.

Still another example is the ascendency of the health center. Alabama has pioneered in the development of the health center. The Alabama State Health Department, under the direction of my good friend Dr. D. G. Gill, deserves a lot of credit for its foresight. I had the very great pleasure of participating in the dedication of the Jefferson County Health Center in Birmingham in 1949. It was the first center in the Nation to be completed with the aid of funds provided under the Hill-Burton Act. Our friend, Senator LISTER HILL, also spoke on that occasion.

We in the Public Health Service have a very special regard for your senior Senator. As chairman of both our legislative and appropriations committees, his leadership in supporting better health services will go

down in history as one of the truly great contributions to the welfare of our people. The legislation he has sponsored and promoted will benefit the lives of Americans for generations to come.

The phenomenal growth of voluntary insurance is yet another factor which is helping to revolutionize hospitals as institutions. Hospitals and insurance organizations can wield tremendous influence toward the goal of health maintenance by experimenting with and demonstrating broader and better integrated facilities and services financed by insurance.

Under the Hill-Burton program, as you know, funds are now available for the construction of nursing homes and rehabilitation centers. Previously, there has been little association between such facilities and hospitals in the same communities. But, today, we find that nursing homes and rehabilitation centers are beginning to seek the cooperation of hospitals in providing medical supervision and hospitalization, and some Blue Cross plans are experimenting with insurance for these coordinated services. This kind of coordination of services will surely improve both the quality and quantity of care available to patients.

Dr. Howard Rusk has even suggested that it is necessary to sell health services. The health insurance program in New York provides a good example of what he means. Ever since the program has been in operation they have found that one of their major problems is to get people to make use of the services they have paid for through prepayment. It seems to be quite a problem to convince their members that it is to their benefit to have an annual health examination and to come back to the clinic for such things as diagnostic X-rays or additional tests.

It seems to me that the trend toward coordination of health and medical services, the increase in outpatient services, and the growing interest in home care programs, are only the first small signs of the benevolent revolution in hospital service that lies ahead of us. The time has come for us to accept the principle laid down by Dr. Berry, to accept it as a working principle upon which we base our plans for the future. Although there is still a vast, uncharted expanse ahead of us in the cure of illness, we must begin now to think and work with dedication toward the promotion and maintenance of health. Even though people are beginning now to ask for this kind of service, and to expect it, there is still so much that they need to know and understand about it. The blessings of preventive medicine are like the blessings of automation. They are not automatic. We must work for them.

The two most important media for educating the public about health are obviously the physician and the hospital. First, the physician must communicate to the patient the importance of making a specific, intelligent effort to promote his own health and to make the most of his natural endowments. But the amount of time any physician can spend with a patient is limited. Therefore, we must take a lesson from our years of public-health education. We must help the physician to instill into the patient the desire to cooperate in preserving his health, in building up his health resources. Then we must take the next step and begin to develop a whole new structure of attitudes toward health and hospital services within the community. In a very real sense it is much like the challenge of the fight against pellagara, polio, cholera, and the host of other diseases against which we have fought successful campaigns. Except, in this case, the battle is not so dramatic. It is not so much a battle against the attack of disease as it is a battle to create a better way of life. Therefore, all of us—the physician, the hospital administrator and his staff, the hospital association, the medical society, the health department, the community, and the patient himself—all of us must cooperate in the effort. But the initial leadership, the inspiration and direction, must come from the physician and the hospital.

Take, for example, the coordination of rehabilitative service. The rehabilitation team may include the family physician, nurse, physical therapist, occupational counselor, religious leader, the patient's family, and employer. The hospital and the health department should work side by side to provide the necessary personnel and to coordinate the services of other agencies. Every physician should understand the need for the wide range of services in rehabilitation and the benefits they can bring to his patient. The hospital can take the leadership and responsibility for bringing together this variety of rehabilitation elements and help them develop a sound working relationship. The hospital can provide the same kind of help to all patients who need services of other agencies, and thereby widen the orbit of its own influence on the improvement of individual and community health.

The challenge of the times extends also to State and Federal health agencies, including the United States Public Health Service. As the Surgeon General has said, our major responsibilities are leadership, research, assistance, and training. But in the final analysis, this new concept of health which includes expanding outpatient services, shortening the stay of the patient in the hospital, encouraging coordination of services with nursing homes, rehabilitation centers, and other community health services, and promoting the importance of health maintenance, must be established as a way of life by the physician and the hospital.

It might be said that they are like the solo instruments in the performance of a great concerto. Together and separately they work to develop the basic theme. Through this unity of effort, between the solo instruments and the instruments that make up the orchestra, the theme of the composition is revealed to us.

With similar unity of purpose and endeavor, we can bring to the people of this Nation far greater benefits from the health services now available. We can bring new understanding of the great range of services in store for them and enlist their support in the pursuit of these services. We can establish freedom of opportunity for good health as a basic human right for all.

A Poignant Editorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. CARL ANDERSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 22, 1957

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Speaker, the weekly newspaper is a great institution in the Midwest. In those areas of small towns and great distances, it is the little weekly that binds the people together and tells the Smiths what happened last week with the Swensons.

Faced with rising newsprint prices, increased production costs, competition from other advertising media, it is one of the little miracles of our time that the weekly still goes to press. We owe all this to the men and women who are the editors and publishers, for surely they are motivated by greater interests than monetary gain.

In the traditions of the great William Allen White, the country editor takes his pen in hand and boldly speaks his mind on events of current moment. Such an editor of the Clara City Herald in southwestern Minnesota wrote one of the best editorials on President Abraham Lincoln that I have read. I am including in the RECORD this editorial by my good friend, Mr. Emil Swanson, so that others may enjoy its reading as have the good people in his community:

"OLD ABE"

Brother was sworn to kill brother. Reason had been abandoned and a people's sins were about to be bathed away in blood. The experiment that had been called the last best hope of mankind seemed destined to fail. It was in these troubled times that a gaunt prairie lawyer came to the White House.

His face was already lined with care. Failure, disappointment and sorrow were no strangers to him, and they were not likely to become strangers. He knew this as surely as he knew that the Union must be preserved.

The fingers, gnarled from the years of grasping an ax, held a pen. Every time he signed his name, armies moved and men died. He wrote words that gave voice to the spirit of his times—words so carefully chosen, so perfectly sculptured to the message he wanted to communicate that they would be quoted as long as men could read.

Men around him lost faith. The people sometimes seemed ready to concede defeat; the price for victory seemed so high. The tired man in the White House grew lonelier, older. Yet he never wavered; the Union was worth whatever price was asked.

And as the end of the struggle approached and it became apparent that his people would remain one people, he turned his thoughts to rebuilding—to binding up the wounds, to healing the terrible scars. His critics became more bitter; those who had wavered now were loudest in their demands for a vengeful triumph.

Only when he was dead did the love the people felt for him become so apparent, even to the people. They had called him "Old Abe" from the time he was 30. And now "Old Abe" was dead, and the people bid him farewell as they would a patriarch. He had come from the "dirt poor," and his life had been a reminder that clay was made noble when it was infused with the Divine breath.

Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I have prepared pertaining to my cosponsorship of S. 808.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JENNER

The growing seriousness of the need for small business consideration in the midst of this record high economy we boast of has

prompted me to join with my colleague from Indiana, the Senator from Delaware and the Senator from Florida, in sponsoring S. 808.

I am sure that if the other Senators who are interested in the strengthening of the backbone of America's economy—small business—will study the problems that category of business faces, they, too, will see the need for full study of the effects of S. 808.

My personal investigation of the facts involved in the need for correction of the Western Hemisphere Trade Corporation Act reveals that serious discrimination exists today in the tax benefits afforded by the act between big business and small business.

Since a Treasury Department interpretation of the act several years ago, large corporations have been enjoying the 14-point tax benefits on exports to Western Hemisphere countries, whereas, small business has found it next to impossible to comply with the requirements of the Treasury Department's interpretation.

The record shows that at the time of passage of the act it was not the intention of Congress to create such a discrimination. On the contrary, the Senate Finance Committee report at that time made it quite clear that the act was designed to make it possible for all United States businesses, engaged in export business to Western Hemisphere countries, to compete on a fair basis with low labor-cost countries for Western Hemisphere business.

The Senate committee report said, in part: "American companies trading in foreign countries within the Western Hemisphere are placed at a considerable competitive disadvantage with foreign corporations under the tax rates provided by the bill [Internal Revenue Code]. To alleviate this competitive inequality, the committee bill relieves such corporations from surtax liability."

It was never the intention of the Senate or the Congress that the Senate amendment should relieve only a portion of our companies, thereby correcting an inequality by creating another inequality.

Nevertheless, several years ago someone in the Treasury Department held that the "source of revenue" theory required that any company doing business under the provisions of the Western Hemisphere Trade Corporation Act must change title to goods outside Continental United States in order to quality for the tax benefits.

Changing title outside the United States is no problem for big business with its agencies and warehouses in practically every country of the Western Hemisphere.

But it has been historical with small business in the United States that the title to export goods changes hands at the banks where the purchasers hold lines of credit.

This bill, S. 808, would establish by law what Congress originally intended—that all who wished to compete for Western Hemisphere business would have equal opportunity. The Small Business Administration has formally stated that this bill would be an important step toward helping small business in its present strange position of having a tough time of it in the midst of great prosperity.

In fact, a recent publication by the Small Business Administration cited a correction of this act as one of several steps which would give small business an overall program of help.

We have talked long and loud about helping small business to maintain its important position in this country's economy, but we have permitted this inequality of tax benefits to continue on the basis of misinterpretation of congressional intent.

By spelling out that intent by the passage of S. 808 and its companion bill in the House, which was introduced by Congressman THOMAS B. CURTIS, a member of the Ways and Means Committee, we would only be giving small business its rightful chance to enjoy the benefits that have been enjoyed for years by big corporations.

This bill would eliminate the change-of-title requirement established by the Treasury Department interpretation and yet safeguard our revenue interests from nondeserving operations. It would also insure the ultimate end use of the products exported.

I hope the Senate Finance Committee can work out some arrangement with the House Ways and Means Committee to assure consideration of this bill and to hold hearings. Those hearings, I am sure, will produce interesting evidence of the inequality which now exists.

National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics—Address by Dr. J. H. Doolittle

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very important speech which was delivered in this city on February 21, by Dr. J. H. Doolittle, Chairman of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, at the Aviation Writers Association luncheon.

Dr. J. H. Doolittle is more popularly known as Jimmy Doolittle. It was he who led the first bombing raid in World War II over Japan. His remarks to the luncheon have great bearing upon the capacity, the size, and the ability of the American Air Force, and I think his statement is worthy of consideration by all Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY DR. J. H. DOOLITTLE, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR AERONAUTICS, AT THE AVIATION WRITERS ASSOCIATION LUNCHEON, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 21, 1957

Before turning to the subject that I will presently discuss, I wish to voice a word of tribute to a man who has long been my mentor, colleague, and valued friend. For nearly a half-century he has devoted his large talents to the advancement of aeronautics. He established America's first courses of aeronautical engineering; he has had a long and distinguished career as a teacher at MIT. During World War I he participated in the design of the United States Navy's airplanes; notably the NC-4. He was in the forefront of lighter-than-air development.

Significant as were these contributions, I believe his greatest service to his country is the leadership he has given the NACA. In 1922–23, by virtue of his duties with the Navy, he was a member of the Committee—the NACA's board of directors. In 1938, because of his recognized stature as an aeronautical scientist, he was reappointed to the Committee by the President. In the summer of 1941, only months before Pearl Harbor, he was elected chairman of the NACA by his fellow Committee members.

The outstanding wartime work of the NACA and since then, its continued successful probing of the aeronautical frontiers reflects the wisdom and vigor of his leadership. The fact that today we enjoy a position of leadership in the air is due, in no small way, to Dr. Jerome C. "Jerry" Hunsaker.

Twelve years ago, I was privileged to testify before the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate. "America is tired of war," I said. "Our people don't want to think of another war. The thought is unpleasant and we incline to put unpleasant things out of mind. In spite of this, the fact remains: The only way we can avoid war is to be prepared for war." I am as convinced today as I was 12 years ago that peace lies in strength and furthermore that both military and economic strength—over the long haul—lie in greater scientific knowledge and superior technology.

At that time I also said, "In future wars it is quite likely that the initial air action may be decisive and the side having lost the air war may well see fit to capitulate." Today I am even surer of this.

Since then we have had the grim business of Korea. We have seen our onetime allies, the Soviets, take one step after another in their attempt to gain domination over more and more of the world's people, area and resources.

At the same time, the revolution in military technology has been accelerated. We have not only learned how to build nuclear weapons that can erase vast areas. We have also learned how to compress these nuclear weapons into packages so small they can be transported readily by both today's jet airplane and tomorrow's intercontinental ballistic missile.

By word and deed the Soviets are challenging us in aviation. They are building more aircraft than we. They are training more aeronautical engineers and scientists than we. Perhaps most significant, there are incontestable indications that they are overcoming our greatest advantage and are closing the technological gap. Vigorous research and development programs are the key to technological supremacy. We must redouble our efforts to maintain our technological lead.

I was much impressed earlier this year by a statement by the man who has been called "the father of the H-bomb," Dr. Edward Teller. He said, "The period in which the decision is made as to who wins the (next) war * * * will be long, such as 10 years preceding the time of the war. The actual fighting will be, I think, a matter of days or weeks."

We will never start a war. I am convinced that the Soviets will not start a premeditated all-out war until they are satisfied they have established technological superiority and believe they can win.

What we do now will determine our deterrent power tomorrow. Every dollar spent on fundamental research and development to gain leadership in weapons technology today will, in the long run, save many more dollars and possibly many lives.

These conditions, among others, led me last October to accept the opportunity of serving as chairman of NACA.

For one vital element in deciding whether we remain ready or not is how effectively the NACA administers the responsibility it got from the Congress almost 42 years ago, to supervise and direct the scientific study of the problems of flight, with a view to their practical solution. In thinking about what we in the NACA need to do, now and in the future, it becomes apparent that we must increase our reserve of aeronautical knowledge, by developing and using the radical new research tools so essential for study of the complex problems demanding early solution, and even more important, by obtaining, training, and retaining the added numbers of talented young men competent to work in the scientific disciplines that are involved.

Perhaps the best way to make clear the urgency of what we in NACA must do is

to discuss briefly some problems for which answers are needed now.

For example: The mare's nest of problems that have to be solved, every one of them, before the ICBM can become a practical weapon system. Structural problems, configuration problems, propulsion problems, guidance problems, aerodynamic heating problems.

Take propulsion for example, in relation to guidance. As you know, the guidance we can give a missile following a ballistic trajectory has got to be applied during the brief period, early in the flight program, when the rocket motor is still burning. Making sure that the missile is directionally on its proper course is only part of the problem; in addition you have to make sure that the missile is traveling at precisely the right speed when your rocket motor burns out. Otherwise, of course, you will overshoot or undershoot your target.

The rocket motor of the V–2 burned for about 70 seconds. Purely for illustration, let's say the burning time of one concept of an ICBM might be about 3 times that, some 200 seconds. During that time—3⅓ minutes—the fuel and oxident might be pumped into the combustion chamber at the rate of about a ton a second.

Now the scientists have calculated that if the missile is going to destroy a priority target—say a dispersed airfield—the rocket motor must operate so efficiently that when it shuts off, the velocity that the ICBM will have reached will be accurate to within 1 part in 20,000. Likewise if 1 percent of the propellant isn't used, your miss may be measured in hundreds of miles. That means the whole burning process must be combustion perfect, and also that it must come to its end within a very small fraction of a second of the programed time.

Fuel surging and boiling, combustion buzzing and destructive screech, the design of bearings and seals, the development of pump lubrication systems operable at temperatures as low as boiling hydrogen—424° below zero Fahrenheit—these are some of the specific problems.

There is nothing romantic about research on this kind of problem; there aren't likely to be many dramatic breakthroughs. What we have to do is make step by step progress so that total solutions will be found by the time they are needed. The time factor in the development of components, of subsystems, and of the weapon system is of vital importance.

The record shows that, in the last analysis, the V–2 was a failure because of this time factor. Considering the stage of the war at the time it was ready we must conclude that the cost of the V–2 in technical and production manpower, money, materials; the total national effort that went into the project, was greater than the overall damage it caused. Had this same effort been put into German armed bombers, or even fighters, at that time our problem would have been made much more difficult and our victory much more costly.

And yet no less an authority than President Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his book, Crusade in Europe, has said that if the V–2 had been launched against Great Britain only 6 months sooner than was the case, the Normandy landings would have been, and I quote, "difficult if not impossible."

Wernher von Braun began his studies that led to development of the V–2 in 1930. By 1937 he was installed at Peenemunde. The first V–2, the prototype, was fired in the spring of 1942; the first V–2 to be aimed at England was fired in September 1944.

Von Braun has said that until the success of the V–2 had been proved, "there was much hot and cold blowing * * * we had great difficulties, and Hitler himself was greatly opposed to the idea * * * later on, after we had demonstrated it worked, we were swamped with so much priority that it hurt more than it helped."

So we must say: The V–2 was a failure because it wasn't ready in time. I repeat, we must do the necessary research and develop our new weapons systems in time.

In considering rocket development we should never forget that one of the foremost men in this field was an American. Dr. Robert H. Goddard was born in 1882. He started speculating on rocket propulsion in 1899. He began active experimentation in 1914 and continued his experimental work for 31 years until he died in 1945.

Under the auspices of the Army in World War I, the Smithsonian Institution and Clark University from 1919 through 1928, the Guggenheim Foundation, 1929 through 1941, and the United States Navy through World War II, he experimented with solid and liquid propellants and with stabilizing and guiding devices. He designed the forerunner of the bazooka in World War I. He fired the first liquid propelled rocket in 1926.

With meager resources he solved many of the basic problems of rocket flight long before they were put into practice by the Germans.

In the current budget now before the Congress we of the NACA are asking for $41,500,000 to build new research tools. Of that amount, roughly half is for facilities useful in hypersonic research—in the speed range from that of the V–2 to that of the ICBM. It will take anywhere from 2 to 3½ years to complete these new tools, starting from the day we get the green light.

The obvious question is: If there is such a terrible time urgency, and there is, then why hasn't the NACA gone long before this to the Congress and gotten the money it needs?

Research must be orderly and continuous. We can always use more money than we can obtain. We have presented our requirements forcibly and have been reasonably successful in getting what we required. Actually, until recently we haven't known how to design and build the equipment in which we can approach, in the laboratory, the extremely high speeds, temperatures and all other conditions of this future flight. We have spent a lot of effort on these problems. Now we think we know enough to build the small, pilot models with which to demonstrate the practicability of constructing the radical new tools so necessary for the rapid expansion of our knowledge.

For example, we are asking for a hypersonic physics test setup that will cost just under $2 million. So far, we have learned how to duplicate, on a piecemeal basis in the laboratory, some of the conditions of missile flight—conditions corresponding to Mach numbers of 20 (13,200 miles per hour) or more in a shock tube facility, temperatures of 10,000 degrees Fahrenheit or so in a rocket exhaust stream.

But now we need to develop devices capable of producing in the laboratory—all together, at one time—the conditions of speed, temperature, and gas chemistry for as long a time as a missile might experience in actual flight. This hypersonic test facility, let me repeat, will let us prove—to ourselves as much as to anyone—that our ideas are sound. I am sure we shall have troubles; I am sure we shall encounter difficulties we haven't anticipated. I am sure also that we shall succeed.

So far, I have been stressing the difficulties—the magnitude and the complexity of the problems faced, the size of the job of building the tools we need to study the problems.

The picture is not all black, not by any means. We are making progress steadily. It is truly impressive how much can be done by a small number of first-rate, dedicated people working with relatively simple equipment. Many of you here today are familiar with the kind of work we have been doing at Wallops Island, near Chincoteague, on the Virginia coast. Last fall, at the inspection of the Langley Laboratory, the disclosure was made that one of the little rocket-powered research models we use had been fired to a Mach number of 10.4 (6,800 miles per hour). At the same time we described a new technique whereby we shoot multistage rockets, programing the firing so that the model is heading back to earth before the final rockets are triggered. By this technique we attain maximum speed on the way down in the lower altitude where the air is dense, and thus duplicate aerodynamic heating where it will be most critical—during the ICBM's reentry into the atmosphere as it plunges toward the target.

We have since attained somewhat higher speeds. I won't say more about this program except that our people—very properly—are gratified with the progress they are making.

In connection with Wallops, perhaps I should add that not everything is happiness and light over there. The basic equipment, the instrumentation, they are using is 11 years old. Already it is incapable of obtaining all the desired data. We are taking steps to bring the instrumentation up to the capabilities of the models we propose to use in the days ahead. Here the situation is different from, for example, the hypersonic test facility. Here we know what we need and how to build it. We have asked for the money.

So far I have talked mainly in terms of problems affecting missiles. This is only one of the areas where there is urgent need for more basic information. We need comprehensive information of the kind that will help the development people and the manufacturer build greater performance—speed, range, altitude—into tomorrow's fighters and bombers and transports.

You might think that the very great interest in missiles would bring a corresponding lessening in the demand for aerodynamic and structures data useful in the design of man-carrying aircraft. Our experience is just the opposite. We have learned to fly supersonically; now we have to learn how to fly—supersonically and efficiently—economically.

Boundary layer control at subsonic speeds provides reduced drag or/and increased lift. The effect of boundary layer control at supersonic speeds should and will be studied.

In the propulsion field the array of problems needing attention is increasing: The problems involved in exploiting the gains implicit in the use of high-energy chemical compounds; the problems presented by man's determination to obtain the almost limitless range capabilities offered by an engine utilizing nuclear energy; or, more immediately, the problems of our new turbojet and other air-breathing engines that will produce quantities of thrust and operate at speeds which only yesterday would have been considered fantastic.

It is gratifying to recall that, some years after application of new information in a military design, the same information invariably has become useful in commercial designs. Most of you here today, I am confident, will live to fly in supersonic transports. And if progress in geriatrics keeps pace with that in aeronautics, I won't be surprised if some of you are around long enough, if not to do it yourself then to greet your children or grandchildren on their return from a transcontinental or transoceanic rocket trip.

There is also need for continued research on the problems of low and slow flight. Over the past 20 years or so the helicopter has shown great utility in many areas; there is, however, much more to be learned about the problems peculiar to the rotary-wing type of aircraft before we can realize its potential as fully as we would like.

The possibilities of aircraft with very short take off and landing capabilities also are attractive for both military and commercial use. Again, we find many problems requiring solution before short take off and landing and vertical take off and landing aircraft can achieve their maximum usefulness. Progress is being made in these areas.

Of one thing we can be sure. The NACA doesn't need to worry about solving all the problems and thus going out of business.

Now let me turn to what is the most critical need of the NACA—the ability to recruit and to hold the additional talented people we need to do our research job.

In describing our need, I can find no better words than those used last fall by Jerry Hunsaker. What is needed, he said, "is a realistic approach to the pay problem. The attractiveness of public service has been critically depreciated by private industry offering salaries and 'fringe benefits' far greater than the NACA is allowed by law to pay. We do not quarrel with the salaries paid by industry. We must, however, not only provide additional fringe benefits, but also offer rates of compensation sufficient to recruit, and to hold, the scientists and engineers necessary to perform the fundamental research that governs progress."

In 1956, we made some progress to reverse the trend—the widening of the gap between what industry, in a tight technical man-power market, is paying, and what we are permitted by law to pay. At the year end, in a message to the 8,000 loyal and capable men and women who make up the NACA staff, Hugh Dryden—our very talented director and chief executive—joined me in thanking them and, with respect to the pay situation, pledging that "we are determined to obtain the necessary further improvement in the coming year." That statement stands. We haven't succeeded yet in accomplishing all, or even most, of what must be done, but we are trying hard and are in the right direction.

In that connection, let me say to you in the hope that you will want to pass it along as widely as you can: If you know of any first rate young people in technical school who, upon graduation, want to devote their best energies helping to solve the problems of tomorrow's flight; tell them about the NACA. Tell them they'll be proud to be a part of a team with a proud record of large accomplishment, and with a future where the challenge is greater still.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me sum up my thoughts in a single sentence. We must anticipate the future; we must profit from the past; we must do our best—our very best—now.

Progress in Heart Disease Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, there appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 26 an excellent editorial and in the issue of February 17 an article by Nate Haseltine with reference to heart research and the progress being made against our No. 1 national-health problem, heart disease. The progress reported in the editorial and news story is most encouraging, and I ask unanimous consent to have them printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and news story were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post of February 26, 1957]

HEART RESEARCH PAYS

Last year a big frontal attack, costing around $15 million, was made on this Nation's No. 1 killer, heart disease. The amount allocated for heart research through public and private sources was more than six times that spent in 1949. Naturally Americans ask: Has it paid off?

Dividends from these 8 years of research, as recently reviewed in this newspaper, by Nate Haseltine, are remarkable. Half a dozen major developments in heart surgery have saved the lives and increased the capacity for living of countless children, young people, and adults. Medical advances have made possible prevention of recurrent sieges of rheumatic fever, the second most common cause of death by disease in the 20–24 age group, and the leading cause of death, except for accidents, among school-age children. Through new drugs, high blood pressure can now be better controlled; blood clotting in persons who have had heart attacks prevented; and the heart's workload in those having coronary disease relieved.

The three organizations that sponsored this research—the American Heart Association, the National Heart Institute, and the Medical Life Insurance Research Fund—are furnishing eloquent proof that money wisely expended can purchase longer and fuller lives for many persons who otherwise would fall victim to heart disease.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 17, 1957]

HEART DISEASE FIGHT REVIEWED

(By Nate Haseltine)

A convincing correlation between increased spending on heart research and the dramatic advances made against heart disease in the past 8 years now bears recording.

The purpose of this article is to summarize the medical advances, mostly in heart surgery, made since 1948, when the Federal Government, the Nation's life-insurance companies, and the American public began to most liberally support heart research.

That was the year the National Heart Institute, in Bethesda, came into being. It was the year that the American Heart Association changed its character from a purely professional, scientific organization to a national voluntary health agency.

FIGURES TELL THE TALE

Statistics are essential to this story, so here they are, as briefly as possible:

For fiscal 1949, the American Heart Association allocated only $91,088 for heart research. For fiscal 1956, the organization allocated a record $1,858,917.

For fiscal 1949, the National Heart Institute, now one of the biggest of the seven National Institutes of Health, put up $1,676,076 for heart research. For fiscal year 1956 its heart research budget was allocated $12,544,848.

Finally, the Life Insurance Medical Research Fund, a pioneering financial backer of heart research preceding general public awareness of heart disease as a national problem, contributed $640,505 for the 1949 fight against heart disease. For the current year, the fund put up $960,340.

Here are advances this money helped buy:

Congenital defect heart surgery: The most common congenital (inborn) defect of the heart is the ventricular septal defect.

This is an opening, where none should be, through the septum, or wall that separates the two largest lower chambers of the heart. The defect is the chief challenge to heart surgeons today because of its frequency and of the number of children who die because of it.

Now, with the development of a variety of heart-lung machines, the so-called artificial hearts, surgeons can correct ventricular septal defects.

Dr. C. Walton Lillehei and his associates at the University of Minnesota devised the extracorporeal cardiac pump, or, in plainer words, an outside-the-body pump that would take over the duties of the heart while surgeons repaired holes and other internal heart defects.

Since that development in 1953, between 200 and 300 children in the United States have been operated on successfully to close ventricular septal defects.

Auricular septal defects: Operations to close unnatural holes in the wall between the heart's two smaller upper chambers date from the year of upsurging heart research interest, 1948.

Many such upper heart defects have been repaired without cutting the heart open. This has been done in a number of ingenious ways, ways which became outdated almost by the time they were tried. The advent of hypothermia, begun in this country in 1953, gave surgeons their first chance to cut into the upper heart, repair the holes, and close up their access incisions without harming the patient's brain.

Hypothermia, or purposeful chilling of the body, gave the doctors 7 or 8 minutes in which they could safely cut off blood flow to the body while they repaired the heart holes.

Even hypothermia, like the operating techniques it outdated, is on the way out. The cardiac pumps have succeeded in meeting almost all heart surgery needs.

Surgery for auricular septal defects is now classed in the readily operable list for successful closure, with a mortality rate at about 5 percent.

Isolated pulmonary stenosis: Successful surgery to correct this narrowing of the pulmonary valve within the heart dates back to 1948 too. About 2,000 of these operations have been performed in this country since then.

Again, the doctors now await more, and more perfect, cardiac pumps as the ideal instrument to make these operations easier and safer.

Mitral stenosis: The year 1948, too, marked the first successful surgical assault on mitral stenosis, the narrowing of the mitral valve between the heart's two left chambers.

It is now the most frequent heart operation, its beneficiaries already numbering more than 10,000 in the United States. The defect results from rheumatic fever.

A special dividend of these operations is that they can be safely performed for women of childbearing age among whom pregnancy could only be undertaken at great risk to their lives.

Free aortic regurgitation: This is the condition in which the descending aortic valve widens, and blood pours backward into the left side of the heart to eventually cause heart failure. Usually caused by rheumatic heart fever, and sometimes syphilis, it occurs most usually in adulthood.

Dr. Charles A. Hufnagel, of Georgetown University Medical Center here, devised an artificial valve to correct the abnormality.

The Hufnagel plastic heart valve, surgically inserted in the thumb-thick aorta (artery) after its emergence from the heart, was first successfully installed in 1952.

Aortic stenosis: Surgery to correct the unnatural narrowing, rather than widening, of the aortic valve was begun in earnest in 1950. Since then about 1,000 American adults have obtained fairly successful results with surgical correction of the condition.

Another major development in open heart surgery is the use of the "potassium chloride cocktail," a heart poison which stops all

heart movement while surgeons work inside the vital organ. At the operation's completion, the poison is flushed out and the heart resumes a healthy beat.

ADVANCES IN MEDICINE

Though heart surgery has held the spotlight since the advent of increased spending, medical advances have also occurred.

During the past 8 years, heart specialists have proved to their own satisfaction and to the health and safety of countless children that recurrent sieges of rheumatic fever can be prevented. Rheumatic fever is the second commonest cause of death by disease in the 20–24 years age group. It is the leading cause of death, excepting accidents, among schoolchildren.

Now the doctors prevent the more heart-damaging second and subsequent attacks of rheumatic fever by prescribing daily, infection-preventing doses of penicillin or other antibiotics after a child recovers from his or her first bout with rheumatic fever.

High, too, on the list of medical advances has been the advent in recent years of new and better drugs to control hypertension, or high blood pressure.

CLOT PREVENTIVES

Also noteworthy has been the development of drugs that prevent blood clotting in persons who have suffered heart attack.

Finally, and largely unpublicized so far has been the use of radioactive iodine in the treatment of patients suffering coronary disease. In this city about half a dozen laboratories provide the one-dose treatment, according to officials of the Washington Heart Association.

The invisible ray-emitting iodine attacks the thyroid gland, selectively, making it less active. This decreased activity of the gland benefits the heart patients by reducing the body's oxygen needs, thereby relieving the heart's workload.

WASHINGTON ACHIEVEMENT

The Washington area's share in promoting and financing research in heart disease has been growing since 1948.

That year, neither the American Heart Association nor its local affiliate, the Washington Heart Association, had any local research program. In fiscal 1956, the Washington Heart Association was pending $45,000 and the AHA had channeled another $30,653 here.

In Federal funds, the National Heart Institute had budgeted $25,085 for heart research in this area in fiscal 1949. For fiscal 1956, the local budget of the institute was $285,565.

The Life Insurance Medical Research Fund spent $2,000 in this area in fiscal 1949. Its local fiscal 1956 budget to support area heart research was $15,400.

Facts and Fiction on Weather Modification (Cloud Seeding)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, under permission granted by the Senate yesterday, I submit for the RECORD a very illuminating and significant address by Capt. Howard T. Orville, Chairman of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Weather Control.

This address relates to what is being done and what has been determined by this Committee, which was created by an act of Congress, and the address deserves wide reading. It was delivered at a meeting of the New York State Horticultural Society in Kingston, N. Y., on February 1, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FACTS AND FICTION ON WEATHER MODIFICATION (CLOUD SEEDING)

(Address by Howard T. Orville, Chairman, Advisory Committee on Weather Control, and consultant to Friez instrument division, Bendix Aviation Corp., given at a meeting of the New York State Historical Society in Kingston, N. Y., February 1, 1957)

INTRODUCTION

Recent reports received from the United States Department of Agriculture tell us that we are now experiencing one of the worst drought conditions in history.

Nearly 29 million acres of land in the Great Plains States alone are "in condition to blow" which means that a vast area of the country is so devoid of protective plant cover that winter and spring winds can tear the topsoil loose and whip it into the air in choking dust storms.

In 15 States the serious water shortage has directed attention to the urgent need for supplementing present sources of water by every possible method known to man. One method which has been given wide publicity over the last 10 years is known as weather modification or cloud seeding.

BEGINNING OF CLOUD SEEDING

About 10 years ago two scientists, Dr. Irving Langmuir, a Nobel prize winner, and his assistant, Dr. Vincent Schaefer, succeded in creating a snow storm by dropping dry ice pellets from an aircraft into a supercooled cumulus cloud (a cloud having the appearance of a pack of wool and drifting along in temperatures well below freezing).

This successful flight was the culmination of some 5 or 6 years of exhaustive research at Mount Washington, N. H., and at the General Electric Laboratories at Schenectady.

This historic flight probably represents the first time that man successfully modified the weather using accepted scientific methods and created additional precipitation although the amount was very small. However, the results of these experiments were so dramatic and aroused such widespread interest that it was not long before commercial cloud-seeding companies, World War II pilots, and many others were exploiting these initial successful experiments.

During the next 4 years, 1946–50, there were many newspaper accounts of almost phenomenal increases in rain or snowfall caused by artificial seeding of the clouds with dry ice or silver iodide, a chemical which has essentially the same crystalline structure as ice particles. Dr. Vonnegut, an associate of Dr. Langmuir and Dr. Schaefer, is credited with discovering that silver iodide may be used to "milk" the clouds of their moisture.

Unfortunately these fantastic claims did not produce the water which was needed so badly in many of the Western States, and the farmers soon became very, very critical of any "rain maker" who offered to seed the clouds and produce more rain over his farm.

This is understandable, because in 1951–52 almost 15 percent of the total area of the United States was a target area for rain increasing operations.

Many of these operations were being conducted by people who had little or no knowledge of the scientific aspects of weather modification and who were endeavoring to make a quick fortune out of the poor farmers and fruit growers who were struggling to survive under terrific handicaps.

CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN CLOUD SEEDING

It is not surprising that Members of Congress became alarmed when their constituents from the farmlands and other areas experiencing water shortages informed them that the new methods of rain increasing were not producing the results claimed by the cloud-seeding companies. Others reported flood damage which they attributed to cloud-seeding operations.

THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON WEATHER CONTROL

This situation led Congress to start a series of investigations. Several bills were introduced in both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Exhaustive hearings were held in which a large number of persons from every walk of life were asked to appear before the congressional committees to give his opinion as to the effectiveness of cloud-seeding experiments.

After more than 2 years of hearings a bipartisan bill was passed. This bill was originated by Senator Francis Case, of South Dakota, and sponsored by Senator Clinton Anderson, of New Mexico; Senator Warren Magnuson, of Washington; Senator Arthur Watkins, of Utah; and Senator Guy Cordon, of Oregon.

President Eisenhower signed the bill on August 13, 1953. This became Public Law 256, which created the Advisory Committee on Weather Control, an 11-man committee consisting of 5 members from private life of recognized standing in business, science, and agriculture; and 6 Cabinet members (or their designees), of interested Government departments.

This committee held its first meeting 9 days after the appointment by the President of the 5 members from private life. At its first meeting the committee adopted 4 guiding principles which are quoted below:

"First, the Committee will base its conclusions on facts obtained and interpreted and not any preconceived notions. Experiments to date have suggested that weather control may eventually provide benefits to agriculture, industry, and Government. Without such a hint of substantial benefits, the Congress would most likely not have created this Committee. However, the Committee will not now proceed under the assumption that weather control, including rain-making, does 'work' or does not 'work.' It will aim to examine all of the evidence with scholarly care and scientific impartiality.

"Second, the Committee recognizes the need for additional basic research dealing with processes related to rain, snow, and cloud phenomena. There is also the need to develop ways and means of providing methods for reliable evaluation of weather control activities. The Committee will encourage such research in industry, at our universities and throughout Government.

"Third, the Committee will welcome, and will solicit, the information possessed by and the opinions held by all individuals and groups having an interest in the field of weather control. It will carefully consider all facts and opinions pertinent to its study.

"Fourth, the Committee will not act in any way prejudicial to responsible individuals and concerns attempting to modify the weather."

The Committee has endeavored to carry out an impartial evaluation of commercial cloud seeding operations in spite of technical and political prejudices and many sinister influences which have attempted to contaminate the findings to suit their own personal interests.

THE EVALUATION PROGRAM

During the 3 years that the Committee has been in existence it has held 14 meetings, has traveled over 150,000 miles throughout the United States, Puerto Rico, and the Hawaiian Islands visiting field operations and talking to cloud seeders and their clients, consulted with or sought the advice of more than 100 prominent scientists familiar with one aspect or another of cloud physics or weather modification. It has reviewed innumerable technical documents covering the results of domestic or foreign cloud seeding experiments.

By January 1955 the Committee has assembled a technical staff. This staff developed a two-phased evaluation program.

One phase dealt with the rainfall data and a statistical treatment to determine by well known statistical methods whether the rainfall data measured over areas which had been seeded could detect any increase over that which would have occurred from natural causes.

The other phase consisted of a physical evaluation program to determine whether the field methods used by the commercial cloud seeding companies were valid. This overall evaluation program has been developed extensively in the past 2 years and one interim report has been submitted to President Eisenhower.

THE FIRST INTERIM REPORT

This report shows that, in spite of many difficulties, including defective instruments, great scarcity of or total lack of rainfall data and many other obstacles too numerous to mention, it was possible for the Committee's technical staff to develop a methodology which, when applied to 6 west coast projects, produced average increases of 9 percent to 17 percent over the expected precipitation in these States.

Mountainous areas favor the forced ascent of cloud-seeding material into the deep cool moist storms characteristic of the late winter and early spring months. Of these 6 projects that have been operating continuously for a period of 3 to 5 years, 5 of them produced the increases quoted above, the sixth project was inconclusive.

In its report the Committee emphasized that the results obtained in California, Oregon, and Washington could not be extrapolated to other States or other areas. There are 24 of the 48 States which have mountainous areas that favor positive results.

The other States comprise those States in the Mississippi Valley, the gulf region, and the Great Plains and have shown inconclusive results for one reason or another, or they have not yet been evaluated. This does not mean that cloud seeding is ineffective in these other areas. To determine the facts is the task which the Committee will tackle during the next 2 years of its existence, to July 30, 1958.

POSSIBLE ECONOMIC BENEFITS

It is of interest to note the economic benefits which might accrue to many areas receiving additional rain during the growing season. Senator CASE of South Dakota reported on January 12, 1956, "When Congress first considered making appropriations to get this work under way, I told one of the committees of the Senate that:

"If the Advisory Committee finds that weather modification experiments cannot produce important results, it will so report and thus deter farmers and ranchers from spending their money unwisely. This will, if such a report has to be made, save the public millions of dollars.

"If the Advisory Committee finds that weather modification activities work only in certain circumstances, it will find out what those circumstances are and thus encourage feasible projects and discourage those which are not feasible.

"If the Advisory Committee finds out it can confirm the results claimed by the reports it has so far received from reputable and scientifically competent operators—increases of from 7 to 50 percent and more—then the dollar benefits to agriculture, industry, and Government will be so great as to be incalculable.

"In other words, I said at that time, whatever the Committee reported, this would produce tangible and real economic benefits to the water users of this Nation."

And in the same remarks, "I can reasonably and conservatively estimate that precipitation increases of the magnitude indicated (9 percent to 17 percent by the Committee) could produce average annual benefits of $20 million and quite possibly up to $50 million in these States."

In quoting further, Senator CASE has stated, "I hope that farmers, ranchers, and other water users will continue to sponsor cloud-seeding projects, keeping in mind the uncertainty of results in some areas but also the importance of the benefits compared to the relatively small cost if the seeding succeeds. They should probably insist on more careful scientific design of these projects and should probably introduce greater permanency in the projects so as to make evaluation feasible."

CLOUD SEEDING IN OTHER COUNTRIES

The committee is watching closely extensive cloud-seeding projects which are being carried out in foreign countries, especially Australia, Japan, France, Switzerland, Spain, Israel, and Pakistan. At least 40 other countries have recently or are presently conducting some form of research using the scientific methods first proposed by Drs. Langmuir and Schaefer.

HAIL AND LIGHTNING SUPPRESSION

Another phase of the weather-modification program which is of interest to those of you who are from the fruit-growing States is the possibility of hail abatement.

As many of you well know, hailstorms cause extensive damage to crops, especially wheat and corn acreage in Kansas, Nebraska, Montana, and Iowa. Fruit, especially apples, peaches, apricots, grapes, and plums, is easily damaged by hailstorms. Because of its broad leaves tobacco is particularly susceptible to hail damage. It has been reported that North Carolina has annual hail losses to its tobacco crop exceeding $3 million.

Destructive hailstorms have caused great damage in the Midwestern States. In 1951, hail damage amounted to $31,300,000 in the State of Kansas alone. The other Midwest States have also experienced some very destructive hailstorms.

The largest hailstone ever officially recorded fell on Potter, Nebr., in 1928. Some of these hailstones measured 4½ inches to 5½ inches in diameter and the largest was 17 inches in circumference and weighed 24 ounces or 1½ pounds. In Lubbock, Tex., in 1930 a farmer was caught in an unprotected field and was pounded to death by these stones. However, this was an exceptional case.

Scientists have informed the committee that cloud-seeding techniques may very well be used to suppress hail. They tell us that by seeding potential hail-producing thunderstorms early enough it may cause the rain to start much earlier in many small drops and that the storm will dissipate before it ever reaches hail-producing proportions.

Last summer the committee was watching closely attempts to suppress hail in Scottsbluff, Nebr.; Hudson Valley, N. Y.; Wenatchee, Wash.; and 1 or 2 other fruitgrowing areas in Oregon and California. The reports of the success or failure of these projects have not yet been received in committee headquarters.

Hail-suppression cloud-seeding operations require the use of a great number of silver iodide generators which are placed around and upwind of the target area. When reports of impending thunderstorms are received the generators are automatically turned on and operate continuously until the threat of hail has passed.

In some cases airplanes are also used to supplement the ground generators. In a few cases radar, the magic eye of electronics, is used to observe the effects of cloud seeding.

The committee has also been informed that the same techniques for suppressing hail should reduce the frequency of lightning strikes. If this is true then it is of utmost importance to reduce fire losses caused by lightning strikes in our national forests.

Last spring damaging forest fires were experienced in Arizona and New Mexico. The United States Forest Service reported that 85 percent of these fires were caused by lightning strikes. Seventy-five percent of all forest fires in the Western States are caused by lightning. The cost of fighting forest fires exceeds $100 million annually.

QUESTIONS FREQUENTLY ASKED THE COMMITTEE

As a result of initial success in cloud-seeding efforts there have been many inquiries covering a wide variety of problems, some of them are mentioned briefly below.

Many unscrupulous individuals and outright quacks have attempted to sell cartridges and rockets supposedly filled with silver iodide or dry ice. Other charlatans have attempted to sell farmers electrical devices of various types which they claim will bring on rainfall. All of these methods are fraudulent and persons known to be selling such products should be prosecuted. The American Meteorological Society, the county agriculture agent, or the Better Business Bureau can advise farmers whether or not a commercial cloud-seeding company uses scientific methods.

The question of "robbing Peter to pay Paul" has been asked repeatedly. Some individuals in Midwestern States believe that cloud seeding on the west coast has robbed them of precipitation which they would otherwise get were it not for the seeding. Others maintain that seeding clouds upwind a few miles will rob them of rain which they would normally get.

The best scientific opinion today indicates that present cloud-seeding techniques will remove not more than 5 percent of the potential amount of moisture in a cloud and that even including the rain which would fall naturally probably more than 90 percent of the total moisture in a cloud moves on downwind. So there appears to be little likelihood that in the overall picture cloud seeding takes moisture away from farmers downwind from the target area.

Since cloud-seeding operations cost only 2 to 18 cents an acre, depending upon the type of crop and soil, the cost-benefit ratio is so great, 1 to 20 or better especially during the growing season, many farmers have told the committee that the risk is well worth the money it costs to employ cloud-seeding companies. Others have indicated that many of the calculated risks that they take daily are much greater than those experienced with cloud seeding. Current estimates today are that the annual gross income from cloud seeding is $3 million to $5 million.

OUR PRESENT KNOWLEDGE OF CLOUD SEEDING

Cloud seeding to increase precipitation or for hail or lightning suppression is in its infancy. Much remains to be learned about the precipitation processes. Rain, snow, hail, and lightning occur under natural processes which are imperfectly understood today by our best informed scientists.

Our ignorance level of the precipitation processes is extremely high.

This means that our efforts should be devoted to conducting field experiments under controlled conditions with highly qualified scientists supervising the cloud-seeding operations.

Farmers should seek advice from their respective water resources agencies, State universities, or agricultural agents before entering into any contract with commercial cloud-seeding companies.

There are a few very reliable companies, but there are also many individuals who are quacks and who are attempting to capitalize on the small knowledge which has been gained recently by scientific cloud-seeding experiments.

EVIDENCE THAT CLOUD SEEDING WORKS

It is of interest to summarize the results of the committee's evaluation program to date. It has found:

1. That supercooled stratified clouds can be dissipated by aircraft seeding with dry ice or silver iodide.

2. That precipitation can be initiated by seeding warm cumulus clouds with water.

3. That dry ice and silver iodide seeding of cumulus clouds extending to 5,000 feet or more above the freezing line and with a temperature at the top of the cloud of −10° C. will induce precipitation.

4. That ground generator seeding with silver iodide in the three Pacific Coast States has produced average increases of 9 to 17 percent under the conditions mentioned in an earlier paragraph.

5. That an intensive study of hail prevention and the possibility of reducing lightning seems well justified. Many destructive forest fires in the Western States are started by lightning strikes. It is believed that cloud seeding will start the precipitation process earlier and will prevent the storms from building up to hail and lightning-producing proportions. Much more study of this problem must be made before any final conclusions can be drawn.

6. That Federal regulation of rain-increasing operations is not justified at this time.

7. That continued controlled experimentation holds promise of developing new techniques which may be of greatest economic importance to the farmer.

Can We Mold the World in Our Own Image?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Dr. Harold B. Wess, professor of business administration and marketing, School of Business Administration, the American University, Washington, D. C., under the title "Can We Mold the World in Our Own Image?"

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAN WE MOLD THE WORLD IN OUR OWN IMAGE?

(By Harold B. Wess)

Are we unwittingly trying to mold the rest of the world in our own image? Can we? Should we? Even if we could and should mold the world in our own image, do we really have a clear image of ourselves? Do we have a beautifully wrapped product to sell the rest of the world? Do we know ourselves as a way of life, and do we understand our way of life?

I suggest that we do not. I suggest that throughout our entire educational system, from the lower schools through college, we fail badly in explaining to our young people what we really are as a nation and as a people. It is a pity, too, that our political campaigns are not pitched to a level high enough to help in this much needed educational process.

We talk glibly about the American way of life, a free society, and free enterprise, but to most of our own people they are pious words. At the same time we hear much talk about the individual being an economic entity. We seldom hear much said about the individual's craving for understanding, for dignity, for self-expression, and for recognition. We rarely hear much said about the spiritual needs of the individual. We talk and behave as rank materialists and yet deep down in our hearts, we know that we are not rank materialists. As a matter of fact, as a people, we are really less materialistic than almost any other nation on earth, and yet we manage somehow to give the rest of the world the wrong impression. The rest of the world will not and cannot accept anything approximating our way of life on the basis of the picture we paint for it.

In this country we have found that we cannot buy loyalty through money and material benefits alone. Only through the recognition and understanding of the dignity of the individual can we earn loyalty and cooperation. Why, then, should we expect the impossible in the area of international relations?

The Communists are the real materialists in the world today. Under the mask of an idealism, brutal as it is false, they may be able to bring technology and materialism to the rest of the world, but with it they will bring slavery. On the other hand, we can bring technology and management know-how and with it an awareness of the spiritual values and a deep sense of the innate dignity of man—which the Godless religion of the Communists will never achieve. The Communists submerge the dignity of the individual into a mechanistic system, while we are dedicated to build a society where the dignity of the individual is all important.

That we are a long way from reaching this utopia will be readily granted, but some intellectuals and reformers do our society a great disservice when, in their zeal for perfection, they find flaws or even ills which they want to correct at all costs and in the shortest possible time. First of all, they forget that a social system is composed of individuals and that at best it cannot be any better than the individuals composing it. What is more, they find a particular evil in our social system and believe that a single change in the system will correct the evil. Actually, this one change may or may not cure the evil, but one thing is certain: it will start a chain of cause and effect most of which is unpredictable. Prohibition as a cure for chronic alcoholism not only did not eliminate the evil of alcoholism, but brought in its wake gangsterism and corrupt politics.

What all this adds up to is that if we want to preserve democracy, free enterprise, and the freedom of the individual to grow and develop to his fullest potential, we must be willing to put up with factors not to our liking or run the risk of starting a chain reaction that will ultimately bring about the loss of what we cherish the most.

On my recent trip to Europe, when questioned about some of our unresolved problems, I did not feel the need for apologizing for our way of life. I simply asked my questioner what was his alternative cure, and invariably the cure was worse than the illness. The cure would, through a chain reaction, surely lose for us our freedom as individuals and lose for us our dynamism as a strong and virile nation.

The reason so many theorists end up with political solutions or isms in trying to resolve human and social problems is that they prefer to indulge in large abstractions instead of thinking and dealing with individuals. It is far easier to embrace causes than to embrace people. The cause of liberty, freedom, democracy, free enterprise, and all such causes can become abstract, making them useful tools in the hands of the unscrupulous. The test of sincerity in the final analysis is, How do you behave toward Tom, Dick, and Harry? And how about the Toms, Dicks, and Harrys throughout the world, whatever they may be called in their own land?

Leaders in business, government, and education have in recent years done much soul searching, research, and study in the field of human relations. Much has been learned and there is a great deal more to learn and to do in the practice of the skills in dealing with the individual. No two individuals are exactly alike, just as no two leaves on a tree are precisely alike. This means that both at home and abroad we must stop talking at people and instead talk with them and listen to them as individuals. We must avoid treating and communicating en masse and try to understand and communicate with the individual.

We have drifted into a policy of lecturing the world rather than understanding the individuals who populate that world. The battle of words on the international front gives some ego satisfaction to the speaker and at most is used to influence the people of his own country. Notice that the Communists, despite their well-organized propaganda machine, still rely on individual indoctrination and on operations in small groups.

The individual cannot express his individuality in isolation. Since the individual is many, many people in one, he must become a part of many social groups and teams at home, in clubs in church, and in the place where he works. He plays a different role in each of them. Further, the level of these roles may be very different. He may be the leader of a small social group where he works although his position in the formal organization, as such, may be a humble one.

If we want loyalty and cooperation to the larger whole, be it the factory, the office, or even the State and the Nation, we must understand and respect and be aware of these informal groups that draw individuals together. This awareness has been constructively useful to administrators and should be equally important in the work on the international scene. In the Bible, God was willing to spare a city if one righteous man could be found. In all human affairs, whether national or international, we must realize—as the Almighty did—the importance of even one individual.

How do we communicate with the individual? How do we get ourselves across or inside, so to speak, of the individual? First of all, we must know as a certainty that there can be no communication without understanding. You must try to understand the individual rather than insist that the individual understand you. You must be loyal and interested in him, even under difficult circumstances. Above all, you must listen. You must listen to what he wants to say; to what he does not want to say and, above all, help him to say what he is reluctant to say.

At best words are an inadequate vehicle for communication, especially since they involve feelings, sentiments, and a particular emotional meaning to the individual. Logic in human relations is therefore not enough. It is useless to try to change human sentiments through logic. If you want a dramatic example of this, go to Hyde Park, London, any evening and listen to the discussions which take place. Nobody convinces anybody. All they succeed in doing is to blow off steam, and that is all to the good.

Once we leave the field of science where words can be tested and verified on the out-

side, or the limited field of language where words refer to verifiable evidence on the outside such as table, apple, bridge, etc., words begin to have different meanings to different people. Even in our own country where we have a common language, words like "liberty," "freedom," "democracy," "free-enterprise," "capitalism," etc., have different meanings to different individuals. How much more is this true when we deal with languages other than our own, and with individuals whose nationalities, cultures, and religions are different from our own.

We cannot separate the sentiments expressed by the individual from the individual expressing them and from the situation in which they are expressed. Such words as "loyalty," "integrity," "solidarity," and "cooperation" for example, cannot be understood or expressed as a behavior pattern apart from the feelings and sentiments of the individual. We have found this true in our own work situations and in our social system. How much more acutely true is this when we deal with individuals whose sentiments are determined by biological, psychological, and social backgrounds so different from our own.

Dr. Eugene Carlson Blake, president of the National Council of Churches in the United States, related this story in a recent radio interview. When he was in Budapest recently a Hungarian churchman asked how we in the United States can claim the separation of Church and State when the Council of Churches has a committee on Politics and War. Dr. Blake was puzzled until it was pointed out to him that the National Council of Churches has a committee on Policy and Strategy. To the Hungarian, "policy" meant only one thing—"politics" and "strategy" of course meant "war."

Let us be certain that in talking to Tom, Dick, and Harry abroad, we do not make the fatal mistake of assuming that they understand us any more than do Tom, Dick, and Harry at home. Let us stop assuming that words are constants. They are variables at home and much, much more variable abroad. Words have different meanings under different conditions and situations at home and the difference in meaning to individuals abroad is even greater.

Is it not naive to be disturbed by the fact that the rest of the world does not think or act as we do? Should we not try to find a better way to communicate the heart of America to the individuals in other countries and fire their vision and energies to build a better life through their own efforts? Shouldn't there be an even greater emphasis on financing programs that help the people in other countries to help themselves? It is my belief that most of the people of the world would like to follow the spirit of America but expressed in their own way, even including many people now under the heel of the Communists and other dictators.

If we bear in mind human history, we can give guidance to those who in their inner hearts and minds want to follow the lead of America. Because we are what we are as a people, we can enhance human dignity abroad instead of degrading it as the Communists do. But we must find a better way of communicating to the individuals of the world the heart of America instead of boasting about our material achievements. We must not mistake comfort for civilization.

We have found in our own work situations that our attitude is of utmost importance. Not only does our attitude color our interpretation of events, but the way we, as administrators, think about a situation and our resulting behavior makes a strong impact on people's reactions to us. We actually communicate a great deal more by our actions than we do by words. Therefore, how we act at home and abroad is more telling than all the pious words we use.

At another level of action, we must make the most of individual contacts abroad, individual to individual. The Communists are deathly afraid of this and that is why they guard so zealously against it. Even when they seem to make a show of individual contacts, it is usually under the watchful eye of a guide or interpreter.

American business abroad is representative of the American way of life. According to the Foreign Trade Council there are about 2,500 United States companies abroad selling through 7,000 branches of subsidiary company operations. The opportunities for vital individual contacts are there. These individuals can and do act as business statesmen backing up United States diplomats. Those in our country who for political purposes try to discredit American business at home are not only doing a great disservice to our country, but make the constructive work which these business statesmen can do abroad, difficult if not impossible. The maligners of American business would discover, if they cared to, how much moral leadership, individual development, and management assistance these companies give to nationals abroad. Let us by all means encourage and use constructively these opportunities of individual contacts.

We seemingly rely too much on the battle of words and speeches to cement good relations between ourselves and other countries. We also fail to take full advantage of the 3,000 Foreign Service officers abroad who can on an individual, day-to-day basis do the work, the real constructive work.

I was shocked to discover in a recent article in the New York Times how stingy Congress has been in allotting entertainment funds to these Foreign Service officers. I quote, "In post after post it is not unusual to find men with the Foreign Service spending $2 of their own money for every dollar allotted to them. Why? A craftsman's pride in doing his job well, and a sense of personal embarrassment at seeing the country poorly represented. * * * Hence this experienced, devoted public servant, serving in one of the free world's most sensitive outposts, is handicapped in the performance of his duties."

This shortsighted policy on the part of Congress can only stem from a lack of appreciation of the vital importance of individual impact. Let us hope that Congress will remedy this situation and rely more and more on these career diplomats to help cement the world toward understanding and peace.

I can best sum up what I am trying to say by quoting LeComte du Nouy from his book, Human Destiny:

"The only goal of a man should be the attainment of human dignity with all its implications. In other words, all his intellectual acquisitions, all the facilities which society puts at his disposal—schools, universities, libraries, laboratories; all those offered by religion; all the occasions given him to develop his own aptitudes, his work, his leasure, must be considered by him as tools destined to improve his personality, his moral self, and to make it progress."

This is as true abroad as it is at home. Let us begin to practice in international relations the human relations we are now preaching—in the office, the factory, the school, the home, and in foreign policy.

Herve J. L'Heureux

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NORRIS COTTON

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, Mr. Herve J. L'Heureux, of Manchester, N. H., is well known to many Senators as United States Minister and Consul General at Montreal, Canada, and for his previous service as head of the Visa Division of the Department of State.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Montreal Gazette of February 23, 1957, paying a fine tribute to Mr. L'Heureux, and also the text of a speech he delivered at the 30th annual fellowship dinner in Montreal on February 20.

There being no objection, the editorial and the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Montreal Gazette of February 23, 1957]

MINDFUL OF THE DEEPER THINGS

It is easy enough in a harsh age to speak harshly and, amidst a clash of interests, to speak cynically. But in his message in Brotherhood Week, Mr. Herve J. L'Heureux, the United States Minister and Consul General in Montreal, has spoken of the foundations needed, if free nations wish to survive. And their foundations must rest upon the strength of their faith.

It is a good time, he urges, to keep before the mind the words of the psalmist—words that are at one and the same time a promise and a warning: "Unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it."

It is by its defiance of this truth that communism, with all its material power, will be written off as a failure, and it is only in recognition of this truth that the free world may claim the right to survive.

In bringing out this message for Brotherhood Week, Mr. L'Heureux was only speaking out of his own philosophy of living. He has been the originator of the prayers-for-peace movement. It was in 1948 that he proposed to an American Legion group in Manchester, N. H., that the members pause for 1 minute at noon each day to pray for peace.

The resolution was adopted and the movement has spread. There are now millions of these Minute Men of Prayer in all parts of the world.

And the movement has spread in just the way that Mr. L'Heureux would wish it to spread. It has no organizational head. It calls for no financial subscriptions. It has no set forms of prayer. It depends entirely upon the spontaneous and voluntary efforts of individuals who wish to pray for peace, not only with faith in the power of prayer, but because they come to know that prayer is a reminder of the things that really belong to our peace.

Such men as Mr. L'Heureux, busy with the duties of their offices, who yet use their influence to keep alive an awareness of the deeper things in life, are rare indeed, and much to be valued.

NORTH AMERICA AND THE FREE WORLD

(Remarks of Hon. Hervé J. L'Heureux, United States Minister and Consul General at Montreal, on the occasion of the 30th annual fellowship dinner between Catholics, Jews, and Protestants, February 20, 1957, at Temple Emanu-El House, Montreal, Quebec)

We are met here tonight to observe and contemplate that beautiful concept of brotherhood which is being so effectively fostered by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. We are here not only to rejoice at the progress that has been made on this continent in the fundamentally common concepts of charity, mutual respect, and love toward our neighbor, but also for the purpose of stocktaking and soul searching, in order to enable us to rededicate our allegiance to the principle of free government and to the fundamental tenets common to our respective religious faiths.

Our theme tonight is North America and the Free World. Since the other speaker is

expected to stress the Canadian aspects, my observations in this discussion will relate essentially to the commitment of the United States to this political faith.

The interdependence of peoples is too great today for absolute national sovereignty to sway its full power without endangering world peace. This fact does not render the virtue of patriotism or the existence of nations obsolete. For the unity of mankind is better served through a plurality of State structures and a multicolored pattern of cultures than through drab uniformity. The interdependence of peoples, rooted from the beginning in the very nature of man and only made apparent by startling discoveries and modern means of communication, does however, give the lie to the classical concept of absolute national power which coined the jingoistic phrase: "My country right or wrong."

Though national welfare still remains the purpose of good government, it can, therefore, no longer be its sole purpose. Taxes, for instance, are increasing as national multibillion budgets are considered with an eye on and a genuine concern for the international as well as the national situation. The echo of elections held in one country might reverberate far and wide throughout other countries. Domestic policies tie in more and more with foreign policies and foreign policies closer and closer with international policies.

This idea of interdependence finds its military expression in pacts such as NATO and SEATO; its economic expression in the point 4 program; its international expression in the United Nations and in the Pan American Union, or the Organization of American States; its political expression in the Eisenhower doctrine, which is a far cry from the Monroe Doctrine. Isolation is a political anachronism. As a struggle develops in the hearts and minds of men between two divergent conceptions of life, it leads logically and inevitably to two divergent policies.

President Eisenhower, in conscious continuity with our Founding Fathers, gave forthright and impressive testimony to the contemporary affirmation of the public philosophy of America when he said in his second inaugural address:

"This is our home—yet this is not the whole of our world. For our world is where our full destiny lies—with men, of all peoples and all nations, who are or would be free. And, for them—and so for us—this is no time of ease or rest."

It is no time of ease or rest because these two conflicting concepts of life stem ultimately from two conflicting ideas regarding the nature and destiny of man. As these questions are basically religious—the denial or acceptance of God—the conflict is also basic. They are essentially incompatible. Either the one or the other will ultimately triumph. The two cannot live in the same world indefinitely. It was Mr. Khrushchev, I believe, who made that point crystal clear: he sent New Year greetings to us in the Western World and, in the same breath, he said that he would bury us all. That, he will have to do, for the people of America, with their freedom-loving allies, will put up quite a scrap, you may be sure. He will have to liquidate us first.

The irreligious and materialistic ideology of communism considers the Communist Manifesto, according to Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, as its revelation. Because of the worldwide impact, and the fact that it has dominated innumerable minds, it has been made a part of the Great Book Series inaugurated by the University of Chicago. The Communist Manifesto is not a long document; it is a relatively short one, considering the ground it covers.

Written and published in the midst of the social and political turmoil, which immediately preceded the revolution of 1848 in France, Prussia, Austria, Hungary, Greece, Italy, the work reveals the goals of every social revolution to come in our days: abolition of private property, of family, of fatherland, all of which is based on the denial of spiritual values and the acceptance of economic determinism manifested in the class struggle. The Communist Manifesto is a fierce book. It is a call to arms and to the dispersion of the enemy, the bourgeois capitalists. All means of destroying them and their power are legitimate. Marxism preaches hatred and greed and violence in order to achieve a spurious social order.

It derives its force from a childish simplification of the enormously complicated social phenomenon. The manifesto is right when it asserts that, throughout history, there has been caste struggle. But there is no valid reason for its declaration that caste struggle is the cause of everything that happens in human society. It ignores the fact that, in addition to our positions and antagonisms there is also, among men, evidence of much solidarity and cooperation such as we see today in the Western World, or in the new nations of Asia, and right here, at this meeting, between people of diverse background, interests, and religious faiths. We are a very negation of class struggle.

The manifesto is right when it charges that the laboring class was receiving only subsistence wages, for such was approximately the situation in England of the 18th century. But it is wrong when it asserts that, in a bourgeois society, to use its phraseology, labor cannot receive but subsistence wages. Today, essentially, Marx would have to write another book of the laboring class in the United States and Canada, where a wider distribution of wealth and property has occurred, and high standards of living have been achieved by the laborers through freedom to unionize. All of these improvements have been made possible by a greater conscience of social justice on the part of the employers, by a reasonable attitude by the laborers, and by a better understanding of the lawmakers and the governmental agencies concerned. The growth of the middle class has not only brought about a better distribution of wealth, it has eliminated causes of social unrest. Accordingly, the United States is not torn by the seriously basic class struggles that still prevail in many parts of the world.

The manifesto was right when it attacked oppressive social conditions, but it is wrong when it takes for granted that economic equality and collectivity would bring, automatically, serene happiness. Economic conditions were excellent in the Garden of Eden before the fall of man. Adam and Eve didn't even have to buy clothes—but there is no Garden of Eden today, and modern Eve would be very unhappy with no clothes to buy.

The manifesto was right when it criticized the use of religion by some professed believers in God only when the behavior of the proletariat alarmed them, and when its sole use was to preserve the injustices of a political and economic setup, and rob the oppressed of the will to free himself and throw off his chains. For, throughout the centuries, the Bible has become the familiar book of the West and familiarity has bred indifference and even contempt. But the manifesto is wrong when it says that religion is the opium of the people and takes man away from what is human, for it is rather the salt that gives taste and vigor to our human activities. Religion is neither a childish superstition nor a myth invented in unscientific days to comfort the proletariat. On the contrary, it prevents man from handing himself over body and soul to despotism and tyranny.

Three-quarters of a century before the manifesto was written, the Thirteen American Colonies, which comprised the Thirteen Original States of the Union, declared their independence in a document even briefer than the Communist manifesto, but of much greater influence because of its truth.

The opening paragraph of this great document takes the high ground of asserting that the American people are ready "to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them." This is in direct contrast to the Communist manifesto. Then, follows this majestic declaration:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Let us, briefly, ponder the phrase "We hold these truths to be self-evident." Today the self-evidence of these truths and God's complete jurisdiction over man's affairs is questioned by the secularists. There is dissent from this declaration of principles. One thing, however, is sure: the Founding Fathers asserted that these were self-evident truths and held them as such.

The Founding Fathers were asserting the American proposition which has become the American way of life, namely, that the political and social life of man does not ultimately rest upon a philosophy of pragmatism, or a "social contract," as Rousseau envisaged it, or on a certain ideological projection of economic interests as the Marxists would have it. On the contrary, the life of man in society under government is founded on truth, on certain objective truths, definable and defensible.

Among these truths, one emerges. It is the truth that lies beyond politics and imparts to politics, as to every other activity of man, a fundamental meaning, namely, the sovereignty of God over nations as well as over all individuals. In contrast to Marxism, the first article of American political faith is that the political community is a form of free and ordered human life which looks to the rule of God as the first principle of its organization. Religion for America is not the opium of the people, nor is it at best a purely private concern, a matter of personal devotion, quite irrelevant to public affairs, a Sunday school lesson which goes in one ear and out of the other. The very first paragraph lodges the colonists' case for independence on their rights under the laws of nature and of nature's God.

The United States has had, and still has, its share of secularists, agnostics, and unbelievers, but their manner of thought, when applied to American political and social ideas and institutions, is altogether alien to the authentic American tradition. Ours is unmistakably a nation under God and under law. Strike out God and His sovereignty over society, as well as over every single human life, and the very logic of the Declaration of Independence collapses. And, hence, its very dynamism vanishes.

Only in virtue of this inner principle can our institutions be rightly called free—institutions that make for freedom. If this inner principle is ever lost, if the American people are ever alienated from it, then the institutions themselves will eventually crumble, or be changed by demagogues or adventurers into monstrous and tyrannical forms. Indeed, the whole democratic process itself will make for the worst of all tyrannies, the tyranny which is ushered in as the rule of the masses, and is always, shortly thereafter, stabilized as ruthless dictatorship over everyone.

Our respective countries have spared no effort in giving material aid to advance and sustain the cause of free government everywhere. I believe our record in this respect

is one of generosity and honest purpose. But now, a new cooperative effort, on a higher level, is urgently needed toward a renewal of a political philosophy that alone can offer to the peoples of the world the stable hope of a common temporal salvation, under God and under law.

In putting forth this effort, we shall be paying an international debt, for our American public philosophy came to us as a heritage. We owe its leading principles to the British constitutional tradition. But we also owe them to the philosophers of Athens, to the jurists of Italy, to the doomsmen of the Germanic tribes, to the great thinkers of Paris and Salamanca, and especially to the sacred writers and prophets of the Bible.

The tradition of the Founding Fathers has been continuously and appropriately preserved and honored in America as a sacred trust. It has been publicly and officially affirmed on many occasions. President Lincoln, on May 30, 1863, echoed this tradition when he said:

"Whereas the Senate of the United States, devoutly recognizing the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all affairs of men and nations, has by a resolution requested the President to designate and set apart a day of national prayer and humiliation; and whereas it is the duty of nations as well as of men to owe their dependence upon the overruling power of God, to confess their sins and trespasses in humble sorrow, yet with the assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon."

The authentic voice of America rings out in those words. President Eisenhower in June 1952, quoted them in a proclamation of similar intent. He again emphasized this basic American doctrine, in his historical, inspiring second inaugural address on January 21, 1957, when he stated:

"I, too, am a witness, today testifying in your name to the principles and purposes to which we, as a people, are pledged.

"Before all else, we seek, upon our common labor as a Nation, the favor of Almighty God. And the hopes in our hearts fashion the deepest prayers of our people."

The American affirmation still prevails and is expressed in the motto "In God we trust," not only engraved on American coins but also printed on American postage so that the whole world might know where we find our strength and courage, and where we stand. At this critical stage in history we are prepared to pay our debt to those from whom we received our philosophy by striving to make this philosophy the basic bond of the union with all those people who, like us, love freedom and justice.

On January 5, 1957, in discussing factors that transcend the material, the President of the United States said that the Middle East is the birthplace of three great religions—Moslem, Christian, and Hebrew. He added that "it would be intolerable if the holy places of the Middle East should be subjected to a rule that glorifies atheistic materialism. Mecca and Jerusalem are more than places on the map. They symbolize religions which teach that the spirit has supremacy over matter and that the individual has a dignity and rights of which no despotic government can rightfully deprive him."

With further reference to North America and the free world, President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union message to the Congress, January 10, 1957, made the following statements:

"The existence of a strongly armed imperialistic dictatorship poses a continuing threat to the free world's, and thus to our own Nation's, security and peace. * * * America alone and isolated cannot assure even its own security. We must be joined by the capability and resolution of nations that have proved themselves dependable defenders of freedom. Isolation from them invites war."

And, with further reference to American principles, the President asserted, in the same message to the Congress:

"The world has so shrunk that all free nations are our neighbors. Without cooperative neighbors, the United States cannot maintain its own security and welfare, because, first, America's vital interests are worldwide, embracing both hemispheres and every continent; second, we have community of interest with every nation in the free world; third, interdependence of interests requires a decent respect for the rights and peace of all peoples.

"These principles motivate our actions within the United Nations. There, before all the world, by our loyalty to them, by our practices of them, we strive to set a standard to which all who seek justice and who hunger for peace can rally."

The rallying cause for democracy and freedom—what we love and treasure—derives its meaning from a Judeo-Christian concept of life. The lines of the pre-Christian psalmist are taken up again, "Unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." Such is the truth that will save us, and that is why communism will be written off by history as a failure.

The United States of America is a great power. It has been accused of being a capitalistic, materialistic nation. This is a moot question; it depends entirely on how one looks upon the use made of these attributes. We are regarded by many as a luxurious living people. We do enjoy a relatively high standard of living. We have even been accused, by the Communists, of being warmongers. Essentially, I am convinced, we are a God-loving, God-fearing people, who ardently desire, and abidingly seek, peace.

We wish others to share our comfortable, decent standard of living, and our complete freedom. We do not confuse or equate liberty and plenty, but we regard a decent standard of living as an economic guarantee of freedom. We are opposed to a state of economic well-being which also entails slavery. We are prepared to share our freedom and economic way of life with others; we are prepared to make tremendous sacrifices to achieve this; and we are quite prepared to fight, if need be, to preserve our way of life.

I believe the United States has grown to a position of world leadership not merely because of its military and economic might, but rather, because of its moral fiber, because of its spiritual foundations and because of the righteousness of its chartered course and of its destiny. As it increases in leadership and responsibility, it is only natural that it will become more and more vulnerable to criticism and attack.

Individual Americans, including their leaders, are naturally fallible. But, the United States value and contribution to the free world should be evaluated and respected in the light of the total efforts of the Nation, as expressed and exemplified by the official acts of its executive, legislative, and judicial branches. It is my humble opinion that thus far the United States has been faithful to its heritage. I leave its judgment to God and posterity.

Soviet Domination of Estonia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRESCOTT BUSH

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter received by me from Gaston O. Randvee, president of the Connecticut Estonian Society, Inc., and a declaration of that society.

There being no objection, the letter and declaration were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CONNECTICUT
ESTONIAN SOCIETY, INC.,
Willimantic, Conn., February 26, 1957.

Senator PRESCOTT BUSH,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: People of Estonian descent in the State of Connecticut observed the 39th anniversary of their country's independence on February 24 in Willimantic. The gathering was sponsored by the Connecticut Estonian Society. More than 250 attended and accepted a declaration which is to be presented to the United States Senators and Congressmen of Connecticut. This declaration and a booklet entitled "Soviet Crimes Against Estonia" are enclosed herewith.

Very truly yours,

GASTON O. RANDVEE,
President.

DECLARATION

The U. S. S. R. has committed multiple crimes against the rights of the Estonian nation and against liberties, properties, and lives of Estonians. The perpetration of these crimes continues in violation of percepts of international law and solemn commitments of the U. S. S. R.

The same pattern of crimes is being practiced over other Soviet dominated countries, and preparation for new aggressions and other crimes is under way on a worldwide scale. Millions are suffering under Soviet imposed terror and misery. No people in the world have accepted voluntarily the Soviet system. All are longing for the opportunity to overthrow the Communist regime.

Throughout history Estonians have been fighting against the foreign invaders until they regained their independence after the liberation war against the Soviet Union. The same spirit prevails at present. Only overwhelming Soviet forces stationed in Estonia prevent the people from driving out the enemy.

In their tragic situation they are looking for support from the free world. Sporadic declarations about law, liberty, and rights of subjected nations are not sufficient if they are not implemented.

We declare that for achievement of international peace and justice it is necessary that the free world condemn Soviet acts of aggression as international crimes, exercise pressures for the termination of these crimes, and as a first step demand the withdrawal of all Soviet forces and administration from Estonia and the other occupied countries. This should be the primary condition in any dealings with the U. S. S. R.

Rain in Texas—But Water Problems Remain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, many sections of Texas have ex-

perienced substantial rainfall within recent days. The rains have not been general enough or heavy enough to justify a statement that the long, hard drought is broken; but they give a basis for hoping that happy development will come before long.

Mr. President, one happy development in that connection could be the taking of final action on the deficiency appropriation bill which passed this body some time ago. I hope the distinguished President pro tempore will be able to have a conference held on the bill at an early date; and I express the hope that the House will agree to the Senate amendments, particularly the one with reference to the drought area and the feeds which will be used there, so that the provisions of the bill can be made effective during the cruel winter months.

Even when the drought is finally broken, however, the water problems of Texas will remain to be solved. That point is stressed in a very able editorial appearing in the San Antonio News of February 19. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WELCOME RAIN WON'T SOLVE CHRONIC WATER PROBLEMS

Welcome indeed are the soil-soaking rains which have fallen over most of the State in recent days, especially those in drought-plagued west and south Texas. Hopeful, too, are increasing signs that this region is heading into a wet-weather cycle which will restore its crippled farm-and-ranch industry.

But even the most optimistic weather prospects must be balanced against other hard and adverse facts. No matter how favorable a long-range turn weather may take, it will require years to rebuild drought-damaged soil, restock ranges, and restore agricultural working capital which the disaster has all but exhausted. Whenever it may break, this worst drought in local history will leave its mark on the Texas economy for years to come.

Furthermore, there is a very real danger that complacency toward this State's acute and chronic water problems may be generated by optimistic weather reports. That would indeed be foolishly shortsighted. Rain must not be allowed to ease the popular demand and political pressure for development of a comprehensive, grand-scale State water-resources program.

Politicians involved in the complex and costly water question are prone to be like the Southern farmer of folklore, who couldn't fix his roof while it was raining and decided it didn't need fixing when the weather was fair. That tendency is so strong that we have heard the half-serious opinion expressed that it might be better for the State not to enjoy a general rain until after the 55th Texas Legislature could complete action on the recommendations of the Texas Water Resources Commission.

The fact is, however, that no amount of rain—at least no amount likely to fall in the Southwestern region—can solve Texas' intensifying water problems. Rain is valuable only to the degree it is captured and utilized. No bounty from the heavens will solve our distribution problem.

Even with normal rainfall or more over a period of years, Texas' demand for water will continue to outrun usable supply, especially for domestic and industrial purposes in the burgeoning metropolitan areas, unless multi-million-dollar conservation plans are carried out.

And finally we must remember: Where drought has struck once it will strike again. The increased prosperity which a wet-weather cycle would generate should be greeted for its aid in financing the programs and projects necessary to sustain our economy through the next dry cycle.

Retirement of Harold Rogers of the Washington Star

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALAN BIBLE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, in yesterday's issue of the Washington Star there appears an article entitled "Harold Rogers, Reporter on Star 35 Years, Retires." I ask unanimous consent that this interesting and informative article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. Mr. Rogers has had long and distinguished service as an active newspaperman and is well known for his fairness and ability. I have personally come into contact with him in connection with my duties on the Committee on the District of Columbia, and I have always found him to be eminently fair and accurate.

Along with his many friends, I wish him every happiness in his well-deserved retirement.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HAROLD ROGERS, REPORTER ON STAR 35 YEARS, RETIRES

Harold B. Rogers, 65, retires today after 35 years as a reporter for the Star.

A perennially youthful man in spirit and appearance, Mr. Rogers has chronicled much of the District's growth to its present bustling state. He handled, at various times, reports out of the Justice and Treasury Departments and covered the planning and construction of the Federal triangle.

In recent years, his byline has headed accounts of proceedings on Capitol Hill, when the subject was the District, from home rule to the budget, from proposed bridges to pleas to move the Capital elsewhere.

VARIED ASSIGNMENTS

Since coming to the Star on March 4, 1922, Mr. Rogers' assignments brought him in contact with every phase of District life. His coverage of the ticklish restraint-of-trade suit against the American Medical Association and the District Medical Society won the respect of the city's physicians.

And the late Andrew Mellon once told Mr. Rogers, in private, he was not aware of rumors that held he was soon to build an art gallery for Washington. Some time after the conversation, plans to build such a gallery were announced.

Mr. Rogers was born in Pendleton, Ind., where he was educated in its public schools. He tasted the flavor of newspaper work during his college days when he edited a magazine at Earlham College, in Richmond, Ind.

He was graduated in 1914 and began work as a reporter for the Anderson (Ind.) Herald. He later attended the Columbia School of Journalism and then worked for a brief time on the Danbury (Conn.) News. After service with the Army during World War I, he joined the Associated Press in Washington, and later, the Star.

HONORED AT DINNER

At a dinner in his honor last night at the National Press Club, Mr. Rogers was described by close friends as a man who somehow has managed to come through 65 years without saying anything unpleasant about anybody or anything—even the weather.

Herbert P. Corn, managing editor of the Star, said Mr. Rogers always has had easy access to almost anyone in public life because of a reputation of never betraying a confidence.

B. M. McKelvey, editor of the Star, suggested the only upsetting quality in the man was that "no one can get mad at him."

For his years ahead, away from budgets and rambling hearings on the Hill, Mr. Rogers was given a hi-fi set.

He and his wife plan to relax at their home, 3620 T Street NW. They have been married 35 years.

They have 2 sons, Thomas, 24, of Salt Lake City, Utah, and Richard, 32, of Norman, Okla., both geologists.

No Boom Lasts Forever

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "No Boom Lasts Forever." The article was written by Henry Hazlitt and was published in Newsweek magazine of March 4, 1957. I wish to emphasize the quotation in the article from a book entitled "Commonsense Economics":

The propensity to work, and not the propensity to spend, is the foundation of national income and wealth.

That not only is commonsense economics, but it is the essence of the system of private enterprise that we inherited from the Jews of Old Testament days. In the Old Testament are many references to property rights and principles of thrift. To those who may question Henry Hazlitt's view that no boom lasts forever and inflation is a swindle, I commend the words of the prophet Nehemiah—Nehemiah 4: 6—who said:

So built we the wall; and all the wall was joined together unto the half thereof: for the people had a mind to work.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NO BOOM LASTS FOREVER
(By Henry Hazlitt)

The English-language edition has just appeared here of an important and illuminating book, Commonsense Economics by L. Albert Hahn. In addition to being a brilliant refutation of some of the chief fallacies of Keynesian economics, it includes one of the most persuasive discussions of the business cycle, as well as the shewdest theoretical analysis of price formation on the stock markets, that I have ever read.

But the reader should be warned that the book is not, as its author seems to imagine, a simple introductory text—"a sort of minimum economics for the businessman." For an introductory work Hahn's exposition is much too technical, condensed, and abstract. And though Hahn's style is studded with incisive epigrams, his book is not on the whole easy to read, because his sentences are often involved and Germanic.

Yet readers who come to the book with an adequate theoretical background will value it highly. Its correctives are particularly needed at the present time, when nearly ever government in the world, most notably including our own, is looking at events through Keynes-colored glasses, and assuming that the present inflationary boom can be continued forever, provided only that the Government will continue to spend and spend, inflate and inflate.

PROPENSITY TO WORK

Hahn shows what is wrong with this theory and policy. "The propensity to work," he insists, "and not the propensity to spend, is the foundation of national income and wealth." No inflation, he points out, can be continued forever. The stimulus of any dose of inflation, no matter how large must ultimately exhaust itself.

The Government is then faced with a dilemma—or rather a trilemma. If it tries to deflate the money and credit supply back to where it was, it will bring on price collapse, unemployment, bankruptcies, and perhaps prolonged depression. Even if it decides merely to prevent the inflation from going further, it may find itself in trouble. For during any prolonged inflation more and more people begin to act on the assumption that the inflation will continue. Many security prices and commodity prices, many wage rates, many ambitious building and other capital-investment projects, are based not merely on the existing inflation but on the belief in a still further inflation. When it is clear that an inflation has been stopped, these anticipatory prices fall. Overambitious investment plans are scaled down or abandoned. This creates what European economists call the stabilization crisis.

INFLATION A SWINDLE

If, unwilling to take the risk even of a stabilization crisis, the Government continues to inflate (by cheap-money policies, housing, subsidies, mortgage guaranties, farm subsidies, and even bigger spending), the boom may indeed be kept going longer. But it can be kept going only at an ever-increasing risk, not merely of a greater economic crisis at the end, but of a collapse of the Nation's currency and credit.

And there is no assurance, even so, that continued inflation can keep a boom going up to this point, much less than it can guarantee continued full employment. It can keep prices rising, but it cannot assure continuance of volume prosperity. The supposed magic of inflation, in fact, consists entirely in the maintenance of the money illusion. Once that is seen through by all major groups, the boom collapses. Inflation is essentially a swindle and cannot be openly planned. Creditors increase the interest rates they demand to compensate for the expected further depreciation of the currency. Labor unions demand wage increases that outrun both price and productivity increases. Inflation can work only as long as prices keep ahead of costs and maintain profit margins. The moment costs run ahead of prices, the joys of the spree are over, and only the headache remains.

And the sad part is that the whole binge is seen to have been unnecessary. Reasonably full employment could have been maintained all along, without inflation, by a sufficiently free and fluid adjustment of wage rates to prices and of prices to each other.

The Civil Service and the Spoils System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, in the early days of the first Eisenhower term of office, a secret plan was developed in the White House for the filling of many top civil-service jobs on an outright spoils-system basis. The plan emerged under the label of the Willis order. The effectiveness of this plan was greatly diminished when it was exposed to public view.

Now that a second term is starting, it seems we are again faced with another patronage raid on career jobs, which the administration hopes will meet with greater success than the Willis order in taking care of party loyals. This time the plan is more cleverly designed, but is no less objectionable. It emerged only a few days ago in a letter from the White House over the signature of Philip Young to the heads of all departments and agencies. The plan was exposed for what it is in yesterday's press.

Mr. President, I send to the desk an article from yesterday's Washington Evening Star over the byline of Joseph Young which I wish to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. This article explains the plan, and indicates to some extent how it is designed to operate. Let me make it clear here and now that I do not propose to stand idly by and watch the merit system be torn apart by the administration to satisfy its appetite for patronage jobs.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MOVE ON TO PUT MORE TOP JOBS UNDER POLITICS—WHITE HOUSE ACTS TO TAKE KEY POSTS FROM CIVIL SERVICE

(By Joseph Young)

The White House has asked Government department and agency heads to submit lists of all career executive jobs that they feel should be removed from civil service and placed under the political schedules. The Star learned today.

The White House also asked the agencies to list their needs for new noncareer executive jobs.

Outgoing CSC Chairman Philip Young, who in his capacity as personnel adviser to President Eisenhower signed the letter sent to the various agencies, denies that the intent is to raid top civil service career jobs.

RECOMMENDATIONS CITED

Mr. Young said the move is merely one to implement the recommendation of the Hoover Commission and is so designated. The Hoover group proposed that a clear line of demarcation be drawn between career and political jobs so that career officials can be kept out of political controversies and relieved of the responsibilities for the advocacy or defense of policies and programs.

It also proposed that additional noncareer jobs be provided where needed and that such appointees not be placed in the line of command below career administrations.

The White House letter instructs the agencies to submit, within 90 days, their lists of career jobs that should be included in the noncareer (political) category. Also, the agencies were asked to list any need for new executive jobs to be placed outside of civil service.

This information, together with a policy statement from each agency explaining why their particular situation requires or does not require additional jobs, will be sent to the CSC's executive director. In turn, the information to be sent to a special committee composed of representatives of the President's Personnel Liaison Office in the White House, the Budget Bureau and the CSC.

TO STUDY REQUESTS

The White House letter said this committee would study the requests and then make known to the agencies its decision on the job requests. The letter said that the committee's approval of such a job request list does not constitute requests for additional political schedule C jobs and their final approval would still have to come from the Civil Service Commission.

However, many career officials feel that any such job requests approved by the President's special committee would almost certainly lead to approval by the CSC.

In the letter to the agencies, the White House noted that the heads of Federal agencies recently stated that additional political executives are not needed now because legislation was secured by this administration for additional assistant secretaries in several departments. The letter added:

"Nevertheless, if a current review indicates a further need, the necessary legislative or administrative requests will be initiated at the earliest possible date."

TEXT OF WHITE HOUSE LETTER ON NEW POLITICAL JOBS

Some time ago the President wrote to me regarding the Hoover Commission personnel recommendations which cover relationships between the noncareer political executives and the career administrators in the Federal service. After indicating his general approval of these recommendations, the President stated:

"I request that you develop—a program of action which takes these suggestions into account."

In this connection, President Eisenhower stated:

"One of the most important reports submitted by the Hoover Commission deals with personnel with civil service. * * * The commission points out very effectively the degree to which better direction of the affairs of Government and improvement in the general level of its services to our people depend upon improved Federal personnel management. * * *"

The Commission emphasizes the vital need of strengthening our political executive group and offers many valuable sugestions for meeting this problem. * * * The Commission also emphasizes the need to strengthen the career service. * * * It is increasingly essential to our democratic system that our career personnel be competent, well trained, and nonpartisan.

CRITERIA DEVELOPED

The Commission points to the dangers of permitting career servants in the course of their work to become identified with partisan policies, and thus subject to personal attack. The Commission addressed itself to this difficult and long-standing problem and developed criteria for designating the tasks which are appropriate for political appointees as distinguished from those which should be assigned to career employees.

The Commission points out very properly that its suggested criteria must be applied with some degree of flexibility. I believe

that these criteria are basically sound and that they provide a useful guide for a practical division of responsibility between these two groups of public servants.

Accordingly, it is the desire of the President that positive action be taken to improve personnel management by strengthening both the political executive and career administrator groups in Government.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The first three recommendations of the Hoover Commission on personnel and civil service seek to accomplish this objective. In brief, they provide:

1. (a) That career administrators, as rapidly as possible, be relieved of responsibility for the advocacy or defense of policies and programs, and that they be kept out of political controversies.

1. (b) That, to the extent needed, additional noncareer executives be provided at the departmental level; and that noncareer appointees not be placed in line of command below career administrators.

2. That the President designate the positions which should be in the noncareer category in accordance with the criteria specified in the report, but with some flexibility.

To carry out recommendation No. 1 (a), the heads of departments and independent establishments will prepare and promulgate to their personnel a policy statement which fits their particular situation, but definitely carries out the desires of the President and the Hoover Commission recommendations to keep career administrators out of political controversies.

Two copies of this policy statement should be submitted to the executive director, United States Civil Service Commission, within 30 days from the date of this letter. Practically all agencies agreed to this recommendation at the time comments were submitted to the Bureau of the Budget in reply to Budget Bulletin No. 55–5.

TO REVIEW NEEDS

To implement recommendation No. 1 (b), the heads of departments and independent establishments will review their need for additional noncareer executives. In submitting comments in reply to the Budget Bulletin No. 55–5, the heads of most agencies stated that additional political executives are not needed now because legislation was secured by this administration for additional assistant secretaries in several departments. Nevertheless, if a current review indicates a further need, the necessary legislative or administrative requests will be initiated at the earliest possible date.

To implement recommendation No. 2, the heads of departments and independent establishments will compile a list of the positions in their agency which, in their opinion, should be included in the noncareer executive group, with the following exceptions:

1. The positions filled by Presidential appointment, with or without confirmation by the Senate, need not be listed. However, each agency will report on the above-mentioned list, the total number of such positions, as of December 31, 1956.

TO REPORT TOTAL

2. The positions in the noncareer executive group which are now excepted as schedule C positions need not be listed because information regarding these positions is already available. However, each agency will report on the above-mentioned list, the total number of such positions, as of December 31, 1956. (Note: Do not include the positions of a personal and confidential nature, such as junior personal aides, confidential secretaries, and personal chauffeurs because they are not executives.)

All other positions, which the head of each agency wishes to include in the noncareer executive group, will be placed on this list by (a) title of the position, (b) organizational location, and (c) grade.

For each position on this list, submit, in addition, (a) an organization chart showing the location of the position in the agency, (b) a copy of the official position description, and (c) a statement which sets forth the characteristics and reasons for including the position in the noncareer executive group.

The criteria in paragraphs (b) an (c) of Recommendation No. 2 of the Hoover Commission Report on Personnel and Civil Service, with such flexibility as may be required, shall be used in the preparation of this list.

NINETY-DAY LIMIT SET

Kindly submit the list with accompanying material in quadruplicate within 90 days from the date of this letter to the Executive Director, United States Civil Service Commission.

Upon receipt of these lists, representatives of the President's adviser on personnel management, of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and of the Civil Service Commission will review them to assure reasonable compliance with the criteria. The results of this joint review will be communicated to the heads of agencies, following which steps will be taken by the agencies and these representatives to resolve any differences.

The finally approved and authenticated list will be sent to each agency head. These lists do not constitute requests for additional schedule C positions. The practice now followed of securing Civil Service Commission approval of schedule C cases is not changed by these instructions. The above-mentioned review is to assure compliance with criteria and to give one committee the overall picture on the total noncareer executive group.

By direction of the President:

PHILIP YOUNG.

Lower Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter to the editor which recently appeared in the Washington Star. This letter is in reply to a Washington Star editorial of February 11.

The letter deserves the thoughtful attention of every Member of Congress. Its author is Mr. Robert G. Lewis, of the National Farmers Union, Washington, D. C. Mr. Lewis is an outstanding agricultural journalist and an able student of agricultural economics.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOWER PRICE SUPPORTS

Your editorial of February 11 is very disappointing in a newspaper that usually exhibits outstanding integrity and good sense.

In the first place, you should hold yourselves above indulging in the propagandistic euphemisms which are, perhaps necessarily, the usual tongue of the working politicians. Your editorial notes that the new support price for eight farm commodities has been set below presently prevailing market prices, then remarks approvingly that "it is an opportune moment for the Department of Agriculture to move toward its goal of farm production for consumption instead of storage in Government warehouses." This somewhat embellishes even Secretary Benson's sloganized terminology for his goal as "price supports which will not accumulate surpluses."

By what right do you call the device you are discussing here a price support? If the so-called support is to be collapsed opportunely so as to keep it below the market price, it is a travesty to go on using an honest word in a way that falsely suggests the device under consideration will be or is intended in some way to support the market price.

In the context of Government farm price and income programs, it is not possible to support prices of farm commodities without either accumulating surplus stocks for disposal or use or in Government storage, or otherwise administering artificial scarcity in the market supply thereof. The Eisenhower administration aims in the long run to avoid completely the obligation to do anything to support farm prices; it is repeatedly and explicitly on record to that effect.

The administration would not have needed to lose three times as much on farm price supports in 4 years as previous administrations lost in 20 years if it had, for one thing, enlarged the authority of farmers to regulate their production to cover additional commodities.

Farmers time after time have voted by 9 to 1 margins to concur in such voluntary regulation of their marketings, which is the almost universal practice (by private means) of other industries to maintain their prices at chosen levels. In fact, higher supports would have helped, in conjunction with a more extensive program of adjusting production and marketings, to encourage participation by farmers and so to keep losses down. But instead, the administration made no effort whatsoever to take timely steps to adjust to the supply-demand imbalance as it developed, neither by strengthening the means for controlling production, nor by supporting measures to increase consumption.

The strangest sophistry of all is your contention that those who oppose this reduction in support prices are crying before the farmer is hurt. This is so, you say, because the new support price has been cut below present market prices for the eight commodities concerned.

Well, give the rabbit credit for squealing ahead of the closing jaws of the wolf; for 4 years now, farmers have watched Secretary Benson deflate the price supports for these commodities by 25 percent and more, as market prices sagged lower and lower. Next year, by your reasoning, Mr. Benson should collapse the support even lower to avoid any risk that the downward spiral of farm prices might catch up.

ROBERT G. LEWIS,
National Farmers Union.

WASHINGTON.

The Tungsten-Buying Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Until Christmas," which appeared in today's Washington Daily News, in which one of the important beneficiaries of the Government's tungsten-buying program calls it a $300 million boondoggle.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNTIL CHRISTMAS

One of the important beneficiaries of the Government's tungsten-buying program calls it a $300 million boondoggle.

Philip M. McKenna, president of a company which in the last 4 years has received about $10 million for subsidy-priced tungsten, wrote to 3 Senators that there is 20 years' supply of tungsten—used in making steel—stockpiled now. The Government, he says, should sell instead of buy, to get the tungsten stockpile down to a 5-year supply, "which is plenty for any war emergency."

"Are we determined," he asked, "to spend our country into bankruptcy, as Communists wish?"

The Government subsidy price is $55 a ton. Mr. McKenna says the London market recently was $21.40 and he thinks tungsten may be bought soon for as little as $18.

Pending in Congress are appropriation bills amounting to $70 million, mainly to continue the tungsten subsidy.

The House has turned them down. The Senate wants to spend the money. The argument will be settled in conference and Representative MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, Democrat, of Ohio, heads the House group in the conference.

Representative KIRWAN says he is "ready to sit tight until Christmas" to save the money. We hope he sits until spring, if necessary.

The Rights of the Consumer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 1, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Rights of the Consumer," written by Clarence E. Bonnett, and published in U. S. A., an American magazine of fact and opinion.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RIGHTS OF THE CONSUMER

(By Clarence E. Bonnett, Tulane University School of Business Administration)

In discussion of closed-shop agreements and right-to-work laws, the issues are usually stated in terms of the rights of a worker versus the rights of the union, rarely in terms of the rights of the consumer.

Yet, since all of us are consumers, our rights should be preeminent in all questions involving public policy and laws pertaining thereto. A résumé of these arguments pro and con will serve to show the neglect of the consumer's viewpoint:

ARGUMENT FOR FREEDOM

It is argued that the worker has the right to join or not to join a union without compulsion from any source. He has the right to work for any employer who desires to hire him and on such terms as are mutually satisfactory. He should not be forced to join a union and pay dues to it when he dislikes the union officials and the manner in which they operate the union. He may have worked for that employer for many years; he may be one of a few or many workers who are unwilling to join the union so as to establish the closed shop.

For instance, the oft-cited Danbury Hatters case arose because D. E. Loewe refused to discharge a few of his oldest workers who would not join the hatters' union which then in combination with the hat manufacturers' association had formed an almost complete monopoly of making hats.

More recently, the head of a concern in Cleveland, Ohio, appeased the union by signing a closed-shop agreement when none of his employees otherwise could be induced to join the union. He thus avoided a polecat strike and stranger picketing by professional goons. The noted Shinner case involved a polecat strike which was sustained by our highest Court.

ARGUMENT FOR MONOPOLY

Unionists argue that the closed shop is essential to the security of the union. No worker is entitled to work in a shop and enjoy the higher wages and better conditions obtained by the union without being subject to union discipline and paying the union dues which are necessary for its effective maintenance.

A closed shop, unionists argue, allows union officials to devote their time to giving members the most for their money in handling grievances and the like, and not in carrying on organization campaigns with highly individualistic workers. A closed shop protects the union from undercutting by an unscrupulous employer and from raids by rival unions. No worker has the right to undermine his class. Democracy in industry requires that the majority should determine the conditions for the entire group, for "what's good for America is good for the unions."

EFFECTIVE REBUTTAL

In rebuttal, it is claimed that no worker should be compelled to pay union dues to hold a job, any more than that everybody in a community should support a certain church, chamber of commerce, any other organization which contributes to a community's good.

In America, opinion is strongly against a government-established church with unwilling members. How can we logically favor a government-sponsored union with the closed shop and compulsory membership? Moreover, a union which cannot exist without captive (unwilling) members deserves to fail. A union is not a branch of government empowered to levy taxes upon everyone within a shop or factory not owned by the union.

PREJUDICED REJOINDER

In rejoinder, union officials contend that when industry is dominated by giant corporations, the individual actually has no rights as a worker that the employer needs to respect and, accordingly, the right to be nonunion does not exist.

TRIPLE CONSPIRACY

Even assuming that all workers in an industry wanted the closed shop and that all employers were willing to grant such a shop, should they be allowed to reach a collective agreement for the closed shop?

This is a question where the consumer's rights should have the fullest consideration. That situation lends itself to a collusion for fixing prices—a double or even triple conspiracy against consumers, potential workers, and potential employers, often with the tacit, if not corrupt, sanction of public officials who fail to enforce the law.

However, the law can be evaded or avoided under interpretations of the amended Sherman Antitrust Act by the Supreme Court of the United States, as in the Apex Hosiery case, since the union was exempted from that act in conducting a polecat sitdown strike to unionize Apex, with every indication of trying to stop its cut-throat competition.

For years the union of photoengravers actually fixed the price at which the photoengraver charged his customers. In the Brims case, it was the activities of the material dealers and contractors, reinforced by those of the union, that made the combination an unlawful conspiracy against dealers outside Chicago. Under closed-shop agreements, material dealers and contractors can avoid the law by allowing the union to do all the restraining of trade.

In the clothing industry today, unions police the industry to prevent cut-throat competition, and an examiner of the Federal Trade Commission gave an opinion that the Government had no case against such policing.

Conference proceedings of the coal operators' and miners' union tell a story of how the union was given the closed shop with the checkoff so as to have funds to organize nonunion mines and stop the competition of the West Virginia coal-mine operators.

FOR WHOSE WELFARE?

Today, a special committee of the Senate of the United States is investigating union racketeering, and undoubtedly has the power to look into the operation of the closed shop in fostering a conspiracy against the consumer.

Union grafting on welfare funds probably hurts the union member as much if not more than the consumer; it hurts the consumer if employers charge higher prices to meet the levy on them for the fund. But the charge would probably be the same whether the union officials were honest or corrupt. Nor should Congress overlook the fact that a welfare fund administered in fact by union officials fortified by the closed shop gives them enormous power over union members, and that that power can be exercised to the great detriment of the consumer.

President Eisenhower has urged industrialists and union officials to refrain from increasing prices and wages which are adding to the spiral of inflation. The history of labor-management relations in the United States, however, is replete with instances where the closed-shop unionists and industrialists did not exercise such restraint, and priced themselves out of the market.

Through it all, the consumer was made to pay dearly for such conspiracies. We cannot trust either some industrialists or some unionists, as unrestrained separate groups, to give due consideration to the consumer; how much less can we expect of them when they are in a closed-shop combination. Too often, such a combination desires a strike to force up prices.

It is high time to consider the consumer before we have a spontaneous or planned buyers' strike with its inevitable depression and deflation.

Joyce Kilmer's Son Pays Tribute to St. David

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow is St. David's Day, and in honor of this day I am extending my remarks to include an article written at my request by Kenton Kilmer, of the History and Government Division of the Library of Congress. Mr. Kilmer is the son of the late Joyce Kilmer, the poet who was killed in action in World War I, and in his tribute to the patron saint of Wales will be detected the touch of poetic

beauty that made the poems of his celebrated father an imperishable part of American literature.

The article follows:

ST. DAVID'S DAY, MARCH 1, 1957

March 1 is a day that never passes unnoticed by any man with even a drop of Welsh blood. On this day we honor St. David, archbishop of Caerleon, and patron saint of Wales—and in honoring this great saint we join, all over the world, in loving tribute to the land of strength and beauty, of rugged coasts and craggy mountains, of deep green valleys and steep hillside pastures. Out of the depth and strength of the heart of Wales come the poetry and song, the wisdom and stubborn courage, that are the Welsh contribution to America. Today we give thanks to Wales for these qualities, and to St. David, the patron saint of Wales, and to God, whom St. David served with Welsh determination and single-mindedness throughout his long and fruitful life.

Giraldus Cambrensis, the great Welsh historian to whom we owe much of our knowledge of early Britain, writing almost 700 years after St. David's time, splendidly sums up what the life of the saint meant to his contemporaries and to those who came after him. Giraldus calls St. David "a mirror and pattern to all, instructing both by word and example, excellent in his preaching, but still more so in his works. He was," Giraldus continues, "a doctrine to all, a guide to the religious, a life to the poor, a support to orphans, a protection to widows, a father to the fatherless, a rule to monks, and a model to teachers; becoming all to all, that so he might gain all to God."

The story of St. David, as we read it today, is cluttered with the legendary accretions of the centuries. A pedigree places the saint as 18th in lineal descent from the Virgin Mary herself. A pious tale accounts for the warmth and health-giving properties of the hot chalybeate springs at the town of Bath, in Somerset, by recounting how an angel gave the springs these properties to help the saint to rest and relax after a hard preaching tour. Whenever St. David preached, a white dove perched on his shoulder, and the ground under his feet humped itself up into a hill so that he could be the more easily seen and heard.

These are foolish stories, such as accumulate around the reputation of a great man, attracted by the dynamism of his character as dust flies to an electrically charged object. Brush them off, and even after 15 centuries the character of the historical St. David shines forth clearly—a man of force and wisdom and kindness, builder of churches, founder of monasteries and convents, organizer of the church in Wales, a man loved and admired by his contemporaries and successors. He was a fighter for the faith, and it was not entirely an error that a later age, the age of chivalry, made of him a hero of knightly romance, one of the seven champions of Christendom. In sober fact, he wore no armor and swung no sword, except that, following St. Paul's advice, he put on the whole armor of God, and took up the shield of faith, and the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God. In this warfare St. David is still our leader, and his influence, through the Welsh, is strong for good in today's America.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 161. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

apart as Ot-
officially un-
be denied for
a convincing
exact jigsaw
known facts.

AY

ent, in ac-
previously
the Senate
on Monday

; and (at 4
) the Sen-
eing, under
until Mon-
ock a. m.

ived by the

ED STATES
souri, to be
ne Court of
, retired.

Appendix

The Progressive Spirit in an Age of Conformity—Address by Senator Douglas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, March 2, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the distinguished senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] on Thursday night at the National Roosevelt Day dinner of Americans for Democratic Action, at the Hotel Commodore, in New York City. Our colleague spoke on the Progressive Spirit in an Age of Conformity. I have found his address to be an unusually clear statement of the liberal view, and I think his remarks will be of interest to all who read the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PROGRESSIVE SPIRIT IN AN AGE OF CONFORMITY

(By Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, before the Roosevelt Day dinner, New York, A. D. A., Hotel Commodore, February 28, 1957)

I

We are all familiar with the two opposing qualities in a society, namely the progressive and the conforming. The progressives are the innovators—those who seek for new and better ways of doing things and whose aim is a more abundant life for all. The conformists are the conservatives who seek to guard the established order and who resist innovation.

History is in large part the struggle between these two groups as they compete for the support of the intermediate group or those who are neither completely conservative nor completely progressive, and whose judgment determines the victory.

Both groups, of course, are necessary for a sound society. But there is also little doubt that we advance through the efforts of the progressives. Without new ideas, society would become stagnant and changeless. A half century ago, a little known anthropologist, William Jones, pointed out that not only the development but even the survival of a society depended upon its ability to meet the requirements of a surrounding world and an environment which itself was not static, but always changing.

Recently, Arnold Toynbee has taken up the same theme and finds in stimulus an effective response the key to progress.

As to what makes some men and women progressives, or as we loosely say, liberals, we have a wide variety of explanations. Some, like the inimitable W. S. Gilbert, make it a matter of pure heredity or the arrangement of the genes as he did in these lines:

"I often think it's comical
That Nature always does contrive
That every boy and every gal
That's born into the world alive
Is either a little Liberal
Or else a little Conservative."

The physiologist accounts for the differences by the normal transition from conforming childhood through rebellious adolescence to settled middle age as the result of changes in metabolism and of nerve response. The psychiatrist will explain that each group is reacting against the opposites in their respective parents, conformists rebelling against their progressive parents and progressives in turn revolting against conservative fathers and authoritarians. Libertarians like John Stuart Mill are in this view the result of the authoritarian practices of their parents and authoritarians like Hitler the product of undisciplined fathers.

The economic interpreters of history, however, turn from forces inside to those outside of man. Some say that progress comes as the external conditions of life become less harsh and men have the leisure for inventions. Others, like Hugh Cecil, say that conservatism is the child of enjoyment and that a contented people will always like the familiar and distrust the unknown and hence be conservative and conforming. The business-cycle interpreters follow this lead. Conservatism and conformity, they declare, are the characteristics of prosperity. When all is apparently going well, when incomes are rising and employment relatively full, the mass of people are complacent with things as they are. It is only when a severe recession or a depression sets in that society in desperation is willing to innovate.

All of these theories are partially true. But they leave the answer as to whether one is a conformist or a progressive to forces outside human choice and to be determined for us by fatalistic forces which the individual cannot control.

Man, however, is not a mere puppet. He can make rational choices and that is the justification for adult education, journals of opinion, political parties and such meetings as that which we are having tonight.

I take it that there is little doubt as to which side we of the A. D. A. are on and under which banner we want to range ourselves. It is the standard of the progressives. We recognize that progress, as I have said, comes from the innovators. If mankind had always held to the existing and the familiar and had never dared to launch into the unknown, we would still be naked savages, huddled in caves and living off berries and small game. The whole complex which we call civilization would not exist.

This is true even though the conservatives also perform a valuable function. For they furnish the inertia against which a good idea must test itself. They help to save society from too many mistakes. They provide the stability which prevents the rate of change from being so catastrophically fast as to imperil both the mental health of individuals and the cohesion of society.

And yet when all is said and done, there is seldom any real danger that there will be too few conservatives. Man is indeed so conditioned by the familiar that the danger is all the other way. It is the ranks of the progressives which tend at best to be thin and against whom the heavy pressure of the here and now operates with powerful effect.

If we could, we would like to be the Akhenatons, the Michelangelos, the Beethovens, the Jeffersons, the Darwins, and the Einsteins. Instinctively, we recognize these as beings superior to the uniformity of the traditionalists and conformists.

Yet such innovators as these possess qualities with which few of us are endowed. Are we then to be condemned to mere passivity? By no means. For if we cannot be pathfinders ourselves, we can nevertheless admire those who are and encourage them on their way. Moreover, we can at least be part of the wagon train of humanity as it moves westward toward the horizon into new country and can have the fellowship of shared adventure.

We are all of course aware of the qualifications which we should make. Innovation should not be blind or haphazard. If it is, the results are likely to be disastrous. Innovation should deal with real problems and the proposed answers should be based on accumulated knowledge and experience. Columbus was not a reckless adventurer but instead based his venture upon a variety of observations and much evidence. But probably the innovator or the progressive, like Columbus, does need to be sustained by an inner faith.

In this connection it is well to remember Santayana's sonnet:

"Columbus found a world and had no chart,
Save that which faith deciphered in the skies.
To trust the soul's invincible surmise
Was all his science and his only art."

The innovator must believe that at its heart the universe is friendly and the unknown is as an exciting challenge and not a fearsome adversary. He must believe that we do not know all the secrets of life and that there is much more of truth yet to be discovered and revealed. With this realization go modesty and an absence of cocksureness.

II

It is sometimes said that America has been progressive in the applied arts but conservative in politics and human affairs. The first is true as our unparalleled material progress abundantly demonstrates. But the second is at best only partially true.

The founding of our country was in itself an innovation, so great a one that John Winthrop, the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony wrote in his diary (as he sailed toward the New World), "We are as a city on a hill. The eyes of all men are upon us." And the new Republic which was established after 160 years of experiment, was a noble venture into the future. Inspired no doubt by the great English and French writers of the period, it was nevertheless, the first time that satesmen declared that government was designed to promote the innate rights of men to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and that its just powers came from the people. This was not merely the pale faith of summer soldiers and of sunshire patriots—it was backed up with blood, in the snow of Valley Forge and the stifling heat of Cowpens. From out of the success of the American Revolution came the great extension over the Western World not merely of political but also of social democracy. Jefferson and his great collaborator, Madison, and sturdy George Mason, together with a host of others helped to release upon the world the liberating influences of freedom.

And this yeast still moves upon the waters and in the spirit of man in far off Africa and Asia.

Three-quarters of a century later the North and the West took up arms not merely to preserve the American Union as a physical entity but also to free the slaves and permit the democratic experiment to go on. In the bloodiest war of modern times, this faith was then affirmed.

There followed 40 years of reaction in which the American spirit wandered through the deserts of materialistic conformity. But the seeds sown during this period by the populists and the muckrakers began to take root and to flower in the progressive movement from 1910 to 1916. Reform was in the air—the legal protection of women and children, the development of popular government and more equitable taxation and a myriad of other causes were being vigorously advocated. Under a liberal President, beginnings were made on many of these innovations.

But then came the war, which absorbed all the energies of the Nation. And after it, as after the Civil War, came reaction and materialism. The progressive spirit seemed to be dead and such revolt as there was, was channeled against the prohibitory amendment and along the supposed paths of Sigmund Freud. Articulate America was too much absorbed in getting rich via the stock market to give much thought to the future of our country.

With the economic collapse came an awakening. Under the magnetic and inspired leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt a host of measures were passed in the 5 years between 1933 and 1938.

Since then in internal affairs a legislative stalemate has set in. A bipartisan coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans has dominated Congress. Moreover, just as the new Toryism in Great Britain has ceased its open opposition to social reform and no longer seeks to repeal the welfare measures of the past, so has the self-styled modern Republicanism. Quiet alministrative sabotage is of course practiced but no open frontal attack is being made. The progressive forces in politics find themselves therefore forced to engage in a whole series of defensive actions on apparently minor issues which because they are complicated do not stir the blood or awaken the support of the people.

We are indeed in a period like the late twenties. The enthusiasm of an earlier period has subsided, people are much better off, the stock market has been booming, there is a rush to the suburbs and to the conforming type of life which the suburbs generally encourage, there is a big demand for tranquilizers so that we can be drugged into a happy state of euphoria, the daily and weekly press of the country is steadily becoming more and more the organ of big business and the purveyor of mental-happiness pills. Big corporations are more and more dominating the scene and imposing their own standards of behavior and opinion not only upon their executives, both junior and senior, but also upon all who aspire to admission into those classes.

In politics there has been such a rush toward the middle of the road that a terrific traffic jam has been created there. The distinguishing mark of a good Senator is said to be "accommodation" and a willingness to bow to the will of the inner club. All this has led to what an observer has termed "the bland leading the bland."

Moreover, with many of the old immediate goals apparently obtained conformists are proclaiming and erstwhile progressives are questioning whether progressivism has not shot its bolt. Is there need, people ask, for any more crusades? Will not our great industrial machine pour out increasing riches for us all without effort or pain—and are we not moving into the best of all possible worlds where we can abandon public effort for private enjoyment?

This is a good question but I hope you will forgive me if I do not give a popular answer. The men and women of my generation have heard all this before. For this is precisely what was being proclaimed and believed in the 1920's and was proved to be terribly false in a few short years.

While I am no such prophet of gloom and doom as Herbert Hoover and George Humphrey, I think I know enough both of history and of the present to believe that no social order, including our own, is perfect, that great improvements can and should be made, and that change and recurring crises, economic, social and military, sweep upon the world and that there are really no happy islands of secure contentment left. The question is whether we progressives should try to perfect our civilization and to prepare for these crises or join the lotus-eating conformists in a thoughtless acceptance of the carefully cultivated mood of the times. There can, I think, be only one answer which forward-minded men and women can make. And that is forward.

III

But in what direction shall we move? Here I would like to suggest the following lines for needed action which certainly should call for our best thought and most courageous action:

1. The first is the necessary job of guarding the social gains we now have from erosion and making further improvements in them. Here I would emphasize the protection of consumers from the exactions of the big oil and gas combines, the protection of trade and service employees, far better care for our migratory farm laborers and the unfortunate children who follow in their wake, the development of our water resources and of atomic energy, the reform of our taxing system, the adequate development of education to give all a decent chance and to enable the gifted to make especial progress; a relentless war upon the slums and the provision of decent housing for those in the lower and middle income groups.

2. The improvement of race relations and the eradication of racial and religious discrimination as rapidly as possible. Here is something that men and women can work for with all their heart and soul. Legislation in this direction is important but even more important is the development and demonstration of this spirit in the lives of individuals and groups. The Boy Scout slogan of doing a good deed every day is a worthy one. But if each of us would do some concrete act of friendliness toward men and women of other groups only every week, it would sweeten the whole spirit of American life. And from it would flow greater fellowship and friendship within our society and strengthen collective efforts to remove present abuses, as by civil rights legislation that is so long overdue.

3. I would further urge that a concentration of business and power is neither desirable nor inevitable and that what we should seek instead is a broader distribution of property and of power to the end that all may have enough to be secure but not so much as to menace others.

This is the underlying economic and social problem of our times. If the present trend toward bigness continues, then society will become divided between a relatively small group of managers and large groups of petty officials and workers. I am convinced that the economic efficiency of the modern business Goliaths is probably exaggerated and that their advantages are primarily financial and marketing. Their increase threatens indeed to replace democracy with a plutocracy administered by a managerial class. Moreover, as White has pointed out, the type of organization man which develops under this system is not the self-reliant American whom we prize.

European Socialists are content to let these giants become ever larger, believing that ultimately the state will then collectivize them. But even if this did occur, it would not be desirable. For power and control would be within even fewer hands. If the state controls the vast proportion of economic activity and a political party controls the state, how much freedom would there be for opponents? Few political leaders are deeply tolerant by nature. They have to be taught tolerance by the balance of political and economic power within the state. Let that balance become overwhelming or put almost complete power in their hands, then they will almost certainly use that power to coerce opposition. Russia should have taught us the lesson that complete collectivism is ultimately destructive of freedom.

The founders of American progressivism, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln in former times, and La Follette, Norris, and Brandeis in our generation had a sounder vision. They wanted to distribute power more broadly so that initiative would be stimulated and so that men could be more free.

I submit that even in the financial canyons of New York, the great steel mills of Pittsburgh and Gary and the automobile factories of Detroit, this philosophy is still true. We should try to protect small and moderate-size business and the family farm. We should try to democratize the great corporations by developing more stockholders like Lewis Gilbert and promoting minority representation upon boards of directors, as we practice in my home State of Illinois.

At the same time we should seek the further democratization of the big unions which big industry has called into being. In some fields government has a distinct function to perform but our overall goal, I submit, should be distributivism rather than collectivism.

4. Finally, I should like to suggest that our frontiers have long since passed the Pacific and are now worldwide. Although we have only 6 percent of the world's population, we are the most powerful nation on the globe. Are we to go the way of Babylon and Egypt, Greece, and Rome, and the other great empires which have risen and fallen? If we are as selfish as they were, we will. But if we can devote a fraction of our energies into making this a better world for the teeming populations of the earth, we may not only survive but lead the way to a new development of mankind. And it was for such a development that our Founding Fathers believed they had pointed the way. They believed that their principles had universal and not merely national significance. With sober effort on our part we can help to realize their wider aim.

Summary of the Kelley Bill and Other Proposed School Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, March 2, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a summary which Mrs. Neuberger and I have prepared for our monthly newsletter for February 1957, describing the major proposals with reference to Federal aid to education now before Congress. These proposals are found in the so-called Kelley bill, which I am sponsoring in the Senate, and in the administration's program in this field.

It seems to me that the analysis which we have prepared, with the able assistance of school organizations such as the

National Education Association and others, demonstrates quite conclusively that the Kelley bill is not only far more adequate, but is also more fair and equitable to States which have made the greatest individual effort in proportion to their income, in order to provide adequate education for their children.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NO. 1 CHALLENGE TO THE 85TH CONGRESS

The annual rate of Federal spending for armaments has been running about $40 billion. Yet we have been unable to pass legislation to help pay for building even 200,000 new classrooms a year, the bare minimum needed to provide adequate facilities for the training of the next generation of citizens. Since schools are the lanterns which light the way to progress and understanding, passage of a Federal school-aid bill is the No. 1 challenge to this session of Congress.

Congressional action on school aid centers on two different proposals, one offered by the Eisenhower administration and another developed under the leadership of Representative AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania. I am sponsoring in the Senate a bill identical to the Kelley bill, so that the Senate can work on the proposed legislation simultaneously with its progress in the House.

Differences in the two bills are particularly important to Oregon taxpayers, and parents of Oregon schoolchildren should know of the contrasting provisions. In the first place, the State of Oregon would receive 86 percent more annually in Federal school construction aid through the Kelley bill than by terms of the Eisenhower proposal. The administration plan would allocate $325 million a year for each of the next 4 years—a grand total of $1,300,000,000—under a formula predicated largely on need. The Kelley bill would allocate $600 million a year for each of the next 5 years—a total of $3 billion—under a formula mainly based on school population.

Thus, under the Eisenhower program Oregon would receive $3,099,000 annually and Oregon would be required to contribute $3,368,000 annually in matching funds in order to qualify for the Federal grant. On the other hand, Oregon would receive $5,839,000 annually under the Kelley bill and would be required to contribute only the identical sum in matching funds.

The Kelley bill is far better for Oregon and far more fair to Oregon. Oregon is a State where the people have made a heroic and sacrificial effort to provide good schools and sound education. Our State has high local property taxes. Many farmers and homeowners can barely finance these payments. Furthermore, Oregon today carries the heaviest State income tax in the Nation. The bulk of the tax burden goes to finance education.

Yet Oregon, which pays these burdensome taxes, has not kept pace with national prosperity during recent years. In 1952 per capita incomes in Oregon were running at a rate of $97 above the national average; today they are $10 below the national average. Oregon is not a wealthy State; yet the administration proposal calls for Oregon to put up more in matching funds than it would receive in Federal aid.

The formula for distribution of funds under the administration plan would reward the South, where school financial funds have been dissipated through the dual system of separate schools for white and colored students. The Eisenhower formula would send south of the Mason and Dixon's line a disproportionate amount of Federal aid funds. For example, Oregon would receive $8.63 per census child under the administration plan. But Arkansas and South Carolina each would receive $13.51 per child, and Mississippi would receive $12.95.

The basic question is not State wealth but schoolchildren. The problem is to equalize availability of Federal funds with the stresses of school population in the various States. This can best be achieved through the Federal taxing power. There already is a great amount of equalization in the bill which Congressman KELLEY and I are sponsoring. For example, New York State pays 19 percent of Federal taxes but has only 10 percent of school population. These figures show the Kelley bill formula is far better than the proposal that each State be permitted to retain for school-building purposes a percentage of Federal income taxes collected with its boundaries.

Our legislation assures that the country's wealthiest States contribute far more to the Federal-aid fund than they receive in aid. The administration plan goes far beyond this, awarding the South a disproportionate segment of benefits. For instance, oil-rich Texas, already a beneficiary of tideland oil revenues, would get more money than any other State if the Eisenhower school bill is enacted.

In 1952 the Republican platform renounced Federal aid. Now the President himself has endorsed such support. Although his program is not yet adequate, it represents an encouraging reversal. Perhaps this change in viewpoint will help to pass a Federal-aid program; I hope it will be based on the Kelley bill.

State of the Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, March 2, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, under the heading "State of the Nations" there is an article in the Christian Science Monitor, by Joseph C. Harsch, which relates to the remarkable comeback and recovery of the Republic of Austria in the period since the Second World War. As Senators well know, Austria was both a liberated and an occupied country. For a long time, her territory was occupied by armed forces of four great powers, France, the United States, Great Britain, and Russia. At the present time she is, of course, a free nation, projecting like a wedge into the area known as the Iron Curtain area.

Mr. Harsch has done a remarkable job in writing on the progress which Austria is achieving and what she can contribute in the way of a better understanding of things European at this time. Austria, her people, and her government, are to be commended for the fine work which has been done in that Republic since 1945.

I know that we wish the Austrian Republic and its courageous people well in the years ahead. They have been able to do a great deal with very little in the way of natural resources, but they have accomplished much which could serve as an example to other countries in Western Europe.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "State of the Nations," relating to the Austrian Republic, written by Joseph C. Harsch, and published in the Christian Science Monitor of February 21, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF THE NATIONS

(By Joseph C. Harsch)

WASHINGTON.—There is a tiny factory near Innsbruck, Austria, which turns out toys and trinkets. Some 95 percent of its product goes to the United States in return for hard dollars.

Last summer brought a wonderful flood of more hard dollars into Austria from tourists who flocked there to see the opera, to enjoy the scenery, to take advantage of good life in a country which has escaped from the power struggle between East and West without falling into the other pitfall of inflation.

Austria is something special and unusual in this world. It has cut loose on a road of its own. Its industrialists and diplomats are studying the past and present of Switzerland with special care as providing the best guidepost to the course they have set for themselves—a course of attempted neutrality.

But there is more to it than that. Vienna was, until 1918, the capital of one of the world's great empires. That empire was torn apart by the Versailles settlement. From 1918 to 1945 Austria lived on the mental assumption that it was hobbled and able to live only on the subsidy of some great state. It accepted the anschluss with Germany partly because most of its citizens were persuaded that it could not survive by itself.

The greatest single achievement of postwar Austria is that it has worked itself out of its mental assumption that it can exist only as a parasite dependency of some great power. It has lived on its own going on 2 years now. During that period its economy has gained steadily in health and soundness. The old assumption of inevitable dependency has been transformed into a new assumption of solvency and the possibility of self-reliance.

It is solvent today. It is sounder physically and mentally than at any time since 1914. It is small, but it is a going concern, piling up a rising treasury trove of trade and credit. Its terrible internal hatreds between the Socialists of the cities and the peasants of the country have been dissolved in the common experience of achieving the present recovery. Perhaps Austria is a tiny glimpse into the future for other and bigger countries.

Austria has successfully bridged the gap between the devastation of the last war, followed by the experience of multiple occupation by eastern and western armies, and a new future which gives every evidence of being sound, sane, and prosperous.

For other countries the future can hardly yet be discerned. If I read the signs of the times correctly, we are living in one of those phases of history in which the old, familiar, established pattern of human relations, both between individuals, and between governments, is almost everywhere in flux.

The postwar settlement is breaking down on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The political concepts not just of a generation but of a century are lying all around us like cast-off clothing. The old battle cries have lost their vibrancy and the old slogans their meaning. Washington is as hard put to prop up the structure of the NATO alliance as Moscow is to make the Warsaw Pact look like anything but a Potemkin village. We have seen Washington vote with Moscow in the United Nations against London and Paris, and we have seen the Roman Catholic Church in Poland support one faction of the Communist Party against the other.

We have lived through a long period of history in which the issues between men and nations appeared to be black and white. We are moving into a phase of history dominated by many shades of many colors. Washintgon's propaganda establishment has attempted to define the economic system prevailing in the United States as "people's capitalism"—a phrase no more accurately descriptive of the mixed system now prevailing than the old word "capitalism."

A new Government in Britain is moving boldly, if dangerously, against the system of applied socialism generally known as the welfare state.

There are unmistakable signs of private capital formation in the Soviet Union.

The times are out of joint. And yet are they? Is is bad that it is difficult these days to find two Communists who can define communism in the same way, or capitalists who can agree on the meaning of capitalism, or any diplomat who really thinks he can foresee the shapes of the future relations of the nations? Is Britain going to find a new expanding horizon for itself in the European common market to release its people from their present sense of a contracting horizon of opportunity? Is Germany at long last to become a constructive member of the society of nations? What new political doctrine is going to appear to revive a sense of purpose and yearning in the minds of the young?

The way ahead is full of questions to which no one knows the certain answers. The best thing about these times is that dogmatism is giving place to questioning. And, at least in tiny Austria, one people has broken through into what gives every prospect of being a new form of social, economic, and political stability. It isn't perfect. But it's better than anything Austria has known for half a century.

Awards to E. B. MacNaughton, Monroe M. Sweetland and Charles A. Sprague

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, March 2, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Oregonian of Portland, of February 25, 1957, describing an award to three outstanding citizens of my State in recognition of their work in bringing about some measure of justice for our Japanese-American citizens who were relocated during the tense and trying hours of World War II.

These three Oregon residents E. B. MacNaughton, a banker who is also chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union; State Senator Monroe M. Sweetland, who is a weekly newspaper publisher in Milwaukee, and former Gov. Charles A. Sprague, publisher of a daily newspaper in Salem, the Statesman.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LEAGUE GIVES AWARDS TO THREE

Three Oregonians received certificates of appreciation Sunday from the Japanese American Citizens league in recognition of their support during the resettlement era of World War II.

The certificates were presented to E. B. MacNaughton, chairman of the board of the First National Bank of Portland, and State Senator Monroe Sweetland. Also honored was Charles Sprague, ex-governor, and Salem editor, who was unable to attend the Portland dinner.

DIRECTOR GIVES AWARDS

The certificates were presented by Maseo Satow, national director of the league, who described the three Oregonians as "friends who retained their faith in us, stood by us and were the kind of Americans we ourselves would like to be."

He declared that Japanese Americans are becoming more and more a part of the American scene by entering into community efforts and urged that league members prove by their efforts that they are worthy of being called Americans.

He condemned some recent television shows, which he said, were reviving films made in the wartime hysteria, based on lies.

SUBSTANTIAL ADVANCES MADE

Satow continued: "Before World War II we thought we were good citizens, but when war came we found few people knew we were good Americans. We were taken at face value; we looked like Japanese, therefore we must be Japanese."

But he said great advances have been made since the war. "Only in a democracy is it possible to make the advances we have made," he declared.

Entertainment was provided by the Japanese Odori dances of Mrs. George Gokami. New officers of the Portland and of the Gresham-Troutdale chapters of the league were installed.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficien to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

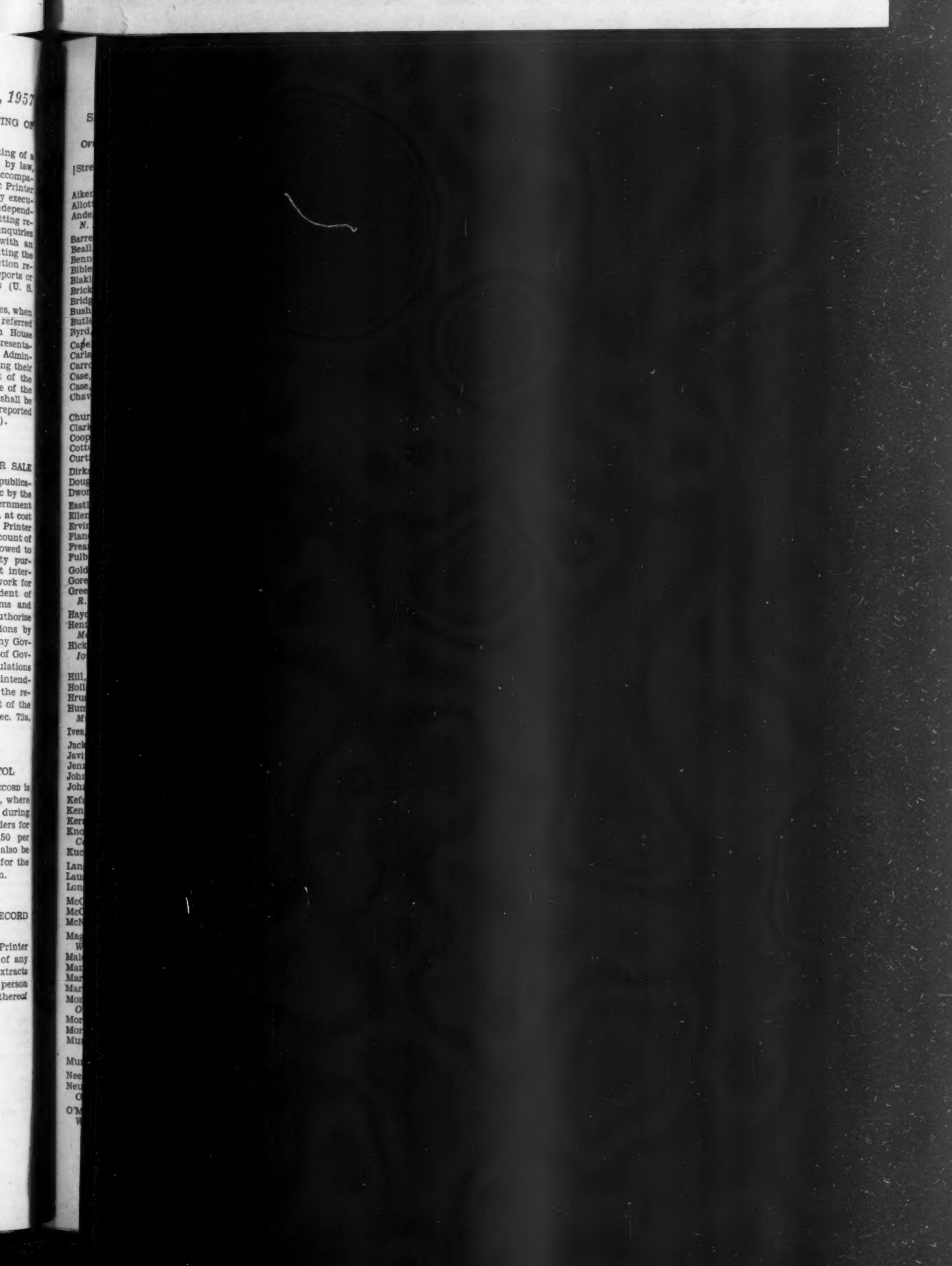

Appendix

The Federal Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT GORE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delievered before the National Crushed Limestone Institute, in which I discussed the Federal highway program.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BEFORE THE NATIONAL CRUSHED LIMESTONE INSTITUTE

It would be difficult, indeed, to overestimate the value of the highway program that is just now getting underway.

Transportation, communication, is vital to a great nation. It is vital to the industry of a nation, to the health, to the happiness, and to the security of the nation.

The highway program, the bill of which I was coauthor, cannot be claimed by anyone exclusively from the standpoint of credit. I doubt if the program would have been enacted today if President Eisenhower had not suggested it, if General Clay and his committee had not made a study and a report and a recommendation. Then it came to the Congress and, as Mr. Patton suggested, it was necessary for someone to take the responsibility of pushing it to final enactment, pushing to final enactment a bill that would be acceptable to the Congress, to the administration, and to the country.

That was not an easy task. We found the plan which General Clay and President Eisenhower recommended as unacceptable. But finding unacceptable the details of a plan to answer a great national need was not sufficient.

It was incumbent upon those of us who found the details of that particular plan unacceptable to propose a constructive substitute which, in our opinion, would be better.

That we did and that was my particular responsibility.

The battle was hard fought. In 1955, the bill passed the Senate but was killed in the House.

In 1956, we went all the way, passing it in both Houses and President Eisenhower signed it into law.

You can imagine that I suffered a little chagrin when one night during the campaign I was watching television, seeing a very interesting performer perform, and heard President Eisenhower claim credit for my bill.

I made some jesting remark about this to the subcommittee which had worked on the bill. Thereupon, Senator HRUSKA inquired, "Who signed it into law?"

I had no answer.

So the program is partly that of President Eisenhower. It is part that of Congress; it is part of the Bureau of Roads, of the State highway commissioners; many people had a part in bringing to fruition this dream, long held.

Now, there is another job, again a job requiring teamwork, again a job, a task in which many people can play a part. That is, the conversion of the dream, of the plan of the bill, the law, into the actual construction of highways.

When one has a career in Congress, he is fortunate if, during the course of a career, he can carve out for himself, or if a kind fate assigns to him, a particular role of importance.

It was by chance, so to speak, that this role of highway authorship became my fortune.

Upon entering the Senate, I asked to be assigned to committees other than the Public Works Committee. I did not get what I wanted that day, so they gave me what was left. I had no particular choice as to what subcommittee I served on. Senator CHAVEZ put me on the Highway Subcommittee. I had really never thought that within a short period of time in the Senate that I would become chairman of that subcommittee. I was at the foot of the list in membership.

Two years ago, however, Senator HOLLAND went to the Appropriations Committee; Senator STENNIS went to another committee; there were enough changes until I suddenly found myself chairman of the Highway Subcommittee. But again, I asked to be assigned to another committee, asked to leave the Public Works Committee. Again I didn't get what I wanted and kept what was left.

So, you see, had I been assigned to the Senate Finance Committee, or to the Senate Appropriations Committee, or to the Foreign Affairs Committee, all of which were of my preference, I would not have been intimately connected with highway legislation at all.

Yet, no matter how long I may be privileged to remain in the Senate, it may be that the fondest landmark of my service will be the Highway Act of 1956.

So, one can never tell, in this journey of ours through life, whether, in public life or private life, just what turn of fortune may be most fortuitous,

Last fall, I became concerned with what I regarded as tardiness of the interstate highway program. So I decided to call a hearing immediately after the convening of the 85th Congress.

My apprehensions were given foundation by the evidence that has been brought out at the hearing.

There are two things of primary concern: (1) there is a lack of uniform progress; (2) there is a threat of serious steel shortages.

Now, when we had hearings 2 weeks ago, there were, I believe, about 20 States—I may not be correct in that estimate—there were several; I would say about 20 States—that had committed less than 20 percent of their 1957 fiscal year interstate allotments.

Five or six States were in the zero column.

Some other States, fortunately, had 100-percent commitment of 1957 funds.

So, you see, we ran from 0 to 100 percent in the initiation, in the commitment of 1957 funds in this vital program.

I call that a serious lack of uniformity.

I asked the Bureau of Public Roads—I know it must have been a little unpleasant for them to do so—but I asked them to prepare a list naming those States that were in the 0 column, naming those States that were in the 20-percent column, in the 40, the 50, the 85, and the 100.

I made this information public.

Well, you know, it happened that my State had a good record, so I will take my State as an example.

If a story had appeared on the front pages of the newspapers, and had been broadcast on radio and television that Tennessee was one of those States in the zero column, in getting this vital highway program started, I imagine that Commissioner Leech and Governor Clement would have had some telephone calls, and I imagine there would have been some conferences and maybe Tennessee would have gotten busy. Fortunately, Tennessee had already been busy and, fortunately, some other States have gotten busy because, Captain Curtis of the Bureau of Roads tells me that there is only one State in the zero column 10 days later.

The purpose of the committee hearings is not to criticize the Bureau of Roads; not to criticize various State highway departments.

The purpose, instead, although some people may become criticized by the facts, is to bring this program into early initiation, to keep it on schedule in construction. Else the people soon will be complaining that they have paid for highways that they haven't got and, unless, ladies and gentlemen, there is a uniform progress, then people such as you, for instance, may have added capacity, may have added stockpiles and inventories for which you have no ready market.

Unless there is uniform progress, then some States, 10 years from now, will be well along the way; others will be well back in the march.

I think the hearings have produced the beneficial results thus far.

I think that it was unfortunate that we did not have early a permanent administrator. I know there were many factors involved. Secretary Weeks came up to the Senate last year, just a few days before Congress adjourned, and he came to see me personally about it and said that he needed very much to have a position created as Highway Administrator, needed badly, needed a man badly in that position.

Well, I frankly thought that a bipartisan commission of, say, three men with long terms might be a better method of administration, freeing the program from the dangers of partisan politics. But I did not let that stand in the way. Here was a vast program, beneficial to the whole Nation. Though I felt it could be better administered the other way, the Secretary of Commerce said he needed this position, a man in that position. We cleared the tracks. We passed the bill in a matter of hours. But the permanent administrator is not on the job yet. I am glad that one is now nominated. From what I hear of him, it appears to be a good selection, though I do not believe that I have yet met the gentleman. I hear very good reports of him.

I am not bringing this up as a matter of criticism, but it is one of the things that has retarded the program and I think it is best for all of us to have all of the facts out on the table on this program. I consider one of my principal jobs as a Member of the United States Senate, this year, and I think that one of my principal jobs as a Member of the United States Senate for several years to come, will be that of exercising surveillance over this vital program to see to it that it is prosecuted to completion in all of the States as nearly on schedule as possible.

Now, I come to the second matter of most serious concern, and that is the threatened

shortage of steel. Nearly every witness who has appeared before our committee, whether from equipment manufacturing, material supply, contractors' organizations, or what, have been optimistic; but most of them have had one reservation, provided steel is available.

Now, I have not asked representatives of your organization to testify because preliminary inquiries have satisfied me that the aggregate industry had responded to the highway program, to the enactment of the law, that the aggregate industry had made plans for increased production to meet the need. I may be in error, but I felt reasonably satisfied. I felt very disturbed about steel, somewhat disturbed about cement. So I have asked those two industries to testify and they are coming up tomorrow.

The testimony that was presented this morning by Mr. Leon Kyserling indicates that with a projection of the price cufve on steel, with the projection of the demand for steel, and the projection of productive capacity of steel, indicates sharply increasing prices in the immediate future and a gap between supply and demand of some 15 million tons by 1960.

If that be true, it is serious.

I am not an economist. Mr. Kyserling is a very respected economist—controversial in some respects, sure—in the political arena—but few people have found serious fault with his economic predictions for the past several years.

For instance, 2 years ago, Mr. Kyserling predicted that by 1960 the total national output would be $500 billion. Two years ago the economist of the administration disagreed with that. They thought it was too high.

Just a few days ago, the administration made its estimate of national product in 1960 and their estimate is now $500 billion, the same as Mr. Kyserling's estimate 2 years ago as to what it would be in 1960.

I just cite that as an indication that he is a rather conservative man in his predictions.

Well now, ladies and gentlemen, whatever the future is, let us talk about the present.

Presently, the delivery date on steel products runs as high as 20 months behind and I understand that practically all the concerns have an escalator clause in their contracts.

I have been told, also, that every now and then contractors and businessmen will get telephone calls from gray market operators and that sometimes they are selling steel at twice the market price, the supposed market price.

So, we are already in the gray market area on steel with a black market threatened.

I have no legislative proposals to make in this regard. I am not here discussing this problem with any intent of leading up to the introduction of a bill to have the Government build steel plants. I don't think that is necessary.

I do believe that I can play a responsible role in the solution of this problem by having a responsible public discussion of the problem and a disclosure of the facts and the truth of the situation. A democracy has a way of solving problems through understanding.

If the businessmen of our country, if private enterprise in our country, understand that there is to be a greater demand for steel in the future than there is productive capacity to supply, then some enterprising man or group will either expand and add to their productive capacity, or some enterprising group will build a new steel mill all upon their own. That is the American way of solving the problem. I hope that our hearing will have that effect.

Now, suppose that this predicted serious shortage does occur. I think it is already rather acute, don't you? Gray market operations already have doubled the price with 20 months' delivery date now, escalator clauses, prices going up all the time.

But if it becomes far more acute, then the financing plan of the program is askew. Then cost estimates on which the program is based are rendered invalid,, unrealistic. Then a contractor who proposes to buy aggregate from you may be held up for a year, for 18 months on a project for want of steel. Meanwhile you are holding a bag full of aggregate.

So you see, unless this program moves uniformly, many people will be hurt. If it does move uniformly, many people, in fact all of America, will be vastly benefited.

It is in the performance of this task that I am now engaged.

I hope that this year, next year, and the next year, and the years after, that through cooperation with the various segments of the highway construction industry, road-building organizations, the Bureau of Roads, the Department of Commerce, the Congress, the State Highway Commissioners, all working together in teamwork, we can bring this program to completion on schedule and link all the principal cities of America with multilane ribbons of the most magnificent highway system any nation on earth has ever had. Then we will feel justified in saying, "A job well done."

The American Ideal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an inspiring address delivered by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, at Valley Forge, Pa., on Washington's birthday.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN IDEAL

(Address of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, at Freedoms Foundation annual awards, Valley Forge, Pa., February 22, 1957)

This day and this place are dear to the hearts of all true Americans who realize the meaning of the freedoms which our forefathers won for us. So long as this Nation endures, we pray that men will gather, as we have today, to do honor to the memory of the man, George Washington, who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

The American Revolution was kept alive by the dreams and the genius and the indomitable spirit of George Washington. In those dark hours here at Valley Forge, he and his men fanned the flame of liberty to inspire by their determination others who had lost hope or had grown faint of heart.

Because of George Washington and his valiant men, this place is hallowed ground. Here, our American heritage was made secure. Here, our own freedom fighters stood firm to protect our infant Republic, and refused to permit the forces of tyranny to crush their dream.

It, indeed, is fitting that Freedom Foundation should be centered at Valley Forge, where the laying of the foundation of our American heritage was assured by the willing sacrifices of those brave men to whom liberty was dearer than life; liberty, not alone for themselves, but for the generations which were to inherit the precious fruits of their sacrifices. The foundation's location lends emphasis to its purpose—of passing on, through knowledge of its real meaning, the torch of freedom.

In this historic setting and in this reverent atmosphere, I am deeply honored to be selected to receive Freedoms Foundation's George Washington award. In honoring me, you also are honoring the loyal men and women of the Federal Bureau of Investigation who have made its achievements possible.

Our America was born out of the yearning for freedom, the same yearning which only recently spurred heroic Hungarians to fight enemy tanks with stones and homemade bombs. Our shores have become the haven of the oppressed and beckon to those in the old world to come and to be free; to worship God as they choose; to seek the opportunities which America offers to those who are willing to work and fight to preserve a way of life which gives so much to so many.

The American ideal is woven of a thousand things. It is woven of unfaltering faith in God, faith in the destiny of this Nation, of battles and of Valley Forge, and Gettysburg, and the Marne, and Anzio, and Iwo Jima. Threaded through the fabric is the patience of a Washington, the wisdom of a Franklin, the humility of a Lincoln, the integrity of an Eisenhower, the courage of an unknown soldier, the vision of a Jefferson and the sacrifice of a Nathan Hale. It is laced with the memory of men's words: "I have not yet begun to fight" and "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

The American ideal is embodied in our Nation's integrity and honor and in our homes in which respect for the rights of others is taught by precept and example. It is part and parcel of our Bill of Rights and the constitutional concepts which recognize that all men are free and equal, endowed by their Creator with the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The American ideal embodies the sum total of the wisdom, the courage, and the sacrifices of our Founding Fathers. Its foundation is the faith of our fathers.

The American ideal has its roots in religion. Without its religious sanction and inspiration, the American ideal would pale and wither to extinction. It is the American precept that men shall live as equals under a government by law, which is embodied in the greatest of all laws:

"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets."

From those bleak days in Valley Forge, men have fought and died for the American ideal. We know ideals can be preserved only through eternal vigilance. Our own ideal of freedom and our way of life are under ceaseless attack both from within and without. We fail in achieving our ideal every time an American home fails by producing a juvenile delinquent. The failure is that of adult America. Youth needs only to be guided along the proper path and to be given the direction and training to de-

termine right from wrong; good from bad; the true from the false; belief in the dignity of man; belief in themselves; and faith in a Supreme Being.

Every law-abiding person who wishes to preserve our American freedoms certainly must recognize that they cannot long endure without respect for authority which is dedicated to preserving civil liberties rather than to destroying them. Without freedom, a society loses its meaning, and without protective authority, it becomes anarchy.

The primary mission of our constitutional Republic is to preserve the proper balance beteween freedom and authority. Our generation has witnessed assault after assault on this constitutional balance of freedom and authority.

The pseudo-liberal and the neo-Fascist seek either license or an excess of authority. The pseudo-liberal has increasingly conceived committees in the name of defending every freedom, but none to uphold authority. When he has succeeded in lessening freedom by curtailing authority, he has claimed social progress. These self-styled social reformers seek to substitute license for freedom. They have become the ready tools of the Communist conspiracy and their refusal to recognize the difference between authority for the common good, and oppression, has aided in making possible an era of Communist expansion.

To be sure, the pseudo-liberals proclaim themselves as anti-Communist. They have made efforts in recent years to curtail the Government's authority to defend our national security. Some of them may be honest and sincere but they are misguided. Others seek the pseudo-liberal cloak to conceal more sinister objectives, because deceit is the very essence of communism.

The tragedy of our generation has resulted from our spiritual shortcomings, from the disastrous moral failures of our age, and from the failures of the last war and the last peace.

Our generation has suffered two world wars. After World War I, the free world awoke to the realization that the war "to make the world safe for democracy" was not finished. After World War II, a tired and peace-seeeking people had the satisfaction of knowing that the fascist monster had been destroyed. Then came another shock. Soviet Russia launched a cold war against the West and a not so cold one against other defenseless peoples to extend its orbit of destructive influence over one-fourth of the earth's surface and approximately 40 percent of the world's peoples.

The free world has been slow to recognize the Communist approach despite the blueprints for action which the Communists have proclaimed to all with ears to hear and eyes to read. From the time the Communists came to power in Russia until today, they have used duplicity, propaganda, treason, and even armed force to distort truth. In the 109 years since the Communist Manifesto was written they have never won power in any country by the free vote of a majority of the people.

Communism is doomed ultimately to fall, because it is anti-God and denies the dignity of man. The day will come when it will be rejected by all the peoples of the world. But that day never will come through wishful thinking. It will come only when the fires of freedom burn bright and the sinews of freedom are strengthened. No brutality can erase the urge to liberty which surges in every man's heart. The fall of worldwide communism will come only when the world, both the free and the enslaved, resolves that this heartless dictatorship shall end. We can hasten that day by eternal vigilance in protecting the American ideal against abuse and by extending the power of its influence.

The present generation of fathers and mothers must decide now for the future generations—whether that future shall hold freedom or slavery, depends on how completely the challenge of communism is met and vanquished.

Let there be no mistake, the fires of freedom smoulder even in the heart of Communist stronghold. Even the power of Stalin and his successors has not been able to extinguish it.

The Hungarian freedom fighters give testimony to the ruthlessness of the Communist might and to the strength of peoples yearning to be free. Last November Nikita Khrushchev, the present head of the Russian Communist Party and the principal spokesman for the Soviet Union, in referring to the freedom-loving countries of the West, stated:

"Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you."

More recently, Khrushchev has praised Stalin and even had the atheistic audacity to call upon God to send more men like Stalin to fight for communism.

It cannot be denied that 10 of the 11 members of the present governing body of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were puppets for the old tyrant Stalin, and whatever they learned in the art of governing by force they learned from him.

The gyrations of the Soviet Communists have produced a chain reaction in Communist Parties around the world. American Communists have put on a dazzling performance of shifting and turning. In the days and weeks which lie ahead, they will resort to every time-proven Communist trick to deceive the American public by advocating a peaceful transition to socialism, by appealing to the masses with trumped-up charges of injustices, by seeking to build a broad coalition of Socialist forces, by recapturing the naive, and mobilizing the pseudo-liberals. Behind all this still prevails the determination to intensify the class struggle with resort to deceit, misrepresentation, and the use of force and violence when necessary.

Their aims and tactics are obvious. The Communist conspiracy has been exposed for what it is in courtrooms, by congressional committees and by the press, radio, and television. Its new look and program are designed to enable the American Communists to regroup and develop a militant party to accomplish their historic mission of destroying American freedoms. Soviet-style communism remains the ideal, and the Communist Party intends to do its best to impose it upon this country.

Crippling blows have been dealt to the Communist cause in the United States. But there is a greater task which rests with our teachers, the molders of public opinion, the ministers of every faith, our labor leaders, and our industrialists. In short, the responsibility of education to preserve the American ideal rests with every American home. Truth and education are the ultimate answers in the fight to preserve the American ideal.

The Nation can be thankful for a Freedoms Foundation which stands as a sentinel, as did our Revolutionary freedom fighters here at Valley Forge, which is the vivid symbol of their suffering.

If we have the courage and the determination to face the future with the humility and the dedicated sacrifices of our Founding Fathers, then the Star-Spangled Banner shall continue to fly over this—our home of the free and land of the brave, and freedom fighters in other lands may eventually secure these blessings which are ours. This is the goal of the American ideal.

Civil Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, some very able constitutional lawyers in every section of the country who have examined the proposed legislation are expressing the fear that the administration's so-called civil rights program is more likely to imperil some of the constitutional rights of all the people than to establish the civil rights of minorities, which the proposals claim to protect.

The right of trial by jury is the keystone of our civil rights. It is the most cherished landmark of our form of government. The creation of the right of trial by a jury of one's peers is the most effective barricade ever erected against oppression and tyranny. It was not easily won and it should not be lightly discarded.

In the course of the hearings being conducted by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary the distinguished Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], who has not only had broad experience in the law but who has also served as a justice of the State Supreme Court of North Carolina, discussed this issue at some length with Attorney General Brownell. The Senator from North Carolina clearly established the fact that the proposed legislation could be used as an instrument of tyranny which would endanger the inalienable and fundamental rights of all American citizens, wherever they may live.

It is my opinion that if every citizen of our country could have heard this discussion, it would have stripped this issue of some of the emotional support which has been created for it by politicians and propagandists.

Several notable articles have been written on this discussion. One of the outstanding ones was written by Mr. Arthur Krock and was published in the New York Times of March 1, 1957. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN THE NATION—ANOTHER PART OF THE (STATE-FEDERAL) FOREST

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, February 28.—A couple of the amendments made by a House Judiciary Subcommittee in the texts of what are known as "the President's civil rights proposals" meet objections that have been raised against the legislation. Chairman CELLER characterized the changes as making the program less unpalatable to the South. But discussions in a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee between the Attorney General and Senator ERVIN, of North Carolina indicate that the dose will still be repugnant to the South as well as to some constitutional lawyers.

This repugnance will be expressed by a Senate filibuster. But though the prospect of beating the filibuster is rated pretty good, it may still prove very difficult to keep the dose, unless much more diluted, from being regurgitated by the South. That is because, in addition to the emotional resistance to the program, excellent Southern lawyers are building a strong legal case against certain of its items.

DEBATE ON PROCEDURES

Taking note of this area of opposition, a current Congressional Quarterly report stresses the circumstance that "when Senator ERVIN, a former State supreme court justice, and Attorney General Brownell debated the civil-rights measures for 3 days before the Senate subcommittee, they argued not about the goals of the legislation but about its procedures * * * ERVIN's argument being that the administration bills designed to protect civil rights of minorities actually would endanger the constitutional rights of all Americans."

The Senator based his argument on this hypothesis, as summarized by C. Q., of what might happen in a given case in any State if the bills became law:

John Doe appears to register to vote. Under the provisions in the Constitution that authorize the State to fix the qualifications of its voters the registrar asks Doe questions, then refuses to register him. The incident comes to the attention of the Attorney General, who suspects that the procedure has been employed to deny Doe his voting right in violation of the 14th amendment ("on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude"). With or without Doe's permission the Attorney General intervenes; or, anticipating that the registrar intended to deny Doe his rights, intervenes even before Doe appears before that official.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S COURSE

Regardless of State administrative and judicial procedures for determining voting rights, the Attorney General takes the case to the Federal court and asks for an order to the State that Doe shall register and vote. This injunction is granted on simple affidavits, the legislation overriding the requirement that both sides present evidence and cross-examine witnesses. If the registrar disobeys the court order, he is subject to summons, trial, and sentence for contempt by the Federal judge who issued the order, without either grand jury indictment or petit jury trial guaranteed in ordinary criminal procedures.

Brownell conceded this was an extremity to which the proposed legislation could be pushed. But he said, "We are faced with the fact that without this authority in the Federal Government the people are disenfranchised en masse by reason of their color," and with this authority Attorneys General would be spared the duty of undertaking unduly harsh criminal proceedings against respected local officials who deny voting rights to Negroes. "No amount of postelection criminal punishment," said Brownell to ERVIN, "can rectify the harm which the national interest suffers when citizens are illegally kept from the polls."

ERVIN observed that the legislation "contributed very much to the theory that the States ought to be destroyed instead of preserved. * * * In doing what you consider to be legally righteous, you would supplant existing remedies which gave [an election official] the right to be * * * indicted by a grand jury and tried before a petit jury and be confronted by, and have the right to cross-examine, his accusers." The Attorney General wanted to know if the Senator would rather have the Federal Government send the official to jail than get an injunction against him.

THE SENATE PRESENTATION

That is how the two legal experts left the argument. But ERVIN's side of it will be exhaustively presented in the Senate debate as proof that a grave constitutional issue—as also in the sweeping Federal court injunction in the Clinton, Tenn., cases—and not simply an emotional resistance to change in the sensitive area of southern Negro-Caucasian relations is the core of the opposition to extending Federal court and executive powers in this area.

As for the administration's proposal that sets up a bipartisan Federal commission to study racial problems (the House committee excised the subpena powers given in the administration text and put witnesses under the protection of House procedural rules), the resistance to this will be based on the argument that it will do much more harm than good to its objective.

Statehood for Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Stumbling Block to Hawaii Statehood," written by Mr. Frank R. Kent, and published in the Washington Evening Star.

It points out rather well the different situation in which Hawaii finds itself as compared with the situation that exists in Puerto Rico.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GAME OF POLITICS
(By Frank R. Kent)

STUMBLING BLOCK TO HAWAII STATEHOOD

Before this session of Congress ends there promises to be a gorgeous fight over the admission of the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii to full statehood in the Union. At the moment, there are strong lobbies favoring both these territories encamped in Washington and actively engaged in furthering their separate projects, the essential legislation for which is slumbering in committee and may not come out for some weeks—if at all.

Normally the objective for which both Alaska and Hawaii have for so long struggled should be achieved this year without too great difficulty. For example, both the Republican and Democratic Parties endorsed the proposal last summer in their respective national conventions. In addition there are a number of exceedingly good arguments why both should be admitted. Certainly this is true of Alaska and a considerable number of these favorable Alaska arguments also apply to Hawaii. However, there is one very strong reason for not voting for Hawaii which does not exist against Alaska—at least, not to such full and devastating extent.

BRIDGES A DRAWBACK

The name of this reason is Harry Bridges. Mr. Bridges is a notorious union labor boss, equipped with more deadly power than any of the others. He is president of the Longshoremen's Union and of the Warehouse Workers' Union. He was born in Australia, has never become a citizen of the United States, and has twice been convicted of perjury in swearing that he has never been a Communist. Long ago he was sentenced by Federal judges to 5 years' imprisonment and ordered deported back to his native Australia. With the help of what seems to be unlimited money and extremely able lawyers, for nearly 20 years he has been in and out of the courts on these indictments. Appeal after appeal has been taken and twice the Supreme Court has allowed him to escape deportation on what seemed to be technicalities.

The smoothness with which he moves from arrest to indictment to conviction to release on $25,000 bail and then repeats the process is confusing and more than a little alarming. Three things that are entirely clear, however, are these: (1) He is in complete control of the big union he heads; (2) he is easily the most powerful man, politically as well as economically, in Hawaii; (3) and if and when Hawaii achieves statehood, Mr. Bridges, more than anyone else, will choose two Senators and the House Members to which Hawaii will be entitled. This raises the big question as to whether the interests of the United States will be served by the admission of Hawaii to full statehood while it is still under the domination of an alien labor boss, strongly suspected of Communist affiliations, twice convicted in court as a perjurer, not a United States citizen, and still fighting deportation efforts to send him back to his native country.

Before a Senate committee which recently visited Hawaii, Benjamin Franklin Dillingham, who was born in Honolulu and is recognized as one of its most substantial and influential businessmen, testified as follows:

"We depend upon shipping for virtually all our basic needs of life here. Outside of air mail and a few commodities that can be brought in by air, we have no trucking service, no railroad service, nothing to tie us to other communities of the United States. So when shipping is cut off we are not only denied access to the mainland for the sale of our products upon which we depend for a living but we are denied opportunity to receive food, clothing, and other necessary supplies."

DOMINATES ISLAND

Also said Mr. Dillingham: "And when you realize that our shipping and the sugar and pineapple industries are subject to the whims of 1 man, regardless of any kind of contract or obligation, you will understand the position this community is in every day, every week, every month of every year." This is, as George E. Sokolsky recently wrote, a frightening picture but undoubtedly true. It is certainly outrageous that Hawaii, one of the most beautiful possessions of the United States, should be so completely subservient to the will of such a man as Harry Bridges. Nevertheless, it does seem that some way should be found either by Hawaii, itself, or by our courts, to rid these islands of unions, such as those over which Mr. Bridges rules, before granting her full statehood. Two Bridges-dominated Senators would hardly raise the Senate level nor help the country. Democratic or Republican, it is hard to think of anything worse.

Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Week in Tennessee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a proclamation by the Governor of Tennessee proclaiming the 200th anniversary of Alexander Hamilton, one of the chief architects of our system of government.

There being no objection the proclamation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF TENNESSEE PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR

Whereas Alexander Hamilton was one of the chief architects of our system of government and participated forcefully in the drafting of our Constitution; and

Whereas he served his country well in a military capacity during the Revolutionary War and later in the Continental Congress and still later as first Secretary of the Treasury; and

Whereas this year marks the 200th anniversary of his birthday and calls again to mind his significant contributions to the foundation of our Government: Now, therefore, I, Frank G. Clement, Governor of Tennessee, do hereby proclaim January 11, 1957, as Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Week in Tennessee and urge all Tennessee citizens to appropriately observe this period.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of the State of Tennessee to be affixed at Nashville, this 28th day of December 1956.

[SEAL] F. G. CLEMENT,
Governor.

Attest:

G. EDWARD FRIAR,
Secretary of State.

United States Communists Show Their Hand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, in yesterday's edition of the New York Herald Tribune, Roscoe Drummond devoted himself to a sensible discussion of the current status of the so-called American Communist Party.

Mr. Drummond, in his precise, dispassionate manner, analyzes some of the claims that the Communist Party has shaken off some of the ties that bind it to Moscow. He establishes the fallacy of any such claims on the basis of the evidence.

But even more important, he makes the point that even an independent Communist Party would still be a party of evil objectives.

I ask unanimous consent that his article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES COMMUNISTS SHOW THEIR HAND

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Question: Recently you discussed the action of the Communist Party in the United States, through which it sought to appear to be divorcing itself from the Moscow line. I gained the impression that you thought this would be a good thing. My question is: Wouldn't an American Communist Party be just as subversive of our democratic society as a Soviet-controlled Communist Party?

Answer: I would like to point out at the start that there is no basis in fact for accepting the Communists' claim that the party has broken its ties with the Kremlin. All they have actually done is to assert that they might use a little independence in interpreting theoretical Marxism-Leninism. Even that remains to be seen.

Several aspects of the New York convention of the Communist Party, which did not come out at the time, show that while the Communists were talking independence, they were toeing the Moscow line.

A false reason was given for excluding the press. Communist reporters were present at the Democratic and Republican Conventions). The stated reason for the exclusion was that if some of the delegates were identified, it might imperil their jobs. But when the reporters asked that a loudspeaker, be installed in the pressroom so they could hear, if not see, the proceedings, this was emphatically rejected. This made it much easier for the party spokesmen to interpret the convention actions to suit their tactics.

There were two readymade opportunities whereby the Communist Party could have shown its independence of the Soviet Union—and failed to do so. It had before it in convention a resolution criticizing the Kremlin's bloody repression of the Hungarian workers. It shunted this aside. It had before it a resolution critical of Soviet anti-Semitism and calling for a return to the 1919 to 1935 policy of equal rights for Jews. It shunted this aside. Both resolutions were conveniently referred to committee.

When the Communist Party in the United States remains silent on what Moscow's tanks did to the Hungarians, and condones its anti-Semitic measures, it means that it is not a free party, that it is subservient to Moscow.

How, then, can we ever know whether the Communisty Party in the United States is breaking, decisively and totally, the yoke which binds it to the Soviet Union? There is a conclusive test:

If and when the Communist Party ceases to harbor Soviet spies and cooperates unreservedly with the FBI in turning up Americans whom it knows to be traitors because they acted as agents for a foreign power, then the Communist Party would be exhibiting real independence. Is that an unfair test—loyalty to one's own nation over loyalty to the Soviet Union?

I don't know that this will ever happen; the odds are strongly against it. But it seems to me that it is beneficial to the West whenever a Communist Party or regime breaks with Moscow—as Tito did, as the Polish and Hungarians tried to do—because it means that such a Communist Party is no longer an instrument of Soviet imperialism. Communism divorced from a powerful state would be a greatly weakened force.

As to whether a nationalist Communist Party would be as subversive of our form of government as a Soviet-controlled party, my answer would be: Yes, it would seek the same pernicious ends it always sought; namely, a political dictatorship, the suffocation of a free society, an end to equal justice under the law, extinction of free speech, free assembly and freedom of religion.

The evil objectives of the Communist Party would not be changed by separation from Moscow, but it strikes me that unless the Communists are fortified and nourished by a worldwide movement, they are likely to find much of the steam leaking out of their cause. Remember that Titoism is not just a party in Yugoslavia—it is the state itself.

Perhaps the most significant fact about the Communist Party in the United States today is that its leadership is getting older and older. Where is this young, new-look Communist Party its leaders talk about? Apart from 2 or 3 young Negroes, there wasn't a delegate at the New York convention under 40. Of the 20 new members of the party executive, the average age is 45. The average length of service in the party 22 years.

American youth has handsomely rejected the Communist Party.

Regulation of Donations and Expenditures in Preelection Campaigns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT GORE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD editorials published in the Chattanooga Times of Sunday, March 3, 1957, and the Washington Daily News of today.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chattanooga Times of March 3, 1957]

ACT ON THE GORE BILL

The bill to regulate campaign spending introduced yesterday by Senator GORE of Tennessee is full of safeguards that ought speedily to be enacted into law

It imposes reasonable spending limits for the first time on primary elections—a key consideration in the South where primaries have so often been decisive. This was a principal stumbling block (it may be again) causing inaction on two election spending bills during the closing session of the 84th Congress.

It strengthens the requirements for public disclosure of campaign expenditures by candidates, parties and committees, as well as any donation of more than $500 by an individual in 1 year.

A cardinal point is that responsibility for reporting all the spending on a candidate's behalf has been placed on the officeseeker himself. Another is that no committee could spend more than $1,000 for a candidate unless that expenditure is authorized by the man running. There are at present no effective limits to the number of committees organized on behalf of a candidate.

Any individual would be limited to $1,000 a year in contributions to or on behalf of all candidates for Federal office. We have pointed out that as much as $70,000 from 1 Democratic and $65,000 from 1 Republican supporter poured into the treasuries last year. The Gore bill's provision that not more than $250 of this $1,000 shall go to House or Senate candidates outside the contributor's home State aims at big family, big business or big labor spending in congressional elections.

And the Gore proposals insure substantial reductions in overall spending. The figure of 20 cents multiplied by the number of votes cast in a previous presidential election makes for realistic thinking about election costs. There will be no way of an accurate determination, but the $33,185,725 officially reported in the 1956 presential contest was far surpassed because of loopholes in the law.

The bill, as the Senator says, is a tough one to meet a tough stituation. Television and popular demands that more be seen and heard personally from the candidates have skyrocketed expenses. But fair limits do injustice to no one, and the financing of these campaigns has been acutely unsatisfactory.

A great many of the corrections suggested by Senator GORE were contained in both the Hennings bill and the so-called Johnson-Knowland bill, both of which died in the last session of Congress. By a majority mutual consent, aparently, the subject of clean election laws was put off until this session, when the climate would be less political.

That is only relatively true, of course, at any time on Capitol Hill, especially when ever-pressed representatives run every 2

years. Reaction to the Gore bill has been reported as not exactly glowing. But Congress must get at the job and it cannot easily evade its responsibility for just election laws this time.

[From the Washington Daily News of March 4, 1957]

GORE BORES IN

Senator GORE, of Tennessee, who headed that committee which made a study of last year's whopping-big campaign spending, now has introduced a bill.

His bill proposes drastic regulation of donations and expenditures in preelection campaigns.

Senator GORE has put a lot of work in this measure. He thinks he has a realistic and workable plan.

We wouldn't say it is a perfect bill, because a perfect law to control the reckless, extravagant, confused way in which campaign funds are raised and spent probably is out of the question.

But the Gore bill has two outstanding virtues:

It attempts to regulate spending in primaries and conventions, now entirely uncovered by the law.

It provides for detailed reports from all committees and candidates before elections, as well as later.

If there is to be any sense of proportion legislated into our lavish campaign spending, and any kind of accurate accounting, primaries and conventions will have to be covered, as well as general elections. They are just as vital as the November elections.

And the best insurance for decency in campaign spending is full publicity. If the public knows the story, public influence will make itself felt.

If ever we are to clean up campaign spending, the Gore bill is one of the ways to do it. The sincerity of those conspicuous Senators who last year talked so loudly about the need for a cleanup now can be measured by what they do about Senator GORE's proposal.

We Cannot Justify Atom Power Complacency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Oak Ridger, Oak Ridge, Tenn., dated February 18, 1957, in support of the fine work of our able colleague the junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], in pressing for the development of nuclear energy in the United States.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE CANNOT JUSTIFY ATOM-POWER COMPLACENCY

Senator ALBERT GORE assures that he is renewing his fight for legislation that would greatly increase our Nation's role in nuclear power development. In his formal talks here on Friday he again made a strong case for large-scale reactors being built at the sites of present nuclear installations.

(Power projects presently underway here and at other installations, such as the homogeneous reactor project at Oak Ridge National Laboratory, are considered relatively small-scale experimental projects. Senator GORE speaks of a large-scale reactor actually designed to produce a sizable amount of power for actual and continuous usage.)

Although his bill was defeated in Congress last year, our State's junior Senator, and one of the most prominent Senators in the Nation on atomic matters, thinks the prospects for passage this year are much brighter. He has solid reasons to believe this.

First of all, the opposition of the United States Atomic Energy Commission itself—primarily in the form of the personal opposition of Chairman Lewis L. Strauss—is not as strong. Chairman Strauss still objects to the Gore bill. However, he has softened his previous opposition. A year ago he contended flatly that private industry was and would continue to do a proper job of atomic power development. This year, however, Chairman Strauss is willing to agree that if private industry doesn't do the job in the next few years, then the Government should. This, Senator GORE feels, is an admission that our present power program is inadequate. So why should we delay any longer in putting the present program to rights?

Still other developments are the progress during the past year of other countries—primarily Great Britain and Russia. In those nations there is large-scale government power development and it has produced several types of reactors which are now in production (Calder Hall in England, for example). We cannot let these other nations get so far ahead of us, even if we do not have the economic incentive that they have. We must keep pace in development if not in need or use, Senator GORE points out.

Here are some pertinent quotes on this important subject from his talks here:

"Several years after our explosive announcement of having harnessed the atom, we have little to show as far as peacetime power uses are concerned—no atomic power reactor of even moderate size in operation. By what standard can this be held adequate progress? * * *

"I have reintroduced in the current session of Congress a bill similar to the one I sponsored last year, which was approved by the Senate and narrowly defeated in the House of Representatives. This bill would provide $400 million for the governmental construction of demonstration atomic power reactors of large and intermediate sizes, all on Federal property with their output to be used entirely by Federal installations.

"In doing this, I do not seek to provoke a public power versus a private power fight. There is ample room and need for both in atomic electricity, just as there is room and need for both in the generation and distribution of conventional power. The point is that only the Government has the means to bring to us the needed power. * * * Our Government will foster private enterprise by advancing the date at which there can be widespread participation by both large and small in the atomic power industry.

"I reiterate: Why continue to rely solely on a program that is so demonstrably inadequate? It has been characterized only by continued delay when delay could be most costly. The extended period this Nation has waited for actual atomic power reactor development has already exceeded a reasonable period of time. We cannot afford to wait longer.

"From the standpoint of our own domestic economy, it is manifestly in our interest to develop economically atomic electricity. Our supplies of conventional fuels are not inexhaustible. Our power needs grow steadily.

"Of greater significance to the American economy in terms of urgency of the problem is the question of foreign markets for reactors and other items related to their operation. Loss of the race even to Great Britain or some other free nation would leave its economic imprint on those in this country desiring to supply world markets.

"United States loss to Russia in the atomic power race would cause United States prestige to suffer a serious blow. Moreover, United States economic leadership would be put to serious challenge. And friendship, let us not forget, follows the trade routes.

"Regardless of what we would like to believe, our relative position in the atomic power race is far from ideal. Reasons to be complacent are absent.

"In the eyes of the world, we have placed major emphasis upon atomic destruction, as indeed we have. We, therefore, have a clear moral responsibility to be the first to make this marvelous new source of energy available to improve the lot of mankind."

We wish Senator Gore success in his efforts. Of course, we should not be so short-sighted as to seek passage just because this bill would most probably mean a large-scale power project here. We should agree that there is a definite Government responsibility here that can not and will not be as well undertaken by private interests.

We'll watch developments on this bill with great interest as the Congress session becomes more decisive. We know our junior Senator will wage a most effective fight.

George Washington and Alexander Hamilton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an address by Dr. John A. Krout, vice president and provost of Columbia University, delivered before the 1957 George Washington Day Dinner of the American Good Government Society at the Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C., Friday, February 22:

GEORGE WASHINGTON AND ALEXANDER HAMILTON

(An address by Dr. John A. Krout, vice president and provost of Columbia University, delivered before the 1957 George Washington Day Dinner of the American Good Government Society at the Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C., February 22)

On a raw December day in 1776, while the American troops were engaged in that disheartening retreat across the State of New Jersey, George Washington ordered them to stand in a rear guard action on the banks of the Raritan to stop the relentless advance of Cornwallis' veterans. Although the action did not stop the British, they broke through and crossed the river, it accomplished its purpose, giving the Continental Army time to withdraw into temporary refuge in Princeton.

In the annals of the Revolutionary War, that action would be almost insignificant, and yet it had momentous results for the people who were struggling to make good the independence which they had so recently declared. The Commander in Chief observed the coolness and adroitness with which a young captain of artillery was handling the men and guns in his battery. He learned that his name was Alexander Hamilton, and he sent word that he'd like to see him at headquarters. There were numerous meetings after that, especially during the winter at Morristown, and Washing-

ton finally offered the young captain a post as his military aide with the rank of lieutenant colonel. Thus began the association which was to bring incalculable benefit to the American people.

As we celebrate tonight the 225th anniversary of Washington's birth in Alexander Hamilton's bicentennial year, it seems wholly appropriate for us to turn our thoughts briefly to the collaboration between the Virginia planter and the impetuous native of the British West Indies, who combined their talents in high endeavor for the country which they both loved.

It would be perpetuating a myth to argue that the association between the two men rapidly developed into an affectionate friendship, or that the course of their work together in the public service always ran smoothly. There were all sorts of irritations; and accumulated grievances finally caused the young colonel in anger to resign his position and leave Washington's headquarters. And yet he could write in the midst of his anger to his father-in-law, Gen. Philip Schuyler, "General Washington is a very honest man. I think it is necessary that he should be supported."

During the period that they were operating as commander in chief and military aide there can be no doubt that Washington came to rely increasingly upon the ingenuity, upon the interesting suggestions of his young associate. It was Hamilton that he sent north in those critical days late in 1777 to see whether he could persuade the self-confident Gates, and the somewhat hesitant Putnam, to send brigades south that were so sorely needed by the commander in chief. It was Hamilton who established the liaison between the commander in chief and that energetic and popular Governor of the State of New York, George Clinton.

When the word went out in headquarters, as it so often did, "Call Colonel Hamilton," it might mean a variety of things: dispatches to be written, conferences on military strategy, confidential missions to be undertaken. Indeed, there were some who knowing that Washington had said when he had appointed Hamilton, "I want a man who can think for me and not just execute orders," who believed that many of Washington's communications in these 3½ years were actually under the authorship of the young colonel. But if one takes the trouble to read the dispatches that were written by all of the military aides in the period of the war, this seems to be crystal clear. No pen was quite so fluent as that of Hamilton but the ideas in his dispatches were not different from the ideas in the dispatches written by the others. George Washington continued to do his own thinking, even if Alexander Hamilton brilliantly polished his phrases for him.

The confidential missions that were undertaken by Hamilton for Washington in the war years really paled into unimportance when you think of the works that the two men did together after the start of the Constitutional Convention in 1787.

For the next dozen years they did not see each other almost every day, as had been true of their military experience. And perhaps it was well that they didn't, because the superficial irritations began to fall away, and the fundamental agreement between them on important issues of economic policy, of statecraft became more evident.

Oddly enough it was not Alexander Hamilton who encouraged his former commander in chief at the Philadelphia Convention which drafted the Constitution. Rather it was the older man who gave courage to his young associate when Hamilton disgustedly quit the convention, saying that he didn't believe there would ever be a government of the United States of America, it was the patience of George Washington that brought him back for the final session and the signing of the documents.

And then the tables turned. The government was in shadow on paper. It had to be given substance. This time it was Alexander Hamilton, persistenly, almost annoyingly, getting friends like Madison and others to write to Washington telling him that one thing was clear to the whole country: without George Washington this Government certainly would fail.

We can't be sure, of course, whether it was Hamilton's letters that finally persuaded the Virginia planter to leave the tranquility which he loved so much at Mount Vernon and assume the arduous task of the presidency of the new Government. But assume it, he did. He turned almost immediately to Alexander Hamilton. Not that he first offered him the position of the Secretary of the Treasury. He conferred with older men. He seems to have brought himself to the point almost of saying to Robert Morris, "You can have the post if you'll take it." But Morris and others persuaded him that the man who knew what ought to be done in the financial field, in fiscal affairs, was the youngest man among them. And they could cite the papers that he had written as a youth of 20 years, indicating in the period when he was still a military aide, what he would do if he ever had the chance to formulate the financial policies of the new Government.

Those were the years, after 1789, when Washington seemed to lean so heavily on the Secretary of the Treasury. And yet, remember that it was a cooperation. It was not the borrowing by one man from the other, even if we did turn as President to his Secretary of the Treasury to answer almost every conceivable question. It was characteristic of Washington so to seek advice. He sought it from many. His greatness was not the fact that he was willing to ask counsel and advice. So many of us know how to do that. The thing that is often lacking is the wisdom to use the counsel and advice in its most effective way. That, it seems to me was the greatness of the first President of the United States. Having asked advice, he knew how to use it. For he made it into his own thinking.

To be sure, he turned to Hamilton on many questions that had nothing to do with financial policy. He discussed with him the question of how you receive foreign ambassadors, diplomatic agents; what kind of protocol should be set up under the new government. Never before had there been an experiment in republicanism on such a scale as the new United States was undertaking. He turned to Hamilton, even asking him "How do I seat my guests at table when I have a state dinner?" "How many state dinners should I have in a year?" "Who ought I invite to these affairs?" May I be selective or must I have a large list of guests?" "How should I be addressed as President of the United States?" "What are the honors due me?" How far ought I go before I'll be charged with trying to draw into America the trappings of monarchy?" It was Hamilton who patiently wrote memorandum after memorandum on that sort of thing, at the same time that he was outlining the important points in his policy.

It was Hamilton who was asked, when European war broke, as the result of the French Revolution, what the role of the United States should be. He was the one to whom Washington turned, quite as much as to Thomas Jefferson, his Secretary of State, to formulate the policy which ultimately was incorporated in the Proclamation of Neutrality in 1793, and then the act of Congress known as the Neutrality Act of 1794.

Let us pause 1 minute there to see what we mean when we say Hamilton formulated the policy. He responded to the request for advice. For Washington took that advice, worked it over, discussed it with others, made it his own. There was never the shadow, it seems to me, of the ghostwriter about the relationship between George Washington and Alexander Hamilton.

The confidence which the two men had in each other, despite the fact that they were not really close and affectionate friends, is the great gift that they made to the American people in their generation. Each of them summed it up so well in words that are not fulsome, that are not over-run with extravagant praise, that therefore carry the mark of truth because they are restrained and speak sincerity.

When Hamilton finally informed Washington that he was resigning as Secretary of the Treasury early in 1795, Washington wrote him a warm letter but certainly no phrases that could be regarded as undue praise. The one sentence in it that seemed to sum up his whole attitude toward his younger associate was this: "In every relation which you have borne to me, I have found that my confidence in your talents, your exertions, and your integrity have been well placed." That's the tribute, isn't it, of a man restrained, yet who speaks the truth about his knowledge over a long period of time of his associate in public affairs.

You have the same sort of thing from Hamilton to those who mourned Washington after his death. The New York wrote to Tobias Lear in sorrow, not a great and glowing tribute to the Commander in Chief and the first President, a very simple confession: "I am much indebted," said Hamilton, "to the kindness of the general. His aegis was very essential to me." Don't you have there also the restraint that carries conviction, that the man was stating the fact and nothing beyond the fact, that without the Commander in Chief and the President he could never have accomplished the things that he did accomplish in establishing the kind of policy which both understood so well?

That's a point I'd like to make very strongly this evening. We sometimes forget it. Among the Founding Fathers I wonder if there was any one who understood what Alexander Hamilton was driving at any better than George Washington did. Franklin was gone before Hamilton's plans had been unfolded. Jefferson and Madison, skeptical at first, quickly took alarm. John Jay and John Adams always seemed to see fragments of the plan and then through a glass rather darkly. It was not Henry Knox, or Oliver Wolcott, or James McHenry, who sustained Alexander Hamilton. The man who sustained him in all of his endeavors, from 1789 to his resignation in 1795, was his chief, the President of the United States.

The best way to see their collaboration is in the famous Farewell Address. Some 20 years ago Victor Paulstits, of the New York Public Library, published that magnificent work on the Farewell Address, showing you all of the copies, all of the interlinations, all of the changes, and came out with the statement that he was positive that the address was not Hamilton's but George Washington's. But sometimes, if you have a chance, read Paulstits' argument looking at the documents, and maybe you will come out with the conviction that I have, that it was neither Hamilton's nor Washington's. It was a joint effort. And if any state paper ever deserved to be entitled "co-authored by Washington and Hamilton" it was the Farewell Address. For Washington took all of the changes that Hamilton suggested, weighed them carefully, wrote back modifying them, and then finally produced a draft in his own hand that took over many of Hamilton's suggestions but they were George Washington's ideas.

They did more though than write jointly a state paper. Their greatest collaboration was the building of a nation. It takes nothing away from those who worked with them in their generation to say that in the

work of these two men you had the magnificent union, the planter of Virginia, the impetuous native of the British West Indies doing their utmost to create a state that would endure.

Internal Security Is Still a Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, I should like to invite the attention of the Members of the Senate to an editorial published in the Desert News-Salt Lake Telegram of February 28, commenting upon a report and the work of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. This excellent editorial is entitled "Internal Security Is Still a Problem."

The writer comments on a report made by the subcommittee following a year's study of the threat of subversion, and says:

The tone of the report is, for once, moderate and thoughtful.

He adds:

Building defenses against subversion without ripping holes in civil rights requires the most sober, thoughtful consideration of which the country is capable.

Mr. President, I have been a member of the subcommittee since its organization a number of years ago, and I can therefore join in that tribute to the subcommittee, particularly with respect to its treatment of witnesses and the conduct of the hearings.

I am pleased to see the work of the subcommittee so well recognized by this great pioneer newspaper of the West.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERNAL SECURITY IS STILL A PROBLEM

America is a strange land of extremes, where problems are seen in either black or white but rarely grays. In few fields is that national characteristic more evident than is the problem of fighting Communist subversion. The Nation is capable of swinging from apathy to almost hysterical concern and back to apathy within a matter of months.

Today, there seems reason to hope that we can get on a road of alert concern but without the witch-hunting and disrespect of human and civil rights that we have sometimes seen in the past.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is releasing this week the results of a year's study of the threat of subversion. The tone of the report is, for once, moderate and thoughtful. Its conclusion is that while there is no occasion for alarm or panic, Red subversion continues to be a threat that must be guarded against.

For example:

Soviet secret police have continued to come into this country under the guise of diplomatic or semi-diplomatic positions, and have engaged in espionage, propaganda, coercion, and even kidnaping.

Tass, the official Soviet news agency, continues to mask the operation of Soviet intelligence agencies.

Communist efforts continue to infiltrate press, radio, television, and other media of public information and opinion.

The theft of American industrial techniques and formulas is a little-known but continuing activity of Soviet agents.

Foreign capital flowing into the United States for undisclosed origin constitutes a threat that cannot be overlooked. Some $26.8 billion in foreign funds are invested in United States industry, a substantial part in defense industries. Much of it comes through countries whose laws make it impossible to determine the origin.

Communist infiltration into organized labor is an unsolved problem.

To all of these charges, the subcommittee adds the color of testimony that, if not decisive, at least bears close attention. To all, it adds recommendations for legislative or Executive action to help correct the loopholes that still exist.

Hunting Reds in Government has always been a thankless task. Usually, it has brought vituperation and often discredit on the men doing the hunting—and occasionally the discredit has been well earned. The present committee under chairmanship of Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND of Mississippi has managed to avoid the notoriety of some of its prerecessors and so may also avoid some of the unpleasant effects that others have suffered.

We hope so. Building defenses against subversion without ripping holes in civil rights requires the most sober, thoughtful consideration of which the country is capable. This kind of consideration is not possible in the circus atmosphere that has taken hold of the Nation in the past.

A Curb on Junketeering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the New York Times of Saturday, March 2, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CURB ON JUNKETEERING

In a recent press conference President Eisenhower said: "There is no expenditure of public moneys, except only involving that where the public security itself is involved, that should not face the light of day any time any citizen inquires for it." The statement was made in general response to a specific question about the secrecy that enshrouds the expenses of Congressmen traveling abroad on official trips.

A few days after the President's comments, Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, of Delaware, took the floor to urge a full public accounting of such funds; and legislation has subsequently been introduced to require it. The amounts involved are not small, almost $500,000 for the fiscal year 1956 in counterpart funds alone, which means local currency made available by foreign governments receiving United States aid. The grand total is not known, nor are individual Members of Congress required to present any itemized breakdown of their disbursements.

Now, it is, of course, possible that most of these and other expenditures go for legitimate factfinding purposes. There can be perfectly proper reasons for Members of House and Senate and their staffs to travel at public expense, and we would be the last to say that they were never entitled to do so. But that there have been some excesses and some unjustified use of public funds for private entertainment it would be equally foolish to deny. As Senator WILLIAMS points out, "Many Members of Congress who have traveled abroad * * * have said they would be glad to see the cloak of secrecy removed in order to prevent suspicion of those who have made these trips for constructive purposes and spent the money in conscientious manner."

In the interests of public confidence in Congress, good relations with other countries and orderly procedure in the dispensation of governmental funds, Congress would do well to face this question frankly and reveal expenditures, in detail, that it ought have no reason to hide.

The Galindez Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, many thoughtful Americans have been disturbed over the disappearance of Dr. Jesus de Galindez, distinguished scholar who has fought the Trujillo regime in the Dominican Republic. This anxiety has been compounded by the further disappearance of a young American aviator, Gerald Murphy, of Eugene, Oreg., and the two cases are directly connected, according to an extensive survey by Life magazine, in its issue of February 25.

Representative CHARLES O. PORTER, of Oregon's Fourth Congressional District, has vigilantly followed this entire episode ever since it came to public attention. Mr. PORTER was born in Eugene, he was educated in its schools, and today he and his wife, Priscilla, and their four children make their residence in Eugene. Thus his interest in any of that city's residents is genuine, active and sincere. The disappearance of Gerald Murphy, whose grief-stricken parents live in Eugene, was a tragic event which Congressman PORTER would not tolerate without challenge and investigation.

After Mr. PORTER had spoken about the matter on the floor of the House of Represenatives, some of his colleagues were critical of the stand that he took. However, it is significant that the newspaper which is generally recognized as the most thorough and complete and carefully edited periodical published anywhere in America—and perhaps even in the world—has come to Mr. PORTER's immediate defense with a strong editorial.

This editorial constitutes a ringing endorsement of the courage of a new Member of Congress, who has served in the House for only a few months. The editorial demonstrates that much will be

heard in the future from CHARLES O. PORTER, whose maiden address in the House has been described by the editors of the New York Times as a public service.

So that Members of the Senate may have the benefit of the full contents of this New York Times editorial of March 2, 1957, it is my request, Mr. President, that it appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GALINDEZ CASE

Representative PORTER, of Oregon, performed a public service in the House on Thursday when he brought up the Galindez case.

On March 12 it will have been a year since Dr. Jesus de Galindez, a distinguished Spanish Basque scholar teaching at Columbia University, was snatched from the heart of New York City and disappeared as if by magic. He had just completed a doctoral thesis on The Trujillo Era which was a devastating analysis of the regime of the dictatorship of the Dominican Republic. However, no proof was forthcoming to link the disappearance of Galindez to the Dominican Republic.

Representative PORTER referred to the comprehensive exposé published by Life magazine on February 25. This connected the death of the young American flier, Gerald Murphy, to the Galindez case, but the evidence, however impressive, is still circumstantial.

Everyone connected with these mysteries is dead and dead men tell no tales. The duty of solving the mysteries rests, as it always has, primarily on the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The New York police are also deeply involved in the disappearance of Jesus de Galindez. On the basis of information so far divulged, both organizations have failed.

They must keep on trying. It should not be possible for a distinguished foreigner to be wiped out in New York City without anyone being punished for the outrage. So far as the Dominican Government is concerned, Representatiye JAMES FULTON, of Pennsylvania, was beside the point in criticizing Mr. PORTER for attacking a friendly neighbor. Just because one of the worst dictatorships in Latin America is pro-United States does not make it any the less of a tyranny. It should not be the part of the State Department or of Congressmen to curry favor with dictators just because they are friendly. Our duty as a great democracy is to foster democracy and encourage Democrats in Latin America, not dictatorships and not tyrants.

Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very well written and comprehensive article dealing with Puerto Rico.

It is particularly appropriate that this excellent article should be published at the time the people of Puerto Rico are celebrating the 40th anniversary of their American citizenship and marking the great friendship that exists between the people of Puerto Rico and the people of the United States. I hope all Senators will acquaint themselves with the article, and note particularly the great strides which the people of Puerto Rico are making.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 3, 1957]

PUERTO RICO SETS PACE FOR OUR ISLAND COUSINS

(By Chalmers M. Roberts)

One of the courious things about Americans is how little so many of us know about our own country. And this goes double for the United States' offshore possessions. Puerto Rico is a case in point. The Virgin Islands are another.

This reporter recently spent some time in both these pleasant Caribbean spots over which the Stars and Stripes have been flying now for many years—since 1898, in the case of Puerto Rico, and since 1917 in the case of the Virgin Islands. This is by way of a report on what goes on in both places.

Puerto Rico is effervescent; there is a smell of action in the air. Under the leadership of Gov. Luis Munoz Marin, as shrewd a political leader as one is likely to run across anywhere, this jam-packed little island with the skimpiest sort of natural resources is in the midst of lifting itself out of the status of a backward, underdeveloped area into the modern industrial age.

THEIR OWN INITIATIVE

Much has been done; much, much more remains to be done. But the important thing is that it is being done by Puerto Ricans in a democratic way in what has been aptly named, "Operation Bootstrap."

The Virgin Islands, by contrast, are only now beginning to come alive, in part, because of the Puerto Rican example; Puerto Rico is only 40 minutes flying time away.

The key to Puerto Rico's success is twofold: a settled and acceptable political relationship with the United States, and an indigenous political leadership headed by Munoz. For Peurto Rico is a commonwealth under the American flag, with complete local self-government from the governorship and legislature on down, subject only to the United States Constitution and courts. The last two elections (1952 and 1956) demonstrated that two-thirds of the voters prefer this to either complete independence or statehood.

The Virgin Islands, however, remain a Territory, under Interior Department administration, to a large degree. The Governor is named by the President. The President can, and does, override the acts of the locally elected 11-man legislature. (Mr. Eisenhower not long ago upheld the Governor's veto of a bill to authorize some new public comfort stations.) Perhaps most important, as far as this reporter could discover in a short visit, there is no strong local leadership, certainly not of the caliber of Muñoz.

GOVERNMENTAL LABORATORY

In short, what is going on in Puerto Rico is a tribute to both American generosity and to Puerto Rican gumption. It is the combination of the two which has made the island commonwealth a magnet for curious visitors from 99 different countries and territories, all come to see whether what the Puerto Ricans have done cannot help them in the development of their own homelands. Often it can.

On the other hand, what goes on in the Virgins is a black mark against Washington. The United States has yet to offer the opportunity, and the indigenous population has yet to prove itself able to cope with the problems, of commonwealth status or something akin to it.

Puerto Rico is a tiny, 100-by-35-mile rectangular island packed with some 2,300,000 people despite the fact that a net of more than 429,000 Puerto Ricans has moved to the continental United States over the past 10 years. Its population, in fact, is greater than that of at least 15 of the 80 countries which form the United Nations, including 6 or 7 of the Latin American Republics.

The Virgin Islands consist chiefly of 3 small islands (St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John) with only 14,000 residents. The Puerto Ricans are Spanish Americans for the most part; the Virgin Islanders are principally Negroes. Puerto Ricans speak Spanish but many also speak English. Virgin Islanders speak English, although it has a calypso singsong quality which has been described as putting the emphasis on the wrong "syllabasis."

INTERNAL SQUABBLING

The current Governor of the Virgins is Walter A. Gordon, a California Negro attorney, former assistant football coach at the University of California, and friend of Chief Justice Earl Warren. He is currently in Africa with Vice President NIXON. He is an intelligent but frustrated man, locked in constant dispute with the legislature. One has the impression that neither tries very hard to find some sort of accommodation in the islands' interest.

As Muñoz has said, Puerto Rico is a "political mutation—perhaps a cultural mutation, too." One finds working for the government in San Juan a number of former Washington New Dealers. David Lilienthal and Gordon Clapp advise on a major irrigation project. The last white mainland governor, Rexford Guy Tugwell, recently returned for a series of lectures at the university. Chester Bowles is one of the island's major advocates.

In short, Puerto Rico is in many ways a child of the New Deal. The economic philosophy of the men who run it is akin to that of Franklin Roosevelt, not Dwight Eisenhower. The government has its fingers in almost every type of pie from housing to hotels, from factories to long-range planning. Yet private industry flourishes and many American businesses have been lured to the island by a 10-year tax holiday program and some 450 government-built, tax-exempt factories.

When Muñoz created his Popular Democratic Party back in 1940 under the Tugwell regime, Puerto Rico was a poor agricultural island dependent on sugarcane. Since 1940, life expectancy has been raised from 46 to 68 years; literacy from 68 percent to better than 80 percent; nearly 40,000 industrial jobs have been created and the birth rate has begun to decline. Family income averages $2,400 today compared to $660 in 1940.

Today, some 260,000 of 486,000 housing units have electricity, 168,000 have water, and 130,000 have television sets, although TV came to the island a bare 3 years ago.

Yet the figures can be illusory. Thousands still live in slum shacks through whose bare boards one can often see the TV sets. Unemployment is around 13 percent of the labor force, compared to under 4 percent in the United States. And the average hourly wage last year was only 64 cents compared to $1.96 for the United States as a whole and something over $1.20 for Mississippi.

Income from manufacturing topped agricultural income for the first time last year despite the fact that two-thirds of the industrial workers are women.

Under the apparently permanent 10-year tax holiday plan, which really got underway in 1949–50, just about any business which would move to Puerto Rico was welcomed with open arms. Some which came did not last long, even with a tax break. Others settled down and expanded. Many complained of high labor turnover despite

the government's efforts to train one-time farm hands how to run machines. Most of the new industries were small with textiles predominant, though some were branches of such major American concerns as Remington Rand, Sunbeam Electric, American Can, and General Electric.

The island's big break, or what Teodoro Moscoso, the dynamic boss of the government's Economic Development Administration, believes will be the turning point, came with the establishment of two oil refineries in 1954–55, a $60 million investment. Venezuelan oil is only some 500 miles south.

Around these refineries there is now the beginnings of a petrochemical complex. Union Carbide is building a $28 million plant to manufacture ethylene glycol, using refinery gases. Two more such complexes seem to be reasonably assured. In the coming decade, Puerto Rico expects to see petrochemicals spawn synthetic fibers and/or plastics—and thousands of new, stable jobs.

As conservative an organization as the Chase Manhattan Bank recently commented in its Latin American business review that "real progress is being made in diversifying the economy" of Puerto Rico.

As the visitor traipses through the maze of facts and figures in Puerto Rico, he more and more wants to know: Where did the money come from to start all this? Is the American taxpayer footing the bill? The facts are these:

The United States gives Puerto Rico two big breaks: it collects no income taxes there (though residents pay a stiff island income tax approaching the Federal rates), and it turns back to the Puerto Rican treasury the customs and excise taxes collected on the island, a total of $23.5 million in the last fiscal year.

Aside from these two breaks (which also apply to the Virgin Islands), Puerto Rico receives, as the 48 States do, Federal funds in the form of military and civilian payrolls ($98 million for Puerto Rico), grants-in-aid for roads, school lunches, etc., of $24 million and veterans' benefits and other transfer payments of $71 million.

Puerto Rico's income also is boosted by money sent home by Puerto Ricans living in New York and elsewhere in the States, about $15 million last year, and by tourist expenditures estimated this year at around $25 million for some 200,000 visitors.

The island government's budget is balanced at $230 million, of which only 5 percent goes for industrial development (it will be 10 percent next year). Thus it seems a reasonable conclusion that while Uncle Sam is being generous, Puerto Rico itself is paying the bulk of the bill.

Curiously, World War II gave the island the initial kitty with which to start industrial development. In those years, as many Americans will remember with displeasure, one had to buy 2 or 3 bottles of rum to obtain a bottle of Scotch. These tie-in Puerto Rican rum sales, or, more correctly, the excise taxes on the rum, provided the bulk of $17.5 million for island development.

Now, Moscoso figures the local treasury picks up $150,000 from every $1 million added to the island's income. Success thus feeds on success, fiscally speaking.

It also works another way. Five years ago the island government invested $7.2 million to build the spectacular Caribe Hilton Hotel in San Juan on a lease basis, with two-thirds of the profits for the government and one-third for Hilton. Last year, says Moscoso, the government's share was a fat $900,000. Hilton's tax-free $450,000 can be, and is, used to finance his hotel activities in many foreign lands. Moscoso likes to point out that Puerto Rico thus is helping the American point 4 program.

Hilton, incidentally, pays taxes on the profits of the legalized gambling casino in the hotel. Puerto Rico also has a legal government lottery which brings in $3 million a year, money assigned to hospitals to make it morally more palatable. There also is a new $5 million racetrack in which a lot of Washington money has been invested.

In contrast to the 100 percent government financing of the Hilton only 5 years ago, a new 368-room hotel to be run by the intercontinental chain is now building with only an 8 percent government interest. To such a degree has private-investment confidence risen.

The 10-year tax holiday scheme, widely advertised in the United States, is undoubtedly the major attraction for industry. But even this would not do the job except for the fact that Puerto Rico is inside the American tariff wall and under the American flag and the protection of its courts.

It was, in fact, the realization by Luis Muñoz-Marin that Puerto Rico could never stand alone economically that led him to abandon his initial bent toward independence.

Muñoz knows, too, that for many years to come thousands of Puerto Ricans must migrate to the mainland, as is their right as American citizens. Were it not for this opportunity, he told the legislature in January, the island would face economic disaster.

Talking to the Governor in his office-residence atop the ancient Spanish-built city wall—Ponce de Leon, the first Spanish governor, was the initial occupant—one is impressed by both the man's drive and his vision.

When the Popular Democratic Party has carried out its pledges, he says, the job will be done and it probably will be defeated. But the goal is still a long way off: Full employment by 1965, a minimum family income of $2,000; an end of illiteracy; good low-rent or low-cost housing for all.

That Puerto Rico wants Muñoz to finish the job is clear enough from the 1956 election returns: Popular Democrats, 437,540; Republican Party (pro-statehood), 176,443; Independence Party (for cutting all ties with the United States), 66,850. Interestingly enough, the Independence Party had been second in 1952 with 125,000 votes to the Republicans' 85,000, compared to Muñoz's 429,000.

Working Together: The Credo of Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I want to commend to the attention of the membership of this body an article written by the Federal Civil Defense Administrator, Mr. Val Peterson, which appeared in the January-February edition of the Catholic War Veteran.

Governor Peterson's message is timely and of great importance to all of us. He stresses the fact that we must all work together so that we may be trained and prepared to help ourselves, and help others, in the event of an emergency.

I have been deeply distressed by the complacent attitude of some of our people, and some of our officials, with respect to civil defense. Our civil defense preparations have been lagging, and our efforts in that field have been often hesitant and ineffectual.

For these reasons, and because civil defense is everybody's business, I sincerely hope that the article which follows will receive attentive consideration. I also hope that we will begin to exert greater effort to make our civil defense as effective and adequate as possible.

WORKING TOGETHER
(By Val Peterson)

Probably no two words in the history of a free nation have so much meaning for us. It was working together, led by the rugged individualism of courageous men and women, that carved from raw frontiers the United States of today.

It has been working together that built your splendid fraternal organization, the Catholic War Veterans, to the tremendous accomplishments for which it is famous. People, united in a single purpose, can do just about any job.

It will be working together that will keep our freedoms, continue our accomplishments. There can be no end to the kind of cooperation we've made successful. And now, in this age of nuclear weapons, our "working together" spirit may well be the key to America's ultimate survival in the future.

A potential enemy has the weapons and the ways to attack us. We have seen how sudden natural disasters—tornadoes, floods, hurricanes, fires—can leave death, injuries, and destruction far beyond the immediate resources of normal emergency services. There is only one answer to trouble, natural or man-made: every individual must be ready to help himself and others.

This is the credo of civil defense. It might be expressed as "working together, to prepare and train to help ourselves and others survive."

We have seen our entire pattern of life undergo an amazing metamorphosis in the last 25 years. Our cities have expanded beyond the wildest dreams of their original planners and our suburbs are reaching out continuously into what once was country farmland. Our urban dwellers are growing closer to their rural counterparts daily; therefore it is becoming increasingly difficult to find any man who can say honestly that he is completely independent and self-sufficient of his neighbor. Civil defense has become everybody's business.

Because of this, a natural disaster or an enemy attack, if it should occur, no longer can be considered a localized affair. It will become an emergency which can influence the lives of millions far beyond the actual scene of disaster.

We must recognize the hard fact that without civil defense we cannot exist peacefully, for President Eisenhower truly has said that a strong civil defense is a powerful deterrent to war. We also must accept the fact that in time of natural disaster, a strong civil defense is a powerful antidote to the ravages of nature.

Catholic War Veterans can be of invaluable assistance. You are the leaders of your communities. I know you have only limited time for actual participation in the extremely important jobs of operational civil defense such as block wardens, auxiliary firemen and policemen, or rescue squad details. But, in your everyday business activity you can provide the leadership from which will stem the community incentive to do something about the problem we face. Your thinking will precede and encourage the action we must have to make civil defense workable at all levels of our society.

Your industry and business have a tremendous stake in this matter of survival. In recent years, we have seen many of our

factories and business houses dealt crippling blows by flood, fire, hurricane, and tornado. Preparedness against these threats to the best of our ability is civil defense in action.

As businessmen, many of you have reocognized this and have taken steps accordingly. But, have you let this concept of business and industrial survival filter down into your homes and those of your employees in terms of personal survival? Is the man on the street in your community really cognizant of civil defense? Does he truly understand that civil defense is not a static theory of preparedness for war, but that it actually is a dynamic, workable means of survival?

This is your responsibility. Your thinking will stimulate the action we must have to make civil defense a success. Let your thoughts on this line be known in your community. Perhaps you will take issue with some of our concepts and applications. That is your prerogative, but let your opinions be aired for all to hear and understand.

Only by working together can we bring civil defense to all of our people. Only in this way can we be assured of survival.

Statehood for Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN A. BURNS

DELEGATE FROM HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, national sentiment for immediate statehood for Hawaii is mounting steadily. This is revealed in the growing number of editorials appearing daily in the press of the Nation. Nearly all of them urge the admission of Hawaii into the Union in this session of the Congress. This editorial expression comes from all regions of the country—from the West and East, from the North and deep South. It is no exaggeration to say that newspapers being read daily in a majority of homes in the Nation today support forcefully the grant of statehood to Hawaii. Here are some recent examples:

ALABAMA

Birmingham, Ala., Post-Herald, January 19: "For the first time since he has been in the White House, President Eisenhower is advocating statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii. This is progress, but his reference to Alaska is still hedged. * * * There's plenty of ground in vast Alaska * * * for ample defense installations. * * * The need for them should not be permitted to confuse the statehood issue."

COLORADO

Ft. Morgan, Colo., Times, January 14: "The admission of both (Hawaii and Alaska) is certain to come sooner or later. They are having the same experience that all of the States west of the 13 colonies had in gaining admission to the Nation."

Rocky Mountain News, January 19: "For the first time since he has been in the White House, President Eisenhower is advocating statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii. * * * There's plenty of ground in vast and sparsely populated Alaska for ample defense installations and even hunting preserves, if they are considered essential. The need for them should not be permitted to confuse the statehood issue."

CALIFORNIA

Riverside Enterprise, January 29: Denying the people of the Territories their due means playing politics with citizenship. By every test Alaska and Hawaii are entitled to statehood now."

Sacramento Bee, January 25: "To duck and dodge longer on the aspirations of the people of these Territories for complete self government will affront them and kick in the teeth public sentiment throughout the United States as well."

Modesto Bee, January 29: "The Republican National Convention in San Francisco pledged that party to 'immediate' statehood for both Territories. The Democratic National Convention made the same strong commitment. Whether such pledges have any meaning will soon get the acid test in Congress."

San Jose Mercury, January 25: "For years the residents of both Territories have been promised statehood and it is about time they had it."

Riverside Press, January 28: "By every just test Alaska and Hawaii are entitled to statehood now. Those Congressmen who acknowledge this should do everything in their power to gain them their admission to the Union."

Fullerton News-Tribune, January 22: "For the first time since he has been in the White House, President Eisenhower is advocating statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii. This is progress."

Los Angeles Examiner, January 20: "Alaska and Hawaii, out of the Union, are the accusing symbols of second-class American citizenship imposed upon people fully entitled to a better place in the family. In the Union, they will give military and economic strength to the Nation, enhance American prestige throughout the world, and attest the solidarity of all our people."

IOWA

Davenport Morning Democrat, January 24: "It is time to end the foolishness and to admit States No. 49 and No. 50 to the Union."

Oelwein Register, January 19: "The case for both Hawaii and Alaska is overwhelming. Popular sentiment has favored statehood for Hawaii and Alaska."

KENTUCKY

Covington Enquirer, December 20: "As long as we withhold full citizenship from the people of Hawaii we are handing our critics, particularly the Communists, a readymade argument to use against us throughout Asia."

KANSAS

Wellington News, January 24: "It is always a pleasure to see people claim their right to self-government, especially when it adds to the power and prestige of the United States. Admitting Alaska and Hawaii to the Union will certainly do that. The case for Hawaii has long been overwhelming."

MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor News, January 12: "Even an argument perhaps based on real concern—the issue of communism in Hawaii—fails to strengthen the validity of opposition. The problem could probably be better dealt with by the Federal Government if Hawaii were a State."

Detroit Times, January 21: "It is a powerful demonstration of the merit of the statehood proposal that he (President Eisenhower) has become convinced of the necessity of bringing Alaska into the American family of States. In the Union Alaska and Hawaii will give military and economic strength to the Nation, enhance American prestige throughout the world, and attest the solidarity of all our people."

Bay City Times, January 14: "In a land that preaches the right of franchise for others, Congress should stop playing Alaska against Hawaii, and vice versa, over political issues that are only indirectly related to the merits of statehood for these two Territories."

Marquette Mining Journal, January 14: "Something tells us Alaska will do. We are plumping for Hawaii, too."

Menominee Herald-Leader, January 26: "Perhaps Michigan's battle for statehood may soon be duplicated by the addition of Hawaii and Alaska to make the Union an even 50 States."

Iron Mountain News, January 26: "If Alaska and Hawaii do not gain statehood in this session of Congress, it will be because some persons do not take their promises seriously."

MISSOURI

St. Louis Post Dispatch, February 3: "Alaska and Hawaii are ready for statehood, they want statehood, and statehood has been solemnly promised them by both major political parties in the United States. Why then have they not been admitted to the Union? That is a question which Members of Congress may find harder and harder to answer unless they do something about it."

MONTANA

Great Falls Tribune, February 6: "Informed Washington observers report chances brighter for approval of statehood for Alaska and Hawaii in this session of Congress than in previous sessions. The Alaskans, like the Hawaiians, have been used as a political football much too long. They qualify for statehood; they want statehood; they should have statehood."

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston Record, January 22: "The twin proposals of statehood for Hawaii and Alaska have been before the Congress a long time, and it was only the question that was in Mr. Eisenhower's mind about Alaska, that held them back."

MINNESOTA

Duluth News Tribune, January 26: "If our politicians want platforms taken seriously, they will admit these two new States to the Union."

NEW YORK

New York Times, January 22: "Both Territories are ready to be represented in Congress by voting Members in both Houses whenever our legislators decide that a little more democracy wouldn't do any harm."

Elmira Star-Gazette, January 19: "Both Territories are eager for an extension of the democratic process. Both are important in the defense of the United States. And both have attracted the temporarily affectionate eye of the authors of party platforms."

Jamaica, Long Island, Press, January 13: Both territories have made out good cases for admission to the Union. We should be proud to have them. This year * * * is a good time for Congress to open the door to them."

OHIO

Findlay Republican Courier, February 2: "It is not unlikely that both Territories will be admitted at the current 85th session of the Congress."

Cleveland Press, January 21: "For the first time since he has been in the White House President Eisenhower is advocating statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii. * * * The need for them should not be permitted to confuse the issue."

Springfield News, January 17: "There are 1 or 2 new recommendations (in the President's budget message) the most heartening of which is addition of Alaska to the recommendation for Hawaii statehood."

PENNSYLVANIA

Allentown Call, January 19: "The people of both Territories long have pressed their claims to such recognition. There is no question as to their ability for responsible government in the political status of sovereign States. They have long served an apprenticeship in preparation for a grant of increased stature."

Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, January 21: "Alaska and Hawaii out of the Union are the accusing symbols of second-class American

citizenship imposed upon people fully entitled to a better place in the family."

Connelsville Courier, January 26: "Should Hawaii and Alaska make it 50 States by grant of statehood in the next 4 years, there will be added color to the next inaugural parade. There should be no further delay in adding them to the roster of States."

Scranton Times, January 18: "It would seem only fair that if one Territory is to be admitted the other one should be brought into the Union at approximately the same time."

TEXAS

Athens Review, January 28: "Have you ever wondered how the residents of Hawaii and Alaska must feel about the attitude of our United States lawmakers who continue to sidetrack the issue of their admittance as States in our Union?"

San Antonio Light, January 21: "In the Union, they (Alaska and Hawaii) will give military and economic strength to the Nation, enhance American prestige throughout the world, and attest the solidarity of all our people."

Jacksonville Progress, January 10: "We should make sure every foot of ground, every human being under the stars and stripes has equal participation in government."

TENNESSEE

Knoxville News-Sentinel, January 18: "The need for them (Alaska and Hawaii) should not be permitted to confuse the issue."

UTAH

Salt Lake City Deseret News, January 14: "Citizens of both Territories have repeatedly voted yea on the statehood issue. Both offer large areas of wealth in natural resources if economically developed. Statehood to both would help this Nation's defense, foreign relations and national economy."

Salt Lake City Tribune, February 8: "If words and pledges have any meaning both Alaska and Hawaii—ready for statehood and earnestly seeking it—should be added to the Union this year."

WEST VIRGINIA

Grafton Sentinel, January 25: "President Eisenhower recommended in his budget message statehood for Hawaii and Alaska. There should be no further delay in adding them to the roster of States."

WYOMING

Casper Tribune-Herald, February 5: "Taxation without representation is the issue which brought the United States into being. It creates a strange feeling that anybody living under the flag can raise it today; that Hawaiians and Alaskans, as citizens, are still denied full citizen rights."

A National Grammar Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced legislation which would establish a National Grammar Commission to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate which shall have the usual prerogative of a National Commission and a specific purpose to be carried out. In this instance, the purpose is that of research into the rules of spelling and grammar deemed to be desirable for use of the English language in the United States. The product of such research would be the establishment of an official dictionary of reformed spelling and grammar. Once established, this dictionary would serve as the directive for the reproduction of material by the United States Government and its officials and employees with the hope that usages established would become common in our society generally.

This legislation was introduced by me at the request of Mr. Homer Wood, of Porterville, Calif. Mr. Wood is presently the publisher of a daily newspaper in that city. In addition to his newspaper experience, he has in his background a qualification to practice law and experience in the administration of courts. For some time he has been concerned with the problems created by the inadequacies of our grammar and spelling. He is convinced that the establishment of a more scientific system of spelling and grammar would result in a saving of tens of millions of dollars and would ease considerably the burden of our educators with a correlative improvement in the language usage habits of our citizens. The proposal has received wide publicity already.

I am convinced that there is much merit in it. Neither Mr. Wood nor myself visualize that such a commission would establish a complete new method of spelling, phonetic or otherwise, or the abandonment of a substantial portion of our rules of grammar. The commission would make its attack on the most obvious inadequacies of our language usage. In other words, the proposals of the first grammar commission would be moderate. Experience would demonstrate to what extent more radical changes in our language usage would be desirable, but the initial effort would be modest according to my conception. The proposal contained in my bill is not original because efforts have been made in the past in various quarters to rationalize language usage which I will give you briefly from the history of such efforts and from the justifications announced in the past.

In 1550, the poet Ronsard said:

Thou shouldst not put any letters in words if thou dost not pronounce them.

Since that time, scholars and learned men of every generation have attempted to simplify the spelling of the language. English, which in most respects is considered a relatively simple language to master, has the most difficult spelling of all. Down through the years, there have been attempts to simplify other languages such as Dutch, French, Norwegian, and Spanish.

Why is such a reform desirable? Reform, when it means improvement, is always desirable. Spelling reform would tend to give the language greater uniformity in pronunciation. It would save time, space, labor, and money. The question of economy is more far-reaching than we might suppose. It occurs day after day and year after year in many countless ways. Think of the hours that a child wastes in school learning to read—hours that could be saved by easier reading. Think of the hours wasted in learning to spell words in which letters and the pronunciation are entirely different. The battle with spelling does not end there. It is a continuous process through life—keeping up and perfecting the knowledge of spelling. It means countless hours wasted at the dictionary consulting the spelling of a word. Then, too, he spends much time in the needless task of writing silent letters. The cost of printing the silent letters runs into the millions of dollars for each generation. Yet, many people defend silent letters by pleading their advantage in the study of etymology. That etymologies would be obscured by the use of simplified spelling is not true. The fact is that etymologies would be clarified—few would be obscured and none would be lost. Finally, the present system of spelling is a hindrance in modern education. It is difficult for a child to learn and difficult for the teacher to teach. A simplified system would save many teaching hours. It would have greater rewards for the child and hence would be of greater interest to him. All of these arguments have been set forth many times. Because they are true, they cannot be repeated too often.

Other languages have adopted reforms in spelling. Because of the differences of writing and printing methods used in the various parts of Germany a conference of delegates was held at Dresden in October 1872. Dr. Falk, the Prussian Minister of Education, proposed that Professor von Raumer should prepare a report on the need for reform. The reforms were prepared, sent to the various governments and then submitted to a ministerial commission composed of von Raumer and 11 other scholars. The commission met in January 1876 and, with certain modifications, approved the reforms. The reformed spelling was then required to be taught in all schools.

In Denmark, in the 1800's the reform movement resulted in an official decree confirming certain regulations. This decree, however, was not made obligatory.

Spain has been designated as one of the languages with the simplest forms of spelling. In 1741 the Spanish Academy laid down the principles for the spelling of Spanish.

Pronunciation must have for its sole and universal rule, that by it alone there can always be known with what letter the sound should be written. (La pronunciación se debe tener por regla única y universal siempre que por ella sola se puede conocer con que letra se ha de escribir la voz.)

More recently, the French Government has requested a report on spelling and other grammer reforms for their native language. In 1950 the Conseil Supérieur de l'Education Nationale requested that such a report be made, and the findings of the Commission de Réforme were made public in 1952. The commission was headed by M. A. Beslais, director of primary education for all France. The report includes the recommendation that what Beslais calls "parasite consonants"—that is, silent letters—be thrown out altogether. In addition, the report recommends that certain letters be dropped and others substituted in the alphabet. M. Beslais says that there is no reason for children in this modern

day and age to spell words the same way that their grandparents spelled them. Children of today have too much to learn. The report quotes the decree of the Conseil Supérieur de l'Education Nationale of 1901, which said that tolerance should be shown to any student who used poor spelling on his exams provided that the student showed intelligence. M. Beslais further stated that the reforms should be started with the children entering in the first grade and not with adults. In conformance with the decree of 1901, tolerance would be shown for student use of simplified spelling in the higher grades. The report states:

In 10 years, reformed spelling will have an existence parallel to the orthography of today and in a generation it will have practically eliminated it.

In addition to the spelling reform, the report also deals with the reform of some rules of grammar which might have an even greater effect than the proposed spelling changes. But before these reforms go into effect, they must be approved by the Conseil Supérieur de l'Education Nationale.

There have been several reform movements for the English language, both in spelling and other forms of grammar. In the late 1800's, 130 British school boards petitioned the education department for a Royal Commission to study the matter. The British Social Science Association, the Philological Society of England, the American Philological Association, and the Spelling Reform Association asked for reforms. In 1877, the State Teachers' Association of New York appointed a committee to ask the State legislature to create a commission to study reform spelling. In 1878, a petition in favor of reform spelling was presented to the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Many prominent men have advocated spelling reform in the English language. Among these are Theodore Roosevelt, George Bernard Shaw, and Colonel Robert McCormick.

In 1906, Theodore Roosevelt had the following to say about the proposed spelling reform:

Most of the criticism of the proposed step is evidently made in entire ignorance of what the step is, no less than in entire ignorance of the very moderate and commonsense views as to the purposes to be achieved, which views are so excellently set forth in the circulars to which I have referred. There is not the slightest intention to do anything revolutionary or initiate any far-reaching policy.

They represent nothing in the world but a very slight extension of the unconscious movement which has made agricultural implement makers and farmers write "plow" instead of "plough"; which has made most Americans write "honor" without the somewhat absurd, superfluous "u"; and which is even now making people write "program" without the "me."

It is not an attack on the language of Shakespeare and Milton, because it is in some instances a going back to the forms they used, and in others merely the extension of changes which, as regards other words, have taken place since their time.

It is not an attempt to do anything far-reaching or sudden or violent, or indeed anything very great at all. It is merely an attempt to cast what slight weight can properly be cast on the side of the popular forces which are endeavoring to make our spelling a little less foolish and fantastic.

George Bernard Shaw was a lifelong advocate of simplified spelling, punctuation, orthography, and phonetics. He advocated the used of spaced letters instead of italics. Shaw wrote many articles on the subject, some of which are as follows: A Plea for Speech Nationalization, the Morning Leader, August 22, 1901; The Dying Tongue of Great Elizabeth, the Saturday Review, February 11, 1905; and Orthography of the Bomb, the Times, December 27, 1945.

Col. Robert McCormick used many of the simplified spelling rules in his newspaper, the Chicago Tribune, all during the time that he controlled the newspaper. He was a firm believer in the benefits derived from simplified spelling.

One other report in connection with grammar reform that should be cited is the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature. This committee was appointed by the National Education Association, the Modern Language Association of America, and the American Philological Association. Its report was first published in 1913 and reprinted in 1929. In the report, it states the following concerning its purpose:

The adoption of a system of identical nomenclature for identical phenomena in all the languages of our family which the student may take up, with its natural accompaniment of differing nomenclature at the points where the phenomena differ, would have the effect of making these differences stand out more sharply in his mind.

* * * And it is believed, therefore, not only that the acceptance of the system recommended will at once lead to a state of things much more satisfactory than the present one, but also that the greater part of the system will successfully stand the test of future thought; while the general use of it will at the same time direct attention more sharply upon points at which its results may at some future day be bettered.

If we look at the grammar books of today, we find that the nomenclature used differs from textbook to textbook. It is true that there is a greater degree of conformity than in the past, but a uniform system still has never been adopted.

Much has been written on the subject of reform in the past. Reform is still being advocated by the scholars of today. Yet nothing has been done about making official recommendations for reform. A National Grammar Commission, authorized by the Government, would have that power. It would make our grammar as much a part of this modern age in which we live as has modern industry.

Mighty Mites of the Milk Bowl

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article appearing in the December 1956 edition of the Reader's Digest entitled "Mighty Mites of the Milk Bowl."

The Milk Bowl was the brain child of a Mrs. Eugene Weafer, of Bryan, Tex., who, along with the help of her husband, has brought small-fry football into the big-time. I believe Mr. and Mrs. Weafer are to be congratulated for their untiring work with the youngsters in the State of Texas, as they are the backbone of our future society.

The article follows:

MIGHTY MITES OF THE MILK BOWL

(By Oren Arnold)

Early in December two ferociously eager football teams will meet at San Antonio, Tex., in one of the most colorful of the season's Bowl games. Because the play by play will be on an estimated 550 radio and 110 television stations across the continent, you might assume that both teams will be loaded with all-American stars. Actually, no player will be famous, or indeed weigh more than 100 pounds.

In just 7 years, this astonishing new sports spectacle, the National Milk Bowl, has achieved prestige in small-fry football comparable to that acquired by the Rose Bowl in collegiate ball in 40 years. Much of this has been due to a pretty young housewife and her dreams for her own five children.

Back in 1949, Elizabeth Weafer and her schoolteacher husband Eugene were "stuck" in Gause, Tex., a town of 491 people, way off the beaten track. Eugene's pupils were country children who had few assets except energy. Because there were no recreational outlets for their own five, Elizabeth urged her big husband to introduce football at the school.

Eugene had never played, never coached, but he'd at least seen a game or two; and he got a football book and studied it. Between cooking, washing and housekeeping, Elizabeth helped Eugene and several local boys measure off a gridiron in a cow pasture and erect goal posts. The kids took to it with enthusiasm.

"By October we had a team of scared little boys in poor clothes," Elizabeth recalls. "Nobody would play us. We wrote every school within range and were brushed off. Finally Bryan, a city of 18,000, reluctantly agreed to take our fellows on as a 'breather' to fill in their schedule.

"At game time, the Bryan lads showed up in resplendent new uniforms. Embarrassed, our Gause boys, in their faded jeans, sweat shirts and no shoes at all, refused to play. I had to take both coaches by the arm and make them talk kindly to our team to get it on the field. Finally our lads stood out there glaring, then took the kickoff and began playing like cowboys bulldogging steers."

One 12-year-old "mighty midget" ran almost for a touchdown—the wrong way. "I thought either goal post would do, ma'am," he said to Elizabeth during the time out, and burst into tears. She hugged him close a moment, explained the rules, and made Coach Weafer send him right back in. So he took the ball on the next play and ran for a touchdown in the other direction, scattering Bryan tacklers en route.

In the end, the barefoot Gauslings, who had never seen a football game before, had scored 24 points, the stunned Bryan boys, zero.

Word got around and other schools tried the ragtag Gauslings. They had no luck, either; the country boys polished off each one with a grim and deadly determination. They made other progress, too: they acquired shoes.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth Weafer, a baby on her hip, organized the rest of the Gause

youngsters into what could pass for a cheering section.

"If she says holler, then you holler!" one pappy commanded his six school kids. "I don't understand football, but I do understand hollerin'. It tones a body up and makes him work harder at whatever he's doin' if friends holler for him." A trained psychologist could not have expressed it better.

At night, while Eugene graded arithmetic papers, Elizabeth charted hidden-ball plays for him to teach the peewee gridders at practice next day. "Sometimes not even the referee could find the ball until our boy had it behind the goal posts," Eugene says proudly.

The town got to think so much of 25-year-old Elizabeth Weafer that it wanted to elect her Governor of Texas, which down there is a higher honor than being President of the United States. Especially after she wrote a Dallas radio station suggesting that a "bowl game for small fry" be started as a charity benefit, and challenging any team of comparable age anywhere to meet the Gauslings. She proposed that any money received for tickets should go to help crippled children.

The radio station took up the idea. Other radiocasters joined in. So did the newspapers and the general public.

Thus on December 10, 1949, the first Milk Bowl game played at Cameron, Tex. The Gauslings, resplendently clad and confident now, roared onto the field like a Panhandle tornado—and lost the game to San Saba, Tex., 20 to 7.

But the National Milk Bowl had captured the fancy of Texans; and even "foreigners" were intrigued. Herbert Hoover wrote a note of good wishes. So did another Hoover—J. Edgar; and an immortal halfback named Red Grange.

The next year's game launched it as an annual event. Wealthy and influential Texans agreed to be included among the supporters of this unique charity. And the National Milk Bowl's board of directors today is headed by one of the richest men in the world, Hugh Roy Cullen, and such personages as Dr. W. R. White, president of Baylor University; and—Elizabeth Weafer.

"Liz still spends about half her time on the bowl," her husband testifies.

As her fee for all this, Elizabeth Weafer asks and gets exactly what Bryan school got in that first game against the Gauslings—zero. Eugene, nominally the bowl's executive director now, is similarly paid. The Milk Bowl is a labor of love. No member of the board or anyone else has ever been asked for money, though the Weafers themselves have spent considerable of their own.

This year's game will be sponsored by a Lions Club at San Antonio. As always, the teams will play under standard football rules. No player will be over 14 years of age or weigh more than 100 pounds. Pageantry between halves will match the best seen at college games. And a pre-teen queen will be crowned.

The bowl's rise has caused hundreds of small-fry teams to be organized across the Nation. The best team in Texas is chosen by elimination from a region selected by the bowl committee, and the rivalry exceeds that in the tough collegiate Southwest Conference. The champ Texas team challenges one equally strong from out of State. And every State courts the challenge.

"We are even getting feelers from Canada, Mexico, Alaska, South America, and Europe," says Liz. "The whole enterprise keeps getting bigger. I keep trying to shift all the weight onto Eugene—he's twice as big as I am, and football is a man's game. But he just grins and sidesteps like most husbands. I'm not trained for this sort of thing. As a good Methodist, all I know to do is pray for guidance, then continue working as best I can."

But it was a good Catholic who, with a beneficent smile, spoke the feeling in all Texas toward Elizabeth Weafer. Father James Keller, famed head of The Christophers, said to her, "You are a terrific example of what one person can do."

A Concept of American Strategy and a Memo on National Military Units Composed of Escapees From Communist-Dominated Countries

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I wish to insert the text of two statements by former Congressman Charles J. Kersten, of Wilwaukee, Wis. The first, entitled "A Concept of American Strategy," is the statement made by Mr. Kersten before the Senate Committees on Foreign Relations and Armed Services on February 4, 1957, during the joint hearings on Senate Joint Resolution 19 on the Middle East. The second article is a memo prepared on the subject National Military Units Composed of Escapees From Communist-Dominated Countries.

I feel, Mr. Speaker, that in view of Mr. Kersten's background, which includes the authorship of the Kersten amendment to the Mutual Security Act which includes the escapee program and the chairmanship of the House Select Committeee on Communist Aggression in the 83d Congress, that the presentation of his views is both timely and useful. His intense interest in this subject is, of course, a matter of record.

The statements follow:

MEMO ON NATIONAL MILITARY UNITS COMPOSED OF ESCAPEES FROM COMMUNIST-DOMINATED COUNTRIES

(By Charles J. Kersten)

Text of section 101 (a) (1) of Public Law 165 of the 82d Congress under title 1 (Mutual Security Act, 1951, as amended), known as the Kersten amendment:

"Not to exceed $100 million of the funds available under this section may be expended for any selected persons who are residing in or escapees from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia or the Communist-dominated or Communist-occupied areas of Germany, or any Communist-dominated or Communist-occupied areas of Asia and any other countries absorbed by the Soviet Union, either to form such persons into elements of the military forces supporting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or for other purposes, when the President determines that such assistance will contribute to the defense of the North Atlantic area or to the security of the United States."

(NOTE.—The above has been renumbered in the Mutual Security Act as passed in 1951 and presently in force and is to be found under section 401 special fund (a) of title IV, other programs of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended.)

PRELIMINARY ASSUMPTION

The source of the Communist threat to world peace rests in their control over extensive armed forces, together with supporting political police.

What follows is based on the conviction that men presently in Communist armed forces do not willingly support international slavery but will, if given a chance, join those ranks of freedom that hold some visible hope of the ultimate liberation of their loved ones and of their native land.

While there is evidence of potential defection from these armed forces, the Communist control of them is as yet uncontested by any effective magnetism from the free world.

If the free world has confidence that its cause appeals to human nature and that the cause of communism, when applied to peoples, is repellent, it will boldly enter the struggle to challenge the absolute control over these armed forces by Communist tyranny. It will not only assert its cause in the international political arena with words but it will also provide the visible and tangible mechanism to activate this potential defection so that freedom-starved men of the captive armed forces may escape from the ranks of slavery to join the ranks of liberty.

Thus we can inject a new dimension into the present world struggle that penetrates horizontally all the areas behind the Iron Curtain with dynamic ideas and ideals which can unite all mankind in the common cause to overthrow tyranny and achieve freedom.

If we ignore the appearance of these new dimensions and continue to set the stage for classic conflict on opposing sides of only vertical lines, we become unwitting partners with the Communists in the preparation of war between the peoples of the slave and of the free world. There is already ample evidence at hand that the Communist tyranny cannot be defeated by only orthodox tactics.

If we accept this new dimension wherein our own security coincides with sympathy for the enslaved, demonstrated by deed, we make allies of those who might otherwise be hurled against us. We will impede the Communist effort to sovietize its armies and its peoples, and disrupt at its source their power to launch universal war by affecting the will to fight of the armed forces behind the Iron Curtain.

No true soldier wants to fight and die for communism.

Therefore, the target of the free world should be to disrupt and eventually destroy Communist control over all the armed forces of the enslaved nations.

BACKGROUND TO LEGISLATION PROVIDING FOR MILITARY UNITS

The legislative history of this section, prior to its initial passage, which took the form of a floor amendment, is not extensive. But it is definite. It is worth noting that it passed both the House and the Senate without dissent, with specific authorization by the Senate of expenditures of not to exceed $100 million. The Congress has, since the original enactment of the above cited amendment, five times reaffirmed its provisions without dissent. The action of Congress appears noteworthy because since its enactment the amendment has been the particular target of concentrated Soviet bloc attack (UNGA, Paris 1951; UNGA, New York 1953). This continuing unanimous support of the Congress would not have been possible if the language of the amendment had not been in tune with the hopes and wishes of the leaders and vast majority of its Members.

For these reasons the author of the amendment has set forth below the intent and objectives thereof as he understands them, and as indicated by the debate on the House floor at the time of its passage.

The prime objective of the amendment was to authorize the establishment of na-

tional military units (from selected persons who have escaped from Iron Curtain countries) to be affiliated with NATO forces.

These national military units are to be made up of such selected persons who are nationals or former nationals of the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, or any other countries enslaved by the Soviet Union.

To provide the required flexibility and support for such a program the phrase "or for other purposes" was included. Envisaged are such measures as: Maintaining a flow of desired escapees; provision for dependents of such escapees and those who would not or did not qualify for the national military units by providing for them in other United States corollary programs; and, support of activities within the Iron Curtain countries essential to the establishment and development of such military units.

In summary the intent was to provide the President with funds and flexible and wide authority to initiate an affirmative supporting program to strengthen the North Atlantic area and the security of the United States by drawing on the potential for freedom from behind the Iron Curtain which consistently for a long time throughout the Soviet orbit and recently in Hungary, Poland and elsewhere has been so dramatically illustrated.

The idea for national military units grew out of a long study of international communism, its objectives and techniques, and firsthand experiences with a great number of escapees from the countries controlled by communism. It was clear that the international Communist conspiracy has for its primary objectives the destruction of all national, sovereign states and to make the people thereof subservient to the central authority of Moscow. This is the Communist concept of a new kind of class internationalism called by them "international proletarianism" as distinguished from "nationalism," as pronounced by Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Mao, and other leading Communist theoreticians. This concept makes enemies of all "anti-Communist elements" in every nation they take over. In contrast, the vast majority of escaped nationals from the countries now controlled by the Communist Party expressed a deep and vigorous love for their enslaved countries and a bitter hatred for communism and its destroying methods.

These escapees from the Communist orbit spoke with a unanimous voice which was also the voice of the overwhelming majority of the people of their respective nations. They hate communism in any form, national or international.

These expressions were those of national patriotism and love of country of the kind which has made and preserved the United States. They were the true feelings and aspirations of the captive peoples themselves.

It was obvious that some way had to be found to permit these escapees to participate in the common effort of the free world. The free world and particularly the United States is dedicated to the preservation of human freedom and governments which are responsible to the will of the people. We need all the support we can get from the people who are equally dedicated.

Since the escapees—people who have experienced firsthand life under Communist tyranny—did not have the opportunity to participate in the common defense of the free world, the national military units were intended to provide them with such opportunity.

BENEFITS OF NATIONAL MILITARY UNITS

The legislation originally enacted in August 1951 and still awaiting implementation can provide outstanding benefits to the United States. As I see it, the benefits provided would include:

1. Help to solution of refugee problem: The current massive escapes from Hungary raise the question whether permanent resettlement in the free world is the final answer to the problem of the continuing and possibly even increasing numbers of refugees from Communist terror.

The national military units provide a place and a positive purpose for freedom-loving and courageous military defectors. They also foreshadow the means by which the captive nations will be free of Communist rule and the desire for escape will cease and many of those who fled will want to return to their native land.

2. Visible and understandable symbols of freedom: Such units would provide a symbol for all the enslaved people of Central and Eastern Europe. They would be looked upon as manifestations of the legitimate and constant hopes and aspirations of the captive peoples and the nations they represent. This would be accomplished by each unit being formed on national lines with identifying flags, chevrons, arm patches, etc.

3. Rallying point for military defection: The units would serve as rallying points to attract persons of military age behind the Iron Curtain, including those already inducted into the Communist controlled military forces or about to be. Every Communist bloc individual of military age who escapes to the free world and is inducted into the national military units represents a net gain of two for the free world.

4. Deterrent to Communist military aggression: They would serve as a deterrent to war because of the effect they would have on the morale of the Communist military forces. Properly exploited, the mere existence of such national military units could create real problems for the Communist political and military apparatus and render it extremely unsafe for military offensives.

5. Disruption of military will to fight for communism: They would serve as a powerful force to weaken the discipline and will to fight of the Communist controlled military forces in the event of war. Communist controlled military forces will not want to fight against their countrymen who are fighting—in the well known and established national units—on the side of the free world. Capabilities for substantial war time desertions and surrenders together with significant behind-the-lines insurrection can accrue if such units are developed and their establishment properly exploited.

6. Upset Red propaganda re German militarism: They would serve to offset Communist propaganda about the resurgence of German militarism (with regard to such nations as Poland, etc.). National military units, made up of men who formerly lived in captive nations, marching side by side with Germans, Americans and other free people would put the "big lie" on such propaganda.

7. Symbols of a united Europe: The morale of NATO military forces would be strengthened. The French military have traditionally held that the liberation and federation of the Balkan States is vital to the defense of France against Germany and now against Russia, as the Balkans are a mountainous fortress lying across the flank of Germany and Russia. If the significance afforded by the national military units representing Eastern Europe is added to the forces of Western Europe a united Europe and the "European idea" are thereby symbolized—a more inspired banner around which there can rally against atheistic materialism all of the spiritual and cultural ideals common to Europe as a whole for nearly 2,000 years.

8. Economy of American forces in Europe: The initial value of the units would be chiefly their psychological impact on the satellite and Soviet forces. However, as they develop and grow they can, guided by experience and sound military judgment, contribute to the economy of American forces in Europe.

9. Special wartime value in captive nations: They could, in the event of war, in addition to missions as part of United States or other NATO conventional forces, have a peculiar value in essential specific operations behind the lines. Knowing the language, traditions, and terrain of their homelands they could rally and strengthen local resistance and blockade the enemy's lines of communication and supply, and also prepare for airborne or armored thrusts by our conventional forces.

10. Best means available short of war: The establishment of the national military units would provide perhaps the most significant action program short of war to weaken and defeat international communism at its base. The units would be an effective challenge to the loyalty of Iron Curtain armies which demands they serve Communist Party interests. For it is only by such unchallenged loyalty that the Communists remain in power to threaten the world.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Extension of units

While the primary use of these units would be in affiliation with the United States ground forces in Europe, there is envisioned the distinct possibility that air and naval units could be developed from such a program.

Units attached initially to United States forces

In order not to delay the program in its inception and until such time when appropriate arrangements can be effected to provide for their services with other NATO elements, the units should be affiliated with United States forces in Europe and be organized under American commanders.

Would units provoke Soviet reaction?

Soviet propaganda would react violently to the establishment of the units. It has already done so to the passage of the amendment.

But the moral force, with its implications of freedom and independence, flowing from the existence of these units would be more likely to deter rather than provoke. The units would do much to deprive the Communists of that popular support which is necessary in any substantial military aggression.

The concern previously expressed of possible Soviet reaction to the establishment of such units has been discredited since the spontaneous massive military defection of the Hungarian armed forces to the side of the Hungarian patriots as have the previous uprisings in Poland, East Germany and elsewhere. And since we have already been charged with every crime and with particularly a wide range of activities in implementing this amendment, there can therefore be no further charge or provocation in its actual implementation.

Are national military units interference in East Europe's Affairs?

This charge was twice made by the Soviets against the United States in the United Nations and twice rejected by the U. N. It is the Communists who have interfered in the internal affairs of Eastern Europe so as to endanger the West. Anything done to assist the peoples of East Europe to regain control of their own affairs is in defense of the principle of noninterference.

THE LODGE ACT (PUBLIC LAW 597, 81ST CONG., CH. 443, 2D SESS., AMENDED BY PUBLIC LAW 51, 82D CONG.)

The Lodge Act serves a supporting but separate purpose in behalf of the United States security. Under it up to 12,500 alien may enlist in the Regular United States

Army to be integrated with citizen soldiers and not established into separate units of aliens. After 5 years of honorable service such aliens are eligible for permanent residence in the United States. The Lodge Act provides a means whereby an escapee serving in United States uniform may eventually immigrate to the United States.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The greatest problem within the Communist empire is fear of the demands of the enslaved people for freedom. There is reason to believe they are more afraid of their own people than of atomic attack. The national military units would stand as the symbol of freedom for the enslaved. When launched, they would typify the bold initiative expected of United States leadership by the free world and they would greatly increase the fears of the Communist masters and improve tremendously our position at any future conference sessions with them.

2. We have to prevent war, if possible, by disintegrating the capability of the enemy powers to wage war on a significant or dangerous scale. The greatest single means is to render them more distrustful of their own military forces.

3. The ordinary devices of government may not be fully suited to the development of the program herein proposed. Because of the unique nature of such National military units and their direct connection with national security, it is respectfully recommended that, in proper liaison with the Department of the Defense, a special task force be set up at the White House level to do the preparatory work, to launch the program and to give it continued guidance in its orderly development.

Experience to date in getting anything done under the amendment, strongly indicates the need for such special measures. For example, it was almost two years after its enactment before that portion of the program pertaining to escapee relief began to function and demonstrate any real concern for the lot of the escapee. The United States Escapee program which operates under the Kersten amendment has helped to resettle the Hungarian refugees. But the main purpose of the amendment has not as yet been realized.

4. Finally, these National military units would demonstrate by concrete action, understandable to all freedom loving people, the decision of the United States to stand by its publicly stated position of never acquiescing in Communist enslavement of people whereby they can be molded into servile instruments of aggression, and of our determination to see those nations once again free and independent.

A CONCEPT OF AMERICAN STRATEGY: TO CAUSE THE POLITICAL DEFEAT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AT ITS MOSCOW BASE AND THEREBY REMOVE COMMUNIST THREAT TO MIDDLE EAST AND ELSEWHERE

(Statement of Charles J. Kersten, former Member of Congress, of Milwaukee, Wis., made to Senate Committees on Foreign Relations and Armed Services, February 4, 1957, hearings on Senate Joint Resolution 19 on Middle East)

It is an extraordinary privilege to appear before these two distinguished committees of the United States Senate in this crucial hour of their deliberations regarding the future course of our American policy in the deadly struggle with the international, Moscow-directed Communist Party.

By way of identification, I am a practicing attorney in Milwaukee, Wis.

From June 1955 to February 1956, I served as a White House consultant on psychological warfare.

Prior to that I was a Member of the 80th, 82d, and 83d Congresses of the United States.

During that period I authored the so-called Kersten amendment to the Mutual Security Act of 1951.

Under this amendment the Congress, for the past 6 years, has provided $100 million annually for the purpose of aiding resistance behind the Iron Curtain, primarily through the formation of national military units composed of escapees from the Communist-enslaved nations.

The idea of these units is that the thousands of young men from the Communist-dominated nations who escape through the Iron Curtain can play an extremely important role for freedom.

Defense against Communist aggression in remote parts of the world should not fall alone on the shoulders of American boys. These young escapees from the enslaved nations, Poles, Hungarians, Balts, Rumanians, Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians, even Russians and Chinese and those from elsewhere in the Red orbit, all of which the amendment now covers, burn with a desire to participate against their common enemy: The Communist Party.

Many witnesses before our House Committee on Communist Aggression testified that most of the young men who came through the Iron Curtain did not want to be resettled as refugees in a distant foreign land. Many wanted to join national military units representing their own nation and await the day when freedom would come to their homeland and they and their loved ones could return.

To get some idea of the power of these units to disarm the Communists, suppose the United States were taken over by the Reds; that they had persecuted Americans as they have the people of the captive nations and the American Army were under Soviet marshals. Suppose, then, suddenly there appeared in Mexico or Canada, attached to still free forces—say, the British or French—small American units of American boys who escaped, in the American uniform and the American flag flying once again in freedom. Suppose that the news of these American units were beamed into a Communist-dominated United States.

What would the knowledge of the mere existence of such units do to the ability of the Communists to control American boys? Would the Communists dare to send their captive American armies against them?

These escapees from the Communist world, therefore, have the highest morale against communism. They know Red subversion, false propaganda, and terror first hand. They remember their relatives, their friends, and their homes. Should they be denied the opportunity to join those ranks of freedom that hold some visible hope of the ultimate liberation of their loved ones and of their native land?

These units, with their own free flags and uniforms, are intended to provide the escapees this opportunity they do not now have and thereby lift a very substantial part of the burden from American shoulders.

Such national military formations are intended also to be strong deterrents to Red aggression.

The Communists would be understandably very slow to strike at an American force in the Middle East or anywhere to which these escapee units were attached. In the massive Soviet troop defections in World War II; in the refusal of Russian and Chinese POW's to return to Communist rule; in the uprisings in the Ukraine and Poland; and in the recent dramatic defection of almost the whole Hungarian satellite army, they see very well the tremendous morale defection potentnal of Communist-controlled armies.

They know that Communist-led forces in the Middle East or elsewhere may well suffer defections en masse to escapee units carrying their national flags in freedom.

The American Legion at its national convention in 1952 adopted Resolution 596 urging the immediate formation of these national military units, stating in the resolution, as follows: "Whereas the creation of such military units would strike at the basic weakness of the Communist tyranny, by undermining its hold on the people it has enslaved and would tend to cause large numbers in the Communist-dominated armies to have a will to turn against their oppressors and fight for freedom rather than accept slavery."

And it was the opinion of the American Legion that:

"The existence of such national military units of escapees would reduce the number of American troops required overseas, and in the event of war would be a tremendous aid to the United States and its allies, and would save the lives of many Americans in the Armed Forces of the United States."

The Honorable MIKE MANSFIELD (then Representative and now Senator) on December 20, 1951, in defense of the Kersten amendment in the United Nations General Assembly, Paris, against Soviet attack stated, in part, as follows:

"Tens of thousands of people who make their way through the Iron Curtain had the right to join in the defense of free Europe if they chose to do so."

And further: "We wish to see the day when all people who have sought asylum with the free nations will have a chance to return peacefully to their homes and start their lives anew in the country of their birth."

And further: "Congress intended that those who stand for liberty and freedom should have the honor and opportunity to help defend this liberty and freedom against aggression, whatever their nationality or their residence."

I wish to introduce into the record a separate memo describing these units in detail.

I believe it significant to note here also that the distinguished ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the gentleman from Wisconsin, elected to express his endorsement of this amendment and his desire to see it fully employed, not only on the floor of the Senate in 1952, but in a feature article over his signature in a national magazine.

In the 83d Congress, it was my honor to serve as chairman of the House Select Committe on Communist Aggression.

Through a period of 2 years, that committee heard the detailed testimony of 335 witnesses, both in this country and in Europe, regarding the subversive and aggressive methods and actions through which the Moscow-directed Communist Party seized its victim nations.

Most of these 335 testified either as eye witnesses to that seizure, or as actual participants in the events which they described.

Our committee, which consisted of nine members of both parties in the 83d Congress, concluded these extensive hearings with certain unanimous bipartisan recommendations.

The objective of these recommendations was the political defeat of the Moscow-directed Communist Party at its base in the Kremlin.

It was unanimously agreed by the membership of that committee that such a political defeat of international communism provided the only reasonable way to avoid major war and to bring peace—with justice—to the world.

The recommendations which I shall now set down are, therefore, largely those made by that same House Select Committee.

I believe it pertinent to make these recommendations to this august body at this critical moment in which it is deliberating upon Senate Joint Resolution 19 which has as its prime objective the preservation of the freedom of the nations of the general middle eastern area against the very same Communist aggression with which our House

Committee was forced to deal after that aggression had become an accomplished fact of history in Central and Eastern Europe.

The Communists have for some time been conducting a political offensive in the Middle East. In subversion centers in the U. S. S. R. they have schooled cadres of nationals of every one of the Middle Eastern countries, training them to penetrate every echelon of society, such as important educational centers like the great Al Ashar University, the seat of Moselm learning, in Cairo, to which come religious men and students from every corner of Islam. They have bribed writers and reporters of Middle Eastern countries to peddle their line.

From the Czech Embassy in Damascus is operated a vast conspiracy of Soviet economic political warfare. They have engaged in dumping products such as glass in the area so as to ruin local industry and make the Middle East dependent on the Soviets.

They have gone to great lengths in stirring up antagonism among the several nations, seeking particularly to aggravate the differences between the Arabs and the Jews.

This Communist political offensive in the Middle East, which is the actual prelude to that feared aggression, endangers not only that vital area, but what remains of free Europe, and therefore our own national security.

This confronts us with two possible courses of action.

The first would be to limit ourselves to mere reaction to Kremlin initiative.

The second would be to ourselves seize the initiative.

We severely limit ourselves if we merely react to the initiative which the Kremlin is currently employing against us in the Middle Eastern area.

To submit ourselves to this would me to wage this contest on the periphery, which, in effect, would restrict us to waging a self-limited rear-guard action in political, and possibly eventually military, warfare.

Bitter experience with Communist tactics of the type which were graphically revealed before our House Committee on Communist Aggression has emphatically demonstrated that to restrict ourselves to mere reaction to the Kremlin-established initiative at a momentary single trouble spot does absolutely nothing to deter subsequent Communist initiative elsewhere.

For example, in the late 1940's, while we concentrated upon the Communist initiative in Europe, Greece, and Turkey, the Communists were actually busily engaged in what became their successful aggression in China and elsewhere in Asia.

In the early 1950's, while we concentrated upon the Communist initiative of military aggression and their subsequent political offensive in Korea, the Communists were busily engaged in launching the very same initiative to which we only now are beginning to react in the Middle East.

By limiting that reaction to the current Communist initiative in the Middle East, we are merely permitting the Communists to hold our attention and effort there, while, through one of the bloodiest and most massive purges in history, they are trying to resolidify their position in Central and Eastern Europe—which has been so sensationally threatened by recent events in Hungary, in Poland, and elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain—including within Russia itself.

Thus, as at no previous time, should it now be perfectly obvious that to continue to pursue the policy merely of responding to Communist initiative, complete with its feints and its tangents on the flanks and on the periphery, we are but dancing to the Communist-called tune, and paying a fantastically high price to the fiddler in terms of billions of dollars expended, and, from time to time, of thousands of American lives, as in Korea.

For all the billions of dollars and the thousands of lives so far expended in this Kremlin-created atmosphere which is neither true war nor true peace in the sense which we have heretofore accepted those terms—for all of this fantastic cost—nothing has more threatened the Communist structure than the uprisings behind the Iron Curtain by those captive peoples whose only real weapon, sadly enough, is the burning desire for freedom.

It is this weapon, which courses in the hearts and sinews of these people from the Baltic to the Adriatic, which the Communists fear more than whatever new billions of dollars and thousands of American servicemen which we may now be preparing to commit to the Middle East.

The Communists fear this weapon that is the desire for freedom within the captive peoples themselves because that same weapon lies posed for another massive blow which may come at any time, as it has so recently in Hungary, to strike directly at the Moscow base of the Communist Party and the international conspiracy which it controls.

This will for freedom of the Communist-hating peoples of the captive nations is devastating to the Communist cause because it lies like a gigantic time bomb at the very heart of the Communist apparatus, quite unlike whatever reaction to Communist initiative we may elect to employ at some remote tentacle of that Red octopus, whether it lie in the Middle East or in the Far East.

However hard or often we may choose to chop away at such a Red tentacle, we will continue, in so doing, to little harm that heart, as Korea graphically proved.

In fact, even as we now prepare to become enlocked in what could well prove, if the Communists wish, a new Korea in the Middle East, the Communists, in a new initiative in the original Korea, are building themselves to a military strength far beyond that which they enjoyed at the 38th parallel in 1950.

It is time that we abandon this losing and self-restricting policy of mere reaction to the Communist initiative. Instead, it is imperative that we adopt the positive policy of seizing the initiative which puts the Communists on the defensive.

This we can do, with the help of commonsense, and with such forces at our command as those found in the millions of natural anti-Communist allies who look to us for assistance in their prayers and struggles for liberation behind the Iron Curtain.

I fully recognize that to this suggestion the false prophets and blind diplomats who too long have stood as strange gods before us, to lead us from reaction after reaction to Communist initiative, will immediately cry out that to employ these natural allies is to invite war.

I point out, however, that so long as these millions of anti-Communist dissidents remain within the Communist orbit it is as impossible for the Communists to wage conventional overt warfare against us as it is for a sea captain to sail his ship into battle with a mutinous crew.

At no moment in history has any captain, however terrible and tyrannical, ever suffered a more mutinous-minded crew than do the Kremlin-based captains of communism today in the angry face of the restiveness and the demands for freedom which daily grow more massive among the Iron Curtain's Communist-hating millions.

It was in preparation for this very moment that the Kersten amendment was carefully fashioned and enacted into the law of the land 6 years ago.

Among its several purposes for the encouragement of the desire for freedom among the captive peoples was its provision for the United States escapee program which proved of such vital assistance in the care of the Hungarian refugees from the Kremlin-ordered bloodbath in their Communist battered homeland.

Even more important to our Government and to the cause of universal freedom today, is the amendment's provision for the national military units to be composed of able-bodied escapees from the captive nations.

These still little-known units, the nuclei of which are based at Kaiserslautern, Germany, and which represent every Iron Curtain nation, including Russia itself, were designed to become, when properly advertised, powerful magnets of attraction to members of the armed forces of Russia and its satellites, in order to draw the morale of military power away from Communist control.

Again, the recent rebellion in Hungary, which found Russian and Ukrainian troops joining in that defection by the regiment and turning their guns on the Soviet army, should be sufficient to convince the most obtuse among us that the proper implementation and exploitation of these national military units is the most effective means by which we can deprive the Communist Party of its warmaking power.

We are told it may become necessary to commit American troops to stop Communist aggression in the Middle East. But why is so little being done to enlist the willing services of those who burn with the greatest reason in the world to oppose Communist aggression, and are actually able to undermine and paralyze that aggression before it can get started?

This can be done by the Iron Curtain escapees who, in joining the ranks of these national military units based in free Europe, thereby appeal to their brothers in arms who remain under Communist command to join them, if not physically, then morally, by refusing to train their guns and bayonets upon their own people, leveling them instead in defense of their people, at the Communist leaders who too long have been permitted to enslave them.

In concert with this which is basic to the Kersten amendment, certain related steps could easily be taken for the disintegration of the Communist Party and for the downfall of its leaders by means short of war, which are to be found in the following psychological and political measures which could bring about the toppling of the Communist Party by its own weight.

These measures of the initiative, rather than measures of mere reaction to Communist initiative.

These measures include:

PROGRAM FOR POLITICAL OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE COMMUNIST PARTY

1. President Eisenhower, as the free world's foremost soldier-statesmen, can appeal to the armed forces of the U. S. S. R., of the satellite nations and of China to refuse being further used as instruments of Red massacre, but, on the contrary, to insist on the right to stand guard over the inalienable rights and liberties of the people of their respective countries and resist their destruction and perversion by Communist political leaders.

2. Get rid of the academic experts and faceless career advisers who have been dictating that we must continue to do business with the bloody gangsters who compose the Red regimes.

These so-called experts have fashioned the theory that evolution and not revolution will take place within the Communist-dominated nations, and, therefore, nothing should be done to aid the captive peoples to replace their Communist governments with those of their own choice. This theory

of evolution has recently run through much of our policy.

It is the product of the academic experts as is clear from, among other things, the recent book, How the Soviet System Works, issued by the Harvard University Press in 1956 and written by three of these same experts, Harvard professors (Russian Research Center) Raymond A. Bauer, Alex Inkeles, and Clyde Kluckhohn. These and other experts such as Dr. Max Millikan, of M. I. T., Dr. Harold J. Berman, John K. Fairbank apparently have sold our policymakers on the theory of evolution as they describe in this book their work nominally under a Government contract for the United States Air Force, but actually affecting our entire basic policy.

They have also developed the false theory of national communism as a goal toward which the captive nations should strive.

Both of these ideas are dangerous because they deliver with finality all of the captive nations to the Communist regimes and deludes the free world into thinking that the Communist Party can be changed into a decent political party and a decent government.

Anyone who has had any real experience with Communists knows they don't evolve into decent persons until they leave the criminal, godless way of life which Marxism-Leninism prescribes.

They know also that real communism cannot be national, but by its nature is international, based on Marx's idea: "Workers of the world, unite." Evolution and national communism are false faces which the international conspiracy can put on and, like Tito, receive economic support from the free world.

3. An all out United States information program beamed behind the Iron Curtain showing our sympathetic understanding of the suffering of the people under communism, including the enslavement of every segment of society.

Simultaneous with such an information offensive we should withdraw diplomatic recognition of Communist Party regimes as nonrepresentative of any of the nations they dominate.

4. An information offense primarily in Western Europe against the physical entity of the Iron Curtain consisting of 1,200 miles of barbed wire, land mines, watch towers, machine guns, dogs, and border guards which painfully separates the peoples of Eastern from those of Western Europe.

The only rational explanation for the Iron Curtain is to give the Communists the opportunity to hide the reality of life under Red rule from the light of truth and, further, to give them the opportunity to mold the captive nations into willing slaves of aggression. There is no possible defense for the continued existence of the barbarous anachronism of the Iron Curtain. It can only breed war. It should be made anathema.

5. The passage of a well-publicized Political Asylum Act to take temporary but decent care in Western Europe or elsewhere of the dependents of anti-Communist fighters, in the Red-dominated nations, until they are liberated from Communist enslavement and until it is safe for loved ones to return to their homelands.

6. Outside corodination and leadership to popular internal resistance to Red rule in the several captive nations, avoiding abortive uprisings, but giving guidance and timing to general resistance and support to efforts of self-liberation with material aid.

7. A continuing and ever increasing general information offensive led by the American delegation by procivilization and anti-Communist delegates in the U. N. against Red aggression and Red imperialism and colonialism in each of the captive nations, as the chief warmongering in the world today.

8. Setting up of a Free World International Trade Commission to channel all trade with Communist-bloc nations, insuring that every major item of trade would be conditioned with the extension of freedom to the people of Iron Curtain nations; e. g., diesel engines will go to Poland only when the Polish Government will permit the publication of an anti-Communist newspaper in Warsaw, or a certain number of anti-Communist professors are permitted to teach in the large universities, etc.

9. The establishment of an International Juridical Commission within the framework of NATO or in the U. N. so that Communist crimes perpetrated against humanity may be fully recorded and officially noted for prosecution.

Gentlemen, these measures, in concert with that which the Kersten amendment provides for the proper implementation of the national military units, and for which you and your colleagues have been appropriating funds for the past 6 years, are measures which, if properly and promptly exercised, could pave the way for the freedom of the now-captive nations of communism and, therefore, for the removal of communism's military threat to the world, including the Middle East.

In conclusion, I most respectfully suggest that the moment is at hand when great and vital committees such as yours should begin to ask some searching questions as to who, within the executive branch of our Government, for the past half-dozen years, has been frustrating the will of Congress by failing, if not pointedly refusing, to implement this amendment of the Mutual Security Act which calls for the establishment of national military units of escapees and other measures such as these designed for the defeat of international communism and international socialism by means short of war.

And I suggest, as the author of this amendment, that your conduct of such an inquiry will demonstrate that those responsible for this failure to act are the very same faceless men, sinister and powerful within our Government, who never tire in their efforts to bring Red China into the U. N., to bring pressure to have Tito come to America and furnish him with jet fighter planes, who consider that the Communist enslavement of the captive nations is final, and who believe that we must do business with the Communist conspiracy, and who believe that we should abandon international morality and forget our tradition as a Nation which was born in a revolution for free men.

Whether these forces within the executive branch do this in stupidity or conspiracy, they are helping to promote the very Communist aggression which you, gentlemen, are endeavoring to prevent in your dedicated consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 19.

I thank you for this distinct honor which you have afforded me in permitting my appearance before you here today.

Proposed Dams at Bruces Eddy and Penny Cliffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the outstanding writers in America in the general field of natural resources is John B. Oakes, conservation editor of the New York Times.

In his column in that newspaper for Sunday, March 3, 1957, Mr. Oakes has discussed the great peril which the Bruces Eddy and Penny Cliffs Dams would pose to migratory fisheries, scenery, wilderness reserves, and a priceless elk herd in the vast Clearwater River Basin of northern Idaho.

I also call attention to Mr. Oakes' timely and cogent observations concerning the need to keep our new 41,000-mile Interstate Highway System free of the unsightly defacement of signboards and other roadside clutter. He has likewise lamented the unwise decision to eliminate 53,000 vernal acres from the Three Sisters wilderness area.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. John B. Oakes from the New York Times of March 3 be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD for the information of the Senate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSERVATION: DANGER AHEAD—WILDERNESS RESOURCES ARE MENACED IN SEVERAL AREAS

(By John B. Oakes)

The proposed Bruces Eddy Dam on the Clearwater River in Idaho, a pet project of the Army's Corps of Engineers, has been repeatedly attacked by experienced conservationists as a potentially disastrous blow to fish and game as well as wilderness resources. It is again included in this year's rivers and harbors bill, supported by specific backing in President Eisenhower's budget message.

This project would, according to Senator MORSE of Oregon, endanger "a great wilderness area." Senator NEUBERGER of the same State says it would imperil "the largest elk herd remaining in the United States" and, with its companion dam (Penny Cliffs) "would wipe out a considerable portion of the largest unspoiled primitive territory anywhere in our country." Representative METCALF, of Montana, says it "would destroy a unique scenic and recreational area." Representative SAYLOR, of Pennsylvania, along with other conservation experts in Congress, pleads for more time to permit Federal and State wildlife agencies to complete studies of just what damage the proposed construction would do.

The success of conservationists last year in securing elimination of Echo Park Dam from the upper Colorado development, suggests that even the most dogmatic assertions of the Federal dam-building agencies as to the immediate necessity of their projects are not necessarily controlling when Congress is fully apprised of the irreparable losses in other values that their proposals entail. Postponement of any irrevocable action until current studies are completed is the least that Congress should insist on in the face of the serious objections on the part of informed conservationists all over the country.

WILDERNESS BILL

Among other important measures affecting conservation, the most significant is probably the wilderness preservation bill, discussed in this column last month. The bill has undergone some revision to clarify its unexceptionable aims, which are—in the words of the Legislative Reference Service—"to bring into a single system, for the purpose of insuring their continued preservation as wilderness, the various federally owned areas designated as wilderness by the departmental heads or by Executive order." Bureaucratic resistance to any kinds of outside interference with administrative freedom may explain in part a noticeable reluctance within the Government to accept the proposal

Furthermore, some commercial interests fear that under the bill they might lose privileges they already have. However, the bill is designed simply to establish existing wilderness on a firm legislative foundation and to provide for its permanent protection as a matter of basic congressional policy.

THREE SISTERS AREA

A good example of why some congressional action to protect wilderness areas is necessary is afforded by the very recent decision of the Forest Service (Department of Agriculture) to eliminate more than 53,000 acres of magnificent country from the Three Sisters primitive area in the Cascade Range in Oregon. Despite the most strenuous objections from conservationists seeking to save an irreplaceable mountain and forest preserve, the demands of logging interests prevailed and the area has now been lopped off from the sanctuary of which it had formed an important part—about one-fifth of the total.

The Department of Agriculture headed its release announcing this action by stating not that 53,000 acres had been cut off, but that 32,000 acres had been added to the Oregon wilderness. In calling attention this oddity, C. Edward Graves, western representative of the National Parks Association, notes that "the Forest Service at the same time [as it reduced the Three Sisters primitive area] created two new wild areas containing 82,000 acres elsewhere in Oregon, areas that had nothing to do whatever with the Three Sisters controversy; and the figures have been juggled to make it appear that the Secretary's decision added to the Three Sisters wilderness instead of actually reducing it."

BILLBOARDS

The new 41,000-mile national highway system, for which the Federal Government is paying 90 percent of the cost, may yet become just one more gigantic billboard slum if legislation to control this menace does not get through the present Congress.

A brave effort to put a brake on billboards along the national highways was made when the highway bill was being debated in the Senate in 1955, but was then turned down on the entirely specious cry of "States rights." A new and even milder attempt is being made now; but to succeed against the powerful billboard lobby it must have strong and vocal public support. This measure, offered by Senator NEUBERGER, would in effect forbid all but an absolute minimum of commercial advertising on Federally owned lands along the new highways, but would leave it up to the States to accept or reject the Federal standards for property under State or private control. Thus no "States rights" issue could legitimately arise, as whatever State action was taken would be entirely voluntary. However, if the respective States did decide to accept the Federal standards, 90 percent of the cost of acquiring preclusive advertising rights would be met by the Federal Government, just as it meets 90 percent of all the rest of the cost of constructing the new highways.

CLEAR ISSUE

This is a mild bill, too mild for really complete billboard control, but it may be the best that can be passed. One thing seems certain, and that is that unless the Eisenhower administration—meaning in this instance Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks in particular—expresses strong and lasting interest in billboard control, the chances of any legislation are poor indeed. Inasmuch as the new highways are being constructed almost entirely with Federal funds, it is incredible that there should be any hesitation on the part of the administration or Congress in protecting the clear public interest in preserving the scenic beauty through which the proposed national highways will pass. Neither advertising signboards, nor hot-dog or souvenir stands or any other kind of commercial excrescence ought to be allowed to interfere with either the motorists safety or his right to enjoy the countryside as he travels along the new national highway system. The opportunity is here to do something about this problem before it is too late; that opportunity may never come again. The question is simple: do we want our new highways, which are paid for by all of us, to look more like such a road as the Merritt Parkway or like the many sign-dotted, neon-lighted routes that already defile the face of America?

Federal Programs for the Aging

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, since national attention has been focused on the creation by President Eisenhower on April 2, 1956, of the Federal Council on Aging, I have had the following compilation made of the efforts of the Federal Government to solve the vexing problem confronting our elderly citizens.

The following compilation reveals the many Federal programs for the aging of our country and how these programs are being coordinated under the President's Federal Council on Aging:

A. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL ON AGING

On April 2, 1956, the President requested 12 departments and agencies to designate representatives to a Federal Council on Aging. Representatives were appointed by the Department of Agriculture, the Civil Service Commission, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Department of the Interior, the Department of Labor, the National Science Foundation, the Office of Defense Mobilization, the Small Business Administration, the Department of the Treasury, and the Veterans' Administration; and the Council held its first meeting on April 17. A set of bylaws at the following meeting on May 23 recognized the following goals:

1. To help make it possible for older persons who desire and are able to work to continue their productive lives through suitable gainful employment.

2. To help lessen anxiety about economic insecurity in the later years through an improved income maintenance program.

3. To stimulate the construction of housing and the provision of living arrangements suited to the needs and preferences of older people.

B. PROGRAMS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FOR THE BENEFIT OF OLDER PERSONS, 1956

Digest of a descriptive inventory of activities in departments and agencies

I. The Challenge

Tremendous population changes, stemming from our rapid advances in health and medical sciences and industrial productivity, have created difficult problems of social and economic adjustment in modern society. While problems of adjustment to these changes have affected all groups in society, they have borne more heavily on older adults because of special factors in their situation, namely, the factors of aging itself and social attitudes toward it.

The nature and extent of these mounting difficulties for a growing segment of our population have commanded increasing attention.

The beginnings of this country's intensified interest in problems of aging were in the twenties and thirties. Problems of care of sick, infirm, and dependent aged people in the urban family setting began to multiply. Labor surpluses in our industrial system were forcing older workers out of employment in increasing numbers. Depression accelerated the problem. As their character became more widely and better understood, our people began to take steps to meet them.

Two of the most important and fundamental studies during their early period were made by the national health survey of 1935–36 and the President's Research Committee on Economic Trends—the forerunner of the United States Committee on Economic Security.

In the Federal Government, Congress established the National Cancer Institute in the Public Health Service in 1937. In the following decade, six additional institutes were created to establish the National Institutes of Health.

During the 1940's the Public Health Service Gerontology Research Unit and the Gerontological Society were born out of the Macy Foundation's Research Club on Aging, and the American Geriatrics Society was founded.

By 1950 the need was recognized at the national level for a comprehensive review of the whole field, to bring into focus the action, methods, and knowledge which had been developed during the three previous decades. This review was made in a National Conference on Aging held in 1950.

The Federal Government, as an instrument of the people, has been responsive to this growing interest and concern. Basic income maintenance is now assured for most of the aged, many services are being provided, and a large volume of research is being done in Federal departments and agencies and by them, in cooperation with State and local governments and voluntary agencies, to help meet the problems of aging and to stimulate action.

In March 1955 as approved at a sub-Cabinet meeting and upon the invitation of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, representatives were named to the Interdepartmental Working Group on Aging within the Federal Government. With a membership drawn from 10 departments and agencies having programs relating to aging, the group's general objective was to explore the scope of Federal activities and responsibility in the aging field, to coordinate existing programs, and to develop a broader range of Federal activities.

After little more than a year of experimental work by the working group, on April 2, 1956, President Eisenhower established on a broader and more permanent basis the Federal Council on Aging.

One of the first needs recognized was the need for a review of current programs and activities of Federal departments and agencies in this field. There was, furthermore, agrement that the codification of such information in one place for easy access and use in the identification of areas of common interest and activity was needed as a basis for coordination and mutual support among Federal programs.

The scope of Federal programs affecting the aging touches every aspect of the Government. These programs are, however, specialized and oriented to particular phases of aging as they relate to the responsibilities of the respective departments and agencies. Some agencies, such as the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Department of Labor, are primarily concerned with a single area of activity, while the responsibilities of others, such as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Department of Agriculture, cover many. The programs are, moreover, conducted within

the regular framework of Government structure. Some are direct Federal programs. Others are those under which Federal participation is through grants to private as well as public agencies and organizations.

The material in the sections which follow is organized according to areas of activity: Health services and rehabilitation; employment; income maintenance; education; family life, living arrangements, and housing; other service; and general information services.

The inventory project is still some distance from completion. The pages which follow, therefore, are offered more as a working document than as a finished work, to provide for the immediate use of groups and individuals concerned with the problems of aging an easy reference to services which are actually available in or through the Federal Government.

II. Health Services and Rehabilitation

As Congress has recognized the broad basic need for increased knowledge and skill in the areas of health and rehabilitation, programs of service and research in fields of chronic disease, disability, and the normal processes of growth and senescence, provisions have been made for: (a) Some limited use of public assistance funds to pay for needed medical care; (b) the use of railroad retirement funds for disability payments; (c) compensation payments to disabled Federal civil servants under specified circumstances; (d) medical care of veterans; and (e) funds and services for the rehabilitation of the sick and disabled. Public policies have also been established which give special consideration in taxation to payment of medical expenses. All these programs and policies have special importance to older people.

In the Department of Agriculture

The Extension Service provides information and consultation on nutrition, clothing needs, housing, and shelter, all of which affect the health and well-being of older people.

The Human Nutrition Research Branch of the Agricultural Research Service carried on a continuing program of extensive research in the field of nutrition and diet, including food needs and quality of diet for older people.

In the American National Red Cross

Volunteers visit homebound people and serve the aged in Federal, State (including 120 State mental) and local hospitals; in county, city, and town homes for the aged; in homes operated by religious and fraternal groups; and in privately operated homes for the aged. For example, volunteer nurses' aids assist registered professional nurses in hospitals, clinics, institutions, and public health programs. The motor service transports older people to and from clinics and rehabilitation centers.

The Gray Lady volunteers provide their special services not only to elderly people in public hospitals and institutions but (since 1954) to residents in privately owned nursing homes, in clinics, and in private homes.

The Red Cross nursing services which are fundamental to most of these services give courses in home care of the sick with supplemental instruction on care of aging and chronically ill persons.

In the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

The Food and Drug Administration: This agency enforces the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act which gives the physician and his patient confidence in the medicines used to cure or control disease and is constantly on the alert to bring appropriate legal action against the promoters of worthless products. Research on drugs to cure or mitigate the disease of old age and afford relief from many of the discomforts afflicting aged people is continuously providing new and better drugs. Prior to marketing a new drug, the manufacturer must submit to the Food and Drug Administration results of thorough tests to establish safety of the drug. Products purporting to supply vitamins and minerals to the diet are assayed for potency. They must be labeled to show the proportion of minimum daily requirements supplied by the suggested dosage.

Office of Vocational Rehabilitation: Under the State-Federal program an increasing emphasis on reaching older people with these services (which has accompanied the expansion of the vocational-rehabilitation program made possible by the 1954 amendments to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act) is reflected in the growing number of older people helped by this program. During the fiscal year 1954, over 14,000 persons age 45 and over were rehabilitated; this represented 26 percent of total rehabilitations, as compared with 17 percent in 1945. An important factor in this development has been the participation of the Office in the administration of the "disability freeze" provisions in the 1954 amendments to the Social Security Act, which relate to the old-age and survivors insurance system. A byproduct of this program has been the referral of more than 100,000 disabled persons by the old-age and survivors insurance offices to the State agencies to determine their vocational rehabilitation potential. In the early stages of the disability-freeze program, the majority of the persons referred were 55 years of age and over. Through its Division of Research and Special Studies, the Office prepares statistical reports and conducts and participates in studies on prevalence of disability and on problems of vocational rehabilitation of handicapped individuals.

Several special project grants have been made by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation for research and demonstration in problems associated with the vocational rehabilitation of older workers. These include a project initiated in Massachusetts to study preemployment evaluation techniques and work-hardening techniques applied to patients with chronic rheumatic diseases, most of whom are older persons; a project in Ohio to investigate the vocational potentials of hospitalized patients with chronic disabilities, the majority of whom are over 45 years of age; and in Illinois a project to determine the rehabilitation needs of nursing home patients and to develop a training program for older disabled and chronically ill persons.

Public Health Service: Among the current activities of the Office of the Surgeon General are the conduct of liaison between the Public Health Service and the Commission on Chronic Illness and the supervision of the Commission's report on care of the long-term patient. A study of selected organized home-care programs throughout the country, a joint project of the Commission on Chronic Illness and the Public Health Service (Office of the Surgeon General and the Bureau of State Services), has demonstrated that these programs serve patients of all ages, with illnesses of virtually all types and all degrees of severity.

The Bureau of State Services helps to delineate the health needs of older people and to focus the role of health departments and related health agencies in meeting these needs. The Division of Special Health Services has available for consultation competencies in public-health administration, nutrition, health education, public-health nursing, medical-social work, statistical analysis, and records management. The Bureau conducts a chronic disease program, tuberculosis program, a heart disease program, and an occupational health program.

Housing hygiene activities of the Division of Sanitary Engineering Services are concerned with the health aspects of housing; that is, the rehabilitation of existing substandard housing, minimum standards for healthful housing, and special housing needs of certain categories of individuals, among them older people. Home-accident-prevention activities of the Division are concerned with reducing the number of home accidents. Over 50 percent of all fatal accidents occur in the age group 65 years and older.

The Division of General Health Services provides assistance and support to State and local health departments in all activities related to public-health programs and problems and administers technical services for the Public Health Service in the regional offices. Regional nursing consultants work with State and local health department personnel on problems of nursing-home licensure. Health education headquarters and regional staff participate on a consultative basis in State hygiene-of-aging studies.

The National Institutes of Health conducts research through laboratory, field, and clinical studies directly on biological, physiological, and psychological aspects of gerontology and investigations on chronic diseases, problems of growth and maturation, and nutrition.

Research in gerontology and geriatrics is being conducted to some degree by each of the National Institutes of Health as well as by many institutions outside the Federal Government through research grants. The National Heart Institute has a special section on gerontology which operates in and with the facilities of the Baltimore City hospitals. The National Institutes of Mental Health has organized a section on aging, which is conducting studies of age changes in human perception and skills and in aging of the nervous system of laboratory animals. The National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases is conducting research directly on nutritional, metabolic, and endocrine aspects of aging in humans and animals. Studies of the National Cancer Institute on basic investigations of cell growth have a bearing on age changes in cells. Each institute has a grant program in the field of aging related to its special interest. These are particularly prominent in the heart, mental health, and arthritis and metabolic diseases institutes.

St. Elizabeths Hospital: In November 1951 a geriatric building was activated. This is one of the first such units in a Federal mental hospital and attracts visitors from practically every country in the world. The hospital carries on continuing study of special medical and health needs of older mental patients and clinical research in treatment.

Social Security Administration: The work of the Division of Research and Statistics in the Office of the Commissioner provides background for legislative proposals and development of the departmental policy in health and welfare fields.

The surveys of beneficiaries conducted by the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance have provided data on the extent to which disability has been a reason for the retirement of beneficiaries and on the opinion of beneficiaries as to their ability to work. Information also has been obtained on the medical expenses of beneficiaries.

The Bureau of Public Assistance administers the federally aided assistance programs. About 2.7 million people 65 years of age and over (18 percent of the total population 65 and over) are now receiving public assistance payments. This is a group with a high incidence of chronic illness. In addition to this 2.7 million persons receiving old-age assistance, about one-half of the 244,000 persons receiving aid to the permanently and totally disabled and about half of the 100,000 receiving aid to the blind are either aged or prematurely aging and suffer disease and disability, often of long duration.

The assistance programs help to some extent to meet the medical and health problems of needy older people by contributing to the

payment of costs of medical and health care within the limits of the public assistance payment. Under the assistance program, payments can be made to (1) recipients of medical care in their own homes, in nursing homes, or other private institutions, and in public medical institutions, with the exception of those persons with a diagnosis of tuberculosis or psychosis, or (2) directly to the suppliers of medical-care service.

In the Railroad Retirement Board

The Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act provides unemployment and sickness benefits payable during a benefit year to qualified employees regardless of age. Average benefits, on a weekly basis, amount to about $36. Days of unemployment and days of sickness cannot be combined in the same registration period.

In the Treasury Department

Certain personal and corporate income-tax policies of the United States Treasury Department are significant in the conservation of resources which help older people to meet costs of medical care.

Individuals who are 65 or over are not subject to the 3-percent limitation for medical-expense deduction. If either a taxpayer or his wife is 65 or over, he may deduct the entire amount of his medical expenses for the care of both, within maximum limitations.

The definition of medical expenses, as clarified in 1954, provides for the deduction of amounts paid for transportation expenses for travel prescribed for health reasons.

In the Veterans' Administration

The Veterans' Administration is increasingly concerned regarding the social and economic effects of the advancing age of the veteran population and extensive experimental programs, exploration, and research relating to these problems are being carried on.

Development of a nationwide program, including rehabilitation, for long-term chronically ill and aged veterans in general medical and surgical hospitals has been underway for several years.

In the 40 neuropsychiatric hospitals, special services for older patients have been developed and in several hospitals, notably Tomah, Wis., a special treatment program for this group has been established.

Special housing has been provided in this specialized program for aged patients in six Veterans' Administration neuropsychiatric hospitals.

During September 1955, an average of 16,991 veterans were in domiciles operated by the Administration and approximately 8,800 veterans were being cared for in State soldiers' homes under a grant-in-aid program.

Experimental programs and clinical research programs include: geriatrics clinics consisting of a team of professional staff members which provide a coordinated approach to treating aged people in 2 outpatient clinics for the last 3 years; broad psychological studies in a number of Veterans' Administration hospitals, domiciliaries, and centers on the characteristics and needs of aging and geriatric populations; special study and experimentation in Veterans' Administration hospitals on the care of aged neuropsychiatric patients, including special housing and foster-home-care programs; and other special research projects and studies including studies on the use of various drugs and other medical research, demographic studies, studies in the field of social services, etc.

III. Employment

While Federal activities are focused in the Department of Labor, other departments and agencies are providing or developing services and resources designed to meet problems of employment among older workers.

The services of the Federal-State vocational rehabilitation programs include special placement services for disabled workers, including older workers.

In the Department of Labor

All programs and services of the Department are focused on employment and related factors, and many bureaus and agencies in the Department provide extensive consultation to labor and industry on employment problems including consultation on matters relating to the employment of older workers.

To plan and expedite activities, the Secretary has appointed a Departmental Committee on Older Workers and has named a Special Assistant to the Under Secretary to chair the committee and coordinate departmental efforts to extend and improve employment opportunities and services available to older workers. Through field staff committees composed of regional representatives of the Department's bureaus and offices, consideration has been given to the employment problems of older workers.

The Department has in the past carried out a number of research projects related to the employment and income problems of older workers and is currently engaged in intensive studies of the factors affecting job opportunities for workers past middle age.

Through State employment services the Bureau of Employment Security maintains an active program of specialized job counseling and placement services for older workers. Approximately one-third of the 9 million applicants for work through State employment service offices each year are 45 years of age or older. To assist the States in serving older workers the Bureau has also developed a special manual on older workers as a guide to State agencies and is now working on training materials for both internal and public-relations use. In the next year the Bureau is conducting an intensive study of employment patterns, policies, and practices in seven major metropolitan labor-market areas; an intensive study on the characteristics of the older unemployed person is being made in these same areas. A demonstration of the results of intensive job counseling and placement services for older workers will also be carried on in the same labor-market areas. During the fiscal year 1956 the Bureau is also conducting an intensive study of the impact of pension costs on hiring policies and hopes to develop specific suggestions that will be useful to management, labor, and the underwriters of pension programs in minimizing the effect of pension costs on the hiring of older workers.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics is studying clauses relating to older workers in 1,700 collective-bargaining agreements affecting 1,000 or more workers and in pension and welfare plans. A pilot study now underway designed to develop methods of measuring differences in average work performance among age brackets and variations of individuals within age brackets covers output per man-hour, accident, and absenteeism rated.

The Women's Bureau has contributed significantly to factfinding and promotion in behalf of older women workers. Its most recent publication, Training Mature Women for Employment, describes 23 different community training programs for older women. During the period June 1955 to July 1956 the Bureau will conduct a series of demonstration projects designed to recruit and train mature women to meet current occupational shortages in such fields as teaching, stenography and typing, and some of the health service occupations. Skills forums will also be conducted in several metropolitan centers in order to assist mature women to find suitable employment and to provide technical assistance to them in marketing home products and services.

The Bureau of Employment Security and the Bureau of Labor Statistics are cooperating in a continuing study of the characteristics of claimants for unemployment insurance.

The Bureau of Labor Standards, the Bureau of Employees' Compensation, and the President's Conference on Occupational Safety are all concerned with and carry on research on working conditions and on factors of health and safety involved in the employment of older workers.

The older-worker problem has been a continual concern of the Federal Advisory Council in the field of employment security. The Council has a subcommittee on this subject.

In the Office of Defense Mobilization

Defense Manpower Policy No. 7, issued by the Office of Defense Mobilization in 1952, entitled "Employment of Older Workers in the Defense Program," is currently in effect. This policy states in part:

"It is the purpose of this manpower policy to direct attention to the importance of employing and effectively utilizing older workers and to stimulate voluntary action by labor, management, and government to modify unnecessary restrictions which limit the employment and utilization of older workers in both private and public employment."

In the National Science Foundation

The Division of Scientific Personnel and Education has under discussion, in its own staff and with leadership in the professional societies, the development of a program to utilize retired scientists in regular positions in research and teaching fields.

In the Small Business Administration

Offices throughout the country, as well as the Washington office, provide all types of counseling service to small-business owners and those contemplating entering the small-business field. It has a products assistance service which assists a small-business man to market a new product or to obtain a product to manufacture. This service might be of special interest to an older person who has developed a new product but who is unable to find a market.

In the Veterans' Administration

The member-employee work program now being carried on in a number of Veterans' Administration hospitals and in all stations providing domiciliary care is designed to help handicapped and older workers develop work skills and work habits in a sheltered environment.

IV. Income Maintenance

A variety of services not related to employment but designed to help older people to maintain income are provided by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government. Included are social insurance, public assistance, retirement and related fringe benefits, pensions and compensation payments, and information and consultation services.

In the Department of Agriculture

A special farm family program has been under way for some time to help farm families work out agreements which would permit younger people gradually to take over the business as older people wish to release responsibilities and which would protect the security of both the old and the young.

Special information and service are also being given in connection with savings and investment programs for farmers and on social-security provisions as they affect the farmer.

In the Civil Service Commission

Retirement System: The Commission adjudicates the retirement rights of member-employees who leave the Government, provides actuarial and legal services required in administering the retirement system, maintains individual retirement records and records of annuitants, and accounts for all retirement moneys. It also administers the Federal Employees Group Life Insurance Act of 1954.

In the Department of Defense

The Department administers the retirement program for all military personnel.

In the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation administers grants to States for vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons when necessary, during the period of rehabilitation treatment and training, maintenance is provided.

Over 8 million of the Nation's total of 14 million persons aged 65 and over currently depend on the programs of the Social Security Administration for a major source of income.

Its Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance administers a social insurance program supported by contributions of workers and employers.

The Bureau and the Division of Research in the Office of the Commissioner of Social Security carry on continuing and special studies on the characteristics and economic problems of old-age and survivors insurance beneficiaries.

The federally aided old-age assistance program administered by the Bureau of Public Assistance under the Social Security Act is another income maintenance resource of aging people in the Nation. Currently over 2.5 million aged persons (about 18 percent of the total population 65 years of age and over) are receiving old-age assistance. Other public assistance programs, while not set up to provide financial assistance to old people, also include a large number of persons prematurely aging in the 55–65 age range. For example, nearly half of the recipients of aid to the blind are 65 or over, and most of the recipients of aid to the disabled are in late middle life with approximately a third at least 60 years of age. In addition, 7 percent of the families receiving assistance under the aid to dependent children program are families in which a grandparent is the relative caring for the child.

The Bureau of Public Assistance, in cooperation with State public assistance agencies, makes studies and gathers national statistics regarding the characteristics of needy aging people. These data provide useful information on health and medical problems, as well as social and economic problems of older people.

In the Department of Labor

The Bureau of Employees' Compensation administers compensation payments to disabled Federal employees, many of whom are in the older age brackets.

The Bureau of Employment Security participates in the administration of Federal-State unemployment insurance programs. Although no nationwide statistics have been maintained on the age distribution of claimants, many of the larger States report that from 40 to 60 percent of unemployment insurance claimants are 45 years of age and over.

In the Railroad Retirement Board

The Board administers a social insurance program for the Nation's railroad workers and workers performing services connected with transportation under the provisions of the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. Approximately 1.7 million employees were in covered railroad employment in 1955. The Railroad Retirement Act was established originally to provide financial protection for aged railroad workers who had grown too old to work or who became totally disabled.

In the Treasury Department

The activity of the Department of primary importance to the aging members of our population is the development and implementation of fiscal and monetary policies contributing to the stabilization of the cost of living. The older age group, many of whom are dependent on fixed incomes such as pensions and annuities, finds it particularly difficult to make the adjustments which are enforced by a rise in prices.

Various provisions of existing law are of particular interest to the aging.

Filing an income-tax return: Individuals who have reached the age of 65 are not required to file an income-tax return unless they have gross income of $1,200 or more during the taxable year, while individuals under 65 must file a return if they have gross income of $600 or more.

Additional personal exemptions: Individuals who are 65 or over are allowed an additional $600 personal exemption under the individual income tax. Older people are also frequently helped by an additional personal exemption of $600, which is allowed for blindness.

Social-security benefits and railroad retirement pensions: Old age and survivors insurance benefits received from the Federal Government and payments from a State under the Federal-State public-assistance program are completely exempt from tax. Railroad retirement pensions are also exempt.

Life-insurance and endowment policies: The treatment of life-insurance aond endowment policies, while applicable to all taxpayers, is especially helpful to the aged. The proceeds of a life-insurance policy which are paid by reason of the death of the insured are not taxable. Proceeds of an endowment policy paid in a lump sum to the holder at maturity are taxable only to the extent that they exceeded the cost of the policy. To reduce the impact of graduated income-tax rates on them, such lump-sum proceeds may be spread for tax purposes in 3 equal parts over the current year and the two preceding years.

Retirement-income credit: As a result of the retirement-income credit provision enacted in 1954, many retired persons 65 years of age or over, who receive modest amounts of retirement income (pensions, annuities, interest, dividends, and rents) are completely exempt from tax on such income. The credit is 20 percent of retirement income, with a maximum limit of $240 for each individual. To qualify for this credit the individual must meet certain requirements as to prior earnings.

Annuities: Under a new life expectancy method of taxing annuities enacted in 1954, each annuitant received annual exclusions which, in effect, are equal to his investment divided by his life expectancy. This gives him an even flow of taxable annuity income over his lifetime and avoids the taxation of capital and the arbitrary fluctuation in taxable income that resulted under the old law.

Pension plans: Encouragement is given to the growth of pension plans by the tax advantages allowed to approved pension plans which do not discriminate in favor of highly paid employees. Within certain limits, prescribed by the law, employers may deduct their contributions to these plans when the contributions are made.

Payments to beneficiaries of deceased employees: Payments by an employer to the beneficiaries of an employee because of the employee's death are exempt up to $5,000. Under a provision of the 1954 code, the payments are exempt whether or not paid under a contract.

In the Veterans' Administration

The Administration administers compensation payments to veterans with service-connected disabilities. An increasing number of these beneficiaries are in older age groups.

Veterans in need and who are totally and permanently disabled by nonservice-connected disabilities are eligible to veterans' pensions.

All veterans of Indian wars and the Spanish-American War, who served for a specific period, are eligible to pensions.

Veterans 65 years of age and over who have a minimal disability of 10 percent, are unemployable and in need, are eligible for full veterans' pensions, if otherwise entitled.

Veterans with service-connected disabilities are also eligible for domiciliary care when such care is needed. Veterans with nonservice-connected disabilities may be provided domiciliary care when needed if space in such facilities is available.

The Veterans' Administration arranges for foster-home care for incapacitated veterans not requiring hospital care.

V. Education

In the Department of Agriculture

Through its network of voluntary leaders and community committeemen, the Federal and State Extension Service offers special opportunities for older people to make significant contributions to community programs and activities.

In the American National Red Cross

A special training course for the Gray Ladies for service to the homebound has been developed particularly for older women.

In the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

With the recent creation of the section on Adult Education in the Office of Education, it is expected that greater emphasis will be given to this field and that the potentialities for research and service on problems of the aging will be more fully realized than in the past.

The studies conducted in the field of adult education, literacy education, training opportunities for adults, and the preparation of materials and guides on intergroup education for adults have real significance as background material in considering problem of the aging.

The bureaus and divisions of the Public Health Service carry on extensive programs of health education. These include educational programs in field of particular concern to older people: mental health, cancer, tuberculosis, heart, general preventive health care, etc.

At Howard University the registration in new classes has included several retired individuals. In these classes, related to development of skills and crafts for leisure-time activity, there have been as many as 15 to 20 older persons. These new classes propose to enter intensively into the geriatric field. The curriculum of the School of Social Work necessarily takes into account problems of the aging population. Theory courses, fieldwork, and research direct attention to the aging. The School of Social Work is the beneficiary of a special collection of books on the aging called the Rose McHugh Memorial Collection.

The American Printing House for the Blind publishes the Readers Digest in braille and talking-book form. These are circulated among the blind population of the Nation, approximately 250,000 of whom are over the age of 50.

The Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance has inaugurated a program for preparation for retirement among its employees.

In the Veterans' Administration

The Administration provides some prevocational exploration in adult education in connection with its comprehensive rehabilitation services. The Administration also carries on recreation programs with educational aspects in its hospitals and domiciliaries in which special consideration is given to the needs of older patients and domiciliary members.

Programs of community education are also carried on in relation to employment programs and special programs of foster-home care for psychiatric patients.

VI. Family Life, Living Arrangement, and Housing

Increasing attention is being given by departments and agencies of the Federal Government to the development of a variety of services to help elderly men and women

work out their problems of "some place to stay." Included are counseling and information on family relationships, on various types of housing to meet the special needs of older people when special problems are presented, and on actual phyisical arrangements of housing for older people, as well as housing itself.

In the Department of Agriculture

Special programs of the Federal Extension Service are designed to help in the adjustment of older members in rural farm family situations. For example, special information and consultation is provided in the Extension Service's public-affairs program on How to Care for the Aged.

The Home Economics Research Branch of the Agricultural Research Service is also giving special attention to housing problems, family relationships, and living arrangements for older people in our rural population.

In the American National Red Cross

The American National Red Cross provides social services, particularly for the families of servicemen and veterans, in helping older people to make adjustments in family life and in providing some services which make it possible for older people to live in their own homes or in family situations.

In the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

The Public Health Service's Bureau of Medical Services is responsible for the administration of Federal assistance in construction of health facilities. Among the types of health facilities encompassed in the hospital survey and construction program are chronic-disease hospitals and nursing homes. Most of the patients in such facilities, particularly the latter, are characteristically older people.

The Bureau of State Services' Division of Sanitary Engineering Services conducts housing hygiene activities concerned with the health aspects of housing.

The Social Security Administration's Bureau of Public Assistance and State departments of public welfare are emphasizing the development of resources and provision of services to enable older people to remain in their own homes as long as they can and their health permits. Some States also are making substitute family arrangements, such as foster-home care, for those aged people who are no longer able to maintain their own homes but who do not yet require institutional care.

Staffs in some local public welfare agencies provide counseling services to older people and their relatives directed toward helping them with problems of social adjustment and intrafamily relationships.

The Bureau and the State departments of public welfare have also made studies on various aspects of problems of living arrangements and housing for older people. The nationwide study of characteristics of old-age-assistance recipients in 1953 also contains data on their housing, e. g., size of household, number of rooms, and kind of facilities available.

In the Housing and Home Finance Agency

Low-rent-housing accommodations are provided to roughly 40,000 households headed by a person 65 years of age or over. This is equivalent to 10 percent of the total number of households accommodated in the entire federally assisted low-rent public-housing program.

By facilitating the financing of good housing units under the Federal Housing Administration mortgage-insurance program, many families and some individuals are afforded an opportunity to acquire satisfactory quarters for their declining years before they reach the age of 65.

In the case of rental projects designed particularly for older people the Federal Housing Administration is able in some instances to insure mortgages on attractive terms under the provisions of section 213 (cooperative housing) of the National Housing Act.

The Division of Plans and Programs in the Office of the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency also conducts basic overall studies of occupants of public housing and of housing requirements of older people.

In the Department of Labor

The Bureau of Labor Statistics studies and reports include information on housing for the aging.

In the Veterans' Administration

The administration helps in meeting problems of housing in its domiciliary program. The foster-home program for psychiatric patients is also a significant development in this field.

VII. Other Services

The chief contribution of Federal departments and agencies in relation to recreation, community organization, etc., as special and separate activities, is by providing general consultation and information. In the general field of social and economic research, however, Federal departments and agencies are carrying on or participating in a wide variety of experimental and research projects designed to provide information on various social and economic aspects of the problems of our aging population and methods for their solution.

In the Department of Agriculture

The Extension Service, as a part of its family life program, provides special service in connection with planning for the later years, information and consultation on diet, clothing needs, and housing and other services which contribute to the economic and social well-being of older people living on farms.

The Farm Population and Rural Life Branch of the Division of Agricultural Economics keeps abreast of available information on population trends and characteristics of older rural people and makes detailed analysis of these data. Such information is provided to both private and governmental agencies.

In the American National Red Cross

The Gray Ladies provide services such as friendly visiting, letterwriting, reading, games, simple crafts, arranging parties, shopping, planning formal group entertainments and picnics, and instruction in subjects of interest to older people.

The Red Cross gives training in handicrafts, painting, and photography.

Social welfare aids assist professional social workers in helping to meet special problems of older people.

The motor service contributes to recreational programs for the older people by providing transportation to golden age and other types of community clubs; by taking residents of homes for the aged on tours, picnics, and outings; by taking entertainers and volunteers to and from hospitals, institutions, and homes for the aged; and by delivering refreshments and gifts donated by community groups.

The canteen service prepares refreshments for parties and picnics and assists dietitians in hospitals and institutions for aging people. The production services of several chapters of the American Red Cross have taken part in making articles of clothing and other comfort articles to meet needs of groups which include older people.

The Junior Red Cross makes special gifts, particularly recreational and comfort articles; collects books and magazines; and gives entertainment in institutions and homes for the aged.

The American Red Cross considers its greatest service to older people the development of programs which give them opportunity to use their skill and experience in productive volunteer work.

Older men and women also find useful ways to serve others in fund raising, public relations, and in all the phases of Red Cross hospital and community programs. Through these avenues of opportunity older men and women have been able to bring their special viewpoint to community planning for older people.

In the Civil Service Commission

The Commission plans to conduct during the current fiscal year a study of utilization of the older worker by Federal departments and agencies. In addition to research directed specifically toward the older worker, the Commission continuously carries on validity studies to determine which measuring instruments best predict performance on the job. Such studies are beneficial to older persons since the qualities they possess are evaluated in and of themselves rather than as they are reflected by chronological age.

In the Department of Commerce

The Office of Technical Services plans to extend its study of programs on use of older employees in special consultation services to industry or in short-time public careers, and carries on extensive research necessary for study of the problem of aging and renders assistance to other agencies requiring specialized data regarding one phase or another of the program.

The Bureau of tthe Census develops extensive demographic data on population, housing, social characteristics, and on various economic factors affecting older people and makes special studies on the request of other groups, Government and private. The costs of such studies are paid or shared by the requesting agencies.

In the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

The Commissioner of the Social Security Administration has the responsibility for assuring continuing cooperation between the insurance and assistance programs and for maintaining a proper balance in their work in the field of the aging.

The Division of Research and Statistics carries on basic overall research and collects statistical information on the aged population as a whole. Regular estimates of the major sources of income of aged persons are prepared as of each June and December. Special studies in the field are published from time to time. The Social Security Bulletin, which is a responsibility of this Division, devotes many of its articles to studies and information concerned with aging.

The Division of the Actuary carries on studies and develops cost estimates of old-age insurance. Studies are made of demographic data, mortality, and other factors affecting the aged population. Information on insurance-company experience is also collected and evaluated by the Division.

The 532 district offices of the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance participate actively in community programs on aging and old-age and survivors insurance offices make appropriate referrals to other local sources and facilities when the needs of individuals are not met by the old-age and survivors insurance program.

The disability freeze provisions in the program, moreover, have the effect of bringing disabled workers to the attention of rehabilitation agencies at an early stage of their disability which it is expected will contribute substantially to the reduction of problems of disability among older workers

and to improvement in programs of care for them.

The central offices carry on a program of research and analysis to provide information on and to evaluate the operation of the existing program provisions and administrative policies and to determine the effect of proposed changes.

The Bureau of Public Assistance and State and local departments of public welfare are increasingly interested in planning and, in many instances, providing some of the many services needed by aging people. These services are usually related to environmental adjustments and counseling to aging persons and their relatives. Increasing attention is also being directed toward community planning and cooperation and the improvement of the knowledge and skill of public welfare staffs working with older people. The Bureau took leadership in holding the first meeting of representatives of national voluntary agencies to consider problems of aging. This meeting resulted in the formation of the first National Committee on Aging, now under the National Social Welfare Assembly, which is a major force in planning for the aging. It also provides leadership, technical consultation, and informational material in assisting State public welfare departments to meet problems of State and local community organization in dealing with problems of aging, including planning for individualized services, group, and recreational activities, health services, and other special services needed by older people.

Local public welfare departments provide information about community resources available to meet the needs of older people and make appropriate referral in individual instances. They also make appropriate referral to recreational facilities in the community. Some public welfare agencies utilize volunteers who assist older people in participating in community recreational and creative activities, and a few have staff members to help organize such community activities.

The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation provides consultation on community vocational rehabilitation activities and, in cooperation with the State vocational rehabilitation agencies, assists communities to develop broad community programs to meet problems relating to vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons, giving attention to the needs of older disabled workers.

The Department's Committee on Aging functions as a clearinghouse for information on research and experimental programs being carried on throughout the country and provides technical consultation on the development and administration of programs designed to provide social services to older people.

In the Department of the Interior

A study is underway in the Indian Bureau on development of community recreation programs on reservations, including adult education for all ages but with special attention to the interests of older people. In connection with this program the Indian Bureau is exploring the possibilities in craftwork for the older Indian group.

The programs of the National Park Service are designed to protect and make available for public enjoyment the national parks and monuments and other areas comprising the National Park System.

VIII. General Information Services

All Federal departments and agencies provide information services with respect to their program operations. More detailed and complete information on any of the activities reported in this inventory may, therefore, be obtained by writing to the information service of the department or agency, involved. The mailing address of all Federal Government agencies in Washington is Washington 25, D. C.

In the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

The Department itself, through the Office of the Secretary, is a source of leadership and support in this field, provided through speakers, the press, and by participation in, and sometimes cosponsoring with other governmental and nongovernmental groups conferences and meetings on problems of aging.

The Social Security Administration publishes the Social Security Bulletin which provides statistical data and other information on the social-security programs for general public information purposes.

Its Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance carries on an active information program which keeps the public aware of its rights and obligations under the old-age and survivors insurance legislation. The Bureau also furnishes exhibits, charts, publications, and films for informational purposes in public and private conferences and meetings.

Its Bureau of Public Assistance works with other governmental agencies and national private agencies in cooperative activities designed to increase understanding of public and private efforts in the care of needy aging people. It also makes studies and publishes national statistics regarding the characteristics and needs of this group and prepares reports on the operation of the public-assistance programs.

The Public Health Service carries on a continuing program of public education and interpretation on health and related factors involved in problems of aging. Under this program, Public Health Service personnel make speeches to local groups and meetings, participate in planning conferences, act as resource people in such meetings and conferences, participate in planning, developing, and carrying on local programs designed to help meet health problems of aging.

The primary objective of the Committee on Aging is to stimulate and support programs that will improve the status and help meet problems of older adults in our society. All activities of the committee are designed, therefore, to help promote action that will assist the States and local communities to meet the challenges of aging in our population. These activities fall into three broad categories:

1. Acting as a clearinghouse in the gathering, organization, and dissemination of information on all aspects of aging. In this connection, the Committee publishes Aging, a bimonthly news bulletin, and other pamphlets and material on aging.

2. Provision of guidance and stimulation through technical advice and consultation to groups working in the field. In connection with these activities, the Committee on Aging provides exhibits, published material, films, etc.

3. Provision of a mechanism for cooperation within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to aid in promoting the development of coordinated and effective action in programs relating to aging among the operating agencies of the Department and for cooperation with the Federal Council on Aging to achieve coordination and the broad mutual reenforcement of programs and activities carried on among the departments and agencies of the Federal Government.

The district offices of the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance are valuable resources for gathering and disseminating information in this field as well as a source of leadership and service in developing action programs in local communities.

In the Department of the Interior

The Indian Bureau has included discussion of topics relating to problems of aging in its staff conference and training programs. For example, a topic in the staff program for December 1954 included the subject, Services to the Aging.

In the Department of Labor

The Department participates in a wide range of activities, including publication of interpretive material such as a leaflet addressed to employees on the needs and problems of older workers, as well as wide contribution to publications, and conferences, seminars, and meetings of the National, State, and local groups interested in problems of our aging population.

The Bureau of Labor Standards has wide opportunity for constructive interpretation of employment problems of older workers in its contacts with other Federal, State, and local groups which include public agencies in the labor field, private industry, organized labor, the International Association of Government Labor Officials, and the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions, for which this Bureau serves as secretariat.

The Labor Department has organized a Committee on the Older Worker to coordinate and promote aging programs and activities in the Department.

In the Office of Defense Mobilization

The Office distributes two pamphlets relating to aging: The Older Worker, prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and Production at Any Age, prepared by the Office of Defense Mobilization.

The Men Behind Nasser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article, written by Arch Parsons, Jr., which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of February 21, 1957:

MEN CLOSEST TO NASSER REMAIN BEHIND SCENE—LEADER FALTERS IN WAKE OF SUEZ—THEY APPEAR TO GAIN IN POWER

(By Arch Parsons, Jr.)

Is Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser master in his own house?

Or is he simply a tool, acting under the orders of his advisers?

It is common knowledge throughout the Middle East that ever since Colonel Nasser began his meteoric rise from the obscurity of an army barracks to become one of the most feared, loved, and hated figures in international politics, he has been surrounded by a number of army officers.

At the time of the coup against King Farouk in 1952, this group numbered nearly 300 officers. Through various reports of dismissals, arrests, executions, and mere lack of further usefulness, the total of those playing any significant role now is estimated to be about 25 or 30, with less than a half dozen in key positions.

Within the innermost of these concentric circles, three names stand out:

Wing Commander Ali Sabry, 38, who is Colonel Nasser's chief political adviser, reportedly is chief of a network of intelligence systems and is generally considered to be the most important of the men around the president.

Lt. Gen. Abdel Hakim Amer, also 38, Egypt's War Minister, commander-in-chief of its armed services, chief of a joint military

command involving Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen, and a life-long friend of Colonel Nasser (one of the president's sons is General Amer's namesake).

Lt. Col. Zakaria Mohieddin, Minister of the Interior and therefore in charge of internal security and at least one branch of the Egyptian intelligence system.

There are believed to be one or two others of nearly equal importance, but their names have yet to emerge from under the cloak of secrecy with which the Nasser regime has sought to surround itself.

Ever since Egypt concluded its cotton-for-arms deal with the Communist bloc a year and a half ago, those observers who try to keep the regime under close scrutiny have pondered Colonel Nasser's relationship to the men around him and their political persuasions.

The need for accurate information has become more pronounced recently as a result of two developments:

An increasing number of reports that President Nasser, the undisputed hero of the Arab world just a few months ago, is today confronted with mounting dissension in the Egyptian army and among the populace, and with the threat of economic disaster.

Further reports that in the wake of these troubles, communism is making considerable headway in Egypt. For example, one of the Middle East's most respected Arab statesmen—a non-Egyptian who, nevertheless, has a considerable knowledge of internal Egyptian affairs—is predicting privately these days that Egypt has about 6 months left to decide whether to fish permanently in Communist waters or cut bait.

Yet, as great as the need is for information about the men around Colonel Nasser, the haze that surrounds the bulky, ambitious figure of the Egyptian president grows even cloudier as one attempt to draw near to the inner councils of the regime. Some general theories emerge, however.

SUEZ PINCH MAY DETRACT FROM NASSER

It is believed that since the full consequences of Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal last summer have begun to make themselves felt in that country, Colonel Nasser has played less and less of a lone role in deciding Egypt's policies.

Previously, he was understood to have what amounted to a veto power over the recommendations of his close associates, although there is little doubt that he paid close, if sometimes impatient, attention to their advice.

The consensus of most observers is that now, at the least, a form of "collective" leadership, similar to that existing in the Soviet Union, rules Egypt. Some reports have gone further. They describe Colonel Nasser as the virtual "captive" of the 30 or so army officers around him.

MANY ADVISERS LEAN TO COMMUNISM

And what makes the situation exceedingly significant is a substantial amount of evidence that no small number of these men are either Communists or extreme leftwingers.

Perhaps less is known of Commander Sabry than of any of those Egyptian officers who have walked with a peculiar combination of coyness and brash confidence into the spotlight of world affairs. Commander Sabry really emerged for the first time when he went to London last August to attend the international conference there on the Suez crisis as Colonel Nasser's observer.

In the ensuing weeks, he appeared to have more to do with Egypt's Suez policies than Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Fawzi. Today, it is considered likely that while Dr. Fawzi advises on foreign policy and carries out instructions, Commander Sabry makes policy.

It is said that Commander Sabry has been entrusted with developing a large-scale Egyptian plan to penetrate Africa—economically, culturally, ideologically. What his personal ideology is remains a mystery. There is little doubt that he supported Egypt's request to the Soviet bloc for arms and other forms of aid.

General Amer is probably President Nasser's closest personal friend. The two men have grown up together, fought together in the same battalion in the Palestine war—and conspired together since school days.

Political enemies of General Amer who no longer live in Egypt have charged that he was a Communist in 1948 (they also charge that Colonel Nasser himself was a Communist at the time, and even claim to have proof that his party number was 117). The very source of the accusation makes the charge debatable, but a considerable number of sources believe that both Colonel Nasser and General Amer were capable of joining the Communists, at least temporarily, if it served the end of ousting King Farouk. Both, however, are regarded as men primarily concerned with tactics rather than ideology.

Colonel Mohieddin is also somewhat of an unknown political factor. His brother, Maj. Khaled Mohieddin, however, is known as the Red Major and was thrown out of the officers' groups around President Nasser 2 years ago for alleged Communist conspiracy. Today the major is back as editor of a leftwing Cairo newspaper reportedly financed by Government funds.

Among the other officers close to Colonel Nasser is Lt. Col. Anwar el Sadat, who was also a companion of the President in the trenches of Palestine and whose leftwing writings in the semiofficial Government newspaper, Al Gomhouria have had to be toned down at times by Colonel Nasser himself.

Communist infiltration is believed to be particularly effective in the regime's propaganda machinery and among its economic advisers. But it is in exactly the same spheres that one hears continued reports of another influence: ex-Nazi.

NAZI PROPAGANDIST REPORTED AT WORK

When this correspondent was in Cairo last summer, another reporter was thrown out of the country for writing that he had met Dr. Johann von Leers, a notorious Nazi propagandist during World War II, and identified him as the head of the Egyptian Government's anti-Israel propaganda work. The report persists, however, that von Leers is in Cairo as a propaganda consultant to the regime.

It is no secret that the regime has called upon Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, one of Hitler's economic brains, for advice in that field. What is perhaps ironic, however, is that the method which the Communist bloc is using to penetrate Egypt—gaining the country's economic dependence by becoming almost the one and only market for its principal export commodities—is strikingly similar to the methods employed by Dr. Schacht to bring Rumania into Hitler's camp.

Perhaps it is the situation in Egypt, as much as anything else, that caused Colonel Nasser's next door neighbor, King Hussein of Jordan, to issue a statement on February 2 warning against "the danger of Communist infiltration into our country" and declaring that if the infiltrators are not stopped, "they might affect our nationalism and make us replace imperialism with a new type of colonialism, from which we might be unable to redeem ourselves."

And observers are recalling two comments by President Nasser himself, that "no Middle Easterner has had any experience with Soviet imperialism" and that "the real alternative to true nationalism in the Arab lands is almost certain to be communism."

Egypt appears to be approaching the fork in the road. It is an open question whether Colonel Nasser will have the power to decide the country's direction when the time comes—and where he will be after the decision is made.

Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following interim report of the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission:

ALEXANDER HAMILTON BICENTENNIAL

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

ALEXANDER HAMILTON BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., February 7, 1957.

Hon. RICHARD M. NIXON,
President of the Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission, to signalize the 200th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Hamilton, has the honor to submit the following interim report, in accordance with section 6, Public Law 601, chapter 770, 83d Congress, 2d session, approved August 20, 1954.

Respectfully yours,

KARL E. MUNDT, *Chairman.*

INTERIM REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE ALEXANDER HAMILTON BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, *D. C., February 1, 1957.*

To the Senate and the House of Representatives:

During the 7 months since the last report the small staff of the Commission has carried forward the work of planning for the bicentennial year which opened on Friday, January 11, 1957.

Opening day ceremonies which were widely publicized by all media, were held in Washington, D. C.; New York City; Chicago; Nevis in the British West Indies; Paterson, N. J., which was founded by Hamilton; Baltimore; Habana, Cuba, where a joint session of the Cuban Congress held a memorial session; and in all United States Armed Forces installations at home and abroad.

Commemorative stamps were issued on January 11 by the United States Post Office Department and the British postal authorities. First-day cancellations of the United States stamp were in New York City and the British stamp on the island of Nevis, Hamilton's birthplace. Not only was this the first time, so far as could be learned, that two governments have issued stamps honoring one man on the same day, but also it was the first occasion on which the British have issued a stamp honoring a distinguished American. Both these stamps were inspired by the Commission.

The major New York City ceremony was held on the steps of the Federal Hall Memorial, at Wall and Nassau Streets, the site of the first Capitol of the United States. The Chairman of the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission participated, as did D Battery of the 5th Field Artillery, United States Army. This battery traces its history to the artillery company Hamilton organized in 1776 in New York, and which he commanded at the battles of Brooklyn Heights, Harlem Heights, White Plains, Trenton, and Princeton. It has the longest record of continuous service of any unit in the United States Army. The battery was flown from Fort Riley, Kans., for the ceremony.

Prior to the Federal Hall Memorial exercises, special Hamilton observances were held by the American Stock Exchange and by the New York Stock Exchange. After the exer-

cises wreaths were placed on Hamilton's grave in the nearby Trinity churchyard by D. Battery, the Columbia University Alumni Association, the Alexander Hamilton Post of the American Legion, and by the Sons of the American Revolution.

In Washington, ceremonies were held at the south portico of the Treasury Department building with Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON and Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey participating. Mr. Humphrey placed a wreath at the base of the Hamilton statue which stands in front of the main entrance to the Treasury building.

Chicago ceremonies were held at the Hamilton Memorial in Lincoln Park. James M. Kemper, chairman of an Illinois Hamilton Commission named by Governor Stratton, spoke at this wreath-laying ceremony.

At the Nevis ceremony, a plaque was unveiled on behalf of the commission at the site of Hamilton's birthplace. On the following day, at St. Croix in the American Virgin Islands, where Hamilton lived and worked as a youth, the ceremonies included the erection of a historic marker on the public square in Christiansted by the commission. On behalf of the commission an oil portrait of Hamilton, a replica of a Trumbull painting, was presented to the people of St. Croix to hang in Government House. The programs in the West Indies were arranged by the commission's committee on birthplace and boyhood home.

On Sunday, January 13, a special Hamilton memorial service was held at the Washington Cathedral. It was conducted by the Reverend Alexander Van Cortlandt Hamilton, of Norwalk, Conn., great-great grandson and ranking direct descendant of Hamilton. The commission chairman also participated in this memorial service.

The commission's Hamilton bicentennial exhibit was officially opened on Monday, January 14, in the main building of the Treasury Department. This exhibit is made up of historic documents and Hamilton memorabilia and includes the famous "Weimar" portrait of Hamilton painted for the city of New York by John Trumbull, an equally famous Stuart portrait of George Washington which Hamilton once owned, the manuscript of Hamilton's "major draft" of Washington's Farewell Address, Washington's final draft of the Farewell Address, and Washington's own copy of the first edition of the Federalist, presented to him by John Jay. These and other items in the exhibit are priceless treasures of Americana.

A substantial part of the commission's effort has been concentrated on the stimulation of books and articles on Hamilton. Already 2 excellent illustrated magazine articles have appeared, 1 in Life and the other in the New York Times Magazine. Other articles are being scheduled for publication throughout the year.

The commission takes especial pride in three books which have just been published. These are:

The Basic Ideas of Alexander Hamilton, a 35-cent pocket book, a selection of excerpts from Hamilton's writing and State papers, edited by Prof. Richard B. Morris of Columbia University. The low price of this authoritative 451-page book, a comprehensive view of Hamilton, fulfills the Commission's hope that such a book would be published at a price which would make it readily available to every American.

Alexander Hamilton and the Founding of the Nation (published by Dial Press), also edited by Professor Morris, is a larger and more complete collection of excerpts from Hamilton's writings. This book, which sells at $7.50, is the February selection of the History Book Club, and it is likely to become the standard 1-volume reference book on Hamilton.

Alexander Hamilton in the American Tradition, by Dean Louis M. Hacker of Columbia University (published by McGraw-Hill), is a book that will go far to correct misconceptions of Hamilton's ideas, motives, and achievements, and their value to the United States in these critical times.

Also to be published this year is a biography of Hamilton in 2 volumes by Prof. John C. Miller of Leland Stanford University (Little, Brown & Co.), the first volume of a 2-volume life of Hamilton by Prof. Broadus Mitchell of Rutgers University (the Macmillan Co.), Alexander Hamilton: Selections Representing His Life, His Thought, and His Style, by Prof. Bower Aly (Liberal Arts Press), and Alexander Hamilton on Public Credit, Commerce, and Finance, with an introduction by J. Harvie Williams (Liberal Arts Press).

Shortly after the Commission was established, Time, Inc.; and the Rockefeller Foundation granted $200,000 to Columbia University for the preparation and publication of a new and definitive edition of Hamilton's papers. This work is being carried on under the direction of Dr. Harold C. Syrett, executive editor. It is hoped that the first volume of these papers can be published before the end of 1957.

President Eisenhower, on September 17, 1956, the anniversary of the signing of the Constitution of the United States, issued a proclamation establishing the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Year and calling upon all officials, State and Federal, and all citizens to observe the bicentennial. Subsequently, governors of the several States, with a few exceptions, issued State proclamations. In a number of States special State committees or commissions have been established to cooperate with this Commission.

Throughout the bicentennial year on suitable dates various ceremonies and programs will be held in many localities, in all of which Hamilton's work in establishing the United States will be the major theme. Several major television dramatic shows are planning Hamilton programs. In addition, there will be many local and area programs on both radio and television. Educational radio and television programs have already carried, and are planning, additional Hamilton programs. A good many of these will be discussed in classrooms. National organizations in many fields which have endorsed the Commission's objectives are cooperating in all appropriate ways.

The Commission's Advisory Committee on Education, of which Dr. Henry M. Wriston is chairman, has recomemnded to institutions of higher learning that special lectures on Hamilton be held, that special library exhibits and suggested courses of reading be established and that Hamilton's work be emphasized in classes on history, economics, political science, and public speaking. Many of the institutions are planning to carry out these recommendations.

The Advisory Committee on Contests and Awards, headed by Dr. Bower Aly, has recommended that the Commission undertake the sponsorship of national contests, on a State-by-State basis in high schools and colleges with scholarships and fellowships as awards to the winners. The national finals in each contest are to be in the form of American student constitutional conventions in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, in June. The Commission has been authorized by the Congress to receive private funds for such a purpose. Final details of the financing of this scholarship-fellowship program remain to be worked out.

Correction of canards and misconceptions of various acts and views of Hamilton, or attributed to him, has been one of the purposes of the Commission. Many opportunities have arisen to make such corrections. One of them is worthy of inclusion in this report. The quotation attributed to Hamilton and widely published over the years, "Your people, sir, your people is a great beast," is without basis, according to an exhaustive check by the Library of Congress as the following letter states:

"LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE,
"THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
"*Washington, D. C., December 26, 1956.*

"Hon. J. HARVIE WILLIAMS,
"*Director, Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission,*
Washington, D. C.

"DEAR MR. WILLIAM: This is to confirm our telephone conversation of December 19, 1956, regarding the alleged Alexander Hamilton quotation, 'Your people, sir, your people is a great beast.'

"We have searched the Library collections, and we regret to report that we have been unable to establish the original source of the quotation.

"The alleged quotation does appear in the following publications, but in each case, however, the source for the statement is omitted.

"Adams, Henry. History of the United States of America During the Administration of Thomas Jefferson. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1889, volume I, page 85.

"Adams, James T., Editor. Hamiltonian Principles. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1928, page xii.

"Nevins, Allan. Alexander Hamilton. Dictionary of American Biography. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932. Vol. 8, page 179.

"Sandburg, Carl. The People, Yes. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1936, pages 52 and 54.

"Williams, John S. Thomas Jefferson, His Permanent Influence on American Institutions. New York: Columbia University Press, 1913, page 153.

"Sincerely yours,
"ERNEST S. GRIFFITH,
"Director."

Respectfully submitted.

KARL E. MUNDT,
Chairman, Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission.

The following is a list of members of the Commission:

EX OFFICIO

The President of the United States.
The Vice President of the United States.
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

CHAIRMAN

KARL E. MUNDT, South Dakota.

VICE CHAIRMAN

FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR., New York.

UNITED STATES SENATE

HARRY FLOOD BYRD, Virginia.
THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., Missouri.
IRVING M. IVES, New York.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

CARROLL REECE, Tennessee.
PETER W. RODINO, JR., New Jersey.
JOHN J. ROONEY, New York.

PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSIONERS

Lt. Gen. Milton G. Baker, Pennsylvania.
Edward R. Burke, Maryland.
Mrs. Marie Brown Coffin, District of Columbia.
Laurens M. Hamilton, Virginia.
George M. Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury.
Clark Haynes Minor, New York.
Dr. John A. Krout, New York.
Mrs. Robert P. Patterson, New York.

SECRETARY

W. Randolph Burgess, Under Secretary of the Treasury.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

Robert A. Dillon, Treasury Department.

Nineteen Hundred and Fifty-Six: Great Growth at Small Price

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an article entitled "1956: Great Growth at Small Price," which was written by Arthur Upgren, and was published in the Minneapolis Star of February 28, 1957. The article is a most informative one.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIX: GREAT GROWTH AT SMALL PRICE

(By Arthur Upgren)

HANOVER, N. H.—In the latter part of last year there was evidence that an inflationary boom was under way in the economy. Prices were rising, capital outlays of business had risen rapidly, and sales of new corporate securities to finance expansion were heavy.

The authorities saw danger signs. Warnings were issued by President Eisenhower, by Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey, and by Chairman Martin, of the Federal Reserve Board, who said that perhaps the brakes applied last year should have been applied more sternly.

The warnings were reinforced by a strong rate of tax collection, a restraining credit policy, and widespread public acceptance and discussion of the warnings.

Now come the economic measures for the yearend and for January. Whereas the consumer price index had risen 0.6 percent (from 117.1 to 117.7) in the single month of October, the rise was only 0.5 percent in the 3 months from October through January. This was a substantial slowdown from the October rise and from the rise of 3 percent from March through October.

Such inflation, however, was the price we have paid—and a modest one—for the biggest private business plant expansion we have ever had in a single peacetime year. This year we should get big gains from that expansion. The gains will be in the form of more goods, higher productivity of labor and higher real pay. Real pay is what we can buy with our incomes.

If we try to control the economy so rigorously and evenly that these fluctuations which are associated with vigorous economic growth are all evened out, then we shall probably have restrained the economy to a much slower rate of growth. Do we want that?

Further, as the year ended all families increased total personal savings to a rate at least $5 billion above the first high-spending quarters of 1955. Saving more and spending less in an economic boom show two things:

1. Good economic horsesense on the part of the families who will get more goods this year.

2. Public satisfaction that the economic ship of state is being well handled. If they feared further inflation, families would spend more and save less.

Confidence has also been expressed, since the first of the year in United States Government bonds. This confidence evidences no fear of further inflation and reflects the strong budget position for the calendar year 1956.

The regular budget for last year showed a surplus of $1.7 billion. The special "cash consolidated budget," which records all cash taken in and paid out by the Treasury, had a surplus of $5.5 billion.

So there was no deficit spending by the Federal Government in 1956, and no deficits are forecast for 1957.

This is a record of increasingly stable conditions in a period of great economic growth. Total production of all goods and services rose $22 billion in 1956 and that came on top of a gain of $24 billion in 1955.

So we got a great deal of economic growth in 1956 at the price of a very small degree of inflation, and there are good indications the inflation is now slowing down.

General Electric Evendale Is Many People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, in the February 15 issue of General Electric's news bulletin for the Evendale plant in the Cincinnati area, there is an article entitled "General Electric Evendale Is Many People."

This article clearly demonstrates the constructive effort being made by General Electric in the Cincinnati area, and the part this great business organization plays in our local economy.

I am therefore inserting the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that its readers may have the benefit of the import of this article:

GENERAL ELECTRIC EVENDALE IS MANY PEOPLE

Almost as much land is taken up by parking lots for the cars of those of us who work here at Evendale General Electric as is required by the buildings themselves.

The parking lots filled with our cars emphasize the fact that General Electric's business at Evendale, like all business, is made up of people.

Those thousands of cars are visible evidence of the many General Electric employees at Evendale—actually 17,500 of us—but there are many other people in the Greater Cincinnati area sharing in our activity.

It is estimated that every $1,000 of General Electric take-home pay creates $5,000 of business in the area—that the approximately $70 million a year we take home after deduction of almost $10 million Federal income tax, stimulates local business in excess of $350 million each year.

For instance, the purchasing power of the local General Electric payroll annually provides us with thousands of homes, automobiles, articles of clothing, meals, and other necessities of modern life; with the services of professional men like doctors, lawyers, and educators, and with the luxuries that make life more interesting. Our purchases of these help the business of our community neighbors.

Others in Greater Cincinnati who share in the activities of General Electric Evendale are the owners and thousands of employees of the more than 2,600 local businesses that provide the millions of dollars worth of materials and supplies which are required for the plant each year. These local purchases strengthen our economic ties with our neighbors.

Then there are 8,700 people in Greater Cincinnati—6,100 of them local General Electric employees—who have invested their savings in General Electric shares. This illustrates how closely and in how many ways General Electric Evendale and its neighbors are interrelated.

As a matter of fact, 1 in every 10 persons in Greater Cincinnati has his livelihood affected by our jobs and our success at Evendale.

This includes not only the 17,500 of us and our families, our plant's suppliers and their employees, but also those hundreds of local merchants and business and professional people who serve us.

Of course, because our job is to produce for the defense of all Americans—even for all the free world—millions of people in every part of the world have a share in what we do. It is their money, paid in taxes, that buys our product. They are looking to us to produce the best jet engines possible at the lowest practical price.

This is the nature of business—the bringing together of many people for a common purpose. Our business—like the other 4 million in the United States—makes it possible for the many people who share in our activities, directly and indirectly, to do more for themselves than they otherwise could. Unless a business provides its customers, employees, shareowners, distributors, and suppliers the opportunity to get more for what each contributes than would be the case otherwise, each will pull out, seeking opportunity elsewhere, and the business will fail.

So it is that when we speak of General Electric Evendale, we are talking about many people, for General Electric Evendale is many people.

Gratitude to the VA Hospital of West Haven, Conn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, oftentimes our mail reflects harsh and unjustified criticism toward the administration of veterans hospitals throughout the United States, and investigation reveals that the complaints and criticism are without basis and unwarranted.

It is refreshing to have a constituent write a letter of praise toward a veterans hospital and the manager of one, and I therefore include in these remarks a letter addressed to Dr. Lewis G. Beardsley, of the Veterans' Administration Hospital at West Haven, Conn., which is in my district, by a constituent for whom I have the greatest regard and esteem.

I have come to know Dr. Beardsley quite well and in my dealings with him have found him to be extremely sympathetic toward a veteran, cooperative and kind. He has devoted many hours to me when I consulted or communicated with him in behalf of veterans in my district, and I am sure that he is a credit to the Veterans' Administration and to his profession.

The letter follows:

WEST HAVEN, CONN., *February 25, 1957.*
LEWIS G. BEARDSLEY, M. D.,
Manager, Veterans' Administration Hospital, West Haven, Conn.

DEAR DR. BEARDSLEY: Am indeed grateful for your very fine letter of February 11th ex-

pressing sympathy on the death of my brother, Clarence P. Pierson, which occurred at the Veterans' Hospital in West Haven on February 9th.

It will always be most gratifying to remember the excellent care my brother, Clarence, received while a patient at the Veterans' Administration Hospital.

Unlike many private institutions wherein the staff attitude toward sickness (particularly in its terminal aspects) is usually casual, the spirit of all the people of your group exemplifies in the highest degree the qualities of genuine interest and sympathetic consideration. One cannot measure these attributes, nor can he forget them.

I ask that you transmit my thanks to Doctors Gibbs, Coppola and Lindberg for their countless courtesies. And to yourself and the many others who were so kind and so cooperative, my deepest appreciation.

Sincerely,

ALBERT T. PIERSON.

For a Strong National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the following editorial which was published in the Paterson (N. J.) Evening News on Wednesday, February 27, 1957:

FOR A STRONG NATIONAL GUARD

The 3-day combined celebration and demonstration of National Guard strength at the Paterson Armory was an effective display of the constant alertness of our military on the home front.

Officers of the Guard troops stationed at the armory have reason to be proud of their showing and unquestionably, the prime reason for the activities which was to stimulate new recruiting, served its purpose well.

Increasing the strength of the National Guard to help take up the slack caused by reduction of our military forces was the purpose. This makes sense on several counts. For one thing, it's good economics. A large and strong National Guard, composed of volunteer citizen-soldiers, is about the most in the way of defense we can get for our money. Guardsmen give their country much more in protection than they ever receive in dollars, the regrettable recent popping-off in Washington to the contrary notwithstanding.

For another thing, the spirit of volunteer service which is the foundation of the National Guard, is in the very best tradition of our American way of life. Very probably our historic preference for doing a job voluntarily before it is forced upon us, without choice, accounts for much of our strength as a Nation.

The success of the voluntary approach to matters military is forcefully illustrated by the fact that the National Guard, with voluntary service as its keystone, is the oldest military organization in the country. Its history dates back over more than 300 years, well before the Revolutionary War. And from the Revolution on, guardsmen have fought for their country in every conflict in which it was engaged.

The peacetime service of the National Guard is also impressive. We know of its work in time of emergency and disaster in this State. The Guard served valiantly, too, at the San Francisco earthquake, the Galveston and Johnstown floods, at Texas City, in hurricanes on the east coast, blizzards in the Plains States. The list is long.

Now, at the request of Congress, and to meet a need for the particular kind of service which only the National Guard can offer, the Guard must increase its strength. Appropriately, the time chosen for its big recruitment drive falls on the birthday anniversary of the founder of our Nation. Thus it symbolized, if a symbol is needed, the essential character of the National Guard in the affairs of our country. Its campaign deserves public support, as a tribute not alone to the organization but to our own contingents at the Paterson Armory under the capable direction of Col. James G. Depew and Lt. Col. Robert Wilson.

A Matter of Morals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from editorial page of the Detroit News, Tuesday, January 29, 1957:

A MATTER OF MORALS

The best that can be said for Dag Hammarskjold's report on what the United Nations might do to settle the dispute between Egypt and Israel is that it occupies a legalistic middle ground so unsatisfactory to both sides as to insure its rejection by the U. N. Assembly. The worst is that the report implies moral bankruptcy in the U. N. leadership which not only admits helplessness to enforce a solution but inability even to come to grips with the rights and wrongs of the problem.

Mr. Hammarskjold still insists that Israeli troops must be withdrawn unconditionally from the Gaza strip and fortified places along the Gulf of Aqaba. He suggests then that U. N. troops might follow them into occupation here as they have elsewhere in the Sinai Peninsula. But he also maintains that the U. N. operates as a guest of the Egyptian Government. Colonel Nasser would, therefore, be free at his leisure to dismiss the guardians of the peace and resume his interrupted aggressions against Israeli frontiers and Israeli shipping.

This solution continues to assume that Israel has been an unprovoked aggressor and that Egypt desires a peaceful settlement. It ignores the central fact of the last 8 years: That despite the armistice, Egypt has steadily maintained a state of war with Israel and has openly pursued and justified acts of war against her. Colonel Nasser has never suggested that he seeks peace. On the contrary he has repeatedly refused any negotiations that would remotely imply acceptance of Israel's right to exist at all as a nation.

These are political facts. They are also moral facts. If the U. N. wishes to maintain that war is wrong and undertakes to punish aggressors, it cannot condone, much less strengthen, a government whose avowed policy is to remain at war until its enemy is annihilated. It cannot pretend to work for peace by recreating the conditions of inevitable conflict.

The worst of this sorry business is that the U. N. abetted by the United States is crucifying itself. A world organization so indifferent to international justice and so proper that it can keep peace only with the consent of those who are breaking it may be worse than useless. It may serve chiefly to promote anarchy among nations and hang a cloak of piety over international immorality.

We're Over the Surplus, and Here's Why

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the Farm Journal gives us a more encouraging picture of the disposal of surplus agricultural commodities.

It is devoutly to be hoped that we will soon be back on an even keel and that the present program will finally put an end to our having to pay for and store food in caves and ships, where most of it will perish:

[From the Farm Journal of March 1957]

WE'RE OVER THE SURPLUS HUMP AND HERE'S WHY

(By Claude W. Gifford)

We've finally passed over the hump of the farm surplus pile.

And it looks like we'll keep going downhill for a time.

Within 3 to 5 years—with luck we could be somewhere near normal carryover, depending on whose definition of normal you use.

And within this situation are the makings for the next big farm political ruckus: What to do about price supports and acreage when we get down to livable reserves?

Here's what's happening:

1. We're making unusual progress in moving our surplus hoard. We've already cleaned the CCC cupboard bare of some of the earlier trouble makers: butter, eggs, cottonseed oil and meal, seeds, tung oil, honey, and flaxseed.

The real headaches remaining are corn, wheat, and cotton—together they now represent 79 cents out of every dollar of CCC investment.

2. Hard-hitting export policies are boosting our overseas shipments to the highest levels in history. Cut-rate prices and give-aways are helping here. We'll move out nearly three times more CCC supplies in the year ending June 30 than in 1954.

The cotton disposal program is the most dramatic Government sales success in recent times. In this marketing year we'll export 6½ million bales—$1.3 billion worth. (Last year we moved only 2.2 million bales.)

3. The soil bank shows signs of really cutting production—if politicians will resist the temptation to convert it into an excuse for handing "easy" money around. (That's a big "if.")

United States Department of Agriculture officials estimate that the 1957 soil bank sign-up will shrink last year's wheat and cotton crops by 20 percent.

The corn program that 61 percent of the corn growers voted for would have let the soil bank reduce corn output, too. Congress can still pass a corn program that would do this—the bill has been in the hopper since late January.

4. Foreign tensions and unrest could very well lead to unexpected demands on our farm supplies—either in the form of liberalized United States aid or world scare buying.

Add up these four things, and the day may not be too far away when we'll whittle

that huge surplus pile into a liveable normal supply.

As that time approaches, the hottest farm questions in years will be:

Do we let support prices and acreage allotments climb the flexible ladder, as the law now on the books provides, enticing another production stint to build up the surplus pile again?

Or do we tighten the screws on production in a more determined effort to make supports work—by strict bushel, pound, and bale quotas; by cross-compliance; and by lowering national minimum allotments to where they'll actually check production?

Or do we rebel and throw off Government controls and political determination of how much we can produce? Maybe set stop-loss support levels and let relatively free market prices and individual ability decide who will plant how much of what?

Or do we keep a permanent soil bank and let Uncle Sam contribute to farm income, by maintaining higher-than-needed national acreage minimums, but paying farmers to plant less than their allotments?

Or do we let farm prices fall to whatever level they will and pay farmers a production payment, in hopes that we can have cheaper food and higher farm income at the same time, giving Congress the job of picking up the tab?

Or do we set up American prices for farm goods used in this country and let supports fall to competitive world prices? Should we continue Government foreign trading and sales based on billions of subsidies? Or should we return to a relatively free market and private trading?

There's dynamite in those questions. They're what we'll be reading about, talking over, and voting on in the months ahead.

The opening shots will soon explode as the political lines shape up and the battle begins. It could be a hot issue in the 1958 congressional campaigns—and a real donnybrook in the 1960 presidential election.

If we're wise, maybe we had better settle these questions soon in our own farm meetings and organizations, then tell Congress what we want. If we wait too long, the viewpoint may get so entangled in political positions that all horsesense will be lost.

Poverty Amidst Plenty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Post of January 23, 1957:

POVERTY AMIDST PLENTY

The pathetic story of the Ramsey family comes as a jolting and needed reminder that the richest Nation on earth cannot be complacent yet about winning the age-old war against poverty. This family of 13 was found living without food in a heatless ramshackle house in Seat Pleasant, Md. It is terrible to speculate what might have happened if a compassionate neighbor had not discovered the Ramsey family's plight.

The story of the family shows again the emptiness of the old cliché blaming poverty on personal weaknesses; a combination of fire, injuries, illness, and just plain bad luck might have felled a stronger man than John Ramsey, 32-year-old head of the large family. The fact that any family could reach the edge of starvation amidst a bustling suburban community should temper the growing mood of national self-congratulation over rising living standards.

Mutual Security: Time for Reappraisal?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, this week one veteran Washington correspondent observed that this session of Congress marks the fateful hour of our foreign-aid program.

Certainly there is evidence at hand that the time has come when we must reformulate and restate the basic premise of our security-through-aid programs.

It seems to me that we must decide once and for all whether these programs are, as Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther put it last night, "enlightened self-interest," or, as others are contending, "useless giveaways."

This, I believe, is one of the major challenges which faces the Congress—and, above all, faces President Eisenhower.

As a contribution to this discussion, I am appending to these remarks an article, authored by Dan Lacy, which appeared in the current issue of Harper's magazine:

FOREIGN AID: IS IT STILL NECESSARY?

(By Dan Lacy)

The outbreak of fighting in the Middle East made it painfully clear that the order we had tried to maintain in that area is hopelessly unstable. Sources of the instability include pathological nationalism, racial and religious hatreds, embittered reactions to Western contempt, and inexperience in responsible government. But poverty is its basis, the poverty that everywhere underlies these specific miseries—and not only the fact of poverty, but also the frustrating hopelessness of being so mired in want that no way out is visible. It was no accident that the recent tragic round of events was touched off by the abrupt and humiliating withdrawal of American support from the Aswan Dam project, one of the few symbols of ultimate escape from the economic morass.

The area's poverty itself cannot be removed in our lifetime. What is important is that its people experience the beginnings of steady, peaceful development and see for themselves that orderly growth can bring real and individual rewards. This is now going to be doubly difficult to bring about. The situation in the Middle East was allowed to deteriorate so far into chaos that only drastic action, if that, can restore its peoples' faith in their economic future. What is even more disturbing, in South and Southeast Asia and in much of Latin America, about which we feel no similar sense of urgency, a like disaster lies only a knife-edge away. Failure to create or sustain a sense of economic progress there can quickly lead to a situation as difficult as that in the Middle East. In the world's hungry half, as far as America's role is concerned, time is indeed running out.

Most of the world's people outside Europe and North America still live in a simple village society, practicing subsistence agriculture. In many ways, their life has grown poorer and more desperate over the past 2 or 3 generations, as more and more of them have pressed harder and harder upon their wasting soil resources. The people of these countries have generally shared in modern economic life only when they lived in large cities, or only in connection with the export of raw materials—like rubber and tin and jute—which was financed and controlled by foreign businessmen.

The already frail economies of these countries were disrupted—indeed almost destroyed—by the decade of war, insurrection, and civil disorder which followed 1939. Trade patterns were shattered; factories and railroads wore out and broke down when replacement parts could not be obtained; and markets disappeared. By 1949 the economies of the Asian and Middle Eastern countries, and even of all but the most fortunate of Latin American countries, had sunk far below their already pitiful prewar levels. Many of them faced famine and collapse. This background for President Truman's proposal of point 4 may help explain the almost hysterical enthusiasm with which it was received in the so-called underdeveloped areas.

Since then five important things have happened. First, several years of relative peace and stability—except in Korea and Indochina—have enabled the traditional economies to regain most of their prewar effectiveness: Roads and railroads have been restored, and people have settled back into the rhythms of work and trade. Second, the Korean war created a sudden demand for military raw materials, a dramatic shot in the arm to the producers of rubber, oil, tin, jute, chrome, manganese, and other needed items. Third, after a slip backward, the boom of the past 2 years in North America and Europe has been reflected, though rather feebly, in a steady demand for the products of the underdeveloped areas—especially oil and coffee. Fourth, the weather has been excellent for several years in South Asia, producing abnormally large rice and wheat harvests. And finally, the efforts at internal development in many of the countries have begun to yield significant returns in the simpler sectors of their economies.

As a result, per capita income has been rising, though not rapidly; conditions of life have improved; and acute famine is no longer a threat. But this improvement is shallow. Per capita agricultural production throughout most of the area is still well below even prewar levels; in Burma, for example, only about two-thirds as much food is grown per person as in 1938. And there are disturbing aspects to even the limited progress that has been made. It still depends on largely uncontrollable outside factors, such as foreign markets or the weather. Two or three successive failures of the monsoon might reduce India to a starvation level, and a marked business relapse in Europe or America could wipe out most of the progress that has been made in the past half-dozen years in the underdeveloped countries.

WHAT WE'VE DONE, AND NOT DONE

Real progress has been made, however, in clearing the way for future growth. In 1949 few underdeveloped countries could have made much use of outside aid. Neither we nor they knew what their real problems were, or for that matter what was required for economic growth in general. Plans for development were nonexistent or fanciful. Inexperienced civil servants were rarely capable of handling the complex problems of taxation, budget, currency regulation, and inflation control involved in economic growth; and tremendous health, sanitation, and edu-

cation programs were needed everywhere before true development could begin. There were no established channels for aid, and we were as inexperienced in giving it as they were in using it. Today, in most countries, these barriers to future progress have been visibly lowered.

The situation that confronts us now is very different. In the early stages of development much could be accomplished with very little capital, by organizing half-employed rural labor to use hand tools on community projects, such as building roads or digging wells. Better seed could be introduced and more efficient farming methods taught. Sanitation projects could be built. Cottage industries could be developed. But these limited means are no longer adequate. Many underdeveloped countries are now reaching a point where their need is not for more such projects but for outside capital, soon and in quantity.

Food production per person must now be increased, radically and quickly. Any reclamation project to accomplish this will require dams and power installations, which mean major capital imports. Industry is equally essential, and not merely village handicrafts, but productive factories which will show the full benefits of modern technology. This means even more capital. And neither industry nor agriculture can survive without increased power supply and radically improved transportation—again more capital. The economic development of two continents is threatening to grind to a halt, before momentum can be achieved, simply because it is capital starved at the crucial point.

Our competitors and imitators, the Russians, have already begun to exploit this situation with attractive, if entangling offers. Russian grain elevators, hydroelectric plants, and irrigation installations are being built or planned in Afghanistan; a Russian steel mill is under way in India; a Russian techological institute is announced for Rangoon; a Russian nuclear physics laboratory is designed for Egypt; Russian fertilizer mills rise in Yugoslavia. All told, Russian economic aid to countries outside the Soviet bloc now totals at least $600 million and may have risen to $1 billion. Soviet offers are dangling before other hard-pressed countries in Asia and the Near East and Latin America as well.

Some of this Russian aid is as clumsy and ineffective as were our own early assistance projects, but there is no reason to doubt its reality. It is the more appealing to many countries, especially in Asia, because in offering it the Russians say, in effect: "We, like you, were once poor and weak and despised by the rich and arrogant countries of the West; but we have learned how to rise by our own efforts, without their aid. In a generation we have become so strong that even America fears us, and we will help you do the same thing." Few governments will choose stagnant poverty for their people rather than entanglement in this honeyed trap, especially if it is their only alternative.

But even if the situation abroad were less menacing, our economic relations with the underdeveloped countries would need to be reconsidered anyway. The foreign-aid bill before the last Congress was presented without enthusiasm by the Administration and approved reluctantly, with major reductions. As an indication of the general dissatisfaction, three separate committees have been created to restudy the whole foreign-aid program: one by the Senate, one by the House, and one—under the chairmanship of Benjamin Fairless—by the President. This dissatisfaction appears to result in part from the way military aid has been handled, in part from a growing recognition that our economic aims are not being achieved, and in part from pure confusion.

Confusion begins when you lump under the vague words "foreign aid" all sorts of transactions for all sorts of purposes. These include the $11 billion we spent, mostly through UNRRA, for emergency postwar relief and the $15 billion in loans and grants that went into the Marshall Plan and related efforts to get Europe back on its feet. Both programs were successfully, even brilliantly, completed and no further money is being spent for either one.

Nearly all of our recent "foreign aid"—about $25 billion in all—has gone to arm and maintain a ring of allies around the edges of Communist power. This sum includes more than $15 billion for weapons, equipment, and other direct military assistance, and some $8 billion to bolster countries (like Korea, Indochina, Formosa, Pakistan, Greece, and Turkey) which have been involved in actual warfare or are supporting armies far beyond their means. Of foreign-aid appropriations sought last year by the administration, seven-eighths were for defense aid, and of this two-thirds were for weapons.

The debate over these proposals was essentially a debate on military policy. The question in the minds of Congressmen had little to do with the economic problems of Asia and Latin America. What they were actually arguing about was whether American security was strengthened more by helping our allies or by spending the same money on our own Air Force. It is worth noting that the cuts of nearly $1 billion in the military aspects of the foreign aid were paralleled by an unsought increase of about the same amount in the Defense Department appropriation, to be used mostly for long-range bombers. The relatively minor sections of the bill relating to economic development received little attention.

What has happened, in fact, is that the bold new program envisioned by President Truman in the point IV passage of his 1949 inaugural has never really been undertaken. Almost a year and a half passed before any funds were appropriated. Immediately afterward, the Korean war broke out and diverted the national attention to military matters. When it ended we might have turned our energies to more vigorous efforts, but by then we had a new administration pledged to the reduction of oversea commitments and a congressional majority which for years had described all economic aid as Democratic globaloney. The Eisenhower administration has continued and even somewhat raised the level of purely economic aid in effect during President Truman's second term; but it has shown little interest in discussing foreign economic development as such, or doing anything decisive about it. As a result—though rapid economic progress for Asia, the Near East, and Latin America has been a stated objective of American foreign policy since 1949—we have only nibbled at the edges of the problem.

WHAT WE MUST DO, AND WHY

The trouble with American aid is not primarily that it has been too little. We are spending almost enough abroad already, so far as totals go. The trouble is that our aid has too often been nothing but a byproduct of other activities. We have been willing to pour out money to fight starvation or resist communism or arm allies or get rid of farm surpluses, but not to meet the realistic needs of economically backward nations. To break the grip of stagnation on those countries, and to start a process of self-sustaining growth, is the most challenging social and economic task the world has consciously faced. Quite possibly it cannot be done. But certainly it cannot be done by scattered and oblique efforts. If we really want economic progress in those areas we will have to make up our minds to it, and aim our foreign-aid policies specifically at that goal.

A new foreign-aid program must extend and expand our technical assistance if it is to be successful, and it must include a number of other elements. But its main component—its new central core—must consist of measures for assuring a flow of capital to the underdeveloped areas; and about these measures we should make six comments:

1. The need for capital cannot be met by savings and investment inside the underdeveloped countries. A critical portion must come from abroad, mostly from the United States.

One of the persistent illusions about our foreign-aid program, under both Democratic and Republican administrations, has been the wishful thought that we need provide only know-how and that somehow all the necessary capital will come from savings within the underdeveloped areas, or from private investors, or from hard loans by the World Bank or the Export-Import Bank. Much of the capital, of course, will be raised within those countries. The materials and labor involved must in any event come out of the local economy; that is, they will represent people or resources either not fully used before or else withdrawn from previous local use. But not all, not even nearly all, the capital can be raised this way. There are two reasons for this.

One is that the capital needs of a developing economy in its early stages are prodigious. You need everything at once: land-reclamation projects; hydroelectric installations; roads, railways, and port facilities; factories; schools and hospitals; and a thousand other things. To some extent, one is useless without the other; there is no point in building a railroad with nothing to haul, or a factory with no power resources or rail facilities, or a hydroelectric plant with no industries to supply. Once development is progressing rapidly, each year's new installations can be financed out of the annual increase in productivity. But until the process is underway, the tremendous increase in investment necessary to get it started can come only from the outside or from the most severe reductions in consumption—that is, in living standards.

A second reason is that the ability to build up capital resources depends on the country's capacity to import as well as the capacity to save. No amount of local savings can pay for machinery, steel, and equipment unless it can be translated into hard currencies. A Brazilian industrialist may have the cruzeiros to finance a new cotton mill, but he won't know whether he can get dollars for the new machinery until he knows how the coffee crop will sell. Though the developing countries can, as indeed they do, take measures to ration their imports, there is simply no way they can now increase their exports to the industrialized countries enough to pay for the capital goods they need.[1]

2. Private investment, though useful, will meet only a part of the need for foreign capital. Most of it will have to come from Government sources.

As a matter of fact, given the nature of the projects, most capital for the basic elements of economic development in all countries has to come from governmental sources. Even in the United States private enterprise alone cannot build schools, roads, port improvements, canals, irrigation and major hydroelectric projects, hospitals, and railroads.

[1] There are thus two gaps that cannot be closed without outside help; the gap between investments needed and what can be saved without coercion, and the gap between imports needed and what can be paid for by exports. As it happens, these gaps are generally of the same magnitude, and the dollars to cover the margin of imports will usually cover the margin of savings as well.

Nor will American or European investors buy Asian or Latin American bonds except in small quantities and at prohibitive rates. Direct investment has only limited appeal to American businessmen, in part because of the insecurity and restrictions imposed by foreign governments, but even more because the opportunities for investment in Canada and the United States itself are so rewarding. As a matter of fact, the net flow of private capital is into the United States and Canada, rather than away.

American and European capital is likely to be invested in volume only in the production of oil and raw materials which Western industries continually and inescapably need. Recently another area for investment has opened up in the foreign production of simple consumers' goods, so as to avoid the tariff and currency difficulties of direct export from the United States. Both these types of investment are well worth encouraging, especially for the experience in modern technology which they offer to thousands of customers, employees, managers, and civil servants and for the general stimulus to modernization which their presence provides. But no underdeveloped country can expect from this source a flow of capital in any way adequate to its needs, or aimed to satisfy its most acute requirements.

3. Once an underdeveloped country is investing as much as it can, we should provide additional capital as rapidly as the country can absorb it without waste. This is not likely to cost nearly as much as you think.

Our natural tendency has been to gauge the need for aid at the lowest amount that will avert disaster. But if our purpose is literally to help the underdeveloped areas reach a level of self-sustaining growth, then it is in our interest to provide, not as little as we can get away with, but as much as they can efficiently use. Quite apart from the political and the humanitarian arguments, the quicker these areas reach a self-supporting stage, the cheaper it will be for us. We were able to finish the Marshall plan quickly, successfully, and—for what was accomplished—cheaply, because we gave enough. If we had tried to make do with annual grants of half the size, we would still be pumping aid into enfeebled and stagnant economies today—if, indeed, discouragement and frustration had not already turned them to communism.

It is impossible, of course, to estimate precisely the annual flow of capital that can be usefully absorbed. Proposals have been made that each of the advanced countries should annually contribute 2 percent of its national income to an international development fund. This would involve an annual American contribution of some $8 billion. Though we could manage this, it is much more than the underdeveloped countries can use. About half the population of non-Communist underdeveloped countries is in India, and more than half the capital needs are probably in that country. Yet India's second 5-year plan would require outside capital, public and private, of only about $500 million a year. Even if we assume, as we probably can, that more rapid progress would be possible if larger funds could be had, the annual sum required in India would still remain below $1 billion.

On this basis, annual demands on us are not likely to exceed $2 billion annually. Dr. Max F. Millikan and Dr. W. W. Rostow of M. I. T., after a carful country-by-country study, concluded that the maximum possible capital flow from all sources that could be effectively used would be no more than $3.5 billion, even if all countries reached their highest needs for outside capital at once. Actually, about $2.5 billion is a more likely maximum for any 1 year, in view of the widely varying stages of development.

This is a very large sum. But it is not much more than half our present foreign-aid program, and most of the present program, however useful militarily and politically, is unproductive economically. The amount is easily within our means. An effective foreign-aid program requires far sighted intelligence, but it does not require visionary and impossible sums of money.

4. We can materially reduce the amount to be provided by the United States if we can enlarge, and most of all stabilize, the dollar income earned by the underdeveloped areas.

The principal source of dollars, for their imports and their savings, are the earnings from the exports of underdeveloped areas. Foreign payments for Latin American exports between 1950 and 1954 ranged between $7 billion and $7.5 billion a year, while the total flow of both public and private loans, grants, and investments averaged only about $450 million a year. A 10 percent fluctuation in the volume or price of exports would have done far more than the whole flow of aid and investments together to determine the area's capacity to import capital goods. Countries like Venezuela or Iraq—which have large, stable exports—need no foreign aid for development. The needs of other countries arise largely from their lack of exports or stable markets. Wild fluctuations in the prices of products like coffee and rubber do special harm, since a single bad year can bring a devastating halt to all development, and the uncertainty discourages prudent investors even in bonanza years.

Perhaps the single most important factor in the recent progress of underdeveloped areas has been the growing market for their exports. If we can maintain a large and reliable market for their products, the amount of aid they need will be greatly reduced, and their progress will move more rapidly into the self-supporting stage. Earlier efforts to stabilize the price of coffee, rubber, and similar products—undertaken by the producer countries alone and usually in periods of declining markets—have generally ended in failure. But carefully planned agreements could be made to work, barring a general economic cataclysm, if the major buying countries were seriously and responsibly to participate in them.

5. "Hard" loans should be used whenever the transaction calls for them, but most aid will have to take the form of grants, which will be cheaper in the long run.

Marshall plan aid came almost entirely in grants, as does our military and technical assistance. Both Congress and the administration, however, have seemed considerably uneasy at the idea of outright grants for economic development; and a number of verbal devices have been used to conceal the practice. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for example, has stated on the one hand that it prefers loans, not grants, but then again, it doesn't want the State Department to worry too much about collecting them.

This confusion of loans with grants is too bad, since it is likely to lower respect for obligations to pay, and make genuine loans from the World Bank or the Export-Import Bank that much harder to collect. Loans have important advantages in terms of self-respect for the borrowing country, and the prudence with which they are sought and used; but these advantages exist only when the loan is genuine, given because the borrower is a sound risk, and expects to repay in full. Many of the needs for capital in the underdeveloped areas meet such standards and can properly be met by businesslike loans. When that is so, they should be dealt with through the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank, and the resources of those institutions should be increased accordingly.

We should not exaggerate, however, the ability of the underdeveloped areas to repay. Even the United States, fortunate and relatively painless as was our economic growth, defaulted during the Civil War and the panics of 1873 and 1893 on a large part of the foreign capital we had borrowed for building our railroad network and other 19th century development needs. Most of the remainder was finally repaid only during the two World Wars, when desperate European need for imports from us built up enormous trade balances in our favor. If it is in our interest to make the growth of these economies self-sustaining at an early date, then our least expensive course is to make outright grants and let increases in productivity be plowed back into further investment, rather than into debt service.

6. Grants and loans for economic developments should be made through international channels, if effective ones can be devised.

At present, most international aid is given directly. This would be inevitable if the assistance were always given to forward the short-term political or commercial aims of the aid-granting nation. But if the purpose of the aid is indeed to assist economic growth, then there are powerful arguments for using an international channel. Above all, it allows the aid to be divorced from the shifting requirements of political policy, and permits it to be administered in the disinterested atmosphere of objective economic and technological considerations.

The Aswan Dam is a classic case. Though this seems to be technically a feasible project, its economic advisability is the subject of earnest debate. For Egypt to concentrate potential domestic savings and foreign aid for so many years on so vast a project, from which returns will be long deferred, would expose her to many problems. There would be strong inflationary pressures, and her Government might be insufficiently experienced to carry through so complex and lengthy an undertaking. Would not a series of smaller projects, from which earlier returns could be expected, be a better immediate objective? On the other hand, the Aswan Dam, if successful, would give the maximum return per dollar, and might very well be the only project of sufficient mass and drama to break through Egypt's cycle of poverty-breeding poverty.

Though these are grave questions, they are capable of reasonably objective answers. Yet I suspect that our earlier offer to give support for the Aswan Dam was not based primarily on such answers, and certainly our abrupt and peremptory withdrawal of the offer was not based on a revised judgment of the project itself. These politically governed decisions, as you would expect, initiated a whole series of other politically governed decisions that seriously, and perhaps hopelessly, set back the opportunities for rational economic growth in the Near East. Had the decisions been entirely in the hands of the World Bank, or an organization in a similarly disinterested position, we might have had strong and hopeful progress instead of embittered chaos.

Because the interest of the United States does coincide with that of the underdeveloped areas, we have the most to gain from channeling foreign aid through an international organization. This is particularly true in connection with the rapidly growing Russian program. This aid, skillfully administered for Russian political gain, may become an increasingly effective instrument of Soviet penetration. If so, it will leave the United States in the position of either abandoning some countries to Russian influence or entering an absurd competition in gifts. One way out of this dilemma would be to internationalize our aid, which would compel Russia to do the same or by implication admit her own political motives.

A further reason for using international channels is that many requests must be turned down for economic reasons even where national pride is emotionally involved. When an advanced country makes

such a refusal, ill will inevitably results; an international organization can much more easily afford the tough "No" when it is necessary. Also, the attachment of specific conditions to a loan or grant, frequently including supervision of its use, may often be necessary if the money is to be effectively used. This, like plain talk, is much more readily accepted from an international organization than from any single power.

There remain two serious questions. Does the United Nations have the machinery and the administrative capacity to handle a major aid program without its becoming a political football within the General Assembly and Security Council? Obviously the machinery of the U. N. itself is ill-adapted to so large an operation; but the record of the World Bank shows it is possible to create a special agency—insulated from direct political considerations, staffed by expert professionals, and free of the veto—which can act promptly and well. The proposals for a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), though vague as to administration, lie along this line.

The second is whether aid so predominantly from the United States can be made international by calling it so. If 75 or 80 percent of the contributions to SUNFED or any similar organization are provided by the United States, which seems unavoidable, won't the United States necessarily dominate the organization and be held accountable for its decisions?

This is not an easy question to answer. We are confronted with what Gunnar Myrdal has called the awkward fact of the United States bigness. No international organization, even the U. N. itself, has been entirely able to escape an unhealthy dependence on United States support. But United States dominance has not necessarily resulted. We provide most of the funds for the U. N. technical-assistance program and the World Bank, and the president and many of the senior executives of the latter. Yet they have been able to maintain a genuinely international character. The mere fact that policy decisions have to be openly discussed within an international board does much to assure recipient countries that aid is not being offered from concealed motives. Much would depend on the wisdom and self-restraint of the United States; if we are wise and farsighted enough to commit our grant program to the U. N., we will doubtless be wise enough not to forfeit the advantages by trying to exploit our position.

WHAT COMES FIRST?

The necessities of such a program as this have never been laid before Congress. The Truman administration did not go beyond technical assistance; the Eisenhower administration has done somewhat more, but has concealed most of what it has done under the name of defense assistance or surplus crop disposal. The belief has somehow been accepted that spending United States funds will be approved by the Congress and accepted by the people only on the grounds of immediate self-interest, preferably assessed in naked military terms.

Yet a look at the legislative record suggests the contrary. The Marshall plan, requiring a considerably larger expenditure than Asian aid is likely to, and offered to Communist and non-Communist countries alike, was approved in a Republican Congress, with bipartisan support and wide popular backing throughout its history, and is generally viewed today as a wise and successful undertaking. The point 4 program has similarly enjoyed enthusiastic popular support and in Congress has become almost noncontroversial. Even in the heated debates of the last session, it was not the economic aid but the military aid that was attacked and reduced.

There is a latent humanitarianism in the United States that feels an obligation to do what we can to make the benefits of technology available to everyone. There is also a growing awareness of how inseparably our own future is linked to that of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and a wide dissatisfaction with aid to those areas as it now is given. There is a widespread realization that only immediate and massive action can recover our position in the Middle East and avoid similar collapses elsewhere.

With the simultaneous fracturing of the Western and Soviet alliances, we have arrived at another of those turning points in history where our decision will shape the course of events for years to come. So far our reaction to the challenge has been narrowly and unimaginatively political, with the result that we alienated our friends in Europe and joined hands with the Soviets in the slim hope of courting favor among current regimes in the Arab world. We do right, as the British and French well know, to make certain that the Russians do not monopolize the role of champion, among the colonial and formerly colonial peoples, against the West. But we cannot do so by moralizing and legalisms empty of real content. We can do so only by openly asserting our long-range self-interest—by announcing unequivocally that the rapid growth to self-sufficiency of the underdeveloped areas is a fixed and paramount objective of United States policy.

Only the President can clearly and authoritatively state such an aim. And if, with his enormous prestige, he were forcefully to urge upon the Congress a well-constructed program for achieving it, Mr. Eisenhower would almost certainly get what he asked for. If he does not, the forces blindly opposed to any kind of aid will mobilize themselves in the vacuum, and a negative decision will be made by default. At the first international economic downturn, the slender margins of growth in the underdeveloped areas will be wiped out, leaving as the only alternative for half the world's people a road that leads into the future only by way of tyranny. We have fortunately been spared this decision long enough to learn that we can make it realistically, in careful concern for our own survival. President Eisenhower, freed by the election from any dependence on the bitter-end isolationists in his party, has the country behind him and an unparalled chance to exercise his leadership.

It will not come again.

The Revolt Against Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, there has been a revolt in this country against the ever-increasing cost of Government—a revolution that is certainly justified and long overdue.

Congress has been bombarded with a great volume of angry letters demanding that this spending orgy be brought to a halt. It has not been too difficult for those of us who have an antispnding record to reply. The letters, and in fact the revolution itself, are most encouraging to the antispenders.

It is my feeling that the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will be most interested in the comments of Douglass M. Allen, the Washington correspondent and columnist for the Cincinnati Times-Star, on this current issue:

VOTERS LIKE ECONOMY EXCEPT—

(By Douglass M. Allen)

WASHINGTON.—One of the toughest facts of political life that a Congressman must face is that every one of his constituents is for economy in government, except when the constituent's pet project is concerned.

And each seems to have a different pet project.

Also, no one pays any attention to the legislator's voting record unless one of those pet projects is up for consideration.

As an example, take the case of Representative GORDON H. SCHERER, Cincinnati Republican from Ohio's First District. Mr. SCHERER, now in his third term, is inclined to pinch Federal pennies until they look like something a child left on a railroad track in the path of the National Limited.

But right now he is trying to extricate himself from a continuous landslide of mail, demanding drastic cuts in President Eisenhower's budget. The unusual volume of correspondence is attributable largely to the campaign which the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Times-Star, and others have waged, urging tired taxpayers to write their Congressmen.

That is all to the good, in Congressman SCHERER'S opinion.

What hurts is that 90 percent of the letters accuse him, who has never voted for a nickel he didn't think absolutely vital, of responsibility for what the President is asking.

He has disguised his damaged feelings somewhat in the letters he has written in reply. But they're there for those who care to find them.

"During the time that I have been a Member of Congress," he writes, "I have received mail, with few exceptions, only from people urging some new or expanded activity of the Federal Government. It is surprising how many people are opposed to spending except when it comes to a project in which they have a special or selfish interest. Until this recent flood of mail, I often wondered whether people really wanted to stop this orgy of spending.

"Week after week," the solon continues, "I have received letters criticizing my votes against spending measures such as library grants, the Colorado River storage project, Federal aid to education, grants-in-aid to cities for sewage disposal plants, and the tremendous, never-ending foreign-aid programs."

Still, the Congressman is being blamed for all these and many more. It's a tough life, but it has some consolations, both for him and those who think like him.

For example, he hasn't had the slightest difficulty getting reelected twice, whether people know how he votes or not. And he isn't about to change his voting habits.

He's just sort of startled to learn that the people who elect him don't know why.

Louisiana Mardi Gras Ball Staged in Washington Is Gala Event

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. WILLIS. Several years ago, Louisianians in Washington, unable to celebrate the Mardi Gras season in their home State, decided to bring Mardi Gras to the Nation's Capital. To feature this

event they made it the occasion for appropriately honoring the queens of the Louisiana festivals dedicated to the State's principal industries.

Thus the Louisiana Mardi Gras Ball, promoted by the Louisiana State Society under the leadership of President Felix M. (Dan) Broussard, came into being, heralding an annual observance which has developed into one of Washington's most interesting and colorful entertainments, enjoyed by hundreds of Louisiana people and their guests each year. Members of the Louisiana delegation in Congress alternate as sponsors.

This year's ball, held in the grand ballroom of the Mayflower Hotel, Saturday night, February 23, and attracting more than 1,000 persons, honored the forest products industries of Louisiana. Serving as general chairman was Senator RUSSELL B. LONG, with President Broussard in charge of general arrangements. Ruling over their proud and loyal carnival subjects were Mr. Parrish Fuller, prominent business executive of Oakdale, as king, and Miss Barbara Boggs, daughter of Representative and Mrs. HALE BOGGS, of New Orleans, as queen.

Many of the Nation's leaders, headed by Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON, who presented the queen, joined in paying tribute to their majesties and to 26 lovely festival queens of Louisiana who, listed in alphabetical order, were:

Miss Marlyn Bradford, of Jena, Louisiana market poultry queen; Miss Eleanor Cammack, of Winnfield, forestry; Miss Yvonne Cheramie, of New Iberia, sugar; Miss Margaret Dellie Collins, of Bossier City, dogwood; Miss Martha Davis, of Lafayette, Lafayette Mardis Gras Association; Miss Lois Ann Doss, of Alexandria, domino queen; Miss Sherley Estes, of Iowa, Camellia; Miss Mary Jane Grace, of Baton Rouge, Greater Baton Rouge Mardi Gras; Miss Sondra Hogue, of Lake Charles, yambilee; Miss Janice Holloway, of Bogalusa, paper; Miss Carole Ann LeCompte, of New Orleans, spirit of Mardi Gras; Miss Suzonne Lindsey, of Bernice, peach; Miss Patricia Lormand, of Delcambre, Delcambre fishing industries; Miss Theresa Lovolpicello, of Buras, orange; Miss Eleanor McElveen, of Bogalusa, sweetheart of the American Legion; Miss Margie Moore, of Crowley, rice; Miss Billie Jon Mulhearn, of Bunkie, livestock and pasture; Miss Beverly Norman, of Shreveport, holiday in Dixie; Miss Nancy Precht, of Bell City, fur; Miss Flaudry Prejean, of Abbeville, dairyland; Miss Betty Clyde Ratcliff, of Bastrop, North Louisiana Delta; Miss Margaret Richardson, of Haynesville, farm bureau; Miss Raye Rogan, of Baton Rouge, oil; Miss Beth Rogers, of Saline, cotton; Miss Colelene Starn, of Bogalusa, rose; Miss Janet Vidos, Morgan City, shrimp.

The young ladies in waiting to the queen of the ball, also listed alphabetically, were Miss Peggy R. Angelle, of Arnaudville, La.; Miss Corinne Boggs, of Washington, D. C.; Miss Elizabeth Coulon, of Washington, D. C.; Miss Kendall Flanakin, of Silver Spring, Md.; Miss Marsha McFarland, of Baton Rouge, La.; Miss Priscilla Mullins, New Iberia, La.; Miss Diane Nelson, New Iberia; Miss Mary Charlotte Parrott, Alexandria, La.; Miss Anne Scheyd, Arlington, Va.; and Miss Stephanie Voorhies, Lafayette, La.

Joseph Martin Broussard, of Silver Spring, was captain for the pageant, with John Holden, of Silver Spring, and William Hogan, of Alexandria, Va., as aids. Pages to the court were Dennis and Keith Pyburn, sons of Mr. and Mrs. Keith Pyburn, Sr., of Washington.

Guest narrator was Walter Cronkite, of Columbia Broadcasting System. Charles Bornwasser, of New Orleans, was technical adviser.

Adding much to the brilliance of this year's ball, Senator LONG introduced the Krewe of Louisiana, composed of maskers in gay costumes whose number included United States Senators and leading professional and businessmen of Washington. They provided the real Mardi Gras atmosphere as they distributed favors among the ladies and danced with those of their choice during a call-out modeled after a famed institution of New Orleans carnival. There was also the Famous Door Five, straight from New Orleans' Bourbon Street, to play Dixieland jazz in the best manner. A pantomime number was presented by Miss Susan Dupre, of Ville Platte, La.

Among the many Louisianians who came to Washington to enjoy the 1957 Mardi Gras ball were a number from my congressional district. They included Mr. and Mrs. Ray "Moon" Mullins and daughter, Kathleen, and Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Nelson, all of New Iberia; Dr. and Mrs. F. H. Davis, of Lafayette; Miss Marian deGravelle, of Jeanerette, who was chaperone for the festival queens; and Mr. and Mrs. Earl H. Willis, Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Randazzo, Dr. and Mrs. John A. Foti, Miss Blanche Gauthier, and Mr. John Talley, all of my home town of St. Martinville.

Tight Money and Small-Business Panel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to call the attention of the House to a report of a panel at the western Democratic conference, held at San Francisco on February 15, 1957, under the chairmanship of the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN.

The report deals with the squeeze on small business as a result of this administration's tight-money policy, and urges the necessity for quick approval of House Resolution 85, providing for the Banking and Currency Committee to conduct a full investigation of national monetary and credit policies.

The problems of the small-business man are of concern to both Republicans and Democrats, and it is my hope that this report will receive careful consideration.

The report follows:

REPORT OF THE TIGHT MONEY AND SMALL BUSINESS PANEL

The panel on tight money reached the unanimous conclusion that home builders, construction workers, and small-business men were faced with a crisis of severe proportions unless the Federal Government intervened quickly to ease the tight-money squeeze. The panel's unanimous conclusions were particularly significant in the light of participation by many Republicans.

The reports by builders, building trades union spokesmen, and others emphasized the magnitude of the home-building crisis in the bay area. For example, from a level of 46,000 homes constructed in 1955 the number of starts fell to 30,000 in 1956 and current estimates indicate that the figure may fall below 20,000 for 1957 unless financing becomes more readily availaole quickly.

The cutback in housing has had substantial repercussions on the bay area economy. Unemployment among building construction workers is presently estimated at approximately 10 percent and the allied businesses connected with the building industry are already beginning to feel the impact. Similar views concerning the impact of the credit squeez were expressed by the president of the Northern California Merchants Association, who pointed out that the number of small business failures had increased markedly, particularly in the lumber industry which, in turn, had been affcted by the cutback in home building.

The problem confronting small-business men, home builders, farmers, and others affected by the tight money squeeze was depicted by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, panel chairman, as essentially a problem of what basic economic decisions were going to continue to be left in the hands of private bankers acting in behalf of private interests or either the Government would assume its inescapable responsibility to see that the Nation's monetary and credit policy is directed toward promoting the welfare of all groups in the economy.

Congressman PATMAN said that the "bug-a-boo" of inflation had been used as an excuse by the administration to raise interest rates; that inflation was not the real problem confronting the country as evidenced by the declines in agriculture, in home building, and the small-business squeeze

Joseph L. Eichler and other builders present agreed with Congressman PATMAN'S assertion that big business had had little or no difficulty in obtaining funds during the tight-money squeeze, while it had been literally impossible for homebuilders to procure mortgage funds at reasonable rates. For most of the year 1956, it was impossible for builders to obtain mortgage funds at any price and the supply of money available to small-business men was greatly curtailed and made expensive.

An extensive panel discussion, during which more than 30 individuals were heard, rejected as a possible solution to the money squeeze confronting small-business men, homebuilders, and others, the administration's proposal that interest rates should be permitted to rise, thereby attracting an increased flow of savings and making additional funds available for needed loans. Instead, the panel, with one exception, agreed that the time had come to end the interest spiral. What is needed to assure an adequate flow of funds into areas that are currently hit by the credit squeeze is a clear and unequivocal policy declared by the Federal Government that would provide the funds at reasonable rates should private industry continue to refuse to do so.

The panel specifically endorsed a Democratic congressional bill providing for direct Federal loans to support the GI mortgage market or, as an alternative, the investment of national service life insurance funds in

GI mortgages at par value and, if necessary, additional purchase support by a substantially enlarged Federal national mortgage association program. The panel emphasized the substantial harm and inequities resulting from the widespread and exorbitant mortgage discount practice and endorsed Democratic congressional bills prohibiting discounts on Government underwritten home mortgages.

Panel Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN, chairman of the House Small Business Committee, and Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, a member of the House Small Business Committee, both criticized the inadequate approach of the present administration to the problems confronting the 4½ million small-business men of the country. The panel unanimously endorsed the recommendations of the House Small Business Committee that a more vigorous program of antitrust be carried out by the responsible Federal agencies; that needed tax relief for small business be enacted promptly as promised by the President and the special Cabinet Committee on Small Business before the November election; and, finally, that the Small Business Administration expand its program of credit aid for small business and procuring a fair share of defense contracts for smaller manufacturers.

The panel also endorsed Representative ROOSEVELT'S recommendation that there should be created a Federal Small Business bank to help supply the missing link between the pools of individual savings and the small firms that have sound investment programs to offer.

The sense of the meeting was that at bottom, the solution of the basic long-term problem depended upon obtaining needed reforms in the monetary and financial structure of the country so that it would be more attuned to present-day needs of the country. In this connection, the panel expressed the hope that the Democratic National Conference can go on record and communicate its views to the chairman of the House Resolutions Committee regarding the urgent necessity for approving House Resolution 85, providing for the Committee on Banking and Currency to conduct a full and complete investigation and study with respect to any matter or matters in the field of national monetary and credit policies and the financial structure.

Representative WRIGHT PATMAN.
STANLEY CROOK.
JOSEPH L. EICHLER.

The Traffic Safety Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, the traffic safety problem is receiving a great deal of attention today, thanks to congressional recognition of the seriousness of the problem. This year over 40,000 persons will lose their lives in tragic, senseless highway accidents. Hundreds of thousands more will be injured and maimed, many for life. Billions of dollars will be lost as direct results of these accidents.

No nation in history has permitted such self-destruction on so great a scale, and yet we all but shrug it all off with the statement, "It was an accident." As if it could not be helped, or there was no explanation as to the causes into which we should investigate with a view to finding a solution to the problem. This fatalistic, it-happens-to-the-other-fellow attitude is dangerous and until the American motoring public faces the fact that it could happen to any of us and traffic safety is everybody's business we will never conquer the killer traffic accident.

For some time I have been of the opinion that there is more to the high way safety problem than mere mechanical or engineering elements. This has been the direction of our thinking on this subject thus far. However, there is the human element, also. It is into this human, psychological aspect of the causes of traffic accidents that I urged the Traffic Safety Subcommittee of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to go when I testified before that group last year. A recent article in the Washington Post points out that the Shell Oil Co. also is investigating this phase of the traffic safety problem. An hour-long TV drama entitled "No License To Kill" also recently dramatized the problem. Under leave to extend my remarks I include the Washington Post article:

IT'S YOUR ATTITUDE, IT'S NOT YOUR DRIVING, THAT COUNTS

NEW YORK.—Driving an automobile is a more exacting job than flying an airplane, steering an ocean liner, or running a train, according to the Shell Oil Co., which makes the point in the interest of highway sanity.

The company has sent along a series of tips on how to stay alive though driving an automobile—recommendations that vary from a simple admonition to keep one's eyes open to a complicated bid for a deliberate rearrangement of one's psyche.

It will be a giant step toward total traffic safety when psychologists and license authorities work out sound, scientific tests of driver attitudes and make these tests part of every State's license requirements, the Shell people note, because more and more, science is revealing that unhealthy driver attitudes are the real culprits behind our highway tragedies.

They cite the horrible example of Hank Forrester, hastening to point out that that's not his real name. Hank is "above average in ability to handle his car skillfully," the Shell people said. "He's in good health and has fast reflexes. And yet he invites accidents almost every time he drives."

"That's because Hank's attitude is all wrong," according to the company. "For him a car is not just a convenient, comfortable way to get from here to there. He uses a car to express himself.

"When he's mad, Hank drives furiously. When he's with a friend Hank shows off. He cuts corners. He weaves in and out of traffic. * * * Make no mistake, Hank handles a car well. He could pass the toughest road test a driving inspector could give. But with his license in his pocket, Hank forgets all about such things as a sense of responsibility. He's an unsafe driver. He cannot be trusted—with his own life or yours."

The attitudes that produce a Hank on the road are hard to find in a test and even harder to change. Emotions involve your ego, and that puts your on-the-road attitude roughly in the same category as religious feelings or political opinions, according to the Shell people. Have you ever tried to change someone's political views, even when you're armed with a bushel of facts?

Persistent educational campaigns may be the answer to the attitude problem, the Shell people suggest.

The company urges drivers to analyze their own feelings, and suggest the following self questions:

1. Do you feel that the laws are made for you? That by observing them, you help keep everyone who drives safe?

2. Do you realize that close shaves on the highway are not all the fault of "the other guy?"

3. Is your car a convenient, pleasant and comfortable way to go places, rather than a means of showing off or "letting yourself go?"

"If you say an honest 'yes' to these questions, you've just taken the first step toward changing your way of driving—for the better," asserts the company.

To illustrate its contention that "you can have perfect eyesight and still be an accident going someplace to happen," the Shell Oil Co. relates the story of William Smart. William scored perfect on his driving test, reading easily the smallest print on the chart.

"But Smart soon found himself in a collision with another car," according to the Shell people. "It was broad daylight. Neither car had ben speeding. The road was straight and level."

"He came from nowhere," said William.

"This typical complaint led to the finding that despite his excellent vision, Smart had been driving blind," report the Shell people, who explained:

One doesn't really see until one's brain gets the message from one's eyes and understands it. "If you drive absentmindedly, your brain does not 'pick up' what your eyes tell it," they said. "When a driver's mind wanders from the road ahead to the girl he left behind, he is in effect driving blind."

The company admonishes: "Keep your mind clear of irrelevant thoughts—think about driving. This permits anticipatory driving—keeps you ready for an emergency."

The company concludes:

"How is your perception? For example, when you're about to pass a car what do you perceive? The make of the car? Color? Year? Hardly. Such details shouldn't be important to you at this time."

And watch out for William and Hank.

Fort Strother, St. Clair County, Ala.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a speech given by Mr. Blair Jones, of Pell City, Ala., on historic Fort Strother, located in St. Clair County, Ala. The speech was delivered October 29, 1953, on the occasion recognizing the historical significance of Fort Strother. Fort Strother was extremely important to Gen. Andrew Jackson in his campaign against the Creek Indians in the War of 1812.

The speech follows:

FORT STROTHER, 1813–14, ST. CLAIR COUNTY, ALA.

The beginning of the Creek Indian war in 1813, which necessitated the erection of several forts, among them Fort Strother, can be charged to the powerful and eloquent Shaw-

noese chief, Tecumseh. His parents were born and bred on the banks of the Tallapoosa, removing later to Ohio where, in 1768, Tecumseh was born, one of triplets. He made several trips to Alabama in his youth, visiting his kin. Later, his visits were not of a pesceful nature. He came with the full purpose and intent to provoke his brethren to make war upon the advancing white men. His hatred of the Americans was intense and was kept aflame by the British.

The last recorded visit of Tecumseh to Alabama was in October 1812, at which time he was in a great measure, successful. The effects of his visit began to be realized in every corner of the Creek confederacy. The following year, 1813, the Indians became increasingly belligerent. The culmination came with the terrible massacre at Fort Mims on August 30, 1813.

Nowhere did the tidings from Fort Mims arouse more horror than in Tennessee, where the inhabitants daily expected an attack. September 18, 1813, there was a meeting of leading citizens in Nashville to consider measures of defense. They asked the legislature to authorize such a move, and at their request the Governor agreed to call out for immediate service the recently dismissed Natchez Volunteers.

A committee from the meeting on September 18 waited on Gen. Andrew Jackson. They found him in bed from the wound he received on the 4th of the month in the disgraceful affair with the Benton brothers; but, he expressed the greatest confidence in his ability to lead his division. He did, in fact, at once assume direction of the movement for defense, calling the volunteers to assemble at Fayetteville, Tenn., on October 4, arranging for supplies of food and ammunition, and writing many letters on all kinds of similar subjects.

Jackson sent General Coffee forward with 300 cavalrymen and hastened the preparation of the main body. On the 7th, he rode into camp weak and haggard and took personal direction of the army. Immediately, came urgent calls from Coffee who reported that he was about to be attacked. On the 10th, camp was broken and that evening they marched into Huntsville, 32 miles. On the next day he reached the Tennessee River at Ditto's Landing, a few miles south of Huntsville, and, crossing the river, united his forces with Coffee's; halted here a few days. October 22, he moved up the river from Ditto's in a southeasterly direction for 24 miles and laid out at the mouth of Thompson's Creek, the fortification which he called Fort Deposit.

Jackson's plan of campaign provided for a base of supplies on the Tennessee at its southernmost part, a military road thence for 50 miles to the Ten Islands on the Coosa, where another fortified post would be established for supplies and thence down the Alabama River system to Fort St. Stephens. By this plan he would establish a permanent line of communicaiton from east Tennessee to Mobile.

The second base was established between October 29 and November 3, 1813, 144 years ago. It was located at Ten Islands on the west side of the Coosa River in that part which became St. Clair County in 1818. The base was given the name Fort Strother, probably in honor of General Jackson's topographer, Captain Strother.

It is regrettable that the plans and specifications of this important post have not been found. It is believed by those who have made a study of the site that at least 80 acres of the level and rolling terrain was used in the construction of the main part of the base. A few years ago the location of the blacksmith shop and the main block house were easily identified. The site was well watered with springs which substantiates the evidence that an Indian village was located at this natural setting. Bushels of arrowheads and other Indian implements have been collected there. (I have with me several pieces loaned by Dr. and Mrs. Herschell Bass, of Gadsden, who formerly owned the Fort Strother site). Mrs. Bass's girlhood home is on the site and it is known today, as the graveyard of Jackson's men. Many soldiers dying of dysentery and other causes were buried there (another spot for marker). It was most commendable of the Frederick William Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Anniston, to erect a marker to Fort Strother. It was erected 35 years ago and is located within 75 feet of where one of the main houses stood.

It was at historic Fort Strother that General Jackson began and executed his extermination of the brave Creeks. On October 29, 1813, the small village of Littafutchee, on Canoe Creek between Ashville and Springville was destroyed. After this action, events followed in rapid succession. November 3, 1813, General Coffee with 1,000 men, among whom was the famous Davy Crockett, crossed the Coosa at Fish Dam a few miles above Fort Strother to subdue the Creek warriors assembled at the village of Tallesehatchee, near present Ohatchee, 13 miles from the fort. The engagement there resulted in a massacre of 186 warriors. Quoting from Davy Crockett's autobiography, "We shot them like dogs." About 50 years ago, this stone (inscribed, D. Crockett, 1814) loaned by Mr. W. H. McDonnald, of Ragland, was found at lunch time by a Negro axman working with Mr. T. E. Smith, a reputable surveyor, within the confines of Fort Strother; also, this adz was discovered by Dr. Bass on the premises.

On November 8, 1813, General Jackson, with an army of 2,000 men, left Fort Strother at midnight to fight the battle of Talladega. After that successful engagement he buried his 15 dead and marched back the 30 miles to Fort Strother as rapidly as possible, for he was out of provisions. Arriving there, he was mortified to find none at that point for him. Several days later lack of supplies and enlistment expirations were responsible for a serious mutiny among the militia and volunteers. The mutiny was stopped by the indomitable and arbitrary Jackson single-handed.

During the winter of 1814 General Jackson employed the few militia who remained with him at Fort Strother, after the battles of E'muck'fau and E'nita'chop'co, in constructing flat-boats to descend the Coosa with stores for the new army which was then being raised in Tennessee, which was to operate below.

When the army arrived at Fort Strother he embarked the stores in the flatboats, which were to proceed down the Coosa in charge of the 39th regiment, and, leaving a garrison of 450 men at Fort Strother, he began the march for the third time toward the seat of war. Within 5 days, about the middle of March 1814, Jackson reached the mouth of Cedar Creek, where he built Fort Williams.

Indeed, Fort Strother is a neglected and historic spot. Jackson, Coffee, Sam Houston, Davy Crockett, and 5,000 other heroes of the Creek campaign were quartered there. The United States DeSoto Expedition Commission in its final report established the fact that DeSoto, the famous Spanish explorer, about 1540 crossed the Coosa near the site of Fort Strother. In 1864 General Clanton, Confederate States of America, fought an engagement with the superior force of the Yankee general, Rousseau, near the same spot.

The site of Fort Strother is most accessible to visitors. It is 16 miles northeast to Ragland from Pell City, black top road; thence 8 miles on the new black top Ragland-Gadsden road to a sign on the right pointing to Hart's Ferry, thence three-fourths of a mile on a good dirt road. The Ragland road intersects highway U. S. 231-State 25, 5 miles north of Pell City.

The Farm Economy as Related to the State of Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, there are fundamentals in every line of endeavor in life and now is the time when we need to understand some of the fundamentals which play an important role in our agricultural economy. Mr. Carl Wilken, of Washington, D. C., is formerly from Iowa and has a lot of reasoning in his presentations. In this regard I should like to present here what Mr. Wilken has recently written in regard to the farm economy as it releates itself to my agricultural State of Iowa:

FREE TRADE CONCEPT

(By Carl H. Wilken)

After over a century of economic education throughout the world which held up free trade as the millenium there is no free trade. In fact there are more types of trade restrictions than at any period in world history. The reason is simple. The real trade barrier has been lack of income. Table VIII contains the record of imports and national income for the 25 years 1929–53. It will be noted that all the efforts of our move toward foreign trade under the Reciprocal Trade Agreement policy in the past 20 years has not increased the average rate of imports in terms of income. The conclusion which can be applied to all nations is that their trade is governed by the monetary payment involved.

The economic record of the United States in the year 1955 can be used to illustrate trade. As has been pointed out agricultural areas in the United States in the past 6 years have been underpaid. The author will use Iowa as a concrete example. The income of the State of Iowa in 1946–50 averaged $3.4 billion. If the State had received a comparable price for its production in 1955 its income would have advanced 53.5 percent, the increase in the national rate from 1946–50. This would have given Iowa an income in 1955 of $5.2 billion as compared to an actual income of $4.2 billion. Society underpaid Iowa $1 billion in 1955 and lost a market for $1 billion of goods and services in Iowa.

The record of Iowa proves that the State spends 70 percent of its income for goods at retail. Therefore the businessmen of Iowa lost $700 million of retail sales. There was no tariff between Iowa and industrial areas, but this amount of trade did not and could not exist because of underpayment for farm products. Almost every industry in the United States lost some share of this market which should have been created with new farm production.

Finally the people in the State of Iowa lost the profit inherent in this additional income for expansion of the economy of the State. The loss of this income reduced the tax revenues available for schools and roads. It reduced the level of bank deposits which would have been available for credit.

A similar happening took place in every State in the Union in its agricultural areas in 1955 as rural America was underpaid $16 billion. Again stating it bluntly rural America in 1955 was the victim of unintentional exploitation by industrial America. The happening in Iowa has been duplicated for many years in every area in the world.

SUBMARGINAL FARMING

Economists in every State are preaching the gospel of submarginal farming and telling the people that there are too many farmers. If their theories are accepted and put into practice it will mean greater centralization of industrial production and an exploited rural America with ghost towns and a further loss of markets for American industry.

Their theories bypass the fundamental laws of nature which require the use of submarginal operations. We have submarginal farms from the standpoint of soil and climate; we have submarginal mines and oil wells; we have submarginal labor and submarginal corporations.

Again using Iowa as an illustration, the young farmer in Iowa because of a lack of earnings and savings cannot buy a farm and the necessary equipment. He is forced to start as a tenant with the hope that he can earn the funds from operating a farm. These young men today are in a serious price squeeze as the result of too low a level of farm prices. Many of them are being forced to leave the farm not because they are inefficient or operating a low-grade farm but because society is not paying a comparable price for the food and other farm products being used.

Testimony by Mrs. Loretta Johnson, for St. Louis Consumer Federation, in Support of Compulsory Poultry Inspection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, one of our outstanding women in St. Louis, a leader in the St. Louis Consumer Federation, Mrs. Loretta Johnson, testified last week before the Senate Agriculture Committee on legislation to require Federal inspection of poultry for wholesomeness.

Mrs. Johnson's statement was concise and to the point. It explains why we must have compulsory inspection of poultry for wholesomeness and how such a program should be carried out in order not only to protect the consumer but to help the small poultry processor as well.

I am indeed pleased that Mrs. Johnson's statement endorsed in all details the bill which I arranged to have prepared on this subject last year, and which I reintroduced this year as H. R. 12. Under this bill, poultry would be brought under the terms of the Meat Inspection Act, which for more than half a century has protected us from diseased or unwholesome red meats. H. R. 12 would amend the Meat Inspection Act to require inspection of poultry and poultry products in the same manner in which beef, lamb, and pork must be inspected.

As Mrs. Johnson points out in her statement:

By adopting the standards and definitions of the Meat Inspection Act, long-drawn-out litigation and discussions over terminology would be avoided and still provide for antemortem and postmortem inspection of poultry.

Mr. Speaker, because of the widespread interest in this whole question of poultry inspection, and because of the concise manner in which Mrs. Johnson outlined this problem and its solution, on behalf of the St. Louis Consumer Federation, I am submitting her statement for inclusion in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY ST. LOUIS CONSUMER FEDERATION TO SENATE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 28, 1957, RE COMPULSORY FEDERAL INSPECTION OF POULTRY AND POULTRY PRODUCTS FOR WHOLESOMENESS; AND IN SUPPORT OF BILL S. 1128

I am Loretta Johnson, of 4416 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Mo. I am a member of, and public relations adviser to, the St. Louis Consumer Federation, and I am here to represent that federation.

The aims of the St. Louis Consumer Federation are: To inform and educate consumers to become more intelligent buyers, and to see that the interests of consumers are represented and protected in legislation. We operate entirely with volunteers and have no paid officers or personnel. A week ago today, on founders day, celebrating the 104th anniversary of the founding of Washington University, our former chairman, Marion Wilson Weir, received an alumni citation from the Graduate School of Social Work in part "because of her tremendous personal leadership * * * as chairman of the St. Louis Consumer Federation * * * and because of her effective work in advancing consumer interests over the Nation as a director of the National Association of Consumers."

The St. Louis Consumer Federation believes that it is economically correct to prevent disease whenever possible, rather than to pay for the cure of it. Therefore, and on behalf of the federation, I am here to plead for mandatory Federal inspection of poultry and poultry products for wholesomeness. This plea, we believe, is in the interest of public health and of value to workers in the poultry industry and to consumers.

We believe that poultry inspection must be at the Federal level—as meat inspection is—since much of the poultry and poultry products cross State boundaries.

We please, also, for compulsory Federal inspection of poultry and poultry products in some intrastate areas, particularly around big cities, if the intrastate poultry and poultry products sold in the city affect or burden the conditions under which interstate poultry is shipped into that city.

We ask that poultry inspectors be employees of the Government rather than of the firms whom they inspect.

We ask that every poultry carcass and all poultry products that have been federally inspected and passed be stamped by a Federal stamp as is meat; and that the stamp be large enough to be easily read with the naked eye.

We believe, after careful study, that the least expensive way to provide for effective poultry inspection is by amendment of the Meat Inspection Act (34 Stat. 1260, as amended) and the Tariff Act of 1930 (46 Stat. 689, sec. 306) by adding poultry and poultry products to the list of animals and animal products to be inspected for wholesomeness. For 50 years the Meat Inspection Act of 1906 has been quite successful in protecting consumers against meats which are unwholesome, unhealthful, or otherwise unfit for human food. By adopting the standards and definitions of the Meat Inspection Act, long-drawn-out litigations and discussions over terminology would be avoided and still provide for antemortem and postmortem inspection of poultry.

We believe Federal inspection of poultry for wholesomeness will have beneficial effect for small packers, because the Federal stamp on each carcass will assure consumers that the poultry sold by the little packers is just as wholesome as that sold by the bigger packers who have advertising advantage. Federal inspection will open up new markets for small packers of poultry—as it has in the case of meat inspection—and will enlarge their purchasing power, so that they can compete more readily with bigger packers; it will also give retail stores more choice as to whom they will go to buy their poultry and poultry products.

Our experience as housewives has taught us the meaning of the adage, "a stitch in time saves nine"; we therefore plead that any proposed compulsory inspection bill or amendment to the Meat Inspection Act be searched for loopholes; and that any loopholes found be mended before the bill or amendment is passed into law.

How to Save $55,500,000

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, recently Interior Secretary Seaton favorably recommended a partnership approach to the Trinity River development. During the last session of Congress we authorized him to investigate the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s proposal to buy falling water from the project as an alternative to the Federal Government making heavy investments in the power phases of the project. It would appear that partnership with the power company would not only save the Federal Government at least $55,500,000 in capital costs, but also would, over the 50-year life of the proposed contract, result in the power company paying $135 million in taxes to State and local governments. The following editorial opinion regarding the proposal was contained in a recent issue of the Los Angeles Times:

PRIVATE POWER AND RECLAMATION

The recommendation of Secretary of the Interior Seaton that the reclamation plans for the Trinity River development be teamed with the offer of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. appears to be in the public interest.

The partnership plan would not only save the Federal Government at least $55,500,000 in capital costs but would return to the Treasury and to State and local tax gatherers about $135 million in taxes during the 50-year life of the contract. At the end of that time the Federal Government, if it desired to acquire the power plants, would pay P. G. & E. only the unamortized costs plus reasonable severance damages. The Secretary says the unamortized costs remaining would be very small but recommends that more specific arrangements as to severance damages than are now found in Federal power law be provided.

Considering that the Trinity River project would cost the Federal Government an estimated $225 million without the P. G. & E. building the power installations, it would seem the Federal taxpayers—and the people of California are heavy Federal taxpayers—should be spared the additional cost.

The Secretary also notes that the surplus project revenues during the 50-year contract would amount to $165 million, which could be used for the construction of other reclamation projects in the area.

"Under the present Central Valley rate structure," the Secretary says, "the Trinity power facilities, if built by the United States, would require substantial assistance from other project revenues in order to meet payment requirements. Joint development under the proposed agreement would convert Trinity falling water into a substantial net asset of the project."

The proposed contract will require the assent of Congress and no doubt will be fought by the fanatics of so-called public power development. But the figures submitted by the Secretary, and the use of plain common sense, would seem to indicate that private development is best for the interests of everybody.

M. Sgt. James Fox, of Packanack Lake, Reenlists at 61 for Duty With Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the Passaic, N. J., Herald News last Wednesday carried the following news story regarding M. Sgt. James M. Fox, of Packanack Lake, N. J.:

M. SGT. JAMES FOX, OF PACKANACK LAKE, REENLISTS AT 61 FOR DUTY WITH ARMY

PACKANACK LAKE—M. Sgt. James M. Fox, of 208 Hillcrest Drive, has enlisted in the Army for another hitch. He is 61 years old. He was sworn in at Newark Recruiting Station by his son, Maj. James H. Fox, of the Air Force Research and Development Center, Baltimore, Md.

Today, Sergeant Fox will pin the silver oak leaf on his son's shoulders. He is being promoted to lieutenant colonel. Col. Fox is 37 years old.

Sergeant Fox is a veteran of the Mexican border campaign, World War I and World War II and the Korean war. He left the Regular Army after the first world war and joined the National Guard. He had been wounded in the Argone while serving with the infantry. He was recalled to duty in

His son is a graduate of the Missouri School ing duty in Hackensack.

His son is a graduate of the Missouri School of Mines, served with the Army Engineers before transferring to the Air Force and was a B-29 pilot before his present assignment to research and development.

Mr. Speaker, I have been privileged to know Sergeant Fox as a close personal friend for many years and he is one of the most patriotic-minded men I have ever met. He loves everything American, particularly the United States Army. He would be a lost soul if he were not in uniform.

I shall never forget my meeting with the sergeant in Seoul, Korea, during the fighting early in 1952. I saw Gen. James E. Van Fleet, commanding the United Nations Forces, put his arm across the sergeant's shoulders saying, "Congressman, you say you are proud of him, well I want you to know that we are too."

What a picture it must have been last Thursday when this 61 year-old sergeant pinned a silver oak leaf on the shoulder of his 37-year-old son, Lt. Col. James H. Fox, United States Air Force.

Fat Jobs for Faithful

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROSS BASS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Peter Edson:

FAT JOBS FOR FAITHFUL

(By Peter Edson)

Any fear among the Republican Old Guard that the Eisenhower administration isn't taking care of the party faithful with fat jobs shouldn't be taken too seriously.

The payoff of contributors to Republican campaign funds of 1956 is proceeding apace. Since January there have been at least seven contributors appointed to high patronage jobs. Here is the list, with the amount of their gifts to the GOP, as given by Senator GORE's campaign-expenditure's report:

Twenty-four thousand five hundred dollars—John Hay Whitney, Ambassador to London.

Six thousand dollars—Amory Houghton, Ambassador to Paris.

Three thousand dollars—James D. Zellerback, Ambassador to Rome.

Two thousand dollars—Lewis W. Douglas, reappointment to United States Advisory Committee on Information.

One thousand dollars—Robert Dechart, General Counsel, Defense Department.

Nine hundred dollars—Leon Pierson, United States attorney for Maryland.

Five hundred dollars—Edward Foss Wilson, Assistant Secretary for Health, Education, and Welfare.

To this list should be added the names of two of the above appointees' wives. Mrs. Whitney contributed $9,000, Mrs. Zellerbach $4,500. This brings the total of these jobholders' contributions to $53,400.

In addition to these recent handouts, it is, of course, a matter of record that during the first Eisenhower term, political appointees to top policymaking jobs were well taken care of with salary increases.

The Executive Pay Act of 1955 increased the salaries of 257 political appointees by a total of $1,250,000 a year. This was to carry out a campaign promise to economize. Natch.

Eleven deputy secretary-rank jobs were raised from $18,000–$20,000 level to $22,000–$22,500. Twenty-two policymakers having the rank of under secretary were raised from $17,500 to $20,000. And 23 assistant secretaries were upped from $16,000 to $20,000.

Below these Cabinet and sub-Cabinet jobs, 184 directors, administrators, commissioners, and the like were raised from $15,000 to $20,000 and 35 more from $14,800 to $17,500.

All these increases were, of course, made to attract higher type executives to Government service. Natch.

What sticks out in all this, however, is how many more of the high administrative types the present administration needs to run the Government than the previous administration did.

President Truman listed 12 White House secretaries and administrative assistants. President Eisenhower lists 38. Total White House employment is up from 140 in 1953 to over 300.

The late James G. Forrestal, first Secretary of Defense, ran the Pentagon with eight principal assistants, no deputies, no under or assistant secretaries.

Today, Secretary Wilson has a deputy and 9 assistant secretaries, plus 3 special assistants and a personnel staff of 11. And each of the assistant secretaries has from 3 to 23 special assistants apiece.

Department of State used to have six assistant secretaries. Now it has eight. Treasury used to have 1 under secretary and 2 assistant secretaries. Now it has 2 unders and 3 assistants. Justice used to have 7 assistant attorneys general. Now it's 9.

Army, Navy, and Air Force used to get by with 1 or 2 assistant secretaries. Now each service has four.

Agriculture, Interior, Commerce, and Labor formerly had 1 or 2 assistant secretaries. Now they have three apiece. There wasn't any Department of Health, Education, and so forth. Now there's a secretary, undersecretary, and three assistants.

This is apparently just the beginning. A letter has now gone out from the White House telling all department and agency heads to make up new and bigger lists of top policymaking jobs which shall be exempt from the career civil service. What they want is greater efficiency through more patronage plums. Natch.

Let's Give Up Hate for Lent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an article by Phyllis McGinley which appeared in the American Weekly yesterday.

The appeal of the article is that, for 40 days, each of us strive to rid himself of hate, a poison more spiritually deadly than cancer. Hate, if indulged, can sap our moral fiber and gnaw away at such lofty purposes as we possess, leaving us in the end bankrupt of any capacity for constructive leadership.

I earnestly commend the article to the careful reading of every Member of Congress. Not only would its suggestion, if followed, provide a useful exercise for each of us individually, but I am convinced that great good could come of it for the Nation.

The article follows:

LET'S GIVE UP HATE FOR LENT

(By Phyllis McGinley)

Lent is the time of year when even the impenitent make resolutions. In this gray season, something in the human spirit reaches out for the sackcloth and the ashes.

All too often, of course, the resolve is only a stylish stereotype. We give up some little luxury which disagrees with us or which we have always disliked anyhow. The sleepless abstain from coffee. The overweight stop nibbling between meals and therefore pat their halos. Young ladies with complexion problems refuse chocolates.

I am reminded of the sacrifice nobly arrived at by a small daughter of mine when she was 4 or 5. It was just after the war when we were caught up in a campaign for feeding the refugees of Europe, and every household was assembling provisions for shipment abroad. We were touched when she, eager little soul, proposed packing a carton of her own. On examination the box was found to consist entirely of jars of prunes, cans of spinach, and a large bottle of cod-liver oil—all her most detested daily fare.

Now there is merit even in such giving. God, we are told, accepts our charity although it may be proffered for less than saintly reasons. And 6 weeks' restraint of even our mildest failings can do us no harm.

But how much more useful if we could discipline our hearts along with our appetites. If, for instance, we could give up not candy or cocktails but our most dangerous self-indulgence—the habit of hating.

Forty days of trying to like our neighbor, odd as he may seem; 40 days of attempting to understand his point of view, of bearing with his faults which are so much the same as ours—how strange and enlightening an experiment that might prove. It would, indeed, entail a giving up beyond all our previous efforts.

For there are few indulgences so satisfying to the ego as hate. Its taste can seem sweet as honey on the tongue. It can fill the mind as deliciously as romance. Hate is the solace of the fanatic, the crutch of the lame-spirited, the ladder upon which small-minded men can perch and think themselves tall. And who of us is quite free of its taint?

So this Lenten exercise would be strenuous and difficult. We would have to start modestly; not expect to become St. Pauls all at once. It might be well to practice nonhating on the nearest object of our rancor, or perhaps the most impersonal. We could stop resenting the voices of the children next door or the alarm clock.

From there we could work up to nonhating the editorials in the opposition newspaper or the temperature or the way our friends impose on us. (I think I shall begin by trying to forgive the deliveryman who always leaves the back gate ajar.) Small boys could give up hating their homework and tidy housekeepers forgive the muddy-footed.

From there, who knows? Losers might learn to like winners. Extroverts might tolerate the moody, intellectuals discover the good points of true-believers. Democrats and Republicans might find it is in themselves to give up hating Republicans and Democrats. Likewise conservatives and liberals, the orthodox and nonconformists, anti-segregationalists and their opposite numbers.

Finally, nations might take a straight look at other nations and do it without scorn.

Forty days of uprooting hate and replanting the heart's soil with charity—what a job that would prove for us poor, weak, opinionated (but on the whole quite decent) members of the human race. But what a sowing it could be—and if the habit remained, what a harvest.

United States Highway 41

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD, House Resolution 17, adopted February 25, 1957, by the House of Representatives of the Indiana General Assembly:

House Resolution 17

Whereas, United States Highway 41 extends from Copper Harbor, Mich., on an island in Lake Superior, to Miami, Fla., on the Atlantic Coast; and

Whereas, it is a natural, scenic highway linking the glorious Lakes Region of the northern midwestern States to the sun-bathed shores of the Gulf of Mexico and the breathtaking beauty of Miami Beach; and

Whereas, coursing through eight States, this highway in and of itself must be considered as a primary artery in the flow of commerce and an enjoyable route in the tourists' search for motoring pleasures, there are few routes equal to it, as thousands of vacation-bound travelers will attest; and

Whereas, the State of Indiana has understandable interest in this national highway, which passes through 10 western counties, and through some of our largest and more important cities, through highly industrialized areas and rich rolling farmlands; and

Whereas, the welfare of the State of Indiana necessarily dictates that our attention continue to be focused upon our fine highways, and in our efforts to advance and further the development of our highway system, we should take advantage of all means available to accomplish this end: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of this 90th General Assembly,

SECTION 1. That the Bureau of Public Roads, Department of Commerce, be memorialized to include United States Highway 41 in the national highway program; and

SEC. 2. That a copy of this resolution be sent to each Senator and Representative of this State in Washington, D. C.

Texans Pay Tribute to Grand Lady

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in the Thursday, February 21, 1957, issue of the Shamrock Texan, an outstanding weekly newspaper published in Shamrock, Tex., there appeared a feature story written in the fine hand of Mrs. George Stanley, an outstanding newspaperwoman who has worked for the Texan for a number of years. Her subject was a grand lady of the Panhandle of Texas, Mrs. Fred Oliver. Mrs. Oliver is the mother of a man who moved along the halls of the Capitol for a number of years, made an outstanding mark in the history books of the Congress and the Nation, and who presently serves in a judicial capacity here in Washington. She is the mother of Eugene Worley who represented with high honor for several terms the great 18th Congressional District of Texas. Many of you have had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Oliver on her visits to Washington to see her famous son.

It is an excellent story of a fine lady, and I wanted to pass it on to all of the Members of this House and others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TEXAN PAYS TRIBUTE TO GRAND LADY

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Texan seldom publishes a feature story without first obtaining permission from the person about whom the article is written. The following story about Mrs. Fred Oliver is an exception to this policy. Material and the picture were obtained without her knowledge in an effort on the part of this newspaper to pay tribute to a grand lady.)

(By Mrs. George Stanley)

When the pretty young woman, her new husband, and her little brood of three children rode into Shamrock in a model T sedan back in 1921, even the most loyal citizens would admit there wasn't much to write home about.

Wooden buildings. Hitching racks. Dusty streets. No sewers. And the lights went out at 11 o'clock—sharp.

Those were the days when one of the places you got your drinking water with a bucket and rope, was inside Kersh's hardware store, and no one minded if you emptied your bath water on Main Street.

But that was 36 years ago. And, in these 36 years, Mrs. Fred Oliver, one of Shamrock's proudest residents, has had plenty to write home about.

One son, Seibert Worley, is mayor of Shamrock. Another son, Eugene Worley, went to the Texas Legislature, to Congress, and then to the United States Court of Customs and Patents Appeals. A daughter, Mrs. Louise Fields, is librarian at Army headquarters in Pennsylvania. There are 4 grandchildren and 1 great-grandchild.

And, as for Shamrock, it's flourished, too, because of energetic and enthusiastic boosters like Mrs. Oliver.

For a young southern belle, the daughter of a gallant Confederate soldier who received the Southern Cross of Honor for his role in the Civil War, the Texas plains were a far cry from the wooded rolling hills and streams of Georgia.

Mrs. Oliver's father, like her son, was a mayor—and everyone in Cartersville, Ga., knew that Mayor Johnson's daughter could play the piano and sing like a nightingale. Many of her friends urged her to go into concert music. Once in St. Louis the great actress Sarah Bernhardt heard her sing and urged her to go on the stage.

But Idelle Johnson was interested in bringing music into the lives of those she loved in another way. She married and moved to Oklahoma, where shortly after the first World War, she was left to support her three small children. She did this by opening a room-and-board house in Altus, and later in Sulphur, Okla.

Next to the delicious smells of the kitchen, her children remember best the evenings when their mother would read and counsel them. Devout in her faith, she is a member of the Christian Science Church and has made frequent trips to Boston, Mass., to study at the international headquarters of the mother church.

It was in Sulphur she met and married the late Fred Oliver. The couple set out for Texas in 1921 where he had purchased the Liberty Theater in Shamrock.

Mrs. Oliver's cheerful face has been a familiar sight to all the youngsters of Shamrock for the past 2 generations. In depression days when 10 cents admisison was hard to find, children knew that she would accommodatingly turn her head and allow them to slip past and see the movie free. And more often than not, a bag of popcorn found its way into the hands of the hungry youngsters.

Her interest in her fellowman and her work with youth was recognized when Gov. James V. Allred appointed her to the State pardon and parole system of the area. Mrs. Oliver assisted many boys in finding good jobs and took pride in the fact that they kept in touch with her and stayed out of trouble.

During their first days in Shamrock, the Oliver family lived in quarters above the theater. One of the most vivid memories shared by Seibert and Gene Worley is lugging buckets of water up the steep stairs, heating it on a coal stove, and taking their baths in a No. 3 washtub. Afterward the bath water had to be carried back down and was generally emptied right on Main Street.

The Worley boys claim that their lifelong aversion to frequent baths stems from this memory.

Mrs. Oliver took great pride in the role of the theater in the community life. Actively working with her husband in the management of the theater, she was most interested in booking good pictures for Shamrock. This sometimes meant a 10-hour trip in a Model T to Oklahoma City, a round of selecting pictures, and the long journey home which was all too frequently interrupted by the sand and chug holes in the roadbed.

One of the most memorable bookings was "Abie's Irish Rose," which she got for Shamrock even though it was reserved only for larger cities. People from all over Panhandle came here for that production.

Pictures have changed a great deal in 36 years, and Mrs. Oliver has seen the theater business grow from the old-fashioned opera houses with their silent films and overhead fans, to talkies, Technicolor, CinemaScope, air conditioning and drive-ins.

When her children went off to college, her weekly letters with a note of encouragement and affection, plus as much financial assistance as possible, were the highlight of the week.

She encouraged her son, Gene, to make a run for the Texas legislature, even though the veteran politicans were saying he didn't have a chance. She was his ardent campaign manager and what they lacked in political experience, they made up for in energy. Until late in the night, Mrs. Oliver would write letters, make telephone calls, and hope for the best.

Her hopes were not in vain, for not only was he elected to the legislature, but under her wise counsel and guidance he came on to represent the whole Texas Panhandle for 5 terms in Congress until he was appointed to the Federal bench by President Truman.

Mrs. Oliver still has a keen interest in politics and enjoys a trip to Washington to visit with some of the lawmakers who gather frequently for chili suppers in the Worley home. On her visits she has met over the chilibowl, President Truman, Speaker Sam Rayburn and too many Supreme Court Justices and Senators to enumerate.

Washington, she enjoys in small doses. No amount of persuading can lure her into leaving Shamrock to live anywhere else. Surrounded by her friends, her fine collection of antiques and china, she enjoys most her own little part of the world. It is the part of the world she loves best. It is the part of the world which she has filled with the music of her own heart.

Power in the Northwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Washington Evening Star for Tuesday, February 26, 1957. In my opinion this editorial presents constructive thinking. I urge my colleagues to give serious attention to this excellent editorial:

POWER IN THE NORTHWEST

The Wall Street Journal, in a report from the Pacific Northwest, has cited some impressive figures that tend to pull the rug out from under Senator MORSE and other politicos who have been clamoring for a vast Federal dam-building program in that part of the country. The figures leave little room for doubt that the clamor, which has included all sorts of dire predictions about an imminent and critical power shortage, has had a considerable amount of hot air in it.

Actually, according to these figures, private companies and local governmental agencies in the Pacific Northwest have been doing a tremendous dam-building jobs of their own. In fact, as the Journal reports, they now have approximately 4.6 million kilowatts of hydroelectric power under construction, just completed or definitely licensed for development, and they are seriously considering projects designed to produce an additional 4 million kilowatts. In the words of one utility official, this postwar program has been the largest of its kind ever undertaken at any one time in any single area in the history of America. By way of contrast, all the Federal dams built in the same region in the past 25 years amount to no more than 4.6 million kilowatts.

Indeed, after looking over the Northwest's private and local public utility accomplishments of recent years, the head of the Federal Bonneville Power Administration—which a year ago warned of a near-future serious shortage in electrical output in the region—now asserts that the danger of a crisis has been deferred until at least 1964 or 1965. All of which makes one wonder about the accuracy of the information that has led Mr. MORSE and like-minded legislators to predict a sort of calamity unless our National Government steps into the picture and goes on a dam-building spree.

The Natchez Trace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROSS BASS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by H. L. Coppenbarger:

(By H. L. Coppenbarger)

In the beginning—the beginning being the birth of America—there were only the buffalo paths and Indian trails.

But America grew from its outer edges—the Original Colonies in the Northeast, the Spanish in the Southeast, and the French in the length of the Mississippi Valley.

So it was that the buffalo paths and Indian trails became connecting links between the white man's outposts in the new world.

One of the most famous of these was the Natchez Trace.

The only land route between the East and the busy, growing Southwest, the Natchez Trace wound through 500 miles of Indian territory from Nashville, Tenn., to the Mississippi town for which it was named. From this point it was a short ride down the river to New Orleans.

In 1800 the United States made the trace a post road and, as such, it was cleared, widened and smoothed off by Federal soldiers.

Toward the latter part of the 19th Century the old road entered into decline. The steamboat was a more dependable means of transportation. And there were the railways.

Some sections of the trace were abandoned and the ground given over to cotton, corn, or tobacco.

But the trace wouldn't die. The hundred years of its life had worn it deep into the face of the earth. A half-century later many abandoned sections of it were still identifiable.

Between Port Gibson and Natchez, Miss., travel and rain-washing left a sunken roadway overhung by solid lines of huge oaks, dripping moss. It was a veritable hallway, with the sunlight filtering through the leaves.

The trace wasn't forgotten. Historians and novelists found a wealth of tales in its lifetime—of highwaymen and gamblers, of roguery and romance.

It was these historians, both amateur and professional, who led the movement in the early 1930's to get the trace restored.

The States began to acquire lands. In 1937 construction was started by the National Park Service with Federal funds.

Today, 205 miles of the trace have been restored as a part of the National Park System.

It isn't the same trace, to be sure. Where it was a dirt path, with logs laid in the river-bottom stretches and ferries to cross the rivers, there is now a paved highway and bridges.

But the romance is there. The huge oaks, as old as the trace itself and festooned with Spanish moss, are still there.

And there are markers and museums to revive the life and the legends of the trace's times.

Of the 205 miles already restored, 125 miles are paved, 38 gravel-surfaced, and 18 dirt-surfaced, with 24 more under grading contract.

One of the major, and most popular, sections is the 79 miles between Ridgeland and picturesque old French Camp, Miss.

A simulated-log museum stands at Ridgeland as an information center for visitors. The Parkway has no commercial traffic, advertising, service stations, or restaurants. It is pure, unspoiled scenic beauty.

Its recreational areas, swimming areas, and picnic areas are relatively "undiscovered," and, because of the huge area they cover, probably never will be crowded.

The National Park Service expects virtual completion of the 450-mile parkway by 1966. When completed, it will extend from Natchez, across Mississippi and the northwest corner of Alabama to Nashville, Tenn.

ROAD TO A PILGRIMAGE

March is an especially pleasant time to traverse the improved portions of the Natchez Trace and it's the best time of year to see Natchez, its terminus.

Some of the South's most beautiful gardens and ante bellum homes are at Natchez and they are open to the public only during the annual Natchez Pilgrimage. This year it continues through all of March.

Readers may get a free packet for planning a Natchez trip by writing: Miss Hospitality, Travel Department, State of Mississippi, Department WD–2, Jackson, Miss.

Hoxsey Cancer Treatment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN HARRIS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to make a statement for the information of the Members of Congress and others

interested in the subject of the Hoxsey cancer treatment and as to its status, that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on March 6, 1957, expects a representative of the Food and Drug Administration to appear before the committee to discuss in a general way their current program and any recommendations for amendments of the Food and Drug and Cosmetic Act, which the Administration desires to submit to the Congress. In the course of these hearings, the committee will call upon the Food and Drug Administration to explain in greater detail its activities in connection with the Hoxsey cancer treatment.

The Food and Drug Administration has already submitted information with regard to judicial decisions relating to the Hoxsey cancer treatment which form the basis for the Administration's present activities in connection with this treatment.

On July 31, 1952, the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit on appeal from a decision of the United States district court for the northern district of Texas, decided unanimously that:

> The overwhelming weight of credible evidence [introduced by the Food and Drug Administration] requires a conclusion that the representation that the Hoxsey liquid medicines are efficacious is false and misleading.

The court also made the following statement with regard to present recognized methods of cancer treatment:

> It is further true that despite the vast and continuous research which has been conducted into the cause of, and possible cure for, cancer the aggregate of medical experience and qualified experts recognize in the treatment of internal cancer only the methods of surgery, X-ray, radium, and some of the radio-active byproducts of atomic bomb production. This is so even though the ghastly truth is that these methods frequently fail and are, in many cases, themselves unsatisfactory. But it is true, nevertheless, that with present enlightenment they are our sole defense against the scourge of cancer.

Following the court decision on October 26, 1953, the Federal District Court in Dallas, Tex., enjoined Harry M. Hoxsey or his agents from shipping the cancer treatment or similar drugs in interstate commerce with any labeling suggesting or representing that they are effective in the treatment of cancer.

In March 1955 a supply of cancer pills and labeling was seized at the Hoxsey Cancer Clinic in Portage, Pa. The Government charged that the pills were the essential part of the Hoxsey cancer treatment and that the labeling which represented the treatment as effective for cancer was false and misleading. The case was tried before a jury which returned a verdict for the Government. The District Court at Pittsburgh issued a decree condemning the pills. The claimant has moved for a new trial.

On January 28, 1957, the Food and Drug Administration furnished for display in 46,000 post offices and substations throughout the continental United States a poster giving public warning against the Hoxsey cancer treatment. The poster states that cancer can be cured only through surgery or radiation and that those that are afflicted by cancer are warned not to be misled by the false promise that the Hoxsey cancer treatment will cure or alleviate their condition.

This action of the Food and Drug Administration was taken pursuant to section 705 (b) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act which provides that the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare may cause to be disseminated information regarding food, drugs, devices, or cosmetics in situations involving, in the opinion of the Secretary, imminent danger to health, or gross deception of the consumer.

Antarctica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I recently introduced H. R. 4252, a bill to direct the Secretary of the Interior to formulate a plan and make recommendations for consolidation in a single executive agency of the responsibility for, and supervision of, activities involving Antarctica.

It is hard to get very excited about this vast ice-covered area down around the South Pole, but we should. To point out why, I should like to include in my remarks a clipping from the New York Times of February 10. This short article points out some of the activity of our good friend, New Zealand, in this area, activity to establish her claims to a part of this area.

Mr. Speaker, we should be no less diligent in our own operations. We cannot stand by in hope that all will be well in this area, and a small effort and investment now might prove of substantial value in the future. I recommend this article to the Members:

McMURDO SOUND, ANTARCTIA, January 12.—New Zealand, which for over 33 years has claimed a sector of the Antarctic continent far larger than her own territory, acted today for the first time to exert her sovereignty here.

A New Zealand post office was opened at the New Zealand expedition base near Butter Point. Stamps were issued for the first time by the Ross Dependency, as the claim is called.

Likewise a colonial government has arrived—in token form, for the only permanent inhabitants of this great land area are seals, penguins, and other polar creatures. Among the officials is Capt. Harold Ruegg, who for 3 years has held at Wellington the position of administrator for the Ross Dependency.

Neither he nor any of his three predecessors had hitherto set foot in the frozen domain. Captain Ruegg's more active job has been nautical adviser to the New Zealand Government.

The newly appointed magistrate of this region is Sir Edmund Hillery, leader of the New Zealand contingent of the Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition, which is building its base here. Dr. Trevor Hatherton, who heads the group of scientists who will make observations here during the International Geophysical Year, is justice of the peace and coroner.

Should We Help Poland?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. GORDON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of the Members of the House a thoughtful and informative editorial which appeared in the Washington (D. C.) Post of Saturday, March 2, entitled "Should We Help Poland?"

The United States has in surplus supply wheat, cotton, and other farm commodities, of which the Polish people have an urgent need. The reasons why the United States should extend assistance in the form of surplus agricultural commodities and certain types of machinery are logically set forth in the Post editorial. I hope that arrangements for the extension of assistance to the Polish people will soon be concluded that will operate to the mutual advantage of both the American and the Polish people.

The editorial follows:

SHOULD WE HELP POLAND?

As the negotiations with the Polish mission in Washington go forward it is well to keep in mind the fundamentals of American policy. What does this country want in regard to Poland? The answer that has been coming from statesmen, politicians, businessmen, commentators, and the people generally for the last decade is that we want to see Poland an independent nation. We earnestly hope that Moscow's rigid grip on all the satellite countries may be relaxed; that the peoples of those lands may be free to live in peace, to pursue their economic interests, and to take their proper place in a larger world community.

Considering the strength of this feeling about the satellites, it would be strange indeed if Poland's first venture in enlargement of her freedom should meet with a cold shoulder on the part of the United States. The very fact that the Gomulka government has sent an economic mission to Washington is a demonstration of a new measure of national independence. No previous Warsaw regime since World War II could have done so (remember when the Poles at first accepted Marshall Plan aid, then rejected it under Soviet orders?). The United States must necessarily welcome the more friendly gestures of the Warsaw regime or make a mockery of the policy proclaimed by both Democratic and Republican administrations.

Poland has not, of course, gone as far as we should like to see her go in establishing her independence. But she has probably gone as far as she can go at present without suffering the fate of Hungary. The basic question in the negotiations now under way is whether the United States is willing to help the Polish people improve their standard of living while they seek to extend their freedom. The fact that the problem is a delicate one for both governments does not make it the less important to move in the direction where lies some promise of greater freedom and prosperity and, therefore, greater security.

From the economic point of view, an increased flow of trade could be highly advantageous to both countries. Poland urgently needs wheat, cotton, and other farm commodities of which the United States has price-depressing surpluses. Poland also needs coal-mining and farm machinery of which this country has ample supplies. Loans will be necessary to enable the Poles to buy these products, but if such credit is limited as to amount and duration the risk will not be great.

It is, however, the political considerations that are paramount. All the satellites will be watching to see whether United States help and encouragement can reasonably be expected if they succeed in attaining a semi-independent status. Viewed from this angle, any failure of the negotiations would be perilous both for Poland and for the cause of world freedom.

Dr. Gunnar Twistmaul

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from National Review of January 26, 1957:

DR. GUNNAR TWISTMAUL

(With acknowledgments to John Kreuttner)

Dr. Gunnar Myrdal is the Swedish economist who took time off to become the world's greatest authority on the American Negro; and if you don't believe it, ask the Supreme Court, which ruled segregation unconstitutional because Dr. Myrdal says that segregation does unconstitutional things to the Negro psyche. As we were saying, Dr. Gunnar Myrdal is the Swedish economist who once served as Sweden's Minister of Trade, in which capacity he rushed to conclude a trade agreement with the Soviet Union so favorable to the Soviet Union that it caused a political crisis that ended up transporting Dr. Myrdal out of Swedish politics, but, alas, into world—or rather one-world—politics. He sits today as executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, whence he passes on matters of economics and morality.

Which is what got Dr. Myrdal to passing judgment on American foreign aid which, he has ruled, is in its present shape, bad economically and bad morally. It is bad economically because, having dispensed that foreign aid, we proceed to do business, nationally and internationally, according to the rules of free enterprise, which rules, as any Socialist will tell you, add up to poor economics. Under the circumstances, our foreign aid is nothing more than an economic palliative.

It is immoral because the United States picks and chooses the countries to which it will send aid, and, as everybody knows, "when international aid becomes unilateral and politics thus enters into the distribution of it, both moral and economic standards are apt to crumble." Thus it becomes plain that "generous America often turns out to be niggardly selfish in its regular commercial and financial policies and practices."

The solution? Give money to the United Nations, and let the United Nations dispense it as it sees fit.

Listening, spellbound, while Dr. Myrdal spoke (at a seminar on welfare democracy) were three stouthearted American intellectuals: Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Adolf Berle, and Milton Katz. ("None of these patriots," the Chicago Tribune noted, "opened his mouth to defend his country or rebuke this Swedish carpetbagger.") No doubt they will figure out a way of persuading the Supreme Court that foreign aid, except via the United Nations, is unconstitutional.

House Joint Resolution 117 and Foreign Policy.

SPEECH
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 29, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 117) to authorize the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations in the general area of the Middle East in order to assist in the strengthening and defense of their independence.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. O'HARA].

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I wish to pay my tribute of appreciation to the chairman and the senior members of the great Foreign Affairs Committee who so graciously received the new members of that committee among whom I was numbered. I am glad of, and grateful for, the opportunity given me to serve on that committee and to be present at the hearings and the executive sessions having under consideration this resolution.

I wish to commend the able chairman, the Honorable THOMAS GORDON, for the masterly manner in which he assumed the large responsibilities that the voluntary retirement from Congress of the former chairman, the Honorable James P. Richards, placed on him. We know that it had been Dick Richards' hope that after a long and distinguished career in public life he might in private life find more time for relaxation in the society of his delightful family and among old friends in the home community. The crisis in the Middle East which has brought before us the consideration of House Joint Resolution 117 as the first urgent business of the 85th Congress has changed the path of the life of Dick Richards from that which he had mapped with such warm longing of the heart only a short time ago. It is proper to remark here that the fact that the proposed program is to be under the supervision and direction of the Honorable James P. Richards, who enjoys the confidence and the affection of the Members of both bodies of the Congress and who at the call of duty was willing to make sacrifice of cherished personal plans, has been a major factor in the dissolution of doubts.

Chairman GORDON has proved himself a worthy successor of the beloved gentleman from South Carolina and of the others who in the past during periods of stress and crisis carried the large responsibility of leadership in the committee of the House having jurisdiction over legislation in the field of foreign affairs. In the public hearings and in the executive sessions Chairman GORDON adhered strictly and impartially to the 5-minute rule even when the witness before the committee was the Secretary of State so that all members of the committee had free and equal opportunity to inform themselves and to develop such points as to them seemed pertinent and vital. I stress this to give emphasis to the important fact that the approving vote of the committee reflected the individual thinking of the members, all of whom had been given full opportunity of participation in the examination of witnesses and in the discussions that followed in executive sessions.

MISGIVINGS AND UNEASINESS

I anticipate the resolution will be adopted in the House as it was recommended out by the committee, and in the same spirit and for the same reasons. There will be among many the same misgivings on the use of the ultimatum in the clarification of our position and the pinpointing of the zone from which in our national security we cannot retreat. There will be the same uneasiness that always attends the making of momentous decisions wherein there is the element of great but calculated risk. There will be the same regret that the President in the conditions of a gathering storm did not find it expedient to consult in advance and on a bipartisan basis with the leadership of the Congress.

But I anticipate that among the Members of the House, as among the members of the committee, this sense of misgiving, uneasiness, and regret will be dissolved in the realization that to win the peace of our prayers we must show to the world the same national unity that is expected in time of war.

It was said long ago that politics end at the waterline. As with families, so should it be with nations. The authority of the family as one contributing factor in building a community of wholesome character is destroyed by the public airing of domestic differences and squabbles. The appearance of disunity in the presence of a grave international crisis between a Chief Executive elected as a Republican and a Congress controlled by those elected as Democrats could result only in our embarrassment and ruin of any hope that at the end of the road we now are asked to follow will be awaiting us the peace for which we pray.

DIFFERENT POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS

I am not of the President's political party. Not many weeks ago in the heat of his own campaign for reelection, and to further the interest of the political party to which he was indebted for his nomination in 1952 and his renomination in 1956, the President asked for the defeat of every sitting Democratic Member of the Congress, including those whose percentage of support of the key measures of his first administration was larger than that of many members of his own party. I think that the President for party advantage should not have taken that position. But if he did, it was only

when we were having a private family squabble within our own national home. In prudence we cannot permit it now to be used to the advantage of our enemies and the endangerment of our security by presenting a picture of disunity.

President Eisenhower is my President, the President of the Members on this side of the aisle as he is the President of the Members on the other side of the aisle. No man attains the Presidency of the United States of America who does not devoutly wish his administration to be remembered in history for its contribution to the prosperity and the happiness of the American people and to the welfare of mankind. When his foot steps over the threshold of the White House, he has entered the office of highest authority and highest honor in the world. For 4 years, or for 8 years, he will remain the occupant of the White House, knowing that ahead are no promotions and that when he leaves it will be to take his place in history.

The place of Dwight Eisenhower in the history of war was made when he commanded and directed to triumph the largest army ever massed in all recorded time. His place in the history of peace, I think, is now the subject of his first and deepest concern.

The attainment of that peace concerns us all for every hour of our days we live under the threat of an atomic power that, loosened by the triggering of an incident relatively minor, can destroy both us and our civilization. The President presents to us in the program provided in House Joint Resolution 117 that which he believes is the surest guarantee against such tragic eventualities. He fears that if the Middle East, with its vital oil supplies and its geographical advantages, is permitted to fall piecemeal and by attrition into communistic hands in another 2 years our control over events determining peace or war would be gone.

DESIGNED TO PROMOTE PEACE

Secretary of State Dulles in his testimony before our committee said:

All our treaty and legislative action has been designed to promote peace by making clear our position in advance, and thus to deter aggression and to prevent dangerous miscalculation by would-be aggressors. Also, in each case, our resolve has been impressive because of the national unity which expressed it. Also in each case where we have so acted, we have in fact preserved freedom—page 3, hearings of Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Later the Secretary said:

The purpose of the proposed resolution is not war. It is peace. The purpose, as in the other cases where the President and the Congress have acted together to oppose international communism, is to stop world war III before it starts—page 6 of hearings.

In reply to a question of mine, the Secretary said:

I think that the failure of the program would lead with a high degree of probability to a major war—page 145, committee hearings.

Thomas K. Finletter, the former Secretary of the Air Force, in the introduction of whom Chairman GORDON made reference to the many times Mr. Finletter had helpfully testified before the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the past, said:

Indeed, the Secretary has gone so far as to say, as I understand it, that the alternative to the administration's proposal would be a very great likelihood that United States troops would have to fight in the Near East; whereas there would be very little likelihood of such an event if Congress approves the administration's resolution, including the section about the $200 million. Now, sir, with that testimony of the Secretary of State before the Congress, I respectfully suggest that the authority relating to the $200 million also be approved as submitted—page 446, hearings.

Later Mr. Finletter said:

I am very much affected by the record, as I understand it, before this committee, and certainly before the Senate, of Mr. Dulles, that as this resolution goes, so goes the likelihood of American boys fighting in the Near East or not fighting in the Near East. And with that testimony before the legislature, I think we must approach with considerable diffidence the idea of making changes with it—page 458, hearings.

Mr. Finletter thought the resolution should be strengthened to include resistance to covert as well as overt aggression. When I asked him if he would recommend support of the resolution if a strengthening amendment was not included, he replied "Yes"—page 461, hearings.

AS PICTURED BY GENERAL GRUENTHER

The testimony of Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, president of the American Red Cross and former Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe—SHAPE—was especially helpful to the committee. Much of this testimony is deleted from the printed hearings for security reasons. I quote a portion of General Gruenther's testimony that was not deleted and which furnishes an index of his thinking:

The NATO area extends from here to the eastern borders of Turkey—a distance of 4,000 miles. In NATO we have always been concerned about our right flank, here, where it reaches toward the Middle East. Coming to the Middle East area itself, I, as a United States commander and a United States citizen, have always felt that, from a strategic standpoint, it is of great importance to the security of the United States.

The Soviets, as you know, now have a tremendous submarine fleet. They have more than 400 submarines. So that this number is meaningful, you should know that the Germans, when they went to war in 1939, had fewer than 75. The Soviets last year built more than 80 submarines.

Mrs. BOLTON. Where do they build them?

General GRUENTHER. They have shipyards here (pointing) and they build them here (pointing). Strangely enough, some of them have been built here and then the parts have been moved at great expense and moved to ports here (pointing).

That submarine fleet of 400 is a force that disturbs me very much. One can explain why the Soviets have an army. They couldn't be controlling the satellites without it. An army has a very definite cold war value. You can explain why they have an air force also as a cold war instrument. But when you come to explain why they pouring so much money into a submarine fleet, which is basically a war instrument—there is little explanation because such a fleet has a very small use in times of peace. There is no cold war value to it—you never see submarines. The Soviets have spent a great deal of money to keep them up, and it is a very, very heavy burden. Considering all aspects then—military, political, and economic—I would say that the security of the United States and of the free world would be seriously endangered if the Middle East should fall under the domination of international communism.

IMPORTANCE OF OIL SOURCE

In this connection, I should like to discuss the importance of Middle East oil to the West and particularly to Europe. Europe, as you know, is tremendously dependent on Middle East oil in peacetime. The oil reserves in the United States now are estimated at approximately 30 billion barrels. The oil reserves of the Middle East area are estimated now at about 230 billion barrels.

Before the use of the canal was interrupted, approximately 2 million barrels of oil a day were being shipped from the Middle East to Europe. Europe receives about 80 percent of her oil from this area. Many of the European countries are heavily dependent on oil as a source of energy. For example in Greece, 73 percent of the energy requirements are in oil. In Denmark, 46 percent of the energy requirements are for oil. These are not wartime requirements; this is in time of peace. Germany is least dependent with a requirement of about 9 percent. You have noticed probably in the press that there is no oil rationing in Germany now. This is because Germany has mainly a coal economy.

Not only is Europe now heavily dependent on the oil from this area, but estimates of requirements for the next 10 years indicate that this dependence will become much greater.

The coal veins of Europe are, generally speaking, running thin. Atomic power is still too far away to make a significant contribution.

In 1950 the oil consumption of the free world was 10 million tons. In 1955, it was 15 million tons, and by 1965 it is estimated that the requirements will be 25 million tons. The great bulk of these requirements must be met from this area.

In view of all of these factors it is evident that the area which you are considering in connection with the joint resolution is vital to the free world.

General Gruenther stressed the importance of economic aid, suggesting that it perhaps was even more important than the military phase. He thought the administration of the program should be flexible. From the standpoint of psychological impact, he thought it "of tremendous importance that it be a unified declaration by the Congress and by the Executive so that the United States shall serve notice, a notice which the Soviets understand very well."

GENERAL SPEAKS AS A FATHER

He continued, page 361, hearings:

I know that the question arises: "Well, in this risk doesn't it mean that American boys are apt to have to go out there?" That is possible, although I think the risk is substantially reduced by making clear what our position is in this matter. I say this as a father because we have a son who is a captain and a paratrooper. If trouble broke out in the Middle East, he might well be among those sent there. He has a wife and 4 children, the oldest one 6. He was wounded seriously in Korea. I know of the cold shudder that came into my heart the day that the message was handed to me reading, "The Secretary of the Army regrets to announce that your son has been seriously wounded in Korea."

For some 8 days his life hung in the balance. So I think I am quite sensitive to

this reaction of American boys going there because Mrs. Gruenther and I suffered the agony of a near tragedy in our own family. I think that this proposal gives us reasonable insurance. I don't say it gives us a foolproof insurance, and I don't try to oversell it. I say that it is necessary action. I say that the alternative is such a grim one that it is a risk that we have to take. The risk will be significantly less if we follow this procedure than if we do not. I say that as a father, aside from my military interest in this area.

PLEDGE TO PROTECT ISRAEL

There was concern in my mind, a concern shared with other members of our committee, that to obtain the acceptance of our program by the Arab States and their cooperation concessions might be made harmful to the interest of the State of Israel. When Secretary of State Dulles was testifying at an executive session of our committee I asked him the question point blank. I am quoting from page 145 of the hearings:

Mr. O'HARA. As the success of this program depends on its acceptance by and the voluntary cooperation of the Arab States, is there a possibility in obtaining that acceptance and voluntary cooperation there may be a lessening of our position in upholding the sovereignty of the State of Israel?

Secretary DULLES. I can assure you, sir, that we shall not in any application of this policy or any of our discussions with the Arab countries do anything whatsoever that would detract from the statements so often made by this administration and others and by the Congress that the preservation of the State of Israel is a vital part of the United States foreign policy.

Mr. O'HARA. I wonder, Mr. Secretary, if the statement you have just made, and if agreeable to our distinguished chairman and the committee, could be made public? There is among my constituents, and I am sure among many others, a keen interest in the welfare of the State of Israel.

Secretary DULLES. I would think there is no reason why the statement should not be made public.

The security of the State of Israel is entwined with that of our own country. Israel in a troubled area is an outpost of an industrial order that in our own country in the building up of our large cities has given buying power for the products of our agricultural regions. So will it be in that now troubled area when experience has dissipated the Arab fear of that which is new and from the growth and prosperity of industrial Israel the Arab states will reap benefits beyond calculation. It is to our own interest, as well as being true to the moral law that always must guide our relations with other lands and other peoples, that the Arab states at the very commencement of negotiations under the program provided in House Joint Resolution 117 should understand that the protection of the sovereignty and the interest of the State of Israel is riveted so deeply in the foreign policy of the United States that no American administration in honor and in respect for American public opinion can use it for bartering purposes. I am glad that Secretary of State Dulles in his answer to my question gave reaffirmation of this and that by agreeing to lift the secrecy of an executive session to permit publicity to his words he gave to his words the character of an open pledge to the American people.

MONROE DOCTRINE IN MODERN GARB

Mr. Chairman, this is not the first time in our history when the President of the United States has asked the Congress in the protection of the security, the interest, and the honor of the country to bypass the question of relative constitutional powers to give to our position in the face of a grave international crisis the appearance and the strength of national solidarity in the acting together and jointly of the President and the Congress.

The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HAYS] with penetrating understanding of the earlier foreign policy of this Nation, has suggested a similarity between the Monroe Doctrine and the Eisenhower Doctrine. The suggestion of the gentleman from Arkansas is that the doctrine now advanced by President Eisenhower is in reality the Monroe Doctrine in modern garb. What I understand the gentleman from Arkansas to contend is that the same fundamental principles are embodied in the Eisenhower Doctrine as originally were defined in the Monroe Doctrine and that the difference is only in the narrowness of the world today, in travel time, as compared with the broadness by the same measure of the world in Monroe's time.

The Monroe Doctrine was applicable to conditions as they existed in 1823. It was proclaimed in the protection of our own interest and security, but also in the protection of the system of representative democratic Government that we had established on the American hemisphere and which later had been adopted by the countries of Latin America once the colonies of Spain.

This is important to emphasize. The present world conflict between democracy and communism as forms of government, and which occasioned President Eisenhower's request for the passage of the pending resolution, had its counterpart in 1823 in the then conflict between monarchy and democracy.

In 1823 Spain had proposed a conference of the allied powers of Europe to promote the design of the Spanish monarchy to regain its revolted American colonies. This the American people could not contemplate with complacency since the security of our own Republic would be endangered if by force our sister republics on this hemisphere were overthrown and their domains returned to the status of colonies of a European monarchy.

What the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine did not state in specific language but what was its clear meaning and import was that the two conflicting systems of government could not in respect for our independence be permitted to compete for hemispheric power. I need not dwell upon how differently might have been the course of history if in 1823, when the United States was young and relatively small territorially compared with its present expansion, the monarchies of Europe had taken over the free governments of Latin America. Certainly there would have been hurdles to our progress.

FREE GOVERNMENT THEN AND NOW

In 1823 the American people were willing to take the calculated risk of war to preserve free government in the hemispheric area wherein was their interest and security. Today the interest and security of the United States is bound up with that of free and independent nations the world around. In travel time the most distant nation now is closer to our shores than Washington to Mexico in the days of Monroe.

The Monroe Doctrine was applicable to conditions as they existed in 1823. Our best protection from the troubles of Europe then was in hemispheric isolation. Democratic government still was not so strongly established in this hemisphere that, in our own national interest and safety, we could contemplate with complacency the design of the Spanish monarchy of regaining its sovereignty over its revolted American colonies. When Spain in the furtherance of this design proposed a conference of the allied powers of Europe, the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed.

There was an apprehension in this country that the reestablishment of the power of Spain, bringing back to her sovereignty the countries that had thrown off the Spanish yoke and established themselves as free and independent republics, might endanger our own people and the integrity of our own institutions.

Another object of the Monroe Doctrine was to contain European occupation of territory on the American Continent to that already occupied. This objective was accomplished. Thereafter no territory in the American hemisphere was considered as derelict or unoccupied and the practice previously pursued by European powers of seizing such territories was ended.

CLEVELAND DOCTRINE OF 1895

But nothing, Mr. Chairman, remains status quo. The rule of nature and of life is change. From one plateau mankind goes to a higher plateau. There is change in the scenery, change in the focus of higher vistas, but the rule of progress that guides mankind on its climb upward alone remains unchanged.

It will be helpful to us now, in our determination of whether the Eisenhower doctrine of 1957 is not in its spirit and in its portent the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, regarbed and modernized, to give to the Cleveland doctrine of 1895 a consideration that seems to have escaped the observation of most of our modern historians.

The gentleman from Arkansas has not mentioned the Cleveland doctrine of 1895. In my questioning of former Secretary of State Acheson, which will be found on page 199 of the committee hearings on House Joint Resolution 117, I made some mention of the Cleveland doctrine, which was brought before the 54th Congress in a manner not much different from that at the present time.

Last night, on the eve of the debate in which we now are engaged, I read again the record of the proceedings in

the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States on December 18, 1895. The same questions were raised then as have been raised today, including that of constitutional powers. The Congress responded by passing the measure proposed by President Grover Cleveland even though in the minds of most of the Members of the Congress, as in fact of most of the American people, was a conviction that the result would be a war with Great Britain.

The national unity reflected in the unanimous acceptance by the Congress of the President's doctrine, despite the uneasiness and misgivings of some Members, was effective in bringing about an understanding and the abandonment of Britain's designs to enlarge her holdings in the American Hemisphere through boundary disputes in which Britain would be the sole and self-appointed arbiter and the exercise of sovereignty in the names of claimants, the validity of whose claims were recognized solely by Great Britain.

SIMILARITY IN 62-YEAR LAPSES

The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed in 1823. It was 62 years later that it was brought up to date by the Cleveland doctrine, which broadened its application to cover new conditions that had come with the passage of the years. Now after a lapse of another 62 years comes the Eisenhower doctrine of 1957. It is interesting, if not significant, that the lapse of years in each instance is the same, 62 years between the Monroe Doctrine and the modernizing Cleveland doctrine, 62 years between the Cleveland doctrine and the Eisenhower doctrine of today. In tracing the historical sequence we may discover the outlines at least of a foreign policy to which the United States has adhered for 134 years.

Because of the rapid sweep of great world reshaping events in the closing years of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, the Cleveland doctrine of 1895 is not familiar to a generation born since its adoption and with a valuating perception of the events of the past dulled by the succession of dynamic events in its own generation.

With the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine colonization on the American hemisphere was restricted to the countries on this hemisphere then in the colonial status. The doctrine that further colonialization on this hemisphere was inimical to the interest of free democratic government, and this was of legitimate concern to the United States as affecting its own security, received universal acceptance.

But in the late decades of the 19th century Great Britain, while professing acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine, embarked upon a program calculated vastly to increase her American domains and eventually to build on this hemisphere a colonial system rich and strong enough to compete with the democratic system of our creation. The success of this design, as we look back now with the appraising eye of a generation remote from the times, certainly would have placed hurdles in the way of our progress. It might have changed the course of history on this hemisphere. Conceivably if we consider the contribution of the United States in two world wars and in the rebuilding period that followed it might have changed the course of the history of the world.

As I have stated, Great Britain openly recognized the validity of the Monroe Doctrine and joined with us in compelling its respect by her neighboring powers in Europe. But while giving open recognition she herself sought to crawl under its protective curtain under a strategic of indirection.

NICARAGUA A VITAL AREA

Nicaragua then was a nation of great importance to us, partly because Bluefields on the eastern coast was a trading center in the Caribbean area and the heart of the banana industry, but more so because it then was the expectation of our Government to build across Nicaragua a sea-level canal uniting the Atlantic and the Pacific. Indeed work on this already had started and American dredges had dug the canal some mile or more from the sand-bar harbor at San Juan del Norte, called Greytown by the British. It must be remembered that at that time the Panama route had been dismissed from consideration on the finding of its utter unfeasibility by engineers.

Great Britain sought to fix her hold on this area, most vital to our national interest as well as that of democratic government in this hemisphere, under color of an alleged protectorate of the Carib Indians. She proposed to take over not in her own name but as the protector of King Clarence, then domiciled in Jamaica as royalty in exile and maintained by the British in a palace with regal attendants and all the trimmings of monarchy.

KING CLARENCE AND THE CARIBS

The Carib Indians were in fact a group of seafaring persons living for the most part in Belize in the British colony of British Honduras. They manned the small sailing vessels, usually made from dug-out logs, that furnished the means of sea transportation from one Caribbean port to another. This type of small sailing vessel was named after them and was identified by everyone as the Carib craft.

How the British discovered the tracing of King Clarence's royal line and the basis for the claim that as the regal head of a dynasty he had the right to sovereignty over the eastern part of Nicaragua lying on the Caribbean must be left to conjecture and logically to the unravelling by Sherlock Holmes, who as a loyal British subject could be depended upon to come up with a good British answer.

But the serious part was that King Clarence had placed himself under the protection of the British and had delegated to Britain the mission of seizing and ruling in his name the domain he claimed. As Jamaica seemed a more likely background for the enwrapment of King Clarence in royal robes than British Honduras, where the seafaring Caribs were unconscious that they had a king of their own, the transfer of domicile preceded the eventful day in Bluefields when British Vice Consul Hatch took over the seat of local government at Bluefields and in the name of King Clarence and the Carib Indians proclaimed sovereignty over all the Nicaraguan eastern coast extending north from Bluefields.

The Nicaraguans unceremoniously put British Vice Consul Hatch in handcuffs and further brought down upon themselves the hot wrath of Britain by hauling him, still in chains I understand, the slow and tedious route up the coast to San Juan del Norte, up to the San Juan River in one of Mr. Pellas' steamboats and so to lodgings in the jail in Managua, the capital city.

Great Britain resented this affront to the dignity of her consular service and this defiance of her authority, to say nothing of that of King Clarence, languishing in luxury in his palace in Jamaica, by forthwith dispatching warships to Bluefields. This was nothing new in those parts. How many times San Juan del Norte, called Greytown by the British, further south on the Nicaraguan coast had been shelled, I do not know. As a boy at San Juan del Norte, my Nicaraguan playmates often would show me big round shells, lying unexploded in the earth, so often indeed, that I got to thinking San Juan del Norte was ringed around with such big round unexploded shells as a sort of chain of monuments to British visitations.

This time, however, also came American gunboats. Grover Cleveland, a rugged man, then was President. The issue was coming to a head.

BOUNDARY TROUBLES IN VENEZUELA

Meanwhile in Venezuela there was being waged a onesided boundary dispute. Under cover of resetting the boundary lines of British Guiana and Venezuela, Britain was endeavoring to seize as part of her colonial estate much of the choicest and richest part of the territory of the Republic of Venezuela. She refused to submit the dispute to a board of impartial arbiters. She insisted that the settlement of the dispute must be left to an all-British board with no representation thereon of the Venezuelan Government.

The Venezuelan incident, combined with that in Nicaragua and some others of lesser importance, made it clear to President Cleveland that Great Britain in indirect violation of the Monroe Doctrine was seeking to destroy piecemeal, free government on this hemisphere and to reestablish the expanse and the power of colonial government.

The essence of the Cleveland doctrine was that the United States had ample and moral justification in interference in a situation on this continent wherein the interest, security, and honor of our country was at stake, that such interference was not in the nature of interference in the domestic affairs of another country and was not an undertaking to protect another state except insofar as the protection of that state was incidental to the preservation of our own national interests, security, and honor.

I have taken the time of the House to go into the past on matters germane to our present discussion but not bearing directly on the present issue. This has

been done in an attempt to find by these tracings if we do not have a fixed American foreign policy that we have pretty well adhered to, with slips now and then, throughout the years.

UNITY AND ACCORD DEMANDED

I am supporting House Joint Resolution 117 because to win the struggle for peace and to assure our own security against those who may seek not peace but conquest there must be unity and accord with the President and the Congress. No one believes that President Eisenhower and those about him for one moment would think of plunging this country into an atomic war certain to destroy our civilization. They may be wrong in their thinking and in their calculations. The calculated risk may prove to be the risk of grim reality. But I for one shall not contribute to a show of disunity that adversely might effect the stout chance for peace that the President believes is held in the legislation now before us. And in the past of our history whenever we showed firmness in standing on the moral law, affirming our position and not counting the consequences, the hour of understanding has been hurried and the dangers we might have feared have evaporated.

Puerto Rico: They Have Made Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, during this observance of Puerto Rico Friendship Day in this House of Representatives, I want to extend my congratulations and my best wishes to the fine American citizens of the great Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

I have known the Commissioner from Puerto Rico since he came to Washington some 10 years ago. It has been a pleasure to work with him. I have found him skillful and intelligent in the performance of his duties. Always he has worked diligently for the benefit of his Commonwealth and for the good of the entire Nation. I can think of no man who could have done more for Puerto Rico in this House.

Mr. Speaker, it has been my privilege and pleasure to visit this island paradise several times. I trust that I may have the opportunity to go back many times in the years to come.

Forty years ago the people of Puerto Rico were granted citizenship and became more important units than ever among our people. We are proud to call them fellow citizens.

I like this statement which is taken from an editorial in the Washington Daily News titled "Proud Americans":

"Perhaps the most notable of American governmental experiments in our lifetime," Chief Justice Warren has said of the young Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

In San Juan, in Washington, in New York and elsewhere the former colonials who are now citizens celebrated Friendship Day as a proud and dedicated people should.

Puerto Rico is an island of 3,435 square miles with a population of well over 2 million people. Until recently agriculture has been regarded as its most important industry but now manufacturing leads the way. Per capita income is still too low, but it has improved vastly in the past 20 years and is still on the upgrade. There are more than 100,000 motor vehicles, 23 radio stations, 3 TV stations, airport facilities and numerous other advantages. Year by year the Commonwealth is developing.

This island was discovered by Christopher Columbus November 19, 1493. Ruled by Spain until 1898, it was ceded to the United States in that year.

Year by year the people are taking a greater interest in their government. The Commonwealth invests the legislative power in a senate and house of representatives. Executive power lies with the Governor who is elected by the people. The judiciary is composed of the supreme court and a lower court sytem. It is a good system of government.

Mr. Speaker, I say again I am proud to have this opportunity to congratulate the fine American citizens and the distinguished Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

In Flexibility We Trust

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL C. JONES
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am requesting that the following editorial from the Friday, March 1, 1957, issue of the Daily Dunklin Democrat, published by Jack Stapleton, Jr., of Kennett, Mo., be printed in the RECORD as a reminder that the present Secretary of Agriculture has, as Editor Stapleton points out, "achieved the dubious distinction of spending more money during a 4-year period and achieving less than any Secretary of Agriculture in the history of the country":

[From the Daily Dunklin Democrat, Kennett, Mo., March 1, 1957]

IN FLEXIBILITY WE TRUST

It has become increasingly evident during the past few weeks that the only farm commodity being grown today which can still be sold at 100 percent of parity is hay. The principal difficulty with this situation is that the farmer's only customer for the hay is the drought-stricken farmer of southwest Missouri, who is in the worst sort of financial straits.

Recently, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson announced the new 1957 support prices for major farm products. True to his word, the Secretary made the support prices flexible—he reduced them all. And now, while announcing lower price supports for 1957, the Secretary has achieved the dubious distinction of spending more money during a 4-year period and achieving less than any Secretary of Agriculture in the history of the country.

The Missouri Farmers Association this week compiled the price chart shown below showing the decline in the price of Government support for the buying power of various farm commodities that are represented by the 1957 support prices recently announced by Secretary Benson.

As the MFA points out, farmers' costs are running at the highest level in history. The figures shown in the first column have been adjusted to show the buying power in current dollars of the support prices that were in effect for these commodities when Secretary Benson's term of office began 4 years ago.

Commodity	1952 support	1957 support	Cut in support
Cottonseed (ton)	$69.03	$46.00	Down 33 percent.
Cotton (pound)	.32	.28	Down 12 percent.
Corn (bushel)	1.66	1.36	Down 20 percent.
Barley (bushel)	1.26	.94	Down 26 percent.
Oats (bushel)	.81	.60	Down 25 percent.
Rye (bushel)	1.47	1.15	Down 21 percent.
Sorghum grain	2.46	1.83	Down 26 percent.
Soybeans (bushel)	2.65	2.09	Down 21 percent.

The figures above are an amazing record of 4 years of Ezra Taft Benson in Washington. Few persons could have spent a record amount of money and achieved a poorer record than Mr. Benson has done.

The American farmer, be he cotton or dairy, is tired of farm-problem platitudes. He no longer believes in the time-honored slogan of the GOP—In flexibility we trust.

New Industry for Central Kansas Drought Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a resolution forwarded to President Eisenhower by the LaCrosse Chamber of Commerce, LaCrosse, Kans., which resolution is dated February 7, 1957:

Whereas the area comprising the Central Kansas Industrial Development Association is in the drought-stricken area of Kansas; and

Whereas this drought condition is of such serious nature that regardless of favorable weather conditions, it will affect the economical condition of this area for not less than 2 years in the future; and

Whereas the oil industry which we have enjoyed for the past many years is rapidly depleting; and

Whereas many small machine shops which have been tied in with the oil and agriculture are finding it impossible to stay in business and that such industries are manned with the very best of mechanical help:

Now, therefore, we, the members of the LaCrosse Chamber of Commerce in regular assembled meeting on this 7th day of February 1957 do hereby memorialize our Government to consider a means of assisting

such small industries as well as additional industries in financing, leasing, and otherwise securing the necessary machine tools to participate in the many subcontracts which the national defense program is creating. Thus furnishing them with the necessary help and information needed to participate in these lettings.

This is one positive way of balancing the economy of this area which is, and has been, depending entirely on oil and agriculture, and will create part-time employment for many small farmers, who otherwise will have to move off the farm;

That copies of this resolution be mailed to the following persons and departments as well as to the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

LLOYD MAGGARD,
President, LaCrosse Chamber of Commerce.

Politics Dominate Corn Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the following article from the Sioux City Journal of February 26, 1957:

POLITICS DOMINATE CORN BILL

The predictions of those who know congressional agriculture bloc politics are more borne out by the political production known as the democratic farm bill, which the House Agriculture Committee on a straight party line vote has offered for passage.

It was almost a foregone conclusion that if Congress was asked to reopen soil-bank debate to provide special action for the commercial Corn Belt, the result would be a flock of new demands for every segment of agriculture.

When commercial corngrowers returned an indecisive vote on two corn plans, they opened the door wide open to logrolling politics. Those lawmakers who have offered bills along the lines of the program that received more than a 60 percent indorsement by corn producers have been ignored, and their goal of early action that would enable the commercial Corn Belt to cooperate best for the oncoming crop season completely was disregarded in favor of tampering with the programs in every basic commodity area—tobacco, cotton, wheat, as well as corn.

As it stands, the democratically authored bill before the House offers practically little if anything usable to the commercial corn belt that was not contained in the soil bank base acreage program offered it in the December referendum.

The joker in the Democratic bill is a vastly more complicated program which piles on special soil-bank gimmicks and bonuses of primary benefit to the areas outside the Corn Belt, and resulting new soil-bank costs, the magnitude of which cannot be gaged at all at a time when the farm budget is already projected at some $5 billion and the overall Federal budget will be lucky to stay in balance unless some unexpected savings can be made.

It seems very simple to some Corn Belt people who believe that Congress can give special treatment to one commodity bloc without voting additional new subsidies to every other commodity area of the farm industry. The House committee action demonstrates anew that whenever one area goes after something additional, all the areas are determined to get it whether they need it or not, and to hang with the overall cost.

It is, of course, too soon to predict with any accuracy the shape of the final farm legislation. But of this Corn Belt farmers can be certain: The final legislation will not come until Congress has catered to nearly every agricultural interest and the Democratic majority has done its best to maneuver the administration into a bad light.

That the opposition will go to almost any lengths to do this is fully evident in the reckless proportions of the House committee's action. Politics for 1958 and 1960, not a solid sensible start for the soil bank's first full year, is too likely to be the dominating factor in the agricultural debate from now on. A workable program, within reasonable bounds, will be a miracle unless statesmanship, undiscernible as of now, makes itself felt soon.

Positive Action Toward Development of the Resources on Indian Reservations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, recently the Council of the Episcopal Diocese of Chicago adopted three resolutions asking Congress for positive action toward development of the resources on Indian reservations.

These resolutions follow, together with the council's explanatory statement:

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that the Council of the Episcopal Diocese of Chicago ask (1) Congress so to modify H. Con. Res. 108 (83d Congress) that it state positive services to the development of the Indian tribal resources in capital investments, full utilization of natural and physical resources for the benefit of the people and technical assistance in planning and establishing services to provide for the utilization of these resources.

(2) That Congress so amend Public Law 280 that consent of recognized Indian tribal organizations must be obtained prior to any transfer of jurisdiction of Indian reservations from Federal to State governments.

(3) That the relocation program be so defined as to present to the Indian peoples accurate and true information about relocation and its attendant responsibilities and satisfactions, and that it not be undertaken until all physical and human resources, actual and potential, within the reservation or its environs fully utilize the skills and abilities of the people except as any individual may desire to leave the reservation for outside employment or living.

That this relocation program be developed in such a way as to give full consideration to the human dignity and value of each individual including all family members so relocated.

House Concurrent Resolution 108 (83d Congress) and Public Law 280 enacted July 1953 are intended to end the supervision of Indian affairs by the Federal Government as follows:

H. R. 108 (1) End all Federal relationships with the tribe, including trusteeship of tribal and individual property, all supervision of tribal assets and tribal government and all Federal services; (2) Transfer tribal assets to individuals, partnerships, corporations or to a trustee as the tribe elects. Allow tribal members to sell their undivided share in tribal assets; (3) Distribute tribal money on deposit in the United States Treasury on a per capita basis.

Public Law 280. Transfer to the State of all services formerly provided by the Federal Government, bringing the tribe and all its members under the laws of the State. Cancel all provisions for tribal self-government except the self-government allowed any community under State laws. Cancel Federal corporate charters.

From the foregoing, it is clear that these laws are attempts to deal with complex social, economic and cultural factors clearly beyond their domain and with a long historical relationship not so easily broken.

These factors of culture, economy, and social relations must be recognized in the following ways:

Each tribal organization has over the years built relationships not only with the governments of the States in which they are severally located, with the Federal Government and its agencies, but also with the various members of the tribes themselves.

Each reservation has physical assets of greater or lesser value, depending upon its extent and location. These reservation areas are granted to members of the several tribes or to tribal arganizations themselves. Under such grants is implicit the need to develop them for the benefit of members of the tribe under the conditions of the grants. Such improvements require capital, technical advice in land use, and mineral development. That the Indians can and do make such improvements is evidenced by the increase of Indian holdings of 10 million acres between 1933 and 1950.

Under a sustained Federal Government policy of land disposal this acreage is now being reduced at the rate of 500,000 a year beginning in 1953.

Under the current administration it is policy to order the termination of Federal responsibility to tribes with the most valuable assets, many of which have been developed in such a way that any dislocation of the holdings will devaluate all of the property.

It must be remembered that the removal of property from a tribe or from individuals produces instant economic dependency which affects not only a single person but an entire economy. Such action forces the individual into either dependency or relocation.

Evidences of the inadequacy of services already in existence can be gleaned from these facts.

"Proportionately, the Indian population during 1953 had 20 times as many deaths from measles as did the non-Indian population, 9 times as many deaths from tuberculosis, 4 times as many deaths from pneumonia and influenza and 3 times as many infant deaths."

"The infant mortality rate of our Southwest Indians is 139.4 per 1,000 live births as compared with 33.2 per thousand for non-Indians in the same geographical area."

Similarly education and welfare services are minimal providing little more than passing attention to the needs of the various tribes.

The opinion of the American Anthropologist indicates the attitudes of the leading students of the question:

1. "The Indian in the foreseeable future will remain a series of separate and identifiable groups despite absorption of some individuals."

This is in sharp contradiction with Federal policy and the American history of cultural absorption. This two-pronged tenacity accounts for much of the failure and frustration in Indian-white relations.

2. "Over the years, the Indian can expect no consistency in policies regarding him."

3. "The interest of the dominant society will take precedence over Indian interests

in any policy decision: Indian interests will be considered only when they coincide or at least do not contradict white interests."

While this dominance of interest is often the inevitable product of uncontrollable social forces, there are today many instances where the predatory hand of vested interests deserves severe condemnation.

4. "That the Indian can do little to affect decisions concerning Indians and that sympathetic non-Indian groups are virtually powerless."

5. "The turning over of Indian Affairs to the States is inevitable and will result in increased hostility and incapacity to render the requisite health and welfare services."

Furthermore, although it is the essence of our American form of government to obtain the consent of the governed, we find instead Indian organizations and associations protesting the economic and social policies of the Federal government. These organizations have submitted positive workable programs for building decency and self-government by Indian leadership in cooperation with both the Federal government and the several State governments which has thus far been ignored.

I am particularly interested in the second resolution because I have sponsored legislation requiring consent of the tribes prior to transfer of jurisdiction over Indian reservations from Federal to State governments.

However, the Commission of Indian Affairs has called this an "insidious proposal" and has said that its adoption would be "the worst thing for the Indian people."

Mr. Glenn L. Emmons made these statements at the final general session of the Bureau-tribal conference in Salt Lake City, Utah, September 6, 7, and 8, 1956. Here are Mr. Emmons' remarks on this subject as they appear in the minutes of that conference:

I don't feel that I could let this opportunity pass without clearing up a certain point. I don't think the Indian people have a more sympathetic champion than I to your problems. I hope you all realize there are certain things that come up and we hear a lot more than you do. Of course, we have to sift a lot of suggestions that are made as a number of them are not in good faith. Sometimes it can be a very insidious proposal that looks beautiful, but when you analyze it, it is the worst thing for the Indian people. I refer to the word "consent." I told you what my definition of consultation was. That word "consent"—I wonder if you know what that would involve. In any action taken regarding Indian affairs, the council of the Indian people would be required to be there every time. Can you see what that would involve? You can see, too, the amount of money that would involve. The U. S. Government can't afford to pay that and I doubt if the tribes in America could efford to pay for this every week. We should talk things over as the Indian people have a lot of good suggestions that they can make and I think we should carefully listen to every proposal that an Indian makes and analyze it. It is true that only through understanding can we accomplish anything. Whether these meetings will be continued over the years, I don't know. I would like to have these meetings every couple of years if possible. Remember it costs quite a bit of money to have these meetings because we feel the Indians are invited guests and we should pay their expenses in attending these meetings. Some tribes can afford to pay their way but others can't and the poor one have to be considered just as well as the more fortunate ones.

One of those present commented at Salt Lake after hearing the above statement: "Until I heard this, I thought democracy rested on the consent of the governed."

Would Substitute American Doctrine for Eisenhower Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the McComb (Miss.) Enterprise-Journal of March 1, 1957:

WOULD SUBSTITUTE AMERICAN DOCTRINE FOR EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

Clayton Rand, Gulfport editor, says that America needs a new doctrine—an American doctrine. He discusses the Monroe Doctrine, the Truman doctrine, and the Eisenhower doctrine, and then comes up with some demands for economy in general. He says:

"President Monroe must have made a mistake when he let his political followers and the press name his warning to the world to stay out of the South and Central Americas as the "Monroe Doctrine."

"The idea has spread until Truman who tried to keep China out of Korea and didn't—gave us the Truman doctrine. General Marshall got the crazy idea he could make Nationalist and communistic Chinese sleep together, figured as how he could dish out our billions all over the world and convert Communists into becoming Democrats or Republicans. Though we dumb taxpayers or our grandchildren will have to pay for this wild splurge into the third generation, he let us call it Marshall aid. He didn't pay for any of it any more than Eisenhower will pay for the Eisenhower doctrine, cooked up to save the Middle East just like we saved Korea, Egypt, and Asia. In fact, Eisenhower is paid by us to spend our substance in the Middle East, just like Marshall was paid by the American taxpayer to dish out Marshall aid all over the globe.

"Both Marshall and Eisenhower are United States Army Generals, and army brass is the most extravagant class of spenders on earth.

"What the country needs above everything else right now is an American Doctrine. This doctrine is so simple that even old dull Dulles can understand it. We have no legal or moral right to spend a single dollar of the people's money anywhere outside of our own country unless we get a dollar's worth of something in exchange for it, or that its expenditure is vital to the defense of our own country. Nowhere in the Constitution is the President or the Congress given the authority to tax the American people to support foreign governments.

"Many nations have gone busted exacting tribute from conquered foes, but we are determined to be the first to go broke feeding, financing and fortifying our foes. We are the first to meddle in the affairs of people everywhere, and itch to get in every dog and cat fight wherever they prowl.

"How can we finance Communist Tito to the tune of a billion, contemplate succor to Communist Poland, and then thumb our noses at the Soviet? If it is absolutely necessary to destroy Communism, why fool around about it in Yugoslavia, Poland, or Egypt?

Under any circumstances how do we justify ourselves in pouring out our wealth to Tito or Nehru, Yugoslavia or India, to purchase their neutrality with a bribe? They are either for us or against us. You can't trust a man like Tito who has both hands outstretched for succor, one for United States of America and the other for the Soviet.

"In the meantime we are faced with the biggest peacetime budget in history—$71,800,000,000. Ike calls on businessmen to avoid unnecessary price increases, especially at a time like the present when demand in so many areas presses hard on short supplies. He pleads that increases in wages and other labor benefits be reasonably related to improvements in productivity. He calls for a commission to study and make recommendations for strengthening the Government's financial system. He says we must economize, balance the national budget, and pay something on the national debt and then, according to his own budget, proposes to spend money like a drunken sailor.

"Neither Roosevelt nor Truman, with all their orgy of extravagance could match Eisenhower who preaches economy out of one corner of his mouth and asks for billions to squander out of the other.

"Our economy has become strictly a political economy. It's inconsistent to preach thrift while we throw away our substance all over the earth. It's silly to throw away billions in the Middle East and waste millions right here at home building public housing where it is neither wanted nor needed, and then prate and preach about the need for economy.

"The American doctrine should first set the good example. We should show the world we can be strong as we have in the past, conserving our own resources and fortifying our own defenses. The directions we go now—many of them—in the light of history lead to chaos and national suicide. And who will save us when we are exhausted?"

The other day we met a distinguished journalist and talked with him at length. He was pessimistic. Said he, "We now not only have a dangerous trend in our country but a tempo of the trend which cannot be stopped. It means that we have already lost our form of government. It is noy only a matter of time."

Mr. Rand seems to concur with the journalist referred to above. Has the trend gone so far that it cannot be stopped? This we cannot say. But we can say that mighty few people seem to indicate a desire to halt this dangerous trend.

The Junior Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, this week the American Association of Junior Colleges meets in annual convention in Salt Lake City. Utah is honored to be host to this great organization, 600 colleges strong, and extends congratulations to its president, James M. Ewing; its executive secretary, Jesse B. Bogue; its other officers, directors, and membership.

Much interest is centered around the Salt Lake City convention because our country turns to the junior—community—college to accommodate a sizable

portion of the influx of students soon to reach college.

It is none too early now for Members of Congress to formulate plans to take care of the incoming college population. Even if we start now, I fear it might be a case of too little and too late as it appears to be with regard to aid for the elementary and secondary schools.

The situation brings to my mind the fable of "The Fox and the Wild Boar," in which the fox came upon the wild boar sharpening his teeth on a rock. "What are you doing that for?" asked the fox. "Because when the hounds are after me it's too late," said the wild boar.

The tidal wave of students is now beginning to flood the high schools and will soon reach our colleges. Twice as many youth will graduate from high school in 1969 as did this past year. This assures us that by 1970 there will be twice as many people attending school on the college level. If building construction progresses at its present rate of $750 million every year until 1970, there will be room for only 4.3 million of the 6 million applying for admission.

What then are we going to do about it? President Eisenhower has already made a beginning by appointing a Presidential Committee on Education Beyond the High School. Its executive secretary, Dr. Elvis Stahr, will be one of the featured speakers at the Salt Lake City convention this week. Last November the Committee released a preliminary report. It recommends at the outset that Congress appropriate $2½ million to be distributed among the States to encourage and assist every State to develop a State program designed to meet its college problems. The first thing that Congress can do about it is to appropriate this money.

The President's Committee takes the position that equality of educational opportunity beyond the high school is the goal to be reached and that four important developments are necessary before institutions of high learning are able to achieve that goal. These developments are:

Quantity: There must be a sufficient number of institutions and faculty persons to provide for all qualified students.

Quality: The quality of opportunity offered must be good.

Variety: There must be a variety of educational institutions under a diversity of auspices to offer many choices to individuals of various abilities and talents who differ in interests, aspirations, and beliefs

Accessibility: There must be facilities for education which are accessible to all students if equality of opportunity is truly to be realized.

Now how can these goals of quantity, quality, variety, and accessibility be realized?

More than 20 years' experience as an administrator in a junior college has satisfied me that at least part of the answer may be found in an expanded junior college movement. In fact, the Truman Commission on Higher Education, of which I was a member, stated boldly that the bulk of the increased college enrollment during the next decade should be absorbed by the community—junior—college.

The junior college is usually a 2-year local institution—community or regional—catering to a wide diversity of student population. It has an extremely practical bent. It goes into all of the homes of all of the people who do all of the work of the community and helps them to do their work better and live more happily in those homes. Its mother is the high school and its father is the university. The father wants junior to walk in his footsteps but junior is already making some significant footsteps of his own. For example, junior is less bound by tradition, less regimented by standard university curricular requirements and far more free to do those things most needed to meet the needs of his own students and the needs of his own community.

The junior college takes the position that there is nothing sacred about the word "four," so fixed by senior institutions as the minimum number of years required for a bachelor's degree. It points out that there are many skilled and semiprofessional occupations for which youth or adults might prepare in 1 or 2 years. Consequently the junior college gives a certificate of completion to students finishing a 2-year terminal curriculum and a title of associate of arts or associate of sciences for students transferring into the university upon completion of the first 2 years of the traditional university program.

Those completing the terminal—nontransfer—program are encouraged to pursue adult classes in night school. Approximately 55 percent of the junior college graduates are graduated from the terminal programs and go into industry or into semiprofessional work while 45 percent transfer into the junior year of the university.

THE JUNIOR COLLEGE IS SENSITIVE TO COMMUNITY NEEDS

The junior college has an adaptive mechanism within the structure of its organization which makes its program extremely sensitive to community needs. In setting up a terminal vocational program it usually takes steps as follows: first, it makes an occupational survey to determine positions available in the particular occupation being considered; second, it organizes an advisory committee of people engaged in the occupation; third, it develops the course of study with the help of the advisory committee; fourth, it installs the program; fifth, it places the graduates upon completion of their school program; and sixth, it supervises and assists those graduates to succeed on the job.

Now let me give you three illustrations out of my own experience to show the adaptability of a local college which is free, as far as its terminal program is concerned, from the uniformity and regimentation of the university standards.

During the darkest days of the depression when the Weber Junior College graduates could not find work, the occupational survey of the Ogden, Utah, area showed that the 3 railroads centering at Ogden could use 25 station agents. While hundreds of men applied, no qualified men were available. Weber Junior College organized an advisory committee of 3 union station agents and 2 railroad administrators, set up a course for station agents, hired the best agent the railroads had as a teacher, and in 12 months turned out 25 good operators, all of whom the committee placed in positions. Such a course would not be eligible for credit or be considered academically respectable by a university.

Four years ago our survey showed that the hospitals in the Ogden area were short of nurses because the 3- and 4-year programs of the university were not turning out nurses fast enough. We formed an advisory committee consisting of the president of the county medical association, the head nurses of our two hospitals, the director of nursing at the State university, the State president of the nursing organization, and the State supervisor of nursing registration.

The committee heard of the nursing education research at Columbia University—encouraged by our esteemed Congressman FRANCES P. BOLTON—which revealed that by placing the nursing program under the college itself and by using the hospitals as a training laboratory, nurses could qualify for registration in 2 years instead of a minimum of 3 or 4 years. Furthermore, it was pointed out that by permitting the girls to live at home instead of living in the nursing home at the hospitals, the hospitals would be freed of the expense of the nursing home, could use it for other purposes, and the girls' school life would be far more attractive.

We announced and offered the 2-year nursing program. Immediately we had more applicants than student stations because living at the nursing home proved to be the chief barrier to girls entering nursing. Fully a year's time was saved by eliminating routine hospital services which the hospitals required the girls to perform long after the educational values of these services had passed. All of the first 2-year graduates except one passed the State examination last year and I am told ranked as high as the nurses with 3 years' training in the old program.

One of the features of the American Association of Junior College Convention now in session at Salt Lake City is a trip to Ogden so the administrators can see the Weber Junior College 2-year nursing program firsthand and appraise its outcomes.

Wealth is created by money, materials, and men, but the greatest of these is men. The dispersal of industry legislation passed by Congress last summer holds out great promise to communities under 200,000 population if conditions are right. One requirement is a high-class competent labor force. The proven ability of Weber Junior College to turn out good technicians was one of the important considerations leading recently to the selection of Ogden as the site of the large Marquardt Ram jet-engine plant.

THE JUNIOR COLLEGE MEETS THE COMMITTEE'S TEST OF VARIETY

This 2-year school caters to a widely diversified school population. Students who want to go on to a 4-year degree can find the standard first 2 years at the junior college and then transfer to the university. Those desiring a trade or semiprofessional preparation can complete a well-rounded 2-year course consisting of both vocational and general education which is more broadening and far richer in social and civic values than the narrower work of a strictly trade or area vocational school. And those who want a more narrow intensively vocational program of shorter duration can find that as well and in a better setting.

The junior college caters to people of all ages. Its adult and night school program is meeting with unusual success.

The junior college is also adapted to varying capacities and abilities. It takes an intelligence quotient of about 115 to gets a C or passing grade in the universities. Two-thirds of our youth have not an intelligence quotient that high, yet a large percentage can find their nitch in the variety of offerings of the junior college. Only about one-third can complete a 4-year program at the university while more than one-half can complete a 2-year program at either the junior or senior institution. This is one of the reasons why one-half of the students in the senior colleges discontinue their work on or before the end of the sophomore year.

The junior college is admirably adapted to help the student discover his interests, aptitudes, and abilities. Many students are what President Arthur Adams, of the American Council on Education calls late bloomers.

It strikes me—

He says—

that identifying them (the late bloomers) and encouraging them is a major task of the junior college.

Many of our most outstanding scholars are discovered in the terminal programs of the junior colleges, and encouraged to go on into the senior schools. These valuable young people might otherwise never have been discovered.

The smaller school of the junior college variety can give better individualized instruction than the huge university. Our industrial age is so accustomed to the goals of speed, mass production and uniformity of product that it tends to impose those goals on the college to the detriment of the individual enrolled. The school should resemble a clinic, where each patient is treated in accordance with his own needs, more than it should resemble a huge factory.

THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE MEETS WELL THE COMMITTEE'S TEST OF QUALITY

Several rather reliable followup studies have been made of the success of junior college transfer students at the university.

Grace V. Bird, associate director, relations with schools at University of California, arrived at the following conclusion:

Junior college transfers make records approximately the same as those made by transfers from 4-year colleges and by native students. There is clear evidence that junior colleges are salvaging a large number of students for success in advanced studies who would otherwise have missed them entirely.

THE JUNIOR COLLEGE MEETS THE COMMITTEE'S TEST OF ACCESSIBILITY

The community college makes college available to more people. Coleman Griffith, in his book The Junior College in Illinois, found that only 19.7 percent of high-school graduates went on to college when there was no free junior college in their community as against 53.5 percent when a junior college was present. In the latter case, also, 46.7 percent of the graduates of lower economic status were found to be attending the junior college.

George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO, has stated that the American worker could not afford in many cases to send a child on for 4 years of education, but a 2-year program could be afforded.

The Truman Commission found that the financial barrier was the greatest barrier in the way of equal education opportunity to all American youth and that the costs to the student are going up rapidly. The Commission refers to a study of 1 State which shows that only 1 out of 3 of the highest 10 percent of the high-school graduates ever entered college.

W. Hugh Stickler made one of the most reliable studies of comparative student costs in public senior colleges, private senior colleges, public junior colleges, and private junior colleges. In these costs he included tuition, fees, room rent, board, books, supplies, clothing, transportation, and miscellaneous expenses. His results are as follows:

	Cost per year
Public senior colleges	$1,304
Private senior colleges	1,531
Public junior colleges	1,062
Private junior colleges	735

It costs the student nearly twice as much each year to attend school at a public senior college as it does a public junior college.

THE JUNIOR COLLEGE MEETS THE TEST OF QUANTITY AND ECONOMY

The junior college is more economical. Senator CLIFFORD CASE of New Jersey, who, incidentally, is an alumnus and trustee of Rutgers University, in a recent news release describing the advantages of the community college, stated:

Clearly, the community-college plan produces the most for the tax dollar. It avoids the expensive costs of building dormitories and of long-distance transportation. It gives the student a chance to live at home, to find part-time work among his friends and neighbors, and perhaps to combine education and work.

It is to be hoped that the States will, in their planning with the $2½ million—which I hope our legislation in Congress will give them—give careful study toward establishing a coordinated system of public education beyond the high school which will include the junior college as an integral part of that public-school system and give this segment its fair share of dignity, emphasis, and financial support. Not long ago the completion of the eighth grade constituted in people's minds the end of public-school education. The goal was then raised to the completion of high school. And now nothing short of the completion of the junior college is the goal.

Conservation Successes and Failures of Past Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, once again our Nation's Capital is host to the North American Wildlife Conference, which was born here 22 years ago.

About 1,500 conservationists are participating in discussions covering the whole broad range of conservation, including soil, water, timber, and wildlife. Delegates represent all types of organizations, public and private in all 48 States, the Territory of Alaska, and the Provinces of Canada and Mexico.

Traditionally, the conference is opened by one of this country's great conservationists, Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, president of the Wildlife Management Institute and former Director both of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service and of its predecessor, the United States Biological Survey.

In his address today, Dr. Gabrielson summarized the conservation successes and failures of this past year and listed some of the goals for this year. As he pointed out, in the 22 years since the first conference we have seen a rapid growth in the knowledge and understanding of conservation problems. But there still is much to learn and to teach to those who have yet to appreciate conservation and what it means to our American way of life.

Dr. Gabrielson's summary, which is of immediate concern to Congress, follows:

This has been a rather momentous year in conservation history. There have been successes and failures, but the gains seem to be of more significance than the losses. So many things have happened that it is not possible even to list all of them, but it might be well to mention a few.

The good forestry and wildlife provisions in the Soil Bank Act are there because the conservationists across the country united to put them there. The forestry provisions are being implemented, but so far the wildlife provisions have been applied very sketchily. We hope that during the next year steps to carry forward this part of the Soil Bank Act will become more fruitful.

The new Pollution Act, a much stronger law than the original legislation, and also providing more funds for this important work, was another victory for the conservation forces of this country. Nevertheless, appropriations still are needed to carry it out completely, and the victory will not be won until adequate funds are made available for carrying out this important program.

The Fish and Wildlife Service's reorganization bill, which upgraded this important work in the Department of the Interior and provided an assistant secretary for fish and

wildlife, was a step forward. It might also be mentioned that during the past year, better appropriations have been made available for the work of the Forest Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, National Park Service, and Soil Conservation Service which reflects the conservation thinking, both on the part of the public and many of the Members of Congress.

The passage of the bill retaining in public ownership lands which the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission had undertaken to develop for fish and wildlife purposes around the Jim Woodruff Reservoir was an important victory because of the precedent it established. The problem will not be resolved, however, until an amendment to the Coordination Act is passed which corrects the loopholes in the present Coordination Act and the inequities in the present joint land acquisition policy signed by the Interior Department and the Army Corps of Engineers.

A bill to transfer part of the Wichita National Wildlife Refuge to the Army failed to pass due to the active opposition of practically every conservation organization in the country. An agreement by the Army to accept a use permit as a buffer zone on 3,600 acres lying along the south boundary of the refuge has just been announced.

Against this we have to list the failure to enact the key deer bill, which was passed by both the House and the Senate committees. It failed, however, to pass the Senate due to the last-minute objections on the part of one of the sponsors of the bill. We hope for better results this year.

The proposed watered-down amendments to the Coordination Act got nowhere. Not even committee hearings were held. A much more vigorous proposal is being circulated, and we hope it will be introduced and backed by all conservation groups. If this bill can be introduced and supported, it has a good chance of passage.

Bruce's Eddy Dam authorization got through on the omnibus bill, despite the opposition of the conservationists. It was included late in the session and there was little opportunity for hearings on this item and on an item that would turn over to the Army engineers a drainage right-of-way through the White River refuge, one of the major wintering grounds in the refuge system. The proposal gives no voice to the Interior Department as to the location of drainage canals, no matter how much damage they might do to the refuge and its present management program. Both of these items were saved when President Eisenhower vetoed the omnibus bill, and we certainly owe him a vote of thanks for that. Both items are again included in the present bill, and it will take vigorous opposition on the part of conservationists to prevent their enactment.

While you are in Washington, you have a fine opportunity to let your Senators and Representatives know how you feel about these two items.

In closing this brief legislative summary, I think that it is proper to say that conservationists are glad to see so many of the stanch conservation Members of both the Senate and the House return to serve the public further. Senator James Duff, of Pennsylvania, was the only outstanding conservationist who was not reelected. All of the others who fought valiantly on the conservation side, both Democrats and Republicans, are back with us, and we can all rejoice in this fact.

In putting the fish and wildlife reorganization bill into effect, there have been some tentative proposals that have been widely opposed by conservationists. These, however, have not been put into effect. Most conservationists have been immensely heartened at the appointment of a well-known conservationist, Ross Leffler, as the new Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife. While we may not always agree with his decisions, we can be sure that they will be made from a conservation point of view. Secretary Seaton has also greatly heartened the conservationists by his interest and understanding of the various matters that have been brought to him. It appears that this part of the conservation program is again in forward gear.

Many conservationists are particularly heartened by the fact that in the Fish and Wildlife Service reorganization career men have been appointed to the important administrative posts. This should do much to strengthen the morale of the Service.

All conservationists are looking forward hopefully to the future program now being developed in the United States Fish and Wildlife Service. We all hope that it will be broad enough and imaginative enough to really carry on the job and to establish goals that will be eminently worth fighting for.

The Military Obligation of Young Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 7, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, will you serve 2 years in the Army under the draft, or will you serve 6 months in training and then a few years attending weekly drills in a nearby armory with 15-day training each summer?

That is the choice confronting the young men of America who are under 26 years of age. Since the Army cannot obtain by enlistment enough soldiers to keep it at the strength our Government believes necessary, the additional men must be obtained by the 2-year draft.

The American people have always opposed maintaining a large Army during time of peace. Today the Army is relatively large, but it is far smaller than would be needed in any major emergency. To meet an emergency the United States must now, as it always has in the past, depend principally on a civilian Army raised in time of need. The nucleus of such a large civilian Army is our Ready Reserve, composed of the National Guard, called the militia from colonial days, and the Organized Reserve.

To meet this need our country now has developed a definite policy. The youth of America is being given an opportunity to join a Reserve—National Guard or Organized Reserve—unit and take either 11 weeks or 6 months of active duty training, followed by participation in Reserve training for a specified time. Reserve training usually consists of a 2-hour training period in the local armory each week and a 15-day summer training period in camp. A reservist receives the same pay for each drill period as he would receive for each day in the Regular Army.

MEN BETWEEN 17 AND 18½ YEARS OF AGE

Young men between 17 and 18½ years of age—until April 1 of this year—may enlist in the National Guard without taking any basic training and then must participate in Reserve training as set out above until they reach 28 years of age. After April 1 and before October 1 men between the ages of 17 and 18½ years of age may enlist in the National Guard, take 11 weeks' training and participate in Reserve training until age 28. Or if the volunteer takes 6 months' training instead of 11 weeks he will be required to serve only 3 years as an active reservist. After October 1 enlistments for the 11-week program will cease and only the 6-month program will be in effect.

MEN FROM 18½ TO 26 YEARS OF AGE

Until now young men from 18½ years to 26 years have had the choice of a regular enlistment in the services or waiting for a draft call. They now will have a new program which allows the young man in that age bracket to fulfill his military obligation by enlisting in the guard or Organized Reserve for 6 months' training and Active Reserve participation for 5½ years.

The young man may also wait until called by the draft for 2 years' active duty. After return from 2 years' training, he still has 2 years' obligation in the active Reserves. Since only those needed will be drafted, there will be some who, although not joining either the Guard or Reserve, will not be drafted. It is a calculated risk that some youths will prefer to take.

The program a young man selects does not reflect on his patriotism. Young men are merely, within certain limitations, allowed to choose how they will serve in peacetime; in the active Army or in the Reserve.

Resolution by the Chicago Dental Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution drawn by the Chicago Dental Society, which has been transmitted to me by the board of directors of that organization. This resolution concerns H. R. 9 and H. R. 10, which have been introduced into the Congress by Representative JENKINS, of Ohio, and Representative KEOGH, of New York. It represents the deliberate judgment of a most intelligent and discriminatory organization, and I believe their attitude toward H. R. 9 and H. R. 10 should be made a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of study by all Members of the House of Representatives.

The resolution from the Chicago Dental Society follows:

Whereas self-employed persons such as the members of our profession are not permitted to realize the tax benefits that are available under the Internal Revenue Code to officers

and employees of corporations with respect to funds placed in private pension and retirement programs; and

Whereas this is patently an unjust discrimination; and

Whereas the recently proposed H. R. 9 and H. R. 10 introduced by Representative JENKINS, Republican, of Ohio, and Representative KEOGH, Democrat, of New York, embody the principles that have underlain similar bills introduced by these two men in the past several years and gained the approbation and support of both major parties, of the President, of our leading tax authorities, and millions of self-employed persons; and

Whereas we feel that the plan has been instituted in other countries and found workable and feasible and because it is a sound program of saving and providing for future retirement funds which is of advantage to the country at large as well as the particular individuals involved: Be it

Resolved, That the Chicago Dental Society support the principles of H. R. 9 and H. R. 10, sometimes referred to as the Jenkins-Keogh proposal, and urges the Congress to enact it into law.

This Philosophy Is Simple

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, one of the most comprehensible explanations of the operation of socialism and capitalism I have seen in a long time appeared a few days ago in my hometown newspaper, the Bay City Times.

It is so well presented that I would like to recommend its reading by my colleagues and for that reason I am submitting it for the RECORD.

Also dealing with our way of life here in America I submit an article which appeared in Sunshine magazine recently under the heading "In an Ideal America."

The articles follow:

THIS PHILOSOPHY IS SIMPLE

[From the Bay City (Mich.) Times of February 23, 1957]

Socialism levels down; capitalism levels up. Socialism reduces the man who has more. Capitalism ups all, including the fellow who has less.

Reduced to their simplest proportions, let us see how these two systems operate:

Picture a small community of 1,000 men. One is wealthy; the others are poor. Socialism levels down by equalizing the wealth and now all are poor.

Capitalism tries a different way. The rich man is allowed to retain his capital. He invests it in constructive enterprise. Five men develop thriving smaller enterprises required to furnish Man No. 1 with the many things he needs to operate his big business. This great industry employs many men at good wages. The five lesser manufacturers supply many well paying jobs. Many others become small or medium-sized businessmen, or succeed in a great variety of service trades and professions.

After a lapse of 25 years we take another census. The rich man is now richer. The smaller businessmen have grown rich. Most of the men employed in these industries have accumulated substantial savings, own stock in the companies they work for, or share in various incentive plans.

Smaller businessmen also are prospering and those in the professions and service trades are doing well. There is little need for bureaucrats as the whole system operates on the basis of the free market with a strictly limited government exercising few functions.

Consequently, taxes are low and the profits earned by the big, medium and small businesses are plowed back into them for expansion of their activities. This increases production and makes possible higher wages. In turn, the professional men, service trades and shopkeepers profit by the increasing amount of wealth that is being produced.

Some doctors, some lawyers and other professional men have earned substantial sums. All are free to work as hard as they like and to retain and enjoy nearly all of their earnings. Capital accumulates rapidly, making possible a continuous expansion of industrial activity.

To be sure, great inequality still exists but the poorest now have more than the richest under the leveling down of socialism. Capitalism has leveled up. It hasn't decreased anyone but it has made all more prosperous. Of course a few, a very few, are unfortunate or handicapped in some manner. They are liberally cared for by churches and private agencies set up to meet their needs.

It is better to help everyone up than to pull everyone down.

[From the Sunshine magazine]

IN AN IDEAL AMERICA

Every person should be free to pursue his ambition to the full extent of his abilities, regardless of race, or creed, or family background.

To associate with whom he pleases for any reason he pleases, even if someone else thinks it's a stupid reason.

To worship God in his own way, even though it is not orthodox.

To choose his own trade, and to apply for any job he wants; and to quit his job if he doesn't like it, or if he gets a better one, at any wage he cares to accept.

To go into business for himself, be his own boss, and set his own hours of work, be it 3 hours a week or 14 hours a day.

To use his honestly acquired property or savings in his own way—spend it foolishly, invest it wisely, or even give it away.

To offer his services or product for sale on his own terms, even if he loses money on the deal.

To buy or not to buy any services or product offered for sale, even if the refusal displeases the seller.

To disagree with any other person, even with the President of the United States.

To study and learn whatever strikes his fancy, so long as it seems to him worth the cost and effort.

To do as he pleases in general, so long as he does not infringe upon the equal right and opportunity of every other person.

This, in a nutshell, is the way of life which the libertarian philosophy commends. It is the way of individual liberty, of the free market, of private property, of government limited to securing rights equally to all.

Status of Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the January issue of the American Legion magazine carried an article, We Learned About Jap Prisons From the Inside, based upon my interviews with two American servicemen who had been tried and convicted in Japanese courts under the authority granted Japan by our agreement on the status of our forces. Col. Howard S. Levie of the Office of Judge Advocate General of the Army has asked me to disclose the identity of the two former servicemen so that the Army may investigate their complaints of improper treatment in the Japanese prisons.

A part of the article reveals the ineptitude of Army officers who visited the prisons from time to time and who, according to the prisoners, seemed more interested in friendly relationshps with the jailers than in improving conditions of confinement. As I talked with these boys, I thought it was shocking that the Army apparently had made no serious effort to be informed of the conditions of their imprisonment. I am certain spot checks of the prisons or interviews with American servicemen after their release would have brought out all the facts stated in my article, and more.

I am certain that serious investigations undertaken even at this late date would reveal all that the Department of the Army could learn by interviewing the subjects of my article. For this reason, and because I do not wish them to be subjected to further harassment at a time when they are having the greatest difficulty in establishing themselves, I must decline to reveal their identity. Let me say, however, that I am personally convinced of the accuracy of their reports, and I think the article will have been well worthwhile if it arouses the conscience of the Defense Department with regard to the victims of the status of forces agreements.

In order to publicize my reason for protecting the identity of these former prisoners of the Japanese, I include Colonel Levie's letter to me and my reply made to the Secretary of Defense:

Hon. FRANK T. BOW,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR BOW: I refer to your article entitled "We Learned About Jap Prisons From the Inside" which appeared in the January 1957 issue of the American Legion magazine.

The Department of the Army, as the designated executive agency of the Department of Defense for such matters, is in the process of investigating the serious charges set forth in this article concerning the Japanese prison installations in which convicted United States personnel are confined, the conditions under which such personnel are confined and the treatment which they receive while so confined. We recognize that you are as interested as the Department of the Army in a fair, impartial, and thorough investigation of any charge of mistreatment of American servicemen confined in Japanese prisons to the end that efforts may be made to correct any deficiencies that may exist.

Inasmuch as any congressional committee which might be called upon to consider the charges would require a complete report on a matter of this nature, it would be greatly appreciated if the full names of "Ed" and "Bill," as set forth in your article, could be made available to this office so that the investigation may be properly concluded.

It is noted that in a conversation with Mr. Esgain of this office on February 18, 1957, Mr. Melchior of your office confirmed the fact indicated in your article that the subject individuals are no longer subject to military jurisdiction since they are not members of the military establishment and ad-

vised that they have indicated a willingness to appear before any congressional committee concerned with the treatment of our soldiers in Japan.

The results of any investigation will, of course, be used for official purposes only.

Your interest in the welfare of these servicemen and of those who may find themselves in a similar situation is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

HOWARD S. LEVIE,
Colonel, JAGC, Chief, International Affairs Division.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C., February 25, 1957.

Hon. WILBER M. BRUCKER,
Secretary of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am in receipt of a letter from Col. Howard S. Levie, JAGC, dated February 20, 1957, requesting the full names of the men whose experiences were described in my article in the American Legion magazine entitled "We Learned About Jap Prisons From the Inside." I regret that I am unable to comply with his request.

These men served their sentences of imprisonment in Japan. They both received the type of discharge as provided, I believe, by regulations. Their records made adjustment to civil life rather difficult, particularly in the matter of securing employment. I do not wish to subject them to the embarrassment or harassment of further inquiry by Army investigators. It might cost them their present jobs and upset the whole new pattern of existence they have tried to build for themselves in their communities.

Frankly, I am unable to understand why the Department of the Army must know the identity of these men in order to make a complete investigation of the conditions which have existed in the various prisons in Japan. Apparently your officers have lacked either the ability or the desire to penetrate the window dressing supplied by the Japanese officials whenever an inspection was imminent. Some of the inspectors were either too anxious to maintain cordial relations with the Japanese officials or approached their duty with the feeling that the prisoners deserved what they were getting.

I have found sufficient corroboration of the stories of these former prisoners to accept their statements as true. It is to be expected that some persons will attempt to discredit them. I hope that your present investigation will be more thorough and productive than inspections have been in the past. Any effort put forth by the Defense Department to lessen the hazards of service in foreign countries is commendable. However, no panacea will cure the first wrong, which was the surrender of jurisdiction over our servicemen in the first instance.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK T. BOW,
Member of Congress.

Landlords Dump Tenants for Soil Bank Payments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following letter and petitions forwarded to me by one of my constituents, Mr. Murlin Carter, Syracuse, Kans.:

Enclosed find petitions addressed to you and brought to me to forward on to you. These petitions are self-explanatory; however, I would like to add the following: Notices have been sent by six landlords that I have heard of and undoubtedly several others. Some of the tenants being so notified have been with the same landlord for over 20 years, so the reason is apparent. We are aware of the conditions on the back of the soil-bank application but that is felt to be too mild and there should be either additional teeth added or more instructions from a higher level. The fact that the landlord may be thrown out of soil-bank participation does not help the tenant that has been dispossessed. The notices to vacate are coming from both the local and the nonresident landowner. You are aware that over half of our county is owned by nonresidents and surely this is true of our better land. To be sure, the sales of the last several years have gone to the nonfarmers as the resident farmers have been too hard hit by Secretary Benson and the drought to buy much of anything, much less the farms that have been selling. We have been most pleased by your efforts in our behalf, and we are more than proud and enthused to have a man in Washington with the punch, knowledge, and background to give us the kind of representation that the Great Plains sorely needs.

Sincerely yours,

MURLIN CARTER.

SYRACUSE, KANS.

PETITION TO CONGRESSMAN J. FLOYD BREEDING

We, the undersigned farmers of Hamilton County, Kans., are petitioning you as we feel an injustice is being done the small farmers by the landlords.

These farmers have farmed the land at a loss for the last 3 years and now the landlords are taking their land so they can collect the soil-bank payments. How can the tenants make up for their loss without land to farm? We feel that the only solution to this is a provision in the soil-bank plan that any landlord who takes his land from a tenant, without just cause or for personal gain, should not be allowed to collect from the soil bank for 5 years.

We feel that you understand the problems of the small farmers and will give this matter due and just consideration.

Glen I. Porter, Walter S. Hardin, Gene Schwerdfeger, Leo G. Williams, Robert Crittenden, Harold Laubach, Charles Van Eddy, Warren Wright, Marion O. Aeschliman, J. E. Barrett, O. L. Libertus, Coolidge, Kans.; T. W. Wright, Kendall, Kans.; George H. Williams, Dan McMahan, John Hesse, J. W. Royse, John Libertus, John S. Thornburgh, Lee Laubach, Oliver Hines, Bernard Wagner, Coolidge, Kans.; Roy H. Dunagan, F. N. Cheatum, G. R. Schroll, Glen A. Hartshorn, William Hoff, Henry Hoff, Syracuse, Kans.

PETITION TO CONGRESSMAN J. FLOYD BREEDING

We, the undersigned farmers of Hamilton County, Kans., are petitioning you as we feel an injustice is being done the small farmers by the landlords.

These farmers have farmed the land at a loss for the last 3 years and now the landlords are taking their land so they can collect the soil-bank payments. How can the tenants make up for their loss without land to farm? We feel that the only solution to this is a provision in the soil-bank plan that any landlord who takes his land from a tenant, without just cause or for personal gain, should not be allowed to collect from the soil bank for 5 years.

We feel that you understand the problems of the small farmer and will give this matter due and just consideration.

Fred Westeman, Basil W. Crist, Eldon Hamlin, Marion Weckerly, Gene Weckerly, Ray E. Hatton, Ed Kaesler, Richard Kaesler, C. E. Eberhart, Vernon C. Harper, Jack G. Holdren, W. A. Kerns, Willis Buhrle, A. C. Westeman, Elmo Kaesler, Clyde Smith, Harley Davis, Dennis Davis, Murlin Carter, Syracuse, Kans.

PETITION TO CONGRESSMAN J. FLOYD BREEDING

We, the undersigned farmers of Hamilton County, Kans., are petitioning you as we feel an injustice is being done the small farmers by the landlords.

These farmers have farmed the land at a loss for the last three years and now the landlords are taking their land so they can collect soil-bank payments. How can the tenants make up for their loss without land to farm? We feel that the only situation to this is a provision in the soil-bank plan that any landlord who takes his land from a tenant, without just cause or for personal gain, should not be allowed to collect from the soil bank for 5 years.

We feel that you understand the problems of the small farmer and will give this matter due and just consideration.

J. F. Puckett, Cletus A. Simon, D. L. Lindsey, C. W. Schwerdfeger, Lance Crittenden, Syracuse, Kans., Merle B. Lindner, Owen Rinehart, Kendall, Kans.; Charles Howell, Lawrence Ochs, Harry Herndon, Jr., Richard Cheatum, Fred Morgan, Charles Faulooner, Ken Veach, Clarence E. Nicherson, Melvin Bennett, Joe E. Johnson, D. L. Hartshorn, Linnie Veach, Robert L. Dunn, Charles Stimatz, Arthur Rich, Gerald Downs, Dempsey Connor, George A. Potter, L. T. Ashmore, Edwin F. Helm, Syracuse, Kans.

PETITION TO CONGRESSMAN J. FLOYD BREEDING

We, the undersigned farmers of Hamilton County, Kans., are petitioning you as we feel an injustice is being done the small farmers by the landlords.

These farmers have farmed the land at a loss for the last 3 years and now the landlords are taking their land so they can collect the soil-bank payments. How can the tenants make up for their loss without land to farm? We feel that the only solution to this is a provision in the soil-bank plan that any landlord who takes his land from a tenant, without just cause or for personal gain, should not be allowed to collect from the soil bank for 5 years.

We feel that you understand the problems of the small farmer and will give this matter due and just consideration.

L. J. Eddy, E. L. King, Floyd Haslett, Coolidge, Kans.; John E. Tracy, James Grilliot, Syracuse, Kans.; John Lampe, Kendall, Kans.; Frank Helfrih, Coolidge, Kans.; Joseph Thomeczek, Joe Englert, Syracuse, Kans.; F. C. Hatcher, Coolidge, Kans.; E. L. Hatcher, Gary Hatcher, T. A. Barth, C. A. Barth, W. R. Barth, Holly, Colo.; Ray Rohlman, Fredrick H. Youngers, Syracuse, Kans.; William Willinger, Fred Helfrich, Coolidge, Kans.; Lawrence Herrmann, Syracuse, Kans.; Edward Lampe, Kendall, Kans.; W. J. Schweiterman, Leon Burkhart, Syracuse, Kans.; Paul Crist, Odie Collins Haysler Branine, Wayne Branine, Coolidge, Kans.; F. J. Branine, Holly, Colo.; Leslie Earl Hazen, J. W. Conard, Coolidge, Kans.; R. N. Barth, Holly, Colo.

Mr. Nixon's Mission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, once again Vice President NIXON has gone

abroad to create good will for America. All the reports from Africa where he is representing President Eisenhower indicate his tour has met with tremendous success and that it will result in real benefit to our country and the free world. I wish to call to the attention of the House, the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times on March 3, 1957.

The editorial follows:

[From the New York Times of March 3, 1957]

MR. NIXON'S MISSION

Vice President NIXON is on an important trip. He is giving fresh emphasis to our concern regarding the continent of Africa as a whole and some of the states within it in particular.

Originally the purpose of the NIXON mission was to represent the President at the inauguration of a new free government on the West Coast of Africa, when the historic Gold Coast becomes the Commonwealth of Ghana on Wednesday. Since then, however, the scope and objectives of the trip have been enlarged. Mr. NIXON will go to seven African states, in addition to Ghana, and will also make a stop in Italy. In each of his visits he will bear a message of interest and goodwill from the United States.

The Vice President is no stranger to this sort of activity. He has traveled as an envoy to express our national interest in Asia, in Latin America and, most recently, in Europe. He has been consistently successful in this capacity.

Behind and beyond all this lies the gradual emergence of the Dark Continent from some of its darkness. It has frequently been said that Africa is "stirring" and this is true. New modes of thought and behavior are making themselves felt. Some new political structures, such as those in Ghana, the Sudan, and north Africa are being developed. Some areas are already even further advanced. It is a time of change and growth.

It is the aim of the United States—and some other great powers—to help to make this change and growth orderly, fruitful, and free. We are conscious of the tremendous resources of the continent, not merely in material things, but also in human beings. It is right, therefore, that we show our interest not merely in plantations and mines. We are also interested in persons and concerned for them. It is a vital part of the Vice President's mission to show this concern. He has made a good start in that role.

Post Office Hopes Go Glimmering as White House Stops Building Plans—Vacant Lot Owned by Government Called Ike's Half Acre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the following story appeared on the front page of the Carthage (Tenn.) Courier newspaper, dated February 21, 1957:

Hopes for a new post-office building at Carthage, which had been alternately low and high for the last 2 years, went to a new low this week with the announcement that the White House has ordered a halt to all construction plans to help stop inflation.

Senator ALBERT GORE told friends here last week that the lease-purchase program has been stopped. Representative JOE L. EVINS told the Courier this week the history of the cessation. His letter fully explaining the situation follows:

"The long-anticipated Federal building and post-office construction program is being stalled and delayed by orders from top officials in the administration.

"This week Administrator Franklin Floete, head of the General Services Administration, which supervises the Federal building program, testified before the House Appropriations Committee that he has received instructions from the White House, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Director of the Budget that the construction of Federal buildings and post offices under the lease-purchase program will be deferred for the time being because of the fear that these construction projects will contribute to inflationary pressures.

"Two years ago, President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message endorsed a long needed and awaited public-building program and stated that the time had arrived when we must move forward in the construction of needed post offices and Federal buildings. When the President came before the Congress this year, he stated, however, that because of inflationary conditions that projects which could be deferred would be postponed. After the President made this statement, Administrator Floete and Post Office officials were instructed to halt the Federal building program.

"The Congress has approved construction of almost 150 Federal buildings under the lease-purchase program; however, only one, a post office at Rock Island, Ill., is under construction. Representative JONES of Alabama announced, shortly after Administrator Floete told Congress of the halted construction, that hearings will be scheduled by the House Public Works Committee to investigate and inquire into the workability of the Federal lease-purchase building program.

"Many are of the opinion that the economy of this Nation is spotty in areas and that construction and improvement of needed post-office buildings in certain regions would bolster the economy.

"The halting of this program just as it was getting underway was done by administrative action, notwithstanding the fact that the Congress had passed the required legislation and authorized sufficient appropriations to initiate the program. Deferment of this domestic program does not meet with the approval of a large number of the Members of the Congress.

"In his testimony before the House Appropriations Committee, Administrator Floete did indicate that the Federal agencies will proceed with the acquisition of sites for Federal buildings and contracting for architectural plans will be completed for construction, but the actual building will be halted until the present order is rescinded by the White House.

"A number of Federal buildings and post offices in our district and State affected by this order includes buildings at Carthage, Smith, Lafayette, Hartsville, Woodbury, and Murfreesboro, plus additions to buildings at McMinnville, Fayetteville, Kingsport, Nashville, and other locations."

In a recent issue of the Nashville Tennessean there also appeared a story by News Columnist Elmer Hinton which indicates that the vacant post-office lot held in Carthage, Tenn., for more than 17 years, with weeds growing on the lot, has now been named in honor of the President. It is called Ike's Half Acre. Columnist Hinton and Carthage Editor Sam Neal indicate that construction of a building in Carthage would certainly not contribute to inflationary pressures, but would perhaps help relieve some of the spotty unemployment and business lag.

Mr. Hinton's comments follow:

HERE'S A DOUBTFUL HONOR FOR IKE

(By Elmer Hinton)

In Carthage a plot of ground has been named for President Eisenhower. The honor was bestowed by the editor of the Carthage Courier.

It's being called Ike's Half Acre, where a new $300,000 post office was to have been built.

"But now the post office won't be built," comments Editor Sam Neal, "because the administration is afraid it might cause inflation."

"Last year, before the election," the editorial said, "the General Services Administration was bursting at the seams with rushing building plans. They told us the actual work would begin by late summer or fall. Then, after the election, plans had to be changed in a few particulars. Purely a technical proposition. The old delaying game was really on.

"Now we learn the White House has called off the program. That's because it might cause inflation. What a laugh. A $72-billion budget, covering the biggest spending spree, the biggest tax take in history, is shrugged off as a mere bagatelle.

"Now the weeds can continue their 17 years' growth on the Government's Main Street lot—Ike's Half Acre. If the sight of this town's eyesore assails the esthetic, at least it will remind us that we are doing our little bit to stave off national catastrophe."

Practice of Labor Racketeers Well Known

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the McClellan subcommittee investigating labor racketeering is performing a real service for our country. Further, the chief beneficiary of the expose now under way will be the union member.

I am calling attention, Mr. Speaker, to the fact that while the McClellan committee holds the spotlight today many of the facts were well known by several Republican Members of the House of Representatives, namely, the gentleman from Michigan, the Honorable CLARE E. HOFFMAN, and the gentleman from Kansas, the Honorable WINT SMITH. As members of a special subcommittee of the House Committee on Labor and Education, these Members were in possession of many facts that are being revealed today but unfortunately somewhere along the line, their efforts to expose to the light of day vicious labor practices were prevented.

We can, however, Mr. Speaker, be thankful that the Senate committee has the courage to tackle a problem which is bound to react against all members of the committee by the racketeer in labor

who has been concerned only with lining his pockets with questionable gold.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I am including a timely editorial that appeared in the Hastings, Mich., Banner on February 28, 1957, which points out the work that Mr. HOFFMAN and his subcommittee did to expose racketeering in the ranks of labor:

A special Senate committee headed by Senator MCCLELLAN, Democrat, Arkansas, has begun a full-scale investigation of labor racketeering. This probe which has the strong support of Congress and the Eisenhower administration as well as labor leaders of the caliber of Walter Reuther and George Meany is expected to produce facts concerning unsavory connections between some labor units and organized crime that may suggest long-overdue corrective measures.

Oddly enough, this investigation is out to cover the same area that Michigan's Representative Clare E. Hoffman attempted on his own several years ago.

At that time, however, organized labor, including Meany and Reuther, as well as liberals in the House and Senate attacked Hoffman as a "labor baiter" and ridiculed him as a reactionary of the old school who hadn't yet moved into the 20th Century.

MCCLELLAN and his committee are thus out to do what Hoffman said needed to be done more than 4 years ago. So, instead of being a "reactionary" in this instance, Hoffman was merely years ahead of the liberals.

Formerly labor leaders, almost to a man, seemed to be extremely touchy and resentful of criticism. Any and all suggestions that implied unsavory practices and connections in sections of the labor movement, were taken as reactionary attacks on labor itself.

Labor leaders who at first accepted the support of Communists on the ground that they were "fellow travelers" (and resented criticism of this policy) later and on their own initiative cleaned house of Red connections. Responsible labor leaders now seem anxious to give their full support and blessing to a congressional probe designed to help crush racketeering elements in labor.

All this indicates real progress on the road to labor statesmanship.

Business had to go through the same sort of "growing pains" and still hasn't found the perfect answer. Despite the existence of better business bureaus and trade associations that attempt to enforce fair practices within their special areas and chambers of commerce that keep a lookout on the local level, it still takes a full scale investigation now and then to keep everyone honest—and probably always will.

Sixteen Latin American Ambassadors Visit the TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, during the past week Nashville and middle Tennessee has been the host to some 16 Ambassadors from South America touring Tennessee and honoring the memory of Cordell Hull, the author of the good neighbor policy, and beloved Tennessee statesman who did so much to promote friendly relations, international good will and peace. These Ambassadors and representatives of neighboring nations from South America, and others from Washington, flew to Memphis where they were welcomed by the Honorable Edmund Orgill, mayor, city of Memphis, later to Nashville where they were greeted by the Governor of Tennessee, Gov. Frank Clement, and other Tennessee officials.

Tennessee was most pleased to be host to our friends and neighbors south of the border.

The names of the 16 Ambassadors and the countries they represent are as follows:

Dr. Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa, Ambassador of Nicaragua.

Dr. Hector David Castro, Ambassador of El Salvador.

Hon. Victor Andrade, Ambassador of Bolivia.

Hon. Manuel Tello, Ambassador of Mexico.

Col. Jose Luis Cruz-Salazar, Ambassador of Guatemala.

Dr. Miguel Angel Campa, Ambassador of Cuba.

Dr. Adolfo A. Vicchi, Ambassador of Argentina.

Hon. Gonzalo J. Facio, Ambassador of Costa Rica.

Dr. Jose Chiriboga, Ambassador of Ecuador.

Hon. Oswaldo Chavez, Ambassador of Paraguay.

Dr. Ramon Villeda Morales, Ambassador of Honduras.

Hon. Luis Quintanilla, Ambassador of Mexico to the Organization of American States.

Dr. Cesar Tulio Delgado, Ambassador of Colombia to the United States.

Dr. Fernando Lobo, Ambassador of Brazil to the United States.

Hon. Eduardo Augusto Garcia, Ambassador of Argentina to the United States.

Dr. Jose T. Baron, Ambassador of Cuba to the United States.

Because of the interest shown by these diplomatic representatives of our Latin American neighbors and the indicated desire to pattern projects after our great Tennessee Valley Authority, I ask unanimous consent to have reprinted in the RECORD an article which appeared in the Nashville Tennessean, issue of March 3, 1957, describing the visit by the Latin American Ambassadors to the TVA installations.

The article follows:

VISITING AMBASSADORS ENVISION OWN TVA'S

KNOXVILLE.—Sixteen Latin American Ambassadors wound up a 3-day visit to Tennessee yesterday with a glimpse, by air and land, of Tennessee Valley Authority installations.

Coming here from Nashville aboard two Air Force transports, the diplomats flew over TVA dams on the Tennessee River and also saw the Kingston steam power plant, described by TVA as the world's largest.

From Knoxville, they motored to Fort Loudoun Dam near Lenoir City, Tenn., for a closeup look at 1 of the 9 barriers erected on the stream for flood control, navigation, and power purposes.

The visittors from south of the border then boarded planes to return to Washington.

DEEP INTEREST

Almost to a man, they expressed interest in the TVA program of regional development.

"The TVA program has been followed and studied by all Latin American countries," said Luis Quintanilla, Mexican Ambassador to the Organization of American States.

Alluding to the controversy over private versus public power, Quintanilla said it was necessary for the Mexican Government to provide as much power as possible for its people "because private initiative has not developed in our country to the point where it can do things for the people on a large scale."

Guatemalan Ambassador Jose Luis Cruz-Salazar said he hoped that a river development program similar to TVA could be established in his country.

"We have both public and private power now, but we could use a lot more," he declared.

Gonzalo J. Facio, Ambassador of Costa Rica, said the Tempisque River in Costa Rica was ripe for a TVA-type development.

"We have to apply the TVA multiple-use program to this stream," he said. "It causes much damage during the flood season and we have a great need for power."

The diplomats were invited to Tennessee to help promote the Cordell Hull foundation, which has as it purpose promotion of a "good neighbor policy" by sponsoring scholarships for the interchange of college students between the United States and Latin American countries.

Slovaks Pay Tribute to Woodrow Wilson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article which appeared in the December 28, 1956, issue of the Allentown (Pa.) Times. The article, entiled "Slovaks Pay Tribute to President Wilson," written by John C. Sciranka, editor of American Friends of Slovak Fredom, follows:

SLOVAKS PAY TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT WILSON

(By John C. Sciranka)

Slovaks in America and abroad paid tribute to President Woodrow Wilson on his centennial birthday, December 28. There is a story that Wilson's first interest in the oppressed nations was awakened by a book Racial Problems in Hungary, written by Dr. Seton Watson, better known as Scotus Viator (Scotch Traveler), who visited Hungary and Slovakia 50 years ago. Watson's book was left by a Slovak milkman on Wilson's porch at Princeton University, where the late President and Governor of New Jersey was also president.

Wilson is remembered as champion of "small nations." However, few liberated nations during World War I were willing to do as much for President Wilson as the Slovaks.

Before Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, first President of Czechoslovakia left for his liberated country, he revealed to Wilson that the capital city of Slovakia, Bratislava, then known in Hungarian as Pozsony and in German as Pressburg, would be named in his honor as Wilsonove. President Wilson being familiar by then with the history of the Slovaks and their capital city, Bratislava, refused this

great honor. He did not want the Slovaks to make such great sacrifice.

This story was corroborated by Col. Stephen Bonsal, author of Pulitzer prize winner, Unfinished Business (about the Versailles Peace Conference, etc.), and also author of Suitors and Suppliants, in which he has a special chapter about Msgr. Andrej Hlinka and Gen. Milan R. Stefanik, both known and immortal Slovak leaders, whom Bonsal, as confidential interpreter of President Wilson, has met.

I had a happy and rare privilege to know Colonel Bonsal personally. His many letters to me are of great historical value and some are mentioned in the recent Slovak White Book (1,000 pages) by Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, who, although an international lawyer and diplomat, considers these letters a "missing link" to many questions, to which he was seeking answers for his books. All these letters mention President Wilson and his affiliation with the Slovak and Czech cause for liberation.

Colonel Bonsal, whose son Phillip W. Bonsal, American Ambassador to the Republic of Colombia, is presently with the United States delegation at the U. N. General Assembly as chief of political liaison, was with the famous Colonel House, the closest to Wilson. And Colonel Bonsal informed Wilson about the Slovak problem. Shortly before his death in Washington, D. C., where I had the privilege to visit him on many occasions, Col. Stephen Bonsal put the following words in writing: "Today the lovers of truth and justice are promised another chance through the United Nations. The failure to do justice to the Slovaks at the Peace Conference after World War I was the piece of unfinished business which I most regretted; I hope to see it redressed."

Because President Wilson refused to have the city of Bratislava, capital of Slovakia, be named after him, nevertheless in the capital of Czechoslovakia, the historical city of Prague, a Wilson Square (Wilsonova namesite), with his monument was established.

The late Arthur Brisbane, famous American editor, while visiting Prague, keenly observed and praised the people of Czechoslovakia, that when men passed Wilson's monument, they tipped their hats, as they do in front of churches. President Wilson was held in high esteem by the Czechs and Slovaks.

Children in the schools of Czechoslovakia recited special prayers for President Wilson, calling him "Uncle." I still remember a prayer, which was recited to me by Dr. Jaroslav Novak, who was Cincul General in New York City, after returning from Warsaw, where he was with the Czechoslovak Embassy and there met Pope Pius XI, who was papal nuncio in Poland. When Dr. Novak spoke of Wilson and the love of the people of Czechoslovakia for this great American President, tears came to his eyes. He recited how children, after saying their evening prayer to their guardian angel, added a special prayer for "Strychko" (Uncle) Wilson. In one of the books on the life of President T. G. Masaryk, it is stated that Masaryk warned President Wilson not to come to Europe to attend a peace conference. Masaryk found Wilson too obstinate in his opinions. Masaryk felt that President Wilson's very directness would prevent him from understanding European statesmen and he felt that he would not be quite at home in the hatreds of Europe.

Colonel Bonsal, on the other hand, felt that although Masaryk had great admiration for Wilson since both were scholars and university professors, nevertheless, Masaryk had to play his game with Lloyd George and "Tiger" Clemenceau and he felt that Wilson's obstinacy and forwardness would cause implications, which would harm Czechoslovakia.

Masaryk signed the Pittsburgh Pact with the Czechs and Slovaks on May 30, 1918. The writer at that time, as a youth, carried an American flag in the parade which greeted Masaryk in Pittsburgh, Pa. The Pittsburgh Pact later was called a scrap of paper by President Masaryk, which caused ill feeling between the Czechs and Slovaks. The Slovaks stuck to the 14 points of President Wilson and, therefore, they still feel with Colonel Bonsal that justice for Slovakia is an unfinished business of the United States of America and the United Nations.

President Wilson did all he could for the liberation of small nations, therefore we pay tribute to him on his centennial birthday.

Resolution Endorsing Alaska-Hawaii Statehood Adopted by Western States Conference of Democrats, San Francisco, Calif., February 17, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me heretofore so to do, I am pleased to present to the attention of all the Members of this great legislative body the following resolution dealing with the important subject of Alaska-Hawaii statehood. The resolution was adopted by the recent Western States conference of members and leaders of the Democratic Party in San Francisco, Calif., February 17, 1957:

RESOLUTION ENDORSING ALASKA-HAWAII STATEHOOD ADOPTED BY WESTERN STATES CONFERENCE, SAN FRANCISCO, FEBRUARY 17, 1957

Whereas the United States of America has become the greatest power in the history of mankind because it is a united Nation of equal and sovereign States and not an empire; and

Whereas the people of the United States devised a method and program of incorporating Territories, which method, as a first step leading to the full privileges of statehood, imposes on the people of such Territories the obligations of the citizens of the several States, while withholding from such territorial citizens, however, the basic rights of self-government and full representation in the councils of the United States; and

Whereas Alaska and Hawaii have been incorporated as Territories of the United States for many years, and by the very act of such incorporation as United States Territories have been promised the full privileges of statehood with first-class citizenship for the peoples of Alaska and Hawaii; and

Whereas both political parties have recognized that every consideration of fairness demands that the people of these Territories be given the full privileges of American citizenship in their platforms and other party declarations; and

Whereas the granting of statehood to these Territories will strengthen the United States immeasurably in human resources and in its foreign relations, particularly as regards the great Pacific Basin area; and

Whereas we in the West have a particular interest in and close ties with the people of Alaska and Hawaii: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by this western Democratic State conference, That Alaska and Hawaii be admitted to the Union in this year 1957; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to every western Senator and Congressman, and that each of them be requested to make every effort to see that bills to grant statehood to Alaska and Hawaii be promptly considered and passed.

Whittaker for the Bench

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join the many who heartily endorse President Eisenhower's nomination to the United States Supreme Court of Charles E. Whittaker. Mr. Whittaker is the first native-born Kansan to be selected to serve in our Nation's highest tribunal.

The Washington Sunday Star newspaper March 3, 1957, presents an excellent account of Mr. Whittaker's desire to become a lawyer and his outstanding record as a member of the legal profession. A portion of the article follows:

SKUNK TRAPPING HELPED WHITTAKER GET SCHOOLING

Charles E. Whittaker, nominated yesterday to the Supreme Court, had his eyes on the legal profession while still in country school in Kansas.

The foundation of his law education was a $700 nest egg he had acquired by selling fur pelts from his trapline as a boy.

He was born on a farm 6 miles south of Troy, Kans., on Washington's Birthday, 1902.

"My most frequent catches," he recalled in telling about his trapline, "were skunks, and although their furs brought me $3 each, they didn't make me very popular at school. Many times the teacher sent me home."

But the trapline profits grew and 3 years after finishing grade school he came to Kansas City, intent on getting a legal education.

PASSED BAR BEFORE GRADUATION

It took a little doing to get into the old Kansas City School of Law without a high-school education, but the determined youth promised to catch up on his high-school courses while studying law. At the same time he worked as an office boy for a law firm.

Justice Whittaker passed the Missouri bar examination in 1923, a year before he finished law school.

Since then he has argued cases from police courts to the United States Supreme Court and in State courts from Maine to California.

Eight years after going to work for the firm of Watson, Gage & Ess he became a junior partner. He became a full partner in 1930.

Mr. Whittaker was elected to the board of governors of the Missouri bar in 1948. Five years later he was elected president of the board.

His appointment to the Federal district bench in 1954 and to the circuit court of appeals post last fall received wide endorsement from members of the bar.

Mr. Whittaker's birthplace is located in my congressional district. Residents of Doniphan County have nothing but high praise for his background. Residents of both Kansas and Missouri are proud of his recognition. We all know he will be a credit to the Court and he will make his mark of contribution to the honor, prestige, and integrity of that body. In the Washington Post and Times Herald newspaper, March 4, 1957,

appears an editorial which clearly indicates approval of Mr. Whittaker's selection by this outstanding newspaper. The editorial follows:

WHITTAKER FOR THE BENCH

President Eisenhower's nominations to the Supreme Court have followed a rather consistent pattern. He likes to name relatively young lawyers, usually in their fifties, who have made a good reputation in private practice and have had some experience on the bench. As yet he has not gone to the Department of Justice or to Congress for a Supreme Court nominee. In this respect he has sharply departed from the practice of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

The naming of Chief Justice Warren in 1953 does not conform to the general pattern because, as the President has noted on several occasions, he thought the Chief Justice should be well known to the Nation—a man in whom the rank and file would have immediate confidence. The three Associate Justices named by Mr. Eisenhower have not been well known to the country, although each has been highly respected in his own area. Justice Harlan had been a member of the United States court of appeals before his elevation to the Supreme Court and Justice Brennan had been a member of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. The new nominee, Charles Evans Whittaker, has served on both the Federal district and appellate courts in Missouri by appointment of President Eisenhower.

The fact that Judge Whittaker is not nationally known is no argument against him. His reputation in the Middle West, both as a lawyer and as a judge, is excellent. His friends say he has been "law struck" since he was a boy. That description would seem to be well substantiated by the fact that, in addition to his farm work, he maintained a trapline while attending elementary school and saved more than $700 from the sale of skunk (and other) furs to put himself through law school.

In practice and on the bench Judge Whittaker has lived up to his reputation as a prodigious worker. His industry has helped to clear the dockets of the courts he has served. In addition he is said to be a sort of tender nursemaid to the law. He is a Republican, but his highest devotion has been to his profession rather than to politics. His judicial temperament is attested by the enthusiasm of Democratic as well as Republican legislators from the Kansas City area over his nomination. On the High Bench we may reasonably expect him to be a dedicated jurist rather than an advocate of any particular doctrine or line of reasoning.

There may be a touch of nostalgia in the selection of a namesake of the late Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes so soon after the appointment of the grandson and namesake of Justice John Marshall Harlan. But the significant thing is that the President is reaching out for men of high ability whose lives have been given to law at the bar and on the bench.

More Grassroots Science Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I desire to direct the attention of the House to a very thought-provoking article by Malvina Lindsay in the Washington Post of February 27, 1957. Miss Lindsay's column concerns itself with one of the very pressing matters our country faces. That is the problem of the supply of well-trained scientists. Much has been heard from leaders in Government and education on the dire necessity for education in the scientific field. The National Science Foundation, the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Defense Department—all have decried the small number of students of high school age who are interested in higher mathematics and the sciences and who are anxious to pursue an education in these fields. I think Miss Lindsay well points out that the teaching of mathematics and science is inadequate and uninspired. She also dwells on the fact that many high school students turn away from careers in these fields because of study difficulties. I agree with her that one of the ways to overcome this difficulty is to start early. In my judgment, it is too late at the high school level to build up any love for or desire to study mathematics. This, it seems to me, should be done in the elementary schools. It will require adequate, devoted, and self-sacrificing teaching personnel for it will be no easy task. However, if the United States is to hold its leadership in the physical sciences—and there is some question as to whether or not it now leads—an all-out effort must be made in the lower grades to direct young students into this field. The opportunities are great and the challenge is greater.

The article follows:

MORE GRASSROOTS SCIENCE NEEDED

(By Malvina Lindsay)

The house that Jack built has its analogy in the problem this country faces of getting its urgently needed scientists.

How children feel about mathematics in the fifth and seventh grades determines the future of many a potential scientist, a poll recently made by the University of California at Los Angeles indicates. Other studies emphasize that the future scientist's interest in mathematics and science must begin at least in the secondary school.

But this interest is largely determined by the type of teacher in the mathematics or science class.

The type of teacher in turn depends on whether the school offers enough in salaries and facilities to offset the raids industry is making on science teachers.

Dr. Edward Teller, a leading nuclear physicist, recently said it was too late for the United States to maintain its lead in physical science—that the leadership would pass in 10 years to the Soviet Union. But Robert Carleton, executive secretary of the National Science Teachers Association, insists the United States can retain its lead if the lot of high school and college teachers of science is improved.

Much thought is now being directed to what seems the root of the scientist shortage, the inadequate and uninspired teaching of mathematics and science. The National Science Foundation has set up a program of fellowships to improve teaching of science, mathematics and engineering in the United States. It is also, through a project at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, doing something about a neglected phase of high school science teaching—the tools to do a competent job. Studies are being made of the best techniques for science teaching including laboratory equipment, films, kits and do-it-yourself kits for experiments at home.

Many high-school students tend to shun careers in science, atomic science particularly, because they believe such study too difficult. They are also often discouraged by parental attitudes toward scientific careers. Poor teaching and lack of community understanding of modern science are responsible.

Many good science teachers leave the classroom for industry for economic reasons. But another cause of their discontent is often overlooked; namely, their lack of opportunity to participate in research.

A research scientist at George Washington University puts it this way: "Anyone today who has the desire and the energy to master a science well enough to teach it is not likely to be satisfied to teach for long unless he also has a chance to participate in the pleasures and stimulation of research."

High school science classrooms are often bleak, unchallenging places to both teachers and pupils. If better facilities for experimentation were provided, science would not seem so remote from everyday life to the pupil, and might acquire more meaning to the community.

Much valuable research can be done with simple instruments, the research scientist previously quoted points out. One way of restoring public interest in science, he believes, would be to decentralize scientific research so that the average citizen would once again have personal contact with it as he did in earlier days when every neighborhood had its part time or amateur scientist.

To that end, he would have modest research centers developed in high schools and perhaps in some smalltown hospitals, and thus return science to the grassroots. Technical support and guidance for these could be provided from larger research centers.

The public attitude toward scientists, basic ones especially, has handicapped scientific development in this country. Scientists have great prestige—as well as high salaries—in the Soviet Union. American society tends to regard them as visionaries, eccentrics, sorcerers, or useful though half-baked geniuses. Much of this attitude could be changed if science could be brought down to earth and given community appeal through the high-school classroom.

Farmers Object to Even Lower Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 23, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, the Department of Agriculture's proposed change in grain grading standards is of much concern to my constituents. It appears to be of benefit to no one, perhaps with the exception of some grain processors, but it would mean ever lower prices to the farmer who is already in economic trouble.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I request permission to insert copy of a letter written to Secretary Benson by farmers in my congressional district:

MAHNOMEN, MINN., *February 26, 1957.*
Hon. EZRA TAFT BENSON,
Secretary of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: During the past several years we have been experiencing a severe economic squeeze, as farmers, and

there doesn't seem to be any measure of relief in sight for us yet. As the producers of food we seem to be getting taken to the cleaners more and more, someway, by somebody, because although the consumer can buy more food today for less working time than ever before, he is still paying higher prices than ever before, and farmers are getting a smaller and smaller share of the consumers food dollar, while, it seems, almost everybody inbetween, especially the processors, are making greater profits than ever before.

Now, we understand, another idea has been thought up to buy our product at a lower price, the changing of our wheat-grading standards.

Many of us in this area are wheat producers, in a small way, and we object to these proposed changes. We believe that the present grain-grading standards are fair to farmers, and millers, and other processors, and to change them can only result in lower overall prices to producers.

In the case of wheat, we as farmers are doing everything we know how to do, with the help of our crop-improvement associations, extension service, and so forth, to raise and market the best quality wheat possible, and we do not believe that changing the grading standards will improve the quality of the wheat on the market one bit. We believe that the proposed changes can only result in a downgrading of our wheat, and the result will be lower prices to us. And we think this is unfair.

Neither do we believe that such changes would in any way improve the quality, or the price, of the finished products to the consumer, which would widen the spread between consumers and producers.

This is an issue which concerns us very much; but strangely, we are the last persons to be consulted in this, not even to find out what we might even think. Our newspapers haven't breathed a word of it, nor have our regular radio news services, nor has the United States Department of Agriculture made any effort to acquaint farmers with these proposals. Had we not had a farmers union GTA, or a farmers union we would not have heard of it at all, probably.

We are, herewith, petitioning you to reject the proposals for changing the wheat-grading standards.

Very respectfully yours,

Palmer R. Pederson; Joseph Fuxa; Robert Stetlin; Arne Hendrickson; Newman Jacobson, Fiam, Minn.; Calvin T. Boem; Ralph Lewis, Howard Belshan, Bejou, Minn.

"We Cannot Withdraw From the World"—Cordell Hull

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I ask that there be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the late, great Secretary of State Cordell Hull—an address which is timely for review and which was delivered in Tennessee on June 3, 1938.

Judge Cordell Hull devoted his life to the fullest in promotion of international law and order. He believed firmly that isolationism cannot prevail in the world in which we live. His speech on The Spirit of International Law follows:

WE CANNOT WITHDRAW FROM THE WORLD—IN A STILL TIMELY PLEA FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW, SECRETARY HULL URGED LEADERSHIP FROM THE UNITED STATES

(From the Spirit of International Law, an address Secretary of State Cordell Hull made to the Tennessee Bar Association in Nashville on June 3, 1938)

In the evolution of man's civilized existence, there has been only a slow and sporadic development of the doctrine that, if progress is to continue, nations must be subject to certain defined rules of conduct in the same way as are individuals within communities and communities within nations.

There was long prevalent the belief that each nation was a law unto itself, the sole arbiter of its international conduct, fully entitled—if it possessed sufficient power—to engage in aggression and aggrandizement, to destroy by armed force the independence of other nations and to subjugate other peoples. * * *

Happily for the human race, the world gradually emerged from this darkness. The assertion of the doctrine of armed force became the exception rather than the rule. International law began to develop as an increasingly accepted basis of relations among nations. The flowering of man's intellectual and mechanical genius began to create all over the world a steadily extending network of peaceful international relationships, based upon a growing sense of community among nations of political, economic, social, and cultural interests. * * *

Recognition of the surpassing importance of international law in the relations among nations as well as in our own national life has been, throughout our history, one of the most firmly established traditions. It was in that spirit that, in the Declaration of Independence, the founders of this Republic invoked "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." Succeeding generations of our jurists and our statesmen have concerned themselves with the law of nations.

Our Presidents and our Secretaries of State, from George Washington and Thomas Jefferson on down, have seldom deviated from the tradition that our foreign relations should be conducted in such a manner as to make this Nation a force in the world for peace, international morality, justice, and fair dealing—a champion of international law as the governing factor in relations among nations. I cannot believe that today our people will accept or condone departure from this tradition.

There was never a time in our national history when the influence of the United States in support of international law was more urgently needed than at present—to serve both our own best interests and those of the entire human race. The world is today in the grip of a severe upheaval, the outcome of which will affect profoundly the future of mankind.

There is again abroad, in more than one part of the earth, a spirit of international anarchy. Solemn contractual obligations are brushed aside with a light heart and a contemptous gesture. Respect for law and obsevance of the pledged word have sunk to an inconceivably low level. The outworn slogans of the glorification of war are again resounding in many portions of the globe. Armed force, naked and unashamed, is again being used as an instrument of policy and a means of attaining national ends through aggression and aggrandizement. It is being employed with brutality and savagery that outrage and shock every humane instinct.

In the face of these grim developments, there are some among our people who would have our Nation withdraw into its own shell and isolate itself from the rest of the world. They would have us seek safety and security in a hermitlike existence among the nations of the world—in a voluntary surrender of legitimate rights and interests, which we have regarded for generations as essential to our national welfare, and a voluntary abandonment of our support of international law and of the instrumentalities for its application, which alone can make us secure in the exercise of such rights and the enjoyment of such interests.

Those who counsel this course of policy and action should pause in their fervent crusade to cast up an account of the possible benefits and injuries that its pursuance would entail.

There is no worthier desire than to assure for our people the blessings of peace. But long and unmistakable experience offers abundant proof that the attainment of this precious end through a policy of national isolation is wholly outside the realm of possibility.

It is my firm conviction that national isolation is not a means to security, but rather a fruitful source of insecurity. For while we may seek to withdraw from participation in world affairs, we cannot thereby withdraw from the world itself. Attempts to achieve national isolation would not merely deprive us of any influence in the councils of nations, but would impair our ability to control our own affairs.

Deliberate renunciation by us of any participation in international affairs would make for an easier triumph on this planet of lawlessness, brute force, and war. In a world growing internationally more and more disordered and chaotic, we would be compelled to increase our armed defenses on a scale that would impose a truly crushing burden on our people.

And even so, we would have to live in constant danger that the rising wave of international anarchy would, sooner or later, reach and batter down our own walls and engulf us as well as the rest of mankind.

As against the unattainable benefits claimed for the policy of isolation we must visualize the costs of such a policy.

By embarking upon a policy of national isolation we would doom our Nation to conditions of life under which it would inevitably become economically poorer, intellectually impoverished, morally decadent. We would deliberately deprive ourselves of the benefits of those numerous international relationships which have nourished the stream of human progress and enriched the lives of all peoples, including our own. Neither our political structure of democratic government nor our social and economic structure of free enterprise and individual freedom under law could long survive the material and spiritual decay which national isolation would inescapably impose upon the Nation.

Like the individual who would seek safety and security for himself through escape from the responsibilities of organized society into hermitlike isolation, a nation pursuing a similar course—even if it were to succeed for a time in avoiding assault by and conflict with other nations—would soon find its dream of safety and security a bitter illusion. * * *

In the years which lie ahead, the chances that international anarchy and lawlessness will be replaced by order under law will largely depend upon the sincerity and firmness with which some nations, at least, maintain their devotion to the principles of international law, resting in turn upon the foundation of cooperation, justice, and morality.

I can wish for our country no more glorious course than to be a leader in devotion to these principles and in service of their preservation and advancement.

His Labor Buys More and He Has Greater Leisure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Leslie Gould which appeared in the New York Journal-American of January 8, 1957, is worthy of the attention of our colleagues:

HIS LABOR BUYS MORE AND HE HAS GREATER LEISURE

(By Leslie Gould)

The consumers—Mr. and Mrs. Average American—hold the key to 1957.

They have never had it so good, nor has the country's economy.

How they spend, how they save, and how they invest will tell the story of this challenging year.

This can and should be a good year. The consuming public has the spendable funds. Payrolls will be at a record total. American business has never offered such a variety of high-quality and reasonably priced products.

The true yardstick of value is the hours of work required to buy a given product. Not the number of markers—the dollars.

It isn't how many dollars it takes to buy, say, an automobile, but how many hours of work a man or woman must put in to acquire it.

For practically everything—from the barest necessities to the finest luxuries—it takes less hours of work to buy it today than it did prewar.

Take an automobile. In 1939—the last prewar year—the average factory worker had to put in 984 hours—123 days—to acquire a car. Today the same car—only a much improved and better and snappier model—takes only 891 hours—111 days and 3 hours.

FIFTY-CENT DOLLAR TALK BUNK

A man's suit prewar cost 55½ hours—considerably more than a week. Today the cost is 32½ hours—less than a week.

For an electric refrigerator, it took 111 hours, but today only 90 hours. So it goes with practically everything a person buys.

Thus, this talk of a 50-cent dollar and inflation is largely the bunk. That is the fallacy of the Federal Reserve's tight money policy.

The trouble with the so-called money managers is they can't see the forest for the trees. This is not a credit inflation, yet that is where the screws are being applied.

This is a consumer economy. What makes for prosperity is not production—although that is the yardstick used as to the ups and downs of business. What counts is consumption.

Production is only important if it is sold, if it is consumed. The present tight money policy is aimed at holding down consumption, although there is hardly a line, except possibly steel, that is in tight supply, and steel only in certain products like plates. Practically everything else, particularly consumer goods, is in ample supply, and production is equal to or in excess of demand.

The automobile industry is the best proof of this. In 1955 production outran sales. As a result, large inventories of new cars were built up, 925,000 at the start of last February. The manufacturers were smart, and they cut back production, so that by the end of the model year new car stocks were down to around 150,000.

BASIC CHANGE OVERLOOKED

Now, the auto industry is gearing production to sales, instead of vice versa. And, unless the Federal Reserve makes it too tough to buy the models—probably the best in style and value the industry has ever offered—this will be a good and profitable year for that key industry.

If this same pattern is followed by other lines—gearing production to sales—there will be no boom or bust. The prospects are good for this kind of management of the economy. There is no reason for another 1929 and following depression.

The 1956 performance by industrial management is encouraging on this score. There was in 1956 what the First National City Bank aptly calls a rising readjustment. While some lines lagged, such as autos in the first part of the year and textiles and home construction, the overall business trend was rising. These declines were more than offset by the high level of employment and activity elsewhere.

What many economists—particularly the egghead variety—miss is the basic change that has taken place in this country. They talk about dollars and production.

The eggheads will tell you that the prewar dollar is worth only 42 cents when it comes to food, 49 cents when it comes to buying clothing, 65 cents for rent, 53 cents for transportation, and 54 cents for medical care.

In dollars, it is true that today's is about half what it was prewar—but this is ignoring the fact that the worker today is getting more dollars—and for less work and easier work, thanks to automation and other improvements that have lightened the burden of labor.

The average hourly earnings of factory workers in 1939 was 63 cents an hour. Today it is $2. In the steel industry, the pay has gone from an average of 84 cents an hour to $2.59. Even after this is whittled down by today's larger tax bite, the take-home pay buys more than that of prewar.

While the average factory worker is getting three times or slightly more dollars, his job is easier. Much of the backbreak has been taken away. Trucks are loaded by hoists. A push button does what used to take plenty of sweat. Much of the drudgery has been removed—not only in the factory, but also in the office and in the home.

LEISURE TIME INCREASED

Another point missed is the impact of the greater leisure time. It used to be that the factory hand had to rest up at home on Sunday for the next workweek of 6 days of 9 and 10 hours. Now, after a 2-day weekend, he returns to rest up on the job—now a week of 5 days of 7 hours. Also he gets 2-to-4-week paid vacations.

This is a leisure time boom—and the demands of this new leisure time of the working men and women and their families is giving an added lift to the overall economy.

Prewar, Americans spent about $1½ billions on pleasure driving—vacations, weekends, etc. Now they spend more than $5½ billions a year. Where they spent half a billion dollars on radio and records prewar, now the annual outlay for these plus TV is more than $3 billion. They spend more than 3 times as much for newspapers and magazines, nearly 5 times as much on foreign travel, and more than 6 times as much for durable sports equipment—golf clubs, etc.

While dollars, like the stock market averages, are not too reliable an index, there has been a significant upgrading of families. Prewar, around 33 million families—with population 76 percent of today's total—had incomes of less than $3,000. Today, the number is only 14½ million. Where less than 8 million families made more than $3,000 a year prewar, the total today is close to 37 million.

Prewar, around 40 million families had income of less than $5,000 a year. Today the total in this bracket is just under 30 million. While 16 years ago slightly more than 2 million families had incomes of more than $5,000, the present total is over 23 millions.

Less than a million families had incomes of more than $7,500 prewar. The total now is close to 10 million.

A factor in this is the number of working wives. Women today account for 33 percent of all employed—nearly 22 million, against just under 12 million or about 25 percent of the working force prewar.

FINANCIAL STATUS UPGRADED

There is some concern about the high total of consumer credit, particularly installment credit. But here again, too little consideration is given to the financial upgrading of American families, as shown above, and the contributions of working wives.

It must be viewed against the background of other things. The current installment credit total of around $31 billion represents about 12 percent of the take home pay of these consumers, compared to 10 percent in the prewar year 1939. In the intervening years, pay has about tripled.

This debt also must be related to savings. Savings of individuals in banks of all kinds run around $72½ billion. In addition, there are $35½ billion with savings and loan associations and $50 billion in United States savings bonds. The total of such savings is $158 billion. This is without including the $94 billion in assets of the life insurance companies.

There is an interesting fact about installment debt and savings. Two-thirds of those making time purchases have savings accounts or savings bonds and half of these have savings in excess of their installment debt. In other words, they would rather buy on time than disturb their savings.

Installment credit outstanding is in effect a revolving fund. Payments are being made every month, and every year millions of accounts are paid up.

Some of this credit, where it is financing automation in the home, replaces former expenses for servant hire.

The danger in installment credit is where, as a result of competition, terms become too liberal—the no down payment and 36 or more months to pay sort of thing.

There is no market like the American market. It has been made by a climate that has encouraged private risk taking. Nowhere have so many achieved so much.

This country has 169.4 million people—6.2 percent of the world's population. But this relative handful of people have 72 percent of the world's automobiles, 55 percent of the telephones and a larger percentage of inside plumbing—to list three conveniences and necessities.

In America there is 1 automobile for every 3 persons—men, women and children. In England there is only 1 car to every 20 and in Russia 1 for every 200.

Americans live longer, eat better and live better than people anywhere, under any system. It is no accident that this is so.

Where family budget goes

	1941	1957
Average income	$2,475	$5,520
Food	773	1,297
Clothing	243	423
Housing	574	1,183
Taxes	267	644
Medical	100	243
Recreation	120	287
Furniture and appliances	97	243
Transportation, including car	198	488
Insurance, savings, etc	103	612

Training for What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therewith the following editorial from the Washington Post, dated February 28, 1957. This editorial recognizes the great contribution our distinguished colleague, and ranking member of the Armed Services Committee of the House, the Honorable OVERTON BROOKS, has made to the solution of the contest between the Army and the National Guard.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. BROOKS has held hearings during long hours. His leadership in this matter as well as other matters affecting our Reserve components entitles him, with justification, the name of "Mr. Reserve."

Mr. BROOKS has rendered a great contribution to the future security of the Nation:

TRAINING FOR WHAT?

The National Guard is to be congratulated for exercising its not inconsiderable political power with some restraint to make possible a settlement of the training dispute with the Army. The outcome is, as Secretary Wilson notes, "a victory for the country;" in which both the guard and the Army gave ground under the skilled mediation of Representative OVERTON BROOKS. The Army has lost nothing of importance in agreeing to postpone the effective date of the 6-month training order for National Guard recruits to next January 1. The guard, on the other hand has won important concessions that will facilitate recruitment and a public pledge of Pentagon support for maintenance of the guard at approximately its present strength.

The result will be an overall military training and service program that is both more fair and more effective, although it would be a mistake to assume that an across-the-board 6-month training program is a total answer to the need for adequate Reserve Forces. What is still required is a fresh review of the probable role of the Reserve Forces, and especially of the guard, in any future war.

It is unlikely that there would be time to mobilize the guard for any extensive combat service in large nuclear war, though the Reserves might have a later role. Not enough attention has been given, however, to the very great likelihood that vast numbers of reservists would be needed for wartime duty in the United States in the event of effective nuclear missile or bomber attacks on this country. Large areas might have to be temporarily under martial law, and much of the initial responsibility would necessarily fall upon State governments to authorize and direct military efforts to cooperate with civil defense in coping with the destruction. The guard, with its dual status, is the logical force to carry the brunt of home-front military duties. The training program that is developed ought to take this prospect into account.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Distinction Between Freedom and Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I was present at the Masonic dinner on February 20 at the Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C., at which Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower delivered one of the most scholarly addresses I have been privileged to hear this winter.

I have been informed by the Public Printer that the address is estimated to make approximately 2¼ pages of the RECORD, at a cost of $173.25. Notwithstanding the cost, I ask unanimous consent that the address may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the address by Dr. Eisenhower was noteworthy in pointing out the distinction between freedom and communism, but, more particularly, the truly fundamental moral and intellectual differences.

I feel that the reading of this address will be helpful to all Americans, and I had intended to request that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD so that it would be available, so it gives me pleasure to join the Senator from Minnesota in his request.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY MILTON S. EISENHOWER, PRESIDENT OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BEFORE THE CONFERENCE OF GRAND MASTERS OF MASONS IN NORTH AMERICA, FEBRUARY 20, 1957, HOTEL STATLER, WASHINGTON, D. C.

I

For several reasons, I welcome this opportunity to address the Grand Masters of Masons in North America and your fraternal associates.

In the first place, I wish to acknowledge to all of you the pride I have felt in the action taken several years ago by the Grand Master of Pennsylvania in making me a Mason-at-Sight. I am deeply grateful for having thus been enrolled in an order which subscribes to, and lives by, the ideals of morality and brotherhood.

In the second place, I am sure that, because of this dedication to basic religious principles, you will have a genuine interest in what I have to say this evening.

I want to talk, not about the superficial or more obvious outward distinctions between freedom and communism, but about the truly fundamental moral and intellectual differences. And I shall do this not merely by making glib assertions, but by proving each point with citations from the authoritative literature of these two concepts or systems.

We are living in a wonderful, though tense and sometimes frightening, age. It is a time that tests men's souls and the vigor of their beliefs. It is an age in which, once again, only a few years after the bitter war against fascism, the free nations of the world are face to face with the inscrutable countenance of a vicious tyranny.

This tyranny wears a new label, yet it is as old and as ugly as sin. The Communist tyranny is even more frightening than a fascism, for it is not so brittle and it has a faith, however tragically in error. Communism poses not only a military, economic, and political challenge to the free nations; it strikes at the very heart of the ideology of freedom—the Judaic-Christian heritage which forms the basis of Western civilization.

II

The current conflict between two diametrically opposed systems of morality, while perhaps now reaching a climax, nonetheless has been developing throughout the whole sweep of human activity.

In the long early history of mankind—before the age of freedom—two themes of human belief and organization threaded their way—the one that man and society are shaped by the impersonal forces of destiny and circumstances; the other that the state is omnipotent and the source of all meaning. "Subjects were no more than shadows of shadows," said one historican in tracing these two themes through thousands of years.

As great civilizations rose and fell, the people remained in servitude to the state, and the state and the people, alike in bondage to destiny. All phases of human endeavor—behavior, ritual, even thought itself—were collectively determined. Men and women lived out their lives as pawns and prisoners of omnipotent government and omnipotent fate.

Then two peoples—the Jews and the Greeks—broke the fatalistic cycle and transformed the human scene with a new force of ideas. With the advent of the Jewish and Greek societies, the whole character of human development was altered and "the Western spirit" took hold. So dynamic were the ideas around which the Jews and the Greeks built their civilizations that they seemingly obliterated the two previously dominant themes.

An understanding of the impact of Jewish and Greek ideas on the course of history is one important key to a comprehension of the fundamental issues which divide the world today. The Western civilization which evolved out of ancient Greece and Judea is truly revoluntionary in its outlook, whereas the Communist ideology is, as we shall see, wholly reactionary.

Barbara Ward sums up the great debt Western man owes to Jewish and Greek thought in these words:

"The idea that the sum of things could by human will * * * be transformed and remade in the image of the divine took hold of men's imaginations. * * * The desire to * * * create, the desire to seize on material circumstances and change and mold them as an artist transforms the material he works with, this was the immense energy injected into the Western World by the rational vision of the Greeks and the moral vision of the Jews. * * * Try as he would * * * Western man could never again drive the fever of creation * * * and progress out of his blood."

Our second debt to ancient Judea and Greece may be found in the devastating attack the Greek logician and the Jewish philosopher made upon the idea that the state was omnipotent. The Greek saw man as a creature endowed with reason and possessing inalienable rights, among them the right of self-government. The Jew believed that the divine image in man created in him moral responsibility to his fellows. From Cain's first question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" comes the Judaic-Christian doctrine of personal responsibility and moral accountability.

As inheritors of the legacy of ancient Greece and Judea, we are therefore the spiritual heirs to a revolutionary philosophy and a radical ideology. Marxist communism, on the other hand, which all too often succeeds in identifying itself as a revolutionary philosophy and in wrapping its program in the cloak of pseudosocial reform, is in reality a profoundly reactionary philosophy which restores to man the old fetters of fatality and tyranny.

III

There are at least four moral issues in today's ideological conflict which reveal communism as the new gospel of the omnipotent state and omnipotent fate, and Judaic-Christian teaching as the revolutionary credo of man who have faith in God, trust in their fellowmen, and a dedication to the good life in the good society. Those four fundamental issues involve widely divergent concepts of the status of the individual; views of history; attitudes toward means and ends; and ideas regarding a Supreme Being.

Let us see if we can sharpen first, the issue of the status of the individual.

It is a basic tenet of Judaism and Christianity that man is a child of God, that all men are equal in His sight, and that society exists for the individual.

We read in Genesis: "So God created man in His own image, in the image of God He created him * * *. And God saw everything that He had made, and behold, it was very good."

In his epistle to the Romans, St. Paul says: "For all who are led by the spirit of God are the sons of God. For you did not receive the spirit of slavery to fall back into fear, but you have received the spirit of sonship * * *. God shows His love for us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us."

A contemporary theologian, Dr. John C. Bennett, points out that "Christianity combines, in a remarkable way, concern for the uniqueness and ultimate worth of every person with concern for the community of persons. * * * The love that is central in the whole New Testament is love directed toward individual persons, and yet it is love that binds them together into a community."

It is on the spiritual conviction that men are children of God that the free nations of the West have built their social, economic, and political institutions. The basic purpose of the whole democratic system, with its manifold institutions, is to protect the dignity of the individual and the sanctity of the human spirit.

Communism, however, denies the worth of the individual. It holds that men are creatures of material forces; that life has only such meaning as is ordained by the party or state; and that man has no God-given natural rights. Karl Marx proclaimed bluntly: "The democratic concept of man is false * * *. (It) holds that each man is

a sovereign being. This is the illusion* * * of Christianity."

Communism's contempt for the idea of individual dignity has been revealed repeatedly in statements by Communist leaders, in political purges, in the ruthless, iron-fisted slaughter of human beings (such as we have just witnessed in Hungary), and in the relentless, tortuous inquisitions known as brainwashing.

Marshal Zhukov once said that "Man under freedom is an undisciplined, unoriented entity," and Lenin wrote that "the will of a class is at times best realized by a dictator who sometimes will accomplish more by himself." You will recall Winston Churchill's revulsion during one of the wartime conferences when Stalin described the liquidation of the Russian kulaks in the twenties and thirties—a bloody purge, of which one historian said the Communists "appeared less disturbed by dead kulaks than by dead cows."

Perhaps one of the most vivid statements illustrating communism's attitude toward the individual can be found in Arthur Koestler's novel, Darkness at Noon. Koestler, a former Communist, is now a stanch friend of freedom. In his book, Ivanov, the police investigator, is arguing with an old Communist who was beginning to have moral scruples concerning the methods the party had forced him to use. In the course of the argument, Ivanov says:

"Every year several million people are killed qute pointlessly by epidemics and other natural catastrophes. And we should shrink from sacrificing a few hundred thousand for the most promising experiment in history? Yes; we liquidated the parasitic part of the peasantry and let it die of starvation. It was a surgical operation which had to be done once and for all."

IV

The second major issue between the Communist and the Judaic-Christian philosophies lies in their opposite views of history.

In the Judaic-Christian view, ideas determine history: Men are capable of altering the course of history, for good or ill, of creating new social, political, and economic institutions, and of thinking and acting for themselves. Western man believes that if the mind is exposed to all information (true and false) and all possible ideas (good and bad), lies will die of their own poison, truth will prevail, and the mass judgment will be valid. Western man sees the world, not as the sum of things that are, but as the sum of things as they should be. His society has become the most restlessly dynamic and explosive social order the world has ever seen. His eyes are on the stars, and the limitless reservoirs of his mind are continually yielding more challenging ideas, greater standards of perfection, and higher ideals. He is committed to the ceaseless search for knowledge and truth.

The fundamental Judaic-Christian view of history is set forth in the doctrine of creation in Genesis. "And God said to them, Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth * * *."

In the Judaic-Christian faith, the whole of this actual world is to be taken seriously as a community of persons in which the living God acts and to which men freely respond.

In contrast to this view, communism holds that history is shaped by economic forces; that it is impossible for men to change these forces; and that Communists have been preordained to "assist" these forces toward their invetiable goal: the "classless society." In his Preface to Das Kapital, Marx cited as the ultimate aim of his work "to reveal the economic law of human society," and in his Critique of Political Economy, he wrote: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness."

Thus, in the Marxist scheme of things, there is nothing beyond the social order. Every act of human life, every thought of human minds is entirely conditioned by the general state of material events at that time. History becomes once more "the arbiter of all destiny." Freedom vanishes. Once again, events mold men, not they events.

V

A third area of moral conflict lies in the Communist versus the Judaic-Christian attitude toward means and ends.

It is the Judaic-Christian conviction that the means to any end, even the most laudable, must be in conformity with certain moral standards. The end does not justify the means. St. Paul, in his letter to the Romans, cautions: "Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good."

The Judaic-Christian doctrine of ends-means is clearly related to that of the status of persons. Men are made in the image of God and are in their separate existences dear to Him. The person is the crown of creation, and the value of everything else on earth is to be judged by its service to persons as the offspring of God. Since persons are unique in creation, none is to be used as a means. To serve the good of man is the function of all human institutions.

St. John wrote: "Beloved, let us love one another; for love is of God, and he who loves is born of God and knows God. He who does not love does not know God; for God is love."

Against this gentle doctrine communism pits a philosophy based on the idea that the end does justify the means and that Communists are therefore duty-bound to use any means to accomplish their objectives. Since the Communist Party is conceived to be the sole vehicle of the good, fulfillment of its directives is the path of virtue.

Lenin put it boldly in these words: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society * * * A Communist must be prepared to make every sacrifice and, if necessary, even resort to all sorts of schemes and stratagems, employ illegitimate methods, (and) conceal the truth * * *."

In other words, as Koestler said in the book I mentioned earlier, the Communist ethic is that a "collective aim justifies all means, and * * * demands that the individual should in every way be * * * sacrificed to the community."

In an analysis made for the Princeton Center of International Studies, Gabriel Almond concluded, after studying case histories of ex-Communists, that "for a fully committed Communist, lying, misrepresentation, and brutal actions, if done in the service of the party, are the fulfillment of ethical obligation, mere incidents on the road to salvation."

VI

A fourth issue in the modern ideological conflict may be found in the Judaic-Christian concept of a Supreme Being versus Communist atheistic dogma.

Faith in God as a living reality is basic to Judaism and Christianity. It is because men are believed to be accountable to God that the Western World has evolved strong moral standards of conduct: some things are held to be eternally right and some things are eternally wrong. The prophets Jeremiah, Isaiah, Amos, and Habbakhuk lay the foundation for our belief that God acts in history with justice, mercy, equality, and purpose. Christianity starts with a personal God—not blind force or power, but a conscious, thinking, striving, personal Being. God's revelation of Himself was not through a law, physical forces, or a book, but through a Person. We of the Judaic-Christian heritage believe that God participates in the life of the world. We heed the words of the prophet Isaiah, "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the word of our God shall stand forever."

The Communist philosophy rejects the reality of God and substitutes a materialistic absolutism. Since, in the Communist view, ultimate reality lies in matter alone, there is no fixed morality, save that prescribed by the party and the state. "In what sense?" Lenin asked, "do we repudiate ethics and morality? In the sense that they were preached by the bourgeoisie who declared that ethics were God's commandments. * * * We repudiate all such morality that is taken outside of human class concepts. * * * We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interest of the class struggle of the proletariat. * * * Morality is that which serves to create a new Communist society."

Engels wrote: "All religion * * * is nothing but the fantastic reflection in men's minds of those external forces which control their daily life. * * * We reject every attempt to impose on us any moral dogma. * * * We maintain on the contrary that all moral theories are the product of social and economic forces." And Marx held that "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature. * * * It is the opium of the people. * * * Thus it is the mission of history, after the other worldly truth has disappeared, to establish the truth of this world."

Communist "truth" of course is defined by the state and the party. Lenin wrote: "The proletariat needs the state * * * both for the purpose of crushing the resistance of the exploiters and for the purpose of guiding the great mass of the population. * * *" And Stalin stated frankly in his defense of Communist ideology that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is * * * a domination that is untrammeled by law and based on violence."

VII

These, then, are four of the great moral issues which divide the free and the Communist worlds and with which all of us who love freedom must cope continuously, persistently, for as long as we live. In this clash of ideologies, we in the United States are once again finding our surest weapons to be our faith in God, and our dedication to the cardinal convictions that man, in his sonship, must be a person of worth and dignity and that the basic purpose of all social institutions must be to help man live in dignity, his eyes fixed on God's great sky. It is with these powerful spiritual concepts that we and our allies in the free world have built our democratic institutions.

The conviction that all men are children of a Supreme Being lies at the heart of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. When the Founding Fathers proclaimed that "all men are created equal," they were speaking of equality in the eyes of God. The doctrine of natural rights around which they forged our free political and economic system refers to rights that are God-given, not manmade. Spiritual values govern the way we live—the way we conduct ourselves as individuals and as a people.

By way of illustration of the ideological gulf that separates the free and the Communist worlds, I should like to conclude by relating, in greatly abbreviated form, a discussion which took place in Berlin between a well-known American and a prominent Russian, just following the common victory over Hitler:

The Russian said he would genuinely like to understand the fundamentals of the

American system; so the American began by carefully explaining the Magna Carta, the American Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution.

The Russian interrupted. "I understand what you are saying," he declared, "but I do not see how you can believe what you obviously do. You say you want man to do as he pleases, to say what he pleases, to work or not work as he wishes, to worship as he desires. You are appealing to all that is selfish in man. We, on the other hand, appeal to man's nobler instincts. We teach sacrifice, the nothingness of self, the glory of the state."

At this point the American realized that he would have to help the Russian comprehend our basic concepts of human dignity, mutuality in human relations, and consecrated intelligence—to understand that our whole political, economic, and social system is designed to make possible the attainment of these unassailable moral beliefs. When he attempted to do so, the Russian threw up his hands and the conversation ended.

Bipartisanship in Foreign Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered on Sunday, March 3, at a testimonial dinner given in my honor by the nationalities division of the Democratic National Committee at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City.

My address relates in part to bipartisanship in foreign affairs, so I believe it may be of interest to the Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, OF RHODE ISLAND, HONORARY CHAIRMAN, NATIONALITIES DIVISION, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE, AT THE TESTIMONIAL DINNER, MARCH 3, 1957, WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Mr. Toastmaster, Governor Williams, National Chairman Butler, distinguished guests, and fellow Americans, the happy occasion of today's gathering is evidence of the increased importance of this nationalities division which was established in 1948—a short 9 years ago. I was privileged to be the first chairman of the division when it was a small political unit, and I have seen it conquer its difficulties and win its victories until it has now grown to the stature at which it may fairly well be said to represent the hopes and the ideal of 35 million Americans of the most varied and diverse origins.

From the very begininng it has been the function of this nationalities division to help our country by providing an opportunity for political expression to these 35 million of our fellow citizens who trace their family histories to origins abroad within the last couple of generations. It has also been our function to help our Democratic Party by getting it to respond to the needs of this segment of our population, and, particularly, by securing their participation as active members of our organization.

Since that 1948 election, this unit of our organization has been active in many parts of the ocuntry and has been recognized as the one organization to which ethnic groups can confidently appeal when in need of assistance on political matters.

I cannot speak further without paying tribute to one who has identified himself with this movement from the very beginning, namely, "Mish" Cieplinski, as we all fondly call him. He has been the active spearhead of our organization, and through his efforts the division has taken part in many campaigns to elect Democratic Senators, Representatives, governors, mayors, and other candidates on our various tickets.

Other speakers have already mentioned the work which all of you have done in specific campaigns, so I will not go over that again, but I would like to say something especially to you leaders of the nationalities division.

Our organization typifies the unity of all the peoples who make up America. It typifies also our democracy in action.

We have helped 35 million of our citizens to a better understanding of our country's problems—for every man and woman is a better citizen when he or she is given the opportunity, and takes it, to think about the affairs of government.

We have also helped the Democratic Party to bring its message to these same Americans—and the message of the Democratic Party has always been one that each of us should be proud to talk about.

And we have also helped to bring unity of purpose to our fellow Americans of almost every national origin, and to interpret American democracy to foreigners.

This Nation has proved that a great democracy in which millions of people are able to develop according to their own best inheritance, and without being forced into any kind of uniform totalitarian mold, is a democracy which can work, which can grow and become strong enough to withstand any kind of attack, military or ideological.

Most of us familiar with the course of history, realize that there have been other nations with heterogeneous populations which have failed to attain unity and unanimity of purpose—while we have reached that goal. We should realize also that our national development has not come about through the haphazard whims of fate. It is the result of long, arduous, and dedicated cooperation of freemen, with unswerving faith in the Almighty, striving to better their national community and thus, the larger world community.

In our present world situation it is of vital importance that not only this purpose, but also this reality, be impressed upon men everywhere. You can help to do this. You can help by devoting attention to the contracts which many of you have with people living in far-off countries. You can do this more effectively than any kind of special agency—even a highly financed organization like the so-called people-to-people program. You can do it better because you have contacts as individuals in every country from which America draws her great inheritance, and because you can convey the message of our democracy to those countries, not through any impersonal mechanism of propaganda, but from your own individual minds and hearts.

I wish that there were more unity, of the kind we see represented here tonight, in the affairs of our Nation in Washington. From time to time we have heard much about bipartisan politics and I have been privileged to see it applied in foreign affairs to some extent. Under Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman bipartisanship was a real and vital thing—a principle by which we lived. From it came men like Frank Knox and Henry L. Stimson; and under our Democratic administration, outstanding Republicans like my former colleague, Senator Warren Austin, represented us in the highest diplomatic posts. The name of Arthur Vandenberg became almost symbolic of this living and active bipartisan policy, so far as foreign affairs were concerned.

The present administration has hitherto given only lip service to bipartisanship, which is one of the reasons why our country is in trouble abroad. When there has been any bipartisanship, it has been only a bipartisanship of expediency.

The administration has waited until—as in the Middle East today—it was in deep trouble. Only now, belatedly, it has invited the Democrats to sit in at hurriedly arranged conferences at the White House, in the hope that, in the name of bipartisanship, we would underwrite remedies which could best be described as random and expedient.

I do not mean to suggest that all wisdom rests in the Democratic Party, but I do mean to say that in the difficult conditions which prevail abroad today, it is imperative that the Government of these United States make full use of all the wisdom, ability, and practical experience which can be found in both parties.

However, whatever one may think should have been done at any particular time or place, I am sure that we can all agree that it is hardly fair or sensible to wait until a situation is already in grave disorder—only then to come forth with a crash remedy, with the illogical expectation that those who had no part in determining our policy, and had not been fully informed of what has been going on, should underwrite such expediency.

While I am on the subject of information, may I add another word.

A democracy must conduct its foreign policy in the light of day, so that everyone may know what is being done. In a totalitarian state, a dictator can afford to keep his motives and plans to himself because there, the people are forbidden under penalty to express themselves. In a democracy, however, the success of foreign policy depends upon full information about the factors which lead to decisions and actions.

The present administration has been less than frank with the people in this regard. Only a month before the last election we were informed that the Middle Eastern crisis at Suez had been virtually settled. And yet, it erupted violently before November. Either we were not fully informed as we should have been, or else our Government itself was not fully informed as it should have been.

I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of having our Government provide full and sincere information, not only to Members of Congress but also to the whole people, of what is going on in the world and how we expect to deal with it.

In normal times, as in critical times, the love of freedom strengthened by truth, is the uniting force of mankind. The world is witness to the gallantry of the Hungarians and the Poles. By their stubborn resistance to the tyranny of communism, they have shown that, though held captive, they still preserve their faith in democracy which is nourished by freedom.

To preserve our freedom, and thus inspire others, both to regain and to preserve theirs, it is imperative for us to chart our future course with a positive program in the conduct of our foreign relations. In this we may safely be guided by the ideals of Woodrow Wilson—freedom of the seas, self- determination for nonself-governing peoples, open diplomacy, improved trade among free nations, and the end of imperialism, of the right and of the left—all of these ideals are as applicable today as when they originated.

And as new situations arise for which there is no precedent and no available solution, we will use our wisdom in finding the way, in setting a good precedent ourselves. This resourcefulness is what has made America great, and this will enable us to preserve

our benevolent leadership of the free world, a leadership forced upon us by the shrinkage in the size of this world as a result of modern inventions.

This leadership we have not sought—in fact some of us have regretted it—and some have even opposed it—but man's ingenuity in the field of transportation and of communication has brought all parts of the world close together and the world has apparently shrunk. Like it or not, we must accommodate ourselves to it. Experiences such as ours in the nationalities division of the Democratic Party, where those of all races have worked together for a common patriotic purpose, not only is valuable to us in our beloved country, but also to the world at large. It holds forth as a lively experiment of what the whole world may hope to achieve. Let us give our best to a realization of that hope.

Address by Fulgencio Batista, President of Cuba, at Visit of Goodwill Mission From the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address delivered by President Fulgencio Batista at the palace reception in honor of the guests of the American Chamber of Commerce of Cuba, in Habana, December 3, 1956, together with the reply address by Judge George D. Neilson, on behalf of 150 members of the Goodwill Mission representing the Chambers of Commerce of the United States.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT FULGENCIO BATISTA AT THE PALACE RECEPTION IN HONOR OF THE GUESTS OF THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF CUBA, HABANA, DECEMBER 3, 1956

Ladies and gentlemen, I am particularly pleased to be able to meet and chat with such a distinguished group of neighbors this evening, and before I say anything else, let me thank you for coming to visit us. We are delighted to have you, the outstanding leaders of industrial, commercial, and civic affairs in your respective areas, and we know that in order to come to Cuba, you have had to sacrifice some of your valuable time. I hope that when you return to your homes, you will feel that the sacrifice of your time has been offset, at least to some extent, by the benefits of your stay in our country.

Cuba and the United States have always been close and good friends, and your presence here today indicates that you want to become better acquainted with Cuba and her people. I have always believed that besides the historical and political ties which hold us together, the good relations between the United States and Cuba have, over the year, been improved and maintained, in a large measure, by trade relations between our two countries. The day-by-day transactions between our industrial and commercial entities have made for understanding, and have developed a sort of economic dependence, one nation upon the other, based on mutual interests and mutual respect. This partnership has prospered in times of peace and in times of war. All of you must know that Cuba sells a great amount of her most important product, sugar, as well as her other products, in the United States, and that, in reciprocation, Cuba buys an even greater dollar-amount of your products for her own consumption every year. This is a good example of free trade, and I believe we should maintain, or even improve, this kind of reciprocity.

We do not believe North Americans have ever found it too difficult to do business with Cuba. Our best witnesses are your own compatriots who have lived in Cuba for many years. I refer, of course, to your hosts on this visit to Cuba. I hope you will have an opportunity to know them better and to get their opinions. We regard them as valuable assets in our country, and I think you will find that they know most of the answers. I am pleased, of course, to receive our neighbors from the north, because, in addition to the pleasure of meeting them personally, the occasion always serves to remind me anew of the blessings we of the free world are permitted to enjoy. It is the shocking truth that at this very moment, while we are able to live and enjoy the benefits of free men in a free world, millions of men and women, and even helpless little children, who were once free, are being forced to live out their miserable lives under the brutal domination of the evil tyrants of international communism.

On occasions such as this, all of us might do well to pause and count our blessings, because we are fortunate enough to be among the few human beings who are free to live their own lives and chart their own destinies. Nor can we ever relax our vigilance toward the forces which would devour us. For those who were blind enough to accept, in good faith, the recent, widely publicized "dulcification" of Soviet Russian policy, we have only to point to events of the past few weeks in Hungary.

You will pardon me, I hope, for bringing up such a disagreeable subject at this time, but I feel that you, as leaders in your own country, which is a citadel of democracy, must remain ever alert to the dangers ahead of us.

Certainly, in the give-and-take of trade relations we have an opportunity to contribute substantially to the preservation of our democratic way of life, by strengthening the economy of our respective nations, and by improving the standard of living for the great masses of our peoples. Improving the standard of living is not only good business from a strictly self-interest standpoint, as reflected in greater demands for our products, but what is, perhaps, more important, is the fact that better living conditions act as a deterrent to the very forces which would destroy us and our way of life. I am sure that all of you realize that the benefits of free trade are not always measured in terms of balance sheets and financial statements. I know that you are dedicated to the improvement of international relations, through friendly foreign trade, which, in itself, is an effective antidote for the venomous doctrines of Soviet totalitarianism.

In these noble efforts you may count on the traditional, patriotic support of the people of Cuba. Thank you very much.

Salud! Salud!

REPLY TO PRESIDENT BATISTA—ADDRESS OF JUDGE GEORGE D. NEILSON, GIVEN ON BEHALF OF 150 MEMBERS OF THE GOOD WILL MISSION REPRESENTING THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE, HABANA, CUBA, DECEMBER 3, 1956

Mr. President, on behalf of the 150 members of the good will mission to Cuba, representing the various chambers of commerce of the United States, I express to you our sincere and deep appreciation for your kind and gracious hospitality. I want to tell you at this time on behalf of each person here assembled what is in our hearts.

We have now been in your midst and among the lovable people of Cuba for about 4 days, and we have had the good fortune to mingle with your citizens both in and out of Habana.

During our stay in Cuba two things, among others, have made a profound and lasting impression on us. First, we have learned, and happily so, from firsthand experience, that the people of Cuba have great admiration and respect for you personally, Mr. President, and for the farsighted and progressive programs which have been carried out under your inspiring leadership—all for the betterment of Cuba and its people.

Secondly, we are indeed happy to report that we have found that your fellow countrymen have a deep and enduring friendship for the United States and its people. I can assure you, Mr. President, that this expression of true friendship is a mutual one and that we in the United States likewise hold your country in high and friendly esteem.

The thought occurs to me, as I recall the pleasant memories of our stay in Cuba and as I look over this distinguished group in this magnificent and historical palace, that Cuba and the United States have two primary things in common. I say without fear of contradiction that Cuba and the United States are in the forefront in seeking, through the United Nations and elsewhere, an enduring and just peace. In this respect we work hand in hand. Also, we have the common and worthwhile objective of striving and diligently working for permanent prosperity through a sound and healthy economy based on a strong and mutually helpful trade program.

Mr. President, through peace and prosperity we will actively and forceably combat the threat of communism to our sacred institutions. If we diligently strive to raise the standard of living of all of our peoples, both in Cuba and the United States, communism and its sinister forces will not prevail as a potent force in our midst. In fact, throughout all of Latin America and North America we will build for ourselves and our beloved countries the necessary unity and strength to withstand the threat of such unworthy forces.

So, Mr. President, as our good will mission to Cuba comes to an end, and as we reluctantly depart with cherished and happy memories from this friendly land of beauty and sunshine, permit me, on behalf of the 150 members of this good will mission, to wish you godspeed in the great and important responsibilities of your office and extend to you and your associates and the people of Cuba our sincere wish and prayer for a most happy, joyous, and prosperous future.

Passports To Newsmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, among the growing chorus of opposition on the refusal of the State Department to grant passports to newsmen is the recent protest of the national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Mr. Cooper T. Holt. In an editorial complimenting Commander Holt for his views, the St. Paul Pioneer Press, in St. Paul, Minn., took a similar stand this week.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this editorial, which appeared on February 26, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VFW WOULD LIKE TO KNOW

Cooper T. Holt, national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, has joined those voicing opposition to Secretary Dulles' efforts to keep American newsmen from going into Red China to write about conditions there.

The VFW is violently opposed to the Red Chinese regime but, says Holt: "This does not mean that we are willing to give up our birthright which entitles us to know what is going on behind the Bamboo Curtain or anywhere else in the world."

Holt's statement focuses attention on the fact that the Dulles' policy is not merely something affecting newspapers and other information media. Instead, its primary result is to deny the American people the opportunity of knowing more about developments in China. How this will benefit the United States is difficult to understand.

Regulation of Campaign Expenditures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT GORE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Campaign Spending," published in the Baltimore Sun of today.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAMPAIGN SPENDING

Three reforms constitute the core of Senator GORE's plan for regulating campaign expenditures. First is a firm ceiling on the amount of such expenditures. Second are rigid requirements for public report on and disclosure of such expenditures. Third is explicit legal obligation on the candidate himself to see that points one and two are met.

Senator GORE would gear the ceilings on campaign expenditures to the number of votes which were cast in the previous election. Presidential candidates could spend 20 cents a vote, which on the record of recent elections would run to about $12 million, evenly divided between the National and the State campaigns. Similar ceilings, similarly keyed to vote totals, would givern spending in the congressional campaigns.

Other limitations would bind the raising of the money before it was spent. It would be up to the candidate to say what committees and groups could raise what proportions of the total quota allowed—in the case of the presidential candidate, this total quota, as stated, would be around $12 million. Nondesignated committees could raise money for the candidate—but only to the very modest amount of $1,000 each.

Other regulations would limit the shipment of campaign funds across State lines. The new curbs would apply to primary as well as to general elections. To the outright ban on direct spending by labor unions provided in present law, the new proposal would add severe limitations on the spending of labor "political action" committees. That is, it would ban any spending at all by such committees beyond the sum of $1,000 unless the candidate designated such a committee part of his official backing. And then the labor group would be held to the sum imposed by the candidate as dividing up his overall quota. The same new curbs would naturally cover business groups.

To propose such a bill is a long way from getting it enacted, and Senator GORE, a not inexperienced man, knows this full well. When he touches State prerogatives as in the regulation of campaign spending in primaries, he is asking for special trouble. Labor and business groups will only reluctantly yield to further curbs on their political finance. Many a candidate will shrink from the grim burden not merely of holding contributions to a prescribed limit, but of forcing full report and disclosure thereof. But the thoughtful public has long disliked the acrid dollar smell that has curled away from many an individual election fight. Senator GORE may not get all he wants but he ought to get something.

Donald Comer Reviews Cotton Import Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Donald Comer Reviews Import Situation From 1936 to Present," published in the Cotton Trade Journal for January 25, 1957. Mr. Comer is chairman of the executive committee of Avondale Mills, Inc.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DONALD COMER REVIEWS IMPORT SITUATION FROM 1936 TO PRESENT

(By Donald Comer)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Since the following article was written the Japanese have announced an export quota schedule on cotton textiles and apparel extending over a 5-year period.)

This is the second time that Japan has come across the ocean to us with her unneeded cotton goods. It's the second time she has involved herself in this unfriendly situation with a friendly nation, and particularly with that large segment engaged in spinning, weaving, and garment manufacturing for their home needs, which is the main concern of this article.

It is hard to understand how the intelligent Japanese people should have attempted this uncontrolled invasion a second time. After saying this, I think it best to review the whole situation from 1936 to date.

In 1936 Japan was fairly launched in the textile business, and, after supplying her home needs, she captured Britain's export market and took first place in it as exporters. Her shipments to America previous to 1935 were negligible. In 1935 this began to increase tremendously percentagewise. They exported to us in 1933 less than 2 million yards, 36 million yards in 1935, and 75 million yards in 1936.

The only reason this invasion was possible was Japan's relatively low wages. She offered nothing new in style or quality—only an imitation of our goods. Our home market was already oversupplied with adequate spindleage operating fiercely, competitively.

President Franklin Roosevelt met this threat by increasing the tariff to the limit of our trade program. This was entirely ineffective. It would take a fantastic tariff to equalize the wages between the two countries. An exchange of views between the leaders of the industry was thought desirable and a committee from our industry went to Japan in December 1936.

Dr. Claudius Murchison was chairman of the committee, and Mr. Cason Calloway, Mr. Harry Bailey, Mr. Bob Phillip, and the writer were the other members. Our committee went with the knowledge and approval of President Roosevelt and both Governments.

Just a short time before this I had coauthored an article in Liberty magazine which they had headlined "Japan Is at War With Us Now." In this article I attempted to answer their claim that because they bought some of our cotton they were entitled to ship the manufactured goods back to us.

SILK FOR COTTON

I thought then, and I still think that Japanese silk for our cotton is a natural and, of course, there are other such bilateral trades. But beyond this, there could be three-way trading—Japanese cotton goods to Malaya paid for by their tin and rubber sold to us for our cotton.

I stated in my Liberty article that whether Japan manufactured our cotton into gun cotton and shot bombs at us, or sent it back to us in manufactured goods, there would be casualties in either case. Of course, there was no thought in my mind then of the tragedy 2 years later at Pearl Harbor when she tried the bombing alternative with its casualties. The closed mills and unemployed workers are casualties with us today as the result of her imports. That was the war that Liberty had in mind.

When our committee arrived in Osaka in January 1937, Japan had already sold 55 million yards for that year's delivery. As a result of our visit, we reached a quota of 155 million yards in 1937 and a 100 million yards for 1938.

During these negotiations, we were entertained pleasantly at luncheons and dinners, and on one such occasion, I remarked that it seemed a waste of effort to fuss over an already well-supplied market; that we ought to be joining hands to improve economic conditions in other countries by developing new markets, lifting the yearly average of cotton consumption per person from practically nothing in Africa to nearer the 33 pounds per person consumption in the United States.

The gentleman next to me, whose name I think was Senator Ogura, said, "You are entirely right, Mr. Comer." And here I want to say that our approach to the problems we discussed was invariably met with courteous and sympathetic understanding, and their gracious hospitality was also extended to the members of our families who were with us—Mrs. Bailey, Mrs. Calloway and her two young sons, Cason, Jr., and Howard, Mrs. Comer and our daughter, Martine—from the time of our arrival until the time of our departure.

In this connection, I wrote Life magazine complimenting them on the beautiful pictures of Japan carried in a recent edition. Our two Governments could well afford to encourage a larger tourist travel program, which would be very beneficial to Japan's economy and further greater knowledge in other countries of Japan's beautiful country and hospitable people.

Japan had 14 million spindles in 1937. These were either bombed out or melted down for war use in the Second World War. After peace, General MacArthur asked a committee from our industry to come to Japan to help reestablish her textile industry. Dr. Jacobs, Fred Symmes, and the writer were

selected as a committee to go to Japan in answer to General MacArthur's request.

Our 16 recommendations for needed help were largely implemented and Japan has now 8 million spindles in operation. One thing that is not understandable to me is that she should now, with this history as a background, be not asking, but demanding, that her unwanted goods again come over here and again shut down our mills and disturb our markets, insisting on some so-called voluntary quota of their own devising, millions of yards more today than in 1937 when they had nearly twice as many spindles, and reserving to themselves the right to make future changes.

When I began to write the Cotton Trade Journal a year ago about this Japanese attitude, their Mr. Kojiro Abe, chairman of the All Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, wrote the Cotton Trade Journal that Mr. Comer should be willing "to live and let live." I replied to Mr. Abe that our record went beyond this, that we believe in "living and helping to live."

We not only negotiated the quota arrangement in 1937, but had been assuring them of our willingness to return again to a reasonable quota arrangement. We all know that every yard from Japan stops an American loom and an American job.

I can't help but think that if the industry had leaders today like Mr. Shoji and Mr. Nango, with whom we negotiated in 1937, this recurring controversy would have been avoided.

In reply to his "live and let live" letter, I'd like to ask Mr. Abe what Japan did to help our tuna-fish industry live on our Pacific coast? What they did for the silk-scarf business, the velveteen business, pillow cases, blouses, etc.? Plywood, 1½ million square feet in 1951 and 43 million in 1955, sewing machines, umbrella frames, chinaware, etc.? In this unfair competition is Japan helping these industries to live?

Such trade relations with Japan leave us confused. I'm not so surprised that Japan, with her Asian wage scale, takes advantage of our lush market, built up over the years by our American standard of wages. I am sick and sore that our Government continues to permit such an unfair trade relation.

To whom does this American market and purchasing power belong? American industry with its genius, know-how, protected labor, protected agriculture, and cumulative advertising, has built it up, and our wage scale can only be maintained by our buying what each of us makes. No one segment of our industry can take its high wages and spend them for low-priced Japanese wares and thereby shut down another home industry.

The tunafish people built their market. They developed it, advertised and promoted it—and Japan reaped the harvest. Our cotton mills developed, promoted, styled, and advertised our ginghams and our velveteens, etc. Japan has capitalized on velveteens and is attempting the same policy toward ginghams—3 million yards in 1953; 70 million yards in the first 9 months of 1956. Out of the total United States market of 250 million yards, this does not include shorts or other garments with their double injury.

For any further information on the subject, I suggest that you read the testimony by our industry before the Tariff Commission on December 4, which includes the statement by Mr. Craig Smith, president of Avondale Mills, on December 14.

American industry was built behind a tariff wall for protection against European wages. The South opposed this program because our cotton was sold on the world market. This situation was later corrected when Congress wrote the word "parity" in our agricultural legislation. How foolish it seems to build a barrier against European wages, only to tear it down before the onslaught of Asian standards.

When Congress had our present foreign-trade legislation before it, President Eisenhower wrote Congressman MARTIN as follows:

"This program, therefore, must be and will be administered to the benefit of the Nation's economic strength and not to its detriment. No American industry will be placed in jeopardy by the administration of this measure. Were we to do so, we would undermine the ideal for which we have made so many sacrifices and are doing so much throughout the world to preserve. This plain truth has dictated the retention of existing peril-point and escape-clause safeguards in the legislation. Signed: Dwight D. Eisenhower."

There was no "if" or "but" in the President's letter to Congressman MARTIN and till this good day, how the Secretaries of State, Commerce, Agriculture, and Labor can explain their failure to carry out these promises is a mystery.

PROMISED TO ACT

Because of the continued growing imports from Japan, I wrote to Gov. Sherman Adams and he promised reassuringly that something would be done about it in his letter to me May 14, 1956. He repeated this promise in Portsmouth, N. H., in September.

I know that anyone in charge of great affairs must depend upon others to carry out a program, but I believe our industry is justified in our growing concern, more particularly because of the President's recent action in refusing to carry out the unanimous recommendations of the Tariff Commission, proposing a tariff to protect the New England fishermen from cheap imports from Iceland. I can only think that he acted because of bad advice from the State Department. Jobs of New England fishermen certainly should not be used to buy a United States Government airbase in Iceland.

If, for the good of all of us, it is desirable to run a straight expressway through my front yard, and the Government takes my front yard, at least they pay me for it. The Government has no right to take the purchasing power which I have helped to build up and trade it to Japan for "this or that." Japan is selling textile machines to Mexico, China, and the rest of the world.

Is the Government going to permit imports from all these relatively low-wage nations who may decide to export textiles? At present, the Government establishes a floor to wages, it fixes the price of cotton, the parity price paid the farmer, the hours and wages of employees and, as of right now, they sell the same cotton to Japan and the rest of the world at about 7 cents a pound less than they sell it to us, and they refuse to equalize these differences by tariff procedures. After paying our Federal, State and city license, we are told to go out and make things against this kind of competition.

QUOTES FROM PAPERS

An extract from an editorial in Jesse Jones' Houston Chronicle of November 27 is as follows:

"So American cotton, made into cloth in Japanese mills, having crossed the Pacific Ocean twice, is now underselling American cotton goods in the domestic market.

"It strikes me, neighbor, that this is carrying do-goodism too far."

From the Cotton Trade Journal, November 16, a news item from Atlanta, Ga.:

"A nationwide conference to protest the administration's textile tariff policies was recommended today to Gov. Marvin Griffin, of Georgia.

"The recommendation was made by a special committee appointed several months ago by the Governor to study the effects of Japanese imports on Georgia industry."

In the Birmingham News of June 12, Senator GEORGE called for greatly expanded trade between Japan and China. He said this is the only way to insure a prosperous Japan, and at the same time to avoid cutthroat competition between the United States and Japan. There should be a relaxation. Japan should be allowed to trade in her ancient and natural markets.

If our Government owes Japan anything, everybody should pay it. Let the Government buy their cloth and give it to naked people of Africa and Borneo. They may like two cotton shirts and become future customers. Our textile industry is vital both in war and peace.

To those of our leaders who seem to be playing a kind of international game of chess with our industries as pawns, I'd recommend the reading of a message sent by the late Frank Knox, then Secretary of the Navy, in the trying days of January 1942, addressed "to the men in the textile industry":

"Hitler is learning, as Napoleon did, that a war can be lost because of clothes. The fact that the German army must face bitter weather in ersatz uniforms, and too few of them at that, may well prove to be the Achilles' heel of this Austrian house painter. An army marches on its stomach—but only if that stomach is kept warm.

BEST CLOTHED FIGHTERS

"America is sending to the battlefronts of the world the best-clothed Armed Forces in the history of warfare. To you, the men of the textile industry who made this possible, go the heartfelt thanks of all our fighting men—from the soldiers huddled behind the antiaircraft guns in Hawaii to the sailors standing watch on some chill and spray-swept deck in the North Atlantic. To you, also, goes the sincere gratitude of the people who wait for them at home.

"This is a total war, a war of industry as much as arms. And the great roar of the country's looms is as vital to the victory as the rumble of the blast furnaces or the clatter of the riveting guns in our shipyards. You of the textile industry have led in casting your 'business as usual' policy to the winds and sparing no effort to meet the tremendous demands placed upon you by our war program. Carry on your work, inspired by the knowledge that you will share in the credit for our final victory."

From the beginning, the State Department has refused not only to recognize this invasion and its increasing threat, insisting that we prove the damage done before the Tariff Commission. Even though our case was so obviously true, we did go before the Tariff Commission, although the experience of the tuna fish, the silk scarf, velveteens and pillow cases, etc., held out no hope.

We are still bewildered at the lack of sympathetic understanding of our situation on the part of the Government. The State Department has opposed the quota bilateral arrangement. Why, I do not know. Our immigration law imposes a quota on persons, why not a quota on what they make and fixed by us, also.

FIXED BY US

Incidentally, this quota of persons is fixed by us, not by the other party. In spite of the President's letter to Mr. Martin, in spite of the promises and statements from Governor Adams and Secretary Weeks, the State Department continues to pursue a crippling program for our textile industry.

Mayor William C. Johnston of Anderson, S. C., and brother of South Carolina's Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, said he is asking the support of the American Municipal Association to get the Government to act promptly to stem the flood of foreign-made textile products into this country. He said the administration had not taken promised action to give the American Textile Industry the promised relief from the ever mounting influx of goods and garments from the low-wage industry of Japan.

COLONEL BEATTY QUOTED

The Southern Textile News of Charlotte, N. C., quotes Col. Francis J. Beatty, president of the National Cotton Council, from a letter sent to Gov. Sherman Adams, Secretary Weeks and Secretary Benson, as follows:

"This (referring to the council's resolution calling for import limits) has a highly demoralizing impact on the whole American textile industry, including both fabrics and apparel."

Mr. F. E. Grier, president, American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, said:

"If an aggressive foreign policy could open up the regions of want and rags in Asia, Africa, the Near East and the many Pacific territories, and set them free economically, there would be more than enough markets for all the world's textile industries.

"That's the kind of foreign policy we need. I, for one, intend to hold to the faith that the American people will demand it in place of the wishy-washy foolishness now being pursued in the name of free trade, charity and international politics.

"Once we have met and overcome this greatest challenge, our industry will have a sound footing for progress. We'll know where we stand, and we'll have the incentive to move ahead into greater production, better markets and a brighter era for textiles."

I am writing this during the Christmas holidays, and I would like Mr. Abe and his associates to feel that in agreeing to a fixed sharing of our market with them, it comes voluntarily and in response to our desire to live and help live and in keeping with the spirit of this season.

Uranium and Its Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ALLEN FREAR, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, a short time ago one of my constituents, Mr. Ashworth Burslem, composed a brief but very descriptive article entitled "Uranium and Its Country." It was originally printed in a publication of the Hercules Powder Co., but has since appeared in other publications as well. I believe that the Members of the Senate will find it worthwhile reading, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

URANIUM AND ITS COUNTRY

(By Ashworth Burslem)

Born out of grim necessity, in the horror and agony of Hiroshima, Nagasaki, the nuclear age grew from swaddling clothes into manhood almost overnight.

There was a question mark over the future from the first hour the birth was announced.

Today, 11 years have passed since that first blinding flash of light wrote upon the pages of history another chapter in man's conquest of nature.

There is still a question mark. It is still not certain that man's conquest of himself is complete.

The awesome power of the creation is in truth linked to man's good intentions and his striving toward improvement of his lot.

There is still the question mark—one misstep and then destruction. There is, however, hope and faith that only good and no evil will emerge from the nuclear piles that begin life in the colorful, barren earth of New Mexico, Arizona, and Montana, of Utah, Colorado, and Nevada.

There is an omen for good in the lilt of the names given to places only yesterday known but to a few. Listen to the singing of Monument Valley, Moab, Red Rock, and Monogram Mesa. There is Mexican Hat, and Paradox Valley, Shiprock, Cisco, and Naturita. Then, there's Dead Horse Point. Oh, yes, this is Indian country, home of the Navaho. They are still the only masters of this desolate waste which reflects the colors of uranium in both its raw and finished state. The yellows and greens of ore are there; the flaming red of fire is there. Both animal and vegetable manages to survive, and it has been so for centuries. The early Indians used uranium for their war paints, unaware of any portent for the future, and the skeleton a giant dinosaur, a fossil of an early chapter in history, was tumbled out of the rock with its ancient bones so radioactive a Geiger counter came to life. Life. That word keeps recurring.

Uranium can mean much to life and to living, if the power man holds in his hands is devoted to the glory of a future at peace.

Equal Rights for Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, as a consistent sponsor of the equal-rights amendment, I have urged that women be accorded their full equality with men in every phase of business, professional, and domestic activity, and that they be accepted to full partnership in the duties and responsibilities of the Government of our Nation, both on the national and the local level. I have also urged the adoption of the equal-rights amendment, as proposed in House Joint Resolution 62 which I introduced, which would render all laws discriminating against women because of their sex null and void.

We have recognized the equal rights of human beings to live and work in a Nation where they will not face discrimination because of race, color, and creed, and even now seek legislation to strengthen the guarantee against discrimination. But we have ignored discrimination against women because of their sex. And we will never achieve our goal of equal rights for all our citizens until we have removed all existing discrimination against women and adopted the equal-rights amendment to the Constitution to assure women of their equal rights under the law of the land.

One of our outstanding women of Los Angeles, Calif., Adele I. Springer, a member of the New York and California Bars, and a past president of the National Association of Women Lawyers, recently delivered an excellent address on Woman's Role in the Machinery of Government which not only is a review of the historical progress of women, but also shows the difficulties encountered and overcome by women in achieving recognition in the professions, as proof of what women can do, and the need for their valuable contribution to government.

I urge that all Members of Congress give serious consideration to the following address by Adele I. Springer:

WOMAN'S ROLE IN THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

(Address by Adele I. Springer, past president, National Association of Women Lawyers, member of the bars of New York and California, delivered before the Los Angeles Council of Business and Professional Women, February 21, 1957, in Los Angeles, Calif.)

The greatest unreleased power in the world today is—womanpower.

It is, therefore, fitting that the subject of my talk before so distinguished a group of business and professional women, representing the trained and skilled womanpower in this area, should be—the role of women in the machinery of government—past, present, and future.

The women of America now constitute more than half of the voting population and more than one-third of the United States labor force. When a class is so numerous as to include one-half of the human race, the proper administration of justice requires that their voice be heard in the world councils.

Men, and women, both, must be prevailed upon to accept woman as a vital part of the machinery of government.

In discussing the relative absence of women in the conduct of the American governments, it must be remembered that these governments number not only the United States itself, but also the governments of the 48 States, Territories, and possessions, and numerous local, county, and municipal governments, also international tribunals.

Let us look at the record.

In the Nation's Capital, over the entrance to the Supreme Court of the United States, are engraved the words, "Equal justice under law."

Not one woman has ever sat in that Supreme tribunal which has the last judicial word. Yet, men claim that women always have the last word.

On the legislative side of our Government: Only 16 of the 531 Members of the new, 85th Congress, are women—1 less than last year's all-time high. The United States Senate still has but one woman Senator. Of the 435 Members of the House of Representatives, the women number 15—and none from this great State of California.

On the executive side of our Government: The President's Cabinet now remains stag.

The record in the State governments is no better.

There is no woman governor of a State or Territory. Some of the States do not have even one woman in the State legislature.

And few of the States still exclude women—along with lunatics and criminals—from service on juries in the courts.

Although justice is universally symbolized by a woman, holding balance scales, a majority of the States do not have even one woman judge. Altogether there are about 50 women judges in the United States, and these serve on inferior courts without even 1 on the bench of the highest State courts.

These discouraging figures exist, despite the fact that a recent census poll records millions more women than men, of the adult, voting population in the United States.

They are in face of the fact that there is an increasing number of college graduates among the women, and that today they have a most important part in the legal, medical, journalistic, and other professions, as well

as in the conduct of various business and sundry enterprises.

This is notwithstanding the fact that women are estimated to own 70 percent of the total wealth of the Nation, control 47 percent of corporate stock, inherit 80 percent of life insurance, own 65 percent of savings accounts, 40 percent of the real estate, and control 85 percent of all consumer buying, and that women have achieved recognition in all the occupations listed by the Bureau of the Census.

It required over 50 years of strenuous effort before the 19th amendment to the Constitution of the United States was adopted, to permit women to share in the election of our public officers, Federal, State, and local.

Yet, in the 36½ years since ratification of the suffrage amendment, we have made no greater progress to date in the management of the machinery of the American Government than thus outlined.

When we reflect on this, it is to be kept in mind also that women had had a right to vote in a number of States for years prior to the 19th amendment.

Why should all this be, when equality before the law and equality of economic opportunity are synonymous with the words "United States of America."

Why should women countenance men's monopoly of government when men do not have a monopoly on the qualifications for government.

For example: The listed occupations of the Members of this Congress show that 60 percent of all the Congressmen are lawyers. But there is only 1 woman lawyer among the 257 lawyers in the House of Representatives and none among the 57 lawyers in the Senate, notwithstanding the more than 12,000 women lawyers in the United States well equipped by training and experience for lawmaking, many of whom have made a place for themselves in Who's Who in Law and in Who's Who in America.

The stated occupations of the other Congressmen are equally enlightening. They include businessmen, publishers, teachers, farmers, and other pursuits.

The occupations of the feminine contingent in Congress are, to say the least, comparable. They include two teachers, two congressional secretaries, a businesswoman, lawyer, psychologist, realtor, social service worker, research director, former State legislators, housewives, and a so-called society leader. Their record in Congress, too, at least matches.

All the lady legislators—9 Democrats and 7 Republicans—are married women, yet found time to campaign and get elected, in addition to their work and rearing their children and running successful homes. Some of them are even grandmothers.

Yet, the men, constituting less than half of the population in America, have been able to limit the participation of women in the operation of the machinery of government.

The equal rights amendment, still before Congress, is expected to pass.

The President of the United States, in a recent pronouncement, made a declaration of policy for equal rights. The President can make the phrase a fact, by appointing a woman to fill the chair on the Supreme Court of the United States made vacant by the retirement of Associate Justice Reed.

The Nation's highest ranking woman judge, Judge Florence Allen,, who now sits on the United States Court of Appeals in Ohio, has proved that women have what it takes for elevation to the Nation's highest Court. Her 37-year record on the bench of State and Federal courts is an enviable one. Her record as a woman is as great.

The record of most of the women judges throughout the United States compares most favorably with most of their male colleagues on the bench.

Let us take to heart the words of that great jurist and statesman, Justice Brandeis, that "the greatest menace to freedom is an inert people."

That your association is conscious of its responsibilities, is made evident by this assembly of thinking women, and by your dedication of this meeting to the theme of law and lawyers.

Law is a most indispensable profession. Lawyers have always been in the front ranks as defenders of individual rights and in directing social movements, in overthrowing tyranny, exposing intrigue, unmasking corruption in high places, enacting laws and maintaining our constitutional system of Government. Great lawyers and judges of yesteryear and of our present day, have been an inspiration to the bar and to the public.

It is noted that 25 out of the 56 who signed the Declaration of Independence were lawyers; that 50 percent of the signers of the Constitution were members of the bar; and that of the 33 Presidents of the United States, 25 have been from the ranks of the bar.

This same theme of law and justice embraces the role of women in the machinery of government.

The long struggle of women for equality is a part of the increasing striving for human liberty. In continuing to fight for equality in economic, civil, and political opportunity, we are advancing the cause of law and justice, and the cause of men and women alike. It is not right alone, or as an end in themselves, that we seek. What we seek is to do our part in furthering the destiny of our country.

The guidance and activity of women are greatly needed in government housekeeping. In family life the greatest success and happiness lie in a true partnership in which the qualities that belong especially to men or women complement and supplement each other. This is equally true in communal life.

Women have had no easy road to recognition in their chosen fields. The prejudices and obstacles were many which women in the professions and in other endeavors have had to overcome in their march to a distinguished position. Yet, the fact that, notwithstanding, women have won recognition, proves that success is not a respecter of sex and that mind has no sex.

We are the successors of those great and courageous trailblazers of history, those heroic pioneers who fought, and won, against seemingly insurmountable odds, the "battle of the sexes," which opened all doors to the women of our generation.

It is heartwarming to recall some of the valiant women who fought the good fight to enable them and succeeding generations to invade the traditional male strongholds. A brief review of the difficulties encountered in their struggle, shows what determined women can accomplish.

The story of woman's campaign to gain entrance into the legal profession, for instance, is a heartening one:

Arabella A. Mansfield became the first woman lawyer, when admitted to practice in the State of Iowa in October 1869. But it was Myra Bradwell of Chicago who was the first woman ever to apply for a license to practice as a lawyer in America, or, in fact, in the world, when she applied to the Illinois court in 1869. Her application was denied, by reason of the disabilities imposed by her status as a married woman. Undaunted, she took the case to the Supreme Court of the United States, but was denied "equal justice under law" on the same ground of coverture.

Thereupon, an unmarried young woman applied, in 1871, but was similarly denied a law license by the Illinois court, even without the excuse of coverture. Determined, she took her case to the legislature, and after much effort, succeeded in getting a law enacted that "no person shall be precluded or debarred from any occupation, profession, or employment, except military, on account of sex."

This was the first enabling law in the Nation.

Following the Illinois legislative victory, gallant women in a number of other States took up the standard, some in the courts and others in their legislatures, for admission to the practice of law.

It was still at the turn of the century, in 1900, that the Delaware supreme court denied a Philadelphia woman lawyer the right to conduct a case in Delaware, even at a time when women lawyers were by then already appearing in the highest Court of the Nation.

The first woman to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States was admitted in 1879. Her application for admission was made in 1876 but was denied because of sex disqualification. Refusing to recognize defeat, she drafted a bill providing for the right, which Congress enacted in 1879.

Even the bar associations were adamant in disallowing women lawyers to membership. The first woman to apply for membership in the American Bar Association was an Iowa lawyer, in 1902. Today, the membership of the American Bar Association not only includes many women but they serve on, and head, committees, and for the past decade women lawyers have been officially recognized even with a delegate to its august governing body, the house of delegates.

When I was elected to serve as a lone delegate of the women lawyers to the American Bar Association's house of delegates, and served also in New York as an officer and on the executive board and on committees of the predominantly male bar associations, I felt as an heir-at-law of those early valiant women who broke down the barriers.

And when it was my privilege to have been the first woman ever to serve as counsel to any congressional investigation, I, too, felt as a standard bearer.

Today women lawyers are no longer on trial. More than a decade ago women lawyers achieved full recognition.

From Shakespeare's Portia, to the Portia of today, is an ideal realized.

The story of women in medicine is an equally gratifying one. When women doctors were denied a hospital in which to work, that did not stop them; they built their own.

The common cause of our sisters-in-law and sisters-in-medicine was pointed up by an enlightened Wyoming judge in 1870, who, while swearing the first women jurors in any court, told them not only that "the eyes of the world were upon them as pioneers," but also recorded: "You shall not be driven from the temple of justice as your sisters have from some of the medical colleges of the land. It will be a sorry day for any man who shall endeavor to deter you from the exercise of those rights with which the law has invested you."

But it did not deter them, when women were refused admission to the medical schools. In 1850 the first woman's medical college was created in Pennsylvania. Its all-women medical graduates are the living proof.

When, 1 year before, the medical profession's first woman doctor, Elizabeth Blackwell, was graduated in 1849 with honors, she found every door closed to her. So she established her own dispensary; then in 1857 opened the New York infirmary for Women and Children—the first hospital to be staffed entirely by women.

Since that time the infirmary, a monument to medicine's women pioneers, has made great strides in setting the pace for the medical world. The many firsts of this all-woman staffed hospital prove that women in

medicine have been more progressive than their male colleagues.

For instance, their first training classes of nurses were requisitioned by the Government during the Civil War. Other hospitals did not establish nurses training schools until 1872. The first medical social service was established by the infirmary, and the first visiting nurses service was created.

These are but a few of the many outstanding accomplishments of this unique institution, which is one of the few in the world staffed entirely by women, but which despite limited funds, has consistently earned the approval of the American Medical Association, American College of Surgeons, and the welfare departments.

Today, women doctors not only are recognized in the medical associations, but the question of appointment of women doctors was brought to a conclusion in 1943, with legislative enactment, commissioning women doctors in the Army.

Though the intrepid ladies who pioneered in medicine for women preceded by two decades the pioneering Portias, their aims and gains were the same.

That their kindred spirit still prevails, is manifested by this great association of business and professional women who have banded together for cooperative effort. The fact that your own program chairman of this meeting, Attorney Selma Moidel Smith, of Los Angeles, is today a member of the national board of that first woman's medical college in Philadelphia, further illustrates such professional sisterhood.

The story was the same, with little variances, in other fields. A further example is the journalistic field:

There is scarcely any newspaper position, from cub reporter to editor and publisher, which is not now filled by a woman journalist. But it was not always so.

The first woman newspaper publisher, Anna Zenger, in 1733, became known as the mother of freedom of the press in America. That Thanksgiving is a national holiday is due to 20 years of effort by another woman editor, in 1837. And it was a woman who first published the Declaration of Independence.

Since a century ago when the press gallery precincts opened for the first time in 1850 to the woman correspondent, the women in journalism have distinguished themselves in all departments, including radio and television.

Womanpower and power of the press, a formidable combination.

It is certainly no longer to be questioned that in the many other fields of endeavor, women, similarly, are on a par of excellence with men.

In the business and industrial field, a million United States women are business executives or owners.

Of the 22 million women working in America, the largest number in our history, half of them are married. In fact, 30 percent of all married women now have outside jobs, and contribute substantially to family income.

Thus, in every age, women have proved the diversity of her genius, to this very day. No one can deny that American women have become an important and valuable force.

It is pertinent to consider, therefore, why does woman allow man's monopoly in government to exist and to continue?

Let us look at the record:

Masculine leadership has involved the world in bloody strife. Men, alone, twice within our generation, have embroiled the women and children of the world in conflagrations. They are still trying to achieve perpetual peace through perpetual war. The reverberation of gunfire in Asia and in other parts of the world, provides daily evidence that few, if any, of the struggles and problems affecting this confused world, have been solved. The threat of atomic and germ warfare stalks the earth. The United Nations, which soon will celebrate its 12th birthday, still has no teeth. The U. N. still fails to furnish the machinery for maintaining world peace.

I am not here to recount to this intelligent audience the centuries-old struggle of mankind. But let us face squarely the fact—the world is sick almost unto death.

Also, let us not overlook President Lincoln's admonition, that we have more to fear within our own borders than from without?

In our own country, we are today confronted by unparalled conditions in the fiscal field. Let us ponder the famous remark of Chief Justice Marshall that "the power to tax is the power to destroy." Too many governments have been wrecked on the rocks of loose fiscal policy. Women in the home have performed near miracles on small budgets. Government housekeeping requires the same skill. The national welfare demands a sound fiscal policy—a reduction in public expenditures, debts, and taxation.

With concerted action, women can be a powerful force in the world of today and in the nation of the future.

This leads one to wonder why the world cannot have a government of laws and not of men; why law cannot displace force in the settlement of international disputes; why nations cannot take their cases against each other to a world court, just as people sue one another in local, State, and Federal courts; and why proper measures cannot be taken for the enforcement of judgments by a world tribunal, just as people are forced by police to obey the laws of God and man.

I repeat: Why should women—who create and not destroy life—be denied a share in the establishment of a workable system of law and order in the world.

The world can be enriched, as the home has been endowed, by having both sexes contributing to the well-being of this Nation.

In the words of George Washington, in the Constitutional Convention—as true today as in 1787—"Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the event is in the hands of God."

Public Health Service Award to American Export Lines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, as deserved recognition of the outstanding record in the maintenance of sanitation, achieved by the American Export Lines, Inc., it is fitting that the attention of the United States Senate and of the public generally be called to the Special Citation awarded by the Public Health Service, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Especially is it noteworthy that American Export Lines is the first to win this coveted award for two years consecutively. Its fleet includes luxury liners and other passenger ships maintaining regular cargo and passenger service to the eastern Mediterranean Sea. The most favorable acceptance which its service has received by citizens from many countries throughout the world has reflected credit to the United States of America. President John F. Gehan and Mrs. Charles U. Bay, Chairman, of American Export Lines' Executive Committee, deserve the commendation of our citizenry for their accomplishments in the administration of maritime affairs over the years. It is significant that recently another thoroughly experienced executive of proven worth, Frazer A. Bailey, has been named managing director of this successful organization.

In order that the full record resulting in the decision by Dr. Leroy E. Burney, Surgeon General of the United States, in awarding the citation, may be preserved, I ask unanimous consent that the text of this special citation be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the citation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE—SPECIAL CITATION TO AMERICAN EXPORT LINES, INC.

Granted in recognition of the company's contribution to public health as evidenced by the award of a Public Health Service Certificate of Sanitation to each vessel operated in its fleet during 1956.

[SEAL] L. E. BURNEY,
Surgeon General.

FEBRUARY 20, 1957.

The Diplomatic Shifts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, for some time, both as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee and as an American citizen interested in the conduct of our foreign policy, I have been disturbed by the continuing emphasis on the monetary qualifications for our highest ambassadorial posts. I am particularly sorry that President Eisenhower in his ambassadorial appointments has seen fit not only to continue, but to increase the number of instances where financial contributions to political campaigns seem to outweigh other qualifications in qualifying men for ambassadorial posts.

In this morning's New York Times there appears an article by James Reston, entitled "The Diplomatic Shifts," in which some of President Eisenhower's new appointments are examined in this perspective. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Reston's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DIPLOMATIC SHIFTS—A DISCUSSION OF THE EXTENSIVE TRANSFERS BY EISENHOWER AND REASONS FOR THEM

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, March 4.—Since the November election President Eisenhower has changed almost every major United States ambassador overseas and is now working on a long list of minor post changes.

In the Cabinet and in almost all home-front jobs, the President has retained the men who wanted to stay on for the second term, but he has appointed a new Under Secretary of State, a new Deputy Under Secretary, and new ambassadors in London, Paris, Bonn, Rome, New Delhi, Tokyo, Cairo, and Jakarta.

Changes also have been made, or are about to be made, in the leadership of diplomatic missions in Belguim, the Netherlands, Norway, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Burma, Hungary, Luxembourg, Vietnam, Ceylon, Haiti, and in several Latin American countries.

All this adds up to the biggest wholesale move in United States diplomatic representation ever taken by a President who was reelected. And it is taking place during the period of the most lively diplomatic negotiation since the war.

BOHLEN MAY BE SHIFTED

The only mayor posts not changed, in fact, have been Moscow, Vienna, and Madrid, and there is considerable speculation that Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen will be moved from Moscow before the end of the summer.

There are a number of reasons for this striking contrast between retaining the Eisenhower team at home and sweeping it out overseas, including that old familiar reason, politics.

President Eisenhower, apparently has adopted the rule of inflation to political payoffs. This is that a contributor's money no longer buys as much as it used to in the realm of diplomatic appointments. Specifically, the rule now seems to be that unless a political diplomat proves to be unusually successful (or politically powerful), he is expected to make way after one term to a new group of political contributors.

Thus Ambassador Frederick M. Alger in Belgium, who was generally thought to be doing a good job, and who wanted to stay on, was asked to resign in favor of J. Clifford Folger of Washington, chairman of the Republican National Finance Committee.

THE ENVOY TO PARIS

Thus, too, Amory Houghton, chairman of the board of the Corning Glass Works of Corning, N. Y., who is listed as having contributed $6,000 to the Republican treasury in the last election, received the key ambassadorial post Paris. He comes from a distinguished family with a long diplomatic record, and is himself highly regarded, though he suffers from the handicap of not being able to speak French. This has not amused the officials in Paris.

There is nothing new in all this except the unusual number of changes between administrations of the same party. The normal thing is to retain a political ambassador from one term to another if he is doing a competent job, particularly if important negotiations are in progress with the country concerned.

It does not follow that large contributors are replacing career ambassadors or that they are necessarily less competent than the men they are replacing. The opposite in the case in some of the new appointments.

For example, the naming to London of John Hay Whitney (who contributed $24,500 and whose wife added another $9,000 to the Republican treasury during the 1952 campaign) is generally regarded here as an improvement on Winthrop W. Aldrich, who was ambassador there during the first Eisenhower term.

The same is thought here to be true of the appointment of the experienced Democrat, David K. E. Bruce, to take Ambassador James B. Conant's place in West Germany, though Mr. Bruce, like Mr. Houghton, does not speak the language of the country to which he has been appointed.

SOME SOUGHT RETIREMENT

The President had no choice but to appoint new Ambassadors to several posts. Two vacancies were caused by death and several others—for example, Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce in Rome—insisted on retiring. Also it is regarded as normal that career Ambassadors change posts at regular intervals, often at the end of a presidential term.

Nevertheless, there is a heavy emphasis on politics in these appointments. The ratio between career and political ambassadors has been retained about as it was in the first Eisenhower administration, but there is a general feeling here that the President is adding quite a few new, inexperienced second-term ambassadors just when some of the first-term political diplomats were getting on top of their jobs.

In short, General Eisenhower has, in an era of lively diplomatic negotiation, perpetuated the old political ambassadorial system and, if anything, made it more political than it was under President Truman. And this has been something of a surprise.

His commitment to the voters when he first ran for the presidency was based on a statement which he repeated in many parts of the Nation:

"We will call to the high offices of the Government," General Eisenhower said, "the best men and women, the ablest and most reliable in the land."

No President has ever achieved this ideal in this century, and General Eisenhower is clearly no exception to the rule.

Federal Aid to Junior Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Federal Aid To Junior Colleges," published in the Freeport, Ill., Journal-Standard of January 4, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL AID TO JUNIOR COLLEGES

Before determining the wisdom of Federal aid to education as a general proposition, and before allocation of Federal aid to poorer States which urgently need funds to build elementary schools, the issue of Federal aid to junior colleges is arising.

Senator CASE, Republican, of New Jersey, says he will submit a program for 2-year "community colleges" to provide higher education for the "300,000 to 600,000 presently destined to go without college educations in the next 5 years." He sees the community college as an institution that will serve a national interest.

It will be of interest to Freeport to watch progress, if any, of a Federal project for aiding junior colleges. It may not come at once, nor soon, but it is as close to a future certainty as anything in this uncertain world.

Like all desirable things, Federal aid to junior colleges will not be an unmixed blessing. It has its own special disadvantages, in addition to those which attach to Federal aid to education in the elementary and high schools.

Educators have pointed out, for example, that living away from home is part of the whole business of acquiring higher education, and those who do not get away from home are losing out in one of the vital aspects of preparation for a good future.

That is true, but it is also true that some people are finding it impossible to get away from home to attend colleges and universities. It is, moreover, a fact that many of the reputed advantages of campus life and activity are of doubtful value, and are even hindrances to some types of students.

Undoubtedly an ampler higher education for the average citizen, with emphasis on technology, is coming more and more to be considered necessary for defense, if not for national survival. It is also more essential to the individual in preparation for the competitive life he must expect as the population increases.

Since it is one of the paradoxes of this age that there is both more leisure time and stiffer competition for the rewards of business or the professions, higher education will continue into adult years for many who are married, have children, and yet feel the need for further study and self-improvement.

Extension and correspondence courses are are of some assistance in meeting that need, but the junior colleges already in being and the many more to come will satisfy it much more completely.

Passport Service Improvements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I am having printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Passport Service Improvements," which appeared in the New York Times on Sunday, March 3, 1957.

This article highlights some of the vast improvements which Miss Frances Knight has brought about in the State Department's Passport Office. In addition to applying a humanizing touch to what used to be a bureaucratic ordeal Miss Knight and her staff have cut the waiting period for a passport from 3 months or more to an average of around 3 days. And this has been accomplished while a tremendous backlog of old applications also had to be processed. Miss Knight and her staff are to be congratulated on a difficult job well done.

The article follows:

PASSPORT SERVICE IMPROVEMENTS—THE HUMANIZING TOUCH LIGHTENS THE BURDEN OF AN OLD ORDEAL

(By Morris Gilbert)

Applying for an American passport to go abroad has had a reputation for decades as an ordeal only exceeded by that of facing the internal-revenue fellow. But now there has been a switch. The New York passport offices, on the mezzanine floor of 630 Fifth Avenue, are reconditioned, redesigned, expanded, and humanized. The purpose is to speed and simplify delivery of passports, and to make the process less trying for applicants.

Miss Frances G. Knight, Director, since May 1, 1955, of the State Department's Passport Office, has thought of almost everything which has to do with getting passports. After all she had to produce almost 560,000 last year with a staff somewhat less than the present 353. She has thought of so many things that nowadays passports, in average cases, are issued within 3 days of application. When the big rush comes next April, May, and June, this period will extend to 10 days, although Miss Knight hopes to

get it down eventually, even in such seasons, to a week.

MANY CHANGES

Miss Knight, who looked over the New York field office a while ago, has instituted many changes and developments since she took charge. Washington headquarters has been moved into three floors of a handsome air-conditioned Government building at 1717 H Street NW., from a musty, inadequate, antique called the Winder Building. She and her staff have filed a backlog of 1 million unfiled or partially filed documents from the old regime which had been stored in scattered boxes, under tables and atop cabinets. They have instituted an improved so-called shelf-filing system to replace the earlier cabinet files, involving 6,500,000 files.

By simply returning birth evidence and other private documents to applicants for passports, instead of storing them away, great space has been saved as well as much unconstructive correspondence and a good deal of paperwork.

EFFICIENT FIELD OFFICES

But the major developments, as far as average applicants are concerned, are in the field offices, notably here. A new field office has recently been set up in Los Angeles. Streamlining of the Chicago field office is getting under way, to be followed by similar complete reorganization in San Francisco, New Orleans, and Boston.

"The whole purpose," said Miss Knight in the New York offices recently, "has been a general humanizing of the business of supplying passports. It had to be done some day, because the crowding and delay were getting beyond belief."

On the day of the interview, 456 new applications were processed at the New York office, an average of more than 50 an hour. When the peak days arrive, this quantity is expected to rise to 650. Applications for passport renewals which, of course, must also be processed, run about 10 percent of the new ones.

The first essential, Miss Knight pointed out, was more space, and the quarters were much expanded. This allowed a separation of functions. Whereas, formerly, applicants had to queue up to get application forms and a sheet of instructions from the agents on duty, these are now available in a simple, clearly marked rack in an outer room, just beyond a newly installed information counter. Thus the first queue was abolished.

Spacious counters are placed in the outer room where applications can be filled out. If an applicant has brought two passport photographs (one of Miss Knight's innovations is that these can even be smiling ones), a birth certificate or other similar document, and a witness to identify him, he can pass right on to the agents' counters in a second spacious office for immediate processing.

FUNCTIONAL COUNTERS

The new counters were designed after considerable study. They were zigzagged so that each agent's section allows for two people—the applicant and his witness—to stand together before him in comparative privacy, while the queue for that compartment stretches at an angle behind.

Under average circumstances, the swearing in of the applicant and witness and the processing of the application, plus the payment of the $10 (for a first passport, $5 for a renewal) can be comparatively speedily accomplished.

A series of cushioned, comfortable benches has been installed in a wide area of the inner room, where applicants or members of families can relax quietly. These, too, are innovations. Two huge wall maps of the world adorn the inner and outer rooms. They are marked with symbols indicating the situation of American embassies, legations, consular agencies, special offices, and missions around the world.

Passports themselves are processed here, as well as in the other bureaus, and Miss Knight installed a series of pickup windows where applicants who prefer not to have their passports mailed can get them.

Miss Knight's exploration of the convenience of passport seekers has extended to obtaining expert advice on colors for the walls of the office. "Cool colors keep people calm and not so conscious of the time," Miss Knight said, "so the general wall color scheme is a cool gray. But we want to keep them happy, too, so one wall is bright." It was a strong brownish red.

The year 1956 showed an increase of close to 6 percent in passport applications over 1955, despite the fact that requests for passports dropped last November and December below the level of those months the previous year, thanks to the Suez crisis. Last January, Miss Knight said, the workload was 12 percent below that of January 1955, thanks to the same cause.

"But," she said, "the slightest change in the international or economic atmosphere can have a chain reaction. The passport offices must be ready for a bigger inrush at any time."

In fact, Miss Knight is looking ahead to the commercial jet age, which she estimates will be well underway by mid-1959.

BIG INCREASE EXPECTED

"It will be quite possible by then," she said, "for people to think in terms of weekend visits to Europe. Businessmen will be planning to get back and forth for a day's meeting, or a 2-day conference, overseas. The proposed jet planes will be carrying 150 passengers instead of the current 90 passengers seated in the big piston transports; and the jets will go almost twice as fast as present piston planes." In view of those prospects, Miss Knight estimates that passport applications in 1960 will have jumped more than 45 percent—that is, to 814,000—over last year's.

Long-Term Policy Needed on Scrap Exports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on March 28, 1956, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some statistics showing that we exported iron and steel scrap for a 3-year period, as follows: Calendar year 1953, 307,673 short tons; calendar year 1954, 1,507,310 short tons; calendar year 1955, 5,047,942 short tons.

I have had my staff prepare the export figures for calendar year 1956 and find that an unprecedented 5,929,115 short tons were shipped during this period. Of equal importance to the quantity shipped was the fact that 56 percent, or 3,350,695 tons, consisted of "steel scrap, heavy melting No. 1." which is admittedly in short supply for our domestic needs.

Under leave to revise and extend my remarks I am placing in the RECORD the statistics showing 1956 exports by grades to various countries:

Iron and steel-scrap exports, calendar year 1956

Country	Steel scrap melting No. 1	Steel scrap melting baled	Steel borings, shovelings, turnings	Iron scrap	Iron and steel scrap, not elsewhere classified	Tinplated scrap	Rerolling material	Total	Percent of total
Canada	96,652	52,169	27,758	455,404	28,495	21	5,815	666,314	11.2
Mexico	206,524	43,260		23,300	15,141	497	61,615	350,337	6.0
Argentina	3,360			10,616				13,976	.2
Norway	6,720							6,720	.1
United Kingdom	341,308	218,145		4,058				563,511	10.0
Netherlands	32,003	3,022			1,212			36,237	.6
France	218,388	119,503	46					337,937	6.0
West Germany	144,729	67,998	123	23,121	2,805			238,776	4.0
Austria	17,439	2,311						19,750	.3
Italy	726,393	452,925		73,572				1,252,890	20.1
Taiwan	38,915	3,550						42,465	.7
Japan	1,226,224	510,385	53,308	201,224	10,414	2,120	35,632	2,039,307	34.4
Belgium	234,858	10,093		11,584				256,535	4.0
Spain	37,217	3,770						40,987	.7
Greenland	45							45	
Yugoslavia	7,560	3,079		25				10,664	.2
Columbia		52						52	
Venezuela		23						23	
Sweden			301					301	
Israel			35					35	
Brazil				62				62	
Bolivia				99	20			119	
Philippine Republic					67			67	
Chile					25			25	
Thailand					35			35	
Iraq					52			52	
Dominican Republic					21			21	
Cuba					194			194	
India					261		1,343	1,604	
Hong Kong							777	777	
Salvador							147	147	
Samples	12,360	1,140	4,330	22,310	8,930	80		49,150	.8
Total	3,350,695	1,491,425	85,901	835,375	67,672	2,718	105,329	5,929,115	
Percent of total	56.4	25.2	1.4	14.1	1.1		1.8		100.0

The February edition of Military Review issued by the United States Army Command and General Staff College contains an excellent article entitled "Pivot of History," by O. Edmund Clubb. The article, based upon the author's 20 years' experience as a Foreign Service officer in Asia, describes the ambitious plans of the Soviet leaders to develop and industrialize the vast and virtually untouched deposits of natural resources of Soviet Asia in order that the area will become the Eurasian heartland.

A footnote to Mr. Clubb's fine article states:

At a time when the United States is within sight of depletion of some of her most essential minerals, the Soviet Union is just beginning the exploitation of Asia—a rich new continent now in metamorphosis.

I am keenly aware of the necessity for furnishing our friends and allies materials which they need in their economy and which will foster reciprocal trade. I am also keenly aware of the necessity for maintaining our scrap collection facilities in the United States for peacetime and for emergency purposes. I am, however, concerned with the fact that a long-term policy based upon thorough research has not been developed with respect to the export of a material which is indispensable in this modern, industrial era. As always, I take the position that if we must err we should err on the side of strength and security for this and for future generations.

In 1953 the Secretary of Commerce took steps to establish a task group to advise him with respect to exports of iron and steel scrap. The group represented scrap dealers, brokers, exporters, foundries and consumers in order to give the Secretary a cross section of opinion. It was the original intent that the group should meet quarterly and render advice as to action to be taken for the subsequent quarter. I find that the group met 4 times in 1954 and twice in 1955—the last meeting being on August 3, 1955. There were no meetings in calendar year 1956. I find from study of the minutes of meetings of this important task group that at the fourth meeting—November 4, 1954:

With one exception, the task group members recommended that there should be a limitation on iron and steel scrap export beginning with the first quarter of 1955 based on 90 million tons of ingot production, the export figure to be determined by the Department of Commerce, with 7 members recommending 1 million tons and 2 members 2 million tons.

At the fifth meeting—March 1, 1955—it was stated that the Department of Commerce after discussing the group's previous recommendation with other agencies had decided against the imposition of quantitative controls on the export of scrap until a better evaluation could be made as to the place of ferrous export in the metallic balances of the iron and steel industry and trends in the export market could be proven.

As one would judge, there is a sharp cleavage of interest and opinion between scrap dealers, brokers and exporters on the one hand and consumers on the other with respect to the imposition of either quantitative or qualitative export controls on iron and steel scrap.

Fortunately many Members of Congress became concerned over the large scrap exports and inserted in section 2 of Public Law 631, 84th Congress—June 29, 1956—a requirement that the Secretary of Commerce make a complete survey of iron and steel scrap now available and potentially available.

The law required that the report be made to the Congress not later than January 31, 1957.

The Commerce Department employed the Battelle Memorial Institute to make a survey and analysis by contract dated September 7, 1956. Obviously there was not much time for such a complicated survey and report, although in my opinion the institute rendered an excellent piece of work on January 17, 1957, which states in the letter of transmittal:

In spite of the shortcomings of the data available, and the compromises and assumptions that had to be made in order to meet the time deadline, this survey and analysis represents a major step forward toward a better understanding of the complex problem of the supply of and the demand for obsolete iron and steel scrap. The data and analyses presented in this report represent the most exhaustive study of this problem to date and do give same indications of the future supply-demand relationships, but they cannot be considered conclusive.

One of the major objectives of the study was to estimate the total availability of obsolete iron and steel scrap for consumption for the year 1956. We were able to estimate the obsolete reservoir of iron and steel as of January 1, 1956. It was not possible, however, in the time available for this study, to develop all the date necessary to identify the amounts of iron and steel in the obsolete reservoir and in the replacement crop that are actually available for consumption as scrap. Further study will be needed on the many factors influencing the transfer of iron and steel from the obsolete reservoir into scrap-consuming channels. This is discussed in detail in the summary and recommendations section of the report.

It is noted that the Commerce Department has now stopped granting export licenses for heavy melting iron and steel scrap and they are to be commended for this action pending additional study.

Despite the recent fluctuations in iron and steel scrap prices, it is my opinion that further study should be made as recommended by the Battelle Institute report and after thorough exploration the Commerce Department should submit to the Congress a comprehensive long-term policy on the export of iron and steel scrap.

Report of the New England Governors Textile Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and annual report to the Conference of New England Governors on Textiles in the New England Economy:

THE NEW ENGLAND GOVERNOR'S TEXTILE COMMITTEE,
Cambridge, Mass, February 26, 1957.

The Honorable THOMAS J. LANE,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LANE: I am sending you under separate cover a copy of our annual report to the Conference of New England Governors on Textiles in the New England Economy. This includes a research report.

I also enclose a release of the New England governors of February 25, in which they raise certain issues about local finance and various textile items. Included is a memorandum issued by the governors, which spells out the details of the State and local financial problems. The governors, I am sure, would appreciate very much anything you can do to implement these recommendations.

Sincerely yours,

SEYMOUR E. HARRIS,
Chairman.

REPORT OF NEW ENGLAND GOVERNORS' TEXTILE COMMITTEE

To President Eisenhower and the Members of the New England Congressional Delegation:

THE CONDITION OF STATE AND LOCAL FINANCES

We submit for your consideration a memo on the financial condition of State and local government and relevant measures that are required. The financial problems are of serious proportions and strong measures are needed.

On December 11 Governor-elect Furcolo, in a letter to all governors, stressed the need of setting up a revolving fund to provide capital for State and local governments at reasonable rates. In this memo we support his suggestion and add some other proposals.

How else are the $42 billion of capital estimated by the Department of Commerce and Labor of the Federal Government, as required by State and local governments in the next 10 years for schools, and $200 billion in all, to be found?

TEXTILES AND THE NEW ENGLAND ECONOMY

1. Tariff on woolens and worsteds: We respectfully bring to your attention the following: We are disappointed that the relief given on imports of woolens and worsteds which provides a rise of rates from 25 percent to 45 percent for woolen imports once imports exceed 5 percent of production, is on an annual rate. That means that we get only temporary relief, for each first of the year the tariff automatically rises to 45 percent. Our suggestion is that the allocation of imports relative to domestic production be put on a monthly basis. We remind you that the industry has lost 50 percent of its jobs since the tariff cut of 1948. Of course, the tariff cut was one of the several unfavorable factors.

2. Japanese quotas: We urge you to scrutinize imports to be sure that the quota arrangements of January are kept. The industry had a bad year in 1956, at least in part, because of the rapid rise in Japanese imports and the accompanying fear. We appreciate your efforts to correct the situation.

3. Dumping of raw cotton abroad: We bring to your attention the sale of vast supplies of cotton by the Government at large discounts abroad, often as much as 25 percent. Then the foreign producers of textiles and apparels compete on our market with cotton subsidized by the American Government.

4. Flood insurance: We are disappointed that, despite our requests, State governments have to share the costs. This will make the insurance unavailable to some New England States.

We also are fearful that the program is moving along too slowly. Policies are far from being available.

5. Other issues: We bring again to your attention the need of a good depressed area bill to help in textile and other towns where mills and factories close and lay off workers. We urge you to assure enforcement of mini-

mum wages and periodic revision as wages rise.

We are anxious that mergers undertaken to avoid taxes (and reduce jobs in New England) be discouraged—as a Tax Revision of 1954 requires.

Again we ask the administration to watch the abuse of tax exemptions and privileges which are used to make possible the building of mills in other sections as a means of alluring northern manufactures.

INTRODUCTION

This message is concerned with the deteriorating condition of State and local finance and what might be done about it; and relevant Federal legislation. The Conference of New England Governors is greatly concerned over these developments.

1. The facts

(a) Trends in revenues, expenditures, and debt;

Postwar growth of State-local and Federal revenues, expenditures, and debt

[In billions]

Fiscal year	State-local			Federal		
	Revenues	Expenditures	Gross debt	Cash receipts	Cash expenditures	Gross debt
1946	$13.2	$12.4	$16.0			
1947	(1)	(1)	16.8	$43.5	$36.9	$258.3
1952	25.3	27.8	30.0	68.0	68.0	259.1
1956	33.0	40.2	49.0	77.1	72.6	272.8
1957	(1)	(1)		[2] 81.7	[2] 78.3	[2] 270.6
Index post-war growth, 10 years	250	324	306	188	212	105

[1] Not available.
[2] Estimates, January 1957.

Source: Hearings, Joint Congressional Committee on Economic Report, Feb. 1, 1957 (W. Heller).

This table reveals that State and local outlays are rising at a rate of 1½ times Federal outlays and debt at 3 times the Federal rate. State and local expenditures are increasing at the rate of almost $3 billion yearly and debt at more than $3 billion yearly.

From 1952 to 1956, State and local expenditures rose relatively seven times that of Federal outlays. Earlier the Korean war had greatly inflated Federal outlays.

(b) The capital market: With this vast expansion of demands for capital and the dear money policy introduced to cope with inflationary forces, State and local governments are confronted with serious problems in the capital market.

First, the Federal Government (Department of Labor and Commerce) estimates that in 10 years these governments will need $200 billion for public works. In the last 10 years the outlays were only one-third as large.

Needed:	*Billion*
Highways	$92
Educational	42
Water and Sewage	25
Other non-Federal	23

The current rate of spending capital is about $12 billion per year.

Heavy construction demands have greatly increased costs. Since pre-war, construction costs have risen by 50 percent more than the cost of living. Since 1946, construction costs of buildings have risen by 88 percent; of highways, by 40 percent.

In part the increased demands are the result of a shift of construction responsibilities from the Federal Government to State and local governments.

New construction, 1952 and 1956

[In billions]

	1952	1956	Change, 1952–56
Federal	$4.81	$3.64	−1.17
State and local	6.10	9.79	+3.69
Percent State and local	56	73	

Source: Economic Report of the President, January 1957.

(c) The rate of interest: With heavy demands on the capital market and a dear money policy the cost of money has risen greatly.

The rise has been especially great for State and local government issues. With outstanding debt up from 16 to 49 billion dollars in 10 years and gross borrowing averaging $6 billion a year, the rate would probably have risen even in the absence of a dear money policy.

A peculiar factor has been a weakening of the special market for State and local issues—the tax-exempt market. Until recently State and local government could borrow more cheaply than Federal Government. A high income-tax payer could greatly reduce his tax cost of 60–80 percent of income, say, by buying tax-exempt issues. But now with the needs of the high-income groups saturated through these issues or the availability of new forms of tax avoidance, the tax-exempt issue has lost its appeal.

It is not surprising, then, that in 5 years the yield on municipal bonds has increased by 71 percent as compared with a rise of only 30 percent for United States Government bonds and Aaa corporation bonds.

(d) Future demands for revenue: In 1953 the Tax Foundation, a research organization for taxpayers, estimated that State and local expenditures by 1965 would rise from $30 billion in 1953 to $52 billion in 1965. Official figures show increases from 27 to 35 billion dollars, or a total rise of $32 billion, from 1953 to 1965—at the 1953–56 rate. At this rate the total would be close to $60 billion by 1965, or a rise of 70 percent from 1956 as compared with a 200 percent rise from 1946 to 1955.

The burden is especially severe for States. From 1950 to 1956, State tax collections rose from 7.9 to 13.3 billion dollars, or almost 70 percent. Pressures on State governments especially grow. In 1902 local governments spent 5.1 times as much as State governments; in 1927, 3.1 times; in 1953, 1.3 times. Deducting State contributions, local governments now spend less than State governments. A major reason for this shift is the inflexibility of local revenues, especially the general property tax; and the heavy burden of the school bill.

2. Proposals

(a) Federal loans and guaranties: We urge the Federal Government to consider seriously the possibility of borrowing on behalf of the State and local governments when the Federal Government borrows at lower rates. Until quite recently this was not necessary, but, with State and especially local issues yielding more than Federal, the situation has completely changed. In Minnesota, the rate on local school issues has risen from 3 to 4 percent in 1 year. This would be especially helpful for school districts; and the cost to the Federal Government would be negligible and might even yield revenue, for Federal bonds are taxable and State and local are not.

It is a striking fact that Federal credit (official estimate for fiscal year 1958) has risen from $40 to $85 billion since 1952. Yet local and State governments profit in only a small way from these loans, insurance, and guaranties. A guaranty system for State and local issues sponsored by the Federal Government may greatly reduce the cost of borrowing by these governments. A beginning in this direction is proposed in the pending school-construction legislation.

(b) Increased markets for State and local issues: The Federal Government should allow the unemployment insurance reserve to include investments in State and local governments in unemployment reserves. At present almost $9 billion go into Federal securities alone. Though these funds are the product of federally imposed taxes, they are, in fact, funds that belong to the workers of each State. At one time Federal issues earned more, and hence this policy could have been justified; but this is no longer true.

(c) Dear-money policy: We are aware of the proper use of dear money to contend with inflation. But insofar as this is necessary, its uneven incidence should be considered. The State or local government paying higher rates cannot pass these costs on to the consumer or in a reduction of Federal taxes paid, as corporations can. Therefore the strong case for measures suggested above.

(d) Unilateral actions: We ask the Federal Government to consider our proposals seriously. On our part we may improve the situation by gradually substituting State and local bonds for the Federal issues of $16 billion now held by State and local governments; by economizing on and centralizing the $10 to $15 billion of cash held by local and State governments; and by improving the overall supervision and advice in re local issues. The case for investment in State and local issues by these governments is enhanced as the rate on these issues rises above the Federal return.

(e) Pending Federal legislation and 1596 legislation: In some respects the problems are especially troublesome for New England. Last year we brought to the attention of the Federal Government the large drains of cash out of New England. Federal taxes cost us three times as much as we get back as compared to our more serious southern competitors.

In this connection, we are concerned over the effects of the amendment to the Defense Production Act of 1956, which might encourage an excessive concentration of industry in the South and West at our expense.

W are also watching the road program and anticipate that Congress will set up the Fallon formula as promised for the 13-year road program. This will make a difference of $500 million to New England over the next 10 years as compared to the amounts allocated under the Gore formula now in vogue.

In education, we are concerned that the administration bill hits New England rather severely. The payments to New England States under the two bills are given below. In part the differences are the result of larger appropriations under the Kelley bill. But note the payments for some of our competitive States. And note also that even with a distribution on the basis of children of school age, poorer States gain because they pay less vis-a-vis incomes and receive back more, since they have more children of school age relatively.

An example is given below:

	Income per capita	Children school age per 1,000	Administration bill per capita	Costs per classroom
Connecticut	$2,499	203	$0.92	[1] 100
Arkansas	1,062	275	3.72	50

[1] Index.

Connecticut with a per capita income 2½ times as high as that of Arkansas and almost as many children of school age in relation to population would get one-sixth as many schoolrooms built relative to school population.[1]

School aid allotments, per year

	School age population (thousands)	Kelley bill (thousands)	Administration bill		
			Total (thousands)	Per child	State matching requirements (thousands)
Connecticut	441	$7,174	$2,011	$4.56	$4,023
Maine	207	3,367	1,932	9.33	1,311
Massachusetts	975	15,861	6,872	6.96	10,779
New Hampshire	118	1,920	1,074	9.10	932
Rhode Island	164	2,668	886	5.40	1,316
Vermont	89	1,448	1,007	11.31	597
Georgia	944	15,356	11,926	12.63	5,962
North Carolina	1,123	18,270	14,615	13.01	7,306
South Carolina	646	10,509	8,727	13.51	4,363
Tennessee	846	13,762	10,144	11.99	5,071
Mississippi	600	9,760	7,772	12.95	3,885
Total	36,844	600,000	325,000	8.81	320,087

Source: Congressional Quarterly, Feb. 1, 1957.

How much better New England does under the Kelley than under the administration bill is revealed by the following:

Percent receipts under Kelley bill
(Administration bill 100)

New England	237
Maine	174
New Hampshire	179
Vermont	144
Five Southern States	127
United States	185

Again, New England's matching expenditures under the administration bill would be 155 percent of Federal allotment; that of the 5 Southern States, 50 percent (or one-third as much relatively); for the Nation, roughly 100 percent. Only Vermont (60 percent) approaches the southern ratio. (New Hampshire, 87, and Maine, 69.)

It is well to remember that even the Kelley bill (without equalizing features except adjustments for number of children of school age) has a built-in equalizing feature since many States pay in more than they get back. In New England, disbursements under Federal program were but 82 percent of taxes borne in 1954 (Report to Conference of New England Governors: New England Textiles and the New England Economy, 1956, p. 147).

[1] Letter by F. E. Karelson, vice president of Public Education Association, New York Times, February 18, 1957.

We Can Make Our Dollars Behave

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, there is a very definite and urgent need for a thorough review and investigation of our monetary policy and of the financial institutions of the United States.

As a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, I supported the appointment of a commission as recommended by President Eisenhower rather than a committee of the House as recommended by Mr. WRIGHT PATMAN, because I believe a commission made up of qualified private citizens together with Members of the House and Senate could and would do a more thorough job than a committee of Members of the House of Representatives alone.

I am submitting herewith an article entitled "We Can Make Our Dollars Behave," recently published in Nation's Business, which reviews this problem quite thoroughly:

WE CAN MAKE OUR DOLLARS BEHAVE

Our dollars don't always behave as the traditional rules say money should, or as they used to behave.

This behavior creates the need for a group such as the National Monetary and Financial Commission the President has proposed.

To be effective, such a study needs to review the working of the entire economy, not just financial institutions. If it yields to temptation merely to set up new rules rather than to find out why our present controls don't always work as they are supposed to, it will fail.

It will contribute much if it can answer three questions:

How to make monetary controls operate in areas which are relatively immune to monetary pressures.

How to make controls operate promptly in both the short-term and long-term markets, and in all areas;

How to make all important financial institutions complement each other and function effectively, promptly, and fairly.

Individually, most of the units of our monetary system are functioning well.

The creation of farm banks, of the Home Loan Bank System, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and other institutions has meant better financial service.

Insurance of deposits in banks and savings and loan associations, combined with better practices and better supervision, has built up confidence in these institutions. Neither farmers nor home owners need fear wholesale foreclosures again.

So each financial need, by itself, is well served by dependable institutions.

The Federal Reserve System and other institutions have also learned much about how to handle their responsibilities. The more important mistakes made in the twenties and thirties will not be repeated. The institutions are still learning. The problems of 1955–56 were similar in many ways to the problems of 1952–53, but the experience of that period has not been repeated.

Our difficulty is that the changes in our system have been made piecemeal. Each has meant improvement in the area it was intended to serve but has added little to the smoothness of the operation of the system as a whole and has sometimes detracted from it.

There has been little basic change in the coordination of financial institutions since the Federal Reserve Act of 1913.

The Federal Reserve Act was a great document. But today the Nation has moved to a high-employment, peacetime economy of a size and complexity that the framers of the Federal Reserve Act—or the framers of the deposit insurance, farm and home credit, and securities acts of the thirties—never envisioned.

As a result of these changes, the money market now are vastly different from those of 45 years ago.

When the Federal Reserve Act was passed, and for many years afterward, financial institutions and to some extent individuals operating as financial institutions, provided the money and credit that the economy required.

Farmers went to local banks, or to insurance companies, if they wanted to borrow. If money was scarce, or interest rates high, they didn't borrow.

If would-be homeowners wanted to build, they, too, had to go to the money markets. This frequently meant commercial banks. Mutual savings banks were well established in New England but elsewhere savings and loan associations were relatively unimportant, though growing, and insurance companies made only conservative loans.

Consumer credit, particular the credit handled through nonfinancial institutions, was almost unknown. Charge accounts were available to middle- and upper-income families, but most purchases were on a cash basis.

Business firms could get funds through the banks, insurance companies, or the "streets"—La Salle Street, Wall Street, and others. But these sources were closely affected by credit conditions. If credit became scarce, it becomes harder for business to borrow.

Rules which operated quickly and effectively in that simple economy not only work more slowly under today's complex conditions; they often have effects exactly opposite those intended.

In 1913, for example, an increase in interest rates was expected to reduce demands for money. That is less true today.

For instance, farmers are not dependent for funds solely on local commercial sources. A national farm credit system has been set up. When interest rates rose in 1956, agricultural lending institutions increased rather than reduced their volume of lending. This may have reduced the overhead per dollar of money lent, and so helped hold down interest rates on farm loans. This was obviously contrary to theory.

The home-building field did not behave as expected, either. In theory, again, prices rise for commodities in short supply and hold steady or fall for commodities in ample supply. This reduces demand for goods in short supply. In theory, too, a drop in prices encourages demand.

The system actually worked in reverse last year in the home-building field. Supplies of brick and of lumber for housing became adequate. The supplies of machinery and equipment for industry became more and more inadequate. But the shortage of money and higher interest rates diverted funds from housing—from the purchase of lumber and of brick—and toward machinery and equipment. The volume of housing dropped and orders for machinery and equipment rose.

Several things contributed to this phenomenon. With significant exceptions, money still flows toward the markets which will pay the most for it. That is particularly true of money rented by and from large finanancial institutions. The cost of making $10,000 or $20,000 loans is much higher per dollar lent than the cost of making a $1-million or a $100-million loan. As money gets dearer the lender may be tempted to reduce the number of small loans and to keep the larger, more profitable ones, rather than raise interest rates on the smaller loans.

Similarly, the home-mortgage loan may have been marginal to larger institutions. Unless the interest rate is raised on such loans to keep the return, after overhead, comparable to the return on large industrial loans, the volume of home loans may decline in the competitive money market. The large institutions may make such loans in volume when there is an adequate supply of credit and to a lesser extent when the supply of money and credit is less than the demand.

A large corporation can also handle a financial transaction more efficiently than a home buyer can handle one. This handicap

may be more important in a marginal financial market than the fact that commodity prices are rising in one market and not in another. Corporations may find it advantageous to borrow at higher interest rates even when the prices of goods they buy with the borrowed money is rising.

Another reason credit controls don't work as expected is the growing size and complexity of business enterprises. This causes them to become bankers in fact, if not in name.

This occurs in many ways. One of the simplest happens quite naturally in any large corporation with many subsidiaries, branches, or even departments. Money may be flowing into one office faster than it will be used. Other offices may need funds. Interoffice, interplant, or intercompany transfers can be worked out.

If the businesses which needed funds had been independent organizations, they might have been forced to go to some financial institution. The interest rate, or the terms, might have deterred some of them from borrowing.

A further difficulty is the growing fuzziness of money and credit, or what can be turned into money and credit.

A steel company, for instance, may want money to expand. The money market may be unfavorable. But a large manufacturer who uses steel may advance the steel company part or all of the desired funds in return for guaranteed steel deliveries. The money market has been bypassed.

Or the volume of money and credit may be modified by changes in terms agreed upon between firms. Payment may be made in 60 days instead of 30. Discounts may be increased for prompt payment, or prompt payment may be required. Industry, which always serves as its own banker to a great extent can modify its credits and liabilities somewhat independently of financial institutions.

A few figures illustrate these developments. Cash in banks held for the credit of corporations totaled less than $20 billion at the end of 1945, and about $32 billion at the end of 1956. This was an increase of about 60 percent. But receivables from other than the United States Government increased from $23 billion to more than $84 billion, an increase of 265 percent. Cash and deposits are relatively less important today than they used to be.

Even if companies cannot get money in the market place, they may be able to resist the currents the Federal Reserve Board is creating. In 1954, when business dropped off, corporations offset some of the financial strain by cutting their cash and Government security accounts by $1 billion in addition to reducing inventories.

In 1956, when money was harder to get, they reduced their cash and Government security accounts by $5 billion. Corporations get by with smaller balances in relation to the checks handled, and they made their money work more effectively in other ways. In general, the velocity with which deposits were used outside of New York City is estimated to have increased about 5 percent in 1956.

That is one way of saying that $100 of deposits did about as much work at the end of 1956 as $108 did at the end of 1955.

The point is simple. When monetary, or tax, or regulatory authorities try to restrict action, people and firms try to escape the new fetters. In the monetary field, they may ward off many of the effects for months, and some of the planned effects for a year or more.

Another and possibly more serious defect lies in the fact that it is difficult to restrict long-term credit with short-term tools. Most of the tools at hand—such as reserve requirements, discount rates, open-market purchases—operate through the short-term market. As credit was tightened in 1955–56, the average rate for short-term bank loans to selected business rose from an average of about 3.6 percent in 1954 to about 4.14 in June, 1956, or 15 percent. But the yield on long-term issues rose from 3.51 percent in 1954 to 3.75, or only 7 percent. The yield on 200 common stocks, which in 1954 was 33 percent above the short-term bank rate; was 3 percent below that rate by June 1956.

Despite the pressure on the monetary system, bank loans and mortgages to corporations, which went up to $4.4 billion in 1955, went up $6 billion in 1956. The sale of new issues, which yielded $7 billion net in 1955, brought in $8 billion net in 1956. With all the pressure that was exerted in the short-term markets, plant and equipment outlays (long-term outlays) rose from $24 billion in 1955 to $30 billion in 1956, and inventories grew from $4.6 to $6 billion. The two together rose $7.2 billion, or 25 percent more in 1956 than in 1955.

Difficulties of controlling the short-term market itself are great, too. For instance, the tools that work in the short-term market may be blunted by the process of getting money for short-term purposes in the long-term market. Obviously, banks with a large supply of Governments, or other long-term paper, can sell such assets and use the money obtained to make short-term loans if these are more profitable. It may be even more difficult to discourage certain corporations, such as acceptance corporations, from getting funds in the long-term market, and relending the money in the short-term market, than to discourage banks from doing this.

As if all this did not make monetary control difficult, consider the fact that the apparent short-term interests of the Federal Treasury, and the national long-term interest in economic growth and price stability, may not always match. The Federal Government had about $277 billion of various forms of debt or guaranteed issues outstanding at the end of 1956. An increase in interest, considered necessary to help fight inflation, therefore can be expensive to the Treasury.

Due to the size of its debt, the actions of the Treasury can either support or partially offset actions of the Federal Reserve in the monetary and credit field.

This points up a major issue. If the Treasury or the administration feels that its policy is being frustrated by semi-independent or independent agencies, such as the Federal Reserve Board, the Government may be tempted to try to obtain authority over the dissenting agency. It may attempt to do this through appointing men to responsible posts whose views follow those of the administration. Or it may attempt to change the laws or the administrative orders under which the agency operates.

Coordination of the policies of all agencies has obvious advantages. In periods of great strain, such as during wars, coordination may be necessary. But in peacetime, coordination could cost heavily.

When policies are centralized a major decision affects the entire economy. If it is a good decision, all benefit. If it is a bad decision all suffer.

As matters now stand, the Treasury can act in one way, the Federal Reserve in another, the Home Loan Bank Board in a third. The fact that responsible, well-informed, and skilled agencies disagree means that there is real doubt as to what policy is going to be best.

If the administration controlled the Federal Reserve Board and the Home Loan Bank Board, political expediency might dictate an inflationary policy which would be difficult to reverse. If the Federal Reserve Board were able to control, it might decide the housing market was oversupplied, and be relatively indifferent to the effects of its actions on that market.

On the other hand, it will usually be safe to proceed with divided councils for a time. Under such conditions, there is less chance of taking an irretrievable step which, if wrong, would have such an impact on the entire economy as to be impossible to reverse. The chances of making a major mistake are greater under a centralized than a noncentralized system.

Nevertheless, coordination is desirable when it can be had without the loss of necessary safeguards of the sort inherent in our competitive economic and our constitutional political systems. Those who can discover a happy compromise which will give the most advantages of both coordination and checks and balances will be performing a service which is essential to any long-lasting improvement of our monetary and financial system.

We do not need just a better Federal Housing Administration, or Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. We need a system into which all financial institutions fit; a system in which financial, corporate and individual actions can mesh. That means a review of the problem in the light of the working of the entire economy.

Pension funds, for instance, are growing faster than any other type of investment. They are taking more and more funds from the economy, but today they are highly restricted for practical reasons, at least, in the areas to which they can channel funds. This may interfere with the growth of the economy, as well as with effective monetary control.

The problem is complicated but not hopeless, because the basic problem is understood. The supply of money and credit must grow fast enough to permit the economy to grow in a healthy fashion, without encouraging inflation. Institutions must be developed or created which will operate so that those who demonstrate that they can make the best use of the money will get it.

There can be honest debate about how a study should be sponsored, how it should be organized, and how it should be carried on. But there can be no question that a basic new study is needed of the overall responsibility of the Federal Government, of the environment in which financial institutions work, of the overall policies, practices, rules, and laws that guide their operation, and of the general supervision that these institutions need.

ROBINSON NEWCOMB,
Economist and Business Consultant.

A Home Is Where Happiness Abides

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include a speech made by the Honorable Carmine DeSapio, Secretary of State of New York, at the annual dinner dance of the St. Ann's Parish held at the Hotel Commodore in New York City on Thursday evening, February 21, 1957:

A HOME IS WHERE HAPPINESS ABIDES

It is always a very great personal pleasure for me to accept your gracious invitation to share with you—the reverend clergy, the members, and the friends of St. Ann's Parish—in the joyous occasion of your annual dinner dance.

As some of you may know, my daily activities bring me into frequent contact with a great many civic, political, educational, and religious organizations dring the course of the year. And while many of the functions which I regularly attend are, indeed, very beautiful, very stimulatnig, or very inspiring, I seldom have the opportunity to share in an occasion in which all three of these happy qualities are blended as they have been in each of the evenings which I have been privileged to spend with you.

I have tried to analyze the question of why this should be so. What is there, I have asked myself, that sets this particular gathering of men and women slightly apart from so many of the others?

Why is it, I have tried to discover, that I should somehow feel more at home here among you—less like a visitor who is greeted courteously but with that indefinable and certainly unintentional sense of reserve which so frequently mars the relationship between host and guest.

For the answer to these questions, I found myself going back, in memory, to the days of my childhood * * * where, as the modern psychologists tell us, the answers to so many personal questions lie forgotten until they are stirred, many years later, by some seemingly unrelated event.

And, as I recalled some of the incidents of my early boyhood, I remembered a family who used to live next door to us, down on the lower west side. To a youngster in grammar school, they seemed to be a very odd family indeed. They were quite poor; and, I realized even then, they often did not have enough food to go around. Yet, despite their poverty and despite what must have been a difficult—and perhaps even discouraging—daily existence, they were a wonderfully jolly group.

They enjoyed being with people, and people enjoyed being with them. Now I have heard it said that some people are born to be hosts and that others are born to be guests. And, to some extent, that may be true. But in the case of these people, it was more than mere hospitality which accounted for the fact that their living room—it was always known as the parlor in those days—was almost always filled with more people than it could comfortably accommodate. Sometimes these gatherings were very festive; sometimes they were marked by very earnest and serious discussions; and, on occasion, they were quite solemn.

But always, when you entered that room, you had the feeling that you were at home, that you were among friends, and that you were welcome there.

And the secret of the atmosphere of warmth and good feeling which was so tangible that you almost could reach out your hand and touch it stemmed from the simple fact that, to the people who lived there, it was not a cramped, sparsely furnished, ill-heated tenement apartment, but rather, it was a happy home.

I believe, quite seriously, that those people could have brought their personal warmth to Madison Square Garden and made that arena a comfortable place in which to live and visit. For their hospitality, of which they gave so freely and so artlessly, was totally independent of external surroundings.

They were, in effect, so eager to share what they had with others that they often were totally unaware of how little they had themselves. This was God's blessing to them, and certainly it was more precious than all the worldly gifts which hundreds of less fortunate families could accumulate during the course of a generation.

My friends, I hope you will not consider it presumptuous of me to suggest that something of that same blessing seems to have been bestowed upon the people of St. Ann's Parish.

For, although the external circumstances may be very different, the sense of family solidarity, of good will, and of natural hospitality is very similar.

There is the same unity of purpose, the same bond of brotherhood, the same underlying strength which derives from the instinctive knowledge that here among you repose the virtues of kindness, humility, justice and love—and the unshakeable belief in the wisdom and goodness of Almighty God—which are the basic principles upon which our Catholic faith is founded.

It is not for me to recite the long list of achievements which you of St. Ann's Parish have written into the history of your community. That history records many instances of unselfish dedication, of courage and of personal sacrifice which speak far more eloquently than I can of the spirit which unites this very wonderful and great-hearted family.

But I would like to take this opportunity to join with each of you in offering my congratulations to one of our very dear mutual friends, the chairman of your dinner-dance committee, former State Senator Alfred E. Santangelo, who now represents St. Ann's Parish in the Congress of the United States, and who, I know, undertakes his new and very serious responsibilities with the personal blessing of everyone present here tonight.

My friends, my gratitude to you this evening is two-fold. For not only have you given me a very happy and beautiful evening among the family of St. Ann's Parish, but you also have enabled me to revisit, however briefly, some of the happiest scenes of my own childhood.

Thank you very much and God bless you all.

Comity and Commonsense in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct the attention of the Members of the House to the following speech delivered by the Honorable JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democratic Senator from Massachusetts, at the 1957 Brotherhood Year Observance of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in Cleveland, Ohio, Sunday evening, February 24, 1957. His speech was entitled "Comity and Commonsense in the Middle East."

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Senator KENNEDY'S speech and commend it as evidence of commonsense in these uncommon times:

COMITY AND COMMONSENSE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(Remarks of Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, 1957 Brotherhood Year observance, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Cleveland, Ohio, February 24, 1957)

It is a rare honor and privilege to be with you tonight upon the occasion of the national brotherhood banquet sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the presentation to A. M. Lunts of the national human relations award which he so richly deserves. The national conference and its annual brotherhood observances, which I know have a special meaning to Cleveland, have long ago proven to be a permanent, valuable part of American life, enriching our heritage, stimulating our conscience, and overseeing the progress of human relations in our land. We honor here at this dinner tonight a principle—a principle we call brotherhood—in the hope that all Americans will honor this principle in their hearts all year round.

Brotherhood, tolerance, enlightened relations between members of different ethnic groups—these are, after all, simply an extension of the concept upon which all free organized society is based. Some call this concept comity or sodality, or reciprocity. Some find it in the Golden Rule, others in the teachings of Hillel, others in Rousseau's social contract. Our Declaration of Independence calls it "the consent of the governed." Political leaders refer to "the art of compromise, or the concurrent majority." The ancient Greeks and Romans called it civitatis philia, or civic friendship.

It is upon this principle and practice, by whatever name it may be called and regardless of what form it takes, that free societies function, governments operate, and orderly, amicable relations between civilized human beings go on. For although the continued presence of sanctions is a necessary part of any legal structure, we depend, in the last analysis, not upon our police force and our jails for the preservation of law and order, but upon voluntary observance and self-restraint. We all pay taxes to Secretary Humphrey without a court order (with a few notable exceptions); comply with laws we bitterly dislike; and respect the rights and privileges of others even when those rights and privileges necessarily interfere with our own.

The family also functions on this same basis of comity. Sanctions are available in the home, too, as I recall, but obviously a child is not to be beaten into observing every customary rule of conduct from morning to night. On the contrary, we take it for granted that such observance comes as a matter of course.

What is true in the relations of the family at home can be equally true, I believe, in the family of nations. Without some supersovereign, some police force, some guaranteed enforcement and punishment, most scoffers say, there can be no such thing as international law and order. But such an attitude fails to recognize that comity, not sanctions, is the basis of law and order among free equals.

Actually we generally overlook the myriad ways in which nations make adjustments and concessions with each other every day, respecting their own obligations and the rights of others, without ever suggesting a resort to war, sanctions, or even litigation. Diplomatic privileges, for example, commercial treaties, internaitonal arbitration decisions—all are observed as a matter of course by nations politically antagonistic as well as friendly, even when the result is domestically unpopular.

This worldwide concept of civic friendship or comity, it seems to me, and not war or sanctions or even legalism, is the true basis of an orderly international community. A great Secretary of State, Elihu Root, expressed it this way just 50 years ago:

"Just as the true basis of the peace and order in which we live is not fear of the policeman but the self-restraint of people and their willingness to obey the law and regard the rights of others, just as the true basis of business is not the sheriff with a writ of execution but the voluntary observance of the rules and obligations of business life, so the true basis of peace among men is to be found in a just and considerate spirit among the people who rule our modern democracies, in their regard for the right of other countries, in their desire to

be fair and kindly, in their willingness to recognize facts and to weigh arguments which make against one's own country as well as those which make for one's own country."

It seems to me tonight that this Nation would do well to bear in mind this concept of civitatis philia as we consider the tense and troubled situation in the Middle East. For it is unfortunate, I think, that our chief concern has been with sanctions and hostilities, with troop authorizations and constitutional powers. In the Senate we have spent nearly 2 months debating the President's Middle East resolution. I have supported that resolution in committee and will vote for it on the floor. But once it is passed, signed and proclaimed to the world, we will still not be one step nearer than we were 2 months ago to a solution of the real problems of the Middle East—including access to Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba, homes for Arab refugees, permanent national boundaries, development of the River Jordan resources, political and economic instability, and an end to continuous border raids and tension. For the resolution we have been debating has absolutely nothing to do with those problems. It offers guns and money—but guns and money are not the Middle East's basic need.

Similarly, the invocation of sanctions by the United Nations, or the adoption of denunciatory resolutions, upon which the world's attention is presently concentrated, will not—regardless of their effect on the immediate crisis in that area—contribute anything to a long-range solution of the major problems of the Middle East. The U. N. must, of course, take prompt and effective action to meet aggression—but let no one be deceived into believing that the Middle East crisis will be over once Israeli troops are pulled back and the Suez Canal cleared. Little is to be accomplished by merely restoring the muddled and frictional situation out of which the present crisis came.

What we clearly need in the Middle East, and need quickly, in my opinion, is a final entente, a permanent settlement of all major problems which reasonable men and nations can accept—a settlement, in short, based not on armed truce but on comity, accepted not out of fear but out of civic friendship.

Such a settlement cannot and need not give any nation all she would like—each side will have to make concessions. But recall, if you will, the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842 between the United States and Canada—how unpopular it was on both sides of the line; how both Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton were denounced for sacrificing the rights of their people. (Indeed, Webster and Ashburton finally convinced the Senate and Parliament respectively, it is said, only after each had used a different map to pretend that he had in reality cheated the other.) And yet the peace and prosperity to both countries flowing from that much abused settlement for more than a century have been worth several thousand times as much as the value of all the territory that was in dispute.

I am convinced that if Arab, Israeli, and world leaders can once agree in a spirit of civic philia and endure the obloquy from home that was endured by Webster and Ashburton a permanent settlement can be reached in the Middle East which will be worth in terms of peace and prosperity for both sides in terms of men and money devoted to something more constructive than war many million times the value of all the disputed points that keep them apart.

It is not enough to say as our own officials have repeatedly said that we are willing to discuss long-range solutions once all other current problems have been met. For the two are not unrelated. In Indochina and elsewhere western nations have in the past taken this attitude of delaying discussions for a permanent settlement until after hostilities cease—only to discover that the absence of such an agreement aggravated the hostilities until finally a settlement had to be reached after needless harm to our cause had been done. We have the responsibility now to deal with basic causes of conflict as well as the conflict itself. We have the responsibility now to approach the problem as a whole not on a piecemeal basis—to let Israel Egypt and all the world know that we look for a solution ending all outstanding differences not simply Egypt's current grievances against Israel.

I do not wish to oversimplify endlessly complex problems or load unnecessary burdens upon our troubled diplomatic officials. But I respectfully urge that the Government of the United States—through its Department of State, its United Nations delegation, and perhaps through a Presidential declaration of a status equal to the less long-range declarations on the Gulf of Aqaba and Communist aggression—promptly set forth, after consultation with Arab, Israeli, and other world leaders, a specific and comprehensive formula for a permanent Middle East settlement—a settlement to be offered and accepted in a spirit of civic friendship—a settlement based not upon force of arms or fear of men, but upon commonsense and comity.

Permit me to suggest some of the principles and procedures which I believe to apply.

First, let us consider the problem of the Suez Canal. In our concern over its obstruction we have very nearly forgotten what started the dispute in the first place. Whether Egypt's rights flow from sovereignty, suzerainty, or dominion is not as crucial as an accommodation by both Egypt and all user nations, by which the canal will be in full operation, benefiting Egypt through the revenues it provides and benefiting the world by offering free and open transit to the ships of all nations without discrimination or political interference. The canal can be enlarged and deepened to make its continued operation even more profitable to Egypt. The dues and charges on canal passage can be mutually agreed upon; the proportion of net income to be allotted to further canal maintenance and development can be mutually agreed upon; and all unresolved disputes concerning the canal in the future can be referred for impartial arbitration. Discussions can begin with a clean slate, not on the basis of legal fictions or ancient treaties or aggressive threats, but on the basis of mutual benefits and comity.

Secondly, let us consider the inseparable problems of national boundaries and aggression. Instead of devoting our efforts to determining what kind of arms balance at what level will maintain existing armistice lines, permanent boundaries must be fixed, not necessarily along the present lines. This is not an unprecedented problem—the United States and Canada, as mentioned, and scores of other neighbors, have successfully settled such boundary disputes time and time again, including those that had caused or seemed certain to cause an outbreak of war. I would recommend consideration in this regard of the familiar device of an International Boundary Commission, staffed by impartial experts in geography, economics, and history as well as diplomacy and international law, men who can draw reasonable, practical lines that both sides can live with, ignoring sentimental claims and giving neither side all it seeks.

Once such boundaries are determined, the United Nations and the United States could sponsor a security guaranty or exchange of treaties formally fixing those lines, and preventing their alteration by force. Such a solution would immediately reduce not only tensions but the need for armaments expenditures both in Israel and the Arab States. The same treaties fixing boundaries could renounce the use or threat of force for aggressive purposes, and provide for progressive limitations of armaments. A special United Nations Commission on Arms Traffic could be established to prevent outside nations, Communist or otherwise, from renewing the Middle East arms race; and a more permanent United Nations force could police the area, much as it is now, until all threats to peace have vanished. The mutual benefits flowing to the entire area—in terms of a higher standard of living, new economic development, and an end to constant fear and slaughter—would be immeasurable. The achievement of such benefits requires only the spirit of philia.

Third, let us consider the problems of Arab Palestinian refugees. Their impoverished and tragic existence in makeshift camps near Israel's borders offers a constant source of national antagonism, economic chaos, and Communist exploitation of human misery. Stop-gap solutions are frequently offered, and there is talk of forcing either Israel or the Arab States to take all of them. But let us apply the spirit of brotherhood and comity. Let those refugees be repatriated to Israel at the earliest practical date who are sincerely willing to live at peace with their neighbors, to accept the Israeli Government with an attitude of civitatis philia. Those who would prefer to remain in Arab jurisdiction should be resettled in areas under control of governments willing to help their Arab brothers, if assisted and enabled to earn their own living, make permanent homes, and live in peace and dignity. The refugee camps should be closed. Those who suffered actual losses of property or bank accounts in flight should be compensated by Israel. New water utilization and arable land projects should be instituted to assist their resettlement in Arab countries.

All of this will require financial assistance. Israel will need assistance in making compensation payments; the Arab States will need assistance in developing land and water projects. The means for such assistance I shall mention in a moment. But I want to stress again the mutual benefits that flow from a settlement of comity—the removal of an obstacle to peace, the dispersal of a threat to Israel, the elimination of a condition depressing Arab wages and living standards, the development of Arab resources—such a settlement should not be impossible of conclusion. Certainly this country, populated from the beginning by refugees, exiles, and immigrants, should not think it impossible.

Fourth, what about economic and resource development and assistance? Mutual economic benefit is the key I have stressed with respect to Suez, boundaries, disarmament, and refugees. But these benefits are not limited to the Middle East alone. The entire world, and certainly the United States, will obtain considerable economic advantage in the prevention of war and the end of an armaments race in that area. Thus all nations, led by our own, should be willing to invest the funds necessary to attain this goal.

I would propose, therefore, a Middle East Regional Resources Fund, under the auspices of the United Nations and the World Bank, for assisting in the stimulation, initiation, and financing through loans and grants of resource development and other projects in the area. Soil projects could include harnessing the waters of the Nile for the benefit of the Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda as well as Egypt; coordinated development of the resources of the Jordan River Valley for the benefit of Israel and the three Arab States through which it flows; the development of arable land and irrigation projects for the resettlement of refugees, and a loan to Israel to help her make compensation payments to refugees; and a Middle Eastern

nuclear center, similar to the Asian nuclear center already proposed, which could bring untold benefits in energy utilization to former deserts and wastelands. These projects would be developed and administered under the auspices and control of the nations in the region, who would also participate in their financing wherever feasible (and many of these nations are not poor), much as our States participate in Federal grant programs which assist and stimulate them to greater action. The burdens would once again be shared—the benefits would once again be mutual. Conflicting rights would be involved, of course, just as they are in disputes between our States over the rights to our great rivers—but such disputes can always be resolved.

The problems I have discussed tonight—Suez, boundaries, arms, refugees, and economic development—are all closely interrelated. It is to be expected that one or both sides will find objections to one or more of the solutions outlined. But I am convinced that as a permanent "package," there is no single obstacle to the achievement of a comprehensive Middle East solution, based upon comity and common sense. It is time for this nation to take the lead in seeking such a solution, instead of devoting all of our efforts to warnings and debates about temporary, symptomatic crises that cannot be ended apart from the whole pattern.

I realize the danger of idealizing hard, practical problems or discussing bitter national emotions. I realize we have been talking in grandiose terms about comity and civic friendship and reasonable men. It is easier to propose than to implement a new start on Suez, an International Boundary Commission, a United Nations security guaranty, a special commission on arms traffic, a permanent United Nations police force, repatriation and resettlement of refugees, a Middle East national resources fund and an Asian nuclear center, to mention some of the specific proposals I have offered tonight. But these concepts which we have been discussing are no more unrealistic than the concept of American brotherhood—the task is no more insurmountable than that once facing the National Conference of Christians and Jews—and if we dedicate ourselves to that task with the same kind of determination and patience and understanding, we can achieve in that troubled Middle Eastern area the permanent peace that every man and nation desires.

Thurmond Chatham

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Greensboro, N. C., Daily News, dated Thursday, February 7, 1957:

THURMOND CHATHAM

In the sudden death of Thurmond Chatham, North Carolina and the Nation lost a citizen who served them well.

His contribution was greater and more enduring because of its diversification, thus attesting to his wide interest, vision, and energy.

As an industrialist, Mr. Chatham did much to make that name a household word wherever blankets are used. The great industry which his family developed and continues to operate at Elkin is one of the major segments of northwestern Carolina's economy. Along with his industrial leadership, however, went a corollary interest in agriculture and conservation of the State's, and then the Nation's, natural resources. In development of cattle raising in the State, Mr. Chatham pioneered and exerted an influence which continued throughout his life.

Those at all familiar with his career and his traits know that he had a strong sense of public duty. It was that duty which led him to enter the political arena where he moved from local responsibility to the Congress of the United States. His interests were widespread in Congress, where he served four successive terms, but his particular concern was in foreign affairs. He knew the horrors of war from personal experience and he recognized that any rights, privileges, and opportunities which we have can be assured or exercised only under peace. That conviction he showed not only in Congress but by joining the Nation's Armed Forces for active duty in both World Wars.

As representative from the Fifth District, Mr. Chatham left no one in the dark about his convictions. Whatever he believed in he had the courage to stick to and to vote for. Outside of saying that he was an internationalist, it is difficult to classify him. Sometimes he voted with liberals and other times with conservatives one of the factors which certainly had some part in his defeat last fall was his refusal to sign the so-called southern manifesto. He knew the political potentialities of that refusal but nevertheless he held fast to it as a matter of principle and outstanding courage.

Those who knew Thurmond Chatham best will, over and above his civic, industrial, military, and political record, hold fondest memories of his warm, radiant personality, his fine fellowship and his human qualities. He was never happier than when out on his farm or in eastern Carolina fishing waters with a group of his friends around him.

Home Builders Ailments Diagnosed "Discountitis"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vincent DeMeo, president of the Home Builders Association of south Florida and a resident of Miami, interestingly portrayed a nightmare that is very real to every American home builder. The story was printed in the Miami Herald, of Miami, Fla., Sunday, February 24, 1957.

The Miami Herald headline writer chose to title Vincent DeMeo's story, "Home Builder Tells Grim Fairy Tale," and a grim tale it is.

I join with my good friend, Vincent DeMeo, in assuring you that all of us who are familiar with the problems facing the home-building industry know the thoughts set forth in the following story to be very real.

The article follows:

HOME BUILDER TELLS GRIM FAIRY TALE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—We are going to take you inside the troubled mind of Vincent DeMeo, president of the Home Builders Association of South Florida. It's a word picture of his recurring dream.)

There is the story of the home builder who, for several years, had to pay premiums of money to obtain mortgage funds wherever he could. In FHA and conventional financing, he attempted to increase the sales price to overcome this loss in his operation. In the case of VA, he could not absorb this loss in his sales price because VA set the sales price. This mortgage financing loss, for want of a better name, was politely called discount.

As time passed—and as mortgage money grew scarcer—he was compelled to pay higher and higher discounts to stay in business. This all happened to him even though the country was in a period of ever-increasing prosperity.

His account ledgers started to show red ink marks. As a result, he experienced palpitations, shortness of breath, and loss of sleep. He worried about his financial condition.

After a long period of suffering, his mortgage broker advised him to see a lady doctor—Dr. Fannie May.

Dr. Fannie May was a specialist in the field. She had been treating the ailments of home builders for several years, and many builders swore by her treatment and results. Her fees left no doubt that she was a specialist.

She immediately diagnosed his difficulty. It was "discountitis."

In order to alleviate his suffering the doctor prescribed the routine prescription which worked successfully in the past with other builders suffering from the same ailment.

The prescription was rose-colored glasses.

Sure enough, with these glasses the builder was able to continue in business because he was unable to see that his accounts were in the red. His worry was gone, except he thought that her fees were bordering on the outrageous. But he felt relatively content.

Early this February Dr. Fannie raised her fees another half a point. This shock was so great that the builder was caught with his discount down.

The rose-colored glasses shattered. Now the builder was able to see his ledger books in their true perspective for the first time in many months.

Now he has discountitis worse than ever.

He was recently seen stuttering and mumbling something about Dr. Fannie May, something to the effect that she was neither a good doctor nor a lady.

Streamlining of United States Passport Office by Mrs. Frances G. Knight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON ALLOTT
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President since Mrs. Frances G. Knight accepted the position of Director of the Passport Office in the State Department in May of 1955, many remarkable changes have occurred in this hard-working office. Recently Robert L. Chase, of the Rocky Mountain News, in Denver, wrote a column on the achievements of Mrs. Knight in streamlining the Passport Office, saving the taxpayers' money, and providing better service to applicants for passports.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Rocky Mountain News, Denver, Colo., of February 28, 1957]

STREAMLINED PASSPORT SAVES DOLLARS

(By Robert L. Chase)

I've just caught up with the fact that Uncle Sam has been streamlining our passports and I want to cheer about it.

For a long time I've been wondering why we needed those thick books—mostly blank pages—in a United States passport.

It's true the Passport Division uses some of them to make amendments and specify restrictions and such. And it takes pages of white paper to receive all the stamps and notations and whatnot to record the approval from various governments for visiting their lands.

But I have yet to see a passport which has in the 4 short years for which it can be made valid used up anywhere near all the pages in the book.

Most of us fortunate enough to get across a national boundary from time to time wind up with notations on maybe half a dozen sheets and all the rest of the book blank.

Anyhow the passports used to have 32 pages and then the Passport Division of the State Department decided that 20 would be enough.

In my book, 20 pages not only is enough but it is even better than 32 because it will be a handier little document to carry around and show to foreign officials and innkeepers.

But that isn't all. It isn't even the best part.

The rest of it is that the move saves $48,000 a year net of the taxpayers' money.

Now $48,000 isn't much money as Federal budgets go these days. But it still would probably pay your Federal income tax for quite a spell. And it would take the income tax payments of a lot of average American citizens to provide it.

So let's give a big cheer for the savings of this money, even aside from the fact that it does improve the product.

The Passport Division, incidentally, has been doing other things with your pocketbook and mine in mind.

For one thing, I read, it has discontinued the requirement that passports be mailed out by registered mail.

Half a million passports were being sent and it was found that only about 3 a year—sometimes fewer than that—were getting lost.

So it dropped the registry of these documents in the mail and the Post Office Department—which runs in the red all the time—saves $150,000 a year.

It takes a lot of these size savings to make a dent in public expenditures these days. But we have to remember that we got to these heights by adding a little bit here and a little bit there.

Now if Uncle Sam, plus the State, the city, the schools, and the rest of the tax spenders will just remember that we have to save every dollar possible we might get back to a level we can take.

Resolution Marking the 39th Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted by the Lithuanian Alliance of America, District 7, Pennsylvania, on the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Lithuania:

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY FEBRUARY 16, 1957

Whereas February 16, 1957, marks the 39th anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Lithuania, which was first recognized by the United States of America; and

Whereas the occupation of Lithuania by the powerful and ruthless forces of the Soviet Union has resulted in the arrest trial and death of many of its citizens, without due process of law and without any concept of the principles of freedom and liberty; and

Whereas the anniversary is an occasion of importance to Americans of Lithuanian origin in whose hearts there burns brightly the light of hope that Lithuania eventually will be restored to its former place among the independent nations of the world: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved and it is hereby resolved, That this resolution sponsored by the Lithuanian Alliance of America, District 7, Pennsylvania, be adopted and an appeal be made to the President of the United States, the United Nations, the Congress of the United States and the Secretary of State, asking their intervention in behalf of the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain, that they continue in their endeavors to bring freedom to the world until every country, including Lithuania, is free again.

The Condition of Farmworkers in 1956

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from the Honorable Frank P. Graham, distinguished citizen from North Carolina, together with the accompanying report, which is of such interest that I am sure many Members who would otherwise not see it would be interested in reading it in the RECORD:

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.,
New York, N. Y., February 20, 1957.

DEAR FRIEND: I am pleased to send you enclosed a copy of the fund's annual report, which I believe will be of interest and concern to you.

May I call your attention particularly to the sections dealing with economic pressures against Negroes in some of the States, the increase in numbers of imported contract farmworkers, and the serious problems confronting our Nation's farm families.

Please feel free to use this material in any way which will help to spread knowledge about these problems.

With every good wish,
Sincerely yours,

FRANK P. GRAHAM.

THE CONDITION OF FARMWORKERS IN 1956—REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.

(By Fay Bennett, executive secretary)

"We have known humiliation * * *. We have been plunged into the abyss of oppression. We are tired of the conditions we experienced for so many years."

Thus spoke a Negro leader in Montgomery, Ala., in 1956. With the backing of Federal courts and with the sympathetic support and help of men and women of good will throughout the land, Negroes move ahead toward a greater share of the democratic heritage due them. But progress has not come without pain.

GROWTH OF WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS; ECONOMIC PRESSURE AGAINST NEGROES

From an estimated 250,000 members a year ago, the white citizens' councils, dedicated to the maintenance of white supremacy, have grown to approximately 350,000 in all the Southern States. Although many of its officers appear as responsible leaders in their local communities and eschew violence, the movement has drawn its largest following from the Black Belt (rich farming soil) areas where there exists the greatest contrast between wealthy plantation owner and poor farm folk, both white and Negro. In these areas poverty and lack of education have produced the most bigotry and the most easily aroused white mob. In contrast, the Negro has demonstrated a civilized restraint in the face of severe provocation.

These councils have acted in two ways to preserve the status quo: (1) Overtly, by mob action, to prevent enforcement of court orders for school integration; (2) covertly, by economic pressures against Negroes who are enrolled voters or otherwise indicate their insistence on rights guaranteed them by the Constitution.

An example of the former is the Clinton, Tenn., mob which, aroused by the outsider, John Kasper, almost succeeded in overthrowing civil law in that community because 12 Negro students were enrolled in its high school. This mob was made up primarily of the poor farm folk in the hill country outside Clinton.

Numerous cases of the latter, the covert economic pressure, have come to the attention of National Sharecroppers Fund. In many of these, after proper investigation, NSF has made non-interest-bearing loans to tenant and independent small farmers who were about to lose their property, farm equipment, and other possessions. One case involved a man's voting right; another his membership in the NAACP; a third his leadership among local Negro farmers working to set up a cooperative organization for their mutual help.

CONTINUING POVERTY ON THE LAND

There are nearly 1½ million farm families in the United States with incomes of less than $1,000 a year. Of these, nearly 1 million live in the South. Although Negroes constituted only about one-tenth of the total of the 5,226,000 farm families in the country in 1954, they made up almost one-third of these 1 million in the South with annual incomes of less than $1,000. Very little is being done to help this group of Americans whose living and health standards and educational opportunities are clearly inadequate for them to realize their best potentialities as citizens and human beings.

Today the greatest contrast between wealth and poverty in our country has shifted from yesterday's captains of finance and the factory worker to today's corporate farm owner and the men and their families who work in the fields. The world's most efficient producers of farm products—Americans—have not eliminated dire poverty among those who work on the farms.

FAMILY FARMS

All family farms—not just the lowest income group—are approaching crisis. Government programs, while admitting their serious plight, are permitting over 100,000 family farms yearly to go out of business. Many of these are young farm families, former GI's who started farming hopefully after World War II. Though given Government aid to get started, they have been abandoned to a policy or lack of policy which permits

them to be squeezed out before they can become firmly established. According to the 1955 Census of Agriculture, commercial family farms dropped by 11 percent from 1950 to 3,193,000 units while industrialized factory farms increased by 26 percent to 134,000. There was a drop of 353,000 in the number of owner-operated farms, a drop of 276,000 in the number of tenant-operated farms, and an increase of 32,000 in the number of part-owner operated farms.

A House of Representatives' subcommittee, under the chairmanship of CLARK W. THOMPSON of Texas, reported in August 1956, after a 3,000-mile tour of grassroots family farms that more than 600,000 of them had failed in the last 4 years. It stated that they were forced out by the industrial-type (corporate) farm invasion.

Family farms are generally defined as those where an owner-operator and his family furnish at least one-half of the farm labor, with gross sales of less than $25,000 annually. Disregarding the cultural value of these family producing units, it should be emphasized that they constitute the major element in the farm-labor force and the backbone hitherto of America's private-enterprise economy. They need not be wiped out. They can produce efficiently and compete effectively with the corporate farms through wider use of electric power and increased mechanization if they can get equal treatment in Government subsidies and credit, and if all domestic farm labor is not exploited by lack of Government protection and by Government promotion of foreign-contract labor.

THE CORPORATE FARM

The corporate—or industrialized—farm warrants a full current study that cannot be made here. Its influence on the labor market is indicated in various sections of this report. The vast amount of Federal subsidy these enterprises receive is illustrated by two examples:

Delta & Pine Land Company of Mississippi received a $1,292,472.25 Federal loan on its 1954 cotton crop. Louisiana Irrigation & Mill Co. received a $486,725.77 price-support check on its 1954 rice crop.

It is the food and fiber producers such as these which throw the sharecropper and small farmer into the migrant stream, which support an imported labor program that is the key factor in keeping the wages of farm labor at less than one-half the American average and in preventing effective union organization to better farm-labor conditions, and which receive the bulk of Federal subsidies.

CONTRACT LABOR

The imported contract labor system, begun as an emergency wartime measure, continues to grow apace. At peak employment in 1956, there were 458,038 foreign contract workers in agriculture. Of these, the vast majority, 445,197, came from Mexico with whom the United States has an international agreement. This number was a 21-percent increase over the 367,481 Mexicans who worked legally under contract in 1955.

At the same time, the number of illegal entrants ("wetbacks") has been declining steadily for the past 2 years due in part to the vigilance of the border patrol's activity. Apprehensions during the fiscal year 1956 totaled 72,442. The Government's policy has been one of clamping down on illegal entry and encouraging the importation of workers under contract.

[1] The Department of Justice reports that there were 7,210 Canadian agricultural workers in the United States under contract in the fiscal year 1955–56. This is unaccounted for in the quoted 1956 calendar year totals supplied by the Department of Labor.

Of the other imported contract workers, 8,504 came from the British West Indies and 3,870 from the Bahamas. Some came from Canada.[1] This entire program is supervised by the Department of Labor with 67 compliance officers authorized in the current budget. Many of these officers have other duties to perform.

A new development in the contract program is the importation by air from Japan of 386 farm workers (out of 918 who had been certified for employment). These workers were admitted under a section of the Immigration Act which permits entry to an alien "who is coming temporarily to the United States to perform * * * temporary services or labor, if unemployed persons capable of performing such service or labor cannot be found." Under the Japanese program, there is no agreement between Governments but only between the individual Japanese workers and the growers' association which hires them. Enforcement of the provisions in the agreement rests with the Immigration Service which has even fewer compliance officers than the Department of Labor. "All of the inequities of the Mexican program and more are likely to befall the Japanese worker, with more than 3,000 miles of ocean between his place of work and his homeland.

If a contract labor system is necessary for agriculture (which NSF doubts), a striking example of how it might work fairly and effectively is seen in the Puerto Rican program. An all-time high of 14,876 of these island Americans worked under agreements formulated and supervised by the Puerto Rican Department of Labor in 1956. This was almost 28 percent more than the 11,629 who came in 1955. It is estimated by Puerto Rican authorities that another 14,000 came on their own, having learned their rights from previous contract employment.

The Puerto Rican contract not only guarantees 160 hours of pay in each 4-week period but protects the working and living conditions as well. It is carefully supervised by the Migration Division, which opened 9 new offices during the year, 8 of which were in the Middle Atlantic and New England States where most of the Puerto Ricans work.

In contrast, here is an example of what happens under the foreign contract system:

In Phillips County, Ark., in June of 1956, United States workers were paid 35 cents to 40 cents an hour. Farmworkers in the county that month were made up of 1,000 United States workers and 1,055 Mexicans. The Mexican workers theoretically were receiving 50 cents an hour, the minimum to which the Mexican Government will agree. By July and August the rate for United States workers had fallen to 35 cents an hour.

While National Sharecroppers Fund is concerned for the well being of the imported worker for whom the "hospitality" extended usually falls far short of the rosy promises made, it is even more gravely concerned with the conditions under which the domestic farmworker and his family live, which are far below the minimum for most urban workers. Can there be any doubt that the wages of United States workers will remain depressed when growers know they always have available a steady supply of contract workers imported from countries whose living standards are far below those of the United States, who have no bases here, and who can, therefore, be threatened with deportation if they do not accept what is offered them.

Because of the seriousness of this importation program, the board of directors of National Sharecroppers Fund wrote on November 8 to Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell calling for a public investigation of it. The letter stated in part: "The whole contract importation program for agricultural labor is an anomaly. Superimposed on our free labor system by wartime necessity, it continues, according to repeated charges, for the benefit of the corporate farmer and to the detriment of the American farmworker." The letter concluded: "We strongly urge that this program be thoroughly aired in public hearings in which labor, farm interests, Government, and citizen organizations are invited to present all facts available. We would be glad to cooperate with such public hearings." The board's letter received wide attention in the metropolitan and labor press.

On December 28, 3 days before it was due to expire, the international agreement between Mexico and the United States was extended to June 1959, bringing a storm of protests from Mexican agricultural and business leaders, as well as from labor and other groups in this country.

MIGRANT LABOR

The million domestic migrating workers who (usually with their families) pull up stakes constantly as they search for employment on the land is causing increasing public concern. The President's Committee on Migratory Labor, under the able direction of Henry K. Arneson, has made significant progress working with a small budget. During the year it published suggested regulations for agricultural labor camps and for transportation of agricultural workers. With no power to secure State adoption of these regulations, the Committee nevertheless did valuable work in bringing them to the attention of public and private groups for action. What is needed is an expanded appropriation for the work of this Committee, plus legislation on National and State levels.

One decided victory for migrant labor came during the summer when Congress passed a law providing for the regulation of migrant farmworkers during interstate transportation. Though the law as it finally passed was whittled down by the opponents of all regulation (it only covers workers if the distance traveled is more than 75 miles), it marks a long step forward. A large part of the credit for its passage is due the organizations, including NSF, which vigorously supported it. Transportation of farm workers within a State is still largely unregulated.

For the worse came changes in the social-security law which in 1955 had included coverage for some farmworkers for the first time. An amendment now reduces the number of workers covered by specifying that a worker must earn $150 from the same farmer (previously it was $100), and that he must work 20 days during the year for a single employer on a time basis, thereby excluding most migrants. Another provision permits the crew leader to be listed as the employer instead of the farmer, giving the crew leader a status and responsibility which he usually is unable to fulfill.

ORGANIZED LABOR—NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS UNION

The merged labor movement has let a year pass with no program on behalf of farm labor. Nevertheless, sugar and rice workers in Louisiana continued their struggle to organize through the leadership of the National Agricultural Workers Union despite many obstacles. One of these obstacles was the backing given by the State labor council for right-to-work legislation (denying a union agreement) to apply to agricultural workers in exchange for repeal of this law as it affected industrial workers. Thus, workers on the bottom of the economic ladder were given a thrust downward by their fellow workers who were one step higher on the ladder.

There was an increase in activity on behalf of small dairy farmers in Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Small local unions of cotton plantation workers still exist in Arkansas, Alabama, and Mississippi where the National Agricultural

Workers Union was first started nearly 25 years ago as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union—interracial when it began, and interracial today. NSF continues to give substantial financial assistance to this union whose leaders and members, despite years of discouraging setbacks, have never lost their faith in the strength of the farmworker to help himself through organization.

MIGRANT CHILDREN

There were several more summer schools conducted for migrant children in Colorado, New York, and Michigan, with State and private support. These alleviate the educational problem for a small number of these children. Of greater significance are the year-round programs to integrate migrant children into the regular school program wherever they may be. The Florida-Virginia project toward this end, sponsored by a number of organizations including NSF through the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor in cooperation with the two States, has entered its third year with every indication that its pioneering program will serve to stimulate such efforts in other areas. The Migrant Children's Fund, initiated by NSF, is cooperating with other agencies in working to establish a similar project in the Spanish-speaking stream of migrants in the Southwest.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Bringing together the major national organizations with an interest in this field, NCALL is admirably suited to coordinating and developing programs and projects to secure maximum support. NSF is an active cooperating member of this council. A major accomplishment during the year was its all-day round table on farm policy and social welfare attended by representatives of 55 National and State organizations and agencies. NCALL provides its member organizations with information of important developments on the farm front.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

On October 27, 1956, Dr. Charles Spurgeon Johnson, president of Fisk University and vice chairman of NSF, died suddenly of a heart attack at the age of 63. His death shocked and saddened men and women of good will throughout the world for Dr. Johnson had achieved a unique role as social thinker, educator, and contributor to understanding among all people. His passing is a deeply felt loss to the board of the fund.

New board members elected during the year are Miss Angela Bambace, Mr. Martin Gerber, Mr. Gardner Jackson, Dr. C. B. Powell, Mr. A. Philip Randolph, and Miss Vera Rony.

RECOGNITION

When NSF raised a substantial sum in a two-week period in December to prevent the foreclosure of a valuable farm in Mississippi owned by Negroes who were facing stiff pressure, a leader in one of the organizations bearing the brunt of the struggle for Negro rights wrote "* * * I am quite lost in admiration at the effectiveness with which you manage somehow to achieve these minor miracles. I think that the ultimate value to the general cause in which we are all engaged is likely to be inestimable." National Sharecroppers Fund cooperates with a number of religious and other groups in carrying forward this effort.

With its activities on a number of fronts in support of economic justice and civil rights for Negroes and whites in the South, NSF proudly notes its listing among a specially selected group of six organizations and individuals "who have done the most during the year to advance the cause of harmonious race relations." A distinguished panel of judges made the selection.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND PUBLICATIONS

NSF reports and publications and other pamphlets it distributes are reaching an ever-widening audience. Currently available are:

Strangers in Our Fields by Dr. Ernesto Galarza. Based on a report regarding compliance with the contractual, legal and civil rights of Mexican agricultural contract labor in the United States; 80 pages, 50 cents.

Down on the Farm—The Plight of Agricultural Labor. A popular presentation of the people and problems involved in planting, cultivating and harvesting the Nation's crops; 14 pages; 25 cents.

The Condition of Farm Workers in 1956. Single additional copies of this five-page report to the board of NSF available free.

Since its inception nearly 20 years ago, National Sharecroppers Fund has lent its moral and financial support to projects and programs designed to bring a better way of life to men, women and children who produce the Nation's food and fiber, but who receive so little of the fruits of their labor. It has been a slow, uphill struggle, and the end is not yet in sight. But progress is being made. More and more Americans are becoming aware of this deep well of poverty amid our Nation's prosperity.

Wilshire Young Republicans Endorse Free Enterprise; Oppose Government Competition With Private Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, it is of the utmost importance that the Federal Government be kept out of competition with private business if we are to preserve free enterprise in the United States and encourage the expansion of small business throughout our Nation.

I have introduced H. R. 4797 to establish a Federal policy concerning the termination, limitation, and establishment of business-type operations of the Government which may be conducted in competition with private enterprise for the purpose of keeping the Government out of those fields of private enterprise where the Government's needs for materials and services can be met by private business.

I have received an excellent resolution on this matter prepared by the legislative committee of the Wilshire Young Republican Club of Los Angeles, Calif., which I am including herewith. This resolution points up the need for immediate action on this legislation:

WILSHIRE YOUNG REPUBLICAN CLUB—REPORT OF LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

The legislative committee recommends the adoption of the following resolution:

"Whereas it has been recommended on numerous occasions by those highly qualified to do so, including President Eisenhower, congressional leaders, the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government and responsible national groups that Government operations in competition with taxpaying private enterprise be curtailed; and

"Whereas the elimination of those activities of Government which can be economically and satisfactorily performed by private enterprise is in harmony with Republican principles; and

"Whereas although much has been accomplished in this regard by the Eisenhower administration, there is need for continued effort to remove the Government from competition with its citizens: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the Wilshire Young Republican Club commend the recent action of Budget Director Percival Brundage in ordering:

"1. A review to determine whether any of the commercial types of service establishments now being operated by Government agencies may properly be eliminated; and

"2. That no new services be undertaken by Government agencies without first determining that the service cannot be performed by private enterprise; be it further

"*Resolved*, That the President and Congress be urged to support this action in every way possible; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That to this end, the secretary be instructed to forward copies of this resolution to the President, to Senators KNOWLAND and KUCHEL and Congressman McDONOUGH and LIPSCOMB."

Resolution passed February 14, 1957.

Mortgage and Finance Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure on March 1, 1957, to participate in the mortgage and finance conference of the Group Five Savings Banks Association at the Hotel St. George in Brooklyn, N. Y.

My remarks on that occasion were as follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 13TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK, MADE BEFORE THE MORTGAGE AND FINANCE CONFERENCE OF THE GROUP FIVE SAVINGS BANKS ASSOCIATION ON MARCH 1, 1957, AT THE HOTEL ST. GEORGE, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Mr. Moderator, distinguished guests, panel members, and friends, I appreciate the privilege extended to me to attend this conference and to talk to you.

This conference is well named, "A Mutual Approach." Although the subtitle for this panel discussion is "Housing, 1957," I will take the liberty to stray slightly but briefly from that subject.

At the outset, I wish to compliment all the sponsors and participants in this conference. It is a truly mutual effort. Only by cooperation between all segments of our economy can we continue to make progress.

A cooperation which seeks only to increase our own profits or to improve our own particular activities will defeat its very purpose. The public interest must never be overlooked even though the protection thereof many times may require us to give up some of that to which we may believe we are entitled.

NATIONAL MUTUAL SAVINGS BANKS

It was the public interest that caused me to introduce H. R. 4296, which authorizes the organization of national mutual savings banks and permits State savings banks and savings and loan associations to convert to national mutual savings banks. The obvious purpose of the legislation is to make available throughout the Nation the benefits which have been heretofore enjoyed by residents of those States where mutual savings

banks now exist. Such banks not only promote thrift but they mobilize savings for productive, conservative investment and, more particularly, for long term or mortgage investment.

It was most heartening to me to find such unanimous support for this bill from one end of the country to another. It is also pleasing to note, that not a single savings bank in the State of New York has indicated any opposition to the bill. Most of them have indicated whole hearted support.

INTEREST RATES

There is much respectable opinion in favor of increasing mortgage interest rates in both the FHA and VA programs. I understand their argument, that it requires increased rates in order to bring more money into the mortgage market.

Let me make plain that I believe that more mortgage money is needed in the market. It is my belief that home building is one of the basic pillars of our economy. Home building, directly or indirectly, affects almost every industry and all those connected with it. It is not only the materials and labor that go into the home, but it is all of the incidentals that are required in order to make a house a home.

As a member of the House Small Business Committee, I am keenly aware of the fact that a cessation of activity in any field of endeavor, affects first the small-business man. The small builder, the local supplier of building materials, the local dealer in appliances, are the first to be hit when the building industry slows down.

This country needs not a cutback in new starts in home construction, as was evidenced in 1956, but an increase of the number of new starts in home construction over and above that which we had in prior years.

I will also agree that without mortgage money, you will not get this increase and you will not even get as many new starts as we had in 1956.

I will not agree, however, that the increase in mortgage interest rates on VA and FHA housing will supply the additional mortgage money.

I do not intend to get into any discussion with you here today about tight money, who is responsible for it and how we should relieve it, if we should.

I start with the premise that we are all in agreement that money is tight. I am not even concerned about quibbling with those who say money is not tight but that there just isn't enough to go around. The trouble is that when faced with the situation of either tight money or not enough to go around, the lenders obviously will place their money in those markets paying the biggest return for the shortest term.

Mortgage money traditionally and properly comes primarily from savings accounts or insurance funds which, in large part, serve a dual purpose, one of which is thrift.

When the commercial banks, however, are permitted to use their savings accounts for short-term loans there is no incentive for them to compete with the savings institutions for mortgage loans. The only means of competition that remains between them is the interest they pay on savings accounts.

I contend that an administration that had the public interest at heart, an administration that understood the need to keep savings available for long-term mortgage investment, would never have permitted the commercial banks to increase the interest rate on savings accounts. I say that supervisory banking authorities should require the proceeds of savings accounts to be invested only in long-term loans. I urge that, not solely to make those moneys available to the mortgage market, but as a matter of safety to the depositor and stockholder of the commercial bank.

I understand the desire of builders to bring more money into the mortgage market and of savings bankers to have more money deposited so that they can put it into the market. But they are on more solid ground when, instead, they urge that the public interest is against increasing the interest rate of savings accounts in commercial banks and against permitting commercial banks to use savings accounts for short-term loans.

Similarly, it is the public interest which causes me to oppose any increase in interest rates of FHA and VA mortgages. I do not believe that the increase in these interest rates will make more money available to the mortgage market. If the matter can be solved that simply, then the banks and lending institutions have it within their power to prove the correctness of that theory.

Except for the usury laws, there is no limitation on the right of a lender to charge any interest rate the mortgagor will pay. Let lenders bring to the mortgage market all the funds at their disposal at the highest rate that they can obtain.

They have no right, however, to seek the higher rate on mortgages guaranteed by the Government. Those guaranteed mortgages are just as good as Government bonds. They should bear no higher interest rate than Government bonds, plus only the additional charge that must be made to cover the incidental and necessary cost of administration, processing, servicing, and insurance.

I can already hear the lending officers and the builders shouting conventional mortgages are not the answer because the increased interest rate is only part of the story. What about the small downpayment on the purchase of the house? A conventional mortgage with a small downpayment will not comply with the investing requirements, as fixed by law, for most lending institutions. My answer to that is that you should address yourselves to changing that law.

I remember when lending institutions frowned upon amortizing mortgages. They complained such mortgages were too costly to service and did not give the stability to investment that the institutions required.

The Federal Government through the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, more than anything else, caused the lending institutions of the country to modernize their thinking on that subject, with the result that amortizing mortgages are the order of the day.

Isn't it time that you asked yourselves—hasn't the Federal Government again taught our financiers that low downpayment mortgages are good, safe investments?

If I am right, then address yourselves to removing the cause of your trouble rather than relying on a palliative.

That brings me to another pet theory of mine. I am opposed to government, National or local, engaging in business of any kind that private enterprise can do just as well or better.

Insurance, whether it be of mortgages or guaranties of credit, long or short term, is private enterprise and the sooner we get the Government out of that business, the better off we will be. The cries against the Federal Reserve Act and against the Federal Deposit Insurance Act were that they were steps toward socialism and nationalization of our banking system. No one has raised that cry against our system of Government insurance of mortgages.

I warn you, however, that that is getting closer to socialism and nationalization of lending, than anything that has heretofore happened in this country.

The Federal Government has now proved that that kind of a program is a good one, a profitable one, and there is no reason why the financial institutions of the country shouldn't take it over as private enterprise and get the Government out of it. When that happens, you will not have to go to the Congress to fix your interest rates.

Until that happens, I will continue to urge that the interest rates on Government insured mortgages should be comparable to that paid on Government bonds.

Nor do I agree with those who contend that interest on veterans loans should be the same as on nonveteran loans. I think there should be a difference. I think the veteran is entitled to some help in acquiring a home and part of that help should be a lower cost of acquisition as reflected by a lower interest rate on his mortgage.

HOW TO GET MORE MONEY INTO THE MORTGAGE MARKET

I have two suggestions as to how we can get more money into the mortgage market, apart from the matter of requiring commercial banks to put their funds into long-term investments.

In the 84th Congress, and again in this Congress, Congressman KEOGH joined with me in introducing a bill, H. R. 804, which would grant tax exemption on the interest received from loans to veterans, provided the interest rate on those loans did not exceed 3½ percent.

By such a simple enactment, the veteran could get a 3½-percent loan and the lender could get a net return free of taxation. There is nothing mandatory in that bill. It is entirely permissive. I am sure it would bring large sums of money into the mortgage market.

The loss of revenue to the Federal Government because of such tax exemption would be so small that it is hardly worth talking about.

If the cost of servicing a mortgage is about one-half of 1 percent, then a 3½-percent tax exempt veterans mortgage will yield a net of 3 percent to the lender.

My second proposal, to bring additional money into the mortgage market—covered by my bill, H. R. 3074—is to provide direct loans for veterans housing.

I know that my banker friends won't like that. The only assurance that I can give them is that it is an emergency expedient to cover the present temporary situation caused by a lack of mortgage money. If there is no lack of mortgage money, there is no need for the bill. By the same token, if there is ample mortgage money, there is no reason to increase the interest rate on VA mortgages.

If the money is available, it should be lent to these veterans at the lower rate. If there isn't enough available for both FHA and VA mortgages, let the lending institutions put their money into the FHA mortgages at the higher rate and while the dearth of money continues, let the Government make direct loans to the veterans. You ask, "Where will the money come from?" The answer is: "Out of insurance funds." Every insurance company and every pension fund, puts the bulk of its money into long-term mortgages.

The United States Government holds almost $7 billion as trust funds of the National Service Life Insurance Fund and of the United States Government Life Insurance Fund.

Let us take $1 billion of that money and lend it directly on VA mortgages at the same rate as Government bonds are paying, plus the additional sum necessary to cover the cost of processing, servicing, and guaranteeing. It will be less than 4½ percent to the veteran.

That will leave the lending institutions of the country free to use all their available funds for conventional mortgages and FHA insured mortgages. As soon as the market

changes and additional funds are again available for both FHA and VA mortgages we can then suspend the direct-loan program. All of the organizations participating in this conference are quasi-public institutions. I know that they have the public interest at heart. I know that the profit motive is not their sole reason for existence.

I trust that my suggestions will not fall upon deaf ears.

It Isn't Too Late

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, on February 26, 1957, there appeared in the East Oregonian, an independent newspaper published in the Second Congressional District of Oregon, an editorial which I believe reflects the attitudes of the vast majority of the people in the Pacific Northwest.

Mr. Speaker, the editor of this newspaper, Mr. J. W. Forrester, Jr., has long had a deep interest in the full utilization of our natural resources. I believe his statement on the Hells Canyon Dam project merits consideration by the Members of this Chamber and consequently I ask that it be included in the RECORD:

IT ISN'T TOO LATE

Although the case Idaho Power Co. made for the permit to construct three lowhead dams in the Hells Canyon stretch of the Snake River was found unacceptable by a Federal Power Commission examiner, the Commission decided in favor of the company. In order to come to that decision the Commission had to concede to the company's argument that the greater storage that a high Hells Canyon Dam would provide and the greater power it would produce at lower cost to consumers were not the key factors on which a decision should be made.

Since that decision was made there have been some political developments that have put it in a new light. Last November some people were elected who had argued violently with the Federal Power Commission's decision in the Hells Canyon case. Among them were Senators FRANK CHURCH, WARREN MAGNUSON and WAYNE MORSE, and Representatives AL ULLMAN, CHARLES PORTER, EDITH GREEN, and GRACIE PFOST. Another not insignicant development was the appointment of Fred Seaton to succeed Doug McKay as Secretary of Interior.

Through a combination of his own convictions and the inference he drew from the election results, Mr. Seaton has decided that getting as much storage as possible now on the middle Snake River is of extreme importance. He has asked the Federal Power Commission to delay its decision on an application submitted by the Pacific Northwest Power Co. (a combine of four private power companies) for permits to construct Pleasant Valley and Mountain Sheep Dams on the Snake below Hells Canyon.

Mr. Seaton has said that he wants a thorough study made of the storage picture on the Snake to determine whether it would be advisable for the Federal Government to build a higher dam at Pleasant Valley than Pacific Northwest Power Co. proposes in order to capture maximum storage at that site. If a higher Pleasant Valley Dam were built it would flood out 1 of the 3 dams Idaho Power Co. has a permit to build upstream.

Secretary Seaton is catching Old Ned from both sides of the fence now. Pacific Northwest Power Co. is objecting to his intervention. And the people who have wanted a high Hells Canyon Dam are more convinced than ever that it should be built. We are, too.

As readers of this column know, our case for high Hells Canyon always has been made on the premise that it was the best place to capture the maximum in storage on the middle Snake. Secretary Seaton's decision to try to do something at Pleasant Valley before all the storage possibilities in the river are abandoned is admirable. We think, however, that he's looking for a lock for the barn door after the best horse has been stolen. Hells Canyon could have provided maximum storage and adequate low power and the Pacific Northwest Power Co. could have proceeded with construction of Pleasant Valley and Mountain Sheep.

It isn't too late to correct the error of the Federal Power Commission's decision. Idaho Power Co. claims it has spent some $16 million on Brownlee Dam and uses that as an argument that Hells Canyon cannot at this date be given further consideration. It would be far better to write off the $16 million to a bad decision and start all over, we are convinced.

Secretary Seaton by his request that getting more storage at Pleasant Valley be thoroughly considered is admitting that the Hells Canyon decision was a bad decision. In the light of present circumstances we suspect that representatives of the Pacific Northwest Power Co. would concede that it was a bad decision. Of course they can't say so because that would be an extremely cruel thing to do to Idaho Power Co.

If Secretary Seaton is determined to do the right thing on the middle Snake without consideration for political idealogies—and in view of his second look at Pleasant Valley, we believe he is—he will back up all the way and ask that high Hells Canyon be built. It isn't too late.

Resolutions by Polish-American Political Club, of Glassport, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD the following resolutions adopted by the Polish-American Political Club, of Glassport, Pa., which is in my congressional district.

The meeting was held February 24, 1957. I have been requested to present and sponsor and exert every effort in behalf of the working people of our great country in seeking passage of both resolutions:

POLISH-AMERICAN POLITICAL CLUB
OF GROUP 750, PNA.,
Glassport, Pa., February 25, 1957.

Hon. ELMER J. HOLLAND,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

HON. CONGRESSMAN HOLLAND: The Polish-American Political Club, at a meeting held on Sunday, February 24, adopted the following resolutions requesting you to present and sponsor and exert every effort in behalf of the working people of this great country of ours in seeing that they are passed.

1. To increase the dependent allowance from $600 to $1,000 per person for income-tax purposes. We feel that $600 is not sufficient to feed, clothe, carry sufficient insurance, and especially try to educate our children in a fashion best known to all us Americans.

2. To increase the social-security benefits from the present maximum of approximately $108 for the people on pension to correspond with the present-day cost of living increases.

Sincerely yours,

THE POLISH-AMERICAN POLITICAL CLUB
NICHOLAS G. SINDELA,
President.
FELIX ZYRA,
Vice President.
JOHN TUDEK, *Secretary.*
WALTER SZPANKA,
Treasurer.

Republic of Liberia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD the following statement by Dr. George W. Harley, who represents the Methodist Mission Board in Liberia. Dr. Harley addresses himself to the gains made by Liberia as an independent nation:

It was very disheartening to find in a recent issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD excerpts from a sermon by a Methodist minister in Georgia containing several erroneous allegations concerning the Republic of Liberia and its people. It has been my privilege to represent the Methodist Mission Board in Liberia for almost a third of a century. As one who has come to understand the Liberian people, their history, and their Government, I feel an obligation to set the record straight. This is particularly desirable, I believe, because of the close bond of friendship which exists between our two countries and the importance of Liberia to the hopes of the United States that the peoples of Africa now taking their place in the family of independent nations will follow the example set by Liberia.

The Republic of Liberia, first independent nation in Africa south of the Sahara, is an example of the dynamic progress and achievements that can be attained by self-governing African nations. Today, under President William V. S. Tubman, the country is experiencing the greatest prosperity in its history, and President Tubman predicts "that revenues will nearly double in the next 5 years."

Liberia was founded 135 years ago and is the only Republic on the continent of Africa. It is the only instance in modern history of a nation built out of a wilderness in a new land that was not first a colony of another nation. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, head of state of the new Government of Ghana, has stated: "Liberia is the pioneer of the freedom movement among Africans today." Moreover, it is the only part of Africa that has always belonged to the African.

The country was first settled in 1822 under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, a private organization comprised of such American patriots as Henry Clay, John

Marshall, Thomas Jefferson, and James Monroe, and designed to help American Negroes return to Africa. The first settlement and present capital city was named "Monrovia" in honor of the American President. In 1839 there were a number of such settlements which were combined into the Commonwealth of Liberia. The delegates from each settlement met in a convention, wrote a constitution and bill of rights closely modeled after those of the United States, and signed a declaration of independence proclaiming Liberia "a free, sovereign, and independent state."

Today Liberia is a nation whose economic development has amply demonstrated the large-scale opportunities it holds forth. This development has accelerated since World War II and offers foreign capital the advantages of an ever-increasing supply of technical skills and experience. Liberia's laws guaranteeing security for foreign capital investment and her trade policies have become a model for other nations seeking to increase foreign trade. Her large modern harbor has become the home port for much of the world's merchant marine.

Liberia's foreign trade continues to increase each year. Since 1939 a favorable balance has been maintained between imported goods and exported products. In 1955 the imports and exports totaled slightly more than $68 million as compared with $49 million in 1954. Of the $68 million, export trade accounted for $42 million, giving a favorable balance of 60 percent of the value of imports.

Mounting foreign purchases, mostly from the United States, reflect the dynamic aspects of President Tubman's 9-year plan, with large purchases of building materials, motor vehicles, road-building machinery, power installations and other technical materials forming the principal items of import.

Rubber exports, which bulk large in the national foreign trade picture, show the biggest continued increase because of the additional acreage and the development of higher yielding trees. In 1955 the total rubber production more than doubled the previous year's output.

The nation's diversified economy includes the Liberian Mining Co. which raised iron ore exports from zero in 1950 to more than $4 million in 1954, making the export of the "highest grade iron ore in the world" the second most important item in the Liberian economy.

Palm kernels rank third on the list of Liberian exports accounting for more than $1 million each year. Coffee, cocoa, and piassava are also important products exported each year from the thriving docks of the port of Monrovia.

Under the administration of President Tubman, Liberia has witnessed in a decade greater economic progress than in the preceding century. Its internal finances are sound. Its revenues and standard of living are steadily growing. As the standard of living and disposable income of the 1,500,000 population continues to rise, Liberia offers an expanding market for consumer goods and services.

Under President Tubman's 9-year plan, educational facilities in Liberia are constantly improving. Technical education is increasing to meet the demands of an ever-expanding economy and there is a system of adult education to prepare all citizens for their rightful role in a democratic society. Under President Tubman's leadership, emphasis in education has included teacher training and the sciences as well as the liberal arts.

Operating under the Department of Public Instruction are more than 400 public schools and under government supervision, almost as many private schools, as it is a legal requirement that each of the missionary organizations in Liberia operate a school. Foreign business organizations, such as the Firestone Plantations Co., also contribute to education by providing schools for employees and their children.

In world affairs, Liberia's position has paralleled that of other nations of the free world. Liberia was an ally of the United States during World War I and World War II. In view of potentials opened up by Liberia's Lend-Lease harbor, the first "plan of assistance" was drawn up in Monrovia by the FEA economic mission, in recognition of facilities made available to us during the war. And so Monrovia was actually the birthplace of point 4. I myself helped to write that plan. Liberia is a charter member of the United Nations and has supported measures for disarmament and international control of atomic energy. It has consistently voted on the side of extending freedom and self-determination of nations throughout the world and has been especially vocal in condemning violations of human rights wherever they occur.

The Liberians are conscious of their unique role in African affairs and the neverending struggle to preserve the independence which is their heritage by right of the early struggles of their forefathers.

President Tubman summarized the Liberian credo of liberty in a recent Independence Day address and his words take on added significance today as the world welcomes another African country, Ghana, into the family of nations.

"Our pioneer fathers obtained our liberties through hard trials and tribulations," President Tubman stated, "and maintained these liberties by virtue of courage and perseverance. Now, more than ever, the eyes of the world are turned upon African and it is our duty to develop our liberties on a grand scale. For that liberty which lies dormant—existing only in the minds of men—is on the pathway to deterioration. This must not happen to us."

GEORGE W. HARLEY.

Aid to Economically Distressed Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of February 26, 1957, which discusses Federal assistance to areas that are economically distressed:

The issue of Federal help for depressed areas in America has come up again in a report by the National Planning Association.

Congress often has considered the problem but thus far no comprehensive legislation has been enacted. Some lawmakers favor broadly liberal United States aid; others feel the stress should be almost wholly on local or regional self-help.

The NPA recommends that Government ought to extend to economic trouble spots the same kind of technical aid it offers areas abroad.

It also urges aid in new plant financing and tax exemptions to encourage business growth.

The conservative approach might exclude extensive help in financing, but the NPA's suggestion of technical aid might find wide appeal in Congress.

It might satisfy both those who want to leave the principal task to the depressed areas themselves and those who believe the Federal Government has an important responsibility in rehabilitating such regions.

Section-by-Section Analysis of National Housing Act Amendments of 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY O. TALLE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. TALLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL HOUSING ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1957

Section 1: Short title.

MORTGAGE TERMS

Section 2: Increase in maximum loan-to-value ratios—FHA section 203, mortgages on 1- to 4-family homes:

This section would amend section 203 of the National Housing Act by liberalizing the loan-to-value ratio limits on mortgages insured by FHA under its regular sales housing program. As amended by this section, the amounts of mortgages insured by FHA under section 203 would be limited to 96 percent of the first $10,000 of appraised value of the property, plus 85 percent of the next $6,000 of appraised value, and plus 70 percent of appraised value in excess of $16,000 up to the maximum dollar amount permissible.

Within the maximums, the loan-to-value ratios would be at the discretion of the Commissioner, rather than on a mandatory basis. Under this permissive authority, it is, of course, contemplated that, as during much of the past 2 years, lower maximum ratios would be specified in any periods when inflationary pressures dictate the desirability of such lower ratios. The section contains a provision (par. (d)) which states that the Commissioner, in establishing maximum ratios under authority contained in sections 2, 4, and 5, of this bill, shall determine that such ratios are in the public interest, taking into consideration their effect on the national economy and on conditions in the building industry. The availability or unavailability of residential mortgage credit assisted under the GI bill of rights would also be required to be taken into consideration.

Where the mortgagor is not the occupant of the housing (as in the case of a builder-mortgagor) the mortgage would continue, as in the present law, to be limited to a maximum of 85 percent of the mortgage amount available for owner occupants.

The increase in loan-to-value limits provided under this section would also be applicable to sales-type cooperative housing mortgages which under the provisions of section 213 of the National Housing Act can be insured under section 203.

Under the present provisions of section 203, the loan-to-value ratios for owner-occupants are limited to 95 percent of the first $9,000 of the value of the home plus 75 percent of the value in excess of $9,000 (except that the President can increase this latter limit to 95 percent of $10,000 and 75 percent of the amount over $10,000 if he considers such action to be in the public interest). For example, under present law the owner-occupant of a single-family dwelling could receive a 95-percent mortgage on a house valued at $9,000, 90 percent at $12,000, 87 percent at $15,000, and 84 percent at $20,000. Under the

bill, these percentages would be 98 percent at $9,000, 94 percent at $12,000, 92 percent at $15,000, and 87½ percent at $20,000.

The home loan guaranty program of the Veterans' Administration has demonstrated the strength of demand for housing with more liberal credit terms than have previously been permitted under the National Housing Act. The default record under that program as well as under FHA home mortgage insurance programs encourages the expectation that FHA losses with the proposed loan-to-value ratios can be handled with the resources from present mortgage insurance premium charges of one-half of 1 percent annually.

Section 2 (c): Increase in maximum mortgage amounts—FHA single-family homes in suburban and outlying areas:

This subsection would amend section 203 (i) of the National Housing Act to increase from 95 percent to 96 percent the maximum loan-to-value ratio of mortgages insured by FHA under that section covering single-family homes in suburban and outlying areas. A corresponding change (from $6,650 to $6,750) would be made in the maximum dollar limit. These increases would make the mortgage terms under this program consistent with the regular FHA sales housing program as it would be amended by this bill.

Existing provisions of section 203 (i) which expressly permit a person or corporation other than the mortgagor to advance all or part of the downpayment on a house would be deleted by this subsection. The deleted provisions would no longer be necessary if section 201 (b) of the bill is enacted, making applicable to section 203 (i) of the National Housing Act the same provisions relating to secondary financing as now apply to sales housing for the elderly.

This subsection would also eliminate the reference in the existing section 203 (i) to insurance of mortgages on a "farm home on a plot of land five or more acres in size adjacent to a public highway." This statutory language does not add to the Commissioner's other authority which presently is broad enough to permit insurance on mortgages on acceptable suburban or farm properties. In view of such existing authority the reference to 5-acre farm homes in section 203 (i) is unnecessary.

Section 3: FHA rental housing for the elderly: Increase in mortgage limit on elevator-type structures—Rental housing for single elderly persons:

This section would amend the special provisions of section 207 of the National Housing Act for rental housing for the elderly. It would add a provision that the maximum amount of a mortgage could be in an amount up to $8,400 per family unit where the mortgage is given by a nonprofit organization to finance an elevator-type rental housing project which is to be used and occupied entirely by elderly persons. Under present law there is no provision for higher mortgage amounts per unit for elevator-type structures for the elderly, and the limit is $8,100 for all rental housing projects for the elderly financed under these section 207 provisions. A provision would also be added to the section 207 special provisions for the elderly to assure that units in such housing could be designed for and occupied by single elderly persons.

In the 1956 amendments to section 207 which provided for housing projects for the elderly, the provision for additional mortgage amounts for elevator structures was omitted. The increase in the mortgage limitation is considered necessary to place the program for housing for elderly persons on a par with any other rental housing under section 207, and to avoid restricting projects for elderly persons in large metropolitan areas to rural or suburban locations.

FHA has, in the past, interpreted the legislative term "family unit" as indicating a dwelling unit suitable for occupancy by two or more persons. It is felt that further clarification is needed to affirm the intent of Congress that aged widows, widowers, and other elderly single persons are not to be debarred from occupancy of projects designed especially for elderly persons, and that small units in such projects may be especially designed for the occupancy of a single elderly person.

Section 4: Increase in maximum ratio of loan to value—Section 220, urban renewal housing:

This section would amend section 220 of the National Housing Act to increase the maximum mortgage amounts on urban renewal sales housing based on ratio of loan to replacement cost, so that they would be consistent with the increased ratios of loan to value in the regular FHA sales housing program as it would be amended by this bill.

Subsection (b) of this section is a technical amendment necessitated by a change in language made by subsection (a).

Section 5: Increase in mortgage amounts—FHA mortgage on housing for servicemen: This section would amend section 222 of the National Housing Act to increase the loan-to-value ratio from 95 percent to 96 percent for insured mortgages covering housing for servicemen. A corresponding increase (from $17,100 to $17,300) would be made in the maximum dollar limit for the mortgage. These changes would be consistent with the increases under the bill for mortgages insured under section 203.

Section 6: Terms of FHA mortgages covering war, defense, and veterans' housing sold by Federal, State, or local governments: This section would make the terms of mortgages insured by FHA covering World War II, defense, and veterans' housing sold by the Federal, State, or local governments the same as mortgages insured under sections 203, 207, or 213.

Section 7: FHA title VIII military housing mortgages:

This section would extend by 1 year the period during which the Federal Housing Commissioner is authorized to insure mortgages under title VIII of the National Housing Act. Although it is now expected that about 70,000 units can be placed under FHA commitment by December 31, 1957, and that commitments can be obtained on the balance of the presently approved units by June 30, 1958, it is doubtful that units approved by the military in the future can be ready for FHA commitment by the latter date. Accordingly, in order to permit sufficient time for selection of sites (and acquisition, if required), planning, and design by the military, and for making financial arrangements by successful bidders, it is believed that the time during which the Commissioner may insure mortgages should be extended by 1 year.

The section would also make the statutory average maximum of $16,500 per unit under title VIII applicable to each project rather than to each mortgage as at present. In order to obtain financing for large projects it has been found necessary to divide the project into several units and to enter into a separate mortgage for each unit. Since distinct areas for officers' housing and enlisted men's housing are usually established within the project site or as separated sites, and since the act currently provides that the principal amount of a mortgage may not exceed an average of $16,500 per family unit, considerable difficulty has been experienced in defining the various areas covered by each mortgage. This change, which is believed to maintain the intent of the act, would permit greater flexibility in that the determination of mortgage areas would be greatly simplified. Progress by the eligible builder in completing the work in individual mortgage areas would be facilitated, because work could progress from 1 area to adjacent areas rather than being undertaken in 2 or more scattered areas simultaneously.

Finally, the section would provide that the bid of the eligible bidder on a military housing project under title VIII shall bear a reasonable relation to the Commissioner's estimate of replacement cost of the property or project when the proposed improvements are completed. This would be substituted for the present provision that the eligible bid must be equal to or less than FHA's estimate of replacement cost of the proposed project.

Under the present provisions of the statute, if the military receives no bid which is equal to or less than the FHA's estimated replacement cost, FHA may, upon request of the military, reexamine its estimated cost and revise its appraisal and eligibility statement appropriately, or the military is forced to reject all bids and abandon the project or issue invitations for new bids. In large construction projects, such as most military housing under title VIII, a moderate range among estimates of replacement cost is inevitable due to cost variances in materials, labor, job overhead, and other factors. This proposed amendment would provide much-needed flexibility in the administration of the military housing program.

OTHER PROVISIONS

Section 8: Repurchase of title I repair and improvement loans by lenders: This section would amend section 2 of the National Housing Act to provide a 2-year statute of limitations with respect to the FHA requirement under certain conditions that a lender must repurchase a title I case on which FHA has paid an insurance claim. The effect of this proposal would be to prevent the Federal Housing Commissioner from demanding that a title I lender repurchase a title I case (because of lack of eligibility for insurance) if a period of 2 years has elapsed since the date the lender's claim for loss was paid by the Commissioner. At the present time there is no statute of limitations and in many cases a long period of years will elapse before some type of information is discovered which indicates that the claim would not have been paid if all the facts had been known to the FHA at the time the lender's claim was allowed. The possibility of repurchase requires that lenders, in effect, create a contingent reserve, as under the present statutory and administrative provisions a lender cannot be assured that its payment of claim is final. It is believed that FHA should have 2 years after the claim has been paid to investigate the case for matters of eligibility, but after such reasonable period has passed, the lender should be entitled to consider the payment of its claim as final and incontestable unless it can be established that the lender had been guilty of fraud or misrepresentation. A delay in making this section effective (until January 1, 1958) is desirable in order to take care of a backlog of pending matters.

Section 9: Repeal of certain FHA farm housing provision: This section would repeal section 203 (d) of the National Housing Act. Section 203 (d) provides for a special category of insurance of mortgages on farm properties. Because this section had been virtually unused, Congress (in the Housing Act of 1954) amended it to provide that no mortgage could be insured under the section after the effective date of the 1954 act, except pursuant to commitments issued on or before such date. There are no outstanding commitments under this section at the present time, and it is therefore recommended that the section now be repealed as obsolete.

Section 10: Mortgagee expenditures on foreclosed properties—and FHA premiums: This section would permit the Federal Housing Commissioner to authorize mortgagees to make expenditures for protection of properties during the period commencing with the institution of foreclosure and continuing until such time as the Commis-

sioner takes title to the property. This period of time represents a minimum of several months and may, in States having statutory redemption rights, extend to as long as 18 months. It would be to the Government's advantage to authorize mortgagees to make relatively small expenditures during this period to protect property from vandalism and damage by the elements, and to make necessary repairs for acceptable maintenance of the property.

A further provision of the section would permit terminating the mortgagee's obligation to pay mortgage insurance premiums when an application for debentures has been filed. Mortgagees are now required to pay such premiums up to the date of acceptance of title and FHA then includes in the debentures amounts to compensate the mortgagees for such expenditures. This results in unnecessary duplication, in that the FHA billing and collecting of insurance premiums after the filing of a claim for debentures is followed by the repayment of the premiums to mortgagees, with interest, within a limited time. In order to provide a consistent treatment to mortgagees' applications in the various sales housing programs, the scope of the proposed amendment includes all sales type programs, including sections 603 and 903.

Section 11: Clarifying provision relating to FHA debentures interest rates: Section 224 of the National Housing Act, added in 1954, provides that the debenture interest rate with respect to any section of the act shall be fixed by the Commissioner, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, in an amount not in excess of an annual rate of interest determined by the Secretary by estimating the average yield to maturity on the basis of daily market quotations or prices during the calendar month next preceding the establishment of such rate of interest, on all outstanding marketable obligations of the United States having a maturity date of 15 years or more from the first day of such next preceding month and by adjusting such average yield to the nearest one-eighth of 1 percent.

In conformity with the provisions of section 224, a debenture interest rate was established in December 1956 at 3¼ percent. In sections 204, 207, and 803, there remain references to the former maximum rate of "3 per centum per annum." FHA has interpreted section 224 as being controlling and has published a debenture interest rate in excess of 3 percent notwithstanding the reference to 3 percent contained in sections 204, 207, and 803. While there is no legal difficulty, there has been a practical problem resulting from the seeming conflict between section 224 and the wording of the other three sections. To remove this point of confusion, section 210 of the bill would include an express reference to the section 224 interest rate formula in the other three sections.

Section 12: Obsolete cooperative housing provision: This section would repeal section 207 (q) of the National Housing Act which has become obsolete, particularly with the enactment of sections 213 and 306 (e) of the National Housing Act which authorize special FHA and FNMA aids for cooperative housing. The reference in section 207 (q) to "paragraph numbered (2) of subsection (c) of this section" is an obsolete reference to a repealed provision.

Section 13: Commercial and community facilities serving cooperative housing: The purpose of this section is to permit an FHA cooperative housing mortgage to include commercial and community facilities in sales-type and investor-sponsor-type projects. The law presently permits the inclusion of such facilities only in management-type projects. The section would have the further effect of limiting by law FHA sales-type cooperatives to those having eight or more units. However, because smaller sized cooperatives are generally not feasible, this limitation is already in effect by regulation.

Section 14: Technical amendment relating to termination of mortgage insurance premiums: This section would make the provisions of section 204 (j) of the National Housing Act (which are now applicable to individual home mortgages insured under section 203 of that act) applicable to individual home mortgages insured under sections 213, 220, 221, and 222 of that act. Section 204 (j) permits termination of the mortgagee's liability for payment of mortgage insurance premiums in those cases where the mortgagee forecloses on the mortgaged property but informs the Commissioner that it does not intend to convey the property to FHA in exchange for debentures. Upon such notification (which terminates FHA's insurance liability), the FHA terminates the mortgagee's obligation to pay subsequent mortgage insurance premiums. Similar termination of the mortgagee's obligation results under section 204 (j) when FHA's insurance liability terminates because the mortgage has been prepaid in full. The same considerations which led to the enactment of section 204 (j) apply equally to making it applicable to the additional home mortgages.

Section 15: Transfer of moneys among FHA insurance funds: The section 221 housing insurance fund and the servicemen's mortgage insurance fund do not come within section 219 of the National Housing Act which authorizes certain transfers of moneys among the several FHA insurance funds. Section 214 of this bill would provide for their inclusion. The omission of these 2 sections from the provisions of section 219 could create a situation which would make it necessary under unfavorable circumstances to call upon the Treasury Department to redeem debentures issued by the 2 funds even though ample resources for this need may be available in 1 or more of the other funds enumerated in section 219. Also, inclusion of these two funds within section 219 would permit transfers, as required, from these funds to other insurance funds which are now included under section 219.

Section 16: FHA appraisals available to home buyers: Under the present provisions of section 226 of the National Housing Act, the Commissioner must require that a statement of FHA appraised value be furnished to purchasers of homes. In instances where the law bases the amount of the mortgage upon replacement cost, it has occurred that the FHA estimate of value is actually less than the amount of a mortgage based upon replacement cost. This creates unnecessary misunderstanding. It is believed that the objectives of the act would be met by furnishing a statement of the FHA's estimate of replacement cost instead of appraised value where the law bases the mortgage upon replacement cost.

Section 17: Use of sales-type housing for transient occupancy: This section would remove from the provisions of section 513 of the National Housing Act the language which now requires mortgagors under the various sales housing programs to certify that they will not use the dwellings for hotel purposes. It is believed that the possibility of any material use of single-family dwellings or groups of single-family dwellings or 2- to 4-family structures as hotels is so remote that little, if any, effect upon the hotel industry could result from removal of the present statutory language. Under the present statute, proposed mortgagors have been required to certify that they would not use the dwelling for hotel purposes, and this has created an unnecessary processing requirement in the large volume sales housing program. No change would be made in these restrictions insofar as they apply to rental housing programs or to management-type cooperative housing programs.

Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following speech by Hon. George A. Dondero before the Michigan State Legislature on February 12, 1957:

Mr. President, Governor Williams, Mr. Speaker, members of the senate and house, State officers and friends:

Today we meet to commemorate the 148th anniversary of the birth of one of the world's great men. But these anniversaries avail us very little, save as we turn them to the patriotic service of the great cause Lincoln served—namely, the preservation of our Republic and the security of our constitutional order.

These were the great inspirations of Lincoln's public service and we cannot honor him better today than to recall the nobility of that service and the deep wisdom of those policies which he so often molded in anguish and despair.

Lincoln's every thought was for all the people. The spirit of grasping partisanship was not in him. He sought nothing for himself.

Sometimes the Great Ruler of the Universe places greatness in strange surroundings, but no one would ever have thought to have looked for it in the crude shelter of a pioneer in the backwoods of Kentucky 148 years ago today.

All over our broad land the American people are conscious of an imposing presence and are standing at salute today while Abraham Lincoln and all his deeds and scenes of sacrifice go passing in review. They turn to this humble man who came from a cabin to the Capitol for guidance and hope and wisdom to solve the problems of our time. There is something about his lowly origin and the story of his life and its struggles that causes people to draw close to him. While he obtained position far above the plain people yet he never lived above the plain people.

I know Michigan commends its legislature for pausing today to pay tribute to the most unexplainable man in all history. He was the least schooled yet the most educated; the poorest yet the richest; the least pretentious yet the most resourceful; the homeliest yet the most fascinating; the commonest yet all pay tribute to his dignity and nobility. He inherited the least promising future yet no man ever lived who left to the future a legacy so great.

Wherever in this world liberty and justice, mercy and kindness, truth and rugged honesty are known and understood by the people, there also is known and understood the name of Abraham Lincoln.

Therefore, it is most fitting and proper that you, the members of the legislature of our great State, should lay aside your legislative duties and remember the birthday of this Nation's most uncommon commoner.

Many millions of people in America today still live by the political axiom which William Penn uttered before the struggling pioneers of Pennsylvania when he said: "He who will not be governed by God will be ruled by tyrants."

Such was the flavor of the basic patriotism which Lincoln had gleaned so laboriously from his lonely reading in the pioneer wilderness of Illinois.

In whatever range of human relations we examine the philosophy of Lincoln, we thus find him dealing with the abiding realities of the spirit.

He was a great man because he held fast to the fundamental virtues and truths which had been wrought by the suffering and sacrifice of mankind through countless generations.

He was a wise and good man because he sought wisdom in the eternal principles of humble charity. Once he said, "I am driven to my knees because I have nowhere else to go."

These are the reasons that so much he expressed in the critical period of the last century apply with compelling force to the age in which we live today.

The great issue which confronted Lincoln was whether or not this Government conceived in liberty could long endure. Freedom and slavery faced each other in our land in 1860. That issue confronts us in our day and generation. For destiny has thrust upon us the tasks in an age where today freedom and slavery face each other again in a world divided by communism. Let us, therefore, take as much as we can of inspiration and wisdom from this commemorative occasion for we need to know in solving the vexing problems facing us more of the lofty spirit of Lincoln, his example of supreme patience, of vast tolerance, of inflexible integrity, of humble charity and good will toward all mankind.

These were the deep wellsprings of Lincoln's noble character.

Above all, Lincoln was sustained in the darkest hours of our national travail by an unflinching faith in the judgment of all of the people.

He was an American who dared to stake the very future of the Republic on those broad principles of human equity and social justice upon which the very theory of self-government was reared.

A man of lesser faith would have failed, but Lincoln's unquenchable faith in the judgment and good sense of the people upon issues touching their national destiny was unflagging.

And it was that great faith which carried this Nation through to victory—a triumph which 92 years of added history now tell us never shall be undone so long as the spark of freedom glows in the heart of man.

His imprint on America and the world still is not measured in its full scope, nor will it be until all civilization knows the living reality of living freedom under law.

I have said that he was the least schooled yet the best educated. Many years ago in Washington his son, Robert Lincoln, related to me that his "father did not have anything to start with and he hardly went to school at all." Yet from a page and half of ordinary ruled paper in less than 3 minutes he delivered an address that has never been surpassed on American soil. To me it has almost seemed a miracle that a man with President Lincoln's limited education and whose opportunities for schooling were so meager could produce such a gem of English literature as the Gettysburg Address. Lincoln's lines not only gave mankind the essence and the meaning of the struggle then being waged —the Civil War—but also serve in this hour and for all ages as a prayer of deliverance for all people. His humility and compassion are revealed in the fact that his invitation to come to Gettysburg reluctantly extended "to make a few appropriate remarks" at the dedication of a cemetery, came as an afterthought and long after the orator of the day had been invited. That went to the best known orator of his day—Edward Everett—who had obtained his education in the temples of learning of two continents. Such an incident in our time would be regarded by any President of the United States as a slight and an insult to the highest office in our land.

We will notice in his address the complete absence of any hostility. Great utterances have been delivered in many places down through the centuries. This one had the singular gift of expressing the basic meaning of the United States, in the noblest language, at a moment of deep national peril by an American President whose entire life work is summed up in those compact sentences of that short oration. Never in the history of literature was so much said, so wisely, in so few words. His few appropriate remarks will stand forever as the symbol of our American philosophy of government and are as much the living tradition of our country today as the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of the United States.

Now, while we are discussing Lincoln today, I do not think it would be inappropriate to speak briefly about the one who captured his affection and his heart, became his wife, the mother of his four boys, and his helpmate during the last 23 years of his life, who sacrificed much socially and who was in many ways responsible for Lincoln's success—and I refer to the little girl who came from the bluegrass of Kentucky—Mary Todd.

I doubt whether the people of the United States yet know fully the debt of gratitude that we owe as a Nation to that little girl who came from Kentucky for the part she played in molding the destiny of this immortal American whose birthday we commemorate today.

Had it not been for a stepmother in a Kentucky home, it is very probable that Miss Todd and Abraham Lincoln would never have met each other. There were 14 children in the Todd home at Lexington, the offspring of two marriages, filling the house with half-brothers and half-sisters. We can suppose that irritations, disagreements, and arguments influenced Mary to seek the home of her sister, Elizabeth Edwards, at Springfield, Ill., where she met Lincoln at a dance.

Romance and marriage followed, and we can see those two young people standing with their backs to a fireplace in the Edwards home pledging to each other for better or for worse. It would be very difficult, in my judgment, to find two people more unlike each other—he was 33, and she was 23—they were unlike each other in temperament, social standing, wealth, appearance, education, culture, refinement, and pride. The fact is, Lincoln stood there on his marriage night $1,000 in debt, the result of an unfortunate grocery-store adventure. Mary was the proud daughter of a bank president.

From the Edwards' home that November night, Mary Todd went forth a laughing and happy bride entitled to a home, peace, and contentment like anyone else, but she was destined to enter upon a career that for tragedy and sorrow stands without parallel on the pages in American history, a career that was to lead her by successive steps to the White House, a sanatorium, voluntary exile in southern France, and then back after a number of heartbreaking experiences to the same house from which she emerged a bride 40 years before, and there at last to sit in shadow and gloom while the light of her life went out in 1882.

Why do we owe Mary Todd Lincoln a debt of gratitude? When Lincoln was offered the governorship of the territory of Oregon he would have accepted had it not been for his wife who refused to cross the vast reaches of the West in a prairie schooner and live among the savages. Had he accepted it is probable he would have removed himself from the political scene and influential people of the Middle West and East, that he may never have been heard from again as a political figure.

During the last part of the debates with Douglas he returned to his law office in Springfield, Ill., and declared to his law partner, Herndon, and a young law student in the office that he intended to break off his debate with Douglas, that it was killing him. It was then that the only person in Springfield who offered encouragement and determination was the little woman in the frame house down on the corner of 8th and Jackson Street, his wife. Had he broken off his engagements in that great debate, it is quite possible his political career may have ended then. We all know that it was his historic debates with Douglas that brought him to the attention of the people outside of his own State of Illinois.

When the Civil War broke out, Mary was the only member of the Todd family to remain loyal to the Union and the Government of the United States of which her husband was the President.

It was my privilege to have known and to have been a guest in the home of Emilie Todd Helm, the last living sister of Mary Todd. What did her family think Mary saw in Lincoln that induced her to take him for a husband instead of Douglas? They believed "Mary found an intellect superior to her own and a tongue equally as sharp."

When the news reached the Todd family at Lexington that Mary had taken this country lawyer for a husband, they were shamed, chagrined, and embarrassed.

The passing of time works wondrous changes in this world when we consider the embarrassed feelings on the part of the Todds because of Mary's choice of a husband and that magnificent memorial in Washington, which has been visited by the leaders of nearly every civilized government in the world and over 48 million people. The guards report that rarely does anyone speak out loud when they enter the memorial and men voluntarily remove their hats, so great is their reverence for this humble man who came from the cabin to the Capitol. At Christmastime and on his birthday the Memorial receives a flood of cards and letters addressed to Mr. Lincoln and some of them contain small sums of money. "Though dead he still liveth." Perhaps you have stood within that impressive memorial and read through misty eyes the words engraved in granite above the Emancipator's statue, "In this temple as in the hearts of the people for whom he saved the Union the memory of Abraham Lincoln is enshrined forever."

Some years ago while visiting with Robert Lincoln in Washington, I inquired of him what had become of his father's library. He informed me that his father did not have a library. When he died he had 10 or 12 books: 1 was the Bible which he kept on his desk, 2 were treatises on slavery, and the rest were books on history and government. How strange it seems to our generation that one of the world's great men should leave a library of less than a dozen books. We may safely assume, however, that whatever information those few volumes contained was transferred to his mind by careful and digestive reading. I believe one of the weaknesses of our age is that we read too much and remember too little.

If you had a son of military age who attended college for 3½ years 500 miles away from the danger zone during a war in which the very life of the country was at stake, it is more than probable that the seats you now occupy in this Capitol would be filled by others.

Robert Todd Lincoln, the President's son, studied law at Harvard College near Boston from the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861 until his graduation in June 1864. However, neither Lincoln nor his son were at fault, for Robert endeavored to enter the Army which Mrs. Lincoln strongly opposed. They had already buried one son from the

White House in 1862 which had left her in a highly uncontrollable state of mind. For the time being both the President and his son deferred to her wishes. When Robert graduated he enlisted in the Army and was sent to General Grant with a note which asked the general to place him in service "without rank or pay." It was Lincoln who purchased and paid for out of his own funds the horse his son rode during the last year of the war as a captain on Grant's staff. The amount of the check was $125 across the end of which he wrote "horse for Bob." Horseflesh had become expensive toward the close of the conflict. Lincoln's great-grandson still has that original check.

Robert Lincoln related to me that in his judgment not more than one-third of the stories attributed to his father were ever told by him. While his father told many stories, they were only told to drive home a point or to clinch an argument.

An example of his keen wit and humor is his answer to the inquiry by a neighbor back in Springfield why his wife's family, the Todds spelled their name with two d's. He said he did not know but had observed that God was satisfied with one d.

While practicing law in Springfield, two of his small boys were in the habit of running to meet their father as he came home from the office. On one particular occasion, he had each of the two boys by the hand and both of them were screaming at the top of their voices so that it attracted the attention of Mrs. Lincoln as they neared home. She inquired what was wrong with the boys. Lincoln answered saying, "Just what's wrong with the whole world? I have 3 walnuts in my pocket and both of them want 2!" This is as good an illustration of selfishness as we might find anywhere.

During one of the Lincoln debates, Lincoln noticed while Douglas was sitting on the platform, that Douglas took copious drinks of water. Lincoln nudged a friend sitting next to him and said, "It's the first time I ever saw a windmill run by water."

At the height of the Civil War Lincoln never lost his sense of humor. Bowed down as he was with the burdens and cares of that terrible conflict he could still come to Cabinet meetings with the customary inquiry and say, "Gentlemen, who's abusing us today?"

A subject very rarely discussed about Lincoln is his estate. When he was elected President he was asked by news reporters what he thought all his wordly goods amounted to. After a short pause, he answered saying it would total about $15,000. This consisted of his home in Springfield, his law books, 40 acres of land in Iowa given to him by the Government for his services in the Black Hawk War—the value was about $10 per acre—a vacant lot in Springfield, the value of which we can best judge by the fact that the taxes on it were less than $1 a year, and a few promissory notes given to him by friends to whom he had loaned money—the going rate of interest at that time was 10 percent.

It took him 51 years to accumulate this sum. When he died only 4 years later, his estate amounted to $83,000. He had saved 65 percent of his salary which was $25,000 a year as President. This sum he had invested in Government bonds to assist the Government—the bonds drew 6-percent interest. Before the estate was closed it had increased by the interest on the bonds and loans to $110,000. His widow and two surviving sons each received approximately $36,000.

Had the lowly Carpenter walked this earth in the flesh when Lincoln lived they would have been good friends for they had much in common. Lincoln's humility, his mercy, his compassion and kindly nature are characteristics which typified the Master of all men.

Two incidents in Lincoln's life had a profound effect upon his career. One was the death of his mother, the other his unfortunate venture as a merchant. However, Lincoln could overcome defeat and misfortune. We know that he was defeated as a candidate for the State legislature, for the United States Senate, also as a candidate for the House of Representatives. When he became 21 years of age, he embarked upon various business enterprises—every one of which proved equally disastrous to him. As I stated, one of the most crushing misfortunes of his life was in a grocery store business with a man by the name of Berry. Business was not too good in that early day and Berry advised that they add liquor to their stock in order to stimulate trade. Well, the liquor stimulated Berry but it had no effect on trade. While Berry was in the back end of the store drinking up the whisky, Lincoln laid full length on the counter in the front of the store reading law and eating up the groceries. The result of this combination as Lincoln himself phrased it, "the store soon winked out."

This fastened upon him a burden of debt which he carried for 20 years, and which he never did dispose of in full until 1849, his 40th year and after his election to Congress. The amount of the debt was $1,100 represented in promissory notes which he signed with Berry for the purchase of the store. This obligation was so large to him that he referred to it years later as the "National Debt." He asked his creditors to bear with him and that he would give them all he could earn over his living.

All agreed except one who brought suit, obtained a judgment, took out an execution and levied on all the property that he had, all as Lincoln said that he had to keep body and soul together. This consisted of a horse and a few surveying instruments. James Short, a friend of Lincoln, bought in all the things at the sheriff's sale for $120, and taking them to where Lincoln stood by the side of the road, broken hearted and discouraged, he laid them at his feet and said, "Here young man, begin again."

Thirty-two years later a message reached the White House that James Short was destitute out on the frontier of Nebraska. Then as fast as train and pony express could carry it, there went out of the White House from Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, aid and comfort and support to the one who had been his benefactor in the days of his youth—gratitude after 32 years. I would love Abraham Lincoln for that if not for anything else. Lincoln appointed James Short Indian Agent for the State of California.

In conclusion, Lincoln was not only a great orator, but he was also a great lawyer, a great statesman, a great President, and in my judgment America's greatest man. He was great in the strength of his convictions, in his own unfaltering adherence to the principles for which he stood and in his personal uprightness, his sound judgment, his knowledge of the people, his love of country, his humanity and in his devout reliance upon the supreme being. Lincoln, marvelous man that he was, belongs not to America alone but to the world for he truly is one of the great men of history.

And so in truth it could be written "his heart was as great as the world, yet there was no room in it to harbor the memory of a single wrong." With malice toward none and charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gave him to see the right, he lived and died, and while we, who have never seen him yet, feel daily the influence of his kindly life and may we always cherish among our most valued possessions, the heritage of his splendid example, and say with the poet who said that he was:

"A blend of mirth and sadness, smiles and tears;
A qaint knight-errant of the pioneers;
A homely hero, born of star and sod;
A peasant prince, a masterpiece of God."

Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, for the past several weeks the Military Operations Subcommittee has been holding hearings on the very important subject of civil defense.

Under legislation now being considered by the committee, the civil-defense functions would be merged with similar functions now carried on by the Office of Defense Mobilization.

This morning the committee had the privilege of hearing from Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., mayor of Baltimore, in his capacity as chairman of the legislative committee of the United States Conference of Mayors.

In view of the fact that the conference represents cities in all of our districts, I believe his statement is of interest to all of us, and therefore I am inserting it in the RECORD, under permission to extend my remarks:

STATEMENT OF HON. THOMAS D'ALESANDRO, JR., MAYOR OF BALTIMORE, ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF MAYORS, BEFORE THE MILITARY OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS, MARCH 5, 1957

My name is Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr. I am the mayor of the city of Baltimore and chairman of the standing committee on legislation of the United States Conference of Mayors. The Conference of Mayors represents the collective thinking of approximately 300 major American cities, all of which are seriously concerned with the problem of an adequate national civil defense.

At the outset, I want to go on record in support of bill H. R. 2125 and all similar bills. Legislation of this character is badly needed to make our civil-defense effort effective and to overcome widespread public apathy and indifference that presently exists.

In 1953 the Conference of Mayors had this to say about civil defense:

"Civil defense, involving Federal, State, and city, sharing costs, is directed almost entirely to the urban centers. Our large city industrial areas, the centers of production, would be the prime targets in case of any enemy attack. Yet the progress of this important phase of military preparedness and national defense, has been stymied for several years through lack of adequate Federal appropriations. To date, the Congress has not taken civil defense seriously and it has failed to make available such funds as are recognized to be necessary if we are to be even partially prepared. If Congress does not take civil defense seriously it is logical that State and city officials should not take it too seriously."

That was our position in 1953, gentlemen. Almost 4 years have passed since that statement was made. Yet conditions with respect to civil defense remain substantially the same.

In fiscal year 1953, civil defense asked the Congress for $600 million to finance what should be one of the most vital parts of our total defense. Congress appropriated $43 million.

In fiscal year 1954, civil defense feeling that their previous requests were going unheeded, asked the Congress for $125 million. They got $46 million.

For fiscal year 1955, $35 million was requested of the Congress. Forty-eight milion was the total appropriated. This has been pretty much the story. Civil defense budgets have been cut regularly and cut substantially. The appropriations for this all-important area of our total defense, the protection and defense of our homes and families, our industrial might and power, have been so small, so inadequate as to be practically useless. The appropriations for national civil defense to date have averaged somewhere between $55 million and $60 million per year—less than the cost of one submarine, the *Nautilus*, which cost about $90 million.

It is the opinion of the Conference of Mayors that Federal civil defense must be given the authority, prestige, and power to put into effect those policies determined as the best means of accomplishing our primary purpose of saving lives. It is our feeling that the best civil defense organization must emanate from Washington, D. C.

Thus far no real leadership has been provided to the local communities. Federal authorities have sources of information which are not normally available to us on the local scene. Therefore, the extent, the scope and the organizational functions of a local civil defense organization should be guided by the requirements as set forth by a Federal organization, such as that proposed in H. R. 2125.

This is the time for decision. The Federal Government must assume its full responsibility for the protection of the people of this Nation against enemy attack. That responsibility does not end with building an H-bomb stockpile of our own, with creating squadrons of bombers and guided missiles and the like.

No alliance of cities or States can give this country a sound and effective civil-defense establishment. The history of civil defense during the past years is proof of that. Planning for target areas can only be done by the Federal Government. Only the Federal Government can provide funds in the amounts that are needed to build the shelters without which civil defense is meaningless. Under the direction of a strong Federal agency and with adequate Federal appropriations, the States and the cities can join in building a civil-defense program that has some meaning, that will provide the people of America with a feeling of some security, a feeling important to all of us, but certainly nonexistent now.

We have reached D-Day with respect to civil defense—Decision Day is here. We must decide whether the Federal Government is going to face this problem realistically or not face it. What has been done thus far amounts to token recognition that the problem exists. What has been done certainly is not without some value; but months and months will pass before this Nation's civil defense is expanded and strengthened to perform adequately in the event of nuclear warfare. And yet, minutes could lie right now between us as a nation, and the deadly violence of an H-bomb delivered by an enemy bomber or guided missile.

The great expanse between what exists and what is needed can only be bridged by the Federal Government, and to quote from the so-called Holifield proposals:

"So long as we dwell on the responsibilities of the individual or family or upon responsibilities of State or local units of government, we are apt to forget that in a fundamental sense, the most important responsibility rests with the Federal Government. • • •

"In the face of a clear constitutional duty to provide for the common defense and to repel invasion, the Federal Government cannot let the matter rest with the States or localities."

It is noted, however, that H. R. 2125 continues to place reliance on a wholly volunteer system for development of the necessary organization which will be required to mitigate and recover from the effects of a nuclear assault. I believe it is time to face the reality that this is almost impossible to achieve in time of peace and prosperity. I firmly believe that some thought should be given to requiring civil-defense service from some of the people rejected by the Selective Service Board because of physical defects. They could well discharge their civic responsibility in that manner and not be completely excused therefrom as under the present system. Some recompense should be provided, from Federal funds, while so serving.

The Conference of Mayors hopes, therefore, that H. R. 2125, amended as found necessary as a result of these hearings, will be passed. We want to see civil defense made as effective as possible.

I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of this subcommittee for your kind attention here this morning.

What Do People Really Want: Heavy Spending or Economy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, extravagance in Government, reduction in taxes are the complaints we are all receiving from our constituents and it gives me great pleasure to have permission to include in my brief remarks a statement entitled "What Do People Really Want: Heavy Spending or Economy?" made by our highly esteemed colleague, the Honorable ROBERT W. KEAN, who so ably represents the 12th District of New Jersey.

It is unnecessary to say that Mr. KEAN is one of the highly respected Members of the House of Representatives and his views on the great questions of the day are always penetrating and constructive. He has ably analyzed the people's protest against the high budget which was submitted by the administration, as well as the increasing demand for lower taxes, and his observations of this situation from a political point of view are most pertinent. As he points out, in Congresses where economy was practiced and the cost of Government reduced along with taxes, the controlling party which brought that about was defeated in the next Congress. He sizes up the situation well in the last two paragraphs of his statement when he says:

The nub of the matter appears to be: Will those who are sincerely interested in economy join ranks to fight as hard to back up economy-minded Members of Congress as do the militant free-spending groups to thwart their efforts.

Congress is troubled by the size of the budget, but many Members—both Democrats and Republicans—also are troubled by the lessons of history which have made them skeptical as to whether the majority of the people really want curtailment of heavy Government spending.

The entire statement is as follows:

WHAT DO PEOPLE REALLY WANT: HEAVY SPENDING OR ECONOMY?

Do the American people really want economy in Government? Do the people appreciate efforts along that line? Will they support those who vote for cuts in Federal expenditures?

Those questions have been asked with frequency by Members of Congress in Capitol cloakrooms since public outcries over the size of the proposed Federal budget for the 1957–58 fiscal year.

In asking the questions, Members call attention to the fact that during the past quarter century in only two Congresses was there a successful attempt to cut expenditures substantially, and point to the results of the ensuing elections.

In the Republican 80th Congress, the Truman budget was cut by $3½ billion. In the Republican 83d Congress, the Truman budget was cut by $10 billion. And what happened in the next elections? The Republicans who had been in control in each case were badly beaten. The voters threw out the economizers and put those who had opposed economy back in control of the Congress.

It is commonplace for those who vote for economy in a certain area of Government activity to be told by some constituents that such a vote was false economy. It is, of course, true that nearly all Government spending has a worthy objective and cutting in any area might be characterized as false economy by the group which is particularly interested.

But one must look at the Government picture as a whole. It is the duty of the Federal Government to participate in such and such an activity? Could it not be done better and cheaper by the States, or even by the local communities?

NEW JERSEY'S STORY

The answer might often be yes in New Jersey, for as the New Jersey Taxpayers Association has pointed out it costs New Jersey taxpayers $2.40 in Federal taxes for each dollar returned in the form of grants under the 50-odd Federal-aid programs. But those groups who get the dollar are vociferous supporters of such programs, usually not realizing that they and their neighbors are digging deep in order to receive these "benefits."

Representative ROBERT L. DOUGHTON, the late wise old chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, used to say that the cry of witnesses who came before our committee was: "Don't tax me, tax that fellow behind the tree." The same thought seems to be that of many people who talk economy: "Don't cut my pet project. Cut some other fellow's, for if you cut mine, I won't vote for you."

Somewhat the same pattern has occurred with reference to tax reduction. Only three times in the past quarter century has a Congress passed a bill reducing taxes substantially. Once by a Democrat-controlled Congress—the 79th where the cut was $6 billion. The next year the tax-cutting Democrats were thrown out and Republicans were put in control.

Again in the 80th Congress there was a substantial cut—approximately $5 billion. Next November the Republicans who had sponsored the cut lost control. Even the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the author of the bill, was defeated.

Again in the 83d Congress there was a tax cut of $7,500,000,000, but in the following November the Republicans were thrown out of control. Is it strange that I heard a statement made at lunch last week

that the public really does not seem to appreciate a tax reduction?

One of the reasons, perhaps, for the lack of appreciation of the latest tax cut is that in a time of increasing prosperity when people are earning more money they do not feel that there has been a tax reduction, for with greater personal earnings they pay more in taxes. They do not realize how much more they would have paid if there had been no cut.

TAXES ARE TOO HIGH

I believe that taxes are too high for every segment of our population and they should be reduced at the first opportunity, but the people must help bring about the opportunity—that is if a majority of them want lower Government spending and resulting tax reductions.

The ways of the voters sometimes seem surprising and you can't help understanding—remembering history—why many Members of Congress look at the political advantage of voting for economy and lower taxes with a somewhat jaundiced eye.

We must have economy in Government. We must have cuts in taxes. But the support of the average voter for such policies has in the past, to say the least, been half-hearted. A headline in the Washington Star last week is discouraging. I quote:

"SENATORS RESTORE MOST OF HOUSE MONEY BILL CUT

"The Senate Appropriations Committee has restored practically all of the $47 million slashed out of a deficiency money bill by the House.

"The action, regarded as the first economy test of the session on the Senate side of the Capitol, came yesterday on the initial appropriations measure submitted by President Eisenhower in 1957."

THE UPPER HOUSE

Some humorist has said that the reason the Senate is known as the Upper House is because it always ups the appropriations made by the House. The above is just one example, but I am sure that pressures from officials and individuals interested in the spending projects had much to do with the result by making their views known, while the economy minded remained silent.

The nub of the matter appears to be: Will those who are sincerely interested in economy join ranks to fight as hard to back up economy-minded Members of Congress as do the militant free-spending groups to thwart their efforts.

Congress is troubled by the size of the budget, but many Members—both Democrats and Republicans—also are troubled by the lessons of history which have made them skeptical as to whether the majority of the people really want curtailment of heavy Government spending.

Stegmaier Co. of Wilkes-Barre Wins Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news story from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of February 21, 1957, stating that the Stegmaier Brewing Co. of Wilkes-Barre, was awarded the first prize among United States breweries in a nationwide poster contest:

AWARD WON BY STEGMAIER—WILL RECEIVE CITATION AT CHICAGO

CHICAGO, February 21.—The Stegmaier Brewing Co., now in its 100th year of business, has been awarded first prize among United States breweries at the annual outdoor poster competition held here.

Stegmaier's award-winning poster was selected as the best in the brewery category in 1956 by a panel of 17 judges representing advertising agencies, art museums, and commercial designers throughout the Nation.

The brewery will be officially honored, along with other winners, at an awards luncheon to be held here on April 30 by the competition's sponsors, the Advertising Club of Chicago and Outdoor Advertising, Inc.

The Stegmaier poster, and other winning entries, will be displayed during the month of May at the main branch of the Chicago Public Library.

The Old Santa Fe Trail as A National Monument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, on February 28, 1957, I introduced a bill to provide that the Secretary of the Interior shall investigate and report to the Congress as to the advisability of establishing as a national monument a site on the Old Santa Fe Trail near Dodge City, Kans. As further evidence of the desirability of establishing this monument I want to bring to your attention an excerpt from a National Park Service report made in 1956:

SANTA FE TRAIL REMAINS

Near the little station siding of Howell, Kans, 8 miles east of Cimarron, 10 miles west of Dodge City, on a low bluff adjoining Highway U. S. 50 and overlooking the Arkansas River, there has been providentially preserved over 1 continuous mile of clearly visible remains of the original Santa Fe Trail. This site is worthy of careful consideration on these grounds: (1) The Santa Fe Trail is a historic highway, rivaling the Oregon Trail in national fame; (2) most of the 800 miles of the historic Santa Fe Trail is in the State of Kansas; (3) these authentic remains are believed by reliable informants to be the best preserved and most extensive along the length of the trail; (4) the remains are distinct and impressive, in a relatively unspoiled setting; (5) this was part of the 'trunk line' of the Santa Fe Trail, which split at nearby Cimarron Crossing; (6) the site is relatively accessible to millions of travelers over nearby U. S. 50; (7) the terrain lends itself to a minimum outlay for protection and interpretation of historic features. It is recommended that a comprehensive survey be made of the Santa Fe Trail so that proper evaluation can be made of this site in historical and geographical perspective.

In passing this bill and establishing this monument I believe that we would be keeping faith with our pioneering forefathers who so courageously took the trail that opened the West and it would serve as a stirring remainder of our great American heritage to the generations following.

Problems of American Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, no man is better qualified by training, knowledge, and experience to comment on the problems of American education than Earl J. McGrath, the author of the letter which follows. Dr. McGrath is now executive officer of the Institute of Higher Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. Before accepting this important position he was president of the University of Kansas City.

TEACHERS COLLEGE,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
New York, N. Y., March 4, 1957.

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Your issue of March 2, 1957, reports the testimony of Mr. John Miles, representing the United States Chamber of Commerce, before the House Committee on Education and Labor regarding the schoolhouse shortage in the United States. As the witness who appeared before this committee for the National Education Association and as former United States Commissioner of Education, I wish to comment on Mr. Miles testimony.

I was happy to observe, as the report of the committee hearings at which I testified will show, that there was little disposition among the members of the committee to dispute the fact, which is clearly stated in President Eisenhower's special message on education, that a real and urgent need for more classrooms exists and that Federal assistance is absolutely essential. If the committee is representative of the whole Congress, as I believe it is, the questions now before the Congress relate to the type and amount of aid and to the methods of distribution, rather than to the need. For this reason, Mr. Miles' testimony is all the more shocking.

First, with regard to the numbers game which, I regret, Mr. Miles has revived: As early as 1952 a study for the Congress, made in the United States Office of Education, of schoolhouse facilities showed a critical shortage of classrooms throughout the Nation. These figures on need for new facilities, which involved over $10 billion, were supplied by the education officers in the several States and not, as sometimes stated, by bureaucrats in Washington. With regard to theses compelling figures on the need for Federal aid, the Chamber of Commerce took the same position then that it takes now. The chamber then said, as it says now, that, if left to their own devices, the States and communities would soon build the additional classrooms out of their own resources.

Yet, 5 years later, as Secretary Folsom has shown, the present shortage of classrooms still numbers 159,000. Even with increased building, the gap between need and construction has not materially closed. It is clear, to those who really want to get at the truth in this situation, that the argument that the States and local districts could and would build the needed classrooms had no validity then and has none now. Nevertheless, Mr.

Miles, on behalf of the leadership of the United States Chamber of Commercee, advances the same threadbare and false argument that the States and school districts will, in 3 years, build the needed facilities from their own resources.

In view of the facts abundantly available to all those who sincerely wish to arrive at the truth—facts whose soundness is admitted by all reputable educators and informed laymen—one is irresistably driven to the conclusion that Mr. Miles' statement was not made in good faith. To suggest a delaying action for another survey is dishonestly to use a ruse to prevent any action on an important social problem already adequately illuminated by existing facts. Aside from the fact that, if Mr. Miles' advice is followed, hundreds of thousands of children will be deprived of an adequate education, there are three disturbing aspects of this testimony which voters, and especially their congressional representatives, will want to consider seriously.

The first is the deviousness involved in the statement by the chamber's representative that the States and local communities should and can build their own schools. If the chamber really believes this statement and ardently wants the schools built, sincere men might reasonably expect that the State and local bodies of the chamber of commerce would be carrying on thumping campaigns for larger State appropriations and larger local bond issues for schools. This would, in their own logic, be the best way to avoid Federal legislation while, at the same time, bending their efforts toward relieving the present emergency. Regrettably the opposite is true. Such legislation and bond issues have repeatedly been vigorously opposed in the States and communities by some of these very people in the chamber who argue against Federal aid. The only deduction one can draw is that the chamber wants to spend as little as possible for schools. This position would be understandable, if not defensible, if the chamber were equally parsimonious with the public's money in all other respects. But the record shows it isn't. Where its own selfish interests are involved, as, for example in the matter of road building, it shows none of the revulsion toward increased Federal grants and the inevitable increased burden of taxes which it exhibits toward the expenditure of Federal money for the improvement of our children's education. Since the education of our children for work and for the responsibilities of citizenship are directy connected with the well-being of our country and its position of strength in the world at large, one can draw his own conclusions concerning the social responsibilities of the chamber of commerce.

Secondly, thoughtful citizens will be troubled by the influence of a self-interested and financially strong lobby on the legislative process which is supposed to operate with equal efficacy in behalf of all in a democratic society. A Washington reporter of the New York Times states, in an article on page 52 of the March 3, 1957, issue, that educators in the House hearing were reporting from key cities that high officials of the chamber of commerce were stimulating letters, telegrams, and telephone messages to the Congress opposing Federal aid for schoolhouse construction. For this reason congressional mail is running 5 to 1 against Federal legislation for providing aid to the States for the building of school facilities. Yet as late as February 10, 1957, a Gallup poll, reported in the Washington Post, showed that American citizens, regardless of political affiliation or religion, were overwhelmingly in favor of this type of legislation; overall, the percentage was 76. Surely the Members of Congress, serving as they do their entire constituency and not a special group with unlimited financial resources to press their own case, will recognize that the letters received opposing Federal aid constitute a negligible, though vocal, percentage of their constituents, and that the vast majority of voters want Federal aid for schoolhouse construction.

Thirdly, there is an aspect of this testimony which is often overlooked but which, in my mind, may be the most important of all, though its effect may be more remote. We are now engaged in a struggle with communism, the most serious danger to our free enterprise system that has ever appeared. Millions of human beings in other parts of the world have fallen prey to the blandishments and false promises of totalitarian propaganda. Recent events in the Middle East show the possibility of our losing other hundreds of millions to the banner of communism. One of the greatest handicaps in the uncommitted areas is the feeling among those people, rightly or wrongly, that we are a materialistic Nation interested primarily in things and not in people. They wonder why a nation, which does not hesitate to spend $50 billion for roads, debates for years about spending $2 billion or $3 billion for schools. This attitude can be found all through the Middle East, Asia, and Africa, as anyone knows who talks with candid people in those areas as I have done. This attitude finds confirmation in fact when a large national organization in the United States favors spending Federal money for material things, such as roads, and opposes expenditures for intellectual and spiritual things, such as education—and let it not be said that schoolhouses, or the lack of them, have no influence on the intellectual, spiritual, and moral development of our children.

The strongest defense of free enterprise, and our free way of life generally, at home is increased opportunity for the development of the talents of our people. The strongest defense against communism abroad is the recognition among other peoples that we stand for human, not material, values. In both respects, the enactment of Federal legislation for schoolhouse construction will strengthen our position at home and abroad.

Those who love this land of freedom, which by the help of God has surpassed all other creations of the human mind and hand, will not be misled in their thinking by the revival of the numbers racket on schoolhouse construction. This attempt to deceive the people has already deprived hundreds of thousands of American children of their educational birthright and the Nation of inestimable knowledge and skills so sorely needed in the fullest development of our democratic society. It is gratifying to observe that many members of the local chambers of commerce are not in favor of this socially detrimental policy which, if continued, in the end will undermine public faith and confidence in the purposes and policies of American business. The inexorable pen of history will eulogize those who put the educational welfare of American children above self-interest. It will treat the others with the same impartial objectivity.

Sincerely yours,

EARL J. MCGRATH,
Executive Officer, Institute of Higher Education.

Birthday of Pope Pius XII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday of last week, March 2, 1957, Pope Pius XII celebrated his 81st birthday and the 18th anniversary of his election as head of the Catholic Church. I should like, at this time, to add a word of personal congratulations to the thousands of message he has received from all over the world.

His spiritual leadership has long been a source of strength to those countries resisting the threat of atheistic communism and of courage to those suppressed peoples who have been persecuted because of their faith and have been subjected to the evils of the Communist system.

His tireless devotion to the cause of peace and justice, and his scholarly pronouncements on matters dealing with a wide range of subjects both spiritual and temporal have long been a source of inspiration to the peoples of the world, regardless of their faith.

At this time, and in the name of the people of my district, among whom are thousands of Catholics, I pray that the world will, for many more years, have the benefit of his inspired leadership.

Is Force the Uppermost Idea in Foreign and Domestic Policies?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, as Members of Congress we get a good many letters whenever the Congress starts consideration of policies that affect the whole United States. Particularly is this true when a policy such as the Middle East resolution is being considered by Congress.

This letter calls attention to the phrase, "of using force as a basic American policy," in connection with the Middle East problem, and the writer asks whether the same idea is to be a basic policy as far as domestic civil rights are concerned.

This letter simply wants to know if, in the final analysis, force is to be the uppermost idea in foreign and domestic policies.

The letter follows:

FALLS CHURCH, VA.,
February 22, 1957.

Hon. WINT SMITH,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SMITH: In the President's February 20 Middle East message he stated: "If the United Nations once admits that international disputes can be settled by using force, then we will have destroyed the very foundation of the organization, and our best hope of establishing a real world order." On the other hand, the President has asked the Congress to endorse his proposal to use United States Armed Forces in the Middle East, if necessary.

He proclaims a gospel against the employment of force as an implement of sovereign authority in one instance. Yet, he is the first to hasten to propose and to promote the use of armed force to implement the resolutions of the United Nations, ostensibly organized as an international voluntary association of nations.

This is the birthday of George Washington, the Father of our Nation. It seems,

therefore, an appropriate time to ask if the real issue is the employment of force as the ultimate test of authority. Or, rather, is it simply a question of where that authority for the employment of force shall be vested?

That these foreign entanglements are but an extension of our progressive departure from individual strength and responsibility to reliance upon an American adaptation of the Marxian ideology is demonstrated by the chronological sequence of events over the past half century. At this hour this pattern has developed on the domestic front to the point that the constitutional sovereignty of the several States of the Union over their internal affairs is being suspended by capricious judicial decree. At this hour some men are being awarded civil rights at the expense of others who are to be denied the right of trial by jury and the right of freedom of expression. At this hour the Federal Government is about to assume intra-State police power in order to pursue interests in harmony with the United Nations which the President has endorsed as "our best hope for establishing a real world order."

Has not the time arrived, if we are the men and women that we pride ourselves to be, that we cease to insult the memory of our Founding Fathers; that we cease to degrade the American tradition; that we cease to deceive ourselves concerning our present status? Let us face up to the fact that we are no longer individually free, nor individually responsible as individuals or as a Nation. Let us frankly admit our national breach of faith with the spiritual authority of our forefathers that we may proceed openly to our just rewards. At least, the brotherhood of man could credit us with some claim to integrity.

Respectfully,

KENNETH H. HOOLEY.

Interest Rates on Veterans' Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a letter from one of my constituents, Mr. Paul R. Ringler, 8226 Huntington Road, Huntington Woods, Mich., regarding interest rates on veterans' housing:

ROSSIN & RINGLER,
Detroit, Mich., February 22, 1957.

Hon. WILLIAM BROOMFIELD,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: We read by the papers that the Committee on Veterans' Affairs has voted against raising the interest rates on veterans housing. This we realize will put the Veterans' Administration out of the housing business.

As builders, we realize this will eliminate a certain portion of the housing market which means, of course, our business will suffer. It is about time that the Veterans' Administration go out of the housing business. They have done a fair job to date but after 11 years this program should be washed out. The Federal Housing Administration, for a quarter of a century, has done a marvelous job and should be given every possible support by the Congress. If the Congress feels that veterans are still to be given some special benefits in obtaining housing then let those benefits be administered by the Federal Housing Administration.

It has been our feeling for years that to have two agencies doing the same job in competition with each other was a waste of the taxpayer's money and certainly in view of the king size budget presented this year, any effort to consolidate governmental activities should be seriously considered.

Very truly yours,

PAUL L. RINGLER,
Huntington Woods, Mich.

Progressive Tax Reductions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, undoubtedly, many Members of Congress are receiving letters from businessmen throughout the country asking Congress' action to reduce Federal expenditures to an extent that will assure a balanced budget for the 1958 fiscal year and permit starting equitable progressive tax reductions which these businessmen consider essential to the country's welfare.

I received such a letter from Mr. Frank D. Stranahan, cochairman of the Champion Spark Plug Co., of Toledo, Ohio.

In reviewing the rise of quick tax amortization certificates, by Mr. Stranahan's company, I found that in September 1952 the Champion Spark Plug Co. received a $420,000 certificate authorizing a 65 percent amortization in 5 years. This certificate was for the acquisition of machinery in the Toledo plant of the company. In January 1953 this same company received a $2,177,000 certificate providing for a 55 percent depreciation in 5 years on machinery and buildings required for the company's Cambridge, Ohio, plant.

It seems to me that companies which have been the beneficiaries of quick tax-amortization certificates are not in good graces asking for consideration to give them progressive tax reductions. They have been using devices which have diverted the public's tax money from the Public Treasury into the buildings, machinery, and facilities which they have acquired in this way.

Following is a letter which I have received from Mr. Stranahan, cochairman of the Champion Spark Plug Co., and the reply which I have addressed to him this date:

CHAMPION SPARK PLUG CO.,
Toledo, Ohio, February 21, 1957.

Congressman CHARLES A. VANIK,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN VANIK: Businessmen all over the country, through the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Manufacturers' Association, also their affiliated State and civic organizations, ask and expect your best cooperation in bringing about a sizable reduction in Federal expenditures that will both assure a balanced budget for the 1958 fiscal year and permit starting equitable progressive tax reductions so highly essential to our country's welfare.

Assurances are requested that you are in accord with this program and will do your utmost to bring about in the present session of Congress through favorable action on the Hoover recommendations and the elimination of all Federal expenditures that are not absolutely essential to the fiscal year of 1958.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK D. STRANAHAN,
Cochairman.

MARCH 5, 1957.

Mr. FRANK D. STRANAHAN,
Cochairman, Champion Spark Plug Co., Toledo, Ohio.

DEAR MR. STRANAHAN: Thank you for your letter of February 21, 1957, requesting my cooperation in bringing about a sizable reduction in Federal expenditures that will assure both a balanced budget for the 1958 fiscal year and permit starting equitable progressive tax reductions so highly essential to our country's welfare.

I wonder whether the progressive tax reductions which you urge are as essential to our country's welfare as they are to the welfare of your company and its stockholders. In reviewing the record of the Office of Defense Mobilization, I note with interest that in September 1952 your Toledo plant was granted a quick amortization certificate in the sum of $420,000 authorizing 65 percent depreciation in 5 years on the purchase of machinery. In January 1953 I note that your company also was authorized a $2,177,000 quick amortization certificate for the purchase of machinery and buildings for your Cambridge, Ohio, plant. This certificate authorized 55 percent depreciation in 5 years.

It seems to me that this country would be closer to a reduction in national debt and in our income taxes if companies like your own had not relied upon the use of quick tax writeoffs in the construction of production facilities. The use of these writeoffs was discriminatory to your competitors and diverted a considerable portion of your taxable income from the Federal Treasury to the construction of your company's expanding facilities.

It is estimated that somewhere between $20 billion and $32 billion have escaped the Public Treasury in this way. If this sum of money had been paid into the National Treasury through the payment of income taxes on existing schedules, the national debt would have been monumentally reduced.

It seems to me that it would be good Federal housekeeping to maintain current tax rates until the national debt is reduced to more tolerable proportions. You may be sure that I will do everything in my power to resist the further use of quick tax writeoffs which your company has found so useful. In addition, I will resist corporate tax reductions until the Government can recoup some of its tax losses on the quick tax amortization device.

Sincerely,

CHARLES A. VANIK,
Member of Congress.

Research and Development in Jeopardy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Army-Navy-Air Force Journal of March 2, 1957:

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN JEOPARDY?

The services and industry, which together make up the defense team, must be wary of

the surprising decision announced this week by Secretary Charles E. Wilson to merge the Offices of the Assistant Secretaries of Defense for Research and Development and Engineering. In the consolidation, engineering came out on top—at least for the present. This of course, could be the happenstance of the fact that the chief of Research and Development, Dr. Clifford C. Furnas, had resigned his post to return to duties as the Chancellor of the University of Buffalo, and that the Chief of Engineering, Mr. Frank D. Newbury, who has valuable Pentagon experience, is staying on.

Whatever the personalities involved, there will be proper concern over the implications of Mr. Wilson's action. Noteworthy is the fact that at the time the Hoover Commission recommendations were made public last spring, it was Mr. Wilson himself who opposed the recommendation that the two Assistant Secretariats be merged. He said that there was proper work for each official. What changed Mr. Wilson's mind is not known.

That there is reason for alarm over the apparent downgrading of Research and Development is evident. One need only recall the appeal by Gen. Nathan F. Twining, United States Air Force, Chief of Staff, for a stepped-up Research and Development effort following his return from a visit to Russia last year. Instead, the Air Force Research and Development effort is being reduced. The Army has said that its civilian Research and Development Director should be an Assistant Secretary; presumably Mr. Wilson's new order will thwart that objective.

The recent jet-age conference of the Air Force Association was featured by repeated calls for more intensified Research and Development efforts. Dr. Edward Teller, the brilliant thermonuclear physicist, issued the challenging statement that this Nation's task now was not to try to stay ahead of the Russians in science, but rather to try and recapture the lead.

It could very well be that Mr. Wilson's decision to abolish the Research and Development post at the Pentagon does not mean necessarily a further curtailment of research and development expenditures and efforts. Let us hope so. But the fear that is being voiced in the services and in industry is justified and understandable. There is wonder why Mr. Wilson, who has indicated that he may be leaving office this year, did not choose to leave this important decision for his successor, particularly since he himself declined for so long a time to take action on the Hoover Commission recommendation.

It Had Better Be Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Gerald W. Johnson, which appeared in the New Republic of March 4, 1957:

THE SUPERFICIAL ASPECT: IT HAD BETTER BE GOOD

As these words are written the jam into which we have worked ourselves in the Middle East seems to be so critical that silence is imposed upon the most doubtful. There is nothing to do now but support the President and the Secretary of State in anything they do, short of rank insanity. All parties to the dispute should be given to understand that, whatever may be our differences among ourselves, we are prepared to prove that the official utterances of the United States are not idle words, even when the policy they announce seems less than ideal.

However, judgment is merely reserved, not yielded. At the proper time an accounting will be exacted. If the present negotiations are conducted with skill and success, the accounting may be little more than a formality; otherwise, it will be serious indeed.

The completely committed Zionists in this country are a small minority—highly vocal, to be sure, but not numerous. At present, however, the merits and demerits of Zionism are irrelevant.

The relevant facts are that Israel is a civilized country, friendly to the United States, and firmly committed to the Western ideal of political liberty. It is facing a coalition of backward countries with nothing but contempt for our way of life, and incited to hostility by the great power that is our avowed enemy and the only serious threat to our national survival.

The complicated diplomacy of the past 4 years has now placed us in such a position that many foreign observers are drawing inferences extremely embarrassing to us. With apparent justification they have decided that we are allowing ourselves to be used as a catspaw by the Arabs and the Communists, in their scheme to eliminate Israel.

This is an intolerable position for a great, independent nation, and the diplomacy that has led us into it certainly cannot be described as brilliant.

It is an utterly false position. No rational man will accuse Mr. Dulles of deliberately contriving to make the United States the ally of slave-traders and the Communists, even in the superficial aspect, much less in solid reality. It appears that he has simply been out-maneuvered, at least so far.

It is conceivable that this is a deceptive appearance. It is conceivable that by some brilliant stroke within the next few days Mr. Dulles will retrieve the position, restore the true relations and leave his antagonists baffled and humiliated. It is conceivable, but do you really believe it?

His critics, in fairness, must give him time. More, they must be prepared, if he pulls it off, to offer him abject apologies, perhaps even to accept Eisenhower's estimate of him as the greatest Secretary of State in history.

But, so much being stipulated, his critics will have a right to demand his resignation if he doesn't pull it off. This has no reference to the Zionists. Non-Jewish America has no intention of being caught aiding and abetting the destruction of any liberty-loving nation, Israel included. We have no taste for even appearing to countenance such a crime. So diplomacy that ends by putting us in such a position that the scornful can accuse us of intriguing with the criminals is appallingly incompetent diplomacy; and in the present state of the world there is no nation which can afford to tolerate incompetent diplomacy.

The President has given the wild turkeys of Georgia a reprieve by hastening back to Washington. Evidently he has at last awakened to the seriousness of the situation. The country is relieved, for during the war he gained a reputation as a master-hand at composing disputes and pouring oil on troubled waters. He will need all his skill and ingenuity to straighten out this mess with credit to the United States.

But even if he succeeds, he will be asked some questions, and if he doesn't succeed the questions will become very searching indeed. The direction in which Mr. Dulles' diplomacy was taking us has been apparent to acute observers for a long time and their objections have been strong. But hitherto the President has met them with resentment.

Very well. If the fat is now in the fire, the blistering will not be monopolized by Dulles; the man who put him in office and kept him in office in the face of mounting criticism cannot escape his share. The Secretary of State is an agent of the President, and the principal is responsible for the acts of his agent. If the present snarl eventuates in anything short of a brilliant, unmistakable triumph of the administration, responsibility for getting us into the snarl will remain a heavy burden, which cannot be loaded entirely on the shoulders of the Secretary of State.

The Case for the Statehood Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the people of my State—the last to enter the Union—have always been sympathetic to the cause of statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. The vivid memories Arizona's older generation have concerning our long fight to gain statehood have given us a special insight into the ambitions and hopes of the citizens of these two Territories.

Again, as in previous years, it is easy to predict that Arizona's Senators and Representatives—2 Democrats and 2 Republicans—will vote unanimously for the statehood bills presented to this Congress.

Typical of the Arizona point of view is the following editorial which appeared last Saturday, March 2, in the independent Arizona Daily Star, of Tucson:

HAWAII AND ALASKA AS STATES

When Arizona celebrated its 45th birthday as a State, it brought back some memories of its long struggle to attain that status, and their connection with the efforts of Hawaii and Alaska to achieve a similar ambition.

Just as warnings were sounded in the years previous to 1912 about the danger and the futility of Arizona being allowed to become a State, so are warnings being sounded today about Hawaii. Just as Arizona's pleas were ridiculed, so today are Hawaii's. What nonsense to allow a State with so few people, and most of them Mexicans, to be allowed to become a State.

New Mexico enjoyed much the same position Alaska does today. However, there was this difference. Efforts were made to admit New Mexico and Arizona as one State. That would not be practical in the case of Hawaii and Alaska, but Arizona had to rise up and fight that proposal.

When Arizona did become a State, it did so in company with New Mexico, and they were the last States to achieve the status. The dire forebodings made at that time have not come to pass. Both new States have furnished, on the whole, level-headed Senators and Representatives. Arizona, in its vote for President, has always backed the winner.

Arizona was spanked by President Taft and had its status of statehood delayed, because the new constitution provided for the recall of judges. That was too much for a distinguished judge like President Taft. He vetoed the bill passed by Congress. Arizona had to drop that clause from its constitution, whereupon a new bill went through Congress and was signed by the President.

Immediately afterward Arizona, by a vote of the people, put the recall of judges back into its constitution. Moreover, Arizona's constitution to this day contains the almost unheard-of provisions for "advisory" recalls of its Representatives and Members of Con-

gress. It has many other provisions which today seem a bit ridiculous, but which in 1912 represented the best progressive thinking.

Just as our Union has survived the admission of the dangerous States of Arizona and New Mexico, so it will survive the admission of Hawaii and Alaska. Just as Arizona and New Mexico finally had to work together to win statehood, and to muster enough political influence among the Members of Congress, so the chances are that Hawaii and Alaska will have to do the same thing.

The trend of events forecasts rapidly increasing development in both Hawaii and Alaska to justify their admission to the Union as States. Arizona can sympathize with their aspirations and the justice of their cause.

Puerto Ricans—Americans

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, under permission obtained by the Resident Commissioner, the Honorable Fernós-Isern, of Puerto Rico, for the Members to extend their remarks, I join with my colleagues in the tribute paid to the able and distinguished Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern and to the Puerto Rican people.

Hawaii is proud of the several thousand Puerto Ricans who have made a very distinct contribution to the economy of Hawaii. Our transplanted Puerto Ricans have also added to our cultural and political life.

In the true tradition of the Hawaiian, Puerto Ricans have been integrated into the cosmopolitan community of peoples that is Hawaii. Their volatile natures, their gracious and pleasing personalities, their industry and fortitude, have won for them the admiration and friendship of the many cultures who share in the development of the melting pot blended together by the Hawaiian.

Hawaii is very glad to have the Puerto Ricans participating in the building of the institutions by which the paradise of the Pacific has won the respect and admiration of all who know her. We expect still greater attainments by the people whom Puerto Rico has sent to us.

The celebration of Friendship Day, illustrating as it does the basic American sense of fair play and justice, increases the faith and nurtures the hope of the people of Hawaii in statehood for Hawaii. Though Puerto Rico was described as being appertinent to but not a part of the United States, America demonstrated her belief in democracy and showed that she did not believe in half measures for any people by the granting of full citizenship to the Puerto Ricans just 40 years ago on March 2. The people of Hawaii and Alaska are confident that Hawaii and Alaska will have the last step of an incorporated Territory accomplished in the very near future by their admission as States of the Union.

It is a privilege and a pleasure to congratulate the people of Puerto Rico on their remarkable progress over the last 40 years, and as an American on this occasion to be proud to be an American.

Chairman Carl Durham, of the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Discussed the Building of Atomic Power Reactors Over the NBC–TV Network, February 19, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on February 19, 1957, over the NBC–TV network, our distinguished colleague, Representative CARL DURHAM, of North Carolina, chairman of the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, discussed the building of atomic power reactors. During the course of the discussion, Chairman DURHAM answered questions by Messrs. Garroway and Blair, of the NBC–TV network staff.

In view of this timely discussion of such an important subject, I hope that every Member of Congress will take the time to read the following account of this interesting TV discussion:

On the television screen, Dave Garroway was seen in closeup seated at his regular desk. The camera moved back to medium distance while Frank Blair joined Dave Garroway, seating himself beside Dave at his desk. Together they turned to the monitor screen behind them where the Congressman appeared in closeup. From time to time during the interview, the Congressman was seen on full screen closeup.

"Less than 90 minutes from now, a Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy will open important public hearings in Washington. The committee wants to know how this country is doing in harnessing the atom for peacetime purposes.

"Presiding will be Democratic Representative CARL DURHAM, of North Carolina, the chairman of the joint committee. Representative DURHAM has stopped by in our Washington studio this morning to answer a few questions on the subject from Frank and myself.

"Are you there, Mr. Congressman?"

Congressman DURHAM: "Yes; I am here, Dave."

Mr. Garroway: "There you are, right there. Well, in 1954, Congress decided that the peacetime use of nuclear power should be developed by a partnership of Government and private industry. Now what does that mean?"

Congressman DURHAM: "Well, it is rather broad. The 1954 act was passed, of course, to primarily assist private industry to get into the business of developing the atomic energy field for humanity, and for the benefit of the whole country."

Mr. Garroway: "I see."

Congressman DURHAM: "The act, of course, is rather broad. It covers all fields and all aspects of the atomic energy industry."

Mr. Garroway: "Well, now, sir, the taxpayer, through the Government, of course, spent tens of billions of dollars to discover the secrets of the atom. Why did Congress decide to share these expensive secrets, instead of having the Government make the profits which could be expected in the future?"

Congressman DURHAM: "Well, I think, if you look back to the 1946 act, which I was one of the charter members on the committee, that was completely owned and held by the Government, as you probably know. The Congress, of course, decided, and the country, that we had done a lot of research and development in this field, which, of course, was—could be a benefit to human beings in the field of agriculture, medicine, and many other fields, industry primarily—and so Congress decided that it was in the best interest of the people to let them share in this investment, since they had themselves made the investment from tax sources."

Mr. Garroway: "I see. Frank Blair has a question for you, Mr. DURHAM."

Mr. Blair: "Good morning, Congressman."

Congressman DURHAM: "Good morning."

Mr. Blair: "A recent survey by Nucleonics Magazine shows that most industrial leaders in four foreign countries which were surveyed, feel that Britain is ahead of us in harnessing the atom for peacetime use. Now, is Britain ahead of us to the best of your knowledge?"

Congressman DURHAM: "Well, I think our program is much broader than the British. I've visited Calder Hall myself and seen the reactors. The British were in this kind of a position; of course, as we all know, the power situation and the need for it was much greater in Britain than it was in this country. It's not still yet competitive in this country. We're still developing and trying to develop reactors, of course, which will bring the cost of power down to a level where we can compete. Our local situation is entirely different, so I am definitely of the opinion that the British are not ahead in this field of atomic energy."

Mr. Blair: "Now, in the struggle to win the allegiance of the neutral nations, many of them poor in coal and oil, as you've stated, much may depend on whether the East or the West is first able to deliver atomic-power generating plants. Do you know if the Russians are capable of delivering such a plant while maybe we're still perfecting our test models?"

Congressman DURHAM: "Well, we don't have very much information on the Russians, of course. I don't think at the present time, from what information I can secure, and the best information we can secure, that they are anywhere near the point of development that we are in this country, I'm sure of that."

Mr. Garroway: "Congressman, because we are so relatively rich in coal and oil, while other nations like Britain and France are poor in such resources, are we not likely to fall behind because our efforts are not spurred by sheer need and poverty?"

Congressman DURHAM: "Well, I think not. I think we have a very vigorous reactor program in this country at the present time. It's one that covers, not just one reactor like the British have built, and, of course, we'll be able to sell to those countries where the need is there. I, yesterday, just talked to the Italian representative from his country, who is in need of power just like the British are, and, of course, they're looking around, and it would mean to our interest of this country, I think, much, if we can develop a reactor than we can sell abroad, and that's what we are primarily endeavoring to do at the present time."

Mr. Garroway: "Well, sir, there's likely to be a proposal to turn over peacetime development of atomic energy to a Government agency, sort of a nationwide TVA. What chance do you see for legislation of that type?"

Congressman DURHAM: "I don't think there's any chance whatever. There's no—in my opinion, there's no member of the committee that's in favor of such a program. I think that we are developing this primarily for—we're trying to develop reactors—where industry can come in and look at them and build a reactor for any company or any power company in the country that desires it, whether it's a cooperative, or whether it's a public power or whatever it might be, in the interest of development."

Mr. Garroway: "How long before we'll be using the maximum number of watts from atomic-energy stations to be built in this country?"

Congressman DURHAM: "Well, we're using some at the present time. I had the pleasure last week, a week ago last, of turning on the reactor up at Argonne, which, as you know, produces power. It produces all the power for that laboratory that we have there. I think that within the next 5 or 10 years you're going to see reactors in many parts of this country producing power."

Mr. Blair: "Do you think there will be many Government restrictions and Government supervision over industry's building and maintaining these plants?"

Congressman DURHAM: Oh, I don't think so. I think at the present time we have access permits. They can come in here to the Commission and get all the information they want at the present time in building a reactor. There's very little restriction now in building a reactor."

Mr. Garroway: "Do you have any idea how big these powerplants will be?"

Congressman DURHAM: "Oh, they'll vary in different size, I think, according to the local communities, just like your steam plants do. You may have some up to 500,000 kilowatts; then you may have lesser whatever the demand. I think that will determine to a large degree, what size reactor will be built."

Mr. Garroway: "But they only will service one community, generally?"

Congressman DURHAM: "Generally, I'd say so."

Mr. Garroway: "Thank you very much, Mr. Congressman, for talking with us this morning."

Congressman DURHAM: Thank you. I've enjoyed it very much."

(The camera closed in to show Dave Garroway on full screen closeup.)

Mr. Garroway: "Thank you Congressman DURHAM, who goes to his committee meeting in a few minutes."

Statement of Hon. Edward J. Robeson, Jr., Before the Celler Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, in Opposition to H. R. 2145 and Related Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, on February 26, 1957, our colleague, Hon. ED ROBESON, JR., of Virginia, appeared before the Celler subcommittee in opposition to the pending civil rights bills. Mr. ROBESON'S presentation before that subcommittee was clear and to the point, and, in my opinion, should be read by every Member of this body. Therefore, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include herewith the text of Mr. ROBESON'S statement:

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. ROBESON, JR., DEMOCRAT, OF VIRGINIA, BEFORE THE CELLER SUBCOMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES APPEARING IN OPPOSITION TO THE CIVIL-RIGHTS LEGISLATION PENDING BEFORE SAID SUBCOMMITTEE ON FEBRUARY 26, 1957

Mr. Chairman, I appear before this committee today in opposition to the legislation now under discussion. The vast majority of the citizens I represent are opposed to this legislation. They feel that it is an unjustified invasion by the Federal Government of rights reserved to them and the State of Virginia by the Federal Constitution.

It is my opinion, and in fact my conviction, that the proposed legislation which this committee is now considering, if enacted, will violate provisions of the Constitution of the United States. It has been and is now my purpose to uphold the Constitution of the United States. I am further obligated in this respect by my oath of office.

Located in the First Congressional District of Virginia which I have the honor to represent are Jamestown, Williamsburg, Yorktown, and many other historic landmarks of this country's early history. My home on the James River is nearby and I have on many occasions been present with others who gathered to commemorate events of great significance to all Americans.

Love of liberty and respect of the rights of mankind are inherent in the nature of the people of Virginia. Virginians will not willingly relinquish the rights guaranted to them by the Constitution of Virginia or by the Constitution of the United States.

It is also my opinion that an impartial and objective investigation will show conclusively that there is no basis of fact sufficient to warrant Federal legislation such as is proposed. The effect of Federal implementation can be reasonably expected to bring about serious adverse influences which will make impossible continuation of the present sympathetic, friendly, and generally satisfactory relations between the white and the colored races which now prevail, particularly in the Southern States.

Recorded human history gives no comparable accomplishment of the development of human relationships in which the descendants of primitive-type people have been integrated to such a degree by another race whose forebears had for many centuries enjoyed a high degree of economic, cultural, and religious background. May I emphasize that our people of both races worship God in the same faith and in like manner, speak the same language, and have in general the same customs.

Particularly in Virginia and other Southern States, they live and work together as friends and neighbors with mutual respect and regard. As basically Christian people, we encounter an almost unbelievable minimum of difficulty because of the inherent obstacle of racial characteristics.

Like many citizens whose forebears for generations have lived in the favored Southland of our great country, I am unable to consider the relationships of the two races in generalities based on the racial differences. Rather, people of the Negro race are to me individuals, and for many of them from infancy to the present day I have an abiding, affectionate regard and a sense of responsibility toward their well-being and happiness.

My concern is primarily for these Negro citizens whose well-being depends to so great an extent upon the good will of the white citizens who presently are their friends and neighbors.

For many years prior to my election to Congress, on May 2, 1950, as an industrial executive in responsible charge of personnel administration, industrial relations and public relations with one of the world's foremost shipbuilding organizations, much of my time and effort was directed toward establishing and maintaining harmonious relationships in industry and the community. I can, I hope with becoming modesty, admit to recognized competency in the field of human relationships, not only in industry but in their broader aspects.

In my home area of Virginia the population ratio is approximately 25 percent Negro. For many years the company with whom I was associated and other employers have maintained a similar employment ratio. The conditions of work, rates of pay, and employee benefits are applicable to all employees alike.

There has never been a work stoppage or race friction in this shipyard, and the white and colored citizens have worked harmoniously together on the same jobs and lived in the same communities. There are four large hospitals in this area. Three accept both white and Negro patients. One, the Whittaker Memorial Hospital in Newport News, is entirely managed, staffed and operated by Negroes for Negro patients. I know of no other such hospital.

There are competent Negro citizens engaged in the numerous professions. Many profitable businesses are operated by Negroes. Some of these are patronized by and are dependent on white customers. To illustrate, perhaps the most popular barbershop is Negro operated and is located in the main business section near the largest bank.

Our Negro citizens have their own churches, bank and places of amusement and entertainment. The schools, of which they are justly proud, have 100 percent Negro principals and faculties.

The Huntington High School for Negroes is a top-ranking high school with nearly 3,000 students. They have a modern school building and modern facilities, a floodlighted stadium, large gymnasium and other facilities beyond what less modern white high school in this area now have. There has never been any race friction among our school children or population.

This is no unusual picture for many and perhaps most localities in the Southern States. However, you may be assured that the legislation now being considered, together with the implementation of the recent Supreme Court decision, will relegate such outstanding accomplishments to the more glorious past history of our people. It will be impossible to continue the race relationship upon which such society as I have described must rest.

There is nothing new in the current effort to persuade minority segments of a society to accept the illusion presented by political and Government leaders to bring through man-made law and courts, or military enforcement, a better way of life. Inevitably and with certainty, disasters overtake them. I also have concern that the proposed legislation is but another step which can and will bring us nearer to the point foreseen 120 years ago by Abraham Lincoln when he said in a speech at Springfield, Ill., on January 27, 1837:

"At what point, then, is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reaches us it must spring up among us; it cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen we must live through all time, or die by suicide."

Tennessee Medal of Honor Holder Honored Posthumously in Commissioning of New Navy Destroyer Escort

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROSS BASS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to have included in the RECORD the speech delivered by the Honorable J. CARLTON LOSER on the occasion of the commissioning of the new Navy destroyer escort the U. S. S. *John Willis* at Philadelphia on February 21. The U. S. S. *John Willis* is a fitting memorial to the unparalleled gallantry of John Willis of Nashville, a member of the Navy Medical Corps, whose deeds of valor on Iwo Jima have earned for him the undying gratitude of the Nation as epitomized in the Congressional Medal of Honor.

The speech is as follows:

Admiral McLean, Mrs. Duke, distinguished guests, officers and members of the crew, ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply grateful for the honor you have done me by inviting me to say a few words on this very significant occasion. And I am aware, as you are, that words are weak and only deeds and acts are great.

As we assemble here today to commission this new destroyer escort we are aware of and can sense the stirring overtones of history; the thrilling undertones of gallantry and heroism; some muted notes of sorrow and sadness; and the challenging call to duty of our country.

Across the stern of this new unit of the greatest Navy in the world is the name U. S. S. *John Willis*. In giving his name to this new destroyer escort, the Navy and the Nation do fitting honor to this brave Navy man, who, in going far beyond the call of duty, exemplified and reemphasized the treasured traditions of the United States Navy. His gallantry and sacrifice shall, through the years be cherished by the people of this great Nation as hallowed memories.

John Harlan Willis was a pharmacist mate first class who was assigned to duty with the United States Marine Corps in their assault on Iwo Jima. On February 28, 1945, while acting as platoon corpsman with the 3d Battalion, 27th Marines, 5th Marine Division he was in action under heavy artillery and mortar fire from the enemy. Without regard for his own safety, John Willis administered first aid to the many marines wounded during the furious close-in fighting until he himself was struck by shrapnel and was ordered back to the battle aid station. Without waiting for official medical release, he quickly returned to his company and during a savage hand-to-hand enemy counterattack daringly advanced to the extreme front lines under mortar and sniper fire to aid a marine lying wounded in a shell hole. Completely unmindful of his own danger as the Japanese intensified their attack, Willis calmly continued to administer blood plasma to his patient, promptly returning the first hostile grenade which landed in the shell hole while he was working and hurling back seven more in quick succession before the ninth one exploded in his hand and instantly killed him. By his great personal valor in serving others at the sacrifice of his own life, he inspired his companions, although terrifically outnumbered, to launch a fiercely determined attack and repulse the enemy force.

These are the thrilling undertones of gallantry and heroism; these are the muted notes of sorrow and sadness; here is the challenging call to duty in the service of our country so fully answered.

Even with this brief recital of events, I am sure that you will agree with me when I said in the beginning that words are weak and only deeds and acts are great.

This occasion is significant also because it underscores the continuing progress being made by the United States Navy to better serve the Nation in its program of national defense.

The U. S. S. *John Willis* is one of the several new destroyer escorts. Others will follow at intervals. And in other shipyards around our coastline naval craft of other classifications are being constructed, launched, given shakedown cruises, and taking their places in a magnificent fleet in near and remote areas of the world.

It is essential that we continue to build, because the great battle in which John Willis and thousands of others have died has not yet been won. Fervently we hope and pray that the free world can win that battle without another shot being fired. Ardently we plan, confer, and study in a zealous quest for a stabilized peace built on law and order and decency and justice.

We must continue that search for a peaceful solution of the problems that are rooted so deeply in the bloodsoaked soil of a fearful and frustrated world. We must press with unabated ardor toward the goal of a world in which the dignity of man once more is a sacred thing, and in which all men may look up to God rather than down to the dictators of a totalitarian state.

But until such time as the light of real brotherhood and mutual respect breaks through the overcast of suspicion, hatred, and deceit, we must see to it that our aims, ideals, and aspirations for peace are backed by strength on the sea, the land, and in the air.

The United States has become the arsenal of the free world. Current commitments undertaken by the United States include eight treaties involving 42 nations and military assistant agreements with 20 additional nations. Although military assistance agreements do not bind the United States to go to war, there is a strong moral obligation to do so. Fulfillment of the terms of all these treaties is dependent upon free use of the seas. At the present time, 62 nations, over one-half of the world's land area, and over one-half of the world's population, depend upon seapower.

We are not alone in knowing that our need for a Navy is greater than ever. The Soviets know this. After analyzing the activities of World War II the Russians saw that much of the world depended on our seaborne assistance to survive the great holocaust. She knew that if the United States were to have any allies, we must control the seas.

We have to have our ships go from here to Europe, and reach Europe, and go from here to Japan, and reach Japan, and Formosa, and other allies. If we couldn't move by sea, we would be stalled right back here in the United States and we couldn't help anybody. All we could do would be to stay within the waters of the United States and wait for the attacks to come to us. The war would be fought in and over our own country.

The U. S. S. *John Willis* will take her place on the battleline with other ships or her class to seek out and destroy the enemy. She is especially made for this purpose and with the valor of her namesake for inspiration, I know she will not fail. Not many yards from where we now are, in this same shipyard, the battleship *Tennessee* is resting after long years of valiant service. She has made us proud of her record and the great State for which she was named. Now again the spirit of Tennessee will venture forth again with the memory of one of its valiant sons, John Willis.

So let us wish godspeed to this fleet and sturdy vessel. As she puts forth to sea, let us cherish the hope that always her officers and crew shall be inspired and upheld by the challenge that comes like a clarion call from the sovereign State of Tennessee and the battle scored sands of Iwo Jima.

Negro Democrats or Dimocrats—Which?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the significance of the shift in the Negro vote from the Democratic Party during the 1956 elections, especially in the South has apparently been ignored or not properly analyzed by many leaders in that area. The following editorial from the Carolina Times, Durham, N. C., dated February 16, 1957, is an excellent case in point. A continuance of this attitude by Democrats in Southern States will find it further "protest Negro votes" going into the Republican column in future elections, not that Republicans in those areas are any better on the "race question" but because of the dominant and more responsible position Democrats hold there. The Negro voter in the South, regardless of past economic benefits derived from Democratic policies is being more and more influenced by the practices of local political leadership.

The article follows:

NEGRO DEMOCRATS OR DIMOCRATS—WHICH?

Last week, Gov. Luther Hodges was inaugurated for his second term as the chief executive of North Carolina. The inaugural program included the usual mammoth parade, ball, swearing-in, and other appendages that go with occasions of this kind. As usual, Negro Democrats of the State received no official recognition and got none from the beginning of the inaugural program to the end. About the closest any representative of the race came to officially participating in the affair was that of the three Negro State college bands from North Carolina College at Durham, A. & T. College at Greensboro, and Winston-Salem Teachers College at Winston-Salem.

What went on in the minds of these young Negro members of the bands as they marched in that parade would probably be a revelation to Governor Hodges and other State officials. The Governor has persistently kicked Negroes around since the beginning of his first administration, and we suspect the thinking members of the bands considered it more of a dishonor than an honor to march in his inaugural parade, although it might be good for one or two new buildings on their college campuses.

As we see it, there is no such animal as a Negro Democrat in North Carolina but rater Negro "Dimocrats" who are expected by officials of the party in this State to exercise canine loyalty, vote the Democratic ticket in any and all elections and then dim out of the picture on all other important

occasions, especially when partronage and jobs are being handed out.

We think we see on the political horizon a cloud now about the size of a man's hand but definitely growing larger each hour. We think we see an end to the grand and glorious banquet the Democratic Party has had in this State when its loyal Negro members get only the crumbs from the table that are handed out the back door. Governor Hodges' inaugural parade is probably the last one in which even a Negro State college band will participate without a murmur of protest being heard from its members and other Negro sources in this State. All three of the Negro bands could have more befittingly joined in playing a requiem to a dying era than a march in the Governor's inaugural parade.

There is a storm arising. Negro voters in * * * age. They are tired of being "Dimocrats." They see their children graduating from schools and colleges only to have the door of job opportunities in city halls, courthouses, and even post offices, slammed in their faces by the Democratic Party in this State. They see themselves on the outside of party patronage. They are tired of being "Dimocrats." They will either be full-fledged Democrats, participating in all of party affairs from top to bottom, or the Democratic Party in this State can kiss their votes goodbye.

Thinking Negroes are well aware that the present crop of Republican officials in North Carolina are no better than a majority of the Democratic Party officials—probably not as good. They believe, however, that the Republican Parfty has a potential of producing better timber at the top. They have about reached the conclusion that the situation certainly cannot be too harmful, if at all. In other words, the Democratic Party in this State has given the Negro voter little or nothing to lose by switching his vote.

Unless there is a great change in Democratic Party policies in North Carolina, the gathering storm is certain to reach greater and greater proportions by 1960. This, plus the tendency on the part of thousands of young intelligent white southerners who are tired of having their party affiliation picked out for them before birth, may eventually mean the end of the one party system in North Carolina. For sure the day of the Negro "Dimocrat" is about over. Either the Negro will be a Democrat, or he will seek a berth under some other party banner.

Tribute to Harold E. Talbott

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker and distinguished colleagues, yesterday I had the high honor of paying my last respects to an old friend of mine at his funeral in New York City. This was Harold E. Talbott, an individual whom I consider to be one of the greatest Americans of this age.

Harold E. Talbott passed from this earth on Saturday, March 2, but Mr. Speaker, his memory will remain dear in our hearts forever. He was a selfless individual who loved his country as dearly as he loved his own life. Our Nation's welfare and security was his lifelong concern, and I believe that no single American did more to foster national defense and perpetuate the American system of democracy during the 20th century than did our deceased brother, Harold E. Talbott.

Here, Mr. Speaker, was a man of extraordinary foresight and energy. From an early age, much like Gen. Billy Mitchell, he foresaw the significance of a heavier-than-air craft and hence the inevitable and forthcoming age of airpower. He devoted much of his entire life to the development of the aircraft for the dual purpose of serving Americans and protecting them from foreign aggressors who would destroy our way of life.

During the early part of this century, Harold E. Talbott served with the Dayton Wright Airplane Co. when the airplane was indeed in its infancy. During those days, Mr. Speaker, it was only courage, determination, and an ardent love for progress that enabled the first men on earth to rise from the ground in an aircraft. Harold E. Talbott will go down in history along with the Wright Brothers as one of the first pioneers in aviation.

In the field of civic and public affairs, Mr. Talbott always placed the interests of this Nation above his own personal affairs. This was demonstrated during the frequent times that he would neglect, even for several years at a time, his personal business interests in order to serve his country in Government. During one of those tenures, as every Member of this body knows, he was extremely instrumental in building the most powerful Air Force on earth while honorably serving as Secretary of that branch of the military.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me add this: The death of Harold E. Talbott inflicted a tremendous loss to this Nation, and he will be missed but long remembered. And the good that he did will pass on from one generation to another.

Sanctions for Israel, Bombers for Arabia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an article from I. F. Stone's weekly of February 25, 1957, entitled "Sanctions for Israel, Bombers for Arabia."

The article follows:

SANCTIONS FOR ISRAEL, BOMBERS FOR ARABIA

In the Senate the other day HUMPHREY of Minnesota, said the pervading atmosphere in Washington was "characterized by the administration's insistence upon using ambiguous and generalized appeals, dramatically presented by the President and self-righteously defended by the Secretary of State." Though Senator HUMPHREY was talking of the way the Mideast resolution had been presented, he could have been describing the TV appearance in which Mr. Eisenhower summoned Israel to surrender or face sanctions.

The President's general moral propositions were unassailable, but his presentation of the facts were inadequate. The public and perhaps the President himself are not getting a candid picture of what we really have been doing in the Middle Eastern crisis. I want to tell a documented story no newspaper had yet printed as we went to press on the morning of Thursday, February 21, to illustrate just how uninformed Secretary of State Dulles manages to keep the country.

REMEMBER THE DESERT IMPASSIBLE TO TANKS?

The story begins a year ago February 16 when the Liberian-flag freighter *James Monroe*, in Brooklyn, was discovered to be loading 18 M–41 Walker Bulldog tanks for Saudi Arabia. The news created an uproar and brought about a Senate investigation because the administration had been refusing requests for arms from Israel on the ground that it was seeking to prevent an arms race in the area. Secretary Dulles was summoned before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. His efforts to explain were ingenious. When Senator SMITH of New Jersey, asked why "if we send tanks to Saudi Arabia" we should not send corresponding equipment to Israel, Mr. Dulles replied that the State Department did not think "the problem of Israel and its Arab neighbors" involved "because things like tanks cannot get across the desert." Apparently Mr. Dulles had never heard of El Alamein.

Now imagine the uproar if it had become known at the time that we had also sent nine B–26 bombers to Arabia. There would have been no question that these could get across the desert. Just a few of those B–26's would be enough to make a shambles of Tel Aviv.

The evidence that we have sent nine B–26's has been available here to the Senate since February 6 and to the press since Sunday, February 17. It appeared when there was released for publication the heavily censored transcript of executive session testimony taken by the joint Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees on the Mideast resolution.

On page 644, in the second volume of those hearings, Senator RUSSELL of Georgia was questioning George Wadsworth, our Ambassador to Saudi Arabia. Senator RUSSELL seems to have been as misinformed as the rest of us. He observed quite incorrectly as it turned out, that Ibn Saud "has no military air, I believe." This elicited a reply from the Ambassador which is marked deleted at two points for security reasons. But in the part which was not deleted one will see that he revealed that we had sent Ibn Saud nine B–26s "in the course of the last 3 years."

LAST YEAR THE INFORMATION WAS "CLASSIFIED"

This information would have created a sensation last year, when the 18 tanks were pictured as an isolated and unimportant shipment. Senator MORSE almost succeeded then in eliciting the information from the wily Mr. Dulles, who puts Ulysses in the shade. Senator MORSE asked the Secretary at last year's hearing if we had sent any military aircraft to Saudi Arabia. The Secretary's way of replying was curious. His first answer was that we had sent "some shipments * * * but no jets." When MORSE then wanted to know whether these were fighters or bombers, the Secretary replied that he believed they were only cargo planes but reserved "the right to correct the record if necessary."

Perhaps the Secretary thought the matter would be forgotten—as it was—before the record was printed. When I went over to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee a few days later and asked whether any corrections had in fact been made by the Secretary before the transcript was sent to the

printer, I learned that Mr. Dulles had changed it to read, "We have sold a very limited number of military aircraft of the propellor type." (See the Weekly of last March 5, or page 68 of the printed record of the Senate hearing. No newspaper but the New York Post paid any attention to the story at the time.) There was a rumor then that some four to six B–26 bombers had been sent Saudi Arabia, but when the press officer of the State Department was asked whether fighters or bombers were among those propellor type planes, he said the information was classified.

WILL SAUD GET JET BOMBERS NEXT?

Every detail of this can be checked from the public record. It shows how easily the Department gets away with its own one-sided presentation of the facts. The story is also important in another respect. What were in the deletions of the Wadsworth testimony? He said we were now working on a plan "which would double the size of the army and strengthen the air force" of Saudi Arabia. Is Ibn Saud to get jets now instead of just propellor-type bombers? How does the Department reconcile this—and indeed the new multimillion dollar arms aid provisions of the Mid-east resolution—with the U. N. arms embargo on the area, and with the agreement by which Saudi Arabia placed its armed forces under Egyptian command last April 21? How against this background can the public judge, how can Israel trust, Mr. Dulles' assurances?

Federal Transportation Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, repeal of the Federal excise taxes on commercial transportation of persons and property is the urgent objective of H. R. 2867. These are the taxes imposed during World War II which add 10 percent to the charges paid for transportation by train, airplane, or bus, and 3 percent to the charges for virtually all other freight, except that the tax on transportation of coal is 4 cents a ton.

These taxes produce total annual revenue of about $666 million. However, this is not a net revenue gain to the Government because, to the extent that the transportation is for business purposes, the taxes paid are expenses deductible from income and thereby reduce the amount of revenue which would otherwise be obtained through the income tax. With the greater part by far of the transportation taxes paid by corporations, and with the income of corporations taxed up to 52 percent, it is clear that any loss of revenue from repeal of the taxes would be offset to a considerable extent by an increase in revenue from the income tax. Indeed, removal of these taxes presents for the Government the distinct possibility of a net revenue gain for their repeal would remove a serious drag on commerce, thereby producing greater business activity and more net income subject to the Federal income tax.

As against this questionable revenue gain, the harm caused by continuance of the transportation taxes is clear and overwhelming.

To the extent that the taxes encourage shippers and travelers to use exempt private transportation, they deprive our essential public carriers of traffic and revenues they must have to keep pace with the requirements of our commerce and defense. That, in itself, is a price prohibitively high to pay for the revenue they produce and is reason enough for the Congress to take prompt action looking to their early end. By no means, however, is it the only reason.

The tax on freight, especially, is a tax, not on a luxury, but on a basic necessity of life. Transportation is part of the cost of everything that is grown or made, used or consumed, and the tax is paid, not once, but at each stage from growth or manufacturer to marketing and consumer. Moreover, it results in higher seller's markups at each stage, so that in the final price paid by the consumer the effect of the tax is pyramided many times.

For example, a witness who testified recently before a subcommittee of our Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee presented figures to show that for each $9 of freight tax spread over the whole operation from manufacturer to consumer over $32 is added on the average to the prices paid by consumers for manufactured articles.

Thus, the tax on shipping represents the ultimate in inflation because its cumulative effect, applied at each stage of the manufacturing and marketing process, is to pyramid the cost to the ultimate consumer on every product that is bought, used, or consumed. While transportation rates must sometimes be increased to cover increased cost, it is a highly dubious policy for Federal taxation to add to the cost of this basic service artificially and unnecessarily.

The tax on freight falls heavily on those least able to afford it. It falls on the thousands of small businesses which, unlike the major companies, cannot afford to purchase and operate large fleets of private vehicles by which they could escape the tax.

Moreover, the tax discriminates against United States shippers, since foreign shippers are not required to pay the tax on prepaid shipments from foreign countries to destinations in the United States.

The tax on travel also falls most heavily on those least able to afford it. These persons are the 3 out of every 10 families in the United States who do not have private means of transportation and are, therefore, compelled to use the transportation services subject to the tax.

The burden of the passenger tax is borne, in fact, only by those persons who traveled by public for-hire transportation services within the United States—for travel to most foreign destinations is not subject to the tax. Thus, the American who travels in his own country by bus, rail, or plane is discriminated against, not only in favor of those who travel by private means but also in favor of those who travel abroad. In this respect, the tax was aptly described recently by the Camden (N. J.) Courier-Post as a levy designed to encourage Americans to "see America last," rather than "see America first."

In their effect on the Nation's essential public carriers, the taxes are particularly harmful. Because they apply only to transportation for hire, the taxes encourage the acquisition and use of large fleets of private trucks and private barges, especially by the large shippers able to afford them. Thus, in the 11 years since the end of World War II, private and other carriers not subject to the tax have made tremendous gains at the expense of the regulated carriers. Continuation of this trend, resulting in further weakening of our essential public carriers, could bring turmoil to our economy in time of peace and disaster in time of war.

Inconsistency of the transportation taxes with our defense effort was suggested by the Honorable Anthony Arpaia, then Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, when he said in an address at Houston, Tex., on November 8, 1956:

> The Government clings to the excise taxes on freight and passenger service * * *although this tax is an important factor in retarding the progress of an efficient, up-to-date, organized system of public transportation which is an integral part of the machinery of defense which costs billions.

This organized system of public transportation to which Commissioner Arpaia referred was called upon in World War II to handle all but an infinitesimal amount of all military freight and military passengers, moving in organized groups. At the peak of the war, in 1943 and 1944, regulated carriers handled well in excess of 96 percent of all freight—military and civilian combined. And everything suggests that they would be called upon to repeat this performance, and more, in the event of another war.

In urging quick repeal of the excise taxes on transportation, I fully recognize that transportation is but one of the necessities of life which, many years after the war, still are bearing the burden of a war-imposed tax. I am fully aware, too, of the continuing need of government for large amounts of tax revenue to meet the growing threat of another war and to strengthen defenses throughout the free world. Finally, I am appreciative of the growing pressure which is being brought to bear from every quarter for relief from other burdensome taxes.

But, while it may not now be possible to afford all the relief that is sought, or even all that is justified, it is possible, through repeal of the taxes on transportation, to extend a measure of relief to each and every person and each and every business, without any serious loss of revenue to the Government. Moreover, the potential benefits to be gained by all consumers through the cumulative effect of lower prices at each stage of manufacture, wholesaling and retailing, are so great as to make any possible loss of revenue almost insignificant by comparison.

In short, repeal of the taxes on transportation cannot safely be delayed, while immediate repeal would be in the best interest of all.

Corn Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, as a representative from one of the great corn States, I would like to address a few remarks to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in an effort to impress on them the vital necessity of immediate action on the corn-base acreage problem. In many areas of our Nation corn planting will begin within a few weeks. Furthermore, the deadline for participation in the acreage-reserve program for corn in 1957 is April 15.

I am sure that the Members of the House are familiar with the Agricultural Act of 1956, dealing with corn and the corn farmers' participation in the soil bank. Sixty-one and five-tenths percent of the farmers voting in the referendum held on December 11, 1956, said they favored the farm-base acreage approach rather than to return to the corn-acreage allotment program. I think it was unfortunate that the Congress required a two-thirds vote in this referendum. A clear majority, 59.5 percent, of the corn farmers voting in Iowa favored the base-acreage approach, and 40.5 percent against.

Under the provision of law as it now stands farmers in the commercial corn area will not comply with the 37.3 million acre allotment, and I think we shall see roughly 58 million acres of corn planted in the commercial area in 1957. This simply means a continuation of a surplus position in corn, with consequent adverse effects on livestock production and prices, and this will have an effect on the whole economy of the Nation.

It is contended by some that giving corn growers a corn-base acreage of 51 million acres, for purposes of participating in the soil bank and price support, is unfair to cotton and wheat farmers.

There does not seem to be much disagreement that (a) the acreage taken out of wheat and cotton has mainly gone into feed grains, (b) as a result, feed grains produced on these diverted acres have been substituted for corn, and (c) this has resulted in the feed grain surplus appearing in the corn carryover which (d) has caused the decline in corn acreage allotments.

Farmers in the commercial corn area as determined for 1957 have continued to plant approximately 58 million acres, even though allotments have decreased until now they are 37.3 million acres.

Without a change in this situation, most commercial area corn farmers will not participate in the soil bank program and thereby will not contribute to bringing supplies into line with demand. As a short-run proposition, farmers can make more money growing corn for livestock. They cannot afford to cut 37 percent from their normal corn planting to get down to their corn allotment in order to begin to participate in the soil bank. On the average a corn farmer with 50 acres of corn would be required to cut to approximately 32 acres and then be paid an average of $43 per acre for each acre he cut below the 32 figure.

Surplus feed grain, estimated by the United States Department of Agriculture at 800 million bushels, was grown on acreage diverted in 1954 and 1955, most of which was taken out of wheat and cotton for which cotton and wheat farmers received price supports. Both directly and indirectly Government price supports have subsidized the production of surplus feed grain. Surplus feed grain has resulted in surplus livestock which has weakened livestock prices. Therefore, farmers everywhere are paying heavily for uneconomic price supports which are causing shifts into livestock production.

Corn farmers do not have a minimum national corn allotment or base similar to the minimum for wheat and cotton. If the allotments for wheat and cotton were to be determined on the basis of what is needed to keep supplies in line with demand, as is done in the case of corn, the national cotton allotment would be 3.9 million acres instead of 17.6 million acres; the national wheat allotment would be 12.4 million acres instead of 55 million acres.

Wheat and cotton farmers would not be treated unfairly if the proposed 51-million-acre soil-bank base is used.

Congress has now been in session 2 months and there is no bill before this House to help the Midwest corn farmer. I am informed that a bill has been reported by the House Agriculture Committee, but not until after it was amended so those who should know advise me that it will be of little benefit to the corn farmer. My information also is that an amendment was added in committee which destroys much of the value of the bill and that this was on a straight party vote, 17 Democrats voting for this amendment and the 15 Republicans against. Unless this amendment can be removed by the Members when the bill reaches the floor of the House, I fear the corn farmers of America will be in bad shape for this year. The responsibility for this will rest entirely upon the Democratic leadership in control of this Congress. H. R. 4555 and its companion S. 1125, without amendment, would give real relief to the corn farmers of America.

These bills provide that each corn farmer in 1957 will have the same choice he had in the referendum that was held on December 11, 1956; 61.5 percent of those voting last fall voted for the base-acreage approach. If those voting for the continuation of acreage allotments at 37.3 million acres want this program—well and good—but how can the Congress refuse to give the farmers of the commercial corn area their choice?

Individual farmers already have both their base-acreage and allotment figures which would be applicable under this proposal. There would be little administrative work to do by the Department of Agriculture or the local ASC offices. Immediate consideration and passage of a temporary corn program for 1957 is urgently needed. It is time to quit playing politics with the farmers of America and do something for them now—not later.

It's Mardi Gras Today in New Orleans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, it's Mardi Gras today in New Orleans.

It all began 130 years ago.

Today New Orleans truly is the city that care forgot.

But learn all about it and those 130 glorious years from a piece which appeared Sunday in the New Orleans Item and then you will better understand Mardi Gras and the spirit of Mardi Gras:

ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY YEARS AGO, SPIRITED GROUP HELD FIRST NEW ORLEANS CARNIVAL

This week excitement has been steadily rising toward the ultimate in celebrations—Mardi Gras, next Tuesday.

It's a celebration in the setting of a modern metropolis of big buildings and fast-moving crowds.

The smell of industry is in the air. The din of auto horns, huge bus engines, and thousands of bustling citizens and visitors rings in your ears.

The widest street in the world—Canal—is aflame with gigantic neon signs and well-dressed store windows.

There's the humdrum of riveters and welders' torches, cement mixers, and piledrivers, pushing up striking edifices throughout the city.

New Orleans is a modern metropolis bound for an all-out celebration—a celebration that cannot be matched anywhere in the world—a celebration as modern as a rocket jaunt to the moon, yet a celebration that grew from the carefree meandering of a small group of spirited young men 130 years ago.

New Orleans then was a far cry from what it is today.

The streets were of dirt and, when it rained, crossing a "thoroughfare" was less pleasant than the Pilgrim's trip through the slough of despair.

Shadows flickered beneath the wrought-iron balconies of Royal Street in the dim, gas-lit night of February 27, 1827.

Suddenly, the elite of Royal Street dwellers heard a strange sound, far away, from the end of the street.

Gradually, the sound grew louder until it was deafening as the noisemakers drew near Canal.

A small group of young men, who had recently visited Paris, had dressed in fantastic clothing and were walking about the city making as much noise as humanly possible.

The young men concluded their long march with a masked ball. This was the first real New Orleans Mardi Gras.

Mardi Gras, the name given Shrove Tuesday in New Orleans, means "Fat Tuesday," and can be traced as far back as the reign of Louis XIV of France.

At that time, a significant facet of carnival celebrations was the parading of the Boeuf Gras, or Fat Ox, by the butchers' guild.

It was, perhaps, a throwback to the adventures of the world's first psychoanalyst,

Joseph. As governor of Egypt, he interpreted the dream of pharaoh, in which fat cows were followed by seven lean ones, as meaning a period of plenty followed by a famine.

At any rate, it seems a good bet that Mardi Gras has followed from Boeuf Gras.

Carnival celebrations in the Louisiana Territory dated back well before 1827.

During the reign of Louis XIV, it was reported that a decree had been given by His Majesty permitting pre-Lenten merriment to abound throughout the territory.

The Creoles of Louisiana then followed Parisian carnival traditions almost to the letter, making Shrove Tuesday a gala day of mirth, culminating in a masked ball.

Practically from the start, though, the spirit of carnival was hindered by ruffians and thieves who used the cover of their grotesque masks to do their dirty work.

During the Spanish era in Louisiana, robberies by masked celebrants were common. The elite had no little difficulty keeping their entertainments private, what with masked intruders crashing the parties to the dismay of hosts and invited guests.

A number of years later, the celebrations in New Orleans were marked by maskers' throwing flour on spectators and each other.

This wasn't too bad, but when they began substituting quicklime for the flour, the joy of carnival turned to near-tragedy.

In 1845, the Mardi Gras observation consisted of gangs of masked hoodlums fighting in the streets, throwing flour, dust, quicklime, and even brickbats at each other.

In 1848, flour was thrown on the lovely young damsels watching activities from their private balconies, and the press started a campaign to outlaw Mardi Gras.

Happily, the press campaign served to cut down on the abuses of the day, but did not result in the abolition of Mardi Gras.

Carnival, as we know it today, dates back to New Year's Eve, 1830, in Mobile, Ala.

Young members of the so-called aristocracy attired in colorful costumes and hideous masks, banded together and paraded down Mobile streets, clanging cowbells and carrying rakes over their shoulders.

Someone dubbed them the "Cowbellion de Rakin Society" and the group took the name as their own. They marched New Year's Eve, 1831, too, but later transferred their night of revelry to Shrove Tuesday.

The masked ball was the most important part of early Mardi Gras in New Orleans. The street celebrations, which were the only mens of participation by the common people, were at first nothing more than groups of maskers going through the streets on their way to the mask balls.

The high society balls were ultraexclusive and the demand for invitations great.

In 1841, there was such a clamoring for invitations to the ball at one hotel that the management gave those in charge of the ball an ultimatum.

They were advised that either they must admit the guests of the hotel or seek a ballroom elsewhere. The ball was held elsewhere.

In 1847, Mardi Gras was marked with the emergence of the invitation committee as we know it today. Tickets to the ball were distributed among visitors to New Orleans—subject to the approval of the committee.

The common practice today of large groups of maskers dressing in similar costumes first appeared in New Orleans in 1857. Families or social groups would make all their costumes alike and march together.

And so, this year, as the brilliant floats parade about the city, and when Rex marches triumphantly Mardi Gras Day, there will be two spirits present.

The spirit of mirth, revelry, merriment, and giddiness will prevail, and accompanying the excitement, will be the spirits of that group of young men who made it all possible when they decided to have a good time 130 years ago.

The Life of George Peabody, Esq., 1795–1869

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting and enlightening article by Edward J. O'Connor, M. Ed., principal of the Samuel Brown School, trustee and former president of the board of trustees, Peabody Institute, Peabody, Mass. The article appeared in the Peabody Times of February 28, 1957:

THE LIFE OF GEORGE PEABODY, ESQ., 1795–1869

Last Monday, February 18, we commemorated the birthday of George Peabody, the great American, after whom this city was named. For many of our newer residents and for many of the younger schoolchildren it seems appropriate at this particular time to review briefly some of the important events and highlights of this famous man's career.

Since the city of Peabody was named for him, we know that his birthplace is within the city limits. You may find his house at 205 Washington Street identified with a tablet on a stone marker. This tablet was placed there by the Peabody Historical Society in 1902 to permanently identify the building in which the merchant prince of two nations entered the world.

In his early youth George attended a 1-room schoolhouse that was on Lowell Street a short distance away from the South Congregational Church. Unbelievable as it may sound, George Peabody played with his schoolmates in Peabody Square where the Civil War monument now stands. In those days the center of the community was not the busy thoroughfare it is today. The schooling days were all too short for the boy who in later life founded extensive housing units, institutes, libraries, and schools on two continents.

On our Main Street in George's youth, a Mr. Sylvester Proctor operated a country store in which George worked for 4 years. When he left that part of Danvers (now Peabody) for Newburyport, he worked in a dry goods store which was later destroyed by a fire. From Newburyport he went to Georgetown, D. C. and still later to Baltimore, Md., to pursue his interests in the dry goods business.

Business prospered for Mr. Peabody to such an extent that he was able to go to London, England. Eventually in 1837 he established the firm of George Peabody & Co. in London, dealing with mercantile and banking activities all over the world. This company was the foundation of the present day banking enterprise of the House of Morgan, New York City.

Back in 1835, he made a substantial contribution for the erection of the Lexington Monument at the corner of Main and Washington Streets. This monument (which today is a traffic hazard) honors the minute men from this area who on April 19, 1775, died at the Battle of Lexington. A great fire destroyed a newly erected South Congregational Church of the Middle Parish of Danvers (Peabody) on September 22, 1843, but George Peabody of London made a liberal donation toward the erection of a new religious edifice for the Square.

Starting with the year 1851, Mr. Peabody was to disburse his great fortune in many endeavors, some of a passing nature while others are to last for yet untold generations to come. In the Crystal Palace in London during the first great World's Fair the American exhibit was underwritten by a gift of $15,000 from George Peabody. In the next year, 1852, $10,000 was given to search for Sir John Franklin, lost in an Arctic expedition. During this same year, 1852, the sum of $20,000 was donated for the first Peabody Institute of Danvers (Peabody) for a library and lyceum. Eventually this original sum was increased until it reached $150,000. In this eventful year our Peabody High School was named for George Peabody rather than as most of us believe, after the city's name.

In the year 1857, the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, Md., was founded with a gift of $1,500,000 from Mr. Peabody. Only last week, they observed the 100th anniversary of their founding. There, in Baltimore, is located the renowned Conservatory of Music.

For the poor of London, England, in 1862, Mr. Peabody established the Peabody Fund with $3 million to build homes for these unfortunates of an industrial society. Today in London there are 7,341 housing units built from the proceeds of this fund with approximately 18,000 people occupying these dwellings. During the Civil War in this country the United States Sanitary Commission received a gift of $10,000.

After the great rebellion in this country and before the end of his life on November 4, 1869, George Peabody gave away the following: $10,000 for a library at Thetford, Vt.; $150,000 for a museum at Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.; $150,000 for a museum at Yale College, New Haven, Conn.; $20,000 to the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.; $140,000 for the Peabody Academy of Science, Salem, Mass.; $3 million to the Education Fund for the South (now incorporated with other funds to maintain George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.); $15,000 for a library in Georgetown, D. C.; $75,000 for a memorial church in Georgetown, Mass., plus $25,000 for a library in the same town; $25,000 to Kenyon College, Gambia, Ohio; $25,000 to Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.; $15,000 to Newburyport to enlarge its library; $2,000 for medals to the graduates of Holton High School, Danvers, Peabody High School, Peabody, Mass.; and $100,000 for a Peabody Institute in Danvers, Mass.

On September 13, 1869, George Peabody paid his final visit to Peabody, Mass., attending a luncheon in his honor at our Peabody Institute on Main Street. Five months later, his mortal remains returned to this building to lie in state. After a funeral in Westminster Abbey, London, with Prime Minister Gladstone representing Queen Victoria, his body was returned to his birthplace and now reposes in a tomb in Harmony Grove Cemetery, Peabody, Mass., for all to see.

The American Tradition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago a dinner was given in Washington by the Fund for the Republic to honor a few Americans from all walks of life whose actions during the past year had enriched our traditions as a free people.

Although the occasion itself was inspiring, perhaps the highlight of the evening was the address given by the historian, Bruce Catton, which is printed below:

THE AMERICAN TRADITION

(An address by Bruce Catton at a dinner given by the Fund for the Republic in Washington, D. C., on February 21, 1957)

A real national tradition is something that we live by rather than something that we talk about. We seldom try to define it; we feel that we don't have to, because if it is a real, living, moving force—and it is, if it is a genuine national tradition—we simply respond to it. We respond to it instinctively, because it is so deeply a part of our lives that it has us in its possession.

The greatest of all American traditions is the simple tradition of freedom. From our earliest days as a people, this tradition has provided us with a faith to live by. It has shaped what Americans have done and what they have dreamed. If any one word tells what America really is, it is that one word—freedom.

This is a word that is eternally growing broader. If any single thing gives us reason to have confidence in the infinite future of the American people, it is the fact that this most basic of our traditions is capable of infinite expansion. It does not limit us. On the contrary, it forever invites us to grow—to see beyond the horizon, to look ahead to a fairer and a brighter day, to develop and to strengthen the noble concept of brotherhood by which we live. The Fund for the Republic is founded upon this living concept of freedom, and that is why I am proud to be a director of the fund and to take part in this dinner tonight.

We are meeting here in the spirit of this magnificent tradition to see how it stands in today's uncertain world and to pay our tribute to certain present-day Americans who have done all that individuals could do, with faith and with courage and with devotion, to keep the tradition a living, breathing force in American life.

I think we shall discover, as we proceed with our examination of these cases, that this national tradition of ours is as strong and as healthy as it ever was. Today, as always in the past, its best and strongest defense lies in the reactions which individual Americans make when they find the tradition under attack. The tradition may be a national thing, but it resides finally in the hearts of individual men and women. These men and women do not always bother to work out elaborate rationalizations of their acts of defense. They simply respond instinctively to specific cases. When they encounter a situation which denies the tradition of freedom, an inner force which they do not need to define impels them to go out and do something about it; they move, without thought of what the cost to themselves may be, to put themselves in between the oppressor and the oppressed. They strengthen freedom simply by going ahead and living it.

We find them, quite literally, everywhere. A State legislator in Florida discovers that his stand for school integration makes him a minority of one in his legislature; no matter, he goes on as he has started, and attainment of the brotherhood of man comes one step nearer as a result. A Catholic priest in Indiana finds immigrant farm laborers suffering medieval exploitation and injustice; he refuses to walk on the other side of the road but stops to demand that the exploitation and injustice be remedied—and, after months of unremitting effort, finally sees his demand made good; and 50 or 60 human beings move out of peonage into the sunlight of American life. A handful of Protestant ministers risk their careers to stand against bigotry and intolerance in their own Tennessee town—and, after a long struggle, see the area in which bigotry and intolerance can operate perceptibly narrowed. A young Oklahoma schoolteacher loses his job in order to make his lone protest against racial discrimination—and, telling why he had done so, gives a noble and eloquent explanation of the spirit that moves Americans who love freedom: "In a thing like this you don't stop to think. You just do what you feel you have to do."

You don't stop to think; you just do what you feel you have to do. From the earliest days, the presence of that spirit in the breasts of American men and women has been our most profound national asset. It is where this tradition really lives. Not all of the petty, malignant forces of reaction—the men who think the people need a guardian and a keeper to guide their way into a blighting conformity; the men who dread freedom unless it be limited to folk who think and talk as they themselves would do; the men who believe that there should be classes and grades in American citizenship, and dread anything that tends to remove the barriers that set man apart from man—not all of these together, operating in a time of confusion and danger, can summon a force strong enough to beat down the simple, instinctive reaction that rises in the breast of the ordinary American when he sees American freedoms being cut down.

I used the plural—freedoms—for it appears that freedom has many forms.

We seem to have begun, in this country, with a demand for freedom of religious belief—in Plymouth Colony and Providence Plantation, in William Penn's settlement of Pennsylvania and in the charter for the first colonization of Maryland.

We moved on to see that freedom must also mean freedom from foreign oppression, and fought the American Revolution to make that freedom good.

Then we came to see that there must also be freedom from domestic tyranny, and we put together the Constitution of the United States.

We realized, also, that the mind of man must be free from dominion by government, and we added to our Constitution the Bill of Rights—which is just as pertinent, and just as much needed, today as at the time when it was written.

We came, as well, to see that freedom has to be unlimited—that it has to apply all across the board, to men of all colors, all races, and all conditions—and we struggled through a terrible Civil War in order to make such an extension of freedom possible.

All of these are not separate freedoms so much as they are varying forms of an undivided whole. For one of the things we have learned in this country is that freedom has to be indivisible. Anything that limits any part of it, for anyone, is a menace to all of us, a threat to the tradition by which we live. Our American gospel applies unto the least of these, our brethren; we share all of our rights with them, and any denial of freedom, to anybody, anywhere along the line, applies ultimately to all of us.

American freedom today is under attack—very often, by people who insist that they are trying to defend it. In a short-range view conditions are extremely ominous; yet I think if we look at our present situation long range, we can see that we have little reason to be afraid. We get waves of reaction in this country periodically in times of extreme national stress, and the great national tradition comes under attack—seems, indeed, to be in a fair way to be overwhelmed entirely. But the waves always pass with, however, much incidental injustice and oppression for certain individual victims, because the instinct in the American mind and heart which the tradition is based on is, finally, irrepressible.

In the early days of the Republic we had, for instance, the Alien and Sedition Acts.

Europe was torn by a great war and by an unpredictable revolutionary movement. America's position seemed insecure; external pressures were becoming all but intolerable; and men hardly knew which way to turn to find national security. Out of this came these almost unbelievably repressive laws. Freedom of the press and freedom of speech were effectively outlawed. It was made a crime to criticise acts of the national administration. Editors who spoke out against these laws were imprisoned. Thomas Jefferson's mail was opened in the hope that some paragraph or sentence could be found on which he could be arrested for sedition. A man who tried to get signatures to a petition to Congress urging repeal of these laws was arrested and sentenced to jail. Lawyers who defended victims of this oppression were denounced by judges as traitors. To all appearances, American freedom had been done to death.

All of this lasted 2 years or more. Then came a change. Jefferson himself, against whom so much of this attack had been aimed, became President. The laws expired. The freedom that had been assailed so malevolently was restored—stronger than ever for the very virulence of the onslaught that had been made upon it. Today the men who inspired and supported the alien and sedition laws are remembered only because they have come to symbolize the stupidity and the viciousness of those who tried, briefly and unsuccessfully, to turn backward the main stream of American life.

Similar things have happened at other times. During the early part of the Civil War a brigadier general in the Union Army was called before a congressional committee and questioned because of suspicion that he had been having traitorous dealings with the Confederates—his real offense being that by following the instructions of his superiors, and returning fugitive slaves to their Maryland owners, he had given offense to the powerful and suspicious Abolitionists who were rising to dominance in Congress. He was accused of nothing whatever; indeed, he never quite realized that he was even under suspicion; but he was finally removed from command and sent off to prison, by a War Department which dared not oppose a powerful congressional committee, and his career was ruined. He was released, finally—not exactly cleared, because nobody had ever formally accused him of anything, so there was no charge from which he could be cleared—but at least released. And the episode comes down in history as a melancholy illustration of the way in which fear and hysteria, operating together, can lead even a committe of Congress to narrow the area of American freedom and justice.

I have cited two cases out of the past. There are many more that could be cited; some of them, indeed, matters of tolerably recent memory. But the thing to bear in mind is that these spasms to which we are now and then subjected are always of temporary effect. We do come out of them; their authors pass on and are forgotten, surviving only as melancholy footnotes in history; and our great tradition, down the years, grows broader and stronger despite these temporary setbacks.

We are today emerging from the latest of these spasms of terror. We have seen some highly discouraging things in recent years. We have seen an atmosphere in which the mere fact that a man was accused of something was taken as proof of his guilt. We have been reminded of Mark Twain's comment on the reign of terror that prevailed in late medieval times under the Doges of Venice, when a committee on public safety received anonymous accusations against the loyalty of citizens; as Mark Twain remarked, if the committee could find no proof to support an accusation, it usually found the accused guilty on the ground this simply showed how deep and devious and inscrutable the man's villainy really was. We have witnessed an era in which it was widely taken as a crime for an accused person to invoke the Bill of Rights itself in his own defense—as if the provisions of the Bill of

Rights were not meant to operate in precisely a time like the present. We have seen times in which no one in authority seemed willing to place the slightest amount of trust in the innate loyalty, good faith and intelligence of the American people; times which led former Senator Harry Cain to burst out with the cry: "A whole clique of spies could hardly do as much damage to us as could our failure as a government to have confidence in the people."

We have seen all of this, and we can still see too much of it if we look around carefully. Yet the crest of the wave is passing. It is passing because the American people are responding once more to that deepest and most profound of all of their instincts—the instinct to defend the tradition of freedom when it comes under attack.

It is passing because the courts of America have stood firmly in defense of individual liberties. It is passing because many groups and individuals have stood up for the rights of their fellow Americans.

Scientists have made a contribution by their efforts to promote rational discussion of the dangers of too much secrecy about their work. The congressional committee headed by Representative Moss has thrown much light on the secretive practices of some Government agencies. The press, through its reports on the Moss committee's work and through the efforts of individual newspapermen, has helped to break through some of the official barriers to the free flow of information.

The American people are gradually getting the materials for a more factual understanding of communism in the United States and the world. The events in Hungary have clearly demonstrated the essential falsity of Communist claims to a concern for civil liberties—and have contributed to the decline of the Communists here and in other free countries.

But when I say that the crest of the wave is passing, I do not mean that no threats to liberty exist. Arbitrary censorship both by private and governmental groups has continued to affect a wide area of American life. Government restrictions on the flow of information are still excessive in some agencies. Much confusion remains in the administration of security measures; some unfair procedures have become institutionalized. The pressures of conformity are still strong in many places.

Yet I feel confident that the American tradition will flourish in the future as it has in the past. That tradition, to repeat, is something that lives inside of us. It is not a set of laws; and freedom itself is not simply the absence of restraint. Rather, it is an abiding inner faith that cannot be limited by doubt or by confusion or by fear. It is something built into the American soul, and in the long run it is unconquerable.

The secret of the American tradition is freedom—freedom unabridged and unadulterated, freedom that applies to everybody in the land at all times and places, freedom for those with whom we disagree as well as for those with whom we do agree.

And the secret of freedom, in turn, is—just courage. The kind of courage, welling up instinctively in the breasts of individual citizens, which over and over again leads to the kind of actions that are commemorated in the letters which we are concerned with here this evening; the kind of courage which led the poet to cry:

Yet, freedom, yet, thy banner, torn but flying,
Streams like the thundercloud against the wind."

Freedom rests on courage; and courage, in its turn, rests on faith—on faith in ourselves and faith in our fellows, on faith that the thing which we believe in and which we live by is immortal and everlasting, a fundamental truth of the universe with which we move on toward the future. It is on this faith that our confidence finally rests. For out of this faith come those noble statements which show why this American tradition is, in the end, invulnerable; statements like that one of the Oklahoma schoolmaster:

"In a thing like this you don't stop to think. You just do what you feel you have to do."

On that spirit, and in that spirit, we can go ahead to broaden the great American tradition.

Spain Should Be Admitted to NATO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. GORDON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Bob Considine entitled "Link in Our Defense Chain," which appeared in the New York Journal American, Monday, February 25, 1957. This article points up some of the essential factors and reasons why Spain should be admitted to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. As one of the sponsors of a number of resolutions now pending which have for their objective the admission of Spain to NATO, I was particularly pleased to see the case for Spain set forth so concisely and ably by Mr. Considine.

I hope that all Members of the House will take the time to read this informative article:

LINK IN OUR DEFENSE CHAIN
(By Bob Considine)

WASHINGTON.—The popularity in the Nation's Capital of youthful Spanish Ambassador Jose Maria Areilza, Count de Montrico, is symbolic of America's recent discovery of that hard-working, militantly anti-Communist, strategically placed nation.

Areilza, a lawyer, industrialist, author—war hero and former mayor (at 26) of Bilbao, looks like a recently retired matador and moves about Washington with a speed that would dismay his siesta-taking ancestors. He is trusted and admired by our top people. They have sought his counsel on matters as pertinent to today's fornt pages as the length of the great runways Spanish engineers and workers are completing for our Strategic Air Command at record low cost to United States taxpayers.

They seek his thinking, too, on the pending question of Spain's entrance into NATO. As of today, 35 Members of the House of Representatives have introduced resolutions urging the Eisenhower administration to propose Spain for membership. There are two Senate resolutions along the same line, introduced by Senators BRIDGES and WILEY and bearing the names of 31 additional Members of the upper House. These Congressmen feel that NATO needs new blood as much as the United States needs Spanish air and naval bases—especially now that Britain and several other countries are of a mind to withdraw in part from full participation in the alliance.

TRUSTED BY ARABS

Spain, and therefore its spokesman in this country, also now looms large in the healing of the raw wounds of the Middle East. Spain, occupied for 700 years by the Moors, enjoys unique popularity and trust in the Arab world. One of the first calls King Saud made upon arriving in Washington was to Ambassador Areilza. It was noted, too, that Saud flew directly from the United States to Madrid to see his friend Franco on the way that will lead to home.

In view of these events it is difficult to believe that only a few years ago Areilza—a man of ambassadorial rank—would not have been permitted to set foot in the beautiful Spanish Embassy (a splendid place built for but never used by Calvin Coolidge). We had joined a United Nations agreement to exercise diplomatic sanctions against Spain in an effort to unseat Franco. The motion was introduced in U. N. by the Communist bloc for the most transparent reason. But we went along. Franco, a dictator albeit benign, easily survived this treatment, thanks partly to the fact that Latin American countries called the Red-backed embargo preposterous and refused to withdraw their top diplomats from Madrid or send Spanish ambassadors packing.

WILL CLOSE VITAL GAP

The late Adm. Forrest Sherman, United States Navy, Francis Cardinal Spellman, James A. Farley, and one or two others illuminated our folly of implementing a Soviet scheme at the risk of forfeiting a country that had meant much to Western civilization and Christianity and could again.

The fruit of our massive change of mind will soon be revealed. The great SAC bases at Torrejon, Moron, and Saragossa will close a vital gap in our atomic containment of Soviet aggression. They will serve, too, to take up the slack if something should happen to close down SAC's North African and Saudi Arabian fields. Gen. Curt LeMay's B–47's and B–52's will be able to use these tremendous strips and maintenance depots any day now.

The United States naval airbase at Rota is ready and its communications just about in order. The oil and high octane pipeline, reaching up from Rota in the south like the ribs of a half-opened Spanish fan, has been tested and found completely capable of doing its defense job.

The Postal Worker Needs and Deserves a Salary Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker and distinguished colleagues, today attention is being sharply focused on the economic plight of the Nation's underpaid postal employees who day after day find it increasingly more difficult to meet the cost of living on their present salaries.

Even though the postal workers are united together in fine organizations that provide them with splendid representation, they nevertheless lack the right to face their employer across a table and bargain until a mutually convenient salary scale is reached. Thus, Mr. Speaker, they must appeal to you, to me, and to every other Member of this legislative body for relief in order to sustain a deserved standard of living.

Last Sunday I spoke in Waterbury, Conn., to a large group of postal employees and expressed my views on this matter. These are contained in the following text of my speech to that group,

and I ask unanimous consent to insert it here in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TEXT OF SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN JAMES T. PATTERSON AT THE PAY RAISE SALARY RALLY, AMERICAN LEGION HALL, WATERBURY, CONN., MARCH 3, 1957

Friends of the postal service, I am honored to be one of your guest speakers here this afternoon at your pay raise salary rally.

At the outset, I assure you that I have earned, at the apparent displeasure of some, the dubious distinction of being a Member of Congress who is extremely friendly to postal employees and sympathetic to their goals. And if it is dubious, I also have the distinction of being one who will continue to work in your behalf until inequities suffered by your organizations are finally removed and you are reelevated to the economic status that you once enjoyed and still deserve.

As each of you know, there are members of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee who, in the past, have been reluctant to speed through legislation beneficial to, and necessary for, the postal workers of our Nation. Your alternative has been to get this legislation to the floor through the cumbersome process of a discharge petition. In the past, it has been a pleasure for me to be one who signed these petitions. I assure you that I will do the same if it becomes necessary during the present session of the Congress.

Before going further, I wish to commend you on the fine organizations that represent the postal workers of America: The National Association of Letter Carriers, the Postal Transport Association, the National Association of Postal Clerks, to mention several. Striving forward in a common cause, these organizations, with singleness of purpose have contributed immeasurably toward the enhancement of your general welfare.

Despite this fact, there still remains much to be done.

With regard to postal organizations, how fortunate we are to have present here this afternoon one of your outstanding national officers, Mr. Peter Cahill, secretary of the National Association of Letter Carriers. And no important rally in this city could escape the thought of one of Waterbury's fine sons, hard-working Wallace J. Legge, capable editor of the Postal Transport Journal.

* * * * *

Now you have rallied here this afternoon to inspire a raise in salary. Your expected minimum goal is $5,500 per year. I wholeheartedly agree that a minimum salary of $5,500 per year for postal employees is not only deserving, but absolutely necessary in order for you to meet the present cost of living.

I pledge herewith my support of legislation that will increase your salary to such a level.

Everyone knows why a salary increase to $5,500 per year for postal employees is necessary, and there is no reason for my boring you with familiar statistics. You all know that postal salaries have increased less than 100 percent since 1939 as compared to an average of 300 percent in private industry generally. You all know that the average annual earnings of even highway construction workers amounts to $5,516 as compared to $4,630 for the highest paid road clerks in the Postal Transport Service.

The plight of the underpaid postal worker is dramatically underscored in a thought-compelling article which appeared in the Wall Street Journal last November 21. The article stated in part:

"'I'm desperate,' reports Mrs. Charlotte Smith, owner of Carlotta's, a Chicago women's wear shop, 'I've been in business 16 years and I never had to look for help like this. I'm trying to hire a good full-time girl at $75 a week and I can't do it.'"

Now my friend, at the same time the Post Office Department is attempting to employ individuals even with a family to support at a salary of $70.36 per week. Some of you may remember the budget table which appeared in the January 1957 issue of the authoritative Postal Record. The table showed that the weekly cost of living for a family of four, renting in California, amounted to $105 per week.

Enough of the statistics.

Despite these facts, we still hear reports from Washington that the Congress is studying the need for an increase in postal salaries. This is much like studying the need for an umbrella during a downpour of rain. The facts are on hand, the studies have been made; what is needed now is concrete action—a raise, not a study.

* * * * *

And while we are here, let's not confine our remarks to a salary increase. There are other improvements needed in the postal service. Improvements in employee morale—improvements in general working conditions—improvements designed to attract competent postal employees for the future—improvements designed to reassure present employees of greater security for the future. There is need to dispense with bureaucratic redtape that is so confusing, in some circles, that even the bureacrats themselves have difficulty in understanding which way to turn.

There is dire need to put into operation a Department-employee relations program that the bureacrats in Washington claim has been established. There is need to create more good will and mutual respect between the employees who work with their hands and distribute the mails, and those who sit behind desks in Washington, supposedly plotting some new scheme to "save the taxpayer's money"—even though their brainchild may seriously delay the mails.

There is need—particularly with respect to the Postal Transport Service—to give serious reconsideration to certain now-existing policies, according to which some appointee in Washington has only to discontinue an R. P. O. line in order to throw 6, 8, or even 15 postal clerks out of regular work.

There is a need to abolish certain discriminatory policies by either paying all employees of the postal service time and one-half for overtime or giving them compensatory time—and this includes the rural carriers who finally place mail matter in the boxes of rural areas.

There is need for a complete resurvey of the entire Post Office Department which, according to a Government Commission's recent report, is still using some of the same basic policies that were used more than 100 years ago.

Thus in conclusion, my friends of the postal service, there is much to be done, and you are listening to an individual who appreciates your outstanding service to your fellowmen, and an individual who is willing to assist you in any way possible in the realization of your worthy cause.

Nelson Award—National Strength

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to address the House briefly regarding the recent Nelson Sportsmanship Award, which was conferred upon a fine young American, Jim Swink, of Texas Christian University, at Boston on January 12 before a large, distinguished gathering of spotsmen.

In previous years, I have had occasion to make brief reference to the importance and inspirational character of the Nelson Award. I have done so primarily for two reasons: first, because I believe that in these trying days especially, it is vital for us to stress and seek to promote the physical, spiritual, and moral development and well-being of our young people and, secondly, because of the great admiration and enduring affection, which I have long held for Mr. N. V. (Swede) Nelson in whose honor this award is given. I am prompted by similar feelings this year.

As the recent Olympic games disclosed, this Nation appears to be going backward insofar as athletic proficiency in competitive international athletics is concerned. In previous Olympic games, we usually had little difficulty winning the Olympic world championship by substantial margins. This year we lost this title, which is something more than an empty honor, but a significant, meaningful national achievement. Various excuses and apologies have been given for this loss—none of which really impressed me. The bald fact is that the Russians won. Instead of hiding behind poor excuses and alibis, which is not the manner or in the tradition of true sportsmen, we should do a little soul searching to see whether we can honestly explain to ourselves and the American people why there should be such a marked change in our world competitive athletic proficiency in such a relatively short space of time.

Let me make it clear by these remarks that I am exceedingly proud of our great Olympic team, which was comprised of outstanding young men and women, who under the circumstances, made a brilliant showing. They are entitled to national gratitude. Some of their individual performances were outstanding and magnificent, and I commend and laud the victors and the team as a whole.

I can recall what the great Harvard football coach, Percy Haughton, once said on the illusory subject of victory and defeat, and I quote him in expurgated substance, "the world loves a winner." It has long been one of the fundamental tenets of American sports that any game worth playing has been considered worth winning. Our young men have never been satisfied with so-called moral victory stemming from defeat. This year's Olympic team was no exception, I am sure.

Many believe that there are underlying reasons for our inability to win the Olympic games that have to do with present social conditions and attitudes in the United States and with long-range trends in the Nation and in our educational life. It is indeed debatable whether a generation of young men and women living in a country, which is putting less and less value upon sustained, perserving training, and more and more emphasis upon the relaxed so-

cial graces, so-called, can successfully compete in the long run in athletic games, or for that matter in any other way, with nations where frugality features national life and rigorous, competitive physical training is pursued by the young and the vigorous.

It is no answer to say that this training results from certain measures of regimentation that obtain in Russia, because the sad fact would seem to be that here in America there is progressively decreasing interest and active participation by many of our young people in competitive sport.

There will be some who will not want to read such a significance into the Olympic games, and to them I would suggest most respectfully that they might read a little history, past and contemporary, so that they might be reminded of some of the reasons why great nations and governments of the past collapsed, as well as of the conditions existing in our own country today, which are moving this Nation away from many of the beneficial traditions and practices of former years.

Now, if I may be permitted, Mr. Speaker, I should like to say a word about "Swede" Nelson, the great American, to whom the Nelson award is dedicated. As was said of another, "Swede" Nelson needs no encomium from anyone. His career, his unselfish life's work, sterling personal qualities, inspiring personality, great talents, and unbounded patriotism speak for themselves. He is unquestionably the exemplification of everything that is lofty and fine in American sportsmanship, the symbol of shining American citizenship.

His untiring contributions to the cause of American youth can hardly be adequately measured or appreciated and for this reason the Nelson award stands for values in American life, which are at once essential and indispensable and must be preserved in the manner and degree to which he so characteristically embodies and represents them, if this Nation is to travel henceforth on the course toward its greatest destiny.

It would be a happy day for this Nation if the high ideals, human qualities, and unselfish spirit of "Swede" Nelson could be impressed upon all the youth of the land and his buoyant confidence could neutralize the stagnating indifference and cynicism which, in many places, threaten the moral stamina, physical tenacity, and burning patriotism of America.

This year's Nelson award winner, like his predecessors, is an outstanding American boy—a young leader of the gridiron, respected by his mentors and teammates for his character and ability. Our heartiest congratulations and best wishes will attend him now and in the challenging days ahead.

And may the hand of Swede Nelson be strengthened in the fine work he is achieving for the community, State, and Nation. His venerable and beloved mother, now in her 94th year, a great influence in shaping his ideals, and his gracious wife and lovely daughter, all of whom have contributed so much to his endeavors, will share with all of us, I am sure, their pride in his achievements.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a pertinent article from the well-known Boston Herald with reference to the Nelson award:

[From the Boston Sunday Herald of January 13, 1957]

SWINK CHERISHES NELSON AWARD—CREDITS HIS COACH MARTIN, MATES FOR BEING SELECTED

(By Joe Looney)

Jim Swink, the 21-year-old senior halfback from Texas Christian University, was only doing what came naturally last fall when he performed in such a manner that he was selected over 33 other candidates as the 11th annual Swede Nelson sportsmanship award winner.

Swink told a gathering of 600 last night at the Hotel Sheraton Plaza, "It's a great honor to be up here in Boston where everybody has been so nice to me these last 2 days. I don't feel like I've done anything to deserve this fine award, but it is something I always will cherish. If what I did was sportsmanship, it was because that was the way I've been taught by my coach, Mr. Martin, and my teammates."

Abe Martin, the TCU coach, lauded Swink as "the finest choice the committee could make. It is not only a great honor for Jim, but also for our school because the selection was made on a nationwide basis."

Swink was chosen for the Boston Gridiron Club's Nelson Award (an inscribed watch) for his exemplary conduct in games against Alabama and Texas A. and M. and his general spirit of self-sacrifice over the entire season.

A spectacular climax runner in 1954 and 1955, Swink played the role of decoy and blocker mainly throughout the past season.

Swede Nelson, for whom the award is named, praised Swink as a player "with a funnybone to help out when the outlook is bleak, a wishbone to provide the desire to do better, and a backbone that all good football players need."

Dave Lucey, former Boston College player, was the toastmaster. Speakers included Rev. Charles McCarthy, St. Ann's Church, Somerville; the Reverend Gene Rose, St. John's Episcopal Church, Winthrop; Rabbi Zev Nelson, Temple Emeth, Brookline; Mayor John B. Hynes; CBS sportscaster Bill Hickey; humorist Joe (Uncle Dinny) Madden; Tom McNamara, Gridiron Club of Boston, president; and Joseph C. Tomasello, dinner chairman.

Head-table guests included: Walter A. Brown, general manager of the Boston Garden; sports columnist Austen Lake; D. Leo Daley, award committee chairman; George Kurker and Joseph Asiaf, Tufts' 1957 cocaptains; Larry Vinecour and Jack Regan, Boston University's 1957 cocaptains; Maurice Stein and Charles Napoli, Brandeis' 1957 cocaptains; Robert Lyons, Northeastern captain-elect; Tom Hooper, Harvard captain-elect; and Tom Joe Sullivan, Boston College captain-elect.

The parody singing was led by Johnny Buckley.

Overtime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 5, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very clear, concise, and very truthful statement on the subject of overtime by Vice President Clarence M. Christensen of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, AFL–CIO:

A MESSAGE FROM YOUR VICE PRESIDENT

(By Clarence M. Christensen)

OVERTIME

The principle of premium or overtime pay for service of over 8 hours in 1 day and over 40 hours in 1 week is well established in private industry and in the Postal Service insofar as regular annual rate employees are concerned.

Previous to 1945 regulars worked for approximately 17 percent less than straight time when required to work overtime. Two basic reasons were considered in asking legislation to grant premium pay for overtime work. First, it was better for the economy of our country to have more employees working 40 hours per week than fewer working 48 to 60 hours per week. Second, if necessity required overtime work, the employee was entitled to premium pay for service beyond the legal workday.

Twelve years have passed and substitute (hourly rate) employees are still being paid straight time for all hours worked. Legislative correction to extend premium pay for overtime to substitutes is long past due. The Fair Labor Practices Act provides for premium pay for overtime in much of private industry and for employees working on Government contracts being fulfilled by private companies. Throughout the country the Department of Labor has instituted suits against private employers for not paying premium pay for overtime. Why should there be one set of laws for private employment and another for substitutes in the postal service?

Some substitutes might disagree with the principle of time and one-half for overtime. However, a good majority of substitutes are not willing to continue existence as slave labor. Are some willing to live in the past as their forefathers did, working 10 or 12 hours daily or even from sunup to sundown? Or do they desire to have the rights of free American working men and women, who, if they work over the legal work day or week, receive premium pay? Do substitutes realize that if regulars were paid only straight time that many substitutes working today would not even have a job in the postal service?

Statements have been made that if substitutes were paid overtime a great many more would be hired so each would work less than 40 hours per week. This, I believe, is an effort to imply that substitutes would be hurt and thus encourage them to be against overtime pay. If this implied threat was carried out, management would realize speedily that if they desire to maintain an efficient and solid force in the future substitutes must be treated as human beings and given a reasonable number of work hours.

We must all treasure the American principle of the 8-hour day. Legislation must be secured granting overtime pay to all substitutes, regular and temporary, as legally required for regulars.

The principle of time and one-half for overtime work is not giving something to the employee—it is the employee giving something to his job.

A successful and expanding electronics firm in my community states in its prospectus to applicants for positions that they do not hire part-time employees when peak periods occur. Rather they follow the policy of using their permanent force on overtime to maintain good production and efficiency. Why isn't the Post Office Department patterned after private industry in this phase?

During the Christmas rush, experiments have proved that experienced personnel are at least twice as efficient as temporaries on all but the very minor tasks. In comparing experienced employees with Christmas as-

sistants and temporaries we realize this must be done on an overall sustained average rather than on an individual short-period check. We must also consider in any comparison the important factors of accuracy, rapidity, and knowledge of job routine. Considering all these factors fairly, it is more economical in the long-run overall cost than the excessive use of temporaries.

It has been inferred by some levels of management that a regular is of no value after 8 hours of duty. If followed to its ultimate conclusion this question is posed: Is an hourly rate employee, classified or temporary, satisfactory after 8 hours of service or is it just because he is paid straight time? Are a great number of substitutes necessary to have what management terms "flexibility," or is it merely to have a force that can be worked unlimited hours at straight time?

When legislation is enacted extending overtime rates to all classified and temporary substitutes including Christmas assistants, then the work hours would be more equalized resulting in a more efficient operation.

We should never subscribe to the principle of overtime in order to increase our take home pay or extend our work week. Rather, the positive angle, the use of overtime during peak or emergency periods when necessary to avoid delay of the mails. We, as employees, know from practical experience that we can keep the mails rolling and that reasonable use of overtime when necessary is more economical compared to using part-time temporary employees. It will do much for the morale of the employee since it is nothing less than a recognition of his ability, his experience, and his value to the postal service.

Salute to Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD the following statement made by me in connection with the eighth anniversary of Israel's independence, which is being commemorated at the America-salutes-Israel celebration in New York on April 29. I take pleasure in joining in this salute to a nation so strongly allied to the cause of freedom and democracy:

STATEMENT FOR AMERICA SALUTES ISRAEL CELEBRATION

I am happy to join in this salute to Israel. It is fitting tribute that we pay her, first, in honor of her eighth year of independence and the progress she has made and, secondly, in support of her courageous struggle to maintain the peace and freedom which she and all lovers of democracy so highly cherish.

The entire freedom-loving world pays homage to Israel. We in America salute her, in particular, because we see so clearly in her valiant efforts to enjoy peacefully the independence and progress she so rightly deserves an analogy to our own pursuit of freedom less than 2 centuries ago.

The state of Israel has, through diligence and perseverance, provided a homeland for a homeless and oppressed people. No one will deny the remarkable gains she has made in these few years in satisfying many of her own agricultural needs. Nor can we overlook the value which accrues to the free world from the example she presents to enslaved peoples of the survival strength of democracy, even amidst a hostile environment. There is a question, however, as to how long Israel can stand alone against the preponderance of power which is quietly being stacked up against her.

The present Middle East crisis warns democratic peoples everywhere that freedom and independence are never finitely attained. History and advances in science and technology have taught us, further, that one democratic nation cannot wall herself in and declare or will herself to be unaffected by what happens to either the neighbor next door or the one across the way. It is good to be optimistic. And, certainly, wishful thinking has its merits. But neither of these outlooks has proved effective thus far in stemming the tide of Communist aggression. All of us readily agree, I am sure, that we desire to maintain peace and harmony within the family of nations of the world, but let us not forget the power of a little well-aimed discipline to preserve peaceful relations in any family.

America salutes Israel with words. These are fitting, indeed, but how very inadequate. Let us salute her, also, with our deeds—not by waging a war in her behalf, for she does not ask that, but by providing her with the power she needs to defend herself against Communist aggression. Defensively armed, Israel can remain a strong link in democracy's chain and a symbol of hope to oppressed people all over the world.

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.,
Member of Congress.

A February View of Christmas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following articles, writen by George H. Todt, which appeared in the February 11 and February 14, 1957, issues of the Valley Times, of North Hollywood, Calif.:

[From the North Hollywood Valley Times of February 11, 1957]

PARALLELING MRA CHRISTIAN CODE

"Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and today, and forever"—(Hebrews 8: 8).

What does moral rearmament stand for? An increasingly large number of friends keep asking me that question. I am only an interested and sympahetic observer of this dedicated group, not an official spokesman, but I shall try to give you a few of my own impressions.

First, let me call your attention to a very fine article I have just finished reading in the January 22 issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, starting on page A383. It is entitled "A Rabbi Looks at Christmas." Written by Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the article was inserted in the RECORD by the Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York. This arresting concept of Dr. Eisendrath is worth reading by every thoughtful Christian; it is intelligent, filled with worthy feelings, and could be an important milestone in spanning some of our differences. I, for one, approved his message.

"No, it is not the Jews who do not accept Jesus—it is the vast majority of our whole generation which can truly observe Christmas in one way only—and that is to translate their creed of Christmas into the conduct which that creed commands; to transmit the doctrine of the Messiah into the deeds of loving kindness and humanity which that doctrine decrees; to convert the cult of Christ's mass into the genuine birth of the spirit of the Messianic kingdom with peace on earth to all men of good will."

How can any genuine Christian, if he be honest, quarrel with that statement? Especially since it is the truth. For the trouble with Christianity today is not Christianity itself—but those untold millions of souls who profess Christianity in name but do not actually live it in their lives. Mere faith alone is not enough. None other than Jesus Christ, Himself, has told us: "Faith without works is dead."

As a Christian myself, I hope that many others of our faith will read Dr. Eisendrath's A Rabbi Looks at Christmas. This monumental work has long been needed. I didn't approve every single item in it, of course, as no two of us see eye to eye on everything. But it is filled with so much wisdom and goodness—and historical accuracy—that I recommend it in substance most heartily to my readers.

Now back to moral rearmament. What I have just written about the article quoted from in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD also ties in with MRA. For the basic fundamental driving force of this ideology is simply applied Christianity—a Christianity of works instead of merely words. While many moan that Christianity has failed, MRA seeks to bring about a worldwide movement demonstrating the one embracing truth that Christianity works.

From what I have been able to ascertain from my observation and questions, the spirit of MRA is pretty well cited in the preamble to the articles of incorporation of moral rearmament in the United States, which are as follows:

"Riches, reputation, or rest have been for none of us the motives of association.

"Our learning has been the truth as revealed by the Holy Spirit.

"Our security has been the riches of God in Jesus Christ.

"Our unity as a worldwide family has been in the leadership of the Holy Spirit and our love for one another.

"Our joy comes in our common battle for a change of heart to restore God to leadership.

"Our aim has been the establishment of God's Kingdom here on earth in the hearts and wills of men and women everywhere, the building of a hate-free, fear-free, greed-free world.

"Our reward has been in the fulfillment of God's will."

To me, a simple writer of words, there seems to be a correlation of purpose between Dr. Eisendrath, traveling on his road, and Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman, traveling on his pathway. Both have recognized that the greatest shortcoming of Christianity is that most Christians don't live their own religious teachings. It seems to me that MRA is trying to do something positive to remedy this unhappy deficiency. I believe these good people deserve our respect for the mission they seek to accomplish in our troubled world today.

[From the North Hollywood Valley Times of February 14, 1957]

FEBRUARY VIEW OF CHRISTMAS DAY

"Words of truth and soberness." (Acts XXVI: 25).

Has the crass commercialism of the world turned Christmas—which really means "Christ's mass"—into a wild-eyed Roman holiday?

Perhaps it has, and—what is the answer? Let me quote a small excerpt from a truly remarkable address over the NBC radio net-

work last December 18, 1956. It was entitled "A Rabbi Looks at Christmas" and was given by Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. It was later published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD under extension of remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER of New York, commencing on page 383 of the Appendix. I am in full accord with the words of Dr. Eisendrath, which follow, and ought to be commended for their virtue, intelligence, and wisdom by all Christians everywhere.

"Which leads me to the very first thing which I, as a Rabbi, would like to say about Christmas," said Dr. Eisendrath to his Nationwide audience. "If I were a Christian minister instead of a Jewish teacher, there is nothing I would lament so much, and bitterly resent, as this wholesale transformation by myriads of Christians, by some Jews, and many non-believers in either Judaism or Christianity, of what was, in origin and should be, in its deepest meaning, a solemn and sacred day set apart to recall the birth of Him whom I, if I were a Christian, would call my Saviour, this transformation and degradation of such a holy day into so heathen a holiday, devoid of its profounder spiritual significance and more exalted moral challenge.

"If this degeneration of Christmas should continue unabated, if there can be no diminution, but instead only an ever-increasing crass commercialism which shouts at us, at those precisely fixed 15-minute intervals prescribed for the commercials that cannot be put aside in even the most moving radio or television program at Christmastide; then we in America; yes—Jews and Christians both—will have contributed to the paganization of an otherwise religious day.

"Unless Christmas be truly Christ's mass, with all the timeless and timely meaning of that term, then it should not bear that name in vain."

The greatest wonder of this to me, a Christian, is that so few members of the church have had the fundamental honesty and clarity of perception to say in the past what Dr. Eisendrath has expressed here so movingly and correctly. Maybe some of us have been asleep at the switch. Or have we been so lacking in elemental courage that we failed to take a forthright stand?

The reason I am calling this matter to the attention of my readers in February instead of next December, when Christmas comes again, is that it will be too late to take any kind of realistic action if we wait until 1 minute to midnight to solve our problems. The time to ponder such matters is well in advance. What can be done?

The increasing paganization of Christianity's holiday of deepest religious significance is a serious moral and ethical problem for all of us. Where one man's house is destroyed by corruption and greed, then whose house may be considered to be safe elsewhere? Our thanks to Dr. Eisendrath for speaking up so eloquently and well.

Life for Puerto Ricans Begins at 40

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, I desire to join in the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the extension of United States citizenship to Puerto Rico. I represent a congressional district in which Puerto Ricans form an important segment of the citizenry. I have found these people, not only in my community but also in Puerto Rico, to be a very religious people. Three years ago I had the good fortune to visit Puerto Rico. I arrived on Easter Sunday and joined the people in prayer in their beautiful holy church. I saw the people in prayer. I saw them in the piazza or square engaging in their religious festivals. Because of their devotedly religious backgrounds and their practice, our Secretary of State or our President need not request us to grant $200 million or any less sum to fight communism. These people and their Spanish brethren in the Caribbean are natural enemies of the atheistic Communists.

I found the Puerto Ricans to be very hospitable and very friendly. Their homes are open with a welcome sign awaiting the visitor. Upon my visit to the senate and assembly in San Juan the legislators extended a most cordial welcome to a New York State legislator. The charming mayor of San Juan and the tireless governor of Puerto Rico were more than kind. They demonstrated the same characteristics which the poor and rich on that island demonstrate daily.

Last night I enjoyed a choral performance at Carnegie Hall celebrating the 40th anniversary of American citizenship for Puerto Ricans. This performance by a group of students of the University of Puerto Rico under the leadership of Augusto Rodriguez blended their voices in pleasing and perfect harmony. The Council of Spanish-American Organizations in New York should be proud that it sponsored this show.

The choral group sang religious and folk songs of old Spain and Carribbean lands. Their precision and performance was a marvel to behold and to hear. Tenors blended with sopranos and baritones joined with alto in harmonious ranges. Just as these students blended their voices in song, so the Puerto Ricans of the mainland are blending their cultures with ours toward a better America.

Let no one underestimate the contribution by Puerto Ricans to our America. Their sons have fought valiantly on the battlefield and they have made their sacrifices. They have earned their citizenship.

Without their help and without their labor hotels, resorts, and industry would find great difficulty to get along. They are a valuable asset to our economy. Like all new peoples to our shores, their lot has been a difficult one. Their inability to speak the English language and the lack of economic opportunities create certain problems. These problems are gradually being solved. Like all peoples who appreciate opportunities which the United States affords, they are advancing on all fronts—in schools, in business, and in politics.

Since Puerto Ricans acquired citizenship 40 years ago they have been struggling for equal opportunity. Despite the lack of privileges, despite prejudice and discrimination, Puerto Ricans have come of age this year in New York City, especially in my district.

It has been said that life begins at 40. After 40 years of citizenship Puerto Ricans are ready to live.

(Mr. SANTANGELO asked and was given permission to include as a part of his remarks a proclamation by the mayor of the city of New York commemorating the 40th anniversary of Puerto Rican independence.)

Text of the mayor's proclamation follows:

Whereas the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, on March 2, 1957, will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the extension of United States citizenship to Puerto Rico; and

Whereas through their courage and determination they have made dramatic progress under their development program, Operation Bootstrap, have rendered valuable service to the United States in international relations as an example of the highly democratic development of an underdeveloped area in free association with the United States and the people of North and Latin America; and have served with distinction in the United States Armed Forces in the First and Second World Wars and in the Korean war; and

Whereas the people of the city of New York feel a special bond of friendship and brotherhood with the people of Puerto Rico, since over 500,000 of our fellow New Yorkers are of Puerto Rican birth or parentage:

Now, therefore, I, Robert F. Wagner, mayor of the city of New York, do hereby designate March 2, 1957, as Puerto Rican Friendship Day in New York City to honor the friendship between the people of the city of New York and our fellow American citizens of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Some Recently Developed Scientific Ideas Pertaining to Water Supply

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, one of the most pleasant associations that I have had since beginning my service in the House of Representatives has been my relationship with the Honorable John R. Murdock, former Congressman from Arizona. It was my privilege and pleasure to serve under his leadership and guidance when he was chairman of the Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation and later when he was chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. He has been a devoted public servant throughout his life and has contributed greatly to a continuing study of many of our national water problems. I am pleased to have inserted with these remarks the following pertinent parts of a recent lecture which Mr. Murdock presented to the Washington semester students of the American University:

SOME RECENTLY DEVELOPED SCIENTIFIC IDEAS PERTAINING TO WATER SUPPLY

Our country has never been so water conscious as in recent years. This concern has been nationwide but is particularly enhanced because of the prolonged droughts in the Great Plains area and in the Pacific Southwestern States. Coming as I do from the semiarid State of Arizona, where we can grow practically nothing without irrigation I, naturally, have been deeply concerned as a citizen about our water problems. While being chairman of two congressional committees having to do with irrigation matters, my private interests in a good water supply have been more than doubled by my official interests in the same. Therefore, I have eagerly sought information on any and all feasible ways of increasing the water supply, and in conserving what we have.

In the last decade some very hopeful suggestions have been submitted by scientific men and some of these are now being tried out and adopted. The daily press, in its eager search for news, is quite apt to publicize many of such scientific discoveries or suggestions. This is all to the good. But because a scientific idea has been suggested or publicized while in the experimental stage this does not mean that it is yet a proven fact. We who are so hopeful that some of these suggestions may be or soon will be proven facts are apt to follow through in studying them. I have been spending most of my time during the last few years in Washington in doing just that thing, having started it officially while in Congress and carried it on privately since. The wider study of the great West has had to be narrowed by me to the question: What do these discoveries mean to Arizona? Yet they apply to many States.

The following is not an exhaustive list, and it cannot be said to be an adequately proven list in all particulars—but indicative:

1. Increasing precipitation by cloud seeding.
2. Storing water underground with dams, without surface construction.
3. Minimizing evaporation by films on surface storage.
4. Increased effectiveness of water in photosynthesis by proper management.
5. Conversion of sea water or saline waters to potable condition.

INCREASING PRECIPITATION

It is an old idea that some men are rainmakers and can make it rain. However, prior to 10 years ago that was considered more a fable than a fact. But commencing with the first artificial snowfall about 10 years ago a great body of scientific fact and a tremendous volume of experimental knowledge has been accumulated on this subject. Now an official publication by the United States Government conveys the information that it is now a fact, rather than a fiction, and cites proof that in some instances precipitation has been increased over what it would have been naturally by from 9 percent to 17 percent. Of course, there are many ifs, ands, and buts concerning this long-wished-for process.

Some relevant questions are still awaiting solution concering rainmaking, such as: Can the induced precipitation be controlled as to time and locality? Will there be danger of lawsuits because of damage done to those who do not want rain at the time or place it comes? What proportion of the moisture that is in the clouds can thus be induced to precipitate? And if the clouds can be wrung nearly dry will that have a harmful effect upon leeward areas? This last question becomes highly significant to large areas lying on the opposite side of the mountains than that from which the moisture-bearing winds come. A whole new chapter in meteorology is being written and not yet completed.

WAYS OF CONSERVING WATER

In hot and dry countries where so much of the water for irrigation has been surface stored and carried in open canals and ditches, it has been found that the evaporation losses are terrific. The truth of this has been dawning on irrigation farmers for a long time but the proportional loss has scarcely yet been scientifically measured. However, we are appalled to know that in some cases probably as much water is lost to the atmosphere before reaching the fields as is applied to the soil in the total process of reclamation farming. Ordinarily, from a fourth to a third is lost that way. Of course, this loss occurs through the transportation of the water through streams, canals, and open irrigation ditches, but probably most of it occurs from the surface of lakes and reservoirs where the water is held in surface storage.

Is this evaporation loss entirely an inevitable incident to irrigation and therefore absolutely necessary? No; today we do not think so. In that stage of reclamation development in which the surface storage of flood waters played a prominent part and open canals were used, it has long seemed that such evaporation losses were unavoidable. This led to two suggestions to minimize evaporation losses. The latest of these proposals is to prevent some of this evaporation by chemical means, which will be discussed below. Another means of prevention is underground storage as well as underground or pipeline transportation. Of course, the water that travels seaward through the earth's crust is not subject to evaporation, and irrigation farmers are learning how to use subsurface storage because of that elimination of the evaporation losses.

DAMMING MOVING WATER UNDERGROUND

Perhaps every irrigation farmer who wishes he could pump water from this subsurface storage under his own land has several anxieties. One is what his "legal rights" are in regard to such water and whether he can retain such moving water for his own exclusive use. Another is the storage capacity beneath his land and how best to use it. He recognizes that underground storage is better than surface storage if he can actually store it and have it there when he later wants to pump it out. This has led to engineering efforts to stop and hold such underground waters in certain areas.

To illustrate one new method: A major oil company of the country advertises that they have a petroleum product in liquid form which can be forceably pumped into the valley-fill of sand and gravel in systematically placed drill holes to any desired depth, even to bedrock, which solution reacts with the earth material it encounters to make an impervious curtain which will hold the water as effectively underground as a concrete dam does above ground. This has been recommended and tried in this country although it is an importation from certain European countries. Assuming that the law will permit it, and that this damming of subsurface waters is efficient and inexpensive it may be seen that this is one way of doubling the water supply of a given valley where evaporation losses about equal the amount of water applied on the soil or otherwise exposed to the atmosphere.

RECHARGING AQUAFERS

In close connection with the subsurface storage and management of water is the recharge of underground facilities which the geologists call aquafers. Of course, nature has her own way of recharging these aquafers. Water sinks slowly into the sandy beds and the gravel of our Southwestern streams. Much depends upon the sand and gravel, as well as the volume of the torrent, as to how much sinks in and how much runs off. For years we have been practicing "water spreading" which is aimed to slow up the rush of floodwaters and thus by giving it more surface to penetrate thereby increase the recharge of the underground. In the Pacific Southwest this artificial recharging has been carried further than elsewhere.

The Los Angeles River, as it flows through the city of Los Angeles, has had some of its stream bed and banks paved for obvious advantages, but to overcome an obvious disadvantage of paving the gravelly-sand streambed, a small portion or strip down the center has been left unpaved to facilitate the getting of floodwaters into the underground. Only uncontrollable floods should escape to the sea. Sometimes this recharging is forcefully done by man by returning pump water, used nonconsumptively for air conditioning, into a companion well as is required on Long Island, in Phoenix, Ariz., and elsewhere.

It is my thought that much more needs to be known about processes of artificially recharging underground aquafers. I believe it has been carried to its greatest extent in the southern valleys of California where there are today many object lessons.

PROTECTIVE FILM

While the engineers have been figuring ways and means of controlling water in underground storage to prevent evaporation losses, scientists have been experimenting on how to prevent, or at least minimize, surface evaporation. It must be remembered that America is yet dedicated to a great degree to surface storage of water for many major purposes. The daily press informs us that scientists have proposed to cover the surface of stored water with a very thin chemical film that will protect it from the pull of the dry, hot winds that pass over it. Newspapers in Colorado, Kansas, Texas, and other Western States have hailed the idea with acclaim.

It appears that the Southwest Research Institute and Southwest Foundation for Research and Education at San Antonio, Tex., have put forth great effort and made progress in this direction. (Most recently, Congressman KILDAY, of Texas, extended his remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 18, 1957, at p. A1178, to include an address by Dr. Harold Vagtborg, of San Antonio, entitled "We Grow With Water." This is a splendid presentation of many scientific water problems including this one on evaporation control.) It goes without saying that such a protective film of chemicals must not be too expensive, must be as highly effective as possible, must be harmless to plant and animal life and must be able to preserve itself against destructive forces. This is a very significant study.

DISCOVERIES IN PHOTOSYNTHESIS

Another scientific discovery related to water's function in plant growth includes the latest studies in photosynthesis. Since the splitting of the atom and the obtaining of abundance of radioactive isotopes, some of which are harmless and also very useful, the scientists have been able to study many life processes of great importance in agriculture and in medicine. At a world conference of scientists of almost all the world's nations at Geneva, Switzerland, a few days following the historic summit meeting of the four great heads of state, there occurred probably as significant discussions for human welfare in this scientific conference as those that occurred in the diplomatic conferences about the same time. These scientists freely exchanged their views and their knowledge on many important matters.

Strange as it may seem, when atomic energy problems are engrossing the world's attention, that such was not the most discussed scientific subject in this conference of world scientists, although they did discuss it, along with many others. A high authority in this country reports that more attention was given at this meeting to photosynthesis than was given to any other important subject. Of the two outstanding papers which this authority mentions, one was by an American scientist, Dr. C. Colvin, of the University of California at Berkeley. Without my knowing very much about photosynthesis, I have a firm conviction that the rapidly expanding knowledge of photosynthesis will enable future farmers of America with better irrigation to produce more than twice the volume of food and fiber than with the old methods of flood irrigation.

POTABLE WATER FROM THE SEA

It is not exactly a new problem for man to try to get drinkable water from the sea. Some ancient mariners could do it but most could only exclaim, "Water, water everywhere, but not a drop to drink." It is interesting to know that an American citizen named Jacob Isaacks, in Newport, R. I., in 1791, petitioned Congress to give him recognition and a reward for his invention of a method to extract potable water from the sea at relatively little cost. There being no Patent Office yet established, Congress referred the matter to the Secretary of State who at that time was an outstanding scientist himself, Thomas Jefferson. Now, Mr. Jefferson took the matter seriously and although he knew that while this was not altogether new knowledge, it was vitally important knowledge for all men to know who sail the seas. Jefferson gave it a lot of thought and personally made an official report, after due investigation and experimentation. What surprises us today is that such a simple idea was so little known then and needed to be proved. It was simple distillation of sea water in a still.

In this report to Congress, Jefferson asked and answered what had previously been done along this line and he went back to Lord Bacon and traced such efforts through the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries to that date. In addition to distillation, which is obviously nature's method, Jefferson discussed filtration and congelation which he said had failed. He mentioned Sir Richard Hawkins in the 16th century; Glauber, Hawton, and others in the 17th century; Hales, Butler, Chapman, Hoffman, and Dove in the 18th century, all of whom used a distillation of sea water method.

In 1702, Dr. Lind used several mixtures, including sea water, supposing that the treated sea water would be less pure than other waters treated. He was surprised to find distilled sea water as pure as any rain water tested.

At this point in the report, Jefferson describes several kinds of stills and lists several experiments at sea, such as: Lord Mulgrave on a voyage toward the North Pole in 1773 made 40 gallons of fresh water per day with only a little additional fuel. M. de Bouganville, about 1763 in a trip around the world, did about the same thing.

DISTINGUISHED EXPERIMENTERS

For his own experimental work, Jefferson asked the aid of three distinguished American scientists of that time: Mr. Rittenhouse, president of the American Philosophical Society, Dr. Wester, professor of chemistry in the College of Philadelphia, and Dr. Hutchinson, professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania. Three experiments were performed. In the first experiment, evidently done by Isaacks with the four distinguished men attending, "24 pints of sea water, taken 3 miles off the Capes of the Delaware at floodtime, distilled 22 pints of fresh water in 4 hours with 20 pounds of seasoned pine fuel."

In the second experiment of March 21 at the college (with a 5-gallon still) from 32 pints of sea water they got 31 pints of fresh water in 7 hours and 24 minutes using 51 pounds of hickory which had been cut about 6 months before. The third experiment was done with about the same results. Distilled sea water was found as good "as the best water in the city, although the taste was not so agreeable."

Secretary Jefferson held the opinion that this knowledge should be made very widely known, among seafaring citizens. How? Let full information of the method be printed on the backs of all clearance papers of all vessels leaving American ports. He also requested all returning seamen having used this information to report their success to newspapers with a view to improving it.

THE GOVERNMENT HAS FOLLOWED UP

Because of its historic interest I have given relatively too much space here to Jefferson's Report to Congress of 1791 on the Jacob Isaack's resolution which leaves too little space to document recent and more vital actions taken by the Government to find other solutions to this perplexing problem. President Truman in his state of the Union message called for renewed efforts to obtain usable water from the sea. Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman made it a point of paramount interest to have governmental action toward this objective. As a result, numerous so-called salt-water bills were introduced in Congress by both Democratic and Republican Congressmen. It is interesting to note—and quite understandable—why Congressmen from San Diego, Calif., regardless of party affiliation, were active in supporting such legislation.

As chairman of a subcommittee of the House Public Lands Committee I called the first hearing on one of these "salt water" bills—this one introduced by Congressman McKinnon, of San Diego, Calif.—which hearing was held on August 29, 1950, and several high officials of the Interior Department were called to testify on it. The serious turn of the Korean war at that time and for several years afterward made it particularly important that that great naval port and other coast cities with insufficient water resources in the hinterland should make haste to discover the great secret of purifying sea water effectively and least expensively. The transcript of this hearing was not printed—later hearings on the same bill in the next Congress were printed—but the transcript of August 29, 1950, may be found in the Government archives.

In the next Congress I was chairman of the full committee and the legislation, greatly modified, passed the House and the Senate and was duly enacted into law in 1952. This gave an authorization of $2 million through a 5-year period for appropriations to the Secretary of the Interior to enter into contracts with a scientist or with scientific bodies to carry on the necessary experimental work. On July 8, 1952, after the passage of the authorization bill and its implementation by a small appropriation as the last act of the 82d Congress, Secretary Chapman at a luncheon in his Department, personally thanked me for my official share in the legislative action toward this start. The Secretary said that while the appropriation was less, and the authorization was much less, than we had hoped for, that it was a beginning and that he would at once enter into contract with a great research organization to test the treatment of brackish and saline waters in certain wells in southwestern Arizona. This is cited to indicate that the treatment of brackish waters at the lower end of a great reclamation project is almost as important—and much less expensive relatively—as the desalting of sea water.

Let it be known that when an ideal solution for purifying saline water has been found it will be of great importance in many areas far inland as well as to seaports and coast areas. Subsequent legislation by Congress has wisely increased the authorization and also greatly increased the appropriation to implement the same. The ideal solution of treating sea water has not yet been found feasible, although the Navy is producing potable water for our Armed Forces by much improved methods of distillation. Thomas Jefferson and Jacob Isaacks would be greatly surprised to see how sea water is distilled today.

The above is but a sketchy outline of some of the directions being taken by modern science to make more good water available for use. I am glad to report that later congressional action and administrative effort has been given to this important question. Numerous Senators as well as Congressmen have given it their close attention. Since leaving Congress, I have had to leave the legislative work as well as the scientific work to others, of course, but have spent a great

deal of time in studying and checking on the progress in these various matters. Mostly I have inquired and written about what these experiments could mean to Arizona and how they could fit in—if and when satisfactorily completed—with the final solution of Arizona's water problems. I am happy to say that instead of despair I have hope that the future of Arizona will be tremendously benefited by this work of the scientist and the engineer, if aided by law and not thwarted by unwise political action.

H. R. 3011 and H. R. 4901

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a statement of the recommendations of National Federation of Independent Farm Organizations whose president is Mr. John G. Woods, of Lucas, Ohio, of my district. The membership of this organization are farmers and individuals who have made a study of and have practical knowledge of farm problems:

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT FARM ORGANIZATIONS,
March 5, 1957.

Hon. J. HARRY MCGREGOR,
Member of Congress, New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

STATEMENT

On my visit to Washington today, I have been both surprised and greatly disappointed to learn that the House Committee on Agriculture has, without any invitation to, or knowledge of this federation, acted upon a majority sponsored bill, H. R. 4901, and minority sponsored bill H. R. 3011. Since I am informed these bills are to be presented to Congress tomorrow, March 6, it is impossible to now completely discuss them in detail. But as president of this federation, and also the Associated Farmers of Richland County, Inc. (Mansfield, Ohio), it is obviously of great importance I herewith express my comments.

In general, it appears these bills to implement the Soil Bank Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 are in essence the further extension of Federal regimentation of agriculture by subsidy which has proven so ineffective, unsound and costly to all taxpayers. This policy of attempting to thwart the natural law of supply and demand is simply another futile effort based largely on estimates and opinions, to give "gifts" of other peoples money to a minority which policy is fundamentally unconstitutional. In this perspective there seems little actual difference between the two bills to be presented, except that H. R. 4901 is more comprehensive, more costly and contains more operational loopholes or defects.

The basic argument, therefore, seems to be that other crops besides corn must be controlled since the curtailment of one crop generally increases surpluses of others. It must be emphasized that such a policy extended to its ultimate goal will require the complete socialistic control of all crops, livestock and farm management as in the British Islands. Furthermore, it should be noted, the premises on which various statistics are based, relating to corn or wheat surpluses, are fallacious inasmuch as an investigation will reveal most of the crops stored by the Commodity Credit Corporation are in fact in very bad condition and not even suitable for safe feeding to livestock. Another erroneous theory has been presented in behalf of these bills to the effect that substantially lower corn prices mean reduced profits to livestock producers, whereas the opposite is true since even possible cheap market prices to consumers of such livestock does not take into account the wider profit margin resulting on cheap feeding.

Another basic error is frequently mentioned in advocating said bils where reference is made to wheat surpluses. Actually, as occurred in the spring of 1956, there again appears to be developing a critical shortage of soft red millable wheat, as produced in the Midwest, as has been reported to me by local flour mill operators in Ohio, and at the recent national millers convention in Lexington, Ky. It is very difficult to understand why in all such legislation no distinction is made in propounding allotments, quotas, surpluses, etc., between the hard yellow-bellied wheat produced mostly in the Southwest, which is actually in surplus and the soft millable wheat produced in the Midwest which is in short supply. In regard to the voting by farmers on the corn referendum, 1956, it should be noted that although 61 percent of the farmers voting favored the 51 million acres over the 37.3 million acres, actually in Ohio, we found most farmers were considerably confused and disgusted with both plans presented, and in Ohio only about 14 percent of all corn producers voted. The ballots issued were strongly reminiscent of the Soviet type, inasmuch as they did not afford farmers the opportunity to oppose either plan, but only to select from the lesser of two evils. Furthermore, you will note, by reference to pages 3 and 4 of the attached leaflet that the provisions contained in the acreage reserve agreements (on the reverse side where very few farmers have read them) have delegated powers to the Secretary of Agriculture, and hence to the ASC, which are virtually unlimited, unconstitutional, and too complex to be readily understood by the average farmers.

In conclusion, I must therefore state in behalf of our membership, we are opposed to H. R. 3011 and H. R. 4901, as written, and believe that no legislation of this character should be added to our statutes, as we already have too many such complicated, confusing laws, which shackle our individual rights, and the operation of the American free enterprise system in agriculture. If the law of supply and demand were allowed to freely operate so that farmers today could exercise their own judgment and responsibility as did their forefathers, the corn and all agriculture problems would rectify themselves and the unjust burden of high taxes would be lifted from the present inflationary yoke of the American citizens, and constitutional Government preserved.

Sincerely,

JOHN G. WOODS, *President.*

Excerpts From Remarks of Hon. Mark Hatfield, Secretary of State of Oregon, at Lincoln Day Banquet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith excerpts from an address delivered by the Honorable Mark Hatfield, Secretary of State of Oregon, at a Lincoln Day banquet in Portland during February 1957:

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS OF SECRETARY OF STATE MARK HATFIELD, LINCOLN DAY BANQUET, FEBRUARY 1957

The President from Illinois died, but his party lived. The present danger of presidential assassination lies not in the man himself but in the assassination of those things for which he stands. Gettysburg in 1960, a hundred years after it became a symbol of sacrifice of another kind, might well become the burial ground of Eisenhower's modern republicanism unless youth is enlisted, a program of action is evolved, and humanitarian concepts govern those actions.

No one has sprung anything that is alien to the first Republican President. The principles of Lincoln and of Eisenhower are one and the same separated only by a century of time. Thus, I believe, that modern republicanism, embracing an honest fiscal policy, with alertness to the needs of others across the seas, with a concentration of power in the people, with an awareness of the need for harmony between labor and management, with a recognition of the men in the shops, is not new—it is fundamental and it runs through Republican Party philosophy from the emancipation of the slaves to the decisions of the Supreme Court in the past few years.

In my view the Republican Party and its revitalization to meet the challenge of vigorous party survival beyond the service of its popular President is and must be the rallying point for preservation of personal liberty, it is and must be the defense against subjection to further governmental encroachments in economic liberty.

Let us look at the 1860 Republican platform, plank No. 12: "We commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingman liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the national commercial prosperity and independence." And at plank 14: "The Republican Party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws or any State legislation by which the rights of citizens hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired, and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad."

We must face squarely the matter of labor. Eisenhower has proved that labor likes Ike. We have enjoyed the harmony between labor and management to which the century-old platform referred. We are still scratching our collective heads to know if labor could be convinced to like Republicanism. So let's take our queue from a winner. President Eisenhower, speaking in St. Louis a number of years ago said: "Above all, we need more economic understanding and working arrangements that will bind labor and management in every productive enterprise into a far tighter voluntary, cooperative unit than we now have. The purpose of this unity will be—without the subordination of one group to the other—the increased productivity that alone can better the position of labor, of management, of all America."

In November of 1946 he stated: "The continuing efforts of organized labor to bring the good things of our country's production to the hands and homes of those of our own people who work at their creation calls for every encouragement. As long as these efforts are in harmony with our national welfare every citizens must applaud."

Our appeal to laboring men need not be along partisan lines. It must be along the

lines of opportunities in a program we are advancing, it must be with the assurance his individual liberties will be maintained and protected. His stake in economic actions by Congress and by the legislature must be made real to him.

Lincoln's compassion toward the slaves of the South was based upon the same Christian motivation as Eisenhower's concern for the slaves of totalitarianism around the globe today. Materialism or business or property cannot serve as a foundation for a democracy but the character of individuals and the maintenance of a free society are the twin pillars which Lincoln exemplified.

We dare not lose sight of what made both of these Presidents great leaders; deep concern for their fellow man, statesmanship, and reliance on God.

If you will permit me to draw a parallel between what I fear may be our situation within the party and what it was in Lincoln's day within the Union, I should like to substitute the words "Republican Party" in those places in which Lincoln used the word "Nation" in his first inaugural address:

"That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Republican Party at all events and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Republican Party, may I not speak?

"Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our party fabric, with all its benefits, memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all of the real ones you fly from—will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

"Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of the party cannot do this. * * * If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty."

Comment on a Speech of Hon. Wayne L. Hays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a newspaper clipping taken from the Houston Herald, Houston, Mo. Houston is located in the heart of the Missouri Ozarks, drought stricken for several years, but not counted so by the Department of Agriculture. The writer of this article is a retired printer and newspaperman who served Houston newspapers for 60 years. This man is C. E. (Deacon) Elmore, of Houston, Mo. Elmore is a Democrat who has voted in every election—National, State, county, and local—since 1903 except one special election. Last week Elmore had the following article in the Houston Herald commenting on a speech by Congressman WAYNE L. HAYS, of Ohio:

Mr. EDITOR: Congressman HAYS, Democrat, of Ohio, is a real smart man. He has come forth with a wise solution of a knotty problem. Of course we all know Dulles and Benson are misfits, but it looks like the suggestion of Congressman HAYS will chase the clouds away from the darkness that envelopes our national affairs.

Mr. HAYS made a short speech in Congress a few days ago that is printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

"Mr. Speaker, there have been some people who have suggested that the Secretary of State should resign. I think the Secretary of State and Secretary of Agriculture should exchange places and then perhaps Mr. Dulles would come out with a Middle West plan and we could give $200 million to the hard-pressed farmers of the Middle West while Mr. Benson who has again cut the farmers' income could devote his talents to cutting out some of the $200 million we are going to give to King Saud and the Middle East."

How about HAYS for President in 1960 in case Senator SYMINGTON or Congressman CHARLIE BROWN don't run? Thanks for listening.

DEACON ELMORE.

A Concentration of Business and Power Is Neither Desirable Nor Inevitable in America—Russia Places Her Entire Emphasis on Centralized Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in this cold war period, when there are constantly occurring the kind of situations that face us in the Middle East, in Korea, in Indochina, the two most powerful nations of the world are in fundamental opposition in almost every aspect of their life. This competitive struggle is all the more awesome and crucial in view of the tremendous nuclear forces which each has within its power to release.

Certainly, given these conditions, it seems to me that we must make every effort to strengthen our economic and political system with its emphasis on individual liberty and responsibility. Only in this way can we advance the prosperity of our people and the security of our Nation and our way of life. Only in this way will it be possible to defeat whatever schemes and plans the Communist dictatorship in Russia may devise.

Russia places her entire emphasis on centralized control of her economy, and this is productive of certain strength but also of many weaknesses.

Our own system has been built up by small-business men, by small farmers, and the working men and women of our country whether in the factory, or in the professions. This has been the basic strength of our country which has made it the greatest and most productive Nation in the world with a concern for the individual and the cultural values he represented which has been the inspiration of the entire world for three and a half centuries.

This week Senator PAUL DOUGLAS saw a threat to our way of life in the trend toward bigness in business and industry which, he said, threatens to replace democracy with plutocracy. The collectivization of modern business Goliaths by the state is no solution, he said, for Russia has shown that complete collectivism destroys freedom completely.

He emphasized the need for the protection of consumers from the exactions of the big oil and gas combines, and a reform of our taxing system.

DOUGLAS, one of the great public servants of our time, said:

I would further urge that a concentration of business and power is neither desirable nor inevitable and that what we should seek, instead, is a broader distribution of property and of power to the end that all may have enough to be secure but not so much as to menace others. This is the underlying economic and social problem of our times.

Senator DOUGLAS went on to say:

If the present trend toward bigness continues, then society will become divided between a relatively small group of managers and large groups of petty officials and workers. I am convinced that the economic efficiency of the modern business Goliaths is probably exaggerated and that their advantages are primarily financial and marketing. Their increase threatens indeed to replace democracy with a plutocracy administered by a managerial class. Moreover, as White has pointed out, the type of organization man which develops under this system is not the self-reliant American whom we prize.

European Socialists are content to let these giants become ever larger, believing that ultimately the state will then collectivize them. But even if this did occur, it would not be desirable. For power and control would be within even fewer hands. If the state controls the vast proportion of economic activity and a political party controls the state, how much freedom would there be for opponents? Few political leaders are deeply tolerant by nature. They have to be taught tolerance by the balance of political and economic power within the state. Let that balance become overwhelming or put almost complete power in their hands, then they will almost certainly use that power to coerce opposition. Russia should have taught us the lesson that complete collectivism is ultimately destructive of freedom.

The founders of American progressivism, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln in former times, and LaFollette, Norris, and Brandeis in our generation had a sounder vision. They wanted to distribute power more broadly so that initiative would be stimulated and so that men could be more free.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS FOR SMALL BUSINESS AID

Senator DOUGLAS makes these points, Mr. Speaker, that we should try to democratize the great corporations by developing more stockholders like Lewis Gilbert and promoting minority representation upon boards of directors.

We should try to protect small and moderate size business and the family farm.

We should seek the further democratization of the big unions which big industry has called into being.

The overall goal of Government should be distributivism rather than collectivism.

So far in this session of the Congress I have introduced four major bills designed to deal with various aspects of this basic and fundamental issue. They are:

H. R. 8, to establish corporate income-tax rates of 22 percent normal tax and 31 percent surtax.

H. R. 487, to provide for registration, reporting, and disclosure of employee welfare and pension benefit plans.

H. R. 2513, to amend the Small Business Act of 1953 to abolish the Loan Policy Board of the Small Business Administration, to make the Small Business Administration a permanent agency of the Government, and for other purposes.

House Resolution 166, to authorize the Select Committee on Small Business to investigate and study the problems of small business with respect to basic and applied scientific research and development.

H. R. 5034, to amend the Federal Deposit Insurance Act to authorize agreements with State banking authorities for the elimination of duplicate examinations which are insured under such act. Such permissive legislation would enable real savings to be made. This proposal was made in testimony given before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, January 31, 1957, by former Congressman Charles R. Howell, now Commissioner of Banking and Insurance for the State of New Jersey. Mr. Howell appeared on behalf of the National Association of Supervisors of State Banks.

TAX CUTS FOR SMALL BUSINESS

In the Cabinet committee report last year there were 4 recommendations for tax cuts for small business: First a rate reduction from 30 percent to 20 percent; second, accelerated depreciation on the first $50,000 spent for purchase of used equipment; third, permission for some corporations to pay taxes as partnerships; and, fourth, permission for installment payment of the estate taxes.

The cost of this whole package was estimated at $600 million in tax revenues, and the cost broke down as follows: $400 million on the rate reduction and $200 million on the last three recommendations.

The President says that because of circumstances beyond his control we cannot get the tax reduction promised the small firms in the campaign last fall by the administration. He adds, however, that he is favorably disposed on some tinkering with taxes as long as this tinkering effect on tax income is minimal. More than this, in a press conference recently Secretary Humphrey mentioned that $50 million might be a minimal figure.

If the President and Treasury Secretary George Magoffin Humphrey stick by these announced positions the question then becomes: How should this tax revision be made to give the brightest ray of hope to small firms?

George Burger, of the National Federation of Independent Business, has offered a very constructive proposal to me. He writes:

Why not see if it is possible for the Government to revise its business tax regulations to allow both corporations and unincorporated firms to deduct from their yearly taxable income, say $500 or $1,000, providing businessmen have spent this on expansions, improvements, or other things to improve their businesses. If a businessman has spent, say, $2,000 he would be able to take, under this thinking, $500 of that as a complete deduction from taxable income and compute his depreciation and other figures on the balance.

Perhaps some change in tax law like this might fit in with the $50 million figure mentioned by Secretary Humphrey. That is something I don't know, and is something that would have to be worked out by those people who do know the tax situation. However, this strikes me that if Congress were to do any one thing, if this particular thing were possible it might have the greatest meaning to small, independent businessmen. For it is not a matter of percentages they might not appreciate or understand, not a matter of accelerated depreciation on the first $50,000 of income spent on used machinery—most of the small fellows I suppose never get close enough to $50,000 to know what it smells like—and not like the other thing which might or might not have meaning to the great bulk of businessmen. On the other hand $500 or $1,000 in hard cash is something that they can all understand, and very clearly.

On the basis of this constructive recommendation and other like proposals I have developed and am introducing a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a taxpayer to deduct from gross income certain amounts paid or incurred for the expansion or improvement of a trade or business. The text of the bill follows:

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a taxpayer to deduct from gross income certain amounts paid or incurred for the expansion or improvement of a trade or business

Be it enacted, etc., That (a) section 162 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to deduction for trade or business expenses) is amended—

(1) by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (2);

(2) by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting in lieu thereof "; and"; and

(3) by inserting after paragraph (3) the following new paragraph:

"(4) amounts paid or incurred for the expansion of the trade or business or for the permanent improvement and betterment of property used in the trade or business, and amounts paid or incurred in restoring property used in the trade or business or in making good the exhaustion thereof, to the extent that such amounts do not exceed $1,000 during the taxable year."

(b) Section 263 (a) of such code (relating to capital expenditures) is amended by striking out "No deduction" and inserting in lieu thereof "Except as provided in section 162 (a) (4), no deduction."

SEC. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this act shall apply only with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1956.

Our Reds Can't Bear To Be Called Subversive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Saturday Evening Post of September 15, 1956:

OUR REDS CAN'T BEAR TO BE CALLED SUBVERSIVE

The one procedure which the Communist Party of the United States has resisted more strenuously than all the other chapters in the book which has been thrown at it is the requirement that it register as a Communist-action organization, as required by the Internal Security Act of 1950. Inasmuch as it is now 1956, and the Communist Party has not yet registered with the Subversive Activities Control Board, it must be said that the Red brethren have not been unsuccessful.

All this will surprise and shock a good many Americans who had supposed that the intimate connection between the Kremlin and the American Communist Party had been established long since. (What was all that talk about Gerhart Eisler and J. Peters, two of the men who delivered Moscow's orders to its American stooges?) Nevertheless, the Communist Party has not registered.

Registration would mean that the party would have to file with the Board the names and addresses, not only of its officers but of its whole membership. Furthermore, the party would be required to file with the Board annual statements of its sources of income and other financial information. It is easy to see why the party has put up a more strenuous fight to resist registration than it has made even to save its more prominent officers from the clink.

The Communist Party's greatest victory in this battle was, of course, scored in the Supreme Court of the United States last April, when the Court refused to affirm the Control Board's order that the Communist Party must register as a subversive organization.

The Court's ground was that the proceedings before the Board might have been tainted by the testimony of three witnesses whose credibility had been challenged in earlier cases. The Communists made no serious effort to disprove the testimony of these men before the Board, contenting themselves with an effort to discredit them as professional perjurers. Actually, their testimony was hardly controlling. Justice Clark in his dissenting opinion declared that "never before have mere allegations of perjury, so flimsily supported, been considered grounds for reopening a proceeding or granting a new trial."

The Board recently decided to remove the testimony of the challenged witnesses from its report and to deny the party's motion for new hearings. However, an appeal by the Communists will start proceedings which may consume another 6 years before the Supreme Court has another crack at them.

To this end the Communist Party has been busy as a bee attempting to build a new case. It has again challenged the constitutionality of the Internal Security law and raised legal objections to virtually every step in the pro-

cedure. It demands that the appellate court in the District of Columbia order the FBI to produce its confidential files dealing with witnesses whose credibility was challenged—the customary effort to smash the FBI.

The 1953 report of the Subversive Activities Control Board was based on a record of 14,000 pages which makes it apparent to any intelligent American that the Communist Party has been under orders from Moscow since its inception. American Communist Party leaders have been summoned to Moscow to get their orders. Others have attended the Lenin Institute courses on subversive tactics. Several, including Earl Browder, have been removed from control by order of the Kremlin.

And yet 6 years after passage of an act of Congress intended to curb this conspiracy, effective action has been successfully resisted—and resistance at least temporarily facilitated by what seems to us to a Nervous Nellie type decision by the highest court in the land.

HOW MUCH RED PROPAGANDA CAN A GOOD MAN ABSORB?

A phenomenon which must be the despair of rational men and the delight of cynics is the extraordinary blindness of many good people to the ethical principles which they are supposed to defend. In a recent issue of the Christian Herald, Mr. Gerald Bailey, an observer for the United Nations and also for the British Society of Friends, was quoted upon his return from a 25-day tour of Communist China. Mr. Bailey declared that "in the broadest sense the Chinese people seem to be satisfied with the government * * * it is honest and responsible as compared with the preceding regime * * * it has given the country internal peace in the first time of the memory of the living."

Having said this, Mr. Bailey makes the astonishing statement that the "price of all this may be the slow destruction of the individual personality, but if this be true the Chinese do not seem to be aware of it." He adds that "Shanghai is now almost deserted" and that "600,000 persons, one-quarter of the city's labor force, are unemployed." Large numbers of Chinese, Mr. Bailey reported, have committed suicide.

What baffles us less dedicated people is the calm objectivity with which a religious leader is able to praise the accomplishments of a regime which has produced internal peace by means of universal terror.

If the day should ever come when the United States of America, or even Great Britain, was enslaved by a fanatical minority, isolated from the outside world, and brainwashed and terrorized into acceptance of these tragic conditions, let us hope there will be at least one Jeremiah among us to tell the truth, instead of blandly assuring the rest of the world that, although our personalities have been destroyed, we don't really miss them at all.

Hon. Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SPEECH

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, this is the 25th anniversary of the entrance into this body of a very distinguished Pennsylvanian, the Honorable FRANCIS E. WALTER, the dean of the Pennsylvania delegation. Mr. WALTER came to this Chamber a quarter of a century ago.

His career has been marked by a high degree of intelligence and statesmanship, I, along with other members of this great body, pay tribute to him today and wish him many more years of valuable service to this Nation.

Trinity River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, on June 21, 1955, the House passed H. R. 4663, a bill to authorize construction of the Trinity River project as a unit of the Central Valley project in California. The debate on this bill indicated very definitely that the project was feasible and worthwhile. During the debate it was pointed out that the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. would propose a plan to buy from the Federal Government falling water for the generation of electricity and distribute the same through their own power lines to consumers in northern California. Many Members of Congress, including myself, who supported this legislation felt that a thorough and unbiased investigation of the proposal which might be offered should be considered in the full light of benefit to the people who would be served within the wheeling range of this project.

The project was approved and is well under construction. In accordance with the bill, the utility company desiring to bid for the falling water was allowed to submit its proposal within 18 months from enactment of the legislation. Negotiations have been going on between the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. and the Department of the Interior, and on February 13, 1957, the Secretary of the Interior, Fred A. Seaton, submitted his recommendation that the Congress approve joint development of the hydroelectric phases of the project and permit the sale of falling water to the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., providing that they construct the generating facilities and transmission lines.

This would amount to a reduction of $55,500,000 in the initial capital investment by the Federal Government in the overall cost of the Trinity River project, which is estimated at $225 million. The company also proposes to pay to the Federal Government over a period of 50 years $165 million for falling water.

Furthermore, the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. will pay Federal, State, county, and city taxes in the amount of $135 million over the 50-year period.

It seems to me that this is an extraordinarily profitable venture for the Federal Government and should receive almost the unanimous support of the Congress of the United States, particularly at a time when we are trying to balance the budget and put our financial house in order.

When this bill received the approval of Congress, I made the statement that I was in favor of free enterprise and that the distribution of the power generated on the Trinity River should be turned over to a private company if a favorable contract could be made. The decision that must be reached on this project is one for the exercise of each Member of Congress. I find myself necessarily in disagreement regarding this project with some members of the California congressional delegation. The people of my district, I feel, are overwhelmingly in favor of the partnership contract and endorse the stand of the California State Chamber of Commerce and former Under Secretary of the Interior, Ralph A. Tudor, as expressed in the following statements, which I desire to include with my own remarks:

STATEMENT OF POSITION OF THE CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE, AND INDUSTRY ON THE TRINITY RIVER PROJECT DEVELOPMENT

The California State Chamber of Commerce believes that the partnership plan approved by Secretary Seaton for the development of the Trinity project is sound and in the best interest not only of every citizen in California but of the Nation.

This chamber is opposed to Government ownership and operation of industry, whether under the guise of reclamation or otherwise. It is an obvious and often demonstrated fact that the only means of saving money for the consumer through Government ownership and operation is to resort to false and misleading means of tax exemption and use of Government credit. There is no secret means by which Government can furnish goods and services at cheaper rates than private enterprise. The only way Government can use its powers to subsidize the few who directly benefit is by shifting costs to the many. Such discriminatory use of Government credit and powers, if continued, will eventually lead to nationalization of industry here, as it has elsewhere. No private business can compete successfully against a Government agency which has tax exemption and access to the purse and police powers of Government.

It is essential that Government encourage creation of taxable property. It is the opinion of this chamber that private enterprise should be encouraged, not hindered, by governmental competition. Public funds should be invested only where necessary to furnish adequate service that private enterprise cannot provide. Such a policy should be followed not only in regard to production and distribution of electric energy, but also in regard to all other business or enterprise, regardless of size or nature.

PARTNERSHIP DEVELOPMENT OF TRINITY RIVER PROJECT

(Statement of Ralph A. Tudor, Tudor Engineering Co., San Francisco; former Under Secretary of the Interior)

I have carefully reviewed the report of the Commissioner of Reclamation and of Secretary of Interior Seaton on the proposed partnership development of the Trinity River project in northern California. These reports clearly show that if the partnership plan is followed rather than all Federal development, there will be a saving to the Federal Government of not less than $55,500,000 in initial capital cost; the Federal Government will collect at least $165 million more in revenue in the first 50 years if it accepts the P. G. & E. proposal than if it generates and sells the power itself at present Federal rates; and the Federal, State, and local governments will collect an estimated $135 million in taxes during the same period if the joint development plan is adopted.

This is a total gain to the taxpayers of at least $355,500,000 on a project whose total cost was estimated by the Bureau of Reclamation to be $225 million.

Secretary Seaton concludes, and I am sure correctly, that "joint development would provide substantially more funds for potential irrigation and multipurpose development in the Central Valley area."

The principle of joint development proposed in this instance is by no means unique, for it has been worked out in the same general manner between the Federal Government and investor-owned utilities as well as local public bodies on numerous occasions ever since the Federal reclamation law was first passed in 1902, and, for that matter, even earlier.

Youth Group Achievement Awards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, we hear much these days about juvenile delinquency. It is, of course, a national problem about which we should all be concerned. Many of us in this body, myself included, have, in fact, been so concerned that we have introduced legislation which would give Federal leadership to the fight against juvenile delinquency and establish a broad program to assist States and localities in their efforts for the control and treatment of juvenile delinquency.

However, while we must exert every effort to provide adequate services for the rehabilitation of those children who get into trouble, we must not forget that the vast majority of our children are doing things of which we have a right to be proud. Too often the misdeeds of the very few are allowed to overshadow the good deeds of the many.

I am, therefore, pleased to note the announcement of the Parent's magazine youth achievement award. Awards totaling $1,000, as well as certificates of honor, will be awarded to the youth group or groups which have rendered, during the period from June 1, 1956, to to May 31, 1957, the greatest school or community service or other outstanding and useful public service, to their school or community, or have done other important work.

Parent's magazine is greatly to be commended for this effort, the knowledge if which is deserving of the widest possible dissemination. I trust that every Member will make an effort to bring these awards to the attention of the people of his district so that youthful activities of merit may receive the recognition they deserve.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I request that there be printed in the body of the RECORD, immediately following my remarks, the information which should be furnished in making nominations for these awards. These nominations, which can be made by the groups themselves or by teachers, principals, civic or church leaders, newspaper editors, parent-teacher associations, and other interested individuals, before June 1, 1957, should be sent to Parent's magazine's youth group achievement awards, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.:

1. I hereby nominate for Parents' Magazine's youth group achievement awards in 1956–57 the following group:
   Official title of group_____
   Address_____
   City, State_____
2. Total number of members_____
Boys_____ Girls_____ Average age_____
3. Affiliation of youth group_____
4. Please describe very briefly the useful service for which this group is being nominated. (Attach to this form a statement of 500 words, or less, describing more fully the achievement of the youth group nominated. Give facts on how the group worked on this project, what cooperation it received, the opposition (if any) encountered, and the specific accomplishment with particular emphasis on activities from June 1956 to date. Include supporting documents such as newspaper clippings or photographs of the group in action and letters.)
_____
_____
5. What circumstances made this service needed? _____
_____
6. Give dates of this service _____
_____
7. What has been achieved to date?_____
_____
8. How many members participated actively in the youth group's activities?_____
9. Was the youth group assisted in this service by any other group? _____ Explain nature of assistance (advice, guidance, direct participation) _____
_____
10. Does this youth group have an adult leader? _____ If yes, please give:
   Name _____
   Position _____
   Address_____
   Work done on project for which group is nominated for award_____
   _____
11. Names and titles (if any) of outstanding members in the group project:
_____
_____
12. What awards or other recognition has this group received as a result of this effort? List prizes won, newspaper or magazine articles, television and radio programs, etc. _____
_____
Date_____ Signed_____
Title_____ Address_____

Time for Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a commendable and most interesting editorial that appeared in the March 7, 1957, edition of the National Tribune-Stars and Stripes, Washington, D. C.:

TIME FOR ACTION

The House Veterans' Affairs Committee has approved H. R. 52, introduced by Representative OLIN E. TEAGUE, of Texas, World War II veteran and chairman of the committee. This bill would raise compensation payment to service-connected veterans with 10- to 90-percent disability by about 10 percent and increase the payments in 100-percent disability by 24 percent. The bill also applies to dependency allowance to veterans whose disabilities are rated at 50 percent or more.

Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, has also introduced a bill which would grant somewhat greater increases for the service-connected and their dependents than the Teague bill.

It would appear from present knowledge that some form of bill to grant increased compensation in the case of the service-connected will be passed. It is easy to give support to such a measure because there is not one honest to goodness American who wants to see that particular class of veteran neglected.

There are many others, in and out of Government, apparently responsible citizens, who also give this type of bill lipservice. These groups take such action because, first of all, they realize it is popular, but more surely, because they feel that by thus appearing to support help for the service-connected veterans and their dependents, they may avoid the payment of another just debt, due all veterans—a debt which they fear will tax their pocketbooks too much and a debt which they will try to avoid paying by every form of misleading propaganda.

On the question of this latter debt to the veterans of our country it all seems to resolve itself into one simple question. Do the people of the United States owe anything to the men who fought their country's wars and endangered his life and future in winning those wars?

Up to a few years ago the people of our Nation felt they did owe such a debt, a debt which has been met with generosity and alacrity by not only the citizens of the country but also by the many Congresses which have been making the laws of our land since the beginning of our Republic.

Until a short time ago the theory that a veteran, by reason of his service was not in a separate class from those who did not don the uniform in time of war, and had not earned the gratitude of the country, had never been brought up.

The first crack in the veteran's armor came in 1933 when the economy bill was passed, cutting off thousands and thousands, some old, some younger, from the benefits they had been granted.

A glance at the roster of the group which fostered the Economy Act will inform any intelligent reader that it was made up primarily of the wealthy, big taxpaying citizens whose only thought was to save themselves taxpayments at the expense of the most defenseless class, the veterans of the wars of the United States.

They were bold and determined in their efforts to lop veterans off the pension rolls and, sad to relate, they were quite successful. Thousands of veterans found themselves unable to cope with the then high cost of living—other thousands took their own lives in despair when they realized the enormity of the crime which had been committed against them. It took years to restore even a semblance of the inherent rights to which war veterans and their fellow countrymen had always been entitled because of such service.

Today, in a later era, we find the same forces of evil working against the veteran class, again using all kinds of misleading information and figures to deceive the people of the United States and put the fear of costs in their heart to such an extent that even the decent folks in our country are not sure just what they are facing.

It has been said many times that figures don't lie but liars can figure. That is what

is being done now and once again the lead is being taken by the big metropolitan newspapers, backed by the wealthy. Projection as to costs of veterans' care is being taken forward to the year 2000, when, if you believe the false propaganda being disseminated, the Nation will become bankrupt by the staggering amount which veterans and their dependents will take from the Government if their care is continued.

These figures do not tell you that within less than 10 years scarcely a Spanish-American War veteran will be alive, and this is also true of the widows of that war. They do not tell you that veterans of World War I are dying at the rate of 100,000 a year and that long before the year 2000 there will be hardly a single War I veteran still alive. And this also applies to the widows of such veterans. With the exception of a few long-lived survivors of that war the mortality laws will have taken care of the costs to the Government and the taxpayers.

We have not mentioned the veterans of World War II and the Korean War although we believe that when the time comes, they, too, should be aided by the Government for which they fought.

Fortunately, zealous action on the part of the older veterans has seen to it that this younger group is in a better situation, financially today than were their older brothers or fathers, 10 years after the end of the wars in which they took part. By reason of the laws which the older group insisted be placed on the statute books the country is far better off than ever, having developed the skills and services of a young, ambitious class whose advancement in the years to come can only inure to the benefit of all the Nation.

Our attention is called to that class of veterans and their dependents who now need the safeguards to which they always believed they were entitled. We think of the few remaining veterans of the war of 1898–1902 and their aging widows. The pitiful pension of $54.18 which the Spanish War widow now receives is truly a disgrace to the most prosperous Nation in the world. They should be cared for with a decent increase to help in their last few remaining years.

We consider, also, those veterans of World War I who are, with few exceptions, in their sixties and of the many in this class who, by reason of age or disability, or both, are now unable to meet the keen competition of the day and must fall back on the Government and the people they served in time of danger in the now almost forgotten long ago.

Bills of various descriptions have been introduced in their behalf, some better than others, but all designed in an attempt to bring relief.

It is too bad that people highly placed in our Government have declared that the veteran of a war is just another citizen and that when the time comes the Government or the State will take care of him with some form of old-age assistance.

Patriotism is considered unintelligent by many sophisticates but we cannot believe that it has entirely left the hearts of the great majority of our people and we believe that properly educated the good citizens of our country will back up the efforts of the various veteran groups in the latter's endeavor to secure some modicum of aid for their former comrades in arms.

Two things seem to be necessary if the veteran is to secure the benefits to which he is properly entitled. We have suggested the education of our citizens on the subject of veterans' rights. That can be done if properly conducted.

More important, however, is the union of all veterans behind a worthy measure which would insure a decent pension for those who deserve it, a pension without regard to income limitations, a pension that would be a real token of the esteem in which the veteran is held by his fellow countrymen.

We do not call for a Legion bill, a Veterans of Foreign Wars bill, a Veterans of World War I bill, or a measure proposed by any veterans' organization. We do want to see a measure which will have such a backing by the veterans and the people that it cannot fail of passage by the Congress and enactment into law.

Remember, the voice of the people is the voice of God, and once expressed it must be obeyed by the most powerful influences which might contend against it. Let that voice be heard in the next few weeks, veterans, and our fellow countrymen. Make it thunderous in its unanimity and we cannot lose.

The Political Trial of Mat Connelly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Drew Pearson:

ST. LOUIS, MO.—On the morning of July 7, 1956, at 9:30, United States District Judge Rubey Hulen went into the backyard of his home in St. Louis, aimed a .32 revolver at his temple, and pulled the trigger. He died 4 hours later at the Barnes Hospital. It was one of the few times in the history of the United States that a Federal judge committed suicide.

At 10 a. m. that same day Judge Hulen was scheduled to go to the same hospital where he died, for another purpose. He was to get shock therapy to rouse him out of a depression partly brought on by a trial over which he had presided. It was the trial of President Truman's appointment secretary, Mat Connelly, and former Assistant Attorney General Lamar Caudle.

From remarks Judge Hulen made from the bench and to his doctors, it was obvious that the trial preyed on him. He expressed the private opinion that there might have been a miscarriage of justice. A jury on June 14 had found Caudle and Connelly guilty of conspiracy to help Irving Sachs, a St. Louis shoe manufacturer, evade taxes; and on July 19 Judge Hulen was scheduled either to sentence them or grant them a new trial.

Here in St. Louis I found that a friend who invited the judge to go for a drive a few days before his death had found him with a pad of paper and pencil trying to write an opinion in the case. "They didn't do any more than you or I would have done," he said.

He went out less and less during and after the trial. Mrs. Hulen said that the trial preyed on his mind. For a time, during the trial, his mind was such that his doctors considered giving him shock therapy. However, this type of treatment for a mentally ill person causes a complete, though temporary, loss of memory, and would have made it impossible to continue with the trial.

So the shock therapy was postponed until after the trial was over. Thirty minutes before he was to begin that treatment, Judge Hulen killed himself.

A DREYFUS CASE (?)

If you examine the facts in the case over which Judge Hulen had to preside, you can understand some of the reasons why he might become mentally upset. For the case could turn out to be as unfair as the famous case of Capt. Alfred Dreyfus.

For 3 years Attorney General Brownell had been probing the various activities of Truman's close friends and officials. Some of them needed probing. Most of them had been pretty well exposed in this column or by congressional investigation some years before. Obviously, however, a criminal conviction in 1956 would make important campaign material for an election year.

For over 2 years Brownell had been holding grand juries in St. Louis, Omaha and Kansas City, Harry Truman's home territory. Virtually the same officials were hauled out to testify—ex-Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder, ex-Under Secretary Ed Foley, Caudle, various revenue men. The juries in Kansas City and Omaha were unresponsive. But that in St. Louis was out for blood.

Finally Brownell's boys hit on the case of Irving Sachs, a St. Louis shoe manufacturer suffering from extreme epilepsy. Though there was a call from the White House on Sach's behalf, and though some wires were pulled, Caudle sent him to trial anyway. He pleaded guilty and was fined $40,000.

This column had carried the full story on April 24, 1950. The story had come from Caudle himself. He was completely frank, had nothing to hide. Almost 6 years later, well after the statute of limitations had run, Brownell's boys indicted him and Connelly. They took the case before their runaway grand jury in St. Louis.

At the final trial last spring, part of the Justice Department's case was so flimsy it folded up.

Judge Hulen, sitting on the case, obviously expected an acquittal. He seemed so surprised when the jury brought in a verdict for Brownell's boys that he remarked from the bench to Caudle's and Connelly's attorneys:

"You are going to renew your motion for an acquittal. And you are going to renew your motion for a mistrial."

Charles Margiotti, attorney for Caudle, said: "We renew those motions right now."

"Then I will hear your arguments on July 19," said the judge. He never heard those arguments. On July 7, worried over the case, he shot himself.

The Justice Department, instead of permitting a new trial, placed the written evidence before a completely new judge, Gunnar Nordbye of Minneapolis.

Judge Nordbye read the evidence. He had not sat in any part of the trial. He did not hear the witnesses testify. He did not hear the arguments. He didn't have the feel of the courtroom. He found for the Justice Department, sustained the convictions of Caudle and Connelly.

They are to be sentenced tomorrow.

A Letter From "Jimmy"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO E. PASSMAN
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

Mister, do you love your children and your grandchildren?

You know, mister, you've spent a whole lot more than you will ever pay for. And now you're spending and giving away the money me and my kids will have to earn.

My uncle tells me what you call "prosperity," and "we never had it better," isn't quite fair. He says you are borrowing on me and my children—and even my grandchildren and giving the money to people to

spend now—but me and my kids are the ones who will have to pay for it. Now, really, mister, don't you think that is a dirty trick to pull on us kids?

My uncle says we got a lot of fine men in Congress and the Senate—and he thinks our President is tops. But he says they are all so kind hearted they are trying to solve all the problems of the world right now. He says many of those troubles have been growing for hundreds of years, and it isn't quite fair for this generation to try to fix everything for everyone.

I suppose it was O. K. for you fellows to go as far as you wanted with your own money. But you shouldn't be loading it on me and my cousins.

Mister, I think if you knew what a dirty trick you're pulling on us kids, you'd be ashamed of yourselves.

JIMMY.

Visiting Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, it is an axiom that those who are closest to their everyday work often find it difficult to view their work objectively. Thus, it may be of interest to the Members to know what others think of the day-to-day operation of Congress. Such an unbiased point of view comes to hand in an editorial by Arthur Ballantine, Jr., publisher of the Durango (Colo.) Herald-News. Mr. Ballantine, a discerning observer, was a recent visitor in Washington and has written the following editorial on the subject. The editorial, from the Durango (Colo.) Herald-News, follows:

VISITING CONGRESS

(By Arthur Ballantine, Jr.)

Seeing the United States Congress at work is an impressive experience.

Most, fortunately, feel free to criticize the actions of Congress. Yet one gets a feeling of awe upon approaching the handsome Capitol Building where one of the two most powerful governments in the world makes its decisions.

The inside is rich in American traditions. Murals tell the famous incidents in American history. Statues of distinguished Americans have been presented by their home States and admiring groups. Dr. Florence Sabin is shortly to be added to the Capitol collection as a representative from Colorado.

The Senate Chamber is a remarkably quiet place. Although debate was beginning on the important Eisenhower doctrine, only a handful of Senators were listening. The Chamber is seldom full unless debate is nearing a crisis or votes are about to be taken. The only rule is that some Senator must be there to represent the majority and another to represent the minority.

The next day we had the unusual opportunity of lunching with the entire Colorado delegation.

While Colorado's delegation is equally divided between Reupblicans and Democrats, the delegation usually votes solidly on matters affecting Colorado such as water and highways. It was easy to see that the delegation worked together, having a friendly spirit which is probably impossible to achieve in the larger States.

The House is a good deal more active place than the Senate, since there are 435 Members against 96. Whereas the Senate has individual desks, the Representatives sit in rows of undesignated seats. The Speaker of the House, SAM RAYBURN, exercises a good deal more direct influence on day-to-day government than the Vice President does in the Senate, and he is second in line to succession to the Presidency.

A striking thing is the friendliness of Senators and Representatives to Capitol visitors. Many of them bear names famous throughout the country. Yet they are always ready to stop and visit when one of their fellow Members has guests.

This personal attention is certainly one of the more time consuming features of the lives of our Senators and Representatives. Another is the official occasions they must attend in the evening. This is in addition to the very heavy legislative work they must do. Being a Senator or Representative is not such a cinch as one might think.

Ohio Republican Members of House Show Way to Economy in Our Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to learn that a resolution adopted by the Republican Congressmen from Ohio on February 25 is being given a great deal of attention and publicty. The fact that it was approved and signed by all of the Republican Members from Ohio has given it some special attention. The Republican membership in the House numbers 17. The fact that it recommended a reduction in the Federal budget, which reduction was being insisted upon by many of our people and our newspapers, also added to its importance and newspapers all over the country have commented on it.

My friend, Congressman CLEVENGER, from Ohio, has brought to my attention a very interesting editorial from the Fort Lauderdale News which gives the subject most favorable consideration.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that this editorial be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a part of my remarks. The editorial is as follows:

OHIO REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF HOUSE SHOW WAY TO ECONOMY IN OUR GOVERNMENT

The widely held misconception that the average citizen can do little or nothing to help reduce Government spending got a big kick in the teeth last week when the entire Ohio Republican delegation in the House of Representatives served notice on their colleagues they had unanimously agreed a substantial reduction of President Eisenhower's $72 billion budget will be in the best interests of the people of the United States.

Why did the Ohio Republican delegation take this action? Primarily because the citizens of Ohio have taken up cudgels against high Federal taxes and high Government spending and through letters to their congressional representatives they have made it clear they want and expect relief.

These letters brought results. Representative THOMAS JENKINS was one of the Congressmen who was the recipient of many of these letters. After talking the matter over with some of his fellow Ohio legislators he called a meeting of the entire Ohio Republican delegation on February 25. At this meeting the budgetary situation was thoroughly discussed and after the discussion the following resolution was adopted and later presented on the floor of the House:

"The Ohio Republican delegation in the United States House of Representatives, after careful study and evaluation, has unanimously agreed that a substantial reduction of the $72 billion budget will be in the best interests of the people of the United States.

"It was further agreed that every proposed reduction in the budget, which does not curtail essential services or endanger the security of our country, will be supported.

"The action of the Ohio Republican delegation is the first of its kind with respect to the present budget and is in accord with the admonition of President Eisenhower and Ohio's own Secretary of the Treasury, George M. Humphrey, that Congress exercise its independent control over Government spending."

The above resolution was signed by all 17 Ohio Republican Representatives, who have now placed themselves squarely on the record for substantial budget cuts, and who will have to answer to the citizens of Ohio if they fail to live up to their economy pledge.

This incident demonstrates what can be accomplished when citizens of all stripes pick up their pens and let their congressional Representatives know how they feel about things. All too often Congressmen hear only from the pressure groups and the individuals who want something from the Government at all the taxpayers' expense. Thus we can hardly blame our Congressmen for adopting the attitude that since the general public doesn't care much one way or the other whether or not they go along with the pressure groups, there's no harm in giving them what they want.

But now, fortunately, Congressmen are beginning to hear from Mr. and Mrs. Joe Doakes back home and they are finding out there is a lot more interest on the part of the people in reducing taxes and spending than they might have realized. And so our Congressmen are starting to pay some attention to what Mr. and Mrs. Joe Doakes are asking them, and for the first time in a long while they are paying more than mere lipservice to the issue of economy in our Government.

That's why we would like to dispel the idea that the average little citizen can't do anything to reduce his taxes or stop the Federal Government from spending so much of his tax money. The average citizen can do a great deal simply by writing a postcard or letter to his congressional Representatives and letting them know how he or she feels about not only high taxes and high spending, but about other issues as well.

Don't get the idea Congressmen don't read their mail from back home. They all do it religiously and they are quick to note the reaction of their constituents to legislation coming up before them.

As we have pointed out before in this space, Congressmen are reporting the receipt of a very heavy volume of back-home mail this session, demanding that action be taken by Congress to reduce the budget and cut taxes. This is all to the good, and, if anything, our people should redouble their efforts in this respect.

The administration, no doubt, will put heavy pressure on the Congress not to reduce foreign aid and a host of other nonessential Government spending. But if our Congressmen have sufficient indication that their constituents back home really want these unessential expenditures cut out of the budget there is a mighty good chance this will be accomplished despite the objections of the bureaucratic spenders.

It's true one letter, by itself, isn't likely to sway a Congressman's vote. But many letters, all asking the same thing, will cause

him to stop and think, as has well been proved by the resolution adopted last week by the Ohio Republican delegation in the House.

JACK W. GORE.

Committee on International Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LUDWIG TELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. TELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a resolution today—House Resolution 186—to change the name of our standing committee which deals with our relationship to neighboring countries and nations abroad from "Committee on Foreign Affairs" to "Committee of International Affairs." My purpose in proposing the resolution is to point up the grave responsibilities of world leadership which have been imposed upon our country.

My proposed resolution is not an exercise in semantics. Words help to mold thinking, and the thinking evoked by the words "foreign relations" is bad because it pictures our neighboring nations and nations beyond the seas as foreign to our interests, peopled by foreigners in whose welfare presumably we have no concern.

The name and existence of the present Committee on Foreign Affairs was established in 1822, when we were a country barely recovered from the struggle for independence from foreign shackles, when the War of 1812 was still fresh in the minds of our lawmakers, and when facilities for traveling were so slow that countries in Europe, and particularly in Asia, were regarded as being in a different world.

The present situation has not the slightest resemblance to the time in 1822 when the Committee on Foreign Affairs was established. Nineteenth century wars tended to local conflicts, most of them foreign encounters which we viewed at safe distance, but in this century we were participants in two world wars and even more recently saw the necessity for sending our soldiers to far-away Korea in defense of our ultimate national interests and world peace.

The airplane, the rocket and, overwhelmingly, the consequences of atomic energy have reduced space and increased interdependence to a degree which not even Jules Verne's imaginative mind preconceived. Add to this the world-wide menace of gangsterism which goes by the name of Soviet communism, and we see the utter realism of the word "foreign" to describe our relationship with the world community of nations. The air-mile has not only cut down distance but has evoked new and more closely knit space-time dimensions for good and evil.

Discarding the word "foreign" for the word "international" is a vehicle for expressing a number of policies and points of view. The Republican-dominated Midwest isolationism would be repudiated, and for it would be substituted a hospitable reception for the requirements of international cooperation, a more realistic appraisal of our significant role in the United Nations.

We would need also to abandon the preoccupation with the military aspects of our relations with other countries and assume a greater responsibility for the well-being of our friends and allies. Some of this is being done already, but at times its grudging and unsystematic character impairs its value. Piecemeal charity is different from a coordinated system of mutual assistance in international relations such as the Truman doctrine and the Marshall plan.

Upon our country has fallen the heavy tasks of world leadership. Free nations look to us for guidance and help in combating communism, in developing a sound economy. Asiatic peoples watch our profession of a new approach to their problems to see whether we really mean some of the nice things some of us are saying about them. It does not help, for example, to have a McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, which distinguishes between native-born and naturalized citizens, and which incorporates a racist national origins clause governing admission of immigrants.

I do not desire to extend this statement unduly to scrutinize all the ramifications of my proposed resolution. In a way, its purpose should be obvious, particularly with this purpose expressed, as I have sought here to do, my proposed resolution should be adopted as a forward step in our developing preeminence in international relations.

Those Oil-Rich Arabs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked permission to insert in the RECORD an editorial which effectively points up the fallacy of the argument of those who attack the Middle East resolution on the ground that certain oil-rich countries would receive vast amounts of foreign-aid funds.

The following editorial was carried in the March 1, 1957, issue of the Washington Star:

THOSE OIL-RICH ARABS

One of the more constructive Democratic statements on the Eisenhower Middle East program has come from the youthful Senator JOHN KENNEDY, of Massachusetts. Mr. KENNEDY is not enthusiastic about the program. He is going to vote for it, however, because he believes the certain consequences of defeating it would be far more harmful than any conceivable consequences of adopting it.

Senator KENNEDY also had a few words for those who have been making demagogic speeches about what a shameful thing it is to be pouring our taxpayers' money into the coffers of the oil-rich Arab potentates. Actually, the oil-rich Arab countries of the Middle East—Saudi Arabia and Iraq—have received a total of $10 million in aid over the past 5 years. This is what Senator KENNEDY had to say about it:

"The total amount received by all eight Arab States in approximately 5 years has been only $73 million worth of economic and technical assistance (and no military grants to speak of). The bulk of our aid to the Middle East, with actual economic assistance expenditures of $237 million, has gone to Israel, and practically none at all has gone or is going to oil-rich Arab potentates.

"But surely $73 million or $200 million or even $750 million is not an unprecedented sum with which to bolster the economic and political stability of an entire area against the spread of Soviet imperialism. We have spent over $2 billion for this purpose in Greece alone, roughly $2.5 billion in Korea (not counting the war), and nearly $2 billion on Formosa and free China. The amount under debate for the entire Middle East area is less than the amount we spend for similar purposes each year—mostly in economic aid—in either Vietnam, Korea, or Formosa alone."

These are interesting statistics, and they should help the public to maintain some degree of perspective the next time an anguished Senator begins to beat his breast over this terrible business of showering American dollars on the oil-rich Arabs.

A Ceiling on Appropriations and Expenditures for the Fiscal Year 1958

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement made by me before the Rules Committee March 5, 1957, in support of House Resolution 170 which would set a ceiling of $65 billion for appropriations and expenditures for fiscal year 1958:

Mr. Chairman and members of the Rules Committee, I appreciate your courtesy and consideration in holding this hearing so promptly after the introduction of House Resolution 170 on February 19. Such recognition that the subject matter is of great public importance and that time available for action is rapidly running out, is both welcome and encouraging.

Going directly to the issues, I plan to deal with them in the following order: First, is legislative action in this field needed; second, will an amendment of the House rules provide the quickest and most nearly adequate remedy; and third, are the particular limitations set forth in House Resolution 170 reasonable and will they be practicable in operation.

Our forefathers were acutely conscious of the danger that the free government they were creating and the new individual liberties they were establishing might be lost by uncontrolled national spending and taxation. They sought to guard against that danger by placing in the Congress the power to control spending. More particularly they gave only to the House of Representatives, the Members of which are elected every 2 years, the power to originate tax legislation. With that power goes the responsibility for taking action appropriate to serve the national interest. A further check was given the President, elected every 4 years, in his power to

veto bills passed by the Congress. That system worked well for the first century and a half of our existence as a nation.

During the last 30 years our Federal appropriations and taxes have grown astronomically. Our national debt has reached staggering proportions. With minor exceptions the Federal Government must at some time collect taxes to pay for both the portion of current spending which is to be financed by current receipts and the portion which is financed by borrowings to be repaid in later years. Already the Government has saddled the public with the need for paying nearly $8 billion a year as interest on the existing national debt.

In addition, we have in recent years fallen into the dangerous habit of authorizing small starts on big projects, and thus in a way committing future administrations to pay hundreds of millions of dollars to complete them in later years.

These two items, interest on the national debt and commitments for huge so-called public works, reclamation projects, etc., are largely responsible for the so-called uncontrollable expenditures. In themselves they create a very serious situation. Some, among them a distinguished Member of the Congress who has devoted years to the study of government finance, think it may now be too late to stop the terrifying course upon which we have embarked.

We are considering this year the highest peacetime budget in our history. I do not need to spend time on the dollars involved or the particular projects covered by that budget. I am sure every member of this committee has them vividly in mind and that each has been forced to face up to the facts of that budget by the wave of indignation and resentment which has spread across the country and which constituents have, I am sure, pressed upon the attention of every Member of Congres. The trend of spending and spending and taxing and taxing must be reversed. I happen to believe that can be done.

It seemed to me that the only remedy, as far as the fiscal year 1958 is concerned, lies in Congress. As one Member I tried to find a way which might bring the problem before the House for full discussion and quick action. House Resolution 170 was the result.

It took only brief study to convince me that it was not necessary to propose a bill or a resolution which would require joint action. Corrective power lies in the House, and therefore it seems that action by the House is all that is necessary, at least as a first step. Further study and discussion with those I consider well informed in this field led to the idea to propose the particular amendment which is before you. Timing for such an amendment seemed right. February 15, the date by which section 138 of the Legislative Reorganization Act required a joint committee to present a legislative budget, had passed without any action by the committees of either the Senate or House. Accordingly House Resolution 170 was drawn up and introduced.

Section 138 reads as follows:

"LEGISLATIVE BUDGET

"SEC. 138. (a) The Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, and the Committee on Finance and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate, or duly authorized subcommittees thereof, are authorized and directed to meet jointly at the beginning of each regular session of Congress and after study and consultation, giving due consideration to the budget recommendations of the President, report to their respective Houses a legislative budget for the ensuing fiscal year, including the estimated overall Federal receipts and expenditures for such year. Such report shall contain a recommendation for the maximum amount to be appropriated for expenditure in such year which shall include such an amount to be reserved for deficiencies as may be deemed necessary by such committees. If the estimated receipts exceed the estimated expenditures, such report shall contain a recommendation for a reduction in the public debt. Such report shall be made by February 15.

"(b) The report shall be accompanied by a concurrent resolution adopting such budget, and fixing the maximum amount to be appropriated for expenditure in such year. If the estimated expenditures exceed the estimated receipts, the concurrent resolution shall include a section substantially as follows: 'That it is the sense of the Congress that the public debt shall be increased in an amount equal to the amount by which the estimated expenditures for the ensuing fiscal year exceed the estimated receipts, such amount being $.'"

House Resolution 170 would add this paragraph to section 138:

"(c) The aggregate amount which may be appropriated for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1957, shall not exceed $65 billion; that expenditures for said year shall not exceed $65 billion; and that any revenues received during said fiscal year in excess of $65 billion shall be applied one-half to the reduction of the national debt and the other half to the reduction of taxes."

I am satisfied that if sent to the floor by this committee, House Resolution 170 will provide a basis for full debate and enable the House to work its will. I am also satisfied that if the House adopts the resolution, committees of the House will do their best to conform to it and that they can do so. Please note that the amendment is in the nature of emergency legislation, effective only for fiscal year 1958.

Adoption of the resolution under discussion will go far to restore the public's confidence in Congress.

Going back to the terms of the resolution, the first clause fixes $65 billion as the limit on aggregate appropriations for fiscal 1958, and that same figure as the limit on expenditures for that year. Control of expenditures is the more important. With budget figures of the magnitude of those before us, it seems entirely reasonable that a cut of approximately 10 percent could be made. I do not think in terms of a 10-percent cut in all appropriations, but the overall target of 10 percent seems reasonable.

Among the additional reasons for that view are the following:

(1) Sixty-five billion dollars is approximately the amount of expenditures for fiscal year 1956.

(2) I have been advised, and some who advised me will testify here today, that there is ample room to cut expenditures and appropriations to at least the limit suggested without endangering the national economy or the national security. In some cases this might require deferring natural resources development items, rather than going at them full scale this year.

(3) Opinions will differ as to particular cases where cuts can be made. Just as a starter I would eliminate Federal aid to schools, and that might mean as much as $500 million in fiscal 1958.

Last year the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate provided funds for starting activity on more than 50 separate projects which had not been included in the President's budget, and which were not, therefore, regarded as being of pressing importance. If those projects are all completed they will involve costs running into the hundreds of millions over a foreseeable future. I am not able to suggest which of those items can be canceled out or at least deferred, but I submit those projects require careful and determined study to fix the cuts which can be made.

The program I am suggesting will require an intensive reexamination of all grant-in-aid programs and it should provide adequate pressures to enforce additional economies throughout the length and breadth of the National Government operations.

After House Resolution 170 had been introduced, I discovered that there had been House action a few years ago which established a sound precedent for that resolution.

When section 138 in the House Rules became effective in 1947, the Appropriations and Finance Committee of the Senate and the Appropriations and Ways and Means Committees of the House formed a joint committee to consider the budget submitted by the President in January of that year and to develop the legislative budget contemplated by section 138. In February 1947, Congressman TABER reported to the House and Senator BRIDGES reported to the Senate the following recommendations:

"The joint committee, therefore, submits the following findings and recommendations:

"(1) The committee finds that the estimated overall receipts assuming enactment of legislation with respect to excise taxes and postal revenues will be $39.1 billion compared with a budget estimate of $38.9 billion.

"(2) The committee recommends a ceiling on expenditures for the fiscal year 1948 of $31.5 billion as compared with the budget estimate of $37.5 billion.

"(3) The committee finds that the excess of receipts over expenditures will be $7.6 billion compared with the budget estimate of $1.4 billion.

"(4) The committee recommends that the maximum amount to be appropriated for expenditures in the fiscal year 1948 shall not exceed $24 billion compared with the budget estimate of $28.6 billion.

"(5) The committee recommends the inclusion of a reserve for deficiencies which might be expended in the fiscal year 1948 of $250 million compared with a budget recommendation of $25 million.

"(6) The committee recommends that a portion of excess receipts over expenditures be applied on the public debt.

"(7) The committee believes that the proposed reductions which in the main become effective beginning July 1, 1947, substantially 2 years after the termination of hostilities, will not impair the national economy.

"Summary

	Budget (billions)	Joint committee (billions)
"Estimate of overall receipts, assuming enactment of legislation as hereinbefore indicated	38.9	39.1
"Estimate of overall expenditures	37.5	31.5
"Excess of receipts	1.4	7.6
"Maximum amount to be appropriated for and which may be obligated in fiscal year 1948	32.2	27.0
"Maximum amount for expenditure of 1948 appropriations in fiscal year 1948	28.6	24.0
"Reservation for deficiencies which would be expended in fiscal year 1948	.025	.250"

Those recommendations were accompanied by a resolution which read as follows:

"Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the judgment of the Congress, based upon presently available information, that revenues during the period of the fiscal year 1948 will approximate $39.1 billion and that expenditures during such fiscal year should not exceed $31.5 billion, of which latter amount not more than $25.1 billion would be in consequence of appropriations hereafter made available for obligation in such fiscal year."

That resolution was adopted without change by the House. In the Senate, however, an amendment was adopted which would reduce the requested budget total by only $4,500,000,000 instead of the $6 billion cut for which the House had voted. Conferees were unable to agree, so the concurrent resolution was not adopted. The record stood, however, that the House had expressed its judgment that an overall cut of $6 billion could and should be made and the Senate had gone on record for a cut of only $4,500,000,000. For our purposes here today, we may ignore the difference between those cuts. The points I desire to emphasize are that by its action the House expressed its judgment and its committees respected and conformed to that judgment.

The last clause of House Resolution 170 dealing with the application of any excess of revenues over expenditures would, of course, have only the force, but, like the other clauses I have discussed, it would have the force of a formal expression of the sober judgment of the House.

It is often said that ours is a big country and it needs a big government. I agree, but I submit that big government must operate within constitutional limits and that bigness in government is not justifiable as an end in itself.

The task ahead calls for courage and determination to exercise our constitutional powers and to perform our constitutional duties in the interest of the Nation as a whole.

I hope this committee will report favorably on House Resolution 170. In closing I should like again to express my deep appreciation for the careful attention which all members of this committee are giving to this resolution.

Senator Johnson Shows Wisdom in His Senate Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, February 28, there appeared an editorial in the Wellington Leader of Wellington, Tex. This editorial was written by the publisher and editor of this fine weekly newspaper, Mr. Deskins Wells. It concerns our able Senate majority leader, the Honorable LYNDON JOHNSON, the senior Senator from Texas. Mr. Wells, in his splendid editorial style, has expressed in clear and concise language the feeling of many on a most important subject.

The article follows:

LYNDON JOHNSON, Senate Democratic leader, has been doing something that this observer has contended should have been done over the years. He does not follow the seniority rule totally in his recommendations for committee appointments. In some instances, he has been criticized by extreme liberals and in others by conservatives, depending on who was affected; but he has stuck with his guns in trying to get the best man appointed as chairman of various committees regardless of some slight difference in seniority. The seniority rule has always seemed inefficient if applied absolutely. Experience in any work is valuable and should be taken into consideration. But just because a man has served 30 years in the Senate does not mean necessarily that he knows more about the work of a certain committee than say some more forceful and intelligent man who has served only 20 years on the same committee. The more elderly man might be growing senile or he might be known as an irresponsible leader to the members of his own party. The seniority rule should never be rigid either in business or in government.

Senator JOHNSON has also done another commendable thing as Senate leader and it was also a departure from the old hidebound rules. He has seen to it each Democratic freshman Senator was appointed to at least one important committee. This will tend to increase the strength and usefulness of his party in future years. By contrast the Republicans followed the old tradition and shunted their freshmen to committees that are of little importance. If you know anything about how rigid those old seniority rules used to be, then you can realize that it takes courage to exercise and maintain leadership of the JOHNSON variety.

Scenes From the Hungarian Border

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that an article appearing in the religious magazine, Gospel Advocate, under date of January 17, 1957, relative to conditions in Hungary be reproduced in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article, Scenes From the Hungarian Border, is a very moving account of conditions in that area of the troubled world, and I believe Members of Congress and others will find this first-hand report of interest. The article follows:

SCENES FROM THE HUNGARIAN BORDER
(By Otis Gatewood)

My family and I, with Bob Hare, have just returned from the Hungarian border. It had rained last night and frozen as it fell, so the highway was covered with ice. It took us 2½ hours to travel 40 miles from Vienna to Nickelsdorf—the village near the border. Ice on top of snow made the highway very dangerous. It was 5° below zero and the cold winds that were blowing in from Siberia drifted snow and sand across the highway. We thought surely that no refugees would cross the border in such cold dreary weather.

As we drove into Nickelsdorf we stopped to ask directions, but the two men and the woman could speak no German or English—they were Hungarian refugees. We took their pictures and drove a short distance and saw a German Red Cross truck. We stopped to take a picture of it and learned that we were in front of the Hungarian refugee station. It was time for their noon soup, and they were eating. Five hundred had crossed the border at Nickelsdorf alone last night. The fog, in spite of the bitter cold, had helped them cross without being detected.

Very few of the refugees could speak German or English, but we talked to several through a young Holland Red Cross worker who was contributing his time without pay to help the refugees. He could speak eight languages. The refugees were extremely friendly to us. Brother Hare asked for Hungarian coins, as souvenirs, and we had to beg them to stop giving them to us. About 75 percent of those who cross the border are young men, but some families with children were there. We saw no old people. A man with a fur cap pinned a freedom fighter pin on my coat. I reached out to shake his hand in thanks. He took my hand and then hit between his and my hand knocking them apart and said: "Hungarian-Russian." He then took my hand again and gripped it tightly and shook it heartily and said: "Hungarian-American."

We wanted to go to the border, so the Red Cross worker from Holland volunteered to go wth us. We thought we would be stopped at the Austrian border patrol, but he got the Austrian guards to raise the bars and let us enter "no man's land." The worker showed us where he would go at night to get women and children to help them on across. The actual line between Hungary and Austria is marked with Austrian flags. I got out of the car to take a picture of the flags, and just as I did I heard a gun fire. The worker pointed out a Russian gun shack about a quarter of a mile to the left of the road. My wife wanted to turn around, but the worker assured us that we could go all the way to the Hungarian roadblock.

When we arrived at the Hungarian road blockade we could see the Hungarian guard with his gun about a hundred yards away. The worker waved for him to come over. He hesitated and walked in the opposite direction and looked closely. He then raised his gun and fired, and then walked in our direction. He allowed us to take his picture as we shook hands with him. We gave him a gift and he walked away a short distance and fired his gun again. The firing of the gun was evidently to convince someone not too far away that he was faithfully performing his duty. We asked the Red Cross worker if the Hungarian and Russian guards ever shot the refugees. He said: "They shoot into the air to scare the people."

Four refugees—a man and wife and their two small daughters—asked if they might ride back to Vienna with us. Since it was New Year's Day, the camp officials were lenient and granted them permission. They had left Budapest yesterday at 3 p. m., and traveled by train until 10 p. m. They then walked through fields and woods from 10 p. m. yesterday until 6 a. m. today when they arrived in Nickelsdorf. Almost all refugees cross the border at night unless it is extremely foggy so that they can cross at daytime. This family showed us bruises on their legs where they fell into ditches, ran into stumps, or fell into holes that were covered with snow. When they arrived at Nickelsdorf this morning they were covered with water, snow, and ice to their hips. They were given new shoes, socks, and underclothes by the Red Cross. They said they dodged from bullets several times. We asked: "How does it feel to walk across the border at night?" The wife replied: "Like walking on eggs."

One man and his wife tried to cross the border one night by boat on a lake. There was a heavy fog and they rowed in circles most of the night. The next morning they determined their course and finally came to the Austrian side, but they learned that their baby had frozen to death during sleep the night before. One lawyer of Budapest tried to cross the border with his 14 children. The baby cried and they were detected and returned to Hungary. We were told that those caught are sent to prison for 4 years. Some of the babies that arrive in the Red Cross camps in the Austrian border town are drugged with morphine or strong alcohol to keep them from crying in crossing. Some must be taken to hospitals immediately to revive and save them from the drugs.

Many of you who read this article would like to know what you can do to help the Hungarian refugees. Most of them are taken immediately to separation camps where they

are sent to other nations—to America, Canada, Germany, England, etc. Their needs are cared for quite well by these nations. But some of the refugees prefer to stay in Austria with the hope that some day before too long they can return to Hungary. This small nation, Austria, needs help to care for those who stay here.

Bob Hare and his family arrived here in Vienna 2 weeks ago to begin preaching the Gospel in this city. I suggest that you contact him to learn how best you can help. Perhaps through him you could help a definite refugee family here in Vienna. In this way Brother Hare might be able to win them for the truth, and some day when they return to Hungary they would be Christians and would perhaps be the means of establishing the church in Hungary. If you desire more information, write Bob Hare, Krottenbachstrasse 281, Vienna, Austria. He is not here primarily to help the refugees, but to preach the Gospel to the Austrian people, but perhaps you could work through him to help the refugees. Why not send him a contribution to help him get the church established in this city? He knows best how to use your money to the greatest advantage, to help the people in this part of the world.

School-Construction Bill Is a Must

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AIME J. FORAND
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, the need of adequate facilities for the education of our children is recognized by all sound-thinking Americans.

Congress and the administration have been considering this need for a long time, but have done little to remedy the problem. The time has come for action and I respectfully urge my colleagues to delay no longer in enacting the much-needed legislation that will make school construction a reality.

Under leave already granted me I include as a part of my remarks a very timely editorial on the subject that appeared in the February 6 issue of the Providence (R. I.) Journal. The editorial follows:

LET'S GET BUSY ON THE SCHOOL-AID PROGRAM

It is difficult in this State and Nation to overstate the need for new schools or to underestimate the size of the financing problems posed by an adequate school-construction program. As President Eisenhower observed last week, coming to terms with the issues will require "the next decade the greatest expansion of educational opportunity in our history."

To help State and local governments build the needed schools and, equally important, to pay for them, Mr. Eisenhower has submitted to Congress a $2 billion Federal assistance program. Essentially, the program is the same as that which was defeated last year; the principal change is the shortening of the program's life from 5 to 4 years.

The President is asking approval of a four-point scheme. Under its terms, Federal money would be given to the States in direct grants, which would have to be matched by State and local governments. Federal money also would be available to buy bonds local school districts can't sell at reasonable rates of interest, to support bonds issued by State school-financing agencies, and to strengthen school construction planning.

There's no doubt that substantial Federal help is needed to lick the school construction problem. Every community with a growing population or an aging school plant has come to recognize the problem as the most expensive of local issues. Every State is harassed by calls for help from its member cities and towns. Only the Federal Government has resources of sufficient size and readiness to plug gaping holes in the building program.

Here in Rhode Island, needs in local communities are piling up. Warwick faces a $19 million recommended construction program. Cranston is being driven to the financial wall by its problem. Even the smallest towns are busy at special financial town meetings, trying to raise new bond issues or supplementary issues to build. Pawtucket has closed 13 elementary schools because of hazardous conditions; its tab for new buildings will be heavy.

The State has come slowly to grips with the problem. While it always has insisted that it is historically responsible for operation of schools, only in recent years has it been willing to match its responsibility with dollars. Now it is being asked somewhat gingerly to adopt a school construction bill with $750,000 earmarked for help in retiring school construction debt. The bill has yet to be submitted to the legislature.

But if the State has come late to the fight and with scant funds, it actually can do little more unless its whole revenue structure is overhauled to produce more tax dollars. It's an irrefutable fact that Rhode Island cannot do much more to help school construction unless and until the administration and the general assembly are willing to run the political risks of raising existing taxes or imposing new taxes.

The help the President would give Rhode Island is substantial. In direct grants alone, the State would get $886,000 each year for 4 years if it undertook to find annual matching funds of $1,316,000. Whether the level of matching funds could be maintained over the life of the program without new State taxation is difficult to say. Certainly, on the basis of experience, acceptance of Federal aid eventually will require approval of new taxes.

If the State means business, however, it can do no less than approve the State aid bill, which also contains provisions for acceptance of Federal aid. In fact, if it does not pass the State aid measure, it won't be able to get Federal aid, since it won't meet standards in the Eisenhower program. Approval of a State plan, for instance, depends in part on the designation of the State education department as the sole administrative agency for handling the Federal money.

The legislature may have to go even further than approving the designation of an administrative agency. The Federal bill also requires submission of evidence that steps have been taken toward modifying or removing restrictive debt and tax limits and other obstacles to the financing of construction of urgently needed school facilities from local tax sources. That's a lot of ground to cover in this State.

Mr. Eisenhower has a long row to hoe before his aid bill is passed, even in amended form. Rhode Island, too, has a lot to do if it is to help local communities build schools and is to be in a position to accept Federal aid. Congress and the general assembly can best serve the cause of education by getting about their chores as quickly as possible. Youngsters can't stop growing to wait for what they need now.

For Truth About the South—Negroes Seek To Oust St. Paul Commissioner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, February 28, 1957, it was my privilege to insert in the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a news article which appeared on the front page of the Tuesday, February 26, issue of the Birmingham, Ala., News, one of the fine daily newspapers of my district. The article, which was entitled "Minnesota Official Says North Misinformed on Negro in South," was an account of an interview with Mr. Milton Rosen, commissioner of public utilities in St. Paul, Minn., on the occasion of his recent visit to Birmingham. In the interview, Mr. Rosen stated that it was his opinion that northerners were receiving a great deal of misinformation on the Negro's condition in the South.

On last Monday, March 4, another article appeared in the Birmingham News. This article reported that certain Negroes in St. Paul were demanding that Mr. Rosen resign his position as commissioner of public utilities for that city. With it all, Mr. Rosen is sticking by his guns and reasserts that people in the North are, in fact, misinformed about conditions in the Southern States.

It seems that, in certain parts of this country, it is politically dangerous for an officeholder to tell the truth.

Under leave to extend my remarks, heretofore granted, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this last newspaper article. The news article follows:

NEGROES SEEK TO OUST ST. PAUL COMMISSIONER

(By Paul Hogan)

A St. Paul, Minn., commissioner has been criticized in his home city for remarks he made on a recent visit to Birmingham concerning the Negro condition in the South.

Milton Rosen, commissioner of public utilities in St. Paul, was asked to resign his council post in a letter signed by four officers of the Dining Car Employees Union, Local 516.

Ernest C. Cooper, acting executive secretary of the St. Paul Urban League, who is a Negro, also criticized Rosen's statements.

A Birmingham News story last week quoted Rosen as saying that northerners receive a lot of misinformation concerning the Negro's condition in the South.

After hearing the criticism, Rosen explained that the people in the North are not completely informed about conditions in the South.

He said the News' story, with the exception of "rabble rousers," expressed his views.

Rosen was quoted as saying that "rabble rousers have told us that Negroes are terribly mistreated."

In St. Paul, Rosen reiterated, "many thoughtful white people are trying to help the Negroes. Progress is being made. The situation is improving in housing, school facilities, and recreational facilites."

"What I said is true," Rosen added. "We do not at all times get the complete picture of conditions in the South."

Cooper, quoted in a St. Paul newspaper, said he could not understand how Rosen could hold the opinions he expressed "when the Supreme Court, outstanding sociologists, public officials, reliable leaders, and his own political party have made it a matter of record that Negroes in the South are not accorded their basic rights as free citizens.

"If the bombing of homes and Negro churches, as well as other acts of violence which attend the efforts of Negroes in the South to secure their rights to vote, ride buses, and attend school in an unsegregated manner are not evidence of mistreatment then I am at a loss to define it."

Cooper called Rosen's remarks "a distinct slap in the face to those individuals in the North and South, who are valiantly striving for the realization of the principle of our democratic society, a quality of opportunity for all."

Mayor James W. Morgan said that he intended to write the newspaper and answer to the criticisms.

"It is so obvious now that there are elements up there who don't want the good people to know what is actually going on down here," the mayor said.

"They want the people to think Negroes are all mistreated down here."

In a letter to Morgan, that accompanied clippings from the Pioneer Press, Rosen said, "No matter who you tell the truth to sometimes you step on other people's toes."

The dining car employees local asked that Rosen resign from the council.

Rosen was first elected to a commission seat in St. Paul in 1930. He also has extensive automobile and auto tire business interests.

He made his remarks regarding the Negro situation in the South voluntarily at a press conference in Mayor Morgan's office last Tuesday.

Rosen had been in Birmingham several days, coming here to inspect the U. S. Pipe & Foundry Co. facilities in connection with the purchase of pipe from the company by the city of St. Paul.

The News' story concerning Rosen's remarks was incorporated in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD last week by Congressman GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

Textile Industry May Get Surgery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK M. COFFIN

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. COFFIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the Members of the House to a disturbing story in the New York Times which recently reported that 420,000 shirts made of Japanese cloth in Hong Kong this year are on order in the United States. I do not at this time have any information beyond that which appears in the article from the Times of February 24, 1957. But I think that this report calls for close scrutiny by my colleagues with a view to determining whether the self-imposed embargo by Japan on textile imports is being subverted by shipments through other ports.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, the article to which I have referred is printed in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

TEXTILE INDUSTRY MAY GET SURGERY—REDUCTION IN OUTPUT IS HELD SOLUTION FOR BUSINESS SLUMP, PROFIT DECLINE

(By Carl Spielvogel)

Further surgery, in the form of greater production cutbacks, is being prescribed to restore a healthy tone to the sluggish textile industry.

Business in the industry generally has been in the doldrums for several months. There are few signs that might be interpreted as indicating an immediate resurgence.

The strongest business is centering around blends of Dacron and cotton, and nylon. As a result some of these goods are in tight supply.

In instances where other merchandise is being sold in volume, profits are practically negligible. Market reports have indicated that some goods are being sold on a break-even basis in the hope that remaining stocks can be sold more profitably when the market stabilizes.

PRICES PUSHED DOWN

Prices generally have been pushed downward. For example, prices for the 80-square print cloth, the most popular unfinished cotton fabric, have been about 18¼ cents a yard in recent days. A year ago the price was about 20⅝ cents a yard.

The continuation of this generally unsatisfactory situation has caused many textile men to decide that they will not weave goods for inventory. The result has been production curtailments at several mills. Among those affected are Berkshire Hathaway, Inc., Deering Milliken & Co., and the Bates Manufacturing Co.

While this is believed to be a step in the right direction, many textile men contend that it is not widespread enough. For years most producers of print cloth yarn goods have been running their plants with three shifts working 6 days a week.

Some industry leaders are urging the adoption of a 5-day week. Such a move, they say, would help bring production more in with demand.

One leading executive said that the gravity of the situation demanded that the industry invoke a self-imposed, 4-day work week for the second quarter of the year.

RESULT: HIGHER COSTS

While this admittedly would run costs higher, he said the action would place producers' stocks in good shape for the final 6 months and enable them to recoup any earlier losses.

Many textile men trace the industry's troubles back to the end of last year when inventory liquidation first began to depress prices. The presence of a quarter-billion yards of low-priced imports from Japan contributed to the decline.

The situation has been made worse by what millmen term overly cautious buying by apparel manufacturers. But with prices declining, garment makers cannot be blamed for holding back on some orders. The current depressed price structure has caused them to feel that they can obtain the fabrics for a lower price if they wait.

Apparel makers, in turn, have had to contend with retailers who also are being cautious about their buying and striving to keep their inventories low.

Last spring's cool weather hurt retailers' sales of goods. Then at the end of the year unseasonably warm weather caused their winter sales of heavy outerwear to lag.

The effects of the textile market's weakness are becoming evident in related areas. In January business of textile finishing plants declined an estimated 20 percent from last year.

Several textile concerns have found it necessary to cut the amount of dividends to be paid to shareholders. Recently Textron, Inc., cut its 40-cent quarterly dividend to 25 cents. The quarterly payment of Bates was dropped from 20 cents to 12½ cents, and Berkshire Hathaway reduced its quarterly dividend from 25 cents to 15 cents.

J. Spencer Love, chairman of Burlington Industries, Inc., has told shareholders that dividends would be jeopardized if earnings continued to decline at the present rate.

There also is the possibility of labor discord that would involve about 40,000 New England millhands. Workers in about 100 plants in the northern region will be seeking wage increases on contracts expiring April 15.

Thus far two of the area's major manufacturers have split on offers made to the Texile Workers Union of America. Berkshire Hathaway has rejected the union's demands for increases and has proposed that the present pay scales be continued.

Bates Manufacturing, however, has asked the union to take a pay slash amounting to 14 cents an hour. The union has rejected Bates' proposal.

OTHER IMPORTS FEARED

The 235 million square-yard limit on Japanese exports to the United States for each of the next 5 years has given the industry some protection. But some executives have said privately that they should have held out for comprehensive protection against shipments from other areas, such as Hong Kong and India.

Fear has been expressed that goods may start to stream in from those places. Last week the men's shirt industry said that large shipments of shirts from Hong Kong might nullify gains made through the Japanese accord.

Trade reports indicate that United States orders on shirts made in Hong Kong of Japanese cloth this year already amount to about 420,000 dozen, compared with 650,000 dozen shipped from Japan in all of 1956.

An industry spokesman said this might mean that Japan was violating the agreement by using Hong Kong as a diversionary port and that an incipient threat to the United States industry had arisen.

Federal Trade Commission Order Invalidated Should Be Appealed to United States Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I am inserting a letter from Mr. George J. Burger, representing the National Federation of Independent Business, together with a news report from the New York Times, dated March 1, 1957, in the Appendix of the RECORD. Because of the importance of the legal issue involved in the interpretation of the Robinson-Patman Act, many of the friends of small business are of the firm opinion that an appeal of the decision reported in this case should be taken to the United States Supreme Court.

The letter and news report follow:

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS,
Washington, D. C., March 1, 1957.

Subject: Quantity discount rule for the rubber tire industry.

Hon. JOE EVINS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN JOE: It is my hope, because of your great interest, as chairman of the subcommittee who explored this and other matters in Federal regulatory agencies, that you will find time to insert in the RECORD the report as published in the New York Times today.

As you know, this case was originally instituted by the House Small Business Committee recommendations in April of 1947, and you well know the handling of this case that was brought out during the hearings before your subcommittee.

In view of its importance it is our hope that the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice will appeal the decision to the United States Supreme Court, and I believe the subject matter will be of vital interest to your colleagues in having it brought to their attention through the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Thanking you in advance, and with very high regards,

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. BURGER,
Vice President.

[From the New York Times of March 1, 1957]

DISCOUNT LIMITS ON TIRES REFUSED—COURT INVALIDATES FTC RULE FORBIDDING SPECIAL PRICING ON MORE THAN A CARLOAD—BLOW TO SMALL DEALERS—JUDGMENT IS CALLED A VICTORY FOR 20 BIG MANUFACTURERS FIGHTING ORDER SINCE 1951

WASHINGTON, February 28.—In a ruling of interest to dealers and users of automobile tires the Federal court of appeals today invalidated a Federal Trade Commission order limiting discounts on bulk purchases of tires to single-carload orders.

The judgment was a victory for 20 major tire manufacturers and dealers who have been fighting the order since it was promulgated in 1951. It was deemed a defeat for small dealers who have contended that quantity discounts based on large orders gave the larger concerns a competitive advantage.

Proponents of bulk discounts on larger quantities contend that the effect of the FTC order would have been to increase the price of tires to the consumer.

The order placed a quantity limit on tires and tubes made of natural or synthetic rubber of 20,000 pounds ordered for delivery at one time. Twenty-thousand pounds is the weight of 1 carload.

FTC CITED TRUST LAW

The Commission based its order on authority conferred upon it by the Robinson-Patman Act, which prohibits discriminatory discounts, rebates, and allowances tending to destroy competition. The section of the act in question provides that "the Federal Trade Commission may fix and establish quantity limits as to particular classes of commodities where it finds that available purchasers in greater quantities are so few as to render differentials on account thereof unjustly discriminatory or promotive of monopoly in any line of commerce."

Major tire makers and dealers have been fighting the order on the grounds that it was arbitrary and capricious, not based on actual findings, and that they were denied procedural rights when the rule was made.

The court of appeals limited its ruling to the question of the FTC's findings. The formal findings, it asserted, did not include a determination that "available purchasers in quantities greater than a carload are so few as to render differentials on account thereof unjustly discriminative or promotive of monopoly."

NO QUESTION OF FACT

"Instead of dealing directly with that question of fact in its findings," the court declared, "the Commission seems to have been primarily concerned with the fewness of available purchasers in annual dollar volumes greater than $60,000. Obviously a finding concerning that does not support a rule fixing a quantity limit of one 20,000-pound carload."

The first of three formal findings by the Commission stated that purchasers in annual volumes of $600,000 were so few that differentials in their favor were unjustly discriminatory against purchasers in smaller quantities.

George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Small Business, urged Assistant Attorney General Victor Hansen, in charge of the Department of Justice's Antitrust Division, to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court. He said it was important to small business that the Commission's order be upheld. The federation has been advocating strict limitations on quality discounts since 1947.

The opinion was written by Judge Wilbur K. Miller, with the concurrence of Judges E. Barrett Prettyman and George T. Washington. They comprised the panel that heard the case.

Their ruling sustained a judgment of Federal District Judge Alexander Holtzoff. This was appealed by the Federal Trade Commission.

Among the companies involved were B. F. Goodrich Co., General Tire & Rubber Co., Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., United States Rubber Co., Western Auto Supply Co., Montgomery Ward & Co., and the American Oil Co.

Lawyers who argued for the companies were Mathias F. Correa and Edgard Barton, of New York; Hammond E. Chaffetz, of Washington; and David L. Dickson, of Chicago. James H. Durkin, of the Department of Justice, argued for the Government.

Self-Determination for Cyprus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the New England Committee for Self-Determination for Cyprus, comprised of outstanding citizens, has forwarded me a letter and certain views and under unanimous consent I am inserting them in the RECORD. Mr. Paul Buck, director of the Harvard University Library, is the distinguished chairman of the committee.

For sometime past I have been interested in the question of self-determination for Cyprus and believe that I was one of the first in this body to come out for this objective.

Moreover, I strongly protested the treatment given Bishop Makarios and communicated my views to the State Department in an effort to end the disorder and carnage so unhappily afflicting the liberty-seeking people of that island.

This question goes to the very root of our fundamental political beliefs. Either we believe in self-determination for Cyprus, or we reject a principle that has been sacred to this Nation since its inception.

I realize that many pretexts have been advanced by those who are desirious of continuing the status quo, but these are just pretexts, and certainly not sound reasons for the continuance of the type of oppression that has been occurring in Cyprus.

I compliment this fine body of Americans in Massachusetts and New England for their interest in this great human question, and am proud to associate myself with them and continue my own efforts for a cause that I deem most worthy.

I hope and pray that this Government will continue to strive for a peaceful solution—one that will extend the principle of self-determination to a group whose devotion to freedom could not be questioned.

The letter follows:

NEW ENGLAND COMMITTEE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION FOR CYPRUS,
Cambridge, Mass., February 16, 1957.

Hon. PHILIP J. PHILBIN,
United States Representative from Massachusetts, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: By virtue of the important position you occupy and the support you have given in the past to noble causes, we address this letter to you, with the deep hope that you will give the enclosed resolution your kind consideration.

In view of the serious and steadily deteriorating situation in Cyprus, we believe that it has become imperative to give the Cyprus issue immediate attention. Since Russia has already announced publicly that it would support self-determination for the people of Cyprus, before the United Nations, we believe that it would be especially ironic and tragic if our Government were to fail at this time to lend its moral support to the just cause of the Cypriot people, letting Russia appear as the great champion of freedom. The consequences of such an event would be, in our opinion, very detrimental to our vital interests.

We feel confident that our sentiments expressed above are representative of millions of Americans, who would like to see lasting peace and stability prevail in Cyprus. And we believe that these can be achieved only when the people of Cyprus are given the right to decide for themselves the political destiny of Cyprus.

Therefore, we beg you to urge our State Department to instruct the United States delegation to the U. N. to support the resolution attached hereto. We consider this resolution to be quite consistent with the best interests of our country.

We will be extremely thankful to you, if you will give this matter your immediate attention.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL BUCK, *Chairman.*

Where We Are on Integration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my re-

marks in the Appendix, I include the text of an address by the distinguished editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Va., delivered before the 41st annual convention of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals in Washington, D. C., on February 26, 1957.

Mr. Dabney is a winner of the Pulitzer prize and his reputation as a journalist is not encompassed by State of regional boundaries. Throughout his career as a writer and editor, he has worked earnestly and effectively in the cause of amity and understanding between the races.

Although I do not agree with all of Mr. Dabney's conclusions, I regard his address as a message of commonsense coming at a time when commonsense is an urgent need. The tragedy of the current bitter racial controversy, as with that of 100 years ago, is that the voices of men of moderation and intelligence, such as Mr. Dabney, are smothered by the blatant language of incendiary hoodlumism on both sides, as represented by the utterances of John Kasper and Federal Judge Walter Hoffman.

Mr. Dabney's address follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the association, I am glad you asked me to speak to you this morning on "Where We Are on Integration" rather than "Where We Are Going on Integration." I would much prefer to try to tell you what the present posture of interracial relations is than to try to predict what the next few years will bring forth. As a newspaper editor, I have to dust off my crystal ball from time to time and to gaze knowingly into my tea leaves, but the job of forecasting the immediate interracial future in certain areas of the South is, I confess, beyond my powers.

As public school principals, you are inevitably concerned over the effect of the interracial controversy upon the public school systems of the various States. In some of those States the effect has not been particularly pronounced one way or the other, whereas in others it has been profound—even potentially catastrophic.

This latter aspect of the problem is one which also concerns me greatly. As a citizen, as a former teacher in a private preparatory school and a parent with a son in a public high school, I am deeply troubled by the thought that the growing intensity of the struggle over integration in some 8 or 9 Southern States may disrupt, and even close down entirely, the systems of public education in several of those States. A more chaotic condition would be difficult to imagine. Aside from the educational problems involved, consider the enormous rise in juvenile delinquency which would inevitably accompany such a development.

Already we are encountering acute problems in the educational field in a number of Southern States, and the end is not yet. Appropriation of school funds from month to month, uncertainty of the future for schoolteachers, reluctance of citizens to accept appointments to school boards are some of the disturbing phenomena which confront us.

In the border States where integration has been proceeding smoothly for the most part, there have been problems growing out of the 2- to 3-year educational lag often noticed in the performance of Negro students by comparison with white students of the same age. Granted that much of this is due to inferior school facilities heretofore available to colored pupils in those areas, and to inferior living conditions, the problem is a huge and baffling one, nevertheless. The question of how to avoid handicapping white children by throwing them into classes with Negro children who are incapable of doing the work must be giving many of you genuine concern. The parallel question of how to bring the colored students up to the required level of achievement doubtless concerns you no less.

Here in this great city of Washington, where 70 percent of the school population is colored, these problems are particularly acute. Although integration is now in its third year here, solutions are a long way off, according to the best information I can get. It seems clear to me that mixed schools were put into effect here with too much haste and too little preparation.

The situation described by the principal of the John Pitman elementary school in Kirkwood, Mo. (one of the first schools in that State to desegregate) is a disturbing one. At the end of 2 years of segregation, Mrs. B. A. Compton, the principal, said to a representative of Southern School News that the teachers there felt that "the scholastic disparity remains just as great and that it is now complicated by feelings of frustration and defensiveness on the part of the Negroes—feelings which come out in the form of greater aggressiveness, arrogance, and bad temper." It was added, however, that none of this constitutes an argument against integration, and that progress in the immediate future was hoped for.

Over against such a report as this must be put that made recently for the city of Baltimore, for example, by Superintendent of Public Instruction John H. Fischer, who said: "On the basis of our experience it seems clear that by desegregating our schools we have substantially improved the educational opportunities of Negro children without reducing in any way those available to white children."

Baltimore, unlike Washington, did not make the mistake of trying to integrate everybody almost overnight. If we are to have integration generally—and many of us in the South are strongly of the opinion that we are a long way from ready for this in numerous parts of the region—the Baltimore system is far superior to the Washington system. Baltimore did not try to force the races together. It allowed pupils of both races to decide which schools they wished to attend. The first year, only 3 percent of the Negroes enrolled in white schools. This rose to 7.4 percent the next year and the figure is now 13.8 percent.

But even Washington, dubious as its school policies seem to me to have been in certain respects, is more restrained than New York City in its approach to the problem. As you are doubtless aware, they are transporting children all the way across town in New York, away from the neighborhood schools which they have been reaching conveniently on foot these many years, and compelling them to enroll with members of the opposite race. All this is being done at great inconvenience and expense, on the theory that a modest degree of integration is not enough. We must have total and complete integration everywhere and at once, it would seem. The folly and absurdity of this strikes me as obvious.

In my home State of Virginia, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals ruled, on motion of the NAACP, that an excellent regional high school for Negroes in Christiansburg was operating illegally because some of the colored children had to travel longer distances to that school than some of the white children in the area had to travel to their schools. But we now have this same NAACP instrumental in forcing Negro children in New York to travel all the way across town, instead of attending their neighborhood schools, in order that every child may have what is termed "the right to attend a mixed school." Words fail me in commenting on this fantastic arrangement. Benjamin Fine of the New York Times says many New Yorkers are leaving the city for the suburbs because of it, and that the suburban schools are superior, one reason being that they are more homogeneous.

I find it easy to understand when Omer Carmichael, superintendent of the smoothly integrated Louisville schools, declares, as he did last week, that the NAACP is chiefly responsible for the southern chaos over desegregation. Not content with achieving reasonable gains, this organization continues to press for drastic changes that cannot possibly be granted, and would not work in the South if they were.

The attitude manifested in Arkansas last year illustrates the point. The plan worked out there for progressive integration in the Little Rock schools, beginning on the high-school level in 1957, was rejected by the NAACP as unsatisfactory. Its leaders were unwilling to admit that this plan represented a long advance toward their goal. Obviously they insist on having the moon handed them on a silver platter, and are unwilling to proceed by gradual steps. Such an unstatesmanlike attitude is hard to reconcile with the genuine advances the NAACP has achieved for the colored people of this country.

In Virginia, I regret to say, the State legislature has been unfair to the NAACP. It has passed bills designed to harass that organization by obtaining and publicizing the names of all its members and their financial contributions. This is a dangerous action, and one which the Virginia assemblymen may well live to regret. The legislative harassment of an organization which happens to be unpopular could easily prove a boomerang for the responsible parties. True, the statutes in question apply equally to such organizations as the white citizens councils, which are fighting integration. I am awaiting tangible evidence that these organizations will be harassed in the same manner as the NAACP.

There is no doubt of the unpopularity in the South of both the NAACP and the Supreme Court's 1954 decision ordering an end to segregation in the schools. The latest Gallup poll, which reported that it reflected the views of both white and colored citizens in the southern States, found two-thirds of those canvassed to disapprove the court's ruling. By contrast, the poll found nearly two-thirds of those in the rest of the country applauding the same ruling.

All of which raises a question as to the implications of such a situation for the South. How long can the South afford to remain in flat and violent disagreement with the North and West on so fundamental an issue as race relations?

Yet there are no indications whatever at this time of a shift of opinion in 9 on the 11 States which constituted the Confederacy. In Texas and Arkansas the so-called "black belt" areas appear to be as adamant as ever against integration, although some mixing has gone forward in other regions, especially in Texas. But in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana the resistance to integration is tremendous. Except for the much-disputed entry of about a dozen Negroes into the Clinton, Tenn. high school, there has been absolutely no integration in the public schools of these nine States.

If I had to single out one anti-integrationist argument that seems to influence the greatest number of southern whites against mixed schools, it would be the argument that mixed schools lead to "mongrelization." Other sections of the United States sneer and jeer at this argument. Herbert Ravenel Sass of Charleston, S. C., presented the ultraconservative southern position on this about as well as it can be presented, in the November 1956, issue of the Atlantic. Promptly the magazine was flooded with derisive letters

from the North and West hooting at Mr. Sass and his thesis.

Now it may be possible to argue that integration would not increase the likelihood of racial amalgamation—although any visitor to most of the countries of Central and South America with his eyes open would be likely to reach the opposite conclusion. But even if we accept this argument, which I do not, the desirability that every race strive to maintain its own integrity seems to me to be indisputable. There is nothing in my thesis of bigotry or prejudice, and nothing having to do with supposed racial superiority or inferiority. My point is that the Negro should wish, no less than the white, to retain his racial identity and his cultural heritage, to the end that his race's indisputably great achievements can be properly recognized and handed down to his posterity.

Perhaps the most alarming phenomenon in the South at this time is to be found in the repeated acts of violence against Negroes which are not only criminal and utterly wrong, but which are bringing the entire region into disrepute in the eyes of civilized people everywhere. The bombings, beatings, and shootings which are occurring in some areas, with whites as the guilty parties, are in glaring contrast to the passive and law-abiding attitude of Negro leaders—in the Montgomery bus boycott, for example.

On the other hand, the criminality and immorality of many Negroes is one of the chief reasons why white southerners object so strongly to mixed schools. Granted that other races might have similar records if they had been enslaved for centuries and then had had to live in slums and to fight against all manner of handicaps. Yet the fact remains that the Negro crime and illegitimacy rates are everywhere so vastly greater than those of the whites that these statistics have an alarming impact on the minds of parents, especially those of adolescent white boys and girls who would be thrown into rather intimate contact with colored boys and girls in integrated schools.

If I may be pardoned a personal reference, I should like to say that for the past quarter of a century I have striven to eliminate some of the major handicaps from which Negroes have suffered in the South. I was a member of the Atlanta conference which met in the early 1940's, in response to an appeal from Negro leaders who had met shortly before at Durham, N. C., and had asked that southern Negroes be treated more fairly and equitably. I was a director of the Southern Regional Council which was then organized in an effort to achieve these objectives.

I was the first southern newspaper editor to urge abolition of segregation on streetcars and buses. I proposed this late in 1943, but was unable to persuade the Legislature of Virginia to accept my suggestion.

Our inability to get this and other reasonable concessions for the Negro from the white leaders of the South caused the Negro leaders of the region to turn to their racial compatriots in the North. The South's Negro leadership would have been satisfied, I believe, at least for a time, with much less than the all-out objectives subsequently sought by the NAACP. But the white leaders of the region were unable to deliver, and the result was that the effort of the Negro leadership of the South to "keep the capital of the Negro race in Atlanta," as one of them put it, failed. It was then that the NAACP's drive for the abolition of segregation got underway, with the support of southern Negro leaders and the "capital moved to New York."

The tragic fact today in the South is that hardly any liaison remains between the white leadership and the Negro leadership. Not only so, but until a few years ago, Negroes were being elected regularly to city councils and school boards in several Southern States, and it was the most natural thing in the world for white and colored leaders to sit down together for discussion of their mutual problems. These things are no longer true. The two races have been driven apart by the rancorous arguments over segregation, with the result that hardly any avenues of communication exist in most areas. The NAACP leadership has committed all Negroes so completely to its drive for total integration that any white who dissents from this view is stigmatized as an enemy of the Negro race. Of course, Negro dissenters are assailed with still greater violence, and are pilloried in much of the Negro press as "Uncle Toms," "handkerchief heads," and so on.

I hold no brief for the extremist journals in the South published by whites. Some of them are no better than organs of the resurgent Ku Klux Klan. But it is dismaying to find a once well-balanced Negro paper such as the Norfolk Journal and Guide saying, apropos of anti-integrationist legislation adopted in Virginia: "We have a determination on the part of a majority of Virginians to continue slavery in spirit and practice."

And the temper of the more extreme Negro press is seen in a recent editorial, which appeared soon after the birthday of Robert E. Lee, in the Afro-American chain, largest Negro chain in the Nation. It dealt with the proposal in Congress by a northern Member to have Lee's citizenship restored. The Afro-American said, in part: "If Lee was stripped of his citizenship it was because the country just after the war felt that should be the penalty for a traitor who violated his oath and carried on a war to destroy the Union and preserve slavery. * * * He was engaged as a rebel and traitor in a foul and dirty business. The dear God passes judgment on him now."

In view of the universal verdict of leading historians in this country and Great Britain as to the nobility of Lee's character and the purity of his motives, further comment on this outburst seems unnecessary. It does serve to illustrate the bitterness which infuses a large segment of the Negro press.

The Negro schoolteachers of the South should be deeply concerned over this whole controversy. There are from 75,000 to 80,000 of them, and the great danger is that many of them will lose their positions, if matters are pushed to the ultimate conclusion, and mixed schools are forced in certain areas. The unwillingness of many white southerners to have their children taugh by colored teachers is the crux of this situation. Some will consider this attitude narrow-minded, but it exists in such definite form that it cannot be ignored. Several hundred Negro teachers have lost their jobs already in border States, chiefly Oklahoma, but I understand that most of them have been reemployed elsewhere.

The criticism heaped upon us by our northern friends because many white southerners, by and large, do not wish their children taught by Negro teachers, would come with better grace, I submit, if the public schools of the North employed more Negro teachers. The number, as is well known to each of you, is infinitesimal by comparison with the number in the South. Even where colored population is enormous, as in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Chicago, there are few Negro teachers. No satisfactory explanation for this has ever come to my attention.

Permit me to remark parenthetically that the average salary of the tens of thousands of Negro teachers in the South is about equal to that of the white teachers, and in at least three Southern States (Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee), the average annual salary of Negro teachers is higher than that of white teachers. It must be confessed that the NAACP is largely responsible for bringing Negro teachers' salaries up to the white level. There is no telling how long it would have taken to achieve this objective, had it not been for the suits filed and won by that organization.

While we are discussing the attitude of the North, or certain segments of it, to the race problem, it seems appropriate to emphasize that this problem is not regional but national.

Just the other day I read of how a Negro man was beaten to death on the streets of Boston by white hoodlums who had begun yelling epithets at him when they saw him escorting a white woman.

You are of course familiar with the situation in Chicago, where scores if not hundreds of police have had to guard Negro families around the clock for more than 3 years at the Trumbull Park housing project. The clear implication of this situation is that these Negroes would have been mobbed long ago for moving into that housing development, but for the protection afforded them.

The mayor of Dearborn, Mich., makes it a well-publicized practice not to allow a single Negro to settle in that community of 125,000 people. "Negroes can't get in here." His Honor declared last year. "Every time we hear of a Negro moving in we respond quicker than you do to a fire." The mayor was given an overwhelming vote of confidence recently, so his policies evidently are regarded with favor and approval by the people of Dearborn.

I hope it is unnecessary for me to say that I abhor that sort of thing that is here described as happening in Boston, Chicago, and Dearborn. These things are disgusting and disgraceful. The fact remains that these occurrences—and others which might be mentioned—have all taken place outside the South. Furthermore, the fact that Negros have had to be protected from mobs 24 hours a day for more than 3 years in the State of Abraham Lincoln is not without its ironic and tragic implications.

Another point which needs to be made, I believe, is the attitude in the North toward the South's so-called lawlessness and flouting of the Constitution and the Supreme Court.

I do not defend or condone lawlessness, whether in the North or the South, but it is a bit dismaying to observe that some of our Northern compatriots seems to regard lawlessness as something which is not only acceptable, but admirable, when it occurs in accordance with what is deemed to be the sentiment of their particular communities.

Only a few weeks ago, for example, Mayor Richardson Dilworth, of Philadelphia, applauded this attitude. Speaking apropos of a State law forbidding Sunday basketball in the City of Brotherly Love, his honor said:

"Free people refuse to knuckle under to laws which completely ignore their welfare and desires. * * * Just as long as the legislature refuses to permit cities the right to determine what activities their citizens are entitled to engage in on Sunday, it is inevitable that the law will be ignored."

I wonder whether the Philadelphia newspaper which has been denouncing southerners who boggle at all-out integration as bigots and flouters of the law of the land has been equally caustic in its references to Mayor Dilworth, who loudly proclaims his intention to ignore the law. Incidentally, Mayor Dilworth is all for liberalizing the Democratic party and putting those law-violating southerners in their place.

And while we are on this general subject, a great many of those in the North who are blasting the South for failure to comply with the mandates of the Supreme Court on integrated, violated the Constitution and the statutes wholesale during the prohibition era. Of course, I realize that no one in this audience could conceivably have patronized a bootlegger when the late lamented noble experiment was our prop and stay, but

there were thousands, aye millions, who did so. In doing so, they flouted a duly enacted amendment to the Constitution and duly approved acts of Congress—not opinions handed down by the Supreme Court. Yet some of these very drinkers of white mule and bathtub gin are loudest in clamoring today that the South has no respect for law and order.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are heading into an era of intersectional tension and misunderstanding, and the intolerance that is being manifested on both sides of Mason and Dixon's line is not reassuring. It behooves us all to evidence a greater measure of sanity and good will and to stop hurling epithets.

The recent actions of a Federal judge in Tennessee in connection with the racial disorder at Clinton have alarmed many students of the Constitution, both North and South. They feel that the jurist in question showed a lamentable disregard for certain constitutional verities and ignored the time-honored right of defendants to a jury trial. They feel that the court was too sweeping in its injunctions. The whole episode seemed symbolic of the prevailing tendency in certain quarters to go to the utmost extremes, if integration is thereby promoted, whether by hauling schoolchildren many miles away from their neighborhood schools or by stretching the Constitution and the statutes in the name of "liberalism," "democracy," "brotherhood," or what have you.

I would not wish to seem to imply that all the examples of extremism are to be found in the North. In South Carolina, for instance, something very close to witch hunting and book burning has been approved almost unanimously by the State legislature. That body adopted a resolution last year asking the State Library Board to remove existing books and to screen future books that are "antagonistic and inimical to the traditions and customs of this State."

The civil-rights program now before Congress is a perfect example of the sort of extremist legislation which frightens and dismays the South—and should frighten and dismay the whole country. Has it been seriously contemplated before in this land that persons "about to engage in" certain acts could be arrested and haled into court? Yet one of the provisions of a pending civil rights bill embodies this amazing language. Even Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Jr. of New York, not exactly a "race baiter" or a "white supremacist," has said that this plan to arrest persons "about to engage in" certain activities seem to him dangerously like thought control.

The civil-rights program also appears to negate the right to trial by jury, and it would enable the Attorney General to file, at public expense, suits on behalf of persons who contend that their civil rights have been violated. Another provision would seem to empower a proposed civil rights commission to summon any citizen from any part of the United States to any other part to defend himself against charges the nature of which was completely unknown to him prior to receipt of the subpena.

Most of all of the foregoing is vouched by former judges who are now Members of Congress as being in accord with reasonable interpretation of the language of these civil-rights bills. Such far-reaching legislation should have much more careful scrutiny than it appears to be getting. A majority of Congress seems to be so bemused by the phrase "civil rights" that it is reluctant to vote against anything which bears the label, no matter how dangerous its potentialities. And these particular measures have about as many potentialities for evil and for interracial conflict as have been presented to Congress in a long time.

In conclusion let me say that I end as I began—reluctant, even unwilling to try to forecast the future of the current interracial upheaval in the South. We are heading into stormy seas, I fear. The Deep South, it must be said in all frankness, has no present intention of integrating its public schools. Several of those States have a fixed determination to close their schools entirely, rather than mingle the races in them. All courts, as far as I know, agree that this would be legal, however deplorable from an educational and social standpoint.

Let us hope, therefore, that the NAACP will see the folly of forcing the issue in these States, and will exhibit a statesmanlike restraint. Enormous gains have been made by the Negro race in education and every other sphere throughout the entire South, and additional gains will be made, if only the responsible leadership of the race will assert itself. What the ultimate future holds is not for me to say. I only know that the course of wisdom for the NAACP today is for that militant organization to back up, to consolidate its gains, and to refrain from pushing matters so fast and so far as to pass the point of no return. Otherwise it will do irreparable harm to the cause of Negro advancement and to interracial amity.

Administration Faces Two Ways: Public Power Is Encouraged Abroad, Sabotaged at Home

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, an unexplainable situation which continues to baffle Members of Congress and our own citizens is the policy of the administration in opposing the development of worthwhile and beneficial public works projects in our own country while at the same time encouraging similar public power developments abroad.

A recent article by the able Columnist Thomas L. Stokes points up the fact that the administration, through a report of the World Bank, shows that loans in a recent 7-month period total $98,300,000 for public power projects in Austria, Italy, Chile, and Nicaragua. These new loans for public power projects, together with previous loans and grants, bring the total for these purposes to nearly a billion dollars. These loans are assisting 22 different countries which are enumerated in the article. Loans and assistance for these programs at home are called "creeping socialism" but under other flags they are all right and encouraged. When will the administration stop facing two ways and begin to give encouragement and assistance to worthy public power development projects in our own country.

Because I believe Mr. Stokes' penetrating analysis of this situation is worthy of further review, I ask unanimous consent that an article which appeared in a recent issue of the Nashville Tennessean be reproduced in the Appendix of the RECORD. The article follows:

ADMINISTRATION FACES TWO WAYS: PUBLIC POWER IS ENCOURAGED ABROAD, SABOTAGED AT HOME

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

WASHINGTON.—We have been hearing a lot lately, especially in protesting voices from Congress, about a double standard in international affairs. This referred to proposals for United Nations sanctions against Israel when the U. N. never had applied them to Soviet Russia and Egypt when they ignored U. N. resolutions.

In an entirely different area we are reminded again of a double standard that the Eisenhower administration has applied for 4 years.

ALL OVER THE WORLD

We see this in another report by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, in which we hold a third of the shares and subscribed a third of $9 billion capital. That shows the continuing approval by our Government, now managed by the Eisenhower administration, of loans to finance public-power projects all over the world.

Here at home, as you know, the administration is fighting public development of our own water resources to develop power. It insists, instead, upon something it calls the partnership policy.

As that works out, it means that granting to powerful utilities of title to resources that should belong to the people, and under terms that mean fancy profits for them and high rates to consumers. It means, too, that development in some cases is shortsighted and does not utilize the full potential.

LATEST REPORT

The latest report of the World Bank, as that institution is popularly called, covers its loan operations from July 1 of last year to January 31 of this year. It is issued as a special supplement to its 11th annual report covering operations up to last July 1 for the use of the United Nations Social and Economic Council meeting in New York beginning April 16.

This report shows additional loans for power development in that 7-month period of $98.3 million to Austria, Italy, Chile, and Nicaragua.

That brings to nearly a billion dollars—or to be exact, $887.3 million, the total of loans for electric power development in the 11 years the bank has been in operation. These loans went to 22 different countries. They are Austria, Algeria, Italy, Chile, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Finland, Norway, Rhodesia and Nyassaland, Uruguay, South Africa, Yugoslavia, Brazil, Ceylon, Colombia, El Salvador, France, Iceland, India, Lebanon, Mexico, and Pakistan.

Our share of these loans was $295.7 million.

OUT TO CRIPPLE TVA

In many instances the loans were to public authorities modeled after our own TVA in the Southeast. That has its ironical connotations, since the Eisenhower administration thus gives its approval to that means of developing water resources in foreign lands but has been antagonistic to TVA here and has sought in numerous ways to cripple that magnificent project. The President calls it "creeping socialism."

It's only "creeping socialism" under our flag. Under other flags it's all right.

RUSSIA MOVES FASTER

While we are helping to expand the development of power by public authorities and governments elsewhere, we have witnessed a retardation of power development, both public and private, in our country during the Eisenhower administration. In rate of increase in power production, we are lagging behind Russia, though we are still far ahead in total capacity. She is moving comparatively much faster than we are.

The lagging, almost stagnation, in the development of our water resources is due in part to the Eisenhower administration's desire to favor the utilities. They want only sites out of which they are guaranteed a handsome profit.

In their picking and choosing for such sites, they have disrupted basin-wide development, which is the only way to develop our rivers properly so that our people and our land

will be served. In this piece-meal development, they have not in many cases utilized all the potentials of our rivers.

The propet way to develop our water resources is integrated development as envisioned half a century ago by a great Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt, and as put into execution more recently by two Democratic Presidents, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman.

Dr. Brusch on Fluoridation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend by remarks in the RECORD, I desire to include the text, in part, of a recent speech on fluoridation delivered in Washington by Dr. Charles A. Brusch, director of the Brusch Medical Center, Cambridge, Mass.

Dr. Brusch, an eminent leader in medicine, spoke before the 31st Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense on February 2.

His address follows, in part:

The issue that we are discussing today is whether or not we have the right to add artificial fluoride one part per million (or one p. p. m.) to our public water supplies, for the sole purpose of helping to delay the decay of teeth in children up to and including 12 years of age. This proposed treatment of an individual condition, which is not a communicable disease, brings up many problems of amoral, legal, economic and scientific nature.

* * * * *

There have been two congressional hearings on fluoridation within the past few years and a great number of reports have been published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. One of these was the famous Delaney hearing and the other was the Weir bill discussion. After lengthy testimony by outstanding witnesses on both sides, the finding in the Delaney hearing was: "Go slow with fluoridation."

Economically fluoridation is very expensive. Only about one-tenth of 1 percent of our water supply is used for drinking purposes, so that the fluoridation of 99.9 percent of our water supplies would be a sheer waste. 1.7 grams of pure sodium fluoride added to 2 gallons of water would give 1 teaspoonful of 1 milligram of fluoride a day for 2 years at 1 cent a year. This dosage is equal to 1 part per million fluoride.

Also, since it is very difficult to distill the fluoride out of water, fluoridation seriously interferes with the production of such commodities as drugs, canned goods, beers, tonics, batteries, etc. Some manufacturers have been obliged to install expensive equipment to defluoridate their water supply. This has been done with some baby foods, to make them safe for consumption.

* * * * *

There are two main classes of fluorides: those occurring naturally, such as calcium fluoride, and those produced chemically, such as sodium fluoride.

Calcium fluoride is not as toxic as sodium fluoride, because it has a higher atomic weight and therefore does not dissolve as readily in water. The lower the atomic weight, the more active the electron.

The atomic weight of calcium fluoride is 99, that of sodium fluoride 41.997. Sodium fluoride has a solubility of 1 part in 25 parts of water and is 85 times more toxic than calcium fluoride.

Sodium fluoride is a highly toxic, cumulative, protoplasmic poison. In minute doses, over a long period of time, it reduces immunity, activates the disease processes, especially of inherent factors. It may act as an acute sudden poisoning or as a chronic slow poison over a period of time and also as an allergenic substance.

An example of acute poisoning occurred in an institutional kitchen, where sodium fluoride was mistaken for powdered milk in the preparation of scrambled eggs. Out of a group of 263 persons, 47 fatalities were reported. It is a known fact that the mortality of fluoride poisoning is very high.

We are here rather interested in the slow, chronic type of poisoning occurring after ingestion of small amounts over a long period of time. Sodium fluoride blocks in the body much like such contaminants as arsenic or lead.

While all fluoride componds have some toxic effect, the chemical reactions vary greatly because of atomic weight. Thus stannous fluoride at 2 parts per million is more active than 10 parts per million of sodium fluoride, and the fluorapatite at 700 parts per million is equal to 1 or 2 parts per million of sodium fluoride. This last is an interesting fact, because it is in the fluorapatite form that the fluorides, however contacted, finally do their destructive work in the body. You see, to be assimilated by the body, a mineral must first be converted by plant or animal life. Man is much more sensitive to fluorides than animals, generally speaking.

Every individual has a certain allergic tendency. As we know, a person may be allergic to such essential elements as wheat and eggs. Milk may cause a rash in one child, while another may be sensitive to strawberries or penicillin. The ingestion of sodium chloride affects every cell or every system of the body to some extent.

Since sodium fluoride is pharmacologically classified as a protoplasmic poison, minute doses ingested over a long period of time are capable of producing an allergic response, precipitating the loss of immunity and activating inherent sensitivity factors.

In this connection, it might be interesting to note the results of studies made at the Brusch Medical Center. It was found that, in over 1,000 cases of varying allergic manifestations, every one was allergic to sodium fluoride to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the inherent rate or allergy or immunity loss. The Healy blood allergen diagnostic method was used. In this test, the blood in gel media is tested directly with sodium fluoride 1 part per million, and the preparation of specimens calls for 5 cubic centimeters of venous blood from the antecubital vein and 5 cubic centimeters of tap water. As many as 120 basic factors are used, including common pathogenic bacteria, common pathogenic molds, indoor and outdoor dusts, contacts, drugs, and industrial substances of all kinds. In this series of tests, sodium fluoride was rated a high sensitizer or an allergen outside the basic or common everyday factors.

The recognized allergic symptoms or varying kind and degree manifested are: vasomotor disturbances; wheezing (asthma); gastrointestinal disturbances; urticaria (hives) and acne (dermatitis); circulatory changes (rheumatic, joint, cardiac, etc.); migraine; anemias; and bone changes (arthritic, calcium loss or displacement).

The amount of fluoride necessary to cause cell intoxication depends on the volume and concentration of the drug in the blood stream. It is well nigh impossible to have a fluoride-free diet, and since the advent of fluorine chemistry about 25 years ago, there is more fluoride in the air, in the form of dusts, fumes, vapors, or sprays. It is all around us, at home and abroad. We contact it in natural and in unnatural radiation, in fluorescent lighting, in television, and at the movies.

Today almost every industry uses fluorides in some way. It is used as a flux in tanneries and bleacheries, and plays a part in the production of varnishes, plastics, rubber goods, and emeries. This has given rise to many medical books and papers on industrial fluorosis, acute and chronic, and on sensitivity effects on the skin, lungs, kidneys, bones, blood, and teeth of individuals handling fluorides daily in the form of hydrofluoric acid or cryolite.

* * * * *

Here is the fluoride content of a few common foods:

Baking powder, 3,000 to 4,000 parts per million; buckwheat, 700 parts per million; cabbage, 74 parts per million; fish, 28 parts per million; liver, 1.5 parts per million; malt, 3.15 parts per million; rice, 9 parts per million; spinach, 6 to 8 parts per million.

Fatty foods absorb more than carbohydrates and stay longer in system.

Foods high in minerals (calcium, magnesium, aluminum), less fluorine is absorbed.

Foods rich in vitamins, less fluorine is absorbed.

Various diets give various combinations of fluorides.

The physiological action of a fluoride varies with the manner of contact—whether it is ingested, absorbed, inhaled, or injected.

Fluorides also have a different action on different cells and at different ages.

* * * * *

When sodium fluoride is taken into the system, it is absorbed in the upper part of the small intestine and carried by the blood stream into the various cells, organs, or tissues in the form of calcium fluoride, robbing the body of calcium. If there is a deficiency of calcium in the system, it will combine with other minerals, displacing them from their essential use and disrupting their function. Just as it acts as a flux in a metal-processing laboratory, so in the human body it activates an insidious demineralization under varying conditions and in varying lengths of time.

* * * * *

The primary gland in the body, the pituitary, is interfered with seriously. This affects the growth and development of bones, teeth, and reproductive organs. As a result, we have bone disturbances of mild to severe degree resembling arthritic and rheumatic changes, often with catilage involvement. Mottling of teeth, mild to severe, also occurs, as well as softness of teeth and periodontal disease.

A nutritional deficiency from failure of this gland causes a mineral imbalance which can bring about premature births, stillbirths, abortions, miscarriages, or sterility. Embryonic tissue, which is rich in primary gland substance, especially from the first week to the third month of pregnancy, is affected.

* * * * *

Fluoride poisoning can also produce persistent blood dyscrasias with resultant changes in circulation. Blood cholesterol may be increased and coagulation retarded from 6 to 20 times. It has also been found to hasten the course of the disease in mice with cancerous tendencies, because of lessened immunity. Arteriosclerosis may also be induced.

Common symptoms are affections of the skin, mottled or flecked fingernails, and thinning or loss of hair.

* * * * *

SUMMARY

Since the exact cause of tooth decay is not known nor can it be shown that fluoridated water will prevent it, and because we are already getting plenty of fluorine through

our foods and are practically surrounded by it, it is clear that we can have good teeth without fluoridation but not without plenty of essential minerals (calcium and phosphorus), especially not without essential vitamins and a properly balanced dietary intake, and, of course, not without well-taught habits of dental hygiene.

Because sodium fluoride is a protoplasmic poison that may accumulate in the body, especially in injured or weakened tissues, fluoridated water cannot be said to be harmless.

Tooth decay is an individual condition and not a contagious or water-borne disease. Therefore sodium fluoride should not be put into the water supplies from which all and sundry must drink. On the contrary, water should be kept as pure as possible, since it is the universal cell solvent so vital to human physicochemical relations.

* * * * *

How inconclusive statistics can be was strikingly demonstrated recently in New York State. Dr. Forest, of the University of the State of New York, reported an increase of 33⅓ percent in damaged or destroyed teeth in the fluoridated city of Newburgh over the unfluoridated city of Kingston. Later a Dr. Ast reported 50 percent more tooth decay in Kingston over Newburgh.

When we hear of fluoridation being put into effect at Army and Air Force bases here and abroad, we wonder why the public is never notified that the fluoride is a harmful substance and why it has so often been put secretly into water supplies throughout the country.

Are mass medication and experiment to be forced on the entire population from birth to death, whether they want it or not? Have we no longer the right to personal care by our own family physician or dentist? Is this right to be taken over by a police power?

Why is it that we hear only one side of the story from newspapers, radio, television, and town meetings? Is this to be the American way of life?

Organizations and groups everywhere have endorsed this measure wholeheartedly with no consideration of its systemic effects. I trust that this 31st Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense will consider seeking further enlightenment on plans to fluoridate the national water supplies and also see to it that women and mothers everywhere understand the dangers pertinent to the drinking of water containing 1 part per million sodium fluoride by themselves, their children, and their children's children. I deem such action one of national defense and the success of such action definitely patriotic to the highest degree.

Tax Relief for Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, today I and other Republican Members of the House Select Committee on Small Business are introducing a bill to provide income-tax relief for small businesses. The Republican Party platform of 1956 pledged a continuation and improvement of our drive to aid small business and strongly endorses the recommendations of the Cabinet Committee on Small Business, which recommendations embody certain tax-relief suggestions. During their campaign speeches the President, many Members of Congress, as well as the Democratic Presidential candidate, all agreed that the tax situation for small business had to be alleviated.

We all recognize the traditional concept of American business ingenuity which in the past enabled a man or group of men to start a small business and carry it forward until it prospered and grew in size and capital. During the past 24 years our tax laws have served to choke small business and we find today that small business cannot effectively compete and prosper in our present-day economy of big business, big Government, and big labor unions.

In order to provide a healthy atmosphere for small business it is the purpose of the bill being introduced today—

To provide for growth, expansion, and modernization for small and independent business enterprises engaged in trade or commerce;

To provide an election for filing income-tax returns for small and independent businesses engaged in trade or commerce whether or not such businesses operate as individuals, partnerships, or corporations;

To provide a normal tax rate of 20 percent for taxable years after March 31, 1957, and to increase the surtax exemption;

To provide credits for losses incurred through investment or loans to small and independent business enterprises engaged in trade or commerce;

To provide a growth, expansion, and modernization exemption on net taxable earnings for small and independent businesses engaged in trade or commerce;

To provide for rapid amortization of property utilized for the production of profit by small and independent businesses engaged in trade or commerce;

To provide small and independent business an exemption for good will in the determination of the value of an estate;

To provide family-sized farmers and others engaged in agricultural pursuits an exemption for the improvement, modernization, and renewal of buildings or equipment used in the production, care, and marketing of farm products; and

To provide family-sized farms, whether or not such farms are owned in fee or occupied by renters or tenants, an exemption for the improvement, modernization, and renewal of buildings or equipment used in the production, care, and marketing of the products of such farms.

Some of the outstanding features of the bill are—

To enable small businesses earning under $150,000 of taxable income per year, to treat as expenditures a certain proportion of money spent for construction, improvements, or installations of land, building, and machinery, to increase productive capacity;

To reduce the normal corporate tax to 20 percent instead of the 30 percent existing at the present time;

To increase the surtax exemption from the present $25,000 to $150,000 of income before surtax rates apply;

To enable individuals or parties engaged in a trade or business to be taxed as a corporation and to enable small corporations to be taxed as individuals;

To enable investors in small corporate business ventures to treat such losses as a full deduction instead of the present limitation of $1,000 capital gains loss in the present tax bill;

To enable small business to exercise the option of depreciating property, machinery, etcetera, on a 5-year basis which would enable them to provide for a faster write-off; and

To enable small business to obtain more time in paying off estate taxes so that the businesses would not have to be liquidated because of Federal estate taxes.

There are other provisions in the bill which will benefit all small-business establishments and provide for a healthier economy.

It is admitted by all economic students that present trends in our economy work far more hardships on small business than they do on big business. The swing of the business cycle bears much harder on the small business firms because they are less diversified, have fewer products, have fewer distribution channels, and have fewer key personnel.

The change in the economic weather affects small business more strongly because like a gambler with a small bank roll, they may have a good system of winning on the average, but they cannot win all the time and are more easily wiped out with a run of bad luck.

Under present tax laws, as soon as a small business corporation earns $25,000, 52 percent of all its profits go to Uncle Sam with the result that under present-day conditions, the small-business man cannot, as in the old days, depend upon earnings to enable his business to grow and prosper. The larger corporations can float stock issues, sell bonds, make adequate bank loans, whereas, small business mainly has to depend upon plowing back earnings which it cannot do today under the present-day structure. This is the most serious problem of small and new businesses today—the raising of capital to satisfy their financial needs.

The upshot of the many varied and new tax rules over the last 24 years is such that there is little to encourage the furnishing of venture capital to small and new business. There is no ready market, such as is available for the securities of publicly held corporations, nor is there likely to be, unless and until the business has grown out of the small-business category and entered the ranks of the large successful companies.

Under present tax laws there is no incentive for a group of small investors or small-business men to get together and form new small corporations. If their gamble is successful, the Government immediately confiscates 52 percent of the earnings of the corporation in excess of $25,000. If the venture is unsuccessful, the taxpayer is allowed to only deduct his losses up to $1,000. In other words, the dice are loaded in favor of Uncle Sam.

It is my earnest hope that all of the platitudes of both party platforms, both presidential candidates, and most Members of Congress and Senators will be effectively put into action and provide some tangible tax relief for the small-business community.

Land Acquisition Program in the Missouri River Basin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, because of the fact that many thousands of acres of the best land in my State are being required for the storage of water back of the large dams in the upper Missouri River which takes such land forever from production or from the payment of taxes for revenue purposes for local governments.

And, Mr. Speaker, because these thousands are being taken from the owners at prices which will not permit the owners thereof to replace such lands elsewhere for farming and ranching purposes.

Under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD Senate Concurrent Resolution 4 of the South Dakota State Legislature:

Senate Concurrent Resolution 4

Concurrent resolution memorializing the Corps of Engineers and the Congress of the United States relative to the land-acquisition program in the Missouri River Basin

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of South Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring):

Whereas the land-acquisition program of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army in connection with lands required for the Missouri River dams is of such size as to affect a large number of the citizens of the State of South Dakota; and

Whereas it is unfair to the landowners in that the land appraisals do not take into consideration the fact that the acquisition involves a mass taking of practically the whole Missouri River bottom lands from one side of the State to the other; and

Whereas, as a result of such mass taking, the number of displaced landowners who desire to buy replacement land runs into the hundreds and perhaps thousands and the demand pressure thus built up forces these landowners to pay much higher prices for such land than they are offered by the Government for their land; and

Whereas, as a result of this pressure and increase, the landowner is placed in a much worse position than before the taking; and

Whereas there are relatively large blocks of school and endowment lands held in trust by the State of South Dakota for the benefit of the common schools and other endowed institutions, which lands are now, through long-term leases, a part of, and an asset to residents of the area to be evacuated; and

Whereas large bodies of such school lands are not available for lease adjacent to land available for resettlement; and

Whereas the willing-seller, willing-buyer concept which has been adopted by the courts as a basis for determining the compensation to be paid the landowner is unfair in that the landowner is not a willing seller but is forced to sell: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this legislature respectfully request the Corps of Engineers to take into consideration the cost of replacement land and to adopt a scale of appraisals which will enable displaced landowners to purchase other relatively good lands at the amounts received by them; and be it further

Resolved, That the legislature respectfully request the Corps of Engineers to abandon the willing-seller, willing-buyer concept as a basis for its appraisals and that it take into consideration the fact that the landowner is forced to sell; and be it further

Resolved, That, if congressional action be necessary to correct the present unjust system, this legislature respectfully request the Congress of the United States to take such action promptly; and be it further

Resolved, That the replacement-value concept be adopted in the appraisal of land by the Corps of Engineers so that it shall conform to the fifth amendment of the Constitution of the United States providing that no private property shall be taken for public use without just compensation, to the end that the owner shall be placed in as good a position pecuniarily as he would have occupied if his property had not been taken; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this concurrent resolution be forwarded to His Excellency the President of the United States, the Honorable Secretary of Defense of the United States, the Honorable Secretary of the Army of the United States, the Chief of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army at Omaha, Nebr.; to the Honorable KARL MUNDT and the Honorable FRANCIS CASE, United States Senators from South Dakota; to the Honorable E. Y. BERRY and the Honorable GEORGE McGOVERN, Representatives in Congress from South Dakota; and to the presiding officers of both Houses of Congress of the United States.

L. R. HOUCK,
Lieutenant Governor, President of the Senate.
NIELS P. JENSEN,
Secretary of the Senate.
NILS BOE,
Speaker, House of Representatives.
WALTER J. MATSON,
Chief Clerk, House of Representatives.

Forty-fifth Anniversary of Hadassah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of March 2, 1957, paying tribute to Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, on the occasion of its 45th anniversary:

Developments in the United Nations during the past 24 hours, indicating a settlement of the dispute between Israel and the Arab nations, should add zest to the local observance of the 45th anniversary of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, on Monday.

Founded in 1912 by Henrietta Szold, of Baltimore, this organization has dedicated itself to service in Israel. Its purpose has been to reclaim land, to provide hospital and health care, and to rescue the homeless children of Europe and Asia.

Today, Hadassah has 1,200 chapters throughout the United States, and a record of having rehabilitated 70,000 children through its Youth Aliyah program. In addition, Hadassah's doctors, nurses, and volunteer workers have made considerable progress in the eradication of disease in the Middle East, and are proud of the fact that the doors of its hospitals and clinics are open to anyone in need of help. Hadassah women are dedicated to building the new Hadassah-Hebrew-University Medical Center.

Hadassah plays a vital role in the life of the average American Jewish woman. Through these humanitarian services, she finds a deeper appreciation of the American way of life and is even more grateful for the privilege of living in the best of democracies. But through Hadassah she lives a fuller life, coming in contact with men and women of stature, men and women who are in close touch with history in the making.

Greater Wilkes-Barre women have had an opportunity to expand the scope of their lives through service and through these vitalizing contacts, rising from local office to posts of importance on the regional and national scene. Through Hadassah, they have received inspiration and the spirit of dedication so necessary to the American woman today.

In four decades, it is possible for a woman to have spent a lifetime serving an organization—and in Hadassah such service becomes almost a way of life. For example, of the local chapter's president, Miriam Sare Charnow, whose parents were pioneer Zionists, it can be said that she was a Zionist at birth. To her and to many others, Hadassah is not just another organization.

Hadassah women are Americans first, but Americans who are willing to share, willing to care, and willing to love; willing always to clothe the naked, teach the unlearned, and fed the hungry. This they do through Hadassah.

With a proud record of achievement to its credit, Hadassah faces a challenging future, its opportunities for service practically unlimited.

Legislation To Correct a Deficiency in the Civil Service Retirement Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation which will correct a serious deficiency in the Civil Service Retirement Act.

At the present time, if a Federal employee dies or leaves the service before he has completed 5 years of Federal service, his dependents who survive him will not receive benefits under the Civil Service Retirement Act. Employees who are covered by the Social Security Act are protected after 18 months of covered service.

My bill will correct this inequity. It provides that the Federal service and salary after 1950 of any employee who leaves Government before completing 5 years' Federal service will be deemed "employment" and "wages" for social-

security purposes. This has the effect of transferring credit for short-service employees. It also affords them social-security survivor protection during and after their Government employment in the same manner as though they were working in private employment. Once the employee completes 5 years of Federal service, he acquires retirement and survivor protection under the Civil Service Retirement Act, and credit for his Federal employment may no longer be transferred for social-security purposes.

This legislation was drafted by the Civil Service Commission at my request made during hearings on Federal employees' retirement last Congress. It has just been received.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter of transmittal from the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, an analysis of the bill, and a copy of the bill:

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., February 28, 1957.

Hon. TOM MURRAY,
Chairman, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. MURRAY: In its report of July 21, 1956 (No. 2854), on the bill S. 2875, 84th Congress, the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service stated:

"PROTECTION OF EMPLOYEES SEPARATED BEFORE COMPLETING 5 YEARS OF SERVICE

"In the consideration of this legislation the committee has recognized a serious deficiency in the law with respect to protection of employees who are separated, by death or otherwise, before having completed 5 years of service. The completion of 5 years of creditable service is an absolute requirement for entitlement to benefits under the present civil-service retirement system. Thus, an employee separated before completing 5 years of service is entitled to withdraw his contributions to the retirement fund, with interest, and nothing more. Neither he nor his dependents receive any real protection in line with the staff annuity purpose of the retirement system.

"The committee views with sympathy the problems of employees who fall in this category and believes that appropriate provisions should be worked out and incorporated in the Civil Service Retirement Act to provide at least minimum protection for such employees and their survivors. It is felt that legislation to provide these employees and survivors minimum social-security benefits will be appropriate and will give them adequate protection not now afforded by either the civil-service retirement plan or the Social Security Act.

"In view of the lateness in the session and the complexities of working out legislation to accomplish the purpose, however, the committee decided that it is not desirable to delay legislation to liberalize civil-service retirement benefits in order to make the necessary changes at this time. Accordingly, it was decided to postpone action to close this gap in retirement provisions for Federal employees with the understanding that the Civil Service Commission will study the feasibility of providing, for short-service employees, a plan for transferring credits between the Civil Service Retirement Act and the Social Security Act. The Commission will submit its report to the committee before January 3, 1957, together with a draft of legislation to carry out the objective of extending to these short-service employees, by transfer of credit, the basic protections of the Social Security Act. The committee expects that the proposal will incorporate these basic principles:

"The committee strongly recommends that legislation with this objective receive prompt consideration and become law at the earliest practicable date in the new Congress."

Subsequently the committee extended the time for the Commission to submit its report and legislative draft to March 1, 1957.

In response to this request, there is enclosed a draft of legislation which, if enacted, would permit short-service employees to transfer credit for Federal employment from the civil service retirement system to the old-age and survivors insurance (social security) system. In essence, the legislation provides that a Government employee who is separated before completing 5 years' Federal service will have so much of this service as was performed after 1950 while he was subject to the Civil Service Retirement Act counted under the social security system as though it were private employment. Federal employment after 1950 not subject to the Civil Service Retirement Act (or another Federal retirement system) is generally already creditable under the social security system.

This is how the transfer-of-credit plan contained in the legislation would work in the most common types of cases:

1. An individual in private employment who had social security survivor protection and who moved to Government employment would retain this survivor protection until he had completed 5 years of Federal service.

If the individual had less than a year and a half (six social security quarters) of private employment within the last 3 years, he would acquire social security survivor protection as soon as he completed enough Federal service to give him the social security-required total of six quarters of coverage. These six quarters would then consist of combined private and Federal employment.

Upon completion of 5 years' Federal service, the individual would acquire survivor protection under the Civil Service Retirement System and credit for his Federal service could not thereafter be transferred.

2. A new Government employee who had no prior private employment would acquire social security survivor protection as soon as he completed the necessary year and a half (six quarters) of Federal service. He would retain such protection until he completed 5 years' Federal service at which time he would acquire survivor protection under the retirement system.

If the individual moved from Government to private employment after completing a year and a half but less than 5 years' Federal service, he would retain and add to his social security survivor protection.

If the individual moved from Government to private employment before completing a year and a half of Federal service he could add his private employment to his Government employment and acquire social security survivor protection as soon as he completed a combined total of a year and a half of service.

3. A Government employee who, before completing 5 years' Federal service, moved permanently to private employment would have credit for his Federal service transferred to social security and counted toward his old-age or survivor benefits. This transfer of credit would be made only if and when he or his survivors applied for social security benefits.

The plan has the following characteristics which we believe are essential if any transfer of credit plan is to be adopted:

1. It is relatively simple and its operation would be generally understood by the people whom it will affect.

2. It does not entail any options or elections by the individual or his survivors. This eliminates:

(a) The necessity of the individual having to make a critical decision which he may later regret.

(b) In large measure, the opportunity for manipulation calculated to produce unwarranted benefits.

3. It requires only a one-time transfer of credit, thus avoiding the administrative difficulty and cost of retransfer and possible re-retransfer of a credit whenever the individual moves from private to Government employment or vice versa.

The draft bill excludes Members of Congress and congressional employees from the plan because the Commission usually excludes Members and congressional employees from pay and related legislation drafts and because participation of Members in the retirement system is not mandatory but optional with the individual. Members and congressional employees can be included by minor changes in the language, as indicated in the analysis which accompanies the draft.

If the draft legislation is enacted, it may also be desirable to amend the Social Security Act. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is, of course, best able to determine whether, from his point of view, any changes in the Social Security Act or in this draft legislation would be required.

We believe the bill meets your committee's stated objective of permitting short-service employees to transfer credit. However, the plan does have at least two major shortcomings:

1. As soon as an individual completes 5 years' Federal service (and assuming he is then under the retirement system), he generally exchanges his social-security survivor-benefit protection for the usually lesser retirement-system protection. This abrupt change will in many cases result in a wide disparity in benefits to the survivors of individuals who are similarly situated, except that one dies shortly before he completes 5 years' Federal service and the other dies shortly after completing 5 years' Federal service.

2. An individual who leaves Government employment before completing 5 years' Federal service will, in most cases, have residual social security survivor protection for 18 months, whereas an individual with 5 or more years of Federal service would not have this residual protection when he left Government employment.

Even if these shortcomings were corrected—and we have not attempted to do so in the draft bill because it would have exceeded the bounds of the committee's request—the plan would still not achieve the goal of worker mobility between the social security and the civil service retirement systems without loss, diminution, or duplication of benefits. This, as we see it, can be achieved only by completely coordinating the Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance System and the Civil Service Retirement System.

I should not want the committee to believe that because we have performed this technical service at the commitee's request, the Commission has receded in any particular from its position of last year favoring complete coordination of the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance System and the Civil Service Retirement System. No transfer of credit plan, however carefully devised, will provide a fully satisfactory solution of the problems inherent in the present imperfect relationship between these two Systems.

The Civil Service Retirement Act as it stands today provides an excellent staff retirement system. But, like other staff systems, it needs coordination with the Social Security System. Without the minimum protection afforded by the Social Security Act, many Federal employees suffer a relative disadvantage. And in the absence of coordination with the Social Security Act, many Federal employees reap windfall benefits. Neither result is desirable.

In the case of legislation which the Commission recommends to Congress, we ordinarily obtain the views of Federal employee

organizations. Because we are not sponsoring the enclosed draft bill, but are merely performing a technical service for the committee, we have not done so here. Neither have we sought the advice of the Bureau of the Budget as to whether the enclosed draft legislation is in accord with the program of the President.

By direction of the Commission:

Sincerely,

PHILIP YOUNG,
Chairman.

ANALYSIS OF BILL

Section 1 defines the term "tax equivalent" as an amount equal to the tax which would have been levied after December 31, 1950, the date on which "temporary" Government employees were originally covered by the Social Security Act, on the basic salary of a Federal employee who was subject to the Civil Service Retirement Act had his Federal service been covered employment under the Social Security Act. The tax equivalent is a consideration for the transfer of credit for Federal service to the social-security system.

Section 2 provides that the Federal service and salary after 1950 of any employee who leaves Government before completing 5 years' Federal service will be deemed "employment" and "wages" for social-security purposes. This has the effect of transferring credit for short-service employees. It also affords them social-security survivor protection during and after their Government employment in the same manner as though they were working in private employment. Once the employee completes 5 years of Federal service, he acquires retirement and survivor protection under the Civil Service Retirement Act, and credit for his Federal employment may no longer be transferred for social-security purposes.

Section 3 requires the Civil Service Commission to certify to the Social Security Administration a record of the service and the salary which is being transferred for credit under the social-security system. The Social Security Administration must request certification of the record upon receipt of an application for social-security benefits, but it may request the record at an earlier date if occasionally it is called upon to make an advance determination of an employee's or his survivors' social-security rights.

Because the transfer of credit is not made until the employee or his survivors apply for social-security benefits, no retransfer of credit is involved if the employee moves more than once between Government and private employment—so long as such movement occurs before he applies for the social-security benefits.

Section 4 permits refunding of a Federal employee's civil-service retirement contributions but provides for the withholding of the tax equivalent from the refund paid to a short-service employee. Should the short-service employee return to Government employment under the Civil Service Retirement Act and complete at least 5 years of Federal Service, the tax equivalent withheld will be recredited to his retirement contributions account.

Section 5 permits refunding of a deceased employee's civil service retirement contributions but provides for the withholding of the tax equivalent from the refund paid to the survivor of a short-service employee.

Section 6 requires the Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund to reimburse the social security trust funds for the benefit costs incurred on account of transferring credit for Federal employment to the social security system. It is recommended that at the time any hearings are held on this legislation, the Committee develop and include in this section a more detailed formula for determining the benefit costs. The formula should be one which is equitable both to the Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund and the social security trust funds.

Section 7 provides for the legislation to become effective upon enactment. Transfer of credit is permitted for all Federal service performed after December 31, 1950 (except "temporary" service which, if performed after 1950, is already creditable for social security purposes in most cases) for an employee who was subject to the Retirement Act on or after the effective date of the legislation.

(NOTE.—The legislation is worded so as to exclude Members of Congress and congressional employees from its operation. If the legislation is to apply to Members and congressional employees, Members should be included by specific references, and the phrases which exclude congressional employees should be deleted.)

A bill to provide for transfer of credit from the civil-service retirement system to the old-age and survivors insurance system, and for other purposes

Be it enacted, etc., That section 1 of the Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following paragraph:

"(t) The term 'tax equivalent' shall mean an amount equal to the tax on employees under the Federal Insurance Contributions Act with respect to basic salary paid for employment wherein they were subject to this act after December 31, 1950, had such employment been covered employment within the meaning of the Social Security Act."

SEC. 2. Section 2 of said act is amended by adding the following new subsection:

"(h) Notwithstanding any other provision of law or executive order and provided he is separated before completing an aggregate of 5 years of civilian service, the service performed after December 31, 1950, by a former employee, except a congressional employee, while he was subject to this act, shall, at the time he or his survivors apply for old-age, disability, or survivors benefits under the Social Security Act be deemed to be 'employment' within the meaning of section 210 of the Social Security Act. Such a former employee shall be deemed to have received during such service 'wages' within the meaning of section 209 of the Social Security Act in an amount equal to the lesser of (1) the basic salary paid to him for such service, or (2) the maximum yearly amount which may be considered as wages under section 209 of the Social Security Act."

SEC. 3. Section 3 of said act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(k) For any former employee to whom section 2 (h) applies, the Commission shall furnish, at the request of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, a record of service wherein the employee was subject to this act, the basic salary paid for such service, and a certification that the Commission's records show that such service and salary may be deemed to be 'employment' and 'wages' as provided in section 2 (h). The said Secretary shall not reqeust such record unless and until a determination of the former employee's or his survivors' entitlement to or amount of old-age, disability, or survivors benefits under the Social Security Act becomes necessary. Such record and certification shall be final and conclusive upon said Secretary."

SEC. 4. Section 11 (a) of said act is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 11. (a) (1) Except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, any employee or Member who is separated from the service, or is transferred to a position wherein he does not continue subject to this act, shall be paid the lump-sum credit provided his separation or transfer occurs and application for payment is filed with the Commission at least 31 days before the earliest commencing date of any annuity for which he is eligible. The receipt of payment of the lump-sum credit by the individual shall void all annuity rights under this act, unless and until he shall be reemployed in the service subject to this act. This subsection shall also apply to any employee or Member separated prior to October 1, 1956, after completing at least 20 years of civilian service.

"(2) The tax equivalent shall be withheld from the lump-sum credit paid any employee, other than a congressional employee, whose separation from the service occurred before he completed 5 years of civilian service. The tax equivalent so withheld from an employee shall not again become part of the lump-sum credit unless and until he is reemployed in the service subject to this act."

SEC. 5. Section 11 (d) of said act is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 11. (d) (1) Except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, if an employee or Member dies (A) without a survivor, or (B) with a survivor or surivors and the right of all survivors shall terminate before claim for survivor annuity is filed, or if a former employee or Member not retired dies, the lump-sum credit shall be paid.

"(2) If an employee or former employee, other than a congressional employee, dies before completing 5 years of civilian service, the lump-sum credit less his tax equivalent shall be paid."

SEC. 6. Section 17 of said act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(f) The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to transfer each year from the fund to the Federal old-age and survivors trust fund and the Federal disability insurance trust fund a sum determined by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Chairman of the Commission as necessary to meet the benefit costs incurred during the previous fiscal year by the said trust funds on account of section 2 (h) of this act."

SEC. 7. The amendments made by this act shall take effect upon enactment. This act shall not apply in the case of employees retired or otherwise separated prior to such effective date and the rights of such persons and their survivors shall continue in the same manner and to the same extent as if these amendments had not been enacted.

A Plan To Raise Farm Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, a group of Iowa farmers, at their own time and expense, have formulated a plan to assist the American farmer to raise farm income. They have worked long hours on this plan and have consulted many persons of high professional standing to double check their efforts.

Because the plan, as presented, strikes at the heart of much of the farm problem as it exists today which involves feed grains I desire to present it here in its entirety.

The authors of this plan are Mr. Elmer Stockdale, of Iowa Falls, Iowa; Mr. James Jorgensen, Jr., Mr. Laurence W. Hamilton, and Mr. James Jorgensen, Sr., all of Hampton, Iowa.

The plan follows:

A PLAN TO RAISE FARM INCOME

INTRODUCTION

While most Americans are enjoying unprecedented prosperity, feed and livestock farmers are having hard times. They can produce abundantly, but their problem is price.

Four Iowa farmers turned their attention to this problem. What are the underlying causes of low prices? Is there a sound solution?

These farmers sought ideas from members of the Farm Bureau, the Farmers' Union, the National Farmers' Organization, and the Grange. They conferred with representatives of the United States Department of Agriculture. They obtained data from the Iowa State Extension Service. Their aim was a long-range, nonpartisan, nonorganizational plan which would provide agriculture with a fair share of the national income.

The plan which they propose would apply to all farmers in the United States producing fed crops, not merely to Corn Belt farmers. Thus the southerner or westerner raising feed crops on land taken out of cotton or wheat could participate. The plan would benefit feed and livestock producers everywhere in the country.

The plan does not disturb programs on other basic commodities—cotton, wheat, rice, peanuts, and tobacco. Its authors believe that if the plan were applied to those crops, it would improve market prices; but they defer judgment to the producers of those commodities.

The four authors are Lawrence Hamilton, James Jorgensen, and James Jorgensen, Jr., of Hampton, Iowa, and Elmer Stockdale, of Iowa Falls, Iowa.

Following are their ideas. Part I states the problem. Part II contains their solution.

THE PLAN IN A NUTSHELL

1. Retain the soil bank and commodity loans.

2. Allow any feed cropland to be banked without compliance with corn acreage allotments.

3. Condition commodity loans on feed crops upon participation in the bank.

4. Achieve substantial increase in acreage banked.

5. Operate within the present framework of soil bank legislation.

6. Continue programs on other basic crops.

Part I. The problem

Point 1. Fundamental Difficulty—Too Many Feed Units

Farmers are producing more livestock feed crops than buyers will purchase at prices which provide a fair return.

Explanation: Incomes of livestock and feed-crop farmers are lower than incomes in other occupations involving similar capital, labor, and risks. This is because farmers, with scientific methods, are able to produce more than consumers will buy at reasonable prices. It is necessary somehow to bring production closer in line with consumption.

More consumption should be encouraged. But it is necessary also to deal with the other side of the problem—production.

Point 2. Soil Bank Principle Sound

The soil bank principle is sound because it aims at bringing the amount that farmers produce in line with what consumers will buy at reasonable prices, while building up land that most needs conservation.

Explanation: The individual farmer is helpless to reduce overall production. But this can be accomplished collectively through a Government program. This is the purpose of the soil bank—reducing production by retiring land.

Point 3. Corn Problem

Corn is but one of a number of feed crops, and reduction of corn production alone does not reduce total feed units or improve feed-crop prices.

Explanation: All crops grown primarily for livestock feed, such as corn, oats, barley, rye, grain sorghums, soybeans, alfalfa, cowpeas, etc., may be called feed crops. They are in competition with each other. When production of one is curtailed, production of the others tends to increase. There is but one general market for them, the livestock feed market.

Wheat may be dealt with singly in a production-control program. There is only one such principal product. When the production of wheat is reduced, the supply in the wheat market goes down and the price goes up. But when corn production is reduced, the supply in the livestock feed market does not go down proportionately. Farmers fill the demand by producing substitutes which involve less efficient use of land but meet the need. Thus feed-crop prices do not go up. Even corn prices do not rise, for cheap substitutes can be bought.

The corn problem is complicated by programs on other commodities such as cotton and wheat. Farmers reducing production of those commodities often turn to feed crops.

In the 3-year period from 1953 through 1955 there was an increase of 12 percent in the total supply of livestock feed, despite corn acreage allotments in connection with loans on that commodity.

Point 4. Livestock Problem

Increased supplies of livestock feed have resulted in increased production of livestock and lower livestock prices.

Explanation: There is a close relationship between feed and livestock prices. When farmers can profitably feed their crops to livestock they do so, and livestock production increases. When it is more profitable to sell crops as such, less feeding is done and livestock production decreases. Livestock prices are very sensitive to supply. A decrease of 1 percent in supply causes an increase of about 2 percent in price.

Recently Corn Belt farmers, with low crop prices, have produced more livestock. The non-Corn Belt farmers, growing feed on land taken out of production of allotted crops, have also produced livestock. The result in 1953 was the highest production of livestock per capita since 1908—more livestock than consumers would buy at prices which would return a profit to producers.

Point 5. Infirmities in Soil Bank—Feed Units Not Reduced

The present soil bank will not improve livestock and feed-crop prices because it deals with corn singly rather than with feed crops collectively.

Explanation: Participation in the corn soil bank is founded on treating corn alone rather than feed crops together. There must be compliance with corn acreage allotments. But while the participating farmer reduces corn, he produces substitutes and overall feed production continues to increase. As a result, market prices for corn and other feeds go down, and livestock prices follow.

Point 6. Infirmities in Soil Bank—Nonparticipation

Sufficient participation in the corn soil bank to reduce production cannot be obtained because compliance with allotments is required.

Explanation: Compliance with allotments means that a farmer cannot use his land not banked in the most efficient way. Since he must not only retire land, but also surrender freedom of operation on his remaining acres and reduce production of his most profitable crop, he often chooses to stay out of the bank.

Part II. The solution

Point 7. Feed Crop Approach

It should be permissible to bank tilled land in the United States which is in normal rotation of feed crops without complying with corn acreage allotments.

Explanation: Tilled land in the United States in normal rotation of feed crops may be called "cropland." A soil bank requiring compliance with corn acreage allotments does not reduce feed units because substitutes are produced. But if a portion of all cropland were retired, total feed units would diminish and feed crop prices would rise. Prices for livestock and livestock products would follow. Even the producer who buys all his livestock feed would thus be benefited; in addition, he would face less competition from farmers who could profitably sell their crops as such.

An increase in the supply of any particular feed such as corn would not be important, for there would be a reduction in the total feed units available to meet demand. Actually feed crops would come into proper balance as to each other, for an increase in one would result in a decrease in others and higher prices for them.

Freedom of choice of crops as to land not banked would at once increase participation in the bank and operating efficiency on the farm, for a producer would not be obligated to cut back the crops he raises most efficiently and finds most profitable. (Manufacturers faced with the problem which confronts agriculture would not cut back the items which produce the most return.) In practice one farmer might find corn best adapted to his locality and operation, while grain sorghum or alfalfa for another might be better.

Point 8. Adequate Soil Bank Payments

Soil-bank payments for cropland should be realistic in amount, based on the productive capacity of the particular land banked.

Explanation: Individual farmers considering participation weigh rental payments against the gross income from the land to be banked less the cost of farming it. Payments must be high enough to encourage participation.

Since payments would be based on the productive capacity of the acres retired, a feed-crop soil bank dollar would buy the same crop reduction on high as on low fertility land. Since operating costs are practically constant, farmers would normally tend to retire their less fertile land; and they would endeavor to put fields in the bank which in their particular operation produce the least valuable crop to them under their system of rotation. For these reasons rental payments would not need to be as high as when part of the land banked must actually come out of corn because of allotments.

Rental payments should not be so high as to incur resentment among other segments of the economy.

Participation ought not be sought by compulsion. This would eventually lead to an agriculture entirely controlled by governmental officials and insensitive to change.

Point 9. National Cropland Retirement

Sufficient cropland should be retired nationally to secure fair-market prices for feed crops, and approximately 15 percent should be retired now.

Explanation: A reduction of approximately 8 percent in feed supplies is necessary at this time in order to get prices to a proper level. But farmers would endeavor to retire their least fertile land, to produce their most valuable crops, and to increase operating efficiency. Hence 15 percent of the Nation's cropland should be retired now. Subsequent increases and decreases needed would be determined by experience from year to year.

Actually a reduction of approximately 6 percent in feed supplies would balance supply and demand. But on initial reduction of 8 percent is needed to reduce inventories and get the ever normal granary at a proper level.

Point 10. Farm Cropland Retirement

There should be no minimum or maximum acreage retirements per farm for participation, subject to the prior right of each farm to its proportionate share of the cropland to be retired nationally.

Explanaiton: There would be no limitation on the amount of cropland which could be retired per farm. But if 15 percent of the Nation's cropland was to be retired, there would be a right as to each farm to retire up to that proportion before the excess was divided.

Present provisions for the protection of tenants and share croppers would be retained.

Point 11. Commodity Loans

Feed crops now the subject of commodity loans would continue to be such, but such loans would be conditioned upon participation in the feed-crop soil bank to at least the proportionate share of the national retirement, rather than allotments.

Feed grains should be supported on a comparative feed and market value with corn.

Explanation: Commodity loans would provide an ever normal granary and credit at harvest times. As market prices improved, farmers would rely less on loans. The Government loan would become more a credit device as intended, and less a sale which sets prices.

If 15 percent of the Nation's cropland was to be retired, crops from a farm would not be subject to loan unless at least 15 percent of the farm's productivity was in the soil bank.

This requirement would encourage participation in the bank.

Point 12. Conservation Payments

Conservation payments should be restricted to actual conservation practices, and should be conditioned upon participation in the soil bank to at least the proportionate share of the national retirement.

Explanation: It is inconsistent simultaneously to promote more and less production by Government funds. Conservation payments should be limited to practices for the protection of the soil, such as erosion control.

Farmers needing conservation practices will also benefit by participation in the soil bank. If 15 percent of the Nation's cropland is to be retired, that percentage of the cropland on a farm should be banked for eligibility.

Point 13. Funds

Appropriations substantially equal to the present ones would be sufficient or nearly so to retire 15 percent of the Nation's 235 million acres that are in feed-grain crops.

Explanation: Cropland to be retired nationally is aproximately 35,250,000 acres. Some of the present appropriations for conservation payments should be made available for the soil bank, as they are being used to increase production. Adding these to present soil-bank appropriations gives approximately $850 million, or about $25 per cropland acre. This is substantially the national average of rental payment necessary to secure participation.

Point 14. Other Programs

Programs on other basic crops should remain as they are, and the feed-crop soil bank should operate within the framework of present legislation.

Explanation: The details for the operation of a soil bank are covered by present legislation. The feed-crop soil bank would not disturb programs on other commodities.

To sum it up, the plan would—

1. Permit more freedom of operation.
2. Improve operating efficiency.
3. Increase soil-bank participation.
4. Soil bank more land for less cost per acre.
5. Reduce overall production.
6. Raise agricultural income.

The Adversary Seeking Whom He May Devour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 30, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, Rabbi Milton L. Grafman of Temple Emanu-el, Birmingham, Ala., is one of the leaders among American Hebrews. A recent appeal to the members of his congregation so impressed me that I request that it be republished in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This statement was called to my attention by a very good friend, C. Davis Turner, one of the leading businessmen of Marianna, Fla., in my district. It follows:

THE ADVERSARY SEEKING WHOM HE MAY DEVOUR

I thought he was dead. So did a lot of other people. But we were wrong. Maybe there's something to this Bridey Murphy business, after all. Because there he is, big as life—and, yet, he's supposed to be dead. There he is, down to the mustache.

The Israeli—God bless them—try to joke about him. They say, "Hitler didn't die. He jumped into the Red Sea and came out a 'Nasser.'" (Nasser is Yiddish for "a wet one.") Wonderful sense of humor—with death on their doorstep, they can still laugh.

But it's no laughing matter, as in their hearts the Israelis know. The question is, Do you and I know? Do we realize that Nasser is Hitler over again, equally resolved to destroy every Jew—man, woman, and child—in Israel, if he can?

After I visited Nazi Germany in 1938, I told my congregation that Hitler and Goering intended to exterminate every Jew within their reach, if they could get away with it. I was not believed. I was not taken seriously. But, you know what happened.

Don't make the same mistake about Nasser. Don't shrug him off. Egyptian Jews have already felt his tyrannical heel. Confiscation, deportation, incarceration, each departing family leaving a hostage. This is history repeating itself—with a levantine touch.

So what? You would think this sort of thing would shock everybody, stir a fever in the blood of age and make the infant's sinews strong as steel. But that, alas, is not the reaction. Why, it isn't worth a headline, let alone an editorial. Mr. NIXON has gone to Vienna to help the Hungarian refugees. More power to him. But I'm afraid he won't go on to Cairo to look over the situation there.

We can't let the matter rest there. There are things to be done, things we can do. There are ways to help. At least, we can try to help.

We may be able to persuade President Eisenhower to respond to the plight of Egyptian Jews as he responded to the plight of Hungarian revolutionists. Each of us can write to the President. We can tell him of our gratitude for the humanitarianism he has shown. We can call his attention to Jewish sorrows in Egypt. We can implore him to give the same succor to our brethren oppressed by Nasser that he gave to Hungarians under the Communist yoke.

One other thing we can do is to give generously to the United Jewish Appeal. If you haven't made your pledge yet, do so this very minute. If you haven't given that extra 20 percent, do it now. If you have reduced your pledge, send in a new one.

I have heard the reasons given for not measuring up to this test—"business is off, taxes, expansion, reorganization," and the like. I know the psychology of givers. But I also know where real charity begins—where taxes leave off, where business is not so good as it was last year.

There is another yardstick, what ought to be a prevailing yardstick. Imagine yourself being face to face with Egyptian Jews in their misery, or with the heroic but desperate Israeli. Would they understand your excuses? Perhaps they would. With only their lives to lose, maybe they would understand.

It's going to be hard for me to sing out Happy New Year in this topsy-turvy world. It's going to be a little easier, though, because I have tried to do my part. How about you?

Partnership Faces Stiff Test

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 4, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the March issue of the National Union Farmer includes an article which I believe will be of interest to the Members of this Chamber. The article appears at a time when the members of the House and Senate Subcommittees on Irrigation and Reclamation are again being given an opportunity to consider legislation authorizing a high dam at Hells Canyon.

Because of the importance of this legislation to the Pacific Northwest and the Nation, I ask that this article be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

PARTNERSHIP FACES STIFF TEST

The Eisenhower administration is frantically trying to swim out of the whirlpool created by its own partnership power policy in the Pacific Northwest.

The situation has grown more and more desperate with each passing day, particularly for Secretary of Interior Fred Seaton, ever since the votes were counted last November in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

Now Seaton has announced that he will intervene in Federal Power Commission (FPC) hearings concerning the licensing of a private utility group that wants to build a low dam at Pleasant Valley downstream from the Hells Canyon site. But Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, and 28 other Senators are not marking time for Seaton. On March 6 MORSE will open up Senate Interior Committee hearings on his bill to authorize construction of the high Federal dam at Hells Canyon.

On another front, the National Hells Canyon Association has asked the United States Supreme Court to set aside the ruling of the FPC that gave the priceless Hells Canyon dam site to the Idaho Power Co. for small spite dam development. (National Farmers Union renewed its membership in—and vigorous support of—the Hells Canyon Association in January.)

If Seaton can swallow the administration's partnership position and endorse a high Federal dam at Pleasant Valley, it will make a major change in the Administration's river basin policies of the past 4 years. It will also muddy up the Hells Canyon situation tremendously, since a high dam at

Pleasant Valley would flood out one of the three low dam sites given to the Idaho Power Co. through the FPC ruling.

But there is an even greater hazard in high dam development of the Pleasant Valley site.

If the Idaho Power Co. is not prevented from building low dams on the 2 upper sites—2 of the 3 sites that the company has already been licensed to develop—these 2 small dams and a high dam at Pleasant Valley would result in a total and perpetual loss of 6.5 million acre-feet of storage and more than 1 million kilowatts of electric power capacity.

This great loss would be caused by flooding of the logical upstream site for the high Hells Canyon dam, plus interference with the flowage area of another potential high damsite downstream at Nez Perce.

A new combine of private utilities figures in the Pleasant Valley low-dam application. It is called the Pacific Northwest Power Co., and is composed of the Washington Water Power Co., Pacific Power & Light, Portland General Electric, and the Montana Power Co.

Seaton's problem is how to satisfy the two private utility groups involved at Hells Canyon and Pleasant Valley without bringing down the wrath of the Northwest voters and of propublic power and proconservation groups all over the country.

Obviously, somebody is going to get hurt in Hells Canyon.

Another case in which the administration appears to be preparing to abandon its partnership power policy concerns the John Day Dam on the Columbia River in Oregon. Seaton's predecessor, Douglas McKay, piloted the partnership planning on the John Day project, with help in Congress from Sam Coon, Republican, of Oregon. The voters got to Coon—and to McKay, too, for that matter—in November. Now the administration is thinking of favoring multipurpose development of the Columbia at the John Day site.

While the administration is trying to angle its way out of—or around—its own partnership policy muddle in the Northwest, it is pushing partnership in California. In mid-February Seaton recommended to Congress that the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. should be permitted to build and operate the powerplants of the huge Trinity River reclamation project in California.

Evidently, the Eisenhower administration plans now to push partnership power development only in areas where it is a safe policy.

Message from Congressman John W. McCormack, House Majority Leader, to the Delegates Attending the National Convention of the Chinese Communities of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks I include a message that I sent to the national convention of the Chinese Communities of the United States, which convention is meeting now in Washington and which started on March 5, 1957. This message I sent to the delegates of the national convention through my very close and valued friend, Most Reverend Paul Yu Pin, D. D., archbishop of Nanking in China.

We must constantly keep in mind that an important element of strength in combatting communism throughout the world, and particularly in the Far East, is the approximately 12 million Chinese now living in, or who are citizens of the various non-Communist countries of southeast Asia. The power and influence of these fine Chinese who are anti-Communist in preventing the spread of communism into the still free countries of southeast Asia should not and cannot be underestimated by our country.

The message follows:

MESSAGE FROM CONGRESSMAN JOHN W. McCORMACK, HOUSE MAJORITY LEADER, TO THE DELEGATES ATTENDING THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE CHINESE COMMUNITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

I regret very much my inability to be present this evening due to another important engagement that I cannot cancel or postpone. I extend to all present my kindest regards and my sincere best wishes for a most successful convention; also my assurances of cooperation in every way possible, particularly in combating the forces of atheistic and international communism.

The Communist hope of peaceful coexistence has been exposed, particularly by the brutalities imposed by the forces of the Soviet Union upon the people of Hungary. We must constantly be on our guard against the hypocrisy and deceitfulness of international communism and the leaders of this vicious and destructive movement which is dedicated to world revolution and world domination. We must constantly be on guard in the United States and elsewhere against those individuals and forces who would try to lull our people into an atmosphere of complacency which results in lowering our guard, which plays into the hands of the Communists. In the United States and elsewhere we must constantly be on our guard against admitting Red China into the United Nations. There are the voices of the false prophets and the demagogs among us who are pro-Communist and who are trying to lay the foundations in the United States for the early admission of Red China into the United Nations. It would be a crime against all decent mankind for the forces of destruction as represented by the leaders of Red China to be admitted into this international organization.

It is also imperative that America always be strong, not only from a military angle, but particularly from a moral angle. The people of America should also insist that our Government keep its promises and pledges made to other governments, and this particularly relates to all agreements made by the United States with the Nationalist Chinese Government in Formosa under the leadership of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek. The people of America must also keep in mind that (1) we must have an affirmative policy. A negative policy, or no policy at all, means appeasement and is the road to war. (2) That the calculated risks of an affirmative policy could be less dangerous than the calculated risks of no policy at all. (3) That America, as I have said before, must be strong militarily and morally. From a military angle it is best for us if we are going to err, to err on the side of strength and not on the side of weakness. (4) The people of America and the non-Communist world must realize that the leaders of international communism are still bent on world revolution and world domination, and it is imperative that there be unity, strength, and understanding among the non-Communist nations with the United States as their leading nation in order to successfully defeat the vicious and destructive intentions of the Communist leaders.

I again extend to you and all present my very best wishes for a most successful convention, as well as my kindest regards.

The Lawyer and the Public

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Mayor Robert F. Wagner at the annual luncheon of the Fordham Law Alumni Association at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on Saturday, March 2, 1957:

REMARKS OF MAYOR ROBERT F. WAGNER AT ANNUAL LUNCHEON OF FORDHAM LAW ALUMNI ASSOCIATION, WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1957

Mr. Schulkind, President McGinley, distinguished guests, and members and friends of the Fordham Law Alumni Association, I wish to thank you at the outset for the opportunity of being with you at your annual luncheon. As a recipient of a doctor of laws from our university, I certainly am not a stranger among you.

Every New Yorker must feel a kinship with Fordham University. Fordham is an outstanding institution of higher learning which, over the years, has brought credit upon our city and of which we are all justly proud.

I have a much closer and more personal interest in the law alumni of this university, however. During my entire term of office as mayor, I have been fortunate enough to draw upon your membership for legal advice. As you know, the office of corporation counsel of the city was held first by your fellow alumnus, Court of Appeals Judge Adrian P. Burke, and is now occupied by your fellow alumnus, Peter Campbell Brown.

There are, of course, innumerable other distinguished jurists and lawyers among your alumni. I shall have occasion to refer to some of them in the course of my remarks. But it is not my purpose here today to pay special tribute to any individual or particular group of individuals. Obviously, it would take more time than I have allotted to myself merely to enumerate and identify all of the distinguished members of the bar who are present in this room.

Rather, I would like to consider, briefly, some of the popular conceptions and misconceptions regarding the legal profession and to discuss what the bar can do to bring its true function in society and its very real contributions to progress and the general welfare more fully to the public attention. It is a topic which, I believe, merits and requires reexamination by all of us who take pride in our profession—particularly at this time when there has been so much published criticism of the bar and the course and their responsibility for the law's delays.

Criticism is all to the good, and I would be the last to discourage it or any proposals for reforms which may lead to quicker and cheaper justice. In fact, I am happy to see public interest aroused in the improvement of our judicial machinery. I recognize that our methods for achieving justice can be improved and I believe that they will be.

At the same time, I regret that the reawakened interest in law reforms has to a large extent been accompanied by charges of apathy, timidity and selfishness, directed

against the bar as a whole. Such charges, strangely enough, originate too frequently with all members of our own profession. Recent issues of the Law Journal are replete with admonition to the bar to clean its own house and to rededicate itself to its highest traditions. Again, I say, this is all to the good, but we should not permit these charges to be exaggerated out of their true proportion, in the complete picture of the activities of the bar, by the well meaning but often ill informed.

To begin with, although litigation is the bar's most publicized activity, it would help a great deal if it were more generally recognized that the great bulk of the lawyer's practice does not involve actual litigation. A large portion of the lawyer's time is devoted to advising his clients as to what they may lawfully do and how they may do it. The clients encompass individuals, corporations and all the branches of our Government. When I speak of the Government, I do not restrict myself to the lawyer in Government service. Everyone in the public service knows the contributions to Government by members of the legal profession. In carrying out this advisory function in our complex society, it is my firm belief that the lawyer does more to promote progress and the general welfare than any other profession or calling.

Throughout the history of man, however, the general public has often been given quite the contrary impression of the contributions of the bar. Our literature and the press afford but the sketchiest notion of the real accomplishments of the profession in its efforts to achieve justice. While hardly a day passes without furnishing concrete evidence of public confidence in, and high esteem for, individual lawyers, the popular attitude toward the legal profession as a whole has never been particularly favorable.

All of us are familiar with the lawyer of fiction who was held up to ridicule, opprobrium, and even to hate. It is perhaps a sign of the times, and an indication of the profession's progress, that today's fictional lawyer is less frequently portrayed as villain or rogue. Yet the classic reference to the law's delays and to the deficiencies of the bar and the courts remain to haunt us.

How often have we been reminded that, almost 600 years before Christ, Solon made reference to the slowness of justice; that Horace, in ancient Rome, also called attention to the fact; and, of course, no discussion of the subject would be complete without citation of the law's delay from Shakespeare's Hamlet. On the more pleasant side, it is gratifying to note that we appear to have passed the period when, according to Shakespeare the short-cut to popular acclaim was to raise the cry—"The first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers."

Today's language of criticism directed against the bar is, on the whole, more moderate, but nonetheless still fairly widespread. The problem of counteracting or correcting popular misconceptions about the legal profession is one that has engaged the sporadic attention of the organized bar. It deserves the continuous attention and active support of every member of the profession.

Let me hasten to add that I have no ready panaceas to offer as to the methods to be followed. But it does occur to me that the bar might well borrow a leaf from the public relations practices of business and other professions. Instead of engaging in charges and countercharges which serve principally to add fuel to the flame of popular dissatisfaction and to engender ill will among the members of our own profession, let us analyze, more closely, the underlying causes for popular dissatisfaction with the bar. If meritorious, let concerted action to correct them be taken. On the other hand, if lacking in sound foundation, as we know many of them to be, let there be equally concerted action on the part of the bar to spread the truth. And, in connection with this educational process, let the public also be kept abreast of the widespread interests and activities of the bar, demonstrating its dedication to the service of the people.

The fundamental basis for the popular unfavorable attitude toward the bar, I believe, is the general public's failure to appreciate fully the underlying problems of the lawyer in the resolution of disputes. Selfish conflicting interests are frequently involved. No one would be happier than the lawyer to have both sides satisfied. But absolute justice is rarely attainable, and, even if achieved in theory, will leave at least one and maybe both sides disappointed. Almost inevitably, therefore, the conclusion of a legal dispute is likely to leave one side or the other with complaints about the law's delays, or the expense of justice, or the uncertainties of justice, or a combination of all and even more. The disappointed litigant generally forms a poor opinion of the law, the courts, and the legal profession. No other profession or calling faces similar problems.

To a certain degree, it therefore seems clear that it is the lot of the legal profession to resign itself to hearing constant reiteration of such criticism. Resignation to a certain amount of criticism, it need hardly be added, does not mean that the bar can afford to desist from either continuing educational efforts or from proceeding with necessarily reforms in its own practices.

The root source of another important cause for popular dissatisfaction with the bar may be found, in the familiar adage, so frequently voiced with pride, that this is a government of laws, rather than of men. No one suggests departure from this principle. But we do forget that, under a government of laws, concerted action for reform must come from the public as a whole as well as from the bar. As the result of this oversight, the legal profession is too often given the full responsibility for a failure to improve the legal system and the members of the legal profession therefore too often charged with a reluctance to adopt new ideas. Clearly the bar cannot claim an entirely clean slate on that score but neither is it totally to blame. Professional conservatism is not confined to the members of the bar. Prejudice against change is a human characteristic, prevalent in all walks of life, and it is probably no more prominent among the members of our profession than of other professions.

At most times in our history, the bar has been blessed with more than its share of progressive minds. Progress and reforms in the law cannot be effectuated by lawyers as individuals, precisely because ours is a government of laws, not men. The individual businessman, the doctor, teacher, or scientist may, on his own initiative, test new ideas and put them into practice. The lawyer may not do so. The introduction of even minor innovations in the law usually requires and quite properly, the adoption of rules by higher courts. Substantial changes must generally await concerted public opinion and resultant legislative action.

Again, if the climate of public opinion relating to our profession is to be changed or properly maintained, the educational efforts of the bar must be continued and expanded. I have cited but two examples, undoubtedly, other causes for unfavorable attitudes toward lawyers suggest themselves to you. Each deserves earnest and careful consideration so that the public be given a true understanding of the merits of its criticism. Few people have a real comprehension of the lawyer's problems, of his difficulties in effecting changes in the law and its procedures—difficulties arising from features of our law inherent in the very nature of our system of law. Few know of the constant efforts of our profession to adapt our system of law to meet changing conditions and the true needs of our time.

I deem such educational projects, or call them propaganda if you will, to be of highest importance—not in the selfish interest of the bar but in the higher interest of the general public welfare. It is the notion which suffers most when people distrust its system for obtaining justice, have no faith in its judges and look with suspicious upon its lawyers.

Happily, this cannot truly be said of our people. But the danger is ever present in the absence of reasonably enlightened public opinion. This is no idle fear. Let me remind you of the action taken in one of our States a few weeks ago to impeach the Justices of the United States Supreme Court. Here, it is true, is an extreme and fortunately rare illustration of popular mistrust of the legal profession, but it should serve to remind us that we cannot afford to relax our efforts to demonstrate to the people, again and again, that the average American lawyer is devoted to the cause of justice in the interests of all the people, in addition to being devoted to the interests of his client.

A proper understanding of the contributions of the lawyer to progress and the general public good may not always be easy to achieve, but our profession is practiced in the arts of education and persuasion. We do have a good case. It is commonsense to bring it to the attention of the people.

On the whole, the record of the bar is a proud one. The cynical may point to the few among us who fail to recognize that our licenses to practice law carry with them concomitant obligations to society. But we know that these represent a small minority of the legal profession.

From the inception of our history as a nation, lawyers have given freely of themselves to the broader interests of our people. Approximately half of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were lawyers. Substantially more than half the members of the Constitutional Convention were lawyers, and members of the bar were predominant in the ratifying conventions. This audience needs no citation of the names of the countless other lawyers who exemplify our noblest traditions by their dedication to the common wealth.

Nor need the lawyer of today content himself with looking backward. History will prove that the great men of the law of the past have their modern counterparts. The bar is amply represented among the great leaders of our day. In the United States Senate, we are today represented by 58 lawyers. Similarly, 236 Members of the House of Representatives are members of our profession. In our own State legislature, approximately 60 percent of the representatives come from the ranks of the bar. Statistics of a similar type could be enlarged upon indefinitely, but even the most detailed listing would not tell the whole story of the bar's contributions. Only a few, at any given time, achieve greatness but behind them are the masses of lawyers who, in their daily work, give concrete evidence of the fact that lawyers are, above all, actively devoted to the interests of the Nation and the service of the community. Thousands of average professional men are dedicated to thinking and acting in terms of the rights, welfare, and happiness of the average man.

I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without a brief word of the contributions of your own Fordham University School of Law. Your educational facilities have produced many members of the bar learned in their profession and cognizant of their responsibilities to the community. They have brought credit and esteem to the city as well as to the profession, your expanding educational services promise an even greater future both for Fordham and for New York.

Among us today are many of whose achievements we all have cause to be proud. I mention but a very few to illustrate the widespread areas in which the influence of Fordham law alumni is felt.

There is, for example, the present chief judge of our court of appeals, Albert Conway, whose contributions to legal thought and the administration of justice have brought him to his preeminent status as the chief of what is probably the second most important court of our Nation. Similarly, from our neighboring State of New Jersey, we have your medallist of today, the former chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, Thomas J. Brogan. Recently, after many years of devoted public service, the list of distinguished of Fordham law alumni was embellished with the name of Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz. And I conclude with the name of one who has reached the White House itself, your fellow alumnus, Bernard Shanley, former counsel and now appointment secretary to the President of the United States.

If time allowed, I would in justice be compelled to read a large part of the roster of those here today. When I think of their achievement on all levels of the life of our community and the Nation, I am confident that I have not overstated the case for the bar as a whole, and that all that remains to be done is to convince not only judges and lawyers, but laymen as well, of the lawyer's dedication to the public service. We can move forward only so long as we have the popular support.

In closing, I am moved to quote a tribute paid to the American bar by Chief Justice Ryan, of the Wisconsin Supreme Court in 1878.

"No profession or calling has given so many great names to American history as the bar. There is no State in the Union on which the names of its great lawyers have not shed luster. An American law list from the beginning would embrace a large proportion of the names held in honorable memory by the American people. There is a passion for military glory among all nations, hero-worship. And the glory of the soldier may be more dazzling than the glory of the statesman-lawyer. But it is less solid. For the truest glory of the soldier, here at least, is to preserve the work of the statesman. The path of the soldier, however patriotic or worthy the war, is destruction. The path of the statesman-lawyer is organization; and the path of every lawyer, worthy the name, is preservation. And, in a high sense, true heroism may be in a tribunal as well as on the battlefield. Duty, fearlessly and faithfully performed, against all influences and difficulties, is the only true glory. Moral courage is a higher quality than physical. He reads American historiy superficially, who does not see the illustrious dead of our profession battling in the vanguard for all true political and social amelioration. And he who looks upon society, without seeing in the profession the sentinels of social order, sees through a glass darkly."

It is our job to assure that this eloquent tribute shall remain true of the lawyer of today and tomorrow. I know that we can count on Fordham University to produce lawyers who will make it live.

Thank you.

Tax Advantages of Big Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, since this session convened, I have received many letters regarding the unfair taxation of small business as compared with that of big business. In this connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following letter from Bruce J. Maguire, of Lansing, Mich.:

DEAR MR. MULTER: I strongly urge your consideration of the special tax advantages enjoyed over the common people and small businesses by the giant corporations of this country. Among these are the 27½ percent depletion allowance allowed the oil companies and the accelerated depreciation allowed many companies for building capital assets.

Is there any reason why our giant corporations should be in a more sheltered tax position than the average individual or the average small business?

Why should the very wealthy oil companies be granted a 27½ percent deduction against all of their profits before taxes to compensate them for the using up of their oil reserves, when practically every one of them ends up each year with more proven reserves than they started with? In addition, all of their expenditures searching for oil, such as airplanes, many people on the payroll, all drilling expenses, depreciation, charges for abandonment of leases, etc., are charged directly as expenses.

Is it not true that most of the items on which the Government has granted accelerated amortization are actually for capital purposes that have a life of from 20 to 30 years and that by allowing a writeoff in 5 years or less, those corporations enjoy a great tax advantage?

It seems to me that we should reverse this picture by doing everything possible for aid to the small individual and the small business. Small businesses are at a great disadvantage in competing against the giant corporations who have the finest brainpower in the land without also being subjected to unfair tax discrimination.

For over 25 years I have been a retail jobber or distributor for large oil companies. The major oil companies generally have a policy of allowing their jobbers a gallonage margin rather than a percentage margin as is the general business practice; this results in the oil jobbers being forced to operate on a bare existence minimum. As a result, a large majority of the individual jobbers of 20 years ago have been absorbed by the oil giants.

An article in one of the trade papers a short time ago indicated that General Motors for the past 8 years has averaged, after taxes, 25 percent on its total invested capital. If this is true, does it not highlight a very real danger to the economy of our country by concentrating such great power in a few corporations?

Yours sincerely,

BRUCE J. MAGUIRE.

Cut the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I mentioned recently the widespread willingness of Republican House Members to support an attempt on the part of the majority party to reduce Federal appropriations. I include herewith a letter revealing sixty-odd Republicans who jointly urged the Rules Committee to give the House an opportunity to set some overall limitation on Government spending. Many Republican Members who did not sign this letter have told me they would have been glad to do so. Others advise me they support the objective of the letter and are for a budget reduction, but for one reason or another preferred not to sign.

The Republican House leadership has officially stated it favors a cut in the budget. Now it is up to the majority party to start the ball rolling.

Text of the letter and its signatories follow:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 28, 1957.

The Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH,
Chairman, the Committee on Rules, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned Members of the House of Representatives respectfully urge your committee to report Resolution 170 to the House.

We individually do not necessarily agree on the language or amount of this resolution, but we do support its objective and as such believe the House membership should be allowed to express itself on the subject of an overall limitation of appropriations.

Respectfully,

RICHARD H. POFF, 6th, Virginia; NOAH M. MASON, 15th, Illinois; EUGENE SILER, 8th, Kentucky; ROBERT HALE, 1st, Maine; ALVIN E. O'KONSKI, 10th, Wisconsin; EDGAR W. HIESTAND, 21st, California; AUGUST E. JOHANSEN, 3d, Michigan; PHIL WEAVER, 1st, Nebraska; Bernard W. KEARNEY, 32d, New York; Mrs. MARGUERITE S. CHURCH, 13th, Illinois; JOHN J. RHODES, 1st, Arizona; ALBERT H. BOSCH, 5th, New York; USHER L. BURDICK, North Dakota; WILLIAM E. MCVEY, 4th, Illinois; CRAIG HOSMER, 18th, California; JOHN R. PILLION, 42d, New York; ALVIN M. BENTLEY, 8th, Michigan; VICTOR A. KNOX, 11th, Michigan; ROBERT D. HARRISON, 3d, Nebraska; H. ALLEN SMITH, 20th, California; ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, 9th, Michigan; OTTO KRUEGER, North Dakota; JOHN V. BEAMER, 5th, Indiana; JACKSON E. BETTS, 8th, Ohio; JOHN M. ROBSION, JR., 3d, Kentucky; THOMAS A. JENKINS, 10th, Ohio; FRANK T. BOW, 16th, Ohio; PAUL A. FINO, 25th, New York; WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, 4th, Ohio; ALBERT W. CRETELLA, 3d, Connecticut; WILLIAM K. VAN PELT, 6th, Wisconsin; MELVIN R. LAIRD, 7th, Wisconsin; THOMAS M. PELLY, 1st, Washington; J. ARTHUR YOUNGER, 9th, California; JAMES B. UTT, 28th, California; GORDON H. SCHERER, 1st, Ohio; THOR C. TOLLEFSON, 6th, Washington; RUSSELL V. MACK, 3d, Washington; JACK WESTLAND, 2d, Washington; CHARLES S. GUBSER, 10th, California; WALTER NORBLAD, 1st, Oregon; A. D. BAUMHART, JR., 13th, Ohio; C. R. JONAS, 10th, North Carolina; ELFORD A. CEDERBERG, 10th, Michigan; WILLARD S. CURTIN, 8th, Pennsylvania; CHARLES W. VURSELL, 23d, Illinois; BOB WILSON, 30th, California; GERALD R. FORD, JR., 5th, Michigan; J. ERNEST WHARTON, 29th, New York; KEITH THOMPSON, Wyoming; JOE HOLT, 22d, California; HAMER H. BUDGE, 2d, Idaho; GLENN CUNNINGHAM, 2d, Nebraska; VINCENT J. DELLAY, 14th, New Jersey; WILLIAM E. HESS, 2d, Ohio; WILLIAM E. MINSHALL, 23d, Ohio; CLIFF CLEVENGER, 5th, Ohio; PAUL F. SCHENCK, 3d, Ohio; WALTER M. MUMMA, 16th, Pennsylvania; S. WALTER STAUFFER, 19th, Pennsylvania; HUBERT B. SCUDDER, 1st, California; ARCH A. MOORE, JR., 1st, West Virginia; LAWRENCE H. SMITH, 1st, Wisconsin.

Selection of Judges in Kansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, in the State of Kansas there is now under consideration a possible change in the method of the selection of district and supreme court judges. Needless to say, this is a most important problem. As a matter of public interest I am setting forth in this RECORD information regarding this matter.

The following are the summary and conclusions of a report prepared by the research department of the Kansas legislative counsel under the Kansas State Senate committee on the judiciary, regarding the matter of selection of judges. Elsewhere in the Appendix of this RECORD I have inserted other information and views pertaining to this vital issue. The summary and conclusions follow:

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It seems apparent from this review of the judicial elections since 1908 that Kansas incumbent judges, like those under the California and Missouri plans, run for reelection unopposed as a very general rule. This has been particularly true in recent years.

To summarize what has been reported herein earlier, there has been only one primary contest involving an incumbent Supreme Court judge since 1940 and in each of the last four elections from 83 to 88 percent of the district court incumbents have had no opposition in either the primary or general election. Thus, Kansas voters have not had the opportunity of making any real selection of judges for a large number of judicial positions.

The facts presented herein show that Kansas voters are even more restricted than those in California and Missouri, because the voters in those two States may cast a "no" vote on the ballot and thereby reject the incumbent. The Kansas voter does not have that privilege when there is no opponent on the ballot. His only recourse would be a write-in campaign, with dubious hopes of success. There have been scattering write-ins for judicial positions but only in insignificant numbers.

The major fundamental difference between the Kansas practice and the situation in California and Missouri may be in the original selection of the judge. In the latter two States, of course, judges under the plan are appointed by the governor from a list submitted by a selection commission (Missouri) or subject to confirmation by a qualifications commission (California).

In most cases in Kansas, judicial positions have been filled by executive appointment for an unexpired term or, for all practical purposes, in the Republican primary. The governor has a free hand in making appointments to fill vacancies although he may consult with members of the bar and others. The extent to which he may be influenced primarily by the qualifications or fitness of the appointee, as against political affiliation or other considerations, obviously is not a matter of record. As for the Republican primary election, if there are several candidates, which is common where the position is "open," a minority may make the actual selection of the judge, that is, the winner may receive only a relatively small plurality. In fact, as the history of the period has shown, no candidate for the Supreme Court has received a majority in the Republican primary where a position was to be filled due to the fact that the incumbent did not file for reelection.

There is, of course, some difficulty in attempting to draw conclusions solely from the statistical facts, which show that most Kansas judges have been either unopposed for reelection or have not had effective opposition. What is lacking in this analysis is an evaluation of the record and the fitness for the position of such judges. The major obstacle to securing such an evaluation lies in the fact that the average attorney, while he may voice an opinion freely in private conversation, is reluctant, and in fact is usually unwilling, to go on record with adverse comments concerning a judge before whom he may practice. This applies fully as much to the advisability of retaining a judge in office as to comments on appointments. The attorneys who express adverse opinions are usually not willing to oppose the incumbent on the ballot or to take a leading part in campaigning for his defeat. In fairness to any judge who may have been subject to private adverse comments concerning his record, it is difficult to ascertain whether such opinions rest on resentment over a few cases or are a considered judgment on the judge's ability.

What information there is available on the fitness of a judge, consequently, is legally, for the most part, hearsay and rumor. In the past 10 years, however, the frequent recurrence of adverse comments indicates that a substantial number of Kansas attorneys do not appear to be satisfied with the current system, or at least doubt if present selection methods adequately attempt to emphasize judicial temperament and experience as essential qualifications.

While it may appear that the California and Missouri plans provide a better system than the one in Kansas for securing qualified judges, it is obviously impossible to make any finding to the effect that the judges in the former two States are in fact more competent than the ones in Kansas. There is no known objective measure for such a comparison of judicial ability in the various States. What can be said is that many members of the bar in California and Missouri believe that the judicial selection plans applicable in those States have worked well and have improved the quality of the judiciary.

Plywood Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like at this point to introduce to the RECORD a letter which was signed by 72 of my constituents who are workers and shareholders in the Washington Plywood Co. of Lowell, Wash.

The plywood industry in my congressional district is an important segment of the economy. Mills such as this in which the shareholders are the workers to a large extent, are vitally affected by the level of the plywood market. It has become a serious problem and one that we in Congress must work strenuously to solve.

This letter voices these shareholders' and workers' concern over the impact of plywood imports on the domestic industry. I have investigated this aspect of the market and find that in certain classes of hardwood board, Japanese imports alone are taking over 50 percent of the American market. This fact, plus a substantial decline in home building, has resulted in a situation where our mills are only operating 4 days a week. Such a situation is intolerable.

I believe Congress must be alert to the fluctuations of world trade levels and take appropriate steps to see that free trade is not carried to the extent that we are driving our own industries to ruin. The high standard of living supported by our domestic plywood industry should not be subjected to ruinous pressures by a plywood industry paying 11 cents per hour.

Text of the letter follows:

DEAR MR. WESTLAND: The undersigned are the workers and shareholders of Washington Plywood Co., Inc., of Lowell, Snohomish County, Wash., a worker-owned mill producing various types of plywood. We go on record as being against the bill now in Congress which would approve participation of the United States in the Organization for Trade Cooperation (OTC).

As a resident of Snohomish County and as one familiar with the economy of the Pacific Northwest, you are no doubt well aware of the recent deadline in the plywood market and its effect upon almost every mill in the industry. During the last year and one-half, the general market price of plywood produced in this country has dropped from approximately $90 per thousand feet on a three-eighths inch basis, to a low of approximately $67. This decline in prices of plywood has resulted in a substantial reduction in wages at this mill and at many other plywood mills throughout the Pacific Northwest. In fact, last fall the low plywood market forced our company to close down its mill for a substantial period, and we were left to find work in an area where a number of other plywood mills were facing the same problems of a depressed market. The decline in the plywood market has not only had a very drastic effect on the well-being of each of us and our families but has also, as you undoubtedly know, seriously affected the economy of the area.

The decline in the plywood market took place during a period of general prosperity throughout the rest of the country and in most other industries.

The reasons for such decline in the plywood market are many and involved. But we are convinced that an important cause of this situation is the rapidly increasing amount of plywood which is being imported from other countries, particularly from Japan, at prices far below those at which we or any other mill in this country can produce plywood because of the substandard wages paid workers in those other countries.

Regardless of other factors, if the amount of plywood imported from Japan continues to increase as it has during the past 5 years, the plywood business in this country cannot continue to exist.

During the last session of Congress, a bill was offered which would approve United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation (OTC), an international body which would exercise substantial control over tariffs and trade among member nations through an international agency for General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). It is reported that the bill has Pesident Eisenhower's approval.

We feel, however, that the bill is a bad one. Its purpose is to take from Congress control over foreign trade and tariffs and to tie

Congress' hands so that no laws relating to commerce or tariff can be passed without a question being raised as to whether Congress would have such authority. If the OTC bill were passed, the United States would have only one vote in the OTC. There is little doubt but that through such organization tariffs on United States imports would be lowered still further than they presently are.

The OTC bill did not get out of Committee during the last session of Congress. We earnestly request that you, as our direct representative in Congress, do everything within your power to prevent passage of this bill during this session. We are sure you realize that, with the support of the administration and under the international pressures which now exist, the defeat of this bill will require more than your merely voting against it. We know you also appreciate the vital importance of this matter to the area from which you were elected.

Please do not let us down.

Very truly yours,

WORKERS AND SHAREHOLDERS OF WASHINGTON PLYWOOD CO., INC.

Tragedy of Supreme Court Decision Regarding Segregation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in each of the two Richmond newspapers on February 27, 1957, an editorial that points out poignantly the tragedy of the Supreme Court decision regarding segregation. On several occasions certain people have lamented the fact that others have spoken disparagingly of this highest tribunal of our land. These editorials amply explain why so many of our people not only have spoken disparagingly of the Court but have no respect for the intellectual honesty of the Court. It seems plain that the Court first arrives at how it wants to decide a certain case and then tries to conjure up reasons for its decisions. Never did I believe that the Supreme Court of the United States could reach such a low level in the opinion of the great masses of this country and particularly of the legal profession.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to include the two editorials referred to heretofore:

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch of February 27, 1957]

SUPREME COURT'S DOUBLE STANDARD

What connection is there between professional football and racial segregation in the public schools?

There's none. But keeping the Supreme Court's antisegregation decision in 1954 in the back of the mind, one will find some highly interesting comments in the Court's opinion Monday in the case of *William Radovich* v. *the National Football League*.

It will be recalled that in 1896, in the case of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, the Supreme Court unequivocably upheld the right of a State to provide separate but equal schools for the two races.

On May 17, 1954, the Court, in *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka*, completely reversed the Plessy decision and ruled that separate but equal schools are unconstitutional.

In the interim between the Plessy and the Brown decisions, the Congress of the United States had had ample opportunity to initiate a constitutional change to prohibit segregated schools, but it did not do so. The change, then, was not by law but by court order.

What's all that got to do with professional football?

In the case decided Monday, the Supreme Court knew it had to provide some answer to why 4 years ago it had ruled professional baseball not subject to antitrust laws but now was ruling that professional football was subject to those laws. The Court fully recognized the inconsistency in those two rulings.

The Justices explained that in the 1953 Baseball case, they continued to follow the 1922 decision in *Federal Baseball Club* v. *National League*, even though they say, in effect, that they realized in 1953 that that decision was wrong. Then why didn't they reverse themselves in 1953?

Here's their answer:

"In Toolson [the 1953 case] we continued to hold the umbrella over baseball that was placed there some 31 years earlier by Federal Baseball. The Court did this because it was concluded that more harm would be done in overruling Federal Baseball than in upholding a ruling which at best was of dubious validity. Vast efforts had gone into the development and organization of baseball since that decision, and enormous capital had been invested in reliance on its performance. Congress had chosen to make no change. All this, combined with the flood of litigation that would follow its repudiation, the harassment that would ensue, and the retroactive effect of such a decision, led the Court to the practical result that it should sustain the unequivocal line of authority reaching over many years. * * *

"We, therefore, conclude that the orderly way to eliminate error or discrimination, if any there be, is by legislation and not by court decision."

So the Court in 1953 declined to reverse an earlier ruling because so much money, time, and effort had been spent in the belief that the earlier decision would remain in force; because a flood of litigation and harassment would result from such a reversal, and because the orderly way to eliminate error or discrimination is by legislation and not by court order.

Any comment from us relating the above to the public-school situation would be superfluous. No need to labor the obvious.

[From the Richmond News Leader of February 28, 1957]

THE RULE OF RADOVICH

On Monday of this week, the Supreme Court said some things about the permanence of law, and the function of both the legislative and the judicial process, which the South has been saying these past 3 years. If it were possible to persuade the Court to reexamine its decision in the school segregation cases, in the light of the sound rules the Court itself laid down in an antitrust case on Monday, perhaps the Justices would begin to comprehend what the South has been saying so vehemently. Perhaps others would understand, too.

The story is a little complicated, but it is worth tracing in some detail in order to establish a parallel.

Back in 1890, Congress adopted the Sherman Antitrust Act, and in 1914 supplemented this with the Clayton Act. The object was to prohibit industries in interstate commerce from engaging in monopolistic practices in restraint of trade.

(Back in 1866, Congress proposed, and the States ratified, the 14th amendment to the Constitution. The object was to prohibit the States from denying to any citizen the equal protection of the law.)

In 1890, professional baseball was pretty much in its infancy; but by 1914, when Mack and McGraw were fighting it out, baseball was a thriving business. In 1922, a test case was brought to determine if professional baseball violated the antitrust statutes. The Supreme Court held, as almost everyone was sure the Court would hold, that "Congress had no intention of including the business of baseball within the scope of Federal antitrust laws."

(In 1866 public-school systems in the South were pretty much in their infancy, but such school systems were functioning in the North. While the 14th amendment was pending before Congress, proponents of the measure made it clear that the amendment would not, in itself, prohibit the States from operating racially separate schools. In 1896 a test case was brought to determine if racially separate facilities violated the 14th amendment. In upholding the separate-but-equal doctrine, the Court held, as almost everyone was sure the Court would hold, that "the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children [is] a valid exercise of the legislative power.")

The question of baseball's position under the antitrust laws languished for quite a while, and then in 1953, another test case arose. This was *Toolson* v. *New York Yankees*. Members of the Court indicated they doubted the correctness of the 1922 ruling. They thought baseball should come under the antitrust statutes. But on balance, they concluded that more harm would be done in overruling the 1922 case than by letting it stand. And what led the Court in 1953 to the conclusion that it should not reverse the decision of 1922? This was the explanation:

"Vast effort had gone into the development and organization of baseball since that decision, and enormous capital had been invested in reliance on its permanence. Congress had chosen to make no change. All this, combined with the flood of litigation that would follow its repudiation, the harassment that would ensue, and the retroactive effect of such a decision, led the Court to the practical result that it should sustain the unequivocal line of authority reaching over many years."

Note, again, the considerations that caused the Court in 1953 to adhere to the doctrine of 1922: The effort that had gone into the development of professional baseball, the capital invested by clubowners in reliance upon the Court's 1922 decision, the fact that Congress had not amended the antitrust laws, the prospect of a flood of litigation, the unequivocal line of authority of many years.

(The question of school segregation under the 14th amendment languished for quite a while after the Plessy case in 1896. Then in 1927, another test case arose. This was *Gong Lum* v. *Rice*. Members of the Court indicated they doubted the correctness of the 1896 ruling as to separate schools. "Were this a new question," said the Court in a unanimous opinion upholding segregation, "it would call for very full argument and consideration." But it was not a new question. "We think it is the same question which has been many times decided to be within the constitutional power of the State legislatures to settle without intervention of the Federal courts under the Federal Constitution.")

That brings us to Monday of this week. On Monday, the Supreme Court had another opportunity to consider the applicability of the antitrust statutes to professional sports. The plaintiff in the case happened to be one William Radovich, a formed guard for the Detroit Lions. Mr. Radovich complained that he had been blacklisted by the pro football industry; he sued for damages. The

lower courts dismissed his suit on the grounds that if pro baseball were not embraced within the antitrust laws pro football could not be embraced within them, either.

But on Monday the Supreme Court reversed the lower courts. It stuck by the decisions of 1922 and 1953 as to baseball, but declared that a conspiracy in pro football, if proved, would be punishable under antitrust laws. Note carefully what the Court, in its discomfiture, had to say about all this:

"If this ruling is unrealistic, inconsistent, or illogical, it is sufficient to answer * * * that were we considering the question of baseball for the first time upon a clean slate we would have no doubts."

(What was it Taft said for a unanimous court in the Gong Lum case? "Were this a new question."). On Monday the question of baseball, the Court emphasized, was not a new question. It was a decided question. Yet suppose in 1922 and 1953 the Court had decided wrongly? The Court of 1957 would not intervene. This is what the Court said:

"The orderly way to eliminate error or discrimination, if any there be, is by legislation and not by Court decision. Congressional processes are more accommodative, affording the whole industry hearings and an opportunity to assist in the formulation of new legislation. The resulting product is therefore more likely to protect the industry and the public alike. The whole scope of congressional action would be known long in advance, and effective dates for the legislation could be set in the future without the injustices of retroactivity and surprise which might follow Court action."

Is not the parallel evident in these cases? Is not the parallel abundantly, damningly evident?

The professional baseball clubs exerted what the Court is pleased to call "vast effort" and invested "enormous capital" in their organizations, subsequent to the 1922 opinion, "in reliance on its permanence." How much more vast, we may suggest, was the effort exerted by the Southern States early in this century to develop their school systems? How much more enormous the capital they invested in schools, subsequent to the 1896 opinion, in reliance on its permanence?

The Court would not abandon its ruling on Monday as to baseball, and why? Because since 1922 "Congress has chosen to make no change in the antitrust laws." But on May 17, 1954, the Court abandoned its ruling as to separate schools. May it not be pointed out, with comparable reasoning, that the States since 1866 have made no applicable change in their constitution—and that Congress, which has power under the 14th amendment to adopt appropriate legislation, never has adopted legislation as to schools?

Everyone expects law to change in time. Ours is not a static society. But how should law be changed in areas of vast public interest in which great reliance has been placed upon the permanence of judicial decision? The Court's answer on Monday was perfectly clear and perfectly right. The orderly way, said the Court, "is by legislation and not by court decision."

That is precisely the argument Southern States have been making for months. It is precisely the argument advanced in all the maligned resolutions of interposition. It is the argument that in major questions of law, affecting whole States and vast investments and millions of human beings, no change should be made save by legislative process.

Thus we read the Brown decision of 1954, as to southern schools. Thus we read the Radovich decision of 1957, as to professional sports. The mandate of Brown cannot possibly be reconciled with the rule of Radovich. And we are told, how constantly we are told, to revere the majesty—the cockeyed, inconsistent, hypocritical majesty—of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Fluorspar: What It Did in the United States in 1956

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH J. GRAY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 29, 1957

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, as the House-Senate conferees prepare to meet to decide whether or not funds should be allowed in the emergency supplemental appropriation bill ending June 30, 1957, to provide funds to stockpile strategic minerals, one of which is fluorspar, I hope the following speech delivered by Mr. J. Blecheisen, president, Rosiclare Lead & Fluorspar Mining Co., Rosiclare, Ill., before the Colorado Mining Association meeting in Denver, a few days ago, will be of some assistance in pointing out the importance of fluorspar. Mr. Blecheisen has entitled his address "Fluorspar: What It Did in the United States in 1956."

If the conferees do not allow the funds for continuing this very important program, it will mean the closing of all fluorspar mines in southern Illinois and the lay off of several hundred workers. Mr. Speaker, we are already classed as a distressed area by the United States Labor Department with over 30,000 unemployed. We cannot afford to lose several hundred additional jobs; therefore, I hope those sitting on the conference committee will consider our plight. It will be deeply appreciated by all of the people in the important mining industry, plus insure our Government an adequate stockpile program of these very important defense minerals if the funds are allowed:

FLUORSPAR: WHAT IT DID IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1956

(By J. Blecheisen)

Fluorspar, calcium fluoride, is the only acceptable commercial source of flourine today. It has a fluorine content of approximately 50 percent. The fluorine in fluorspar is the essential element which is operative in the principal end uses of fluorspar, that is, in the metallurgy and chemistry of steel, aluminum, ceramics, and hydrofluoric acid—all being giant economic components of America's industrial empire.

CONSUMPTION

In 1956, an estimated 600,000 tons of fluorspar were consumed, all grades, against consumption of 570,000 tons in 1955, and 425,000 tons in 1950. Thus, we have had a 40 percent increase in consumption of fluorspar since 1950.

DOMESTIC SHIPMENTS

In 1956, United States domestic mines shipped 260,000 tons of fluorspar into the commercial market, excluding estimated shipments to the Government's stockpile. Such commercial shipments totaled a like amount of 260,000 tons in 1955, and in 1950 they totaled 300,000 tons. Thus, there has been a decline of 15 percent in domestic tonnage shipped between 1950 and 1956.

In addition to the decline in commercial tonnage shipped, it should also be noted that the percentage relationship of domestic commercial shipments to total United States consumption, has likewise declined. This percentage in 1950 was 70 percent and in 1956 it is 40 percent, which means that American producers were participating in America's consuming market less in 1956 than they were in 1950.

Total domestic shipments, including stockpile shipments, totaled 325,000 tons in 1956.

FOREIGN IMPORTS

Foreign commercial imports, excluding estimated shipments to the Government's stockpile, totaled 425,000 tons in 1956, a new high, against 325,000 tons in 1955, and 165,000 tons in 1950. Foreign commercial shipments in relation to the United States consumption totaled 70 percent in 1956 against 35 percent in 1950, which means that foreign shippers are obtaining larger and larger portions of America's consuming market in fluorspar, to the displacement of American producers.

Total foreign imports, including stockpile shipments, totaled 525,000 tons in 1956.

USES OF FLUORSPAR

Fluorspar is marketed in three commercial grades—metallurgical for steel, acid for aluminum, and hydrofluoric acid and ceramic for glass and porcelain enamel.

Of the 600,000 tons of fluorspar consumed in the United States in 1956, about 250,000 tons went into steel, about 100,000 tons went into aluminum, about 75,000 tons went into ceramics, glass, and miscellaneous uses, and about 175,000 tons went into hydrofluoric acid.

Of the 175,000 tons of fluorspar which went into hydrofluoric acid in 1956 (the equivalent HF production was 75,000 tons) about 60 percent went into the fluorocarbon chemicals for propellants, refrigerants, and fluorine plastics, about 10 percent went into high octane gasoline and miscellaneous uses, such as for pickling, etching, and frosting of glass, and about 30 percent went into uranium and atomic energy processes.

The rise in steel's usage of fluorspar since 1950 has not been sensational, only approximately 10,000 tons more. However, the rise in the usage of fluorspar in aluminum from 1950 to 1956 has been a 100 percent increase, 50,000 tons in 1950 against 100,000 tons in 1956; but the greatest rise in the use of fluorspar has been in the production of hydrofluoric acid, 75,000 tons used in 1950 against 175,000 tons in 1956.

It is plain, therefore, that fluorspar enters into the stream of our economy in an important way via its usage in steel, aluminum, uranium, atomic energy, and the new fluorocarbon chemicals, the latter being America's newest chemical building block. It is estimated that fluorspar consumption will be 900,000 tons in 1960, against 600,000 tons usage in 1956, and 425,000 tons in 1950.

But, as America's consumption of fluorspar continues to rise, which is a healthy condition, the percentage participation in that consuming market by American fluorspar producers continues to go downward, an unhealthy condition.

DOMESTIC SHIPPERS

In 1956, 325,000 tons of fluorspar were shipped by United States producers. Approximately 60 percent of that production came out of the Kentucky-Illinois area, approximately 25 percent from Colorado, and the remaining 15 percent from Montana, Utah, and Nevada. The Kentucky-Illinois area has been the major producing fluorspar area in the country for more than 75 years.

In the Kentucky-Illinois area the following companies are the major mining producers, each having full-scale fluorspar beneficiating mills:

Pennsylvania Salt Manufacturing Co.
Aluminum Company of America.
Ozark-Mahoning Co.
Minerva Oil Co. (fluorspar division).
Humm Mackey-Hicks Creek Fluorspar Mining Co. (a relative newcomer which opened its new heavy media plant in 1955 and expects to open a flotation plant in the spring of 1957).

Rosiclare Lead & Fluorspar Mining Co.
Kentucky Fluorspar Co.

In 1956, in the Illinois area alone, approximately 100,000 feet of exploratory drilling were done by the major mining companies, in total.

In Kentucky, Pennsylvania Salt Mining Co. opened its new Dyers Hill shaft and is now actively mining and milling domestic fluorspar for its own captive use, that is, for manufacturing hydrofluoric acid at its Calvert City, Ky., plant. Alcoa did some exploratory work on its mine holdings in Kentucky, and the Rosiclare Lead & Fluorspar Mining Co. took steps to reopen its Pigmy mine in Crittenden County, which mine for many years in the past had been a steady major producer of metallurgical fluorspar.

In Colorado, Ozark-Mahoning & General Chemical Co. operated their fluorspar mines continually throughout 1956. Alcoa did some exploratory work on its mine holdings in Colorado.

The Colorado Tri-State Mining Co. and Utex Exploration Co., Inc. (a Charles Steen interest), acquired fluorspar properties in Colorado but have not begun mining. Reynolds Metals Co. and Colorado Fuel & Iron fluorspar operations continued to be closed down in 1956.

The principal production out of Colorado came from Ozark-Mahoning, and General Chemical Co., a captive operation.

In Montana, Cummings & Roberts continued the operation of its large-scale metallurgical fluorspar property. A newcomer on the scene in 1956 in Montana was F. & S. Mining Co. which expects to be in operation during 1957 for metallurgical fluorspar.

Idaho had no fluorspar operations in 1956. However, J. R. Simplot Co. and Squaw Creek Mining Co. have holdings there which may eventually be operated, depending upon a healthy adjustment of the domestic fluorspar market.

Kaiser Aluminum and J. Irving Crowell had fluorspar operations in Nevada; those of Kaiser Aluminum were for its own captive uses, in acid grade. Metals Exploration Corp., a New York group, have acquired fluorspar property in Nevada and contemplate operation.

In Utah, a small group of associated fluorspar operators produced fluorspar during 1956, metallurgical grade.

Arizona and New Mexico had no fluorspar production in 1956. These States were former fluorspar producers. General Chemical's plant at Deming, N. Mex., continued to be closed down, as did that of Shattuck Denn Mining Corp. Ozark-Mahoning has a closed-down mine holding in New Mexico.

There is a possibility that some fluorspar producers may get underway in Arizona, and in the State of Washington, next year. There has been no production in Washington since 1945.

In summary, of the 9 traditional flourspar producing States which figures historically in the United States pattern of domestic flourspar producers—Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Kentucky, Montana, New Mexico, Nevada, and Utah—3 of them were shut down in 1956 (Arizona, Idaho, and New Mexico); 2 of them had only 1 major producer in each State, and both of those producers were captive operators (Kentucky and Nevada), and 1 State had token production (Utah), and only 3 States had rounded out production programs, although not full scale (Colorado, Illinois, and Montana).

FOREIGN SHIPPERS

In 1956, an estimated 525,000 tons of fluorspar were shipped into the United States by foreign producers. Mexico, fluorspar's most recent sensational producer, alone accounted for nearly 60 percent of the imports. The other countries were Canada, Spain, Italy, and West Germany.

GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES AFFECTING FLUORSPAR

Following the Tariff Commission's general study of fluorspar made in 1955, as to all grades of fluorspar, a section 7 "escape clause" Tariff Commission study was made on acid grade fluorspar. The Commission divided 3 to 3 in its report made in January 1956, and the President declined to act in the matter.

The domestic fluorspar industry filed an ODM application under the National Security Amendment to the Trade Agreements Act of June 1955, but withdrew it conditionally in November 1956, when it appeared that the Federal Government might undertake stockpiling and other corrective steps looking toward an improvement in the domestic fluorspar situation.

The Government began the acquistion of metallurgical grade fluorspar during the summer of 1956 under its defense-stockpiling program, and likewise in the fall of 1956 it launched its stockpiling program in acid grade fluorspar under Public Law 733 signed in July 1956.

The Defense Minerals Exploration Administration certified two fluorspar exploration projects in Illinois and Kentucky during 1956.

In November 1956, the United States Geological Survey released the results of its latest study on fluorspar reserves in the United States, reporting that there were approximately 22½ million tons of fluorspar ore of the 35-percent plus, grade, and approximately 12 million tons in the 15 percent to 35 percent grade. The new reserves estimated by the Geological Survey today are substantially greater than the reserves which it estimated in 1944, and that, following the extraction and mining of 15 million tons of fluorspar ore since 1944.

CONCLUSION

The first recorded commercial use of fluorspar in the United States is said to have been in 1823, 135 years ago, when it was reported that 2 ounces of fluorspar were used with 4 ounces of sulfuric acid to make hydrofluoric acid. Against a commercial use of 2 ounces in 1823, we have today in 1956 a usage of 600,000 tons of fluorspar having a dollar value of approximately $30 million. These 600,000 tons of fluorspar went into 115 million tons of steel, almost 2 million tons of aluminum and 75,000 tons of hydrofluoric acid.

STATISTICS

Fluorspar, all grades (metallurgical, ceramic, and acid)

	1950	1955	1956 estimate
1. Consumption—of domestic and foreign origin (thousand tons)	425	570	609
2. Total domestic shipments (thousand tons)	300	290	325
(a) Commercial shipments	300	260	260
(b) Government stockpile shipments	0	30	65
3. Dollar value of total domestic shipments (in millions of dollars)	10	12.5	15
4. Total foreign imports (thousand tons)	165	375	525
(a) Commercial imports	165	325	425
(b) Government stockpile imports	0	50	100
5. Dollar value of total foreign imports (in millions of dollars)	2.5	8.5	12
Principal end uses of fluorspar:			
(a) Steel production (million tons)	97	117	115
(b) Aluminum production (million tons)	.7	1.5	1.7
(c) Hydrofluoric acid production (thousand tons)	35	65	75

NOTE.—Steel takes about 2,000 tons of fluorspar per 1 million tons of steel. Aluminum takes about 75,000 tons of fluorspar per 1 million tons of aluminum. Hydrofluoric acid takes about 2,200 tons of fluorspar per 1,000 tons of hydrofluoric acid.

Fluorspar production—End uses thereof

[In thousands of tons]

	1955	1956	Projected 1960 usage
1. Steel	250	250	325
2. Aluminum	100	100	150
3. Hydrofluoric acid	150	175	350
4. Ceramics and miscellaneous uses	70	75	75
Total tons of fluorspar	570	600	[1] 900

[1] Estimated.

Hydrofluoric acid production—End uses thereof (exclusive of use for aluminum)

[In thousands of tons]

	1956	Projected 1960 usage
1. Uranium and atomic energy	20	50
2. High-octane gasoline and miscellaneous uses	10	10
3. Fluorocarbon chemicals	45	90
Total tons of hydrofluoric acid	75	[1] 150

[1] Estimated.

HYDROFLUORIC ACID PRODUCERS, 1956, AND CONSUMERS OF FLUORSPAR

Du Pont Co.
General Chemical (Allied Chemical & Dye Corp.).
Blockson Chemical (Olin Mathieson Co.).
Harshaw Chemical.
Penn Salt Manufacturing Co.
Nyotex Chemical (Stauffer Chemical Co.).

Selection of Judges in Kansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, in the State of Kansas there is now under consideration a possible change in the method of the selection of district and supreme court judges. Needless to say, this is a most important problem. As a matter of public interest I am setting forth in this CONGRESSIONAL RECORD information regarding this matter.

The following is an address given by the Honorable Alf M. Landon, former Governor of Kansas, presented to the Topeka Optimist Club, February 15, 1957, in which Mr. Landon presents his thinking on this subject. Elsewhere in the Appendix of this CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

I have inserted other information and views pertaining to this vital issue.

Mr. Landon's address follows:

THE MISSOURI PLAN

What is commonly referred to as the Missouri plan for the selection of State judges is substantially the American Bar Association plan—which has been supporting the proposal since 1937.

Missouri is the only State that has adopted the American Bar Association plan for selecting State supreme court justices. California has adopted a plan that is similar to the American Bar Assocaton proposal. Alabama has adopted one part of the proposal. No other State has adopted any part of the Amercan Bar Association plan since its proposal in 1937.

A resolution is pending before the Kansas Legislature to submit to popular vote at the 1958 election that Missouri plan by amending our constitution providing that our district and supreme court judges are to be appointed by the governor from a list of 3 submitted to him by 6 representatives of the bar association and 6 laymen, appointed by the governor. The burden of proof rests heavily upon the advocates of this drastic change in the method of selecting our district and supreme court judges.

That proposed amendment takes away from the citizens of Kansas their power and right to select their judges and gives that priceless privilege to lawyers and governors.

The advocates of this Missouri plan believe that the citizens of Kansas do not know enough to elect their own district and supreme court judges.

True, they say, that the voters of Kansas know enough, but are not sufficiently informed of the qualifications, characteristics, ability, and personalities of the judicial candidates. That simply states the same argument in a different way.

That argument, if it be true, confesses failure on the part of our public leadership—newspapers, radio, politicians, the bar itself—as well as Kansas citizenry in choosing our judicial talent. To admit that premise is to admit the decay of democracy.

I don't believe there is anything in the record of the Kansas judiciary to sustain that argument.

By and large, over the years, the Kansas judiciary ranks with the best in the country.

While not a practicing lawyer, as a member of the bar and in close contact with public affairs for close to 50 years, I have known of a few mediocre State judges, lazy State judges, and political State judges.

But, I have also known of Federal judges named by presidential appointment just as mediocre, just as political—and what's more important—tyrannical.

I submit the record proves, by and large, over the years, that the State judiciary has a better record than Federal judges in the fundamental problem of government—that is—the conflict between individuals, the State, and the Nation in exercising control of economic and political power.

The sincere and well-meaning members of the bar—concerned about improving the talents of the Kansas judiciary—saying if we don't pick good judges under this so-called Missouri plan, it will be our own fault.

I believe they are only kidding themselves. Any two-term governor can make the judicial selections if he wants to and knows how.

Just as the trend of judicial opinion in the Federal courts has changed drastically with the social, economic, and political philosophy of the appointing Presidents, so can the governors of Kansas in the course of years affect the decision of the Kansas Supreme Court, particularly.

That will certainly be true if we elect the same governor for a longer period than two terms and the vacancies coincide in timing with his tenure of office.

In any event, there can be a deadlock between some governors' laymen appointees and the bar association representatives which can seriously impede the functioning of the Kansas judiciary.

Therefore, I do not believe it is a question of whether the bar associations in the district or in the State can pick better judges.

The second main argument of the conscientious advocates of this so-called Missouri plan is that it will take Kansas judiciary out of politics. I believe when the governors pick our judges, it will put the Kansas judiciary more into politics instead of less.

Finally, my greatest objection to the proposed amendment effecting the selection of our judiciary is the provision that the voters of Kansas can recall the judges at the expiration of their term if they do not agree with a judicial decision.

All familiar with government in Kansas and other States can recall at time when one issue dominated the economical and political thinking of the day. Let me remind you of the farm mortgage foreclosure riots in all the States joining Kansas in 1933–34. That none occurred in Kansas was no happen chance. I worked hard to avoid them. With the Missouri plan in effect there would have been few district judges whose term expired—survived the 1934 election in adjacent States.

During those times of economic distress and emotional excitement—when the Klu Klux Klan, for instance, exercised the power it did in some States—a substantial part of the Supreme Court could be wiped out in one election under this so-called Missouri plan. That is a more sinister menace to our judicial processes than the recall of judicial decision. That only proposed to change the decisions of our supreme courts by popular vote—not the judges themselves.

The cure is worse than the reality. It provides for a fundamental alteration in our constitutional method of selecting our judges.

The simple question is that do the citizens of Kansas want a select few and an unknown few—and worst of all—unkown influences—to name their judges. In place of the secrecy of the ballot box, the Missouri plan substitutes secret intricacies of government.

It definitely denies other Kansas citizens their right to know and to exercise their individual responsibility at the ballot box. How will that have done that job is evidenced in heavy Republican districts when Kansas Democrat Governors appointed Democrat lawyers to fill judicial vacancies on the district bench. Then these heavy Republican districts have reelected these Democrat judges, term after term.

Substituted for that citizen's responsibility is a caste responsibility. It is idle to say that that does not reduce the precious possession of citizenship. Bar association organizations are inevitably dominated by older lawyers—especially those with expense accounts and railroad passes. Therefore, the caste system of selecting our State judges will be further extended and more confined insofar as the bar associations have anything to say about it.

I grant the advocates of the Missouri-American bar plan are concerned with the quality and ability of our judges—that they are seeking the ultimate improvement of our judiciary. The inescapable fact remains that their plan injects for the first time into the Kansas Constitution the class or guild method of government.

The proposed constitutional amendment now pending in the Kansas Legislature is the antithesis of democracy. It is the negation of representative government.

No where, no time, and at no place in the selection of the bar association representatives do the citizens of Kansas have a voice or a hand in the proceedings.

That is a pure and unadulterated caste method of naming our judges as far as half of the members of the nominating commission are concerned.

That would, indeed, be adopting in Kansas the theory of government and power by a privileged few. There is even no provision requiring confirmation by the State senate of the judicial appointments.

In presidential appointment of Federal judges some control by American citizens is retained through confirmation by the United States Senate.

If a new Federal judge were to be appointed for Kansas—or a new United States Supreme Court Justice—the citizens of Kansas have a voice through our two United States Senators voting to confirm or to reject the appointment. But no such control of appointments is retained for Kansas citizens in State judges named by bar associations and gubernatorial representatives.

Essentially, the Missouri plan is the American Bar Association plan and is a return to medieval city governments by guilds.

I believe if the Kansas Legislature is going to recommend this plan by submitting the proposed amendment at the next general election, it should definitely define and include other guilds such as the chambers of commerce, the labor organizations, bankers association, and farm organizations.

Government by infinitely graded guilds still remains a class government. And class and wealth and formal education are in themselves no evidence of inherent aptitude to solve the problems of government and the human equations involved.

Even in the bar associations, intelligence and learning is not equally distributed.

My overall objection to altering our constitution by adopting this so-called Missouri plan is that I am opposed to any authoritarian restraint on the duties and responsibilities and voting privileges of Kansas citizens in selecting their own judges. At a time when there is much concern over the voting rights of southern Negroes, it is proposed to limit the voting rights of Kansas citizens.

The trouble with our judicial processes in Kansas is not the quality, the caliber, the ability of our judges. The trouble is that the supreme court, in particular, is overloaded with work.

The nine Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States turn out about one-half as many written opinions as do the seven justices of the Kansas Supreme Court. In 1956, the Supreme Court of Kansas disposed of an average of 31.5 cases a month. It is humanly impossible for any man to thoroughly study and digest that huge mass of work.

No matter how our justices are selected, it will not meet that problem.

What we need is a simple change of statutes that will relieve the supreme court of the impossible burden it is now laboring under in the volume of cases before it—instead of an authoritarian method of picking the judges.

Hon. James P. Richards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 24, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-

ORD, I include the following series of articles which appeared in the special Dick Richards Day edition of the Lancaster News issued on September 27, 1956, and welcoming James Prioleau Richards back home upon his retirement from Congress after having completed 24 years of public life:

CITY HONORS RETIRING CONGRESSMAN AFTER 24 YEARS IN PUBLIC LIFE

Today is Dick Richards Day in Lancaster and hundreds of guests, friends, and visitors have joined local citizens in honoring James Prioleau Richards as he brings to a close 24 years of service in the House of Representatives from the Fifth Congressional District. The day's activities began officially with a luncheon at 1 p. m. and will include a parade, public ceremony, buffet supper, and football game as part of the program.

Visitors and invited guests include city, county, and State officials, members of the South Carolina delegation in Congress, and close friends and associates of Mr. Richards in the Fifth District. Mayor Ledelle Steele, of Lancaster, has officially proclaimed Dick Richards Day and requested the display of flags throughout the city.

THE PROGRAM

The program honoring Congressman Richards will get under way with a chamber of commerce luncheon in the social hall of the First Methodist Church at 1 o'clock this afternoon. C. D. Gregory, Jr., president of the Lancaster Chamber of Commerce, will preside.

A musical program will precede the group singing of America, to be followed by the invocation given by the Reverend J. H. Martin, pastor of the First Methodist Church. D. Glenn Yarborough, Lancaster attorney, and a former member of the county delegation in the South Carolina General Assembly, will present the guests and introduce the speaker.

The Honorable L. MENDEL RIVERS, Congressman from the First Congressional District, will deliver the address.

Following the talk of Congressman RIVERS, a gift presentation will be made by R. B. Robinson, Lancaster merchant, to Congressman Richards, in behalf of the chamber of commerce. This will be followed by a response from Mr. Richards.

At the conclusion of the luncheon, visiting dignitaries and guests will be taken on a tour of Lancaster and historical sites. The tour is expected to last from 2:15 until 4:30 when they return to the Williams House on South White Street to participate in the parade.

The 32-unit parade will begin at 5 o'clock sharp with a police escort and color guard leading the procession followed by the Marine Corps band, and cars bearing Congressman RICHARDS, his family, and guests.

Other units in the parade will include the Boy Scouts; Senator Thomas Wofford, Senator-Nominate STROM THURMOND; the Lancaster High School band; Jaycees; Congressman L. MENDEL RIVERS; the Lancaster Rescue Squad; Kershaw band; Rotary Club; Congressman ROBERT T. ASHMORE; Congressman-Elect ROBERT W. HEMPHILL; Mayor Ledell Steele and C. D. Gregory, Jr., president of Lancaster Chamber of Commerce; the National Guard; State Treasurer Jeff Bates and Adjutant General James C. Dozier; the Lions Club; Buford band; Chief Highway Commissioner Claude R. McMillan and Secretary of State Frank Thornton; Catawba Lions; Tom Gettys and Morrell Thomas, former secretaries of Congressman RICHARDS; majorettes; Carolyn Willis, national baton twirling champion; Heath Springs band; Comptroller General E. C. Rhodes and Supreme Court Justice Joseph R. Moss; Shrine Club; Barr Street band and police escort.

The parade will proceed up Main Street from the Williams House to the Courthouse where it will disband and a public ceremony honoring Mr. Richards will be held.

AT COURTHOUSE

Dr. Ben F. Emanuel will preside at the Courthouse ceremony. The exercises will open with the National Anthem and the invocation by the Rev. John Jackson Brown, Jr., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church.

Mayor Ledelle Steele will welcome the visitors and Charles A. Bundy, manager of the Lancaster Chamber of Commerce, will recognice the guests. Crawford Billings, former Lancaster mayor and a life-long friend of Congressman Richards will speak in behalf of the citizens of Lancaster and Lancaster County.

Guest speakers will include Senator Wofford, Senator THURMOND, Congressman RIVERS, JOHN J. RILEY, ROBERT T. ASHMORE, WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN, and Congressman-Elect and successor to Mr. Richards, ROBERT W. HEMPHILL.

C. D. Gregor, Jr., will make a gift presentation to Mr. Richards for the Lancaster Chamber of Commerce in behalf of the citizens of Lancaster County. A response by Mr. Richards and music will conclude the public ceremony at the Courthouse.

A buffet supper by the Chamber of Commerce for the visitors and attendance at the University of South Carolina-Wake Forest football game at 8 p. m. as guests of the Lancaster Rotary Club will close the day's festivities.

An American Tragedy: Russia's Ever-Increasing Lead in Scientific Manpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, "Russia today has the most dangerous weapon in the whole world—the atheistic, scientific, trained mind—and she has it in plentiful supply."

These words should cause every clear-thinking American to shake off his or her complacent attitude and face the stark, and up to now, inevitable, truth—that the Soviet Union has surpassed this country in the development of scientific manpower.

They were uttered, not by any wide-eyed alarmist, but by a trained American newspaperman who spent some time in Russia last year with his family, digging out the facts to prove his case.

John A. Kennedy, editor in chief and publisher of the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, in recent testimony before a subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee declared that "schools and colleges—not jet planes nor H-bombs—are the greatest Russian latent threat to America and the West."

Mr. Kennedy backed up his charges with documentary evidence gathered by talking to hundreds of individuals during his visit to Russia. He quizzed school teachers, college professors, students, and the man in the street. His conclusions made a frightening picture for American mothers and fathers to contemplate.

I happen to be very much interested in this problem myself. So much so that last session I introduced a bill to encourage the training of additional engineers. The bill also provides for expanded facilities for engineering education by providing supplementary salary grants for engineering teachers and scholarships for engineering students.

According to Mr. Kennedy, Soviet colleges and universities graduated 2½ times as many engineers and scientists as we did in 1956.

Not only that, Russia has more than double the number of science students in their higher educational institutions this year than we have.

The very real and potent danger, he said, however, lies in what Russia is accomplishing at the secondary school level—where every nation should develop its future scientists.

He called their accent on education, which he said filters through to the lowest base—the 10-year secondary schools "perhaps the toughest grammar and high school system in the world."

And there—

He warned—

is where they are now establishing a lead over the United States that is going to take an almost superhuman effort to overcome.

At the university level, Mr. Kennedy pointed out that Russia has approximately 100 percent more science students in colleges than we have. Of course, the fact that tuition is free and college students are paid salaries is a most determining factor.

He said one of the most significant aspects of education in the Soviet Union is the emphasis on mathematics, physics, chemistry, and related subjects.

Training in these subjects makes engineers, doctors, and men and women of science. It makes nuclear scientists and Russia is turning them out at a rate far greater than American schools.

Mr. Kennedy declared himself amazed, just as I was, at figures by both the United States Office of Education and the National Science Foundation on the decline percentagewise in our high schools instruction in mathematics and science during recent years.

They show that today 24 percent of America's high schools offer no classes in geometry while 23 percent of them teach no chemistry or physics.

In 1900, algebra was studied by 56 percent of students attending high school. In 1955, the figure was less than 25 percent.

Also in 1900, 27 percent of public high-school students studied geometry. In 1955 only 11 percent of the students studied the subject. In physics, the figure dropped from 19 percent in 1900 to 4 percent in 1953.

I agree with Mr. Kennedy that on the basis of these figures, it is little wonder that last year only 228 new physics teachers were graduated to staff 28,000 high schools in America.

Another pertinent point on which we were in complete agreement is that American industry is defeating its own ends by employing a policy of enticing science instructors away from teaching positions by offering salaries far in excess of those paid by educational institutions.

When I introduced my bill last session, I pointed out that while American output of engineers lags, the Soviet Union has been expanding its output by leaps and bounds.

The Russians are now graduating 10 times as many engineers as they did 25 short years ago. In 1954, they turned out 53,000 engineers and scientists. In 1955, the number is estimated at 63,000—nearly 3 times as many as were graduated here in the United States that year.

In an attempt to get to the real reasons behind the engineering shortage, I went to those best qualified to judge, the deans of all accredited engineering schools in the country.

In answer to questionnaires they declared they were unanimous in their concern over the problem and they were in agreement on two main reasons for the shortage.

First, we are wasting our precious manpower in failing to enable many intelligent high-school students to continue on to college.

Secondly, the shortage of qualified teachers of engineering at the college level—plus the shortage of qualified mathematics and science teachers in our high schools are major roadblocks.

Mr. Kennedy, in his testimony, cited figures to show that in 1954, this country graduated only half as many college-trained specialists in engineering and science as were graduated in 1950.

Also, he said, in 1954 our colleges graduated 57 percent fewer high-school science teachers and 51 percent fewer math teachers than in 1950.

He blamed this on the fact that in the United States the teacher has not been accorded proper recognition and status in the community. In Russia, by contrast, teachers rank high in income and social strata.

Mr. Kennedy said according to a recent survey of professions in the United States, the average dentist's income is 2½ times that of a teacher's; a lawyer's is 2.7 times, and a physician's 4.2 times as much.

I wholly agree with him when he declared that if we continue to let the Russians go ahead of us in science education, a disaster catastrophic to our way of life is inevitable.

The situation could truly become an American tragedy. I hope and trust a way may be found to avert it.

Happy Birthday, Pope Pius XII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the East Side News in celebration of the 81st birthday of His Eminence Pope Pius XII:

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, POPE PIUS XII

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

Today, we salute with joyous acclaim Pope Pius XII on the 81st anniversary of his birth.

From every God-loving heart, from every creed and race comes the happy refrain: "Many happy returns of this blessed day."

The Holy Father was born Eugenio Pacelli on March 2, 1876.

In his birth we have seen the unfolding mercifulness of God in raising up a figure which shines forth as a great beacon in our times.

He is a true benefactor of humanity.

He is a courageous leader of the century.

He is a man of his time.

He was the first future Pope to fly in a plane to the United States.

He was the first Vatican Secretary of State to be elected Pope.

He was the first Roman elected to the Papacy since Benedictus XIII.

He was the first cardinal of the Curia to become Pope in a century.

He was the first Pope to be crowned outside of St. Peter's Basilica since 1870.

He is the 261st successor to St. Peter.

His reign is marked by a vigorous crusade against the curse of atheistic communism, the curse of state totalitarianism.

God's truth will pierce the Iron Curtain.

Pope Pius XII fears no human power when duty bids him speak the truth.

He has proved himself a fearless fighter of injustice wherever it has raised its ugly head.

The justice of God is the inspiration of his utterance.

He is a simple man of God.

Today, we can see his tall figure bowed before the tabernacle.

His saintly face raised to the uplifted chalice.

His long, thin fingers folded in prayer.

Like a decade of Gothic spires aspiring heavenward in supplication for the prayers of mankind.

He is ready to shed his heart's blood to become the seed for the rebirth of enslaved nations.

He is armed with God's grace and a martyr's will.

He is standing at the ramparts of man's battle for liberty.

His armaments are the weapons of wisdom.

His armies are God-loving peoples everywhere.

His words echo the agony of the divine plea: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Christianity came forth from the dark catacombs, and upon the ruins of paganism there arose the glory that is the Roman Catholic Church.

Selection of Judges in Kansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, in the State of Kansas there is now under consideration a possible change in the method of the selection of district and supreme court judges. Needless to say, this is a most important problem. As a matter of public interest I am setting forth in this RECORD information regarding this matter.

The following is an editorial which appeared in the Topeka Daily Capital, February 18, 1957, which comments on an address given by the Honorable Alf M. Landon and his views concerning this problem. Elsewhere in the Appendix of this RECORD I have inserted other information and views, including Mr. Landon's address, pertaining to this vital issue. The editorial follows:

CLOSING THE BALLOT BOX

Alf M. Landon's critical analysis of the so-called Missouri plan for selecting judges in Kansas should awaken all the people to the probable effects of this proposed departure from democratic processes. If the people thoroughly understand this scheme to take away the voting privileges in electing district and supreme court judges it is doubtful if very many of them would approve.

Under the proposal candidates for the judiciary would be named by a panel of lawyers and laymen, with the appointive power vested in the governor. Advocates of the plan say it would take the judiciary out of politics, but Governor Landon believes it would inject more politics into the equation. It is easy to agree with him, for it would take only a few years to build up an oligarchy into which only a chosen few could hope to enter.

Suppose the Missouri plan was in effect, and the supreme court rendered a few opinions that proved unpopular in certain circles—there would be a crusade to oust the offending justices when they came up for an approval vote at the next election. Such a system might place the justices at the more or less tender mercies of a few politically strong men. In other words, the "unknown influences" which our former governor suggests might prevail.

Proponents of this effort to deprive the people of the privilege of selecting their judges argue that "the people do not know enough about the candidates to vote wisely," or words to that effect. This specious argument might as well be applied to all candidates for public office, thus admitting that the electorate is too ignorant to cast ballots for any person.

All Kansans might well ponder this American Bar Association proposal to deprive them of one of the sacred privileges of living in a democracy. Governor Landon was right in stating that "In place of the secrecy of the ballot box the plan substitutes secret intricacies of government."

Tax Relief for Orthopedically Handicapped Persons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, legislation affording Federal income-tax relief to the physically handicapped taxpayer has for some time been introduced in Congress. H. R. 1154 is a bill to provide a deduction for income-tax purposes, in the case of a disabled individual, for expenses for transportation to and from work not exceeding $600 per annum; and to provide an additional exemption for income-tax purposes for a taxpayer or spouse who is physically disabled.

This bill will, if passed, grant a measure of tax relief to those physically handicapped persons most in need of it. It deserves the support of Congress in order to adjust the present inequities in the Internal Revenue Code.

The orthopedically handicapped, by reason of their disabilities, are compelled to spend substantial sums of money to aid and maintain their rehabilitated status. Their expenditures frequently include:

First. Expenses incurred for the purchase and repair of orthopedic and prosthetic devices not entirely deductible under the medical deduction provision of the law. Specially built shoes are also in this category.

Second. Unusual wear and tear of clothing caused by constant friction with orthopedic and prosthetic devices, and crutches, and falling.

Third. Additional expenses often include higher apartment rentals due to need of ground floor quarters or elevator apartment accommodations, which are naturally higher rental apartments.

Fourth. Many disabled find it necessary to hire taxicabs in going to and from work. The average weekly cost nationally is $15.

Fifth. In approximately 10 percent of the cases the disabled, as defined in the bill, find it necessary to purchase automobiles to allow for mobility. These automobiles, of necessity, must be of good condition to avoid mechanical failure. Hand controls are a requisite. The businessman can deduct transportation expenses for the production of income while his physically handicapped employee in a wheelchair cannot.

Sixth. Paraplegics often find it necessary to purchase their own homes which are specially equipped with fixtures installed at lower levels. Ramps must be built to allow for ingress and egress to and from the premises.

Seventh. The disabled are frequently compelled to hire someone to do household cleaning and repairing.

Eighth. Due to discrimination in the labor market, physically handicapped persons are frequently forced to accept lower wages and salaries.

Ninth. They are of necessity, as substandard risks, compelled to pay higher life insurance rates where they are able to afford the minimums of life insurance coverage. By the same token, they are rejected for health and accident insurance and as a result have higher medical and hospital expenses than the average taxpayer.

Tenth. The renewal of inflationary business trends has resulted in the highest cost of living index to date. This, in turn, has created havoc with the low incomes of the orthopedically handicapped.

From all the foregoing, it is obvious that the orthopedically handicapped are faced with heavy expenses and burdens.

Many physically handicapped persons could have been rehabilitated were it not for their expenses due primarily to low wages and the high cost of their rehabilitated status. Many are frequently intimidated into remaining home since their low gross income less tax deductions would give them a lower net income than if they stayed home on relief. Often, rehabilitated persons receive as low as $14 per week in wages in New York City. From these small earnings taxes are deducted.

According to figures gleaned from the 1956 United States Statistical Abstract the total number of 1955 job placements through public employment offices amounted to 14,957,977. This figure includes 264,316 physically handicapped persons who were also placed. They comprise 1.77 percent of all workers placed by public employment offices.

Of the 264,316 physically handicapped placed in 1955, there were included 57,981 persons who were rehabilitated by Government funds. Of this latter number, 23,502 persons or 40.5 percent, had amputated or missing members, impairment of extremities and impairment of other parts of the body.

First. Amputated or missing members, 6,435 persons.

Second. Impairment of extremities, 12,382 persons.

Third. Impairment of other parts of body, 4,695 persons.

Total, 23,502 persons.

Since 1.77 percent of all workers placed by Public Employment Offices are handicapped, and since there are a total of 64,165,000 gainfully employed persons in the United States, by multiplying the latter figure by the former we find that there would be 1,135,721 physically handicapper taxpayers in the United States. Then by multiplying 1,135,721 by 40.5 percent we find that there should be about 459,967 persons who would qualify under the tax exemption and deduction bill I propose herewith.

If all 459,967 taxpayers claimed the $600 tax exemption with savings of $120 each, the savings would amount to $54,395,920. If as many as 15 percent of the 459,967 taxpayers took advantage of the transportation deductions, they would save up to $8,159,388. The grand total for both types of savings would be in the amount of $62,555,308.

The granting of tax relief during this session of Congress would rectify, to a limited degree, some of the financial hardships faced by the orthopedically handicapped.

Law and the Rhode Island Election

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 17, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from the March 1 U. S. News & World Report which pertains to the formal opinion rendered by the Supreme Court of Rhode Island in the controversy over the gubernatorial election.

The effect of this decision was to wrest the governorship of that State away from the duly elected candidate, Christopher DelSesto, and present it to the incumbent, Governor Roberts, by means of disqualifying absentee ballots.

It took the Supreme Court of Rhode Island 6 weeks to render a formal opinion, an opinion which attorneys for Mr. DelSesto inform me fails to set forth the contentions of his counsel, and obviously does not discuss these contentions.

It is apparent that the court merely presented one side of the argument to support its decision. It also failed to point out that New York, Florida, and Montana opinions on the points of law involved were contrary to the Rhode Island decision.

In view of these facts, the following article is commended to my colleagues' attention:

TAMPERING WITH THE BALLOT BOX
(By David Lawrence)

When the highest court of a State begins to tamper with the ballot box and sets itself up as superior to the legislature—or even to the constitution of the State—as has just happened in Rhode Island, such action is a plain usurpation of power by the judiciary.

Although the Supreme Court of Rhode Island handed down on January 1 last, a brief memorandum of conclusions, it issued only a few days ago the text of its formal opinion. It gives for the first time a detailed argument seeking to defend this amazing deviation from justice.

The absentee ballots of 5,454 citizens of Rhode Island were discarded by order of the court because they were cast before election day, while 648 absentee ballots were accepted by the court because they were cast on election day.

This rejection was in disregard of the specific wording of the law of Rhode Island which says that voting by absentees "may be done on or before said election day."

The court's decision changed the election result, giving Rhode Island a Democratic Governor by 63 votes, although the voters had elected a Republican.

Many States have similar laws about absentee voting. If the technical and tortuous reasoning disclosed in the decision of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island becomes a precedent for other States to follow, many shut-ins and persons who happen to be ill at election time will lose their right to vote.

The facts are clear: The people of Rhode Island in 1948 adopted an amendment to their State constitution which specifically says that persons "who are absent from the State, or who, by reason of old age, physical disability, illness or for other physical infirmities, are unable to vote in person, being otherwise qualified to vote at the general election held biannually, on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, shall have a right to vote in all elections in the State."

In that same constitutional provision was a broad grant of authority to the State legislature declaring that "the general assembly shall have full power to provide by law for carrying this article into effect and any ballot cast under the provisions of such law shall be received and counted with the same effect as if given by such elector in open town, ward or district meeting."

The Rhode Island Legislature in 1953 passed a law which authorized absentees to vote "before or on said election day." Now the Supreme Court of Rhode Island argues speciously that, while in a 1944 amendment to the State constitution military personnel were permitted to vote at any time fixed by the legislature, it was somehow significant that this wording was omitted from the constitutional amendment adopted in 1948 which opened the right of absentee voting

to all citizens, including shut-ins and ill persons. Hence the court accepted as valid only the votes of 648 absentee civilians because their ballots were notarized as having been cast on the regular election day.

Yet no restriction had been imposed anywhere in the Rhode Island constitution itself on the right of the legislature to set forth by law the details of absentee voting. Certainly, since the legislature in 1948 was given by constitutional amendment "full power" to deal all inclusively with absentee voting, it acquired the full right to provide by law exactly when and how the ballots could be cast—that is, on or before election day. Had the people wished to deprive the legislature of the power to arrange the voting at a time convenient to absentees, they would have said so.

The court's opinion notes that the legislature in 1942 had asked for an advisory opinion and that the supreme court of the State in that year had said the legislature did not have the power to permit absentee balloting before election day. But the 1942 ruling was rendered before adoption of the 1948 amendment to the Rhode Island Constitution which gave the legislature full power to deal with absentee voting. An advisory opinion, moreover, rendered in prior years by a court does not supersede the plain phrasing of a constitutional amendment adopted in subsequent years by a vote of the people themselves.

Plainly, a constitution is not a series of legislative enactments. It is a charter that grants broad powers to the legislature to carry out by appropriate laws the stated purposes of the constitution.

The Rhode Island Legislature, taking into account all the difficulties that surround absentee voting, deemed it fair and practical to let absent citizens mark their ballots before election day. This was a proper exercise of legislative power.

To count a certain number of ballots as valid and arbitrarily to invalidate others is to take away from the legislature "full power" to enact legislation that treats all absentee voters alike. The court's decision is a plain discrimination between citizens. It is a denial of "the equal protection under the laws" guaranteed to the citizens of Rhode Island by the Federal Constitution itself. It is a palpable tampering with the ballot box.

William P. Connery, Jr., Post 6

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include copy of the remarks of Cornelius F. Burke, contact officer of the Veterans' Administration regional office at Boston, Mass., who was the principal speaker at the 38th anniversary banquet of the William P. Connery, Jr., post 6, American Legion, department of Massachusetts, held February 21, 1957, at the Edward Harrington School, Lynn, Mass.

Mr. Burke has been a kind, sincere, and conscientious employee of the Veterans' Administration for the past 37 years, respected and admired by all of us as a real friend of the veterans.

Mr. Burke's remarks are as follows:

It gives me a great deal of personal pleasure to be the speaker tonight before my own post of the American Legion on this, the occasion of our 38th annual banquet.

I am grateful to the post for their kind invitation to be their guest speaker not only tonight, but for many years past.

When Vice Commander Connie O'Meara called and asked me to be the speaker, we discussed the subject matter of my talk. We decided that a short review of the origin of veterans' pensions in the United States, the administration of the education and training program under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, popularly known as the GI bill, and its effect on the economy of our country would be an appropriate and interesting subject. Also to give a report of my observation and evaluation of the work of the American Legion in behalf of veterans and their dependents from the close of World War I to the present day.

I believe that it is well known to all service men and women and their families that our Government, through the Veterans' Administration, operates today the largest individual medical, hospitalization, loan guaranty, vocational rehabilitation, education, and insurance programs in the world, and grants to its beneficiaries compensation and pensions in amounts greater than any other nation on earth.

Today, we have over 22,600,000 veterans in the United States. These men and women served their country either in the Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, or the Korean conflict.

Veterans' benefits are not new, either in theory or in practice. They are not politically fostered gratuities for the few, imposed upon the American people to keep pace with the rising economic tide of the 20th century. Since the early days of organized warfare, governments have given special grants and allowances to men and women who have performed honorable military service, not as a payment, but as a token of respect and appreciation.

The Scriptures tell us that Joshua's captains shared in the division of the promised land. Rome in her imperial days made grants of corn, oil, and land to her returning soldiers and in many instances exempted them from taxation for life.

The first veterans' benefit law on record in America was enacted in 1636 by the Pilgrims of the Plymouth Colony while they were at war with the Pequot Indians. The law stated:

"In any case of necessity require to send forces abroade and their be not volunteers sufficient offered for the service, then it be lawful for the Govr and assistants to presse in his maties name by their warrant directed to the constables. Provided if any that shall goe returne maymed and hurt he shall be maintained competently by the Colony during his life."

This law was later revised by the General Court in 1671 with the following amendment:

"That if any man be sent forth as a soldier, and be so maimed in the service, that he is disabled from following his occasions, he shall be maintained by the Colony whilst he lives, according to his quality, and the capacity in which he served: and when dead, shall have the burial of a soldier."

In October 1780 the Continental Congress approved half pay for life to any officer of the American Revolution who served to the end of the war.

In 1818 the Congress of the United States approved for the first time a pension law for disabled veterans which included veterans whose disabilities were not the result of their military service.

Special legislation was enacted following the Civil War, Spanish-American War, and World War I in gratitude to those who had served, but tonight I wish particularly to unveil the accomplishments of the greatest American challenge when this Nation granted training to returning servicemen and women under the GI bill passed by the 78th Congress on June 22, 1944, commonly known as Public Law 346.

This GI bill was conceived and nurtured by the American Legion, a child the opposition would refuse to adopt. At the time of its passage, many commentators, who lacked vision and the prize of human investment, remarked, "It will be a waste of public funds and amount to nothing more than a revived WPA on a larger scale." But as Al Smith would say, "Let's look at the record."

In June 1956 we celebrated the 12th anniversary of the passage of this law and the figures prepared for this anniversary are a glowing tribute to the Legionnaires who presented the bill—a triumphant victory for the legislators who enacted it, and an honorable fulfillment by a grateful veteran populace.

I appreciate how tiresome and confusing statistics can be but tonight I must use figures to properly present the true effects this law has had on our present economy and the future welfare of our country.

Our Nation has a long history of aid to the disabled veterans of our wars, particularly to those who incurred disabilities in the performance of their military duty, but the GI bill was the first major attempt to help the physically able veteran in that great transition from war to peace.

The American Legion in sponsoring this bill appreciated that the Government had a definite responsibility and would adequately fulfill that responsibility to those who were wounded or disabled as a result of disease or injury incurred in service.

They were concerned and sought to avoid a repetition of the chaos of unemployment and the resulting hardships that existed in 1919 when an army of 4 million demobilized veterans marched into the labor market.

The unselfish purpose of the bill was to restore to our men and women serving with the Armed Forces the position that might have been theirs had they not been called to defend the principles of liberty and equality.

Let us not forget that, in addition to the 15 million veterans to be discharged, there were 8 million demobilized defense workers who would be seeking security in the postwar upheaval, and that the majority of returning GI's knew no trade other than war. Tell me, without the GI bill, what national catastrophe might have occurred, with 23 million men anxious and eager to work out their civilian status, suddenly knocking on labor's lean door back in 1946.

We were always proud of our system of free education. We considered it the finest in the world. To our great surprise, the war exposed flaws in it.

Over 4 million men in the Armed Forces had not graduated from elementary school. The illiterates rejected in the draft would have manned 20 Army divisions.

I think we will agree that the well-being of the Nation includes the skills of its workers, the ability of its businessmen, the capacity of its professional men, and the husbandry of its farmers. No single national program ever gave so many people so many skills in so many pursuits as did the GI bill.

During the first 12 years, nationally, that is, from the enactment of the law on June 22, 1944, to June 1956, 7,900,000 of the former GI's went back to school on an educational level that ranged from grade school to postgraduate work.

Statistics further reveal that 2,200,000 went to colleges and universities, 3,500,000 went to schools below college level, 1,400,000 took on-the-job training, 700,000 combined book knowledge with practical farm experience.

Nationally, it refilled the country's dangerously depleted pool of professional and skilled manpower.

It trained 180,000 doctors and nurses, 113,000 physical and research scientists, 450,000 engineers, 711,000 mechanics.

The benefits of the GI bill have even entered into the field of theology, probably the least publicized of all its accomplishments. In Massachusetts, alone, 805 priests, ministers, and rabbis were trained to serve God and country. Throughout the United States, 44,000 were educated.

The Census Bureau now reports the GI bill advantage shows the average male veteran today has completed more than 12 years of school. The average nonveteran male a little less than 9 years.

The higher level of education, the record indicates, has served to boost the earnings of the veteran far beyond that of the nonveteran.

Another survey by the Census Bureau reveals that veterans have generally outdistanced nonveterans in earnings.

When the GI bill was taking hold in 1947, according to the survey, the average income of male veterans between 25 and 34 years of age was only $2,401, as against $2,585 for nonveterans in the same age bracket.

Six years later, in 1953, the average income of the veteran rose 50 percent to $3,631, while the average income of nonveterans rose only 19 percent to $3,065.

Government statisticians calculate that by 1970 more than 8 million veterans who were afforded training under this bill at an estimated cost of $15 billion, will have repaid the Government the full cost of the program. Because, as a result of their training, they have already attained an income level which will add an extra billion dollars a year in Federal income taxes.

Another important feature of the GI bill is the loan-guaranty program. More than 4,800,000 veterans have received GI loans valued at nearly $40 billion.

In 1944, the pessimists insisted that the veteran would not pay the money back and that Congress would eventually be forced to write it off the books as a loss.

Once again, "Let's look at the record." Grateful veterans have been the best credit risks in this country; they have defaulted in less than one-half of 1 percent of their loans.

There are many other programs operating in the VA, but time does not permit a review of them tonight.

AMERICAN LEGION

Those of us who have been members of this great patriotic and humanitarian organization, the American Legion, since its inception immediately following World War I, take great pride in reviewing the organization's accomplishments, particularly in its major programs, namely, rehabilitation, child welfare, community service, Americanism, and national security.

Its first major legislative victory was in August 1921, when it successfully advocated the consolidation of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the Federal Board of Vocational Education, and that part of the Public Health Service assigned to the care of veterans, into a unit to be known as the Veterans Bureau and for the specific purpose of rendering more efficient service to the veterans and their dependents.

In 1922 and 1923, the Legion proposed an increase in disability ratings and a liberalization of the requirements for granting service connection in certain disabilities.

The legion's great legislative year was in 1924 when they sponsored the World War Veterans Act, passed by Congress on June 7 of that year. This law, to the veterans of World War I, was synonymous with the GI bill for World War II veterans. The crucial difference was that the latter veteran veritably exchanged the uniform for the cap and gown or the opportunity for on-the-job training, whereas the older veteran was obliged to wait 5½ years for this law.

This act covered all phases of VA operations, including increased compensation, the establishment of presumptive periods for certain constitutional disabilities, hospitalization for nonservice-connected conditions, and less exacting requirements for vocational training.

The Adjusted Compensation Act (familiarly known as the World War I bonus bill) was enacted that same year.

Subsequently, during the years 1924 to 1932, the legion in the role of humanitarianism, successfully fought to ease the burden of veterans caught in the throes of depression, by amendments to the World War Veterans Act and the Adjusted Service Act, thereby enabling needy veterans to obtain loans against their bonus certificates.

In 1932, truly the dark ages in American history, when our great economic structure collapsed, when the doors of our banks were closed, when human bread lines dotted the cities of our Nation, when disabled veterans sold apples on street corners, the American Legion mustered all its strength and resources to protect and defend the benefit laws then on the books against the onslaught of certain organized groups who were trying to discredit the veterans by characterizing them as "Treasury raiders."

There was organized in this country at that time an organization known as the National Economy League. Local branches were formed in almost every city in the United States. There is no doubt they were acting in good faith. Their sole purpose was to reduce Government spending and balance the national budget. They directed their attack at the veteran. Unfortunately, they were not fully aware of the true veteran picture at that time.

In 70 percent of the cases, compensation to veterans was greatly reduced, cutting out entirely all pension payments to World War I veterans for non-service-connected disabilities unless they were totally disabled. It limited hospitalization to the treatment of service-connected disabilities only. They reasoned that if veterans' payments continued, the country would be bankrupt. They argued that if the current $32 billion debt reached 36 billion, the country would become insolvent. Today, a 275 billion debt finds the country still solvent.

To the bewilderment of veterans and their families, the 73d Congress on March 20, 1933, passed Public Law 2, "An act to maintain the credit of the United States," familiarly known as the Economy Act. This empowered the President to change or prescribe rules and regulations necessary, in his opinion alone, for the economical operation of the VA. Accordingly, VA appropriations were drastically curtailed. In most cases, compensation was greatly reduced, World War I pensions completely eliminated except for the totally disabled, and hospitalization limited to service-connected disabilities only.

In the final enactment of this law, Billy Connery, for whom this post is proudly and affectionately named, was one of the fey who refused to follow his party leadership and stood by the veteran in voting against the legislation. His work in Congress was dedicated to the veteran, and his name will be cherished for his devotion to the exserviceman and his tireless efforts in behalf of labor and the underprivileged.

The late Ed Hayes, of Chicago, one of the greatest national commanders of all times, and a totally disabled veteran himself, took the fight for restoration of these benefits to the people of the United States. He visited every large city in every State in the Union and invited veterans, nonveterans, members of the Economy League, civic groups, and all fair-minded citizens to join with the Legion in a move to right the great injustice done to disabled veterans.

Even after his term of office had expired, Ed Hayes was commissioned by the Legion to continue his fight against the Economy Act. Principally through his efforts and the indomitable spirit he engendered into the hearts of all Legionnaires victory loomed large and within 18 months after passage Congress restored every benefit that had been taken away on service-connected disabilities except one, and that was subsequently restored in 1949. This particular disability affected less than 200 veterans in Massachusetts. The right to hospitalization for nonservice-connected disabilities was also restored. The American Legion emerged from this fight more powerful than ever. Again they rallied to the aid of the World War I veteran and made it possible for his bonus to be paid in full in 1936 rather than 1945.

You World War II and Korean veterans should appreciate why we oldtimers are so proud of this great organization. In 1943, the Legion, profiting by their experiences following World War I, appointed a committee of the best minds within the Legion to submit recommendations for the House Veterans' Affairs Committee in the Congress on what they believed this country should do for its returning World War II servicemen and women.

The Legion committee drafted what was later known as the World War II GI bill, which I reviewed with you in the early part of my talk. The important thing to remember is that Congress had this law on the books 1 year prior to the cessation of hostilities in either the European or Pacific theaters of war.

They also passed a similar bill for those who served during the Korean conflict with practically the same benefits as were granted to World War II servicemen and women.

In conclusion, I want to emphasize that we have lived during the most wonderful and most critical period in world history—wonderful because of its scientific discoveries and advancement; critical because of the wars, unrest, and lack of character and respect by some world leaders for the rights and dignity of man.

Whether we served in World War I, World War II, or the Korean conflict, we have played a major part in our country's transition from a continental to a world power.

Down through the years since its inception in February 1919, the American Legion has been a great force for good in this country. It has remained steadfast for God and country. It has stood side by side with some of our great religious leaders as a wall against the spread of communism and other isms or crackpot ideologies in this country. Its leadership has been sound. I have never known the Legion to be wrong on any stand it has taken whether it has been for national defense, preparedness, military training, citizenship, veterans' benefits, or foreign affairs.

They may have been criticized for their stand on certain controversial issues but time has proven them to be right.

We, as veterans of the Armed Forces of the United States, should value our membership in this great organization, the American Legion, with the same reverence as we do our citizenship in this great country of ours, the United States of America. I thank you.

The officers of the William P. Connery, Jr., Post 6—the largest legion post in Essex County, Mass.—are as follows: Commander, Roger Welsh; senior vice commander, John J. Lee; junior vice commander, Cornelius O'Meara; adjutant, John J. Cronin; finance officer, Raymond Sharples; post clerk, Robert McGhee; chaplain, Emil Anderson; sergeant at arms, Charles Harvey; historian, William Ellison; Americanization officer, Thomas H. Driscoll, P. C.; service officer, Thomas J. Morrison, P. C.; and graves registration, Joseph Cirella.

The executive board is as follows: P. C. Walter Melanaphy, John Pasquale, Lester Twoomey, Joseph L. White, Eric Bannister, William Huggins, William Forman.

Dangerous Attacks on Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD a recent article by the eminent journalist, Roscoe Drummond, which concerns current attacks upon the United States Supreme Court, such as we have seen made by the State Legislature of Georgia in its move to impeach six judges of that branch. Mr. Drummond is but one of the many national authorities, in varied lines of public service and endeavor, who has put the warning of dangerous on such attacks and in simple language for all to understand set forth the reasons why the democratic concepts that are the heritage of the American people—not just its minorities—are jeopardized by such appeals. As the author points out, this is not criticism of the opinions of judges, but criticism of the authority of the Court which is prompted by racial prejudice. The American public ought to be alarmed because in this ugly form of bigotry its system of government is being attacked. I should like to emphasize Mr. Drummond's words as a warning to the American people that in the role as interpreter of what State and Federal laws are constitutional and what are not:

Above all else the Court does two things:
1. It prevents the Federal Government and the State governments from encroaching upon each other, thus preserving the balance of our Federal system.
2. It protects the constitutional liberties of all the people from encroachment by either the States or the Federal Government.

The full article follows:

DANGEROUS ATTACKS ON SUPREME COURT

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—Nearly every President has had to defend his constitutional powers from congressional encroachment. Mr. Eisenhower had a hard time keeping his authority to police the Federal personnel from slipping into the hands of eager Congressmen.

Nearly every Congress has had to defend its independence—sometimes not too successfully—from Presidential encroachment. For a considerable period during Franklin Roosevelt's dominance, Congress found itself more a subordinate than a coordinate branch of the Government.

It seems to me time somebody raised a voice to defend the third branch of Government, the United States Supreme Court.

The President can defend himself. Congress can defend itself. But the Justices of the Supreme Court, speaking only through their opinions, can never speak in their own behalf.

The Court is today the target of some turbulent controversy because of its trend of opinions on racial questions, even as it was the target of turbulent controversy 20 years ago when it was striking down some of the early New Deal legislation as unconstitutional.

Criticism of the Court's rulings is healthy and desirable. The legal opinions of judges should be no more sacrosanct than the political opinions of politicians. That the opinion of the Supreme Court is legally final does not make it infallible; it isn't.

But criticism of the authority of the Supreme Court seems to me unhealthy and dangerous.

The Constitution does not spell out the precise role the Supreme Court shall play. It remained for the Court itself to define its function.

It was largely through the force and cogency of the opinions of Chief Justice John Marshall that the Court established itself as the interpreter of what laws, State and Federal, are constitutional and what are not.

When some deeply resent a decision of the Court, they often attack the jurisdiction of the Court. But the fact remains that while the Court originally asserted its role as interpreter of the Constitution, no action has ever been taken, either by Congress or by the people, to alter or restrict its authority one iota.

Such a course has been open to us for nearly 150 years but the jurisdiction of the Court remains untouched.

When, in 1937, President Roosevelt tried to mold the opinions of the Supreme Coutr more to his liking by his court-packing plan, he suffered the severest defeat of his career.

Above all else the Court does two things:
1. It prevents the Federal Government and the State governments from encroaching upon each other, thus preserving the balance of our Federal system.
2. It protects the constitutional liberties of all the people from encroachment by either the States or the Federal Government.

Syria Army To Get Red Tutors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following dispatch, written by Gaston Coblentz, from Bonn, Germany, appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of February 24, 1957.

If this is one of the Arab countries we will be aiding with part of the $200 million proposed in President Eisenhower's Middle East resolution, then I suggest that we must restrict the use of such aid.

SYRIA ARMY SAID TO GET RED TUTORS

(By Gaston Coblentz)

BONN, February 23.—The last of a group of postwar German military advisers to the Syrian Army were reported today to have been dismissed by the Government at Damascus to make way for Russian and Czech instructors.

The reported German dismissals have coincided with signs of increased Communist bloc activity in Syria in the last month, including new arrivals of Communist arms and military technicians.

Since the late 1940's successive Syrian regimes have employed up to as many as 50 German military advisers recruited on an individual basis. Some of the men involved found it advisable to absent themselves from Germany during the early postwar period.

The chief of the German group, a Colonel Kriebel, a former instructor in military tactics at the Berlin War Academy, was one of the last two German officers to be dropped by the Syrians.

On his dismissal he was received by President Shukri al-Kuwatly, who gave him a high Syrian decoration for outstanding services.

Leaders of Veterans Speak Up for Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest and intensely patriotic organizations in our midst is the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America. It has been in existence for more than six decades, having been founded in 1896. Throughout all these years, this organization has been concerned primarily with fostering programs of Americanism and with protection of the war veteran and the rights to which he is entitled under the law.

I know personally many of its members and leaders in Brooklyn and am familiar with the outstanding work they are doing to further the cause of Americanism and of the war veteran. I take this opportunity to pay a deserving tribute to them for their achievements.

On February 25, 1957, a huge rally took place at Madison Square Garden in New York which was attended by 18,000 people. The purpose of that rally was to protest against the possible imposition of sanctions against Israel in connection with the United Nations request for troop withdrawals from the Gaza and Aqaba areas.

One of the speakers at that rally was William Carmen, national commander of the Jewish War Veterans. At the conclusion of his remarks, Mr. Carmen read the text of a telegram from Mr. Dan Daniels, national commander of the American Legion.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the address by Mr. Carmen and the text of Mr. Daniels' telegram:

ADDRESS BY WILLIAM CARMEN, NATIONAL COMMANDER OF THE JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AT THE MADISON SQUARE GARDEN RALLY, FEBRUARY 25, 1957

I speak to you this evening as a representative of the men and women of the United States who fought and died because of diplomatic errors of another period within our lifetime.

Thirty-six odd years ago there was introduced in the world a new cancer. It came in the form of a man by the name of Adolf Hitler. It ate out the entrails of morality and decency and it brought upon the world a river of blood that will forever stain the face of this earth.

Most of us have seen with our own eyes this degradation of the human race. We have seen our people butchered and slaughtered. The phrase "political expediency" summons up remembrances of unimaginable horrors perpetrated upon the Jewish

people by the fulminations of this great monster of the 20th century.

The Jew is a blight upon mankind, Adolf Hitler cried. The Jew is the cause of all worldly ills; the hateful propaganda machine of the Third Reich pounded lie after lie into the disgruntled minds of the frustrated, and the innocent breaking down all foundations of that morality which Moses gave to the world as he stepped down from Mount Sinai many years ago.

How many of us Americans spilled our blood on the black earth of the Argonne, the white sands of Anzio and the thorned hedgerows of the French countryside so that this monster could be destroyed?

And even then we had come too late for the stench of the gas chamber and the oven had already putrified the air of Europe.

What a masterful lesson for civilization. How much blood was spilled to learn the bare rudiments of this momentous lesson?

Out of this chaos and destruction came the United Nations. A renewed morality, we thought, by the nations of the world who resolved with pious phrases that never again shall there come upon the face of this earth the scourge through which the world had just passed.

We here in America had honestly thought once and for all the conscience of the world had risen to that point where it would never again allow the slightest glimmer of an evil dictatorship to wreak havoc upon the world.

But as with most idealism, the deed falls far short of the word and today we find ourselves disillusioned by Communist imperialism, hypnotised into passiveness by fear; and yes, even political expediency. For lo and behold, a new embryo of evil has risen in the world—disregarding morality and decency as Hitler had done.

He too has come as a reformer, as a hope for his starving, illiterate and impoverished people. And he too begins his own degradation of humankind in the same manner as Hitler had done. He takes what is not his to take. He destroys without reason. Illogic and indecency are his watchwords.

And worst of all, he brings wrath upon our people with the same hatreds that our generation knows so well, bringing death, disaster and more and more destruction.

What does it take for the conscience of the world to be aroused? Nasser is persecuting innocent human beings. Nasser has made his ultimate goal clear—to push the democratic nation of Israel off the face of the earth.

We need to reflect upon the similarity of these two dictatorships because our faith is bound up in it, the fate of each one of us and our collective fate. The Soviet Communist penetration of Egypt and the other Arab Middle East States has already gone much too far for the welfare of the United States. This together with the Nazi remnants of the leadership of Adolf Hitler have created a grave warning for the free world. In fairness to the people of the United States, our allies in France, England, Israel, and the other democratic nations of the free world, we must realine our thought with the fundamental issue, that of communism plus nazism plus Nasserism versus democracy. When the problem confronting us now is overcome as surely as it will be and fairness, justice and equality banish the thought of sanctions against Israel, we who have fought in the wars which are now history—pray with you that the errors of yesterday will not be repeated again in the tomorrows ahead.

We all know the terrible outcome of World War II because of the attempt to do business with Hitler. I cannot predict the outcome of a prospective world war III should we appease and continue to do business with Nasser, but this I do know, that the ultimate result will be not only the elimination of world Jewry, but of all mankind.

I pray with you that all of the leaders of our country will guide us on the same moral course that has made and kept the United States free for 181 years.

The following telegram was sent to National Commander William Carmen on the eve of the Madison Square Garden rally, February 25, 1957, by the national commander of the American Legion, Dan Daniels:

"Speaking as national commander of the American Legion, I share the serious concern of many of our Government's responsible leaders and our fellow citizens that the United States will support a resolution calling for sanctions against Israel for failing to withdraw forces from the Gulf of Aqaba and the Gaza strip despite the absence of adequate guaranties for the safety of her citizens, for the security of her territory and economy. In the opinion of the American Legion, the United States would be guilty of a serious error in judgment if it supports sanctions against Israel. By supporting such sanctions, we would be indicating ourselves as participants in the creation of a dual standard of operation for the United Nations. Certainly this would have validity in the light of our failure to demand similar United Nations sanctions against Russia, India, and Egypt for their refusal to abide by equally important U. N. resolutions. Disciplinary measures were not applied against Egypt for denying Suez Canal to Israeli ships, against the Soviet Union for ignoring a resolution calling for an end to Soviet atrocities in Hungary, or against India for rejecting United Nations participation in Kashmir dispute.

"Israel cannot be considered a common aggressor when all except the Communist nations of the world acknowledge her right to protect her citizens against injury and death from continued raids nor should she be punished for attempting to insure the solvency of her economy and integrity of her territory against outright aggression or economic attacks resulting from the nationalization and blockage of the Suez Canal. Instead of supporting sanctions against Israel, United States should use its influence to secure the United Nations actions that will guarantee against restrictions, Israeli commerce in the Gulf of Aqaba, the Suez Canal, and conditions of stability in the Gaza area. When the United Nations has demonstrated its determination and ability to enforce such essential guaranties then our Government can audibly demand that Israel comply with U. N. requests to withdraw her forces from these areas. In the opinion of the American Legion unless and until these conditions are created we of the United States and U. N. can't approve of sanctions against Israel without establishing a dual standard of morality that must lead inevitably to the destruction of the U. N. and to the deterioration of our country's position as the recognized leader of the free world."

A Cool Man for a Hot Spot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial from the Oregon Journal, of Portland, on the appointment of Arne J. Soumela as Commissioner of the Fish and Wildlife Service:

A COOL MAN FOR A HOT SPOT

Soon after Douglas McKay entered the Eisenhower Cabinet, he sent back to Oregon for a friendly, pipe-smoking outdoor personality who was always cool and alert in the hottest fishing controversy over dams, irrigation, and fishing regulations. This pipe smoker is Arnie J. Suomela, then Oregon Director of Fisheries. McKay made him Assistant Director of the Fish and Wildlife Service and now President Eisenhower has nominated our congenial Arnie for Commissioner of the newly reorganized Fish and Wildlife Service.

America's fish and wildlife conservation problems are becoming more acute. It was reason for the President to turn to a leader who has had a great deal of experience, technological and administrative, in our own Northwest and Alaska, where fish and game are under heavy attack.

Behind Suomela is a life close to fish and game. He was reared among the commercial and sports fishermen of Ilwaco, Wash., near the mouth of the once fish-rich Columbia. From his father's gillnet boat he left for the University of Washington, where he was trained in biology. His work in the fishing fronts has been long, varied, and intense. He studied depletion of salmon in Alaska, Puget Sound, and the Columbia system. Because he served both the Federal Government and the States of Washington and Oregon at different times in fisheries research, he obtained valuable experience in how these different agencies can work together for the public good—and for the fish and wildlife.

We feel confident that the Senate will have no occasion to put out barbed hooks in taking up confirmation of Suomela's appointment. He should get the Senate's blessing in one filling of his companionable pipe.

Georgia Revises History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, as a follow-up to the article entitled "Dangerous Attacks on the Supreme Court," which I today submitted for inclusion in the RECORD, I also offer the following editorial comment from the New York Times on the Georgia State Senate's resolution that Congress declare the 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution null and void. Whereas in the first instance the attack was upon the authority of the United States Supreme Court, in this it is upon the United States Congress. To destroy the 14th and 15th amendments, the Georgia Legislature has termed the 39th, 40th, and 41st Congresses "as nothing more than private assemblages unlawfully attempting to exercise the legislative power of the United States." The American people could not ask for a clearer picture of warning of how bigotry seeks to destroy the basic system of democratic government by striking first at one branch and then at another branch of government until only a form of tyranny remains as a substitute.

The article follows:

GEORGIA REVISES HISTORY

No doubt the Georgia State Senate accepts the fact that it was General Lee, not Gen-

eral Grant, who surrendered at Appomattox. What the Georgia lawmakers do question, in a resolution passed on Friday, is the authority of the 39th, 40th, and 41st Congresses. These bodies, we are now asked to believe, were "nothing more than private assemblages unlawfully attempting to exercise the legislative power of the United States."

The new Georgian school of historians has, therefore, asked Congress to declare the 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution null and void. Frankly, we hope Congress will not do this. The 14th amendment amplified the Bill of Rights by forbidding the States to "abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States," and so on. Without this amendment the segregation decision of the Supreme Court of May 17, 1954, would not stand. The 15th amendment stipulates that neither the United States nor any State shall deny any citizen the right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

To those who are attached to such rights as these amendments guarantee, repeal would be extremely inconvenient. Repeal might be confusing to some of those technical "persons" known as corporations, for these, too, get some protection out of the 14th amendment. On the other hand, for any majority of any other race, creed, or color wishing to injure and exploit a minority of any race, creed, or color, both amendments are annoying obstacles.

We suspect that the late Robert E. Lee, revered commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, would be the last man to have any patience with the Georgia State Senate at this moment. He knew what happened and why it happened. Now, 92 years after Appomattox, the Georgia legislators seem to have forgotten what Lee knew. Perhaps they should go back to school for a week or so—a segregated school, if that is the way they feel about it.

United States Policy Toward Eastern Europe: A Lost Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the 11th General Assembly of the United Nations will shortly pass into history. Before it does so I believe it would be appropriate to present for the record the exchange of correspondence described below.

On February 7, 1957, 19 Members of this House wrote to President Eisenhower to urge that the United States seek a United Nations investigation into Soviet intervention in the 10 captive states of central and eastern Europe. We believed that such an investigation, coming immediately after the Soviet Union's brutal action in Hungary, would be one positive step this country could take to focus world attention on the threat to world peace produced by continued Soviet oppression of the people of these states. Our letter followed a meeting with representatives of the Assembly of Captive European Nations, an organization of democratic leaders in exile from Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania. The letter reads as follows:

FEBRUARY 7, 1957.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Under article 35 of the United Nations Charter, the United States is empowered to bring to the attention of the General Assembly any situation likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. Such a situation, we believe, exists today because of the interference by the Soviet Union with the right to self-determination of the peoples of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania. The Soviet Union's intervention and oppression in these areas, in violation of article 2, chapter 4 of the Charter (prohibiting threats or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state) and of article 1 (listing as purposes of the U. N. the developing of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples) has brought about the possibility of revolts which could well lead to world war.

For these reasons, we urge that the United States, at the current 11th session of the General Assembly, initiate or support an effort to include on the Assembly's agenda an inquiry into the situation in these captive states, and its threat to world peace. The fact that the Assembly on December 14, 1956, voted to include on its agenda the alleged United States intervention in the domestic affairs of these states makes it doubly important, in our opinion, that the Soviet intervention and its dangers be formally inquired into.

Respectfully,

CHARLES A. BOYLE, JOHN D. DINGELL, EUGENE J. MCCARTHY, PETER W. RODINO, STEWART L. UDALL, THOMAS LUDLOW ASHLEY, HUGH J. ADDONIZIO, JAMES ROOSEVELT, CHARLES A. VANIK, B. F. SISK, FRANK M. COFFIN, HARLAN HAGEN, HENRY S. REUSS, FRANK THOMPSON, JR., GEORGE M. RHODES, EDITH GREEN, BARRATT O'HARA, GEORGE S. MCGOVERN, TORBERT H. MACDONALD.

On February 11 the White House replied, over the signature of Bryce N. Harlow, Administrative Assistant to the President. Mr. Harlow promised careful consideration. His letter read:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, February 11, 1957.

The Honorable HENRY S. REUSS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. REUSS: The President has asked me to express to you and to the cosigners of your February 7 letter his appreciation of your taking the time and interest to give him your views in respect to the position of the United States delegation to the United Nations on the situation in the captive states of Eastern Europe. The President asked that you be advised—and this same advice is being transmitted to the cosigners of your letter—that your views on this important matter will have most careful consideration, and that he understands fully and shares your deep concern over the well-being and freedom of these captive peoples.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

BRYCE N. HARLOW,
Administrative Assistant to the President.

The United Nations General Assembly is now drawing to a close and it is a matter of deep regret to me that the United States did not take the action which we recommended. Our lost opportunity has been well described in a statement issued by the Assembly of Captive European Nations on March 1. I present it below, together with the covering letter with which it was transmitted to me:

ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS,
New York, N. Y., March 4, 1957.

The Honorable HENRY S. REUSS,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It was most thoughtful on your part to send me copies of the letter which you and your colleagues sent to the President of the United States on February 7, 1957.

The letter was made available to members of our General Committee and I was asked to express to you the gratitude of our organization for having so forcefully urged that the United States, at the current 11th session of the General Assembly, initiate or support an effort to include on the Assembly's agenda an inquiry into the situation in the captive states and its threat to world peace.

To our great disappointment the efforts aiming at bringing up the issue of our captive nations in the U. N. have once again been fruitless. Not even the excellent opportunity which the Soviets have offered to the free nations when they came forward with a complaint against "United States interference" in the internal affairs of the East-Central European States has been taken advantage of to set in motion an inquiry on Soviet intervention.

In enclosing a statement we have issued on March 1, 1957, concerning the record of the 11th General Assembly on matters of direct concern to us, let me stress that despite the many setbacks we encounter we shall keep on urging the free nations to listen to the plea which you have so generously espoused in your letter to the President.

With many thanks and best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

VILIS MASENS,
Chairman.

ACEN GREATLY DISAPPOINTED AT TWO U. N. FAILURES

The Assembly of Captive European Nations, speaking for the silenced peoples of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania, expressed its disappointment in the General Assembly of the United Nations' failure to take collective measures against the U. S. S. R. for its aggression against Hungary and for its reluctance to turn tables on the Soviet Union when it accused the United States of intervention in the internal affairs of the East-Central European Nations.

The ACEN statement read:

"Now that the 11th session of the United Nations General Assembly is drawing to a close, the Assembly of Captive European Nations is bound to express its disappointment in two failures of the world organization.

"First, the General Assembly has failed even to consider collective measures against the Soviet Union for its criminal actions in Hungary.

"Ever since November 4, 1956, our Assembly has been urging that sanctions, under articles 6, 41 and 42, of the Charter be applied against the Soviet Union. Such an action would have represented the punishment of a violator of the United Nations Charter and constituted an attempt to compel him to heed the 9 U. N. resolutions condemning him and asking him to withdraw his armed forces from Hungary.

"Instead of an enforcement action the General Assembly has seen fit to appoint, on

January 10, a special committee to investigate the facts of Soviet intervention in Hungary, which were in the main well substantiated. While welcoming any step designed to establish an authoritative and detailed record of events in Hungary, ACEN warned at that time against any attempt to use such investigation as a substitute for effective action or an excuse to further defer long overdue enforcement action. These misgivings were confirmed: since January 10, United Nations action on Hungary was confined to the factfinding efforts of the special committee.

"In sharp contrast to the reluctance shown by United Nations member nations to initiate collective measures in the case of Hungary, sanctions have been considered against a United Nations member state for partial noncompliance with the resolutions of the General Assembly. In the view of ACEN this is a clearcut case of double standard and self-contradiction which, in the case of a body designed to serve as a repository of the trust of the peoples of the world, assumes huge proportions and harbors gravest dangers. On the one hand, all important international action is shifted to the United Nations. On the other—a great power is given by this precedent a free hand to embark on any imperialist venture, being assured in advance that the limit of the United Nations' action will be verbal condemnation.

"Equally grave and difficult to understand is the failure of the West to take advantage of the Soviet complaint against the alleged United States interference in the internal affairs of the East-Central European nations and to turn the tables against the real interventionist—the Soviet Union.

"It is true that the debates have once again brought to the fore the undeniable fact that the misery, unrest, and bloodshed in the captive countries have but one source: The occupation of these countries by force and the continuous Soviet interference in their national affairs. It is no less true that these debates have occasioned a welcome restatement of United States support for the aspirations of the captive European nations to freedom and independence.

"Still, the enslaved peoples feel entitled to expect more than reassuring statements in rebuttal of false Soviet charges. They feel that a full-scale examination by the United Nations, of Soviet intervention in their affairs and its dangerous consequences has long been overdue. For only such examination would lead to a formal finding and hence to remedial action.

"ACEN maintains that the situation created in East Central Europe by Soviet aggression and intervention represents a continuous threat to peace and security within the meaning of article 39 of the Charter. Not only has it led to revolutionary explosions but, if not righted, it would make such explosions a permanent feature of that region. Therefore, being at the root of the present world tension, this situation must engage the attention of the United Nations if the world organization is to live up to its purpose.

"It has been said that the Soviet Union continues holding the captive countries in bondage because of an exaggerated concern for security. Such an interpretation is misleading in that it fails to stress the basically aggressive and expansionist nature of the Soviet State whose security will remain endangered as long as there exists a single non-Communist nation in the world.

"By the same token the Assembly cannot agree with the notion that a full-scale examination by the U. N. of Soviet aggression and intervention would increase the international tension and sharpen the cold war. On the contrary, turning the back on issues of global importance or pretending that they do not exist has always been conducive to wars. Only by going to the root of the existing trouble in the world and by boldly attacking the issues confronting it can the United Nations avoid the fate of its predecessor, the League of Nations."

What Is Aggression

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the following excellent article by S. L. A. Marshall, which appeared in the Detroit News of March 3, 1957, is most timely and should be read by all:

OF ARMS AND MEN: WHAT IS AGGRESSION?

(By S. L. A. Marshall)

Well, up till the turn of the century the question was relatively easy to answer. War was much simpler then than now; for example, it was distinguished from peace by a clearly defined line. Such terms as sitting war, cold war, undeclared war, hot war, and total war had not yet been born. They are all inventions of our day, along with the interminable armistice and the violence-ridden truce.

But there are a few fundamentals. Aggression, by its clearest definition, is an unprovoked act of violence, whether its victim is a nation or a man. The rule says that any man has an inalienable right to shake his fist, which right ends when his fist contacts the other fellow's nose.

Yes; that makes everything easy—simply follow the rule. It makes aggressors of Genghis Khan, Attila the Hun, and Hannibal. These rough characters didn't have to invade Europe; they had enough country of their own. Clean cases could also be made against Alexander, Charles XII, Napoleon, Hitler, and that doughty warrior, Hernan Cortez, who hexed the Aztecs into oblivion.

Now how about Abe Lincoln? He didn't have to make war on the South, which asked only to withdraw in peace. There is the answer that he was provoked, if not by the act of secession, then by a few weak guns at Sumter. Intrinsically, it was little enough sound and fury to justify a conflict costing more lives than any war in United States history.

But that was not how Lincoln saw it. He deemed the provocation sufficient to justify unlimited action. Today, no one says he was wrong, though when he started, most of his countrymen doubted he was right. Had his war become lost, history might have written a wholly different verdict on the morality of his decision.

TODAY'S ATTITUDE

Even so, things were simpler then. Today, at the United Nations, statesmen act as if they truly believe that when forces formally advance across another nation's frontier, with the intention of knocking down its defenses, that ipso facto is aggression, while practically any other power action is not.

In trying to penalize Israel for invading Sinai, the U. N. does not come out openly and say that this is its new rule for judging aggression, and that hereafter it will be applied. In fact, until now, U. N. has scrupulously refrained from charging Israel with aggression, while at the same time acting toward Israel as if it had been judged and found guilty.

There is a good reason for this ambiguity. U. N. is on the wrong side of custom and of law. There was no peace between Israel and Egypt at the time when the alleged offense was committed, for the specific reason that Egypt insisted on maintaining a state of belligerency.

U. N. had arranged various truces and armistices, which neither party respected greatly, and which Egypt used mainly to stage warlike incursions against Israel. The U. N. did not choose to regard these forays as an ultimate provocation of Israel, though in ratio, if the United States had experienced the same hurts from its neighbors, 150,000 of its citizens would have been killed or wounded. We would not likely have brooked it.

U. N. is not so constituted that it could have returned any such judgment. In any case, it would have been unwise, since it would have encouraged full-scale war. There is the other objection that no institution such as U. N. may finally acknowledge the magnitude of its own failure without losing all dignity.

So U. N. and its agent, Dag Hammarskjold, had to come right down to the wire pretending that the last armistice was working, though neither Egypt nor Israel so believed. Then when at last it became shattered beyond further doubt, U. N. still could not legally find that the act of full and formal invasion was an aggression.

There had been no peace. Egypt had insisted on staying at war with Israel. It had confirmed its attitude by repeated provocative and destructive acts. The indoctrination of its army was pointed toward full-scale operations against Israel at the first opportunity.

Lacking a legal case, U. N. therefore sought to plow new ground. Unable to return a verdict of guilty, it still sought to apply punishment. And the odd part of it is that its strangely mixed mind motive seems hardly to be questioned anywhere.

The New York Times says editorially: "Of course, Israel must be put back in its place." Walter Lippmann writes: "Israel is a lawbreaker. Why "of course"? and what law did Israel break?

SETTING THE PRECEDENT

The questions ask for answer now, for we will certainly need to know in time, unless the millennial dawn is at hand and we have banished war for all time.

War has not been outlawed by nations. Men still hold that nations, like people, have a moral right to shoot and kill in a just cause, for example, to save themselves from extinction. Israel, which got a legitimate start in life with U. N. doing the midwifery, is uniquely the one state in our day threatened with annihilation.

As proof of its intent, Egypt openly engaged in acts of war against Israel, such as blockading the Strait of Tiran. U. N. hardly more than yawned. So it can't be war per se, any more than deliberately fomented violence which constitutes the unforgivable offense in U. N. and United States eyes.

Is then the new rule for intervention, which U. N. seeks to enforce as a principle, that if a nation formally engages in war, after what it considers due provocation, it must be denied any remedy, any spoils, any possibility of corrective action? To accept that idea must say, in effect, that it is a respectable act to fight and die in self-defense but unpardonable to disarm one's assailant. Absurd, of course, but not more absurd than to call Israel a lawbreaker.

We come finally to one still more ridiculous and destructive proposition. If the waging of clandestine war, through guerrilla gangs and organized murder in the dark, is not due provocation, but a national march in the open toward a battlefield is outlawry, we have given the green light to communism and anarchy and democracy had best run for cover.

Uncalled-for Remarks of State CIO President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, we have heard a great deal in the last week about some of the uncalled for and scurrilous activities of several individual labor bosses.

Just last week Mr. Charles Schultz, president of the Wisconsin State Industrial Union Council addressed a meeting in the Seventh Congressional District of Wisconsin. Mr. Schultz on many occasions has assumed that he speaks for the individual laboring man in Wisconsin. This assumption has proved wrong on other occasions, and I am sure his statement in the Seventh Congressional District, which I have the honor to represent, does not reflect the thinking of the rank-and-file union member.

Mr. Schultz said:

If Eisenhower is for it, I am against it. However, all is not lost. He can only last one more term. He had a slight cough the other day, and I was hoping.

During the past few days I have heard from individual union members who have assured me that the State president of the CIO was not speaking for them in his wish that misfortune would overtake our President.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of today's RECORD an editorial from the Stevens Point Daily Journal, Stevens Point, Wis., under date of February 27, 1957, entitled "Uncalled-for Remarks Made by Speaker Here":

UNCALLED-FOR REMARKS MADE BY SPEAKER HERE

Speakers at the Wisconsin Farmers Union convention held in Stevens Point the past weekend were critical of the national administration. Some of the views of the membership were expressed in resolutions that were adopted. One of them called for the replacement of Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson. Charles Brannan, Secretary of Agriculture under President Truman and now the organization's general counsel, was a featured speaker and presented his formula for solving the farm problem.

The free expression of speech, critical or otherwise, is among the privileges of our form of government, and up to this point the convention was little different than many others where issues on controversial matters are on the agenda.

But it remained for Charles Schultz, Milwaukee, president of the Wisconsin State Industrial Union Council, to hit below the belt in a Sunday talk marked by immoderate language. During an attack on the Republican administration Mr. Schultz turned his ire on President Eisenhower in a personal way, declaring: "If Eisenhower is for it, I'm against it. However, all is not lost. He can only last one more term. He had a slight cough the other day, and I was hoping."

Hoping for what, Mr. Schultz? Laughter followed the last remark, but there was nothing humorous about it. It is one thing to discuss the health of the President, as he himself has done, with frankness. It is quite something else to hope publicly that he won't last much longer.

What general reaction the remarks occasioned among the delegates is not recorded. But some of them are known to have taken offense, and rightly so. It should be unnecessary to say here that Mr. Eisenhower, as the Chief Executive of our Nation, should have the respect that is due this high office, and that differences of opinion over policies of the administration offer no excuse for such a personal attack as was launched here.

Mr. Schultz has done a disservice to the Farmers Union and his own labor organization by his uncalled-for and repugnant remarks. Furthermore, he insulted the intelligence of his audience by saying what he did.

Indochina: Another Place Where Reds Are Losing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, from 1946 to 1955 the United States has spent $266 billion for defense and an additional $42 billion for foreign aid to some 42 nations scattered throughout the world. The chief reason advanced for our country spending this enormous amount of money is to prevent the spread of communism. Sometimes this aid has proved to be a wise policy and sometimes its wisdom is, at best, questioned.

Many Americans are today asking the question: What do we have to show for this exorbitant expenditure of their tax dollars?

I am sure that most people in this country agree that if it were not for communism, there would be no defense problem. There would likewise be no reason for SEATO or NATO which takes so many of our tax dollars. Without communism we would have a reduction of the Federal debt and perhaps a balanced budget. However, we have the problem of communism to face, for during the last 10 years communism has captured a third of the world and effectively challenged the other two-thirds. For the safety of the United States, communism must be contained. In many places, I am sure, we have not received a dollar's worth of value for every dollar expended.

Therefore, it is a great pleasure, Mr. Speaker, to point out the fact that there is one place at least in this troubled world where our economic and military aid has played, and is playing an important part in helping destroy communism, and that is in South Vietnam. South Vietnam, after a shaky start, is now making rapid progress under an anti-Communist president, Ngo Dinh Diem. Ho Chi Minh's Reds in North Vietnam are in deep trouble—harried by hard times and revolts.

During the fall of 1955 I visited southeast Asia as chairman of the Subcommittee To Investigate Trade With Red China and saw the effects of communism firsthand. While in Saigon I talked with Ngo Dinh Diem, South Vietnam's president, and came away with the impression that he was a dynamic leader who was sincerely trying to build a South Vietnam that would be free and peace loving. He was very appreciative of the help the United States was giving. He felt that American aid would eventually enable them to develop their full strength and preserve their freedom in the face of Communist threats, so that they could become independent allies of the United States. This single purpose policy of President Diem is paying off, aided by such stalwart anti-Communists as Rev. Nguyan Ba Loc, Catholic priest, who led large groups of refugees from the Communist North to the freedom of the South Vietnam provinces. It is a pleasure to report that the Vietnamese themselves are taking over their resettlement program on their own. Their recovery under our enlightened policy has reached such a state that South Vietnamese have this year produced the first exportable rice surplus since 1945.

Mr. Speaker, in order that my colleagues may have a clear picture of what is taking place in Indochina at the present time, I would like to direct their attention further to the following article which appeared in the March 1, 1957, issue of the U. S. News & World Report entitled "Indochina: Another Place Where Reds Are Losing."

INDOCHINA: ANOTHER PLACE WHERE REDS ARE LOSING

Asian "neutralists" and western cynics alike are just now beginning to accept the fact that United States supported South Vietnam is proving to be more than a match for its deadly rival, the Communist government in North Vietnam.

Two and a half years ago, after the Indochina truse divided the country, many of the top people in this part of the world were ready to write off South Vietnam as a plum ripe for Communist picking. Now it is generally realized that, in terms of international prestige, domestic stability, and the loyalty of the people, the Government headed by Ngo Dinh Diem, in the south, is drawing ahead of the northern regime under veteran Communist Ho Chi Minh.

Only in military power do the Reds still have a big advantage.

The most striking thing about South Vietnam today is its confidence. You see it in the army, training for war while uprooting the Communist underground. It is evident in public officials who have abandoned their carefully tailored suits and now work with the people in the countryside, eating simple food and wearing simple native clothing.

LEADER WITH A BELIEF

Most of all you see it in President Diem. He has turned out to be a leader who is dynamic, hardheaded and, in some ways, ruthless, a leader who firmly believes that communism in Asia can be whipped.

Two years ago, most Asian leaders considered Diem a "last gasp" leader who would stay in power only until the Reds, at their leisure, took over all of Vietnam.

What changed the attitude of Asian leaders was Diem's presentation of his own case. The President often told visitors his objective was to build a South Vietnam that was independent, Asian, free, peace-loving, and progressive. Fellow Asians questioned him closely about United States aid and the dangers of control from Washington. President Diem frankly admitted to them that

South Vietnam could not survive without help, but he said he would not turn his back on friends—such as the United States—who had helped his country to stay free.

ASSIST FROM REDS

The ruthlessness of the Communists in the north has, unintentionally, thrown weight behind Diem's drive for recognition and support elsewhere in Asia.

This Red ruthlessness took several forms. The membership of Ho Chi Minh's party was cut in half by a purge that was vast and abrupt. Communists not of peasant or working-class stock were kicked out of the party, regardless of past service with the Red Viet Minh armies. There has been an intensive drive against students and intellectuals who heartily supported the Reds against the French. A bloody campaign to enforce land reform liquidated landlords as a class. Morale dropped and open criticism of the Government was heard. Then came the climax—revolts against the Communist regime.

Refugees who have come across the mountains and through the jungles to freedom in South Vietnam testify to the widespread dislike, even hatred, that the people of the north have for the Communist Party and its policies. None of the refugees, however, predicts a major uprising. The North Vietnamese Army of 300,000 and the police are loyal to Ho's Red regime and have the power to crush any revolt before it really gets under way.

KEY TO SUCCESS

All the Communist mistakes up north would have little effect on the south were it not for Diem's positive policies, creating stability and confidence in his Government. Search for the key to his success and you find it in civil action, a political technique straight out of the Communist book.

This was what Diem faced: During the war against the French the Communist Viet Minh established village governments which went underground when attacked, then returned after the fighting was over. When the war ended, the Viet Minh withdrew its armed forces from the south. But the Reds left cadres behind and told the people they would soon return in force.

The South Vietnamese Army moved through the countryside, established security, reopened communications and assured the people the Communists would not return. Then civil-action teams went to work. Each team had nurses, teachers, and engineers. Food and money were provided for depressed villages. Seed, fertilizer, and cloth followed.

Diem established a self-help principle. If a village built a road, the Government supplied timber for bridges. The teams tried to create a feeling of national consciousness, and to prove that the Government was Vietnamese, not French.

REASONS FOR PRIDE

Despite critics who assert the Saigon Government has used Communist methods to fight communism, President Diem, now in his third year at the helm, can see many reasons to be proud of his record. French troops are no longer on Vietnamese soil, and French administrators, now called advisers, are being weeded out of the Government. The 150,000-man Army is developing faster than anyone had expected.

In South Vietnam, food reaches the cities without interference from local warlords or religious sects that formerly controlled rural areas. A Vietnamese can travel freely and safely, even at night. Living standards are inching upward as security increases. Schools are primitive, but more villages have them.

But many educated South Vietnamese, particularly young engineers, doctors, and professional men, are still hostile to Diem. For one thing, the country has an archaic, French-created bureaucracy that frowns on new ideas. And the Government is too poor to pay adequate salaries. The result is that young, energetic Vietnamese aren't attracted to Government work. Intellectuals also fear the President will end up as a dictator, if only because the problems he faces demand strong leadership.

Most of those problems are economic. United States military aid of $212 million during this fiscal year covers more than 70 percent of the Army's operating costs. Other United States help runs to $121 million a year. Without American aid, Diem's government probably would collapse.

Nearly everyone you talk with says that, 2 years ago, the Communists would have won any election in a unified Vietnam. In free voting today, it is highly doubtful that the Reds would win, even though Ho Chi Minh is still widely regarded as more patriot than Communist. If Red armies invaded South Vietnam now, they might possibly receive lip service from the majority of the people, but nothing more.

Diem's success recently prompted the Russians to denounce him in terms much like those Moscow used just before North Korea invaded South Korea in June 1950.

DANGER NOT OVER

Communist denunciation, or even the menace of invasion from the north, is not likely to shake the confident and realistic Diem. For U. S. News & World Report, the President of South Vietnam summed up this way what he faces in divided Vietnam:

"We are still in a state of cease-fire, not a peace. The danger is not yet over. If we have corruption and bribery, the Communists will win. If we are lax or lazy, the Communists will win. But we are making more progress than they are in the north. If we continue to improve and show that we are superior, then the internal contradictions and the unpopularity of the Communist will cause them to crack up.

"Then Vietnam will be unified, and it won't be under the Communists."

How Miss Lucy Upset Alabama University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, Life magazine has published a report of the after effects upon the faculty of the University of Alabama of the infamous rioting and undemocratic actions which attended the efforts of Miss Autherine Lucy, to study there on a background of academic qualification. The events which transpired at this university 1 year ago last month were both a violation of democratic principles and a defiance of the law of this land which has decreed that denial of the opportunity to seek an education at a public school of choosing on the basis of race denies a constitutional privilege belonging to all American citizens.

The subtopic of the Life article is "Shocked and Shamed by Campus Violence, Liberal Professors Go Elsewhere To Teach." At least 21 faculty members have resigned from the University of Alabama because of the violence and because of the basically un-American position taken by school board trustees.

Mr. Speaker, I know that the vast majority of Americans believe in their country and all that it stands for and they are shocked and shamed by the desecration of democratic principles in the Miss Lucy events and in other occurrences in the South today. History repeats itself by showing this Nation that bigots would always have the people believe that the majority of all other people share their views, no matter how violative of decent instincts, intellectual reasoning, and moral principles and that they act on behalf of the majority. Men know that democracy is a daily need as vital as bread to accomplish their way of life. I call attention to the words of Dr. William Lampard, a University of Alabama professor, born and bred in Mississippi:

I was absolutely in favor of integrating the University of Alabama and I could not see any reason why Miss Lucy should be treated differently from any other student. What happened to her made me ashamed, deeply ashamed, to be a southern white man, even a liberated southern white man.

This story is a poignant reminder that men have stood by like sheep, shocked and ashamed but inactive, while the enemies of democracy chipped away the freedoms belonging to all men. Surely, Americans have profited from this lesson by the sacrifice of their own sons.

The article from Life magazine follows:

HOW MISS LUCY UPSET ALABAMA UNIVERSITY—SHOCKED AND SHAMED BY CAMPUS VIOLENCE, LIBERAL PROFESSORS GO ELSEWHERE TO TEACH

A year ago in February the University of Alabama's campus in Tuscaloosa became the scene of wild rioting. The disturbances, which began when the school admitted its first Negro student, Miss Autherine Lucy, boiled on for three frenzied days and nights. During this tragic time, Miss Lucy's life was threatened, crosses were ignited on campus, college officials seeking to quell the violence were jeered and in some cases bombarded with eggs, stones, and mud. Law enforcement broke down. In the end, the school surrendered to the mob, suspending and finally expelling the riot victim. Later, almost as an afterthought, it also banished mob leader Leonard Wilson.

Peace has returned to the campus but even now, a year later, repercussions from the Lucy case are still being felt. What happened to this Negro girl has sorely troubled the consciences of many people at the University of Alabama, has even changed the course of some lives.

During the past year, 21 or more teachers have resigned from the faculty, some of them as a direct result of the Autherine Lucy case.

Associate professor of economics Harry Shaffer was one of the first to announce his intention to go. Now teaching at the University of Kansas, Shaffer says that the principles of democracy in which he believes were "so badly violated at the University of Alabama that I did not feel I could remain, in spite of my sincere love and devotion to this State, this community, and to my colleagues."

Wisconsin-born Prof. Robert T. Daland, who taught at Alabama University for 7 years prior to the Lucy clash, told Ebony that his decision to resign "was the result of a number of factors * * * However, I resigned at the time I did primarily because of what I considered to be the basically un-American position taken by the trustees * * * together with a spineless attitude on the part of the majority of the faculty members. I

have no doubt that the exodus of professors interested in decency will continue through the next several years."

VIOLENCE LED TO FOUNDING OF HUMAN RELATIONS FORUM

Little publicity has been given to the fact that even during the height of the Autherine Lucy clash there were teachers and students at the university who worked arduously to restore law and order to the campus and have Miss Lucy readmitted after her first temporary expulsion.

"A petition was circulated," says Harry Shaffer, "to request the readmittance of Miss Lucy, prior to any court order. There were only two-hundred-and-some signatures on it w'en we presented it to President Carmichael, but there were many more people who were in favor of it. They simply did not dare to sign."

In April, 2 months after Miss Lucy was expelled from the University of Alabama, about 40 students and teachers founded a human-relations forum on the campus. Made up of liberals and conservatives, it was formed "to study and discuss problems in human relations as they may affect the university community and seek * * * means for improving human relations." The group pledged also to work toward easing tensions produced by political and social changes in the life of the school and town.

Professor Shaffer says there were radicals, among whom he was included, who wanted the forum to declare that it would attempt to bring about peaceful integration on the campus. The motion was voted down. A proposal was then made that the forum say that it "believed in upholding the Constitution of the United States." This, too, failed to carry.

Weak though the final statement of purpose was, the work of the human relations forum was encouraging. "There were meetings and discussions, plans, programs," Shaffer recalls. "It was particularly elating to me to see so many southerners in our group, open and fair-minded individuals who had the strength of character to evaluate others on the basis of their worth and not on the basis of their color."

Al Horn, one of the outstanding graduating seniors in the school of law in 1956, was a typical example of this type of southerner. Although he was born and reared in Alabama, although his father and brother were member of the White Citizens Council, Al was one of the instigators of the petition to bring Miss Lucy back to campus. He was elected first temporary chairman of the human relations forum.

After one of the forum's meetings, Shaffer asked this student how he had become such a stanch integrationist when his entire family was on the other side of the fence.

"I was in the Navy," Al told him, "and there I learned what I had never had a chance to learn before—namely, that Negroes are human beings, just as you and I. I wished everybody in the South could have the opportunity to get to know Negroes as I did. All this foolish prejudice would then disappear. Education is what we need down here," he concluded, "education."

There are a few students and teachers, not all of them as outspoken as Al, yet equally sincere, who still remain at the university. "People like these," said one departed professor, "have more courage than we who left. It is easy to run away from a situation, difficult, indeed, to stay and fight to change it. In these people of courage lies the hope for a more democratic South."

MISSISSIPPIAN TOOK PAY CUT IN ORDER TO LEAVE ALABAMA UNIVERSITY

The majority of the teachers who left the University of Alabama because of the treatment accorded Miss Lucy were from northern or "border" States. But at least one, Dr. William Lampard, was from the deep South. He was born and bred in Mississippi.

"I was absolutely in favor of integrating the University of Alabama," Dr. Lampard told Ebony, "and I could not see any reason why Miss Lucy should be treated differently from any other student. What happened to her made me ashamed, deeply ashamed, to be a southern white man, even a liberated southern white man. Once before, I moved away from the South in disgust. A year before the Lucy case broke I went back, believing that the South had come to its senses. I was wrong. The Lucy affair showed me how wrong."

In going to the University of Vermont, Dr. Lampard took a $1,200 salary cut. He feels, though, that he took the right step. "I did not want my children to grow up in that type of environment," he said. "Personally, had I remained in the South, I would have preferred to put up with all the problems of integration that might have arisen than have them live in a segregated and prejudiced society." He does not consider himself "noble," though, for moving away. "I admire," he says, "those people who can stay there and fight for what is right and just. In my case, I was not willing to put my wife and children through the ordeal that would follow if I said, and did, all of the things I knew should be said and done. The liberals who stayed are the heroes."

Francis J. Sinnott: His Life and Character

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, to have known Francis J. Sinnott, late county clerk of the county of Kings was to have known a distinguished, dedicated public servant and American. He was, until his death, my friend and adviser and throughout my public life I was most fortunate to have had his sound, courageous, and foresighted counsel and the benefit of his broad, objective and constructive criticism and thinking. He was a good man, truly great and unselfishly dedicated to American politics—and one who proud to be of politics—added distinguished luster to the word "politician." For he was always of, with, and for the people. It is worthy, therefore, that his life and character, compiled with the assistance of his devoted friends and deputy, Stephen C. Sanzillo, be spread for those interested in the cause of good government to read and study.

Francis Joseph Sinnott was born on July 3, 1891, at 118 Arlington Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., where he resided all of his life, the 3d of 5 sons of James Peter and Frances Carroll Sinnott.

In 1897 he entered St. Malachy's Parochial School, in East New York, where his father had attended before him and his four children after him. Upon graduation in 1905 he went to St. John's High School and in 1909 entered New York University where he graduated with a degree in civil engineering.

Upon completion of his education in 1913 he joined the firm of Frederick L. Cranford as an engineer. On May 19, 1917 he joined the Army in World War I. He went to Plattsburgh Training Camp for Officers with the 15th Regiment and was commissioned as second lieutenant of Engineers. He was transferred to Fort Belvoir, Va., for advanced training and went overseas with the 302d Engineers of the 77th Division. He participated in the Baccarat, Vesle River, Aisne-Marne, and Oise-Aisne offensives. It was in the Aisne River on September 5, 1918 that he was severely wounded in the left leg which awarded him the Order of the Purple Heart. He was hospitalized in Paris and was there when the armistice was signed. He returned to the United States and was discharged on May 20, 1919 at Camp Upton, Long Island as a captain, Company A, 302d Engineers, 77th Division. His discharge carries the following notation: "A most capable, efficient, and fearless officer."

While in France on August 25, 1918, he visited the grave of Lt. Quentin Roosevelt, son of President Theodore Roosevelt, who had been shot down in aerial combat on July 14, 1918, near Chaucery. At that time, Lieutenant Sinnott had a suitable white headstone made by Pvt. Leland Easton, a stonecutter in his company, which was placed on young Roosevelt's grave. Five photographs of this event, suitably framed, with historical data will be presented to the Roosevelt collection at Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay, Long Island, by his widow, Mrs. Marguerite B. Sinnott.

Upon returning from the war, Mr. Sinnott became secretary in the office of the transit construction commissioner from 1919 to 1921. This was the predecessor to the board of transportation and the start of young Sinnott's long and honorable public service career. In 1921 he became engineering adviser for the special transit committee, board of estimate and apportionment, corporation counsel's office. During his tenure of office he was in charge of the investigation of the famous Malbone Street railway disaster. Here he supervised the investigation and resulting report which was cited as a most complete and comprehensive report with outstanding constructive suggestions for the future safety of the railway system in New York City.

In 1924 he became the first secretary of the board of transportation in which post he served until 1933. While with the board he took an active and practical part in every new subway project then in progress. It was his habit to leave the safety of the office, don his boots, and enter the subway pits with the men to supervise the construction, shoring, and dynamiting phases of the subway. Many of the safety factors that went into the independent railway system of New York were the brain children of Mr. Sinnott. Here he also, as in his war years, gained a reputation far and wide for his humane manner in handling men whether they were laborers or engineers. His anxiety for their well-being and safety brought to him a devotion that is still talked about by the oldtimers in the new transit authority.

In 1933 he was appointed postmaster of Brooklyn by President Franklin D.

Roosevelt, where he served until December 31, 1939. Here he revamped many of the old systems and brought into the Brooklyn Post Office a new relationship between the postmaster and the men and women in the service. Here again his personal attention to the individual employee brought to him the cooperation which resulted in a great uplifting of the morale of the office and better service to the public.

On January 1, 1940, he was appointed county clerk of Kings County, N. Y., by the unanimous vote of the members of the appellate division of the second department of New York. He was the first county clerk to be appointed; the office having been an elective one. In this office he continued to demonstrate his amazing ability to administrate, and brought many systems in the office up to date which resulted in monetary savings and better services. He also brought into being the now famous historical division of the county clerk's office which material had laid dormant for over 100 years industry files and corners. At the behest of Mr. Sinnott, Mr. James A. Kelly, deputy county clerk, was appointed Brooklyn Borough historian which position he still retains besides his duties as deputy country clerk. Thousands of documents and books were cleaned, bound, and indexed, and today Kings County truly boasts the finest collection of borough history to be found in the United States.

On March 17, 1949, at the request of Mr. Sinnott, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey signed a bill authorizing a county seal for Kings County. This seal, depicting the 6 original townships of Brooklyn with the colors of Holland, is the only descriptive county seal of the 62 counties in New York State and was originated by Mr. Sinnott and Mr. Kelly.

During his term of office he also interested himself in the early township history of Brooklyn and caused to have printed 6 detailed historical books, 1 on each township, which were made available to many educational institutions in Brooklyn. Together with Mr. Kelly, he also proved beyond doubt that Sir Winston Churchill's mother, Jennie Jerome, was born in Brooklyn and was successful in bringing the Prime Minister to the ancestral home on Henry Street.

As county clerk he was also in charge of calling, qualifying, and empaneling jurors in the county. Here too he brought the system up to date and received the highest commendations from members of the bar and bench for the high type administration he introduced for the benefit of the service and for better relations with the public.

At the time of his death on September 16, 1956, he was deeply engrossed in the plans for his office in the new building which he watched each day rise across the street from his office. He left behind a complete detailed layout of where all equipment, furniture and material were to be placed in the new building. His great engineering mind functioned to the last for that which was always highest on his list—service to the public.

Frank, as he was known to his friends, was born to politics. His father, who came to East New York from Collinsville, Conn., as a young boy with his widowed mother, entered into the doings of the village at an early age. He won local fame as a baseball player and good sport in all that he partook. In his youth he met John Maguire and together they battled the entrenched Adams-Sutter dynasty in East New York Democratic circles. After many bitter defeats, Maguire succeeded in unseating Adams and became the Democratic leader. On April 29, 1901, Maguire, a young attorney of note and uncle of the now president of the board of elections, James M. Power, turned over the leadership to his trusted aid James P. Sinnott. The elder Sinnott stayed in the leadership until his death on September 10, 1928. During this time he welded one of the strongest political machines ever seen in New York City district politics. In 1917 he was successful in convincing Tammany leader Charles F. Murphy to recommend John F. Hylan for mayor. From then on the Sinnott political star was in its ascendency and continued that rise when young Francis J. Sinnott took over the leadership of the 22d Assembly District Democratic Organization in October of 1928. He also held the leadership until his death 28 years later and forged an even stronger organization than his father had left to him. His fame as an honest and civic-minded leader spread far and wide and on July 28, 1950, he was elected Kings County leader of the Democratic Party. He stepped down from this post on December 29, 1952. During his term of leadership he recommended the nomination of and elected to Congress three outstanding Members of the House of Representatives: David O'Connell, Stephen A. Rudd, and Eugene J. Keogh. The latter has served the district for the past 20 years. He was succeeded in his leadership by his assemblyman, Anthony J. Travia.

On December 9, 1922, he married Marguerite Babcock, of Richmond Hill, Queens. Of this marriage came four children, Edith, Gloria, Francis, and James. Edith is now Mrs. Paul Cullen, residing in East Williston, Long Island, with 6 children; Miss Gloria Sinnott was, until recently resigned, secretary to Federal Judge Leo Rayfiel, of Brooklyn; Francis Sinnott, a graduate of Kings Point Merchant Marine Academy is an official in the Alcoa Co., and is married to Florence Fagan. They live in Mineola with their 2 sons, Michael and Jeffrey. James Sinnott is studying for the priesthood at Maryknoll, N. Y.

Of his four brothers, Desmond, residing in Nashville, Tenn., is a retired naval captain and, Paul, who resides in New Rochelle, conducts his own insurance firm in Manhattan. Two other brothers, Carroll, formerly of the National Transportation System, and John, son-in-law of the late Mayor John F. Hylan, died a few years ago.

Mr. Sinnott was a member of the Kings County Democratic executive committee; Democratic State committee; Elmer E. Bennett, Jr., Post, No. 725, American Legion, Cypress Hills National Cemetery Pilgrimage Committee, American Legion; 302d Engineers Post, Agonist Benevolent Association; Cypress Hills Board of Trade, and took an intensively active part in the Red Cross and Boy Scout drives of the country.

I shall pass through this world but once;
Any good that I can do, any kindness that I can show to any human being:
Let me do it now, let me not defer it or neglect it,
For I shall not pass this way again.

That was Francis Joseph Sinnott.

Comments on the Report of the Select Committee on Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the distinguished Representative from Colorado [Mr. HILL], addressed the House on January 17 with reference to the work of the Select Committee on Small Business during the 84th Congress. The gentleman from Colorado spoke on behalf of the Republican members of the committee.

He said:

In the 84th Congress, we are convinced, the Select Committee on Small Business did not fulfill the purpose for which it was created. The objections which the minority has had to the committee's operation and procedures have been called to the attention of the House by the minority on several occasions. The minority is frank to say that if the committee's business is to be conducted in the same manner during the 85th Congress the committee has outlived its usefulness.

He suggested that if this select committee is to serve any useful public purpose the majority and minority members must work together in complete cooperation and in good faith. The gentleman from Colorado said:

The absence of free and frank intercourse, which was the case during the 84th Congress, has defeated the very purpose for which the House established the committee. Actually, as I stated on May 2, 1956, the methods of operation which were in vogue during the 84th Congress made the minority sometimes doubt whether or not we were actually members of the committee. The minority does not propose to submit to another 2 years of discourteous treatment or to political exigencies which only serve to create prejudice through the subordination of facts. The minority does not propose to sit idly by and view the spectacle of the committee or its staff depriving the minority of its rights as members of the committee and publishing numerous documents and other media which have not been properly presented or passed upon by all members of the committee, and especially by the minority members of the committee.

The report of the Select Committee on Small Business for the 84th Congress has now been published. Mr. William Ullman, the Washington correspondent of the publication Automotive News, in their issue of February 18, made certain observations with respect to this report.

His comments lend great weight to the statements made by the gentleman from Colorado.

Under unanimous consent, I request that Mr. Ullman's article may be included as an extension of my remarks so that all of my colleagues may be aware of the impression this report has created among responsible Washington observers.

We must stop playing politics and step up to a very serious national problem, namely, the assistance of small business without the destruction of big business:

There's a prophetic statement in the latest report of the House Small Business Committee. "The [Republican] minority is convinced," it says, "that if this final report is published in its present form, it will reflect little or no credit on the committee, its members, or the House of Representatives."

The report was published the other day, all 191 pages of it, and it looks as if the minority prediction was correct.

Counting the tables in the appendix, this free-wheeling attack on big business runs some 111,000 words, the equivalent of 2 good detective novels.

The minority portion of this heavy work covers only nine pages; the majority report, which seems to have been composed by the committee chairman, takes up the bulk of the book. The chairman of course, is Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Texas Democrat.

No one can deny that the report takes up a subject which is both serious and important. It is concerned with the needless destruction of small business through sheer abuse of big business power.

But PATMAN has attacked his subject in the same way that Carrie Nation attacked Demon Rum with her hatchet. He has run through the world of business and Government swinging his ax, hoping that enough wild swings will chop down a few sinners.

The Republicans who disagree with PATMAN's methods do not claim that some corporations never have abused their great power. They admit, in addition, that small-business men face tough problems today.

But they point out that few will agree with the report that small business is subject to a giant conspiracy conducted by the heads of the country's largest corporations and by highly placed officials of the Federal Government in this or any other administration.

LIGHTS OUT ON MAIN STREET?

PATMAN doesn't claim the existence of such a conspiracy in so many words. He just hints at it. He bobs and weaves like the old professional he is. When he's short on facts, he quotes letters from citizens. Here's part of a typical one:

"You know the situation is bad in your home town. Salesmen are all talking about the empty store buildings on Main Street. The street is dark. Unless one is content to work for a chain or corporation or the Government, there is no incentive to risk anyone's capital in the face of such discouraging odds as we now face."

PATMAN identifies the letter as coming from a small-business constituent of one of his colleagues. He fails to stat the man's business or the size of his town or the economic conditions in his area. He simply throws the letter into the record for what it is worth, hoping the casual reader will accept it as evidence that the lights on Main Street are going out all over America.

When he gets to the Small Business Administration, PATMAN really hits his stride. He complains that SBA is making smaller loans than ever. While the average loan in 1954 was $53,000, he reports, it had dropped to $39,000 by mid-1956. From this, PATMAN concludes that "Government credit assistance to small business (has) declined drastically."

BANK LOANS AND SBA

The figures could more logically be interpreted to mean that SBA is making more loans to really small firms, but PATMAN refuses to entertain this possibility.

To back up his charges that SBA isn't doing anything for the little guy, he switches back to quoting somebody else. An official of the Pittsburgh Small Manufacturers' Council, he said, complained as follows:

"If you can get a loan from the SBA, you can certainly get it from a bank. You can't get an SBA loan unless you sign away your property and your wife's property."

SBA, of course, is not in competition with private banks. It doesn't even accept a loan application until a businessmen's local banks have turned him down.

But there's another point here. SBA, like private banks, demands adequate collateral. By quoting the Pittsburgh executive, PATMAN leaves the impression that he believes collateral requirements to be unfair. But he doesn't say so, and you can bet that he never will. The day that a Government agency starts handing out unsecured loans totaling millions of dollars, taxpayers will really have reason to complain to their Congressmen.

UNFORTUNATE COMPARISON

Finally, PATMAN criticizes SBA for failing to lend as much money as its predecessor agency, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Anyone who recalls the scandals and investigations connected with some of the RFC loans will wonder at PATMAN's making such a comparison.

It is hard to decide whether PATMAN really wants to take constructive steps to help small business or whether he simply wants to make as many people angry as he can.

The majority report of his committee is of practically no value in helping the administration and private business groups to understand the genuine problems of smaller firms. It is so wordy, so full of half-truths and insinuations, so crammed with emotional broadsides, that it is nearly impossible to separate the facts from the bunk.

As the minority forecast, it reflects no credit on the committee or the House.

If needed small-business legislation is approved this session, it is going to have to be preceded by careful factfinding and a clear statement of small-business problems. The unemotional findings of the President's Cabinet Committee on Small Business are a good starting point for both parties.

Twelfth Anniversary of Rumanian Enslavement by Communist Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 12th anniversary of the date on which the Rumanian Nation was enslaved by the Communist forces of the Soviet Union.

This anniversary should bring to our minds the tragic plight of the nations which are still suffering under the chains of Communist bondage.

I would like to take this occasion to express my hope that full freedom and independence will soon be restored to those countries which, like Rumania, are still dominated by Soviet Communists.

A New Dairy Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday, before the House of Representatives, I outlined the need for a new program for the benefit of America's dairy farmers. Under unanimous consent, I include in today's RECORD a copy of an editorial appearing in the Hoard's Dairyman magazine entitled "What Are the Prospects for a Better Dairy Program?"

It is my hope that Members of Congress and dairy farmers will find time to consider the proposals which I made last Wednesday and also this editorial.

I invite the comments and frank appraisal of all interested individuals.

WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS FOR A BETTER DAIRY PROGRAM?

For the first time in print, the much-discussed proposed dairy stabilization program is outlined, beginning on page 169. Obviously, many questions will be raised in addition to those included in the article. Many will involve the prospects for the adoption of the program.

Four years ago the National Milk Producers' Federation advanced its self-help program. Experience in Congress indicated that some modifications were needed before it would be considered favorably. To serve that end, Hoard's Dairyman suggested a two-price proposal as an amended self-help bill.

During the past 3 years there has been a growing realization that both proposals needed additional work and refinement. About a year ago the National Grange moved to establish a policy committee on dairying. It was the function of this group to review the entire dairy economic picture, possible solutions, and make a recommendation for a peacetime dairy program that was not a warmed-over wartime program which had failed to meet the peacetime need of dairy farmers.

To serve on this committee, Herschel Newsom, master of the National Grange, invited a working group representing many interests and areas. Yet the group was small enough to make steady progress. In addition to four State grange masters, Newsom invited the president of the largest dairy-farmer organization in the New York milkshed, the president of the major dairy-farmer organization in the Chicago market, and a representative of the State milk-control markets of the Southeast.

In addition, Newsom invited officers of the National Milk Producers Federation and the editor of Hoard's Dairyman because of their interest in and sponsorship of dairy proposals in the past. These men served only in an ex officio capacity, however.

The committee's chairman was a manufacturing milk producer from Minnesota.

WHAT COMMITTEE SAW

When the committee met for the first time last summer, here is what it saw:

1. After 4 years under the present price-support program, supply and demand were not in balance. The Government was still buying about 5 billion pounds of milk a year, trying to support the price.

2. The Government loss the previous year was $449 million.

3. Dairy farmers' hourly income had been reduced about 50 percent in 5 years.

4. Under the present program price supports could drop another 30 cents per hun-

dred, to 75 percent of parity, beginning April 1.

5. Reliable Government and industry forecasts were that supply and demand would not be in balance, under the present support program, for another 9 years, or 1965.

This information, plus much more, was ample reason for the committee to buckle down in a series of long sessions to develop a sound peacetime program. Their conclusions to date are recorded on page 169.

It should be emphasized that these are the findings of these men as individuals. On the basis of their long experience in the dairy industry, they came to an agreement on the proposal. They could not and did not imply by their actions that their organizations would approve the proposal. Such endorsements can come now only from their memberships, either through annual meetings or by action of boards of directors.

CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS REQUESTED

When the committee first met, Mr. Newsom emphasized repeatedly that the findings of the committee were not to be considered a proprietary property of the National Grange. If that happened, the prospects for approval by Congress would be dim because of the ever-present existence of farm and dairy organizational competition that exists on the national scene. The program was to stand on its merits alone. All groups were to be in a position to contribute their thinking to the proposal and then support it as a dairy stabilization bill.

This first report on the program now goes to farm and dairy organizations for review and suggestions for improvement. Particular attention will be given to the personal opinions and reactions of dairy farmers.

Members of Congress will be consulted to obtain their counsel on the proposal.

Armed with this information, the committee will complete its work.

MAY DEPEND ON SECRETARY'S ACTION

Now what are the prospects for its passage and subsequent approval by dairymen?

In our opinion, it depends heavily on the action of the Secretary of Agriculture prior to April 1. If he decides that there is an adequate supply and drops supports to 75 percent of parity, or 30 cents per hundredweight, the proposal would almost certainly be approved quickly by Congress and dairy farmers.

If, however, the Secretary continues to support manufacturing milk prices at $3.25, the acceptance of the new program will depend directly on organized support, shown by dairy farmer groups.

Incidentally, if the Secretary drops price supports 30 cents, it will affect all farmers, not just those selling manufacturing milk. This is true because the base price on almost all fluid milk is the manufacturing price. To this is added a premium for grade A production.

In our reporting of the new program we made some assumptions for purposes of illustration. Since they may be questioned, we would like to comment on them.

It will be noted that we allowed for a possible decrease in sales as a result of an increase in the retail price. Using the commonly accepted demand-price ratios, we estimated an initial loss of 4 billion pounds. Incidentally, any such estimated loss would be taken only the first year when the retail price was raised. Many experienced dairy observers claim that no such loss will be incurred. If not, then the market-surplus ratio could be 97 to 3.

EVERYONE PARTICIPATES

In some quarters it has been suggested that small producers should be exempt from the market-surplus ratio. To do so would wreck the program, in our opinion. No matter how large or how small the producer, he benefits under the program.

Some may question the reference in the article to converting surplus to export sales. The State Department is on record favoring a properly drawn two-price proposal over the present price support program. And we think they should feel this way. Whether administrative or foreign policy in future years will give dairymen this opportunity only time will reveal.

What about the markets for new producers and those farmers who want to increase their herd size? Was the committee unrealistic in its recommendations?

You will note that, under the program, the new producer and the enlarging producer will still be better off than they are under the present program. Will this defeat the purpose of the program?

Only experience can provide an answer. Men on the committee felt, however, that farmers quitting dairying and the continuing consolidation of farms would offset the possible production increases from new or enlarging producers.

Certainly the dairy farmers elected to the Dairy Stabilization Board will watch this part of the program closely during the first few months of its operation.

HISTORY OF DISSENSION

A key question on the future of the proposal hinges on the attitude of the Secretary of Agriculture and the White House.

It is known that the Secretary is personally favorably inclined toward this type of program. He was seriously disillusioned 4 years ago, however, and he has not forgotten the experience. At that time, he appointed a Dairy Task Committee to do exactly what the Dairy Policy Committee has done. But 4 years ago the Secretary's committee failed to agree on anything in the way of a new dairy program.

If farmers and processors do not squabble among themselves or with each other on this proposal, we are confident that administration endorsement may be received. In other words, if farm, dairy, and processor groups take a constructive rather than a negative attitude, the Dairy Policy Committee can reconcile many differences before the proposal reaches bill form. Then strong, near-unanimous support may be shown Congress.

The Foxes and the Chickens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, as the intent of Congress is to guard "consumer interest," I am sure all of our colleagues will be interested in the following editorial which appeared in the New Republic of March 4, 1957:

THE FOXES AND THE CHICKENS

We have ached for months to devote a whole column to the Federal regulatory commissions. These are the seemingly dull, faceless agencies that protect the consumer. They are the anonymous fourth branch of Government which regulates your life and mine in ways past imagining—the kind of radio program you get, the kind of protection you get on the stock market, the degree of monopoly permitted to the men who sell you goods.

As Voltaire did not say, "I care not who makes the law so long as I pick the regulatory commission that enforces it." The type of man selected is likely to have more to do with the result than any legislation Congress passes.

There is a sullen feeling now in the business community that Eisenhower is too radical, that he has gone over to the New Deal. It shows how naive American business really is. These commissions in Washington have been carefully, steadily, and methodically stacked against the consumer interest and for the business interest since Eisenhower took office. The result sets the tone of Washington as much as any other one thing. We doubt if Eisenhower knows how far the process has gone. His subordinates pick the men, he names them, the conservative coalition in Congress confirms them, and that is that.

There are 8 main regulatory commissions with 50 members and a dozen minor cases. Regarding the Big Eight the Congressional Quarterly made an interesting discovery a year ago. The tradition of reappointing commissioners whose terms expire, it announced, had been broken. Not one single commissioner first named by a prior administration had Eisenhower reappointed. At that time he had filled 27 of the 50 posts. In the Big Eight we can find only one reappointment—Chairman William Martin of the Federal Reserve Board, leading exponent of the tight-money policy.

At his press conference January 30, Eisenhower said he knew nothing about the forthcoming vacancy on the three-man TVA. Commissioner Curtis' term expires May 18. "You have given me my first intimation of it," the innocent President said. Yet on a desk in the White House is a dossier an inch thick of possible replacements to this crucial post. Eisenhower named Gen. Herbert Vogel to replace Gordon Clapp in 1954 after consumers' champion Clapp opposed the Dixon-Yates grab. But Vogel has been constantly out-voted by colleagues Curtis and Paty. Now he will boss the show after May 18 if and when Curtis leaves. The whole direction of future TVA policy hinges on it.

Almost certainly the President does not bother about these things. That was Harry Cain's experience when he tried to take his fight from the Subversive Activities Control Board to the White House. He never got past Sherman Adams until he made a national outcry and then, of course, was dropped.

Take another pending vacancy. Thomas Murray's term on the Atomic Energy Commission expires June 30. He is the sole Truman dissenter left. The AEC has been dragged into politics, involved in the Dixon-Yates case, and made the exponent of private industry control of atomic energy by Admiral Strauss, the Chairman. You will see Murray's head roll soon.

EISENHOWER'S GENIUS

It would take too long to list all the cases—but the fact is, Eisenhower has shown a genius for naming men to regulatory commissions whose antecedents indicated their hostility to the goals professed. The steady process of purging liberals and the consumer-minded has never stopped. Some appointments are shocking.

Albert Cole as a Kansas Congressman was an arch foe of public housing; he was made administrator of the housing agency.

Ex-Congressman Joseph Talbot was a Taft Republican who voted again the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act; he was put on the Tariff Commission.

For 20 years Edward Howrey was a leading lobbyist before the Federal Trade Commission for clients accused of antitrust violations. He was made chairman of the FTC. (He has since resigned; his work, as he said, "completed.")

And so on. Chairman Jerome Kuykendall of the Federal Power Commission was originally a lawyer for gas utilities in rate cases; ex-Chairman Guy Farmer, of the Labor Re-

lations Board, previously was an adviser of management; Chairman George McConnaughey, of the FCC (whose authority includes long-distance telephone rates), was a Bell System lawyer.

Your eye will not pick out a single distinguished advocate of the consumers' interest on the list of Eisenhower commission appointees. Roosevelt at one time or another had William O. Douglas, Ferdinand Pecora, Joseph Kennedy, Jerome Frank, James Landis, Sumner Pike, and Leon Henderson on the crucial Securities and Exchange Commission. Who is there now? Senator Lehman protested in 1955 that Eisenhower had replaced all five sitting members of the SEC with men representing the industry they were supposed to regulate.

BIPARTISAN BOARDS

Some of these commissions are required by law to be bipartisan. Eisenhower has taken to picking Eisenhower Democrats to meet this condition. The Republican National Committee admittedly cleared Harold Patterson, picked to fill a Democratic vacancy on the SEC. Again, Miami corporation lawyer Louis Hector, a registered Democrat who voted for Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956, last month went on the Civil Aeronautics Board. (He replaced Joseph Adams, an outstanding liberal, who made a spectacular fight for consumers.)

These individual appointments are too inconspicuous for the public to sense their meaning. Now and then one creates something of a stir—like the failure to reappoint Gordon Clapp, ex-Senator James Mead (FTC), Frieda Hennock (FCC) or the like—but only rarely. Yet nothing like this mass exodus and subsequent upheaval has occurred in a generation. Now Representative OREN HARRIS, Democrat of Arkansas, chairman of the House Commerce Committee, plans an investigation. We can tell him right now that it is here—here—that the foxes are being let in to guard the chickens.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

1957

ak Hak
ary.

s. Olga
e Judi-

titions
's desk

of the
strong
d H. R.
to the

tion of
Asso-
signed
., urg-
nclude
nt Re-
e, and
Arkan-

of the
oklyn,
r reso-
that a
goods
am be
States
oreign

meri-
oning
refer-
ained
H. R.
rompt
n the

Appendix

Enemies Within the House of Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to place in the RECORD remarks made by James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer, AFL–CIO industrial union department and president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, AFL–CIO.

Mr. Carey made the statements at the 20th convention of the Pennsylvania State CIO in the Sheraton Hotel, Philadelphia, on February 27, 1957.

The title of Mr. Carey's address is "Enemies Within the House of Labor." Mr. Carey was one of the militant leaders in the CIO in the driving out of the union Communists who sought to control the labor movement. In addition to his battle on Communist infiltration, he was ever alert in exposing undesirable characters who were trying to muscle in and gain control for personal gains.

I feel at this time that, with the many investigations being suggested and going on, the public should be aware that the great majority of the unions in the United States were engaged in keeping the house of labor clean.

Mr. Carey's remarks follow:

ENEMIES WITHIN THE HOUSE OF LABOR

This, the 20th and last regular convention of the Pennsylvania State CIO, is both a solemn and portentous occasion.

Presumably before the end of the year this mighty organization—one of the greatest State labor bodies in the history of the Nation—will have merged with its counterpart of the American Federation of Labor to create a new united Pennsylvania labor movement of unprecedented numbers, prestige, and power. Representing as it does nearly three-quarters of a million men and women, the Pennsylvania State CIO will bring to this united labor movement one of the most brilliant records in all trade unionism for militancy, solid economic achievement, legislative pioneering, and social and political progress.

I am profoundly proud of having had the opportunity of addressing both the first convention of the Pennsylvania State CIO and its last convention. And if, in this final convention, we are inclined a bit toward sentimentality that indulgence is not only justified but appropriate. We would be less than human, we would be unfeeling toward our own hectic history if we did not, during these 2 climactic days, glance backward over the long, long path we have walked and run during the past 2 decades. It would be surprising if we didn't look back even with a touch of nostalgia to the excitements and turbulences of our early years.

Those years have started to take on something of a rosy, romantic glow, haven't they? It's an astonishing thing but today, looking back over the receding years, it somehow doesn't seem so terrible that we had our heads clobbered by Pearl Berghoff goon squads or took beatings efficiently administered by Pinkerton thugs. The pain somehow seems to have disappeared from our recollections of broken arms and legs handed out by Baldwin-Felts professional strikebreakers. Today we look back on bloody noses given us by Railway Audit detectives or by Chowderhead Cohen almost as the equivalent of a merit badge or a distinguished service medal.

One reason, I believe, for the slightly romantic glow with which we are beginning to surround those early years is the fact that we won and our enemies were defeated. True, we lost battles—that is to say, we lost strikes and lost organizing campaigns—but we won the war. We are here today, but the once-powerful union-busting outfits and labor spy rackets have fallen into unmourned oblivion.

This 20th convention of the Pennsylvania State CIO demonstrates that labor in this State continues to grow larger and stronger.

Yes, the world has changed in the 20 years since the Pennsylvania CIO was born, but it's not enough to say merely that. The world has changed because we change the world. The upsurge of the American labor movement in the depths of the great depression became one of the greatest moral and ethical crusades in history, a crusade that responsible historians have termed "a second American revolution."

We of the CIO more than any other group changed the moral and ethical climate of our country. For the first time in American history we made employers moral and made the Government moral.

We made employers moral by compelling them to abandon their ancient dog-eat-dog economic philosophy and forcing them to accept the fact that labor is not a commodity but a grouping of individual human beings with the same rights, privileges and capacities as employers. We made employers moral by compelling them to understand that their responsibilities did not begin and end with profits, but that they had inescapable social and economic obligations to the workers who created their wealth, their leisure, and their luxuries.

We made the Government moral by helping elect an administration responsive to the needs of the people and by erasing forever the concept of government as an instrument in the service of big business and industry. We made the Government moral by insisting successfully, for the first time in history, that government has a responsibility to alleviate the mass unemployment, hunger, and homelessness created by the free enterprise system. We made government moral by establishing its obligation to bring humanity and decency to the cut-throat economic jungle cultivated by big business and industry. We made government moral by demonstrating that it had both the right and duty to intervene in the prescription of minimum wages, maximum hours, healthful working conditions, the prohibition of child labor, the right to bargain collectively, old-age security, and a host of other benefits and protections.

Pennsylvania was the birthplace of the CIO; therefore, it must be counted as the birthplace of the moral and ethical crusade that became the "second American revolution." Your organization, therefore, has special reason for pride. When the CIO held its first constitutional convention in Pittsburgh in November 1938, your Pennsylvania Industrial Union Council was its host. In addition, Pennsylvania achieved the first successful unionization of such industries as mining, electrical, radio and machine manufacturing, and steel.

If we are investing those early years of the CIO with something of a romantic aura we may also be starting to forget the enormity of the strides we made in those early days.

For example, just 3 days from today, next Saturday, is the 20th anniversary of the signing of the first contract between the United Steelworkers of America and the United States Steel Corp.

That first contract was a revolution in steel. Among other things, it jumped the pay rate for common laborers to 62½ cents an hour. The significance of this can be judged by the fact that during the previous 37 years, from 1900 to 1937, the rate for common laborers had increased only 15 cents, up to 47 cents an hour in 1937.

No wonder, therefore, that one of my sharpest recollections of that first Pennsylvania CIO convention 20 years ago is that we were people in a terrible hurry back in 1938. We were in a hurry to change the face of the American labor movement and in a hurry to change the world we were living in.

God knows the world we were living in did need changing, and changing in a hurry. One of the resolutions passed by that historic first convention pointed out that there were at that time 13 million American workers unemployed. The American economy in 1938 was only slowly dragging itself out of the most devastating and degrading depression in history; mass unemployment, homelessness, and hunger still stalked the richest land on earth.

It's a fascinating fact that today, 20 years later, most of the moral and ethical issues that occupied your first convention are still moral and ethical issues for American workers in 1957. To mention just a few of them:

Improved unemployment compensation, expanded social security, better minimum-wage legislation, a national housing program, an equitable Federal labor law, and effective civil-rights statutes.

There was, I recall, still another issue that provoked an angry resolution and even angrier discussion at your first convention 20 years ago, and that issue, interestingly enough, is just as worrisome for the Pennsylvania CIO today as it was back then—the issue of runaway shops and runaway plants.

I said these were moral and ethical issues, and indeed they are. They involve economic and social morality and such ethical concepts as justice, decent living standards, and human dignity. They are moral and ethical issues, moreover, because they affect not simply trade-union members but all the Nation's wage earners, the economic health of their communities, and the economic health of the Nation as a whole.

I want to suggest to you today that your forthcoming creation of a great, new, unified labor movement in Pennsylvania should be the occasion for a fresh evaluation of the moral and ethical responsibilities both of trade unionism and of business and industry.

Such a reappraisal is vital for two reasons:

First, the essential purposes of establishing a new, unified trade-union movement are moral and ethical insofar as we seek to create a more effective instrument in the service of human welfare and social good. Second, a reappraisal of business ethics and morality may disclose whether unionism and business share, to any degree, common ethical and moral objectives.

Turning first, therefore, to trade unionism, let me put the problem to you—as I see it—as frankly and as bluntly as I possibly can.

The American labor movement today is faced with a moral and ethical problem as crucially important as the problem that produced the CIO and the "second American revolution" in the mid-1930's.

Very possibly it is an even bigger problem, because this one has arisen not outside the labor movement but from within. This is a problem—a crisis, if you wish—that has emerged not from any external situation, not from defects in our economy, not from union-hating employers, not from antilabor legislation.

On the contrary, this problem, this crisis, has been generated almost entirely from within the labor movement. We cannot, justifiably, blame others. Whatever eventuates—for good or for evil—the labor movement must accept the responsibility.

The cancer of labor racketeering, of corrupt unionism, menaces not only the good name, the prestige and reputation of the labor movement today; it also threatens the very future of our development as a free labor movement.

By itself labor racketeering is immoral and unethical. But it may also have three other direct effects.

First, labor racketeering—no matter how limited—smears all labor with the foul taint of corruption.

Second, labor racketeering places incomparable propaganda weapons in the hands of union-hating employers to render organizing work either impossible or enormously more difficult.

Third, labor racketeering provides the excuse and justification for savagely repressive antilabor laws in Congress and State legislatures.

But here let us make one thing extremely clear. We do not and cannot confine our definition of union corruption to statutory crimes, to indictable offenses. Corruption is not demarcated by such felonies as bribery, extortion, theft of union funds, shakedowns of employers, financial alliances with the underworld of gambling and vice, or kickbacks from the investment of welfare and pension funds.

There is such a thing as venal corruption. There can be crimes in the labor movement that are not illegal but morally reprehensible.

Venal corruption, I think, can arise when union officials are men who view their organizations not as a sacred trust, not as a brotherhood, not as the preliminary realization of an ideal, but rather as a business enterprise, a cold-blooded commercial undertaking.

Venal corruption can arise when enormous gaps develop between the living standards of union members and the living standards of union labor leaders, when union officers start to own large business enterprises, apartment houses, stables of race horses.

Venal corruption can arise when union officials come—consciously or unconsciously—to think of the labor movement as a means to personal enrichment, huge bank accounts, swimming pools in their front yards, and artificial waterfalls in their living rooms.

Those who, either legally or illegally, use unionism solely as a means to personal enrichment deserve to be hounded out of the American labor movement as fast, as furiously, and as finally as we can find the means to do it.

Such men are not unionists, but antiunionists. They are not labor, but antilabor. They are more dangerous to the democratic labor movement than the worst of union-hating management. They are more poisonous than professional spies and strikebreakers. They are more destructive than the union-busting goon squads of two decades ago. They are more contaminating than any kind of decay that can afflict a labor union.

Because they betray us and our ideals from within the labor movement, they are doubly abominable and doubly dangerous. Because they exploit the sanctuary of union brotherhood to despoil the very name and idea of brotherhood, they bring a loathsome contagion into our midst.

We can fight reactionary employers, we can hold our own in combat with union-hating managements because we know pretty thoroughly where they stand. They don't pretend to be the opposite of what they are. They don't (at least not often these days) attempt to betray our organizations from within. Our fighting with management in recent years has become increasingly aboveboard. We know who our enemies are in the arena of economic conflict.

But we're not so sure today that we know who our enemies are within the labor movement. We know, however, that they are there, using the labor movement as a shield for their despicable practices. We know that trade unionism has been and is still being perverted into a protective cover for criminal activities.

The undeniable fact is that the house of labor has termites and, therefore, needs a fumigation.

There's no sense in trying to reassure ourselves with the fact that the number of termites is limited. And we risk self-deception by repeating to ourselves that only a very small percentage of unions and workers are involved in racketeering.

But the fact of the matter is that we do not know today how far the termites have eaten into the foundations, nor actually how extensive the infestation is.

Of one thing we are certain, however. One single national union that is corrupt is one too many. One single local union that is run by racketeers is one too many.

Corruption anywhere in trade unionism is morally indefensible. In only one other institution in contemporary society—our religious bodies—is there a greater obligation to moral purity than in the labor movement.

Business and industry are institutions erected frankly to the purpose of profit. They make little or no pretense of being either altruistic or humanitarian. Hence there is a minimum of hypocrisy when business and industry operate unethically or for immoral ends. The public has been conditioned to accept business immorality—and even business criminality—as an inevitable part of the dog-eat-dog world which business and the free enterprise system have created for themselves.

But there's no such immunity for organized labor, because labor professes to be an altruistic and humanitarian movement. More than that, we aspire to the highest moral and ethical ideals, and proclaim that our only motivations are brotherhood, ecoonmic justice, human dignity, and the national welfare.

Within such a spiritual framework as this, consequently, there can be no room for moral laxity or lapses from high principle.

More than any other organizations in our society, trade unions ought to be able to live inside out. They should be able to disclose themselves fully to public view, to scrutiny by friend and foe alike. More and more unions find it possible to do so. It is to be regretted that in other instances the complete disclosure of union finances and resources might very well become an open invitation to employers to risk a strike or undertake a decertification campaign.

Yes; it is true that only a very limited area of trade unionism—as far as we know—is affected by corruption, and only a small percentage of unions and workers are victimized by racketeering.

But that fact doesn't mean a thing to big business and industry. The truth is that every union represented in this convention is finding that new organizing has been made immeasurably tougher by the continuing disclosures of corruption and racketeering in the labor movement.

Organizing has become tougher because: (1) Unorganized workers have read the newspaper stories and concluded that because one union or two unions are corrupt all unions must be; or (2) employers are actively exploiting the corruption disclosures as antiunion propaganda.

Either way I'm afraid that for thousands upon thousands of unorganized workers the tremendous accomplishments of organized labor over many decades can be obliterated by a few screaming headlines dealing with isolated cases of labor racketeering.

We cannot know, for example, but we can easily guess what psychological balance was achieved by two different occurrences here in Philadelphia last week.

One was the dedication of a wonderful new $1,500,000 union health and medical center, the realization of a longtime dream of 28 Philadelphia unions. Here was a manifestation of union brotherhood, humanitarianism, and social conscience at its best.

The headlines were fair; however, it was a one-shot news story for the local press.

But in the same Philadelphia newspapers on that same day—and every day since, as far as I can ascertain—there has been another kind of headline and another kind of news story dealing with labor.

This running news story has recounted the sordid and sickening history of a flagrantly racket-controlled local union here in Philadelphia, a union run by criminals and ex-convicts for the sole purpose of defrauding workers out of tens of thousands of dollars while at the same time extorting additional thousands from their employers.

Here is one of the foulest stenches ever to afflict the city of Philadelphia where the American labor movement was born and where so much union history has been made.

Discussing as we are the question of union morality you will, I am sure, find particularly interesting the moral safeguards established by the constitution of this local union.

If it were not so tragic and vicious it could be comic. The ex-convicts, the goons who run this racket union, who offer kickbacks from members' dues to employers, who try to sign sweetheart and sellout contracts, who employ coercion and terror on employees and employers alike, these men who represent virtually everything that is hateful to honest unionism, these creeps had the brazen effrontery to write a local union constitution which declares in article I—and get this—"an applicant for membership must be of good moral character. * * *"

Which do you think has made the deeper and more permanent impression on the average, nonunion citizen of Philadelphia—the dedication of the wonderful new union health center or the disclosures of a rotten racket outfit masquerading as a labor union? Which will be remembered? Which will do most to shape and color public attitudes toward labor? I'm afraid we know only too well.

In the face of screaming outrages like this one are we to console ourselves with the recollection that, still and all, only a tiny

portion of labor is involved? In the face of similar abominations dredged up by congressional investigating committees, are we to take refuge in percentages and in pious hope that such conditions will remedy themselves?

No; of course we can't. The labor movement has already waited far too long to cut out these festering sores. We are paying a heavy penalty already for allowing them to continue, and we are likely to pay even heavier penalties in the future.

Probably every union represented in this convention, as I remarked earlier, has had organizing made tougher by these revelations of union corruption. Antiunion employers from coast to coast and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico have jumped gleefully on these disclosures and now are using them as clubs with which to clobber union organizing campaigns.

Our IUE organizing campaigns, for example, have recently had to confront that type of propaganda weapon in the hands of huge corporations and small companies alike. The stories of union corruption are being hurled at us by officials of the billion-dollar General Electric and Westinghouse companies, among others.

To cite only one instance, the IUE is currently conducting an all-out campaign to organize a new General Electric plant in Hendersonville, N. C. GE, it is clear, would like to brainwash its employees into believing that union dues are entirely devoted to providing union leaders with luxuries and the means for riotous living. The GE employee newspaper in Hendersonville reported in a recent issue, for example, that a congressional committee discovered that one union leader had "used union funds to pay his personal bills; another official allegedly used money from the membership to finance his stable of race horses and pay for the upkeep of horse vans, and additional union money was used to buy and repair this same official's personal automobile."

And so it goes. GE hopes, of course, that some of the mud it flings will stick to the IUE, and that some workers will associate the charges of misused union funds with our international union.

Make no mistake, we're going to have more of this kind of vicious propaganda thrown at us. Management likes it; management believes it works. I'm afraid that maybe it does; so are other union officials I've talked to.

There, then, is part of the picture of how employers can use—and do use—a few instances of union corruption to smear the entire labor movement.

But that doesn't end it. Those few instances have also put potent antiunion weapons into the hands of reactionaries in Congress and in State legislatures. Yesterday as the Special Senate Committee on Racketeering in Labor and Management opened hearings in Washington we learned for the first time that the investigation is now scheduled to continue for a full year. Its chairman has been quoted as saying, even before the hearings opened, that legislation is necessary because "working people must be protected from a form of extortion, theft, and embezzlement."

In nearly a score of State legislatures new and more repressive antilabor laws are being prepared, more often than not at the instigation of industrial employers. And the excuse for these new laws will be, more than ever before, the disclosures of union corruption and racketeering.

The influential New York Times, for example, in an editorial on abuses in the administration of union welfare funds first demanded that Congress pass legislation to outlaw these abuses, then added, "and State Legislatures throughout the country should enact their own laws."

We can well imagine what kind of laws will be proposed in States that already have right-to-scab laws in operation, States that encourage local municipalities to enact statutes requiring union organizers to buy a license and pay daily fees for the right to organize.

Those are the penalties under which we're suffering today because we allowed a handful of racketeers and businessmen masquerading as unionists to continue their criminal careers inside the labor movement.

Let me emphasize right here that I have no intention nor desire to paint a picture that is entirely dark. On the contrary, there are dramatically bright aspects, features in which the labor movement can take pride.

We can, for example, ask ourselves: What other movement has set out voluntarily to eradicate the evil elements inside itself, even at the risk of weakening its organizational strength?

What other institution or major organization in American society has undertaken to police itself, to cleanse its own ranks of wrong-doing and wrong-doers?

Have you ever heard that the United States Chamber of Commerce or the National Association of Manufacturers expelled, suspended, or even denounced a member company found guilty of corruption or other crimes?

The extent to which trade unionism is determined to drive the termites from the house of labor was shown earlier this month when the AFL–CIO executive council, with only one dissenting vote, approved a set of codes of ethical practices. In this unprecedented action, the AFL–CIO in effect declared war on corruption and racketeering. At long last the entire American labor movement was provided the means with which to free itself from corruption and the perversion of union ideals.

I am personally proud that a week before this announcement, the IUE adopted its own code of ethical practices designed, as we declared, "to prohibit any conduct that would countenance racketeering, racism, corruption or undemocratic practices of any kind."

Our code of ethical practices sets new precedents as a comprehensive document, covering such areas of union operations as organizational work, administration of health-welfare-pension programs, the conduct of local union affairs including membership rights and elections, the management of local union funds, and enforcement.

Among other requirements, the IUE code calls for strict financial accounting and control of union funds. In general, it is intended "not only to promote the principles and practices of trade-union democracy but also to encourage the expansion and diversification of democracy within our union."

The IUE, therefore, is determined to erect every possible barricade against the invasion of unethical practices or corruption. I feel sure that the adoption of similar codes of ethical practices by other unions is inevitable.

Let me point out that both the AFL–CIO codes of ethical practices and the IUE code of ethical practices deal not only with illegal activities, but also with activities that are simply unethical. Both codes, therefore, seek not merely to penalize criminal actions but also to establish higher principles and standards of conduct for unions and union officials.

We have got to make these codes of ethical practices work. They must be made to function swiftly and vigorously against corruption and racketeering wherever they are proved to exist.

The codes can and should also be employed to eliminate the businessmen disguised as union leaders or, at the very least, convert them into unionists. The codes can and should have the effect of making union leadership more sensitive and more responsive to rank-and-file needs. They should help narrow whatever unreasonable gaps have grown up between the membership and leadership of unions.

The labor movement has delayed overlong the decisive action necessary to its renewal as a great moral and ethical crusade. The labor movement can make up for that lost time and for the indulgence of corruption in its ranks by hitting hard and fatally now at labor racketeering wherever it can be found.

We can redeem our mistakes and insure a healthy and accelerated growth for American trade unionism by not waiting for grand juries, State legislatures, or congressional committees to do our work for us.

We can justify the vast trust placed in us by millions of American workers and prove worthy of the heritage of sacrifice and dedication bequeathed to us by the men and women of labor who have preceded us only if we guide this greatest of all free labor movements to new high levels of morality and integrity.

In that lies both the hope and the need of the labor movement's future; the need of our Nation's future also.

Railroads—Their Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a very interesting and informative address made on February 27, 1957, by the Honorable Anthony Arpaia, a member of the Inerstate Commerce Commission, at the third Michigan railroad management seminar, sponsored by the Transportation Institute of the University of Michigan and the Michigan Railroads Association, with the cooperation of the Association of American Railroads, which address was made at Ann Arbor, Mich, entitled, "Railroads—Their Future."

The remarks made by Commissioner Arpaia are particularly interesting, i n view of his specialized knowledge and experience in the field of transportation, and particularly in connection with the future of the railroads of our country. His views are not only of interest to those who are in the transportation business, and particularly in the railraod part thereof, but to all persons—because transportation by rail or truck or otherwise is a matter of great importance to all of our people:

RAILROADS: THEIR FUTURE

The subject of this seminar is the future of American railroads. The recent rash of articles in our newspapers and leading periodicals which have taken a rather dim view of their prospects makes the selection of this topic timely. If the future of the major agency of transportation in this country is in doubt, then, by all means, it should be seriously discussed. At the outset, I can tell you that I share neither the prevalent pessimism nor the unscientific and loose reasoning behind it. For that reason, I am glad to have the opportunity to express my views.

Before getting into a discussion of the future, I should like first to discuss a few of

the misconceptions which seem to surround the entire subject of transportation. An understanding of the facts may stop the underrating of our railroads' potentialities and the over-estimation of their obstacles. Each of the points I shall make could be discussed at length, but since I am before an audience of experts, I shall touch upon them only briefly. I approach the matter out of a desire to be constructive—to help remove the underbrush of misunderstanding which seems to foster current misapprehensions. In my opinion, they are due to dark imaginings which grow out of the simple lack of full information. The misconceptions which I shall discuss, as others for which I do not have time, are always expressed in terms of sweeping extremes. For example:

Misconception No. 1 is that automobiles and trucks are the enemies of railroads.

To conclude that motor vehicles have hurt railroads would be to view vast social and economic changes superficially and without analysis. The fact is that the boundless industrial growth of this country has been in large measure due to the automobile. Without the automobile which gave the American people new freedom to locate, new desires, new demands, new employment, our total economy would not have developed to the extent it has.

With increased production and movement, has come a higher standard of living. And with a higher standard of living, there developed an increased demand for more goods, including such basic commodities as cement, steel, rubber, aluminum, copper, building materials, and every other product which goes not only into trucks and automobiles but into highways, bridges, powerplants, factories, schools, churches, libraries, homes, as well as all the things and services that people need and use in a society with an advanced economy.

Since our economic system is inseparable, the benefits which flow from progress touch every segment of it. Trucks and automobiles are not merely competitors of railroads; they have created a new economy in which railroads now operate. Today rails carry more freight than all forms of transportation did in 1939 and about twice as much as they themselves did in 1939. The present volume of freight which rails enjoy is directly attributable to the expansion of our economy in which motor vehicles have played a major part, directly and indirectly.

Misconception No. 2 is that all of the motor freight and passenger business is competitive with rails.

As I have just pointed out, without the existence of motor vehicles, much of this new traffic would not have been generated in the first place. Secondly, a sizable proportion of this traffic is not accessible or appropriate to rail service. What has happened is that the type of traffic which was originally handled by horse team and carriage has been greatly extended in area and location and increased in volume.

The use of statistics can be distracting. For that reason, I am trying to avoid them in this talk in which I am trying to establish perspective. However, it is noteworthy that, according to estimates by the Bureau of Public Roads, in 1955, 94.58 percent of the trips made by trucks were for distances of less than 100 miles. Now this does not mean that the volume of traffic handled by 94.58 percent of the trips is anywhere near that percentage. It does, however, indicate a use factor which is significant and reduces the commonly understood area of actual competition. It is because of increased dispersal of population and industry and the relatively short distances involved that the truck is performing this type of intercity traffic. Much of the transportation performed by motor carriers for longer distances is to newly developed areas where rail service does not exist at all. If the rails are not participating in greater measure in the long-haul traffic carried by motor trucks, it is partly their own choice as I shall point out later.

Misconception No. 3 is that if railroads could reduce their rates at will, they would get a substantial amount of this newly created competitive traffic.

The greatest proportion of the traffic not hauled by the rails is going to exempt and private carriage. The explanation and cure for this is too long a subject to discuss now. But looking only at the traffic handled by regulated motor carriers, the significant thing is that present rail rates are generally lower than motor rates. But let a recent magazine writer put it in his own words: "So today the railroads are producing more than 2½ times as many ton-miles as the truckers, but are getting $7 billion less for doing so." And this does not mean that truckers get all of the high-grade traffic. The manufactures and miscellaneous commodity classification still makes the largest contribution to rail revenue.

What this does indicate is that price is not the only attraction to shippers. Therefore, when shippers choose to use the service of trucks, they are influenced by other factors. Among them are: (a) Specialized or better service, and (b) less total overall costs to certain classes of shippers in spite of higher rates. Some of the obvious advantages for such shippers by motor include the ability to maintain lower inventories, which permit less capital investment and warehousing; fewer plant interruptions or slowdowns due to the failure to meet delivery schedules; less handling and fewer loss and damage claims.

Shippers are hard-headed businessmen, who measure not only the immediate cost of transportation but their overall costs. And, under present conditions, if they can't get the service they need from public carriers, rail, motor or water, the larger shippers are able to provide it for themselves. To sum up, reducing rates without improving service does not begin to solve any problem now facing transportation.

Misconception No. 4 is that the law and the Commission hold an umbrella over rates of modes of transportation which compete with the railroads to the detriment of the public.

This misconception requires some preliminary discussion. One of the major legislative recommendations of the Cabinet Committee Report on Transportation is that the present provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act be amended so that carriers could further reduce selected rates without restraint as long as they cover out-of-pocket costs. There has been much talk that the Commission did not favor this phase of the Cabinet Committee proposal because it would clip it of some of its powers. The position of the Commission with reference to this change is based on entirely different reasons than those motivating motor carriers, water carriers or railroads.

Carriers are primarily concerned with advocating what they think will benefit them. There is nothing reprehensible in that. It is natural that they should. The Commission's position, however, is governed by its concept of the overall public interest. To make this proposal for greater freedom in competitive ratemaking eupeptic, the generality is advanced that it would "benefit the public;" or, as Fortune magazine improvidently put it, that the present system "forces the Nation to pay billions more than it needs to for transportation." Let us test the validity of such notions.

We have been living in an inflationary period. No individual, no industry, is immune from inflation. The increased costs of labor, material and supplies affect us all, including carriers. However, labor costs constitute at least as large a proportionate item with trucks as with rails. If it were true that the present law is permitting expensive truck transportation to supplant rail transportation by holding an umbrella over truck rates, why do rails enhance the trucks' competitive advantage by raising the general level of existing rail rates? If, in fact, the level of rates were the only facet to this problem, the best ally the trucks have when costs go up are the rails. The rails ask for the increases first, the trucks are then secure in asking for theirs.

If such were, in fact, the real answer, the economics of inflation would succeed in doing for the railroads what they claim they are now prevented from doing—obtain even greater price advantage over high cost motor carriers. Furthermore, if the railroads were so anxious to "benefit the public" through reduced rates, and the subject were that simple, why do they oppose other railroads' efforts to reduce specific rates? The answer is, it just isn't that simple.

The question arises, whose rates would be reduced by this proposed ratemaking freedom? Disregarding whether they would be those of powerful shippers or little shippers, we must remember that the Interstate Commerce Act was originally passed to prevent special treatment for the select few. At any rate, since the rate reductions could not apply to all shippers, some shippers, some industries would have to bear the burden of keeping overall rail revenue at an adequate level.

Of even greater importance is the fact that drastic rate reductions to meet competition would necessarily produce rate disparities between competing shippers who have, and those who don't have, the service of other carriers. From the very beginning of public transportation, shippers' chief concern has been with rate relationships which would assure them access to competitive markets. This has been far more important to them and the national economy than the level of rates. Every shipper and traffic man knows that. And every time railroads protest another railroad's proposed reduction, even though compensatory, their principal argument is that, in order to maintain market relationships, the reduction will inevitably spread thereby unnecessarily dissipating needed rail revenue. It should be obvious that the proposed amendment would recreate conditions which existed in 1887 when the original act to regulate commerce was passed, besides setting in motion a deterioration of transportation services.

Any fairminded, disinterested person, and there are many rail people who acknowledge it, knows that the solution offered by the Cabinet Committee legislation is impractical and fraught with danger. Its effect on carriers and the public would be disastrous. The Commission is trying to meet responsibility to the public, to prevent it from getting slugged in this potential toe-to-toe donnybrook, which the writers of recent magazine articles and others would recklessly incite. Such an experiment would not only not benefit the public but in the long run would seriously undermine railroads and public transportation in general.

Misconception No. 5 is that rails are now shackled by administrative limitations on their ability to compete.

This one is variously stated: That "outmoded, archaic regulations established when rails were a monopoly," prevent dynamic competition; that the Commission by its administration of the law divides traffic among various forms of transportation on some fair-share theory; or again, that the dead hand of regulation stifles managerial discretion, and so on.

Now that is a rather severe indictment of the present system of transportation regulation. But what are the facts? I have said many times before that there is plenty of freedom to compete; that the ICC does not initiate rates; the carriers make their own rates; that all the ICC does is to prevent rate

ward, breakneck competition and disturbance of rate relationships. Now let's see how often and to what degree the ICC interferes with the managerial discretion of railroads in making rate changes.

Railroads alone file with the ICC an average of over 3,000 rate changes every working day of the year. During the year 1956, how many rates out of the million or more rate changes filed by railroads were adjudged to be unlawful by the Commission after protest by competing forms of transportation? Ten thousand? Two thousand? One thousand? One hundred? No. Just exactly 12. Now how much traffic was involved in these 12 cases? In other words, how badly hurt were the railroads by our finding that these rate changes were unlawful? If they had been able to obtain every single pound of the traffic involved, from competing forms of transportation, which, of course, is hardly likely, they could have added only $1,228,879 to their gross revenue; $1,109,359 of this amount from water carriers and a mere $119,520 from motor competitors. This represents only eleven one-thousandths of 1 percent of the total revenue of railroads for the year 1956.

The actual loss of net railway operating revenue, making the violent assumption that the rates were compensatory and as profitable as the average of all freight, and again assuming that the shippers gave them every pound of freight involved, would amount to $299,846. Now these are all liberal, maximum computations. Now, I ask you, is this strangulation? Is this gross interference with managerial discretion? Does this constitute arbitrary allocation of traffic? Is this holding a wide and benign umbrella over other carriers? Is this what Fortune magazine can describe as a heavily regulated industry, a kind of state-run cartel?

However, there is an even mor telling figure. It is a computation of the difference in the rates in dispute and the going rates. In other words, the amount the public—the shippers—could have saved through these proposed rate reductions. How much do you think that amounted to? Exactly $378,170. To say that $378,170 is costing the American public billions of dollars is fantastic and egregious exaggeration, to put it mildly. It may be that those who inspire such articles have not consulted too closely with railroad commerce counsel before they turned public-relations experts loose.

An unprejudiced examination of our decisions will show that the Commission has been very liberal in permitting competition to have the freest and fullest play so that the public will have available to it the cheapest rate by the carrier of its own choice, without permitting a disruption of sound transportation. There is dynamic competition in fact, but what the proponents of this legislation don't realize is that it would give competitors the opportunity to dynamite competition to the disadvantage of the public.

As I said at the outset, much more could be said about the misconceptions which I have enumerated and others I could mention. Within the limits of this discussion I have tried to weigh the foregoing few on more accurate scales.

Before proceeding to give you my views on the prospects of railroads, I should like to describe some of their present attributes. Within the past several years, the railroads have accomplished more by way of innovation, modernization, and improvement than they have in the preceding 3 decades. Their accomplishments in this respect have been formidable. Even though these advances have not yet been universally applied by all railroads, the advantages to those progressive railroads which have pioneered, and to the public, are impressive and rewarding. Even more dramatic improvements are imminent since the railroads are now engaging in research to continue this forward progress. To give a comprehensive list of what they have done in this respect and to describe the effect on their operations would be worth a speech in itself. I shall recite only a few, as examples of how far-reaching these improvements are.

The diesel has not only provided greater tractive power but, because of its flexibility, has eliminated the need for investment in separate standby locomotives for each class of service, as was the case with the steam locomotive. More powerful gas-turbine locomotives are now a reality. The diesel has greater wheel life, reduced brake shoe wear and, with its better control of slack action, has reduced damage to lading and equipment. Welded rail not only reduced track maintenance but increases track life, improves riding quality and permits greater speed. Centralized traffic control, automation in classification yards, automatic electronic train identification, train radio communication systems, use of closed circuit television, automatic ticket selling, improved billing procedure and maintenance of car record accounts, automatic hot box detectors, roller bearings, ingenious machines for replacing track ties and laying track, Adapto and other types of equipment for all purpose loading; all of these innovations make for greater efficiency at less cost. The introduction of modern lightweight passenger equipment, also dome cars, slumber coaches, double deck cars, and Budd self-propelled cars have vastly improved the quality and attractiveness of passenger service.

The mere enumeration of these advances attest to a great record of achievement in a comparatively short time, which indicates that railroads are conscious of competition and are trying to meet it not by only pricing methods but by giving better service. All this has helped them and will continue to do so. This progressiveness has paid off. The railroads' profit position, as a result, has improved greatly. Some of them have enjoyed the best years of their history. Those poorly situated or not well managed have not done as well. But even in the flourishing steel business, there is a Follansbee.

The future of the railroads is bright—I was going to use the word brilliant; it would still fit. It can be circumscribed, in my opinion, only to the extent to which their thinking remains patterned after that of the canal operators of the 19th century—to wit: blind, unyielding opposition to any new developments in transportation.

In the light of changes in transportation conditions, the railroads can no longer look upon their service as separate and exclusive. Unfortunately for them and the Nation, for too long a time, the railroads' attitude suggested the peculiar reiteration of the poetry of Gertrude Stein. Instead of "a rose, is a rose, is a rose," just substitute, if you will, "a railroad, is a railroad, is a railroad." Some oldtimers regarded the identity of a railroad as sacred and singular, to be preserved as a separate and distinct form of transport at any cost and not to be sullied by dealings with other forms of transportation. And this characteristic still prevails not only among some railroaders but among members of other forms of transportation. However, we are here discussing the part railroads can serve in the cause of improving their future. In my opinion, because they are the predominant agency of transport, they should properly take the leadership in making transportation truly a functional and efficacious system rather than a collection of individual carriers of various types.

Railroads own collectively almost 21 million acres of land. This is more land than there is in the whole State of Maine. About 4 million acres of this land is connected up in a private right-of-way which links every center of population from coast to coast and border to border. This constitutes a tremendous physical asset for themselves and the Nation. To make the fullest use of it, railroads should recognize that our economic geography is not the same as it was a quarter of a century or more ago.

While some of them are still cautiously temporizing, they are now on the right track, and I may add that the ICC has encouraged coordinated service each step of the way. They have begun to associate with other media of transportation either in combination or through coordination. Instead of thinking in terms of orthodox and conventional railroading, they are broadening their outlook and beginning to give vitality to transportation service. This is the real key to their future.

Only by such steps can they help produce the best and cheapest service to the public at a greater and more secure future for themselves and all of public transportation. These steps are various and progressive. Substituted service by motor which is auxiliary and supplemental to rail service has already produced substantial benefits. It has permitted railroads to eliminate many way freight trains by placing express, less-than-carload freight, and mail on trucks; has helped them to do away with unprofitable passenger trains; has helped to speed up remaining passenger schedules and thereby to reduce or eliminate losses on passenger runs. This is one step.

To the extent that some of them have engaged in the use of railroad-owned trailers or containers on flatcars, they have made another distinct gain. It has given them an opportunity to give better and faster service with less damage and handling to shippers who need and want the advantage of trailer-on-flatcar service. Some of them have taken a further step to provide trailer-on-flatcar service in combination with motor common carriers. By so doing, they are able to add new traffic whereas rail-owned trailers-on-flatcars service is essentially limited to traffic already within their control. Until these steps are fully perfected and become equally applicable to connecting lines, the full benefits are lost.

The fourth step is to work out a complete combination of services with every existing form of transportation. Up until now the railroads have been squeamish about entering into through routes and joint rates with independent motor carriers. There is only one railroad in the entire country which has done so. Yet commonsense dictates that this is the one way that public transportation can make substantial and impressive advances. It would permit a fluid, flexible service from any point to any point in the country. But of even greater value, it would develop new sources of traffic at hundreds of points off line and open dozens of new gateways for rails. This may change the present pattern of traffic with its attendant problems but the ultimate pattern would be efficient, economical, and logical.

Furthermore, it would make unnecessary the issuance of some motor-carrier certificates. In May of 1953, I made the following observation:

"Shippers often endorse applications for movement of certain types of commodities long distances merely because delivery is to be made at locations off the railheads. Why couldn't the rails find ways of providing through service to these points by joint service with existing motor carriers, thereby retaining the long haul, maintaining the identity of each form of transportation, and eliminating the need of another competitor? They resist the shippers' needs right down to the last ditch. A motor carrier grant in such cases is sometimes uneconomic and inappropriate but the railroads' attitude leaves no alternative for the shipper. It becomes more imperative, therefore, for

transportation leaders to study every means of coordinating diverse services by developing equipment, facilities, units, containers, and other devices to permit efficient and easy interchange between them."

Since that statement was made almost 4 years ago, rails have opposed hundreds of applications for motor service. Yet, in not one instance did they try to work out for shippers the service they actually needed. This is where the rails must take some of the responsibility for losing out to motor carriers on a portion of the long-haul traffic, in other words, the 5.42 percent of trips over 100 miles made by trucks to which I referred previously. They have resisted the grant of certificates but have never offered shippers a solution which would have answered their purposes.

Isn't it senseless to keep saying ruefully, "We're going to get this traffic back on the rails where it belongs"? Traffic belongs to shippers, not to any form of transportation. To assume that they can be forced to give it to one or another form of transportation is foolish. The shippers' choice will depend on what meets their needs. Give them what they want and they will use it. Shippers want solicitude as well as solicitation for their freight. There is overwhelming evidence of the demand for a flexible, integrated, coordinated service. Regardless of which form of transportation gets the immediate advantage the ultimate benefits to all of them and to the public are undeniable and should be paramount.

Railroads should not stop here. They should encourage rather than resist developments in existing forms of transport and newer ones such as slurry and liquid pipelines, rubber railroads or conveyor belts, etc., or any others that may be invented at any time in the future. They should help perfect such new devices and bring them to the rails, rather than let them develop independently and pass them by until they become independent competitors. Their attitude should be, we can do it either singly or in combination better and cheaper.

They cannot excuse themselves on the theory that regulation holds them back either for existing forms of transportation or those yet to be devised. Such excuses are psychosomatic, not real. There is nothing in the act now and there never has been any restriction against the use of joint services by all types of transportation. The present limitations are only on ownership, and those are limited.

Transportation leaders of all forms of transportation are giving too much energy and attention to day-to-day competitive incidents—looking at the trees rather than the forest. Actually we are living in a new society. The commercial realities of the present require flexible, adaptable service in which each form contributes to economical and efficient transportation within the fullest measure of its capabilities. What is most needed at this stage is bold new outlook and planning, and an objective, conciliatory and cooperative approach by all transportation people and a realization that transport techniques will not remain stationary. All the other conditions are present. You cannot compound a successful transportation system out of antagonisms.

Perhaps the rails have the ambition to integrate all these services under their ownership, without first integrating the services now permissible. Such hope is premature until a competitive scheme of combined services is established. It also revives the suspicion, that once under their control, railroads would sacrifice developments and improvements of other types of transport to the detriment of the public. This theory is reinforced by the present insistence, in some quarters, on the power to make destructive rates. In this sense, the Cabinet Committee report has been a disservice to railroads since it has engendered a renewal of these fears by those who must rely on motor or water service exclusively. On the other hand, if the public became accustomed to efficient joint transportation services, this resistance would evaporate. Regardless of the ultimate outcome, it would seem futile to try to resist or delay the inevitable since, in one way or another, joint services of all forms of transportation will eventuate if the public is to be served.

In closing, I cannot refrain from twitting my favorite monthly publication, Fortune magazine. In the January issue, it contends in an article beginning on page 102 that the economy of the country is being harmed by present transportation policies. On the other hand, the best thinking of the editors on page 1 of the same issue boasts that, "The year 1957 will be the best year ever. This makes the third consecutive 'best year ever' that Fortune has predicted."

He who proves too much, proves nothing. With only 6 percent of the world population, we have attained the highest productive capacity on the face of the earth and the highest standard of living the world has ever known. Does anyone believe that this could have been accomplished with a transportation system that has gone haywire? The magazine's economics must be badly coordinated if it thinks that our economy could have developed to such heights without a transportation service to match it.

Transportation is such a vital and essential service, that every existing avenue of improvement should be carefully explored before more drastic steps are undertaken. Changes should be progressive and evolutionary, not revolutionary, if we are to retain the blessings which the finest transportation system in the world under private ownership has brought to us.

Tribute to Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on Saturday, March 2, the people of Wisconsin proudly celebrated the 100th birthday of one of the great institutions of America—the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co.

This company was chartered by the Legislature of Wisconsin on March 2, 1857. During its first 100 years, Northwestern Mutual has come to occupy as warm a niche in the hearts of literally millions of people as it is conceivable for an organization to achieve. It has been a financial bulwark in innumerable personal lives. It has been a bulwark in Wisconsin, in the Great Lakes area, where 35 percent of Northwestern assets are invested—and it has been a bulwark in the Nation.

The statistics of Northwestern's growth are awe inspiring. It is the 14th largest business enterprise in the United States in assets; it is 6th among life-insurance companies; and it is largest west of the Atlantic seaboard.

To living policyholders, it has paid during its first 100 years $3,053,000,000. To beneficiaries, it has paid $2,653,000,000.

As of December 31, 1956, it held as assets for the benefit of policyholders and their beneficiaries, $3,600,000,000.

It has received a total in premiums of $6,850,000,000. There have been left with the company for settlement a total of $1,026,000,000.

Its dividends have averaged 23 percent of its premiums, the ratio being, total of premiums, $6,850,000,000; total of dividends, $1,560,000,000.

But these breathtaking statistics do not begin to convey the human story of what Northwestern Mutual has meant to its policyholders. It is an insurance company with a heart. It is also an insurance company with a sound head. It has been conservative in its policies, and yet, it has been pioneering in its new efforts.

Some people may not realize the important role played by insurance companies on the American scene today as great reservoirs of the savings of Americans. Let it be noted, therefore, that the 1956 annual report showed that more than $2 billion of Northwestern Mutual is invested in government, utility, and industrial bonds. Some $45 million is invested in stocks; $673 million in residential mortgages; $83 million in farm mortgages; $363 million in business and institutional mortgages; and over $70 million in income properties.

Every single working day the company gets around $2 million of investment and premium income, and it pays out about $1.2 million to policyholders, beneficiaries, and others.

Truly, insurance has become today one of the great pillars of America's economic system. But, in this as in other instances, a pillar is no stronger than the men who have constructed and who maintain the pillar.

Northwestern Mutual has been fortunate to have had at its helm as outstanding a group of business leaders as any insurance company in America has possessed. Its president, Edmund Fitzgerald, is one of the great civic leaders of my State. Vice Presidents Robert E. Dineen, Philip K. Robinson, and Howard J. Tobin, likewise, are the sort of high-caliber men who are constantly being called upon for civic service.

Throughout this land of ours, vast numbers of Americans rejoice in the 100 candles on Northwestern Mutual's birthday cake. They rejoice that a great company is now in its second century. They know that this company is great, not simply because of its size, but because of the faithfulness of its trusteeship of the people's assets, the efficiency with which the people's needs are met, and similar high criteria.

I convey my warmest personal greetings to the officers and trustees of the company, to the policyholders and friends of the company everywhere, and wish them well in Northwestern's second century.

I send to the desk several articles from the Milwaukee Journal, issues of Saturday, March 2, and Sunday, March 3, together with an editorial giving high and well deserved praise to President

Edmund Fitzgerald—one of the great men of Wisconsin.

I ask unanimous consent that these articles and the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles and the editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal of March 3, 1957]

INSURANCE FIRM HAD $3,500 CRISIS IN 1859—NORTHWESTERN MUTUAL'S HUMBLE BEGINNING RECALLED AS CONCERN NOTES 100 YEARS

There was quite a crisis in the insurance office that day in November 1859.

The first North Western road train to run from Janesville to Fond du Lac had hit a cow and jumped the track. Two policyholders had died.

Their insurance policies totaled $3,500. And the company had $1,500 to its name. What to do?

The policies gave the company 60 days to pay. But a delay would not add to public confidence in a firm just 2 years old. The president, S. S. Daggett, borrowed $2,000 on a personal note, put the money in the company till and the claims were paid.

COMPANY IS 100 YEARS OLD

That was the first and probably worst crisis in the history of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co., which was 100 years old Saturday. It is now the 14th largest business enterprise in the United States in assets.

Sixth among life insurance companies and largest west of the Atlantic seaboard, the company is worth well over $3½ billion. Its loans and investments average about $4 million a week. It acquires new policyholders at the rate of 300 a business day.

Though it has paid out death benefits totaling more than 100,000 times as much as that first claim, it has encountered no such difficulty. The total sum paid to living policyholders and the beneficiaries of dead ones, plus the sums held for their benefit, is approaching $10 billion.

The company traces its beginning from the notion of Gen. John C. Johnson, whose rank was granted in the New York State militia. He bought a big farm near Janesville and moved there in 1854.

THE GENERAL WAS 70, BUT YOUNG IN IDEAS

He was already past his 70th birthday, but was the kind of man who could entertain a new idea at any age. The mutual life insurance companies of New York and Boston were about 10 years old. The general set out to organize one in the West.

He buttonholed residents in Janesville, Madison and Milwaukee. Finally he persuaded 36 of them to petition the 1857 legislature for an insurance company charter. The legislature itself was less than 10 years old—Wisconsin became a State in 1848. It breezed the charter through.

On March 2, 1857, the Mutual Life Insurance Co. of Wisconsin was formally born. Its name was changed to the present one in 1865.

* * * * * *

With the growing statistics on which to estimate risks, the company has pared away policy restrictions until suicide, war, and a few other special considerations set the only limits.

However, the company still prides itself on accepting only the best candidates for a long life. According to its 1956 annual report 23.3 percent of its buyers were professional people and public employees, 29.5 percent were in trade and transportation, and only 17.8 percent were in manufacturing jobs.

"CLASSIFIED RISKS" ALLOWED

In that year it opened its doors for the first time to "classified risks"—people who are not quite as good bets as the standard on which coverage is based, but who may pay extra premiums and get protection.

* * * * * *

The conservatism of its policy writing has spared the company some headaches, Northwestern officials say. It has repeatedly declined to compete with other companies by offering policy gimmicks and has stuck to a simple portfolio of life, endowment, and term plans.

COMPANY GIVEN PRAISE BY SENATE COMMITTEE

A Metropolitan Insurance Co. president once said: "You can tell an Equitable agent by his checkered vest, a Prudential agent by his kit and a Northwestern Mutual agent by his halo."

This was said in fun, but when the Senate temporary national economic committee made its business investigations in 1939 and 1940 in an atmosphere regarded by many businessmen as hostile, it singled out Northwestern for commendation on cost performance, persistency of business, elimination of conflicting interests in the connections and activities of its directors, and other items of business ethics.

Conservatism has not kept the company from initiating practices when it considered them sound and desirable.

It was the first, for instance, to provide sustained income rather than lump-sum settlement of claims if the policyholder desired it.

PIONEER ON FARM MORTGAGES

It pioneered a whole new field of life insurance in which a company may insure the lives of its executives for its own benefit in case the services of top men are lost.

It was the first firm to accept farm mortgages, and its money contributed greatly to the development of midwestern agriculture.

Last January it announced a system of proportionately lower premiums on big policies, reflecting lower processing costs.

* * * * * *

CONTROL BY COMMITTEE IS A COMPANY FEATURE

One of the characteristics of Northwestern's business organization is its control by committee.

The policyholders—really stockholders, for this is a mutual company—are represented by 36 trustees who meet quarterly. If any of them misses three meetings in a row he is automatically dropped.

Early in its history, the trustees formed a five-member executive committee with interim authority. Shortly the executive committee found itself spending most of its time on investment problems. It became the finance committee. Later, an executive committee was reinstated, but the finance committee continued as a separate body.

At lower levels of decision, the committee system is carried along. Yet company officials say they have "secured the advantage of collective judgment without submerging the operating executive in a mire of collective inertia."

HAS EXAMINING COMMITTEE

One unique group in the insurance business is the Northwestern policyholders' examining committee. Composed of five persons who have no connection with the company except that they are insured in it, the examining committee not only hires independent auditors to check the books but can, and does, poke into any phase of operations that catches its interest.

In annual reports to the trustees, it suggests changes and innovations in policy and generally guards against having policy made exclusively by those immersed in company routine.

OFFICIALS OF COMPANY ALSO CIVIC LEADERS

Since many burdensome duties of top management are fanned out, the operating bosses can devote big amounts of time to public service. To cite a few examples:

Edmund Fitzgerald, president, served as president of the United Hospitals fund, chairman of the Community Fund, chairman of the Milwaukee Foundation committee, president of Columbia Hospital, YWCA trustee, Red Cross board member, treasurer of the Wisconsin Antituberculosis Association, Milwaukee-Downer College trustee, Milwaukee Art Institute, and in various other civic posts.

DINEEN HELPED A STUDY

Robert E. Dineen, a vice president, headed a special governor's committee on metropolitan problems, and is a Milwaukee Children's Hospital and Columbia Hospital, Corp. member and a member of the advisory committee of the Marquette University Law School.

Philip K. Robinson, another vice president, is a former county supervisor, chairman of the Memorial Center, trustee and secretary of the Citizens' Government Research Bureau, governor of the American Red Cross, and was Community Chest general chairman in 1945.

Howard J. Tobin, another vice president, is president of the Greater Milwaukee committee, a member of the county expressway commission, and the auditorium-arena board.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of March 2, 1957]

UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS LIKENED TO UNITED STATES IN 1800's—WORLD BANK PRESIDENT IS AMONG SPEAKERS AS NORTHWESTERN MUTUAL NOTES CENTENNIAL

The underdeveloped countries of today's world are much like the United States of a century ago and have similar potentialities of political and economic strength, Eugene R. Black, Washington, D. C., president of the World Bank, said in a speech prepared for delivery here Saturday.

He was the principal speaker at a luncheon for some 125 civic and industrial leaders, at which the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co. started its centennial celebration. The company was chartered by the State legislature March 2, 1857. The luncheon was held in the 8th floor auditorium of the company's main office, at 720 East Wisconsin Avenue.

Others to speak at the affair were Governor Thomson, Mayor Zeidler, Edmund Fitzgerald, the company president, and Louis Quarles, one of its trustees.

NOTES LOW PRODUCTION

Among the characteristics of our own past mirrored elsewhere in the world today, Black listed "low money income, low levels of production, financial instability, great dependence on foreign markets and capital, and absorption with internal problems that breeds indifference to trends in world affairs, and, finally, nationalistic pride and sensitivity to criticism."

However, he said, there are countries "on nearly every continent" whose rate of economic growth compares favorably with our own. Belief in the future and desire to do things the democratic way are growing, he said.

"The form in which these institutions begin to crystallize is of the utmost importance to us. In a better economic environment, there is a better chance for men to realize those dreams of freedom and democracy which mean so much in the West and so little in Moscow," he said.

GOVERNOR PRAISES FIRM

Governor Thomson, in his prepared speech, praised the company as "a sturdy pillar for America's economic and social strength."

Said the governor: "The strength of any nation is reflected in the willingness of its people to plan with care for its future; to provide economic stability for each family

unit, and to work for a relationship of trust and mutual responsibility among those who administer its precious savings.

"On the basis of these fundamental measurements the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co. and its superb 100-year record of service to Wisconsin and America demonstrates the enduring aspirations and strength which have brought our America to its present position of honor and leadership among nations."

Because of its "marks of accomplishment and earned recognition, this distinguished insurance company has given our State the satisfaction of having a key role in making a voluntary savings and family security plan part of the very warp and woof of America's social structure," Thomson said.

CONFIDENCE IS EXPRESSED

Fitzgerald expressed confidence in the future of the city, the State, and the Great Lakes area in which, he said, some 35 percent of Northwestern assets are invested.

"I think it well to remember that by its nature a life-insurance company is a service institution and a financial intermediary," he said. "It doesn't create capital or credit, but rather it gathers in and pools funds with which to pay claims and expenses, and to make investments."

The company, he said, gets about $2 million of investment and premium income each working day, and pays out about $1,200,000 to policyholders, beneficiaries, and others.

"Despite references to the past, we are much more interested in the future on this first day of our second century," he said.

TABLET TO BE PRESENTED

Quarles, a Milwaukee attorney, on behalf of the company's board of trustees, was to present a bronze tablet rededicating the company to the service of the policy owners.

The text on the tablet, to be mounted in the main lobby of the company's building, was taken from a resolution adopted by the board commemorating the beginning of the firm's second 100 years as a mutual life insurance company. It said:

"Today the Northwestern Mutual completes 100 years of trusteeship. We salute the courage and imagination of those who built this company. As we begin our second hundred years, we rededicate the Northwestern to the service of policy owners and enjoin those who follow to apply the tested principles of the past with vision and determination."

The tablet was to be accepted by Taylor French, the company's assistant director of agencies and its youngest officer, and Claude Degler, who with nearly 51 years of service, is the company's senior employee, on behalf of the home office staff.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of March 3, 1957]

FIRM TO HELP UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN STUDENTS — NORTHWESTERN MUTUAL TO GIVE SCHOOL $25,000 FOR SCHOLARSHIPS

A pledge of $25,000 for University of Wisconsin scholarships was announced by the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co. Saturday.

The announcement was made by Edmund Fitzgerald, president of the company, at a luncheon for about 125 business and civic leaders in the eighth floor auditorium of the company's main office at 720 E. Wisconsin Avenue.

* * * * *

Fitzgerald said that the $25,000 would be spent in the next 5 years for students in the fields of insurance and applied mathematics.

The money will be turned over to the university without other qualifications, a company spokesman said. The university will determine the conditions of eligibility, the number of scholarships and their size, and similar details.

HELPED MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY PREVIOUSLY

Announcement of the ways students can receive aid will be made later.

The company has for some years made grants to Marquette University and to the Wisconsin Foundation for Independent Colleges.

* * * * *

[From the Milwaukee Journal of March 1, 1957]

FOR BEING SO USEFUL A CITIZEN

Too many of us think we "haven't time" to be as civically active as we are asked or would like to be. It is humbling, if not downright demoralizing, to contemplate a man with enormous responsibilities in his business life who nevertheless plunges into community affairs by the dozen, with eagerness and real achievement.

The shoe fits no man in Milwaukee more notably than Edmund Fitzgerald. The Cosmopolitan Club so recognized Wednesday in making him the 1957 recipient of its distinguished service award. This is one more in a string of citations that mark a continuously crowded civic career dating back to the 1920's, and to his twenties.

A former industrialist and banker, Mr. Fitzgerald in 1933 became No. 2 executive of Northwestern Mutual, one of the Nation's greatest life insurance companies, and will round out 10 years as No. 1 next month. He has been requisitioned for national leadership in that business field, and at one time or another as a director of so many of Milwaukee's biggest industries that eyebrows once were raised in Washington, with misplaced zeal, at such a one-man army.

Yet he has managed through the years to have "spare" time to do more than we have spare room to list, just for instance: As a leader in the Community Chest and the Red Cross, as long time president of Columbia Hospital, a trustee of Milwaukee-Downer College and Seminary, a director of the YWCA, a War Memorial board member, a leader in his church, a Wisconsin Turnpike commissioner, president of the United Hospitals Fund drive—and a baseball fan withal.

Edmund Fitzgerald is a seemingly relaxed, gracious and charming man, and it takes nothing from the worth of his tremendous civic contribution to remark that he really likes these activities; being so useful a citizen, beyond the call of duty, is his hobby.

We salute him, admiringly and affectionately, on what, by purest coincidence, is his 62d birthday.

The Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, during the course of the bearings by the Coal Research Committee participating members have obtained highly illuminating reports on the coal industry and on the communities and people who are a part of that industry. I am confident that the subcommittee will soon be in a position to make recommendations regarding what must be done to assure the maintenance of a vigorous coal industry. As the industry moves forward, so too will there be a welcome resurgence in those communities where coal is the substance of economic life.

My reference to the subject today is not to be construed in any manner as an attempt to make a progress report on the subcommittee's work. Our chairman, the highly capable and most conscientious gentleman from Oklahoma, will decide when it is time for the Congress as a whole to be apprised of our findings. I wish only to discuss coal communities and the opportunities which may be available to them in the years ahead. My remarks are prompted by a report on natural resources made several months ago and presented in the Iowa Business Digest. I do not know whether this report reached very many of our coal communities; I do know that any resident willing to accept this analysis would no doubt be frantically looking for greener pastures if in fact he has not already taken leave of the old hometown.

I shall not include the Iowa report in the RECORD because I do not believe that its contents would justify printing expenses. I think that it can be summarized with a comment that it reflects only the most pessimistic view of the coal industry; for this reason I feel duty-bound to analyze some of the more hopeful signs that are beginning to appear over coal-producing regions. As representative of a district which depends to a large extent upon the success of the coal industry, I want the rest of the country to realize that we are doing everything possible to develop a more substantial and dynamic economy in our coal areas.

Increased demands upon coal as America's principal source of energy in the years ahead are a certainty. The difficulty in keeping on the course of progress and expansion is attributable to Government policies standing in the way. I am confident that the coal industry would by now be producing from 10 to 20 pereent more coal if it were not for the iniquitous and inequitable Federal policies that have persisted entirely too long. Foreign residual oil should not be permitted to be shipped into this country in excessive amounts to the detriment of the coal industry. The Federal Power Commission should be instructed to take conservation into consideration when it rules on applications for new natural gas pipelines; so authorized, the Commission would be in a position to prevent such wasteful practices as dumping of natural gas into industrial plants at the expense of the coal industry. I am also convinced that the coal industry should be granted a higher depletion allowance rate. These and other considerations are matters which should be adjusted by Congress as quickly as possible. Meanwhile coal and allied industries, with the support of the citizenry of mining areas, are doing everything possible to raise themselves from the economic straits.

I recently placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the Pittsburgh Press describing the accomplishments of townsfolk in Indiana, Pa., a community which over the years had relied to a great extent upon the success of the coal indus-

try. When coal output went down, unemployment went up throughout the area. Indiana, through courage and faith and daring, was able to obtain new industries that have absorbed considerable of the surplus labor and today is looking to the future with hope and optimism.

The anthracite fields of Pennsylvania have been perhaps hardest hit of all industrial areas in recent years. In the 10-year period that has elapsed since the conclusion of World War II, anthracite production has been halved. Residents of producing districts have of course been greatly discouraged, yet they have been so resourceful as to bring a variety of new industries into their communities. There is still a long way to go in the anthracite field, and I hope that the program to be recommended by the Coal Research Subcommittee will aid in combating the economic strife in that region. Meanwhile the businessmen, local government officials, and labor responsible for progress that has thus far been made are to be congratulated for their ingenuity and determination.

The Iowa Business Digest report was correct in pointing out that there has been a decided drop in coal employment over the past 30 years or so. The United Mine Workers of America recognized, as did coal operators, that mechanization of mining equipment and methods would produce capability of mining more coal with fewer men. The union nevertheless refused to stand in the way of progress. Mechanization has reduced coal's labor force by at least one-third, but at the same time it has made it possible for the industry to share with the working force more and more of the income from the sale of the product. To provide work for those men displaced by automation, management and labor have cooperated admirably in the campaign for new industry.

One of the most encouraging developments in the past year or so is the establishment of aluminum reduction plants in bituminous regions along the Ohio River, a phase of which was recognized in the Iowa report. One of the plants, when completed, will employ 4,000 workers; the other will employ 1,200. An executive of the Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., whose producing facilities are being constructed at Ravenswood, W. Va., last month made this statement in connection with the project:

> There is a special significance in Kaiser's Aluminum Ravenswood's works. It will be the first operation in the United States aluminum industry based on the fact that coal is the most economical source of energy for the production of aluminum when located close to major markets and a direct transportation route for raw material.
>
> Recognition of this fact led Kaiser to the Ohio River Valley site at Ravenswood—where low-cost coal-based power is readily available, where 70 percent of the Nation's aluminum consumption is within a 500-mile radius, and where the company is able to move materials from mine to fabricating plant in a direct line over a short all-water route.

According to a recent issue of Newsweek magazine, the advent of the aluminum industry in Ravenswood has reversed a 50-year decline, added 350 new homes, three restaurants, and a 56-unit apartment development. Farther down the river, at Evansville, Ind., the Aluminum Company of America is constructing another big smelter which will use coal generated power. Irving White Wilson, president of Alcoa, which incidentally employs many individuals from my congressional district said recently:

> As far as we can see, which is 1960, we see aluminum's growth continuing without any major let-up.

With so bright a future for the aluminum industry, coal stands to achieve almost proportional advances. I recall this excerpt from the President's Material Policy Commission Report published in June 1952:

> Such electroprocess industry as aluminum have the opportunity, by turning to coal and lignite, to break loose from their long dependence on closeness to cheap hydroelectric power sources for low cost energy.

Other industries are also beginning to recognize the advantages of locating plants near the most inexpensive sources of power and heat. Expansion of capacity in electric generating stations, steel mills, cement plants, and other traditional coal uses bids further to bringing advantages to coal communities.

For these reasons it is in error for anyone to write off coal communities as thriving centers of American economic and cultural life. The residents of these towns have demonstrated their resourcefulness and self-sufficiency. Despite the unfair burdens inflicted upon them through unwise policies of the Government, they have withstood attendant hardship and are now planning to participate in the industrial surge that is taking place nationally. To lighten the load for this hard pull, Congress should enact immediately the legislation necessary for clearing the road to coal's progress.

In conclusion, I want to thank my colleagues who participated in the hearings of the Coal Research Committee at Ebensburg, Pa., on February 13. I assure you that your presence was in itself an inspiration to our people, for it indicated the concern of Congress in our problems and gave interested parties an opportunity to appear personally before a congressional committee.

The Late Honorable Antonio M. Fernandez

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 22, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, our late colleague, TONY FERNANDEZ, was a man with whom I had much in common. Like him, I served on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs before moving to the Appropriations Committee, and thus we had many shared experiences.

I respected him as a diligent and devoted representative and cherished his friendship. I know that he spoke often of returning to New Mexico to the practice of law, and doubtlessly there are many of his friends who wish now they had urged him more strongly to follow this inclination. Had he done so, and spared himself the heavy schedule of a conscientious representative, he might still be with us today. Instead, however, he chose to fulfill what he considered his responsibility to the people of his native State.

To Mrs. Fernandez and their children I extend my deepest sympathy.

Poisonous Drugs in Food

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, in view of several articles which have been brought to my attention regarding the addition of various chemicals and drugs to foods consumed by the public, I wish to have inserted in the RECORD my news release on the subject. There is evidence to show that many drugs and chemicals now in general use as food additives are not only detrimental to the health of human beings, but some of them have been shown to be capable of creating cancer, as proven in experiments on laboratory animals.

Because of the widespread use of chemicals as preservatives in foods, or for other purposes added to many items of human diet, I believe that no time should be lost in conducting a thorough and far-reaching investigation by Congress.

YOUR CONGRESSMAN COMMENTS

(By USHER L. BURDICK, of North Dakota)

POISONOUS DRUGS IN FOOD

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Dr. Harvey W. Wiley was installed as Chief of the Chemical Department of the Department of Agriculture in 1883 and held this position until 1912. Through his efforts the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed by Congress in 1906 and that act is still on the books. It made it a crime to adulterate foods, but the law has never been enforced, so that today poisons are being injected into food without limit, while the people believe they are protected by this law.

To show that the system of drugging food is still continuing unabated, Mr. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1956, made this statement:

"A recent compilation shows that approximately 500 chemical materials are being added directly to food for various purposes. The Food and Drug Administration estimates that 150 of these 500 chemicals have not been adequately tested to show that they are harmless."

The Consumer Reports for 1956 reads, "An important group of chemicals thought to be safe are synthetic dyes used to color food, drugs, and cosmetics. Today 16 have been certified by the Federal Drug Administration for use in food. Since 1945, 15 food dyes have been reexamined for toxic carcinogenic

(cancer-forming) allergenic properties. Only one of these has been conclusively shown to be harmless."

The poisons used in Coca Cola are clearly in violation of the Wiley law, but the Coca Cola business goes merrily on. A tooth immersed in this drink has been proved to be totally dissolved in 30 days, yet chemicals are used in city-water supplies to prevent tooth decay, without any competent analysis to indicate what deleterious effects may result.

In 1953 the production of surface-action chemicals, many of which are used to improve the stability of such foods as bread, cake mixes, and desserts, reached 921 million pounds. Agene was used for 30 years to bleach flour, until the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, found it caused running fits in dogs and affected the mentality of humans. After several years this Agene was replaced with a chemical called Alloxan, a poison used in experimental laboratories to induce diabetes in animals.

Over 1,000 chemicals have been used in foods. About 500 have now been discarded, and of this 500, 150 have not been scientifically tested. Of those which have been tested several have been found carcinogenic (cancer-causing).

I am receiving material and protests on this subject from all parts of the country. As one example indicating the serious danger of this practice, I quote Dr. William E. Smith, of Englewood, N. J., cancer researcher, who said "cancer-inducing chemical additives and dyes are going into food for human consumption."

There seems to be a well-formed conspiracy between the big chemical companies and the American Medical Association and the Food and Drug Administration to inject these poisonous chemicals into food, not for the safety of public health, but for the profits arising from the manufacture of the chemicals. An examination of the records leaves little in doubt as to the facts of this conspiracy.

The proper committees of Congress should make a thorough investigation of this matter, which they can do without any extra cost to the people. If we have ample laws now, they should be enforced. If not, then new laws should be enacted. One way to avoid cancer is to not create it by eating poisoned foods. The public has a right to rely on the protection Congress and the Attorney General's office can give it.

Friendship Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL J. KILDAY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, today, March 7, is the 20th anniversary of the observance of Friendship Day in Texas. On June 6, 1947, the Legislature of the State of Texas designated March 7 as Friendship Day. On March 18, 1954, the United States Senate passed Senate Concurrent Resolution 70, expressing the sense of Congress that March 7 of each year be known, designated, and observed by the people of the United States as Friendship Day. During that same Congress a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary favorably reported my resolution (H. Con. Res. 100) to the full Committee on the Judiciary. However, the resolution was not reported to the House by the Committee on the Judiciary.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs, and the National Society of Arts and Letters have endorsed the observance of Friendship Day. In these parlous times any action which we can take to promote friendship among our own people and among the peoples of the world is well worth our effort. I have today offered a House concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the 7th day of March of each year be known, designated, and observed by the people of the United States as Friendship Day. It should be noted that my resolution does not create a new holiday, rather it designates 1 day of each year for the thought and promotion of friendship among our people. I hope that favorable action can be taken.

A Flagrant Abuse of Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to call to the attention of the Members of this body an editorial by Hon. David Lawrence which appeared in the Monday, March 4, edition of the Washington Evening Star. Mr. Lawrence's editorial pointed out the gross abuse of the constitutional rights of certain of the citizens in Anderson County, Tenn. I am surprised, amazed, and a little disappointed that none of the outspoken advocates of the so-called civil-rights legislation have condemned the abuse of constitutional and human rights of certain American citizens as a result of the Clinton, Tenn., school cases. I have heard certain organizations and groups in our country protest bitterly when Communists or Communist sympathizers were thought to be denied some right, and I cannot understand the silence and reluctance to come forward by these groups in defense of the persons cited for contempt in Clinton, Tenn.

I have introduced a bill, H. R. 3768, which will guarantee to persons accused of contempt of Federal court due to acts committed outside of the presence of the court the right of a trial by jury.

I respectfully request that the Members of this body give consideration to this bill not just as a bill to protect the rights of the people of the South, but as a bill designed to protect the right to trial by jury of all American people:

A FLAGRANT ABUSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS—QUIET MOVE BY GOVERNMENT VIEWED AS IMPERILING JURY-TRIAL GUARANTY

Maybe there is no need for civil-rights legislation after all. Congress will certainly be interested to discover how the Department of Justice just a few days ago, in a move that has gone unnoticed generally, simply substituted the words "the United States" for the names of a local school board as a party to a lawsuit in Federal court. By that device the 18 defendants arrested for allegedly hindering the Federal injunction at Clinton, Tenn., can be deprived of a trial by jury and put in jail as unfairly as if they were living in some totalitarian country.

While the laws of the land under the Constitution of the United States do permit Federal judges to punish for contempt certain offenses committed in a courtroom, or even outside, when the principals to a controversy refuse to obey a court order, a jury trial can usually be obtained on request. But it is something novel when a lawsuit has been started by private parties to find the Department of Justice petitioning the Federal court to amend the original petition and substitute the words "United States" for those of the complainant. This automatically bars a jury trial.

If the Federal judge in Knoxville, Tenn., approves this request and it is sustained on appeal by the courts, it will not be necessary for the Congress to legislate on civil rights. All that will be needed is for the Department of Justice to write out the orders and the courts will uphold them.

This is a flagrant abuse of power—much worse than any cited in the recent hearings before the House Judiciary Committee by the critics of the proposed civil-rights legislation.

It is ironical that the American Civil Liberties Union—which on February 26 made a commendable statement criticizing the Federal court injunction issued at Clinton, Tenn., as being too broad—didn't know that on February 25 the same Federal judge was being asked by the Department of Justice to deprive citizens of a chance for jury trial. The Civil Liberties Union statement had rightly criticized the injunction as too broad and had said that "to the extent that it enjoins speech in opposition to or advocating ignoring of the order, or peaceful picketing for these purposes, it is invalid."

In that same statement, moreover, the right to jury trial was vigorously upheld by the ACLU even for those defendants who had been charged with actually hindering or obstructing the operations of a court order. The ACLU said:

"Under the Federal law a person in contempt of a Federal court order enjoining acts which are also in violation of the Federal or State law is entitled, if he requests it, to a trial by jury. This protection of individual rights was originally written into the law to guard against possible biased judicial decisions in labor injunction cases and now covers all contempt issues. * * *

"Similarly, as the acts charged against the 16 persons now facing trial allege violations of Federal and State laws, these defendants can ask for a jury trial. Therefore, no civil liberties issue is raised unless the jury trial is denied, which is unlikely in view of the clear instruction of the law."

But what the ACLU didn't know when it issued that statement, and what most people throughout the United States didn't know because it wasn't reported in the press generally, was that the Department of Justice had resorted to a stratagem by seeking to make the United States a party to the suit, which—according to a law of Congress governing contempt cases—eliminates trial by jury.

Some critics not long ago pointed to the case of John L. Lewis as a precedent because he was fined once for contempt by a judge and was not given a jury trial. But those same critics failed to notice that the United States itself was a party to the suit. This was because the Government, acting in accordance with a wartime statute, had seized the coal mines and hence any action taken by a union or its leaders to defy a court order was a defiance of the United States Government itself.

There is no such parallel here. The school board officials at Clinton, Tenn., were whole-

heartedly complying with the desegregation order of the Federal court when they found certain persons in the town were organizing a movement to discourage attendance at an integrated school. Hence these school officials asked the court to enjoin anyone attempting to interfere with the school board's operations. But a local school board is not a part of the Government of the United States and it is difficult to imagine any Federal court judge consenting to the substitution of the United States for a local school board.

Even, however, if this strange petition does not win the approval of the court, the amazing thing is that anyone in the Department of Justice would try such a trick of circumvention in the very week when prominent lawyers from various States were warning Congress that to pass the civil-rights legislation now being proposed would lead to grave abuses of power.

The Perseverance Band of Lebanon, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER M. MUMMA
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, in the old days, nearly every town in Pennsylvania, large and small, had a band. Of course some were better than others, but each one meant a great deal to its own community and brought that community much enjoyment and prestige. Many of those bands are gone. A few have survived, one being the perseverance band of Lebanon, Pa., which proudly celebrated its 101st year on March 3.

I had the honor of attending this celebration which was held in the high-school auditorium at Lebanon. It included an excellent program of well-played selections before an enthusiastic audience of more than 1,000 persons.

In accordance with the privilege granted me, I include an account of this celebration, as contained in the Lebanon Daily News of March 4, 1957. It is as follows:

PERSE BAND PRESENTS ANNIVERSARY CONCERT

The perseverance band, utilizing the experience and pride of 100 years, started off its 101st year yesterday afternoon with an excellent program of exceptionally played and roundly applauded selections.

The band, which was organized on March 2, 1858, thrilled more than 1,000 local and area music lovers who took advantage of the cold but clear weather to pack the Lebanon High School auditorium for the anniversary concert.

In addition to being an afternoon of fine music selected to satisfy the taste of almost every lover of music, the 2-hour program also was highlighted by many richly deserved words of congratulation and encouragement for the band's splendid record of 100 years of consecutive service to the community.

Special guests were Mayor Frederick D. Miller, Congressman Walter M. Mumma, Maj. Gen. Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, State attorney general, and James G. Krause, county chairman of the Democratic Party, and his wife. All were greeted at the entrance to the auditorium by Arthur Strohman, chairman of the band's anniversary committee.

Mayor Miller, who was introduced by leader Hower Steiner after the program opened with the National Anthem, said he was honored to congratulate the band on its anniversary and to thank it for its 100 years of service to the city.

He pointed out that all United States history is woven around bands since the "Spirit of '76."

"All of us wish the band another 100 years of progress, service, and good luck," he declared.

Krause, who introduced General Biddle, said it is fitting on the occasion to have as honored a guest as the general who was the special representative of Gov. George Leader.

REPRESENTED GOVERNOR

Biddle, former Ambassador to Poland and France, said he is happy and proud to meet the members of the Perse band and greatly honored to represent the Governor at such a distinguished ceremony.

"The Governor," he said, "sends his warmest good wishes and congratulations, and I want to add my own sincere good wishes on such a splendid record."

He said he feels a close relationship with the band because the son of one of its members, Col. R. D. Miller, is one of our ablest officers at Indiantown Gap.

He also said he feels a close relationship with the community because it is represented in the National Guard by two outstanding military units: Company C, 165th Military Police Battalion and Battery D, 899th Antiaircraft Battalion.

He said the guard is proud of the fine units because of the spirit and record of performance they reflect.

He said there also is pride in the community and band at the Gap because they are such close neighbors.

Congressman MUMMA said he was happy to get an invitation to the concert. He said he remembers the band from the early days of his youth along with other outstanding bands of the State.

Now What About Niagara?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, I wonder if the distinguished Governor of our State, Mr. Averell Harriman, is aware of the fact that every year's delay in resolving the Niagara power issue has been accurately estimated to cost the American people $60 million worth of power.

Heretofore I had introduced a measure, not in the form of compromise but merely to gain time pending a break in the costly deadlock on this question. But because I enthusiastically support the present compromise known as the Ives-Javits-Miller bill, I am refraining from reintroducing my bill at this time.

I submit herewith an appropriate editorial which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News of March 4, 1957:

NOW WHAT ABOUT NIAGARA?

Governor Harriman may have infuriated some of the public-power fanatics, but he showed good commonsense in approving St. Lawrence power contracts with Reynolds Metals Co. and the Niagara Mohawk Power Corp.

In all consistency, it's a pity that he can't apply a little of the same brand of commonsense to the far more important problem of getting congressional approval of the Niagara power project, for the issue here is almost identical.

Instead of playing socialistic politics with St. Lawrence power, the Governor is permitting it to be marketed by the State power authority in a businesslike way, the largest single bloc to make possible the establishment of a basic aluminum industry in the industry-hungry north country; much of the remainder to be distributed to domestic and rural users through the existing lines in the Niagara Mohawk franchise area.

The two contracts represent a basic decision to market the power in accordance with good economics, instead of hoarding large blocs for ultimate sale to the now largely nonexistent preference customers, municipal and cooperative systems, which the public-power fanatics dream of bringing into existence someday.

Needless to say, this decision on St. Lawrence power should make it much easier for the State power authority to sell its bonds for the Niagara power project as a sound investment, when and if the authority gets an O. K. from Congress to start the project.

But the Niagara issue, alas, is still deadlocked, thanks largely to the fact that Governor Harriman is playing the opposite kind of politics there. With every other New York State official now supporting the Ives-Javits-Miller compromise bill, the Governor has done his best to scuttle the hope of putting the compromise through immediately by holding out for the full set of extremist, socialistic preference clauses of last year's Lehman bill.

How this stand can possibly be squared with the Governor's action on St. Lawrence power we fail to see. What is most fantastic about Mr. Harriman's position on Niagara, however, is that he—the Governor of New York—is fighting against his own State's interest in marketing the power according to its own laws and in favor of a Federal requirement that New York give an absolute preference to municipal and cooperative customers as far away as Pennsylvania and Ohio. We can understand why Senator CLARK, of Pennsylvania, might be sponsoring such a bill, but it defies all reason to find the Governor of New York not only supporting it, but playing right into the hands of those who would block all Niagara legislation rather than let the falls power be developed without the socialistic preference clause.

We hope the Governor knows what he is doing, and we also hope he is aware of the heavy onus that will be on him if his political grandstanding on Niagara results in keeping that vital project deadlocked beyond this year.

Soviet Enslavement of Rumania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to insert the text of a letter and enclosure I have received from Mr. Mihail Farcasanu, president of the League of Free Rumanians. I understand that March 6 marks the 12th anniversary of the enslavement of Rumania by Soviet totalitarianism.

To the enslaved Rumanian people, as to all other captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain, I can onyl repeat what can never be overstated and that is that the people and the Government of the United States are as one in their determination and belief that the right of freedom and self-determination will one day be the right of freedom-loving men everywhere, even behind the Iron Curtain. I express the hope that the suffering people of Rumania will know that we appreciate their burning desire for independence and hope that their day of peaceful liberation is not far distant. When that day arrives, as come it surely will, the United States stands ready to lend every practicable assistance at that time.

THE LEAGUE OF FREE ROMANIANS,
New York, N. Y., March 3, 1957.

The Honorable ALVIN M. BENTLEY,
Representative from Michigan.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This 6th of March 12 years will have elapsed since the Soviet enslavement of the Rumanian Nation in 1945, through overwhelming Russian military and political pressure. You may perhaps remember the spectacular deployment of brutality and diplomatic ruthlessness conducted at that moment by the late Andrei Vishinsky and Marshal Malinovski. Today Rumania is still occupied by Russian troops and subjected to the Moscow directed total suppression of political and human rights and to a savage economic exploitation.

We will be most grateful if you can say a few words on this occasion and so help tear the shroud of oblivion and indifference which threatens to engulf the tragedy of Eastern Europe despite her enormous sacrifices and suffering for freedom. It is of great importance for the future of liberty in the world that the hope of the subjugated be maintained. They are sincere friends of the United States in their efforts to achieve international order based on freedom and peace.

Knowing your farsighted and courageous stand on the problem of the captive nations, we take the liberty of addressing to you this appeal on behalf of our oppressed and tortured Rumanian people.

Yours respectfully,
MIHAIL FARCASANU,
President.

Two weeks after the Yalta Declaration—on February 27, 1945—the late Andrei Vishinsky deliever a brutal 2-hour ultimatum to King Michael of Rumania for the ousting of the legal government of General Niculae Radescu (who later came as an exile to the United States and founded the League of Free Romanians). The Red army had already disarmed the police force, occupied the government's buildings and was patrolling the streets with tanks. Behind Vishinsky's arrogance and violence were the guns of Marshal Malinovski. Rumania was at that moment occupied by the Red army while 19 Rumanian divisions (336,334 men) were fighting alongside the Allies in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. It is under such circumstances that a Communist quisling government was imposed in Rumania.

The puppet government installed by Vishinsky was recognized in January 1946 by the United States and despite the bloody and fraudulent elections conducted by the Communists in November 1946, the United States signed a peace treaty with them, February 10, 1947. This treaty has been constantly and systematically violated by the stooge government in Bucharest. The human rights and political liberties of the Rumanian people have been absolutely destroyed. The military provisions of the treaty have been cynically infringed and the country transformed by the Soviet agents into a Russian base directed against the West. Notwithstanding the quisling Bucharest government has been received at the United Nations in December 1955 by means of the famous "package deal."

After the Hungarian uprisings the Russians have tightened even more their control on Rumania. A new wave of terror and persecution is reported from Rumania; arrests, deportations and the whole gamut of police vexations are mounting. The barbaric economic exploitation has greatly impoverished a country which was previously considered as the granary of Europe and possesses the most important deposits of oil on the Continent outside Russia.

Bulletin of Smaller Business Association of New England Reviews Report of House Small Business Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the feature item of the Bulletin of the Smaller Business Association of New England, for February is a review of the final report of the House Small Business Committee for the 84th Congress.

This report of the Small Business Committee, which was accepted by the majority members of the committee, is a lengthy report and covers most of the principal problems facing small business. The report is 182 pages long.

I believe, however, that the Smaller Business Association of New England has given the report a completely fair and impartial review. Furthermore, the reviewer has shown considerable discretion and good judgment in pointing out those sections of the report which are most important where the small-business problems are most acute. I believe that this review, which follows, will be helpful to the Members in keeping the many small-business problems in their proper perspective:

REPORT OF HOUSE COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS

In a report released recently, the House Small Business Committee of the 84th Congress predicted that: Within 18 years, all manufacturing business and most of the distribution and service business of the Nation will be controlled by corporations having more than $100 million of assets—if small-business failures and big-business expansions continue at the rate of the past 5 years. Referring to increasing monopolization of the means of production the report shows that the corporate giants in manufacturing owned 47 percent of all of the corporate assets in 1951, now own 59 percent.

Reviewing the committee's studies in other fields, the report found:

In commercial banking, the 50 largest banks own 39 percent of the assets.

In life insurance, the 50 largest companies own 90 percent of the assets.

In public utilities, the 50 largest companies own 79 percent of the assets.

In transportation, the 50 largest companies own 92 percent of the assets.

Analyzing the economic factors behind the deteriorating position of small business, the report blames most of the small-business difficulties on the discriminatory tax structure and runaway big-business prices and profits.

Pointing to increasing profit rates of the top corporations, and a new upturn in the cost-of-living index, the report says:

"While advancing consumer prices in periods of acute shortages, as in the period of the Korean hostilities, are fully understandable, more difficult questions are posed by price advances in periods when most consumer goods are in surplus supply and, indeed, when farm prices are falling and producers of automobiles and other consumer durables are cutting back production."

Excessive big-business profit-taking is blamed for the so-called inflation and for restrictive credit policies which are squeezing small business.

The committee makes 21 recommendations as minimum steps necessary to save the American economic system of private competitive enterprise. These include proposals for progressive tax rates on corporate incomes, liberalized tax treatment of unincorporated firms, a full-scale investigation of corporate prices and profits, and antitrust law amendments to curb such things as discriminatory pricing practices and mergers. In a chapter on taxes, the committee concludes that big firms shift the corporate income tax to consumers and other economic segments, while this tax actually comes out of the pockets of smaller and more competitive firms.

The report finds that the Small Business Administration has supplied much propaganda but little help to small business: Several hundred SBA employees have set aside only 1 percent of the value of the defense contracts for small business, while small firms obtained 21 percent of the value without benefit of the set-aside. SBA's lending to small business was stepped up shortly before the November elections, but the 3-year total of its loans has been insignificant. In 3 years through June 1956, the World Bank had lent 16 times as much to finance projects abroad and the Export-Import Bank had lent 20 times as much for business abroad. The report states that aside from foreign nationals, these latter loans are principally of benefit to United States big business in financing their exports. For 7 years prior to its liquidation, the RFC lent more money to small business each year than the SBA lent in 3 years.

The report is also critical of SBA for failing to help small firms get a share of the Federal subsidies for research and industrial advancement. Referring to the Government as the biggest buyer of research, the committee said that Federal agencies are paying almost two-thirds of the country's total bill for research and development. The Department of Defense is giving out about $1.5 billion a year in such funds, but more than 95 percent goes to big business. Criticizing the administrative agencies for allowing big corporations to take out and control patents on Government-financed inventions, the committee said this: "Subsidy to bigness is contributing immeasurably to an already dangerous degree of industrial concentration."

The committee's 21 recommendations follow:

TAXATION

1. That the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 be amended to effect a substantial reduction of the corporate income-tax rates on small corporations, and, without reducing total Federal revenues from the corporate income tax, to impose a uniform system of progressive tax rates, so that corporations receiving

progressively larger net incomes will pay progressively larger rates.

2. That the appropriate committee review section 1031 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, and the regulations of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue pertaining to this section, and draft appropriate legislation to remove undue obstacles, if any, which stand in the way of unincorporated business firms making effective use of the provisions by which they may elect to be taxed as a corporation.

3. That the appropriate committees consider legislation to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, either: (1) to impose the capital-gains tax on the owners of a business firm who sell the firm's assets in exchange for corporate stock, or (2) to remove the capital-gains tax in the case of such assets when sold for cash.

4. That the appropriate committees consider legislation to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to give the taxpayer the option of paying the estate tax over a period of up to 10 years, with reasonable interest charges, in cases where the estate consists largely of investments in closely held business concerns.

5. That the appropriate committees consider legislation to repeal the excise taxes imposed during World War II, or reimposed during the Korean period, and that the necessary revenue which these taxes might yield be provided for in setting the progressive rates on corporate incomes, as already recommended.

PRICES, PROFITS, AND CREDIT

6. That appropriate committees make an investigation into the causes of the continuing price increases, in the nonagricultural segments of the economy, to determine in what segments increasing prices are having their origins in shortages, and in inadequate productive capacity, and in what segments increasing prices are resulting from inadequate competitive restraint and unwarranted profit taking.

7. That the House Select Committee on Small Business in the next Congress consider the proposition that there should be created a Federal Small Business Bank, to have authority and capital equal to that which has been provided the Export-Import Bank for financing sales of capital equipment and new businesses abroad, to assist in the financing of small-business operations and expansion within the United States.

FEDERAL PROCUREMENT, BUSINESS ASSISTANCE AND SUBSIDIES

8. That the appropriate committees make a thorough study of the Government's policy concerning the acquisition and use of patents on inventions made as a result of Government-financed research and development work.

9. That early in the next Congress, the House Select Committee on Small Business consider and make a prompt recommendation on the question whether a special joint Senate-House committee, or a Special Joint Executive-Congressional Committee should be established, with adequate appropriations and staff for its purpose, to make a thorough investigation and study of the manner in which Government contracts for materials and services, grants of funds for research and development, tax amortization certificates, and other incentives and subsidies are distributed, and the policies and methods by which these contracts are distributed, with a view to determining the impact of Government contracting practices on the competitive structure of American business, and with a view to drafting appropriate legislation for, if need be, a fundamentally new approach to the problem of the Government acquiring necessary products and services.

10. That the Vinson bill to amend the Armed Services Procurement Act of 1947, which was passed by the House by a vote of 372 to 2 in the 84th Congress, be enacted into law.

11. That legislation be enacted establishing the Small Business Administration as a permanent agency and making the agency independent of the executive branch of the Government.

ANTITRUST AND TRADE REGULATION

12. That the equality of opportunity bill which passed the House (as H. R. 1840) in the 84th Congress by a vote of 393 to 3 be promptly enacted into law.

13. That section 4 of the Clayton Antitrust Act be amended to provide that, in the case of private damage suits arising from a violation of an antitrust law, the amount recovered in excess of the damages sustained shall not be treated as taxable income for Federal tax purposes; and that the tax liability for the damages collected be computed over the tax years in which the damages are shown to have been sustained.

14. That the laws authorizing the independent Federal regulatory commissions and boards be amended to provide that the chairman of each respective commission and board shall be selected by its members; and that the Budget Act of 1921 be amended to provide that the independent Federal regulatory commissions and boards shall make their requests for appropriations directly to Congress.

15. That the appropriate committees consider legislation to amend section 7 of the Clayton Antitrust Act to provide an automatic injunction against a merger of big corporations, above a specified size, until the law-enforcement agencies have first been notified of the proposed merger and have been provided with the market information necessary for determining whether or not the merger is likely to result in a "substantial lessening of competition or tendency to create monopoly," and these agencies are then given a reasonable period in which to determine whether legal proceedings will be brought.

16. That the Clayton Antitrust Act be amended so as to make cease and desist orders issued by the Federal Trade Commission, under this act, automatically final within 60 days unless appealed within that time.

17. That legislation embodying the principles of the freedom of choice in trade bill be enacted.

18. That the House Select Committee on Small Business in the next Congress make an investigation and study of the extent and competitive effects on small business of the present state of interlocking boards of directors among corporations and, in light of its findings, recommend to the appropriate committees legislation to modernize and make effective section 8 of the Clayton Antitrust Act.

19. That the recommendations of this committee in its report, entitled "Small Business and the Aluminum Industry," (H. Rept. 2954) be implemented and effectuated by the executive agencies of the Government having the administrative functions in these fields.

20. That the Small Business Act of 1953, as amended, be further amended so as to direct the Small Business Administration to carry out the intent of Congress and to discard the numerical definition of small business now used for procurement purposes, and set up in lieu thereof an industry by industry definition in accordance with and subject to all provisions of the act.

21. That the House of Representatives establish in the 85th Congress a Select Committee on Small Business.

Waste Not, Want Not

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an address by Mr. N. H. Bergstrom, president of the Bergstrom Paper Co., Neenah, Wis., entitled "Waste Not, Want Not." The address pictures quite vividly the program of a great paper industry—the progress that has been made not only with our reforestation program but also to the end of developing processes to use what historically was waste material.

WASTE NOT, WANT NOT
(By N. H. Bergstrom)

Today there is a wondrous stream of time, money, and effort being poured into our reforestation program. This deserves great commendation for its vision, being a program undertaken for the benefit not only of the present, but also for the benefit of the future.

But I sometimes wonder at our inconsistency, particularly when my tax bills are raised to build a new incinerator, and I see smoke, as from a forest fire, rising from the city dump. We spend thousands of dollars building massive incinerators whose yawning mouths will consume countless truckloads of trash and reduce it to a barren mass of ashes. I wish I knew how much fiber is destroyed along with this trash, or the number of square miles of forest it would require to compensate for the great amount of wastepaper destroyed at public expense. I do know one figure, 26 percent of the paper consumed in 1 year will find its way back for reuse.

The other 74 percent of wastepaper not collected represents the same amount of tonnage as the world consumption of paper, less that portion consumed by North America.

All paper consumed probably winds up in 1 of the 4 following ways:

1. Some is collected and reused.
2. Some is stored in libraries and files.
3. Some is lost via the sewer.
4. The rest is burned.

If we take a consumption of 34.5 million tons of paper in 1955 and subtract the 9 million tons reused; and say all sanitary tissue is destroyed via the sewer; and that paper which is stored in libraries and files eventually finds its way out where it could be collected, I think we would be able to hazard a guess that over 20 million tons of paper are burned each year.

The 26 percent collected represents the wastepaper industry which now, according to the best estimates, is pushing the 10-million-ton mark in the consumption of wastepaper.

Now, let's take a look at this industry. Comparatively little money is spent in research and practically none on an organized associated basis to salvage this material.

I do not in any manner wish to belittle the efforts of various companies and collectors who have energetically pursued the subject of increasing the use of wastepaper through research, whereby techniques and machinery have increased in quality as well as investment until today a deinking plant is really a pulp mill. On going through such

a plant, anyone who is familiar with a pulp mill will recognize that, if wastepaper is substituted for wood chips, the two processes are quite similar: cooking, multistage bleaching, screening and, in some cases, a continuous process instead of the historical batch process.

There is another similarity. At the present time the pulp mills are using woods which in the past were impossible to use. So, too, in producing white pulps from wastepaper we are now using types of paper which in the past had to be carefully sorted out. It is possible now to control the qualities of the finished wastepaper pulp in practically any phase of tests that you care to make, including strength. With the multiplicity of grades being sorted by the collectors at the present time, this blending for quality, coupled with the advances in pulping, deinking and bleaching, produces a white pulp with controlled qualities as desired.

The pulp producer has his contamination problems due to acts of nature: bark, cinders, knots, lignin, and so forth. The wastepaper pulp producer's contamination problems are manmade. They consist of those materials put on the paper by the graphic arts people, or put into the paper by the paper mills themselves; and those materials which are added to the paper by paper converters, who may apply them in almost any manner.

These additives are necessary to the growth and prosperity of the paper and paperboard industry without which markets would be very limited. Thanks are due to paper manufacturers, paper converters, and suppliers of chemicals, coatings, and plastics for widening the horizon of the industry.

On the other hand, these additives must be coped with by the users of wastepaper. Great strides have been made by users of wastepaper, aided by producers of chemicals and equipment, in developing processes to remove these additives and prevent them from interfering with production of, or impairing the quality of, pulps derived from wastepaper. Only recently have we been smart enough to realize that the easiest and most economical way to accomplish our objective is to change the additive itself, and thereby eliminate the difficulty. Even now, this has been accomplished in some cases. Better late than never.

Let me cite you a few successful examples. Less than 2 years ago, mills, printers, and converters were splicing paper with many kinds of adhesive mediums, all of which, when the waste was thrown back into the beaters, caused either specks in the finished paper or spots on the fourdrinier wire due to sticky substances.

Through the efforts of the Waste Paper Utilization Council, of which I will have more to say later, adhesive manufacturers were alerted to the problem. As a result, in a matter of months a splicing tissue was devised which is water soluble and yet adequate for use on nearly all presses and converting operations, including wet operations. Thus, this problem was eliminated. That was a quick and fairly easy one.

Another example. A hot melt plastic material was devised for binding magazines together. It was used by one of the larger magazines, with a great apparent saving in cost, only to discover that it made their magazines absolutely useless as wastepaper. As a result, they suffered the loss of the salvage value of their waste. In a great many cases, this waste is a large item in the profit and loss figure and sometimes equals their entire profit. Even today, these magazines must be thrown out because of the impossibility of identifying the good from the unusable magazines. That mistake will plague us for the next 10 years.

The bright side of this picture is that these mistakes are being caught rather rapidly, but they must be caught before they happen. Otherwise, I repeat, the collection system is contaminated with great loss to all concerned, including the producer of the waste.

The American Paper and Pulp Association was formed and exists, among other reasons, for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the paper industry by means of cooperation and communication, scientifically and statistically. It is a large complex organization with many divisions and subsidiaries. The wastepaper industry is in dire need of promoting similar objectives. It has made a start, but should expand and needs help to sell the idea, not only within itself, but among the industry in general, of doing the same type of thing as the A. P. & P. A.

For years, a committee of T. A. P. P. I. has been active in a study of the problems involved in the de-inking of printed wastepaper. In 1956, this committee published the fruit of its work in the form of monograph No. 16, outlining the basic principles of the de-inking process.

The committee is not resting on its laurels, but is setting up a research project to study the elimination of synthetic adhesives in de-inking processes. Other problems are to be dealt with in turn.

In 1931, the Waste Paper Institute was formed as a division of the National Association of Waste Material Dealers.

Prior to this time, there were only 10 classifications of grades of wastepaper. Through the efforts of this institute, there are now 43 grades with definite specifications. This resulted in having grades produced which could be used for blending to achieve certain qualities in the finished pulp, as mentioned previously.

In January 1953, the Waste Paper Utilization Council was formed here in New York through the efforts of the Materials Committee of the American Paper and Pulp Association. Its purpose was as follows:

1. To promote an increase in the use of wastepaper.

2. To gather, organize and collate a bibliography of information relating to the use of wastepaper.

3. To study the technical problems encountered because of the presence of various solids in wastepaper which interfere with the recovery of usable fibers therefrom; to determine where research is necessary in the solution of such problems; and from time to time, engage in special research projects in an endeavor to arrive at a solution thereof.

4. To cooperate and consult with industry organizations and with individual business organizations having problems similar to those set forth above.

5. To disseminate information concerning the use of wastepaper and the solution of the problems set forth above, to consuming members and associate members and to such other persons, firms and corporations as the executive committee of the council may from time to time determine.

It has three classes of membership: regular membership which consists of the consuming mills; associate membership, which consists of the collectors, brokers and jobbers; and advisory members, which have to do with the graphic arts and other technical organizations, such as adhesives and so forth. While this organization is not affiliated with the American Paper and Pulp Association, it has received a great deal of aid from it, particularly in its formative stages. This assistance has been greatly appreciated.

In spite of its youth and its very limited budget (around $40,000), its accomplishments have been phenomenal. Practically all of this has been done by effective communication. The aid received from its associate, and particularly its advisory members in research work and in the prevention of contamination has been excellent. Due to the youth of this organization and budget limitations, it has not done much beyond the work of the fireman in "putting out fires."

The basic need is in the virgin field of altering the concepts of many people in order to effect changes in present materials which contaminate wastepaper. Let me illustrate. The amount of pulp and paper consumed in producing milk cartons, ice-cream cartons, and similar items using paraffin is tremendous. I am convinced that with proper research a noncontaminating plastic could be devised so that this material could be collected after use and utilized for pulp. Milk cartons have long, strong fibers and would make a highly desirable deinked pulp with little loss in processing and so command a good price as waste. There is in Wisconsin a milk company using plastic-coated cartons. Unfortunately, they are not reusable. However, I believe the same thing could happen in this instance as happened in my earlier illustration of the hot-melt binding. The only work that has ever been done that I am informed of is an attempt at removal of the paraffin from waste with the idea of salvaging both the paraffin and the fiber. This appears to be a very difficult technical problem and so far has not been successfully solved.

The presence of contamination in waste paper and the expense of its removal is the chief item in the high cost of converting waste paper into pulp. This tends to limit the consumption of wastepaper by depressing its price in order to have it compete with virgin pulp. The cost of converting waste paper into pulp must be lowered in order to increase consumption and thus have a new incentive for collection of wastepaper.

From the beginning printing was based on the use of a pigment and an absorbing and drying vehicle. The pigment was carbon and the vehicle linseed oil. The combination is still in use. Its chief virtue is that it is cheap.

In order to deink papers printed in this manner, it is necessary to cook it with alkali and screen out the "fines," including the carbon. This alkali yellows the ground wood pulp, so we cannot deink newsprint.

After many decades, we still use carbon and linseed oil. Is it impossible to devise a pigment and vehicle just as satisfactory as these, yet removable with a simple chemical in the beaters? Must we continue to burn thousands of tons of ground-wood papers? Do you doubt that research can solve this problem? I do not.

If this could be accomplished, the waste newsprint and the finished product could both be produced close to the volume markets of consumption, with great savings in freight.

There is little hope of reducing the cost of converting appreciably except through the concept that all additives be such that they can be quickly and simply removed. That is, to me, the key which would enable the industry to pay more for waste and still be competitive with virgin pulp. The price paid for waste paper measures the volume saved. That is axiomatic. So much so that today wastepaper pickups are practically limited to large plants which generate waste. This waste must be picked up even if the collector has to be paid to burn it.

Bear in mind that while the trend of consumption of wastepaper has been upward, its proportion to consumption of wood pulp is downward. This trend should be reversed. Long-term economics dictates this.

On the basis of the Stanford report for the United States and the American Paper and Pulp Association's report on world per capita consumption, using straight line projection, we arrive at a figure of 54 million tons of paper and paperboard for North America and about 88 million tons for the world in 1975. Realizing that North America is already an exporter of paper or pulp, and trying to visualize where this tonnage came from; it seems to me conclusively evident that we ought to begin to think about con-

servation in terms of greater reuse of our waste paper. Our misgivings in regard to adequate supplies of pulp for the future could be allayed if we could raise that figure of 26-percent salvage of wastepaper today to 52 percent. This figure could be further enhanced by eliminating contamination which prevents the reuse of paper. Incidentally, such an achievement would have the further advantage of saving some tax money by cutting down on the size of our trash incinerators and the volume of trash collections.

We take great pride in our paper industry. We take great pride in the versatility of our product. Among other things, we brag about its usefulness and its economy. But let's look at the challenge presented by the usefulness of paper, seeing the overall economy of the reuse of waste paper. I submit, let's have "progress without contamination, for reuse."

The Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, my home State of Indiana is in the very heart of grassroots America. People out there believe in the fundamentals on which this Nation was founded and has progressed. The same fundamentals guide them in their own personal conduct and in the management of their homes, their families, their lands, their businesses, and other activities with which they may be connected.

A keystone of their philosophy, Mr. Speaker, is commonsense economy in all operations, whether in their homes or in the local, State, and national governments they help to maintain. For a long time the people of Indiana have been worried about the national debt, about the size of our Federal budgets and many other problems incident to an ever-expanding Federal bureaucracy.

When the budget for fiscal 1958 was proposed, a budget calling for Federal expenditures of $71.8 billion, these people literally "hit the ceiling." Their demands for economy, for a downward revision of the budget, have poured into Washington from all corners of Indiana. My own mail from folks at home now is the heaviest it has been during my entire 17 years of service in this great body, and most of that mail demands budget cutting and a more realistic pattern of Federal spending.

My eight Republican colleagues from Indiana are getting similar protests and in great quantities. They share very deeply the concern of their constituents. They are experienced and conscientious Members of this great Chamber, and they feel that substantial economies in this 1958 Federal budget can be effected and are very much in order.

We Republican members of the Indiana House delegation recently met and drafted a statement expressing our belief that the budget can be reduced without damaging the economy or the security of the country. Our delegation is committed to this drive for economy as the following statement will indicate:

The Indiana Republican delegation in the United States House of Representatives, after careful study and evaluation, has unanimously agreed that a substantial reduction of the $72 billion Federal budget will be in the best interest of the people of the United States.

It was further agreed that every proposed reduction in the budget, which does not curtail essential services or endanger the security of our country, will be supported.

This action is in accord with the admonition of President Eisenhower and Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey that Congress exercise its independent control over Government spending.

CHARLES A. HALLECK, 2d District; F. JAY NIMTZ, 3d District; E. ROSS ADAIR, 4th District; JOHN V. BEAMER, 5th District; CECIL M. HARDEN, 6th District; WILLIAM G. BRAY, 7th District; EARL WILSON, 9th District; RALPH HARVEY, 10th District; CHARLES B. BROWNSON, 11th District.

Inaction in Hungary Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to include the text of an article by Bishop Dwyer, of Reno, Nev., regarding the inaction of this country in the case of Hungary, and taken from the January 12 issue of the Tablet:

SCORES INACTION IN HUNGARY ISSUE—RENO PRELATE DECLARES AMERICANS ARE LAZY AND INDIFFERENT

(By Most Rev. Robert J. Dwyer)

Shakespeare's phrase for it would be the "expense of spirit in a waste of shame." It exactly describes the magnificence of Hungary and the ignominy of the rest of us.

Here, for anyone who cares about such things, is the supreme example of heroism in our age, the test case of the meaning of Christendom, the most glorious vindication of the human spirit we have known.

The classic instances, Thermopylae, Pickett at Gettysburg, the defense of the Alcazar, fade as the stars before the mounting sun. Here is an expense of spirit so lavish as to enrich all history.

But then, by contrast, our wasteland of shame. We have cited all the prudential reasons why we should work through channels; we have marshaled all the arguments for avoiding a world conflict of incalculable risks and dangers; we have even called upon the moral theologians to assure us that no revolution, however just, should be undertaken without reasonable hope of success; but the fact remains that while we have been talking a nation has been murdered.

NOTHING BUT TALK

Our shame is that we have been able to do nothing but talk. But it goes deeper than that. It lies in the fact that we have allowed ourselves to be maneuvered into our present embarrassment, and that we did so pretty well with our eyes open.

It might have been foretold by anyone with a glimpse of vision that the precise concatenation of circumstances we accepted would produce the precise results we now so grievously deplore.

There would have been no need for a prophet; a mathematician would have done as well. William Lloyd Garrison's burning words, "A covenant with death and an agreement with hell," may have been abolitionist rhetoric, but they could well serve as a plain unvarnished statement of what we let ourselves in for when we signed on the dotted line at Yalta.

BLAME SHARED BY ALL

There is not much point now in trying to foist the total blame for the great sellout on certain individuals, living and dead. If we were to assess it completely, we might have to go back much farther than the hypothetical rivet in grandfathers' neck. Blame Karl Marx for Stalin, blame Mr. Secretary Cecil for Winston Churchill, blame William James for F. D. R.

It is a line of reasoning which obviously gets nowhere, for the simple reason that it ignores the blunt fact of personal responsibility.

If there is blame to be assessed, it is to be shared by all of us. We consented to the fact. We were too lazy, or too indifferent, or too occupied with making money to bother our heads about it.

We consented to a world half free and half slave, and we entered into a compact with the slave power which literally bound us to the maintenance of that peculiar institution over one-quarter of the habitable globe.

We dressed it up with pious phraseology, of course, to placate the ghost of Father Abraham, and we even (God forgive us) talked about the new types of collective democracy. We knew what we were doing. Now we are paying the price.

IDEALS BLASPHEMED

Not that we are suffering physically. Our gas supply is not rationed, our cities are intact, our holiday crowds are not being machinegunned. All these things are happening in Hungary, and Hungary is a long way off.

But we are suffering in our conscience. It comes home to us that this is actually the result of our doing. We have blasphemed the ideals that are the most sacred inheritance of America, and now they rise up like blood-stained furies to haunt us.

We open our gates to 25,000 Hungarian refugees, and every one of them is a living reproach to the criminal stupidity that ruined them.

In a few more days we will celebrate the Christmas of 1956. We will sing the old carols, recalling the eternal hope of peace on earth to men of good will. We will salve our conscience with the reflection that if there is precious little peace and even less of good will, we at least are not wholly to blame, and even if we were, there is nothing we can do about it. Which is, precisely, to miss the entire meaning of Christmas.

For the whole point of Christ's coming is that we are to blame for our sins and that we are responsible for the world we live in. The Nativity was not a sentimental gesture for our comfort but the divine answer to our absolute need for salvation. Christ came not as a gentle visionary but as the supreme realist to change the face of the earth.

Christianity is actually far less theory than it is the stern practice which places the burden of justice and charity exactly where it belongs, in the hands of each individual. Our Christmas joy would necessarily be incomplete were even one human soul denied its God-given liberty. With Hungary in agony and half of Christendom ensalved this is a Christmas more of hope than of joy. May that hope come quickly, as the day star from on high.

Resolution in Support of the Jenkins-Keogh Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, from time to time legislation has been proposed to permit the many self-employed professional people of this country to establish retirement income plans which most of the citizens of the Nation now enjoy.

Up to this time the Congress has not provided for any arrangement which enables our professional people to participate in such a plan. I believe that the failure to recognize the need for equity of such legislation is a discriminatory condition.

I have received recommendations from numerous of my constitutents who are in professional fields suggesting that they be permitted to establish retirement income plans or funds for themselves as individuals under the same tax equities that are now provided for the beneficiaries of corporation-sponsored plans. May I point out further that this would relieve the professions of this discriminatory tax inequity and permit them to establish savings funds which would substantially foster the anti-inflationary policies of the Federal Government.

I quote herewith the resolution offered in this connection by the Illinois State Dental Society, to wit:

Whereas the members of the Illinois State Dental Society feel that it is unjust and inequitable for the self-employed not to be granted tax equality with the employees of corporations in connection with amounts contributed to retirement and pension plans: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the members of the Illinois State Dental Society do favor the principle of the Jenkins-Keogh proposals, H. R. 9 and H. R. 10, to give self-employed individuals comparable rights to tax savings on amounts contributed to voluntary pension or retirement programs to those enjoyed by corporate officials and employees; and be it further

Resolved, That the membership of the Illinois State Dental Society urges the 85th Congress to act favorably and promptly upon this proposal.

May I add that the Chicago Dental Society has also prepared a similar resolution adopted by its board of directors urging the support of H. R. 9 and H. R. 10, which follows:

Whereas self-employed persons such as the members of our profession are not permitted to realize the tax benefits that are available under the Internal Revenue Code to officers and employees of corporations with respect to funds placed in private pension and retirement programs; and

Whereas this is patently an unjust discrimination; and

Whereas the recently proposed H. R. 9 and H. R. 10 introduced by Representative JENKINS, Republican, of Ohio, and Representative KEOGH, Democrat, of New York, embody the principles that have underlain similar bills introduced by these two men in the past several years and gained the approbation and support of both major parties, of the President, of our leading tax authorities and millions of self-employed persons; and

Whereas we feel that the plan has been instituted in other countries and found workable and feasible and because it is a sound program of saving and providing for future retirement funds which is of advantage to the country at large as well as the particular individuals involved; be it

Resolved, That the Chicago Dental Society support the principles of H. R. 9 and H. R. 10, sometimes referred to as the Jenkins-Keogh proposal and urges the Congress to enact it into law.

Mr. Speaker, it is my hope that the other Members of this Congress will appreciate the need and justice of such legislation and will wholeheartedly support these bills when they are reported out of committee.

What Can Be Done To Lighten Workload of Congressmen?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert herewith a copy of an editorial which appeared in the Monday, March 4, 1957, issue of the Birmingham (Ala.) News, one of the fine daily newspapers of my district. It is felt that the Members of Congress will derive some satisfaction from the fact that there are others who realize that the life of a Congressman is a difficult one:

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO LIGHTEN WORKLOAD OF CONGRESSMEN?

Only a casual following of Washington news should be enough to bring realization that our Congressmen face a tremendous workload. Many Americans must wonder how Senators and Representatives prepare themselves to pass upon the numerous matters which come before them. The lawmakers themselves well realize they are often hard put to it in trying to do that.

The Senate Government Operations Committee recently reported that Senators are overburdened with work. This group said its studies showed that between January 5 and July 27, 1955, 7,250 legislative proposals were considered in committee meetings. It is in such sessions, the report pointed out, that more than 90 percent of the work in the legislative process is done.

But on most of the days in this period the Senate itself met for an average of 6 hours daily.

Of course, besides Senate and House meetings and committee gatherings, many other demands are made on the time of Congressmen. They need much private study. They must try to keep up with conditions especially affecting their constituents. They have many callers. They have much correspondence. They ought to have recreation and exercise. They have social obligations.

How well members stand up to all these demands is impressive.

Of course, the committee system is essential. Obviously every Congressman cannot give detailed, exhaustive study to every matter upon which he may have to vote. The committees carry out most of such consideration. Subcommittees deal with many assignments.

In the whole process, naturally, lawmakers come to have especially broad knowledge of certain subjects. Much reliance is placed on such knowledge.

Even so, great numbers of proposals eventually must be voted on by Members of Senate and House generally. Of course, they all desire to be as well informed as possible. How can efforts to that end best be pursued?

Every Member must, of course, strive to solve his own problems in this regard as well as he can. How can a conscientious Member avoid much stress and anxiety in striving to do so?

The Senate Government Operating Committee recommended consideration of possible Senate rule changes so that more time would be available for committee work.

"The committee feels," it said, "that, in view of this situation, appropriate action should be considered in order to develop a better balance of time between sessions of the Senate and committee members so as to speed up, improve and bring about better coordination of the legislative process."

The committee recalled that Congress in 1946 considered a study group's recommendation that the Senate and House meet every second day instead of daily, as it now does in many weeks.

We agree that fresh consideration should be given to this whole problem. We don't think any complete solution is going to be found. In the nature of things, our Congressmen are bound to carry heavy loads. But things can be done to improve procedures and rules. Fewer full meetings of Senate and House may be feasible and conceivably could help a lot.

Timely Salute to a World on Wheels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, we are all familiar with the maxim, "distance lends enchantment," but today I would like to paraphrase that with: "distance sometimes lends distortion." For I submit that all too often we lose sight of what reciprocal trade really means to nations less fortunate than ours.

I was reminded of this recently by an unusual advertisement which appeared in the Detroit newspapers. The advertisement, entitled "Timely Salute to a World on Wheels," appeared on behalf of the Watchmakers of Switzerland, a trade group representing the Swiss watch industry. It pays tribute to our great automotive industry and to the technological skills with which we have consistently produced the very finest automobiles. In the words of the advertisement, the industry's new cars have been winning "a paean of praise for automotive genius that is purely American."

But the ad goes beyond simple praise of our autos. The Swiss watchmakers contend that the superiority of our cars is the direct result of the industry's fierce competitive spirit and constant striving to make a better car. And free competition is the soil that flourishes and the

spur that inspires the desire to make only the best. Although typically American, the zeal to do it better is found equally in other lands, too.

As a Member representing the industrial section of Michigan, home State of our great car and truck industries, I am naturally pleased to see this recognition by a foreign trade group. However, it is not pride alone but a sense of our own self-interest which compels me to speak on the subject. For Michigan has an abiding and profitable relationship with Switzerland and trade statistics prove that so does every other State in the Union.

With the exception of New York, Michigan sells more products and goods to the Swiss than any other State; Switzerland purchases about $15 million worth of Michigan goods yearly, including machinery, metals, metal goods, autos, and trucks. And it is worth noting that the Swiss buy our products with cold cash—in fact, she is our best cash customer in all Europe.

The principle of sound commercial relations with other nations is not new to us, of course. In a very real sense America owes its existence as a strong and independent nation to the concept of free trade. Our Founding Fathers, concerned with our economic growth in the critical years following the Revolution, laid down the basic tenet that favorable and friendly commercial dealings with other lands spelled economic prosperity, independence, and peace for our country. In our own time we can point to the reciprocal trade policies formulated and developed by Cordell Hull, and others, as the logical continuance of those farsighted trade principles.

A true yardstick of the value of our reciprocal trade program is eloquently demonstrated by the trade growth between United States and Switzerland since the Reciprocal Trade Treaty was signed in 1936. In the previous year our trade with the Swiss amounted to only $7 million. It has since jumped 2,200 percent, with the Swiss buying a half-billion dollars or more from us in the last decade. In the first 11 months of 1956 Switzerland sold $150 million in goods and products to us; they purchased $191 million worth of American products in return. Thus, in terms of what this means to both peoples—a better standard of living, a happier way of life—the reciprocal trade concept stands as a basic necessity in our way of life.

But there are those who seek to subvert this tried and proven trade practice to their own narrow interests. In Switzerland's case a powerful group of protectionists has inspired our Government to impose a series of restrictive and punitive measures against Swiss watch imports. Beginning with the 50 percent watch tariff increase in 1954, this protectionist campaign has now culminated in the demand that watch quotas be instituted, under the highly questionable premise that our watch industry requires protection because, supposedly, it is essential to defense.

We should all be seriously concerned with this flouting of our official trade position of trade, no aid, because it is far from an isolated case. A survey by the respected Journal of Commerce reveals that in 1955 more than 11 percent of Western Europe's exports to the United States faced trade restrictions. We challenged $257 million worth of shipments of the total exports of $2,293 million from Western Europe's 13 countries. English woolens and bikes, German clocks, French woolens, Italian cheese—these and other items faced our trade barriers aimed at their exclusion in 1955.

Recent amendments to our trade laws reflect this dangerous appeasement of the high-tariff forces within our country. The peril-point and escape-clause provisions, the essentiality amendment, the quotas on woolens and cottons, the tariff increases on watches and bicycles—all imposed in the belief that they will alleviate whatever ills our corresponding industries are suffering from—do untold harm to our allies and the other friendly nations overseas.

It would be something less than naive, however, to expect these countries to face our trade harassments without some action in return. In a word: retaliation.

Already there are indications that the west European nations are joining together to protect their commercial trade against tariff restrictions. I refer to their current activities to form a common market, in which the member nations will enjoy very low, and, eventually, no tariff restrictions on their exports to each other.

And in a more specific instance, last July the French Parliament passed a law which levies an annual tax of 100,000 francs, or $287, on automobiles with 16 fiscal horsepower and over. Significantly, the tax affects mostly American-made automobiles in France. It should be noted without comment that we protested to the French that the tax was discriminatory, but to no avail.

Representing Michigan, I am especially concerned over these recent developments because our auto industry will be among the first to be affected by a high tariff war. One need not be a genius in economics to realizes that this kind of action opens the way to trade discord and hardship for all parties.

The Swiss watchmakers' ad implies that only through the pressure of free competition will a product be forced to compete at its very best—to the benefit of consumer, industry, and nation. I am in complete agreement with this viewpoint. I say that a superior product, be it a watch, bicycle, automobile, or whatever, should not be penalized for the very thing that makes it noteworthy—namely, its excellence.

In the area of economic trade, I find the golden rule to be quite applicable—let us do unto our trading partners as we would have them do unto us. From World War II we gained the lesson that we cannot live in political isolation. Today it is equally essential that we learn we cannot live in economic separation either.

It Is a Matter of Simple Justice to the Colleges of the Nation That the Federal Government Pay at Least a Part of the Cost of Providing Facilities for the ROTC Program

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, I have recently introduced as H. R. 3419 a bill which I believe merits the study and support of all Members of the House.

This bill would strengthen our officer-training system for the Armed Forces, and also greatly help more than 300 of our colleges and universities meet their pressing-demands for space and facilities.

The legislation would provide Federal aid for the construction of Reserve Officers Training Corps facilities at the more than 300 colleges and universities—public and private—which maintain ROTC units of the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

At present the Federal Government—which relies on the ROTC as its principal source of officers, both for the Regular and Reserve components of the Armed Forces—pays no part of the cost of supplying classrooms, office space, drill fields, storage space, and the like for this program.

The colleges are responsible for construction, repairs, and maintenance of all facilities, storage space for supplies and equipment and, in the case of the Army, for providing personnel to have custody of the equipment.

The armed services furnish only military instructional personnel, textbooks, and equipment.

It may come as a surprise to many Members of the House to know that a survey conducted in late 1955, through the cooperation of 5 associations of colleges and universities, revealed that the ROTC program was then using space valued at more than 190 millions of dollars in our colleges and universities.

This was on the basis of full-time use of space.

This is a conservative figure as a few institutions did not respond to the survey.

The same survey also showed that between 1950 and 1955 the institutions reporting graduated nearly 135,000 students from the ROTC program of all services.

Of these, more than 71,000 completed the Army ROTC program for commissioning. More than 51,000 the Air Force program and more than 11,500 the Naval ROTC program. These, again are conservative figures.

All these young men assumed an obligation to serve from 2 to 3 years in the armed services and most of them did so serve.

Aside from the comparatively small number in the Navy's Holloway plan pro-

gram which pays the tuition fees and subsistence of its students, none of these men received any support from the Federal Government during the first 2 years of their program and approximately $30 a month during the academic year in the last 2 years.

The colleges supplied all instruction, except that in military subjects in addition to all facilities.

Mr. Speaker, there is no possible controversy or difference of opinion about Federal aid to education involved in H. R. 3419.

It is a matter of simple justice that the Federal Government pay at least part of the cost of providing facilities for a program which supplies most of the officers for the National Defense Establishment, Regular and Reserve.

We all know of the tremendous problems our colleges and universities face in providing facilities and staffs to meet present and future needs.

We are all concerned about the shortages in science, engineering, and other critical fields.

Enrollment in these fields has been increasing sharply, I am happy to say, in the past 3 years.

Both the Scientific Manpower Commission and the Engineering Manpower Commission now say that the most acute problem is not one of arousing the interest of potential science, engineering, and other students, but of providing facilities for their instruction and staffs to teach them.

All types of institutions of higher education involved in the ROTC program are united in the support of legislation for the general purposes indicated in H. R. 3419.

Late in 1955, the American Council on Education conducted a poll of ROTC institutions of all services which was jointly sponsored by the council, the American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities, the Association of American Colleges, State Universities Association, and the National Catholic Educational Association.

Ninety-five percent of all institutions expressing an opinion were in favor of ROTC facilities legislation.

It has been approved in principle by the Reserve Forces Policy Board of the Department of Defense and by the Army, Navy, and Air Force separately.

There are differences of opinion as to one or two features of the proposed legislation.

H. R. 3419, as introduced, provides that Federal funds would be available to match up to 50 percent of the cost of construction of ROTC facilities.

Some institutions feel that the Federal Government should pay 100 percent of the cost for such a national defense program.

My bill does not carry a retroactive feature.

I understand that some institutions believe that the legislation should be retroactive to 1945 when the Navy in installing its present ROTC program, made a commitment to seek legislation to provide Federal aid for half the cost of the facilities the colleges were asked to construct or furnish.

The arguments pro and con on these points can be considered by the Armed Services Committee and this House during hearings on the legislation and a decision reached as to what should be done.

My personal opinion is that the legislation should be made retroactive by suitable amendments.

I am unaware of any disagreement as to the general merits of the legislation in some form.

We have a well-established policy of providing aid for training facilities for our Reserve components and we should have such a policy in respect to the facilities for training officers for the Reserve and Regular components.

If this legislation is adopted the colleges and universities will still be carrying a major portion of the cost of the ROTC program by providing maintenance and upkeep of facilities and all instruction except that of a strictly military nature.

At the service academies the Federal Government pays 100 percent of the cost of training officers.

The cost of this legislation will not be high and will be spread out over a period of years.

Survey results indicate that on a matching basis the cost would not exceed an average of $10 million a year over a period of 8 or 9 years even if a retroactive feature were included in the bill.

We have already authorized $500 million for Reserve facilities and legislation is pending to raise this to $750 million.

I hope sincerely that the Department of Defense will provide an early and favorable report on this legislation in order that it may have full consideration by the Armed Services Committee at an early date.

Your Finest Investment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday evening, February 20, 1857, in the Rick Hotel in the city of Rocky Mount, N. C., the Junior Chambers of Commerce of Nash and Edgecombe Counties held a joint meeting. This meeting was unique in that perhaps it was the first time that several junior chambers of commerce had met in joint session for the purpose of awarding distinguished service awards to young men who had distinguished themselves in the field of public service. Special and select committees were appointed and charged with the responsibility of selecting the young man of a particular community who had rendered great and distinguished service in his community during the year 1956. We have 4 junior chambers of commerce in the 2 counties. One is located in my home town of Nashville, N. C., the others are in Spring Hope, Rocky Mount, and Tarboro. As strange as it may seem, when the selection of the secret committee had been made public and the names had been announced, one was a preacher, one was a lawyer, one was a doctor, and one was a farmer. The place of the meeting was ideal for the reason that the city of Rocky Mount is located in both Nash and Edgecombe Counties. The main street is the dividing line between the two counties and incidentally between two congressional districts. The young men receiving the distinguished service awards have all rendered such outstanding and distinguished public service that their selections met with enthusiasm and approval. All of them have rendered great public service in many activities and endeavors which have reflected great credit upon themselves, their families, and their communities. I am certain that these fine young men will continue to make great and grand contributions to the welfare of the people of the communities in which they live. I commend and congratulate them upon their splendid achievement.

Frequently, on such occasions people prominent in the political life of either State or Nation are invited to deliver the principal address, but for this great meeting the program committee selected a very fine representative of industry, Mr. Merritt D. Hill, general manager of the tractor and implement division of the Ford Motor Co. At the awards banquet Mr. Hill delivered one of the finest speeches I have ever heard, and I take great pleasure in presenting this splendid speech to the Members of Congress in the hope that it may be read by people throughout the Nation. The speech was well prepared and extraordinarily well delivered. The title of the speech was "Your Finest Investment."

On behalf of all the people of both Nash and Edgecombe Counties, I want to thank Merritt D. Hill, of the Ford Motor Co., which he so well and ably represents, for having accepted our invitation to visit our State and to deliver the principal speech at this very unique meeting. The banquet hall was packed and jammed and everyone present and all of those who listened over the radio will long remember this splendid address.

YOUR FINEST INVESTMENT

(By Merritt D. Hill, general manager, tractor and implement division, Ford Motor Co.)

Thank you very much, Mr. Davenport, for your introduction and for the many other kindnesses which you and your committee have shown.

We have so many people in our organization who speak so warmly and enthusiastically about Nash County and the fine people of Nashville and Rocky Mount that tonight I am a stranger who feels right at home.

Back in 1950, a fine motion picture was made in Nash County and the premiere of that picture was one of the most unusual ever staged. It was a picture about agriculture and about farm folks and how they were progressing under the guidance of the land-grant colleges. So instead of holding the premiere in a big city before an audience of top Government officials, it was

decided to keep the premiere in character with the picture. And it was held near the site where part of the picture was filmed—in Nashville. And the Government officials were brought to Nashville.

Unfortunately I could not atend. It was decided that someone had to stay home and keep shop. And I was stuck. But I was told that you folks in this area turned in a tremendous job. Our people still say that if you want to experience cooperation and hospitality of the highest order, you need look no further than Nash County, N. C.

Some 15,000 folks came to town that day to see the tremendous parade that your local committees organized and to see and hear a star-studded official group headed by Congressman COOLEY, the Secretary of Agriculture, several governors, and scores of other Washington dignitaries.

Dearborn Motors Corp., which enjoyed this fine cooperation from you during the premiere for Waves of Green, no longer is in the farm machinery business. Those activities have been taken over by the tractor and implement division of Ford Motor Co. But there are many now in the Ford organiaztion who recall with pleasure the areawide wave of cooperation and enthusiasm which was extended to that very successful and pleasant film premiere nearly 7 years ago.

A year ago last June, a favorite son of North Carolina came up to Michigan and participated in the ceremonies dedicating the farm machinery research and engineering center which we were opening up near Birmingham.

In a speech made before Henry Ford and others in a large group of leaders in business and industry, he did quite a selling job on his favorite subject.

I do not need to tell you folks that when Congressman HAROLD COOLEY winds up and takes off on the subject of keeping the record straight about American agriculture, he really lays it on the line. And I am sure you know him well enough to make a sizable bet that he would not overlook the opportunity to touch on one or two Democratic points for the benefit of that largely Republican audience. And you would have won that bet.

But the burden of what Congressman COOLEY had to say that night transcended all party lines and interests. He put forth most eloquently the need for a public-relations program for agriculture, the need for all friends of American agriculture to join efforts in seeing to it that the public had a better understanding of the farmers' key role in our way of life.

And those of us in that audience that night felt that his message pointed up a great national need. In fact, action on a number of the points he suggested already has been taken.

Tonight, it is my pleasuree to return the visit of your genial and able Congressman and talk with you on another subject that transcends political parties, regional preferences, or even national interests.

Tonight I would like to talk with you about your finest investment. First, let me say that while I lost one of the prime requisites for membership in the junior chamber of commerce nearly 20 years ago, the years have served to strengthen one conviction which I have always held. And that is, there is nothing that cannot be done, and done better, by your generation than it has ever been done by a previous generation.

At a time when America's industrial might, her electronic machines, her matchless economic expansion are demanding more and keener leadership manpower, we can be thankful indeed for organizations like the junior chamber of commerce. It is here that young men have ample opportunity to grow and develop into the kinds of leaders that our Nation must have.

Tonight, as you present the Man of the Year awards, you symbolize a new awareness that business as usual is not enough. You recognize the close relationship between business achievement and community service.

The Jaycee program has been summed up by the phrase, "Young men learning civic consciousness through constructive action."

Young men—young in the sense of having reached maturity yet still being youthful in the world of the community and in the world of business. You are members of the only comparable organization in the world which stresses youth as its unique characteristic.

Young men learning—learning skills and habits in the Jaycees that will serve you well for the rest of your lives. The continuing education you get through this organization will be one of your most treasured assets.

Young men learning civic consciousness. Graduates of the Jaycees are noted for becoming leaders in all phases of civic activity.

And when you learn through constructive action, you put your lessons to work. You learn to build up, rather than tear down. Throughout the world, members of the Jaycees are recognized as specialists in getting things done—and getting them done well.

In short, we might say that effective participation in the Jaycee program can equip you to make your finest investment.

How do you go about making your finest investment?

It's very simple. Those being honored here tonight, as well as some of the rest of you, already have paid the first installment.

Stated simply it is this: Invest your life in the lives around you. It's a short phrase, but it encompasses virtually every decent and worthwhile motive of mankind. Invest your life in the lives around you.

Our very presence at this event tonight is testimony that this principle has made great strides in the business life of this Nation. Most of you represent a business firm, a firm that recognizes that as a Jaycee you can make a stronger contribution to life in your community. Your membership attests to that.

Just as isolationism is a thing of the past for our Nation, so is the viewpoint that business has no responsibilities outside of the profit and loss ledger. Our society is too closely interwoven, our business, our recreation, our civic, and our worship ties are too intertwined to permit anything resembling complete independence of action and interest.

Farsighted men who are leaders in our professional, industrial, and business fields recognize this interlacing of interest. And they have been moving more and more in the direction of actively supporting such basic institutions as our educational system, our hospitals, the agencies which support our health and welfare programs, and, yes, constructive politics.

Perhaps it is on the community level where this new awareness of corporate citizenship is most apparent. Any businessman who sincerely wants the good will and respect of the community in which he operates must earn that good will by being a good citizen and a good neighbor in that community.

Ford Motor Co. considers this activity so important that we have established 45 community relations committees composed of the top company managers in cities where the company has sales or production operations. The job of these men is to see that Ford Motor Co. plays its part—financial and otherwise—in maintaining and improving the welfare of the entire community. Our people are encouraged to become active in civic affairs, to joint worthwhile organizations, and to provide leadership, if it is wanted, for various community projects.

Today, business has a golden opportunity to demonstrate that it has a heart and a conscience. Many companies have developed elaborate programs of civic aid.

In Chicago, the Marshall Field department store has a special vice president in charge of civic affairs.

In Houston, each year the Humble Oil & Refining Co. lends a full-time staff of 100 Humble employees to help organize the united fund drive.

In Seattle, Boeing Airplane Co. lends six of its bright young executives to the Seattle Community Chest. The company pays their salaries for the 3 months spent in organizing plant solicitation drives.

In Atlanta, Richard H. Rich, head of the city's major department store, keeps a careful check on how active in civic affairs are his supervisory people. "The minute a man or woman becomes a supervisor," said Rich, "we urge him to get into civic work. We believe it is part of good leadership to be a good citizen."

Out in Los Angeles, Vic Carter, a hardware merchant and banker, was so busy that he had to make a choice. And that was, either cut down his civic activities or his business. His decision—he sold one of his business interests to allow him more time for community affairs.

Gentlemen of the business world, don't let anyone in this age of enlightened businessmen get away with the general accusation that business has no heart and no conscience.

The battle is by no means over. There undoubtedly remains a small, hardheaded minority of businessmen who have not yet seen the light. And almost as bad are the letterheaders—the fellows who believe they have fulfilled their civic obligations by lending their name to civic programs without lending their time and interest. But we can be grateful that they are in the minority.

In recent years there has been a noticeable and welcome increase in the numbers of young men who are sharing the load, and experiencing the warm satisfaction of civic service. And tonight we certainly have with us this area's finest examples of young men who are serving their community.

I am sure that both you and the firms you represent have learned that civic service pays dividends far beyond its contributions to your community. You have found that it gives you invaluable experience, that you have an opportuntiy to meet top people on a common ground, and that you have learned to talk and think on your feet and to meet people easily. These are the byproducts of civic service. These are extra dividends from your finest investment.

Your officers tell me that a No. 1 program of the Jaycees in this area is to help bring new industry into this section of the country.

I am confident that already you have explored the possibilities of cooperation with other organizations and firms which also have an interest in such a program. Such firms as the local light and power companies and railroads often are willing to contribute money and manpower. In Michigan, we have an industrial development commission which serves to coordinate efforts to attract industry. But often it is the spark of enthusiasm from an organization such as yours that is required to ignite the flame of progress.

The technique that seems to work, judging by the progress made in other States such as Georgia and Florida, is that of coordinated effort. Attracting industry involves a broadgage promotion and advertising program. And to be done on any scale designed to get substantial coverage, requires a first-rate job of organization and coordination.

Frankly, I am no expert on new plant locations. This has come to be a very exacting science involving exhaustive studies. But I can tell you this. There is no more important characteristic of a good industrial location than the business climate of that community. And the most important ele-

ment of the business climate is people. Yes, people.

And I don't mean simply how many people there are to supply the labor needs. I mean, how do the people feel toward industry; how do they feel toward their community? Is it a well-adjusted, progressive community with a proud record of accomplishment as a community?

It seems to me that by the attitudes indicated in this group tonight, in the high regard in which you hold public service and community spirit, you most certainly have, or can have, a business climate that would be most attractive.

Let's look at another area in which business is demonstrating that it has a heart and a conscience. I refer to the vital field of education.

Within the memory of many of us in this room there was a day in which a majority of business firms felt that the taxes they paid more than covered their responsibilities for educating our young people.

Today, the tax money still flows. But no thinking business man believes that he has no further obligation to education. He knows that a better educated America means higher standards of living that will require more and more of the goods he produces. He knows that his business operations of tomorrow and the day after tomorrow will be only as efficient and as progressive as are the people who operate it—the educated people who operate it.

I am very proud of a recent step taken by Ford Motor Co. when it gave Henry Ford's home, Fair Lane, the surrounding grounds and a sum of $6.5 million to the University of Michigan. It will be used for the creation of a branch of the university in Dearborn.

This gift is unique in the annals of American education. It is an excellent example of the steadily increasing cooperation among business, government, and education.

The third area of citizenship in which business has an important stake is politics.

A young bachelor friend of mine is quite a politician—in a rather specialized sense of the word. Some time ago I walked into an airport terminal and found him feeding quarters into one of those machines that automatically issues $5,000 insurance policies for anyone making a flight.

"What's the idea of taking out all those insurance policies?" I asked. "You aren't even married."

"I always do this when I take an air trip," he explained. "I send a $5,000 insurance policy to each of my girl friends, naming her as my sole heir. You'd be surprised how well I make out with those girls when I take them on dates next time I'm in town."

His is not the type of politics that I recommend to men in business. I refer to a deep concern for good, responsible government. And while a company as such may choose not to take sides in local issues, certainly as an individual the modern businessman will want to take an active role in deciding the issues of the day. And he will encourage his associates to make their voices heard in politics. With government reaching into just about every facet of business as well as personal life, he can and should do no less.

It is one area in which his interest and his efforts can be used to insure that our hard-won American ideals will not succumb to indifference and inaction.

The sooner that American businessmen learn that politics is not a nasty word, or a sleazy game played only in smoke-filled rooms, the more healthful for the growth of business will be the political climate.

Way back in 370 B. C. the Greek philosopher Plato wrote in his The Republic, "The punishment that the wise suffer who refuse to take part in the government is to live under the government of worse men."

And in our own time, over 2,000 years later, the same sentiment was expressed by President Eisenhower when he said, "Our American heritage is threatened as much by our own indifference as it is by the most unscrupulous office or by the most powerful foreign threat."

Yes; we businessmen have a vital personal interest as well as patriotic interest in politics and in good government.

There is still another area of service that is seldom mentioned as a responsibility of business. But I want to say to you frankly tonight that I believe it to be an essential ingredient in the makeup of the successful, well-balanced modern man of business. And that responsibility is in the service you render to the church of your choice.

Looking back over these four areas of service, you will note that there is a change in the major area of responsibility. In the first area of service to civic programs, the company as a corporate citizen as well as the individual has a major responsibility.

In the second area—education, the company has a major responsibility which must be supported by the interest and efforts of individuals within the company.

Our third area was politics. And here it was pointed out that because government reaches into virtually every facet of business as well as personal life, companies as well as individuals have a responsibility for good government. But in many areas of active, constructive politics, it is the individual, rather than the company, which bears the direct responsibility under our American democratic system.

In this fourth area of service where you have an opportunity to make your finest investment—namely through service to the church of your choice—the responsibility lies entirely within the individual. But it is the type of responsibility that, when assumed conscientiously and worn devotedly, adds a quality and depth to a man that is clearly evident every minute of his business life.

In considering the Golden Rule and its application to business life, I am reminded of a reply given to a reporter who asked a White House aid if President Eisenhower had laid down any hard and fast rules for the behavior of the White House staff. The aid replied, "Yes; and they are very simple. He laid them down to the staff right after he was inaugurated, and he tells them to each new staff member. They are as follows:

"I want everybody smiling around here. Always take your job seriously, but never yourself. And don't forget to pray."

That, I submit, is a pretty good code for any business operation. Ladies and gentlemen, I have been a salesman all of my life. And it's hard to get out of the selling habit. To be honest about it, I guess I don't want to get out of the habit, because much of my life seems to involve selling something or some idea to someone.

One of the trademarks of a real salesman is that he always asks for the order, he always attempts to close the sale.

And so, down through the years, I have made it a practice when talking to groups such as this to ask for the order.

Tonight that task is easy. Many of you already have the order blank at least half filled out. Many of you are well on the road toward making your finest investment by investing your life in the lives around you.

But I am confident that every one of us here tonight would not hesitate to say that his or her investment could well use some additional input of interest, energy, and enthusiasm. For this investment in the lives around us cannot be satisfied with an initial lump installment. We must keep adding regularly to the investment. In asking for your order tonight, may I suggest that we actively seek new ways in which we may invest in the lives around us.

There is a very familiar quotation that seems to fit this occasion and to sum up what I have been trying to say about as well as it can be put into words. I am sure you know it well:

"I shall pass through this world but once. If, therefore, there be any kindness I can show, or any good thing I can do, let me do it now; let me not defer it or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again."

I congratulate you on the steps you have taken toward making your finest investment.

Your Tax Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, the President's budget calls for the appropriation or expenditure of $71.8 billion—this in addition to an estimated $70 billion now supposed to be on hand.

Subsequently, the President said that he hoped the budget could be cut. Still later, Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey said:

If we don't over a long period of time (reduce expenditures of this terrific amount, the terrific tax take we are taking out of this country) I will predict that you will have a depression that will curl your hair, because we are just taking too much money out of this economy that we need to make the jobs that you have to have as time goes on.

The actual budget receipts for 1956 were $68.1 billion, the estimated receipts for 1957 are $70.6 billion, and for 1958, $73.6 billion. If all goes as anticipated, that would leave a surplus of $1.8 billion.

Living costs continue to go up. Millions who are forced to live upon a fixed or a decreasing income are forced to purchase less nutritious food, inferior merchandise.

It is axiomatic that, unless dollars can be saved, a new business cannot be established, an old one expanded, hence no additional jobs. The Federal Government is, in my judgment, today's most wasteful and exorbitant spender. If you think the Federal Government intends to quit wasting money, reduce your taxes, you are certainly an optimist, with disappointment certain.

To force a tax reduction, a resolution was introduced by me to repeal the 16th amendment, which has to do with the levying of the income tax. Do not forget to pay your income tax not later than April 15.

An editorial from a Long Island, N. Y., paper characterized the proposal as "the most ridiculous legislation of all."

The News-Palladium, of Benton Harbor, captioned an editorial, "Thanks for Trying." My answer: Never did catch any fish unless I went fishing.

One from the Niles Daily Star, "Don't Let the Patient Die," suggested that my proposal was similar to "killing the dog because his tail had become infected." If I had a dog whose tail was malignantly infected, I would have that tail

cut off before the dog died. Last fall, when the surgeon was about to take a look at my "innards," I said, "If you find anything wrong in there, cut it out." He did. Would have been dead if he had not. No one is now suggesting that I am dead.

Ever hear of a candidate who promised practically everything everybody wanted, plus a cut in his tax bill? When elected, how many keep that promise?

Just as long as a majority in Congress can tax, collect, spend, and get reelected, they will continue to do it. You will get no relief from excessive taxation. Shift the power to tax incomes to the State legislatures, where you can really get at your representatives, and the Federal Government will be forced to economize.

No Diplomatic Recognition of Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting an editorial that appeared in the Standard-Times, of New Bedford, Mass., on February 23 and which calls attention to a fallacious argument being made in support of recognition of Red China:

GREEN'S ERROR ON CHINA

Chairman GREEN, Democrat, of Rhode Island, of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has suggested the United States should extend diplomatic recognition to Communist China sooner or later. In the wake of the inevitable controversy this remark provoked, the Senator added he did not mean this country should recognize the Peiping government forthwith.

Senator GREEN's point of view modified by these qualifying phrases of time, is not quite clear, but it would seem he believes that, although it is not now desirable to recognize Red China, it will be the thing to do at some future date. It would be interesting to know what factors Senator GREEN considers likely to change.

It is a fact that Red China fought the United Nations and the United States in Korea and was largely responsible for nearly 150,000 American casualties. It also is true the Chinese Communists continue to prevent the political settlement in Korea which was supposed to succeed the armistice after 6 months.

Whether one considers recognition of Communist China sooner or later, it seems unlikely that either of these factors can or will change to reflect to the benefit of Peiping.

Could it be economic factors that Senator GREEN has in mind, or the pressure of American allies?

The fact is that any broadening of economic relations with Communist China would benefit the United States last and least of all. Other nations can supply what Peiping wants cheaper than the United States can, because of lower living standards and production costs.

As for allied pressure, the United States might please some western nations by recognizing Red China, but it would displease important eastern friends of long standing, such as Formosa and the Philippines.

Does Senator GREEN think time may show that the Chinese people really support the government of Mao Tse-tung, even though it never has held an election in all the years it has held power by force?

This seems highly unlikely, since, as in all Soviet satellites, dissension apparently is growing, not decreasing.

As of last year, 210 anti-Red underground organizations operated in 22 mainland provinces of China. As recently as last week, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Yunnan, and Sinkiang were reported slipping away from Red rule because of the growing resentment of minority groups. A major attack in Kwangsi Province, involving 20 counties, also was reported this month by the People's Anti-Communist National Salvation Army, in existence ever since the Communists came to power in China in 1949.

One wonders why Senator GREEN, who occupies an important position in American Government, saw fit to make this remark—which is likely to encourage the Communists and discourage those Chinese who are attempting to oppose the Reds. For it will be no more necessary or desirable for the United States to recognize Red China tomorrow than it is today.

Spotlight on Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Long Island Press under date of March 4, 1957, which I think will be of interest to each and every one of us who is interested in keeping American history alive:

SPOTLIGHT ON FREEDOM

A precious historical document will be exhibited next month on Long Island.

It is the original manuscript of the Flushing Remonstrance, a document that had a great deal to do with the preservation of religious freedom in the United States.

It is 300 years old and is being brought here in connection with Long Island's observance of the tercentenary. It will be shown at Queens College Library and the Flushing branch of the Queens Borough Public Library, along with related documents.

The Remonstrance of 1657 was a protest by the freeholders of Flushing and Jamaica to the Dutch colonial governor, Peter Stuyvesant, because of his order forbidding Quakers living among them from holding religious meetings.

It had far-reaching effects, and we today can thank the courageous early settlers who stood up to be counted 100 years and more before the Declaration of Independence.

Now we are to have a chance to see this famous document. The board of regents has authorized the State librarian to lend it to Long Island for a brief period. Historically minded persons certainly will wish to see it. We hope that lots of young people will, too.

In voicing Long Island's appreciation, we'd like also to throw in a suggestion:

Why not revive the Freedom Train idea? Why can't the State department of education, say every 5 years or so, put a traveling patriotic and historical show on the road?

In 1947 and 1948 the national Freedom Train—"the Spirit of 1776"—drew a sensational response. So did the State's Freedom Train which was sent out in 1950.

What better way to make history a living thing? What better way to give added meaning to the lessons of history and patriotism taught in the schools?

As we see it, a Freedom Train (or bus-trailer hookup) is worth considering as a part of the State education department's program.

Nature as an Instructor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 24, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Roseburg (Oreg.) News- Review of Thursday, February 28, 1957. It contains information which I believe to be of important to the lumbering industry and tells of a 5-year study of natural reproduction of the Shasta red fir species:

RED FIR STUDY SHOWS NATURE IN CHARGE

(By Chuck Grell)

Nature apparently can take care of its own in the regeneration of a forest tree which holds promise of importance to the lumbering industry.

The tree is the Shasta red fir, which comprises the greatest volume of merchantable timber in Douglas County after the Douglas fir, according to Hank Gratkowski, research forester for the Siskiyou-Cascade Forest Research Center here.

He recently completed a 5-year study of natural reproduction of the species in its mile-high habitat near Crater Lake and farther south. He found the Shasta red fir will reseed itself naturally in clear cuttings, provided the cuttings aren't over 15 to 20 acres in size.

Had it been proven necessary to hand-seed or plant new stands, foresters would have faced an expensive operation. But nature already was on the scene with her own methods.

MILE-HIGH HABITAT

For example, the species grows at elevations of a mile and above. Summers are short at the height, and any artificial regeneration would have required accurate timing to take advantage of good seeding conditions.

The expense would have been increased because of poor quality of seed peculiar to the red fir—it would have taken more seed to reproduce a forest.

Then nature has it fixed so that brushfields and herbaceous growths—a bugaboo in artificial reforestation—fail to develop extensively in clear cuttings at a mile elevation. Thus, new forests have a quicker start.

The experiment was started by W. I. Stein in 1951, when a good seed crop occurred.

THIRTY-FIVE ACRES SELECTED

Stein selected a clear-cut area of 35 acres about 20 miles west of Crater Lake. The area received the seed, shaken from the cones of nearby red fir, and distributed by the wind over the area. A second bumper seed crop occurred in 1953.

Nature proved herself from those two seedings. In 1955, when Gratkowski inspected the 35-acre site, he found 1,218

fourth-year and 2,604 second-year seedlings per acre.

Then he compared the seeding results against nine other clear cuttings located near Prospect and east of Ashland. The incidence of reseeding found in the 35-acre area was borne out in the other cuttings.

Gratkowski said it appeared natural regeneration will result best when clear cuttings are held to 15 to 20 acres in size. Otherwise, the area is too great to be covered by the wind-borne seeds, which are equipped with wings to make them sail like a maple key.

AREAS LOGGED, BURNED

Only two of the Ashland cuttings were poorly stocked, but Gratkowski said they had been logged and slash burned during the period of seed fall.

All the areas studied were in the Rogue River National Forest.

The Shasta red fir and subalpine types may gain prominence in the lumbering industry. They were practically untouched because of access difficulty until 1951, when the Forest Service made its first sales in the high elevations.

Potential importance of Shasta red fir to Douglas County is shown in statistics included by Gratkowski in a review of the study which will be published this spring in Northwest Science.

FIVE BILLION FEET

It shows that Douglas-fir volume is 76.96 percent of the merchantable timber total in the county. Shasta red fir is in second spot with 9.25 percent, or 5,302,000,000 board-feet. Sugar pine comprises about 6 percent of the total, ponderosa pine about 3 percent, and incense cedar, 2½ percent.

Shasta fir is one of the true fir types. It ranges from the vicinity of Crescent Lake southward into the Sierra Nevada, and that California range has the bulk of the red fir forest.

The tree grows up to about 4 feet in diameter, so it isn't of the huge Douglas fir size.

But it produces much clear lumber suitable for building. Kratkowski said full potential uses of the tree haven't yet been seen from the Diamond Lake cutoff route south of Union Creek.

STANDS COMPARE WELL

Pure stands, according to Gratkowski, will contain 100,000 board-feet an acre, comparing well with Douglas-fir.

Actual purpose of the test was to discover of the species is adaptable to the staggered setting system of clear cutting. The Forest Service can work from results of the study in the programing of timber sales to provide a continuing yield of timber from the species.

High Taxes Will Continue To Hound American Taxpayers Unless We Trim the National Budget by Insisting on a Reduction in the Cost of Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the American people are in unison in demanding that every possible effort be made to reduce the national budget and thus make it possible to reduce high taxes that for years have had a stranglehold on every segment of our economy.

The following editorial titled "Must Trim Budget" appeared in the March 2, 1957, issue of the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror and is a graphic account of the economic evils that follow in the wake of high taxes:

MUST TRIM BUDGET

One of the greatest tasks facing Congressmen these days is the big budget presented to them by the administration. It is the duty of our elected representatives in the House and Senate to see to it that the budget is drastically reduced. Uncle Sam, the silent partner in every business and industrial concern in this Nation, is taking too much of the national earnings via his drawing account, the income tax.

Business partners who withraw too much of their earnings for personal expenses end up in the bankruptcy court. Continued heavy withdrawals from any business in the long run will destroy the business. Something must be left in the till for the other partners, and something more must be left for reasonable growth and expansion.

In Pennsylvania, where the Federal Government takes 52 percent of the gross net income and the State takes 6 percent more, the other partners in the enterprise have only 42 percent left with which to pay the owners of the enterprise and to meet the other expenses to which ever-growing business is subjected. Just to meet the rising cost of the tools with which to do business, prudent management must set aside at least half of the remaining profit after taxes to pay the increased costs for necessary replacements. The partner that makes the heaviest withdrawals from the business does not share in this cost, although he does participate in the allowable depreciation.

Most of the tax experts in the National Capital agree that a cut of 10 percent in the budget would not work too severe a hardship on any department of our Government if the cuts were equitably made. This modest 10 percent paring of the budget would allow a savings of around $7 billions.

Cutting down the national debt is highly desirable, but we believe that if at least $5 billion of the $7 billion that can be saved by budget trimming were allowed for tax reductions, there would be a healthy stimulation to the entire economic picture. If businesses, for example, were allowed the 5-percent cut in income taxes that was due them 5 years ago they might be able to make sizeable reductions in their own debts which stand as a potent threat to their continued existence.

It must be remembered that business debt must be paid off from the 48-percent profit left them after the income tax is paid. In Pennsylvania there is only 42 percent left after the State income tax is paid. It also must be remembered that other taxes also have been collected from business before the gross net profits have been figured, so that the actual tax take from gross earnings quite often exceeds 70 percent of the net profit of the business.

People who work for the industrial concerns and business establishments of the Nation do not always realize the big stakes they have in the successful operation of the employers. It is only when a plant or an industry is forced to close down that they fully realize the importance of a healthy financial state for their employer.

In most modern industries a great portion of the money left after payment of taxes is reinvested in the industry with only a small fraction of the net profit being distributed to the real owners of the business.

If debts have been incurred in the founding of the business or in the expansion of existing business, a large part of the money that is left after taxes is applied to debt reduction. This is of great importance because business cannot survive a period of recession or depression unless it has good credit resources. Financial institutions usually lend money with a definite stipulation that a regular reduction in the principal amount must be made and at regular intervals.

When taxing authorities take away such a big portion of the profits as they have been doing in recent decades there is a tendency on the part of business to extend the periods for repaying their debts. There is also a marked tendency to delay further expansions until debts have been liquidated.

All reports from Canada indicate that our northern neighbor is enjoying one of the greatest booms in the history of the nation. Canadians, however, are little worried about the flight of American capital to Canada where the tax situation is favorable to invested funds. The money that is being used to build new industries and to provide new jobs in Canada could be used here if budgets were trimmed and taxes reduced.

Puerto Rico, Cuba, and a number of other neighbors also are experiencing real economic growth because of the flight of American industry and capital to these more desirable tax climates. Quite a few European concerns have been helped to a great extent by American tax dollars and many American concerns have found it profitable to establish foreign branches because of a favorable tax picture.

As we said in the beginning, our Congressmen have a big job to do. We feel sure that they will do it better if they are told by the people who put them into office that they are interested in the way their representatives are doing their homework.

For a great many years now our elected representatives have been hearing from folks back home asking that more and more Federal funds be spent to promote something in the representatives' political backyards. This year could be a year in which people asked their spokesmen to insist on helping out back home by cutting down on the budget and reducing the taxes so that the folks back home have a little chance to help themselves.

Memorandum From the Slovak League of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to include the text of a memorandum dated March 2, 1957, and sent to the President and the Congress of the United States from the regional conference of the Slovak League of America held at Detroit, Mich., on that date:

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FROM THE DETROIT REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA, DETROIT, MICH., MARCH 2, 1957

Assembled in the Slovak Home, Detroit, Mich., in the interest of the welfare and security of our America and the rest of the free world, we solemnly declare that—

1. We rededicate ourselves to the preservation of the basic principles set forth in the American Declaration of Independence and of the basic law of our land, the Constitution of the United States of America.

2. We condemn all forms of tyranny, every form of totalitarian political system. We recognize the godless philosophy of material-

istic communism as the greatest conspiracy against free humanity, as a political system which threatens all mankind with utter enslavement. Therefore we cannot subscribe to the policy that doing business with the Soviet Union and its satellites is in the best interests of the United States and the rest of the free world.

3. We commend our Government for its efforts to resist and resolutely counteract the aggressive policies of Soviet imperialism with all the spiritual and material forces at our command and we heartily endorse all actions of our Government to expose, demobilize, and outlaw the evil forces of brutal, godless communism in our country—the forces which are dedicated to our destruction.

We strongly denounce the intervention of the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of Poland and Hungary, as well as in other countries of Europe and Asia. We express our deepest sympathy with the peoples of Hungary and Poland and urge our Government to denounce in the strongest terms the massacre of these liberty-loving and liberty-seeking peoples, immediately initiating all steps to end the brutal treatment and repression of the Polish and Hungarian nations. As the first step, we urge our Government to demand the withdrawal of all Soviet forces from non-Soviet territories and in the event that the demand is not met that our Government immediately break off all diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R. and its satellites.

4. We oppose the admission of Red China into the United Nations and fully endorse the principle that our Government shall refuse recognition to every form of government and political formation which is imposed on any nation by the force of an alien power.

By the same token, we respectfully request that this policy be followed even in the case of the nation we are descended from, the Slovak nation, which is today tyrannized by the Czecho-Communist regime of Prague in flagrant violation of the political will of the Slovak people and of the fundamental principles of the charter of the United Nations, and in utter contempt for the basic principle of the American foreign policy of self-determination.

Furthermore, we again respectfully request the President and the Congress of the United States to reexamine the question of the destruction of the Slovak Republic in 1945, because we are certain that the political will of the Slovak nation was violated thereby. We also respectfully request our President to instruct our delegate to the United Nations to ask for an investigation by the United Nations of the destruction of the Slovak state in 1945, the independence of which was proclaimed by the duly elected representatives of the Slovak people on March 14, 1939, and eventually recognized by 27 countries.

5. We deeply resent the fact that our Government is inclined to recognize and favor former Slovak and Czech politicians who are, in a large measure, responsible for the present terrible plight of the Slovak and Czech nations. We refer particularly to the politicians who promoted the pro-Soviet and anti-Slovak policies of the late Dr. Edward Benes—the Czech Socialists and Judas Slovaks now organized in the so-called Council of Free Czechoslovakia, who collaborated with Moscow and the Communists until February 25, 1948, as members of the Communist-dominated national-front government of the Benes-Gottwald coalition.

We respectfully request the President and the Congress of the United States to reexamine the so-called Czechoslovak policy of our Government, which is still based on the information and actions of Dr. Edward Benes and other Czecho Socialists, all of whom were adamantly opposed to Slovak freedom and independence. It is embarrassing to us, as it also should be to our Government, that members of Benes' pro-Soviet political clique are still employed by various departments and agencies of our Government. They have exploited and compromised the good name of the United States of America entirely too long and, therefore, should no longer enjoy our trust and favor.

The Slovak League of America, with the organizations affiliated with it, has expressed itself clearly and forcefully in the past more than once on the subject of United States policy in regard to Czechoslovakia, and particularly in regard to the Slovak nation. Representing the vast majority of organized Americans of Slovak descent, the Slovak League of America feels that it has the right and the obligation to speak for them in matters of general and particular concern, both domestic and foreign. As loyal Americans, we are not, we trust, overly presumptuous in assuming that we merit at least the same measure of consideration and trust from our Government as the bankrupt, pro-Soviet political entourage of Dr. Edward Beneš, which suddenly became "anti-Communist and democratic" after February 25, 1948, when the Communists, with their collaboration, seized all power in Czechoslovakia.

6. We respectfully request the United States and the United Nations to exert pressure for the liberation of Slovakia from Moscow and the Cezcho-Communist rule of Prague, for the dissolution of the dreaded Czech secret police, for the abolition of all concentration camps, for the immediate liberation of all Slovak bishops, priests, and religious, and political leaders, and for the independence of Slovakia.

7. We stand opposed to the concept that the power and size of the Federal Government of the United States should be increased at the expense of the powers of the individual States of the Union. We therefore respectfully request the adoption of the recommendations of the Hoover Commission in this respect as speedily as possible.

8. Finally, we commend the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, for his stand on the crisis in the Middle East to oppose and condemn all aggressors and violators of others' natural rights.

Adopted unanimously this 2d day of March 1957, by the Conference of the Detroit Region of the Slovak League of America. Copies of this memorandum are to be sent to the President and Members of the Congress of the United States, the Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Secretary of State Dulles.

For the conference:

Philip A. Hrobak, President, Slovak League of America; Lawrence Gombár, Paul Pasternák, Saginaw, Mich.; Victor Wallo, Felix Potkan, Flint, Mich.; Vojtech Baláz, conference chairman, John Bachleda, Detroit, Mich.; Karl J. Piaček, Mike Remenár, Owosso, Mich.

War Is Still a Three-Branch Effort

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, one of our Nation's great naval leaders, Adm. Harry D. Felt, recently made a profound impression in Oklahoma with an address at Tulsa. The Tulsa Daily World had this editorial comment:

In this age of supersonic flight and nuclear bombs, there is a dangerous tendency to overemphasize air power as the key to ultimate victory in future wars. And while it is comforting to know that in air power the United States is at least on a par, and possibly stronger than any potential enemy, the basic values of our Navy and Army must not be lost sight of.

In Tulsa Thursday was the No. 2 man in the United States Navy, Adm. Harry D. Felt, with some blunt reminders of the essential need for a strong, manuverable fleet as the backbone of all-out military effort on or away from these shores.

Admiral Felt, unlike some hidebound military authorities, gives full emphasis to the Air Force and Army as vital parts of any military operation. Each, he believes, "is dependent upon the other, and each has a special function and capability absolutely essential to a successful united effort."

How right the admiral is. And how timely is his reminder that the United States' best line of defense is now, as it has always been, the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. In future wars, the admiral concedes, much of the retaliatory strength of the United States will be vested in its Air Force. Yet, at one and the same time the Nation will of necessity be following a basic maritime strategy. The United States is not, for war purposes, self-sufficient, and on the oceans lies the critical area of decision—the route of supplies.

Over the oceans, Admiral Felt points out, more than 95 percent of all war materials must be transported. The Army must be moved—with its equipment, weapons, and other essentials. The Air Force can meet many of its own materiel requirements, yet the problem of supply in fuels and foods—not to mention ammunition—is still an overland operation.

Admiral Felt's reminders are timely in this National Defense Week observation, and any cool analysis of the global front must recognize that the United States Navy is indispensable for hot, cold, localized, or general warfare.

Mr. Speaker, the text of Admiral Felt's timely message, worthy of note by all Americans, follows:

ADDRESS BY ADM. HARRY D. FELT, UNITED STATES NAVY, VICE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS, BEFORE THE TULSA NATIONAL DEFENSE WEEK FORUM, TULSA, OKLA., FEBRUARY 14, 1957

Commander Dericks, Mr. Kirkland, Mr. Chairman, members participating in this Tulsa National Defense Week forum, this is an occasion which I appreciate very much. To us fellows in uniform it is most encouraging to know that groups similar to this one are so actively concerned about the security of our country.

Let us be reminded that we are engaged in a team effort—one in which the four armed services plan and operate under civilian authority. This is the American system of which you and I are a part.

The Navy believes profoundly in this fundamental.

We believe that each of the Armed Forces is dependent on the other and that each has a special function and capability absolutely essential to a successful, unified effort.

The problem is to maintain a flexibility, a versatility which gives the United States a freedom of choice as to action to be used in any international situation.

Affecting our lives is the fact that Communist dictators are dedicated to spreading their control over other lands and peoples. Their objective is to smash the social structure of the free world. We can be sure that the No. 1 task of the Communists is to separate the United States from her friends and allies.

However, the Communist bloc is almost surrounded by nations of freemen who are our friends. An interesting and significant feature of geography is that these countries border also on the seas of the world and are

linked to us by seaborne trade. Together with these countries we form a great oceanic confederation of free peoples. We are bound by treaty or moral obligation to come to the defense of our overseas friends should the Communists venture to use armed force across land borders in aggression against them.

In this connection, it is well to remember that the Communist rulers are extremely sensitive to their maritime frontiers. The lead article appearing in the Communist Party newspaper, Pravda, on Navy Day, 1952, had this to say:

"The sea borders of the Soviet Union, extending over 40,000 kilometers, are too long; therefore, in time of war, Russia is very vulnerable, especially if the war is being fought against superior naval forces."

From these observations, we can draw certain conclusions:

First, we cannot abandon our friends. Besides our obligations to them, there is the fact that we need them. Despite the human, agriculture, and mineral resources of our country, we are not self-sufficient. We are a maritime nation to a large degree.

Second, this means then that in future wars, as in the past, we will follow a maritime strategy. The oceans will be critical areas of decision. (Over them move 95 percent of all war materials.)

Third, the vulnerable wet flanks of the Soviet bloc are weaknesses which should be exploited in event the Soviets initiate an armed conflict.

And lastly, in strength at sea lies the key to our security.

Against that backdrop, let me talk a bit about the current employment of our naval forces.

Our fleets are pretty well dispersed around the world. Far out in the Pacific, the 7th Fleet roams the waters from Japan in the north down into the South China Sea. In the Mediterranean, the 6th Fleet trains at sea from the shores of Spain eastward to the waters off the Levant. Off our own coasts, units are on stations to protect the homeland from attack through the ocean approaches.

Units of the fleet represent a show of force to would-be armed aggressors and give encouragement to governments whose backs are close up to totalitarian countries. We make no secret of the fact that carrier-air groups embarked in their carriers have the capability of delivering a tremendous weight of nuclear bombs. Demonstrated openly and frequently is the capability of the carrier task force to jump into and take effective action in scraps where nuclear weapons might not be suitable. Our foreign friends understand the display of naval power and like it.

Liberty parties ashore in foreign ports are living proofs of our sincere intentions. Our officers and men study the customs of the local peoples before they go ashore, and they hit the beach prepared to get acquainted and learn more. The real hand of friendship is offered by our enlisted men. The white hat of the United States sailorman is a respected and loved symbol of Americanism abroad. You have every cause to be proud of our sons in uniform representing their country overseas.

When one reflects on this matter of showing our strength, he inevitably concludes that the stabilizing effect of the 6th and 7th Fleets has held many rimland nations within the treaty organizations of free men.

One wonders what Tito's decision would have been regarding asserting his independence if a hostile fleet had been in control of the Mediterreanean. Would he have been able to defect? I think not.

We live in the shadow of all-out nuclear war. Wholesale destruction and astronomical loss of life, for both sides, are the predominant considerations in this kind of war. Where does the balance of power fall after a terrible exchange of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons? We must control the balance, and to do so, we must survive to fight on after an initial attack. Some advocate digging in and hardening our fixed bases; however, for fighting forces to be effective, they must move. Dispersal of land-based forces is advocated but one wonders what one buys when the radioactive effects of modern weapons are contemplated.

To survive and continue the fight we must look to the oceans. There, in huge expanses of the world's surface, is found the opportunity for infinite dispersal of fighting forces constantly on the move. It is not a new opportunity, but in this nuclear age, it is infinitely more meaningful.

We say that the mission of your Navy is to control the seas wherever it is necessary for us to operate and to exploit them to the fullest in time of war. Nothing particularly novel and new in that statement, is there? Note the use of the word "exploit," however. Its use conveys our intention, for instance, to destroy any kind of enemy unit at its base of operations which is in position to threaten our forces at sea. We mean to take the war to sea and to enemy territory where it belongs. Mahan, the father of modern naval strategy, is still solidly with us. To quote him:

"The fundamental principle of all naval warfare is that defense is assured only by offense."

I think we can be quite sure that our fleets at sea are of major concern to an enemy bent on armed aggression against any one of our friends. This is particularly so if the fleets are utilized to disperse a significant part of America's nuclear striking power.

Fleet forces pose a tremendous threat which puts a heavy drain on an aggressor's resources. Ships are elusive targets, hard to keep track of. They are not fixed in our homeland. They are a significant part of our country's armed strength which deters the Soviets from embarking on overt military aggression.

We in the Navy think that naval forces are indispensable for hot war, cold war, localized wars, general war. In recent years, your Navy has had some pretty decisive influence on the course of world events. The Korean War could not have been fought without the Navy in control of the seas. In fact, the Reds figured that Korea would be captured quickly, but they figured without understanding the importance of the sea flanks. Reflect for a moment on some additional affairs: Formosa, the "passage to freedom", in Indochina, Suez. Your Navy was there when it was needed—ready for any kind of action.

As we plan for the future, we are developing weapon systems with greater tactical range and effectiveness. The Attack Carrier Task Force is a good example of the point.

Such a force is a very flexible tool. Its essence is offense. It is designed to strike the enemy in his homeland. Its objective is to turn off the threats to our control of sea areas at their spigots.

An attack carrier task force is a well-protected, dispersed, mobile assemblage of airbases.

The fighters in the carriers will be supersonic. Perhaps you remember the F8U Crusader which won the Thompson Trophy Race last fall flying at over 1,000 miles per hour. Operational squadrons will soon be flying this plane.

Our light attack plane holds the world's speed record for a 500-kilometer closed course.

You may remember also that during last year's National Air Show, A3D Skywarrior heavy attack aircraft took off from a carrier steaming off the coast of Mexico, circled Oklahoma City, and returned to the carrier—a flight of 2,600 miles. Thirty-six hours later, A3D's took off again, their carrier then being off the coast of Oregon, flew over Oklahoma City, and then on to Jacksonville, Fla.—a flight of 3,000 miles. These flights were nonstop, nonrefueled. A3D's are now operating from the carrier *Forrestal* deployed to the Mediterranean.

Ships in our task forces also reflect the astounding advances technology has made in the past few years. Some are modernized World War II ships like the cruiser *Boston* with her antiaircraft guided missiles. Some are newly built like *Forrestal* and *Saratoga*.

Guided missiles are replacing guns which are inadequate to defend against the modern air threat.

Antisubmarine devices, weapons, and systems have been developed to cope with a new order of submarine threat which *Nautilus* has demonstrated to us.

We intend to utilize all the advantages inherent in nuclear power.

The experience with *Nautilus* has exceeded our most optimistic hopes. During 2 years she has steamed over 62,000 miles without refueling. Think what that means—a new order of mobility, endurance, and resistance to battle damage. A nuclear-powered cruiser is now being built. We are asking Congress to authorize a nuclear-powered carrier. We see no reason why powerplants cannot be designed to fit into destroyer types.

The men in these aircraft and ships are highly skilled. The basic philosophy behind our training programs is to attain a readiness to deliver weapons with accuracy and precision. Incidentally, you may be interested to know that 44 percent of our officers are Reserves on active duty. Our problem is to keep them with us for a longer period of time and cut back on the costs of training replacements. About 90 percent of our enlisted ratings are Regulars, but here also we have a tremendous problem of training replacements because industry makes the outside look so attractive to these highly skilled technicians.

In essence then our attack carrier task force program is to maintain an effective strike capability which can coerce an enemy with precise power, both in the form of conventional and nuclear weapons, and not necessarily to destroy his lands and his peoples. We feel that lack of capability to engage in war using small yield weapons delivered precisely may leave the United States with no alternatives except to yield to an enemy's political demands, or to engage in a war of mutual extinction.

To supplement the offensive potential of the attack carrier task forces, we are forming two other kinds of attack systems.

Submarines are being converted or newly built to carry and launch guided missiles. The missiles are designed for destroying surface targets with nuclear warheads. Submarines so armed and on submerged stations will be potent deterrents to any aggressor with ideas that nuclear surprise attack will pay off. Incidentally, all newly-built submarines will have nuclear powerplants.

The Navy is pioneering with a jet seaplane attack weapon system. The Martin Seamaster promises to give us an even greater capability for dispersal of the Nation's striking power. You can imagine the possibilities—a high performance airplane which can be sent to advanced areas where it needs only a water runway and an austere amount of ship support.

We are not unmindful of countering the threat of enemy aircraft and submarines which have left their bases before our offensive strikes are driven home to enemy territory. Coming submarines out of ocean waters and shooting down enemy aircraft over the ocean approaches are among the defensive tasks assigned to certain of our naval forces. The mission of our submarines is one example of this. Their primary task is to hunt down and kill enemy submarines. Nuclear power has given them the true submarine, completely self-sustaining for long periods of time without even

the need for breathing the air of the atmosphere.

A word about the amphibious assault part of your Navy. It, too, is making a start toward modernization. Many situations demand that we have ready for instant use the capability of landing troops in assault on foreign territory. The marines have developed a new technique of landing behind enemy defenses by using helicopters launched from specially built ships. The technique will avoid frontal assault, cut down casualties and put another large drain on enemy resources if their sea frontiers are to be guarded.

Those of us who have a hand in shaping the Navy of the future believe that loss of the seas is tantamount to certain defeat. We would lose our allies, our bases, all but our own resources, our freedom of action.

Bearing this in mind, we believe in a few musts:

The United States must continue to honor her international commitments;

The Navy must keep open the supply lines of our friends, our overseas bases, and our forces deployed in other lands overseas;

The Navy must defeat the submarine threat;

The Navy must defeat the air threat to its own forces and contribute to the defeat of the air threat to the Continental United States;

The Navy must be an instrument for projecting United States fighting power into enemy territory.

I hope you can agree with us.

Waging Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, recently I have had the distinct pleasure of reading, and more recently, rereading, a most worthwhile book, Waging Peace, by C. Maxwell Stanley, a constituent of mine from Muscantine, Iowa.

Lest I appear to be prejudiced, I call to the attention of my colleagues a review of Mr. Stanley's book as written by Charles F. Ransom and printed in the Des Moines (Iowa) Sunday Register of March 3, 1957.

The review follows:

AN IOWAN'S BOOK ADVOCATES A STRONGER UNITED NATIONS

(By Charles F. Ransom)

C. Maxwell Stanley is a consulting engineer and a partner of the Stanley Engineering Co., of Muscatine. He feels strongly that modern technological warfare offers the United States only two choices: peace or devastation.

In this book, subtitled "A Businessman Looks at United States Foreign Policy," he analyzes his country's position as a consulting engineer would a company's. He recommends a drastic rorganization, with a clear blueprint of the intermediate steps to get there.

SEVEN POINTS IN HIS PROGRAM

His major recommendations form a seven-point program. No. 1—to maintain military strength—is already Government policy. His Nos. 2, 3, and 7 are at least partly adopted, in United States foreign aid, United States support of the U. N., and the United States championing the principles of peace and freedom.

That leaves his points Nos. 4, 5, and 6 as the most distinctive parts of his message. Taken together, these amount to converting the United Nations into a world federation able to make just and binding laws, enforce universal disarmament, and protect individual freedom.

He recommends doing this by means of a U. N. Charter review conference in 1958 or 1959. The question of holding such a conference will come up again in the U. N. General Assembly in the fall of 1957. This would postpone until 1960 or so the threatened Soviet veto of any fundamental change in the charter. By then, the Soviet Union might be willing to go along—or the rest of the world might be willing to go ahead without Soviet cooperation—leaving the door open to Soviet entry later.

MISGIVINGS ABOUT NATO PLAN

Stanley fears that a Federal union of the 16 North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries alone might divide the world more sharply—rather than be a step toward world federation—since the NATO nations are all white in race and form an anti-Soviet military alliance.

The book is well and clearly written and grapples with many of the practical problems; for example, fair representation, by giving alternatives instead of a single dogmatic solution. If fair representation in the Iowa legislature is a tough one, fair representation in a world federal government is vastly more difficult.

Stanley's book is a valuable addition to the growing literature which is preparing the minds of men for the world order which must somehow be erected soon if the world is to avoid catastrophe.

Passport Service Improvements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN TABER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the consent granted to me, I am submitting an article which appeared in the New York Times of March 3 on the Passport Office in New York City, which calls attention to the way that service in that office has improved:

PASSPORT SERVICE IMPROVEMENTS—THE HUMANIZING TOUCH LIGHTENS THE BURDEN OF AN OLD ORDEAL

(By Morris Gilbert)

Applying for an American passport to go abroad has had a reputation for decades as an ordeal only exceeded by that of facing the Internal Revenue fellow. But now there has been a switch. The New York passport offices, on the mezzanine floor of 630 Fifth Avenue, are reconditioned, redesigned, expanded, and humanized. The purpose is to speed and simplify delivery of passports, and to make the process less trying for applicants.

Miss Frances G. Knight, Director, since May 1, 1955, of the State Department's Passport Office, has thought of almost everything which has to do with getting passports. After all, she had to produce almost 560,000 last year with a staff somewhat less than the present 353. She has thought of so many things that nowadays passports, in average cases, are issued within 3 days of application. When the big rush comes next April, May, and June, this period will extend to 10 days, although Miss Knight hopes to get it down eventually, even in such seasons, to a week.

MANY CHANGES

Miss Knight, who looked over the New York field office a while ago, has instituted many changes and developments since she took charge. Washington headquarters has been moved into three floors of a handsome air-conditioned Government building at 1717 H Street NW., from a musty, inadequate antique called the Winder Building. She and her staff have filed a backlog of 1 million unfiled or partially filed documents from the old regime which had been stored in scattered boxes, under tables and atop cabinets. They have instituted an improved so-called "shelf-filing system" to replace the earlier cabinet files, involving 6,500,000 files.

By simply returning birth evidence and other private documents to applicants for passports, instead of storing them away, great space has been saved as well as much unconstructive correspondence and a good deal of paper work.

EFFICIENT FIELD OFFICES

But the major developments, as far as average applicants are concerned, are in the field offices, notably here. A new field office has recently been set up in Los Angeles. Streamlining of the Chicago field office is getting underway, to be followed by similar complete reorganization in San Francisco, New Orleans, and Boston.

"The whole purpose," said Miss Knight in the New York offices recently, "has been a general humanizing of the business of supplying passports. It had to be done some day, because the crowding and delay were getting beyond belief."

On the day of the interview, 456 new applications were processed at the New York office, an average of more than 50 an hour. When the peak days arrive, this quantity is expected to rise to 650. Applications for passport renewals which, of course, must also be processed, run about 10 percent of the new ones.

The first essential, Miss Knight pointed out, was more space, and the quarters were much expanded. This allowed a separation of functions. Whereas, formerly, applicants had to queue up to get application forms and a sheet of instructions from the agents on duty, these are now available in a simple, clearly marked rack in an outer room, just beyond a newly installed information counter. Thus the first queue was abolished.

Spacious counters are placed in the outer room where applications can be filled out. If an applicant has brought two passport photographs (one of Miss Knight's innovations is that these can even be smiling ones), a birth certificate or other similar document, and a witness to identify him, he can pass right on to the agents' counters in a second spacious office for immediate processing.

FUNCTIONAL COUNTERS

The new counters were designed after considerable study. They were zigzagged so that each agent's section allows for two people—the applicant and his witness—to stand together before him in comparative privacy, while the queue for that compartment stretches at an angle behind.

Under average circumstances, the swearing in of the applicant and witness and the processing of the application, plus the payment of the $10 (for a first passport, $5 for a renewal) can be comparatively speedily accomplished.

A series of cushioned, comfortable benches has been installed in a wide area of the inner room, where applicants or members of families can relax quietly. These, too, are innovations. Two huge wall maps of the world adorn the inner and outer rooms. They are marked with symbols indicating the situation of American embassies, legations, consular agencies, special offices, and missions around the world.

Passports themselves are processed here, as well as in the other bureaus, and Miss

Knight installed a series of "pick-up windows" where applicants who prefer not to have their passports mailed can get them.

Miss Knight's exploration of the convenience of passport seekers has extended to obtaining expert advice on colors for the walls of the office. "Cool colors keep people calm and not so conscious of the time," Miss Knight said, "so the general wall color scheme is a cool gray. But we want to keep them happy, too, so one wall is bright." It was a strong brownish red.

The year 1956 showed an increase in close to 6 percent in passport applications over 1955, despite the fact that requests for passports dropped last November and December below the level of those months the previous year, thanks to the Suez crisis. Last January, Miss Knight said, "the workload was 12 percent below that of January 1955, thanks to the same cause."

"But," she said, "the slightest change in the international or economic atmosphere can have a chain reaction. The passport offices must be ready for a bigger inrush at any time."

In fact, Miss Knight is looking ahead to the commercial jet age, which she estimates will be well under way by mid-1959.

BIG INCREASE EXPECTED

"It will be quite possible by then," she said, "for people to think in terms of weekend visits to Europe. Businessmen will be planning to get back and forth for a day's meeting, or a 2-day conference, overseas. The proposed jet planes will be carrying 150 passengers instead of the current 90 passengers seated in the big piston transports; and the jets will go almost twice as fast as present piston planes." In view of those prospects, Miss Knight estimates that passport applications in 1960 will have jumped more than 45 percent—that is, to 814,000—over last year's.

The Ghost of Judas Walks in Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I wish to include the text of an article entitled "The Ghost of Judas Walks in Hungary," notwithstanding the fact that the Public Printer has estimated its cost to be $231. This article, which is taken from the publication News and Views, of Wheaton, Ill., was sent me by Mr. Edgar C. Bundy, general chairman of the national laymen's council of the Church League of America. It deals with the ill-timed and regrettable visit to this country of certain pro-Communist clergy from Czechoslovakia and Hungary which I opposed 3 years ago:

THE GHOST OF JUDAS WALKS IN HUNGARY

The full story of the betrayal of the Hungarian people has not been told by the secular or ("recognized") sacred press to the American people. This story is well known inside intelligence circles of the governments of the Western Allies and the Iron Curtain bloc. The details of the role played by liberal Protestant churchmen who are puppeteers of the Soviet Government is shocking and disgusting beyond description.

In order to comprehend the part played by these wolves in sheeps' clothing, it is necessary to go back into a few years of recent history.

On July 7, 1953, there appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives in executive session, New York City, Joseph Zack Kornfeder, a graduate of the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow and former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. Mr. Kornfeder was asked by Representatives SCHERER of Ohio what methods the Communist leaders adopted in Russia, shortly after the Bolshevik revolution, for taking over the churches, and church-supported institutions.

Mr. Kornfeder stated that at first the Bolshevik leaders used crude tactics, such as attacking religion openly and ridiculing sacred institutions. However, the Red leaders soon found out that this was not accomplishing their purpose, namely, the destruction of religion in Russia and the supplanting of the some with antheism. So, they adopted a new tactic—to infiltrate the church via the age-old method of hypocrisy; or, now known as putting on a front. The Reds were advised to join the churches; obtain teaching positions on the staffs of seminaries; edit church literature; not to destroy the Bible, but rather reinterpret the teachings of Christ and the Apostles to suit Communist ends. That is, anything in the Bible which could be twisted and distorted to serve Communist ends was to be utilized by these false religious leaders to destroy the faith of the Russian people.

This plan worked so successfully in the Soviet Union that it has since been adopted as standard procedure by the Reds for penetrating the sphere of religion over the entire world.

Other witnesses who appeared before the same committee hearing—on the subject of Communist penetration of religion—not only testified to the exact same thing but stated that it was successful beyond the wildest dreams of the Communist Party.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has stated in his article "God or Chaos" (Red Book magazine, February 1949) that the Communists "have operated under the guise of some church commission or religious body and it is ghastly to see the monster atheism being nourished in the churches which it seeks to destroy."

The strategy laid down by Lenin and Stalin was put into full operation in the nations of Eastern Europe by the present day Soviet leaders shortly after the end of World War II. They installed, in these countries, Communists and Communist sympathizers, as church heads; as professors in the theological seminaries; and as editors of church publications and Sunday school material.

Once these Communist clergymen were put in positions of power, they used their offices to attempt the brainwashing of the religious people of the eastern nations in favor of the world Communist conspiracy. The evidence to back up these charges would fill volumes. This evidence is not only in the hands of churchmen throughout the world but it is stacked up in the United States State Department, the intelligence agencies, and is known by many statesmen of the Western World who are afraid to open their mouths for fear that they will be accused of attacking the churches.

The most shocking thing about this whole story is that the United States of America, which is supposed to represent the hopes of free people and oppressed people everywhere, has in recent months entertained these Red wolves as house guests.

Here is the story in chronological sequence:

August 1948: World Council of Churches formed in Amsterdam. Six regional presidents elected, including a Communist, Dr. T. C. Chao, of Peiping, China, who welcomed Mao Tze Tung's armies in their conquest of Free China. Prof. Josef Hromadka, No. 1 Soviet Communist clergyman from Prague, Czechoslovakia, elected to powerful central committee of World Council of Churches along with Bishop Albert Bereczky, Communist head of the Hungarian Reformed Church. World Council of Churches planned to hold its next world meeting in the United States in 1952 (world meeting scheduled every 4 years) but McCarran-Walter immigration and security laws were passed by United States Congress forbidding entry of Communists or Communist sympathizers into the United States.

September 16, 1951: Theologian Karl Barth, of Switzerland, accuses Bishop Bereczky (Hungary) of openly approving communism and that Bereczky's church press service sounded like the official releases from the Soviet Union.

August 15–28, 1952: Conference on faith and order of the World Council of Churches in Lund, Sweden. Large group of American Protestant clergymen, representing about 29 denominations, met in secret session with Communist Clergymen Hromadka and Bishop Bereczky.

March 11, 1953: The radical Christian Century spearheads attack on McCarran immigration law in an editorial entitled "McCarran Act Revision a Church Priority." Christian Century is the recognized voice of the religious liberals in the United States of America. Editorial states that "unless the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act is revised in the current session of Congress its operation will probably keep out of the country many of the church leaders who should come from abroad to the 1954 World Assembly of Churches in Evanston."

April 8, 1953: Senator McCarran replies to Century's attack in a letter, and says: "(1) Untrue or (2) a shocking charge against many of the church leaders who should come from abroad."

October 7, 1953: Christian Century, in an editorial entitled "Evanston Storm Warnings," urges local pastors to do a brainwashing job on members of their congregations so as to prepare them for the shock of Communist clergymen coming into the United States for World Council meeting. Century says that reporters who will cover World Council meeting "have been carefully briefed." Doesn't say by whom, but implies that they, too, will help out with the brain-washing job. The Century warns that there will be severe criticism of the United States, and that there should be. "A certain species of 'patriotism' will deeply resent this." The Century then uses the hypothetical case of Professor Hromadka, insisting that "the church not only can and does survive under communism, but that it grows in spiritual vigor." This leftwing magazine then gives its formula for making the American public receptive to such charges. It will instruct the pastors in a series of editorials as to how to attack all those who oppose the Communists, including other churchmen and patriotic societies.

October 15, 1953: Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, chairman of the World Council of Churches study department committee, addresses University of Pennsylvania audience and states that there will be some resistance to the Red delegates from behind the Iron Curtain, but that "this resistance will fail and the delegates will be admitted into the United States."

November 17, 1953: National Council of Churches, which is host for the World Council meeting, holds it national board meeting in Washington, D. C., and pressurizes the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, into being its honored guest. Councilite figures in the Eisenhower administration, John Foster Dulles, Arthur Flemming, and Harold E. Stassen, along with Bishop Oxnam, Bishop William C. Martin (Methodist, president of National Council of Churches) and Dr. John Mackay, moderator

of the Presbyterian Church U. S. A. and World Council Missionary head, welcome the President. Dr. Visser 't Hooft, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, was brought from Switzerland to address the meeting to help pressurize the President into accepting an invitation to appear on the platform and address the World Council of Churches meeting in Evanston.

November 22, 1953: Same Dr. Visser 't Hooft occupies pulpit of the National Presbyterian Church while President and Mrs. Eisenhower attend the service. Further brain-washing.

December 9, 1953: Same Dr. Visser 't Hooft, leaving for Geneva, Switzerland, declares at New York luncheon of "Friends of the World Council of Churches" that he had been impressed by the attitude of Government representatives of the United States. "In plannings for the Assembly we have had all the help that we could possibly expect from them. They have shown real understanding concerning the admission of church delegates to the Assembly from the Iron Curtain countries. Our invitation to the President to address the Assembly was also received with genuine cordiality and we have every hope that he will be able to be with us."

December 16, 1953: Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, president of the World Council of Churches for North America, and sitting on Capitol Hill as Washington area Bishop of the Methodist Church, addresses a Christmas greeting letter to all pastors under his jurisdiction in which he states, "I am happy to say that several conferences with Mr. John Foster Dulles, to whom the church owes an increasing debt of gratitude, have resulted in reasonable assurance that the delegates to the coming Assembly of the World Council of Churches will be admitted without difficulty. By the way, have you written Mr. Dulles and the President a note of appreciation for their courageous refusal to tolerate Senator McCARTHY's attempt to substitute 'a big bully' policy in foreign affairs for the dignified and fruitful 'good-neighbor policy.'

December 23, 1953: Christian Century publishes editorial regarding tribute Visser 't Hooft paid to the "seriousness with which the Reformed and Lutheran Churches of Hungary are pushing their preparations for the 1954 Assembly of the World Council. No other churches in any part of the world," Dr. Visser 't Hooft testified, "have devoted so much time to study of the Assembly topics or presented such extensive and searching reviews of the preliminary report."

March 17, 1954: American Legion, First Division, Cook County Council, Ill., passes resolution demanding United States State Department refuse the granting of visas to Red clergymen from Iron Curtain countries planning to come to World Council meeting.

March 20, 1954: Second Division of the American Legion, Department of Illinois, comprising 13 countries, unanimously adopts same resolution.

March 24, 1954: Christian Century viciously attacks American Legion and fundamentalists for trying to prevent entrance of Red clergymen to the United States.

April 1, 1954: National and World Council's publicity men enraged over publicity given American Legion resolutions. Call for meeting with Illinois Legion officials. Attempt to smear individual legionnaires and anti-Communist clergymen at meeting with officials.

April 8, 1954: Rev. Alton M. Motter, on leave for 8 months as executive director of the Chicago Sunday Evening Club (platform for leftwing speakers), in order to handle public relations for World Council meeting in Evanston, addresses letter to Illinois Legion official demanding to know if Legion will push its opposition to Red clergymen further and adds further smear attacks in letter against individual Legionnaires. Legion replies to Mr. Motter in 9-page letter rebuking him for smears and setting forth documentation regarding Communist clergymen and their attacks on the United States.

April 10, 1954: World Council smear attack fails as American Legion Department of Illinois, representing 226,000 Legionnaires, passes first and second division resolutions unanimously.

April 28, 1954: Christian Century again attacks American Legion in editorial and asks: "Why doesn't the organization try to learn the truth about the World Council of Churches?"

May 4, 1954: Illinois resolution received by national executive committee of the American Legion in Indianapolis, representing 3½ million veterans. World Council's press agent, Motter, and Indianapolis Presbyterian minister, Jean Milner, protest the resolution at executive committee meeting. Over 50 clergymen in Indianapolis area support the American Legion's resolution. Highest ruling body of Legion passes Illinois resolution and instructs the national commander of the American Legion to call upon the President of the United States and the Secretary of State personally and urge them not to admit Red clergymen.

May 5, 1954: Christian Century carries article by National Council of Churches lawyer, Charles C. Parlin, who was also made special chairman of the World Council's press and broadcasting committee, with further attacks and smears on those opposing entrance of Red clergymen.

July 1, 1954: Dr. Daniel A. Poling, leading Baptist clergyman and editor of influential Christian Herald, denounces World Council of Churches Red clergymen and calls them puppets of communism, who are coming to Evanston not to spread unity but to propagandize for communism.

July 15, 1954: World Council of Churches officials announce from New York City, via the American press, that 16 Communist delegates will be admitted by United States State Department.

July 17, 1954: Secretary of State Dulles asks United States Justice Department to admit "11 delegates from Communist Czechoslovakia and Hungary to the United States." (Keep in mind Mr. Dulles was one of the founders of the World Council of Churches and also chairman of a powerful commission of the old Federal Council of Churches.) Chicago Tribune reveals names of 11 Red clergymen, including 5 from Hungary: Bishop Laszlo Dezsery, Bishop Peter Veto, Bishop Albert Bereczky, Bishop John Peter, and Dr. Laszlo Pap, all from the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Hungary. The State Department, in official press release for same day, states that "contacts with the spiritual life of America could have a beneficial effect upon these delegates and out of this experience could come a spiritual strengthening of the churches in Hungary."

July 22, 1954: Representative ALVIN M. BENTLEY, of Michigan, formerly in the diplomatic service in Hungary, makes major speech on floor of United States House of Representatives identifying the Red clergymen as Communists, false churchmen, and said that allowing them to participate in the conferences at Evanston "is a shame and an affront upon those other Czechslovakian and Hungarian religious heroes who attempted to oppose the Communists and suffered imprisonment or worse as a result. The State Department, in recommending the admission of these delegates, is hampering and sabotaging the work that so many of us are trying to do in exposing the real truth about international communism. When the Department hopes that spiritual contacts in this country might have a beneficial effect upon the Communist delegates * * * it is in effect destroying much of the work of combating Communist propaganda that our own organs * * * are carrying on."

July 26, 1954: State Department is besieged with protests from all over the Nation. Dulles instructs special assistant John W. Hanes, Jr., to send out a stereotype form letter to the protestors saying that "the Secretary has given this delicate and difficult matter his most careful attention."

July 30, 1954: Arthur J. Connell, national commander of the American Legion, states in letter that the Legion's protest against the admission of the Red clergymen was addressed to the State Department and the Attorney General in May but that "to date we have not received a reply from either the Secretary of State or the Attorney General."

August 1, 1954: The Daily Worker, official mouthpiece of the Communist Party, United States of America, on page 5 devotes five-column spread to a welcome for the World Council of Churches meeting in Evanston with a cartoon depicting an upraised arm and hand labeled "Humanity," holding a scroll entitled "Negotiations for World Peace." The Worker attacks the American Legion and praises the efforts of the World Council.

August 4, 1954: Christian Century explodes with most vicious attack yet on those opposing entrance of the Red delegates for the World Council meeting in an article entitled "Differences at Evanston," by Ralph L. Roy, Union Theological Seminary student and later employed by the notorious Fund for the Republic.

August 15, 1954: World Council of Churches meeting opens in Evanston mid great fan-fare from radio, press, and TV. Red clergymen are received as honored guests, participating in the committee and assembly deliberations and are guest speakers in American churches. President Eisenhower appears on platform with Red agents who later used their American reception for propaganda purposes behind the Iron Curtain. World Council adopts peaceful coexistence but gives it another name. Substitutes term "living together" in order to escape "some of its (peaceful coexistence) current political implications."

August 28, 1954: Chicago Sun-Times reveals Christian Century denounces Committee on Un-American Activities, its chairman, Representative HAROLD VELDE, Senator WILLIAM E. JENNER, and the United States Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, and Representative Bentley who had sent a telegram to the Hungarian delegates inviting them to tell about so-called "freedom" in Hungary to the congressional committee.

Attorney Parlin, Bishop Oxnam, and Dr. Franklin Fry were furious over Bentley's proposal. The Century charges congressional committees "had sent undercover agents into Evanston to spy on Assembly delegates." It waxes eloquent in its denunciation: "What a business for committees of the United States Senate and Congress to be in, spying on a World Assembly of Churches of Jesus Christ."

September 1, 1954: World Council delegates head for home. Communists score great victory. They add two more to their number on the powerful central committee which directs the affairs of the World Council between Assemblies. Communist Professor Hromadka reelected to the committee. Communist churches received with the right hand of fellowship. The Archbishop of Canterbury publicly apologizes to Communist delegates before the entire World Council Assembly because free Czech exiles picketed the Assembly on the public sidewalk and carried signs denouncing these Communist wolves. The Assembly by resolution states that these Iron Curtain delegates "in supporting the Communist order were loyal to Christ." The World Council meeting was silent on the subject of Communist penetration of the churches of the free world and its program to capture them.

February 6, 1955: World Council of Churches executive committee calls for a conference of clergymen between the Communist East and the Western World to formulate a policy for presentation to world political leaders. American clergymen sat with the Communist clergymen in this meeting.

February 15, 1955: The American Legion, through its publication, the Firing Line, reveals vicious attacks made against the United States by Communist clerical delegates upon their return from the World Council meeting to their homes. The United States of America was denounced for "the horrors of American life," "the fingerprinting of delegates which was humiliating treatment reserved only for gangsters," so-called indignities suffered at the hands of customs officers who "squeezed a tube of toothpaste in their search for Communist propaganda in Bishop Bereczky's luggage"; "the savagery of the American press, the stories of murder, vice, and flying saucers and of war propaganda"; "a father with two loaded guns terrorizing his young son in a sick bed and then forcing him to take a bitter medicine" (this was a father with toy pistols playing sheriff as he offered his boy some castor oil); attacks on the American Legion, "that Fascist organization of war veterans, and all kinds of European exiles"; "FBI interrogations," etc., etc.

March 15, 1955: Red Hungarian church press reports "Pastors of the Budapest Reformed Presbyteries observed the 10th anniversary of the liberation of the Hungarian Capitol." This was the liberation of free Hungary into the hands of the Communists. The main speaker at the liberation rally was Communist Bishop Albert Bereczky, president of the Hungarian Reformed Church and leader of the World Council of Churches. Communist Deputy Premier of East Germany sent a congratulatory message to Bishops Veto, Peter, and Bereczky, on the occasion of this anniversary celebration.

April 1, 1955: Red Hungarian Church press announces addition of Dean Laszlo Pap, Communist church leader, to the executive committee of the World Presbyterian Alliance of which Dr. John Mackay, of Princeton Seminary, United States of America, is president.

April 10, 1955: Attacks by the "Red house guests of the U. S. A." on America after their return to Iron Curtain protection causes the Chicago Tribune to write a full length editorial inferring that the American Legion's opposition to admitting these Reds may have been correct and that the World Council might ponder the question of how men who know not the truth can be expected to preach the gospel."

April 15, 1955: The Communists, now delighted with their successful penetration of the World Council, and the brotherly love with which they were received by World Council leaders become bolder and bolder. Communist Hungarian Church press reports that the Reformed Theological Academy of Budapest would confer the doctor of divinity degree upon leaders of the ecumenical movement including Dr. John Mackay, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, and the Reverend James Edgar Wagner, of the United States.

August 1955: Communist Bishop Janos Peter, of Hungary, upon invitation of the Presbyterian Church of England, pays visit to England.

September 8, 1955: American radio and press services carry announcement Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam (Methodist) will receive honorary degree from Communist-controlled Reform Theological Academy in Budapest, Hungary, thus lending prestige and comfort to the enemies of the Hungarian people.

September 15–20, 1955: Bishop and Mrs. G. Bromley Oxnam and Rev. James E. Wagner, president of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, United States of America, attend Red controlled Budapest Theological centenary celebration. Oxnam and Wagner receive honorary degree. Dr. John Mackay (Presbyterian), president of Princeton Seminary, received a degree in absentia. Also attending the celebration for the Communist churchmen from Iron Curtain countries were World Council of Churches leaders from other countries, and Communist State officials including President Janos Horvath and Deputy President Jozsef Varga, of the State Office for Church Affairs.

October 6, 1955: General board of the National Council of Churches announces plans for a two-way exchange of religious delegations between Communist Russia and the United States. American delegation to be headed by president of the National Council of Churches, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake (Presbyterian).

October 15, 1955: Communist Hungarian Church press announces Metropolitan Nicolai, of Russia, receives Soviet Union's Red Flag Order of Work. Hungarian Communist Bishop Bereczky sends his congratulations. Nicolai is invited to United States by Dr. Blake (Presbyterian), president of the National Council of Churches.

November 17, 1955: Hungarian Church press reveals Communist Bishop Lajos Veto is a member of the Communist Hungarian Parliament. "He paid tribute to the fruitful effort of peace-loving humanity for the defense of peace," in behalf of the Communist World Peace Council. Hungarian Church press also announces Reformed Church was represented at the central committee of the World Council of Churches meeting in Switzerland by Bishop Veto and that the next central committee meeting will be held in Communist Hungary in the summer of 1956. World Council central committee elected Bishop Peter as member of the Commission on the Relation between State and Community. Communist Bishop Veto was elected to the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, and Communist Dean Pap of the staff of the Reformed Academy of Budapest was elected to the World Council's financial committee. This all took place at the central committee meeting in Switzerland attended by self-styled Protestant leaders from the United States and other countries.

February 1956: National Council of Churches newsletter announces exchange of Communist church leaders with American church leaders for March and June. Russia's Metropolitan Nicolai sends brotherly love greetings.

March 1956: Nine liberal Protestant leaders headed by Blake of National Council go to Moscow.

March 18, 1956: Soviet Spy Chief Maj. Gen. Georgi Karpok, head of the so-called Religion Section in the dreaded MVD headquarters (secret police), entertains American church delegation at lavish dinner.

April 7–10, 1956: Metropolitan Nicolai attends Communist World Peace Congress in Stockholm.

May 13, 1956: Dr. Daniel A. Poling, world famous Baptist leader, denounces National Council of Churches leaders for their visit to Moscow. Declared that visit of United States clerics to Russia played right into Soviet hands.

June 1956: Eight Communist clergymen headed by Nicolai arrive in United States and begin tour of major American cities. Large demonstrations break out against them led by Eastern European exiles.

July 28, 1956: World Council of Churches central committee meets in Communist Hungary. Reception committee headed by top Red churchmen of Hungary, including Bereczky, Veto, Pap, and Peter. General Secretary Visser 't Hooft of World Council of Churches states, "Churches under differing systems must learn from one another."

September 1, 1956: Presbyterian Life, official magazine of the Presbyterian Church, United States of America, reveals World Council of Churches is now ready to sit down with Red church leaders from Russia in January of 1957 and discuss participation of Russia Orthodox Church in the World Council of Churches. Door now open to receive Communist-controlled churches into membership. Same publication photographs American Protestant churchmen with Communist church leaders.

September 22, 1956: Dr. Hans Asmussen, noted German Protestant theologian, hits Protestant leanings to U. S. S. R. Describes Russian church leaders as "political tools of the anti-Christian Communist regime." Says cooperation with Communist church leaders only benefits the Kremlin.

OCTOBER 23, 1956, REVOLUTION BEGINS IN HUNGARY

Patriots refuse to pay salaries of Communist clergymen formerly paid by the Communist state. Specific mention made in reports from Hungary of same Communist church leaders who came to World Council's meeting in Evanston in 1954, including Bishop Veto, who was elected a member of the Central Committee of the World Council.

Bishops Veto and Deszery, Communist government puppeteers forced to resign from the Lutheran Church. Bishop Albert Bereczky, awarded the Hungarian Communists' Order of Labor, deposed from the Hungarian Reformed Church. Bishop Janos Peter deposed also and labeled "the worst kind of Stalinist." The editor of the Communist Hungarian Church Press resigned and a new paper titled "Reformacio" was begun. The officers in the state office for church affairs lost their jobs when the office was abolished.

November 14, 1956: The Christian Century forced to admit that these very same Hungarian Communist church leaders, who were exposed by the American Legion in 1954, and now deposed by the Hungarian people, were false bishops and foisted on the Hungarians by the Communist government.

The Hungarian church people, however, enjoyed but a few brief hours of freedom. The Russians moved into the picture by invading the country, massacring large sections of the population, destroying public buildings, including churches and hospitals. It is anyone's guess as to what has happened to the genuine Christian church leaders who were restored to their rightful positions by the people after the Communist puppet clergymen had been deposed.

Have the Soviets restored the Communist church leaders to their positions? What has happened to the true shepherds of the flock?

No one seems to know.

EPILOG

National and World Council leaders frantically sent cables to Metropolitan Nicolai of Russia asking him to use his influence to stop "the bloodshed and oppression in Hungary." Nicolai sends hypocritical message back saying, "Our government (the U. S. S. R.) is giving material aid to those who suffer in Hungary and we shall devotedly and unceasingly labor for peace." This is the same "government" which sent its armored might into Hungary and slaughtered thousands of Hungarians. This sounds like "material aid."

How long will it take for these "be kind to Communists" clergymen of the United States to wake up to the fact that you can't do business with the Communists?

December 1, 1956: Chicago Tribune writes full length editorial entitled "Bishop Peter's Loud Silence." The Tribune recalls the visit of the Hungarian Communist clergyman to the World Council meeting in Evanston and that many individuals and organizations in the United States opposed their visit. The Tribune states that Bishop Peter participated in the drafting of the World Council's

report on the Christian witness in Communist countries. It says that leaders of both the World and National Councils have long cherished illusions about communism and the possibility of religious freedom in Communist countries. It declares that Dr. Blake came back from Moscow last March talking nonsense about the position of the churches in Russia. In the light of the Russian onslaught against Hungary the Tribune hopes for Dr. Blake's progressive enlightenment.

Judging from past experience, we wonder if this is too much to hope.

We now see the National and World Councils of Churches in the United States "getting in on the act" for Hungarian relief. These are the same men who hobnobbed with the persecuters of the people.

Strangest spectacle of all—Garfield Bromley Oxnam, who accepted a degree from these same Red church leaders in September 1955 in Hungary, stated on November 29, 1956, in Wilmington, Del., at a meeting of the Wilmington District of the Methodist Church, that these men were "puppets and he had come to know them over recent years and expected their rejection when the time was right."

America's Aging Citizens Need Greater Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to introduce a bill to amend the Social Security Act so as to provide a greater degree of economic security for our older citizens in their declining years of life.

There is a growing interest in the problem of our aging population, whose number is steadily increasing. Economic and social problems have arisen as a result of the growing number of elderly people in the country. Instead of appreciating the fact that medical science has made great progress in extending the longevity of our life span, we tend to forget the human factors involved in supporting an aging population or we simply ignore them.

By ignoring the problems of old age we are committing a grave injustice to millions of our elderly citizens, who have every right to expect better treatment and greater security at a time when they can no longer be economically productive. It is my view that we must give more serious consideration to these people and to their problems from a more realistic and more humane point of view. I believe that we must provide them with the opportunity to spend their declining years in greater comfort and fewer economic worries.

Fortunately, we have established a fine social-security system to provide for some of the needs of these people by giving them a certain degree of economic independence. Some two decades have passed since this system has been set up and, although some changes have been made in its structure and benefits have been somewhat liberalized, it still does not answer the needs of the elderly people. The fault is not theirs. Inflation has taken a sizable chunk out of the social-security dollar. Whereas 5 years ago or more an elderly person or couple was able to get along on the monthly social-security payements, they are today struggling to make ends meet on the same amount.

There are other serious deficiencies in the social-security system which need to be corrected, such as the limitation on outside earnings, the inadequacy of the payments to those who receive only the minimum benefits, and the like. It is for the purpose of correcting these deficiencies and improving the system that I am introducing my bill. Specifically, my bill seeks to improve the social-security law in four ways:

First. Increase the minimum benefits to $40 per month.

Second. Increase the amount of outside earnings to $125 a month or $1,500 a year.

Third. Lower the retirement age for both men and women to 60 years.

Fourth. Permit States to disregard income up to $50 per month in determining need for old-age assistance.

Mr. Speaker, allow me to explain each of these amendments in some detail.

MINIMUM BENEFITS

Under the social-security system as presently constituted, the minimum monthly benefit is $30. How it is possible for an elderly person to subsist on this niggardly sum for a whole month is something which I cannot comprehend. It is hardly enough for rent, let alone food, clothing, and other essentials. This is not only inadequate, but in many instances almost heartrending, since most of these people are physically no longer able to earn even the limited outside income permissible under the law. No wonder many of these older citizens receiving the bare minimum benefit are bitter and resentful and feel that they are the forgotten people of today.

I propose to increase the minimum monthly payments to $40, an increase of only $10 per month. Even at the rate of $40 a month, the daily average comes to only about $1.30, which is hardly enough to take care of the most elementary needs. Yet, small as this increase is, it would be most welcome to many elderly people and give them a greater feeling of security and dignity. I believe it is fair. I believe it is urgent.

OUTSIDE EARNINGS

Those eligible to social-security benefits are permitted under the law to earn up to $100 per month or $1,200 per year without deduction or loss of their benefits. Many of these older folks are still in fairly good health, they wish to keep themselves occupied for a few hours each day in some useful and productive manner. They are still able to render fine services to the community and should not be deprived prematurely of this opportunity. Part-time work is not only desirable for many of these people, but will enable them to maintain a greater degree of economic independence.

For this reason, I propose that the so-called work clause of the Social Security Act be amended to allow these people to supplement their income through part-time work and to make it possible for them to earn up to $125 per month or $1,500 per year. This, too, is a fair request and will be appreciated by many of our senior citizens who prefer to be on their own for as long as they are physically able to do so.

RETIREMENT AGE

It is becoming more and more apparent that the present retirement age will have to be lowered. I was glad to see Congress take the first step in that direction last year when it voted to lower the retirement age for women from 65 to 62. I supported that proposal and voted for it when it come up for consideration in the House. I feel, however, that we have not gone far enough. The retirement age for men still remains at 65. A lowering of the eligibility age for retirement for both men and women should be given serious consideration.

The present age limitations account for many hardships to people in the age group between 60 and 65, who are suffering from ill health and are no longer able to earn a livelihood. Many of them are forced to become charity cases. Women over 60 have practically no chances of obtaining any kind of employment. Unless they have children to help maintain them, they must turn to public welfare assistance and to swell our relief rolls. Certainly this is a case of false economy.

It is believed that most of those in the 60 to 65 age group would prefer to continue working and earning their livelihood. Some in this group, however, have become too ill to work or have become disabled. They must wait until they reach the retirement age before they can become eligible for social-security benefits—or else become public charges. Surely, this is no way to treat these people who have given a lifetime of work and effort to help build our country and to make it what it is today.

I am, therefore, proposing in my bill to lower the retirement age from 65 to 60 years, and it is to be applicable alike to both men and women. The claim that this will cost us a substantial sum of money is undoubtedly true, but social security has paid for itself from the very first. Each time an effort is made to improve the system and to liberalize its benefits we hear the same arguments, yet the social security system is more solid today than it ever was and its benefits reach more people than ever before. It has been proved time and again that the American people are willing to pay for the benefits accruing to them in their old age.

DISREGARD OF CERTAIN INCOME

Finally, I propose to amend the Social Security Act to permit States to disregard income up to $50 per month in determining the need for old-age assistance. In other words, under this amendment, recipients of old-age assistance would be permitted to earn up to $50 per month without having that amount deducted from their subsistence grants.

Let me explain this proposal. Under the present system, those who receive old-age assistance are discouraged from working. Several years ago the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

established that the average age of these recipients is over 70 years. Surely, they do not constitute a threat to the labor market. They perform certain small tasks, casual labor, odd-and-end jobs, and the like. Under the present system it is required that any money which they earn in this fashion must be deducted from their old-age assistance.

This situation is a holdover from the depression period a quarter of a century ago when the intention was to discourage older people from competing for jobs, no matter how small, because of the huge unemployment in the country. Today there is no longer any need for this. Elderly people should be encouraged to do whatever small tasks they are physically able to do, for the benefit of the community and for their own benefit. Constant leisure and the feeling that their services are no longer needed cannot account for a healthy or a happy state of mind.

Therefore, I believe that it would be a very wise policy to allow these elderly people to perform whatever services they can perform and to enable them to benefit from this small income, without endangering their old-age assistance to which they are entitled. Only, to avoid the possibility of any abuse, I would limit this benefit by making it applicable to the first $50 of such income per month. In other words, the Federal Government is to allow the States to disregard the first $50 of earnings by people who are eligible for old-age assistance and not insist that this income be deducted from their monthly subsistence payment. All earnings over $50 are to be deducted. This, too, I consider as fair and sensible.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I believe that we must take cognizance of the problems of our aging population, and the sooner it is done the better for them and for us. If we continue to ignore this situation it may someday burst upon us with such force that it might disrupt our entire present social-welfare system and cause untold misery to millions of elderly people.

By enacting the changes proposed in my bill, we shall take a decided step forward in the direction of providing greater economic security for them and preventing needless misery and heartache. The amendments I suggest are reasonable and practicable. They will help to eliminate some of the deficiencies of our social-security system. They will make it possible for our older citizens to look forward with greater confidence to receiving adequate economic protection in their old age. This is the least we can and should do for them.

Foreign Policy Linked With Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is tragic to realize that our foreign policy must be made in the light of dollars rather than of moral honesty. The following excerpt from an article written by Drew Pearson appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 6, 1957, and makes most interesting reading:

FOREIGN POLICY LINKED WITH OIL

(By Drew Pearson)

Eagle-eyed Senator MATT NEELY, of West Virginia, spotted a point which the administration doesn't like to have spotted, while hearing the testimony of Stewart Coleman, head of the Middle East Emergency Oil Committee, before the Judiciary subcommittee.

Senator NEELY accused Coleman of wearing two hats, of representing the Government and at the same time representing the oil companies as a longtime executive of the Arabian-American Oil Co., now vice president of Standard Oil of New Jersey.

NEELY went further. He poked a finger into the inner financial sanctum of the Secretary of the Treasury, where most Senators fear to probe. Pointing out that Secretary Humphrey had not sold his stock in the M. A. Hanna Co., as Charlie Wilson did his General Motors stock, NEELY said the Hanna Co. owns 482,256 shares of common stock of Standard of New Jersey. Value: $26,885,722.

He also pointed out that the M. A. Hanna Co. owns 187,500 shares of Seaboard Oil. Value: $11,671,875.

Senator NEELY wanted to know if this wasn't a moral conflict of interest. He also speculated regarding the fact that President Eisenhower spent a vacation on Humphrey's luxurious Georgia plantation at the very moment when the Middle East crisis required vital decisions.

GEORGE ALLEN RELAXES

Senator NEELY could have gone further in probing into the possible effect of oil on American foreign policy. Here is the rollcall of other personalities who might be influenced by oil:

George Allen, close friend and bridge-playing partner of the President, also with him at the Georgia plantation. Allen has been chairman of the Yemen Oil Development Co.

Chris Herter, the new Under Secretary of State, is indebted to Standard of New Jersey for his wife's fortune.

John Foster Dulles' law firm represents Standard of New Jersey.

Ex-Secretary of State Acheson's law firm also represented Standard of New Jersey.

Ex-Under Secretary Herbert Hoover, Jr., was an executive of Union Oil, which is interlocked with Gulf Oil, which gets its oil from the Gulf of Persia.

These are all honest men. But it's hard for even the most honest public official not to be influenced by subtle, economic pressures.

Largest stockholders in Standard Oil of New Jersey are the Rockefellers. The Rockefeller family contributed $152,604 to the Republicans in the recent election. The Mellon family, which owns Gulf Oil, contributed $100,150; the Pew family, which owns Sun Oil, put up $216,800. Other oil men plunged heavily for Ike. Almost no oil money went to the Democrats.

At the glamorous state dinner given by Mr. Eisenhower to King Saud the board chairmen of the major oil companies interested in the Near East were present, plus the heads of the Rockefeller banks which back them. The guest list included Fred Davies, chairman of Aramco; Ralph Follis, chairman of Standard of New Jersey; Brewster Jennings, chairman of Socony; Augustus Long, chairman of Texaco; Monroe Rathbone, president of Standard of New Jersey; Jack McCloy, chairman of the Chase Bank; and William Kleitz, president of Guaranty Trust. Many of these were also GOP contributors.

Next day the presidents of the same companies were invited to dine with Secretary Dulles and King Saud. The chairman of the boards rated a White House dinner with Ike, the presidents with a dinner with Dulles.

Washington's Huge "Gimme" Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of March 4, 1957, entitled "Washington's Huge 'Gimme' Budget":

WASHINGTON'S HUGE "GIMME" BUDGET

Who is responsible for the galloping extravagance that has bloated Federal spending almost 20 percent in 3 years? And mark the fact. These have been nonwar years, climaxed by the biggest peacetime budget in American history.

The handiest whipping boy for our splurge prodigality is, of course, the administration. There is some plausibility in dumping the fault on White House steps. The President's budget is inflationary and exorbitant.

But that is a too-easy "out." Mr. Eisenhower has struggled in the past to pare down Federal spending. He succeeded for a while, but his progress has been wiped out in a flight of budget ballooning. He asked Congress to slash the new money schedule. His Secretary of the Treasury has warned in biting phrase of the path we are marching to profligacy. Ike could do more.

Congress bears a brunt of blame, for Congress passes the rising appropriations. Congress exerts pressures to throw governmental economy critically out of kilter. Yet Congress is not the sole fiscal sinner.

Bureaucracy has a tremendous stake in the orgy spending habits to which we have succumbed. Every big and small agency in the Federal complex wants more, fights for more, lobbies and exerts political strategy to expand its orbit. But the answer is not fundamentally here, either.

The reason for the tumorous growth of Federal lavishness is, in the last analysis, the average citizen and the maze of his special interests from one end of the Nation to the other.

Because the ordinary citizen not only tolerates but adds to the pressure for wilder, bigger Federal outlays, the budget pyramids and taxes continue their harsh burden.

Most of us haven't the fortitude to insist that the multibillion allotments for Federal programs be slashed.

One of the sacred fiscal cows is defense. No one in possession of his reason would have the United States strip itself of essential strength at this time. But commonsense and a little examination shows pretty definitely that appropriations for the armed services can be cut in many categories.

The military must have adequate support. But probably no arm of National Government is so wasteful and extravagant. The several services duplicate missile programs of research and development, duplicate plane development projects, duplicate base and airfield facilities. The military always buys the best, not merely the adequate. It is riddled with rivalries and keeps a buttoned lip over wastes many of its leaders know exist.

In varying degrees other branches of Government are as culpable. Because the defense arm is the most costly, we allude to its practices. Total dollar outlays for defense have soared from $12,900,000,000 in 1949 to a

requested $43,300,000,000 for the 1958 fiscal year.

Other divisions of Government show just as bad a spirit of Federal thrift. Foreign-aid spending is loose. Counterpart funds dished out lavishly to traveling dignitaries, including Congressmen, are symptomatic of the drunken-sailor spending.

Rivers and harbors projects, public buildings, grants, loans, bounties, benefits of all sorts, and myriad pressures—all go into the pot of soaring Washington costs.

The average citizen sits on his hands about the situation. Or more often he, too, has his hand out for some special favor from the endless stream of Federal paternalism.

Maybe it is money for housing, a monument, more social security, a new post office, power development, or school subsidies. Strong and facile arguments can be made for everything everybody wants.

It all adds up to giant Federal expenditures, rising inflation, and eventually financial bust. The philosophy is for Government to curtail someone else, but give us individually all we demand.

This is the era of "grab and gimme" government. And we, the people, are responsible.

It will not stop until we have the courage and sanity to curb our own demands, ease our own pressures and force a reduction in the astronomical spending that is leading toward national crisis.

One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of Dover, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the city of Dover, Ohio, will celebrate its 150th anniversary tomorrow and I regret deeply that the business of the House makes it impossible for me to join with the citizens of Tuscarawas County in the ceremonies marking this historic milestone.

Dover is now a busy, prosperous center of diversified industry and one of Ohio's most progressive cities.

The first settler, in 1806, was Christian Deardorff, who purchased 2,175 acres of land that had been granted Col. James Morrison, of Lexington, Ky., in recognition of Revolutionary War service.

Deardorff, who was joined by Jesse Slingluff, established a gristmill on his land, and in 1807 they founded the village of Dover.

This was historic country even then. In 1772 Moravian missionaries to the Delaware Indians established the village of Schoenbrunn a few miles southwest of the present city of Dover. Schoenbrunn was the site of the first church and the first school in what is now Ohio. Later Fort Laurens was established a few miles north of Schoenbrunn. Both Schoenbrunn and Fort Laurens were abandoned during bloody battle warfare in the final years of the Revolution. Dover was in a sense a new beginning of this earlier pioneer settlement.

A post office was established at Canal Dover, as it was then known, in 1817. The village grew slowly thereafter, until the opening of the Ohio and Erie Canal in 1830 gave it new impetus and it became a grain and flour mill center for the area.

Local resources of ore, coal, and clay brought other development in midcentury. A blast furnace was established in 1855 and a steel rolling mill in 1866. The first brick factory was built about this time. During the Civil War, Dover was an important recruiting center. Camp Meigs, where hundreds of Ohio men entered military service, is now the county fairgrounds.

Dover was incorporated as a village in 1842 and became a city in 1900.

Today it is a handsome Ohio city with the familiar square and tree-lined streets that are characteristic of our area. Many other cities depend on Dover for their supply of coal, steel, and brass castings. The city is famous for supplying brass bushings for ocean liners.

Coal, clay, limestone, shales, molding sand, petroleum, natural gas, and salt are the raw materials furnished by Tuscarawas County for the manufactured products of Dover.

Among the many products of Dover are building brick, fire brick, electric appliances, screw products, tanks, boilers, steel fabrications, drawn tungsten wire, cold rolled strip and stainless steel, chemical and plastic products, wire, stone, steel sheets, roofing, stove and furnace pipe, buckets, tubs, wood stoves, and castings.

Almost every conceivable service and need is available, from watches to diesel trucks, in the 178 retail stores found in Dover.

The city has its own municipal light plant and water system, park, stadium, modern public and parochial high schools, 4 new grade schools and a parochial grade school, 3-story YMCA, Legion Memorial Hall, 20 churches, and a Salvation Army building.

Tuscarawas County fairgrounds and Union Hospital are a part of Dover.

Boating, fishing, and swimming are all available in a short drive from Dover in any one of the Muskingum Watershed lakes. The famous Muskingum Conservancy District, one of the world's outstanding examples of conservation, has its headquarters here.

One Hundred and Seventh Anniversary of the Birth of Thomas G. Masaryk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, today, March 7, is the 107th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Masaryk, the father of Czechoslovakia, who is regarded throughout the world as a symbol of freedom. It is particularly important to celebrate his birthday now that Czechoslovakia has lost her freedom and lives under the oppressive yoke of Soviet totalitarianism. The people of Czechoslovakia have not forgotten Masaryk any more than we would forget George Washington. He remains an inspiration to them despite the efforts of their Soviet masters to picture their first president as a reactionary and one who opposed the will of the people. The Czechoslovak people know in their minds and feel in their hearts that the life and teachings of Masaryk have a meaning for today, however much the Communists may claim his influence is a closed chapter in history. When we join in celebrating Masaryk's life we give the men and women of Czechoslovakia new courage and strength to resist the degradations to which they are subjected by their Soviet overlords.

Masaryk worked long and hard during the First World War to present the case of Czechoslovak independence. He came to the United States in 1918 and gained the support of Woodrow Wilson for his cause. Indeed, the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence was formally published in Washington, D. C., on October 18, 1918. Masaryk felt close to America, both because his wife was an American and because of our democratic government. In 1918, he said:

> For myself, I feel nearest to and accept the principles of American democracy. At this time I can declare that those principles always were, are now, and ever shall be, the guiding principles of the political aspect of my life, because they are near to our Nation, and because our people accept them for their own, and will ever be united by them with America, united in this spirit of freedom and democracy.

The nation which Masaryk founded on the ruins of the crumbling Austro-Hungarian empire was a showcase of democracy throughout central Europe. It seemed symbolic of a new era, an era of democracy for all the world which was to be ushered in by the allied victory in the great war. That new world of which Czechoslovakia was the first fruit did not become a reality. It was decisively smashed by the blood bath of Hitler's totalitarianism which was followed almost immediately by Russian communism.

Adolf Hitler was able to end the dream of democracy for Europe because other nations refused to stand united in opposition to this aggression. Czechoslovakia was the first to fall. As Masaryk is the symbol of freedom to a world where today only some may live in freedom, so also he is the symbol of the way in which that freedom must be defended. Today it is important for the free world to celebrate the birthday of Thomas Garrigue Masaryk because his life has a vital lesson to teach us. It is a simple but a profound and tremendously important truth in the world of today. It is the truth that the free nations must be economically and militarily strong and united in opposition to the aggressive expansion of Soviet totalitarianism. Otherwise our democracies too will fall by foreign conquest. Today Masaryk is a hope and inspiration to the subjugated people of Czechoslovakia and he should be a goad to us that we continue to build a close alliance with other members of the free world in order that democracy may not fall piecemeal before the onslaught of dictators.

The Transport Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, a timely editorial on the subject of our Transport Revolution appeared on March 4, 1957, in the Tulsa Tribune. The editorial has particular significance in Oklahoma, where the entire State has united in support of a great program to bring water transportation facilities to the Arkansas River.

The editorial follows:

THE TRANSPORT REVOLUTION

Sweeping changes in methods of transportation are not only altering the face of America, but they are beginning to produce profound economic changes in American business. Oklahomans, who have lived on a sort of arid plateau, industrially speaking, should consider what these innovations could mean to the future prosperity of the State.

An article entitled "The Second Transport Revolution," by Marvin Barloon in the current Harper's magazine, points out that American industry, originally built on the pattern of railroad freight rates, is now adapting itself to many other methods of moving goods. Last year for the first time the railroad share of the total intercity freight haul dropped to 49 percent.

This doesn't mean that the railroads are through. It does add force to the railroad argument that now, since they are no longer a monopoly, they should be relieved of restrictions that have forced them to charge higher-than-necessary rates on high-class goods, which circumstance has naturally been turned to advantage by the truckers. Railroads should be permitted to battle freely in the highly competitive hauling field.

Highway transport, which now amounts to 40 percent of the ton-miles carried by rail, has suburbanized light industry. Such industry is no longer tied to railroad trackage, but can be freely placed on cheap country real estate. The products of most light industry bear high value as compared to shipping costs, and flexibility of trucks and door-to-door delivery to customers are important.

At the other end of the spectrum inland water transportation for bulk goods has seen a rise of 1,000 percent between 1929 and 1955. The old-fashioned packet boat of Mark Twain's day carried only about 300 tons of freight. A modern diesel towboat pushing 15 barges can propel up to 25,000 tons, the equivalent of 400 freight cars. With radar, towboats no longer have to tie up at night. And the average cost per ton-mile on the river is one-half cent, while the average railroad cost is 1.5 cents and the truck cost 6 cents.

That is why water transportation up the Arkansas River and the Verdigris to the vicinity of Catoosa will be of immense importance to the future of Oklahoma. Everyone who can should attend the annual meeting in Tulsa Friday of the Arkansas Basin Development Association where this project will be discussed by the experts who have brought its development to the beginning stage.

Last week saw the beginning of shipments of powdered coal, held in suspension in water, via pipeline from Cadiz, Ohio, to Cleveland powerplants. Still blocked by rail opposition is a proposal for a 103-mile conveyor belt to carry a continuous stream of coal from the Ohio River to Lake Erie and a continuous stream of iron ore in return.

The use of air freight has boomed, although its percentage to the total freight movement is still negligible. It is being used chiefly to move perishables, like cut flowers, emergency shipments like machinery parts, and high-cost items like high-style dresses where a store wants to avoid large inventories. But the next 10 years may see freight-carrying planes like the proposed C–132, which will break through the explosive ton-mile barrier and permit air shipment of medium-cost goods.

This would eliminate the advantage of the big city retailer who has enjoyed a special ability to cut prices because of his nearness to suppliers and warehouses. He has not had to maintain large inventories since he can replenish many of his supplies in an hour. Big-time moderate-cost air freight would mean that a Tulsa concern need only stay 6 hours ahead of demand on many items instead of 2 to 3 weeks. This would revolutionize our retailing.

More efficient transportation will mean that more people can afford more things. The picture is going to change swiftly, and landlocked States like Oklahoma will profit most from the coming water-borne and air-freight boom.

Expert Predicts Cut in Money Demand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Financial Writer J. A. Livingston, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 6, 1957:

BUSINESS OUTLOOK
(By J. A. Livingston)
EXPERT PREDICTS CUT IN MONEY DEMAND

NEW YORK, March 5.—In the higher echelons of economic thought, 2 plus 2 never equals 4, a straight line isn't the shortest distance between 2 points, and the whole is not necessarily equal to the sum of its parts. Economics is the zany science, and nature, which performs such wonders as protective coloration for grouse, a folding head for the turtle, and ink pots for the squid, is certain to do something about it.

In the years to come, Economic Man, instead of having a backbone, will have a protruding down-covered spinal column. He'll carry his own couch around with him, so that anywhere, at any disturbed moment, he'll be able to unburden his inner schisms to an on-the-spot psychiatrist.

Such psychiatric assistance is indisputably necessary in a world in which man, given a silver lining, finds the cloud. Consider the estimate just made by Girard L. Spencer of the demand for long-term money in 1957. He figures demand will be less intense by 20 percent. On its face, that's bullish for Wall Street. Bond and stock prices ought to levitate. But do they? No. And not because Spencer's not an authority.

He is a partner in the highly respected New York Stock Exchange firm of Salomon Bros. & Hutzler. It specializes in institutional securities, such as Government issues, finance paper, high-grade bonds of all types. It can't afford to be wrong on money trends. If it is, its capital account makes like an accordion closing on itself.

So Salomon Bros. tries to "know" whether interest rates will go up or down. Therefore, Spencer makes a yearly study on where the long-term money's going and where it's coming from. As he sees it, the supply of money this year will be just about as big as it has ever been, $22.1 billion. Here are his estimates:

Source of supply:	*Billions*
Life insurance companies	$5.4
Mutual savings banks	2.0
Savings and loan associations	5.2
Private pension funds	2.3
State and municipal pension funds	1.7
Fire and casualty insurance companies	.6
Other long-term funds [1]	4.9
Total	22.1

[1] Charitable organizations, personal trusts, individuals.

Against that, Spencer estimates these demands:

1. Net mortgage financing of $11.9 billion.
2. Net State and municipal requirements of $3.4 billion.
3. Net corporate and foreign financing of $7.9 billion.

That totes to $23.2 billion. So, there's a deficiency in supply of $1.1 billion.

But does that mean money's going to be tight? Does that mean corporation treasurers will be running around from insurance companies to banks and banks to insurance companies with high interest rates in hand? To the logical mind, it does. But Economic Man is not one to be beguiled by 2-plus-2-equals-4 arithmetic. That's too direct, too simple. Economic Man believes in comparative analysis. And by comparative analysis, money's not going to be tight.

Money was tight in 1956 when demand for long-term funds was $26.3 billion. Then there was a deficiency of about $3.5 billion in supply. In 1957, demand's only $23.2 billion. What's a $1.1 billion deficiency to Economic Man? Why, supply and demand are almost in balance.

So, suggests Spencer, interest rates ought to be comparatively stable. In 1956, money flowed like honey at an outdoor Eskimo picnic. In 1957 it ought merely to flow like honey—not too slow, not too fast.

Does that cheer Economic Man? Hardly. What's good for the money market isn't necessarily good for General Motors. Easier money implies economic slack. Auto sales won't be so furious. Steel operations may slump. Building may slow down.

Sure, Economic Man has said all along that we need to stretch our prosperity, do a little less all at once. But a little less industrial tension means lower profits for corporations. Lower profits mean lower prices in Wall Street; lower stock prices mean—don't say it, please. Dr. Menninger, where's my couch?

Reclaiming the Dust Bowl

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. PAUL KITCHIN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday of this week the President of the United States sent to the Congress proposals for drought relief in a number of Great Plains and Southwest States. In this connection, I desire to direct the attention of the House to a letter to the editor of the Washington Post, dated January 9, 1957, from Dr. Hugh H. Ben-

nett, formerly Chief of the Soil Conservation Service and a native of my hometown, Wadesboro, N. C., on the subject Reclaiming the Dust Bowl.

I also wish to insert an editorial from the Greensboro Daily News, Greensboro, N. C., on Hugh Bennett's Optimism.

The letter and editorial follow:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 9, 1957]

RECLAIMING THE DUST BOWL

Your timely editorial of December 26, 1956, calls attention to a prodigious land disaster at the heart of the Nation, and what to do about it. Drought, wind erosion, dust, dunes, and fruitless fields are fast undermining the economy of the afflicted area.

We have had much experience combating wind erosion, dust and drought. It may profit us to look back to the drought of the thirties and what was done about it. That was a prolonged, dusty, and disastrous drought that extended across the Great Plains from Canada deep into Texas and adjacent New Mexico. The whole vast area was parched, including even the deep alluvial soils of river bottoms.

And there was "dust pneumonia" and frightening duststorms that blotted out the sun over the Nation's Capital and New York. The biggest one laid dust on the decks of ships hundreds of miles off the Atlantic coast.

Then the rains came with good crops of wheat and sorghum. The people forgot. They plowed up more virgin grassland along with much of what farmers had gradually reestablished with the assistance of soil conservation.

"Suitcase farmers" came in, leased land, tore down fences, plowed up everything, and seeded wheat. Some of them made fortunes, repacked their suitcases, moved out, and forgot their crimes against the public. But nature neither forgot nor forgave. Accordingly, we are being punished once more for our interference with the stern laws of nature.

Not all has been forgotten—and that is what I want to point out. Experience sometimes gives us valuable suggestions. I have reference to the experience of the Soil Conservation Service whose birthday corresponded closely with the great duststorm of May 12, 1934. That "black blizzard" was the first of its kind since the coming of the white man to America.

The Soil Conservation Service ran head on into this catastrophic drought of the thirties and its attendant evils without combat experience or proven implements of attack. Fortunately the service was founded on the concept that soil erosion can be coped with only through the use and protection of land according to the needs and capability of the different kinds of land a farmer has, making use of those adaptable measures and combinations of measures required for sustained productivity of the soil.

Every proven measure was utilized and many new measures were quickly developed by trial and error. The old practice of listing was amended by contour application. Crop residues were carefully protected from overgrazing. Good results came from using wheatland for what, grassland for grass, and sorghum land for sorghum. We harvested seed of all the good grazing grasses of the region and planted them in contour furrows within their known range limits.

Pasture areas were contour furrowed; even hole-digging machines were used on the contour on some of the more vulnerable lands. Wild sunflower—a weed—was planted in some of the more scorched areas. Every implement and every planting were held to the contour. It probably was the world's greatest contour movement, with the exception of the practice of bench terracing, which had its origin in ancient times.

The work proved successful where properly applied and maintained. To a considerable degree wind erosion was stopped throughout the Great Plains.

Not all of this work has been forgotten. The Dalhart area in the Texas Panhandle is a notable exception. This was in one of the worst wind-whipped, drought-stricken areas in the whole afflicted region. Here it was that a plain's raven had built its nest of bits of wire picked up from farmsteads in the absence of vegetable materials for nest construction.

Finally the situation in this area was put under control. Even the dunes that had blown up were leveled and controlled with contour plantings of sorghums. And here the farmers have held on to their conservation practices; today these farms are in much better shape than those where the conservation practices were neglected or plowed up. The Dalhart area stands out like an oasis in the midst of drought and want; but what is more important, it is a place plains farmers can go for conservation information and renewed hope.

I mention these matters because they give me faith to predict a successful outcome of the new battle that apparently is to be fought to the finish.

HUGH H. BENNETT,
Formerly Chief, Soil Conservation Service.
FALLS CHURCH.

[From the Greensboro (N. C.) Daily News of January 15, 1957]

HUGH BENNETT'S OPTIMISM

President Eisenhower's trip to the Great Plains will dramatize for the Nation the plight of thousands of drought-stricken farmers and cattlemen.

The specter of the thirties haunts that great area—the black blizzards that blew topsoil in the air and carried it as far as Washington and New York, and the bankruptcy and abandonment of farms that followed in their wake.

From central Texas to Wyoming and Nebraska, to west Kansas and Oklahoma today, feed and water are dangerously short; normal credit has vanished for farmers who haven't had a good crop for years and for ranchers who have cut their foundation herds to a minimum. But good times and jobs have helped carry over many a family; these are not depression days—yet.

Pessimism attended the President's departure. Many of the oldtimers who fought the Dust Bowl back in the thirties haven't much hope.

The nature of man, they say, is to forget the lessons past—to plow up virgin grassland painfully reestablished by soil-conservation methods. In times of prosperity and parity "suitcase farmers" move in, lease land, tear down fences, plow up everything, plant wheat, make a fortune, pack up their suitcase and move out, leaving land despoiled.

But amid the President's departure there was a notable exception to the pessimists: Tar Heel-born Hugh H. Bennett, beloved former Chief of the Soil Conservation Service, who now lives in Falls Church, Va. In a letter to the Washington Post he expressed his faith to prodict a successful outcome of the new battle.

He recalled the methods used to reclaim land once so afflicted that ravens of the plain had to build nests from bits of wire picked up from farmsteads in the total absence of vegetable materials for nest construction: Every crop was contoured; cattle were not permitted to overgraze; wheatland was planted in wheat, grassland in grass and sorghum in sorghum; wild sunflower was planted in the scorched areas.

"It was," he wrote, "probably the world's greatest contour movement." And it was successful where properly applied and maintained.

So even if the memory of man is short, Hugh Bennett is not dismayed. The new Dust Bowl can be made to bloom again.

America Recognizes Amerigo Vespucci

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a resolution to commemorate the birthday of one of the world's greatest explorers, Amerigo Vespucci. America, which adopted the name of this explorer, has failed to do honor to the birthday of the man, and I have, therefore, introduced this belated resolution to correct the omission.

At a recent ceremony in the executive chambers at the State capitol in Albany, N. Y., attended by Hon. Enzo Gaspari, associate counsel to the Governor; Hon. Nina Rao Cameron, assistant commissioner of commerce and public events, city of New York; Jack Ingegnieros, State president of the Federation of the Italian-American Democratic Organizations of the State of New York, Inc.; and Orlando Oliva, political action coordinator, United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO, who recognized the worth and the contribution of this intrepid Italian explorer who sailed under the Spanish and Portuguese flags, Averell Harriman, Governor of the State of New York, proclaimed this Saturday, March 9, 1957, as Amerigo Vespucci Day.

I, therefore, feel it fitting and proper that continued reecognition should be given to the explorer who first saw the mainland of the American continent, and it is for this reason that I have introduced my resolution.

The following is the proclamation issued by Governor Harriman:

PROCLAMATION

STATE OF NEW YORK,
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Albany.

Amerigo Vespucci, one of the great navigators and explorers of history, was born in Florence, Italy, more than five centuries ago—on March 9, 1451.

All his life he was a student of geography. As a navigator, he was the greatest expert of his day in calculating latitude and longitude, having acquired by his own studies an excellent practical knowledge of astronomy.

Moving from his native city to Spain, Vespucci led several important exploring expeditions westward across the Atlantic—two of them under the Spanish flag, and two under the flag of Portugal.

On his voyages, Amerigo Vespucci was, if not the first, at least one of the first to sight the mainland of a whole new hemisphere, which was later named America for him.

All of Italian descent are proud of the achievements of this great explorer, and on this anniversary of his birth it is fitting that we join with them in paying tribute to his memory.

Now, therefore, I, Averell Harriman, Governor of the State of New York, do hereby proclaim Saturday, March 9, 1957, as Amerigo Vespucci Day in the State of New York,

and call upon our people to participate in all appropriate observance of the occasion.

Given under my hand and the privy seal of the State at the capitol in the city of Albany this 28th day of February in the year of our Lord 1957.

AVERELL HARRIMAN.

By the Governor:
[SEAL] JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
Secretary to the Governor.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, we are fast approaching a time when Federal Aid to Education will occupy the most intensive thought and concern of which the Members of this Congress are capable. In all fairness to proposals which have received wide publicity in the field of Federal aid to education, I do not think that we should be totally unapprised that there are other solutions, possibly less complicated, than the ones now occupying newspaper headlines, radio programs, and TV screens.

Therefore, I think it of considerable interest to the Members of this House to read the following editorial written by Mr. Charles Hodel, publisher of the Raleigh Register in Beckley, W. Va., concerning a bill introduced by my distinguished colleague Representative ERRETT P. SCRIVNER, of Kansas.

The editorial appearing in the edition of Sunday, March 31, 1957, is self-explanatory:

HERE'S HOW UNCLE SAM CAN AID SCHOOLS

If there must be Federal aid to schools, Representative ERRETT P. SCRIVNER, of Kansas, has come up with the best possible means of accomplishing it—simply and directly.

In fact the Scrivner plan is so simple and so protective of States' rights that it completely confounds the Washington bureaucrats. There is nothing in it for them. At the same time it promises to assuage the pain and panic of the school people that they might have to return to first principles of education—Mark Hopkins on one end of a log, the student on the other.

Of course you, the reader, are wondering how such a sound, simple, yet comprehensive plan has been devised. Your next wonderment will be that you didn't think of it yourself.

Here it is, as stated by Mr. SCRIVNER himself in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

"My proposal, simply stated, provides that the collector of internal revenue in each State or Territory shall remit each quarter, for educational or school construction purposes, to the State treasurer a sum equal to 1 percent of the personal and corporate income tax collected during that quarter."

Just like that. No folderol. No expense. And, as Congressman SCRIVNER himself adds: "The money stays where it is earned to be used for educational purposes or school construction just as the people themselves, through their State representatives, decree."

How would West Virginia fare? Well, Mr. SCRIVNER has that figured out, too. During the fiscal year ending last June 30, this State would have retained $2,919,000. Not a big item when modern construction costs are taken into account. 'But it is all directly applicable—doesn't have to be discounted by the cost of bureaucratic restrictions, direction, and control.

Augmented by increased local financing of schools through direct property tax equalization, just a few years would see the raising of a great deal of money for better education in West Virginia.

At present rates of income taxation the annual total of school aid for all the States would amount to $630 million—hardly more than half the $1.2 billion proposed in the Eisenhower budget, which would include the useless cost of Federal administration, control, and interference.

And if that proved inadequate, the take could be increased to 1½ or even 2 percent, the entire amount of which could be saved by applying the same direct process to some other Federal functions, as pointed out by the Hoover Commission.

Beyond that, there would not be tacked onto such a bill a strangling amendment like that of Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL in the 84th Congress, excluding from Federal aid the States that do not integrate their schools. States' rights would be completely satisfied in the very nature of the money-raising process.—C. H.

Integration in New York Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of March 4, 1957:

INTEGRATION HERE, TOO

Refusing to be awed by a campaign of misrepresentation, selfish obstructionism, and in some cases prejudice, the board of education has courageously approved in principle a program to equalize educational opportunity in New York's schools by reducing de facto racial segregation as much as possible and improving teaching standards where needed. The action was unanimous. The board president, Charles H. Silver, rejected counsels of delay.

The board specifically reserved to itself the right to proceed deliberately and reasonably with the implementation of the reports on zoning of school districts and on teacher assignments that had come from its commission on integration. Zoning, or rather better zoning, means that school district lines will be drawn wherever possible to encourage integrated schools instead of segregated schools.

Segregation has never had official sanction in New York; where the student body is all-Negro, for instance, it is because a residential neighborhood is all-Negro. With the best of good intentions it is not easy to cope with such a situation. However, where rezoning cannot immediately improve a situation teacher transfer and—this is important—other related improvements can greatly alter for the better the educational opportunity in a "difficult," or "subject," school. This is where the other report, on teacher assignments, comes in.

Now in principle the difficult school will begin to get the best of things and of personnel. It will be manned by experienced teachers; if they cannot be obtained by voluntary action they will be obtained by assignment. The lot of the teachers in such schools will be improved, with smaller classes, more free time, and so on; in spite of all the assurances given, some teacher organizations fear—as usual when any compulsive change is suggested—a loss of teacher "morale." We think too well of the rank and file of our teachers to believe this. Anyway, as Dr. Jansen and Mr. Silver have noted, "the needs of the children are primary."

This commendable action by the board, prepared for and assisted by such fine organizations as the Public Education Association, brought its loud protests. But how could the decent people of this city have held up their heads today if the board had declined to take it? How could we have answered our conscience? What could we have said to our friends in the South?

Lower Retirement Age for Social-Security Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, today I am reintroducing a bill to lower the minimum retirement age for social-security benefits to 55 for women and 60 for men.

Legislation of this nature is desperately needed by many of our older citizens who, through no fault of their own, are unable to work or to find a job in their late middle age.

Congress has not been altogether unmindful of the problems of the people in these dire circumstances. Last year, over the objections of the administration, we passed two amendments to the Social Security Act which show great potential for making this program truly responsive to the needs of the American people. The significance of these changes last session—the reduction of the minimum retirement age for women to 62 and the institution of cash disability benefits for disabled workers age 50 or older—is not entirely in the provisions of the amendments themselves. Their full importance comes from the fact that Congress has finally recognized that there is nothing sacred about age 65 as a factor in determining a person's need for benefits. These amendments recognized the fact that disability, age restrictions on employment, and other circumstances can just as effectively force an individual's retirement as his chronological age.

The lowering of the age for women—the first such retirement age reduction in the 22-year-old history of the act—was a step in the right direction. It was, however, a mincing step and one that was not without its inequities. True enough, the widow or dependent mother of a deceased worker may now receive a full benefit at age 62. But on the other hand, a working woman who may have been contributing to social security for 20 years must be content with 80 percent of her full benefit, and a retired worker's wife will receive only 75 percent of her benefit.

Those who defend these reductions argue that a woman has the freedom of choice to delay her retirement until 65 and receive a full benefit. Such an argu-

ment, however, ignores the simple fact of life that a great many men and women are retired in fact long before they reach age 65. For these individuals there is no freedom of choice. They need their benefits at the time of their actual retirement. Any substantial time lag between the time they leave their jobs and their eligibility for benefits means hardship and suffering.

A recent survey by the Department of Labor indicates that employers are not hiring older workers because they believe that they are less productive and greatly increase insurance and pension costs. The administration maintains that it will remedy this situation by an educational program which will convince private and governmental employers of the wisdom of revising their hiring practices in regard to older workers. These efforts, appear to have slackened considerably since the election, and have had an imperceptible effect on the problem. It is difficult to imagine, moreover, that this approach is more than a token attempt to alleviate the basic economic problems of this unfortunate group of older workers.

The amendment I introduce today will go hand in hand with any effort—regardless of how ineffectual—which is designed to provide employment opportunities for older persons. But in contrast to the administration's proposed solution, this amendment is directed at what I believe is the heart of this problem—the provision of minimal income for this segment of our population which is in need of immediate aid. Instead of offering people the faint and pious hope that employers will sometime listen to these pleas, this amendment proposes a concrete solution to this pressing problem.

There are those who maintain that legislation such as I propose will cause a great voluntary exodus from employment. However, past experience indicates that very few people quit their jobs voluntarily in order to receive social-security benefits. In 1955 a survey showed that the greatest number of people receiving retirement benefits did so because they were dismissed for some reason which was beyond their control. The most common reason was their age. The next greatest number, moreover, were retired because poor health made work impossible. It is only reasonable that people wish to work as long as possible when the cost of living continues to rise and social-security benefits remain at such a low level. Average monthly benefits for October 1956—$63.21 for a retired worker, $33.64 for a wife, and $49.24 for a widow—offer very little inducement for voluntary retirement.

The purpose of this reduction in the minimum retirement age is to extend social-security protection to the greatest number of persons within the context of a moderate tax increase. The amendment, which raises taxes 1¼ percent on both employee and employer alike and 1⅞ percent on the self-employed, seems reasonably calculated to preserve the integrity of the Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance Trust Fund.

Questionable Food Additives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, in support of some of the statements made in my news release for March 7, 1957—today—concerning certain deleterious or poisonous chemicals which are being added to our food supply, I wish to insert a petition to Congress, which was sent to me by the Massachusetts Women's Political Club of Boston, Mass.

If the pure-food law is not being enforced, and the failure to enforce it has resulted in great danger to the health of our citizens in the consumption of foods and soft drinks by the addition of chemicals and other substances which do not conform to the requirements of that law, it presents a situation which Congress should lose no time in remedying by the passage of laws which would eliminate such dangers, and there should be an immediate investigation as to the use of all questionable additives.

PETITION TO CONGRESS BY THE MASSACHUSETTS WOMEN'S POLITICAL CLUB

The Massachusetts Women's Political Club hereby petitions the Congress of the United States to make a thorough investigation into a matter of far greater importance to this country than the threat of communism or atomic warfare, because:

1. It is more insidious, hidden, and unrecognized by either the public or the Congress.

2. It stems from presumably reputable and respected citizens within our midst.

3. It exerts more power than the Congress itself.

4. It propagandizes our people and the congressional Members into a false sense of security.

5. It stamps out freedom of speech and of the press.

6. It is slowly but surely destroying our people more effectively than will ever be done by a foreign power.

We refer to a most powerful combination of the American Medical Association, the chemical and drug interests, and the refiners and processors of our foods all using the Health, Welfare, and Education Department with its expediter, the Food and Drug Administration, to protect their huge financial investments and profits to the detriment of the health and future welfare of our people.

Abundant evidence is available to the Congress if they really instituted an unbiased investigation to prove—

That Government bureaus such as the Federal Trade Commission, the Post Office Department, but more particularly the Food and Drug Administration, are being used by the above interests to bring pressure on drugless doctors, small-business men, and private individuals who interfere in any way with the profits of the above or who criticize the Federal bureaus who are protecting them.

That the Food and Drug Administration in particular have for 40 years been the tool of the above interests in the prosecution of anyone, whether layman, scientist, professional or businessman who by written or oral statements or deeds attempts to educate the public as to the truth about their health, their food, their soil, or the chemicals or drugs used therein or thereon.

That the press, radio, and television are definitely subservient to these interests and refuse to print but one side of any controversial question, being profuse in extolling the virtues of the products of these interests but definitely critical of anything which interferes with their profits.

That this control of press, radio, and television is made possible (1) by the voluminous advertising made available (or withheld) by the above mentioned interests, (2) by a "working agreement" whereby nothing pertaining to health, medicines, drugs or disease is made public until it has first been cleared through a representative of the local health department whose policy is dictated by the American Medical Association headquarters on Dearborn St., Chicago.

That because of this illegal "working agreement" our people are deprived of freedom of speech and of the press more effectively than the slaves behind the Iron Curtain when it comes to the particular subjects which affect the profits of the aforementioned interests, namely health, drugs, chemically treated soils, poisonous insecticides and refined, processed or chemically treated foods.

That the Food and Drug Administration act as the police department for these interests and the Justice Department either willingly (or unwillingly) act as prosecutor to obtain fines and imprisonment for doctors and businessmen whose only crime is telling the truth and exposing the illegal activities of these Government agencies. As proof that the predominant activities of the Food and Drug Administration are illegal we call the attention of Congress to a book written by Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, the founder of our pure food law, whom the Congress in this past year, (1956) has honored with a special stamp. This book contains positive proof that the pure food law has never been enforced by the Food and Drug Administration whenever such enforcement conflicted with the vested interests aforementioned, which includes practically all of the main purposes for which the law was passed. As proof positive for these statements we respectively suggest that each and every Congressman purchase and read the book entitled "The History of a Crime Against the Food Law," written by Dr. Harvey W. Wiley and printed in 1929. It was bought up immediately and confiscated as fast as it appeared on the bookshelves. For 30 years it has been effectively suppressed. It is now being reprinted in defiance of the copyright laws, by the Lee Foundation for Nutritional Research, West Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis. Price $3. But it and read it.

In it Dr. Wiley explains how his law has been cleverly sidestepped by over 24 illegal directives so that instead of our people being protected from all poisons as they think they are, they in reality are consuming some 500 chemicals of which 150 have not been tested and many have been definitely proven poisonous. Dr. Wiley claims that since 1917 the pure food law has ceased to perform its original purpose namely to prevent the addition of poisonous or deleterious substances to our foods, and instead has become nothing but a misbranding and mislabeling directive.

Dr. Wiley explains how the two most important Supreme Court decisions were rendered null and void by illegal directives. One was a decision of Charles Evans Hughes against Coca-Cola which decision was rendered null and void because no further prosecutions were made. Another was a Supreme Court decision against the nitrate bleaches used in flour. Likewise this decision was rendered null and void by an ille-

gal directive completely reversing the Supreme Court decision and permitting the continued use of poisonous bleaches provided the label clearly indicated it had been bleached. To these two decisions which would have protected our people had they been enforced we can add a third and more up-to-date one.

In 1945 the Massachusetts Brewing Co. and its owner were fined $5,000 each for adding a poisonous fluoride compound to the beer. Thus Dr. Wiley's pure food law was again upheld by the courts.

But in this case as in the others an illegal directive issued by the FDA a few years later rendered it also null and void. Why? Because the parent Department, the Health, Education, and Welfare Department was taken over completely by the chemical interests for the express purpose of promoting the introduction of this same deadly fluoride poison into the drinking water of every city and town in the country.

Therefore, to save face the FDA had to issue a directive that no prosecutions of brewers would be made for similar use of this deadly poison. Evidently people are expendable but business must be protected. Thus Congress is permitting the continued deception of 160 million people who blindly believe they are being protected by a pure food law.

In other words, in order to avoid prosecuting the vested interests before mentioned, the Food and Drug Administration has deliberately sidestepped the law and its purpose as passed by Congress, and instead permits the addition of any substance, without investigation, provided the substance added is named on the label. This is contrary to the law which has never been repealed or changed.

Yet this same Food and Drug Administration will hail into court anyone who sells a product, however beneficial to the public, if it fails to contain a drug or synthetic vitamin that will enhance the coffers of those interests whom they are protecting. As an example, just recently a Mr. V. E. Irons, who had for 23 years carried on a respected business in Boston, was prosecuted by the Food and Drug Administration because (1) he was selling a wholly natural dietary supplement and refused to add to it synthetic drugstore vitamins and (2) because he lectured on the evils of present-day refined, chemically treated foods. In his literature he clearly exposed the failure of the Food and Drug Administration to protect the people by their refusal to enforce the law. Naturally the FDA must dispose of such opposition. Mr. Irons was tried before a biased Boston judge and jury. Before them the Food and Drug paraded an array of doctors connected with the Nutrition Department of the Harvard School of Public Health. Of course, Harvard is much respected by Boston jurors but what they didn't know, and were not told, was the fact that Dr. Stare, the chief witness against Mr. Irons and head of said Nutrition Department received in the past 6 years over $360,000 from the food professors, the refined sugar interests, the soft-drink people, and the chemical and drug interests. Half of this was marked for Dr. Stare's personal direction. Naturally Dr. Stare and his coworkers made ideal witnesses for the FDA for they definitely could not and did not testify in any way but what was favorable to their donors, the very chemical and drug interests and food refiners whose activities in destroying our foods and our health were being exposed by Mr. Iron's literature and lectures. The suit against Mr. Irons was a criminal one against him personally because of his literature and not against his product.

Mr. Irons was found guilty and given a $6,000 fine and a year in jail on each of 6 counts, 4 of which were duplicate seizures. The judge specified the 6 separate years could be served concurrently. The case is being appealed.

Thus in this land of the free, and in this country that is the shining beacon for all those freedom lovers escaping the Iron Curtain, there exists a system whereby Government agencies illegally protect the vested moneyed interests who are destroying the health of our Nation for a profit. They prosecute and imprison courageous men who attempt to tell our people the truth. But you might ask, "How can they do it when the one has been harmed or poisoned by the products of the accused and when thousands are ready to testify as to the beneficial results." The answer is the FDA has unlimited power and the taxpayers' money with which to work. They sue on trumped up technicalities; they make on charge of willful violation nor any charge against the product itself. Thus the defendant cannot defend himself nor disprove their trumped up charges. But the unjust feature is that the FDA uses evidence furnished by a so-called scientific department of a great university, a department largely supported by huge donations from the very concerns who are flouting the law and who want the defendant put out of business.

How can justice be obtained under a system whereby there exists a vicious circle of illegal directives by Government bureaucrats, who protect the illegal activities of vested interests while both in turn are protected by an illegal unwritten agreement with the press, radio, and television to circumvent our constitutional freedoms. Then, they use witnesses from a pseudo scientific department of a great University paid for by the very interests who circumvented the law in the first place. Nor can the courts or juries be blamed, for neither they nor the public are aware that our pure food law is being nullified by these illegal directives because of the suppression of Dr. Wiley's book and the stranglehold on our freedoms of speech and press. So this insidious cancer continues to eat away the vitals of the greatest nation on earth.

Fifty years ago Dr. Wiley warned that unless the aduleration of our foods with poisonous or deleterious chemicals was stopped we could become a nation of morons, neurotics, and imbeciles. He devoted his life to prevent it but failed because his law was never enforced. Over 25 illegal directives have completely nullified his law and the court decisions that uphold it. Not a single citizen can go 1 day without being adversely affected by one or more of those directives (pp. 398–399 of Wiley's book). The crowning deed of this destruction was the addition of sodium fluoride, the greatest of all poisons, to our drinking water on the pretext of protecting the childrens' teeth. Every true nutritionist knows that it's refined sweets, soft drinks, and refined flour that is the basis of defective teeth. Is it any wonder the processors of these foods are so active in helping the chemical interests cover up for them? Is it any wonder the Health, Education, and Welfare Department and its expediter the Food and Drug Administration, who are equally responsible for the destruction of our teeth and health, are their continued willing tools?

Unless Congress acts soon Russia can walk in and take over this Nation of poisoned, toothless invalids without firing a shot.

MASSACHUSETTS WOMEN'S POLITICAL CLUB,
FLORENCE BIRMINGHAM, *President.*

Curtailing Power of Judges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the Members of the House will be interested in an editorial that appeared in the Gazette-Telegraph in Colorado Springs, Colo. This editorial refers to a bill introduced by our colleague from Georgia [Mr. FLYNT, Jr.] relating to the power of judges to punish for contempt.

CURTAILING POWER OF JUDGES

We have previously mentioned the incredible power of the court respecting matters of contempt. The American system of jurisprudence, based as it is on both English law and English precedent, has it that the power of the court is traced directly from the Crown. There is a certain royal prerogative which still clothes our judges which prerogative is considered to flow directly from the monarch.

While we do not question this, insofar as British law is concerned, it seems to us a travesty on American independence that American law still contains a holdover from the alleged divine right of kings.

It is particularly noticeable in matters of contempt, since a judge is deemed a law unto himself and can, if he so chooses, cite an individual for contempt of court even when that individual is not in court and not a party to the matter at trial.

The recourse to be had by the cited individual is meager. He cannot be heard before a jury. He is given a chance to present his defense under oath, but the decision of the judge is final and the power of the judge is so great that the luckless citee can find himself fined or imprisoned simply because he exercised what he presumed to be his constitutional right of free speech.

Now it does happen that on at least one occasion the Supreme Court of the United States decided that cases of contempt against citizens not in the court nor privy of the court's findings, could not be valid. This matter was reported in some detail in U. S. News & World Report for February 15 under the heading of "How Much Power Does a Judge Really Have" It makes interesting reading.

None the less, while the Supreme Court did reserve itself in this one instance, there is no reason to believe that it would do so again, and some steps ought to be taken to curtail this unbridled display of power.

Fortunately, others than our selves have noted this latent potential for tyranny. The Honorable JOHN J. FLYNT, JR., a Representative to the Nation's Congress from Georgia, has recently introduced a measure in the House which, if approved, would serve to curtail the unbridled use of force which presently pertains.

In presenting his measure, Congressman FLYNT stated: "Nothing in the bill is designed or intended to prevent any court from summarily punishing for contempt any person guilty of a contemptuous act or otherwise creating any disorder in the courtroom or in the presence of the court * * *.

"It does not take away from any court or any judge the right to maintain order and decorum within the courtroom nor does it deny to such court or such judge the right to

punish willful violations of the terms of any order, mandate, writ, process, rule, decree, or command of the court.

"It does, however, provide that no American citizen shall be fined or imprisoned or both for an act of contempt of court committed outside the presence of the court and involving a proceeding to which he was not a party until a legally qualified and impartial jury passes upon the question of his guilt or his innocence."

Congressman FLYNT is to be congratulated for making the proposal he has. While we owe much to British law for our understanding and functional employment of due process in an effort to attain justice, we owe nothing to the British Crown, nor should any of our laws or regulations be based upon a presumed inherent right of the Crown to decide arbitrarily against a citizen who may differ from the opinion of the judge in a given case.

We were particularly pleased with this statement, also from Congressman FLYNT:

"The test of all legislation is not what a good and wise man might do with it; the necessary test to be applied is what a bad man can do with it. Absolute power, whether vested in an executive officer or in a judicial officer, is a dangerous thing and would most certainly destroy our framework of government and the basic guaranties of individual liberties which are spelled out in the Constitution of the United States and I believe in the constitutions of all 48 States."

We have great hopes that the Congress will pass this needed revision to the powers wielded by courts. It is completely contrary to the spirit of our laws that any man, regardless of his office, shall have arbitrary power over another man simply because the one may choose to criticize the other. We hold the right to criticize an inviolable portion of freedom of both speech and press.

Suez Quicksands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial entitled "Suez Quicksands" from the Camden (S. C.) Chronicle:

SUEZ QUICKSANDS

Acceptance by Israel of the demands of the U. N., the United States and the Arab summit conference at Cairo, for immediate troop withdraway from Aqaba and the Gaza strip (as confidently predicted at this writing) seems unlikely to pour the anticipated oil on Suez waters.

Presumably the Israeli acquiescence was purchased by United States promise to defend freedom of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba and to protect Israel against Egyptian raids from the Gaza strip. At the same time, the four Arab leaders, King Saud of Saudi Arabia, King Hussein of Jordan, President Kuwatly of Syria, and President Nasser of of Egypt, concluded their conference by signing a joint statement of neutrality which demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from Gaza and the Aqaba straits and pledged mutual support of the sovereignty of Arabs over their lands and territorial waters. The joint communique emphasized the sovereignty of Egypt over the canal, while Egypt maintains that the Gulf of Aqaba, lying between Egypt and Saudi Arabia, belongs to the two Arab nations.

These devolpments would appear to leave the Middle East just as tense as it has been since the Franco-British-Israeli invasion—and place the United States in a position of deeper involvement and greater confusion, officially and unofficially.

Americans are asking (as Human Events says President Eisenhower asked when he was called back from his Georgia vacation for secret conference with congressional leaders): "How on earth did we get into this mess?"

More difficult and considerably more important, however, is the question: "How on earth do we get out of it?" The diplomacy of expediency which we have been pursuing since the first London conference on Suez seems only to have drawn us deeper into the Mideast quicksands.

Civil Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, we shall soon be called upon to vote on the so-called civil rights legislation. I intend to vote against this legislation and would like to submit my testimony before the Subcommittee on the Judiciary which I gave this year:

TESTIMONY OF HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS, EIGHTH DISTRICT OF FLORIDA, CONCERNING CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION, FEBRUARY 14, 1957

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate this opportunity to testify concerning the so-called civil rights legislation. I want to say at the outset that I am very much opposed to this legislation the committee is now considering because I believe it is an unwarranted usurpation on the part of the Federal Government of the functions of our respective State governments.

Mr. Chairman, since maturity I have become increasingly concerned about the attempt, either conscious or unconscious, on the part of many people in this country to bypass the 10th amendment to the Constitution which provides that powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively or to the people. The 10th amendment is, in my opinion, one of the basic tenets of the Jeffersonian philosophy of government to which I adhere. Commonsense, experience in government, and the maintenance of justice for our people require, in my opinion, a strict observance of the 10th amendment. Government which is far removed from the people tends to become government by absentee ownership. Unless our Government remains close to our people, I believe in the not too distant future it will be supplanted by vicious despotism in one form or another.

Mr. Chairman, I cannot help but believe that this legislation is punitive legislation aimed particularly at the people of the South, which is the great section of the country that I represent. Let there be no mistake, however, in assuming that this problem of States' rights is peculiar to the South alone. I read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an extension of remarks made by the Honorable J. ARTHUR YOUNGER, of California, in which he included an address by California Assemblyman Casper W. Weinberger on the subject of States' rights. Mr. Weinberger, in this very discerning article, mentioned several fields which illustrate very vividly how the Federal Government, usually through the Supreme Court, but occasionally through congressional action, has already assumed dominion over many fields that people have always assumed belonged, at least, partially, to the State. Mr. Weinberger went on to mention some of these fields, such as water and its control, the matter of the general security of our State government, and the field of civil rights. I think it might be well to emphasize the usurpation of general responsibility for the general security of our State government by the Supreme Court decision in *Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson*. As you will recall, in the Nelson case—and I am now quoting Mr. Weinberger—"the Supreme Court agreed to reverse a conviction of an acknowledged member of the Communist Party under the Pennsylvania State Sedition Act. The Supreme Court held that the various Federal acts, the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act, and the Communist Control Act, required the inescapable conclusion that the Federal Government intended to occupy and legislate in this field exclusively and, consequently, there was no room left for the State governments to act. This conclusion may have been inescapable, but it certainly was unexpressed by the Congress in any of those Federal acts."

I cannot help but express grave concern over the tremendous efforts that seemingly have been made, and are still being made, to safeguard the so-called civil rights of avowed Communists by agencies of Government and by many individuals who do not seem to concern themselves about the rights of many millions of people who live in the South to live and to pursue their vocations in accordance with the 10th amendment to the Constitution. In this connection, I was very shocked to read of the recent meeting of the Communist Party of America in New York City where one of the bold declarations promulgated by that small body of traitors was "to democratize the South." This heinous and vile implication merely emphasizes the point that we in the South have been making for years, and that is that the Communist Party has always determined to stir up strife and dissension between our races, not only of course, in the South but throughout all parts of the country. I never have, and I never will, follow the leadership of the Communist Party, in this area or in any other area of activity. I know this to be the true feeling of the members of this committee. Yet, I am constrained to observe that if this so-called civil-rights legislation were passed, that the rights of Communists would be greater than the rights of American citizens who would find themselves in litigation being required to pay costs and counsel fees whereas the accuser would have his costs paid by the Federal Government.

This so-called civil-rights legislation in my opinion is another Sherman's march to the sea. Rather than granting civil rights to a majority of our people, in my opinion it would deny basic civil rights to a majority of our people.

I should like to analyze H. R. 627, 84th Congress, 1st session, as reported, which is identical to H. R. 1151, 85th Congress, 1st session, and to point out the reasons why I oppose this legislation. I realize, of course, that this committee has not agreed upon any final bill to report, but I am assuming that the principles of these two bills will be embodied in any final bill considered by the committee.

Returning to the analysis of these two bills, and in particular H. R. 1151, part I establishes a Commission on Civil Rights. This Commission is to be composed of six men and will operate in the executive branch

of the Government. The Commission will be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate, and it is specified that not more than three at any one time may be members of the same party. Four members will constitute a quorum. Members of the Commission not in Government service will receive $50 per day actual travel expenses and $12 per diem in lieu of actual subsistence, while members in Government service will receive actual travel expenses and $12 per diem in lieu of actual subsistence.

The duties of the Commission will be (1) to investigate allegations that citizens are being deprived of the right to vote or are being subjected to economic pressure because of color, race, religion, or national origin; (2) to study and collect information on economic, social, and legal denial of equal protection; (3) to appraise Federal laws and policies respecting equal protection of the laws; and to submit interim reports to the President and a final report of activities, findings, and recommendations not later than 2 years from date of enactment. The Commission shall cease to exist 60 days after the submission of the final report. The Commission may appoint a full-time staff director and other personnel subject to civil service and classification laws, and procure services of individuals not in excess of $50 per diem under title 5, United States Code, section 55a. They may accept services of volntary, uncompensated personnel and pay actual travel and subsistence expenses (or per diem of $12 in lieu of subsistence). They may constitute advisory committees and consult with State, local, and private organizational representatives. Federal agencies are to cooperate fully with the Commission. The Commission or subcommittees of not less than 2 members, 1 of each party, may hold hearings, issue subpenas over signature of Commission or subcommittee chairman for attendance and testimony of witnesses and production of records. Upon application of the Attorney General, Federal district or territorial courts shall have jurisdiction to issue order requiring a person guilty of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpena to appear before the Commission or subcommittee, and failure to obey such order is punishable by contempt proceedings. The necessary funds to carry out this act are authorized to be appropriated out of any nonappropriated money in the Treasury.

My opposition to this part 1 of the proposed legislation is based in the first place on the fact that this Commission would be authorized to investigate election matters over which I believe the Federal Government was no constitutional authority. The authority of the Federal Government concerning right to vote is distinctly limited. It is generally considered unconstitutional except as defined by the 14th and 15th amendments. (See *Minor* v. *Happerset* ((1874) 88 U. S. 162)), *Ex Parte Yarbrough* ((1884) 110 U. S. 651) to effect that right to vote federally created, is dicta. There is no authority to investigate unwarranted economic pressures on right to vote. This issue was decided in *Hodges* v. *United States* ((1906) 203 U. S. 1).

I should like to point out that this work of the Commission seems to me to be contradictory to the rest of the bill. Congress should wait for reports of the Commission before proceeding with passage of legislation.

I am further opposed to this part 1 of the proposed legislation, because I do not believe the Commission should have the power to subpena any person to appear and testify at that person's expense. Even the Committee on the Judiciary of the House, Mr. Chairman, which has jurisdiction over this bill, has no subpena power in civil rights matters. It is my earnest conviction that if this proposed legislation were passed giving the Commission subpena power that citizens of America would have less rights than Communists, who cannot be cited for contempt unless the appropriate body of Congress gives specific approval.

The second part of the legislation provides for an Attorney General who will be a new Assistant Attorney General appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. Compensation of this new Attorney General will be the same as present Assistant Attorneys General. This new appointment is, of course, based upon the assumption that a new Civil Rights Division will be created under the direction of this additional Assistant Attorney General.

I am against this part of the bill because in my opinion this is an attempt to invade the States and subdivisions in matters relating to integration, education, and primary elections. I am furthermore constrained to note that there is less need for a Civil Rights Division, based on workload, than for any other division in the Department of Justice. For example, I believe that the deportation of aliens who have been illegally admitted to this country is a far greater problem than a Civil Rights Division. I repeat again what I said before: I think this piece of legislation is one which will be used as a punitive measure against the South and one out of which many members of both our great political parties are hoping they can gain voting members.

Part 3 of the proposed legislation would strengthen the civil-rights statutes and do many other things. Section 121 amends section 1980, Revised Statutes (42 U. S. C. 1985). The present statute prohibiting conspiracy to interfere with civil rights has added the following new section: "The Attorney General may institute for the United States, or in the name of the United States for the benefit of real party in interest, a civil action or other proceeding for redress, permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, against any person who have 'engaged or are about to engage in any acts or practices' giving rise to a cause of action under presently existing sections which—

"(1) establish civil liability against 'two or more' persons who conspire to interfere with a United States officer in the discharge of his duties and as a result injures another or deprives another of his rights or privileges as a United States citizen;

"(2) establish civil liability against 'two or more' persons who conspire to intimidate or injure parties, witnesses, or jurors in Federal court actions or conspire to obstruct justice in State court actions with the intent to deny any citizen equal protection of the law, if it results in injury or deprivation of a person's rights or privileges as a United States citizen;

"(3) establish civil liability against 'two or more' persons who conspire or go in disguise on the highway or premises of another to deprive another of equal protection of the law, equal privileges or immunity under the law, or the right to vote for Federal offices, if such action results in injury or deprivation of another's rights or privileges as a United States citizen."

New section 5 states that district courts given jurisdiction without regard to whether aggrieved party has exhausted administrative or legal remedies.

Section 122 amends title 28, United States Code, section 1343, as follows: Catch line to read: "Civil Rights and Elective Franchise."

Adds new section (4) giving Federal district courts original jurisdiction of civil action to recover damages, equitable, or other relief for abuse of civil rights, including right to vote.

Mr. Chairman, I am very much opposed to this part 3 of the proposed legislation. It is inconceivable to me that the Federal Government should be permitted to go in the business of paying costs and counsel fees for the benefit of a real party in interest and yet insist that the defendant in the case whether finally adjudicated guilty or innocent should have to pay all of his costs and counsel fees. I cannot see for the life of me how such a procedure could be deemed constitutional. Is this not giving certain groups of citizens free legal representation and denying other groups of citizens that same privilege? It is not inconceivable that will-o'-the-wisp rumors will descend upon the household of some innocent citizen and he to clear his name and protect his honor will have to deprive himself of all of his material possessions and yet the accuser enjoys the vast resources of the United States for his prosecution. This is tyranny at its worst. This is the despotism of fascism and communism. This is not the expression of our form of government which regards that all men are equal before the law. In fact, Mr. Chairman, I emphasize that if this proposed legislation were passed, all men in America would not be equal before the law. Prosecutors would have the great advantage. The defendant would be denied his constitutional rights of equal protection under the law.

I am opposed to this section of the proposed legislation because the Attorney General should not be permitted to institute litigation without the knowledge or consent of the real party in interest, regardless of the insistence of various pressure groups. This proposed legislation does not grant the accused the rights that are constitutionally his.

One of the most outrageous suggestions of part 3 is the fact that district courts be given jurisdiction without regard to whether the aggrieved party has exhausted administrative or legal remedies. Existing law (*Peay* v. *Cox* (1951) 190 F. 2d 123) requires the exhaustion of State administrative remedies before resort is had to Federal courts. The last vestige of States rights would be taken away if this legislation were passed. In my opinion tyranny would inevitably result.

Part 4 of the proposed legislation amends section 2004, Revised Statutes (42 U. S. C. 1971) which guarantees the right to vote without regard to race, color or previous condition of servitude, as follows: It adds a new subsection (b) prohibiting any person acting under color of law or otherwise to intimidate, threaten, coerce, or attempt to do so, any person, to interfere with his right to vote as he may choose for President, Vice President, electors, Senators, Representatives, Delegates, or Commissioners from the Territories or possessions, at any general, special, or primary election.

A new subsection (c) is added which states that the Attorney General may institute for the United States, or in its name for benefit of real party in interest, a civil action or other proceeding for redress, permanent or temporary injunction, or restraining order against any person who has "engaged or is about to engage in" any act or practice depriving a person of the rights secured by subsections (a) and (b), and that the United States will be liable for the costs.

A new subsection (d) is added which gives the district courts jurisdiction without regard to whether aggrieved party has exhausted administrative or legal remedies.

Many of the arguments against this section apply to previous sections of the proposed legislation. The regulation of voting is traditionally a function of the State. Federal intrusion, except as defined in the 14th and 15th amendments is unconstitutional. Please note case *Minor* v. *Happerset* ((1874) 88 U. S. 162, 177); *U. S.* v. *Reece* ((1875) 92 U. S. 214, 217–218). In the case *Peay* v. *Cox* ((1951) 190 F. 2d 123) it was clearly stated that there should be an exhaustion of administrative remedies because of commonsense. Unless the State can control its voting regulations there is no balance of power

between Federal and State sovereignty. Subordinate State officials should be corrected by State officials if they err.

I believe if this bill were passed it may be held that Congress has preempted the field of suffrage. We therefore would have said to us that as States we cannot legislate in the field now not only of sedition, water control, and in other important matters, but we cannot legislate in the field of voting. If this legislation were passed, in my opinion, State election officials will be harassed by endless suits, by the Government, by pressure organizations and individuals.

Mr. Chairman, I am not a lawyer, but I have sought capable advice on the legal aspects of this great issue. I have tried to study thoroughly the various provisions of these so-called civil-rights bills. I am more convinced than ever as a result of this study that no greater disservice could be made to America than to pass this so-called civil-rights legislation. I urgently implore the members of this great committee to kill this proposed legislation in committee, which I sincerely believe for the sake of America ought to be done. It is my firm opinion that we have sufficient laws on the statute books at the present time to enforce properly the civil rights of our people. I think that this superduper piece of legislation is not necessary, is an unwarranted invasion of States rights, will be used as a political instrument to get votes, and will do more to tear our people apart than any piece of legislation which has been considered in Congress since I have been a Member. Thank you again for permitting me this opportunity to testify before you.

Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, one of the most able and distinguished Members of this House is the lovely and gracious gentlewoman from Oregon, the Honorable EDITH GREEN. She has represented her constituents with outstanding industry and sound judgment. Her support of programs that are right and just indicate a remarkable prescience of future effects and needs.

One of the causes to which she has given her talents unselfishly and wholeheartedly is statehood for Hawaii and for Alaska. I believe the Members of Congress would be interested in the letter she wrote to the Christian Science Monitor on this subject a few days ago:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 1, 1957.

To the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR:

I read with interest the letter appearing in your edition of February 25 from the editor and publisher of the Alaska Sportsman. In it he purports to set forth the arguments against statehood now for Alaska. The gist of those arguments seems to be that statehood for Alaska would be costly and that he doubts that Alaska could really afford statehood.

That is really putting a price tag on representative government.

It would not surprise me in the least if, around the year 1775, some juggler of figures had not also written a letter to the editor of some British paper proving conclusively, to his own satisfaction, that the American colonies really could not afford freedom and that it was cheaper for them to remain under British rule. If such a letter were written, I am glad the American colonists did not heed that fallacious advice.

Democracy is not something that is sold in the market place to the highest bidder. It is to be striven for even at a sacrifice and once won is to be preserved and nurtured.

EDITH GREEN,
Member of Congress,
Third District of Oregon.

Statement About the Hoxsey Cancer Treatment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, much has been said about one Mr. Hoxsey who claims to have evolved a cure for cancer. The matter of the cure has been studied thoroughly by the medical profession and by scientists, technicians, and physicians at the Food and Drug Administration.

Mr. Hoxsey's claims of cancer cures have been found to be without merit, and the medicine and treatment he prescribes have been found to be equally worthless.

Under permission heretofore granted, I include at this point a statement given to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on March 6, by Mr. John L. Harvey, Deputy Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration:

STATEMENT ABOUT THE HOXSEY CANCER TREATMENT

Many Members of Congress have received, within the past few days, letters and petitions protesting the action of the Food and Drug Administration against the Hoxsey cancer treatment. These letters and petitions, all using substantially the same words, request a congressional investigation.

The letters and petitions are not spontaneous expressions, but have been solicited and inspired by Gerald B. Winrod, of Wichita, Kans., as a paid propagandist for Harry M. Hoxsey, the promoter of the so-called Hoxsey cancer treatment.

Gerald B. Winrod was one of the defendants in the mass sedition case here in Washington in 1944, having been indicted on January 3, 1944, along with some 29 other persons on charges of conspiracy with each other and with officials of the German Reich and leaders and members of the Nazi Party to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, and refusal of duty by members of the military and naval forces of the United States. This case ended in a mistrial when presiding Judge Eicher died during the trial and most of the defendants refused to continue with another judge. Subsequently, the indictment was dismissed because of failure of the Government to give the defendants an early trial to which they were entitled.

Mr. Winrod publishes a nationally distributed religious magazine known as the Defender. But since he began receiving money from Mr. Hoxsey, the religious magazine has been increasingly devoted to articles claiming that the Hoxsey cancer treatment is a cure for all types of cancer, without the use of X-ray, radium, and surgery. Mr. Winrod also publishes a great number of booklets, circulars, and leaflets promoting the Hoxsey cancer treatment.

Harry M. Hoxsey and the Hoxsey Cancer Clinic paid Gerald B. Winrod and the Defender magazine $82,750 for advertising and public relations in the years 1954–55. This was admitted by the Hoxsey Cancer Clinic, of Portage, Pa., in response to requests for admissions filed by the Government just before trial of a seizure of Hoxsey pills at the Portage, Pa., clinic.

Two Federal courts have now found the Hoxsey treatment worthless for internal cancer. The Hoxsey Cancer Clinic, Harry M. Hoxsey, and his staff are under Federal injunction prohibiting them from sending their medications in interstate commerce with labeling claims for cancer. The latest finding that the Hoxsey treatment is worthless came after a trial by jury in Pittsburgh, Pa., which ended on November 16, 1956. Since then, Gerald B. Winrod has been stepping up his campaign to nullify the effect of the jury verdict and to misrepresent the facts about the Hoxsey treatment. To this day, he is mailing out thousands of circulars claiming that a little girl named Kathy Allison was cured of cancer by the Hoxsey treatment, even though it was proved in the Pittsburgh trial that she died of cancer soon after taking the treatment. These same circulars claim other cures of cancer, naming people who never had cancer at all or who are alive today thanks to proper medical care.

Mr. Winrod is sparking the drive for an investigation. He is soliciting funds, as well as urging petitions and letters to Congress. I have a photostatic copy of a letter he sent out on February 16, 1957, with which he enclosed his petition forms. This is what he says in part:

"Please come to our support immediately. There are four ways in which you can help at this time.

"1. By sending a contribution of $5 or $10 or more. Don't let us want for money at this stage. We never waste a cent.

"2. Start to work at once, on the petition crusade. Find herewith 10 petition blanks, to be signed and mailed without delay, to the Senators and Representatives from your State, each in a separate envelope. Find enclosed a slip of paper containing their names and explaining how to address the envelopes. Get friends and neighbors to mail petitions.

"3. Send us the names of at least five persons * * *.

"4. Enclose an extra $1 for a bundle of 10 February Defender magazines, which contains an article explaining why the Food and Drug Administration should now be investigated by Congress."

Mr. Hoxsey, by his own admission, has had no formal education beyond the eighth grade. He has been convicted of practicing medicine without a license a number of times. He claims to have inherited the treatment from his father, who in turn received it from his grandfather and great-grandfather. The treatment originated, claims Mr. Hoxsey, back in 1848 when his great-grandfather's old white horse was cured of cancer.

There is nothing new or mysterious in the Hoxsey cancer treatment. It is made up of well-understood drugs and herbs—such things as potassium iodide, cascara sagrada, buckthorn bark, prickly ash bark, etc.—which have been known for many, many years. It is the opinion of all qualified cancer experts that none of these drugs, either singly or in combination, are of any value for cancer.

This petition campaign should be examined in the light of the fact—twice proved in lengthy court trials—that the Hoxsey drugs are worthless for internal cancer. And it is sparked by a paid propagandist.

Every one of Hoxsey's handpicked cases claimed as cures has been thoroughly in-

vestigated by the Food and Drug Administration. It has found no basis whatever for a belief that the Hoxsey drugs have, or even might possibly have, an effect on cancer.

Congress has appropriated millions for research to solve the enigma of cancer. A great scientific effort has been launched to find the causes and cure for all types of cancer. In the meantime many types of cancer are being successfully treated with radiation and surgery. This is particularly true when prompt treatment is instituted. Promoters of nostrums like Hoxsey and Winrod continue to exploit the public with their promises of easy-to-take cures. These promoters malign the medical profession and the scientific agencies of Government to bring about distrust, which is an essential part of the big lie technique of selling worthless drugs for serious diseases. They cause irreparable damage through delay in proper treatment.

Statement of Hon. W. M. Abbitt, of Virginia, Before the House Committee on Education and Labor in Opposition to Pending Legislation Providing Federal Aid for School Construction to the Localities

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, March 5, 1957, I appeared before the Bailey subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor in opposition to the so-called Federal-aid-to-school-construction bills.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I herewith include the statement I made to the committee:

STATEMENT OF HON. W. M. ABBITT, OF VIRGINIA, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR IN OPPOSITION TO PENDING LEGISLATION PROVIDING FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION TO LOCALITIES

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before your committee in opposition to the so-called Federal-aid-to-education school-construction bills.

This is a most important question. As a matter of fact, it is one of the most important problems facing the people of our country today. It seems to me that a decision must be made by our people. Sooner or later we must decide whether the public schools are to be operated, maintained, and controlled by localities and the States or whether our schools will be turned over to the Federal Government.

The schools of this great country of ours have been a great bulwark for our way of life. They have been the foundation stone of our democracy. We can but know that, if the Federal Government gradually takes over the financial burden of our public schools, so will they gradually take over the control. It is not possible to distribute Federal funds for education without the imposition of an increasing measure of Federal control in matters of educational policy. Local control of education is fundamental to the American type of democracy. It is necessary that education be adapted to local needs. It is necessary that we have a sense of local responsibility for its successful execution. To remove the responsibility of educating our children from the local level will necessarily and unavoidably greatly weaken democracy at the grass roots. The separation of education and the Federal Government, so far as primary and secondary schools are concerned, is as important as the principle of separation of church and state. For many years there has been a general trend toward centralization of power in Washington. There is now an all-out effort to federalize the schools and nationalize the lives of all American citizens.

The present proposal to have the Congress appropriate Federal funds for the construction of local schools is but a step toward the realization of turning over the public-school system to the Federal Government. Many people supporting this legislation will not admit this is true, but the vast majority of its supporters are those who desire the concentration of power in Washington and the centralization of all government at the National Capital. All of us believe that adequate education of American youth is essential to the preservation of the Republic and to the welfare of the Nation. I am convinced that this opportunity can be provided by local communities and States more satisfactorily and more equitably to both than by the Federal Government.

It is most important that local control of our schools remain as it is at present. This will be impossible if we allow the Federal Government to stick its long nose into the financial responsibility of educating our children. If we are to remain a free people, if we are to retain our way of life as we know it, it is necessary that control of our public schools remain at the local level. There is no such thing as Federal aid without Federal control.

Mr. Chairman, I oppose this bill for a number of reasons. First, as I have tried to point out, it is absolutely necessary that the control of our public schools remain at the local level. Not only that, but the citizens in a democracy have certain duties and obligations that they must perform. In my opinion, it is the duty and obligation of the localities and the local citizens to maintain public education. Education of our youth is a function of the localities and not of the Federal Government. I am convinced if we permit the Federal Government to subsidize our public schools generally then we will lose control of the schools so far as the localities and communities are concerned.

Next, I would like to say that the localities and the States are adequately financially able to provide the necessary educational opportunities for the youth of this great country of ours. The States are far better off financially than is the monstrous Federal Government today. There are those who would have us believe that the States are not able financially to carry on the proper educational program to meet the needs of our youth. They contend that the Federal Government has the financial ability to undertake this great task. Unfortunately, nothing is further from the truth. Sadly enough, the national debt now amounts to more than eight times State and local indebtedness. The Federal Government has a national debt of approximately $275 billion. Apparently, there is no hope in the foreseeable future that this debt will be reduced in any appreciable amount. It is saddening to see on all sides grasping bureaucrats and people who believe in centralized power trying to reach out on behalf of the Federal Government to continue to take over functions and obligations of the States and local communities. We are now at the crossroads. We are about to see this country embark on a gigantic long-time journey into the field of local public education. It is disheartening to me to see this administration sponsor such a program.

Truthfully, the 1958 budget of the Federal Government is such a bizzare combination of fantasy, mystery, and irresponsibility that it alone should convince any individual person of the necessity and urgency of stopping the growth of the Federal octopus. This program will simply add another tentacle to the octopus Federal monstrosity. To those people who say and apparently earnestly contend that the States are unable financially to carry on the proper and necessary educational program for the future welfare of our youth, I desire to call to their attention a most enlightening report by an outstanding committee.

By authority of an act of Congress, there was appointed in 1954 a Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Fifteen members of the Commission were appointed by the Chief Executice, 5 by the Speaker of the House and 5 by the Vice President. It was the duty among other things of this Commission to make a painstaking study and report on the functions of the Federal Government in various fields of activities. This Commission appointed various study committees to look into and to study particular phases of activity. One such committee was appointed to make a thorough study and report on Federal responsibility in the field of education. This committee was composed of many able American citizens. They made an actual painstaking study of the problem of education, the responsibility of various segments of our society in this field as well as the ability of the several political divisions to carry out the necessary and proper educational program. A very fine report was made by this committee on October 19, 1954. I am very much surprised indeed that the present administration should apparently discard such a splendid report from such an outstanding group of men from almost every walk of life in this great Nation of ours.

The Study Committee on Federal Responsibility in the Field of Education as selected by the Inter-Governmental Relations Commission was composed of 15 members; Adam S. Bennion, of Utah, as chairman. Mr. Bennion is a leader in the Mormon Church and a close friend, as I understand it, of Secretary Benson. Other members of the study committee included Thomas C. Boushall, of Richmond; Samuel Miller Brownell, brother of the Attorney General, and since Commissioner of Education; A. Boyd Campbell, a Mississippi businessman; Alfred E. Driscoll, former Governor of New Jersey; Oscar A. Ehrhardt, chairman of the St. Louis School Board; Mr. T. Norman Hurd, director of the budget of the State of New York; Edward H. Litchfield, dean of the School of Business Administration at Cornell University; Carl J. Hegel, president of the American Federation of Teachers; Mrs. H. M. Mulberry, a member of the Chicago Board of Education; Very Rev. Msgr. Thomas J. Quigley, of Pittsburgh; Hubert H. Race, of the General Electric Co.; Roy E. Simpson, superintendent of public instruction of the State of California; Paul D. West, superintendent of Fulton public schools in Atlanta, Ga.; Henry H. Wriston, president of Brown University. The director of research and adviser for the committee was Roger A. Freeman, who has since written a book on the subject.

This study committee, after a most careful study of the financial problems facing this country and a painstaking analysis of the responsibilities of education of our youth, has pointed out in no uncertain terms that the duty and obligation to educate the youth is a direct responsibility of the localities and the States. They have also in no uncertain terms found as a matter of fact that "the general conclusion is that Federal aid is not necessary either for current operating expenses for public schools or for capital expenditures for new school facilities. Local communities and States are able to supply both in accordance with the will of their citizens."

I heartily concur in the conclusion of the study committee and commend them for a most enlightening report, as well as for the outstanding job that they did. This study should be read carefully by every Member of Congress who is really interested in the welfare of this country of ours.

I would like for this administration to inform the people why it has cast into the wastebasket such a valuable report from a group of outstanding citizens.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that the legislation now before this committee which provides for Federal aid to the localities for the construction of schools will not be recommended for passage by your committee so that the localities may retain control of the schools and continue with their duties and responsibilities for the education of our youth, as they are amply financially able to do.

British Policy in Cyprus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, as a Representative of the First District of Florida I am proud to speak for a great group of Americans who have come to our country from Greece. In their interest and that of many of their relatives abroad I would like to call to the attention of the House the following editorial appearing in the Spectator, a newspaper published in England, on date of Friday, February 22, 1957. The article deals with the Cyprus situation and I believe it is important that the Members hear this expression of one segment of British opinion on this problem so important to the world today:

THE ANATOMY OF TERRORISM

The Government's two apologies on Cyprus, in the United Nations and in the Commons, have done nothing either to justify its past policy or to suggest that there will be any improvement in it. No new proposals for a settlement have been put forward; Government spokesmen have contented themselves with reiterating the bedraggled argument that nothing can be done until terrorism on the island is stamped out. If this is to remain Government policy, it is time the Government and the public realized its implications.

Nearly 2 years ago, the British authorities committed themselves, as a first objective, to the crushing of EOKA. To this end, the forces that had originally been intended as a strategic reserve in Cyprus were employed as stalkers and beaters, to flush EOKA members out of their lairs; and the laws of the island were modified to suit what was, in effect, garrison rule. Within 6 months, Sir John Harding felt confident enough to announce that EOKA's days were numbered; a year ago he said the movement was beginning to crack; and since that date every reporter visiting the island has been assured, as the Observer naively asserted last Sunday, that the final destruction of terrorism "is only a matter of time," and that the British forces "have the initiative firmly in their hands."

There is a time when these claims cease to be embarrassing, and become dangerous. This moment is reached when the authorities, finding that straightforward repressive measures show no sign of working, begin to condone brutality and torture and to suppress criticism in the newspapers. In the Manchester Guardian last week Mr. Peter Benenson, who has been in Cyprus recently as counsel for the editor of the Times of Cyprus, described the growing tension between the Cyprus Bar and the Administration, owing to the increasing tendency of the authorities to prevent lawyers from seeing clients. Such a policy inevitably spawns allegations of cruelty to prisoners.

A recent example Mr. Benenson mentioned is the case of a Cypriot youth who alleged that he had been stripped, punched, and beaten; when eventually he was released medical evidence revealed that he had in fact rib fractures, bruises, and hemorrhage. But his charges against the two men he alleged were responsible were dismissed for lack of evidence; and shortly afterwards an emergency regulation was promulgated under which no prosecution of this kind may be brought against members of the security forces without permission from the Attorney General.

On the same day, a report appeared in a number of newspapers here of another case. A Cypriot charged with murder alleged that he had been tortured to extract a confession; the prosecution offered no evidence to rebut the accusation; and the judge ruled that as there was doubt whether the confession was voluntarily made the prisoner must be acquitted. Such cases have been multiplying recently; and it is useless to try to argue that they have not been proved. How can they be proved? There is, however, a very easy way of disproving them: by ensuring that prisoners have access to legal advisers. This will not prevent men being killed "while attempting to escape," but it will help to prevent casual, indiscriminate brutality. But it will not, of course, solve the main problem of violence. Nor can that be solved while the Government persists in its unrealistic attitude to EOKA.

Broadly speaking, there are two main types of terrorist-activity in the world. One arises when there is a minority holding fanatically different views from the community, and determined to impose them. From such roots stem Communist terrorism in Malaya and Mau Mau atrocities in Kenya. The other type is totally dissimilar. It arises when a nationalist movement which wins general support from the community is ignored by an occupying power. Sooner or later extreme nationalists, who may be noble patriots or thugs or a mixture of both, conclude that force is the only argument that the occupying power will listen to. In Bohemia and Italy, in America and Ireland, and now in Cyprus, such men have fought, and eventually won, becoming national heroes in the process. To employ against them the same tactics and weapons as are used against the Mau Mau is a tragic mistake.

Apart from the mistaken principle, there are practical reasons why the Government's repressive policy must fail in Cyprus. Where force is used against Communist rebels, the community is waiting to cooperate with the authorities as soon as the rebels have been crushed. But there is no evidence that Cypriots would cooperate with the Britsh if EOKA were crushed. The gradual destruction or capture of what has been described as the "hard core" of EOKA has made no difference to the community's view; in fact, recent outrages have been committed not by that hard core, not even by EOKA members, but by ordinary Cypriots—youths, and even schoolboys. The Greek Cypriot population as a whole, however little it may trust Grivas, or like violence, is firmly committed to the policies for which EOKA has been fighting, and even if EOKA were to disappear, other terrorist bodies would promptly arise—helped by recruits; perhaps, from Greece—to take its place.

In the circumstances there is no practicable alternative but to negotiate with Archbishop Makarios. Whether or not he has been connected with terrorism is irrelevant; it is regrettable that the Labor Party, whose arguments in the Commons were otherwise restrained and sensible, should show signs of wavering on this issue. The point is not whether Makarios worked with Grivas, nor whether his episcopal hands are stained with blood, but whether Makarios can now restore order, and thereby prove his capacity to represent the Greek Cypriots in the negotiations for a settlement. It is useless to disguise the fact that these negotiations will be difficult; but they cannot even begin until the right of the Cypriots is recognized to choose their own spokesman.

Until Makarios is brought back, Cyprus will continue to be a drain on British reserves not only of money and power, but of reputation. Even to have deported Makarios without trial was a shameful breach of British constitutional procedure; the rule that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty should apply. A newspaper which boasts about the guilt of a man who has yet to be tried would very quickly be brought up for contempt of court; and rightly so. By assuming Makario's guilt without offering him a chance to give his case, the British Government has put itself in contempt. It will remain in contempt, at the bar of world opinion, until it abandons a policy which brings Britain humiliation.

The Attack on the Cooperative Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to bring to the attention of the House an exchange of letters between the Cooperative League, signed by former Congressman Jerry Voorhis, and the National Pickle Packers Association, signed by W. R. Moore, secretary.

This correspondence deals with the attacks on the cooperative movement being spearheaded by the National Tax Equality Association.

An objective perusal of these letters should serve to bring out the inadequacy of the arguments of business corporations fighting the cooperatives, who are reputed to have propaganda funds close to one-half million dollars, an argument which the National Pickle Packers Association does not refute.

The two letters follow:

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Chicago, Ill., February 11, 1957.

Mr. W. R. MOORE,
Secretary, National Pickle Packers Association, Oak Park, Ill.

DEAR MR. MOORE: One of the Members of Congress to whom you recently wrote a letter on the subject of taxation of cooperatives has been kind enough to let us see a copy of what you had to say.

We fully realize that this subject has been surrounded with a very great deal of misunderstanding and that Members of Congress are honestly seeking information from all sides of the question in order that they may be truly informed about it. I feel sure

you will not mind my giving you in this letter a different point of view from that which we know the National Tax Equality Association has been attempting to get the trade associations of the country to adopt.

For many years, NTEA has been spreading the propaganda slogan that "Co-ops and mutuals don't pay taxes." They have attempted to represent a whole segment of our American economy as being unpatriotic, if not un-American, and they have been careless, indeed, with the truth.

All through American history, we have had a free economy. In it there have been two kinds of free enterprises—one kind has been the corporation, partnership, or individually owned enterprise which is organized for the purpose of making a profit for shareholders through the sale of its goods and services to other people. On the other hand, there have been businesses organized by the same people who needed their services and owned by those same people and conducted, not for the primary purpose of making a profit, but rather for the purpose of providing goods or services to their owners.

This second kind of free enterprise business are the cooperatives and mutuals; the savings and loan associations; credit unions, and other similar enterprises. Sometimes it is true they do show earnings on their books. When this is the case they should pay, and they are now required to pay, Federal income taxes as well as all other taxes on the same basis as their competitors. Cooperatives and mutuals, however, since they are established for the primary purpose of conducting a nonprofit operation, return the bulk of their net margins to their patrons in the form of patronage refunds. This money is not taxed against the cooperative or mutual any more than money used to redeem trading stamps, or merchandise certificates, or to make rebates or to give discounts is taxed against any other business. The basic law is no different in the case of cooperatives and mutuals than in the case of any other business. (Any business can return its profit to its customers in proportion to their patronage and it will not pay income tax on the amount of money so returned.) In the broad sense, there is no inequality in the law now.

Farmers of the United States, small businessmen in the United States, and, to a lesser extent, consumers have all used the cooperative device as a means of enabling them to continue to take an effective part in our free enterprise economy. Farmers and small businessmen, like independent grocers and independent druggists are operating in an economy which is largely dominated by very large business aggregations. They have, accordingly, formed cooperatives in many cases in order to somewhat integrate their operations and to enable themselves to better compete in our modern economy. What the NTEA is actually asking for is discriminatory taxation. It is saying that, while large integrated corporations, such as chain stores, automobile companies, or steel companies should be allowed to pay one tax on their total operations, this opportunity should be denied to farmers or small businessmen or any other group that join together to own together a cooperative enterprise. NTEA says that where small people attempt integration they should have to pay a tax at every stage of the marketing or distribution process even though no profit has resulted and no change in ownership has taken place. This is manifest injustice.

Patrons of cooperatives, whether they are farmers, hardware merchants, grocers, druggists, or whoever they may be, must pay full income tax on any patronage refunds they derive from their cooperatives to the extent that such patronage funds affect their business income and operations. The NTEA program would not only be unjust but it would deprive small business and agriculture of their best chance to avoid appeals to government and by voluntary free enterprise to continue to keep our economy a reasonably competitive one.

We should welcome the fact that some 13 million different American families own and participate in our free enterprise system through cooperative and mutual enterprise, especially when a mere handful of people control corporations which are able to completely dominate whole industries and shut the doors of those industries against all competitors.

Cooperatives are small businesses. All the petroleum cooperatives put together, for xample, would make up one company about as large as America's tenth largest oil firm. All the credit unions put together have assets less than one-half of those of one large New York bank.

Cooperatives are also locally owned businesses that depend for their capital upon the investments of their members. Frequently, those investments are made by reinvesting patronage refunds. NTEA would like to tax cooperatives on these re-investments as if they were net income. If this were done, in all logic, it would be necessary to tax all corporations on any investments made in their shares as if those investments were net income to the corporations.

NTEA has recently associated itself with the most extreme political elements in the country, including that headed by T. Coleman Andrews which advocated returning to pre-civil war days so far as "states rights" are concerned and a complete repeal of income taxation.

NTEA has raised money from unsuspecting people to a point where it is reported to have propaganda funds close to one-half million dollars a year.

Our organization and others associated with it desire no tax favoritism or advantages. We do not believe we have any. We have sincerely sought to close any actual loopholes that may exist and we will continue to do that, whether or not this requires additional tax payments by cooperative and mutual businesses or by their patrons and owners. But, we are bitterly opposed, and we believe you will be also, to a program like that of NTEA which seeks to destroy an essential difference between a nonprofit operation and a profit one and to impose inordinate penalties against the right of the American people to conduct free enterprise either on a profit or nonprofit basis, whichever may serve them best.

I would be glad to meet with you to discuss this matter further at any time you may desire to do so.

Sincerely yours,

JERRY VOORHIS,
Executive Director.

NATIONAL PICKLE PACKERS ASSOCIATION,
Oak Park, Ill., February 21, 1957.

Mr. JERRY VOORHIS,
Executive Director,
The Cooperative League,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. VOORHIS: Replying to your letter of February 11, I do not agree with your statement that there is a great deal of misunderstanding on this subject of co-op taxation. To the trade associations engaged in this fight the issue is crystal clear. It is well known that cooperative corporations enjoy tax favoritism. It is well known that cooperative corporations earn profits—that they are not partnerships; that they are not trustees; that they are not agents. The authority for this is contained in part 3, The Power of Congress To Tax Cooperatives on Net Margins prepared by the staffs of the Treasury and the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. They say:

"However, general statements have been made to the effect that the cooperatives are only agents, partnerships, or trusts, with the implication that they are not entities in their own right capable of having income subject to tax. For this reason it is necessary to establish beyond question the fact that the cooperatives are separate corporate entities which are taxable as such."

In this same document they also say:

"The cooperatives' net margins are income to them regardless of patronage dividend contracts."

You compare co-op distributions to trading stamps and rebates. This is ridiculous. Cooperatives are not conducting a business that makes distributions regardless of whether they earn a profit or not. It so happens that co-op patrons are also owners of the co-op. Profits distributed to owners are taxable; this has been recognized by the Tax Court for years.

With respect to your argument that "any business can return its profits to its customers in proportion to their patronage and it will not pay income tax on the amount of money so returned," all you are saying is that any business that becomes a cooperative will enjoy cooperative tax privileges.

Our association is affiliated with a group of trade associations who have made our own studies and investigations on this subject and arrived at our own conclusions. We are unanimous in our position that any business that earns a profit for its owners should pay Federal income taxes thereon.

In your letter to me you refer to two kinds of free enterprise. Again we must agree with the Joint Staffs in that we see no distinction taxwise between your cooperative corporations and any other business operation. In each case they are owned by shareholders so therefore when you distribute your profits to your so-called patrons you are also distributing your profits to your owners. As a result, the differences to which you refer are without foundation.

You make a point of the cooperative being small business. This is not so. Many co-op corporations are big business—so big, in fact, that they have on occasion been indicted for monopoly. Co-ops have grown tremendously in many of the basic industries of the country and are now doing a large percentage of the business done in such fields as fertilizer, grain, dairy, citrus fruits, etc.

It is incorrect to state that NTEA and trade associations are seeking discriminatory taxation. We fail to see any reason why the cooperative corporation and its owners should not be obliged to pay the same income taxes as a fully taxed business corporation and its owners. This is simple tax justice and this is what the fight is all about.

You mention that cooperative and mutual enterprises comprise some 13 million American families and go on to say that a mere handful of people control the corporations of this country and are able to completely dominate whole industries and shut the door of those industries against all competitors. This is manifestly untrue. There are over 7 million stockholders in American corporations.

Referring to your paragraph on reinvestment of patronage dividends. We are well aware that cooperatives are able to finance their expansion by keeping their profits on a tax-free basis. Other corporations are not granted this privilege. Under our present tax laws, corporations are fully taxed and the recipients of dividends are also fully taxed. We believe this same rule should apply to cooperative corporations and their owners.

You refer to NTEA as associating itself with extreme political elements including Mr. T. Coleman Andrews. Mr. Andrews addressed a meeting of the trade associations in Chicago. He was, until recently, a member of the Eisenhower official family as Collector of Internal Revenue. So far as I know, Mr. Andrews has no connection with NTEA or any of our trade association groups. How-

ever, he would be most welcome, as we consider him a very able gentleman.

I can assure you that the members of the trade association with whom I am associated are not unsuspecting people and it is these businessmen who are supporting the work of NTEA and the various trade associations in this struggle for tax equality. The truly unsuspecting people are the rank and file taxpayers, who are, in fact, the victims of tax injustice because they have to pay their taxes and in addition assume a larger burden because the co-ops don't pay their share.

Sincerely yours,

W. R. MOORE,
Secretary.

P. S.—I am sending a copy of your letter along with a copy of this letter to my associates in the trade association field.

Critical Shortage of Teachers—Tempering Mercy With Justice for Servicemen

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing two bills, one designed to meet a critical situation facing our entire Nation and the other to temper mercy with justice for thousands of American servicemen, past and future.

The national problem to which I allude, Mr. Speaker, is the critical shortage of teachers, both in our secondary schools and our colleges and universities.

A recent survey reveals that we will need 1,906,889 new teachers by 1965 to replace those who die or leave the profession, and to meet increased enrollments. If this need is to be met, one-half of all college graduates expected during the next decade will have to enter the teaching field.

I recognize, of course, that there are many reasons and factors behind our present shortage of teachers. Not the least of these is the low-salary structure which prevails in all but a few States of the Union. But another factor contributing to this shortage is the inability of thousands of qualified high-school graduates to pursue a higher education and to enter the teaching profession.

The Commission on Human Resources in Advanced Training has estimated that of all high-school students with an I. Q. of more than 130, only 56 percent go to college, and only 47 percent graduate.

If we drop slightly down the scale to those with IQ's of 120 or more, only 47 percent go to college and only 37 percent graduate. Yet the Armed Forces regard all with an IQ of 110 or higher as fit material for officers candidate school.

If we apply these percentages to our college-age population, which is defined by the Bureau of Census as 18–24 years of age, we find that there are approximately 2,300,000 young people in this age group. Under present circumstances, only 1,100,000 will enter colleges and only slightly more than 410,000 will earn degrees. This represents a loss of nearly 2 million young people with IQ's higher than 120 who will not complete college.

There can be no question whatever that many of these scholastically able young people fail to enter or remain in college simply because they are financially unable to do so.

I think that it has also become abundantly clear that the amount of private assistance now available to prevent this colossal waste is far from adequate and that the need can only be met by governmental action.

For this reason, I have introduced a measure today, establishing a national scholarship program.

One of the provisions of my bill would create 50,000 scholarships a year for the next 10 years for students entering the field of education. Before the bogey of Federal control of education is raised, let me point out that this is often only a smokescreen raised by those who are reluctant to act. We have seen during the administration of the GI bill of rights that Federal financing of a student's college education has not resulted in Government control over the policies or curriculum of our colleges and universities. To administer the program of scholarships, there would be created in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare the position of Director of Scholarships and a Board of 16 drawn from the professional field who would set standards for the recipients of scholarships, making tuition payments direct to the various institutions, and make subsistence payments direct to the qualifying students. Scholarships would be divided on a statewide basis in proportion to the number of high school graduates in each State.

Directly related to the teacher shortage is the equally critical shortage in trained personnel in the scientific fields. The reason for this is not difficult to find. Twenty-three percent of our Nation's public high schools offer no courses in physics and chemistry. During 1954–1955, a total of 7,900 science teachers were needed, but only 3,600 were trained, and of these only 1,700 actually entered the teaching field. According to the National Education Association, the output of science teachers has declined 57 percent from 1950 to 1955. This at a time when science and technology are the very cornerstones of our security and our hope for peacetime prosperity. Yet, how can we expect our young people to become interested in the further study of science when they have been given no chance of becoming acquainted with it.

The second provision of my scholarship bill provides for 20,000 undergraduate scholarships a year for 10 years for qualified students in the field of science.

The president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, J. R. Killian, Jr., stated in a recent article for Life magazine that our shortage of scientists has become the "best advertised shortage of our time" because of the well-known fact that Russia has been producing more trained scientists than has the United States. Mr. Killian went on to propose a series of national scholarships to meet our emergency needs. He did prefer to have these scholarships financed by private sources, but he also felt that until private funds were available the Federal Government should do something to fill the partial vacuum. I certainly agree with Mr. Killian.

Because quality is as important as quantity, my bill also sets up 5,000 postgraduate scholarships a year in the field of science. This should enable some of our gifted students to continue their education rather than face the necessity of having to accept positions after receiving their B. S. degree. Mr. Speaker, we have every reason to be proud of the men and women whom we entrust today with the education of our children. They are doing an extraordinary job under difficult circumstances. But they need help—and the help of tomorrow must be trained today.

Similarly, Mr. Speaker, we must face squarely the fact that the scientific demands of our Nation in this highly technological era are falling upon too few shoulders. It may be no exaggeration to say that the outcome of the cold war and America's continued leadership may well depend upon how squarely we face the challenging task before us. For this reason, I sincerely hope that the House Committee on Education and Labor will consider my proposals as soon as possible. In the life of both people and nations, there comes a time for decision and action. With respect to our future teachers and scientists, that time is now.

Mr. Speaker, I am also pleased to join in the sponsorship of a measure which will direct the Department of Defense to take a second look at the "less than honorable" or "other than honorable" discharges which have been and are proving an albatross around the necks of tens of thousands of former American servicemen.

This bill proposes to amend existing statutes which do not authorize any of the military review or correction boards to take into consideration as a ground for correcting military discharges that a former serviceman has rehabilitated himself in civilian life. The bill authorizes an application before the appropriate military board for an individual not less than 3 years after he has been dismissed or discharged from the military under other than honorable or under less than honorable conditions endeavoring to establish to the satisfaction of the military board by oral or written evidence or both that such individual has rehabilitated himself in civilian life and that his character and conduct and activities and habits have been good for a reasonable time; in no event not less than 3 years after his original discharge.

The military board is directed to take into consideration each case on its own merits and shall consider the factors involved in the original discharge and dismissals, including the reasons for the nature of the original discharge or dismissal.

Applications and reapplications may be filed at any time beginning after 3 years from the date of original discharge.

The bill provides that no Government benefits shall be afforded any individual

who may be issued a new discharge or release by the military board upon review of his application.

If the military board corrects and changes the type of original discharge it shall be dated back to the date of the original discharge and the corrected discharge shall be under honorable conditions.

I want to point out, Mr. Speaker, that my bill does not apply where there has been sentence by general court-martial, but only to offenses which would be considered minor or misdemeanors in civilian life.

The clear purpose of this legislation is to give to the thousands of our American servicemen who received any type of discharge from the military, less than honorable, a reasonable opportunity to (a) erase the stigma which automatically attaches to him for a lifetime as a result of receiving such less than honorable discharge; (b) in applying for work and employment to present a type of discharge which will not cause the employer to immediately say "no" because of the type of discharge presented.

It is believed that many thousands of discharges "less than honorable" are given to lads still in their teen-age years and a large number of them administratively and a great number of resignations by teen-agers when under great stress or strain and without due consideration of results.

There can be no question of the fairness of this legislation, Mr. Speaker. In the fiscal year 1955, a total of 655,955 men and women were discharged from military service. Of these were 69,323 who received undesirable, bad conduct, or general discharges—those subject to review under the provisions of the bill which I have introduced.

Further evidence in support of this legislation is found in the fact that in the 5-year period between July 1, 1950, and June 30, 1955, only 561 discharges were corrected or changed by the Boards for the Correction of Military and Naval Records.

Thomas G. Masaryk: Champion of Human Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, a little over 100 years ago, on March 7, 1850, there was born in Moravia a man who today is revered as one of the great champions of human freedom: Thomas G. Masaryk.

Americans are particularly responsive to the greatness of Masaryk because of his own close personal association with our country, his marriage to an American, and his friendship with Woodrow Wilson. We know, too, how much he drew his inspiration from our American ideals and institutions.

But the spirit of liberty and justice knows no natural boundaries. Masaryk today has become a world figure and we Americans in turn are in his debt for the contribution he made to freedom's cause.

I think we can repay that debt in some small measure by giving new life to our determination that Czechoslovakia shall once again be free. We know that in that land—as in other lands behind the Iron Curtain—the dedication to true democracy remains undimmed by the oppressor's iron fist. We cannot today merely mouth sterils slogans, nor must we be terrified by the Soviet Union's campaign of violence. A positive program aimed at a peaceful settlement is urgently needed.

In this endeavor, Americans of all national origins will join with heartfelt thanks that the greatness of Thomas Masaryk lives on to give us confidence that out of darkness shall come a rebirth of the freedom for which he gave his life.

The Latin American Ambassadors and the States of the Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I noted with a great deal of interest the excellent editorial appearing in the Tuesday, March 5, 1957, issue of the Americas Daily entitled "The Latin American Ambassadors and the States of the Union." I know of the profound interest of a great many of my colleagues in the warm relations between the United States and our neighbors to the south and I request that this editorial be reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The editorial follows:

[From the Americas Daily of Miami Springs, Fla., of March 5, 1957]

THE LATIN AMERICAN AMBASSADORS AND THE STATES OF THE UNION

During the last few months, the diplomatic representatives of the Latin American Republics have been especially invited to visit some of the States of the Union which are interested in inter-American relations.

These invitations have had excellent results, since during those visits stress has been given, in the respective States, to the great importance of the Latin American countries. In the development of the respective programs there has been abundance of opportunities, which the ambassadors have been able to use to stress the convenience for the United States and Latin America in strengthening the bonds, of all kinds, of friendly hemispheric relations.

There have been no protocol speeches during those visits. The speakers, both the diplomats and the hosts, have said many truthful things, of great transcendence for the inter-American friendship and solidarity. There has been an interesting campaign of reapproachment of positive mutual benefit.

During this tour, through two Tennessean cities, Memphis and Knoxville, each Ambassador was the guest at a United States home. In this manner, there was a more propitious occasion for a better personal contact between the Latin American representatives and the leading citizens of the above-mentioned cities.

Taking into consideration the form in which the administrative life of the United States functions, this type of relations is of the utmost importance, as with them a larger endorsement to the plans of inter-American policies of the Washington Government is given by the people. And that popular backing is necessary in a democracy as that of the United States, in which public opinion exercises, on its own right, a marked influence in the official decisions of the Government.

It is certain that visits of this nature will be repeated in the future and they will cover, little by little, all the States of the Union, or at least those with closer ties, in international commerce, politics, and culture.

In the mind of the Latin American Ambassadors, all the efforts to entertain them and make their stay pleasant in those States, leave, no doubt very pleasant impressions which, in one form or another, they know how to make known to their governments and peoples.

Youth's Stake in Soil Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER THORNBERRY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, on February 15, 1957, there appeared in the daily newspaper of San Marcos, Tex., the San Marcos Record, four of the winners in a statewide essay contest, the subject of which was Youth's Stake in Soil Conservation. The context, sponsored by the Fort Worth Press, was promoted locally by the Soil Conservation Service and other civic clubs.

First place in the senior division was won by Miss Karen O'Banion; while second place was awarded to Miss Janice Little, both of San Marcos, Tex. In the junior division, the winners were Miss Leanice Harp and Wesley Odell, of Wimberly, Tex.

Because of the timely nature of the subject matter discussed in the essays, I know that Members of Congress will be interested to note the perception of the youngest of the students, Wesley Odell, whose essay follows:

YOUTH'S STAKE IN SOIL CONSERVATION

(By Wesley Odell)

Soil conservation is very important to Texas. When the first settlers came to Texas they began to clear the land of trees because they thought there were too many of them. When they cleared land they often started soil erosion because much of the land was uneven, and there was nothing left to keep the water from washing away the topsoil.

In 1882, Howard Duke began to terrace his fields, but soil-conservation service was not started officially until 1910. The Soil Conservation Districts Act was passed by the Texas Legislature in 1939, and by January 1, 1955, there were 171 soil-conservation districts all working to save our Texas topsoils.

Some of the soils of Texas wash away more than others. Sandy soil washes away when there is a heavy rain or blows when a strong wind comes. Black clay soil doesn't wash or

blow away as much as sand does. Soils wash or blow because they don't have the roots of plants, grass, or trees to hold the soil in place.

There are many things we can do to help save the soils of Texas. We can terrace our fields so water will not wash the topsoil away. Ranchers can save much topsoil by having just enough stock to graze the grass and yet leave plenty of roots to hold the soil. If people who clear pastureland of trees would leave more trees to hold the soil together, we wouldn't lose so much topsoil and save many acres of topsoil that now go down the rivers. In some places we could build dams to prevent washing.

These practices in saving the soil of Texas will help to keep our State a good place to live in for us who are young.

Farmers Stress Need for Soil Bank Change

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 23, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, because of the tremendous importance of the soil bank as it affects the small farmer, I think it appropriate at this time to point to the reactions of my constituents. Mr. Albany J. Capistran, of Crookston, Minn., was in my office recently, and I took down verbatim what he had to say.

These problems one cannot often see from a legislative or administrative level. They are practical down-to-earth suggestions. We should consider these with an eye to further improvements in the soil bank. Under leave to extend my remarks, I request permission to insert his offhand remarks and also the letter he wrote to the editor of the Crookston Times, Crookston, Minn., which appeared in the column Valley Farmers' Opinions:

REPORT OF CONVERSATION
THE SOIL BANK

If the soil bank were to have the land entered in the soil bank on the 5-year period with the provision that they could use it anytime it was best for the farmer. The good land near Crookston is not in the soil bank. The law should be changed so that the land put into the soil bank could be planted with clover, alfalfa, or summerfallow. Acres put in soil bank should be shifted so that crops could be planted anytime between 1 and 5 years. They could still leave the 5-year term but should be able to shift the acres on the farm. Under the presently set up 5-year way, land gains little fertility and good land will not be put in the soil bank. This keeps 90 percent of the farmers from joining in the program. I have attended a number of farm meetings and out of the farmers with whom I talked, I have only known three farmers who would join the soil bank or had any intention of putting land into the bank in our area. Under the present setup, all these farmers thought that they should be allowed to plant clover, alfalfa, etc., and then they could have a good weed-control program as well as a soil-bank program, and the way it is now, farmers are not going to take land out of production, and only the poorest type of land will go into the bank—the good land will continue to produce and grow crops.

On the farm survey that was made which covered approximately 82 farmers, they were asked what would do the most good to the farmer in the territory without a lot of Government expense and one of the major things that came up was for the Federal Government to appropriate for loans to farmers to build machine sheds on a 10-year loan basis at low interest rates. In Minnesota, due to the weather conditions, machine-shedded machines last longer, about 20 percent longer. These figures are taken from the University of Minnesota, extension service division. Under the plan, farmers will be able to build and use as they pay. It is felt that out of 82 farmers, 68 farmers agreed that under these terms they would be able to build and it would do the most good in extending the life of the machinery. Most of the farmers felt that the 10-year period with low interest would help solve their problem. Most farmers cannot go into the 5-year plan on account of finances—they would like quonset huts and grain storage built under the same deal. The period should be 10 years instead of 5 because (1) they would be able to collect on the interest rate; (2) would make more orderly marketing, and another thing, it is good from a major food grains distributing standpoint, and in case of emergencies all food grains would not be stored in big terminals alone, but also on farms.

Much of the machinery is built with lighter, nonrustproof metals, and naturally do not last as long as machinery built before 1952—as for example on combines, difference in price between 1952 and 1956 is $1,500.50—the material used is two gage lighter. If the farmer was allowed to borrow money on a 10-year plan, with low interest rates, to build sheds to preserve his machinery he would gain 20 percent value in time. Four out of every five farmers agreed that they approved of the shedding plan.

Would like to see: (1) Amend the soil bank as recommended above; (2) plan to provide for shedding farm equipment on a low interest, 10-year payment plan.

[From the Crookston (Minn.) Times]

VALLEY FARMERS' OPINIONS: LETTERS TO THE TIMES EDITOR AND CONGRESS

To the EDITOR:

I have been following with much interest all the letters submitted on the farm problems in our Red River Valley. I would like to give you my thanks for getting area farmers to submit their views.

I would like to touch upon some of the different things as I see them in our great American problems. Everybody in Washington talks about farm issues and nobody agrees on what the farm issue is or what should be done about it right away.

As a farmer I feel very disturbed when our farm problems are going to be political dynamite. There are many farm issues and farm problems that will vary from region to region and commodity to commodity. There is no one group of farm organizations, or political party alone that can solve these great problems. If the American farmer is going to get what he rightly deserves, a program that will be good with long-range ideas can be made up using a lot of the good plans from all the farm groups.

The first thing, when we talk about farms we can put them in three classes: Small, usually 80 acres or under; family size farms, 160 to 640 acres; and large farms, 640 acres into the thousands.

Just what is happening to our farms? The farm census shows that United States farms are becoming fewer and larger. The number of farms have declined 11 percent and are over 9 percent larger in size. Farm population has been decreasing and we now have only about 13 percent of the United States population on farms.

Now it appears that many of the real small farms may be taken up by larger farms because the cost of equipment and operating expenses makes too high an investment for the net return.

The family farm which can be in size from 160 to 320 acres, and some up to 640, is usually a somewhat diversified farm and is the backbone of our Nation. It is on this type of farm that families group up and work together, and grow and produce almost any crop or livestock that our country needs to balance supply and demand.

Now the big farms are usually owned and operated under one man and are certainly not good for our country. There are some very efficient operators who do deserve praise, but for the most of them this is not true. Many large farmers are just suitcase farmers who move in to seed and harvest and then go. Most of these big farms are the ones that create our surpluses because usually they don't feed any of what they raise.

The big operator can produce cheaper because of large-scale production and can stand that price squeeze longer than the family farmer. We are fortunate in not having many of these large farms in our area. The family size farm is the biggest asset that we have in the community and the Nation as a whole.

If you had 10 families living off the same amount of land as 1 big operator controls just look what business and industry would be selling. There would be 10 sets of machinery, household goods and appliances as against a few big machines for the big operator. If one wants to see business and towns shrinking just go where there are a lot of big farmers like in northwestern Minnesota, parts of Canada and Washington. Farms should not be judged by acres alone in all places, but it can be a guide to go by.

Now let's take a look at the harsh facts of our agricultural economy and also some of the things that were responsible for building a surplus. In August 1952, parity was at 100 percent. Since 1952, income is down 25 percent; this is 7 percent under a year ago and the lowest since October 1940, and according to forecasts of the Department of Agriculture, farm parity will drop still further.

Retail food prices in November 1955 were less than 2 percent below that of November 1954, while farmers had taken a 10-percent reduction in their selling prices and production and marketing costs were up 5 percent.

Farmers are now getting only 39 cents out of every dollar spent in retail stores, the lowest since 1940. Middlemen and processor of farm produce are making the highest profits in their history even though their costs are more due in part to making convenient food packages and extra services that the American housewife has come to expect. An example of this is 36 cents a dozen for No. 1 eggs on a farm at Crookston for the same week that eggs sold for 78 cents in New York retail stores (January 1956).

Now let's set the record straight on our buildup of farm surpluses and take the farmer from behind the eight ball. In the spring of 1952, Secretary of Agriculture Brannan was called before the Senate Agriculture Committee to be questioned as to whether national security goals could be met. Our Nation was involved in a deadly serious attempt to halt Communist aggression in Korea and prevent a world war III from breaking out. Food and fiber as well as feed grains and other commodities were urgently needed to win a war. Mass meetings were held all over the country and farmers were urged to produce more with less manpower and machinery. The record of achievement in agri-

cultre's response is a glorious one in our Nation's history.

The 1952 goals were met by agriculture and the Nation was prepared for whatever might come, continued war or peace.

No one then, whether Republican or Democrat, challenged the Nation's need of the wanted production; but both hoped that 90 percent of parity-price support was high enough to get the needed production. Then in 1953, our Nation had no alarming surplus, but just a safety reserve that was needed in time of emergency.

The farmers of the Red River Valley did not create a wheat surplus. The good quality hard spring wheat that is desirable for milling is not the kind that is causing our surplus. We should not take any more cut in our wheat acreage in the valley as we have taken too big a cut already. The winter wheatgrower is the farmer who caused the surplus and should be the one to take the acreage cut.

Surpluses are not as bad as we are led to believe, and I thank God that I live in a country that can have surpluses instead of shortages. Our carryover in 1953 was 562 million bushels of wheat and 27 million tons of feed grains. Now if surpluses are unmanageable and are to be blamed for the depressing prices of agriculture, they are surpluses created by price-decreasing, income-reducing policies and not the result of 90 percent of parity. If no satisfactory program can be devised to protect farmers during this price-squeeze period of adjusting production to world conditions, then it is up to Washington to give subsidies to farmers right away.

Secretary Benson is attempting to control production by lowering farm prices. Yet production has gone up consistently, most of all the feed grains that were cut the most. Our wheat surpluses have almost doubled and our feed grains and other concentrates which were lowered most has a carryover of from 27 million tons to 197 million tons for the 1955–56 seasons.

This is 14 percent higher than average. Therefore, we need 100 percent of parity with acreage control to solve the farmers' problems and get rid of surpluses. Parity should be set on the 1952 figures. Farm prices and markets are made in Washington and not on the farm. Farmers must get price protection from government in return for industry's privileges to have balance of trade which means importing farm produce in exchange for manufactured goods.

I'm not saying legislation alone can solve the farmer's problems or that a farmer should depend solely on legislation. What I am saying is that government has the responsibility to promote the welfare of farmers as it does the welfare of other segments of our economy. Agricultural income and purchasing power must be brought back into balance, or else the farmers cannot share in the living standards with everyone else in our country.

I will list some other things that I think will help the farm economy:

1. Give us back a good AAA program with some real sensible and practical farm practices and have enough money appropriated to make it work. The 1956 farm program is about worthless.

2. Loan farmers money on 10-year loans with 3 percent interest to build more grain storage on farms, giving actual farmers more of a chance to make the money on grain storage instead of big terminals. This would also control more orderly marketing.

3. Loan farmers money on 10-year loans at 3 percent interest to build machine sheds and quonsets. This would be a big item as farmers could have machine storage under a program of pay-as-you-use. Machinery and rubber-tired equipment has a 20 percent longer life if kept in dry sheds.

4. Sell surplus feed in the community where it is, if possible, at 50 percent of its loan value. This would be a great boost to farmers right now and save a lot of transportation charges. Grain could be mixed with coal-tar dies and salt to color it so it could not get back into market channels.

5. Immediately rewrite the present unfair parity formula to provide a reasonable yardstick for measuring the purchasing power of farmers relative to other groups in the national economy.

My farm plan is to take 33 percent of cultivated farm acres out of production. A sound farm practice normally would be to keep 25 percent out of production in soil-building practices and weed control. Now if every farmer would take 8 percent more out of crops, but still keep our acreage control on wheat or on crops that might be necessary for controls as might be prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture. The farmer would get 100 percent of parity for all crops raised. It would really mean that 8 percent extra land out of production will bring more cash return per farm and the surplus will be taken care of at the same time bringing more money to the farmer and costing the Government less. To run such a plan would be very simple and some conditions could be written into it to help the small and medium-sized farmer.

As an example: The farmer with 160 acres or less could use his 33 percent of cultivated acres for pasture, hay land, corn for feed or silage, etc., and still be in the program for 100 percent of parity. Then farms over 160 acres can rotate these 33 percent cultivated acres in legumes, green-manured crops approved in the territory, or permanent grass or summer fallow protected against weeds or erosion. A payment should be given on this grass or legume acreage of about $6 an acre and $3 an acre on protected summer fallow with a provision that some of these acres could be used for pasture or hay in case of drought, hail or other disasters of nature. A county committee would make the inspections and give the O. K. if necessary. This plan would be very simple to run as it just means checking out production acres and wheat or other crops allotted acres.

This plan may be a long way from being perfect, but farmers if you will figure it out for your own farm you will see that most every farm will be getting more money for less bushels, creating no surpluses, getting rid of surpluses fast that we now have on hand, and you will have a good soil-building program as well as weed control.

In closing we must be realistic and remember that acres must be taken out of production and it all depends on which plan is best for the farmer. Just remember that it is flexibility of methods that we need in a farm program, and not flexibility of income and prices.

ALBANY J. CAPISTRAN.

CROOKSTON, MINN.

Give Investors a Break

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial from the Rock Hill (S. C.) Evening Herald:

GIVE INVESTORS A BREAK

With prices higher each year, the Federal Government might think about issuing "purchasing power" bonds to give investors a break.

Purchasing power bonds would be tied to the cost of living. If the cost of living moved up, the value of the bonds would move up at the same rate.

This would protect savers against inflation.

As things stand now, people who buy United States Government savings bonds actually lose money in the long run. If you pay $18.75 for a $25 series E savings bond, you draw 30 cents interest the first year. That is a shade under 1½ percent. If you cashed the bond in at the end of 3 years, you would draw $1.05 in interest, 2¼ percent.

But in the 3 years it took your money to earn that 2¼ percent interest the cost of living might go up 9 percent. This is based on the estimate of economists that living costs go up about 3 percent per year.

The Treasury Department has asked Congress to let it raise the present 3 percent interest rate on series E and series H bonds to 3¼ percent. The Department also wants to revise the interest schedule, so that bonds cashed in at the end of 3 years would pay 3 percent interest, instead of the present 2¼ percent interest.

Even with these changes it is hard to see how investors would benefit by putting their money into savings bonds. The Government has an obligation to do one of two things: (1) Halt the rising cost of living or (2) offer investors bonds that will keep pace with rising living costs.

Because the Government can control inflation, it would seem the Government has a moral obligation to repay its debts with money just as valuable as the money it borrowed.

Postal Rate Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial written by Mr. Charles E. Puskar, executive secretary-treasurer of the National Association of Postmasters, who is also postmaster at Imperial, Pa., which is located in my district. This editorial appeared in the January 1957 issue of the Postmasters Gazette, the official publication of the National Association of Postmasters:

THE NATIONAL SECRETARY'S PAGE

(By Charles E. Puskar)

Early action can be expected on postage rate legislation by the 85th Congress. Last year, when time ran out on the 84th Congress before action could be taken by the Senate on the rate bill, Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee stated that early consideration of that important legislation could be expected.

You will recall that the House of Representatives passed a postage rate bill that would increase first-class mail to 4 cents, and would increase the rates on second- and third-class mail. It was estimated that the total increase in revenue would be almost $500 million a year. The fact that the House

approved the measure by a 217 to 165 vote indicates that the 84th Congress was aware of the need for increasing postage rates.

The aggregate deficit since 1946 is over $5 billion in the Post Office Department. In other words, the national debt has been increased by postal deficits during the past 10 years in the amount of $5 billion and must eventually be paid by the taxpayers of the Nation, probably by a future generation. In effect, the users of the mail during the past 10 years have saddled future taxpayers with their postage bill.

Postmasters are especially aware of the fact that during the past 10 years, as the deficit mounted, the physical plants and the facilities were allowed to deteriorate. In spite of increasing demands for postal service by reason of an ever increasing population and business economy, facilities were not expanded and practically no new post offices were built. It is to the everlasting credit of postmasters and all post office employees, that the service was maintained at a high standard of efficiency during the past 10 years during which time the postal service practically doubled.

In the meantime the costs of mail service increased. Congress rightfully raised salaries of postal personnel and transportation costs increased proportionately. It is estimated that the deficit in 1957 under the present postage rate structure will be well over $500,000. The measure that passed the House of Representatives last year would provide an estimated additional revenue of not quite $500 million, as mentioned above. Therefore, it has been suggested that the rates should be increased above those proposed last year.

This writer does not agree with some people who believe it would be a calamity and a gross injustice upon the users of the mail, if the Post Office Department were to show a slight profit above operating costs. It is argued by some that, since all other departments of the executive branch of the Government charge the cost of operations to the Government, the Post Office Department should also operate in the red. The fallacy of that thinking was evident in the report of the House Post Office Committee last year which said in effect that the users of the mail should pay the cost of mail service.

A nickel? A new theory has been advanced in the past 2 years that first-class mail should be increased to 5 cents per ounce and that the designation "first-class" mail should mean it would be handled in the most expeditious manner in order to insure the fastest possible delivery. Under that theory, first-class mail would be transported via the fastest carrier to the city designated on the address whether by air, or surface. There would cease to be an air mail rate as such, but all first-class mail would be transported by air if earlier delivery could be made than by surface transportation. It would make it possible to guarantee 24-hour delivery of first-class mail to any point in the Nation.

It is doubtful if the commercial air lines are equipped to handle all the long haul mail at this time. However, it is an interesting theory and may eventually be considered by Congress.

It is a fact that our neighbor, Canada, charges 5 cents per ounce for first-class mail and shows a 168 percent return on that class mail, and almost without exception, the countries of the world require their postal service to operate on a pay-as-you-go basis. If Congress raised first-class mail to 4 cents per ounce, the return on that class of mail would still be less than 130 percent. It is generally agreed that it would not be feasible or practical to increase rates on second- and third-class mail to the point where that class of mail would pay its own way. Just last month, the Crowell-Collier Publishing Co. decided to discontinue publication of Collier's and Woman's Home Companion because both of those magazines with a combined circulation of 8½ million had been losing money. If rates on second- and third-class mail were increased 100 percent, the postage would not be adequate to pay the cost of delivering that class of mail, and many publishing firms would be forced out of business, according to testimony of their representatives. Therefore it is apparent that any substantial increase in postal revenue must come from first-class mail.

In recent years parcel-post rates have been increased by more than 110 percent, and postal cards and drop letters have been increased by 100 percent without great protest by the general public. With the assurance of even better mail service, new post offices where needed, and modern facilities and procedures in the postal service, it is doubtful if the postal patrons would offer general objection to paying a nickel to mail a letter. When Congress considers postage rate legislation this year, it may be well for them to take a long look at the suggestion that first-class mail be raised to 5 cents. In view of the fact that letter mail postage has not been increased during the past 25 years, that proposal does not seem too far out of line with present-day prices.

Our interest as postmasters in the postage rates is manifold. As the field managers in our great postal system, we have a deep sense of pride in our accomplishments and in the service. We are getting tired of hearing the word "deficit" in relation to the fiscal condition of our Department and we know it is high time that our great Nation provide post offices and facilities for all communities as befits the greatest government in the world. We feel that the faithful one-half million postal employees are entitled to modern working conditions and decent salaries. We want to give our patrons the best postal service in the world by being able to expand our service as demanded by increasing populations and economies, but we need additional financial allowances in order to accomplish our objective.

We hope Congress will take action within the next few months on postage rate legislation. Postmasters can help by telling their Congressmen and Senators about the disgraceful fiscal situation in the Post Office Department and asking for support of an adequate increase in postage rates.

The 168th Anniversary of the House of Representatives

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY Mr Speaker, I am happy to join with my colleagues in the House in paying tribute to Alexander Hamilton and commemorating the 200th anniversary of his birth. The occasion is of signal interest to me, as national commander of the Coast Guard League and an officer in the temporary Coast Guard Reserve, because Alexander Hamilton was the real founder of our Coast Guard.

On August 4 of this Hamilton bicentennial year, the anniversary date of the establishment by Congress of the Revenue Cutter Service, the forerunner of our present Coast Guard, the Coast Guard League with the cooperation of the United States Coast Guard, will sponsor a nationwide observance of this auspicious event. In connection with that occasion I will take the opportunity now to relate a brief history of the establishment of the Coast Guard, the first of our military type services to have been formally organized by act of Congress.

The distinguished Members of the House who spoke earlier have told of Alexander Hamilton's personal and political history, and of his appointment as our first Secretary of the Treasury. Within 3 years after taking office, Hamilton brought order and efficiency into the chaotic national finances and established a pattern of fiscal solvency that helped to carry the Nation through the critical years of its development. Through this entire period, as indeed through all of his public career, he was motivated by one major purpose—the strengthening of the Union.

Collection of revenues was one of the most difficult problems facing the first Secretary of the Treasury. During the period of British control smuggling had become a popular activity as part of the struggle to eliminate "taxation without representation." By the time the Revolution was over, smuggling had become a habit, and unless it were stopped, there was an excellent chance that the young Nation would go bankrupt.

Hamilton, therefore, sought and, on August 4, 1790, obtained from Congress authority to launch a seagoing military force to collect revenues. The Revenue Cutter Service, as the fleet was first known, consisted of "10 boats, 2 for the coasts of Massachusetts and New Hampshire; 1 for Long Island Sound; 1 for New York; 1 for the bay of Delaware; 2 for the Chesapeake—these, of course, to ply along the neighboring coasts—1 for the coasts, bays, and harbors of South Carolina; and 1 for the coasts, bays, and harbors of Georgia."

The 10 boats were cutter types—that is, heavy-keeled schooners that could carry plenty of sail for speed.

Boats of from 36- to 40-feet keel will answer the purpose, each * * * armed with swivels—

Hamilton told Congress. They cost $1,000 apiece. Thus was born the Revenue Cutter Service, and the forerunner of today's Coast Guard.

The organic act placed the new Service under the direct control of the President. It also authorized the appointment of 40 officers of military rank. This professional corps of commissioned officers were strongly urged by Hamilton in anticipation of the expansion of this small fleet both in size and function.

From the very beginning, the Coast Guard was faced with a difficult task which required great tact and judgment in dealing with the public. Hamilton's instructions of June 4, 1791, were that officers of the new Revenue Marine display activity, vigilance, and firmness, marked with moderation and good temper.

Upon these last qualities not less than the former—

He warned—

must depend the success of the establishment.

Officers must always keep in mind that their countrymen are freemen, and as such are impatient of everything that bears the least mark of a domineering spirit. They must refrain with the most guarded circumspection from whatever has the semblance of haughtiness, rudeness, or insult. They must overcome difficulties by cool and temperate perseverance in their duty and moderation rather than by vehemence or violence. This is still very good advice for law-enforcement officers.

To protect seaborne commerce from the hazards of rocks and shoals, Hamilton also proposed the establishment of a Lighthouse Service. This amounted to a proposal that the Federal Government accept responsibility for safety at sea—a doctrine which has become a fundamental peacetime mission of the Coast Guard. On August 7, 1789, President Washington approved the act of Congress which incorporated lighthouses and other aids to navigation into a Federal system, launching the National Government upon its course of guarding the coast in the interest of safety and security afloat.

In 1804 Hamilton's career was cut short when he was fatally wounded in a duel with a political adversary, Aaron Burr. But he had already left a profound and permanent impression on his country's history.

The Coast Guard is, in a very real sense, one of Hamilton's legacies to our Nation. This service has come a long way since the days of the original revenue cutters. Compared with those 10 small vessels, the Coast Guard today operates 178 cutters and buoy tenders of the larger types in addition to many smaller craft. Its fixed and rotary-wing aircraft number 126, and a total of 38,389 aids to navigation are maintained in the United States, its Territories, possessions, and overseas military bases. It is a fitting testimonial to a man who, perhaps more than any other of his time, understood the true importance of a maritime protective force to our country's economic future.

Mr. Speaker, I would now like to invite every Member of the House to take part with the Coast Guard League, the Coast Guard, and their home communities in the patriotic exercises to be held on August 4 of this year in celebration of the 167th birthday of the United States Coast Guard. As national commander of the Coast Guard League I can assure you of a cordial welcome.

New Jersey Republican Labor Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 4, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Republican Party in New Jersey in the years that have passed has made a record of forward-looking and progressive legislation that would be helpful to labor in the State of New Jersey. It may not have always done all that in the opinion of some should have been done, yet, it has been of a character that establishes it as worthwhile.

In this connection, I now wish to set forth a résumé of the accomplishments of the Republican legislature of New Jersey in the field of labor during the past 3 years. I realize that this will only give a part of the splendid record that has been made by the Republican Party in the State of New Jersey, in the years that have passed, but, it is sufficient to show that the Republican Party in New Jersey continues to be helpful and desirous of serving the best interests of the working men and working women of the State of New Jersey.

In presenting the New Jersey Republican labor story, it is a pleasure to record that through Republican efforts in the legislature and by a number of its Republican governors, New Jersey ranks among the foremost States in the Nation in modern, progressive labor legislation. The most recent improvement in the beneficial, forward-looking New Jersey labor laws was enacted in 1956 by the Republican legislature. In direct cooperation with leaders of labor and business a committee of Republicans completely revised the Workmen's Compensation Act. A new wage and compensation schedule was adopted. Maximums for temporary total disability were increased to $40 per week.

Under this new law the maximum for permanent total disability was raised from $30 to $40 per week while the maximum for permanent partial disability was raised to $35.

The maximum compensation awarded to widows with or without children on the death of a husband was raised to $40 per week. In Pennsylvania, the maximum for a widow with 3 children is $37.50 and for the widow alone is $33.75. In New York for a widow alone, a maximum of $24 per week is allowed. If she has 3 children it rises to the New Jersey maximum of $40 per week.

The Republican legislators also provided for increases in the duration of benefits for the loss of vision. Funeral allowances were increased to $400. A lump-sum payment of up to $1,000 was made available to a widow who remarries before her benefit period is up. Another new feature of the act is the provision that an innocent employee injured through the horseplay of another is entitled to compensation. Further, employees must now repair or replace prosthetic devices broken or destroyed as a result of a compensable accident.

The entire liberalization of the workmen's compensation law took a constructive group of Republican legislators 4 months of steady work. It was originated, studied, and adopted as a Republican measure.

During the previous year, in 1955, the Republican legislature in New Jersey adopted one of the country's most liberal formulas for unemployment and temporary disability benefits by raising maximum benefits to $35 per week.

In order to qualify for the present maximum, a New Jersey worker need have earned an average pay of $55.01 per week. In Pennsylvania, a worker can qualify for $35 unemployment compensation only if he has earned $66.38, and in New York $67. Put another way, for a weekly gross wage of $55.01 in New Jersey, a worker may receive up to $35 per week as compensation but could only receive $29 in Pennsylvania and $30 in New York. Under Michigan's benefit formula, a worker would have to earn $75.51 a week in order to qualify for that State's maximum which is $30 per week.

Another advantage to the workingman in this Republican-sponsored program is the financing of the fund out of which payments are made. This fund is raised by a dual tax on employer and employee alike. However, the employee's tax remains stable, at ¼ of 1 percent of his first $3,000 of salary. Should an employer experience extensive personnel unemployment at his plant or should the general level of the State fund go down, the employers' rate of contribution automatically goes up to a maximum of 3.6 percent of payroll. Thus, it is the employer, not the employee, who bears the brunt of fluctuating unemployment in the State. The covered employment payroll in New ersey for 1956 amounted to $6,700,000,000.

Again, the Republican legislature did this splendid and worthwhile job of liberalizing unemployment and temporary disability benefits.

Perhaps the most significant achievement for the workers of New Jersey within the past 2 years, in the unemployment compensation field, was the passage of a Republican bill decentralizing payment of unemployment checks. Prior to the enactment of this law, a claimant reported to his local employment office, certified to his eligibility for unemployment benefits and left the office empty-handed. Their certification was then mailed to the Trenton office, and after a prolonged wait of several weeks, a check signed by the State treasurer was forwarded to them. Under the new law, when a claimant reports to his or her local unemployment office, they reecive a check that day, before they leave, for their past week of unemployment.

This law, enabling unemployed persons to receive their checks after a short waiting period—when the unemployed worker most needs the money—was passed by a straight Republican vote—two-thirds of the assembly and the Senate—over a Democratic governor's veto and strong objections.

Over the years, Republican legislators have provided for most eventualities. They created a cushion on which the unemployed worker could rest when his or her job was not there. This cushion is unemployment compensation, and a worker need only apply and fulfill certain minimal requirements to obtain it. At the same time, while they are receiving their unemployment compensation checks, their State employment service will help them find a new job.

New Jersey's working men and women have other cushions. If a worker is injured during the course of his or her work, he or she is entitled to workmen's

compensation. Their medical expenses will be paid; they will be compensated for their loss of wages; and, after being back on the job, they will continue to receive payments for their injury and disability.

Another remarkable achievement for the workingman and workingwoman in New Jersey is the existence of the temporary disability benefits law. Only four States in the United States have such a law. Initiated by Republican Governor Driscoll and introduced by a Republican State senator in 1948, this law set up a system of weekly benefits payable to workers suffering off-the-job illness or accident and hence not covered by the Workmen's Compensation Act. Total benefits paid under this program in 1955 amounted to $35,500,000.

New Jersey's accident or disability coverage goes even further. If a worker is going home at night and is injured, for example, while getting off the bus and cannot report for work, he or she may qualify for the temporary disability benefits—and this quite apart from their private, civil right to sue the bus company.

When a New Jersey worker is ready and able to go to work, he or she knows they have protection on the job. Their State government has passed compulsory laws requiring businesses to operate under conditions of health, safety, and sanitation. They know that, under the law, they have a right to time off to eat a meal. The worker knows there are special laws protecting his womenfolk and his children while on the job. He can rest assured they will not work under substandard conditions at the whim of an unscrupulous employer. He knows, too, if his wife or anyone else in the family, including himself, does any work at home for an employer that this homework comes under strict regulation. And he knows, above all, that this State backs up these laws with inspection and penalties for violation.

In addition, New Jersey's workingman and workingwoman has the protection of their State in the regulation of wages. When they are paid by check, the State requires some guarantee. It also aids in their collection and makes provision for such things as frequency of payment when a worker is deceased.

Republican legislators take particular credit for guaranteeing to a worker the right to join a union. This is a constitutional right, not just a privilege which may be modified with a shift in the legislature, but a fundamental right which stands or falls with the supreme power of the State of New Jersey. This right, the worker knows, is further buttressed by an anti-injunction act preventing abuse in the issuing of court injunctions in a labor dispute. And finally, the worker knows that where their union and their company cannot reach agreement, the State lends a helping hand through its mediation board.

During the years since the enactment of the labor legislation, Republicans have consistently supported and fought for liberalization of benefits, to their present maximums of $40 and $35 per week, and a lowering of qualifying conditions for such benefits.

From morning to night, New Jersey's workingman and workingwoman has protection on the job, in their work conditions or when there is unavoidable accident; off the job when he or she suffers accident or illness; and when he or she lose their job. The worker in New Jersey is guaranteed the constitutional right to fight for better conditions for their job, and the agency he or she has chosen to achieve this—their union—is protected against paralyzing court injunctions. New Jersey goes even further and demonstrates its interest, as an impartial mediator, in the promotion of labor-management harmony, by affording the services of a State board of mediation.

These are all beneficial gains for the workingman and workingwoman and they have all come about through the leadership and high-caliber performance of the Republican Party. Thus, it will be seen that New Jersey's 2½ million working men and women have good reason to look favorably upon the Republican Party because of its numerous achievements in promoting the welfare of labor.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

"Not by Bread or Bombs Alone"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the great editors of our time is Palmer Hoyt, of the Denver Post. Because of his personal independence, his freedom from any rabid partisanship, and because of the vigor of his views, he is recognized throughout the land as a voice of liberalism and courage. Mr. Hoyt is anchored to no narrow provincialism and to no deep-rooted prejudices. He sees the world realistically and in terms of urgent human needs. He is objective and fair.

For these reasons I know Members of the Senate will be interested in a scholarly and able address which Palmer Hoyt delivered in Washington on March 4, 1957, at a conference called by the American Association for the United Nations.

Title of Mr. Hoyt's address is "Not by Bread and Bombs Alone."

In this thoughtful speech, Palmer Hoyt answers the recent sweeping criticisms of the United Nations voiced by the senior Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND]. Mr. Hoyt acknowledges the validity of some of Senator KNOWLAND's criticisms. He does not attempt to conceal or hide them. But he pleads for a change of emphasis. He points out that such criticisms are carping, indeed, when contrasted with some of the magnificent achievements of the United Nations as the only world forum where men may talk rather than waging war.

Palmer Hoyt also emphasizes that skeptics once predicted the downfall of the United States, especially after its dreadful Civil War. But the United States has survived and moved hopefully forward to greatness among nations. So, too, will the United Nations endure and help to achieve peace among men.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that excerpts from the speech made here in Washington by this illustrious editor from the Rocky Mountains be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"NOT BY BREAD OR BOMBS ALONE"

(Address by Palmer Hoyt, publisher, the Denver Post, March 4, 1957)

* * * * *

Because of man's dream of peace and because of the vital necessity of the dream's fulfillment, the United Nations remains the most cussed and discussed organization in the world.

The United Nations is in a most unusual position. Its enemies charge it with qualities and potentials it can never possess. Its friends claim for it virtues and functions it can never own.

For example, the United Nations is not a world government nor will it ever become one.

The United Nations is not a final instrument for preserving the peace, nor will it ever be.

But the United Nations is an operating union of 80 countries wherein daily the principal problem of our time—peace—is talked over again and again with the ears of the world at attention.

And it is a fact that the United Nations has successfully halted wars, delayed wars, and helped to terminate them as in Palestine, Kashmir, and the Middle East, and it continues to attempt to settle disputes between sovereign countries.

I do not conceive it to be my mission here to document all the hits, runs or errors of the United Nations.

It is my purpose, instead, to warn this association that the United Nations is now confronted with a new danger—call it the "Peril of Paradox."

I thus direct myself specifically to a recent speech of the Honorable WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, the senior Senator from California and a member of the United States delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations. For in that speech, buried in a substantial overburden of high-sounding talk, is to be found a vein of pure political ore known as an "issue."

What did Mr. KNOWLAND say? He said: "There are five major defects in the functioning of the United Nations. If not corrected now, any one of them could result in the United Nations going the way of the League of Nations." Mr. KNOWLAND listed the defects as follows:

"1. The abuse of the veto power by the Soviet Union.

"2. A growing 'double standard' of international morality.

"3. The increasing trend to bloc voting.

"4. An expanding tendency to interfere in the internal affairs of member nations.

"5. Unwillingness of many of the 80 members to equitably share the monetary costs and other obligations of the United Nations and its related activities while insisting on a full and equal voice in the making of decisions, the burdens of which must be assumed by others."

* * * * *

First, the veto:

There has never been any doubt about the Soviet Union's abuse of the veto power in the Security Council.

A good example of such abuse took place on February 21. Then the Soviet Union vetoed a resolution on Kashmir. That resolution would have dispatched the Security Council's president, Gunnar V. Jarring, of Sweden, to Kashmir to offer his services in mediating that dangerous dispute.

The Soviet Union cast its 80th veto against such a resolution. Her reasons were so fantastic as to be obviously absurd. No more tortured thinking to disguise the malicious mischief of the Soviet Union could be conceived than the thinking of the Russians in the case of Kashmir.

* * * * *

The abused veto device in the Security Council is a handicap to the equitable dispatch of collective security. But to suggest that its existence foretells the end of the United Nations, without public mention of achievements despite the veto, is an exercise in half-truth, deliberate or otherwise.

Now what of this double standard of morality that Mr. KNOWLAND is worried about? Such double standards, though deplorable, show up soon enough in the glaring publicity that centers on the delegates of 80 nations in New York. And when they are practiced, they become part of the record upon which delegates and their countries must stand. That was dramatically evident in the voting against Russia on Hungary. No delegates were comfortable even in abstaining on that vote.

No one embraces a double standard in international morality. But the United Nations' condemnation of Russia's murderous conduct in Hungary, short of sanctions, was not without impact—particularly in satellite and so-called neutral states. To suggest that the U. N. failed in its responsibility or compromised its morality by not imposing sanctions on the Soviet Union, misreads the realities of both world politics and world economics.

It is true that bloc voting, under the system that gives the vote of all 80 states equal weight, raises problems. But the record shows that the United States has continued to command support on all important votes; that United States influence today is as strong as, if not stronger than it was a year ago—before 20 new nations were admitted.

* * * * *

But there is little that is any more pernicious or extraordinary about the Bandung or the Asian-African bloc in the General Assembly of the United Nations than there is in the southern bloc, or in the semiarid western bloc, or the New England bloc in the United States Senate. If it is deplorable that nations of the world assembled vote their regional, racial, and narrow economic interests, may it not be said that similar parochialism plagues the parliamentary effectiveness of our National Legislature?

The important thing is not that there are blocs, but what they stand for when their votes are counted. If and when blocs of nations within the United Nations coalesce around principles or objectives alien to the ideology and purposes of the charter, the United Nations will decline in vitality and die. That has not happened, and is not likely to happen—unless the American people are diverted from a firm faith and understanding of it by fake fears or distorted demands for reform.

Mr. KNOWLAND professes alarm about the United Nations expanding tendency to interfere in the internal affairs of the member nations. He cites the case of South Africa. The official position of the United States Government at the United Nations was that South Africa's treatment of its colored population—deporable and wicked though such treatment has been and continues to be—is still only a domestic concern. But the continuing challenge to the U. N. insofar as interference with the internal affairs of member states, is concerned, remains this: when does a matter cease to be one essentially of domestic concern and, instead, threatens the peace of the world? That, too, is a problem for inquiry and debate within the United Nations, and hardly one to be disposed of by Mr. KNOWLAND's preference for neatly blocked out preconceptions.

It has occurred to some that the General Assembly debate on the Algerian problem

was perhaps the most timely and wholesome development possible from the viewpoint of both France and Algeria. For this time, rather than pleading charter immunity and walking out, the French marched into the Assembly Hall with a substantial outline and promise for reform not only in Algeria, but in all of her African possessions.

True, the French considered Algeria wholly an internal problem. True, the Algerians and Arabs are something less than joyful in their failure to win a crushing Assembly resolution in their behalf.

But there again, was not the collective wisdom of the leaders of 80 nations being brought to bear with sensitivity and intelligence on a boiling issue that had produced unspeakable crimes and horrible agony in the sands of the Sahara thousands of miles away? Would the Senator from California ignore the quieting effect of this action and condemn it only as an expanding tendency of assumed U. N. jurisdiction in areas of action beyond its authority?

Finally, we come to the point that some of the member states, in Mr. KNOWLAND's view, are unwilling to share equitably the "monetary costs and other obligations * * * while insisting on a full and equal voice in the making of decisions." In some ways the statistics are even more annoying, at first glance, than the generalizations. The United States puts up a third of the budget, which was $48.3 million in 1956, but has only one vote. The 5 great powers contribute 70 percent of the budget, but have fewer votes than the 6 Arab States. Our share of the net budget in 1956 was $16.1 million. The total bill to us (including the specialized agencies) is equal to what 10 hours of World War II cost us.

The fact is that were the United States to contribute dues according to comparative wealth among all member nations, as United Nations standards require, our bill would be 40 rather than 33 percent. But as to the equal voting rights of great and small states, let it be recalled that the sovereignty of participating states is no less fiercely asserted in the U. N. than it was when the American Founding Fathers conceived the United States Senate in the same pattern of compromise to assuage the fears of the sovereign American States.

I do not take up for critical comment each point in Mr. KNOWLAND's February 11 speech at Georgetown University simply to take issue with him as a person. The issue here is much greater than the views or fortunes of Mr. KNOWLAND. It is this:

Is the moral unity which, as Mr. Eichelberger has written, "has since survived the most revolutionary changes of any decade in history," strong enough to stand against an all-out attack within the United States? I do not know that such an attack is inevitable. But I believe it is entirely possible.

President Eisenhower has, in recent months, performed with maximum attention to the obligations and opportunities of this country's United Nations membership. He has done that at times under very heavy adverse pressure. But the result has been remarkable unanimity within the U. N. General Assembly behind American leadership, notwithstanding that the United States position has been in the very eye of the hurricane blowing across the Mediterranean.

In the midst of this grave test of the President's resoluteness in behalf of the United Nations, we find the President's own Republican appointee from the United States Senate peddling what to me is dangerously oversimplified and distorted critical comment on the U. N.

I had been under the impression that Mr. KNOWLAND, although often critical of our foreign policy, had endorsed the United Nations at least in principle. Certainly, that much was implied when he accepted appointment as delegate by President Eisenhower, whose devotion to the U. N. is indisputable. But my first impression was soon shown to have been false.

* * * * *

In fact, the Denver Post said on December 2, 1956, that it was time then "to remove Senator KNOWLAND * * * from the United States delegation to the United Nations." I believe that even more strongly now. We said then: "It is the duty of a United States representative to explain, expound, and promote the official American viewpoint on world issues." And we pointed out that "a representative does not live up to that duty when he spends his spare time using his prestige to advocate schemes of his own which are contrary to the policy to which he is supposed to be devoted."

The issue then and now is simple: The Eisenhower administration sees the U. N. has a highly useful device to enable countries to talk about their differences instead of fighting over them. Senator KNOWLAND seems to have the idea that the U. N. should be shrunk to an organization of like-minded countries which could work together as allies to oppose countries of unlike minds.

Thus, may I suggest a fundamental syllogism: United States support of the United Nations is essential to its success; American public opinion in support of the United Nations is essential to favorable participation by our country; anything that alloys the base of understanding and approval by our people undermines the chances of the United Nations success.

President Eisenhower championed the cause of collective security and the United Nations long before he became President. His Presidency coincides and is in tune with popular opinion on this subject. But it may not be ever thus. For that reason alone, a divisive and destructive movement against the U. N. within our own Nation is a sword at the throat of this world organization—indeed, at the throat of mankind.

In his speech at Georgetown, the Senator asked this revealing question: "Does the record of the United Nations warrant a continuation of our policy and our support?

Then Mr. KNOWLAND, having felt impelled to raise the question, made what I would describe as an anti-United Nations speech, clothed thinly in the garments of constructive criticism.

I believe our influence within the U. N. would be immeasurably stronger, and our position in the world would be infinitely better understood, if our delegates to that body spoke in greater harmony both inside the United Nations and outside it. For effective American leadership in the U. N. demands a real communion of principles and objectives on the part of those representing us.

Consider, if you will, what patience and forbearance have achieved recently within the U. N., where impulse and oversimplified nostrums have failed.

Slowly the world is coming to understand, for example, that perhaps a single United Nations ship, patrolling the Gulf of Aqaba, is a more effective symbol of restraint against aggression and belligerency than a mighty armada not thus sponsored, that a lightly armed composite of troops from small nations, symbolic of order and peace, is a more formidable force against violent settlement of international disputes, than mankind dared imagine only a few years ago.

Recall, if you will, the swiftness with which some 6,000 men were assigned by 11 member states and flown into the trouble zones of Egypt. Manpower for that mission was offered by 21 countries. More is available, on similar terms, if more is needed. Charter provisions which were intended to put armed contingents at the disposal of the Security Council have long been voided by disagreement between East and West. But that unhappy fact had no effect on the ease or speed with which the emergency force began to occupy the soil of Egypt just 10 days after the General Assembly passed an enabling resolution in New York.

Thus, in one period of less than 2 weeks, more was achieved in behalf of international policing short of war than in all the previous period of recorded history. On January 22, 1917, President Wilson called for a force greater than "* * * the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected, that no nation, no probable combination of nations could face or withstand it."

Mr. Wilson could not foresee the age of fission or imagine the day when security would become the child of terror. The system he envisaged four decades ago was not workable then, nor is it now. But in its place, we have substituted the concept of a virtually unarmed force, smybolizing the majesty and authority of formalized world opinion, intervening at sources of recent or potential violence and standing by while men pursue settlement of their differences by peaceful means. This may indeed prove to be the next monumental step in the evolution of a United Nations with peace.

The veto stood for years as an artificial barrier against the universality of United Nations membership. But here again the cumulative pressure of world opinion, stirred by that awful foreboding which leavens all knowledge of modern science and technology, pushed over and around that barrier. Last year 16 nations were added to the United Nations. This year 4.

As for expense to the taxpayers of America: For any man to object to the cost of the whole United Nations to the United States, in the face of what the U. N. Refugee and Work Agency alone has done to ease the tensions among the 900,000 Palestinian refugees in the Middle East, is to me incredible shortsightedness.

Now, we all know of the United Nations' major and minor defects. And we are not unaware of its failures—failures which, by the way, reflect as much the weaknesses of the member states as any structural faults in the United Nations itself. I have heard it put this way: Some charges leveled at the U. N. cannot be denied, but they spring from the world in which we live of states unequal in power, wealth and culture, but all claiming equal sovereignty, each pursuing an independent policy and each judging its own national interest, and each entertaining its own opinion about the characteristics of a more perfect world.

But those defects and imperfections will not soon, or perhaps ever, be corrected by illuminating them with unfair emphasis and casual distortion for whatever purpose—not excluding that of political ambition.

The United Nations is nothing, nor will it ever be anything except a gymnasium for multilingual exercises in diplomatic patois, without universal and profound belief in its philosophical importance to world peace. Every new nation, each successive social order not excepting our own, must overcome "double standards" of morality as indeed we did in the blood and tears of 1864. The relationships of our own Central Government to the sovereign States and to the sovereign people has evolved over a period of more than 168 years of constitutional trial and error, during which the interests and rights of the few and of the parts were constantly adjudicated with interests and rights of many and of the whole. At any time the prophets of doom could have foreseen (and did) the collapse of the Republic unless evils were remedied, not tomorrow or the day beyond, but now. And now was a long time ago.

The peoples of ancient Europe only now, after thousands of years, are able to make tentative explorations into a system that challenges the historic bloc thinking of na-

tional groups. Self-interest, greed, inherited and imbedded suspicions, national characteristics and centuries of habit and tradition make bloc voting within the United Nations inevitable. The astonishing thing is not that bloc voting exists, but that it has already been dissolved so often and so completely in the crucible of applied reason and by the test of revealed truth.

I say the United Nations has enjoyed magnificent success notwithstanding organizational flaws and fundamental weaknesses. I say that triumphs of peace over violence that can be ascribed to its good offices deserve at least as much illumination as defects which, when tested in actual performance, become more theoretical than real.

I believe the people of the United States, and certainly those subscribing to the mission of this association must be alert for critics of the United Nations who would kill it while curing it. Such critics are entitled to a presumption of pure or sincere motive. But they can expect a fight from those who believe with all their hearts and with all their minds, as I do, that the United Nations we have is still the best and perhaps the last good hope for human survival.

Address Delivered by Hon. Edward J. Thye, of Minnesota, Before Annual Meeting of Rural Electric Cooperative Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of the address I delivered at the 15th annual meeting of the Rural Electric Cooperative Association in Chicago on March 7, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. EDWARD J. THYE, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MINNESOTA, AT THE 15TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION, CHICAGO, ILL., MARCH 7, 1957

It is a pleasure and an honor for me to join with you on this occasion of the 15th annual meeting of the Rural Electric Cooperative Association.

It was suggested that I use as a topic the title "A Senator Looks at the Rural Electrification Program." It is one thing for a United States Senator to look at such a program but it is more significant to determine what a Senator sees in such a program. In order to see anything clearly one needs light. This applies literally to objects and figuratively when applied to a theory, a policy, or a program.

As one who has lived through the transition from the kerosene lamp to light by electricity, I am firm in my conviction that the electrification of rural America stands as one of the most dramatic episodes in the history of our Nation's social and economic progress.

Many of you in this assembly here today were pioneers in this vast program. I have worked with many of you in the development of rural electrification. On this occasion it is tempting to devote the time alloted to me by recalling my associations with you during past years. However, I shall consider three main avenues of discussion:

First, a brief look into the past so that we may determine how far we have come along the road of progress.

Second, consideration of the present status of the rural electrification program.

Third, and most important, a look into the future to see what new horizons have opened up as a result of our past effort and the advent of atomic power.

I can recall the days when rural America lived in the glimmer of the kerosene lantern. The electric light was looked upon as the property of the city residents in my boyhood. It was in 1882 that Thomas A. Edison built his famous Pearl Street plant in New York. Twenty-five years later electrical current could not be distributed more than 10 miles from the generating station. In 1935 after 53 years of electricity's development only 10.9 percent of all farms in the United States had electric service. Today over 95 percent of our farms are enjoying the benefits of electricity. This record of development is a tribute to your efforts and planning and to the entire REA program. No other nation in the world has accomplished as much in a comparable period of time. This development has been a major factor in giving us the highest standard of living in the world.

As we look over this past period of time we have come to realize that the United States has been blessed with a rich assortment of natural resources. Our resources have been developed by a freedom loving and industrious people. Although our population is small in comparision with the teeming millions throughout the world, we have established world leadership in the efficient production of food and factory products. We have been able to make this progress through the use of machinery which has multiplied the productive manpower by many many times our actual population. According to one estimate, machinery supplies every worker in the United States with the equivalent of 279 mechanical helpers.

To keep these machines working for us, power in vast quantities is needed. Every month brings new records in demand for electric energy. Last year the electric industry, of which the rural electric cooperatives are a part, sold an estimated 529 billion kilowatt-hours more of energy than was sold in the preceding year. In the 10 years from 1946–56, sales of electric energy increased 177 percent. These figures refer to the growing power needs of America as a whole. The same sharp upward trend in power requirements appears in rural areas. A recent report of the Rural Electrification Administration shows that borrowing systems sold nearly 15 percent more power in 1956 than they sold in 1955. Farmers are continually using more power as an agricultural production tool. Ever since the REA electric loan program was established rural power consumption has grown at a rate that has astounded even its most optimistic supporters. Today REA financed systems alone serve nearly 4½ million rural consumers.

This growth of electric power has completely changed rural living in the United States. It has produced both social and economic changes. To list these changes would consume more time than I could possibly take. In general terms, it has increased production and at the same time, eased the burden of farm work. It has brought modern appliances into the farm homes, making the farm more attractive to youth.

We must keep this in mind as we consider our present plant capacity and operations. For 1957 alone, the electric industry as a whole has budgeted $4.8 billion of capital expenditures. This is nearly 28 percent more than was spent by electric utilities last year. Approximately 46 percent of this year's budget is earmarked for generation, as compared to 39 percent in 1956. During fiscal 1956, REA loans to electric borrowers totaled about $190 million. For other recent fiscal years, REA electric loan totals were relatively stable: $167½ million in 1955; $167 million in 1954; and $165 million in 1953. When we are considering these figures we must also point out the success of the electric industry to date in holding down costs as compared to many other sectors of our economy. REA co-ops have made a significant contribution in holding the line on power costs. This is especially important in farm areas where rates were once prohibitive. You who have worked with the rural electrification program have reason to be proud of the pioneer work REA-financed systems did in cutting construction costs. Many of the innovations which you developed have since been adopted by the electric industry.

Many technological advances in the electric power industry have increased efficiency and helped keep down costs. To cite only one: coal consumption per kilowatt-hour of steam generated power dropped to a new low of 0.93 pound during 1956. This compares to 1.29 in 1946 and represents a substantial improvement over the 10-year period. If only new and modern plants were included in the figure even greater improvement would be apparent.

Today we need a renewed effort on the part of all groups to hold the line against power costs in the face of inflationary pressures. All electric utilities, whether big or little, public or private, commercial or nonprofit, must look for ways to save. One way to do this is through improved management and long-range planning to avoid waste and to get maximum benefits from new construction. Best use must be made of available power supplies and the greatest good for the largest number must be our yardstick in using our natural resources to develop power. Our future power needs and the problems involved in meeting them are too great to permit complacency on the part of the power industry. The job is too big for any one group, whether government, cooperatives, or power companies to do alone. What is needed is the best effort of all groups working together toward the common objective of meeting consumers' needs adequately.

Dissension and suspicion have divided various groups of the electric industry at different times and places. But the time has passed when the industry can afford the luxury of permitting prejudice and suspicion between public and private power and between companies and cooperatives to interfere with the efficient overall development of our national power resources. Unwarranted sniping at justified public-power projects or blind support of unjustified Government power developments are equally wasteful of money and energies better spent in productive effort. The wise and prudent use of our power resources is of far greater importance than the aims or desires of any one individual or group of individuals.

The situation today demands that industry should make concentrated efforts to develop and pool our resources wisely and to integrate facilities where this will cut costs and assure firm power supplies. There is evidence that this approach has worked well in a number of instances.

It is my understanding that the REA-financed generation and transmission borrowers which operated their systems on a completely self-contained basis have experienced power costs considerably higher than those which had worked out integration arrangements. Some systems which started out on a self-contained basis have found it advantageous to integrate and interchange with neighboring utilities. As I see it, any

system faced with the necessity of increasing its power supplies would be well advised to look carefully into the advantages which would result from a pooling arrangement with a neighboring system. Whether such pooling arrangements go by the name of interconnection or integration is not too important. The important thing is to see that the rights and interests of both cooperatives and companies are properly safeguarded and that consumers benefit from good service and reduced costs. I believe that a climate is developing in the industry favorable to such an efficient utilization of our power resources.

In my own State of Minnesota, for example, a group of REA cooperatives and three power companies got together and worked out a joint plan for distributing Missouri River power in order to obtain the most economic arrangement. There are other instances of this type of cooperative enterprise which have produced good results.

We have now reviewed past accomplishment and have considered the present status of the rural electrification program. Now we must ask ourselves—What does the future hold in store? Today our Nation faces a challenge as great as ever in the history of the Nation. In a world divided between the free and the slave, the United States must maintain its position of world leadership for the cause of freedom. Our job is to keep the light of freedom burning for all to see. That light must penetrate into the darkest corners of the world in the constant struggle against world domination by Communist powers. Much of our success will depend upon what use we make of our power resources in the years ahead. Our entire agriculture production and our industrial output is geared to power.

The key to success in future years will be wise planning and management which has as its foundation the economic welfare of the ultimate user of electric power.

Cooperatives as well as local, State, and Federal agencies and private companies must become increasingly alert in planning to meet the long term needs for power.

This type of approach is reflected in REA's third annual survey of construction plans and financial needs. This recently completed study shows that borrowing systems plan to spend $967 million during the 5-year period beginning July 1, 1957, for electric facilities to serve rural areas. Results of this survey reflect a considerable upward revision in the plans of rural electric systems as reported in an earlier survey completed last year. Present plans call for investing about 28 percent of this amount in generation and transmission facilities. To help finance the new construction, the rural electric systems plan to apply for about $676 million in REA loans in the next 5 years. This includes $143 million in loan applications planned by power-type borrowers.

I have examined those survey figures very carefully in my office. I am convinced that they point to a need for providing REA with additional electrification loan funds for this year and for the next year too. As nearly as I can determine the need will amount to somewhere between $150 and $225 million more during the next 18 months, than the rural electric systems themselves anticipated in the earlier surveys. When these latest construction survey figures have been refined and translated into terms of additional loan fund dollars, and officially presented to the Congress for action, I feel confident that the Congress will act speedily and favorably to meet the need. As a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee I can pledge my support for the additional amount which I believe will be needed.

From REA Administrator David A. Hamil on up to President Eisenhower himself, the present national administration has demonstrated on many occasions, its confidence in and support for the rural electrification program. Both the administration and the Congress have given their full support to the program and I have utmost confidence that this support will be forthcoming to the maximum degree necessary to meet the need created by the current upswing in rural use of electric power.

The planned construction of additional generating and transmission capacity by Federal and other public agencies is essential, if we are to maintain adequate supplies of electric energy for our farms and factories.

In planning for the future we must also recognize and develop the full use of atomic power for commercial use. The development of atomic energy opens up another exciting chapter in the history of power development. It will prove to be just as revolutionary as Thomas Edison's first plant in 1882.

It represents to us a new challenge. Congress appropriated to the Atomic Energy Commission the sum of $25 million to be spent in research and development of this new type of power. I believe that it bodes well for the future of nuclear power in the United States that in promoting its production, our Government is following a pattern of cooperation between private enterprise and Government assistance. With big and small power organizations, including a number of REA borrowers, actively working on development projects with the Atomic Energy Commission, I have no doubt that the dream of putting nuclear energy to work on the farms of America will become a practical fact. Substantial progress has been made toward developing small nuclear reactors suitable for supplying rural power systems. We all must realize that it is going to take time before atomically produced electricity can hope to effect savings in areas where conventional fuels are abundant and relatively cheap. Our tendency as humans is to become impatient with progress or what seems to be the lack of progress.

The danger in viewing something as revolutionary as nuclear power is to assume that everything can be accomplished overnight. Success or failure of any program cannot be measured in terms of days, months, or even years in some cases. In looking back over the past as we have done—who can categorically state that the development of electric power came too fast or too slow? The important thing is that it has come during your lifetime and mine and it has produced comforts, safety and a way of life undreamed of in 1882. Wise action on the part of the Congress, the administration, electric cooperatives, and private utilities can bring forth a program which will be most beneficial to the entire Nation.

Our future success as a nation will become dependent upon the orderly and patient research, development, and construction of nuclear-energy plants.

Also looking to the future I know that you are wondering if there will be an increase in the interest rate on REA loans. I can say that as one Member of the Senate, I would not favor an increase in the interest rates. I don't even know whether this question will even come before the Congress. I would believe that a proposal to increase interest rates would not be approved.

It is true that currently the cost of money to the Government is substantially above 2 percent. It is equally true that for a number of years since the 2 percent rate was established by the Congress the cost of money to the Government was below 2 percent.

Some few may label the present spread between the cost of money to the Government and the 2 percent interest rate on REA loans as a subsidy. If it is a subsidy, it is one of the most worthwhile subsidies that our Government has become involved in. We know what the rural electrification has meant to the progress of our Nation. Government loan dollars alone, could not have accomplished this. Into the vast change that rural electrification is bringing in our way of rural life has been poured something of far greater value than all of the loan dollars put together. I speak of the tireless energy, the boundless faith, the unswerving determination and the wholehearted loyalty of millions of farm families that have brought this dream of rural electrification to reality. In return the United States has received not only dollars in return but it has also received a vastly expanded and improved agricultural economy.

I know this is so, because I am a Minnesota farmer—one who has kept pace step by step with the advance of rural electrification since its inception a generation ago.

All of us here have had the privilege and honor of participating actively in a program which has lifted our rural America from an age of darkness into an age of light. Our present program is strong and vital. The future presents new horizons of unpredictable progress and growth.

Toward a New Immigration Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article prepared by me which appeared in the Reporter magazine of March 7, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOWARD A NEW IMMIGRATION POLICY
(By Senator CLIFFORD P. CASE)

The flood of refugees from Hungary following the uprising in that country last fall has forced us to focus our attention on our overall immigration policies. There is a fairly general feeling of dissatisfaction about our immigration laws and practices. But there is less agreement on what ought to be done and still less about how to go about accomplishing it.

No one suggests that we could, or should, admit to the United States everyone who would like to come here. The problem, then, is one of limitation and, unavoidably, selection. I suppose no one would quarrel with the general proposition that the best interests of the United States, both domestically and in our relations with other countries, and basic fairness to individual human beings should be our guides in determining the numbers to be admitted and the criteria for their admission. But beyond that point there are no easy answers. Attorney General Brownell spoke accurately when he said:

"I am frank to state that it is extremely difficult to devise any system which is in the best interests of the country, is considered fair by other countries, has readily definable standards, is manageable, and does not leave too much to any one person or group's discretion."

Ever since the early 1920's the national-origins quota system has governed the selection of immigrants to this country. I believe this system has never been, and is not now, in the best interests of the United States or fair to the individuals affected. Secretary Dulles had this to say about the matter: "* * * honorable persons willing and eager

to make their homes in the United States, know that they cannot do so except after a wait of many years, while other persons similarly situated but living in more favored countries, can do so without delay. The impact of this situation is felt in our relationship with friendly nations every day."

I am confident that eventually the defects in the national-origins quota system, and its unfairness, will be generally recognized and that we will abandon it. But I do not believe that either Congress or the country is yet ready to take this step, in considerable part because of the difficulty in agreeing on an alternative.

Therefore, I fully support the two major amendments which President Eisenhower has suggested to Congress to the McCarran-Walter Act—our basic immigration statute.

These changes would:

Base quotas on the 1950 instead of the 1920 census figures. This would raise the number of quota immigrants admissible each year by 65,000.

Permit the redistribution of quotas presently unused by such countries as Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany among nationals of other European countries on a first-come basis, giving effect to provisions of existing law for preference to persons with skills needed in this country and those having close relatives already here. This amendment would increase the number of persons admitted to this country by an additional 60,000 annually.

In practical effect these two changes would permit the admission each year of up to 125,000 additional immigrants from the European area, without regard to their national origin. This is highly significant in view of the fact that the total number now admitted from that area under national-origins quotas is less than 100,000 annually. Therefore, if these amendments were adopted, the national-origins system would apply to less than half the quota immigrants from this area.

These changes clearly would represent a long step in the right direction in the light both of our self-interest and greater fairness to individuals.

Many of the skills that are becoming scarce in this country could be supplied by immigrants whose admission is indefinitely delayed by the national-origins quota system. And I believe, with the President, that our economy has expanded to a point where such liberalization of our immigration laws would not impair our ability to maintain domestic labor standards.

On this point our experience with the admission of Hungarian refugees is relevant. Tracy Voorhees, Chairman of the President's Commission for Hungarian Relief, recently wrote to me:

"The job offers already received considerably outnumber the employable refugees. An examination of these job-offer listings will, I know, disclose the existence of many lines of occupational activity which are in short supply and many communities in which certain manpower shortages exist. * * * Thus far we have been able to move refugees into employment in a steady flow with no known instances of displacement of qualified Americans."

DUE PROCESS FOR ALL

Another major need is to give our immigration laws sufficient flexibility to enable us to meet special problems and emergencies.

Since the October uprising 170,000 Hungarian refugees have fled across the border into Austria. The Austrian economy could not possibly have supported this additional burden. If other countries, including our own, had not stepped in, Austria would have had to turn these people back to persecution, and in many instances to exile or death. It was fortunate, indeed, that the President was able to use the expiring Refugee Relief Act and the parole provisions of existing law as a means to enable us to take a share of this load.

Accordingly, in addition to seeking legislation for the permanent admission of Hungarian refugees already in this country under parole, the President has urged Congress to establish a continuing program under which approximately 70,000 refugees from Communist tyranny might be admitted annually. I have suggested that this program be broadened to include such other refugees from oppression as the Jews driven from Egypt.

The President has also proposed technical amendments to the McCarran-Walter Act to eliminate discrimination against certain Asians, fingerprinting requirements for visitors, and various unfair features of the law. Certain other due-process amendments are, in my judgment, desirable.

THE ART OF THE POSSIBLE

The President's proposals have been criticized from both sides. Many persons who are opposed to the national-origins quota system complain because the President has not asked for the immediate total abolition of that system. On the other hand, Representative WALTER has complained that the Eisenhower program would actually admit more immigrants each year than would any of the other bills which have been introduced. And, indeed, this is true.

All things considered, I am convinced that the President's approach is not only very much in the right direction but, in its major provisions, is also the one that would carry us further along the way toward improvement of our immigration policies and practices than any other now pending or proposed. Among other things, it would give us an opportunity for experience with the admission, in effect without regard to national origin, of up to 125,000 European immigrants annually. If this works well, as I am confident it will, we shall have laid the groundwork for the elimination of the national origins-quota system far more quickly than by seeking its direct repeal.

But though the President's program does reach for the possible instead of the unattainable, its enactment will by no means be easy to accomplish.

The general attitude throughout the country, as well as in Congress, has been and still is one of caution on this issue. That attitude cuts across party lines. As I pointed out earlier, the national origins-quota system has been in effect since 1921. In 1952 the McCarran-Walter Act, reaffirming that system, was adopted over President Truman's veto by more than a majority of the members of both parties in both the Senate and the House.

Despite its caution, Congress has on occasion acted with boldness and generosity on problems in this field. The passage of the Displaced Persons Act in 1948 and the Refugee Relief Act in 1953 is evidence of that fact. Both these acts were adopted with a supporting majority of the members of both parties, and as a Republican I take satisfaction in the fact that both were adopted during Republican control of Congress.

The response of our people during the recent Hungarian emergency gives further ground for belief that Americans are not blindly set against all change. A few weeks ago private citizens of Milwaukee airlifted directly to freedom a planeload of Hungarian escapees in 4 days' time. This was perhaps the most spectacular incident in our refugee effort, but all over the country private citizens and church and civic groups responded generously and effectively to the challenge.

It is my deep belief that the one insurmountable barrier so significant improvement in our existing immigration laws would be disunity among those who seek such improvement. If all those who sincerely wish to improve our immigration laws and practices will make common cause in the fight for those improvements which are within the realm of the possible, even though less far-reaching than many of us would like, I think we can succeed.

The Political Situation in Western Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, on Wednesday, March 6, the Honorable Heinrich von Brentano, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, delivered a very significant address before the National Press Club in Washington, D. C. This address eloquently described many of the pressing problems of the present West German Government.

In light of the interest all of us have in the problems of West Germany and the participation of West Germany now in NATO, and its close association with the Western free nations, I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HEINRICH VON BRENTANO, FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, BEFORE THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB IN WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 6, 1957

Mr. President, it is a great pleasure to be able to speak to you again today and I thank you for giving me this opportunity. Even when I spoke to you the first time—it was in October 1955—I fully realized that I faced an audience of men who expect a great deal of their speakers. That is still my impression. It is no inappropriate flattery if I tell you that as a politician one has rarely a chance to address an assembly such as the National Press Club, the members of which, because of their distinction as journalists, contribute so decisively to the formation of opinion both here in the United States and throughout the world.

I propose to deal with the political situation today. But before doing so I would like to state a fact that indicates, as nothing else does, the unrest which dominates the whole world: Today, 12 years after the Second World War, we still live in a divided world, and the extreme tensions—both cause and manifestation of this division—are not fruitful but dangerous. They are a direct threat to the peace of the world.

The preservation of peace has always been the foremost object of a purposeful policy based on law and morality. This postulate applies all the more today, when men in various parts of the world have at their command technical means—I hesitate to describe these means as weapons—which could extinguish human life on our planet. You will believe me if I tell you that we in Germany, in particular, are aware of this critical situation. It is in Germany, after all, that the partition of the world is demonstrated most clearly. The dividing line which cuts the European continent into two halves—one free, one slave—runs right across our country and strangles the living organism of our people. Thus, the partition of the world, to which I have referred, is not only a political fact as far as we are con-

cerned, but in our country it is evident as a genuine human tragedy.

Since the end of the war German foreign policy has been dominated by three requirements: To do everything within its power to end the partition of the country; to do everything within its power to safeguard freedom in that part of Germany in which freedom has been restored as the guiding principle of the political and social order, and finally to contribute everything within its power to the preservation of world peace.

Since 1945 the organic connection between these three objectives has not permitted us to pursue a policy directed solely and exclusively at the realization of our national aspirations.

Realism and honesty demand of us that this political and moral qualification also be acknowledged in respect to that objective of our policy which—as all of you will understand—stirs our feelings most deeply: The reunification of Germany.

We know that political decisions can be taken only if one has the courage to accept certain risks. But a policy of reunification which did not at the same time aim at the protection of the freedom of the German people and the preservation of world peace would overstep the limits of a legitimate risk. Such a policy would be bad, because it would be frivolous. The Federal Government and the German people clearly recognize this responsibility.

Fifty million Germans live in freedom and they are determined to preserve it in order to pass it on to those Germans who today are still oppressed in the Soviet occupied zone. This objective guides our foreign policy in the Federal Republic. And this hope nourishes the will to live and the capacity for resistance of the German people in the Soviet Zone.

For this reason there is, to my mind, only one clear and unambiguous answer to the question about the correct course for German foreign policy: Today's Federal Republic and tomorrow's reunited Germany must, will, and shall exist in unbreakable alliance with the free world. This conviction also has found expression in the decisions so far taken by the Federal Republic.

Germany has learned from the experiences of the past. We realize that the calamitous dismemberment of Europe was one of the causes of the tragic conflicts of recent centuries. Our conception of the world has undergone a complete change as the result of a shift among the political forces. This change compels us to revise our concept of history, if we want to look into the future and not live in the past. Through their development the European national states have rendered an inestimable contribution, the fruits of which have been reaped by the entire world. But the European states have realized too late that their existence is assured only if they live with and for one another. The policy of conflict has led to a tragic distintegration of forces and to a deplorable state of impotence on the part of a continent which not so long ago appeared to be destined to guide the progress of the world.

In Europe we have done everything to draw the proper conclusions from this realization. In international and supranational organizations we have joined the European nations together and I think I may say that the Federal Republic has made a valuable contribution to that which has been done so far. In the first instance there was the Council of Europe which served the cause of political cooperation. In order to secure and to improve our economic and our social order we have joined forces in the OEEC and in the Coal and Steel Community. We have established the Western European Union so as to meet in common a danger threatening all of us. All I think that without this European approach we could never have dealt with the difficult legacy left by the war for the whole of Europe.

This policy has borne its fruit. It has often been said that European cooperation in the first place presupposed the overcoming of the German-French conflict. I think I can say today that relations between these two nations in the heart of the European Continent have not for centuries been so good, so friendly, and so receptive toward one another as they are today. This new friendship found its outward expression in the treaty providing for the return of the Saar to Germany. Today and on this occasion I should like to note, with satisfaction and gratitude, that this result could be achieved only because the German and the French people have abandoned the nationalist ideas of bygone days and because they—believing in a common future—have taken a courageous decision and one which I would like to call exemplary.

The negotiations for the establishment of a common European market are about to be completed. We hope that after a transitional period—agreed on by treaty—160 million people will live in an economic area comparable to that of the United States. The customs barriers between our countries are being dismantled. Economic, communications, and agricultural policies of the participating states are to be gradually but consistently harmonized with one another. And we are happy that other European states—such as Britain—cooperating with us in the OEEC, have demonstrated their resolve to join this common market by means of a free-trade zone.

In this readiness on the part of Britain, in particular, I see a hopeful beginning for future developments. Continental Europe has already joined forces with Britain in the Western European Union. The agreements on commercial policy in respect to the common market and the free-trade zone will give further visible expression to the efforts to safeguard freedom and peace and to meet a common danger—efforts which in themselves are a pledge of solidarity. Simultaneously with the common market we are also going to set up the European atomic organization; and it is my hope and conviction that this organization, too, will not be limited to the six member nations but will extend to other European states either by means of their accession or by means of special treaties of association.

I think that the economic development thereby set in motion is of immense importance for the whole world. This applies also to economic relations between, say, this newly emerging Europe and the United States. The vast economic area now about to come into being will also offer new opportunities for mutual trade. The expansion of the economic area will not only help to increase productivity and improve well-being, but equally it will offer new, hitherto hardly imaginable markets.

The United States has decisively contributed to this development. We, all of us in Europe, and particularly in Germany, have reason and occasion ever to remember with gratitude the generous aid which the United States gave us. Without this aid our endeavors would never have had the success to which we can point today with satisfaction.

But the policy of the United States has achieved still more. I should like to say that the United States has awakened the spirit of mutual interdependence which has been decisive for this development. It was always the United States which worked for European cooperation, putting into its efforts all the political and moral weight of a great, free and independent people. Here there was no longer any trace of the narrow-mindedness of a past epoch; no trace of the fear felt by those who always live in the past, who fear such cooperation because it might lead to a shift in the political and economic balance. Instead, this attitude of the United States demonstrated courage and faith in the future. At times it seemed that you here in the United States understood even better than the Europeans themselves that European economic and political cooperation would decide whether the European peoples are to live or die.

And it was out of this spirit of cooperation, out of this conviction that the free world must unite of its own free will, that the Atlantic community was born. This community, it must be understood, is more than the expression of a common resolve to meet a common danger, it is more than the will to meet injustice and chaos through strength and order.

The German people have pursued the road toward the European and the Atlantic community in full awareness of its meaning. I speak advisedly of "the German people," for I know that I can speak for 70 million Germans. The Germans know that they are an integral component of the free world and they will neither withdraw from this alliance of their own volition nor will they let themselves be severed from it by force. The place which the Federal Republic today occupies in this cooperation will tomorrow be occupied just as unwaveringly and as resolutely by a reunited Germany.

I resist with all the determination and gravity at my command any attempt to describe the German policy implied in this attitude as wrong or dangerous.

It cannot be dangerous in any way. For what could give the world in the West and East greater security against a possible abuse of power on the part of Germany than the fact that this Germany joins—of its own free will—the community of free peoples in order to safeguard peace in concert with them? And I am convinced—to say this right away—that the Soviet Union, too, in the long run cannot remain blind to this realization. How much more dangerous would be a Germany which tomorrow would have to be expelled and isolated from this community, and left to its own devices? This argument should also be considered by those who want us Germans to proceed along the path to neutralization. I know very well that there are two forms of neutrality, but I believe they would be equally calamitous.

A Germany defenseless and powerless because of an enforced neutrality, released from self-imposed and freely undertaken commitments, would become a pawn in world politics. Seventy million people would become politically homeless, in the true sense of the word. In order to be able to exist and to work, such a Germany would have to seek friends, since it must perish in isolation. Any link with a neighbor would be regarded with distrust by the other neighbors. In the west and east, attempts would be made to utilize for one side or the other the resources of this politically homeless people. In this conflict of interests Germany could exist only if it were to adopt expediency as a political principle. And in any case a vacuum of this kind would sooner or later be filled by some power intent on destroying a balanced order.

No less great would be the danger presented by a neutral Germany which, left to itself, would have to be prepared to meet any possible threat. Her political and, even more, her geographic situation would compel Germany to build up armaments far in excess of her capacity. These efforts would necessarily be at the expense of economic and social well-being. Within a short time they would lead such a neutral Germany to the verge of collapse and compel her either to capitulate to one side or the other, or to make use of her power.

Anyone who genuinely desires a world order of enduring peace should not express such ideas nor give such advice. These ideas re-

veal—permit me to say this—a shocking lack of political common sense and they show that their exponents still cherish concepts belonging to the past century and that they think in categories which no longer apply to the present time.

Nor can this realization be evaded by plans and designs which appeal to the emotions and ignore realities. Certainly, we also want a European security system as part of a worldwide security system which would free the world from fear and would secure peace. But it is dangerous to substitute high-sounding theories for nonexistent realities.

I do not deny by any means the value of multilateral arbitration agreements. I do not deny at all the value of nonaggression treaties. I do not deny by any means the tremendous importance of a disarmament agreement based on effective controls. I do not deny, by all means, the importance of pledges and mutual assistance in case of aggression. But the most recent tragic, historic developments have shown us that declarations of this kind do not have any value in themselves and that their validity depends on the extent to which they can be implemented.

We know the charter of the United Nations. The German people and the German Government support the moral principles laid down in that document without any qualification. We follow with admiration and sympathy the effort to give effect to these principles within the limits set to the United Nations through the organization's statute. I have in mind here the ceaseless endeavors to remove the tensions in the Near East. President Eisenhower has made a decisive contribution to these endeavors by his bold initiative, an initiative conscious of responsibility.

But it is not a signed and pledged Magna Carta of peace which brings peace to the world. It is, rather, the actions of those who endorse these objectives. And here we note a discrepancy between word and deed which could be denied only by a dreamer or a utopian.

I believe that we Germans, above all, can say this: The policy of the Soviet Union toward the German people constitutes a constant and flagrant violation of these principles. The maintenance of a hated system alien to the German people in the Soviet occupied zone; the refusal to restore to 17 million Germans their freedom of choice; and absurd thesis of the reality of two German states which the German people would repudiate almost unanimously on the day of free elections; all these facts, of which I have spoken, are indeed tantamount to a constant and incessant aggression by the Soviet Union against the German people, a permanent, unjustified intervention in the rights of a free people. And if I recall the fate meted out to nations who have to live within the Soviet orbit, when they demand only a little more freedom, a little more of their human rights and dignity—I am thinking here particularly of the unspeakable tragedy, which occurred in Hungary during the last few months—then this discrepancy becomes crystal clear.

The German people want to live in peace with all the nations of the world. All of us in Germany have experienced the horrors of war and we still bear a heavy burden as the result of a criminal policy for which a German Government was responsible. We realize what a military conflict would mean, particularly for people like the Germans whose geographic position places them in the middle of the area of tension. Therefore, we are ready to do everything to remove this tension. But we are not prepared to commit suicide.

We have very concrete ideas about an effective security system which should not divide but unite the world. A free and reunited Germany would willingly take its place within such a system, and also make some sacrifice for it. But it is not prepared to sever and to isolate itself from the free world. A free and reunited Germany is prepared to accept any risk which others are ready to share. But it is not prepared to undertake solely and by itself a risk which would cost it its freedom and its very existence.

Germany is prepared to maintain good neighborly relations also with the countries of the eastern bloc and with the Soviet Union; but it is not prepared to sacrifice to this end the alliance with the free world and the friendship with peoples to whom the German people feel themselves bound by historical, cultural and spiritual ties. A free and reunited Germany is prepared to provide every security which is granted to itself. But it is not prepared to accept less security than others. It is prepared to accept without discussion ideological differences exemplified by the political order of other countries, and to acknowledge that every people has the right to establish its own political order. But a free and reunited Germany is not prepared to renounce this right for itself and to submit to a political order which does not correspond to its ideas.

History has placed a tremendous burden upon the American people during the last few years. Sometimes, surely, the American statesman and the American citizen must have felt the temptation to evade this responsibility. And there have been many disappointments which could have served as outward occasion for such a decision. If I appeal as a German and as a European to this responsibility, I do so because I can state, at the same time, that we are conscious of the duties arising therefrom for ourselves. The systems of alliance which we have joined are not expedients designed to achieve a certain aim of any member. We have to fulfill a common task: We should be aware of our mutual obligations, that is to say, we should always be ready to subordiate our special interest of the moment to the common task and to common objectives.

I have no doubt that this united community of the free peoples of the world will succeed in solving, jointly, the tasks which history and politics have set us. This applies also to the special problem which touches us Germans so profoundly: The secure freedom of the united Germany. I have no doubt that all the peoples of the world pledged to freedom will support us in the solution of this problem. And I do not doubt that with constancy and resolution we shall also persuade the Soviet Union that the interests of the Soviet people themselves is compatible with the achievement of this aim—perhaps they can be satisfied only through the achievement of this aim.

The last few months have shown us that the will to live in freedom is deeply rooted in human nature. Years of oppression and of indoctrination were unable to change human nature. This will to freedom is like a divine spark—it can be smothered but not extinguished.

It is our common task to help the cause of freedom and of law to prevail wherever it is still suppressed. But we do not want to do this by using force. Might must serve right to become effective as a principle of order. But right must also avail itself of might when it is threatened with violation.

Years ago I read here in Washington an inscription with which I would like to conclude: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Man of the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the news release announcing the forthcoming poll conducted by Dixie Business magazine of Decatur, Ga., to select the Man of the South of 1957. The release, prepared and distributed by editor Hubert F. Lee, lists the outstanding southerners who have been nominated for this honor. Recipient of the award for 1956 was Georgia's distinguished and beloved Senator Walter F. George.

There being no objection, the news release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOUTH'S HALL OF FAME FOR THE LIVING

(By Hubert F. Lee, Decatur, Ga.)

HELP ELECT THE MAN OF THE SOUTH

Readers of this newspaper are invited to vote for the Man of the South from a group of leading southerners who have been named to the South's Hall of Fame for the Living by the editors of Dixie Business.

Those who have been elected Man of the South include Thomas W. Martin, Birmingham; Donald Comer, Birmingham; C. Hamilton Moses, Little Rock; Ernest L. Kurth, Lufkin, Tex.; Reuben B. Robertson, Canton, N. C.; David Ovens, Charlotte; James C. Self, Sr. (deceased), Greenwood, S. C.; Robert T. (Bobby) Jones, Atlanta; Bishop Arthur W Moore, Atlanta; Wilton E. Hall, Anderson, S. C.

Ambassador Walter F. George.

Vote for seven of the following on a post card or letter. Send to Hubert F. Lee, editor of Dixie Business, Decatur, Ga.:

Ivan Allen, Remmie L. Arnold, Robert O. Arnold, Harry M. Ayers, C. W. Bailey, Hines H. Baker, William N. Banks, Col. T. H. Barton, Bruce Barton, Bernard M. Baruch, George C. Biggers, L. L. Baxter, Morgan Beatty, Adm. Richard E. Byrd, Bishop John Branscomb, Barry Bingham, Dr. Alfred Blalock, Gen. A. R. Bolling, Carl D. Brorein, Rex I. Brown, Wright Bryan, A. M. Burton, C. F. Byrns, Erskine Caldwell, Cason Callaway, James L. Camp, Jr., John W. Carpenter, Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter, Hodding Carter, Dr. O. C. Carmichael, O. E. Cheatham, James Saxon Childers, Will Clayton, Erle Cocke, Sr., Erle Cocke, Jr., Charles A. Collier, Hugh Comer, Senator Tom Connally, Richard W. Courts, Jr., Roy Cullen, Dr. John R. Cunningham, Virginius Dabney, Jonathan Daniels, Colgate Darden, Jr., T. M. (Ted) Dealey, James K. Dobbs, Dean John E. Drewry, Hal S. Dumas, B. M. Edwards, Dr. Daniel C. Elkin, J. Oliver Emmerich, K. A. Engel, William Faulkner, Milton Fies, Fred F. Florence, B. T. Fooks, John Nance Garner, E. K. Gaylord, Dr. Francis P. Gaines, Lt. Gen. Alvan C. Gillem, Jr., Frank Gould, Walter L. Graefe, John Temple Graves, Gordon Gray, Robert Gregg, F. E. Grier, Robert W. Groves, Robert M. Hanes, Clarence B. Hanson, Jr., Dr. Rufus C. Harris, Harry G. Hastings, D. J. Haughton, J. N. Heiskell, Arthur M. Hill, Gov. W. P. Hobby, Oveta Culp Hobby, Hamilton T. Holt, Gen. George A. Horkan, Maj. Clark Howell, Frank G. Huntress, Jr., R. F. Hudson, Walton Maxey Jarman, J. B. Ivey, Robert Jemison, Jr., Hershel V. Jenkins,

Dewey H. Johnson, Walter C. Johnson, Thomas M. Johnson, Helen Keller, Kenneth S. Keyes, Dr. James R. Killian, Robert J. Kleberg, Jr., Edwin D. Lambright, Sam L. Latimer, Jr., Thomas C. Law, Spencer Love, Joseph T. Lykes, Robert F. Maddox, Gen. George C. Marshall, C. N. Martin, Rabbi David Marx, Ben Massell, Haynes McFadden, Senator Kenneth McKellar, J. Finley McRae, C. B. McManus, J. Roy McGinty, Dr. James Ross McCain, S. C. McMeekin, Ralph McGill, Henry T. McIntosh, Quimby Melton, Sr., Gen. Troy H. Middleton, Thomas A. Morgan, William Murphey, Frank H. Neely, Abit Nix, E. L. Norton, Ernest E. Norris, Dr. Alton Ochsner, Gen. E. W. Opie, Col. C. E. Palmer, T. W. Pangborn, Roger Peace, Commodore E. H. Perry, Gen. John C. Persons, Louis Pizitz, Dr. William P. Pollard, Legh R. Powell, Jr., Lawrence W. (Chip) Robert, E. A. Roberts, Caffey Robertson, Frank P. Samford, James C. Self, Jr., John A. Sibley, A. D. Simpson, James H. Skewes, Tom Slick, Dr. Frank G. Slaughter, McGregor Smith, Richard P. Smith, William A. Smith, Frank E. Spain, Talbot T. Spear, Dr. Tom D. Spies, Eugene W. Stetson, Louis V. Sutton, James G. (Jimmy) Stahlman, L. P. Sweatt, Dr. Charles Allen Thomas, Fred J. Turner, W. R. Turner, W. G. Violette, Louis Ware, P. F. Watzek, Dr. Goodrich C. White, A. L. M. Wiggins, Jack Williams, Cecil Woods, Robert W. Woodruff, Emily Woodward, C. E. Woolman.

The Failure of Voluntary Health Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a column entitled "The Failure of Voluntary Health Insurance," issued March 1, 1957, by the Public Affairs Institute.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FAILURE OF VOLUNTARY HEALTH INSURANCE

Voluntary health insurance is not meeting the health-protection needs of most Americans.

The voluntary-insurance principle has grown tremendously in recent years—Blue Shield, Blue Cross, and others. In 1940 only 9 percent of the population carried voluntary health insurance. By the end of 1954 some 60 percent of the population was subscribing.

Today, however, organized labor and many other groups in the community are facing the brutal fact that voluntary health insurance is not meeting the heavy financial burdens of modern medical care.

In State after State, now, organized labor is seeking some new means of providing adequate medical protection for its members. The number of union-sponsored health plans, providing for full hospitalization and medical-care benefits under union auspices, has expanded rapidly in recent years.

Many other citizens are still forced to rely on the voluntary health-insurance programs that are available. And these programs are now facing serious problems in the future.

For one thing, the public is finding out that the fine print in the contracts seriously limits the coverage of illnesses, duration of sickness and hospitalization, and family benefits are often not provided except for extra large costs.

A recently-published study, Family Medical Costs and Voluntary Health Insurance: A Nationwide Survey, throws some new light on this problem. The study was prepared by Dr. Odin W. Anderson, of the Health Information Foundation, and Jacob J. Feldman, of National Opinion Research Center.

At one point they explain: "Serious actuarial problems have been raised by the shift in emphasis from infectious diseases to chronic disorders and mental illness. The role of Government, which in recent years has been sharply expanded in other areas under a more liberal interpretation of the general welfare clause of the Constitution has caused bitter disagreement when evaluated in relationship to health services."

What the authors are saying is that in most other areas of social welfare some progress has been made. But in the field of health, Federal, State, and local governments shy away from the issue or, as the Eisenhower administration did last year, offer a plan which turns over the entire matter to life insurance companies.

Think back to the year 1949. Organized labor and others strongly backed a Truman program for national health insurance. Out of the West came the public relations team of Whitaker and Baxter, employed by the American Medical Association. The national health insurance proposal was not only defeated but the fantastic success of Whitaker and Baxter made a deep imprint on the national thinking.

Almost every concrete proposal for expanding medical protection is still greeted by the cry of socialized medicine, as a result of their campaign. Many medical societies are even refusing to cooperate with the mass campaigns for Salk vaccine immunization against polio. Still, the issue of national health insurance will not die, for the problem of providing for the people's health has not been met by the voluntary insurance plans.

The burden that medical protection imposes on so many American families can be seen in a simple statistical picture.

Anderson and Feldman estimate that the total nationwide charges for private personal health services is $10.2 billion annually. This, in turn, averages out to $207 a year per family, or 4 to 5 percent of the family income.

Averages never give the true picture, though. For example, in 1 year 8 percent of the families incurred no charges at all for personal health services. On the other hand, 2 percent, or approximately 1 million families, incurred charges in excess of $1,000. Again, 11 percent of the families received charges in excess of $500, accounting for 43 percent of the total charges.

How adequately does voluntary health insurance cover medical expenses?

The authors point out that families with insurance incur median charges of $145 a year and those without insurance $63. Then they note: "It is obvious that, on the basis of the median, families with insurance incur charges exceeding twice that of uninsured families. If the amount paid by insurance is deleted, leaving out-of-pocket expenses of $117, this is still twice the charges incurred by uninsured families."

There may be many explanations for this. One is that more families in the higher income brackets are covered by insurance and consequently have more expensive care. On the other hand, it seems to be a standard practice in the medical profession to inflate the bill to those insured.

But, in the net, when the insured have to pay almost twice as much out-of-pocket as do the uninsured, something is badly out of kilter with the entire insurance principle and a national health insurance plan seems more necessary than ever.

Paging Poor Richard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a fine column written by Mr. Paul Wooton, which appeared in Dun's Review and Modern Industry.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAGING POOR RICHARD

It's fashionable to be thrifty again. And it's also necessary. Cheap money taught businessmen some bad habits over the past two decades and now that interest rates have risen, many proprietors and managers of enterprises are rediscovering the fact that somebody has to save a dollar before someone else can invest it.

Despite the theories of Keynes on the merits of spending one's way to prosperity, and the economic fallacies that crept out of the doldrums of the depressed 1930's, there is no substitute for earning and saving, and the principle applies to the corporation and State as well as to the individual. We have acquired some bad management habits that are partly hidden under the lush velvet of an inflationary period. The income-tax vagaries have encouraged questionable tactics in the spending of money for tax benefits, a maneuver in which opportunism occasionally overrides sound financial judgment. Any sustained drop in sales revenues uncovers the secret sins of management, and the recent credit freeze is a word to the wise to review fiscal policies.

Good management looks at a program of expansion with an eye toward the long-term risk and reward. Whether the investment be a new store front for a retail shop, a new converter for a steel mill, or a new warehouse for a distributor, the money should be provided out of earnings, or new money invested. Not too much of it can come out of the working capital without hampering the productivity of the store, mill, or service. In a day when income tax sluices off much of the earnings that might be used for the replacement of equipment or improvement of facilities, and the banks are reluctant to supply our demands for risk capital, there is the temptation to dip into working capital reserves to meet the emergency.

Working capital moves through a cycle of inventory in raw materials, then processed goods, distribution, and sales. If the cycle follows the established pattern, the capital returns with an earned profit. Any attempt to drain off working capital for the long-term assignment may interrupt the cycle, disturb the credit relations of suppliers and customers, and even endanger business survival.

There is a definite, and at times vague, relationship between the thrift dollar and the credit dollar. In an inflationary period, the two may appear to be tugging in opposite directions, and confusing the spectator whose economic virtues are anchored in Ben Franklin's truism of "A penny saved is a penny earned." Poor Richard's Almanac is not yet out of date.

Ignoring all the technical aspects of banking functions and the financial jargon about currency in circulation, demand deposits, Treasury certificates, and all the cash and paper equivalents of money, we know we are not accumulating current thrift dollars at the accelerated pace needed to give substance

and stability to credit and investment dollars. The action of the Federal Reserve Board in raising the rediscount rate on loans is evidence of the current pressure of demand over supply. The increase in savings bank interest rates dramatizes the need for diverting more earnings into thrift accounts and reserves. The pause may be awkward for the corporate management or for the individuals who are leaning too far into the future, and find themselves off balance.

Thrift is not only fashionable—it is a highly necessary virtue in a period of inflation when the pumps have run out of air. There's no need for penury, and no excuse for profligacy. But there is a need for the practice of an oldtime discipline in saving for the rainy day—because we may occasionally need a quick dollar even when the sun is shining.

A Miracle of Social Adjustment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I have prepared on a pamphlet entitled "A Miracle of Social Adjustment." The pamphlet, which was written by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Assistant Superintendent of Schools in Washington, D. C., comments on integration in the public schools in the city of Washington.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Supreme Court decision outlawing public school segregation confronted great sections of our land with profoundly difficult problems of adjustment. Men of good will were sincerely troubled whether the law of the land could be translated into sound and effective educational terms. Recently, for example, we witnessed widely conflicting claims about the effects of integration in the Washington school system.

Those who are concerned with an objective, factual account of the Washington problems and how they were met will find it in the authoritative study by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Washington Assistant Superintendent of Schools, just published by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith. Dr. Hansen calls his study A Miracle of Social Adjustment, and his documented story justifies the title.

Successful school integration in Washington was the product of the efforts of thousands—pupils, parents, teachers, and administrators—who scrapped ancient habits and prejudices in an orderly and rational adjustment to the best ideals of our democratic heritage. To achieve this result it was necessary to cope with drastic shortages of money and with inequities arising from what the Washington Post called the "old separate-but-hardly-equal system." Moreover, it was necessary to overcome the obstacles deliberately created by meddlers who sought to prove that integration couldn't work by forcing its failure.

I hope the Miracle of Social Adjustment will be read widely here and abroad. It can show educators and public officials of good will how integration can be achieved by offering the example of a school system in which the majority of children are colored. Abroad, it can demonstrate to that two-thirds of the world's people who are colored that equality of opportunity is not only an American ideal but an accelerating and successful fact.

The heart of Hansen's story is to be found in one very moving passage which cannot be quoted too often:

"Anyone who views the Washington story in its entirety, including the problems, disappointments, and errors in judgment, will be impressed with the evidence of the integrity of most of the people in it, and will feel a glow of pride that in the Nation's Capital, the ideal of individual dignity and worth, no longer simply an idle phrase in a textbook on American democracy, is now to a much larger extent a living reality in the lives of its citizens."

Proudly We Hail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article writen by Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., entitled "Proudly We Hail." Dr. Reuter is on the staff of the A. and M. Hospital at A. and M. College in Monticello, Ark., and is the State coordinator for Arkansas for the Phi Delta Kappa Fraternity.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROUDLY WE HAIL

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr.)

Beta Pi field chapter of Phi Delta Kappa was organized on May 15, 1954, at the Marion Hotel, Little Rock, Ark. The officers have been as follows: Presidents, James H. Hutchinson, Jess W. Matthews, and W. K. Summitt; vice presidents, Jess W. Matthews, W. K. Summitt, and LeRoy Scott; secretaries, A. G. Thompson, Ralph Wilson, and F. L. Robinson; and treasurers, M. H. Russell, and the writer.

As State coordinator for Arkansas of Phi Delta Kappa, the writer has cited the following brothers who have rendered distinguished service to Arkansas education and Phi Delta Kappa and who are 65 or older:

1. Charles Forrest Allen, Beta 638, executive director-emeritus, Arkansas teacher retirement system, Little Rock, Ark.

2. James Herbert Hutchinson, Psi 173, dean, Arkansas A. & M. College, College Heights, Ark.

3. Morgan Richard Owens, Psi 114, emeritus from the State department of education, Little Rock, Ark.

4. John Leon Stone, Psi 785, chairman, division of social sciences, Arkansas A. & M. College, College Heights, Ark.

Dr. Clifford S. Blackburn was also cited for distinguished service, even though he is under the age of 65, as the first State coordinator of Phi Delta Kappa for Arkansas. He was superintendent of schools of North Little Rock, Ark., and is now professor of educational administration at North Texas State College, Denton, Tex.

Senior Citizens of America was organized by Dr. Willard E. Givens and Dr. Joy Elmer Morgan. The former is the emeritus executive secretary of the National Education Association, and the latter is the emeritus editor of the Journal of the N. E. A. Here is the philosophy of the organization (Arkansas Gazette, Tuesday, January 1, 1957, p. 4A, A New Year's Thought for Older People, and Arkansas Democrat, Wednesday, January 2, 1957, p. 8 Senior Citizens of America):

"1. That the second half of life should be richer and happier for most people than it now is.

"2. That preparation and planning for the later years should begin not later than age 40.

"3. That there should be a popular clearinghouse for the growing body of knowledge and experience in gerontology and geriatrics.

"4. That many older people now put up with infirmities and handicaps which can be corrected.

"5. That better provision should be made for the care of senior citizens who are not able to take care of themselves.

"6. That man's greatest need is to learn; that this need increases as one grows older; that older people can learn what they want and need to know.

"7. That everyone should be encourged to make the most of himself as long as life lasts.

"8. That the senior citizen should keep reasonably active physically, mentally, and spiritually.

"9. That there is a vast reservoir of unused talent among men and women in all walks of life who have been retired that should be used for the public good.

"10. That among some 60 million citizens over 40, including 14 million who are over 65, there are many who will gladly support a non-profit enterprise in this field with their money, talent, and service."

Dr. Thomas J. Welsh, Dr. Van C. Binns, Rev. H. C. Seefeldt, and Jeff Davis Moore are on the advisory board for Arkansas. As State director of Arkansas of Senior Citizens of America, the writer has announced the following distinguished senior citizens for Arkansas:

1. C. C. Smith, executive assistant to the president, Arkansas A. and M. College, College Heights, Ark.

2. James H. Hutchinson, dean, Arkansas A. and M. College, College Heights, Ark.

Arkansas can proudly hail the awards granted to these educational statesmen by Phi Delta Kappa and Senior Citizens of America. We may fail to win all battles for progress in education at one time (Arkansas Gazette, Sunday, December 16, 1956, p. 4F, A Formula for Easing Burden of the Schools, and Arkansas Democrat, Monday, December 17, 1956, p. 8, Federal Participation), but the courage and determination are there.

Discrimination Against South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter and accompanying memorandum which I have receiveed from Hon. H. L. Wingate, president of the Georgia Farm Bureau Federation, showing the discriminatory manner in which the Benson farm program operates against the South.

There being no objection, the letter and memorandum were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GEORGIA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION,
Macon, Ga., March 1, 1957.

Hon. HERMAN TALMADGE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR TALMADGE: I am taking this opportunity to present some factual information that will prove beyond a doubt that Mr. Benson is knowingly and intentionally taking from the cotton producers this year a minimum of $120 million to $150 million. He has set cotton price support for this year at 77 percent of parity when by all reasonable figures it should be from 83 to 85 percent. Mr. Benson has proved through his soil bank operations his insincerity by discriminations between regions and also his lack of sympathy for the farmers by using unreasonably low estimates to bring the price support as low as possible.

Enclosed are some figures concerning the cotton supply and estimates by Mr. Benson and estimates by many others in and out of the cotton industry that should be of much interest to you.

As you can see from enclosed information it is obvious that Mr. Benson is not working in behalf of the farmers in the Cotton Belt. This great injustice to our cotton producers should be corrected immediately if possible.

Sincerely yours,

H. L. WINGATE,
President.

Below are figures concerning the cotton supply and estimates by Mr. Benson and estimates by many others in and out of the cotton industry:

	Bales
Carryover on Aug. 1, 1956	14,000,000
Production in 1956	13,100,000
Total 1956–57 supply	27,100,000

	Benson's estimates	Reasonable estimates
	Bales	*Bales*
Estimated consumption for 1956–57	8,850,000	9,000,000
Estimated exports for 1956–57	6,500,000	6,700,000+
	15,350,000	15,700,000+
Estimated carryover, Aug. 1, 1957	11,750,000	11,400,000
Estimated 1957 production	11,200,000	10,700,000
Total	22,950,000	22,100,000
Less set-aside of 800,000 bales by previous legislation	800,000	800,000
Estimated total supply for 1957–58	22,150,000	21,300,000
Estimated total disappearance of cotton for 1957–58:		
Domestic consumption	8,500,000	9,000,000
Exports	4,500,000	5,000,000
Total	13,000,000	14,000,000
Plus normal carryover	4,000,000	4,200,000
Estimated total disappearance	17,000,000	18,200,000
Percent supply for 1957–58 is of normal supply	*Percent* 130	*Percent* 117

To figure level of supports to farmers, you begin at 108 percent of a normal supply and for each 2 percent above 108 percent, level of support drops 1 percent until total supply reaches 124 percent of a normal supply. For each percent point increase after 125 the level of support drops 1 percent point for each 1 percent supply increase. By Benson's estimates he has set the level of support at 77 percent of parity and by other reasonable estimates it should be at least 84 percent of parity.

This is what Mr. Benson announced actions will cost the cotton farmers of the United States based on parity for cotton at 36.81 cents per pound, based on Middling ⅞-inch staple and his estimated 1957 production of 11,200,000 bales, and figuring a difference of 2.58 cents per pound in supports—11,200,000 bales multiplied by 500 pounds each equals 5,600,000,000 pounds times 2.58 cents per pound equals $144,480,000.

Collision in Delaware River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, early yesterday morning, at Graveyard Bend, in the Delaware River off the town of New Castle, Del., a freighter and a tanker collided in the shockingly narrow channel of the river at that point. Ten men are feared dead. The tanker exploded and burned after having a 100-foot hole opened in its side. The explosion could have been heard 30 miles away. At that point the river is 2 miles wide, but the channel is only 100 yards wide.

The Philadelphia Inquirer, one of the leading Philadelphia dailies, a steadfast and strong supporter of the Eisenhower administration, in its leading editorial this morning entitled "Will It Wake Up Washington?" comments on this shocking tragedy. It points out that back in 1938 a congressional commitment was made to maintain that channel at a depth of 40 feet and a width of 400 feet; that that commitment has never been kept; that many river widening and deepening projects in other parts of the country have gone forward; that from 1951 to 1954 river collisions in the Delaware and resulting fires took a toll of 27 lives and resulted in property damage of about $12 million.

The Philadelphia Inquirer submits the fault is with the Bureau of the Budget for being unwilling to recommend adequate appropriations to meet the congressional intent set forth in the act of 1938.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I suggest that the fault lies not with the Bureau of the Budget but with the Eisenhower administration for a shocking neglect of the needs of our Delaware River ports.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILL IT WAKE UP WASHINGTON?

When that Navy supertanker blew up after colliding with a freighter in the Delaware River early yesterday, the explosion which jolted us all was heard as far south as Baltimore.

It is our hope that the terrific earth tremors set up by that blast were felt also in Washington, D. C. Specifically, in the United States Budget Bureau.

A contributing factor in the flaming crash, which cost 10 lives, is official penny-pinching behind neglect of the Delaware River channel over the past decade. One reason those boats collided is that while the river is 2 miles wide at that point, the channel is comparatively narrow. In 1953 two tankers collided, and exploded, at almost the very same spot.

Back in 1938 a congressional commitment was made to maintain that channel at a depth of 40 feet and a width of 800 feet. Three years ago this newspaper warned that "shoaling of the river has reduced the channel to less than 30 feet in depth and around 400 feet in width." We appealed then to Federal authorities for action to honor their pledge.

Since then vast sums have been found for the St. Lawrence seaway and many other projects; but Delaware Valley, U. S. A., has been consistently neglected. This crash is one fruit of that neglect. There have been others.

As Delaware River traffic increased with passing years, and as ships grew larger, our neglected channel became the scene of more and more accidents, a number of them fatal. From 1951 to 1954 river collisions and resulting fires took a toll of 27 lives with property losses of about $12 million. This does not include minor crashes, groundings and other accidents due in part at least to the inadequate channel. Four years ago the Joint Executive Committee for Improvement and Development of the Philadelphia Port Area pointed out:

That at many points the channel could be completely closed if a ship 600 to 700 feet in length were to sink crosswise (the whole river was blocked for 8 hours yesterday).

That in the 88 miles of river from Philadelphia to the sea there are 50 miles without any anchorages where ships can put up in bad weather.

That even the 800-foot-wide channel promised in 1938 is not adequate to meet the needs of safe navigation for modern vessels in the Delaware River today.

All that tells why we hope the blast from this latest tragic crash was felt—and will continue to be felt—in the Budget Bureau.

Development of our great Delaware Valley industrial complex is closely linked with its most vital artery of commerce—the channel. From Trenton to the sea there are now more than 8,000 different manufacturing plants, most of them located along the river. And that is responsible for the further fact that the Delaware River area is estimated to have produced revenue for the Federal Government, from shipping alone, equal to half the total cost of all waterway improvement work ever undertaken by the Federal Government throughout the United States.

If the Budget Bureau is too obstinate to recognize that every dollar spent on the Delaware Channel is a revenue-producing investment, let us hope this terrible tragedy will prod it into undertaking, for humanitarian reasons—and especially for national defense—the deepening which it has refused to support for economic reasons.

That blast in the river should, indeed, awaken us all. It should awaken our Senators and Congressmen to the need for aggressive action.

Our people have a right to demand an explanation why our Government today can find vast sums to spend in all far corners of the earth, but has only pennies for the neglected Delaware Channel.

More than charity begins at home.

VA Interest Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I have received a copy of a telegram dated

March 4, 1957, which was sent to VA Administrator Higley by Leon J. Elterman, county commander of the Brooklyn Council, Veterans of Foreign Wars. I commend it to the attention of our colleagues at this time when the subject of raising the mortgage interest rates is about to come before us. Mr. Elterman's telegram follows:

No doubt you are aware of the financial situation in Greater New York area due to the refusal of savings banks to make Veterans' Administration loans at 4½ percent unless rates are raised to 5 percent. Wish to point out that millions of dollars are idle in national service life insurance funds. Request that you consider making direct VA loans at 4½ percent out of the surplus NSLI funds to help out the thousands of veterans waiting to purchase their own homes. Such advances would increase building in Brooklyn and Long Island areas and create many new jobs.

The following letter from a Long Island builder is most revealing. It came to me unsolicited under date of March 7, 1957:

DEAR SIR: In connection with your banking study and deliberations with reference to increasing the interest rates, particularly on GI mortgages from 4½ to 5 percent, the writer would like to submit the following observations:

1. The present drop in construction and lack of sales in the one-family industry is not as directly related to the interest rate as the banks would like us to believe. That there is a present lack of sales is due mostly to the fact that employment in other industries and wages paid therein have not kept pace with the increase in the costs of construction of the one-family houses.

Furthermore, there seems to be a general feeling of unemployment in the area, and, therefore, people are reluctant to obligate themselves to purchase new homes until their employment seems to be more secure. This is generally the reason why the sales have fallen off.

2. An increase of one-half of 1 percent in the interest rate of a GI mortgage under the regular 30-year term on an average mortgage of $15,000 confronts the GI with an ultimate increase in cost of his home of approximately $1,600. No one receives any benefit other than the bank itself.

3. An increase in the GI mortgage will not stimulate sales of one-family houses. As a matter of fact, an increase will further create loss of sales due to the fact that increasing the interest rates causes an increase in the monthly carrying charges of the house. Further, the number of GI's who would be eligible to pass for the mortgage would, per se, be drastically reduced. The limitation of the market for purchasers decreases the units to be built.

4. It appears from the study of the newspaper items reporting on this subject that no one is taking into account the fact that the financial institutions that have been making these types of loans recovered back from investment by way of amortizations at the rate of 1 percent a month or 12 percent per annum. These funds, together with the substantial deposits received by these banks, due to the fact that they increased their interest rates to attract money will leave the banks with substantial idle funds on hand, and, therefore, if there is a lack of construction, they will be compelled to compete for whatever mortgages are available.

The writer respectfully submits that if there is a sincere desire to stimulate construction and purchase of one-family houses, etc., that the following should be considered:

(a) Increasing the mortgage term from 30 years to 40 years. (The average house being built today under the GI program could stand a 50-year mortgage by way of specifications demanded.)

(b) That the financial institutions should in some way be made to honor the low-downpayment regulations permitted under the GI bill. (Even though low downpayments are permitted, banks will insist on substantial payments from GIs.)

Builders are presently paying substantial discounts or premiums to financial institutions for processing GI loans. Therefore, if discounts are to be paid in these connections why should they not be paid directly to Fanny May.

Moreover, the writer feels that the GI should have more to look forward to than a restriction of his ability to purchase a home and an increase in interest rate.

The writer is a builder of thousands of units in the Long Island and Westchester area, but due to the fact that there is a fair chance of retaliation from the financial institutions, he is unable to disclose his identity.

Award of Aldo Leopold Medal to C. R. Gutermuth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, at the 22d North American Wildlife Conference, held in Washington, D. C., this past week, Mr. C. R. Gutermuth, vice president of the Wildlife Management Institute, was honored by being awarded the Aldo Leopold medal for distinguished service to wildlife conservation.

The presentation was made by Dr. Durward L. Allen, of Purdue University, at a banquet presided over by Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, who is one of the most illustrious wildlife biologists in modern history.

Because of the great faith which so many of us in conservation work have for C. R. "Pink" Gutermuth, I should like to call to the attention of the Senate the public statement of March 5 which describes this award to Mr. Gutermuth and his splendid qualifications for this merited recognition. I ask unanimous consent that the statement appear in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Wildlife Society, international organization of wildlife and fishery professionals, today presented its highest award, the Leopold Medal, to C. R. "Pink" Gutermuth, vice president of the Wildlife Management Institute. The award, in recognition of distinguished service to wildlife conservation, commemorates the late Aldo Leopold, considered by many the father of wildlife management in North America.

Mr. Gutermuth, recipient of the Leopold award for 1957, has had a long and distinguished career in conservation. He was cited for outstanding contributions to improved wildlife legislation and administration, effective public-relations work, and leadership as an officer of national-resource organizations. His support has been expressed in the productivity of the Nation's 16 cooperative wildlife-research units and two waterfowl-research stations sponsored by the institute. He has been active in promoting the publication of useful books and bulletins on wildlife, and he has arranged each of the North American wildlife conferences since 1946. "This man's record," said the citation, "is one which few people could find the will, the courage, and the strength to emulate."

The award was made by Dr. Durward L. Allen, of Purdue University, president of the Wildlife Society, at the banquet of the North American Wildlife Conference at the Statler Hotel, attended by nearly a thousand persons from all parts of the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

Opportunities of College Education for Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Will My Child Get In?" written by George H. Holstein, Jr., which appeared in the Rutgers Alumni Monthly of February 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILL MY CHILD GET IN?

(By George H. Holstein, Jr.)

Will my son, or daughter, get into college in 1960, 1965, 1970, or 1975?

For the Rutgers alumnus, parent, or prospective parent, there is no more important question affecting his family's welfare today. It is a question, too, which may affect the whole course of America's future, her economy, and her security.

If the answer were to be given as this is written, on the basis of real rather than merely talked-of provisions for the future, a frank and honest reply would be that, unless your child is a near genius, his or her chances of getting into college in the years ahead—it's even pretty tight right now—are very slim.

If you are a resident of New Jersey, your child's chances are even dimmer, for in this State there has always been a sharp deficit at the level of public higher education, and very little or nothing in bricks and concrete is being done to correct it.

As individuals, most of us fail to see the woods for the trees around us. We see that big housing development on the outskirts of town; we notice the new schools as they hit our tax bill, and we are aware of new gadgets that fill our homes, from the electric drill in our cellar workshop to the new ventilating fan in the attic.

But we fail to think what these things mean in terms of population increases, of vast industrial expansion, and new fields of endeavor and opportunity. And then we fail to realize what this all means in terms of the college population of the future.

A recent issue of Time magazine in an article on the Nation's economy pointed up the problem indirectly. It noted that the American population is growing at the rate of 11,000 new citizens every 24 hours, that there are 1 million new families formed—with their consequent demand for housing, clothing, cars, and education—every year.

Right along with this tremendous population boom—the estimate is that there will be 190 million Americans by 1965—the Nation is experiencing an unprecedented industrial and economic expansion. During 1956 American business set a new record, spending $36 billion on new plants and facilities, plus another $9 billion for office buildings, furnishings, and the like. There is every reason to believe that this expansion will continue for some time to come.

Then too, look at the new fields opening up. Nuclear science holds a whole world of new opportunity. And there are new developments in electronics, ceramics, automation, just to mention a few that will be demanding their share of college-trained brains.

If we have thought about this at all, it has probably been only a passing awareness. We haven't thought too much about what its impact will be on us and on our children, the latter more particularly.

But some of our leaders in education and planning have been thinking about it very seriously and it seemed to us that as a publication for college men with college aspirations for their children—and this is another phase of the problem because it is a well-recognized fact that a larger percentage of the children of college-trained parents go on to college—some of this thinking should be brought to you in as neat a package as possible.

The President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School, with Devereux C. Josephs, chairman of the board of the New York Life Insurance Co., as its chairman, has recently made a preliminary report to President Eisenhower.

It strode right in to the problem in its opening paragraph:

"The inescapable fact about the future of education beyond the high school is that in 1956 almost twice as many children will be born in the United States as were born in 1936. Already more people than ever before are attending the Nation's colleges, universities, and other post-high-school educational institutions, yet the impact of the greatly increased birthrates of the past 15 years will shortly strike, and will be felt with mounting intensity each year as far into the future as we can foresee."

The PCEBHS goes on to state that by 1970 "larger proportions of the much larger numbers of young people will demand post-high-school education and training to earn a living, to discharge the responsibilities of citizenship, and to enjoy the leisure which their increased productivity will earn.

"Indeed, the number in college and universities alone will be at least double, and may well be triple the more than 3 million now being served * * *."

In what is called "taking stock of the situation," the Committee said that it had been guided by "criteria which it considers essential to the well-being of America and American education."

It agreed that:

"1. The conservation and development of human talent is the proper concern of every citizen, and of the Nation.

"2. Every individual, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, shall have the opportunity to develop his or her best self, to continue appropriate education up to his or her personal point of optimum development.

"3. The assurance of genuine equality of educational opportunity requires that, collectively, the institutions and agencies responsible for providing this education be characterized by four attributes."

The first attribute listed by the Committee is quantity—"there must be a sufficient number of institutions and qualified faculty persons to provide for all qualified students"—but it quickly adds that "the quality of opportunity offered must be good. * * * we must find ways of meeting the pressure of numbers without jeopardizing the quality of present educational opportunities." The other attributes listed are variety of opportunity and accessibility.

In its preliminary study, the Committee stated these six basic conclusions for the guidance of the President and of Congress:

"1. Our ideals and the increasing complexity of our civilization require that each individual develop his or her talents to the fullest.

"2. The needs of the individual and of society, plus an unprecedented growth in the population of post-high-school age, will far outrun the present or planned capacity of existing colleges and universities and other post-high-school institutions.

"3. The needs of the oncoming millions of individuals with varying capacities and interests will call for a broader range of educational opportunities and less rigid time requirements.

"4. Many more able and qualified teachers will be needed than present efforts can provide.

"5. There must be promptly formulated an explicit, considered policy as to the role of the Federal Government in education beyond the high school.

"6. Even with the best possible utilization of existing resources, additional financial support must be provided if the additional millions of the population are to be enabled to develop their talents to the fullest."

And commenting further on the cost, the report states that "it is already crystal clear that post-high-school education will cost much more in total as each year advances. Even though it will probably cost more per capita, it will also continue to pay increasing dividends to our Nation and our people."

NEW JERSEY

What about the problem in New Jersey? The State board of education has recently published the results of a special survey directed by Dr. Marshall P. Smith, an associate professor at Trenton State Teachers College, in which he says flatly:

"For many New Jersey young people the chances of getting into college will not be good unless something is done and done quickly * * *," and also, "One out of two children now 2 years old who will be capable of college work in 1972 will find no place to go."

New Jersey, Dr. Smith makes clear, is in a particularly bad spot in the national picture:

"Consider a senior high-school student in 1963. He has been active in sports and in the community. He was on his homeroom council and on various student committees. He has taken a college preparatory course and wants to be a lawyer. As a B student with average scores in college entrance examinations, his chances of getting into any college are only about 3 out of 5. In many other States, his chances would be 5 out of 5.

"Here in New Jersey the competition will be fierce. Some students, no matter how able or conscientious, will be disappointed; others will be forced to attend overcrowded colleges which do not meet their needs or challenge their abilities.

"We are proud of New Jersey. Will our children aspiring to college also be proud, or will they regret living where they are denied opportunities equal to those of their contemporaries in other States?

"The answer is up to all of us.

"The door to college opportunity is closing on New Jersey's children. That it is closing fast is evident from the simple statistics given below. That the problem is complex and challenging is the story told in the following pages."

In those pages it points out that the college age population of New Jersey (18 to 21 years) will grow from 239,000 in 1954 to at least 436,000, and probably as much as 517,000 by 1973.

But in the 10 years since 1946, the percentage of college-age youngsters in New Jersey going on to college from high school has increased from 21 to 30 percent. With the increasing complexity of our society, the Smith report points out, the proportion of those headed for college will soar much higher.

There are approximately 48,000 New Jersey boys and girls in college during the current academic year. Of this number, a little more than half are in colleges outside of the State; only about 22,000 are enrolled in New Jersey institutions. This is a highly important fact because it means that New Jersey has been an exporter in the college field. But in the period ahead when other States close down their public institutions to nonresidents, New Jersey will suffer.

By 1973 Dr. Smith predicts the total college enrollment among New Jersey young people—youngsters already born and headed for college, not mere statistics—will be 155,000, more than 3 times as many as at present and probably a conservative estimate. At the present time expansion of New Jersey facilities is planned to increase capacity to about 72,000.

For the other 83,000 there will be no place to go. In other words, 1 out of every 2 New Jersey young people wanting to go to college in 1973 will find no place available for them, unless drastic and heroic measures are taken at once.

The Smith report says that these measures should be "comprehensive, long-range, flexible, and high quality." The program for expanding higher educational facilities in the State, it suggests, might include a strengthened State university with provision for 25,000 students as against 6,000 plus at the present time. It would include engineering colleges with enrollment for 10,000 students, new 4-year colleges with facilities for 35,000 students, and a number of 2-year community colleges capable of handling another 30,000 students.

The cost of this it estimates at $155 million annually, either through tuition or taxes, and a capital outlay of $332 million.

In an appearance on the weekly Rutgers forum, a radio interview, Dr. Smith suggested that these funds could be raised from income taxes, sales taxes and ad valorem taxes. He also emphasized that speed in getting a program under way in New Jersey is very important. Unless ground is broken for some of the buildings within the next year, he said, classes will have to be held out-of-doors.

Dean Elmer C. Easton of the college of engineering looked at the problem from the standpoint of national productivity and high employment in testimony given in Washington before the Subcommittee on Economic Stabilization of the Joint Economic Committee. He said that both of these will be curtailed unless the United States can double its output of trained engineers by 1970.

He explained that automation, nuclear energy, and all the other complicated machines and processes which give promise of much higher standards of living cannot be operated by men and women who do not understand the basic principles by which they work.

In one area alone, that of future fuel sources, he pointed out that the "very existence of civilization as we know it depends on the development of new fuels and means of using them," and then noted that "the idea of obtaining energy from the fission or fusion of atomic nuclei was not obvious and was not conceived by man until he had learned to use the most advanced concepts of physics, mathematics, and chemistry. The concept was predicted

theoretically before it was observed in the laboratory. The development of devices using atomic or solary energy will depend entirely on the quality and quantity of our engineers and scientists."

Dean Easton spoke only about the need for more engineers. We are going to need them in increasing numbers but we are also going to need all the other kinds of scientists and many more men and women with broad educational backgrounds in the liberal arts and humanities. Even if we could assume that our population would stand still without major industrial expansion for a few years we would still need a higher percentage of college-trained people. In dynamic, burgeoning America we must have them or surrender to some other people who believe more firmly in the best use of their human potential than we do.

Proposed Abolition of the Postal Savings System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, on February 26 I introduced S. 1394, providing for the dissolution of the Postal Savings System. It is my contention that this service is outmoded and outdated. It has in recent years outlived its usefulness.

Our citizens can have no problem in placing their deposits in insured financial institutions, and if this postal savings service were eliminated it would save the taxpayers more than $1 million a year.

Recently, Clyde Reed, editor of the Parsons Sun, Parsons, Kans., wrote a splendid editorial on this subject. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BEYOND USEFULNESS

A bill has been introduced in Congress for dissolution of the Postal Savings System and constitutes an opportunity to abolish an unneeded function of Government that is an unnecessary burden upon the taxpayers.

There was a time when the postal system filled a need in this country. It offered Government protection of savings for one thing and that was unavailable when the post office hung out its savings sign. It paid a return on savings that also was not widely available to small investors.

Times have changed, however. Private institutions which solicit savings accounts are covered by Government insurance on their deposits. The 2-percent rate of interest paid by the Postal System long since has been outdistanced by reliable private sources.

The public has recognized the change. It it patronizing the Postal Savings System less and less as time goes on. While there were more than 4 million depositors in 1947, the number has dropped to less than 2½ million at the present time.

The Postal System plainly serves no vital public purpose and ought to be dissolved at the earliest possible date. That will be easier said than done, however, for public agencies have a way of hanging on beyond the point of all usefulness. The Postal Savings System probably will not be any exception to that rule.

Duluth's Ship Is Coming In

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the great port of Duluth, Minn., at the far western terminus of the Great Lakes, is preparing for a tremendous influx of new shipping and trade as a result of completion of the St. Lawrence seaway project in 1959 and the deepening of the connecting channels of the Great Lakes.

Duluth is planning wisely and strongly for the new era of shipping when Minnesota will become a coastal State.

In the February 1957 issue of the official publication of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, Greater Minneapolis, appears a splendid article entitled "Duluth's Ship Is Coming In." I may say that the February issue of this Minneapolis publication is devoted almost exclusively to the sister city of Duluth and to the great industrial and trade developments in the northern Minnesota iron range area.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the article entitled "Duluth's Ship Is Coming In" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DULUTH'S SHIP IS COMING IN

Bustling, brawny Duluth, with a full century of rich and colorful history behind it, has good reason to look forward. Poised at the westernmost finger of the Great Lakes, it is today eagerly scanning the eastern horizon of Lake Superior—for Duluth's ship is coming in.

Duluth's ship is no figment; already the world's second busiest port, it stands to see a great spurt in foreign shipping once the St. Lawrence seaway project is completed in 1959. And while Duluth busily prepares to provide the facilities for handling giant ocean-going freighters, the rest of the one-time landlocked upper Midwest is enjoying the foretaste of becoming a primary area of deep water commerce.

In truth, the good that will accrue to the upper Midwest's some 8 million residents from the 7 seas is something that has stirred businessmen, industrialists, and shippers throughout the area. Robert T. Smith, executive director of the Duluth Port Authority, foresees a tremendous expansion in exporting and importing—if expanded port facilities can be provided.

The port authority is now conducting a comprehensive survey of all business establishments in its sphere of influence—roughly the upper Midwest—to determine the potential of commerce funneling through the twin ports of Duluth-Superior.

Smith says the potential export volume of manufactured and processed goods that exists today in the upper Midwest is around 350,000 tons annually. Significantly much of the industrial development that can generate this volume lies in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area. These exports, of course, do not include such shipments as grain and other bulk commodities such as soy bean oil or linseed oil, which are exported in great quantities.

Similarly, the import potential of the twin ports is equally bright. Here again, the outlook depends on the harbor and ship-handling facilities that can be provided. But Smith points out that Duluth could become a great importing center for such items as fertilizer, sugar, coffee, and manufactured equipment. Coffee, incidentally, would be a natural import commodity for Duluth, Smith says, because the city's air conditioned climate would permit prolonged storage.

Smith believes that the 600,000 square mile area of the port authority's theater of operations—which includes Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and parts of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Wisconsin, and upper Michigan—offers tremendous possibilities for world commerce. The area lends itself to industrial development because of great reserves of natural resources, such as iron and taconite, forest products, oil, lignite. Most valuable, too, are the area's tremendous reservoirs of fresh water, which is vital to industry.

The shipping potential for Duluth is unlimited, says Smith, but some years will elapse until the full impact of the seaway will be realized. But he points out that by sea, Duluth is only 783 miles further from Liverpool than is New York—and the cost per ton-mile for shipping by lake is about 15/100 of a cent, the lowest cost system of bulk transportation in the world. So sooner or later, Duluth and the upper Midwest will take advantage of this deep-water commerce.

The seaway's coming means that Duluth-Superior Harbor itself must be refurbished to accommodate deep-draft ocean vessels. The harbor already has 17 miles of dredged channels, 25 feet deep at the ore docks and 21 feet at the grain elevators. Army engineers are contemplating increasing these depths commensurate with the 27-foot channel of the seaway itself.

As for port facilities, the port authority has plans for a mammoth public terminal wharf which will be the most modern on the lakes. Governor Orville Freeman, incidentally, has asked the Minnesota Legislature for $500,000 per year for the next 2 years to study and plan the development of the port of Duluth.

The new public terminal would be built in three stages, says Smith. The first stage will cost some $10 million and will accommodate three great ocean vessels or half a dozen lake boats. This facility, which may cost $40 million by the time it's completed, will be financed with revenue bonds. When finished, it will handle 11 of the largest type vessels engaged in foreign commerce.

Meanwhile, Duluth is not forgetting the iron legs on which it stands. Down through the years the Duluth-Superior twin ports have grown through the great shipments of iron ore. An annual average of some 51 million short tons of this red gold passes through Duluth on its way to steel mills to the east.

Although the supply of rich ore of the giant Mesabi and two smaller ranges, Vermilion and Cuyuna, is waning, the burgeoning processing and shipment of taconite has opened a new Minnesota frontier. Second to iron ore on the twin ports' manifest is coal, followed by grain. While the twin ports are now the third largest grain center in the Nation, it is expected that the seaway's coming will force enlargement of the present grain-storage capacity of 56 million bushels to about 100 million bushels.

Actually, the Duluth-Superior Harbor is one of the finest natural harbors in the world. With nearly 50 miles of shoreline within the harbor lines and 75 miles altogether, including outer bays, it has plenty of room. It has plenty of bulk-freight docks, 7 iron-ore docks, 21 coal docks, 23 grain elevators on the waterfront, 4 automobile docks, and ample facilities for handling salt, stone, cement, scrap iron, and a host of other commodities.

With the improvements now in the planning stage, the harbor should readily adapt itself to the stepped-up tempo of shipments that will come with the St. Lawrence seaway. Here's what John S. Coleman, president of

the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, predicts for Duluth alone:

"I honestly expect the population of Duluth will double in a relatively short time after the completion of the seaway."

Likewise optimistic is geography Prof. Harold M. Mayer of the University of Chicago:

"With greatly augmented opportunities for industrial development opened up by the seaway in the major port cities as well as others in the Midwest—not only on the lakes but also in the interior—there will be a greatly enlarged demand for labor.

"Not only will thousands of people be engaged in direct operation of the port and shipping services, but additional thousands will be required in associated services. These include banking, ship chandlering, shipbuilding and repair, marine insurance and many other activities.

"Many more thousands will be needed by industries attracted by the advantages of lower-cost transportation and expanding markets, local and in distant areas, directly and indirectly attributable to the seaway."

So, as Duluth prepares for yet another domestic shipping season, it also is laying the plans which, come 1959, will mark its entry in major league foreign commerce. Port Director Smith entertains no doubts about the twin ports' future.

"If we provide good facilities," he says confidently, "commerce will flow."

Mrs. Elsie Reynolds, Oregon Mother of 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, representatives of 17 Oregon women's organizations have chosen Mrs. Elsie Argeletia Scott Reynolds, of Portland, as the State's candidate for the title of American Mother. As Oregon's Mother of the Year, Mrs. Reynolds will meet with candidates from other States, Territories, and the District of Columbia in New York City before Mother's Day, for selection of American Mother of the Year.

The first qualification of a candidate for the honor given Mrs. Reynolds is that she be a successful mother, as evidenced by the character and achievements of her individual children. As the mother of 3 sons and 1 daughter who have achieved recognition for their school, civic, and community accomplishments, Mrs. Reynolds is superbly qualified in this category. It is apparent that the persons who selected Mrs. Reynolds as 1957 Oregon-Mother also recognized her traits of courage, cheerfulness, patience, affection, kindness, understanding, and homemaking ability.

Mrs. Reynolds' name as a candidate for Oregon mother was presented by the Oregon Association of Colored Women. Mrs. Reynolds, whose husband is a retired railroad employee and president of the Portland chapter of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, was recognized also for her sense of responsibility in civic affairs and in service for public benefit.

Mr. President, the accomplishments of Oregon's Mother of 1957 are described in greater detail in two newspaper accounts about her selection. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an article from the Oregonian of March 5, 1957, and an article from the Oregon Journal of March 4, 1957.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Oregonian (Portland, Oreg.) of March 5, 1957]

OREGON MOTHER OF 1957 EDGES GOLF, BOWLING INTO JAMPACKED SCHEDULE OF CIVIC ACTIVITY

While her Eastern Star charm bracelet jangled on her left wrist, Mrs. Phil Reynolds, newly named Oregon Mother of 1957, merrily waggled the middle finger of her right hand in front of a reporter's eyes Monday night.

The nail had a black bruise on it—from a bowling ball.

That's only one of dozens of activities and civil projects at which Oregon's newest Mother of the Year busies herself.

She and her daughter Phyllis (Mrs. Edward Smith) frequently go bowling, and mama does better than daughter.

SHE COLLECTS CUTGLASS

Mrs. Reynolds plays the piano and owns a pretty spinet and a good record player. There are oil and water-color paintings on her apartment walls which she did herself. She has a kiln in her basement and has fired many pieces of ceramics there.

She has numerous pieces of finished needlepoint and a beginning on needlepoint chair seats for her dining-room chairs. She likes to make over dolls and maintains a regular little doll hospital.

She collects beautiful silver, which she brightens by getting replated when necessary.

She plays golf and is an ex-member of the Leisure Hour Club.

In the early years of her life when the family was all home, her family was of topmost importance, her second son, Dr. Walter Reynolds, Portland physician, explained.

"She's a person with a lot of patience and perseverance and a great deal of faith."

Laughingly, he described how she was "quite firm in this business of discipline, but it was a very helpful thing."

Education was of utmost importance to this woman who had gone only through grade school herself. An only child, she was born July 28, 1894, in Kansas City, Mo., but spent most of her life in Spokane, where she was working in a store when she met her husband.

They were married June 22, 1915, and moved to Portland, spending most of their married life until recent years in a three-bedroom home at 427 N. E. Roselawn Street, where the children grew up, attending Highland Grade and Jefferson High Schools.

SONS OUTSTANDING ATHLETES

Sons Walter and Robert were both voted outstanding athletes by their fellow teammates while attending Jefferson. Their names are engraved on the Hopkin Jenkins memorial athletic cup.

When the kids were home, there were great Saturday and Sunday morning breakfast get togethers, and there was a music room to help encourage the many musical talents and appreciations. Her oldest son attended Washington University and the other three children the University of Oregon.

Now she and her husband and two parakeets share a smallish apartment.

Daughter Phyllis, a merry-hearted mother of three children herself, says that her mother has a wonderful wit with "always a good story to tell. She always has a smile."

Of the 11 grandchildren, "everyone of them is her heart. She gives so freely of her time and effort."

When Mrs. Reynolds' children were all grown, this during World War II, she decided to go to work, spending first 4 years as a maid at Meier & Frank store and then 10 years ago taking the job of matron at the Union Station.

Her good-natured helpfulness there is remembered by many a weary traveler.

Her husband says that the most important thing about her is the way she has gone about raising a family and keeping a home, "with the equilibrium necessary for a successful family life."

"We feel, between the two of us," he said, "and especially Mrs. Reynolds, we have always been concerned about youth and proper guidance. We conceived the idea very early in our married life that there should be a substantial connection between the schools and the home and the recreational centers and the home.

"Among those three elements of life, a child gets a break of guidance that will carry him through life very well. She's a wonderful mother and wife."

SHE'S ACTIVE IN CHARITY

Mrs. Reynolds is a past president of the Oregon Association of Colored Women's Clubs and current president of the organization's past presidents' council; an active member of St. Philip's Episcopal Church; a member of Portland branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which her husband is the new president; and of the Urban League.

She is grand matron of Washington and Jurisdiction, Prince Hall affiliated, Order of the Eastern Star, and a member of the Oregon Federation of Women's Clubs and the Oregon Prison Association. She is also active in several local charity organizations.

Recently she organized a study group of Negro women meeting weekly at the Williams Avenue YWCA. She has just completed instructing them in parliamentary law.

As Oregon's 1957 Mother, Mrs. Reynolds will be entered with nominees from all the other States and Territories in competition for the title of American Mother. With other candidates she will be honored at a dinner sponsored by the American Mothers' Committee, Inc., of New York, in New York City the week before Mother's Day. Selection of the American Mother will be announced at that time.

Monday's choice was made by the Oregon Mothers' Citation Committee, made up of representatives of 17 Oregon women's organizations.

Mrs. Reynolds smiled and turned very serious when she was asked to what she attributed the great success of her family and her children. She looked across at the radio, on which were neatly arranged the pictures of all 11 of her grandchildren:

"The main thing is that my body is God's temple, and I'm a servant of His. All of my success and the success of my children come from Him."

[From the Oregon Journal (Portland, Oreg.) of March 4, 1957]

MOTHER OF YEAR HONOR WON BY MRS. REYNOLDS

Oregon Mother for 1957 is Mrs. Elsie Argeletia Scott Reynolds, of Portland, selected today when the Oregon mothers citation committee met at the Aero Club.

She is the wife of Phil Reynolds, recently retired railroad employee, and has four children. She was born in Kansas City, Kans., is a member of the NAACP, Urban League, Eastern Star, Oregon Prison Association, and the Oregon Federation of Women's Clubs. Her name as a candidate for Oregon mother was presented by the Oregon Association of

Colored Women's Club. She is a member of the Episcopal Church.

Children are Jack, 39, mathematician and physicist at the Naval Reserve Laboratory at Pasadena, Calif.; Walter Cornelius, 36, local physician and surgeon; Robert Eugene, 33, teacher and football coach at Compton High School, Los Angeles, and Mrs. Phyliss S. Smith, 30, physician's secretary in Portland. The children attended Highland Elementary School here. The family home is at 1326 North Benton Avenue.

Walter and Bob were outstanding athletes, and their names were inscribed on the Hopkin Jenkins athletic cup.

National Water Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I call special attention to an illuminating feature article in yesterday's New York Times pointing up the real facts of our growing national water shortage. This national survey of rural and urban water problems is sure evidence of the immediate need to meet this situation head on through combined local, State, and Federal efforts.

I have long been concerned about Wisconsin's particular water needs. The drain on our underground water supply is becoming increasingly serious. Our water levels are dropping deeper and deeper with the stepped-up demands of communities, our utilities, industries, and farmers.

I have been in touch with various State agencies and officials on this matter, signifying the wide repercussions of our water deficit. Our national resources committee of State agencies has been making intensive surveys of the situation. I have heard from A. Rynders, superintendent of Milwaukee Water Works, on our city needs. Conservation and health officers are equally concerned about the "running out" of our most basic resource.

What does the future hold? How can we make sure that sufficient water will be available for the expected 200 million population in 1975? It is time we realized that water cannot be taken for granted any longer.

Moreover, the demands of our industries for water have aggravated the pollution problem. Statistics show that 31 States in the Midwest, South, and East, which average from 33 to 60 inches of precipitation annually, use 89 percent for industry, 10 percent for public supply for some 128 million people, and only 1 percent for irrigation. The growing industrial consumption is obvious, and with it comes the need to combat water pollution—not a cheap process by any means. Many of the local commuities in Wisconsin have had a tough time financing sewage disposal and treatment plants, proved by the demand for participation in the 1956 Water Pollution Control Act.

Thus action to develop a wise water policy is imperative from several major standpoints.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Bill Becker's article on the Times survey be printed in the RECORD, together with an earlier article written by Mr. Lewis C. French published in the June 24, 1956, issue of the Milwaukee Journal on this same problem.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of March 7, 1957]

WATER SHORTAGE—SEVEN STATES ENDURE SEVERE SCARCITY—GREAT PLAINS AND SOUTHWEST AREAS ARE HIT HARDEST BY PROLONGED DROUGHT—DISTRIBUTION IS LAGGING—DIRTY STREAMS ALSO POSING A SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR THE MORE FAVORED SECTIONS

(By Bill Becker)

The American dream of unlimited expansion soon may face a test by water.

For three D's—drought, distribution, and dirty streams—spell a possible dead end for continued growth of industries and cities, as well as potential disaster for farmlands, according to a survey by the New York Times.

Basically, the survey shows the water shortage is severe only in seven drought-ridden States in the Great Plains and Southwest. But it also reveals that inadequate distribution facilities and pollution are nagging at laggard communities in more favored areas.

The central fact produced by the survey is this:

No longer can 170 million Americans—destined to become 200 million by 1975—take for granted that ample water supplies will be available wherever and whenever desired.

Already many experts doubt that industry can continue to follow the flow of population to some areas of the West. An increasing number of engineers, geologists, conservationists, industrial leaders, and even more realistic city officials, have sounded a go slow for certain industries seeking new plant sites.

THREAT TO GROWING CITIES

The prolonged drought, assuredly a blight for the farmer, poses a threat perhaps equally serious to such cities as Denver, Dallas, Fort Worth, and Phoenix—unless heavy rains replenish stores.

Dwindling, souring water supplies mock the industrial-expansion hopes of these growing cities. For some communities of the arid Midwest and Southwest the query may be broadened: Can they get enough water to hold the people they already have?

The geologists agree with the poet: Water is everywhere. But in the dry Southwest it lies several hundred feet under ground in places. Amarillo, Tex., one expert says, "doesn't have a water supply—it has a water mine."

If the drought extends 5 years more one-fourth of the Nation will face chronic shortages or poor-quality water, geologists predict. While studies show that the Nation uses only about 15 percent of the water available, withdrawal has exceeded average net supply in recent years not only in drought areas but also in such moist sections as northern New Jersey and northeastern Ohio.

INDUSTRY MAY HOLD KEY

Industry, it is felt by some, may hold the key to solving the dual problem of western shortages and eastern pollution. There are planners who believe that, wet years or dry, certain industries could make better use of western water than has large-scale crop irrigation.

And long-range viewers insist that eastern industrial plants, for their own welfare as well as public health, must develop additional means for reusing water and purifying it on return to public sources.

Plans for the long haul are beginning to come off the drawing boards. Spectacular projects in California, the Columbia River Basin, metropolitan New York and Boston point the way for American cities to meet their water needs in 1975 and beyond.

Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of the Interior, and his aides have on several occasions pictured a national network of water pipelines by 1975. The Federal Government has yet to construct a foot of such a network. However, the thought is indicative of what is going on in the minds of many planners.

Drought sufferers in the Southwest are beginning to speculate about long-distance water-piping. One proponent, a Texan, suggested pipelines from the Great Lakes.

Plans also have been advanced for pipelines from Lake Erie to serve most of northern Ohio. The first step is a preliminary survey—sponsored by the Lake Erie Watershed Conservation Foundation—of eight counties, highly industrialized and containing a third of the State's population.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY BILLION GALLONS A DAY

By 1975, the Nation—already using 250 billion gallons of water at a cost $8 million a day—will be using 450 billion gallons daily. That will be 10 times as much as our grandfathers used in 1900. Industrial use is expected to provide most of the rise, but much will come from the gadget-loving public's increasing reliance on automatic clothes- and dish-washers, garbage disposals, and air conditioning.

Impounding and squeezing the maximum potential out of precipitation is basic to any long-range plan. The country as a whole—although most of the West will not believe this—is getting enough rain, an average of 30 inches a year. But 70 percent—all but 8 inches—literally goes down the drain, either down streams into oceans, or back into the air through evaporation.

A smattering of figures shows the disparity in precipitation and water use between the arid and humid areas of the Nation:

Seventeen Western and Great Plains States, most of which get only from 12 to 25 inches annually, use roughly 85 percent of their water for irrigating crops. Industry takes about 12 percent; public supply for the region's 42 million residents, about 3 percent.

Thirty-one States in the Midwest, South, and East, which average from 33 to 60 inches, use 89 percent for industry, 10 percent for public supply for 128 million people, and only 1 percent for irrigation.

Overall nationally, industry uses 47 percent, irrigation 45 percent and public supply 8 percent. The trend toward industry will continue, according to the President's Materials Policy Commission and the American Water Works Association. By 1975 industry may use two-thirds of all our water.

NEW SOURCES SOUGHT

That is why, to get their share of projected industrial growth, city fathers in the West are scurrying for new sources of water supply. With wells sinking and reservoir stocks at record lows—and runoff hopes rising only in Denver—the economic outlook for cities in the arid zone is somewhat beclouded.

The drought—"1 of the 3 worst in 600 years," according to A. Nelson Sayre of the United States Geological Survey—is putting the Dust Bowl of the 1930's in the shade. Rainfall has been deficient throughout the Southwest generally since 1948, in some places since 1942.

Mr. Sayre and several consulting engineers say many industries are taking a long, hard second look at the western water situation. One New York engineer who helped a plastics manufacturer pick out a site for a pilot plant in northwestern Colorado is not sure whether it ever will be more than that.

Among other industries that may have to reassess their expansion plans, engineers indicate, are chemical, steel, paper and oil.

Cost will be another factor. In general, Western water rates are higher. Basic rates for 1,000 cubic feet run $2 to $3 in Dallas, Denver, Phoenix and Oklahoma City, as compared with 97 cents in Philadelphia, $1.23 in New Orleans and $1.50 in New York.

Secretary Seaton, however, foresees "reasonable industrial expansion in the next 20 years" in the Southwest if 4 steps are followed:

1. Construction of more facilities to regulate water now going to waste.

2. Revision of industrial processes to reduce water use. Mr. Seaton cites the example of Kaiser Steel Corp. plant at Fontana, Calif., which uses far less water than steel plants in the East.

3. Reduction of pollution to enable more reuse of water.

4. Industries buying up irrigation water rights, which in the West are usually tied in with property by law.

SERIOUS IN SEVEN STATES

In at least 7 of the 17 Western and Great Plains States, the community water problem can be described as serious to acute. The States are Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, Oklahoma and Kansas.

It is rated fair to moderately serious in Nevada, Montana, Wyoming, North and South Dakota and Nebraska.

The situation is generally good in California, Oregon, Washington and Idaho.

Nowhere has the water pinch been more deep seated than Texas. The Dallas-Fort Worth picture is typical.

Last year, driest in Dallas' history, saw the city's water consumption jump to more than 34 billion gallons. Unless recent rains continue, it is estimated that the city's reservoirs by June may hold only 7 billion gallons; drinking water will be saltier than ever and lawn sprinkling will be out of the question.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of June 24, 1956]

MIDWEST STATES SEEK MODERN WATER LAWS—SURVEYS INDICATE THAT PRESENT REGULATIONS OFTEN WERE DRAFTED IN LOGGING DAYS

(By Lewis C. French)

GREEN BAY, WIS.—Because of the shortage of usable water, five Midwestern States—Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, and Michigan—are making intensive surveys of water supply and demand preparatory to rewriting their water laws.

Even growing communities like Green Bay and Milwaukee, blessed with an abundance of nearby fresh water, run into water shortages. Here in Green Bay, as engineers hurry along a costly aqueduct, the city has banned sprinkling and use of water to wash cars.

Even Great Lakes port cities are becoming aware of the sad plight that "you never miss the water 'til the well runs dry."

Actually, the well has not run dry, according to engineers and public health authorities. Instead, municipalities have failed to keep pace with the constantly increased demand for clean water.

SHORTAGE CALLED STUPIDITY

"It is stupid that any city having such a precious asset as Lake Michigan or Lake Superior should run short of water," said one Indiana public official at the annual meeting here of the Central States Sewage and Industrial Wastes Association. "If we are going to meet future increased water needs, two things must happen: We must stop pollution and do a better job of treating water supplies so they can be reused, then make certain by legislation that everyone has a fair share of the supplies."

Legislative committees of the various States are taking a close look at both the surface and underground water supplies, measuring the needs for increased household use, for industry, and for farm irrigation. They also have an eye on the recreation value of the surface waters.

STATE PROBLEMS STUDIED

Here in Wisconsin, the natural resources committee, with Governor Kohler as chairman, is compiling a list of water problems for the legislative council for presentation to the next legislature.

"We are going to have to change provisions in the present water laws, and clarify controversial issues," says O. J. Muegge, State sanitary engineer.

Wisconsin's present water laws trace back mainly to logging and sawmill days, when any stream floating a log was deemed navigable water and a public highway for transporting logs to mills.

This natural resource committee has been besieged from all sides for special consideration. Utilities want water for power. Communities want it for household use and perhaps a swimming pool. Industries are making a pitch for more and more. And the farmers, especially the commercial potato growers, want more for irrigation.

Under present Wisconsin water regulations on the precious underground water percolating through lime rock in most of the State, the State board of health requires a permit for pumping more than 100,000 gallons a day.

This provision was predicated on the need to protect municipal supplies. But the drain on subterranean waters has been so great that many cities are running short of artesian-well supplies. With water levels dropping deeper and deeper, the State board of health is urging revision of the regulations.

WANTS TERM CLEAR

Now it proposes that permits be required by large-volume pumping not only to protect the vital municipal supplies but also to protect the rights of other well owners. When one large Milwaukee brewer began pumping at high volume from a new big well, water levels of another manufacturing plant 7 miles away dropped 75 feet within a few hours. The State proposes strict laws to prevent anyone from hogging the supply.

And the State wants to clarify just what a well is. In the central Wisconsin area, where water is close to the surface, it has been common practice to dig a pit and pump without restriction. The State board of health would like to have any way of getting underground water to the surface for private or public use legally defined as a well and subject to State control.

Wisconsin has run into another pollution snarl. Having achieved the best record of any State in abating pollution, the Wisconsin committee in charge of enforcement would welcome a little help from Uncle Sam along the Mississippi River.

There has been trouble on Lake Pepin, part of the river with towboats pumping their oily and messy bilge and ballast water into the lake. This is termed a definite hazard.

GET ONLY BRUSHOFF

"Federal authorities could help with proper control of the interstate transportation mediums, such as the barge lines and lake boats," says Theodore Wisniewski, director of the Wisconsin committee on water pollution. "But when we write a complaint to Army engineers in charge of the Mississippi locks and traffic, we just get the brushoff."

Other States are just as actively proposing modernized water laws. Illinois has named a legislative commission to make a study of the water problems to report to the January session of the legislature, says A. P. Troemper, sanitary engineer of the Illinois Department of Health.

"Illinois has two big problems," according to Troemper, a vice president of the association of engineers and technicians who run municipal water works and treatment plants. "First there is metropolitan Chicago and its fringe areas. Lake Michigan furnishes a sure supply of water so long as it is protected from pollution. But downstate we have drought and lowering underground water levels."

RESERVOIRS IN INDIANA

Downstate Indiana, not having many rivers or lakes, is building a series of reservoirs to retain the winter snows and rains and curb floods. These reservoirs are used for filtration plant water supplies and their seepage recharges well supplies.

"If southern Indiana only had that Lake Michigan we woud think for sure we were in the Garden of Eden," said one engineer.

Indiana also is making a survey of the amount of water used for farm irrigation.

Minnesota, under legislation passed in 1955, has a commission surveying water supplies, said Harvey G. Rogers, of the Minnesota Board of Health.

"As in Wisconsin, my State has plenty of water, providing we protect it," said Rogers, naming cold Lake Superior and the Mississippi River, plus smaller lakes and rivers.

Presidential Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, written by George Sokolsky, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 28, 1957, makes most interesting reading:

PRESIDENTIAL SERVICE

(By George Sokolsky)

The first task of a President is to be sure that he is well serviced. Obviously it would have been impossible for President Eisenhower to have delivered his speech on the problems of Israel had he been adequately serviced, for the essential proposition of that speech was an untenable one, namely, that although Soviet Russia committed international crimes, nothing can be done about Soviet Russia because of the enormous size and power of that country and because Russia possesses the veto in the Security Council. Nevertheless it is possible to punish a country which is smaller and less powerful than Soviet Russia and which does not possess the power of veto in the Security Council. These are the President's exact words:

"No one deplores more than I the fact that the Soviet Union ignores the resolutions of the United Nations. Also, no nation is more vigorous than is the United States in seeking to exert moral pressure against the Soviet Union, which by reason of its size and power, and by reason of its veto in the Security Council, is relatively impervious to other types of sanction.

"The United States and other free nations are making clear by every means at their command the evil of Soviet conduct in Hungary. It would be, indeed, a sad day if the United States ever felt that it had to subject Israel to the same type of moral pressure as is being applied to the Soviet Union."

On February 21, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Maxwell Rabb, Secretary to

the Cabinet met with eight citizens who are influential Jews, at the request of the White House. A press story was given out suggesting that a distinction was being made between Zionists and non-Zionists and giving the impression that the eight were non-Zionists, which happened not to be true. All of them are distinguished for their services to Israel, particularly in the matter of fund raising and the sale of Israel bonds in this country. Again, there was evidence of poor service and inaccurate information to the President.

It was suggested in the news stories that were given out that these gentlemen would be primed to bring pressure on Israel, which they could not do. The word "pressure" was toned down in subsequent releases to the press. The gentlemen were embarrassed by the entire proceedings and gave out their own interviews which clearly indicated that they would continue to raise funds for Israel, John Foster Dulles and Maxwell Rabb notwithstanding.

Another instance of bad servicing is undoubtedly the witnessing of Henry Byroade before the Senate committees studying the middle-eastern proposals of the President. Byroade is a State Department perennial who went with Gen. George Marshall to China as an expert and so expertized that General Marshall has since been in a dilemma to explain how it happened that a long truce he advocated benefited the Chinese Reds. Then Byroade was taken off the Far East and eventually landed in Egypt where he should have known that Nasser had made a separate deal with the Russians to exchange arms for cotton and where he should have known that Nasser planned to seize the Suez Canal.

When he appeared before the Senate committees as an expert witness, Byroade seemed, to some Senators, to hold the view that the United States should finance Egypt so that that country can buy more arms from Soviet Russia. It sounds queer as one says it, but some of the Senators gathered that impression.

The President of the United States has an exceedingly difficult position and when he is inadequately serviced, errors are made which often are of such a magnitude that they never can be corrected. The President should have carefully gathered and evaluated data from which the fat of emotionalism and prejudice has been cut away. No other man presently possesses such powers as the President of the United States and therefore no other man can make such monumental mistakes.

The $72 billion budget, which if everything were included would come closer to $100 billion is an error of judgment which even Mr. Eisenhower's Secretary of the Treasury and friend, George Humphrey, had to denounce. That budget can probably be cut by $7 billion but the way it stands, it makes peace more devastating than war.

The Late Alvin F. Weichel

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 24, 1957

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues from Ohio and the other Members of the House in paying tribute to my good friend and former associate in the Congress, Alvin F. Weichel, whose recent death has been a great personal loss to all of us as well as to the State of Ohio and the Nation generally.

Al Weichel, as we called him, was a hard-working, sincere, and able representative of the people in the Congress of the United States. Before coming to Washington, he had established himself as one of the outstanding attorneys at law of our State. He was honest and conscientious; and, as chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, he helped guide through the Congress many important pieces of legislation. He was especially interested in the welfare of shipping and commerce on the Great Lakes, and the people of that section of the United States and Canada owe him a debt of gratitude which can never be repaid.

We shall miss Al Weichel, and we who served with him are better for having known him. He has left behind him the priceless heritage of a good name and to those of us who called him friend and colleague many precious memories.

Federal Aid to Areas of Heavy Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the National Planning Association has recently published a report based on a study by William H. Mierhyk, director of business and economic research, Northeastern University, Boston. The report urges passage of an effective Federal program of aid to areas of heavy unemployment. Such a program has been presented to the Senate in S. 964. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the conclusions reached by Mr. Miernyk which are printed in chapter 8 of the report.

There being no objection, the conclusions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The persistence of localized unemployment in a rapidly expanding economy is a fairly recent phenomenon. Initially, it was hoped that this problem would solve itself through action initiated at the local level. More recently, however, there has been increasing recognition that localized unemployment is more than a local problem. The author of a comprehensive study of economic growth has pointed out that barriers to growth in some areas will affect the economy's overall rate of growth as well as its equilibrating tendencies. Some of our policymakers have now recognized that local areas will require financial and technical assistance if they are to participate fully in the benefits of our expanding economy.

The form which proposed aid to depressed areas would take is fully consistent with our present economic institutions and practices. Government loans to private business have the sanction of past precedent. For some time the Government has made loans to private shipping companies on favorable terms. For more than 20 years the Government, through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, made loans to businesses to avert financial disaster. And when this Corporation expired in 1954, a Small Business Administration, with limited lending powers, was established in its place.

Federal aid in the construction of public works has long been accepted as a proper function of Government. Billions of dollars are spent annually in the construction of roads and other public facilities. The construction of public works in depressed areas, through loans and grants, would be in full accord with this program. Vocational training and rehabilitation would be an extension of public education, and should be conducted through existing educational institutions.

State and Federal agencies have been providing technical assistance to individuals and business establishments for decades. The Department of Agriculture, the United States Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior, the Department of Commerce, and numerous other agencies stand ready to serve the needs of farmers and businessmen with advice and technical assistance. None of the functions to be performed by Government in the proposals to aid depressed areas would be new. The only difference is that this assistance would be limited to specific areas. For this reason, some might raise the cry of special privilege or preferential treatment.

Because of the general interdependence of all sectors of our economy, however, the effects of localized depression ramify far beyond the boundaries of the communities directly affected. When thousands of workers are idle and unproductive for extended periods of time, there is a cumulative effect upon our total output of goods and services. The loss of production at any moment may appear small when measured against our total realized output. Over a sufficiently long period of time, however, this loss could become considerable. Even more important, and more difficult to measure, are the losses in human values. We learned during the great depression that prolonged unemployment has a serious psychological impact upon the individual who comes to feel that his productive services are not needed. This may be even more severe for the individual in a depressed area, since he constantly reads and hears about the economic expansion going on around him and his community.

We have had a decade of experience with local efforts to eliminate persistent localized unemployment. There has been progress, particularly in some areas, but the problem has remained with us throughout several years of high-level employment in the Nation as a whole. The local leaders who have taken the initiative in the redevelopment of their communities deserve much praise. Aggressive, intelligent leadership will always be required if this problem is to be solved. But community leaders should not stand alone. Their efforts are most likely to be rewarded if instead of viewing depressed areas as a series of separate local problems we see them for what they are—parts of a national problem which will require a carefully planned and well-coordinated program if it is to be solved.

Our Ostrich China Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 6, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the events of each week make it more plain that the time has come for our country to

adopt a realistic policy toward China. It seems to me that on this issue Secretary Dulles and the President are lagging behind the people.

For obvious reasons most editors and politicians have been reluctant to tackle this problem. However, this week, in a bold editorial, the Washington Post took a hard look at our old policy and found it wanting. Reprinted below is this provocative editorial:

OUR OSTRICH CHINA POLICY

It is too bad when Secretary Dulles and the administration have so many other foreign issues to worry about, that China policy also must plague them. But that is the inevitable result of the administration's adamant, and in this newspaper's view indefensible, stand against permitting American news correspondents to report from Communist China.

The episode invites new scrutiny of the whole range of policy toward China. Our diplomacy toward Peking is dominated by men who have a religious fervor about evil and who think in terms of absolutes. Not surprisingly, this has led to a sort of Walter Mitty approach based, not upon affairs as they are, but upon affairs as we might like to have them.

Secretary Dulles views as "premature" the intimation by Chairman GREEN, of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the United States must sooner or later consider recognition of Communist China. Perhaps it is. There is no question that the Chinese government is part of world communism, that China joined in the still unliquidated aggression in Korea which cost the lives of thousands of American young men, that she supplied the uprising in Indochina, that she has engaged in barbaric treatment of prisoners (although barbarism is nothing new in China), and that she continues to hold 10 Americans as captives.

Yet it is worth looking at what the United States has or has not done to arrive at some peaceful accommodation with China. The negotiations at Geneva have been tedious, and the Chinese appear to have reneged on a promise to release the prisoners promptly. But we set our face against the dispacth of correspondents whose reporting might hasten release of the prisoners. We use all our influence to keep China out of the United Nations, against the advice and conviction of our friends, and we attempt to persuade our allies not to trade with her.

We cling to the championship of a government on Formosa that daily proclaims its intention to return to the mainland and overthrow the Communist regime. We have spent a sizable proportion of our military and economic aid in helping Chiang Kai-shek. There is little debate about the importance of defending Formosa itself; whomever it rightfully belongs to, it does not belong to the Communists. But scarcely anyone outside Formosa believes that Chiang has a chance to return to the mainland, or even that it necessarily would be a good thing if he could. To a large extent the Nationalist regime is built on a myth. There is a danger that as the years go by this government will atrophy and Formosa will merely be absorbed by the mainland (the Communists already have offered Chiang a vice preidency). In that event we would again have acted as a supply sergeant for the Communists.

Our Formosa doctrine, which was designed to deter Communist conquest, has left hazy the status of the Quemoy and Matsu Islands on the doorstep to the mainland. Yet almost every day Chinese Nationalist pilots fly across the mainland in this area and engage in small hot war. Their planes are supplied by the United States and the pilots themselves are trained by American officers. It is inconceivable that their missions are undertaken without the acquiescence of American officials.

Thus the provocations are by no means all on one side. American policy is following a course very similar to that which prevailed toward Russia after World War I. The patterns set now may influence Chinese hostility for many years into the future. Unhappily, to much of the world the United States appears to be attempting to freeze relationships in an unreal status, to be standing rigidly and blindly against change. No such policy has long succeeded, as we found out in the case of Russia. We shall have to live on the same planet with China whether we like it or not.

Perhaps the worst aspect of the policy of untouchability is that it frustrates knowledge of what is happening, of the failures as well as the claimed successes, in the most populous nation on earth. Inevitably China acts as a sort of magnet in Asia. The magnetism is increased by the evidence that the Peiping government is charting its own course and does not regard itself as subservient to Moscow. China's influence also is strengthened by the reports that the Government has given the 600 million people a new sense of importance and has made considerable economic advance.

The trouble is that without broad reporting of conditions in China there is no way adequately to present the other side of the picture—the shortfallings and regimentation in agriculture, the indignities of the police state, the appalling human cost of the Chinese experiment. Ignorance feeds the magnetism. Among other things, it disadvantages India, which is engaged in a titanic effort to raise living standards by free and democratic means, in the rivalry for the allegiance of Asia.

This sort of head-in-the-sand policy is bound to lose, and the longer we stick to it the more we endanger our prestige and our stake in the Far East. Friendly relations and an overall settlement with Communist China may not be possible at this stage. But it is altogether possible to start bringing American policy back to reality. The first step is to end the artificial restrictions against coverage by American correspondents so that we and the free world may learn more of the actual situation in China. The second is to practice our own preachments about universality in the United Nations and end the crusade to exclude Communist China—seeking at the same time to expand the number of permanent seats on the Security Council and to obtain a separate seat in the Assembly for Formosa.

Two quotations from a most interesting book published in 1950 are apposite:

"Peace is not a static and stagnant condition of the world, but it can be, and should be, a condition of selective change. In the past, war was partly a consequence of the fact that change was inevitable, and that, internationally, there were no means of change except war.

"If the Communist government of China in fact proves its ability to govern China without serious domestic resistance, then it, too, should be admitted to the United Nations * * * if we want to have a world organization, then, it should be representative of the world as it is."

The author was John Foster Dulles.

Professional Baseball Is a Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of March 3, 1957, pointing up the obvious fact that professional baseball is a business and should be placed in the same category of all other businesses within the purvue of our antitrust laws. I have introduced legislation to this effect. It is my opinion that the passage of my legislation would help to bring major league baseball to the west coast and other sections of the country and would break up the unfair and monopolistic practices which have kept the game from truly becoming America's national pastime.

The editorial follows:

SPORTS—BUT BUSINESSES, TOO

Out of the confusion arising from the Supreme Court's recent decision that professional football is a business, and hence subject to the antitrust laws—while baseball is not—have come some proposals which would hardly inject consistency into a situation where consistency is needed.

That the High Court's two contrasting decisions regarding professional football and baseball create an anomaly can't be denied.

In the case of baseball, the Court looked right past the gate receipts, the costly television and radio rights, the tight contracts binding players and fixed its gaze on a 35-year-old decision written by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes holding that Congress didn't intend to place baseball under the antitrust laws. Hence big-league baseball was—and is—legally, a sport.

In the case of professional football, the Court last week looked stonily at the receipts, the players' contracts, and so on; and said it was a business.

Now Congresman OREN HARRIS, of Arkansas, a State which enjoys big-league football and baseball only by way of radio and TV, has come up with an idea scarcely conducive toward straightening things out. He would exempt professional football, basketball, and hockey, as well as baseball, from the antitrust laws. In other words, those four would be pure sports.

Other bills, it is reassuring to note, are being proposed to put professional baseball under the antitrust laws.

Just why these professional sports should be called games, and by implication nonprofit activities which should not be subject to regulation, is hard to understand when we think of other activities depending on spectators such as the movies and the theater.

Since the so-called sports compete with the movies, for instance, why shouldn't the movies be freed from regulation?

There is something to be said for the objection of the pro football club owners that they are treated differently from the baseball owners before the Court. A distinction exists in the original signing of players but it scarcely justifies calling one a sport and the other a business.

But the complaint of George P. Marshall, owner of the Washington Redskins football

team, that the Court decision may result in millionaires taking over professional football will fail to impress the average ticket-buyer.

It has not been disclosed that any paupers are struggling along under the burdens of owning pro football clubs. Rather, with their ability to draft players without their consent, and to ship them from club to club like serfs, the owners sometimes resemble feudal barons.

The answer to the anomaly resulting from the Supreme Court decision isn't for Congress to pass legislation holding that football, baseball, and the others are just games played for fun, while other activities depending on spectators for profits are businesses. It isn't for the legislators to close their eyes to the inescapable fact that professional baseball and football players can't work where they want to, but are moved about like human chattels, even if well-paid ones.

If Congress wants to end the confusion, and strike a healthy note of realism, it should start by recognizing the profitmaking motive in professional sports, and treating them as it does other enterprises that bid for public attendance. The effective way for Congress to do is to bring all of these professional sports under the regulatory provisions of the antitrust laws.

Middle East Economic and Military Cooperation

SPEECH
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS].

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it was interesting to note after the bipartisan approach by the Democratic leader that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS] tried to take credit for the administration for what has happened in the Near East. If you can believe what you read in the papers, the reason we have the situation we have in the Near East is because the Democratic leaders who were down at the White House, when Mr. VORYS suggested sending a resolution up here, saying that the Congress would approve sanctions on Israel, told the President, "Do not send that up to this House." What happened? The Arab nations finally decided they were going to have to do business on a decent basis.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. No; I will not yield.

They finally decided they would have to do business on a decent basis. But the thing that perplexes me and perplexes a lot of people in this country is, Why has this administration hounded—and I use the word advisedly—hounded Israel, a little nation of 2 million people, to get out of Egypt, yet has turned her back on the atrocities committed by the Russians in Hungary and tried to salve our conscience by sending a little bit of bread and some bandages to the Hungarians. If that is not a double moral standard, then I do not know one. About the only other thing I can suggest to amend this resolution, if we could amend it, would be to put some funds in to give Mr. Dulles an umbrella to carry a la Chamberlain at Munich when he goes out to spend the $200 million to bribe the Arab dictators.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Department of Agriculture Subsidies Are Scuttling Waterfowl

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, among the outstanding papers presented at the North American Wildlife Conference, just concluded here, was one by Dr. J. H. Shaeffer, of Parker, S. Dak., chairman of the North and South Dakota Emergency Committee.

The title tells the story: "Department of Agriculture Drainage Subsidies Are Scuttling Waterfowl."

Dr. Shaeffer says waterfowl are making their last stand in the United States; that unwise drainage programs, if continued, will surely spell the end of wildfowling as we know it today.

He calls attention to a contradictory situation in Agriculture Department policy—a situation which, if corrected, would be beneficial to our farmers, our duck hunters, and to those who will come after us.

Because this situation apparently can only be corrected in Congress, I call the attention of my colleagues to the following paper by Dr. Shaeffer:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE DRAINAGE SUBSIDIES ARE SCUTTLING WATERFOWL

(By Dr. J. H. Shaeffer, Parker, S. Dak., chairman, North and South Dakota Emergency Conservation Committee, at the 22d North American Wildlife Conference, March 4, 5, 6, 1957, Washington, D. C.

Production of waterfowl in the United States has received many setbacks. As the industrial revolution progressed, highway and municipal development and drainage programs destroyed much of waterfowl's ancestral breeding grounds. By the turn of the century this country's principal duck-production habitat has been confined to the Midwestern States of Iowa, North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Montana. The first blow to waterfowl in recent times occurred in Iowa's once-famed pothole country. Habitat estimated to have produced between 4 million and 5 million ducks annually was nearly obliterated by privately financed drainage programs. Federal subsidies for drainage finished the job, and Iowa's contribution to annual production declined to a negligible 3,000 to 5,000 ducks.

Since wet-land habitat in both Nebraska and Montana was limited, the salvation of this country's waterfowl became largely dependent upon breeding areas in the prairie pothole region of North and South Dakota and Minnesota, an area, which, today, accounts for approximately 75 percent of the total United States duck production. Make no mistake about it, the ability of waterfowl to perpetuate shootable populations had been placed under severe handicap by nearly a century of wetland despoilation. It soon became evident that the combination of drainage, together with greatly increased hunting pressure, called for drastic action if we were to continue to hunt ducks. Bag limits and length of seasons were slashed—with no small amount of protest from the hunting public. Some complained that these stringent measures were unnecessary, that Canada, the horn of plenty, could produce all the ducks we needed. What these people failed to realize was that the same forces which had destroyed much of our waterfowl potential here were likewise cause for alarm in Canada. Most people, however, went along with the added restrictions and we have been able to salvage a portion of our once countless numbers of waterfowl.

In light of these events, we are acutely aware that unwise drainage programs, if continued, will surely spell the end to wildfowling as we know it today. Waterfowl are making their last stand in the United States. Their ability to perpetuate a shootable surplus throughout this country will be invalidated by any further reduction of breeding habitat in North and South Dakota and Minnesota. Yet, with full knowledge of the consequences to our waterfowl resources, the United States Department of Agriculture continues to encourage a subsidized drainage program in this vital area, under the guise of soil and water conservation. Furthermore, agencies of this Department have not only accelerated subsidized drainage in recent years, but to save this phase of their program, have sabotaged wetland restoration provisions of the Soil Bank Act, in direct contradiction to the expressed wish of Congress.

I am fully aware that this is a strong indictment. Yet, these conclusions are supported by extensive investigation conducted by the North and South Dakota emergency conservation committee. For those of you who may be unfamiliar with the activities of this committee, a brief explanation is in order. The committee was activated about a year ago at the request of the North and South Dakota wildlife federations. Members of both State organizations had become alarmed about the effect of drainage which was causing drastic reduction of water supplies in the two Dakotas and western Minnesota. Frankly, we were primarily concerned with the threat of promiscuous drainage to our agricultural economy. Yet, we recognized that drainage was not merely a local problem. Soil, water, and wildlife resources of national importance were being destroyed, and as such, concerned the entire country.

Since the Agriculture Department had shown callous disregard for the facts as presented time and again by national conservation organizations, we decided to place these facts before a public board of review, comprised of those who stood the most to lose—the people of this country. Our objective was to foster public support for a national water development and protection program wherein the needs of various resources dependent upon water could best be served. This was not an idea which originated with this committee. Congress, some time ago, recognized the need for such a policy, when it put into operation its "multiple use" program for river basin development. This program called for treatment of water-dependent resources in accordance with the greatest public need. The committee believed that the single-purpose drainage policy of the Agriculture Department showed disregard not only for Congress, but the public need as well. Periodic newsletters containing the results of our investigations were

transmitted to State conservation department, State presidents affiliated with the National Wildlife Federation and Izaak Walton League of America, national farm organizations, and over 200 major newspapers from one end of the country to the other. The committee was well pleased with results and felt that their effort had played at least a small part in focusing attention on a matter which was most deserving of public scrutiny.

For reasons of brevity, I shall refer mainly to committee investigations in South Dakota. Please bear in mind, however, that our findings in South Dakota are not unique. Administration of drainage programs in North Dakota and Minnesota are strikingly similar.

Subsidized drainage was introduced into this 3-State area in 1943, for the purpose of stimulating agricultural production to aid in the war effort. From 1944 to 1949, the agricultural conservation program service in South Dakota expended approximately $300,000 for drainage payments, exclusive of the cost of free engineering assistance rendered by the Soil Conservation Service. By 1946, supply of basic agricultural crops was outstripping demand, and by 1949, both farmers and the Government were in serious trouble, as a result of this overproduction.

An imperiled farm economy obviously called for immediate curtailment of production, together with elimination of drainage subsidies. Yet, drainage subsidies were not only retained, their use was accelerated. From 1949 to 1954, nearly $1,200,000 was expended for drainage by the South Dakota ACPS. The inevitable results are now apparent. ACPS and SCS encouragement for the use of financial and free engineering assistance has aggravated the serious problem of unwanted agricultural surpluses, caused tremendous loss of water which is vitally important to the future agricultural economy of this semiarid region, and has destroyed a substantial portion of the last remaining waterfowl-breeding habitat of consequence in the United States.

To recapitulate, here are the committee's findings:

1. Because of improper timing, drainage subsidies appeared to have had little, if any, value in helping to sustain the war effort.

2. Drainage subsidies continue to contribute to present-day surplus problems.

3. Drainage subsidies have resulted in the effective obliteration of over 1 million acres of nationally important waterfowl-breeding habitat in North and South Dakota and Minnesota, and, if continued according to Department of Agriculture plans, will soon destroy the remaining wetlands.

4. The committee was unable to ascertain any logical reason for continuance of drainage subsidies in the prairie pothole region.

These facts are a matter of public record and are well known to the Agriculture Department. A committee, composed of the game directors of North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota, officers of the National Wildlife Federation and the Wildlife Management Institute, the director of the Welder Wildlife Foundation, with the chairman of the North and South Dakota Emergency Conservation Committee, after many weeks of negotiations, secured an audience with the Secretary of Agriculture in September 1956. It had been apparent that previous resolutions and statements concerning subsidized drainage had never been called to the personal attention of the Secretary. Case histories and photographic evidence were presented to the Secretary, showing many instances of drainage projects contrary to the regulations as provided by Congress. Although this committee received a fair and courteous hearing, no definite statement indicating a change in policy has been forthcoming from the Secretary of Agriculture.

Why then does the ACPS insist upon continuing its subsidized drainage program? The Emergency Conservation Committee believes that the South Dakota ACPS annual report for 1954 reveals the main reason for continuing drainage subsidies is this agency's desire to spend all its appropriations. This report states: "Although it is true that over $1 million of South Dakota's budget was turned back to the Federal treasury unused * * * it is the feeling of the State committee that the 1954 program was a successful one as far as accomplishment of true conservation is concerned. Some county committees were too conservative in making commitments for practice approvals and this may have discouraged farmers from carrying out proposed projects in some cases. This is a difficulty which can easily be overcome in the future." Analysis shows that the 1954 ACPS appropriation for South Dakota was approximately $3,600,000, of which over $1 million was returned to the treasury in unexpended funds. No such difficulty (as predicted by the ACPS) was experienced in 1955. Of appropriations totaling approximately $4,700,000 during this latter year, only about $400,000 had to be returned to the public coffers. The Emergency Conservation Committee's opinion as to the reason for continued drainage subsidies or, for that matter, any other unwarranted subsidy, can be summed up by a statement included in a news release published in June of 1956: "The Agricultural Department formerly advocated the control of water at its source. These earlier guiding principles were 'Hold water on the land where it falls' and 'Make water walk—not run—downhill.' Obviously drainage policies no longer follow these basic soil and water conservation principles which apparently have been sacrificed in order to further the expansion of the Agricultural Conservation Program Service and the Soil Conservation Service."

There now appears to be tremendous public interest in programs designed to regain our once important waterfowl heritage. Conservationists, and this term includes not merely a select few, but everyone who believes in the wise use of our natural resources for the greatest public good, looked to the soil bank to help solve many problems which have resulted from subsidizing drainage programs. While the Soil Bank Act of 1956 is primarily directed towards ultimate reduction of surplus agricultural crops, this legislation also carries a clear mandate for the protection and conservation of wildlife values. Conservation organizations whose efforts gave great impetus to the passage of this bill were encouraged by the initial action of the Agricultural Department which administers the program. While this agency failed to publicize the wildlife benefits made possible by the enabling legislation, it, nevertheless, developed regulations which, if properly administered, would go a long way towards restoring vital waterfowl breeding habitat. Practice G–2 for example, which authorized the restoration of previously drained land to its original condition, would not only be of inestimable value to breeding waterfowl but also would tend to "bank" important soil and water resources until needed.

An examination of last year's record will illustrate what may be expected from the soil-bank program in the way of consideration for wildlife. Seemingly taking a cue from national policies of the Department of Agriculture to disregard initiation of wildlife benefits, some State ACPS committees made the arbitrary determination that all money expended for drainage would have to be repaid before farmers could participate in benefits from practice G–2. This attempt to scuttle the restoration of wetlands was viewed with alarm by the International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners at their recent meeting in Toronto. Subsequent inquiry by this organization revealed that this action to restrict the restoration of wetlands was contrary to the national policy of he Department of Agriculture. This revelation of national policy presented a problem. It is clear that the ACPS administrators, who had gone to great lengths to popularize subsidized drainage, hoped that their move to block any extensive use of practice G–2 would go unchallenged. They recognized that the ACPS and SCS could not long endure the public protest which was certain to occur with the continuation of two subsidized programs which were diametrically opposed.

These agencies have known for several years that their drainage operations have been highly detrimental to the Nation's waterfowl resources. Moreover, in many cases, they have not served the best interests of agriculture. To turn about and encourage the restoration of some of these same wetlands, drained under past programs, would be an indirect admission that their previous attempts at drainage were wrong. Undaunted by initial failure to play down the wildlife provisions of the soil-bank program, and in particular, G–2, another, more subtle, approach was employed. For years, the Agricultural Department with its unlimited facilities, had fostered the idea that the Soil Conservation Service was the primary wildlife conservation agency in the land, that this agency sponsored more genuine conservation than the combined efforts of all State conservation departments, and the Fish and Wildlife Service. The facts, of course, prove otherwise. Basically, the SCS is a farm planning organization interested mainly in agricultural capabilities. As such, it should be recognized that any wildlife benefits are purely incidental and secondary to its farm planning activities. For example, small dams constructed for livestock watering in the west river country of North and South Dakota have created waterfowl nesting habitat, but these areas cannot make up the production loss from natural breeding areas destroyed by drainage in the eastern part of these States.

Supported by the belief that the SCS would be acceptable in view of the favorable publicity received, the ACPS appointed this agency to administer the wildlife practices of the soil bank program. Perhaps this action would have passed unnoticed had the SCS sufficient qualified personnel to carry out the program. The fact remains, however, that the SCS has only one biologist in each of the States of North and South Dakota and Minnesota. Presumably the solitary biologist in each of these States will eventually work out a program to be administered by work unit conservationists—the same people who have been instrumental in encouraging the drainage program. If this happens, it is clear that the ACPS and SCS will have successfully blocked any extensive use of practice G–2 for the restoration of areas previously obliterated under the drainage program. The Agriculture Department pleads that this program cannot effectively be administered by any organization outside their jurisdiction. However, this attitude is not consistent. The United States Forest Service realistically faced their personnel shortage in South Dakota and delegated authority for administering the forestry practices of the soil bank to the forestry division of the department of game, fish and parks. The SCS has the same option as the Forest Service—but to make the department resopnsible for the wildlife practices would have serious consequences to subsidized drainage.

This, ACPS and SCS attempts to retain subsidized drainage portends the failure of wildlife practices of the soil bank program. It becomes clearly evident, therefore, that the ACPS, and SCS, who have merely given lip service to the cause of wildlife conservation, are directly responsible for the decline of this Nation's waterfowl resources. Yet,

in the final analysis, the individual and collective membership of national conservation organizations bear a share of this blame for permitting subsidized drainage to continue as a part of the Department of Agriculture's program. Recognizing this fact, we must redouble our efforts to eliminate this practice. It is now apparent that the ACPS does not intend to recognize the status of waterfowl, but plans to continue its program of promiscuous drainage in the three waterfowl-producing States, where areas, in many instances, are suffering from the worst drought in 25 years. In the stricken areas of the Dakotas and Minnesota, the Agriculture Department must answer to future generations, not only for the loss of our waterfowl breeding grounds, but explain the destruction of water tables in an area that only receives enough rainfall in normal years to produce a crop.

It is not unusual in the history of these United States to discover that top officials in Government have made serious errors in judgment. To maintain a policy that is not in the best interest of all the people is foreign to our way of life. Many local ACPS committees and SCS personnel would welcome the elimination of subsidized drainage because they realize their administrative responsibility in connection with this practice has often been contrary to proper water utilization.

If necessary, a congressional investigation should be initiated which will pave the way for the passage of adequate legislation to preserve important wet lands. Such legislation is vitally important and basic to any forward-looking program for the preservation of our waterfowl heritage. With subsidized drainage eliminated, appropriate State and Federal conservation agencies should investigate the possibilities of public stewardship of important waterfowl breeding habitat.

It would then be possible, for complete cooperation among the Agriculture Department, State and Federal wildlife agencies, and conservation organizations, to effect a constructive program of water development and protection for the benefit of all our people. Only through such cooperation can we hope to stabilize our agricultural economy and preserve our great national waterfowl heritage.

It appears at this time that our hope for relief is the Congress of the United States. We can prevent this national catastrophe, if we care enough.

Some More on What the State Department Does Not Know

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the following excerpt from Drew Pearson's syndicated column of March 7, 1957, will be as surprising as it is enlightening:

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND—TUNISIA PREMIER STRANGER HERE

(By Drew Pearson)

The State deftly censored it from the record released to the press, but Ambassador Henry Byroade admitted to Senators to recently that he never heard of one of America's best friends in the Middle East, Prime Minister Bourguiba of Tunisia.

Byroade was formerly Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Middle Eastern affairs, then Ambassador to Egypt. He is supposed to know everything about the Middle East, and for that reason, was flown from his new post in South Africa to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations-Armed Services Committee on President Eisenhower's Middle East doctrine.

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, Minnesota Democrat, asked the question about Prime Minister Bourguiba. But Byroade didn't know who he was.

"You were Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs, were you not?" asked HUMPHREY incredulously.

"Yes sir," said Byroade.

"You mean to tell this committee you don't know of Prime Minister Bourguiba?" snapped the Senator.

Byroade acknowledged that he had not heard of Bourguiba.

"I can't understand it," HUMPHREY shook his head. "He is one of the most prominent leaders and one of this country's best friends in the area that was under your jurisdiction."

Byroade's amazing confession was made behind closed doors. Before the transcript was made public, the State Department carefully censored this telltale admission out of the record.

Hungarian Freedom Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago the American Lithuanian Society of Washington, D. C., commemorated the 39th anniversary of Lithuanian National Independence. On that occasion a significant and timely address was delivered before the members of that society gathered at the Dupont Plaza Hotel. The speaker was Edward M. O'Connor, longtime friend of the people of the Baltic States and a keen student of events which have taken place behind the Russian Iron Curtain since the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.

The title of that address was "Total Revolution," which the speaker described as the new dimension of international politics created by the Hungarian freedom revolution. The speaker also pointed out that the Warsaw pact is the hangman's noose for the conspirators of the Kremlin because none of the armed forces of the so-called satellite states are or ever will be loyal to the Russians and only await the day when they can rise up against the Russian occupation forces.

I believe this address presents an expert analysis of events which have taken place behind the Iron Curtain in the last 6 months and what these events mean to the future of millions and millions of people enslaved behind that Iron Curtain.

Under leave granted, I include the address entitled "Total Revolution," as follows:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished diplomatic representations of Lithuania and Latvia, representatives of the United States Government, reverend members of the clergy, honored guests, and my dear friends, it's a pleasure for me to be here today with you to commemorate the 39th anniversary of the national independence of your beloved homeland, Lithuania. All the previous speakers have said that this year there is something in the air. I put it this way. There is reason to believe, this year, more than ever before, that the days of enslavement of Lithuania are numbered, and that they are very few.

We began today's commemorative ceremony in a most appropriate way—with High Mass at St. Matthew's Cathedral, and a magnificent sermon pointed to the high purposes for which we meet. And then, a gathering here to discuss further the opportunities that are ours—that belong to us as free men and free women. I think the past year, 1956, carried with it events of great importance. One distinguished Member of Congress has said that the Hungarian Revolution was the most significant political action since the great American Revolution for freedom and national independence. I believe that that is true.

We have learned a lot of things from the Hungarian Revolution, and there are lessons from that revolution which hold high hope for the future of Lithuania and the future of all the nations enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. I would like this morning to discuss just a few of them with you.

The first is that the youth of Hungary who had been subjected to the most concentrated indoctrination of communism were the ones who sparked the revolution. The way to revolution had been prepared, yes, well prepared. Communism, as a system, prepares the way for revolution. It creates discontent among all the people. Any scholar of revolutionary events knows that actual conditions of life best prepare the way for any revolution. But I repeat, the youth, the ones that many had given up as lost to freedom's cause, were the ones who sparked it. That's a lesson we must never forget. It may very well be that the youth will save the world of tomorrow, because we, in this generation of leadership, may fail to understand our opportunities or may lack the courage to take advantage of them.

The second thing is: that the workers and peasants in every country occupied by communism only wait the opportunity to spring upon their tormentors. This was well demonstrated in the Hungarian revolution. All of the people rose up in revolt. The workers quickly joined with the students who had begun a peaceful demonstration in sympathy for the Polish patriots of Poznan. And almost, it seems, by the hand of God, the revolution was set off. The workers were quick to prove they were not on the side of communism. They are the dedicated enemies of communism. That, all of us must never forget.

The third thing is: that the invincibility—the myth of invincibility—that has been built up around the Red army has been torn down. It took teen-age Hungarian youth, with nothing more than paving stones that they took up out of the street, and at the risk of their lives, stuck them into the treds of Russian tanks, to prove to us that the Red army is not what we have far too long believed it to be. It is not made up of heroic or dedicated people, nor is it made up of unbeatable giants. It is most vulnerable because the human element in it is undependable. A classic example of my point was made during the first days of the Hungarian revolution. Elements of the Red army quickly deserted. These elements not only deserted, but they struck against the very army in which they wore the uniform.

I speak of the Ukranians and some Turks and the non-Russian elements in the Red army. They have demonstrated they are completely undependable from the point of view of the Kremlin masters. Even some of the Russians turned upon the Red army that they are supposed to be dedicated to.

There is the story of a whole garrison of the Red army in the outlands of Hungary who were starving. Their wives and children needing milk and other foods. The Russians said, "We are not your enemies. We are on your side. We may not kill you." The Hungarian revolutionaries took care of them, fed their children. This underscores the weakness of the supply lines of the Russians, another fact of importance that all of us should remember.

The next is that the Warsaw Pact, concerning which the masters of the Kremlin have talked long and loud, has been demonstrated as the hangman's noose around the conspiracy of communism. The Hungarian Army proved that to be a fact. As a man they rose up in defense of their homeland. They used the Russian tanks, the Russians guns, and the other Russian equipment to strike against the common tormentor. The Russians should think long about this as they face the future with increasing fear of the people they enslave, exploit, and degrade. The Warsaw pact is the hangman's noose around the neck of the Russian Empire.

Another myth, the myth of the invincibility of the police state has been exploded. We have been led to believe that so strong was the control, the tyrannical control of the regime over the people, that any thought of revolution, of widespread dissent, was impossible. We have been relieved of that misconception, I hope. But out of this exploded myth has grown something more important. And that is, that there is a new dimension to revolution. Those who think of revolution against tyranny as being made up of a handful of underground workers and their helpers throughout the occupied country, are wrong. That is archaic. It is a theory of the past. Communism has given us something new, a new dimension of revolution; a revolution of a whole people, a whole nation, rising up as one, needing no secret underground, needing no encouragement from the outside, but striking because there is no other course open to them. This I call total revolution. There is a point to which mankind can be pressed from which there is no turning back and there must be action against the tormentor. This is the new dimension that the policy planners and those who hope to see freedom reign throughout the world must henceforth consider as an established fact in their planning. The next point is that the people behind the Iron Curtain are not prepared to fight and to die for limited goals. Their goal is a simple one. It is full human freedom. It is unequivocal national independence. Any scholar of events attending the Hungarian revolution will bear testimony to that statement. It would be folly for any western leaders henceforth to preach limited goals to the people behind the Iron Curtain. To make such a proposal or to support such a proposal is to do violence to the will of the enslaved people. Our position has got to be attachment to, and unequivocal support for, full freedom, full national independence.

And then, I believe that the people behind the Iron Curtain, all of them, our dear Lithuanian friends in Lithuania and in every one of the countries behind the Iron Curtain, have also learned some lessons. I think the first they have learned is that the free world was completely unprepared for total revolution which took place in Hungary only a few months ago. "Unprepared" is the word.

In my view, we had somewhat gone to sleep. We had almost been willing to believe that an impasse had been reached. That there was nothing we could do to aid the enslaved nations without causing war. Some people began to say that it was in our own interests, sad to say, to accept a situation of status quo with the Russian tyrants. Thus, we were ill prepared for the great events of last October–November. I speak of all the free world. The people behind the Iron Curtain know that. We have got to face up to it. We have got to be prepared for the next one, which, surely as day follows night, shall occur behind the Iron Curtain.

The second lesson, I believe, that the people behind the Iron Curtain have learned is, that the United Nations has a very long way to go before it measures up to the hopes of the enslaved people and nations. I say this from a very careful examination of the political events attending the Hungarian revolution and those which attended the introduction to total revolution in Poland. Two signs were posted from one end of Budapest to the other, with whitewash on the walls and windows and buildings. First was "Ruskies go home," which is the common slogan of 80 percent of the people within the Russian Empire. The second one was, "Free elections under United Nations supervision." I've talked with many who have escaped from Hungary after it was necessary for them to get out, particularly those who took part in this great try for freedom. They told me that the revolutionaries, those who suddenly seized control, came to the fore and helped lead the masses of people against their tormentors, all felt that the United Nations would save them. Let us never forget the Hungarians won their freedom and national independence. They drove the Russians out of Budapest. Make no mistake about that. There were 4 days of Hungarian freedom. Then they appealed to the United Nations to save their freedom. They wanted the condemnation of world opinion upon the Russians if they dared to come back in there. Let us all hope that the United Nations, in the future—because surely the opportunity will come again—will be prepared to do whatever is necessary to guarantee such hard-won freedom and national independence.

And the third thing as I see it is: that the will of the whole people cannot be defeated by communism or any other tyrannical doctrine or system. It is impossible to defeat a whole nation when its people are determined to be free. The forces of tyranny can only temporarily deter them from winning their goal; they cannot keep them from it.

I am convinced that the Hungarian people are prepared to die rather than give up their victory for freedom. Right at this moment they are continuing to fight for that victory. And they will continue to fight by every conceivable means. They will continue on and on and on until their destiny with freedom is fulfilled.

It is against this background that I look to the future with you, thinking of Lithuania and her sister Republics of Latvia and Estonia, and all the other nations enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. I am certain that full freedom, that the drive for national independence which sweeps from one end of the Communist empire to the other will be attained. And I like to look beyond that happy day. I believe if we have only the goals of bringing freedom and national independence to these enslaved nations we may fall victim to the very thing that happened in the critical periods of 1917 to 1920 and 1939 through 1945. We've got to look beyond national independence as a goal for all these nations. We ought to begin thinking about the need for free regional federations, to be composed of free and independent nations brought together on the principle of equal among equals, the dedicated to preserving all those interests which are common to the regional bloc. I believe if we do not do this we will not have prepared the way for order, for justice, and for freedom in that part of the world now occupied by the Communists. Worse still, by such negligence, we will permit the reestablishment of the despotic Russian Empire, even though its outward form may differ from the present one.

I believe, too, as a starting point, we can take the Association of American States as an example of free, regional federation. It is a good example of the principle of equal among equals, where you have the principle of national independence protected, and where you have the goal of mutual progress and betterment without taking away any of the basic characteristics of any of the member states. Those are the goals that the people behind the Iron Curtain seek.

In closing, I join with you in a fervent hope and prayer that we will not pass one more commemoration of Lithuania's national independence before Lithuania is free, independent, and joining with us in this memorable occasion.

Ancient Schools Make Poor Environment for Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, one of the basic issues which this Congress must decide is the matter of Federal aid for school construction. The time and the study which the 84th and 85th Congresses gave and will give to this matter is indicative of the strength and basic superiority of the democratic system of government to that of all others which nations have developed through the centuries.

All sides of the issue are being studied, and all opponents and proponents are being heard.

Can we afford it? This is a question that is being asked in the richest Nation in the history of the world, a Nation with the highest standard of living anywhere, any time—a Nation that has given aid to nations abroad in recent years to the extent of more than $50 billion.

Can we not afford decent schools for our children? This question also is being asked. Actually, a great many taxpayers want the Federal Government to help build decent schools for their children. Working together, the cities, the States, and the Federal Government, the schools will be built. Working separately or at cross-purposes the schools will not be built.

Some of the facts regarding our schools were presented in graphic and compelling terms by a friend of mine, Ray Hasson, in an article on the editorial page of one of the great newspapers in my New Jersey district—the Trentonian.

There are 8 schools in the city of Trenton alone that are more than 50 years old. These schools do not measure up to good educational standards. Trenton is a city of approximately 150,000 people, it is a fine city, a forward-looking city, a city of fine homes, and a

great body of intelligent and hard-working citizens.

Yet here are 8 schools, each of which is more than 50 years old. It cannot be denied that ancient schools sometimes make poor environments for growing children.

Mr. Hasson says the rooms in these eight schools are dank and dark, floors are bare wood and sag and creak, and grooves worn in the floors through the years are etched in ineradicable grime.

The practical fact is, according to Dr. Richard B. Robinson, superintendent of schools, it is costing the taxpayers extra money in maintenance costs for these old buildings. The maintenance costs are almost enough to pay for a bond issue to finance new schools.

Multiply this situation by many times in other cities across the country where, business and civic leaders report, similar conditions exist and the answer is clear: We cannot afford not to have good schools.

The Federal budget contains Defense Department appropriations running upward of $43 billion, while foreign aid over the past 10 years has been at the rate of $5 billion a year.

Meanwhile we neglect the priceless asset which makes this country great and free—our children and their education.

I include here Ray Hasson's fine article from the Trentonian of March 7, 1957:

ANCIENT SCHOOLS MAKE POOR ENVIRONMENT

(By Ray Haeson)

Around Trenton: I hate to be a spoilsport and hand the city commissioners another fiscal headache now that they have concluded their agonizing and marathon wrestle with the 1957 budget. But people in my business are supposed to point out the "awful" truth.

And in this case it is that there are 8 schools in the city that are more than 50 years old and hardly measure up to modern educational standards.

The schools are Cadwalader, Columbus, Cook, Harrison, Jefferson, McClellan, Mott, and Gregory.

They may look good and solid—from the outside—because they're built of brick. But because of their drab interior construction and the virtual inability to modernize rooms, they do not make a good environment for the kids who have to stay in them for 6 hours a day, 5 days a week.

Take two of them, for example.

Columbus, on Brunswick Avenue, near the circle, has concrete hall floors. The rooms are old, dank, and dark. The ceilings are of that configurated metal that was the cat's meow 50 years ago. There are as many coats of varnish on the hall paneling as the school is old.

At McClellan, the basement rooms are like catacombs—and they have classes in these rooms. Drapes in the auditorium are 30 years old. The stage is only 10 feet deep. The auditorium seats are of such ancient vintage that I don't remember ever seeing any like them.

The real danger here is from exposed first floor beams. They are dry as tinder. Floors in these old buildings are bare wood, with no covering. They sag and creak. Grooves worn in floors by generations of kids are etched in unerasable grime.

In contrast, Stokes school is bright and sharp. The walls in the halls are of tile, which means maintenance costs are cut and fire danger is at a minimum.

Rooms and furniture are clean, modern, bright. There's a spring to the rubber tile floors. And the kids seem to have more bounce than their fellows in the ancient schools.

The only brightness in the older schools comes from the drawings and crazy-quilt pasteups the kids and teachers hang up on the walls.

According to Dr. Richard R. Robinson, schools superintendent, educational surveys have shown that environment—meaning the school building—has a marked effect on a child's ability to learn—pleasant surroundings make it easier.

But added to this is the practical fact that it's costing the taxpayers extra money in maintenance costs for these older buildings, according to Dr. Robinson. In fact the maintenance costs almost are enough to pay for a bond issue that would finance new schools, he adds.

Furthermore, there is the question Dr. Robinson keeps asking, but to which he gets no answer:

"How much can you pay for the safety of children?"

Reviewing Our Needs for Scenic Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, I am among the Members of this body who have introduced a bill to provide for a comprehensive review of America's outdoor recreation resources.

We want to know what this Nation has now; what is our potential; what we will require in the future, and what we should be doing to assure that we can meet the future requirement.

In this connection, my attention has been called to the following excerpt from an article entitled "Reviewing Our Needs for Scenic Resources" in the Sierra Club bulletin by David R. Brower, executive director:

REVIEWING OUR NEEDS FOR SCENIC RESOURCES

(By David R. Brower)

In the course of the year it has been my privilege to represent the Sierra Club at various meetings about the country and to stress the importance of the concept of the scenic resources review. As far as I could tell, the reaction has been reassuringly favorable every time. The concept adapts itself well to just about every kind of conservation contest we have entered. Perhaps a condensation of part of the testimony I gave will serve two purposes: show in some detail what has been said about several subjects which concern the club—water development, forests, parks, wildlife, wilderness, roads—and clarify their relation to the scenic resources review.

ON THE COLUMBIA BASIN

A typical presentation is the statement made at hearings held by the Army Corps of Engineers in Missoula and Spokane on July 9 and 10 concerning ways to revise earlier plans for control of the Columbia River and its tributaries—an international problem, and very complex. I said in part:

"In behalf of the Sierra Club, I am appearing to request that the agencies charged with Columbia Basin water development, as well as other interested groups here, give most careful consideration to planning for the preservation of the Columbia Basin's scenic resources in the course of working out a program of water development. We hope that all groups may work together to assure that the needs of progress are met without sacrifice of unique qualities which are of great importance to the region and to the Nation—qualities which cannot be put together again once they have been taken apart.

"The Sierra Club is 64 years old. It consists of more than 10,500 members from all walks of life and all parts of the country, but most of them from California. The club has members who are prominent and many more who are not. They share one purpose: to explore, enjoy, and protect the natural scenic resources, including the wildlife resources, which make this land America the beautiful. We are conservationists, all interested in wise use, but especially interested in preserving from development those scarce and special places in our vanishing wilderness which dollars can never replace in kind and for which there will always be human need.

"We are a small part of what you might call a national force that has been building to protect the special resource of parks, wilderness, and wildlife. That force is represented, in a way, by the Natural Resources Council of America, of which I am the present chairman. This is a forum of 37 national and regional conservation organizations having a total membership of 2 million. That force is further represented by the voice of the people themselves, who are realizing in increasing numbers that the few samples we have left of original America must not be sacrificed needlessly.

"Witness that public force on the national scene as it was measured in this Congress In the controversy over Dinosaur National Monument and the proposed Echo Park Dam, the Colorado River storage project bill was doomed to a 70–90 vote defeat in the House of Representatives so long as Dinosaur was threatened. The threat was removed, whereupon the bill coasted through with a 120-vote majority.

"The same force brought a 3 to 1 defeat at the polls last November in New York State to a proposal to invade part of the Adirondacks which New York citizens wanted to keep forever wild—strong wilderness support in spite of eminent opposition.

"The same force showed itself recently at the city level in Eugene, Oreg., where the people chose at the polls not to sacrifice for a power project a beautiful stretch of wild stream, the McKenzie River headwaters. Similar forces are developing rapidly to protect the intangible values of the Rogue River.

"All I am trying to say is that we are witnessing a change in the American temper—witnessing a mature realization, in the nick of time, that we must vigorously and dynamically support the preservation of our scenic resources and especially our living wilderness. This doesn't mean that we're building a breed of people who don't like man's handiwork; it's just that people are discovering that even the most civilized man needs places where he can appreciate what God's handiwork is like, unaided by man. People are recognizing that we cannot forever continue to multiply and subdue the earth without losing our standard of life and the natural beauty that must be part of it.

"POLICIES APPLICABLE TO THE BASIN

"The Sierra Club believes that the flood-control and power-development needs in the Columbia Basin can be met without jeopardy to important scenic and wildlife resources. There should be optimum use of damsites which do not imperil these resources, no matter whether public or private agencies or a combination of both build on the acceptable sites. These sites should be developed fully enough to meet the overall flood-control requirements with a minimum number of structures. There should be proof that there is no alternative course of action before irrevocable damage is inflicted upon

the important scenic and wildlife resources.

"The club—and this is the general feeling in most other conservation organizations I know of—is in favor of sound water development. However, we consider it not in the public interest in the long run, and therefore oppose, any dam or reservoir proposal which would adversely affect a national park or monument or duly designated wilderness area.

"Conservationists, in general, are feeling a growing concern about indirect peril to major scenic resources. For example, the Citizens' Committee on Natural Resources, Washington, D. C., have already voiced conservation opposition to what they are convinced is inadequate development in Hells Canyon. They are not concerned with the public versus private power controversy. But they are concerned with the threat to major scenic and wildlife values arising from partial development in Hells Canyon. Nearly 3 million acre-feet of storage is seemingly about to be blocked there. This has already led the Corps of Engineers to seek replacement storage on the Clearwater River, where conservationists are opposing the proposed Bruce's Eddy and Penny Cliffs Dams. Likewise, apparently, the Bureau of Reclamation is seeking further control of the upper Snake River in the tremendously important scenic country above the Narrows, in Wyoming, and in Grand Teton National Park and the Teton wilderness area, an effort which conservationists must oppose.

"CONSERVATIONISTS THINKING ON THE COLUMBIA

"Let me summarize conservationist reasoning here, so that you may understand it even if agreement with it may not be unanimous:

"1. It is clear, in the Columbia Basin, that there is not enough flood control now.

"2. Remedial action can take four forms:

"(a) Flood insurance. This still requires more legislative pioneering; it will not save lives.

"(b) Evacuation of flood plain by zoning to prevent new construction or replacement of present structures. This is uphill work, literally and figuratively.

"(c) Upstream-watershed management. Practiced with care, this is good conservation; but, it is not effective in controlling the big floods.

"(d) Flood-retarding structures — mid-basin dams and lower basin channel improvement. This action has strong engineering and political backing. We are spending billions on it.

"3. To protect scenic resources from flood-control action we must concern ourselves with the effects of dams.

"4. The corps and the Bureau agree that to skim the flood crest from the Columbia River, we need a main-control plan, and eventual flood-control storage of 20 to 30 million acre-feet can be presumed.

"5. Scenic resource needs should be integrated with this flood-control need.

"6. Whenever storage is provided, someone's special interest will be damaged.

"7. The first projects authorized should be those causing tangible damage which can be reimbursed with money, for example, at a cost in dollars, railroads, and highways can be rerouted, power generation can be substituted for, and farmland can be replaced in kind.

"8. The very last to be authorized should be those projects causing damage which no amount of money can replace. This would include damage to national parks and wilderness which man cannot duplicate.

"As things stand, in the Columbia River Basin, we seem still to need to provide about 15 million more acre-feet of usable storage in the main control plan. Conservation opposition has delayed about 2 million at Glacier View and will probably continue to delay it indefinitely. Partial development plans seem to have blocked 3 million at the John Day and Priest Rapids sites; partial plans are in the process of blocking nearly 3 million at Hells Canyon and may well be about to block 3.5 million at Buffalo Rapids No. 4 if a run-of-the-river plant is built instead of a major storage structure at Paradise; moreover, the smaller development will add greatly to the pressure for major upstream storage in Glacier National Park, either at Glacier View or at Smoky Range. Conservationists will be forced to oppose both of them.

"Thus, to many conservationists, the solution would seem to be to assure full development at Paradise, Hells Canyon, Libby, and in the outlet-works improvement at Grand Coulee, saving the upper reaches of the Flathead in Glacier National Park, the Snake in and near Teton National Park, the Salmon, and the Clearwater for scenic and wildlife resources, which in all probability will be in very short supply by the year 2000.

"CONCLUSION

"The Columbia Basin is an especially good area in which to initiate a scenic resources review—a comprehensive plan for adequately protecting now, with an eye to the long-range future, an optimum reservation of the basin's scenic resources of parks, wilderness, and wildlife and their tangible and intangible values for public use, enjoyment, and education.

"The plan would consist of a cooperative inquiry by many agencies to develop answers to five basic questions. * * * We believe that the best possible answers to these questions should be sought out before irrevocable decisions are made. Adequate answers are not now available. The Nation has immediate need for a broad perspective such as detailed answers to these questions could provide. We believe such a long-range interagency study can be conducted within the framework of present law. Or it may need new legislation. We invite your comment and help."

Mr. Speaker, it is his suggestion that there be a scenic resources survey and a reappraisal and a reevaluation of the water resource development program in the Columbia Basin from this standpoint.

This proposal of a comprehensive plan for adequately protecting now, with an eye to the future, an optimum reservation of the basin's scenic resources could well be considered as part of the Corps of Engineers review of the 308 report, overall plan for main-stem flood control on the Columbia.

This article demonstrates that Mr. Brower and other conservationists are taking an affirmative position on water resource development. They are intent on finding sites for multipurpose dams which will store the most flood water, provide for the fullest possible use of our water resources, while at the same time protecting irreplaceable recreation resources in the public interest.

Your Income Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, constituents, no longer requesting, are now demanding—as is their right—that we quit taking from their pockets dollars to waste, spend on unnecessary activities, or give or loan to other nations which are well able to supply their own needs.

They may ultimately take from Congress the power to levy excessive taxes upon their earnings.

The national debt is piling up, the interest charge alone is around seven billion dollars a year.

It is evident that just as long as it can tax and spend and a majority be reelected, the Congress will continue to do so.

On the theory that if it does not have the money, the Congress, because it cannot, will not be able to add an ever-increasing burden upon the taxpayer, a proposal to repeal the 16th amendment, which implemented the levying of the income tax, has been introduced by me. That resolution—House Joint Resolution 232—read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:

ARTICLE —

SECTION 1. After 5 years from the ratification of this article, the 16th article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is repealed, and thereafter the Congress shall not have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes derived from any source.

SEC. 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within 7 years from the date of its submission.

It has been asked—if the amendment is adopted, where will we get the dollars to replace those lost by the adoption of this amendment?

Under the power to levy taxes, Congress can always find ways of providing adequate funds for all necessary governmental activities. The gentleman from Illinois, Congressman MASON, of the Ways and Means Committee, has suggested several.

Power to levy a tax to meet wasteful or unnecessary spending should no longer be in the hands of the Congress.

The power to levy income taxes should be restored to the States, where those who pay the tax can make their desires known to their State representatives, who can be forced to do the peoples will.

Pressure groups, lobbying for additional spending—wasteful or otherwise—will then be forced to deal with members of the State legislature who are, comparatively speaking, next-door neighbors to the taxpayers who are opposed to either unnecessary or wasteful spending. Because of proximity, direct contact, the taxpayers should be able to more effectively attain their objective.

People who want relief from the present outrageous income tax burden should write the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER and the Honorable KENNETH KEATING, Washington, D. C., respectively the chairman and ranking minority member of the House Committee on the Judiciary, requesting a hearing on this resolution.

Appendix

Weapons Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech given by the Honorable Richard E. Horner, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Research and Development, on the subject Weapons Development, which Secretary Horner presented at a meeting of the Palm Beach Resources Development Board:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests. I am honored to be your guest and pleased to have the opportunity to discuss with such a distinguished audience some of the important considerations that affect our progress in the development of new weapons for the defense of our country. In addition it is always a personal pleasure of mine to visit your State and I am deeply grateful for the warm hospitality you have so kindly offered.

It seems to me that this audience has a special interest in the subject of weapons development. Over and above the concern for our military preparedness which I am sure you share with all Americans, a particular awareness undoubtedly results from the location of some of our most important facilities for testing new planes and missiles within the boundaries and over the surrounding waters of this State. At Eglin Air Force Base the pilots and technicians of our Air Proving Ground Command and the Air Force Armament Center are operating new bombers, supersonic fighters and electronic components of their bombing, navigation, and fire control systems under test and simulated combat conditions.

It is also noteworthy that the Air Force's first experimental guided missile group was established at Eglin in 1946. That pioneer venture into the guided missile field was the forerunner of extensive missile testing programs which are now being directed from Patrick Air Force Base just north of here. At this installation we are gaining vital missile performance data from test equipment along the 5,000-mile range extending from Cape Canaveral into the South Atlantic. The missile operating procedures we are developing at Patrick will help speed the introduction of these new weapons into our operating combat elements.

You might be interested in one indication of the growing importance of the Patrick installation in our missile program—the trend of expenditures to support the base and its system of testing stations. In 1955 these expenditures amounted to $34,342,000. During 1956 they increased to $41,871,000 and we are estimating that our 1957 costs will approximate twice the 1956 account.

I am confident that all of you are justifiably proud of the direct contribution which the State of Florida is making to our deterrent striking power through its support of these key defense facilities. Considering these important local aspects of your association with the Air Force's research and development program, I feel especially privileged to be with you tonight.

Any discussion of weapons development might very well take into account a great number of topics beginning with that of identifying requirements for new weapons and proceeding through the myriad of administrative, technical, production, and testing facets of the research and development program. However, it seems to me that it might be most appropriate to consider tonight the problems we encounter from a technical management standpoint, and the methods we employ in dealing with them. One of the management problems that has been receiving a great deal of our attention recently is that of reducing the development time cycle. Our competition behind the Iron Curtain has brought forcefully to our attention the need to minimize the elapsed time required to bring a new weapon from concept to operational development. We have seen little evidence of marked technical or industrial superiority in the Soviet dominated sphere but with their governmental and economic system and from their vantage point of observing the directions taken by our defense effort, they have demonstrated a remarkable facility for making the necessary determinations and prosecuting them with vigor and dispatch. The resultant decrease in the qualitative gap in some of the important areas of military technology, provides us with an incentive to look more closely at our own procedures of management and herein also lies a danger—if we permit ourselves to become too fascinated with the simple objective of producing new weapons on a shorter time scale some of the technical and military facts of life may be obscured. A measure looking toward a reduction in development time which does not recognize the need for a superior end product may in the long run cost us time, money, and military advantage.

To illustrate my point, let's consider the seemingly simple process of initiating development for a new weapon. There are two major factors that influence the amount of time require: First, the degree of technical difficulty associated with the development; and, second, the administrative arrangements and management decisions which must precede actual development work. There is quite a definite interrelationship between these technical and administrative elements of the problem. As the technical aspects become more complicated they tend to create differences of opinion at the management level which must be resolved to permit enabling decisions. The development plans that propose highly involved technical programs are regarded as high-risk solutions to our military requirements; and support for such proposals is notably difficult to obtain. A principal reason for this may be the requirement for a heavy outlay of funds and other resources without complete assurance of success. This of course is the nemesis of all research and development effort. It can be readily seen that any program dedicated to the improvement of the quality of our weapons which attempted only the sure thing would be rather sterile. Our effort should be, instead, to assure the proper balance between risk accepted, military advantage to be gained, and resource investment that is required. However, we must recognize that as the size of this investment increases there is a more careful scrutiny of such factors as vulnerability, performance increment, and maintainability to the end that administrative lead times are sometimes intolerably increased. All of these factors lead us to the conclusion that we might accrue tremendous benefits through seeking simpler, more ingenious solutions as opposed to the highly sophisticated complex and expensive answers to our stated military requirements.

It is worth noting that we seem too frequently to indulge in the typical, head-on, impatient, American method of problem solving. By this I mean we are inclined to smother a project by brute force, by addressing to it so much wealth and effort and by adopting so many alternative approaches that one way or the other we are almost certain to achieve at least limited success. In this State we might be tempted to call this the Texas approach. In Texas, I am sure we would probably find some other name for it. It sometimes appears that this practice of substituting manpower and dollars for cleverness and ingenuity is a lazy way of acquiring a military capability. Another impractical consideration which must receive attention at the onset of development is flexibility of design. Regardless of how well the technical approach is chosen, under most circumstances the time required for the development of a weapon will be such that considerable advance in the state of the art in pertinent technical areas must be expected. This generally has the net result of giving the newly developed weapon the doubtful appearance of approaching obsolescence, about the time it is ready for deployment in the operational inventory. In other words, after we have completed the development cycle, we feel that we have gained enough additional knowledge to do a better job if we were to start over. Thus arises the common criticism applied to engineers and scientists, that is the one that alleges, "they never want to stop developing long enough to produce a new weapon for operational usage." Perhaps more thought should be given during the original design phases of a new weapon to methods of forestalling or at least alleviating this condition and the resultant criticism. For example, there are many instances in a new weapon design where provision can be readily made for anticipated improvements in technical areas as they become available. With ingenuity and forethought, accommodation for such improvements can frequently be provided at no expense in development time or dollars. In general, the growth potential of a new weapon development is probably a greatly underrated characteristic in the deliberations involving weapon selection.

So far I have touched on areas of judgment that inevitably confront us with time-consuming dilemmas. During the early stages of the development program we must recognize the necessity for allowing a reasonable interval for deliberation on questions of feasibility, cost, and performance if we are to obtain weapons which are at the same time within our resources and at the forefront of scientific progress. But we must also recognize the necessity for continually refining our planning and administrative actions to minimize the time required to get a new weapon ready for operational use. We are taking such steps as appear to be profitable. More and more we are finding it advisable to bring elements of industry into the picture with forecasts of our mili-

tary requirements so that we may have the advantage of all the best engineering brainpower in the Nation to answer the questions of technical feasibility, optimum technical approaches, and estimates of required resource investments. This helps us to decide on how and when to undertake a new development. It might be mentioned here that this procedure has introduced some problems of security, but we have made a very careful effort to work out these problems in a practical fashion. Today we have 148 study groups in 44 different companies which can give consideration to our future requirements and apply their own corporate research efforts along lines that correspond to our needs. We have found that the broader dissemination of our definitized requirements has been a noteworthy factor in encouraging American industry to undertake an increasing quantity of research and development effort on a competitive basis. We see advantage in relying on the ingenuity of the free American economy to produce a better mousetrap and ultimately recoup the investment in the research and development program through the medium of a production contract. You might say that this is a reversal of the trend of military planners to state their requirements in such detail as to dictate the solution. It may frequently happen that industry by using forecasted requirements, arrives at a novel solution which would otherwise never be exploited.

It is recognized, of course, that there are many development programs of such a scope and magnitude that no element of American industry could reasonably be expected to cope with them without Government support. These projects are probably in the majority in our overall weapons development program. However, there are many opportunities to accelerate progress on these projects by carefully adjusting our joint actions with industry. For example, we find that we are able to relax some of the performance specifications during the prosecution of the program as it becomes apparent that they are not realistic. We have also found it advisable to eliminate some of the requirements for military review of detailed drawings and specifications. I am sure that many of our contractors feel that we can do much more in this area and I would certainly agree that it warrants continuous review.

As a part of our policy of increasing our reliance on American industry, we have established a practice of requiring the contractor who designs and builds a new weapon to provide direct support of spare parts during the testing phase. This has the additional benefit of revealing to the contractor which parts might need new design effort to improve durability and maintainability. Finally, I wish to make a general statement concerning this problem of reducing the development time cycle. Perhaps we are not having as many calendar days in performing this function as we would like to; but I can say that we are producing within a given time period today a far more effective weapon than we could produce within a corresponding time span a few years ago. Thus, where we are not materially reducing the time that is required to develop a new airplane, for example, and in some cases it may appear that we are taking more years to accomplish our objectives, the complexity of our new weapons is such, that we are in effect saving time by not spending time.

It has always been true that an evaluation of a new weapon must include a consideration of the human skills and physical capacities required for its use. Certainly that need has been intensified by the onrushing technology of the jet age and missile age. Where manned aircraft are concerned we have had extensive experience in identifying the physical and mental qualifications of aircrew members and maintenance technicians and we are now proceeding in connection with the guided missile development program to evaluate some of the more important personnel implications of these weapons.

From the standpoint of technical complexity alone, the guided missile family has forced us to initiate new programs of training in many new areas, including propulsion and propellant systems, guidance and control mechanisms, and logistic operations. One of the most demanding features of guided missile operation is the exhaustive checkout procedure to assure component and system reliability. This function must be carried out by people with expert knowledge of the systems which are being tested. If we are to capitalize on the inherent capability of a missile system to respond quickly when needed, then we must rely heavily on automation, for to depend on human procedures would be so demanding of large numbers of highly skilled technicians as to severely limit the number of weapons that could be employed. Thus we have found it necessary in some cases to design test equipment that will first check its own reliability and then provide an indication of the condition of all the systems in the missiles themselves. One expert, monitoring this machine, can identify malfunctions that it reveals and pass on to individuals at a lower skill level the job of replacing faulty components.

One of the outstanding advantages of unmanned weapons systems is the inherent performance characteristics which permits their separation from elaborate airfield complexes. This dispersal capability factor, although extremely advantageous in reducing the vulnerability and in permitting system operational techniques that will provide superior reaction times in case of need, is somewhat of a mixed blessing, for it increases the need for operating personnel with a high degree of initiative and self-reliance. The supervision of missile teams cannot be as direct as for manned aircraft units which are of necessity grouped together around an extensive concrete runway system, and we must, therefore, have individuals who can act promptly and intelligently in varying situations. They must be instantly responsive to a system of control that extends through remote areas in a wide pattern of deployment.

It is also necessary to face up to the problem of keeping guided missile technicians geared to a constant pitch of keen attention to duty if the short reaction times possible are to be truly meaningful and it is readily apparent that several factors of motivation are absent in the operational missile organization. For example, with guided missiles it is impossible to create the same sense of group achievement that results from simulated combat missions with manned aircraft. Furthermore, since the role of the missile man is largely one of watchful waiting and constant alertness it is not likely that he will receive the same degree of public acclaim and recognition that exceptional performance by aircrew members has evoked. There are no doubt many lines of action we can take to replace the incentive and the job satisfaction that have thus been obscured by scientific progress. But we must recognize these problems and deal with them effectively if our combat units, armed with guided missiles are to be an effective addition to our position of military deterrence. There are also other contrasting factors which affect the human component in the system operation of manned aircraft and guided missiles. In a plane there is always the possibility following takeoff that human error may jeopardize the mission. But this possibility is compensated for at least, in part by the fact that human judgment may also be counted on to overcome difficulties which might arise from such errors or from mechanical malfunctions of the weapon. On the other hand, an error made before or during the launching operation of a guided missile rapidly becomes irrevocable as the unmanned system proceeds toward its objective. This fact simply serves to emphasize the requirement for infallibility on the part of missile technicians and a high degree of reliability in their equipment.

Any discussion such as the one we have engaged in tends to take on the flavor of direct comparison of manned and unmanned weapons systems; identifying the desirable and undesirable characteristics of each. It is not my purpose tonight to serve as the champion of either missile or airplane but perhaps I have not emphasized enough the military factors that have led us to choose our present balance of support in our military-weapons program. I am sure that everyone in this audience must appreciate the tremendous increase in our mission capabilities that guided missiles can potentially produce. The importance of achieving this capability soon enough to maintain a firm deterrent position can hardly be overstated. This accounts for the overriding priority we have given the intercontinental ballistic missile, and it accounts also for the great emphasis we are placing on the other promising weapons in the guided-missile family. But I think we should consider in more specific detail the kinds of tests and operations which we must carry out in order to integrate guided missiles into the Air Force as rapidly as possible and in the proper ratio to manned aircraft systems. To do this it is necessary to keep in mind the inherent characteristics of missiles that distinguishes them generally from manned systems. They have a longer standby time, a shorter reaction time, relatively invulnerable launching bases, inflexibility once launched, and a 24-hour all-weather capability. They probably will not provide as accurate a delivery system of our destructive warheads, at least in the initial years of their deployment and they frequently impose an exacting requirement for the precise knowledge of target location. Each of these characteristics has an important bearing on the variety of military jobs for which missiles can be most effectively used and collectively they form a basis for a complex and sometimes expensive integration process.

During the development period it is necessary to run literally thousands of tests on components and subsystems to establish reliability and identify opportunities for improvement through adjustment and modification. When the most elemental parts are proven through this method, the process of putting them together as building blocks to form subsystems and then prototype weapons is undertaken, with each step accompanied by further testing. This procedure is used to insure that each component works in the presence of others and the cause of any malfunction can be readily identified. It is frequently necessary to discard or to modify a component which works perfectly in a simulated environment but fails to integrate satisfactorily with the entire weapons' systems and its operational environment. When the testing of the prototype missile is begun, it is advantageous to again illustrate the gross dimensions of the job we are up against by making a comparison with manned aircraft. For our manned aircraft we can gather experience data rapidly and accurately through repeated flights in which the machine is recovered. Based on information from crew members, data recorders, and postflight analysis of the hardware, we can make rapid improvements in the equipment and in our systems of maintenance and operation. As an example, the B-47, our first-line medium bomber has undergone about 3,000 modifications during its 6-year period as a major weapon in our inventory. On the other hand, although some of our missiles are recoverable during the early development stages, we cannot get them back after

launchings under simulated combat conditions. It is, therefore, necessary to create a much more sophisticated data gathering process to insure the maximum return in knowledge from each missile flight. It is obvious that considerations of cost alone will seriously limit the number of actual launchings we can afford in our test program. If we wish, for example, to consider a fictitious case of an air-to-ground missile that may cost on the order of one-half million dollars it can be readily seen that even after the development is completed, if we permit each air crew in our bombing force to fire just one missile a year for familiarization, training, and demonstration purposes, the total cost would be quite staggering. This would indicate that in order to keep cost factors within tolerable limits we are going to have to rely on extensive use of simulators in the training programs and, as we become more familiar with these techniques, we will doubtless be able to obtain valuable development information from their use as well. However, it appears there will always be a time when the commander of a combat unit will justifiably demand an opportunity to observe just what results his weapon will produce and confidence he is justified in placing in his equipment. It is, therefore, clear that the degree of dependence we place on guided missiles as effective substitutes in some roles for manned aircraft must await the results of rather extensive usage under operational conditions.

Taking the guided missile picture in all of its aspects, I believe we have some right to be proud of the progress we have made, and further, I believe we may have a reasonable measure of confidence that we are generally out in front of the competition in this field.

Since I have been devoting a large portion of my comments to the subject of guided missiles, perhaps a word of caution is in order. I would like to make it clear that for the foreseeable future there are certain jobs in which manned aircraft appear to be more effective. Where the location of targets in relation to launching sites is not precise, an unmanned system may operate at a disadvantage. Under certain combat conditions, where a high degree of accuracy is needed, and where a requirement for flexibility of action following launchings exists, the manned aircraft as a weapon responsive to human intelligence and judgment throughout the mission, may still be the choice of military people. It would be quite difficult and in at least some cases impossible, to develop a guided missile that could be recalled after it was launched, or diverted to an alternate target. On the other hand, it seems clear that new military jobs will be found for guided missiles as the state of the art advances and as our testing programs yield more information. Certainly in the years ahead they will take on a progressively more important segment of our total combat mission. The very important characteristics of quick reaction time, flexibility of deployment, and virtual immunity to bad-weather effects, are of extreme importance to our deterrent and retaliatory position.

So we come to the conclusion that it will probably be necessary to maintain and operate a mixed force in the foreseeable future. It is certain that the ratio of this mixture will vary with time and generally the basis for replacement of manned aircraft with missiles will be the determination that they can do the same job at less cost or a better job at the same cost.

Gentlemen, the problems I have discussed with you this evening in connection with development of modern weapons, I think, to some extent, has revealed the necessity for the very considerable burden which has been placed on all segments of our society in terms of cost to our national resources. I am sure that we all agree that we must meet them squarely in order to insure the security of our Nation.

Thank you again for the opportunity to discuss them with you. Thank you.

Washington Report by Congressman Bruce Alger, of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, since coming to Congress to represent the Fifth Congressional District of Texas, more commonly known as Dallas County, it has been my pleasure to report weekly to my constituents. In this report, I endeavor to summarize so far as space limitation and my experience permit those items I feel to be of greatest interest to my constituents.

For those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, including my colleagues, therefore I submit my newsletter of March 10:

H. R. 4901, to establish a minimum acreage allotment for corn, to provide acreage reserve programs for diverted acres and for feed grains, and for other purposes, provoked the year's first big political fight in the House. This bid for the farmers' vote may well kill him with attention. Almost without regard for the recently inaugurated new programs of the last Congress, past experiences, or the farmers' expressed wishes in last December's corn referendum, the Democrat and Republican members of the Agriculture Committee went after each other hammer and tongs, promising more help for the farmer. For 2 days of bitter debate I listened and abstained from participating in the strict party line votes while groping for the facts. Now I realize we may never have the facts. "Utter confusion," Judge SMITH, Virginia Democrat and statesman, labeled it. It's apparent that few, if any, know what the program is.

How much will the program add to the present cost of subsidy? Don't know—estimate between $250 to $1,000 million. (Added to budget beyond present $5,000 million program—the letter is now half as much as the farmers' total net income of $10,000 million.) Will it help or hurt the farmer? Don't know, but it would double the soil bank program, quite possibly scuttling it, will all other subsized crops being affected and Government machinery vastly increased. (Agriculture personnel: 1955, 70,000 employees; 1956, 77,520; 1957, 81,000; 1958, 90,000 estimated, a 9,000 increase.)

Other conclusions demonstrably true: (1) Strictly political, with Democrat leadership trying to maneuver the administration into a bad light; (2) hastily conceived and complicated without regard to present program and long-range good; (3) more Federal control of farmer, not less, moving farther from supply and demand realities of the free market. Where now is the concern over cutting the budget, as the legislators ask for hundreds of millions more, beyond the already heavy budget? In sorrow over the farmer, who weeps for the taxpayer? Where is the sense of morality? It's a case of bad laws breeding more bad laws. Where will this end? The answer—socialism, complete subservience to government. So we go over to next week, a later recurrence of a bad dream.

Co-authoring six constitutional amendments comprised my own week's legislative efforts. They are: (1) A forced balanced budget (Byrd-Bridges); (2) reform of income tax (Reed-Dirksen); (3) electoral college reform (Mundt-Coudert); (4) States empowered to amend Constitution without Congress (Reed-Walter); (5) treaty law of no effect if contrary to Constitution (Bricker); (6) Government can't engage in business (Gwinn).

The sixth proposed amendment reads: "Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to prohibiting the United States Government from engaging in business in competition with its citizens." This commonsense amendment is needed to put and keep Government in its place. In direct violation of the Constitution, the Government is in several thousand business enterprises right now. This amendment is a natural companion to efforts along the Hoover Commission lines, reducing Government size, thus cutting cost, and making tax cuts possible. The House and Senate have proven their inability to exercise self-discipline; therefore, a constiutional amendment is the only way.

The Mideast resolution passed 350 to 60 (see February 1 newsletter). Again, I necessarily opposed it, since the constitutional violation remained, despite attempted Senate amendments. The bill states, "If the President determines the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use Armed Forces * * *." The Constitution says this is the prerogative of Congress, and the self-contradictory nature of the resolution is not worthy of this high legislative body. I approve the end in view—a firm stand against Russia. I still do not believe the end justifies the means when it violates the Constitution.

Other objections include (1) foreign aid should be in separate legislation; (2) while required to report to Congress intended expenditures, there is no limitation on the President, so the provision is meaningless; (3) section 4 binds the United States to participate in any war between Arab-Israeli, regardless of being requested as in the resolution; (4) "gag rule" prevented House Members, the people's representatives, from being heard once again, though the Senate freely discussed and amended it; (5) a concurrent resolution, rather than this joint resolution, would have clearly stated our intent—been unanimous, and Congress then would not have been circumvented.

Lease, Purchase, and Lose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK M. KARSTEN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. KARSTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of February 28, 1957:

LEASE, PURCHASE, AND LOSE

Testimony from two branches of the Government about the administration's lease-purchase plan leads to an irresistible conclusion.

Under the lease-purchase plan, the Government, instead of appropriating funds for the construction of post offices, courthouses and similar buildings, signs a contract with private interests which then construct the buildings and rent them to the Government. After 20 years the buildings become Govern-

ment property; but in the meantime the Government has paid rentals large enough to cover not only construction costs, but the financing charges and profits of the private enterprisers it has dealt with.

A House Public Works Subcommittee asked Comptroller Joseph Campbell how much these extra costs would run to. His answer: on 146 Federal buildings planned, the Government would pay $634,500,000 more than it would pay if the same structures were built directly under direct appropriations. That is a lot of money.

The committee then heard Franklin G. Floete, head of the General Services Administration, explain why the lease-purchase program has bogged down. It can be made to work, he said, if the Treasury will allow higher interest payments than at present, and if construction cost estimates are increased 11 percent.

In other words, the Government is unable to get its building done by the lease-purchase method unless it is willing to pay a great deal more than the $634,500,000 in excess costs already in sight under the program as now set up.

Need there be any question about what irresistible conclusion it is which this testimony leads to? Surely the lease-purchase program should be abandoned and the old-fashioned way of direct appropriations restored.

Challenge to Conservatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 30, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article by Mr. William Henry Chamberlin entitled "Challenge to Conservatives," which appeared in a recent issue of the Wall Street Journal. This is a most interesting article:

CHALLENGE TO CONSERVATIVES: THEY MUST FIND MEANS TO ESPOUSE TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS NOW THAT BOTH PARTIES SEEM HEADED IN SAME DIRECTION

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

The proposed free-spending Federal budget and other aspects of the developing domestic and foreign policy of the second Eisenhower administration should sound a reveille for Americans who think of themselves as conservatives.

The beliefs, instincts and feelings of such people are being challenged all along the line. It is significant that some of the more enthusiastic reactions to the new budget came from New Deal Democrats. And a well-known commentator referred to what used to be called the New Deal and is now called the New Republicanism.

Whatever may be said in praise or extenuation of the budget, it runs counter to the instincts and traditions of most regular Republicans. The Republican contention throughout two decades of the New Deal and the Fair Deal was that Federal activities be curbed and Federal spending reduced. And this was not, as collectivists tried to argue, a mere negative reaction. The United States was founded and flourished and grew prosperous and great on the principle that it was up to the individual to paddle his own canoe without having the Government do the paddling for him, or jog his elbow or slow down his pace.

Judging from his campaign speeches in 1952 and from the fiscal policies followed during the first 2 years of his administration, President Eisenhower believed in this principle. He lopped $10 billion off the last Truman budget. And, to the confounding of the school of modern economic thinkers who maintain that ever bigger spending is the only recipe for prosperity, the country seemed to thrive under doses of old-fashioned thrift. Unemployment, which had been as high as 3.4 million in 1949, sank to a 1.5 million in 1956. The number of available jobs zoomed from 65 million to 72 million. Wages, savings, gross national product all rose appreciably.

Now the fiscal engines have been reversed and the old pattern of having the Federal Government spend the people's money for them instead of letting them spend it for themselves has reappeared—and at an accelerated pace. It may be argued that a Democratic administration would have presented a still more extravagant budget. Mr. Stevenson's campaign speeches, with their advocacy of lavish expenditure in the social welfare field and their vagueness as to where the money to finance these expenditures would come from, offered little prospect of prudent and economical finance.

SPIRALING SPENDING

Yet it is disconcerting to realize that the proposed figure of domestic spending in the Eisenhower budget for fiscal 1958 is more than 50 percent higher than the biggest Truman budget figure in fiscal 1953. The precise figures are $30.9 billion and $19.7 billion. In both cases military expenditures and fixed charges, such as interest on the national debt, are left out of consideration.

It is all very well to talk of more money being needed because of the growing population. But the population is not growing at that rate. There have been substantial increases in labor and welfare appropriations, in agricultural subsidies of one kind and another, in veterans' benefits. The whole conception of Republican individualism versus Democratic collectivism has been blurred to the point of complete obscurity.

It is not only in this very important field of Federal spending that conservatives must feel grave misgivings about the "New Republicanism." Men who are believed to stand high in the councils of the administration are advocating greatly increased handouts to the uncommitted neutralist nations of Asia.

And what had once looked like a difference between the two parties in foreign policy seems to have disappeared. In the past the Democrats have tended to go far in deference to the United Nations, while the Republicans have placed more trust in alliances.

But when international storm clouds began to thicken last autumn the Eisenhower administration showed a tendency to seek shelter in the fragile and leaky edifice of the U. N. This was despite the fact that the Security Council is stymied by the Soviet veto, and that recent shifts in voting power in the General Assembly make it impossible to get a two-thirds majority in that body for any resolution, however just in itself or urgent in view of American interests, if the Soviet bloc and the Afro-Arab-Asian bloc are in opposition.

What are conservatives to do in a situation when there is little choice between the two big parties? Third party activity in the last election was amateurish and unsuccessful. It would seem that the most effective form of conservative activity would be along politically nonpartisan, educational lines.

ADVICE AND SUPPORT

There is a place and a need for an organization that would stress conservative principles in national and international affairs without party bias; that would offer support to Congressmen, regardless of party affiliation, who support such principles; that would furnish advice and cooperation to the conservative and individualist groups that have been springing up on college campuses; and that would perform a number of similar political odd jobs.

Conservatives are generally individualists. It would probably be impossible to get under one roof all who regard themselves as conservatives. But there would perhaps be a fair measure of agreement on the following as basic principles:

Doctrinaire theory, however attractive, can never be a satisfactory substitute for practical experience.

The United States cannot safely abdicate its freedom and responsibility in making big foreign policy decisions to such a divided vacuum as the U. N., in practice, has turned out to be.

While there may be a case for subsidizing nations which are filling gaps in America's outer defense lines, there is no case for indiscriminate handouts to neutral powers which can and should fill their needs by the normal processes of investment and trade on a commercial basis.

The tendency of Federal authority, in one form or another, to supplant and override the proper governing functions of the States has gone too far and should be reversed.

Inflation makes for the semblance of wealth and the reality of impoverishment.

The process of pillaging the thrifty for the benefit of the thriftless through direct taxation by Federal and many State authorities has reached a point where it is morally inequitable and economically disadvantageous.

THE BUREAUCRATIC INSTINCT

There are two unvarying principles which hold true for governing bureaucracies everywhere under the sun and which speak powerfully for curbing, not expanding the role of the Federal Government in regulating the lives of its citizens. First, it is the instinct of every Government agency to seek more power, to take on more employees and to spend more money. Second, people as a general rule are not as careful in spending Government money as they would be spending their own.

Many Americans in both parties and without party affiliation instinctively before these things. What they need is intellectual guidance and coordination. Here is a responsibility and an opportunity for conservatives, operating as individuals or as independent groups, at a time when it seems unrealistic to expect a conservative lead from either party in Washington.

Double Standard on Public Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR.
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following reprint of an article by Thomas L. Stokes, entitled "Double Standard on Public Power," appearing in the Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tenn., of March 4, 1957:

DOUBLE STANDARD ON PUBLIC POWER

WASHINGTON.—We have been hearing a lot lately, especially in protesting voices from Congress, about a double standard in international affairs. This referred to proposals for United Nations sanctions against Israel

when the U. N. never had applied them to Soviet Russia and Egypt when they ignored U. N. resolutions.

In an entirely different area we are reminded again of a double standard that the Eisenhower administration has applied for 4 years.

We see this in another report by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, in which we hold a third of the shares and subscribed a third of $9 billion capital. That shows the continuing approval by our Government, now managed by the Eisenhower administration, of loans to finance public power projects all over the world.

Here at home, as you know, the administration is fighting public development of our own water resources to develop power. It insists, instead, upon something it calls the partnership policy.

As that works out, it means the granting to powerful utilities of title to resources that should belong to our people, and under terms that mean fancy profits for them and high rates to consumers. It means, too, that development in some cases is shortsighted and does not utilize the full potential.

The latest report of the World Bank, as that institution is popularly called, covers its loan operations from July 1 of last year to January 31 of this year. It is issued as a special supplement to its 11th annual report covering operations up to last July 1 for the use of the United Nations Social and Economic Council meetings in New York beginning April 16.

This report shows additional loans for power development in that 7-month period of $98.3 million to Austria, Italy, Chile, and Nicaragua.

That brings to nearly a billion dollars—or to be exact, $887.3 million—the total of loans for electric power development in the 11 years the bank has been in operation. These loans went to 22 different countries, they are Austria, Algeria, Italy, Chile, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Finland, Norway, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Uruguay, South Africa, Yugoslavia, Brazil, Ceylon, Colombia, El Salvador, France, Iceland, India, Lebanon, Mexico, and Pakistan.

Our share of these loans was $295.7 million.

In many instances the loans were to public authorities modeled after our own TVA in the Southeast. That has its ironical connotations, since the Eisenhower administration thus gives its approval to that means of developing water resources in foreign lands but has been antagonistic to TVA here and has sought in numerous ways to cripple that magnificent project. The President calls it "creeping socialism."

It's only "creeping socialism" under our flag. Under other flags it's all right.

While we are helping to expand the development of power by public authorities and governments elsewhere, we have witnessed a retardation of power development, both public and private, in our country during the Eisenhower administration. In rate of increase in power production, we are lagging behind Russia, though we are still far ahead in total capacity. She is moving comparatively much faster than we are.

The lagging, almost stagnation, in the development of our water resources is due in part to the Eisenhower administration's desire to favor the utilities. They want only sites out of which they are guaranteed a handsome profit.

In their picking and choosing for such sites, they have disrupted basinwide development, which is the only way to develop our rivers properly so that our people and our land will be served. In this piecemeal development they have not in many cases utilized all the potentials of our rivers.

The proper way to develop our water resources is integrated development as envisioned half a century ago by a great Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt, and as put into execution more recently by two Democratic Presidents, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman.

The latter, however, were kept from doing as much as they planned because of the unyielding opposition of the great aggregation of wealth and political power which the utilities were able to marshal.

Integrated multipurpose development means not only the development of hydroelectric power but also flood control, reclamation, and navigation. The TVA, which was a creation of the Roosevelt New Deal, only recently demonstrated how it can control devastating floods, in addition to all of its other blessings for the people in its area.

This was in the case of the terrific floods which wreaked such damage in Kentucky, West Virginia, and parts of Tennesese outside of the TVA region. Control of the river by the TVA flood-control system prevented damage in the Tennessee Valley, including Chattanooga, where, it was estimated, the flood crest would have reached 52 feet and caused $50 million damage had it not been for the TVA controls.

House Democrats Block GOP Move for Emergency Midwest Corn Relief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an article from the Washington Post of Friday, March 8, 1957:

HOUSE DEMOCRATS BLOCK GOP MOVE FOR EMERGENCY MIDWEST CORN RELIEF

(By Kenneth Weiss)

House Democrats yesterday beat down a Republican move to push through emergency relief for Midwest corn farmers.

The 187-to-180 vote came on a motion to substitute the GOP bill sponsored by Representative AUGUST ANDRESEN, of Minnesota, for a Democratic measure that would have provided aid for corn and feed-grain producers in all parts of the country.

The Democratic bill is sponsored by Agriculture Committee Chairman HAROLD COOLEY, of North Carolina.

COOLEY expressed some doubt that this bill would pass, since northern Democrats may side with Republicans to kill his more costly measure.

Shortly after the vote on the Andresen amendment, the House ended debate on the farm bill until Tuesday by agreement between majority and minority leaders.

The next vote probably will come on a new substitute sponsored by Represent ROBERT D. HARRISON, Republican, of Nebraska, following the recommendations of the American Farm Bureau.

The substitute would allow farmers to either grow 37,300,000 acres of corn at a $1.36 per bushel price support or 51 million acres at $1.31 price support.

Participation in the soil bank would be voluntary under the first choice. But if the farmer grew under the 51-million-acre limit, he would have to put 15 percent of his cropland in the acreage reserve.

The Cooley bill would allow corn farmers to plant 43 million acres this year and still allow farmers to participate in the soil bank and receive price-support payments of $1.36 a bushel.

It would also extend similar soil-bank aid to feed-grain producers in the South and Southwest. The Republicans strongly-oppose this part of the bill.

The Andresen measure would have merely increased the amount of corn Midwest farmers may plant this year from 37,300,000 acres to 51 million.

Republican leaders predicted that President Eisenhower would veto the Cooley measure if it were passed. In any event, they said, hearings in the Senate on the complex Democratic bill would take so long that the legislation could not help corn farmers who must plant their crops in the next few weeks.

The legislation is described as emergency, since current law limits Midwest farmers to planting a total of 37,300,000 acres if they want price supports and soil-bank participation.

National 4–H Club Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, March 2 to March 9 are important dates for all 4–H Club members. During this time they observe National 4–H Club Week. The theme for the week is Improving Family and Community Living. This theme truly defines the outstanding work of all 4–H Club leaders and members. I am especially proud of the fine achievements of the 1,365 clubs in Kansas. The 32,000 club members in the Sunflower State are putting into positive action the ideals and principles embodied in the 4 H's—Head, Heart, Hands, and Health. We cannot overemphasize the contribution to community and country which 4–H leaders and members are making. 4–H projects give practical preparation for future years no matter what the member might do as a vocation.

The 4–H program is one of our bulwarks for good citizenship. You need never worry about a 4–H Club member becoming easy prey for those who try to peddle communism and atheism.

I salute the 4–H leaders and members during this national observance. 4–H boys and girls help us to gain the respect of other nations of the world.

The following news article, appearing in the Marysville (Kans.) Advocate newspaper, Thursday, February 28, 1957, tells of the 4–H work in Marshall County, Kans. There are approximately 400 members in this county. This article clearly shows the outstanding work of the 4–H Clubs. The same story and similar accomplishments can apply to other counties in Kansas.

The news article follows:

Community projects backed by county-wide campaign, a three-way change in 4–H Club agents and the climaxing of an outstanding championship livestock career for a 4–H girl spotlighted the 1956 activities of 4–H Club work in Marshall County.

Individual members won recognition with scholarships during the year and many garnered purple championship awards with red

and blue ribbons at county and State level fairs.

Safety was the number one community project for the county clubs as members stressed safety on the highway, safety at home and safety in the use of tractors and other farm machinery. Every club had at least one club program emphasizing safe driving.

Dean Henoch, State highway patrolman, was a popular speaker pointing out the rules and courtesies of safe driving to prevent accidents.

Pertinent statement of Janice Schneider at a meeting of the Balderson Boosters, summed up the safety campaign in a slogan:

"More skilled drivers is the best insurance against accidents. It is better to be skilled than killed."

In an effort to reduce the rat population at a community level, clubs in the county spearheaded by the Wide-Awake Club started a rat and mouse control campaign.

Clubs purchased hundreds of pounds of rat control, sacked it and resold the poison to farmers to curb the rodent menace.

Final community project was a county-wide campaign to raise funds for Rock Springs Foundation in which light bulbs were sold by clubbers. Funds were contributed to Williams Hall, in memory of Dean Williams, K-State extension officer.

A tractor maintenance school on the local level sponsored by the Sunflower Club, pointed out simple methods in farm safety in tractor maintenance in which boys viewed the actual rebuilding of a magneto.

A farm improvement as another community project was the painting of mailboxes by a new club, the Go-Getters of the Winifred area, in which names of farm residents were identified. The Lester Eastwood family at Summerfield for complete identification listed the names of all the children in the family.

Merry Makers Club of Bigelow spearheaded the drive for funds in Christian rural overseas program and also assisted with a similar drive for the Marysville Community Memorial Hospital.

Among the first fun night events was the selection of a 4-H king and queen at a carnival held at the National Guard Armory with Melvyn Miller, Waterville, Marshall County 4-H Council president, selected as king and Ellen Keating, Marysville, named queen. Runners-up were Marilyn Hermesch, Marysville and Lennis Holle, Bremen.

Program talent was on parade in the annual 4-H Days held at Marysville high school in recognition of National 4-H Week when the largest number of demonstrations ever held were judged. Also performing in competition were plays, chorus, folk dances and other talent. Window displays in stores throughout the county called attention to displays during National 4-H Week.

Regional and State 4-H Days followed the countrywide 4-H Day in which winners competed.

With the opening of spring, project tours were arranged and a popular Sunday pastime was a tour of club projects. Every club had a picnic and project tour in which members viewed the accomplishments.

Plans for attending round-up at Manhattan were made by 12 4-H members while a larger contingent of 39 clubbers spent several days at Rock Springs 4-H camp.

The resignation of Kenneth Visser, hard-working agent in April was climaxed May 31 with a farewell party at Cahan ballroom for the agent and Mrs. Visser, when they were presented a gift from the large crowd in attendance.

Project meetings in home economics and agriculture were held as girls made garments to compete in the style revue and boys tended crops and fitted their livestock animals for showing.

First step for livestock fitting and showing was a school conducted by Gene Grabs, new county agent, who succeeded Visser.

Outstanding charitable project was under the supervision of the Axtell Busy Bees who made dresses for the Navaho Indian Mission at Kingston, N. Mex., which were displayed at the Blaine Pletcher home as preliminary to a show on WIBW-TV.

Parents and members reversed positions as parents night was observed at all clubs during the summer when parents performed for the clubbers.

Prior to exhibitions at fairs, the annual style revue was held in August with Patty Pletcher, Axtell, and Marilyn Horigan, Frankfort, as winner in the girls' division and William Throm, Marysville; Leo Voet, Oketo and Kyle Williams, Vermillion, in the best dressed boys class.

Climax to project work was the showing and winning of awards at Marshall County Fair, Topeka Free Fair, and Kansas State Fair by club members on top quality displays.

Dorothy Hildebrandt, Marysville, and a member of the Sunflower Club, climaxed her 7-year club career in winning reserve champion at the State fair in Hutchinson after a 4-year stretch of county and State championships.

Recognizing her showmanship in feeding and fitting baby beeves, Archer-Daniels-Midland Co. presented Miss Hildebrandt with a trophy. Crescent, junior yearling, was also shown at the American Royal show, Kansas City.

Foods judging team of the Bremen Hustlers Club brought championship honors to their home club as Barbara Koch, Regina Preil, and Mary Ann Gleue won top championship.

Carolyn Kruse, Happy Horseshoe, won two championships and Carol Drever brought home a purple ribbon. Placing first in style revue at the Kansas State Fair was Patricia Pletcher and Billy Throm, Marysville, was second in best groomed boy class.

Many other blue and red ribobns garnered by clubbers at the two fairs at State level added to the final project summary when closing records.

Year's climax came at the recognition party December 13 when Bernard Wassenberg, Marysville, one of the oldest 4-H Club members active in club work as a leader, and Arlyn Peterson, Waterville, were selected for the outstanding alumni awards.

Four members recommended by county officials received the coveted gold award. They were Dorothy Hildebrandt, Marysville; Patricia Pletcher, Axtell; Ivan Eastwood, Summerfield; and Allen Tilley, Frankfort.

Individual awards and scholarships made during the year were to Charles Blaser, Waterville, winner of the Carl Gray Union Pacific scholarship; and Ivan Eastwood, Danforth scholarship in religious training.

In the final analysis total value of club work in Marshall County in dollars and cents was $68,367.17. More than one-third profit was realized by members in the sum total on projects. After costs were deducted total figures show a profit of $21,783.40.

Folly of Wilderness Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excellent statement by Dean Karl Onthank, of the University of Oregon faculty, and president of the Western Outdoor Clubs, made over radio station KORE, Eugene, Oreg., February 10, 1957.

Dr. Onthank rightly believes that a wiser decision on the Three Sisters Wilderness area boundary would have resulted had the Secretary of Agriculture awaited the land-use and scientific studies now in progress on this area:

COMMENTS ON THREE SISTERS WILDERNESS AREA DECISION MADE ON RADIO STATION KORE, EUGENE, OREG., FEBRUARY 10, 1957

Speaking for the outdoor clubs and all the millions of other Americans who own a share in the national forests, we are shocked that an irrevocable decision is made without the information essential for such a decision. This information will soon be available. It includes the Forest Service's own land-use study previously announced, scientific studies for which Oregon State and university scientists recently received grants, and the State water-resources board study.

No real study of its value as wilderness has been made—only a paper reappraisal of its timber. And no adequate consideration of the great and growing need for such areas. This great impending necessity for more rather than less of such areas has become much more apparent since the hearing, now 2 years ago, and already has been recognized by Congress itself by greatly increased appropriations for national parks, and for recreational facilities in the national forests.

Just as the Forest Service begins to get funds with which the area could be made more accessible to the thousands of people who wish to enjoy it and particularly the innumerable young families with children needing and ready to appreciate wilderness experience. It doesn't make sense to destroy a large part of the only wilderness area in the Oregon Cascades, and the portion most accessibe for the longest season and possessing the qualities most valued by ordinary folks not mountain climbers, and especially by scientists to whom it is an irreplaceable outdoor laboratory,

FACTS CONTRADICTED

The assertion that establishing the Diamond Peak and Mount Washington wild areas is compensation for the 53,000 acres taken from the Three Sisters wilderness area is in contradiction to the facts and to statements made by forest officials up to now, namely that these areas were considered on their own merits and not at all in relationship with the Three Sisters area. Mount Washington has for many years been a limited area and already reserved, although wild-area status gives it more positive protection. And Diamond Peak is, according to official statements, a substitute for the Summit Lake limited area to the south of it which has been opened to logging. True wilderness requires depth and continuity if central wilderness is to retain its essential quality unaltered by outside influence. These small wild areas lack that depth and are in no sense substitutes for the western portion of the Three Sisters area, the removal of which cuts down drastically its depth and its distance from external influence, brings the sight of logging and the sound of the power saws virtually to the foot of the Sisters themselves.

Wilderness is not just high spectacular mountain country comparatively barren which no one else wants, yet. A large part of wilderness which the Forest Service has reserved, is desert, and properly so. Some of it is prairie, some marshland. Certainly a little of it should be a sample of the original magnificent forest, illimitable and in-

exhaustible as it used to be called, which met the eye of the pioneer.

This great and prosperous country can well afford to preserve this one wilderness area in all the Oregon Cascades, not in spite of the fact that it contains some merchantable timber, but because of that fact, so that we may preserve a little of the primeval Oregon forest for the wonder and enjoyment and scientific study of future generations.

CAN ANYONE JUSTIFY

Incidentally, how can anyone justify logging a dedicated wilderness when reports of the lumber industry show that the waste burners of Lane County consume annually 50 times as much wood as the 53,000 acres excluded produces in a year? The more efficient operators waste less, but obviously the industry is still far from the degree of utilization of wood now being cut to warrant sacrificing this area.

To suggest that the area removed can be managed as a tree farm and retain its value as wilderness is, of course, a complete contradiction in terms. The more good tree farms the better, on lands zoned for them as nearly all forest land is. On land zoned for and set aside as, wilderness, trees have an entirely different set of values not measured in board feet. There is no emergency need for this timber.

The area should have been retained as wilderness to be so used and enjoyed, and still to be available if some dire future emergency should require the use of its timber. We are trustees for the future, a principle which this decision ignores. Opening the area now is a tragic mistake which future generations will find hard to understand or to excuse.

Reasons Why the Appropriation Should Be Made To Provide for the Maintenance of the Domestic Production of Tungsten, Asbestos, Fluorspar, and Columbium-Tantalum Under Public Law 733 of the 84th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the following is a brief statement of the reasons we believe the Appropriations Committee should restore the funds for the domestic mining program under Public Law 733:

First. The 84th Congress, after full consideration by the proper committees of both Houses, and after lengthy debate, passed Public Law 733 and the President signed it in July 1956. It will be a breach of faith with the people who work for and have invested in the domestic critical minerals mining industry if the necessary appropriations obligated in the passage of Public Law 733 are not made available.

Second. The national security and economy both demand that these highly specialized industries in which about $100 million of private capital has been invested be kept going so as to preserve the trained manpower and technological skills that have been developed.

Third. This is not a direct subsidy, but a price-support program under which the Government buys commodities which can be stored indefinitely.

Fourth. At present no exact military requirements for these materials are known and the Defense Department has stated that new requirements data cannot be assembled until the fall of 1957. All of the concerned Government agencies recommend the continuation of the appropriations until a long-term program for the preservation of these industries can be submitted and enacted by the Congress. Dr. Flemming, of ODM, testified in support of these appropriations on February 26, 1957, to dispel any false impression that he was opposing the appropriations. A consumer of tungsten whose profit interest lies in low prices for tungsten has recommended the discontinuation of the appropriation, but all of the domestic producers of tungsten are supporting the appropriation.

Fifth. Deputy Secretary of Defense, Ruben B. Robertson, Jr., in discussing rapid technical advance in weapons on December 13, 1956, said:

It is anticipated that by the time new guidance can be developed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and requirements data computed, submission will not be available until the fall of 1957.

Sixth. Dr. Flemming, Director of ODM, in testifying before the Senate Committee on the Interior on February 26, 1957, said:

Taking into consideration a number of factors we do believe that it is important for Congress to follow through on the policy that was reflected in Public Law 733, as passed by the Congress and signed by the President * * * it just does not make good sense from any point of view to permit these mines to close down.

Seventh. Mr. R. H. Thielemann, chairman of the department of metallurgy of Stanford Research Institute, testifying on February 17, 1957, before the House Committee on the Interior said:

The need for metals and alloys which will have useful engineering properties at temperatures of 2,000° F. and higher is urgent. The best and probably the only method we have of developing these materials is with the four higher melting point refractory metals, columbium, molybdenum, antimony, and tungsten.

On February 26, 1957, in an address at New Orleans, La., Mr. Thielemann said:

In developing alloys for service at temperatures above 1,800° F. tungsten, with its high melting point, high modulus of elasticity and high recrystallization temperature appears to be the most attractive for the extremely high temperature requirements—it is relatively inexpensive.

Eighth. On February 21, 1957, General Doolittle, Chairman of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, said:

The revolution in military technology has been accelerated. By word and deed the Soviets are challenging us in aviation. They are building more aircraft than we. They are training more aeronautical engineers and scientists than we * * *. We must redouble our efforts to maintain our technological lead.

Ninth. Congressman CARL T. DURHAM, chairman of the Subcommittee on Stockpiling of the House Armed Services Committee, has told us on the floor of the House:

The stockpile goal for tungsten most likely has to be reset in the light of the increasing need for high-temperature materials in the high-temperature era that lies before us.

Tenth. "In this age of peril we are not dealing with an emergency that is here today and gone tomorrow, but with an emergency that will be with us as long as most of us shall live." This statement, made by Dr. Flemming, should be remembered, and it would be a very grave error for us in the Congress to fail to make these appropriations and cause the shutting down of these domestic mining industries which are not adequately protected by tariffs and cannot operate in competition with low wage production from abroad.

Eleventh. The Government still has many contracts for the purchase of tungsten abroad at prices around $55 a unit and all of them will not expire until the end of 1959. Surely, we will not treat the foreign producers better than we will our people at home.

Battle Over Corn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an editorial from the Washington Post of Saturday, March 9, 1957:

BATTLE OVER CORN

The agricultural steersmen of the House appear to be driving into precisely the same mudhole that gave them so much trouble a year ago. In that election year the President appealed for a relatively simple soil bank, and Congress added complex price-support provisions which resulted in a veto. Finally the soil-bank measure was enacted, but so late in the year that many farmers could not take advantage of it. This year the administration asked for a simple relief measure for corn because the program favored by a majority of corngrowers failed to get a two-thirds vote in the recent plebiscite. The House has rejected even a liberalized form of the bill.

The ostensible reason for this defeat is that the House Agriculture Committee submitted a much more comprehensive bill allowing farmers to collect soil-bank benefits on land diverted from barley, oats, rye, and other feed grains. Undoubtedly the growing of feed grains other than corn on land taken out of basic crops has caused serious overproduction, accentuated the output of livestock, and helped to depress livestock prices. This problem should be relieved in considerable measure this year by keeping surplus acres idle in the soil bank, but the House committee insisted on doing something more.

The first defect in the plan it has offered is that it might cost taxpayers an extra billion dollars in payments to growers of feed grains. The committee estimates that the cost would be only $250 million, but experts say that the larger figure might be required with maximum participation. At a time

when both Congress and the administration are trying to trim every unessential dollar from the budget this seems indefensible.

Defect No. 2 is that the bill would sweep many new crops under loose Federal control. Farmers would be given a feed-grain quota based on the highest acreage of feed grains grown in any one of the last 3 years. As the Government has no records of individual farm acreage devoted to these crops which have not been under control, quotas would reflect unreliable estimates. In pointing this out to the House, Representative ANDRESEN insisted that soil-bank payments would be made for phantom acres and that very little reduction of surpluses would result.

These defects in the committee bill are so serious that an economy-minded House is likely to kill it, too. No action at all by Congress would mean a whopping corn crop, and lower corn and livestock prices could be expected. Under the present law the acreage allotments have become so small (37.3 million acres for the entire commercial corn area) that farmers are ignoring their quotas and thus forfeiting their right to participation in the soil bank. Mr. ANDRESEN described this as a terrifying outlook for corn growers.

Obviously the best course at this stage would be a compromise between the Democratic and Republican agricultural leaders that would avert the threatened crisis and leave the controversial aspects of the committee bill for later consideration. With corn-planting time only 2 months away, speed in enacting a simple bill is a major consideration. Surely there ought to be vision enough in the House to avoid repetition of last year's mistake.

The Present Situation in the Douglas-Fir Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report contained in the newsletter Random Lengths published by the Lumbermen's Buying Service, of Eugene, Oreg., of which Mr. H. J. Cox is editor:

THROUGH A KNOTHOLE

The February 15 issue of U. S. News & World Report carries a detailed and comprehensive survey of business conditions throughout the Nation. Some of New England is perking up. South and West show gains. Booms seem weakest in the Midwest.

By singling out home-mortgage financing as the guinea pig for tight-money experimenting, the Government and the Wall Street moneychangers have run the Northwest forest products industry into trouble, with considerable effect on Oregon where lumber and plywood fill the State's breadbasket and are an accurate index to its economic welfare.

After totaling all the gains and setbacks, it adds up that business in cities and communities across the country is extremely good but the boom is leveling off. While the forest products industry is temporarily permeated with Government-caused sourness, nevertheless, all signs point to a good year with the start of a lumber upturn within 30 days or thereabouts.

The following information covers the Douglas-fir industry (large and small mills) as reported to the West Coast Lumbermen's Association:

(In millions of board-feet)

	Month of January—			Percent January 1957—	
	1957	1956	1955	to 1956	to 1955
Production	689	777	810	−11	−15
Orders received	651	776	765	−16	−14
Orders to production (percent)	94.5	100	94.5		
Shipments	674	742	737	−9	−8.5
End of month:					
Unfilled orders	585	705	798	−17	−27
Inventory (stocks on hand)	1,075	1,060	980	+1.5	+9
Percentage of unfilled orders to stocks on hand	54	67	80		

GREEN FIR MILLS

With the first few days of springlike weather, everybody realizes that March is just around the corner and that if there is to be improvement in the green-mill market, it must come soon to be of any material benefit. Some mills and buyers are cheerful over what they believe will happen marketwise during the next 2 to 3 weeks, but the majority are still in a frame of mind that, so far, there is little to instill confidence in any quick alleviation of present depressing market conditions. Nobody really knows, all we can do is hope and pray.

Many mills are still closed; others curtailing production, and market demand is not, as yet, keeping pace with extremely low production and this condition can be further aggravated by mills now resuming operation. Apparently, there is some gambling on what the market will bring within another 2 to 3 weeks as there has been spot buying of specific items and schedules this week at mill prices $1 to $2 higher than during the preceding 10 days. But this is no market criterion as the volume of inquiry and buying is still too low to have any hypodermic effect on the green-mill market.

The political prophets in Washington, D. C., incessantly clamor over there being a chicken in every pot and that we never had it so good. But they have never been farther west than Pennsylvania Avenue or Wall Street; otherwise, they would realize that they are either befuddled, prejudiced, or just plain liars. While there is still hope that spring will bring a change for betterment, the moneychangers on Wall Street and the palace guards in our National Capital will have to quickly loosen their tight-money strings or spring will come and go before many of the multitude now engaged in the production and distribution of lumber will know "wot 'appened."

California Goes It Alone—Feather River Project: A "Do It Yourself" Example of Water Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, California has long been a major beneficiary of Federal water control and development programs, both through the Bureau of Reclamation and the Army engineers. It will be of interest to those who have supported these Federal expenditures for California and elsewhere through the Nation that California is making a major effort to help itself in meeting its water requirement by planning, financing, and holding a billion and one-half dollar major water project of its own. The excellent article on that subject by Harlan Trott from the Christian Science Monitor of March 7, 1957, is placed in the RECORD for the information of our colleagues:

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.—Events have taken a dynamic new course in California's historic quest for water.

For the first time since it began converting its vast semiarid interior valleys into what now make it the Nation's leading farm State, California is committed to State construction of giant regional water projects.

At a time when President Eisenhower is pleading for less State dependence on Washington for public-works handouts, and Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey is asking citizens to show him how the $72 billion Federal budget can be pruned, the California Legislature has presented the rest of the States with a "do it yourself" example.

By voting State funds for the first phase of its mammoth $13 billion State-water plan, California is starting to reverse the trend of Federal aid to the States that began in the make-work days of the early New Deal.

Many Californians steeped in the story of the State's stupendous self-development, think it is only fitting that California has shown the way back to the traditional American road of local responsibility for State and local affairs.

Hitherto the marvelous man-wrought transformation of California from deserts to gardens has been done piecemeal by local irrigation districts operating much as public-school districts.

FEDERAL CONTROL SHUNNED

Almost the only exception was when California relaxed in the mood of the mid-thirties and let Uncle Sam build and own the Central Valley project. The reason widely advanced at that time was that the Central Valley region could not afford to pay for the benefits received.

But big and useful as that project is, it reclaims and serves only about one-fifth of the land area that Californians have brought into intensive and fruitful cultivation by their own town meeting independence.

Now California is on the road back, a road that some still say is too big and therefore too costly for the direct land beneficiaries to pay for, and yet a road that is not open to Federal financing and hence Federal control.

Some impartial authorities on large reclamation projects say that large Californian landholders are among those actively backing California's decision to "go it alone" in building its $1.5 billion Feather River project, the first link in the State's master-water plan.

This project would turn the Feather River's surplus flow south to benefit arid lands all the way to the Mexican line.

One California land company alone holds about 375,000 acres in the area the project would serve. But only about 138,000 acres of this vast holding are classified by the company as "land that can be farmed."

Under Federal reclamation law, water from a Federal project may not be made available for more than 160 acres of any individual's holdings. If the landholder is married, water is available for 320 acres.

THREAT FORESEEN

Dr. Paul S. Taylor, a leading California economist, said in 1947 that the water provided as a result of Federal construction of dams in the Central Valley project in California would give the holder of 320 acres an annual subsidy ranging in value from $3,200 to $8,000, depending on the amount of water such holders of the benefited land would require.

But in Tulare and Kern Counties, he said, some 20 landholders possess about 360,000 acres that can be farmed, and the value of Federal aid conferred upon them in the water-acreage limitation were repealed "might run as high as $8 million a year."

Furthermore, the selling value of their land would be multiplied, Dr. Taylor pointed out. He said it would be altogether improper to use a Federal project, "paid for out of tax revenues from the entire country, for the enrichment of a few fortunate individuals."

The same threat, he said, is implicit in the current desire of large landholders to secure State financing of the Feather River project. The same interests which in 1947 were attacking the 160-acre water limitation are now said to be among those backing the drive for State financing for the reason that the Federal acreage limitation on subsidized water would not apply if the State builds the Feather River project.

HELP WITHHELD?

Having failed to knock out the 160-acre water limitation in the United States Reclamation law, are they now turning their efforts to State financing in the hope the State of California will foot the bill for bringing water to their thirsty lands, thereby greatly enhancing the value of their landholdings without any cost to themselves? asks Dr. Taylor.

"The natural and foreseeable effects of the long and persistent campaign by opponents of the antimonopoly clauses of national reclamation law at last are becoming visible, so that he who runs may read.

"As a result of its current successes in the recent 4-to-3 decision of the California Supreme Court, and in the drive toward a State Feather River project (minus, of course, the excess land and public-power preference provisions) the present chances for Federal help for water and power developments are pretty slim.

"The taxpayers, water users, and ratepayers of California, at a time when they need help most, are finding it choked off. The National Congress is being told, in effect, by the most authoritative voices in this State that we refuse help on the only terms on which Congress will give it.

"The State constitution contains a 320-acre land limitation and the people of the State voted for public-power preference when they had a chance. So it seems curious that the State court invalidates this and public preference. Tendencies to monopoly will be favored, and the taxpayers of California may find themselves in a morass.

"Perhaps with our water program brought to a halt, the public will insist on finding out where we are, how we got there, and how to get going again. The Federal Government has been a great benefactor to California as builder of our greatest conservation works. We need its strength, with our vast and critical water problem. We need its protection against monopoly, too."

NEW ERA LAUNCHED

This view, notwithstanding, by voting $25 million to start preliminary work on the proposed Oroville Dam—keystone of the $1.5 billion Feather River project—the California Legislature has launched this State on a new era of what some regard as purposeful self-reliance.

As the green "aye" votes winked on the illuminated tally panel in the historic old assembly chamber here, the sighs of relief among the embattled lawmakers outdid the brisk Alaska norther that began dumping its first snow cover in some years over most of the thousand-mile-long State.

Enactment of the Oroville bill climaxed a stormy session. The last-hour measure had teetered for weeks as north and south factions fought over which should come first; State funds for preliminary work on the Oroville Dam or a constitutional amendment clarifying the hard question of prior claims to transported water.

Southern legislators insisted that until they were certain that the south would be assured an adequate share of the Feather River's year-round flow, they would not vote $25 million to relocate the Western Pacific tracks and the State highway around the area to be flooded by the giant works at Oroville.

PAPER HAILS MOVE

Dispelling of the session-long deadlock awoke jubilant echoes in the thriving foothill city of Oroville.

"Fifty years of dreams, sometimes rosy, sometimes gloomy, and at other times verging on nightmare as the unbridled waters of the Feather River spread death and destruction through the peaceful Sacramento Valley, culminated in one concerted whoop of joy last night."

Thus exulted the Oroville Mercury from its fornt-page perch the morning after the legislature recessed.

"The news came through by telephone at 11 p. m., and by 11:10 it was common knowledge. The grapevine that is peculiar to all small towns carried the word to every corner of the community. The long wait was over. * * * A new era that would make Oroville the hub of such activity as the State never before has seen stood on the threshold, and a thousand hands reached out to bid it welcome."

Mayor Connie Walker was called out of a basketball game by a long-distance phone call from Sacramento where a friend with a fistful of dimes was bursting to spill the good news.

By this act of the legislature, Oroville is said to have grown up overnight. Today the talk is of new schools, new homes, new stores, new churches, new playgrounds, new libraries, as the city braces itself for an estimated inrush of 1,575 new residents the first year, and 8,235 the following year. By 1960, Governor Knight estimates the population inrush will top 16,000.

FAIR ASSESSMENT SOUGHT

Next to the question of ascertaining that the southern part of California gets its fair share of the Feather River's new southward flow is that of assessing costs fairly upon the lands to be benefited by this much-wanted water.

One way would be to make the costs a charge on the benefited lands rather than on water users as users—or upon citizens of California living outside the area of direct benefits.

This means the bonds would be secured by taxing the benefited land rather than revenues from water and power tolls.

Assemblyman Vernon Kilpatrick, a southern spokesman, warned that if the cost is not made a charge on the benefited land, "thousands of idle acres served by the new project will rise in value to the point where landholders will realize the price of a Cadillac from each and every acre."

The unearned increment resulting from public improvements in an expanding economy such as California's would be enormous, it is said, and therefore the resulting rise in land values should be taxed to pay off the bonds, since such enhanced land values would be a publicly created thing.

Spokesmen for California's 100-odd irrigation districts adopted a resolution at their association's convention in San Jose recommending that a revolving fund be established, possibly out of State tideland oil royalties, to finance the State water plan.

These funds would be made repayable and might be interest free. To the extent the loans were interest free, they would be a subsidy, of course.

CURB ON SPECULATORS

Such a system of public-works financing would not feed the fires of inflation, it is said, and would tend to discourage land speculators because idle land would bear the same tax levy that an improved lot next to it would bear.

California's long experience with regional water and power development at the "local district" level has shown that when the cost of the project falls on the holders of benefited land, no one can afford to hold land idle waiting for skyrocketing prices. Very quickly the land is taxed into good use, according to Bert Smith, an official of the California Irrigation Districts Association.

If the project is not financed in this way, anyone wishing to buy an idle tract that is brought under irrigation will be all but "priced out of business" before he gets started, it is claimed.

Sound economic tendencies will only be accelerated, according to this opinion, if buildings and improvements are exempted from taxation as is the case in the most intensively productive irrigation districts in California.

Hopes are being voiced that the Feather River project and future phases of the State water plan may unfold in this manner. If so, then cities such as Los Angeles, Berkeley, San Francisco, and Oakland—which paid for their own water supply—will not be taxed to help pay for other communities' public works in the future.

Thus, too, the arbitrary 160-acre water limitation, designed to safeguard America's family-size farms, will be preserved, not by State or Federal fiat, it is said but by historically tested, natural economic laws.

As a Source of Electric Power Even the Coal Most Expensive To Mine May Prove To Be the Best Fuel Bargain Regardless of How Far We Advance in Our Ability To Harness Power From Fissionable Materials

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, because of the fascination which the atom's potential holds for all of us, there is sometimes a tendency to move a bit recklessly in the attempt to convert to reality those undeveloped creations that so far have been confined to man's dreams and drawing boards. Perhaps one of the reasons for the outstanding scientific evolutions that have come about in America is that there are no governors on our dreams—they can be raced at top speed, as they sometimes are, with scientific knowledge and skill in swift pursuit. The idea itself must always lead the way; then the design, the laboratory, and the testing block. This procedure—underwritten by private invest-

ment—has been largely responsible for America's industrial leadership despite the Nation's comparative youth.

Because much of the research on fissionable materials has necessarily been sponsored by the United States Government, putting the peacetime atom to work poses a number of questions which are unique in a free economy. An invention normally is nurtured from idea to application on the theory that its fruition will produce a profit for the individual or firm who undertakes to pay the cost of incubation and development.

In the case of the atom, particularly as it applies to the generation of electric power, the possibility of profit is too remote at this time for us to expect private capital to assume the complete load. The Government has already used great sums of Federal funds in its atomic energy laboratories and workshops. The chain of expenditures was begun by military establishments charged with the responsibility of drafting the atom as a weapon. Once this effort was successful, officials of the executive department, collaborating with the Congress, set out to adapt the atom to peacetime uses.

The subsequent studies, experimentations, and accomplishments have been and will continue to be extremely expensive. I think, however, that they have been necessary, if only from the standpoint of international prestige.

How far Government contribution must supplement or substitute for private investment is the question which has to be answered. It is a delicate question, for Congress must appropriate the funds necessary to encourage continued development of atomic energy, yet must not permit Government dollars to upset the scale of an economy based on freedom of business operation and opportunity. In order to remain on the side of a sober management policy without crossing over into sprees of inebrious spending, Congress must wherever possible be guided by fact rather than fancies, theorems rather than hypotheses, and horse sense rather than political intuition. It is therefore sometimes necessary for us to go back and do a little checking instead of moving too quickly on a beclouded work schedule.

I have recently looked over one of the written contributions of Dr. Arthur Compton, noted educator and physicist, whose participation in the field of atomic science is well known and who in fact directed the work resulting in the first atomic chain reaction. Because the normal impulse of all of us is to accept a statement of so highly respected a person of learning, we often overlook obvious errors that no doubt come about through careless research rather than intended distortion.

In Dr. Compton's treatise on the necessity for expediting development of atomic-generated electric power, this statement is included:

> The supplies of petroleum in the United States have dwindled sufficiently that we are now importing more than is being produced in our own territory. We have coal supplies adequate for many centuries, but the coal is becoming increasingly difficult to mine. In other countries, such as, for example, Britain, the once abundant supplies of coal have already become so difficult of access that the cost is rising rapidly. In the meantime, our society is becoming dependent upon a fast-growing supply of mechanical and electrical power. We also need the organic materials that come from coal and oil as the base from which to make a vast variety of chemical products. These products include plastics and textiles, as well as dyes and artificial rubber. We cannot long afford to use our precious supply of fossil organic material as fuel. To do so is like breaking up the furniture to stoke the furnace.
>
> It is thus that atomic energy is coming just in time to meet a fundamental human need. As our experience grows, the cost of power from uranium and thorium will inevitably decrease and that of power from coal and oil will become greater. It can hardly be before the end of the present century that uranium will to a very large extent supplant coal as the source of commercial heat and power.

Mr. Speaker, I need not dwell upon the fallacy contained in the very first sentence of this excerpt. I am sure that there are enough of my colleagues, especially from the Southwest, familiar with our oil imports program and with domestic oil-production schedules to recognize that there is no justification for that sentence. While I am firmly opposed to permitting international oil companies to continue their current heavy shipments into this country, I must readily admit that these imports do not approach the quantities produced in the United States. I merely remind Dr. Compton's researchers that the State of Texas alone produces more crude oil than all the crude and products imported into this country.

Now let us look into the Compton comment on coal supplies. The conclusions accepted by the author in this regard have already been disputed by Government studies, and by estimates of private fuel experts, as completely without fundation. In this discussion today I shall refer only to the McKinney panel report, whose estimates are based on United States Bureau of Mines figures and are universally acknowledged for their authenticity and accuracy. The report lists economically recoverable reserves of coal in the United States at 948 billion tons—enough to last for almost 2,000 years at present rates of production. Here is a breakdown of those figures:

About 237 billion tons of our reserve stockpile are minable at or near present prices.

An additional 285 billion tons are available at ¼ to 1½ times present prices.

An additional 426 billion tons are available at 1½ to 4 times present prices.

As a source of electric power, even the coal most expensive to mine may prove to be the best fuel bargain regardless of how far we advance in our ability to harness power from fissionable materials.

The present average delivered cost of coal in the United States accounts for only 3 mills per kilowatt-hour in the cost of electricity. The cost of this coal at the mine—leaving out the transportation charges—averages just 2 mills per kilowatt-hour. Thus even if the cost of mining increases by one-half, this rise would add only 1 mill per kilowatt-hour to the price of electricity. Now, if we add the 237 billion tons of coal available at or near present prices to the 285 billion tons that may cost as much as 50 percent more to get out, we find that there are 522 billion tons available before coal gets into a price range which might reduce the cost advantage of coal over nuclear power by as much as 1 mill. At today's rate of production, this advantage for coal would extend into the year 2900. Recognizing that coal requirements will increase as electric generating capacity soars upward, there is a good possibility that United States demand will reach a billion tons within the next 20 years. Even so, coal will be available for another 5 centuries before the cost element increases more than 1 mill per kilowatt-hour.

I might point out that the latter estimates disregard the fact that utilization efficiency in coal-burning steamplants is steadily tending upward. Here is an assessment from the McKinney report:

> Electrical generating plants at present consume about 1 pound of coal per kilowatt-hour. This is expected to be reduced by at least five one-hundredths pounds per kilowatt-hours for each 5-year period. The report further states: The corresponding overall plant thermal efficiencies are 40 percent in 1960 and 46 percent in 1980. It is believed that such improved performances can be obtained through gains in the straight-steam cycle through the use of higher pressures and temperatures. The forecast does not include the possibility of combination gas turbines and steam turbine cycles which might possibly result in even larger gains in efficiencies. However, such possible gains cannot be accurately forecast without a comparable forecast for the cost of the plants using such combination cycles. In event such combination cycles do come into widespread use, these would tend to diminish the rate of growth of nuclear fuel plants.

I have another comment to express on the business of finding coal—as Dr. Compton puts it—extremely difficult to mine. I want to point out that the coal industry has invested huge sums of money in technological improvement of mining machinery and methods. The United Mine Workers of America have welcomed this ambitious program for increased productivity. Twenty years ago the average output per-man-day at bituminous coal mines in this country was 4.62 tons. Today the per-man-day production figure is in the vicinity of 11 tons and tending upward.

Another consideration is the improvement in coal quality through technology. Throughout our coal-producing States, large preparation plants loom on the horizon and in some areas dominate the landscape. These great coal laundries stand as testimony to the industry's determination to utilize every possible contribution of science and engineering to give consumers a better product. A preparation plant makes it possible for the coal company to deliver more B. t. u.'s per carload than was the case only a few years ago. Through a series of treatments, impurities are removed and the coal is upgraded. By applying these and perhaps yet-to-be-developed processes to lower grade coals, including lignite, the

industry will be able to assure a good supply of most efficient fuels even further into the future.

I think perhaps Members of Congress should acquaint themselves with the recent statement by Commissioner Harold S. Vance, of the Atomic Energy Commission, at a hearing before the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on February 25, 1957. Mr. Vance reviewed the advantages of developing atom-generated electric power in a number of Western Europe countries where coal is not in such abundance as in the United States. Then, turning back to our own needs, Mr. Vance offered this observation:

Now our domestic situation is quite different. We are blessed with large supplies of coal, oil, and gas. They are relatively cheap and are fairly well distributed in relation to power demand. It follows that we are not under the same pressures as are our foreign friends, and we are free, at least so far as our economy is concerned, to follow a plan which, as in the fable of the tortoise and the hare, may appear to be slow at first but which will win out in the end of the race.

I associate myself with the position outlined in the Vance statement. Admittedly most areas of the world are far less fortunate than we with respect to reserves of coal. The Federal Government's present intensive program of research in atomic energy offers an opportunity for us to promote the welfare of all the people in the world; in all probability eve nthe United States, at some time in the far distant future, will need to supplement its traditional power sources as the demands for energy continue their rapid increase.

What is mandatory, however, is that efficiency must always be the watchword of our atomic-energy program. We must not become panicked into spending orgies prompted by erroneous estimates relating to energy sources and reserves. Dr. Compton's book is not the first study by atomic-power enthusiasts who unintentionally have permitted fallacy to displace fact as they carry their important messages to the general public. I salute Dr. Compton for his devotion to the job of helping to extract more and more marvels from the atom, and I am sure that he would be the first to object to any misinterpretation whether or not it would be regarded to be in support of his philosophy.

On the matter of atomic energy, as in every phase of life, our attitude must conform to the pattern expounded by Abraham Lincoln in his letter to Horace Greeley:

I shall try to correct errors where shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views as fast as they shall appear to be true views.

WASHINGTON, March 7.—Coal is likely to be the lowest cost electric-power fuel for at least several more centuries, Representative JAMES E. VAN ZANDT said today in the speech prepared for delivery on the floor of the House. He pointed to the following factors in support of this estimate:

1. About 237 billion tons of coal reserves are available in the United States for mining at or near present costs, and an additional 285 billion tons are mineable at from 25 to 50 percent more than present costs. At the present rate of production, these reserves alone would last for more than a thousand years.

2. Utilization efficiency of coal-burning generating plants is tending steadily upward.

3. Upgrading of coal through technology will continue to increase the efficiency of this fuel.

The statement by Congressman VAN ZANDT, who is a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, was issued in reply to the published work of a prominent scientist who predicted that "it can hardly be before the end of the present century that uranium will, to a very large extent, supplant coal as the source of commercial heat and power."

Congressman VAN ZANDT said that the Federal Government's atomic energy research program "offers an opportunity to promote the welfare of all the people in the world," and that "in the far-distant future" fissionable materials may be needed to supplant traditional power energy sources. But, he cautioned his colleagues against becoming "panicked into spending orgies, prompted by erroneous estimates relating to fuel reserves," adding that "efficiency must always be the watchword" of the atomic-energy program.

"How far Government contribution must substitute for private investment in furthering atomic-energy research is the question which has to be answered," Congressman VAN ZANDT explained. "It is a delicate question, for Congress must appropriate the funds necessary to encourage continued development of atomic energy, yet must not permit Government dollars to upset the scale of an economy based on freedom of business operation and opportunity.

"In order to remain on the side of a sober management policy without crossing over into sprees of inebrious spending, Congress must be guided by facts rather than fancies, theorems rather than hypotheses, and horse-sense rather than political intuition."

In concluding his address, the Pennsylvania representative referred to a recent statement by Atomic Energy Commissioner Vance, who pointed out advantages of developing atom-generated electric power in some western European countries but emphasized that the same situation was not applicable in the case of the United States, which has vast stores of coal, oil, and natural gas.

Introduction of Bill To Improve Methods for Handling, Transporting, and Slaughtering of Livestock and Poultry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill, the purpose of which is to promote the development and use of improved methods for the humane handling, transporting, and slaughtering of livestock and poultry in interstate and foreign commerce.

My bill would authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to conduct, assist, and foster research, investigation, and experimentation to develop and encourage the adoption of improved methods for humane handling, transporting, and slaughtering livestock and poultry. It would also authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to appoint an advisory committee composed of nine members who would consult and advise him in carrying out the proposed legislation. He would also be authorized to allow the advisory committee their necessary travel and subsistence expenses in connection with their attendance at meetings called by him or his designee. This bill of mine further provides for the Secretary of Agriculture to report to the Congress annually, commencing January 1, 1959, concerning actions taken pursuant to the legislation, and authorizes the appropriation of necessary funds to carry out the bill's provisions.

Mr. Speaker, the bill I am introducing today is a realistic and practical approach to this problem. Many idealistic proposals and opinions have been advanced dealing with the humane slaughter of animals. We are all in favor of the most humane and practical way to slaughter animals for market. The difference of opinion and controversy now existing is due only to the method of slaughter. The meatpacking plants of our country have been constantly striving for many years to develop their slaughtering processes along the lines of efficiency and the most humane methods possible under the circumstances. These techniques and methods are tied closely to employment, humaneness, and the quality of meat. For them to change their methods by mandatory legislation overnight would necessitate employment readjustment, new construction, and new machinery. Hasty, mandatory legislation might even result in more inhumane treatment of animals. I believe the proper approach is through this legislation that I am introducing today. We should, first, have competent experts in the Department of Agriculture, in the industry, and in the humane societies get together, study the situation, and make recommendations which will have the support of all concerned. I believe this can be done with the kind of study this bill provides for. I believe that out of this research and investigation, which this bill would sponsor, would come recommendations which would improve our transportation, handling, and slaughtering. This research and investigation, I am sure, would have the full cooperation of the Department of Agriculture, the meatpacking industry, and the humane associations.

Ernest W. Mueller, Knoxville Farmer, Defends GOP Farm Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an article from the Oskaloosa Daily Herald of February 20 which is a reply to an insertion placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on February 18 by the Honorable MERWIN COAD:

ERNEST W. MUELLER, KNOXVILLE FARMER, DEFENDS GOP FARM ADMINISTRATION

KNOXVILLE, IOWA.—A Republican farmer turned feed salesman defended the GOP farm administration Wednesday against charges it has placed farmers under a financial strain.

Ernest W. Mueller, who hosted a lunch for Agriculture Secretary Ezra T. Benson at his farm last summer, said he quit farming recently through no fault of the administration.

Mueller said he moved off the farm he rented and sold his livestock and machinery because he was out of feed and he didn't want to borrow money to keep his 90 dairy cows and 210 hogs going.

"If we had some moisture in the subsoil, it might have been O. K. to borrow the money, about $4,000 to $5,000. But we don't because we've had drought here for 3 years," Mueller said.

The drought ruined Mueller's crop last summer. He started the winter with 2,400 bales of hay, instead of the 8,000 bales he had a year earlier, he said.

"I don't blame him (Benson) or anyone else for a lack of moisture. And a lack of moisture is our problem," Mueller said.

Representative MERWIN COAD, Democrat, Iowa, reviewed Mueller's case in a statement he entered Tuesday in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in Washington, D. C.

COAD said Mueller's situation was "concrete evidence that all is not well on the farm when those who are loyal Republicans cannot stand the financial strain which has been thrust upon them through the policies of their own party."

Mueller didn't view it in that light.

"I'm not resentful. I'm not blaming anybody," he said.

Mueller said the Government did everything he could expect it to do for farmers who found themselves with a lot of livestock and little feed.

"I didn't expect free feed. I could have borrowed the money from the Government, but I decided not to. It was my decision," Mueller said.

Mueller said another factor that prompted him to give up farming was several wonderful job opportunities offered him. Mueller attended Iowa State College, Ames, for 3 years before he was drafted into military service during World War II.

Mueller, 39, said he has a good job with a wonderful company doing the kind of work he likes, and, besides, he is getting a little old to keep up the strenuous pace of running a 90-cow dairy farm.

"You have no idea how happy I am," Mueller said. "This work has so much more potential."

Answer to Secretary Seaton's Recommendation for Acceptance of Private Utility Proposal on Trinity Project

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the recommendation of Secretary Seaton that Congress approve the so-called partnership proposal of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. on the Trinity River project, whereby the company would build the powerplants and purchose falling water from the project, boils down to one more attempt to repudiate and reverse a half century of Federal Government power policy and at the same time load hidden charges on the power bills of California power and energy users. This proposed revision of the concept of reclamation whereby the project is operated for profitmaking purposes would also result in the partitioning of one segment of the project for construction and operation entirely separate and different from the rest of the project, would emphasize operation of the project for power production to the detriment of water consumptive use purposes, would result in additional costs of power to Federal installations in California, and would not give the protection provided in the Trinity authorizing act for fish and wildlife values. Acceptance of the recommendation would mean the end of public power in California. Following is a brief summary of reasons why Secretary Seaton's recommendation should be rejected and the P. G. & E. proposal disapproved.

COMPANY'S PROPOSAL VIOLATES AND REPUDIATES LONG-ESTABLISHED FEDERAL POWER POLICY

First. Acceptance of Secretary Seaton's recommendation and approval of the company's proposal would be a reversal of half a century of power policy in the Federal Government. The policy which has been established by Congress relative to disposal of electric power and energy made available through development of the Nation's water resources is set out in numerous acts of Congress, including but not limited to, the Reclamation Project Act of April 16, 1906, the Raker Act of December 19, 1913, the Federal Water Power Act of 1920, the Boulder Canyon Act of 1928, the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933, the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, the Bonneville Act of 1937, the Fort Peck Act of 1938, the Reclamation Project Act of 1939, the Flood Control Act of 1944, the River and Harbor Act of 1945, the Eklutna Project Act of 1950, the Falcon Project Act of 1954, and the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956. This long-established policy provides that such electric power and energy be disposed of in such manner as to encourage the most widespread use thereof at lowest possible rates to consumers consistent with sound business principles, and that preference in such disposition shall be given to public agencies, municipalities, and cooperatives.

It appears that the decision to repudiate existing Federal power policy comes from the White House, as it is not consistent with Secretary Seaton's stated views to the Senate Interior Committee only 9 months ago. When asked if he believed "that the Department of Interior should adopt a policy, in harmony with Congress, to maintain the principle of public power" Secretary Seaton replied as follows:

> Yes; I see no difficulty there. Whenever the people of a given area, whether it is a region or a State, want public power, it seems to me that they have the determining voice in the matter in any legislation which Congress has passed which makes it possible for those people to exercise their own right of choice. It is a matter which is entirely up to them.
>
> * * * * *
>
> So far as I am concerned, as long as the preference clause is part of the law of this country, as passed by the Congress, the Department of Interior, so far as I am able to see to it, will adhere to the letter of the law.

Now, only 9 months later, in his report to Congress, Secretary Seaton recommends a proposal which he recognizes cannot comply with long-established power policy and with the Trinity authorizing act:

> I am not unmindful of the fact that acceptance of the company's proposal would render it impossible to comply with two of the restrictions contained in the act. The first of these is the provision which requires that contracts for the sale and delivery of the additional electric energy available from the Central Valley project power system as a result of the construction of the plants authorized and their integration with that system shall be made in accordance with preferences expressed in the Federal reclamation laws. The second of these is the requirement that a first preference be given to preference customers in Trinity County, Calif., to the extent of the 25 percent of the additional energy added to the Central Valley project as a result of the construction of the Trinity River division. Since joint development of the Trinity resource would add no energy to the Central Valley project power system, except to the extent that the company provides support under its proposed amendments to the existing sales and interchange contract, it appears that there would be no power from which to satisfy either of the two restrictions mentioned.

Secretary Seaton's recommendation would lay aside existing Federal power policy in the interest of a greater financial return to the Federal Government. The Secretary admits that, by so doing, preference provisions in the authorizing act could not be complied with and preference agencies would be required to pay $86 million more for power and energy over a 50-year period than under Federal development. If the San Luis unit, now proposed for authorization, is constructed, preference customers would have to pay $118 million more for energy.

If it were the policy of the Federal Government to exploit the power potential of Federal projects for profitmaking purposes, a less drastic measure but a more lucrative one would be to simply raise the project power rates. Power rates for the Central Valley project could be brought in line with the existing rates of the private utilities and return to the Federal Government, over the payout period, several times the additional $165 million which the Secretary claims from the P. G. & E. proposal.

There is another approach that might be considered if the project is to be put on a profit-making basis. The company sets the value of the Trinity energy at load center at 13 or 14 mills per kilowatthour. Why shouldn't the Federal Government go ahead with construction of the power plants, keeping the Central Valley project intact, and deliver the energy to the company at the load center at its stated value? The surplus to the Federal Government over the repayment period would be close to half a billion dollars.

IT IS THE POWER CONSUMERS WHO PAY

Second. Acceptance of Secretary Seaton's recommendation, and approval of the P. G. & E. proposal would load hidden charges on the power bills of northern California power and energy users. The homeowner, farmer, and businessman would find the P. G. & E. highly advertised generous payments to the Government on their power bills. Also on their power bills would be the costs to the company for construction and operation

of the powerplants as well as the Federal, State, and local taxes, which the company claims that it would pay if it builds the power facilities. These are all costs to the company which would necessarily have to be passed on to the consumers. Specifically, the Pacific Gas and Electric Co. pays no money it does not collect on the electric bills. The cost of the power houses, the money paid the Federal Government for falling water, as well as the Federal, State, and local taxes, would all be charged to the power users, and at a profit. To put it simply, if the P. G. & E. proposal produces $165 million more in surplus revenues over the payout period than under Federal construction and the P. G. & E. Co. pays $135 million in taxes, then the power consumers pay $300 million more, plus the company's profit.

It is pertinent to point out that just 4 days before Secretary Seaton made his recommendation, the Pacific Gas and Electric Co. submitted a petition to the California Public Utilities Commission asking for an increase in electric rates of almost 6 percent, which would average 37 cents per month per household. The company itself estimated that the electric rate boost affecting 1,735,000 California customers would increase revenues by $16,600,000 annually. Under a system where allowable rates are based upon costs plus a nice profit, why should the company hesitate to raise its offer for falling water by $1,100,000 per year or to place an additional $300 million burden on the power consumers?

PARTITIONSHIP NOT PARTNERSHIP

Third. The Central Valley project was not constructed for profit-making purposes. It was constructed to meet the needs of the people of the Central Valley Basin for water, flood control and for low-cost electric power. Under the Secretary's recommendation and the company's proposal, one segment of the vast integrated reclamation project would be constructed and operated entirely different from the rest of the project. The Central Valley project is a whole integrated system of dams, reservoirs, canals, transmission lines, powerplants and so forth constructed by the Federal Government, all designed for comprehensive development of the basin to protect the people and land from floods, to furnish a dependable water supply for agriculture and defense purposes, and to furnish power and energy at lowest rates possible consistent with project repayment. This recommendation for partnership or partitionship, as it has been referred to, whereby one segment is set apart and operated different from the rest, just does not make sense. Acceptance of the Secretary's recommendation would irreparably disrupt existing operations of the Central Valley project and threaten future development.

ACCEPTANCE OF SECRETARY'S RECOMMENDATION WOULD MEAN THE END OF PUBLIC POWER IN CALIFORNIA AS A DETERRENT TO HIGH POWER RATES

Fourth. The great effort of the Pacific Gas and Electric Co. to put over this proposal goes, of course, beyond the specific facilities involved here. The real purpose of the company is to stop for all time the expansion of Federal power in California in order that it may monopolize the power market in that area. Acceptance of this proposal would set the precedent for future Federal development. Experience and history have shown that in areas of public power such as the TVA area, the Northwest, the Missouri Basin, and California, prevailing power rates, including the rates of private utilities, are lower than in areas where there is no Federal power. Compare, for instance, the prevailing electric power and energy rates in the Northwest with those in the Northeast.

Federal power, therefore, has not only resulted in low-cost power to public agencies, municipalities, and cooperatives, but it has had the effect of holding down the rates charged by private utilities in Federal power areas. Not only have the so-called preference customers benefited but all the users of electric energy in the area have benefited. If Federal power is cut off in California, it will be to the detriment of not only the potential direct beneficiaries of Federal power but also every user of electricity in the area.

PROPOSAL EMPHASIZES POWER OPERATION TO THE DETRIMENT OF CONSUMPTIVE USE PURPOSES

Fifth. Under the P. G. & E. proposal, the project plan of operation would provide for releases of water to maximize power and energy production. The proposed contract includes a very detailed schedule of releases designed to produce the maximum amount of power and energy for integration into the company's overall power system. Although, theoretically, the water needs of the project would retain priority, any time the Federal Government could not meet the schedule of releases for power because of interference with water consumptive use requirements, then the Federal Government would have to pay the company penalties for such noncompliance with the schedule. The proposed contract contains this paragraph:

If, by reason of (1) water supply conditions more adverse than those of record, (2) the authorization of additional divisions of the Central Valley project by Congress, or (3) changes or revision of the crop pattern of said project (the United States is unable to meet the irrigation requirements of said project) (matter in parentheses added), through releases of water made available pursuant to paragraphs (a) and (b) of this article in combination with releases of all water available from the active storage capacities of Shasta and Folsom Reservoirs as defined below, and of such other reservoirs as may be authorized as part of said project the United States may, on advance written notice to Pacific and subject to the provisions of article 12 (d), make available for such irrigation requirements and for use through the powerplants of Pacific's project additional amounts of water even though storage in Trinity or Whiskeytown Reservoir is then less than that specified in table 5 above. Pacific may thereafter take such action as is necessary to provide, from the most economical alternative source or sources, dependable power capacity in lieu of the dependable power capacity which otherwise would be assured by the reservoir storage specified in table 5. If the release of such additional amounts of water by the United States or the action taken by Pacific to provide such capacity causes an increase in the cost to Pacific of furnishing electric power to its customers (the United States shall compensate Pacific for such increased cost by direct reimbursement to Pacific or by appropriate adjustment of the payments provided for in article 13 or both). (Matter in parentheses added.)

The costs to the Federal Government which would result from penalties have not been considered in the evaluation of the proposal. Since the project operating plan is based on historical flows and therefore nothing more than an educated guess, conflicts are bound to arise from time to time between the needs for water to develop electricity and the needs for water to meet requirements of irrigation and municipal water supply. When this serious problem involves the substitution of dollars for water, I fear that it is the water users who may come up short. Even if the priorities are adhered to, I can visualize huge unforseen payments to the company. It seems to me that the basic purpose of the Central Valley project is the storing and releasing of water in the interests of irrigation and municipal water supply. I believe that, in the public interest, such purpose should be fulfilled without imposing payments on the Government of the United States for noncompliance with a specific schedule of operations designed to maximize power benefits.

"MORE FUNDS FOR POTENTIAL IRRIGATION" ARGUMENT NOT VALID

Sixth. Secretary Seaton states in his letter to Congress that acceptance of P. G. & E.'s proposal would "provide substantially more funds for potential irrigation and multipurpose development in the Central Valley project area."

He also states:

It seems to me that the development of power resources of the Trinity River division under a joint proposal such as that offered by the company would mean that power would become a better partner of irrigation development in the Central Valley project area than under all Federal construction.

Unfortunately, the Secretary overlooks two important factors which makes the first statement invalid and proves the second statement false. First, financial studies of the Central Valley project, based on Federal development, indicate surplus revenues sufficient to expand irrigation as fast as the need develops. The need for additional power revenues to assist irrigation development does not exist. For instance, the report of the Secretary indicates a surplus of about $114 million in the repayment analysis of the authorized features. With the San Luis unit added, a recent report indicates a surplus of about $100 million at the end of the repayment period. It is pretty clear that under the present power rate structure of the Central Valley project there will be sufficient power revenues available to carry forward future irrigation development as fast as it is needed. In this connection, in Secretary Seaton's report one of Commissioner Dexheimer's conclusions is as follows:

Construction of the Trinity River division either as an all-Federal undertaking or through the proposed joint development is feasible and justifiable from both as engineering and economic viewpoint. (Under either arrangement there appears to be ample opportunity for expansion of the irriga-

tion phase of the Central Valley project). (Matter in parentheses added.)

The second fallacy in the Secretary's statement is that he overlooks and does not consider the energy needs of the irrigation districts throughout California and the cost to the districts of obtaining necessary energy for pumping. It should be evident that any proposal which results in the irrigation districts having to pay higher rates for their pumping energy does not result in power becoming "a better partner of irrigation."

TAKEOVER PROVISIONS NOT FAVORABLE TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND WERE NOT CONSIDERED BY SECRETARY IN FINANCIAL ANALYSIS

Seventh. Consonant with the provisions of the Federal Power Act, the proposed contract between the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. and the Federal Government provides that the United States could acquire at the end of the 50-year contract period the power facilities constructed by the company. However, acquisition by the Federal Government would require payment for the company's net investment in the project, not to exceed the fair value of the property taken, plus severance damages. The financial advantage which the Secretary claims for the company's proposal completely overlooks this matter of acquisition costs to the Federal Government. In other words, the analysis on which the Secretary's recommendation is based overlooks the fact that under Federal construction the Federal Government will own the power facilities at the end of 50 years while under the recommended proposal the company will own the power facilities. In connection with the Secretary's claimed surplus of $165 million under the company's proposal, the report of the Commissioner of Reclamation has the following to say:

For comparison, these two figures require an adjustment that cannot be determined at this time. Under all-Federal development at the end of the 50-year payout period the Federal Government would own outright the fully amortized and operative Trinity River division power facilities, an equity of substantial value. Under joint development the Federal Government could acquire this equity only by payment to the company its remaining net investment plus severance damages. The effect of the required adjustment would be to reduce the difference in surpluses shown above.

It appears that the Federal Government is put in an unfavorable position with respect to takeover of the power facilities at the end of the contract period and that the Secretary has overlooked this in setting out the financial advantages of the recommended proposal.

ASSUMING A POLICY OF "THE MORE SURPLUS THE BETTER" THE AMOUNT OF COMPANY'S OFFER IS STILL TOO LOW

Eighth. When the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. appeared before congressional committees 18 months ago, its offer to the Federal Government for use of the falling water was $3.5 million annually. Since that time the company has increased its offer to $4,617,000 annually or an increase of over $1,100,000 annually. Although on the surface this appears to be a generous offer, it is still too low if it is to be the policy to exploit the power resources to the fullest. Analysis of the offer indicates that it is comparable to loaning the company Federal money at about 3½ percent. The Bureau of Reclamation has allocated to power $94,693,000 of the construction cost of the Trinity River division joint-use facilities. The annual payment of $4,617,000 by the company would just about amortize this power allocation in 50 years at 3½ percent and pay a reasonable share of the operation and maintenance expenses. Therefore, it appears that the offer is not as generous as it may seem on the surface. If it is to be the policy to make money from the power operations then the Federal Government should expect a return on its investment of better than 3½ percent. Other lending institutions get a considerably higher return.

Also, there is another approach that indicates the company's offer is not enough if the policy was to put the project on a profit-making basis. The Pacific Gas & Electric Co. contracts for bulk sales of electricity, such as the contracts with Sacramento Municipal Utility District, Southern California Edison, and various chemical companies, include a clause whereby the price of energy is tied to the cost of fuel. In other words, as the cost of fuel fluctuates the price paid to the company for energy will fluctuate. The company has been attempting for some time to get the California Public Utilities Commission to permit it to include a similar clause in its regular rate schedules. In recent years the price of fuel has gone continually up and the company's recent petition to the Public Utilities Commission for a 6-percent rate increase was based upon increases in the price of fuel oil. In this connection, the company, in its offer to purchase falling water, determined the value of the Trinity energy by a comparison with the cost of steam generation. Therefore, the value of the Trinity energy to the company likewise fluctuates with the cost of fuel, and as the cost of fuel increases the value of the energy to the company increases. Using the company's argument for including an escalator clause in its contracts for disposal of energy, whereby the price is tied to the cost of fuel, why should not a similar clause be included in a contract whereby the company, in a sense, is purchasing energy In other words, as the value of the Trinity energy to the company increases, why should not the company pay more for it? It is my understanding that, with respect to the company's present offer, the energy was evaluated on the basis of fuel oil at $2 per barrel. The price of fuel oil today is in the neighborhood of $2.75 per barrel. Already, then, the value of the energy to the company is considerably more than the company reported as a basis for its offer. Over the 50-year contract period, if past economic trends mean anything, the price of fuel will continue to go up. If it was the policy, then, to put the project on a profit-making basis, it would appear imperative that the Federal Government would have to insist that any contract include an escalator clause tieing the company's payments to the price of fuel.

PREVIOUS CLAIMS BY COMPANY REGARDING THE ADDITIONAL POWER GENERATING CAPACITY UNDER ITS PROPOSAL ARE NO LONGER VALID

Ninth. At the time the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. appeared before the congressional committees its proposal called for installation of 130,000 more kilowatts of generating capacity than the Bureau proposed at that time to install. This higher capacity, of course, was based on integration of the power facilities into the company's overall system and the use of the Trinity facilities for peaking purposes. It was a little difficult at that time to understand how the company could claim this advantage in the face of the understanding we have always had that regardless of who constructed the power facilities the energy therefrom, along with the energy from the other CVP power facilities, would be integrated into the overall system for the benefit of both the company and the Federal Government. Since that time a firm agreement with respect to integration has been reached between the Bureau and the company and the authorized capacity of the Trinity division has been increased to "not to exceed 400,000 kilowatts." Therefore, this argument in favor of the company's proposal is no longer valid and the operating plan will be the same regardless of who builds the powerplants.

SECRETARY'S RECOMMENDATION DOES NOT MEET THE INTENT OF CONGRESS IN AUTHORIZING THE NEGOTIATIONS

Tenth. The authority in the Trinity authorizing act for completing the negotiations did not imply authorization for the Secretary to study proposals which would violate existing law and, as a matter of fact, language in the act itself. In other words, it was assumed that any agreement with the company would include protection for preference customers as well as protection for the power consumers against exorbitant power rates. To make this clear, the Senate report on the legislation carried this statement:

The proviso is in no sense to be understood as an authorization to waive, in any negotiation for the sale of falling water, any preference in the sale or transmission of power as expressed in section 5 of the Flood Control Act of 1944, in the Reclamation Project Act of 1939, or in any other law.

In not following this instruction, there is a serious question as to whether the expenditures for the studies involved in this proposal have not been made illegally.

ACCEPTANCE OF RECOMMENDATION WOULD RESULT IN ADDITIONAL COST OF POWER TO FEDERAL INSTALLATIONS IN CALIFORNIA

Eleventh. Secretary Seaton's report indicates that if the company's proposal is accepted it would result in Federal installations paying about $30 million more for power over the repayment period, and this additional payment by Federal installations would be increased to $71 million if the San Luis unit is constructed. It just does not make sense for the Federal Government to build a project which includes the potential for producing power and to dispose of the power potential without any marketing restrictions while compelling its own governmental agencies to pay excessive private power rates for their required electric energy.

FISH AND WILDLIFE VALUES NOT PROTECTED

Twelfth. The authorizing act for the Trinity project contains a provision to insure preservation and propagation of fish and wildlife, as follows:

Provided, That the Secretary is authorized and directed to adopt appropriate measures to insure the preservation and propagation of fish and wildlife, including, but not limited to, the maintenance of the flow of the Trinity River below the diversion point at not less than 150 cubic feet per second for the months July through November and the flow of Clear Creek below the diversion point at not less than 15 cubic feet per second unless the Secretary and the California Fish and Game Commission determine and agree that lesser flows would be adequate for maintenance of fish life and propagation thereof.

The proposed contract between the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. and the Federal Government includes a schedule of releases of water whereby no water would be released from the Trinity Reservoir for maintenance of fish life for the months of January through September. This is another instance where the proposal is inconsistent with the authorizing act.

Let's Open America's Doors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks, I include an excellent article entitled "Let's Open America's Doors," written by Rev. Father Robert F. Drinan, S. J., appearing in the February 23, 1957 issue of the publication Ave Maria.

Father Drinan is dean of the Boston College Law School and a member of the bars of Massachusetts, the District of Columbia, and has been admitted to practice in the United States Supreme Court. He is also corresponding editor of America.

I agree with the opinions of Father Drinan as expressed in his splendid article.

The views of Father Drinan on this important subject he discusses in his article are worthy of the consideration of all persons. His suggested changes in our present immigration and nationality law are sound.

LET'S OPEN AMERICA'S DOORS

(By Rev. Robert F. Drinan, S. J.)

When the first plane of Hungarian refugees to reach New England touched the runway at midnight on a cold December night at Boston's Logan International Airport, the first American the 75 passengers saw was their new archbishop. In the middle of the night and in piercing cold the purple of the episcopacy and the pectoral cross of Archbishop Richard J. Cushing reminded the refugees that Boston, like Budapest, had prelates heroic in love for those who followed in the path of Christ the Refugee.

The 28,000 refugees now being airlifted to America and freedom have won public sympathy in a way unprecedented even by the displaced persons who came to the States during the last decade. Although there seem to be widespread misgivings over the number of refugees now being admitted and also about the possible disloyalty of some of them, there is, nonetheless, an almost universal acceptance of the idea that the United States has the duty to receive a sizable group of refugees from those more than 150,000 Hungarians who have fled into Austria.

At a time when the public mood is more than ordinarily friendly to the idea of new migrants coming to our shores, it might be well to take advantage of the opportunity to propose a basic reexamination of our immigration laws and, more particular, of the McCarran-Walter Act passed by Congress in June 1952 over the veto of President Truman.

That this act is amazingly well known around the world is common knowledge to anyone who has traveled abroad. This writer recalls vividly a man of Italian parentage in Tripoli, north Africa, showing him innumerable clippings from Italian and Arab Communist and non-Communist newspapers relating the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act which give preference to northern Europeans of the expense of southern and eastern Europeans. The Italians in Tripoli as well as hundreds of millions of people all around the world have become persuaded that the United States has selfishly and ruthlessly eliminated almost all immigration in the face of a pressing need of many nations for more living room and greater occupational opportunities.

Current controversy over American immigration policy can only be understood in the light of the two distinct waves of immigrants which have come to the ports of the world's richest nation. In 1790 the original racial composition of the nation was formed from persons of northern European stock—mostly of English origin. The country with only 3.9 million inhabitants actively desired more workers to aid in the development of the newly born nation. No trace of serious anti-immigration feeling seems to have existed prior to the substantial influx of Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians in the 1830's and thereafter. The infamous burning of the Ursuline Convent in 1834 in Charlestown, Mass., was probably connected with the growing feeling at that time against all foreign born.

An interesting study has recently been published on the origins of the growth in New England of anti-immigrant feeling. Barbara Miller Solomon in her book Ancestors and Immigrants (Harvard University Press, 1956) traces the rise in conservative New England of that bitter hostility to immigrants which Irish and Italian grandmothers in Boston still tell about.

The major reason for the shift in thinking from a policy of welcoming immigrants to one of hostility to them was the difference in the origin of the migrants. The first wave of immigrants after the formation of the nation came from northern Europe. So long as this continued New Englanders and the Nation in general were hospitable to the newcomers. But when the second wave of immigrants from southern Europe began to grow in numbers and influence anti-immigrant sentiments intensified. Dislike of the foreign born mounted in the 1870's when large areas of eastern cities became exclusively populated with Italians and Greeks.

No sustained sentiment for restrictive immigration, however, developed until the very late 1800's. Such sentiment was understandable in view of the fact that between 1875 and 1903, 11,838,731 person arrived at American ports from European lands. In the wake of this mass migration—the largest migration in the history of the world—it is no wonder at all that Americans began to have doubts about the limits of the melting pot theory.

In 1892 both Democrats and Republicans must have felt that more votes would be gained than lost by including in their respective platforms a plank urging a restriction on the number of aliens allowed to come to American shores. In 1895 the American Protective Association, a nativist or super-patriotic group of 2.5 million members, took a firm position against all immigration. The fear felt at that time was probably not unlike the present disquiet experienced by citizens of New York at the influx of Puerto Ricans, a group that now forms one-third of the archdiocese of New York.

In the years prior to World War I, all orientals were excluded by law, a literacy test was prescribed and other restrictive measures were adopted. But it was not until 1920 that America faced what is conceived to be the urgent necessity of limiting immigration.

After the First World War, Americans beheld the continent of Europe plagued with poverty, distress, hunger, and disease. The Jews of Poland, the unemployed of Italy and the displaced of Germany were reported to be contemplating mass migration to America. A rather serious recession in the United States added to American foreboding on the possibility of an undesirable number of new immigrants in a nation where about 22 million of its 120 million citizens were foreign-born. The agitation for restriction on immigration mounted, so that Congress legislated in 1921 and again in 1924 that no more than 154,000 could enter the United States each year from Europe. No quota, however, was placed then or ever on migrants coming to America from South America or Canada.

Before America's first major immigration law was passed, some public discussion was had but the great debate which such a revolution in American life assuredly called for was not conducted. A great tradition of hospitality and free immigration that had lasted from 1630 to 1920 was ended in a moment of national fear and lack of self-confidence.

What was even worse than the hasty emotional national reaction which precipitated the virtual end of migration to our shores was the formula which Congress adopted to regulate the number of migrants seeking admission to America. A large number of formulas was available to limit the number of immigrants—an objective probably desirable in some form at that time.

But Congress chose the national origins formula and thereby gave public expression and approbation to its conviction that peoples from northern European nations—and especially from England—are to be preferred to those from southern Europe. For that is exactly what the national origins formula does—it allocates to each nation a certain quota based on the number of American citizens deriving their origin from that nation.

Using the census of 1890, Congress granted to England and Ireland about two-thirds of the total of 154,000 which was about one-seventh of 1 percent of the Nation's population at that time. Implicit in this large allocation to English-speaking peoples was the belief that they were more desirable as immigrants than people from Italy or Greece or Spain. The national origins formula presupposed that the racial composition of America in 1890 was a desirable thing to perpetuate—admitting by implication that persons of Anglo-Saxon or Nordic origin made better citizens than Rumanians, Yugoslavs, Ukrainians, Balts, or Austrians.

While the immigration law of 1924 was admittedly designed to restrict immigration from southern and eastern Europe the law did, nonetheless, affirm the desirability for America of receiving 154,000 new citizens annually. The law, however, did not arrange that this number be received each year since it did not provide for unused quotas to be transferred to countries which desired to oversubscribe their quotas. The failure to allow transferability in quotas resulted in

America being deprived of over 60 percent of those aliens whose coming to the United States was declared desirable by the law of 1924.

Of the 3,365,627 visas available for European immigrants between 1924 and 1946, only 1,303,765 or 38.7 percent were actually utilized. The more than 1 million unused visas were the places available to English and Irish who annually declined to fill the quota assigned to those peoples. During this same time, Spain (quota: 250), Italy (quota: 5,645) and other European nations could not take advantage of the largely unfilled allotment of England (quota: 65,261). The immigration law of 1924, in other words, provided for an annual increment in America's population of 154,000, but at the same time enacted a restriction that made this increment impossible of fulfillment.

This racial restriction—the so-called national origins formula—was under attack from the very beginning. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., has stated that "it is nothing short of incredible that we should * * * have enacted into law such a slur on the patriotism, the capacity, and the decency of a large number of our citizenry."

The National Catholic Welfare Conference has likewise spoken sharply against the use of the national origins formula as the basis of our immigration policy.

The depression with its vast numbers of unemployed very definitely inhibited all discussion of the desirability of a freer and larger flow of immigrants to America. With the end of World War II, however, the people of the least-damaged participating nation felt a moral compulsion to admit some refugees. This feeling has resulted in the first Displaced Persons Act of 1948, under which 205,000 persons could be admitted—all to be charged, however, to the future quotas of the country of the refugees' origin.

Early in his second term, President Truman requested that a study be done with a view to consolidating and liberalizing all Federal laws on immigration. After months of study Senator McCarran, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and his cosponsor Congressman Francis Walter, came forward with an omnibus bill which, while accomplishing certain desirable results, proved to be unacceptable to the administration and to most religious leaders.

The Senator's proposal reenacted the national origins formula (over the bitter protest of knowledgeable and responsible groups), retained the 154,000 ceiling, gave a token quota of 100 to some oriental nations and placed new burdens on aliens in the United States. This legislation—the McCarran-Walter Act—was enacted by Congress in June 1952.

From the very first, the McCarran-Walter Act has been controversial. In the fall of 1952 a Presidential Commission conducted hearings on the new law in many major cities of the Nation. Catholic spokesmen were unanimous in criticizing various features of the law. * * *

He disapproved in particular of the national origins formula, the restrictive number of immigrants admittable each year and the very broad power conferred on American consuls abroad.

It can be said without qualification that all Jewish and Christian groups in America are united and unanimous in their serious objection to features of the McCarran-Walter Act. Such unanimity on a controversial issue is a very unusual thing among America's religious groups. A few months ago Civiltà Cattolica, a Jesuit fortnightly in Rome which reflects closely the views of the Holy See, commented in a series of articles on the unanimity of the criticism by American religious leaders on the McCarran Act and the Civiltà added its own distinguished voice to this chorus of disapproval.

During the past 2 years, it did not really seem likely that the 84th Congress would act to liberalize our basic immigration law; the 1955 Refugee Relief Act authorizing the admittance of some 200,000 persons provided an excuse for the last Congress to avoid the mounting tide of responsible public sentiment in favor of a new look at America's responsibility to the more than 1 million persons whose names are on the lists of those seeking to gain admittance to a new home in America.

With the explosion in Hungary, however, there seems to be some possibility of action in the forthcoming 85th Congress. What action should be taken?

1. The national origins formula should be scrapped. Aliens should be admitted on the basis of their need to emigrate coupled with their usefulness to America.

2. The present annual quota of 154,000 should be raised to 250,000—a number agreed upon by experts as desirable and approved by the National Catholic Welfare Conference in its testimony to Congress.

3. The unused quotas should be transferred annually to persons in the greatest need.

But questions arise and honest difficulties come up in the minds of good people anxious to be fair to those outside of America who desire a new life. These questions are generally concerned with (1) America's capacity to absorb a larger number of migrants, (2) the possibility of disloyal persons coming in through a more liberal immigration policy and (3) the duty of America to accept migrants in relation to the similar duty of other nations of the world. Let us discuss each of these questions, a clear answer to which is necessary before the United States allows more aliens to obtain her precious citizenship.

First, no economist to this writer's knowledge has ever said that accepting 154,000 aliens each year would be detrimental to the Nation's economy. Nor would any economist state that 250,000 would be harmful since this latter figure is about one-seventh of 1 percent of the 1950 census, just as 154,000 was the same percentage of the 1920 population. Indeed some economists—e. g., Louis Bean—say that the Nation has been retarded by the restriction on immigration since 1924.

One economic analyst has pointed out that the States with the largest proportion of first- and second-generation immigrant families lead the Nation in wealth and industry—as is clear from the States of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. A larger labor force, furthermore, would tend to ease the ever-growing demand for women workers—a demand which is now seriously interfering with the home duties of countless young mothers.

Second, the feeling that some subversive elements would slip in if America eased its immigration restrictions is tantamount to saying that our security program at consulates abroad and at reception centers at home is seriously defective.

Quite the contrary is the truth. Immigrants even before the McCarran-Walter Act were "caseworked to death," as one investigator put it. If some aliens who turned out to be disloyal happened to have been admitted in past years, this but proves that lying and deception are an integral part of the Red conspiracy. The fact is, however, that there has been no substantial complaint of any subversive elements among the displaced persons admitted to the United States during the last decade.

Third, has the United States already done as much, if not more, than the rest of the world in accepting new citizens? During the last decade America has, it is true, accepted a number of newcomers which compares favorably with what other nations have done. But America is still one of the least populated areas of the world; other such areas—like Canada—have no rigid barriers and no national-origins formula, yet they are not overrun by applicants. Some Latin-American nations are actively seeking new manpower. No suggestion is being made by any responsible group or organization, however, that America abolish all restrictions on the number or quality of persons to be granted admittance to the United States. A growing number of organizations do, however, favor a searching reexamination of what America can and should do to aid the refugees and the unemployed in the overcrowded areas of the world.

No one has been firmer in speaking of the right to migrate than Pope Pius XII. He has continuously affirmed the right of every man to have those basic necessities of life without which a life of virtue is impossible. The Holy Father has set up in Geneva the International Catholic Migration Office, a central coordinating unit for the vast worldwide work of the church on behalf of migrants. Typical of the statements of the Pontiff on the immigration question is the following delivered to members of the International Congress on Social Studies on June 3, 1950:

"One must face up, in the broader sense, to the duty of giving to innumerable families in their natural, moral, juridicial, and economic unity, an equitable living space, equal in however modest a manner to at least the demands of human dignity."

Has America been prepared to "face up" to the "duty" of giving to families "an equitable living space * * * equal * * * to the demands of human dignity"? Responsible and informed opinion says "No." Now is the hour to begin the "great debate" which should precede any substantial change in our immigration policy. Let us not wait until another world crisis arrives and thousands of refugees by their heroic resistance find a way into our hearts and our fatherland.

So serious a problem as a nation's immigration policy should not be settled on a crisis-to-crisis basis. No group has been more conspicuous than the church in its leadership and charity in all works aimed at aiding immigrants. Let us hope that American Catholics, following this leadership, will continue in their efforts to make our immigration policy one that is totally consistent with our duties to ourselves and to the world.

National Rice Week—March 10 to 16, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, why is more of the world's money spent on rice each year than any other commodity, even wheat? Because it is a delicious food; wholesome, easy to prepare, and economical. No finer rice is produced anywhere than in Arkansas, and it is our second largest crop. Yet, for lack of recipes, our local consumption of 6 pounds per person per year falls far under the world's per capita use of 24 pounds. For this reason, I have collected for you the favorite rice recipes of many countries scattered over the earth. Let us boost our Arkansas product. Let us eat more rice.

From the Embassy of France:

ENTREMENTS AU RIZ

One-quarter pint rice; 1¼ pints precook milk; 6 eggs; 3 ounces sugar; pat butter or margine; salt; vanila. Wash rice, drain, then rinse in lukewarm water. Place, well-drained in a casserole with precooked milk, with flavoring added as preferred, sugar, butter, and a small pinch of salt. Put on fire, cover casserole and boil gently over moderate heat for 30 minutes. Do not stir during boiling, to prevent its sticking to bottom of pan. Remove rice from stove, add 6 egg yolks, beaten with a fork. Add more sugar, according to taste. Orange or lemon peel may be substituted for vanila flavoring.

From the Embassy of Turkey:

DOLMAS (STUFFED VEGETABLES)

One-quarter cup uncooked rice; 1 tablespoon tomato sauce (optional); 1 pound ground lamb or beef (from fatty part of meat; 1 teaspoon chopped mint; 1 chopped onion; 1 teaspoon chopped dill; salt and pepper.

Place meat in bowl and add onion, rice, mint, dill, salt and pepper, and tomato sauce. Knead well. This stuffing may be used for a variety of dolmas: eggplant, green pepper, tomato, zucchini (Italian squash). (These may be cooked separately, or together, for assorted dolmas). Place dolmas in saucepan; add 2 tablespoons butter and 1 cup water; cover and cook over moderate heat about 30-40 minutes or until vegetables are soft.

POLAV (RICE)

Two cups uncooked rice; 4 medium tomatoes (or canned tomatoes); one-eighth pound butter or margarine; 3½ cups liquid (water, meat stock, or chicken broth); 2 teaspoons salt.

Wash and drain rice well, then set aside. Cut tomatoes, peeled and seeded into small chunks. Heat butter and tomatoes together until a tomato paste is obtained, then add liquid and salt and boil for 2 minutes. Add rice while liquid is boiling, stir once, cover and cook over medium heat without stirring again until rice has absorbed all the liquid. Turn flame very low and simmer for another 20 minutes. Remove from stove and leave covered for 30 minutes—do not stir.

When transferring rice to serving dish, use a flat serving spoon, handling the rice very gently, to keep it fluffy.

From the Embassy of Brazil:

CANJA (CHICKEN SOUP WITH RICE)

One cup uncooked rice; 1 stewing chicken; 1 tablespoon butter or margarine; small pieces cooked ham; small amount minced onion, parsley.

Cut chicken in serving pieces and brown in butter over low flame. Cover with water, season with salt and pepper, add seasoning (which should be tied up in a small bag), and cook until chicken is tender. Remove chicken from liquid and separate meat from bones and skin. Place chicken back in liquid together with rice. Add ham. Simmer until rice is done. Season again with salt and pepper to taste. Discard condiment bag. Canja is usually served as a soup course, but if allowed to thicken may be used as a main dish.

RICE A LA RIO

One pound rice; salt, and pepper; 1 peeled tomato (if desired); 2 teaspoons shortening; 1 chopped onion, parsley, and very small amount of garlic enclosed in bag.

Rice should be cooked in heavy casserole or stone pot. Melt shortening (if stone pot is used, do this in separate frying pan) and brown rice, stirring continually to prevent sticking. This should take about 5 minutes and is a very important factor in producing a loose product with a nutty taste, which is a prime requirement of Brazilian rice. With the browned rice in casserole or pot, add bag of condiments and tomato; pour salted boiling water until level is slightly above rice in utensil. This is a rather ticklish operation and care is required to avoid hot substance spitting back, which may cause burns. Cover and let boil for 5 minutes over smart fire. Discard condiment bag, then reduce flame and cook until rice is done. Remove from flame and set aside until latent heat in heavy utensil does its share in fluffing rice, which will swell up. When properly cooked, each grain of rice should be separate from the others and not stick to serving spoon.

From the Embassy of Indonesia:

NASI GORENG (FRIED RICE)

Four cups cooked rice; 1 tablespoon tomato catsup; 1 teaspoon chopped garlic; 1 bouillon cube, diluted; 1 tablespoon chopped onions or one-half teaspoon onion powder; 2 tablespoons chopped fresh shrimp or shredded dried shrimp; one-half teaspoon ground red pepper or one-fourth teaspoon black pepper (optional); one-eighth pound butter or margarine.

Saute all the ingredients in the butter, except the rice, on a low flame. Add the rice and mix thoroughly. Remove from fire. Serve hot, garnished with shredded omelet, fried peanuts and pickles. May also be served with any other dry dish, but no sauces.

From the Embassy of Cuba:

ARROZ CON POLLO (CHICKEN WITH RICE)

One pound rice; 1 roasting chicken; 4 large tomatoes or one-half can; one-fourth can petit pois; 2 tablespoons olive oil; 1 pinch of Spanish saffron; 1 onion; 1 garlic bud; 1 green chopped pepper; 1 small can Spanish pimentoes; 1 wine glass dry sherry; 2 cloves; 2 bay leaves; 1 quart shortening; one-fourth can artichokes; salt and pepper.

For arroz con pollo use an earthen casserole, or a Dutch oven (in which case, transfer the chicken to a covered pyrex dish before garnishing). Garnish and allow to steam. Disjoint the chicken and brown quickly in shortening, add chopped onion and bay leaves, saffron, cloves, pepper and salt. Let simmer for 10 minutes. Cover with water and boil until chicken is tender. Add rice, previously washed, cook over a moderate fire until the water has been absorbed, then sprinkle the sherry and olive oil over the top. Cover and allow to steam on a very slow fire until done.

From the Embassy of Lebanon:

STUFFED SQUASH

One-half pound uncooked rice; 2 teaspoons salt; 1 pound ground shoulder of lamb; one-half teaspoon pepper; 16 long summer squash; 1 cup tomato paste; one-quarter teaspoon cinnamon.

Scoop the squash. Mix the other ingredients. Stuff the squash with the meat and rice mixture. Arrange the stuffed squash in a 6-quart sauce pan. Cover with hot water to which has been added one 2-ounce can tomato paste, and boil gently until tender—about 30 minutes.

From the Embassy of Egypt:

RICE OF DAMIETTA

One pound rice; one-half cup pine nuts; 6 whole cloves; 1½teaspoons salt; one-quarter pound butter; 1 medium onion; 1 quart chicken broth; 1 cup white raisins; 1 stick celery; 2 tablespoons tomato paste.

Wash rice and drain until fairly well dry. Melt butter in heavy medium sized skillet. Add rice to brown very slowly in skillet. Sprinkle finely chopped onions over rice. Add the 2 tablespoons tomato paste. In a separate pan, fry nuts in a little butter; add to rice mixture. Add salt and mix well. Stir in chicken broth and cover skillet with tightly fitting lid. Simmer for a half hour. Stick cloves into the celery and add to the pot. Simmer for another half hour. Then add the cup of raisins and cook another 15 minutes before serving.

From the Embassy of New Zealand:

RICE PUDDING

One and one-half ounces rice; 1 pint milk; 1 tablespoon sugar; one-fourth teaspoon salt; small piece butter or margarine; flavoring; nutmeg, lemon rind, vanilla, or bay leaf.

Wash the rice. Put the rice, milk, and sugar in a greased pie dish. Add the flavoring and stir well, or grate nutmeg on top. Bake in moderately hot oven, reducing heat after 10 minutes. Cook slowly for 2 hours.

From the Embassy of Greece:

PILAF

One cup rice; one-eighth pound butter or margarine; two cups clear chicken broth; salt to taste.

Bring chicken broth and half of the butter to boil in a saucepan. Wash and strain rice thoroughly. Put it into the boiling chicken broth, stirring until broth comes to a boil again. Add enough salt, cover well, and allow to boil on a very low fire until all the broth has been absorbed. Heat the remaining butter until it becomes brown and pour it over the cooked rice, leaving it covered for about 5 minutes. Then serve with any roast or boiled dish. A little pepper, if desired, may be added.

LEMON AND EGG SOUP

Two teaspoons rice; 4 cups broth (beef, lamb or chicken); lemon juice (to taste); 1 egg; salt, pepper (to taste).

Bring broth to a boil and add rice. Let it boil until rice is cooked. Beat the egg well and add lemon juice. Pour some of the broth little by little into the beaten egg and lemon juice, stirring briskly at the same time in order to prevent the

curdling of the egg. When this mixture is warm enough pour it back into the soup, over a weak flame and stir briskly until it comes to a boil.

From the Embassy of Italy:

CROCHE DI RISO (RICE CROQUETTES)

One-half pound rice; 2 eggs; 2 cups peanut oil; 4 ounces grated Parmesan cheese; 2 tablespoons chopped parsley; 1 cup toasted bread crumbs; salt and pepper.

Wash and boil rice in 3 quarts of salted water for about 25 minutes or until soft. Drain and cool. Beat eggs lightly; add to rice. Add cheese and parsley and mix thoroughly. Roll in small balls (about size of walnut); dip in breadcrumbs; fry in deep hot oil about 3 minutes or until golden brown. May be served as side dish with meat or fowl. Serve hot. Serves 6.

RISOTTO MILANESE (RICE MILANESE)

Two cups rice; 1 large onion, sliced; 4 ounces grated parmesan cheese; 2 quart chicken brother; one-half pound chopped chicken giblets; one-quarter pound butter or margarine; one-half teaspoon saffron; salt and pepper to taste.

Cook giblets in pint of boiling salted water about 20 minutes or until tender. Remove; chop into small pieces.

Melt butter in large pot; fry onion over low flame about 5 minutes or until brown. Remove onion. Add cleaned, washed rice and stir for 5 minutes to prevent burning. Then add 1 cup of broth; stir constantly. Dissolve saffron in one-half cup of broth; allow to stand 5 minutes. Then strain saffron; add colored broth to rice, stir well. Gradually add remainder of broth as the rice absorbs its. When rice has cooked about one-half hour, add half the cheese and continue stirring. Add giblets, stir constantly. Add additional cup of broth if rice becomes too dry. Entire process takes about 45 minutes, and when done is moist and creamy. Add balance of grated parmesan cheese.

From the Embassy of Israel:

PALESTINE RICE PLATE

One cup rice; 4 medium tomatoes; 1 green pepper; one-half pound ground meat or diced cooked meat—liver or kidneys are excellent—1 onion; I clove garlic.

Fry meat in some fat until brown. Remove meat, add to the fat the rice, tomatoes, pepper, onion, and garlic, and season with salt and pepper—some saffron may be added—and pour over whole 2 cups of boiling water. Cook for 15 minutes. When water is absorbed, add the fried meat, stir, taste to assure that seasoning is adequate; cover and leave on very low heat until rice is done.

From the Embassy of Mexico:

ARROZ A LA MEXICANA (MEXICAN STYLE RICE)

One-half pound rice; 4 ounces shortening; 4 ounces cooked peas; 6 tablespoons tomato puree; 2 hard-boiled eggs; one-half teaspoon onion juice; 2 cups meat stock; 1 teaspoon chopped parsley; 2 avocadoes; 1 cup cold water; 2 Mexican chorisos—spicy Mexican pork sausages.

Soak rice in hot water 15 minutes. Wash it well in cold water and drain. Skin sausage, fry well in shortening. Take out and reserve. Fry rice in same grease. When golden, pour off grease and add tomato puree and onion juice. Reduce flame. As mixture dries, add water, salt, and cooked peas. When water has evaporated, add hot meat stock, and cover. Simmer over slow flame until done—grains should be dry, soft, and separate easily. Serve on hot platter, sprinkle with parsley, garnish with slices of hard-boiled egg, strips of avocados, and slices of sausage.

WHITE RICE

One-half pound rice; 3 ounces butter or margarine; one-half teaspoon juice of an onion; 2 cups of milk; salt; 4 ounces shortening; one-half pound cream cheese; 2 cups of cold water; 4 ounces of cooked peas; 6 peppers.

Soak rice in hot water 15 minutes. Wash well in cold water, drain and fry in shortening with onion juice. Before the rice browns pour off grease and add water. When dry add milk and salt to taste. When it starts to dry again, add cooked peas and skinned, veined and seeded peppers, roasted and filled with the cream cheese. Cover pan and let rice cook over slow fire until done. Add butter or margarine in small pieces, when melted serve on a hot platter.

From the Embassy of Cambodia:

PHOAT KHSAT (ROYAL RICE)

Three cups cooked rice; 2 chicken legs, uncooked; ½ pound lean pork; 1½ cups medium white sauce; salt and pepper; juice of 1 lemon; 4 shrimp, shelled and deveined; 4 to 6 cloves, garlic; 20 scallions; one-eighth teaspoon of Chinese 5-spice essence; 2 eggs, slightly beaten; three-fourths cup of lard or fat; pinch of fennel seed; 2 tablespoons of vinegar; 3 tablespoons of powdered sugar; 2 tablespoons of pimento strips.

Wash chicken, pork, and shrimp, then dice. Brown garlic and scallions in fat in large skillet. Add diced meat and shrimp and saute until flavor is nicely blended, about 30 minutes. Pour cooked rice over mixture and mix well. Add fennel, vinegar, white sauce, five-spice essence, sugar, salt, and pepper. Heat a few minutes to blend flavors. Pour eggs into greased skillet making a thin layer. Heat until almost firm then turn over. Remove from heat, cut into very thin strips and add to the rice mixture. Place rice mixture in a serving dish and garnish with the pimento strips. Serves four.

From the Embassy of Iran:

LOOBIA POLAU

Three cups rice; one-half pound butter or margarine; 3 cups cut string beans; one-half cup chopped onions; 3 cups round steak cubed; 1½ teaspoons salt; 3 tablespoons salt; 1 teaspoon tumeric powder; one-fourth teaspoon black pepper.

Wash rice in lukewarm water about four times and drain, then cover with water after adding 3 tablespoons of salt. Soak in salt water for 2 hours. Then add onions and saute until light golden brown. Add meat and brown lightly. Add beans. Cook mixture for 10 minutes; then add salt, pepper, tumeric powder, and 2 cups water. Cook until liquid has evaporated. Remove from fire, drain salt water from rice and add 2 quarts boiling water. Boil for 5 minutes. Remove from fire, drain rice in strainer and rinse with warm water. Into a heavy cooking utensil (a Dutch oven is very desirable) put the remaining one-fourth pound butter and melt. Pour one-half of this mixture into another container and put to one side. Put one-half of the rice into the heavy utensil with the remainder of the melted butter and add all of the meat mixture on top of it. Then place the remainder of the rice on top. Cook over a slow fire for 25 minutes. Add remainder of melted butter by spreading over the top of the mixture. Continue to cook over a slow fire for about 1 hour. When ready to serve, remove untensil from fire and set in shallow pan of warm water for 10 minutes. Place on platter for serving. The rice in the bottom of the pan should be crisp and golden brown and easily removed for cutting into small squares and placing on top of the dish. Serves eight.

From the Embassy of Australia:

CREAMED RICE SHAPE WITH APRICOT SAUCE

One cup rice; 2 cups boiling water; 1 slice lemon rind; three-fourths pint warm water; 2 tablespoons dried milk; 1 dessert spoon butter or margarine; 4 tablespoons sugar; 1 teaspoon vanilla; 1 dessert spoon lemon juice.

Wash rice, thoroughly cover with boiling water; add rind, cook quickly and drain thoroughly. Add dried milk into warm water, add sugar, cook over low heat, stirring frequently until thick. Remove from heat, add buter, vanilla, and lemon juice. Put into shaped mold, chill for 1 to 1½ hours. Unmold onto serving dish and surround with apricot halves. Pour apricot sauce over it. For the sauce recipe, one will need:

One cup syrup from apricots; 2 teaspoons arrowroot (cornstarch) blended with some of cold syrup; 1 dessert spoon of lemon juice; one-half teaspoon grated lemon rind; 1 tablespoon apricot jam.

Put into pan, stir till boiling and simmer 2 minutes. Color slightly if wish with lemon coloring and allow to cool before pouring over rice shape.

From the Embassy of Saudi Arabia:

RICE WITH LAMB AND NUTS

1 cup uncooked rice; 1 pound lamb chunks; 2 handfuls pine nuts; 1 handful of almonds; 4 tablespoons butter or margarine; salt, pepper, cinnamon.

Put lamb through meat grinder. Melt butter and add ground lamb, pepper, salt, and cinnamon. Fry the pine nuts until golden; drain and put aside. Fry the almonds in the same manner. Add the washed, uncooked rice to the lamb and simmer for about 5 minutes. Then add boiling water (enough to cover the rice). Let the rice and meat mixture cook until water is absorbed and rice is cooked. Add the sauteed pine nuts and the almonds to the rice. Mix well and serve.

From the Embassy of Germany:

RICE A LA TRAUTMANNSDORFF

Three-fourths cup rice; 2 cups milk; 3 tablespoons sugar or vanilla-sugar extract; 2 tablespoons rum or brandy; one-half envelope gelatin; 1 cup whipping

cream; peaches, apricots, or cherries to decorate.

Boil rice in water, pour water away, and bring rice again to a boil in the boiling milk. Let the rice get cool and mix into the mass the gelatin, sugar, and brandy well mixed together. After the rice cools off, mix the whipped cream in, pour into a bowl and chill well. Put on a plate and decorate with peach halves, apricot halves, or black cherries.

SWEET RICE WITH APPLE SAUCE, SERVES 4

One and one-fourth cups of rice, two-thirds tablespoon sugar; vanilla extract; apple sauce; 4 cups milk; salt; 2 tablespoons butter or margarine.

Rinse rice and bring to a boil in salt water. Pour the water into the sink and put the rice into the boiling milk and let it rest. Flavor the rice, mix the butter in and if you like cover it with sugar and cinnamon. Should be served with apple sauce.

From the Embassy of Ireland:

IRISH PUDDING

One pint milk; one-half ounce butter or margarine; one-half ounce sugar; 1 egg; flavoring.

Two ounces rice.

First: Wash the rice by putting it into a strainer then allow cold water to run through it. Second: Bring the milk to the boil, sprinkle in the rice, bring back to the boil, stirring all the time. Cover with a lid, place over a low heat (with a gas stove use an asbestos mat) and cook gently until the grains swell and become soft, thus absorbing a lot of the milk. Stir occasionally. Time, about 30 minutes. Third: Add sugar, butter, and flavoring, mix well and allow to cool slightly. Fourth: Beat the egg, pour the rice on to it, beating to prevent the egg from curdling. Fifth: Grease a pie-dish and pour the rice into it. Sixth: Bake in a moderate oven until set and nicely browned—about half an hour. Seventh: Sprinkle a little castor sugar on top and serve. Note—If liked, a little nutmeg may be grated on top of pudding before putting into the oven, instead of adding flavoring.

From the Embassy of the Philippines:

KAKANIN AND BIBINGKA (ROYAL RICE CAKE)

Rice; sugar; salted eggs; native cheese; grated coconut; granulated sugar.

Galapong, or rice dough, serves as the base for most of the kakanin, and is prepared by soaking rice in water overnight and grinding the rice the next day in a small hand-driven native stone mill. The dough becomes sour from the overnight soaking and thus serves as its own leavening. When an extra rise in the dough is desired, as in those popular little rice cakes called bibingkas, a small amount of well-fermented galapong is mixed with the dough. The ingredients used in bibingkas vary. Granulated sugar is sometimes used for sweetening, or panicha (cane sugar in lump form). Salted eggs, native cheese, grated coconut are added refinements. The interesting thing about this native cake is the way it is baked. The thin batter prepared from the galapong is placed in clay pans, covered, and, as a Tagalog nursery song goes, is baked so that there is fire both above and below it.

BOMBONNOS DE ARROS

One cup boiled rice; 2 eggs; 6 teaspoons coconut milk; 2 teaspoons baking powder; one-half teaspoon salt; 1 cup flour; 1 teaspoon vanilla.

Boil rice (soft boiled) and set aside. Mix and sift the flour, baking powder, and salt. Add the well-beaten eggs, coconut milk, then the soft-boiled rice, and mix thoroughly. Add flavoring. Drop by spoonfuls into hot fat and when golden brown remove and drain. Serve hot with thick sirup coating.

From the Embassy of Japan: Rice is rarely cooked with other ingredients in Japan. Most often it is eaten plain with other dishes of the meal. To us, rice is best as is. The use of flavoring on rice to some Japanese is like covering a fine steak with catsup to some Americans. Please note, however, that rice is eaten at all meals, including breakfast.

My favorite rice recipe:

RICE WITH MUSHROOMS

One cup uncooked rice; 1 can consomme; 1 small can mushrooms; one-eighth pound margarine.

Melt butter in skillet. Add rice and fry until it pops like popcorn. Put rice in a baking dish and add the consomme and mushrooms. Cook 45 minutes in oven at 350 degrees. Thanks to Mrs. John Cooper, West Memphis, for first introducing me to this.

Is This Republicanism?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, the following book review by Harold Lord Varney—carried in the March 1957 issue of American Mercury—is a satirical analysis of the book A Republican Looks at His Party, written by Arthur Larson, a ghost writer of Presidential speeches in the recent campaign and the newly appointed Director of the United States Information Agency (USIA).

The review is also an excellent exposé of the fallacies and fictions of this modern political dogma. Mr. Varney points out in no uncertain language that modern Republicanism is just a new name for the same old New-Fair Deal nostrums advocated by both Frankling D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman. The $64 question is, Will stanch, old-line, Taft Republicans swallow this nostrum under its new name because it is sponsored and advocated by a popular President and his palace guard?"

The book review follows:

IS THIS REPUBLICANISM?

(By Harold Lord Varney)

The composite impression which the informed reader gets from reading A Republican Looks at His Party is that here is an author who is just too slick to be true. Mr. Larson is one of those writers who never commits himself to a controversial statement without knotting it up with so many qualifications and "on the other hands" that it can almost be used interchangeably as a brief for either side.

He has studied with profit the skilled word wizards of Madison Avenue. With Stuart Chase, of semantics fame, he has a keen sense of the difference between good and bad words in public relations (Mr. Chase once supplied a congressional committee with a long list of words that induce favorable and unfavorable public responses). Author Larson is the master of the subtly loaded word in political discussion. No writer since Adlai Stevenson has made a greater art of sounding impressive and portentous and saying nothing.

That Ike likes this kind of book is a revealing index to the state of his mind on the eve of his second administration. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the President and those around him are embarked on an effort to transform the Republican Party into something which is scarcely distinguishable from the late lamented New-Fair Deal. Mr. Larson is the prophet of this amazing adventure.

Reading his text is like trying to hold quicksilver. His meaning slides and oozes through the conceptual molds by which we ordinarily apprehend ideas. We are left, after our experience, with a brainful of unsubstantiality.

For instance, Mr. Larson is against big and dominating government (p. 173). But he then goes down the line and praises as new republicanism all the proposals of statism which initially made their unwelcome appearance with Roosevelt and Truman.

He is for free enterprise. But he is also for major spendings to underpin national prosperity and employment. He is for farm subsidies, for more social security, for more foreign aid, for more Government control of credit, and for a program of trade union benefits which consumes, in tabular form, a full page of his text.

He takes a wrist slap at J. Maynard Keynes, the economic mentor of the Roosevelt administration, and then annexes to modern republicanism the whole body of the Keynes compensatory economy.

He utters some kind words for States rights, but then he proceeds to include within the area of Federal control all the powers which have driven the States into outraged protest.

He is against inflation but he is also uninterested in any of the economy moves which would check Government extravagance at its source.

In serving up this mess of political confusion, Mr. Larson is not breaking any new trails. He is simply stating more lucidly and convincingly the familiar pablum that the outnumbered left wing of American business has been embalming in its pamphlets and studies for the last decade.

Where have we heard Mr. Larson's arguments before? We have heard them in the dreary tracts, which, for 11 years, have issued from the publication offices of the Committee for Economic Development. We have heard them in the solemn reports of the National Planning Association. We have read them in the New Republic, in the Reporter, and in the cocksure literature of the whole postwar procession of liberal thinkers. Mr. Larson's contribution has been to rewrite this whole left-of-center literature and give it the label of republicanism.

Mr. Larson got his start in the Government service under the Wallace-headed Foreign Economic Division, and the Leon Hend-

erson-headed Office of Price Administration. Some of the spirit of these wartime agencies rubbed off on him. Without admitting the fact, perhaps even to himself, he supplies the Eisenhower administration with a doctrinal link to the age of Roosevelt.

It is understandable that President Eisenhower welcomes such an accession as Arthur Larson. Himself a congenital blurrer of distinction, he feels at home in the ideological world which Larson has erected around him. He finds arguments in this book to confirm his historic pose as the man who is above all political parties.

But it is difficult to see how this book of denaturization can aid the Republican Party. In an era where there is a desperate need for positive answers to definitive questions, A Republican Looks at His Party will deepen the fogbank that now surrounds so many Americans. Actual Republicans will find few answers to their imperative questions in this literary flight into the obscure.

Virginia Farm Bureau Federation Looks at Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include a statement presented today to the Subcommittee on General Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor by Mr. M. A. Hubbard, executive secretary of the Virginia Farm Bureau Federation.

I believe it merits the attention of the House:

You have now before you for consideration several proposals designed to provide the States and their political subdivisions increased Federal aid to education.

These are financially fascinating propositions, but from the long-term standpoint, they pose a terrible threat to the future health and wellbeing of our political institutions, to our economic order, and to our continuing status as free citizens in a democratic society.

We are not unmindful of the benefits of education. We are fully appreciative of the fact that education has largely been responsible for our progress in forging ahead and becoming in a few short years the richest, the most powerful, and the most influential nation on the face of the earth. Education has made it possible for us to develop and manage successfully a free enterprise economy of unparalleled vigor and productivity—where ordinary people with average incomes enjoy the benefits of goods, gadgets, and services which are quite beyond the reach of even the wealthiest classes in most countries. What is even more important, with all of our materialist achievements, we have been able to maintain a system of government under which we have enjoyed freedom to worship, to work, to achieve, to speak our minds freely, and to be rewarded for our efforts, usually in fair proportion to the value of our contributions to the welfare of society.

We should never fail to appreciate the fact that education has been a major contributor to our progress, but it is equally important for us to remember that it has been education of a special type—always under the control and administration of local people—the some people who furnished the children to be educated. The diversity and variety which is assured by the cooperative administration of 48 State governments and a great multitude of local administrative units is a major bulwark against the evils of centralized school administration.

Virginia is one of the poorer States from the standpoint of the per capita income of our citizens. We rank 32d among States and 17 percentage points below the national average. This is recognized in the formula used for distributing funds under the Kelly bill (H. R. 1) and also under the administration bills—S. 889 and H. R. 3986. Under each of these measures there would be only 10 other States which would stand to gain more than the Commonwealth of Virginia. Under the Kelly bill, other States would provide Virginia with 180 additional classrooms and under the administration proposals—S. 889 and H. R. 3986—other States would contribute 159 classrooms. Looking at these propositions purely from a dollars and cents—bricks and mortar standpoint, it would appear that we should be wholeheartedly in favor of increased Federal aid for school construction. This would be especially true of our rural areas which are particularly hard-pressed in the matter of providing adequate financial support for school construction and operation. The Farm Bureau has a larger dues paying membership in these areas than any other general farm organization in Virginia. I need not tell you that farmers have not been doing too well financially in recent years, which make it all the more difficult to provide, from local and State tax sources, the increasingly large sums needed for school construction and maintenance.

Yet in 1949, and every year since that time, in the face of mounting school financing difficulties, our Farm Bureau members have continued to express firm and undiminished opposition to Federal aid to education. This is what they said in 1949:

"We are not unmindful of the advantages which might be gained through a better equalization of educational opportunities among the several States by a program of Federal aid to education.

"However, when these advantages are carefully balanced against the danger inherent in a constantly increasing Federal debt and the extreme likelihood that eventually the educational systems of several States will be increasingly subjected to centralized Federal control through the medium of Federal-aid programs to the States and their political subdivisions, we are strongly of the opinion that a program of Federal aid to education would be a serious mistake.

"We suggest instead that a more prudent course would be for the States and their political subdivisions to carefully examine the possibilities existing at the local level for raising the funds needed for the improvement of educational facilities. Unless and until such possibilities have been carefully explored and fully utilized, we can see no justification in requesting that the Federal Government assume obligations and responsibilities which we ourselves may choose to ignore or neglect."

Why do we continue to take this position? Is it because we fail to appreciate and understand the part which education has played in the unprecedented progress which our Nation has made in the few short years since we became a Republic of free people? Certainly not. We know well enough that we could not have developed and successfully managed the complex political and economic institutions of our free-enterprise economy without a school system which made available to each student all of the education which he or she was willing to work for or was capable of absorbing.

Nor are we unmindful of our own Mr. Jefferson's admonition: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be." We suspect that people generally understand this. It is because of this understanding that they have been willing to make and are continuing to make decisions to tax themselves in the States and localities in order to provide adequate educational facilities. We think the record is a good one.

Information supplied by the United States Chamber of Commerce indicates that—

In 1947 increased enrollments called for 9,500 classrooms—16,000 new classrooms were provided.

In 1950–51 increased enrollments called for about 20,000 new classrooms—44,000 were provided.

In 1955–56 increased enrollments called for 38,500 new classrooms—67,000 were provided.

The most recent estimate of the United States Office of Education for 1956–57 placed the need at 41,300 classrooms—69,000 were built. It is to be assumed that a certain percentage of these were replacements for old inadequate facilities. Even so, the record still apppears to be a good one.

In the 10-year period, 1945–46 through 1955–56, Virginia spent a total of $346,348,377 in capital outlay on our public-school system. During this same period, teacher salaries have increased by 109.4 percent. Expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance has been increased from $90.25 in 1946 to $200.90. It is estimated by our State department of education that the costs of needed construction between now and 1960 will amount to a total of $220 million. We are asking for no assistance in meeting this obligation. We prefer doing it in our way without either assistance or interference.

Hardly a day passes without a newspaper account of some Virginia locality taking action of one sort or another to provide more adequate provision for the education of our children. The State government has underway at the present time a thoroughgoing study of our entire tax structure with the idea of providing a larger measure of State support for our schools. The problem is not yet solved, but we can and will provide a solution and it will be a far better one than any that could be offered by the Federal Government.

We make no pretense that our present educational system is perfect. It is far from perfection. But its imperfections are not all traceable to the lack of money. One of the Nation's leading school administrators, Dr. H. I. Willett, superintendent of schools for the city of Richmond, Va., recently stated that "in too many high schools, it has been possible for a pupil to elect himself out of an education. Is it true that many pupils select subjects that are easy rather than a program that more effectively utilized their talents?"

This indiscriminate use of elective courses by students seeking the easy way is one of the basic weaknesses of our schools. Is this weakness traceable to a lack of money? It is not. It has come about because all too many parents and pupils have somehow gotten the erroneous notion that education can be bought, paid for, and possessed by anyone who can afford the going price—like a sack of potatoes or a new automobile. The solution to this problem cannot be found in the Federal Treasury. It is a matter of attitude—money is not involved.

If our educational system is to continue to carry out so splendidly the objectives which Mr. Jefferson had in mind, its financing, management, and control must continue to be the direct responsibility of the people who furnish the children to be educated. There is no surer way to shrink, shrivel, and diminish the citizen's interest in education than to take from him the direct responsibility for financing, operating, and controlling the schools where his children are edu-

cated. Without this citizen-interest, the public-schools system will gradually become a thing separate and apart from the lives of people at the community level—control will become more and more centralized and with centralized control will come uniformity of method, of curricula, of source material, and in the end, conformity to one single pattern acceptable to the central authority. This is not the pattern of public education that has made the United States an oasis of freedom, plenty, and opportunity in a world that is rapidly becoming a desert of political suppression, police-state harassment, and economic poverty. The sickening cadence of the goose step is too high a price to pay for the vaunted efficiency of centralized control. Education without understanding is a very dangerous commodity. The highly literate Hitlerite Germany should be proof enough that education in itself is no guaranty of either freedom or democracy. It takes education of a special sort—decentralized and under the control of the smallest unit of government capable of reasonably efficient administration.

We know, of course, that those who plead for Federal aid say that control will remain with the States and localities. Since when has any responsible legislative body begun appropriating the taxpayer's money without specifying how it is to be used? To our knowledge, this has never been done, and in our opinion, it would be the height of fiscal irresponsibility ever to do it.

Our friends in professional educational circles occasionally ask us, how do you justify your support of Federal aid to vocational education while you strenuously oppose Federal aid to education as a whole? There is a vast difference between a narrowly specialized phase of education directed toward instruction in technical knowhow and the broader field of education in general, the purpose of which, among other things, is to inculcate into the mind of the student a proper understanding of our political and economic philosophy along with the principles of what we might broadly term "right living." It is in this area of education that centralized control, in the hands of the wrong people, could be disastrous.

Our experience with Federal aid to vocational education, however, has served well to convince us of the complete fallacy of the argument that we can accept Federal aid without Federal controls. Proponents of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1916 argued loud and long that there would be no Federal control. It is interesting to note that regulations propounded under this act now fill a 108-page book entitled "Administration of Vocational Education." On page 4 of this book we find the sentence, "Each State is required to submit a plan which must meet with the approval of the Federal Office of Education." If no controls are involved, we would like to have an interpretation on the meaning of this sentence.

Federal, State, and local taxes are estimated to absorb over 29.1 percent of our total national income in 1957. This is close to the point where inflationary pressures become almost irresistible as wage and salary earners fight to maintain their "tax reduced" living standards, either through demands for higher wages or demands for free Government services which they were formerly able and willing to provide for themselves. These pressures singly or in combination could set off a spiral of inflation that would tear at the very foundation of our political and economic institutions.

The Secretary of the Treasury and a former President of the United States are both predicting that unless we follow a more prudent course in public expenditures, we may well bring on a depression that would curl your hair. In the face of all the storm signals, it seems to us the height of folly for the Federal Government to undertake responsibilities and obligations which traditionally and very properly belong to the States and their political subdivisions.

The thing that we now need above all else, if we are to remain a solvent nation, is prudent economy in the use of tax money. Yet we know that any expansion or extension of Federal grants or the grant-in-aid principle is an infallible method of encouraging extravagance and profligacy in the use of public funds. It is the bargain sale technique on a grand scale of enticing people to spend more than they can afford for things they can, without hardship, do without.

The Federal Government with its staggering obligations for national defense and other proper and appropriate Federal activities is in no position to either indulge in extravagance or to encourage the States and localities into doing so.

If the Federal Government is genuinely concerned about the shortage of school classrooms, there is a way that it can safely be of great assistance.

It can and should concentrate fiercely on the problem of eliminating extravagance and waste in the expenditure of Federal funds. It can and should unmercifully prune from their recommended budget all proposed increases that cannot be amply justified on the basis of the safety and welfare of the people of the United States.

When this has been done, it will likely be found possible to lessen the burden of Federal taxation enough to enable the States and localities to collect sufficient additional funds to more adequately meet their own responsibilities in the field of public education. This is the traditional way—it is the efficient way and it is the only safe way to insure proper support of our public school system.

Yes; we do indeed face a crisis, but the real crisis is not in our public school system. The critical issue now before us revolves around the proposition of whether we as a Nation have the prudence and the fortitude to deny ourselves the frills in order to hold on to the fundamentals and to match our soaring ambitions with our limited willingness to pay.

Just What Is Modern Authority?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Garland B. Porter, of Atlanta, Ga., has written an interesting article relating to Gunnar Myrdal's book which was used as modern authority by the Supreme Court in its school decisions of May 17, 1954, in which cases the Court undertook to amend the Constitution.

Mr. Porter's article is entitled "Just What Is Modern Authority?" I have asked unanimous consent to insert this article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and attach it herewith as a part of my remarks:

JUST WHAT IS MODERN AUTHORITY?

(By Garland B. Porter)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—In the decision of May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court referred to modern authority to support outlawing segregation—this is a look at Myrdal's book.)

Although the Supreme Court of the United States had been edging away from States rights generally for some time, and had handed down several decisions that led away from the general direction of the separate by equal doctrine of handling the Negro problem, the South was not prepared for the radical edict the Court promulgated on May 17, 1954, which said in effect that a Negro child cannot get an education free of complexes except in the presence of white children.

The separate but equal doctrine was based on the *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* decision of the Supreme Court of 1896. That decision was of eight members of the Court, a lone dissenter being Associate Justice John Marshall Harlan (grandfather of the present member of that name). Three years later Harlan, in 1899, wrote for the unanimous Court the famous *Cummings* v. *Richmond County Board of Education* decision, which case went up from Georgia; the *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* decision went up from Louisiana. In his 1899 decision Harlan stated "the education of the people in schools maintained by State taxation is a matter belonging to the respective States." He denied interference "on the part of Federal authority."

On November 21, 1927, the unanimous Court handed down a decision written by Chief Justice William Howard Taft under the title *Gong Lum* v. *Rice*, saying in so many words: "The right and power of the State to regulate the method of providing for the education of its youth at public expense is clear."

These decisions and this doctrine were clearly stated and fully known to all students of constitutional law. They were the clear interpretation of the 9th and 10th amendments, and section 4 of article 4 that guarantees to every State a republican form of government. However, in recent years there had been a growing propaganda spearheaded by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and joined in by sentimentalists and politicians catering to the growing Negro vote, to reverse these traditional applications of the fundamental law. The propaganda had been skillfully labeled "civil rights."

The decision of May 17, 1954, was on the Brown case, coming up from Clarendon County, S. C., originally argued before the Court by the late John W. Davis, a distinguished constitutional lawyer, so dedicated to the principle involved and so certain of the rights of the States that he did so without compensation. We call attention to a most interesting phase of this latter proceeding, as pointed out by James F. Byrnes, only living former member of the Supreme Court. Had the Court been unanimous in its decision as to Mr. Davis' arguments, it would have rendered a decision in a few months. However, after many months the Court asked for reargument, with specific reference to certain relevant factors, the first of which was:

"What evidence is there that the Congress which submitted and the State legislatures and conventions which ratified the 14th amendment, contemplated, or did not contemplate, understood or did not understand, that it would abolish segregation in public schools?" As Mr. Byrnes pointed out in his documented treatise on this subject in U. S. News & World Report of May 18, 1956, this question would not have been asked if a majority of the Court already had been satisfied the Congress and legislatures had intended by the amendment to prohibit segregation in the public schools. However, after hearing the reargument the Court, through the pen of Chief Justice Earl Warren, wrote a unanimous decision holding segregation to be unlawful. To answer this we need only to call attention to the fact that the same Congress which had passed the 14th amendment later authorized segregated schools in the District

of Columbia. Obviously, the Congress had not intended to outlaw segregation.

In setting aside the previous Supreme Court decisions, the Court as constituted on May 17, 1954, stated "Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, this finding is simply supported by modern authority." Then footnote 11 appeared. This footnote listed certain "authorities" and surprisingly enough these included a number who have been cited as subversive by the constituted Federal authorities. But the major reference was "And see generally Myrdal, An American Dilemma." It is this specific and amazing "authority" that I will now review for the southern and the American people who are interested.

An American Dilemma was written by Gunnar Myrdal, imported from Sweden by the Carnegie Corp., to make a study of the Negro problem in the United States. It was stated that someone who knew nothing at firsthand of the problem was desired, so that a fresh mind might be turned to the task. In this particular, the study was off to a good start, for Myrdal admitted he knew nothing about the situation. The volume, which appeared in 1944, covers 1,483 pages of the most remarkable material I think I've ever read about Negroes, and the most amazing thing is that the same set of facts he uses for a given conclusion affects me in precisely the opposite manner. Perhaps this is due largely to the fact that when one has lived half a century in a given spot on this earth's surface, what one knows and feels is so deeply imbedded in the subconscious that the conscious mind is just about made up. In fact, there is scant praise to be given a mind that is forever open, that never hits upon anything so solid that it can fasten upon conclusions. The Swedish sociologist seemed to have made up his mind, when he reached the end of his book, that the Negro American and the white American were just about on a par, excepting for a shade of color. Well, with maybe a little edge given to the Negro.

As you read this exposition of Myrdal's alien philosophy, reflect upon the fact that we in the South are accused almost daily in the national press of being unlawabiding, subversive, and spreaders of hate because we do not bow down to the edict of May 17, 1954, as the law of the land. Law of what land? The law of this land is based upon the Constitution and flows through a long chain of Supreme Court decisions leaving education in the hands of the States.

It is certain that Myrdal never did comprehend the heart of our problem, for he was able to say, on page 115: "The white American race" is gradually beginning to be merely a joke even among the populace, except in the South."

LAW AND ORDER

On page 12 he is discussing law and order and finds that it represents such a crucial element both in the American creed and in the spotty American reality. In the next paragraph he begins examination of American conservatism and says: "This conservatism, in fundamental principles, has, to a great extent, been perverted into a nearly fetishistic cult of the Constitution. This is unfortunate, since the 150-year-old Constitution is in many respects impractical and ill-suited for modern conditions and since, furthermore, the drafters of the document made it technically difficult to change even if there were no popular feeling against change.

"The worship of the Constitution also is a most flagrant violation of the American creed, which, as far as the technical arrangements for executing the power of the people are concerned, is strongly opposed to stiff formulas, Jefferson actually referred to the American form of government as an experiment." Pause for a moment—what is he driving at? Of course, at the time of Jefferson there was nothing either hypocritical or unpatriotic in referring to our form of government as an experiment; it was just getting its start. It was based on deep and honest appraisal of human experience in the Old World and on Anglo-Saxon law. Jefferson was helping frame it; to have said it was a tried and proven instrument of human affairs would have been insane. So why does Myrdal quote him thus? From reading further into his idea of the American dilemma I gather that he is laying the foundation to arraign this experiment we have on this continent, and quotes one of the honest founders to support his own, Myrdal's, socialistic theory.

Having quoted Jefferson, he continues: "The young Walt Whitman, among many other liberals before and after him, expressed the spirit of the American Revolution more faithfully when he demanded continual additions to our great experiment of how much liberty society will bear." Don't be amazed, gentle reader, that is the Swedish Socialist speaking; those are his words. He is the man who impressed our Supreme Court; he is believed more implicitly than the impractical words of our 150-year-old Constitution. But read on:

"PLOT AGAINST COMMON PEOPLE

"Modern historical studies of how the Constitution came to be as it is revealed that the Constitutional Convention was nearly a plot against the common people. Until recently the Constitution has been used to block the popular will: the 14th amendment inserted after the Civil War to protect the civil rights of the poor freedmen has, for instance, been used more to protect business corporations against public control." (It says this, ladies, and gentlemen, in cold type: I honestly wonder what was happening in the minds of the nine wise men when they read that?)

In the next paragraph Myrdal pulls some of the stingers out of his above analysis; he says that the "Negroes, the new immigrants, the Jews, and the other disadvantaged and unpopular groups, could not possibly have invented a system of political ideals which better corresponded to their interests." The book as a whole is devoted to analyses of how to turn the system to their interests. On the next page is this important finding: "Another cultural trait of Americans is a relatively low degree of respect for law and order" (p. 14.) We begin to feel thankful that the Carnegie Corp. advanced the money for Dr. Myrdal to come over into Macedonia and help us. How comforting.

Dr. Myrdal comes to the facets of the Negro problem in some most amazing words. They prove that when a man goes to a problem of human affairs with nothing more than objective data, with no instinctive feeling for what it is all about, he can appear quite naive to a person who has lived with the problem for half a century. This man Myrdal not only misses the boat, to my mind, but he did not even hear the whistle. He has the most elaborate array of modern ideas I've run across in a single volume. It will be impossible even to approximate listing enough of them to give the full view, but I will pick some here and there that I marked when reading the opus. He runs into the fear of amalgamation of the races. This does not seem to worry him. In fact, no race is pure, he says, and puts his fears at rest—if he ever had any. But he finds (on page 59) that this fear is not what it seems: "The announced concern about racial purity is, when the economic motive is taken into account, no longer awarded the exclusive role as the basic cause in the psychology of the race problem." It's all money, we learn. (The Negro, bear in mind, is claimed to represent some $16 billion of a total of more than $300 billion. The white man covets the Negro's paltry 16 out of 300. But that's not all: we are pilloried throughout the liberal world for the abject poverty of the Negro. In fact, the Negro is practically on charity in our world of wealth.)

A few pages later he says: "Negroes are in desperate need of jobs and bread, even more so than of justice in the courts, and of the vote. These latter needs are, in their turn, more urgent even than better schools and playgrounds, or, rather, they are primary means of reaching equality in the use of community facilities."

Here is something that will be news to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. On page 62 Myrdal quotes Robert R. Moton, who seems to be a favorite "authority" of his (Moton's a Negro):

"As for amalgamation, very few expect it; still fewer want it; no one advocates it." Such thinking as this pervades Dr. Myrdal's contribution. "It must be taken for granted in the final outcome of things that the color line will be wholly obliterated. While blood may be thicker than water, it does not possess the spissitude or inherency of everlasting principle. The brotherhood of man is more fundamental than the fellowship of race." This is from Kelly Miller, a Negro.

Concludes Myrdal, "Negroes have always pointed out that the white man must not be very certain of his woman's lack of interest when he rises to such frenzy on behalf of the danger to her and feels compelled to build up such formidable fences to prevent her from marrying a Negro."

Now, here comes Myrdal down our street: "The modern Negro leader will try to solve this dilemma by iterating that no Negroes want to intrude upon white people's private lives. But this is not what southern white opinion asks for. It is not satisfied with the natural rules of polite conduct that no individual, of whatever race, shall push his presence on a society where he is not wanted. It asks for a general order according to which all Negroes are placed under all white people and excluded to not only the white man's society but also from the ordinary symbols of respect. No Negro shall ever aspire to them, and no white shall be allowed to offer them." This statement, as well as others in the book, reveals the utter bias of Myrdal and his failure to understand the white southerner's views. He observes, however, that there is also "plenty of discrimination in the North." However, that word "discrimination" needs a lot of examination itself before we set it aside to cool.

When we used the word it is meant to carry the meaning that something is done or not done because of some bad or reprehensible reason. When we take our money home each week for our own use, we discriminate against our friends and neighbors, we use it for our own selfish needs. When a man moves into our neighborhood and buys a home and begins to pay taxes, he ought to be allowed to vote; but he cannot. He has to stay there for a matter of months or maybe a year before he can vote. But he lives there and pays for the privilege. When you go to a dance and pay attention only to a certain pretty girl, you discriminate against other equally deserving girls, excepting their lack of charm, sex appeal, or beauty of face or form. So what is the catch? This: The 14th amendment said all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens. Citizens have certain rights, among them that of voting, and "life, liberty, and property." But the voting angle was covered by the 15th amendment. (The 13th had simply killed slavery.) The phrase "race, color, or previous condition of servitude" did not appear until the 15th amendment. Since that time, the word "discrimination" has been one of vast argument in this Nation.

CAN'T UNDERSTAND DIFFERENCES

But to get back to Myrdal, on page 69 he tips his hand, as we say in the good and ancient game of American poker. "It has

often occurred to me, when reflecting upon the responses I get from white laboring people on this strategic question, that my friends among the young Negro intellectuals, whose judgment I otherwise have learned to admire greatly, have perhaps, and from natural reasons, not had enough occasion to find out for themselves what a bitter, spiteful, and relentless feeling often prevails against the Negroes among lower class white people in America. Again, relying upon my own observations, I have become convinced that the laboring Negroes do not resent whites in any degree comparable with the resentment shown in the opposite direction by the laboring whites. The competitive situation is, and is likely to remain, highly unstable."

The last sentence is of little meaning; however, other portions of the quotation show that Myrdal does not know one thing of what he is talking about. The Negro in America knows that his position is not the same as or equal to the white man; he has learned this not in just one generation, but in many. Myrdal does not know the Negro race is a different race; but the American Negro, having lived in this atmosphere, knows it. The American white man, especially in the South, knows it. Many in the North, because they have been reared where there are few Negroes, do not make much of the fact. Myrdal notes these facts, but seems to miss the essential meaning—where there are great numbers of Negroes, the whites have one view of the Negro problem; where there are few Negroes, the whites have exactly an opposite view. In Sweden where the Negro is just about unknown, Myrdal got no feeling of their race difference at all. In fact, Sweden has a number of basic differences from ours: I read a short time ago that about 15 percent of the population in Sweden is illegitimate, I do not vouch for this, but I read it, I read within the last few weeks that drunkenness in Sweden is increasing in great degree. We will not raise these statistics against Dr. Myrdal, but it does seem that he might use a little of his time at home and not worry us with his off the cuff theories—however, it must have been the Carnegie money that attracted his towering intellect.

He finds it worthy of mention, on page 69, that "The Marxian solidarity between the toilers of all the earth will, indeed, have a long way to go as far as concerns solidarity of the poor white Americans and the toiling Negroes. This is particularly true of the South, but true also of the communities in the North where the Negroes are numerout and competing with the whites for employment." A bit further along he says, "We must guard against a superficial bias (probably of Marxian origin) which makes us believe that the lower classes are naturally prepared to take a broad point of view and a friendly attitude toward all disadvantaged groups." I will say that his arguments and observations revolving around this theme are among the most nonsensical that I have ever read as coming from a man supposed to have a world reputation.

The reason is that he does not comprehend the fact of race. While it might be possible for a forest fire to jump a road in a forest, and thus spread from the poor people of one nation to another where both are members of the same white race, it does not follow that the fire can jump a broad river of race, where millions are involved as in the United States. In fact, it will not make the jump, as is proved by the facts. Although there are many instances of friendship and helpfulness between Negroes and whites in this Nation, particularly in the South, where most of the Negroes live, the line of race is observed, for the simple reason that race is something instinctively felt.

As regards Negroes, it is felt powerfully in Africa and in America, and these are the only two spots on the globe where Negroes and whites live together in vast numbers. This is something that most Europeans will not comprehend, nor will most Americans who live in places remote from large Negro concentrations, such as California, where Negroes are less than 5 percent of the population—and the background of Chief Justice Warren. While he might think his permission to allow his daughter to go to a mixed dance with a Negro escort proves he is broadminded, in the South, where the Negro problem is acute, it proves merely that he is devoid of pride in his own race and ought to be ashamed of himself. (See Cosmopolitan magazine, October 1955, p. 126.)

On page 702 appears rather surprising datum: I quote: "In southern cities the Negro upper class will often adhere more closely to strict puritanical standards of conduct than the white upper or middle class." I've lived in the South all my life; the aforementioned just goes to show that we can always learn something. On page 1388, in the footnotes, Myrdal quotes Hortense Powdermaker: "While they observe and inculcate in their children the puritanical code of which their ancestors were deemed incapable, the descendants of the whites from whom they learned the ideals of behavior are tending to greater laxity." It's good to learn that the Puritan movement is being kept alive in this unsuspected corner.

Also this will come as a surprise to most southerners. Myrdal's researches have upset previous notions of odors. On page 1213, he quotes one Ashley-Montagu who speaks from his experiences and anatomical laboratories that he "has never had any occasion to remark any appreciable difference of the Negro's genitalia as compared with those of whites." This quotation is in defense of Myrdal's case in chapter 6 that there are slight differences between the races but that the white man grossly exaggerates them in his imagination. On page 1213, he quotes further from the authority Ashley-Montagu: "Negroes do have a larger number of sweat glands than do whites. But this does not prove that their body odor is different. Many white authors refer, however, to such a difference as an established fact." Another authority, William Archer, in Through Afro-America, says: "To the best of my belief, the body odor of which we hear so much is mainly a superstition." This also is quoted on page 1213. So there's no further point in worrying about Negro odors.

We cannot possibly do justice to this book in a few pages, as we have said; but we do wish to expose it as an alien product. In this vein let's see Myrdal's view of American womanhood. On page 560 he gets down to the case of insulting the South. He even stoops to the tactic of appraising lynching. He presents an array of authorities on this subject. He says "The danger of the Negros' desire to rape white women has acquired a special and strategic position in the defense of the lynching practice," This. allow me to say, and in print, is positively false. The practice of lynching is not defended anywhere, and lynching has disappeared as a menace to society.

He quotes Tuskegee Institute's figures that "Between 1889 and 1940, 3,833 people were lynched, about four-fifths of whom were Negroes." This being true, some 900 were white folks, let it be said. However, by 1950 the average had dropped to less than one a year. The cry of lynch-rule has been kept alive simply as a device for confusion. Myrdal continues that "a visitor to the South will hear even today from lower class whites that 'a lynching now and then' is expedient or necessary in keeping the Negroes from becoming 'uppity'." This sort of inflammatory statement in the book can do nothing beyond damage to the whole problem. It has no place in an honest appraisal of race relations. Nor has this quotation, page 562:

"The South has an obsession with sex which helps to make this region quite irrational in dealing with Negroes generally. In a special sense, too, as William Archer, Thomas P. Bailey, and Sir Harry Johnston early pointed out, lynching is a way of punishing Negroes for the white Southerners' own guilt feeling in violating Negro women, or for presumed Negro sexual superiority. The dullness and insecurity of rural southern life, as well as the eminence of emotional puritanical region, also create an emphasis upon sex in the South which especially affects adolescent, unmarried and climateric women, who are inclined to give significance to innocent incidents."

At this point he quotes Walter White, for years executive secretary of NAACP, and a Negro who claimed to be sixty-three-sixty-fourths white: "Lynching is much more an expression of southern fear of Negro progress than of Negro crime." White, by the way, married a white woman. His absurd claim to be only one-sixty-fourth Negro is in line with much of the NAACP propaganda. To be that, it was necessary for at least one of his progenitors to have been full white for seven generations.

The improbability of that sort of score-keeping is obvious. However, it is well-known in Atlanta, where his father was a mail-carrier, that both immediate parents had Negro blood. Therefore, add at least another generation. How many people can go back eight generations, especially where Negro lines are being traced? And yet the press generally, in the North, in his obituary, labeled him as stated above.

On page 553 Myrdal says: "The South has the highest crime rates in the country. Both Negroes and whites in the South have a higher crime rate than the average for the Nation. Within the South, however, the number of convictions of Negroes is not much greater, on the average, than their proportion to the population." That's Myrdal, the man to whom our august Supreme Court referred us in the famous footnote which Ike shrugged off. Let's look at the record.

The late W. A. Bonger, professor at University of Amsterdam, in his work Race and Crime, says: "In conclusion, it must be remarked that the criminality of Negroes in the Northern States is considerably higher than in the Southern States, actually 3 to 1." These two foreign observers must have had different sources of facts.

However, there is an actual record, and it supports Professor Bonger. The speech of Congressman JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, of Mississippi, is quoted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as of March 27, 1956. He says, "The big lie campaign touched off by the sociological fiat of the Supreme Court has reached such magnitude that the time has come to set the record straight."

He cites that "integrated Ohio sent more Negroes to prison in 1950 than did the segregated States of Arkansas, Tennessee, and South Carolina combined. Those 3 Southern States, according to the 1950 census, have a Negro population that exceeds that of Ohio by 1,266,247." Jumping to the score farther east, Congressman WILLIAMS continues: "On a per capita basis, New York sent 9 times as many Negroes to the penitentiary as whites; Pennsylvania sent 8½ times as many Negroes to prison as whites.

"New Jersey's population is 7 percent Negro, but 35 percent of their felony convictions were Negro * * *. The same pattern holds true practically throughout the integrated States * * *. The Negro crime rate is 681 percent of the white crime rate in the integrated States. The Negro crime rate in the segregated States, by contrast, is only 248 percent of the white crime rate." These are figures subinitted to the Department of Justice by the States and constitute the authentic record of the nation. Myrdal ran into figures of this nature (as of

his writing) and reflects them elsewhere in his book; why, therefore, would he make such a disparaging statement on page 553? It is obvious that he, as is true in all cases where I have examined findings of so-called interracial researches and organizations, sides with the Negro and impugns the white race.

The book is tightly packed with all manner of data and interpretations aimed at the worst view of the Negro's lot in this Nation; and it paints the whites, most especially in the South, as biased, bigotted, and shameless. But, as will always be true of propaganda writing, the logic is faulty: on page 1335 he quotes a Negro, J. W. Johnson, as speaking in most critical terms of the Supreme Court for having failed on occasion to side with the Negro. Said Johnson: "In the last analysis, he lost his vote because of the attitude of the Supreme Court." It was not surprising that the Supreme Court was under fire at that time, winning, along with the Constitution, the impatience of Myrdal, for he was writing in the early 1940's. But now the average white southerner is whiplashed for not kowtowing to the current craze for the Negro vote. However, Myrdal has his glory: his book is cited by the Supreme Court as the final truth.

A most telling reference appears on pages 740, where Kelly Miller is quoted in his estimates of Booker T. Washington and Frederick Douglas; Washington was scored because he always deferred to the helpfulness of the white folks. Each became a Negro symbol of his time, even though of contrasting philosophy, said Miller, who concluded: "Thus all truly useful men must be, in a measure, time servers; for unless they serve their time, they can scarcely serve at all." Myrdal would be happy, no doubt, and so would Miller, with the philosophy of Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff who participated in the Government's arguments before the Supreme Court before its decisions of May, 1955, on how their edict of May 17, 1954, should be implemented. Said Sobeloff: "the court seeks (at times) the opportune time to (take action) just as Congress or any other policymaking body might."

On the Court at the time the May 17, 1954, edict was written was Justice William O. Douglas, who, with all but two of his associates had never served a day as a judge before being elevated to that august Court. His book, We the Judges, is recently off the press. For those who have thought that a law is a law until repealed by due process, he has some startling thoughts. On page 428 of his learned tome, in which he compares India's judiciary with ours, Justice Douglas says:

"The judiciary must do more than dispense justice in cases and controversies. It must keep the charter of government current with the times." He brings in stare decisis (standing by prior principles and rules) on page 429: "Stare decisis is a principle of policy and not a mechanical formula of adherence to the latest decision, however recent and questionable, when such adherence involves collision with a prior doctrine more embracing in its scope, intrinsically sounder, and verified by experience."

On page 431 he says that a judge finally "comes to formulate his own views, rejecting some earlier ones as false, and embracing others. He cannot do otherwise unless he lets men long dead and unaware of the problems of the age in which he lives do his thinking for him." This is a judge, bear in mind. A judge must not, therefore, be guided by the law and by duly constituted precedents, but he must do his own thinking. I would say that the gentleman is misplaced and should be in the legislative branch.

And now—bear clearly in mind that this is the prize example of modern authority cited by our Supreme Court as fully justifying their edict reversing a hundred years of constitutional precedents.

Corn and Feed Grain Program

SPEECH

OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4901) to establish a minimum acreage allotment for corn to provide acreage reserve programs for diverted acres and for feed grains, and for other purposes.

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, as you all know, I have no personal interest in this legislation. I do not grow any corn in my district. I doubt that any corn is grown in the entire city of New York. I have listened to this debate very attentively and I hope that all of the Members now listening will listen to me with the same attentiveness with which I have listened to them.

I listened in committee and I heard both sides, and many times I pleaded for unanimity.

We from the city have no interest in this legislation. It will cost us money, but we are willing to spend money whenever it is going to help a segment of the population of this country and we are certainly willing to spend money if it is going to help the farmers and create general prosperity in this country. We are willing to spend money provided that it is a just expenditure of money. But I certainly do not like, and I do not think it is the American way, to come here and say that it is either this legislation or no legislation. I think it is the purpose of the Congress to legislate and that this prerogative does not belong to the administration.

I admired the statement of our distinguished Speaker on yesterday when he said those very words, when he said that he had served under many Presidents and he had occasion to disagree with them, whether they were Democrats or Republicans. I will not transfer my authority to legislate to anyone, and I do not think that any Members of this House, be he Democrat or Republican, should transfer that authority.

This is the question I would like to ask the Republican side of the House. What is so perfect about the Andresen bill? When the administration came before our committee they opposed it. There must be something in it that the administration does not like. If the Republican administration comes here and is opposed to the Andresen bill, how am I, from Brooklyn, N. Y., to vote on this legislation?

May I say this? I did not rise to talk until the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. JONES] offered his amendment. Because I am in some doubt I appreciated his amendment which limits itself to this so-called emergency.

I also think that the amendment here, limiting it to 1 year, is a very good one. I think that we should have more time to consider this very serious legislation. I believe both sides should be amenable to suggestions at all times and not take the position it is either this or that. That is my expression to the House. I believe the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. JONES] is a good one.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANFUSO. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. The gentleman referred to an amendment which I had proposed. This amendment is agreed to by quite a substantial number of members of the Committee on Agriculture. We have offered it in good faith. It is a short amendment. It is one to handle an existing emergency.

The gentleman says he does not raise corn in his district, and I am inclined to agree with him, but certainly he eats poultry, dairy products, meat, and the other things that come from corn, and he is interested in getting good quality products and getting them at reasonable prices. We expect to give the gentleman just exactly that.

Mr. ANFUSO. I agree with what the gentleman says, but is it not also true that in committee there was a division, a very strong division, on the gentleman's amendment? Is it not also true that when we deal with farm legislation—and this is my expressed view, which I have expressed many times—that there ought to be unanimity among the farmers? There should not be a 14-to-12 division in committee and hope to get a favorable decision on the floor.

Corn and Feed Grain Program

SPEECH

OF

HON. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4901) to establish a minimum acreage allotment for corn, to provide acreage-reserve programs for diverted acres and for feed grains, and for other purposes.

THE ANDRESEN CORN EMERGENCY AMENDMENT

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, when the Committee rose on yesterday we had concluded general debate and the first section of H. R. 4901 was read, after which I offered an amendment which the Clerk has just reported. I want to discuss that amendment in the time alloted to me in order that I can clear up any misunderstanding as to the purpose and intent of the amendment.

This amendment is the substance of H. R. 3011 with the elimination of section 2 in that bill dealing with price supports, which have been found to be unnecessary, and providing amendments to the Soil Bank Act. In the first place, those were the changes that were made in the amendment that I proposed.

The amendment proposes that the corn-acreage allotment for each of the

crop years 1957, 1958, and 1959, shall be not less than 51 million acres. At the present time and under the old formula the Secretary of Agriculture, in accordance with that formula, has fixed the acreage for the 1957 corn crop at 37.3 million acres. This amendment of mine seeks to raise that to 51 million acres for the 3 crop years, which will then be the termination of the acreage reserve in the soil bank.

In the second place, I have eliminated, as I said before, the support-price section of my original bill, which fixes the minimum support price to be given to corn in the commercial corn area for the farmer who complies with the corn-acreage allotment at not less than 75 percent of parity. That is existing law. It is not necessary to have a repetition of that in this legislation, so I omitted it from my amendment after conferring with my colleagues. The amendment comes to you now without the price-support provision, which is already protected by existing law.

I have an opinion from the General Counsel of the Department of Agriculture setting forth those facts, which I will include in the RECORD, but I will not read it here now because I think it is generally recognized by all Members familiar with the agricultural laws that we have heretofore passed a law fixing the support price between 75 and 90 percent of parity for all basic commodities.

This letter from the Department which will be placed in the RECORD is in my opinion a correct interpretation of the law and, therefore, the price support sections were not necessary in the bill or amendment.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT
OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL,
Washington D. C., March 5, 1957.

Hon. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ANDRESEN: This responds to your request for a statement of existing law regarding the minimum level of price support on corn grown in the commercial corn area by producers who comply with their acreage allotments.

The principal provisions of law which govern in the situation stated above are a part of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended. Section 101 of that act provides in substance that price support must be made available to producers of basic agricultural commodities who are cooperators in the price-support programs at the levels of support specified in the supply percentage tables thereafter stated in the section. The supply percentage table applicable to corn is in section 101 (a) and the minimum support level therein authorized is 75 percent of parity.

It follows that under the laws now in effect the level of price support for corn to producers in the commercial corn area who comply with their acreage allotments cannot be less than 75 percent of the parity price for such corn at the beginning of the marketing year. The level could be set higher than 75 percent of parity depending upon the relationship of normal supply to actual supply.

Sincerely yours,
R. L. FARRINGTON,
General Counsel.

To secure the benefit of the price support, which is now fixed at $1.36 a bushel for 1957 in the commercial corn area, a farmer must comply with his corn-acreage allotment. That is No. 1. That is also a provision in my amendment. In addition, a farmer must not only comply with his corn-acreage allotment but must also place 15 percent of that corn-acreage allotment in the acreage reserve, or an acreage equal to 15 percent of his corn allotment of other tillable land in the conservation reserve of the soil bank.

THE ANDRESEN AMENDMENT

That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, the acreage allotment for corn for each of the calendar years 1957, 1958, and 1959 shall not be less than 51 million acres.

SEC. 2. Section 106 of the Soil Bank Act is amended by adding a new subsection at the end thereof as follows:

"(c) For the purpose of price support in the commercial corn-producing area for any crop of corn for which an acreage-reserve program is in effect a 'cooperator' shall be a producer who (1) devotes an acreage of cropland (tilled in normal rotation), at the option of the producer, to either the acreage-reserve program for corn or the conservation-reserve program, equal to 15 percent of such producer's farm allotment for corn, and (2) does not exceed the farm acreage allotment for corn."

That should be clear to everyone because it is very simple and easily understandable.

A farmer does not, therefore, necessarily have to put his cornland in in order to get the benefit of price supports. He must, however, comply with his corn-acreage allotment. Then, he can use other tillable land and place it in the conservation reserve; or if he takes cornland, he will place it in the acreage reserve.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I yield.

Mr. POAGE. It is clear then that the farmer does not have to actually reduce his corn acreage under this bill in order to be eligible for soil-bank payments; is that correct?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. That is correct. He must comply with his corn-acreage allotment. If he takes some tillable land, up to 15 percent, of his corn-acreage allotment, then that goes into the conservation reserve and not into the acreage reserve, as provided in the majority bill.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I yield.

Mr. ARENDS. That means, however, that a man must take his reduction in cornland plus the fact that if it goes into the acreage reserve, this is additional acreage on top of it. Is that right? If he takes the acreage in corn, he takes a reduction in other tillable land.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. He will get a new corn-acreage aloltment, if this amendment prevails, based on 51 million acres for the commercial corn area. Then, he can take 15 percent of other tillable land based on the corn acreage allotment and place it in the conservation reserve to get conservation reserve payments but not acreage reserve payments. There is a difference between the two because the average conservation acreage payment, I think, is about $12 or $15 an acre whereas if he kept that out of the cornland, then he would receive approximately $40 or $42 an acre, which would be his payment. That would be his payment. That would be an actual reduction of his corn acreage allotted for this year.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I yield.

Mr. JENSEN. To clarify this portion of the gentleman's amendment to the soil bank act for 1956, if a Farmer elects to put land in the conservation reserve, as the gentleman has explained, is he then in full compliance even though he puts no land in the soil bank?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. The conservation reserve is part of the soil bank.

Mr. JENSEN. I realize that.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. He must comply with the corn acreage allotment at the same time.

Mr. JENSEN. He must comply with his corn acreage allotment, but what I am trying to find out is this. If he puts land in the conservation reserve, which pays say $10 or $15 an acre; will he then be in full compliance and be entitled to seal corn under this act?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. If he complies with the corn-acreage allotment, in answer to the gentleman, then he is entiled to his price support.

Mr. JENSEN. And, if it is other than cornland?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. That is right. It has to be tilable land.

Mr. JENSEN. I understand that. So, under those conditions that farmer would be in full compliance and could receive the benefits provided in the bill.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. That complies with my amendment.

Mr. JENSEN. And he could seal corn under the regular program? Is that right?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. That is right.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a correction? The gentleman made a statement that the farmer could be required to put 15 percent of his corn acreage in the soil bank.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Not corn acreage. He can put either corn agreage, that is 15 percent of his corn acreage, or his 15 percent of his other tillable land into the soil-bank program.

Mr. COOLEY. But he is not required to do it—he may do it; is that correct?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. No; I would construe my amendment to mean that was one of the requirements. We want to make this soil bank work, and in order to make it work we have added that provision here. The soil bank has never had a fair trial. It went into operation late last year after corn and other products were planted. We want to get a full year's trial on it, and we have the opportunity to get it by passing this emergency legislation so that the farmers can know what they can do. In that way we will know whether the soil bank works or not.

Mr. JENSEN. The reason you are permitting him to put a part of his land in the conservation reserve is because he

will take some land that was in grain last year and put it in the conservation reserve, and by so doing we will have a reduction in our overall grain supply?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. That is right. The gentleman is correct.

Now, Mr. Chairman, considerable was said yesterday about the cost of the program. I have had the experts in the Department of Agriculture figure the cost of my amendment, and also the cost of H. R. 4901 proposed by our distinguished chairman [Mr. COOLEY]. I do not have time to read the letter from the Department but I will place it in the RECORD. In substance, the letter states that my amendment will not raise the appropriation one iota. There is absolutely sufficient authorization to cover the entire program that has already been set up in the budget and that is before the Appropriations Committee at the present time.

Some speaker who was talking for the committee bill said yesterday that my bill would raise the cost of the operation of the program by $2 billion. There is no correctness in fact in that statement. The experts in the Department of Agriculture, men who have been working on this program, say that my amendment will not increase the cost one dollar. The authorization has been made and the appropriations requested in the budget will cover my amendment without one additional cent.

On the other hand, the same experts have analyzed the committee bill, and they state definitely—and I will place this in the RECORD—"thus the total potential cost involved in the committee bill is about $950 million." Nearly a billion dollars. If you are interested in economy, here is a chance for you to help reduce Government expenditures rather than to increase the budget and the appropriation by $1 billion to carry out the provisions of the committee bill.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, March 6, 1957.

Hon. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN,
House of Representatives,

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ANDRESEN: This is in reply to your request for information as to the potential costs of H. R. 3011, as amended, as compared with H. R. 4901.

Under H. R. 3011 no additional funds are authorized. Any payments earned by corn producers would be part of the $750 million maximum already authorized for the acreage reserve program. The proportionate share budgeted for corn for the 1957 acreage reserve program is $217.5 million.

On the other hand, under H. R. 4901 the maximum which can be earned in any one year under the acreage reserve program is increased from $750 million to $1 billion. The maximum which can be earned under the feed grain portion of this bill is $300 million. In addition, section 2 of H. R. 4901 does not establish any budgetary limits and all earnings are in addition to the $1 billion potential mentioned above. Section 2 of H. R. 4901 provides for a feed grain diversion payment on the basis of 18 percent of the respective acreage allotments for each of the basic commodities times the corn rate per acre, or 60 percent of the support price times the normal yield of the feed grain diverted in the county whichever is higher, but in no event less than $10 per acre. On the basis of a commodity by commodity analysis of this item a maximum of $696 million can be earned. Thus the total potential cost involved in this bill is about $950 million.

Sincerely yours,

E. T. BENSON,
Secretary.

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I yield.

Mr. HOEVEN. And is it not correct to say that in addition to the potential cost there must be added the cost of administration?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. There is no question but what it will take a large number of men to cover the committee bill, because it takes in the whole country. I do not quarrel with that. It takes in the whole country, but the committee bill will involve a tremendous amount in administrative expense to determine all the factors that are covered by the bill.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I yield.

Mr. ARENDS. If I understand you correctly, then, the question was asked so many times yesterday as to the cost of the so-called committee bill—it is estimated by the best official reports you can get as being $950 million additional?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. That is right. Nine hundred and fifty million dollars is the very best estimate, if the program is carried out.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. I would like to ask a clarifying question if I may.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I am sorry; my time is about up.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. I wish the gentleman had an extra minute; I would like to clarify this.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Undoubtedly some question will be raised during the course of this debate on the so-called Daniel amendment. The Daniel amendment was adopted last year. It establishes the support price outside of the commercial corn area providing there is a support price in the commercial corn area for noncompliance corn. There has been no support price established for noncompliance corn up to the present time, but we have every reason to believe that there will be, and if there is, corn grown outside the commercial corn area will be 82½ percent of the support price established within the commercial corn area. I also have a letter on that which will be placed in the RECORD showing the effect of the Daniel amendment.

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL,
Washington, D. C., March 5, 1957.

Hon. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ANDRESEN: This responds to your request for my advice concerning the legal requirements with respect to price support for corn in the noncommercial area under section 308 (d) (3) of the Agricultural Act of 1956.

Under section 308 (d) (3) if, for the 1957 crop, price support is made available in the commercial corn-producing area on noncompliance corn (i. e., to producers who do not comply with their corn acreage allotments), price support must be made available on corn produced outside the commercial area at a level which meets the following requirements: (1) it must be not less than 70 percent of the parity price of corn as of October 1, 1957, and (2) it must be a level which the Secretary of Agriculture determines is fair and reasonable in relation to the level at which price support is made available for noncompliance corn in the commercial area, taking into consideration specified factors. These factors include the normal price relationship between corn inside and outside the area, the supply of corn outside the area in relationship to the demand therefor, and the ability to dispose of stocks of corn outside the area acquired under the price-support program.

Section 308 (d) (3) does not control the level at which price support is made available for noncompliance corn in the commercial area. Such level is controlled by section 101 (d) (5) of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, which authorizes price support to be made available for noncompliance corn at such level, not in excess of the level of price support for compliance corn, as the Secretary determines will facilitate the effective operation of the price-support program. The level at which noncompliance corn is supported in the commercial area rests, therefore, within the discretion of the Secretary, subject to the limitation that such level cannot exceed the level of support for compliance corn.

Sincerely yours,

R. L. FARRINGTON,
General Counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota may be permitted to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FULTON. What is the basic reason for the difference between the price in the commercial corn-growing area and other areas of the country? Is not that discrimination? Why not treat everybody alike?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. That is a good argument, for all the other basic commodities have that kind of treatment. It happens that the commercial corn area takes in a little more than 800 counties where corn is grown in this country. Outside of that area, and I can say it has expanded, they do not raise as much corn as they do in the commercial corn area.

Mr. FULTON. My point is that if you do establish a support price on corn outside the commercial corn-growing area, then if a price is established for support, why is it not the same?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. All I can say to the gentleman is that I did not have anything to do with fixing the commercial corn area. I was against it, and I am still against it or any expansion in the production of corn. I hope our committee can get together and write a general law changing that section of the act of 1938 so that we can get on a proper basis all over the country.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I do not want to yield for a speech.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. I did not come down to heckle the gentleman.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I will yield for a question, but I refuse to yield for a speech.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. I would like to ask a question.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I ask that the well be cleared.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan makes a point of order that the well should be cleared. The gentleman will step back to the seats to ask his question.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. I want to ask a question about the 51 million acre base.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I insist on my point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri will suspend. We want to comply strictly with the rules. The gentleman will stand back out of the well, please, while the question is propounded.

Mr. CHRISTOPER. I want to know about the allotment under that base.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Now, let me explain the base of the new acreage for the commercial corn area.

Mr. COAD. We did not get the question. What is the question?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Let me answer it. I have anticipated what it is going to be. This would establish a new allotment for the commercial corn area of 51 million acres. The former corn acreage allotment is based on 37 million acres.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. That is right.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. If we pass this bill, and I expect we will, the new corn acreage allotment for each farm where they raise corn will be increased on the 51 million acre basis. Does that answer the gentleman's question?

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. One more question, if I may. Is the farmer when he gets his new corn allotment required to place a part of that new acreage in the soil bank? Or can he plant his share of that 51 million acres and be in compliance? Is it mandatory?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. He has to place 15 percent of his corn acreage allotment in the bank either out of his corn acreage or out of other tillable land on the farm to be in compliance.

I now yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HARVEY. I think it is fair to say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania concerning the differential between commercial and noncommercial counties that the commercial counties are determined entirely upon a formula which, in brief, makes them either a corn-producing county or a non-corn-producing county. A person who is producing corn in a commercial county is entitled to certain support programs and ceiling provisions. As a matter of administrative procedure, let me say that in counties where there is very little corn it would be excessive in cost to provide ceiling arrangements. So in those areas corn, where it is only partially grown, is treated in the same category as other supplemental feed grains.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I thank the gentleman for his contribution to my remarks.

If you are interested in economy, if you are interested in putting through an emergency program for the commercial corn areas, then you should cast your vote for my amendment. I urge you to do so. The time is urgent. Corn planting is only a few weeks away and the farmer must make his plans if he is going to properly get his crop into the ground.

Furthermore, let me point out to you that the life of the soil bank, its failure or success, depends upon the enactment and the passage of my amendment. I am satisfied that this amendment will be enacted into law and approved at the other end of the Avenue. I am also convinced that the committee bill will not be approved. I am not telling you how to vote; I am just urging you to vote for the Andresen amendment which represents the best opinion of the minority members of our committee, and they are unanimous on that point.

Corn and Feed Grain Program

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (4901) to establish a minimum acreage allotment for corn, to provide acreage reserve programs for diverted acres and for feed grains, and for other purposes.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Andresen amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I think all of us know now just how unfortunate this day is for those constituents of ours who till the soil of our Nation. I said yesterday that the house of agriculture is divided. We all know now that the house of agriculture is divided. It is unfortunate that we are divided along political lines because corn is one of the great crops of our country and it is grown in just about every section of this vast Republic of ours.

I have taken the floor now to resent the castigation of our committee by a member of that committee.

I have served on that committee for 22 years. Every man and woman in this House knows that I have been proud of every member of our committee. I have praised them throughout this country as friends of the farmers, as dedicated public servants, as men who wanted to serve not only agriculture but all the people of our Nation.

Now we sit here in this Hall today and hear Mr. HILL from Colorado come here in an effort to besmirch, malign, and slander the Committee on Agriculture and, worst of all, he did it in a vicious and a sinister fashion.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOLEY. No. I did not interrupt you and I am not going to yield.

Mr. HILL. You are not telling the truth.

Mr. COOLEY. You admitted here in this well of the House today, and it will be in the RECORD tomorrow if you are brave enough to leave it in there, and your constituents will read what you said, that you voted to report a bill out purely for the purpose of saving the political life of one of its members. And you ought to leave it in the RECORD. When one of your own colleagues challenged you, because it was hard for him to believe that you would make such an admission on the floor of the House, that you yourself had been actuated by politics in voting out a bill.

I still think we have one of the finest committees in this Congress, and I say that notwithstanding Mr. HILL's membership on the committee, because I am devoted to him. I have admired him, and I have bragged on him as I have the other members of that committee.

I want you to know this, that never before in my life have I begged people to cooperate in the drafting of legislation to the extent that we begged the Republicans, during consideration of this matter. This gentleman here on the front row, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], has made a reasonable and a plausible suggestion, but do you think anybody on the committee will offer that as an amendment? His suggestion was, Why do we not just deal with corn in all sections of the country and eliminate the treatment of other feed grains? Is not that the gentleman's position? That is perfectly plausible and reasonable. I for one would be willing to sit down right now and work it out.

But if you adopt the Andresen amendment, everything is over. You could not then bring in Mr. SPRINGER's idea and put it into this bill. If there is something in this bill that is bad, I challenge every one of you to offer an amendment to strike out some part of it. If you do not like the $10 minimum or the $50 maximum, if you do not like section 3, take it out. But for goodness' sake, do not let us stand here and pass a bill merely because it bears the name of AUGUST ANDRESEN.

What happened to Mr. Benson's bill? You all are so proud of Mr. Benson and his record. Why has not someone introduced his bill?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has expired.

(Mr. COOLEY asked and was given permission to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HALLECK. The gentleman, I am sure, understands that the responsibility for drafting legislation dealing with agriculture is on the part of the committee. In the past I have heard the gentleman speak unkindly of Mr. Benson. I am a little surprised that he would object to the committee's having written its own bill. Specifically, I would like to ask the gentleman this: What the gentleman has just said is an admission as of today that his bill, that he is sponsoring, is not perfect and should be amended?

Mr. COOLEY. Let me be heard on that. I have no pride of authorship. My name is on it because Mr. ANDRESEN did not want to leave his name on it after we had worked our will on the bill.

I introduced the bill to bring it to the House in a sincere effort to provide for the corn-growing area. This is exactly what they wanted. I, for one, would right now consider seriously, and I talked to Mr. ANDRESEN about it, substituting our corn section for his corn section, but we canont substitute clear across the board.

Mr. HALLECK. May I ask the gentleman a second question, if the gentleman will permit me? There is no difference then between the majority and the minority members of the committee as to the sections of the bill dealing with the problems of the commercial corn area.

Mr. COOLEY. There is quite a difference.

Mr. HALLECK. I thought I understood you to say just now so far as you were concerned, you were willing to take the Andresen bill and substitute that for the corn section of your bill.

Mr. COOLEY. I said I was willing to consider it. We gave him in this bill, as I understand it, just about 51 million acres. That is what he has asked for.

Mr. HALLECK. In other words, there is substantial agreement between the majority and the minority Members?

Mr. COOLEY. That is on that matter.

Mr. HALLECK. In other words, there is substantial agreement between the majority and the minority Members as to what is needed with respect to corn.

Mr. COOLEY. Of course, I am only speaking for myself, and I am not speaking for other members of the committee, but so far as I am concerned, I said in the committee I will let you write the corn section, but for Heaven's sake let us deal with corn across the Nation as Mr. Benson and Mr. McLain said we should deal with it and not just throw away $217 million and come up with more feed grain next year than we had last year.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOLEY. I yield.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. The gentleman correctly stated that my name was on the original bill. It was on the original bill which is the corn bill. Then, the majority members of the committee voted to substitute their own bill for the corn bill, and my name was still on it.

Mr. COOLEY. You could not say that it was our bill.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. The Cooley bill is not the Andresen bill in any shape or form.

Mr. COOLEY. I know that. I agree. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] said yesterday that it was not a perfect bill. I said I thought it was a pretty well worked out bill. Now, if you want to strike out some part of it, let us face up to it and start striking out. But, do not oppose this substitute.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Why do you not strike it all out and vote for the Andresen bill?

Mr. COOLEY. Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to please my dear friend, but I am trying to get across one thing. You are here now asking for $217 million to give it away in the commercial corn area, and you will accomplish nothing.

Corn and Feed Grain Program

SPEECH
OF
HON. H. CARL ANDERSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4901) to establish a minimum acreage allotment for corn, to provide acreage reserve programs for diverted acres and for feed grains, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Minnesota is recognized for 2½ minutes in support of his amendment.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, first, I think there are as good men on the Republican side as on the Democratic side with reference to agriculture. During my 18 years I have seen splendid work by Democrats on that great committee and by Republicans on that great committee. Yesterday and today I have had the feeling that I was more or less attending the burial of the remains of the farm bloc which used to do so much good for agriculture in America. I am sorry to have to witness what I witnessed yesterday and today.

When we consider the greatest of all occupations is agriculture, when we consider that corn is the one great commodity we think of when we talk about agriculture, and finally after a lot of political harangue, I get an opportunity on the second amendment to be offered to this legislation today, to speak for 2½ minutes.

The purpose of my amendment is simply this: It is recognized in the Midwest that the present law makes it impossible for a man who has failed to comply with his corn allotment to even offer barleyland or oatland to go into the conservation reserve, for which he could expect an average of $10 an acre. Because of that law—and I called it to the attention of the House last year, and you all know that I am very much interested in the soil bank. I was the initiator of it in the Congress of the United States. We made a mistake last year when we made it impossible for 60 percent of the corn farmers, who failed to comply, to at the same time offer to put feed grain acreage in the conservation reserve at $10 an acre. At the same time, we all agree that it is the feed grain production that has corn in trouble. My amendment simply corrects that situation.

If you will recall, last year several of the leading agriculturalists on both sides of the House said it should have been in the legislation. Accept this amendment, and you will prevent the production of 150 million bushels of oats and barley which would otherwise go into direct competition with corn.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I yield.

Mr. JENSEN. Is it not a fact that your amendment will do more for the little farmer who would like to get into the soil-bank program than any amendment that could possibly be offered to this bill?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I feel so.

Mr. JENSEN. And is it not also a fact that if your amendment prevails there will be more acres of corn taken out of production and put into the soil-bank reserve than otherwise would be the fact?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I think the gentleman from Iowa will agree with me that the basic purpose of the soil bank has been forgotten. We have gone into an extensive acreage reserve program which has no conservation features in the least. We are being asked by our Subcommittee on Agriculture Appropriations to put up $1,254,000,000 for this coming fiscal year.

Legislative Issues as Viewed by Voters of the Seventh Congressional District of Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include the results of a questionnaire sent to 53,000 voting households in the Seventh Congressional District of Virginia. Answers were received from 6,476 of them, as compared with 3,668 returns on a questionnaire sent the same number of families last year.

The questions and results follow:

	Yes		No		No opinion	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. A resolution before Congress would authorize the President to use American troops to combat future Communist aggression in the Middle East and to spend approximately $400,000,000 in Middle East countries at his discretion. Do you favor this?	2,308	35.6	3,694	57.0	474	7.3
2. A bill in Congress proposes that the Federal Government should contribute out of Federal tax revenues toward financing local school construction, subject to local compliance with Federal regulations. Do you favor this?	2,189	34.0	4,078	62.7	209	3.2
3. For the operation of the United States Government in the fiscal year ending June 30, there is being spent, pursuant to appropriations by Congress $68,900,000,000. It is now proposed that for next year Congress should approve the spending of $71,800,000,000. Do you favor this?	777	12.0	5,358	82.7	341	5.3
4. Last year Congress adopted a soil-bank plan which, at an annual cost of approximately $1,300,000,000, pays farmers for taking certain farm lands out of production. Do you favor this continuation of the soil bank?	2,068	31.9	4,010	61.9	398	6.1
5. The closed shop is outlawed by the Taft-Hartley Act. A bill in Congress would legalize agreements in the construction industry under which unions could select the employees on construction jobs and require that new workers join a union within a short period after going on the job. Do you favor this?	989	15.3	5,227	80.7	260	4.0
6. For the purpose of protecting the civil rights of citizens from discrimination on account of race or religion, a bill in Congress proposes, among other things: 1. That the President appoint a commission with power to subpena persons and records to investigate claims of discrimination. 2. That the Attorney General might bring lawsuits, with lawyers and court expenses paid by the taxpayers, to recover money for people who claim their civil rights have been violated. 3. That citizens, under Federal court injunction, might be sentenced to prison without jury trial for violating, or being about to violate, another's civil rights. Do you favor this bill?	758	11.7	5,312	82.0	406	6.3
7. A bill in Congress would extend the Federal minimum-wage and overtime law to retail stores and service establishments. Do you favor this?	3,358	51.9	2,707	41.8	411	6.3
8. Present law provides for the admission of 865 Hungarian quota immigrants a year. In recent months, nearly 25,000 Hungarians have been permitted to enter the United States, most of them on temporary permits. A bill in Congress would make these temporary admissions permanent and liberalize future immigration of refugees from other countries. Do you favor this bill?	1,499	23.1	4,624	71.4	353	5.5
9. A bill in Congress provides for an increase in overall number of immigrants admitted to the United States each year, and for an additional increase in immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe by transferring unused immigration quotas to countries whose quotas are exhausted. Do you favor this bill?	1,271	19.6	4,831	74.6	374	5.8
10. Do you favor the bill in Congress which provides that Hawaii and part of Alaska become the 49th and 50th States of the United States?	4,480	69.2	1,332	20.6	664	10.3
11. In the present fiscal year, there is being spent, pursuant to appropriations by Congress, $4,100,000,000 in military and economic aid to foreign nations. A bill now pending would increase the amount to $4,400,000,000 for the next fiscal year. Do you favor this increased support for the foreign aid program?	1,070	16.5	5,052	78.0	354	5.5
12. Without emphasis on any particular proposal, do you favor generally the program proposed by President Eisenhower?	2,678	41.4	2,812	43.4	986	15.2

Many of those returning the questionnaire expressed doubt that the language of question No. 6 describes fairly the provisions of the pending civil rights legislation. This merits special comment, because I believe it is highly important for the people to realize how drastic the bill is. If the question is unbelievable, it is only because the bill is unbelievable. Space did not permit including other incredible elements of the legislation.

Senator BYRD has described it accurately as "the most vicious proposal ever made to Congress." Mr. Virginius Dabney, the enlightened editor of the Richmond Times Dispatch, has said:

The civil-rights program also appears to negate the right to trial by jury, and it would enable the Attorney General to file, at public expense, suits on behalf of persons who contend that their civil rights have ben violated. Another provision would seem to empower a proposed civil rights commission to summon any citizen from any part of the United States to any other part to defend himself against charges the nature of which was completely unknown to him prior to receipt of the subpena.

Is it a self-conscious anger born of embarrassment which seems to prompt pseudo-liberals to cry "unfair!" or "bias!" when their proposals are made to stand public judgment for what they are?

Minnesota, Milton Rosen, and the Truth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, for the past several days I have been inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD newspaper articles dealing with the recent visit of Mr. Milton Rosen, Commissioner of Public Utilities in St. Paul, Minn., to Birmingham. While in Birmingham, Mr. Rosen was interviewed by our local newspapermen and stated that northerners are often misinformed about the condition of Negroes in the South. His remarks have been criticized by Negroes in St. Paul, who have demanded that he resign his office.

As a followup, it is my privilege, under leave to extend my remarks, to insert in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Wednesday, March 6 issue of the Birmingham (Ala.) News. The editorial follows:

MINNESOTA, MILTON ROSEN, AND THE TRUTH

Down to Alabama recently came Milton Rosen, holder of an elective office, that of public utilities commissioner in St. Paul, Minn. This community and its sister city across the northern reach of the Mississippi River, Minneapolis, have relatively few Negro citizens, though Indians—segregated Indians—are for them a problem.

In Birmingham, Mr. Rosen found absolutely no Negroes hanging from tree limbs, he saw no rioting and the Negro people he observed did not appear to be victims of lashes and broadax blows. So he allowed himself to be quoted during a press conference in Mayor Morgan's office, as saying the people in the North are not completely informed as to the condition of Dixie's Negro citizens.

Back home, Commissioner Rosen has run into a barrage of criticism, principally from Negro groups, a dining car union local and the chief of the St. Paul Urban League. His critics don't like what he said down here and contend that they don't understand how Rosen could hold the views he expressed. The union group demanded his resignation.

Lamented the commissioner in a letter to our mayor: "No matter who you tell the truth to sometimes you step on other people's toes."

No objective southerner is going to contend that the lot of the Negro is everything it might be, and Mr. Rosen didn't say that. True, too, as the Minnesota dissenters contend, there have been riotings and bombings, and law and order have been threatened from time to time. This disturbs law-abiding southerners even more than it disturbs Yankees.

But the commissioner was merely trying to say that the lot of Negroes is not miserable as many up North have tried to say it was.

The hard fact remains that Mr. Rosen is eminently correct in stating that northerners are often misinformed about the South, and the southern point of view. Many a northerner who has moved South to take a place in the rapidly expanding Dixie industrial development knows this, and will admit it. Mr. Rosen simply learned in short order what a lot of others have learned.

The Minnesotan is a candid, honest man. We trust he sticks by his guns.

If the firing gets too hot, however, let him consider moving down here. He's a man who wouldn't find it difficult to fit in. "Set another plate at the table, Maw, we might have comp'ny."

New Eberhard Faber Pencil Co. Plant Publicizes Wilkes-Barre Throughout United States, Canada, and South America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Wilkes-Barre Record on March 1, 1957, which discusses the impact which the new Eberhard Faber Pencil Co. plant has made

on Wilkes-Barre and the prestige and good public relations which have accrued as a result of this new installation:

Wilkes-Barre through its industrial fund has aided the world's oldest and largest pencil company to establish its worldwide headquarters at Crestwood Industrial Park. Now, when the wheels of the modern factory have been turning for scarcely 2 months, Eberhard Faber returns the favor by publicizing Wilkes-Barre throughout the United States, Canada, and South America.

Greater Wilkes-Barre Chamber of Commerce's monthly publication Progress bears evidence of this fact as 10,000 issues carry the story of the company and of Wilkes-Barre abroad—and at the pencil company's expense. In the past this area has suffered adversely because of damaging and, in more instances than not, half-truths which have been published. Now, the tables are turned.

The prestige and the good public relations resulting from the splendid cooperative effort of Eberhard Faber cannot be measured in dollars and cents.

Cloyd H. Marvin, President of George Washington University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, recently George Washington University celebrated the 30th anniversary of the presidency of Dr. Cloyd H. Marvin. I was particularly thrilled with this event because Dr. Marvin was born and raised in my hometown of Findlay, Ohio. On the occasion of this celebration, Dr. Marvin was besieged with congratulations and praise from well wishers in all walks of life, including President Eisenhower. However, the most significant tributes came from the university itself, where Dr. Marvin has devoted his time and talents for three decades. The following editorial from the university publication the Hatchet is significant:

PRESIDENT MARVIN BUILDS A UNIVERSITY

At this time we wish to express our sincere admiration and deep respect for Cloyd H. Marvin, president of the George Washington University. For 30 years, President Marvin has worked with and for the faculty and the students making the university what it is today. This tribute, conceived and executed by the student body, can only show a small measure of our gratitude.

When President Marvin came to this university from the University of Arizona in 1927 it was a small and not fully accredited school frequently referred to as the "G Street High School." Today it is accredited on the same basis as are the other great universities of our Nation. During the 30 years President Marvin has been here, enrollment has tripled, university endowments have become 4 times as great and the actual physical properties of the university, such as buildings, have increased almost 18 times. Today the university owns 930,782 square feet of land as compared to the 139,771 square feet it owned in 1927. There are now more than twice as many members of the full-time faculty as there were in 1927 and more than 3 times as many part-time faculty members.

But a university is not made wholly of stone and mortar, books and bank accounts, nor can we measure the man who has made the university great solely by these means. Behind the buildings, the endowment funds and other tangible assets, there must be a guiding spirit to unify and inspire. President Marvin has provided that spirit for our university.

It is a spirit of academic freedom and integrity, a firm belief in democratic principles and in democracy, a belief in the Nation and the youth of the Nation. It arises from a belief in himself and the things that he stands for: "Education has been and will continue to be the means of building hope in our democratic society. Educational disciplines assumed for democracy, will overcome the exactions of totalitarianism wherever it may be found." It arises from belief in a power outside of and higher than himself.

It is President Marvin's spirit which gives this university the best in faculty, equipment, and classroom teaching, which gives us loyal and generous alumni, a devoted faculty and student body, and the inspiration to grasp the ideas which are put before us and make them our own academic standards.

For the spirit which is guiding us we are grateful. For the school he has given us we are grateful. Our university, and that which it stands for, will always be a part of our lives. What we have found here we owe to one man—President Cloyd H. Marvin. And for this we thank him.

Forty-fifth Anniversary of Girl Scouts of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, this week the Girl Scouts of the United States of America are celebrating their 45th anniversary. Since their founding in 1912, by Juliette Gordon Low, the Girl Scouts have developed a remarkable and respectable record. During their entire history they have held fast to their ideal to learn to cooperate and work together, to prepare basically and fundamentally for the responsibilities of life and to know and understand those qualities necessary for happiness and successful living.

On this 45th anniversary, the organization of Girls Scouts is national in scope and extends all over the United States of America. In addition, its influence has extended beyond the seas. During the last 10 years many troops of Girl Scouts have been organized in many countries of the world. It is of real significance and value to the cultural development of our community life to know the Girl Scouts of America carry on a worldwide exchange-of-persons program with Girl Scouts of other lands.

As a part of this program, Girl Scouts from many of our neighboring countries are brought to the United States to live and work with the Girl Scout organizations of America. In like manner, American Girl Scouts visit many foreign countries. This interchange is not only of great value to the individual girls involved but it is also of considerable value to our respective countries. Conducting themselves according to the ideal of the Girl Scouts everywhere, these girls contribute friendship and good will and help greatly in the international understanding that is so basic and so necessary for permanent international peace.

The Girl Scouts all over the world are increasing in membership and in troop organizations. This increase must be encouraged by the adult citizens of all communities. The Girl Scouts not only deserve the support of the adult citizens of their respective neighborhoods, but they should have the active encouragement of everyone, for theirs is an organization which not only developes a finer citizenship but it also greatly assists in international cooperation and understanding.

It is a genuine pleasure and honor for me to congratulate the Girl Scouts of America and the Girl Scouts of Lowell on this 45th anniversary. To be a member of the Girl Scouts is an accomplishment. It is something worthy of pride. It is an organization in which every girl can benefit for within its activities it is possible to learn the basic qualities for community leadership and to understand the responsibilities necessary and required for tomorrow's motherhood.

The Girl Scout movement, constantly expanding, has become indeed one of the great international organizations whose benefit to mankind is unmeasurable. The Girl Scouts have earned respect and admiration and deserve the support of everyone.

Color Shows Telecast From the Boston Store in Wilkes-Barre Over Station WBRE

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news story which appeared in the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader-Evening News of March 4, 1957, disclosing that the Boston Store in Wilkes-Barre is the first department store in the Nation to be wired for live telecasting and which makes it possible for many local citizens to see color TV programing in the making as WBRE-TV became the 32d station in the Nation to feature live color television:

COLOR SHOWS ARE TELECAST—HUNDREDS SEE PROGRAMS GO ON AT STORE

The Boston Store, the first department store in the Nation to be wired for live telecasting, is making it possible for Wilkes-Barreans to see color TV programing in the making as WBRE-TV today became the 32d station in the Nation to feature live color television.

This morning hundreds of persons jammed the store to see color programs being telecast.

Starting today, WBRE–TV augments its network color schedule with at least 6 hours weekly of local colorcasting, according to David M. Baltimore, vice president and general manager.

Wired for live telecasting since April 1956, the Boston Store will be the scene all week of many color-telecasting events. Color TV sets have been installed on every floor.

Charles Sakoski, Sr., chief engineer of WBRE–TV, is in charge of the color presentation. Franklin D. Coslett and Fred Foerster are station coordinators, with John Green, Jr., of the Boston Store in charge of the programs.

WBRE–TV, the Nation's first million-watt TV station, was among the first 20 TV stations in the United States to start network color-casts on January 1, 1954.

Needs of Handicapped and Underprivileged Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter I have received from Mrs. L. E. Green, Rolla, Kans., setting forth the need for assistance for our handicapped children. These people have been known to me for many years, and I have known the child since birth. The parents of this child have exhausted their financial resources in trying to correct the condition of this child which is known as cleft palate. This is a most deserving case and I urge that more funds be made available by the Congress for dental research in this particular field. This is just one of many, many cases, as 1 out of every 700 births in the United States has a cleft condition of the palate or lip:

ROLLA, KANS., *February 23, 1957.*

J. FLOYD BREEDING,
Fifth District Congressman,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BREEDING: I feel it is only proper to address you so, although we think of you as FLOYD here in your community, of course. I am well aware of the fact that you are a very busy man, and more so, just now, with the work you are doing for the farm program, since we depend on the farmers for our living, as most small businesses do here; we are very interested in this. However, we have other problems as well, and the one most urgent right now is the completion of our 12-year-old daughter's plastic surgery and dental work. You are familiar with her case. She has had 10 operations and will have at least 2 more. Now this has been provided for; but the dental work, that started a year and a half ago and must continue for several more years, is a different matter. It was upon reading the account in the papers of our Government paying the medical bill for King Saud and his son that infuriated me so; that and knowing that we must borrow the money to pay our income tax; and thus prompted this letter.

Needless to say, with the amount of taxes we have paid we could very well take care of this medical expense. But over a period of 12 years the cost has been a great deal more than we could stand. We have spent about $10,000 for this work, and $892 the past year and a half, was for dental work alone. Our State provides for the care of handicapped children who need medical care and surgery. However, we did not take advantage of this at the time our daughter was born, and have paid the entire amount ourselves. Now we are faced with the unpleasant knowledge that we are unable to continue paying these enormous costs. The State or Federal Government has never made any provisions for children who must have dental work done on completion of surgery. For cleft lips and palates this work takes years, and the average wage earner cannot possibly hope to pay the entire amount. Children like this need this one thing, yet our Government pays a king's bill without turning a hair on our money—money that not only my child could use but many others like her. I realize the importance of paying our income taxes, but when it is used for a man well able to pay his own medical expenses I think something should be done about it. The needs of our own people—and there are certainly enough of them—are important, too. We have driven thousands of miles for this care for our child. Our car is worn out; it is repairs nearly every trip we make for it; we cannot afford a new one, or even a better one; yet the man who bought 60 new Cadillacs has his medical bill payed by us. I find it very difficult to take this willingly, and it goes without saying that I'm mad about it. And I'm appealing to you for help on this problem. I am aware that it takes time for these programs to be established, but I'm sure you will do all you can for it.

Sincerely yours,

EVA GREEN.

Our National Parks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD an address delivered by Assistant Secretary of the Interior Hatfield Chilson at a danner sponsored by the American Planning and Civic Association, held in Washington on March 6.

In his remarks, Mr. Chilson highlights some of the accomplishments thus far under the Mission 66 program, as well as future plans for development of our national parks:

I am delighted to be here this evening.

Let me begin by paying tribute to all the citizen organizations which are working to help make our national parks better. I have in mind many organizations: The American Planning and Civic Association, the National Conference on State Parks, and a host of other groups that sponsor National, State, and local park programs.

Without these organizations our work could not succeed. They stimulate new programs. They arouse and sustain public support. They give advice. They further public understanding of the park programs.

Among those groups the American Plannings and Civic Association has a particularly long and splendid record. The establishment of the National Park Service within the Department of the Interior was due in no small measure to the efforts of the associations' members. They have worked long and hard for the establishment of many of our national parks and monuments and have consistently defended the integrity of these areas. To the Department of the Interior in general and the Park Service in particular, the association has long been a source of strength. Its officers have been men and women of courage and vision. I think particularly of the late Horace McFarland, General Grant, Horace Albright, Tom Wallace and Mis Harlean James.

Before such an audience as this I naturally want to talk about the future of our national parks.

Last year the National Park Service observed the 40th anniversary of its establishment. Today it is firmly embarked on a 10-year program of improvement and development designed to remedy the 15 years of accumulated deficiencies of the past—deficiencies which were the result of war, of insufficient appropriations, and of somewhat sad, but very cold, public apathy. People just weren't interested in doing everything necessary to keep our national parks the way they should be. Well, this 10-year program of the National Park Service now ushers in what promises to be, perhaps, the most rewarding era in Park Service history.

This program, as you know, is Mission 66. It is a 10-year program approved by Congress in 1956 and designed to reach its goal in 1966, a year which will see a minimum of 80 million visitors come to our national parks, and a year which will also mark the golden anniversary of the National Park Service.

Here's how the program got started. Early last year the President invited Secretary McKay, Director Wirth, and their assistants to a Cabinet meeting for an unprecented review of the problems and plans of the National Park Service. There in the Cabinet room of the White House, Connie Wirth outlined the bold, imaginative, and practical objectives of mission 66. When he was through with the presentation which lasted some 45 minutes, the President made a typical response. It was quick, and it was penetrating. What he said was simply this: "Get on with the job."

A few weeks later the mission 66 program was sent to the Congress with the firm support of the President and his administration.

Promptly and enthusiastically the Congress agreed that mission 66 was a program long overdue in this country. One measure of the congressional support it has received is the $68 million budget approved for the Park Service in the current fiscal year, as compared with the budget of some $33 million in 1953.

The mission 66 program is comprehensive: it provides for the protection, the preservation, the management, the public use, and the development of the entire park system.

It calls for a fresh look at the problems and the future of the national parks. Under it we seek to retain the best from the past, to benefit, if we can, from old mistakes, and to develop new policies and practices which will effectively serve the needs of the future.

In working on mission 66, we are keeping one principle uppermost in our mind: the primary justification for a National Park System lies in its capacity to provide enjoyment, in its best sense, for our citizens, now and in the future.

Now, let me just reel off some statistics on a few of the practical things that will be done. Five of eight authorized national parkways will be completed, at a cost of $179 million. Hundreds of miles of park roads and trails will be constructed and repaired at a cost of $214,600,000. One hundred and ninety million dollars' worth of buildings, utilities and miscellaneous facilities will be put up; among these are thousands of additional campsites, numerous picnic areas, and all types of structures for public use and enjoyment, for management and maintenance purposes. Sewer, water, communications, and power systems will be provided in areas where private sources cannot feasibly provide them. Where necessary, new conces-

sion facilities will be constructed and operated with private capital. Legislative authority exists for all these undertakings.

This is part of the broad plan for the 10 years. And already much has been accomplished, with the solid support of the Congress, even though the program will be only 8 months old the day after tomorrow.

For example, 573 projects have been programed for accomplishment under the 1957 fiscal year appropriation, about twice as many as in the 1956 appropriation.

Seven hundred new campsites are under construction; many have been completed. Visitor's centers, utility structures, and systems, employees' housing facilities, roads and trails—all these are being built. For 229 owners we have bought or optioned nearly 700,000 acres of inholdings; we have received 15 gifts of land and water areas amounting to more than 422,000 acres. We have commitments in donated funds of over a million dollars.

Next year we plan to do even more. The 1957 appropriation is 30 percent higher than that of 1956. But the 1958 appropriation, now before the Congress, is higher than that of 1957 by an additional $10,631,000.

In 1958 we shall not only continue and increase our construction work, we shall also begin a much-needed planning program.

As you know, there is widespread interest among conservation organizations, legislators, and representatives of State and Federal agencies in the preparation of an inventory of our park resources and of a long-range plan to meet our people's future needs for outdoor recreation. Such a plan is particularly necessary because our population, industries, and cities are expanding. We must not permit this trend to take from our people their opportunities for finding enjoyment and inspiration in areas of secenic, scientific, and historical interest.

Planning is therefore essential now. In July of this year, under the mission 66 program, work will begin on the development of a national recreation plan. In the development of this plan the National Park Service will consult with leaders in the fields of conservation and outdoor recreation.

The governors of the States and Territories will also be invited to participate in the planning activities. Representatives of the Park Service's five regional offices will work closely with State officials in recreation, conservation, forestry, fishing, and hunting. At every possible opportunity Park Service personnel will meet with private conservation and sportsmen's groups to seek advice and suggestions on recreation needs and problems.

Within the Federal Government itself an Interagency committee has been established through which the Park Service can get advice and cooperation from other Federal agencies.

An example of such cooperation is the assurance which Secretary Benson has given of his interest in having the development work in national forests fit in with the expanded activities in nearby national parks, and the assurance that has been given him that Interior will help the Forest Service advance its program called Operation Outdoors.

In 1961, following the work of all these people, the national recreation plan will be published. Every 5 years thereafter it will be revised. It will describe the Nation's long-term needs for parks; for recreation areas; for areas of historic and scientific interest; for hunting, fishing, camping, skiing, mountain climbing, and the like. It will project these needs to the year 2000.

Included in the broad national recreation plan will be the results of a number of special studies. I shall mention only three. There will be a National Park System plan study to determine what the system should include and to provide factual data which will help both legislative and executive officials when they consider the merits of new park proposals. Are certain types of parks too generously represented in the system? Should they be retained in it? What areas are of outstanding interest to the people of the Nation? Are these areas adequate for our country's foreseeable need? This study will answer such questions.

Secondly, there will be a historic sites survey, to complete our national inventory of historical and archeologic sites that should be preserved. This survey began pursuant to the Historic Sites Act of 1935 but it was interrupted by World War II. In resuming work on it, the National Park Service plans to coordinate its efforts closely with those of the American Institute of Architects and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, as well as with those of State historic and conservation organizations.

Finally, there is the historic American building survey, also begun in the 1930's, interrupted by World War II, and now resumed. Under this survey records are made and preserved, through measured drawings and photographs, of existing monuments of the builder's art in the United States.

Through these and other activities the national recreation plan will contribute to the enjoyment and education and good health of the American people in the coming years.

Because the State parks play a very significant part in this plan, I am delighted to know that there are here tonight a number of the State park directors who are members of the board of directors of the National Conference on State Parks. Tomorrow, I understand, you will hold your annual winter meeting to consider a number of State park problems.

It is important to remember that we have more than 2,000 State parks and that to these parks come 200 million visitors every year—4 times as many as come to the national parks. Like the national parks, these State parks need more development, more money, more staff if they are properly to serve the needs of their visitors. I am therefore delighted to learn that many States are developing long-range programs to meet these needs. The $82 million, 5-year program in California is an outstanding example.

I want to assure you that the officials of the National Park Service will do everything they can to cooperate with State officials in planning park and recreation programs. I am glad to be able to say that the mission 66 program provides for an increase in the cooperative assistance which the Park Service gives to the State agencies. This cooperation, I need not add, is a two-way street. In the past the Park Service has often got from the States valuable help and advice. Without such help and advice in the future many efforts under mission 66 could not succeed.

But I have every confidence that these efforts, and, indeed, the entire mission, will succeed. And as it succeeds, it will help assure that our national parks will be what the American people want them to be.

The American tourist of the 20th century possesses an intelligent curiosity. He wants to know the story that lies behind our national parks and monuments and historic shrines. He wants to know what earth forces lie behind the geological marvels, the natural processes and the scenic beauties he is viewing. He wants to know exactly what happened at some historic spot; and as a citizen, he wants his children to know. To help satisfy this curiosity is one major goal of mission 66.

Another is to preserve the wilderness qualities and primitive settings which give our national parks and monuments their chief values.

Still another goal is to provide the physical facilities which will be necessary if the increasing millions of park visitors are to enjoy the wonders they have come to see.

While this program goes on, the Department of the Interior and its National Park Service will be ever mindful of the mandate handed down by the Congress of the United States some 40 years ago. That mandate, as forceful and as pertinent today as it was when it was written, is this: "To promote and regulate the use of the Federal areas known as national parks, monuments, and reservations—and to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

Have you ever heard a more challenging charge?

The task ahead is a big one. All the accumulated deficiencies of 15 years in our National Park System quite obviously cannot be remedied overnight. The program must proceed in orderly fashion. Some areas which cry for help will simply have to wait for several years for much needed improvements.

And please remember this: In our anxiety to get this program completed, it may often seem like a long, long time until 1966. But I believe we can face the future with the expectation that the challenges and tasks of tomorrow will be met and disposed of effectively.

For I am confident that all the people who love and cherish our national parks and monuments all over this country will continue to provide the sustained support necessary to reach the goals we have set for mission 66. And I assure you taht the Department of the Interior will continue to the full its support of the National Park Service in this undertaking. For we are determined, as President Eisenhower is determined, and as I believe the Congress of the United States is determined, that this great mission shall succeed.

The Constitution Says "Trial by Jury"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I call to the attention of the House an editorial published in the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner of March 7, 1957, entitled "Trial by Jury."

It is most timely and appropriate. I commend its reading to my colleagues:

THE CONSTITUTION SAYS "TRIAL BY JURY"

Not once, but twice—applying in both criminal cases and common law, or civil lawsuits—the United States Constitution specifies the right of defendants to trial by jury. And one important question that should be before the Nation right now is, "Can any 'code' outside the framework of that organic law, contravene the provision?" Is it subject to whim, or extrajudicial barrier?

It's a serious question that first was raised in the present instance in connection with the Clinton case, notwithstanding belated assurances that Federal authorities have relinquished the challenge; and that as prosecutors they now intend to consent to trial by jury in that case. The very fact that the challenge was raised in the first place erects its own warning of drift from the constitutional restraints.

Congress assuredly has the duty, as Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND declares, to check that trend by specific legal rebuke—and no-

where does it more positively belong than in the legislative domain so recklessly projected in the civil rights extravaganza. What, otherwise, would happen there, if the United States Government were vested with the power it seeks as prosecutor and judge?

It is not properly the right of any officer to decide—by whim, or expediency, or as a matter of his own discretion—whether a defendant or defendants shall have a trial by jury.

The danger of such loose interpretation of this constitutional provision was pointed out in the Clinton case almost immediately after evidence arose that it was in danger of being sidestepped or short-circuited. It did not transpire just yesterday, when Washington authorities blithely expressed "willingness" to abide by that fundamental provision; or even when the joker was slipped into an unseemly deck by making the "United States" chief party to that judicial proceeding, thus invoking the "code" which could have preempted the right stated.

It is a principle that must not be demolished, as if the charge of contempt of court justified counteractive devices in contempt of the Constitution.

The Declaration of Independence arraigned the English Government, remember, for "depriving us in many cases of the benefit of trial by jury." If that was fundamental 180 years ago, it is no less fundamental now.

How has the Supreme Court held on these matters over the years? It's profitable to look at history.

In 1864 a citizen of Indiana who had not been in military service was sentenced by a military tribunal to be hanged for disloyal conduct. The Supreme Court held in 1866 that he should have been tried before a jury in a court of law, the courts of Indiana never having been closed by the war. The United States was prosecutor in that case, remember. And the High Tribunal ruled as it did, citing the Constitution to sustain it. It employed this language:

"Time has proven the discernment of our ancestors; for even these provisions, expressed in such plain English words that it would seem the ingenuity of man could not evade them, are now after a lapse of more than 70 years, sought to be avoided. Those great and good men foresaw that troublous times would arise, when rulers and people would become restive under restraint, and seek by sharp and decisive measures to accomplish ends deemed just and proper, and that the principles of constitutional liberty would be in peril unless established by irrepealable law."

It is time, indeed, to take a look at history, and at current events—and remember beyond possibility of trespass the language of unrepealed law assertive and protective of basic rights.

Stay Strong at Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Stay Strong at Home," which appeared in the March 8, 1957, issue of the Franklin Favorite, of Franklin, Ky.:

STAY STRONG AT HOME

In our immediate concerns about foreign policy, the Israeli-Arab conflict and the Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East, it remains most important that we keep our eyes sharply focused on economic conditions at home. The basis for any constructive foreign policy, and for the very defense of the United States itself, is the health of American economy.

Also, a program of constructive foreign aid can only be accepted if the line of prosperity is held in this country. And finally, it should not be forgotten that in the first years of the cold war, Russian policy seems to have been based on, among other premises, the assumption that there would be a depression in the United States. With every sign of weakness in American economy, we can expect the Russians to press us more strongly.

It is far too soon to cry gloom. But with the rising price index and with expressions of concern, even from the administration, it is not too soon to be prepared, and to remain most attentive to economic trends. The solid rock of all constructive action abroad and of the diplomatic and military defense of this country is the American economic apparatus. This is obvious.

But obvious or not, it must be watched and guarded, and with this, the high standard of living of the American people must be equally guarded.

Corn and Feed Grain Program

SPEECH
OF
HON. H. CARL ANDERSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4901) to establish a minimum acreage allotment for corn, to provide acreage reserve programs for diverted acres and for feed grains, and for other purposes.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. JENSEN. Here we give a lot of lip service to the family-sized farm, but that is about as far as we ever go. The gentleman's amendment would do good and would benefit those who live on the family-sized farms, would it not?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Certainly, every quarter-section farmer who finds it impossible to plan within the small allotment of 30 acres of corn that is given to him would put perhaps 10 or 15 acres of land into the conservation reserve and would take the $10 or $15 per acre paid to him, but there is this little quirk in the law that says he cannot do it, consequently there is a roadblock in the way of his taking advantage of the soil-bank operation.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HALLECK. Do I understand from what the gentleman just said that his amendment would open up this bill to payments for feed grain that are not presently included in the Andresen bill and about which we have been talking ever since this controversy started?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Not at all. I am talking to an entirely different point. The gentleman refers to a proposed acreage-reserve program for feed grains, and I am talking about the present conservation reserve program. My amendment would help take the equivalent of 150 millios bushels of feed grain out of production through the conservation reserve. It would have no relationship whatsoever to the controversy over a proposed feed grain acreage reserve program.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I yield.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I may say to the gentleman that some of the provisions of his amendment are contained in the majority committee bill. I would suggest that we should try to write a strictly corn bill here on the floor. I am perfectly willing to sit down with other members of our committee and write a general farm bill that would deal with all these problems and consider the gentleman's amendment on its merits.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. My colleague admits that the idea is good, but he says the time is not now. I may say to my colleague from Minnesota [Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN] that my amendment, in principle, is just as important to his particular bill as the $51 million acre allotment for which I have voted. It is just as important as the 15-percent feature that the gentleman has in his bill. Moreover, it is strictly corn legislation. I hope the gentleman does not object to it.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I yield.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Knowing the gentleman's ability and knowledge of agriculture, and particularly corn, I am satisfied that he is acting on his own volition in supporting the Andresen amendment.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. That is correct. I think I have a reputation for always voting my convictions in what I believe to be the best interests of the good people I represent here in the Congress. At times, however, I find myself in somewhat the same predicament our corn farmers found themselves last December when the corn referendum was before them. It is quite obvious that they did not have the opportunity to vote for what they really wanted and needed, and so they cast their ballots for what appeared to them to be the lesser of two evils. Although I do not see evil in either of the propositions before us today, I am in about the same spot as the corn farmers were last December in that I must choose between proposals neither of which will, in my judgment, get the job done that needs to be done.

The Cooley-Poage bill before us has much to recommend it. However, I do have serious doubts, Mr. Chairman, as to the ultimate cost of the Cooley-Poage bill. We must reduce Federal budgets wherever possible, and it seems inconsistent for us to vote for a program on which we cannot even calculate the potential costs. There are additional deficiencies such as the failure to provide a fair minimum corn acreage allotment such as the gentleman from Minnesota

[Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN] and I have both advanced in our bills.

I say that in all seriousness the Cooley-Poage bill contains major deficiencies; but at the same time do not let anybody thing that I am entirely satisfied with the Andresen substitute; I am not. However, like the corn farmers last December, it is my judgment that the better course for us would be to accept the Andresen substitute and hope that it will be further improved before final passage.

As a minimum, we must have that 51 million acre allotment for corn provided in the Andresen substitute and also in my own bill. Let me tell you briefly some of the other provisions we should have.

Something should be done about the method of apportioning corn allotments to individual farmers. Under the present law as it is administered by the Department of Agriculture, we are in many instances perpetuating inequities. By following the process of making allotments based on historical acreages, we are penalizing the good farmer who followed a diversified program and rotated his crops and giving a bonus, so to speak, to the minority of farmers who mined their soil during the base period. There is something basically wrong with a program which gives one farmer on a half-section of land only 30 or 40 acres of corn allotment and his neighbor on the half-section across the road 100 acres or more. That should be corrected.

Another very important provision we urgently need is a higher support level under our corn. When I went before the Committee on Agriculture to testify on my bill, several majority Members stopped me the minute I mentioned the words "90 percent of parity." They expressed the view that it was a waste of their time for me to even discuss it, but no one questions the fundamental fact that farm commodity prices are at the heart of all our troubles in agriculture today. Either you believe in price supports or you do not believe in them. There is no part-way or partial approach to this problem of prices. I happen to be one who firmly believes in the principles of price supports and I do not mind saying so.

Now, we are faced with a practical situation in which many seem to be afraid to vote for what they say they believe in because of a possible veto. Let us look for a moment at this problem. Most of the critics of price supports argue that they help the small farmer the least and encourage the big operators to produce the great surpluses piling up in Government bins and warehouses all over the land. They all say they want to help the little fellow, the family-type farmer, and I am offering a solution to the problem. We should adopt something along the lines suggested in my bill whereby we would make the 90-percent of parity supports available on the first 4,000 bushels of corn per farm, and I would welcome an amendment to extend that same principle to the other basics on family-size farms. In this manner we would extend maximum protection to the family farm and also hold that protective umbrella over all production.

None of these features are in the proposals before us. They are important features and if the legislative situation is such today that we cannot get action on them, they should be given priority in the enactment of any other farm legislation.

Now, however, I am hoping the committee will approve the amendment I have just offered as it will do much in my opinion to alleviate the problem we seek to cure.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. JENSEN].

Mr. JENSEN. I think the House should know that the gentleman from Minnesota, who now has the floor, is a dirt farmer in his own right, and that he is the ranking minority member on the Agriculture Subcommittee on Appropriations and that he has been with that committee for many, many years. He has to consider many problems as the able gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN] has just said, dealing with this bill. If it is passed it will become the responsibility of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture to act; and, as I say, the gentleman who now has the floor is the ranking minority member on that subcommittee. That will be a big problem to resolve and the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN], knowing agriculture as he does, certainly knows what the corn farmer and the other farmers of America deserve and should have. I hope his amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, I do not like to become personal or mention my own personal affairs in this matter, but let me give you a little example of what has actually happened on my own farm in this connection. The young man who is my partner told me last spring: "CARL, I cannot operate with an 80-acre allotment on these 369 acres. We have got to have more corn than that. I cannot go into the program and make enough money to get by on." I said, "Henry, I will leave it up to you."

That is why we were forced to overplant on our allotment. But the law says, in effect, that CARL ANDERSEN and Henry Boll cannot offer 40 acres of good productive land in which we had already seeded alfalfa for the conservation portion of the soil bank. I really wanted to put some of this in the soil bank but could not do so. This also applies to hundreds of thousands of corn farmers and that is why so few of them have gone into the program in my area. My amendment would open the door for them.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Wilkes College of Wilkes-Barre Wins Middle Atlantic Wrestling Tournament

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following account of Wilkes College's triumph in the Middle Atlantic wrestling tournament held this month at Gettysburg College. The account was written by Jack Curtis, director of public relations, Wilkes College:

FEATURE STORY ON A REAL CHAMPION—HERE'S HOW THEY DID IT

Advocates of the theory that a concerted team effort will whip a group playing as individuals pointed proudly to the Middle Atlantic wrestling championships held at Gettysburg last weekend.

For little Wilkes College, which saw four of its men lose in the finals, still had enough points from a well-balanced team effort to become Middle Atlantic wrestling champions.

The Colonels of John Reese thus ran up their 18th win without a loss in team competition including 10 dual meet victories this year. That balance did the trick all year—when an expected winner would lose, a predicted loser won, and in the end, Wilkes always won.

In the tourney, Wilkes won 4 second places, a third, a fourth, and saw its other 2 men (of an 8-man team) earn advancement points to give it just enough of an edge—2 points—to beat out second-place Muhlenberg and dethrone third-place Lafayette.

A score of 52 points in the first MASCAC meet open to the entire conference membership was a fine showing for the winners, which had sent the largest representation—four—into the finals.

Oddly, Muhlenberg, the nearest team to Wilkes for the team crown, had lost a 29-5 dual meet to the Colonels only a week before the Mid-Atlantics. The Mules, however, won three first places in the meet, a feat which would ordinarily assure them of the championship.

"Every one of the boys contributed to our win," Coach Reese stated, "and not one of them gave in, even though two of them lost out in the early rounds."

That "not giving in" was the factor which won for the team, the esprit de corps of which any team in the Nation would be proud to possess. Walt Glogowski, 167 pounder, was pinned by the defending champion in his first match on a hard-luck move which backfired.

But Big Walt came crack to capture third place in his division, and it was his victory which provided the margin by which the Colonels won. He scored another point by pinning his opponent in an earlier match.

Then there was little Skeeter Williams who had not even been seeded in the meet. He met the fourth-seeded 123 pounder in the first match, then another topflight grappler and in the semifinals, the first man in the class. He finally lost on a referee's decision after a tie in two overtimes in the finals.

Jim Ward, 130 pounds, was favored in his class and breezed into the finals. He was pinned with 21 seconds to go in his bout, after having built up a big lead. The odd part of his loss was that he helped his oppo-

nent. Not satisfied to ride out and win by a decision, Jim tried for a pin and in doing so slipped into a pin hold himself.

Here was the case of a boy who just had about too much competitive zeal—he never stopped trying.

And that was the story of the 1957 Middle Atlantic States Athletic Conference wrestling champion, Wilkes College. The Colonials never stopped trying and that little intangible extra they showed paid off.

American Indian Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 31, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to call attention to an editorial in the Christian Century of February 13, 1957, which points up the need for an improved Indian policy.

We recognize the Indian people of this Nation as the first Americans. We ought to recognize, too, that Federal Indian policies should be geared to the long-range welfare of our Indian brothers.

The Christian Century editorial is reproduced in full as follows:

WE NEED A NEW INDIAN POLICY

Within the last 4 years, about 12 percent of trust lands allotted to American Indians have been taken out of trust. Oliver La Farge, whose recent report to the directors of the Association on American Indian Affairs included this statement, said that about 1,600,000 out of 13,500,000 acres of allotted land are involved. He pointed out that 23,000 acres of the Pine Ridge Reservation were sold by Sioux Indians in 1955, and this is only one of several reservations in South Dakota. A half-million acres of Indian land were alienated in 1955, but the rate at which land passed from Indian to non-Indian hands slowed up in 1956 because of the prolonged drought in the Western States. Loss of lands affects Indian reaction to all sorts of proposals. For example, last month 200 Indian and white leaders met in South Dakota to discuss community development. Experts in agriculture, health, and Indian affairs met with Sioux, Winnebagos, Omahas, and Three Affiliated Tribes at the invitation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. La Verne Madigan, director of the AAIA, reports: "For 5 days the experts eagerly tried to tell the Indians how rural towns all over America make themselves better-governed, healthier, more beautiful places to live in. For 5 days the Indian leaders of the Great Plains tried to tell the experts that there could be no Indian communities to beautify if Indian lands continued to pass out of Indian ownership at the present ominous rate. The Indians feared the motives of the experts who talked about how to improve a community but not about how to save it from obliteration. The experts were defeated by the Indians' fear for their land. Our Government must end this oldest of Indian fears in order that tribal and white leaders may meet without distrust." We agree, but have little hope that the present administration will stop the transfer of individually allotted land from Indians to non-Indians unless public opinion is aroused.

HOW WE CAN HELP THE INDIANS

If public opinion can be aroused, the Bureau of Indian Affairs can radically improve its conduct. The Bureau has a revolving loan fund of which $7.8 million is not now being used. The fund is increasing because it is not being used as Congress intended. The Bureau could make this money available to tribes, which would then be in position to purchase every acre of allotted land which any Indian may want or need to sell. Such purchases by the tribes would keep the land in the possession of the Indian people. The tribes could resell the land to individuals or could retain it in tribal ownership. The latter course would probably be a better one to follow in most instances, since tribally owned land is not so easily alienated as are individually owned plots. Why does the Indian Bureau prefer to allow its lending fund to accumulate in idleness while the Indian estate is dissipated year by year? One reason is that the Indian Bureau is permeated with the philosophy that money-lending should be a private enterprise, regardless of the intent of Congress in making the money available or the needs of people who cannot qualify under ordinary standards for loans. The Bureau also justifies its action by declaring that House Concurrent Resolution 108, an action of the 83d Congress, states Indian policy for the Congress. It declares that it is the purpose of Congress to terminate all Federal services to Indian tribes as soon as possible. This action should be repealed, since it is not the Indian policy of Congress. No termination bill has been approved by Congress since the elections in 1954, and none is likely to be approved by the present Congress. In place of 108, Congress should enact the proposal made by Senator MURRAY, of Montana. Senate Concurrent Resolution 3 calls for enactment of an American Indian point 4 program. It would begin full-scale economic development of Indian communities, and it would maintain the land base without which those communities would perish, and with them what remains of Indian culture.

Another GOP Apologist Not What the TVA Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I call to the attention of my colleagues in the House an editorial appearing in the Nashville Tennessean of recent date entitled "Another GOP Apologist Not What the TVA Needs." It is appropriate and timely. I hope the membership of the House will read it:

ANOTHER GOP APOLOGIST NOT WHAT THE TVA NEEDS

As the time for appointment of a new member of the three-man TVA Board draws ever nearer, the smooth-talking Gen. Herbert D. Vogel has convincingly—if inadvertently—underlined the importance of that choice.

In an interview with a private power magazine published in the visitors corner on this page today, the TVA Chairman does his best to create the impression that the administration which appointed him—and which soon will name a second Board member—has only the best intentions toward the valley development.

But his eagerness to put the best of all possible faces on an ugly situation and to minimize the crisis confronting the TVA is in itself a revealing indication of the administration's real attitude.

And, furthermore, not even the glib military man chosen by President Eisenhower to preside over this symbol of "creeping socialism" can entirely gloss over the facts of the matter. Even under the friendly questioning of the private power industry's interviewer, General Vogel concedes, in his own fashion, that all is not as well as GOP spokesmen would have the Nation believe.

He denies, for example, that the administration is trying to throttle the TVA. But then he has to explain that TVA is now dependent on its own revenues alone for expansion and that it cannot operate that way very long.

And while referring to Congress' unwillingness to provide continuing appropriations to finance this expansion, he neglects to point out that the GOP administration has successively cut TVA requests each year it has been in office until it now is proposing no appropriations at all for expansion.

That, of course, points up the need for a self-financing plan, as General Vogel explains. But the differences he dismisses as details about the kind of plan to be adopted actually involve the fundamental question of whether the TVA board or the hostile Budget Bureau is going to control the agency.

* * * * *

And when General Vogel speaks of tightening up the TVA organization and sharing the responsibilities of the general manager, it is pertinent to recall that as much as 2 years ago a somewhat similar proposal he made—over the objections of the two other board members—brought from Chairman CLARENCE CANNON, of the House Appropriations Committee, an angry charge that the Chairman was seeking to set up a dictatorship.

It does make a difference, therefore, as to whether the new TVA board member is susceptible to General Vogel's views—despite his statements to the contrary. In a less temperate statement last November, even General Vogel himself let it be known that he expected things to be different this year, when the membership of the board will be changed.

It is a question of whether the board is to be controlled by members dedicated to TVA, jealous of its independence, and willing to fight for its needs or by apologists for a policy of attrition that already has brought the agency into the shadow of a critical power shortage.

Letter to Detroit Common Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend and revise my remarks, I include the following letter which I have written to the Common Council of the City of Detroit in response to a resolution adopted by the council relative to an increase in pay for postal employees:

MARCH 11, 1957.
COMMON COUNCIL, CITY OF DETROIT,
HON. THOMAS D. LEADBETTER,
City Clerk, Detroit, Mich.

SIRS: I am in receipt of a letter under date of March 7, 1957, from the Honorable Thomas D. Leadbetter, city clerk of Detroit, together

with an undated copy of a resolution of your honorable body reading as follows:

"Whereas our postal employees, underpaid for many years, should receive favorable consideration in their quest for increased remuneration in recognition of the faithful and exemplary service they render: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we urge our national legislative members of Michigan to do everything possible to bring about this measure of relief to the employees of one of our most important bureaus of government.

"Adopted unanimously."

In the spirit of fairness and respect, I must suppose that the members of the common council, in adopting this resolution, acted on the assumption that they were exercising the constitutional right of petition for the redress of grievances. I am a firm believer in that right, but I believe there are other principles involved in this action.

I invite your attention to the fundamental separation of the powers and responsibilities under our Federal form of government, and I respectfully suggest that the common council of Detroit on further consideration, might not wish to appear in the role of a lobbyist for a particular group of Federal employees or for their employee organizations.

I also venture to suggest that the premise asserted by your resolution that "our postal employees (have been) underpaid for many years"—whether true or false—has not been a subject of official investigation or determination by the common council of Detroit.

I further respectfully suggest that a corresponding appeal on my part as a Member of Congress, or an appeal by formal resolution of the Congress of the United States, to the common council of Detroit to provide relief in the form of pay increases to the firemen, policemen, or other employees of the city of Detroit, would quite justifiably be regarded by your honorable body as entirely out of order.

As a Member of Congress and as a member of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, I am aware of the faithful and exemplary service of employees of this important bureau of the (Federal) Government.

As a Member of Congress and as a member of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, I shall, without reference to the unanimous resolution of the common council of Detroit, endeavor to continue in the future as I have in the past to meet, to the best of my ability and judgment, my responsibilities to all Federal employees and also to the Federal taxpayers of the Nation who are called upon to underwrite the ever-mounting costs of Federal Government.

Yours very truly,

AUGUST E. JOHANSEN.

Shooting Preserves Helping To Meet Demands of Sportsmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, controlled public shooting on privately owned preserves was one of the topics discussed a few days ago at the North American Wildlife Conference held here in Washington.

Many States now have this type of controlled hunting. They include Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Michigan was one of the earliest States to have this type of hunting but its law was repealed during the depression. There is now growing agitation to have it renewed in my State, where we already have a somewhat similar plan for public fishing in privately owned trout lakes.

Recently my hometown newspaper, the Bay City Times, commented on this plan editorially and called the defeat of Michigan's earlier law a "blow to pheasant hunting on public ground as well as private."

As a matter of information and because of the growing interest in the preserve program I am submitting an address at the North American Wildlife Conference by Mr. Charles Dickey, of the Sportsmen's Service Bureau, which explains the manner in which the program operates. It follows:

SHOOTING PRESERVES IN THE UNITED STATES

(By Charley Dickey)

Shooting preserves are privately owned and operated areas where pen-raised game is released for hunting, usually upon payment of a fee by the shooters. The term "shooting preserve" implies in most instances that there is an extended season, no bag limit on released game, and that the areas are licensed or sanctioned by State game commissions.

The first State to legalize shooting preserves was New York, in 1910. Since all of the earlier State laws and literature used the term "shooting preserve," the North American Game Breeders' Association, Inc., has voted to standardize that term. "Shooting preserve" is historically correct, in contrast to other terms which have sprung up, such as "regulated shooting," "controlled shooting," "fee hunting," "put-and-take shooting," "pay-as-you-go shooting," and several others. The board of directors of the North American Game Breeders' Association, Inc., requests the assistance of State game commissions in standardizing shooting preserves.

The name "shooting preserve" indicates that the area is open to the public, and where the preserve is open to the general public on a membership basis, the same terminology would apply. If the grounds is closed to the public, it should be referred to as a private shooting preserve.

HALF OUR STATES HAVE THEM

More than half of the States now have shooting preserves, either under statutory law or rulings of the game commissions. Eight or ten additional States probably will introduce legislation during 1957 to legalize shooting preserves. Many other States plan to liberalize existing laws because game management experts now realize that 6 months of hunting is possible under properly written and administered preserve regulations.

Ringneck pheasants are by far the most popular game released. Mallards are second and quail are third. Chukar partridge rank fourth. Most States permit additional game birds and animals to be included, but these four will obviously continue to be the most popular. A few operators released coturnix quail in the 1956–57 season; results indicate that this relatively new species will be adaptable to preserve operations.

The paying customers are the ones who determine how much sport a shooting preserve must provide. If the customers demand tough-wing shooting, and are willing to pay for the best, the operator will give it to them. If the hunters want easy walking, birds stocked close to trails, and all open shooting, the operator will cooperate. Most shooting preserve operators are in the business to make a living. They are willing to supply the type of hunting the sportsmen demand.

There are rumors that hunters have been complaining of short seasons and not enough game. Private enterprise wants to help game commissions by providing shooting preserves where hunting can be enjoyed 6 months each year. Yet some of the firmest opposition to the hunters' dreams of long seasons has come from those who have the job of maintaining the sport. Often this opposition arises from lack of understanding caused by failure to study successful programs in other States. Adamant refusal to consider the whole idea of shooting preserves has not been unknown.

SPORTSMEN INITIATE PLAN

It has been the sportsmen who have started most of the constructive legislation to enable shooting preserves to operate. If they have not gotten underway in your State, they will. Therefore, it would be much better to prepare ahead by learning how other States have administered their shooting regulations.

Preserve laws or regulations must be written so that they are fair to the operators, to the State game commission who must administer the laws and, by all means, to the sportsmen in general. In the interest of the public, which owns wild game, the State is entrusted with game management. Any doubt as to whether or not a State should have shooting preserves stems primarily from the fear that wild game will be shot inadvertently by hunters who use these areas. How can that be handled?

Let's not try to fool anyone. A few wild birds may be shot on preserves. These areas are operated by humans who are subject to error the same as in any other enterprise. It is up to the State to see that its preserve regulations require that many, many more birds escape from the area than wild ones are shot. The way most of the shooting preserves have been obliged to operate, it is not a simple trade of 1 pen-raised bird for 1 wild bird; it is more often a trade of 10 to 20 pen-raised birds escaping for every wild one taken inadvertently.

In the 1956–57 season in Pennsylvania, about 35,000 pheasants escaped from preserves to become State property. Aside from the free birds that the public gets, there are those other advantages such as extended seasons; additional places to train dogs; no bag limits; in some cases, new and different kinds of birds to shoot and, quite important, the people know where they can hunt and be sure of finding game.

To protect the public, State regulations should include:

1. A maximum acreage.
2. A minimum acreage.
3. A minimum seasonal release of each species.
4. A maximum percentage of allowable recovery of each species.

These four points are the essence of shooting preserve laws; the rest is mere detail.

There should be a maximum acreage because some operators tend to buy or lease more land than is needed. The two largest shooting preserves in this country—in number of pheasants shot—operate on about 400 acres each. There are many efficient operations on 200 acres or less. An operator is better off with 300 acres that have been developed properly in cover than with 1,000 acres of poorly developed land. For most of the Nation a maximum of 1,000 acres per preserve is ideal. This allows plenty of room

in case owners wish to handle quail. Some of the Western States may feel that a higher maximum, say 2,000 acres, is needed. But some limit definitely should be fixed on the total number of acres that may be included in one preserve.

A minimum acreage is needed so that the operator's neighbors cannot too easily license their land with the hope of shooting overflow birds on an extended-season basis. The minimum acreage helps to keep down the jacklegs who might try to take advantage of the regulations. A minimum of 100 acres is ideal for most of the country, particularly in the East. The one exception is that a 50-acre minimum should be permitted where only mallards are released.

One reason for not making a higher minimum is that many operators have successful preserves on less than 200 acres. A happy medium must be found. The minimum acreage should not be set so high as to make the owning of a preserve discriminatory; or set so low as to make it too easy to own a preserve. In some States the minimum acreage has been set too high, and some operators are leasing more land than they need or use just to meet State regulations.

MINIMUM BIRD RELEASE REQUIREMENT

To be sure that a shooting preserve owner operates within the spirit of the program, a minimum seasonal release should be required. This keeps out illegitimate operators, and is insurance that birds will escape from the area. Without a minimum release a farmer might license his grounds next to an existing area to get a free ride on escaped birds. But if he is required to release a minimum of 100 pheasants a year to get his license, an investment of several hundred dollars counting pen cost, he will think twice before making application.

Again, a happy medium is needed for seasonal releases. If a minimum of 1,000 pheasants is required, it would be discriminatory against groups wanting to open on a small scale. Suppose an operator had a successful pheasant grounds but wanted to experiment with chukars; he would have to raise or buy 1,000 birds and might get stuck with a large number if the hunters did not like them.

A minimum seasonal release of 100 birds of each species used is a far more satisfactory way of protecting the public's rights than high license fees.

To further protect the public, many States have a maximum recovery percentage for the preserve season. New York allows only 80 percent of the total number of pheasants released to be recovered. This means that for every 5 ringnecks stocked, 1 must go free to surrounding farms.

This percentage seems to be fair both to the operator and the general sportsman. It is insurance that enough birds are escaping to make up for any wild birds that might be taken. With mallard ducks, necessarily flighted under strict control, a recovery of 100 percent should be allowed.

There will be no arguments from the operators on an allowable seasonal recovery of 80 percent for pheasants. Most of them are happy to recover 70 percent, especially if their preserves are open to the average hunter. New operators often recover less than 60 percent the first year.

The percentage of recovery is governed through the issuance of tags by the State game commission. Naturally, the commission has the authority of inspection and can take a bird count at any time. Instead of issuing a tag for each bird bought or raised, tags for only 80 percent are issued. Since cocks and hens are shot before and after normal open seasons, there never is any difficulty in getting the operator to tag birds before they are removed from his shooting preserve.

In addition to these four protections, the general public has still another safeguard. An operator may have from $10,000 to $50,000 invested in a preserve. If he violates the regulations, he could have his license revoked and automatically be put out of business. With the investment which is required to get started, operators tread the straight and narrow.

The administration of preserve laws has been kept simple in most States. There is no need for complicated regulations.

Many of the States that have had preserves for a number of years have special nonresident licenses for preserve shooting only. It hardly seems fair to charge a nonresident $15 or $20 to shoot on a preserve where the game is released from pens. In this connection, Maryland has a well-accepted special license. It sells for $5.25 and is applicable on any Maryland preserve for the 6 months season. It does not allow a nonresident to shoot any species except those released. Even more liberal are New York and Connecticut laws, which do not require any type of hunting license for preserve shooting, either for residents or nonresidents.

TYPES OF STATE LICENSES

If your State has preserves, but is charging the regular nonresident fee to hunt on them, you will soon be getting requests from sportsmen for a special nonresident license, applicable only to preserves. If your State plans to legalize preserves, it is wise to include a provision for issuing special nonresident preserve licenses in the initial legislation so that a future bill will not be necessary.

In 1921, the old Biological Survey made an administrative ruling that mallard ducks, more than two generations removed from the wild, could be taken without regard to bag or season limits. Later black ducks were added. That administrative ruling has been in effect ever since, although several State game commissions have tried to disregard it. There is little chance that the ruling will be, or even could be, changed because successive secretaries of the Department of the Interior have accepted it for 36 years. Control of the domestic ducks was relinquished and there is legal doubt that it could ever be regained, even if the United States Fish and Wildlife Service so desired, one reason being the large number of game-farm mallards found in all parts of the Nation.

The domestic duck ruling still is causing difficulties in several States. Sportsmen, wanting to have mallard flighting areas, have not been able to get definite answers from their game commissions on the legality of extended seasons and no bag limits for duck preserves. The States say they do not have authority to grant extended domestic duck seasons, and the United States Fish and Wildlife Service says that it has long since released control. Some States have taken the attitude with sportsmen of: "You go ahead and shoot game-farm mallards out of the migratory season and see if we will arrest you."

There is only one solution to the problem. This matter was dumped into the laps of the States in 1921, and it is up to the individual States to make their own rulings on domestic ducks. The sportsmen are doing the only thing that they can do when they go howling to their legislators.

All the States need do is grant themselves the power, if they do not already have it, to license domestic duck-shooting areas. Then, if an operator wants to open on a flyway with the obvious intent of using domestic ducks as live decoys, the State can refuse to license the area. If the preserve is off the flyway, and is a legitimate operation, then the State can grant a license. The whole problem is that simple; yet some States, after 36 years, do not have their regulations straightened out.

Where a State has a preserve season for pheasants, quail, or chukars, the simplest thing to do is to add mallards and blackducks, more than two generations removed, with the same seasonal limits. There is no reason why domestic ducks should not be fair preserve game at least 6 months a year.

To simplify identification of legal shooting-preserve mallards and blackducks, some technicians have suggested that a ¼-inch hole be punched in the outer web of the right foot of each duck before the bird reaches 6 weeks of age. By the time the preserve season opens, the hold will have scarred over and will be visible plainly only upon holding the spread web up to a light. This simple procedure will aid in rapid identification of domestic mallard or blackducks, and eliminate the possibility of mixing migratory ducks with their pen-reared cousins.

With the publicity that shooting preserves received in 1956, it is absurd for State game commissions to ignore the Federal ruling on ducks. Those States agencies that try to dodge the issue are certain to come under the fire of sportsmen.

SHOOTING PRESERVES ON THE INCREASE

There is a definite need for State game commissions to know which shooting preserves are open to the public and which are not. In a survey made by the Sportsmen's Service Bureau last year, to obtain material for a directory, 8 out of 11 States did not know which preserves were open to the public. The sportsmen, who are supporting the commissions, could not write their own commissions and find out where they could shoot on a preserve. In one State the game commission had no such listing, but the department of commerce, a block down the street, had a complete list.

Shooting preserves are on the increase and the game commissions will be getting more and more requests for listings. Before the operator receives a license to open he should be required to fill out a simple form stating whether the preserve will be open or closed to the public, and whether or not the operator wants his preserve listed in publicity. The license form naturally collects other pertinent data such as location, type of game released, address, phone number, and other information.

Shooting preserves are bound to grow. Sportsmen are going to demand more realistic laws for extended seasons so that operators will have enough hunting days to make a living. It takes a lot of money to get into the business and there is no need to worry about a mad rush to open preserves.

The future will see a leveling off with three general types of preserves: private grounds; preserves catering to the strictly sporting shooter, who is willing to pay a little more for extra services and top hunting; and preserves catering to the middle-income bracket. Already there are many preserves where hunters can bag two pheasants for $10. This is the price range which nearly every hunter can afford at least once or twice a year.

Shooting preserves will not solve all of our game problems but they do keep a lot of hunters happy in more than half the States. With the years of successful preserve operation in so many States, and with the experience they have gained and are willnig to pass on, every State game commission should make it possible for its sportsmen to enjoy shooting preserves. Enlightened free enterprise, with game and conservation commission cooperation, can and will lend a hand to meet the demands of the American sportsman, today and in the future.

Let the Honored Dead Rest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN DOWDY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I have a letter from a father whose son was killed in action in World War II and whose body lies in Belgium. Any comment would detract from his expressed sentiments, and I ask unanimous consent that his letter, with the editorial accompanying it, be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The letter and editorial follow:

THE STATE NATIONAL BANK,
El Paso, Tex., February 26, 1957.

The Honorable JOHN DOWDY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DOWDY: Attached hereto is a reprint of an editorial "Let the Honored Dead Rest." It was published in the Herald-Post of this city on February 9, 1957.

As the proud father of a son, a combat infantry officer who was killed in action in World War II, I heartily concur in the sentiments expressed and hope that the proposed travesty will not be carried out as indicated. I feel that the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington Cemetery is symbolic of my son and the other sons who have died in the service of their country since our Republic was founded, and for those who, if fate may so decree, will also die for their country.

Our lad's mortal remains are buried in a United States military cemetery, with his comrades, in far away Belgium. I feel and know that he and they rest in honored glory.

I know there are many who feel as I do but who will not write you, and there are others who all too soon forget. I hope you understand.

Sincerely yours,

CHRIS P. FOX.

[From the El Paso Herald-Post of February 9, 1957]

LET THE HONORED DEAD REST

The Defense Department, reluctantly carrying out the will of Congress, has announced plans to remodel the shrine in Arlington which is the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

The majestic structure which honors the unidentified dead in all our wars will be modified to make room for two more unknowns, one from the Second World War and one from the Korean war.

There will be a ceremonial selection of the bodies, now resting in American military cemeteries abroad. These will be moved to Arlington with funeral and reburial services set for Memorial Day 1958.

No change is contemplated in the famous tomb or in its inscription: "Here Rests in Honored Glory an American Soldier Known But to God."

How that inscription is to be made to fit three unknown soldiers is no more clear than the motives for the change. All our war dead of the last 180 years rest in honored glory wherever they are and this tomb stands sentinel for them all. It is unique among American memorials, gaining honor with age. Once it has been torn open, the precedent has been set to tear it open again.

Actual work on the plans still is months away. We hope they will be reconsidered and abandoned. These honored dead lie in peace, wherever they are. We should let them rest.

Federal Education Support Program Not an Evil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Federal Education Support Program Not an Evil," which appeared in the March 7, 1957, issue of the Leitchfield Gazette, of Leitchfield, Ky.:

FEDERAL EDUCATION SUPPORT PROGRAM NOT AN EVIL

Opposition to Federal aid for education purposes appears to be based on two premises which are not unassailable even though thought to be so by persons afflicted with one-way thinking. The premises, and it must be stressed that they are such, are first, that Federal support means Federal control, which would be worse than local control, and second, that taxpayers must pay for schools anyway, so why not leave the problem to local decision.

Approaching the first premise: that Federal support means Federal control, it must be pointed out that this Nation has become progressively more powerful and the people more prosperous during the time there has been a gradual strengthening and enlarging of Federal services. Far from being an infringement of individual rights, the constitutional use of Federal powers gives the Nation and the individual as great a voice in government through elected congressional representatives as he receives through State and local representatives.

Because they represent their own States and districts, Members of Congress retain close touch at home, often keeping better posted than local officials on opinion. At the same time Congressmen are acquainted with the national scene as it relates to the local one, thereby making their decisions more apt to be for the general welfare.

The second premise, that because taxpayers must foot the bill anyway, collection and use of school funds should be left to local and State agencies, produces an interesting goal if pursued to its ultimate meaning. If it is better to keep education supervision under present agencies, then by the same reasoning it would be better to retreat further, stopping public education altogether and letting individual parents decide how much and how long their children should be exposed to schooling, hiring teachers themselves and paying for them. This would mean that those persons unfortunate enough to have no children would have no education bills but might have to contribute a good bit more to the support of illiterates.

Very few persons seriously advocate abandoning public schools, so if we are to have them, they should really be public schools and not provide a superabundance of facilities in one community against primitive conditions in another. Some States, such as Kentucky, are saddled with outmoded constitutions which hamper realistic distribution of school money. Fortunately, Kentucky has eliminated one roadblock to better distribution of school money, still our educational program leaves much to be desired.

For many years Kentucky has been exporting her population about as fast as they are educated. Much of the cream of our youth have gone into other States to enrich those States with their skills and energy. Is there justice in Kentuckians paying entirely for the education of people who eventually make their homes in other States? Youth from rural areas of Kentucky are going to Louisville for employment; however, through equalization funds, the people of Louisville have contributed to the education of these young people.

Federal support of education simply means a wider distribution of the tax load required to provide badly needed new funds. If the program is applied nationally as has been done in Kentucky it will mean a better educational program more nearly approaching the concept of public education as envisioned by founders of this plan to eliminate illiteracy and its threat to progress. It is believed that persons who oppose Federal aid to schools are against additional taxes more than they are for a better America.

Public Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, in the developing controversy over the recommendation by Secretary of the Interior Seaton that the Federal Government enter into a partnership plan with a private-utility company for development of the power facilities of the Trinity River project in California, the large majority of leading newspapers in the northern and other sectors of California favor the partnership plan.

One such newspaper is the Oroville (Calif.) Mercury. Its publisher, Dan L. Beebe, cooperated with me when I introduced on March 30, 1950, a bill to authorize construction of the Feather River project. This project was set aside in favor of the Trinity proposal which, without power, could not be economically justifiable.

If the private-utility company is permitted to construct the powerplants, the American taxpayers would be saved $55.5 million in capital outlay. The company would also pay to the Federal Government, for falling water, $165 million over the 50-year repayment period. In other words, $220.5 million would be paid to the Federal Government for a project estimated to cost $225 million—sounds like good business.

In addition, the private company would pay Federal, State, and local taxes during this period amounting to some $145 million.

This wide difference in savings to taxpayers was set forth in a March 6 editorial in the Oroville Mercury. I desire to include it herewith for the information of Members of the Congress who will be called upon to make the final decision in this controversy:

GIMMICK USED TO FOOL US ON PUBLIC POWER

Down in Sacramento, one of two cities in California where power from the Central Valley project is distributed, the Sacramento Bee, powerful protagonist of public power, seriously makes the statement that it is not true that "the people of Vermont or Missouri are helping to pay for the low-priced power enjoyed by the customers of the Sacramento Municipal Utilities District."

"The fact is," says the newspaper, "Federal power and water projects cost the Govern-

ment nothing, for the cost of each is repaid by the power and water customers."

Notice the gimmick in between the first and second paragraphs. The newspaper makes a switch. In the first statement it is talking about the people in other States. It switches from the people to the Government, but you aren't supposed to notice it.

Let's continue with the people. Could the newspaper say, "The fact is that Federal power and water projects cost the people nothing"? Certainly not. For when the projects finally are amortized after 50 years, if they are amortized, which is seldom, the money is not returned to the pockets of the taxpayers, as we all know from experience.

So if we continue to talk about the people—the taxpayers—we can go on to figure, in the case of Trinity power, how much more it will cost them if the Government pays the cost than it will cost them if it is developed by the power company, as proposed by the company and Interior Secretary Seaton.

If the power company plan is accepted it will mean to the Government a surplus over 50 years of	[1] $165,000,000
The company, in addition would pay in Federal, State, and local taxes the sum of	145,600,000
Also, under those circumstances, the Federal Government would be saved a capital investment of	55,500,000
Total saving	366,100,000

[1] If the Government were to get as much money from public power it would have to raise Central Valley project rates .9 of a mill, or 20 percent. Sacramento definitely would not like that.

It seems clear, then, that if the Government accepts the opportunity to get that additional money out of the Trinity power it will have more money, as Seaton says, to develop other water projects in California, and that it will not need to ask for so much from taxpayers generally.

The difference between the low CVP power rates and the money the P. G. & E. will pay for the Trinity power is $165 million. Certainly, then, the taxpayers of the country are being nicked when the power is sold to preference customers like Sacramento and Roseville instead of going out over the lines of the company.

How We Delayed Victory in the Pacific in Moscow's Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, "The Enemy at His Back" is the title of an unusual and noteworthy book of Mrs. Elizabeth Churchill Brown.

It is the story of how we lost the peace after wining world War II—a story that contains many lessons for our guidance in these perilous days.

I include with my remarks a review of this work by Mr. Forrest Davis of the Cincinnati Enquirer, which I hope may inspire many Members to read the volume.

The review follows:

HOW WE DELAYED VICTORY IN THE PACIFIC IN MOSCOW'S INTEREST

(By Forrest Davis)

WASHINGTON.—I take it that no sober analyst of military strategy and global power relationships would deny that the Communist imperial system's conquest of continental China cataclysmically altered the balance of power against the United States.

It was the addition of that vast, populous, and ancient land preempting the Asian land mass that confronted us with the prospect of a two-front war against an enemy operating from deep within the Eurasian "heartland" defined by Sir Thomas Mackinder.

A Soviet Russia, cynically committed to world conquest and contemptuous of the West's humanitarian values, would be formidable enough but manageable.

It is the sweep of the Communist imperium, arching from East Berlin to Hanoi, that occasions the profound anxiety giving rise to our ring of bases and alliances from Alaska eastward around the earth to Japan and South Korea.

How was a China faithful to us gathered into the Soviet imperium to our immense harm?

The evidence is, I believe, overwhelming that the United States policy after the defeat of Japan—the Truman administration's insistence upon a Chiang Kai-shek coalition with the Yenan Communists when we had abandoned such policies in Europe; the incomprehensibly defeatist Marshall mission, our starvation of the Nationalist armies of munitions as they had the Communists defeated—accomplished the conquest of China for Moscow. That is one tragic story.

But to that story there was a prelude; a prelude that is the subject of a stunning, convincing, and remarkable new book, The Enemy at His Back, by Elizabeth Churchill Brown.

I have called it stunning because, basing itself upon a wealth of documentation from memoirs, Pentagon papers, congressional inquiries, Japanese and Chinese sources, it confirms the incredible but accurate surmise that our Government delayed victory in the Pacific in order to allow Soviet Russia to participate and thereby reestablish its military position in the Far East.

Our Government, no; men and forces in our Government who, under what we now know as a pretext, argued that we needed the Red Army to finish a Japan already driven from the seas, starving at home, and seeking peace.

We come, in truth, in this book to one powerful man, Gen. George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, who alone, against the judgment of the competent air and naval authorities, insisted almost to the end that Japan would have to be taken by invasion; an invasion calling for a million men and half that many casualties.

I have called The Enemy at His Back remarkable because it is the product not of a professional historian nor a political journal. Its author describes herself as a curious housewife deeply puzzled over why, when it became successively known that the Japanese were probing for peace from December of 1944 onward, our Government continued to fight; why we felt it necessary to engage in the bloody, 5-weeks shambles of Okinawa, the slaughter of Iwo Jima, and finally the highly dubious employment of the A-bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The fact that Liz Churchill Brown is, indeed, an accomplished housewife and gardener and likewise curious is, however, only part of the story. It by no means detracts from her solid achievement to note that she is also the wife of Constantine Brown, the most perceptive and knowledgeable foreign affairs columnist in Washington, who went from a German university into war correspondence on the Russian front in 1914 and has since then been sifting the political affairs of mankind through a detached, informed, and discriminating mind.

The book's impact results from the relentless presentation of evidence from Yalta to Hiroshima, all tending to show that our Government ignored Japanese peace feelers and for only one discernible aim: to allow Stalin to move 25 Red army divisions eastward to the borders of Manchuria.

Taking advantage of Japan's life-and-death preoccupation with the United States forces in the Pacific, Stalin had denuded the maritime provinces of troops for his European campaigns. Had the Far Eastern war ended in the spring of 1945, when well it might, Soviet power would have been negligible in that quarter.

The commander of the Japanese Kwantung army in Manchuria would have surrendered to Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, allied generalissimo in China, the vast Japanese military stores in Manchuria and the 800,000 tons of supplies we shipped Stalin by way of Vladivostok would have fallen into the hands of the Nationalist, not the Communist Chinese. In which case, no Red conquest of China.

I can do no more than sketch the conclusions of this vital and impressive book in the broadest terms. Mrs. Brown concludes that the interests of Moscow in the Far East governed the decisions producing the calamitous delay in grasping victory.

What she displays throughout is a sorry vista of wartime officialdom at work; pertinent information choked off before reaching the highest White House, State Department, and Pentagon levels; ignorance, buckpassing, indecision, sheer incompetence in the councils of state.

"The Enemy at His Back" is a chilling, dismaying book. It is a veritable must for those who wish to inform themselves concerning the scope of the Communist web into which our Government was seduced through its alliance with Moscow. A must also for students intent upon learning with what addled folly the high affairs of this Republic can be conducted.

Orphans' Benefits Under Social-Security Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, it has been brought to my attention that under the present social-security law, adopted children are, in certain instances deprived of benefits which I believe should be restored. With that in mind, I have introduced a measure in the House today to provide that the adoption of a child shall not terminate his entitlement to child's insurance benefits under the Social Security Act.

Under the present law, when a child of a deceased insured person is adopted, his payments end unless the adopting person is the child's stepparent, grandparent, aunt, or uncle. I am advised that as a result of this provision, there have been instances where children have been kept in the homes of grandparents,

for example, who could not give them the care and guidance they needed, but who would not consent to their adoption because the grandparents wanted to retain this social-security income. Younger couples, who would like to adopt these children, are prevented from doing so by the operation of this law.

In the case of veterans' benefits, including insurance, pension, and compensation, the children of deceased veterans continue to receive these payments even after adoption, as long as they meet the age and other general requirements. To me, it seems only fair that the same procedure should apply to social-security benefits. After all, the natural parents of these youngsters contributed to the social-security program with the understanding their dependents would be taken care of after their death.

I believe the program could be administered in much the same manner as the Veterans' Administration handles payments to minors. Generally speaking, the court names a legal guardian for the child, and close supervision is maintained on the expenditure of the benefits paid. Annual audits are made of the accounts to make certain proper use is being made of the funds paid to the child.

It would be entirely possible, for example, that the payments could be accumulated and used for the education of the child in later years. Regardless, there would be no question but that the child himself would receive the benefits, and the adopting parents would receive no personal gain.

It is my conviction that it is the responsibility of Congress to correct the existing system whereby orphans, when adopted, are, in certain cases, denied benefits to which they are rightfully entitled. I hope favorable action will be taken on my bill during this Congress.

Strength in Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Strength in Unity," which appeared in the February 27, 1957, issue of the Park City Daily News, of Bowling Green, Ky.:

STRENGTH IN UNITY

Once more Western Europe has moved a big stride toward the economic and political unity which may in time bring it truly abreast of the modern industrial age.

France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg have just agreed to establish—over a 12- to 17-year period—a broad common market for their respective industrial products.

This means that their present constricting tariff walls and other trade barriers would go down and the six nations would in a very real sense become one country economically. In fact, the agreement also embraces all their overseas territories.

In addition to this, the six agreed upon a pool of their atomic-energy resources under a European Atomic Energy Commission. To a continent continuously short of other power sources, this combine may prove of the most vital significance.

A common market for Western Europe already exists in coal and steel. What is now to be set up would be an extension of that arrangement to the full range of Europe's output.

Such a tariff-free union has been urged for years as a basic step toward giving the continent the real benefits of industrialization. The economists insist that mass production techniques, with consequent advantages in lower prices to consumers, cannot be realized without broad mass markets. A Europe chopped up int ovarious walled-off segments fails to provide them.

It should be noticed that Britain is absent from the group of nations which will sign the common market pact in Rome next month. But this does not mean Britain is indifferent to the need for a wider European trade area.

Britain has in fact proposed a European free-trade zone which could include the common-market nations and any others who might care to join. Somewhat different rules would be applied to the use of tariffs, but the general aim would be the same.

All of these developments are viewed most hopefully in America, where for many decades the advantages of the broad single market have been apparent. Here mass production has reached its highest levels.

If these plans are executed well, Western Europe may also move toward a higher economic plane. And it may lay the groundwork for a political union that could contribute heavily to the peace of the world.

Establishment of Weather Station in Gulf of Mexico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am presenting herewith the following resolution adopted by the Louisiana Wild Life and Fisheries Commission on February 26, 1957, urging Congress to establish a weather station in the Gulf of Mexico to provide more adequate weather information for the protection of the Gulf States fishing fleets. I am presenting this resolution to bring this proven need to the attention of all the Members of Congress:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE LOUISIANA WILD LIFE AND FISHERIES COMMISSION AT THE REGULAR MEETING HELD ON FEBRUARY 26, 1957

Whereas the gulf coast is the only coast without a weather station offshore and there is a proven need for more adequate weather information in this highly productive section of the United States; and

Whereas Congressman T. A. THOMPSON, of Louisiana, introduced in the 85th Congress, 1st session, H. R. 478 on January 3, 1957, to provide that one floating weather station shall be maintained at all times in the Gulf of Mexico to provide storm warnings for States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico; and

Whereas lives and property amounting to over $2 billion are in jeopardy due to lack of information from the central and western Gulf of Mexico, where destructive storms form very suddenly: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Louisiana Wild Life and Fisheries Commission urge immediate consideration by Congress of the United States to establish a weather station in the Gulf of Mexico, because existing land-based facilities have proven inadequate for the needs of our fishing fleets, who now range far beyond the scope of radar stations, and that the economy of the Gulf States fisheries is seriously threatened because of the lack of weather protection which would be provided by a weather station in the Gulf of Mexico.

This is to certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of excerpt from the mintues of the meeting of the Louisiana Wild Life and Fisheries Commission, held on February 26, 1957.

F. L. CLEMENT,
Director.

Thomas Masaryk: Founder of the Czechoslovak Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1957

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, America has always been considered a bulwark for democracy. For this reason many oppressed people have found refuge in our great country. Here they have found hope; here they have had the opportunity to better themselves economically and socially; here they have obtained liberty allowing them to speak and worship without the fear of intimidation and oppression.

Thomas Masaryk the great Czechoslovak patriot was among those who fled from subjugation and sought shelter in our free country. It was during his stay here that Masaryk saw embodied many of the ideals of democracy which he hoped one day could be enjoyed by the Czechoslovak people. It was here that he visualized a free and independent Czechoslovakia patterned after the American system of government.

The formation of this new republic, however, was not to be an easy task. Nevertheless, much of the inspiration for the emergence of this new nation came from Thomas Masaryk. Before World War I, Masaryk had already gained international distinction for his courageous stand against oppression. As a member of the Austrian Parliament he resisted the encroachments of Germany in Austria. Consequently, with the outbreak of war he was forced to flee to Italy, Switzerland and later London. Finally, he found refuge in America—the "mother of exiles." Here he accomplished much of the work for Czechoslovak independence.

In our country, he was free to place the case of the Czechoslovak people before the eyes of the world. Here he met and gained the respect and admiration of President Wilson for his constant struggle. Here he convinced the allies of the righteousness of the Czechoslovak cause. Here the Czechoslovak Republic

was finally formalized. On August 23, 1918, the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate declared the liberation of the Czechoslovak people as one of the conditions of peace. Later on November 18, when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy collapsed, the Republic was established and Masaryk was elected as the first President. Under his leadership Czechoslovakia became one of the foremost democracies in Europe.

Today, on the 107th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Masaryk, the Republic for which he struggled so valiantly to establish is no longer free. The Kremlin has enslaved the people. However, the spirit of Masaryk lives on in Czechoslovakia. The people remember his teachings; they remember the benefits derived from a free society. These glorious memories serve as an inspiration to the people of this subjugated country.

This feeling was perhaps best expressed by President Benes at Masaryk's funeral in 1937 when he said:

Though he passes on Masaryk is still with us * * * President-liberator, we will remain faithful to the heritage which you have laid in our hands.

What Conservation Means to Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to place in the RECORD a portion of a speech made by Andrew J. Biemiller, director of the AFL–CIO legislative department, before the 22d North America Wildlife Conference in Washington, D. C., on March 5, 1957.

Organized labor has a commendable record of supporting many programs beyond the scope of wages and hours when those programs are considered of benefit to all men. Labor's interest in conservation matters is manifest in the following remarks taken from Mr. Biemiller's recent address. It should be of interest to conservationists, farmers, woodlot owners, and public-power groups:

WHAT CONSERVATION MEANS TO LABOR

(Address by Andrew J. Biemiller, director, legislative department, AFL–CIO, before the 22d North America Wildlife Conference, March 5, 1957)

From the coming of the first settlers to America until the beginning of this century, the surge to the West and the urge to till the soil was so great that few recognized any obligation to future generations to preserve our forests, our rivers, and the fertility of our soil. With a population of only a few millions and an area of millions of square miles, our resources seemed boundless.

Then came our great President Theodore Roosevelt and his chief forester, Gifford Pinchot. They forced the Nation to evaluate the condition of its rivers, its forests, and its soil.

The condition was bad. Forests were being rapidly depleted and farmlands abandoned because of erosion. The rivers were filling with silt, causing a loss of navigation and an increase in floods.

During the Roosevelt administration, the Reclamation Act was passed, which brought the Federal Government into programs for water storage and irrigation. Congress was urged to purchase large forest tracts to halt the rapid leveling of forests and to protect the watershed of navigable streams. Attention was drawn to farming practices which resulted in erosion and poor crops.

Roosevelt also referred to turn over hydroelectric power sites, which belong to all the people, to private industries. On several occasions, he vetoed bills which would have done so.

The preference clause, which is very much a political issue even today, was born under the Roosevelt administration. In 1906, Congress provided that surplus water and power developed at irrigation projects be leased, with preference for municipal purposes. Indeed, the idea of comprehensive resource development began with the Pinchot-Roosevelt conservation partnership.

Though he was criticized and reviled by the private interests of his day, few now deny that Theodore Roosevelt was a great Republican President and a great servant of the people's interest.

The next great forward step came during the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The interdependence of forests, rivers, agricultural land, fish and game in conservation policy was fully recognized in the legislation establishing the Tennessee Valley Authority. For the first time one decentralized arm of the Federal Government was able to coordinate all activities for the full development of a whole river valley.

What are the benefits that have been derived from the work of TVA?

We have reforested the land. We have encouraged the conservation of the soil. The fish population of the rivers and lakes and the game population of the land have been substantially increased. Large areas have been opened to recreation—on both land and water—which did not exist or were not utilized before.

In addition, the terrible floods which once destroyed are now controlled. Navigation in the valley's streams has made a significant economic contribution to industry. The development of hydroelectric power has brought a higher standard of living to the people whom it serves.

No single endeavor by the Federal Government has done more to meet the needs of conservation and availability of low-cost power in a single area.

This is a monument to the New Deal and to Franklin Roosevelt. It came at a time when the strong hand of the Federal Government had been almost removed from conservation efforts, and gave new life to the drive to preserve our natural resources.

Though he was criticized and reviled by the private interests of his day, few now deny that Franklin Roosevelt was a great Democratic President, and a great servant of the people's interest.

Although F. D. R. brought us to a new level of activity, the Congress again began to backtrack. A proposal to extend the TVA principle to the Missouri Valley was ignored.

We are now in a new era of conservation policy. It began sometime in 1953. These are some of its manifestations:

WILDLIFE REFUGES

We are told by some officials of the present administration that its record on creating wildlife refuges has been exemplary, especially in comparison with the record of its predecessor. We are told, in fact, that the present administration has set aside 80,000 additional acres for wildlife refuges and that its predecessor took 400,000 acres out of wildlife protection.

The facts do not support the claim. Inspection reveals that 400,000 acres were relinquished by the Fish and Wildlife Service, but that each and every one of these 400,000 acres are now under the control of the National Park Service. Not one single acre was taken out of wildlife areas.

The claim that 80,000 acres were added to wildlife refuges by the present administration is also unsupported by the facts. The real increase in Federal refuges amounts to only about 25,000 acres. The difference between this figure and the 80,000 figure seems to be represented in the increase in the size of State wildlife refuges.

ECHO PARK DAM

Without touching the merits of the upper Colorado River storage project, it will be interesting for conservationists to note that as originally planned during the previous administration that project did not include a certain dam known as Echo Park. The project did include that dam when proposed by the present administration.

TIMBERLANDS GIVEAWAY

And let us not forget the bill introduced in the House by an Oregon Republican in 1953. That was the great national forest robbery bill. If the bill had passed, any sustained-yield timber operator who had part of his lands requisitioned by the Government could have marched into national forests or wildlife refuges or national parks and take equivalent lands for timber cutting.

You will remember that that bill was killed largely through the efforts of a freshman Montana Democrat and a great supporter of conservation measures, LEE METCALF.

Mr. METCALF is still serving in the House of Representatives, thanks to the good people of Montana; and the author of the bill has been retired, thanks to the good people of Oregon.

GRAZING BILLS

Then there were two bills introduced by the Republican chairmen of the House and Senate Agriculture Committees in the 83d Congress. As introduced, those bills would have given sheep and cattle grazers certain property rights in national forest lands. Those bills were supported by the Agriculture and Interior Departments.

As I recall, the committees made some amendments to those bills and broke the united front of conservation opposition to them. But everyone agrees that what they tried to do originally would have been a backward step in the protection of our national-forest lands.

AL SARENA

All the blame for anticonservation measures cannot, of course, be laid to Congress.

The Department of the Interior taught us that mining is not restricted to minerals like coal and iron and copper and gold. You can also mine vegetable products, such as, for example, timber.

Back in 1951, a mining company named Al Sarena tried to get land patents in the Rogue River National Forest. In those days, the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service said there was not enough mineral content in the ore samples Al Sarena produced to justify a mining operation. My former boss, Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, refused to give them the patents.

But in 1954 Mr. Chapman was no longer around and the patents were issued. A congressional investigating committee discovered last year that up to that time Al Sarena had mined somewhere between 1 million and 2 million board-feet of fir trees and pine trees, but not one cupful of mineral ore.

These are the facts which show us the progress of our Nation's conservation programs. It is not an appealing picture.

But enough of the past. Let us look to the future, for there lies the real challenge.

Today we have 170 million people living within the borders of the United States.

Forty-three years from now, in the year 2000, when our children and our grandchildren and our great-grandchildren will be living and working and playing, there will be, we are told, about 275 million persons in our country. That amounts to an increase of over 60 percent in the next 43 years.

We are using up our land area at a fast pace. We are crowding the plains and the wide open spaces.

In the year 2000, where will 275 million Americans find the lands, the forests, and the streams in which to camp and hunt and fish and live with the restorative beauty of nature?

With our increasing population, there will be others demanding land. Industrial expansion will eat up huge chunks of land. Farming and grazing operations will expand.

If we are to meet the challenge of our growing population we shall have to plan now to reserve nature's gifts for coming generations.

Between 1953 and 1956 the Federal Government added 517,000 acres to our national park system under authorizations by Congress. Unfortunately 405,500 of these acres, at Isle Royale National Park, were submerged lands in Lake Michigan and consequently subject to somewhat limited use.

The present administration last year made a laudable proposal in its mission 66 program. It proposed to spend $786 million over the next 10 years to modernize, expand, and improve the national parks system.

This is certainly a necessary and forward-looking program. The National Parks Service estimated that the number of visitors to our national parks would rise from about 54 million last year to about 80 million in 1966.

Unfortunately, the same administration asked only $11 million to start mission 66 in its first year. At this rate, we would be well into the 21st century before the planned work would be completed. This year, the second year of Mission 66, $20 million was requested in the budget for this purpose. At this rate, the program which they hope to complete in 1966 would not be completed until 1996.

I'm sure it is clear to everyone here that greater efforts will have to be made by the people interested in conservation and the people interested in natural-resources policy generally if we are to meet the challenge posed by a growing nation.

Conservationists have been concerned largely with the development of wildlife refuge, national parks, and national forests. They have not paid direct attention to cooperation with, for example, advocates of public power in attempting to get comprehensive development which would include the goals of both groups.

Let me remind you of the words of Gifford Pinchot on his thoughts while horseback riding in our own Rock Creek Park just 50 years ago. He wrote:

"The forest and its relation to streams and inland navigation, to water power and flood control; to the soil and its erosion; to coal and oil and other minerals; to fish and game; and many another possible use or waste of natural resources—these questions would not let (me) be. What had all these to do with forestry? And what had forestry to do with them?

"Here were not isolated and separate problems. * * *

"Suddenly the idea flashed through my head that there was a unity in this complication—that the relation of one resource to another was not the end of the story. Here were no longer a lot of different, independent, and often antagonistic questions, each on its own separate litle island, as we had been in the habit of thinking. In place of them, here was one single question with many parts. Seen in this new light, all these separate questions fitted into and made up the one great central problem of the use of the earth for the good of man."

Thus did Gifford Pinchot show us that all of us who are interested in our national resources and in the development of our land have a common, and not a competing, interest.

Secretary Weeks Speaks Before Women's National Republican Club in New York City

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an address by the Honorable Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce, before the Women's National Republican Club in New York City last Saturday, March 9:

We gather today in this, the first year of the second century of the Republican Party, proud of its accomplishments and determined that our generation shall lay the foundation of another hundred years of dedicated service.

At the start of a new Congress and a reelected administration, it is a fitting time to take our bearings and chart our course. So let's study some of the lessons of recent events and discuss frankly a few controversial topics which Al Smith used to call hot potatoes.

I shall try to do so without reflecting narrow partisanship and by giving full credit to those Democrats in Congress and the Nation who believe in sound principles and support the President.

THE NEW DEALISM CHARGE

Now let's tackle the first controversial "hot potato"—New Dealism.

Right here I should like to say a word to those old friends we sometimes hear complaining that the Eisenhower program is "just like the New Deal."

Obviously, this just isn't so, period.

How short are some memories. How blind are some eyes. If the Eisenhower program really is a repeat performance of the New Deal why is it that old line New Dealers and a new crop of left-wingers are fighting that program tooth and nail?

If it is a New Deal carbon copy, why did the Republican National Convention—representing rock-ribbed Republicans from every State in the Union—endorse that program?

This administration's actions are different in spirit from the New Deal practices of its predecessors, who tried to pack the Supreme Court, seize the steel mills, and draft strikers into the Army.

The record clearly proves the sharp contrast between our middle-of-the-road administration and the New Deal, which fostered socialized medicine and socialized agriculture, filled regulatory agencies with members hostile to private enterprise, tried to make electric power a Federal monopoly, used the tax system to change the social order—encouraged the squandering of tax funds, harrassed honest business, retarded the sound recovery of agriculture, set class against class, played politics with civil rights, treated spy hunts as red herrings and some of whose leaders even condoned corruption.

Let those who grumble that we are New Dealish point out in what way the following great popular accomplishments of the Eisenhower administration are a second edition of the New Deal.

We rejected the despairing philosophy that prosperity must be based on a war boom. We stopped the agony and slaughter in Korea and thereby freed a peacetime economy to produce the greatest prosperity in all history.

We rejected the alien theory of nursemaid government, which claims that distant bureaucrats know better how to run business and meet a payroll than businessmen.

In sharp contrast, and often with the help of members of both parties in the Congress, we created a climate favorable to private competitive enterprise and free labor, we removed straitjacket controls, we reduced Government competition with private industry we checked fast-rising inflation, we kept Government's hand off the scales in collective bargaining, we checked monopoly and helped small business by enforcing antitrust laws, we established new programs to promote world trade, we made the greatest tax cut in history, paid installments on the public debt, balanced the budget twice, and plan to do it again this time. And we are making progress with the recommendations of the Hoover Commission.

The disposal of the Government's smelter in Texas, its synthetic rubber plants, and the liquidation of the RFC and its former activities, plus the release of cash previously held for working capital for these programs, have resulted in a return to the United States Treasury of more than $1 billion. That's the kind of benefit the public receives when this administration gets government out of business— and I have cited only a part of this particular program.

Yes, my friends, when President Eisenhower was inaugurated in 1953, the New Deal went out and a new day dawned.

A wave of confidence lifted this Nation to unprecedented heights of prosperity because of his inspired leadership.

That which this administration is doing today is a projection of the Republican record of the past 4 years and is in keeping with the 1956 Republican campaign promises.

THE 1958 BUDGET

Now, let's tackle a second "hot potato"—the budget. It provides for the expenditure of $71.8 billion between next July 1 and June 30, 1958, to finance national security and other services. It was designed to carry out the Republican program of peace, prosperity, and progress.

In order to present the whole truth about the budget, let us tell the public some of the facts which some critics fail to mention.

It is a fact, based on the latest comparative figures, that while Federal expenditures went down 13.2 percent, State and local spending went up 22.8 percent.

It is a fact that our population has grown more than 11 million in the last 4 years—that in the same period our gross national product rose more than $49 billion and that our national income increased $40 billion. Obviously the Federal Government must expand some functions to keep pace with this tremendous growth.

It is a fact, nevertheless, that whereas in 1953 the budget, measured against the gross national product, was 20 percent, it has now gone down to about 16 or 17 percent.

It is a fact that the chief reason for the current size of the budget is national security—payment of former wars and spending to keep us out of future wars. The price of security and peace is not cheap.

This problem can be readily appreciated by showing where the budget dollar goes: 62.6 percent of expenditures are earmarked directly for national security, including defense and aid to our free nation partners; 27.7 percent are earmarked for interest on the national debt, veterans' benefits, agricultural supports, and grants to States; 9.7 percent are earmarked for all the rest of Government—executive, legislative, and ju-

dicial—actually less than a dime in every dollar appropriated.

I repeat with grim emphasis that Americans, living under the awful shadow of the hydrogen bomb, must pay a lot of money to remain free and stay alive.

A disturbing paradox of modern times is that while science, technology, and invention have enriched modern civilian life, these innovations also have increased the heavy burden of national defense.

Every year it takes more money to buy the absolutely essential new weapons in the field of guided missiles, atomic forces, and other ultramodern war material.

One example will suffice:

The old B–29 bomber plane cost $693,000; our current B–52 bomber costs $8 million. Suppose a necessary household expense jumped from $6.93 to $80, can you imagine what a problem that would create in a family budget? Yet that is the comparative increase in just one type of modern airplane.

If we are ever to escape from the increasing burden of military expense, we must concentrate our utmost efforts in easing world tensions, in making friends among the nations, in spreading international good will, and in bringing a just and lasting peace to this war-cursed generation.

I say—what I believe is the response of every woman at this gathering—that no man on earth is working harder and doing more to bring this era of peace than our great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Because the price of survival is so high, we dare not waste our substance. If we are to provide the private savings to produce the new plant and equipment that create jobs for the growing number of young people, we must do a better job in reducing the drain of taxes.

I should like here to enlarge on my reference to that portion of the budget—27.7 percent—which goes for interest, veterans' benefits, agricultural supports, grants to States, etc.

The almost insatiable demand of different groups and different people for new government services and the continued expansion of the old is one of the most difficult aspects of the budget problem. In turn, the temptation on their Representatives in Congress to vote for money to be spent in their districts is almost irresistible. And, just so no one will think I'm trying to let the executive branch off too lightly, let me admit that in my opinion we in the executive branch can improve upon our record in this regard.

If we ever are going to be able to tighten the tap on public spending, all of us must throw our weight against the mounting pressure, year after year, to swell special favors, subsidies, pet projects, grants to States and pork-barrel expenditures. By all of us, I mean the executive branch, the Congress, and the public.

Ask most anyone today if he favors reducing the cost of government and the reply is "Yes." Then suggest stopping some Federal service which he wants and the reply is a loud "No." We'll not get very far in reversing the trend in Government spending if everyone says, "Cut the other fellow's benefit, but don't touch mine."

If every section, every segment, every pressure group succeeds in grabbing more and more, the future economy could crumple under the increasing weight of taxes. But if, on the other hand, the aroused people of the United States rise up and demand greater economy in Federal, as well as local and State appropriations, then they will get greater economy.

Let me ask every woman in this room to reflect a minute: Are you a member of any group which is pressing for projects that will expand the Federal budget? Is your husband? If you are, consider well whether your activity in this respect is right or wrong.

MEETING MODERN NEEDS

Still another "live wire" subject is meeting modern needs.

Complicated life in an urban industrial society and the rapid progress of science create many serious problems—undreamed of a few years back—which must be solved soon or we and the coming generation could face stagnation in our economy and other critical conditions.

Progress in an electronic-atomic age is one of the corner stones of the Eisenhower Republican program.

To meet modern needs, programs have been designed for highways, peaceful uses of atomic energy, water resources, power development, St. Lawrence seaway, flood control, soil bank, widened opportunities for small business, a transport policy aimed at cheaper transportation and a 4-year emergency program of Federal cooperation with States in overcoming the critical shortage of schoolrooms.

Although there may be some differences of opinion about some of these items, they are aimed at helping to create valuable private and public assets and at meeting the requirements of a growing population and a growing economy.

For example, in my own Department is lodged the duty of protecting the safety of those who fly—now and in the jet age.

Already the highways of the sky face congestion. The situation is being handled now. But it could grow more dangerous in the years ahead as slow-moving vertical-flight helicopter cross the slanted path of commercial and military pets, traveling at breathless speed.

If we do not get ready now to safeguard the airways of the future, the toll of tomorrow's crackups and collisions could be appalling.

To forestall such a hazard, the President appointed Edward P. Curtis, an outstanding expert, to recommend a long-range solution. In the interim the Civil Aeronautics Administration of the Commerce Department is embarked on the greatest air safety program in history and is providing air navigational aids such as radars, electronic devices and other safe air traffic conrtols. But this is costing money—nearly three times the bill in 1953.

One of the great current and future needs which we are trying to meet at the Bureau of Public Roads of the Commerce Department is modern highways. Had public demands not been neglected so long, we might not have had such traffic bottlenecks and road accident slaughter as now.

Although the President's highway program is by far the greatest public works program in all history, its cost does not appear in the budget. Instead of passing along debts for our children to carry we have undertaken—thanks to sound legislation—the first major project of its kind that is entirely self-liquidating. Pay-as-you-build taxes on the gasoline and oils of highway users are footing the bill. Not a mile of road is laid until the money to pay for it is in the Treasury.

MODERN REPUBLICANISM

In conclusion, let us size up modern Republicanism—about which there is so much interesting talk today.

Modern Republicanism is not something brand new, dreamed up recently—as some folks think—by maverick stargazers. It is as old as the principles of the first successful Republican candidate for the Presidency, Abraham Lincoln.

The Republican Party, in its finest hours, has been concerned with human freedom and human welfare. In fact, it was born to fight for freedom—and still does.

The Republican record of a century clearly proves that all through our history our party has provided sound government services to foster the well-being of farmers, workers, businessmen, children, and others, and to meet future national needs.

The Lincoln administration founded the Department of Agriculture and initiated the first Homestead Act, which gave land to farm families who would work it. Republicans passed the Sherman Antitrust Act to protect small business against monopoly. To insure workers' rights Republicans started the Bureau of Labor which later became the Department of Labor. Republicans established the merit system through the Civil Service Act of 1883.

Republicans proteced family health through the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act. Republicans in 1912 established the Children's Bureau after the passage of child labor laws in many Republican States.

The Panama Canal was built to meet future needs. Under President Theodore Roosevelt, programs also were launched to conserve the Nation's forests, minerals, and water resources. One of the conservation measurees to preserve water and timber resources was the Weeks' Act of 1911—introduced in Congress by my father, when he was a Representative.

Later the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was established; the Federal land banks were strengthened; a new system of agricultural credit banks was organied and the Home Loan Bank System was created to assist individual farm and individual home owners. These latter protections against adversity were initiated in the administration of your honored guest, that life-long humanitarian—President Herbert Hoover.

Republican policies today are the expression of our party's great century-old principles, dressed in the clothing of this current age.

So we are in keeping with a century of Republican accomplishments for the American people, when Republicans insist that Government must have a heart as well as a head.

We also are in harmony with our 1956 platform, in step with our Republican President and in line with the overwhelming majority of American citizens, when we support programs reflecting a hard head, a warm heart, and a far-seeing eye.

Let us go home with renewed faith that Republican policies are helping to encourage a healthy and growing economy with prosperity widely shared and are helping to advance peace, justice, and freedom. Let us, by our attitude on public issues, prove worthy of the trust the American people have placed in our party and in our great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Such a Man Is Sam Rayburn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, a sure sign of a man's greatness is the respect and admiration in which he is held, not in any single area or region, but in all parts of the country and from people in many walks of life. Our beloved Speaker, the gentleman from Texas, is such a man—admired and respected by all

Americans, be they from North or South, East or West, rich or poor, great or small.

Back in Minnesota's northeastern Eighth District the name SAM RAYBURN symbolizes the progress made by the people of the area since the terrible days of the depression. They know of his role in making that progress possible. As a young lad, working my way through school in the depression days I knew of this man from Texas. So did my unemployed father and thousands of other iron-ore miners like him. And during the war years we knew we had a dedicated, able, responsible, and thoughtful leader guiding the Congress through those perilous times.

There is no question but that the warmth, understanding and deep concern which he had for all the people was felt clearly by the people of Minnesota's Eighth District. They felt that, although they had never seen him or met him. They felt they knew him because they knew he understood and was aware of their own day-to-day problems. In their hearts there has been deeply inscribed the high esteem and deep affection in which he has been held by so many for so long.

And I share those feelings deeply, myself. From the time I first came to the House 10 years ago SAM RAYBURN has been a constant source of leadership and inspiration to me. Although an extremely busy man himself he was never too busy to listen to the problems of others at any time and to give to others not only guidance and sound advice but personal assistance at every opportunity.

Indicative of the high esteem in which the people of the Eighth District of Minnesota hold SAM RAYBURN, is an editorial from the Chisholm Free Press, written by Miss Veda F. Ponikvar, editor and publisher, who has recently won national honors for her excellent editorial writing. The editorial is as follows:

SUCH A MAN IS SAM RAYBURN

Forty-five years ago, a young man by the name of SAM RAYBURN, from Texas, was elected to Congress.

It was the year of 1912. America was standing on the threshold of a brilliant star. The frontiers were daily moving westward, but the steel mills and the molten metal were on Gary's doorstep, and Chicago had not yet begun to enjoy the position of the trade winds and the web of railroads. People were working 15 and 16 hours a day, and 7 days a week.

Imbued with ideals, and with challenge coursing through his veins, SAM RAYBURN began his career of statesmanship, little realizing then that he was destined to become a leader and philosopher for thousands—millions of little folks who would one day come to look upon him as the "father of the Congress."

International policy was a problem then, as it is today, and with measured astuteness and a courage that inspired the strong and strengthened the weak, SAM RAYBURN studied, made his decisions, and never faltered. He understood the delicate positions of the little nations; and long before many of his colleagues, this deep thinker and keen analyst predicted the road of the aggressor and dictatorial powers. Blessed with humility, patience and justice, this man of government began to assume roles of leadership. Men of both political parties began to seek his counsel. He was stern and firm; yet just and understanding.

As America groped its way through the First World War, and suddenly found itself in the frivolous, spending twenties, the people of Texas kept returning their favorite son to Congress. His mannerisms and genteelness were infectious, and white or black, Catholic, Protestant, or Jew, Republican or Democrat, everyone loved SAM RAYBURN. And when the bubble burst, and the breadlines became heavy, SAM RAYBURN, who came from a State that knew wealth as well as poverty, became a close adviser, and a man of powerful legislation that brought new hope to men and women everywhere.

And just when it appeared that this man of letters and true statesmanship could perhaps enjoy the fruits of a solidified and expanding era, he was called upon again to come forth and help steer the ship of state through some of the darkest hours of a global war. The years of strain and responsibility would have overburdened many another man, but not SAM RAYBURN. With willingness, he accepted the new and many duties. His greatness radiated around him, and men of all political faiths were astounded at the energy and magnanimity of this man. At his door, the rich and the poor, the known and the unknown found a new kind of energy, and faith in government. And men elected to Congress have found it wise and expedient to have the stalwart Texan as the Speaker of the House for over 15 years. He is rich in friendships; revered in his counsel; respected for his fine mind.

In a world weighted with intrigue and callousness, men like SAM RAYBURN stand apart like a pendulum. The scale of balances that brings justice and fair play into its proper perspective.

Colton once said that in life we shall find many men that are great, and some men that are good, but very few men that are both great and good.

We are fortunate to have in our generation a man that is both great and good. Such a man is SAM RAYBURN.

Resolutions for Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include a recitation of the resolutions adopted on February 17, 1957 at a mass meeting of Lithuanians, held at the Lithuanian Naturalization Club Hall, in Worcester, Mass.:

At a mass meeting held by Lithuanians of Worcester, Mass., under the auspices of the Lithuanian Aid Association, on February 17, 1957, at the Lithuanian Naturalization Club Hall, in said Worcester, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the 16th day of February 1957, marks the 39th anniversary of the declaration of Lithuania as a free and independent Republic, and her demonstration to the world of her ability of self-democratic form of government and progress;

"Whereas the unlawful, 'by brutal force of arms' occupation of the Republic of Lithuania by Russia, and the commitment of atrocities against her people, the destruction of her institutions, and her democratic form of government, are continued, by Russia at the present day;

"Whereas the Soviet Union has consistently and unilaterally violated all of the pacts and declarations solemnly underwritten by the Soviet Union, viz.: 'Peace and nonaggression pacts with the Baltic States' the 'Atlantic Charter,' 'Four Freedoms,' 'United Nations Charter,' 'Yalta Declaration,' and the 'Potsdam Agreement;'

"*Resolved*, That the Lithuanians of Worcester, Mass., do most vigorously condemn and protest against Russia's such unlawful 'brutal force of arms' occupation of the Republic of Lithuania, and the commitment of atrocities against her people, the destruction of her institutions and her democratic form of government, the violation of pacts and peace treaties;

"*Resolved*, That the Lithuanians of said Worcester, do hereby petition the Government of the United States of America to repudiate and terminate all pacts, concluded without consent or knowledge of the Congress of the United States at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam, already unilaterally voided by Russia, and to reassert the principle of the 'Atlantic Charter' by demanding that all 'Russian military forces, government, and agents, be forthwith evacuated from Lithuania and all other countries now behind the Iron Curtain' and that Lithuania and her people be liberated and be restored as a free and independent Republic among the nations of the world according to the principles enunciated in the 'Atlantic Charter';

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States of America, the Secretary of State, the Senators and Congressmen of the United States from Massachuetts, and to the press.

"MICHAEL J. ZEMAITANTIS,
"Chairman.
"JOHN P. PALUBECKAS,
"Secretary.
"DANIEL M. LETTIC,
"Commander, Lithuanian War Vets Organization, Inc."

A Bill To Promote Uniform Accounting, Auditing, and Cataloging in the Department of Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill which I believe will promote a saving of the taxpayers' money in the Defense Department. This bill will provide for another department in the Department of Defense charged with supplying all branches of the Armed Forces with common-use items. It will eliminate the many and various pipelines of supplies going in different and often in opposite directions to the various branches of the defense services.

I believe this bill would save our taxpayers money in promoting uniform accounting, auditing, and cataloging of all common-use items. This bill has the backing of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report and is designed in the interest of a sound economy and better fiscal practices.

This Congress can do something to cut this proposed budget. This is a step in that direction. I believe some saving can be accomplished even in the Defense Department. This would be a good be-

ginning. It was widely argued at the time the Unification Act was passed in 1947 that unification would promote a great saving of money. That saving has not been forthcoming and it is time for the Congress to implement the Unification Act with a bill of this nature.

The Heart of the Matter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the settlement of the Arab refugee problem is of utmost importance if we are to have lasting peace in the Middle East. In this connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of March 8, 1957:

THE HEART OF THE MATTER

When the last of the Israeli troops pulled out of the Gaza strip yesterday and the United Nations emergency force moved in one problem was solved. But other problems remained. One is what is to become of the Arab refugees? There were about 216,000 of these in the Gaza strip when the Israelis came in last November. There are at least that many now, plus perhaps 60,000 who are not technically refugees but who do need help from the United Nations. In Jordan there are more than 500,000 refugees, of whom nearly 80 percent are receiving rations. In Lebanon there are over 100,000, most of whom require help. In Syria there are nearly 90,000.

These refugees are in more senses than one the heart of the matter. Most of them have subsisted about 8 years on food and other necessities provided by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. Last year this agency was able to spend at the rate of about $27 a year for each refugee on its rolls. This pitiful sum provided a daily ration of about 1,600 calories, or about half what the average American receives, plus some shelter, some clothing, some medical care, some education. The achievements measured against the resources have been remarkable.

The UNRWA has never had enough money. This is the report that Director Henry R. Labouisse had to make last year and the year before that. It is a report that he had to amplify at the end of 1956 because the flurry of war in the Middle East and the occupation of the Gaza strip by the Israeli Army had added to the difficulties and to the cost of administration. Since the money available was limited, some of the extra funds spent in the Gaza strip were at least indirectly diverted from Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, which had not been invaded.

The result was that resources that were inadequate last summer are now desperately depleted. UNRWA has been obliged to use for immediate needs capital funds that had been intended for rehabilitation. If the United States produces about $8,750,000, which it has promised for the period ending next June 30, UNRWA can run that long on its present restricted program. If it did not get this money or the equivalent it would have to shut up shop at the end of the present month.

This will surely not be allowed to happen. The Government at Washington is authorized by the resolution that has now passed both the Senate and the House to spend up to $200 million during the balance of this fiscal year for economic and military assistance in the Middle East. What is here contemplated is the beginning of a long-range program, not hand-to-mouth relief. Some of it, this year and in years to come, should go to help the displaced Arabs. It is physically impossible for many of these unfortunates to return to Palestine. Yet they must be resettled somewhere, as an essential requisite to peace in the Middle East.

But this will require a considerable investment of capital. Director Labouisse has estimated that the proposed Yarmuk-Jordan development could support 224,000 workers and their families—but at a capital cost of nearly $162 million. A large-scale development in the Sinai desert would aid many thousands of refugees if arrangements could be made with Egypt to get the necessary water. There are scores of smaller projects: Little factories in the Gaza strip and in Jordan, small agricultural projects, a few home industries such as weaving. But the total that these retail projects can achieve is not great compared with the massive and increasing need.

The Israeli Foreign Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, ended her speech to the general assembly last Friday with this sentence: "There is no limit to what we are prepared to contribute, so that all of us, together, can live to see a day of happiness for our peoples and see again from that region a great contribution to peace and happiness for all humanity."

There can be such an outcome if the Arab refugees are treated as human beings and not as counters in a political game. Will Israel stand by this lofty principle? Will the Arab states accept it? Will America, in the interests of peace, throw her own economic and sympathetic weight behind it?

Middle East Economic and Military Cooperation

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to House Joint Resolution 117, as it now stands before this House. Five weeks ago, I voted against the original version of the resolution, but I then expressed the hope that it would be so amended that I could vote for it upon its return to the House. If mere partisanship were the basis of opposition to this resolution, I could not oppose it. Nor will I vote on a proposition of this sort simply to prove that the Nation is unified. Unity is of little value if it is unity behind the wrong principle.

This appearance of unity is a very dubious one. As I have listened to the arguments on the floor this afternoon, I am struck by one thing. Members on both sides of the aisle have spoken of the resolution in terms of the President's backing of it. They have spoken to the effect that the amendments made elsewhere, while they have weakened the resolution, still leave it palatable. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS] suggested that we might have to gulp, but gulping was only a minor discomfort in the performance of our duty. Other members have suggested that the amended resolution is better than the original, but not much better. But one thing I have waited in vain to hear. Neither Republicans nor Democrats, neither isolationists nor internationalists, from the East, the West, the South, the North, from no section of the House have I heard the suggestion that the resolution was a good one.

I cannot vote for a resolution which find no defense in itself. I would like to take a little time to examine the resolution itself, to compare the resolution of 5 weeks ago with the instrument before the House today. At that time, Members objected because we had only 1 day to debate a resolution with 5 sections and 2 provisos. Today we are asked to pass upon a totally different resolution, with 6 sections, and 4 provisos, and we are allotted 1 hour in which to do this. Five weeks ago I protested the gag rule. Today, the rule is even less defensible. I am, as are other Members, grateful that the other House was able to spend considerable time in discussion of this resolution.

The resolution we have before us today differs from the resolution of 5 weeks ago in several significant respects. First, we find that the House language purporting to authorize the President to employ armed forces has been changed in an attempt to comply with the constitutional objections many of us raised in the Chamber on January 30. The attempt to do this in the other House has vindicated that attempt, although better students of constitutional law than I have doubts as to the constitutionality of the resolution, even as amended. At the end of section 2 of both the original resolution and the amended resolution there stands a proviso. In the original document, the Congress recognized quite specifically the obligations we have assumed, and to which we have made obeisance, under article 51 of the United Nations Charter. The original resolution provided that when the United States used force, such use would be reported to the Security Council, and would in no way affect the responsibility of the Security Council to take such action as it deemed necessary to preserve international peace and security. In other words, the original resolution recognized the paramount role of the United Nations in the preservation of peace in the Middle East as elsewhere. The resolution as amended waters this proviso down to the point of complete meaninglessness. It provides that we will employ our forces, if we do, in consonance with our treaty obligations and the Constitution. In the hearings before the House committee, the Secretary of State said that our treaty obligations included our obligations under the charter. So perhaps the two statements are identical in meaning. If so, why are we reluctant to say so? Why do we remove from the resolution one of the few passages which indicates to the world that we are not deserting our professed devotion to U. N. principles and procedures? If there is a difference between the two statements, if the amended resolution means that we do not intend to honor our charter obligations,

then the administration's professed satisfaction with the amended draft is indeed ominous, and I certainly cannot vote for it.

As to the other body's insistence that the actions be carried out in consonance with the Constitution, I would assume that any President would carry out his own responsibilities in accord with the Constitution. The administration of this program will be the President's responsibility, and his oath to uphold and defend the Constitution is adequate safeguard. It is presumptous of the Congress to write such a provision into the law.

There are differences between the two versions in respect to the expenditure of money for military assistance and particularly for economic aid. It is evident that the resolution before the House today is less flexible, less hospitable to economic aid, and certainly less reassuring to the world that the United States has other approaches to insecurity than the military one. The resolution in this respect is a poorer one than when it left this House, and I cannot support it for that reason.

I am amazed by the fact that 2 weeks' debate elsewhere on this resolution resulted in tightening the restrictions on economic aid and military spending, but left the incredibly broad statement on the use of troops unchanged in its substantive effect. Is the Government of the United States more careful of its money than of its citizens' blood?

However, Mr. Speaker, all these observations about the resolution are unimportant by comparison to the one major weakness which this resolution shares with the draft that this House approved 5 weeks ago. In both cases, the resolution is simply soothing sirup. That there is a critical situation in the Middle East no one denies. That it calls for a forthright policy on the part of the free world, and particularly on the part of the United States, is a self-evident statement. But we are told by other Members that this resolution embodies such a policy. What is it? As I read the resolution—and this objection applies to both versions—the United States simply announces that under unspecified conditions, which occur in an undefined part of the world, it will do some undescribed something—maybe. Compared to this resolution, a firm declaration of opposition to sin is a model of detail and clarity.

The resolution will not bring us 1 millimeter closer to the solution of the basic problem of the Middle East—the bringing about of a modus vivendi between Israel and her Arab neighbors. The supplying of arms to the nations of the area, in fact, should be approximately as effective in stopping impending war as the pouring of gasoline on hot coals would be in the stopping of fires.

The danger of this resolution, Mr. Speaker, is that its passage may be used as a solution in itself. Having set forth our slogan, we still have no policy in the Middle East, and this resolution will not create a policy—good or bad. Resolutions embodying empty slogans are no substitute for a real policy under any circumstances. Under circumstances in which we stand near the cataclysmic opening second of the third and last world war, such resolution is a shameful evasion of our duty and our Nation's responsibility in the world.

Should the United States Ratify International Conventions To Promote Justice for the Individual?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my remarks before the Conference of National Organizations called by the American Association for the United Nations on Major Issues Before the United Nations: United States Responsibility, at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., on March 4, 1957:

It is good for the American Association for the United Nations to be sponsoring today's meeting at the Mayflower. I hope that there will come of your deliberations a modern Mayflower compact, resolving that now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the U. N.

Not that it is necessary, in order to save the U. N., that we kill it with kindness. Though I count myself a stanch supporter of the U. N., I have been much disturbed recently at our indiscriminating use of the U. N. without taking the trouble to think through the policy which we hope the U. N. will adopt. It is not enough, when a tough problem comes along to escape the responsibility for formulating a just position by saying "Let's refer it to the U. N." To use the U. N. as a vehicle for escapism, as we did in Hungary, merely places great strains upon the U. N., and gives nourishment to its critics, without helping much to solve the problem. When the Gadarene swine are grunting toward the abyss, it is sometimes wiser to attempt to guide them away from it rather than join in the procession. When we use the U. N.—and we should use it more often—we must do so purposefully, in an effort to find a solution that is just, and to persuade other nations of its justice.

Nowhere is this principle of joining in, and showing our best side when we do it, more important than in the field of international conventions to promote justice for the individual.

The fundamental philosophy of the U. N., embodied in its charter, is that a country's domestic policies, as they affect the rights of individuals, influence its foreign policies and, therefore, the prospects for world peace.

Who today would deny that the internal policies of Nazi Germany—its degrading the human rights of large groups and classes in its population, its vulgar racism, its destruction of civil liberties—determined its foreign policy and left in its wake all over the world a heritage of poverty, misery, dislocation, and death? Who today would deny that the domestic philosophy of the Soviet Union has a bearing on the turmoil in the Middle East, on the need of our own country and our allies to expend on armaments resources which could better be devoted to raising standards of living throughout the world?

Who would deny, for that matter, that the inherent kindliness and decency and generosity and love of freedom of our own people, as reflected in our civil institutions, are the best hope of a forward-looking American foreign policy?

My point—that what a nation does with its own men and women affects what becomes of mankind—is a central theme of the U. N. Charter. The charter recognizes that the existence of a peaceful and stable world depends upon the development of higher standards of living and of human rights within the domestic spheres of nations. In article 55 of the charter, the United Nations sets forth its undertaking to promote higher standards of living and "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." And the purpose? To create "conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations. * * *"

The statesmen, including our own, who participated in the drafting of the United Nations Charter stressed that again and again. Even today it is constantly on the lips of those who represent their governments on U. N. bodies.

This, then, is the proposition—that a decent respect for human rights, in the only place where a human being can live today—the nation-state—is a precondition of world peace.

If this proposition is valid, doesn't it follow that the best interests of the United States are served when we encourage and participate in U. N. efforts to safeguard human rights throughout the world?

For a time, we seemed to follow this policy. It was a proud moment for most American when the Humans Rights Commission was appointed, with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as its first Chairman. Shortly afterward the Commission went to work on an international declaration of human rights.

This declaration was adopted unanimously in 1948. It has had a wide international effect. Although not a treaty, it has become a source of law. Constitutions of new governments incorporate some of its principles. Court decisions cite its standards. Resolutions of the General Assembly quote from it.

But if these human rights are to have meaning, they must be embedded into the organic law of member nations. This can be done most effectively by treaty or convention commitment. Until 1953, our Government's position was just that. The need to translate the U. N. declaration on human rights into action by covenant was movingly expressed by an American statesman in an address before the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in September 1948. He said:

"I hope and believe this Assembly will endorse this declaration (on human rights). But we must not stop there. We must go on with the drafting of a covenant which will seek to translate human rights into law. It does not minimize the importance of our own Declaration of Independence to recognize that the Constitution and its Bill of Rights were required to establish the body of law necessary to achieve practical results. So with the declaration before the Assembly. It is an important proclamation of principles and should be approved. But that approval is only a step toward fulfilling the faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and the pledge to practice tolerance that is contained in the preamble to the United Nations Charter."

Now, the man who made this admirable statement of good intentions was none other than Mr. John Foster Dulles. But, alas, Sec-

retary of State Dulles had been in office but a couple of months, in April 1953, when he told the Senate Judiciary Committee, which was considering a proposed constitutional amendment to limit the treaty power, that the administration does not "look upon a treaty as the means which we would now select as the proper and most effective way to spread throughout the world the goals of human rights * * *." He called, instead, for a new approach which would emphasize education. In other words, we wouldn't try to pass an international law against genocide and human slavery. Instead, we would educate the mass murderers and slave traders. And what do you suppose is the name devised by the State Department for this decision to do nothing? Why, they call it the United States action program. Who says John Foster Dulles doesn't have a sense of humor?

Now, I have no quarrel with Secretary Dulles when he says that education plays an important role in the effort to create higher standards of human rights in the world. With the governor of that anonymous southern State, I believe that "Education is a wonderful thing. It ought to be taugh in the schools." But I refuse to believe that education by itself can be an adequate substitute for more positive action to advance human rights internationally.

Let me be perfectly clear. Of course, I don't think that the United States should automatically ratify every international treaty or convention proposed for the protection of human rights. Every tub must stand on its own bottom. The Senate should scrutinize every such treaty with the greatest care before ratifying it. I fully recognize that there exist wide disparities in the world in the concept of human rights, and in the meanings attributed to commonly used terms, such as democracy, liberty, equality, discrimination. I also acknowledge that international treaties in the field of human rights raise intricate legal and constitutional issues, such as the problem of Federal as against unitary states, and the very basic question of the division of authority and jurisdiction as between the international community and national states.

But to counsel prudence is surely not to say that we must boycott the proposed international agreements, as we are now doing. It is surely not to say that we must take down the flag of American leadership in human rights.

Let's look at some of the treaties which our Government has decided cannot even be submitted to the United States Senate for scrutiny and decision.

Take the convention against genocide, ratified by more than 40 members of the United Nations. They are not afraid of outlawing such a hideous crime. But this country, which denounced Hitler's crime of genocide as much as any country, now will not ratify a convention to outlaw the crime. The irony is that some Members of the Congress who oppose ratifying the genocide convention have demanded that Russia be cited for the crime of genocide. It isn't enough to say that of course we will not commit such a crime. The point is, are we willing to put our force behind international law against the crime?

Or take the convention to protect the status of women. American women have political and economic equality. They may vote. They may hold property in their own names. They have won almost complete emancipation. The women of a great part of the world do not enjoy these standards. They want the same political and economic equality that American women enjoy. They look to the women of this country for leadership. Think of the shock when they learn that this country will not even submit to its Senate for ratification these agreements to grant other women the standards that our women have attained.

Or take the question of slavery. The League of Nations had an antislavery convention. Recently the United Nations wished to produce anther antislavery convention that could deal with new forms of slavery which have become altogether too evident. But here again, the United States could not go along, either in helping draft the convention or in ratifying it. Can anyone possibly believe that the ratification of an antislavery convention, with obligations that would be binding upon our Government and the States, could inflict hardship upon anyone in this country? Slavery has disappeared from the American scene. But it exists in a very considerable part of the world. There are 600,000 slaves in the Arab countries alone. An international agreement to outlaw the slave trade would be respected by a great part of the civilized world. Primitive peoples taking their place in the life of the United Nations want to live up to its standards. Some will defy it, but in the long run, the force of world opinion in favor of standards incorporated in international agreements would secure the gradual elimination of slavery.

How ironic it is that our Government should decline to soil its fingers with treaties which deal with subjects on which our own standards are among the highest in the world. What nonsense it is to oppose a treaty outlawing slavery, for examole, and thus deprive us of a basis for attacking the Soviet system of forced labor by political prisoners.

Why are we being such Nervous Nellies about this? Is it because we fear that by signing an international treaty we will be compelled to lower our own constitutional guaranties of human rights? If so, we are wrestling with a phantom. For the purpose of these human rights treaties is to set minimum standards. Certainly in such matters as slavery, genocide, and the rights of women, our own standards are far above these minimums.

But what of the armument that by becoming parties to such a treaty, we expose our judicial decisions and administrative acts to international review? The short answer is simply this: If as Americans we uphold the rights guaranteed by our Constitution and our laws, the occasion will never arise when the world community will have cause to question our decisions and acts.

Today, the melancholy fact is that the United States stands almost alone in opposing in principle treaties relating to human rights. Do we want, by default, to leave the initiative for human progress in the hands of the false friends of human rights?

It is time that we give up being afraid. Other nations are not. Why should we be? It is time for us to resume a position of leadership in the United Nations' struggle for human rights; to suggest international conventions when they are practicable; to take the lead in their drafting and their ratification.

Men are born free, but in a great part of the world they are still in chains. I want the United States to take the lead in the liberation.

Asinine Position

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I recently addressed the House on the subject of our unjust transportation tax and its serious effect on the industry of the Pacific Northwest. The Daily Journal of Commerce, of Seattle, Wash., editorialized on this same subject, and I ask unanimous consent to have it included at this point in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

[From the Daily Journal of Commerce of Seattle, Wash., March 1, 1957]

ASININE POSITION

The excise taxes on transportation, which now amount to 10 percent on passengers and 3 percent on freight, are among the most inexcusable of all taxes. These levies were imposed during the last war to discourage unnecessary travel and shipping. The idea was that they would naturally end with the war. But they are still in effect. By contrast, similar taxes during World War I were repealed shortly after that conflict ended. During World War II, Canada had a transportation tax but repealed it 9 years ago.

Commenting on the excise taxes on transportation, the Denver Post says:

"At a time when transportation facilities are adequate and their use should be encouraged to reduce congestion on public highways the Government is in the asinine position of discouraging this by penalizing those who do patronize the railroads, airlines, and bus lines * * * A vicious feature of these Federal transportation taxes is the way they build up. The rates remain the same but they are a fixed percentage of the passenger fare or freight rate and every time these are increased the cost of the tax goes up. The freight tax is a multiple tax, levied and collected several times on the same article, in that it applies to raw materials as well as finished products."

It should be remembered that this is not a tax on the carriers concerned. It is a tax on the user—on every person who travels or uses freight service. So it affects everyone, directly or indirectly, and injures the transportation industry of the Nation.

Georgia-Made Products Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the State of Georgia, and the people of Georgia, have played an essential and important part in the establishment and development of this great country from the earliest days down to the present.

Georgia was one of the Original Thirteen Colonies. Her people have been present upon every important occasion which has marked the progress of our country—beginning with the Continental Congress and the Declaration of Independence, and continuing to this good day. Georgia products have contributed to the growth of our country throughout its history.

The Governor of Georgia, Hon. Marvin Griffin, has proclaimed the week of March 11–17 "Georgia-Made Products Week."

The DeKalb New Era, the official newspaper of my home county, carried the following editorial in its issue of last week:

GEORGIA PRODUCTS

Today we salute Georgia's manufacturers, their more than 320,000 employees and the estimated 14,000 different products now being made in our State.

By official proclamation Gov. Marvin Griffin has designated March 11–17 as "Georgia-Made Products Week," and urged the full support of all citizens.

Few people realize that even before James Edward Oglethorpe climbed the steep bluff overlooking the Savannah River we have had business and industrial citizens. America's strength—the lifeblood of our Nation flows from our mines, mills, farms, and factories.

They continue to shoulder their ever-increasing responsibility. They remain good citizens.

The Associated Industries of Georgia, and organizations composed of outstanding manufacturers and industrialists, have prepared a very interesting and informative article regarding Georgia's products. Georgia is a leader in many fields. As people from other sections of our country and the world become acquainted with Georgia's many advantages, they come to live with us and to establish new businesses and industries within our borders. We welcome them to our favored section. We appreciate their contribution to our progress, as they appreciate the benefits which they derive as newcomers to this great section of the United States.

Under unanimous consent previously granted, I am inserting herewith the article prepared by the Associated Industries of Georgia:

Gov. Marvin Griffin has designated March 11–17 as "Georgia-Made Products Week," and urges all citizens to give their full support to this statewide observance.

With 7,000 Georgia manufacturing plants now turning out a record-shattering volume of more than 14,000 different products, the week has been set aside as a time to recognize the high position Georgia industry now holds in the field of manufacturing.

Associated Industries of Georgia, the 41-year-old organization supported by more than 700 of the State's manufacturers and industrialists, and the Georgia Junior Chamber of Commerce, have joined forces as sponsors of "Georgia-Made Products Week."

Georgia industry, now employing more than 320,000 men and women, is playing an ever-increasing role in keeping America strong. More than at any time in history it is certainly true that, from Georgia's mines, mills, farms and factories flows America's strength.

In our State this strength takes on many forms. Few people stop to realize the extent to which our industry has become diversified. Georgia plants are now manufacturing or processing yarn, twine, tire cord, worsted and woolen materials, venetian blinds, awnings, jalousies, veneer, plywood, flooring, tufted chenille products, airplanes, toys, jewelry, novelties, thread, textile equipment, cotton goods, sheeting, towels, upholstery, automobiles, tapestry, surgical, orthopedic, dental and optical supplies, films, signs, pots and pans, advertising, sheet metal, furniture, rayon, synthetic yarns, books, magazines, newspapers, plastic yarns, rubber, plastics, cottonseed, oil, pecans, peanuts, paper, paint, varnish, roofing.

Naval stores, varied wood products, canned and frozen fruits, monuments, oil, meat, poultry, seafood, machinery, metal, lumber, pulpwood, apparel, bags, shoes, bagging, bakery products, beer, wine, soft drinks, brick, clay, tile, brooms, mops, brushes, cabinets, store fixtures, candy, sugar, sirup, flavors, canvas products, tents, caskets, burial vaults, morticians' supplies, chemicals, chemical products, cement, concrete products, cosmetics, toilet preparations, saddles, dog collars, cotton waste, cotton gins, rugs.

Cross-ties, utility poles, dairy products, ice cream, doors, sash, millwork, drugs, medicine, electrical equipment, fertilizer, flour, grist, feed, nails, tacks, barbed wire, mattresses, bedding, knit goods, hosiery and many other miscellaneous items.

Georgia was once known solely as leader in the production of agricultural products. The day seems near when all areas of the State will enjoy the long-sought balanced economy between industry and agriculture.

Comparing Georgia with the South and the Nation, the value of manufactured products for the period 1945–55 was up 212 percent in Georgia, 202 percent in the South, and 158 percent in the Nation. Farm income increased 74 percent in our State, 52 percent in the South and 42 percent in the Nation.

Per capita income in Georgia jumped 31 percent between 1950 and 1955 compared with 27 percent in the South and 24 percent in the Nation.

With 1957 well underway, early indications point toward Georgia again breaking many more records in the field of manufacturing.

FACT SHEET—GEORGIA-MADE PRODUCTS WEEK

Total number of manufacturing establishments in Georgia in 1955 according to Manufacturer's Record Blue Book	6,700
New plants added in 1956, according to Gov. Marvin Griffin's message to the legislature on the state of the State	360
Total, Jan. 1, 1957	7,060
Value of output of manufacturing establishments in Georgia in 1955	$4,049,000,000
Estimated increase 1956 over 1955	$301,000,000
Total	$4,350,000,000
Value added by manufacture	$1,650,000,000
Total number of men and women employed in manufacturing enterprises in Georgia in 1956 (estimated)	320,000
Value of crops produced in Georgia in 1955	$354,938,000

Latest official estimated figures reveal that value of Georgia's total manufactured products is now 11 times greater than the State's agricultural output.

It is now recognized generally that the Southeast is the fastest growing industrial section in the United States, and within the past 2 years Georgia is recognized as the fastest growing State industrially in the Southeast. This is supported by statistics.

The more than 300 new manufacturing plants which located in Georgia in 1956 have a capital investment estimated at $165 million. These new industrial citizens have created 11,000 new jobs with an estimated annual payroll of $32 million.

Georgia holds first place in the Southeast and fourth place in the United States with respect to heavy industries established within its boundaries since the close of World War II, being exceeded only by California, Texas, and Ohio, in the order named.

Value of manufactured products for the period 1945–55 is up 212 percent in Georgia, 202 percent in the South, and 158 percent in the United States.

Farm income increased 74 percent in Georgia, 52 percent in the South, and 42 percent for the entire United States.

Per capita income in Georgia increased 31 percent between 1950 and 1955, and during the same period the increase was 27 percent in the South and 24 percent in the United States.

Conference of Democratic Party Leaders of Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include and commend to the attention of the membership of this body, three resolutions adopted during a recent conference of Democratic Party leaders of Wisconsin.

These recommendations pertain to vital issues of our day: to the plight of small business, to the civil-rights question, and to the Middle East crisis. I sincerely hope that they will receive careful consideration from the Members of this body.

The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT A CONFERENCE OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF WISCONSIN OFFICERS HELD AT MILWAUKEE FEBRUARY 23, 1957

CIVIL RIGHTS

Whereas the Democratic Party has long furthered the interests of minority groups in economic and social fields and must now lead the way to complete elimination of discrimination and segregation, the number one domestic problem of our time; and

Whereas the desire for party unity should not transcend our moral obligation of leadership as a national party; and

Whereas the Eisenhower administration has failed to use the moral authority of the Federal Government to resolve the growing tensions in the South: Be it

Resolved, That this conference urges the Democratic Party to assume uncompromising leadership in assuring civil rights to all citizens, and in pursuit of this purpose, we urge the passage by Congress of legislation (1) to ensure the right to vote, (2) to protect the physical security of minority group members, and (3) to end discrimination in hiring and firing; and

We further request that the President use his moral power and influence to expedite the enforcement of the Supreme Court decisions against segregation in public transportation and segregation in public education, and we ask him to call immediately a conference of southern leaders, both Negro and white, to discuss the best means of achieving rapid and peaceful integration of public schools.

SMALL BUSINESS

The bugaboo of inflation used by the administration to raise interest rates was not the real problem confronting the country as evidenced by the decline in agriculture, home building and small business.

Your committee finds that the Republican policy of hard money is leading small business and farmers into bankruptcy. Due to raising interest rates and curtailing credit, the building industry is curtailing operation which means great unemployment. Farmers are being liquidated everywhere and bankruptcies are increasing by leaps and bounds. The tight-money squeeze is endangering 4½ million small-business men and millions of

farmers, which means an unemployment situation that reminds us of the Hoover depression.

his problem confronting small-business men, home builders, farmers, and others affected by the tight-money squeeze is essentially a problem of whether economic decisions are going to continue to be left in the hands of private bankers acting in behalf of private interest or whether the Government should assume its inescapable responsibility to see that the Nation's monetary and credit policy is directed toward promoting the welfare of all groups in the country.

Big business has little or no difficulty in obtaining funds during this tight-money squeeze. For the safety of this country the interest spiral must stop. What is needed is an even, adequate flow of funds into all areas at reasonable rates supervised by the Federal Government.

Small business should get tax relief and we recommend passing of Congressman ZABLOCKI's tax bill and also passing of the Democratic congressional bill providing direct Federal loans to support the GI mortgage market or, as an alternative, the investment of national service life insurance funds in GI mortgages at par value and, if necessary, additional purchase by a substantially enlarged Federal National Mortgage Association program.

We ask endorsement of House Resolution 85, providing for the Committee on Banking and Currency to conduct a full and complete investigation and study, with respect to any matter or matters in the field of national monetary and credit policies and the financial structures.

MIDDLE EAST

Whereas the Eisenhower administration had indicated that it may support the move by the Arab-Asian bloc to vote sanctions against the State of Israel; and

Whereas this Eisenhower administration did not indicate support for sanctions against the Soviet Union aggression in Hungary, the longstanding Egyptian flouting of U. N. resolutions with respect to Israeli use of the Suez Canal, free passage of shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba and provocation in the form of commando raids originating in the Gaza strip; and

Whereas the Eisenhower administration has accepted the Arab nations' standards by not issuing travel visas to American citizens of Jewish faith and does not send American servicemen of the Jewish faith to bases leased in Arab countries; and

Whereas such discriminatory standards are contrary to longstanding American principles expressed in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence; and

Whereas the Eisenhower administration fumbling in the Middle Eastern area has alienated our established friendship with the democracies of France and England; and

Whereas the Eisenhower administration support of the Nasser regime in Egypt has alined us with a totalitarian dictatorship within the orbit of the Soviet Union; and

Whereas all this has been done in the interests of oil versus human rights: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this statewide conference of Wisconsin Democrats does go on record as opposing the imposition of sanctions on the State of Israel and does urge our representatives in the U. N. to support the strengthening of the U. N. forces in the Middle East so as to provide Israel with assurances sufficient to stabilize the area which will permit them to withdraw their forces.

It Might Have Been Thus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, which appeared in the Congress Weekly of January 14, 1957, makes most interesting reading. This article first appeared in the Jerusalem Post of December 14, 1956:

IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN THUS

(By Ephraim Kishon)

War broke out in May 1957.

The armies of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan, under joint command, penetrated Israel's borders practically along their whole length. The Israel Army was not surprised by the blow, but lacking heavy weapons and especially an adequate air arm, had to limit itself to defensive maneuvers. The Arab invasion was supported by 3,000 Soviet tanks and 1,100 planes. Why the small Jewish state had been unable to procure proper defensive weapons before the expected Arab blow fell—that is a riddle which only history will solve. In October 1956, there were unconfirmed reports about allegedly large quantities of modern weapons from certain Western Powers, but it seems that these were made dependent on certain operations connected with the Suez crisis and therefore did not materialize. Redtape held up all but 7 of the 24 jets purchased in Canada.

Made bold by the attackers' initial successes, Saudi Arabia, then Iraq, and finally Lebanon also declared war on Israel.

The Israel Government immediately appealed to the U. N., whose machinery however took some time before it got into motion. World public opinion had been caught completely unawares by the Arab attack: Nasser, President of Egypt and Jordan, had assured the world at large only a few weeks before that he was concentrating all his efforts on the region's economic consolidation. The huge quantities of Soviet arms in Arab hands caused universal consternation.

Even before the Security Council convened, Secretary General Hammarskjold had sent two personal emissaries to the Middle East, but they did not receive entry visas to Egypt and had to follow events from Copenhagen. The United States immediately convoked the Security Council for the weekend and drafted a cease-fire resolution. The resolution received the required majority vote, but the Soviet Union used its veto right, stressing that it saw in the Arab action a glorious chapter in the struggle for freedom of the subjugated colonial peoples. The Venezuelan delegate accused the Soviet Union of having conspired in the preparation of the attack, and Ambassador Eban brought documentary proof that Soviet officers and advisers were directing the operations. The Soviet foreign minister branded the Israel declaration "a typically Jewish provocation." The Pope broadcast an appeal for the preservation of the Holy Sites.

The Arabs had meanwhile reached Israel's large cities and were bombarding them with rockets. The Security Council again met in emergency session, but Russia again vetoed the cease-fire resolution. At American pressure, the U. N. Assembly met in special session and passed the cease-fire resolution. But the drafting of the final text took a number of days, as the original draft called for an "immediate" cease-fire, while the Indonesian amendment used the expression "as soon as possible." The parties finally compromised on "speedy." By then, the fighting had reached the heart of the large cities. The United States threatened to apply economic sanctions against the belligerents unless they stopped fighting within 5 days, and India's Nehru appealed to Nasser to be humane with the Jewish civilians. Quite unexpectedly, Saudi Arabia nationalized Aramco. President Eisenhower ordered the Navy's partial demothballing and sent a letter to Marshal Bulganin. The Arab Supreme Command agreed to the cease-fire.

On the shores of bombed-out Tel Aviv and Haifa 82,616 Jewish survivors were sheltered in camps under U. N. protection.

And then world conscience awakened.

Public opinion was gripped by such consternation that its echoes reverberated even in the eastern bloc. "History has tragically caught up with the imperialists' puppet state," Izvestia wrote. "Israel was a reactionary, feudalistic body, its Government an oppressive military dictatorship, but the sufferings of innocent population cannot fail to awaken compassion in the camp of peace, which always fearlessly champions the cause of the small nations. It cannot be denied, however, that Israel called its doom upon itself by the provocative attitude it adopted. The artificial miniature state had for some time now been the West's arsenal, and the Jews, armed to their teeth, took on increasingly arrogant airs toward their peaceful neighbors. The Jewish nation, whose history is so imbued with suffering, will now again have to seek refuge among hospitable nations. As always, the Soviet Union will ensure full rights for its citizens of Jewish origin."

After this article in Izvestia, there was no more mention of the affair in the Soviet press. Czechoslovakia simply ignored the Mideastern war, but a few courageous voices in the Polish press stated that their joy over Nasser's victory was not unmixed. Marshal Tito sent Nasser a long congratulatory telegram, while in the name of the working Hungarian people, Premier Imre Nagy sent his best wishes.

The West did not mince its sympathy for Israel. The most famous politicians sounded warning notes. Sir Winston called Israel's liquidation the century's badge of infamy, and the usually reserved Sir Anthony declared: "We witnessed sad events indeed, which make the strengthening of the United Nations Organization imperative." Hugh Gaitskell eulogized Israel at a memorable session of the House of Commons: "They were our friends," he cried, "heroes and socialists. We shall always cherish their beloved memory."

Public opinion in the progressive Asian states also reacted. Krishna Menon, India's chief U. N. representative, is said to have declared at a private meeting: "We are forced to condemn the reckless step of our Arab brethren."

At his Tel Aviv victory parade, Nasser stood surrounded by Soviet officers. In Iraq, the Communist Party staged a coup and seized power. King Saud declared his regime a People's Democracy. State Department circles expressed apprehension lest the Soviets gain a certain degree of influence in the Middle East. President Eisenhower submitted a special bill to Congress for the immediate admittance of 25,000 Israel refugees.

The President's speech sparked unprecedented worldwide enthusiasm. Switzerland immediately offered 2,000 transit visas and Guatemala increased its quota for Jewish immigrants from 500 to 750. Socialistic labor the world over held spontaneous rallies and sharply condemned Arab aggression. In a number of Western capitals, students demonstrated in front of the Arab legations. Some window panes were smashed. The International Pen Club condemned the Arabs' barbaric action at a public meeting; UNESCO appropriated $200,000 for Israel refugees. The Brazilian Parliament observed a minute of silence in the cause of Israel justice. Japan and South Korea sent medicaments. The Scandinavian countries announced their willingness to admit any number of Israel orphans. Under pressure of public opinion, the New Zealand Government proposed a pact of eternal friendship with Israel's memory. Australian Prime Minister Menzies called the Arab aggression "infamous." At a national conference of American Jewish organizations, the Assistant Secretary of State made a solemn promise (with the President's approval) to the effect that "in future the United States would devote greater attention to the problems of small nations and prevent the recurrence of similar excesses." While expressing their deep regret, State Department spokesmen stressed that up to a certain point Israel herself was to blame for her fate, as she had not prevented the Arab attack in time.

The world press gave Israel its unreserved sympathy. In the Herald Tribune's commemorative issue, the Alsop brothers glorified Israel's democratic character, stressing the great loss the world had suffered with the demise of the small model state. Ed Murrow openly came out for Zionism on TV and declared that "every American Jewish family was entitled to be proud of the heroic Israel nation." The until then unsympathetic Manchester Guardian fervently beat its breast and declared that Israel had been perfectly right and that "its tragedy would for centuries burn like an accusing torch under the window of the world's conscience."

The necessity for a political settlement was first pointed out by Marshal Bulganin, who proposed to convene a five-power conference in Cairo "with the participation of all interested parties.' The Soviet Government made another goodwill gesture by requesting Nasser not to demand excessive material compensation for the permission to exacuate the Israel refugees. This humane Soviet step made an extremely favorable impression the world over.

The Israel refugees, scattered over the four corners of the earth, were overwhelmed with affection and admiration. They inspired such a wave of enthusiasm for Israel as had not been witnessed since the creation of the Jewish state. In most countries main thoroughfares were named after Israel, and the U. N. memorial session decided almost unanimously not to fill the chair of the Jewish delegate but to leave it vacant; also to let the Zionist flag stay among those of U. N. member states. Enthusiasm reached its climax when the Russian Foreign Minister unexpectedly proposed the holding of an Israel Day. World peace again had good prospects, humanity was again filled with hope for a brighter and happier future. Israel itself became the international symbol of justice and morality.

Israel did not wait until May 1957, but rashly smashed the Egyptian war machine in the Sinai Peninsula and thereby lost the opportunity to win the whole world's sympathy. And that is a great pity. God knows when it will again have such a chance.

Mr. Folsom's Colossal Error

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RALPH W. GWINN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, for 25 years the United States Office of Education has been a hot center of propaganda, reports, speeches, studies, estimates, and conferences in a buildup for Federal aid for schoolroom construction. It prepares and publicizes the so-called figures of shortages across the Nation. It exercises a kind of national monopoly of information on this subject. Indeed it has been the only source up until the committee hearings. That Office apparently wants to substitute Federal intervention for liberty of the people. The United States Office of Education has certain natural satellites. One is the National Education Association, one of the biggest lobbies in Washington, with hundreds of thousands of members and spends millions of dollars annually. Another is the Council of Chief State School Officers, the top professional leadership in education. Now it appears these figures are grossly inaccurate and misleading. And the United States Office of Education is responsible.

On April 30, 1954, Mrs. Hobby, then Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, testified before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, that:

> The school facilities survey conducted under title I of Public Law 815 shows an existing shortage of instruction rooms for public elementary and secondary schools of approximately 340,000 in 1953.

This study was made at a cost to the Government of $1,800,262.25 and to the States of $2,187,801.26, and took a period of 4 years, beginning in 1950 and ending in 1954. At the conclusion of the study it was generally considered that it was outdated and of little value.

This fact is emphasized by the action of Secretary Hobby after the above appearance before the Senate committee in April 1954, by letter printed in the hearings of the House Education and Labor Committee dated July 30, 1954, in which she wrote:

> To construct school buildings to provide 370,000 classrooms currently needed would cost $10 billion to $15 billion.

Everyone admits now, with Mrs. Hobby, that the whole show of calamity for the children and deficits in school construction was worse than erroneous. It induced a statement by the President, in his special message on education to the Congress February 8, 1955, relying on the information in which he repeated the fiction when he said:

> The latest information submitted by the States to the Office of Education indicates that there is a deficit of more than 300,000 classrooms.

Thus it became an accepted fact there is a schoolroom shortage of grave proportions. The damage to the idea of freedom and responsibility of the States for their own children was done. This is a good example of predetermining our thinking by Government propaganda.

On February 16, 1955, before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Mrs. Hobby testified again to this effect:

> The State school-facilities survey, which is the only national survey that we have, is now 2 years old. So I do not believe anyone can say with absolute certainty what the classroom shortage in the United States is. We believe it is over 300,000 classrooms.

By March 29, 1955, Mrs. Hobby was thoroughly disturbed. She appeared before the House Education and Labor Committee and completely revised her previous estimate:

> On the basis of the reports * * * received * * * we find a substantially different picture of classroom needs from the projections previously made on the basis of the 1951 survey * * *. Our rate of classroom construction has increased since 1953 from 50,000 to 60,000 classrooms per year * * *. We find that the estimated classroom deficit by the year 1959–60 would be 176,000 classrooms, rather than 407,000.

With all that money and 4 years spent, Mrs. Hobby, herself a very competent public servant, could not get a correct figure. Mrs. Hobby pointed out that:

> The State estimates thus show that the classroom deficit is much less than that projected a year ago. A continuing improvement is to be anticipated in the next 5 years, if we can maintain current construction levels.

Now, in February 1957, here comes Mr. Folsom with a questionnaire which the Health, Education, and Welfare Department officials admit themselves was not sent out with any intention of its being used as the basis on which Congress would be asked to appropriate $3,600,000,000 or an equivalent large sum of money for school construction. The resulting tabulation of estimated and incomplete figures on Circular 490 is referred to by officials as a "quickie" study.

Mr. Folsom, reducing Mrs. Hobby's figures further, says the shortage is only 159,000 as of October 1, 1956. So, on Mr. Folsom's estimates, the States have exceeded again what the Federal bureaucracy estimated the States would do. But Mr. Folsom plays the same old song that the States are still unable to do the job and the Federal Government must come into the picture. He says this in spite of the fact that his present information comes from sources that had no business to make estimates of schoolroom shortages for the purpose of getting billions of appropriations. Indeed, the estimates were not collected for such use as he now makes of them. The personnel of the Research Department of the United States Office of Education professed to be shocked to think that their figures were being used as a basis for asking for such appropriations. They

made it clear that they were. They admitted that the information on Circular 490, the only information used to support the shortage of 159,000, was practically all estimates or guesses generally by some clerk or assistant. Several States did not answer at all. In only seven States did the superintendent of education or assistant superintendent sign these United States Office of Education questionnaires for the information in question.

Mr. Folsom has made no survey, conducted no study on the ground to get his 159,000 figure. Not a man went into the field from Washington to visit a single school district out of the 51,000 he now presumes to speak for. It would have been much easier to ask the school districts themselves directly about their shortages. Not one has been asked. No governor, no legislature, no school board has come forward asking for Federal aid. Federal aid and control is literally being thrust on the States in spite of themselves so far as the record or testimony goes. The answers reported in Circular 490 of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare came by a most informal, precarious route—sometimes as a result of post cards sent out to the local superintendents of schools; sometimes the schoolteachers answered them. Not a single bit of information about the schoolroom shortage came from any school board, the only authority that can speak for any school district. It alone can speak for the people on schoolroom shortage and its obsolete schoolrooms, if any. There may be, often is, violent differences of opinion on these matters between the school board and the superintendent of schools.

Some of the questionnaires were filled in by pencil, some in ink, some by notes and in a large proportion of them the notation was made generally in ink "these are estimates" or "estimates only" or "no information available."

Where there was no information available the United States Office of Education took on the job itself of making its own estimates or guesses on the schoolroom shortages. If it did not like the answer that came back from the person who filled in the questionnaire in the State Education Office it would return it to the State for revision.

The United States Office of Education complained to one State about its failure to answer the questionnaire to the satisfaction of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It threatened the State official by saying, "The United States Office of Education does not want to make an official complaint regarding the inadequacy of data supplied by your State." Of course he was under no obligation to reply at all. Yet we are assured that we shall have Federal aid without Federal control.

In several instances the figures were very considerably raised. Old estimates were stricken out and new estimates put in as a result of the United States Office of Education telephoning or writing a State. After that, increases were written in. They make up a substantial part of the 159,000 schoolroom needs. Indeed, where States failed or refused to answer the questionnaire at all, the United States Office of Education itself made up an additional 19,000 new schoolrooms needed for those States all in even nice round figures. If there was ever a case of a bum's rush involving billions by a professional group, this is it.

There was no attempt to indicate how many needy school districts there were in the country. Of course not, these Folsom figures were made up in a few days as a sort of a quicky annual inventory taking. They had no relation whatever to needy districts as compared to wealthy or well-to-do districts clearly able to take care of themselves. No one knows whether there are 10 or 1,000 needy districts so far as the Folsom figures go. All that circular 490, the only report guessed at or otherwise on the subject of alleged shortages shows, is that there is a total of 159,000 quickly estimated or guessed at shortages. On the face of the report, about 85 percent of these are States quite able to meet their own needs.

By surprise, Mr. William M. Adams, chairman of the municipal securities committee of the Investment Bankers Association of America, came forward to ditch completely Mr. Folsom's much publicized figure of 159,000 shortage. Mr. Adams produced daily records of school bond sales advertised and sold and the prices of bonds sold in each State up to date. By taking the total sales of school bonds for the Nation for a year we can get the number of schoolrooms the proceeds will build. $30,000 will on the average build 1 schoolroom for 30 pupils. By dividing $30,000 into the total funds raised for the Nation for schoolroom construction we get the total number of classrooms built from those funds with close proximity.

Mr. Adams, businessman himself and a statistician of note, with two assistants and with their bond sales publications and other documentary papers, showed that 96,600 new classrooms will be financed on the basis of money made available by school-bond sales for 12 months beginning October 1, 1956. Mr. Adams' two assistants were Mr. Frank Morris, research director, and Mr. Gordon Calvert, municipal director, of the Investment Bankers' Association. This organization is the recognized national authority on school-bond sales and municipal securities.

Mr. Adams said, in part:

> The actual financing during the past 4 months (beginning October 1, 1956) demonstrates indisputedly that State and local school agencies have been able to finance school construction at prevailing interest rates.

Indeed, it is apparent that with few exceptions school-district bonds are one of the best investments in the country and sell at very low interest rates.

Mr. Adams continues:

> In short, the school financing for the past 4 months (beginning with October 1, 1956) projected for a full year would mean an expenditure for school construction of approximately $2,900,000,000 to provide about 96,600 classrooms in addition to the 69,200 scheduled for completion—

As shown on Circular 490, hereto attached.

If you divide $2,900,000,000 bond sales mentioned by $30,000, the average schoolroom cost for the Nation, you come out with 96,600 classrooms mentioned by Mr. Adams above. Up-to-date figures show February 1957 is accelerating the rate of sales of bonds compared to previous months. Thus Mr. Folsom's estimates may be ready for another reduction of proposed Federal aid. But it is apparent from the testimony that in the South where practically all the classroom shortages are, the cost of constructing a classroom is less than $10,000 in many States. For example Georgia, in her statewide program of construction now going on, builds for considerably less than $10,000 per classroom. So that it is possible in the South, if let alone, they may double or even treble the classroom construction and thus make the total far above the 96,000 calculated on the basis of average cost for the Nation. If that is true, then the Folsom figures of estimates and guesses becomes the more ridiculous.

The records above referred to by Mr. Adams are confined in their accuracy and show the rate of construction in the States by another published figure for the Nation. That is to say, November 9, 1956, through January 31, 1957, school boards had authorized bond sales aggregating over $1,920,825,000. These are not actual sales, but they are authorizations recorded for the period. This means that the school boards have voted to recommend the issuance of school bonds for schoolroom construction and that the people in the school districts had voted to approve the proposition to that extent. This was done, remember, between November 9 and January 21 just passed.

We must add to this figure the construction funds generally available through regular current appropriations of the school districts out of current taxation, sinking fund provisions or other means of financing other than public sale of bonds. That amounts to about 30 percent of the total. And on that basis we have actual provision or authorization of over $2,743,000,000 already committed by vote of the people to schoolroom construction. That is over 91,400 new classrooms at $30,000 per classroom as figured in the first case. This is new financing in terms of authorization in addition to 69,200 classrooms already financed as of October 1, 1956. This approach projected for 12 months roughly confirms the first calculation measured by school bond sales.

Witnesses testified that additional bond approval elections are scheduled according to the public press for coming months at about the same rate that has been applicable for the past year or two. Large amounts of authorized school bonds are being offered and sold daily on the markets of the country. For example, continuing from Mr. Adams' testimony:

> The Bond Buyer contained invitations for bids on Friday, February 15, for $14,127,500 school bonds; on Monday, February 18, for $35,745,000 school bonds; on Tuesday, February 19, for $28,176,000 school bonds; and

The President's speech sparked unprecedented worldwide enthusiasm. Switzerland immediately offered 2,000 transit visas and Guatemala increased its quota for Jewish immigrants from 500 to 750. Socialistic labor the world over held spontaneous rallies and sharply condemned Arab aggression. In a number of Western capitals, students demonstrated in front of the Arab legations. Some window panes were smashed. The International Pen Club condemned the Arabs' barbaric action at a public meeting; UNESCO appropriated $200,000 for Israel refugees. The Brazilian Parliament observed a minute of silence in the cause of Israel justice. Japan and South Korea sent medicaments. The Scandinavian countries announced their willingness to admit any number of Israel orphans. Under pressure of public opinion, the New Zealand Government proposed a pact of eternal friendship with Israel's memory. Australian Prime Minister Menzies called the Arab aggression "infamous." At a national conference of American Jewish organizations, the Assistant Secretary of State made a solemn promise (with the President's approval) to the effect that "in future the United States would devote greater attention to the problems of small nations and prevent the recurrence of similar excesses." While expressing their deep regret, State Department spokesmen stressed that up to a certain point Israel herself was to blame for her fate, as she had not prevented the Arab attack in time.

The world press gave Israel its unreserved sympathy. In the Herald Tribune's commemorative issue, the Alsop brothers glorified Israel's democratic character, stressing the great loss the world had suffered with the demise of the small model state. Ed Murrow openly came out for Zionism on TV and declared that "every American Jewish family was entitled to be proud of the heroic Israel nation." The until then unsympathetic Manchester Guardian fervently beat its breast and declared that Israel had been perfectly right and that "its tragedy would for centuries burn like an accusing torch under the window of the world's conscience."

The necessity for a political settlement was first pointed out by Marshal Bulganin, who proposed to convene a five-power conference in Cairo "with the participation of all interested parties.' The Soviet Government made another goodwill gesture by requesting Nasser not to demand excessive material compensation for the permission to exacuate the Israel refugees. This humane Soviet step made an extremely favorable impression the world over.

The Israel refugees, scattered over the four corners of the earth, were overwhelmed with affection and admiration. They inspired such a wave of enthusiasm for Israel as had not been witnessed since the creation of the Jewish state. In most countries main thoroughfares were named after Israel, and the U. N. memorial session decided almost unanimously not to fill the chair of the Jewish delegate but to leave it vacant; also to let the Zionist flag stay among those of U. N. member states. Enthusiasm reached its climax when the Russian Foreign Minister unexpectedly proposed the holding of an Israel Day. World peace again had good prospects, humanity was again filled with hope for a brighter and happier future. Israel itself became the international symbol of justice and morality.

Israel did not wait until May 1957, but rashly smashed the Egyptian war machine in the Sinai Peninsula and thereby lost the opportunity to win the whole world's sympathy. And that is a great pity. God knows when it will again have such a chance.

Mr. Folsom's Colossal Error

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RALPH W. GWINN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, for 25 years the United States Office of Education has been a hot center of propaganda, reports, speeches, studies, estimates, and conferences in a buildup for Federal aid for schoolroom construction. It prepares and publicizes the so-called figures of shortages across the Nation. It exercises a kind of national monopoly of information on this subject. Indeed it has been the only source up until the committee hearings. That Office apparently wants to substitute Federal intervention for liberty of the people. The United States Office of Education has certain natural satellites. One is the National Education Association, one of the biggest lobbies in Washington, with hundreds of thousands of members and spends millions of dollars annually. Another is the Council of Chief State School Officers, the top professional leadership in education. Now it appears these figures are grossly inaccurate and misleading. And the United States Office of Education is responsible.

On April 30, 1954, Mrs. Hobby, then Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, testified before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, that:

The school facilities survey conducted under title I of Public Law 815 shows an existing shortage of instruction rooms for public elementary and secondary schools of approximately 340,000 in 1953.

This study was made at a cost to the Government of $1,800,262.25 and to the States of $2,187,801.26, and took a period of 4 years, beginning in 1950 and ending in 1954. At the conclusion of the study it was generally considered that it was outdated and of little value.

This fact is emphasized by the action of Secretary Hobby after the above appearance before the Senate committee in April 1954, by letter printed in the hearings of the House Education and Labor Committee dated July 30, 1954, in which she wrote:

To construct school buildings to provide 370,000 classrooms currently needed would cost $10 billion to $15 billion.

Everyone admits now, with Mrs. Hobby, that the whole show of calamity for the children and deficits in school construction was worse than erroneous. It induced a statement by the President, in his special message on education to the Congress February 8, 1955, relying on the information in which he repeated the fiction when he said:

The latest information submitted by the States to the Office of Education indicates that there is a deficit of more than 300,000 classrooms.

Thus it became an accepted fact there is a schoolroom shortage of grave proportions. The damage to the idea of freedom and responsibility of the States for their own children was done. This is a good example of predetermining our thinking by Government propaganda.

On February 16, 1955, before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Mrs. Hobby testified again to this effect:

The State school-facilities survey, which is the only national survey that we have, is now 2 years old. So I do not believe anyone can say with absolute certainty what the classroom shortage in the United States is. We believe it is over 300,000 classrooms.

By March 29, 1955, Mrs. Hobby was thoroughly disturbed. She appeared before the House Education and Labor Committee and completely revised her previous estimate:

On the basis of the reports * * * received * * * we find a substantially different picture of classroom needs from the projections previously made on the basis of the 1951 survey * * *. Our rate of classroom construction has increased since 1953 from 50,000 to 60,000 classrooms per year * * *. We find that the estimated classroom deficit by the year 1959–60 would be 176,000 classrooms, rather than 407,000.

With all that money and 4 years spent, Mrs. Hobby, herself a very competent public servant, could not get a correct figure. Mrs. Hobby pointed out that:

The State estimates thus show that the classroom deficit is much less than that projected a year ago. A continuing improvement is to be anticipated in the next 5 years, if we can maintain current construction levels.

Now, in February 1957, here comes Mr. Folsom with a questionnaire which the Health, Education, and Welfare Department officials admit themselves was not sent out with any intention of its being used as the basis on which Congress would be asked to appropriate $3,600,000,000 or an equivalent large sum of money for school construction. The resulting tabulation of estimated and incomplete figures on Circular 490 is referred to by officials as a "quickie" study.

Mr. Folsom, reducing Mrs. Hobby's figures further, says the shortage is only 159,000 as of October 1, 1956. So, on Mr. Folsom's estimates, the States have exceeded again what the Federal bureaucracy estimated the States would do. But Mr. Folsom plays the same old song that the States are still unable to do the job and the Federal Government must come into the picture. He says this in spite of the fact that his present information comes from sources that had no business to make estimates of schoolroom shortages for the purpose of getting billions of appropriations. Indeed, the estimates were not collected for such use as he now makes of them. The personnel of the Research Department of the United States Office of Education professed to be shocked to think that their figures were being used as a basis for asking for such appropriations. They

made it clear that they were. They admitted that the information on Circular 490, the only information used to support the shortage of 159,000, was practically all estimates or guesses generally by some clerk or assistant. Several States did not answer at all. In only seven States did the superintendent of education or assistant superintendent sign these United States Office of Education questionnaires for the information in question.

Mr. Folsom has made no survey, conducted no study on the ground to get his 159,000 figure. Not a man went into the field from Washington to visit a single school district out of the 51,000 he now presumes to speak for. It would have been much easier to ask the school districts themselves directly about their shortages. Not one has been asked. No governor, no legislature, no school board has come forward asking for Federal aid. Federal aid and control is literally being thrust on the States in spite of themselves so far as the record or testimony goes. The answers reported in Circular 490 of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare came by a most informal, precarious route—sometimes as a result of post cards sent out to the local superintendents of schools; sometimes the schoolteachers answered them. Not a single bit of information about the schoolroom shortage came from any school board, the only authority that can speak for any school district. It alone can speak for the people on schoolroom shortage and its obsolete schoolrooms, if any. There may be, often is, violent differences of opinion on these matters between the school board and the superintendent of schools.

Some of the questionnaires were filled in by pencil, some in ink, some by notes and in a large proportion of them the notation was made generally in ink "these are estimates" or "estimates only" or "no information available."

Where there was no information available the United States Office of Education took on the job itself of making its own estimates or guesses on the schoolroom shortages. If it did not like the answer that came back from the person who filled in the questionnaire in the State Education Office it would return it to the State for revision.

The United States Office of Education complained to one State about its failure to answer the questionnaire to the satisfaction of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It threatened the State official by saying, "The United States Office of Education does not want to make an official complaint regarding the inadequacy of data supplied by your State." Of course he was under no obligation to reply at all. Yet we are assured that we shall have Federal aid without Federal control.

In several instances the figures were very considerably raised. Old estimates were stricken out and new estimates put in as a result of the United States Office of Education telephoning or writing a State. After that, increases were written in. They make up a substantial part of the 159,000 schoolroom needs. Indeed, where States failed or refused to answer the questionnaire at all, the United States Office of Education itself made up an additional 19,000 new schoolrooms needed for those States all in even nice round figures. If there was ever a case of a bum's rush involving billions by a professional group, this is it.

There was no attempt to indicate how many needy school districts there were in the country. Of course not, these Folsom figures were made up in a few days as a sort of a quicky annual inventory taking. They had no relation whatever to needy districts as compared to wealthy or well-to-do districts clearly able to take care of themselves. No one knows whether there are 10 or 1,000 needy districts so far as the Folsom figures go. All that circular 490, the only report guessed at or otherwise on the subject of alleged shortages shows, is that there is a total of 159,000 quickly estimated or guessed at shortages. On the face of the report, about 85 percent of these are States quite able to meet their own needs.

By surprise, Mr. William M. Adams, chairman of the municipal securities committee of the Investment Bankers Association of America, came forward to ditch completely Mr. Folsom's much publicized figure of 159,000 shortage. Mr. Adams produced daily records of school bond sales advertised and sold and the prices of bonds sold in each State up to date. By taking the total sales of school bonds for the Nation for a year we can get the number of schoolrooms the proceeds will build. $30,000 will on the average build 1 schoolroom for 30 pupils. By dividing $30,000 into the total funds raised for the Nation for schoolroom construction we get the total number of classrooms built from those funds with close proximity.

Mr. Adams, businessman himself and a statistician of note, with two assistants and with their bond sales publications and other documentary papers, showed that 96,600 new classrooms will be financed on the basis of money made available by school-bond sales for 12 months beginning October 1, 1956. Mr. Adams' two assistants were Mr. Frank Morris, research director, and Mr. Gordon Calvert, municipal director, of the Investment Bankers' Association. This organization is the recognized national authority on school-bond sales and municipal securities.

Mr. Adams said, in part:

> The actual financing during the past 4 months (beginning October 1, 1956) demonstrates indisputedly that State and local school agencies have been able to finance school construction at prevailing interest rates.

Indeed, it is apparent that with few exceptions school-district bonds are one of the best investments in the country and sell at very low interest rates.

Mr. Adams continues:

> In short, the school financing for the past 4 months (beginning with October 1, 1956) projected for a full year would mean an expenditure for school construction of approximately $2,900,000,000 to provide about 96,600 classrooms in addition to the 69,200 scheduled for completion—

As shown on Circular 490, hereto attached.

If you divide $2,900,000,000 bond sales mentioned by $30,000, the average schoolroom cost for the Nation, you come out with 96,600 classrooms mentioned by Mr. Adams above. Up-to-date figures show February 1957 is accelerating the rate of sales of bonds compared to previous months. Thus Mr. Folsom's estimates may be ready for another reduction of proposed Federal aid. But it is apparent from the testimony that in the South where practically all the classroom shortages are, the cost of constructing a classroom is less than $10,000 in many States. For example Georgia, in her statewide program of construction now going on, builds for considerably less than $10,000 per classroom. So that it is possible in the South, if let alone, they may double or even treble the classroom construction and thus make the total far above the 96,000 calculated on the basis of average cost for the Nation. If that is true, then the Folsom figures of estimates and guesses becomes the more ridiculous.

The records above referred to by Mr. Adams are confined in their accuracy and show the rate of construction in the States by another published figure for the Nation. That is to say, November 9, 1956, through January 31, 1957, school boards had authorized bond sales aggregating over $1,920,825,000. These are not actual sales, but they are authorizations recorded for the period. This means that the school boards have voted to recommend the issuance of school bonds for schoolroom construction and that the people in the school districts had voted to approve the proposition to that extent. This was done, remember, between November 9 and January 21 just passed.

We must add to this figure the construction funds generally available through regular current appropriations of the school districts out of current taxation, sinking fund provisions or other means of financing other than public sale of bonds. That amounts to about 30 percent of the total. And on that basis we have actual provision or authorization of over $2,743,000,000 already committed by vote of the people to schoolroom construction. That is over 91,400 new classrooms at $30,000 per classroom as figured in the first case. This is new financing in terms of authorization in addition to 69,200 classrooms already financed as of October 1, 1956. This approach projected for 12 months roughly confirms the first calculation measured by school bond sales.

Witnesses testified that additional bond approval elections are scheduled according to the public press for coming months at about the same rate that has been applicable for the past year or two. Large amounts of authorized school bonds are being offered and sold daily on the markets of the country. For example, continuing from Mr. Adams' testimony:

> The Bond Buyer contained invitations for bids on Friday, February 15, for $14,127,500 school bonds; on Monday, February 18, for $35,745,000 school bonds; on Tuesday, February 19, for $28,176,000 school bonds; and

on Wednesday, February 20, for $19,474,500 school bonds—a total of over $97,500,000 in the last 4 days.

If you project these figures for a year we come out again as illustrated above.

Mr. Adams then pointed out that:

Bond sales during the last 4 months should provide about 32,600 additional classrooms, and the rate of school bond sales during the last 4 months projected for the full year would provide construction of over 96,600 classrooms in addition to 69,200 classrooms scheduled as of October 1, 1956, for completion during the current school year. These figures show that there is no crisis in classroom construction and that State and local agencies are rapidly providing the needed classrooms.

We rejoice in the knowledge of this great progress made in the traditional American way.

If the States have done as good a job in education as the local educators have themselves boasted for years, down until the present-day madness for Federal interference took possession of its leadership, then what has happened to change the character of the American people so radically? What has made them suddenly quit doing in the last 25 years what they have always done before throughout the history of our country?

The answer is obvious. The bureaucratic personnel in great numbers in the United States Office of Education were lulled to sleep on their own assumptions that the States were so poor or negligent or willful or selfish that the Federal Government should have to come to their rescue; it must prod them or cajole or offer them costly bribes. Meantime the States were actually outdoing themselves building more school rooms than the said bureaucrats wanted to think possible.

A farmer representing the American Farm Federation, with 2,600 county farm bureaus out of the 3,000 counties, in commenting upon the alleged and "temporary" nature of the so-called education crisis, said that we are all beginning to learn that "there is nothing so permanent as a temporary Federal program—a Federal aid." The farmers don't want any Federal aid. The main purpose of his volunteering to come to Washington to express the opposition of the farmers of this country, represented by one of the largest farm organizations that we have, was to oppose vigorously Federal aid and control of education because of the experience of the farmers with Federal aid and control in the so-called subsidy food and farm programs. They have their stomachs full of that.

To vote for this legislation Congress must find: First, that there is a shortage of 159,000 classrooms on the basis of the testimony of a single witness, namely, the United States Office of Education, and, second, that the States or the people themselves are financially unable to build the necessary requisite number to meet their needs. It would have to believe the unsupported testimony of the United States Office of Education. It would have to overlook the unreliable guesswork of the United States Office of Education. On the record on the basis of experience Mr. Folsom must soon withdraw his present-day figure of 159,000 and reduce it as Mrs. Hobby did hers.

To illustrate the utter futility of the Federal Government attempting to inject itself into the business reserved to the States and the people especially in education, consider this fact: 41 of the legislatures of the States are meeting this very year, 1957; many of them will adjourn in a few weeks, all of them probably by June or July. Most of them will not meet again for 2 years. All the bills being considered by the Committee on Education and Labor provide that the State legislatures must set up a matching plan in order to qualify for Federal aid under Federal legislation. So that if the Congress should pass any one of these bills providing Federal aid, it would be in the year 1960 before anything could be done at all, that is for the States that qualify to receive Federal aid. Such a State would have to appropriate funds by act of the legislature in order to qualify for matching. Some of them would have to submit the proposition to a vote of the people before they could provide such funds. So that on the face of it, if we take the United States Office of Education figures—which is very hard to do for any purpose—all the States will have met their own needs by 1960—see the United States Office of Education Circular 490—except 10, and 5 of these will have provided for themselves by 1962–63.

Testimony in opposition to Federal aid to education from nearly all of the States, either by personal appearance of witnesses or by filed reports or by letter or telegram, will be reported by me in another speech on this subject in a day or two. Thus the Members may know what their own States have said on this subject.

FEBRUARY 13, 1957.

CIRCULAR 490, UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION

This is the summary of information by the United States Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare from answers to a questionnaire, copy of which is attached, sent out by the United States Office of Education to the State departments of education of the 48 States and Territories. The number of needy districts does not appear. The information supplied to the United States Office of Education was in summary form, as called for in the questionnaire. The breakdown between the school districts able to build their own school rooms and those that it is claimed are financially unable to do so will have to be supplied by other testimony.

State, by region	Inventory of instruction rooms		Additional instruction rooms needed (as of fall, 1956)			
	Completed during 1955–56 school year	Available beginning 1956–57 school year	Total	To accommodate excess enrollment reported	To replace unsatisfactory facilities (exclusive of those in col. 21)	Instruction rooms scheduled for completion during 1956–57 school year
(1)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)
Continental United States	62,766	[1] 1,086,766	[1] 159,000	[1] 90,000	[1] 79,000	[1] 69,200
Northeast:						
Connecticut	796	13,788	2,600	2,100	500	2,102
Maine	240	7,100	900	378	522	391
Massachusetts	1,160	27,306	2,240	1,240	1,000	1,420
New Hampshire	177	3,493	690	280	410	330
New Jersey	1,877	27,672	3,841	2,591	1,250	1,436
New York	6,090	(*)	(*)	2,200	(*)	7,000
Pennsylvania	2,163	62,788	8,366	1,525	6,841	5,454
Rhode Island	131	3,970	700	200	500	202
Vermont	127	2,977	862	198	664	207
North Central:						
Illinois	2,786	53,546	3,435	1,924	1,511	2,809
Indiana	1,823	30,627	4,170	1,470	2,700	2,100
Iowa	400	20,062	1,000	(*)	(*)	450
Kansas	900	16,200	1,800	800	1,000	500
Michigan	3,430	49,603	3,300	2,250	1,050	3,000
Minnesota	1,043	26,048	4,345	3,825	520	1,200
Missouri	1,200	26,200	4,000	700	3,300	1,300
Nebraska	358	13,409	418	235	183	302
North Dakota	300	3,318	570	470	100	223
Ohio	1,275	56,951	4,460	2,036	2,424	1,500
South Dakota	213	7,908	246	146	100	125
Wisconsin	1,735	26,763	470	120	350	2,000
South:						
Alabama	556	12,645	11,354	9,594	1,760	407
Arkansas	396	9,355	8,324	3,454	4,870	200
Delaware	43	2,166	25	25		[2] 138
Florida	1,998	33,821	4,643	2,529	2,114	1,584
Georgia	1,770	28,162	7,471	6,471	1,000	2,700
Kentucky	[1] 1,098	18,657	7,000	2,000	5,000	600
Louisiana	1,300	23,661	(*)	(*)	(*)	1,100
Maryland	888	14,748	3,150	1,898	1,252	533
Mississippi	350	17,489	6,579	2,192	4,387	600
North Carolina	1,788	34,264	4,867	1,586	3,281	2,076
Oklahoma	1,750	21,600	500	350	150	1,200
South Carolina	1,400	19,065	6,453	1,953	4,500	[2] 1,186
Tennessee	955	25,052	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)
Texas	5,487	58,617	7,561	4,538	3,023	5,004
Virginia	1,214	25,088	4,974	2,680	2,294	980
West Virginia	300	16,097	1,823	780	1,043	430
District of Columbia	170	3,848	537	537		50
West:						
Arizona	350	5,548	205	175	30	220
California	8,000	81,000	10,000	4,000	6,000	10,000
Colorado	1,043	11,849	1,197	621	576	1,000
Idaho	269	4,679	613	181	432	250
Montana	304	6,219	661	214	447	300
Nevada	244	1,920	271	137	134	100

Footnotes at end of table.

State, by region	Inventory of instruction rooms: Completed during 1955–56 school year	Inventory of instruction rooms: Available beginning 1956–57 school year	Additional instruction rooms needed (as of fall, 1956): Total	To accommodate excess enrollment reported	To replace unsatisfactory facilities (exclusive of those in col. 21)	Instruction rooms scheduled for completion during 1956–57 school year
(1)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)
West—Continued						
New Mexico	100	(2)	(2)	487	(2)	100
Oregon	650	13,962	(2)	680	(2)	700
Utah	585	6,746	709	432	277	124
Washington	1,322	19,785	3,344	1,456	1,888	1,417
Wyoming	120	3,190	210	60	150	100
Outlying parts of the United States:						
Alaska	199	1,365	305	191	114	133
American Samoa	11	187	6	-------	6	25
Canal Zone	16	378	7	-------	7	4
Guam	27	431	27	27	-------	15
Puerto Rico	325	8,267	7,245	5,869	1,376	1,042
Virgin Islands:						
St. Croix	21	69	33	9	24	29
St. Thomas and St. John	7	98	31	18	13	1
Hawaii	318	4,284	493	114	379	276

[1] Includes estimate for nonreporting States.
[2] Data not available.
[3] Represents ¼ of the remaining 414 classrooms to be constructed for the school years 1955–56 through 1958–59 under the 1955 School Building Act.
[4] Includes 123 new classrooms produced by remodeling other space and 353 abandoned classrooms reoccupied.

The number of needy districts out of a total of 80,000 estimated for all of the States (see col. 21) will obviously be much less than the 80,000 figure. The need for replacing so-called unsatisfactory facilities, that is, old buildings and rented buildings, is, of course, subject to wide differences of opinion as to what are obsolete facilities. The figure of 79,000 (see col. 22) should also be broken down to indicate the able and unable districts to provide for themselves. So that it is apparent that instead of having a shortage of classrooms last year of 370,000 it has been reduced as of October 1956 down to 159,000. We have a smaller figure even than 80,000 if we are to confine Federal aid to the needy school districts.

Life on $54.18 a Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, from Mrs. Myra Graham of Linden, Wis., I have received a letter that I hope will be read by every Member of this body. There are a handful of widows of Spanish War veterans who are trying to eke out existence on the pensions of $54.18 a month. That is their only income. In the 84th Congress, this body unanimously passed a bill increasing the pensions to $75 a month, but unfortunately the bill fell by the wayside in the other body. I have introduced the same bill in this Congress and I hope and pray that again this body will pass the meritorious measure and that this time the action in the other body will be favorable. Now, Mr. Speaker, I am letting Mrs. Myra Graham speak for herself and for all of these fine women, all deep in the evening of life, widows of men who fought for our country. These old women are trying to keep body and soul together in these times of inflation on the pittance of $54.18. The letter follows:

LINDEN, WIS., *February 14, 1957.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'HARA: I am writing you at this time to thank you for your effort to support the widows' bill.

I am a Spanish-American War widow and am 86 years old and living all alone and owing to the high cost of living I find it very hard to buy fuel and pay running expenses.

I can't get into an old-peoples home under $20 a week and I find now I am not able to take proper care of myself and I can't get hired help under $1 per hour so my present pension of $54.18 just won't pay for common necessaries. Telling you my present circumstances is like the following. I had to get out and shovel snow from my doorway when it was 8° below zero, in order to get to fuel for my stove. How many Senators or even Congressmen would do this?

I am asking you to let the committee read this letter and perhaps they will realize what the old widows are enduring while they have plenty.

Please try to help us all you can.

I am,

Respectfully,

Mrs. MYRA GRAHAM.

Ike Promotes Kalijarvi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial of March 1, 1957, from the Laconia Evening Citizen, Laconia, N. H., entitled "Ike Promotes Kalijarvi."

The editorial follows:

IKE PROMOTES KALIJARVI

We were delighted to read yesterday of the promotion given Dr. Thorsten V. Kalijarvi, former executive director of the New Hampshire Planning and Development Commission. President Eisenhower has nominated him to the post of Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

Dr. Kalijarvi has been a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the same branch. The higher post has been vacant since August 1955, when Samuel C. Waugh, of Nebraska, became President of the Export-Import Bank.

When Dr. Kalijarvi resigned his position at Concord to go to Washington, we predicted great things for him at the National Capital, and his progress has been noteworthy.

He was a staff consultant of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for 6 years. When the Eisenhower administration came into power in 1953, he joined the State Department.

In 1940, President Engelhardt, of the University of New Hampshire, became chairman of the State Planning and Development Commission by appointment of Gov. Francis P. Murphy. When Frederick Clark resigned 2 or 3 years later the opportunity to bring Dr. Kalijarvi into the State service came, and President Engelhardt was quick to act.

He said the University of New Hampshire would be sorry to lose Professor Kalijarvi but his talents should be made available to the State for the benefit of all the people. Dr. Engelhardt had notable plans in mind to improve the State's economy, especially the small towns, and it is regrettable he did not live to see them all fulfilled. Some of them he got under way and they worked well.

Dr. Kalijarvi taught political science at the State university, as he had done previously at the University of Michigan. He and Mrs. Kalijarvi were welcome guests for a number of years at the Evening Citizen Authors' tea. He has produced a number of books on international affairs, on which he is a recognized authority. Still greater responsibilities at the National Capital may be confidently expected for him. He is a man whose ascent of the ladder it is a pleasure to watch.

A Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial, which appeared in the New York Times of March 8, 1957, will be of interest to all of our colleagues:

A FLAG

The question has been raised in a recent news story in this paper as to how big is a flag. There is no standard-size American flag. The main criterion is that the flag's width be two-thirds of the length. We think that there are certain general dimensions, however, that should be observed.

A flag is a symbol, of course, and as such it should represent the qualities for which it stands. Consequently it can be large or small. It should be large enough to deserve respect and allegiance wherever it is flown. But it should not be so big that it can serve as a ready shield for scoundrels, the intemperate or the ignoble. It must not be so small that it is easily forgotten in the times or places where liberty is a dim and distant thing. It must be large enough to win a place dear to the hearts of its sons and daughters. But it should not be so big that its sight strikes terror and fear where it is shown.

It should be large enough to cover all its people, not just the few. It should not be so small that it is easily waved in moments of wild, careless enthusiasm for causes that in a more sober, reflective moment would be rejected as unworthy. It matters little if a flag's history is long or short, its colors bright or pale, its design simple or complex. What matters is that where the banner waves those who live under it dwell in peace, in liberty and in justice.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

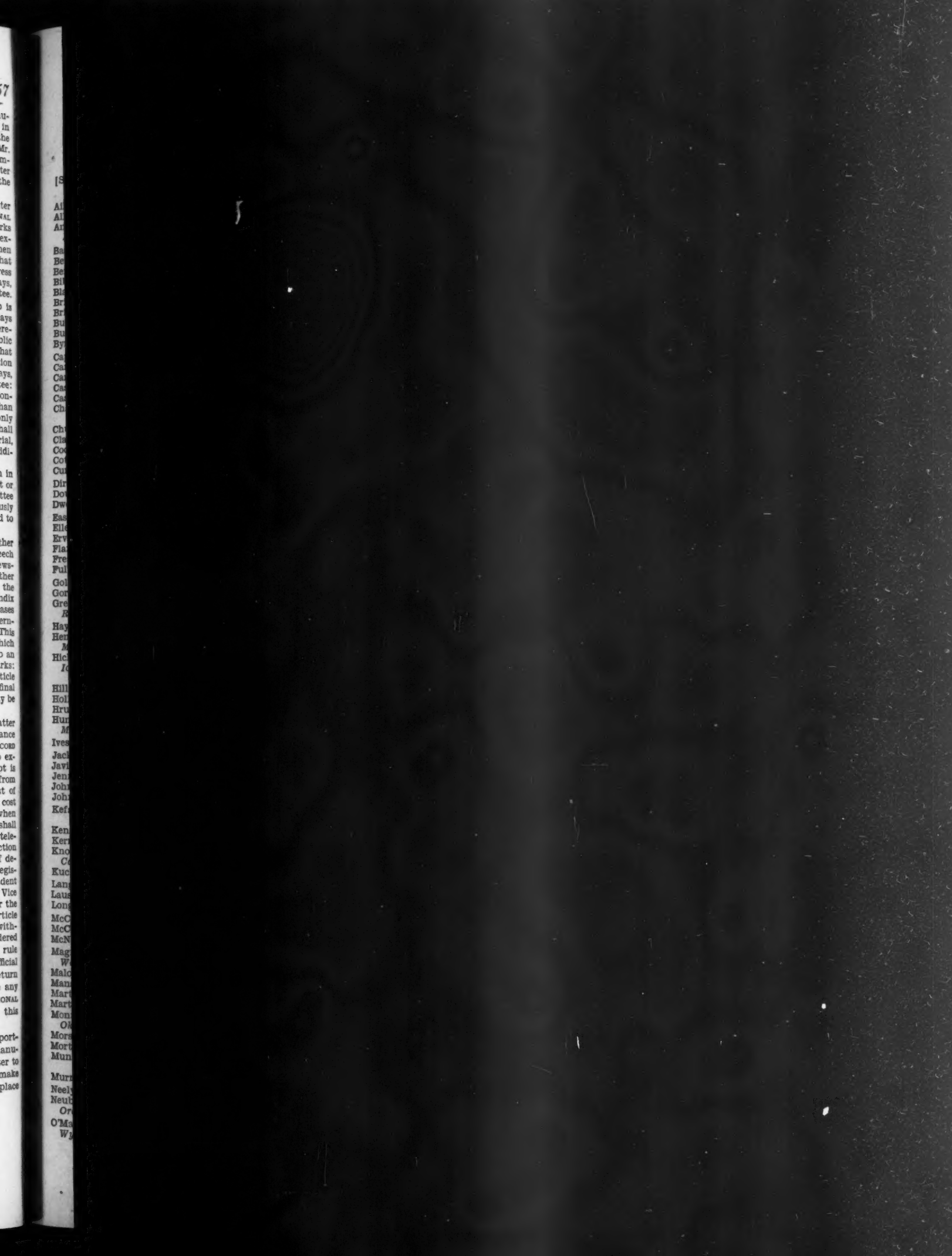

Appendix

Where Do Old People Fit in Modern Society?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, on January 3, 1957, I reintroduced my resolution to establish a Commission on Utilization of Manpower in the United States—House Joint Resolution 30.

It provides that it shall be the duty of the Commission to conduct an investigation and study of all phases of employment of older workers in the United States for the purpose of determining what the basic problems are in the fields of employment, health, education, and community services in connection with the utilization of our older population group, what the Federal Government's responsibilities are or should be with respect to the solution of any of these problems, and what order of priority should be given these problems in planning methods for their solution, with emphasis on the status of the older age group within our population with respect to its manpower potential in the current situation, extent of the bias against hiring older workers and extent to which ceilings on hiring ages are applied by employers; extent to which opportunities for gainful activity of older persons have not kept pace with the rapid growth in our aged population.

Our ever-increasing older population presents many grave problems; employment, adequate housing, income, medical care, morale, to mention some of them. After serious study and much research, I have come to the conclusion that only the Federal Government can tackle the job of finding a solution and that the entire matter must be handled on a nationwide basis in order that practicable plans can be formulated. I hope to get congressional action on the resolution during this session of Congress.

Mr. Earl Ubell, science editor of the New York Herald Tribune, wrote a series of articles in which he discusses problems of the aging. I think he did a splendid job. The articles give us so much valuable information that I am including them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that all Members of Congress may have the opportunity to read them.

The articles follow:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of February 24, 1957]

A NEW OUTLOOK ON OLD AGE—SCIENCE OFFERS US 20 MORE YEARS OF LIFE; WHAT DOES IT MEAN: DAYS OF EASE OR HARDSHIP?

(This is the first of 12 articles on the problems of growing old.)

(By Earl Ubell)

Science has given most of us at least 20 more years of life than our grandparents could count on. What are we going to do with those added later years?

Are we going to shuffle down to the park every day and play checkers?

Will we keep on working earning our own way and living in our own homes?

Do we see ourselves as sick and aged, possibly bedridden; empty human shells in wheelchairs in a chronic disease hospital?

Or will we find repose in retirement * * * fishing, reading, puttering in the workshop, or garden as we dreamed we might?

Do we think our children will give us, if we needed them, bed and board? Will they respect us, give us the status we deserve?

Can we now think clearly of the years ahead when we won't be working, or when as a housewife, the houshold chores will dwindle away and when our income will be cut to one-tenth of what it is now?

Or do we push these thoughts out of our minds? What will we do?

At this moment, 14 million men and women in this country have the answers to those questions. They are the people over 65. They are finding out what it means to become old in an urban, industrialized and impersonal society. What is happening to them?

A 70-year-old widow lives with her daughter and son-in-law, as do 13 percent of her contemporaries. She chatters incessantly, has no other function but to criticize the young parents for their ways of drinking, smoking, and child rearing. Where will it end?

A couple—he is 83 with a spine infection, she is 68 with hardening of her brain arteries—live (as do 3 out of 4 in that group) in their own household. But they have an income under $2,000 a year. What happens when the old man goes to the hospital as he must? Who pays?

ACCIDENT-PRONE OR SELF-SUFFICIENT

A vigorous man of 64 who has worked as a machinist for the same company all his life must retire next year under his firm's rules. His pension is adequate, but far less than he is earning. He has never done anything but work. What will he do in retirement? Even now he is terribly depressed at the thought and has had two accidents in the shop in the last month. His foreman eyes him suspiciously.

But there are other old people. A 75-year-old chief of a suburban library is healthy and active. She runs the place with the verve of a woman 20 years younger. She lives alone and likes it. She never interferes with her children, but visits them often and they like to have her. She has friends and even a few enemies—acquaintances she doesn't get along with but that doesn't bother her.

Is this woman in the majority or minority of old people? The experts don't know. By their own admission, scientists and social workers have paid most attention to the infirm, the indigent and the mentally ill. The plight of these people screamed for action. As a result, official thought has turned again and again to homes for the aged, to hospitals, and other institutions.

Miss Ollie Randall, consultant to the National Committee on the Aging and a pioneer in the search for answers for the aging, simply says, "It's the squeaking wheel that gets the grease."

Yet, at this moment only 1 out of 20 old people are in institutions. To be sure, there are at least half a million persons in such places, many of them barely existing under substandard, and even subhuman, conditions.

Even what is known about the medical, mental, and biological processes of aging has been warped by the scientists' admitted focus on this single institutional class. The leaders in the field of gerontology—the study of the aging—are beginning to admit that the impact of the aged is broader and far more subtle.

There is the whole question of income maintenance. How can housing, health, and nutrition be kept optimum when earnings have, as in the cases of 2 out of 3 aged, dropped to less than $1,000 a person?

And at a time when money comes in at a bare existence level, the old person has the real fear that a long-term illness may strike at any moment, wiping out his savings, using up his pension and social security income. At this time 1 out of 7 have during the year an illness lasting 3 months or more.

PROBLEM TO BE FACED: WHERE DO THEY FIT?

But the most profound of all questions, the one we will have to answer one day, and the single underlying theme of aging: where do old people fit in modern society? At the turn of this century 1 person in 25 was over 65, two-thirds of them living in rural communities. Now 1 in 12 is over 65, and two-thirds are in cities where family dwelling places are small.

How can an old person, whose chances of finding work may be only 1 in 3, make himself part of a stream of life in a work economy? Isn't there a time to stop working? To retire? How can a retired person function in society? What is the grand involvement of their last years? What should it be? The experts don't know.

How the aging find their way in society will affect everyone, for in 15 years, thanks to medical advances, 1 in every 10 persons will be over 65. This single group will cast up to one-fourth of votes in elections. They will be the heaviest concentration of old people ever experienced by mankind.

Unless adequate housing, income, medical care are provided for the aging; unless a way is found to involve them in American life once more; unless years of neglect are overcome, the aged—and this is the view of au-

thorities—will stop waiting and start grabbing.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of February 25, 1957]

A NEW OUTLOOK ON OLD AGE—MORALE IS FOUND HIGHEST AMONG THOSE WHO WORK; TIME FOR CREATIVE SELF-REALIZATION IS ALSO URGED

(This is the second of 12 articles on the problems of growing old.)

(By Earl Ubell)

No single ideal of successful old age has captured the energies and imaginations of old people in America today. That fact stands out from the few scientific studies that have been made. We know what to do with youth and middle age but no one seems to know what old age is for.

Thousands have succumbed to the lures of Florida to pass the rest of their days in the sunshine. Many have found quiet happiness there.

A handful—the Baruchs, the Hoovers, and even many lesser known—have achieved classic old age: patriarchs who, with repose and equanimity, continue to portion out wisdom and to influence their families and communities.

But most others remain in their own homes, in most cases hemmed in by low income and fearing the momentary visitation of illness. They try to do what they have always done, always found satisfaction doing: work.

The desire to work dominates the 14 million over 65 in this work-centered society of ours, if the evidence is to be believed. Two out of five of these older men and 1 out of 10 women are still working. Retirement is being resisted.

Dr. Lillien J. Martin, the grand pioneer in helping old people and who died in 1943 at the age of 92 after a lifetime in gerontology, reported that the most bitter complaint of old people was: "I'm no use to anyone, not even myself."

GLOOM FOR THE INACTIVE

One old woman, who had received a beautiful chair as a gift, told Dr. Martin's aid: "Yes, I'm rocking myself to death in it."

Dr. Bernard Kutner, in a study of 500 old people for the Russell Sage Foundation, found the highest morale among those still gainfully employed. Those active in clubs, hobbies, and other interests had somewhat lower morale and gloom swept over the inactive. Married housewives and employed widows were far better off emotionally than the inactive widow.

But Dr. Harry Levine, who as director for old-age centers for the New York City Department of Welfare founded the idea of day centers for disemployed old people, asserts as strongly as he can: "There is a time to stop working for money."

Old age to Dr. Levine is a time for maturity; a time for creative self-realization in art, reading, and craft; a time for voluntary work in society; for contributing social know-how to the family and a time of preparation for the acceptance of death.

Beween these two poles—work versus free time—the country's old people make their compromises. They work where and when they can. A comparative few have hobbies and other interests. They visit their children. They watch television.

In general, as they live apart from their relatives other than their wives, time stretches out in front of them like a railroad track across the desert.

Dr. Leo W. Simmons, a professor of sociology at Yale University, concluded after a study of many primitive societies that successful aging ties closely to property rights and to social usefulness.

"People have aged most successfully," he said, "when they have discovered or created for themselves effective positions and roles in the very societies of which they are a part."

But in this country, another study shows, the status of aged groups—with the exception of propertied upper-class widows and retired farm owners—has declined steadily in the eyes of the public. The old in this country are not creating effective positions for themselves.

TWO INGREDIENTS FOR SUCCESSFUL OLD AGE

Mrs. Geneva Mathiasen, director of the National Committee on the Aging, points out that there is still time for the old to find their way. "After all," she said, "nobody knows what a natural, healthy, economically secure old age is like. It's never existed for large portions of the population."

Whatever the old find as their grand involvement in life, two ingredients must be present in any recipe for successful old age—health and economic security. The two are intertwined.

Dr. Kutner, in his study, found good health among 80 percent of the high-income high-social group compared to only 50 percent among the poor old people.

However, the well-to-do people in Dr. Kutner's survey seemed little affected in their morale by poor health, while the poor in ill health felt dismal. Morale was higher generally among the economically secure than among the poor.

WHEELCHAIR DOESN'T DAMPEN HER SPIRIT

What actually happens to people? Here is a case that departs from statistics. A broken hip did not lower the spirits of a 72-year-old woman in a chronic disease hospital. She had a small income from subletting rooms in her apartment, and she was eager to get out of the wheelchair to get back to work.

"I remember my father always taught us to observe things," she said. "He took us out to the woods and gave us prizes for spotting unusual birds or plants. I have always liked observing things.

"We were always taught to bear no bitterness either. If we fought during the day—my brothers and sisters—we had to make up before dinner time. It was over. These are the things I remember."

So here is a woman who never married, rarely goes to church, does newspaper puzzle contests, has no economic resources. Yet she appears not the least bit mindful of her ill health or the thought of being old.

Is she a successful oldster? By some standards, no. By her own, yes. She seems to have inner resources acquired in her youth, and in spite of what some would call a narrow life she has a good time in her old age.

The lesson from all this for the young and middle aged is a simple one: take care of your health as best you can, develop as many resources for economic security as you can, work if it is possible, or, in its absence start looking for ways to involve yourself in the community as a useful citizen.

And failing all this, look within yourself for hidden emotional resources: a bird your father showed you, the love of a laughing grandchild, or the strength from your religious faith. It's as simple as that.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of February 26, 1957]

A NEW OUTLOOK ON OLD AGE—HOW THE BODY DECLINES: SCIENTISTS SEEKING A WAY TO RELIEVE THE INEXORABLE DETERIORATION OF OLD AGE

(This is the 3d of 12 articles on the problems of growing old.)

(By Earl Ubell)

The old man—he was 89—trudged on a treadmill. Lest he fall, a parachute harness hung from the ceiling gripped him about the waist. Wires spun from his arms and legs carrying electrical impulses to meters and dials. The man's face paled slightly as the moving walk accelerated.

How was the old man's heart reacting to the walk? Had his breathing rate changed? How much energy did he use in walking? How did his muscular efficiency differ from that of a young man? The instruments had the answers.

Experiments such as these, conducted in only a handful of laboratories, are telling scientists what it means—biologically and psychologically—to grow old.

It means, for example, that if the old person's tiny blood vessels in his arms and feet do not constrict when chilled, the blood wastefully pumps heat out of the body. Result: Arguments between an old mother and her daughter over the setting of the thermostat.

It means that the oldster's vision becomes reduced, the higher pitches of sound are not heard and the ability to act quickly declines. This results in an apparent loss of intelligence, but when the old person is allowed to set his own pace he can learn new things.

How many intelligent, capable old people have lost their jobs because they were expected to learn something at high speed under poor visual conditions?

Over all, growing old means a reduction in the use of energy. This may be attributed to weakened muscle strength and reduced activity. The slow degeneration of the thyroid gland may be responsible.

To the brain, age brings hardening of the arteries that feed the nerves. Then arteriosclerosis can dim memory and start the aged to babbling. That is why some old people forget their addresses, their grandchilden's names and often even don't remember to eat.

NEW HOPE GROWS FOR BRINGING RELIEF

The decline in facility is real. The susceptibility to numerous new diseases actually increases. The rate of body growth slows and stops. Sexual activity—as Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey found—drops to a minimum. Each change brings with it another mark adding to the total picture known as old age.

Scientists have new hope that they will discover ways of helping physicians relieve the inexorable deterioration of old age. By understanding the mental and physical apparatus of the old, they will help the aging carve a useful place for themselves in society.

And, they have reason to believe they may succeed in accomplishing what the medieval sorcerer failed to do by magic: increase man's allotted span of life. There are but a few clues here.

Dr. Louis I. Dublin, consultant to the Institute of Life Insurance, reports that every available bit of information sets man's biological age limit near 100 years. Every report of men living longer than that—for example the Indian from Colombia reputed to be at least 150—brings with it suspicious proof of age.

Although science and public health have increased the expected length of life at birth by more than 20 years since the turn of the century by knocking out infectious diseases, little progress has been made in expanding the later years.

CANCER, HEART ILLS STRONG FACTORS

In 1900 your 60-year-old grandfather could expect to live about 14 more years. Today if you are 60 and a man you may expect to live about 15 years longer. This is because cancer and heart disease still take their greatest toll in old age and science has found little control of these afflictions.

Still there is hope. One scientist starves a colony of mice and retards their physical development. Another does the same to fruitflies. The average life spans of both are increased. Can it be that a longer period of growth influences longevity?

One scientist raises waterbugs and a second grows mice. Both raise two lines of beings: one selected as the offspring of young moth-

ers; the other line as the progeny of old mothers.

The young-mother lines increase in vigor and live longer than the old-mother groups, which grow feeble and die out. Insurance statistics suggest, too, that offspring of young mothers live longer than those of older ones. Can there be a chemical—a factor for long life—present in the young animal and handed down to its children?

And finally a Dutch experimenter grows male mice isolated from females. The males become shaggy and lice-ridden, finally dying of what appears to be old age.

But by placing a young female mouse in the cage with the old rodent, the male animal is kept clean, well fed, and healthy, his life span increases considerably. Is there some unknown potent social psychological force that increases life span?

(Dr. Bernard Kutner, in his study of 500 old people, found the poorest morale among the widowed and unmarried who lived apart, socially and residentially.)

In spite of these and other experiments, there is no accepted theory of aging. Some scientists believe that old age is the pitiable result of a series of biological insults—disease, injuries, privations—throughout life.

Others assert that imposed upon the insults is a slow process of aging itself brought about by the accumulation of toxins—particularly calcium—in the body's cells where all the chemical reactions take place. That is why, they say, the speed of electrical impulses through nerves slows down in old age.

And some say that aging is part of the program of human life. The complex processes of life that mesh so neatly to produce infancy, puberty, and virility slowly get out of tempo with each other to produce a discordant chemistry and old age.

But the fact of aging is clear and measurements demonstrate that many biological and psychological powers actually decline with age, while others remain steady throughout life. Even so, individuals age differently.

Dr. Nathan Shock, of the United States Public Health Service and a leader in the research into aging, says it is possible to fix a calendar age and mental age but it appears impossible at this time to give a man a physical age.

By this he means that if you have a heart that is as vigorous as the average 30-year-old, you may have kidneys as feeble as those of a man of 80. But there is no way to determine an average physical age for the young in heart and old in kidneys.

If a physical age could be set in such cases, questions of retirement and employment would be more easily answered. The young man at 80 could be easily separated from the old at 55.

But there is much more to learn. Information on the biology of old people has come largely from those in institutions who are not representative of the whole age range. More work has to be done with normal old people.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of February 27, 1957]

A NEW OUTLOOK ON OLD AGE—JOB BARS START RISING AT 40, BUT REAL BARRIER IS 65; $4 BILLION YEARLY INCOME LOSS LAID TO FIXED LIMIT

(This is the 4th of 12 articles on the problems of old age.)

(By Earl Ubell)

There is no more pathetic story than that of the man capable and willing to work but who is unable to find a job. He is considered too old. He scans the want ads every morning, skipping those that set age limits, marking down those that do not. But he knows from experience what is likely to happen.

"Of course," the personnel director will say, "we do not have an age limitation in our company. But our pension and insurance system would be prohibitively expensive if we hired too many men of your age. Sorry."

Sometimes they lie and say the job is filled. They give other excuses but no job. To the old man this forced unemployment is a spotlight of his uselessness. Socially dead, and often with no other interests, he waits for biological death.

FOUR BILLION-DOLLAR INCOME LOSS

Yet if this man and about a million more like him were back in the labor force, they could add, according to Dr. Sumner Slichter, of Harvard University, about $4 billion a year to national income. At this moment only 2 out of 5 men older than 65—about 2,500,000—are employed.

The further irony is that we now have the greatest number of working people in this country's history and the greatest proportion of old people. They are in the best of health, but we have the lowest participation of the old in the labor force since 1900, when 7 out of 10 worked.

Although those over 65 are hardest hit by age discrimination, the practice reaches into the younger groups, as Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell pointed out recently. Industry considers salesmen "old" at 40, telephone linemen at 45, bookkeepers at 55.

A 56-year-old machine-tool operator in Detroit wrote Secretary Mitchell:

"I had 30 years' seniority in my former job, but now the company has merged with another and moved away. I have been trying for 2½ years to find a job in the automobile industry, but nobody wants a man over 40."

Women drop out of the labor force even more rapidly, from 40 percent employed in young adulthood to 10 percent in the 65-and-over group. The social pressure on them to be employed, however, is not as great as on men.

A much more subtle problem confronts the aging woman, whose principal occupation in 3 out of 4 cases is keeping house. Her children grow up, her household chores contract, and she becomes, in the absence of outside interests, as functionless as her disemployed husband.

In the old-age group, half of the women are widowed, compared with only 1 in 4 men. The engagement of this large group of women in some useful occupation is recognized by the experts as one of the greatest challenges in the old-age problem.

PRESSURE OF YOUNG MEN BELOW FELT

The men who are employed feel the pressure of the young men below them. "Make room for the young," constantly echoes through the old man's mind. One of the reasons originally given for the Federal old-age insurance program was to get older workers out of the labor force.

Is retirement good for those over 65? Some studies show that retired workers are healthier and live longer than those who stay on the job. One study shows that morale drops soon after retirement, then climbs slowly.

But the workers themselves seem less inclined to retire. A study made by the Consolidated Edison Co. showed that 65 percent of retired workers did not want to retire: One-third because of financial pressures, the others because they wanted to work.

In a national study, made by the Bureau of the Census, more than half of the people over 65 who stopped working did so for health reasons. Only 6 percent retired voluntarily because of age, 10 percent having been retired under compulsory regulations.

At present, the merits of flexible or mandatory retirement are under vigorous debate. Under the plan of flexibility a worker may retire at the specified age, usually 65, or continue working with the assent of his employer. Under the mandatory retirement plan he must stop working at 65.

The forced retirement is easiest for the company to apply. No exceptions. No headaches. No cries of favoritism. No union complaints. But the company, it has been shown, can lose valuable workers, sometimes to competing firms. This is especially irritating when many studies show that older workers are almost as efficient as younger employees in many areas of work.

The plan of flexibility requires delicacy. But the rewards are great. Consolidated Edison found that it saved $111,000 out of its pension funds by not retiring 82 workers who wanted to continue. The decision to retire, however, may be difficult to make, especially since there are no clear-cut ways of determining the physical age of a worker. Some may be older physically than their years; others much younger.

Those who do retire sometimes meet with economic disaster as they attempt to use their savings to enter small business. Mrs. Geneva Mathiasen, director of the National Committee on the Aging, guesses that the bankruptcy rate for new businesses started by people over 65 must be inordinately high.

"The chicken farmer who has been working hard all his life to make a go of it finally retires to a small apartment in the city where he can be near his children," she said, "but the city man, without any experience, thinks he's going to buy that farm and make a great success out of it."

To forestall such failures, many companies are instituting preretirement counseling. Such counseling includes advice on how to get medical help, how to involve oneself in the community, how to do a hundred and one things with the copious free time that retirement brings.

Labor unions have become interested in the retired worker, too. The United Automobile Workers have 50,000 retired, voting members who wield great power in certain locals. Unions are beginning to include anti-age discrimination clauses in their contracts too.

State Senator Thomas C. Desmond, of Newburgh, chairman of New York's legislative committee on aging, recently suggested a legal bar to age discrimination in the State. Massachusetts already has such a law. Before long, the old people may have enough votes to get such legislation in many States.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of February 28, 1957]

A NEW OUTLOOK ON OLD AGE—THE ECONOMIC PROSPECT: 2 OUT OF 5 MEN OVER 65 AND 4 OUT OF 5 WOMEN GET LESS THAN $1,000 A YEAR

(This is the 5th of 12 articles on the problems of old age.)

(By Earl Ubell)

"How is it," the old woman asked, "that I took care of 10 children and now 10 children cannot take care of one mother?" This widow, who at 68 lives alone in a cold-water flat, gave a human twist to the statistic that in American life today old people have little income. The figures for 14 million persons over 65? Two out of 5 men and 4 out of 5 women receive less than $1,000 a year. Only 1 in 12 has an income above $60 a week. One out of 10 has no income at all.

OLD-AGE BENEFITS BRIGHTEN OUTLOOK

And were it not for the spectacular rise of Federal old-age insurance in the last 2 decades, the outlook for old people would be much darker. At present, half of the men in that age group and 40 percent of the women get old-age benefits.

In the future things may improve, particularly for those workers in industries with pension plans. They will receive incomes from social security and their pensions which in some cases will go as high as $260 a month.

Generally, however, income from all sources for the aged group now is on the

average one-third of that of those who are but 10 years younger. The big drop in income comes from disemployment.

Such a contraction in funds has it effects not only on morale, as Dr. Bernard Kutner found in his study of 500 old people, but also on housing and health. Even though two-thirds own their own homes, lack of funds tends to make them rundown.

ELDERLY NEED LESS TO SURVIVE

On the whole, old people need less with which to survive because they do not have the expense of going to work. But their standard of living drops * * * fewer new clothes, a lowering of the quality of food, and, at a time when they are needed most, outside interests and church attendance may decline.

With 1 in 7 oldsters suffering from an illness of 3 months or more in any 1 year, low income makes them medically indigent. Any sort of illness throws the low-income person on the public assistance rolls. In recent years, however, the proportion getting Federal public assistance has declined slightly thanks to the increase of old-age insurance benefits.

The problem of meeting medical bills may be acute for the old-age group, particularly when many private insurance companies cancel, or do not issue, health insurance policies to those over 65. Some will pay a single claim on an old man's first illness and then cancel the policy. These practices keep premium rates low but do not provide adequate protection.

There has been increasing pressure to bar by legislative action this insurance discrimination against old people. Such a law would help the aged get insurance at a time when they need it most.

One thing is clear, support of the aged by children is not the rule. The Bureau of the Census found that regular contributions in cash to the aged from relatives and friends not living with them appear to be a negligible source of income.

OCCASIONAL GIFTS ONLY MINOR HELP

However, occasional gifts are being made by relatives to old people and may average about $20 a year for 20 percent of the aged couples and 30 percent of the widows and widowers living alone.

The Federal-insurance program covers the biggest proportion. Between 1948 and 1956 the fraction receiving these benefits jumped from 1 in 8 to every other person over 65. The total now stands at about 6,500,000 according to the latest estimates.

Under the new schedules of payment, the 65-year-old worker can get family benefits up to $200 a month and he can earn up to $1,200 more a year without losing this income. This depends on his having earned at least $350 a month before retiring.

In addition, under the new law workers who become disabled are eligible for the same benefits as the retired worker.

The impact of social-security programs has been felt particularly in housing, where as a result of the fixed monthly income more than 80 percent of the aged now live in their own households. How the new law and benefits will affect the future social development of the aged is unknown at this moment.

MANY POSSESS NO MONEY AT ALL

There are, of course, many old people who have no money income at all. These are a large proportion of the 500,000 in institutions. However, the chronically indigent population among the aged may be as high as 1 in 10: 1,400,000 persons.

Those who work are in the best position of all since they continue to make money at about the rate of the rest of the population. However, only 2 out of 5 men have gainful employment when they reach 65 and over. Only 1 in 10 may be working past the age of 75.

Taking the financial picture as a whole, the future looks much better for the old person than at any time in the past. Social security accounts for most of the improvement, while industrial pension plans also make for optimism.

However, if the trend toward disemployment continues, the aged worker will get into more financial difficulty in the future and in 15 or 20 years, when he has one-fourth of the votes in a national election, he may do something about it.

In California a few years ago, the aged caused to be adopted a public welfare plan that would have bankrupted the State and had to be repealed in a year. The next time there may be no repeal.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of March 1, 1957]

NEW OUTLOOK ON OLD AGE—GERIATRIC CLINIC AIDS IN MEDICAL, PERSONAL PROBLEMS; HELPS AGED COUPLES FIND A MORE SATISFYING LIFE

(This is the 6th of 12 articles on the problems of old age.)

(By Earl Ubell)

Under no circumstances would his wife let him work. She would not consent to his visiting the grandchildren because that meant he would have to climb a flight of steps. After all, she would admonish him like a solicitous mother, he had a heart attack 6 years ago and now he was 72—an old man. She was 58.

For this man—a skilled cabinetmaker—life had become a painful biological prison. More than a few times he thought of escaping. His patience was rewarded after a friend suggested he visit Beth Israel Hospital's geriatrics clinic.

Like half of the 14 million persons in this country who are over 65, this man had a serious medical problem. It cut across the whole of his life. And but for his illness and overprotective wife, he might still be a useful man.

SOMETIMES THE CLINIC FINDS THEM JOBS

Beth Israel's geriatrics clinic is one of only a few in the country; Boston had the first.

"The doctors there are giving medical checkups," a friend of the cabinetmaker told him. "They tell you what to eat, how to take care of yourself. They even find you a job."

A job? It didn't seem possible but then he went to Stuyvesant Square and 12th Street to Beth Israel Hospital.

Haltingly, he asked the receptionist where the special clinic for old people was. He was directed to the geriatrics nurse to arrange an appointment.

Perhaps it was his reaction to that first visit—respect and consideration for one needing help—that encouraged the man to return for his appointment even though his worrisome wife tried to discourage him. "It might affect your heart," she said.

In the waiting room, on his second visit, the man was in the company of other old people. Their ills were among those that afflict many over 45: diabetes, heart disease, arthritis, kidney ailments, high blood pressure, and tuberculosis. The cabinetmaker wanted to talk to them, but his impaired hearing shut him off.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF PATIENT HELPS

When his turn came, he was taken first to the chief social worker to answer many questions about his social history. Knowing of the patient's poor hearing, the social worker asked the questions in a loud voice.

Patiently, she drew out details of his life. The heart attack, he lamented, had made him useless. The life of a son, who lived at home, was being ruined. The son wanted to get married, but was supporting his parents and feared to leave lest something happen to them.

Next step at the clinic: One of five physicians who serve the clinic without pay traced the patient's health record as far back as the old man's memory would go. About the heart attack? No, it hadn't been too bad, he recalled, but his wife was in terror that he would die. Any pain? Yes, in his back. Probably from his heart, he said.

The doctor thumped the old man's chest, listened to the heart beat, checked for cancer, treated nerve reflexes, searched for those silent infections so common among the old.

Then the electrocardiogram, to measure the extent of that old heart damage. A nurse took blood for anemia and syphilis tests, urine to check for diabetes. Another doctor administered a brain wave test in search of the first sign of paralysis fairly common in men of his age.

PSYCHIATRIC TEST FOLLOWS PHYSICAL

Later: Another physician talked to him gently. It was the psychiatrist. This consultation is part of the program because almost one-third of first admissions to State hospitals are persons over 65. More important, old people are often lonely, with feelings of futility and fear.

The psychiatrist probed. The old man wanted to work, but, of course, his heart * * *. (The psychiatrist already knew that the old heart attack hadn't been as bad as the man presumed.) About his wife: he couldn't seem to do anything without her.

Through it all * * * the nurses, the physicians, the psychiatrists, the tests, the social workers * * *, the old man began to take interest because people were showing an interest in him. He looked toward the day of the big conference on his case.

The clinic, assigned him a physician, a man to whom the cabinetmaker could take his troubles, both medical and mental. It was this doctor who told him:

WITH THE FACTS IN, HELP FOLLOWS

"Your heart is not bad at all," he said, "that old scar on your heart is quite healed. The pain you feel is arthritis in your spine. We can do something about that. We also think you're not eating properly. And, oh yes, we're giving you a hearing aid."

A dietitian called a conference for the old man and his wife (she had been to the psychiatrist, too). They needed to eat less since their bodily demands for energy were less as they grew older. Any excess calories were turned to fat. They must limit their starch and sugar intake or digestive disturbances might result. No cooking in fats, either

The dietitian emphasized the value of meat and fish for protein content and lots of green, leafy vegetables to overcome constipation. Perhaps it would be a good idea to take occasional vitamin pills, since oldsters seem to need more of them.

Another talk with the social worker. The doctors had said he could work—not too much, to be sure—so the social worker found a job for him as a cabinetmaker in a factory for the handicapped, a sheltered workshop.

Things are better at home now, in spite of the fact the old man was injured recently in an auto accident. Now he looks forward to getting well. His wife understands that for him to live is to work and she interferes as little as possible. The son looks toward a life of his own.

Actually the cabinetmaker was lucky. The clinic now has its maximum of 100 patients and cannot take any more. But this same program can be done through other clinics in general hospitals if they focused on the problem.

Dr. Lee Burney, United States Surgeon General, proposes demonstration programs by the Public Health Service of "well oldster" clinics to help older persons stay well, because health is one of the basic problems in the overall pattern of aiding the aging.

Official medical circles also recognize that the care of the aged will fall largely on the family doctors. Not every city can have a geriatrics clinic.

But physicians have yet to learn how to use the services of social workers, dietitians, and other social personnel. They also have to learn to focus on the old man or woman as having not only a physical ailment but perhaps a debilitating mental and social condition which often can be improved.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of March 3, 1957]

NEW OUTLOOK ON OLD AGE—1 OUT OF 7 BECOMES CHRONICALLY ILL EACH YEAR; TECHNIQUES BEING DEVELOPED TO REHABILITATE THEM

(This is the seventh of 12 articles on the problems of old age.)

(By Earl Ubell)

Chronic disease, more than anything else, can be the heaviest blow to the average older person's chance of a comparatively secure life in his later years.

If he recovers, the ailment—defined as chronic if it last 3 months or longer—is likely to leave his health shaken, sap his finances, and set off a chain of circumstances leading to a dangerously low standard of living. With his savings drained, he usually moves to a poorer dwelling, not infrequently to a slum. His eating habits become irregular. Thriftily he cuts recreation and buys little, if any, new clothes. Result: his morale and general health slowly decline.

Until recently, physicians in general were less interested in chronic ailments of the aged than in trying to keep the young healthy. The philosophy of "why spend so much time on an incurable" dominated. That attitude is changing. More and more, physicians are turning to the chronically ill older patients and getting increasing numbers back on their feet.

1 OUT OF 7 CHRONICALLY ILL EACH YEAR

These old people may not be cured but the difference is between a miserable, bedfast existence or a bright, happier outlook with a measure of physical independence. The cold fact, in this respect, is that 1 out of 7 older persons will be chronically ill each year.

Twenty years ago a hip injury or a stroke to an older person would have ended fatally within a few months in 8 cases out of 10. Bedridden, the victim soon would be covered with bed sores, kidneys would stop working, and finally pneumonia would step in.

The case of a 75-year-old woman now at Goldwater Memorial Hospital in New York with a broken hip illustrates the change that has taken place. Unfortunately, the new techniques for the aged and chronic sickness have not spread far enough nor fast enough.

The old widow at Goldwater, a former seamstress, fell on the steps of her house. Her fragile hip bone snapped. Within a few days surgeons had inserted a metal pin to clamp the sheared edges of the bone together. The next day she was in a wheel chair in the sunroom of the hospital's rehabilitation service.

There she saw a cross section of what can be seen in hospitals for chronic diseases of the aged. It was only a small fraction of the chronically ill aged. Eighty-five percent are found outside institutions: a total of more than 1,700,000 in their homes, in the homes of relatives or with friends.

NEW HOPE FOR VICTIMS OF PARKINSON'S DISEASE

Several women in that sunroom had suffered strokes. A brain artery had clogged or burst, shutting off blood to the nerve cells and damaging them beyond repair. Half, sometimes all, of the body is paralyzed. Frequently speech is lost.

She also saw severe cases of diabetes, patients who had lost a limb because of gangrene. Others were crippled by arthritis which froze arm and leg joints. Others had fractured hips, too.

These were the "fortunate" ones. The old men and women with shaking palsy may never get out of the hospital. However, a new operation in which a deep brain center is destroyed with alcohol injections gives new hope for these victims of Parkinson's disease.

The old with chronic heart pains may now be relieved with new drugs, but their chances of getting out of bed or out of the wheel chair are slim. There are also new drugs for high blood pressure than can enable an old person to leave the hospital.

Those with the least chance of recovery are the mentally ill among the aged, of whom there are 150,000 in institutions. Unfortunately, medical science has little to offer these patients whose brain arteries are hardening and producing mental confusion.

In also any mental hospital there are old men and women unable to care even for their smallest personal needs even to the extent of having to be fed like babies. Many have been that way 5 years or longer.

Medical authorities like Dr. Lawrence Kolb, former assistant United States Surgeon General, have asserted that many old people do not belong in mental hospitals but they are sent there because they have no place else to go. But a survey made by Connecticut State Mental Hospital physicians demonstrated that almost all aged patients had mental changes requiring hospitalization.

The recent increase of old persons in mental hospitals can be attributed to the large increase in oldsters in the population and to the benefits of penicillin and other compounds which are keeping them alive longer in the institutions.

So the old woman with the hip fracture can consider herself lucky. Even the amputees and the paralyzed may look forward to the possibility of caring for themselves again. Some stroke victims might even regain partial or total speech.

At Goldwater, only an occasional patient is kept in bed in the geriatrics rehabilitation section. This is because the hospital endeavors to restore the physical abilities of patients after surgery and medicine have done their work. That is rehabilitation.

POTENTIALITIES ARE EVALUATED

Dr. Michael Dasco, who directs the service, first evaluated the old woman's potentialities. How bad was the break? How strong was she? Did she have any other medical difficulties? How soon could she walk again? Did she have mental problems?

Then the slow, upward climb for the patient toward self-reliance began. Although the woman was 75, lifting weights (small ones) was prescribed to strengthen her arm muscles for the eventual use of crutches. The tempo of her calisthenics increased to improve her breathing ability, revive her flaccid muscles, limber stiffened joints, and increase her body tone.

Finally she was put on her feet, even before the hip bone had completely healed. But she was supported to keep her full weight off the slowly mending break. It has been found that bones that do not bear weight get even more brittle.

She learned to get in and out of bed by herself again, to climb into a wheel chair and to navigate it. After 8 months she was walking unaided. The bones were set.

Not every case is a success. The stroke victims often don't fare as well. But they can learn to do many things with 1 hand and 1 leg paralyzed: getting dressed, shaving, getting in and out of bed * * * among the hundred and one activities the unimpaired do instinctively every day.

FOUR OUT OF FIVE REHABILITATED IN ONE COUNTY HOME

A study of patients in the county home for aged in Allegheny (Pittsburgh) County, Pa., showed that of 308 bedfast patients, 4 out of 5 had been rehabilitated sufficiently to walk in a program for which less than $200 was spent on equipment. Two-thirds of the patients were older than 50; all had been in the home many years.

But many of the disabled aged in this country do not get the chance to learn to walk again or even to get out of their beds. Almost 200,000 in homes for the aged and nursing homes do not even hear the word rehabilitation.

A few, including the Mary Manning Walsh Home and the Home for the Aged and Infirm Hebrews, both in New York, have full-scale medical, social, and rehabilitation programs. Others are beginning to catch on to the possibilities.

But the nursing homes, again with exceptions, give minimal care for an average charge per patient of $200 a month. One United States Public Health Service study of homes in 13 States showed that in some places as many as a quarter of the patients had not seen a doctor in 6 months.

In New York special homesteads are being planned for those chronic patients who no longer need hospital care but who cannot get adequate care anywhere else. Some charge that this is an attempt to reestablish the poorhouse of former times.

Welfare Commissioner Henry McCarthy declares that New York will never see the dilapidated city home again. The homestead will compare favorably, he says, with the best of private homes for the aged. If so, a new era in the care of the poor, infirm, aged has begun.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of March 4, 1957]

NEW OUTLOOK ON OLD AGE—MANY OF THE LONELY AGED IN SLUMS; "WHERE CAN I GO?" EXPERIMENTS IN HOUSING OFFER HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

(This is the 8th of 12 articles on the problems of old age.)

(By Earl Ubell)

At some crucial point in his later years, and old person finds himself emotionally or economically tied to the place in which he lives. That happens long after his home has become a machine too dangerous and difficult for him to operate.

By that time, he no longer has a choice in finding a new dwelling. If he does move, it frequently coincides with a major crisis in his life: Widowhood, chronic illness, or loss of income or savings. Yet 4 out of 5 old persons maintain their own households.

What happens to an average old couple living in a 2-story 7-room house? Why are the aged living in the slums of almost every big city? Penniless widows comprise one-quarter of all women over 65; where do they go?

There are some unpleasant answers in the United States Bureau of Census information. But there is hope for the aged in this respect in a dozen new experiments in housing for them. The developments are insignificant in number, but they point to the future.

LIVE IN HOUSE WHERE THEY REARED CHILDREN

The census information indicates that typical among the 2 out of 3 old couples who are living in their own homes is the man and woman who still have the house in which they reared 4 children. They have the old mohair living-room furniture and even the old cradles. On the walls are the pictures of their grandchildren.

"The house needs painting but John can't do it," the 65-year-old woman told me on a recent visit. "He can't climb the ladder. He's 71 you know. It will cost $400 if we hire somebody. I guess it will have to wait."

The old couple use fewer of the six rooms in the house because climbing stairs and house cleaning have become too difficult to do on a regular basis.

"We like this house," the woman said. "The children keep telling us to move into an efficiency apartment. But the mortgage is paid and you know how that feels."

OLD HOUSES CONTAIN HAZARDS FOR THE AGED

But there are hazards there for the aged. The bathtub is old fashioned and slippery. Last year John fell in it and strained a ligament. Will he break his hip next time? Will he trip on the stairs? Take a tumble putting up a screen? Everywhere in that house is a danger spot for those no longer sure of foot or sight or subject to sudden dizziness.

The old person in the slum tenement, where one finds a greater proportion of old people than in private homes, has a much harder time of it. The rent averages about $30 a month. There are stairs to climb. In about half of the tenements there is no hot running water, toilet, or separate bath. If there is a cooking facility, it is a gas stove to threaten asphyxiation for the old person who may fall asleep while the cereal boils over.

Large numbers of the aged in slums subsist on relief or old-age insurance checks which average about $80 a month. Rather than spend their allowances on good raw food and cook it, they eat in restaurants because it's warm there and there are people to talk to. This gets translated into high-starch diets.

Such poor housing brings with it tuberculosis, mental ailments, and a high rate of chronic illness. In Tennessee a study by State authorities proved that rundown buildings produce a high incidence of that common injury to old people—hip fracture.

THOSE WHO RENT SAY, "WHERE WOULD I GO?"

Why do 4 out of 5 old people continue to maintain their own households despite the obvious difficulties?

While sentiment plays a great part in those owning their own homes, those who rent have a different reply.

"Where else would I go?" said an old widow. "My son, he can't have me in his three-room apartment. I can't afford a fancy place on my widow's pension. Go to an old folks home? Never. That's like dying."

But a great many old widows, perhaps 1 in 4 women, live with a son, daughter, or other relatives. In these situations, too familiar to social workers and clergymen everywhere, the abrasion of the old against the young lays bare the basic conflicts of the aged in an industrial society.

SOME COMPLAINTS OF A SON-IN-LAW

Take the case of a 73-year-old widow who lives with her daughter and son-in-law in a 5-room suburban ranch house. She has the third bedroom. With no outside interests except an occasional card game with friends, she watches television most of the day. What else does she do? Listen to her son-in-law:

"She's got the 'needle' out all day long. I can close the door behind it when I go to work, but my wife has to take it all day long.

"I can still hear her: 'You don't cook right. Don't spoil the baby. You smoke too much. You stay out too late. The house is too cold.' All day long. How much can my wife take?

"And then at night. We don't know if she's asleep or not. She's always listening. I'm going crazy. I wish I'd never bought this house. I would rather live in 3 rooms than have her with us.

"I know that's a terrible thing to say, but I can't help it."

Some old men and women find ways to be useful in the homes of their children: Baby sitting, helping with the housekeeping, tending the garden. But apparently they are in the minority.

THEY RESIST GOING TO HOMES FOR AGED

It is this kind of social pressure that has turned the thoughts of many public officials and social workers in the field of the aged to homes for the aged where the old would be fed, cared for, provided with various activities, and out of the way.

The old people, however, resist going to such places. To aged parents, efforts of their children to get them to live in a home for the aged is interpreted as rejection. "They are trying to get rid of me."

So strong is this feeling against homes that when the New York City Housing Authority recently built experimental apartments with nonskid floors, bathtubs, and railings for safety, the oldsters complained that the dwellings looked too institutional.

Yet the old must have housing that is both safe and inexpensive, so that they may have a choice of where they may live in comfort. The housing must be so arranged that they can live there long after ordinary dwellings would have become too much for them.

Miss Ollie Randall, who operated an apartment house in New York's Tompkins Square for the aged for many years for the Community Service Society, points out that the dwellings must also ease the fear of the old that in case of accident or illness "nobody will be around to hear me or to take care of me."

ARGUE CLOSE LIVING VERSUS SCATTERING

Housing officials, social agencies, and others have recommended many solutions: A village of small houses, three rooms at the most; a large city housing development with central dining facilities; a section of special apartments in an ordinary housing development; and deluxe public homes for the aged.

At present there is an argument among experts: Should old people be congregated or should they be spread about the community?

Living together, they can have nearby medical care; special facilities; they may eat inexpensively and well in cafeterialike dining halls; and they can have the company of contemporaries in recreational activity.

Opposed to this is the theory that by lumping the old together they are being segregated from the rest of the community. This makes the older person feel, it is said, that they are not wanted by society, that they have nothing to contribute, that they have no individuality, and that all that the future holds is death.

The argument may be resolved from the current experiments: New York City has 4 low-rent housing projects with some apartments for the elderly; Cleveland has a 14-story apartment house with two-thirds set aside for the aged in 2-bedroom, 1-kitchen units; Chicago plans 350 units for the aged with elevators, ramps, and emergency buzzers.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of March 5, 1957]

A NEW OUTLOOK ON OLD AGE—RECREATION, CRAFTS AT GOLDEN AGE CLUBS HELP FILL THE VACUUM OF TIME IN THE LIVES OF MANY OLDSTERS

(This is the 9th of 12 articles on the problems of old age.)

(By Earl Ubell)

"Dos-a-dos. Allemande left. Circle right and swing your partner." A young girl with short black hair was the caller. The music came from a scratchy phonograph. Laughter filled the long, narrow room. The average of the dancers was 70.

After the dance, the old men and women went back to their chairs along the wall to wait until the young girl—a group worker in New York's Lenox Hill Settlement House—would start the next activity.

For the oldsters, the dances, clay modeling, sewing, singing were all minutes and hours that would help them fill the biggest vacuum in their lives: the expanse of time.

"You ask why do people come here?" a retired chef said. "Why to forget their troubles. Some have been sick and lonely. Maybe their children don't write them. Me? I got to keep busy."

That's the way it is in several hundred Golden Age Clubs that have sprung up across the country like blossoms in the desert lives of many old folk. The clubs have given them something to do for the first time in many years and many of them belong to more than one group.

The chef had to stop work because he had both a heart ailment and a persistent rash on his legs. He had never married and lived alone in a cold-water flat in a fourth-floor walkup.

"This is a wonderful place. You can get to see people once in a while. You know what I mean. A person can't be alone all the time. Let me take you to see my pottery."

Besides pottery, many settlement houses and church and community centers, once focussed solely on youth, now offer a variety of activities for the aged, most of them of the arts, crafts, and handicraft type. They offer job counseling, advice on housing, summer camp trips, help with personal problems. All may be vital to the 70-year-old separated from family and friends.

Dr. Harry Levine, director of service for the aging in New York City's welfare department, started one of the first of these centers for the aged in 1942. He believes the programs there prevent mental illness.

"We keep them out of the mental hospitals," he says, "and we know that with the day center the unnecessary visits to the medical clinic drop off 40 percent."

Dr. Levine believes that activity by itself as a primary human need expressed physically and emotionally is fundamental in preserving a personality. "The older person," he says, "needs to fill in his unused day with activity that will continue to use his abilities and his experience * * * to give him a feeling of adequacy, accomplishment, and usefulness."

You would think older persons would crowd the centers, but the truth is, only a minute fraction of them take advantage of the facilities. Many, of course, do not know that the centers exist, but there are other attitudes.

A typical case found in any social caseworker's files might be that of the 70-year-old retired seaman who lives with his daughter. He never leaves the house, rarely bathes, and talks of little else but food and his arthritis. His daughter suggested a "golden-age center."

"It's too cold to go outside now. Besides, what would I do there? Play games like a kid? Talk to ugly old women? Leave me alone. You just want to get me out of the house."

Actually, Dr. Bernard Kutner, who did a study of 500 persons over 60 for the Russell Sage Foundation, found that activity alone can lift morale, but is not as great a stimulus to the aged as employment. So the centers are trying to find activities which the aged can see as useful.

Another reason given by social workers as to why old people shun the centers is that to do so would be an admission that they are old and that their lives are no longer useful for anything but "kid's play."

At the Educational Alliance Settlement House on the lower East Side can be found many old persons who simply attend to get a warm place to sit for a few hours.

There are also those who do not have the necessary skills with which to participate in many of the arts and crafts at the centers. Although old people can learn, as psychological experiments have demonstrated, they hesitate to take on new interests.

Dr. W. Virgil Nestrick, of the New York Board of Higher Education, and Dr. Jay B.

Nash, former head of physical education at New York University, demonstrated in two separate studies that the pattern of leisure-time activities is formed very early in life.

Dr. Nash found that most hobbies and crafts have their origin before the age of 12 in activities around the house. Dr. Nestrick's survey showed that constructional hobbies usually were associated with pleasant experiences with those activities during the teens.

For many of the aged then, settlement house programs may be pointed in directions in which the old person has no basic interest. Dr. Paul Lemkau, director of New York's mental health board, points out that persons from different social groups in society have different goals in life and that single "cultural" programs may fail to serve many.

Despite these considerations, Dr. Levine envisions the time when all will be prepared for leisure in old age and such centers as he has established will everywhere be engaging the talents, energies and spirit of the old people. They will be come useful by simply using their leisure time, he says.

Until the impact of the Golden Age Centers is studied scientifically, little can be said about their ultimate place as a resource for recreation and leisure.

But the aged will continue to draw on their community as they always have. They will go to the movies sit in parks, attend concerts, gossip, read as much as they are able, watch television, or do nothing.

Unless they have the resources to do otherwise, the old person can find his later years a very lonely twilight.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of March 6, 1957]

A NEW OUTLOOK ON OLD AGE—RELIGION PLAYS ROLE IN COMFORTING THOSE WHO FACE ETERNITY, BUT MORE COULD BE DONE FOR THEM

(This is the 10th of 12 articles on the problems of old age)

(By Earl Ubell)

There are many opinions by informed laymen and the clergy as to the effect of religious faith and activity on the lives of the aged, but few scientific studies by lay or religious groups have measured the impact in concrete terms.

This is the handicap in trying to determine what religion can, or should, do for the aged beset with physical, economic, and social ills.

A spot survey of clergy of all faiths discloses a frank admission, with few exceptions, that their emphasis on youth and the family has resulted in neglect of old people. Church and synagogue services, of course, are available for all, but the aged seem to be left out of plans for other activities.

Typical of many observations is one by a church social worker quoted in the Christian Century:

"We've excused ourselves on the ground that we must prepare children to face life, but these older people are facing eternity."

The depth of faith among old people was illustrated by a 70-year-old widow living apart from her children. "My religion gives me strength and resignation," she said, "and resignation is a wonderful thing. Nothing that happens to me now will matter much."

FORTY TO SIXTY-FIVE PERCENT OF ELDERLY COMFORTED BY FAITH

The widow's words are echoed by the few available studies: between 40 and 65 percent of elderly comforted by faith. But what about the other half? How do they respond spiritually to old age? The studies leave the questions unanswered.

Lack of facilities, low income, poor health, and feelings of rejection may prevent many old people from participating in religious activities. And despite the advantages old people report they derive from religion, churchgoing declines in later years.

Three investigations appear to bear out the decreased contact of the aged with established churches, although other research strongly suggests that religious faith strengthens rather than declines in old age.

A national poll by the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup poll) reported that persons over 50 attend church less than any other adult-age group. This same survey reported that only half of American adults attend church during any week.

The second study, reported in the Archives of Psychology, told of 381 recipients of old-age assistance in New York State. Nine out of 10 formerly went to church, but at the time of study, more than half no longer did.

The third investigation—the most thorough ever made on the religious impact of the aged—covered 400 aged Catholics in the Roman Catholic Parish of St. Philip Neri, St. Louis, Mo. One out of four reported less frequent attendance at mass. Sixteen percent reported increased frequency.

UNDERLYING INTEREST IN RELIGION NOTED

Despite these findings, the St. Louis survey and another reported in Problems of Aging, by Dr. Ruth Cavan, reported that Bible reading and listening to religious radio programs apparently increased with age. This was taken as evidence of an underlying interest in religion. This applied to about two-thirds of those interviewed.

Yet the St. Louis study shows that 2 out of 3 old people take no interest in church activities outside of worship; the clubs, guilds, societies, auxiliaries. This strengthens the impression about the old person's nonparticipation held by clergy of other faiths.

Although a primary lack of interest in religion may account for a large proportion of the apparent disaffection in almost half the old people, illness plays the biggest role in preventing attendance at church functions.

The St. Louis study also showed that 1 in 4 found it difficult just to get to church. The New York survey indicated that difficulty in climbing church steps was a deterrent. This same investigation reported complaints of rejection. The old people lamented:

"Nobody seems to remember me any more."

"I don't like to go when I can't pay my way."

"I'm so ashamed of my old clothes among all the finery."

To overcome these feelings, clergy of all faiths have renewed their interest in the aged. They have established golden-age centers molded after secular centers for the aged. They provide counseling services and contribute financial and occasionally even medical aid.

CHURCH KIND OF GIVES UP WITH THE ELDERLY

The Reverend Dr. Paul B. Maves, associate professor of religious education at Drew Theological Seminary (Methodist), Madison, N. J., points out that with approximately 50 percent of the population affiliated with a church, the church kind of gives up with the elderly because they are rather discouraging prospects for members. * * * In recent years, the churches, however, have been showing a remarkable interest.

George M. Murray, who heads services for the aging in the family department of Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, says that "the church for years has been the place where older people come as a kind of meeting place, but practically nothing was done for them. These people built most of the parishes. It's time more was done for them."

Rabbi I. Fred Hollander, director of the Institute for Pastoral Psychiatry for the New York Board of Rabbis, says that "Religious leaders are behind the eight ball in aiding the aged, but not more and not less than other groups * * *."

Besides the direct effect of religion and religious institutions on the aged, there is the shaping of attitudes toward the aged by the clergy. What is the religious implication of aging?

The Reverend Robert A. Ford, family service director for New York's Catholic Charities, says that "The church takes the viewpoint that we are in exile here * * * we hope to lay the groundwork to get them [the old people] on the right road to bring them to their eternal home."

Rabbi Hollander commented: "The problem of tomorrow becomes very real to the older person. If a person has been religiously minded all his life, the answer is simple—there is a tomorrow. To a person not religious, there is a concern with these questions. Science does not answer them."

And further, the clergy has something to say about the attitudes of children toward parents. Jews and Christians are commanded to honor them. But this commandment is put under stress in modern life.

There is the young mother who has her old mother living with her and because of the old woman's interference, the daughter's marriage and home life are threatened. This drama, repeated thousands of times today, brings the question: Should the old woman live with her children if the situation is not harmonious?

YOUNG COUPLE FACES A LOT OF PROBLEMS

The Reverend Dr. Henry J. Whiting, of the National Lutheran Council, says that the young couple faces "housing, inflation and a lot of problems. And it is just not fair to say a young couple must take grandma into the home."

Father Ford says that despite the natural responsibility of the children, some married children simply won't care for an aged parent.

"Many would," he says, "but can't because of space. And there are those who want to, and do, and find themselves with a crotchety old person living with them who may actually threaten their marriage. * * * We advise them to have the older person moved."

Rabbi Hollander concludes that "although recognizing the basic religious concept of responsibility, the younger generation has been unable to meet it."

[From the New York Herald Tribune of March 7, 1957]

A NEW OUTLOOK ON OLD AGE—SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH HOLDS KEY TO DEVELOPING LONGER, BETTER, AND MORE PRODUCTIVE ELDERLY LIFE

(This is the 11th of 12 articles on the problems of old age.)

(By Earl Ubell)

Scientific research has great hope of helping old people in the future. For example, there is no reason known to scientists why many of the chronic ills of old age may not someday be prevented. It also may be possible to increase the span of life beyond what now appears to be the 100-year biological limit. There seems to be no bar to the psychological unraveling of the mental tangles of old persons, improving not only their emotional health but also increasing their skills and learning powers to prepare them for a useful old age.

And there is no natural block to the invention and development by social scientists of special housing, useful activities, and social arrangements for old people to give them a firm place in American society, a place they do not now have.

GAP MUST BE FILLED WITH SCIENTIFIC DATA

But there is a great chasm between these possibilities and the actualities. The gap

must be filled with scientific data, but until recently only a minimum of research has been done in any of the areas of aging: biology, psychology, or social action.

Until recently scientists have shown little interest in old people. They have been busy investigating infectious diseases. They have been engrossed in the psychology of college sophomores, the most handy experimental animal to a university psychology professor. And they have tied their social research to young people in trouble, to families breaking up, to the movement of culture.

They have not had time for the silent mass of aged.

Aside from lack of interest, the subjects for the investigation of the biology and psychology of aging have come largely from old-age homes and chronic-disease hospitals. This has given a distorted picture of what aging actually is.

What does an ordinary old person feel? How does he live? What does he eat? How many friends does he have? What activities engross him? What kinds of jobs does he have? How does he budget his money? Although much research has been done, these are largely unanswered questions.

On the biological front, Dr. A. I. Lansing, associate professor of anatomy at Washington University, St. Louis, comments in Cowdry's Problems of Aging, which he edited:

"What is aging? When does aging begin? What cellular components are affected by the aging process? Is aging an inevitable feature of life? What are the age changes which bring about the ultimate death of the organism? We do not have even the beginnings of answers to any of these questions."

Dr. Alex Comfort, a British researcher who reviewed literature on senescence, suggests that the best way to get some of these answers would be to cultivate an interest in all biologists in the problems of aging. The experiments done on animals, usually young animals, should be extended, he said, to include aging ones.

To stimulate such interest Dr. Nathan Shock, of the United States Public Health Service, a leading researcher in gerontology, organized last year a symposium on aging—the first ever held—for 6,000 biologists in Atlantic City.

Much of the work now being done in the laboratories—of which all too few are concerned with aging—is concentrated on the behavior of the basic biological unit, the cell, which carries on in microcosm the chemical processes of life.

CELLULAR CHEMISTRY SAID TO HOLD ANSWER

If the mysteries of cellular chemistry can be unfolded, many scientists believe, the answers not only to the mystery of aging but to cancer, heart disease, and arthritis may also be found. These diseases of the aged appear to be diseases of the cells.

Dr. Shock and others are working on the response of whole organs and the whole body to aging. As described in a previous article of this series, their work is showing that the breathing, kidney, and sugar-using functions of older persons slow down.

And out of these studies could there not come a way to extend life? Dr. Comfort says yes. But the problem remains: How to do it? Research may tell.

In the realm of psychology, Dr. John E. Anderson, of the University of Minnesota, says: "In spite of the fairly substantial literature now in existence * * * little more has been done than to block out or suggest the problems that might well be undertaken."

CITES PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF AGING

Dr. Anderson, in summarizing a recent conference on the psychological aspects of aging, listed more than 200 unanswered questions about the mental and emotional status of old people. A few of the important ones are:

How do old people learn to do things? How do old people adjust to life situations? How does the personality change with age? How do old people conceive of themselves and their roles in society? How can old persons be motivated to action? How do old people perceive the world through eyes and ears? How can intelligence of old people be tested?

Some partial answers are known. Lack of practice in learning may account for declining learning abilities in the aged. Then, too, a sense of inferiority, particularly when he is compared to a youngster, hampers an old person's learning process. Dr. Irving Lorge, of Columbia Teachers College, has evidence to show that tests measuring learning penalize the older person by requiring him to work fast.

Dr. Anderson, in effect, called for a prodigious program of research. He wanted several kinds of studies made, and in this he expressed the view of the conference.

WOULD START TESTS ON 50-YEAR-OLD GROUP

One study would take a group of 50-year-olds and subject them to physical and mental tests at regular intervals until death.

A complete and systematic exploration of the regular census data to cover both general and special problems should be undertaken.

Animals, as well as human beings, should be studied under complex conditions for clews to their aging.

Until recently, according to Miss Ollie Randall, a consultant to the National Committee on the Aging, the whole field of social action has been dominated by sentimentality, by a "sweet" concept of old age that does not apply to the millions.

ACTIVITY SUGGESTIONS FOUND POORLY TESTED

There is no doubt that what has been suggested in the way of activity for older people—golden-age centers, handicrafts, voluntary work—has been poorly tested for their effects on the old people's lives. Even the effect of religious activity is unknown.

Social scientists, it is agreed, need to assess the need for activity among the old, "invent" new forms where the old ones do not work and then scientifically test them.

The same goes for housing. Various attempts have been made to find out what the old people like in housing, but few attempts have been made to discover what works. Dr. Anderson described proposed studies along these lines.

All services for the aging, in short, no matter how highly motivated, should stand the test of scientific evaluation, for in that way can the old be helped to find their places.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of March 8, 1957]

NEW OUTLOOK FOR OLD AGE—CONCLUSION: PROBLEMS OF ELDERLY ARE NOT THEIRS ALONE; NATION MUST SEARCH OUT A NICHE FOR ITS SENIOR CITIZENS

(This is the 12th and last article in a series on the problems of old age.)

(By Earl Ubell)

What happens to old people in the next two decades will largely shape the future of all, young and old.

The 14 million persons over 65 now and the 21 million or more of that age by 1970 will press our community into a new and as yet dimly perceived form.

What are the trends?

The old people are staying healthier longer and, if a research breakthrough occurs in cancer or heart disease, their lives will, of course, be prolonged even more.

Because they are retiring sooner and in greater numbers from the labor force, old people represent the smallest proportion of aged workers this Nation has had.

Old people are demanding—and getting—greater economic security through Government and industrial pensions. For many, these funds are at subsistence level and the pressure for help is bound to increase.

Old people are moving out of large family units to live alone in their own households. The proportion of old women to old men is increasing.

HAVE NOT YET FOUND A USEFUL FUNCTION

Old people, the great majority of them unemployed, have not yet found a useful function for themselves in our society. The very aged seem less part of the American stream of life than ever before.

Few have dared to predict how these powerful forces multiplied by the millions of old people will combine. Interest heretofore has been focused mainly on the humanitarian aspect of aging; how to help them get through a bleak period of aches and pains.

Yet the effect will be powerful. It can be expected to exert its fullest pressure on the working part of the population. Through taxes, they will have to help support the aged with housing, medical facilities, and even food and clothing. As the proportion of old people rises, perhaps, to 1 in 8, the burden will get heavier and heavier.

Young and even middle-aged workers will increasingly face the problem of what to do with old parents, who eventually become physically or mentally infirm. Will the number of institutions have to be increased to take care of them?

TO HAVE ENOUGH VOTES TO FORCE ACTION

The young and middle-aged will feel the impact of a large group of old people whose goals, attitudes, and experience will be different from theirs. This same group will have voting power enough to change those ideas into actions.

Already there are glimmerings. In one community the old people voted to cut school taxes. "Why do we need schools?" They cried, "our children are grown. Let the current generation get along on the schools that were good enough for our children."

As the conflicts intensify, there can be expected an intensified search for ways and means to involve the old people in the community in useful and meaningful ways. Since many old people are dominated by a desire to work, special work programs may spring up. An economic method to do this has yet to be found.

The importance of leisure time will grow even more with predicted shortened work weeks for young and middle-aged workers and the decreased participation in the labor force by the aged.

Since available studies show that whatever hobbies, interests, and activities pursued in leisure have their origins early in youth, education in this country may emphasize preparation for those activities. Training for old age may start in kindergarten.

RESEARCH CAN END MANY OF HEARTACHES

In all these possibilities, science can be expected to play a major role. It will be on scientific data that programs will be formulated and evaluated. Scientific research can eliminate many of the heartaches of old age through improvement of medical care. And perhaps by lengthening the life span, and increasing the number of aged, science may bring even closer the day when the Nation faces the crisis with its older population.

But interest in old people is increasing. Many churches and synagogues have for the first time established programs for them. The State and Federal Governments are increasing economic assistance. A special National Committee on the Aging has been set up to provide information and guide programs. The Ford Foundation has made a grant of $500,000 in the field.

Each day brings new incidents to accentuate the problem, whether it be housing, relief or legislation. The tempo is rising.

Representative Paul Rogers' H. R. 2494 Will Create Efficiency and Economy in Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the current widespread concern over the size of the Federal budget, I would like to call attention to the need for further legislation to implement the recommendation of the second Hoover Commission. In the last Congress a strong move was made to put the Federal budget on an annual accrued expenditures basis—rather than on the obligation system. The legislation including this feature was introduced in the Senate by Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, and in the House by my good friend and able colleague from Florida, Representative PAUL G. ROGERS. I joined in cosponsoring this measure.

This bill, now known as the Kennedy-Rogers Act, passed the Senate as it had been introduced, but the House refused to enact this important portion of the proposal.

Congressman ROGERS has been advised by the Secretary of the Treasury that this Public Law 863—Kennedy-Rogers Act—constitutes an important keystone for the improvement of financial management in the Government, and the Director of the Budget, in collaboration with the General Accounting Office and the Treasury Department, has developed a joint and cooperative basis for each executive agency to review its system of financial management in light of Public Law 863—Kennedy-Rogers Act. The head of each executive agency has been requested to submit a planned program for improvement of financial management in his agency not later than March 31, 1957.

Continuing his great job in the interest of economy and efficiency, Representative ROGERS, has again introduced legislation to carry out his proposed reform. His bill H. R. 2494, my companion measure H. R. 3379, and several cosponsoring bills have been referred to the executive and legislative reorganization subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee of which I have the honor of being a member.

Ordinarily legislation on technical problems of budgeting and accounting do not receive much public attention. As an execption to this rule, I am including an editorial on the subject from the Miami Sunday News of March 3, 1957. The editor of the Miami News is to be commended for his able efforts in support of this legislation:

WORRY ABOUT FALLING DOLLAR?—ASK CONGRESS TO PASS H. R. 2494

The average American has been a long time coming around to it, but political analysts now believe he has something important to say to Washington.

That is, despite what he has been told about the good things of life as a recipient of Federal spending, he is worried about the falling value of the dollar.

Yet there is nowhere more confusion about what the Federal Government should spend than in Washington itself.

The confusion relates to the budget.

This is the sum of what the departments of Government would like the taxpayer to pay for.

But when President Eisenhower and Secretary of Treasury Humphrey both urge Congress to cut it, the question comes down to how?

Florida is fortunate in that it has one Congressman with a big answer to that question. He is Representative PAUL ROGERS, Democrat, of the adjoining Sixth District.

The total budget figure of $71 billion for 1957–58 is one figure to remember.

Put beside it the figure of $74 billion.

Representative ROGERS would have provided in the 84th Congress for an annual review of the so-called carryover of unexpended funds. Senator BYRD (Democrat, Virginia) has estimated these at a total of $74 billion. The provision was stricken from the Rogers-Kennedy Budget and Accounting Act that was signed into law by President Eisenhower August 1.

Although the President hailed the law as "a long stride toward complete modernization of financial management in the Federal Government," the Hoover Commission recommendation for the budget cannot be carried out without the above commonsense proposal.

Representative ROGERS believes that heavy Federal expenditures are necessary to meet the Government's obligations to its citizens, but he asserts that the problem is to make certain that the Federal budget is spent wisely.

"Our task is to eliminate waste, duplication and extravagance from the operation of the Government without impairing its essential functions, he told the Third National Reorganization Conference of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report.

The Florida lawmaker has reintroduced the provision for annual review by Congress of unexpended funds. He was encouraged by the specific request of President Eisenhower for this reform in budget procedure when he submitted his budget message.

The Rogers measure would eliminate the current practice in Federal offices of carrying unspent appropriations from one budget period to the next rather than returning the unused funds to the Treasury for new appropriation. This practice would be gradually replaced by the practice of appropriation on an accrued expenditure basis.

The accrual annual expenditure budget would put Government appropriations on a year-to-year basis rather than building up a tremendous back-log of funds; give stricter control for Congress of expenditures of current funds, and make possible better management by the executive branch of Government.

This new legislation, a companion bill to the Kennedy accounting bill introduced in the Senate, restores the portions of the original Rogers-Kennery act stricken in committee last year.

If the political analysts are right, the average American who lives in this part of Florida should not only tell Washington he is worried about the falling value of the dollar but also tell Congress to pass H. R. 2494.

If the Rogers-Kennedy legislation is fully acted on and implemented, the bipartisan Hoover Commission estimates it should save $4 billion annually.

That will help.

Youthful Scientists Hear Tranquilizers Discussed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Star of Sunday, March 10, 1957:

YOUTHFUL SCIENTISTS HEAR TRANQUILIZERS DISCUSSED

Although tranquilizers have opened a whole new field in brain chemistry, much is still to be learned of their effects, Dr. Winfred Overholser, superintendent of St. Elizabeths Hospital, asserted yesterday.

Dr. Overholser made this observation befor 40 of the Nation's budding scientists meeting in the Statler Hotel. They were the winners of the 16th annual Science Talent Search.

He said the tranquilizers have been well publicized and have captured the imagination to the extent that some people have considered them a "panacea."

Despite the usefulness of the drugs in the care of the mentally ill, "unfortunately, we haven't a panacea yet," he declared.

FORTY DRUGS ON MARKET

Dr. Overholser said he understood there were something like 40 brand names of such drugs on the market, and more coming along. He said his hospital is planning to try 2 or 3 new ones.

Use of the drugs in a mental hospital can proceed under medical observation, he pointed out, but a danger with some of the drugs is that an outside patient may get hold of them and keep taking them, not realizing that he is getting sick. Some doctors, he suggested, may be using them a little too freely.

No one is an "iron man" psychologically, any more than he is physically, although most people are able to stand a great deal of stress.

"I don't think there is anybody who can't be broken," he said.

REFERS TO "BRAINWASHING"

Referring to the experience with "brainwashing" of some of the troops in Korea, he said, "I am quite convinced that some were very solid citizens who cracked under extreme stresses."

He traced the progress of man in dealing with mental illness from the days when it was interpreted as demoniacal possession to today's swing back toward a physiological or chemical approach to treatment from some of the more concentrated psychological approaches.

"There has been a tendency in some circles in neglect the possibility that a symptom might have a physical basis," he said. He noted that just as emotional conditions will produce physical symptoms, so will physical disorders produce various emotional states.

He cited the trend now back to a physiological approach, or at least a recognition that there may be a physical tie-in which has diminshed resistance to the stresses of life to which a person is subject.

PROGRESS BEING MADE

While much progress is being made in many areas of mental health, Dr. Overholser reported, doctors still do not know what

causes schizophrenia, which accounts for 50 percent of some 750,000 patients in mental hospitals. The outlook, however, is optimistic, he added.

Public attitude toward mental illness has greatly improved, he said, though there still are some raised eyebrows when a person sees a psychiatrist.

"Still others," he quipped, "feel they haven't lived unless they have seen a psychiatrist."

The hospital head remarked before going in to address his audience of talented high-school seniors that he was conscious it was an extraordinarily critical and bright one. The youngsters bore him out with their questions, cut short by their overdue call to lunch.

Among other things, he was asked his opinion of the value of psychosurgery ("so low I would hesitate even to mention it, except in the case of intractable pain"), electric shock treatment ("we've practically abandoned it, but it still has a place. We don't know why"), and hypnotism ("We have not done very much with it in general; maybe we ought to do more").

America Pays Tribute Today to the Foresight and Courage a Decade Ago of Former President Harry Truman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Fruitful Anniversary," which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on March 12, 1957:

FRUITFUL ANNIVERSARY

Ten years ago today the United States embarked upon the most fateful and fruitful of its postwar foreign policies. On March 12, 1947, President Truman went before a joint session of Congress to ask a $400 million military and economic aid program to preserve the independence of Greece and Turkey. In essence this was the day that the United States formally joined the cold war that the Soviet Union had forced upon it. Mr. Truman asked, and Congress resoundingly endorsed, an American program "to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

So much has happened since that it sometimes is hard to remember the origin of this policy. Yet most of the other developments were influenced in some degree by the Truman Doctrine—the Marshall plan, the withstanding of the Berlin blockade, the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the resistance in Korea and Indochina, the thaw in the cold war after Stalin (there is currently a play on words that Stalin's dying remark was "Après moi le légel"—"after me the thaw,") the Geneva summit conference and the subsequent disillusionment, and finally the Near East crisis and the administration's program to stabilize the area.

Perhaps it is an exaggeration to date the end of American isolationism as a meaningful force from the Truman doctrine. Isolationism suffered a body blow in World War II; it was further shaken in American adherence to the United Nations Charter. Events had prepared the climate for a positive assertion of American policy. Soviet pressures on Iran had challenged the infant United Nations; the Communist were promoting civil war in Greece following the withdrawal of British power; there was intense Soviet pressure on Turkey; and retiring Secretary of State Byrnes had learned at the sterile Berlin conference of foreign ministers the impossibility of negotiating with the Russians at that time.

None of this brackground detracts, however, from the prescience of Mr. Truman in coming to grips at the crucial moment with the crisis that Soviet tactics had posed. Significantly, and with future implications respecting the limitations of the United Nation, the declaration was made independently, though within the spirit of the charter. The doctrine succeeded. Greece prevailed in the civil war and, after Tito's break with the Kremlin, the Balkan Alliance among Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia replaced the feuding. A Soviet coup was engineered in Czechoslovakia, but no additional European territory was lost after that. Europe took heart for its own defense, and this factor played a part in the recovery that the Marshall plan made possible.

It would be a mistake to compare today's conditions with those in 1947. In the immediate area of application of the Truman doctrine—Greece and Turkey—the issues were far more clear cut than in the spongy situation in the Near East today. It does not follow, either, that present conditions call for the same medicine. The cold war is not of the same intensity and has taken a different form. The challenge today is less military than economic. Imaginative economic development may be a far greater asset to world security than alliances.

Nevertheless, it is proper today to pay tribute to the foresight and courage of Harry Truman a decade ago. Let us hope that 10 years hence current American policies will have been proved as astute.

A Wise Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Cheraw (S. C.) Chronicle of March 7, 1957:

A WISE DECISION

Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion Monday ordered the withdrawal of Israel troops from the Gaza strip and Gulf of Aqaba—thank heavens—and the threat of immediate renewal of Middle East war recedes.

By his action, Ben-Gurion demonstrated that Israel does have a decent regard for civilized world opinion, and the ultimate interests of Israel will be strengthened by his decision.

America played a leading role in persuading Israel to withdraw. By so doing, we have a strong moral commitment to see to it that Egypt and other Arab nations do not renew their border raids against Israel and their blockade of Israeli shipping through the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal.

The road to peace cannot be paved with any betrayal of Israel by Western democracies now. We must work firmly and patiently for Arab acceptance of the Jewish nation. We must be prepared to deal as firmly with the Arab nations, if they should continue hostile acts against Israel, as we did with Israel when she launched her defensive, preventive war last October.

Observations on United States Aid to Pakistan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 4, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I request that the attached letter from Dr. Donald P. Bixler, of Anderson, Ind., be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

This is some firsthand information which I believe will be of special interest not only to the Members of Congress but, also, to all taxpayers:

ANDERSON, IND.

Hon. JOHN V. BEAMER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BEAMER: I recently returned from a trip to the interior of West Pakistan and I would like to report to you some of the observations that I made regarding United States aid to this country. My information comes from personal observation, talks with missionaries living there, and from point 4 employees and United Nations employees. In general, the unanimous opinion was that America was wasting its funds on activities such as are conducted in this country. I should like to give you some examples of this waste.

The United States Government has sent butter oil to the villagers of this country. Their religious leaders, the Mullahs, told them that it was pig fat and they promptly destroyed it.

Our Government sent used army overcoats to them and I gain the estimate that only about 1 in 60 reached the villagers, the rest being stolen by the government officials.

American cheese was sent to this country. Unfortunately, the individuals do not like cheese and the cases bloated open. I myself enjoyed some of this cheese while there from some of the cases that were not spoiled completely.

Powdered milk has been sent to this country. This was interesting because they have an abundant supply of good milk from buffalo. The villagers looked at the milk powder, asked if that is the kind they have in America, and turned up their noses. Another version is that the religious leaders told them it was pig's milk and they would not drink it.

Another example is our distribution of antimalarial pills during a severe flood about 1 year ago. These pills did apparently reach the villagers. However, they took them all at once and found that they became more ill than having malaria, and so would not accept any or else sold them to the local druggists.

Recently there has been quite a scandal about a large shipment of American supplies that was dumped in the ocean, after having set on the dock for quite some time.

Of course, I understand that you as an individual can do very little to stop this flood of American aid to overseas countries, but I do feel that it is my duty as an American to report my observations to someone in your position, and perhaps some good will come from this letter.

It is not my purpose to indicate to you that the people that I saw did not need help, for they were the most poverty-stricken people that it has ever been my misfortune to visit. However, our method of distribution is totally inadequate and, in the opinion of even the missionaries, they do not know of any distribution system that would be adequate.

I hope my views will be added to the flood of mail that is coming your way regarding the excessive Federal budget. Perhaps this would be an excellent place to start some carving.

Sincerely,

DONALD P. BIXLER, M. D.

How We Look at the Soil Bank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD M. SIMPSON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following remarks made by Mr. Ira Dunmire, of McVeytown, president of the Mifflin County Farmers' Association, at the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Farmers' Association held at the Washington Hotel, Washington, D. C., on Monday, March 4, 1957:

HOW WE LOOK AT THE SOIL BANK

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Senators, Congressmen, and guests, we farmers in Pennsylvania are not much for a lot of governmental agricultural programs. We think that we have a better chance of making a go of it if we depend on "self-help" as a result of mixing together generous portions of commonsense, research, education, and hard work. We believe this philosophy should be employed to maintain a sound balance between the production of farm commodities and the needs of those commodities in the market.

Did you ever think of what we farmers have to sell to pay our operating expenses, taxes, and to make a living? We have our own management ability and labor. It goes to market in the form of milk, eggs, meat, produce, etc., but it is the direct result of our own efforts in cooperation with the good graces of our Maker.

We are vitally concerned about this matter of burdensome surpluses of agricultural products and so we are in sympathy with the soil bank idea for dealing with the problem.

In Pennsylvania we are pretty much family type of farmers carrying on rather small but intensified farm businesses. A lot of our farms have very limited acreages with relatively high investments in equipment, buildings, and livestock. This means we must get a relatively high cash turnover to maintain satisfactory financial conditions and living standards. That is exactly the situation with me. I operate a farm of less than 100 acres with an income mostly from sale of milk, hogs, and some canning crops.

Now how can the soil bank fit into a situation like that? The way I figure it—it does not. However, I am willing to support it where it does fit with the hope that it will help curtail overproduction in the overall picture.

And what about my neighbors in my home county of Mifflin? Well, it's almost the same story. We have 1,067 census farms in the county with about 700 commercial farms. Last fall we had 23 farmers sign up in the soil bank. This year we have about 50 farmers for corn and wheat acreage.

What kind of farmers are making use of it? Mostly older men who are going into semiretirement or those who have incomes off their farm, in industry, or public works.

We believe the soil bank will help reduce the surplus of farm commodities, conserve our natural resources, and permit the efficient producer to stay on the job and adjust to present-day needs.

To make the soil bank most effective we think it should not be used as an emergency-relief program or crop insurance. If it is necessary to provide funds for relief let that be done with funds specifically for that purpose. Also, land put into the soil bank should not be grazed or used for hay crops.

Since an important part of the soil bank is to reduce Government held stocks of commodities, every effort should be employed to use these stocks as "payment in kind" to farmers putting acreage in the bank. We understand there are provisions for that now, but most farmers want cash payments. Those who can use grains for feed should have special inducement as this would be attacking the problem two ways at little cost to the public.

Since support prices have some responsibility for our surplus stocks the Government should require a farmer who expects to use price supports to put from 10 to 20 percent of the acreage going into the price supported crop into the soil bank.

In Mifflin County as a further example of how much or little we use some Government action programs we had only one person apply for supports last year; this was a warehouse loan on wheat.

The confusion that some of these action programs cause among some of our conservative people remind me of the difficulty that Pat and Mike were having in getting to their destination after imbiding too freely. After an hour or so of weaving in and out of streets and alleys and often finding themselves where they started the search, Pat said, "Mike, there just ain't no way to get there from here."

We think there is a way to get there from here but it will take time and patience and working at the problem and doing what we know must be done.

It looks as though it is a mistake to tie separate crop programs to the soil bank such as was done with corn, much to our sorrow. Since the ill-fated corn referendum last December 12 it appears that the minority won out (38½ percent). We need the compromise corn program as proposed in H. R. 4589 and H. R. 4555. This bill would allow farmers to use either acreage allotments with high supports or to use base acreage with soil bank and moderate supports. In other words everyone will get just what he wants if the Congress will pass this legislation to permit it. But, I can't stress too strongly that this legislation to be of any value this year should pass this month. Farmers must do considerable planning ahead of planting. It will take some time for the agencies of the United States Department of Agriculture to set up their procedure until it is definite what kind of corn program we will have. If we should be forced to operate under an allotment program, as we will without a compromise or a change, some livestock farmers would not have enough acres in their allotment to fill their silos without harvesting any for grain.

Another problem which faces some livestock farmers is restricted acreage in planting grain crops under allotments which would all be used for feed on their own farm. Allotments should not be enforced where crop is all fed on the farm producing the crop.

To summarize, here is how we see the present and pending farm legislation:

We support the soil bank to reduce surpluses. We want to encourage use of CCC stocks as payment in kind to farmers. Keep away from the use of soil bank as "crop insurance."

We need the corn compromise bill. The farmer vote last December leaves no doubt about it. The bill should be passed now to be effective this year. We believe that you Congressmen in this room should have the influence to get this accomplished. We hope we can count on all of you to get the job done while there is still time.

Negro Ex-Red Says NAACP Is Vehicle of Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a news item appearing in the News and Courier which is one of our leading newspapers in the South.

I hope that everyone in the House will take time to read this article:

NEGRO EX-RED SAYS NAACP IS VEHICLE OF COMMUNISM

(By Phil Stroupe)

BATON ROUGE, LA., March 8.—A New York Negro and former Communist for 10 years today testified under oath that the NAACP has "outlived its usefulness and has become a vehicle of the Communist Party designed to overthrow the Government of the United States."

Manning Johnson, 49, who left the Communist Party in 1940, told the Louisiana Legislature investigating committee the Communist Party has infiltrated dozens of Communist-front organizations including the NAACP.

He said the Reverend Martin Luther King, Negro preacher of Montgomery, Ala., "is a dastardly misleader who is creating a psychosis of hate, leading southern Negroes down the road to bloodshed and destruction.

NEGRO PROGRESS

"Any policy that advocates the destruction of 100 years' progress of the American Negro, such as King is supporting, cannot be anything but wrong. If he is not stopped soon the good Negroes will suffer."

Johnson is the fourth witness to testify before the Louisiana group investigating the cause of racial unrest in the South.

W. M. (Bill) Shaw, chief counsel for the committee, has probed into Communist activities through testimony given by W. Guy Banister, assistant chief of police of New Orleans, Joseph Z. Kornfedder of Detroit, former member of the central executive committee of the Communist Party of the United States, and Leonard Patterson, New York Negro, who spent 10 years in the Communist Party before leaving it in 1937.

Johnson, a highly educated man now employed as director of research for the Department of Justice in Washington, electrified the audience composed of Negroes and whites, who heard his firsthand revelations of Communist activities in the southland.

"A big family quarrel is going on in the upper echelon of the NAACP," Johnson said, "between the white liberals, eggheads, Socialists, and Communists for the control of the Negroes of the United States."

Johnson said whatever the brand of party label the NAACP may adopt is not important, "but they are all anti-American, against capitalism, and are based on the doctrines of Marxism."

HAND IN HAND

He said the Communist Party and the NAACP "stand hand in hand" aimed at wrecking the security of the United States.

Johnson said Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is among the strongest leaders of Communist-front organizations.

"Somebody ought to muzzle her and put her in a cage," he said. Testimony Thursday established that she is a member of 33 such front organizations.

He said "somebody told this Reverend King he is a modern Moses, chosen to lead his people across the river to safety. I don't say King is a Communist, but I say he is wrong. He has not the ability to lead his race."

Johnson introduced literally dozens of pieces of documentary evidence to show the Communists are infiltrating southern organizations and seeking to disturb the racial transquility of the South.

"The Communist sees the NAACP as a national liberation movement from Maryland to Texas, through the Nation's black belt," Johnson testified. "They have pounced upon the NAACP because it is one of the most influential mixed-breed organizations in the country."

He called Howard University for Negroes in Washington, D. C., "a hotbed for Communists."

He said the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference of Human Welfare "are transmission belts" for communism in the Southland.

"They are trying to get at the southern Negro, but the average Negro knows a red light when he sees one," Johnson said.

"It reminds me of the man who killed a fly on his baby's head by using a sledge hammer," Johnson said.

Johnson testified that the Southern Regional Council was given office space in Atlanta by Methodist Bishop Arthur Moore. Members of the council include the Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, dean of the Roman Catholic Oratory at Rock Hill, S. C.; Marion S. Wright, of Linville, N. C.; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, professor emeritus, Virginia Union University.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, first Negro in the NAACP, was described by Johnson as an "evil, frustrated old man, sucking at the teats of the Old Red Bear, looking to the devils in the Kremlin for vindication and salvation as he nears the end."

Both Johnson and Patterson, a New York hack driver and longshoreman, told of Communist infiltration into southern Negro churches.

"They are working specifically in the Negro churches to give a cloak of respectability to communism behind the door of the church," Johnson said. "That puts them in a position to pressure the pastor."

He told the committee that the Mississippi Council on Human Relations is a Communist-front organization that received $445,000 in 1954 from the Fund for the Republic, an agency already under investigation by Congress.

Among members of the Human Relations Council in Mississippi is Bishop Joseph Brunini, just recently elevated to the status of bishop of the Jackson-Natchez diocese.

A letter from Mrs. R. S. Lyells, of Jackson, executive director, inviting persons to attend an annual meeting in Jackson last November was introduced as evidence.

It said, "the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, needs members and friends, friends among those who agree with us but prefer not to become members of the organization at this time."

Attending the 3-day hearings is the Mississippi general legislative investigating committee, headed by Senator Stanton Hall, of Hattiesburg.

Attorney General Eugene Cook, of Georgia, spent Thursday and Friday as a close observer and interested visiting official.

SOUTHERN EDITOR REPORTS REACTION TO TALK IN NORTH

In Sunday's paper Thomas R. Waring, editor of the News and Courier, reports on the reception given his recent address at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.

Waring appeared as a guest of the Williams lecture committee and spoke on southern race relations. He called for a better understanding in the North of the southern point of view.

Last spring Thurgood Marshall, counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was a guest of the same committee.

Waring reports a cold, even hostile, reaction on the part of his audience, a reception he had been advised to expect. He points out that these people are not well informed about the position of the South and do not have a true picture of conditions.

Scrambled Phony Vision Rears Its Ugly Head

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, a recent newspaper item datelined Washington, February 27, announced that a majority of the Senate Commerce Committee is expected to recommend a full-scale trial run of pay-as-you-see television. Experimentation with this vicious proposal sounds like a first step toward total approval by the Federal Communications Commission.

Since 1955, when the greedy promoters of pay television first reared their ugly heads, I have been strongly opposed to the substitution of pay TV for the present free TV. These promoters suggest that television stations which are now broadcasting free programs—free after you pay for your set, of course—should scramble the image on the picture tube and the sound into a sort of unassembled jig saw puzzle. Such scrambled programs could be unscrambled only when a costly gadget, attached to your set at your expense, was fed a coin, a key, or a card for which you, the viewer, would pay, either in cash or as part of your phone bill.

It is no answer that you would not have to watch these pay programs if you did not want to. Since a station cannot televise two programs at once, any station broadcasting a scrambled pay-television program would necessarily have to eliminate its free program during that time period. In other words, pay television would black out the best of free television. It would render the television owner blind, and then rent him a seeing-eye dog at so much a program, to partially restore the sight he had previously enjoyed free as a natural right.

The amusing part of it all is the excuse offered for the change. They say it is needed to improve the quality of the programs. But if current programs need improvement, the answer is not in increasing the profits by skinning the public. Sponsor support is now more than sufficient for the finest programs, with some entertainers commanding million-dollar contracts, and the sale of world-series rights running into eight figures. If there is anything wrong with TV, and most people are completely satisfied, the trouble is not lack of money. TV has already brought into the home great box office attractions, sports events, movies, current and patriotic events. Letting promoters take in as much as $8 million for a single 30-minute program will not improve the program. It will just line the pockets of the promoters.

I am reminded of one of the favorite stories of comedian Victor Borge. He tells of an uncle of his in Denmark who was a genius. The uncle invented a cure for whch there was no disease. Then, he adds, his aunt caught the cure—and died.

That is exactly what pay television represents—a cure for which there is no disease. It is up to you, the viewing public, and us, your representatives, to see that you are not hurt by the cure. An aroused public is a tremendous force. When this scheme was first suggested, letters to the FCC were 16 to 3 in favor of pay TV. Since the true picture has been brought home to the public, the voting has been 9 to 1 against.

Your letters have helped to bring about this shift. Together, we can lick this thing.

Where Costs Can Be Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to bring to the attention of the House an editorial taken from the Clover (S. C.) Herald of March 7, 1957:

WHERE COSTS CAN BE CUT

There is a grave concern over the size of the President's proposed $71.8 billion budget—and some of that concern exists within the President's official family.

Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, for example, has warned of the inflationary dangers such spending creates. He has expressed the hope that Congress will find sound ways to make cuts. He has also said that reductions must be made in future years if the dollar is not to be materially cheapened again.

It is argued, of course, that the current state of the world has imposed such burdens and responsibilities on this Government that significant cuts in spending are out of the question now. But that argument overlooks the fact that Government is conducting business operations which are competitive with private enterprise and are thus either wholly or largely unnecessary—and that these operations are commonly conducted at an out-of-pocket loss to all taxpayers.

The Hoover Commission reports list many operations of this nature, whose total losses

and subsidies run into great sums of money annually. A typical example is the parcel post system. When authorized by Congress, the law stipulated that it should pay its own way, and that it should not compete unnecessarily with private parcel carriers. Neither stipulation has been followed. The service has been continually operated at a loss—and to the detriment of taxpaying private enterprise.

Many such examples of unnecessary Government spending could be cited. The budget can be reduced without imperiling any necessary or desirable Government function.

Interest Rate Increase Not Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the RECORD a story from today's Wall Street Journal predicting that interest rates are beginning to decline and that the money market for mortgage financing is easing. This is pertinent, Mr. Speaker, in view of the demands we are hearing that the interest rate should be increased. This prediction should receive the most serious consideration before action is taken by the House on this important issue.

The article follows:

BORROWING COSTS—BANKERS START TALKING OF INTEREST RATE CUT AS LOAN DEMAND EASES—MORTGAGE MONEY GROWS MORE PLENTIFUL; RESERVE SYSTEM PURSUES PASSIVE POLICY—IMPACT OF BUSINESS OUTLOOK

(By Lee Silberman)

NEW YORK.—The cost of borrowed money, which has been climbing steadily for more than 2 years, shows signs of leveling off.

Bankers here in the Nation's financial capital, who only a few weeks ago were talking of the possibility of still higher interest rates, now wonder how soon rates will head downward.

"A further increase in interest rates is out," declares a top official of one major New York City bank. "But there's not going to be a cut for at least 3 months."

HIGHEST SINCE EARLY 1930'S

Banks, naturally, are reluctant to reduce their prime rate—the rate charged the biggest borrowers with the best credit ratings. This rate now stands at 4 percent, the highest level since the early 1930's.

Before cutting the prime rate, banks probably would take a number of other steps. They might ease up slightly on loan requirements; they might, for example, stop being so insistent that borrowers keep 20 percent of the loan on deposit with the bank. Or the banks might selectively lower interest rates for some borrowers without disturbing the prime rate.

The bankers' revised appraisal of the money outlook is based largely on one fact: Loan demand is easing. Business loans of the leading city banks which report weekly to the Federal Reserve System rose sharply in 1955 and 1956. But these loans since the first of this year have fallen by $831 million, compared with a $297 million increase a year earlier.

More important, perhaps, is the fact that New York City bankers see little chance that business loans over the next few months will climb as sharply as they did in the past 2 years.

The bankers keep in close touch with the borrowing plans of their major customers. In addition, they scan business sales and inventory statistics for any indication as to borrowing trends. Banks here in New York, including such giants as Chase Manhattan Bank, First National City Bank, Guaranty Trust Co., and Bankers Trust Co., account for some 20 percent of all bank loans to business.

MORTGAGE MONEY EASES

As bank loan demand slows up, money is becoming slightly more plentiful in other fields, too. Take the home mortgage market, for example. Mortgage money still is scarce—but not as scarce as it was a few months ago. "Some lenders," says an official of a major New York City savings bank "are back in the market looking for mortgages for the first time in over a year."

In the bond market, prices in early January fell to record lows; yields, naturally, rose. But prices since then have edged upward and yields have declined. A few days ago, Illinois Bell Telephone Co. sold $40 million of bonds at an interest cost of 4.21 percent. Only a month earlier, Mountain States Telephone & Telegraph had paid 4.35 percent on a $35 million offering.

The bank business loan statistics for the next 2 weeks will be a bit misleading; corportations will borrow heavily to meet March 15 Federal income tax payments. But even this borrowing, New York City bankers predict, will not be as heavy as it was in 1956.

New York City bankers' loan forecasts hinge to a considerable degree on their appraisal of business prospects. While most expect 1957 to be a good year, few expect it to top 1956.

SOME SPECIAL FACTORS

Some special factors may limit bank loans this year, too. Last year, for example, manufacturers borrowed heavily to stock up on steel in anticipation of last summer's steel strike. "With steel scrap prices falling and no contract talks ahead this year, it's not in the cards for metal loans to rise nearly as much this year," says a top lending officer of a major New York City bank.

Some New York City banks already are casting about for alternative outlets for their funds if business loan demand doesn't perk up.

"If business loans stay off, we know we can make some people happy by making more real-estate loans," says one lending officer.

Comments another banker: "If we wanted to relax our standards slightly, we could take on loans of $50 million to $75 million at a moment's notice."

Up to now, however, the money market change has been so slight that few banks have had to search for borrowers. Most New York City banks, in fact, say they still don't have enough funds to meet the demand.

Some institutions continue to screen out loans they consider undesirable. "We're not through squeezing out some of the stuff we don't care to have on the books—loans to buy companies and loans running ever 5 years, for example," says the president of one New York City bank. But he adds: "We're turning down mighty few short-term loans."

Playing a major role in the money market outlook is the Federal Reserve System. The Federal Reserve, worried about inflation for more than 2 years, has been holding tight rein on the funds the commercial banks have available to lend. As recently as January, many New York City bankers were convinced the Reserve System soon would act to tighten money still more.

But such action has not come. The Federal Reserve, instead, has been pursuing a passive policy, making money neither appreciably tighter nor easier.

New York bankers, for the most part, see no reason up to now for the Federal Reserve to try to prod the economy by making money plentiful and cheap. "Just because a couple of leaves have started to fall off the tree is no sign summer is over," says one New York bank executive.

Many bankers appear to be pleased with the easing of loan demand.

"We've been so highly loaned up, the easing of business loans really has been a welcome relief," says one New York banker. "It's not our plan to rush right out and take on more risk assets. Rather, we want to rebuild our liquidity and get tthe ratio of risk assets to capital down to where it should be."

Youngsters Reveal Scientific Talent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Star of Sunday, March 10, 1957:

FORTY YOUNGSTERS REVEAL SCIENTIFIC TALENT HERE

Forty young Americans unveiled their scientific exhibits at the Hotel Statler last night in the 16th annual science talent search for the Westinghouse science scholarships.

Displayed in the presidential ballroom, they ranged from a story from a rock, showing various fossils, prepared by 17-year-old David Bachrach Adams, of Neosho, Mo., to an electronic heating device, exhibited by Felix Thomas Ulrich, Jr., 17, of Newark, N. J.

Out of the 40, three top winners will be chosen tomorrow night at a banquet. It will be addressed by Rear Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, chief, Naval Reactors Branch, Division of Reactor Development of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The youngest exhibitor in the science show is 14-year-old Jack Howard Silver of Missoula, Mont. He presented a study in higher geometric systems, using a limited number of points and lines working with various theorems. He concedes that it is difficult to explain in layman's language what his exhibit is all about.

FIRM SUPPORTS SEARCH

The Westinghouse Educational Foundation supports the Science Talent Search, which is conducted by Science Clubs of America, an activity of science service, which has its headquarters here. None of the exhibitors is from the District, Maryland, or Virginia, the nearest one being Donald Ray Greenlee, 17, of Charleston, W. Va.

The 40 winners in the search are attending the 5-day Science Talent Institute, which began Thursday. They will compete for $11,000 in scholarships.

Included in the exhibits are one by Rochelle Ruth Beach, 17, of Neodesha, Kans., who raises her own flock of chickens for experimental purposes. She is attempting to find a cure for a cancer-type disease in chickens.

John Lamar Curry, 17, of Evanston, Ill., is demonstrating photography by radiant heat, through the use of oil film which makes visible an image of heat radiated from an object.

COLOR WHEEL

Because her father is color blind and she had to pick out his ties for him, Merry A. Margolish, 16, of New Rochelle, N. Y., devised a color wheel, with varying hues of the same major color, in order to test the reaction of people. They are asked to fill out a blank

and match up varying colors with specific numbers shown on the wheel.

Brett Marcus Nordgren, 17, of South Bend, Ind., has a photographic study of nuclear particles, through the use of argon gas and alcohol and a special apparatus he has devised. He calls this an automatic cloud chamber.

A digital quadratics computer was devised by Philip Meade Ryan, of Scarsdale, N. Y., to solve quadratic equations, extract square roots and to add and subtract.

Marjorie Kay Simila, 16, of Salem, Oreg., investigated detergents and evaluated their effectiveness.

STIMULATES RESEARCH

The get-together of these young scientific minds, officials said, permits them to exchange ideas and stimulate further scientific research. The Washington meeting affords them a broader view of the whole scientific field, officials said. Also, the young people get experience in explaining their works to exhibitors. Those brought to Washington represent the cream of 300 boys and girls over the Nation, believed to have unusual potential scientific ability from 1957 senior classes of secondary schools. There are 9 girls and 31 boys participating in the show.

Toward Racial Harmony

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by H. F. Oppenheimer, Member of Parliament, entitled "Toward Racial Harmony."

In view of the interest in the new State of Ghana, I believe this article by a Member of Parliament will be of interest to Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOWARD RACIAL HARMONY

(By H. F. Oppenheimer, Member of Parliament)

(Racial harmony in southern Africa can be maintained and developed only if a realistic policy is pursued. The aim of policy should be to secure the economic, cultural, and social development of all races to the full extent of their capabilities; but this objective must be pursued with knowledge and appreciation of two fundamental facts: First, there is no possibility of changing the existing multiracial character of southern Africa by attempting to segregate European and non-European into separate areas; and, secondly, the real separation between black and white is a difference in cultural level, which is often confused with racial prejudice. In any form of integration, the racial difference must remain; but there is immense scope for improving the lot of the African people by raising their cultural level, through education, training, and experience, as close as possible to the very much more advanced level of the European. These points were the basis of Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer's address delivered at the Duke of Edinburgh's study conference on human relations in industry, held recently at Oxford University. The interest that this address has aroused has justified its being reproduced in full for permanent record, as a supplement to Optima. Mr. Oppenheimer is joint deputy chairman and managing director of Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa.)

The subject on which I am to speak is largely political, and perhaps on that account it is rash of me to tackle it. I am a politician as well as a businessman and have taken some part in the bitter controversy about race relations which has dominated South African politics for the last 10 years. Obviously, it would be inappropriate for me to use this occasion to pursue the South African political struggle, but, on the other hand, you will no doubt expect me to speak my mind plainly. I must confess to being rather nervous of the delicate balancing act that is involved, but I shall do my best.

I shall, as I am sure you would wish, confine myself to the Union of South Africa and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the countries of which I have first-hand experience. Even so, my field is immensely wide. It will, therefore, I think, be best if I start off by stating what I believe the proper objective of policy to be in southern Africa. It is to secure the economic, cultural, and social development of all the races concerned to the full extent of their capabilities in a manner that will not adversely affect the high standards already established for the Europeans. This objective can be attained only by cooperation between the races in all spheres of the national life.

You may well think that by these generalities I have done little to narrow down my huge field to manageable proportions. I would, therefore, at once point out that, widely as I have cast my net, I have already assumed away the whole political issue in the Union of South Africa and, at the same time, have tacitly rejected the claims of African nationalism. The political issue in South Africa does not turn on the problems of a multiracial society but on the anterior question of whether any sort of multiracial society is desirable or indeed, in the long run, possible. The Nationalist Party Government in South Africa says emphatically that it is not; and, similarly, the Black nationalists reject the whole concept of a multiracial society, and, going even further in their point of view than the extreme white nationalists in theirs, claim all southern Africa for a black nation alone.

No political party in South Africa seeks—in theory anyhow—to deny the Africans the fullest development of which they are capable, but it is the contention of the Government Nationalist Party, the protagonists of the doctrine of "apartheid," that the full potentialities of the Africans will be realized only if the two races live in separate areas of their own and work out their individual destinies in their own way. As a theory this is certainly attractive. The problems of a multiracial society are intractable and involve grave risks. It is not surprising, therefore, that many people, black and white, in South Africa feel that, instead of trying to solve these problems, it would be better to abolish them by doing away with the multiracial society from which they spring. Those of us in South Africa who are on the other side of the fence do not seek to impugn the good faith of those who entertain such ideas. It is not only in South Africa that people are able to believe with passionate sincerity in things that are manifestly untrue.

But it is quite plain that the separation of black and white into areas of their own, what in south Africa we call apartheid, if carried out to any significant extent, would destroy the economy of the country with disastrous results for all the races in it. Nothing is more certain, therefore, than that, no matter which government is in power, this policy will not be carried out. But just for that reason the refusal of opportunities for development to the Africans in the multiracial south Africa that exists today, on the grounds that their just claims will be met by racial separation in the future, is calculated to destroy the possibility of interracial cooperation. The idea of solving our racial problems by unscrambling the multiracial society that has already been built is nothing but a dream, beautiful or ugly, depending on your taste, but in any case entirely unsuitable as a basis for action. I am assuming, therefore, that the multiracial society which has come into being in southern Africa will continue to expand and that our object is to regulate it in the best interests of the races that make it up.

Now what are the factors which create the strains and difficulties that face us in this task? There seem to me to be three principal factors, interconnected and overlapping, but logically distinct. The first factor is race consciousness as such: the belief of most Europeans in the importance of purity of race, combined with an unquestioning faith in the intrinsic superiority of the race to which they happen to belong. * * * I mention this matter first because race consciousness is deeply rooted and in its overtones affects the judgment of most south Africans on all sorts of indirectly and distantly related matters. Africans, in their way, are just as deeply affected as Europeans, and an unfortunate, though understandable feature, which must strike any European who sincerely tries to work with them, is their inability to see any problem except in racial terms.

The next factor, and it is of the greatest importance, is that the Africans of southern Africa are, on the whole, still an extremely primitive people. They are primitive in their social and political organizations, in their agriculture, and in their techniques. More important still, their way of life often appears strange and sometimes frankly unattractive to Europeans, and no doubt the reverse is true. Their moral concepts, customs over food and dress, ideas governing the relative status of men and women, and so on, are quite different from those of Europeans. The religion of the majority, moreover, is not Christianity, as some of you may have been led to suppose, but various forms of ancestor worship.

* * * The advancement of the Africans can take place only if the African way of life and thought, however picturesque it may be in some respects, is abandoned in favor of a state and society built on European foundations. An excessive tenderness among many Europeans—but never, I think, among educated Africans—for tribal forms and discipline is a serious brake on African progression.

Naturally, such profound changes cannot be effected abruptly, and much good and much use still remain in traditional African ways. In the long run, however, African society must disintegrate and the Africans must become an integral part of an entirely different sort of society. Until they are able on the whole to do that—and it will take many years—it will not be possible to avoid—and, indeed, it will be essential to maintain not necessarily by law but by custom—a substantial measure of social and residential separation of the races. * * *

Among the Europeans in South Africa we have what I think can fairly be described as a classless—though fortunately not an egalitarian—society. I am inclined to doubt whether that ideal has yet been reached in England. In any case it is surely plain that, even in a homogeneous country such as England, the process of building up a classless society is a long and difficult one. Of course, if a class system depends on nothing more important than snobbery and prejudice, it may be possible to break it down rapidly; but if it rests on profound cultural, social or religious differences, then it is quite another matter. In South Africa, between the Europeans and the vast majority of the Africans there is an immense cul-

tural gulf which it will take generations to bridge, and we must not forget that in Africa a process of leveling down would mean the acceptance for all races of ignorance, poverty and barbarism. For obvious reasons it does not make for racial harmony if people of widely different habits and cultural standards are required to live in close social relations with one another. If we are wise, therefore, we will accept the desire of the Europeans in southern Africa for a measure of social separation as something that corresponds with the realities of the situation, and is not based merely on vulgar race prejudice. That prejudice and intolerance reinforce the demand for separation cannot, of course, be denied, but the remedy for prejudice and intolerance lies, to my mind, in better education for both black and white, and certainly not in an enforced proximity of communities whose ways of life differ profoundly from each other.

The third factor is the fear of the European workers that African laborers, working for low wages, may break down their high standard of life. It is this fear that is at the base of the so-called economic color bar, by which African labor is confined, either by law or by pressure from the White trade unions, or by custom, to unskilled work. Such a limitation is obviously unjust and runs directly counter to our objective of helping the Africans to realize their full economic potential. Nevertheless, the matter is by no means as simple as at first sight it might appear. The fears of the European workers are not groundless and, if African progression is to go forward as it should, these fears must be met.

We are concerned here with what is in essence not a racial but an economic question. How would trade unionists in any part of the world look on an influx into their industries of large number of peasants with a very low standard of living, and willing to work for a fraction of the wage rates they had established? Would they not, at the very least, try to lay down stringent conditions and would they not be suspicious of the motives of employers who wanted to make extensive use of such labor? Of course they would. And who could blame them? And then in southern Africa there is the further complication that the peasants have black skins. On the one hand, this means that the reasonable economic fears of the white workers are reinforced by unreasonable racial prejudice, and, on the other hand, it has the effect of causing many liberal-minded, well-meaning people, in their dislike of racial discrimination, to lose sight of the underlying economic facts.

There is, I am afraid, no doubt that the white workers in South Africa have been on occasion, and in many cases still are, unfair and unreasonable in their attitude toward African advancement. That attitude must change, not only in fairness to the Africans but in the economic interests of the whole population, black and white. * * * But the attitude of the white workers will not change unless the fears that cause it can be removed.

In South Africa the expressed policy of the Government is to maintain the industrial color bar and to limit the Africans to unskilled work in what they call the white areas of the country. On the other hand, they propose to help the Africans to develop to the full, free from white competition, in what they call the African areas. No doubt the plan has theoretical attractions but the practical difficulties are considerable, of which not the least is that nearly two-thirds of the African population live and work in the so-called white areas. The enforcement of an industrial color bar by law, apart from the moral issue it raises, has grave practical disadvantages in that it tends to impose a rigid pattern on the organization of industry. Where the industrial color bar is not enforced by law, it is often enforced by the European trade unions, sometimes directly and sometimes by the maner in which the sound principle of the rate for job is applied. This last approach is particularly favored in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, where both Government policy and the general state of public opinion are opposed to an industrial color bar as such.

African labor, except at simple repetitive jobs, is, on the whole, much less efficient than European labor. Naturally, when I say that, I am talking of the present position, and am not saying anything about what the future potentialities may be. Moreover, as I have already pointed out, there is a great gulf between the customary standard of living and cultural and social habits of black and white. In these circumstances you will readily understand that if the white-trade unionists rigidly insist that there must be no dilution of labor, no fragmentation of processes to make room for intermediate grades of workers, and that if Africans do skilled jobs they must receive precisely the same conditions, rates of pay, provision for housing, social amenities, and so forth, as are customary for Europeans, the effect must be completely to exclude Africans from all but unskilled work.

Nevertheless, though the principle of the "rate for the job" can be misused in order to hold Africans back, it remains sound and its maintenance is the only way to give proper security to the white workers. But if it is to be maintained, then the white workers must be prepared to agree to rates being fixed in such a way as in practice to make increasing numbers of skilled jobs available to the Africans.

* * * * *

The problems created by the reasonable demands of the Africans for advancement must be faced, not only by industrialists but by the whole European population of southern Africa, of which the European workers, of course, are a most important part. Much is asked of the European workers, and on the copper belt, anyhow, it has been possible to take an important step forward in agreement with them. Further progress there and throughout southern Africa is going to depend very much on their good sense and good will, and it is to be hoped that the leaders of African opinion on their side will realize that fact.

I know that many people will say that, if African progression has to wait until the good will of the European workers can be obtained, it will have to wait forever. I do not believe that such pessimism is justified, or that it will be impossible to make the white workers see that African advancement is needed to maintain the tempo of economic progress on which the prosperity of all the workers depends. And I think that practical experience supports my optimistic view.

* * * * *

The European population of South Africa is widely condemned in the rest of the world, and it seems to be generally supposed that it is only the Europeans in South Africa who are inclined to reject interracial cooperation. Unfortunately, that is not the case. Racial politics are every bit as popular among Africans as they are among Europeans, and the emergence of black nationalism is a major danger to the unity, security, and prosperity of soutifern Africa. Recent events on the northern Rhodesian copper belt have emphasized this danger. There, with official assistance and encouragement from London, a strong African mineworkers union was formed some years ago, and it has been able to agin important benefits for African mineworkers, both in the form of higher overall wages and by helping to secure opportunities for Africans to do more skilled and better paid jobs that had previously been reserved for Europeans. Recently, however, there has been an unmistakable tendency for this African union to allow itself to be used as the instrument of black nationalists, whose objective is not a fair participation of Africans in a multiracial society, but the transformation of Rhodesia into an exclusively African country.

This brings me back to considerations I touched on at the beginning of my speech. We shall not solve the industrial problems or any other problems of a multiracial society unless we accept the idea of a multiracial society and plan on that basis. Physically, south Africa offers great opportunities, and, if the necessary capital, organizing ability, and technical skill can be made available, should be able to afford a good life to all its inhabitants. It is not any physical difficulty that stands in the way but the psychological difficulty of obtaining good will and cooperation. There is no real possibility of turning south Africa or Rhodesia into white countries or black countries, or of dividing them effectively into white or black areas. It is significant that the Tomlinson Commission, which has recently examined the possibility of territorial separation of the races in the Union, with an obvious desire to prove "apartheid" feasible, has found that, when all that would be possible and, to my mind, a great deal that would be impossible, had been done to separate the races, the population in what the Commissioners call the European areas would be one-third African, one-third other non-European peoples, and only one-third European. The essential multiracial character of southern Africa cannot now be changed. Our choice is not whether black and white should live together or not, but whether, living together, we should quarrel or cooperate. Considerations of morality, economics, and commonsense all point to cooperation, but there are powerful forces of prejudice, stupidity, and political ambition which drive in the opposite direction. These forces of disruption are just as powerful among the Africans as among the Europeans, and are equally dangerous and equally to be condemned wherever they are found.

I have tried to show that most of the difficulties we meet in industry in southern Africa are parallel to those which have been encountered with rapid industrialization elsewhere. Such difficulties are increased by race prejudice but are not caused by it. On the material side, the industrial revolution in southern Africa has already brought about a tremendous rise in the standard of living of Africans as well as Europeans and has, at the same time, developed their needs and aspirations. It is plain that, in Africa, we have reached a stage where further physical progress, which is certainly possible, is going to depend more and more on our ability to solve human problems that have been created. These problems must be faced and cannot be conjured away by assuming that profound cultural, social, and racial differences do not exist or are simply a matter of unreasoning prejudice. On the other hand, if we seek to remove the occasion for conflict by a separation of the races, the effect will be not only to prevent further progress, but to destroy the great advance that has already been made.

An Irish Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the celebration of St. Patrick's

Day it seems appropriate to call attention to an Irish Prayer written by a friend and neighbor of the people of the district I have the honor to represent.

Col. John J. Griffin is a vice president of the First National Bank of St. Louis, Mo. His city lies just across the Mississippi River from the 24th District of Illinois. He has been kind enough to send me the touching verses he has written from his memory of the meaning of Irish faith.

Under permission to revise and extend my remarks I offer Colonel Griffin's verses for the RECORD:

AN IRISH PRAYER

(By Col. John J. Griffin)

May the blessings of the Little One be upon you.
May He find an abiding place in your heart,
May He warm the heart of yours,
Until it glows brighter than a fire of turf,
Its glow to warm both the stranger and friend alike
May it bring the welcome of the dawn upon you,
To soften the blackness of the night.
May it cause you to glow with the warmth of a candle,
As its light beckons a welcome,
From the window on a stormy night.

May the Grace of God abide in and be with you,
Bringing upon you the sweetness of His influence,
As the rain, the light, soft, blessed rain
Brings out the beauty of the spring flowers,
Causing them to send their sweetness
Fleeting in the air to His heavenly throne.
May all these blessings living and breathing in you,
Enable all who meet you to find in you
The likes of Him, who gives to the lives of us,
The sun, the rain, the earth.

May He soften your last resting place
To the fairy fluffiness of the cloud
So your spirit can be ascending from it quickly
In its desire to join the sons of Erin,
Who, thanks be to God, have returned
To Him, they so faithfully served.

Wanted: Low Interest Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Pageland (S. C.) Journal of March 7, 1957:

WANTED: LOW INTEREST RATES

One of the prerequisites to a proper democratic society is a decent rate of interest for the veteran, who wishes to purchase a home for his family. The natural thing for any young American who gets married and starts a family, or who has been married for some time, saving up for the purpose, is to buy a home for his family.

The purchase of a home by most families means that some of the money will have to be borrowed. We do not believe in socializing the construction industry or the financing industry, but we do believe the Government has a responsibility to see to it that citizens are not fleeced in purchasing what is usually the largest single item of their lives.

This can often mean the difference between happiness and dissatisfaction for many, and the difference in dollars can add up to several thousand in a lifetime. Therefore, we think Congress should see to it that the Government makes available enough reinsurance authority to properly take care of all veterans who wish to purchase homes, and others who have paid their taxes and been law-abiding citizens and are, therefore, responsible citizens.

What American Independence Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith essays written by Charlotte Sue Prater and Judith Yvonne Vollmer on What My American Independence Means to Me. Miss Prater and Miss Vollmer are students in Millstadt, Ill., schools and were awarded first- and second-place honors in the Americanism essay contest sponsored by the American Legion Auxiliary.

The essays which appeared in the Millstadt (Ill.) Enterprise on March 7, 1957, follow:

WHAT MY AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE MEANS TO ME—CHARLOTTE SUE PRATER AND JUDITH VOLLMER WIN LEGION ESSAY CONTEST

Charlotte Sue Prater and Judith Vollmer were awarded first and second place in this year's Americanism essay contest sponsored by the American Legion Auxiliary, it was announced at the Legion meeting on Tuesday night. Mrs. Fred Krick, Jr., chairman of the contest committee, presented the two winners, who read their essays to the group and received their awards at that time.

Seventeen essays on the assigned topic "What My American Independence Means to Me" were submitted by students of the two local schools. They were judged on the basis of pertinence to the topic, originality, coherence, unity, and correct English usage. The judges, Miss Mildred Baltz, Mrs. Peter Mollman, and Herman J. Krohm, were not aware of the identity of any of the contestants until the final decision was made. At that time, the winning papers were matched by key numbers to the title pages, on which the students' names appeared.

The judges expressed to Mrs. Krick their opinion that many of the papers were of unusually high caliber considering the youth of their authors. The two winning essays follow:

"WHAT MY AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE MEANS TO ME

"(By Charlotte Sue Prater)

"My American independence means many things to me, but the most important is the word 'freedom.' We Americans who have always lived free and equal sometimes take our precious liberty for granted. We forget, it was the 'love of freedom' which founded our Nation and spurred the pioneer to build a great Nation.

"From the time of the Thirteen Colonies to the present time of 48 States, our goal has been freedom.

"George Washington with his small Continental Army consisting mostly of volunteers defeated the British and won our independence for the Colonies.

"Paul Revere, silversmith and patriot, played a great part in our American freedom. His famous 'midnight ride—and lantern signal' lives in our memory as contributions to liberty.

"In 1776 the Continental Congress appointed a committee to draw up the Declaration of Independence and selected Thomas Jefferson to write it. July 4, 1776, the Liberty Bell rang out that America was free. Jefferson loved liberty and believed in free schools that should be paid by taxation.

"Lincoln's Gettysburg Address is one of the documents that expresses Americans' democracy, 'that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.' Lincoln was firm in believing all men are created equal.

"There have been many other wars fought to keep America free, such as World War I and World War II.

"American people sometimes take freedom for granted. We have the right to control our own government. We have the freedom to vote as we please, regardless of race, creed, or color. We have political rights and privileges. Our political rights include the rights to hold office. If anyone has committed a crime, he is entitled to a fair trial before a fair-minded jury. We have the freedom of religion. Every American has the right of free speech. He may give talks, criticize the government without fear of punishment. We also have the freedom of press.

"I am proud to be a citizen in our free country, the United States of America. I go to school and have learned America loves her freedom. From coast to coast her flag will wave the Stars and Stripes forever. For her, American independence will never crumble, but will ring out loud and clear."

"WHAT MY AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE MEANS TO ME

"(By Judith Yvonne Vollmer)

"American independence is something most of us take for granted. We express our opinions, worship in the church or synagogue of our choice, and visit with friends whether they live near or far, never thinking of the sacrifices made by men to obtain them for us.

"Through the years many men have worked for the independence we know today. Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence stating that we were a free republic, no longer governed by England. In 1787 and 1788 after writing the Constitution; the Bill of Rights was added to safeguard each individual citizen's personal freedom. For the 175 years we have been a Nation, we have continually grown until now we extend from the Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean and have Territories overseas. The people of the United States and its Territories are still exercising the freedoms and rights given them in the Bill of Rights.

"Freedom of religion has meant and means a great deal to Americans. To the Pilgrims it meant a whole new life in a wild land, but a life free of tyranny. To me it means I may go to the church of my choice and worship in the manner I choose.

"The freedom of speech, press, and assembly means very much to me. Without them I could not express myself in this contest. I would not know about the Middle East crisis or other happenings in the world. I could not visit with friends or attend gatherings of any kind.

"The privilege of attending elementary and high schools, and of receiving a higher education in the institution of your own choice is a freedom greater than we can imagine. After finishing our education we may enter any vocation in which we have the ability to do competent work.

"The assurance of just and impartial judgment when accused of crime enables us to live lives free from worry of unjust imprisonment. We also know that we will never be made to serve another person without our consent.

"To me my American independence is worth living and working for. My independence is the basis of my future. For it and through it I will achieve my goal in life. I will strive to keep this independence in the United States and help to bring it to other nations and people."

Prosperity for America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last Sunday evening it was my pleasure to deliver by transcription, over station WGN, Chicago, an address on what I feel to be a three-point program designed to maintain confidence in America's free enterprise system.

In the course of my remarks, I set forth specific ways and means by which I feel this country can continue to achieve still higher levels of prosperity.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR WILEY SAYS NO. 1 KEY TO UNITED STATES PROSPERITY IS MAINTAINING CONFIDENCE—PRESENTS PROGRAM FOR NATIONAL MONETARY COMMISSION, TAX STUDY COMMISSION, CORRUPTION ELIMINATION—STRESSES SOUND RISK, CAPITAL EXPANSION AS KEY TO GOLDEN TOMORROW

(Radio address delivered by Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, Wisconsin, over station WGN, Chicago, Ill., on the Your Senator's Report series, March 10, 1957)

I would like to talk to you tonight, my friends, about prosperity for America. I mean prosperity for all 170 million of us, for the laboring man and the farmer, for the housewife and the businessman, for the student in school, and for the retired old folks.

During the next quarter hour, I would like to discuss some of the ways and means by which we can help assure continued prosperity for America. I am going to answer a series of questions about our country's bright future. In turn, I would like my listeners to write in to me after you have heard this broadcast. Give me the benefit of your own judgment on the answer to this question, the $64,000 question: How can we keep our beloved America prosperous?

1960 OUTLOOK BRIGHT

Senator WILEY, what do you feel is the basic outlook for prosperity?

My answer is: The outlook is excellent. I mean both the short-range outlook and the long-range outlook.

For example, what the economists call our gross national product—the total output of our goods and services—is a huge $412 billion a year now.

By the end of this decade, by 1960, that total should increase by $50 billion more.

By 1960, too, we are going to have around 11 million more people in our country.

We are going to have around 3 million more people employed—over and above our present 65 million workers.

And estimates on other future trends are likewise encouraging.

SOFT SPOTS IN HOME CONSTRUCTION, FARM INCOME

Question. How about the few clouds on the economic horizon?

Answer. Well, we do know realistically that there are some soft spots in our economy.

Those soft spots reflected in recent declines in average levels on the Nation's securities exchanges.

Then, too, when we look, for example, at home construction (which is expected to reach around 1 million units this year), we see a very real soft spot. When we look at the problems of our 5½ million farm families, we also see a major problem—the serious drop in farm income.

But I'm satisfied that we're going to remedy these serious, but isolated soft spots.

RISING STANDARD OF LIVING FORESEEN

Question. And if we do remedy them, Senator, what then?

Answer. Well, then, we are truly going to enjoy a golden tomorrow—prosperity greater than any we have ever before known, even in the best boom time.

And I mean sound prosperity, lasting prosperity, universal prosperity.

Without wearing rose-colored glasses, we can well foresee more jobs, more income, more take-home pay, more so-called fringe benefits, more dividends, more capital gains, more leisure time than we have ever before known.

All this means more automobiles on the roads, more radio and TV sets, more refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners in the homes.

It means more money available to be invested in our banks, in our life insurance policies, in our savings and loan associations, in stocks and bonds, in American corporations.

HARD WORK ESSENTIAL

Question. But all this will take work?

Answer. Absolutely. All this isn't going to happen automatically or by mere wishes.

It is going to come about through hard work, through rising productivity in American industry.

It must come about through self-sacrifice, self-discipline in America—a willingness to work and to save and to invest soundly.

CONFIDENCE OUR FOREMOST NEED

Question. Senator, if you were asked the single most important step to assure this American prosperity, what might your answer be?

Answer. I can sum up that answer in one word: Confidence.

The future prosperity of America depends basically upon the confidence of the people of America.

Confidence in what? In whom?

Confidence by Americans in America itself. Confidence in their Government—Federal, State, and local.

Confidence in the value of the dollar.

Confidence in the prospects for world peace (a matter in which I personally am naturally especially interested, as senior Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee).

Yes, I mean confidence in the growing, expanding market for our goods and services.

CONFIDENCE IN SOUND, PRUDENT, ECONOMICAL GOVERNMENT

Question. What do you mean by confidence in Government?

Answer. I mean that our people must have faith—well-merited faith that government is going to act wisely—that it will strengthen our free enterprise system and leave it free of any unnecessary restrictions; that it will keep its own financial house in order, economize in spending wherever possible; that it will keep the traffic light green—not red—to advance, rather than halt, the dynamic expansion of America.

Question. How, specifically, can we expand our American economy?

NEW JOBS NEEDED FOR 400,000 NEW WORKERS EACH YEAR

Answer. Well, take the matter of our expanding population—our growing labor force.

You all know that more than 4 million babies are being born every year in America.

But what you may not realize is that aside from this boom in the baby rate, we have a tremendous number of new workers, age 17, 18, and older, coming out of schools every year. Each year, more than 400,000 new workers join America's labor force. There must be jobs for these workers. And there must be new-type jobs for many of our existing 66 million workers.

$12,500 INVESTMENT FOR EACH NEW JOB

Question. What does it take, Senator WILEY, to create new jobs?

Answer. Well, it takes very sizable investments.

It has been estimated that it takes $12,500 to create a single new job on the average.

That means that it requires that much of an investment in plant and equipment, in lands and natural resources and working capital, $12,500 on the average; to start a brand new job with new equipment costs still more.

In other words, for the 400,000 new workers alone every year, for them, we need around $5 billion a year, just for new equipment.

In addition, we need more investment to replace obsolete machinery and plants, so as to keep our productivity moving ahead. That will mean, in turn, a higher living standard. So, for more productivity, we need around $10 billion per year.

Moreover, believe it or not, we need still additional sums, simply to maintain existing plants and equipment, to keep them in working order, without adding to them or improving them, just maintaining them.

And that means around $25 billion more a year.

Now, all of these huge multi-billion dollar estimates may be pretty hard to understand. But what they boil down to is this: Our country needs, perhaps, around $40 billion per year in new capital to keep our economy in high gear and at an expanding rate.

RISK CAPITAL MUST COME FROM PEOPLE'S SAVINGS

Question. Where is all that capital coming from?

Answer. Well, it must come basically from you, the American people, from your own savings, from your own willingness to provide money to American industry to expand.

The American people must be willing to give to industry the money basically for what is known as risk capital. That is capital which is willing to take chances in developing new products and services. Capital devoted, for example, to research and experimentation, and trying out new types of ventures.

And, of course, this risk capital won't be forthcoming until and unless the American people are confident in their own future. That is why confidence plays so crucial a role.

WE DARE NOT DRY UP RISK CAPITAL

Question. What happens if confidence drops and if fear takes over?

Answer. That would indeed spell trouble.

If risk capital were ever partly to dry up, if industry couldn't confidently expand with new equipment, new plants, there would be fewer jobs, less purchasing power, a shrinking market.

That must not happen; it will not happen.

Question. In the light of all of these facts, Senator, what can we do specifically to keep up confidence in America?

AVOID TWIN EVILS OF INFLATION, DEFLATION

Answer. Let me suggest this three-point program:

First, we must maintain confidence in the American dollar. By and large, we have succeeded in doing this. But we must remain vigilant in keeping to this objective.

In order to maintain confidence in the dollar, we have to avoid the twin evils of inflation (at one end of the pole), or deflation (at the other end of the pole.)

Inflation robs value from every dollar in your savings bank, in your life insurance policy, and in your annuity and in your pension.

Deflation, on the other hand, can drag our economy down, decrease the number of jobs, lower purchasing power, and put the economy in low gear.

APPROVE MONETARY COMMISSION STUDY

One of the ways by which we can maintain the value of the dollar is by taking a whole new look at America's prosperous but complex financial structure.

That is why I urge the Congress to approve President Eisenhower's splendid suggestion of a top-level commission to study America's whole monetary and credit system. That means our powerful Federal Reserve System—which, on the whole, has been functioning quite well—as well as reviewing our whole money structure.

Virtually everyone is agreed that this long overdue study should be made. The only remaining question is: Who should review our vital financial system—the Congress or a distinguished panel of private citizens, or both?

ENACT WILEY BILL FOR HOOVER-STYLE FEDERAL TAX COMMISSION

Question. What is the second step in your confidence-creating program for America, Senator?

Answer. The second step is to reform taxes. I mean make our tax system—which is now unfortunately an obsolete hodge-podge—make it a well-coordinated aid to free enterprise, instead of a drag on free enterprise. That is why I have introduced the Wiley bill to establish a Hoover-style Federal Tax Commission. Fourteen Senators are cosponsoring this Wiley bill.

The reasons we are making this suggestion are (1) to assure adequate tax revenue to Uncle Sam, while (2) assuring adequate incentive for expansion of America.

REVIEW DOUBLE TAXATION OF CORPORATE DIVIDENDS

Let's take a brandnew look at our overall taxes—our present double taxation on corporate dividends, our taxes on capital gains, our excise taxes, and income taxes and surtaxes and every other kind of taxes.

Question. You believe that a commission-type approach is the best way of straightening out our tax system and creating incentive for investment and expansion?

Answer. Definitely; yes.

A commission is, of course, no cure-all. It can be no better than the men who are on the commission and the men who review the commission's recommendations. And I certainly don't believe in establishing a commission, simply in order to delay action. The commission approach, as such, can be overdone.

At the same time, significant top-level commissions such as the one to study America's monetary structure and another to study our tax structure—such commissions can render invaluable service to America.

CLEAN OUT CHISELERS, RACKETEERS

Question. What is a third step in your confidence-creating program?

Answer. A third step is to clean up the whole variety of negative, destructive influences which have wormed into some parts of the American free-enterprise system.

I refer, for example, to parasites like the occasional stock chiselers, the swindlers, the racketeers who bamboozle some of the American people into buying hundreds of millions of dollars of worthless securities. This very small minority of chiselers often gives American stocks a bad name—which stocks as a whole don't deserve.

TEAMSTER INVESTIGATION EXPOSES CRIME TAKE

Question. What would be another illustration of the negative forces at work in some areas of free enterprise?

Answer. Well, you are all familiar with the current Senate investigation of racketeering infiltration in labor unions. This investigation is providing a shocking exposé of some of these negative influences at work among the teamsters and elsewhere.

I say that no industry can possibly operate soundly with gangsters and racketeers and hoodlums at its throat. It has been estimated that crime and gambling cost America as much as $20 billion per year. This is money being used nonproductively. It represents a staggering social waste. The American people are paying a tremendous amount of money wasted—costs added artificially to goods and services—because racketeers are syphoning off huge sums from the top and from the bottom.

SUMMARY

Question. Senator WILEY, remedying this crime evil represents then, the third point in your confidence-creating program for the American people.

You had earlier stressed the importance of maintaining the value of the American dollar, of avoiding the twin dangers of inflation and deflation.

You mentioned the importance of a new look at our Nation's financial structure, and have cited the need for improvements in America's tax system.

And you have emphasized that we must utilize our national energies and resources cleanly and constructively, instead of allowing criminal forces to drain away billions of dollars from our free enterprise system.

Answer. That about sums it up. I have enjoyed this opportunity of chatting with you tonight. And I appreciate the courtesy of station WGN in making this period available.

I would like most cordially to invite the reactions of my listeners to this program.

Thank you for your attention. I look forward to speaking to you again in the future.

Wood River, Ill., the Takeoff Point for the Lewis and Clark Expedition

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, within a short time, the State of Illinois and residents in the vicinity of Alton and Wood River, Ill., will dedicate a marker in a point of land on the Mississippi River opposite the mouth of the Missouri River to permanently mark the location from which the historic Lewis and Clark Expedition set out. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article on this historic site at Wood River, which appeared in the Thursday, March 7, issue of the Wood River (Ill.) Journal.

But, I could not call this to the attention of my colleagues in the Hosue without paying tribute to the memory of the man whose untiring effort and zeal to perpetuate historic landmarks resulted in setting aside this area for posterity. One man, and one man alone, is entitled to the credit for this latest State park in Illinois and for the marking of the spot from which the pioneers under Lewis and Clark set out to explore the great Northwest. He was the late Dr. Howard W. Trovillion, of Alton, Ill.

It was my pleasure to be associated with Dr. Trovillion for several years during his active work in promoting the historic value of the land along the Mississippi River near Alton, Ill. It was Dr. Trovillion who conceived the idea of dedicating a small area on the Mississippi at Wood River in commemoration of the historic Lewis and Clark Expedition.

The article follows:

HISTORIC SITE IS IN WOOD RIVER

(By John W. Allen, Southern Illinois University)

Many places along Illinois highways tell interesting stories to those who pause to question. Most of these sites are unnoted; markers indicate others.

Occasionally a "Historical Marker Ahead" sign will enable the motorist to see the thin edge ahead (right or left) in time to detach himself from the stream of traffic in which he often is being swept along. Then he may park on a narrow turnout beside the marker. Too often, however, he is unable to do this without inviting an accident and can only say, "There it was," as he drives on wondering.

One marked historical site passed by thousands each day is located on the west side of Route 670A near the south edge of Wood River. This marker was placed by the Illinois State Historical Society to indicate the locality where Capt. Meriwether Lewis, private secretary to President Jefferson, and William Clark, younger brother of George Rogers Clark, gathered, organized, trained, and equipped their very select company of 43 unmarried men for a long journey to the Pacific and return. Known as the Lewis and Clark Expedition, it still remains the most significant exploring mission ever sent out by the United States.

Even before the Louisiana Purchase had been completed, Jefferson had formed plans, and funds had been allocated for sending a select group of 12 men west and north along the Missouri Valley to explore the possibilities for trade in that region. With the purchase of the territory completed, the President's earlier plans were expanded to the Pacific. After all, Louisiana Territory had been purchased practically sight unseen. Now it was time to know more fully what was in the new lands that had doubled the Nation's area.

The expedition being recruited at the mouth of Wood River was to become a memorable and significant one.

LAND UNCHARTED

It was to pass through extensive territories for which there were meager written records and little of oral accounts. It was to reveal much of the richness of an area that was later to make up 15 States of the Union.

This expedition was to gather information concerning unknown rivers, mountains, and mountain passes, of wide expanses of prairie and forest, and of strange plant and animal

life. Hitherto unknown Indian tribes were to be encountered. It was to mark the beginning of one of the most romantic chapters of American history, one to which additions are yet being made as more of the records left by those making the trip are discovered.

Also this expedition was to furnish one of the most noted American legendary women, the little Shoshone squaw, Sacagawea (also spelled Sacajawea) or "Bird Woman." She was the wife of Toussaint Charbonneau, a French-Canadian who joined the expedition as interpreter while it was encamped at Fort Mandan during the winter of 1804–5.

Sacagawea soon became one of the expedition's most important members. Without the help that this wise and diplomatic Indian woman gave and the help that she was able to obtain from other Indians, the mission could not have succeeded. It was she, then 18 years and with her first papoose strapped on her back, who guided the party through the unexplored mountain passes toward the lands on the western slopes where she had spent her childhood and where her relatives lived. Recognition of her services partially is indicated by the fact that more memorials have been erected to her memory than to any other woman in American history.

The first winter after leaving the Wood River camp was spent at a Mandan Indian village just west of Bismark, N. Dak. The second winter was at Fort Clatsap, near Astoria and within sound of the Pacific. No ship came to the mouth of the Columbia for them as had been planned, and it was necessary to make the return trip overland. This they did, reaching St. Louis September 23, 1806, almost 2½ years after setting out from their Wood River camp. It must have been with mingled feeling that they passed the site of their starting point on that September day.

Only two of the men starting on the long journey to the Pacific did not return with the group. One of these was Sergeant Floyd, who died and was buried on a hilltop near Sioux City, Iowa, where a shaft now marks his grave. The other was John Coulter who, on the return trip, asked for and received a discharge near the headwaters of the Missouri, wishing to trap, hunt and explore. It was Coulter who first reported the geysers of the Yellowstone. All this indicates only a small part of the story that grew out of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

Today the forest that then stood across Highway 67A at their Illinois camp is gone. Another forest of spreading oil tanks, chimneys and weird structures of cracking plants has replaced the original one on the eastern side. The land lying along the Mississippi and about the mouth of Wood River on the west of the highway is now used by an oil company as an area for the loading of river barges.

One Way To Cut Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, while many agree that the tax burden should be lessened and profess a great desire to lessen it, little if anything has been done to bring about that most desirable situation.

A method of equalizing the tax burden, while at the same time curbing unnecessary spending, was outlined by our colleague, NOAH M. MASON, a Member of the House Committee on Ways and Means, in a talk he made March 3 over the Manion Forum, South Bend, Ind. Mr. MASON's statement reads:

CONGRESSMAN MASON, OF ILLINOIS, PRAISES HOFFMAN AMENDMENT

Dean MANION. One of the most pleasant features of my service with the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations 2 years ago was my association with Representative NOAH M. MASON, of Illinois. Mr. MASON never missed a meeting of the Commission and never failed to make some constructive contribution to the Commission's work while he was present there.

This distinguished public servant has been a Member of Congress for 18 years. He has used his long experience on the important Ways and Means Committee of the House to become an outstanding authority on the subject of Federal taxation. No Congressman knows more about that involved subject than he does and no Congressman approaches it with a more conscientious sympathy for the overburdened American taxpayer.

Congressman MASON's program for tax reform has been widely publicized. I have asked him to explain it to this audience. There is no person in public life for whom I have greater admiration and affection than the Honorable NOAH M. MASON. Here he is.

Congressman MASON. Thank you, Dean Manion, for that nice introduction. Tax revision and tax reduction are the special problems of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives. Our total taxload is backbreaking. It is a millstone around the necks of all Americans. It is a wet blanket upon every ambitious individual. It is an ever-present roadblock to business growth and development.

One hundred and seventy-five years ago, American patriots insisted that taxation without representation is tyranny. Today, American taxpayers can truthfully say: "Taxation under present representation is ruin."

Our total taxload in this year 1957 will take more than one-quarter of the national income. Not from everyone, for the load is not spread equitably and certain segments of our economy unhappily carry a disproportionate share. No wonder the American taxpayer is today more tax conscious and—yes—more tax-complaining than ever before in the history of our Nation.

In 1956, the total tax burden that was piled upon American citizens was $99 billion. The Federal Government took $72 billion; the States grabbed $14 billion; and local governments collected $13 billion.

Federal taxes come from 4 different sources: The first and most productive source—and, I may say, most burdensome—is the tax upon the incomes of individuals, ranging from 20 percent in the lowest bracket to 91 percent in the highest bracket. It produces roughly $39 billion—a little more than half of the total—but it raises this stupendous sum at a dreadful cost to family incomes.

The man in the lowest bracket must work 3 months of every year for the Government and 9 months for himself and his family. The man in the top bracket must work 11 months each year for the Government, with only 1 month left to provide for his family and himself.

Our second source is corporation taxes, which take from 30 percent to 52 percent of corporate profits. In other words, a corporation must make $2 profit for a single dollar it can pay its stockholders. It means that most corporations work a little more than 6 months of each year for the Federal Government and a little less than 6 months of each year for their owners.

To our Government's liberal spenders, the corporation tax is very profitable. It brings in about $22 billion a year.

Third among Government sources of income are excise taxes, which are levied upon the value of goods sold and upon certain services rendered. They range up to 10 percent of the cost of articles sold or services rendered, except upon liquor and tobacco, both of which are taxed at much higher rates. The tax take from excises is roughly $10 billion a year.

The fourth source of Federal income is from miscellaneous taxes—taxes on inheritances, on gifts, tariffs, etc. Federal inheritance taxes range up to 70 percent of the total value of an estate. Tariff rates average 5 percent of the total value of goods imported. Comparatively speaking, the miscellaneous taxes can be considered peanuts—about $3 billion each year.

As things look now, the Federal Government will take in about $74 billion in the fiscal year 1957–58—but with a $72-billion budget already before us and an open-handed administration in the saddle, we'll probably manage to spend every penny of it without cutting down our debts or putting aside a few dollars against the rainy day when hair may be curled again as it was in Mr. Hoover's day.

Well, you ask, what can be done about it? I propose three tax reforms to spread the load more equitably:

First, we should place a tax ceiling upon all Federal income taxes, corporate taxes, and estate taxes.

KARL MARX SHOWED THE WAY

One hundred years ago, Karl Marx announced a two-point program for the destruction of capitalism and the promotion of communism. All estates should be confiscated, he proposed, by the imposition of a 100-percent inheritance tax, and a steeply graduated income tax should be levied upon all incomes.

We have traveled a long way down the road to the destruction that Karl Marx laid out. True, we are not taking 100 percent of inheritances, but 70 percent is close enough to confiscation. We are depleting small incomes by one-fifth, and large incomes by nine-tenths, and half the earnings of corporations are pledged to the bureaucrats and not to the stockholders. It is time to call a halt.

You ask: "Can the Treasury stand the loss of revenue that a tax ceiling would bring about?" Judging the future by the past, the answer is an emphatic "Yes."

Set the ceiling at 40 percent and receipts of $55 billion a year would still flow into the Federal Treasury—more money than was ever collected by the Federal Government up until 3 years ago.

My second tax reform proposes to repeal all excise taxes now on the books, except those on liquor and tobacco, and to substitute a flat 5-percent manufacturer's excise tax, uniformly applied to all end products.

Repeal of present miscellaneous excises—except those on liquor and tobacco—would cost the Treasury about $5 billion a year.

Imposition of a flat 5-percent manufacturer's excise tax upon all end products would produce about $5 billion a year to make up the loss—with the following definite advantages:

1. We would get rid of the present hodgepodge, hit-or-miss, inequitable mess of excise taxes—taxes levied without rhyme or reason—and we would lower our present 10 percent level to 5 percent.

2. A manufacturer's excise tax is the cheapest and easiest of all taxes to administer and collect.

3. Such a shift in taxes would tend to equalize the total burden upon all our people, without hurting any one producer or consumer.

A well-balanced, equitable Federal tax system, fair to all groups and classes of people, should collect about one-third of the needed revenue from individual income taxes, about one-third from corporate taxes, and one-third from excise taxes collected at the manufacturer's level.

My third tax reform would bring about tax equality among all business competitors. Corporations now pay up to 52 percent tax upon their earnings. Co-ops, mutual savings banks, savings and loan associations, credit unions and other mutuals—directly competing with taxpayers in practically all lines of business—pay little or no Federal income taxes.

I have introduced in the 85th Congress two bills—H. R. 501 and H. R. 502—which would correct this existing inequity. These bills would establish tax equality as between business competitors. They would bring into the Treasury a very large sum of money—about $1 billion—from sources that are now escaping their fair share of the tax load. They would also make possible a little easement of the load upon business enterprises that are now vastly overtaxed.

As a consequence of the present tax inequality between business competitors, co-ops and various mutuals are able to use the major part of their profits for expansion, for buying up taxpaying enterprises in their own lines of business. Thus, they keep expanding year after year.

CLAIMS CONGRESS CAN TAX CO-OPS

Spokesmen for the co-ops have always claimed that Congress has no legal right to tax co-ops; that co-ops were simply agents for their patrons; that co-ops make no profits in the sense that corporations make profits, and therefore they were not taxable.

This argument of the co-op spokesmen was settled when the greatest tax authority in the Nation, the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue, rendered an opinion in 1951 saying that under our Constitution and laws Congress does have the right to tax co-ops in the same manner and for the same reason that it now taxes corporations.

Briefly, the report of the joint committee entitled "The Power of Congress To Tax Cooperatives on Net Margins," pointed out:

1. Nearly all co-ops are organized as corporations and have corporate charters granted by the various States; therefore, they are taxable corporations.

2. The few not chartered as corporations are "associations." The definition of a corporation in the Internal Revenue Code includes associations; therefore, for Federal tax purposes, they are considered corporations; and

3. For many years Congress has considered co-ops as corporations, and has by legislation exempted them from the corporation tax. If Congress has the power to exempt co-ops from the corporation tax, then Congress certainly has the power to repeal that exemption.

The joint committee, in its report, has settled for all time the moot question raised by the spokesmen for the co-ops. The Congress does have the right to tax co-ops. The real question is: Does Congress have the courage to do so?

I want to say in closing, Dean Manion, the Hoffman amendment—your program for outright repeal of income taxes—and my program to limit income tax rates do not conflict with each other—they supplement each other.

You ask for the whole loaf in the Hoffman amendment. I ask for only about a half a loaf. My tax program has been bogged down in Congress. If you build up enough pressure for outright repeal, it will tend to speed action upon tax relief in general, and my tax program in particular. We can, therefore, cooperate and work together.

DEAN MANION. Thank you, Congressman NOAH MASON. Working with you has always been a profitable pleasure and I am sure it will continue to be. You may count upon thousands of people in this audience to help you to help them escape the slavery of ruinous taxation.

Aviation Week Discusses Research and Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Another Blow at Research," which appeared in the March 4, 1957, issue of Aviation Week:

ANOTHER BLOW AT RESEARCH
(By Robert Hotz)

Mr. Frank D. Newbury has won his 2-year fight to become czar of all military research, development and production programs. His victory is another in a series of blows to the cause of aeronautical research and development emanating from the top civilian levels in the Pentagon, blows that are seriously restricting the scope and slowing the pace of this vital effort.

We have already detailed the strangulation of the research and development program caused by the constant level budget concept which has been accepted Department of Defense policy for the last several years.

NEWBURY VICTORY

The Newbury victory is a symptom of another disease attacking the roots of research and development. This is a general downgrading and pooh-poohing of the importance of basis research. It has its origin in elder graduates of the American industrial system whose technical education came just after sail had given way to steam and more than a quarter century before the technical revolution wrought by nuclear fission. These men who pride themselves on being hard-headed practical engineers grew up in an era of American industrial development that was nourished on technical principles provided by the prior half century's basic research. The application of these principles in the great industrial complexes where these men worked was so far removed in the time scale from the basic research on which they were based that the connection was virtually invisible.

Today the swift pace of engineering has just about exhausted the reservoir of basic scientific knowledge accumulated by a century of research. To maintain its technical pace, engineering needs an accelerated and expanded assault on the basic frontiers of knowledge by the scientists. Without a major series of scientific breakthroughs all along the boundaries of the unknown, the vast and successful engineering and production effort of this country will slow down to a dangerous walk in the foreseeable future. The link between basic research discoveries and their application to weapon systems and the rest of the industrial system is now so close and vital that no modern engineer even raises the issue. The modern partnership of the scientist and engineer is a vital, delicate, difficult, and basically new relationship that must be nurtured, not divorced, if we are to maintain technical leadership for both war and peace. This is why the constant sneering at basic research, the downgrading of important research posts in the military structure and the resultant budgetary restrictions imposed by the hard-headed practical engineers whose technical outlook is limited to the steam turbine and internal combustion engine is producing such a dangerous threat to this science-engineering relationship.

In addition to the elevation of Mr. Newbury to be overseer of all things technical in the Pentagon, there is other evidence of this trend. After creating Assistant Secretary posts for research and development in all three military services, it has now been decided to do without at least one of the new jobs. In the Air Force, where the post of Assistant Secretary for Research and Development has existed for several years, the vacancy created by the resignation of Trevor Gardner in protest over policies which Mr. Newbury heartily endorses has never been restored to its prior level. The post has been filled temporarily by Richard Horner, an extremely capable civil-service career man, but his role has been vitiated by the handicap of serving only in an acting capacity. There has been no move by USAF Secretary Quarles either to give Mr. Horner permanent status in the post or to recommend appointment of another permanent Assistant Secretary for this job. Thus, by a simple bureaucratic maneuver the cause of research and development within USAF has been moved down several notches in the command echelon.

OBSTRUCTIONIST RECORD

Mr. Newbury's view on advanced aeronautical development are well known to the aircraft industry. He bitterly opposed such developments as the KC–135 jet tanker and the P6M jet flying boat. He authored a plan to make development decisions on jet engines from paper designs instead of performance tests. He promoted a scheme to dictate new engine standards from his Pentagon office rather than rely on the fertile brains of the industry powerplant experts. One embittered research and development man who had the benefit of Mr. Newbury's philosophy during Pentagon service remarked that this philosophy, if pursued to its logical conclusion, would lead us to a policy of fighting world war III with the 1903 model Springfield rifle, because we were all tooled up for them. There are no development problems and it's a proven weapon.

Steady deterioration of the role of research and development in the Pentagon will prove to be a dangerous trend. It will make the Russian's avowed goal of surpassing us technically much easier.

A Contribution to International Friendship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered on Saturday, March 2, at the ninth annual Bucknell-Burma weekend at Bucknell University at Lewisburg, Pa. This address is entitled "A Contribution to International Friendship," and I believe it will be of interest to the Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A Contribution to International Friendship

(Address by United States Senator Theodore Francis Green at the Ninth Annual Bucknell-Burma Weekend, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa., Saturday, March 2, 1957)

These weekend proceedings in which you have so kindly asked me to participate are, I believe, unique in American education. The concept of a regular reunion of former classmates is, of course, a well established tradition in the United States. On the other hand, an annual program designed to bring together students from a particular foreign country with which an American college has a special attachment is imaginative, indeed.

The more one reflects upon it the more one wonders why other educational institutions in our country have not appropriated the idea for themselves. Associations with the people of a foreign country such as the one which you have developed here at Bucknell with the people of Burma, are of a most satisfying and mutually rewarding nature. The personal friendships and impressions which are fostered thereby endure beyond the limited period of residence abroad, and necessarily affect the attitudes of the student when he reluctantly must take leave of his temporary home and his new friends.

I am particularly glad that Burma is an example of this, for I have visited Burma several times, both town and country, and I have very dear friends among its people. It has an especial place in my interest and in my affection.

You have built this association on a most impressive basis. Surely the fact that it has already endured for almost 100 years is ample evidence of its solidity. That the first foreign student at Bucknell—Mong Shawloo, of the class of 1864—was a great grandson of the King of Myawaddy, may explain why Bucknell's interest was drawn to Burma at the beginning. As you know, America's spiritual affiliation with Burma was initiated several decades earlier by Adoniram Judson, one of the first, if not the greatest, of the missionaries ever sent abroad from the United States. It was this devout and dedicated man who translated the Bible into Burmese, and for whom Judson College is named.

However, all these earlier contacts do not and cannot explain why this interest has been maintained for almost a century, or how it has grown into the warm and loyal bonds of fellowship which are so manifest on the annual weekends such as this.

No. It was not just the fortuitous appearance at Bucknell of the first of a widening body of students from Burma. There have been many other factors feeding this stream of sympathetic understanding and good will, which are among mankind's most precious—and sometimes scarcest—commodities.

During the hundred years of your academic kinship with the so-called Golden Peninsula, sons and daughters of Bucknell went to Burma as teachers, missionaries, doctors, and Government representatives. Then, too, scholarships given by Bucknell's alumni to students at Judson College in Rangoon, furthered an already warm relationship.

Yet the association between Bucknell and Burma should not be regarded as an isolated illustration of the way in which a harmonious fellowship can be developed between student groups in different countries. Similar associations have existed between Harvard and Leyden, between the University of Chicago and Frankfurt, as well as between the University of Michigan and the Philippine Islands. The relationship between the latter two became so close and so well known that it seemed quite natural for a Michigan man, Frank Murphy, to become Governor General of the Philippines before the United States voluntarily granted the islands their independence. This relationship has done much to spread good will among our two peoples.

Burma's high literacy rate undoubtedly encourages an effective interchange of students and teachers, and facilitates awareness and understanding of the mainsprings of of American policy. But this is always a two-way street; the presence in the United States of Burmese students should help us to understand some of the problems which Burma faces, and its passionate devotion to the cause she has been pursuing in her national interest.

Prejudices and misplaced conceptions of another nation do not survive long in the warmth of the welcome which the student from abroad ordinarily receives. And when he returns to his homeland, he takes with him memories of his college or university experience which he shares with others. In this same way, the American student for whom Burma may have meant theretofore an unreachable, exotic region of curious conventions, acquires an understanding and a sympathetic appreciation of the age-old culture and ineffable charm of the Burmese people.

This kind of contact between two peoples in our educational life is invariably favorable. And, as I have already said, its benefits are not merely those of a personal relationship between a few students. When a Burmese student at Bucknell, or a Bucknellian at Judson College in Rangoon, returns home, one can never measure with accuracy the pervasive extent of the impact which is produced upon the social milieu in which he lives.

Its effects may be far reaching in space and in time. We may not see this until years afterwards, perhaps during a period of crisis, when either the existence or lack of mutual understanding between governments may spell the success or failure of a policy. It is to be expected that many of those who return to Burma from the United States will eventually hold responsible positions in their Government or in their educational institutions, where their knowledge and understanding of the United States and of the American people will be of great use to them.

This is not a mere bit of philosophizing or conjecture on my part. After the First World War, from a group of Belgian students who had studied in the United States here came forth a Prime Minister and six Cabinet members. At the outbreak of the Second World War, nearly 25 percent of the teaching and research faculty of Belgian universities had been graduate students in the United States. It is not just the academic knowledge gained abroad by a student which thereafter serves him and his country. Of greater worth are the spiritual ties of brotherhood, mutual respect and understanding which can only come through people-to-people contact.

I have found this to be true of activities of our Government abroad under the mutual security program—particularly in such fields as that of technical cooperation, which it has been my privilege to study at firsthand. Almost without exception there arises between America technical personnel and the people with whom they work, a depth of understanding, respect, and affection which endures.

Possibly those of you who are commemorating this ninth annual Bucknell-Burma weekend may not think of your educational experience in the broad framework of international intercourse. But rest assured it makes a significant contribution to the harmonious relations between our two nations. It is a basic policy of the United States to support other nations of the free world in their desire to remain independent. We are not being altruistic in pursuing such a policy, because it is in our own highest interests to do so. Students from those countries who reside here cannot fail to become aware of this. They cannot fail to appreciate that we have no ulterior political motives toward their homelands. And that educational and commercial intercourse between our peoples do not mask a subversive purpose.

Unfortunately, there are other governments in the world whose interest is not merely that of a mutually beneficial interchange of ideas and improved international understanding. For these governments, education, technical aid, and trade relations are implements designed to facilitate economic and political domination of another country.

The barter agreements which various countries, including Burma, have concluded with the Soviet Union, are an example of how this device works. One of the major difficulties facing the Government of Burma has been the disposal of its rice surplus. Regrettably, the United States is a competitor of Burma in exporting rice. The natural outlet for Burmese rice is in Asia. And so, when the Soviets offered to buy 400,000 tons of rice annually from Burma over a 4-year period, it is easy to understand why such an offer was accepted.

Yet this agreement, like other commercial agreements with the Soviet Union, had much more than an economic implication. The Soviets do not pay in foreign exchange for the rice, so as to enable Burma to purchase its needs from other countries. Instead, Burma has received Soviet equipment, Soviet capital goods, Soviet machinery, and along with all this, Soviet technicians and replacement parts which, of course, have to come from the Soviet Union. The ultimate consequence of such an agreement would be increasing economic dependence. And this economic dependence inevitably erodes a nation's political independence.

It has not taken Burma's leaders long to recognize some of the hazards implicit in Soviet barter arrangements. The former Prime Minister of Burma is reported to have said that anyone who agrees to barter "when he can get cash is out of his mind." There has been much dissatisfaction in Burma with the results of its agreements with the Soviet Union, both as to price and quality of the goods.

Much resentment has likewise been provoked by the Communist Chinese practice of buying rice from Burma at fictitious prices, and then selling it to Burma's own customers, including Ceylon, Pakistan, and even Japan. This, of course, has the effect of enmeshing the free countries in the Communist economic webb, while at the same time reducing the amount of rice which the free countries can market.

To recognize such hazards is the first step in resolving them. The Burmese Government is fully cognizant of their extent. For my part, I am confident that it will eventually find the solution to them.

The cultural heritage of the peoples of our two countries may be dissimilar; but in a number of important respects they are very much alike; they both possess the eternal qualities of self-reliance and resourcefulness. In both America and Burma, character, courage and self-reliance rank with national and individual honor. And the Burmese possess all of these qualities in abundance. Only a people of stern fiber could have overcome the discouraging obstacles which Burma faced after the Second World War.

Like a number of other countries, Burma had suffered enormous destruction. Her transportation system, industry, and economy were virtually shattered. The Government faced a succession of crises with disorders and insurrections in every region of the country, often fomented by the Communists. The Government of Burma met this challenge. It gradually restored law and order. Its progress since those early terrible days is a heartening and inspiring saga of determination, of courageous leadership, and of hard work.

I rejoice with you that Burma is again on its feet. Its people can feel justly proud of their achievement. It is true that during the critical period of 1951–53, the United States provided the limited sum of $20 million in aid. But since 1953 the Burmese Government has been on its own.

I do not mean to suggest that Burma's problems are over. Very serious problems still remain. Fortunately, however, in the vital matter of subsistence, the Burmese are able to feed themselves. The country is not one which, like some others I have visited, has such limited resources that outside aid is necessary to keep its people from starving. Burma has, in addition, considerable natural resources which are not developed, potential sources of power, and excellent prospects for further growth of its industries.

But Burma has other problems. It has needs on which some of its neighbors seek to capitalize, both in an economic and a political way. The Burmese Government is very conscious of all this. With admirable resolve it has tried to meet the country's special economic needs without endangering its national existence as a free people.

We in the United States have a vital interest in supporting the efforts of other nations to remain free and independent. It is our hope that through understanding of our motives, we can succeed in convincing those nations whose basic interests are identical with ours, that we have no concealed designs; that we do not wish to subvert their institutions or dominate their governments; and that the cultivation of international understanding and fellowship, such as you are undertaking here at Bucknell, will with patience and tolerance usher in an era of permanent peace, for the greater glory of mankind.

United States Academy for Diplomats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, on behalf of my colleague, the distinguished Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "United States Academy for Diplomats," written by George Todt and published in the Valley Times of North Hollywood, Calif., of Wednesday, March 6, 1957, together with a statement by the Senator from South Dakota.

There being no objection, the article and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR MUNDT

A few days ago I introduced Senate Joint Resolution 65 for the purpose of establishing an academy for foreign diplomats. Many newspaper writers have commented favorably on this proposal and I have received a number of letters in support of it.

Mr. George Todt, who writes an interesting column for the Valley Times in North Hollywood, devoted his column on Wednesday, March 6, to the desirability of establishing such an academy, and I should like to have this column printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

[From the Valley Times, North Hollywood, Calif., of March 6, 1957]

UNITED STATES ACADEMY FOR DIPLOMATS

(By George Todt)

"Strange how much you've got to know—
Before you know how little you know."
—*Anonymous.*

Wouldn't it be the course of wisdom for the American people to establish a sort of West Point or Annapolis for training of personnel in the field of foreign affairs or foreign diplomacy?

One solon who thinks we should is astute Senator KARL MUNDT, of South Dakota. He recently offered a joint resolution (Senate Joint Resolution 65) in the Senate providing for the study of the possibility and desirability of establishing a United States Foreign Service Academy. Said Senator MUNDT:

"It seems quite obvious, in view of the large amounts of money we are spending today in the field of diplomacy and in the field of so-called mutual defense, with the cold war having the temperature it constantly engenders, that it would be good economy and good judgment on our part to prepare and educate a trained corps of Foreign Service officers by sending them through the kind of institution I envisage before they go abroad to represent us in the tricky world in which we live.

"Obviously, if our diplomats make serious errors, it could result in a terrible war, the cost for one hour of which would more than pay the cost for such an academy."

This seems to me to be a wise provision, and one which certainly should have been implemented long before this day. Events of the past two decades, in which we have been driven from pillar to post on the world stage, indicate that we could do much better in the diplomatic field than has thus far been the case. Perhaps a better trained professional corps is at least part of the answer.

However, before we get our hopes trained on sights too high in this instance, let me point out a couple of obvious factors. In the first place, there have been previous attempts to get this kind of legislation enacted by Members of the House and the Senate—but their efforts have invariably come to naught.

In the second place, Senate Joint Resolution 65 doesn't provide for the establishment of such an academy for Foreign Service officers once it is passed—but only for a commission of 12 members to study the desirability of establishing such an institution. It is to report back to Congress, in its final stage of closeout, on or before January 1, 1960. Interim reports will be made between the date of passage of the bill and the final-report date mentioned. There doesn't seem to be any special hurry in this case.

Composition of the proposed commission on the Academy of Foreign Service is designated as follows: (a) Four appointed by the President of the United States, 2 of these from the executive branch of the Government and 2 from private life; (b) 4 appointed by the President of the Senate, 2 of these from the Senate, and 2 from private life; and (c) 4 appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, 2 of these from the House and 2 from private life—a total of 12.

This seems like a good move, but why no sense of urgency here? There's a job which really needs to be done in this case, so why not get on with it? In these troubled times—in which we have had the major portion of the non-Communist world's global burden shifted on us—is there any excuse for fiddling while Rome burns?

The President's National Council on Youth Fitness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most widely known publications in the country is the Sporting News, published in St. Louis, Mo., by the respected J. G. Taylor Spink, with the assistance of his son, C. C. Johnson Spink. There is probably not a sportswriter of standing who does not greet the weekly appearance of the Sporting News as something speaking with authority on major league baseball and many other sports.

Many a boy growing up in America has learned to read the Sporting News with pleasure, and the Spink publication is headed by people who have always felt that the physical fitness of American youth is important. Their work in the sports field has contributed a great deal to the thinking of young people coming into the prime of manhood.

It was entirely appropriate that the recent St. Louis engagements of Shane McCarthy, executive director of President Eisenhower's National Council on Youth Fitness, should have been welcomed at a breakfast given by J. G. Taylor Spink. Under permission to revise and extend my remarks, I offer for the RECORD the following articles from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the St. Louis Globe-Democrat:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch]

(By Bob Broeg)

St. Louis was urged yesterday to give back its sidewalks to the kids and encouraged to take its young sons and daughters out of the grandstand and onto the field, making them exercise minded as well as sports conscious.

The appeal was made by Shane MacCarthy, executive director of President Eisenhower's National Council on Youth Fitness.

The tall and trim educator-lecturer, speaking with more than a trace of Ireland in his cultured delivery, entertained and informed about 30 city sports, youth activity, physical education, and business leaders invited to a University Club breakfast by J. G. Taylor Spink, publisher of the Sporting News.

The idea in MacCarthy's talk and a question-and-answer session that followed was to create a guide for a local youth fitness committee expected to be formed shortly. And if the St. Louisans make as good an impression on their fellow citizens as MacCarthy did in stumping for the President's project, this area is certain to have better-conditioned young folks—and maybe older ones, too.

LIKE FATHER, LIKE SONS

"There's no doubt," said MacCarthy, smiling in agreement at a point made by Walter Eberhardt, St. Louis University veteran physical education director, "that my 5 boys (ranging from 4 years to 18) enjoy competing in calisthenics only because I practice what I preach, exercising with them. Physical fitness is as much primarily the

family's responsibility as moral and spiritual guidance."

MacCarthy is at his task, seeking to create greater interest in youth fitness, because President Eisenhower and other Federal officials have been alarmed by failure of American boys to compete favorably with European youngsters in scientific physical fitness tests.

Rejection figures show 34.5 percent of the United States young men unable to pass selective service requirements. As a likely reason, MacCarthy said, a survey in New England showed a high degree of youth obesity, not from excessive food intake, but from inadequate physical activity.

"Thirteen of the sixteen great civilizations the world has known decayed of dry-rot, softness," the lecturer said. "When a nation is at its peak, as we are, energy must be spent to stay there. Otherwise, there's only one way to go—down."

Challenging "our pattern of life," as he put it, MacCarthy noted the national tendency to ride rather than walk to the corner market or drugstore.

A VOTE FOR WALKING, CYCLING

"Two of the great natural body conditioners, walking and cycling, are becoming lost arts," he said, "and the proof is the shocking contrast of deserted sidewalks and crowded streets. We're widening streets and narrowing sidewalks and, in fact, in fashionable suburbia we're eliminating sidewalks all together.

"Why prohibit our young people from skating and cycling on the sidewalks? It's far less dangerous for the vanishing pedestrian there than the increasingly busy and hazardous streets are for the youngsters."

Recently in New York when he was asked what the country's largest city could do as an example of encouraging more walking, roller skating, and cycling, for instance, MacCarthy said he had suggested blocking off fashionable Fifth Avenue on Sunday. To brow-raising Manhattan city fathers, he posed the rhetorical question:

"Can you afford to do less for the welfare of your children than when you cut off the same street during the height of a business week for a ticker-tape and confetti parade for a foreign celebrity?"

FOREST PARK: TOO MANY CARS

Asked for an evaluation of Forest Park, MacCarthy praised the beauty and size of the famous St. Louis landmark, but said: "Frankly, it disappointed me because it's cut through by too many roads used by too many cars. The arterial factor has been emphasized to the point the human factor is gone.

"The inconvenience of the adult will help youth fitness greatly. To illustrate, wouldn't it be forth a few extra minutes of the father's time driving to work—by not cutting through the park—so that his boy and others could play, walk, run, skate, and cycle in safety?"

Although favoring increased playground facilities—and he was aware St. Louis has lagged behind other major cities in its playgrounds and community centers—MacCarthy said playgrounds weren't enough, that recreational facilities within the block or at the doorstep were necessary.

"In the hot competitive nature of playground sports, the kid who doesn't have the skill is painfully aware of his shortcomings and frequently drops out," he said, noting that his own boys, who later turned out to become good school athletes, had shied away from playgrounds.

"So I took down the barbecue pit in my yard and put up a basketball court," MacCarthy said. "Kids are kings in their own backyard. And we've all had fun. That's the test of physical fitness, making it fun."

TRAIN ALL, NOT FEW

MacCarthy agreed with Louis Kittlaus, director of physical education for the board of education, that the problem was the many, not the few, the average youngster more than the star athlete, though he noted that even the superior athlete needed a fitness plan in later life, too, to avoid the obesity and softness blamed partly by many medical men for the high incidence of heart disease.

"I'm strongly for organized team sports, but by themselves I'm afraid they're not quite enough because the Olympics and other factors point to the trend which shows that though our athletes are developing greater speed they're also less durable than before. One of my boys, to personalize this, was a good basketball player, yet he could do only one push-up, his arms were so weak. Then he began exercising with me. Now he can really do the pushups—and he's a better basketball player, too."

MacCarthy, asked for his opinion of daylight saving time in a health and recreation program, said:

"I'm for it strongly so that there can be greater joint family fitness activity, which necessarily must be after the breadwinner comes home and usually before dark."

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat]

It's time to get off your seat and on feet and St. Louis, in accordance with President Eisenhower's youth fitness program, will do something about it in the near future.

The ball started rolling on the fitness program here at a breakfast meeting given by J. G. Taylor Spink, publisher of the Sporting News for civic officials, physical education leaders, and Dr. Shane MacCarthy, executive director of the Council on Youth Fitness.

MacCarthy, a silver-tongued Irishman who doesn't mince words about the state of the Nation's fitness, urged St. Louisans to form a committee as soon as possible to set up a workable program that will have the local citizens doing more walking, bicycling, roller skating, tennis playing or a hundred other forms of sports and exercise.

"The lack of durability among Americans is an established fact," Dr. MacCarthy told the meeting at the University Club. "President Eisenhower ordered the program set up when he saw some of the fitness reports of young Americans entering military service. Their lack of durability and strength was almost alarming.

"What we are really trying to do is raise the human octane rating and get rid of some of the softness in Americans. Competitive sports fill only part of the need. We must have some form of exercise and athletics for all the youth of America."

The word "youth" covers a broad field for Dr. MacCarthy, who is a noted political scientist and lecturer. At 48, he still takes part in tennis, backyard basketball (with his 5 sons in Washington), and in bicycling.

"It's amazing how few people bother to walk any more," Dr. MacCarthy said. "We jump in our automobiles just to ride a block or two to the store. What's wrong with walking, anyway?"

Dr. MacCarthy has facts and figures to back up the lack of durability among Americans.

"Just look at the number of leg injuries suffered by athletes," he points out. "And in the Olympic games it was firmly established that after 1,500 meters we weren't very good in the running events. What we need is a ground swell of community effort to overcome our lethargy."

When Dr. MacCarthy assumed his duties last September at the request of the Government, he set out almost singlehanded to get the Nation on its feet. The council which he heads reads like a who's who in Government. There are five Cabinet members on the committee and Vice President NIXON is the chairman.

Some of Dr. MacCarthy's ideas seem revolutionary, but nonetheless make sense to communities and physical-education people who have tried them. Kansas City is making great progress, he noted. Boys clubs have been established, playgrounds are being kept open later to accommodate youths and the community on the whole is become fitness conscious.

"Just look at St. Louis," he declared. "You've got 40,000 roller-skating rinks and bike tracks. I mean the city's streets. What's wrong with barricading some of these streets on Sundays and opening them to people who want to exercise and take part in recreation and sports activities? Not a thing. All you need is community effort."

Dr. MacCarthy proposed to the city of New York recently that it close off Fifth Avenue on Sundays and convert it to recreational purposes.

Nothing has been done about this proposal yet. But it has the officials of the Nation's largest city thinking seriously about the matter and that's exactly what he wants them to do. The same holds true with every community, right down to smallest.

National Survey of Fishing and Hunting

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the resolution (H. Res. 190) requesting the President for certain information pertaining to the 1958 budget, and for other purposes.

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, last week during the floor debate on the corn and feed grain program, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH] used as a partial basis for his argument that economy is needed in Government a publication recently published under the supervision of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service in the Department of the Interior.

At that time I questioned the gentleman's use of the publication as a suitable example for his illustration. Upon study of the material in my file, I find that my objections were completely justified. In fact, my investigation shows that the gentleman was incorrect in using the publication A National Survey of Fishing and Hunting in an attempt to make his point. The gentleman's attempt to depreciate the good work of the Fish and Wildlife Service is unjustified. I am quite certain that if he had known the facts he would not have used this booklet as an example. Governmental economy, in my opinion, can better be achieved by curtailing programs which have outlived their usefulness—and such as foreign and others which have become an intolerable and unrewarding drain upon the American people.

So that my colleagues will have the correct information I will give them this brief background of the National Survey of Fishing and Hunting and the reasons for its publication.

First, and understand this clearly, not 1 cent of regularly appropriated moneys was used either to undertake this long-needed survey or to publish the collected data in concise form for public information. This survey was financed out of the administrative funds specified in the Federal Aid in Wildlife Restoration Act of 1937 and the Federal Aid in Fish Restoration Act of 1950. As many of my colleagues know these two fine national programs are actually financed by fishermen and hunters by means of special excise taxes on arms and ammunition, and on fishing rods, reels, and creels.

Contrary to the charges of the gentleman from Virginia, the United States Fish and Wildlife Service hired not one single opinion taker to canvass "the country for 2 months to get the data upon which another horde of officeholders produced this wonderful piece of work here." This study was undertaken and the report made by a statistical firm, expert in taking such large sample surveys, Crossley S–D Surveys, Inc., of New York City, under contract to the Fish and Wildlife Service. This compilation of data cost $134,000, which, as I pointed out previously, was borne out of administrative funds from the Federal aid in wildlife and fish restoration programs.

The study was conducted at the direction of the Fish and Wildlife Service largely as a result of a request by the International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners, representing the fish and game departments of 48 States. The Association, at its annual meeting in September 1954, recommended that the Fish and Wildlife Service contract with an independent survey organization for a nationwide economic survey of expenditures and number of participants in recreational-fishing and hunting activities throughout the Nation. It was further recommended by this association as well as by many national conservation organizations, that the study be financed from the Federal aid programs.

The reason for a single national study conducted by one organization is clear. For years individual States have conducted studies with varying emphasis and degree of coverage on the number of persons that hunt and fish. Because these studies varied considerably both in scope and coverage, the results were not comparable, and had little actual value for compiling a national picture of the numbers of our citizens who hunt and fish and the total business created by their outdoor activity.

In its simplest sense, this study was motivated by the recognized need for information about the number of Americans that hunted, fished, or did both. Since continuation of fishing and hunting opportunity depends on the wise management of the fish and game resources on which these recreational pursuits depend, the economic benefits from fishing and hunting, as well as the number of persons who participate are an indication of the value of fish and wildlife conservation.

Gentlemen, never before have we had available such a complete compilation of information. Its implication is revealing—and startling.

One in every three households in the United States in 1955 had one or more fishermen or hunters—20,813,000 persons fished, 11,784,000 persons hunted, and 25 million both hunted and fished in 1955.

The business generated by these persons for tackle, guns, equipment, and such services as food, lodging, and travel amounted to nearly $3 billion.

Contrast this to household expenditures for electricity in 1955 which amounted to $3.2 billion; telephone and telegraph at $3.1 billion; physicians services $3.1 billion; radio and television receivers, records, and similar expenditures at $2.4 billion. Hunting and fishing expenditures are significantly larger than the estimated $1.7 billion spent for all spectator amusements such as movies, theaters, concerts, football, baseball, basketball, and other sports.

From the foregoing, you can see that hunting and fishing are without question the top outdoor recreational pastimes of the American people. Conservationists long have suspected this, but prior to the study leading to publication of the National Survey of Fishing and Hunting, there was no factual basis for their assumptions.

Now we come to the very real purpose of the study. Armed with this important information, the Nation's wildlife administrators are going to be able to program their functions and justify appropriations so as to make sure that hunting and fishing opportunity can be maintained for Americans of today as well as in the future. Knowing how many people hunt and fish, how far they traveled, their requirements for such things as food and lodging, and their many other expenditures provides administrators—as well as businessmen—with a real set of values on public modes and movements.

In addition the publication is an important document for businessmen, and State and regional travel and tourist agencies. From the assembled information there can be assimilated useful information—relating to the business opportunities that are generated by and can be augmented by our immense national appetite for hunting and fishing. In short, this study measured the pulse beat of a vast outdoor recreational pursuit and presented information which will be of paramount importance to natural resources administrators and businessmen for many years to come.

Mr. Chairman, it is evident that the gentleman from Virginia did not know the background of the National Survey of Fishing and Hunting when he held it in ridicule before the House last week. He obviously did not know that it was the sportsmen of America—all 25 million of them—who both requested and paid for this very worthwhile study and booklet.

I include the following letter:

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C., February 7, 1957.

We are pleased to send you herewith a copy of a report recently completed by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service on the economic survey of fishing and hunting in the United States. This report is designed to show the extent and character of participation in these outdoor sports by Americans in calendar year 1955.

You will be interested to note that 1 out of every 3 households in the United States contains at least 1 person who hunted or fished in 1955. The total participation included 25 million persons 12 years of age or over. In pursuit of these sports they spent nearly $3 billion in 1955. This is about equal to the amount spent for electricity by all the households in the United States in the same year.

A number of the other figures on the survey, which are included in the report, may be of interest to you.

The survey was made by the Fish and Wildlife Service of this Department in response to a request from the International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners. This is the principal organization of the directors and commissioners of the 48 State fish and game departments. As you will note, the survey was done under contract with the Fish and Wildlife Service by the Crossley, S-D Surveys, Inc., a prominent independent surveying and opinion firm. The cost of the survey was financed from proceeds of the special excise taxes on sporting arms and ammunition and on certain types of sport fishing equipment. These funds are normally used for Federal aid to the States in wildlife and fish restoration. In any event, no general tax funds were used to finance the survey; it was paid for entirely from proceeds of the special excise taxes. Funds used to pay the cost of the survey otherwise would have been allotted to the States to finance their Federal aid programs.

We recognize that the principal values of fishing and hunting cannot be measured in monetary terms. These principal values are the contribution which they make to the health and well-being of our citizens. Nevertheless the survey report indicates that fish and wildlife resources create a good deal of business in the economic channels of the country.

We believe the magnitude of participation by the people of the Nation in hunting and fishing and the amount they spend give increased emphasis to fish and wildlife conservation, which is to be reflected in the expanded overall program now being developed by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service.

As you no doubt know, this intensified program was made possible by the favorable and sympathetic attention given to our vital fish and wildlife resources by the Congress.

We shall be pleased to respond to any questions you have regarding the survey or the report, or to furnish you with supplementary material.

Sincerely yours,

ROSS LIFFLIN,
Assistant Secretary.

The National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the column by Holmes Alexander, from the Indianapolis Star of February 28, 1957.

Mr. Alexander points out the curious developments which have given our country the leadership in arming other

nations and maintaining a standing army in peacetime.

"How the Founding Fathers would hate it," says Mr. Alexander.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNCLE SAM IN MIDDLE OF MILITARY DILEMMA

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON.—Defense Secretary Charles Wilson has a heavy hand, but he often uses it to write the truth in big, bold characters. I'm not referring here to his crack about draft-dodging recruits to the National Guard. What he said may be true but it's not nearly so important as several other things he said before the House Armed Services Committee. He raised in my mind the question of whether American military might is shaping the world in our image, or shaping the United States into some alien form, or both.

For example, the American ideal has always been that of a military establishment as small as possible. The Founding Fathers had good reason to fear the results of a large standing army, and this distrust has continued in American minds. Well, what's happened? Because of us, the British are cutting their military garrisons everywhere. With those American divisions in NATO and the United States Air Force basing its atom bombers in England, Great Britain doesn't need as much defense. She is withdrawing several units from West Europe and demobilizing a number of reserve groups.

It's a funny way for America to be reshaping the world with peace-loving American ideals, but there you are. Britain is by no means the only lucky nation which is cutting down military expenditures. France is able to do this because of the sheltering arm of the United States. West Germany, once the Prussian's delight, has become so pacific under American care and protection that the young German's compulsory military service is merely for 1 year. The government which follows Chancellor Adenauer may even eliminate that. All over the world, wherever American military might permits it, the natives are keeping their boys at home and saving their money instead of buying arms.

Secretary Wilson didn't say this, but it was the picture he painted. He did note that the sacrifice which the United States makes to supply soldier boys is greater than in any other free world nation. Our general population is rising about 11.2 percent a year. But the population in the 18- to 24-year age group has dropped by 5.8 percent since 1950. Infants and older persons live longer because standards of medical care are very high. One result is that in order to put 2,800,000 persons into military uniform, we are drawing more heavily on our youth supply than is generally known.

Other nations, by keeping their boys at home and their money out of wasteful military hardware, are following the American peace-loving ideal. And what about America herself? Have we lost some freedom of choice about the size of our Military Establishment?

Mr. Wilson gave a plain affirmative answer to this one. There was a staff study, he said, on the possibility of reducing military personnel by 800,000 over a 3-year period. It was a dandy idea by our own ideals and by the example of Britain and other allied nations. But Secretary Wilson found it "not justified considering the present international situation * * * (it) would have an impact abroad which the free world could ill afford."

That isn't all. Just as we have very little freedom of choice about cutting our forces, so we have very little choice about adding to them. "A sudden increase of our military budget," Mr. Wilson told the committee, "would be * * * misunderstood all over the world." He explained under questioning that an increase would alarm Russia and might precipitate a war—and this we are dead against.

So evidently we are pinioned to a certain military posture. We are forbidden by our friends to relax and by our enemies to make a threatening move. As a result of necessity, we have set out to make military careers more attractive than the Founding Fathers ever contemplated to American youth. By wage hikes and fringe benefits Mr. Wilson's regime has lifted the GI reenlistment rate from 24 percent to 44 percent; has increased the ratio of reserve officers who stay in the service from 1 out of 6 to 1 out of 4; has "slowly increased" the numbers of young doctors and dentists content to stay in the services.

How the Founding Fathers would hate it! American military policy now makes foreigners more peace-loving and makes Americans more reconciled to living in an armed camp. We didn't, heaven knows, plan it that way—but there it is.

The Talented Mind: An Opportunity and an Obligation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last evening it was my rare privilege to listen, along with many others, to an address entitled "The Talented Mind: An Opportunity and an Obligation," delivered by Rear Adm. H. G. Rickover, United States Navy, Chief of the Naval Reactors Branch, Division of Reactor Development, United States Atomic Energy Commission, and Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Ships for Nuclear Propulsion. The occasion was the award banquet of the science talent search sponsored by the Westinghouse Educational Foundation. On that occasion 40 brilliant boys and girls of America received awards.

Mr. President, the address by Admiral Rickover is one of the finest on the subject I have ever heard, and I hope all Members of the Senate will take the time to read it. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TALENTED MIND: AN OPPORTUNITY AND AN OBLIGATION

(Address by Rear Adm. H. G. Rickover, U. S. Navy, Chief, Naval Reactors Branch, Division of Reactor Development, U. S. Atomic Energy Commission, and Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Ships for Nuclear Propulsion, at the awards banquet of the science talent search sponsored by Westinghouse Educational Foundation, Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., Monday, March 11, 1957)

As I look at the bright faces of the young men and women whose achievement we have come here to honor, I am impressed with the thought: How fortunate are these young people. Fortunate in that God has blessed you with an endowment which is priceless. What has been given all of you—the 40 winners, as well as the 260 runners-up—is the most lasting, the most persistently satisfying, the most all-round useful of natural endowments—a really good mind.

I trust that you will not let yourselves be proud of this gift. It reflects no particular credit on you. Nor is it a guaranty of success in life. Rather does it resemble a vein of precious metal embedded in rock—valuable only when it has been mined intelligently and laboriously. But with it, an unusual opportunity is granted you to develop yourselves into successful human beings in a field of activity where success must always be rare and difficult.

You are here tonight because you have already taken the first step toward making use of your good fortune. You have given that good mind of yours what it most needs—exercise in meeting an intellectual challenge. In doing this you have shown yourselves worthy of the endowment with which you have been blessed. You have demonstrated that you can marshal the ambition and stick-to-itiveness which a good mind demands. You have taken the first step toward success in your chosen fields, but only the first.

Like most of today's youth, you must at times have felt that you missed something exciting and important because you were born in the 20th century, at a time when almost all frontier areas of this country had disappeared and with them the adventure formerly enjoyed by many a young man and woman, of hewing out their destiny, dependent on no power on earth but their own will and ability. Today there is hardly a spot on this globe which has not been discovered and mapped. For most people, life, while doubtless more comfortable, lacks the spice of discovery and adventure so dear to young spirits.

Yet it is precisely in this respect that your good fortune manifests itself most dramatically, for you carry in your own minds potentialities for adventure and discovery not shared by most of your contemporaries. You have as many opportunities for exciting living as people born a hundred or more years ago; different in kind, perhaps, but opportunities not one whit less exciting and rewarding than those which vanished at the turn of this century.

Capable and ambitious young people could once fashion their lives by their own efforts in wild and unmapped areas of the physical world; you can be pioneers today in the wild and unmapped world of science. In the short span of three centuries, since man first learned to think and experiment scientifically, enormous advances have been made. But enough remains to be discovered and mapped to guarantee excitement and adventure to more young scientists and engineers than we are likely to have for many years to come.

I recommend that you make your life an adventure of the mind. This will at times be hard, but always deeply rewarding. When you reap the fruits of your own intellectual labor you will experience the satisfaction of having proved yourselves good cultivators of the talents given you by providence. Over and above all this, you will know that yours is a kind of pioneering which yields not alone personal gain and satisfaction, but it also contributes significantly to the economic and hence the political strength and security of our country. This you will find the greatest reward of all.

There never has been a time in the history of our country when it so greatly needed the services of its talented youth. One hundred and eighty years ago, this Nation was born on a new continent, sparsely populated by 4 million people. Seldom has a new nation started life under such favorable circum-

stances. Not the least of these was the political inheritance which enabled the Founding Fathers to devise a form of government marvelously suited to a vast land with fabulous natural resources which had to be developed by a small population. The Constitution insured fullest scope for each individual's abilities. Moreover, our continuing scarcity of labor helped us to hold fast to that basic respect of the individual which the first settlers brought with them from England, and which is the foundation of our democratic way of life.

The open frontier kept us socially mobile and therefore checked any tendency toward the class barriers which are so apt to accompany advances in civilization, and which are characteristic of most highly civilized but static societies. Respect for the individual, full opportunities for all, abundance of land and natural resources, and a government eminently suited to our particular needs built this Nation into the formidable giant it is today.

In recent years, however, some of the foundations upon which we have built in the past have begun to crumble or have vanished altogether. Instead of 4 million people, lost in a vast wilderness hardly touched by man, we now have 170 million, increasing annually by 3 million, or almost as many new Americans as lived here on the eve of the Revolution. In fact, we may soon reach a density of population close to that of the old countries of Europe. Virtually no good free land is left: much of the wilderness which nurtured the free spirit of earlier Americans has all but been buried under factories, cities, and suburban developments. And, where even as recently as 50 years ago, we exported 15 percent of our raw materials, we now depend on the rest of the world for 10 percent of our raw material needs.

The turning point occurred only a few years ago. Today our consumption of raw materials grows at a compound rate. If we continued to expand our consumption at this same pace for the next 25 years, our needs would reach a fantastic 80 percent of total world production, leaving only 20 percent for all other countries. Let me illustrate with a few figures what this momentous change in our raw materials position, from a resources-exporting to a resources-importing country, portends for our economice health and political strength.

Advances in medicine and public sanitation have quadrupled the world's population since the middle of the 18th century, and population is increasing at a geometrical rate. Our own country has the highest percentage of natural increase in population of the large industrial nations of the world—an increase which is higher even than the increase in Japan and Italy. Scientific calculations give us the astonishing estimate that 1 out of every 20 human beings who have ever trod this earth is alive today.

This enormous and ever-growing population must now be fed, clothed, and housed by cultivating land which over vast areas has become depleted through erosion and faulty agriculture; by harvesting the products of the sea and of inland waters which likewise have become depleted by unintelligent overfishing and by pollution; and by consuming irreplaceable mineral and fuel resources. The United States alone, for example, has consumed as much in irreplaceable mineral and fuel resources since 1914 as had then been used by all the world in all of the 5,000 years of history since man first discovered bronse. And much of this priceless heritage has been and is being squandered in an appallingly wasteful manner.

From a scarcely populated, fabulously resources-rich country 180 years ago we have changed to a densely populated, resources-poor country today. We are, of course, not as poor in resources nor as heavily populated as most of the industrial powers of the world. We are still rich compared to such countries as Britain or Italy. In fact, with but 10 percent of the population of the free world and 8 percent of its land area, we consume close to half the free world's volume of materials. These figures are frequently used to illustrate that we have the highest standard of living in the world. What seems more significant to me, however, is that these figures also indicate our increasing dependence on foreign countries for vitally needed minerals and fuels. At present, we are truly independent only in two metals: molybdenum and magnesium. When measured with our wealth of but a few short years ago, we are therefore poor, and we are poorer still when measured against our future needs.

The shrinking of the once broad materials base of our industrial civilization makes us for the first time in our history dependent on foreign countries for materials basic to our technical organization. So far we have had no difficulty buying what we need abroad. We may, indeed, never have to face the disaster which threatened Europe's economic life when the flow of Mid-East oil was cut off for political reasons. But it would not be wise to count on this. We shall not remain truly free and powerful unless we compensate, to the fullest possible extent, for lack of materials resources within our own borders. There is one way, and only one way, that this can be done. It is by using far more effectively than heretofore our natural resources in brain power; we must substitute intellectual resources for diminishing materials resources.

Applied to this problem, brainpower can devise ways of extracting at reasonable cost the considerable store of low-grade minerals and fuels still remaining to us which we are not utilizing today because of excessive cost in time and labor—thus taconite and shale oil may in time make up for the threatened deficit in high-grade ores and oil. It can discover ways of replacing scarce materials with plentiful materials heretofore considered unusable, as aluminum is replacing scarcer copper. Trained minds may be able to relieve shortages of natural minerals and fuels by creating man-made substitutes as plastics and synthetic rubber have reduced our dependence on imported tin and natural rubber, or as atomic power may replace coal and oil. Similarly, synthetic products made from renewable resources may serve as substitutes for irreplaceable materials.

Perhaps we need brainpower most to teach us the folly of needlessly wasting the inheritance of our children. Using irreplaceable materials resources is like using up your capital instead of learning to live on your interest or earnings. No matter how slowly we deplete capital, the day must come when we have nothing to leave our descendants. For almost two centuries we have been wasteful because we thought our natural resources were inexhaustible.

It will take wise and intelligent guidance to change our ways. But eventually we may learn to deny ourselves today's pleasures for the sake of leaving enough for our children to let them enjoy the blessings of civilized living. We may even learn to deny ourselves such pleasant luxuries as large, chrome-trimmed cars, powered by high-octane gas which discharges thousands of tons of scarce and irreplaceable lead into the air. Changes in national outlook such as these can only be pioneered by people whose minds are able to grasp the scientific problems involved, and who can make them understood by the average citizen.

It is a truism needing no elaboration that as society becomes more complex technologically, it needs proportionately more, as well as qualitatively better, trained professionals. Thus, while the population of the United States has doubled in the last 50 years, the number of its professional men and women has quadrupled. We have today 5 times more engineers and 10 times more scientists than half a century ago and yet there are still not enough. To increase our national productivity by a given percentage annually we must increase our scientific and engineering personnel almost twice as fast. With every step forward in technological progress, the Nation becomes more dependent on its trained brainpower.

Moreover, the closer we come to scarcity of natural materials resources, the heavier grows our demand upon the quality of our trained manpower. Just as it is far easier to dig a lump of coal from a surface vein than it is to pump oil from a deep well, perhaps buried under tons of sea water, so it is more difficult to release the power locked in the atom than the power held in falling water. Substitution of manmade for natural resources, better utilization of inferior natural resources, elimination of waste—all these demand the raising of our entire body of engineering and scientific knowledge to a higher plateau. I can best illustrate this from my own experience.

A nuclear powerplant consists of two distinct parts: The reactor proper; and the heat exchangers, the valves, the pumps, etc., which draw power from the reactor and transform it into electricity. When we began work on the first nuclear propulsion plant we expected that, in building the reactor, radiation hazards would present us with unusual technical problems requiring greater scientific and engineering knowledge than had up to then been needed for construction of conventional power generators. For one thing, the constant bombardment of all metal parts of the reactor by neutrons would in time make the metal itself so radioactive as to change its composition, unless we could find metals resistant to such changes. In the end we had to develop two entirely new metals for reactors—zirconium and hafnium. We had not, however, expected to meet almost as many tough problems with the conventional components of the nuclear plant.

The problem here again was radiation hazards and resultant difficulty of access to all parts of a nuclear plant for inspection and repair. We spent much time and money testing each item to discover what was needed. Costly methods of trial and error had to be substituted for exact scientific knowledge, because such knowledge was not available in metallurgy. We did not know why conventional heat exchangers, pumps, valves, etc. worked with steam or hydroelectric powerplants but not with nuclear plants. Before we can develop a viable and competitive nuclear industry, we must raise metallurgy from an art to an exact science, for empirical methods cannot be used indefinitely in modern technology.

In the past, man's advances in technology have been slow whenever theoretical knowledge failed to move forward. Rome, for example, had everything she needed to build structures of reinforced concrete except the necessary theoretical knowledge of stresses, thrusts, and distribution of weights. From Egypt and Greece, Rome had inherited practical knowledge in building structures based on lintel and post; from the Etruscans she had inherited the arch; and in Italy she found the raw materials from which she learned by accident to develop a hard and durable cement. Greece had already experienced with strengthening masonry by imbedding iron rods in grooves. Had Rome been able to combine these methods with theoretical knowledge, she could have built her aqueducts and pipelines more durably and far less expensively with reinforced cement.

In a sense we are today at the Roman stage as regards metallurgical science for reactor requirements. We must advance

not only our knowledge of theoretical and applied nuclear physics but also our entire level of engineering and metallurgy. Similar advances in theoretical knowledge are needed throughout the entire field of science and engineering if technical civilization is to be maintained and advanced in a resources-poor world. How successfully a country manages to raise itself by its own bootstraps to ever higher stages of scientific and engineering competence will determine that country's position in the world. The fate of our country rests in the hands of those of its citizens whose natural endowments enable them to push back the boundaries of knowledge.

You young people have the ability to grow into empire builders of the intellectual realm. I hope that you will be inspired to adventurous search beyond present boundaries. I hope that you will not let yourselves be deflected from pursuing this aim by accepting positions having less intrinsic importance but greater material rewards. I hope that you will firmly withstand the constant pressure by the advocates of the greatest of modern fallacies—that material possessions are the mark of the successful man. Man's acquisitive traits are not what make him great. Nor can true greatness be measured in dollars and cents. What money value can you assign a book on which the author has labored for years and which may inspire you to actions having incalculable effects? Is it worth only its price of three or five dollars? How would you value the piece of paper on which Einstein scribbled the simple equation which in its ultimate effects may preserve the freedom of the West by providing it with nuclear power to replace coal and oil? Is the pay you receive to be the only measure of the value of your job? No. Nothing material can ever give the intelligent man or woman such deep satisfaction as successful solution of an intellectual problem that challenges the mind.

We are engaged in a grim duel. You are familiar with the threat to American technical supremacy which may materialize if Russia succeeds in her ambitious program of achieving world scientific and engineering supremacy by turning out vast numbers of well-trained scientists and engineers. Democracies move slower than totalitarian dictatorships. We have let our educational problem grow much too big for comfort and safety. We are beginning to see now that we must solve it without delay. Perhaps the greatest danger has been our failure to provide adequate educational opportunities for our gifted youth and, in particular, to seek out the talented at an early age and to give them an education which challenges their minds and induces them to become trained professionals. I am particularly happy, therefore, to be here tonight because the science talent search sponsored by the Westinghouse Electric Corp. is exactly the sort of device we need to discover and develop our greatest national resource—the young man and woman with a really good mind.

It is a typically American device in that it represents an effort on the part of private citizens to accept responsibility for a problem usually considered to be the peculiar responsibility of government. It has ever been characteristic of Americans that when faced with a community problem we do not sit with folded hands waiting for government to solve it but pitch in ourselves. I hope more and more corporations will pitch into the problem of fostering America's wealth of young talent. And I hope that more and more talented young people will make the fullest use of their intellectual endowments. Democracy is not merely a political and social device to insure that under a popularly elected government each citizen may enjoy complete personal freedom, bounded only by the equal rights of other citizens. It is far more than that. Democracy guarantees to the individual freedom and opportunity to develop his mind and character to his maximum potential without hindrance from external sources so that he may put them to use not only for himself but for the community as well.

Sometimes we forget that democracy is not a matter of rights alone; that it depends for its very life on acceptance of corollary duties. If democracy meant no more than freedom of each citizen to enjoy himself, provided in so doing he harmed no one else, it would be a shabby creed indeed for the people of a great country, an uninspiring banner under which to fight the enemies of freedom.

The men who established this Nation and who devised the political institutions which have served us so well realized that democracy puts heavy obligations upon the citizen. It demands of all of us that we participate wisely in choosing the men to govern us, and it places on those who have special talents the obligation to develop these talents to their fullest, and to apply them in the service of the common good.

Long-Range Goal for Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written by Livingston Hartley and published on the editorial page of the Washington Post of March 6, 1957, pointing out the need of the United States for a long-range foreign-policy goal. This letter outlines the means whereby at least some general plan could be devised for determining a long-range goal for the United States, and I think it deserves wide circulation.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LONG-RANGE GOAL FOR FOREIGN POLICY

Widespread dissatisfaction with our foreign policy at this time highlights one of our most serious national failings: lack of a long-range foreign-policy goal.

The Communists possess such a goal in their blueprint for a Sovietized world. It serves both to give overall direction to the zigzag courses they steer and as a means of uniting all Communists who are not merely careerists.

Since the completion of our westward expansion in the last century, our national spokesmen have failed to specify any long-range goal for the Nation. When they have spoken of the further future, it has been in terms of nebulous hopes that a world order based on peace and justice will somehow be created. Their failure leaves us at a serious disadvantage in the conflict with Communist imperialism, indicated by confusion about the utility of our policies at home and lack of confidence in American leadership abroad.

An effort to discern such a goal appears to have become practicable at the stage now reached in international development. During the postwar years the world has been shrinking with unprecedented speed. Economic forces have steadily increased their relentless pressure for international integration, while modern weapons have made our entire planet one potential battlefield. The Communists have established political control over one-third of the world's population. Among the western nations, NATO, and Coal and Steel Community have forged unprecedented political unity.

In the light of history, these developments and their implications for the future point directly toward an assumption which already has wide acceptance. That is the assumption that at some future time—perhaps centuries from now, perhaps only generations—mankind, if it survives, will be united politically.

On the basis of this assumption, determination of a long-range goal for the United States appears a manageable problem. It is then basically a problem of deciding what types of conditions will best serve the interests and welfare of the American people at the end of the road. If we can determine this in general terms, we will then be able to delineate, as we cannot do now, an ultimate objective for our policy.

The shape of such an ultimate objective already appears dimly visible. Throughout history political integration has been brought about by two alternative means: by force or by agreement. World conquest is so contrary to our fundamental beliefs and ideals that we must expect, if it eventuates, that it will be effected by others. Integration by agreement hence appears the only process which would, at the end of the road, enable the American people to run their own internal affairs and maintain their own way of life.

One means of determining such an objective would be a commission, appointed by the President and Congress as was the Hoover Commission. It could be composed of leaders in American life best fitted for such a job, directed to study this problem as long as might prove necessary and submit a public report of its findings.

A report by a high-level body which dealt with the larger considerations involved and delineated an ultimate goal for the American people would produce many extensive advantages at this time. It would provide our policymakers with a long-range objective to guide them in dealing with immediate problems. It would also promote support for policies which lead clearly toward that objective in Congress and among the American people, among our allies and, finally, among the "uncommitted" peoples, all of whom aspire to avoid domination by others and to run their own internal affairs.

It is possible, of course, that the inquiry suggested here might fail to produce agreement on any ultimate goal. But that would leave us no worse off than we are now. It might actually leave us far better off, since the inquiry would educate public thinking about long-range policies and their implications, not only in our country but also in all free countries throughout the world.

LIVINGSTON HARTLEY.

WASHINGTON.

The Postal Savings System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article regarding the effort to abandon the Postal Savings System, published in the Indianapolis Times of March 5, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT'S THE USE?

Postmaster General Summerfield has asked Congress to abandon the Postal Savings System, created in 1910 to provide a place where people in bankless small towns could save money.

The Hoover Commission 2 years ago said the Postal Savings System could be liquidated at profit to the Government. Comptroller General Joseph Campbell and the Treasury have indorsed the idea.

But in the Washington dispatch reporting this development was a line which said Deputy Postmaster General Maurice H. Stans assured the congressional committee no employees would be unloaded if the postal savings is liquidated.

We don't need the cart, but we've gotta keep feeding the horse.

Promotion of Child Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, there is no one in this Chamber who has not had the disagreeable experience of reading in the newspapers of some automobile accident in his hometown or in Washington involving some youngster. The number of children killed or injured each year by accidents is one of the most serious sources of bereavement to countless parents.

Accordingly, I have been pleased to note that the enterprising Wisconsin Optometric Association has devised a contest designed to spotlight traffic safety.

The current issue of the magazine the Wisconsin Optometrist, tells the story of this contest. It is open to any high-school boy or girl in my State. Prizes are awarded for the best essay entitled "I Didn't See" in 250 words or less.

In this connection, it might be noted that unfortunately only seven States require motorists to undergo a visual examination when they renew their operators licenses. The result very often is those tragic words, "I didn't see," when someone responsible for an accident tries to explain an injury inflicted on a child.

I send to the desk the significant pages from the current issue of the official publication of the Wisconsin Optometric Association. I congratulate the association for its vision and industry in promoting this worthy cause.

I ask unanimous consent that this material be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

1957 WISCONSIN OPTOMETRIST ASSOCIATION HIGH SCHOOL ESSAY CONTEST

The following newspaper clipping, letter describing Wisconsin Optometrist Association's essay contest, and high school poster were sent to the principals of all Wisconsin public high schools:

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel of January 19, 1957]

"'I DIDN'T SEE THE CHILD,' TOO OFTEN TELLS THE STORY OF FATALITY

"The tragic words 'I didn't see the child' or the car or the traffic sign too often follow a fatal accident, Paul N. DeVere, O. D., of Morganton, N. C., said Friday. Failure to see properly is one of the biggest factors contributing to highway fatalities, he declared.

"DeVere is chairman of the American Optometric Association's committee on motorists' vision in traffic safety. He addressed the 15th annual Wisconsin Mid-Winter Safety Conference and Exposition which ended Friday at the Schroeder Hotel.

"Only 7 States require motorists to undergo a visual examination when renewing operators' licenses. The result is that many veteran drivers are able to obtain renewed licenses when their vision no longer meets the 20–40 minimum allowed by Wisconsin law, DeVere stated.

"He called for mandatory eye tests every 3 or 4 years. The tests should check a driver's acuity, depth perception, field of vision, and night sight, the speaker said.

"The permanent licensing system which allows drivers to continue untested as long as they renew their permits leads to situations in which persons who receive grants in aid to the blind may still keep their driver's license in effect, DeVere said.

"He pointed out that the demands of the human eye have greatly increased with civilization. Our grandparents had no electric lights, few books, no fast machines, television, movies or autos. The human eye has been unable to keep pace with technical progress, DeVere said.

"Gasoline has been made more powerful. Autos are miracles of mechanical perfection. We have endless miles of ribbon-smooth concrete highways. Everything in the traffic picture is perfect except the human behind the wheel, DeVere continued. If motorists would care for themselves as well as their cars and highways, there should be no drivers on the road with inefficient vision, DeVere concluded.

"L. E. Beier, director of the enforcement division of the Wisconsin Motor Vehicle Department, highlighted recent progress in State traffic law enforcement.

"Four classes of State patrolmen have completed 13-weeks training courses at Camp McCoy, he said. A fifth class is now taking the course. After completing the requirements, fledgling State patrolmen are given 6 months of supervised field experience.

"Better enforcement depends on voluntary compliance by drivers and modern, considerate techniques on the part of patrolmen, Beier added."

"THE WISCONSIN OPTOMETRIC ASSOCIATION, INC.,
"*Madison, Wis.*

"DEAR HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPAL: Enclosed is an announcement of our second annual essay contest on traffic safety. We would appreciate it if you would see that it is posted on your bulletin board and that an appropriate announcement is made of it at your general student assembly. You will note that the contest closes April 1st.

"The importance of this year's theme, 'I Didn't See' was emphasized by Governor Thomson, who presented the award to last year's first place winner and stated:

"'Today we are living in a world where the need for visual ability is greater than ever * * *. Nowhere is this more evident than in the field of highway safety.'

"This theme is also suggested by the first three words of the enclosed Milwaukee Sentinel article, and by last year's first place essay which emphasized:

"'But the greatest safety factor is myself. Only when I couple good, visual ability with wholesome driving habits will I insure the safety of myself and others on the highway.'

"This wisdom of these words was recognized by Northwestern University's famed Traffic Institute, which published the essay in its 'review.'

"Should you have any questions regarding this contest or if we can be of further assistance to you, we should be most pleased to hear from you.

"Very truly yours,

"WISCONSIN OPTOMETRIC ASSOCIATION, INC.
"CHARLES O. VAU DELL, *Executive Director.*"

"STOP, LOOK, LISTEN TRAFFIC SAFETY CONTEST

"1. Who can enter: Any high-school boy or girl in the State who is interested.

"2. What are the prizes?

"First prize: $100 savings bond. The first place winner will be the guest of the Wisconsin Optometric Association at its annual banquet to be held at Nippersink Manor Resort, Genoa City, June 2, 1957, for presentation of the award.

"Second prize: $50 savings bond.

"Third prize: $25 savings bond.

"3. Essay: 'I Didn't See!' in 250 words or less.

"4. How will the contest be judged? On message value, originality and public appeal.

"5. Contest closing date: April 1, 1957.

"6. All essays are to be sent to Wisconsin Optometric Association, Inc., 1 West Main Street, Madison 3, Wis.

"The judges' decision will be final and all essays become the property of the Wisconsin Optometric Association, Inc.

"Judges are as follows: A. J. Dix, president, Wisconsin Truckers Safety Council, Wausau; LeRoy Floriana, president-elect, Wisconsin Driver Education Association (Green Bay School of Vocational and Adult Education); Chief Stanley Haukedahl, president, Wisconsin Chiefs of Police Association (Kenosha chief of police); John McDowell, former member, safety committee, National Education Association (Central High School, Madison); B. A. Precourt, safety director, Wisconsin division, American Automobile Association; Everett Ravn, immediate past president, Wisconsin Council of Safety (safety director, Wisconsin Power & Light Co.); R. C. Salisbury, director of safety, Wisconsin Motor Vehicle Department); Judge Oscar J. Schmiege, municipal court, Appleton; Randall Swanson, director of farm safety, University of Wisconsin; Wayne N. Volk, engineer of traffic services, State Highway commission.

"Five minimum visual checks for traffic safety: Visual acuity, field of vision, depth perception, light adaptation, color recognition."

Transfer of War Powers to the Presidency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Hon. H. Reuben Clark, of Utah, formerly Solicitor General and Under Secretary of the Department of State.

Mr. Clark discusses the transfer of congressional war powers to the President by Senate Joint Resolution 19, and says by such action Congress is "a great Samson shearing his own locks."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRANSFER OF WAR POWERS TO THE PRESIDENCY

(By H. Reuben Clark, formerly Solicitor General and Under Secretary of State)

The purpose of the operations is stated thus:

"Whereas the peace of the world and the security of the United States are endangered as long as international communism and the nations it controls seek, by threat of military action, use of economic pressure, internal subversion, or other means, to attempt to bring under their domination peoples now free and independent."

As to the proposed operations, section 1 and section 3 of the resolution provide:

Section 1 provides that the President is authorized "to cooperate with and assist" any nation or group of nations in the Middle East area, "in the development of economic strength dedicated to the maintenance of national independence." The meaning and scope of the last clause is not clear, and might mean little or much.

Section 3 of the resolution is to authorize the President, "when he determines that such use is important to the security of the United States," to use up to a maximum sum specified "for the purposes of this joint resolution."

The constitutional questions involved in the implementing of these two sections will not be considered here, though some think there are such questions. But apparently over recent years we have expended vast sums (running into billions, the general public believes) in an effort to purchase the goodwill and support of various nations. Experience the world over seems to show that goodwill is not permanently purchasable with money, however much. There is the possibility that such goodwill so gained may seem to go to the highest bidder. If there was such a situation it would be difficult in principle to distinguish it from what in civilian life is known as blackmail.

However, neither section 1 nor section 3 seems to contemplate or provide for any measures of force. The ends to be reached will apparently follow the processes of diplomatic negotiation and arrangement.

However, section 2 of the resolution is of a different sort. It is in fact unique in our constitutional history. It provides that the President is authorized "to undertake, in the general area of the Middle East, military assistance programs with any nation or group of nations of that area desiring such assistance." There is no indication as to how that desire shall be witnessed (whether openly or secretly) nor the Government functionary by whom it shall be made.

It is assumed that this provision could be interpreted to mean the supplying of arms and ammunition and materials of war generally. The popular impression is that assistance of this sort has been, in the not too distant past, frequently extended to various nations. Since considerations touching neutrality seem no longer to trouble anyone, this provision may be passed over here.

But section 2 goes further than this. It provides that the President be authorized "to employ the Armed Forces of the United States as he deems necessary to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political independence of any such nation or group of nations requesting such aid against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism." (Final wording of S. J. Res. 19: "To this end, if the President determines the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use Armed Forces to assist any such nation or group of nations requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism.")

It is not necessary to consider here the subordination, by further provisions of this section, of the military operations of the United States by the President, to the direction of the United Nations, though this factor is both significant and important.

But now come face to face with the use of armed force in connection with a political intervention as between contending parties in a quarrel in which our interest is remote (though it may be real) and not direct.

The only purpose stated for this use of force is to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political independence of any Middle East nation or group of nations requesting such aid. A like proposed guarantee of territorial integrity contained in the League Covenant, was one of the important elements thereof that contributed to the rejection by the Senate of that document.

Obviously this guarantee will mean war. Such political intervention, under analogous circumstances, seems always to have meant war, if the parties so intervened against were able to wage war.

There is an important and fundamental constitutional question involved here in the authorization which it is so proposed to give to the President. In the last analysis it seems to involve a question of a delegation by Congress of the right and power to declare war.

Armed force has been used very many times in the past by the President, without previous authorization by the Congress, and sometimes with that authorization, but it did not involve the declaration of war or the carrying on thereof.

A brief consideration will now be given to such uses of the Armed Forces:

1. From the earliest days of our national life, the President has used the military forces (Army and Navy) of the United States to protect from, in locally disturbed areas in foreign countries, or to secure satisfaction (sometimes from the local authorities, sometimes from the central government) for, injuries inflicted upon our citizens or their property located in such areas; on some occasions there has been also involved some indignity to our national officers or our flag.

In international relations, such operations are not regarded as attacks on the foreign sovereignty, but as police operations, so to speak, affording no national offense, and by some authorities these operations are viewed as complying with the national duty of a government to protect its nationals and their property.

Under our own constitutional principles and practices, these measures and uses have not been considered as involving the necessity of securing the consent of Congress for the President's action. The right for the President so to act seems unquestioned, either on constitutional or international grounds. The measures taken have not been considered as acts of war.

There have been many occasions of this sort in our history. (See Right to Protect Citizens in Foreign Countries by Landing Forces, memorandum of the Department of State.) But so far as known, there is no suggestion that any such situation exists here as will bring it within these precedents. If so, the President has full authority to handle them without congressional authority.

2. Another set of measures that are taken by governments for a redress of grievances they allege against foreign governments, have been classified by the Honorable John Bassett Moore (the greatest authority on international law and international relations that America has yet produced). Mr. Moore designates them as "nonamicable, short of war." These are measures directed against the foreign government itself, not merely a local unit. They are listed by Mr. Moore as: Withdrawal of diplomatic relations (obviously not involving force); retortion or retaliation; display of force; use of force, with special authority or without special authority; gain of preference in payments; reprisals; pacific blockade; embargo; nonintercourse.

Not all of these measures would require congressional action on our part, but frequently Congress has been consulted and authority to use force, if necessary, has been requested and granted. These remedies are sought because of difficulties that usually (though not always) have already been the subject of diplomatic negotiation between the nations themselves. The applications of force to the solution of difficulties of this sort have not been regarded as acts of war, though they might lead to war.

Mr. Moore has put some cases in this classification that it would seem he might have classified as cases of interposition, e. g., the case of the sloop *Dale* and the island of Johanna, in August 1851 (Moore's Digest, vol. 7, p. 112). Mr. Moore (id., p. 118) makes this interesting comment about another situation: "Perhaps the most remarkable case in which force was used without congressional authority, was that of the march to Peking, in 1900, for the purpose of aiding in the deliverance of the beleaguered legations." (Boxer Uprising.)

It is unnecessary to consider these precedents, because there is in the situations covered by the resolution (so far as they are disclosed) none of the factual elements nor of international law and principles, out of which these various situations, cataloged by Mr. Moore, arise. All of them have to do with controversies and difficulties that arose and existed between us and another power toward which our measures were directed. The resolution contemplates another situation entirely.

3. The situation covered by section 2 of the resolution is wholly different from either of the foregoing 1 and 3.

There have been many reasons advanced for political intervention such as is contemplated here. They may be grouped under the following headings: self-defense; under the obligations of treaty stipulations; for humanity; upon invitation of contending parties in a civil war; balance of power; reversionary interests and right to succession; intervention on the ground of religion; self-preservation; imminent danger; protection from illegal intervention; intervention in financial matters; intervention to prevent social or political revolution in neighboring states from extending to intervening states.

It may be again repeated that these political interventions seem always to have meant war, if the country intervened against was strong enough to wage war against the intervenor.

The considerations that might be alleged here justifying our going to war (so far as the operations of the resolution are concerned), could include, perhaps, self-defense, self-preservation, imminent danger, balance of power, and in some aspects to prevent political or social revolution in remote states but not affecting us in respect of one of the other elements, the element of neighborhood.

A brief consideration of some of the characteristics of the resolution will be useful:

1. There is no allegation that any citizen or his property has been or is a victim of indignity or mistreatment or loss of property. We seemingly have no quarrel on this score (so far as the resolution discloses) with any state in the Middle East. There is no need for congressional approval on this account, and no congressional action would be necessary for remedial action, if the jurisdictional situation existed.

2. We have not now pending any controversy with any state in the Middle East (so far as disclosed by the resolution), involving us as a nation or involving our citizens in any such situation as would give rise to the

employment of nonamicable measures such as are involved in our class numbered II above, and out of which might arise, because of our use of force, a situation leading to war.

There is no need for congressional approval for the use of any of these nonamicable measures, because there is no disclosed situation to which to apply them.

3. The situation presented here is that there might arise a conflict between some state or states in the Middle East (not specified) and some other state or group of states (unspecified), over some controversy (unspecified and seemingly unknown) presumably involving the spread of international communism, that might mean the spread of that doctrine and policy, that might involve the territorial integrity of one of the states in conflict, and we are to use our economic aid, our financial assistance, and our Armed Forces (if this last is desired by someone unspecified), to defeat the spread of international communism and to guarantee the territorial integrity of the nation we favor.

It will be assumed (though possibly contrary to the fact) that the state we favor is solidly against international communism, and therefore in making our decision we shall not be forced to choose between two factions and so add domestic strife to the international one.

The experience of the past would suggest that if the United States steps in, it will be necessary for it to assume the major role in the conflict, for no state in the Middle East is in a position to take on the principal power and its satellites that are seeking to spread international communism.

Thus, so far as human foresight can reach, we would by our very first move toward furnishing military aid (possibly also, our economic and financial assistance) find ourselves the immediate instigator and in a sense the cause of another global conflict, that would begin with a plan for enemy extermination. The result, whoever conquers, is too horrible to contemplate.

The actual result of the situation provided for seems to be that Congress is asked now to make a statement which will, in fact and law, meet, internationally, most if not all the requirements that a declaration of war would require, if the international Communists choose so to regard it. It could be that they would require no further action on our part, to justify an attack on us, at a time of their choosing as soon as they believe themselves sufficiently prepared. In terms of destruction of lives and property, such an attack could equal unnumbered Pearl Harbors.

Those in a position to know the facts (the public is not) may be convinced that this prewarning of what we will do, will serve to postpone (hardly to cause the abandonment of) the initiation of the third global war by the international Communist group, who may indeed be really bluffing. They may think we are doing the bluffing.

But the passing of this resolution will put in the hands of one man, the President (counseled, of course, by his Secretary of State, who will play a major role, and his military advisers), the power, in fact, to declare war—an exclusive function of Congress under the Constitution, as it always has been.

If consulted and asked to perform its constitutional function, Congress might consider that the issues involved in any given situation and at any given time, were not of sufficient importance to hazard the issues of an exterminating war. They might consider there were other ways of meeting the communistic threat than of drubbing it out on the battlefield, always an uncertain issue, as the Austrians found at Marengo when Napoleon turned defeat into victory in the closing hours of a late afternoon.

Of course, the horror of this situation is that, so far as one may judge, the issues will not be determined on one battlefield nor perhaps on many, but in the destruction, by nuclear weapons of one sort or another, of billions of property and great essential industries, and probably tens of millions of lives—the greatest holocaust the world has ever known in recorded history.

Thus in effect this resolution (even assuming that its passing will not be regarded as in itself a declaration of war, as it may be) will delegate to the President the power to declare war, an action that has never before been taken in the history of our country. It would be an action attempting to delegate the authority granted exclusively by the Constitution to one branch of government, to another branch of government to be exercised by it. The whole course of our constitutional government from the earliest times, until certainly the last quarter of a century, has been steadfastly against this power to delegate from one branch of government to another, the powers possessed by the first. In the case of this resolution, Congress would be giving up its own powers to another—a great Samson shearing his own locks.

The records of the constitutional convention that framed our Constitution show that one of the prime concerns of the framers, skilled far more than we, was to deprive the Chief Executive of the power to declare war. Even Alexander Hamilton, the traditional friend of and sponsor for a strong central government, proposed that "the Senate should have the sole power of declaring war." The convention determined, after painstaking, exhaustive consideration, that this power should rest in the whole legislative branch of Government, as being nearer the whole people. After all, the people, the mothers of the Nation, bear all the costs of war. This will be so as never before in the next all-out conflict. Why should the representatives of the people not determine the occasion and time of the final last sacrifice of millions of the Nation's sons.

The responsibility of declaring or initiating the next global conflict is so almost infinitely overwhelming that one would expect every man to shrink from it rather than to seek it.

It is hardly to be supposed that Congress will attempt to delegate away one of the most (if not indeed the most) important of the powers granted to it—the power to declare war. The framing fathers probed this power to its depths. Fresh from the War of Independence—with its scandals, its mistakes, and its treason in high places—they deliberately, after long consideration and searching debate, refused to give the President the power to declare war and placed that power exclusively in the hands of the representatives of the people in the whole Congress.

The present crucial situation is not the time to experiment against the wisdom of the framers and the policy and practice of the Nation for over a century and a half.

The Budget and Taxation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Budget, Taxation, Our Chief Worry," which was written by Bill Cunningham and published in the Boston Sunday Herald, Boston, Mass., on February 24, 1957.

This article deals, in a very forthright and courageous manner, with the major problems now facing us, and in my opinion is worthy of the attention of all.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUDGET, TAXATION, OUR CHIEF WORRY

(By Bill Cunningham)

The British people are reported worried over the possibility that the Eisenhower Middle Eastern policy may be diverting attention from what they see as the real and immediate problem—who's going to control and operate the Suez Canal. They well could afford to join the American people in worrying over whether it isn't diverting attention from another real, immediate, and more dangerous problem, involving them as well as us.

That's the monumental $71.8 billion Federal budget for the year 1957–58 and continuing downward from there through the entire subject of taxes as they hit the American citizen of every level—Federal, State, and community, open and hidden. The question now very definitely is, "How much longer can the American taxpayer shoulder his load, and the rest of the world's with it? And what happens to all the rest, the Suez included, if and when he simply breaks down?"

Thomas G. Sabin, author, television program consultant, and producer, whose address is Post Office Box 340, Grand Central Station, New York,, has specialized for some years in newspaper ads and pamphlets calling attention to the Federal tax situation. Many industrial firms and concerned individuals publish these booklets on their own letterheads for a small price arranged for with their creator. I quote here from the opening page of the latest:

"Back in 1848, the famous Communist manifesto urged a heavy progressive income tax as the best way to destroy democracy. It spelled out the power of this weapon.

"First, heavy progressive income taxes permit a government to take—and spend—more and more of what people earn. Instead of people investing their own money, the government does it for them. This requires bigger and bigger government and larger and larger taxes are levied to pay its costs.

"Secondly, government does not pay taxes, so it undersells private enterprise, or gives away goods and services. Unable to compete, private citizens are forced out of business. Jobs are wiped out. So are tax revenues. To make up its losses, the government levies higher and higher taxes.

"Thirdly, this legalized confiscation finally gets to a point where people's earnings cannot be squeezed sufficiently to pay increasing costs of big government. So deficits are covered by government borrowings. The national debt skyrockets and its interest becomes an added burden on the people.

"Having bartered away liberties for so-styled free or cheap government services, the people find themselves working for the government—for what it chooses to pay, and buying from the government at prices it sees fit to charge. They are no longer free people. They are the slaves of a Socialist state. The power to tax is the power to destroy."

MUCH BIGGER STORY

All the sudden furore over the Middle East, starting with the armed action there last October, has almost completely blanketed the subject of the budget, the big spending and the further blood left in the tax paying turnip, but actually to Americans and the world, it's the bigger subject of the two. The Middle East problem, the

Suez included, can conceivably be solved in any one of several ways—war being one—but who can solve this other on which all else depends? Who's even making an effort?

During his 1952 campaign for the presidency, General Eisenhower said, if elected, his fourth budget—the one just announced—would bring federal expenses down to $60 billion. Instead it's climbed to almost $72 billion. That's 3 percent less than the last Truman budget when we were going all-out at the height of the Korean war.

Experts even say the new Eisenhower figure is not a true picture I'm quoting now from the Washington Newsletter, Human Events—that if expenditure for highways, Social Security and other items for which special taxes are levied are included, the Ike budget goes to $85-plus billion.

Just as a printed monstrosity, that budget is so huge it's practically impossible to get through, but those who can make it, can find some startling comparisons between Eisenhower's fifth year requests and those of Truman at the corresponding midpoint of his tenure. Statistics are almost always dull but these are important:

In fiscal '49, the Truman year, the Public Health quota was set at $174 million; the '57 figure is $606 million. Agriculture, conservation, etc., was $3.5 billion in '49; the current figure is $5.5 billion. The Information Service, now the USIA, was $15 million in '49; now it's $175 million. Education in '49 was $65 million; now it's $538 million. And so it goes, the overall difference being $39.5 billion in '49, and $71.8 billion now.

Since fiscal 1955, Federal spending has increased by $7.2 billion, with only $2.7 billion going to the security and defense programs. The remainder has been an additional billion for Labor and Welfare; $570 million for veterans' services and benefits; $554 million for agriculture; $457 million for natural resources; $922 million for interest on the national debt, and so on.

The new Foreign Aid figure is set at almost $5 billion, with costs of maintaining ground troops in Western Europe alone, estimated at from $3 to $4 billion. That's forgetting that our Sixth Fleet is in the Mediterranean, our Seventh still circling Formosa, and that we still have an army holding the long forgotten line in Korea, a subject still live and unsettled, but never mentioned now and apparently as completely forgotten as the French and Indian wars.

DISMAY IN THE CONGRESS

There has been a certain amount of dismay in the Congress and some voices have spoken. Despite the fact that they couldn't be clearly heard through all the Middle East clamor, they're indicative of concern, and in some cases, anger.

Among other things, an Eisenhower quotation from a campaign speech made on October 22, 1952, has been unearthed. In that he said, "They say, 'You cannot cut taxes, you cannot end, nor minimize, Korean losses * * * What kind of stuff is that—don't and can't? Of course we can and will."

Those merely critical in a political way are Democrats joyfully needling the Republicans over the fact that they used to make capital of the FDR spending. The Republicans used to charge, and correctly, that the late Mr. Roosevelt promised a 25 percent reduction of Government expense in 1932, but instead used the widest possible spending, calling it a remedy for social ills, but actually using it to buy political popularity. So who's now calling whom what? ask these Democrats.

Those actually angry are the conservative Republicans who now can see little difference between the New Republicanism and the New Deal, except that the New Republicanism is now asking more than the New Deal ever did, and for practically the same purposes, plus some new ones it's found. Added to this are the complaints of exasperated businessmen that have literally been flooding Congressional offices, and the letters from individual taxpayers, equally exasperated. It's a slow burn as yet, say those close enough to see, but it could develop into a burst of real flame.

Virginia's Senator BYRD and New Hampshire's Senator BRIDGES are two critics who managed to make themselves heard. BYRD has said he thinks the figure can be trimmed by from $5 to $8 billion. BRIDGES was more conservative. He said by $3.5 billion. These figures represent only token relief.

STILL TWO SCHOOLS

The one explosion that made the headlines was that of Treasury Secretary Humphrey, who said, "I predict we will have a depression that will curl your hair." The economists have proceeded to argue that dire prediction but without reaching any answers any can really guarantee.

It's conceded Humphrey meant future unlimited Federal spending, rather than this particular budget, will bring such a depression, and eventually, not necessarily in the imminent future, but not even those who side with him can say how long "eventually" will be.

There are still the two schools. One is the "economists" first brought in by F. D. R., and who've been calling the shots ever since. These maintain Government spending makes more jobs, more money, and more orders, and, although the cost of living keeps climbing, so do wages and dividends, so it all levels off, and, so, what's wrong with it?

The others are the "free market economists," with whom Humphrey will have to be classed. These claim such prosperity false, inasmuch as it takes money from the taxpayer and spends it on something he doesn't want or merely gives it away on something he isn't going to be able to use. The process of all this may even provide him with a job, but while he has to pay increased prices for an automobile, the Government's spending what it took from him on more planes for the Koreans or more shiploads of wheat for the nose-thumbing Indians.

They talk of such things, too, as the inflationary spiral, and it's all too abstruse for the average citizen to fathom. One thing, however, is increasingly plain even to him and it calls for no fiscal whizz to decipher it. That's that taxes are killing us and with no help aloft and no prospect of relief. That's on all levels—not just the Federal.

The best that can be said for the President's monumental demand is that prices have soared. That's particularly true in the Defense Department where just one item concerns the big bombing planes. They used to cost $2 million apiece, but that entire category has been ruled obsolete. The new kind cost $6 million. They, in turn, will be junked in 2 or 3 years, when the accent will go on super guided missiles that will cost $8–$10 million apiece.

But it's the general state of mind that needs complete overhauling. Instead of finding new ways to spend, we need new ways to save. Just for instance on our State level, where our new Governor Furcolo seems to be doing pretty well, and where he's currently campaigning for a sales tax, in an address recently, he spoke of certain services that would have to be cut unless new taxes are found.

Being a politician, he naturally mentioned the type of services that shouldn't be cut, but the general sense of the statement was that we must find more money so we can keep on spending. Nobody ever seems to mention trying to be more economical with what we already have, and talk of ever removing a tax—the restaurant tax, for instance, rushed through on a hot night in a mad effort to adjourn—would apparently be considered completely heretical.

CONCERN OVER STATE PENSIONS

Another illustration that seems illuminating was the Governor's proper concern over those drawing State pensions, but now working at other jobs that bring their total incomes higher than their original State salaries. His suggestion was that their outside earnings be limited until the total is no higher than the State salary formerly received.

In terms of saving the State money, isn't that going at it exactly backwards? Why not encourage them to earn all the outside money they can and trim their pensions until the whole equals the former State salary, until such time as they can't, or don't want to, work, and then restore the pension in full?

That's a miniature item in this whole massive problem, of course, but it may be typical of political thinking in terms of public expenditure. The complete field is almost too big for normal comprehension.

Just, for instance, 20 years ago, Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State had a department of 753 employees in Washington, supervising and directing the work of 3,662 Americans and native helpers in other countries. That was supposed to be big. Now John Foster Dulles presides over a staff of 5,882 in Washington, 5,883 Americans plus 9,885 foreign nationals overseas, and is budgeted at $230,375,720 for the new fiscal year.

In addition, he's been given the responsibility of something called the International Cooperation Administration, which is spending $1.7 billion for "economic aid" and $4 billion "for coordinating economic and military assistance" programs. The total, comparatively speaking, is colossal.

The American taxpayer can't lug it much farther. I can't conceive of anybody voluntarily surrending his American citizenship and was therefore astounded on last December's visit to the City of Mexico to learn how many thousands of Americans have done exactly that because the taxes here now cut too deeply into their pensions and incomes from savings. Some of those Mexican cities—Cuernevaca, for instance—are now heavily populated with former Americans who've naturalized themselves into Mexican citizens. They said they regretted it, but had to, or live in poverty.

So the British, and all others, had better do some of their worrying about what's happening to us, for if we crash, their source of supply will be over. We need relief—not more suction, from them and from our own.

As to what you can do—it's the same old answer: Write your Congressman. It's been done many times and sometimes it's helped. The new angle now, however, is that many Senators and Representatives are reported fervently hoping a real tax revolt will start with the people giving them a mandate to move in and slash. It seems to be that—or what the Communist Manifesto so diabolically foresaw and prescribed.

Community Colleges Favored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the March 2, 1957, issue of the Bakersfield Californian, which dis-

cusses the establishing and expanding of community colleges.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMUNITY COLLEGES FAVORED

Support of the community college, or the 2-year colleges formerly known as the junior college, is growing throughout the Nation. This is comforting to those in California who have long perceived the value of this institution.

The pressure of new enrollment that was felt so keenly in the elementary field during the immediate postwar years is moving up now into the junior high school and high school level. By 1970, this wave will strike the college level, and the shock is going to be troublesome, since the colleges already are bursting at the seams with students and there is no prospect of a letup.

The community college, or junior college, idea is one of the most practical ways of meeting this situation. The worth of this insitution has been amply demonstrated. The experience of this community is an excellent example of the generous cultural and educational benefits to accrue from such an institution.

There is a wider recognition now of the value of the community college. There is also the belief that an amplification of the program of the community college and increase in their number will serve as an answer to the problem of how to handle the forthcoming wave of students that have indeed a right to the opportunity to obtain a higher education and how to provide facilities for them.

As defined in official literature, the community college is a 2-year junior college with expanded programs and facilities to accommodate the educational and cultural needs of the entire community. It provides the student with an opportunity to get the first 2 years of college at minimum cost and maximum benefits. As one study has pointed out, the community college, in addition to the benefits for the students, allows planning of curriculum to meet local needs for technical and skilled manpower, and affords the opportunity to borrow technical and other talent from the locality for special instructional needs.

The junior or community college also serves as a screening area for the 4-year colleges and universities, which is considered a very desirable function in view of statistics that show a dropout of about 50 percent of the first and second year students of the 4-year institutions. They would also relieve the pressure on the small liberal arts colleges that do not wish to expand.

The record of achievement of students at our own Bakersfield College and the excellent scholastic standards maintained there, in fact, support the statement of President Robert Gordon Sproul: "Certainly, without the excellent junior colleges that are characteristic of our State, the present policies of specialization and high standards of admission and graduation, in the university, would have been extremely difficult if not impossible to establish and maintain."

This is an accolade of high value, and reflects great credit on the junior colleges of the State. Now, in view of the excellent performance of the community colleges, as they are now called, there is a move to extend Federal aid in order to increase their number and extend their benefits.

Senator CLIFFORD CASE, Republican, of New Jersey, has spearheaded this movement, and his statement on the subject is a lucid and sensible argument in favor of such a plan. There is evidence that Senator CASE and others who are aware of the educational problems of the Nation are gaining headway in their effort to expand the community college system, and their work should receive ample support, because the need is great and the benefits are certainly many and demonstrable in every community fortunate enough to have a college of this type.

Bakersfield, with its excellent college, is able to provide a host of arguments in support of the campaign of Senator CASE and his associates, because the educational and cultural advantages provided by the college here are beyond calculation and benefit every citizen, as all thoughtful persons will agree.

Big Government on March

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Boston Sunday Herald of February 24, entitled "Big Government on March," written by George Minot.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BIG GOVERNMENT ON MARCH

(By George Minot)

Aunt Miranda's letter from Mars Hill, Maine, had both an airmail and a special delivery stamp on it. Before you opened it, you knew she was mad. It started off with a bang. "Why don't you write about that little clique that has Eisenhower a captive?" she began. "Why can't you see it's the New Deal all over again?" "Why don't you admit you can't tell the difference between a Republican and a Democrat in Washington nowadays?"

Well, Aunt Miranda's letter was disturbing because the questions she asked were hard to sidestep. So, omitting those parts that dealt with how deep the snow was and how many days this winter the thermometer had been below zero, her epistle follows in full:

IT STARTED OFF ALL RIGHT

"The rosy glow is off the scene down in Washington, and a full blown row is going to break out any moment. You might say, if you want to be corny, that the honeymoon is over. Eisenhower, in his first term, failed to make the Republican Party over as Roosevelt did the Democratic. That's because he was an amateur, and because the men he put around him were solid, conservative Republicans.

"Look them over. There was Wilson to head the Defense Department, Humphrey in the Treasury Department, Mitchell in Labor, Weeks in Commerce, Benson in Agriculture, Dulles as Secretary of State. Not a member of the new, liberal school of thought in the whole bunch.

"Not a single one of them was of the energetic, young school of 'we were for Ike before Chicago.' Not a one had his heart on remaking the party. As a matter of fact, the only really rabid Ike man who got a big job was Henry Cabot Lodge, and he went off in a world of his own as head of the United States delegation to the United Nations.

"Yes, the President started off all right. In his first term he worked hard to cut expenses and get the Government out of business. He didn't believe there should be direct and complete Federal action in power programs, farm relief, health insurance, old age assistance, schools and highways. After all, he was an amateur then and a Republican, even if sort of a negative one. He sort of acted like a general who thought he had taken over command of some untrained troops."

BIG SPENDING PROJECTS

"That isn't the way he has been acting lately. Those second term landslide votes had hardly been counted when he started to talk about 'modern Republicanism' is on the march.' A little earlier he had said that Government policy should be 'conservative where finance is concerned,' but nobody pays attention to that any more.

"Now he has got a $72 billion budget on his hands and they are planning to spend more than the New Dealers did. The people around him talk about a $50 billion road building program, almost as much for bomb proof cellars, of all things, and billions more for schools, medicine and relief of the veterans, the farmers, the aged and the lame.

"For heaven's stake don't they plan to leave anything at the level where it belongs? Is Government going to get so big it's going to swallow us all up? And, too, where is all that money going to come from anyway?

"None of the Republicans around here like this. I notice Secretary Humphrey, the real big gun in the Cabinet, doesn't either. Secretary Wilson is kicking up his heels, too. Both of them sound as if they wanted to get out of there."

SHE HAS PRAISE FOR BRIDGES

"In the Senate men like BRIDGES, KNOWLAND, BRICKER, MARTIN and DIRKSEN believe the country is more conservative than the new Eisenhower ideas, especially those on spending and taxing. Some of them are dismayed and fearful. I see you printed a lot last Sunday about what Senator BRIDGES said on how the budget could be cut 2 or 3 billion dollars without hurting anyone or anything. There's a real good man for you.

"I want to predict that Eisenhower will have a lot of trouble with Congress before he is through. Don't forget he can't run again and so has to rely on popularity for a lot of his political power. If Republicans can grumble at Eisenhower as they are doing, how about the Democrats? So far they have aimed most of their fire at people like Dulles and Benson and Brownell.

"They ought to be pretty grateful to Eisenhower. He appoints enough of them to big jobs. Have you looked over the list lately? The worst one I can think of came when he named David Bruce to be Ambassador to West Germany to succeed Dr. Conant. Bruce, if you don't know it, has been a Maryland Democrat all his life and was a big wheel who ran around in circles under Truman. He contributed $1,500 to the campaign to elect Stevenson last fall. So he winds up with a big job under Eisenhower."

DEMOCRATS GET BIG JOBS

"There are plenty more. James Zellerbach is a protege of Paul Hoffman, chairman of the Fund for the Republic, and that's enough to say about him. Zellerbach got the job as Ambassador to Italy to succeed Mrs. Luce. Then you remember Ellsworth Bunker, a big contributor to Democratic campaigns and a hard worker under Truman. He's the new Ambassador to India.

"I've got to mention a couple more appointments that filled me with horror. There was Lawrence G. Derthick as United States Commissioner of Education. He is a Tennessee Democrat, and I read somewhere he was introduced around the Capitol by, of all people, Senator KEFAUVER.

"Then there is that great Democratic liberal, Dr. Gordon Gray. Truman made him Secretary of the Army and now Eisenhower has embraced him. He's going to be the new Defense Mobilization Director. If Ike follows this line much further he's going to split the party wide open. There must be

plenty of distinguished and competent Republicans who could fill all these jobs.

"Why don't you put these things in a column some Sunday? People around here have been looking at me with suspicion lately. One of them said something about my liberal nephew in Boston the other day. It worried me."

Fortieth Anniversary of the Revolution in Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by William Henry Chamberlin, of the American Committee for Liberation on the 40th anniversary of the revolution in Russia. Mr. Chamberlin was the Moscow correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor and the Manchester Guardian between 1922 and 1934.

March 12, 1957, marks the 40th anniversary of the revolution which overthrew autocracy in Russia. Many historians feel that the March revolution brought into existence a regime which undertook to establish democracy and guarantee rights and liberties to the people. The Communist counterrevolution which followed in November 1917 abolished democracy, wiped out all freedoms, and denied the people their civil rights.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FACTS SHEET ON RUSSIAN MARCH REVOLUTION

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

I. Question. Was it the Communists who overthrew the rule of the czars in Russia?

Answer. Certainly not. Eight months before Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, and their followers seized power in November 1917, Czar Nicholas II was deposed and replaced by a provisional government of liberals and moderate socialists.

1. Question. Where was Lenin when the Czar was overthrown?

Answer. In Switzerland where he had been in exile for years.

2. Question. Where was Trotsky when the Czar was overthrown?

Answer. In New York where he came upon his expulsion from France where he had lived in exile.

3. Question. Where was Stalin when the Czar was overthrown?

Answer. In remote Siberia in the fourth year of exile.

II. Question. So the Communists (or Bolsheviks, as they were then called) did not overthrow a tyrannical autocracy?

Answer. No. The Bolshevik revolution, when it came (counterrevolution might be a better word) was carried out against a government that was undertaking to establish basic democratic rights and liberties.

III. Question. Who took the lead in the movement to overthrow Nicholas II?

Answer. The movement was unplanned, without known leaders. It was the product of generations of struggle for liberty, brought to a head by the strains and suffering of war. It began with demonstrations against the shortage of bread in what was then the capital, Petrograd. Then followed work stoppages and student demonstrations. Finally the troops who had been called out refused to fire on the demonstrators and czarism simply collapsed. The rest of the country followed the lead of Petrograd; there was no attempt anywhere to defend the old regime. This March revolution in Russia was very like what we have recently seen in Hungary, a freedom movement of the whole people, with individuals who were active in student and worker organizations and liberal political movements giving a local lead. During the last phase of the overturn in Petrograd, representatives of the Duma, the parliament which existed under the Czar, and of the Soviet which sprang up in the course of the demonstrations gave some organization and discipline to the movement and made possible the creation of the provisional government.

IV. Question. Was this Soviet created by the Bolsheviks?

Answer. No. The word Soviet in Russian means council. Such councils were set up in the cities and in the armies at the front. There were Bolsheviks in these councils; but in the beginning they were a small minority. The majority of the members were Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, moderate Socialists who believed that Russia's political future should be decided by a freely elected constituent assembly.

V. Question. What were some of the measures of the provisional government?

Answer. Abolition of all czarist restrictions on freedom of speech, press, assembly, and trade-union organization and of all measures of national and ethnic discrimination. Recognition of the need for land reform. It was intended to have the details worked out by a constituent assembly, elected on the basis of universal suffrage.

VI. Question. So it was not the Bolsheviks who gave these basic personal and political rights to the peoples of Russia?

Answer. No, what the Communists did was to deprive these people of these rights, and on a scale unknown under czarism.

VII. Question. How could this be proved?

Answer. Well, under czarism there was a parliament, the Duma. It was elected under a limited franchise; but it included representatives of opposition parties, among them the Bolsheviks. Under communism, no opposition party has been tolerated. At the high point of repression under czarism there were about 30,000 political prisoners, as against many millions under the Communist dictatorship. When Czar Alexander II was assassinated in 1881, five persons were executed; and all were actually implicated in the killing. When Stalin's lieutenant, Sergei Kirov, was shot under obscure circumstances in Leningrad in 1934, many hundreds of persons, few, if any of whom had anything to do with the murder, were shot in savage reprisals.

VIII. Question. Was a constituent assembly ever held?

Answer. Yes, in January 1918, after the Bolsheviks were in control of the central government. Because they were a minority (about 25 percent) in the constituent assembly, Lenin ordered this first parliament elected by universal suffrage in Russia to be broken up by armed force. There has never been a free election in Russia since.

Nothing New About Big Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Nothing New About Big Taxes," written by George Minot, which appeared in the Boston Sunday Herald on March 10, 1957. I commend this article to the reading of every Member of Congress.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOTHING NEW ABOUT BIG TAXES

(By George Minot)

The year 1957 is notable in at least one respect. You don't hear any talk about a tax cut. Even the little fellow who pays most of the bills isn't getting any consideration or promises this year. The Government needs the money. Obviously the bigger it grows and the more functions it takes over, the more money the taxpayers will have to fork out.

In all, it's a $100 billion take. That's what the Federal Government, the States and the localities are exacting this year. And that is 30 percent of the total national income. Nobody pays any attention to economists any more, but governments have been levying taxes since the year one. If one thing has been proved, it is that no nation can long survive when around a third of the total gross income of its citizens is devoted to the payment of taxes.

PEOPLE AT HOME AROUSED

It is the size of the executive budget—a call to collect $72 billion in direct taxes—that really has the lawmakers scared. Their mail is breaking all records. The people back home demand one thing: "Cut that budget!"

One of New England's great Congressmen reported he got 356 letters from constituents last week. A hundred and eighty of them angrily criticized the big spending spree in Washington. More than 100 demanded that he vote against the Eisenhower doctrine for the Mideast on the ground we were handing out too much foreign aid already.

Obviously, Congressmen only can know the temper of the folks back home if they communicate with them in plain words. Soaring Government spending and the determination of the administration to spend even more next year has proved to be the straw that has broken the camel's back. Startling numbers of Americans are needling their representatives, and demanding that they be as careful of the public's money as they are of their own.

There are scandalously frequent examples of how that isn't so. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD one day last week told the story of the International Cooperation Administration's mission to Iran. That is the little country where they collected more than $100 million in oil revenues of their own last year. And that is where our administrator built up a staff of more than 400 assistants in 10 regional offices.

ADMINISTRATOR GOT BIGGER JOB

One of these offices needed 53 automobiles and 41 chauffeurs for its 55 employees (including clerks and office boys). And this is where we handed out $2,246,000 to build an ultramodern cotton mill for Teheran, where there was no electric power to turn its wheels.

What happened to this administrator? Well, his Iranian program is pointed out as one of the agency's outstanding achievements. He has become economic coordinator in Korea, in charge of a foreign-aid program that is spending far more money.

The spending campaign in Iran resulted in some $300 million in economic aid being passed out to that country. This is equivalent to the income taxes paid by 721,000 average $5,000-a-year American families in a year.

It's little wonder that stuff like this infuriates the man who pays the bills. He sees prices of the things he buys steadily

going up and the purchasing power of his dollar going down. Then he sees almost everybody in the world with his hand out, trying to get hold of some of the dough he works hard to earn.

BROAD FIELD OF WELFARE

The new budget, for instance, sets $14 billion for the broad field of welfare—payments to persons drawing benefits from a vast and rapidly expanding social-security program. This $14 billion is going to be a lot bigger in coming years. Already there is pressure to add health insurance to old-age insurance.

In the coming year the administration wants to start Federal aids for school construction that will cost $1.5 billion in 4 years. It has programs in hand to meet increases in college enrollments, in building more medical and dental schools, in trying to solve the teacher shortage and in controlling juvenile delinquency. There are little pressure groups behind all these things.

Aid to veterans is going up from $5 billion to $5.5 billion and in addition the Government is to pay the school bills of 573,000 veterans.

Around 25 million individuals have a direct stake in the cash that flows out of Washington in the form of welfare payments, veterans' benefits, and farm aids. The latter are down for the astounding total of $8.4 billion in the new budget. All this is evidence of how hard it is to resist the pressure for more and more spending.

You have got to have heavier pressure and louder protests from the millions who are saddled with the burden of providing the money or this spending will get entirely out of hand.

WATCH WHAT CONGRESS DOES

It's going to be tremendously interesting to see what the 85th Congress with its essentially conservative leadership in both parties is going to do with the $72 billion budget. Especially you want to watch what it does with the demand for a continuation of the multibillion foreign aid program and the rapidly expanding welfare program. Quite likely, by the time this Congress, running scared, hears from all the people back home who want to be heard, there will be less talk about this new Republicanism than now.

Not yet has any modern Republican explained convincingly how it is possible to keep up Government spending over a period of years and not go bankrupt. There's nothing new about this. It's the oldest stuff in the world. Empires have fallen or tottered since the beginning of time because the burden of taxation was more than the people could stand.

It has been written here before, and it probably will be again, that the most important thing in the world today is to keep the American dollar stable. You can make out a good case with the argument that the aim of the Russians for the last 10 years has been a breakdown of our economy.

We look across the sea and see many of our allies with the existence of their people in the hands of others. In many ways they are better off than we are. The United States has no rich uncle. We have to swim or sink.

Israel Seeks United Nations Protection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I have just received a copy of a telegram sent March 12, 1957, by Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, chairman of the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs, to Under Secretary Christian A. Herter, in connection with the action in Gaza of the Egyptian Government. The contents of this telegram are in line with the position which I and many of my colleagues stated here on Tuesday, February 26. I feel very strongly that we owe a great moral responsibility not to allow conditions to return to their former state of hostility. The guaranties which were contained in the February 11 statement by Secretary of State Dulles, and which were reiterated by President Eisenhower in his speech on February 20, are rapidly proving themselves to be paper guarantees.

Mr. Speaker, in the interests of permanent peace, we must prove ourselves to be a Nation interested in true justice and must maintain Israel's rights under the pertinent United Nations resolutions.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the timely telegram sent by Rabbi Bernstein:

Present behavior and demands of Egyptian Government not only contravene basic assumptions of Israeli withdrawal of Gaza, but also threaten authority, prestige, and usefulness of the United Nations as an instrument for the attainment of peace. Therefore I take the liberty to urge our Government to exert its leadership by direct diplomatic means and through the United Nations to resist present action by the Egyptian Government in violation and contempt of world public opinion. If this is not done at once and unequivocally, the confidence of small nations in the commitments of the United Nations and the great Western Powers will be undermined. I recommend also that all further action in the Suez Canal clearance be halted until the Egyptian Government gives definite, dependable commitments that the use of the canal will be insulated from the national politics of any country, and that equal rights will be granted to the shipping of all nations, including Israel. It would be incongruous for international community to clear the Canal and to repair the damage caused by Nasser's own sabotage in the absence of any assurances that Nasser will permit the Canal to remain an international waterway and to cooperate in the maintenance of peace.

Rabbi PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN.

Water: Our Greatest Resource

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Our Greatest Resource," from the February 18, 1957, Concord Daily Monitor, Concord, N. H., my home city. The article points out that while water may be a problem, it is also one of the greatest assets a State or section can have.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR GREATEST RESOURCE

Water is a problem, when floods come. But water is also one of the greatest assets a State can have, and it is becoming increasingly so in these United States.

West of the Mississippi the past year there was drought across a tier of many States. Crops were lost. So was the wind-blown top soil. And this condition was not new, for it is a pattern repeated every few years. The Great Plains have always, in the memory of white men, been largely treeless.

East of the Mississippi there is a water shortage, too. This is the most industrialized section of the land, with the greatest concentrations of population, and the use of water has grown and grown, until water supplies are an increasingly great problem.

Shipping on the canal connection between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Basin was stymied for lack of water. Industries are bypassing communities where the water supply is not ample. Even in New Hampshire the Portsmouth area has water problems because of the addition of the airbase. In Concord present water supplies will become insufficient perhaps as early as 1960.

New Hampshire as a State has some advantages in respect to water. It has mountain ranges which help to create precipitation. It has a forest cover which helps to hold water in the soil. It has many great lakes and ponds and streams. And New Hampshire can create, if it will, many more storage facilities, and remain green and increase its water levels to meet ever growing demands upon its water resources.

To anyone who has traveled west in our own country, or to many of the older nations on this earth, in northern Africa, in the Mideast, in much of Europe, in China, the great blessing enough water can be to the land on which we live is all too apparent. Here, used as we are to seeming to have enough, we do not realize the extent to which we have been blessed, nor the great need for making certain that we are ever thus blessed.

Preservation and better use of our water resources is one of the most certain assurances of a sound future for a State like New Hampshire, which has so few other natural resources.

There has been some reclamation elsewhere in the country, but the abuse of water resources has probably outstripped the conservation measures. The population of the country grows. The demands upon water increase even more rapidly. Other than water resources are also being used up; the soil, our mineral wealth, our forests. In the long run, if we in this State are wise, and conserve our water resources we will have won the race in the competition between States.

Some factors may help us. We are on the ocean. The day will come when our seaboard may draw its water from the sea, purifying it as it is used. The day will come, too, when atomic energy may release water now used principally for generation of power for other uses. The antipollution program already in process of development will help in many ways.

Irrigation in this State is still in its infancy. It has great possibilities. If we can reduce erosion, which comes mainly here from the action of streams, we can, with the heavy vegetation which covers the State increase the quality of our soils more rapidly than is possible in many States, and incidentally improve the natural conservation of water.

In a desert it is the oasis alone which thrives, and New Hampshire in the future can, if it will, be an oasis among States, considering the Nation as a whole.

It is not alone what things we do, as public works, which can make and keep New Hampshire a garden State, but equally what each individual does with the land he owns. If all can have a consciousness of the causes

and effects involved in the problem of water then the State is surely safe, protected by the best insurance policy it can buy to assure its everlasting future prosperity.

Juvenile Delinquency Among American Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which deals with the problem of juvenile delinquency among the American Indians, and which pays particular tribute to our friend and colleague, the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER].

Among his other great works, Senator LANGER has labored long and hard in an attempt to alleviate the problems of juvenile delinquency, not only in his own part of the country, but throughout the length and breadth of the land.

I am certain that all of my distinguished friends in the Senate join me in wishing Senator LANGER a speedy recovery from the illness which has incapacitated him for a number of weeks. We all hope that he will be back with us very, very soon—not just to help us wrestle with the problems of juvenile delinquency, but the myriad other problems with which he has had such wide experience.

Come back soon, BILL.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT ON JEWEL BEARING PLANT AT ROLLA, N. DAK.

The other day the Secretary of Defense advised Senator WILLIAM LANGER that the jewel bearing plant at Rolla, N. Dak., which had been scheduled to close on December 31, 1956, will continue in operation. What is so significant about this statement is, that a pilot project to bring employment and improve the economy of the Indian people will continue in operation.

The United States Senate Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee of which I am chairman, in 1954, with Senator LANGER as acting chairman, conducted a series of hearings in the State of North Dakota to determine the relationship of the plight of the American Indian and its effect on the Indian youth on various Indian reservations. During the course of those hearings, Indian leaders and the Indians themselves urged the subcommittee to do everything in its power to bring industry in or near Indian reservations to provide employment for the Indian people and thereby improve their economy.

Through the efforts of Senator LANGER, Senator YOUNG, the North Dakota Congressmen BURDICK and KRUEGER, and State officials in the State of North Dakota, the jewel bearing plant at Rolla, N. Dak., was instituted. This plant hires exclusively Indian labor. The success of this plant was brought to the attention of the United States Senate by Senator LANGER and the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee, and with the aid of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a program was inaugurated to induce industry to go to other Indian reservations throughout the United States. To date there are plants at Gallup and Zuni, N. Mex.; Flagstaff and Casa Grande, Ariz.; Cherokee, N. C.; and Lamb Deer, Mont. These plants hire Indians exclusively. There are plans for a greater number of such industries to be brought to or near Indian reservations.

However, with the announcement of the closing of the Rolla jewel bearing plant, Indian leaders and public officials dealing with Indian affairs became greatly alarmed since the closure would seriously affect the existing plants above mentioned and also affect the plans for future installations of industry near Indian reservations.

Senator LANGER, acting in a dual capacity of Senator from North Dakota and as a member of the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee, which had done so much to aid the program of bringing industry to or near Indian reservations, immediately took up the matter with the Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson, and with Mr. Arthur Flemming, Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. He called together a meeting at his office with Senators from 11 States who joined with him in sending a letter to Secretary of Defense Wilson pointing out the reasons why the jewel bearing plant in Rolla should continue in operation. Attached to this statement is a memorandum of the meeting held in Senator LANGER'S office pointing out some of the reasons why the Rolla plant should remain open and the reason for industry being urged for areas near Indian reservations.

In concluding my statement, I want to take this opportunity of expressing the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee's thanks to Senator LANGER for the zeal which he has always shown in problems affecting the American Indian both as a Senator from the State of North Dakota and as a member of the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee which has held hearings throughout the United States on problems affecting the American Indian and its relationship to their youth. I believe that the decision of the Defense Department to keep the Rolla jewel bearing plant open is of great significance and I am happy of the role that the Senate Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee played.

MEMORANDUM ON MEETING HELD IN OFFICE OF SENATOR LANGER ON JANUARY 7, 1957, PERTAINING TO INDUSTRIES ON INDIAN RESERVATIONS

At a meeting called jointly by Senator LANGER and Senator YOUNG, of North Dakota, on January 7, 1957, in Senator LANGER'S office, Senators and their representatives from 10 States met with representatives of the Department of Defense, Office of Defense Mobilization, Department of Interior, Department of Commerce, and two Senate subcommittees; there were two primary subjects of discussion: (1) A plan to bring more industrial plants to or near the various Indian reservations in the United States, and (2) to inquire into the feasibility of continuing operation of the Turtle Mountain ordnance plant at Rolla, N. Dak., which hires almost exclusively Indian skilled labor in the production of jewel bearings for defense and other purposes.

The following Senators appeared in person: Senator CHAVEZ, of New Mexico; Senator CHURCH, of Idaho; Senator ANDERSON of New Mexico; Senator MUNDT, of South Dakota; Senator MORSE, of Oregon; Senator O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming; Senator YOUNG and Senator LANGER, of North Dakota. Representatives of Senators attending the meeting were as follows: Charles E. Munson, of Senator BARRETT'S office; Vic Reinemer, of Senator MURRAY'S office; Herb Kirstein, of Senator WILEY'S office; Roy Dockstader, of Senator MANSFIELD'S office; Wilson Hefner, of Senator WILEY'S office; Earl Reynolds, of Senator DWORSHAK'S office; Ken Gunthner, of Senator CASE'S office; W. E. O'Brien, of Senator MUNDT'S office; William Connell, of Senator HUMPHREY'S office; Arthur Juhnke, of Senator CASE'S office; Sterling Munro, of Senator JACKSON'S office; and John A. Carver, of Senator CHURCH'S office. Those representing Government agencies were: Victor Cooley, of the Office of Defense Mobilization; Carl Beck, of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; William Zimmerman, of the Association of American Indian Affairs; and T. R. Baldwin, of the Office of Defense Mobilization. Those representing Senate subcommittees were Peter N. Chumbris, of the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee, and James Gamble, of the Senate Interior Committee. Robert Danielson represented the Bulova Watch Co.

After fully discussing both of the above issues for nearly 3 hours, in summary these points were reached: (1) That the Indian people have proven themselves as capable, industrious and have an excellent record of average daily attendance on the job. It was pointed out that at the Rolla jewel bearing plant in North Dakota the turnover of employees was only 3 percent whereas in a similar plant in Massachusetts of non-Indian labor, the turnover of employees was 100 percent. (2) That the Indian people contrary to some public belief have adapted themselves to a special type of skilled labor. (3) That there are now industrial plants that have been established on or near Indian reservations in Rolla, N. Dak., Gallup, N. Mex., Flagstaff, Ariz., Cherokee, N. C., Lamb Deer, Mont., Casa Grande, Ariz., and Zuni, N. Mex. There are also under consideration plants in Oklahoma, Wyoming, and in the area in close proximity on the borders of Washington, Oregon and Idaho on the McNary site. (4) That it was pointed out many Indian reservations have the facilities for industrial power availability of water including use of power, transportation, available sites for expansion, and a stable source of labor supply. (5) That the Indian leaders on all Indian reservations have expressed the desire for industrial plants to be brought in or near the Indian Reservation to stabilize the economy of the Indian people. It not only will provide salaries for workers, but will aid other factors in the stabilizing of economy of these communities. At the same time it will permit Indians to obtain jobs near their reservations and near their families and cultures, rather than force them to go to large cities away from their families and traditions. This is especially significant since the relocation program cannot possibly absorb enough Indians to stabilize the economy of the Indian people living on the Indian reservations. (6) That the Indian people through their leaders have expressed the desire that they want to provide for themselves and their children by obtaining stable and gainful employment so that they may become a self-sustaining people and not depend, any more than necessary, on the services accorded by the Federal and State Governments. Not only will they be more self-sustaining economically, but it will further establish in them the strong family and community pride that has always been a part of the Indian people. (7) That the Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has personally met with the leaders of the Indian tribes throughout the country. (8) That the Senate Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee has held hearings on or near Indian reservations in all parts of the country and that the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs has likewise conducted investigations on problems regarding the Indian people and that through the representatives at this meeting each expressed views which coincide with the views expressed at this meeting. As a result of the above, Senator LANGER announced that he is submitting a bill for $200 million which has as its primary purpose the aiding of the

Indians and the Indian tribes in establishing industries on or near Indian reservations. This bill will be submitted to the Senators from the various States which have Indian reservations.

Summarizing the views on the reason for continuing the Rolla plant, other than those expressed above, it was pointed out: (1) That there are over 50 million jewel bearings needed to accommodate our defense needs in this country. (2) That we only have approximately 3,600,000 jewel bearings in storage at this time. (3) That the Rolla plant is the only available source of jewel bearings from plans in this country. (4) That Russia produces over 200 million jewel bearings each year and they are not dependent upon outside sources for jewel bearings. (5) That Switzerland which is and has been a source of supply of jewel bearings to the United States, in the event of war, may be stopped in some fashion by Russia from either the production or the distribution of jewel bearings for the use of the United States. (6) That without question jewel bearings are an essential ingredient of almost all phases of our defense activities whether it be in the form of missiles, equipment, or transportation facilities. (7) That the differential in cost and quantity of production has reached the point where it is feasible for us to continue production at Rolla.

A motion was made and unanimously passed in which the Senators who attended the conference would write to the Secretary of Defense and to the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization urging that the Rolla plant continue in operation as originally proposed. The conferees also agreed to exert all possible action to bring industry in or near the Indian reservations.

Interest Rates on United States Savings Bonds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "United States Bonds May Yield More," published in the Hammond (Ind.) Times of March 7, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES BONDS MAY YIELD MORE

In proposing higher interest rates for United States savings bonds, Treasury Secretary Humphrey has taken a wise step.

The rate of yield for virtually every other type of investment has gone up. This is partly because of the tight money policy adopted by the Government itself, in order to check inflation.

Savings bonds have been looking less and less attractive to investors by comparison. Redemptions have been heavy.

Something had to be done, for the Government leans heavily on bonds as one means of obtaining its money. An estimated 40 million people now have more than $40 billion invested in these bonds.

The proposed interest rate increase is a modest one—from 3 to 3¼ percent, plus a better yield to an investor who finds it necessary to redeem the bond before maturity.

This is a better course than another suggestion—namely, that the Government tie savings bonds to the cost of living, and let them be redeemed for more if the cost index goes up.

Inflation, if it occurs, hurts anyone who loans money.

We fail to see how the Government fairly can protect savings bond investors against inflation without advancing the same protection to—let's say—bank depositors or to the holders of mortgages.

The way to deal with inflation is to restrain its causes rather than to try only to patch up its bad effects.

United States savings bonds have been widely criticized of late. But they have been of great service to the Nation.

Beginning with the start of World War II war bonds, millions have learned to save who saved little or nothing before.

Having nearned to save through war bonds, millions now are saving in other ways—through stocks, bonds, insurance, savings accounts, etc.

There is still extravagance at many levels of American life—including government—but private thrift is a habit with many. We can thank savings bonds in part for that.

The Attack on TVA and Public Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. E. H. Wright, of Brownsville, Tenn., the president of the Tennessee Valley Public Power Association, has recently directed my attention to a series of inaccurate and misleading full-page advertisements that have been appearing in national magazines on behalf of the private power lobby. These advertisements attack the Tennessee Valley Authority, an American creation, that has been hailed the world over as an outstanding example of democracy in action.

Such attacks indicate the need for action by our public regulatory bodies to stem the tide of political advertising by private power companies which is written off by these companies as a legitimate business expense and thus paid for by the consumer and taxpayer.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of a typical advertisement together with a refutation of the misleading inferences found therein:

[Advertisement]

WHERE DO YOUR TAXES GO?

You may have a pretty good idea where taxes go. But did you know that some go to help pay other people's electric bills?

They're the families and businesses that get their electricity from Federal Government electric systems like the TVA.

While about 23 cents of every dollar you pay for electricity from your power company goes for taxes, those other people pay much less * * * only about 4 cents per dollar if their power comes from the Government's TVA, for example. As a result, you are taxed more to make up for what they don't have to pay.

Don't you think this unfair tax favoritism needs thorough study and discussion?

America's Independent Electric Light and Power Companies.[1]

TENNESSEE VALLEY
PUBLIC POWER ASSOCIATION,
Chattanooga, Tenn., February 20, 1957.

REBUTTAL

1. The ad says "only about 4 cents per dollar" is paid to Government by power users in the TVA area. State and local taxes paid by TVA and its distributors last year amounted to about 4½ cents per dollar of electric bill. But TVA had net income of nearly $54 million, or about 24½ cents per dollar of income—and all of this money goes to the Federal Government because TVA is a Government corporation. So in reality TVA power users paid nearly 29 cents to Government out of every dollar they paid for electricity.

Power users in the Tennessee Valley are paying back the cost of TVA, yet it still belongs to the Federal Government.

2. The fact—not mentioned in the ad—that private power companies are now enjoying benefits that will eventually total nearly $5 billion in Federal subsidies through the so-called fast tax writeoff setup.

This was referred to as "bluntly, a subsidy" in a recent report issued by the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, headed by Senator HARRY F. BYRD.

Senator BYRD said, "This is a hidden cost for which no appropriation is required by Congress, and its effect makes it more difficult to balance the Federal budget or reduce the Federal tax burden on taxpayers not receiving the benefits of this provision."

And the magazine ad sponsored by America's independent electric light and power companies didn't mention the estimated $18 billion additional subsidy which will accrue to the private utilities as a result of section 167 of the Internal Revenue Act.

3. Advertising like this—which does not sell electricity or create good will for the power companies—is paid for in part by the people who buy electricity from the power companies. But some 52 percent of the cost of this propaganda comes out of the Federal Treasury, since advertising is deductible for tax purposes. Vicious, insidious advertising like this reflects on outstanding American institutions like TVA, and on the 5 million consumers who obtain TVA-produced power from municipal and rural cooperative electric systems. The ratepayer and the taxpayer should not pay for such advertising. This is an item, which, if it must be incurred, should be paid for by the stockholders—the owners of the company, and the only persons who could conceivably benefit in any way from such advertising.

[1] Company names on request through this magazine.

A Small-Business Man Speaks Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following letter came to me unsolicited. I spread it upon the RECORD so that those who are constantly telling us how close they are to the grassroots may know how the small-business men of our country feel toward this administration. The

letter, dated February 28, 1957, is as follows:

Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We Americans are heading down the road to ruin via Inflation Boulevard in a headlong plunge, gathering speed in an alarming manner. The driving force behind the wheel is William McChesney Martin, along with his backseat drivers, the Federal Reserve Board yes men, plus ill-advised President Eisenhower and his economic advisers.

You say, "Has this writer lost his reason? Martin is a tight-money man, waging an all-out war against inflation." Well, let's analyze the results of Mr. Martin's deeds and see who is correct. Let's further examine the effects of Martin's and the Eisenhower adminstration's tight-money policy and see exactly what measures were employed to achieve these results.

Mr. Martin's first act was to pull the plug on supporting Government bonds by reducing the purchase of same. The effect was to freeze banks' bond holding and thus reduce the money available for loans. The next action taken by Mr. Martin was to systematically increase the rediscount rates of the Federal Reserve Banks, or in other words, raise the rate of interest that the member banks must pay to borrow from the Federal Reserve. These rediscount rates have risen from 1½ to 3 percent and now stand at a record peak. Another measure employed by Mr. Martin was the pressure reduction of reserve credit, which the Reserve authorities have placed at the disposal of its member banks. The purported aim of Mr. Martin was to curb inflation; however, let's examine the results of the measures instigated by William McChesney Martin and see what has and has not been accomplished.

Yes, Mr. Martin did make money scarce and costly, but did his deeds help curb inflation? The answer is "No." What Mr. Martin did accomplish was to make money more expensive and the greedy moneylenders richer. Did he curb expansion and large capital expenditures of big business? Well, he did in some small measure, but the big boys in most cases just paid more for their money and passed on the increased cost to John Q. Public, the consumer, thus pushing the inflationary pressure a little harder. Uncle Santa Claus also granted this chosen group special accelerated depreciation write-offs to further encourage their expansion and make the big boys bigger. What about the small-business man? What happened when he went to these moneylenders? When he went to lending institutions he was informed that the well was dry. What had dried up the stream of money? For one thing, the acts of Mr. Martin, and for another, the fact that big business had been to the well and tapped the source too heavily. Who, then, has been the victim of the deeds of William McChesney Martin and the Eisenhower administration? The answer is that small business has been one of the prime victims.

Now then, let's take a look at the housing industry. How has this industry, which represents our greatest weapon in the battle against communism, fared under Mr. Martin's new ideas of deflation backed by the Eisenhower administration who pretends to protect the little man and especially the veteran? The demand for more and better housing still exists and so does the need, but of course, these homes have to be financed. What happened to the money that was formerly available to finance these homes? The greedy moneylenders turned to greener pastures (and you can't blame them to some degree). They turned their backs on the 4½-percent return that they could get on VA loans in spite of Government insurance. In fact, 5-percent FHA loans suddenly lost their attraction to the Shylocks except where they could get bribes in the form of bonuses paid, or extra points as they term them, to negotiate the loans. These points have continued to rise until now it is not uncommon to pay 6 percent or 8 percent premium to have a financial institution approve a Government-insured loan. This is nothing short of money blackmail, yet it is tolerated by the Eisenhower administration, which turns its back and closes its eyes to such shenanigans; and in spite of usury laws these Shylocks get away with this practice. The misguided geniuses fail to realize that increased interest rates are punitive and generalized, not specific. These increased interest costs invariably slow up those segments of the economy that require acceleration and do very little to deter the dizzy ascension of those portions of the economy that are running wild.

Now, let's take a closer look at these so-called hard money policies of Mr. MARTIN and the Eisenhower administration and see what effect these policies have had on servicing or paying interest on our national debt—the increased cost of money in the form of higher interest rates, even to the United States Government, have cost hundreds of millions of dollars in additional interest on the national debt and thus has cost each and every citizen taxpayer more money. President Eisenhower's new budget provides for increased interest costs of $890 million. It is rather ironical that the very government that creates the money is forced to pay exorbitant interest on this same money. Who gets fat? The money lenders.

Many people scoff at the great depression of the early thirties and say, "It can't happen here again." Well let me tell you that a great many of the factors that preceded the crash in 1929 are here with us today. Look at interest rates—they closely parallel 1929. In the late twenties, interest rates were increased for the purported purpose of controlling stock speculation. Today as we view the results of these increased interest rates in retrospect, it becomes obvious that the net results were that this action did not control or deter stock speculation, yet the increased costs of money did slow up the vital processes of the economy and contributed substantially and materially to the crash in 1929. Herbert Hoover was talking about "A chicken in every pot and a car in every garage." We are well on the way to having two cars in every garage, but there are comparitively few that are not in hock. The popular slogan of 1929 was, "Never sell America short;" today they say, "It can never happen again; the old economic laws are antiquated; this is a controlled economy." Well, let's wait and see what happens if the present experimenters continue to rule the economy. Even Herbert Hoover, who had his hair curled—but good—in 1929, warns against our complacency concerning the free spending spree in government and the rising cost of living.

Let's examine the janus outlook of the Federal Government. On one hand they yell, "Curb inflation," and then they talk out of the other side of their mouths and bring forth the largest inflationary peacetime budget in the history of this country. They say, "Do as we say, not as we do." The fact of the matter is that we have so many inept incompetent advisers in government that they just don't know what they are doing or what they are trying to accomplish. Secretary of the Treasury, Humphrey, warns, "If the increase in Government costs is not stopped, we will have a depression that will curl your hair," yet he acquiesces to the whims of the administration.

The administration blames the exorbitant increase in the budget on the Russians and tries to justify these ungodly proposed expenditures as the price of keeping our country prepared and containing communism. Well, let's look at the real facts concerning this budget.

In 1954, the first budget of the Eisenhower administration totaled $67,800,000,000. That year, the military and foreign aid portion was $48,700,000,000. This new proposed record-breaking budget of $71,800,000,000 has allotted $46,500,000,000 for military and foreign aid, or actually $2,200,000,000 less than in 1954. These are the facts.

In this wastrel budget, the civil or welfare state section is wherein the real increases occur:

	Increased
Veteran services and benefits	$796,000,000
Labor and welfare	294,000,000
Agriculture and agricultural resources	626,000,000
Natural resources	445,000,000
Commerce and housing (due to taking out road bonds)	(Decreased)
General Government operations (courts, Congress, and District of Columbia administration)	243,000,000
Interest on Government debt	890,000,000

This is a welfare state budget beyond any Socialist's wildest dreams of a decade ago. Herbert Hoover cautions, "We Americans should realize that we cannot have every social and public works improvement of our dreams all at once, especially in a world where we have to defend ourselves from a monstrous international danger." We cannot pay $103 billion to be governed at various levels without straining our economic stability to a point where it is in danger of blowing up in our faces.

All you have to do is deal with most Government agencies or take a casual trip through one of our Government offices and you will quickly find the answer to this outrageous, shocking budget. A girl clerk that formerly worked for us went into civil service. When she complained about not having enough work to keep her busy, her supervisor told her, "You had better wise up and keep your mouth shut—this is the Government."

I spent 3 years in the Navy during the last war, and I could recount multitudes of incidents of waste of material and manpower that would enrage and sicken every honest God-fearing American. There was some excuse for these sordid conditions during the war emergency, but we sappy citizens have let this pillage of our pocketbook so unhalted for so long a period of time that we just keep dishing out and paying up without questioning the usurpers. Our bureaucrats find new and better ways each year to preempt our rights and confiscate our money with the aid of inept, unqualified leadership in Government. The Federal Government has gradually taken the form of the very thing our forefathers fought against, for we seem to have reached the point where we have taxation without representation in spite of elected officials in Congress. The Federal Government may own our bodies, but it will never own our souls. How long are we going to stand idly by and let our money be dissipated without registering our protests against this foul and sinful waste? Write to your Congressman. Throw the fear of God into these supporters of wanton waste. Examine their voting records; mark them well, and then rid yourselves of them come next election day.

We citizens and our representatives must call a halt to the practice of looking to the Federal Government for aid and handouts in the provinces that are strictly State or local responsibilities. We must remember that the Federal Government obtains its revenue from the citizens of our municipalities and our State; so why let the bureaucrats get their paws on this money, take their overhead cut, and then dole the money in reduced value back to us. Maryland's contribution

to the financing of the Eisenhower Federal aid to public school plan would amount to $6,906,000, yet Maryland would receive only $4,496,000 in aid. The $2,410,000 shortage disappears in the Federal boondoggling maneuver and we cannot afford a costly gift of this nature where we lose $2,4100,000 through the doubtful privilege of having the Eisenhower administration dole out this financing for our school program. You never get something for nothing from the Federal Government, but you can be sure you'll come out on the short end when you get involved with them. The Federal Government has usurped States rights to too large an extent; let's keep our own house in order and control and guard our own destinies without Federal interference.

Whatever happened to the Hoover report? We spent hundreds of thousands of dollars to find out what was wrong with the operation of our Government, and now, years later, we have yet to act fully on the findings of the Hoover Commission. For the most part, each and every citizen is to blame for this sad state of affairs. We look upon these confiscatory taxes as an inevitable price for our American way of life, and we elect inept, unqualified representation in many instances to run this great Nation. If we American citizens are going to bask in the apathy of being taxed to death and permit the country to be run by boss politicians, then we have ourselves to blame. How many people realize that if the recommendations of the Hoover Commission were adopted, the potential savings to the taxpayers would be approximately $5 billion annually? Some token recommendations were put into practice under the previous administration, and a good deal of money was thus saved. Of course, we can't economize in Government too much, as it might hurt some politicians—and that would never do, even though both Treasury Secretary Humphrey and Herbert Hoover agree that the present tax rates are so high that they will hamper the growth of our economy.

How can we suppress this inflationary surge and stabilize the national economy? The first simplest and most sane answer is to curb installment credit through enactment of standby consumer credit restrictions similar to the old regulation W. We know that politicians don't like the idea of getting General Motors, General Electric, and the rest of the big-business boys mad at them, but just for once, let's act out of good commonsense and not out of political expediency. Secondly, freeze salaries and wages, except where increased productivity results to control costs, or additional skills or values are obtained to warrant such increases. Third, encourage capital expansion and see that money is available to small, sound businesses in large amounts at reasonable rates. Fourth, enact a graduate income-tax rate on corporations similar in general structure to the individual rates. Finally, cut the Federal budget by $5 billion and eliminate a large portion of the waste therein. We Americans cannot continue to pay out annually $103 billion of our individual and business income for taxes and other Government levies and at the same time have enough reserves and savings left to finance that growth of industry needed to employ the one and one-half million persons entering the employment market each year, and also finance the homes that are necessary and vital to our expanding population.

What would be the results of these acts? The first move of tightening consumer-goods credit would alleviate the scramble for goods and help hold the price line. In addition, consumers would be forced to save in order to buy at a later date, thus creating an increased savings fund to ease the tight money market. The second action would stem the spiral of rising costs and enable the curtailment of price increases. The third proposal would expand the overall national productivity and help hold the line on prices through increased production and the resultant increased competition. At the same time, small businesses would be able to expand and compete more equitably in the consumers' market. The final step of cutting the Federal budget would decrease the inflationary pressure, provide for a tax cut and again increase the savings funds through these tax reductions, plus alleviating the labor shortage in commercial businesses through the reduction of excessive Government personnel.

The law of supply and demand has always been the fundamental force in the economic structure since time immemorial; so if we just give it half a chance to operate and set a balance so that no segment of the economy is placed at a distinct disadvantage, like the small-business man and the farmer have been in the past, then we'll recover our balance and forge ahead on a sound, economic basis, without concern for boom-and-bust cycles.

Let's get back to Mr. William McChesney Martin and his tight-money philosophy. So far, the only people his policies have curbed and hurt are the small-business man, the farmer, each and every taxpayer, and potential home buyers—particularly the veterans. Now let's take a look at big business. The basic industries raised their prices because money cost them more and wages were increased through union pressure. Did that help curb inflation? No. The railroads increased their rates for basically the same reasons. Did that help curb inflation? No. The oil industry took advantage of the Middle East crisis, raised their prices and forced unwanted products on the European purchasers. Did that help curb inflation. No. The bankers increased their interest charges and raised the rates of interest paid to depositors. Did that help curb inflation? No. The Federal Government intends to spend more than ever and will pay more interest on its debt. Does that help curb inflation? No. The unions have made and are making all-out drives to increase their memberships and increase wages. Does that help curb inflation? No.

Well, Mr. William McChesney Martin and Mr. Dwight David Eisenhower, just what have you accomplished by your hard money policies? You've hurt the little man, as usual; you've made the fat cats fatter, and you've made a mess of things in general and accomplished nothing beneficial for America. You're afraid to offend or put the brakes on big business; you won't freeze wages and get the unions sore at you, you just pick on the defenseless little man and let John Q. Public take it on the chin. Do you think you can hold the line on prices and let wages and interest costs continue their meteoric climb? Do you think big business will voluntarily hold the price line and stop scrounging for the highest possible return? Do you think the unions will ease their demands and help halt runaway increases? If you do, you don't know the first thing about business economics. You can't blame an ex-general for not knowing much about business economics, but you would think that a banker would. The fact of the matter is that most bankers couldn't run a successful monopoly—let alone a competitive business. There are exceptions to these cases, but they are not to be found in great abundance. From the way we are operating the Federal Government, these bankers are just the boys to fix things in this country—but good.

We have representatives of banking interests, big business, Wall Street, the armed services, and the unions in our Federal Government but what about the small-business man and the average citizen taxpayer? Who is looking out for his interest, and who frankly gives a hoot about him? Oh, I know we talk a lot about him in the press and we set up special committee hearings, but, of course, that is part of the smoke screen of political maneuvering and we never act on any of the committee findings or really try to get the little man over to Congress to hear his side of the story. Don't forget—he is the unorganized majority; we only pay attention to and legislate for the organized minorities. We are the champions of the organized underdogs whose advocates drive around in Cadillacs, smoke $1 cigars and live in luxurious suites at Washington's finest hostelries. You know we can't get these union bosses mad at us—they're organized. You know we can't stop big business from raising prices and gobbling up all of the available money for expansion—the NAM is organized. So, Mr. Small-Business Man and Mr. John Q. Taxpaying Citizen, as an unorganized group, you're just the forgotten men, mere statistics in the Census Department that make up the majority of the citizens of this great (?) United States of America.

We must awaken from our lethargy and let our will be known. Let's return to the real American way of life and reassert our independence that is our American heritage.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK S. NICOLL, Jr.

Award to Brett M. Nordgren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the Washington Post of March 12 about Mr. Brett M. Nordgren, from South Bend, Ind., who won the Westinghouse science scholarship.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CREW-CUT YOUTH FROM INDIANA WINS $2,800 SCIENCE AWARD

A highly probable physicist from South Bend, Ind., 17-year-old Brett Marcus Nordgren, won the $2,800 Westinghouse science scholarship at the Hotel Statler last night.

When his name was announced, his mouth dropped open. After that, he settled on a dazed grin as he was swept up in a sea of congratulations.

"I thought a girl would win," he said. "This is completely unexpected."

A slim, smiling, crew-cut youth, Brett took a few moments off from the photographers outside the banquet room to say he isn't certain what he will study, but that he'll probably be a research physicist. "I'd enjoy that more than anything else," he said.

His winning project was a homemade Wilson cloud chamber, an apparatus that automatically takes pictures of paths of radioactive nuclear particles.

TO ATTEND PURDUE

The son of an automotive engineer, Brett plans to attend Purdue. His hobbies are tremendous, organic synthesis, physical chemistry, electronics, and photography. Last summer he added to his store of knowledge by working in a television repair shop.

He was announced as winner at a banquet attended by more than 700 persons, representing the Government, business, science, medicine, education, and military worlds.

On hand with Brett was his Congressman, Representative F. JAY NIMTZ, Republican, of

Indiana. "We went to the same high school," NIMITZ said. "Central High." A close observer of the award presentation was Robert Moore, of Silver Spring, winner of the top award last year.

TAKES SECOND PLACE

In second place among the 40 finalists from all over the United States was Jonathan David Glogower, of Brooklyn, N. Y., who won a $2,000 scholarship. Jonathan, 16, is interested in chemical experimentation and mathematics.

Eight other finalists were awarded $400 scholarships, while the remaining 30 received $100 toward their school expenses. All are high school seniors. The awards totaled $11,000.

Two girls were among the $400 winners, Susan Iknayan, 17, of Charleston, Ill., and Sonia R. Anderson, 17, of Omaha, Nebr. Also winning $500 scholarships were John L. Curry, 17, of Evanston, Ill.; Edward J. Pollock, 16, of Skokie, Ill.; Stephen L. Adler, 17, of Bayside, N. Y.; David W. Deamer, 17, of Westerville, Ohio; John D. Reichert, 18, of Austin, Tex., and Robert W. Adler, 17, of Marshfield, Wis.

Rear Adm. H. G. Rickover, who pioneered the atomic-powered submarine, urged the young scientists to work to overcome a scarcity of raw materials and resources in the United States and the world.

"From a scarcely populated fabulously resources-rich country 180 years ago we have changed to densely populated, resources-poor country today," he said.

Pointing out the United States is for the "first time in its history dependent on foreign countries for materials basic to our technical organization," the admiral said, "we shall not remain truly free and powerful unless we compensate * * * for lack of materials resources within our own borders." The only way to do this, he said, "is by using far more effectively than heretofore our natural resources in brain power. We must substitute intellectual resources for diminishing materials resources."

The Mania for Mixed Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, we read in the press daily items regarding integration or segregation as applied to the public schools of this country. Some of our people have become so wrought up as well as mixed up in their thinking on the subject that they are determined to force the schoolchildren of this country to integrate regardless of the feelings of the children as well as their parents and regardless of the effect of integration upon the education of our youth. The recent misguided efforts of the school officials of New York City is an example of what is happening as a result of public hysteria on the integration question.

A splendid editorial on this subject appeared in the Richmond Times-Dispatch on Tuesday, March 5. Under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to include the editorial, which is as follows:

THE MANIA FOR MIXED SCHOOLS

Is it democratic to force children to attend public schools they don't want to attend, and which are less accessible to them than the neighborhood schools they have always been attending?

The public-school authorities of New York City are shuffling students around on the theory that mingling Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and whites encourages democratic living. Apparently the democratic right of choosing a school that one can get to readily and which one may prefer for other reasons is not considered important under this fantastic concept.

Even Life magazine, certainly no segregationist organ, blasts this nonsensical educational setup in its March 4 issue. Under the heading "Let the Students Choose," it says editorially that "overzealous friends of integrated schools are creating a new problem." It goes on:

"Superintendent William Jansen says he will not make children 'travel unreasonable distances,' and acknowledges that housing segregation will continue to set limits on how much classroom integration he can attain. In our opinion the less he tries to achieve it by restraints upon the free choices of individuals, the more painlessly will integration come to be taken for granted."

Superintendent Jansen and others deny flatly that pupils are being hauled across town in New York, although the Wall Street Journal declared, in late January:

"All concede that hundreds of New York students are already criss-crossing the city by bus and subway to schools far from home."

The same article said that some 200 Negro children were being transported 20 city blocks or more to Public School 93 in the Bronx, and that these children attended neighborhood schools until last September.

We accept the statement of Superintendent Jansen that pupils are not now being hauled across New York. Whether this was being done until recently and then was stopped, because of the mounting clamor, we are unable to say.

The admissions of the New York school authorities are sufficiently damaging, as far as we are concerned. They acknowledge that pupils are being forced to leave their neighborhood schools and taken to schools farther away. As summarized by the Assoicated Press, the plan involves the following:

"Rezoning school districts to embrace racially diversified sectors; transporting Negro students in some cases to white districts and vice versa; equalizing the quality of faculties in rich and poor areas; and locating new schools so as to serve mixed populations."

When this plan was presented last week at a meeting of the New York City Board of Education there were loud protests from Parent-Teacher representatives that it is "discriminatory against both white and colored children," and "just like they do things in Russia."

Under this plan to further democratic living, it is stated by officials that if teachers object to being taken from the neighborhoods in which they have taught all their lives and assigned to slum areas—in order to achieve a so-called balance of educational opportunity—they will be ordered to comply. If they refuse, they will be subject to charges of insubordination.

So much for the brand of democracy with which the people of New York are being favored, at the behest of the NAACP. If this goes through in New York, will the same thing be tried in Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, and so on? If so, the South will be in danger of determined attempts to ram a similar system down its throat.

The integrationist fanatics seem to have lost all balance and perspective in their mania for mixed schools.

The Middle East Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by Mrs. Robert B. Mouat, chairman of the 31st Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, Inc. This conference opened in Washington on January 31, 1957.

I call the attention of the Members of this body to the quotation from George Washington, before he became President.

I hope the United States of America will be able to keep disengaged from the labyrinth of European politics and wars—it should be the policy of the United States to administer to their wants without being engaged in their quarrels. * * * Not isolation, but freedom to do as our own people think wise and just; not isolation but simply the unembarrassed and unentangled freedom of a great Nation to determine for itself and in its own way where duty lies and where wisdom calls.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 19

The 31st Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, Inc., in annual convention January 31–February 2, 1957, adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the 31st Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, Inc., urges the Senate of the United States to reject Senate Resolution 19 which would deprive the Congress of its constitutional right to declare war and would place the control of the Armed Forces of the United States exclusively with the Executive and the United Nations."

The conference has frequently resolved to petition the Congress of the United States to refuse to vote for any further grants of financial aid to foreign nations.

Instead of granting discretionary power to the Executive to spend $200 million in the Middle East, there should be an accounting on a financial basis of money spent and benefit to the United States received. That score is bad enough, but the overriding question is, Shall we adopt socialism and risk dictatorship at home in a fantastic effort to contain communism abroad by force and repression through the United Nations? Wars are made of such stuff—not peace.

Congress is chided with being hesitant to grant discretionary war powers to the Executive. One of the prime sovereign powers of the people is the control of their armed forces. By this joint resolution the Executive demands that Congress abdicate its constitutional responsibility without the people having any say about it whatsoever. But it is the people who must pay the bills and fight the battles when the Executive calls for war and that is what is expected of them in the beginning.

We hear it frequently said that the Congress must do this and do that. There is no "must" about it. What authority has the Congress to sell out the sovereignty of the people unheard? The issue was not presented to them in the last election or since.

No matter how estimable the character of the man in the White House, what will become of the power of the people to protect themselves against big government and tyranny if Congress continues to abdicate its

responsibility as it has in the matter of tariff rates and treatymaking?

Thomas Jefferson warned, "In questions of power, let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

The resolution before the Senate would guarantee the territorial integrity and political indepedence of a nation or group of nations in the Middle East—a territory we can't even get defined. The chief cause of the defeat of the old League of Nations was its article 10 that guaranteed the territorial integrity of every member nation. This proposition was overwhelming defeated by the American people when the issue was put squarely to them.

Further, the resolution today places the Armed Forces of the United States at the disposal of the United Nations. The President has said that our Armed Forces would be subject to the overriding authority of the United Nations Security Council in accordance with the charter.

Who comprises the United Nations Security Council that the President says will control our Armed Forces? In addition to the 5 permanent members, Great Britain, France, Nationalist China, Communist Russia, and the United States, there are 6 rotating members among which there is usually 1 Iron-Curtain country. The United States has but one vote in the Security Council that would have overriding authority over American Armed Forces.

Then too, the United Nations Military Staff Committee is in charge of all military operations for the United Nations. One of its permanent members is the Soviet Chief of Staff. In rotation he becomes chairman. This committee has the strategic direction of any armed forces of the Security Council.

If communism is the enemy in the Middle East and elsewhere, what terrifying nonsense is it to turn the direction of our Armed Forces over to the United Nations Security Council?

In an effort to counter the veto in the Security Council, the General Assembly has voted itself power the Charter never gave it, to organize and equip armed forces. Nations are expected to abide by assembly recommendations they never subscribed to.

Shall we place our Armed Forces under the political considerations of world power politicians in the United Nations? Lord Cherwell, the Right Honorable Frederic Alexander Lindemann, World War II assistant to Winston Churchill, wrote in his brilliant analysis of the voting arrangement in the United Nations (Washington Star, January 27, 1957):

"A police force, to be of any use, would have to be stronger than any nation or combination of nations. * * * Once the facts are faced, I do not think anybody will seriously maintain that a police force capable of imposing U. N.'s will on the great powers, should they object, can be contemplated seriously * * * nor should I like to see it. For who would care to put an overwhelming military force at the disposal of an assembly constituted and voting as I have described?"

How many American boys would voluntarily leave their homes and jobs to fight for the territorial integrity of the Middle East? Opponents of the League of Nations said that conscription in peacetime was a part of the plan to force young Americans to police the world. They could not envision then that these conscripts would also be subject to the laws and courts of the countries of occupation under the so-called status of forces treaty.

In a letter to Sir Edward Newenham, Washington wrote prior to the Presidency:

"I hope the United States of America will be able to keep disengaged from the labyrinth of European politics and wars; it should be the policy of the United States to administer to their wants without being engaged in their quarrels. * * * not isolation, but freedom to do as our own people think wise and just; not isolation, but simply the unembarrassed and unentangled freedom of a great nation to determine for itself and in its own way where duty lies and where wisdom calls."

Today for our adventure into the labyrinth of European politics and wars, we have the largest national debt in history, some $280 billion, and have suffered 1,001,004 American casualties in 3 wars.

This Nation and its leaders should try to recapture the policies under which we have prospered, pick up the thread where it was dropped and go forward. History proves that only unfettered nations of freemen can hope to lead the world to a moral peace.

The Senate should reject Senate Joint Resolution 19.

Mrs. ROBERT B. MOUAT,
National President, National Service Star Legion, Inc., Baltimore, Md.; Also Chairman, 31st Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, Inc., Representing 18 National Organizations.

United States Good Will Ambassador Nixon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "United States Good Will Ambassador NIXON," from the Fort Wayne (Ind.) News-Sentinel of March 9, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES GOOD WILL AMBASSADOR NIXON

Vice President NIXON'S inherent ability to foster good will wherever he appears is once again being impressively emphasized in his present overseas tour. Wherever he has appeared thus far he has been receiving remarkable ovations and his uncanny ability for cultivating mass friendship is everywhere eliciting enthusiastic spontaneous response from the large numbers of persons greeting him.

The Vice President's concept of his proper role in this timely visitation as an ambassador of good will from the United States, is refreshingly different than has been that of so many American "diplomats" who have so often flittered hither and yon all over the world. Whereas the latter have invariably unctuously promised all manner of rich gifts to be forthcoming from the United States, NIXON has made it plain to all and sundry that he is making "no commitments" on his journey.

No proud, top-hatted, stiffly bowing austere plenipotentiary is DICK NIXON on his good will tours. He has an easygoing informality and contagious smile as he hand-shakes literally by the thousands. As current Time magazine graphically describes:

"Time and again, as the official motorcade edged its way through Casablanca's thronged streets, the smiling guest of honor left his (not too new) blue Chevrolet convertible to mingle with the chering crowds, shake hands, pass out ball-point pens (left over from the United States presidential campaign, marked "Vice President NIXON." Right beside him was his wife, Pat, with hard candies and bon bons for the children."

And how was this earnest, homespun greeting received. Time well answers that question when it reports: "Gasped Moroccan Foreign Minister Ahmed Balafrej, whose country was celebrating the first anniversary of its freedom from France: 'This is unprecedented.'"

The Vice President arrived at Rabat, the Moroccan capital, a day before proceding to Casablanca and immediately plunged into his person-to-person, handshake-and-smile routine, with which, on five previous overseas missions he had won many new friends for the United States, from Manila to Guatemala.

How NIXON'S brand of foreign relations pays off immediately as well as on a long-range scale has already been evidenced. In this connection it was only last year that Morocco had rid itself of the last vestiges of the French and Spanish protectorates. The new government had assumed all French-incurred international obligations except for the airbases the United States has in Morocco on a lease basis.

Taking time out from the rounds of public receptions, NIXON conferred with Mohammed V, the Sultan, of Morocco, about the relationships between his country and the United States. NIXON came out of that conference with Mohammed's assurance that as far as the strategic airbases are concerned, there is no danger that they would be lost.

NIXON made a timely arrival at Accra, capital of the Gold Coast, to represent the United States at the ceremonies marking the transformation of that British colony into the Commonwealth State of Ghana. When his plane landed thousands of Ghanians were massed behind a fence at the edge of the flag-draped field to greet him. Leaning over the white fence to shake hands with hundreds of them, the Vice President quipped "in America we call this the boardinghouse reach," to the delight of the many who, surprisingly, had no trouble in understanding English.

Wherever he goes, NIXON'S straightforward, unaffected friendly manner, his spontaneous human characteristics such as expressed in stopping his entourage to shake hands with a particularly enthusiastic crowd at the curb, coupled with the graciousness of Pat Nixon, is winning friends on his eight-nation 18,000-mile good will trip.

We in Fort Wayne had the opportunity to witness the profound appeal which NIXON registers with people, when the Vice President and his charming lady paid Fort Wayne a visit last fall.

We can appreciate why the Vice President's uncanny ability to meet and greet throngs of ordinary people, should go over big wherever he goes.

DICK NIXON definitely is the Nation's No. 1 roving ambassador of good will.

Labor in Community Service in Portland, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, at a time when organized labor is suffering from criticism in many parts of the country, it is heartening to learn of general civic approval in my home community for labor's unselfish efforts toward

the building of a science and industry museum, which will be part of Portland's outstanding new zoological gardens.

I ask unanimous consent that an article from the Portland Junior League News of March 1957, entitled "Labor in Community Service," may appear in the Appendix of the RECORD. Author of the article is Mrs. Patricia M. Rein, herself the mother of two small children who someday will share in the wonders of the museum made possible by the cooperation of labor and management—without undue profit or reward—in our city.

I also ask that there appear in the RECORD an article describing this event, from the Oregon Labor Press of January 25, 1957, entitled "One Thousand Dollar Check Opens Drive for Science and Industry Museum."

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Portland Junior League News of March 1957]

LABOR IN COMMUNITY SERVICE

(By Patricia M. Rein)

"Project science," the joint labor-management effort to "barn-raise" Oregon's new museum of science and industry building is arousing renewed interest in labor's volunteer participation in the community. Harold Halvorsen, business representative of Sheet Metal Local No. 16, is serving as labor's coordinator in this campaign, in which unions led by the Portland Building Trades Council are donating labor toward construction of the $490,000 museum.

But this is only the most dramatic instance of labor's awareness of community needs. Here are some other examples:

Oregon Labor Council volunteers served coffee to 3,500 people in downtown Portland Christmas and New Year's Eves for traffic safety.

The labor council has encouraged labor's participation in "Great Decisions—1957" now underway.

John Gillard, business manager of Steamfitters Local No. 235, was recently elected president of the zoo commission, having been its labor representative since 1951.

Eleven unions contributed to Hungarian relief and many members have helped orient these refugees in their new job situations here.

The Oregon Labor Council annually awards three $500 scholarships to high school seniors in competitive examinations testing students' knowledge of labor unions; their history, structure and function in the American economy. Sixty-six students have benefitted from this program in the past 10 years.

Women's auxiliaries to labor unions provide volunteers to the medical charity drives and give money to various causes, such as Portland's center for handicapped children.

Unions led by Laundry Drivers No. 281 and Fireman's Local No. 43 give time, money and materials to help Toy and Joymakers provide toys for 6,000 children annually.

John H. Wilson, member, Retail Clerks 1257, is labor relations coordinator for the United Fund, a newly created position. His job is to promote better understanding among union members of services available through United Fund. Labor actively supports the annual campaign, were among the first to want a united drive.

James Goodsell, editor of the Oregon Labor Press, from which this material was taken, emphasizes the important role our unions have played in entertaining the European trade unionists and management personnel visiting Portland in the past few years, all sponsored by the Department of Labor and the State Department.

"By entertaining," writes Jim, "I mean taking over their entire schedule of plant tours, technological discussions, studies of local government, visits to union meetings and hospitality. Some of the visitors have lived in the homes of local union members to see how the American workingman lives."

But Seattle's Teamsters have hit the high point in public service when they provided a set of cold weather lingerie for their zoo's elephant. It seems she was cooped up inside and no one could see her in the cold weather. Rosy could do with some of the same in our freezing clime. Any volunteers?

Sometimes it is possible in our absorption with league projects to be unaware of what other active groups are doing in this community. Labor is showing a persistent awareness of Portland's unfilled needs and is showing creative approaches in meeting them.

[From the Oregon Labor Press of January 25, 1957]

ONE THOUSAND-DOLLAR CHECK OPENS DRIVE FOR SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY MUSEUM

A check for $1,000 from Electrical Workers 48 kicked off labor's strong support for the "project science" campaign to build a new educational museum of science and industry at the entrance to Portland's new zoo in Hoyt Park.

The Electrical Workers' substantial gift was quickly followed by a check for $600 from Sheet Metal Workers 16; and other unions, especially in the building trades, were preparing to make their contributions in cash rather than in donated labor.

This week marked the start of a 6-week drive to obtain materials and supplies for the new $489,000 science and industry center. The drive is being undertaken jointly by labor and management as a contribution to the technical and scientific education of Oregon youth.

Construction of the center is scheduled to begin about February 15; it is scheduled to be completed in about 10 months.

Harold Halvorsen, of Sheet Metal Workers 16, is chairman of labor's committee for the drive. "The campaign is getting off to an excellent start," he reported. "Contributions already are beginning to come in, and about 50 unions in this area have been sent complete brochures, describing the whole plan in detail."

All unions affiliated with the Building Trades Council, which officially endorsed "project science" last fall, have been asked to help.

The museum will consist of three main wings, including a planetarium, observatory, camera obscura, a Foucault pendulum, and a huge relief map of the Columbia Basin, showing its industry, waterpower, resources, and geographical features.

Besides the exhibits, the museum will continue to emphasize education for scientific and industrial careers, and will provide career counseling for junior and senior high-school students. Summer science fairs and scientific field trips for teen-agers will be greatly expanded with the new facilities.

Vindication for Benson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Vindication for Benson," from the Fort Wayne (Ind.) News-Sentinel of March 9, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VINDICATION FOR BENSON

If there is any dedicated public servant who has been more viciously and more unjustly belabored by his political enemies in recent years than Agriculture Secretary Ezra Benson it has escaped our notice. He has been called everything from being dishonest and unrealistic to unsympathetic and plain inefficient.

However, through it all, he commendably did not let this barrage of abuse stampede him into policies he knew would eventually destroy the entire farm economy. He insisted and promised that, given time, the administration would bring real relief and sound prosperity to agriculture.

That a substantial measure of such sound prosperity has now been achieved is reflected in the statistical report on American agriculture for last year which shows that in 1956 farmers realized a net income of 5 percent more than in 1955. And more than that, the comparable figures of last year and so far in 1957 show an increase of upward of 7 percent over the corresponding period in 1956.

This must have been as gratifying as it is a well-earned satisfaction to be able to announce that for the first time in many years a Secretary of Agriculture has been able to report such favorable peacetime developments.

It is providential in the interest of American agriculture and the national economy in general that Secretary Benson had the courage and fortitude to stick to sound principles that would ultimately bring real prosperity to agriculture rather than to go along the policy of unlimited Government largesse that for so long continued to make the ultimate plight of American agriculture worse and worse rather than bringing about any real recovery.

The Nation owes Benson a debt of gratitude.

Urban Renewal—Statement by Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., of Baltimore, Md.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, at the present time, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Banking and Currency is holding hearings on housing and urban renewal. This morning Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro, of Baltimore, chairman of the legislative committee of the United States Conference of Mayors, appeared before the committee. I believe his statement will be of interest to all the Members of this body, and therefore, under permission to extend my remarks, insert them in the RECORD at this time:

STATEMENT BEFORE HOUSING SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE, BY THOMAS D'ALESANDRO, JR., MAYOR OF BALTIMORE, CHAIRMAN, STANDING COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF MAYORS, MARCH 12, 1957

I am happy to have this opportunity to appear before the Housing Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee to express the deep interest and concern of the United States Conference of Mayors in main-

taining and expanding effective programs for housing and for the clearance and redevelopment of slums and blighted areas.

The membership of the organization is made up of approximately 300 major American cities. Our members feel at first hand the full brunt of the pressure and need for decent housing for all the elements in our population. Looking ahead to the expanding future requirements for housing resulting from the constant increase in this country's population, which is primarily occurring in the large metropolitan areas of the Nation, we feel that there must be sufficient production of new housing throughout the coming years. We are also becoming more aware not only of the importance of clearing our slums but of the necessity for rehabilitating our existing housing supply and conserving those sections of our cities which are still strong and sound.

As a former Member of this House, I know the members of the subcommittee won't mind if I commend for your consideration the fine staff report recently issued by your colleagues on the Housing Subcommittee of the United States Senate Committee on Banking and Currency. This report sums up and analyzes the answers of 150 mayors to a questionnaire sent them by Senator SPARKMAN on the housing conditions in their cities. Because I feel these views are so timely and appropriate, I would like to cite some of the report's findings, which are based chiefly on what the mayors said:

A. Serious housing shortages exist in the Nation's cities.

B. Four groups in the population are especially hard hit by these shortages: Low-income families, middle-income families, families from minority groups, elderly persons.

C. Current production of new, and rehabilitation of existing dwelling units are not materially reducing these shortages.

D. Prices of available sales and rental units, both new and used, are generally too high for these groups to afford.

E. The great majority of mayors feel that expanded housing programs are needed in their communities, and that the Federal Government should provide more effective assistance in meeting these needs.

I certainly feel that these mayoral views are fully in accord with what I wrote the committee about Baltimore's housing situation. As the report pays me the honor of quoting my reply to the questionnaire at length (on pp. 18 and 19), I will not take this committee's time to repeat it here today.

The Conference of Mayors wanted me to emphasize to you gentlemen that we are seriously disturbed by the restrictive effect of current credit stringencies which are resulting in a decreasing volume of residential construction. In plain language, the tight money market is knocking the blazes out of new home building. We therefore trust that your committee will be successful in evolving methods for overcoming these current problems and assuring a constant flow of the home building required to meet the growing needs of our cities.

We would also urge that your committee give consideration and study to the necessity for eventually evolving an effective method for assisting and encouraging the development of good housing for lower middle-income families who in most cities are now not being served either by the private residential industry or by the national supply of low-rent public housing. I would also like to register the strong support of our organization for adequate authorizations of additional low-rent public housing. These will be absolutely essential in order to house adequately our low-income families and particularly to provide for the decent relocation of families displaced by slum clearance and now by the large program of federally assisted urban highway construction.

In Baltimore, our thinking is in the direction of the coordinated use of all possible housing resources to meet current and prospective market demands, including existing and contemplated Federal and State assistance. Some suggestions along these lines are contained in the recent report of my Urban Renewal Study Board, a copy of which I have brought along to give the committee.

I would like to tell the subcommittee members at this point something about the Urban Renewal Study Board, which I appointed last February and reported to me in September. This board was composed of six nationally known experts, who rendered Baltimore outstanding service by recommending a 20-year, $900 million program for urban renewal and a sweeping overhaul of our administrative machinery to help carry out this program. I liked the report, so did practically all segments of Baltimore opinion, and we have moved fast to put its recommendations in effect. On December 31, 1956, I signed the ordinance creating a new Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency, which represents an amalgamation of several existing boards and bodies and portions of other departments.

Gentlemen, we recognize that each city is different, and has its own problems, traditions, and circumstances. However, I think the following paragraph on page 1 of the report could well apply to a great many American cities, large and small.

"If the city of Baltimore is to remain a community which continues to attract a reasonable cross section of its employed population, it must face the problem of making more of its residential areas competitive in many respects with those of its surrounding suburban districts. Recognition of this need considerably expands the areas requiring urban renewal treatment. Renewal must therefore deal with areas now substandard, areas becoming substandard in the future, areas which are merely obsolete or beginning to decline, and even fairly good areas which may decline in the future unless improved. Renewal, in short, includes slum clearance, the rehabilitation of declining areas, and the prevention of decay in areas now sound. It also includes community action to provide adequate modern industrial and commercial land where new uses are required by the community in older areas."

We always prided ourselves in Baltimore that we were doing a great deal to halt urban deterioration. This report has fired our imagination, and made us realize how much bolder we must be to gradually rebuild our cities and strengthen our tax base. We understand that we must concentrate much attention on slum prevention in order to reduce future problems. We now recognize that new, improved parks, playgrounds, schools, and other community facilities will have to be provided for most neighborhoods. Obsolete commercial and industrial areas must also be renewed. Baltimore is ready to sink a lot of cash and other resources into this challenging program and private investment will undoubtedly far exceed the estimated public cost of $900 million. But to make all of this possible the Federal Government must do its share.

I would like to devote the balance of my testimony to emphasize the vital importance of prompt congressional action to assure the continuity and the expansion of Federal financial aid for the slum clearance and urban redevelopment program. This program is essential to the survival of American cities. It provides a mechanism whereby, at relatively modest cost to the Federal Treasury as compared with the cost of other Federal aid programs, the hard core of urban blight can be successfully attacked and the deteriorated sections of our cities transformed and revitalized to provide new housing, parks, and playgrounds, new schools, modern commercial facilities, or sites for well-planned modern industry. This program, in short, offers an essential tool to help American cities and metropolitan areas—where an increasing majority of American citizens live and earn their livelihoods—to keep in pace with the dynamics of the American economy.

It is for these reasons that the United States Conference of Mayors has been a strong advocate and supporter of the Federal urban redevelopment program since it first began to receive consideration and study by the committees of Congress over a decade ago. As mayors, many of our members assisted in undertaking the first pioneering redevelopment projects which followed the enactment of title I of the Housing Act of 1949. I am pleased that the second redevelopment project in the country to be officially completed is located in Baltimore. We have seen community interests in an experiment with redevelopment broadened and mature in the ensuing years. We have arrived now at a point where the full potentialities of well planned redevelopment for revitalizing the blighted cores of our cities are seized upon by communities throughout the country. After a long period of probing and experimentation, our cities are now on the threshold of actual achievement of the full benefits of redevelopment.

It is, therefore, with dismay that we learn that the continuity of this vital program is now threatened by the exhaustion of the essential Federal capital-grant authorization. We recall that the chairman of this subcommittee, Mr. RAINS, had the foresight a year ago to propose an increase of $1 billion in this capital-grant authorization. It was unfortunate that this recommendation did not prevail in the legislation which was finally enacted in 1956, as the current situation demonstrates. However, I would like to urge upon your committee with all the forcefulness at my command the urgent necessity of congressional action to make adequate capital-grant authorization available as promptly as possible in order to avoid a stoppage in this vitally important program.

The recommendations in the President's budget for an additional authorization of $250 million in Federal capital-grant contract authority to become available on July 1, 1957, and a further authorization of $250 million to become available on July 1, 1958, are, in our judgment, the bare minimums needed to maintain the impressive momentum now developed in local renewal programs. In fact, I would urge your committee to consider whether the best interests of this long-term program would not be better served by a more substantial increase in the capital-grant contract authority in order to avoid a future situation similar to what is now threatened.

The planning and undertaking of redevelopment projects is by nature a complex and time-consuming process. This situation becomes intensified when you contemplate large sections of your city designated as renewal areas. Baltimore's new ordinance No. 692 refers to the "central functions of urban renewal, such as but not limited to, neighborhood and project planning, land acquisition and clearance, area code enforcement, relocation of displaced families, development, redevelopment, rehabilitation, conservation, management of property acquired in renewal areas, investment and improvement counseling, community-organization services, research and public information." These functions we have placed in one agency. But my study board reported that a city's urban-renewal program is even broader than this big list when looked at from the mayor's viewpoint, and should also give a place to comprehensive citywide planning, capital budgeting, construction and maintenance of public works, operation of public service facilities, and private enterprise participation.

The decisions involved in urban renewal go to the heart of the complicated social,

economic, and property interrelationships of the American city and will vitally affect the future trend of its development. Even though both the cites and the Federal Government have gained experience in redevelopment and renewal and, I hope, will continue to find ways and means of reducing redtape and needless delays, there is no magic wand that will ever make the renewal of our cities an easy and quick process. This fact of life makes it all the more evident that any hiatus in the progress and continuity of the renewal program resulting from a failure of Federal financing would represent a major setback to the future welfare of American cities.

We would also like to recommend that your committee, in its consideration of legislation affecting the urban redevelopment program, study the impact of the present statutory requirement that one-third of the net cost of renewal projects be absorbed by the participating communities either in the form of cash grants or through the contribution of supporting public facilities and site improvements.

In our opinion, experience has shown that this requirement has restricted unduly the scope of redevelopment activities in relation to the needs and objectives of cities. The record shows that almost 50 percent of the local contributions to the redevelopment and renewal projects undertaken thus far have had to be in the form of cash donations, over and above the facilities and work in kind which can be contributed through the normal capital municipal budgets. In view of the financial problems and financial demands upon all American municipalities and their restricted sources of revenue, the requirement for a one-third local contribution has, in our judgment, undoubtedly exerted a restrictive influence on the redevelopment program. We would recommend therefore that your committee consider the advisability of reducing the required local contribution to 20 percent. In light of the fact that the federally aided urban highway program, involving much larger expenditures of Federal funds than does the urban renewal program, requires only a 10-percent local contribution on a major phase of the overall program, the Interstate System, we believe that a 20-percent local financial participation in renewal undertakings would be most reasonable. At the same time it would greatly broaden the capacity of American cities to utilize this essential program for the sound future development of our urban centers.

If the committee will pardon one more reference to Baltimore, I would like to conclude with the first paragraph of the foreword to the report of the Urban Renewal Study Board.

"Urban renewal is the new American frontier. During the last century that frontier was the development of the agricultural areas of the West and the mineral and other resources which have made this the most prosperous Nation in man's history. In this century our population has become predominantly urban. Two-thirds of our people live in or near cities. Most of our recent growth has taken place in urban areas. Virtually all of our future population growth will occur in and around our cities. But these cities are largely the product of the 19th century. Their dwellings, factories, and offices, their streets and community facilities are ill-adapted to the needs of midtwentieth century civilization. Overcrowded, blighted, or threatened by blight, these cities must be rebuilt to meet the needs of our contemporary society and to serve the demands of a population blessed with an ever-rising standard of living. The conflict between the development of adequate transportation facilities and the creation of a satisfactory living environment must be resolved. This is the challenge of urban renewal."

I hope the committee will do its best to keep the Federal Government pulling its oar not only so that the boat doesn't rock but that it will forge full speed ahead.

I appreciate very much this opportunity to present the views of the United States Conference of Mayors to your committee.

Democrats Defeat Corn Relief Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Evansville (Ind.) Courier of March 8, 1957, the headline of which is entitled "Democrats Defeat Corn Relief Plan."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEMOCRATS DEFEAT CORN RELIEF PLAN

WASHINGTON.—House Democrats beat down a Republican move Thursday to push through emergency relief for Midwest corn farmers.

The 187–180 vote came on a motion to substitute the G. O. P. bill for a Democratic measure which would have provided aid for corn and feed-grain producers in all parts of the country.

The Democratic bill is sponsored by Agriculture Committee Chairman HAROLD COOLEY, of North Carolina.

COOLEY expressed fears that Northern Democrats may side with Republicans to kill his more costly measure.

Shortly after the vote on the amendment, the House ended debate on the farm bill until Tuesday by agreement between majority and minority leaders.

The next vote probably will come on a new substitute sponsored by Representative ROBERT D. HARRISON (Republican, Nebraska), following the recommendations of the American Farm Bureau.

The substitute would allow farmers to either grow 37.3 million acres of corn at a $1.36 per bushel price support, or 51 million acres at $1.31 price support.

Participation in the soil bank would be voluntary under the first choice, but if the farmer grew under the 51 million acre limit, he would have to put 15 percent of his crop land in the acreage reserve.

The Cooley version would allow corn farmers to plant 43 million acres this year and still allow farmers to participate in the soil bank and receive price-support payments of $1.36 a bushel.

It would also extent similar soil-bank aid to feed-grain producers in the South and Southwest. The Republicans strongly oppose this part of the bill.

Republican leaders predicted that President Eisenhower would veto the Cooley measure if it were passed. In any event, they said, hearings in the Senate on the complex Democratic bill would take so long that the legislation could not help corn farmers who must plant their crops in the next few weeks.

The legislation is described as "emergency" since current law limits Midwest farmers to planting a total of 37.3 million acres if they want price supports and soil-bank participation.

The Department does not expect farmers to comply with this growing restriction but believes that corn land will be taken out of production through the soil bank if the allotment is increased before planting begins.

How Parents Can Help Teen-Agers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 28, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the great fraternity, Free and Accepted Masons, has been a strong and vital force for good government because, while not concerning itself with partisan politics, it has always concerned itself with basic problems of good citizenship.

Every age has always looked upon youth as presenting a problem. This great fraternity attacks the subject by trying to remove the problem.

Grand Master M. W. Nathan Turk, of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of New York, conducted as essay contest on the topic How Parents Can Help Teenagers. The judges were Dr. Richard A. Girard, of New York University; Commissioner John B. Sullivan, of the New York Commission Against Discrimination; and Dr. William F. Rosenblum, rabbi of Temple Israel. I think it would be of interest to our colleagues to set forth the winning essays.

First prize went to Miss Carol Matteson, of Frankfort, N. Y., whose essay is as follows:

The well-adjusted teen-ager of today is the one in whom basic characteristics have been established, such as, the love of God, and home, loyalty, integrity, resourcefulness, and courage. This young adult is the result of loving, understanding, and tactful parents interested in the development of their child.

Parents should interest their children in participating in healthy activities with children of their own age. In this way, the teen-ager will gain valuable experience in social behavior.

CHURCH IS FOUNDATION

The most important thing parents should do is to attend church as a family. Church gives children a firm foundation for meeting with life's crises. In church, strong faith in God, love of neighbor, and kindness is developed. Church gives children some of the richest experiences and blessings of their lives.

All in all, parents should be companions to their children, treating them with respect and kindness, and yet guiding them to lead upright and virtuous lives. On this basis, parents should put their full and complete trust in their children. Teen-agers are the adults of tomorrow, and as the twig is bent so shall the tree grow.

Mr. Speaker, second prize went to Miss Barbara Robinson, of Plattsburgh, N. Y., whose essay was as follows:

There's an old saying that nobody's perfect. Yet most adults think that their children are, or should be, perfect. When we teen-agers don't live up to the great expec-

tations, parents become discouraged and the trouble begins.

Between the ages of 13 and 16, young people are going through a period when they have many emotional and social problems and need the careful guidance of adults. If they shun them and tell them to run along or get lost, that's just what they will do. Training begins in the home and without it we teen-agers are lost.

Every teen-ager has one or more hobbies. If the parents try to interest themselves in their children's hobbies, they would find that they could keep them at home more often and would stop their running the streets. This would also give the parent more time for disciplinary training of the children. Also, if the adults found out the particular interests of the children outside the house, they could provide better organized activities and dances, like the Knights of Columbus dances in our own community.

There are a number of things that adults can do to help teen-agers, but they must begin in the home. Then it can spread to the community. A good motto for adults to follow would be: "The family that plays together stays together."

Mr. Speaker, third prize went to Miss Sue Friedlander, of Mineola, Long Island, N. Y. Her essay was as follows:

I am a teen-ager and I'm growing up. I've finally passed the awful stage of being a nobody where you feel you are ever wading toward a shore you can't reach. Now my feet are touching dry land and I feel as if I'll be able to walk into this new world of young adulthood. I've reached this point in my growing up through the love and trust of my parents.

Of all the services our parents give us, their love is the greatest of their gifts. Their love wraps around us warmly and gives us security and a feeling of our own worth. These are two very important factors in helping us grow up to be happy adults.

The trust our parents place in us by letting us make our own decisions has a great and lasting impression on the shaping of our characters as we go toward young adulthood. Our parents' recognization that we are capable of making independent decisions is the beginning of our feeling that we've finally reached the shores of young adulthood.

Award to Wayne Guthrie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article revealing that Mr. Wayne Guthrie, one of Indiana's outstanding newspapermen, a former city editor and more recently the author of a popular column entitled "Ringside In Hoosierland," appearing in the Indianapolis News, has been awarded $100 and a George Washington honor medal in the 1957 Freedoms Foundation awards program. Listed in the article also are awards received by other Indiana individuals and organizations.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEDOM AWARD—GUTHRIE ADDRESS ON AMERICANISM WINS CITATION

A columnist for the News today was awarded $100 and a George Washington honor medal in the 1957 Freedoms Foundation awards program.

Wayne Guthrie, who writes Ringside in Hoosierland, was honored with a second-place prize for his address, Accentuate the Positive, given through the Nation approximately 75 times in the period covered by the award.

Awards for contributing to a better understanding of the American way of life during 1956 were announced today at special George Washington's birthday ceremonies at the foundation's Valley Forge, Pa., national headquarters. The awards total $100,000.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, received the foundation's highest honor, a special George Washington honor medal and $5,000.

HIS ACCENT IS ON YOUTH

The theme of Guthrie's address is that Americans, in their fight against communism, should adopt and follow a positive program of selling to the boys and girls, who will be tomorrow's citizens, the superiority of our free way of life over communism.

Guthrie also was international chairman of the 1956 Kiwanis International Committee on support of churches in their spiritual aims, which committee's work was included in the accomplishments that won for Kiwanis an award of meritorious service.

Valley Forge Freedom Library awards went to Broad Ripple High School, School 54, 3150 East 10th; School 3, 23 North Rural, and School 71, 3333 North Emerson. A principal school award was given School 88, 5801 East 16th.

Other Indianapolis winners are:

Tech: High school annual award of $100 and a Washington honor medal for the Arsenal Cannon, second-place award for high school editorial series of $100 and honor medal, and a Valley Forge Freedom Library award.

Manual: High school award of $100 and an honor medal for the Ivian.

Shortridge: Washington honor medal award for high school editorial series, Ten Freedoms, For Informed Citizens, and Your Duty as a Citizen.

Howe: Washington honor medal award.

Washington High School: Honor medal award and second-place award of $100 and honor medal for high school editorial, Let's All Give Thanks for Our Priceless Possession.

Indiana Farm Bureau, Inc.: Second-place award of $100 and honor medal for its citizenship campaign.

Others prizes in the State are:

Robert Cummings of the Cannelton News: Honor medal and $100 second-place award for editorial, Thank God, I'm an American

Montgomery County Chamber of Commerce: Honor medal and $100 second-place award for Minute Man community program.

Irma G. Haselwood, Elkhart: Honor medal and $100 for her photograph, Right to Worship.

Done Ette Bushaw, Fort Wayne: Honor medal for essay, The American Way of Life.

Jay Gould, radio station WOWO, Fort Wayne: Honor medal for poem, Freedom.

William S. Sandeson, Fort Wayne News-Sentinel: Honor medal for cartoon, The Freedoms Were Here—Left Us Something.

South Side High School: Honor medal for editorials, and radio station WOWO, honor medal for radio series, Freedom Day Broadcasting.

Purdue University: Second-place award of $100 and honor medal for campus program, Thirteenth Student Legislative Assembly.

Wheelabrator Corp., Mishawaka: Honor medal for employee publication, Parade, and honor medal to Joseph Flory, editor.

Warsaw High School: Second place $100 award and honor medal for editorial series.

Ruth Cates, Yeddo, Fountain County: Honor medal for essay, Why I Vote.

Los Angeles City Board of Education Opposes Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles City Board of Education has disclosed that it is opposed to Federal aid to education by the adoption of the following resolution. It is apparent that if an area like Los Angeles, with a recordbreaking increase in population, can get along without Federal aid to education, then most other areas in the United States can do likewise, and that education should be kept close to the people and administered by local government.

RESOLUTION REGARDING FEDERAL LEGISLATION FOR AID TO SCHOOL DISTRICTS FOR SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION PRESENTED TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE FROM THE BUDGET AND FINANCE COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 28, 1957

Whereas the needs of the public schools are certainly no more apparent to others than they are to (1) the parents whose children leave their homes for school each day, (2) all other citizens of the school district who have a civic responsibility for the schools, and (3) the local board of education elected by the parents and other citizens; and

Whereas the Los Angeles City Board of Education has jurisdiction over 381 elementary and 93 junior and senior high schools, 7 community or junior colleges, and 26 adult education centers, with a current school population of 556,000, served by 18,000 teachers and 12,000 other employees; and

Whereas the members of the Los Angeles City Board of Education are elected by a constituency of over 3 million people to represent their interests in affairs directly affecting their local public schools; and

Whereas the members of the Los Angeles City Board of Education consider Federal-State-local interrelationships affecting public school finance to be a matter primarily within the board's governmental province rather than the superintendent of school's field of educational administration; and

Whereas at the present time, and for the foreseeable future, the Los Angeles City School Districts through a combination of State and local financing efforts (primarily local) are supporting a program of school construction and operations while at the same time furnishing excellent instructional and auxiliary services for boys and girls and young men and women from kindergarten to junior college levels and also providing professional salaries for teachers and administrators and prevailing community wages for other employees; and

Whereas to accomplish this financing program the electorate of the Los Angeles City school districts has since June 1946 approved 3 major bond issues totaling $338 million, and in addition has raised general

fund maximum school tax rates by 22 percent in the elementary district and 20 percent in the high-school district with a further tax rate proposal of 18 percent for the elementary district and 50 percent for the high-school district pending before the voters in the municipal election to be held April 2, 1957; and

Whereas during the same period of time the people of California have approved bond issues totaling $635 million to finance the State-aided building program, approximately $165 million of which have been contributed by the taxpayers of the Los Angeles City school districts: Now, therefore,

The Los Angeles City Board of Education does hereby find and resolve as follows, to wit:

1. That we affirm our belief that public education is primarily a local responsibility and privilege; secondarily, a state duty and prerogative, and only incidentally, by virtue of some national emergency, an appropriate subject for Federal subvention or intervention;

2. That the best interests of 556,000 boys and girls, young men and women, and adults attending our schools at the present time and their successors for years to come require that the Los Angeles City Board of Education affirm its position that the voter-taxpayers have a better means of determination and supervision over public educational policies and expenditures when they are retained on a local and State level;

3. That the expedient of enacting Federal grant legislation, without due consideration of all the implications of such legislation, will not solve the problems of half-day classes and severe overcrowding of schools;

4. That since the Los Angeles City school districts subscribe to the historical concept that provision for public education is a local and State government function, since the Los Angeles City school districts have demonstrated their ability over a period of many years to supply educational facilities within that concept, and since the resources of the districts indicate a capability to continue on a local and State financing basis;

5. That as a source of funds for these Los Angeles City school districts, the Los Angeles City Board of Education does not subscribe to the bills for Federal aid for school construction pending before the 85th Congress of the United States.

Adopted by the Los Angeles City Board of Education at its regular meeting March 4, 1957.

Sacred Sanctions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, written by Attorney Nahum A. Bernstein, appeared in the second issue of February 1957 of Israel Speaks. I commend this article to the attention of our colleagues as excellent background material on sanctions:

SACRED SANCTIONS

(By Nahum A. Bernstein)

John Dulles and Joe Doe are throwing the word "sanctions" around these days. In fact, just about everyone is using the word except President Eisenhower, who has carefully shunned the nasty word in all his public utterances. Nobody seems to know precisely what it means except that, like the measles, it is catching and should be avoided. Therefore, it is timely for us to take a closer look at the meaning and history of the word "sanctions."

The word "sanctions" has two strangely contradictory meanings. Literally, the word is derived from the Latin "sanctio—to render sacred or inviolable." Its first dictionary definition is a "solem or ceremonious ratification, confirmation, approbation." Thus, etymology and accepted usage would indicate that sanctions are acts of sacred approval which any nation should receive with pride for deeds well done.

WASHINGTON'S USE OF SANCTIONS

There was one President of the United States who used the word "sanctions" correctly, curiously enough, in a letter to the Rabbi of the Spanish-Portugese Synagogue in Newport, R. I. I refer to George Washington's famous letter in which he described the basic tenet of his infant Nation as a country which gives to bigotry no sanction. It is interesting to note that in the same letter Washington described the very conditions for the peace and security of the United States now sought by Israel, and for which it is threatened with sanctions. He told the rabbi that the United States had adopted the philosophy of Abraham by establishing a nation in which "Everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid." Before going trigger happy with sanctions, I wonder why our distinguished delegates to the United Nations do not heed the advice of the Father of our country and determine who has prevented whom from sitting unafraid under his own vine or fig tree. Can we honestly demand George Washington's standard for peace and security for our own country and deny it to another?

When we lawyers got hold of the word "sanctions" we gave it a meaning directly opposite from its actual meaning to the rest of the world. Small wonder that there is all this confusion. The legal definition of sanctions is: "The detriment, loss of rewards, or other coercive intervention, annexed to a violation of a law as a means of enforcing the law." Thus, a sanction can be anything from the withholding of a reward to direct military intervention. As I know of no rewards being offered to Israel these days, the withholding kind of sanction shouldn't worry us too much. As a matter of fact, incredible as it may seem, the United States has already imposed such sanctions against Israel before any recommendations for sanctions were voted upon at the U. N. All visas for travel to Israel have been withheld by the State Department. Point 4 benefits and grants-in-aid have been withheld.

DULLES A BIT CONFUSED

If you are confused by the meaning of sanctions, you may take comfort in the fact that Mr. Dulles is, too: However dubious may be his merits as a statesman, no one can deny his reputation as an able lawyer. Here is how Mr. Dulles defined "sanctions" at a recent press conference:

"The word 'sanction' is sometimes used as though it had a precise meaning. Of course, there are all kinds of sanctions. There is a wide variety of action which can be called a sanction * * * so the word 'sanctions' just used in abstract does not have any clearly defined content."

With this legal opinion from our distinguished Secretary of State, we should not be unduly panicked by the adoption of a sanction resolution by the General Assembly. Such a resolution is meaningless according to Mr. Dulles until the United States decides to implement it at which time the President must determine how he wishes to define the term "sanctions." It may be that after a careful study of Mr. Dulles' legal opinion, the President may decide that a scolding would be a sufficient implementation of any sanctions resolution.

Most people fail to realize that the General Assembly has no power to impose sanctions. It can only recommend sanctions, but it is up to each member nation to determine whether it desires to impose sanctions. Israel cannot be hurt (except in public relations) by any sanction resolution of the General Assembly unless the United States desires to implement such a resolution. As a practical matter, the United States is the only nation whose sanctions could be disastrous to Israel. Therefore, Israel's fate cannot be determined by the U. N. It rests squarely upon the shoulders of the United States. In the last analysis, Israel's fate depends upon the definition of sanctions by the United States. That is why American semantics plays so large a role in Israel's future.

The Security Council could impose sanctions, but it is fairly certain England or France would veto such a proposal. This would create an interesting legal problem.

If the Security Council vetoed a sanction resolution, would its decision not to impose sanctions take precedence over a recommendation by the General Assembly in favor of sanctions? The Security Council is the supreme organ of the U. N. entrusted with the responsibility for enforcing peace. It could well be that the decision of the Security Council on this subject would overrule any recommendation of the General Assembly. If this be so, President Eisenhower may even be able to crawl back from the limb upon which he now keeps his isolated vigil. The President has maintained that we must act only through the U. N. and that the compelling necessity of upholding the authority of the U. N. requires him to advocate pressure against Israel. If the Security Council should negate the resolutions of the General Assembly, the President is deprived of his only basis for imposing sanctions.

CONTRARY TO AMERICAN CONCEPTS

There is another fundamental criterion against the imposition of sanctions. We all know that one of our most cherished constitutional provisions prohibits the adoption of any law which would "* * * deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws" (sec. 1, 14th amendment). Although this provision relates to United States citizens, the principle is no less applicable to laws affecting nations. It would be a shocking perversion of fundamental American justice if we were to apply one law to Israel and another to Egypt, India, and the Soviet Union. Israel, like any citizen of this country, should be entitled to the "equal protection of the laws."

The road to sanctions is cluttered with thorny constitutional impediments. The whole question of separation of powers is involved. Does the executive branch of our Government have the right to impose sanctions in the absence of legislative authority from Congress? UJA and Israel bond money represents the funds of private American citizens. Although the executive may withhold point 4 and grant-in-aid funds which it is authorized to spend, does the executive have the power to control disposition of private property? If the answer is yes, we are not living in a democracy but in a potential Communist dictatorship. If the executive has complete authority over the disposition of private property, it could dictate to all of us exactly how we use or transfer our money and property. Under constitutional law, the executive has no such authority. What autority the executive may have to prevent us from disposing of our property as we please must stem from laws passed by Congress, and even such laws may not infringe upon the constitutional guaranties against the deprivation of property without due process of law.

"ENEMY ACT" DOES NOT APPLY

Has Congress passed any laws giving the Executive the power to prohibit the transfer

of our money or property to UJA or Israel bonds? Apparently, the executive branch of our Government seems to think so. Hold your breath while I tell you upon what legislation our State Department relies. It is the "Trading With the Enemy Act." It is upon this law that the State Department has refused visas to press correspondents to visit Communist China. We have never declared war againt Communist China. Who is our "enemy" is determined only by our State Department. In the case of Communist China, I am quite ready to agree that it is our enemy. However, this is my opinion which happens to coincide with the opinion of the State Department. But we live under a government of law—not men. Our laws cannot depend upon the vagaries of individual opinion. Suppose the State Department were to arbitrarily label Norway as our "enemy" and impose sanctions under the "Trading With the Enemy Act." No court in our land would uphold such arbitrary action. Yet, the only legal authority for prohibiting the transfer of private U. J. A. or Israel bond money must rest upon a finding that Israel is an "enemy" of the United States. I respectfully submit that such a fantastic finding is in direct conflict with the repeated assertions of our Government, that Israel is our friend and, perhaps, the only friend we have in the Middle East.

Now we come to another fundamental American constitutional guarantee—the due process clause of the 5th amendment. Our Constitution guarantees that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or happiness without due process of law." If this principle is right for the United States, it is right for the world. Now, what "due process of law" has been accorded to the State of Israel? Our courts have interpreted this provision of the Constitution as requiring a trial where evidence may be fully presented, a Judge who is impartial, and a general atmosphere in which hatred, prejudice, and bias are not prevalent. Has Israel been granted "due process of law"? Obviously not. None of the judges are impartial. Each member nation of the U. N. has its own axe to grind. The atmosphere is permeated with Arab hatred and prejudice. If this were a lynch case in the South, our Supreme Court would reverse any conviction after a trial such as Israel was accorded in the U. N. upon the basis that due process of law was denied. Certainly, the laws among nations should not be less zealous for justice than the laws which we have promulgated for our own safety.

Like Mr. Ben-Gurion, I have an enormous respect for the President of the United States. Regardless of the person who holds this office, we must respect his awesome responsibilities to protect and defend the legitimate interests of the United States. If these interests were to conflict with those of Israel, we must painfully espouse our American interests. About this there can be no divided loyalty. There need be none in the present emergency. There is no conflict whatever between the interests of the United States and Israel. Both nations are striving for peace and security in the Middle East. Both nations accept the Eisenhower doctrine designed to prevent Communist infiltration in that area. That is why I am astonished at the President's speech on TV.

I challenge the President, not upon his appraisal of the issues about which people may differ, but upon the cogency of his logic about which intelligent people may not differ. The President stated that sanctions could not be imposed against the Soviet Union because it was an atheistic, immoral country upon whom no pressures could be applied. However, because Israel is a democratic, God-fearing country pressure could be applied. I respectfully submit that this is the non sequitur of the century.

I started off with the comment that sanctions, like measles, was catching. It is. If Israel is subjected to sanctions, then Egypt, India, and the Soviet Union should be subjected to sanctions. If sanctions were impartially applied to all countries who have refused to conform with U. N. resolutions, Israel would have no serious problem today. Nasser's tottering economy is on the verge of bankruptcy. His fair weather allies would part company with Nasser if the Arab States were subjected to severe economic sanctions by the Western Powers. If sanctions had been imposed against the Arab States at the various times when they flouted the decisions of the U. N., the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba would now be open to Israeli shipping, and the Gaza strip would never have been permitted to be used for continuous raids against Israel. Equality before the law is the basic right of every human being. We demand this equality for our own citizens. We cannot justly deny it to other nations.

Minimum Wages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, permission is requested to include in the RECORD the following article from the AFL–CIO news of January 19, 1957, concerning the need for extending coveraging of the Federal minimum wage law, which need arises mainly as a result of failure of the States to protect workers who are not presently included. As a recent editorial in the Charlotte Observer, Charlotte, N. C., so aptly put it:

Some people will shout of States rights if Congress passes legislation on the subject. You won't hear much about States wrongs.

The article follows:

SURVEY EXPOSES MINIMUM WAGE GAPS—FULL COVERAGE FOUND NEEDED IN NORTH CAROLINA TOWN

In the midst of the "greatest prosperity in our history," millions of Americans are living at a bare subsistence level on wages which are a disgrace to the "American way of life."

Wages of 40, 50, and 60 cents an hour exist in America—and people "live" on such wages in cities, towns, and hamlets.

ASHEVILLE AN EXAMPLE

Asheville, N. C. (population, 53,000; metropolitan area, 124,403) is one of these.

Asheville is a typical American city where many workers—especially in the retail and service industries—earn much below the $1 per hour minimum required in industries covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

An AFL–CIO research team made a study of wages in Asheville in mid-December. The team—Bert Seidman, economist of the AFL–CIO Department of Research, and Bob Christofferson, of the AFL–CIO Department of Organization—wanted answers to these questions:

How have workers in covered employment and their families benefited from the increase in the Federal minimum wage from 75 cents to $1?

How do workers not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act get by on wages under $1 per hour?

These are the answers:

Covered workers who are now earning $1 per hour and who earned less before the new minimum went into effect last March 1, are generally getting by a little better than they did.

But it is still an unending struggle to make ends meet on an income of $40 per week, minus deductions, when the cost of living is at its highest level and continues to climb.

No one can live on wages of 40, 50, and 60 cents an hour found in establishments not covered by the FLSA. One can barely manage to exist—and then only on a day-to-day basis, wondering how to feed, clothe, and shelter a family over the next 24 hours, wondering where the next meal is coming from.

Asheville provided all the proof needed that the millions of American workers outside coverage of the minimum wage law—notably those in retail and service industries—sorely need Federal protection.

MANY BELOW $1 AN HOUR

Wages like these were uncovered in Asheville retail and service industries:

Women sales clerks in department stores earning $18 to $24 per week, with some getting $30—even in the so-called better stores—for workweeks of 41 to 47½ hours or more (38 to 73 cents per hour, depending on amount earned and number of hours worked).

A girl clerk in a chain drugstore earning 39 cents per hour for 58 hours' work.

A girl clerk in a dime store earning 50 cents per hour.

A man earning $35 per week for 60 hours' work as clerk in a grocery store (58 cents per hour).

Employees in a laundry earning $98 per month for a 48-hour week (45 cents per hour).

Hotel elevator operators earning $36 every 2 weeks for a 48-hour week (37½ cents per hour).

A waitress earning $2.50 per day salary for 8½ hours' work, plus 2 meals per day, plus tips (which amount to not over $15 per week). Her salary (not counting meals and tips) amounts to 30 cents per hour.

In the course of the investigation the researchers also met Mrs. Smith.

She works in a laundry, a business not covered by the FLSA. She earns $27.50 for a 52½-hour or longer workweek (52 cents per hour). Workers in other laundries earn as little as 45 cents per hour.

The name "Smith" is fictitious. And for the best of reasons—Mrs. Smith is afraid she would lose her job if her real name were used. As long hours as she works and as low paying as her job is, it is all that stands between her and destitution for herself and the two children she supports.

Mrs. Smith starts work at 7:45 a. m. and gets off at 5 p. m., 6 days a week, taking 20 to 30 minutes for lunch.

Mrs. Smith and her two children live in a 5-room frame bungalow for which she pays $40 per month rent. Despite the long hours she works, the house is neat and clean.

ALL-VEGETABLE SUPPERS

They have lived there 2 years. Last winter the only heat was a fire in the grate of the fireplace. This year a wood-burning stove for heating has been mounted in the living room, but "if it gets real cold, it doesn't heat the house," said Mrs. Smith.

Breakfast in the Smith home consists of one egg, sirup and butter, bread and coffee with canned cream. The children get their lunches at school 5 days a week at a cost to Mrs. Smith of $1.25 per child.

Mrs. Smith takes her lunch to work—consisting of a couple of sandwiches. Asked if she usually bought a beverage to go with her sandwiches, Mrs. Smith replied, "I can't afford to. I just drink water."

Supper is a vegetable supper, such as dried beans, potatoes, cabbage, canned peas, tomatoes, corn, and bread. "Some weeks I get a frying chicken for Sunday dinner," Mrs. Smith added. She buys no fresh fruit, just a couple of cans of applesauce a week.

Neither she nor her 15-year-old daughter drinks milk. She buys a quart of milk every other day for her 13-year-old son, who is skinny and underweight and has a poor appetite. She has no money for medicine or vitamins, although she feels her son needs them.

Mrs. Smith hasn't spent $10 on herself in the past 2 years for clothes and shoes. "I have gone back and forth to work with my feet on the ground—with holes in my shoes," she said.

We had one final question for Mrs. Smith: "What would be your most immediate expenditure if your wages were raised to $1 per hour?"

There were several things Mrs. Smith said she would try to do with more money: "First thing, I'd buy more substantial food for my children. Next I'd have my eyes tested and my glasses fixed. I'd have my daughter's teeth fixed. I'd pay on my debts and then I would buy the mattresses we need and a few clothes."

EMPLOYERS HOLDOUT

North Carolina has no State minimum wage law. The State legislature repeatedly has turned down proposals for a 55-cent per hour minimum. The present session will have a 75-cent proposal before it.

There is a maximum hour law. It provides that "no employer shall employ a female person for more than 48 hours in any one week or 9 hours in any 1 day or on more than 6 days in any period of 7 consecutive days."

Employers in retail and service industries don't want provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act ($1 per hour minimum wage, time-and-a-half pay after 40 hours in the week) applied to their employees. They like it the way it is.

When the higher minimum wage went into effect March 1 for those workers in covered industry, it brought raises to an estimated 1,200 workers in Buncombe County, in which Asheville is located.

This figure is 10 percent of the total number of manufacturing workers in Buncombe County.

The researchers talked to George Watson, who works in a small plant in the textile industry in Asheville. Watson is married, the father of six children. He supports his family on take-home pay of $38.08 per week (the legal minimum of $1 per hour minus deductions).

Watson was earning 85 cents per hour as a sweeper and laborer up until 1 week before the minimum wage was increased to $1. That week he was raised to 90 cents per hour. Thus, in effect, he received a wage increase of 15 cents per hour, or $6 per 40-hour week.

There's a place, many places, in fact, for every penny of that $6 raise. It helped George Watson get, "a little better food for my family, something for the kids to wear," he says.

BUSINESS IS UP

Merchants have noted an increase in their business since the higher minimum went into effect.

Roy Trantham, owner of Trantham's Grocery, told us the increase in the minimum wage had an effect on his business, which is up over last year. Workers are cashing larger checks with him, spending more * * * buying more milk and meat. His store is located in Biltmore, a small community adjoining Asheville, and is near several small plants where the higher minimum brought raises to employees.

H. C. McKenzie, owner for the past 2½ years of Mac's Grocery, a few miles from Asheville in a workers' neighborhood, told us he had experienced his biggest month of sales in the month following the increase in the minimum wage. That month (March) he did over $1,000 more business than in the same month of the year before and $529.16 more than the preceding month.

The higher minimum wage has helped workers covered by it. It has helped business. Its extension to the retail and service industries—long overdue—will help millions more of American workers.

What Price Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a thought-provoking editorial appearing in a recent issue of the Aero Mechanic, a paper published by the employees of Boeing Airplane Co. in Seattle:

WHAT PRICE EDUCATION?

There's an income tax problem affecting many Aero Mechanic parents—and other parents throughout the Nation—that deserves a careful scrutiny.

It's this: parents with children of college age are making every effort to send young Johnny or Mary to a school of higher learning, in many cases at a great sacrifice to the family budget. Yet there is nothing in the income tax laws that allows a parent to make a tax deduction on this necessary expense.

Perhaps in bygone years a university education was regarded as a luxury. This certainly isn't the case today, for the average firm or company won't talk to a youthful prospective employee unless he has the benefits of a college education.

Great ado, also, could be made over the gains realized by our Nation, and thus on the welfare of the entire world, by having a growing number of our future adults approaching the problem of life with better tools of learning.

The Congress seldom, of course, looks with great favor upon proposals to allow tax exemptions. But think, for a moment, on some of the common exemptions in everyday usage—such as expense-account allowances, oil well depletions, fast writeoff of certain industry amortizations, donations. Why, even industries are allowed to scratch off the entire cost of sending some of their executives to special training institutions.

So why not a tax relief for the long-suffering parent struggling to keep his kinds in school?

We'd like to make this suggestion to our congressional delegation:

Propose an income-tax deduction of the cost of books and tuition, allowable either to the parents of the student or to the student himself if he is working and sending himself through college.

Propose a limited allowance for board and room costs where it is necessary for students to live away from home.

We'll wager there'll be more young people attending college, and a lot of happy parents, if some version of this needed relief is forthcoming.

The American Red Cross

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, as you all know, the Red Cross bloodmobile visited the House of Representatives last week. The results were, to say the least, disappointing, as they were last year. Not enough blood was taken in last Wednesday to have made it worthwhile for the Red Cross to set up their bloodmobile unit here. The Washington regional blood center must collect 400 pints of whole blood daily in order to meet the nonemergency needs of the local hospitals, doctors, and clinics in this area.

In addition to this, the Federal Civil Defense Administration has requested the National Red Cross to resume the collection of blood for stockpiling of serum albumen and other blood derivatives. This is the continuation of a program which was temporarily interrupted in November 1954, and is not connected with the present world situation or the military services. This stockpiling is for the benefit of the civilian population in the event of massive disasters—military or civilian—in which large numbers of casualties call for immediate treatment of shock and hemorrhage. In fact, of the 80,000 Japanese who died at Hiroshime, expert estimates claim that 20,000 might have been saved if blood had been available.

A recent issue of the Cleveland Press carried a very good editorial regarding the Cleveland Red Cross' annual fund-raising campaign which will continue through March 18. I should like to include it in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Cleveland Press of February 28, 1957]

WHENEVER THERE'S A NEED

The finest tribute that can be paid to any organization devoted to human welfare is that it's on hand whenever and wherever it's needed.

As those who have found themselves in need know, this warm tribute can be readily and wholeheartedly paid to the Red Cross.

The Red Cross is on hand when folks need blood. It manages Cleveland's huge blood program with great competence and skill.

The Red Cross is on hand when a family problem overtakes a serviceman, on duty at some post so remote that he cannot deal with it himself.

The Red Cross is on hand, promptly and expertly, whenever disaster overwhelms a family, a neighborhood, or, as in the recent southern floods, thousands of people in entire counties.

These needs go on, day after day, week after week, and year after year.

It is in preparation for meeting these needs fully and skillfully, as it always has in the past, that the Cleveland Red Cross is undertaking its annual fund-raising campaign next week.

The goal this year is $1,427,600.

Of this sum, more than half will stay in Cleveland to underwrite such programs as the blood banks ($223,827), family help for servicemen and veterans ($161,466), and first aid and water safety services ($96,815).

The balance is Cleveland's contribution to relieving the suffering from national disasters, like the recent floods in southern Ohio and West Virginia, and the endless devastation from tornadoes, storms, and accidents.

The campaign, which will be energetically and hopefully launched Sunday, will continue through March 18.

Within those 2 weeks, the Red Cross must raise the funds to carry it through an entire busy year.

The organization will need your generous help. And deserves it, too.

Canal Pact Delay Stirs Discontent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times of Sunday, March 10, 1957:

CANAL PACT DELAY STIRS DISCONTENT—PANAMA AND ZONE EAGER FOR CONGRESS TO VOTE BRIDGE AND WAGE RATE BILLS

BALBOA, C. Z., March 9.—There is dissatisfaction in the Canal Zone, and even more in the adjacent Republic of Panama, because the United States Congress has failed so far to pass measures to implement parts of the 1955 treaty.

These cover chiefly a single wage scale for workers in the zone, civil service retirement for Panamanian workers and transfer to Panama of about $30 million in real estate and appropriations to build a $20 million bridge across the canal at Balboa.

Critics note that enabling measures for these aspects of the so-called Remon-Eisenhower treaty have not emerged from the Bureau of the Budget, which processes Executive-sponsored legislation. Congress, they note, has been sitting for a third of its annual session.

Package legislation was introduced over a year ago with administration backing. But President Eisenhower did not push it. No hearings were scheduled and the measures died in committee.

TWO BILLS PASSED SO FAR

Many of the numerous treaty articles required no legislation. Of those that did, only two bills have been enacted.

One, approved by Congress early in 1956, raised the canal annuity from $430,000 to $1,930,000.

The second, a bill authorizing the Balboa bridge, was pushed through last July, shortly before adjournment.

However, no move can be made to choose a firm site for the bridge or to design it, until Congress appropriates money.

Many articles of the treaty were and still are unpopular among American residents of the Canal Zone. Despite this, there is a feeling that the executive branch should press for enactment, since President Eisenhower agreed in an international instrument over 2 years ago to ask Congress to make the real estate, bridge, wage, and retirement concessions.

Panamanians are eager for action. They recall that the general principles embodied in these articles were agreed to informally by President Eisenhower almost 4 years ago in a statement with the late President José Antonio Remon when the latter visited Washington.

Americans here reason that the longer the delay, the less effective will be the stated object of the concessions made in the Treaty of Mutual Understanding and Cooperation, a name often termed an unfortunate misnomer, because of its unclear wording.

SEE UNITED STATES VULNERABLE

While matters hang fire, Americans observe, the United States lies open to disagreeable charges of nonconformance that are made frequently in some Panama papers.

For example, the treaty does not agree to raise wages for Panamanian workers on the zone; but canal and military agencies have already given those on the locality-rate rolls two 5-cent-an-hour rises to offset their having to shop in their own country. The treaty article barring them from canal commissaries was granted at Panama's request.

The real estate and bridge matters appear to be simple and clear cut. Wage-scale and retirement bills may require extensive hearings and argument before there can be a meeting of the minds toward changing long-term policies. Why no, it is asked, enact the first two, on which only token opposition is foreseen, and let the others be thrashed out later in the session?

The chief object of the treaty, as announced by United States officials, was to aid the economy of Panama. But Panama cannot use the buildings and lands until she takes title. Nor can the Canal Zone take steps to replace such schools, quarters, warehouses, and railroad stations as may be required. Replacements are expected to cost several million dollars.

The bridge will be a convenience and a timesaver. Traffic across Balboa Ferry and the Miraflores Bridge 3 miles inland is not congested today. But it was in 1942 when the United States first agreed to build the bridge. It may be again if the bridge is not completed before the Pan American Highway brings thousands of vehicles overland to the Canal Zone.

The single wage scale is the thorniest issue. No United States official will discuss details of the expected measure until it has been offered Congress. But authoritative sources think it calls for a cut-off level at about the grade of a GS-3 or GS-4. Below that all jobs would be compensated at the canal's locality rate for Panama, regardless of the citizenship of the jobholder.

Above that Panamanians and Americans will receive the same basic wage, to equal civil service gradings. Americans also will receive an added percentage differential for working outside their own country.

Gov. William E. Potter of the Canal Zone has called the unintroduced legislation "a plan we can live with," and Panamanian officials who have conferred on the provisions in Washington apparently consider it satisfactory.

Congress is thought to have been considering some changes in the civil service retirement as applied to noncitizens overseas. This may delay action for canal workers.

Most other articles of the treaty are working smoothly, but it is too soon to evaluate the effect of those that became effective January 1, 1957.

A Letter From a Constituent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the average citizen is more conscious today than ever before to the magnitude of the national debt, high taxes, inflation, the high cost of living, and the tight money situation nationwide.

I received a very intelligent and thoughtful letter from a constituent of mine who indicates his thorough knowledge of these conditions which reflect the opinion of many people throughout the Nation.

I am submitting herewith a copy of this letter from Mr. Gene Mahy, of Los Angeles, Calif., which I am certain all Members of Congress will find interesting:

MARCH 4, 1957.

Hon. GORDON L. McDONOUGH,
Fifteenth District California,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Here is a fact that is not often enough brought to everyone's attention: The population of our country will soon reach 170 million people—the interest alone on our national debt is 8½ billion dollars so that $8,500,000,000 divided by 170,000,000 equals $50—the cost to every man, woman, and child in the Nation for interest alone yearly.

Here are some other facts: Admittedly we have inflation. Everyone feels the income-price squeeze. The B. of L. price index is now better than 118. This automatically causes wage hikes through escalator clauses.

The hourly wage rate for the Nation is at a new record of $2.04 per hour (December 1956). New wage demands and strikes scheduled for this year will again plague the economy.

By the iron law of necessity, prices of all consumer and capital goods must reflect wage increases—therefore the wage-price spiral is in full effect.

The rate of productivity per man-hour is in a declining trend—this despite record expenditures by industry to combat the decline.

The Government is in direct and indirect competition with private industry, in the following important fields:

Money: Available capital and loan funds.

Labor: Government and industry both engaged in record production and expansion—result: practically full employment at record rates of pay.

Materials: Both Government and industry competing for limited supplies because the rate of production from extractive industries have reached a practical limit so that no surplus has existed to exercise a stabilizing effect on prices.

Other fields in which the Government competes with private industry have been brought out by the Hoover Commission and tend to illustrated the curious fact that a sizable remnant of socialist planning still exists when it should be the sole right and function of private enterprise alone to produce in any field not connected with defense. Especially since civilian productiveness can make any product better, cheaper, and more efficiently. Notable among Government enterprises are TVA and various other industries which operate without burden of regular taxation and which infringe and compete with the legitimate producers of consumable goods and wealth and thus tax revenue to the Government is withheld and later exacted from those who do produce.

Up to this point we have a list of undimable facts which describe the more obvious mechanics of the ascending spiral.

But there is more:

GNP has been establiahing new records.

Employment at record levels and at record wage rates, as seen—industry profits have remained at a high level (although less than

1955, due to productivity decline and higher wage and material costs).

Consumer expenditures as a result have been at new record levels, and the same may be said about capital outlays for expansion and improved productivity by the capital and producers industries.

All of the record totals establishing these record increases have been measured in a further devalued dollar, consequently the actual increases have been somewhat less—but nonetheless greater than ever before. The spendable income of the public and that of industry combined, plus the tax revenues to the Government based on these higher incomes, have all set records.

From the preceding we see:

That supply and demand law is working in raising prices because too many dollars are chasing too few goods, thus aggravating the spiral still more—inflation.

But the following facts point up the truly dangerous condition of our national economy:

The national debt reduction effort has had negligible results despite record Government tax revenue.

Individual and corporate savings have declined in an unprecedented spending binge.

The public, together with many large enterprises, has gone deeper into debt.

The declining value of the dollar as measured by reduced purchasing power has brought home the startling fact that the interest obtainable from what the public regards as the safest securities and depositories, such as Government bonds, savings banks, building and loan companies, have barely kept up with the erosion of value of the dollar. The results of this dissatisfaction have manifested themselves in two developments, one contingent upon the other: (1) The public has been drawing out and using its savings in the belief that they can buy more today with their dollars than they can later with a continuously devaluating dollar in the future. They consequently have much less confidence in Government obligations, and they have been cashing in their bonds at a high rate; (2) the depletion of savings totals in all classifications has reduced the supply of available loanable funds to commerce, industry, banks, and the Government, which explains the rise in interest rates already in effect by many banks and lending institutions, and presently to be raised by the Government, in the same effort, to entice savings back into Government bonds, so as to finance unduly high current expenditures and the astronomically high national debt. Is this the cause of inflation?

A great part of the public still believes that big Government spending is O. K. because the Senators and Congressmen just pluck the billions of dollars from the "money trees." That same group feels that because they are in lower brackets the burden of taxes does not fall upon them. There is great ignorance and irresponsibility prevalent among too many of our citizens and it is doubtless to this segment of the population that you cater in developing many of the proposed bills listed in your last Washington Report. Do you realize how many of them are inflationary? How many of them are designed to favor a given group at the expense of all? Are you aware of the additional costs to the Government if many of these measures pass? Have you and your Banking Committee a money tree? Have you thought about where the money has to come from? What effect continuous heavy taxation has upon the cost-price squeeze and the incentive of producers to buck the losing game? And do you think about their effect in cheapening money?

In these several pages I have tried very hard to give you a clear picture of the sick condition of Nation's economy so that I could point out to you and your colleagues the paramount importance of conserving the money resources of the Nation instead of devising ever new gimmicks for spending more and taxing more. The logic of the facts and statements presented in the foregoing pages points to a serious and deteriorating situation and the remedies for which will require the greatest of political-economic statesmanship plus the combined cooperation of all members of the Congress to put the brakes on all unnecessary spending.

Many men of high intelligence and integrity have sounded timely warnings—among them Hoover, Byrd, Martin (F. R.) but the quotes from Humphrey top the list: (1) "A depression that will curl your hair"; and (2) "A sick American economy would fulfill the Communist dream of conquest just as surely as victory on the battlefield. Our way of life can be lost as completely by economic deterioration from within as by aggression from without."

The above is a statement you should have copied and placed before you on your desk and those of your colleagues to look at just before the time any of you get set to dream up another give away.

Having received yours of February 28 in reply to my letter, and appreciating the courtesy of a reply from a man who necessarily works under a heavy schedule; I would like to say in answer that if in reality a cross section of the 15th District is in disagreement with the facts and figures and principles herein set forth plus my original vehement rejection of the suggestion of price and wage controls as originally inquired about by you—then in effect I can only conclude that if the 15th District is a sample of what the rest of the country thinks—then the economic disintegration of the Nation is in the works right now. May the Lord have mercy upon us, and on you guys too.

GENE MAHY.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The American View on War and Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, in recent history American taxpayers have spent millions and billions of dollars on foreign aid of various kinds. On the whole this expenditure has been successful in winning friends for America and in preserving and strengthening America's friends and allies. But in spite of these expenditures and the good will of the American people everywhere, all our fellow humans on this planet have not conceived a completely favorable picture of Americans. In part this has been due to ever-present Communist propaganda and to the efforts of others of similar totalitarian persuasion. The fact is that expenditure of dollars alone, although it has done much to help the people of the world, will not make Americans understood by our fellow men in the way that will some of the simple happenings into which Americans are lucky enough to fall.

Many years ago it was the pleasure of my late father to appoint to the Naval Academy a young Polish-American boy, Sigmund Bobczynski. That young man has made a splendid record in the Navy in war and peace. He has risen to the rank of commander and has been decorated many times. Because of his splendid ability he has recently been assigned to one of the most important United States Navy posts with NATO. In connection with his duties he had an opportunity to meet a group of European visitors to our naval base at Norfolk. As a result of that meeting and the sincere hospitality which this fine officer and other American naval personnel extended to these visitors, an article appeared in the Norwegian Labor Union magazine, Fri Fagbevegelse, on December 15, 1956.

That article shows the real, genuine desire of the American people for peace and friendship with our fellow human beings. The warmth of feeling created by the article cannot be bought by the expenditure of many millions of dollars, or the construction of a great number of imposing monuments to peace.

I hope many Americans will read the article and will emulate the actions of Sigmund Bobczynski and others who have helped America to be better understood by sister democracies just by being the decent, warm, natural, hospitable people that we should be.

The article follows:

[From the (Oslo, Norway) Fri Fagbevegelse, of December 15, 1956]

THE AMERICAN VIEW ON WAR AND PEACE

Some of us Norwegians have seen or heard the expression: "The American Warmongers."

My intention while visting the United States was to get a broad view on this subject. It is well known what is said and written on the subject war and peace by President Eisenhower, Foreign Minister Foster Dulles, and the leading newspapers. I shall abstain from commenting on that, but what are the views of the American public?

As I previously mentioned, no general speeches were made during our touring of America (United States of America). However, when people from the free world converse with each other I believe one gets a better impression of the public opinion. At this point I would like to point out that I did not meet anyone who possessed the so-called warmonger attitude.

One need not necessarily be of a military profession to observe that the United States has developed a very efficient war machine. Some are of the opinion that this machine threatens the world peace, believing it one day may run out of the control of the persons assigned to control it.

Down in Norfolk, Va., an Italian journalist and myself one night ended up at the home of a senior officer at the staff of the Allied Command Atlantic. In the party were also an American Navy captain, who introduced hirmself as a destroyer "skipper," and a few others. I was struck by the informality at the party, and it specially impressed me when the host and some of his American colleagues placed themselves in shirt sleeves on the floor to enjoy the supper because there were not sufficient chairs for all.

It is interesting to note how very easy, even considering the language difficulties, it is to converse with people who possess the same line of thoughts. These Americans were as much—or little—imperialists and warlike as myself or any Norwegian farmer, laborer, or fisherman. They have been taught their military trade to perfection and no one need be doubtful about that. However, they do not wish to use their abilities and they don't enjoy their trade in the sense that everything else is irrelevant. One of them strongly expressed the importance of the economical and social developments being progressed in such

a manner as to give the public a feeling that they have something of value to defend.

Let me add the following to complete the picture. The host for the evening was born in the United States, but his parents immigrated from Poland. His wife had a Danish grandmother. The "destroyer skipper's" father came from Latvia and his mother from Turkey.

Every day we met people like that, some in important government assignments. They were all people with strong roots in the Old World, with the will to be free in their blood, literally nursed from a mother's milk, a mother who had escaped slavery and want and distress in her former homeland. They want to defend this freedom because they look at freedom and life as one thing. But they have no desire to destroy the freedom of other people.

Economics Versus Intolerance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD the following article which appeared recently in the Washington Daily News. It concerns a little-heard-about aspect to the problem of integration in the South:

NOBODY IS REALLY MAD AT ANYBODY IN ATLANTA

(By Andrew Tully)

ATLANTA, January 14.—It made sensational headlines the other day when six Negro ministers were arrested for trying to ride up front in a bus, but the implication was unfair to this bustling, strictly business city of more than half a million.

In the first place, nobody was really mad at anybody, the Negro preachers sat down in the white section of the bus because they wanted to be arrested and put Georgia's segregation law to a test.

STATE LAW

Secondly, Atlanta had no choice. The law which keeps Negroes in the rear of buses is a State law, not a city ordinance, and city authorities enforce that law.

Today, both Negroes and whites josh good-naturedly about what they call the "stunt." It amuses practically everybody. As the Atlanta Constitution pointed out editorially: "The only near hysteria in evidence was confined to the State administration."

This curiously tolerant situation exists because Atlanta is unique among southern cities. The whites here may not want complete social integration, but they want the Negro to live well and to get his share of economic privileges mostly because Atlanta needs the Negro. Of a total population of some 503,000 persons, 130,000 are Negroes and businessmen would have tough sledding without that Negro dollar.

WHAT SIGNS SAY

Atlanta's enforcement of segregation on buses is most casual. The signs on the buses say merely that Negroes shall start seating from the rear, and whites from the front—not that Negroes must sit in the rear. Thus, when the rear seats are filled, Negroes take seats up front. The result is that often a white not only fails to get a seat up front, he cannot even get on the bus.

A little thing, perhaps, but big down here.

Mostly, Atlanta's pride is centered on the Negro's economic situation. White Atlantans like to point out their city has the only two Negro millionaires in the South, and the only Negro bank belonging to the Federal Reserve System. They call attention to the Negro Atlanta Life Insurance Co., with assets of $40 million, the largest Negro stock company in the South, and the $10 million Negro Mutual Federal Building & Loan Co.

Negroes work side by side with whites in most of the city's industries including the well-paying departments of the Lockheed aircraft plant. They play golf with their white neighbors on the municipal courses. There is no segregation in the stores.

BIRACIAL GROUP

For years, a biracial commission has worked out agreements on suburban sections for allocation to Negro developers. The result is that some beautiful high, wooded rolling land on Atlanta's west side is now occupied by hundreds of attractive rambler, split-level and two-story homes for Negro families.

Negroes themselves will admit they are better off in Atlanta than in any other southern city. But they are determined to do better to get all the rights the law of the land grants them. That will be most difficult.

AFL–CIO Announces Significant and Governing Code of Ethics Against Communists, Crooks, Fascists, Racketeers; Conflict of Interests and Health and Welfare Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 17, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent and approval so to do, heretofore granted me, I herewith present the partial text of a very interesting and informative pamphlet recently published by the AFL–CIO executive council.

Being a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee as I am now, and have been for several years, I am not least of all pleased to see the text of article 8, section 7, of the constitution of AFL–CIO with reference to "Communist, Fascist, or other totalitarian agencies who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic trade unionism."

Mr. Speaker, the record of the hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee during these last several years is as clear as crystal to the effect that whenever a known active Communist is a member of a trade union, he in fact owes his allegiance to the Communist conspiracy to defeat the basic principles of our democracy instead of owing loyalty to the trade union which he joins. In other words, his membership in a trade union is in furtherance of his primary loyalty to the Soviet Communist conspiracy which has and does now seek to spread its evil control over free and democratic trade unionism. This is the record, Mr. Speaker.

Also, I am pleased to see this forthright and timely declaration of principles of ethical practices by this major American trade union because I am aware of considerable and timely cooperation and helpfulness by leaders and active workers in free and democratic unionism in our beloved Nation to uncover and expose the international Communist conspiracy in our beloved Nation which has and does now continue to try to use free and democratic American trade unions for its destructive, immoral, and dastardly purposes.

Therefore, with pleasure I commend the AFL–CIO for this declaration recently published in the AFL–CIO News for February 9, 1957.

The 3 main topics herein set forth are but 3 of the several ethical practices codes adopted by AFL–CIO.

The partial text follows:

[From the AFL–CIO News of February 9, 1957]

RACKETEERS, CROOKS, COMMUNISTS, AND FASCISTS

Article VIII, section 7 of the constitution of the AFL–CIO establishes that "It is a basic principle of this federation that it must be and remain free from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist, Fascist, or other totalitarian agencies who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic trade unionism."

Under this constitutional provision there is no room within the federation or any of its affiliated unions for any person in a position of leadership or responsibility who is a crook, a racketeer, a Communist or a Fascist. And it is the obligation of every union affiliated with the AFL–CIO to take appropriate steps to insure that this principle is complied with.

Neither the AFL–CIO nor its affiliated unions are law-enforcing agencies. It is not within the purview or authority of a trade union to convict its members of a violation of a statutory law. But it is the duty and responsibility of each national and international union affiliated with the federation to see to it that it is free of all corrupt, Communist, or Fascist influences.

Consequently, a trade union need not wait upon a criminal conviction to bar from office corrupt, Communist or Fascist influences. The responsibility of each union to see to it that it is free of such influences is not a responsibility placed upon our unions by law.

Obviously, if a person has been convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude offensive to trade-union morality, he should be barred from office or responsible position in the labor movement. Obviously, also, a person commonly known to be a crook or racketeer should not enjoy immunity to prey upon the trade-union movement because he has somehow managed to escape conviction.

In this area, as in all others, determinations must be made as a matter of commonsense and with due regard to the rights of the labor unions and the individuals involved.

The ethical-practices committee recommends that the executive council of the AFL–CIO adopt the following policies to safeguard the good name of the AFL–CIO and its affiliated unions:

1. The AFL–CIO and each of its affiliated unions should undertake the obligation, through appropriate constitutional or administrative measures and orderly procedures, to insure that no persons who constitute corrupt influences or practices or who represent or support Communist, Fascist, or totalitarian agencies should hold office of any kind in such trade unions or organizations.

2. No person should hold or retain office or appointed position in the AFL–CIO or any of

its affiliated national or international unions or subordinate bodies thereof who has been convicted of any crime involving moral turpitude offensive to trade-union morality.

3. No person should hold or retain office or appointed position in the AFL–CIO or any of its affiliated national or international unions or subordinate bodies thereof who is commonly known to be a crook or racketeer preying on the labor movement and its good name for corrupt purposes, whether or not previously convicted for such nefarious activities.

4. No person should hold or retain office or appointed position in the AFL–CIO or any of its affiliated national or international unions or subordinate bodies thereof who is a member, consistent supporter, or who actively participates in the activities of the Communist Party or of any Fascist or other totalitarian organization which opposes the democratic principles to which our country and the American trade-union movement are dedicated.

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST OF UNION OFFICIALS

The code herein recommended deals with conflicts of interest in the investment and business interests of union officials.

It is too plain for extended discussion that a basic ethical principle in the conduct of trade-union affairs is that no responsible trade-union official should have a personal financial interest which conflicts with the full performance of his fiduciary duties as a workers' representative.

Obviously an irreconcilable conflict of interest would be present if a trade-union official, clothed with responsibility and discretion in conducting the representation of workers, simultaneously maintains a substantial interest in the profits of the employer of the workers whom he is charged with representing.

Even though, in a particular instance, there may be no actual malfeasance in the representation of the employees involved, the opportunity for personal gain at the expense of the welfare of the employees whom the union official represents obviously exists. * * *

In a sense, a trade-union official holds a position comparable to that of a public servant. Like a public servant, he has a high fiduciary duty not only to serve the members of his union honestly and faithfully, but also to avoid personal economic interests which may conflict or appear to conflict with the full performance of his responsibility to those whom he serves.

Like public servants, trade union leaders ought to be paid compensation commensurate with their services. But, like public servants, trade union leaders must accept certain limitations upon their private activities which result from the nature of their services.

On the basis of these considerations, the Ethical Practices Committee, under the authority vested in it by the constitution of the AFL–CIO and pursuant to the mandate of the First Constiutional Convention of the AFL–CIO, recommends that the executive council of the AFL–CIO adopt the following policies to safeguard the good name of the AFL–CIO and its affiliated unions:

1. No responsible trade union official should have a personal financial interest which conflicts with the full performance of his fiduciary duties as a workers' representative.

2. No responsible trade union official should own or have a substantial business interest in any business enterprise with which his union bargains collectively, or in any business enterprise which is in competition with any other business enterprise with which his union bargains collectively.

3. No responsible trade union official should own or have a substantial business interest in a business enterprise a substantial part of which consists of buying from, selling to, or otherwise dealing with the business enterprise with which his union bargains collectively.

4. The provisions of paragraphs 2 and 3 above do not apply in the case of an investment in the publicly traded securities of widely held corporations which investment does not constitute a substantial enough holding to affect or influence the course of corporate decision.

5. No responsible trade-union official should accept "kickbacks," under-the-table payments, gifts of other than nominal value, or any personal payment of any kind other than regular pay and benefits for work performed as an employee from an employer or business enterprise with which his union bargains collectively.

6. The policies herein set forth apply to: (a) all officers of the AFL–CIO and all officers of national and international unions affiliated with the AFL–CIO, (b) to all elected or appointed staff representatives and business agents of such organizations, and (c) to all officers of subordinate bodies of such organizations who have any degree of discretion or responsibility in the negotiation of collective bargaining agreements or their administration.

7. The principles herein set forth apply not only where investments are made by union officials, but also where third persons are used as blinds or covers to conceal the financial interests of union officials.

CODE GOVERNING HEALTH AND WELFARE FUNDS

The task of administering and operating health and welfare programs which have been developed through collective bargaining has placed heavy new responsibilities upon the shoulders of trade-union officials. The funds involved are paid for through the labor of the workers covered by the plans.

For this reason, it is imperative that the AFL–CIO and each of the national and international unions affiliated with it rigorously adhere to the highest ethical standards in dealing with the subject of health and welfare funds.

The ethical practices committee * * * recommends that the executive council of the AFL–CIO adopt the following policies to safeguard the good name of the AFL–CIO and its affiliated unions:

1. No union official who already receives full-time pay from his union should receive fees or salaries of any kind from a fund established for the provision of a health, welfare, or retirement program.

2. No union official, employee, or other person acting as agent or representative of a union, who exercises responsibilities or influence in the administration of welfare programs or the placement of insurance contracts, should have any compromising personal ties, direct or indirect, with outside agencies such as insurance carriers, brokers, or consultants doing business with the welfare plan.

3. Complete records of the financial operations of all welfare funds and programs should be maintained in accordance with the best accounting practice. Each such fund should be audited regularly by internal auditors. In addition each such fund should be audited at least once each year, and preferably semiannually, by certified public or other independent accountants of unquestioned professional integrity.

4. All audit reports should be available to the membership of the union and the affected employees.

5. The trustees or administrators of welfare funds should make a full disclosure and report to the beneficiaries at least once each year.

6. Where health and welfare benefits are provided through the use of a commercial insurance carrier, the carrier should be selected through competitive bids solicited from a substantial number of reliable companies, on the basis of the lowest net cost for the given benefits submitted by a responsible carrier.

7. Where a union or union trustees participate in the administration of the investment of welfare fund reserves, the union or its trustees should make every effort to prohibit the investment of welfare fund reserves in the business of any contributing employer, insurance carrier, or agency doing business with the fund, or in any enterprise in which any trustee, officer, or employee of the fund has a personal financial interest of such a nature as to be affected by the fund's investment or disinvestment.

8. Where any trustee, agent, fiduciary or employee of a health or welfare program is found to have received an unethical payment, the union should insist upon his removal and should take appropriate legal steps against both the party receiving and the party making the payment.

9. Every welfare program should provide redress against the arbitrary or unjust denial of claims so as to afford the individual member prompt and effective relief where his claim for benefits has been improperly rejected.

10. The duty of policing and enforcing these standards is shared by every union member, as well as by local, national, and international officials. The best safeguard against abuses lies in the hands of a vigilant, informed and active membership, jealous of their rights and interests in the operation of health and welfare programs, as well as any other trade union program.

11. Where constitutional amendments or changes in internal administrative procedure are necessary to comply with the standards herein set forth, such amendments and changes should be undertaken at the earliest practicable time.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, there is now pending in the Bailey subcommittee of the Education and Labor Committee of the House of Representatives a number of proposals known as Federal aid to school construction legislation. Many of our people are very much opposed to this legislation. I am in accord with their feelings.

Yesterday, March 11, 1957, Mr. M. A. Hubbard, executive secretary of the Virginia Farm Bureau Federation, appeared before the Bailey subcommittee and gave a most forthright, interesting, and important statement in opposition to the legislation. In addition to the prepared statement, Mr. Hubbard also, in answer to questions, pointed out cogently why this legislation should not be enacted and why sooner or later it means turning the public schools of this country over to the Federal Government.

Mr. Hubbard is widely known in Virginia for his sound thinking as well as his interest in the problems of our farm people in particular and all Virginians in general.

I desire to commend Mr. Hubbard for his well thought out statement and

under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to include Mr. Hubbard's prepared statement which is as follows:

STATEMENT BY M. A. HUBBARD, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, VIRGINIA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, BEFORE THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR WITH REGARD TO PROPOSALS FOR PROVIDING FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

You have now before you for consideration several proposals designed to provide the States and their political subdivisions increased Federal aid to education.

These are financially fascinating propositions, but from the long-term standpoint, they pose a terrible threat to the future health and well-being of our political institutions, to our economic order and to our continuing status as free citizens in a democratic society.

We are not unmindful of the benefits of education. We are fully appreciative of the fact that education has largely been responsible for our progress in forging ahead and becoming in a few short years the richest, the most powerful, and the most influential nation on the face of the earth. Education has made it possible for us to develop and manage successfully a free-enterprise economy of unparalleled vigor and productivity—where ordinary people with average incomes enjoy the benefits of goods, gadgets, and services which are quite beyond the reach of even the wealthiest classes in most countries. What is even more important, with all of our materialist achievements, we have been able to maintain a system of government under which we have enjoyed freedom to worship, to work, to achieve, to speak our minds freely, and to be rewarded for our efforts, usually in fair proportion to the value of our contributions to the welfare of society.

We should never fail to appreciate the fact that education has been a major contributor to our progress, but it is equally important for us to remember that it has been education of a special type—always under the control and administration of local people—the same people who furnished the children to be educated. The diversity and variety which is assured by the cooperative administration of 48 State governments and a great multitude of local administrative units is a major bulwark against the evils of centralized school administration.

Virginia is one of the poorer States from the standpoint of the per capita income of our citizens. We rank 32d among States and 17 percentage points below the national average. This is recognized in the formula used for distributing funds under the Kelly bill (H. R. 1) and also under the administration bills—S. 889 and H. R. 3986. Under each of these measures there would be only 10 other States which would stand to gain more than the Commonwealth of Virginia. Under the Kelly bill, other States would provide Virginia with 180 additional classrooms and under the administration proposals—S. 889 and H. R. 3986—other States would contribute 159 classrooms. Looking at these propositions purely from a dollars and cents—bricks and mortar standpoint, it would appear that we should be wholeheartedly in favor of increased Federal aid for school construction. This would be especially true of our rural areas which are particularly hard-pressed in the matter of providing adequate financial support for school construction and operation. The Farm Bureau has a larger dues paying membership in these areas than any other general farm organization in Virginia. I need not tell you that farmers have not been doing too well financially in recent years, which make it all the more difficult to provide, from local and State tax sources, the increasingly large sums needed for school construction and maintenance.

Yet in 1949, and every year since that time, in the face of mounting school financing difficulties, our Farm Bureau members have continued to express firm and undiminished opposition to Federal aid to education. This is what they said in 1949:

"We are not unmindful of the advantages which might be gained through a better equalization of educational opportunities among the several States by a program of Federal aid to education.

"However, when these advantages are carefully balanced against the danger inherent in a constantly increasing Federal debt and the extreme likelihood that eventually the educational systems of several States will be increasingly subjected to centralized Federal control through the medium of Federal-aid programs to the States and their political subdivisions, we are strongly of the opinion that a program of Federal aid to education would be a serious mistake.

"We suggest instead that a more prudent course would be for the States and their political subdivisions to carefully examine the possibilities existing at the local level for raising the funds needed for the improvement of educational facilities. Unless and until such possibilities have been carefully explored and fully utilized we can see no justification in requesting that the Federal Government assume obligations and responsibilities which we ourselves may choose to ignore or neglect."

Why do we continue to take this position? Is it because we fail to appreciate and understand the part which education has played in the unprecedented progress which our Nation has made in the few short years since we became a republic of free people? Certainly not. We know well enough that we could not have developed and successfully managed the complex political and economic institutions of our free-enterprise economy without a school system which made available to each student all of the education which he or she was willing to work for or was capable of absorbing.

Nor are we unmindful of our own Mr. Jefferson's admonition: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be." We suspect that people generally understand this. It is because of this understanding that they have been willing to make and are continuing to make decisions to tax themselves in the States and localities in order to provide adequate educational facilities. We think the record is a good one.

Information supplied by the United States Chamber of Commerce indicates that:

In 1947 increased enrollments called for 9,500 classrooms; 16,000 new classrooms were provided.

In 1950–51, increased enrollments called for about 20,000 new classrooms, 44,000 were provided.

In 1955–56, increased enrollments called for 38,500 new classrooms, 67,000 were provided.

The most recent estimate of the United States Office of Education for 1956–57 placed the need at 41,000 classrooms, 69,000 were built. It is to be assumed that a certain percentage of these were replacements for old inadequate facilities. Even so, the record still appears to be a good one.

In the 10-year period, 1945–46 through 1955–56, Virginia spent a total of $346,348,377 in capital outlay on our public school system. During this same period, teacher salaries have increased by 109.4 percent. Expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance has been increased from $90.25 in 1946 to $200.90. It is estimated by our State Department of Education that the costs of needed construction between now and 1960 will amount to a total of $220 million. We are asking for no assistance in meeting this obligation. We prefer doing it in our own way without either assistance or interference.

Hardly a day passes without a newspaper account of some Virginia locality taking action of one sort or another to provide more adequate provision for the education of our children. The State government has underway at the present time a thoroughgoing study of our entire tax structure with the idea of providing a larger measure of State support for our schools. The problem is not yet solved, but we can and will provide a solution and it will be a far better one than any that could be offered by the Federal Government.

We make no pretense that our present educational system is perfect. It is far from perfection. But its imperfections are not all traceable to the lack of money. One of the Nation's leading school administrators, Dr. H. I. Willett, superintendent of schools for the city of Richmond, Va., recently stated that: "In too many high schools, it has been possible for a pupil to elect himself out of an education. Is it true that many pupils select subjects that are easy rather than a program that more effectively utilized their talents?"

This indiscriminate use of elective courses by students seeking the easy way is one of the basic weaknesses of our schools. Is this weakness traceable to a lack of money? It is not. It has come about because all too many parents and pupils have somehow gotten the erroneous notion that education can be bought, paid for, and possessed by anyone who can afford the going price—like a sack of potatoes or a new automobile. The solution to this problem cannot be found in the Federal Treasury. It is a matter of attitude—money is not involved.

If our educational system is to continue to carry out so splendidly the objectives which Mr. Jefferson had in mind, its financing, management, and control must continue to be the direct responsibility of the people who furnish the children to be educated. There is no surer way to shrink, shrivel, and diminish the citizen's interest in education than to take from him the direct responsibility for financing, operating, and controlling the schools where his children are educated. Without this citizen interest, the public-school system will gradually become a thing separate and apart from the lives of people at the community level—control will become more and more centralized and with centralized control will come uniformity—of method, of curricula, of source material, and in the end, conformity to one single pattern acceptable to the central authority. This is not the pattern of public education that has made the United States an oasis of freedom, plenty, and opportunity in a world that is rapidly becoming a desert of political suppression, police state harassment, and economic poverty. The sickening cadence of the goose-step is too high a price to pay for the vaunted efficiency of centralized control. Education without understanding is a very dangerous commodity. The highly literate Hitlerite Germany should be proof enough that education in itself is no guaranty of either freedom or democracy. It takes education of a special sort—decentralized and under the control of the smallest unit of government capable of reasonably efficient administration.

We know, of course, that those who plead for Federal aid say that control will remain with the States and localities. Since when has any responsible legislative body begun appropriating the taxpayers' money without specifying how it is to be used? To our knowledge, this has never been done, and in our opinion, it would be the height of fiscal irresponsibility ever to do it.

Our friends in professional educational circles occasionally ask us, how do you justify your support of Federal aid to vocational

education, while you strenuously oppose Federal aid to education as a whole? There is a vast difference between a narrowly specialized phase of education directed toward instruction in technical know-how and the broader field of education in general, the purpose of which, among other things, is to inculcate into the mind of the student a proper understanding of our political and economic philosophy along with the principles of what we might broadly term, right living. It is in this area of education that centralized control, in the hands of the wrong people, could be disastrous.

Our experience with Federal aid to vocational education, however, has served well to convince us of the complete fallacy of the argument that we can accept Federal aid without Federal controls. Proponents of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1916 argued loud and long that there would be no Federal control. It is interesting to note that regulations propounded under this act, now fill a 108-page book entitled Administration of Vocational Education. On page 4 of this book we find the sentence, "Each State is required to submit a plan which must meet with the approval of the Federal Office of Education." If no controls are involved, we would like to have an interpretation on the meaning of this sentence.

Federal, State, and local taxes are estimated to absorb over 29.1 percent of our total national income in 1957. This is close to the point where inflationary pressures become almost irresistable as wage and salary earners fight to maintain their "tax reduced" living standards, either through demands for higher wages or demands for "free" government services which they were formerly able and willing to provide for themselves. These pressures singly or in combination could set off a spiral of inflation that would tear at the very foundation of our political and economic institutions.

The Secretary of the Treasury and a former president of the United States are both predicting that unless we follow a more prudent course in public expenditures, we may well bring on a depression that would "curl your hair." In the face of all the storm signals, it seems to us the height of folly for the Federal Government to undertake responsibilities and obligations which traditionally and very properly belong to the States and their political subdivisions.

The thing that we now need above all else, if we are to remain a solvent Nation, is prudent economy in the use of tax money. Yet we know that any expansion or extension of Federal grants or the grant-in-aid principle is an infallible method of encouraging extravagance and profligacy in the use of public funds. It is the bargain-sale technique on a grand scale of enticing people to spend more than they can afford for things they can, without hardship, do without.

The Federal Government with its staggering obligations for national defense and other proper and appropriate Federal activities is in no position to either indulge in extravagance or to encourage the States and localities into doing so.

If the Federal Government is genuinely concerned about the shortage of school classrooms, there is a way that it can safely be of great assistance.

It can and should concentrate fiercely on the problem of eliminating extravagance and waste in the expenditure of Federal funds. It can and should unmercifully prune from their recommended budget all proposed increases that cannot be amply justified on the basis of the safety and welfare of the people of the United States.

When this has been done, it will likely be found possible to lessen the burden of Federal taxation enough to enable the States and localities to collect sufficient additional funds to more adequately meet their own responsibilities in the field of public education. This is the traditional way—it is the efficient way and it is the only safe way to insure proper support of our public school system.

Yes, we do indeed face a crisis, but the real crisis is not in our public school system. The critical issue now before us revolves around the proposition of whether we as a Nation have the prudence and the fortitude to deny ourselves the frills in order to hold on to the fundamentals and to match our soaring ambitions with our limited willingness to pay.

Tax Dodge Halted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 11, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, a popular method of late to promote ends which are sometimes purely selfish is that of establishing a so-called nonprofit educational committee, or commission, or foundation which is really paid for by funds which are written off as tax-deductible business expense by the supporters. The Internal Revenue Service is currently taking a long second look at one of these bodies, the Natural Gas and Oil Resources Committee. It has disallowed as tax deductible the funds contributed to this lobby by the producers.

The Milwaukee Journal in Wisconsin has taken note of the action of the Internal Revenue Service and suggests that similar action could be taken elsewhere in an editorial in a recent issue:

A TRANSPARENT TAX DODGE

The Internal Revenue Service, at least, is now standing up to what is probably the richest and greediest lobby in our national history. It has called a halt to a transparent tax dodge of the oil and gas industry.

"Eat your cake and have it, too," is the guiding principle of this industry as a whole. A great one for denouncing high taxes, it keeps for itself a giant economy size loophole—a depletion allowance that exempts 27½ percent of producers' income from tax and grows multimillionaires by the dozen.

Mouthing pietisms about its regard for natural gas consumers, it absurdly insists that their best interest lies in exempting wellhead prices from regulation. It has bamboozled even President Eisenhower with this reverse English.

It formed a gigantic lobby, called the Natural Gas and Oil Resources Committee (NGORC), to push this grab through Congress. Producers chipped in nearly $2 million—and wrote it off as tax deductible business expense, on the theory that the NGORC was merely educational.

The real effect of this was to saddle other taxpayers with more than half of the industry's outlay for promoting its own special interest in legislation. For the deductions cost the Treasury, at the 52 percent corporation rate, about $1 million in taxes.

The Revenue Service now says nothing doing. Subject to probable court test, the deductions are to be disallowed and the tax assessed. This is the one fruit to date of the Senate investigation of the oil and gas lobby. Probers sent the Revenue Service a challenge of the NGORC's tax exempt status.

This stiffened attitude may and should extend to other quarters. For there is no small number of self-styled educational groups, heeled with corporate contributions, that actually have political axes to grind, primarily if not exclusively.

One is operating in Wisconsin right now, the Madison Capital Times has reported. The "Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation" is raising money to favor every rural boxholder with a book by Secretary of Agriculture Benson, defending farm policies of the administration. However sound the defense may be, this is a political activity. Yet the letter of solicitation boasts that contributions to this outfit have been ruled tax deductible for 10 years.

Such activity in itself, of course, may be perfectly legal and proper. But the pretense that it is not political is little more than a confidence game against other taxpayers, who all unwitting and unwilling are made to help pay the freight.

Nepal Observes Seventh Anniversary of Democratic Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I came back from the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, I announced that I would address the United States Congress each time there was an anniversary of one of the 29 participating nations on friendly terms with the United States. February 18 was the seventh anniversary of National Day in Nepal and I rise to felicitate that country.

I wish to extend to the people of Nepal, His Majesty Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva, and His Excellency Shanker Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Ambassador of Nepal, congratulations and best wishes on this occasion.

Nepal boasts one of the world's oldest traditions of independence. However, February 18 each year is celebrated as National Day, the day on which democratic government was introduced into the country in 1950. The world will long remember the dramatic way in which the Nepalese overthrew the rule of absolutism and so freed the country from a feudal yoke. The country is passing through a difficult period of transition from an autocratic to a democratic regime. Faced with grave problems, constitutional reforms have been instituted and much effort has been expended in programs for the betterment of the people. The eyes of the world are fixed upon Nepal until the stable democracy of which it dreams is firmly established.

Nepal has risen from almost obscurity to a key strategic position in the free world. Nepal is a member of the United Nations. She is also an associate member of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, an agency acting within the framework of the policies of the United Nations, designed to assist the governments of the region in their efforts to reconstruct and develop the economic structure of their countries.

The United States heartily supports the ideals of democracy everywhere.

East and West meet in Nepal in a very specific way. From the United States and other sources emanate programs to help Nepal emerge out of feudalism; to strengthen its economy; encourage it to set up democratic institutions, and so ward off infiltration which threatens everywhere on the periphery of communism's empire. The hundreds of miles of the Himalayas stretching across Nepal's frontier no longer constitute an impregable fortress. The United States realizes this fact and is trying to help Nepal bolster its defenses—economic, military, and geographic.

I salute Nepal on this momentous occasion of National Day and pray for her continued peace, prosperity, and progress as she embarks upon a new year of national life.

Thirty-ninth Anniversary of the Estonian Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, on February 24 the Joint Committee of the Estonian Organizations in Baltimore sponsored a concert rally in observance of the 39th anniversary of the Estonian Republic.

Estonia is another one of the countries which has been suffering under the bondage of Communist domination, but in which the fires of freedom continue to burn. Their strong desire for independence will not be quelled as long as they know they can look to the free nations of the world for support and sympathy in their need.

The following declaration was approved at the concert rally and I am privileged to insert it in the RECORD, under leave to extend my remarks:

"DECLARATION

"The U. S. S. R. has committed multiple crimes against the rights of the Estonian nation and against liberties, properties, and lives of Estonians. The perpetration of these crimes continues in violation of precepts of international law and solemn commitments of the U. S. S. R.

"The same pattern of crimes is being practiced over other Soviet-dominated countries, and preparations for new aggressions and other crimes are underway on world-wide scale. Millions are suffering under Soviet imposed terror and misery. No people in the world have accepted voluntarily the Soviet system. All are longing for the opportunity to overthrow the Communist regime.

"Throughout history Estonians have been fighting against the foreign invaders until they regained their independence after the liberation war against the Soviet Union. The same spirit prevails at present. Only overwhelming Soviet forces stationed in Estonia prevent the people from driving out the enemy.

"In their tragic situation they are looking for support from the free world. Sporadic declaration about law, liberty, and rights of subjugated nations are not sufficient if they are not implemented.

"We declare that for achievement of international peace and justice it is necessary that the free world condemn Soviet acts of aggression as international crimes, exercise pressures for the termination of these crimes, and as a first step demand the withdrawal of all Soviet forces and administration from Estonia and the other occupied countries. This should be the primary condition in any dealing with the U. S. S. R."

The above declaration has been approved at concert rally celebrating the 39th anniversary of the Estonian Republic, Sunday, February 24, 1957, 3 p. m., International Center, YWCA, 16 South Patterson Park Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

Oil and Economic Turmoil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the second issue, February 1957, of Israel Speaks:

OIL AND ECONOMIC TURMOIL
(By Julian Louis Meltzer)

JERUSALEM.—In surveying the panorama of the Middle East's cross-purposes politics and economic interests, the observer finds much evidence to show the brewing-up of a situation that may well confront the Baghdad Pact and Cairo Alliance countries with a polarized challenge. Its solution will require more than the usual propaganda-dialectics and face-saving gimmicks broadcast and circulated by the Arab governments.

The elements are being assembled for a conflict which is likely to develop far more quickly than present portents indicate. At the moment these elements are of a passive economic character. But the possibility cannot be excluded of their latent force becoming militantly acute and perhaps militarily active unless the protagonists of the opposing groups find the way to an acceptable settlement.

The fact is that the Middle East and Arabian Peninsula are divided into two distinct categories of oil-source and oil-transit countries. The real pickings belong to the former category, in which the lucrative oilfields are located. These are the Baghdad Pact allies, notably Iraq and Persia, and the territories within the United States and British spheres of influence—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrein, and the Trucial sheikdoms around the Persian Gulf.

The members of the Cairo alliance—Egypt and Syria with their junior associate, the Kingdom of Jordan; the Lebanon still hopes to be left immune as an uninvolved onlooker—get only the droppings from those who have the pickings. The Cairo-Damascus axis commands no substantial petroleum sources of their own worth mentioning around any oil lobby. Their sole though vital function is one of passage; and therein lies their power of economic blackmail not only vis-a-vis the western consumer countries but also in relation to their brother eastern producers.

When the Syrian Army blew up sections of the Iraq Petroleum Co.'s pipeline through their territory at the outset of the Sinai-Suez Canal campaign last November, their sabotage not only cut off the supply to Western Europe, but also sparked a chain reaction in the deterioration of intra-Arab relations. Since that time Iraq has lost millions of pounds sterling in the loss of royalties on unshipped and unshippable oil, and Syria and the Lebanon have suffered to a lesser extent from the stoppage of oil-transit revenue. Persia, Bahrein, and Kuwait on the Persian Gulf, and Saudi Arabia sustained equally large losses through the Egyptian action in blocking the Suez Canal.

Quite apart from the immediate effect, however, there are long-range implications that cannot be ignored by the Baghdad Pact and American and British allied countries of the Middle East and middle Asia. One of these implications arises demonstrably from their nigh-helpless dependence upon the goodwill of their Arab neighbors to allow passage of the oil. A future conflict might well develop over the issue of revenue sharing. The Syrian and Lebanese Governments came to loggerheads with the Iraq Petroleum Co. over a claim for higher royalties long before the Suez Canal crisis blew up. With the oriental attitude of "après moi la déluge" political thinking, they may very well act as violently in future as they did last November, leaving others to pick up the pieces as the U. N. did in clearing the Suez Canal. Having proved their initial success, these spite tactics are capable of infinite repetition.

In a wider context there is another consideration than these immature Arab and intra-Arab actions. Western Europe's oil requirements are growing annually and in 3 or 4 years' time they will run into hundreds of millions of tons. The bulk of that motive and thermal fuel will have to come, as it does now, from Middle East and Persian Gulf oilfields.

But it is obvious that the physical capacity of the existing TAP line and of the Suez Canal to handle the great volume anticipated will be sorely overtaxed and probably quite inoperable. Nor is it likely, from even the best assessment of the logistics involved, that the commissioning of 50,000- and 60,000-ton seagoing tankers around the Cape of Good Hope—the Suez Canal's draft is too shallow for these giant vessels to pass through—will bring any appreciable relief, even if the high cost of maritime carriage is accepted. It is equally unlikely that the development of nuclear energy and the construction of cheap atomic power reactors will have reached the stage by 1960 or 1961 at which conventional fuel power may be superseded.

Should the great oil corporations be thinking of building parallel pipelines from the Mosul oilfields of Iraq via Syria or Turkey to the eastern Mediterranean coast, the question of adequate security guaranties immediately springs to the fore. For one thing, Syria would be able to exercise all its undeniable talent for economic blackmail. For another, it is highly doubtful whether, by the very nature of its political instability and the ephemeral tenures of its multiparty governments, the Republic of Syria could give such guaranties with the best will in the world of those temporarily in power.

But even were these difficulties to be overcome, the trans-Syrian pipelines could only meet a portion of the traffic requirements as there would still be the oil output of Persia, Kuwait, Bahrein, and Saudi Arabia to handle. With the operation of giant seagoing tankers economically and physically limited, there remains the idea of piping the oil out to the southern end of the eastern Mediterranean for onward shipment from there. A pipeline or lines across Egypt from a point just below the town of Suez at the southern extremity of the canal, to the environs of Port Said at the northern tip, may appear at first sight of the map as a feasible and workable alternative.

Let us, however, take a closer look at the prospects. The Egyptians, both during ex-King Farouk's jolly reign and now during the

satrapy of Abdul Gamal Nasser, touted an arrangement of this kind in the most ardent manner. Their sycophantic wooing of old King Ibn Saud had that objective in view. Their current honeymoon with his son King Saud obviously has a similar aim: to persuade him to agree to a pipeline across Egypt to the Mediterranean and thus to jockey themselves into the strong position of being able to extract more of his largesse at another than an eleemosynary level.

Whether King Saud will fall for this attempt at profit sharing or lay his regime open to the risk of becoming a victim of Egyptian ransom is a burnoose of another color. For all the protestations of amity and everlasting friendship, picturesquely illustrated in numerous photographs elegantly posed against ornate Cairo backgrounds, it may be doubted whether King Saud trusts buddy Nasser farther than his own myopic vision. Nasser's precipitate action last November in blocking the Suez Canal indubitably served as a lesson to all and sundry against putting their basket into the hands of one yegg.

Egypt's hopes, therefore, will probably remain another pipeline dream. The quandary that emerges from the foregoing analysis is one in which both the oil-consuming West and the oil-producing East share equally. On the one hand, there is the short-range complication brought about by intra-Arab political and economic animosities, aggravated by extraregional doctrinal intriguing. It is this dilemma which has explosive tendencies, albeit dormant for the time being. On the other hand, there is the long-range outlook which must similarly exercise the Western European powers and the Eastern oil potentates with equal anxiety. The West requires increasing quantities of petroleum, and the East remains its largest supplier; the East is expanding its oilfields by new exploration and discovery and needs bigger markets. The oil is here in the East and likely to be found in growing volume. But how to move it to the West with a measurable and ascertainable degree of safety?

Another glance at the map will reveal a geographical circumstance that has probably not escaped the attention of the oil-strategy planners. Northeast of Egyptian territory, beyond Sinai, lies the shortest route from the Red Sea to the eastern Mediterranean. It runs up through the Gulf of Aqaba and across the comparatively narrow neck of the desert from Eliat to a point near Ashkelon, all through Israel territory. A small-bore pipeline for domestic use is now being laid from Eliat to Beersheba. The route has been surveyed and obviously presents no insuperable difficulties in view of the progress being made in laying the Israel pipeline.

Peace with Israel is thus a factor which, however politically unpalatable it must appear to them at this time, the Baghdad Pact countries and the oil-producing states of the Persian Gulf must inescapably take into consideration for the effective solution of their economic predicament. It must be stated for the record that Persia, Kuwait, and Bahrein are not members of the Arab League and were never officially at war with Israel. Turkey, one of the Baghdad Pact countries, was in the process of fostering amicable ties with Israel before its rulers bowed to Iraqi pressure and desisted, though not unapologetically.

To launch such peace overtures the noncommitted countries as Persia, Kuwait and Bahrein would of course have to run the gauntlet of Cairo-directed odium and propaganda uproar. Indeed, one can almost envisage the wording of the slogans and the outcry, all bearing upon the theme of disruption of Moslem and Asian unity as achieved at Bandung.

But although Egypt has shown itself adept at calling the tune, it cannot possibly hope to pay the piper. The immense losses which the Middle East oil salesmen are facing as a result of being cut off from the Western markets can never be covered by Egypt or its current sponsor, Soviet Russia. Economic realities are immune from political sloganeering and illusionary thinking, and the outlook for the oil potentates is grimly realistic: Either get your goods to Europe by a safe and commodious route, or leave the oil below ground.

Eastern countries without any fanatical political credos cannot afford to ignore the long-range aspects of the situation. Their economic welfare is inextricably bound up with the problem of cheap, rapid, and secure transport of the oil. Without a rational solution eschewing political delusions, all they can hope for is to go floundering and courting the dangers of economic desuetude.

To Study Discrimination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter which appeared in the New York Times of March 11, 1957:

TO STUDY DISCRIMINATION—TAMPERING WITH BILL TO EXAMINE CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM CHARGED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The Civil Rights Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee has engaged in pointless tampering with the administration's civil-rights proposals in reporting the bill to the full committee. Particularly objectionable is its decision to exclude discrimination based on religion from the area to be studied by the proposed Commission on Civil Rights.

One of the four points in the original bill was the establishment of a temporary bipartisan commission on civil rights to investigate charges of denial of voting rights or the imposition of unwarranted economic pressures on citizens because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

For no apparent reason the Civil Rights Subcommittee has voted to drop the word "religion." The full Judiciary Committee must now decide whether to approve the bill in its altered form or to return to its original language.

The attack on racism that has achieved so many successes in recent years has been firmly based on the principle that all forms of discrimination because of origin are equally evil, that as one thrives others are encouraged, and that as one is curbed all Americans move closer to full equality. Accordingly, the fair employment and other antidiscrimination laws adopted in many Northern and Western States, as well as the antibias executive orders issued by President Eisenhower and his predecessors, have uniformly applied to discrimination based on race, religion, or national origin.

FURTHER BIAS

The validity of this principle is illustrated by the very situation which has prompted introduction of the Federal civil rights bill. While the predominant form of racism in the South today is directed at Negroes, there has been a distinct tendency within the White Citizens Council movement, to say nothing of the rejuvenated Ku Klux Klan, to spill over into anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism. Organized economic boycotts and other unwarranted economic pressures against Jews and Catholics have already been threatened.

It would be most unfortunate if the commission, once established, found itself empowered to investigate charges of discrimination against Negroes but not against religious minorities.

The proposed change in the bill has nothing in its favor and much against it. The House Judiciary Committee will do well to decide the important civil rights issue before it on the basis of tested principle.

SHAD POLIER,
Chairman, Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress.
NEW YORK, March 7, 1957.

Side Effects of Drugs Used in Treatment—Possible Effect on Claims

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following medical bulletin issued by the National Rehabilitation Commission, the American Legion:

SIDE EFFECTS OF DRUGS USED IN TREATMENT—POSSIBLE EFFECT ON CLAIMS

(By Irving B. Brick, M. D., medical consultant)

DEFINITION

Drugs and various procedures as they are used in modern day medicine may in themselves give rise to either other diseases or complications of the same disease. This type of condition is called iatrogenic (the Greeks also had a word for this) and iatrogenic simply means that it is self-caused. Iatro-means self and -genic means the causation of. This is referred to diseases or complications in which drugs given by doctors, or drugs taken by patients, cause other diseases or complications. As all of us know, in World War II when the yellow fever vaccine gave rise to the large numbers of cases of hepatitis, so-called serum jaundice, this indeed was one of these iatrogenic diseases induced by the giving of vaccine.

BLOOD AND BLOOD PRODUCTS

It was well known during World War II, and indeed in peacetime, that the use of blood transfusions, for instance, is not completely without hazard inasmuch as blood transfusions may give rise to serum hepatitis and it may give rise to other diseases or complications which are less common. All of us know that if you get a mismatched transfusion, unfortunately, for some reason or other, it may kill you by blocking the tubules of the kidney. This, fortunately, happens very rarely and of course we don't anticipate seeing that type of case very frequently. But the use of modern blood products in transfusions, particularly plasma which is a bad offender, and also fibrinogen which is a product of the blood which is given for certain clotting diseases may give rise to serum jaundise as well as other conditions nearly as frequently. The point is that this is illustrative of a medicament very commonly used, particularly in time of war, and which may give rise to other types of disease, in this case, affecting the liver and clinically simulating and being much like infectious hepatitis. Actually, when you

take a piece of liver at biopsy you cannot differentiate between infectious hepatitis and the hepatitis caused by infected serum. Since we started with the liver I think it is well to mention other drugs that are used in common day practice affecting the liver.

LIVER AND DRUGS

One of the most frequent of these drugs now used in medical practice is a drug which some of you may have heard about called thorazine. Another name for it is chlorpromazine. This drug, as well as others in this field, has made a big impact in the treatment of mental diseases, particularly in mental institutions where they were first used. They have actually been able to take patients off of restraints and have been able to give other types of treatments such as psychotherapy after these patients have been given thorazine and now some of the newer drugs. But let's talk about thorazine for a minute because this is the most commonly used one. Incidentally, the usage of this drug in this country has been phenomenal.

THORAZINE

The drug is used commonly in mental institutions. It is used now in everyday practice because it has been found to be somewhat effective in controlling nausea and vomiting; and of course there are many thousands of reasons, many of them psychogenic, why people have nausea and vomiting. It is being used in common everyday practice in tense people, in nervous people, and it is one of the tranquilizing drugs. It is sometimes helpful in hiccups. I am sure, reading the newspapers and magazines and listening to the radio, you can't help but hear about tranquilizing drugs—drugs that sort of calm you down, let you go about your business, and sometimes they are very effective. Now, there are in these drugs, as in all drugs when we get to use them and know them, certain drawbacks; and one of the common ones is the effect on liver of thorazine.

JAUNDICE DUE TO THORAZINE

The British who started using it about 1952 in their mental institutions found that a certain percentage of mental patients who took this drug became jaundiced. They didn't pay a lot of attention to this because they were doing such a wonderful job with the mental aspect, and they also noted that this jaundice usually went away in about 2 weeks after they stopped the drug, and gave no further trouble. Furthermore, they found in some of these patients that even if they continued the drug the jaundice went away. This has not been true in all the cases. Well, the English found this out, and they had only a report of one death, which probably wasn't due to the jaundice caused by thorazine; but, at any rate, when we started using it clinically in the United States, it wasn't very long before case reports started appearing of jaundiced patients due to thorazine. This jaundice is very interesting in that it simulates the type of jaundice you get with obstruction with gallstones, or with cancer obstructing the common bile duct. It is a very unique type of jaundice. We take a biopsy of the liver, and the pattern of the microscopic findings is unique, so that if you have a history of the drug having been given it is not difficult, with certain laboratory tests, to diagnose it. One of the things that I found, and am reporting about, is that, although 90 percent of the cases who get jaundice get over this jaundice completely in 2 to 4 weeks. We encountered 3 cases last year in which the jaundice persisted longer than 3 months; and indeed, when I talked with my liver friends (physicians, that is) throughout the country, several of them had cases that they had seen with jaundice lasting 6 months or more. Unfortunately, in some of these cases, operations were done. This type of disease should not be operated upon as some of the complications have actually resulted from the operation; because there is no obstruction except inside the liver, and all you have to do is have the patient stay in bed, eat a good diet; they feel pretty well despite the jaundice and eventually they get well.

COURSE

Now, as I say, 90 percent of them get better in 2 to 4 weeks, so that the amount of disability from thorazine will be, in most cases, not too great. In some cases, however, they will be out of work for months literally, 3 months, 6 months, and even longer. These are the odd cases. Now, thinking about service-connected cases, I am sure, as Dr. Shapiro will confirm, that in the psychoneuroses and in the psychoses this drug is being used quite commonly and I'm sure that many of these cases or some of the cases will be encountered which jaundice has appeared as a result of its use in this service-connected mental case. One other complication in the neuropsychiatric field that I think is important is that certain cases develop symptoms of Parkinsonism, like the shaking palsy and I've seen that persist for some time. As to whether these cases will develop a chronic Parkinsonism I do not know. I don't know whether it has been followed up long enough. There are other drugs that less frequently cause jaundice. One of these drugs is methyltestosterone. This question was asked by Ray Macdouall: Before we go into the other drugs, is there any permanent residual from thorazine?

CHRONIC RESIDUALS

That's a good question. One of the cases I had that wasn't clearing up was a young girl who works in the Government. She had her jaundice, deep jaundice, for about 4 months. From the liver biopsy that we took one of the expert doctors in this particular field of liver disease wondered to me when we talked about it at a meeting, whether or not this might not go on to cirrhosis. We were afraid that this eventually might go on to a form of cirrhosis that we call biliary cirrhosis. Fortunately, in the case that I was taking care of, she did clear up. But at any rate she did clear up after 4 months of jaundice and I'm sure that in the vast majority of cases, from the information that we already have, no chronic residual liver disease is going to happen. This does not say that there are not going to be some cases that might turn up eventually with biliary cirrhosis, but its going to take a long time before we know because the development of biliary cirrhosis takes years. We think, and we have good evidence from biopsies taken, that most of these cases get over their disease and get completely well. Asked Dr. Shapiro: Have there been any deaths reported from such liver diseases?

DEATHS

There have been a total of four deaths reported by the manufacturers of this drug. Undoubtedly there have been other deaths. However, it is difficult to implicate this type of liver disease and the deaths by themselves because most of these cases have been operated upon. I had the unfortunate situation of seeing a patient who had received thorazine because of nervousness. She was, unfortunately, one of those who had deep jaundice which lasted for 3 months, was operated upon, and no stone or cancer was found; all she had, as the biopsy showed, was thorazine jaundice. Unfortunately, there were complications of the surgery and she died. It's not fair to say she died from thorazine jaundice; indirectly she did, because if she didn't have thorazine jaundice she wouldn't have been operated on, and she wouldn't have had the complications of surgery. In a service-connected veteran like that, it would be a service-connected death. There's no question about it. As to non-service-connected veterans with thorazine jaundice in this category, I think we would have a good argument, if needless surgery was done, under section 31, particularly if it led to a fatal outcome, or prolonged period of disability, and I don't think the Veterans' Administration would argue too much about it.

METHYLTESTOSTERONE

Now, as I started to say, other drugs can cause jaundice but thorazine has been much more common than the other drugs because it is used more frequently. There is another drug that another company has put out called sparine, very much like thorazine, but which as yet has not produced jaundice to anyone's knowledge. Sparine is being used in place of thorazine in many centers. I think they are still using plenty of thorazine. Some of these other drugs, though, getting back to these, have been drugs like methyltestosterone. It is a testosterone drug which is not used very commonly but many doctors use it for patients, particularly men, who come to them with the problem of impotence, not being able to have sexual intercourse as well as they think they ought to. It is also used in menstrual difficulties in females and also used in cancer of the breast in females to suppress menstruation after the operation has been performed. This too has caused the same type of jaundice that thorazine has.

THYROID DRUGS

Another drug is one of the drugs used in the treatment of hyperthyroidism. This is the drug propylthiouracil, and also methylthiouracil. Again these drugs are not used nearly as commonly as thorazine so we don't see as many cases of jaundice, but it can cause jaundice.

ARSENICALS

In days gone by, when arsenicals were used in the treatment of syphilis quite commonly and for other things too, arsenical drugs could cause liver damage and jaundice. There are also other drugs which to a lesser extent may affect the liver and cause jaundice. Now, all of us know that carbon tetrachloride is a very bad offender in not only causing jaundice but also causing kidney disease. These are some of the drugs that we should know about because some of these drugs are used in the treatment of many of the conditions that we see in claims and it is important to know about this type of situation because we can bring it to the attention of the Board if the medical member of the Board doesn't happen to know about these complications of the drugs used in treatment. As I said, some of these drugs are used commonly in the psychoneuroses and particularly in the psychoses, as well as for common symptoms such as nausea and vomiting, it is well to know about the usage of this drug.

PREVIOUS LIVER DISEASE

This question was asked: What additional damage would these drugs that you have mentioned have on an already diseased liver as in the case of someone who has a service-connected liver condition?

This is a question that is not quite clear because it seems that these apparently are hypersensitivity effects. It is thought by the drug companies themselves, or so they advise in their literature, that if the patient has chronic liver disease or has liver disease of any sort, it is probably best not to use these drugs. We actually gave these drugs to cirrhotic patients, especially with thorazine. Now, let me tell you why thorazine is used in cirrhosis so frequently. This has been found to be, as Dr. Shapiro knows better than myself, a very good drug in the treatment of alcoholism. It's been an excellent drug in getting people out of DT's. In getting people off of the shakes after drinking, since so much of our cirrhosis is seen in alcoholics. Getting back to the asked question, it is probably wise on the whole not to give these drugs to patients who have a liver disease

but there is no real good proof that the patients who have liver disease are more susceptible to jaundice from thorazine than patients who do not. As a general rule though, it would be best not to give it to those patients.

Dr. Shapiro added: "Dr. Brick, you mentioned sparine. Sparine is promazine as compared to chlorpromazine or thorazine, and in many hospitals including District of Columbia General, they have switched in their treatment of the acute alcoholics from the chlorpromazine or thorazine to sparine on the ground that it is less apt to affect the liver. The two manufacturers, however, have disputed claims on it but that has been recognized in the treatment of alcoholics where they switched to sparine and also in many psychotic cases to avoid complications."

OTHER EFFECTS OF THORAZINE

Is thorazine known to affect any other organ of the body? Well, Dr. Shapiro mentioned the fact that you may have neurological findings, such as Parkinsonism, and you may have definite psychotic episodes. It does not, as far as anyone knows, affect the heart although there is one cardiovascular manifestation and that is it reduces blood pressure and actually in sensitive patients the blood pressure may go to zero and the patients may pass out, particularly when they stand up. If they are lying in bed it doesn't affect the blood pressure but they have this business of passing out when they walk around. Therefore, when thorazine is given one should check to see whether or not they have this effect. One other side effect is when in a small number of cases the white blood cells are reduced. So this drug has lots of potentialities and has to be watched when given by doctors.

EFFECT OF DRUGS ON THE STOMACH

Butazolidin

The next subject I want to take up is the problem of ulceration of the stomach and duodenum. One of the reasons we are having this lecture is that one of our Service officers in the field thought it would be a good idea on the basis of a case that we had service connected by the Board of Veterans' Appeals. A veteran was service connected for rheumatoid arthritis and given butazolidin, a drug which is used in gout and rheumatoid arthritis, as well as other arthritides. Butazolidin has a very grave effect in some patients of causing or being a contributory factor in the production of ulcers in the stomach and duodenum. In this particular instance the veteran was given the drug, had a massive hemorrhage, was hospitalized, and before he could be operated upon for massive bleeding, dies, and a post mortem showed several ulcerations of the stomach which showed definite evidences of bleeding. There had never been a history in this particular case of the man having an ulcer, so apparently it started with the start of the drug. This is now well known that butazolidin can do this.

Steroid drugs—Cortisone

However, there are other drugs which have even a much greater and wider use than butazolidin that can give rise to ulceration of the stomach and duodenum and all of us should know about this. These drugs go under various names and they belong to this family of miracle drugs called the steroids. The ones which you undoubtedly have heard about are cortisone and ACTH. These drugs now are used in many conditions. They are used in arthritis, particularly rheumatoid arthritis, but they are also used in conditions as far apart as lupus erythematosus and other collagenous diseases, and diseases such as calcific bursitis of the shoulders or arms. They are also used in liver disease, in various endocrine diseases such Addison's disease, and they have a wide spectrum of uses. They are very commonly used in skin diseases, in hematological diseases, as leukemias, anemias. These drugs cut across specialized lines and are used in many, many different types of disease. This is the thing you have to know about. What do these drugs do? We really don't know when you get right down to it. We blame these drugs for the ulcers.

EXPLANATION OF ULCERS FROM DRUGS

What is the explanation of these ulcers? Well, we think it is this: These steroid drugs stimulate the production of or actually substitute for the hormones from the adrenal glands. The adrenal gland is a gland in our body that reacts to stress of any kind, whether it is nervousness, infection or injury, with operations, with any trauma and also with psychic trauma, you get an outpouring of this hormone. It has been found that there is a definite increase in acidity produced in the stomach and also in the peptic activity. That may give rise to the causation of ulcers and this is the idea behind it. Of course, this also gives a nice explanation, if it is true, why people who are tense and nervous get ulcers and why in ulcer patients we find a tense type of individual. This would tie up with the tenseness by stimulation of the hypothalmus and then by way of the vagus nerve to the stomach, you get tense about a problem, there is outpouring of the hormone which would increase acidity, would increase the pepsinogen, and maybe cause an ulcer.

Incidence of ulcers

The incidence and frequency which ulceration occurs with reference to these drugs, is frequent enough to be a very grave source of complication in the use of these drugs. I am often called to see patients who have had a peptic ulcer in the past and who now have a disease in which the doctor wants to use one of these drugs. We know that these drugs will aggravate a peptic ulcer that has been inactive and already present. We also know, incidentally, while I'm thinking about it, that this type of drug aggravates tuberculosis and other infections; although in some infections it is used in the treatment thereof. These drugs are very peculiar drugs and they have to be used very carefully and this is a very important point. There should be an absolute indication for the use of these drugs before they are used because they are potentially dangerous.

Type of ulcer

With reference to ulceration, these drugs cause different types of ulcer than it would appear in the ordinary peptic chronic ulcer. In one instance, a case that brought this whole lecture up, they produce multiple ulcerations and bleeding seems to be very common. Now many of these patients don't have much pain and bang, they start bleeding like a stuck pig. On the other hand, many of the patients do have the pain that goes along with ulceration whether it is from this drug or spontaneous. These drugs have many trade names attached to them as cortisone, cortef, predmisone, sterane, et al. The important thing to know is whether a drug used is a steroid drug. If you have situations in which service connected veterans received these drugs and they developed ulceration, or they develop bleeding, they should undoubtedly be service connected.

ACTIVATION OF TUBERCULOSIS

If tuberculosis is present or has been present in the past, most doctors prefer not to use the drugs because they may activate a quiescent tuberculosis. Of course, this would be a service-connected disability if the veteran was service connected for arrested tuberculosis.

Dr. Shapiro asked: "Suppose he had a non-service-connected arrested TB and this drug made it active?"

Dr. Brick: "He would be aggravated if he had the complication of pulmonary tuberculosis as a result of treatment of a service-connected condition with one of these drugs. I don't think there would be any question about his being service connected."

ASPIRIN AND THE STOMACH

Now, are there other drugs that cause ulceration? There are some other drugs that are bad offenders. The English think aspirin, aspirin mind you, the most commonly used drug, and the drug which you can buy without a prescription at any drug store or grocery store, may be hard on the stomach. For patients that have ulcers, we advise that they should never use aspirin. Now there are some among you who have ulcers and maybe you could tell us about your experiences because we advise that if they have to use aspirin for a headache, muscle ache or pain that they should use a buffered aspirin. These are tablets which are prepared with an antacid in them and are somewhat protective. Actually if you are going to use an aspirin tablet and you have stomach trouble, I think you should use a real antiacid alone together with the aspirin, something like amphojel, calcium carborate, or sodium bicarbonate.

Aspirin and bleeding

Aspirin can be rugged on the stomach, particularly in patients who already have a peptic ulcer. There is an English doctor who recently wrote a paper claiming that fully half of all the patients with peptic ulcers who bleed have taken aspirin within 1 or 2 days of their bleeding episode. Now this is a moot point. I personally know that aspirin will cause trouble in patients who have ulcers because they take these aspirin and they start having pain or indigestion.

Reserpine and depression

There are several other drugs which have a lesser effect on the stomach, such as reserpine which is a drug used in treatment of high blood pressure and also used in the treatment of the mentally ill for psychoneurosis and psychosis. The reserpine incidentally can also cause a Parkinson-like syndrome. The Chief of Medicine at Mount Alto VA Hospital, Dr. Ed Freis, who is one of the outstanding doctors in the world on the treatment of hypertension with drugs, was the first one to find that reserpine caused depressions. He had, in his own personal experience, known of two suicides in patients with hypertension on this drug. He has made the medical profession aware of this complication and that these patients have to be watched very carefully. Reserpine or serpasil is another one that may cause peptic ulcerations and when you have a situation in which a service-connected or non-service-connected hypertensive patient is treated with this drug, or one of the psychiatric patients being treated with this drug, we should keep in mind the possible relationship of the stomach condition with the use of the drug. Mr. Kraabel asked: "I was wondering if you could give the common denominator of the origin of these classifications of drugs. One of them is in the mold, another from the earth, and another is from some kind of root or chemical.

COMPOSITION OF THE DRUGS

That's a good question. There is nothing chemically akin in any of these drugs. We don't know the exact chemistry of the steroids but they are very complex. It appears that there is no common denominator as far as the chemical makeup of these drugs because butazolidin, for instance, which causes peptic ulceration is utterly unlike reserpine. The hormones, as cortison, are drugs which we make ourselves in our own body and which at first were taken from animals adrenals but now are synthetized with a very complex chemical process,

thorazine, which causes the liver problem, doesn't cause the stomach problem and has nothing in common chemically with any of these drugs. All of these drugs are utterly different one from the other, but as we use them in human beings they are changed in the breakdown of digestion, so what the chemical, and undoubtedly there is a chemical something that causes the ulceration, exactly what it is we do not really know.

Antibiotics

Now talking about drugs taken from the earth and molds, the antibiotics, penicillin, streptomycin, aureomycin, viomycin, terramycin, you can name 10 or a dozen more, and the drugs used in the treatment of tuberculosis, are taken from various molds. Now, these drugs have been a great boon and benefactor to mankind, of that there is no question, but these drugs, too, have drawbacks and this is particularly true in sensitive people who are sensitive to one or another of the drugs. In the course of a year I'm sure a dozen cases of deaths due to penicillin sensitivity occur. Sudden deaths occur after a shot of penicillin. This may be in patients who have taken penicillin and, of course, this is the real reason, you never use these drugs unless there is a real good reason for their use.

The mycins

The other antibiotic drugs, such as aureomycin and terramycin, knock out a good many of the normal bacteria in our body only to give rise to a hardy species of bacteria that live and grow and thrive because of these drugs. These bacteria are now causing us a great deal of trouble. We have infections because of the use of these drugs. We use these drugs to eliminate infection and what do we do, we get new infections that are resistant to the drugs. They may be worse than the organisms that we treat.

Resistant bacteria

This is also true occasionally in tuberculosis and, of course, the big fear of the use of these drugs in tuberculosis, and this may come to pass before too many years, is that you build up these resistant organisms. You see, you kill a lot of bugs in TB, but a few of them are unaffected. They are the unique ones, unique and individual just like humans are. They don't get killed and they live and they thrive and they grow and then they jump from human to human and then you get a type of tuberculosis that is even more difficult to treat because we use the ordinary drugs and the bugs grow faster than they die.

Effects of atabrine

A question was asked: What about the residuals of the use of atabrine? The residuals of the use of atabrine have been fairly nil. The only thing that came out about atabrine in all the millions of people who took atabrine during World War II and, I was one of them who took it conscientiously for 2 years and got to be as yellow as could be, was that in about 15 cases, as far as the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology was able to run down there was bone marrow depression. As far as I know this has been the only toxic effect. Bone marrow depression is where these patients become anemic, their white count went down, and their bone marrow was not able to produce any cells. These patients all died and came to autopsy. As far as I know, there were a very small number of them and that was the only by-product that I know about.

Desegregation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD the following press release of the Southern Regional Council, reflecting a report on the progress being made in southern cities to end compulsory segregation on local buses. According to the council, by early January 1957, 21 southern cities had desegregated local bus service without difficulty. Since then, I am informed, at least one more city, Chattanooga, has followed their example.

As the report states, "the experience of these cities contrasted sharply with recent developments in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Tallahassee." Contrary to what a highly vocal minority would have us believe, the results in the 22 cities that have undertaken desegregation abundantly demonstrate that most people will give the equalizing force of the law precedence over their personal biases. This is a must if democracy is to be a living quality and not merely a principle to which we point with outward pride but which, when company is not around, we keep securely under lock and key within our national archives. As one citizen stated, "I hate to pay income taxes each year, especially when I think how advantageously I could use the money for my personal satisfaction. But it's the law, and I pay them."

The press release follows:

ATLANTA, GA.—A spot survey by the Southern Regional Council disclosed that 21 southern cities have ended compulsory segregation on local buses without difficulty.

The cities are: Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Fort Smith, and Hot Springs, Ark.; Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham, and Winston-Salem, N. C.; Knoxville, Tenn.; San Antonio, Corpus Christi, and Dallas, Tex.; and Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News, Petersburg, Charlottesville, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, and Roanoke, Va.

In every case the desegregation took place without court action—usually by a change of policy on the part of the transit company involved. The changes caused no incidents of violence or organized protest.

The experience of these 21 cities contrasted sharply with recent developments in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Tallahassee. There, nonsegregated seating on local buses has been met by both official resistance and sporadic violence by lawless elements.

In most of the cities checked, the SRC found that many passengers continued to follow the customary pattern of separate seating. But passengers are free to sit where they wish, and some degree of mixed seating is found in each of the cities reported.

In most cases, desegregation of local buses dates back to April 1956, when the Supreme Court dismissed an appeal from the United States 4th Circuit Court of Appeals which held the Columbia, S. C., bus segregation ordinance unconstitutional (*S. C. Electric & Gas Co.* v. *Sarah Mae Flemming*). Although the ruling directly applied only to Columbia, a number of transit companies operating elsewhere voluntarily revised their regulations.

Following is a brief city-by-city account of present bus practices:

Little Rock, Ark.: The bus system has been desegregated, with Negroes frequently sitting at the front of the buses.

Pine Bluff, Ark.: Negroes sit in all sections of the buses.

Fort Smith, Ark.: Segregation signs are no longer on the buses, but generally Negroes seat from the rear.

Hot Springs, Ark.: Although segregation is not enforced, Negroes tend to sit together at the rear of the buses. The situation is similar to that in Fort Smith.

Charlotte, N. C.: Integrated seating has been more in evidence since the ruling in the Flemming case, but separate seating was not strictly enforced prior to that time. Mixed seating is found on all routes.

Greensboro, N. C.: Mixed seating is in evidence on all routes, though many Negroes continue to sit toward the rear of the buses.

Durham, N. C.: Similar to the situation in Greensboro.

Winston-Salem, N. C.: All bus routes have been desegregated, in practice as well as in policy.

Knoxville, Tenn.: Segregation was ended by the bus company following the Flemming decision. All bus routes now have mixed seating.

San Antonio, Tex.: The transit system has been desegregated for more than a year.

Corpus Christi, Tex.: The same as San Antonio.

Dallas, Tex.: Bus drivers do not enforce segregation though most Negroes sit toward the rear of the buses.

Richmond, Va.: On April 24, 1956, the Virginia Transit Co. announced it would no longer enforce bus segregation laws. Most Negroes continue in the customary segregated seating pattern.

Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Newport News, Va.: Bus desegregation became effective shortly after the Flemming decision was announced. Some customary segregation remains.

Charlottesville, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, and Roanoke, Va.: Desegregation is now in effect on the buses of these cities. Mixed seating is regarded as normal, though some Negroes continue to sit at the rear of the bus.

Aldo Leopold Memorial Award Medal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, on March 5, during the annual banquet of the 22d North American Wildlife Con-

ference here in Washington, a very high honor was bestowed on a man known to many of us in Congress as a sincere and dedicated conservationist.

Those of us who know C. R. "Pink" Gutermuth, vice president of the Wildlife Management Institute, recognize and respect his dedication to the public-spirited cause of improved natural resources management.

Before the more than 900 natural resources administrators, technicians, sportsmen, and Members of Congress attending the banquet, Gutermuth was given the Aldo Leopold Memorial Award Medal in recognition of distinguished service to wildlife conservation.

The Leopold medal and scroll, which is given by the Wildlife Society, a continentwide society of professional fish and game technicians, commemorates the late Aldo Leopold, considered by many the father of wildlife management in North America. Conferral of this coveted medal shows the great esteem and appreciation that conservationists hold for a fellow worker who has done an outstanding and monumental job in furthering the objectives of their profession.

The first Leopold Memorial Award Medal was conferred in 1951 upon Carl D. Shoemaker, former conservation director for the National Wildlife Federation. Subsequent natural resources workers who have been honored are: Dr. Olaus J. Murie, 1952; Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, 1953; Harold Titus, 1954; Hoyes Lloyd, 1955; Dr. Clarence Cottam, 1956.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Mississippi Valley World Trade Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, on February 18, 1957, our esteemed colleague, the Honorable HALE BOGGS, of Louisiana, delivered a very significant address before the 12th Mississippi Valley World Trade Conference held in New Orleans, La. He incisively and eloquently described some of the problems faced by the United States with respect to our foreign trade policies and also summarized the work of the Subcommittee on Foreign Trade Policy of the Committee on Ways and Means. The gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS] is chairman of this subcommittee.

At the meeting of the 12th Mississippi World Trade Conference in New Orleans on February 18 our colleague, the Honorable HALE BOGGS, was given the annual Mississippi Valley World Trade Award. This is indeed a deserved honor. Under leave to extend my remarks I include his speech in the RECORD, and I commend it to the attention of all the Members:

The speech follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE HALE BOGGS BEFORE THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY WORLD TRADE CONFERENCE, FEBRUARY 18, 1957

I was honored to receive your invitation to participate in the 12th Mississippi Valley World Trade Conference. It is always a pleasure for me to meet with you and particularly so here at home in New Orleans, the gateway to the Mississippi Valley. You will recall that Mark Twain once wrote, "The basin of the Mississippi is the body of the Nation. All other parts are but members, important in themselves, yet more important in their relations to this * * * a dwelling place for civilized man it is by far the first upon our globe." No one will contest this moderate and accurate appraisal of our region.

It would be superfluous for me to describe the role that foreign trade has played in the growth of the Mississippi Valley region, or, to use Mark Twain's words, in the growth of its other "members"—the rest of the United States. Nor do I have to emphasize the continuing importance of expanding foreign trade to you. The record of the first 10 months of 1956, which marked an increase of 20 percent in the trade cleared through the New Orleans customs district over the comparable period in 1955—and this is a trade of $1½ billion—is graphic testimony in itself.

I need only observe that the United States is on the verge of achieving a level of merchandise export and import trade equal to $30 billion and constituting ⅛ of the total trade of the world. The importance of such trade is reflected in the jobs and incomes, production and sales of every segment of our economy and in every region of our country. And important as such trade is to the economy of our country, it is the life blood of the nations of the free world and on the course of world trade will depend the strength and vitality of the free world community.

I have been asked to participate in this panel in order to discuss customs and tariffs, that is, the foreign trade policy of the United States. This is a subject as you well know in which I have taken great interest. It is a subject which is all the more important to me today because I was recently honored by being appointed chairman of a subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee which has undertaken a comprehensive study of our foreign trade policy. Our subcommittee began its work last August and will continue to work through the present Congress.

What I want to discuss with you today are the recent developments in our foreign trade policy. There are many problems and many opportunities. I earnestly believe that the work of our subcommittee can make an important contribution in the formulation of our foreign trade policy and that our work can have an important consequent effect on the foreign trade position of the United States and other free world countries.

Let me observe at the start that our customs and tariff policies constitute only one of the many factors that influence the course of world trade. Our trade and tariff policy can either facilitate or impede the movement of trade which is the product of the enterprise and the decisions of many businessmen. It has been the historical policy of the United States, initiated by Cordell Hull in 1934 in the reciprocal trade agreements program, to give increasingly greater freedom to private enterprise and to businessmen in the conduct of world trade. Unfortunately, this program has been under continuing attack from certain quarters and at no time in its long and honorable history has it been under more serious attack than it is today. There are those who seek to reverse the trend of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program and to inject into the world trade environment greater controls and restrictions on the enterprise of American business and commerce. They represent the point of view that foreign trade, for some reason or other, is a likely candidate for special restrictions and restraints as compared with domestic commerce. When they get into some business difficulty—whatever the cause—they look first to curtailing imports. I reject this shopworn idea; foreign trade does not constitute a form of second-class economic activity. Its importance to our country and to the world is too great to permit second-class treatment.

Yet it would serve no constructive purpose to turn our eyes from the fact that our foreign-trade policy has reached a crossroads. The trade-agreements program and the liberal trade policy that it represents has not in decades been in greater jeopardy. There are many evidences of this. You well know that the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was extended only by the barest majority in the House of Representatives, and it was passed by the Senate only after serious and important amendments were made in the legislation. The legislation contained a very modest grant of authority to the President to enter into trade agreements, while at the same time it opened up the escape clauses which permitted upward adjustment of tariffs and other import restrictions. Today there are many who predict that when the Trade Agreements Act is before the Congress for renewal in 1958, it may not be enacted unless new vision and direction is given to our trade policy.

A second example of this developing crisis in our trade policy can be seen from the fact that the bill authorizing United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation, which would administer the important 35 country trade agreement known as the general agreement on tariffs and trade, was not enacted last year. It was reported out favorably by the Ways and Means Committee by a sizable majority, but no further action was taken on it. As further evidence of the situation that I am describing, one need only point to the growing pressure that has arisen for increased restrictions against imports, through import quotas which would involve direct control of the amount of imports that are permitted to enter the United States. If such legislation were enacted, it could reverse the whole trend of our historical trade policy to the serious disadvantage of American export trade.

At the same time that these developments are taking place, we are confronted with the fact that our foreign economic policy, of which our trade and tariff policy is an important part, is faced with new challenges in the world. Not the least of these has been the challenge presented by the economic warfare of the Soviet bloc. That bloc recognizes that foreign economic policy is an important instrument of national policy in the cold war.

Recent developments in Western Europe and the emergence of Japan as an important trading country, which I will discuss in more detail a little later on, are important factors to be taken into consideration. All of which means, to my mind that we need a trade policy that is tied in with our overall foreign economic policy requirements, that can serve the national interest of the United States in this period of rapid change. We need to chart new directions that reflect the dynamic changes of the times we live in.

I have said that we stand at the crossroads. At home, conflicting pressures from all directions converge on the Congress and the administration and demand consideration. It is the responsibility of the Congress to resolve the conflicting demands, to study the implications of alternative lines of action and to make policy that will serve the interests of the Nation as a whole.

It is in the light of this situation that the establishment of our subcommittee with a broad charter to study and examine the range of problems and challenges facing our foreign trade policy is of special interest. It marked the first time within my memory that a committee of the Congress has undertaken a comprehensive study of this question. In studying our trade policy and legislation we are dealing with a very complex and technical subject. And we were fortunate in obtaining the services of a highly competent staff of experts. I was particularly pleased that I was able to persuade my old friend Charlie Nutter of International House to take a leave of absence of 4 months in order to

give the subcommittee the benefit of his advice and assistance.

In the first phase of our work which was completed in January the subcommittee held hearings in Washington and prepared a report on many aspects of our customs and tariff legislation. This unanimous report which is now being published is in the nature of a stocktaking and appraisal of the existing legislation and an exploration of the points of controversy that have arisen. It is designed primarily for the information of the Members of the Congress and the public in an effort to point out particular aspects of our legislation that deserve further study prior to undertaking any new legislation.

In some ways you can say that the body of legislation covering customs and tariff matters grew like Topsy. Our customs legislation has its roots in the early history of the Republic. The second law enacted under the Constitution was the Tariff Act of 1789. Some features of our laws may not go all the way back to 1789, but certain ones, such as our system of tariff classification, still reflect the legislation of a century ago. In any event, the purpose of the analysis of our customs and tariff laws which we have undertaken has been to assess the present situation with respect to these laws as a first step in determining what further studies would be profitable.

Because the impact of our trade policy on foreign countries is a vital aspect of our policy, the subcommittee in November arranged a series of conferences and discussions in Western Europe and Japan, one group visiting Western Europe and another group, including myself, going to Japan. Discussions were held in both places with leading officials of foreign governments, and with foreign and American businessmen. I feel, and I know that the other members of the subcommittee feel, that these meetings were very profitable and great benefit was derived in terms of a better understanding of each other's problems and points of view.

For example, we arrived in Tokyo at a time when the textile export quota was under negotiation between our Government and the Government of Japan. Feelings in Japan were running high; the continuing controversy over Japanese cotton textile imports into the United States had resulted in irritation and sensitivity. I feel that our visit and the discussions we held with the Japanese helped to restore a measure of good feeling. After we returned to the United States, I received a letter from the economic counselor of our Embassy in Tokyo and I want to quote a passage from that letter. He wrote:

"We in the Embassy were delighted to have had the opportunity of discussing with you the various trade problems which exist between Japan and the United States. These discussions were of great benefit to the Embassy staff and the Japanese with whom you met have also expressed on many subsequent occasions their appreciation for the consideration which the subcommittee extended. You may be interested to know that after your visit was concluded, Mr. Ishizaka and the other Japanese businessmen joined in informing the press that their meeting with the subcommittee had been so beneficial to both sides that they were contemplating the establishment of a permanent committee for the purpose of holding similar discussions on problems of mutual interest with distinguished American visitors in every field and were even considering the possibility of sending a top-level team of Japanese businessmen to the United States for that purpose. Even if these plans come to naught, the good will which you and your colleagues generated during your brief stay in Japan has been clearly presented to the Japanese public and will doubtless continue favorably to reflect on the relations between the two countries for some time to come."

I won't dwell in great detail on the observations and information we obtained. One of the sections of our report contains a thorough discussion of this subject. But let me summarize the overall impressions which the subcommittee came back with.

It is clear that Western Europe and Japan have made remarkable progress in the reconstruction of their economies. That reconstruction has, for all practical purposes, been completed, and these countries are now looking increasingly to trade and the development of trade relations as an essential element in their further economic progress. There is a great mutuality of interest between these countries and the United States in matters relating to trade. In the case of Japan—despite the controversy that has arisen over the cotton textile problem, which I believe is being solved in a satisfactory manner—the areas of mutual interest in trade are overwhelming. Japan is the most important market for American farm exports and we continue to sell her considerably more than she sells to us. For example, we shipped 647,000 bales of cotton to Japan in 1955, and, in 1956, these exports are estimated to have risen by 50 percent—to 1 million bales. In dollar terms, we sold Japan $120 million of raw cotton in 1955 and, by comparison, imported $60 million worth of cotton textiles and apparel.

Much the same situation obtains in our trade with Europe. Europe continues to run a deficit in its trade with the United States. These countries look to the expansion of trade with the United States and to the continued liberalization of their own trade restrictions as circumstances permit. I know that we feel that not as much progress has been made in dismantling these import restrictions as we would like to see, but I suppose it is better that progress be made slowly, if steadily and irreversibly. We were impressed as well with the importance that these countries placed on United States leadership in matters of trade and tariff policy. They expressed concern over the protectionist drift in this country, over the escape clauses of our trade-agreements legislation—which make our tariff commitments unstable in their eyes—and with the failure of the Congress to ratify membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation.

In this connection, I have worked for United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation because it is important as an indication of our continuing commitment to a liberal and multilateral foreign trade policy. It would be evidence of our intent to continue to cooperate with other countries with respect to trade problems. For example, this year the United States will begin important discussions with other GATT countries looking to the accelerated relaxation of the quotas and other special import restrictions which they imposed during and after the war when their trade positions were seriously out of balance. Our membership in OTC would strengthen our hand immeasurably in these forthcoming discussions.

As important as have been the developments in the economies of these countries and in their foreign trade positions over the first decade since the war, we came away with the feeling that the next 10 years will see even more significant developments of importance to the economies and political areas of the free world countries. Many of these developments are already foreshadowed. In Western Europe in each country that was visited the subcommittee was impressed with the strong interest in the development of a common market of the Western European countries. Plans looking toward the establishment of such a common market arrangement seem likely to be agreed upon in the near future and will provide for a gradual removal of all tariffs and other restrictions on trade among the Western European countries that join the common market. It will imply the coordination of financial and economic policies among these countries. If successful, a unified Europe would mean a mass market of 250 million people. It could mean the basis for prodigious economic growth. The political implications of European economic integration are vital and could mean the establishment of a real force on the continent of Europe standing against further Soviet expansion. It is a real step toward a United States of Europe. These developments challenge our foreign economic policy, as well as our military planning.

The emergence of Japan as a major trading country is clearly a significant development of interest to the United States. This is so not only because Japan looks to the United States market for the expansion of her exports but also because Japan must quite literally trade in order to support its present population and to maintain its industrial production and a prosperous Japan is vital to the military defense of the United States. Clearly there are mutual advantages to be gained if Japan could develop sound and stable trade relations with her neighbors in south and southeast Asia and with the expanding economies in Western Europe. But there are a variety of impediments that have made it difficult for Japan to develop such trade relations. Exchange difficulties have channeled Japan's foreign trade into 2-way patterns instead of multilateral 3-way and 4-way trading relations. What can our foreign economic policy do to facilitate the development of a thoroughly multilateral trading world? This is one of the challenges that faces our trade policy as it relates to Japan.

In looking to the future, therefore, our subcommittee has its work cut out for it. Our aim is to devise programs founded on sound and technical understanding of the problems of world trade and which reflect the needs and requirements of a rapidly changing world. The agenda that we have prepared for our continuing work reflects these considerations. Of overriding importance is the role of our trade and tariff policy in our foreign economic policy and foreign policy. It is illogical to put the different aspects of our foreign economic policy in watertight compartments. Our military aid, our aid for economic development, private investment policy, agricultural and commodity policy all are bound together with our foreign-trade policy.

We have, therefore, made only a beginning.

One of the subjects that we intend to study is our trade relations with our neighbors to the South. Latin America acquires one-third of all its imports from the United States, and almost one-fourth of all our exports go to Latin America. Because of the nature of our import trade, tariffs may not be as important an element as they are in our trade with highly industrialized countries, but there are other aspects of Latin America's $8-billion trade with the United States that are of vital importance. I draw your attention to a study recently published by the Department of Commerce analyzing the role of United States private investment in Latin America. Such private investment amounts to almost $10 billion today. United States companies produced $5 billion worth of goods and services in Latin America in 1955, and the exports of these companies to the United States amounted to 30 percent of all exports from Latin America to the United States.

This investment is one of the dynamic factors accounting for the tremendous economic growth that has taken place in Latin America. What we have observed is, I believe, only the beginning. The Latin American continent can be compared with our continent of 100 years ago. It is a continent rich in natural resources, much of them as yet not measured, with large land areas that

have the potential of extensive cultivation and with the prospect of a rapidly expanding industrial development. We can be sure of one thing, and that is that Latin America offers the promise of becoming the most important market for American exports—a market, one should keep in mind, which is potentially of continental size like that of our own country. Of course, unlike the United States, there are barriers, both real and artificial, that separate the Latin American Republics—for example, the lack of adequate transport facilities and differing monetary systems. Although I have not studied the subject adequately—and as far as I know it has received very little attention as yet—I find the idea of economic integration in Latin America an intriguing one. I am sure that the developments in Western Europe will be followed closely to see what bearing they may have on economic developments in Latin America.

Careful analysis and thorough understanding of such factors in our trade relations are essential to the formulation of American trade policy. Let me share with you my personal views with respect to the guidelines that I believe should direct our foreign-trade policy. First, we must maintain a climate which is conducive to high and expanding levels of world trade and this means that we must discard, once and for all, the idea that there is something second rate or even un-American about trade, particularly import trade.

Second, in order to improve this climate, we must provide for greater stability and certainty in the conditions under which trade is conducted. The conduct of trade requires long-run decisions and planning by businessmen; constant changing of the rules is intolerable to the proper conduct of trade. The various escape clauses in our legislation and their potential for protection have to be examined in the light of this consideration.

Third, we need to look carefully at our customs and tariff laws to see what can be done in the way of real simplification of customs procedures and to see what tariffs are seriously restrictive of imports that can be reduced.

Finally, I want to emphasize that the interest, understanding, and involvement of the public is essential if we are to make progress. That is a responsibility that falls particularly on the shoulders of people that are actively engaged in trade, such as you are.

It is clear to me that at this juncture of our history, the United States cannot enjoy the luxury of indecision. The choice we have is one that was aptly described by Theodore Roosevelt four decades ago when he said: "The United States has not the option as to whether it will or will not play a great part in world affairs. It must play a great part. All that it can decide is whether it will play that part well or badly."

Who Determines the Budget?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. F. NORRELL
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. NORRELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include and commend to the membership of this body an editorial by Mr. David Lawrence, which appeared in a recent issue of the Washington Evening Star, on the subject of the Federal budget.

I believe that Mr. Lawrence has stated concisely what he calls the real story of the Federal budget. Both the facts and the figures are available to every American citizen. Every one of us has the responsibility to apply them to the conditions which they represent in terms of the national security, the national economy, and the national welfare as a whole. Similarly, every one of us has the moral obligation to act with the greatest measure of responsibility at his command in determining the kind and extent of economic and welfare programs that can be undertaken by the Federal Government on a sound economic basis only.

The appeal of every citizen for lower tax rates and the appeals of the general public for a reduced Federal budget can only be effective if active support by all citizens—composing any and all groups having divergent interests—is given to the national legislators to cut back or to eliminate proposed expenditures that continually increase the total budget.

The underlying situation is reminiscent of the adage about the weather—everybody talks about it. Everybody talks about reducing the Federal budget and taxes. But apparently nobody is willing to see the legislators make a reduction if it means that the seemingly easy solution of money problems by Uncle Sam is to be forfeited. If and when every Joe Taxpayer understands just how much more than value received it costs him to reach into Uncle Sam's pocket for financial assistance, he will become sufficiently active in supporting legislators who strive to legislate for the best interests of all American citizens. And he will once again join the illustrious ranks of our forefathers whose self-reliance, courage, and initiative were the foundation of our free and democratic way of life.

WHO DETERMINES THE BUDGET?—PRESIDENT, CONGRESS FORMALIZE FIGURE, BUT PUBLIC REALLY SETS SPENDING RATE

(By David Lawrence)

This seems to be the era of buckpassing in Government.

The Executive says to Congress: "You cut the budget."

The Congress says to the President: "You cut the budget."

The American people say: "You—both Congress and the President—cut the budget. But don't touch our pet projects, our agricultural subsidies, our business subsidies, our social-security subsidies, our school lunches, our highway subsidies, and all the other things that make it possible for us in this community to get our share of the money that's being spent."

But whose responsibility really is it to cut the budget? The Constitution gives the President the power to recommend but not to legislate. The Constitution says:

"No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law."

This means that the final decision is up to Congress. But when Congress tackles the job what does it find? First, that 63 percent of the total budget is for national security, assurance of survival in an atomic age.

Next 25 percent of the budget is for programs fixed by Congress in laws passed in previous years. This includes veterans' benefits, agricultural price supports, soil-bank payments, grants to the States for welfare payments, and interest on the Federal debt. Thus we have 88 percent in these two categories alone and, as the Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey, explained it in a speech in Detroit last week, "this leaves but 12 percent of Federal spending in which there is some elasticity in the opportunity to save money."

In actual totals this 12 percent is a sum of $8.6 billion. It cannot all be eliminated. Mr. Humphrey says: "It therefore becomes quite obvious that while some savings can always be made by ferreting out waste, extravagance, and duplication, the really substantial reductions in Government spending can come only from changes in programs. These programs now in effect by decision of the Congress can be changed only by new decisions of the Congress.

"The executive branch must, of course, work closely with the Congress to arrive at the best judgments as to what the various programs must provide for. That is exactly what the Eisenhower administration is currently doing with the Congress in this campaign which has received so much public notice recently in searching to find ways and means of reconsidering existing programs so as to make substantial reductions in Government spending without either impairing our security or the necessary services to be rendered the public.

"Whose job is it to cut Federal spending? It is everybody's job. It needs the active support—not just the approval—of the public. Basically, it is the job of the American people, for it is with the people—at the thousands of crossroads over the Nation—that the pressures for spending begin. A group of people who want some assistance or who get into trouble of some kind turn to the Federal Government for help on the mistaken theory that money from the Federal Government does not cost anybody anything. The pressures applied are well known and are visible in Washington every day. * * *

"We need a campaign of public education so that the public will better understand the facts of life about Federal spending. They must realize that there is no bottomless well of unlimited money in Washington. * * *

"There is all too prevalent an attitude of 'getting our cut so long as everyone else is getting theirs.' "

That's the real story of why Federal budgets are high. But the picture isn't as black today as it has looked in the past. For 2 years the Treasury has taken in more than it has spent—and there is the same outlook for the coming year. This, as the Secretary of the Treasury points out, is "the first time we have had a real prospect of three balanced budgets in succession for more than 25 years."

Also in terms of prewar dollars—that is, in the 60-cent dollars of today—the budget can be regarded as approximately $43.2 billion and not $71.8 billion. Inflation works both ways—it sends Government expenses up even as it calls for a larger volume of more dollars in tax receipts. What's dangerous is not the size of the present budget by itself but what it may portend.

The current budget can be cut by perhaps 2 or 3 billions—which is something. But what is more important is to prevent the budget from going even higher next year.

This is everybody's job, which means the electorate really has to keep informed so that political demagoguery doesn't produce a rivalry in spending for welfare purposes and exploitation on the stump by one political party of the cuts made by the other party. Mr. Eisenhower isn't going to run for office again but the Republican Party in Congress faces an election in 1958. It can be defeated once more as it was in 1956 in the West because the Democrats deliberately blamed low farm prices on the failure of the Republicans to spend more money to subsidize agriculture. Only last week the Democrats were trying to push upward in Congress the soil-bank payments despite

all the talk about cutting the Federal budget. It's the uninformed or shortsighted, selfish voter who really is responsible for past failures to cut the budget.

Union Books Open to Public

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, the press recently has been giving extensive coverage to the labor hearings being conducted by the special Senate investigating committee under Senator McCLELLAN and there is danger that the American public might jump too hastily to the conclusion that the bulk of the leaders of the American labor movement are dishonest. Such is not the case and many outstanding examples could be cited where labor unions and their leaders do a distinct public service in running their union in an upright and businesslike manner.

One of these unions, of which the whole labor movement could be proud, is Local 705, the Independent Truck Drivers Union in Chicago, of which Mr. Edward Fenner is executive director. Mr. Fenner's whole philosophy was well explained when he recently expressed in a newspaper interview that:

We think that as union officials we are responsible not only to our members, but also to the public.

We think we should make a public accounting.

Mr. Fenner's union covers over 12,000 members and he negotiates with over 1,600 employee organizations. Annually local 705 publishes a financial statement in the Chicago newspapers which statement has been audited by a firm of public accountants. The contribution in the union health and welfare fund is administered by a 3-man board consisting of Mr. Fenner representing the union, Mr. George W. Dixon representing the employers and Dean John Fitzgerald of Loyola University Law School representing the public interest. The Chicago Daily News, in a news article on Friday, March 8, pointed out the highlights of local 705's responsibility to the public as follows:

UNION EXPECTS NO TROUBLE—ITS BOOKS OPEN TO PUBLIC—TRUCKDRIVERS PUBLISH FISCAL FIGURES IN PAPERS

One truckdrivers' union with a welfare fund expects to have no troubles, because it makes a periodic accounting to the public. Edward Fenner, executive director of Local 705, Truck Drivers' Union (independent), explained:

"We have felt that a union is partly a public institution because it is tax exempt. Therefore we think that as union officials we are responsible not only to our members, but also to the public. We think we should make a public accounting. We publish our fiscal transactions periodically in all the metropolitan newspapers, in space we pay for. We have done this since 1947."

The union negotiates collective bargaining agreements with 1,600 employees, covering 12,300 truckdrivers, said Fenner.

It has a health and welfare fund, employer-financed at a current rate of $2.75 per union member per week, and self-insured.

The union has been receiving contributions since January 1, 1953.

From that time to this the fund has been adminstered by a three-member board, representing union, employers and the public.

On this board Fenner represents the union, the employer member is George W. Dixon, president of the Dixon Transfer Co., and the public member is Dean John Fitzgerald of Loyola University Law School.

"Administrative costs have been 6.66 percent of contributions received," said Fenner.

The union also has a pension fund, set up January 1, 1955, now reporting net assets of $1,129,399.

Like the welfare fund, it is self-insured and is administered by a tripartite board.

Fenner is a graduate of Columbia University, where he majored in English literature. He has worked for the union since 1930.

His first job, however, was as a salesman of men's furnishings. He says collective bargaining is a selling job anyway.

Independent Editorial Policy of Knight Newspapers Commendable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 29, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Ike's Changing Course Alters First Term Aims," published in the Miami Herald on Sunday, February 3, 1957. Mr. John S. Knight, author of this editorial, is one of the country's best known and most widely respected editors and publishers. He has also been an enthusiastic supporter of President Eisenhower in both 1952 and 1956.

Mr. Knight rightly points out that, although we "all dislike petty sniping at the President, this does not mean there is no room for conscientious differences of opinion." This is a position with which a Democratic Congressman can heartily agree. A responsible Congressman, like a responsible newspaper, will support the President so long as he honestly thinks the President is right; but will not be afraid to differ with the President on other issues of the day.

I think that Mr. Knight's editorial independence is a very commendable policy. In recent congressional campaigns we have heard too much of promises to be "one thousand percent for Ike." No ordinary mortal, however well intentioned, can be infallible. The Congress and the newspapers are two of the principal means of enlightening public understanding of the great issues of the day. In a democracy this is a vital function which should not be replaced by an attitude of meekly "following the leader" without question.

Mr. Knight's editorial follows:

IKE'S CHANGING COURSE ALTERS FIRST-TERM AIMS

A charming lady mildly reproved me the other day for criticizing the President.

Very politely, she inquired why such an ardent Eisenhower supporter should now be writing editorials questioning the wisdom of administration policies.

I replied that my affection and respect for the President remained undiminished, but that enthusiastic support of the President in two campaigns did not inhibit me from disagreeing with him when I thought he was wrong.

Every President is surrounded by well-wishers who laud his policies and echo his words. Few are so fortunate as to have members of the Cabinet, such as George Humphrey, who are able enough and honest enough to express their convictions.

But the independent newspaper, which seeks no favors, can and does speak up.

The great issues of the day should be debated and clarified, if we are to have a better public understanding of what is involved.

President Eisenhower's tremendous popularity should not suggest that he is immune from criticism. We all dislike petty sniping at the President but that does not mean there is no room for conscientious differences of opinion.

UNITED STATES TROOPS PLEDGED TO SAVE EUROPE'S OIL

Here, for instance, are several of the questions which are concerning the people:

1. The Eisenhower doctrine, designed to fill the power vacuum in the Middle East.

2. The President's concern over inflation, accompanied by a whopping $72 billion budget request.

3. The unlimited scope of pledges and promises contained in the President's inaugural address.

In essence, the Eisenhower doctrine asks Congress to give the President unrestricted authority to block Soviet aggression in the Middle East.

If approved, as now seems certain, this means that American troops will be used, if necessary, to protect the Middle East supply of oil which is vital to the survival of Europe.

If Russia moves against any country in that area which has requested our assistance, it means war.

It is my personal view that this policy is too rigid; that it would have been better to have declared our interest in the Middle East without actually charting step-by-step future procedure.

I also disagree with the $600 million program of economic aid, of which $200 million is to be spent during the balance of this year.

Many of these countries, dripping in oil, have not yet been able to spend all of the money we have furnished them thus far.

Nor is the Middle East situation comparable to the defense of Formosa where our objectives were limited.

Handing the President blank-check authority to act in this highly sensitive and complex area is a grant of power never contemplated by the founders of our Republic.

Moreover, by stating flatly that we will defend any nation requesting assistance in the Middle East, we enable Russia to trigger a war at a time of her choosing.

At best, this is questionable strategy and certainly bad diplomacy.

RECORD BUDGET IS INFLATIONARY FACTOR

On the home front, the greatest danger to our economic system is the slow but unhalted march of inflation.

Commendably, but late, the President has warned of that peril and counseled restraint in wage demands unrelated to productivity and in the pricing of manufactured goods.

He has urged individual "economic discipline" to arrest further depreciation in the value of the dollar.

Yet he has submitted to Congress the largest peacetime budget in history—itself an inflationary factor.

Granting that military defense, social services and fixed interest charges comprise a huge chunk of the budget, its enormousness hardly squares with the President's own admonition that "the Federal Government shall utilize only a prudent share of the Nation's resources."

CONGRESS SHOULD MEET SPENDING CHALLENGE

In defense of his budget, the President has explained that it contains "thousands and thousands" of details. He suggested that anyone examining it "seriously ought to find some place where they might save another dollar."

Mr. Eisenhower said further: "If they can, I think if Congress can, it is their duty to do it."

But is it not the duty of the administration which compiles the "thousands and thousands" of items in the budget to challenge these details at the time the budget is prepared?

The task forces of the Hoover Commission have reported that four to five billion dollars could be saved by placing their recommendation in effect.

Why can't the President and Congress cooperate in getting this done?

In 1953 the House of Representatives cut President Truman's budget estimate by $4 billion. If the budget makers can't find out how "to save another dollar," Congress should accept the President's challenge and do it for them.

We can't curb inflation by telling labor and industry to be good boys or urging economic discipline upon the individual if the Government goes all out for bigger and better spending.

UNIVERSAL MORAL ORDER IS UNLIKELY

A third point of disagreement with the President arises from what Walter Lippmann calls the unlimitedness of his inaugural address.

While the address was largely a statement of the President's ideals and his hopes, his opposition to isolationism was carried to the other extreme when he said "we accept our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere."

Does he really mean that it will be the policy of our Government to become involved in the destiny of men everywhere?

If so, many of us are not prepared to accept that view.

We do not believe that American foreign policy can ever bring about a universal moral order, nor that the alternative to isolationism is involvement everywhere.

ALTERED DIRECTION CAUSE OF CONCERN

Four years ago, President Eisenhower conceded the desirability of limiting our foreign commitments.

Today, he seems intent upon expanding them.

Four years ago, the President promised to cut Government costs and to reduce taxes. This was done.

Today, Government expenditures are at an all-time high with no tax relief or reduction of the national debt in sight.

True, the budget is balanced but so precariously that even a moderate drop in business could throw it out of kilter.

This high-spending, save-the-world concept is what we might have expected of Adlai Stevenson, but not from Eisenhower.

It is the administration which has altered direction since the turn of the year, and not those of us who preferred the first-term Ike and are sorry to see him change.

We Have No Alternative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, it was my great privilege to hear a splendid address made to the Bronx Bar Association on November 28, 1956, by Mr. Louis Nizer, an outstanding attorney of New York City.

The speech was most thoughtful and penetrating. Because of the timeliness of the subject, I am anxious that all Members of Congress should have the opportunity to read and study it, and I am, therefore, including it in the RECORD:

WE HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE

(By Louis Nizer)

Ordinarily, I would deem it my first duty to disavow the general compliments and the obituary which have just been read about me. I shall not do so, however, because your chairman has such a fine reputation for accuracy that I would not insult him by suggesting that anything he said about me was not precisely true. Indeed, he also has a reputation for understatement. If I were hard pressed, I might confess to you that if it were not for that frailty he would have done me more justice.

It is good on an evening like this to share the dais with so many judges. In France the identity of the lawyer is preserved by his costume. The French lawyer wears a gown with a red velvet collar. In England the barrister wears a wig. In this country democracy has denuded us, and we do not wear a gown or a wig, although we are sometimes permitted to wear our masks.

In any event, it is good on such an evening to catch the judges with their robes off; it gives us an external appearance of equality.

When you invited me to address you this evening, I had thought it was to be a meeting only of the members of the Bronx Bar Association, and, therefore, I intended to address you on a subject of technical professional interest.

Then I learned that this was to be a social gathering; indeed, as I now know, preceded by a cocktail party designed, I suppose, to dull the razor-sharp brains of many counsel here. I also learned that it would be an occasion which was to be graced by beauty other than that which can be found in a legal syllogism.

Therefore, I decided it would be wrong to talk shop, just as if you had a lady speaker—it would be wrong for her to talk shopping.

Instead, I choose this opportunity to address you on a subject which has pressed upon my mind and is very dear to my heart. I hope you will find it appropriate, because it does involve the subject of international law. I assure you, though, it is a subject of profound interest to every person alive today, for it involves nothing less than the survival or extinction of the human race.

I do not like suspense, except in stories. When an associate of mine comes from the law court, I implore him to tell me the conclusion first, and then he can sit back and tell me, at great length, how he brilliantly bested his adversary. Therefore I shall state my conclusion first.

President Eisenhower should address the United Nations and propose a new Constitutional Convention to amend the Charter of the United Nations. Such procedure is authorized (United Nations Charter sec. 109, subdivision 3) at any time after 10 years existence of the United Nations.

The calling of such a convention to amend the charter need be passed by only a majority of the Assembly, and seven members of the Security Council.

The objective would be to create an effective instrumentality for the preservation of world peace.

In making this proposal, I do not share the view of those who think that the United Nations is an impotent, helpless organization, which might mercifully be put to death.

On the contrary, to have a shelter where all the nations of the world can gather and listen to each other, and pass resolutions which at least have the moral grandeur of an international assembly meeting in democratic process, is the hope of the world. It is because, in our desperation, we reach forward to that hope and find it a mirage, that we must take steps to make it real.

In discussing this proposal, I shall drink heavily from the fountain of our constitutional history. For there is a remarkably apt analogy of our own ineffective Constitution which was later revised to make it workable.

In 1776, when this country was founded, we drew the Articles of Confederation. They were so ineffectual that the Republic foundered. Eleven years later, in 1787, though there was no authority to do so, we called a Constitutional Convention. We transformed the Articles of Confederation into the Constitution as we know it today.

Notice even the similarity of the lapse of time, 11 years between 1776 and 1787, and it is 11 years since the United Nations Charter was drawn in 1945.

Why did the Articles of Confederation turn out to be inadequate? Chiefly because each of the 13 States deemed itself to be an independent nation, and would not surrender its sovereignty to a Federal Government. Article II of the Articles of Confederation read: "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence."

This meant that the Federal Army was subordinated in effectiveness to the State militia. Massachusetts and other States had their own armies, while the Federal Army constituted only a token force. Notice the new United Nations token army we have just founded for the Mideast crises.

Under the Articles of Confederation there was no effectual means to raise money. The Federal Government levied a tax of $8 million. Only $420,000 could be collected.

Congress consisted of 1 House, and each State had 1 vote, just as each country has 1 vote in the United Nations. Nine out of thirteen States had to assent to make possible a decision. This was equivalent to veto power.

Indeed, each State considered itself so much an independent sovereignty that it would not even yield to the Government the right to declare war or make peace. Georgia declared war on 2 Indian tribes, used its own Georgia army to win, and then made 2 peace treaties, ignoring the United States Government.

Four States—Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia—entered into treaties with each other, without the consent of Congress.

Many States taxed imports across their borders. New York, for example, imposed a tariff on wood and cabbage which came from Connecticut.

There was no Federal judiciary. There was no Supreme Court until 1787. When there was a dispute between the States, Congress would appoint a committee to determine it, and, sometimes, the States would not even subject themselves to the jurisdiction of that congressional committee.

The result was that our Federal currency failed, our laws were unenforceable, and there was chaos in our Republic. This great and noble experiment in modern democracy almost collapsed during the first 10 years of its existence.

When John Shay, a hero of the Revolutionary War, led an army in revolt, due to the desperate condition of farmers and debtors, the time had come for some radical measures.

Alexander Hamilton, practicing deception, got together the representatives of the 13 States on the theory that they would make some minor amendments to the Articles of Confederation. Previously, in 1785, he tried to convene them, but only 5 States agreed to attend.

Then it was that out of a cauldron of fierce debate, resistance and compromise the Constitution of the United States emerged.

What were the changes of the Articles of Confederation which transformed it, 11 years later, into the Constitution? As we analyze them, keep an eye on the present situation in the United Nations, because the parallel is striking.

First, we made possible, through effective taxation, the maintenance of a Federal Army to enforce the edicts of the Federal Government.

We changed the voting, so that representation was based on population. But we created a bicameral legislature so that, in the Senate, each State would still have an equal vote with any other.

Finally, we created the United States Supreme Court over such protests as that of Mason, the delegate from Georgia, who said: "I will not permit a foreigner from New York to determine the rights of the sovereign State of Georgia."

We think of our Constitution as an inspired work designed by great minds. So it is, but those who drafted it had misgivings, for they were compelled, by fierce opposition, to compromise their convictions.

Patrick Henry is often quoted, approvingly, for "Give me liberty or give me death," but listen to him, as the delegate from Virginia, oppose the Constitution: "I would rather infinitely have a king, lords and commons, than a government so replete with such insupportable edicts."

A Delaware delegate said: "We are told that although 3 large States form a majority of the people in the 13, yet these 3 States will never do any harm to the rest of the States. Gentlemen, I do not believe you."

Jefferson said about the Constitution: "There are, indeed, some faults which revolted me a good deal in the first moment, but we must be contented to travel on toward perfection step by step."

The delegate from South Carolina said: "What is liberty? The power of governing yourself. If you adopt this Constitution, have you this power? No. You give it into the hands of a set of men who live 1,000 miles distant from you."

There were also predictions that the Federal Capitol "would be a walled or fortified town with an enormous standing army to sally forth and reduce the people to submission."

Yet the new Constitution was adopted and, from a faltering Republic, a steady and powerful Nation emerged.

How shall we now amend the United Nations Charter to transform an ineffectual symbol into the reality of international power?

First, the veto must be abolished.

Russia is guilty of many, many iniquities, and communism is the shortest distance between the cradle and the grave, but let us not blame the existence of the veto upon Russia. The truth is that the United States, as well as Russia, had to have the veto. Without it the Senate would not permit us to join the United Nations and surrender our sovereignty to foreign powers.

We did not join the League of Nations because of article XIII, which was deemed to impinge upon our sovereignty. President Roosevelt, mindful of that experience, took the precaution of designing the veto, so he could say to the United States Senate: "You are not surrendering your power; you can always veto a decision which you, in your sovereign powers, deem should not be made." Thus, we were lured into the United Nations. But the time has come to eliminate the veto, which immobilizes any effective action. How, for example, could any judicial system operate if the losing litigant could veto a decision rendered against him? We can no longert permit the paralysis which the veto imposes on international conduct.

We might realistically take a new look at the outmoded notion of sovereignty. Sovereignty means free and independent choice of action. Have we real sovereignty with respect to taxation, or is it determined by Russian policy, and the necessities for defense? Have we real sovereignty with respect to our domestic program, or is it determined by what happens in the world about us, over which we have no control? Is it not true that sovereignty can actually be enlarged by each nation diminishing the extreme concept of its sovereign rights, and pooling it for the common good? The greatest sovereignty of all is that of the human being. We speak of the rights of nations but who speaks for man, and his self-preservation?

The Charter of the United Nations should be amended so as to excise the veto, and subject all nations to the will of the world assembly. Only in this way can sovereignty be preserved at all.

Second, we must amend the charter so that voting power will be more representative. Today, 20 South American nations, representing 7 percent of the population of the United States, control 40 percent of the votes in assembly. Russian satellites carry an artificial voting power. In dealing with Mid-Eastern crises, 24 Afro-Asian votes, can defeat any resolution which requires a two-thirds assent.

I have no precise blueprint to submit on this difficult question, but let me suggest a few thoughts to stimulate a solution.

Would it not be wiser to have voting power which reflects four combined and weighted elements—population, industrial output, food production, literacy, and education?

Such a yardstick for voting would more realistically measure the size and power of each nation.

To those idealists who believe that raw power should not be afforded so much consideration, I would commend Churchill's statement: "Only if you make a political organization which has an alinement between the reality of power and politics can you achieve an ideal ultimately. * * * We may deplore, if we choose, that there is a difference between the strong and the weak in the world, but there is undoubtedly such a difference, and it would be foolish to upset such arrangements in order to try to attain immediately what is a hopeless ideal."

Third, we must create an international supreme court with power to enforce its edicts. The judges should be chosen as were those of the International Court of 1921; each country nominated one of its own nationals, and two from other countries. National partisanship was thus reduced to a minimum. This device had all the ingenuity which is attributed to the Greek generals who, after their victory over the Persians at Salamis, voted to select the best among them. Each general voted for himself, but each chose Themistocles as the second best. It was he who was declared the winner. It is possible to establish a tradition of impartiality, freed from national bias, just as we have achieved such a tradition in the United States Supreme Court, notwithstanding the dire prediction of State prejudice.

Finally, we must create a United Nations military force to implement its decisions.

There have been many cogent proposals for a world army. I submit only one: That each nation give 20 percent of its military power to the United Nations, and the collective 20 percents would be greater than any country's individual army.

The byproducts of such an international military body would be to encourage genuine disarmament among the individual member states. We would not have to resort to such circuitous plans as air inspection—Russian planes flying over America, and American planes flying over Russia. On the contrary, United Nations representatives would have free access to all countries of the world, to every city, nook and cranny of them.

Would Russia continue to belong to a United Nations which had been so revised? The probability is she would. Self interest, rather than good faith, might compel her to. For Russia has always wished to be in contact with world opinion. She has always respected military and political power. Russia may want one world which is divided but she does not want two worlds. I think she would fear to be outside the pale of international justice as organized in the United Nations.

However, let us suppose that Russia, and her satellites, chose to quit a vetoless United Nations. Would we be worse off?

Let us make a few comparisons of power:

The United States and the United Nations would have a production of 165 million tons of steel, as against 50 million tons for Russia, and her satellites;

Six hundred and ninety billion dollars of gross national products, against $155 billion for Russia.

Three hundred and twenty-three million tons of oil production, against 68 million tons.

Fifty-eight percent of the world's total power consumption, against 19 percent.

Our farmers are five times as productive, per man, as Russia's and her satellites.

Our rate of increase of surviving population is twice as great as Russia's and her satellites'.

Another advantage to the free world would be that our military position would be improved by the cooperation of all members in the United Nations against any nonmembers. No longer would it be necessary for us to implore distant countries to afford us bases or sell our soul for such privileges. The United Nations would have the right to call upon every nation to make available sites for United Nations bases.

Even if Russia and her satellites withdrew from the United Nations, the possibilities of peace would be better than they are today.

I come, then, to the final inquiry: Is it possible to achieve this utopian scheme, as many will call it? Shall we yield to the cynicism that one cannot hope to organize international society to stop war, because, by precedent, nations have always had war?

The answer—and I ask you to note it deeply in your hearts—is that we have no alternative. We have no alternative.

The peoples of the world are not fully informed concerning the power of annihilation which now exists. The bomb at Nagasaki had 20,000 tons of TNT power, and today there are hydrogen bombs of 10 million TNT power. Indeed, we have had to coin the word megaton to measure a million tons of TNT power.

The fallout destruction of one such 10 megaton bomb could extend to 100,000 square miles—twice the area of the State of New York.

We have no alternative.

We have now learned how to make hydrogen bombs of limitless power because we case them in U–238, a uranium isotope easily created.

Scientists now tell us we can combine a hydrogen bomb with cobalt, a common ingredient available cheaply which has the characteristic of becoming radioactive, and floating for long periods in the air currents, until it descends to lay waste to vast areas. Indeed, it is no longer an imaginary concept, that we could destroy not only all human life on this earth, but every insect, invisible microbe and every blade of grass and vegetation.

We have no alternative.

Even hydrogen bombs give only a glimpse of the potential horror. It is now possible to wage biological or germ warfare. Without use of intercontinental missles an enemy can destroy, selectively, the complete cattle or wheat supply of another nation, not to talk of the human supply of any nation.

Even this is only the beginning of the obliterating power which now exists. There are the G gases, nerve gases, which can destroy anything they touch, in 45 seconds, and they are invisible and unstoppable. One of our allies shunned possession of these gases after the last war ended and sunk them in the middle of the Atlantic.

We have no alternative.

Perhaps the rules of physics which threaten our destruction may also teach us how to survive. In releasing the energy from atoms, we have progressed from fission to fusion. Atom bombs split the larger atoms. This process is fission.

Hydrogen bombs, which use the atom bomb as a detonator, force together the smaller atoms of hydrogen so that they join together to become larger and larger. This process is fusion.

Perhaps this foretells the destiny of the world. For centuries we have proceeded by fission, splitting the Adams of the world into different countries. The power released from this fission has been hatred and war.

Now, we must turn to fusion—the joining together of the Adams of the world, into a larger unity, into an international society. The power released from such fusion could be beneficial. If the United States could have rid itself of the burden of $300 billion spent in the last 10 years for destructive and defensive armaments, and a current average expenditure of $35 billion each year for the same purposes, what glories could be achieved.

We could build medical centers the size of cities to eradicate the scourges of mankind—cancer, heart disease, and high blood pressure.

We could organize psychiatric clinics in all the cities of the Nation so that, instead of having 1 child psychologist for every 46,000 school children, as we have today in a few of our cities, we could provide adequate care for all emotionally disturbed children. We could wage war successfully against juvenile delinquency.

We could apply all the new techniques for healing the mind, so that we would no longer have 1 out of every 10 Americans at some time or other occupying a bed in a mental hospital.

We could build geriatric institutions to study the aging process, and provide dignified and serene surroundings for the aged so that they would live out their lives, rather than die out their lives.

We could construct an adequate and completely new educational system, both in bricks and mortar and in teaching personnel, adequate to the needs of a new society.

We could offer subsidies to all gifted children, so that they could follow careers in the arts, whether music, painting, or writing and thus develop to the full potential the genius of our youth.

We could give subsidies to scientifically inclined children, so as to create a new class of physicists and engineers to usher in the new era of atomic energy and automation and, similarly, a new and adequate group of doctors, nurses, and psychiatrists.

We could construct new housing for all classifications of income, with installations of the new miracles of science to control light, temperature, and entertainment facilities.

We could do all this, and have billions left over to balance our budget.

Yes, we could create a veritable paradise on earth.

We have no alternative.

I cannot believe that the destiny of mankind is international suicide.

If you will look at the map of the world, you will see that the bulge of Africa and the bulge of South America fit together. Apparently, they were once one continent. Perhaps what tore them apart millions of years ago was the same power which man has discovered today.

Shall nihilism be our unseen epitaph? Shall we look backward and say peace cannot be won because it has never been more than a temporary interlude? If we look backward, we will move backward. Nothing is inevitable that is resisted. Mankind faces the greatest of all dilemmas, the most fearful of all challenges, the most sublime of all choices. Will we end the story of man, in one final suicidal holocaust which obliterates all living things and perhaps,the planet itself? Or will we vindicate the evolution of reason and erect a peaceful society, blessed with the joys of noblest fulfillment?

It is a moment for religious evocation. Isaiah prophesied that "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Perhaps an allegory points the way:

The master of the library was asleep, and the books in the library took to quarreling with one another as to which was the most important in the library. The dictionary argued that he was the king of the library for, without him, there would be no language. The book of science said that he was the king of the library, because without him man could not have progressed to the heights he now enjoys. The book of poetry said he was the king, because he gave peace and surcease to people who read him. The novels claimed that they were the masters, because they had the most expensive gold backing, and described the foibles and joys of mankind.

And so, the din rose, and the fury of argument grew greater and the shouts and noise were deafening.

Then, from an old worn book on a table in the center of the room, there came a thin voice which said: "The Lord is my Shepherd; I shall not want." All the noise and fury ceased. There was silence in the library, for everyone knew who the real king of the library was.

We have reached the stage in international affairs where, despite all the din, contentiousness, confusion, and threats, we must resort to the one hope that there is a true Master of the world, and that He has decreed for us a fate of peace and existence.

Civil Rights and Civil Liberties: Select Bibliography

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the House will soon be called upon to debate one of the great issues of our time—how to bring the Bill of Rights back to life and thus give all Americans their civil liberties. In preparation for this debate, I have asked the Library of Congress to prepare a representative list of readings on this subject. Such a list has been compiled, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include it in the RECORD.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES: SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

GENERAL

Commager, H. S. Freedom, loyalty, dissent. New York, Oxford University Press, 1954. 155 pages.

Corwin, Edward S. The Constitution and What It Means Today. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1955. 59 pages.

Newman, E. S., editor. The Freedom Reader: A collection of materials on civil rights and liberties in America, including excerpts from Supreme Court decisions and commentary of eminent lawyers, Government officials, political scientists, and opinion molders. New York, Oceana Publications, 1955. 256 pages.

Sellin, Thorsten, editor. Internal Security and Civil Rights. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1955. 190 pages. (Annals, July 1955.)

Thomas, N. M. The Test of Freedom, New York, Norton, 1941. 211 pages.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

Pfeffer, Leo. Church, State, and Freedom. Boston, Beacon Press, 1953. 675 pages.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Chafee, Zechariah, Jr. Freedom of Speech and the Press. New York, Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, 1955. 59 pages.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

MacIver, R. M. Academic Freedom in Our Time. New York, Columbia University Press, 1955. 329 pages.

DUE PROCESS OF LAW

Wood, Virginia L. Due Process of Law, 1932–49; the Supreme Court's Use of a Constitutional Tool. Baton Rouge, La. Louisiana State University Press, 1951. 436 pages.

LOYALTY AND SECURITY

Bontecou, Eleanor. The Federal loyalty-security program. Ithaca, N. P., Cornell University Press, 1953. 377 pages.

O'Brian, J. L. National security and individual freedom. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955. 84 pages. (Harvard University Godkin lectures.)

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS

Barth, Alan. Government by investigation. New York, Viking, 1955. 31 pages.

DISCRIMINATION

Berger, Morroe. Equality by statute; legal controls over group discrimination. New York, Columbia University Press, 1952. 38 pages.

Hill, Herbert, and Greenberg, Jack. Citizen's guide to desegregation: a study of social and legal change in American life. Boston, Beacon Press, 1955. 185 pages.

MacIver, R. M. The more perfect union; a program for the control of intergroup discrimination in the United States. New York, Macmillan, 1948. 311 pages.

Myrdal, Gunnar. An American dilemma: the Negro problem and modern democracy. New York, Harper, 1944. 1483 pages.

Talmadge, Herman E. You and Segregation. Birmingham (Ala.) Vulcan Press, 1955. 79 pages.

Woodward, C. V. The Strange Career of Jim Crow. New York, Oxford University Press, 1955. 155 pages.

EMPLOYMENT

Ruchames, Louis. Race, jobs, and politics: the story of the FEPC. New York, Columbia University Press, 1953. 255 pages.

EDUCATION

Spurlock, Clark. Education and the Supreme Court. Urbana, Ill., University of Illinois Press, 1955. 252 pages.

Sources: Civil liberties and civil rights in the United States today, a selected bibliography. New York, American Jewish Committee, 1956. Problems of segregation and integration bibliography, Theodore W. Stredrick, Government Division, revised May 10, 1956.

Statement of Hon. William H. Natcher, Before the Subcommittee on Tobacco of the Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives, in Support of House Joint Resolution 195 and H. R. 4690

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, March 13, 1957, I appeared before the Subcommittee on Tobacco of the Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives in support of House Joint Resolution 195 and H. R. 4690.

House Joint Resolution 195 restores the acreage reduction for dark air-cured and dark fire-cured tobacco ordered by the Secretary of Agriculture on January 25, 1957, and relates generally to dark air-cured and dark fire-cured tobacco acreage allotments and marketing quotas. Under the terms of this resolution the 1957 State acreage allotments of dark fire-cured and dark air-cured tobacco would be the same as the 1956 allotments. H. R. 4690 amends the Soil Bank Act with respect to its application to producers of fire-cured and dark air-cured tobacco, and under the terms of this bill any and all acreage reductions in the 1957 allotment for dark air-cured and dark fire-cured tobacco will automatically be placed in the soil bank, and for this our farmers will be paid 50 percent of parity instead of the present parity rate of 37½ percent.

Under leave to extend my remarks I herewith include the statement I made to the committee:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM H. NATCHER, SECOND DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, for the record my name is WILLIAM H. NATCHER, and I have the honor of representing the Second District of Kentucky. I am very grateful for the opportunity to appear before your committee in support of House Joint Resolution 195 introduced by me on January 28, 1957, and H. R. 4690, introduced by me on February 11, 1957.

House Joint Resolution 195 restores the acreage reduction for dark air-cured and dark fire-cured tobacco ordered by the Secretary of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson on January 25, and relates generally to dark air-cured and dark fire-cured tobacco acreage allotments and marketing quotas. Under the terms of this resolution the 1955 State acreage allotments of dark fire-cured and dark air-cured tobacco would be the same as the 1956 allotments.

H. R. 4690 amends the Soil Bank Act with respect to its application to producers of fire-cured and dark air-cured tobacco, and, under the terms of this bill, any and all acreage reductions in the 1957 allotment for dark air-cured and dark fire-cured tobacco will automatically be placed in the soil bank, and for this our farmers will be paid 50 percent of parity instead of the present parity rate of 37½ percent.

Kentucky is one of the great tobacco-producing States of this country. During the calendar year of 1955 the farmers of our State produced $533 million worth of agricultural commodities with tobacco representing 44.9 percent of this amount.

It is a recognized fact that the family-size farmer is today bearing the brunt of the postwar decline in farm income. The net income of Kentucky farmers was off some $100 million during the year 1955. The farmer's costs have soared and his gross income has diminished.

The dark tobacco farmer of Kentucky has suffered acreage reductions amounting to approximately 36 percent during the past few years and the reduction order, entered by the Secretary of Agriculture on January 25, is not necessary. Our tobacco farmer is not in a position financially to take an acreage reduction at this time, and I still am of the opinion that an orderly removal of present surplus stocks can be effected if the 1956 allotments for dark tobacco are retained.

The 1956 dark tobacco crop was a dry-weather crop. Most of it was thin, sunburned, yellow, white faced, and very coarse. Only a small portion of it was graded in straight grades, and the poor quality resulted in the Government's purchase of some 29.66 percent of the entire crop. This dry-weather crop and the 1946 production has placed our dark tobacco stocks temporarily in bad shape. The Department of Agriculture knows full well that in 1946 our dark tobacco farmer, against his best judgment, was induced to increase production. Sufficient time has not expired to work off this increase which was forced on the trade at that time. If given a chance the soil bank will correct this situation.

From 1951 through 1955 we have 46,700,000 pounds of type 36 dark air-cured Green River tobacco produced, and our disappearance during this period was 47,700,000 pounds. During this time all types of dark tobacco produced in Kentucky suffered acreage reductions. Between 1946–55, 17,000 acres were cut from the allotment on types 35 and 36, and the production fell from 45,600,000 pounds to 27,800,000 pounds. Type 35 one-sucker acreage was reduced from 23,000 acres in 1946 to 12,800 acres in 1955, and this brought about a reduction of 10.4 million pounds. Type 36 Green River tobacco acreage was reduced from 14,000 acres in 1946 to 7,200 acres in 1955 bringing about a decline in production of 7,400,000 pounds.

According to figures submitted to me on March 1, the total production for type 22 dark tobacco for 1956 was 40.8 million pounds; for type 23, 14.7 million; for type 35 one-sucker, 19.8 million; for type 36 Green River, 10.5 million; for types 35 an 36, 30.3 million.

One of the most practical ways to assist in solving the surplus problem would be to increase the soil-bank payments for dark tobacco. Twelve cents per pound for dark air-cured tobacco and 13 cents per pound for dark fire-cured tobacco is inadequate. A reasonable increase of the soil-bank price per pound for dark tobacco will place it in line with prices paid for other commodities. We should further remove the dollar limit per acre restriction. The time for placing dark tobacco in the soil bank should be extended to April 1, 1957, since it is admitted that the present limit of February 28 will not allow growers sufficient time to become familiar with the provisions of the law and to determine what they should do with reference to taking advantage of provisions of same.

It is necessary that the authority provided for under Public Law 540 for a payment of the fair amount for tobacco acreage be utilized immediately. Forty-five million dollars was set aside in the soil bank for tobacco for fiscal year 1957. Only a small portion of this amount has been consumed. It is admitted that the amount set aside for burley to be placed in the soil bank will not be consumed. The number of applications now pending in most counties requesting permission to place dark tobacco acreage in the soil bank consumers more than the allotted money set aside for dark tobacco. According to figures recently submitted to me, the number of applications now pending for dark tobacco seeking admission into the soil bank together with the 10-percent acreage reduction for dark fire cured and 15-percent acreage reduction for dark air cured will make the total reduction for 1957 amount to some 35 percent. Certainly no such reduction should be brought about during the year 1957.

Since the introduction of House Joint Resolution 195 and H. R. 4690, the Secretary of Agriculture has removed the ceiling on the amount of a grower's tobacco acreage allotment which may be placed in the soil bank. The order provides that in counties with acreage allotments under 2,000 acres, growers will be permitted to place up to 100 percent of their allotment in the soil bank, and in the major producing counties with more than 2,000 acres of allotments, growers will be permitted to bank up to 100 percent of their allotments if the county and State agricultural stabilization and conservation committees certify that it will not injure the area's general economy. This action was proper and now places the dark tobacco farmer in a position where he can help correct any surplus problem with which we are now confronted.

I believe that our export market for dark tobacco will improve during the next few years. Public Law 690 of the 83d Congress transferred the agricultural-attaché program from the State Department to the Department of Agriculture, and this transfer, in my opinion, will continue to facilitate trade with foreign areas as the direct result of the coordinated effort of our present worldwide system of agricultural attachés and with our commodity and country specialists working in full cooperation with our trade and Government contacts. Improvement in the staffing and general overall accomplishments of the Foreign Agricultural Service will bring about improvements in our export trade for dark tobacco and our other agricultural commodities.

Exports of unmanufactured tobacco from every source during fiscal year 1956 amounted to 578 million pounds-export weight, and this was 25 percent larger than the amount exported during the previous year. In fact, this was the largest amount exported since the fiscal year of 1947. According to my information, the value of exports for this particular year amounted to $379 million. The factors involved which stimulated United States exports during the past fiscal year included the following: Sales for foreign currency as provided for under Public Law 480; low stocks abroad in relation to consumption of tobacco products; increasing world consumption of cigarettes manufactured from light tobaccos; high levels of economic activities abroad; expanded imports of foreign goods into the United States; and improved gold and dollar reserves position in a number of important foreign markets.

The domestic export market for dark tobacco shows a total of 23,125,000 pounds sold during the fiscal year 1955–56.

We will be confronted with a 35-percent reduction in dark tobacco in the year 1957 if

the Secretary's acreage order is sustained and the applications now pending for admission into the soil bank are accepted.

I respectfully urge that this committee take the necessary action favorably reporting House Joint Resolution 195, restoring the acreage reduction for dark air-cured and dark fire-cured tobacco ordered by the Secretary of Agriculture on January 25. If the committee deems this action inadvisable, then a favorable report should be given to H. R. 4690, which amends the Soil Bank Act to the extent that any and all acreage reductions in the 1957 allotment be automatically placed in the soil bank with the farmers being paid 50 percent of parity instead of the present rate of 37½ percent of parity.

Again I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman and the members of your committee, for the opportunity to appear before you in support of House Joint Resolution 195 and H. R. 4690.

Urban Highway Units

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appearing in the Topeka Daily Capital, Tuesday, February 26, 1957, points out a very important problem regarding the expanded Federal-State highway system. The matter of coordinated activity between State highway departments and city authorities is of extreme importance if the road program is to satisfactorily progress. As the editorial states, probably one-half of the new highway program will involve urban areas. For this reason it is important to have an authority to settle disputes which might arise. I believe the suggestions presented in this editorial are worthy of the close attention and study of all Members of Congress.

The editorial follows:

URBAN HIGHWAY UNITS

The hassle over location of the U. S. 75–U. S. 40 bypass road west around Topeka's main residential districts focuses attention on a problem being studied by the United States Senate Subcommittee on Roads. This group has announced the intention of carrying on a continuing program appraisal of progress being made under the Federal-aid highway program enacted last year.

One of the main traffic problems confronting the country has to do with the urban areas, which probably will benefit to as much as one-half of the vast Federal-aid highway program. It has been suggested by Mayor John B. Hynes of Boston, president of the United States Conference of Mayors, that special urban units be established in all State highway departments.

This would require an amendment to the Federal-State highway legislation, and the Senate subcommittee is said to have the proposal under consideration. Obviously, if these superhighways that will form a network of traffic lanes extending outward (and inward) from all the principal cities are to be subject to the whims of local or special interests, some sort of legal authority must be provided to settle disputes.

Although the Federal-State highway program has been under way a relatively short time, much progress has been made. Topeka is getting some fine new roads, and the bypass lanes must be built in order to route heavy traffic outside the business and residential districts. The United States Bureau of Roads believes that fully one-half of the highway funds will be spent in urban areas, extending from 10 to 20 miles around the cities.

These urban areas are of extreme importance in the interstate system. They present problems not encountered in rural highway construction. All the cities are expected to cooperate wholeheartedly with the overall Federal-State program. Perhaps the suggestion that special urban units be incorporated in the various highways might avoid disagreements such as this one here in Topeka between the highway department and city authorities.

Repassing a Passed Buck

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of Tuesday, March 5, 1957, entitled "Repassing a Passed Buck":

The so-called budget-cutting drive in Congress is as amusing, in its way, as the administration's stern admonition that somebody else should do the trimming job it failed to do.

If a man wants to reduce weight, the direct way to go about it is to eat less. If Congress wants to cut the budget, the direct way to go about it is to enact smaller appropriations for the various departments and agencies.

But this, apparently, is too simple—or too painful—for some Congressmen who are a little bothered by the heavy mail they are said to be receiving from citizens who don't like the administration's heavy spending plans for next year. And so the economizers are falling back on the old stratagem—the mandatory expenditure ceiling. A move to limit total expenditures to $65 billion—as compared with estimated spending under the Eisenhower budget of $71.8 billion—is taking form in the House.

The overall budget ceiling is a device by which Congress can adopt appropriations to satisfy all the agencies and interests that want to spend the money, and then turn around and effectually forbid the carrying out of its own laws.

The procedure, in short, is just another "let-George-do-it" evasion of responsibility. Where the administration recommended spending of $71.8 billion and piously advised Congress to vote less, Congress by this device would vote $71.8 billion and piously instruct the administration to spend less.

Budget ceilings have been tried before, and they never work well. The best and most effective ceiling is the sum of the appropriation bills themselves. If Congress is serious about budget-cutting it ought to do the job item by item, bureau by bureau, department by department, function by function. That is the hard way, but the only honest way.

Mr. Speaker, although the editorial is directing its attention to a Republican-inspired resolution pending before the Rules Committee its logic, which is good logic, also applies to the Democrat-inspired resolution which passed the House yesterday.

It is not by chance or whimsy that some of the loudest voices in support of both these resolutions are those of Congressmen who almost invariably vote for all measures increasing Federal expenditures and against those which reduce it. They want their cake and eat it, too.

There is only one way to reduce Federal expenditures and that is to vote that way on the specific bills and amendments before the Congress. Voting for specific programs certainly gains the support of the citizens specifically interested in these programs; just as voting against these programs incurs their political wrath. Furthermore, many of the programs are good and can be truthfully presented to the general public as good. Being a spender has great political advantages. Being an economizer has great political disadvantages. Let those who have been pursuing the more popular cause have the honesty to stick to it and defend it. Let those who have the more difficult position to maintain be permitted to present it without having the issue confused by the proposal of meaningless resolutions designed to preach economy, but in no sense to practice it. The Post Dispatch is in error in saying it is the economizers who propose the old stratagem. It is the spenders in disguise.

Resolution by St. Patrick's Day Parade Committee of Newark, N. J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following resolution adopted by the St. Patrick's Day parade committee of Newark, N. J. As we approach the feast of the great St. Patrick, it is appropriate that attention be called to the conditions described in the resolution:

At a meeting of the St. Patrick's Day parade committee, held at Newark, N. J., on March 3, 1957, the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas the British army, acting on orders from the British Imperial Parliament, unlawfully and against the will of the Irish people, occupies six counties of the Irish nation; and

"Whereas the young men of Ireland, with every moral and historical justification, resist such occupation; and

"Whereas the rules of war, as laid down by the Geneva Convention of 1949, state that the status of prisoners of war be granted to such fighters, provided that the following conditions be fulfilled: (1) that they wear distinctive dress; (2) that they carry arms openly; (3) that they are responsible to an officer in charge who in turn is responsible for his subordinates; and

"Whereas these conditions are being carried out by the Irish resistance fighters in occupied Ireland; and

"Whereas the British Empire continues to ignore the Geneva Convention and treats

the captured Irish republican army men as criminals;

"Therefore, we, the members of the St. Patrick's Day parade committee, demand that the British military commander be requested to comply with the rules of war as laid down by the Geneva Convention in 1949 and grant all captured Irish republican army men their rightful status as prisoners of war."

ST. PATRICK'S DAY PARADE COMMITTEE,
JOSEPH F. FARRELL, *Chairman.*
HELEN C. CURRAN, *Secretary.*

Pity Poor Congressmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Topeka Daily Capital. It appears that one of the most discussed issues of the day is cutting the budget. This, of course, pleases me because I feel that all citizens must be alert to the matter of Government savings. However, cutting the budget is not as simple as some think. This editorial presents some of the reasons why the job is not easy.

The editorial clearly presents a challenge. It is up to each and every one of us to meet the challenge and to exercise the proper self-restraint as outlined in the editorial.

The editorial follows:

PITY POOR CONGRESSMEN

Uneasy lie the heads that wear the United States congressional crowns.

Confronted with Federal expenditures that the U. S. News & World Report estimates at $83 billion for the nert fiscal year, Congress is hearing from the taxpayers. The volume of protests is growing steadily. The Eisenhower administration, which submitted a $71.8 billion budget to Congress, also is startled at the rising tide of letters urging cuts to allow reduction of taxes.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the National Association of Manufacturers have called for cuts of $5 billion and $8 billion, respectively.

Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey has advised Congress to cut the budget, but doubts if it can be done if the President's spending program is to be continued. Economy-minded solons, economists, and laymen shout to high heaven for cuts, but none of them know where to begin. Some few reductions are being made, but the sum total of eliminations probably will be no more than a drop in the $71.8 billion bucket.

Herbert Hoover has said that reductions in unnecessary and wasteful expenditures are opposed by some Government employees. He added: "But the most important opposition is the pressure groups who operate among our people. There are probably more than a thousand of these pressure groups, working day and night to get what they call 'theirs.' So far as I know, there is not a name among the registered lobbyists whose purpose is to decrease public expenditures."

These pressure groups are guilty of forcing the Government to spend more money than is necessary or safe. But who is going to stop them? The answer, of course, is obvious. Nobody is going to stop the continuous clamor for Federal spending, regardless of the howls from the suffering taxpayers.

What Member of Congress would dare ask for withdrawal of proposed appropriations for his State or district from the budget? It would kill his political career if he denounced the $14 billion welfare costs, or the $43.5 billion defense expenditures. What Senator or Representative could return home if he aided and abetted the elimination of flood control projects for his bailiwick, or asked that all military installations be removed from his State?

Senator BYRD says that "37.8 million Americans are receiving direct payments from the Federal Government. If we consider the dependents, it is possible that half of our population is affected by regular Federal payments."

How does anyone expect the administration and Congress to slap down these wards of the Government? For example, who has the effronty to deny nearly 22.4 million veterans the benefits they enjoy? Or the nerve to stop all subsidies, soil-bank payments, and other relief to 5 million farmers?

The firm of Management Engineers (Stevenson, Jordan & Harrison, Inc.) has something to say about the continuous clatter for bigger spending: "If the people want these things, if they want to avoid the serious economic collapse of which Secretary Humphrey, Mr. Hoover, and other wise and courageous leaders have warned—they must, as citizens, taxpayers, businessmen, labor leaders, and voters, practice intelligent self-restraint and self-reliance, and they must refrain from trying to secure personal advantages for which others must pay, and they must insist that those who represent them in the Government do the same."

Sound advice, but we doubt if very many of us are willing to follow it. We are too eager to make sure we "get ours."

Letter From 77-Year-Old Resident of Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, each of us in Congress receives a great volume of correspondence. Naturally this correspondence adds to our work, but we welcome it as being an expression of the thinking and of the welfare of the people we represent. Some of the letters stand out for the simplicity of their expression and the strength of the views they carry. One such letter I received a few days ago from a 77-year-old resident of Monticello, Fla. I think it deserves reprinting in the RECORD. The letter follows:

MONTICELLO, FLA., *March 7, 1957.*

DEAR BOB: We are glad you represent us so well in Washington. One particular thing I hope you can help eliminate is so many favors. We may like to get money which we do not earn and have exemptions in our income tax, etc., but our nice Uncle Sam has to collect the money from someone. I am glad to get double exemption on income tax (I am 77) but I think we older ones get more favors than we deserve. I think the farm price supports may be hurting, rather than helping farmers. I think you stated that Monticello might get help in sewage disposal but I do not think the United States Government should do such things. It is much better to let the local taxpayers take care of it. We spent a lot for irrigation in the West and we already have a surplus of food.

I hope that you can avoid United States aid for our schools but it may be hard with the big welfare state we are now getting. The local government should pay for the cost of the schools but here we pay about a tenth of the cost now.

Sincerely yours,

W. I. PHELPS.

If Anyone Can—

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, if anyone can accomplish the mission on which he has been sent, it will be our former colleague—presently Ambassador James P. Richards, for those of us who had the opportunity to serve with him know that he will bring to his obviously difficult and delicate assignment all the ardor, experience, and aplomb that are obvious requisites for the successful accomplishment of what undoubtedly will go down in history as one of the most important missions that has ever left this country. I am sure that he takes with him the good will and good wishes of all of his colleagues.

I am pleased to insert the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on Tuesday, March 12, 1957:

MR. RICHARDS' MISSION

Former Congressman James P. Richards has not exaggerated in declaring that his mission to the tense Middle East is going to be rugged. As the President's special representative, with the rank of ambassador, he will spend the next 2 months visiting perhaps as many as 18 countries primarily for the purpose of explaining what the United States hopes to accomplish with the so-called Eisenhower doctrine. Above all, he will seek to win as much Arab support as possible for the doctrine's projected program of aid and cooperation.

The program's chief objective, of course, is to head off the danger of Soviet penetration and ultimate domination of the entire Middle East. Accordingly, with $200 million already available for allocation, our country is prepared to extend economic and other forms of assistance to any nations in the area requesting and needing it to strengthen their economies and their political independence. In addition, as made clear in the joint congressional resolution on the subject, such nations, if they are threatened with overt Communist aggression, can count on getting American armed help if they ask for it.

Ambassador Richards may be received cordially enough by all the Arab governments as he undertakes to discuss these matters with them. But only three—Iraq, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia—have thus far endorsed the Eisenhower doctrine or shown an active and affirmative interest in it. Among the others, Syria seems to have rejected it completely, while reactions in Jordan and Egypt have been less than enthusiastic, ranging

from lukewarm official curiosity to open hostility in some of the press. So not the least rugged feature of Mr. Richards' task will be the problem of countering Soviet propaganda and clearing the air of suspicions and misconceptions regarding the President's proposals. Unless he can succeed in that, the program's effectiveness is bound to suffer for want of sufficient support from the countries of the area.

That is why President Eisenhower has made a special point of emphasizing that he regards the Richards mission "as an essential and important first step in carrying out the policies set forth in the joint resolution. As those policies are based on the concept of cooperation, and as the assistance contemplated by the resolution will be extended only in response to requests from Middle Eastern governments, we must achieve the greatest possible measure of understanding and recognition of common interests with the area governments and their peoples."

This is something that may be more easily said that done. But Mr. Richards' experience as Democratic chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee should help him in the job. He brings to it, as the President has said, "the integrity, ability, and sound judgment that have marked his long and distinguished career in public life." Certainly, as he heads now for the Middle East, he can be sure that his country's best wishes go with him.

Feed Grain Price Supports and the Size of the Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, it is being said that everybody is for economy but no one will say where the budget should be cut.

I am one who has urged a reduction in Federal spending, and thus far 69 other Members of the House of Representatives have responded to my invitation to join in a letter to the Committee on Rules in support of the objectives of House Resolution 170 which would set a limit on appropriations.

In my case, however, I have not only supported the principle of this resolution but I have spoken out as to certain areas where Federal spending might be held within certain limitations. I have said, as is obvious, that there are certain fixed obligations of the Government such as interest on the Federal debt, which cannot be cut. Furthermore I am not in favor of curtailment of normal functions of Government, and as I stated when I appeared personally before the Rules Committee I will always support a pay scale for Federal employees which is in line with private business.

Notwithstanding, Congress has two general areas of governmental expenditures which are flexible—defense and foreign aid. These latter two must be fitted into some overall pattern in relation to fiscal responsibility. I do not think a meat-ax operation is desirable, but we all know of instances of extravagance and waste, and I am hopeful the Committee on Appropriations will eliminate as much of this so-called fat as possible.

One spot we could cut spending is own own swollen legislative budget. Why not call off construction of the new office building? We can get along without it.

Another area for reductions is the farm program. I voted last year for the soil bank; but with great misgivings. My conscience told me I was right, but I wondered if possibly the high sense of right and wrong influencing the decision was completely separated from the sense of what was politically right and politically wrong.

The American farmer can take care of his natural enemies such as oversupply by planting less, but who is to deliver the same farmer from his friends who would kill him with kindness and other people's money.

Last week, Mr. Speaker, prior to the consideration of H. R. 4901, the price-support program for feed grains, I went on record as opposing this legislation. Now again I call attention to the fact that this bill, H. R. 4901, would increase the authorized spending over and above the Eisenhower budget—the very budget we seek to reduce.

Of course I do not think the public has any idea of the amount the farm program costs. For example, H. R. 4901 will cost nearly $1 billion a year. I think just the corn part of the bill will cost that. Why, I thought it was pretty shocking that since April 1954, or in just short of 3 years, the price-support program on corn alone has resulted in a loss of $261 million to the American taxpayer. On top of that we are asked to legislate an emergency program on corn to cost almost $1 billion a year. Add all this to the loss in supporting prices of the other basic commodities—in the case of wheat a 3-year loss of $550 million—and it is no wonder that Government spending increases.

Mr. Speaker, the happiest year of my boyhood was on a farm, and I have never ceased to feel that farmers and farm families are wonderful people. But my adult years have been in urban life, and I know that folks who live on and by the soil have no monopoly on worthy qualities of human character and good citizenship. Nor does the rural population have an exclusive burden of problems such as the acreage allotment plan under H. R. 4901 would attempt to eliminate. Every time Congress passes legislation to limit farm production and thereby raise prices, similar to this corn and feed control measure, the city wage earner faces an increased responsibility of paying in part directly, in part indirectly, for the plan. It is robbing Peter in the city to pay Paul on the farm, because not only are Federal taxes increased but also the higher cost of the product is reflected in the cost of food. Because he grows much of his own of the latter, the farmer pays less proportionately of the cost. In fact, the inflation which results from these agricultural programs hits the wage earner and older retired people while the farmers' land and produce will adjust in value. Furthermore real estate taxes on farms are rarely comparable to city homes or businesses, and while work on the farm is hard in cases such as with the wheat growers, it is seasonal. The farmers increasingly spend the winter months in Florida and California. So frankly I do not think all farmers are entitled to too much sympathy as against other worthy groups such as small-business men and workers in cities and towns.

Furthermore programs where the individual gets the profit if there is one while Uncle Sam takes any loss are not my idea of free enterprise. Nor can I comprehend why we support the price of tobacco at all. But be that as it may, the urban dweller and wage earner in the city—not the farmer—is more the forgotten man in my book.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, I suggest we reduce Federal expenditures by stopping the plowing under, painting potatoes type of legislation. Let us remove peanuts, for example, as a basic crop. Does the public realize the price support program on peanuts has cost $133 million and that the Commodity Credit Corporation has loans on 131,652 tons of peanuts? This on a crop which represents less than one-half of 1 percent of the national farm income. All the housewife knows is she must pay 45 cents a pound for peanuts. Naturally the consumption has gone way down. Do the taxpayers want their tax dollars used this way to boost the price of these nuts to themselves?

If the public had the facts, the size of the budget would come down. And then taxes and the size of the national debt would follow suit. On the other hand the buying power of wages would go up.

Now, Mr. Speaker, returning to the immediate matter in hand, namely H. R. 4901, I urge, in the interest of the housewives of America, the defeat of this costly and inflationary measure. Vote against another increase in the family cost of poultry, pigs, and food bills—against a rise in the people's taxes, too.

Representative Colmer Cited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New Orleans Times-Picayune of March 11, 1957:

REPRESENTATIVE COLMER CITED

Congressman WILLIAM M. COLMER, of Pascagoula, Miss., a Member of the House of Representatives for more than 24 years, recently was chosen to receive the George Washington Day dinner award of the American Good Government Society. The award was merited not only by the Congressman's long and effective service, but also by his dedication to cherished principles of American Government. He is an advocate of sound financing; a defender of States rights; an opponent of the expanding power of Government, centralized through legislation, executive action, or court decision.

In his acceptance speech, Representative COLMER pointed out that continued centrali-

zation can only end in totalitarianism. He admitted the current trend is discouraging. "But," he added, "surely we, the beneficiaries of the labor and sacrifice of those who founded the Republic, have the courage, the will, and the patriotism to see to it that this Republic, embodying the most perfect form of liberty ever-conceived by the minds of men, shall not perish from the earth."

If more men shared the dedication of Representative COLMER, continued government by, of, and for the people would be assured.

Massachusetts Farms Known for Quality, Not Acreage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, of the 48 States, Massachusetts ranks among the high 5 in the cash receipts per acre of cropland and pasture.

Our farmers do not look to the Federal Government for perennial subsidies, even though farm wages in Massachusetts and in all New England are much higher than in the Midwest. Real-estate taxes are double those levied on farmlands elsewhere.

Many Bay State farms are family-type operations.

This explains the typical independence and self-reliance of the New England farmer, which is a quality to admire.

To give you the picture of agriculture in Massachusetts, I insert in the RECORD the second of a series of articles published in the Boston Herald on March 11, 1957, under the byline of Peter Barnicle:

ACREAGE NO MEASURE OF FARMING

(By Peter Barnicle)

Acreage alone cannot be used as an accurate measure in a consideration of either the value or extent of farming in Massachusetts.

More than 75 percent of the nearly 500,000 acres under cultivation in this State are given over to hay. The vegetable crop takes up about 10 percent of the cultivated area.

Unlike the huge sprawling farms of the Midwest, the agricultural holdings in the Bay State are small in acreage. The Massachusetts farmer carries on a highly intensive farming, growing crops which have high market value. The average income from Massachusetts farms is much larger than people realize, when compared with the rest of the Nation.

AMONG HIGH FIVE

New Jersey usually leads the 48 States in the cash receipts per acre of crop land and pasture, according to a survey by the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston. Delaware is occasionally second, but Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut are among the high five.

The 3 southern New England States usually rank second, third, and fourth, or fifth, and frequently change places from year to year.

In a closer look at Massachusetts farms it was discovered that those in Middlesex County are among the richest in the country. The 1950 Census of Agriculture covering farms with cash receipts from marketing of over $10,000 disclosed that the family-type poultry dairy and market garden farms of Middlesex are among the leaders. The census showed that 23.3 percent of the Middlesex farms have cash receipts of over $10,000 compared with only 9.2 percent in the same category throughout the United States.

The great difficulty in analyzing the farmer's true economic position lies in the field of net income. Most agricultural sources admit that it is almost impossible to get a clear picture of the farmer's cost, investment, and monetary return, particularly on the family-type farms.

One farmer when asked his net income explained that he had none. He insisted that he lived not on his income but on "lack of expense."

The farmer pointed out that he owned his own farm. If he did not own the property he would be paying more than $600 a year in interest. This money, coupled with repairs he did not make, he said, was the "lack of expense" he was living on.

In 1955, Massachusetts farmers grossed $171,449,000. Expenses that year were $147,600,000. These varied from farm to farm in such a way that a complete breakdown is impossible. Replacement of crops after frosts, complete loss of a crop by flood and various other factors had to be added to original planting costs and care of the farm.

The farmer also has to figure in the large acreage given over to hay which is not a market crop. It eventually brings back a monetary value when it reaches the consumer in the form of milk, beef, and veal. The 350,000 tons grown in this State last year would have a value of about $10 million at a market price of $35 a ton.

TRUCK CROP VALUES

Truck crop values are more readily analyzed. Here again the acreage is a minor factor. In a recent year 730 acres of celery were planted in Massachusetts and had a cash value of $974,000. This is one of the top money crops of the State.

The plants grow close together and more than 1,000 boxes per acre can be harvested. In comparison only 200 boxes of corn can be harvested per acre; and the State has about 10,000 acres of corn. The asparagus grower can only get 100 boxes an acre.

In monetary value, without regard to the acreage concerned, sweet corn tops all Bay State crops with an annual value of over $2 million. Close behind are tomatoes with a value in 1954 of $1,728,000. Other leading crops are squash, carrots, lettuce, cabbage, and onions.

The growers of these crops are operating in a highly competitive market. They have a great advantage by being close to a premium market area, but the advantage is sometimes lessened by other factors. Farm wages in Massachusetts, and in all New England, are much higher than in the Midwest. Real-estate taxes here are about twice those for farmlands in other parts of the country.

FAMILY FARMS

The wage problem is partly offset by the fact that so many Bay State farms are family-type operations. A farm survey shows that of the 43,874 farm workers in Massachusetts, 23,700 are family workers. The farmer also has another problem in investment. Analysts have shown that it costs $22,000 to put a farm worker in the field, while industry invests $14,000 on each worker.

All crops were substantially smaller last year because of a series of hardships, including a late spring, a killing frost in May, and a summer drought.

One of the hardest hit was the apple grower. The 1956 apple production in this State was estimated at 1,640,000 bushels, a drop of 44 percent from the 1955 production of 2,940,000 bushels, and 28 percent less than the 10-year average yield. Baldwin production was maintained, but all other varieties suffered.

This year, however, Louis A. Webster, director of the division of markets of the State department of agriculture, estimates that more than 3 million bushels will be harvested in Massachusetts.

The 12,000 acres of orchards in this State yield about 200 bushels per acre, he said. He is of the opinion that the yield could be increased considerably, pointing out that in other apple States a yield of 800 to 1,000 bushels is not uncommon.

Next: The advantages of prepackaging and new developments which will affect the future of the Bay State farmers.

In the Interest of Good Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, it is interesting and, also, encouraging to receive letters from people who live in our district. The refreshing part of so many letters is that many of these expressions are in the interest of good government and expressed in all frankness. This privilege is an American heritage to be guarded.

Under unanimous consent that I may extend these remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a letter signed by 55 employees of the American Playground Device Co., of Anderson, Ind.:

AMERICAN PLAYGROUND DEVICE CO.,
Anderson, Ind., February 21, 1957.

Hon. JOHN V. BEAMER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Because all of us are deply concerned regarding the rapid concentration of power in the executive branch of the United States Government, we look to you as our Representative in the House of Representatives to give you full support to the following proposals:

(1) Adoption of the Byrd budget or any other recommendation that will cut a minimum of $10 billion from the budget proposed by President Eisenhower.

(2) Continue adequate foreign aid to South Korea, Nationalist China, and any other country that demonstrates their desire to stand with us against the spread of national or international communism. End immediately all aid to countries not willing to stand and be counted as opponents of this vile system.

(3) If necessary, withhold further appropriations until the executive department initiates the economies in Government recommended by the Hoover Committee.

(4) Substantially cut the United States Government civilian payroll in every department. This should include the 50-percent increase in the White House work force since President Eisenhower entered office.

(5) Oppose all further encroachment by the United States Government into those activities traditionally reserved to the various States and local communities: So-called Federal aid to education and Federal highway construction being but two examples.

(6) Enact legislation to substantially reduce the strangling Federal tax load upon private business and the individual taxpayer. This would enable the various States and cities to support their normal function. If necessary, repeal of the 16th amendment to the Constitution.

(7) Enact into legislation the Bricker amendment.

(8) Support the Knowland doctrine opposing sanctions against Israel unless they are applied to Soviet Russia. If necessary, withdraw from the United Nations in order to advance the policies that are best for the United States.

(9) Finally, resist the assumption of power in the Republican Party by those supporters of President Eisenhower's phony new republicanism. Invite them to join forces with their blood brothers, the leftwing, commie-loving New and Fair Deal Democrats.

If this is not possible, join with others from both political parties to form a group opposed to further concentration of government in Washington, thus giving the voters in 1960 the opportunity to make a real choice.

Our sincere thanks for your continued effort to preserve constitutional government for us and for all the people of our beloved United States.

Warren P. Miller, president; Ralph E. Williams, treasurer; Charles L. Cummings, production manager; R. R. Jehn, general manager; James W. Reeder, purchasing agent; William G. Gamble, Wellington B. Sanford, Henry E. Grant, Morris E. Gaddis, Roland Lechlitnes, Charles W. Doherty, Edwin C. Wright, Reggel B. Marshall, Kenneth E. Nieum, James Scherer, David Phalen, Francis Turep, Ernest J. Smith, shipping department; Donald L. Gallamore, Neva C. Shirley, James E. Stookey, Ray W. Larsam, R. L. Bociort, Alice J. Alatza, Lillian I. Boles, office force; Jack M. Petry, Clarence J. Menary, Edward Grant, Ralph Parker, slide department; Roy M. Cole, Jack E. Barkdull, Ralph Robbins, Jr., Clifford W. Swift, Jack Pierce, finishing department; Franklin Benchubicher, Vance C. Downey, Wm. L. Williams, Robert D. Ritter, Ovid Perry, Virgil T. Jarvis, Neil Sefcik, Victor Thibault, John Funk, mill room; John V. Hebert, Victor L. Wulle, Francis I. Green, Roy L. Robbins, David R. Shock, Virgil Williams, machine shop; Emil Juneau, Charles Barrett, William French, George Blowers, Hilmer Larson, night force.

Side Effects of Drugs Used in Treatment—Possible Effect on Claims—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following medical bulletin issued by the national rehabilitation commission of the American Legion:

SIDE EFFECTS OF DRUGS USED IN TREATMENT—POSSIBLE EFFECTS ON CLAIMS—PART II

(By Irving B. Brick, M. D., medical consultant)

DRUG REACTIONS

Of the diseases that are believed to be caused by drugs, it is interesting that one of the collagenous diseases, periarteritis nodosa, which we occasionally see in cases of veterans, is believed to be a hypersensitivity type of reaction. The use of sulfonamide drugs, penicillin, and various serums have been related to this type of fatal disease.

DISEASE OF HYPERSENSITIVITY

The basis of this relation is not too strong but there is some evidence that it is a sensitivity type of reaction. Another medication that causes a disease of the collagenous-disease group is a drug called hydralazine which is used in the treatment of high blood pressure. It has had some popularity in the treatment of high blood pressure, and it occasionally is followed by a disease manifested by arthritis, resembling rheumatoid arthritis, and then by lupus erythematosis, which is another one of these hypersensitivity diseases. Now the importance of this type of disease is that in service-connected hypertensive patients or patients who are service connected for various things and receive these different types of drugs and develop these peculiar diseases, of course, we should know about it.

DRUGS CAUSING NEURITIS

Neuritis may come from arsenicals which we don't use much nowadays but which used to be very popular for syphilis treatment. Arsenicals can also cause tubular vision. Stilbamidine is a drug that is used in the treatment of some of the tropical diseases, particularly leishmaniasis, which is very rare. It can cause facial paresis and other neurological entities. Also, serums of various kinds may cause neuritis as serum-sickness reaction, but this clears up usually after a while.

EFFECTS OF DRUGS ON THE BLOOD

Blood reactions from drugs are not uncommon and even some of the common drugs that you can buy over the counter may sometimes cause drug reactions in sensitive people. It is fortunate, of course, that most of us are not sensitive to the usual common drugs that we encounter, but every once in awhile someone is sensitive to aspirin, someone is sensitive to very common drugs that are taken in patent medicines and they may have bad reactions.

White cell depression or leukopenia

There are a good many drugs that have caused white cell depression. The white cells of the blood stream are the defense mechanism in the blood against infection and these white cells may be affected by a good many drugs. In service-connected lymphatic diseases such as Hodgkins or leukemias, there are a whole series of drugs now that are being used in the treatment of these diseases. It started with the nitrogen mustards and now there are many other types of drugs that are being used in the treatment of these conditions which also cause depression of the white cells. A whole list of drugs can be given: sulfapyridine which was one of the early sulfonamides was implicated in this; antithyroid agents, drugs used against thyroid disease such as thiouracil, propyithiouracil are implicated. A drug which we talked about previously as possibly causing gastric ulcers, butazolidin, which is used in rheumatic diseases and gout, may cause depression of the white cells.

Chloromycetin

Chloromycetin had a very bad reputation early in the course of its usage and in this town all the medical profession knows that the daughter of a doctor was given this drug and developed this depression of the white cells and died. There were quite a few deaths and the drug manufacturer, of course, was very concerned. It was found out later, the proper usage of the drug does not lead to this. Now it is a very valuable drug and used quite widely when it should be used for the infections against which it is effective.

Rating action

Now of course, it could happen that a veteran goes into a VA hospital for a service-connected condition or for a non-service-connected condition and this type of thing can happen. It could happen to the non-service-connected veteran if there is an indication for its use and this was a drug that might have been helpful. Of course, we wouldn't have much claim for a section 31 case because this is known complication of this drug. However, the medical profession has been alerted to this danger and uses this drug very much more cautiously than it used to. Even streptomycin sometimes causes this and all of us know that streptomycin is probably the widest used drug in the treatment of pulmonary tuberculosis and other forms of tuberculosis and a very good drug. Occasionally streptomycin can cause this depression of the white cells. So, here you see a whole list of drugs, including drugs that are used in the treatment of blood conditions themselves, such as leukemia, which can cause further disease.

DRUGS USED IN EPILEPSY

Dr. SHAPIRO. I'd like to mention some drugs that are used very extensively in the condition in which we see service connection frequently, in the epileptics. Two drugs, especially, have been known to affect the white cells depressing them, with death sometimes occurring. One is the drug used in the treatment of petiti mal epilepsy—tridione. Mesantoin is used mainly in psychomotor epilepsy. We know of one death of a middle-aged woman who came to the clinic, got mesatoin, didn't come back and be observed, with the precautions used. We check the blood periodically to see the effect on the white cells. She later was admitted in an emergency many months later and died shortly thereafter. The autopsy showed the depression of the bone marrow. We had one experience with a 7-year-old child whose mother was warned about tridione. It was controlling her convulsions. When she called up the clinic, one of the students answered and said that the mother said the child had a runny nose and a little breaking out of the skin, he said to get the child into the clinic at once. He found her with red spots on the skin, and the white count was down to about 2,000. If the drug hadn't been stopped immediately and if she had taken it another 2 or 3 days, she may have died.

Dilantin

In epilepsy the other drug that is used very extensively, sodium dilantin which is used in all types of epilepsy, mainly in the grand mal, is a drug not without dangers. It can occasionally produce symptoms of intoxication in addition to skin rashes so that they may resemble even a brain tumor and we have had two cases that were picked up staggering, having neurologic signs with choking of the optic discs and were thought to be brain tumor cases. In getting our records from the clinic it was found they were on dilantin and didn't operate on them but took them off the drugs. These are very valuable drugs that can stop attacks of epilepsy for months or years, but occasionally haven't. At our clinic when we find an individual who is sensitive to one of these drugs, we write across the chart in big letters, dilantin sensitive, tridione sensitive, etc. I am mentioning these drugs because of their wide use and the fact that we have so many service connected epileptic cases which may be on these drugs.

Dr. BRICK. These three drugs actually cause bone marrow depression in all of its elements. You may get anemia, white count depression, and platelet depression.

COMPLICATIONS OF SURGERY

Occasionally, too, getting away from drugs for the moment, operations sometimes cause complications. For instance, after surgery certain complications arise. When you do a gastric resection you can get several types of anemia because you have bypassed or eliminated part of the stomach and the healthy red cells in your bloodstream have to have from the stomach a certain factor. When

this factor becomes minimal or absent you may get anemia. The rating schedule takes cognizance of this in rating subtotal gastric resections. In other operations on the colon and the small intestines, when you get a bypassing of certain parts of the small intestines and the large intestines, you may not only get anemia but you may get diarrhea. When this is bad you may get what is known as steatorrhea, diarrhea which simply means one loses a lot of fat as well as protein and even carbohydrates in the stool. You eat a lot and it goes out in the stool because of this inability of the small intestines to absorb. All of us, of course, in rating practice are aware of the fact that residuals of surgery are noted throughout the rating schedule and may cause disability. This is important because you may run into a revision of the rating schedule.

Gastric resection

Dr. SHAPIRO. One of the things that has been brought to the attention of the VA has been that certain consultants complained about the rating for resection of the stomach. They have actually stated they are going to refuse to do resections because they claim that once they cut out the ulcer and improve the man, he gets a higher rating because of resection of the stomach. I think it is important to bear in mind that you are mentioning what may happen to a man with this resection and maybe that is the reason for keeping that rating. I'm merely mentioning it because that has come up and they have contacted the rating people protesting of actually refusing to do surgery on that account.

Dr. BRICK. Well, of course, when you get a good result, as I have said here before, it does seem rather silly to give a man a higher rating after his surgery than before his surgery for the disability that he was being operated upon. Now, after a subtotal resection there are many other complications that may arise and of course these complications would warrant even a higher rating than the automatic 40 percent. I would be more satisfied, and this is off the subject, in that particular section of the rating schedule if they were given a rating based strictly on the symptomatology of his surgery. I think it would be well to give an automatic 30-percent or 40-percent rating for 6 months to a year because there is a period of adjustment during which there is undoubtedly disability. However, there have been surgical attempts to try to overcome some of these difficulties after resection and one of the current surgical efforts is not taking out as much of the stomach and doing vagotomies, that is a nerve cutting operation. This of course is something that we will have to wait 5 or 10 more years before we can evaluate properly.

Mr. POOL. When you take out a piece of equipment from a delicate piece of machinery because it is damaged and then you bypass that and set it up so it runs without replacing that part it will never work the same. I can take a clock and take out one of the wheels and rearrange it so it will run and keep good time.

Dr. BRICK. This is not particularly true of all subtotal resections because you can take out in some patients a part of the stomach and they can do better than they did before. Is it going to hold up forever? It may. The rating action I think should depend upon whether it does or not.

Mr. POOL. In other words, you would say that the rating schedule then could only rate the individual in that case if he gets along all right, cut him down, but you can't set up a rating schedule for an individual case.

Dr. BRICK. That's right. Well, this gets into the general subject of other operations which are done and the patients are much better after an organ is removed, as a diseased kidney, and yet this is an automatic rating that goes along with the disease.

Recurrence of ulcer after gastrectomy

Mr. AGOSTINELLI. What are the statistics of a recurring ulcer and result of a gastrectomy?

Dr. BRICK. Well, that's an interesting point. We get them rated after they have a recurrence. That is no problem from there. The statistics are to the effect that probably about 10 percent of the patients who have a stomach operation that ulceration will occur again. If he has another ulcer in the resected section of the stomach, it's part of the same original disease.

ANTICOAGULANT DRUGS

One other situation that we ought to talk about briefly is the use of the anticoagulant drugs. These are drugs which are used to thin the blood. The most famous patient taking this drug on an apparently permanent basis, it appears from the newspapers, is our President. You know, that after his coronary occlusion he was given an anticoagulant drug, and there are quite a few on the market, like dicoumarol. There are several others with different names but they have the same property causing coagulation of the blood to be diminished so that the blood does not clot as readily as it would normally. There is still a great deal of controversy about whether use of these drugs is the appropriate and correct thing to do in coronary thrombosis. There is good evidence that it is helpful and on the other hand there are a lot of good doctors who think that this should not be done.

Use in heart attacks

There is an English doctor, for instance, who thinks it is wrong to give these drugs. Yet, on the other hand, there are a group of doctors within the American Heart Association in our country that feel that every patient who has a coronary occlusion should have these drugs and possibly that a good many should have them on a permanent basis. You can get the medical literature in the past few years and can get both sides of the argument. We really don't know, as I sum up the situation, whether or not these drugs will really prevent future occlusions. We do know already there have been many reliable cases reported of patients who have had coronary occlusions who stayed on the drug, who have had other coronary occlusions so that it certainly isn't a 100-percent proposition.

Other uses

Now, these drugs are used for other things other than coronary occlusions. They are used for pulmonary embolism and infarction, postoperatively. They are also used and advocated by some neurologists for cerebral thrombosis. Of course, one of the problems here is to make sure that it is not a cerebral hemorrhage rather than a thrombosis and that may sometimes be a very difficult problem. They are sometimes used in certain conditions such as phlebothrombosis or thrombophlebitis to prevent embolization. Now what is the danger in all of these situations?

Danger of use

This is the important thing, what is the danger in all of these situations. The danger is that these substances thin the blood so much that the blood does not coagulate properly and therefore you get bleeding. If you get a cut you keep on bleeding and it won't stop. But more important than that is that spontaneously you may get bleeding in the urinary tract and the only way you are able to pick it up is by microscopic examination of the urine. Red blood cells, showers of red cells come forth. However, occasionally, unfortunately, the bleeding is of greater severity and subarachnoid hemorrhage, actual bleeding in the subarachnoid space of the brain, may be found.

In the treatment of myocardial infarction, treatment of this heart condition that is the primary reason for its use in heart disease, it is to be noted that since the use of these drugs that hemopericardium occurs. Hemopericardium simply means blood in the pericardial cavity. The pericardium is a thin, transparent membrane which encloses the heart in two layers. In between these two layers is a little fluid, pericardial fluid. Now, if you have the unfortunate sequel of these anticoagulant drugs of getting blood or bleeding into the pericardial cavity, you not only get blood in there, but it clots and eventually it restricts the movement of the heart. So you actually have compression of the heart. There have been a not insignificant number of cases who have died as a result of this complication of the use of these drugs. These drugs may be quite valuable but we must always remember that these drugs are not harmless drugs.

Contraindications to use

In certain conditions these drugs should not be used. For instance, with a patient who has a peptic ulcer who has ever bled these are drugs not to use because it may start bleeding again. In a noncomplicated peptic ulcer, the risk may be a little greater than in normal persons, but if there is an indication, such as a pulmonary thrombosis or embolism, it is probably all right to use them. In patients who have liver disease, these drugs are not very safe to use. In patients who have various blood diseases, these drugs may be dangerous to use. So you see, there is a whole list of conditions in which these drugs may actually be hazardous. One last word, in certain rat poisons they are using an anticoagulant called warfarin. What happens is that the rat eats this drug and then he bleeds internally and dies. The rat poison takes advantage of the toxic effect of these anticoagulant drugs. It is true, too, that there has been quite a few suicides reported already in which these drugs have been taken and caused internal hemorrhage and death.

Dr. SHAPIRO. In a service-connected case that dies or gets a complication from these drugs, there would be no difficulty in getting service connection for the complication. In a non-service-connected case a section 31 does not apply unless poor judgment was used in using it in liver disease or an ulcer or in other conditions in which the drug is generally contraindicated.

Dr. BRICK. If there is not the indication, a lifesaving indication for its use or if there was a contraindication to its use, the doctors exercising this reasonable caution should have known about, then there would be the possibility of a section 31 case. But if a non-service-connected veteran goes into the hospital with a myocardial infarction and the judgment of the doctor taking care of him as used in average civilian practice, the drug is commonly used. If he gets a complication of it, there would be no section 31 case. Many doctors are being pressured into using these drugs by families because they read about it in the newspapers, they go to the doctor and say, "Why isn't my relative getting an anticoagulant?" Many doctors use them routinely because of this very fact, and also because of the apparently favorable medical reports.

How Big Is the Federal Budget?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, today there is one topic that is of prime

importance to every American taxpayer, and that is the size of the national budget. The taxpayer today knows the effect of the size of the budget upon his own pocketbook, and he realizes as never before in American history that the tremendous tax load he is carrying can never be lightened unless the national budget is drastically reduced.

But just how big is the budget today? How can it be judged by simplified comparison?

John D. Garwood, professor of economics at Fort Hays State College, Kans., has undertaken the task of such comparison to show exactly how large the budget is in terms that can be clearly understood now at a time when even the word "billion" has ceased to have meaning, and I believe Professor Garwood's article which follows deserves the thoughtful consideration of all Members of Congress:

HOW LARGE IS THE BUDGET?—MEASURING THE SIZE OF OUR NATIONAL DEBT

(By John D. Garwood)

In the last 3 fiscal years, 1954, 1955, 1956, the United States Government spent $193 billion. In 152 years from the time of George Washington's first inauguration in 1789 to 1940, the Government spent $167 billion.

In a single month in 1956, the Government spent almost twice as much as the total costs of the Government during the 4 years of the Civil War.

In the fiscal year closing June 30, 1956, Federal spending exceeded the combined cost of all United States wars prior to World War II. The 2-year cost of World War I was $31 billion. The Government now spends more than that in 6 months.

History tells us that Government functions and costs never stop growing. Postwar spending never goes back to prewar spending. Nine million dollar budgets were the rule prior to the War of 1812. The budget was twice that following the war.

After the Civil War the budget was over 3 times the prewar budgets of $60 million to $70 million.

Federal expenditures were about $350 million annually before the Spanish-American War, more than a half billion dollars annually following the war.

Before World War I, United States Government spending was about $700 million per year. It was about four times that after the war.

Before World War II, during the thirties, spending by the Government ranged from $6 billion to $9 billion per year. From 1946 to 1950, following World War II, expenditures were in the neighborhood of $40 billion per year.

Following Korea, expenditures rose to around $65 billion per year.

Proposed expenditures for the fiscal year 1957 (July 1, 1956, to June 30, 1957) are set at approximately $66 billion. The President's budget set forth in 1,534 pages of finely printed material, weighs in at about 6 pounds or about three-fourths of a billion dollars per ounce.

It is so large, it covers so many fields of human endeavor, put together through tens of millions of man-hours, that no one, not even the Budget Director, can possibly fully comprehend it.

How large is the budget? How much is $66 billion? Large is a relative term. Anything is large or small only when compared to something else. Thus, the point of a pin is large when compared to an atom, an elephant when compared to a cat, etc.

The magnitude of the budget is indicated when we realize that the budget is large regardless of the economic unit we use for comparison. It dwarfs other economic institutions and functions with which we are familiar. It is like comparing the Hoover Dam to a child-made dam in the gutter of a street after a rain.

If total Federal spending were made in dollar bills, laid end to end, they would reach 6,250,000 miles. This would encircle the earth 250 times or make 13 round trips to the moon.

Federal spending for the fiscal year 1956 is equivalent to the income made by people in the Pacific Coast States, the Rocky Mountain States, plus the States of North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri, or a total of the income of the people in the 20 Western States.

It is over twice as large as the amount of currency in circulation. It is three times larger than the amount of gold held in Treasury vaults.

If paid out as a bonus to every wage earner, it would put more than a $1,000 in every wage earner's pocket annually.

It is over eight times the amount spent for all purposes for elementary and secondary education in 1 year.

It is between 6 and 7 times greater than the income before taxes of all corporations in the United States with earnings of $10 million or more during the year.

It is over three times larger than the profits before taxes of all manufacturing companies in the United States for 1955. It is between 6 and 7 times as great as all automobile, motortruck, and bus sales in the United States in 1955.

Federal spending is over four times as great as all spending for housing in the United States in 1955.

The interest on the national debt alone, an annual charge of between $6.5 and $7 billion, is greater than all money spent on private education and research and religious and welfare activities for a year.

In the past decade, we have been assailed by billion-dollar figures from governmental sources so frequently that the figures have little meaning. It is only when we translate these figures into comparisons with other economic data that they become meaningful and capable of understanding.

The Federal budget remains the giant among the pygmies. It is so monstrous as to defy reasoned comment. There is no way to get hold of it. It is too complicated and vast for any one mortal mind to conceive it in its entirety.

The Frankenstein monster of our own creation has escaped the bonds of control. It dominates rather than being dominated. It commands rather than responding to commands. It governs the economy with its taxes and concomitant expenditures. It stands as an incomprehensible monstrosity of America's creeping retreat from political and economic control to tyranny through ignorance and bureaucratic control.

Some Have False Idea of Power Preference Clause

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the private power companies recently have been publishing advertisements attacking the power preference clause in the reclamation law. This power preference for municipalities, irrigation districts, and other public agencies has existed in our law for over 50 years and has been reaffirmed some 13 times by Congress in separate enactments. A good deal of misconception exists about the preference clause, and the private power companies have done their best by high-paid advertisements to make the confusion worse. The Sacramento Bee of March 5, 1957, had an excellent editorial on the subject, and I include it in the RECORD for the information of the Members:

SOME HAVE FALSE IDEA OF POWER-PREFERENCE CLAUSE

Perhaps the most misunderstood provision of Federal reclamation law is the so-called power-preference clause. This is so because a false conception of it has been nourished and encouraged by the private-power lobby.

The statute, enacted more than 50 years ago, provides that in the purchase of electricity generated at the Government's reclamation projects, preference shall be given to Federal agencies and to public districts.

This determines only who has first call on the power. The provision has nothing to do with the price or other conditions.

In the Central Valley project the Reclamation Bureau, in accordance with law and policy, established a power-rate schedule sufficient to pay back the Government's investment in 50 years, plus 3 percent interest, plus operation and maintenance costs, plus depreciation.

This is the price of the power whether it is purchased by the Mare Island Navy Yard, a public agency such as the Sacramento Municipal Utility District, or by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

Until recently the PGE was the largest purchaser of CVP power and still is a major customer.

The rate schedule for firm CVP power is the same for all customers, private or public. The only difference is that public agencies, such as SMUD, have a priority in the right to buy the low-cost energy.

The PGE, incidentally, has been purchasing dump power at Shasta at less than half the price of firm Shasta power sold to SMUD.

And how much the retail customer pays for CVP power depends on the profits exacted between the time the power leaves the Government busbars or transmission lines and the time it reaches the householder's meter box.

The contention that the people of Vermont or Missouri are helping to pay for the low power rates enjoyed by the customers of SMUD, a large Shasta purchaser, is just private power company propaganda.

Fact is Federal power and water projects cost the Government nothing, for the cost of each is repaid by the power and water customers.

Actually the Government makes a profit from the power projects because money advanced for these projects draws 3 percent interest which is paid into the United States Treasury.

Revolt of Public Opinion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article which appeared in Congress Weekly of March 4, 1957, makes interesting reading.

REVOLT OF PUBLIC OPINION

We are witnessing these days a remarkable phenomenon on the American political scene: An administration which has long basked in the sun of public approbation and whose foreign policy has hitherto been virtually immune to criticism has suddenly had to contend with an aroused public opinion protesting its Middle East policy. Few crises in recent years have stirred the American people as has the one involving Israel, and there is no denying the fact that the weight of opinion is against official administration policy, despite the huge personal popularity of the President and his active intervention to win public support for the policy line conducted by his Secretary of State.

We believe the conscience of America has been troubled by this issue because the problem goes beyond the usual considerations of power politics and the conflicts of nations. There is a moral issue involved here to which, more than anything else, the American people has responded. Since the early days of November, when Israel crushed the hostile Egyptian forces poised on her borders only to have the political fruits of victory snatched from her hands largely through United States intervention, American public opinion has moved steadily toward the realization that, far from being unjustified aggression, Israel's action was dictated by the fundamental law of nations—the right to survival and defense against the threat of annihilation.

In face of the stubborn and shortsighted administration policy of appeasement of the Arab rulers, which has risked the alienation of our closest allies and large bodies of opinion in the free world, American protests have grown steadily stronger until they resulted in the loud outcry in the Congress and the press against pressuring Israel further to give up her demand for security guarantees. The issue became crystallized and sharply etched when the Afro-Asian bloc in the United Nations proposed the imposition of worldwide sanctions against Israel—an action which would in effect punish a nation for the crime of insisting on nonbelligerency. An excellent gage of popular opinion in the United States is provided by the statement of our former Ambassador to Italy, Clare Boothe Luce, whose support of the Eisenhower Administration has been consistent and whose husband's publications have not been noted for partiality to Israel. Mrs. Luce, moving directly to the heart of the problem, told the press:

"The specific issue is whether it's moral or immoral to protect one's self. All this talk in and out of the U. N. about the immorality or morality of firing the first shot seems to me to fly in the face of history, commonsense, logic, and patriotism. The cardinal principle of a statesman is that his nation has a right to survival and if survival depends on its getting there 'fustest with the mostest' for the sake of its own nationhood it must take the offensive. The question is not the morality of the Israeli offensive but what Israel should do and what we intend to do to guarantee its survival in the future.

"On principle the question of defensive and offensive war has been much confused since every nation must go on the offensive if it feels that to go on the defensive would cost its survival. * * * In the case of Israel, the imposition of sanctions would be to brutally punish a small nation which has been counted among our friends while condoning larger nations whose aggressive actions have not depended on survival."

The spectacle of the nations of the world imposing their power on a tiny country fighting for survival while the larger powers ignore U. N. resolutions with impunity was apparently too much to stomach and a wave of protest has consequently swept the nation. But we need to remember the essence of both the moral and political problem in the present crisis concerns not so much the Soviet Union or Hungary or India—legitimate as our protests here are—but Egypt. It is Egypt which has led the campaign of murder and terrorism against Israeli citizens; it is Egypt which has repeatedly broken international law by blockading international waterways; it is Egypt which has time and again violated U. N. resolutions and defied the world community; it is the Egyptian dictator who by his inordinate ambitions and unconscionable manipulations has thrown the Middle East into a turmoil inviting another world war. The real moral outrage has been the spectacle of Egypt being assigned the role of the innocent victim awaiting justice from the world. It is this incongruous reversal of roles and of values that needs to be righted.

This task will confront the international community—and our own Government in particular—even if the threat of sanctions against Israel is allowed to die the death it deserves. The revolt of American public opinion is aimed at the entire record of the Eisenhower administration in the Middle East, a record of appeasement of and capitulation to the violent passions of an Arab nationalism whose essential character is anarchic and xenophobic.

Revised Federal Land Policy Denies Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, an outdoor writer spoke for conservationists everywhere when he told delegates to the 22d North American Wildlife Conference that the agreement under which the Departments of the Army and Interior are failing to acquire land for public recreation development around Federal reservoirs should be voided and we should return to the multiple-use concept of resource development.

George X. Sand, of Deerfield Beach, Fla., also called for complete revision of the Coordination Act to give the Fish and Wildlife Service a voice equal to the Corps of Engineers in public-works project planning.

We will be hearing more from conservationists as a result of Mr. Sand's paper which, edited to conform to the allowable limit on extension, follows:

REVISED FEDERAL LAND POLICY DENIES DEVELOPMENT

(A paper presented by George X. Sand at the 3d general session of the 22d North American Wildlife Conference, Washington, D. C., March 6, 1957)

I am grateful for this opportunity to discuss one of the important problems facing conservationists today.

I come not as an expert legal or administrative adviser, or as a qualified fish and wildlife biologist.

However, I do feel that I can speak for many of America's 25 million sportsmen. For the past 17 years, as a freelance outdoor writer for the national magazines, I have hunted and fished with these men and women.

Because my income depends upon it, I have listened closely whenever and wherever I met them.

And I can tell you today that a great many of these voting citizens are not only troubled, they are angered, by the new joint land acquisition policy of the Army Corps of Engineers and the Department of the Interior. They don't like it.

That's why I felt justified in traveling several thousand miles to show you why this joint policy for land acquisition on reservoir projects, as it was approved by the Secretary of the Army and the Secretary of the Interior on January 13, 1954 (Order No. 2744), is both unfair and unsound.

In fact, many of our aroused sportsmen feel that the Congress should examine closely not only this joint policy (which is, after all, but an interagency agreement, and not a law) but also, while they are at it, the entire 1946 Coordination Act (Public Law 732).

But let's begin by considering the controversial new land policy.

First, it robs our citizens of the many existing Army engineer and Bureau of Reclamation projects, public projects which their taxes have already paid for.

* * * * *

By means of reconveyance bills that can be, and several of which already have been, presented to Congress * * * this joint policy encourages the selling back of these tremendously improved, and very valuable, Federal reservoir lands to a favored few original owners at a very small fraction of their present worth.

The new policy makes no provision for even the choicest of these irreplaceable wildlife and esthetically invaluable sites to remain in public ownership (except it be the wish of the Secretary of the Army for them to be so retained, and I intend to give you a classic example a little later of exactly what type of cooperation we Florida sportsmen got in this regard).

Nor does it permit all interested parties, without distinction, to enter competitive bids, should they desire these attractive residential and commercial sites that have been created at public expense.

Secondly, not only does the new policy provide for getting rid of our present priceless wildlife and recreational areas, it deals an additional crippling blow to conservation by providing inadequate public use of any new project that may be built.

The Corps of Engineers will acquire only flowage easements for lands that will be periodically inundated. Henceforth they can purchase in fee title only those lands that will actually be flooded permanently.

No longer will there be acquisition of reasonable surrounding land areas in depth above the high water mark to offer prime wildlife management opportunities for State and Federal wildlife agencies.

Instead, a small number of fortunate property owners will own and control most of the shorelines of such large reservoirs built at public expense in the future. One can almost see the marching array of no trespassing signs as they hold at bay our steadily increasing populations from such vitally needed recreation sites.

Let's review briefly what led up to this serious state of affairs.

As we know, the Democratic administration fathered a comprehensive plan for the multiple use, and hence the maximum good, of all the lands and waters of this Nation.

This program, which began in the late thirties and reach full bloom in the period 1946–52, saw the passage of a series of laws which expanded significantly the Soil Conservation Service, the Forest Service and other Federal agencies.

One of these, Public Law 732, popularly known as the Coordination Act, was to prove a particularly good law. It provided, for the first time that the other Federal agencies should "consult" with the United States Fish and Wildlife Service whenever a Federal project was undertaken.

In other words, the idea—and surely it was a sound one—was to encourage an

"equal partnership" for fish and wildlife in water resources development, along with flood control, navigation, drainage, irrigation, power, and other uses.

Unfortunately, Public Law 732 did not then, nor does it today, go far enough. Instead of providing for the United States Fish and Wildlife Service to stand on its own two feet and demand that our priceless wildlife resources be given equal consideration along with flood control, navigation and all the rest, the Service is obliged to still ride along today on the "shirt-tails" of such other Federal agencies, accepting their handouts of operating funds and similar assistance, if and when given.

Nevertheless, this weak Coordination Act did set the stage for the multiple-use concept of advancing fish and wildlife. I'd like to cite one quick example of just how much this could mean.

I recently read an old report published in 1953 by the Office of River Basin Studies, United States Fish and Wildlife Service. This report dealt with Harry Strunk Lake, a Federal project area located in a small tributary of the Republican River in southwestern Nebraska.

This was the area of the dust bowl of the thirties, an area subjected to occasional flash floods which damaged life and property in the small farming communities located along the stream courses.

Harry Strunk Lake was not spectacular. Built in 1949 for flood control and irrigation purposes, it boasted less than 2,000 acres. There are many more impressive examples of Federal reservoirs.

In line with the liberal land-acquisition policy of that era, a generous purchase of peripheral lands (subsequently transferred to the Nebraska Game, Forestation, and Parks Commission) provided the United States Fish and Wildlife Service an outstanding opportunity to plan and develop this area for wildlife benefits.

The reservoir was opened to fishing for the first time in 1952. During that first year, an estimated 55,000 fishermen took advantage of this new recreational opportunity.

Happily, they spent about $174,000. A survey made in the nearby town of Cambridge (population 1,352 persons) revealed that out of the 50 businesses of every kind located there 41 stated that their volume had been directly, or indirectly, affected by the new fishery.

In fact, the community's gross business increased approximately $50,000 in that 1 year. This, no doubt, exceeded the combined flood-control and irrigation benefits. And the excellent hunting of that year was not evaluated and included.

This was a good Federal project. Should one travel Nebraska's Republican Valley today, he can see how this project has made verdant the lives and increased the joy of living for thousands of people in that vicinity.

Yet, under today's new policy, this project could not be built in this manner.

Harry Strunk Lake is butone example. You can find many others in our 95 Federal reservoirs, with more than 1,600,000 acres of land around them available for fish and wildlife management.

And keep in mind that not one of those acres was purchased under authority specifically granted for wildlife purposes. It was all purchased for flood-control, navigation, or other so-called primary purposes as authorized by the Congress.

(Incidentally, about 70 percent of the total was already public lands.)

Most of us agree today that probably more land was condemned for Government use at these projects than was primarily required to complete them. Local governments complained as these federally acquired lands were removed from State and county tax rolls.

Despite the great public good being done, thousands of the one-time owners understandably resented the enforced sale of their land for Government use, even though they were fairly paid, and many of them subsequently benefited from now owning remaining properties that adjoined the improved Federal reservoirs.

Probably the TVA stands out as the greatest example of this multiple-use program. Whether we agree with the TVA in principle or not, this physically, economically and socially eroded valley was converted, as a result of complete control exercised by Federal agencies, into a system of land use and natural resource development which was most comprehensive in its approach. Surely, public use of the fishery in the TVA reservoirs, for example, has since become world famous.

Nevertheless, when a Republican administration took over in 1952, the TVA was described as "creeping socialism." Apparently, the new administration felt that the old system led to large bureaucracies, that the construction agencies were usurping the rights of the Congress.

Perhaps they were, I don't feel qualified to say.

As a result of the administration change, however, we got this new Federal land acquisition policy (which, as I've said, is merely an interagency agreement, not a law). Henceforth, it was made clear, when the Congress appropriated any money, it, and it alone, would say who was to benefit from such money.

Well, that surely is American and the way it should be. Unfortunately, however, just like the original Coordination Act of the Roosevelt administration, this new setup is not nearly so sound for us sportsmen and conservationists as it could be. In fact, it offers several big problems.

First, it seems hardly short of asinine that we should even think of selling the wildlife and recreational values of our hard-earned Federal project sites, or giving them away, if you prefer.

On April 25, 1956, the Department of the Army proudly proclaimed in a news release that public use of recreation opportunities provided by its Corps of Engineers at such civil works projects had reached an all-time high of 61,132,000 persons during the calendar year 1955.

That is a lot of people, well over one-third of our entire national population. These millions of Americans, both local and tourist, engaged in such outdoor activities at the project sites as camping, picnicking, swimming, fishing, boating, sailing, water skiing and hunting.

Further, the Army admitted that the available facilities were being "outstripped by the increasingly large numbers of people," who continued to come to these projects. And during these past 2 years the number undoubtedly has increased considerably.

On top of that, under the present joint policy agreement between the Secretary of the Army and the Secretary of the Interior no access lands whatever are to be provided at future projects to accommodate those "increasingly large numbers of people."

Does that make sense to you? It doesn't to me. Nor does it begin to make sense to the many angry citizens whom I meet in my travels about this country.

Theoretically the reconveyance program has been set up to provide an exception and no sale in the case of those lands which, as determined by the Secretary of the Army, are needed for "public purposes."

But let's examine how this one-man power so given can work out in actual application. I am sure that many of you recall that recent situation wherein the bullheadedness of Army Secretary Wilber M. Brucker and others in the Department of the Army nearly cost us Florida sportsmen our wonderful 7,000-acre Jim Woodruff wildlife management area.

Two reconveyance bills had been enacted during the first session of the 84th Congress. One applied to the Jim Woodruff Reservoir, the other to Alabama's Demopolis Reservoir. Conservation groups had not protested either one because the language specified that lands required for "public purposes" should not be reconveyed.

It seemed clear that Congress previously had provided for recognition of wildlife management and public recreation as "public purposes" in the Coordination Act (Public Law 732) and in section 209 of the Flood Control Act of 1954.

The Army insisted, however, that under Public Law 300 of the 84th Congress, 1st session, even the lands licensed to the State of Florida had to be sold back to the former owners.

As the Wildlife Management Institute pointed out at the time, the Secretary of the Army should have decided that this small part of the shoreline was needed for public purposes. His refusal to make this decision meant that the Army was now contending that the "public purposes" specified in its approved general plan and license to the Florida agency was not "public purposes."

In sticking to this questionable interpretation of the meaning of public purpose, and reneging on its approved general plan, the Army was overruling the urgent pleas of Governor LeRoy Collins, of Florida, the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, the forceful Wildlife Management Institute, the State-affiliate of the nationwide 3-million-member National Wildlife Federation, members of the Florida Outdoor Writers Association, and any other conservationist group who might choose to join in the battle, and there were plenty who did join.

Because the Secretary of the Army refused to budge from his unpopular position, and would not comply with the directive which several prominent attorneys agreed is in Public Law 300, Florida Congressman BOB SIKES was left with no alternative but to introduce another bill, which was subsequently approved by the Congress and which mandated the Army engineers not to reconvey these lands desired for public purposes by the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission.

Following this startling incident there were those of us who found ourselves wondering whether this wasnt' exactly the type of bureaucratic behavior that the present administration had vowed to eliminate.

I mentioned earlier that there are many conservationists who feel that the Congress should not only correct such conditions as these but should also overhaul the entire Coordination Act while they are about it.

Let's look at the weakness of this act in terms of what it does for the United States Fish and Wildlife Service. The Service is, after all, our logical representative before the Congress.

As nearly as I can determine, the Fish and Wildlife Service does not now have, nor has it ever had, the organization, nor the funds, nor the legal prestige to enable it to go before the Congress with a report comparable to the Corps of Engineers, as well founded as the Corps of Engineers, or with the backing that the Corps of Engineers enjoys.

It is always a case of "too little, too late" for two reasons: First, insufficient funds; second, insufficient cognizance in the law of the right for fish and wildlife to receive equal consideration.

Under the present law, the only thing the Fish and Wildlife Service can do is to recommend measures to mitigate losses. There is nothing in the law to insure that the other agencies must accept these recommendations.

The law just states they have to consider the Service's recommendations.

I have often wondered how many times they actually do give such consideration.

The Congress has indicated that it expects the Fish and Wildlife Service to stand on its own two feet as a planning agency.

How? I'd like to know.

For an effective equal partnership, it seems to me you must have not only comparable operating funds and manpower, but also equal knowledge.

For example, the Fish and Wildlife Service cannot say what effect a specific project will have upon fish and wildlife until they actually see the plans of how a river or other water surface is to be diverted or changed. Yet the Corps of Engineers, as soon as their plans are completed, usually sends them immediately to the office of the Chief Engineer to Washington.

This same brand of limitation applies often where finances are concerned. Last year in my State the corps got about 30 times the Fish and Wildlife Service appropriation. I'm speaking of funds for planning. How can you be equal partners on that basis? And I can only guess how many more employees they have, or how many more years they've been in office.

Why should this be? Why should the fate of our tremendous wildlife resources be so determined by the Corps of Engineers, which admits its primary concern is navigation and flood control?

This, I'd say, is something for Congress to think about.

Also, in fairness, while we have spoken mainly here of the role played by the Army engineers' the Congress should by no means see the Corps emerging as the greatest and almost sole barrier to future success.

Detrimental disputes often arise with other concerned Federal agencies. Many of these interagency difficulties the Congress could resolve with a strong national water policy that would insure multiple-use development.

Bad, too, are those cases where our State game and fish departments (and even questionable policies of the Interior Department, itself) fail to take advantage of lands already acquired by the Corps of Engineers.

Regardless whether loyal members of the Fish and Wildlife Service will admit it, the fact remains that they—and therefore we millions of sportsmen who logically look to them as the champions of our cause—must remain content today with such often reluctant handouts, both financial and otherwise, from other Federal agencies.

The truth of this was hinted at in a talk made by James T. McBroom, Coordinator, Office of River Basin Studies, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, before the International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners at Augusta, Ga., on September 12, 1955.

Said McBroom: "The Coordination Act provides simply that an investigation and report shall be made by the Fish and Wildlife Service and the affected State fish and game department, and that this report shall accompany the engineering agency's project report transmitted to the Congress.

"The decision basic to wildlife conservation in these projects is made in the final analysis by the Congress. But Congress is not in the business of formulating plans for projects. That is the job of the engineering agencies.

"The decisions on wildlife conservation aspects of a project are made by the same engineers responsible for the rest of the plan.

"In short, our results under the Coordination Act must be obtained largely by successful negotiation with the construction agencies, who are well aware of their legal option to adopt or reject any particular conservation measures that may be recommended."

That was the admission of the man whose very river basin studies office was first established by this basically good, yet sadly weak, Public Law 732, passed by the 79th Congress in 1946.

In view of these and other existing circumstances, which jeopardize conservation and our priceless fish and wildlife resources, we millions of sportsmen nationwide should recommend forcibly to the Congress the following:

(1) That the joint policy for land acquisition on reservoir projects, order No. 2744, as approved by the Secretaries of the Army and the Interior Department, be declared void and a return made at once to the multiple-use concept.

Meanwhile, it should also be recommended that the Congress amend the Coordination Act, so that:

(2) The Fish and Wildlife Service can be recognized under Federal laws as having an equal voice in all public-works projects.

Let's see conservation, and, hence the Service, "standing on its own two feet," as the Congress has decreed. Yes, but let the Congress first make provision for this.

You can't be an equal partner when you actually remain "the flea on the tail of the dog."

(3) Let legislative and administrative machinery be set up to provide the Fish and Wildlife Service, and the interested State agencies also, both the time and the funds to prepare effective fish and wildlife plans—correlated with other agency plans as these are submitted to the Congress.

And take all necessary steps to encourage the Federal and State agencies to accept the responsibility of administering new fish and wildlife projects. Right now they are often unprepared, and, hence, understandably reluctant, to do so.

As a result, we don't get these badly needed wildlife and recreational areas.

(4) Make certain that the cost of such necessary developments for fish and wildlife be a project cost.

Why We Lost China—The Inside Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the tragedy behind the loss of free China to the world is well told in an article that recently appeared in Human Events of March 9. Mr. Don Lohbick, in a biography on Patrick J. Hurley, tells the story in a concise manner. The article in question is included at this point:

WHY WE LOST CHINA—THE INSIDE STORY

Pat Hurley's purpose in going to China, first as personal representative of the President and later as American Ambassador, was to uphold the political independence and territorial integrity of China—and directives so ordered. But at Yalta the principles of liberty, self-government, and territorial integrity had been abandoned by the United States; the career diplomats (George Atcheson and John Stewart Service) that Hurley had relieved from duty in China because they were undermining the American policy were not reprimanded by the State Department, but were instead promoted to supervisory positions.

Within the State Department in Washington, personnel changes had been taking place among those persons directly concerned with the conduct of far-eastern affairs. Joseph Grew had resigned as Under Secretary, to be replaced by Dean Acheson; John Carter Vincent was advanced from Chief of the Division of China Affairs to Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs; George Atcheson, who had been relieved from duty at the Embassy in Chungking, was Vincent's special assistant; John Stewart Service, recalled from China at Ambassador Hurley's insistence, was in the Personnel Section. Now, in September 1945, it was announced that George Atcheson and John Stewart Service were being sent to Tokyo to act as diplomatic advisers to Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

This meant more than the fact that two men who had been sent home because of their lack of sympathy with the American policy were being advanced to potentially important positions where they could exercise control over American policy. Of even greater significance, it was an indication of the administration's attitude toward the whole policy of loyalty to the United States. In Washington, on June 7, 1945—just a matter of weeks after Hurley demanded that John Service be recalled from China, where he was visiting Communist headquarters in Yenan—the FBI arrested 5 men and 1 woman on charges of conspiracy to violate the espionage laws. These six persons were: Philip Jaffe, publisher of a small Communist magazine called Amerasia which was used to promote the cause of the Chinese Communists and criticize the Chinese Nationalist Government; Kate Mitchell, editor of Amerasia; Mark Gayn, a free-lance journalist who specialized in Asiatic affairs; naval lieutenant John Roth, who had been a research worker on Amerasia and had recently served in Naval Intelligence; Emmanuel Larsen, a specialist in the State Department's China Affairs Division; and John Stewart Service.

For some time, documents labeled "restricted" and "top secret" had been disappearing from the files of the State Department and other Government agencies. More than 1,700 such documents had vanished. Then material from these secret files began appearing in articles in Amerasia—in some cases entire documents appeared verbatim—and in articles written by Mark Gayn which appeared in other magazines. When arrested, these persons had some of the secret stolen documents in their possession.

Service was not indicted, and the whole affair was buried under a cloud of secrecy.

The appointment of Service and Atcheson to General MacArthur's staff was of considerably more political importance in China than it was in the United States, it showed plainly, to both Chiang Kai-shek and Mao, what Asia could expect from the State Department and the administration.

Shortly after his return to Washington, in a meeting with President Truman and Secretary Byrnes, on October 13, 1945, Hurley said that he wanted to resign as Ambassador to China—because he was not receiving proper support for the American policy which he had been sent to China to make effective. Truman and Byrnes both urged Hurley to reconsider, to return to China to finish the job of transition from war to peace in Asia. Concerning the diplomats with whom he had difficulty, Truman said that Hurley could fire anyone that interfered.

"Why?" Hurley asked, "I only make them stronger by firing them." And he reminded the President that the men who had been relieved from duty in China had all been transferred to positions from which they were able to nullify his efforts to make effective the policy which Truman said he approved for China.

In their several conferences, Pat Hurley again and again asked the Secretary of State for either a public statement or a written statement of American policy in China, but no such definitive statement was issued.

On Monday, November 26, 1945, a series of events united to bring to a climax the con-

flict between Pat Hurley and the forces operating within the State Department, between America's traditional policy of supporting Chinese independence and the Yalta policy of restoring imperialist control over that country:

1. Secretary of State Byrnes had declared privately that he would prefer to have an Ambassador in China who agreed completely with the Yalta and Potsdam policies.

2. The Secretary of State had stated to a member of the Chinese delegation to the United Nations that, now that the war was over, he was thinking of giving the Chungking diplomatic post to a deserving Democrat. When Wang Shih-chieh returned to China from a conference of the Foreign Ministers of the United Nations, he stated that Byrnes had made it known that Hurley would soon be replaced by a deserving Democrat who would go along with the present American policy in China.

3. An article appeared in the Communist Daily Worker, based on secret and confidential information sent from China by the Ambassador.

Here was a clear indication that it was impossible to send confidential information to the President or the Secretary of State without the danger of having it turned over to propagandists to be used to defeat American policy. What, Hurley asked himself, was an American's duty in such a situation?

Byrnes tried to persuade the Ambassador not to resign. Byrnes again insisted that both he and the President upheld traditional American policy toward China. But no public announcement or written statement of policy could be procured, so Hurley handed the Secretary his letter of resignation:

"MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I hereby resign as Ambassador to China. In tendering my resignation I wish you to known that I am in agreement with the foreign policy outlined by you in your recent Navy Day address.

"In the higher echelon of our policy-making officials, American objectives were nearly always clearly defined. The astonishing feature of our foreign policy is the wide discrepancy between our announced policies and our conduct of international relations.

"The professional foreign service men sided with the Chinese Communist armed party and the imperialistic bloc of nations whose policy it was to keep China divided against herself.

"The Hydra-headed direction and confusion of our foreign policy in Washington during the late war is chargeable to the weakness of our Foreign Service. If our Foreign Service had been capable of understanding and sympathetic effectuation of our announced war aims, it would not have failed so completely to couple our logistical strength with our foreign policy to obtain commitments to the principles for which we claimed to be fighting from the nations to which we gave the strength of our productivity and manpower.

"America's economic strength has been used all over the world to defeat American policies and interests. This is chargeable to a weak American Foreign Service."

By his dramatic method of resigning, Ambassador Hurley made a bold attempt to focus the glaring light of publicity on the shadows of subversion within the gloomy State Department Building, and thereby to force a thorough investigation. The only solution to the situation, the only effective solution, would be a nonpartisan congressional investigation of the entire foreign-policy dilemma—an investigation that would have the support of both political parties, the President, and the Secretary of State.

Realizing that merely his own word-of-mouth charges against the career diplomats would not be enough to overcome the inertia of the administration and force the Senate to authorize an investigation of the Nation's foreign policy, Hurley presented to the Committee on Foreign Relations a list of 13 classified and encoded documents that would prove his accusation of anti-American influence within the Department of State.

The documents were furnished to the Senate committee by the State Department—but with the statement that it would be detrimental to national security if they were released to the public. So Pat Hurley was denied the use of these reports and letters, some of which he had written himself, and all of which had been among the Amerasia papers which had been given or sold to the Communists and used by them. He was denied the use of the evidence that would have proved his charges and denied access to these documents by the very persons who would have been shown by them to be guilty. Of this action, Hurley says, "I say that these secret documents are available to all who oppose the principles that have made America great. They are available to all who favor communism, imperialism, and all forms of totalitarianism, but none of the Amerasia papers are available to the American people."

The proposed investigation died, stillborn—and when, on December 28, Secretary of State James Byrnes returned from the Foreign Minister's conference in Moscow (where, as President Truman admitted, "we gained only an empty promise of further talks"), Pat Hurley had been so discredited—"plowed under" was his own description—that the press services refused to print one word of a statement that he issued concerning the Moscow conference.

To his countrymen, Pat Hurley could have asked, as did the Apostle Paul: "Am I therefore become your enemy because I tell you the truth?"

Do We Need United States Aid to Schools?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 23, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, our Nation's schools are in great need of some types of Government aid. A good friend of mine, Mr. Ernest Tucker, has done a series of articles on this subject for the Chicago American.

Because these articles have a bearing on the bill I introduced for student loans, I ask permission to insert this excellent series of three articles into the RECORD.

The articles follow:

[From the Chicago American of January 3, 1957]

DO WE NEED UNITED STATES AID TO SCHOOLS?

(By Ernest Tucker)

Biggest debate at the upcoming session of Congress won't be foreign policy, arms reduction, or even tax cuts. The hottest fight will center around that perennial hot potato, Federal aid to education.

Both administration and opposition leaders predict that a school aid bill in some form will be passed this year. It is virtually certain that the United States, for the first time, is going to step into the business of building schools.

The fight will revolve about these questions: Who will get the money? How much? For what? How will it be given? What strings will be attached?

PROPOSALS DRAW PROTESTS

Proposals for Federal subsidies to States for building schools always have provoked loud roars of protest from those who feared the heavy hand of Washington in local problems of education.

They see Federal interference on every level, from setting up reading programs to standards for accrediting teachers. The wealthier States—Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, California, among others—are afraid Federal aid will mean they will be taxed to build schools in Mississippi and Arkansas.

It has been increasingly obvious that something has to be done. There is a nationwide shortage of 300,000 classrooms. In spite of feverish building programs, the shortage is increasing at the rate of 50,000 a year.

Causes are not hard to find. During the depression years there were few schools built and during the war years practically none. When the postwar baby boom arrived, the country found itself with too few schools, and many of those old, obsolete or unsafe.

EFFECTS OF CROWDING TOLD

Results of the lack of school buildings are apparent in the Chicago area, especially in the mushrooming suburbs: Double-shift schools, overlarge classes, kindergartens eliminated, classes held in stores and basements.

New classrooms are being built at a rate of 50,000 to 60,000 a year—but this just barely meets the swiftly growing school population and doesn't reduce the overall shortage.

It has been estimated that to provide adequate school space for the country's children would cost between $10 billion and $12 billion. Obviously, say the legislators, this vast sum means some help from the National Government is needed.

President Eisenhower has repeatedly asked for school aid in his annual messages. Up until now, every measure has been defeated, but in every year since the war, pressure for some kind of aid has mounted until it looks now as if 1957 is the year.

Estimates of the amount and nature of aid differ, but legislators and spokesmen for the States agree on one thing: Any law should carry the strongest possible guaranties against a bureaucratized national school system directed from Washington.

In recommending passage of a school aid bill introduced at the last session by Representative KELLEY, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, the House Committee on Education and Labor said:

"The primary purpose is to find a method whereby the Federal Government can help States meet the classroom shortage and, at the same time, insure against Federal control or interference in the operation of school systems."

One of the biggest problems confronting those attempting to work out a bill is the wide variety in needs and resources among the States, and among the school districts in each State.

As the school aid bill is shaping up, to become eligible for money the chief education officer in each State would have to submit a list of needs, giving each one a priority rating, and specifying what local funds are available and what local plans are.

Federal aid, according to plan, would be made available in three different ways:

1. By Federal purchase of school bonds.

2. By Federal help to State officials or agencies concerned with building schools; the Government would meet up to one-half of the basic debt service due for 1 year.

3. By direct grant on the familiar matching-fund basis, under which the State would equal the Federal contribution.

Loudest argument is likely to revolve around two opposed plans for distribution of the money.

One, favored by the President and his spokesman, Welfare Secretary Folsom, calls for aid to be given on the basis of need.

Under this scheme, the poorest States would get the most money. Congressmen from wealthier States are extremely chilly toward this idea. They claim the end result would be that Illinois, for example, would be paying far more in taxes than it got in aid—in effect, no help at all but rather a drain.

They favor aid on the basis of school population, the number of children between the ages of 6 and 17. If a State had 5 percent of the total number of children between those ages in the country, it would get 5 percent of available Federal money—as simple as that.

Possible solution is some formula based on the number of children in a State, funds available, percentage of the State budget normally devoted to education, and need.

Although conceding that Federal money to build schools is badly needed and probably will come this year, some Congressmen fear that providing funds for construction will be only the first step in an ever-expanding program of funds for education.

Another grim specter is the shortage of teachers, a specter growing grimmer as more and more children pour into the schools. The shortage extends from kindergarten level through the universities.

Another is the crying need for more scientists and engineers of all kinds. Our increasing lack of chemists, physicists, and researchers is especially appalling to those who view the number of scientists being developed by the Soviet Union.

One of the basic causes for our shortage of both teachers and scientists, according to experts, is the high cost of a college education. The problem of financing compels an estimated 200,000 college students per year to drop out of school.

Several schemes have been advanced to correct the situation. All involve Federal money but not in the form of grants. These proposals, designed to let more young Americans complete their education, will be examined in the next article in this series.

[From the Chicago American of January 4, 1957]

THREE PLANS FOR UNITED STATES AID TO COLLEGE STUDENTS

(By Ernest Tucker)

With the opening of the new Congress, one of the most complex problems it has to face is: What will we do about our schools?

President Eisenhower has shown his interest in the problem by summoning a second nationwide conference on education this year, following the first White House Conference of 1956.

Public interest is demonstrated by the ever-increasing avalanche of letters and wires pouring in on the legislators, demanding United States action on every phase of education, from whether Johnny can read to financial support for small colleges.

The whole question of Federal aid to education is a hot one. The Federal Government has been asked for direct grants to school systems, for a matching-fund deal with the States, for construction funds, and for money to pay teachers more.

Opponents of Federal aid to education maintain that grants of money would be followed immediately by Federal control, and the schools and colleges subjected to political pressures and whims.

Those pressing for some form of aid cite desperate shortage of classrooms and teachers, especially teachers of technical subjects; the plight of the smaller colleges, many of which are closing their doors; and the inability of some States to provide adequate schools.

One problem engaging the attention of both legislators and educators is the growing cost of higher education, which is preventing many brilliant students from going to college.

Oddly, three different people have come up in recent months with a carefully worked out answer to this problem. None of the 3 knew about the other 2, but all arrived at the same conclusions through independent study.

Their plans differ in detail, but are essentially similar.

The three are Representative COYA KNUTSON, Democrat, of Minnesota, a freshman Congresswoman last session; E. D. Odenbaugh, a Pittsburgh accountant; and William W. Cavanaugh, a Cleveland attorney.

Mrs. KNUTSON introduced a bill, H. R. 11414, in May 1956, which contained three major provisions of the scheme. Odenbaugh and Cavanaugh have been working independently to find support for their plans.

All three plans are designed to help superior students finance college educations through loans from the Federal Government.

Basically the plan works like this:

A Federal agency would be set up to handle the matter. Any young person wanting to go to college could apply to the agency for a loan. To be eligible, he must qualify as to ability.

When he passes, he may be given a loan to attend the college or university of his choice.

All three plans emphasize that the student may attend any school meeting educational standards. In the case of Illinois the standards are set by the North Central Association.

This would prevent funds from going, for example, to a quack school of the type of some of those set up after the war to get fat on GI loans.

The top amount the student could borrow varies among the three plans, but would be about $1,500 a year. The student could borrow part of that if he needed only a few hundred.

All the plans stress that this is a loan, not a gift, and would be repaid by the student during his working life. Major features of the plans are the long time of repayment and the low rate of interest.

Cavanaugh figures:

"Say you borrow $4,000 from the Government for 4 years of schooling. If you retire at 65, as most people do who get to retire, that gives you about 43 working years.

"Divide the $4,000 by 43 and you come up with somewhat less than $100 a year, say $95. Of course, there would be in addition a small charge for interest and insurance."

The insurance would cover loans unpaid because of death or disability.

Representative KNUTSON's plan calls for 3 percent yearly interest. Some financial experts call these rates of interest far too small.

Odenbaugh's idea envisions the whole thing handled through the social security office; the borrower is issued a special social security card.

This device, Odenbaugh feels, would keep close track of the borrower throughout his career and make defaulting next to impossible.

Mrs. KNUTSON's bill provides for establishment of a national student loan board, consisting of three members appointed by the President from among "persons who are learned in the social sciences or are experienced student counselors."

Cavanaugh believes repayment should be made through the Internal Revenue Bureau, with the loans taking the form of a lien on the person or his property, similar to a tax lien.

Odenbaugh said:

"I have been getting opinions from college presidents on the plan, and they are all enthusiastic.

"It would help the hundreds of thousands of young people whose talents are undeveloped because of lack of opportunity for higher education.

"It would provide financial help to many colleges which are struggling to make ends meet. In view of the lack of college space, it is a tragedy to see some of these colleges close their doors.

"The plan would take a crushing burden from parents who are sacrificing their own comfort to send their children to college."

Value of a college degree, Odenbaugh said, has been estimated at $100,000 to its possessor. He asked:

"Where could anyone get such repayment on an investment?"

Cavanaugh stressed the benefit to the country of tapping the pool of brainpower and added:

"How many potential engineers, scientists, doctors, teachers, or students of the humanities are in menial jobs because of lack of money?"

Representative SIDNEY YATES, of Illinois, said in a letter to his constituents:

"We want our sons and daughters to be well educated. And yet fully half of our young people having the intellectual capacity to continue their education beyond high school do not do so, for one reason or another.

"Until this percentage is greatly improved, we will still have our Achilles' heel."

[From the Chicago American of January 5, 1957]

NEED FOR STUDENT-LOAN PLAN

(By Ernest Tucker)

Statistics showing the number of young Americans unable to finish their education are giving increasing concern to national leaders.

Perhaps 200,000 a year drop out of school because of financial difficulties. Surveys have shown that of the top 20 percent in high school—the ones who must furnish leaders of the next generation—two-thirds never finish college.

Of these above-average students, 1 in 5 doesn't even finish high school. Two more don't enroll in college.

In testimony last summer before the Democratic national platform committee, former Senator William E. Benton of Connecticut said:

"The central and immediate challenge to America is to check the vast and tragic leakage of so much of our best talent from our educational system."

NEED GROWS

After World War II, the GI Bill of Rights invested $14 billion in education for veterans. GI benefits have ended, legislators point out, but the need for education continues to grow.

More and more Members of Congress are looking for some new formula which will give help to those young people who need it, without the shortcomings of the GI bill and without undue Federal interference with schools.

Leaders of the administration are eyeing with concern the mass production in the Soviet Union of engineers and scientists particularly. All agree that the answer of the United States cannot be state-controlled or compulsory college education.

One possible answer has been found in a plan conceived independently by a Congresswoman, Representative KNUTSON, Democrat, of Minnesota, and two private citizens, E. D. Odenbaugh, of Pittsburgh, and W. W. Cavanaugh, of Cleveland.

FEDERAL LOANS

In general terms, all plans provide for Federal loans at low interest to qualified high-school graduates wishing to continue in college.

The loans would permit the student to attend any accredited institution of his choice, State supported or private, and would be paid back by earnings after graduation.

Representative KNUTSON has introduced a bill calling for a National Student Loan Act to set up an agency for such loans. Cavanaugh and Odenbaugh are seeking public support for their ideas.

All admit the measure would mean creation of another Federal agency or at least vast expansion of an existing one—perhaps Social Security—but all say that the plan would eliminate the greatest objection to direct Federal aid to schools: increasing Government control.

Each student loan would be a transaction between the Government and an individual, in which the school would not be involved.

Sponsors stressed other benefits of the scheme:

The money is not a give-away by a loan, which in time would build up a large revolving fund.

Small colleges now threatened with extinction would be helped by the student loan money. They would be enabled to reverse the spiral which is heading them into disaster: lack of money forces them to curtail courses and hire fewer teachers. Fewer students are attracted, which in turn reduces the money coming in.

A great many young men and women now unable to attend college would have become teachers; the student loan scheme would enable more teachers and college-level instructors to be trained, filling a crying need.

SALARIES SMALL

Small liberal arts colleges now depend largely on liberality of alumni and private donations. Recently the Associated Colleges of Illinois, representing 23 institutions, acknowledged receipt of their millionth dollar from corporations in the State.

Such gifts help pay faculties, but even with outside aid faculty salaries remain small—average faculty salary in Illinois liberal arts colleges is $4,856. Instructors leave campuses each year by the thousands to take much better paying jobs in industry.

Proponents of the student loan program believe the pumping of Federal money into the colleges, via the loans, would enable them to raise instructor salaries and stop the drain.

The plight of colleges, and the shortage of teachers, are of course not the only problems in education confronting the country.

PLAN INCOMPLETED

Funds also must be found to build more classrooms. Desegregation continues to concern a large segment of the population. Underlying it all is the battle of what constitutes education—traditional versus experimental teaching and subject matter.

But backers of the plan are convinced that the student loan program would help the whole situation.

Certain things remain to be worked out, they admit—for instance, an actuarial survey would have to determine the rate of interest to be paid by the borrower.

The plan might bring many more students into already overcrowded colleges, particularly in view of the rapidly increasing number of youths of college age.

But, originators of the idea say, the fact that colleges might be overcrowded is not excuse for denying a college education to a qualified student. Besides, the rebuttal is, loan money would help schools expand.

WHO PAYS?

There is one question in the student-loan idea to which no one has yet provided a satisfactory answer: What about girls?

It would be manifestly impossible to restrict loans to boys. Yet of the young women going to college, the vast majority get married within a few years and cease to be money earners.

Who, then, assumes the burden of their debt? Will a prospective husband be scared away if he learns he must take over as much as $6,000 his fiancee owes the Government?

Still, those favoring the plan are confident that such "bugs" can be worked out by experts before the plan is legalized.

The student-loan idea has won endorsement from a large number of educators and political leaders. In the coming session of Congress, Representative KNUTSON'S bill, which is now in committee, probably will be heard.

Whether or not it goes any further, there is one thing sure: the student-loan idea, or a variation of it, is going to provoke wide discussion in 1957.

The Arab States: Syria and Lebanon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the March 4, 1957, issue of Congress Weekly:

THE ARAB STATES: SYRIA AND LEBANON

(By Joseph B. Schechtman)

Long outdated western semantics still occasionally refer to Syria and Lebanon as "those twin Levant states." In fact, however, there is very little in common between the two neighboring republics. Indeed, there are many more elements of variance, even of contradiction and conflict, than of similarity between the two countries.

The only feature common to both states is the utter heterogeneity of their respective populations. The 3,670,000 Syrians (among them 500,000 nomads) are a hodgepodge of at least 20 ethnic and religious groups, with the Arabic language as the strongest unifying link. The Moslems are split into Sunnites, Shi-ites, Allowais, Druzes and Ishmaelites; and the Christians go even further in sectarianism; Maronites, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Jacobites, Protestants are but a fraction of the long register.

The 1,300,000 Lebanese present no less motley a picture: the largest group are the Maronites, then come Sunnites, Shi-ites, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Druzes, Armenian Orthodox, Armenian Catholics, Protestants. The ingredients are largely the same, but their proportion is different in each country. Syria is predominantly Moslem, while Lebanon maintains a precarious balance between her Christian and Moslem components.

There is little charm in being a minority in Syria. Minority groups are regarded as "fifth columns," and serve as scapegoats of every emotional outburst of Arab nationalism. Early in November last year a Day of Algeria was proclaimed throughout Syria as a demonstration of Moslem solidarity with the Algerian rebels. In Aleppo the Moslem mob, with the connivance of the authorities, attacked and plundered local Catholic institutions, both religious and lay. Convents were destroyed, religious schools and the French Lycée laique were burned, 2 persons were killed and 19 wounded.

Mass arrests among the Druzes and Allowais are common occurrences. Whole villages have been razed and property confiscated. The army has received a free hand in areas populated by these two minorities. Unrest among them is widespread, and the government is well aware of it. Of the 47 men on trial in Damascus for high treason, more than half are Allowais and Druzes. Significantly enough, the 60-page committal order charges the accused with intention to seize the Druze Mountains in southern Syria under the leadership of Emir Hassan al-Atrash, and the Allaweyeen Mountain area in northern Syria under Mohammed Marouf. Christians in Lebanon and Druzes in Israel have naturally protested against Syrian persecutions of their coreligionists.

The overwhelming majority of Syrians, in particular the peasantry, are simple and tenacious people, whose main concern is to be left alone. But most of the intelligentsia and the small upper and middle classes live in a delusionary world which recalls the glorious past when, under the Ommeyad dynasty, Damascus was the center of an empire larger than Rome's. Their ambition is to play a leading role in the Arab national movement. The relative smallness and backwardness of their country they try to compensate for by the violent passion of their nationalism and xenophobia. The Syrian Government is busily outdoing even its Egyptian and Saudian allies in the vehemence of its "Arabism" and its denunciations of western imperialism and Zionism.

It is also outdoing the Nasser regime in the directness and intensity of its pro-Soviet policy. The ruling military junta, though heavily leftist, is not Communist, nor are, of course, the majority of Syrians. But the Syrian Government has gone much further than any Middle Eastern country in endorsing the Soviet line and severing all ties with the Western World. At the conference of the Arab League states in Beirut last November, Syria adopted an all-out pro-Soviet stand even stranger than that of Egypt. Even the usually reticent State Department officials, who have long been depreciating all reports about Soviet penetration into Syria, felt compelled to admit that the Damascus regime was "already a virtual Soviet ally any may topple all the way into the Soviet camp."

For months, Soviet (predominantly Czech) arms have been pouring into Syria at an alarming rate. Their worth has been conservatively estimated at $56 million, almost 60 percent of the country's total 1956 budget; in 1957 the percentage is expected to be still higher. The quantity and intricacy of the weapons delivered appear to be beyond the capacity of Syria's small and relatively untrained army of 25,000 men. Soviet technicians and instructors in considerable numbers have been reported in several parts of the country. In addition to the regular army, about 6,000 members of a quasi-military organization called the Young Valiants have been provided with short-barreled Czechoslovak tommyguns and took 3 weeks of military training seasoned with a heavy dose of leftist ideological indoctrination.

Government spokesmen deny having made commitments to Soviet Russia. But they frankly admit their strong sympathy for and gratitude to the Soviet bloc for its espousal of the Arab cause. The most powerful man in Syria, Lt. Col. Abdel Hamid Serraj, chief of army intelligence, divides his admiration between Nasser and the Soviet leaders. London sources claim there is evidence that leading members of Syria's military junta are actually in Soviet pay. President Shakri al-Kuwatly visited Moscow and was assured by Chief of State Voroshilov that the Soviet Union is prepared to give Syria "the necessary assistance." While on a visit to India, Kuwatly reciprocated with a vigorous attack on "Western imperialism."

This strong pro-Soviet line has not been taken for foreign consumption only. Broadcasts from Damascus preach to the Syrian people the virtues of Soviet Russia. Of the capital's 27 dailies 9 are strong advocates of the U. S. S. R., many others are sympathetic, and none in recent months has opposed communism. Syrian papers printed nothing

but Tass accounts of what was happening in Hungary. Soviet periodicals, distributed by the Soviet Embassy, can be seen on all newsstands, while virtually all Western publications are banned. Soviet motion pictures are shown everywhere. Free scholarships are offered to Syrian youth for study in Russia and East Germany.

As against this Syrian picture, Lebanon shows quite a different political orientation.

Though a member of the Arab League, Lebanon refused to follow Syria's example in breaking off diplomatic relations with France and Britain after their attack on Egypt. Foreign Minister Charles Malik only recently told the Paris daily Le Monde that Lebanon's relations with France were excellent and will even get better in the future. He also welcomed the Eisenhower doctrine, which Syria had indignantly condemned.

Recent reports from Teheran hint at the possibility of Lebanon's joining the Baghdad Pact. A considerable section of Lebanese public opinion, both within the country and abroad, is outspokenly opposed to Nasser's attempts to draw Lebanon into his own military grouping. Particularly vocal are Christian groups. Sheik Pierre Gemayel, the leader of Al-Kataeb, the National Youth Organization, publicly declared: "We didn't fight the French mandate in order to accept the Arab one." The paper Lisan-al-Adl openly denounced flirtation with pan-Arabism, inside and outside the Arab League and accused the aggressive Egypto-Syrian group of striving to do away with Lebanon as a state, as a Christian nation, as a bridgehead of the West, to use Nasser's words.

The Maronite patriarch called on the Lebanese Prime Minister not to let Lebanon be dragged after Egypt, so as not to forfeit her ties with the Western Powers. Al Nehar recalled that although 64 U. N. member states censured Britain, France, and Israel for their military action against Egypt, "all these 64 countries do recognize the existence of the State of Israel," and, therefore, "peace with the safeguarding of honor and sovereignty" is the need of the hour. Al Hayat insisted that the Arab States must "at once start reconsidering their plans and drop the policy of words and declarations." Beirut asked bluntly: "Are the Arabs ready to solve the problem once and for all? The solution means peace, with all its implications." Lisan-al-Adl went even further and boldly formulated Lebanon's new policy of alliances:

"What Lebanon needs right now, and very badly, is alliances, closer connections with those who share her ideals of human dignity and her vital interests as a non-Moslem state.

"First and foremost, such connections should be sought on the one hand with the French, who are our traditional well wishers, and with the Israelis on the other hand. Indeed, the latter are our nearest geographical and historical neighbors. They form a bridgehead of the West like ourselves. And they have proven their ability not only to withstand but to roll back the hordes of Egypt's self-appointed Mohammedan pharaoh. * * *

"Only thus can Lebanon, like all Christian and all other minorities in the Middle East, hope to survive the dreadful upsurge of Arab-Moslem fanaticism, of Soviet-sponsored Nasserism.

"Lebanon is western in spirit and orientation, apprehensive of the mounting wave of Arab-Moslem fanaticism which is threatening to engulf her, wary of her 'twin sister' Syria, afraid of being completely isolated, desperately looking for alliances but still not daring to take a bold step, because she is a country divided against herself, half her population being Moslem and pan-Arab in their allegiance.

"Syria and Lebanon are wide apart in their spiritual personality, in their attitude toward the world of today, in their geographical aspirations. Syrian leaders are longing for a union with Egypt and have already started negotiations to this end. Lebanon's future is intrinsically linked with that of Israel."

The Welfare State in Great Britain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, there are many signs which indicate that the United States is on a toboggan to the welfare state. Mr. Colm Brogan, a well-known British writer on political and economic subjects, has prepared an article for Human Events, and under date of March 9 he indicates that Britain is fleeing the welfare state.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including this article:

FLEEING THE WELFARE STATE—A REPORT FROM BRITAIN

(By Colm Brogan)

A sample survey recently conducted in the University of Cambridge revealed a remarkable and disturbing state of affairs. Of the students questioned, 38 percent said either that they were seriously thinking of emigrating as soon as they had completed their course, or else had already firmly decided to do so. Among the women students the proportion was very much higher.

These figures must be taken very much more seriously than the figures for a survey, among the mass of the population, which showed that much the same percentage would like to emigrate "if they could." This can be taken as no more than an expression of vague dissatisfaction. The great majority of those who said they would like to leave knew very well that there was not the faintest chance of the opportunity coming their way, and more than likely they would turn it down if it did come. When they said they would like to leave "if they could," they meant if some benevolent authority did everything for them, including paying their fares and settling them comfortably and securely on the other side. This is not the stuff from which pioneers are made.

But the response of the Cambridge students was something quite different. These young people are among the most intelligent, the most highly educated, and the most enterprising in the land. They are perfectly willing to make their own arrangements and take their own risks, and they are under no illusions about life in a strange land. Many of them on the scientific and engineering side have worked in Canada during their long vacations and they are familiar with the disadvantages and possible hardships that emigration might entail. Nevertheless they will go, and go on an informed and realistic decision. (It may interest Americans to know that most of them believe Canada offers better opportunity than the United States of America.)

The position is serious. Britain is spending large sums on providing the best education for the best brains, and the service of the best brains is urgently and increasingly needed at home. There is a great deal of anxious talk about Britain's lagging behind Russia and the United States of America in technical education, and ambitious plans are being put into effect to increase the supply of highly trained scientists and technicians. However, it will be of small advantage to Britain if nearly half of those trained at the public expense immediately take themselves somewhere else and add to the prosperity and progress of some other country.

These young people are different from the mass of the discontented, not only in the fact that they know clearly what emigration means, but also in the fact that they know clearly why they want to emigrate. They are flying from the welfare state.

They are flying because they feel sure that the welfare state is here in Britain for good. There might be 30 prosperous constituencies in Britain where a Conservative candidate who declared himself boldly against the welfare state could still secure election to Parliament, but in every other constituency his opposition would be the equivalent of political suicide. That is why the young people have "voted with their feet," as Lenin put it.

They have strong practical objections to the welfare state, which is, of course, financed out of crushing taxation. They know from the experience of their fathers that the weight of tax comes most heavily on people like themselves. For example, the level of income at which surtax begins to be paid is the same as it was when the pound was worth three times what it is worth today. As soon as any man begins to make a real advance in his profession, the tax collector steps in to skim off his earnings. At the same time, millions of manual workers have been progressively exempted from paying any income tax at all.

The cost of education is a special grievance. Most students in Britain now go to universities on grants made by the state or a local authority on the basis either of high performance at school or of success in a competitive examination for the number of scholarships available. But there is a means test. If a boy wins a state scholarship worth, say 300 pounds a year, he will get no more than 30 pounds if his father's income exceeds a certain level.

As a consequence, men known to me have refused promotion in their profession because the higher salary which went with promotion would mean a financial loss: they would be debarred from getting the benefits of university scholarships for their sons and daughters. This especially embitters the sons and daughters. They see their own parents living in something like genteel poverty to pay for their education, while the parents of lower income who get the whole state scholarship are spending money freely and having a good time. One man whose daughter won a more modest scholarship simply pays the money into her bank so that she can use it to buy clothes for herself. (Students at London University have claimed that their grants from public funds should include 50 pounds a year for entertainment. They think that the State should pay for their cigarettes and an occasional sherry.)

By contrast, the mass of voters regard a means test on council housing as an outrage against themselves. There is now a large population living in houses built by the local councils and subsidized both from local rates and from taxes. When a council decides to pay the subsidy only to those tenants who have a low income, there is an immediate and angry outcry.

The leading Socialist spokesman in Parliament has openly said that subsidies should be paid to all house tenants, whether they are in need or not. If this is the philosophy that the Labor Party expounds, it is scarcely surprising that one council tenant refuses to seek accommodation at an economic rent, even though he can afford to run his own airplane.

The system of taxation, rebates and subsidies works against the educated and enterprising middle class. Worse still, it is meant

to work that way. Although the job of every man in Britain is becoming increasingly dependent on the skill, the training and the willingness to accept responsibility of the vital elite, they receive no sympathy at all from those whose own skill is primitive, if they have any skill at all. One informed journalist who wrote about the difficulties of the educated middle class was startled to get a flood of letters from manual workers. Some of these men expressed themselves as completely indifferent to the woes of the middle class, while many more expressed great pleasure that these superior people with their high and mighty airs were having a hard time.

The welfare state is not only a fiscal and social machine. It is also a state of mind, and it is that state of mind more than anything else which is urging the young people of Cambridge (and elsewhere) to seek their fortunes abroad. In contemporary Britain it is considered only just that any man whose services to the community are of such value that he earns a high income should be stripped of most of it, not only to provide benefits for others, but also to show that he is really no better than the man whose contribution consists of sitting at a factory bench and pressing a button. Any man who conveys the impression that he is better than any other in any respect is regarded as the enemy of the egalitarian people.

In the heyday of Victoria's reign, the man who forged ahead and made a great name and perhaps a great fortune for himself was admired and regarded as one who had made a great personal contribution to the strength and prosperity of all. Today he is regarded with envy and resentment, and it is widely accepted that he has become wealthy only by exploiting the toiling masses.

Much more than the monetary penalties of our fiscal system, it is this envy, this assertion of the superiority of the mediocre, which is driving young people of talent and vigor abroad. They want to go to a country where they can forge ahead without provoking sulky hostility. They want to feel that a life's work of exceptional quality and usefulness will not be held against them. They want to escape from a socially stifling atmosphere, to get away from a country where no exceptional talent is gladly recognized, except the talent of comedians and crooners, boxers and football players. If the draining away of our best brains and training continues to increase, then the mass of the British people will be brought in the end to recognize that while they cannot do without the direction and the services of the elite, the elite can do very well without them. The elite can always move out to some country where envy is not selfrighteously disguised as egalitarianism or democracy, or some other cant word which makes a vice a virtue.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Address by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California, at Long Island Charter Day Banquet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered last night at the annual Charter Day banquet of Long Island University.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY UNITED STATES SENATOR WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, AT LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY CHARTER DAY BANQUET, WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK, N. Y., MARCH 13, 1957

President Conolly, your eminence Cardinal Spellman, distinguished guests, students, and friends of Long Island University, this Nation of ours has grown from a weak colony of 3 million on the Atlantic coast to a great power of 170 million people, the most productive nation the world has ever known.

Other nations have been or now are larger in land area, in population and in natural resources. Yet they have not been able to give to their people the freedom and the standard of living Americans have enjoyed.

As important as is the productive capacity of our Nation and its military strength, these are not the factors which alone could preserve our freedom or enable us to help maintain a free world of free men. The inner strength of America has not been its great cities, its huge industrial plants, its extended transportation systems, or its variety of natural resources.

The factor which made America an inspiration to the rest of the world grew out of our Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the spiritual values which the founders of our Republic recognized and by which they were guided.

We have recognized that there was a higher moral law to which governments were also accountable. We have humbly acknowledged the divine inspiration which made and preserved us as a nation.

We have read of and been inspired by the action of George Washington in kneeling in prayer during the dark days of Valley Forge, and of Lincoln doing the same during his lonely vigil in the White House through the darkest days of the Civil War.

Instinctively we know that human freedom is a greater force than tyranny.

We also instinctively know, though at times our allies and our own Government may for expediency attempt to satisfy a potential aggressor that there are some things in life which cannot be compromised. Munich and Yalta should have taught us that much.

We know that no international organization and no government can long survive a double standard of international morality. We cannot have one set of rules for the law-abiding nations or the small or weak ones, and another set for the aggressors or the big powers.

The failure of the Soviet Government to pay any attention to the 10 resolutions passed relative to their aggression in Hungary brought home again to the people of the United States and, I believe, the entire free world the admonition in Second Corinthians:

"Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers. For what fellowship has righteousness with unrighteousness and what communion has light with darkness?"

For our country the priceless ingredient has been our constitutional form of government which guarantees our religious, personal, and economic freedom.

The incentives furnished have constantly opened new horizons.

In this atmosphere Americans of each generation have sought to leave to their children a better land than they themselves found. Not just better in a material way but in the educational and cultural developments that make for better family and community life.

New inventions in various industrial fields and the tremendous potentials of the peacetime development of atomic power are bound to challenge us for many years into the future.

We must not take our constitutional form of government or our free enterprise system for granted. Neither fall into the category of something that can be locked in a safe-deposit box and kept forever secure. Each generation must be prepared to make the necessary sacrifices to maintain them that our Founding Fathers were prepared to make in the first instance.

We are constantly faced with the threat of international communism to destroy human freedom everywhere in the world. Against this external danger we must maintain strong and adequate defenses—air, sea, and land—at home and abroad as long as the menace continues. This may well be for a decade or more.

There is also the danger that every free government around the world faces. This is internal subversion, sabotage, and espionage by the international Communist conspiracy.

Government, industry, and labor must be constantly on the alert against this termite menace which could do great damage though the outer structure might seem to be unimpaired.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has clearly outlined and documented the fact that the Communist New Look is a study in duplicity. The domestic Communist Party as with the Kremlin has a fixed objective though the tactics remain fluid.

We also confront a danger of another sort. This does not come from an armed enemy from without nor from a foreign led conspiracy from within. This springs rather from our own people and the institutions we have created. Apathy on our part or an inclination to let the other fellow assume the responsibility that each citizen has an obligation to undertake, could well lead to a chain of events that would undermine both our governmental and economic systems.

The founders of this Republic knew well the history of the world up to their time. They knew that where there was a concentration of power in a single agency of national government that the freedom they sought to guarantee could easily be lost.

As a result, they not only created three great coequal branches of the Federal Government, the legislative, executive, and judicial, but they also made the Federal Government one of limited and of specified powers and reserved all other powers to the several States and to the people thereof.

The Congress is a coordinate and not a subordinate branch. It was made the repository of all legislative power.

If we are half as wise as the men who gave us our Republic and as those who helped to maintain it, we will see to it that no administration, Republican or Democratic, departs from the letter or the spirit of the American Constitution.

In the year 1926 when your university was founded, the population of the United States was estimated at 117 million and today it is over 170 million. During that same period of time the annual cost of the Federal Government has gone from $2,888,000,000 to over $81,000,000,000.

The national debt has grown from $19,643,000,000 to over $270,000,000,000. The annual interest alone on the debt is now greater than the total cost of all functions of the Government (including national defense) as late as the fiscal year 1938. The annual interest charge is larger than the total tax receipts of the Federal Government in any year between the organization of our Government under the Constitution in 1789 and when we entered World War II in 1941.

Frankly, I do not subscribe to the theory that if individuals or business organizations spend their own earnings it is inflationary whereas if the Government takes it from them and spends it that is not inflationary.

I believe that Government spending has been and remains one of the major inflationary factors in the country today.

The challenge we face is how to meet the large defense expenditures necessary for the preservation of our way of life, to take care of our growing needs for public and private facilities and to avoid the tendency to solve the problem by concentrating more and more power in the Government at Washington.

This will take some voluntary restraint on the part of citizens generally, businessmen, farmers, and labor in scrutinizing new and additional programs until we can digest programs now under way or complete certain of the projects before undertaking additional ones.

Continuous inflationary pressures could lead to demands for price controls which in turn would result in controls over wages and profits and the allocation of both manpower and materials.

There are those in this country who would welcome the opportunity for the imposition of such controls.

It is my strong belief that this Nation of ours is too large geographically and too complex economically to be either effectively or efficiently run by any group in Washington.

If we ever let our economy slip under such controls in peacetime we may not get out from under them again in our lifetime. Any prolonged period of such controls in peacetime would fundamentally change not only our free enterprise economic system but the vast concentration of power that would be necessary in Washington would have the gravest type of repercussions on our constitutional system as well.

For that reason this is the time for prudent and responsible citizens in private industry, in labor, in agriculture, and, indeed, throughout our entire population to take a look at the growth of the Federal Government. Constructive support is needed for the efforts which will be made to reduce nonessential spending, to apply some payments on the national debt, and to lay a foundation for some further tax reductions next year.

The strength of our country depends, of course, on far more than our Armed Forces alone. It rests upon a sound national economy and a solvent Federal Government.

The developments that take place in other sections of the world are bound to have an impact upon this country. In this day and age of the airplane and the atomic weapon, we can no more return to isolationism than an adult can return to childhood regardless of how pleasant the recollection might be.

Foreign policy is too important to be left to Government alone. It is of concern to all of our people. In order to have a sound foreign policy it is necessary to have an informed public.

Our objective in the world is to maintain peace with honor.

We cannot buy international friendships any more than personal friendships can be purchased.

Nor should we attempt to remake the world in our economic or political image.

Our efforts should be directed toward helping others to help themselves. In this private investment should play a major role.

In the period since the close of World War II, the United States has provided over $50 billion in economic, military, and technical assistance to aliens, neutrals, and former enemy countries outside of the Iron Curtain.

There has been nothing comparable in the world history of civilization to this program.

It was a matter of mutual interest to help rehabilitate the war-devastated areas of the world both allied and enemy alike, not only as a matter of humanity but because it was in our own interest as well not to have the Soviet Union or international communism take advantage of the economic and political chaos which otherwise would have existed.

With the danger of overt Soviet aggression which was demonstrated by the taking over of Czechoslovakia, the Berlin blockade, and the aggression in Korea, it was also in our mutual interest to bolster the defense forces around the periphery of the Soviet Union.

Many of the newer nations of the world having resources of their own are at a disadvantage because they lack technical skills in public health, agriculture, industry, or education. We have done much to encourage the exchange of technical information and have brought students from many lands to the United States so that they might gain knowledge with which they could assist their own countries when they return home. This program, I believe, is highly desirable and should be continued and expanded.

A new issue has recently been presented to the American people and the American Congress. This is the question as to whether or not the United States should undertake an economic-aid program to the nations behind the Iron Curtain and under Soviet military occupation. A Communist Polish delegation is here seeking $350 million in grants, loans, and credits. If, as many believe, the Soviet Union is stripping Poland of agricultural and industrial production, United States aid would, in effect, be indirect assistance to the Soviet Union.

If, on the other hand, the Soviet Union is having to give economic support to the Communist government of Poland, we would be relieving the Soviet economy of that burden and making available to them additional resources.

I do not believe that it is in our national interest to furnish such economic assistance to Poland until or unless the Soviet military forces are withdrawn from that country and the people have an opportunity through free elections to select a government of their own choice.

If there is hunger in Poland, I would support our Government furnishing whatever food is necessary to meet this problem. There would be no political conditions attached to the aid, and the only assurances we should seek is that the distribution be made by the International Red Cross or by recognized nonpolitical, charitable, or religious organizations, so that the food sent would not be used by the Communist government as a weapon to reward Communists and to punish non-Communists. The American people have always had a strong humane impulse, and we sent food into the Soviet Union in the period of the 1920's under the Hoover relief program to relieve the famine conditions that then prevailed.

But over and beyond such relief, is it wise to make Marxian communism workable with funds from our Government provided by taxes levied on our overburdened people?

Will we be strengthening the warmaking potential of the Soviet world?

Will we be giving a new propaganda weapon to the Communists so that in the next general elections in Italy or elsewhere they can say:

"You have nothing to lose by voting Communist. America will still help build our economy if we make Italy into a Marxist nation."

How can you start such a program in Poland and deny aid to Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary?

At least in the doubtful case of Yugoslavia that country is not occupied by Soviet divisions.

If we have poured over a billion dollars into the Communist regime of Tito how many more billions will be required to sustain the so-called national Communist governments behind the Iron Curtain as each pretends to be slightly independent to qualify for funds?

Will this be added to our present high budget or will we more deeply cut our allies and non-Marxian neutrals to save the Communist regimes behind the Iron Curtain from collapse?

These are questions that have deeply troubled me.

I have raised them now before we embark on such a program so that the Congress and the country may debate and make a determination before we are confronted with a fait accompli.

While the 5 Communist Polish negotiators were in Washington negotiating for over $350 million their representative at the United Nations was 1 of 8 voting for the Soviet resolution to condemn the United States for aggression in the captive nations.

If they had indeed secured the slightest independence they might have abstained.

This much consideration on the resolution to condemn us we received from Yugoslavia after $1 billion of economic and military aid. That may seem to others to be an act of Yugoslav generosity and friendship, but I must frankly say it does not to me.

We have had to face up to the fact that up to the present, at least, the Soviet Union has not shown any major change in its long-term policy of the destruction of human freedom. Their most recent activity in this regard was the ruthless suppression of the effort of the people of Hungary to gain national independence.

Nations can die while delegates talk. In World War II Holland was attacked and surrendered to Nazi Germany in 6 days, Belgium in 20 days.

From October 27, 1956, to January 10, 1957, a period of 76 days the General Assembly passed 10 resolutions while freedom in Hungary was strangled to death.

We have joined with others in a series of defense pacts covering the Western Hemisphere, the North Atlantic Alliance, the bilateral and multilateral defense pacts covering the nations of Asia and the Pacific. To these have been added the recent Eisenhower doctrine covering the Middle East in which the Congress joined in a statement of national policy that we could not permit Soviet aggression against the nations of the Middle East.

There are many historians who believe that World War I, World War II, and the Korean war might have been avoided had the aggressors in those three instances not miscalculated on what the United States would do. The Middle East resolution was to make clear that such a miscalculation should not take place again.

The Government and the people of the United States have no aggressive intent against any nation anywhere in the world. Our efforts have been and will be directed, I believe, toward the establishment of a system of international law and order that can preserve the peace of the world for ourselves and for our children.

But we must be realistic enough to understand that as long as the present rulers of the Kremlin follow their existing policies it would be the height of folly to weaken our defenses and depend only on their word.

The fact of the matter is that the Soviet Union has violated every international treaty or agreement it has had with a non-Communist power during the past quarter of a century.

With this record before us we have a right to expect that the Soviet Union will demonstrate by deeds and not by mere words that it is prepared to take steps to lessen international tensions. The job ahead of us will not be an easy one and we cannot expect to accomplish all of our objectives overnight.

The Communist world has preached for many decades that the capitalistic system and free governments must fail because they contain within themselves the seeds of their own destruction. I think it is far more likely that the Communist world contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction.

Our Less Glamorous Roads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, interest continues to grow in the gigantic highway-building program upon which our Nation is now embarked.

Primary public attention is quite naturally focused on the Interstate System, for we must admit there is great anticipation for the day when these superhighways will stretch across our country from coast to coast and border to border.

But the same act of the last Congress that provided for the interstate improvement also provided for great expansion in our other category of roads—the so-called ABC roads. These are the roads that our farmers use to take their produce to market, which link the smaller communities in our Nation, and which carry the bulk of the traffic. There are 715,000 miles of these roads

as compared to the 40,000 miles in the Interstate System.

In a recent address to the American Road Builders Association in Chicago I devoted my remarks to this subject. I feel they point up the importance of this less glamorous but equally important segment of our roads program.

I ask unanimous consent that the address delivered on January 28, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR FRANCIS CASE

Mr. Robertson, my colleagues of the Congress, and ladies and gentlemen, when "Cap" Curtiss was speaking about the starting of roadbuilding with the old teams and scrapers, it reminded me of the first road work I ever did. I had not thought about that for a long time. The first road work I ever did was when we were living on a homestead in western South Dakota, and one of the neighbors came and told Dad that he could work out his poll tax if we would take a team and a scraper to help him fill up the approach to a bridge that had washed out.

You know, when we lived on those plains, we were frequently beyond the end of any surveyed road, and there was very little grading. It was simply a place laid out for a road.

My roadbuilding, therefore, started not quite as early as your association did. I notice by the seal that you started in 1902. As nearly as I can remember, my first roadbuilding started about 1910, but it is evident that we have all been at this job for some time since.

There have been several landmarks. In 1916, there was the original highway act. In 1921, there was the followup to the 1916 act, which started systems of roads as we know them. There was the start of the primary and the secondary system.

Then I feel that in 1954, we had another landmark.

I was chairman of the Senate Public Works Subcommittee on Roads in 1954, and may be pardoned perhaps for a little prejudice on that score, but I recall saying at that time that the time had come for us to make available for apportionment for highway aid to the States an amount equal to the amount that the Federal Government was collecting in the Federal gasoline taxes, and the tax on motor oils. So, I introduced a bill which proposed to raise the level for the ABC roads from the $550 million mark, which had been prevalent for several years, to an amount which, with the other road funds for the roads on Federal lands, and an increase in the interstate system, would approximate $1 billion, which was about the amount that we were getting in the tax revenues from the sources I have mentioned.

I pointed out that the Federal highway statutes for a number of years had said to the States, "You must not impose taxes on highway users and divert the proceeds to purposes other than roads, or you will suffer a penalty in your apportionment." We felt that the time had come for the Federal Government to make that step forward.

As a result of the deliberations of the committees of the Congress, the amount for the ABC roads was stepped up from $550 million to $700 million in the 1954 act. The amount for the Interstate System was stepped up from $25 million to $175 million. Then we had something like a hundred million dollars in the amount for the Federal roads, that is, the roads on Federal lands. With the small items like the assistance for the Inter-American Highway, and so forth, we came up to practically a billion dollars.

Some of us have been told if we presented a bill like that to the President he would veto the bill. I did not think that he would, and several others did not think he would. We presented it to him. We were down at the time he signed the bill, and he said, "Well now, that's a start, but we must do more."

PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM

I think none of us there that day realized exactly what he had in mind, for it was a few weeks later when Vice President NIXON, speaking for the President at a conference of the governors, threw out his challenging proposition that we should build the Interstate System up to the standard that would be required to meet the needs 20 years from now, and do it in a period of 10 years.

Now, I am certainly not going to quarrel with my very good friend and great chairman of the Public Works Committee, Senator CHAVEZ, in saying that the Federal Act of 1956, which is a great landmark in highway authorizations, was a "congressional bill." Certainly it was worked over, and it was the product of many minds and a great deal of work and testimony and deliberation and conference work, and so forth.

The great challenge, however, that we should step up the Interstate System, the rate of building, and get it done within a period of 10 years, was a challenge that was thrown out by the President in his proposal. I can say that perhaps with good grace—perhaps—because I was one of the Republicans who did not like the bill that was first presented to accomplish the purpose. I did not support the bonding provision, the financing provision as it was suggested in the so-called administration bill at the time.

There were 2 or 3 reasons for not doing so in my judgment, and it is not necessary to recount all of them at this time; but I do want to point to one reason because that fits very well with what Burt Miller said he would like to have me talk about this morning, and that is the ABC roads.

One of the things I did not like about the so-called administration proposal so far as the method was concerned. I did not object to the objective of building the Interstate System at an accelerated pace. I did not like the idea that we should freeze the amounts for the ABC roads for a period of 30 years in order to have revenue to retire the bonds for the building of the Interstate System.

LARGE SYSTEM

Under the systems as they are set up today there are approximately 235,000 miles in the primary system, of which 40,000 have been designated as the Interstate System. There are 520,000 miles in the secondary system, which would make a total of 755,000 miles in the primary and secondary systems. That embraces the 40,000 in the interstate.

If you subtract the 40,000 from the 755,000, you have 715,000 to the 40, which means that there are about 18 miles of primary or secondary roads on a recognized system in this country for each mile of Interstate System.

So, I should like to state, as a proposition which I could prove at some length, I think, if it were necessary, that any Federal highway program which overlooks roads for rural America is doomed to congressional failure. That is just a simple fact of life.

You know, the old saying is that all roads lead to Rome. But had you been in Rome and looked out from the center of those roads where they came together, from that point of view it might just as well, or might better have been said, that all roads lead from Rome to the interior of the Empire.

So, while we all take pride and admiration in the Interstate System our roadbuilding plans must also take note of what is happening to the so-called ABC roads, the primary, secondary, and urban systems.

In the 1954 act, when we stepped up the Federal aid from $550 million to $700 million, you will note that was an increase of about $150 million. We did step up, also, the interstate from $25 million to $175 million. The rate of stepup was much steeper on the interstate than on the others but the insistence on ABC increases reflected a congressional realization that there are many areas in this country yet that do not have good country roads or do not have roads on the interstate system, and yet they are a part of a system which serves many of the principal cities of the States.

With this roadwise audience I do not need to get specific about that.

Congress has, however, in this legislation sought to protect those other types of roads, so it was a matter of interest in thinking of what I might talk about here today to ask the Bureau for the figures on the contracts that had been let. I have some tables here, and if I may I would like to exercise the congressional privilege of extending those in the written remarks, and give you just a total which I think will be of interest to you.

[The complete text of the tables referred to above is as follows:]

FEDERAL-AID PRIMARY, SECONDARY, AND URBAN FUNDS

Contracts advertised and funds obligated

A comparison of contracts advertised and funds obligated during each of the calendar years 1954, 1955, and 1956 is provided in the attached series of charts. The 1956 total for primary, secondary, and urban funds combined is $751 million. For 1955 the total was $716 million, and for 1954 the total was $647 million.

Data for each of the 3 years are as follows for each class of funds separately:

[Million dollars]

Class of funds	Contracts advertised and funds obligated		
	1954	1955	1956
Primary	300	345	354
Secondary	169	197	228
Urban	178	174	169
Total	647	716	751

For primary and secondary funds the amount covered by contracts advertised and funds obligated during 1956 is greater for 1956 than for either of the 2 prior years. For urban funds the amount obligated during 1956 is $5 million less than for 1955 and $9 million less than for 1954.

Progress during calendar years 1955 and 1956

The attached table provides a comparison of progress during 1955 and 1956 for each of several steps of project advancement. For each step, progress during 1956 exceeds accomplishments during 1955.

Federal-aid highway funds, comparison of progress during the calendar years 1955 and 1956

[Federal funds, millions of dollars]

	Primary, secondary and urban funds combined		
	1955	1956	
		Amount	Percent increase over 1955
Total programed	753	772	3
Contracts authorized	716	752	5
Contracts awarded	680	799	18
Placed under construction	676	772	14
Earned	600	700	17
Paid	619	670	8
Completed	604	659	9

Status of the Federal-aid primary, secondary, and urban highway programs combined as of Jan. 1, 1957

	Number of projects	Total cost	Federal funds	Miles	Number of bridges
Programed only	3,587	$729,000,000	$381,000,000	11,389	2,170
Authorized:					
Plans approved	288	162,000,000	83,000,000	715	223
Contracts awarded	482	178,000,000	95,000,000	1,337	382
Under construction	5,297	1,727,000,000	880,000,000	16,522	4,143
Subtotal	6,067	2,067,000,000	1,058,000,000	18,574	4,747
Total programed and authorized, not completed	9,654	2,796,000,000	1,439,000,000	29,963	6,917
Unprogramed balance			805,000,000		

Status of Federal-aid primary highway program as of Jan. 1, 1957

	Number of projects	Total cost	Federal funds	Miles	Number of bridges
Programed only	772	$307,000,000	$164,000,000	2,759	669
Authorized:					
Plans approved	165	91,000,000	46,000,000	528	146
Contracts awarded	326	108,000,000	58,000,000	1,038	273
Under construction	1,541	729,000,000	377,000,000	5,056	1,550
Subtotal	2,032	928,000,000	481,000,000	6,622	1,969
Total programed and authorized, not completed	2,804	1,235,000,000	645,000,000	9,381	2,638
Unprogramed balance			278,000,000		

Status of Federal-aid secondary highway program as of Jan. 1, 1957

	Number of projects	Total cost	Federal funds	Miles	Number of bridges
Programed only	2,613	$270,000,000	$140,000,000	8,484	1,321
Authorized:					
Plans approved	59	18,000,000	10,000,000	131	31
Contracts awarded	75	11,000,000	6,000,000	238	28
Under construction	3,206	411,000,000	212,000,000	11,029	1,965
Subtotal	3,340	440,000,000	228,000,000	11,398	2,024
Total programed and authorized, not completed	5,953	710,000,000	368,000,000	19,882	3,345
Unprogramed balance			276,000,000		

Status of Federal-aid urban highway program as of Jan. 1, 1957

	Number of projects	Total cost	Federal funds	Miles	Number of bridges
Programed only	202	$152,000,000	$77,000,000	146	180
Authorized:					
Plans approved	64	53,000,000	27,000,000	56	45
Contracts awarded	81	59,000,000	31,000,000	61	81
Under construction	550	587,000,000	291,000,000	437	628
Subtotal	695	699,000,000	349,000,000	554	754
Total programed and authorized, not completed	897	851,000,000	426,000,000	700	934
Unprogramed balance			251,000,000		

FEDERAL-AID PRIMARY, SECONDARY, AND URBAN FUNDS

Balances of apportioned funds

Balances of primary, secondary, and urban funds not covered by contracts advertised and funds obligated (approved plans) amounted to $1.185 billion on December 31, 1956. This amount is equivalent to 139 percent of the amounts apportioned on August 1, 1956, for the fiscal year 1958.

Corresponding data separately by classes of funds are as follows:

Class of funds	Balance not covered by contracts advertised and funds obligated (plans approved) as of Dec. 31, 1956	
	Million dollars	Percent of 1958 apportionment
Primary	441.6	115
Secondary	415.2	164
Urban	328.6	155
Total	1,185.4	139

Corresponding data are shown in the attached tables separately for each State.

Also shown in the attached tables are data covering unprogramed balances as of December 31, 1956. The unprogramed balances are included in the balances not covered by contracts advertised and funds obligated, the differences representing programed projects for which plans have not yet been approved nor contracts advertised.

In 1954, the primary, secondary, and urban systems were advertised and obligated in the amount of $647 million; that is, calendar 1954, or is that a fiscal year, Mr. Curtiss?

Commissioner CURTISS. I think it is a calendar year.

Senator CASE. It is a calendar year, $647 million.

In 1955, $716 million. In 1956, $751 million.

All categories show an increase except urban. The urban did not increase, but the primary and secondary did.

The primary system contracts went from $300 million to $354 million in the 2 years.

The secondary went from 169 million to 228 million.

FUNDS ARE PROTECTED

During the consideration of the legislation which we speak of as the Federal Highway Act of 1956, there also were two specific instances where Congress acted to protect the funds for the ABC roads. I might say there were three.

The basic one was, of course, where we increased the allocation for them and set up the plan to which Congressman FALLON has referred, whereby there would be an increase of about $25 million a year, but the basic amount we also stepped up from the $700 million to about $800 million, the first year, and then $825 million I believe it was, for the fiscal year 1958.

There were, however, two other crucial instances where the ABC roads came to the attention of the Congress. The first one was when the Senate was considering the bill which it passed in 1955 as a preliminary for the 1956 act. An amendment was presented on the floor of the Senate the night we were obtaining consideration which would have prorated the receipts from certain revenues to the entire Federal aid program for highways.

After having brought in the Interstate System and having stepped it up from $175 million to a rate which would run to a billion or $2 billion before the 10 or 13 years were completed, that is, after having brought in a guest, a new factor into the high rate program, which would get as many dollars or more dollars than were being made available for the three ABC roads all put together, then it was proposed by an amendment on the floor of the Senate that if the receipts were deficient for supplying this doubled total, then all programs would be cut the same percentage as the deficiency bore to the total amount.

That night I recall trying to make vivid to some of the Senators who had not followed the story too well, just what this would do to ABC road program. I said it was as if you brought an unexpected guest to your table at home, when you had only enough potatoes for your own family, and you find out, one day, a giant had come in to sit down, and lo and behold he eats as much as all of your family. Next year you plant some extra acres, but if the yield does not come up to expectation, should your family suffer the same percentage of reduction as the new guest whose appetite was responsible for the shortage? That may have been a crude example but anyway we did get the point across, and the amendment was withdrawn.

We pointed out that at that particular time several State highway commissions had already announced their State programs on the basis of the announced apportionment for Federal primary and Federal secondary roads.

As an example, the State of New Mexico had issued a large bond issue, and it had issued pledges and programs for completing a certain system of roads. If we were to change ABC cash after those programs had been announced we would have had considerable confusion, to say nothing of some problems of perhaps a very practical sort in every State in the Union.

We had somewhat of a similar proposition come up when the bill, after it had passed the House, came over to the Senate, carrying the revenue features which were incorporated in the law as it now is.

To the Senate Committee on Finance, however, an amendment was proposed which would have had the effect of saying that if the money that comes into the trust fund is not sufficient to take care of the total amount planned for a given year, that all categories of roads should be reduced in the same percentage that the deficiency was of the total amount.

There again, however, it was my privilege to point out to the Senate Finance Committee what that would have done to the advance planning that is done after the announced apportionment for the primary and secondary roads. The Finance Committee agreed that it was not wise to upset the ABC planning of the several commissions which, in some instances, went back several years. So, as the law stands while the trust fund does provide that if the money which comes in is not adequate to meet the apportionments, the subsequent apportionment for the next year for the interstate system will be reduced accordingly; the ABC roads are protected. There was no argument about it, particularly once the point was brought out. So, if there is any fact in congressional life that is sold, it is that Congress intends that the ABC program shall go forward.

In view of the fact that the American Road Builder Association for all of your life up to this time practically have grown—as you have grown—on the ABC system, it should not be a disappointment to you to learn that Congress intends the "bread and butter" roads of the country shall go forward and shall be accelerated along with the interstate system.

FUNDS NEARLY EQUAL

The 1952 act, as I said, provided $550 million. The 1954 act provided $700 million. The amount for fiscal 1958 is $850 million in Federal aid. That $850 million for the ABC roads, as you know, is matched by the States, or by counties, or by local government in one way or another, so that you can double that $850 million and say that for fiscal 1958 there will be a $1,700 million road program on the ABC roads, half of it by the Federal Government, and half of it by the local or State governments.

Oddly enough, that $1,700 million works out in highway construction exactly equal to the $1,700 million that is programed for apportionment for the Interstate System, for fiscal 1958.

And so to you who are roadbuilders, thinking in terms of the roads that you build, the machinery that is required, equipment, and items of that sort, I think it is worth recognizing that the ABC road program for fiscal 1958, the new fiscal year ahead of us, is in total dollars the same amount as the Federal aid for the Interstate System.

I recognize that the Interstate System money will be matched on a 90–10 basis; that is, with credit for the public land States so that there might be an additional 10 percent of the 1,700 million, which would be another 170 million on the Interstate System, but that, again, is equaled by the amount which the Federal Government is making available now for the so-called Federal land roads, the roads in the national parks, and in the forests, and on Indian land and public lands. That comes to about $125 million.

So that for the fiscal year ahead, fiscal 1958, there should be envisioned a roadbuilding program of approximately $3½ billion, the largest public-works program that has been launched, as has been said here this morning, in this country or any other country. That, of course, will be exclusive of the money that is spent directly by cities or by counties or by highway authorities for toll roads.

It is a great challenge, and without belittling in any event the importance of the Interstate System, I think it can be safely said that the people of the heartland of the country will measure highway progress by the quality of the roads from their homes to their neighbors, to the centers of community life, and to their markets.

In the interest of the common welfare, these ABC roads must never be neglected, and I am confident that Congress never will neglect them.

Prize-Winning Editorial by Tom Horner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, the National Freedoms Foundation Award for the outstanding patriotic editorial written this year was awarded to Tom Horner, an editorial writer for the Ohio Beacon Journal, who is a former Kansan. The editorial appeared in the Beacon Journal in the issue of July 4 and placed first in annual competition of the Freedoms Foundation.

Mr. Horner was born at Atchison, Kans., where he spent most of his early years, and finished a course in Kansas University in 1929. He has had an outstanding career in the journalistic field.

Our Nation was founded by men and women with vision, and with courage to carry their visions into reality. The principles adopted by our pioneer forefathers must be preserved if we are to present to future generations the heritage we all enjoy.

I ask unanimous consent that the prize-winning editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

1776—INDEPENDENCE DAY—1956

When the Liberty Bell proclaimed the Declaration of Independence 180 years ago most of the American colonists had a fair idea of what "independence" meant to them individually and as a newly born nation.

The Declaration, in Thomas Jefferson's immortal words, asserted that "all men are created equal" and "that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights * * * life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

These were new and revolutionary concepts to men indoctrinated through generations to a belief in the rights and privileges accruing to royalty through accident of birth; these were strange-sounding precepts to men enslaved by the caste of poverty and schooled in oppression.

They were born of people yearning to be free, yet not fully comprehending the meaning of the word.

To millions of Europe's oppressed, "freedom" could mean plenty of food, adequate shelter, clothing, and warmth. To other millions, "freedom" meant the right to pray as they believed, without risk of punishment for refusing to conform to generally accepted doctrines and practices.

To still more millions "freedom" carried the promise of land ownership, a few acres, a house, and the knowledge that this land and all that it might yield belonged to the owner and his family without threat of seizure or confiscation.

The American colonists of 1776 and their parents before them had come to the New World to find this new life and opportunity. They may not have defined it as precisely as Jefferson, but they knew what they wanted. They knew, too, that they could not achieve these goals in their European homelands.

The Liberty Bell rang out another message in Philadelphia on that sultry July day; a message of a beginning—and an end.

No one at that time imagined the vast expanse and the unlimited potential of this great country. The frontier was only a few hundred miles from the coastline—the wealth of America was yet untapped.

But men of vision—men of the stature of Jefferson, Adams, Paine, Franklin, and Warren—realized that the new America must be freed from the old of Europe or the ancient and the backward would destroy the vitality and sap the growth of the young giant of progress.

They had read the future in the happenings of the present. Colonialism, parasitical and voracious, was already attempting to slow the march of progress in the Thirteen Colonies.

If this country and its people were to realize their ambitions to find a wholly new way of life, they must be released from the strangling tentacles of the mother country.

They knew the wealth, the products, the genius, and the strength of a vibrant, growing America must be channeled into the lifestream of that new country and not into the decadent, hardened arteries of the old.

The Liberty Bell of 1776 heralded more than a Declaration of Independence. It announced an entirely new concept in the development of human progress:

The God-given right of an American to stand on his own land, to build with his own hands, to keep his own profit, and to look up to his God and give thanks without fear, without oppression, and without hatred.

It is unlikely that many of the Americans who heard the bell or felt its echoes throughout the land grasped the full import of its joyful clamor.

To most of them it signaled the beginning of a war—a revolution which at that time seemed doomed and hopeless. The prophets of gloom forecast nothing but defeat; how could a handful of farmers and tradesmen stand against the best of Europe's mercenaries? How could a group of loosely knit colonies lacking resources and manufacturers contend with one of the world's greatest powers?

What they did and how they did it on battlefields and in the towns is history—glorious inspiration for those of us who face the open frontiers of atomic-age progress today.

What does the Declaration of Independence mean to us today?

On each anniversary of our birth of freedom, we, in America, recall with pride the

immortal words of this document. We evaluate, through generations, the importance of this statement to our national development and progress. We read editorials, such as this, and listen to speakers who praise the wisdom of our Founding Fathers and recite the benefits of their vision.

Then many of us tuck the Declaration of Independence into a mental pigeonhole and let it gather dust until another July Fourth comes around. Too many of us are more concerned with personal pleasure, recreation trips, etc., to give more than a passing thought to the day and its true meaning.

All of us need a little revitalization of American patriotism at least once a year.

The fundamental truths of the Declaration of Independence mean far more to us today than they meant to the colonist of 1776. For we have seen, in 190 years of growth and progress, the full import of these words to every American.

We are a free people, free to go and come as we please, free to work at the job we prefer, free to speak what we will and free to worship as we wish.

No law in America—no dictator can deprive us of these basic rights guaranteed in that holy and hallowed document, the Declaration of Independence. For from that day in 1776 we have known independence of the individual as well as independence as a nation. And while the Declaration protects our rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, it also imposes the obligation upon all of us to insure those rights for our fellow Americans.

It is true that injustices still exist in this country. It is true that not all of us who proudly bear the title "American" have the same unlimited opportunity that is rightfully ours. It is true that not all of us enjoy the same standard of living.

But the cause of injustices, for lack of opportunities, for substandard living conditions is not in the basic right but in our failure to guarantee those rights to our fellow citizens.

The slum dweller swelters in a crowded, unsafe tenement and wonders "What does the Declaration of Independence do for me?" The sharecropper gazes at his drought-destroyed acres and mutters against seemingly unconquerable obstacles that bar his pursuit of happiness. The ambitious youth, who because of his race or accident of birth, is denied the opportunity of education and/or employment, may well ask "Who said all Americans are born equal?" The fault lies not with the document but with our failure to make the most of it.

If we are to keep faith with those who gave and preserved this priceless heritage of freedom, then we today must match their dedication to the principles of the declaration.

Where and when the full rights of an American are denied to an American and we allow it to happen or do nothing to change it, then we are parties to the denial of the declaration. When we perpetrate such actions ourselves—we are of the same stamp as the Tories who timidly traded their birthright of freedom for the pottage of security.

The Declaration of Independence is a living document. If we would preserve its life and its vigor, let us dedicate ourselves to the work of insuring the unrestricted right of all our fellow countrymen to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

If the Liberty Bell is to echo today its joyful message of 1776 in all its meaning to Americans—we must keep the words of this guarantee of freedom not only in our minds and hearts but in our daily deeds.

Record Expenditures for Plant and Equipment in 1957 Forecast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Wall Street Journal of March 14, 1957, entitled "Companies Expect To Spend Record $37.4 Billion on Plant Equipment in 1957, Federal Survey Finds."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMPANIES EXPECT TO SPEND RECORD $37.4 BILLION ON PLANT, EQUIPMENT IN 1957, FEDERAL SURVEY FINDS—TOTAL WOULD BE 6½ PERCENT MORE THAN IN 1956, THE PREVIOUS HIGH YEAR

WASHINGTON.—A Government survey found businessmen expect to spend a record $37.4 billion for new plant and equipment this year—6½ percent more than last year's new high of $35.1 billion. This prospective gain comes on top of a sharp 22 percent increase in 1956 over 1955.

Plant and equipment is a key factor in the economy, explains one top-level economic planner. "If this spending continues at a high rate throughout the year, then there seems to be little likelihood of a marked drop-off in overall activity. In fact, there's a good prospect that there'll be a resurgence toward the latter part of the year."

For the past year or two, business spending for expansion has been one of the bulwarks of economic growth. Last year's 22-percent upsurge, according to economists, offset declines in such other key economic sectors as home construction and auto sales. These economists figure continued high plant and equipment outlays this year would again bolster the economy against possible disappointing results in other areas. Some economists had feared that business spending might reach a high point in the first half of the year and trail off in the latter half.

But the joint Commerce Department-Securities and Exchange Commission report—based on a survey taken in late January and February—projected business spending fairly evenly throughout the year. About $18.5 billion is expected to be spent in the first half, the report said, and the remaining $18.9 billion is slated for the latter 6 months.

On the less optimistic side, the two Government agencies noted businessmen have been finding it difficult to fully carry out programed spending plans in the past several months. The report attributed this to a tight supply situation on materials that was aggravated by last summer's steel strike.

Many companies and economists blame the slower increase in plant spending on the high cost of credit. The Federal Reserve Board, by authorising more expensive credit, would like to slow down plant and equipment expansion somewhat so as to spread out demand for the short supply of materials over a longer period of time.

Most major industries intend to increase their capital outlays this year, according to the report. Public utilities plan a 23.8-percent increase; railroads, 19.3 percent; and manufacturers, 9.8 percent. Exceptions to the upward trend are commercial companies, which figure on a 6.1-percent drop, and the mining industry, which anticipates a 1.6-percent decline.

Along with these planned increases in capital outlays, the Government said businessmen expect sales to rise to new highs this year. Compared with 1956, these are the predicted rises: Manufacturing, 8 percent; trade, 4 percent; and utility revenues, 9 percent.

While this year's projected 6½-percent spending increase may seem small in comparison with the 1956 climb of 22 percent, the report noted last year's rise was one of the largest ever recorded. Last year's spending of $35.1 billion compared with $28.7 billion in 1955 and $26.8 billion in 1954.

The report also noted last year's increase came within one percentage point of the figure projected by the annual plant and equipment survey a year ago. This year's further rise, the agencies said, would also reflect higher prices, though no more precise estimate of the effect of rising prices was given.

This is how businessmen have scheduled their capital spending for this year, compared with 1956 (in millions of dollars):

Industry	1957	1956	Percent change
Manufacturing	$16,414	$14,954	+9.8
Durable	8,498	7,623	+11.5
Nondurable	7,916	7,331	+8.0
Mining	1,221	1,241	−1.6
Railroads	1,468	1,231	+19.3
Nonrail transportation	1,826	1,712	+6.7
Public utilities	6,062	4,895	+23.8
Commercial and other	10,370	11,048	−6.1
Total	37,361	35,081	+6.5

Within the manufacturing industry, the Government noted a "considerable variation" among company plans and "some significant reversals in trend."

Auto companies, for example, expect to cut their expansion spending by 25 percent in 1957, to $1.3 billion. This follows a 50 percent increase last year, to $1.7 billion. Similarly, textile companies anticiapte a 20 percent reduction in capital outlays this year; outlays in this industry rose 25 percent from 1955 to 1956. Tobacco companies and producers of construction materials also expect to spend less this year.

On the other hand, these larger-than-average increases were projected by other manufacturers: Nonferrous metals, almost 100 percent; nonauto transportation equipment, 33½ percent; and steel, nonelectrical machinery and chemicals, all in the 25 percent to 30 percent range.

Petroleum companies plan to spend $3.4 billion this year, compared with $3.1 billion last year, the report added, and rubber and paper companies have scheduled moderate increases for 1957.

Among the nonmanufacturing concerns, the Government agencies said both electric and gas companies contributed to the 23.8 percent increase planned for public utilities. The report said the railroads' $1.5 billion expansion program this year equals the previous record outlay in 1951. Airlines account for the major share of the 6.7 percent increase scheduled for the nonrail transportation industry, the report added, and the 6.1 percent cut in commercial expenditures centers in retail trade and construction.

The report also showed business spending fell short of the level programed for last year's final quarter and schedules have been trimmed for this year's opening 3 months.

Last fall businessmen said they expected to spend at seasonally adjusted rates of $37.3 billion in October-December and $38 billion January-March. The new report said actual spending in the final quarter of last year was at the rate of $36.5 billion, and the expectation for this year's first quarter is now at the rate of $36.9 billion. The seasonally adjusted annual rate projected for this year's second quarter is $38 billion.

An Ounce of Prevention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. George M. Humphrey, at the Masonic Temple in Detroit, Mich., on March 6, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN OUNCE OF PREVENTION

(Remarks by Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey at the Masonic Temple, Detroit, Mich., March 6, 1957)

You have recently heard statements or seen such headlines as these:

"Runaway Inflation Here."
"Direct Controls To Be Imposed."
"Depression Predicted Soon."
"Washington Will Sit Idly By."

Runaway inflation is not here now. But, everyone recognizes that costs have been creeping up in recent months and might eventually get out of hand unless everyone concerned uses the proper restraints.

Direct controls are not under consideration now. They are utterly foreign to the American way of life except in war-time or other great emergency. To enforce such controls over a long period of time without the patriotic stimulus of war would be an almost impossible task. There is nothing to indicate that return to the controls which we so quickly eliminated in 1953 is either likely or warranted in the foreseeable future.

No one is predicting a depression now. There are no signs that the volume of business activity is about to decline in the near future. If all levels of Government, and the public in general, will control their activities at reasonable levels we can go on with a high degree of prosperity for a long time ahead. But, we can eventually have trouble, if, over a long period of time the Government keeps taking in taxes too much of the money that should be going into making the jobs to keep our growing population well employed.

Should a downtrend develop the Government would not, of course, sit idly by. It is dangerous to answer hypothetical questions about exactly what the Government would or would not do. The particular circumstances and conditions then prevailing would determine the course to be properly pursued. Certainly the Government might increase its activity within its means. It might well carry forward in times of downtrend certain Federal expenditures which should be postponed in a period of high activity. But such stepped-up expenditures should be kept within reasonable bounds and handled in such a way as not to shake confidence in the responsibility of the Government. The action of the Government, whatever it might be, should then be such as to stimulate the confidence of the people to expand their own activities, and thus expand private spending because it is obvious that if Government's activity should shake the people's confidence, then it might well retard private spending which in normal times is many times more than public spending can be.

However, rather than to spend time speculating on remote possibilities let us look tonight at where we are and where we can go from here. This is, of course, of great concern to you as leaders in Michigan of the Republican Party now directing the executive branch of our Government. For it is the Republican Eisenhower administration in the past 4 years which has been most successful in keeping our Nation's economy in a healthy and growing condition. And it is the Republican Party that can best continue to do so.

Where do we stand now?

We are the strongest Nation on earth. We have the greatest prosperity ever enjoyed by any nation. The overwhelming majority of our people now have the highest standard of living ever achieved by man, in peace and in freedom.

What is the outlook?

There is every reason why we should continue to be the strongest, most prosperous nation, with the best supplied people, on earth.

But it is always possible for us to dissipate our strength by unwise actions. The basic natural laws have not been, and never will be, repealed.

Let's always remember than an ounce of prevention is still worth a pound of cure. We are doing our level best by the use of prevention to avoid the necessity of a cure. And, we are encouraged to believe that our efforts may be effective.

Under the Eisenhower administration the position of the Federal Government has been so improved that it is now living currently within its income. We had a budget surplus last year. We will have another budget surplus this year. And we have proposed still another balanced budget for 1958. This is the first time we have had a real prospect of three balanced budgets in succession for more than 25 years.

It is the size of this budget, even though balanced, that concerns us. No man has worked harder than President Eisenhower to bring about a lower total of budget expenditures. This is equally true of all others in responsible positions in this administration who have given long hours of painstaking work in the budget's preparation. The fact is that the budget as we presented it to the Congress in January is the best that we could propose at the time, even though it provides for increasing Government spending.

In this connection it is important that the public understand fully just how the functions of Government are divided in connection with budget making and the authority for expenditures.

The law establishing this procedure specifies that "The President shall transmit to Congress during the first 15 days of each session, the budget," which "shall set forth * * * [the] proposed functions and activities of Government; * * * [the] estimated expenditures and the proposed appropriations necessary in his judgment for the support of the Government for the ensuing fiscal year, * * * [as well as the] estimated receipts of the Government."

But the final decision is the decision of the Congress. Its responsibility is established by the Constitution, which provides that "no money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law * * *." So that the Congress makes the final determination, not only of how much the Federal Government may spend but for what purposes all expenditures may be made.

It should, therefore, be clear that when the Executive asks the Congress, as we have done, to help to search out ways in which spending can be properly cut below what the Executive has proposed that we are acting only in strict conformity with constitutional processes in the way our Government is established.

It is also important to bear in mind where the money goes that the Federal Government spends.

By far the largest amount—63 percent of the total—is for security. That includes the amounts in the various programs which it is estimated we need to protect ourselves against aggression.

The second largest category of Federal spending is for programs fixed by various laws passed by the Congress. These programs, such as veterans' benefits, agricultural price support and soil-bank payments, grants to States for welfare payments, and the like, plus interest on the Federal debt, total about 25 percent of Federal spending. In these programs, after Congress passes the laws, the Executive has little opportunity to exercise any discretion, but merely administers the program and writes and distributes the checks which the various laws direct.

This leaves but 12 percent of Federal spending in which there is some elasticity in the opportunity to save money.

It, therefore, becomes quite obvious that while some savings can always be made by ferreting out waste, extravagance, and duplication, the really substantial reductions in Government spending can come only from changes in programs. These programs now in effect by decision of the Congress can be changed only by new decisions of the Congress. The executive branch must, of course, work closely with the Congress to arrive at the best judgments as to what the various programs must provide for. That is exactly what the Eisenhower administration is currently doing with the Congress in this campaign which has received so much public notice recently searching to find out ways and means of reconsidering existing programs so as to make substantial reductions in Government spending without either impairing our security or the necessary services to be rendered to the public.

The President in his state of the Union message said that he would insist that the executive department, in the next 4 years "search out additional ways to save money and manpower." There are 16 months remaining before spending under the proposed budget will be completed. We are working and will keep working on a day and night basis to find additional ways and places to save money so that we may come out with a lower spending figure at the end of the budget year. There is reason to be optimistic about the prospects for success in this effort as everyone is cooperating with vigor and sincerity. We have asked the Congress to cooperate with us to this end and it is doing so in its actions on the appropriation bills. We are confident that some specific and substantial reductions can become possible if the people of this country continue their insistence that Federal spending be brought under better control.

Whose job is it to cut Federal spending? It is everybody's job. It needs the active support—not just the approval—of the public.

Basically it is the job of the American people for it is with the people—at the thousands of crossroads over the Nation—that the pressures for spending begin. A group of people who want some assistance or who get into trouble of some kind, turn to the Federal Government for help on the mistaken

theory that money from the Federal Government does not cost anybody anything.

The pressures applied are well known and are visible in Washington everyday. If some Federal activity is to be discontinued because it is no longer really needed, the townspeople in the community where Federal spending is to be curtailed will organize a campaign with their chamber of commerce to continue the spending within their locality. They will take up the matter with their congressional delegations and the branch of Government which is trying to curtail the unnecessary spending comes under heavy criticism from them. It is these pressures for continuation of present programs or the beginning of new programs, for local groups or in many localities throughout the country, which, added together, result in the terrific sums of money the Federal Government is spending today.

We need a campaign of public education so that the public will better understand the facts of life about Federal spending.

They must realize that there is no bottomless well of unlimited money in Washington. The only Government money that any person can get must come from the taxes he pays whether the payment is by check from Washington or from the city or county treasurer or the town selectmen.

There is all too prevalent an attitude of "getting our cut so long as everyone else is getting theirs." There is a general feeling in many localities that "we must get our cut" of any Federal program or we will be cheated out of our rightful share of the money that the Government is spending and so many programs to spend Federal money are started and many local programs are thus abandoned at the local level and Washington is turned to for help that would otherwise be locally supplied. The people must come to understand that any program, if financed by Washington, can only be paid for by local tax money going to Washington, where some is used up for Washington overhead expense and what's left goes back to the local community which provided some or all of the money in the first place.

The public must understand better that local spending for local needs is more efficient and that Federal programs for local needs should be curtailed. Public projects locally determined and locally financed are likely to be more efficiently administered than any project which is put into effect and supervised by some distant agency. A town meeting is less likely to spend its tax money on some unnecessary programs than an agency in Washington a thousand miles away where a growing bureaucracy is entrenching itself.

President Eisenhower has often said and deeply believes that as Lincoln once said: "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, for themselves—in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

Finally the people must be awakened to the true meaning of freedom. If the people of America are to have the benefits of freedom they must also bear the obligations of freedom. The Federal Government cannot absorb the obligations of the people and still permit the people to have and cherish the freedoms which have made this country great. The feeling is growing in this country that regardless of how careless you are of your own obligations and activities, if you get into trouble somehow or other the Government will take care of you and bail you out. If the people for themselves abdicate all self controls they can only have, in time, complete Government control.

As our economy produces more it does not mean that the Government must spend more, continually increasing the paternalism of Government. Just the opposite is true. The more we have the better able more of us should be to do for ourselves and be less and less dependent upon the Government.

High spending for our security will be required for sometime.

But that is all the more reason why our expenditures in many other ways must be curtailed and postponed until security becomes less costly and we are better able to afford more expense for some of the other things we might like to do.

When there is an unfortunate serious sickness in the home some of the things that would otherwise be nice for the family to do must be postponed and await their turn.

We must remain militarily strong. We must pay the cost of protecting our lives and way of living. But merely spending dollars does not guarantee this protection. The effective power of our defense is not measured only by its cost.

During the past few years lethal weapons have been developed which can destroy whole cities and nations. These weapons are new and they are very costly.

But the extremely high cost of new weapons simply increases the demand that we be highly selective and quick to abandon the expense of obsolete methods and equipment. We must, of course, always remain continually on the alert for the elimination of duplication and waste wherever it is found.

We must also remain strong economically for our greatest strength lies in our strong economy and the might of our great industrial machine.

No one can say exactly how much we can spend for defense before we risk serious injury to our economy. While military spending protects our lives it does not add to the permanent wealth of our Nation—to the new peacetime plants, machinery, farms, and homes which are required for our growing population.

The billions we pay for military items and personnel exert substantial inflationary pressures. The money goes into the spending stream but is not matched by production of goods which the people can buy. Monetary measures are helping to restrict these inflationary pressures. But, reductions in Federal spending would contribute greatly to the release of manpower and materials for increased production of peacetime goods and so help to hold down prices.

The toll of inflation falls with greatest impact upon the vast numbers of our citizens who are least able to protect themselves from its cruel effect: the millions of pensioners, life insurance and annuity holders, savings depositors, and others living upon fixed incomes or upon those who have prudently laid by some reserve for their future protection. That is why the Government must exert every effort to hold in check any new movement toward inflation.

Can we really reduce Government spending?

We certainly can, provided that we are willing to also reduce some of the services and contributions which the Federal Government is now making to various groups of our citizens. Three years ago we cut Government expenditures substantially and made possible the greatest dollar tax cut in our history. This stimulated the surge of national confidence which has spurred the prosperity of the past 2 years, the greatest prosperity we have ever known. These reductions in Government spending also helped to then stabilize the cost of living.

Another reduction in Government spending would not only tend to take some pressure off prices now and help to hold down the rising cost of living, but it would also lead the way toward another tax cut.

This can all be done if we continue to pursue with vigor and determination the Eisenhower policies which have guided us so well in the past and have the widespread active support of our citizens. Most people are in favor of strict economy for everyone but themselves and their own pet projects. It will take more than that to accomplish our purpose. We must have the unselfish support of all groups who are willing to demand somewhat less from the Federal Government for themselves as well as for all others for the great benefits that will surely result for all America.

We are Americans first. We are Republicans second, but we are absolutely certain that the Republican principles of the past 4 years have given us all more, better, and sounder conditions than we have known for years and that the best thing for all America is to have them continued.

So let's really go to work to strengthen and revitalize our party at the grass roots from whence all real power comes, and build an even better, stronger party beginning now to insure the continuation of the principles of proven worth which will maintain the safest, strongest, most prosperous America for all of us in the future.

The Words of a Carpenter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, a truly inspiring and outstanding address delivered today by the Honorable Boyd Leedom, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF BOYD LEEDOM, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD, BEFORE THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS CONFERENCE OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Once upon a time there was a meeting of an association of businessmen known as the National Chamber of Great Industrialists. The time was in the year 2000, not 1957. The place was not Washington, D. C., but Utopia, U. S. A.

A FABLE OF LABOR LORE

The president of my make-believe association in this Foolish Fable of Labor Lore was a gentleman of many winters, kindly and dignified, stately in bearing, wise and perspicacious. The head of the Amalgamated Unions of the Universe, whose grandfather had been a labor leader before him, sat on the platform as the guest of honor.

He and the president of the association were warm personal friends and in their professional lives worked closely together in complete devotion to the common objectives of labor and management—the production of goods for the consumer at an ever-reduced cost but with an ever-increasing return to both labor and management.

The President was speaking: "First of all, gentlemen, I want to present my very good friend, the head of the Amalgamated Unions of the Universe, the greatest friend American industry ever had—bar none."

The rafters shook with terrific applause. Somewhere, the spirit of the old granddaddy of the union head was offended. Thinking his grandson had sold out to the enemy, he

called out loudly to St. Peter—I think it was—or possibly it was Satan—to call a general strike on earth.

"It seems strange," the association's president continued, "that only a half century ago American industry and labor were adversaries. In 1935 Congress passed the Wagner Act to protect unions from employers. Then in 1947 Congress passed another law—the Taft-Hartley Act—to protect everybody else from unions.

"Our members fought the Wagner Act with everything they had. They defied the law and heaped verbal abuse on the Government for interfering with management prerogatives.

"Then unions fought the Taft-Hartley Act with everything they had. They defied the law and heaped verbal abuse on the Government for interfering with union prerogatives.

"It was an age of miracles. The automobile, the airplane, and the radio had come to stay. Television—that ancient forerunner of our present process of disintegration, transmission, and reintegration of matter by supersideous electromagnetic waves—was already regarded as commonplace. Anything seemed possible—anything, that is, but collective bargaining. Collective bargaining, the old-timers among our members were sure, was an innovation of the ultra-liberals which would die if properly resisted. But somehow another miracle happened. Collective bargaining survived. Open defiance of law gave way to honest acceptance of the principle.

"Of course, there were evils in those days which are unimaginable today. Men had to work as much as 40 hours a week. Women took jobs in factories to better be able to keep up with the Joneses. The incentive to make a profit was shackled by a confiscatory income tax and by big Government because men hadn't learned to live together. Along about the middle of the century congressional investigations became popular. In one of the investigations it looked as though some segments of organized labor had moved into an area that was more fun than work; from that investigation it was said that the city of Philadelphia started on a decline, and Portland grew. It was known, of course, as the City of Brotherly Love.

"We even had a peculiar branch of Government called the National Labor Relations Board which—bless Providence—has long since disappeared and been replaced by a little-used special court."

BACK TO REALITY

Pardon me, gentlemen. Did I say the Labor Board had disappeared? I am completely carried away by my own fantasy. That line—that the Labor Board had been replaced by a special court, is a line from the 1957 report of the American Bar Association to Congress.

Hastily and abruptly, without further ado, I leave my fictitious president of noble mien to finish his speech as best he can, and I return to the happy land of reality, to the time of numerous willful unfair labor practices, of insulting attacks on the Labor Board, and the real joy of a government pay check twice every month. So here we are, back in the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, with lunch not more than an hour away—you hope.

The Chairman of the Labor Board should have been able to open a speech about the Labor Board with a couple of jokes on the Labor Board. I hate to make this confession. The fact is, however, that during 2 years in Washington I haven't heard any funny stories about the NLRB. It's an unhealthy symptom of something or other. Maybe my life is too sheltered. Or perhaps the Labor Board is so insignificant that the wits are saving their talents to use on more important agencies. More likely, I'm afraid, when people make cracks about the Labor Board, they're not fooling.

You should understand at the outset that the most difficult matters with which the Labor Board deals are not labor problems at all; they are problems in political science. Daily we come to grips with some of these eternal questions which trouble the philosophers of democracy:

HOW MUCH IS TOO MUCH?

How much Government regulation is too much or too little? At what point shall individual liberties be subordinated to majority rule? How can Government function swiftly enough to accomplish justice without denying all interested parties their full measure of due process? How can we effectively operate a "government of laws, not of men" without becoming so coldly impersonal that we ignore human factors which are so important in the Government-citizen relationship?

As these questions become interwoven with the case-handling work of the Board, I am disturbed to find that employers and unions too often are inclined to give them short shrift.

Perhaps it is too much to expect any party to a labor case not to pervert a rule designed to guarantee due process into a means merely of delaying the proceeding.

In the zeal of proving or defending a case it is difficult to take the long view—to look beyond the result sought in the case at hand. Employers who traditionally resist government regulation of business are most vociferous in advocating more regulation of unions. Unions insist upon freedom of speech for their organizers but would deny it to management. Management condemns the Board for taking jurisdiction over one company in a representation election from which it desired freedom and also condemns the Board for not taking jurisdiction over a smaller company which is being subjected to a ruthless secondary boycott action.

Similar anomalies can be found in the administration of almost every judicial system, but they seem to be more common at the Labor Board. I suspect that this circumstance results not so much from the nature of the cases which come before us for decision as it results from the attitudes of the parties.

It was just about 2 years ago that I left a State supreme court to serve on the NLRB. The story they told on me as I came to the Board of course was not true. It was said a reporter asked me what I thought of the Taft-Hartley bill, and that I replied, after a moment's serious reflection, "I think they ought to pay it."

BLAME THE COURT

I was no stranger to controversy, but nothing in my prior judicial experience had conditioned me for facing some of the facts of life at the Labor Board. One of those elementary facts is that no matter how sincerely a Board member tries to be objective, neutral and fair, the customers of the Board persist in attempting to classify him as prolabor or proemployer.

I practiced law and served on the bench long enough to realize that lawyers and litigants are inclined to blame the judge whenever they lose a case; but the problem at the Labor Board goes deeper.

We function in an area where intricate legal questions become intertwined with social and economic problems, where the parties are accustomed to resolve their differences by pressure, and where appeals to emotion often overshadow appeals to reason. Because the Board is not quite the same as a court, the parties to Board cases seem to feel free to castigate the Board with greater fervor than they customarily exhibit in legal proceedings.

Sometimes we are made to feel more like umpires at Ebbetts Field than quasi-judicial officers of the United States. In other words, the atmosphere is hardly conducive to detached contemplation of philosophical considerations.

Not long ago a lawyer opened his oral argument before the Board in Washington with a general denunciation of the Board for recent decisions which he considered proemployer, but which had little or no relation to the case under consideration.

When I read or hear such statements, I wonder if the spokesman is deliberately trying to intimidate my colleagues and me or if, unwittingly, he has borrowed the pressure tactics of more turbulent arenas in which employers and unions so often meet in combat and settle their differences more by might than by right.

MORE ORDERS AGAINST EMPLOYERS

If you hear a union spokesman denounce the NLRB as being promanagement, I hope you get no comfort from that circumstance. It would be a bad mistake to assume that you can count on a built-in bias of the Labor Board to bring about an employer's victory in any management-union controversy.

Last year we issued more than twice the number of orders against employers as we did unions, requiring them to cease and desist from unfair labor practices. But this apparent imbalance is largely accounted for by the relative numbers of cases filed against employers and against unions. So unions shouldn't depend on Board bias for victory either.

Businessmen, as well as a good many others, can help the NLRB become a better Board by cutting out this nonsense of trying to identify Board members individually or collectively as proemployer or prolabor. Labor Board cases are not so simple that their outcome depends on alleged bias by those who make the decisions. I don't deny that bias can affect a case, but there is ample opportunity for review of Board decisions by the courts; and a Board member ought to know that he cannot survive in the big leagues long or maintain even self-respect if he does anything other than his best in applying the law fairly to the facts in each case that comes before him.

SHOE ON THE OTHER FOOT

You can be sure that organized labor does not like the restrictions placed upon it by the Taft-Hartley Act any more than employers liked the restrictions placed upon them by the Wagner Act.

I suspect that history is repeating itself, only now the shoe is on the other foot. Labor transfers to those administering the statute much of its antipathy to the statute itself; and the more strictly the act is enforced, the more intense the criticism.

Against this background I find it somewhat ironical that the daily mail at the Labor Board invariably contains demands, especially from small-business men, for regulating union conduct in various additional ways. If the employer thinks a union's tactics are unfair, the assumption seems to be that the Labor Board should get after the union.

Lawyers usually are aware of the statutory limitations of the Board's powers, but many of their clients are inclined to think that the NLRB should do a policing job even in areas where Congress chose not to legislate.

I understand that employers nowadays are worried about a series of decisions which seem to have expanded the areas for collective bargaining and to have limited the freedom of management to make unilateral changes in policies and procedures. I refer, of course, to the Board and court rulings that profit-sharing, pensions, and stock purchase plans are encompassed within the meaning of wages, hours, and conditions of employment.

There has been no change in the law or Board policy in connection with these cases.

The alleged expansion of the area of bargaining has come about simply because unions insist on bargaining about more and more matters which not only the Board but the courts as well have deemed to be bargainable. You can make life easier for yourselves, and also for the Labor Board, if you reconcile yourselves to the proposition that the very nature of collective bargaining involves the participation of employee representatives in the formulation of policies or decisions affecting their welfare.

Rather than turn to the Government for protection of the so-called management prerogatives, therefore, employers would be better advised to learn to work effectively with employee representatives on all matters truly of mutual concern.

FURNISHING ECONOMIC DATA

Another series of cases which I understand make employers unhappy are the Board and court decisions requiring management to furnish economic data to employee representatives.

There are still some unresolved questions as to the precise showing of relevancy which must be made before employers can be required to supply information and as to the form and method of delivery; but the general outline of the law is clear. Where certain facts under the exclusive control of the employer are relevant to an issue in dispute the employer can withhold the information only at the peril of being found guilty of not bargaining in good faith.

Although situations may arise in which it would be unduly burdensome to give the union all the information which it seeks, I think employers would be well advised to bring facts into the bargaining process wherever possible, regardless of any legal obligation. Compromises sometimes may be reached in an atmosphere of bluff, bluster, and ignorance, but the chances of resolving disputes are increased when both parties deal frankly and fairly and face the facts.

RESOLVES DOUBTS TO FAVOR SPEECH

Another controversial issue at the Board nowadays is freedom of speech.

Under the Wagner Act there was an inclination to treat almost any management utterance to employees on the subject of union affiliation, such as, "good morning, Joe," as an act of interference constituting an unfair labor practice in violation of the statute.

Mainly in response to employer demands, Congress in the Taft-Hartley Act provided of an unfair labor practice if such expression or opinion shall not constitute or be evidence of an unfair labor practice if such expression contains no threat of reprisal or force or promise of benefit.

We have had a good many close cases come before us recently in which we have had to determine how this proviso applies to certain statements by employers to employees during the weeks prior to a representation election.

I have tended to resolve doubts in favor of freedom of speech. That fredom is one which I prize so highly that I hate to see it limited any more than absolutely necessary. But to this audience of employer representatives here today, I don't mind admitting that I have considerable apprehension about this problem.

Some employers who are clearly interested in discouraging their employees from joining unions seem determined to go as far as they can in violating the spirit of the law without violating the letter of the law.

If you prise the right of free speech, you can protect it best by seeing that it is not misused. I think the right is being abused when an employer uses innuendo to threaten employees with reprisals if they disagree with him.

Every now and then I am appalled by the age of some of the Board's cases. I am not implying that the delay is always the fault of one of the parties. Much of our slowness can be blamed upon the human shortcomings of the Board and its personnel who are usually struggling to move too large a load of cases. The wheels of government grind slowly at best; but I have little sympathy with recalcitrant litigants who deliberately throw sand into the machinery by making dilatory moves in the hope that they can postpone or evade a clear statutory obligation.

The regional offices of the Board have been remarkably successful in settling informally the bulk of the cases brought to the agency. But I have the impression from looking at the hundreds of cases which come to my attention each year that employers could settle more often.

THE VEGETARIAN SHEEP

Ambrose Bierce, a popular short story writer in our grandfathers' time, had a fable about two dogs who had been fighting for a bone, without advantage to either. They referred their dispute to a sheep. The sheep patiently heard their statements, then flung the bone into a pond.

"Why did you do that?" asked the dogs.

"Because," replied the sheep, "I am a vegetarian."

As a member of the NLRB, I sometimes find the Board in a role somewhat like that of the sheep. And on reflection that the sheep is often depicted as the dumbest of all animals, you may feel the role of the sheep for the Board especially significant. Unions and employers, when unable to resolve their differences, submit them to us. Often neither is happy with our resolution.

Perhaps it is inevitable that the Government will perform an increasingly important regulatory role as industrial society becomes more complicated. I merely want to remind you that every time you claim foul on the other side and ask the Government to intervene on your behalf—either by filing charges under existing law or by seeking additional legislation—you bring Washington to your bargaining table.

At the risk of seeming naive I would like to suggest that most of the problems with which we deal—freedom of speech and due process, as well as practice and procedure of collective bargaining with which the Labor Board is primarily concerned—can be solved by good will on the part of those who deal with labor problems as they arise. I believe in resort to the orderly processes of the Board in lieu of combat in labor relations; but I also believe that to as great an extent as possible employer and union should adjust their differences without seeking our help.

It seems the great guides for human conduct that have proved their value in the establishment of western civilization and American democracy may not be good enough for the 20th century leaders of labor and management. They insist on the right to lock out, to strike, to take advantage due to economic superiority, and they often still resort to violence and mob action.

FOLLOW SUNDAY'S SPIRIT

If all the members of the union were blood brothers of management, there would not be many serious labor disputes. And this would be so because of the way the parties would treat each other, and would have little or no relation to the provisions of Taft-Hartley. In this hypothetical situation the company wouldn't have to give away its last dime because, of course, the union would have no occasion either to demand or to take the company's last dime.

What a marvelous transformation we would see in industrial relations and in production figures if management people and union leaders would always deal with each other decently; if they would follow their Sunday urge throughout the other days of the week, and put themselves in the other fellow's shoes just a part of the time. But the more common approach is to treat the other fellow as a combatant in a dog-eat-dog process, not wholly unlike that of cutting off one's nose to spite the face.

The time will come when they shall treat each other as they should, but not soon—no sooner than truly selfless men with great knowledge of human values and with extraordinary vision, arise and exhibit a capacity to lead the masses of lesser men on both sides of the issue in the right direction. For many now in the labor-management field, to follow such lead would require at least a right-angle turn, for some a full circle.

Businessmen can help the Labor Board do a better job by giving at least as much attention to the spiritual concept of the labor-management law as they do to the letter of the law. They will help themselves if they will search for a oneness of purpose with their employees that will draw them together, rather than some provision of the law which, when urged as the basis of a dubious right, will tend to widen the chasm of dissention now separating management from labor.

You experts in labor-management relations on the side of industry can help the Labor Board do a better job and promote industrial peace if you will analyze carefully the decisions of the Board and the courts and predicate cooperative action with your employees on the positive implications of our words, rather than prepare defenses on their negative aspects. Unfortunately for all of us, these words are sometimes so complex we all have difficulty being sure of the meaning. And even more important than these interpretations of the Taft-Hartley Act are the interpretive words of a more fundamental law spoken by one who comes from the labor side—from one of the oldest crafts. True industrial peace will come to America, and I earnestly ask that you try to understand this simplicity, when many more men in both labor and industry carefully analyze and fully comprehend and sincerely try to implement in the field of labor-management relations these plain, uncomplicated words of a humble carpenter of Galilee. "And as you wish that men should do to you, do so to them," remembering that He also said, "For the measure you give will be the measure you get back."

General German Aged People's Home—Address by Governor McKeldin

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, we all rejoince at the birth of a new project dedicated to service for our fellow man, and our joy is increased whenever such an undertaking expands and flourishes. It is with a deep sense of happiness, therefore, that I speak today of the progress of the General German Aged People's Home—Greisenheim—of Baltimore, Md. This home was founded more than three-quarters of a century ago, and its birth inspired the hope that it would grow through the years in accordance with the principles of humanity on which it was established.

Now that hope has been realized, and a new promise of additional achievements has been made through the laying of a cornerstone for a new infirmary wing

for the home. I should like to emphasize that this progress has been accomplished without State aid, but with only the generous assistance of the friends of Greisenheim. These results have stemmed from the devotion of numerous persons to the finest German traditions—a devotion which has not only benefited Greisenheim in particular, but our entire Nation in general. Unfortunately it would be an almost impossible task to name all of the individuals who have aided in the growth of this home for the aged, but I should like to mention a few, not only because they themselves have contributed greatly to the work at Greisenheim, but also because they typify the devoted service which has been rendered by so many others, too.

I should like to mention their names now, and I also ask unanimous consent that the remarks delivered by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland, at the cornerstone-laying ceremonies, be printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD. The names are: Sister Herta Jurgens, matron; Sister Friedericke Cluss; Sister Louis Doepner; Mrs. Edwin Boesche, president of the Ladies Aid; Mrs. Henry Sincz, president of the Handicraft Club; George C. Stroh, president of the "greisenheim"; William E. Zschiesche, secretary; and the following members of the infirmary fund committee: Kurt H. George, chairman; Mr. Stroh; Hermann G. Sander, vice president; William E. Katenkamp; Albert Glombowski; Frank Zimmermann; Harry J. Klasmeier; William F. Stiegler; and Mr. Zschiesche.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF GOV. THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, CORNERSTONE LAYING, NEW INFIRMARY WING, GENERAL GERMAN AGED PEOPLE'S HOME OF BALTIMORE

It is a gracious privilege to participate in the laying of this cornerstone, for the building that will rise here is a symbol with many meanings, but all of them good and fair. A "greisenheim," a home for the aged, is a milestone marking man's progress up from the level of the brute. When it is the work of a group allied by ties of blood and nationality, it is also a symbol of the social bond by which we acknowledge our responsibility for our less fortunate neighbors. When it bears, at this one does, a name from the language of the mother country, it is a reminder of our debt to the great nations from whom we inherited our civilization.

Twice within this century it has been the unhappy fate of Americans of German blood to have to stand in arms against the land of their fathers. It has been a severe trial and it did not end with the clash of arms; for it has imposed upon our people of German descent a stronger obligation to preserve the memory of all those things that Germany has contributed to the enrichment of civilization. For it was through German immigration to these shores that the great values of the German way of life were brought to bless America. If the sons of the immigrants should allow the tragedy of the twentieth century to make them forget the glory of earlier days, not they alone would suffer, but all of us would be the poorer. British and Spanish and French and Italian—whatever may be the origin of our American families, we have all profited by what Germany has contributed, as we hope German-Americans have profited by what the rest of us have to give.

It is the great good fortune of the American that, in things of the mind and spirit, he inherits from all nations, regardless of his own descent. His ancestors may have roamed the Scottish Highlands, or the Russian steppes, or have built their homes around the Irish lakes, or in the African jungles. No matter. As an American he has fallen heir to the music of Bach, to the philosophy of Kant, to the science of Leibnitz and the poetry of Goethe. For those Americans who came originally from Germany have brought with them the riches of the German mind and spirit, to add to the common treasure.

All of us are under an obligation to preserve this treasure, but I think you will agree that a special obligation lies upon each group to preserve first of all the contribution that our own people brought. Certainly Beethoven must be studied by an Italian-American musician, Mommsen by an Anglo-American historian, Ehrlich by a Spanish-American physician. But while those great names must command the respectful admiration of an American named McKeldin, it is reasonable to suppose they arouse not only respectful admiration but also a warm glow of pride in an American named Eisenhower. A German-American should be duly grateful for all that other nations have given us; but he must be particularly proud of what Germans have given us.

Among the gracious gifts that have come from the Fatherland, none is better worth preserving than the tradition of compassion for the helpless that is conspicuous in the German character. The Christmas tree is an importation from Germany. It is the most beautiful of all symbols of our belief that the strongest of claims upon our generous sympathy is the claim of sheer helplessness. In the case of the Christmas tree it is the helplessness of youth. Children cannot command, they can only appeal; yet the glittering tree is evidence that their appeal has moved the German heart in a way that the commands of great Caesar never could.

The appeal of age is of the same kind, and for 75 years this institution has stood as visible proof that the German heart responds to helpless age as it does to helpless youth. Throughout its long history this institution has been supported by voluntary contributions. The tax collector has never exacted one cent for its maintenance, so it is our habit to say that there was nothing forced in the aid that has been given it.

But is that quite right? It is true that the power of the law has never been exerted in its favor, but there are other powers that operate upon men. A kind heart is a taskmaster, too, and it often drives men to action when all the forces of the State could not move them. I am inclined to think that in the long list of contributors to this institution the great majority gave because they had to give. Their own kind hearts commanded them in a way that all the laws ever enacted could never do.

The difference is that this is a happy servitude. The man who is driven by his own generous impulses toils as laboriously as any other, but he is rewarded with joy and pride; and his labor in the service of others, doesn't exhaust him, it refreshes him.

So I am inclined to say that this institution, although built and maintained without the assistance of the State, nevertheless had to be built and had to be maintained. I believe you will agree with me, if you think of the alternative. We have always had in this city a large population of German blood and many have gained wealth and power. If, then, there had been no expression of compassion, no evidence of sympathy for the unfortunate, no response to the appeal of the helpless—why, it is unthinkable. The very presence of a great many German people was a guaranty that there would be some manifestation of the kind German heart.

As a matter of fact the Greisenheim is only one of many such manifestations, but it is a particularly fine one and perhaps the finest thing about it is the fact that after 75 years it not only continues to exist but is in process of expansion. The spirit that animated the fathers and grandfathers has not been extinguished in their posterity; this facet of the German character, far from being dimmed, is polished until it attains a more brilliant sheen than it had long ago.

This care for the best part of our European inheritance is, however, not German. It is typically American, and of the best part of America. There is no higher loyalty to America than to preserve and cherish and strengthen every fine tradition, every generous impulse, every civilized instinct that was brought to us from the countries of our ancestors. It is, of course, also a part of loyalty to eradicate every ignoble element that may have been introduced from abroad, but that is too plain to need emphasis. The task of Americans, if we are to achieve our high destiny in the years ahead, is to select the best from all the national cultures that have been brought to this land. We have among us representatives of all traditions, of all manners and customs, of all intellectual disciplines. In each of them there is something excellent; and if we might select the excellent from each, we could weave them all into a tapestry of such brilliance and beauty as the world has never seen.

But to be able to do that we must first learn to recognize the excellent when we see it. And if we wish to recognize the excellent in an alien culture, the best preparation is to study carefully what is excellent in our own. This is why it is first-rate Americanism for Americans of German blood to study, and practice and strengthen all that is fine in German tradition, not for itself alone, but in order that America may profit. The German-American should study other cultures, too, but he will appreciate the others sooner if he first learns to appreciate all that is best in his own.

This institution stands as one of the fine flowers of German culture in America, for nothing that Germany has done redounds to her credit more than her long struggle to eliminate the fear of want among her own people. Age is the factor that makes all men vulnerable to that fear; hence, the protection of age is a triump of high civilization. The existence of this institution is more than a sanctuary of old people of German blood; it is also a stimulus and encouragement to all others to take thought of the same problem as it affects them. Therefore, this home is a contribution to American civilization, a bright thread woven into the great tapestry.

Hence the project that you are now undertaking, to expand the services of the home and to improve their quality commands my admiration and interest. First as an officer of the state, second as a citizen of the city, third as an American of German origin, I offer you my thanks and good wishes. For in proportion as your work is successful we shall all benefit, not so much in material things as in inspiration to higher achievement.

And, in the final analysis, an inspiration to higher achievement is the most valuable thing that any national or racial or sectarian group can contribute to America. Because so many groups have contributed in the past, our civilization has attained an extraordinary richness and variety. The hope of our future is that they may continue to contribute, so that someday, by selecting the best from each, we may at last put together the finest of all.

For what you have done toward this work in the past I offer you my congratulations; and for what you will continue to do in the future I offer you my warm good wishes, coupled with confident hope.

Atomic Power Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, the able chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the Honorable CARL T. DURHAM, will make an address tonight in Philadelphia on the subject Some Realism on Atomic Power Development.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of his address may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOME REALISM ON ATOMIC POWER DEVELOPMENT

(Speech before National Industrial Conference Board Conference on Atomic Energy in Industry at Philadelphia, Pa., on March 14, 1957, by the Honorable CARL T. DURHAM, chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy)

The topic I have chosen for discussion this evening—on realism in atomic power—would appear appropriate for the aggregation of engineers and businessmen at this nuclear congress. Engineers are noted for getting down to brass tacks, and businessmen are known to be interested in the realities of profits and loss statements.

Now actually in making this kind of a speech, I am in a sense stepping a bit out of character. For I am one of the greatest optimists about the present and future prospects for atomic energy development.

I think we have made a great deal of progress since the first Atomic Energy Act was passed in 1946. I further believe that we have made considerable progress since the act was amended in 1954.

Perhaps the greatest single reason for this progress over the years has been that we have had a civilian Atomic Energy Commission responsible for the program, carrying out its activities through industrial and university contractors with administration in the field. More recently the 1954 amendments have encouraged greater private ownership and participation, permitted greater declassification of technical information, and provided the basis for the international atoms for peace program.

Tonight I want to take a somewhat different approach and review some of the hard facts and raise some of the hard questions which are necessary to an understanding and solution to the problems which face us. These facts and questions have for the most part emerged out of the open statutory hearings which the joint committee has recently concluded and other executive hearings which we have held.

In passing let me say that in bringing up these matters, I am following the tradition of the previous chairmen and past and present associates on the joint committee. As you know, our committee in addition to being the only joint committee with legislative functions, has a tradition of being a kind of watchdog for the atomic program. Moreover, we take real pride in providing encouragement and sometimes the spur for the executive branch to establish necessary policies and programs in the atomic energy field.

Our overriding problem as I see it, is how to maintain our world leadership in atomic energy. In the field of atomic weapons and military reactors that is necessary for our immediate survival. In the field of civilian atomic power, it is necessary for our world prestige and long-time survival.

First, I would like to touch upon our military atomic energy situation. Our scientists and engineers at our great Los Alamos and Livermore Laboratories have done a remarkable job in improving the weapon designs which are showing up in our stockpile.

Our vast plants for producing weapon material, U–235 and plutonium, are turning out record quantities of material. But here our first question arises. Are we producing enough plutonium, taking into account the revolution by which nuclear weapons are supplanting conventional weapons? Unfortunately our military planning is apparently geared to current productive capacity instead of our needs 3 or 4 years hence. This is obviously a subject which cannot be explored publicly in its entirety. Suffice it to say that it will be high on the list for consideration by the Joint Committee in coming weeks.

In the field of military reactors, we can take a great deal of pride in the outstanding success of the naval reactors program, under the leadership of Admiral Rickover. The *Nautilus* has been the prototype for the complete transformation of the Navy to nuclear propulsion. Currently we have the *Nautilus* and the *Sea Wolf* operating, with 7 other atomic subs under construction, and plans for 6 additional subs, a guided missile cruiser, and an aircraft carrier.

In the field of Army package power reactors, we also are making progress. The demonstration plant at Fort Belvoir is scheduled for operation this spring. Several other promising approaches are being explored.

In the field of aircraft nuclear propulsion we are also making progress. The AEC in its 21st semiannual report announced that the first jet aircraft engine powered by atomic energy went into operation at the GE Idaho site in January 1956.

But here we encounter our second question. For despite steady progress since a cutback in 1953, the Defense Department is again using the meat ax instead of the scalpel on the ANP program. Here is a program where the sound principles of management have constantly been violated. Management has been indecisive with authority spread out among several different offices and branches. In the current cutback, no objectives, schedules, or target dates have been set to provide guidance in the program. Here again, the Joint Committee is trying to help get the program back on a sound course.

Now turning to the civilian power reactor field, we can also point to considerable progress. We have a remarkably diversified program at the experimental level. Eight or more different reactor concepts are being developed to the experimental reactor stage by the Commission.

Moreover we have in the 5,000-kilowatt Argonne experimental boiling water reactor our first regularly operating atomic powerplant. I had the honor of pulling the lever that brought the plant up to power last month.

We are also looking forward to the 60,000-kilowatt Shippingport reactor coming into operation next fall. It will be our first full-scale atomic powerplant. The Joint Committee has consistently followed the progress of this project and its predecessors in the naval reactors program. From these projects we have gained some experience and insight into the problems facing the civilian atomic power program. Only last week some of my associates and I visited Shippingport and were greatly impressed with what we saw.

We can also take some encouragement in the response which private power companies, and State, municipal and cooperative power agencies have shown toward the Commission's invitations to participate in the power demonstration program, or to go out on their own hook in planning to build atomic powerplants. The responses which have occurred since the last session by such organizations as the Virginia-Carolina group, the New England Power Co., the Ohio Valley group, the Northern States Power group, the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., the Pacific Power & Light group, and the Chugach Cooperative, are gratifying, particularly in view of some of the problems I shall discuss later.

But as indicated at our recent hearings, we have run into some real problems and questions in regard to our program for the development and construction of large scale power reactors. At the outset of the hearings, I made two observations which were abundantly borne out during the hearings and subsequently. In my opening statement I said:

"Some of the things which perplex us are the following:

"1. Although we see steady progress in our technology, the technical and engineering problems encountered appear to be considerably greater than anticipated. This discouraging note applies to both Government-financed and privately financed projects. The Joint Committee was informed last Friday that cost estimates for 2 major power reactor projects—1 private and 1 Government-financed—have increased approximately $15 million, which amounts to 20 to 40 percent of original estimates. We have been informed privately of similar cost increases on other projects. Schedules of completion on some projects have also apparently been extended, or should be extended.

"2. Although the immediate financial incentives in this country for reactors does not appear good for the next 10 years, the need for reactors abroad is apparently very great and immediate. Thus the Three Wise Men of Euratom indicated that Euratom needed 3 million kilowatts of atomic power in 1963 and 15 million by 1967. This would mean 30 reactors the size of Detroit Edison by 1963 and 150 by 1967. This is a lot of reactors, but AEC and the State Department say the goal is feasible. I don't need to point any moral from the above."

A sample of statements during the hearings confirming these increases in cost and completion dates is as follows:

"The Yankee Atomic Power group reported that an estimate has been made which indicates that overall costs of the plant will exceed the original estimate of $35 million by a substantial margin. The completion date has been moved from late 1959 to late 1960.

"AEC indicated that the estimate for the Consumers Public Power District project had increased 80 to 100 percent from the original estimated $25 million. The completion date has been moved from 1959 to 1961.

"Westinghouse representatives stated that current estimates for the Pennsylvania Power & Light acqueous homogeneous reactor are appreciably higher than original estimates."

AEC Commissioner Thomas Murray indicated that estimates for small atomic powerplants had also gone up. The 10,000-kilowatt Wolverine Electric Co-op project had already increased about 25 percent." AEC representatives indicated that the original estimate for the Elk River co-op had been withdrawn by the equipment manufacturer, with an indication in later testimony of a 30 percent increase.

It should be noted that most of these increases are in estimated costs before even design is completed. Thus it is possible that actual costs might be reduced or, more likely, increased.

The reasons given for these increases in costs, in addition to normal price increases, were unanticipated development and engineering problems, usually in the non-nuclear portions. Admiral Rickover had some important things to say about these problems in a recent speech as follows:

"Many factors have been suggested as the major source of difficulty in achieving nuclear power. Secrecy, the novel scientific concepts involved, legal and governmental restrictions—each of these has been cited as the major stumbling block.

"The main problem is with materials and equipment generally considered as conventional, but which must conform to the exacting standards required of all components of a nuclear powerplant.

"It has not been difficult to focus the necessary attention on the novel features of nuclear power, such as the nuclear reactor itself. * * * But it has been very difficult to get sufficient effort directed toward the more conventional aspects of nuclear plants—the heat exchangers, the pumps, the valves, the instrumentation. Here normal engineering and manufacturing techniques have proved to be inadequate when applied to nuclear plants."

Admiral Rickover also had something to say about the management problems involved:

"We have found that before a company can produce heat exchangers, valves, pumps, instruments, or other components suitable for a nuclear powerplant, a complete revision of its normal organizational procedures is necessary. A full-time project manager responsible directly to top management must be placed in change of the nuclear products. He must establish new levels of engineering and scientific competence. This generally requires that personnel be given special education and training.

"New tools and procedures for inspection must be developed and put into use. Facilities for testing raw materials and the final product must be designed and installed. Often these are very expensive.

"In short, an entirely new level of technical and administrative competence must be built up for even the so-called conventional-type equipment."

Now I assure you that the reason I dwell on these problems is not because I want our program to look bad. I certainly do not. But these somewhat unpleasant facts raise a number of questions. Of particular interest are the following:

1. Who is going to pay these increased costs?

2. What are their implications as to the realities of private participation in atom-power development during the next 5 or 10 years?

On the question of who is going to pay for the increased costs, it is probably going to be primarily the equipment manufacturer. AEC by reason of its fixed contributions to demonstration projects, has encouraged the placing of the risk of loss on the equipment and component manufacturer. The same policy is standard practice among power companies and co-ops in contracting for commercial projects. Some of the additional costs will be shared by power operators to be charged off through their rates. The difference between the estimated cost of nuclear plants and the cost of a conventional plant of the same capacity will, of course, have to be borne by the power operator.

Perhaps it was looking at these hard facts and questions that prompted Mr. Frank McCune, vice president of General Electric in charge of their atomic energy work, to write to the committee that their number one problem is the following:

"Of primary importance is the present lack of economic incentive. Normally a business begins to grow rapidly when its products produce increased value for its customers. Presently there is much to do before atomic power is competitive in our normal markets; hence our customers are spending money on their projects rather than receiving increased value from them. I believe that it takes more than the usual faith and courage to invest heavily in such a business environment."

As you know, a recent survey by the Atomic Forum confirmed that industrialists believe that the lack of a financial incentive is their number one problem.

Getting back to my realism once again, I would like to make one further observation: Perhaps all of us in one degree or another have erred in treating the program as if commercial atomic power were here or just around the corner in this country. Actually all of the problems are normal for a large scale research and development effort. It is "par for the course" in development work to sometimes miss cost estimates by 100 percent and completion dates by a year or two.

A further question arises growing out of the above observation, to wit: Are we not applying methods applicable to a large-scale conventional power projects, rather than methods more attuned to large-scale research and development work in the atomic-energy field?

Thus, for example, the co-ops and private-power companies (with one exception) are contracting for the development and construction of their reactor plants on a turnkey basis to the private equipment company. This amounts to practically complete delegation of technical and administrative direction of the project to the equipment company. The co-op or private company have few supervisory engineers or management specialists assigned to supervise or bird-dog the project. Yet, in some cases, the equipment company has never before built a complete reactor.

In contrast, the AEC in building the Shippingport reactor has a complete technical staff under Admiral Rickover and extensive field management and procurement supervisory staff working with the prime contractor and subcontractors. Yet even here with an adaptation of an established design it is taking more than 4 years to complete the reactor project.

Now what are the implications of some of the above facts for you as engineers and businessmen? It seems to me that it raises the question of whether you should get stronger management and engineering personnel in the private utility groups, municipalities, and co-ops to direct and supervise the work of their contractors. Moreover, there should be greater recognition that the work is primarily at a research and development stage, and that this costs a great deal of money.

Now what are the implications of our realism for all of us as citizens. It seems to me that it means if we really want to accelerate our atomic-energy program under present conditions, it will take considerably more private and Government funds, risk taking, and effort by everyone concerned. It particularly means the training of many more people in nuclear work.

That brings me to the question of whether it is worth it. I think it is, if we are measuring its worth in terms of world leadership. For our atomic leadership has become a part of our foreign policy, whether we like it or not.

At the present time our present leadership is being seriously challenged. The British only last week announced that their already large-scale program has been quadrupled. This includes approximately 20 power stations involved 30 to 40 reactors for a total of 5 to 6 million kilowatts at an estimated capital cost of $2½ billion. These power reactors will begin coming on the line in 1960.

As I have indicated, the 6-nation European EURATOM group has plans for 3 million kilowatts by 1962 and 15 million by 1967. Japan is also interested in developing atomic power rapidly.

Although the Russians are undoubtedly behind us in technology, they have an ambitious program, both in terms of variety of reactor concepts and total number of plants and kilowatts produced. According to the statement of the Soviet spokesman, Dr. Ivan V. Kurchatov, and other Soviet announcements, the Russians expect to have between 2 million kilowatts and 2½ million kilowatts by 1960, with considerable capacity coming into operation in late 1958.

The joint committee reported last year that, based on Soviet achievements in other aspects of atomic energy development, and in other technological fields, there is no reason to believe the Russians cannot achieve their goal provided they give it top priority.

Then there are the Latin American and underdeveloped nations who are looking to us for help.

The challenge and opportunity is there. The question is, can we meet it? I believe we can. But we can't afford to wait another year or two.

One of the most challenging and, in a sense, encouraging things that came out of our recent hearings was that this urgent need for atomic power in foreign countries offers a great opportunity for our domestic atomic equipment industry to get some experience and make some money in foreign markets until atomic power becomes more economic here. But there are many complex problems to be solved in encouraging this international development.

Witnesses were practically unanimous that we need a far more aggressive program to back up our equipment suppliers in their efforts abroad. Red tape needs to be cut, and reactor projects need to be considered and sold as a package including fuel fabrication and reprocessing in order to compete with our friends abroad.

Now, in summary, what do we do about it? Taking the broad sweep of our world leadership in weapons and in military and civilian reactor development, I would recommend that we seriously consider the following (all subject to further study and consideration by the joint committee):

1. We should authorize construction of an additional plutonium producing reactor at Hanford, Wash. It would seem wise to also make provision for utilizing the waste heat for producing electric power.

2. We should authorize the development and construction of a Mark I flying prototype of a nuclear propelled aircraft with a realistic target date for completion.

3. We should substantially increase AEC funds for reactor research and development work.

4. We should inaugurate an accelerated domestic reactor demonstration program which will ensure that we will have a variety of operating prototype power reactors in this country by 1961 or 1962.

5. We must establish a foreign power-reactor demonstration program which will assist friendly nations abroad and help provide research and development assistance and a foreign market for domestic equipment manufacturers.

6. We should enact the indemnity legislation to cover liability for reactor accidents.

Finally, I would like to emphasize that time is of the essence at this juncture. I don't believe we need a "crash" program. But on the other hand we can't afford to wait too long where our national prestige and world leadership are at stake.

This is not the first time that the joint committee and the Commission have faced the need for urgency in our atomic energy program. I am hopeful that we can and will work out a program in this session

which will satisfy our needs and obligations as a world power.

Thank you very much for providing the opportunity to discuss some of these problems.

Contributions of Spain and the Spanish People to Christian Democratic Principles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, last Sunday morning, March 3, His Excellency Don Jose M. de Areilza, Count of Motrico, Ambassador from Spain to the United States, delivered an address before the Washington League of Retreatants, Loyola Retreat House. The occasion was the annual communion breakfast, held at the Willard Hotel on that date.

The address by the distinguished Ambassador went at some length into the contributions of Spain and the Spanish people to Christian democratic principles, and the many problems which confront the Spanish nation today.

I ask unanimous consent to have this address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR BEFORE THE WASHINGTON LEAGUE OF RETREATANTS, LOYOLA RETREAT HOUSE, MARCH 3, 1957

It is my great privilege to address today the League of Retreatants' annual communion breakfast, being, as a Spaniard and a Basque, a devout admirer of St. Ignatius of Loyola, under whose name and patronage this league is placed. I was born a few miles from Loyola itself, a small village on the green slopes of the Pyrenees, where you can still see the ancient castle of Loyola's boyhood. The most amazing trait of St. Ignatius' personality was not his will, which was gigantic, nor his sharp insight into the human soul, which was unsurpassed, nor his strategic sense of organization, which was comparable to that of the greatest military leaders of his day, but the indisputable feeling of God's presence throughout his earthly existence—the dramatic trajectory of his life. When you read Loyola's biography you have always the sense that God is there, present in an impressive way, at every crossroad of his early years, driving him toward his ultimate destiny—the foundation of the Jesuit order. And, as an instrument of God, he accomplished and fulfilled his historic task, fighting for the preservation of Christian unity, the reformation of monastic life, the renewed authority and moral strength of the Pope and the church.

I come to you today to tell you something about Loyola's country, which also happens to be mine. I wish to make a few remarks about Spain, which is today the least known and most misunderstood country of Western Europe, and about which one can still read unbelievable comments or listen to incredible statements. I have myself been through a curious experience: during the last 2 months I read 2 books by American authors, published in this country. They both tried to give an unbiased and an objective interpretation of Spanish life. If you believed one of them, you could not help but arrive at the conclusion that Spain was still in the Middle Ages, under the power of the Inquisition, in a state of frantic Catholic intolerant bigotry. Spaniards are—one of the authors states—living in a trance of fanatic faith. Their life is only religious and they do not care about anything else than eternal life and the risk of damnation. Then, I read the second book, published almost simultaneously. The title is enough to show you what is the line: It is called Pagan Spain. This time the author solemnly assures the reader that ours is a wholly pagan country, without any true religion. Spaniards are really nonbelievers like the old pagans, and their lives are adjusted to pagan principles. What an amazing contrast of judgment. Is it strange that public opinion in this country should be confused and frequently misled when it comes to Spanish problems and to everything related to my country?

It is true that our temperament is somewhat different and peculiar. It is also true that Spain has a well-defined personality as compared with the other Latin countries and that Spaniards have a hard core in their national soul, such as the British have. A dramatic episode occurred some months ago which proves what I am saying. During the Spanish civil war some thousands of children, many of them orphans, were shipped to the Soviet Union by the Red welfare organization. When they came back some months ago, to the utmost surprise of everyone, these boys, who had grown up and become men of around 30 years of age and brought back with them Russian wives and children, had never given up their original personality. They were true Spaniards and they immediately adjusted themselves to Spanish life after an absence of 20 years.

What can we learn from this lesson? I believe that the true explanation for this is the tremendous emphasis on individuality, typical of the Spanish race. We are a nation of 30 million individuals and, as some famous writer put it, "30 million absolute kings." Therefore, it is erroneous to speak about the lack of freedom or liberty in Spain under whatsoever political system it might be, because the Spanish emphasis on the individual and personal expression of everyone is never lost. We, Spaniards, could not live deprived of our essential need for self-expression.

We are evidently a Catholic country. Up to 90 percent of Spaniards are Catholic and the Catholic religion is intimately associated with our own historical existence. Since the Catholic faith came to Spain between the fifth and sixth centuries, it has become an essential part of Spanish life, and since 700, it was instrumental in the struggle that our country had to endure through 7 centuries against the Moslem invader. These 7 centuries of struggle crystallized our national spirit and strengthened the foundations of our Christian belief as against the fatalistic philosophy of the Moslem mind. It is a curious coincidence that in the same year that the Moslems were finally driven out of Spain, the Spanish naval expedition, headed by Columbus, discovered the new world. Therefore, the discovery and settlement of America, which lasted more than 200 years, was made under the sign of the cross. Spanish civilization in America was founded on the principles of the Catholic faith and the belief that all men are equal before God, though they may be different by birth or race. The Spanish kings refer often in their documents to the American natives as "our friends and brethren, the Indians," because of that fundamental conviction.

What Spain brought to this hemisphere was not only unity through language and culture, but also a way of life which has been widely despised and ignored in the last 100 years, and yet is very important in order to understand the Spanish-speaking world of 160 million people who are your neighbors. We have a definite common reaction to the true values of life, the ultimate goal of human destiny, the attitude toward life and death, as reflected in the calm and quiet expression of our "hidalgo," which has been pictorially interpreted by El Greco and Velazquez, our two master painters, and in the ironical twists of human behavior described in Cervantes' masterpiece, Don Quixote. We have a deep feeling that only eternal life is worth while and that human existence is the ways and means to achieve this goal.

This philosophy, which is inherent to the Spaniard, makes him different from the nationalistic-minded Western European. The Spaniard thinks that anyone who is guided by these principles belongs to the Hispanic world, regardless of his nationality or passport, which, in his opinion, has little to do with the value he gives to the human being.

Thus, the struggle which is now going on in the world between the two powerful antagonistic blocs is watched with eagerness by all the Spanish people. We cannot understand the criticism which we undergo frequently on the subject of complying, or not, with internationally accepted standards of democracy or liberal political systems, which have little meaning as such for the Spanish public opinion. We do believe, on the contrary, that above these formalities, which after all belong to the technical side of politics, there is a much more important thing at stake—that is, whether the philosophy of the system involved is founded on the belief in the existence of God, the value of human personality, the fight for eternal salvation of the individual soul, and the acceptance of Christian values as the ultimate motive of civilization itself.

Now let us look for a moment at various aspects of modern Spain, the Spain of 1957, and see what are the original circumstances which brought about our present situation. The distorted and ridiculous story that you have so many times heard about a wicked minority group of rioters who organized a conspiracy to take over the Government and establish a personal dictatorship has no meaning for any Spaniard, whether of right or left, who knows the recent history of his country. In 1936, the leftwing coalition in power was ready to give up control of the Spanish Peninsula to the pro-Soviet agents who had infiltrated our country and were occupying key positions in readiness for their ultimate purpose. When General Franco took over the command of the national rebellion, he was not a man looking for political or personal advantages. He had always been an honest professional soldier, who had kept away from politics and had declined every request made to him to join this or that party. Spain had no option in 1936 but to fight for survival in order not to become the first satellite state in the Soviet constellation. Although this fact has been widely discuseed, only recently there has been overwhelming proof of the truth of this assertion. I refer to the shipment of the whole Spanish gold reserve, worth $750 million, to Soviet Russia by the so-called Loyalist Government. Everyone in Spain knew this fact, though it was denied by the leftwingers, but which has now been confirmed in the documentation returned to the Spanish Government by the last Red Premier, Mr. Negrin, who passed away recently in Paris. This proves to you to what extent the Spanish civil war was a struggle of all the decent, honest, loyal people against the threat of a Soviet-imposed puppet government, which would have brought to Spain the horrors of Hungary and Poland. During the time which such a government actually was in power in Spain, they caused

the death by assassination of 11 bishops, 10,000 friars and clergymen, and more than 250,000 citizens, many of whom were killed only because they carried the cross or the scapular on their chest.

Our fight could have been finished in 3 or 4 months, with victory for General Franco's troops, who had arrived at the gates of Madrid in October 1936. But the Cominform had other plans and absolutely wanted the Spanish war to go on for international strategic purposes. Thus, 50,000 men, recruited from among all the Communist parties in the world, were sent to Spain with modern war materials, and the war was prolonged 3 years, with a tremendous loss of life and property. The big shots of international communism whose names we see now in the headlines, such as Tito, Togliatti, Thorez, Dmitroff, and Zieler, were the heads of the famous so-called international brigades. Their defeat was complete in 1939, but the Cominform would never forgive Spain for that enormous humiliation. So when the Second World War was over in 1945, though Spain had maintained a strictly neutral attitude, Stalin insisted at Potsdam that we should be treated as enemies and that Spain should be quarantined, with all the western countries severing off diplomatic and economic relations. The Spanish people endured this trial with unsurpassed courage and a sense of humor. They simply kept united under the guidance of General Franco and waited patiently for some years until all the foreign diplomats who had left under Soviet pressure, came back and reassumed their diplomatic posts, thus rectifying their mistake. In 1951, the Korean war opened the eyes of the free world to see not only where the true peril was, but also the meaning of the Spanish civil war itself. It has been the privilege of this great country to be the first to rectify the hostile attitude toward Spain, concluding an agreement in 1953 with the Spanish Government for full economic and military cooperation.

We are now in a position to offer to the defense of the free world in Europe a main bulwark to protect the American air and naval bases, and, therefore, to protect the whole European continent. Our country is unconditionally anti-Communist and needs no bribe to maintain her attitude. Even if we were alone in the world, we would take the same stand. The military agreements with the United States have been successful and I can announce to you that in 1957, the four major runways of the air bases now under construction in Spain will be inaugurated and ready for emergency use. I would like also to emphasize that under the provisions of the agreement, this has been the most inexpensive construction ever made by this country anywhere in the world.

As to the Armed Forces in Spain, their morale is excellent and we have now ready and fully mobilized 15 divisions, which constitute a major contribution to the ground forces in Europe. This means that if and when Spain is invited to join the North Atlatic Alliance, which is now undergoing a crisis due to well-known circumstances, our country can help substantially to bolster and strengthen this instrument for the defense of Western Europe.

Spain's contribution can also be significant in another sphere, due to the fact that we have kept a very friendly attitude during the last decades toward the Arab world. The centuries of struggle which I mentioned to you before left in Spain a deep impact of coexisting cultures. We have, therefore, had a good understanding of Arab problems. Our last point of friction could have been the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, but General Franco, in a gesture of clear wisdom, yielded immediately to their desire for full independence—a gesture, I believe, which has paid excellent dividends in the improvement of our relations with the Moslem world. Moreover, our spiritual community with the Spanish-speaking countries of Central and South America gave us a friendly platform in the international assemblies of the world.

If I may reverse the image, I would mention to you in passing what would have been the impact on worldly affairs had Spain been controlled by a pro-Communist government. It would not only have avoided any understanding and cooperation with the United States and the Western World, but would have also promoted all kinds of trouble in the Arab countries and in Central and South America, under the instructions and guidance of international communism.

This is the situation in Spain today. We have not yet attained the main goals of our internal policy due to our previous international isolation and to adversities, such as bad crops and severe droughts. We still have to keep up our efforts to extend to the lower classes in Spain the enjoyment of a better standard of living and higher rates of wages and salaries. Our military obligations under the agreement with the United States taxes our resources and are a contributing factor to the trend toward inflation. The Catholic Church has made an all-out effort to promote a better social understanding among the classes, especially with regard to labor problems, and also to encourage the laymen to participate in religious activities.

Though we believe that we have been at times the instrument of God to fight important historical battles, not a single Spaniard would believe that his people are a chosen people, who are carrying out providential designs by special privilege. On the contrary, with a very accurate sense of realism and a deep feeling of universality, we know better than anyone our own liabilities and shortcomings. We only aspire to be respected by the rest of the world and understood as far as possible.

Our first discoverers left in this country a precious legacy of Christian values and beliefs, and ever to these shores of the Potomac, the Spaniards were the first to come in their vessels and establish missions under the guidance of the Jesuits, many of whom gave their lives through martyrdom for their faith. When I spoke with Father Martin about the new Loyola Retreat House, I told him of my desire that these unknown soldiers of the Christian faith, who were the real pioneers of modern American civilization, should be remembered in this edifice, which I hope will soon be inaugurated.

I wish to finish my words paying tribute to these anonymous pioneers, who brought to this new world the strength and the spiritual values of their true Christian faith.

War on Drought

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Let's Start a War on Drought," published in the Bennett County Booster, on February 14, 1957.

The editor, Wendell Long, discusses the problem of drought in the Middle West and suggests that it should be treated much as a plague of insects would be handled.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S START A WAR ON DROUGHT

Of all the plights and plagues that have beset mankind since the beginning of time, none seems to be more disastrous or more disrupting to civilization than does drought.

No plague seems to strike at more unrecognized intervals or at more unexpected times.

A few areas of the world are free of the plague.

Some of these, however, cannot substantially support civilization because moisture is so abundant the areas have developed into tangled, massive jungles.

Others receive so little moisture that nothing grows.

It is the vastly greater areas of the world which sometimes get ample rainfall and sometimes do not, upon which has been founded the agricultural industry that has been the lifeblood of civilization since recorded history.

Throughout that recorded history, failure to receive enough rain to properly keep agriculture flourishing has been a constant threat to every group, every clan, every race, and every nation of people who have populated the earth.

An example of how far back this problem is known to have existed is the 7 years of plenty and 7 lean years during the days shortly after Joseph was sold into slavery in Egypt.

Undoubtedly, the recurrence of drought was commonplace long before Joseph's time.

And in the United States today—1957—the worst arid period in some 700 years is plaguing more than 700 counties in 15 States—an area of more than half a million square miles.

The past few years the area has been widening until it may take in South Dakota this year.

The entire Nation is beginning to become concerned about the situation and they might very well become concerned, for if the drought continues to spread and doesn't break soon, the entire world may feel it in their "breadbasket."

If this was a huge army of well-armed, well-trained infantrymen from some foreign land, what would Americans do? What would they have done long before one enemy soldier set foot on our sacred soil?

We'd have fought, of course. We'd have mustered all our human and material resources, we'd have thrown everything into the battle—including our "undying will to win and defend our native land" and, God help us, we'd have driven the enemy from our shores long before now.

If this plague had been an infestation of billions and billions of insects, slowly eating everything in its path, what would we have done?

Why, we'd have drafted every chemist, every scientist, and every would-be chemist or scientist to immediately find a chemical solution that would permanently rid us of this terrible plague.

Such would be the case with every plague—but one. That's drought. The plague we have here today. The one we may have here yet tomorrow—or again, next year and, just as surely as you are reading this, will recur somewhere in this world again after the present one is broken.

Nothing appreciably is being done about it today; nothing appreciably has ever been done about it in the past; and unless someone gets the "ball rolling" nothing will ever be done about it.

Many thinkers are offering suggestions as to how to meet the problems created by drought after the drought has already struck.

But the Booster has not yet read any good sound suggestions as to how to attac.. the problem itself.

The truth of the matter is: far too few thinkers and experts are giving any thought to finding a solution for the problem itself. There isn't enough time to be concerned with it—or there isn't any funds to finance any research.

This may sound like the Booster is advocating a lot of money and a lot of experts be assigned the job of figuring out how to make it rain. That is not the point at all.

The point is this: It's time to put the production of the world's food on a new, sounder, more reliable basis that does not depend on rain at all for moisture.

The problem should be solved with irrigation.

It would be a tremendous job, that's true, and it couldn't be accomplished in one or two generations, but in a world, the surface of which is three-fourths covered with water, there certainly should be no suffering for a lack of it.

Our great civilization can master the tasks of tremendous undertakings, it can unravel the mysteries of life itself, can tell us what occurred on this planet billions of years ago, can extract energy from matter in such violent forms that the entire planet could be exploded—but it can't keep us from dying of thirst right beside thousands and thousands of acres of water in streams, ponds, rivers, lakes and oceans.

The reason: Our civilization has been too busy with the other plagues.

The Booster thinks it's about time some generation got the "ball rolling" toward the elimination of the world's greatest and most everlasting plague—drought.

It'd be so easy and so cheap—in contrast to the tremendous cost of trying to stop war.

The Federal Interstate Highway System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, all of us are interested in the construction of our Interstate Highway System. Mr. Clifford F. Hood, president of the United States Steel Corp., gave some very interesting testimony on this subject; and I ask unanimous consent that his statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF CLIFFORD F. HOOD, PRESIDENT, UNITED STATES STEEL CORP., BEFORE THE PUBLIC ROADS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE, JANUARY 25, 1957

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Clifford F. Hood. I am president of United States Steel Corp., and I have here with me Mr. Richard F. Sentner, our executive vice president, commercial, and Mr. John S. Tennant, our general counsel.

You have called us here today to discuss the availability and the price of steel in relation to the new highway program which was authorized by Congress less than 7 months ago; and you have expressed the fear that a possible shortage of steel may seriously delay the orderly completion of that program.

Let me say at the outset, therefore, that—barring some unforeseen circumstance—I know of no problem in this area that cannot be surmounted by intelligent planning of the work and by the timely placement and scheduling of steel orders.

Many types of steel are used in highway construction; but the four most important items are structural shapes, plates, wire mesh and concrete reinforcing bars. United States Steel makes all of these items in large quantities.

With the increased capacity provided in recent years, wire mesh and reinforcing bars are in plentiful supply, and thus present no problem. Structural shapes and plates, however, are in much tighter supply; and it is these two items especially, therefore, that I should like to discuss with you today.

Now, as recently as 1954, demands for these heavy steel products fell substantially short of our capacity to produce them. In other words, our customers did not want as much of this tonnage as we could produce; and industry shipments declined to 10½ million tons, compared with then existing capacity of 14 million tons.

But early in 1955 our market surveys—which constitute a basis for all of our forward planning of production—began to foretell a sharp rise in the overall demand for steel. They also indicated an especially heavy concentration of demand in the field of structurals and plates.

As you know, these products are required primarily in the construction industry—for schools, hospitals, churches, factories, and other buildings of all kinds; in the transportation field—for freight cars, pipelines, and shipbuilding; and in public works for highways, bridges, and similar projects. In this connection, I might add that they are also a basic necessity in the expansion of steelmaking facilities.

So, forewarned of an upsure in steel requirements in all of these markets, United States Steel moved quickly to anticipate this need; and long before the highway bill was approved by Congress—long before the Suez crisis created the present unforeseeable demand for new tankers and pipelines—we embarked on a program of expansion designed to add 1,300,000 tons of new capacity for the production of structural shapes and plates. Some of that new capacity is already in operation; and we expect that all of it will be completed by the end of next year. According to announcements made by other steel producers, they will have added capacity of 1.5 million tons by that time.

Unfortunately, however, the benefit to be anticipated from this program of expansion is being delayed as a result of the 34-day nationwide steel strike which occurred last summer. Allowing for the time required to shut down our furnaces and to start them up again after the strike was over, our plants were out of production for about one-eighth of the entire year, and our total steel-making capacity for that year was reduced correspondingly.

The net effect of all this was not only to curtail substantially the availability of steel in 1956, but also to add to the backlog of pent-up demand which now falls as a double burden upon our facilities. Yet, despite the strike, the tonnage of steel actually fabricated and erected in 1956 reached an all-time high, and 1957 should move even higher.

Today, our forecasts indicate that production of plates and structurals—industry-wide—will amount to more than 16 million tons in the current year, an increase of nearly 50 percent over the demand that existed in this field only a little more than 2 years ago.

Only a small part of this increased tonnage, of course, will be required in connection with the new highway program. In this testimony before this committee Gen. Louis W. Prentiss, executive vice president of the American Roadbuilders Association, has told you that the total steel requirements for highways, this year, will be 2.3 million tons—or only 200,000 tons larger than those of last year, which were fully met by the industry. And in view of the rapid expansion which is occurring throughout the industry, it is evident that this rise in highway requirements should not in itself, create any great problem.

It is true, however, that pressure has been built up by the backlogs to which I have already referred; and this, I think, indicates the desirability of forward planning in the highway-construction program so that jobs may be taken and scheduled in order of their need. And this is just the sort of planning that is going on, as was made clear by the testimony which you have heard from the Federal Highway Administrator, the Honorable John A. Volpe. Pointing out that many States are placing their orders for steel while their project plans are still in the process of completion, he said:

"Even if the delivery should be 18 months, the construction operations itself on the project probably wouldn't start for 6 months to 10 months after that, during the period in which the plans are being completed and right-of-way acquired, so that by the time the contractor gets to the point where he needs the steel it will be available."

Indeed, a basic premise of the highway program from the start is that it be carried out in a planned fashion, year by year, and not that it be pushed through in haste, all at once. With such forward planning, there is no foreseeable reason why the highway program cannot move on schedule to its conclusion.

But I also note from the record, that you, Mr. Chairman, have expressed the fear that the rising price of steel may, in itself, constitutes some kind of a threat to the success of the highway program; and I should like, if I may, to offer a little perspective on that point.

It is true, of course, that the cost of making steel has risen persistently in recent years; and that the price of steel has had to respond accordingly. Mr. Volpe has testified, I believe, that the price of the particular types of steel which go into the highway program, had gone up about 10 percent in the past 18 months. As matters stand today our own figures indicate an increase of about 12 percent in the mill price of these products.

But he also testified that steel is a minor factor in the overall cost of a highway. In fact, he said that only about 5 percent of the total highway dollar would be utilized for steel and this is confirmed by our calculations.

Thus you will realize, of course, that a 12-percent rise in the price of steel means an increase of only a little more than one-half of 1 percent in the total cost of constructing a highway.

In the light of these facts, therefore, it would seem clear, I think, that the increase which has occurred in the price of steel has not constituted any threat to the success of the highway program.

In saying this, however, let me emphasize that I am not seeking to minimize, in any way, the dangers of continuing inflation. I am merely saying that if nationwide inflation persists throughout the life of this program, the inflated cost of the other elements which go into highway construction will pose 19 times as much of a threat as would a commensurate rise in the price of steel.

So to sum it all up, Mr. Chairman, I should like to repeat what I said in the beginning: That barring some unforeseen circumstance, I know of nothing in the steel picture that should impede the orderly progress of the highway program, provided that there is proper coordination of planning by the States, the contractors, the fabricators and the steel producers.

There may, indeed, be stresses and strains as there are today; and it would be something of a miracle if there were not—in

view of the recent boom in construction, in the freight-car program, in shipbuilding and tankers, and in pipelines. But United States Steel is accustomed to challenges of this kind. And so is the steel industry as a whole.

Our greatest challenge, perhaps, came in World War II when it seemed almost impossible for the steel companies to meet all the military and allied demands that were made upon them. Yet some of you may recall, possibly, that from the time we entered that war until its end, the plants of United States Steel alone produced more tonnage than all of the steel plants in all of the Axis nations put together; and it is a matter of record that during the entire war no American military project was ever impaired by a shortage of steel. Later, despite the alarms that were sounded of a steel shortage when the Korean conflict began, the steel industry proved its ability to meet the full military demands without seriously disrupting the civilian economy.

Despite these achievements, the authorization of the St. Lawrence seaway recently brought forth doubts and apprehensions very similar to those which have been expressed in this committee. Yet now, once again, it is a matter of record that the steel industry has fully met this demand.

Now it is no accident, Mr. Chairman, that challenges of this kind and magnitude have been met with consistent success. It is due to the fact that ever since the beginning of World War II, the steel companies of America have been engaged unceasingly upon a vast program of modernization and expansion.

Through that program, they have added 51 million tons—or 60 percent—to the prewar steelmaking capacity of the industry; and of this increase, about 12 million tons have been provided by United States Steel.

By way of comparison, it may interest you to note that the total reported steelmaking capacity of Russia—which is the world's second largest producer of steel—is 54 million tons. That means that the American steel industry has added almost as much capacity since the start of World War II as the entire Soviet nation has built in its entire history.

Today, our national capacity stands at more than 133 million tons; and it is currently expanding at a rate of 5 million tons per year. Moreover, I should point out, perhaps, that the 3-year, no-strike agreement which was negotiated with the steelworkers last summer, should have the effect of assuring that the full ingot capacity of the industry will be available for the next 2½ years.

Now, in all of these figures that I have just given you, I have been speaking, of course, in terms of ingot capacity—the capacity to produce raw steel. Some of the witnesses who appeared before this committee did not seem to understand apparently that the total finishing capacity of the industry—the capacity to transform raw steel into all of the various forms of finished products that are needed—is always in excess of ingot capacity. It has to be, in order to provide flexibility and to meet promptly the changing cyclical and seasonal demands of the Nation for different steel products.

Thus, while the finishing capacity in any particular product line may be fully utilized at certain times and for short periods, it would be unusual indeed if it were to operate at 100 percent over a sustained period.

And now, in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me simply say that United States Steel is deeply interested in this new highway program—not only because of its importance to the development of the country, but hopefully as a solution to the long-standing problem of inadequate roads. Beyond that, of course, we are in the steel business, and while only about 3 or 4 percent of our total output goes into highways, we naturally welcome a growth in this market for our products.

This highway program has been planned to extend over a 13-year period, and we at United States Steel are gearing our planning accordingly, so that we may participate fully in the success of this great undertaking. For it is our hope and our purpose that when the highways of the future have been built, we shall be able to look back upon our part in that job with pride and satisfaction.

Collision on the Delaware River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, last week I had occasion to call the attention of my colleagues to a shocking disaster in the Delaware River, when two ships collided in a narrow channel, not deep enough for their purposes; and in the collision a number of lives were lost.

Mr. President, in Philadelphia an investigation regarding that tragedy is now being made. A veteran Delaware River pilot who saw the collision testified yesterday that unless something is done about widening and deepening the Delaware River and Bay, tragedies of this sort will continue to occur.

In this morning's Philadelphia Inquirer, a leading editorial, entitled "Will the Bigger Ships Come Here?" is featured. In the editorial it is pointed out that—

> Only last week the latest tragic collision in the Delaware demonstrated anew that (a) our supposed 800-foot wide, 40-foot deep channel is not kept properly dredged.

The editorial takes to task the Bureau of the Budget.

Mr. President, I should say that the President of the United States should be taken to task for his neglect of the Delaware River channel, which is the only access to the sea from Philadelphia, an important port of the United States. Last year, Philadelphia had more import tonnage than any other city in the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial to which I have referred, and also a news article from the same publication, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer of March 14, 1957]

WILL THE BIGGER SHIPS COME HERE?

If a Federal Government program for building newer and bigger merchant ships was met with a declaration from Moscow that the Delaware River would be blockaded by Soviet gunboats to keep such ships from reaching Philadelphia—

Just imagine the nationwide howl.

Well, the Federal Government is going to finance a program for building such a fleet of newer and bigger cargo vessels. But it won't be Soviet Russia keeping those vessels from coming up the Delaware; it will be neglect of our channel by the very same Government which is going to finance the ships.

Says Maritime Administrator Clarence G. Morse: "You can look for the first ship built under this program by mid-1959. We hope to hit a steady rate of 20 to 25 new dry cargo ships a year."

That is good news for shipbuilders. It is good news for American commerce generally. But it will not be good news for Delaware Valley, U. S. A., unless our river channel is in shape to accommodate those new and bigger vessels.

The Wall Street Journal notes that Government's subsidies are given provided that the ship lines "keep their fleets up to date—with the help of shipbuilding subsidies dispensed by Uncle Sam."

It is interesting thus to see that Uncle Sam demands that the ship lines keep abreast of the times, and pays them to do so. Why isn't that same policy sound for one of our country's greatest commercial waterways—the Delaware River?

Over and above this program is the stepped-up construction of tankers. With Nasser again swinging his blackmail club in a westward arc, the need for more long-haul tankers and other shipping to bypass the Suez Canal is obvious.

Only last week the latest tragic collision in the Delaware demonstrated anew that (a) our supposed 800-foot wide, 40-foot deep channel is not kept properly dredged; and (b) that even those dimensions, promised in 1938, are out of date now, and pitifully obsolete in the face of a trend to bigger and better merchant ships.

Delaware Valley looks to Congress for action; particularly action in ending the long deadlock in the Bureau of the Budget. That is where the hopes of Delaware Valley for a modern channel have been grounded for a long while.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer of March 14, 1957]

PORT IS OUT OF DATE, VETERAN RIVER PILOT TELLS CRASH INQUIRY

A veteran Delaware River pilot, a witness to the collision last Thursday below New Castle, Del., of the tanker *Mission San Francisco* and freighter *Elna II*, yesterday warned that worse catastrophes will occur unless "something is done about widening and deepening the river and bay."

Capt. James Johnson, of North Wildwood, N. J., who was piloting a Japanese vessel astern of the outbound freighter said at the conclusion of 2 hours of testimony before a Coast Guard board of inquiry:

"The crash and explosion were the worst I have ever seen in my 23 years as a pilot on the river, but unless something is done about widening and deepening the waterway more and larger catastrophes will occur."

FEW IMPROVEMENTS

"Modern-day ships and tankers, which daily travel to and from the port of Philadelphia, are 3 times the size of the ships of 20 years ago, yet there are few, if any, improvements in the river to provide for them."

Johnson, who is also a member of the Delaware River Port Authority, testified, in the Custom House during the third day of hearings before a three-man board, he was piloting the 500-foot *Tomishima Maru* when he saw the crash and terrific explosion.

He said he ordered the *Tomishima Maru* to a full stop three-quarters of a mile astern of the *Elna II* when he observed that collision was inevitable.

Johnson told the board he noticed the *Elna* swing to the right and saw the tanker negotiate its first turn, but the *San Francisco* failed to alter its course at the second turn." He said he was unable to observe "which ship struck which."

The pilot said after he was sure "adequate rescue efforts were under way," he ordered the *Tomishima Maru* on course, realizing that

a vessel of her size would handicap rather than assist rescue efforts.

Later, Capt. Alexander Kaare, of the ill-fated *Elna*, described the circumstances leading up to the crash which claimed the lives of 10 seamen at about 12:30 a. m. last Thursday.

Captain Kaare will be recalled to the witness stand when the hearings resume today.

Alaskan Against Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter to the editor of the Christian Science Monitor which was published in the February 20 issue of that distinguished newspaper.

The letter discusses the question of statehood for Alaska. It was written by Emery F. Tobin, editor and publisher of the Alaska Sportsman.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALASKAN AGAINST STATEHOOD

To the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR:

In considering statehood for Alaska, very little is heard about the vital economic factors which are cited by the opponents of "Statehood Now for Alaska."

A recent survey has shown costs of living in Alaska to be from 21 percent to more than 50 percent higher than in Seattle, which is itself a city with a comparatively high cost of living. Because of these costs, the Federal Government grants its employees in Alaska a cost-of-living differential of 25 percent additional to their basic salaries or wages.

One of the reasons for the high cost in Alaska is the seasonal nature of the work here. Practically all of the year-round activities of wealth-producing industries are: One pulp mill, some lumber mills, and logging operations. The rest are seasonal industries, working for only a few months, consisting of the fisheries, some trapping, the tourist business, and mining. Actually, some 20,000 people leave Alaska every fall for lack of work. They come back in the spring but they do not make permanent residents.

Alaska, with its 586,400 square miles, has a population of only 208,000. Most people do not realize that of the 208,000, some 80,000 are military men in the pay of the Federal Government and their dependents. In addition, there are another 15,000 Government civil-service employees, plus their dependents. Of the total, also, about 35,000 people in Alaska are Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos, many of whom are on welfare relief, and 30,000 are school children.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, there was an average of 26,500 persons in private industry, and even of these 6,715 were employed in contract construction, most of which was Government. Mining employed an average of 1,333; manufacturing, 4,476; transportation and utilities, 3,955; wholesale and retail businesses, 5,894; service industries, 2,732, and others, 1,395. These are averages for the year. The peak employment was about 40,000 in private industry in the summer; the low, somewhat less than 20,000 in winter.

It has been estimated that the additional costs of statehood may be as much as $14 million a year. Total, with what we are now paying for Territorial government, $28 million. These additional costs are for: Fish and wildlife administration, $2,500,000; operation of courts, nearly $1 million; support of the schools now operated by the Alaska Native Service, $2 million; borough government, $150,000; additional police system, $300,000; care and custody of insane, $500,000; roads, $7 million; operation of Governor's office, legislative expense and State buildings, $600,000.

Uncle Sam spends in Alaska for nonmilitary items every dollar that he gets from Alaska in income and excise taxes, nearly $100 million a year. On the whole the States are pouring into Alaska about $300 million more than they are taking out and this money is all reflected in Alaska's present economy.

Alaska's biggest industry—and it is booming—is military defense. We don't know just what the Federal Government is spending on defense in Alaska, but it has more than 50,000 men stationed here. It costs "Uncle" at least $400 a month a man. That's $240 million a year. Then he's spending from $50 million to $100 million a year on Army, Navy, and Air Force construction work.

An estimated 65 to 70 percent of Alaska's gross business depends for its existence on Federal money. Washington officials realize that Alaska's economy, tied up as it is with Federal spending, is unable to support a State government at this time without extraordinary Federal help. Various bills in Congress would ease the load by millions of dollars—some estimate by as much as $9 million a year—if Alaska takes on the responsibilities of statehood now.

Some Alaskans fear that if statehood were granted now Alaska would have to resort to some of Nevada's revenue-attracting ventures, such as gambling and easy divorce laws.

Alaska is the only State or Territory which has been unable to finance its unemployment security payments and had to obtain a loan from the Federal Government of $3 million in spite of assessments against workers as well as employers to finance the unemployment payments.

Higher taxes stifle initiative and discourage investment in new enterprises. If new businesses cannot compete here on the same basis as in the States they will not come. And if the Federal Government should reduce its military establishment, or discontinue military construction, what would happen to Alaska's economy? Can Alaska afford statehood now?

EMERY F. TOBIN,
Editor and Publisher,
The Alaska Sportsman.
KETCHIKAN, ALASKA.

Economy and the Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, on March 12, 1957, Mr. E. T. Denise, chairman of the national policy committee of the American Farm Bureau Federation, made a statement on the Farm Bureau's position on the economy of the Nation and the Federal budget. I ask unanimous consent that this splendid statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The members of the Farm Bureau believe that Congress, in the fiscal year of 1957, should balance the Federal budget and also make a determined effort to pay off a substantial sum on our national debt. Prolonging such action, particularly with respect to debt reduction, will only make the job more difficult in the future and may cause repercussions that we certainly might not enjoy. We believe that both of these projects can be accomplished and still have sufficient money available for national defense, farm programs, foreign aid, and for the thousand and one other items necessary in the operation of our Government. If the tax money does not go around, then we in Farm Bureau would be willing to take our cut along with the rest.

We feel that the present high level of Government spending is contributing to an inflationary spiral. The course of our general price level has been and is presently affected by the huge financial operations of our Government. Our reasoning indicates that balancing the budget would materially help to level off this inflationary movement.

The past several years the American people have enjoyed a period of high employment and unparalleled business activity, with corresponding national income higher than at any other time in our history. We realize that balanced budgets are generally not possible during periods of war. We also recognize that unbalanced budgets or deficit spending might be widely employed to combat deflation. But with general prosperity as it is, we in Farm Bureau and many others out in the grassroots are beginning to question the financial reasoning of Congress. Ordinarily one of the cardinal principles of good business is to retire debts when times are good. We in Farm Bureau who have been farming for a considerable time and now possess some degree of financial security have certainly had to recognize this principle. We do not hesitate to suggest that this rule should be applied to the operation of our Federal Government, at once and emphatically.

The complexities of our present Government, along with the astronomical volumes of money required to run it, have many of our citizens completely bewildered. It certainly is different from the good old days of not too long ago, when government was not big business but small business, and efficiency was something to be proud of. Small wonder that many of our citizens have become perplexed and even, shall I say, suspicious, to the extent that they have lost faith in the ability of their elected officials to handle this big business of government. At the present time budget balancing and debt reduction are important if for no other reason than to create in the minds of the American public, confidence, a new confidence that our Government is being operated efficiently and wisely.

I wish to digress for a moment from the subject of balanced budgets to talk about something that has been bothering me for some time—something, I believe, that probably contributes to the thinking and action of you gentlemen in Congress. No doubt most members of the Farm Bureau are able to grasp the magnitude of your jobs. But to many of our citizens the problems involved, the amount of money involved, and the decisions facing you are incomprehensible. And to many of these citizens our Government exists only in their minds as some fabulous, big-hearted Santa Claus.

Then again I wonder if many of our Congressmen, as they are newly elected and arrive in Washington, don't soon become indoctrinated with the idea that each and every voter out in his State is clamoring for relief for this and relief for that—for Federal aid right and left. I regret to admit that this is a true condition as reflected in the thinking of part of your constituents. Ironically, these individuals, though few in number, make a lot of noise, and they forcefully attract your attention. However, I truthfully believe that for every constituent of this type there are 5 or even 10 that go quietly about their daily business, never clamor for help unless it be for tax relief, and are, generally speaking, so quiet or mild that Congressmen are inclined to forget that such a creature actually exists. But we do exist, and I can guarantee you that there are many of us, both Democrats and Republicans, who know that this Santa Claus idea is a myth. We happen to understand that we as individuals are a definite part of the Federal Government, and, even though we have been apathetic, we recognize that we have a responsibility to our Government and to you men who are supposed to represent us in formulating such Government. We realize that, being the Government, we must furnish the capital, the money to operate said institution, and we also are vitally aware that said funds to operate our Government must come directly from any income that we produce or possess.

Government, as we think of it, and as we would like to keep it, can never be a profit-making institution. But good government can and ordinarily should live within its tax income.

We, the people who furnish the money for Government, being forced to comply with the fundamentals of good management and thrift in order to eat and maintain a roof over our heads, expect those in charge of our Government to pursue a like course.

Responsibility for such pursuit lies in the hands of our elected national officials. We would appreciate your sincere cooperation in dealing with this problem.

Postal Savings Should Go

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, there is much interest in Senate bill 1394, which I introduced on February 26, providing for a dissolution of the Postal Savings System.

The Post Office Department is operating with a very large deficit, and it is estimated that the expenses of the Post Office Department would be reduced approximately $2½ million per annum if we eliminated postal savings.

The depositors in the Postal Savings System have been gradually withdrawing their accounts since June 30, 1956, and the number of acounts have been going down at the rate of about 20,000 a month. The amount of the deposits have gone down at the rate of about $20 million a month.

Here is an opportunity for the Federal Government to save some money, and I sincerely hope we may secure early approval of the proposed legislation.

I ask unanimous consent to have an editorial from the Hutchinson News Herald of March 2, and an editorial from the Kansas City Times of March 12, printed in the Appendix.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Hutchinson (Kans.) News Herald of March 2, 1957]

POSTAL SAVINGS

The Eisenhower administration has done reasonably well in getting the Federal Government out of unessential businesses. It has, however, overlooked one of the largest. That is the Government's operations in the savings bank field.

The Postal Savings System was established in 1911. There was a place for it then. It was widely used until the end of World War II. Since then it has been on the toboggan.

Through the past 10 years postal savings deposits have declined almost half to a present total of $1¾ billion. For the past 3 years the System has been losing $200 million in deposits and more than 200,000 depositors annually.

The reasons for the decline are obvious. The interest paid on postal savings is no longer competitive. With the Federal guarantee of bank deposits up to $10,000, postal savings offer no greater safety than private banking. Customer convenience is not so great.

Left to itself it today appears that the Postal Savings System will gradually wither and finally die of its own accord. As a matter of Federal economy and to save the institution its final agonies, however, it should be promptly and quietly dispatched.

[From the Kansas City Times of March 12, 1957]

POSTAL SAVINGS SHOULD GO

Last year the Postal Savings System reported a profit of $6½ million. Nevertheless the House Post Office Committee has recommended that it be abolished. The reasons are clear and valid.

Postal saving is one of many Government functions that the Hoover Commission found in competition with private enterprise. Certainly it was started almost half a century ago for a legitimate reason. Thousands of persons in rural areas had access to post-offices but not to banks. A great expansion in the number of banking institutions and quicker means of transportation for farm families have erased that need. So postal savings is an anachronism.

The Constitution outlines a Government with regulatory and protective functions but which should not, except in emergency cases, enter the production of goods and services in competition with private enterprise. The amount of money involved in postal savings has been declining steadily and is no longer large. Generally the people have recognized that in this field they are served better by commercial establishments. The move to junk postal savings is simply another step toward removing our Government from competitive fields where it no longer has a valid purpose.

Freedom Foundation Award to A1c Mary Adams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written by A1c Mary Adams, United States Air Force, who is stationed at the Oklahoma City Air Force Station.

The excellence of Airman First Class Adams' letter won her a trip to Gettysburg, Pa., where, on February 22, 1957, she was presented a Freedoms Foundation award by the Secretary of Defense, the only woman among 10 representatives of all branches of the armed services to receive similar awards.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS 33D AIR DEFENSE DIVISION, OKLAHOMA CITY AIR FORCE STATION,
Oklahoma City, Okla., September 24, 1956.
FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE,
Valley Forge, Pa.

GENTLEMEN: I am writing today to Mr. Dunn, the town clerk in the little country town of Shirley, Mass., where I live, asking him about my absentee ballot. I've filled out an official looking "Official Election Balloting Material—Via Airmail" card which I got from my commanding officer here at headquarters, 33d Air Defense Division, where I've been stationed for the past 18 months. I'll mail that with a little note to Mr. Dunn—the note being for family friendship's sake.

It will be good to hear from Mr. Dunn again. And I know what he will say. He will say that he would expect I would uphold my family's tradition of exercising the voting privilege.

It will be good to vote.

My vote—freedom's privilege.

My vote, your vote, everyone's vote is important. To vote is to exercise a very great privilege indeed. Everybody has a birthday, and to an individual, his birthday is easily the most important day in the year, for it is his very own special day.

Election day is the birthday of the Republic. Though a presidential election day comes but once in 4 years, its importance is enhanced by this very fact. Four years till next time—from last November 4, 1952.

Suddenly it will be November 6, 1956. All over our great Nation the men and women and young adults will exercise their voting privilege.

In my hometown of Shirley the dear hearts and gentle people will come early and late to climb the one flight of stairs in the brick municipal building that was once the junior high school where I attended eighth grade. They will say their names, and receive their ballots, and go into the curtained booths to pencil the marks that will make history.

My election day will come long before November 6, and I will vote in the presence of a military person authorized to administer and attest this oath.

When I cast my absentee ballot in Oklahoma, and as I think of it going over the air miles to Massachusetts, I will surely have a feeling of pride that I have exercised my vote—freedom's privilege—in this great age.

A free nation draws it strength from its people. And it is the people—the voting people—who strengthen the fiber of America. The will of the majority is the mouthpiece of America's great song of freedom.

My vote—freedom's privilege—keeps America strong and great and star spangled and true.

You, too, are America. Only you, too, can vote.

Sincerely,

MARY ADAMS,
A2c., United States Air Force,
AA8–107–434.

Promoted to airman, first class, on December 1, 1956.

Increase in Applications for Admission to College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Here Come the War Babies," published in the February 4, 1957, issue of Time magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HERE COME THE WAR BABIES—UNITED STATES COLLEGES ARE ILL PREPARED FOR THEIR INVASION

As he gives informal talks to alumni across the United States, the dean of admissions of a famous Ivy League university likes to give the old grads a jolt. "If you were to apply for your alma mater today," he is quoted as saying, "only 20 percent of you would get it." In that particular ploy, the dean is not alone. Says Acting President Archibald MacIntosh, of Haverford College: "I have occasionally talked to alumni about getting into Haverford today and have told them, 'I sometimes doubt if I would have admitted myself.'"

Though both men are intentionally exaggerating, their words illustrate a point. Never before have so many Americans wanted to get into college, and never before has the competition been so keen. Last week the United States Office of Education estimated that before the school year is out, enrollment in United States colleges and universities will hit a record high of 3,250,000. This record comes at a time when the colleage-age population, which in 1955 sank to its lowest point in 25 years, is still made up mostly of depression babies. The crisis that the United States campus is now bracing for is the coming invasion of war babies.

THE PATTERN

So far, only the big name colleges, mostly in the East, have really felt the first impact of the great tidal wave. Though the number of high school students who go on to college has jumped from 15 percent in 1940 to 40 percent, the Nation's 1,800 institutions of higher learning can still keep up with the demand. But what of the years immediately ahead? By the time the present crop of first-graders is ready for college, says Dean of Admissions Arthur Howe, Jr., of Yale, enrollments may soar to between 5 and 8 million. What the favored campuses are going through now will soon become the standard pattern for all.

Last fall Oberlin College was able to accept only 1 out of 2 of those who applied. Since the 1940's, Yale's applicants have jumped from 1,500 to 4,000. Harvard's have more than trebled. For the 6,000 boys who say they want to get into Dartmouth next fall, there are only 725 openings. Says Dean Emery Walker, Jr., of Brown (present freshman class, 635): "Ten years from now we might have 10,000 applicants. That will be the real problem."

PANIC AND DEALS

Actually, the problem is all too real right now for thousands of high-school students. In their panic to get into college—and in their wild search for the best scholarship deals—today's youngsters have acquired the habit of applying to as many schools as possible. One Connecticut boy, for instance, was able to choose between Amherst, which offered him no scholarship, Bates, which offered $600, Wesleyan with a $500 offer, Holy Cross with $700, and Yale with $1,250. Another boy sent Princeton an irate letter after he was rejected, pointed out that of the 23 colleges he applied for, 22 had accepted him. What, the boy wanted to know, was wrong with Princeton?

Because of these multiple applications, the favored schools are haunted by ghosts. These are the students who are accepted but go elsewhere—the boys and girls, say the admissions officers, "who won't take yes for an answer." To make sure of an entering class of 1,200, the University of Pennsylvania accepts 2,100 students. Princeton accepts 1,200 to get a class of 750. Stanford estimates that 35 percent of those accepted will probably never show.

BRIGHTER AND BRIGHTER

By piling up the total number of applications, the ghosts tend to distort the demand for higher educatoin. But the demand is nevertheless there—and it has already begun to change the whole sociology of United States higher education. With more and more students to choose from, the big-name campuses are becoming more and more selective. At Harvard the number of students on the dean's list has gone up from 27 percent before World War II to nearly 40 percent. Indeed, says Amherst Dean of Freshmen Eugene Wilson, in 5 or 10 years we may have 80 to 90 percent of our students capable of honors work."

Not only is the gentleman's C beginning to disappear, but to some extent so is the gentleman. "A college education," says Headmaster Edward Hall of the Hill School, "is no longer a hereditary right like a membership in a club. It is a prize to be won against increasingly rigorous competition." Though the child of the old grad may still have a slight advantage, even top private eastern prep schools can no longer guarantee him a place in the college of his choice. Says Headmaster Hall: "It's kind of hard on the Yale alumnus who develops a kid as bright as his father but no brighter."

The emphasis on college board aptitude tests has hastened the change. Since no one can prepare for them, the extra cramming that a prep school offers can no longer get the dullard through. Furthermore, the top private colleges have become increasingly less parochial in their search for students. Though swamped by applications, they still send out recruiters to schools all over the United States. They want not only a bright student body, but a broad one; and wealth and background are less and less a factor. In 1910 only 10 percent of the men who applied for Harvard asked for scholarship aid; now 50 percent do. In 1947 the ratio of private- to public-school graduates at Yale was 3 to 2; today it is the reverse.

OPEN DOOR?

The approach of the tidal wave has also had an effect on publicly supported institutions. Those that are required by law or tradition to take in every taxpayer's child with a high-school diploma within their States have begun to wonder whether they can expand rapidly enough to maintain their open-door policy. Some have already answered "No."

Since California has the most elaborate junior-college system in the country, the university is able to require that applicants have a B average in high school. But in such States as Oregon, where junior colleges are rare, many educators have begun to worry about what the tidal wave of students will do to their schools unless admissions standards go up. "It seems to me," says Chancellor John Richards of the State higher education system, "that if the weight of numbers of students threatens college instructional quality, then it is our clear obligation to control the numbers." Adds President Jean Paul Mather of the University of Massachusetts, which is studying a plan to consider only the top 20 percent of State high-school students: "In the future, we are going to have to place a tremendous faith in tests. We are the first to admit that there are faults in this, but for us it is not a matter of expediency. It is a matter of necessity. We have to get the horde off our necks."

RETENTION VERSUS ADMISSION

As the standards go up at both private and public institutions, some educators have begun to worry about whether the emphasis on brains and tests might go too far. Many State-supported schools still feel they have a moral obligation to give every taxpayer's child his chance, even though he may flunk out. "We believe," says President Fred Hovde, of Purdue University, "in the doctrine of opportunity. If students fail, they at least know they've had their chance." To Headmaster Seymour St. John, of Choate, mere "quickness of mind" may become far too important. "Is there not a hazard," he asks, "of neglecting by default other vital factors in a student's makeup?" Adds Admissions Director Robert Jackson, of Oberlin: "You have to leave the door open for the Winston Churchills. It is said of him that on the basis of his school record, he wouldn't be admitted to any college today."

Unfortunately, there is no sure scientific way to identify late-blooming Churchills. But most campuses try their best to look for more than brains. "Today," says Director of Admissions Charles William Edwards, of Princeton, "we talk in terms of the ideal entering class, not the ideal individual candidate. We want a well-rounded class. We wouldn't want everybody to be geniuses in physics, or editors of their school newspapers" "We want," says Dean Walker, of Brown, "the brightest boys, but we want them balanced too." A typical well-balanced group is this year's freshman class at Yale. Of 1,031 boys, 506 were captains of varsity teams or won varsity letters, 228 were editors of their school papers, 114 were editors of their yearbooks, 178 were either presidents of their student councils or of their senior classes.

BRIBES AND PHONE CALLS

With all this emphasis on brains and balance, the competition to get into college sometimes becomes a desperate affair. Dean Robert Pitt, of the University of Pennsylvania, says that in 1 year he received phone calls or letters from 10 governors, as many Congressmen, and a host of board chairmen, all interested in pushing candidates. He has also been offered bribes ("O. K., how much do you want?" demanded one father as he whipped out his checkbook), has seen another father offer the university $3,000 if only it would take his son in. In Washington, D. C., the wife of a State Department official is even planning to move to France so that her two sons can learn French and German and thus have an advantage when the time for college comes. One Princeton alumnus hounded his alma mater to take in his boy, even though he knew the boy would probably flunk. The father's argument: unless his son got in, he wouldn't be eligible for the Princeton Club of New York.

To cut down on the number of student casualties and parental disappointments, city after city has organized elaborate counseling programs to try to identify the college material early and to steer students to the schools best suited to them. At the same time, private prep schools are trying to persuade ambitious fathers not to think only in terms of big-name colleges. "But," says Headmaster W. Gray Mattern, Jr., of Wilbraham (Mass.) Academy, "It's difficult to convince the third generation Harvard man that his obviously unqualified son just won't be admitted. After a while, you get tired of talking and say, 'All right, go ahead and apply,' even though you know it's hopeless."

GOODBY, LOAFER

No matter how much United States higher education expands or how many junior colleges the Nation builds, there will still be casualties, because the admissions standards of most colleges are bound to keep rising. But to Headmaster Lloyd M. Clark, of Pennsylvania's Kiskiminetas Springs School, the big competition for education is not a crisis but a cause for rejoicing. "This change at the admissions office," says he, "has altered the atmosphere all over the campus. In the classrooms the professors can insist on high-achievement levels and dismiss the loafer. * * * The time has come when the college student must really produce. * * * How the educators love this."

In Marin County, Calif., last week, young Mike Zeller, a senior at the Sir Francis Drake High School, added an observation of his own that is as good a summary as any of the plight of the American student: "We all have the feeling," says he, "that we're not going to get into the college we want to. When I was a sophomore, older kids told me that it was tough to get into college. But I didn't believe it. When you're a sophomore, you want to have fun. I wish somebody had made me believe it. I'm really sweating it now."

Southern Farmers Victims of Favoritism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials, the first entitled "Benson's Arithmetic Needs Overhauling," from the March 8, 1957, issue of the Atlanta, Ga., Constitution and the second, entitled "See Here, Mr. Benson," from the March 7, 1957, issue of the Atlanta, Ga., Journal.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Atlanta Constitution of March 8, 1957]

BENSON'S ARITHMETIC NEEDS OVERHAULING

The whistle H. L. Wingate is blowing at Ezra Benson sounds an accurate blast.

The Georgia Farm Bureau president accuses the Secretary of Agriculture of costing cotton producers this year a minimum of 120 to 150 million dollars.

Mr. Wingate says Mr. Benson did it knowingly and intentionally. Be that as it may, the Georgia farm leader's reasonable estimates obtained from exporters, the Cotton Council and others tear gaping holes into those of Mr. Benson.

The Georgian backs his stand with figures. He points out that the Benson estimate for fiscal 1956–57 placed exports at 6½ million bales, some 200,000 bales shy of the amount already exported.

Mr. Wingate also effectively ripped into the Secretary's crystal ball that anticipates production at 11,200,000 bales. The farm bureau president says the figure was based on land allotted for cotton before the soil bank removed so many acres from production. His estimate of 10,700,000 is more realistic. In Georgia alone, approximately 300,000 acres of cotton land, or nearly one-third of the State's cotton acreage, are going into the soil bank.

These factors add up to logical reasons that support Mr. Wingate's contention: cotton price supports should be from 83 to 85 percent of parity instead of 77 percent.

Mr. Benson, on the other hand, has been most generous in his dealings with commercial corngrowers in the Midwest. Chairman Harold D. Cooley of the House Agriculture Committee charges that the Secretary gave away $179 million to corngrowers last year in a fruitless attempt to reduce plantings.

Even as Mr. Wingate was warning against discrimination between regions and attempts in Washington to increase base acreage allotments for corn, a fight on the subject raged in the House.

Democratic forces favor extending the soil-bank provisions to growers of flaxseed, soybeans, rye, oats, grain sorghums, barley, corn grown outside the Midwest commercial area, and wheat on small farms without production controls.

That doesn't suit the Republicans. They want an emergency plan for corn alone, setting a national corn allotment of 51 million acres, production supported at 75 percent of parity, and subsidies for placing 15 percent of their cropland in the soil bank.

But the southern cotton farmers are still victims of favoritism to midwestern corngrowers. With Mr. Benson flipping the coin, the midwestern farmers can tell the southerners: "Heads we win; tails you lose."

[From the Atlanta Journal of March 7, 1957]

SEE HERE, MR. BENSON

H. L. Wingate, president of the Georgia Farm Bureau Federation, has leveled some serious charges at Secretary of Agriculture Benson.

While Mr. Benson and other administration leaders are scrambling around in Congress trying to push through emergency legislation to benefit corngrowers, Mr. Wingate charges the Agriculture Secretary with gypping cotton producers of more than $120 million this year.

The farm bureau chief says this has been done by setting cotton price supports at 77 percent of parity when, by all reasonable figures, the supports should be from 83 to 85 percent.

Needless to say, this is a matter of great concern and of great economic importance to Georgia cotton producers. Let us hope Mr. Benson can take time off from his corn chores to give the cotton situation some consideration.

Overseas Capital Could Injure United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Overseas Capital Could Injure United States," originally printed in the New York Herald Tribune, and reprinted in the Indianapolis News of Monday, March 11, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OVERSEAS CAPITAL COULD INJURE UNITED STATES

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, in its wide-ranging investigations, has uncovered a strang loophole in our securities regulations which conceivably could be used by the Soviet Government to gain a measure of control over important American defense industries and their policy making.

On the face of it the suggestion that the U. S. S. R. could become a secret partner in American industry might appear too fantastic to be taken seriously. But the record assembled by the subcommittee exposes a weakness in our securities regulations which cannot be ignored.

At the end of 1954 there were foreign investments in this country which totaled $26.8 billion, with almost $1.5 billion worth of stocks held by Swiss accounts. And the investment of foreign funds in the United States has been increasing steadily.

Who are the owners of the stocks purchased with foreign capital? No one in the Government knows—neither in the Department of Commerce, the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the Department of the Treasury or in any other department or agency in Government, including the Securities and Exchange Commission.

The subcommittee questioned witness after witness about the source of this mystery capital flowing into this country for investment. The subcommittee finally reports: "These witnesses testified there is no way under existing regulations to determine the source of foreign money being invested in the United States."

Director M. Joseph Meehan, of the Government's Office of Business Economics, told Senators in this inquiry that the $26.8 billion of foreign capital "could be withdrawn on very short notice at any time"—leading the subcommittee to conclude that the owners of this money have the power to cause considerable economic disruption in the United States.

The money which comes from Switzerland poses a special problem because Swiss laws even make it illegal for Swiss banks to disclose the owners of anonymous accounts.

Arthur I. Bloomfield, senior economist for the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, testified that if Soviet sources were buying American securities "it could be done in such way that it could not be traced by the Federal Reserve bank or any other agency."

This loophole also offers a tempting way for unscrupulous American investors to dodge their fair share of taxes. By purchasing stocks through an anonymous account in Switzerland, for example, the earnings and profits from sales could be hidden from the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

The subcommittee has reported that the hidden ownership of American securities is a cause for concern to officials of the Defense and Commerce Departments, as well as officials of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

There should be, as the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee suggests, a full investigation of this situation by the Congress—to determine whether or not Soviet Russia or any of her satellites are buying into the United States expanding industries.

Participation in American Government and Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in a recent article in the Christian Science

Monitor for March 4, 1957, Rev. Hartwell Daley, pastor of the Pleasant Street Methodist Church, in Waterville, Maine, discussed a very important matter—participation in American Government and politics.

Because I believe Rev. Mr. Daley's article so squarely hits the mark and discusses so forth rightly and effectively the reasons for wider participation of Government at all levels, I should like to call it to the attention of my colleagues.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have Reverend Daley's Parables of Democracy—II printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PARABLES OF DEMOCRACY—II

(By Hartwell Daley)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—In his first article, Mr. Daley related why 1 year in public office as administrative assistant to the mayor of an American city had convinced him that "good Christian people are both the hope and despair of our democracy." His parables continue.)

"The Great American One-Way Street" makes a good title for parable No. 4.

This time I want to take you inside the mayor's office where from early morning until the close of day people clogged the waiting room on business of one sort or another. A big part of my job was to interview 50 or 60 every day.

It was a red-letter day if just one of these persons came with a constructive idea or a desire to do something for the city. The rest were there to get something.

These people did not, for the most part, make requests. They made strong demands. They were entitled to something and they were going to get it. Any reluctance to cooperate brought forth a warning that election day was not far off.

The demands were many: jobs, more welfare money, sidewalks, favors for friends, appointments for friends, a piece of the city's business, and on and on. Now among these seekers were many of the good people who had previously refused to give anything to government. Yet there was no reluctance to ask for what they wanted.

One afternoon a respected businessman came to ask a personal favor. What he asked could only be given at the expense of someone else. I told him I was surprised he would ask. If I expected him to be ambarrassed I was disappointed. He merely said, "Well, there's no harm in trying. I just figured everyone else is getting something, I might as well try."

That sums it up. "Everyone else is getting something." This is a prevalent idea of government. And it's a dangerous idea. It pictures democracy as a one-way street. It casts aside two important parts of Lincoln's description of democracy and leaves only government for the people.

The good people who expect so much from government are very often our church people. I call them dangerous Christians. And they live on a one-way street.

Our final parable we will call, "What's Your Racket?"

Before going into public office I was interested in the economic development of our area. Factories had been moving out. We needed to reverse that trend. There was some possibility of a steel mill locating nearby. Some of us went out to speak and to arouse interest. We were disappointed in the response we got, in the skepticism and the pessimism we met.

Then one night the truth came out. I was speaking before a chamber of commerce group. I had outlined what a community could do by working together. There was a question period. A man rose at the back of the room and said, "Before we go any further with this discussion, how about an honest answer to an honest question? If a steel mill moves into our area, what will you get out of it? In other words, what's your angle?"

Later, in public life, I was to hear this question again and again and to realize that something serious has happened to the Christian and democratic idea of service. The majority of people do not believe there is such a thing as a person who does things without thought of personal gain. I have heard people say of the churchmen, "They don't serve the church because they believe in it. They serve because it looks good and it's good business."

"Good" people have here a tough question to answer but one that cannot longer be put off. Do we honestly believe that there is no such thing as an unselfish motive? Do we really believe that there is no such thing as a person serving to make the world a little better? Do we believe that love is no longer an incentive for serving people? If we do, then all I can say is, "God help us." We are in bad shape. And I know of no more destructive force as far as the church and our country are concerned than a widespread belief that there is no longer such a thing as an unselfish motive.

Now, without moralizing, let me lay the facts squarely on the line. The only hope for freedom and democracy in our country lies in people of faith, strong character, intelligence, and concern who are not "too good and too Christian" to take some responsibility for government at all levels. And that means this:

1. We must stop being cynical about government.

2. We must be willing to serve in some capacity.

3. We must encourage and support good people in government.

4. We must restore the motive of service to its rightful place.

5. We must be willing to "dirty" our hands, if need be, so that America may be cleaner and better.

6. We must give as well as take in the matter of freedom.

7. We must reaffirm our belief in the basic goodness of people.

8. We must be not "too good" but "good enough" to be followers of Christ in a free land.

This is almost a creed for American Christians.

Not too long ago someone said to me, "if you believe all this stuff about participation in government, why did you get out to go into the ministry?"

Simply because I believe that the Christian Church offers the greatest hope of saving our country from ruin. Not long ago, I gave a questionnaire to our youth group. On it were many questions as to their views of their futures. One question was, "Do you believe that we can influence the outlook for world peace?" Every single youngster answered, "Yes." Another question was, "Do you believe that you as an individual can do anything to make America a better country?" Again, every answer was, "Yes."

A little farther down was another query: "When you are old enough (and they are now over 16) do you plan to take any part in local or State government?" Every single young person answered, "No."

So it looks as if we have in the offing another generation of Christians who are "too good to serve." And that means more bad government. For bad government starts on the local levels where "good" people are hurting America more than they know.

Commemorative Stamp Recalls Career of Idaho United States Senator Heyburn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY DWORSHAK

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have an article entitled "Commemorative Stamp Recalls Career of Idaho United States Senator Heyburn" printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Idaho Sunday Statesman, Boise, Idaho, of March 10, 1957]

COMMEMORATIVE STAMP RECALLS CAREER OF IDAHO UNITED STATES SENATOR HEYBURN—FOOD AND DRUG ACT CREDITED TO WESTERNER

(By Norman B. Adkison)

Recently the Post Office Department issued a stamp in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the passage of the United States Pure Food and Drug Act, carrying the picture of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, former Food Commissioner.

Those familiar with the enactment of that legislation might well argue that the place of honor on that stamp should have been shared with a great Senator from Idaho.

Few people in Idaho may remember that this Senator was instrumental in shaping the fundamental law of Idaho, perhaps more than any other person, in the constitutional convention, and that in the United States Senate he was one of the three great intellectual giants who for a decade or more molded the laws of the Nation. This man was Weldon B. Heyburn.

MEMORIAL WAS URGED

If Commissioner Wiley were alive today he would have insisted upon the recognition of Senator Heyburn, for upon the occasion of a visit to Idaho many years ago, he said: "I want to see the State of Idaho erect a monument to the memory of Senator Heyburn, that able representative from the Gem State, who, after one of the greatest and hardest fights ever made in the United States Senate, secured the passage of the pure food bill and who, after the bill had been passed, was the bulwark around which centered the storm for its enforcement. I want to see engraved beneath that monument the inscription, 'His greatest work for humanity was securing the passage of the national pure food law.'"

Manufacturers for many years had maintained a bitter fight against legislation to set standards for pure foods, food substitutes and preservatives. Even the public clamor following the food scandals connected with Army camps during the Spanish-American War failed to break down the opposition to food standards and regulation.

Senator William E. Borah, speaking on this subject, said, "There was and there had been for years a strong opposition to pure food legislation. But with tireless effort and exceptional determination he [Senator Heyburn] whipped a great principle into a practicable, workable measure and finally secured its enactment into law. It is a monumental piece of work. Its benefit and general good can hardly be overestimated. It is a lasting tribute to his efficiency, energy and courage as a legislator."

NATIVE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Weldon Brinton Heyburn was born May 23, 1852, in Delaware County, Pa., at the

home of his paternal ancestors. Both sides of his family were Quakers. His mother was Sarah Gilpin, the twentieth generation in direct descent from Sir Richard de Gilpin, knighted by King John in 1206. This line included the Washington and West families in England and America.

Young Heyburn was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania and was admitted to the bar in 1876. He practiced law for 2 years in Pennsylvania and for 2 years at Leadville, Colo. In the winter of 1883 he went to the Coeur d'Alene mining district in Shoshone county, Idaho, and continued his practice with emphasis upon mining law.

Northern Idaho in the Territorial days was a rough and tough section of the Northwest and mining litigation in the Coeur d'Alene attracted shysters as well as men of integrity in the battles fought over these incredibly rich ore deposits. There were several brilliant mining attorneys in that section but in a few years this young Quaker emerged as a leader. He was unusually successful and was identified with the most important mining litigations of that area to the extent that the mining law of Idaho stands as a monument to the penetrating genius, logic, and ability of Weldon B. Heyburn. In 1900 he edited and published Idaho's Laws and Decisions, Annotated and Digested.

However, the greatest service rendered to the State of Idaho by Weldon B. Heyburn was given during the constitutional convention of 1889 when he was chairman of the committee on judiciary, by far the most important committee of the conclave. Congressman Burton L. French, of Idaho, is authority for the opinion, "From the advantage of this position and from his own great ability he shaped in large degree the fundamental law of the Commonwealth of Idaho."

Heyburn was a member of the Republican National Conventions of 1888, 1892, 1900, and 1904, and a member of the Republican National Committee from 1904 to 1908. In 1898, he was unanimously chosen as the Republican candidate for Congress but was defeated by a fusion of the Democrat, Populist, and Free Silver groups. In those days, United States Senators were chosen by the State legislatures and in January 1903, against a field of former Senators and other strong candidates, Heyburn was selected as United States Senator from Idaho, succeeding Henry Heitfeld, of Lewiston. His first colleague from Idaho in the Senate was Fred T. Dubois of Blackfoot and in 1907 he was joined by William Edgar Borah of Boise. He was reelected in 1909 and died in Washington, D. C., October 17, 1912, of a complication of heart and kidney ailments. He was succeeded in the Senate by K. I. Perky and then by former Gov. James H. Brady, of Pocatello.

Integrity of character, great energy and courage, and exceptional mental abilities soon made Senator Heyburn one of the outstanding leaders of the United States Senate. Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania, Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, and Weldon H. Heyburn of Idaho became a powerful trio which guided the laws and destinies of the greatest deliberative body of the entire world. Heyburn was made chairman of the joint committee of both Houses to revise and codify the laws of the United States. From this committee he reported and succeeded in passing, first, the Criminal Code of the United States, and, second, the Judiciary Title, both of which with slight amendments are still in force.

As chairman of the Committee on Manufacturers, Senator Heyburn pressed the bill for pure food legislation in the 58th Congress, but was unable to secure a final vote. With typical energy and sacrifice of personal health, during the interval between the 58th and the 59th Congresses, he studied the problem in great detail and completely revised the measure, eliminating the setting of standards by legislation as well as the provisions for the establishment of a board to fix arbitrary standards that would be binding upon the courts, leaving the violation of the general rules laid down in the act to be determined by the courts. After one of the hardest fights in Senate legislation, this highly beneficial act was passed, primarily due to the sponsorship of Idaho's great Senator. After its passage he became the focal point around which surged all of the storm for its enforcement.

OPPOSED CONTROLS

While Senator Heyburn was a strong believer in the strength of the Federal Government, he believed that the State should leave to private initiative everything which it could do without Government ownership or control. He was deeply convinced of the necessity of conservation of the country's natural resources, but he urged "that the first natural resource to be conserved is the opportunity for a citizen to engage in productive enterprise, having such material as land, timber, power, and water sites and so forth, as his capital and basis of operations." He vigorously opposed more complete Federal management and control of the natural resources of the country and the accumulation of vast areas of public land by individuals or corporations. His great oratorical ability of being able to express the profoundest truth in perfect diction, was used in favor of the rights of the individual citizen to enjoy the blessings of his country.

Senator Heyburn poured out his great and seemingly tireless energy in research, long and arduous committee sessions and in debate on the floor of the Senate. In one session he spoke on at least 150 subjects and was distinguished for his great fund of factual information. Long hours of reading, study, and research gave him knowledge and judgment which he imparted in the Senate with sound reasoning and faultless diction. But his great heart was faltering under the tremendous strain. Heart specialists warned him that he must slow down even before the end of his first term. Close friends begged him to take it easy, to hoard his talents for the years ahead. But his brain would not slow down and he devoted himself, body and soul, to projects and legislation for his country with a zeal which was not to be denied. He knew that his days were being shortened but would not give up and worked even harder to reach his legislative goals.

During the summer of 1912, Senator Heyburn was confined to his home, attended by his wife, the former Gheretin Yeatman, of Chester County, Pa. He made heroic efforts to resume some research work, but the sands of life were running too rapidly and he died in Washington, D. C., October 17, 1912. Pennsylvania claimed the mortal remains of its distinguished native son and he was buried in the Lafayette Cemetery, Chadd's Ford, on the Brandywine River.

Memorial services were held for Senator Heyburn in the House of Representatives on February 23, 1913; in the United States Senate on March 1, 1913, and at Boise March 3, 1913. William Howard Taft, President of the United States, in his message of condolence to the widow, paid superlative tribute to the character of Senator Heyburn and his great contributions to his country. His most distinguished colleagues, officials, and private citizens eulogized his great abilities, courageous character, and his self-sacrificing devotion to his country's best interests.

TRIBUTES VOICED

In the Senate memorial service great tributes were paid to Senator Heyburn by his colleagues, but perhaps the finest was by his close personal friend, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who said in part: "It is his character and his moral qualities which come most sharply to my mind, and which in his life made a deep impression upon me. As I came to know him better, I learned to recognize his courage, his high principles, his loyalty to his beliefs, and his faithfulness to duty as he saw it, a fidelity which never faltered or grew pale. I learned, too, that, hard fighter as he was, no resentment ever lurked in his memory after the battle was over, and underneath the combativeness was one of the kindest and most generous hearts that ever beat. As he cheerfully faced criticism and attack for what he believed to be right, so did he meet the coming of the end. The hand of fate knocked at the door. He did not complain; he did not flinch; he did not retreat."

The National Pure Food and Drug Act is Weldon B. Heyburn's greatest and enduring monument. Few Idahoans realize that 50 years ago Weldon Brinton Heyburn stood as Idaho's giant in the Senate of the United States, a lofty peak of ability and integrity. If a statue of this leader were to be erected in Idaho to remind future generations of his service, it would seem appropriate to use the minerals of the three States most closely related to his life; the crystal clear marble of Pennsylvania, which gave him birth; the red sandstone of Colorado, which nurtured him as a young man; and the shining, silver galena of the Coeur d'Alenes of Idaho, the State of his maturity.

Of all the tributes paid to this leader by men of the East and the West, the North and the South, none was more sincere, none was more true than those by the men who knew him best in his adopted State of Idaho. Judge J. H. Richards, outstanding in the bar of Idaho, said on March 3:

QUALITIES TOLD

"He had the qualities which make for enduring greatness rather than for transitory praise and momentary popularity. It is not the person of Senator Heyburn that we honor here today, but it is those qualities which made his character great. These are qualities which we call noble and go to make up the man; these are the qualities which we call true and which made the late Senator brave and true to his convictions. He was the same always, not shifting with the winds of sentiment.

"It is not the man who always agrees with us that is the safest man for us to follow. It is not the man who rides along on the wave of popularity that does us the most good. The man who has the courage to stand up and tear from our faces the mask of hypocrisy so that we see ourselves as the world sees us, is the man that does the most good for his State and Nation."

In 50 years, Senator Heyburn's life has faded from many memories; many young people in Idaho need to be told of his life and work. Would we remember him better if he were buried along the Coeur d'Alene River in Idaho, rather than the historic Brandywine in Pennsylvania?

May we refresh our memories, in truth and justice, for Weldon B. Heyburn, who, a half century ago, was Idaho's giant in the United States Senate.

Georgia-Made Products Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an edi-

torial entitled, "Georgia-Made Products Week," from the March 7, 1957, issue of the Ocilla (Ga.) Star.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GEORGIA-MADE PRODUCTS WEEK

Today we salute Georgia's manufacturers, their more than 320,000 employees and the estimated 14,000 different products now being made in our State. By official proclamation Gov. Marvin Griffin has designated March 11–17 as Georgia-Made Products Week, and urged the full support of all citizens.

America's strength—the lifeblood of our Nation flows from our mines, mills, farms and factories. The value of total output of manufacturing establishments in Georgia for 1956 is now estimated at $4,350,000,000, an increase of $301 million over the preceding year.

Our industrial citizens have always given full support to their State and marched with it through the colorful years of its history.

United States Reports 612,000 Increase in Jobholders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Washington Post of March 13, 1957, the headline of which is "United States Reports 612,000 Increase in Jobholders."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES REPORTS 612,000 INCREASE IN JOBHOLDERS

The Government reported yesterday that the number of American jobholders rose by 612,000 last month to a total of 63,190,000. It said the rise was larger than usual for this time of year.

The increase wiped out at least part of a big January drop in the number of employed. During the first month of this year, the employment total had declined by 1.7 million persons to about the same level as in January 1956.

In February the number of unemployed persons stood at 3,121,000, a decline of 123,000 from January.

The February rise in employment was larger than the decline in unemployment, because most of the people who got jobs last month had not been looking for work in January. Those not looking for work are not counted as part of the Nation's labor force.

The Commerce and Labor Departments said the February employment total was about 900,000 higher than in February 1956.

They said farm employment rose by 260,000 persons to a total of 5,195,000. The departments attributed the increase to a big improvement in weather conditions.

Nonfarm jobholders rose by 353,000 to total 57,996,000, a record level for February and about 1 million more than in February a year ago. Most of the increase was among self-employed and domestic service workers.

The number of factory jobs dropped slightly to 17 million, instead of increasing a little as usual. Job reductions were reported in some plants producing home-building materials, radio and television plants, and automobile factories.

Advertisements Welcoming Industry to Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have been pleased to note recently a series of warm, factual advertisements carried in leading periodicals throughout our land welcoming American industry to the State of Wisconsin.

The advertisements highlight the outstanding attractions which the Badger State offers to individuals, to families, to business.

On previous occasions, I have personally been happy to cite many of these attractions in my comments in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I am pleased now that the Michigan Wisconsin Pipe Line Co., serving gas utility companies of my State, is, through means of these ads, further extending the latchstring for enterprising, forward-looking American companies.

Each of the ads features prominently, by a famous American artist, the drawing of a hand of friendship extended to a visitor, and beneath that hand of friendship, are carried the facts on a few of Wisconsin's many outstanding assets.

I send to the desk the text of each of these ads, and ask unanimous consent they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the advertisements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COME TO WISCONSIN

A GOOD PLACE TO BUILD A BUSINESS

Wisconsin is the focus of one of the richest markets. Within 24 hours, by rail, air or truck, shipments span a 12-State area where 60 percent of the Nation's spendable income is earned. The area is tops in population, payrolls, retail sales, values added by manufacture and value of farm products.

Wisconsin's Great Lakes ports provide water routes to foreign markets—which the coming St. Lawrence seaway will vastly expand.

Skilled manpower abounds here, and it will continue. Wisconsin is largely peopled by descendants of the best of Old World craftsmen.

A GOOD PLACE TO LIVE AND RAISE A FAMILY

Here, mastery of his craft earns a man respect and dignity. His good citizenship guards Wisconsin's famous good government. He owns his home (in 6 cases out of 10), supoprts his church, obeys the law (from 5 to 80 percent better than the national average).

One more thing. In Wisconsin, when work is done, a family can be having more fun, in fewer minutes, in more ways, with less trouble, than almost anywhere else.

A GOOD—A WONDERFULLY GOOD—PLACE TO BE

More than 10,000 lakes and streams, unspoiled woodlands, fine climate, pure water, good roads—what more could one ask? Workers here lose 80 percent fewer work days from sickness or accident, than do workers of the Nation as a whole.

"The people of Wisconsin extend a most hearty welcome to you and to your business."

VERNON W. THOMSON,
Governor.

(For further data, write to the Wisconsin Division of Industrial Development, Office of the Governor, Madison, Wis.)

YOUR COMPANY, YOUR FAMILY, AND YOU WILL BE HAPPY IN WISCONSIN

Wisconsin offers in abundance the basic factors a business needs to grow and prosper. Specifically—

You'll be in the heart of one of the richest markets, served well by 17 railroads, 8 major airlines, 192 truck lines, plus direct water transportation to the markets of the whole wide world.

You'll enjoy year-round, temperate climate. Temperatures are moderate in summer and stimulating in winter. Statistics show Wisconsin's climate promotes good health. Wisconsin is officially rated the third healthiest of all the States.

Good water abounds throughout the State. Ten thousand lakes and streams, including Lake Michigan and Lake Superior, provide it, along with limitless pleasure.

Living conditions, native skills, educational, cultural, and recreational facilities, general prosperity, home ownership, law observance, good citizenship, good government—all are exceptional in Wisconsin. These are facts, backed by records. You'll agree that here, in fullest measure, are essential basic materials of commercial and individual well-being.

"The people of Wisconsin extend a most hearty welcome to you and to your business."

VERNON W. THOMSON,
Governor.

(For further data, write to the Wisconsin Division of Industrial Development, Office of the Governor, Madison, Wis.)

YOU'LL BE WELCOME IN WISCONSIN

WHERE BUSINESS PROSPERS

Scores of industries have grown to greatness in Wisconsin, many to world-leading stature and renown. They proclaim, by their very numbers, their diversity, their strength, that they have grown in an atmosphere conducive to prosperity.

The nationwide reputation of Wisconsin for good government and good citizenship is easily explained. The State has never been debt-ridden. It's against the law. And, speaking of law, Wisconsin's crime rate ranges from 5 percent to 80 percent lower than the Nation's, averaging 59 percent lower than the national rate.

Wisconsin knows how recreation re-creates jaded nerves. It's easy to relax here, with 10,000 fish-filled lakes and streams, unspoiled woods and play places, fine climate.

WHERE WHOLESOME FAMILY LIFE MOLDS THE COMMUNITY

Wisconsin citizens are home folks, and are thrifty. Of 967,448 homes, 613,959 are owner-occupied. That's 63 percent. The United States average is 51 percent.

Wisconsin people support churches and schools. In 1955 there were 2,120 churches and synagogues, averaging some 718 members each.

The State is authoritatively rated fourth in quality of public school education. There are 6,565 elementary and 581 secondary schools, 42 vocational schools, 65 institutions

of higher learning. This, you'll agree, provides an environment that makes life richer.

It is readily available in Wisconsin.

"The people of Wisconsin extend a most hearty welcome to you and to your business."

VERNON W. THOMSON,
Governor.

(For further data, write to the Wisconsin Division of Industrial Development, Office of the Governor, Madision, Wis.)

Ambassadors of Merit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, on yesterday there was published in the New York Times an article, written by James Reston, entitled "Ambassadors of Merit—An Analysis of Attempt To Select Envoys Regardless of Their Personal Finances." In the article there is pointed out the shocking fact that alone among the civilized nations of the world, the United States still is forced to choose her ambassadors for leading positions in the Foreign Service solely because they happened to have sufficient private incomes with which to carry but their responsibilities in posts such as those at London, Paris, Rome, and the like.

The article points out that the distinguished junior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] is opposed to that system, and is seeking to do his best to see to it that the Appropriations Committees of the Senate and of the House of Representatives at long last come up to date and make it possible for the United States to put the best brains of the country in the places where they are so badly needed.

Mr. President, I desire to commend my colleague, the Senator from Montana, for his effort in this regard; and I wish to indicate my full support of that effort. In that connection, I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Reston be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of March 13, 1957]

AMBASSADORS OF MERIT—AN ANALYSIS OF ATTEMPT TO SELECT ENVOYS REGARDLESS OF THEIR PERSONAL FINANCES

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, March 12.—Another one of those periodic, but usually fruitless, moves is under way in Washington to improve the quality of United States Ambassadors abroad.

This time, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, the Democratic whip in the Senate, is suggesting the revolutionary principle that the United States Government can afford nothing less than the very best Ambassadors available and that it should pay for what it gets.

Specifically, he is drafting an amendment to the State Department's appropriation under which the Government would pay large enough ambassadorial living or representation expenses to enable any man, regardless of his private finances, to take the most expensive posts in London, Paris, Rome, and elsewhere.

Senator MANSFIELD's chances of getting anywhere with this idea, it should be said at once, are not very good, but he is getting close to the heart of a serious problem that disturbs all students of foreign affairs and leaves Congress cold.

CHOICE IS RESTRICTED

Under the present system, the President selects Ambassadors for the most expensive posts, not from a carefully selected list of the Americans best qualified for the job, but from a list of those who can afford to pay the increasing costs of diplomatic entertainment.

This does not mean that there are not many competent rich men available, but it does mean that the President is sharply restricted in his choice.

He may think, for example, that a brilliant Foreign Service officer without private means may be the best possible United States Ambassador in Paris, but without Government funds to pay the entertainment costs—or as they are delicately called, representation obligations—he has to turn to party contributors who will pick up the entertainment tab themselves.

Other governments with neither the finances nor the responsibilities of the United States somehow manage to afford to pay what is necessary to get the best man available. For example, the British Ambassador in Washington several years ago got a living allowance of $75,000. (It's probably more now.) The United States allowance for the American Ambassador in London this year is $12,000, which just about pays the cost of the annual Fourth of July party for Americans in Grosvenor Square.

The State Department has been trying in recent days to get a modest increase in these representation allowances, but it was turned down by congressional committee members who are perfectly satisfied with the system of having politically appointed rich men pay for the privilege of presiding over key United States embassies.

So far President Eisenhower has done nothing to urge a change in this situation. On the contrary, he has just appointed a new crop of political ambassadors to almost all the major posts in Europe, and has made several other political appointments that have aroused a great deal of adverse comment.

For example, he appointed to Paris Amory Houghton, chairman of the board of the Corning Glass Works, a large contributor to the Republican presidential campaign, though Mr. Houghton does not speak French.

For other political reasons he appointed James P. Richards, a former Democratic chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, to a roving commission to put over the Eisenhower Doctrine in the Middle East.

Mr. Richards, who left here today on this delicate and important mission, knows virtually nothing about the Middle East, but he was chosen anyway on the dubious theory that the Democrats in Congress will follow his advice because they served with him for years and like him.

GEORGE'S POST IS CITED

With the same idea in mind, the veteran former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Walter F. George of Georgia, was made a special ambassador to study North Atlantic Treaty Organization problems, but he has not been active in this important post, and nobody here thinks it is fair to expect him to be.

Another move that is highly controversial is the scheduled shift of Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen, the administration's most experienced official on Soviet affairs, from Moscow to the Embassy in the Philippines.

This has naturally pleased the government in Manila to have this top Foreign Service officer given the task of filling the vacuum in the United States Embassy there, but the question is whether, on balance, this serves the best interests of the United States.

Nobody here has been able to reconcile the new Eisenhower diplomatic appointments with the President's promise to put the best men in the Nation into top Government jobs. Nor does anybody, including Senator MANSFIELD, know how this can be done unless the problem of living allowances for the President's Ambassadors is attacked vigorously by the President himself.

Some of the new appointments, it is widely conceded here, are improvements on those who held the posts in the first Eisenhower administration, but some are not, and anyway this does not meet Senator MANSFIELD's principle.

The Senator is not arguing a partisan point. He concedes that the Democrats played politics with the Embassies just as the Republicans are now doing. He is simply arguing that the Congress, which talks so much and appropriates so much to deal with serious overseas problems, should appropriate enough money to give the President a free choice to pick the best man, regardless of party and regardless of private funds.

Investigation of Labor and Management Racketeering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 8, 1957

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD certain articles written by Clark Mollenhoff, published in the Des Moines Register. Mr. Mollenhoff has been very helpful in advice and ideas in the committee's investigation of labor and management racketeering.

Through his stories in the Des Moines Register and Tribune and Minneapolis Star and Tribune, and through the conferences he has held at various times with the staff, this reporter first called to our attention certain questionable practices in the labor-management field in all parts of the country and pointed out the federal responsibility in these areas. He also called to our attention that prior investigations in some of these areas had been of a limited nature and that further investigation was in dire need because of indications of corruption and laxity in the financial affairs of some unions.

He has also pointed out some of the difficulty the AFL–CIO faces in handling certain of these cases of corruption, such as the million dollar "embezzlement" from the Laundry Workers International Union. In addition to that, however, Mr. Mollenhoff gave us examples of conditions prevailing in areas where action was warranted and possible.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Des Moines Register of January 30, 1957]

PROBERS SEEK UNION BOOKS ON SPENDING

(By Clark Mollenhoff)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Senate Government Operations Subcommittee is wondering how to revise the tax laws to cope with some union officials who appear to defy Federal tax authorities.

The committee, headed by Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN, Democrat, of Arkansas, has heard testimony to the effect that some union leaders suspected of racketeering have refused to keep adequate financial records. Some have refused to produce desired books, and there are reports that some records have been destroyed.

The committee seeks an explanation why certain labor leaders were not being prosecuted for income-tax evasion.

John P. Barnes, chief counsel for the Internal Revenue Service, declared it would welcome a spotlight on the lack of cooperation from certain labor officials.

LAW UNCLEAR

Barnes and Assistant Commissioner of Internal Revenue Justin Winkle declared that two court decisions, and the indefinite laws on keeping records, have hampered the work of tax investigators in dealing with those who obtain unreported benefits from union funds.

One circuit court decision last November in connection with an effort to investigate the income of Seattle, Wash., Teamsters Union leaders, held that Federal tax agents are not entitled to the same access to financial records of unions that they would have to the financial records of a business corporation. The unions themselves are exempt from Federal income taxes.

There is a long-standing Federal court decision that embezzled funds are not income. This hampers efforts to prove criminal tax evasion by some union officials who use union money to pay their personal bills.

RETAINED SO LONG

The regulations provide that "books and records required (by the internal revenue law) shall be kept at all times available for inspection by internal revenue officers, and shall be retained so long as the contents thereof may become material in the administration of any internal revenue law."

Tax officials say the law and regulations are so vague as to the length of time books should be kept that it would be difficult to prove a crime.

Under questioning by Committee Counsel Robert Kennedy, Barnes testified that he believed organizations such as labor unions should have a greater responsibility for making financial records available.

MIGHT SHOW INCOME

Though the unions themselves are exempt from taxes, he said, their records of disbursements would help determine whether their officials had paid taxes on all of their taxable income.

He said certain labor leaders were getting by with a defiance of Federal taxing authority that would amaze the average taxpayer.

Winkle and Barnes reported that only a very small percentage of the labor union tax returns are audited by tax officials. But they commented that "there are some investigations under way right now."

BREWSTER CASE

Frank Brewster, of Seattle, Wash., chairman of the 11-State Western Conference of Teamsters, has refused to produce financial records of Local 174 of the teamsters in Seattle or the books of the Western Conference of Teamsters.

Brewster refused to produce these records for Internal Revenue Service officials or the McClellan committee.

SOME CHARGES

Testimony before the McClellan committee has included the following allegations concerning Brewster and the president of the International Teamsters Union, Dave Beck:

1. That Brewster from 1943 to 1950 received at least $30,000 from local 174 in Seattle in addition to his salary.

2. That Brewster's personal automobile was purchased out of union funds, and the bills for its repair were paid out of union funds.

3. That union funds were used to pay for operation and maintenance of a horse stable partly owned by Brewster, and for repair and maintenance of vans to carry his race horses.

4. That Beck has used union funds for part of the cost of construction and repair of his mansion in Seattle, and that he later sold that home to the union for $162,000 with the provision that he could live in it rent-free for life.

5. That Beck in March 1953 had $8,826 in personal bills paid out of funds of the Teamsters Union in Seattle.

The McClellan committee was unable to get an answer from Brewster on the allegations that he had improperly used union funds. Beck failed to appear for the hearings.

REPORTS TO BUREAU

The committee said financial reports to the labor department by local 174 did not contain figures on benefits alleged to have accrued to Brewster and Beck.

It also said the financial reports filed with the labor department were not consistent with the reports filed with the Internal Revenue Service.

Tax agents in Minneapolis, Minn., were unable to obtain permission to examine the bank records of Sidney L. Brennan, a vice president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Brennan declined to discuss his finances before a congressional committee on grounds that to give such testimony might incriminate him.

Last September Brennan agreed with Internal Revenue agents contentions that he failed to report approximately $25,000 income in 1947, 1948, and 1949. He entered into a stipulated agreement with the Internal Revenue Service which set his tax deficiency for the 3 years at $6,834.15.

HOFFA FINANCES

James R. Hoffa, Detroit, Mich., who heads the Central States Teamsters Conference, states flatly that he has refused to produce financial records for Federal tax agents. He told a House committee 2 years ago that he ordered the old union books destroyed every year.

Tax investigators claim Hoffa owes an additional $6,059 in taxes for the years 1952, 1953, and 1954. This dispute is pending in the United States Tax Court.

The Senate Labor Subcommittee headed by PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, filed a report stating that Eugene C. "Jimmy" Janes, former secretary-treasurer of the Laundry Workers International Union, had been a party to diversion of approximately $1 million from the union's health and welfare funds.

TRACED TO BANK

More than $700,000 of this has been traced to a bank account which James controlled. He did not report this money as taxable income, and has refused to say what he did with it.

James has declined to cooperate with Federal tax officials in the 2 years this matter has been under investigation, but no prosecution has been undertaken.

Assistant Commissioner Winkle told MCCLELLAN that there are great handicaps in moving against union officials and "we would welcome any information from this committee or any other committee or any other source that would tend to pinpoint a particular situation that would be productive of revenue or indicate that the laws had not been complied with."

[From the Des Moines Register of January 31, 1957]

COURT CLOSES BOOKS TO TAX MEN

(By Clark Mollenhoff)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—In resisting demands of Federal tax officials, west coast Teamster Union boss Frank W. Brewster has found support in the Federal appeals court.

The ninth circuit court has held that internal revenue agents are not entitled to access to the financial records of Seattle, Wash., Teamsters Local 174, such as they would have to the financial records of a business corporation.

Federal tax officials, upset by the ruling, have told the Senate Government Operations Subcommittee headed by Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN (Democrat, Arkansas) that although unions are tax exempt, they should have a special duty to make their books available for examination.

There was a strong dissent to the 2-to-1 decision that barred Federal tax agents from examining the books of Local 174, of which Brewster is president.

SEEK APPEAL

Top internal revenue officials want the decision appealed to the Supreme Court.

Tax officials contend that the decision is an invitation to other union officials to refuse to allow tax investigators to examine union books for evidence of unreported payments to union officials and others.

Brewster also is a vice president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and chairman of the 11-State Western Conference of Teamsters.

This dapper union boss has tastes that include a fancy for good clothes and race horses. For 3 years he has successfully stalled efforts of tax investigators to get an explanation of payments of his personal bills by the union.

BEGIN PROBE

In January 1954, tax agents started the investigation of returns filed by Brewster for the years 1949 through 1952.

A summons was issued to Local 174 and Nugent LaPoma, alias George Cavano, secretary-treasurer of the local, directing production of all records of financial transactions with Frank Brewster or his wife, Dorothy.

LaPoma and the union's attorney, Samuel Bassett, appeared with what they claimed was an abstract of the records. They refused to produce the original records.

In February 1955 tax officials took the matter to Federal court to try to force production of the records. The judge for the western district of Washington ordered the union books produced, on grounds that tax agents had showed a reasonable need for examining these records.

THIRTY-FIVE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS IN LOANS

Tax agents had filed affidavits stating that during the years 1949 and 1950, Brewster had received $35,500 in "unsecured loans" from Local 174 in addition to his salary. They said there was no indication he paid interest, or that he had repaid the money.

They also claimed the union had made payments of at least $3,248.64 to Brewster and his wife in November 1952. This was above Brewster's salary, and $1,500 of it went for the purchase of a car for Dorothy Brewster, the agents said.

On July 10, 1953, a G. M. C. horse van was repaired by a Seattle garage and the bill paid by Local 174. In 1951, a Chrysler automobile owned by the Brewsters was repaired by a Seattle garage and the bill was paid by Local 174.

Brewster purchased a home in California, on which $4,000 was paid from funds of Local 174, tax agents told the court. They also alleged that in 1952 and 1953, Local 174 had paid Brewster's personal bills at the Horsebreeders Club.

JUDGE DISAGREES

Judge Walter L. Pope, who wrote the dissenting opinion in the appeals court, commented that "on the whole the facts shown in the affidavit filed by the Government bristled with suggestion of irregularities and the trial judge was warranted in holding that there was probable cause to believe that further investigation of the books was reasonable and necessary."

However, the majority decision written by Judge James Alger Fee stated that tax agents must show that their demand for records is reasonable, and that the records sought were relevant or material to the tax matters of the Brewsters.

He declared that the demand for all the financial records of the union was too broad, because Brewster, not the union, was the subject of the investigation.

"The union was not itself subject to the investigation," the majority decision stated. "It was not here a taxpayer whose books and records were within the jurisdiction of the agency. The distinction often drawn between the rights of a corporation and an individual as to the extent of protection of privacy is not valid here.

"Here a union which has aspects of a secret order may have economic secrets or plans which it does not wish to disclose to agents of the Federal Government."

SUPREME COURT

The dissent by Judge Pope criticized the majority decision as completely missing the point and disregarding the Supreme Court decision in United States versus Morton Salt Co. That case was characterized as the leading one on the rights of a Federal agency to force production of information, and was quoted as follows:

"The only power that is involved here is the power to get information from those who best can give it and who are most interested in not doing so.

"Because judicial power is reluctant if not unable to summon evidence until it is shown to be relevant to issues in litigation, it does not follow that an administrative agency charged with seeing that the laws are enforced may not have and exercise powers of original inquiry.

"It has a power of inquisition, if one chooses to call it that, which is not derived from the judicial function. It is more analogous to the grand jury, which does not depend on a case or controversy for the power to get evidence but can investigate merely on suspicion that the law is being violated, or even just because it wants assurance that it is not.

"When investigative and accusatory duties are delegated by statute to an administrative body, it, too, may take steps to inform itself as to whether there is probable violation of the law."

POTENTIALLY LIABLE

In his dissent, Judge Pope declared it is obvious that the union here is just as much the subject of investigation and potentially as liable to penalties as is its officer taxpayer.

He declared that the majority ignores the public interest which lies behind the statute sought to be enforced.

Judge Pope's comments on the specific facts follow:

"The showing made before the district court was that Brewster * * * had numerous financial dealings with the union, indicating many transactions which were not reflected in his income-tax returns.

"CITES LOANS

"Loans of approximately $35,000 had been made by the local to Brewster, but his returns showed no payments of interest or deductions for interest expense on such loans, and the annual financial report of the local showed no such loans.

"The investigating officers found notes to the local signed by Brewster in the name of Clearbrook Stock Farm which provided for no payments of interest, and the records available to the investigating officers indicated that these substantial so-called loans from the local to Brewster were never paid.

"The evidence indicated probable cause for a belief that the so-called loans to Brewster were payments of income to him disguised as loans.

"Under those circumstances it was clearly the duty of the investigating officers to find out whether the loans were ever paid, and to verify their suspicions that they were never paid.

"WOULD BE RELEVANT

"In the event of an action to collect the taxes or of a proceeding for redetermination of an asserted deficiency, it would be material and relevant to furnish testimony that the books of the union failed to disclose, anywhere, the receipt of any repayment.

"The investigative officer should be able to testify that he had examined the books of the local and ascertained that they disclosed no such repayments. He cannot give this testimony without having access to the books listed in the court's order."

John P. Barnes, chief counsel of the Internal Revenue Service, and Assistant Commissioner Justin Winkle declare that if the majority opinion is allowed to stand, the investigation of the financial affairs of union officials will be seriously hampered.

[From the Des Moines Register of February 1, 1957]

OLD RECORDS DESTROYED BY HOFFA UNIONS

(By Clark Mollenhoff)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—James R. Hoffa, Detroit, Mich., chairman of the 13-State Central States Teamsters Conference, authorized teamster union locals in Michigan to destroy their financial records as soon as the international union has audited them.

That was Hoffa's explanation when a congressional committee found that financial records of Teamster Local 299 in Detroit for just 1 year earlier had been destroyed.

At that time, William McKenna, counsel for a House committee investigating racketeering in labor unions, read to Hoffa a section of the Internal Revenue regulations which said:

"The books of record required by this section shall be kept at all times available for inspection by Internal Revenue officers and shall be retained so long as the contents thereof may become material in the administration of any Internal Revenue law."

ADVICE OF LAWYERS

He was acting on the advice of his attorneys, Dave Previant and George S. Fitzgerald, Hoffa testified. He declared he wasn't familiar with Internal Revenue regulations.

Although the law states that it is a criminal offense to willfully destroy financial records required to substantiate expenditures, no action has been taken against Hoffa or anyone else in local 299 in connection with his testimony.

The Senate Government Operations Subcommittee headed by Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN, Democrat, of Arkansas, recently heard testimony from top internal revenue officials on this point.

THREE YEARS

John P. Barnes, chief counsel for the Internal Revenue Service, and Assistant Commissioner Justin Winkle said the law means that financial records must be kept at least 3 years for inspection by Federal tax agents.

The Federal tax law permits tax agents to go back 3 years in investigating records unless fraud is involved. If fraud is involved, there is no statute of limitations.

Barnes and Winkle explained that although the regulations appear to make it mandatory that records be kept at least 3 years, the Internal Revenue Service has never spelled it out.

REGULAR POLICY

Hoffa explained that the Teamsters Joint Council in Detroit had approved destruction of old records as a matter of policy.

"Assuming from the advice of counsel we had the authority, we notified the local unions that, at their option, if they desire, they did not have to keep their records," he said.

When Hoffa testified in 1953, a House Labor Committee had sought to obtain the records of expenditures by the union in pretty much the same way that the McClellan Government Operations Committee is seeking such records today from teamster unions from coast to coast.

WORKSHEETS LEFT

Hoffa told the committee the 1952 records had already been destroyed, and all that was left were the worksheets of the accountants who prepared the Federal income tax returns. Original vouchers were missing.

It is possible for internal revenue agents and congressional investigators to go to outside sources and piece together parts of the expenditure record, but it is a time-consuming problem.

Although labor unions themselves are exempt from taxation, internal revenue agents have sought information from their records to determine whether certain union officials have paid tax on all taxable income. Congressional investigators have sought access to union records for evidence of racketeering in welfare funds and other activities of certain union leaders.

Tax officials appearing before the McClellan committee stated that while citizens can refuse to testify about their finances on grounds that they might incriminate themselves, this right does not extend to corporations and tax-exempt institutions such as labor unions.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, if the Senator from Arkansas will yield at that particular point, I wish to say that I am glad he has had inserted the articles in the RECORD. They were written by a reporter who is employed not only on the staff of Twin City newspapers, such as the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, but also affiliated newspapers in the State of Iowa. Clark Mollenhoff has rendered an outstanding service to the public in writing his articles.

Mr. MCCLELLAN. I thank the Senator from Minnesota. Mr. Mollenhoff has been very cooperative and helpful to the committee.

Eight Hundred Thousand Jobs Estimated in Road Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Washington Post of March 13, 1957, the headline of which is entitled "Eight Hundred Thousand Jobs Estimated in Road Plans."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND JOBS ESTIMATED IN ROAD PLANS

A private research organization yesterday estimated the Nation's 13-year highway program will generate an average of 880,000 jobs a year in 190 industries.

The Council for Economic and Industry Research, Inc. (CEIR), issued an analysis of the economic impact of the $50-billion program plus another estimated $50 billion worth of road work not aided by the Government.

The study indicated that highway construction will require, as an annual average, 28 percent of the country's 1956 output of cement and 12.8 percent of the entire production of paving and roofing materials.

It indicated also that the indirect consumption of some materials will far exceed the direct consumption. CEIR said the requirements of steel for roadbuilding machinery, equipment, vehicles, and other indirect items will be five times greater than the steel actually used on the job in bridges, culverts, and the like.

Truman Doctrine Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one of the most important developments in American foreign policy took place 10 years ago this week when the Truman doctrine became the official policy of the United States Government. On that occasion, the Congress joined with the President of the United States in making clear to the world that we were determined to work with our friends in building a program of collective security against Communist expansion.

History will demonstrate that the Truman doctrine was one of the most important declarations of Government policy in our Nation's history. It was one of the most significant steps in the battle against Communist totalitarianism because from it stemmed a series of Communist defeats and democratic victories, the benefits of which we still enjoy.

There appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald this week a letter written by a Turkish diplomat, Mr. Altemur Kilic, the press attaché of the Turkish Embassy. That letter is the symbol of a friendship which now exists between the people of the United States and the people of Turkey.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I want to take this occasion also to extend my greetings to the people and the Government of Turkey for their steadfast resistance to Communist aggression and for their loyalty to the common beliefs and common aims which unite our two countries.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 12, 1957]

TRUMAN DOCTRINE ANNIVERSARY

March 12, 1947, is a memorable date not only for Turkey, but for all the free world. The United States Government's decision, approved on that day by the Congress, to extend aid to the two countries under threat of aggression, was a milestone of recent history for many reasons. For us, in particular, it signified that we were not to be left alone in our efforts against international communism. For the free world, in general, it marked the beginning of a gigantic effort of collective security and collective determination against Communist expansion.

Much has happened in 10 years and the dramatic facts of the early 1940's, which led to the Truman doctrine, might have been forgotten by many.

For instance, perhaps few realize now that the whole thing most probably started with the emphatic and determined "No" of Turkey to the first deliberate Soviet attempts for expansion in the postwar period.

In 1945, when many people still believed in the good intentions of Stalin, Turkey was confronted with a preview of what was to follow in many other parts of the world. Russia denounced its agreement of neutrality and friendship with us and demanded bases on our vital straits. She also strongly hinted the cession of our two eastern provinces, Kars and Ardahan. Although virtually alone then, Turkey refused these demands and showed its determination to fight rather than become a Soviet satellite. This war of nerves continued relentlessly for 2 years, but we did not yield an inch.

I wonder how many people stop to think what the situation today would have been if we had buckled under Soviet pressure.

The United States decision to extend aid to us bolstered us economically and militarily; but most important of all, it meant that we were not alone in our struggle. From my own experience as a newspaperman in Turkey at that time, I can vouch for the dramatic impact of this realization and the sense of relief it created. The gesture of lending a hand to a country under pressure won America the everlasting friendship of the Turkish people.

I can also vouch for the fact, that due to this, the Turkish-American friendship rests on the firm foundation of common beliefs and common aims.

The "Truman doctrine" aid and other aid which followed under different programs and names, enabled us to modernize our armed forces and helped us in our economic development.

Today the Turkish Army with its 12 ready and 22 readily mobilized divisions constitutes the backbone of NATO forces and the most dependable fighting force in that troubled area. Our economic development which got a new impetus since 1950, has given many fruits: there is no comparison between the Turkey of 1957 and the Turkey of 1947. Results which are continuously being attained, dwarf the difficulties which are encountered. It is a fact that the economic foundations of our country is now in a much better position to sustain our military preparedness.

On the eve of the implementation of the Eisenhower doctrine, which is a new source of hope for the whole Middle East, these facts have much significance.

Allow me to point out also that Turkey, a forward-looking country, has not lost an iota of its spirit of resistance which she possessed when the Truman Doctrine found her 10 years ago.

ALTEMUR KILIC,
Press Attache, Turkish Embassy.
WASHINGTON.

St. Patrick and Lent

SPEECH
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, Sunday is St. Patrick's Day, a great day for the Irish, therefore I want to call to the attention of the House a poem by Joseph Smith, late of Lowell, Mass., and delivered before the Clover Club, Boston, on March 17, 1915. It was sent to me several years as a St. Patrick's Day greeting by a distinguished gentleman of Irish ancestry—the Honorable "MIKE" KIRWAN of Ohio—an Irishman we all greatly admire and one who, by his work here in the Congress of the United States, has won for himself the hearty commendations of the members on both sides of aisle.

"MIKE," as we know him, is the exemplification of all that is fine in an Irish gentleman; a gentleman who is highly respected and regarded by the people of the great State of Ohio that he is proud and honored to represent.

ST. PATRICK AND LENT

(By Joseph Smith)

St. Patrick! Oh there was a saint with a heart
As soft as fresh butter and big as a cart;
And 'twas he that remembered the long 40 days
The weakness of men and their women and ways,
The diet of fish and the riot of prayer
And the sinners that sinned from Mayo to Kildare;
And says he to himself, "The day that I'm born
I'll pick out in Lent on some windy March morn,
When the Irish can have one long day's vacation
From fasting and fish and prayer and salvation;
When the boys may break loose and go hell-bent for leather,
And make their own rules, regulations, and weather."
And so in March gray, to drive care away,
God sends to the Irish the saint and the day.
So, tonight fill your cup, fill it up to the brim,
Jew, heathen or Baptist or Puritan grim,
For whatever you are, you are Irish tonight,
And it's better, by cripes, to be Irish than right!
Fill your glass and we'll drink to Sinn Fein and the sod,
To the name of the saint and the glory of God,
To the day of all days that is close to our heart,
To the dead that have died for the sake of ould dart.
Though the winter's winds blow, all around us is proof
That Ireland and sunshine are under this roof,
And this is the message the good saint has sent:
Eat, drink, and be merry—for tomorrow is Lent.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GAVIN. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, I want to express my personal appreciation to the gentleman of his eloquence on this occasion and join with him in his expression of appreciation of a great gentleman and a great Irishman, the Honorable MIKE KIRWAN.

Mr. GAVIN. I thank the gentleman.

Can We Afford a $71.8 Billion Budget?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an advertisement published by the McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. in the Washington Post of March 13, 1957.

There being no objection, the advertisement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAN WE AFFORD A $71.8 BILLION BUDGET?

The budget submitted to Congress by President Eisenhower for the year beginning July 1 proposes Federal spending of $71.8 billion. In only 4 years, 3 during World War II and 1 during the Korean war, has the Government spent more. Under the proposed budget the Government expects to collect $73.6 billion, mostly through individual and corporation income taxes.

The principal reason for the size of the budget and for this year's increase is an expanding defense program. About 60 percent of all budget expenditures in the coming fiscal year will be for national-security programs. Moreover, this area accounts for about 90 percent of the proposed increase in Federal spending. In addition, there are large expenditures proposed for purposes other than defense.

Continued budgets of this size, some contend, will lead to inflation and wreck our economy. It has been suggested that they might lead to "a depression that will curl your hair." Yet many insist that the budget, large as it is, still is inadequate in many respects—for defense, schools, agriculture, aid to small business, health, research, indeed, for almost every activity in which the Government has become involved.

IS IT REALLY TOO BIG?

Actually, the proposed budget would place no greater burden on the economy than any budget in the last 6 years, because our economy has been growing. Federal spending per capita under the proposed budget will be about $416, or $10 more than this year; but our per capita income rose almost $80 last year. And, because of our increasing population, next year's expenditures will, in fact, amount to less per capita than in 1954 when Federal spending was $4 billion lower.

Another way of measuring the burden of Government expenditures on the economy is to compare the purchases of goods and services of all branches of Government—Federal, State, and local—with the total output of the Nation. The share of our national product taken by Government this year will be about the same as in the past 2 years and, furthermore, about the same as the average for the past 28 years.

By the standard of any recent year, the budget is within the means of the American economy. In this sense, we can afford it. But the prospect of steadily increasing budgets, requiring 20 percent or more of our national income, introduces another threat.

THE REAL THREAT

Large and rising budgets that do not balance Government spending with higher tax collections clearly would be inflationary and would destroy the value of the savings and income of all who lagged in the race with climbing prices. But serious dangers will still exist even if our budget continues to be balanced, as this year's is.

Budgets that require a large take in taxes eat up the savings required to finance private industry. What the taxpayers must give the Government they cannot save. This deprives private industry of the savings and resources needed to expand and modernize producing facilities.

High tax rates also undermine the incentive to save and invest in normal business enterprises by taking such a large share of any income gained. Taxes on corporation income now take 52 percent of all income over $25,000. And taxes on individual incomes can take as much as 90 percent of earnings that remain after this 52-percent bite.

High taxes encourage, on the part of both individuals and corporations, the search for "gimmicks" and special treatment. As a leading character in Cameron Hawley's novel Executive Suite observed: "To a far greater degree than most people realize, income tax has become a primary governing factor in corporation management." Indeed, it is only because of the numerous gimmicks and special provisions now available that high tax rates have not already inflicted greater damage to economic incentives.

These dangers comprise the real threat of large and rising Federal budgets. It is a threat to continued growth of our economy, and it is no less a threat merely because the budget is technically in balance.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

In attempting to hold Government spending within reasonable bounds, we should not hold back on needed civilian programs. The heavy demands now being urged at all levels of government for roads and schools, for instance, are largely the result of failure to keep pace with the growth of the country. Furthermore, we cannot cut provisions for national security below the minimum level of safety. And unhappily, defense in the rocket and missile age is fantastically and ever increasingly expensive.

What we can do is enforce some financial discipline on our military leaders, and hold down our defense expenditures as best we can by making sure their demands are justified and by requiring efficiency. In the civilian programs, though some need to be increased to serve a growing economy, we can eliminate the outright waste.

We must also do something far more difficult, and that is to reduce Federal programs of aid to special groups at the expense of all the taxpayers. The new budget calls for over $5 billion for veterans, and another $5 billion for farmers. A number of industries and areas stand to receive aid in large amounts based less on necessity than on political pressure. These demands for increased aid, year after year, must be resisted if we are to have any hope of stopping a relentless rise in our Federal budget.

Then, as our national income increases, we can look forward to reducing tax rates and providing greater incentives for the private sector of the economy. Only in this way—by keeping Government spending in line with economic growth—can we prevent our Federal budget from being a crippling burden.

(These figures refer to the regular Federal budget and do not include operations of trust funds, primarily for social security programs and the new Federal aid program for highways, which are financed by special taxes.)

MCGRAW-HILL PUBLISHING CO., INC.
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Constitution of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, after the recent convention of the Communist Party held in New York, press services and newspapers informed the American people of what purported to be a different position taken by the party. It is indeed unfortunate that a check of other constitutions of the Communist Party were not examined before the misleading stories were published. I am therefore including in my remarks appropriate provisions of the Communist Party constitution in order to prove that there has been no change in any respect in any phase of activity of this international conspiracy:

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

The 1957 constitution, in article VII, section 2, provides:

"Subject to the provisions of this article, any member shall be expelled from the party who is a strikebreaker, a provocateur, engaged in espionage, an informer, or who advocates force and violence or terrorism, or who adheres to or participates in the activities of any group or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken, or overthrow any institutions of American democracy through which the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies."

The 1948 constitution of the Communist Party, which was reaffirmed in 1950, article VIII, section 3, provides:

"Any member shall be expelled from the party who is found to be a strikebreaker, provocateur, engaged in espionage, or who advocates force and violence or terrorism, or who adheres to or participates in the activities of any group or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken, or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy through which the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies."

The 1940 constitution of the Communist Party, article IX, section 5, provides:

"Party members found to be strikebreakers, degenerates, habitual drunkards, betrayers of party confidence, provocateurs, persons who practice or advocate terrorism, sabotage, espionage, and force and violence, or members whose actions are otherwise detrimental to the party and the working class, shall be summarily dismissed from positions of responsibility, expelled from the party, and exposed before the general public."

The 1938 constitution of the Communist Party, article X, section 5, provides:

"Party members found to be strikebreakers, degenerates, habitual drunkards, betrayers of party confidence, provocateurs, advocates of terrorism and violence as a method of party procedure, or members whose actions are detrimental to the party and the working class, shall be summarily dismissed from positions of responsibility, expelled from the party, and exposed before the general public."

It is noted that article VII of the 1957 constitution is entitled "Disciplinary Procedure and Appeals." Article VIII of the 1948 version is entitled "Appeals and Disciplinary Procedure." The 1940 title of article IX is "Disciplinary Procedure." The 1938 title of article X is "Disciplinary Procedure."

Ninety Percent of Parity Price Supports for Family-Size Farms

SPEECH

OF

HON. H. CARL ANDERSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 5788) making appropriations for the Executive Office of the President and sundry general Government agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, when we had the very important corn bill on the floor for consideration the other day, it was impossible for Members such as myself who had bona fide amendments to offer to secure more than 2½ minutes to even discuss the amendments we proposed to offer.

Being a member of the Committee on Appropriations I am taking this opportunity to try to say a few words as to what we should do this afternoon when the important corn bill comes before us for further consideration.

First let me say that, in my opinion, every man from our area will concede that the 51 million acres allotment is absolutely necessary, just as it is necessary to give a proper allotment to cotton and to wheat if the farmers of our great United States are going to have sufficient income so that they may earn their living.

Mr. Chairman, let me point out that because of the fact that the key provision, the 51 million acres, was in the Andresen substitute, that is the reason why I voted for the Andresen substitute when it was offered. I will support any reasonable proposal which contains that essential provision.

There is nothing whatsoever in either of the bills before us to offer an incentive to farmers to comply. Even though we do have a 51-million-acre allotment, what incentive is there for any farmer to comply when the support level is only 75 percent of a square deal? Will anybody tell me that? Have we sunk so low here in the great Congress of the United States that all we are prepared to offer to agriculture is 75 percent of a square deal? Are we sunk so low here that we must admit that we cannot even give family-sized farms the protection that they should have by at least protecting to a 90-percent level that part of their production, say, up to 4,000 bushels of corn, 25 bales of cotton, and 3,000 bushels of wheat? Why can we not get down to business and come to a compromise, my friends, a compromise which will pass the Congress of the United States, but most of all will do good for our agricultural economy? For 18 long years, as all of you know, I have been talking on the floor of this House for a fair deal for agriculture, and I am frank to tell you, my friends, that, to me, 75 percent of parity is not fair. May I remind you, my friends on the Republican side, that we have grounds to perhaps get a little disturbed at the fact that the parity level fell down to 80 percent on February 15. Yes; we saw during the Truman administration the beginning of the break where the parity-price level fell 19 points from the top level. But now where is it? It is down to 80. And corn is at 66 percent of parity in my particular congressional district.

Are we going to sit here and do nothing whatsoever except to provide for this allotment of 51 million acres, which we must have; do nothing whatsoever to help to improve the agricultural economy of our Nation? I am asking you that as a prelude to what we are going into this afternoon. I am asking of you, my friends, that we confine our remarks, if possible, this afternoon to matters having reference to the bill itself. Let us give to anybody who has an amendment to offer which he thinks might improve the bill an opportunity to offer that amendment and have more than 2½ minutes to discuss it. Let us give him an opportunity to discuss his amendment instead of on both sides of the House going into political discussions which certainly will not help the farmers of America in any way.

I am taking a few minutes now to discuss briefly the amendment I propose to offer this afternoon if the legislative situation permits. I hope every Member interested in good farm legislation will consider the merits of my amendment and give it the support it deserves.

FAMILY-FARM AMENDMENT

Mr. Chairman, my amendment is designed to provide necessary, minimum protection to the family-size farms of this Nation. I emphasize that term "family-size farms" because there has never been any question in the Congress but what these are the farmers we want to protect. In the past, there has been criticism of price supports because they seemed to help the big producers more than the small farmers who needed the protection the most. My amendment meets that objection.

Everyone wants to help the family-size operator without at the same time piling up huge surpluses in bins and warehouses all over the country. This amendment does just that.

Everyone wants to help the family-size operator at the lowest possible cost to the Government. This amendment does that.

It is a simple, sensible approach to an otherwise complex problem. It meets the objections of most of those opposing the 90 percent of parity price supports by limiting them to the small operators who do not actually produce the surpluses. It provides maximum protection where it is most needed, and also provides an umbrella over the market for all producers. It will do more than anything yet proposed to get our farm economy back of its feet without a tremendous outlay of Federal funds in price support operations.

The amendment contains five important provisions.

First, it provides a minimum acreage allotment for corn of 51 million bushels as proposed in the Andresen and other amendments.

Second, it provides for the apportionment of corn allotments on the basis of tillable acreage. This will correct a present deficiency in the law whereby the good farmers with balanced production have been penalized and the few who have mined their soil have been given an allotment bonus. Every good farmer in the corn area favors this provision.

Third, it provides 90 percent of parity supports on the first 4,000 bushels of corn, the first 25 bales of cotton, and the first 3,000 bushels of wheat per farm. This is the cornerstone of the whole amendment as it takes care of the family-type farms of this Nation without the burden of supporting at 90 percent of parity the great surpluses produced on the large farms. It is a well known fact that the family-size farms did not produce the surpluses now stored up in bins and warehouses all over the land, and it is grossly unfair for our average family-sized farmers to have to pay the economic penalty for those surpluses.

The corn provision will have a loan value of about $6,480. It will afford maximum protection to the average, family-type farm and will also have an indirect effect on all market prices by holding this umbrella of protection over the first 4,000 bushels produced on any one farm. We will have the protection without the cost of supporting the surplus production.

The cotton provision will have a loan value of about $4,125. It will also afford maximum protection to the average, family-type cotton farmer without the excessive costs of protecting all of the surplus production at that level. At the same time, it will hold a protective umbrella over all production at the lowest possible cost.

The wheat provision will have a loan value of about $6,720. This will take care of the average, family-type wheat farm at minimum cost to the price-support program. The same umbrella will have its protective effect over all production without the excessive costs of supporting the surpluses at the higher level.

One of the greatest farm Congressmen in history, Clifford Hope, of Kansas, sought a similar two-price plan for wheat and it would be a great tribute to his 30 years of service in this body to see this proposal approved today.

The fourth provision of my amendment is very important. It provides the price we are willing to pay in the commercial corn area for the protection we ask for at this time. It requires a producer, to be eligible for price support, to put cropland equal to 20 percent of his corn allotment in the soil bank. This is 5 percent more than has yet been proposed, but we are ready to make our contribution to the effort to reduce surpluses in order to gain the protection we seek for the family-size farms. By reducing corn or feed grain production 20 percent below the allotment level we will greatly reduce production and start the process of using up the surpluses now stored at such great expense to the Government. By so doing, we will minimize the need for price supports and thus

further reduce the costs of the entire program. By making this sacrifice we bring balance to the entire operation.

The fifth and final provision is identical to that approved by the committee last Thursday. It is simply a correction of an error in the soil-bank bill we enacted last year in that it opens up the low-costs conservation reserve to corn farmers who do not take advantage of the acreage allotment and price support provisions. It has no relationship to the controversial proposal to establish a feed grain acreage reserve program, but it will bring vast acreages now producing feed grains into the low-cost conservation reserve.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment offers a basis for compromise which should have approval across both political and commodity lines. It is a low-cost program which will do more than anything else to bolster our family-farm economy. It is equally fair to the North, South, East, and West. I hope it will be approved.

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY TO INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

The trade associations recognize the value of the rural market. All of the trade and commercial publications treat the subject—even the Wall Street Journal and the New York Times regularly carry articles on the farm economy.

Congressmen from nonagricultural districts may lose sight of the fact that rural America is their biggest and best market for the things their people produce. Take a look at the mechanics of the farm economy and you will see what I mean.

Last year, production costs in agriculture were over $22 billion. That was money our farmers spent merely for the production of our bountiful supply of food and fiber. That was money spent for tractors, trucks, fuel, fertilizer, chemicals, rubber, electrical equipment, and all the other manufactured and processed equipment produced in nonagricultural areas.

Add to that $22 billion the living expenditures of farm families. In 1955, farm families spent an average of $3,309 for living expenses. That is another $15 billion farm people poured into commercial and trade channels. Farm people spent $427 million for clothing; $378 million for transportation; and $453 million for other goods and services.

Even with a reduced economy the farm people of America last year spent almost $40 billion for production and living expenses. Think of that, and think what a tremendous market we provide for the goods produced in the nonagricultural areas of this Nation and see whether it is not to your own best interests to help us sustain our economy and our purchasing power.

Think also of the fact that we are spending about $40 billion for production and living expenses, according to the United States Department of Agriculture, and our cash income from marketings in 1956 was only $29,999,000,000. Even when you add to that the value of Government payments, home consumption, rental value of dwellings, and all the other elements our realized gross farm income was only $33,979,000,000 last year.

Any way you look at it, rural America is earning less than it is spending and that is why farm mortgage debt and other indebtedness of farm people is soaring. We are operating on credit, but our credit is running out. If you do not help us get our economy up to a fair level, we will soon be out of money to spend for the goods and services produced in the nonagricultural areas of this Nation. You stand to lose a goodly portion of a $40 billion market and I do not think your constituents want to see that happen any more than mine do. Approve my bill to sustain the family farms of this Nation, and we will not only keep your $40 billion market but we will shortly provide you a $50 billion market and your prosperity will rise to new heights.

Tribute to Hon. Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, on February 28, in the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegram, a newspaper not distinguished for its support of the views of those of us on this side of the aisle, appeared an editorial entitled "A Good Statesman." In the editorial the majority leader, the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. JOHNSON], was praised for his high level of patriotic statesmanship in connection with the passage of the amended Middle East joint reesolution.

Mr. President, I think the publication of the editorial in a large metropolitan daily newspaper in the North is an encouraging evidence of the unity of the country and of the place in the esteem of those of us north of the Mason-Dixon line in which our great majority leader is held. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A GOOD STATESMAN

The majority leader in the Senate, LYNDON JOHNSON of Texas, placed himself on a high level of patriotic statesmanship when he put all partisanship behind him on the issue of supporting President Eisenhower's Middle Eastern policy.

The vital thing that needs to be proved, as Mr. Johnson said, is that the American stand against Communist aggression is being taken "not by just one man, and not by just one branch of government, but by the institutions representing the united will of the American people."

Senator JOHNSON is so right about that.

Nothing would serve the Communist interests better than to have America divided on the issue of drawing a line in the Middle East where Communist aggression must stop.

Nothing would spur Soviet Russia to new aggressions in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world more than an American show of weakness at this critical time.

It would be a weakness of a most dangerous and destructive sort if Congress should repudiate the President on this vital matter or even indulge too long in indecision and delay.

Whatever political and partisan temptations may be in the face of what might seem to be an opportunity to at least make President Eisenhower squirm for a while, there is too much at stake to play political games at the expense of American security.

Senator JOHNSON is a big enough statesman and a good enough American to see this situation in its proper light.

So is former President Truman.

Both of these men know how to play hard and even rough at the game of party politics at the right time, but when the peace and welfare of America are on the line they stand up with the rest of their countrymen.

Corn and Feed Grain Program

SPEECH
OF
HON. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4901) to establish a minimum acreage allotment for corn, to provide acreage-reserve programs for diverted acres and for feed grains, and for other purposes.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, it is quite obvious that when we try to write complicated legislation on the floor of the House it adds to the confusion that already exists. Now, the gentleman from Texas has had at least 20 minutes to explain his amendment, and I am sure that most members of the committee do not understand it better now than before he started in. He has not explained his amendment.

I recognize some of the features of the original Cooley-Poage bill in it, because it deals with diverted acres. But, he has in no manner explained the provisions of his amendment. He has talked about other things and has not given the House an opportunity or the committee an opportunity to have his provisions explained.

Mr. SIMPSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SIMPSON of Illinois. All in the world that the Poage amendment does is completely change the soil-bank program that was passed last year before it ever becomes effective.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. There is no question about that. It tries to amend the entire soil-bank program so that under the guise of doing something for corn you are going to do something for the other basic commodities so they may come under the acreage reserve.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HALLECK. I ask the gentleman to yield only to direct a question to the

gentleman from Texas, the author of this pending amendment. What I cannot understand is, if you wanted to amend the committee bill, why do you not withhold your amendment until you have an opportunity to act on the committee bill?

Mr. POAGE. It seems that now is the last chance anybody is going to have, and I think we have offered you a most generous proposition.

Mr. HALLECK. What I am talking about is the parliamentary situation which is unfortunate. I am talking about what would be orderly procedure. In other words, there are some of us who believe that this legislation should be limited to the critical situation affecting the corn growers of this country.

Mr. POAGE. Then the gentleman would vote against my amendment, of course?

Mr. HALLECK. Yes. Then there are pending two substitutes or one amendment and one substitute, one offered by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. HARRISON], and the other offered by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY]. Why was not the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] willing to let those be voted up or voted down, as we would vote first on the Cooley amendment to the Harrison amendment and then we would have a vote on the committee bill, and if that prevailed, that would be it. If it did not prevail, then it would seem to me that the gentleman would be in a much better position to amend the committee bill because then we could take it section-by-section and line-by-line and know what we were doing.

Mr. POAGE. Because we recognize that if the substitute is adopted, that ends the whole thing. There will be no further discussion and no further opportunity to make any kind of compromise here. Since the gentleman's side would not compromise we have offered to give you what you have asked.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to yield further. Speaking about compromises, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] has assumed the attitude during the entire discussion on the corn program that he will either take over the soil bank or wreck it, one or the other. Some on the Committee on Agriculture. I would not say have as much brains as the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], but we do have a little intelligence. We have agreed upon the Harrison amendment or the Andresen amendment as two proposals that we need in this emergency to handle the corn situation in the commercial corn area. My amendment was defeated last Thursday, so we are offering the Harrison amendment today.

Any amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas is for the sole purpose of adding to the confusion and wrecking the soil bank program. You can take it for that. I do not say that out of any lack of regard for my good friend from Texas because I have a high regard for him and his sincerity in those things he promotes. But we are now dealing with the 1957 crop of corn in the commercial corn area. Either we are going to get an emergency program or we are not going to get one. The test is here today.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the membership to vote down the Poage amendment and adopt the Harrison amendment which I am supporting and which my colleagues on the Committee on Agriculture are supporting here today.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ARENDS. Does the gentleman agree with the position taken a moment ago by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SIMPSON], that this would completely rewrite the Soil Bank Act?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. There is no question about that.

Mr. ARENDS. In other words, we would be writing completely new legislation on a project which, as the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SIMPSON] has said, has not yet been given the opportunity to function. Here we have an emergency in the corn area which apparently the gentlemen on the other side are not willing to face without doing something else about it, and I am going to oppose that.

The Railroad Retirement Act Is in Need of Further Liberalization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, March 11, 1957, I appeared as the first witness before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee regarding amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act.

My statement follows:

REMARKS BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE, MARCH 11, 1957, REGARDING AMENDMENTS TO THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to you and the members of this committee for the opportunity to appear before you and urge approval of the bills I have introduced at the request of thousands of active and retired railroad employees whom I have the honor to represent.

These bills, with the exception of one bill, H. R. 4530, have been introduced by me in previous Congresses, and they have the support of many individuals and groups among the railroad population of my district and the Nation.

The bills are as follows:

H. R. 3115, introduced on January 16, provides retirement on full annuity at age 60 or after serving 30 years; and further provides that such annuity for any month shall be not less than one-half of the individual's average monthly compensation for the 5 years of highest earnings of all.

H. R. 3116, introduced on January 16, provides full annuities, at compensation of half salary or wages based on the 5 highest years of earnings, for individuals who have completed 35 years of service, or have attained age 60.

H. R. 3117 and H. R. 3420 are identical and will repeal the prohibition against the payment of dual benefits to spouses thereby making them eligible to receive spouse benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act and earned benefits under social security.

H. R. 3118 and H. R. 3421 are identical and provide that an annuitant may be eligible for his retirement annuity even though he renders compensated service for an employer other than railroads, by whom he was last employed before his annuity became effective. These bills cover the situation where a retired employee is denied the opportunity to serve as a clerical employee of a church, civic, fraternal, or social organization.

H. R. 3422 provides a 25 percent across-the-board increase in widows' annuities.

H. R. 4530 is identical with H. R. 4353 and H. R. 4354, the so-called Harris-Wolverton bills, amending the Railroad Retirement and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts. This legislation liberalizes benefits under both acts and was introduced at the request of railway labor organizations in my congressional district who subscribe to the views of the Railway Labor Executives Association who are the sponsors of this legislation.

Inasmuch as H. R. 4530 is identical with the Harris-Wolverton bills and having no pride of authorship, I join with the Railway Labor Executives Association in advocating favorable consideration of the Harris-Wolverton version of the legislation.

Before any further discussion of proposed amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act, I want to reaffirm the position I have taken annually before this committee to the effect that there is an absolute necessity of maintaining the stability of the retirement fund and keeping it in a solvent condition to guarantee the payments of present and future benefits with the highest degree of certainty.

In this connection, it should be recalled that when President Eisenhower—on August 7, 1956—signed Senate Bill 3616, known as the 1956 Amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act, he issued a statement calling attention to the fact that the cost of the 1956 amendments, estimated to be $83 million annually, would increase the deficiency of the retirement fund to $169 million a year. President Eisenhower further stated that corrective action was imperative in remedying the $169 million deficiency and that he was signing Senate bill 3616 with the understanding that the 85th Congress would take corrective action.

Mr. Chairman, the deficiency reported in the retirement fund is the stumbling block to our efforts to further liberalize the Railroad Retirement Act and increase its benefits. Therefore, Congress—as custodian of the railroad retirement fund—in finding means to liquidate the $169 million deficit and at the same time finance the cost of new amendments—is faced with the necessity of providing new sources of revenue, first, by either increasing payroll contributions, and allowing the employee to take credit for the increase on his income-tax return, or, secondly, to subsidize the railroad retirement fund by a direct contribution from the Treasury of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, there is a definite need for a further liberalization of railroad retirement benefits. This need is as great today as it was a year ago, if not greater, due to the fact that the cost of living is still increasing and monthly benefits have not kept pace with it.

Those of us who represent districts with a heavy railroad population—both active and retired—know whereof we speak when we say retired railroaders and their families or their survivors are finding it difficult to exist on the present scale of benefits.

Even the active railroad employees and their families are concerned about inadequate benefits because they are looking forward to retirement and to having a retire-

ment system that will provide them with security for their retirement years.

Last year, Mr. Chairman, you will recall Congress provided an increase of less than 10 percent for certain annuitants, pensioners, and survivors.

In my opinion, this increase should have been an across-the-board increase with no exceptions. As it is, there were certain groups of beneficiaries—especially widows—who received no increase whatsoever, in this day and age, with the cost of living at an all-time high, it is impossible to explain to these groups why they were not included in the legislation granting increases in retirement benefits.

Should the Harris-Wolverton bill be approved the proposed 10 percent increase should apply to all annuitants, pensioners or their survivors without any exceptions. To do otherwise, you are simply inviting the charge of discrimination against those excluded from receiving the increase.

Speaking of discrimination, I would like to see the Harris-Wolverton bill amended by including a provision that would repeal the prohibition against the payment of dual benefits to spouses thereby making them eligible to receive spouse benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act and earned benefits which they have paid for by payroll contributions under the Social Security Act. After all, these spouses paid for social security benefits in their own right and they are entitled to them. In this connection, I understand the cost of such an amendment is minute as compared to the moral obligation of giving a person benefits they have paid for and acquired in their own right.

Another discriminatory practice that should be abolished is the requirement that an annuitant must sever all connections with employment outside the railroad industry before he becomes eligible for railroad retirement benefits.

In the earlier part of my statement, when explaining the purpose of my bills, H. R. 3118 and H. R. 3421, designed to repeal the requirement, I stated: "Here is a situation where a retired railroad employee is denied the opportunity to serve as a clerical employee of a church, civic, fraternal or social organization."

Mr. Chairman, if it is not possible to repeal this provision, I urge that we write into existed law a provision that will permit these retired employees to earn up to $100 monthly in this particular type of employment. In other words, such a ceiling on income would be comparable to the income limitations placed on persons retired because of disability.

Here again the cost of my bill, H. R. 3118, I am informed, would be insignificant and would have virtually no effect on the retirement fund.

Over a period of years, I have been besieged by thousands of my constituents actively employed in the railroad industry urging enactment of legislation that would reduce the retirement age to 60 years or permit retirement after 30 or 35 years of service with the annuity to be computed on the 5 years of highest earnings.

As a result of the interest of my constituents, I introduced in previous Congresses legislation to effect earlier retirement and I hope that during your deliberations you will give consideration to my two bills on the subject—H. R. 3115 and H. R. 3116.

Mr. Chairman, I want to reiterate the compelling need to liberalize the provisions of the Railroad Retirement Act and to increase its benefits.

This committee has a herculean task in trying to amend the Railroad Retirement Act and at the same time find the means of paying the cost of such amendments, as well as liquidate the $169 million deficit referred to by President Eisenhower.

As in previous years, like other Representatives whose districts have a heavy railroad population, I await the results of your deliberations on the many pending amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act now under consideration.

Whatever your decision is, I know it will be in the best interest of the railroad population both active and retired.

Mr. Chairman, in concluding I would like to recommend that the Railroad Retirement Board and the railway labor organizations be encouraged to conduct a campaign of education regarding the Railroad Retirement Act, its origin, its purpose, and the financial condition of the retirement fund.

During my congressional career, I have never encountered so much confusion in the minds of active and retired railroaders and their families over the financial condition of the retirement fund and its inability to absorb the cost of increased benefits.

In addition, I am being constantly reminded of greater social security benefits at a lower cost than the benefits paid under the Railroad Retirement Act. Recently the Railroad Retirement Board made available a comparison of the benefits received under the Railroad Retirement and Social Security Acts.

The comparison reveals the more attractive features of the Railroad Retirement Act which, if generally known, would answer critics of the Railroad Retirement Act. It is information of this type that could be made part of an educational program that would be instrumental in clarifying many questions in the minds of our railroad population.

Mr. Chairman, I should like at this point to include in my remarks a copy of the comparison of the benefits payable under the Railroad Retirement and Social Security Acts:

"HOW RAILROAD RETIREMENT AND SURVIVOR BENEFITS COMPARE WITH SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

"The railroad retirement and social security systems both provide protection against loss of income arising from the hazards of old age, disability, and death. Under the railroad retirement plan, amounts of benefits are generally substantially larger, and the protection is somewhat more comprehensive than under the social security plan. However, by the same token, the more liberal benefits under the railroad retirement plan are more costly; consequently, the railroad retirement taxes necessary to finance the system are higher than under the social security system.

"The major differences between the two systems may be summarized as follows:

"1. In general, railroad employees and their wives or survivors receive higher benefits. Moreover, in no case can monthly benefits be less than those under the social security formulas.

"2. Railroad employees with 10 or more years of service are protected against permanent disability for all regular work. Those with 20 or more years of service are also protected for work in their usual railroad occupations. In both cases, benefits may start at any age. Occupational disability benefits are also granted at age 60 to employees with 10 to 19 years of service. Effective July 1, 1957, social security employees may receive disability benefits at age 50, provided they are permanently disabled for all regular work; no provision is made for those only occupationally disabled.

"Nondisabled railroad employees may retire at age 60 if they have 30 years of service; in such cases, the annuity is reduced for men, but not for women. Under social security, no retirement benefits are payable to nondisabled male employees before age 65, nor to women employees before age 62. Furthermore, women who retire at age 62–64 must take a reduction in their annuities.

"3. Widows of railroad employees (even if not caring for eligible children) can receive monthly survivor annuities at age 60, as against age 62 under the Social Security Act.

"4. Railroad employees, but not employees under social security, are guaranteed that the retirement and survivor benefits paid in their cases will be greater than the taxes they contribute to the retirement system.

"It is natural that the more valuable protection railroad employees have would be more costly than that offered by the social-security system. At the present time, the railroad retirement tax rate (on employees and employers alike) is 6¼ percent of the employee's earnings up to $350 a month, while the rate under the social-security system is 2¼ percent on similar earnings. The railroad rate, however, has reached its maximum, while the social-security rate is scheduled to rise as follows: 1960–64, 2¾ percent; 1965–69, 3¼ percent; 1970–74, 3¾ percent; and 1975 and thereafter, 4¼ percent. In the long run, the tax rates under each system are designed to be sufficient to support the benefit structure.

"The data below compare the amounts of the various benefits paid under the two systems. The full effect of the disability freeze and dropout provisions of the 1954 amendments to the Social Security Act, and all of the provisions of the 1956 amendments to that law, are not yet fully reflected in the average benefits payable under the social-security system.

	Railroad retirement	Social security
RETIREMENT BENEFITS		
Present maximum to—		
Employee alone	[1] $184.30	$108.50
Employee and wife	[1] 238.60	162.80
Maximum benefit to—		
Employee alone with 40 continuous years of service after 1936	260.30	108.50
Employee and wife	314.60	162.80
Employee alone with 45 continuous years of service after 1936	294.50	108.50
Employee and wife	348.80	162.80
Average benefit awarded to—		
Employee alone	[2] 122.00	[3] 68.00
Wife or dependent husband	[2] 47.10	[3] 33.90
SURVIVOR BENEFITS		
Present maximum monthly annuity to—		
Widow	81.40	81.40
Widow and 1 child	162.80	162.80
Widow and 2 or more children	200.00	200.00
Insurance lump sum (payable under Railroad Retirement Act when no survivor is immediately entitled to a monthly benefit, but in most cases under Social Security Act).		
Present maximum to—		
Survivor of employee with 20 years of continuous service after 1936	[1] 701.00	255.00
Survivor of employee with 40 years of continuous service after 1936	852.00	255.00
Survivor of employee with 45 years of continuous service after 1936	856.00	255.00
Residual payment, which guarantees benefits greater than taxes payable regardless of employee's years of service, equal to 4 percent of taxable earnings 1937–46 plus 7 percent thereafter, less benefits previously paid	[4]	[4]
Present maximum assuming 20 years of service, 1937–56, and that $701 insurance lump sum was only other benefit previously paid	3,364.00	
Maximum assuming 40 years of service, 1937–76, and that $852 insurance lump sum was only other benefit paid	9,093.00	

[1] As of Jan. 1, 1957
[2] In January 1957.
[3] In October 1956.
[4] No provision.

(Office of Director of Research, United States Railroad Retirement Board, March 1957.)

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my statement.

St. Patrick's Day in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, March 17 is St. Patrick's Day and we, all Americans, join in the celebration.

Your neighbor may come
From the Emerald Isle—
Let's all wear a bit o' the green.
He's homesick, perhaps,
For his old domicile—
Let's all wear a bit o' the green.
St. Patrick it was
Who started the style—
Let's all wear a bit o' the green.
For the Irish a cheer,
For the shamrock a smile—
Let's all wear a bit o' the green.

This little rhyme by the American poet, Grace L. Schauffler, expresses a feeling and a custom that has been typically American since Colonial and Revolutionary times. There is some Irish in the ancestry of most of us, and those who are privileged to claim some Irish blood are proud to celebrate the fact by wearing the green on St. Patrick's Day. And those in whom no genealogical research can discover one drop of Irish blood are yet glad, on this day, to put on a shamrock or other bit of green, in tribute to Ireland and to the Irish contribution to America's greatness.

St. Patrick's Day has presumably been celebrated in America, at least privately and individually, ever since the first March 17th that found an Irishman on this continent, but the first record we find of a public observation of the occasion is in Puritan Boston, in 1737. There, on March 17, a group of Protestant gentlemen, Irish and of Irish descent, met to form the organization then called the Irish Society, but later named the Charitable Irish Society. Though this society, in its original form, excluded Catholics, it is good to note that its rules and orders were soon amended to remove this religious restriction, and to admit all of Irish birth or ancestry to fellowship. The Charitable Irish Society, now celebrating its 220th birthday, is probably the oldest Irish society in the United States, and as such deserves a special salute on St. Patrick's Day.

Twenty years later, on March 16, 1757, the garrison of Fort William Henry, at the head of Lake George, celebrated the eve of St. Patrick's Day with an extra ration of grog, that garrison being largely composed of Irish troops—and on the next day, St. Patrick's Day itself, they repulsed an attack of the French stationed at Fort Ticonderoga, who were perhaps expecting to catch them in the midst of revelry. How much revelry was actually going on at the time is not disclosed in the historical accounts, but it is said that Stark, with his Provincial Rangers, from whom he had sternly withheld the grog, took a leading part in repelling the assault.

At Fort Pitt, where Pittsburgh now stands, the feastday was celebrated in 1763—a celebration, though not entirely quiet, at least not made uproarious by any armed attack.

St. Patrick's Lodge, Johnstown, N. Y., organized in 1766, is said to have been the first Masonic lodge organized in the New York Province, west of the Hudson River. The first master of this lodge was the famous Sir William Johnson, Indian agent for the British in colonial America, and a native of County Meath, Ireland. Colonel Guy Johnson, Sir William's son-in-law, succeeded him as master of St. Patrick's Lodge in 1770, succeeded him also as British Indian agent. It is to be regretted that Col. Guy Johnson, a native of Ireland, was restrained neither by devotion to St. Patrick nor by masonic principles from taking part, during the Revolutionary War, in Indian massacres of settlers in the Mohawk Valley.

Each St. Patrick's Day during the Revolutionary War was marked by enthusiastic celebrations on both sides. The British Army in America was filled with Irishmen, many of them obtained by conscription, and the Revolutionary Army contained an even larger proportion of Irishmen, enthusiastic volunteers impelled by the twin motives of American patriotism and resentment of the British rule whose harshness had caused them to leave Ireland. It is by no accident that Boston's patriotic observance, Evacuation Day, coincides with St. Patrick's Day. On March 17, 1776, George Washington, in camp at Cambridge, appointed Gen. John Sullivan brigadier of the day, and authorized as the parole for the day, "Boston," with the countersign, "St. Patrick." It was thus in a thoroughly Irish spirit that the American troops took over the city upon the departure of the British.

In 1778 the Irish soldiers in the British Army staged a St. Patrick's Day parade in occupied Philadelphia, marching with one of their number, on horseback, dressed to represent St. Patrick. At the same time, in Washington's camp at Valley Forge, the celebration of the day was interrupted by the antics of some troublemakers. The ensuing row was halted by the appearance on the scene of George Washington himself, who promised punishment to the parties who had given offense, and is quoted as saying, "I, too, am a lover of St. Patrick's Day."

On March 16, 1780, Washington issued an order, fortunately still preserved, warmly testifying to his regard for the Irish and for their national day. Dated from his headquarters in Morristown, the order reads:

The general congratulates the Army on the very interesting proceeding of the Parliament of Ireland, and the inhabitants of that country, which have been lately communicated, not only as they appear calculated to remove those heavy and tyrannical oppressions on their trade, but to restore to a brave and generous people their ancient rights and freedom, and by their operation to promote the cause of America, desirous of impressing on the minds of the Army transactions so important in their nature, the general directs that all fatigue and working parties cease for tomorrow, the 17th, a day held in particular regard by the people of that nation. At the same time he orders, that as a mark of the pleasure he feels on the occasion, he persuades himself that the celebration of the day will not be attended with the least rioting or disorder. The officers to be at their quarters in camp, and the troops of each State line, are to be kept within their own encampments.

A subordinate officer, on this occasion, issued this supplementary order, providing for the traditional festivities:

The commanding officer desires that the celebration of the day should not pass by without having a little rum issued to the troops, and has thought proper to direct the commissary to send for the hogshead which the colonel has purchased already in the vicinity of the camp. While the troops are celebrating the bravery of St. Patrick in innocent mirth and pastime, he hopes they will not forget their worthy friends in the kingdom of Ireland, who, with the greatest unanimity, have stepped forward in opposition to the tyrant Great Britain, and who, like us, are determined to die or be free. The troops will conduct themselves with the greatest sobriety and good order.

This day was ushered in, in the American camp, with music and hoisting of colors, the 13 stripes of the American States, the harp that symbolized Ireland's national yearning for independence, and the inscription, The Independence of Ireland. The parole assigned to the day was "Saint," and the two countersigns "Patrick" and "Shelah."

On March 17, 1781, the American Army encamped at West Point held a parade in honor of St. Patrick, conducted largely by the Irish Rhode Islanders stationed there.

New York City has, of course, long been a notable center of the celebration of St. Patrick's Day, but it may not be known to all that the tradition now marked by the greatest St. Patrick's Day parade in the world can be traced back as far as 1762, when a public notice was inserted in the New York Mercury, inviting gentlemen to attend the celebration of the anniversary feast of St. Patrick at the house of Mr. John Marshall, at Mount Pleasant, near the college. The same paper for March 24, 1766, has a fascinating account of the toasts drunk at the St. Patrick's Day celebration just past:

Monday last being the Day of St. Patrick, tutelar saint of Ireland, was ushered in at the dawn, with fifes and drums, which produced a very agreeable harmony before the doors of many gentlemen of that nation, and others.

Many of them assembled, and spent a joyous though orderly evening at the house of Mr. Bardin in this city, where the following healths were drunk, viz.:

1. The King and Royal House of Hanover.
2. The Governor and Council of the Province.
3. The glorious memory of King William, etc.
4. The memory of the late Duke of Cumberland.
5. The day; and prosperity to Ireland.
6. Success to the Sons of Liberty in America, may they never want money, interest, nor courage to maintain their just rights.
7. Mr. Pitt.
8. General Conway.
9. May the enemies of America be branded with infamy and disdain.

10. May the honest heart never know distress.
11. The Protestant interest.
12. May all acts of Parliament contrary to the American interest be laid aside.
13. Success to American manufacturers.
14. May the true Sons of Liberty never want roast beef nor claret.
15. More friends and less need.
16. Conquest to the lover and honor to the brave.
17. May we never want courage when we come to the trial.
18. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
19. May the enemies of Ireland never eat the bread nor drink the whisky of it, but be tormented with itching without the benefit of scratching.
20. Our noble selves.

This list, aside from its intimidating character as a list of toasts drunk, is most interesting as indicating how the Irish, on this day of rejoicing, have always been able to meet in jovial goodwill, despite religious and political differences. There must have been, in this celebration, many a devoted Tory downing the toast to success to the Sons of Liberty in America and many colonists of revolutionary spirit drinking to British kings, living and dead. Many a Catholic surely drank on this occasion to the Protestant interest, and many a Protestant American, of Irish ancestry, learned to put his whole heart into the sentiment that included his Catholic neighbor in the toast, "Our noble selves."

Today, let all America wear green for St. Patrick, and for the Irish courage and laughter that is in us. Let each of us, in his own way, raise a toast or a cheer in the good old Irish and neighborly fashion, for "Our noble selves."

What To Do About Ex-Presidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include two informative articles, one written by John Harris and appearing in the Boston Globe of February 24, 1957, and the other written by Jay Walz and appearing in the New York Times of February 10, 1957:

[The Boston Sunday Globe of February 24, 1957]

WHAT TO DO ABOUT EX-PRESIDENTS—WHILE PRESIDENT PROPOSITIONS TRUMAN ABOUT TRIP TO GREECE, CONGRESS DEBATES RETIREMENT PAY FOR CHIEF EXECUTIVES—MOST NEVER NEED IT, SOME NEED IT BADLY

(By John Harris)

President Eisenhower's efforts to enlist Ex-President Harry S. Truman as a goodwill envoy to the Middle East invites attention to a century-long debate Congress has resumed—what the Nation should do about our former Presidents.

Many ideas have been advanced. They have ranged the gamut from making ex-Presidents nonvoting Members of the Senate to chopping off their heads when they finally leave the White House, a grisly suggestion once made by a former Chief Executive.

Congress is presently on the verge of solving part of this long-neglected problem. The Senate, with few dissents, has voted to grant pensions to these elder citizens of the republic and to their widows. An identical bill is now pending in the House, which last session permitted similar legislation to die in committee.

Gratitude, it is said, is not a marketable commodity. All too many of our former Presidents have sadly found this to be true.

Our two living Ex-Presidents, Herbert Hoover and Harry S. Truman, are fortunately not in want. This session's brighter prospects for the presidential pension bill, however, must be gratifying to all thoughtful citizens. Even more than insurance for the future, it is after a fashion a redress for our past negligence.

DEATH SAVED JEFFERSON

Witty Dolly Madison, who was to suffer, put it vividly as she looked out one day upon the trees at the side entrance to the President's house. "The President of the United States," she murmured, "usually comes in at the iron gate and goes out at the weeping willows."

A visitor today to the grandeur of Monticello would find it difficult to appreciate the anguish of its master, the author of our Declaration of Independence. Jefferson's dedication to public service caused him to neglect his private affairs. Only the generosity of a wealthy widow furnished him the ready cash to meet the demands of the Capital's butcher, baker, and candlestick maker so he could avoid the risk of debtor's prison when he left the White House.

"Nobody," said Jefferson, "was ever more determined than I was to leave this place clear of debt." Even worse debt was ahead. It has been blamed on Jefferson's incurable hospitality, though the cause was more the decline of Virginia plantations, a farm problem of its day.

He sold land, mortgaged Monticello to the hilt. To obtain funds, this man who said "I cannot live without books," sold his library he had been collecting for a half century. It became the foundation of our present Library of Congress. Finally, to satisfy creditors and to keep his family from penury, he resolved to sell his remaining holdings through a lottery and sent his grandson on a melancholy mission to obtain a lottery license from the State of Virginia. Death alone spared Jefferson from being evicted.

FIGHTING POVERTY

The fate of Jefferson's two disciples, James Madison and James Monroe, was similar.

Grants given Monroe by Congress did not adequately cover his claims and fell far short of meeting his debts. He lost his Virginia estate to creditors. He spent his final days living on the charity of relatives in lower New York City, and we have a pathetic picture of the author of the Monroe Doctrine walking Broadway—"a stooped old man, clothed in a shiny suit and battered beaver hat, giving every evidence in his facial expression of deep-seated unhappiness."

Madison, shocked by Jefferson's bankruptcy, tried retrenchments on his own Virginia plantation which his widow would one day lose. To provide her with some estate, Madison, despite failing eyesight and rheumatic hands, copied the precious notes he had made during the secret debates of the convention which drafted our Constitution.

Dolly Madison eventually sold them to Congress for a fraction of their worth.

She lived for years in the Capital in honored but genteel poverty, her food often supplied from the market basket of her neighbor, Daniel Webster.

Financial woes beset Andrew Jackson in his declining years. "Poverty stares us in the face," he wrote on one occasion. Though gravely ill, he traveled to New Orleans for the 25th anniversary of the battle, a trip made not to gather further honors but to raise money to meet the debts of his beloved stepson.

General Grant, second youngest of our Presidents with presumably many years ahead, was a man without an occupation when he left the White House. The collapse of his venture in Wall Street left him penniless. To satisfy creditors he even pawned the mementoes of a lifetime, his swords, souvenirs, and gifts.

The general's greatest battle was his final one. Despite the ravages of cancer, he struggled to dictate and write two volumes of memoirs to provide his family with funds.

"Every day, every hour, is a week of agony," he said; finishing his task 4 days before he expired.

Congress has been more kindly with presidential widows. Some, whose husbands died in office or were assassinated, were given grants of the remaining year's salary.

To some, beginning with Mary Todd Lincoln, Congress voted a $5,000 pension and the franking privilege—one first extended to Martha Washington. Mrs. Lincoln, after Lincoln was shot, went to Germany to recover her health. Finding herself in need, she wrote a most moving letter to the Speaker of the House to request a pension.

NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS

Teddy Roosevelt considered the disposition of ex-Presidents one of America's biggest problems. The pros and cons on it are threadbare from argument. Andrew Carnegie's offer—in 1912—to furnish $25,000 pensions through private benefactions did not meet with public approval. Great Britain has long provided pensions for its prime ministers. We have provided pensions for generals and admirals—but none for the Commanders in Chief.

Now Congress, about to act, has repeated all the favorable contentions in a report on the pending bill. They are commended reading for those who may still dissent.

Assurance of financial independence for our former Chief Executives, says the report, is more than a matter of equity. It is good business for the American people. Our interest in Presidents does not cease when they leave office. They have obligations which continue. So have the American people.

We should see to it ex-Presidents can be asked to render further public service without hardship to themselves or their families.

[From the New York Times of February 10, 1957]

WHY PENSIONS FOR EX-PRESIDENTS?—COUNTRY MIGHT USE THEIR SERVICES

(By Jay Walz)

WASHINGTON, February 9.—The debate over pensions for retiring Presidents has sent contenders to their history books. And, as usual, the histories are turning up something for all sides.

It can be argued that Presidents out of office have, on the whole, done pretty well on their own. But it can also be shown that a few needed a steady income in the worst way. A great many more might have been able to serve their country better as elder statesmen if they had been relieved of financial worries.

The Senate has approved a bill providing $25,000 a year pensions for former Presidents, as well as office space and clerical assistance. Speaker SAM RAYBURN has promised to get House consideration on it soon.

The fact is that no President of recent times has needed a pension in the strict sense, although some might have used one to good purpose.

COOLIDGE WROTE

Calvin Coolidge, a man of few words and modest means, turned to writing after leaving the White House. His autobiography, appearing both in magazine installments and book form, and a series of brief daily columns paid for a 12-room house in Northampton, Mass., and some stock invest-

ments. He also became a director of the New York Life Insurance Co.

One has to go back to President Grant for an example of a former President in dire need. A complication of misadventures threw him into bankruptcy in the early 1880's. To pull himself out of it he began writing his memoirs while fighting cancer of the throat. The memoirs, completed just before he died, realized about $450,000 for his family.

Both Washington and Jefferson ended their days as land-poor country squires. The first President, who had never accepted a salary, tried selling off sections of Mount Vernon. Jefferson, who twice sold a personal library to Congress, thought of liquidating Monticello in a lottery scheme. But public protests and private funds intervened.

MONROE WAS AIDED

James Monroe, after retiring to his Virginia home, suffered financial setbacks. In 1826 Congress voted him $30,000 in settlement of claims for services he had rendered overseas years before. Even so, after the death of his wife in 1830, he moved to New York to make his home with his daughter.

Andrew Jackson, after seeing Martin Van Buren elected in 1836, went home to the Hermitage outside Nashville. There Old Hickory lived and worked peacefully the remaining 9 years of his life.

But Andrew Johnson, a fellow Tennessean, on leaving the White House in 1869, returned to his native State itching for vengeance on his detractors. He quickly got back into State politics. After two unsuccessful tries for elective office he took his seat in the Senate he had left 13 years before. He felt vindicated, but died of a heart attack after the first session.

John Tyler, elevated to the highest office from the Vice Presidency in 1840, retired to Sherwood Forest in Virginia at the age of 55. He lived quietly as a farmer until the outbreak of the Civil War. His efforts at reconciliation failing, he became a secessionist and died a member of the Confederate House of Representatives.

HAYES' MANSION

Rutherford B. Hayes returned in 1881 to his home in Ohio, enlarged it to a mansion and devoted his remaining years to his library, to speaking engagements and to various humanitarian causes.

Many believe Grover Cleveland may have come as close as any former President to living the full life of a man who once held the highest office in the land.

He was in much demand for writing and speechmaking. Princeton made him a trustee. Later President Theodore Roosevelt sought his help on a public commission during a severe hard-coal strike. In 1905 he assisted in reorganization of the Equitable Life Assurance Society.

Other former Presidents, including Mr. Hoover and Mr. Truman, have stood ready to give the country the benefit of their experience in years of public service. Pension advocates believe their plans would make it possible for all veterans of the White House to do the same.

Corn and Feed Grain Program

SPEECH

OF

HON. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4901) to establish a minimum acreage allotment for corn, to provide acreage-reserve programs for diverted acres and for feed grains, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN].

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, we are in a confused muddle when it comes to this legislation with 3 or 4 amendments pending.

I am opposed to the Poage substitute. No one can predict, in spite of what the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] says, as to the cost of that program. No one can predict how much money will be diverted from one area to another area, to take care of the peanuts, cotton, tobacco, and ricelands in diverted acres. When the funds are allocated in the corn signup, which I have heard is to be around $149 million—if that increased acreage of corn is 51 million acres, it will mean they will have to extend the time of the signup to take in that new acreage, and the amount of new cornland going into the program may be increased to use the entire $219 million which will be appropriated. So that for anyone on either side of the aisle to make any accurate estimate of how much can go into this diverted feed grain area is beyond my comprehension, and I am satisfied that even the Department of Agriculture will be unable to make any estimate as to what the signup will be in the event we increase the acreage to 51 million acres.

Another thing, it will take thousands of employees of the Department of Agriculture, at a cost of at least $30 million, to go out over the country in the basic commodity areas to determine what acreage had been diverted from tobacco, cotton, and peanuts.

I am standing by my support of the Harrison bill. That is a sound bill and will not cost any more money than will be provided in the budget. It is a bill that the farmers want in the commercial corn area. We ought to give them what they want. As I said, it will not increase the expenditure of funds. It will not increase the appropriations this year, and if you are interested in economy you ought to vote down the Poage bill, vote down the Cooley bill, and vote for the Harrison amendment as it has been proposed to you here.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I yield.

Mr. ARENDS. I was called to the long-distance telephone and I did not get to hear the statement the gentleman just made, but someone informed me that the gentleman made the statement that it would increase the cost. Is it true that the best estimate you have available of the cost of the Poage bill will be an additional $30 million?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. That is right.

Mr. ARENDS. In other words, we are voting for $30 million more than we said we would vote yesterday?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Thirty million over and above the amount requested heretofore.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I yield.

Mr. HALLECK. As a matter of fact, is it not inevitable that unless we are kidding these people who are going to divert acres and put them into the soil bank, in feed-grain areas, this program is bound to cost millions and millions of dollars?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. There is no question about that.

Mr. HALLECK. Otherwise they could not participate.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Yankee Homecoming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a statement by Jack Frost, president, Yankee Homecoming, to New England Members of Congress, Thursday, March 14, Washington, D. C.:

WHAT IS A YANKEE?

To Europeans, any American is a Yankee; westerners call folks east of the Mississippi Yankees; and some southerners call all northerners Yankees. Back in the old days Yankeeland was that area touching Passamaquoddy Bay, on the northeast, and including all New England and that part of New York east of its first river.

But we feel Yankee is not a race, religion, or geographical designation; that it is a creed—a belief in American ingenuity, free enterprise, and respect for another's rights, property, and personal liberty.

Are you a Yankee? There is a big welcome awaiting you in the New England States in 1958. This is a year-long promotion beginning in 1958.

WHAT WILL THE PLAN COST?

Yankee Homecoming, impressive as it will be, should not cost one extra dollar of anybody's money. The entire project will cost over $1 million to promote, and it will have an incalculable impact.

The amazing thing about this promotion is that the dollars spent will not be extra dollars, but the same dollars usually spent separately by States and industries, directed now toward a central theme, namely Yankee Homecoming. So that instead of scattering dollars aimlessly with minor themes and minor impact, competitors, noncompetitors, State and local government agencies, and private industries channel the same money in dynamic fashion into a basic theme and thus make an effective impression on the entire country.

Businessmen realize that 2 or 3 department stores in the same area will individually do more volume than if one store were there alone, for the group makes the area a shopping center. Likewise, the New England States pooling their resources and working in unison can win more business for each State than through the lone-wolf approach used in the past. Everybody will want to be here in 1958.

The homecoming theme is big enough and poignant enough to sustain an entire year's activities, not just one season. Thus double benefits accrue by spurring offseason tourist travel—in magical winter, glorious spring,

and lovely Indian summer—when New England is at its best and accommodations are most plentiful. Just picture the autumn foliage pilgrimage up and down Yankee trails.

I personally have an investment equity of $34,000 in Yankee Homecoming. I hope to recover it and make myself a dollar, too. But my greatest satisfaction will be in stirring the pulse of my native New England.

Although one or two principals are not mentioned, the following firms and individuals are among the small nucleus responsible for helping me when my own resources became limited, so that we could continue with this plan. They are: Sherman L. Whipple, Jr., president, Wiggin Terminals; S. Bruce Black, chairman, Liberty Mutual Insurance Co.; New England Electric Co.; Joseph Sullivan, Lowell printer; Paul T. Rothwell. Without these civic-minded gentlemen who believe in volatile salesmanship to tell the New England story, Yankee Homecoming would still be just an idea.

INDUSTRY SUPPORTS THIS NOVEL INDUSTRIAL AND TRAVEL PROMOTION

Massachusetts industrialists are furnishing the secondary capital to get Yankee Homecoming rolling on a New England-wide basis after initial expenditures by Jack Frost. Major capital will come from similar sources throughout the six States because of the fundamental soundness of the plan. Its basic principle goes back to a fable writer of several centuries before Christ.

Aesop wrote of the farmer who called his sons to him and gave them a bundle of sticks to break . . . which none of them could accomplish. He then untied the bundle and gave them sticks to break one by one, which they did easily.

"Thus, my sons, as long as you remain united, you are a match for all your enemies; but differ and separate, and you are undone."

Yankee Homecoming organizes the New England States to work together and prosper together in such fashion, thus increasing the impact and decreasing the individual cost.

PUBLIC CAN BOOST HOMECOMING

The public, as well as State governments and industry can boost Yankee Homecoming a year in advance.

When a letter is written or a card posted, mention the grand pilgrimage of pageantry that will take place in 1958. Of course, official Yankee Homecoming post cards will be available in 1957 for certain areas, showing a picture and description of the forthcoming event in that area. Use these. There are other items of fine souvenir and gift value that will be made available to the public for 1957.

Everyone loves a parade or a pageant, but so, too, does everyone love to participate. So check with your local chamber of commerce, mayor, or homecoming committee and become a part of the festivities in your town. It is hoped that at least half the towns and cities in New England will participate in the effort. Because, no matter where a tourist may be during homecoming, we want him to feel welcome and a part of the community.

Its appeal to States is that each State will profit in its turn as this gigantic moving world's fair of New England rotates from State to State in its major activities, each of 52 homecoming weeks apportioned according to season and events. The homecoming committee will work with clubs, organizations, chambers of commerce, church groups, and other existing bodies and agencies, organizing the manifold field activities. Prominent Yankees in show business, the arts, and letters will be invited back to their birthplaces and add to the zest at welcomings and festivals.

WHO WILL BENEFIT AND HOW?

First, the touring American public as a whole will benefit from exposure while at their leisure—on vacation—to the basic concepts of free enterprise and individual freedom that began in the six New England States. It will be a sort of patriotic rebirth.

Secondly, New England as a whole will benefit, not only from the extra tourist dollars that will result, but from the rubbing of elbows with the rest of the world, and by having once again, as in olden times, a guest in the house.

Thirdly, hotels and restaurants will benefit, both from the tourists and industrialists who will return on vacation, and from the conventions of firms whose early beginnings were in New England. Travel and transportation people will benefit here and throughout the United States. The greatest benefit will come to the six New England States which, by working together like the husbandman's sons in Aesop's story, will learn the advantages of joint promotional efforts.

In addition to numerous reconstructions of old Yankee life such as the forthcoming Mayflower Passage, Old Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts, Shelburne Museum in Vermont, Mystic Seaport in Connecticut, we have Yankee villages that are shrines of themselves.

We have scores of "Williamsburghs," except they have been here, not funded by the Rockefellers, just parts of our living Yankee past from which many pioneers set out. Places like Nantucket and Cape Cod, Mass.; Camden, Maine; Old Lyme, Conn.; Portsmouth, N. H.; parts of Bristol, Old Newport, R. I.; Stowe and Peachem in Vermont.

Add local citizens in period costumes and you have an event; add mayors, governors or congressmen, famous citizens who've come home and you have a big event; add parades, pageants, and festivals, and good down-East food, and you have a festival.

We have lobster and seafood festivals; art and music festivals; ham and bean suppers and clam bakes; foliage and sugaring-off festivals; add to these scheduled family reunions, college reunions; seminars, symposiums, conferences, conventions, and grand tours; toss in a few delegations of distinguished guests from foreign countries, States such as California, New York, Florida, where there are myriad "expatriate" Yankees; a few steamshipsful of expatriates from abroad and European relatives of those who came here from Scandinavian nations, France, Germany, Italy, Ireland, and the British Isles, and you have a glamor and excitement that'll be hard to beat.

The industrial homecoming that is part of the plan (inducing New England's barefoot boys of yesterday, who have captained huge plants West and South to come back to their New England and build plants for 100 or 10 employees, and live while they work) will help reduce tax rates by increasing the number of local industries.

We'd appreciate your endorsement of our project, your collective good will, and a continuation of the enthusiastic individual support that we have already received from several members. Thank you for the pleasure and the privilege of speaking to you.

The Members of the New England delegation after Mr. Frost's presentation, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That we New England Members of Congress herewith pledge our active support to Yankee Homecoming and its program to bring many more visitors than usual to New England next year to enjoy our recreational attractions, to view our historical shrines and to learn our industrial progress and opportunities.

Resolved, That we also call on all New Englanders to join in this great enterprise and urge their relatives and friends outside New England to come and visit us next year and enjoy the famous open-door hospitality of our wonderful region.

Statement Introducing Secretary Folsom's Letter to the United States Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SAMUEL K. McCONNELL, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Marion B. Folsom, on March 8, 1957, addressed a letter to John S. Coleman, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, calling attention to certain statements in the chamber's publication.

In seeking to correct and clarify such statements, which Mr. Folsom believes to be misleading and inaccurate, he is rendering a real service to the American people and to us who represent them in Congress, and who will have to consider school construction legislation.

The letter is particularly significant in view of Mr. Folsom's long and close association with business organizations, including the Chamber of Commerce of the United States itself. A former treasurer of the Eastman Kodak Co., Mr. Folsom was for 6 years a director of the United States Chamber, and has served as president of the local chamber in his own city of Rochester, N. Y. He was a founder and chairman of the committee for economic development—CED, an influential business organization. He has served as Vice Chairman of the Business Advisory Council to the Commerce Department and is a leader in the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Industrial Conference Board, and the American Management Association.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., March 11, 1957.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Marion B. Folsom, today released the following letter to John S. Coleman, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States:

MARCH 8, 1957.

Mr. JOHN S. COLEMAN,
President, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. COLEMAN: Several Members of Congress, newspaper editors, and others have called my attention recently to publications of the United States Chamber of Commerce which discuss Federal assistance for public school construction.

From my experience as a director of the United States Chamber for 6 years, and as a former president of my local chamber, I know that you and your associates seek to uphold high standards of reliability in the basic information you present to the public.

I have, therefore, been surprised and deeply disappointed at certain seriously misleading and inaccurate statements in the chamber's publications. I feel that you would want me to call these inaccuracies to your attention.

I fully respect the chamber's right to oppose—and oppose vigorously—the President's school construction program. The public, however, is entitled to accurate basic information upon which to judge this significant issue.

Before discussing specific examples, I should like to emphasize that the Department's school statistics are compiled from data reported by the State education agencies. These agencies are closest to the situation and, I believe, best able to get the facts. The chamber's presentation reports some of this information incorrectly and ignores a major part of it.

The chamber's Washington report of February 1 undertakes to compare the number of classrooms built with the number of classrooms needed for enrollment increases in the school years 1947–1948 through the current year, 1956–1957. The chamber's conclusion is that 490,000 classrooms were built while only 291,000 were needed for increased enrollment.

This presentation is misleading and erroneous in several respects.

First, the Washington report ignores the new classroom needs resulting from obsolescence, population shifts, school consolidation, or losses due to fire and natural disasters.

All these factors combined represent a considerable additional need for new classrooms each year. By a conservative estimate these needs range from 14,000 to 20,000 classrooms each year. Thus, over the 10-year period, these needs alone amount to about 140,000 to 200,000 classrooms.

Second, the chamber makes a major error in comparing construction during one school year with the increased enrollment at the begininng of that same year.

The schools, of course, need to have classrooms available when the pupils enroll, not later. An accurate presentation would compare construction during one school year with the classrooms needed to meet enrollment increases at the start of the next year.

To illustrate this point, I cite the discussion in the chamber's February issue of News and Cues. This publication states: "In 1947, spiraling enrollments required approximately 9,500 new classrooms. School boards all over the Nation countered by building 16,000."

Actually, the need for 9,500 new rooms for increased enrollment in September 1947 should be compared with the 9,000 rooms built in the school year 1946–47. And the 16,000 rooms built in the school year 1947–48 should be compared with a need of 19,000 rooms for increased enrollment alone in September 1948.

Third, not only is the basis for comparison wrong, but some of the classroom figures cited by the chamber are inaccurate in themselves.

News and Cues states that "in 1955–56, 38,500 were needed—67,000 were built." Actually, the State education agencies report that 62,500 classrooms were built last school year, not 67,000.

News and Cues further states: "Topping this picture, the Office of Education's most recent estimate placed the need for 1956–57 at 41,300 classrooms—69,000 were built." In this statement the chamber is counting rooms that have not yet been built. The figure of 69,000 was an estimate by the State education agencies of the rooms they expected to be built by next fall. Whether this rate of construction will actually be achieved is, of course, not certain.

To summarize these points, the chamber does not present a true picture when it concludes that 490,000 classrooms were built while only 291,000 were needed for enrollment increases; a more accurate and complete presentation, corrected to reflect the factors I have cited, would show that needs for some 444,000 to 504,000 additional classrooms developed during the last 10 years, while only 406,000 were built.

These figures, of course, deal only with a specific 10-year period. A further important factor—omitted from the chamber's figures—is the backlog of shortage which first began to build up during the depression and World War II, when school construction was very limited.

The Washington Report states, "It is becoming increasingly apparent that demands for Federal school construction funds aren't the result of needs." The publication further contends that its presentation "shows clearly that local and State action is meeting needs."

For 3 years in a row, the Office of Education has asked the State school agencies to report on the number of pupils in excess of normal capacity of the schools in use. For 3 years in a row, the figure has been about the same—2¼ million children above capacity. These children, with millions of their classmates, have been forced into half-day sessions, makeshift facilities, or obviously overcrowded rooms. Since there has been no appreciable reduction in this figure over 3 successive years, it is obvious that State and local efforts are falling far short of meeting classroom needs.

To get more complete information on the total classroom shortage, the Office of Education last fall also asked the State education agencies to report on total additional classrooms needed at the start of this school year. The State agencies estimated 80,000 additional rooms were needed simply to accommodate the excess enrollment mentioned in the previous paragraph. Further, the States reported an additional 79,000 classrooms were needed to replace facilities now unfit for use. Thus the State agencies estimated the total backlog of shortage at the start of this school year at 159,000 classrooms.

Little progress is being made in reducing this shortage. The enrollment increase next fall will require 45,000 new rooms, and additional replacement needs will require 14,000 to 20,000, for a total additional need of 59,000 to 65,000 new rooms. Thus, even if the estimated 69,000 new classrooms are completed, the backlog of shortage would be reduced by only 4,000 to 10,000 rooms.

At this rate the classroom shortage, far from being solved, would continue to handicap the education of many children for many years.

Finally, Washington Report states that "Federal-aid advocates obviously are attempting to establish the principle of Federal financing and control from which they can leap into actual control of the schools."

There is no sound or justifiable basis for this statement.

The President has repeatedly stated his deep conviction that Federal support can and must be administered without Federal control of education. The Federal Government has financially supported education in various ways for over 100 years without imposing Federal domination. In recent years, for example, the Federal Government has invested $18 billion to help war veterans continue their education, and $1.2 billion to help build and operate schools in communities overburdened by nearby Federal defense installations. These activities have not resulted in Federal control of the schools. Furthermore, the proposed legislation specifically prohibits any Federal "direction, supervision, or control over the personnel, curriculum, or program of instruction of any school or school system."

In my long and pleasant association with the chamber, I have learned to appreciate the chamber's contributions over the years in calling attention to the value of good schools and in encouraging community support for improvements in education. I firmly believe that the primary responsibility for meeting classroom needs must remain at the State and local levels. The President has said many times, however, that Federal assistance is needed now on an emergency basis to help remove the backlog of shortage. Then States and communities can meet future needs as they develop. The administration's proposals are carefully designed to encourage greater State and local efforts.

In the interest of better public understanding of the classroom problem, I am making this letter public.

Sincerely yours,

M. B. FOLSOM.

STATEMENT BY MARION B. FOLSOM, SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, BEFORE THE GENERAL EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, TUESDAY, MARCH 12, 1957

I am glad to meet with the subcommittee again to clarify certain points concerning the President's proposal for Federal assistance for classroom construction.

I have followed your hearings these past few weeks with deep interest, and, at times, with deep concern. I have been concerned because some of the statements to the subcommittee have been seriously misleading and some have been clearly inadequate.

One of the strange developments during the hearings has been the effort to picture the classroom shortage as a mirage or a figment of imagination. I wish it were possible to eliminate the shortage simply by adroit juggling of figures. But unfortunately the handicaps imposed on our children by a shortage of classrooms cannot be removed in this fashion.

We have here an anomalous situation. Those who deny the existence of a serious shortage offer no new or additional information of their own. They have accepted bits and pieces of data from the Office of Education and various other sources. They have used these data out of context, or only in part, to try to prove their theory. And yet they do not accept, in fact they dispute, the one clear conclusion reached by all the surveys from which they quote in part. Every responsible nationwide survey of actual conditions has concluded that there is a substantial, widespread, and continuing classroom shortage.

This was the conclusion from the data reported by State education agencies in response to the most recent questionnaire, last fall, from the Office of Education. This was the conclusion from the school facilities survey, undertaken more than 4 years ago, using quite different methods. This was the conclusion from independent surveys made for the White House Conference on Education and the National Education Association.

I will not repeat here all the data which show the gravity of the classroom shortage, but I would like to review a few principal points.

The Office of Education questionnaire last fall asked the States to estimate the number of children in excess of normal capacity of the schools in use. This was the third successive year in which the States have reported on this item. And for the third year in a row the figure was about the same—about 2¼ million children above capacity.

These children are not imaginary. They are in school today, and they can be counted with reasonable accuracy. It is very important to understand that not only this overflow of 2¼ million students but millions of their classmates are affected by the shortage. For example, in a class with 50 students, only 15 might be counted as excess enrollment. And yet all of the 50 pupils would be affected by serious overcrowding, by half-day sessions, by emergency use of makeshift quarters, or by whatever expedient the school is forced to resort to. And so the education of all these millions of children—not just the 2¼ million—is adversely affected by the lack of adequate facilities.

As you know, the States estimated 80,000 new classrooms were needed last fall just to accommodate this overflow of enrollment. Further, the States estimated 79,000 addi-

tional classrooms were needed to replace facilities which may not be overcrowded but which are simply unfit for use. Thus the State education agencies estimated the total shortage at the start of this school year amounted to about 159,000 classrooms.

I have been surprised that the reliability of data reported by the State education agencies has been challenged during these hearings. The State education agencies are closest to the situation and, I believe, best able to get the facts. If those who question the reliability of the State school agencies have a better source of information, I am sure the subcommittee and the Department would be glad to hear about it.

Since the existence of the classroom shortage has been challenged, the subcommittee may be interested in additional information about last fall's questionnaire. The Office of Education reports evidence that 28 States made a survey of local school systems to obtain the data requested. The other States apparently reported data on hand in the State education agencies.

The questionnaire was sent to the chief school officer in each State. The returns were signed by the chief official or his assistant in 7 States; by the chief of a major division, such as research and statistics, in 32 States; by a special consultant in 4 States; and by a statistician or research official below the rank of chief in 6 States.

In compiling results of the survey, the Office of Education sent 23 letters and made 12 long-distance telephone calls to confirm the accuracy of specific information reported. After all the data had been compiled in one complete testative table, this table was sent to each State department of education for final verification, and several adjustments were made then.

No survey should be expected to measure the shortage down to the last classroom. Estimates inevitably will vary according to the standards and methods employed and the circumstances at the time of the survey. There is no sound reason to doubt, however, that the results of this questionnaire confirm the broad outline of a very serious classroom shortage. And this shortage will not be erased by statistical legerdemain or by pretending it does not exist.

No one could be more anxious than I for the States and communities to solve this problem with their own resources. But they face circumstances they have never faced before—a grave shortage inherited from many past years, plus continuing enrollment increases which far exceed any in our history. It is time to face up to the hard fact that, despite strenuous efforts for many years, the States and communities are not solving this problem. Progress has been made, but a grave shortage still persists. Some communities simply do not have the resources to build the schools they need. Unless they get help, the education of children will continue to suffer.

The President, therefore, has strongly recommended that the Federal Government join with the States in helping financially needy communities eliminate their backlog of shortage. Once this backlog has been removed, the States and communities can and should meet future needs on their own resources. The administration's program, as you know, is carefully designed to encourage increased State and local effort for school construction.

One of the objections raised to this program is that it calls for excessive Federal spending and dangerously increases the size of the Federal budget. The fact is that the President's budget, including the school program, provides for a surplus for the third successive year. Surely the richest Nation on earth can afford to provide adequate schools for its children. In any age, to economize at the expense of the education of children is a false economy. Especially in today's circumstances, such a false economy could be detrimental to our national security and our expanding prosperity. I know of no sounder or more prudent investment, from either an economic or a social view, than the education of children.

The opponents of Federal assistance have renewed the old argument that this program somehow would lead to Federal control and domination of education in this country. There is no sound or justifiable basis for this contention. All that is proposed here is that Federal funds be allotted to the States over the next 4 years, to be administered by the States in helping financially hard-pressed communities provide bricks and mortar for more schools. But the important point is that once the schools have been built, the local authorities would take title to the buildings and the Federal Government would have no contact or connection whatsoever with the operation of the schools.

The opponents say: "Yes; but this program would be the foot in the door or the camel's nose in the tent." The answer is that the Federal Government has been financially supporting education in various ways for almost a century, and there is no Federal domination of education today. The President has repeatedly stated his deep conviction that Federal support can and must be administered without Federal control of education.

Another worn and fallacious contention has been that large amounts of the proposed Federal funds would be required for administrative expenses and somehow a large portion would never get back for the direct benefit of the people in the States and communities. Yet, the plain fact is that the budget provides only two-tenths of 1 percent of the proposed funds for administrative purposes. Even counting the cost of collecting Federal revenues and other overhead expenses, it is clear that 99 percent of the proposed funds would be distributed for actual use by communities to help build needed schools.

In developing its legislative and budget proposals this year, the administration carefully reviewed the school construction program. In his messages to Congress, the President reiterated his deep conviction that this program is urgently needed and that it would be a sound and prudent investment of Federal funds. I can assure the subcommittee that the President, while deeply concerned over the need for economy in government, still feels that the school program should have a high priority. He has recommended, as you know, that the program now be undertaken in 4 years instead of 5.

Our concept has been that Federal grants should be channeled to those communities which have the most acute shortage and the least local resources to build needed schools. We do not propose that the Federal Government should provide all the funds to eliminate the total classroom shortage. We believe Federal aid should be designed to encourage greater State and local effort, and to help bridge the gap where community resources are inadequate. In my opinion, certain proposals before the subcommittee call for a larger Federal amount than is needed. These proposals would double or triple the amount of the Federal grants proposed by the administration. Such large Federal grants are neither necessary nor desirable. Such large Federal expenditures would tend to discourage rather than encourage the maximum effort by States and communities.

The Federal Government has a responsibility, in the national interest, to help erase the classroom shortage. The Federal Government also has a responsibility, however, to spend funds to this end in the most effective and efficient manner. With this purpose in mind, I again urge the subcommittee to consider most carefully the proposed methods for distributing Federal funds among the States.

As you know, the administration's program would distribute the grants on the basis of both school-age population and relative financial income. Other proposals would distribute Federal funds according to population alone. The Office of Education has just completed a new analysis which illustrates strikingly the very important differences between these two methods.

This new analysis shows that the 12 wealthiest States in per capita income have an average of $10,655 in annual income to support each school-age child. These same 12 States have more than half of all the income in the country. They are now building, on their own, about 45 percent of all the schools being built in the country this year. And they have less than one-fourth of the actual classroom shortage this year.

And yet, under a distribution system based on population alone, these States would receive almost 40 percent of the Federal grants.

On the other hand, the 12 lowest States in per capita income have an average of only $4,416 income annually per school-age child. They have only 12 percent of the total national income. They are building only 16 percent of the rooms being built this year. And they have well over 35 percent of the current classroom shortage.

And yet, if grants are distributed according to population alone, these States would get only 22 percent of the Federal aid.

Under the administration's proposal, on the other hand, the 12 wealthiest States would receive 27 percent of the Federal grants. The 12 lowest-income States, where the shortage is most acute, would receive 32 percent of the Federal aid.

It is clearly unwise to concentrate Federal aid in those States which have far more income, which already are building far more schools on their own, and which have a relatively small portion of the existing classroom shortage.

Obviously, under such an approach the effectiveness of Federal aid in actually solving the classroom problem would be very limited. For much of the aid would go where it is needed least—and where it would accomplish the least in attacking the existing shortage. There is a serious question, I believe, whether the benefits of such a program would justify the expenditure of Federal funds in such a manner.

The administration's proposal is a reasonable compromise on this issue. It gives due weight to school-age population but also makes an adjustment to take into account financial need. This principle has been recognized to an even greater extent in such successful programs as the hospital construction program. The administration's proposal recognizes the simple logic of giving relatively more assistance where the needs are greatest. Under such a system, Federal funds would be most effective in accomplishing their purpose—to help relieve the classroom shortage.

I have mentioned these various points, Mr. Chairman, to try to clarify certain aspects of the classroom problem. I am confident that the record before this subcommittee, examined carefully and objectively, gives convincing evidence that the President's classroom construction proposal should be enacted promptly.

Los Angeles Mayor and Chamber of Commerce Arguments Supporting Establishment of Coast Guard Air-Sea Rescue Unit at Los Angeles International Airport at Earliest Possible Moment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I call to your attention, and the attention of my colleagues, a letter from the honorable mayor of Los Angeles dated March 12, 1957, to the Secretary of the Treasury, and communication dated February 11, 1957, from the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce setting forth arguments in support of the recommendation "that the transportation division of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce be authorized to request appropriate agencies of the Federal Government to take immediate steps to assure the installation of a United States Coast Guard air-sea rescue unit at the proposed Playa del Ray Marina facilities:

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR,
CITY HALL,
Los Angeles, Calif., March 11, 1957.

Hon. GEORGE M. HUMPHREY,
Secretary of the Treasury,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Since the midair collision in January of a military jet plane with a commercial aircraft over this city, with its resultant loss of lives, including schoolchildren playing in the schoolyard where the transport plane crashed, I have been conducting a thorough investigation into all phases of safety in the air, as well as rescue operations resulting from aircraft crashes. This investigation brought out a startling fact, and one which gives me grave concern.

As you know, Los Angeles International Airport is located in close proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Ninety-four percent of the takeoffs at LAX are from east to west. The flight pattern, therefore, takes these planes directly over the ocean while they are still at a comparatively low altitude. Also, when it is necessary to "stack" planes prior to landings, such stacking operations are done over the ocean. To me, it seems not only advisable but imperative that the Coast Guard establish an air-sea rescue unit at LAX or in the immediate vicinity thereof for use in event of a crash in the ocean.

Since 1946 an active committee, made up of representatives of the Department of Airports of the City of Los Angeles, airlines, aircraft manufacturers, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, United States Coast Guard, United States Air Force, and the Los Angeles County sheriff's aero detail, has been trying to obtain an adequate air-sea rescue facility in this area. Much correspondence and many memoranda from conferences are on file in our airports department on this subject. In 1951 Admiral Richmond, of the Coast Guard, spent considerable time at the airport going over the problem, and, according to my information, reported favorably to his Washington headquarters on the establishment of an air-sea rescue unit at Los Angeles. Also, in 1951 the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution requesting Congress to provide facilities for air-sea rescue in this area. In January 1953 the problem was reviewed by the Board of Airport Commissioners and the chamber of commerce, and efforts were again made, without success, to obtain such a unit. In February 1957 the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce recommended that its transportation division be authorized to request appropriate agencies of the Federal Government to take immediate steps to assure the installation of a United States Coast Guard Air-Sea Rescue Unit at the proposed Playa del Rey Marina facilities. (I shall touch on the Playa del Rey Marina in a subsequent paragraph.) Because the arguments upon which the chamber's recommendation was based are so compelling, I am attaching a copy hereto.

The responsibility for acquisition and maintenance of air-sea rescue equipment is, without question, vested in the Federal Government under the United States Code, title 14, section 29, re quote, in part:

"For the purpose of saving life and property along the coasts of the United States and at sea contiguous thereto, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to establish, equip, and maintain aviation stations, not exceeding 10 in number, at such points on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Great Lakes as he may deem advisable, and to detail for aviation duty in connection therewith officers and enlisted men of the United States Coast Guard."

Further, under Public Law 207 of the 81st Congress, chapter 393, 1st session, H. R. 4566, an act which may be cited as title 14 sets forth the primary duties of the Coast Guard, and reads, in part:

"The Coast Guard shall enforce or assist in the enforcement of all applicable Federal laws upon the high seas and waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States; shall administer laws and promulgate and enforce regulations for the promotion of safety of life and property on the high seas and on waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States * * * shall develop, establish, maintain, and operate * * * rescue facilities for the promotion of safety on and over the high seas and waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States."

To me, the meaning and intent of the foregoing quoted section and enactment are crystal clear and place the responsibility for such safety measures on the Secretary of the Treasury and, under him, the Coast Guard.

In addition to the reasons indicated above for the establishment of an air-sea rescue unit in the vicinity of Los Angeles International Airport, there will shortly be constructed a yacht harbor at Playa del Rey, which is very close to the airport. When such harbor is constructed, there will be a still greater need for an air-sea rescue unit in the vicinity.

The city of Los Angeles has previously and again offers the facilities at Los Angeles International Airport of space for storage of aircraft and office space, free of charge, if the Coast Guard will establish and activate an air-sea rescue unit there. For the past 11 years we have been working on borrowed time, so to speak; however, the time has now arrived when positive and immediate action must be taken. I, therefore, respectfully request that an air-sea rescue unit be established at or near Los Angeles International Airport at the earliest practicable date.

With assurance of my continued high regard, I am,

Sincerely,

NORRIS POULSON,
Mayor.

COMMITTEE REPORT TO BOARD OF DIRECTORS,
LOS ANGELES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Committee: Maritime committee, E. D. Flaherty, chairman; aviation committee, W. W. Shepherd, chairman.

Subject: United States Coast Guard Air-Sea Rescue Unit.

Status: For action.

RECOMMENDATION

That the transportation division of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce be authorized to request appropriate agencies of the Federal Government to take immediate steps to assure the installation of a United States Coast Guard Air-Sea Rescue Unit at the proposed Playa del Rey Marina facilities.

BACKGROUND

The proposed marina for small craft at Playa del Rey has progressed beyond the talking stage, as Federal, State, county, and private funds have been allocated for the construction of the marina. Construction is scheduled to begin during the spring of 1957 and will accommodate approximately 6,200 small craft at slips and an additional 2,000 small craft to be launched from trailers. The increased facilities for small craft at Playa del Rey in addition to the expansion of the Redondo Beach marina, now under construction, will greatly increase the number of small craft navigating the open waters of Santa Monica Bay.

The proposed Playa del Rey Marina lies directly under the takeoff pattern from the Los Angeles International Airport and would therefore, be ideally located for immediate use in case a plane had to ditch immediately after takeoff. The Los Angeles International Airport has an enviable safety record, inasmuch as no commercial plane, both scheduled and nonscheduled has ever had to make a forced landing in the ocean after takeoff. However, the mere fact that an accident has never occurred should not blind us to the fact that should such an occurrence ever happen, the lives of the passengers and crew of the aircraft would depend upon adequate help being immediately available. The recent clamor for the Federal Government to force aircraft manufacturers to test aircraft over the ocean adds additional reasons for adequate offshore rescue facilities.

ARGUMENTS FAVORING THE RECOMMENDATION

1. The number of passengers utilizing the Los Angeles International Airport has risen from 1,233,619 in 1947 to approximately 4 million in 1956. An increase of 2½ million during the last 10-year period.

2. The number of commercial air carrier operations at Los Angeles International Airport has increased from 73,203 in 1947 to over 200,000 in 1956.

3. Nearest United States Coast Guard helicopter is located at San Diego, Calif., and the nearest United States Navy helicopter is located at Point Magu. United States Air Force helicopters are based, primarily, at the Air Force bases in the desert areas. These helicopters would be of little or no value in case a commercial air carrier had to ditch in the ocean after takeoff.

4. The nearest United States Coast Guard patrol boat is located in Los Angeles Harbor, approximately 2 hours from the scene of a potential ditching.

5. Modern aircraft cannot stay afloat for more than a half hour, except for extremely unusual cases. Many times it is a matter of only a very few minutes before the aircraft will sink. Unless rescue facilities, both air and sea, are immediately available, the resultant heavy loss of life would be inevitable.

6. The opening of the Playa del Rey Marina in addition to the expansion of facilities at Redondo Beach will mean that the Santa Monica Bay area will experience a tremendous increase in small-craft traffic. The Playa del Ray Marina will account for approximately 8,000 additional small craft and the Redondo Beach Marina expansion will accommodate several hundred more small craft.

7. The United States Coast Guard in the Los Angeles area does not have sufficient equipment at this time to adequately patrol the Santa Monica Bay area with the potential increase in small-craft traffic.

8. The addition of one helicopter and one 95-foot patrol boat would allow the United

States Coast Guard to provide facilities for:

(a) Saving of human lives in case of a possible aircraft disaster after takeoff.

(b) Saving of human lives endangered by small-craft accidents.

(c) Increase the security of the Los Angeles area through increased patroling facilities.

9. The cost of maintaining an air-sea rescue unit at the Playa del Rey Marina would be relatively minor in comparison to the value of human lives which could be saved in case of an aircraft emergency or small-craft accident.

ARGUMENTS OPPOSING THE RECOMMENDATION

There was no opposition to the recommendation from any member of the maritime committee of the aviation committee.

CONCLUSION

The maritime and aviation committees urge the board of directors to approve the above recommendation.

Excise Tax Hardship on Retailers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith a letter from Mr. Arthur S. Boettcher, of Lansing, Mich., on the subject of Federal excise taxes as they affect his retail business in luggage and related items.

Since Federal excise taxes are now under study, I feel that Mr. Boettcher's letter sets forth clearly and forcefully the views of small independent retail business people. Certainly it should not be the wish of Congress to continue taxes which discriminate unfairly against this important part of our Nation's business structure. I urge that the matter set forth in this letter be carefully studied.

Mr. Boettcher's letter follows:

LIEBERMANN'S,
Lansing, Mich., March 12, 1957.

Hon. CHARLES CHAMBERLAIN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAMBERLAIN: In a release to the press on August 6, 1953, President Eisenhower stated, and I quote: "As I said in my message of May 20, the wide variety of existing excise rates makes little economic sense and leads to improper discrimination between industries and among consumers."

I am sure our President thinks the same way today. I am certain the Congress felt this way when the wartime tax was reduced from 20 percent to 10 percent.

We have struggled with this tax since 1942 when it was created as a wartime conservation measure, not as a revenue-raising measure. It has outlived its purpose, it exists only as a burden on the manufacturer who makes the product, the businessman who sells it, and the consumer who needs it.

Along with the excise tax handicap, higher freight rates, increased postage and parcel post rates, higher taxes, and higher wages, this industry is again "feeling the pinch." You can readily see that we have a real struggle to remain in business due to these increased costs, coupled with stiff competition from the big retail chains and the so-called wholesale houses which do not collect or pay excise taxes.

We hear of Federal aid to the small-business man in his attempt to remain solvent; and we ask only for an opportunity to compete for the consumer dollar on an equal basis with other retailers. We ask for this equality of enterprise, which is one of the fundamental features of our democracy, "equal justice under law." I am sure this applies also to taxation. Give us an opportunity to survive and prevent us from joining the ranks of retail business failures, which reached an all postwar peak last month.

We feel the Government will benefit by providing a healthier and more normal business climate in which small businesses like ours can prosper and grow. If the tax were removed, we feel the revenue would more than be equaled by taxes gained from increased business activity and additional employment.

We hope that we can count on you, as our Congressman, to do everything within your power to eliminate the inequities of the wartime excise tax, either through equal taxation, or through abolition.

Very truly yours,

ARTHUR S. BOETTCHER.

A Dependent Who Rebels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, while many of us receive well-reasoned and valid complaints because the Government has put citizens on a share-the-wealth program, with the benefits all going to Uncle Sam, we have as yet officially taken no effective action to lessen Uncle Sam's take.

The Saturday Evening Post of this week carries an editorial which reads as follows:

UNCLE SAM TENDS TO FORGET THAT HE IS OUR LEADING DEPENDENT

Recently, a young man toiling wearily over his income-tax form 1040, threw down his pencil in disgust and posed a rhetorical question: Why can't we enter Uncle Sam as a dependent?

He made a very interesting point. After all, the Federal Government is the dependent of every taxpaying American citizen. It could not buy a single plane, tank, or bazooka, print a Supreme Court opinion, hand a billion to a foreign potentate or provide a single school lunch without the as-a-rule unquestioning compliance of its citizens with the income-tax laws.

Too often, Uncle Sam does not act like a dependent, or at any rate a very grateful one. He acts as if he were entitled to all the income of his benefactors and demands that they drive themselves into dementia praecox in desperate efforts to translate the mysterious language of the instruction sheet into answerable shape. He grabs a hunk of the humble worker's pay even before the poor fellow has had an opportunity to count it or hand it over to his wife. And if a citizen has enough left over to employ a cleaning woman a couple of times a week, he is compelled to pay a tax for the privilege of paying her.

Furthermore if a taxpayer gets behind in his payments, he does not receive the kind of notice he sometimes gets from a department store, something like, "We are sure you have overlooked that little matter of $21.98 from your account of last July." Quite the contrary, the Internal Revenue is likely to put the bite on his salary or harass him with personal and embarrassing questions as to his income, household expenses and manner of life.

Good old Uncle Sam. He costs us more than our own children. He gets into trouble; we bail him out. He lives beyond his means and we make up the difference. He is a costly dependent, but we have to put up with him so that government of, by and for the people may not perish from the earth. But it would make for more contented taxpayers if Uncle Sam would acknowledge his dependency on us, maybe somewhere in the fine print of form 1040.

Alabama Education Association Takes Strong Stand for Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks I include in the RECORD an article from the February 12, 1957, issue of the Birmingham News:

AEA OUTLINES STAND ON FEDERAL SCHOOL AID

The Alabama Education Association took a strong stand in behalf of an unrestricted Federal aid school program at its annual business session in Montgomery last week. Among several policy recommendations adopted by delegates to the meeting was a statement urging members of both parties in Congress to join in a spirit of cooperative leadership to assure early enactment of emergency school construction legislation.

The organization's statement outlined a series of basic principles which, it was felt, should be among the salient features of such legislation. Federal grants for public school construction, it said, should be made to the States on an objective basis and funds should be administered by the United States Office of Education, channeled through State education agencies and distributed as provided by State law. Traditional local and State control over education, it urged, should be assured. Inclusion within the program of provision to enforce compliance with the decision of the United States Supreme Court on the issue of segregation in the public schools, it was held, would contradict the principles of Federal aid without Federal control.

The statement proposed that the bill provide for apportionment of funds to all States by using a formula that combines flat grants based on school-age population with equalizing grants based on State financial ability. It proposed that provision be made for Federal purchase of school bonds in districts where such bonds are not readily marketable at reasonable rates of interest. It suggested the inclusion of Federal funds to help the States administer the program effectively and to provide State studies as a basis of future solutions to problems of school needs.

The AEA's statement is similar to one adopted a few months ago by the third annual national conference of State Education Association chairmen for Federal relations and the National Education Association's legislative commission. It is essen-

tially in line with the basic principles which President Eisenhower recommended in his recent school construction program message to Congress.

It is earnestly to be hope that Congress will keep such principles clearly in view as it considers and shapes Federal school construction legislation.

Needed: Active American Leadership Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by Mr. Dewey Anderson entitled "Needed: Active American Leadership Abroad."

In these days when the crisis abroad is foremost in the minds of our citizens, this article by Mr. Dewey Anderson is, I think, most informative and provocative and I am very happy to include it for the information of my colleagues:

NEEDED: ACTIVE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP ABROAD

(By Dewey Anderson)

Congressional mailbags for the past 6 months have bulged with one anxiety above all others: the fear of another war and the importance of American leadership. Most of these letters concern the Middle East, because that is where the headlines have centered, but the comments of citizens apply equally to tensions elsewhere. The mail comes to both political parties and from all sections of the country.

Our highest national officials have paid tribute to this yearning for peace in their recent speeches, calling for greater American leadership, but so far no particular plan has come into focus.

The public is apparently in a mood to react favorably to a concrete program for American leadership toward peace. And the Congress would certainly be helped if it knew where the public stands on such a program of leadership.

WHAT HAS BEEN WRONG WITH AMERICAN LEADERSHIP?

Since the beginning of the Korean war 6 years ago, the United States has gambled almost exclusively on the military containment of communism. Our diplomacy has been built around the creation of more and more alliances, and more and more overseas bases. About 90 percent of our international aid has gone for armaments and other army support. This deterrent strength, of course, is necessary. But a one-sided policy resting almost exclusively on military might is out of date because the primary danger has shifted from a frontal Communist military attack to Communist subversion and economic penetration in Asia and Africa.

The greatest missing component in the cold war is an effective program for political, economic, and social stability. This means realistic proposals to stimulate more private trade, more private investment, more loans, some grants, greatly enlarged training programs, better diplomatic approaches, greater personnel exchanges. This year the Russians are training 260,000 foreigners within their borders; the United States is training 40,000.

Imaginative action is most needed in Asia and Africa, because that is where American boys are most likely to fight Korea-type wars, and it is there that preventive action—so appealing to American families—could take hold.

BACKGROUND COMPLICATIONS

Eighteen new nations came into being in Asia and Africa during and after World War II. Two more independent nations are emerging this year (Ghana, Malaya). More will follow. These nations represent the balance of power in the East-West struggle. They control one-third of the votes in the United Nations.

Peoples in Asia and Africa are very sensitive about their former colonial status, fearful of any relations with the United States which might lead to domination. At the same time they are determined to raise their standard of income, now averaging considerably under $100 per capita per year. Their pent-up nationalist fervor can be turned against the United States and the West, as Moscow is trying to direct it, or it can be harnessed for internal economic growth. The chances for stability and peace—affecting one-third of the world's population—thus rests very literally on whether western cooperation can help guide economic and social growth.

AMERICAN INTERESTS AT STAKE

For Americans who measure our interest abroad only in terms of tangible profit and loss, there are very real stakes in this question of leadership:

1. To see that the present free countries of Asia and Africa stay outside the Iron Curtain, as a buttress to our own freedom.

2. To assure access to strategic raw materials, which we obtain in very large quantities from Asia-Africa, and which our defense establishment holds to be vital.

3. To increase our trade, which already rose on a 5-to-1 ratio during the modest development since 1938.

4. To hold down our defense costs, which assuredly would skyrocket if the Communists establish a base anywhere on the north African or south Asian coastline; and ultimately, to reduce our defense costs, which can yield only to increased stability in the world.

For many Americans there are idealistic reasons as well for leadership, and these are part of our national interest. Newly independent countries in Asia and Africa are following the pattern of our revolution and early freedom, and the desire to be helpful—not by charity but by practical educational and investment assistance—is widespread in America. The widening gap in personal income between Americans and Europeans on the one hand—and Asians and Africans on the other—also troubles many Americans, who would support any reasonable remedy that could show practical results. And finally, the pervading religious faith of America includes a belief that man's intelligence must be able to find a pattern for peace, and that the United States—one of the doingest nations in history—should be able to offer initiative.

PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR 1957

Here are six proposals for action, all politically feasible in 1957, all reasonable in the light of our national economy, all able to show some tangible results within a short period of time. And these small steps have the merit of testing as we go, proving what it would be realistic to do or not to do in the future.

1. Congress could vote President Eisenhower permissive authority to switch about $50 million in mutual-security funds to a special account for helping other countries to plan what developments they would undertake if greater investment and loans were available. Both economic and engineering plans are needed. The work should be done only by agreement with other governments, and at their request.

2. Contributions to the U. N. technical assistance program in 1957, both by the United States and other countries, should be doubled, in order to speed up this same kind of development planning in Asia and Africa. The U. N. is needed in this work for the practical reason that its services are more acceptable to most Asian and African countries. (Present United States contribution is $16 million, equaling 10 cents or 1 cup of coffee per capita per year.)

3. The American program for economic development in Asia and Africa should be separated from military assistance programs, and debated on its own merits before the public and the Congress. The amount of money proposed for this program, which has been running at about $400 million a year within the mutual security budget, should be doubled in 1957.

Plans for such expansion have already been laid before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by nationally known advisers, employed by the Senate. These new funds can be directed toward: More training of needed technicians and managers abroad; and expansion of roads, power facilities, reclamation, and other measures normally required before private capital will flow in.

4. The training of foreign nationals in the United States should be stepped up markedly, as far as possible by private sponsors, but also through greater Government exchange programs.

5. Farm surplus disposal should be used to a greater degree in barter for economic development abroad, and for the expenses of training. Estimates submitted to the Congress indicate at least a quarter billion dollars in foreign economic development could be financed each year with farm surpluses, without increase in our foreign aid appropriations.

6. Renewed efforts to stimulate the growth of world trade should include American membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation, up for decision in Congress this year.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THESE PROPOSALS

Major arguments have been advanced against an active American economic leadership abroad. Here are several such arguments, and the answers to them.

1. More appropriations for international programs will mean more inflation.

Answer: A comprehensive study of the foreign aid program at the close of 1956 by the National Planning Association, at the request of the Senate, concluded that the inflationary impact of the present foreign aid program is negligible. In fact the study predicted that if the national economy continues to grow at its present rate for the next 10 years, foreign aid could be doubled without inflationary effect. The changes in program proposed above would represent one-tenth of 1 percent of the gross national product. This cost must be weighed against the possible, in fact probable, rising military costs if present instability is not met.

2. Economic growth abroad increases competition for American products, especially for raw cotton and textile goods.

Answer: History proves the contrary. The United States sells more products to developed countries like Canada and Great Britain than it does to countries like Mexico and India. Even major agricultural producers like Burma and Indonesia have been buying great quantities of American farm surpluses, including cotton, as their economies begin to grow.

3. We should not use the United Nations because we cannot control its activities for cold war purposes.

Answer: American leadership in Asia and Africa, if it is to attract the people of those countries, must be kept outside the cold war,

hence the U. N. is not a liability but an asset for this immediate purpose.

CONCLUSION

The American people admire a policy of imaginative leadership abroad.

History shows it was more effective to spend $100 million on economic aid to save the whole of Iran, than $10,000 million on a war to save half of Korea.

If we are to move from the fire brigade conception of fighting crises after they arise, and project actions ahead to prevent the recurring crises, here is a program for stimulating stability through economic and social measures, which the American people can respect.

MARCH 5, 1957.

Money Alone Can't Cure Farm Ills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, in the Monday, March 11, 1957, issue of the Lexington Herald, there appeared an editorial entitled "Money Alone Can't Cure Farm Ills." Mr. Herndon J. Evans, editor of the Lexington Herald, has had a long acquaintance with the problems of the farmer. His editorial points up the apparent lack of imaginative thinking and leadership on the part of the Department of Agriculture in providing solutions to the problem of farm surpulses. At the same time, Mr. Evans recognizes that the ever-increasing efficiency of the American farm as a production unit is a part of the great progress being made by this Nation in improving the well-being of our people. Mr. Evans seems to say that any solution to this problem of surpluses must not discourage this commendable drive for greater productivity.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to incorporate herein the splendid editorial of Mr. Evans:

MONEY ALONE CAN'T CURE FARM ILLS

If spending alone offered a solution, the Eisenhower administration, which has surpassed in this respect, long ago would have solved the farm problem, and there would be little need for a large part of the funds that the President has requested in the record high budget proposed for the Department of Agriculture.

Proposed expenditures in the new budget total about $5 billion. This is something like $300 million more than is being spent this year. More than $3 million of the proposed budget, or better than 60 percent of the total, will go for programs to meet the problem of overproduction. The soil bank will cost $1.25 billion; the price-support program, $1.24 billion, and sales of farm products abroad will result in a loss of $640 million.

The ability of American farmers to overproduce accounts for the great expenditures to dispose of surpluses and to support prices in face of the surpluses. However, in the President's proposed budget there are substantial increases of funds for programs to increase production. Funds for the Federal Agricultural Research Service would be 63 percent more than in 1953. Grants asked for State experiment stations would be 176 percent larger than in 1953. These funds will go for research and other programs designed to increase farm efficiency and production. Significantly lacking in the Eisenhower farm budget is any provision for meeting the need for adjustment that agriculture must make in the face of increased efficiency.

As farm efficiency increases there is need for fewer farmers. Unless people move off the farms in proportion to the rate of improved efficiency, production increases to more than enough to supply the Nation's demands for farm products. Consequently, farmers suffer from being unable to work at full capacity, and prices and farm incomes drop. Some will be forced to migrate to cities, but most farmers cannot see fit to do this. Anyway, it is a cruel and undesirable way of effecting adjustment.

The adjustment of agriculture to its ever-increasing efficiency is the crux of the American farm problem today. It cannot very well be solved by cutting down on research intended to increase production efficiency, for the Nation cannot afford to stop progress in this respect. However, it is not logical to spend more money for research to increase production unless attention is given also to the resultant needs for better methods of marketing, for finding new uses for farm products, and for adjustment of the farm population as demanded by rising efficiency.

The Eisenhower farm budget would be more promising if it called for more and new ideas to meet the complex farm problem. Just spending more money as it proposes may serve only to make the problem worse.

New Ideas for Solution of Middle East Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, a former constituent of mine has written me in regard to the tense situation in the Middle East. He has conceived an idea which, though certainly different, seems to me food for thought. I am very interested in any proposals which look toward solutions of international problems, not only because of our position of world leadership, but also because we must consider every possibility that might contribute to the easing of international tensions. We must necessarily expect changes in the next 50 to 100 years, as revolutionary as the changes which occurred from the 17th to the 19th centuries.

I have a bill designed to set up an international food and fiber reserve. This could be of help in the interests of greater stability in the world. Somewhat along the same line of thinking are the ideas of Mr. Hans R. Miller, excerpts from whose recent letter to me I insert in the RECORD under unanimous consent:

What would be wrong with the United Nations issuing a world credit dollar for value in place of for interest? The U. N. could in that way buy the area * * * under dispute by Egypt and Israel. The U. N. could issue a credit certificate against which rehabilitation projects could be undertaken and checks drawn to pay contractors and the refugees they might hire to build homes and farmsteads to rehabilitate a million or any other number of refugees. The U. N. could issue a credit certificate to pay for construction of the Aswan Dam or Egypt could take the credit it would receive for sale of the Gaza Peninsula and with it, build the dam. This money or credit would come back to the U. N. as the refugees and others pay for use of water, power, light rental-tax on the land they occupy, and depreciation on the homes they would receive. It would have several advantages:

First, Egypt would then have the much needed dam; the refugees would have the much needed farmsteads and occupation and Western Europe could have nonexplosive pipelines. * * * Schools could be built the same way and without bonds or interest and it could all be done without costing the taxpayers of this country a single penny.

Second, it would disprove the Russian propaganda that we are aiming to expand financial imperialism.

Third, it would begin to give the world a proper medium of exchange, issued for value that could be controlled so as to stabilize the overall price level.

Fourth, it would prove that there is no more need of having a hundred different countries issue as many different kinds of money. This modern world has now by modern invention become so small that such an old-fashioned money system is as ridiculous as if each village and township had insisted on its separate form of money after the days of George Washington.

General Government Matters Appropriation Bill, 1958

SPEECH
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

The House, in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, had under consideration the bill (H. R. 5788) making appropriations for the Executive Office of the President and sundry general Government agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, I have supported and voted for this bill, and am glad to see a substantial reduction in any governmental expense, where a vital governmental operation is not injured thereby. The cut contained in this bill, of 24 percent below the Budget Bureau recommendations, is one of the most substantial reductions to be reported to the House by the Committee on Appropriations.

I sincerely hope it will not injure the efficiency of the Executive Office of the President and is not viewed as any kind of partisan action.

The absence of any argument against this cut by administration spokesmen in this body would seem to indicate that the cuts are not so regarded by the President, and will not result in damage to efficiency.

I will welcome the opportunity to vote for any reductions in the budget where similar conditions prevail.

I am not prepared to vote for any budget cuts that will result in reduced power or effectiveness for America's mili-

tary forces at this time, nor will I support budget cuts that slow down or halt the vital work now underway to control and conserve our Nation's most vital natural resource—our water supply. Economy that is not selective is a false economy we cannot afford.

David Marcus—Hero of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, on February 27, 1957, I had the privilege of installing the officers of the Gibborim Society of the Department of Correction of the city of New York. On this occasion, which was celebrated by a dinner dance, a plaque in memory of the freedom fighter David Marcus, former commissioner of the department of correction, who died in Israel in the cause of freedom, was presented to the present commissioner of correction, the Honorable Anna Kross.

On this occasion, the following remarks were made which I believe made interesting reading:

TALK BY COL. CHARLES G. STEVENSON TO 20TH ANNIVERSARY INSTALLATION DINNER OF THE GIBBORIM SOCIETY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION, NEW YORK CITY, PARK TERRACE, BRONX, N. Y., FEBRUARY 27, 1957

Mr. Grasheim, Commissioner Kross, Mrs. Marcus, honored guests, members of the Gibborim Society of the Department of Correction, ladies and gentlemen, thank you Mr. Silberglitt for your warm introduction of me. I could think of no finer way to express my feelings toward Mickey and Emma Marcus than the simple, sincere, and heart-warming words which you used just now.

I also want to thank Al Chaison and Mr. Grasheim for inviting me to be here tonight to pay tribute to my best friend, Mickey Marcus. My friendship with Mickey goes back to Boys' High School days in Brooklyn 39 years ago, when we first met as members of the Boys' High baseball team.

It is a special pleasure to be here with Emma Marcus. I will not say how far back my friendship with her goes, but it goes back to West Point days when Mick and I were roommates at the United States Military Academy for 4 years. While Emma and I were dancing here earlier this evening, I remarked that it was like the old days when Mickey used to drag her at West Point, as the cadet slang goes, and we used to dance together at the hops in Cullum Hall. Mickey's friendship lives on with me and my family—as a vital force—along with Emma's friendship.

I think your society is to be congratulated on making the gift of a plaque in honor of Mickey's service as deputy commissioner and commissioner of correction and as one of the founders of your society. It is a most fitting tribute. His service in your department certainly was the high point of his career prior to World War II.

My wife and I will never forget the thrill we got while walking in Times Square during the last week of December 1933, and we saw the moving electric light news sign around the Times Building spell out the words: "David Marcus appointed deputy commissioner of correction." I recall we went straight to a Western Union office to send him and Emma a telegram of congratulations. One of the happiest days of my life was to go down to the Municipal Building on New Year's Day to congratulate Mick in person after he was sworn in.

Mickey has gone down in history as a great humanitarian. This is the word enscribed on his gravestone in the cemetery at West Point. His great humanitarian qualities were nurtured here in the department of correction.

There are many stories that could be told of his good deeds and of memories of good times we shared together. But the hour is late and I will end by saying: Thank you for the opportunity to be here to recall these happy moments; and I congratulate you again on this fine honor to the memory of Mickey Marcus.

SPEECH BY THE HONORABLE GIDEON SAGUY, CONSUL GENERAL FOR THE STATE OF ISREAL, AT THE INSTALLATION DINNER, DANCE, AND MEMORIAL TO THE LATE COLONEL MARCUS GIVEN BY THE GIBBORIM SOCIETY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION, CITY OF NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 27, 1957

Madam Commissioner, President Grasheim of the Gibborim Society, Colonel Stevenson, last but not least Mrs. Marcus, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, you have probably heard it said by speakers before that it is a privilege to be with you; tonight this not only true but also an honor because I have come here very humbly to pay tribute to one of my commanders in the defense of the Army of Israel—I merit to say the people, the Jewish people of the world. The State of Israel has become a reality after so many centuries of what we sought in the beginning of 1948 out of the highways of the Middle East, the fury of flames and the underground. The many Irish know what it means to fight in the underground. Our great Colonel Marcus was a man of vision who came to us and said that the days of the underground will soon be over and you will have to prepare for bigger things to come and so in May 1948 Israel was attacked by five Arab States—and so a people driven by the spirit and tradition that was instilled in them by so many centuries were ready to fight, pressed with our backs to the sea but we are not going to be driven into the sea, and it was people like Colonel Marcus who made us fight to win a war against overwhelming odds. Perhaps among the Irish here there are fighters who know what it means to fight with the underground. It is therefore an honorable tribute that your society has as its name Gibborim (heroes) because to us, to the people of Israel and to all people wherever people are who believe in systems of rights and dignity, Colonel Marcus is a beacon, a beacon of light and hope and of such sustenance as he gave us as saw us through those dangerous days. Unfortunately the days of our fight in 1948 were concluded with an armistice but not with a peace and for the past 8 years the people of Israel have been terrorized by land and sea and by air because here was a new democracy, the only democracy in the Middle East that knew what it meant to exist under such circumstances. They built and they tilled the soil against those attacks, understanding as they were that these attacks were not against the people of Israel but attacks against the irrigation system which we set up all over the country. We have proven to the world, ladies and gentlemen, and even as told in the Bible—the land came to bloom and yet there were terrorists who came by night, pipelines were blown up, until October 29 of last year when the army of Israel took countermeasures for the security of its population against the Arab leaders who had made so many promises in their proclamations. In the spirit of Colonel Marcus we were successful because the spirit was still there, the same spirit which Colonel Marcus instilled in us early in 1948 and I am sure that were Colonel Marcus alive today he would have been proud of us as we fought against all odds for what you call Western democracy—because we fought for these three d's—defense, democracy, and development—a country of nearly 8,000 square miles and a population of less than two million. We have once again shown that we can do what is needed of us in such times of crisis because we do not want this to come down on our heads and annihilate us. As so today we stand at the crossroads. The U. N. is debating and studying and I can only conclude in the hope that I am sure was burning the Colonel Marcus' heart and that is that peace will rule over Israel, peace for the sake of Israel, peace for the sake of the Middle East and the whole world. God will give strength to his people and God will bless his people with peace. Thank you.

Diamond Anniversary of the Knights of Columbus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the Legislature of the State of Michigan has transmitted to me Senate Concurrent Resolution 22 requesting Congress to issue a special commemorative stamp in honor of the diamond anniversary of the Knights of Columbus. I request that this resolution be printed in its entirety. It is certainly true that such a worthy organization deserves such recognition.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 22

(Offered by Senators Nichols, Beadle, Greene, Smeekens, and Roy)

A concurrent resolution requesting Congress to issue a special commemorative stamp in honor of the diamond anniversary of the Knights of Columbus

Whereas the Knights of Columbus are this year celebrating their diamond jubilee, having completed 75 years of service to God and man; and

Whereas it is fitting that on this occasion proper acknowledgment of the good works of the Knights of Columbus be made; and

Whereas in similar instances in the past, the Congress has authorized the issuance of special commemorative stamps: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the senate (the house of representatives concurring), That the Legislature of the State of Michigan hereby requests the Congress of the United States to authorize the issuance of a special commemorative stamp in honor of the diamond jubilee of the Knights of Columbus; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution with a record rollcall attached be sent to the Michigan delegation in the Congress of the United States.

Adopted by the senate, February 15, 1957.

Adopted by the house, February 25, 1957: Yeas—Representatives Anderson, Baird, Bassett, Blanchard, Bolt, Borgman, Bowerman, Bowman, Boyd, Boyer, Bradley, Brigham, Brown, Chapman, Cobb, Conlin, Cramton, Currie, deBoom, DeMaso, Diggs, Dingham, Dunn, Dzendzel, Eaton, Edwards, Emmons, Engstrom, Erlandsen, J. J. Fitzpatrick, Fletcher, Folks, Gilbert, Gillespie, Green, Hubbell, Hudson, Hughes, Hungerford, Huns-

berger, Mrs. Hunsinger, Jackson, Jacobetti, Jeffries, Kilborn, Lesinski, Litowich, Lohman, F. A. Mahoney, R. D. Mahoney, Marshall, Massoglia, Mrs. McCollough, McMahon, McNeeley, Meggison, Mezzano, Mielock, Morris, Morrison, Murphy, Newton, Nill, Novak, E. D. O'Brien, F. J. O'Brien, M. J. O'Brien Olsen, Parker, Pears, Peltz, Penczak, Phillips, Raap, Rasmussen, Roberts, Romano, C. H. Root, E. V. Root, Jr., Sallade, Sanborn, Sobieski, Stanislaw, Strange, Sumeracki, Waldron, Wales, Whinery, Wurzel, Yates, Young, Speaker Van Peursem; Nays—Arnett.

FRED I. CHASE,
Secretary of the Senate.
NORMAN E. PHILLES,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Man Who Lost Both Legs in War Makes Best of It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, very few of us learn the secret of fully utilizing our physical, mental, and spiritual capacities. It is no easy task even for a completely normal human being to live in this complex world and maintain those qualities that we call the dignity of man. That is why we are doubly thrilled when a seriously handicapped person is able to rise above his handicaps to achieve the kind of abundant life that should be the highest goal of each one of us. I am greatly inspired by just such an achievement by Mr. Marvin Larson, of Aberdeen, S. Dak., a young man who has been named "young man of the year" by the Aberdeen Jaycees.

The heartwarming story of Marvin's triumph over the loss of both of his legs as a soldier in World War II is well told by Mr. Larry Desautels, veteran sports editor of the Aberdeen American-News.

The story is included as follows:

MAN WHO LOST BOTH LEGS IN WAR MAKES BEST OF IT

(By Larry Desautels)

"When you have a handicap, you can't waste time feeling sorry for yourself; you just have to make the best of it."

That simple philosophy has made Marvin Larson one of Aberdeen's outstanding young men, a leader in civic affairs, a noted outdoor enthusiast, and a successful businessman. He is a winner of the Aberdeen Jaycees "young man of the year" award, has held high offices in numerous organizations, and was even the subject of a minister's sermon.

And all this has been accomplished by a man who walks on a pair of artificial limbs, a man who decided to "make the best of it" and has become an inspiration to handicapped persons everywhere.

"Would you mind if your story was put in print?" he was asked.

"No; not if it would help someone else overcome a handicap and lead a normal life," he said. "Thanks to a great many people, I have accomplished that and I wish that every handicapped person could be as fortunate as I have been. Maybe my story will help someone else."

BASKETBALL STAR

The story starts in Glenham, S. Dak., where Larson was born and where he went to high school and became a basketball star on Glenham's most noted athletic team. In 1931 the little community had a basketball team that lost a heartbreaker to Wakpala by 1 point in the regional finals. The following year the Glenham quint defeated McLaughlin, 32–12, to win the regional title and a trip to the State tournament at the Corn Palace in Mitchell.

That was the year Mitchell had one of its greatest teams and Glenham drew the Kernels in the first round, losing the game, "but we were ahead of them once, and I think that's the only time Mitchell trailed in a game that season," Larson recalls. Marv was a regular forward those 2 years at Glenham and folks out there still tell about that great team that won a place in the State tournament.

Following his graduation, Larson moved to Aberdeen and went to work in the typewriter repair department of an Aberdeen firm. In 1939 he was married to the former Enid Johnson of Selby, and in September 1943 he was called to serve his country in World War II.

SENT OVERSEAS

He took his basic training in the Infantry at Camp Gruber, Okla., and went to England in April 1944. After going overseas, he was transferred to the Quartermaster Corps as an office machines service manager with the rank of sergeant. In September 1944, he was sent to the frontlines in Europe with a mobile repair unit.

A few days later came the tragic event that changed his entire life. Larson's unit was stationed between the frontlines and the artillery and subject to a constant strafing by enemy planes. One day he saw enemy planes approaching and ran into his shelter to get his helmet. Just as he came back out the door an antipersonnel bomb exploded approximately where he had been standing.

"I would have been killed if I had stayed where I was," he recalls.

Fragments of the bomb sheared off both his legs between the ankle and the knee.

He was taken to a field hospital at nearby Eupen, Belgium, for emergency treatment, removed to Liege, Belgium, then to a general hospital in Paris. On Thanksgiving Day he was taken to Southampton, England, and on Christmas he was put aboard a plane and flown to General Bushnell Hospital at Brigham City, Utah, arriving on New Year's Day.

OPERATION PERFORMED

There followed months of treatment and finally the operation that was to adapt his shattered legs to artificial limbs.

"The operation was performed by a Major Woughter, one of the most famous amputee surgeons in the country," Lars relates. "Everyone at the hospital was wonderful, and they did a great job of morale building. I couldn't thank too much the doctors, nurses, hospital personnel, and the chaplain who all helped me decide that a man with a handicap can go on living something like a normal life.

"It was in March or April 1945, that I was fitted with artificial limbs and at first it was discouraging. They seemed to weigh about 500 pounds apiece, but my strength gradually returned and with a lot of help I finally was able to walk with a cane. I came home on furlough about May 1 and received my discharge on July 5."

As a youngster at Glenham, Marv had loved to fish and hunt and when he expressed an interest in those activities again his friends were quick to see that he had an opportunity to do both. Lars is an excellent shot—he has three top marksmanship awards from the Army—and sitting at the end of cornfields in pheasant drives, or in goose and duck blinds, he was soon knocking down game just as he did before.

"You have to realize you have a handicap and make the best of it," Lars says. "There are some things you can't do and you have to find some way to replace them with something you can do."

REMARKABLE MAN

Well, hunting and fishing fell into the "things you can do" category. Maybe other people with Larson's handicap couldn't exactly take up outdoor sports—but he is a mighty remarkable individual. He builds his own boats and can launch them from the trailer into a lake by himself. He can walk weed patches for pheasants, "and you ought to see him run through a ditch to flush a pheasant," one of his hunting companions remarked.

One of his first projects after he came home was to build a boat. It was a mighty good one, but when his two children became old enough to go along, he decided the sides weren't high enough, so he built another.

Clarence (Dutch) Bies, one of Larson's many friends, tells a story typical of the determination that enabled Marv to "make the best of it."

"I took him ice fishing that first winter he was home," Dutch recalls, "and we had to cross qiute a large drift of snow to get from the car to the fishing spot.

"'I'll carry you through that snow,' I told him.

SOME HUMOR, TOO

"You won't carry me," he said. "I'll walk through that snow or I won't go fishing." He went fishing.

There have been some numerous incidents, too. There was the time Lars was in a hunting party along the Sand Lake refuge fence one especially frosty morning. Heavy clothing, boots and overshoes were the proper attire and one hunter kept looking at Larson's feet, clad only in a pair of dress oxfords.

"My gosh, you'll freeze your feet," the man finally exclaimed.

Then he remembered; and it wasn't the cold that made his face red. In case that fellow has been bothered about it, he can relax. Lars got quite a chuckle out of the incident.

Dell Dawson tells about the time they went deer hunting on the Sand Lake refuge. Lars tried walking through the cover, over his head in some spots, but it was too tough, so he found a spot ahead of the hunters and waited. In no time at all a deer came by and he downed it.

We never thought of him having a deer down, so when he shouted and waved at us for help, we just waved back and went on hunting. Finally, we got back to the car and there was Lars. He had his deer in the trunk, having cleaned it and dragged it several hundred yards through heavy cover. Two other members of the party dragged one deer between them and both were all in. They sure took a ribbing.

Of course, life hasn't been all hunting and fishing for Marv Larson. He and Chris Freh started their own office equipment business a few years ago and recently moved to bigger and better quarters.

HONORED IN 1950

Lars was named as the Jaycees' "outstanding young man of the year" in 1950, served as secretary of the Jaycees, was president of the Lions Club and is now a director of that organization, was president of the Jaycee Toastmasters Club, served two terms as secretary of the Brown County Sportsman's Club, past deacon of Bethlehem Lutheran Church, and has been active in Legion and Masonic activities.

At the present time he is a member of the Aberdeen Park board.

"He does more work for the good of Aberdeen than a lot of us who don't have a handicap," one of his friends remarked.

"The beauty of it is," says Mrs. Larson, "that his wonderful disposition and constant cheerfulness aren't just a front. He's that way all the time."

The Larsons have 2 children, a son, Gordon, 9, and a daughter, Lynn, 7. They live in a spacious, new ranch-type house at 1318 South Lincoln Street. Sure, Lars did some of the work on that house himself. He probably could have built the whole thing. His evenings are busy ones now, because he is building a recreation room in the basement. And in between strokes of the saw and swings of the hammer he's trying to figure out a way to make a collapsible fishhouse which one man can set up and take down to facilitate finding spots where the fish bite in the wintertime.

He'll probably have it all built one of these days.

New Hampshire Poll Given Wide Attention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PERKINS BASS
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. BASS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a news article which appeared in the March 10 issue of the New York Sunday Times, outlining the results of a unique poll which I recently conducted in the Second Congressional District of New Hampshire on current issues before the Congress:

POLL FINDS MANY FOR YUGOSLAV AID—VIEWS OF HIS CONSTITUENTS PROVE A SURPRISE TO GOP REPRESENTATIVE

WASHINGTON, March 9.—Representative PERKINS BASS, Republican, of New Hampshire, who, like most Congressmen, gets plenty of free advice from his constituents, received some surprising results when he polled them recently for guidance.

He disclosed that 4,800 replies to a questionnaire mailed to 17,000 voters had showed a better than 2-to-1 preference for continued aid to Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia.

"That was just contrary to the way my other mail has been running," Mr. BASS commented.

Support for the United Nations ran 8 to 1. Some increase in the postal rates to put the Post Office on a paying basis received a 7-to-1 endorsement. At the same time opposition to lowering the voting age to 18 won a 6-to-3 lead.

Mr. Bass did not ask his voters about taxes and size of the Federal budget, but he was not surprised to find quite a few volunteering the information that both were too high.

MANY RESORT TO POLLING

The polling device is being used by a growing number of Representatives to keep a hand on the pulse of the people who sent them to Washington. Many of them, including Mr. BASS, believe the method an improvement on tabulations of day-to-day mail, which many times is prompted by "pressure groups."

Mr. BASS' district, the New Hampshire Second, covers the entire western and northern parts of the State. Among his constituents are both New Hampshire Senators—Styles Bridges and Norris Cotton; Sherman Adams, the Assistant to the President; and Robert C. Hill, Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations.

Mr. Bass, a second-term Representative, sent his questionnaire to a list he believes represents a cross-section of his constituency. He thinks the constituency also is an "accurate cross-section of national feeling." The district comprises industrial cities balanced by towns and rural areas. Questionnaires went to Democrats and Republicans alike.

On the question of aid to the Tito government, 2,947, or 62.6 percent of the replies, said the United States should continue to give the President authority to extend aid if he finds it is to our best interest to do so. An additional 1,284, or 27.2 percent, wanted to cut off all aid, and 476, or 10.2 percent, had no opinion.

Comment included the statement that the President should have the authority "he feels necessary and he is surely in the best position to know. But I am weary of all 'these giveaways' abroad." Other reactions ranged from "I think we should help all friendly nations economically," to "can't understand why we should help Tito—isn't he a Communist?"

AGREE WITH PRESIDENT

On the United Nations question, 3,878, or 82.3 percent of the replies, expressed agreement with President Eisenhower's inaugural statement that "we recognize and accept our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere. We are accordingly pledged to honor, and to strive to fortify, the authority of the United Nations."

Four hundred and ninety-five, or 10.6 percent, replied "no," and 334, or 7.1 percent, said they had "no opinion."

"I agree with the President but feel the United Nations is powerless to enforce its decisions without a police force," one of the replies stated.

"Yes," replied another voter, "but let's not go overboard for the United Nations." A dissenter said "I don't see how the United States can carry along so many nations on our back."

A majority of voters polled answered a question about Federal aid to fight juvenile delinquency in the negative, reflecting a view that this was a job for local and State authorities.

One said that the delinquency stigma, in any event, should be attached to adults, whose "lack of interest in youth" brings about all the trouble.

"It would seem to me more appropriate to call it adult delinquency toward juveniles," the writer commented.

Some of the Tax Money Sent to Washington Should Be Returned to the States To Aid in Building Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD an article from the March 6, 1957, issue of the Montgomery Advertiser:

D. C. OCTOPUS GOT THERE FIRST

The causes of the financial crisis in Alabama's school system today can be used in reverse as justifiable reasons why more thought should be given to proposed legislation relating to Federal aid for education.

Alabama school officials have just submitted their budget requests for the coming biennium. They claim $357 million will be needed during the next 2 years to operate existing schools and construct additional buildings to meet the needs of the increasing classroom population.

To meet the requests of $357 million the State can offer only the $208 million expected to be produced by school taxes already in force. Thus it is apparent if education is to be granted its request in full or in part, new money must be forthcoming from some source.

And it is the locating of a new source of revenue which creates the most difficult problem; actually there appear to be none available. This is due primarily to the octopuslike Federal tax structure which has extended itself into most every area of the local economy. And with every extension of a Federal tax, the State is preempted of just one more tax source. As the Federal Government siphons off more and more the tax well of the State drops proportionately lower.

It is this argument that is now being used with considerable effectiveness by proponents of Federal aid for schools. Since the Federal Government has cornered such a big share of the State tax sources, it seems only fair that some of the money sent to Washington should be returned to the local level for schools.

Providing, of course, it is returned completely free of any Federal controls.

In Either Case Public Foots the Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the February 16, 1957, issue of the Redwood City (Calif.) Tribune:

IN EITHER CASE, PUBLIC FOOTS THE BILL

Representative CLAIR ENGLE, of Red Bluff, is a spokesman for the Democratic obsession that it's better for Uncle Sam to build projects with tax money than to let private industry build them and pay taxes.

When he learned that Interior Secretary Fred A. Seaton had approved the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s bid to build and operate the powerplants of the Trinity River reclamation project, ENGLE had the following to say:

"The Pacific Gas & Electric pays no money it does not collect on the light bill. The cost of the powerhouse and the money it proposes to pay the Government will all be charged to the power users—and at a profit."

In general, this is true. Money spent in any way must come from somewhere. If the Pacific Gas & Electric builds the plants, operates them, and pays the Government for the privilege, the money comes from those who buy the power and thus benefit from it.

If the Government builds them, operates them, and sells the power at a rate that returns no profit, the money comes from the taxes paid in by all the people. The power users are therefore subsidized by nonusers who benefit only indirectly, if at all. And even they benefit less than they seem to think; they must add their share of the tax bill to their costs before they count their blessings from Federal power.

Statement in Support of a Budget Limitation of $65 Billion for Fiscal Year 1958 — Suggested Amendments to House Rules for Better Fiscal Control Over Appropriations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, March 12, 1957, I had the privilege of making the following statement to the House Committee on Rules:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I appear here in support of the main purpose of House Resolution 170, that is, a substantial reduction in Federal expenditures for the fiscal year 1958.

Our expenditures are so huge, they threaten the solvency and the stability of our Government. They discourage individual initiative by the erosion of capital savings. These wasteful expenditures require the imposition of taxes which are increasingly oppressive to our people.

Mr. Chairman, there are hundreds of thousands of governmental units in this Nation. They range from the smallest school districts to the United States Government. I know of no governmental unit where there is more confusion and such loose fiscal management as in the United States Government.

The bipartisan Hoover Commission in 1955 concluded control of the purse by the Congress has been impaired. Their report further states "under present procedures there is no effective control over expenditures either by the Congress or the executive branch."

Gentlemen, this state of affairs is an indictment, particularly, of the House of Representatives where our Constitution placed prime responsibility for fiscal management.

Congress recognized the need of a legislative budget by its adoption of the Reorganization Act of 1946. This act directed the Tax and Appropriation Committees of both Houses to report a legislative budget by February 15 of each year. Since 1949, this section of the act has been wholly ignored. The failure on the part of our committees to comply with this rule is not a willful one. I believe the present provision to be impractical for a number of understandable reasons.

The failure to report a legislative budget, has created this condition. The President's budget becomes the "bible" instead of being treated as an advisory request for appropriations. Appropriations are influenced, compared with and controlled, in large measure, by the President's budget.

The executive budget is compiled without the advice of Congress. We, thus, have the anomalous situation where, the executive branch, which does practically all spending, writes its own ticket in this field.

The present resolution would mark the beginning of an attempt by this House to revise its rules for the purpose of recapturing its constitutional prerogatives.

Adoption of this resolution would not give it the force of law. The House, could supersede it at any time by voting expenditures beyond its limit of $65 billion.

On the other hand, the adoption of this resolution would amount to more than a mere expression of the will of this House. It would have an electrifying and salutary effect upon the spending forces in both the executive and legislative branches of our Government. It would enhance the prestige of this body and restore confidence in Congress.

The adoption of a ceiling upon our annual expenditures would have a restraining influence just as the debt limitation has had a beneficial effect upon the creation of additional debt.

Estimates of how much the present budget can be cut range from $1 billion to $10 billion. I personally agree with Senator BYRD that $5 billion can be taken out of the budget without any loss to our defense potential. The amount of the limitation contained in this bill is immaterial. Certainly, this resolution ought to be reported with an open rule, so that the House can make its own estimate of what our total expenditures for the next year, and the consequent taxes should be.

I would suggest that all reference as to the disposition of any possible surplus be deleted from this resolution. It will only serve to create conflicts as to what taxes should be reduced and what amounts shall go toward debt reduction. Such language is diversionary from the main objective, that of limitation upon expenditures.

This resolution needs bipartisan support both in this committee and on the floor. A substantial bloc of Republican Members are already committed to it. In accordance with tradition, I respectfully invite, sponsorship of this resolution by some member of the majority party on this committee.

This budget anticipates a surplus of $1.8 billion. Two or 3 years ago, the budget estimates were off by about $4 billion. I believe the present estimates are overoptimistic. If the present rate of business decline continues, anticipated revenues could easily decrease $5 billion. Then instead of a $1.8 billion surplus, we would find ourselves saddled with an additional $3.2 billion debt.

Mr. Chairman, there can be no question of the dire need for a comprehensive reform in our fiscal affairs. Primacy in fiscal affairs rests with the House. Recommendations of rules and procedures to insure adequate fiscal control is delegated to this committee.

This is why I ask this committee to enlarge the scope of these hearings to include a comprehensive study of procedures relating to fiscal control.

Although there are dozens of meritorious proposals being advocated, I would like to briefly suggest the following for your consideration:

First. The creation of an additional Finance Committee to be composed of senior ranking members of the Ways and Means and the Appropriations Committees. They would be charged solely with the responsibility of reporting a legislative budget. No appropriation bill would be in order until a legislative budget is adopted. Chairmanship to be alternated, each year, between the chairmen of the two committees.

At the present time the Appropriations Committee is free from the necessity of reporting tax measures. The legislative budget would require this committee to share in the responsibility of taxation.

Second. We have too many reckless and spendthrift authorizations emanating from standing committees who escape the corresponding burden of recommending taxes.

(A) These loose authorizations might be discouraged by requiring all authorization bills to contain departmental estimates of costs.

(B) Our rules should be amended to do away with packing our standing committees with members who have a special interest in legislation before these committees. This is the result not of any evil intent but the attempt to satisfy the requests of the Members themselves.

For example, the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, of which I am a member, has a total membership of 31. The number of Members of Congress from the 17 reclamation States is 98. They would be entitled to 22.5 percent of the committee membership or 7 members.

Instead of having 7 members, the reclamation States have 21 members, or 67.7 percent of the membership.

Due to political pressures, the legislation emanating from this committee cannot be representative of the whole body of the House. It would be contrary to human experience to expect legislation from such a committee that is not partial to their sectional interests at the expense of the Nation at large.

Other committees have equally serious and excessive imbalances of committee memberships which encourage excessive and special-interest expenditures.

I have an attached sheet entitled "Schedule A" which details the imbalance of representation on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Third. As discussed by this committee at the last meeting, the Senate has almost made it a habit to increase House appropriations. It has not yet acquired any tendencies toward increasing revenue bills. We should find some method of moderating their appropriation habits.

We have too great a dispersal of appropriating participation. We should find means by which we can couple the responsibilities of taxation in the same parties who are empowered to authorize and appropriate.

SCHEDULE A

Example of imbalance of representation on Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

Reclamation States, total number 17

Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington Wyoming, and Texas.

Total membership of Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 31

Members of Committee From the 17 Reclamation States, 21

1. ENGLE, California.
2. ASPINALL, Colorado.
3. ROGERS, Texas.
4. PFOST, Idaho.
5. EDMONDSON, Oklahoma.
6. METCALF, Montana.
7. SISK, California.
8. UDALL, Arizona.
9. RUTHERFORD, Texas.
10. BARING, Nevada.
11. ULLMAN, Oregon.
12. MILLER, Nebraska.
13. BERRY, South Dakota.
14. DAWSON, Utah.
15. WESTLAND, Washington.
16. HOSMER, California.
17. RHODES, Arizona.
18. CHENOWETH, Colorado.
19. UTT, California.
20. THOMSON, Wyoming.
21. WEAVER, Nebraska.

Total Number of Representatives From 17 Reclamation States, 98

Arizona	2
California	30
Colorado	4
Idaho	2
Kansas	6
Montana	2
Nebraska	4
Nevada	1
New Mexico	2
North Dakota	2
Oklahoma	6
Oregon	4
South Dakota	2
Utah	2
Washington	6
Wyoming	1
Texas	22
Total	98

The percentage of Representatives from 17 reclamation States of the total membership of House of Representatives (435) is 22.5 percent.

Average membership on the committee would be 7 members.

The percentage of Representatives (21) from the 17 reclamation States of the total membership of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (31) is 67.7 percent.

Actual membership on the committee is 21 members.

Thus, the reclamation States, having a special interest in legislation before the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, have an excessive representation amounting to 3 times that of a normal or average representation.

Civil Defense Award for Springdale, Ark.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, Springdale, one of the fastest-growing communities in the Third District of Arkansas, was the site of a very successful civil-defense test in April of last year. As a result of this test, Springdale and Lee Wilcox, Springdale civil-defense director, have been given awards for the best civil-defense exercise conducted in the United States last year. The awards were given by the Valley Forge Foundation, Valley Forge, Pa. The city received a plaque, and Mr. Wilcox received a cash award of $100.

Springdale deserves a lot of credit for working so well on this very vital defense exercise. We are proud of the city, and we are also very proud of Lee Wilcox, the local civil-defense director. A hand salute to all these folks, and to our State civil defense director, Owen Payne, who has contributed so much to the civil defense program in Arkansas.

As a part of my remarks, I insert in the RECORD an article from the Arkansas Democrat of April 27, 1956, giving information about the civil-defense test exercise at Springdale:

"REFUGEES" POURING INTO SPRINGDALE
(By Bill Butler)

SPRINGDALE.—Geiger counters clicked and jet planes parted the clouds over Springdale today as civil defense workers showed the Nation how best to receive and care for thousands of "refugees" from an H-bomb attack.

It was all make-believe in this northwest Arkansas city as the first Civil Defense Administration exercise of the year was conducted for civil defense officials from all over the Nation.

But to the citizens of Springdale "Operation Arkansas RFD (ready for disaster)" was serious business. They quickly demonstrated that they were capable of meeting the "emergency."

For purposes of the exercise it was assumed that Tulsa, Okla., had been hit with an H-bomb and that radioactive dust or fall-out from a bomb cloud, had fallen over parts of northwest Arkansas.

It was the duty of this city and its civil defense organization to serve as a reception cented for "refugees" from Oklahoma and several northwest Arkansas cities.

THREE THOUSAND STUDENTS INVOLVED

The role of the "refugees" was played by more than 3,000 high school students from 10 Arkansas cities. Those participating were from Rogers, Fayetteville, Gentry, Prairie Grove, Lincoln, Huntsville, Elkins, Greenland, West Fork, and Springdale.

First-aid stations for the "injured" were set up in two churches, the medical clinic, the old city park and the football-practice field.

Reception centers for the "refugees" were located in the high school field house and 12 churches scattered throughout the city.

The Rogers unit of the Arkansas National Guard set up a complete field kitchen in the old city park area to provide food for the "refugees" and civil-defense workers.

School children taking part in the exercise arrived by bus on the outskirts of the city shortly before noon. The students, or "refugees," were taken to the reception centers or first-aid centers.

Fifty students were bandaged by civil defense medical teams and put on stretchers for transfer to a railroad box car and airplanes to simulate being evacuated to Little Rock hospitals.

Just after the noon hour a flight of jet fighters from the Arkansas Air National Guard passed over the city. About 30 minutes later the first alert was sounded on the city's disaster siren as a B-47 bomber swooped overhead.

National Guard units cleared all people off the streets in the downtown business district and members of the Springdale civil defense radioactive teams went to work. They thoroughly checked the district with Geiger counters in a mock detection of radioactive fallout.

The mammoth parade of all types of equipment which could be pressed into service in the event of a disaster wound through the city streets to end the first national civil defense test for 1956.

Civil defense demonstrations of first aid rescue work and fire work was conducted late this afternoon at the rodeo grounds.

A PILOT STUDY

Today's civil defense reception exercise here was described as a "pilot study" by regional civil defense officials. They said that similar tests will be held throughout the Nation during the week of September 9.

Several National and State Civil Defense leaders were on hand to observe today's "Operation Arkansas RFD."

Edward Lyman represented the national office of the Federal Civil Defense Administration. He is the FCDA's national director of public affairs.

Observers from the regional civil defense office in Denton, Tex., were: Welcome W. Wilson, regional administrator; Leslie Holland, Federal liaison officer; W. T. McMillan, operations officer, and Bill Rosch, regional civil defense official.

Harold L. Goodwin, director of operations for the A-bomb tests at the Government proving grounds in Nevada, was here to observe the exercise. His headquarters is in Washington, D. C.

Other Federal agencies represented were: Ed McDonald, regional director of the Bureau of Employment Security, Department of Labor; Karl Wallace, regional director of the General Services Administration, and James Bond, regional director of the Health, Education, and Welfare office. All are from Dallas, Tex.

FAUBUS HEADS DELEGATION

Governor Faubus headed the Arkansas delegation which included Owen Payne, Jr., State civil defense director, and Richard Holt, deputy State civil defense director.

Civil defense directors from several States were in the city today.

They included William McGill of Texas and former president of the National Council of Civil Defense Directors; Gen. Frances Woolfrey, Louisiana; Marvin Smith, Missouri; Ken Wood, Missouri deputy director, and Col. Tareyton, Florida, and Joe Morriss, Tulsa.

In charge of Springdale's part of the day's activities was Lee Wilcox, Springdale civil defense director.

Today's civil defense exercise in Springdale is the second one ever held in the United States to test the civil defense organizations of rural areas on preparations for the reception, care, and first aid of evacuees.

The first exercise in the history of the Nation was held last May in Forrest City.

How Tight Does the Administration Intend to Squeeze?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article, Money Jungle Is Closing in on Veterans, which appeared in the Miami Herald on Sunday, March 3, 1957. This article, by Mr. Robert F. Coll, calls attention to the serious dilemma facing veterans now in the market for GI home loans.

The article follows:

MONEY JUNGLE IS CLOSING IN ON VETERANS
(By Robert F. Coll)

WASHINGTON.—An administration official says the veteran armed with his GI home loan is equipped with only a "hunting license."

And at present, he explains, the license is only good for rabbit hunting in the big game country of mortgage money.

The Government, through the Veterans' Administration, can merely stand back of the GI home loan. It cannot lend money except in rural areas where there is no private mortgage money.

President Eisenhower has asked Congress to increase the interest rate on VA loans from the present 4½ percent to 5. But the House Veterans' Affairs Committee refused. It said it was not at all sure this would accomplish the desired result of luring more mortgage money from banks and other lending institutions into GI homes.

Meantime, a number of developments have taken place.

First, new home building starts in January slumped to 11,000 all over the country—the lowest since the business recession of 1954.

Banks, led by the largest home loan institutions in the Nation, have pulled more and more money out of the GI home-mortgage market.

The banks, with a shortage of money to lend, felt they must place what's left in commercial loans, where it will bring better interest.

Veterans themselves are seeking and obtaining loans in fewer numbers.

As of January 1957 only about one-quarter of the Nation's 20 million veterans of World War II and Korea have taken up the Government on its veterans' home loan guaranty.

Some administration sources feel the slowdown in appraisals and applications means the average veteran has thrown up his hands on obtaining a GI loan even in areas where there still is enough private mortgage money to go around. They simply have stopped trying.

Another theory in some administration quarters is that the spiraling costs of real estate have priced many veterans out of the market.

Builders cite rising costs of labor and materials for the scarcity of low-cost housing.

Whatever the economic or political reasons, there is little question that unless a sharp change occurs building will continue to fall off along with loans.

Taxpayments of Arabian American Oil Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on February 20, 1957, I addressed a letter to Mr. R. L. Keyes, president of the Arabian American Oil Co., commonly known as Aramco, concerning a statement I made on the floor of the House of Representatives the day before, in which I alleged that for the purposes of United States income taxes his corporation treats oil royalty payments to the Saudi-Arabian Government as tax paid to a foreign government and therefore deductible from income taxes due the Government of the United States. My letter to Mr. Keyes is as follows:

FEBRUARY 20, 1957.

Mr. R. L. KEYES,
President, Arabian American Oil Co., New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. KEYES: Yesterday, on the floor of the House of Representatives, I made a statement alleging that for the purposes of United States income taxes your corporation treats oil royalty payments to the Saudi-Arabian Government as tax paid to a foreign government and therefore deductible from income taxes due to the Government of the United States.

In view of the tremendous commitments of economic and military aid made by our Government to the Saudi-Arabian Government, which promise dollars and soldiers to protect Saudi Arabia and the government of King Saud, it is extremely important for the American people to know what part of this tremendous investment in the Middle East flows back to the United States Treasury in the form of taxes. They are footing a tremendous bill and underwriting an obligation which may entail the lives of American citizens.

The American people, through their elective representatives, are expressing their good faith in pledging economic and military aid to stabilize the conditions in the Middle East. It seems morally incumbent upon your corporation, which is the principal beneficiary of this situation, to make clear the intricacies of your organization and your compliance with the spirit as well as the letter of the internal-revenue laws of the United States.

Your cooperation in this matter is very much needed to clear up the record.

Sincerely,

CHARLES A. VANIK,
Member of Congress.

In order that this matter may be fully considered by Members of Congress, I am submitting below a copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. R. L. Keyes, president of Arabian American Oil Co., in which he indicates that I have been misinformed with respect to the company's royalty payments to the Saudi Arabian Government and their treatment for United States income-tax purposes. Following is the copy of the letter which I have received from Mr. Keyes:

ARABIAN AMERICAN OIL CO.,
New York, N. Y., February 25, 1957.

Hon. CHARLES A. VANIK,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. VANIK: Your letter of February 20, 1957, and your statement on the floor of the House of Representatives on February 19, 1957, which has also come to my attention, indicates that you have been misinformed with respect to the company's royalty payments to the Saudi Arabian Government and their treatment for United States income-tax purposes.

The royalties which the company is obligated to pay under its concession agreement with the Saudi Arabian Government, and which it has paid since its production of oil in Saudi Arabia began, have been used only as deductions in computing net income in the company's United States income tax returns. They have never been applied as a credit or deduction from the income tax itself. I am informed that they cannot be.

Since 1950, when the Saudi Arabian Government enacted certain income-tax laws, the company has paid, in addition to the stipulated royalties, the income taxes imposed by those laws. These income taxes have been applied as a foreign tax credit against the United States income tax in accordance with provisions of the internal-revenue laws which have been available to all kinds of United States industries operating abroad under a policy which was first pronounced in the Revenue Act of 1918. These provisions have remained substantially undisturbed in principle since that time and are now contained in sections 901 through 905 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

Thus, it is only the income taxes which this company pays to the Saudi Arabian Government, and not the royalty, which is credited against the United States income tax. This complies, not only with the letter of the internal-revenue laws of the United States, but with the spirit of those laws, which for nearly 40 years have evidenced a clear purpose to relieve United States industry operating abroad from the discrimination which would inevitably result if it were subject to local taxation in addition to the income taxes of the United States.

Sincerely,

R. L. KEYES.

In my letter to Mr. Keyes and in my statement on the floor, I made an unfortunate use of words in stating that the corporation treated the oil-royalty payments to the Saudi Arabian Government as a tax paid to a foreign government. What I should more properly have stated was that the arrangement between the Arabian-American Oil Co. and the Saudi Arabian Government was one which had undergone a change since 1950, in which the emphasis on royalty payments was minimized in favor of an increase in taxes by the Saudi Arabian Government. The increased taxes arranged to be paid the Saudi Arabian Government in lieu of higher royalties could be used as a deduction by the Arabian-American Oil Co. on income taxes due the United States. There are apparently friendly relationships between our Government and the Government of Saudi Arabia, but this relationship does not approximate the relationship between the Arabian-American Oil Co. and the Saudi Arabian Government, which is one of close partnership in oil and oil profits.

It has come to my attention that the income-tax payments of the Arabian-American Oil Co. to our Government during recent years have become substantially below expectations, primarily because of the development of a deal between the Saudi Arabian Government and the Arabian-American Oil Co., which provided increased income-tax payments to the Saudi Arabian Government in lieu of increased royalties. In this way, the Arabian-American Oil Co. reduces tax-payments to the United States in the sum of any amounts paid to the Saudi Arabian Government as an income tax. It is indeed paradoxical that while American income taxes defend Saudi Arabia, King Saud assesses income taxes to provide friendly American corporations with handy deductions on American taxes.

I want to take this opportunity to restate the importance and the need of a public disclosure of the devotion to income-tax responsibilities of American corporations deeply involved in Saudi Arabian oil. The American people have pledged their good faith, their economic and military aid to guarantee the integrity of their oil contracts. They have a vital interest in knowing the practical application of our internal-revenue laws with respect to these extraordinary operations.

Anniversary of Hungarian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, today, from all corners in the world, people will gather in churches and elsewhere to pay tribute to the valiant Hungarians who celebrate in their hearts the 109th anniversary of Hungarian Independence. Hungary was founded in 897 A. D. and became a Christian country in 1000 A. D. As we recall history we know that the Turks occupied the country from the 15th century for 150 years. It is interesting to note that the desire for freedom lived in the hearts of these freedom fighters even while under the yoke of the Turks. In the 13th century they got a bill of rights which was similar to the Magna Carta which the British received at Runnymede, in 1215, though the Hungarians did not get this until around 1272.

I wish the RECORD to reflect my sincere hope that the Hungarians will soon again know the freedom for which they have so courageously fought recently. It is a sad but yet an inspiring thing to know the youth of Hungary have and are keeping alive the spirit of freedom despite heavy odds. Those of us who

have not known the struggle the Hungarian patriots have experienced can certainly look to these brave people and be filled with admiration, respect, and a genuine affection.

The Metropolitan Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, perhaps the major phenomenon of our times is the unprecedented growth of our metropolitan areas. Our population is increasing at a rate that has confounded the experts, and most of it is concentrated in some one-hundred-and-seventy-odd metropolitan complexes, whose spread, unless directed and controlled, will invite chaos in the not-too-distant future.

All over this country, local officials are overwhelmed with problems that they have neither the tools nor the authority to solve.

Fortunately, a tremendous amount of thought and study is going into the matter, both by official and unofficial agencies, at the local, State and Federal levels. Last week I introduced a bill, H. R. 5565, which would create a commission to study the problem from the national viewpoint, and suggest guidelines for its solution at the State and local levels where, of course, it must be solved.

Several of our great newspapers have rendered a tremendous public service by calling attention to the problem in their news columns, among them being the New York Times and the Rochester Times Union. During the past week, the Courier Express of Buffalo has published an excellent and comprehensive series of articles analyzing the problem as it affects the great Buffalo metropolitan area, and suggesting steps that must be taken to unlimber local government, free it from the rigidities of the past, and make it flexible enough to meet the needs of the present and the future.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD, the first two articles of this excellent series:

NEW PROBLEMS ARISE WITH SUBURBS' GROWTH

(Staff reporters of the Courier-Express have prepared a series of stories, of which this is the first, setting forth problems of urban living resulting from rapid growth of Erie County.)

Tom Jones sat by helplessly one night and watched his suburban home burn to the ground. Jones, who discovered the fire shortly after it started, had called the fire department.

Unfortunately he lived near the boundary of a fire district and he called the wrong company. By the time the mixup was straightened out and the right company arrived, it was too late to save the house.

Bob Smith had an important series of conferences in Buffalo. He left his East Aurora home in what should have been plenty of time. But unfortunately, it had snowed the night before.

Smith began creeping toward downtown Buffalo. The farther he went, the heavier the traffic and the slower the progress.

By the time he had inched through overcrowded streets to his office, a big chunk of his important business day had been wasted. He had lost time. He had lost money. And he had lost his temper.

PROBLEM: GROWTH IN SUBURBS

Bill Thompson and his wife spent several hundred dollars and countless hours fixing up the basement of their Snyder home, transforming it into a fine playroom. They laid tile on the floor and equipped the room with good furniture.

Then the rains came. Their yard was flooded and their sewer backed up. The Thompson furniture was ruined and water seeped under the newly laid tile. Their time, money, and plans went down the drain with the receding water.

Those particular things may not have happened to those specific persons in exactly that way. But the examples are typical, not of what could happen, but of what is happening here in varying degrees of seriousness virtually every day. They are symptomatic of Erie County today. Jones and Smith and Thompson are victims of the same municipal malady: The Topsy-like urban growth in the county.

Buffalo has burst its seams. It can't contain the urban population of the region, serving in the manner urbanites want to be served. The people are looking for something more than they can get in the city. And they have flocked to the suburbs to get it.

Towns and villages have had to accommodate the disgorged population at a rate far faster than they had anticipated, far faster than they were prepared for.

Buffalo on the other hand was for more than 100 years geared to expansion. It must now readjust itself to a static population. Some experts have suggested it may be a declining one by 1975.

But the people who remain in the city and those who are moving in from other areas expect urban services to continue and to improve. To them, those services are a part of city living. They will not tolerate reduced services simply because the city's position in the expanding community is being altered.

MORE SERVICES IN SUBURBS

On the other hand, the families who moved to the suburbs want those urban services in their new homes. They weren't moving away from the city to do with less.

They moved to improve their living standards. In their new homes they want more, not less, than they were getting in the city.

They want the quiet surroundings, the extra space, the cleanliness, the good schools, the all-around gracious living associated with suburban life. But with it they want water, sewers, improved streets, street lights, adequate fire protection, quick transportation to the city by car or bus.

They want it now. And they want it without having to pay taxes very much higher than the people in the city pay. In far too many cases, they haven't found it.

SEWERS AND SCHOOLS

They have found the good schools but with them they have found overcrowding and part-time sessions. They have found sewer facilities but they have found some woefully inadequate in times of emergency. They have found extra space in their homes and yards but they have found highways jammed with bumper-to-bumper traffic. They have demanded these things be improved.

It's quite an order, and one which the towns and villages have done their best to fill. Within their limits, they have filled it well. The villages have extended their services to the limit—even to the annexation of adjacent areas. The towns themselves have nearly 1,000 special-service districts to provide the services in the unincorporated areas.

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE

But special districts have their limits and disadvantages as our fictional friends Jones and the Thompsons found. And the heavy additional traffic on the streets and highways in the county have caused problems complicated by uncoordinated efforts of highway departments on various levels of government, as Smith discovered.

No one is directly to blame for the present situation. No one has been really derelict in his duty. And for what consolation it's worth, Erie County is no worse off—it may even be better—that most other urban areas in the Nation.

Something must be done, though. The problem is a big one and getting even bigger. In an effort to define the scope of the problem, the staff of the Courier-Express has prepared a series of articles to explain what we are facing and to point up ways of meeting the problem.

OLD BORDERS IMPEDE VITAL SERVICES

(This is the second in a series of articles which will discuss the problems posed by the growth of Erie County.)

What to do about mushrooming suburban growth is strictly a problem of our times—at least as far as Erie County is concerned. In 1900, when Buffalo was preparing for the Pan-American Exposition which was intended—in part, at least—to glorify Buffalo, the suburbs played practically no part in the thinking.

The population outside the city was only 81,300, compared with 352,387 in the city itself. And those who lived outside Buffalo either were residents of incorporated villages (there were no other cities then) or farmers. No one worried about town streets, sewers, planning, law enforcement, or any of the other problems facing us today.

That situation continued through World War I. The population in the county outside Buffalo increased only 23,971 between 1900 and 1910 while Buffalo was growing by 71,328. In the next decade, the outlying portions added only 22,643 while the city was adding 83,060.

But after World War I, with the birth of the automobile age, the towns started growing—first in the sections right next to the city and gradually into the second ring of towns. The towns of Amherst, Cheektowaga, Hamburg, and West Seneca more than doubled their populations in the 10 years ending in 1930. Tonawanda doubled it and then doubled it again in the same period.

The population growth outside Buffalo nearly matched that of the city during the 1920–30 period—the first time in history that happened. The city added 66,301 persons, less than in the previous decade, while the remainder of the county added 61,419, nearly three times as much as in the 10-year period ending in 1920.

TOWN EFFORTS MADE

The towns immediately surrounding Buffalo tried to meet the problem. They installed sewers, assessing the cost of the improvement against the benefitted property, with little regard for ability to pay. The process nearly bankrupted the property owners when the depression hit in 1929. The towns added streets and schools and built up police forces in many cases. But they didn't plan for orderly growth. They had no community planning agencies and their zoning and subdivision regulations were rudimentary.

In the depression decade the surging population was cut off almost as fast as it had grown. Between 1930 and 1940 the population of the county outside Buffalo grew only

29,144. But that was far faster than it grew in Buffalo. The city's increase was only 2,525.

This was the time for planning, for consolidating, for laying the foundations for the future. But in the 1930's no one was absolutely sure there was going to be any future. And even those who were optimistic barely managed to keep their heads above water. They weren't about to go out and make vast expenditures for future growth.

Then came World War II and a new birth of confidence. It became obvious that things were going to boom after the war. Housing was going to be short. People were going to be demanding consumer goods. Expansion was expected. But many people having been burned once, weren't in the mood for buying a pig in a poke as far as expansion went.

They figured the sewers and improvements that were already in, the developments that had been placed there in the 1920's in anticipation of the growth that never came, would be sufficient to take care of the immediate needs. State restrictions were tight. Planning was a new-fangled idea. And besides all that, there was no material available with which to do any work anyway.

"Doncha know there's a war on?" was the stock answer for a man who wanted a white shirt. If you couldn't get shirts, how could you get sewer pipes and concrete?

So the war ended and all the other booms in history were mere bumps on the log of prosperity compared with the spectacular joyride we have experienced ever since. Between 1940 and 1950, more than 100,600 persons moved into the suburbs. Authorities estimate 139,000 more have moved in since 1950.

HOUSING BOOM

In the postwar boom, people wanted homes. And with the help, in many cases, of GI loans, they got them. They got them in every conceivable size and shape. Subdivision regulations and zoning ordinance which put a minimum price on property improvements might as well not have existed. You couldn't even put up a cracker box for less than $5,000 and that was the minimum price in many locations. The $10,000 minimums soon became equally worthless.

With the growth came the realization that governments which had seemed perfectly adequate in the early 1900s and perfectly good—though pretty lax—in the 1920s simply could not cope with the current expansion which spilled over town and municipality boundaries as if they weren't there.

They aren't there, except in a governmental sense. But in that sense they are about as real as any fact could be. Services which were needed where the population was were hemmed in by artificial boundaries, many of them established more than 100 years ago.

So today we are working in Buffalo and living in Clarence. Or we are living in Buffalo and working in Tonawanda. We go from our homes in Orchard Park to spend an afternoon in the Buffalo Zoo, driving over West Seneca, Cheektowaga and Buffalo Streets to get there. We turn on our water in our home in Amherst and get Water Authority, Tonawanda or Buffalo water, depending on what time of day it is and how big the demand has been. We let the water out of the drain in our home in West Seneca and it goes out through a local sewer system, the Buffalo Sewer Authority system or into a septic tank, depending on which side of the road we live on.

BOUNDARIES IN WAY

We find many of our services hemmed in and hedged by those artificial boundaries which still are fine for many local purposes but which are only in the way when it comes to providing us with the services we need in the most efficient way and at the lowest possible cost.

High Court Boots Football

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the recent Supreme Court decision claiming that football is a business, and refusing to reverse a decision that professional baseball is a sport, has created untold confusion in the sports ranks of our country, not only to the owners of teams in the National Football League, but also players, sports editors and writers, and sportsmen in professional football and in all other sports. All, at present, are greatly confused.

I believe that this point is aptly expressed in an editorial which appeared in the Johnstown Tribune-Democrat on Saturday, March 17, by George S. Cooper, sports editor, entitled "High Court Boots Football."

Mr. Cooper is well known, not only in Johnstown, Pa., but throughout organized and amateur baseball, and in all other fields of sports, as an outstanding editor. I believe this editorial will be of genuine interest, not only to the Members of Congress, but to all interested individuals.

HIGH COURT BOOTS FOOTBALL

The Supreme Court dealt the National Football League a staggering blow this week when the high tribunal ruled that professional football is not exempt from the Federal antitrust laws.

The NFL had contended that it was entitled to the same exemptions as enjoyed by professional baseball. The court, however, said "no," by a 6–3 verdict.

Consequences of the decision will be far reaching in pro football. It will affect the NFL's reserve clause, patterned after the reserve clause in baseball contracts, and it casts grave doubts upon the legality of the league's draft system.

Why, then, is baseball exempt? How come baseball holds special privileges which are denied football and boxing and all other professional sports? These questions were raised generally after last Monday's decision.

There are technical differences between the football draft and the baseball draft. Neither are the contract reserve clauses exactly identical.

The chief distinction, however, as we see it from the court's latest decision, is that baseball acquired an exempt status 35 years ago and now the court doesn't want to reverse itself. At that time professional sports operations were vastly different from today. Pro football in 1922 was not organized. Boxing's interstate activities 35 years ago were negligible. Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes then ruled that baseball was a sport, not a business in the sense of the antitrust laws. If that distinguished jurist were living today he might have a different viewpoint.

In 1922 there were no farm systems, no television and no radio. All of those things now are essential in the business of professional baseball.

Another baseball case reached the Supreme Court in 1953. The Court at that time recognized the changes that have taken place in 30 years, but still was unwilling to set aside Justice Holmes' famous decision. The high tribunal said Congress could remove baseball's exemption by legislation if it saw fit.

UP TO CONGRESS

Congress, however, made no move and baseball still is exempt.

The Court broadly implied in the majority decision Monday that baseball also would be ruled subject to the antitrust laws if the Court were considering baseball for the first time. Speaking for the majority, Justice Tom Clark said, "were we considering the question of baseball for the first time upon a clean slate we would have no doubts."

The Supreme Court naturally is reluctant to reverse itself after having twice affirmed baseball's status. However, the Court again declared Monday that the 1922 decision and a 1953 decision adhering to it "must yield to any congressional action."

WHAT ABOUT BASEBALL?

Last Monday's Supreme Court decision threw pro football for a loss. And it didn't do pro baseball any good, either.

The major baseball leagues unquestionably will be under heavier pressure to maintain their privileged, exempt status. There may be a wave of public opinion against this apparent discrimination. Congress, of course, is susceptible to public sentiment. If the popular demand is strong enough, Congress will remove baseball's exemption.

Major league baseball is, as a matter of reality and fact, far more extensively engaged in interstate business than either football or boxing.

The High Court still holds, however, that baseball is a sport, not a business.

To a casual observer professional baseball may be principally a sport. But anyone who has tried to operate a minor league club knows that professional baseball is a ruthless, cold-blooded business.

No minor club can operate these days without the sanction of the majors. For example, Johnstown won't have baseball this year. The New York Giants last fall decided to drop the Johnnies from their farm system. No other major club wants Johnstown. So, we're through.

Why? Simply because the big leagues have a virtual corner on professional ball players. And the antitrust laws don't apply, the Supreme Court says.

Hungarian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the extraordinary heroism which patriotic Hungarians have sown in their recent fight against tyranny has electrified the free world, and has endeared them to all lovers of freedom. It is interesting that these important and startling events have their counterpart in the great events of 1848. In March of that year, when revolutionary waves were sweeping Europe, the Hungarians revolted against the Austrian autocracy. As a result, Hungary became, just 109 years ago, what was essentially an independent state. That day became a landmark in Hungary's history, and March 13 has ever since been celebrated as the Hungarian Independence Day.

The events of 1848 bear close resemblance to those of last November. In both instances the Hungarians fought bravely for high principles. The independence they achieved is now a mere memory. But it stands for the hopes and greatness of the Hungarian people. I gladly join them in the celebration of this solemn and memorable day, the Hungarian Independence Day.

Fifty–Fifty Law Holds Ocean Freight Rates Down and Expedites Agriculture Surplus Disposal Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, the 50–50 shipping law—also known as Public Law 664, the Cargo Preference Act—which provides that at least 50 percent of Government-sponsored cargoes shall be shipped in American-flag vessels, has proved its worth not only to our merchant marine but also to the farm segment of our economy. This may come as a surprise to some of our agriculture and foreign-aid friends who have vigorously opposed the 50–50 legislation because they do not understand it.

The bill was designed to furnish cargoes for American-flag ships many of which would now have been laid up but for the legislation, according to testimony by the United States Maritime Administration. Those who alleged that it would cost the Government more to ship 50 percent of its relief cargoes and agriculture surplus cargoes on American ships than on foreign ships are being proved to have been in error—as the proponents of the legislation indicated would be the case. The opponents were in error also when they said that the 50–50 law would hinder the agriculture surplus disposal program.

In the first place, American liner services charge the same rate as foreign liner services because they are governed by international conference agreements. Thus, there was no additional expense when United States liner services were used. The American tramp ship normally charges a higher rate than does the foreign tramp ship, but the difference is only a small percentage of the total freight paid by the Government and is far exceeded by the income tax which the Government collects from the ship operator who is permitted to stay in business by the 50–50 law. The general benefits to our economy by keeping some of our freight dollars in our own economic blood stream need not even be considered for purposes of this discussion. Nor do we need to discuss the national defense benefits from maintaining a strong American merchant marine.

Secondly, the 50–50 law has kept world rates down for the carriage of Government-sponsored cargoes. During the current shortage of world shipping, caused in part by the Suez Canal situation, world rates would have skyrocketed had it not been for the 50–50 law.

How does this happen? The 50–50 law provides that at least 50 percent of Government-sponsored cargoes shall be carried on American-flag ships if available at fair and reasonable rates. Pursuant to this law the Maritime Administration establishes fair and reasonable rates for United States flag commercial vessels which participate in the program. In other words, a ceiling is set beyond which United States-flag ship rates for carrying Government-sponsored cargoes cannot go. This tends to set a ceiling also for foreign-flag vessels which would normally take advantage of international ship shortages and charge all the traffic would bear. If foreign-flag vessels wish to participate in carrying our foreign-relief cargoes and agriculture surplus cargoes their rates must be in line with those established by the Maritime Administration. If during a period of ship shortages, they seek to pressure our Government into paying higher rates by not making their foreign ships available for our cargoes, the Government could obtain needed shipping space by breaking out ships from its reserve fleet. This it has done. The net effect has been to keep the rates down on Government-sponsored cargoes.

How much money the Government has saved as a result of 50–50 is, of course, a matter for conjecture. Some idea may be gained from a news item quoting Col. Arthur Syran, ICA Director of Transportation. He was quoted as saying that in the grain trade from the North Atlantic to Antwerp-Rotterdam there were no American-flag ships available and the rates rose 58 percent. He was also quoted as saying that on a certain grain fixture ICA had paid an 88-percent increase in rates.

Under Public Law 480 the disposal abroad of $3 billion worth of our surplus agricultural products was authorized. As a general rule of thumb, ocean transportation costs under normal circumstances would run less than 2 percent. Thus, the cost of transporting overseas $3 billion worth of agricultural surpluses would run about $60 million. Any substantial increase in ocean freight rates would amount to quite a sizable sum.

In addition to acting as a ceiling on ocean freight rates, it should also be noted that the 50–50 law has in effect helped to expedite the agricultural surplus-disposal program. Without the law there is no question but that the whole program not only would have been at the mercy of skyrocketing foreign rates, but would have bogged down for lack of vessels to carry the cargoes. Because American ships have been available at fair and reasonable rates the agricultural surplus-disposal program has operated on schedule. As a matter of fact it is anticipated that the general authority under Public Law 480 will be increased by an additional $1 billion in this Congress.

Only through the existence of an American merchant marine could our farmers and agricultural groups find assurance of service and protection from excessive rates in seeking to serve their international markets. I sincerely trust that there will be no ill-advised attempts in this Congress to scuttle the 50–50 law which has proved to be both fair and beneficial.

Tribute to a Hero

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to etxend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD the following remarks made by Col. Raymond G. Davis, United States Marine Corps, CMH. The occasion was the presentation of a portrait to Mrs. Emma Kelly, the mother of Pfc. John D. Kelly, Homestead, Pa., who valiantly gave his life in Korea and who was posthumously awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. The entire community of Homestead was on hand to honor this great hero on February 28, 1957.

The Homestead School Board is to be congratulated on its presentation of a portrait to honor the late Pfc. John D. Kelly, here in the school from which he graduated.

It is most fitting that this ceremony is being conducted here.

This school is one of the symbols of a great people who value liberty and freedom of expression above all else and who have won and maintained our liberty through deeds of sacrifice and heroism akin to those of the young man whose memory we are now honoring.

No country can rise higher than the intelligence, moral and spiritual development of its citizens.

We have founded our country upon the basic principle that its citizens will be enlightened and will be clean in morals and chaste in manners.

Many times we are able to find ideals upon which we can gage our lives.

These ideals are ofttimes associated with our heroes.

For many of us for a long time heroes were people we read about in books.

History had recorded their illustrious deeds, the years had given them grandeur, but time in rendering their heroics had left their likenesses a little hazy.

We would applaud our heroes, cherish them, take their accomplishments for our standard, but we could never feel close to them.

Here in Pennsylvania you have given to our country many of these heroes in the past. Here are a few:

Anthony Wayne fought with Washington and distinguished himself at Germantown.

Admiral Perry—not born here, but a Pennsylvanian by choice—was a hero of the naval battles of 1812.

General McClellan served in the Mexican War and later commanded the Union Forces in 1861 and 1862.

Tasker Bliss serevd in the Spanish-American War and rose to be Chief of Staff of the Army.

Peyton March served in the Philippines in the Spanish-American War and rose to be Chief of Staff of the Army following General Bliss.

Those heroes we find are statues in our parks, headings in our textbooks, contribu-

tors to our heritage, who are quoted, honored, praised.

We revere them at a dim and misty distance, but we do not really know them as individuals.

Now those things have changed.

We live in an era of crisis when courageous men and women must race to meet the challenge of every day that dawns.

The heroes of these demanding days are men and women we know.

The boys and girls who have grown up in our own lifetime and in our lives.

They have walked our streets, played in our backyards, learned their lessons in our schools, prayed in our churches, romped in our parks, played ball on our corner lots.

Jack Kelly unlike the heroes of the past was a man known to Homestead.

He lived here among you.

John D. Kelly exemplified all the finer things we strive for as a standard upon which to gage our lives.

How did he become the man he was?

To whom are we indebted for his great character?

First we owe a debt to his family.

The real honored guest here today is the mother of the young man whose deeds of courage and sacrifice have occasioned this ceremony.

Her early guidance and her strong character were reflected in her heroic son.

May her sense of grief over the loss of her son be mellowed by the memory of the heroic manner of his going, and by the great honor he has brought on all about him.

We are indebted also to his friends, his neighbors, his counselors, and to all who contributed toward his development.

The day to day contacts he made, his friendly associations, the games he played; all these played a part in his growth.

This school contributed greatly also.

His teachers and counselors, his coaches, the facilities for study and development of ideas and ideals.

He is remembered as a fine student, and one who played basketball on your championship team, prior to his graduation in 1948.

He then attended Arizona State College prior to entering the Marine Corps.

The war in Korea was a year old when he joined.

After completing his basic training at Parris Island he was transferred to Camp Pendleton on the west coast for combat training prior to joining the First Marine Division in Korea.

The war there was a stalemate in overall effect, but there was a very real, serious battle for many positions over much of the front.

His unit was in the middle of some of the heaviest fighting on the Korean front as indicated by the fact that more than 3,000 heavy mortar and artillery shells were fired into his area on the day of his heroic action.

His unit was under direct fire from machineguns and was being hit by hand grenades.

It was the kind of situation which can only be saved by the presence of a man who can rise above the rest and lead the way to success.

Fortunately in many dire situations throughout our history we have always had such a man to appear.

In this battle, which was going very badly indeed, Jack Kelly was to be that man.

He had been a radio operator.

Seeing how desperate the situation was he obtained permission and left his radio in the care of another Marine so he could better participate in the assault on the enemy key positions.

I have a letter from Jack Kelly's commanding officer in Korea which I would like to read:

ARCADIA, CALIF., *February 21, 1957.*

DEAR MRS. KELLY: The words of a citation can never serve to describe the true value of deeds performed by such men as your son. His heroic conduct and action will never be forgotten by the men of my command.

The morning of May 28, 1952, is a vivid memory for me and all of the men who served with me. Aside from the courageous conduct of your son in the face of hostile action, his great sacrifice has served an even greater purpose. The immediate effect of his performance on that morning was to inspire the men of my platoon into numerous individual acts of bravery that enabled us to accomplish our mission against the numerically superior enemy force.

The enduring effects of that morning will be to serve as inspiration to all of the men in my platoon in the conduct of their lives. It is a deed that will long be remembered and always discussed when we are able to rendezvous around the country. I will always consider it an honored privilege to have served and directed men of the United States Marine Corps and especially to have been associated with your son on May 28, 1952.

More important, the men of my platoon, who are the fathers of today, will utilize the memory of your son in demonstrating to their sons the values so important in the lives of the leaders of tomorrow—courage, initiative, leadership, and self-sacrifice.

It is very pleasing to me to know that the memory of your son will be commemorated in the school which must have contributed so heavily in molding the character and personality of this great young American.

I regret that the distance of miles will keep me from attending this memorial service, but can assure you that my prayerful thoughts and memories will be directed to Homestead, Pa., on the occasion of this service. It is my hope that I will be able to visit you and witness this portrait at an early date.

Sincerely,

HOWARD L. SIERS.

Quoting from his citation for the Congressional Medal of Honor:

"Fearlessly charging forward in the face of a murderous hail of machinegun fire and hand grenades, he initiated a daring attack against a hostile strongpoint and personally neutralized the position, killing two of the enemy.

"Unyielding in the face of heavy odds, he continued forward and singlehandedly assaulted a machinegun bunker.

"Although painfully wounded, he bravely charged the bunker and destroyed it, killing three of the enemy.

"Courageously continuing his one-man assault, he again stormed forward in a valiant attempt to wipe out a third bunker and boldly delivered pointblank fire into the aperture of the hostile emplacement.

"Mortally wounded by enemy fire while carrying out this heroic action, Private First Class Kelly, by his great personal valor and aggressive fighting spirit, inspired his comrades to sweep on, overrun and secure the objective.

"His extraordinary heroism in the face of almost certain death reflects the highest credit upon himself and enhances the finest traditions of the United States Naval Service.

"He gallantly gave his life for his country.

"DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
"The President of the United States."

To recall and recognize his deeds of heroism is not only to honor John D. Kelly, but to strengthen our own resolution to be worthy of the example he has set.

Few of us will ever approach his bravery but we can at least keep alive in ourselves and instill in our children those standards and traditions of unselfish devotion to great principles which make men and nations great.

We can honor Jack Kelly more fittingly by dedicating ourselves to the task of making our country the kind of place for which he and others like him would be proud to have given their lives.

The heroism of this young Marine gives new meaning to our heritage of courage.

Today, we pay tribute to Pfc. John D. Kelly, not as a man whose heartbeat has been stilled, but as another great and brave Pennsylvanian whose heart beats on in the great heartbeat of freedom.

The Pros and Cons of Health and Welfare Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, last week I received a report published by the Washington office of the American Medical Association. It contains statistics of vital interest to those people who discuss the pros and cons of health and welfare issues.

The report follows:

COST OF MEDICAL CARE IN THE UNITED STATES

When the various parts that go into the Nation's health bill each year are added up, the total is staggering. Estimates of private and public spending include the cost of everything from patent medicine and toothpaste to surgeons' fees. Private care for the country in 1955 was placed at $11.2 billion, while public care (Federal, State, and local) was estimated at $3.9 billion. The following figures for private care costs are for 1955: $3.4 billion for physicians' charges; $3.7 billion for hospital charges; $2.3 billion for charges for drugs and appliances; $1.8 billion for other charges, including nursing, etc.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL RESOURCES

The medical "plant" that provides the country with the finest care of any nation is equally impressive when viewed statistically. In one area, that of medical-school graduates, bare statistics fail to tell the whole story. They do not, for instance, reflect the increased utilization of physicians' skills and the advance of medical knowledge in treatment of patients.

Two hundred and twenty-five thousand five hundred and seventy-nine physicians in United States in January 1956; 1,604,000 hospital beds in United States in 1955; 430,000 professional nurses in 1955; 300,000 practical nurses, attendants, nurses' aids in 1955; 4,735 medical-school graduates in 1930; 5,275 medical-school graduates in 1940; 6,135 medical-school graduates in 1950; 6,845 medical-school graduates in 1956.

VOLUNTARY HEALTH INSURANCE

Another development of great importance in the furnishing of medical care has been the growth of voluntary health insurance. Twenty years ago the number of persons covered by some form of health insurance was only 1.5 million. When the drive was on for compulsory health insurance in 1949, just over 50 million persons were covered by voluntary insurance. Organized medicine contended then that voluntary coverage would expand, thus obviating the need for Government insurance. The following figures prove this was a good estimate of the situation: 110 million persons now covered for hospital

charges; 92 million persons now covered for physicians' charges for surgery; 55 million persons now covered for physicians' medical charges in hospitals; 10 million persons now covered for physicians' home and office call charges; 10 million persons now covered for major medical expenses (catastrophic) compared with 1,200,000 covered in 1953.

HEALTH BILLS INTRODUCED IN CONGRESS

National legislators have not held back on the sponsoring of many health and medical bills. They cover just about every phase of medicine and human welfare. Most of them, of course, never get past committees. But as an indicator of the growing interest in health legislation these figures on bills introduced are illuminating: 250 measures, 1951–52, 82d Congress; 407 measures, 1953–54, 83d Congress; 571 measures, 1955–56, 84th Congress.

POTENTIAL BENEFICIARIES OF FEDERAL MEDICINE

Some of the greatest activity in the health field has involved laws and amendments to laws that widen the scope of medical care for Federal beneficiaries. The very latest is Medicare voted last year for military dependents. Today, nearly 1 out of every 4 persons, including over 22 million veterans, is eligible to receive at no cost to them some degree of medical care from the Federal Government: 22,599,000 living veterans as of January 1, 1957; 5,200,000 military personnel and their dependents; 300,000 beneficiaries of the Public Health Service, including 200,000 seamen, but excluding beneficiaries of Federal Employees' Compensation Act and Indians; 5,100,000 public assistance recipients; 370,000 Indians and Alaskan natives receiving care in 56 Federal hospitals or in private facilities under contract; 4 million beneficiaries of the Federal Bureau of Employees' Compensation Act (at-work injuries only); 48,627 Public Health Service hospital admissions in 16 hospitals in 1956; 1,042,000 outpatient visits in 121 Public Health Service outpatient facilities during 1956; foreign economic aid programs (entirely U. S.) and the World Health Organization (U. S. largest contributor) give limited health care in 92 foreign countries. Example: 25,300,000 children were vaccinated in 1956; 7 million Federal employees and their dependents (will be eligible for health care if proposed legislation is enacted).

FEDERAL HEALTH SPENDING

Under the impetus of new legislation enacted during the last few years—and particularly the new emphasis on medical research—the Federal health budget is rising steadily. Bills introduced in the present (85th) Congress seek to expand many existing programs or set up new ones. The following tables gives the total Federal health bill for the current and last fiscal year and a breakdown of health-spending for the top three departments of Government:

	Fiscal 1957	Fiscal 1956	Increase (percent)
Total, all agencies	$2,558,719,168	$2,268,826,576	12.8
Veterans' Administration	825,024,300	790,185,800	4.4
Department of Defense	790,105,000	818,104,500	----------
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	772,661,800	526,935,400	46.6

SOCIAL SECURITY

Of all the programs of Government enacted in the last several decades, none has had greater impact on the population or has been subject to more liberalizing amendments than the Social Security Act of 1935. It began on a relatively modest scale, with retirement payments of up to $10 a month for wage earners who reached age 65. At that time, there were no benefits for the surviving spouse and children.

Now, 22 years later, the law has been amended to include: (1) Survivorship benefits, (2) maximum monthly family survivorship payments as high as $200, and (3) a program enacted in 1956 and effective this July 1 for payment of social-security benefits to disabled workers at age 50. Efforts continue to be made to amend the law, including a program of free hospitalization of the aged, disability benefits at all ages, and compulsory national health insurance. Statistics on the program as it exists today: 9,250,000 persons received OASI monthly checks in January 1957; 70 million wage earners are covered and being taxed; 9 out of 10 persons in the United States are primarily insured or are their beneficiaries; $22,519,000,000 in United States bonds in OASI trust fund. Payments from the OASI trust fund and contributions to it are now about equal. Tax rate is 2¼ percent for employees and employers (4½ percent total); 3⅜ percent for self-employed. Under present law, 1975 rate will be 4¼ percent for employees and employers (8½ percent total); 6⅜ percent for self-employed. Under a 1956 law, permanently and totally disabled persons aged 50–65 can get payments equal to retirement payments. Over 1 million inquiries already have been made for disability payments or disability freeze; about one-half of the more than half a million formal applications have been approved.

Labor organizations propose a $6,000 tax base on which contributions would be computed, instead of the present $4,200 base.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

A part of the Social Security Act, but a separate administrative operation, the public-assistance program, also was enacted in 1935. Its basic purpose was to assist States in providing subsistence for destitute families. From the beginning, the States have contributed a portion of funds for the various categories of recipients. Federal appropriations 20 years ago were about $209 million annually. Now they have increased more than sevenfold, so that the appropriation for the current fiscal year approximates $1.5 billion. There are four programs: aged, blind, permanently and totally disabled, and dependent children.

Until amendments last year, unspecified Federal-State funds were paid out for medical services of the needy. An educated guess has been that between $90 million and $100 million of Federal money has been going into such medical payments. A more accurate estimate should be forthcoming as a result of the 1956 amendments. These amendments set up a new category of Federal-State payments for medical care over and above the old subsistence-payment limits, with medical payments going directly to the physician, hospital, druggist, clinic, or nursing home.

Five million one hundred thousand persons get monthly public-assistance checks—medical costs included.

Under new law, direct medical payments are to be made in behalf of assistance recipients to physicians, nursing homes, hospitals, and for drugs. These direct payments will probably exceed $200 million and could reach $300 million by 1958.

VETERANS

Another vast program with high demands on the Federal budget is that for veterans' medical care. The policy of the Federal Government is that wartime veterans with service-incurred disabilities are entitled to the best medical and hospital care that can be provided. The American Medical Association supports this policy. Congress in June 1924 authorized VA to admit indigent non-service-connected veterans when there were spare beds. By 1957 roughly 75 percent of all cases treated in VA hospitals were for injuries and diseases not originating during or aggravated by military service.

Now the problem is becoming more complicated as the veteran population grows older (World War I veteran in VA hospitals averages age 62) and becomes subject to chronic illnesses. Demands increase for use of VA facilities. Today VA requires: A full-time staff of over 4,600 physicians; 2,247 residents; 11,000 part-time consultants; and thousands of doctors on a contract basis for the agency's hometown care program.

Twenty-two million five hundred and ninety-nine thousand total number of living veterans as of January 1957; 121,865 total number of VA hospital beds as of January 1957; 111,540 number of patients in VA hospital facilities on an average 1957 day; $619,614,000 will be spent by VA for in-patient care in fiscal year 1957; $82,638,000 will be spent for out-patient care in fiscal year 1957.

More than 2 out of 3 veterans treated in VA hospitals are treated for non-service-connected conditions.

Alabama Service Station Association Asks for Passage of H. R. 11, the Equality of Opportunity Bill

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, any time we try to legislate to strengthen the antitrust laws, or plug some loophole in the antitrust laws, we encounter some powerful opposition. This has been the case with H. R. 11, although this bill would give small-business firms only quite modest and reasonable protection from big business' abuse of power.

The giant corporations in several industries have been carrying on campaigns against the bill. This biggest and most powerful campaign is being waged by the super-giant corporations in the oil industry. This is not I imagine, because the major oil companies are more opposed to H. R. 11 than are the major corporations in some of the other industries. It is because these corporations have more lavish funds to spend on such campaigns, they have bigger and better oiled machinery for conducting a nationwide grassroots campaign and, so it has seemed, the officials of these corporations are more arrogant and irresponsible even to what is, in the long run, their own self-interest.

On January 28, and again on February 5, I called attention to a "false front"

lobby which is being conducted by some of the major oil companies, to prevent passage of H. R. 11. This lobby was conceived and organized within the American Petroleum Institute, and it utilizes all of the most modern and effective techniques of lobbying. It is appropriately called a false-front lobby for the reason that the major oil companies have not set about to persuade the public that the legislation will be bad for the major oil companies; rather, they have set about to persuade oil jobbers and retail dealers that the legislation will be bad for these small-business men who, in fact, will be greatly helped by the legislation.

DEALERS ARE NOT DECEIVED

Despite all this expenditure of money and effort by the major oil companies however, most of the independent gasoline dealers appear not to have been persuaded that black is white, and that they will be hurt by an antitrust law which would give them some protection against abuse of power which is inherent in these multi-billion dollar oil corporations. In fact, I have received many letters from retail gasoline dealers and from State associations of retail gasoline dealers which express just the opposite point of view. One of these letters from a State association has come to me from Mr. Allen Smith, chairman of the board of directors of the Alabama Service Station Association.

Mr. Smith's letter, omitting personal references to me appears below, after which I will comment on the reasons why H. R. 11 is in the public interest:

ALABAMA SERVICE STATION ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Birmingham, Ala.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have just finished reading, with interest, your addresses in Congress on January 28 and February 5.

* * * * *

We, even collectively, cannot possibly raise funds and supply time and effort to fight our own battles as they should be fought. Fortunately, however, there are a few of us who are willing to make a sacrifice of time and money to see that justice is received by our more timid fellow men. I am sure that you have already found our association on record as supporting H. R. 11.

Are you receiving full support from our representatives?

We are thoroughly in accord with you in that if the big oil companies cannot meet competition at the established prices they should cut their tremendous earnings to meet it or else we need new blood in the oil industry.

Please notify us of any way we can be of any help in this battle for us.

Sincerely,

T. ALLEN SMITH,
Chairman, Board of Directors, Alabama Service Station Association, Inc.

H. R. 11 GIVES ONLY MODEST PROTECTION TO DEALERS

Now what does H. R. 11 do? Does it say to the major oil company that it cannot discriminate in price to meet the competition of an off-brand dealer? Does it say that the oil company cannot discriminate in price to assist one of its independent dealers to meet the price of an off-brand dealer? Does it say that if a major oil company cuts its price to meet the competition of an off-brand dealer in Chicago, that it must also cut its price in New York—or at least, perhaps, that it must cut the price throughout the State of Illinois?

The answer to all of these questions is—no.

What H. R. 11 does say to the major oil company is this: You may cut your price to one of your dealers in order to meet the competition of an off-brand station, but if you do so, then you must also cut your price to your other dealers who are in competition with that dealer for whom you wish to cut the price.

Now of course, if the bill said that the major oil company must give absolutely equal treatment to its competing dealers, then the bill might prove troublesome and inconvenient to the oil company. But the bill does not require absolutely equal treatment. It only cautions the oil company against making discriminations which are so gross and so prolonged that the effect may be, in the language of the bill, "substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly."

As I have said, I believe that in the long run H. R. 11 will prove to be a vital safeguard to continued private ownership of the major oil companies. However, it is easy to see why, from a narrow, short-run point of view, the big oil companies prefer the law as it is. Under the Supreme Court's interpretation of section 2 of the Clayton Antitrust Act, as amended by the Robinson-Patman Act, an oil company may discriminate in price among its dealers as it pleases, if the lower of its prices meets a competitor's price.

BIG OIL COMPANIES BENEFIT FROM DISCRIMINATION

This unrestrained license to mobilize great marketing power and pinpoint the whole weight of that power on any market—on any neighborhood—gives a formidable advantage to the big oil companies.

It permits the major oil company to take business from an off-brand filling station, and from the small refiner who supplies the off-brand station, at only an insignificant cost to the major oil company. Under the law as it now stands, the major oil company can cut prices to one of its dealers just across the street from the off-brand station, so that the dealer may meet the price of the off-brand station; but—and this is the point small business objects to—the oil company need not, at the same time, reduce prices to its other dealers just down the street who also lose business, and perhaps go out of business, because of the first dealer's price reduction to meet competition.

The practical result of this kind of "price meeting" is, of course, that the off-brand dealer is either squeezed out of business, or kept barely alive on a starvation volume, depending upon the major oil company's preference in the matter. An equal result is that some distributor who supplies that off-brand dealer is squeezed out, and the small refiner who supplies that distributor is squeezed out. Independent refiners have been going out of business faster than retail filling stations over the past several years. But unlike the retail filling stations, as independent refiners have gone out of busiess, no new independent refiners have sprung up to take their place. More and more of the business is taken over by the major oil companies.

MAJOR OIL COMPANIES LIKE A LITTLE OFF-BRAND COMPETITION

The present license to discriminate to drive out the off-brand dealer is the basic power advantage by which the major oil company reaps many other advantages. For example, while there is no great number of off-brand stations in the country, the major oil companies find it advantageous that a scattering of such dealers remain in business. Obviously, by the discriminatory devices which the oil companies regularly use, all of these off-brand stations could easily have been driven out of business long ago. In fact, some major oil companies actually supply many of these off-brand dealers—with first-grade gasoline to be sold as unbranded gasoline. There are no longer enough independent refiners to supply them, located as they are at many places where freight costs make them inaccessible to the independent refiners.

These off-brand dealers then provide the major oil companies with an excuse for discriminating in price to squeeze their dealers' margins. The major oil company simply cuts its price to one of its dealers in an area, knowing that dealer will cut prices to meet the off-brand station, or to meet the price of a price-cutting dealer of another major brand, and this will then force down dealer margins in the whole area.

PRICE DISCRIMINATION IS THE MEANS OF MONOPOLY PROFITS

But does this major oil company control over prices and competition result in consumers receiving lower prices than if the monopoly control did not exist?

No, the major oil companies determine the retail price; and retail prices are set at that level which will yield the maximum profit, considering the volume which will move at that price. Squeezing the dealers' margin, then, is simply a device whereby the oil companies take a maximum portion of the profit contained in the retail price. In other words, the discriminatory technique has two effects: one, it gives the major oil companies the power to set retail prices at levels which maximize profits; and, two, it is the means by which the major oil companies take a maximum portion of these profits. It is thus both the instrument of monopoly and the means of milking the benefits of monopoly.

H. R. 11 WILL CUT BIG OIL COMPANY PROFITS ONLY SLIGHTLY

As I have said, H. R. 11 will not prevent the oil company from meeting competition. But the bill will do this: It will say to the oil company that when it cuts its prices to one of its dealers, it must also cut prices to its other dealers who are in actual competition with that dealer. Of course, this will mean that it will cost

the oil company a little more money—a little less profit—to meet the off-brand dealers' competition. The company will have to reduce its prices, not in all of the States in which it markets, and not throughout a State where the competition occurs; but it will have to reduce prices to all of its leaders within an area who are so directly in competition among themselves that one dealer's selling at a lower price than another would result in a substantial diversion of business from the others.

I believe that the major oil companies can afford the very modest reduction in profits which would be required to treat their dealers fairly. Whenever they discriminate in price to subdue an off-brand dealer and drive out small refiners who supply such off-brand dealers, they would only have to be careful not to put their own dealers out of business.

Wisconsin by the Sea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an article in the March 2 issue of the Wisconsin Agriculturalist and Farmer. It discusses the St. Lawrence seaway in terms of what it will mean to farmers in Wisconsin—one of the States which will have its own ocean ports in the near future. Farming and dairy communities from Northwest Wisconsin that are mentioned as contributing goods already being shipped to overseas ports include Bloomer, Jim Falls, Augusta, and Whitehall. When the gargantuan task of opening the Great Lakes to ocean-going vessels is finally completed midwestern farmers should find the new trade route to be a tremendous stimulant to their sales.

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY: WHAT IT MEANS—LOWER SHIPPING COSTS AND SHORTER HAUL TO FOREIGN MARKETS ARE SOME OF ADVANTAGES

A cold wind whistled through the huge warehouse where stevedores hustled about on their fast tractor loaders. Winches whined and heavy Swedish voices directed filling the holds of the *Erholm*, 1,500-ton freighter of the Swedish-American Line.

In the warehouses were piled drums of powdered milk, cheese and butter oil for Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, Italy, Spain, Asia, and ports of the Caribbean.

MANY FARM PRODUCTS

There was dried milk and lard for Sweden, green hides for world trade ports, binder twine for Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, linseed meal, wax beans for Hamburg and brewers' yeast for almost every port in world trade.

Is this New York Harbor we're describing to you? Not at all. It's the Milwaukee waterfront, where 16 foreign steamship lines keep things humming during the shipping season.

These were the lines whose ships discharged and loaded 73,500 net tons in the 1956 season, 90 percent of which was agricultural products.

Random notes from the export labels on the commodities awaiting shipment show meat products being shipped by three different packing plants.

And there was beer and brewers' yeast from every major Wisconsin brewery; canned foods from Bloomer and Oconomowoc; tobacco from Viroqua.

Point of origin on the powdered milk drums include such familiar names as Jim Falls, Reedsburg, Sauk City, Augusta, Cashton, and Whitehall.

That's a quick picture of the shipping in and out of Milwaukee Harbor now, when limited lock facilities and shallow ship channels allow only vessels of 1,500-ton capacity to pierce the heart of the Midwest.

What the potentials are for increases when the St. Lawrence seaway allows ships of 7 to 8 thousand ton capacity to dock at Wisconsin wharves staggers the imagination.

Probably there has never been an engineering feat to rival the digging of the St. Lawrence seaway.

It's 744 miles from the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, where world trade vessels enter, to the Great Lakes ports where they discharge and reload.

In comparison, the Panama Canal is only 50 miles long and its locks lift ships only 85 feet. The Suez Canal is 103 miles in length and is at sea level.

Not only is the St. Lawrence seaway seven times longer, but it will provide locks that will lift ships 580 feet to Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, and 600 feet to Lake Superior.

Work started on this project shortly after the 1955 Congress passed Public Law 358.

The more optimistic hope that the seaway will be completed by 1958. The more conservative talk in terms of 1962.

EIGHT THOUSAND MILE SEACOAST

Any way you figure it, this man-made seacoast of some 8,000 miles will be realized within the next 5 or 6 years.

The cost? A billion dollars, at least. And cities will spend millions more for harbor improvements. Private industries will make terrific investments too, attracted by the excellent coastal facilities.

Who will pay this billion dollars? Canada and the United States agree to split the cost, roughly 50–50.

But that doesn't mean that you will have to dig down in your pocket to supply a stiff per capita tax to cover our share.

General taxation may be levied on the modernization of the existing seaway facilities such as the Welland Canal and the St. Mary's River.

Bordering States will assess themselves for a good portion of this, expecting to get it back in electric power.

Shipping tolls and power revenues will go a long way toward paying for this "big ditch."

The electric power potential of the new dams along the route is almost limitless, with advantages to public and private enterprise alike.

Now, just what will it mean to Wisconsin farmers to get into the world trade picture?

We know, for instance, that the Midwest lies a long way from the east and west coasts. Hauls of farm products to the sea are long and freight rates are high.

RAILWAY CARS SCARCE

Railway cars are scarce and motor freight isn't equipped to handle all kinds of farm products. Storage space for surpluses is at a premium.

By the time all delays and disadvantages have been met, profit margins have shrunk on many commodities and markets have, of necessity, been limited on others.

Savings on water shipment are substantial. But shipping by short haul to Milwaukee, a wheat farmer can save 400 miles over the distance from New York to Liverpool, where wheat prices are set.

That means a saving of 12 cents a bushel. And often you may actually save 50 percent of your costs by using water transportation.

An even more fantastic saving is predicted by an article in Seaways Magazine. "Thirteen dollars a ton cost of shipping cargo via rail from the Midwest to the Atlantic will be slashed to approximately $1.70 for a seaway trip," it says.

SHIPPING RATES LOWER

Actually water-shipping rates figure out 10 times cheaper than by rail and avoid some 4 or 5 handlings.

These savings, plus increased volume of sales in world trade, should bring big profit advantages to the Wisconsin farmer.

Also, his front door will be open to the rest of the world with all the interests and cultures it will bring to him and his family.

The 1955 agricultural exports from Milwaukee, in round numbers, totaled 4,000 tons of dried milk, 800 tons of butter oil, 1,100 tons of cheese, 6,000 tons of lard, 1,300 tons of meat and fatbacks, 7,000 tons of linseed meal, 7,000 tons of hides, and 2,000 tons of flour.

With the St. Lawrence seaway leading to our lake ports, those figures should multiply many times.

The Voice of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. DURHAM
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, the Voice of Democracy contest, sponsored each year by the National Association of Broadcasters, Radio-Electronics-Television Manufacturers Association, and the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, has recently been concluded. Of the 12 national semifinalists to compete for this award, one contestant came from the city of Greensboro, N. C., which lies in my congressional district. This young student, Miss Frances Demetriou, came to the United States from Greece in 1949. At that time she could not speak English. She is now a sophomore at the Greensboro Senior High School.

Miss Demetriou, along with the other semifinalists in the contest, was honored at a banquet at the Sheraton Park Hotel on Friday, February 22, at which time the winner of the contest was announced.

I think my colleagues in the House will be interested in the speech made by Miss Demetriou as one of the semifinalists. It is a high tribute to our country, which gave her and her family refuge, and it points up in an impressive and heartwarming manner the value of the freedom which we here enjoy.

It was a beautiful day when we left our village. The soft breeze was swinging the corn back and forth in the fields and the happy songs of the birds were echoing through the valley. Yet, ladies and gentlemen, there was a feeling of tension in the air, a feeling of doom.

Into the mountains we went, seeking refuge from those who wanted to govern us and take away our freedoms. When we reached a cliff, all of us turned and looked at our valley for the last time. It was very

picturesque, with its high mountains and hilly meadows. Even though I was a very small child, I knew that I would never again see our valley. I knew that I would never again skip along the road without a care in the world.

For days we heard nothing; it was as though everything had come to a standstill and waited for destruction to come. On the fourth day we saw a cloud of smoke coming from below, and we knew that they were burning our village. Do you know how it feels to see all your dreams, all your lifetime hardships, go up into smoke in a matter of minutes? I'll tell you how it feels. It feels like the world is coming to an end for you. In that moment you die a little inside, though you utter no word of pain; it hurts deep, deep inside of you. Your facial expressions are of torment, of fear, and of defeat.

After a week, we returned to our destroyed village. As far as the eye could see there was nothing left except ashes. Here was nothing for us; but since we were people who had a desire to live and to work for a better life, we turned to face the fate of tomorrow. "Where?" you ask. To America, the land that had given shelter to those who were in need of it. For hundreds of years this country had opened its doors to the homeless. My mother, my brother, and I were among the thousands that entered the doors of this country.

We were welcomed. We were given a chance to build a happier and more secure life for ourselves. Though we were foreigners we were given the same rights as those whose ancestors came to America on the Mayflower. We are happy that we live in a democratic country. I have seen the happiness in their faces. I have seen it in the face of a cafe owner who a short number of years ago was an immigrant himself and without hope. I have seen it in the faces of those who were getting their citizenship papers. I have seen it in the faces of a family going to church on Sunday. Freedom to worship as they please; in their country it was forbidden. Here we have freedom of religion. We are proud that we live in a country which has more jobs, more food, more factories, more schools than any country in the world. Today we are proud, proud to say "I am an American."

My story to you is not fiction. It is true. I have lived in Greece during the war, and I have seen men die for freedom. I have heard the anguished mother who had lost her only son in the war, but deep in her heart she knew he had not died in vain. I have seen young boys lined up against the wall and shot. People have lost their homes rather than admit defeat. Freedom is priceless. Freedom is life itself. Democracy to me means freedom. I know.

What the American Soldier Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. PAT JENNINGS
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, a young constituent of mine, Robin Thompson, a member of the senior class of Honaker High School, Honaker, Va., has written a very commendable essay entitled "What the American Soldier Means to Me." This excellent work has been called to my attention by one of his teachers and I wish to bring it to the attention of the House.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I herewith include this essay in the RECORD and commend it to the Members:

WHAT THE AMERICAN SOLDIER MEANS TO ME

To me the American soldier means many things: security, freedom, courage which defies description, loyalty to the cause for which he is fighting, and willingness to die, if necessary, so that others may live in peace and security. To me the American soldier means manhood; the kind that Ralph Waldo Emerson was thinking about when he wrote:

"Not gold, but only man can make
A people great and strong;
Men who, for truth and honor's sake,
Stand fast and suffer long.
Brave men who work while others sleep,
Who dare while others fly—
They build a nation's pillars deep
And lift them to the sky."

The American soldier is a hero who believes in certain American ideals of equality, freedom, and justice so strongly that he is willing to sacrifice his life for them. He believes in respect for every individual; he believes in equality of opportunity; he believes that all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; he believes that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" shall not perish from the earth. The American soldier believes in democracy.

The American soldier not only believes in democracy but he makes a substantial contribution to the strengthening and preservation of it by helping to keep our country strong and great. He is one of the hundreds of thousands of troops who make up our ground forces. He is a member of a fighting unit such as the infantry, artillery, or armored divisions. He operates on land; he meets the enemy face to face in combat; he defends our country against the forces of tyranny and oppression.

In peacetime as well as in war, the American soldier—quick, alert, and capable of leadership—is working to help his country and its citizens. In time of tragedy and disaster, the American soldier is on the scene working tirelessly to render first aid, relieve suffering, and restore order.

The American soldier is loyal—he possesses true patriotism which exhibits itself in everyday service and sacrifice. To him the pledge of allegiance to our flag and our patriotic songs are not mere words; instead they have meaning which is emphatic and strong.

To me the American soldier personifies the words of the poet Struthers Burt when he says:

"My people came to this country
In need of a land that was free,
So I think the only thing I can do,
If a decent man I would be,
Is to walk with my head held high and proud
For the blood that runs in me."

Yes, the blood of liberty and freedom of body and soul runs through the veins of the American soldier.

A Sign of the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I place in the RECORD an editorial that appeared in an outstanding weekly newspaper in my district. I refer to the Memphis Democrat, which is published at Memphis, Hall County, Tex., by Mr. J. Claude Wells and Mr. Herschel A. Combs, two citizens of whom west Texas is deeply proud. This editorial expresses the thoughts, the sentiments, and the stamina of people who inhabit our section of this country. We hope everyone who reads this editorial will have an opportunity to visit the place of its birth and enjoy the good hospitality always afforded.

A SIGN OF THE FUTURE

An event which will be noted in the history of Memphis took place last Friday night in the Travis school cafetorium. This was the 37th annual Memphis Chamber of Commerce and Hall County board of development banquet. The banquet was a milestone in the history of this area, not because of the outstanding speaker, not because of the work that went into the preparation; but because it proved that the citizens of this area have decided that the drought can not and will not stop them from building a better community and county.

Ticket sales to the event reached a sell-out point Thursday afternoon and all day Friday many persons were asking for tickets. A new sign of life can be seen in the faces of farmers and businessmen as they prepare to enter the year in another struggle with the forces of nature and low farm prices and rising costs. But this year there is a little different glint in their eyes and a firmness in their jaws, which wasn't there last year.

This spirit of awakening to a new effort was manifested Friday night in the number of persons who attended the banquet and the other scores of persons who couldn't get tickets. It's a fine thing to see the people of this area strongly united behind an organization which is trying to improve our economy in every possible way. We, here at the Democrat, would like to take this occasion to rededicate ourselves to work even harder in the future for the betterment of this area.

If we all work together there is no limit to what we can accomplish. A wise man once said: One elephant can not move a hill but 100,000 ants can soon carry it away.

Tax Reductions for Teachers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, several bills have been introduced during this session, H. R. 4662, 5318, 5390, 5466 and 5477, which would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a reduction from the gross income for expenses paid by teachers for their further education.

The following editorial appeared in the Manhattan, Kans., newspaper, Tuesday, March 5, 1957. As the editorial points out, there is merit in the theory of granting special tax consideration to teachers who expend sums of money to further prepare themselves for the teaching profession. I bring the editorial to the attention of everyone be-

cause of the principle presented. The editorial follows:

HURRAY FOR HER

A Chicago schoolteacher is understandably irate. She has taken pen in hand and written her Congressman. In this case favorable action is apparently going to result, as it should.

The Chicago teacher's complaint is about income taxes. This certainly is not novel; everyone has a beef about them. And probably thousands of letters go to the Congressmen on this very subject.

But the teachers may have hit paydirt. We hope she has. Her complaint is that expenses of summer study are not deductible whereas business executives who take clients to the Stork Club can put that tab on their returns to Uncle.

"Teachers are bitter," writes the Chicago teacher, "over businessmen being able to entertain customers in the Stork Club and deduct the tax."

"We sit in stuffy lecture halls absorbing Plato, psychology and human dynamics, also for the purpose of increasing our income and can't deduct the tuition."

This gal's got a point and if it takes an act of Congress to rectify only this one glaring inequity in our system then it should be done forthwith.

Getting Post Offices Out of Banking Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, in line with the current drive to reduce the budget and get the Government out of competition with private enterprise, we now have before us a worthwhile proposal which I hope will be approved.

That is the recommendation of Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield to abandon the Postal Savings System.

This Government operation has long ago outlived its usefulness and there is growing public approval for its elimination as an unnecessary Government project.

A few days ago my hometown newspaper, the Bay City Times, commented on this as follows:

POSTAL SAVINGS SHOULD GO OUT

There is no conceivable reason why Congress should fail to take Postmaster General Arthur H. Summerfield's advice that the postal savings system be abandoned. The public itself has indicated a desire to do away with the service by heavy withdrawals of its funds from postal savings in the last few years.

The conclusion is that the public has found better places for its money—either in private investments, Government bonds or in private banks, at higher interest rates.

The only real excuse the postal savings system ever had for its existence—that it offered more security than did the banks—has been gone for more than 20 years. It disappeared when the Government started guaranteeing bank deposits. Now virtually any bank in the country is as safe a depositary as the post-office "bank."

The Government hardy can excuse its competing with private business when private enterprise can do the job satisfactorily, as it most certainly can in banking. The Eisenhower administration is pledged to take the Government out of business wherever possible. The great majority of voters has indorsed that pledge in two national elections. To say any more on the subject of postal savings would be to labor the point.

A column in the Syracuse Herald-Journal calls it a creaking system and makes the following comment:

A CREAKING SYSTEM—POSTAL SAVINGS CALLED USELESS

(By Sylvia Porter)

As I paid my housekeeper her salary the other day, she murmured:

"Now I'm off to the post office."

When I casually asked what she was mailing, she said:

"I'm not mailing anything. I'm depositing my money. I always deposit my savings there. It's safe."

Which short conversation brought about this column, for it reminded me that despite the fact that the Postal Savings System is utterly, even ridiculously outdated now, it still exists.

And more than 2 million Americans from coast to coast are still placing a whopping $2 billion of savings in it. These millions are being financially naive—even silly.

For the Postal Savings System pays no interest on funds until the money has been on deposit a full year. More than one-fourth of the deposits are withdrawn within 60 days.

Even when interest is paid, the rate is only 2 percent. This is impressively below the interest rate paid by most savings banks and savings institutions. United States savings bonds return 3 percent if held to maturity.

The safety factor no longer stands up at all. Since the Government now insures individual bank deposits up to $10,000 and the average postal savings balance is $750, the deposit is just as protected in a bank as in the Postal Savings System.

Certainly, the System made sense—once. Back in 1910, when Congress created the Postal Savings System, many depositors had an intense and understandable fear of banks. The financial panic of 1907 had wiped out hundreds of banks. Immigrants were hoarding their cash, sending it back to Europe for deposit in Postal Savings System there. The need for a safe system which would blanket the country and be backed by the magic name of the United States Government itself was obvious.

And right through the depression of the 1930's and the catastrophic bank failures of that era, the System continued to make sense.

But 1956 is hardly 1910 or 1932. As far back as 1952, the Comptroller General flatly told Congress, "the main purpose and justification of the Postal Savings System are no longer applicable. * * *"

In May 1955, the Hoover Commission recommended to Congress that it should abolish the System, give depositors a reasonable period in which to shift into other forms of savings. Just in the last congressional session, five bills were introduced to eliminate this anachronism.

Still, the System goes on. Ignorance, laziness of depositors, the mistaken belief that this is the best savings system—can these be the explanations for its continued life?

No, they are not sufficient. The real explanation is that the Post Office "makes money" on the System and doesn't want to see it die. It invests the deposits it gets in United States Government securities on which it earns at least 2½ per cent; it pays interest of only 2 percent. Its annual profit runs around $6.5 million to $7 million.

But this isn't a real profit. It's an illusion. For it's the Treasury which is paying the Post Office the money. And that means you and I, the taxpayers, actually are footing the bill.

It simply makes no sense—from any point of view. A Congress which even pretends it wants to cut down bureaucracy ought to get after this obvious form of it, and pronto.

Eighteenth Anniversary of the Founding of the Slovak Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my statement as well as a letter which I received from Mr. Viktor Nesnadny, of Pittsburgh, on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the founding of the Slovak Republic:

STATEMENT BY MR. FLOOD

On this occasion of the Slovak national holiday independence I wish to commend the National Committee for the Liberation of Slovakia for its great work which it is doing to liberate the Slovak people from the Communist oppression, and I hope that this organization, as well as other Slovak organizations, will fulfill all aspirations of the democratically minded Slovaks when it will be recognized as its Government in exile.

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. FLOOD: On the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the founding of the Slovak Republic, I would like to bring to your attention once more a few facts about Slovakia, which are still little regarded and often twisted into half-truths and lies.

The Slovak Republic was founded in peace time and was proclaimed by free decision of the Slovak Parliament on March 14, 1939.

It was recognized de jure by 28 countries, and de facto by 3. In a short time it consolidated the internal chaotic situation created in political, economical, and cultural matters by Czech opportunism. It was ruled according to democratic principles, the laws were made by a parliament chosen in free elections and consisting of members of several political parties.

During the short life of the republic, the country experienced a boom in its economy: Highways were laid, railroads expanded, new hydroelectric works built. The latest principles of social security were introduced to benefit people in all walks of life.

The Slovak University was completed and the school system enlarged on all levels. The Academy of Arts and Sciences prospered. Science and culture fluorished to an extent never dreamed of before.

Then in 1945 came Soviet occupation. In the face of strong Slovakian opposition, Czechoslovakia was reestablished. The old conditions of subservience were renewed, aggravated a thousand times by Russian communism. Still, the Slovak Republic lived on in the hearts of its constituents, and as a matter of fact, it continues to exist now even legally. For it can legally cease to exist only through a treaty in which its liquidation is established. Until such time Slovaks will not cease to insist on its continuity.

Today it is absurd to talk about Czechoslovakia as a state; it is no more than a

Soviet province. This Soviet satrapy represents nowadays an advanced stronghold of Russian imperialism, menacing the free world. Without doubt, this situation was made possible by the suppression, murder, and deportation to Soviet Russia of thousands of Slovak patriots.

There is every reason to expect that the Slovaks will continue in their fight against communism and against the reinstatement of Czechoslovakia, not only in their own interest, but also in the interest of freedom and the ideals of a democratic order in the world.

Mr. Flood, I know of your past efforts in behalf of Slovakia and the other nations behind the Iron Curtain, and I appreciate them strongly. For this reason I am confident that you will give every possible consideration to my present request, which is: Could you have this statement inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD?

Very truly yours,

VIKTOR NESNADNY,
Member of the General Assembly of the Slovak Liberation Committee.
PITTSBURGH, PA.

Anniversary of Hungarian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the 109th anniversary of the Hungarian declaration of independence against foreign oppression occurs on March 15. This date is traditionally observed by Hungarians everywhere as the anniversary of their national independence. This year it takes on added significance for the people of Hungary and for the freedom-loving nations all over the world because of the heroic resistance last fall by the Hungarian people against its Communist oppressor.

Today, the Hungarians are a captive nation, suffering under the subjugation and enslavement of a ruthless regime. The people in Hungary have paid a huge toll in human lives lost, in property destroyed, in nearly 200,000 of its citizens forced to flee from the Communist terror, and the complete extinction of freedom—and all because they dared to stand up and ask for their independence and the right to live their own way of life.

The revolt in Hungary last October, I regret to say, has caught the United States and the Western world by complete surprise. As a result, we were totally unprepared to cope with the situation. We were not aware of what was taking place during the early days of the revolt, and we did not know what to do when it was discovered that an uprising was in full force. We hesitated to recognize or contact the Imre Nagy government, and this lack of action made the Russians realize that they could undertake their own brutal action without fear of any outside reprisals. Because of our unpreparedness, we missed a grand opportunity to help the Hungarian people achieve their freedom.

Nevertheless, the fight for freedom and the hope for national liberalization must not be given up. The people of Hungary are now sealed off from contact with the rest of the world. Yet we know that their indomitable desire for freedom and independence has not been extinguished, that it still lives in their hearts and minds. This annual observance is one way of keeping this desire alive.

We send our heartfelt greetings to the Hungarian freedom fighters on this occasion, together with our hope and prayer that their country will soon be liberated from the yoke of communism and will join the free nations of the world.

Adm. Richard E. Byrd

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the greater American explorer, Adm. Richard E. Byrd, was buried today at Arlington National Cemetery in the presence of many high-ranking officials of the services and the Government, civil dignitaries and a host of friends and admirers. With solemn military and religious rites, this great American hero was borne to his last resting place.

I would not try here to recite or to appraise the illustrious achievements of this stupendous figure of our age. Born into a distinguished, historic family of successful business people and outstanding public officials, Admiral Byrd selected a Naval career and almost immediately became marked and noted for his exceptional ability, imagination and creative talents in many fields.

He was a pioneer in the development of modern aircraft and was one of the first men to fly across the Atlantic Ocean in the famous flight of the Navy from Newfoundland to the Azores.

Almost every month of his life saw new laurels come to this great American.

He flew across the North Pole, not once, but twice.

With superlative courage, he flung himself into the incredible rigors of the Arctic regions in order to carry out his scientific research.

Admiral Byrd was not performing these exploits merely for their own sake; behind each and every exploit was some scientific objective, and it is unquestionably the fact that his explorations brought us invaluable knowledge of vast unexplored regions of the world hardly ever touched by man. How much this work contributed to our defense could never be appraised.

On several occasions, he led very successful exploratory expeditions to the Antarctic and he remained in the frozen, barren wastes of snow and ice and terrifying low temperatures for months and months at a time in order to pursue his goal and complete his assignments.

The Navy Department, which he served with all his heart, not only in peace, but in two great wars, may well be proud of him as one of the greatest heroes in its history. Science, education, and learning in many fields—geography, astronomy, biology, botany, navigation, and many other special fields are lastingly indebted to this great man for new knowledge he made possible, which broadened the horizons and spread information regarding the vast Polar regions, obscured for so long in the mists of frigidity and barren silences.

Like all Americans, I greatly admired Admiral Byrd and was proud of my friendship with him that endured for many years. He had splendid personal qualities. Of pleasing, impressive personality and approachable manner. He was friendly, courteous, and cordial. His firmness of demeanor, his power of decision and his wise, sound judgments inspired confidence wherever he was known, and wherever he was in command, because Admiral Byrd was one man who knew what he was doing, how to do it, and he was of unceasing perseverance in reaching his aims.

It is difficult for me, as a friend and admirer, to find proper words to pay Admiral Byrd fitting tribute. To my mind, he was, not only one of the greatest Americans of our time, but one of the truly great Americans, who ever lived. His intrepid, courageous, fearless exploits will be emblazoned imperishably upon the most magnificent pages of American history. His achievements and contributions will live in the minds and hearts of the American people for many years to come. The star of his glorious accomplishments will shine as a beacon light throughout the centuries to inspire and guide men of courage to seek new and broader horizons either on this earthly globe or in the outer reaches of space.

Great Naval hero, patriot, and greatest of all explorers, Admiral Byrd takes a place in American history, reserved for the noble and the great. May he rest in peace.

To his stricken family in their sorrowful bereavement, I extend most heartfelt sympathy, and hope sincerely and pray devoutly that the Divine Maker may strengthen and encourage them to bear their irreparable loss—which is the Nation's and the world's loss as well—with that understanding and resignation that faith in Him can give.

Need for Public Review of Taxes Paid by Middle East Oil Companies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on February 19 I spoke on the floor of the House of Representatives on the need for pub-

lic review of income taxes paid by American companies engaged in Middle East oil operations.

In view of the tremendous commitments of economic and military aid made by our Government to the Saudi Arabian Government, which promise dollars and soldiers to protect Saudi Arabia and the Government of King Saud as well as the integrity of contracts between the Saudi Arabian Government and American companies, it is extremely important for the American people to know what part of this tremendous investment in the Middle East flows back to the United States Treasury in the form of taxes. They are footing a tremendous bill in underwriting an obligation which may entail the lives of many American citizens.

The American people have a right to know the complete picture of their obligations and their returns on the tremendous Middle East investments. Since there is a great public investment in these Middle East operations, there should be a public review of the tax responsibility of the beneficiary American corporations engaged in Middle East activity.

Following is a vital article on this subject by Marquis Childs, which appeared in the Washington Post on March 13, 1957:

SENATORS EXAMINE BIG OIL PROFITS

(By Marquis Childs)

The scene is a familiar one—the slightly faded elegance of a Senate committee hearing room crowded to the doors—and the principals are familiar, too. It is the subcommittee investigation into the oil industry that has long since left the initial objective—to inquire into the oil lift to Western Europe—to challenge directly the power of corporate enterprise.

The chairman, Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming, has spent a great deal of his congressional career doing just this.

But there are two major differences this time. One is the fact that the giant companies have grown bigger than even Senator O'MAHONEY could have envisioned when he ended 3 years of TNEC testimony in March of 1941. Standard Oil of New Jersey is an $8 billion corporation.

A second difference is the politics of oil in the Middle East with all its urgency for the West.

Senator JOHN CARROLL, who came to the Senate from Colorado on his third try, is like a determined terrier worrying a very large bone as he presses in committee hearings for details of the taxes and profits of the oil corporations with their far-flung holdings.

With the executives of Standard of New Jersey, Gulf Oil, and other giants, CARROLL has sought to establish that, thanks to the 27½-percent income-tax allowance—for a wasting asset—the foreign subsidiaries of these companies pay little or no Federal income tax.

The fact that this 27½ percent depletion allowance can be taken not only on the profits of oil produced in the continental United States but by American companies operating overseas seemed to be news to some committee members.

Carroll concentrated on the Arabian-American Oil Co., 30 percent of which is owned by Standard of New Jersey, 30 percent by Texaco, 30 percent by Standard of California, and 10 percent by Socony. Executives testified that Aramco, which operates in Saudi Arabia, had total earnings for 1955 of $724,370,316.

Operating costs cut this down to $452,157,849. The company paid income taxes to Saudi Arabia of $192,742,624. Under a 1918 law, the amount paid in taxes to a foreign government can be offset against taxes which would otherwise be paid to the United States.

At the same time, the company got a depletion allowance of $121,698,005. As a result, according to the figures Carroll had put into the record, the company got net earnings free of taxes of $272,212,467.

While investigations produce headlines, the ratio of legislation to publicity generated by these inquiries is normally small. But Carroll is suggesting a change in the law that has thrown a scare into the big companies. This is either to reduce greatly or eliminate altogether the depletion allowance on oil operations outside the United States.

Such a threat is formidable because the real political pressure for keeping the 27½-percent deduction comes from the independents and the small producers in the United States. Senator O'MAHONEY, for example, has oil and gas producers in his State of Wyoming who would bring very effective pressure to bear if he were to go along with a move to abolish the tax deduction altogether.

But the independents and the small producers could hardly be expected to come to the defense of the big companies with their foreign holdings. The independents have tried hard in recent years to put up tariff and other barriers to keep out foreign oil. Thus far they have not succeeded.

Another element in the hearings is the rise in the price of petroleum products started by the Humble Oil Co., a subsidiary of Standard of New Jersey with huge holdings of gas and oil.

The big headlines are, of course, going to the McClellan investigation of prostitution and labor racketeering. But the Senators conducting the oil inquiry are dealing with something nearly as interesting as sex, and that is big money and the price that every consumer must pay.

The Antithesis of Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, many of the Latin residents of the First District of Florida depend upon the Diario Las Americas, a newspaper published in my State for news of friends and common cultural interests throughout Central and South America. Dr. Francisco Aguirre, published of this paper has continued to strive, as indicated in the newspapers slogan, "for liberty, culture, and hemispheric solidarity." I believe it important that the Members of the House of Representatives become acquainted with this publication and particularly with an editorial entitled "The Antithesis of Communism" published Saturday, March 9, 1957. This is effective use of a great medium to promote the cause of democracy in our representative republic. I include this editorial in the RECORD at this time.

THE ANTITHESIS OF COMMUNISM

Nothing is feared more by Soviet imperialism than a true democracy, well organized and respected. The Communists know that what could be called the genuine antidote for their system is a democratic regime, when it functions on the basis of sobriety and, above all, when it functions in its true sense, as far as this is possible in every human institution.

The existence of regimes of authentic democratic meaning cause immense wory to the hierarchs of the Kremlin. They know that among the peoples accustomed to the good things brought by that type of regime, Communist work is more difficult, even when this does not mean, of course, lack of Communist infiltration, as there is, in a small scale, in the United States of America, where there is a genuine democracy.

Before people who enjoy the benefits of freedom and democratic order, Communist campaigns knock themselves out against a wall, because the trust the people have in a democratic system is a barrier which rejects the catechizing work of the false Red apostles.

The Communists know so well how much harm democracy does to them that, in order to deceive the masses—even if they fool only the candid—they call their movement popular democracy, indulging in an unforgivable pleonasm, which can be explained only as a desperate effort to confuse the people, to make them believe that the Red doctrines are also democratic.

In the doctrinary field and, above all, in that of practical achievements, communism is, fundamentally, the antithesis of a well understood and straight democracy. The leaders of international communism know this, perhaps better than anybody else. It is, for this reason, that they fear much, very much, the countries where democracy is dignified by the government and the people.

Every effort that can be made, beneficial to the prestige of the democracy, of its security in the institutional life of the people, must be made, so as to be in better condition to repel Communist infiltration and to create, in the conscience of every citizen, the loftiest resistance and repudiation of a system which denies the political freedom of human beings and their individual dignity.

New England Is Disturbed Over the Power of Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker and distinguished colleagues, the peculiar prices of oil and gas are creating increasing concern in New England, particularly in the State of Connecticut. This is evidenced by the very significant letter which recently appeared in the entirely objective newspaper, Waterbury Republican. Under unanimous consent, I insert this thought-compelling letter at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE POWER OF OIL

To the EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN:

Connecticut and New England are largely dependent on oil and gasoline for home, industry, and transportation. This is pretty much true of the whole country. We are all captive consumers since there is no substitute to use in the equipment we have.

We are at the mercy of the giant oil producers who recently, in unwritten collusion, all increased oil and gasoline prices. Their identical prices despite our anti-trust laws make a cynical joke of the frustration of our Representatives in Washington. The recent

price increase cost each family about $30 per year. There is no control over when the next one will come, or how much it will be.

Electricity for light and power at my own place in Roxbury costs $249–$250 per year and the supplying companies are subject to commission regulation. Fuel oil and gasoline costs me $500–$600 per year—more than my real-estate taxes. But there is no public control or regulation over the oil producers. Their latest price increase came at a time when because of the Suez crisis, there was no prospect of consumers securing foreign oil at less than the prices the domestic monopolists charge.

National figures show that oil supplies and inventories are at their highest levels in history in this country. There was no justification for a price increase. The producers brazenly defied the President's mild request that prices be held down to avoid inflation. He did nothing about it and the record of this administration on prices and budget gives us no hope.

The oil industry has just had another highly profitable year (1956). Its common stocks like Standard of New Jersey, a $7 billion asset corporation, have been split and have soared to unprecedented heights. These stocks have been bonanzas for investors. Standard is the favorite of all the investment trusts, and the rate of return was very high before the price increase.

The price of crude oil is now 2½ times the price at the end of the war. The industry has been the most favored by tax laws and supply limitation. It is not the dealers but the giant producers who are to blame.

The top 15, giant oil producers control the industry and fix the prices while our representatives and administrators stand idly by. They could do something about it, but do not act because we, the consumers are too stupid or indifferent to complain, as we should and have every cause to do. The combined assets of the top 15 companies amounts to more than $20 billion. Their net income after taxes in 1955 was $1,929,000,000—they are bigger and richer than many whole States in the Union combined. They have over 250,000 oil stations in the United States whose operators are vassals to the giants.

It is time now to recognize that this gigantic oil industry, with such power over all of us, has become a public utility and its prices and conduct should be subject to public regulation.

Sincerely,

THEODORE K. QUINN.

ROXBURY, *February 25, 1957.*

A Case for a Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, House Joint Memorial 1 of the 35th Montana Legislative Assembly would have asked the Congress to authorize construction of Paradise Dam on the Clark Fork River in Montana and to appropriate funds for detailed planning and construction.

It read in part as follows:

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Montana, That the Representatives of the State of Montana in the Congress of the United States be urged and requested to introduce and the Congress of the United States be urged and requested to enact into law necessary and proper legislation to authorize construction by the Federal Government of the Paradise Dam on the Clark Fork River in the State of Montana and to authorize that sufficient appropriations be provided for the detailed planning and construction of the Paradise Dam; be it further

Resolved, That such legislation include a reservation of hydroelectric power to be used within the State of Montana.

This memorial died in committee in the house following a public hearing.

House Joint Memorial 8 would have asked Congress to authorize construction of Glacier View Dam on the North Fork of the Flathead River in Montana and to appropriate funds for detailed planning and construction.

It read in part as follows:

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Montana, That the Representatives of the State of Montana in the Congress of the United States be requested to enact into law necessary and proper legislation to authorize construction by the Federal Government of Glacier View Dam on the North Fork of the Flathead River in the State of Montana and to authorize that sufficient appropriations be provided for the detailed planning and construction of Glacier View Dam; be it further

Resolved, That this assembly request the Congress, in making appropriations for the construction of the Glacier View project, to define the compensations that shall be received from the Government of the United States by the County of Flathead and by affected cities and school districts in said county for extraordinary expenses resulting from expanded services required in the fields of school and hospital facilities, health and sanitation, and police protection incidental to the construction of said projects; and to provide all necessary funds and take all needed action to insure the construction of all transportation and other facilities needed to provide opportunity equal to that now existing of access to mines, to forests in Federal, State and private ownership, and to manufacturing and refining plants, to the end that the present steady and continuous employment of Montana people depending upon forests and mines for their livelihood will not be adversely affected.

This memorial passed the house and died in the senate by only two votes.

So apparently there is sentiment in Montana for a dam in Glacier National Park.

Another point of view is presented by Mr. David R. Brower, executive director of the Sierra Club, in the February 1957 issue of the Sierra Club Bulletin.

Note that, instead of stating the question as being one of private development by the Montana Power Co. as against public development at Paradise, he says it is a question of Paradise Dam or Glacier View. The alternative question is Paradise or Spruce Park, Ninemile Prairie, Swan Valley, and Flathead Lake. Mr. Browers' article follows:

A CASE FOR A DAM

A decision is imminent that will result in a very serious threat to Glacier National Park. The threat is all but unknown. The Sierra Club just happened to stumble upon it last year in the long course of urging the National Park Service and the Secretary of the Interior to protect Glacier National Park from the proposed Smoky Range Dam, the obscure name for a dam put forth as a substitute for the proposed Glacier View Dam. Both dams would have severely impaired Glacier Park. Former Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay firmly opposed Glacier View, but the Department's Smoky Range position wasn't clear. One of Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton's first moves when succeeding Mr. McKay was to oppose Smoky Range firmly and clearly.

But this isn't to be about Glacier View or Smoky Range Dams, or any of the long list of dams in the Pacific Northwest that the Sierra Club is alert to in their relation to our Scenic Resources Review. Let's focus instead on two mutually exclusive dams—Buffalo Rapids No. 4 and Paradise. One of them promises to be history-making; there seems to be a firm basis for conservation support for Paradise.

WHAT IS THE PARK THREAT?

Montana Power & Light Co., a subsidiary of Anaconda Copper, is contemplating a moderate-sized dam at a site known as Buffalo Rapids No. 4 on the lower Flathead River, a tributary to the Columbia and well downstream from the sites within Glacier National Park. This site lies within the impoundment area of the proposed Paradise site which the Bureau of Reclamation's studies have determined to be the best of the 109 sites studied in the Clark Fork Basin. Paradise Dam was locally opposed early in the decade owing to its effect on Indian lands, on settlements, and on a transcontinental railroad and highway. It would inundate pretty country, but nothing scenically outstanding. The reclamation aspects of the project would bring in more agricultural land than would be inundated. Rail and highway relocation costs would not hamper the financial feasibility of the project.

But local opposition and Montana Power Co.'s interest in Buffalo Rapids No. 4 have combined to remove Paradise from active consideration by the Bureau of Reclamation. Montana Power Co.'s license to study Buffalo Rapids No. 4 has been renewed. If the company asks the Federal Power Commission for permission to build and if the Bureau of Reclamation is prevented from arguing the superiority of the Paradise development, then Paradise Dam can never be built. This will lose the finest water-storage opportunity in the Clark Fork Basin. It will eliminate one of the major opportunities for flood-control storage (Paradise has seven times the capacity of Buffalo Rapids No. 4) in the Columbia main control plan. In contemplation of this eventuality, the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation are jointly studying other sites where this flood-control opportunity, as fragmented, can be compensated for. Best of these, but not under active consideration at present, is the Glacier View Dam site within Glacier National Park. Others are at Spruce Park, Nine-mile Prairie, Swan Valley, and Flathead Lake—all opposed by local groups. Opposed or not, these dams do not add up to the storage sacrificed at Paradise, and their nonreimbursable costs for flood control would in all probability be higher, for less storage, at these sites than at Paradise. Pressure would be increased for upstream regulation, as at Glacier View, once Montana Power had completed its Buffalo Rapids No. 4 Dam and required upstream reservoirs to firm up power generation. No other site could compete with Glacier View in this respect, for sheer engineering and economics.

In summary, if the apparent status quo should prevail, a private company could build Buffalo Rapids No. 4, Paradise could never be built, and to the present demand for Glacier View Dam would be added the demand of Montana Power Co.

If the Government takes the initiative, rather than wait for a private company to invite it to do so, Paradise dam can be built instead, and the flood-control necessity and economic feasibility of major upstream storage can be eliminated, and all this probably

at less cost to the Government. Glacier National Park would be safe from this threat.

PARTNERSHIP: TO BE OR NOT TO BE?

Full development at Paradise can probably be accomplished in only two ways: (1) entirely by the Federal Government, or (2) by the Federal Government in partnership with a private utility, such as Montana Power Co. The former alternative would provide lower cost power to the region, at an indirect cost to the rest of the Nation, the theory being that this stimulus to an underdeveloped region would turn out to be a good investment for the rest of the Nation—the good elements of TVA or the upper Colorado project.

Under current administration policies, the second alternative may be chosen, provided it is decided to favor full development. Montana Power Co. would finance the power installation, while the Federal Government would add its own incremental share for flood control, navigation, reclamation, conservation pool, and recreation, and would sell falling water to the Montana Power Co. in order to pay out the Government's reimbursable costs. Power cost in the region would be higher, but the indirect cost to the rest of the Nation would be minimized, as would the danger of Government power monopoly. Private initiative would be stimulated.

Either way, full development would insure maximum downstream power benefits and minimum upstream scenic impairment.

One Government official who watched the Sierra Club's role in the Dinosaur controversy has commented, "After all, you are in an advantageous position in this Paradise situation—as well off as you would have been if you had tackled the Echo Park problem back in 1946." But perhaps not. The building of Echo Park Dam and the destruction of Dinosaur would require legislative action in what you might call the fishbowl of Congress, where all could see and be heard. But the building of Buffalo Rapids No. 4 and the destruction, in time, of Glacier Park requires only executive inaction, pretty much behind closed doors.

At Echo Park in 1946, whatever danger there was, was obscure—so obscure that no one noticed. Not until 1953, when the direct-fire artillery was aimed at the white of the Dinosaur's eye, did the conservationist public become effectively excited. At Glacier in 1957 the danger is obscure. The artillery is laid for indirect fire—over the horizon and out of sight. Quite possibly without Montana Power's knowing it, the gun is laid on Glacier National Park. The lanyard will be pulled if the Federal Power Commission approves Buffalo Rapids No. 4; there will be no authorizing legislation, no debate, no more widespread conservationist interest than there was at Hells Canyon. Just destruction by defualt. If that lanyard gets pulled, no amount of protest will stop the shell in its flight to Glacier.

A QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP

Who should take the initiative in seeing that this doesn't happen to Glacier, with the best dam site in the Clark Fork Basin being wasted in the bad bargain? The Federal Government? Executive or legislative branch? Local government? The Montana Power Co.? Or some wandering conservationist without portfolio?

One wouldn't envy the wandering conservationist his task of persuasion. He would need to be the best ventriloquist yet to get the Indian to say, "Flood my home and farm"; or the utility to say, "Please, Mr. Secretary, tie me with your partnership red tape instead of letting me make more money without it"; or the Great Northern to say, "Tear up this good railroad along the stream and replace it with one along the contours"; or the Montana Highway Department to say essentially the same; or the local county to ask that the reservoir basin land be taken off the tax rolls.

Isn't it leadership in reverse to expect this? There seems to be little doubt that a full treatment at Paradise will provide the greatest good for the greatest number in the long run—of flood control, water conservation, power generation, stimulation of agricultural and industrial development, and an intact national park, too. The Government has the staff and facilities for finding out for sure if this is so. Having found out, it has the means of explaining this to the local people, and of acting for the national interest if the people refuse to listen.

MAJOR GAINS, MINOR LOSSES

After all, the railroad won't suffer. The Bureau of Reclamation outdid the Southern Pacific's engineers at Shasta Dam. The highway can be accommodated as well. And there's no question of whether farmland will be inundated, but of which farmland. Five million acre-feet of water will cover far less acreage if it is stored at Paradise than if it is stored in dozens of smaller reservoirs instead—a pitcher of water will fill a good many saucers. Higher streams are steeper, take higher dams to store less water at greater cost. Montana Power Co. needn't suffer. Everywhere you look there are major gains for minor losses; the Government, acting for the people who will profit from these gains, and paid by those people to lead, can make this all clear and can do it authoritatively. The Sierra Club, or an equivalent organization, isn't equipped for the job, nor is that its purpose. For every dollar the club has to spend, the Government has a million.

Legislation may soon be introduced authorizing the construction of Paradise, the dam that promises to save a park—not by "making the park more beautiful," to quote a line from the old Hetch Hetchy refrain, but by being far enough away from the park, and big enough to minimize the inundation of other acres of scenery and fertile land. Paradise was almost lost. We have reason, however, to look forward to two new chapters in the story, Paradise Be Dammed, and Paradise Regained.

DAVID R. BROWER.

The Harrison Corn Amendment

SPEECH

OF

HON. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4901) to establish a minimum-acreage allotment for corn, to provide acreage-reserve programs for diverted acres and for feed grains, and for other purposes.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Harrison amendment. This amendment is fundamentally an effort to provide to commercial corn farmers an opportunity to show with their corn planters which of the two options on which they voted on December 11, 1956, is preferable. Let us analyze this legislation in detail and then discuss its great potential advantages.

First, the producer may adjust his acreage in line with his share of the 37.3-million-acre allotment. If he plants not more than his share of this 37.3-million-acre allotment, he will be eligible for price support at not less than $1.36 per bushel. If he so desires, he may enter into a contract with the Government to further adjust his corn acreage by placing some acreage into the acreage-reserve program, for which he will receive payments at the rate of 90 cents per bushel times the farm normal yield. Thirty-eight percent of those voting favored this approach.

Second, he may have the option of operating under a 51-million-acre base program. Under this latter program, he must put not less than 15 percent of his base acreage into the acreage reserve or the conservation reserve in order to be eligible for price support at $1.31 per bushel. If he puts 15 percent of his corn-base acreage into the acreage-reserve program, he must reduce his corn acreage below his base by this amount. For this he will be paid at the rate of 90 cents per bushel times the normal yield of the farm. If he decides to put 15 percent of his base into the conservation reserve, he will receive a much reduced payment in the neighborhood of $9 to $15 per acre. Under this option, he may plant up to his share of the 51-million-acre base. Sixty-two percent of the producers who voted favored this approach.

What benefits will be derived from this legislation?

First, it should be remembered that under either of these two options the Corn Belt farmers will be making a sharp downward adjustment in their corn acreage since the 1956 planted acreage of corn in the commercial-corn area was 57 million acres.

Second, unless the corn farmer plants within his acreage allotment or base these same farmers will not be able to participate in the soil-bank program for other basic crops such as cotton, wheat, tobacco, or rice.

Third, unless the corn producer is given a realistic opportunity to adjust corn acreage, the effects will be felt in every county in the United States. This is due to the fact that corn will be cheap. The cheap corn will be marketed in the form of cheap livestock and livestock products. The marketings of livestock, dairy, and poultry products account for 55 percent of the cash farm income of the United States.

Fourth, price support to corn producers in the noncommercial corn area will be automatically increased by about several cents per bushel.

Fifth, no additional time-consuming expensive record checking will be involved. Farmers have in their hands both their acreage allotments and their bases.

I am sure that when you have considered the implications of our failure to provide a realistic program to corn producers up to now that you will vote in favor of this legislation. There is no reason why corn producers should not be given a fair chance to make a downward adjustment in their production with minimum acreage allotments comparable to those provided to producers of other basic crops, such as cotton, wheat, peanuts, and rice. It is simply a matter of justice for corn producers. With this amendment, the soil bank can do the job which it was designed to do.

"New Wine in Old Bottles"—A Challenge to Educators and Legislators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, it is my good fortune to have as a constituent one of the outstanding educators of my State, Dr. Clara E. Cockerille. Dr. Cockerille is the State chairman of the Pennsylvania Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, as well as the assistant county superintendent of schools of Armstrong County.

At a recent dinner, given by the central western convention district of the Pennsylvania State Education Association for the members of the Pennsylvania General Assembly and Members of Congress, she made the principal address.

I was so impressed, as were all of the other legislators present, that I feel Dr. Cockerille's remarks should be widely distributed because they call for present-day consideration of an urgent problem.

The address follows:

The representative form of government which establishes for our Nation the democratic way of life must be supported by a foundation. Strong homes, vigorous churches, honest government, and sound public education are the pillars on which our way of life rests. Tonight at this dinner are represented 3 of those 4 institutions. The home, by a member of the official family of our State congress of parents and teachers; the Government, by our honored guests, the representatives to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania and the Congress of the United States; and public schools, by the official representative of the Pennsylvania Association of School Directors and the hundreds of teachers, members of the Pennsylvania State Education Association who are the hosts on this occasion. It is fitting that the committee has chosen to use our national colors and emblems in the decoration of this room and tables. Home, schools, and government are inseparable parts of the foundation on which government of, by, and for the people rests.

Tonight we say a sincere "Thank you" to the State assemblyman and Senators and to our Congressman. Not for bills in favor of schools and teachers which you have supported, but for your willingness to be a part of our lawmaking bodies, without which we could not have representative government. We know that for each of you it has meant the assuming of burdens of decisions, the willingness to put your personal interests in the background and devote your time to a common cause. We thank you for your willingness to talk to us, to answer hundreds of phone calls, to acknowledge letters and to attend banquets on Saturday night, when it would be more fun to stay at home and watch TV.

We know that you have been willing to assume an active part in Government affairs knowing full well that few men in your positions become famous, and still fewer become rich (if they do, there is an investigation). We appreciate your service in our behalf. And it has been service over a long period of years. Those founding fathers of Pennsylvania, perhaps quite wisely, said in our Constitution only that there should be schools. Our system of education in Pennsylvania is the result of decisions, some of them momentous and history making, of our legislative bodies. Because the future of our education depends on decisions of lawmakers, the teachers of this State and Nation must be close to the lawmakers. We do not always see alike when we look at the schools and the educational program. We who have chosen education as our profession see it from a close-up view. We see it in detail. Sometimes to others it appears that we see it magnified. To you legislators who of necessity must see education as only one facet of a State program, the problems of education appear different. You have a farther away perspective and sometimes to us it appears that you see the problems in reduced size. Because our viewpoints are different, but our goal of sound public education is the same, we need to talk to each other to try to bring the far and near perspectives into clear focus and to find the right and just answers to our problems. There was a time when teachers did not talk to legislators (that was when we didn't have enough money to travel to Harrisburg). Now, thanks to you, our salaries permit a trip to Harrisburg and so we come. We've learned to talk to you—how to do it and when to do it.

We've learned so well that you sometimes say, "The teachers have a lobby." Perhaps in a strict sense that is true. It is nearer our intent to say that we have come to believe that you want to know what we think, and we have tried to plan our talking so that it is helpful to you as you weigh the factors that determine your decisions. Tonight we do not want to talk to you about salaries or subsidies or reimbursement fractions or buildings but we will be around to show you our viewpoint on all of them as the work of the legislative bodies continues. Tonight I thought I would like to direct the thinking of this group to what I believe is an underlying cause of many of the problems of education in Pennsylvania. I would like you to think as a united group of citizens, not as teachers or legislators. We have chosen our roles, perhaps in a weak moment but the choice has been ours. No one made us be teachers or run for government office. The solutions to the problems which come to us because of the interdependence of legislation and education must be sought together.

Among the rich and colorful words of the Bible is the admonition to be cautious about putting new wine in old bottles, lest the bottles burst and the wine be wasted. Can we not attribute many of our perplexing situations to an attempt to force new elements of society and education into existing patterns which are inadequate. There are four to which I would like to direct your thinking.

Finance: The provision of funds for education in Pennsylvania is an everpresent problem. It is in the attempt to solve this problem that teachers and legislators develop the most ill feeling toward each other. It is the area that often calls forth hasty heated words. The cost of all areas of living is high, prices have increased, wages have increased. What were once luxuries have become necessities. People want the best for their children, not the minimum. Yet we are attempting to meet all the new demands and rising costs with a financial framework which was designed decades ago when the economic picture was entirely different. We are attempting to force today's financial needs into yesterdays methods of financing and we are not succeeding. We get red in the face as a small girl does when she attempts to force her doll carriage through a narrow opening—and we are no more successful than she is—if it goes in, we've smashed it. At a time when men invest their wealth in many ways we hold to real estate tax as the chief way to finance schools as we did a century ago when real estate was one of the few ways that men could invest money. Should we be considering a new container for our school finances instead of being angry because today's needs overflow our old container?

School buildings: Our children have overflowed this container. We have more children than we have safe, desirable classrooms. We knew the children were being born, we have done all we could to help them live, but we are surprised and rather annoyed that they have overflowed our schools. We have schools in communities that no longer have school children and we have children in communities where there are no rooms for them. Should we not consider new schools for the flood of children. Not just more buildings. Some areas of our Nation have building codes that take no account of recent developments in the field of materials and construction. All that World War II taught us about construction cannot be used in many areas because we are still thinking about school buildings as we thought of them in 1900. Here is a field that needs new thinking.

Curriculum: What should we teach? How can we meet the needs of individuals and of our democracy in our schools? Today the children have many teachers outside of school. Television, radio, movies, and travel have resulted in our children having much more general information at 6 years of age than they did at 12 years of age a generation ago. Our pupils live in today's world. The attempt to force today's youth into yesterday's school is resulting in explosive situations. This is most evident in our high schools. Our high schools were designed for a select group of pupils, those pupils who wanted to learn. Compulsory education, labor conditions, our society in general have resulted in the majority of all youth being enrolled in high school. The framework of organization and subjects designed for certain students is being forced to accept all youth. Most of us are concerned. We need to be concerned enough to take steps to rethink our schools, their courses of study, schedules, and organization in terms of the youth of our State today. Education for all the children of all the people means schools that can take the bright, the dull, the backward, the well behaved, the unruly, the talented, the ordinary, the adjusted, the maladjusted, those who delight in learning from books, those who reject book learning. The wine of the young of our communities is precious. We can't afford to waste it because of forcing it into schools that are not capable of receiving and holding it.

Organization of schools and school districts: Ours is a time of easy travel, of rapid communication, of specialization. Yet our basic school organization is in a pattern designed 100 years ago when travel was difficult, communication limited and the teachers, for the most part, boys and girls who 1 year before had been in eighth grade themselves.

With trained administrators, graded schools, and well-prepared teachers, we continue in an organization designed for untrained teachers, teaching in small schools with no help at the local level. New demands for school services needed in today's picture, new needs caused by expanding the century-old pattern. Consideration or reorganization at several levels is an immediate need.

Citizens in general, legislators, and teachers all must share the blame for some of the problems of public education which confront us. We all love old containers. We who insist that all our machines come in next year's packages hold tenaciously to old packages for our social institutions. Countless people who never question that 1958 cars will be more desirable than 1957's ask,

"Shouldn't we return to the schools we used to have?"

Together we must find answers to questions such as, "How high shall teachers' salaries go?" "Shall the Federal Government finance school buildings?" "Shall the compulsory school age be lowered?" "Should there be a county superintendent of schools?" Beyond that we must work out answers to even bigger questions. How can 1957 school costs best be met in 1958? What is an efficient economic school building today?

How can we make our schools effective for our secondary school pupils today?

What organization of schools will provide the services needed today?

Our task involves evaluation of the bottles into which we plan to pour the wine of education, and the action necessary to find new containers when those we have used in the past are no longer suitable.

Why must we be concerned with these difficult tasks? Because we have chosen to be a part of two of the pillars of our way of life—education and government and—

"When we lie down worn out
Other men will stand, young and fresh.
But by the steps that we have cut they will climb,
And by the stairs that we have built they will mount.
At our clumsy work, they may laugh.
And when the stones roll, they may curse us,
But they will climb and by our steps
They will mount and by our stairs."

New Industry For Central Kansas Drought Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, my district is making a bid for new industry to supplement its income and to keep those who have been forced off the farm from leaving that area of Kansas completely. Because of Secretary Benson's farm program, decreasing acreages, increased costs and low parities, it behooves the governing bodies of the many cities located in my district to make every possible effort to obtain new industries in order to secure employment for its many citizens and to supplement income ordinarily derived from agricultural products. The city of Liberal is making a bid for such industry. This is a very thriving city and has huge reservoirs of natural gas, and plenty of underground water which is most attractive to new industry. The following resolution was forwarded to me just recently which resolution is signed by the mayor, city clerk, as well as several civic organizations in the city of Liberal, inviting new industries to locate there:

Resolution 332

A resolution inviting new business and industry to Liberal, Kans.

In connection with three important phases of national policy—namely:

1. The national safety requires that industry be decentralized.

2. An orderly adjustment and transition in the Nation's agriculture requires that off-the-farm employment be provided for operators of family-sized farms.

3. A wide distribution of industry is needed for a geographically balanced economy.

The governing body of the city of Liberal desires to spread the following resolution upon the record of its proceedings:

Be it resolved by the governing body of the city of Liberal, Kans:

SECTION 1. That this city government hereby formally recognizes that the city of Liberal and vicinity has become an outstandingly pleasant place in which to live, work, and raise a family. Through its recent growth and development it now offers most of the advantages of urban living, with none of the disadvantages that arise from the congestion in the larger cities.

SEC. 1. That it is further recognized that this area could take care of additional business and industry and a substantial increase in population without detracting from the advantages it enjoys. That the supplies of natural gas and water are abundant and all city services, facilities, and utilities (both city and privately owned) have kept pace with the area's growth and are now in a position to be immediately expanded and extended as needed.

SEC. 3. That the city government, and the community as a whole, welcomes and invites new business and industry and it is deemed appropriate that this be made known to the leaders of Government and industry who are concerned with national policy.

SEC. 4. That certified copies of this resolution be sent to J. FLOYD BREEDING, Congressman from the Fifth Congressional District of Kansas, and to others at his direction.

Adopted by the governing body of the city of Liberal, Kans., and signed by the major, this 5th day of March 1957.

CHARLES M. LIGHT, Jr.,
Mayor.

Attest:

PAUL BURKE,
City Clerk.

Endorsed and concurred in:

LIBERAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
By L. M. BUSHART, *President.*
Attest:
M. L. GODDARD, *Secretary.*

LIBERAL JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
By L. R. ARMSTRONG, *President.*
Attest:
NORMAN PETTY, *Secretary.*

LIBERAL ROTARY CLUB,
By ALBERT I. SHANK, *President.*
Attest:
HOWARD CRANDALL, *Secretary.*

LIBERAL LION'S CLUB,
By RAY E. KENNEDY, *President.*
Attest:
HARRY SAWYER, *Secretary.*

LIBERAL KIWANIS CLUB,
By ROSS SHIRLEY, *President.*
Attest:
JACK SMITH, *Secretary.*

WESTERN LIGHT & TELEPHONE,
LIBERAL BRANCH,
By G. M. CROW, *Manager.*
By JOHN W. MOORE, *President.*
LIBERAL GAS CO.,

Bolivia and the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following address given by His Excellency Victor Andrade, the Bolivian Ambassador to the United States on February 23, 1957, before the Cosmopolitan Club of Pennsylvania State College at University Park, Pa.

His remarks point up the need for more attention by us to our neighbors to the south. The address follows:

BOLIVIA AND THE FUTURE

(Address by Victor Andrade, Ambassador of Bolivia, before the Cosmopolitan Club of Pennsylvania State College, Saturday evening, February 23)

My knowledge of American history is by no means comprehensive, but I find the subject extremely interesting and study it when I have time. The merger of the Original Thirteen States into what later became the United States was a miracle which has affected the destiny of the entire world.

The union of States withstood the impact of a great Civil War which was, until World War I and World War II, the greatest armed clash that the world had ever witnessed.

The Civil War, the War Between the States, seems to hold a peculiar fascination for millions of Americans. Perhaps there is some romanticism in this interest; perhaps a healthy desire to learn more about the past and its meaning in terms of the present. Furthermore, it was your own war and nobody else's; a family affair, so to speak. In any case, I have learned that—save for the younger generation—when one speaks about "the war" it is likely to be the Civil War and not the holocausts of 1914–18 and 1939–45.

I have had southerners tell me that, but for a few mishaps and mistakes the Confederacy might have won. Among these mistakes and mishaps frequently are mentioned the accidental death of Stonewall Jackson, the failure of Jefferson Davis and others to recognize the genius of the great cavalry leader, Nathan Bedford Forrest, and the series of Southern errors at Gettysburg. I have also had Southerners tell me that the South would have won had it not been for the men and resources which your own State of Pennsylvania poured into the fight.

I am more inclined to believe the latter statement than the first. For, men being what they are, mistakes and mishaps during wartime are inevitable. I have witnessed them at first hand in the disastrous Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay. Moreover, the North also had unfortunate accidents and blundered a good bit on its own.

There is no question about Pennsylvania's contribution to the Northern cause. This State furnished more than 366,000 troops to the Federal Army, and sturdy troops they were. Furthermore, the munitions which decide modern war came in large part from Pennsylvania. The Fort Pitt Foundry at Pittsburgh turned out between 2,000 and 3,000 tons of artillery pieces and ammunition annually, and a foundry at Reading also made heavy artillery. Then, as now, a great farming country—Pennsylvania—supplied much of the food which kept the Union Army in good shape by comparison with the Southerners.

Pennsylvania is about half the size of present-day Germany, and it compares favorably with Germany in industrial resources. You have iron, oil, both bituminous and anthracite coal, and other vital minerals. In addition, you have rich farmlands and fine timber, despite generations of cutting. You have a good school system, including splendid universities and colleges, of which this school is one. Pennsylvania is known as the Keystone State; the name is well deserved.

I have traveled in Pennsylvania and have seen at first hand evidences of the State's wealth and power. It is inevitable that I should compare your State with my own country of Bolivia. Bolivia is almost three times as large as Pennsylvania. It too has

great natural wealth. My country has one of the great iron ore deposits of the world in the southeast corner near the Brazilian border. We have a vast oil potential, and almost every modern industrial mineral—tungsten, titanium, lead, zinc, zirconium, manganese, gold, and silver; and you probably know that Bolivia is the only source of tin in the Western Hemisphere. We have almost every resource required for a great industrial nation save, perhaps, coal. We may even have that, for much of our country is only partially explored. In all probability, we have uranium and other radioactive minerals.

Pennsylvania has approximately 11 million persons; Bolivia less than 4 million, most of whom live in the plateau which runs along Bolivia's western border. This plateau averages around 10,000 feet in height. Above it rise several snow-covered mountains more than 20,000 feet high. This part of my country is one of the most picturesque in the world. On the Bolivian plateau are remnants of the Incan Empire, which was a marvelous political establishment. There also is the fabulous inland mountain lake, Titicaca.

But I did not come here today for a travelog. I came to try to explain why Bolivia is an undeveloped country; to talk about its difficulties and aspirations and to explain these in terms of what they mean to the United States.

Before William Penn got his grant of land in the Philadelphia area, the Spaniards had built towns and roads in Bolivia and were busily engaged in mining precious metals. With this early introduction to western civilization, what kept Bolivia backward and poor in the centuries which followed?

Many things were involved. The transportation difficulties were very great. The Andes Mountains are a much more formidable barrier than the Alleghenies which run along the east coast of the United States. The Andes slope eastward into great canyons and fertile valleys; these merge into great plains and timbered areas which eventually are swallowed up in the great jungle of the Amazon and other rivers. Not until 1954 was there a highway in Bolivia which connected the lowlands with the valleys, and from there with the Altiplano by rail.

Other factors had more to do with Bolivia's laggardness than transportation. The Spanish conquerors did not think in terms of developing a new civilization in the New World. Their cultural and spiritual homeland was Spain or Europe. They looked forward to the time when they had enough to leave the New World. Most of the settlers in the United States severed their ties with Europe. The Quakers, for example, fled from persecution and had no idea of going back.

The problem of the Indian in Latin America was different too. The tribes in what is now the United States were fierce, but primitive and comparatively few in numbers. War, the white man's diseases, and the white man's liquor killed them off. As the tide of migration flowed on they grew fewer and fewer in numbers.

In Central and South America it was quite different. In Mexico, and in Peru and Bolivia, for example, the Indians had elaborate civilizations. If the Aztecs and Incas had possessed iron weapons and firearms, they might easily have thrown the invaders into the sea.

After the conquest, the Indians still were in the majority numerically. They have remained so in many countries in Latin America. Today more than 60 percent of Bolivia's people are Indians, and a great many others are of mixed blood. The Indians, however, did not again become an integral part of their country's life. They remained submerged and exploited. The governing classes were the descendants of the original conquerors, together with some individuals of both white and Indian blood.

A comparatively small group held power. As was natural under the circumstances, it thought mostly in terms of maintaining its own power and security. There were conflicts within the group, and these resulted in revolutions in which the masses fought and died without knowing why they did so and without being any better off, no matter who won.

Also, Bolivia, at first dependent upon exports of gold and silver, became dependent upon tin. The discovery of the tin mines in Bolivia coincided with the discovery of the value of this metal in our modern industrial society.

Three families, the Patinos, Aramayos, and Hochschilds, gained control of the better tin deposits. All became rich; the Patino fortune being one of the greatest in the world. The wealth of the so-called tin barons enabled them to control the country, politically as well as economically. The tin barons did not use their power to develop the country's other resources. They spent their energies in keeping the status quo, which meant a few millionaires and a dreadfully poor country.

The unrest which kept Bolivia in a turmoil finally spread to the people themselves. The Chaco War, fought between Paraguay and Bolivia in the 1930's, revealed the corruption, selfishness, and incompetence of Bolivia's ruling classes. A younger generation, which fought in the Chaco War, formed political parties dedicated to fundamental changes in Bolivian life.

Out of experience grew the decision to nationalize Bolivia's tin mines as the only effective means of eliminating the reactionary influence of the tin barons from the country. The opportunity to do so came after the 1952 revolution brought the MNR Party into power; the tin mines were taken over by the government in the fall of 1952.

Let us review briefly the situation in which Bolivia found itself after the revolution in 1952.

Inflation already was under way. Actually, this inflation began during the great depression in the early 1930's and was accelerated by the Chaco War, during which the country lost heavily both in men and money. The comparatively high prices for tin during the World War and the Korean fighting helped retard the inflationary spiral, but did not remedy its fundamental causes.

For reasons which had no relation to the 1952 revolution, the price of tin began to fall that year. Fears of world war III were over for the time being; the world was producing more tin than it needed. As they were exploited year in and year out, the Bolivian ore veins were depleted; mining costs rose, and it became more and more difficult for Bolivia to compete with richer and shallower tin ore veins in Malaya and Indonesia.

Keep in mind also that Bolivia was a mono-economy, dependent almost completely for vital foreign exchange upon exports of tin. The country did not produce enough to feed itself; in fact, national policies discouraged agriculture through food subsidies to the consumer. Foodstuffs were imported and sold to the workers below cost. Bolivia had a land system which belonged to the Middle Ages and which hampered production. The Indian farmers, literally speaking, were serfs. Since one of the fundamental aims of the revolution was to make the Indian a first-class citizen, this system had to be changed.

The country had a great oil potential, but in 1952 imported gasoline and other oil products were valued at about $5 million. Food and other imports were about $87 million annually, since the few factories in Bolivia did not manufacture nearly enough to meet even the demands and purchasing power of an impoverished people.

We had, then, to start from scratch in trying to develop our economy. Meanwhile, we were dependent upon tin, which was mined below cost, and we were confronted with the inevitable problems which attended nationalization of the mines.

Contrary to the propaganda of our enemies, Bolivia did not nationalize its tin mines in the belief that this would increase production. Instead, we knew that nationalization would originate new problems, for the time being anyhow. Any drastic changes like nationalization of the mines and freeing the farmworkers meant confusion and uncertainty until the country could adjust to them.

We were in desperate circumstances, and the question—which still remains to be answered—was: Could we hold the country together during the time required to invigorate agriculture, build roads, find ways to develop our oil and other resources, and end our dependence upon tin?

In this emergency we turned to the United States. Our standing in this country was none too good. The State Department did not like the nationalization of the tin mines. The MNR Party held power once before in the 1943–46 period. During that time the tin barons paid for and directed a propaganda campaign against us. As a result of that campaign of slander, the MNR's reputation in your country was destroyed. Some persons in the United States thought us Fascist, some Communist, but the consensus was that we were no good.

Nevertheless, the United States also faced a dilemma in its relationship with Bolivia. What was the alternative to the MNR regime? It was pretty obvious that the people of Bolivia did not want the "rosca," the name for the little group composed of the tin barons and a few wealthy landowners which ran Bolivia prior to the revolution. It also was obvious that the Communists were well aware of the situation and hoped to take control if the MNR failed.

Under all the circumstances, the United States decided to help Bolivia, although we had a pretty hard time before food grants were given us late in 1953. Prior to that, the only help we had was tin purchases by the United States at the market price. The tin was needed by the United States for stockpiling. These purchases were intended to help your country as much as they were Bolivia.

They did have a stabilizing influence on the price of tin. Despite this, tin prices in 1953 and 1954 averaged around 93 cents as compared to nearly $1.10 per pound in the 1948–52 period. Almost every pound of tin taken from the Bolivian mines since 1952 has been at a loss.

Both Bolivia and the United States obviously had to do a lot to make any aid program to Bolivia effective.

Aid from your country had to be sufficient to do more than merely keep the country alive; it had to be accompanied with technical assistance, for we also are deficient in what you term "know-how."

Bolivia also had to do some things on its own. The country had to draft and put into operation systematic and intelligent plans for the development of its resources. If the technical assistance program were to be effective, the advice of the experts had to be followed. And while the United States could not tell Bolivia how to run its internal affairs, it was obvious that your country would not continue indefinitely to help a country which followed a radical and collectivist program, even if that program was not Communist or Fascist in nature.

Let us, as the late Al Smith used to say, take a look at the record. The United States has given Bolivia about $60 million in loans and grants since 1953.

This does not take into account about $25 million recently made available as part of a Bolivian stabilization program. This is neither a loan nor grant to Bolivia since the money simply backs the boliviano, our unit

of currency, with dollars. If the stabilization program succeeds, all of it will be returned, and I might also mention that $7.5 million of the $25 million was contributed by the International Monetary Fund, and Bolivia has contributed about $10 million to the fund.

Since 1952, the United States Government has purchased approximately 50,000 tons of Bolivian tin and paid, less certain deductions, around $110 million for it. Some persons have the fantastic idea that $110 million should also be added to the total which the United States has given Bolivia.

This obviously is not true and simply is anti-Bolivian propaganda. The United States stockpiled the tin against future emergencies; the tin will not deteriorate but will keep indefinitely. It could be worth, under certain circumstances, many, many times the price paid for it. And, finally, the price of tin has risen since the bulk of metal was purchased. Today, the United States could sell the tin it owns at world-market prices and still have a profit.

The United States also has contributed technical assistance to Bolivia in several fields. The two governments have worked together to draft programs for Bolivian agriculture and the development of Bolivian oil. The stabilization program was the work of your experts working with Bolivian personnel.

Despite criticism, the United States has gone steadily ahead with the Bolivian program. I do not intend to pass judgment on the adequacy of the help given.

Perhaps some of you feel that I have been telling a familiar story. The United States digs into its pockets—which, incidentally, include your pockets—and contributes millions upon millions. There seems no end to it and the questions arise as to the value of this tremendous outlay.

I do not intend to discuss your foreign programs today, or to try to draw conclusions from them. Obviously, the Government and people thought they were in the interests of the country, or they would have been discontinued long before now.

It is a truism also to say that the program for each country and/or area has to be examined on its merits.

For example, the situation of Latin America with regard to foreign aid is quite different from that of other continents.

All in all, Latin America has received less than $1.4 billion out of a total of more than $56 billion which the United States has given and loaned other countries since 1945. Most of the Latin-American aid was in the form of loans. I am not arguing that Latin America should have received more, or should get more in the future. That is beside the point.

The average citizen in this country is only vaguely aware of Latin America. He has, on the whole, a kindly feeling toward his southern neighbors and believes they will stand beside the United States in the event of a crisis—as, indeed, has been true in the past. But he knows comparatively little about Latin America and hears comparatively little. Many Latin Americans feel they are taken for granted by the United States and, perhaps, there is something in that feelings.

Yet, when we stop to look at a few facts the importance of Latin America to the United States immediately becomes apparent.

The trade between the United States and Latin America averages around $7 billion annually and is about equally divided.

Furthermore, this trade is almost entirely on an exchange basis—that is, it is financed by an exchange of goods and services and is not financed by United States loans and grants.

The United States has more money invested in Latin America than in any other part of the world. The total is more than $6 billion. Profits from that investment annually are estimated at about $750 million.

In 2 short years, then, the profit on your investments in Latin America amounts to more than all the loans and grants to Latin America since 1945.

Like Bolivia, most Latin American countries are only partially developed. The potential for profitable investment in Latin America is enormous.

The population in Latin America is increasing more rapidly than almost any other part of the world.

Already Latin America has approximately 20 million more people than the United States.

By 1975, Latin America will have 277 million people and in another 25 years, a half billion.

Tht land mass of Latin America is tremendous. Modern nuclear warfare can be so terrible that only nations which have tremendous resources and great land masses can be expected to survive.

Our two hemispheres have resources and territory sufficient to withstand any onslaught.

This presupposes that the hemispheres are united and stand together. In turn, this presupposes friendly and binding relationships between the United States and the Latin American nations.

In summary, the trade with Latin America today is profitable to the United States; investments in Latin America are very profitable also. Moreover, since Latin America is relatively undeveloped, it has a tremendous storehouse of raw materials, and is growing rapidly. The possibilities for the future are great indeed—provided that Latin America grows and prospers as it should.

But we cannot take it for granted that all will be well simply because the United States has a benevolent attitude toward Latin America and has no imperialistic ambitions.

Capitalism has been a blessing for the United States; it has been the opposite for some Latin American countries.

The rich men in my own country were shortsighted, greedy, cruel, and reactionary.

The United States tells the people of Latin America that modern capitalism is the answer to its problems. The Communists tell the masses that they have the answers. Every country in Latin America has its Communists, who take advantage of every business recession and every political crisis. They work with the fanaticism and energy of their kind.

The people of Latin America will, in the long run, prefer capitalism only if they think it is good for them.

The United States then must see to it, if possible, that capitalism is good for Latin America. A lag in any Latin American country hurts the hemisphere and the United States. If there is economic and political chaos in many Latin American countries, the United States is in deep trouble. Your country already is under a very great strain. Even a country as powerful as the United States can be overloaded.

To repeat, Latin America today constitutes an asset to the free world and the United States. It is vital that it remains so and makes an even greater contribution for the future. This requires statesmanship of a very high order.

Every Latin American country differs, but most have common problems.

Most are dependent upon the sale of raw materials pending the time when they industrialize and use these materials at home. If the price of raw materials declines sharply, their economies are badly shaken.

The transportation system in many countries is defective, and vast areas are still very inaccessible.

Several of the countries have a comparatively small wealthy class at the top and great masses of poor people at the bottom.

In quite a few of the nations, the Indian population still is submerged and worse off than it was before the Spanish conquest.

The lack of economic stability in Latin America has created political instability, and political instability has caused resort to military dictatorship.

This is a common method of handling an emergency in a Latin American country. A strong man takes over; he sweeps the problems under the rug. He and his immediate followers enrich themselves at the expense of the country. There is increasing unrest; another revolution and another military dictatorship.

I have heard it said by seemingly intelligent men that this is the way to handle things in Latin America; that the masses have no idea of democracy and simply want to be left alone to live as their ancestors lived before them.

Such generalizations are dangerous. They are predicated upon assumptions which are not true. Once upon a time the great colonial powers thought that the people they governed were satisfied and would never rebel. That was—once upon a time.

Some dictators have the interests of the people at heart, but even a benevolent dictatorship is a pretty poor way to run a country. Surely this generation has had enough of dictatorship and its consequences.

The United States knows the problems of Latin America very well. It wants to help and has helped. In my opinion, it has dispelled the old Marxist theory that a strong capitalistic country always takes advantage of the poorer and weaker country with which it deals.

The attitude of the United States in dealing with weaker countries has been one of enlightened self-interest in many ways. Your country has disavowed imperialism and colonialism. It is trying to prove that other countries have only to follow its example to also become free, stable, and prosperous. But that proof is difficult. There are many skeptics; many who say—wait and see.

The final verdict remains to be delivered. The free world is shocked at the ruthlessness of international communism. Yet, man's memories are short and what has happened may be explained away and excused.

I do not mean to infer that the United States must take full responsibility for making backward countries in this hemisphere rich and contented. There must be cooperation and a sincere attempt at self-help. But, quite obviously, any contribution which the United States makes to the prosperity and stability of a Latin American country is a contribution toward its own stability and prosperity.

In the worldwide conflict with communism, the United States is trying to persuade the backward countries that the free-enterprise system and democracy will bring them the freedom and higher standard of living which they want.

If this theory is true, there is no better place to prove it than Bolivia.

In the first place, all the aid in the world cannot make an intrinsically poor nation rich. Money and the advice of all the experts cannot give a country good land, oil, timber, and mineral wealth if they are not there in the first place.

Bolivia has everything which it needs to become a modern and progressive state.

I think also that the United States would agree that Bolivia has tried to make the aid program succeed.

Mistakes have been made, and plenty of them, but in a country trying to remedy the neglect of generations in a few short years these were inevitable. We have tried to remedy these errors; we have tried sincerely to carry out the advice given us by your great country.

Since 1952, Bolivia has endeavored systematically to attract foreign capital and

has tried to create an atmosphere favorable to free enterprise.

For example, Bolivia's petroleum code announced in 1955 is the most liberal, probably, in the hemisphere. In effect, it says that my country wants the best available outside help in exploiting its tremendous oil resources.

Bolivia has signed the investment guaranty program. This program was initiated by the United States to protect its citizens who invest in foreign countries against inability to convert foreign currency into dollars, or loss through expropriation or confiscation.

Bolivia has abolished import restrictions, subsidies on consumer goods, and other impediments to a free enterprise economy.

At Bolivia's instance, a New York firm conducted an exhaustive inquiry into the mining economy, including operation of the tin mines, and has made recommendations for improvement.

Anyone who examines the Bolivian situation will realize at once that the country will be in a bad way until it begins to produce something other than tin. To do this, roads have to be built, power projects finished, land cleared and put into cultivation, oil wells sunk, timber cut and sold, factories built to produce consumer goods, and many other steps taken.

With the help of United Nations and United States experts, Bolivia drafted, in 1953 programs for the development of almost every phase of its economy. These programs, however, take time and cost money. Some have done remarkably well. My country now is exporting around $6 million worth of petroleum annually instead of having to pay out about $5 million for the oil it needs. Gulf, one of the world's great oil companies, has a concession in Bolivia and other big concerns are interested. Eventually, oil may replace tin as the principal source of foreign exchange. Yet, $6 million furnishes us with only a fraction of the money we need and other programs are not far enough along to do us much good. Also, the programs are costly and the funds spent on them contributed to the inflation which almost wrecked our economy.

To stop inflation, the experts from the United States proposed a stabilization program which would eliminate every expenditure possible, and under which Bolivia must live within its income. We approved the program and put it into effect, even though it hit the workers and other poor people very hard. It meant also the end of work on most of our development programs. Now, some tough questions arise: how can we ever hope to get out of the dilemma we are in unless we increase production? And how can we expect to increase production unless we go ahead with our programs?

Bolivia does not wish to remain on a dole indefinitely. Nor does the United States wish Bolivia to be a charity ward year in and year out. The basic objectives of both governments would be defeated by such a situation.

Offhand, it would seem that any country which half way tried could modernize and stabilize its economy if it had the help of the United States. Nevertheless, here is Bolivia which has cooperated to the best of its ability with the United States but has a long, long way to go.

Perhaps it is time for both countries to look at this matter very, very carefully. If Bolivia needs to make changes, it should do so without delay. Perhaps the United States also should look at the assistance it is giving Bolivia. It could be possible that the funds given us are sufficient to keep us alive but not enough to enable us to make any real progress. If so, would it not be better, and cheaper in the long run, to make the help sufficient to finish some of the development programs that we have planned in cooperation with your experts?

I am of the opinion that private investments in my country will be one of our greatest assets some day. However, foreign investment may be waiting to find out whether we are to rise or fall. If it became convinced that we were out of the woods, I think there would be little hesitancy to put its money into our resources.

I realize that Bolivia is only one of the many countries which the United States is helping. The Bolivian situation is obscured by crises in other parts of the world. Consequently, the significance of the Bolivian program may be overlooked even by some of your leaders who have watched its operations.

I do not think I am going too far when I say that your entire aid program is on trial in Bolivia. Rightly or wrongly, I think most Latin Americans feel that Bolivia is a test case, and many informed persons outside Latin America also.

For in Bolivia we have all the elements which should make for success. Bolivia is trying to bring about reforms without which there can be no lasting progress in my country and in other countries in Latin America. We are grappling with some fundamentals: overhauling our land system, the Indian problem, transportation difficulties, and other factors which have kept much of Latin America behind the times. Furthermore—and this is very important—we are doing so with a democracy and not a dictatorship. And, finally, we are relying upon the dynamics of private enterprise and are avoiding both collectivism and ultranationalism.

If we fail, the repercussions will be felt far outside Bolivia.

The blow to United States prestige would be great. If the United States aid program cannot succeed in Bolivia, where can it succeed?

The blow to the liberal and democratic forces in the hemisphere through failure would be great.

The blow to private enterprise would be great, and, of course, the blow to Bolivia would be very great, indeed. We would have to start all over again and where could we turn?

I do not think we will fail. I am certain we will not if both the United States and Bolivia see clearly what is at stake and determine to do whatever is necessary for success.

While the aid program to Bolivia thus far may seem quite substantial, it amounts to very little compared to the results to be gained.

From the monetary standpoint alone, a stable and prosperous Bolivia will return, in profits from your investments and trade, the funds given us—with interest—in a comparatively short time.

The example of Bolivia will encourage other countries to seek the help of American private capital. The free-enterprise system will be given a tremendous impetus.

The damage to communism and fascism will be shattering.

Let us then, working together, plan for success and to do whatever is necessary to that end. All of us stand to benefit from the results.

In Praise of New Hampshire Solons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a most interesting and forthright editorial that appeared in the Evening Tribune, Lawrence, Mass., on Monday, March 11, 1957, entitled "In Praise of New Hampshire Solons":

New Hampshire's State legislators last week demonstrated that as a group they are a cut above their counterparts in Massachusetts.

They had two chances to exact spiteful retribution against Massachusetts for the nonresident State income tax which the Bay State solons imposed on New Hampshire citizens over a year ago. They turned both opportunities down despite the fact that there were those who urged that they return tit for tat.

Clearer heads prevailed and, instead of returning the blow, the Granite Staters turned the other cheek by (a) refusing to impose a New Hampshire head tax on those nonresidents who work in New Hampshire and (b) by approving the interstate flood control agreement for the Merrimack River Valley, a measure which is of vital concern to the people of Greater Lawrence.

Of course, the passing by the New Hampshire solons of the flood-control measure was not an act of pure Christian charity. After all, New Hampshire stands to benefit, too, but not to the same extent as Massachusetts, which is farther downstream and more susceptible to floods, does.

But, in refusing to be goaded into taxing Massachusetts residents who work in New Hampshire—at the Portsmouth Navy Yard, for example—the Granite Staters did show remarkable restraint. Legislative bodies are notoriously ever in search of new means of obtaining revenue and here was a source at hand, small but helpful, and they passed it up. The act is even more remarkable when you consider, as, no doubt the Beacon Hill legislators did, that to pass a tax on an out-of-stater is to get money painlessly—for the legislator—as the taxed cannot hit back by voting the politician out of office at the next election. This is the point that makes those in New Hampshire who work in Massachusetts and have to pay an income tax to this State so mad. They have no way of letting off steam against the measure by voting against its proponents.

Wars have been fought in the past over this question of taxation without representation and we are glad to see that New Hampshire did not see fit to start one over the Massachusetts nonresident State income tax measure. Perhaps they reasoned that their forbearance would evoke a like spirit in the breast of the Massachusetts Legislature.

Hungarian Freedom Day: A Tribute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, Hungarians have long looked upon March 15 as a day of national deliverance because it commemorates the occasion when the freedom fighters of 1848–49 under the leadership of Louis Kossuth attempted unsuccessfully to establish freedom in Hungary.

This year Freedom Day has a special meaning because it comes at a time when the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 is still fresh in our minds. As in 1848–49 the freedom fighters of 1956 made an unsuccessful attempt to establish freedom in

Hungary. But, as over a century ago, Russian intervention prevented the final achievement of their goal.

In one massive assault the Soviets crushed the Hungarian revolution. The courage of these men, however great, was no match for the overwhelming power of Soviet armored divisions and mass infantry. Without outside assistance the revolution was doomed to disaster.

The aftermath of the October revolution brought renewed hardship and oppression to the Hungarian people. Budapest, once a beautiful city, was reduced to ruins. A Stalinist-type of regime under Janos Kadar was imposed upon the Hungarian people by the Soviet Union. The transitory freedom that the Hungarians had enjoyed, although limited in scope, came to an abrupt end. And across the Austro-Hungarian border poured over 170,000 refugees in search of freedom.

Soviet intervention in Hungary exposed the Soviet Union once again before the whole world. Even the faith of members of the Communist parties in other countries was shaken. Press reports today indicate that many Communists in Italy, France, India, the United States, and other countries have not yet reconciled themselves to the harsh reality that the Russians would use military force even against their so-called comrades.

On this day commemorating Freedom Day in Hungary let us pay tribute to the freedom fighters of 1848, but let us also pay tribute to their descendants, the feredom fighters of 1956.

So long as the spirit prevails that moved these men to great deeds of heroism in the defense of their country, so long will there be hope for freedom in Hungary.

Additional Editorial Comment Favoring Trinity River Partnership Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, in its edition of February 26, 1957, the San Rafael (Calif.) Independent Journal comments editorially in favor of the partnership plan which would provide for construction of the power phase of the Trinity River project in California by a private utility company.

In its lead sentence, the newspaper states:

A real storm has blown up over the Trinity River portion of California's water plan.

During debate in the House of Representatives on legislation to authorize the Trinity River project, it was pointed out specifically that the proposal by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. to construct the power portion of the project would be decided on its merit. The proposal has not as yet been presented to the Congress. In spite of this the subject has already developed into a controversy over the issue of private versus public power development.

There is no question but what the Trinity project is financially feasible. However, the fact cannot be ignored that its 3.31 to 1 benefit-cost ratio could not be achieved without the development of hydroelectric power in connection with the project.

The P. G. & E. Co. has offered to build four powerplants involved in the project. They are the Trinity plant at Trinity Dam with a capacity of 98,000 kilowatts; the Lewiston powerplant at Lewiston Dam with the capacity of 600 kilowatts; the Clear Creek powerplant at Whiskeytown Reservoir with a capacity of 133,000 kilowatts; and the Spring Creek powerplant at Keswick Reservoir with a capacity of 153,000 kilowatts. In addition the company will pay for auxiliary buildings and facilities required for construction, operation, and maintenance of the powerplants.

The Secretary of the Interior has recommended to the Congress that the private company be permitted to undertake this construction and operation of the powerplants. Commenting on the Secretary's recommendation, the San Rafael Independent Journal had this to say:

Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton recommended to Congress that the Trinity River unit of the Central Valley plan be developed in partnership with the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., which would build and operate the power facilities of the project.

Seaton reasoned this way: If P. G. & E. builds the power facilities, the project estimated to cost $225 million, would cost $55½ million less. In addition, P. G. & E. would pay for the privilege of using the project's "falling water" about $165 million during the 50 years the partnership would be in effect. Seaton declared:

"Under the present Central Valley rate structure, the Trinity power facilities, if built by the United States, would require substantial assistance from other project revenues in order to meet repayment requirements. Joint development under the proposed agreement, would convert Trinity falling water into a substantial net asset of the project."

And there is more. Estimates are that P. G. & E. would pay $83 million in Federal taxes and $62 million in State and local taxes in that period. If the United States built the powerhouse, there would not be one cent of tax for either.

The Independent Journal further points out that it is seldom that there is an opportunity to compare the real costs of Federal power with that of private industry. The report by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation states that the sale of falling water by the Federal Government to a private power company would result in an estimated surplus of $165 million to the Federal Government by the end of the year 2013. To meet this $165 million differential in surplus the Government would have to increase project power rates by 0.9 of a mill per kilowatt-hour. Opponents of the partnership plan are aware of this fact and in commenting upon the comparison of costs and savings to the taxpayers with respect to private versus public development, the San Rafael Independent Journal has this to say:

We have always maintained that a private concern can produce anything cheaper than a bureaucratic organization. But it is difficult to collect the figures to prove this because the true costs are lost in the complications of taxes, rates, and special charges. But in this case the figures are laid out for all to see.

To begin with there are $55½ million the taxpayers won't have to cough up for construction. Then there is the $165 million profit the Federal Government makes on the deal. And finally, the $83 million in Federal taxes and $62 million in State and local taxes more than cover the extra amount the preferred customers will have to pay for their power.

The partnership plan will result in a savings of $55.5 million in capital outlay by the Federal Government, and be a direct cut in this year's budget. In commenting on this phase of the plan, the San Rafael Independent Journal concluded its editorial with the following statement:

The mere fact that the $55½ million won't be needed for construction means it can be diverted to distribution or other parts of the CVP system.

The project will be making a profit of $165 million for use of the falling water's power potential, without diverting a single drop of the water from irrigation. This means that much can be used to reduce the cost of the water to the Central Valley's farmers and industries. They can get just as much water for less.

Educational Assistance for Children of Disabled Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill to provide educational assistance to approximately 56,000 American children, the sons and daughters of veterans of World War I, World War II, and Korea who have been rated by the Veterans' Administration to be 100 percent disabled from service-connected war disability. Last session, the Congress enacted Public Law 634, 84th Congress, which created a scholarship program for the children of service men and women who lost their lives in either of our recent wars or in Korea. This program is referred to as the war orphans scholarship program, and there are several thousand children already enrolled. I believe it is one of the best programs ever enacted by the Congress, and I think it has done a tremendous amount of good for both the veteran and the Nation.

It was a source of great personal satisfaction to me as a member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee to assist in securing enactment of the war orphans scholarship program. When we were considering this legislation, there was a suggestion that we should extend education and training benefits to children of veterans where the veteran has a 100 percent service-connected disability. I believe that the proposal deserves further consideration, and I have, therefore, introduced a bill to accomplish this objective.

A veteran with a 100-percent disability receives $181 a month in disability

compensation. He may receive as much as the maximum of $420 a month if he has a combination of very serious disabilities, such as loss of limbs, loss of eyesight, or a combination of these disabilities. This is barely enough to pay for the necessities of life for a family, and it seems utterly impossible to expect a seriously disabled veteran to save enough money to educate his children beyond the public-school level on this amount.

There are about 56,000 children who have a parent rated 100 percent disabled. This is about one-third the number presently eligible under the War Orphans Scholarship bill, and I believe that we should include them in the education and training program. I realize that cost is a factor to be considered, and I have sought a way to give these children assistance without requiring direct appropriations by the Congress. My bill provides that a fund will be created from alien properties now held by this Government. There is a precedent for the use of these funds for such a purpose. You may recall that funds derived from alien properties were used to dispose of certain claims by prisoners of war, and I think it proper and fitting that these funds should be used to educate the children of veterans who have been deprived of health and soundness of body in the defense of this country against the very nations whose properties were confiscated during wartime and which are proposed to be used for the education of these children.

Mr. Speaker, if we are to win the cold war with Russia, we must produce more scientists, technicians, and elevate generally our educational standards. We must win the cold war in the field of education. This bill is a step in that direction.

It's Almost Never Too Late

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr METCALF. Mr. Speaker, it has been almost 3 years since we beat the last of the bills aimed at sudden-death termination of Federal responsibility for services to Indians and our trust responsibility for Indian lands.

The high-water mark of the drive to make Indians first-class citizens by relieving them of everything they owned, by property rights, and sometimes by treaties agreed to by two sovereign nations, was the 83d Congress.

Bills are now pending in this Congress to undo, insofar as possible, the damage done by some of the legislation which made it through that Congress. This effort, although belated, may help improve our relationships with the first Americans.

But more is needed.

In the February 20, 1957, issue of the Christian Century Mr. D'Arcy McNickle has some concrete suggestions for us. Mr. McNickle—outstanding authority and distinguished writer on Indian affairs, an enrolled member of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, director of the Crown Point project, New Mexico, Indian community development—points out that the solution to the Indian problem will cost money. He says one-half of 1 percent of what is being spent on foreign aid this year, if set up as a revolving fund, would make a good start.

He also suggests that "know nothings" in the Bureau of Indian Affairs are poor substitutes for qualified people.

Mr. McNickle's article follows:

IT'S ALMOST NEVER TOO LATE

(By D'Arcy McNickle)

When Dillon S. Myer became Commissioner of Indian Affairs a few years ago, he removed from immediate contact with his office civil servants who had prolonged familiarity with Indian problems and replaced them by young men with a reputation for getting things done. A few years earlier, when the Indian Claims Commission was being established, word went out that the Commissioners were to be men of character who had no prior knowledge of Indian affairs.

Such actions made some people uneasy. It seemed to them that neither an ability to get things done nor impeccable honesty were adequate substitutes for knowledge and experience in this difficult field. They were mindful of the history of Indian-white relations and knew that driving forces and honest effort had been tried often enough, without bringing the Indian people any closer to better health standards, higher levels of education or more earning power.

Government is not alone in trying to carry enlightenment to the Indians in leaky vessels. Not many years ago a prominent Protestant churchman accused his interdenominational coworkers of sending their poorest trained and least gifted mission workers into the American Indian field, while their best went to Asia and other foreign parts. In the meeting where this statement was made, no colleague challenged the speaker.

The attitude is the same: You don't have to know Indians to know what is good for them. Americans know Indians. The history books tell their bloodthirsty tale and Hollywood fills in what the school histories leave out. Talk Indian matters to a western Congressman, and the chances are he grew up in a community where Indians lived across the tracks and he knows all about their failings.

A favorite approach is to start with the premise that Indians are human beings. The premise being granted, it follows that habits of behavior which deviate from the habits of white men mark the Indian as immature and misguided. His addiction to his own languages, his ceremonial practices become quaint anachronisms. Brush these peculiarities aside, and out will come a standard suburban commuter, or the equivalent.

Out of this attitude springs the notion that the published findings of the social scientists are all theoretical and unworthy of serious study by practical administrators. But what if the administrator faces such theoretical questions as how to find a mechanism by which civil authority within a pueblo may be passed on when the clan chief, who formerly had the function of naming a successor, dies and leaves no one in his place? Or how to maintain the role of peacemaker, as an accepted method of settling family disputes, and avoid conflict with a written law code which takes domestic relations as one of its proper fields of authority?

BRAWLING JUDGMENTS, UNASHAMED

Twenty years ago John Collier, the then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, hit on the commendable idea of bringing into his office as expert advisers men who were practicing social scientists. He even negotiated with the Bureau of American Ethnology, an agency established for the peculiar purpose of studying American Indians, for help in planning how best to utilize ethnologists in gathering field data.

Two things happened, both unfortunate. First, the Commissioner could not persuade his regulation-steeped field administrators to make use of cultural data. (It must be admitted that the ethnologists were not skilled at explaining their stuff to the layman). Second, as soon as the congressional Appropriations Committees got wind of the attempt to substitute method for muddle, sulfurous fumes burst from the committee rooms and ethnology went out the window. So embittered was Jed Johnson, of Oklahoma, (then chairman of the House Appropriations Committee) that for several years he inserted in the Interior Department Appropriation Act a prohibition against the payment of money to any employee of the Indian Service who went to Mexico to study educational methods. Word had reached him that experimental ideas were creeping North of the border and might be finding their way into Indian Service schools.

A few anthropologically trained workers stayed on, carefully disguised by the ambiguities of personnel nomenclature.

Willard Beatty, director of education during the Collier regime, never could get an appropriation from Congress to defray the expenses of the summer schools he conducted for his teachers. A man of energy, he managed to operate his summer schools—quite interesting ones—without a budget.

TRIUMPH OF KNOW-NOTHINGNESS

These facts are recounted because they represent perhaps the first effort at inservice training ever attempted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Up to then, a prospective employee of the Bureau had never been required to know anything about Indians to qualify for a position, and it had never been thought necessary to provide an opportunity for him to learn about their history and culture after he came on the job. The summer schools were designed to ameliorate the situation, at least for teachers coming into Indian Service schools. But even this effort has been abandoned.

This know-nothingness might not be so serious if it could be confined to the top appointees of the Bureau. But attitudes nurtured at the top have a way of permeating the structure below. A quick glance at the record will explain how attitudes—instead of aptitudes—have brought ruination to Indian hopes.

Until about 1890 the condition of the Indian people was not too bad. They were dying off. They had almost no health care, they enjoyed very little schooling, and they lived under a heavy cloud of public disapproval for what some of them had done to Custer only a few years before. But they still had quite a bit of property. And soon the population trend was to cease its downward plunge and level off, even start an upcurve. Best of all, they were being left alone.

Beginning about that time—specifically in 1887—Congress adopted measures intended to improve their situation. The decision was to start with the ample land base still owned by the Indians, so the General Allotment Act was passed. This ingenious piece of legislation—justified in and out of Congress as a measure to speed up civilization of the Indians—authorized the President, in his discretion, to divide up any Indian reservation into individual holdings, assign a parcel of land to each man, woman, and child, and declare all remaining land "surplus."

The surplus lands were then opened for homesteading and, as and when the lands were taken up, paid for at $2.50 per acre. Thus, without cost to itself, the Federal Government was able to transfer large acreages from Indian to white ownership. The tribes were even required to pay the costs of surveying and allotting. In every case where allotment was carried out, the Indian tribe objected; and in most cases the lands were covered by treaties under which the United States obligated itself to protect the tribe in its right of possession.

Between 1887 and 1930, through this and other legal devices set up by the Allotment Act, the Indian-owned land base shrank from 138 million to 50 million acres. In the same period the Indian population began to increase after its long decline. In 1890 the population was about 250,000; by 1930 it had swelled to 300,000. In terms of per capita acreage, in 1890 each man, woman, and child would have had about 540 acres if the land had been divided among Indians only. In 1930, such a division would have yielded 165 acres per capita. But the good land had gone to the homesteaders. Of the 165 acres available for individual Indian subsistence, about 100 acres were suitable for grazing, 50 were classed as timber (less than half of commercial grade), about 9 were farmland, and 6 were barren waste. In some arid areas the grazing land was only a step above barren waste, since a good part of it was estimated to require from 60 to 150 acres to support 1 cow.

Some part of the havoc wrought by this effort to civilize the Indians was repaired in the 1930's. A study of Indian land needs carried out by the National Resources Board in 1934 recommended that 9.7 million acres be purchased immediately, at an estimated cost of $50 million. Such action, the recommendation stated, would permit the Indians to reach a mere subsistence level above the verge of starvation and the dole.

Between 1935 and the early war years, approximately 5 million acres were added to the Indian land base, some of it by purchase, some by transferring use rights in public domain to Indian tribes, some by restoring former Indian lands which had not been homesteaded. A number of tribes made their own purchases, investing altogether $2 million of their trust funds for the purpose.

NEW EFFORTS, NEW HAZARDS

But right after World War II, when efforts were made to resume the land acquisition program recommended 10 years earlier, a new hazard came up on the horizon. The Western States, in which all of the large Indian reservations are located, were short of money and were looking for new sources of revenue. They expressed dismay at the amount of tax-exempt Federal landholdings within their boundaries and seemed to be especially incensed by the amount of tax-exempt Indian holdings. State after State protested to Congress, and then began the practice of writing into appropriations acts prohibitions against using either Federal funds or Indian trust funds for the purchase of lands for Indians and their removal from State tax rolls. The land purchase program was stopped cold.

When Dillon Myer became commissioner in 1950 the remarkable discovery was made that most of the Indian reservations would not support the dependent population. But instead of concluding, as did the National Resources Board, that the Government had better get busy and build up the land base, Mr. Myer and his young men took off in the opposite direction. Apparently they decided that it would be easier to move the Indians and their troubles out of sight than to stand firm against the tax-hungry States. And so "relocation" has been the policy since, with growing intensity.

Something more than an attitude prompted that decision. For a number of years—in fact, starting with the study by the National Resources Board and a survey by the President's Great Plains Committee—the Bureau of Indian Affairs had been conducting human dependency and physical resource surveys on Indian reservations and preparing plans for soil conservation, proper land use and economic development. In cooperation with the Department of Agriculture and other Federal and State agencies, such surveys had been completed on 50 reservations by 1939.

Beginning in 1943, the reservation staffs were instructed to proceed with an analysis of data at hand—that in their own files as well as compilations like those mentioned above—and to project long-range development plans for each seperate reservation. The plans were to include budget estimates by years. The files of the Bureau of Indian Affairs have such plans for 67 reservations.

A CYNICAL DECISION

All this endeavor, the first systematic effort to assess human needs and resources on Indian reservations, was abandoned by the decision to give up the struggle for an improved economy for Indians.

It was a cynical decision. In Congress at the time there was a mounting demand to reduce expenditures in behalf of Indians and to "get the Government out of the Indian business." To go counter to this demand by asking for more money and more Government technical assistance would have been difficult. Everyone in Indian affairs was aware of this at the time, and everyone knew what the decision of the then Commissioner meant. It caused Indians to ask whether the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was on their side, and if not, whose side was he on?

The Commissioner did not leave the issue in doubt. In August 1952 he issued to all Bureau officials instructions calling for immediate preparation of plans for termination of Federal services and management responsibility for every tribe, band, or identifiable group of Indians in the United States. His memorandum described this planning as a "cooperative effort" involving Bureau personnel, the Indians, and such local agencies as might be required to assume the Bureau's burdens.

His instructions read: "We must lend every encouragement to Indian initiative and leadership (in the direction of withdrawal). I realize that it will not be possible always to obtain Indian cooperation. * * * We must proceed, even though Indian cooperation may be lacking in certain cases."

CUMBERSOME RUNAROUND

A year later, almost to the day, House Concurrent Resolution No. 108 was adopted, declaring it to be "the sense of Congress" that at "the earliest possible time" Federal responsibility for Indian affairs should be terminated. With that declaration the promises of prior administrations were canceled and the hopes of the Indians for economic rehabilitation in their home communities vanished.

It is a pity that the American Indians are not immigrants from Nyasaland. As strange foreigners, they would not be expected to behave like standardized suburban commuters, and officials responsible for dealing with them might make an effort to find out what they are like and what they want. Somebody might even get up the courage to ask Congress for an appropriation to study the subject.

It must be admitted that present methods are cumbersome. Congress passes legislation which is supposed to solve the Indian problem. After a while it becomes clear that the law has not produced good results. So Government lawyers give the law a good shaking and conclude that amendments are needed, possibly even a new law. The revisions are adopted. Negative results continue. Then Congress becomes annoyed and calls for an investigation of the Indian Bureau. And all the while the Indian sits in his tar-paper shack surrounded by untapped resources.

If the United States is serious about discharging its responsibilities to the Indian people and getting out of the business of perennial benefactor, the formula for doing so is at hand. In fact, the formula has been in the files of the Bureau of Indian Affairs since 1928. It consists of a recommendation contained in the report of the Institute for Government Research (the so-called Meriam survey). The recommendation reads: "The most fundamental step that can be taken is to advance the economic and social conditions of the Indians [of each jurisdiction] with due regard to the economic resources of that jurisdiction, and to supply each jurisdiction with a sufficient number of properly trained workers to make that program effective."

Carrying out such a formula would cost money. One-half of 1 percent of what is being spent on foreign aid in the current year, if set up as a revolving fund, would make a good start. And it would be spent at home.

One precaution must be noted: The recommendation specifies "properly trained" workers. This suggests that the time has come when workers are being recruited for tasks involving complicated human-relations problems to scrap the notion that an ignorant good man is better than an informed good man. Indeed, the time had come even before 1928. But it's never too late to accept good advice.

Richard Evelyn Byrd—He Won a War With the Unknown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, on March 11, 1957, America lost one of its all-time great citizens, and the world its most outstanding Antarctic explorer when Rear Adm. Richard Evelyn Byrd died "peacefully in sleep," according to press reports, in his home at Boston.

In a sense, then, Admiral Byrd died as he had never quite been able to live—for he devoted a lifetime at war with the unknown. That he won is amply evidenced on contemporary maps of the globe, for he led the initial charting of at least 2 million square miles of the earth's surface, and until his last days was at work coordinating the many and complex aspects of United States Antarctic activities.

He and his staff had, for the past 18 months, worked closely with the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in developing legislation which has as its principal purpose establishment of a permanent, single, Federal agency for coordinating Antarctic matters. From the base created by his courage, by his enterprise and dedication to purpose—and by his unrelenting assault on the unknown, will emerge, I am con-

fident, substantially the permanent agency he envisaged.

Admiral Byrd wrote his name on the globe—brightly, clearly, and indelibily. His work will stand as a monument to a man who pioneered and succeeded, dared and conquered, sought—and found.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks and to insert a newspaper article and editorial—and because I believe both capture the spirit and mood of Richard Evelyn Byrd—I offer for the RECORD the following article by Thomas R. Henry in the Washington Evening Star of March 12, 1957, and an editorial from the Washington Post of March 13, 1957:

[From the Washington Evening Star of March 12, 1957]

BYRD EXPLORATIONS ADDED TO WORLD'S KNOWLEDGE

(By Thomas R. Henry)

Rear Adm. Richard Evelyn Byrd was one of the most colorful and complex characters of his generation.

Daring adventurer, scientific explorer, outstanding leader, philosopher, inventor, poet, dreamer, mystic, skillful aviator, able organizer and money raiser, who personally despised these necessary tools of his trade—such was the man who pinoeered the airways over the Atlantic and over both poles and who added more to man's knowledge of the planet on which he lives than anyone else in this century.

He was a lonely man and a lover of solitude, the most agreeable of hosts and companions and the most democratic of comrades who yet never was able to break down entirely the barriers that separated him from other men. He was the victim of many misunderstandings and unjust criticisms because of this very lack of common ground between him and most of the rest of mankind.

CONSTANTLY LOOKED AHEAD

He never considered an end to his career of adventure. No sooner was the great Antarctic expedition of 1947 finished than he was busy planning for another a year hence, a flight straight across the Antarctic continent from New Zealand to Africa in a long-range bomber.

It is noteworthy that those who knew Byrd best admired him most and had the most confidence in him. No man under his direct command ever lost his life on any Byrd expedition.

CONSIDERED PHILOSOPHY

Admiral Byrd was primarily a mystic. His mysticism found expression in flight. He became a great explorer.

In another age he might have been a great philosopher, a great poet—perhaps, I think, a great saint.

During what he describes as "those futile years" which followed his graduation from Annapolis he fumbled for a field of adventure in which he could make for himself a distinguished career—and he had about decided to become a professional philosopher. He even consulted, and received encouragement from Alfred North Whitehead, the British mathematical theorist, perhaps the most brilliant and original philosopher of his generation.

Chance turned Admiral Byrd instead to aviation. He had been attracted to philosophy, as he was later attracted to exploration, because it would take him to places man never had been before.

A FITTING EPITAPH

I can think of no better epitaph for him than the expression which was forever on his tongue during the 1947 expedition: "Beyond the South Pole."

It has been charged that Byrd lived for glory. For 5 years during World War II he was engaged in the most perilous sort of secret military mission of which the public heard no word at the time.

Byrd explored the southeast Pacific in an old gunboat, inspecting islands as possible sites for airstrips. The result was a new air route from the Panama Canal area to Australia.

For this work President Franklin D. Roosevelt personally awarded him the Legion of Merit.

BROTHER OF SENATOR

Born at Winchester, Va., in 1888, the younger brother of Senator HARRY FLOOD BYRD, he travelled around the world alone when he was 12 years old. A former law partner of his father, Adam C. Carson, was then a district judge in the Philippines. He invited the boy to visit him and Dick, overcoming the strenuous objections of his parents, set out.

He entered Annapolis in 1908 and while there suffered several football injuries and a broken foot and ankle due to a fall from a trapeze. These were responsible for his early retirement from active service. Following his graduation in 1912 came a number of futile years of routine assignments on various Navy ships. He was placed on the retired list in 1916.

"Navy regulations would not allow any promotion on account of my injury," he said. "I was retired on half pay; ordered home for good. Career ended. Not enough money to live on; no chance of coming back; trained for a seafaring profession; temperamentally disinclined for business. A fizzle."

GETS CADET TRAINING POST

But 5 days later he was again in service when the Navy appointed him instructor-inspector of the Rhode Island Naval Militia. With the outbreak of World War I he was transferred to Washington, but soon talked his way out of a desk job into cadet training at the Naval Air Station at Pensacola. Shortly after getting his wings he began thinking of the possibility of making a transatlantic flight in an NC–1 type of flying boat, then under construction. The war ended before he was able to persuade anyone that his proposal was practical.

After the war Admiral Byrd again was assigned to the Bureau of Aeronautics in Washington. During this period he invented two indispensable air instruments—the wind drift indicator and the bubble compass which enables an aviator to operate with a false horizon.

MISSED DOOMED DIRIGIBLE

These both were accepted by the Navy and in 1921 he was sent to England as navigator of the dirigible ZR–3, just purchased from the British Government. He missed a train to London. He arrived just too late to be on the dirigible on the trial flight in which she exploded in midair, with the loss of all her crew.

His first great opportunity came in 1925 when he was assigned command of the naval aviation unit of three amphibian planes sent to the Arctic with the McMillan Expedition. The purpose of this expedition was to hunt for certain large islands supposed to exist in uncharted sections of the northern ocean.

PLANS POLAR FLIGHT

Back in Washington, Admiral Byrd again was retired from the Navy, together with Floyd Bennett, his pilot on the Arctic flights. The two at once started preparations for a flight across the North Pole.

Contributions were obtained from Edsel Ford, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Vincent Astor, Thomas F. Ryan, and Dwight W. Morrow. The United States Shipping Board loaned them a 3,500-ton steamer.

Arriving at Kings Bay, Spitzbergen, they found Raold Amundsen, the discoverer of the South Pole, and Lincoln Ellsworth also getting ready for a polar flight. Byrd got away first. On May 8, 1926, they flew over the pole. For this exploit the future admiral received the Congressional Medal of Honor, and was given permanent rank as a commander.

Hardly was Byrd back from the pole than he was practically forced by public opinion to attempt a New York-Paris flight, for which a $25,000 prize had been offered. He started preparation with the same type of trimotor Fokker which had carried him across the Arctic. A series of accidents, in one of which Bennett was seriously injured, delayed the flight. Meanwhile, both Charles Lindbergh and Clarence Chamberlain made successful flights to Paris.

"MY STOCK WENT DOWN"

"My stock went down to zero," Admiral Byrd said afterward.

The public turned against him. He began to get insulting messages, accusing him of being a "phoney."

The flight finally took off under the worst possible conditions on a day of rain, fog, and low clouds. The crew—Byrd, Bert Acosta, Bernt Balchen, and Lt. George Noville—did not see the ocean from the time they left New York until they neared the French coast. Thick weather prevented a landing at Paris. They turned back toward the coast and finally crashed in the sea off the Brittany coast, near the village of Ver-sur-Mer. They returned to New York triumphantly.

Back in America, Admiral Byrd started at once on a project which he had planned while talking with Amundsen at Spitzbergen—a flight over the South Pole. He estimated the cost of an expedition at $750,000. After raising about a half million, he took a chance and started out with two ships, the *City of New York* and the *Eleanor Bolling;* five planes, 95 husky dogs, a snowmobile and large stores of food, radio equipment and clothing, prepared to spend a year in the Antarctic. The expedition was sneered at as a luxury trip. It reached the Bay of Whales, a little open water indentation in the ice shelf which borders the Ross Sea on the south, shortly after Christmas, 1928. A camp was established there, the first "Little America."

On November 28, 1929, he flew over the pole with a crew of three—Pilot Bernt Balchen, Radio Operator Harold A. June, and Capt. Ashley McKinley, aerial photographer. This expedition discovered and mapped more than 400,000 square miles of the continent, including the Edsel Ford and Rockefeller Mountains east of the Ross Sea.

As the plane crossed over the spot calculated to be the South Pole, Byrd dropped a United States flag weighted with a stone from the grave of Floyd Bennett, his co-pilot on the North Pole flight.

Byrd was then made a rear admiral by special act of Congress—at 41 the youngest in the Navy at that time.

Three years later he was back in the Antarctic with his second privately financed expedition for which, in the middle of the depression, it had been difficult to raise funds. He was able to raise only about $150,000 in cash and supplies. Some of this was obtained only by endorsement of products through radio broadcasts. This brought much criticism, but the explorer always considered that the end justified the means.

ALONE FOR 5 MONTHS

On this expedition he accomplished one of the most daring exploits in the history of exploration. On March 28, 1934, he passed command of the base camp over to Dr. Thomas C. Poulter, of the scientific staff, and established himself alone in a shack sunk in the crust of the Ross ice shelf, 90 miles south of Little America.

There he remained alone for 5 months of the winter night, making daily meteorological

observations. He was overcome by carbon monoxide and was too weak to turn the crank of the hand generator of his radio set. When finally rescued by Dr. Poulter, he was in such serious condition that it was 2 months before he could be taken back to Little America.

His third Antarctic expedition, 1939–41, was sponsored by the Government, and the United States Antarctic Service was set up. A base was established on the same site as that occupied by the second expedition and extensive air and coastal surveys carried out. A second base for scientific observations was established far to the east off the coast of the Palmer Peninsula, a site later occupied by the Ronne expedition.

With the great resources of the Navy after the war, Admiral Byrd saw an opportunity for a major effort to map the coastline and a good part of the interior. He persuaded President Truman of the soundness of the idea. This expedition in 1947, by far the largest exploring enterprise ever launched, consisted of 13 ships and more than 4,000 men. It resulted in the most extensive discoveries yet made in the Antarctic.

In December 1955, he returned to the Antarctic—it was his fifth expedition. In January 1956, he flew over the South Pole for the third time. The following month Admiral Byrd came back to the United States. His expedition had explored 800,000 additional square miles of the subcontinent and located scientists in outposts in which they were to spend the Geophysical Year, a "year" which will start in July 1957 and continue 18 months. In January this year came cancellation of his plans to return to the Antarctic. Illness was not given as the cause, but it was known that he was not well.

[From the Washington Post of March 13, 1957]

RICHARD E. BYRD

Rear Adm. Richard E. Byrd may turn out to have been the last of the world's great explorers. Vast regions of the Antarctic, as large as the United States, remain to be accurately mapped. The moon and the planets beckon. But exploring, terrestrial and extraterrestrial, has become a massive institutionalized business, as in Operation Deepfreeze and Project Vanguard. Where once Byrd and Amundsen raced to the North Pole (Byrd won, in 1926), now nations race to launch the first earth satellite and to be first on the moon. In these competitions, not one Byrd, but hundreds, are required, each contributing specialized knowledge and experience.

If Admiral Byrd was indeed the last of the great individual explorers, however, he was by no means least. He labored under the considerable disadvantage of having nothing left to discover but an incredibly cold and treacherous wasteland. Yet his five expeditions, especially the early ones, are sagas of enterprise, courage, and high adventure worthy of a Columbus or a Magellan. It is not yet certain that the great coal and mineral deposits he and others have found in the Antarctic will be feasible to develop. Much of the impetus for south polar exploration is purely competitive; Britain, Chile, Argentina, and Australia as well as this country now have staked out more or less permanent bases. Even after 31 years of exploring, Byrd himself confessed that his original reason for probing the world's cold underside was still a strong factor in his continuing interest: a curiosity to find out what lay beyond the horizon.

Admiral Byrd also seemed to find in the Antarctic a kind of balm, or substitute, for his lack of success in a little known but compelling ambition of a different sort—a desire to promote a universal peace movement. As Byrd once said at Little America, "You can forget the world here. There are no temptations. The only littleness is the littleness of a man's mind." When he visited the Deep Freeze bases a year ago, Admiral Byrd must have felt both pride and regret—pride that his long fight to interest his country in the Antarctic had succeeded, regret that even this icy vastness, of which he had seen and known more than any other man and thus could truly feel was his own, might soon be permanently inhabited. Like so many explorers before him, he had put himself out of business.

Falling Prices and Reduced Acreage Allotments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the farmers of the Southeast have been particularly hard hit by falling prices and reduced acreage. Our agricultural economy has been revolutionized. We have shifted from a one-crop economy to a diversified agriculture with emphasis on forest products and grass. The most valuable single crop being grown in the Southeast today is trees. The income that our farmers get from their forests is increasing every year.

But, Mr. Speaker, just when the tree farmer begins to see a ray of hope in his forest products, foreign imports of veneer plywood and other wood products are beginning to threaten the tree farmer. Nearly every farm in the Southeast has, to a more or less degree, a certain amount of hardwoods. My farm is typical of the rest. I would like to market my hardwood so as to pay taxes and meet other farm expenses. We can market but little of this hardwood because the demand has been cut in half by foreign imports of hardwoods.

This Congress should place an import quota on this type of foreign imports. We are constantly seeking ways to bolster falling farm prices. If we could market our hardwoods at a fair price, it would be of great help to the farmers throughout the country. There is a demand in America for these products but through our tariff policy, this demand is being supplied by foreign countries with cheap labor, countries with no minimum hours, no minimum wages, no laws against child labor and no social security. These imports are undermining the gains of American labor and the American farmer.

In the past 5 years, the amount of plywood imported into this country from low-wage areas has increased more than 1,000 percent. These imports amount to 46 percent of the entire domestic consumption of hardwood plywoods. They come into this country at a price our local manufacturers cannot possibly meet. Last year, 527 million square feet of plywood came into this country from Japan at an average price of $63 per hundred square feet. This price is $30 to $40 less than domestic industries can produce a comparable panel.

Now, Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen of the House, these imports from low-wage countries have already closed many American plywood plants. It has caused unemployment and distress. Some of our manufacturers have lost their life savings. This policy is wrecking a great American industry. Our manufacturers, our laborers and our farmers cannot meet this unfair competition. We must protect our standard of living. This Congress should act now to protect the American farmer, the American laborer and our hardwood and plywood industries.

Who Pays the Taxes on Federal Dams?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, the Santa Rosa (Calif.) Press-Democrat, in an editorial appearing February 21, 1957, poses the timely question "Who Pays the Taxes on Federal Dams?"

The editorial comment by this newspaper, considered to be one of the leading dailies in northern California, is especially significant in connection with the recommendation by Secretary of the Interior Seaton that Congress approve partnership development of the Trinity River project in California.

The Press-Democrat endorses the plan because, in its words:

The proposal is for the P. G. & E., not the Government, to spend the $56 million necessary to install powerplants when the dam itself is built with Federal funds; and for the utility company for 50 years thereafter to pay Uncle Sam for the use of the falling water which turns the power generators.

Some opponents to the partnership plan have inferred that the proposal by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. would load hidden charges on the power bills of users in northern California.

This is a subject that needs examination. With respect to hidden charges, the Press-Democrat editorial states further:

Private utility companies are in the business of producing, distributing, and selling electric power. They pay taxes, and they make a profit.

Government power projects are also in the business of producing, distributing, and selling electric power. Instead of taxes, they make "in lieu" payments that are far smaller than the taxes paid by private companies. They sell power without profit.

It is the tax angle that involves hidden charges.

In the case of Federal projects, they are well hidden indeed.

About 23 cents of every dollar you pay for private power goes for taxes. The utility company, in effect, is merely acting as a tax collector, passing 23 cents of your expenditure for electricity along to tax-spending units of government.

But what happens on a Federal project?

To begin with, it is built with Federal funds or credit, pays part of the bill, whether they will benefit or not.

At TVA, the "in lieu" payments amount to around 4 cents instead of the 23 paid by private companies.

Somebody has to pay taxes. If a Federal project pays only 4 cents, giving its customers lower rates than private utilities can charge, the difference is paid by everyone else.

Quite appropriately the Press-Democrat concludes its editorial with this statement:

Let's have equal tax payments by public and private utilities, before anyone starts sounding off about hidden charges.

Mr. Olney Also Seems To Be Misleading

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I present an editorial from the Shreveport Times, Shreveport, La., Wednesday, February 27, 1957, which is as follows:

MR. OLNEY ALSO SEEMS TO BE MISLEADING

In a letter to a House Judiciary subcommittee, United States Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, said FBI data indicates that testimony by Louisiana Attorney Jack P. Gremillion before the subcommittee "might have left a misleading impression in a number of respects."

Mr. Gremillion had testified that there had been some difficulty with respect to voting in Ouachita Parish but that he thought this was more or less an exception. The testimony was in opposition to the program of civil-rights legislation now before Congress and being studied by the House subcommittee. The references by both Mr. Olney and Mr. Gremillion dealt with challenging of Negro voters and removal of them from registration lists where the registration was held to be illegal.

Regardless of whether Mr. Gremillion's testimony was misleading, certainly the statements of Mr. Olney can be very misleading. He states, for one thing, that the FBI investigated registration activities in 10 Louisiana parishes, the inference being that there was something wrong in all of these 10 parishes.

But Federal data on voting registration has been presented to grand juries in connection with only 3 or 4 parishes, so far as is known publicly. Two separate grand juries heard testimony. Each found that there was no evidence for indictment of anyone.

If the Federal evidence from 10 parishes was presented to either or both grand juries, then those accused before the grand juries in all 10 parishes were held not subject to indictment.

If the evidence from all the parishes was not placed before the grand juries, the implication is that the Federal Government itself did not think the evidence worth presenting. In that case, Mr. Olney has no business bringing it up.

Further, his statement seems to carry the inference that guilt was established by investigators and that they unquestionably are right, but the two grand juries unquestionably were wrong in not voting indictments on that evidence. Such inference both slurs the grand jury members and disregards the American system of justice.

Mr. Olney seems further to convict himself as being "misleading" when he says that there were 4,000 Negroes registered "as voters in Ouachita but that after a 'purge' of such voters 'there were in excess of 3,000 Negroes deprived of the right to vote in the general election of November 6.'"

Obviously, if there were 4,000 Negro registrants and 3,000 were removed, the same parish officials who removed the 3,000 Negroes as improperly or illegally registered also approved the 1,000 Negroes as properly and legally registered. But Mr. Olney does not mention this.

Further, the tenor of the Olney statement seems to imply that the 3,000 who were removed must have been removed improperly and illegally. But a grand jury found otherwise, and a Federal district judge, appointed under the same administration which appointed Mr. Olney to his office, threw out of court a suit by a Negro against the Ouachita Parish registrar involving registration cards.

Mr. Olney's letter to the committee was written at the request of the committee chairman for information. But the content of it and the phraseology seem intended to give the impression that any Negro removed from the registration rolls in Louisiana must have been removed improperly or illegally and thereby deprived of his constitutional civil rights.

It is noticeable also that Mr. Olney makes no mention of the fact of white persons having been removed from registration rolls in Louisiana at the same time that Negroes were removed and by the same officials and for the same reasons.

Leprechaun Lives On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following feature article which appeared in the Sunday dispatch of Pittston, Pa., on March 3, 1957:

MCCARTHY'S LEPRECHAUN TALE RUNS INTO ROADBLOCK WITH DOUBTING O'BRIEN

Charles A. McCarthy, Irish historian, and active member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, whose home is on Butler Street in Pittston, got an idea last week, and, as only Charlie can, he worked it to the limit, and the limit in this case was Chief of Police Patrick Aloysius O'Brien, himself quite an Irishman.

Charlie decided to perk things up in town, particularly prior to the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick banquet, and he started a story about "a visit from a leprechaun" at his home on Butler Street.

For those few who may not know what a leprechaun is, the dictionary describes it as "In Irish folklore, a sprite or fairy, ukually in the form of a little old man."

Those of us of Irish heritage and with grandparents who came from the old sod well recall in our younger days the "tales of the little men," and many an old Irishman who went out with the boys and got a wee bit too much under his belt use the little men for a good excuse, à la "Honest, Ellen, I was coming home early minding me own business, when the little men got ahold of me." And the wife, being from the old sod herself, also had faith in the little men, or leprechauns, and grandpop got her sympathy.

And it was that old Irish faith in the leprechauns that Charley based his idea on. He visited several newspaper offices, including this one, to further the propaganda, but his plan met with little success among skeptical newsmen.

CHARLEY'S PITCH

Charley's pitch was that he woke up Monday morning and sitting on the dining-room table "as cute as could be" was a little man, a leprechaun, about 2 inches tall.

Said Charley, "I talked to him for hours. He told me he had just arrived from Ireland, but had been in Pittston, before, about 1887" and Charley added that the leprechaun told him of Pittston activities back in 1887, including the names of some old Irish families and what they were doing then.

Charley even sang a few verses in Gaelic claiming they were the songs being sung by the leprechaun and he invited the newsmen to visit his home right then and there to see the leprechaun, but cautioned, "Don't ring the doorbell. He is frightened by bells." Further Charley said there was no sense in visiting the McCarthy home if you did not believe in leprechauns, or if you were not free from sin.

If we didn't know Charley, and his tendency to get a project moving to stir up activity, and perhaps if we weren't so skeptical, we might have visited his home—he was that convincing. In fact, we did hear that several persons were convinced, and went to visit the leprechaun, but he failed to appear to them. Charley says they were merely curious persons but nonbelievers, so the leprechaun made himself invisible.

The effervescent Charley went all over town with the story about the leprechaun and gave it wide circulation.

THE FINAL STOP

Finally he came to the last stop—Pittston City Hall.

Into the sanctuary of Chief of Police O'Brien, went Charley on Wednesday.

Charley used a different approach to get his idea across to the chief, who is one of those dour Irishmen, whose ancestors came from the part of Ireland comparable to Missouri in the United States where you have to be shown.

Charley entered and said, "Chief, I have a complaint." "Well," answered O'Brien, "you've come to the right place. What is it?"

And McCarthy began the recital about the little man, coming to his home, "and he sits on the table, won't move, and keeps singing Irish songs and asking for the good Irish people of Pittston to visit him."

"Now, Chief," said Charley, "this leprechaun is sensitive to many things and according to Irish history, if he gets angry he has the power to do drastic things, and cause trouble for everyone."

Chief O'Brien leaned back on the old swivel chair in the chief's office, and peered at Charley through the bifocals in his spectacles. He kept staring for several minutes, until Charley said, "Don't you believe me. Come on up to my house. Bring two witnesses. I'll introduce you to the leprechaun."

The cold eye of the chief hit Charley, and O'Brien queried, "When did you have the fall on your head? Was it last night, or this morning?"

Charley remonstrated and repeated part of his story.

By this time the chief had figured out Charley's plan to build up the leprechaun, but also figured a counterplan of his own.

"Come here, Charley my boy," said the chief. "Sit down now and be comfortable and don't worry. It may pass."

GET THE WAGON

Winking at Police Clerk Nick Scarantino, Chief O'Brien ordered "Nick, call the garage and have them bring the ambulance to city

hall. Call the police cruiser, too, they may need help."

Charley began to fidget, as Chief O'Brien kept a tight grip on his arm. "Don't you believe in leprechauns?" Charley asked several times.

"Now Charles" consoled Chief O'Brien, take it easy. It has happened to lots of people. They have nice treatments that won't hurt you a bit, and eventually they'll cure you and you'll be happy again."

Charley began to fidget worse. He could make no headway with O'Brien. "Nick" ordered O'Brien in a louder voice "tell that ambulance crew to hurry." And with that McCarthy broke loose from the chief, and hurried out of city hall, vowing never again to tell a leprechaun story to Chief O'Brien. And for the rest of the week Charley told the story to no one else.

As for Chief O'Brien, he enjoyed every minute of it, and told Clerk Scarantino "Charley doesn't know it, but I'm a wee bit of a leprechaun, myself, when it comes to making trouble when I'm angry."

A Great Labor Organization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, each year the leaders of the building and construction trades section—AFL–CIO—gather in our Nation's Capital for a 3-day legislative conference. These national meetings have been attended, both last year and this year, by more than 2,800 leaders in these unions.

The building and construction trades unions are among the oldest in the Nation. They have held for many scores of years the confidence and respect of both the employers of these crafts and of the general public as patriotic and constructive organizations that work constantly for the welfare of their members and the general good of the Nation.

I was honored last year and again this year by being invited by the leaders of this great labor organization to be one of the speakers at its annual meeting. I was proud and pleased to accept the invitation.

I include here the address I made to these unions on Thursday at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washinaton, D. C., a meeting which President Richard Gray, the head of this great labor organization, told me was attended by more than 2,800 labor delegates. My address follows:

A TRIBUTE TO A GREAT LABOR ORGANIZATION THAT IS HELPING BUILD A STRONGER AND HAPPIER AMERICA

(By Representative RUSSELL V. MACK, Member of Congress from the State of Washington)

President Gray and representatives of the building and construction trades section (AFL–CIO), I thank you President Gray for your kind and generous praise of my efforts in the Congress to secure a fair deal for labor.

I have supported your labor groups in the committees and on the floor of Congress because I was convinced that your cause was right, fair, and just. The millions of workers in your great labor building and construction trades organization were entitled to the protection of the Davis-Bacon labor provisions in the highway bill.

I will continue to work for the preservation for labor of the Davis-Bacon protection in all construction work that the Federal Government undertakes or helps to finance.

I also agree with President Eisenhower and the members of your organization that certain changes should be made in the Taft-Hartley law, and I hope these will be made at the present session of Congress. President Eisenhower is recommending to Congress, I understand, that changes in the Taft-Hartley law be made. I shall support these changes in that law which your members and President Eisenhower both recommend be adopted.

I come today to talk to you about the great new expanded highway program, the legislation for which was written by the committee of which I am a member. Helping to write this expanded highway bill was one of the most interesting and satisfying experiences I have had in my 10 years in Congress and makes a greater contribution to the welfare of the United States and its people than anything I ever have done in public life.

No group is more interested in good highway legislation than the members of your building and construction trades since they will supply nearly all of the labor required to build this great new system of public roads for which last year's highway bill provides.

The new expanded highway program authorized last year by Congress and now rapidly getting underway will be the biggest public-works project ever undertaken by mankind in all the history of the world.

Compared to this colossal roads program, the building of the Egyptian Pyramids, the Roman Appian Way, the digging of the Panama Canal, the construction of the Grand Coulee Dam, and the erection of the Empire State Building, all of which long have been considered among the construction-engineering wonders of the world, were insignificant, pygmy projects.

Under the highway bill passed by Congress last year, a $51 billion roads-building program will be carried to completing during the next 13 years. Of this money, 24½ billion will be new and additional Federal money over and above any amounts heretofore spent by the Federal Government for highways.

That you may grasp something of the magnitude of this road program, let me say to you that this $24½ billion of extra Federal funds that will go into the building of roads is sufficient to build 70 Panama Canals, or 90 Grand Coulee Dams, or 450 Empire State Buildings.

Man in all his history never has had any experiences that enables his mind to understand or grasp the colossal magnitude of this leviathan new roads-building program.

Figures supplied me by the Federal Bureau of Roads reveal that the 13-year road-building program will require such astronomical quantities of materials as 49 million tons of steel, 1,399 million barrels of cement, 128 million tons of bituminous materials, 7.1 billion board feet of lumber, 48 million tons of concrete pipe, and 1,812 million pounds of explosives.

The 13-year Federal expanded highway program enacted last year by Congress and started this year by the Federal Government is rapidly getting underway, and soon will be by supplying 120,000 new and additional jobs for construction workers over and above the numbers now employed at roadbuilding. Another 80,000 additional new jobs also will be created by the highway program in roadbuilding material operations and in factories of the building-equipment industry.

These figures, I am sure, will convince all of you that "happy days are here again" for the American construction industry and all those, who, like the members of your union, work in that industry.

The very availability of this vast spending power in the hands of the President of the United States, with these expenditures to be equitably distributed in all parts of the Nation, assures a high level of prosperity and employment for our American people for the foreseeable future.

The very existence of such a program is the best possible insurance the Nation could have against a depression or recession. If a temporary dip in employment and prosperity should occur anytime, anywhere in the 48 States during the next 13 years this program can be speeded up thereby restoring full employment in any area where greater employment is needed.

There is another desirable feature of this expanded roads program. It will save lives. Last year, 40,300 Americans, many of them children, were killed in traffic accidents. The traffic safety experts say that present indications are that more than 50,000 will be killed in traffic accidents annually by 1965 by which time there will be many more automobiles on the highways than now. But these traffic safety experts also say that the better roads now being built will lessen the traffic death rate by at least 20 percent. In short, when this great road system, now under construction, is completed, it will save 8,000 to 10,000 American lives a year.

Believe it or not, this great $51 billion system of new roads the Nation will build during the next 13 years is not going to cost taxpayers anything. These new roads will pay for themselves out of the savings which they make possible for the automobile owner.

True, to finance this gigantic program the automobile owner is paying an additional tax of 1 cent a gallon on his gasoline and diesel fuel. Also, is paying 3 cents a pound in additional taxes on new tires.

But the motorist will recapture the extra tax money he pays through the savings he will make, because of the better roads, on the wear and tear on his tires and his automobile, in the few and smaller repair bills he will be called upon to pay and also in the less chances he will run of having the heavy medical and hospital bills that result from automobile accidents. Also, the motorist, due to the increased safety of highway travel, probably will get reductions in his automobile accident insurance rates.

The new expanded highway program is the greatest public works project in man's history. You, the men of the building and construction trades unions, will play a major role in building these highways. By turning your hands to the great task of building this great best-in-the-world system of highways you will be rendering a great service to your country. You will be building for a better, a stronger, a safer, and a happier America.

The Government of the United States and the Government of Mexico Have Concluded an Air Transport Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, it is with extreme pleasure that I learn that there has been concluded an air transport agreement between the Government of the United States and the Government of Mexico.

The agreement entered into will prove not only mutually beneficial to both of the contracting parties in promoting air transport between these two great Republics, but is additional evidence of an understanding friendship between our respective Governments that is continually seeking additional ways of binding us together in even stronger bonds of friendship to promote the welfare of the people of both Republics.

It can and should be the desire of both our Governments to be ever alert and zealous in seeking new ways and means of establishing and strengthening our mutual respect and friendship for each other.

In order that there may be a full understanding of the tremendous importance that can be attached to the Air Transport Agreement that has been entered into between the Government of the United States and the Government of Mexico, the announcement of which was made today by President Adolfo Risiz Cortines of Mexico. I herewith include as part of my remarks the accompanying documents that describe the agreement in detail:

CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD,
Washington, March 7, 1957.

Hon. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOLVERTON: The Board is pleased to inform you that the Government of the United States and the Government of Mexico will today conclude an air transport agreement, which will become effective after 90 days. Because of your particular interest, and the importance of what is being achieved, we feel that you should be advised immediately of the result of this long protracted series of negotiations.

The agreement grants to the United States the right to conduct operations over seven routes, the most important of which are nonstop routes to Mexico City from New York, Los Angeles, New Orleans, and Chicago. The other routes cover existing United States services from New Orleans and Miami to Merida and beyond, from Dallas and San Antonio to Mexico City, and from Houston and Brownsville to Tampico, Mexico City, and Tapachula, and beyond.

Mexico is granted reciprocal rights to operate nonstop from Mexico City to New York, Los Angeles, New Orleans, and Chicago; a new route to San Antonio; and the route from Mexico City to Miami and beyond, which a Mexican carrier is presently authorized to operate. In addition, the agreement provides a seventh route for Mexican carriers which is not specified at this time, but will be agreed upon at a later date.

The agreement caps more than 10 years of almost constant effort to resolve the conflict in the basic aviation philosophies of the 2 countries. We believe that the resolution of this conflict is the best which could be attained on a reciprocal basis. We are particularly pleased to be able to advise you that the arrangements which have now been made should provide a favorable climate for the long-term development of air transportation between the United States and Mexico. The agreement not only provides for operation of the major trunk routes which the United States requires, but also permits such operations to be conducted on a sound business basis in accordance with the Bermuda principles.

The agreement is for a limited period only, as it is customary for the Mexican Government not to make agreements of indefinite duration prior to national elections. The Board believes, however, that the present agreement can be successfully renegotiated prior to the expiration date of June 30, 1959.

The substance of the bilateral arrangement and the specific routes exchanged are set forth in the attached memorandum of understanding. An exchange of diplomatic notes incorporating this memorandum of understanding will constitute the agreement.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES R. DURFEE,
Chairman.

(From the Ambassador of the United States to the Minister for Foreign Relations of Mexico.)

MEXICO, D. F., *March 7, 1957.*

His Excellency Senor LICENCIADO LUIS PADILLA NERVO,
Minister for Foreign Relations,
Mexico, D. F.

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's note No. 501404 of today's date, together with the attached memorandum of understanding and annex, which read in translation as follows:

"I have the honor to advise Your Excellency that the Government of Mexico, in a desire to contribute to the improvement of air transport between our two countries, is prepared to execute a provisional arrangement on civil aviation with the Government of the United States of America in the terms of the memorandum of understanding and its annex which I attach to the present note.

"If, as I understand is the case, the Government of the United States of America is also willing to conclude such an arrangement on this basis, the present note and the note in reply from Your Excellency advising of your Government's acceptance of the memorandum of understanding and its annex, above mentioned, shall constitute a provisional arrangement regarding civil aviation between the two governments.

"I take this occasion to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

"MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

"1. The aeronautical authorities of the Government of Mexico shall grant permits to airlines designated by the Government of the United States of America to operate air services on the air routes specified below, via intermediate points, in both directions, and to make regular stops at the points listed in this paragraph:

"A. New York, Washington-Mexico City.

"B. Chicago, Dallas, San Antonio-Mexico City, via intermediate points in the United States.

"C. Los Angeles-Mexico City, via intermediate points in the United States.

"D. New Orleans-Mexico City.

"E. New Orleans-Mérida, and beyond, to Guatemala, and beyond.

"F. Miami-Mérida, and beyond, to Guatemala, and beyond.

"G. Houston, Brownsville-Tampico, Mexico City, Tapachula, and beyond, to Guatemala, and beyond.

"The aeronautical authorities of the Government of the United States of America shall grant permits to airlines designated by the Government of Mexico to operate air services on each one of the air routes specified below, via intermediate points, in both directions, and to make regular stops at the points listed in this paragraph:

"A. Mexico City-Washington, New York.

"B. Mexico City-Chicago, via intermediate points in Mexico.

"C. Mexico City-Los Angeles, via intermediate points in Mexico.

"D. Mexico City-New Orleans, via intermediate points in Mexico.

"E. Mexico City-Miami, and beyond, via intermediate points in Mexico.

"F. Mexico City-San Antonio, via intermediate points in Mexico.

"G. (Pending.)

"2. Both parties agree not to designate, for the present, more than one airline for each route.

"3. An airline designated by either country may, at its discretion, omit stops on any of the routes specified on any or all flights.

"4. The aeronautical operations of the designated lines shall be governed by the principles set forth in the annex to the present memorandum of understanding.

"5. The present provisional arrangement shall enter in force 90 days after the date of the exchange of notes.

"6. The arrangement shall terminate June 30, 1959.

"7. Upon request of either Government, prior to May 30, 1959, talks may be initiated to reach an agreement concerning a system to regulate air transport between the two countries subsequent to June 30, 1959.

"ANNEX

"I

"(A) The term 'aeronautical authorities' means in the case of the United States of America, the Civil Aeronautics Board or any person or agency authorized to perform the functions exercised at the present time by the Civil Aeronautics Board and, in the case of the United Mexican States, the Ministry of Communications and Public Works or any person or agency authorized to perform the functions exercised at present by the said Ministry of Communications and Public Works.

"(B) The term 'designated airline' means an airline that one party has notified the other party, in writing, to be the airline which will operate a specific route or routes listed in the memorandum of understanding.

"(C) The term 'territory' in relation to a State means the land areas and territorial waters adjacent thereto under the sovereignty, suzerainty, protection, mandate or trusteeship of that State.

"(D) The term 'air service' means scheduled air service performed by aircraft for the public transport of passengers, mail or cargo.

"(E) The term 'international air service' means an air service which flies over the territory of more than one State.

"(F) The term 'stop for nontraffic purposes' means a landing for any purpose other than taking on or discharging passengers, cargo, or mail.

"II

"Each party grants to the other party rights necessary for the conduct of air services by the designated airlines, as follows: the rights of transit, of stops for nontraffic purposes, and of commercial entry and departure for international traffic in passengers, cargo, and mail at the points in its territory named on each of the routes specified in the memorandum of understanding. The fact that such rights may not be exercised immediately shall not preclude the subsequent inauguration of air services by the airlines of the party to whom such rights are granted over the routes specified in the memorandum of understanding.

"III

"Air service on a specified route may be inaugurated immediately or at a later date at the option of the party to whom the rights are granted by an airline or airlines of such party at any time after that party has designated such airline or airlines for that route and the other party has given the appropriate operating permission. Such other party shall, subject to section IV, be bound to give this permission provided that the designated airline or airlines may be required to qualify before the competent aeronautical authorities of that party, under the laws and regulations normally applied by these authorities, before being permitted to engage in the operations contemplated by

the Memorandum of Understanding and this Annex.

"IV

"Each party reserves the right to withhold or revoke the operating permission provided for in section III of this annex from an airline designated by the other party in the event that it is not satisfied that substantial ownership and effective control of such airline are vested in nationals of the other party or in case of failure by such airline to comply with the laws and regulations referred to in section V of the present annex, or in case of the failure of the airline or the Government designating it to fulfill the conditions under which the rights are granted in accordance with the Provisional Arrangement.

"V

"(A) The laws and regulations of one party relating to the admission to or departure from its territory of aircraft engaged in international air navigation, or to the operation and navigation of such aircraft while within its territory, shall be applied to the aircraft of the airline or airlines designated by the other party and shall be complied with by such aircraft upon entering or departing from, and while within the territory of the first party.

"(B) The laws and regulations of one party relating to the admission to or departure from its territory of passengers, crew, or cargo of aircraft, such as regulations relating to entry, clearance, immigration, passports, customs, and quarantine shall be complied with by or on behalf of such passengers, crew, or cargo of the other party upon entrance into our departure from, and while within the territory of the first party.

"VI

"Certificates of airworthiness, certificates of competency and licenses issued or rendered valid by one party, and still in force, shall be recognized as valid by the other party for the purpose of operating the routes and services provided for in the memorandum of understanding and in the present annex, provided that the requirements under which such certificates or licenses were issued or rendered valid are equal to or above the minimum standards which may be established pursuant to the Convention on Internationall Civil Aviation. Each party reserves the right, however, to refuse to recognize, for the purpose of flight above its own territory, certificates of competency and licenses granted to its own nationals by another State.

"VII

"In order to prevent discriminatory practices and to assure equality of treatment, both parties agree further to observe the following principles:

"(a) Each of the parties may impose or permit to be imposed just and reasonable charges for the use of public airports and other facilities under its control. Each of the parties agrees, however, that these charges shall not be higher than would be paid for the use of such airports and facilities by its national aircraft engaged in similar international services.

"(b) Fuel, lubricating oils, consumable technical supplies, spare parts, regular equipment, and stores introduced into the territory of one party by the other party or its nationals, and intended solely for use by aircraft of such party shall be exempt on a basis of reciprocity from customs duties, inspection fees and other national duties or charges.

"(c) Fuel, lubricating oils, other consumable technical supplies, spare parts, regular equipment, and stores retained on board aircraft of the airlines of one party authorized to operate the routes and services provided for in the memorandum of understanding and in this annex shall, upon arriving in or leaving the territory of the other party, be exempt on a basis of reciprocity from customs duties, inspection fees, and other national duties or charges, even though such supplies be used or consumed by such aircraft on flights in that territory.

"(d) Fuel, lubricating oils, other consumable technical supplies, spare parts, regular equipment, and stores taken on board aircraft of the airlines of one party in the territory of the other and used in international services shall be exempt on a basis of reciprocity from customs duties, excise taxes, inspection fees, and other national duties or charges.

"VIII

"There shall be a fair and equal opportunity for the airlines of each party to operate on the routes listed in the memorandum of understanding.

"IX

"In the operation by the airlines of either party of the trunk services described in the memorandum of understanding the interest of the airlines of the other party shall be taken into consideration so as not to affect unduly the services which the latter provides on all or part of the same routes.

"X

"The services made available to the public by the airlines operating under the provisional arrangement shall bear a close relationship to the requirements of the public for such services.

"It is understood that services provided by a designated airline under the memorandum of understanding and the present annex shall retain as their primary objective the provision of capacity adequate to the traffic demands between the country of which such airline is a national and the countries of ultimate destination of the traffic. The right to embark or disembark on such services international traffic destined for and coming from third countries at a point or points on the routes specified in the memorandum of understanding shall be applied in accordance with the general principles of orderly development to which both parties subscribe and shall be subject to the general principle that capacity should be related:

"(a) to traffic requirements between the country of origin and the countries of ultimate destination of the traffic;

"(b) to the requirements of through airline operation; and,

"(c) to the traffic requirements of the area through which the airline passes after taking account of local and regional services.

"Both parties agree to recognize that the fifth freedom traffic is complementary to the traffic requirements on the routes between the territories of the parties, and at the same time is subsidiary in relation to the traffic requirements of the third and fourth freedom between the territory of the other party and a country on the route.

"In this connection both parties recognize that the development of local and regional services is a legitimate right of each of their countries. They agree therefore to consult periodically on the manner in which the standards mentioned in this section are being complied with by their respective airlines, in order to assure that their respective interests in the local and regional services as well as through services are not being prejudiced.

"Every change of gage justifiable for reasons of economy of operation, shall be permitted at any stop on the designated routes. Nevertheless, no change of gage may be made in the territory of one or the other party when it modifies the characteristics of the operation of a through airline service or if it is incompatible with the principles enunciated in the present annex.

"When one of the parties after a period of observation of not less than 90 days considers that an increase in capacity or frequency offered by an airline of the other party is unjustified or prejudicial to the services of its respective airline it shall notify the other party of its objection to the end that consultation is initiated between the appropriate aeronautical authorities and decision on the objection is made by mutual agreement within a period which may not be more than 90 days beginning on the date of such notification. For this purpose the operating companies shall supply all traffic statistics that may be necessary and required of them.

"XI

"Rates to be charged on the routes provided for in the Memorandum of Understanding shall be reasonable, due regard being paid to all relevant factors, such as cost of operation, reasonable profit, and the rates charged by any other carriers, as well as the characteristics of each service, and shall be determined in accordance with the following paragraphs:

"(A) The rates to be charged by the airlines of either party between points in the territory of the United States of America and points in the territory of the United Mexican States refered to in the Memorandum of Understanding shall, consistent with the provisions of the present annex, be subject to the approval of the aeronautical authorities of the parties, who shall act in accordance with their obligations under the provisional arrangement, within the limits of their legal powers.

"(B) Any rate proposed by an airline of either party shall be filed with the aeronautical authorities of both parties at least 30 days before the proposed date of introduction; provided that this period of 30 days may be reduced in particular cases if so agreed by the aeronautical authorities of both parties.

"(C) During any period for which the Civil Aeronautics Board of the United States of America has approved the traffic conference procedures of the International Air Transport Association (hereinafter called IATA), any rate agreements concluded through these procedures and involving United States airlines will be subject to approval of the Board. Likewise, agreements concluded through this machinery may also be required to be subject to the approval of the aeronautical authorities of the United Mexican States pursuant to the principles enunciated in paragraph (A) above.

"(D) The procedure described in paragraphs (E), (F), and (G) of this section shall apply:

"1. If, during the period of the approval by both parties of the IATA traffic conference procedure, either, any specific rate agreement is not approved within a reasonable time by either party, or, a conference of IATA is unable to agree on a rate, or

"2. At any time no IATA procedure is applicable, or

"3. If either party at any time withdraws or fails to renew its approval of that part of the IATA traffic conference procedure relevant to this section.

"(E) In the event that power is conferred by law upon the aeronautical authorities of the United States of America to fix fair and economic rates for the transport of persons and property by air on international services and to suspend proposed rates in a manner comparable to that in which the Civil Aeronautics Board at present is empowered to act with respect to such rates for the transport of persons and property by air within the United States of America, each of the parties shall thereafter exercise its authority in such manner as to prevent any rate or rates proposed by one of its airlines for services from the territory of one party to a point or points in the territory of the other party from becoming effective, if in the judgment of the aeronautical authorities of the party whose airline or airlines is or are proposing such

rate, that rate is unfair or uneconomic. If one of the parties on receipt of the notification referred to in paragraph (B) above is dissatisfied with the rate proposed by the airline or airlines of the other party, it shall so notify the other party prior to the expiry of the first 15 of the 30 days referred to, and the parties shall endeavor to reach agreement on the appropriate rate.

"In the event that such agreement is reached, each party will exercise its best efforts to put such rate into effect as regards its airline or airlines.

"If agreement has not been reached at the end of the 30-day period referred to in paragraph (B) above, the proposed rate may, unless the aeronautical authorities of the country of the air carrier concerned see fit to suspend its application, go into effect provisionally pending the settlement of any dispute in accordance with the procedure outlined in paragraph (G) below.

"(F) Prior to the time when such power may be conferred upon the aeronautical authorities of the United States of America, if one of the parties is dissatisfied with any rate proposed by the airline or airlines of either party for services from the territory of one party to a point or points in the territory of the other party, it shall so notify the other on expiry of the first 15 of the 30 day period referred to in paragraph (B) above, and the parties shall endeavor to reach agreement on the appropriate rate.

"In the event that such agreement is reached, each party will use its best efforts to cause such agreed rate to be put into effect by its airline or airlines.

"If no agreement can be reached prior to the expiry of such 30 days, the party raising the objection to the rate may take such steps as it may consider necessary to prevent the inauguration or continuation of the service in question at the rate complained of.

"(G) When in any case under paragraphs (E) or (F) of this section the aeronautical authorities of the two parties cannot agree within a reasonable time upon the appropriate rate after consultation initiated by the complaint of one party concerning a proposed rate or an existing rate of the airline or airlines of the other party, upon the request of either, the terms of section XIII of this annex shall apply.

"XII

"Consultation between the competent authorities of both parties may be requested at any time by either party for the purpose of discussing the interpretation, application, or amendment of the Provisional Arrangement or Schedule of Routes (point 1 of the memorandum of understanding). Such consultation shall begin within a period of 60 days from the date of the receipt of the request by the Department of State of the United States of America or the Ministry of Foreign Relations of the United Mexican States as the case may be. Should agreement be reached on amendment of the Provisional Arrangement or Schedule of Routes, such amendment will come into effect upon confirmation by a further exchange of diplomatic notes.

"XIII

"Except as otherwise provided, any dispute between the parties relative to the interpretation or application of the Provisional Arrangement which cannot be settled through consultation shall be submitted for an advisory report to a tribunal of three arbitrators, one to be named by each party, and the third to be agreed upon by the two arbitrators so chosen, provided that such a third arbitrator shall not be a national of either party. Each of the parties shall designate an arbitrator within 2 months of the date of delivery by either party to the other party of a diplomatic note requesting arbitration of a dispute; and the third arbitrator shall be agreed upon within 1 month after such period of 2 months.

"If either of the parties fails to designate its own arbitrator within 2 months, or if the third arbitrator is not agreed upon within the time limit indicated, either party may request the president of the International Court of Justice to make the necessary appointment or appointments by choosing the arbitrator or arbitrators.

"The parties will use their best efforts under the powers available to them to put into effect the opinion expressed in any such advisory report. A moiety of the expenses of the arbitral tribunal shall be borne by each party.

"XIV

"The provisional arrangement, all amendments thereto, and contracts connected therewith shall be registered with the International Civil Aviation Organization.

"XV

"If a general multilateral air transport convention accepted by both parties enters into force, the provisional arrangement shall be amended so as to conform with the provisions of such convention.

"XVI

"Either of the two parties may at any time notify the other party of its intention to terminate the provisional arrangement. Such notice shall be sent simultaneously to the International Civil Aviation Organization. In case such notification should be given the arrangement would terminate 6 months after the date on which the notice of termination may have been received, unless the communication under reference is annulled before the end of this period by agreement between both parties. Should the other party not acknowledge receipt it shall be considered that the notification was received by it 14 days subsequent to the date on which it is received by the International Civil Aviation Organization.

"XVII

"Upon entry into effect of the Provisional Arrangement the aeronautical authorities of the two parties must communicate to each other as soon as possible the information relating to authorizations given to the airline or airlines designated by them to operate the routes mentioned in the Memorandum of Understanding.

"XVIII

"The aeronautical authorities of both parties shall respectively advise each other 8 days before the actual placing in operation of their respective permits the following data: schedules, frequencies, tariffs, and types of aircraft normally utilized in their services. Any modification of the data under reference shall similarly be communicated."

In reply, I have the honor to advise Your Excellency that the Government of the United States of America is prepared to conclude a provisional arrangement on the basis proposed in Your Excellency's note, Memorandum of Understanding and Annex under reference, and accept your proposal to regard that note, the Memorandum of Understanding and Annex and the present reply as constituting a provisional arrangement regarding civil aviation between our two Governments.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

FRANCIS WHITE.

Congressman Hoffman Proposes To Wipe Out the Personal Income Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NOAH M. MASON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, Congressman CLARE E. HOFFMAN, Republican, of Michigan, appeared on the Dean Manion Radio Forum on Sunday evening, March 10, 1957, and presented to the millions that listen in on that program every Sunday a very convincing argument against the present personal income tax program.

In his broadcast Congressman HOFFMAN pointed out how the 20 percent to 91 percent income tax rates are affecting the economy; how false "the soak the rich" program is; how the excessive spending programs and the giveaway programs of the Federal Government are encouraged and made possible by the excessive personal income taxes collected from the American taxpayers; and he said that the best way to stop this squandering of the people's hard-earned dollars is to stop the Government from collecting those hard-earned dollars by repealing the 16th amendment to the Constitution, the amendment that permits the Federal Government to "turn the taxpayer's pocket inside out."

The following is the complete text of Congressman HOFFMAN's broadcast:

CONGRESSMAN HOFFMAN GIVES REASONS FOR HIS ANTI-INCOME TAX AMENDMENT

Dean MANION. I believe it was Emerson who said, "What a new face courage puts upon everything." On February 14, last month, the courage and wisdom of an experienced Congressman put a new face upon the nationwide demand for a reduction in Federal spending. On that day, the Honorable CLARE E. HOFFMAN introduced House Joint Resolution 232, calling for a constitutional amendment to wipe out the Federal income tax.

In his heart, every Member of Congress knows that the one sure way to cut off the outpouring of Federal money all over the world is to cut off the inpouring of money that is provided by the ever-rising tide of Federal taxes. Yes, every Congressman knows that, but Congressman CLARE HOFFMAN had the courage to record his conviction in the terms of an unequivocal congressional resolution.

It is obvious now that this proposed Hoffman amendment to the Constitution is going to make very important history for the harried taxpayers of this country. American freedom was born in a spirit of rebellion against tyrannical taxation. Here is the distinguished statesman who proposes to give us a new birth of freedom. I am proud to present my friend and neighbor, the Honorable CLARE E. HOFFMAN, of Michigan.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Thank you, Dean Manion. One of the reasons our forefathers rebelled and established this Republic was because they were oppressed by unjust taxes, in the levying of which they had no voice. They

knew that the individual must be free to enjoy the fruits of his industry and thrift.

They were aware that money to support a central government was necessary if the States were to grow and prosper. From bitter experience, they knew, no matter what the form of government, that selfish ambition was an ever-present, dangerous force.

But they also knew that no individual without power to levy upon the earnings of others could establish himself as dictator or tyrant; that, if left to his own resources, no matter how ambitious, he must fail of that goal. Hence it was that when they wrote the Constitution, they did not give to the Congress the unrestricted power to levy a direct tax upon incomes.

Later, politically ambitious bureaucrats and politicians in the Federal Government, aware that the granting of special favors to individuals and groups was one means of purchasing political support, induced the people to accept the 16th amendment, which made possible our present income-tax laws, gave them more dollars and turned the taxpayer's pocket inside out.

One of the powerful factors which aided in the adoption of that amendment was the unsound argument that it was a tax based upon ability to pay and that it would, in everyday, still-popular language, "soak the rich"—the demagog's slogan.

Aimed at the wealthy, and especially at corporations, the tax, under present legislation, now takes from 20 to 91 percent of your earnings. The result is that all too often the old-age security of the individual, the ability to expand a going business or establish a new enterprise is lessened. The tax often closes opportunity's door.

The Federal Government has no appreciable income except as it takes dollars out of the citizen's pocket. Before that dollar goes back to him, either by way of service or through subsidy payment—if it gets back at all—from it the Government has taken a cut of from 25 to 30 percent. Passing through the Government's mill, this dollar shrinks to 70 cents.

During the fiscal year of 1956, the Federal Government collected from its citizens more than $75 billion. Of that sum, over $56,632,000,000 were taken from the incomes of individuals and corporations, 80 percent of whom had incomes of less than $6,000 a year.

There is a constant demand for new and expensive Federal commissions, agencies, or departments; an ever-increasing demand for additional Federal employees, for new and additional subsidies, price supports.

At the moment, the Federal Government is calling for the expenditure of some sixty-odd-million dollars for new Federal buildings and facilities in Washington. Fifty thousand Federal employees in Washington are demanding annual pay increases of from $500 to $3,000 each.

WHERE THEY WILL STOP, NOBODY KNOWS

The Defense Department is calling for a $38 billion appropriation this year. Some postal employees insist that, notwithstanding job security and fringe benefits, their compensation be increased. Some farmers want additional subsidies, calling for billions.

Disregard of the advice of Washington to avoid entanglement in the affairs of other nations has involved us in two wars, both excessively costly in lives, suffering and dollars. We are now threatened with a third.

Veterans of those wars are receiving something more than $7 billion a year. No one begrudges those payments. Beyond question, increased aid will be given to disabled veterans.

We have spent billions upon billions of dollars to aid other nations, much of it without adequate result. Today, the interest charge on that part of the public debt which is due to our foreign aid policies—the interest charge alone—is more $3,238,000,000 a year.

The administration is insisting that, to prevent being blown to "kingdom come," we must appropriate additional billions to buy friendship abroad, to aid other countries. The President demands authority to send our soldiers to fight in wars directed by United Nations, under officers selected by it—authority to permit him to spend millions in foreign aid. Still with us is the urgent demand for additional foreign aid.

Beyond question, an ever greater number of individuals are denied employment because of their age. Millions have been forced to use money they had saved for old-age security. Because of the ever-increasing cost of living, they must be assisted, either locally or through Federal appropriations, if they are to have sufficient food, clothing, and shelter. They cannot, they will not, be left to starve.

The cheaper and the best way out of our dilemma is to keep our tax dollars in the local communities, where a more efficient job can and will be done.

In the 84th Congress, because of increased spending, the debt limit was raised to $278 billion. The more than 56½ billion income-tax dollars collected last year has not satisfied the present demand or solved our problem. All of the foregoing has been cited only to show that you will not get tax relief from Washington.

The demand from our people that the Congress lessen their tax burden has become a tornado-like roar. But let us be frank. Congress will not give the people worthwhile relief from the present excessive taxes imposed upon them so long as politically powerful pressure groups insist upon the payment of subsidies, benefits, a continuance of foreign aid, and have the power to influence elections.

We have here in Washington the old situation of an irresistible force—to wit, the demands of politically powerful pressure groups—exerted upon a Congress which knows that it must either yield or be replaced by a more compliant one.

Just so long as Members of Congress cling to the thought that, if those who elect them wish to commit financial suicide, they should be permitted to do so, excessive spending will continue, taxation never lessen.

LONESOME CONGRESSMEN SITTING DUCKS

Members of Congress are a long way from home. Twenty-two years' experience here convinces me that Congress will not resist the ever-increasing demand of pressure groups for new and ever larger appropriations, which always mean new and higher taxes. The demand for relief from excessive taxation will not be granted so long as citizens insist upon additional Federal expenditures.

The remedy? The only apparent avenue through which the citizens can obtain relief is to repeal the 16th amendment, which makes feasible the imposition of income taxes.

Oh, but do I hear you say—what form of taxation do you advocate to replace the billions lost through the repeal of that amendment? That question assumes that the tax levies and expenditures, of which we have been complaining and which we demand must end, are necessary. In my judgment, that is a false assumption.

We get back to the old but true statement that one cannot eat his cake and have it, too. Nor can the citizen save his dollars and the Government continue to waste them. For years there have never been tax dollars enough to meet the demand. There is no prospect that there ever will be.

The people must make a choice. Congress having yielded to the ever-increasing demands for Federal aid, there being no relief in sight, the people themselves must now choose between services and expenditures which are absolutely necessary, and those which are desirable but not necessary and the limitation of which will give us less spending, lower taxes.

If the Federal Government does not have tax dollars, it cannot spend them. As long as the people's representatives in Washington can collect and spend and be reelected, the tax burden will not be lessened.

Hence it is that an amendment repealing the 16th amendment is proposed. Shift the power and the responsibility for the levying of taxes to the shoulders of the people who pay the taxes. After all, this is supposed to be a Government by the people, for the people; not for the politicians nor the unrealistic.

Deprive the Congress of the power to levy an income tax. So far as possible, send the spend and tax issue back to the States. There, the voters, living practically next door to their State senators and State representatives, can make their real wishes felt. There, State legislators can really determine whether the people want economy, a sound, stable policy; or whether they wish economic ruin through the imposition and collection of ever-increasing income taxes.

If the people need and are determined to have special benefits, subsidies, or privileges given individuals or groups, they can, through their State legislatures, levy the necessary tax. They can spend their money without Washington taking its cut. But they will know they must pay the piper who plays the tune. The people will be forced to realize that they, not Uncle Sam, are paying the cost.

In effect, the repeal of the 16th amendment will again place in the hands of the home folks the power to determine the amount of tax which they are willing to pay. They will be forced to take a look at the price tag attached to the public service or benefit payment which they desire.

If the people want economy, they can get it. If they want what is known as a liberal spending policy, they can have that, but they will at least have an opportunity to know the cost before they buy.

Reliable authorities advise that the overall tax burden calls for not less than one-third of the average citizen's total income. That means that we must each work 4 months of every year in order to meet our tax obligation—a most astounding situation; one from which at least partial relief can be obtained by placing control of the income-tax levy more directly in the hands of the people.

Involuntary servitude, the obligation to work for someone else, is just as oppressive, just as liberty-destroying, if forced upon us by the Government as by an individual. We can—we should—avoid it.

Dean MANION. Thank you, Congressman CLARE HOFFMAN. I am particularly obliged to you for the important reminder that tyranny is impossible when the Government is without the power to confiscate the earnings of the citizen. This reminder puts your proposal in its proper perspective. The Hoffman amendment is a new emancipation proclamation—a call for the repeal of involuntary servitude. Thank you, Congressman, for giving us all a real rallying cry for the reestablishment of the American Republic.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered at a dinner meeting of the Business International Group, at the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel, Washington, D. C., on March 14, 1957. It includes a lengthy letter from Hon. D. A. FitzGerald, Acting Director, International Cooperation Administration, regarding loan agreements being made with foreign countries in accordance with Public Law 480.

I believe this address will be of interest to the Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INFORMAL REMARKS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, CHAIRMAN, SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, AT A DINNER MEETING OF THE BUSINESS INTERNATIONAL GROUP AT THE SHERATON-CARLTON HOTEL, MARCH 14, 1957, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, and members of the Business International Group, I am highly appreciative of the honor which you have bestowed on me by giving this dinner. Probably it is in some way related to the fact that I serve as chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and the further fact that companies of the type represented here have a deep and fundamental interest in the foreign policy of the United States. It is but natural, therefore, that your concern with foreign policy should lead to a special interest in Members of Congress and committees directly concerned with the formulation of that policy.

On the other hand, may I say that my committee is especially interested in the operations of your companies abroad. In most activities in which Members of Congress engage, there is a widely dispersed and vigorous constituency following every move. But in the field of foreign relations we have no constituents, except the relatively few Americans who serve abroad with companies like those represented here, and unfortunately, I suspect that most of your employees abroad do not vote.

In the case of domestic policies—relating to the effective operation of the postal service in the United States, for example—Congressmen quickly hear from constituents if the postman doesn't deliver the mail. In the case of foreign-aid programs, however, Members of Congress are not so likely to have constituents on the spot, who will report any possible shortcomings in the foreign-aid program. The result is that the Congressman often doesn't learn that something is "rotten in Denmark" or "going sour in the Sudan" until the situation is really out of hand or nearly so.

It is precisely to fill this lack of on-the-spot information that my committee has enlisted the assistance of companies such as yours to supplement the information received through official channels or obtained by those Members of Congress who travel abroad from time to time.

As some of you know, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has sought your advice in the formulation of foreign policy. Since last summer we have had underway a thorough review of the foreign-aid policies of the United States. We have been concerned with the impact, or lack of impact, which foreign-aid expenditures have had upon our foreign relations. We have wanted to know whether our technical assistance programs in Latin America, our economic assistance programs in India, or our military-aid programs in Pakistan or Turkey or Greece have served the national interest.

Naturally, in seeking answers to these questions Congress turns to the executive branch of the Government for advice. But, it is a strange thing. I have yet to hear a representative of the executive branch come before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and testify to anything but the fact that our aid programs have been a great success.

However, in order to supplement this view of the executive branch on the effectiveness of our foreign-aid program, the committee has turned to companies such as yours. Last fall we asked some 50 American companies, newsgathering organizations, and private philanthropic groups with large numbers of overseas representatives, to assist the committee in its evaluation of our foreign-aid programs. For example, the committee felt that the local manager of the Chase Manhattan branch in New Delhi, or an overseas representative of W. R. Grace & Co., or a reporter in Paris for the Columbia Broadcasting System, would be in a good position to give the committee views on the effectiveness or the ineffectiveness of our aid policies in the area where he is located.

I am sure most of you here will be interested in a summary of the information supplied by overseas Americans in response to the questionnaire which the committee sent out last fall. The summary is now in the hands of the Government Printing Office and will supply much of the raw material which the committee must have in reaching its final conclusions. I hope you will furnish me with the names and addresses of any persons who you think might be interested in this summary.

In the weeks immediately ahead I anticipate that the Senate will be devoting a great deal of attention to this subject of foreign aid. Since 1948 the United States has appropriated in excess of $50 billion for this purpose. During the 8-year period since the inception of the Marshall plan in 1948, however, the relationships among the nations of the world have undergone substantial changes and the scope and nature of United States aid programs have frequently been altered during that period.

Here is another phase of the matter. Although there has been a gradual decrease in the sums appropriated over these years, there has been a gradual increase in the opposition to these programs. This increased opposition is evident in the votes in the Senate.

In 1948 there were only 7 votes against final passage of the Marshall plan. In 1956 there were 30 votes against final passage of the mutual security appropriation bill, and this number was equally divided between the 2 parties.

There should be serious cause for concern when foreign policy programs of the size and the impact of the annual Mutual Security Act do not command the support of at least two-thirds of the Senate. It would seem that such programs if they are to be successful in promoting the national interest should be of a kind to enlist wider congressional and public support. One of the reasons for the constitutional requirement of a two-thirds majority for consent to ratification of treaties is that the Nation when it speaks on foreign policy should speak with a strong, united voice. Foreign-aid programs cannot achieve their full potential unless they draw support from the American people, or at least from their official representatives.

The trend of increasing opposition to these programs would seem to indicate either that their purposes have not been clearly understood, or that there is a growing belief that they have in some way failed to serve the national interest. In either event, the trend must be reversed, either by clarifying the relationship between the programs and the national interest, or by changing the programs so that they may more clearly serve that national interest.

It was as a result of considerations of this kind that the Senate last year adopted a resolution introduced by Senator MANSFIELD which created the Special Committee To Study the Foreign Aid Program. The Senate instructed this special committee to make "exhaustive studies of the extent to which foreign assistance by the United States Government serves, can be made to serve, or does not serve, the national interest, to the end that such studies and recommendations based thereon may be available to the Senate in considering foreign-aid policies for the future."

The committee's job of collecting material upon which to base its recommendations is now nearing completion. Some 20 studies have already been made and are in process of publication. The committee has sought the advice of some of our great educational institutions like the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Columbia University. It has used private contractors in the gathering of material. It has invited prominent American statesmen to carry on surveys for it in various parts of the world.

In collecting this material the committee has been assiduous in trying to make sure that all points of view are represented among those collecting the material. I believe that an examination of the materials and recommendations submitted to the committee will indicate beyond any doubt that we have had before us the views of those who advocate a vast expansion of our aid programs as well as those who advocate its vigorous curtailment, and those who justify the present course.

I cannot as yet, of course, tell you what the committee may finally recommend. All that I can do is to assure you that the committee is doing its homework and express the hope that its conclusions may be beneficial to the American people.

Regardless of the ultimate conclusions of the Special Committee To Study the Foreign Aid Program, I am sure you will find some of the studies of great interest. One study, for example, is entitled "American Private Enterprise, Foreign Economic Development,

and the Aid Programs"; another reviews the foreign assistance activities of the Soviet Union; a third is on the use of private contractors in foreign-aid programs; a fourth is on the subject of the agricultural surplus-disposal program. Copies of these studies are available upon written request to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

In connection with the study relating to the disposal of surplus agricultural products, I know that Business International has been deeply interested in the uses to which foreign currencies generated by that program are put. One of the men the committee sent abroad was former Ambassador David Bruce. He drew particular attention to some of the problems that have been created in Latin America by the disposal program and the impact that our control of large amounts of foreign currencies may have on economic development in that area.

Certainly one thing that has been clearly revealed by the work of the special committee is that greater attention must be directed toward the productive use of these currencies in ways that will serve the national interest.

In the January 11 issue of Business International, Your Weekly Report to Management on Business Abroad, I noted the article entitled "Public Law 480 Funds Still Out of Reach of Private (and United States) Firms." Immediately I wrote to the Secretary of State, sent him a copy of the article, and requested his comments. On Saturday, March 9, I received a lengthy letter from Hon. D. A. FitzGerald, Acting Director of the International Cooperation Administration, regarding this problem.

I would like to read this letter in whole or in part, but the letter itself is very long, consisting of four and a quarter closely typewritten pages. It is carefully reasoned and includes a wealth of detail and many figures difficult to carry in mind. It deserves your careful consideration, but I think it better for me not to read it to you now. For this reason I have had mimeographed copies of my remarks prepared for distribution to you here and have had included the letter itself.

(Following is the letter in full—it was not read:)

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION,
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR,
Washington, D.C., March 9, 1957.

Hon. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Your letter to Secretary Dulles enclosing a marked copy of an article in Business International regarding the allocation of funds under Public Law 480 has been referred to me for reply. In order to comment most meaningfully on the article it is necessary to review title I of the law, the facts of the situation with which it deals, and some history of its operation.

As you know, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (Public Law 480) is, to quote the preamble "An act to increase the consumption of United States agricultural commodities in foreign countries, to improve the foreign relations of the United States, and for other purposes." Among the other purposes of the act "it is further the policy to use foreign currencies which accrue to the United States under this act to expand international trade, to encourage economic development, to purchase strategic materials, to pay United States obligations abroad, to promote collective strength, and to foster in other ways the foreign policy of the United States."

Under title I of the act the President, who has delegated this function to the Secretary of State, "is authorized to negotiate and carry out agreements with friendly nations or organizations of friendly nations to provide for the sale of surplus agricultural commodities for foreign currencies." Section 104 enumerates 10 different purposes to which the United States Government may devote the proceeds including: procurement of military supplies; purchase of goods for friendly countries; promotion of balanced economic development and international trade; development of new markets for United States agricultural commodities; purchase of strategic materials; payment of United States foreign obligations; financing international educational exchange activities; financing sale of books and periodicals abroad; assisting United States schools abroad; and most important of all for loans to promote multilateral trade and economic development, made through established banking facilities of the friendly nation from which the foreign currency was obtained or in any other manner which the President may deem to be appropriate. The use for loan purposes for economic development of the purchasing country has been the most important purpose to which these proceeds have been devoted and constituted 56 percent of the total sales proceeds under title I on January 31, 1957.

The negotiating situation under the act was more difficult in the early period but has become easier as time has gone on. What the United States had wanted, primarily, was to sell agricultural surplus, foster good foreign relations, and get the full value out of its sales for foreign currency. What the foreign government wanted was to use this means to purchase needed goods without using foreign exchange, and to secure as large a loan as possible for economic development on the most favorable possible terms from the proceeds. What has happened is that in selling the surplus to largely underdeveloped countries they have wanted loans to finance their plans for economic development. Since their plans for economic development rely heavily on large projects for power production, irrigation and drainage, roads and ports, and other facilities for promoting development which are in their public sector they have used the loan funds heavily for their own public projects. These projects are not attractive to private investors though they are indispensable to later development through private investment. We have not encouraged this choice but have continued to point out the value of using private enterprise, both domestic and foreign, in their economic development. To some extent they have done so, even though until last August we had not sought to secure their specific agreement to do this. Since then we have sought to secure agreement by the purchasing government to set aside a fixed amount or proportion of the loan funds for relending by them to private enterprise, whether of domestic, United States, or other friendly foreign national origin. We have also sought to include such a provision in the supplementary loan agreements even though the sales agreements from which loan funds were derived were made before this policy became effective and contained no such agreement.

The results of this policy have not been entirely satisfactory to those who have had extravagant expectations of what was possible. Essentially its possibilities are limited by a number of factors which I will discuss briefly. These are:

1. The loan funds belong to the borrower, a sovereign government, not to the United States. Since this is so, within the context of good foreign relations, so long as the funds are well used, as determined by our accounting controls, and for good economic development, we can seek their agreement as to proper uses but we cannot substitute our judgment for that of a sovereign government—and a rather jealous one, at that.

2. These sales are primarily made to underdeveloped countries with economies ranging from those as socialistic as Yugoslavia to those as unsocialistic as Japan but, whether socialistic or not, the governments in the least socialistic have in most cases their own fairly well formulated economic development plans, or, at least government projects in the public sector which they think are of the highest priority for economic development. It should be noted, however, that India, which has what many Americans think is too large a public sector, readily agreed to reserving the largest amount for relending to private foreign and domestic enterprise of any country so far—$55 million.

3. Our loan rates, 3 percent for dollar, and 4 percent for local currency repayment over up to 40 years, are low in order to encourage sales and furnish cheap credit to friendly nations for their economic development. Since many of these underdeveloped countries have weak currencies we have felt obligated to require an exchange guaranty to cover the risk of currency depreciation over such a long period. Since we could not afford to lend funds without an exchange guaranty at such low rates and since monetary and credit policy of the foreign government are involved in relending to private enterprise our policy has been to retain the exchange guaranty we already have required from the foreign goveernment and allow them to recoup any losses due to relending by them without value maintenance from the spread in interest rates paid by them to us and charged by them to private borrowers.

There has been a misapprehension about the amounts of proceeds and loans under Public Law 480. The $3 billion of authorization by Congress is for CCC value, including ocean transportation costs. As of January 31, 1957, the CCC cost of commodities sold, including ocean transportation, amounted to $2,885,923,000. The market value including ocean transportation on these sales was programed at $1,980,880,000. Of this amount, 56 percent of $1,117,000,000 had been reserved for loans and the amount of loan agreements signed amounts to $355 millions.

Before we adopted the policy of seeking agreed relending to private enterprise Brazil, Spain, Japan, Austria, Israel, and Ecuador reloaned varying amounts to private investors. From the loan of $31 million to Brazil $13,800,000 was loaned to private investors, of which American and Foreign Power Company secured a loan of $5 million in local currency equivalent. In Spain our first loan of $10,500,000 was reloaned to private investors to the extent of about 50 percent though none to American investors so far as has been reported. In Japan around $5 million out of their two loans has been reloaned to private Japanese investors. The Austrian Government is relending around 50 percent to private investors from its $16 million in two loans. In Ecuador approximately $2 million out of their $3,100,000 loan was reloaned to farmers mainly for irrigation. In Israel on loans amounting to $28,790,000, and in Colombia on loans amounting to $10 million, it is planned to relend portions, as yet unspecified, to private investors.

The only loan agreement signed so far with provision for relending to private enterprise is that with Brazil in the recent loan of $117 million. The Brazilians insisted they could not make a reservation solely to private enterprises, but must include mixed and Government enterprises. Our understanding is, however, that a considerable part of the funds will probably be reloaned to American and Foreign Power and the Canadian-owned Brazilian Railways, Light & Gas Co., Ltd. The Paraguayan loan agreement for $2,200,000, just signed March 8, does not include a private relending provision because of desire not to delay signing, but the Government of Paraguay agrees with the principle and intends to lend up to 25 percent to private investors. In Argentina loan agreements of $20 million are under negotiation under which relending

to private investors was provided by the sales agreements.

Since the beginning of this policy in August sales agreements with private investment relending provisions included have been signed with the following countries and supplementary loan agreements with such agreed provisions are in process of negotiation.

Country:	*Private loan portion (million)*
India	55.0
Pakistan	2.8
Greece	4.8
Spain	22.1
Ecuador	1.06
Israel	1.5
Italy	18.6
Turkey	6.0
	113.86

The voluntary relending to private, including American investors, of upwards of $30 million, the prospect of substantial relending in Brazil and Paraguay and the agreed intention to relend to private investors on a nondiscriminatory basis for loans to private enterprise of both local and foreign friendly country origin of over $113 million is not a poor result for a policy on which instructions were sent to the field only 7 months ago. On the other hand, extravagant expectations of amounts to be made available to United States manufacturers should not be encouraged. Foreign governments will emphasize their own development plans which are heavily in the public sector though these facilities will open up further opportunities for future private investment, both domestic and foreign. They will naturally protect the prospective domestic investor. Interest rates will generally be higher than United States interest rates since capital in underdeveloped countries is well known to be scarcer than in the United States.

Without promising what final performance is likely to be, especially for United States investors, it does seem possible that the first year of this policy might see as much as $250 million loaned and reserved from this source for private relending to which United States investors will have agreed access on a nondiscriminatory basis. By next August when the first year's results will be available for study we should be better able to appraise the results and will do so.

Sincerely yours,

D. A. FITZGERALD,
Acting Director.

During the years I have been in the Senate, I have observed a tremendous increase in public interest in our foreign policy. We now realize that incidents in far away parts of the world, which in the 1930's would have passed unnoticed, may now involve this Nation in war. Foreign policy is front-page news not only in Washington and New York, but in every city and village throughout the United States. The people realize that the livelihood and even the lives of Americans are intimately tied to events in such strange places as Gaza and the Pescadores.

Perhaps one way to measure the increased interest of Americans in foreign policy is to look at the workload of the Committee on Foreign Relations. Only last week I had occasion to examine the number of items before the committee during the first 2 months of this session of Congress as compared with the first 2 months of the session 2 years ago. Two years ago there were 28 items before the committee. This year there were 43. And certainly those of you who have been following the debates in the Senate on the so-called Eisenhower doctrine must realize that a great deal of foreign policy has already been made this session.

In concluding, I think I should warn you, Mr. Chairman and guests, that you should not make the mistake of believing that all foreign-affairs talk on Capitol Hill is foreign policy making.

I am reminded of the story of the company in Chicago which advertised that it was ready to purchase bullfrog skins at 50 cents each. Shortly after the advertisement appeared, the company received a wire from a man in Texas. The wire read: "Can supply 100,000 bullfrog skins. Please instruct."

Back went the reply: "Forward 100,000 bullfrog skins forthwith." Three weeks passed. No skins. Finally there came a small package with one bullfrog skin and a small note attached which read: "Sorry. It sounded like there were a lot more."

Sometimes I am afraid that it sounds like a lot more foreign policy, and with a lot more dissent, is being made on Capitol Hill that is the case. Yet it is a fact that in a democracy such as ours, the formulation of policy is accompanied by a great deal of noise and disagreement. To the initiated the public debate of foreign-policy issues is not a frightening thing. On the contrary, I find it a heartening thing, because it is in the process of free debate and exchange of ideas that this Nation hammers out a foreign policy which serves the national interest, and which will command the support of the American people.

So, let us go forward with courage and confidence.

After Gaza

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 8, 1957:

AFTER GAZA

The blue helmets are in Gaza, and today they will be in Sharm el Shiekh. The United Nations emergency force has interposed itself between Israelis and Egyptians, and the last territory occupied in the series of attacks that began last November is being evacuated by the attackers. Now the constructive work of creating a more stable order of things in the Middle East must proceed with all speed.

Some of this work is already underway. Physically the reopening of the Suez Canal is near completion. Syria has allowed the Iraq Petroleum Co. to begin repairs to the pipeline, wrecked by the Syrian Army.

The most urgent business is to find a political and economic framework within which the Suez Canal can operate. The Security Council, before the outbreak of violence in the region, had unanimously indorsed six principles on which such a framework might be constructed, including the "insulation" of the control of the canal from the politics of any one country. Those principles are still valid; the need for putting them into practical effect and thus insuring the maintenance of navigation for all states through the waterway—including Israel—is greater than ever.

There are two major potential obstacles to such a solution. One would be if Egyptian recalcitrance blocked a fair agreement on the canal question. That need not be assumed, but it cannot be overlooked as a possibility. Should it occur, it must not be forgotten that the United Nations has assumed certain functions in respect to the canal; it has exerted pressure to impel the French and British to withdraw from Port Said and it has undertaken salvage operations to open the waterways. This police and salvage work very definitely implies a responsibility for establishing an equitable regime for the future of the canal—a responsibility which is not limited to making suggestions and serving as a medium of negotiations.

Another obstacle to the swift completion of arrangements for the future of Suez would be a new outbreak of violence in the area. This could occur if UNEF were unable to prevent fedayeen raids or interference with Israeli shipping. The answer to that is to assure that UNEF is adequate—in manpower and in status—for the task. And the first requisite is to prevent any mingling of Egyptian and U. N. authority in the trouble spots. UNEF's main objective is to preserve the peace. That, obviously, cannot be done if the blue helmets make a brief, formal appearance in the Gaza strip and on the Aqaba Gulf and then give way to the Egyptians. They must stay until some just and reasonable arrangements can be reached, both for the security of the land frontiers and the sea lanes in the region.

The U. N.—and the United States—have undertaken serious commitments to create conditions in which a general settlement can be made in the Middle East. Those commitments must be honored. And a very practical immediate reason for maintaining UNEF in strength and prestige in its new posts is that unless that is done, the opening of the Suez Canal might again be delayed indefinitely. That none of the nations whose trade passes through the canal can contemplate without dismay.

One Hundred and Sixth Anniversary of University of Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Our Day To Stretch," published in the St. Paul Pioneer Press of February 27, 1957. I believe the editorial will be of interest to all readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR DAY TO STRETCH

The University of Minnesota is celebrating its 106th birthday this week and all Minnesota can celebrate it. The university has pursued a vigorous program of teaching, service, and research that has benefited Minnesota and Minnesotans in a multitude of ways and for more years than Minnesota has been a State.

Distinguished educators in dozens of fields have taught on the university's campuses, instilling a love for learning and for seeking the truth in countless students. Many of these students, in turn, have gone on to distinguished careers. Few communities in this State have not felt the influence of the univeristy.

In service and research, the university has been a strong helping hand. From its hospitals, laboratories, and experimental projects has come knowledge of special import to Min-

nesota. The successful process to exploit the State's huge reserves of magnetic taconite ore came from the university, as did crops and fruits adapted to our climate and soils. Surgical techniques developed here have saved many lives. Extension work, testing services, cultural opportunities, skilled studies in a wide variety of fields—the university's contributions have been vast, indeed.

In these 106 years the university has attained high standing in the Nation, and it is appropriate for Minnesotans to salute their great institution this week. They might also give thought to the role of the university in the future—in 15 years, twice as many Minnesota youths as today will be seeking college educations. As the university's president, James L. Morrill, said recently:

"How large they wish their university, or the teachers' college to be; whether they wish to support the junior colleges through State aids—these are the decisions the people will make."

A study of all the factors involved would be the best way to obtain the facts on which wise decisions are based. The role of the university, the State's great public institution of higher education, is particularly vital in any real solution of these oncoming waves of enrollment.

Recent suggestions have pointed increasingly toward an integrated system of public higher education. Any realistic solution also should consider population growth and movement, the role of 2-year junior colleges as well as teachers' colleges, land use, expansion possibilities, student needs, site convenience, traffic, and parking problems.

The truth of the university's Charter Day theme, "Our Day To Stretch," is undoubted. The question for the university and Minnesota, in the midst of birthday felicitations, is how and where?

Questions and Answers on H. R. 11

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter from the executive secretary of the Gasoline Merchants of Brooklyn, which asks four specific questions about what could and could not be done under the strengthened antitrust laws which will result from enactment of H. R. 11, the equality of opportunity bill. I know that other Members are receiving similar questions about this bill, so I think they may be interested in these questions and my answers. They appear in my reply to Mr. Azarow, which is as follows:

MARCH 14, 1957.

Mr. NAT AZAROW,
Executive Secretary, Gasoline Merchants of Brooklyn,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MR. AZAROW: I am very glad to have your letter asking me specific questions about what can and cannot be done under H. R. 11, and I am happy to have the opportunity of answering these questions.

Question No. 1: Could the major oil company meet the lower price of the off-brand supplier who is in intrastate commerce?

Answer: Yes. The fact that the off-brand supplier is in intrastate commerce only, creates no complication to the major supplier's privilege of discriminating to meet competition.

Question No. 2: If this lower price could be given, would it have to be given to every retailer customer of the major oil supplier throughout the country, State, or city?

Answer: No. H. R. 11 would tend to require the supplier to give the same price to all of its dealers who are in actual competition among themselves, but even among competing dealers it would not require absolutely fair and equal treatment. On the contrary, the bill would forbid the supplier to discriminate among competing dealers to such a gross and prolonged extent that the effect of the discrimination may be, in the language of the bill, "substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly." In other words, even under this bill dealers would not have protection against a mere "injury" to competition.

Question No. 3: Would H. R. 11 in effect protect the off-brand price cutter (in intrastate commerce) so that he could operate without fear of competition even if he sold below the tank-wagon price of the major supplier?

Answer: No. The bill would give some increased protection to the small refiner, but not much. The major company could still give a special price allowance to its dealer across the street from an off-branch station, but under the bill it would also tend to require the major to give the same allowance to its other dealers down the street, or at other locations where trade would be diverted from them by the allowance to the first dealer. It is from this fact that, under the bill, the major oil companies would find it slightly more difficult to destroy small refiners; in other words, the majors could still abuse their great power in competing, directly or indirectly, with a small refiner, but they could not pinpoint their great marketing power quite so sharply.

Question No. 4: In order to give price assistance to retailers in a local price war in Chicago, would the major suppliers have to lower the price to a retailer in New York?

Answer: No. I believe this question is fully answered in my statement above.

I appreciate your giving me the opportunity to answer these questions.

Sincerely yours,

WRIGHT PATMAN.

Aiding the Commies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, without accusing any individual, or any member of any group, or the group itself, of intentionally aiding the Communists, to many of us it is evident that, over the years, the left-wingers, the so-called liberals, all of whom we will concede for the sake of argument are sincere and patriotic, have done much to aid the cause of the Communists—to discourage those who, here at home, believe in constitutional government.

A certain section of the press—some high in policy-making departments of the Federal Government—seem, if judged by their publications and utterances, to think they were annointed by the Lord to persecute and silence all those who object to Communists in our Government, to socialistic or communistic policies, and those who, from time to time, speak out boldly and courageously against policies and activities which, in their opinion, undermine our sovereignty, endanger our national security.

From the Saturday Evening Post of March 23 comes an editorial which reads as follows:

LIBERALS USE ANY CLUB TO DISCREDIT NATIONALIST CHINA

(By Geraldine Fitch)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Mrs. Fitch has spent many years in China and now lives in Formosa. She is the author of Formosa Beachhead and is now at work on another book.)

Back in 1944 Lt. Gen. P. T. Mow came to Washington as a procurement officer of the Chinese Nationalist Air Force, authorized to spend $49 million for military aircraft and airplane parts. Seven years later, when the Chinese Nationalists had set up a single procurement office for all branches of the service, Mow refused to transfer the balance of his funds to the new organization or turn over his accounts. Ordered to report to Formosa, he refused to go. Instead he charged incredible corruption by the Nationalist Government. The Nationalists replied that more than $25 million of the air-force funds which were supposed to have been spent were not supported by vouchers and that nearly $7 million was missing.

Inevitably, the liberal section of the American press took General Mow and his executive officer, Col. V. S. Hsiang, under its wing and echoed his charges. The Washington Post published a series of five articles to the effect that behind the recall of General Mow lay a morass of fraud, corruption, and intrigue which called for investigation.

The Reporter magazine devoted 65 pages, or almost the entire two issues of April 15 and 29, 1952, to what it called "a shocking story waiting 12 years to be told," involving "billions of dollars and a shocking list of famous names."

The field day of General Mow and Colonel Hsiang came to an end when the Nationalist Government sent its Vice Minister of Justice, Dr. Cha Liang-chen, who is doctor of juridical science from the University of Michigan, to file suit in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia against Mow and Hsiang.

When the prosecution sought to subpena the two officers, it was discovered that Hsiang had sent his family to Red China, had secured a Las Vegas divorce and had married a secretary in the offices of the defense lawyers. Mow had decamped to Mexico with a former night-club entertainer. By the time missing air-force deposits of $2 million were located in two Swiss banks, the Chinese puzzle involved 4 countries: China, the United States, Mexico, and Switzerland.

When the case was completed, the decision went to the Republic of China (Formosa), granting it custody over all records and funds. The court audit set the missing amount as $6,368,000, and Mow's appeal from the audit was dismissed by the appeals court. Dr. Cha's toughest battle was won.

Many proceedings in different States and against different banks followed, with the result that a considerable part of the missing millions was recovered. The United States Treasury froze another $2 million which Mow had invested in Treasury notes. As recently as August of last year, a judgment for $810,000 was handed down in a Los Angeles court in favor of the Nationalist Government.

These facts have been reported in the newspapers here and abroad, but the liberal crusaders against Free China have not admitted that they were taken in by Mow and Hsiang. The odds are against their ever doing so.

Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner Address by Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, on Saturday night the distinguished majority leader of the Senate spoke to the Democrats of my State. His address was one which I believe all my colleagues should read, because it was couched in terms of reason, rather than petty partisanship. It was in keeping with the same degree of high purpose with which the senior Senator from Texas serves the Senate.

He called upon the party which he so ably represents to unite for constructive achievement—not just to divide the country—and his words brought forth an enthusiastic response from all who were present.

Mr. President, in times like these we are fortunate to have a leader who appeals to reason and unity. Those are the qualities which are the salvation of our country.

I ask unanimous consent that the very able and illuminating address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATE DEMOCRATIC LEADER LYNDON B. JOHNSON BEFORE JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY DINNER, RALEIGH, N. C., MARCH 16, 1957

Mr. Chairman, friends, fellow Democrats, I am here tonight to visit with you about our party and our country.

You are here because you are Democrats. To me, that means simply that you are concerned about the future of our Nation. You are people who believe—believe that the people can act to shape their own destiny.

North Carolina has always been a stronghold of the Democratic Party. I count among my closest friends such able legislators as SAM ERVIN and KERR SCOTT. Luther Hodges is known throughout the Nation.

When I first came to Washington as a Congressman in 1937, Lindsay Warren was a tower of strength and Bob Doughton had forged already his position as the party's expert on taxes and fiscal affairs. I can include among the House Members with whom I have served John H. Kerr, Franklin Hancock, Alonzo D. Folger, William B. Umstead, J. Baird Clark, Walter Lambeth, William O. Burgin, Charles Deane, Alfred L. Bulwinkle, Zebulon Weaver, Monroe Redden, Herbert C. Bonner, Graham Barden, Harold D. Cooley, and Carl T. Durham.

Today your delegation compares favorably with any in the Nation. Some of those that I have named are still in the Congress. They serve with such able men as L. H. FOUNTAIN, RALPH SCOTT, ALTON LENNON, PAUL KITCHIN, HUGH ALEXANDER, BASIL WHITENER, and GEORGE SHUFORD.

Men like these keep the Democratic Party the party of the people and the party that serves America.

As we meet here tonight, events are taking place in a remote corner of the world which may upset the delicate balance between war and peace.

One side in a two-sided dispute seems determined to press its cause beyond the bounds of reason.

In the past few weeks, this country took the lead in mobilizing the free world to persuade Israel to withdraw from Gaza and the Gulf of Aqaba. That withdrawal took place.

But in urging withdrawal, this country did not aline itself with one side. It expected there would be equally statesmanlike acts on the other side.

Those acts have not been performed. Instead, a colonel appears determined to interpret as a military defeat the fact that men's educated minds bowed to persuasion and reason.

There can be no permanent settlement in the Middle East until certain preliminary steps have been taken. Withdrawal was one of those steps.

In return, the Israelis are entitled to peace on their borders and to peaceful commerce. To deny these is to grant the colonel a military victory which his armies did not win.

This country has a clear duty. It was indicated by the President on February 9 when he said:

"We should not assume that if Israel withdraws, Egypt will prevent Israeli shipping from using the Suez Canal or the Gulf of Aqaba. If, unhappily, Egypt does hereafter violate the armistice agreement or other international obligations, then this should be dealt with firmly by the society of nations."

Our clear-cut concepts were expressed by the Congress when it voted to support and supply the U. N. emergency force. I am happy to say that every Democratic Senator voting voted "yea."

We must frankly face the fact that the Israelis withdrew because we took the leadership in persuading them. They were not driven out by Nasser from the Gaza strip and Sharm-el-Sheikh.

Now the world looks to us to determine how we will act in regard to the other side. And if we acquiesce to actions that go beyond the bounds of reason, we will lose the world's confidence.

The strength of our party cannot be underestimated. In the last election, we won on every level except the Presidency itself—and I predict we will win that in 1960.

We won the House and the Senate.

We won a majority of the State legislatures.

We won city hall after city hall and county courthouse after county courthouse.

The score today is 29 Democratic governors and 19 Republican governors; 24 Democratic State legislatures and 19 Republican State legislatures (2 States elect their legislatures on a nonpartisan basis and in 3 States the legislatures are evenly divided).

The Republican Party was given public credit for a popular victory. But actually only one Republican won—the President himself.

The Republicans as a party went down to defeat.

It is time for us to take a close look at our party and to determine our true strengths.

There are many paths that lead to the Democratic Party. Some of us are businessmen. Some of us are workingmen. Some of us are farmers. Some of us are technicians.

But all of us are held together by one common belief. It is that this country belongs to all Americans and that there is no one group or no one sect that can tell the rest of us what to believe or what to do.

The Democratic Party has a long—and frequently stormy—history. It has survived practically every crisis in our history. It has endured through good times and bad times, through crisis and tranquillity.

It has numbered among its leaders such men as Jefferson and Jackson; Cleveland and Wilson; Roosevelt and Truman. We are proud of every one of them. They were Democrats—without prefix; without suffix; and without apology.

When I use this phrase, of course, I am quoting one of the great men of our times, the Speaker of the House, SAM RAYBURN. It is one of his favorite phrases, one which he employs on every occasion where he is trying to express his inmost feelings.

I have not borrowed this phrase just because it is a good one, although it is. I have turned to it because there is nothing more expressive of the real strength and the real vitality of the party which we represent.

To me, there is no such thing as a hyphenated Democrat. I recognize that there are differences of viewpoint within our party. I realize that we do not see all things alike.

We are a nationwide party. That is a fact which imposes upon us certain obligations, obligations which are not felt by a sectarian group or a sectional political organization.

It means that we must have a true realization of the needs of a cotton farmer and an automobile worker; of a tobacco planter and a machinist; of a poultry raiser and a business executive.

We must think seriously of the problems of industry and the problems of labor. We must realize that we cannot cut off our export markets for cotton and we cannot permit textiles to be swamped in a sea of foreign imports.

No responsible man will pretend that there is an easy answer to all these problems. And no responsible political party will pretend that one simple solution solves them all.

It takes work—hard, unrelenting work. It takes a willingness to seek common ground, even where the answers appear to be contradictory. It takes an appreciation of the spirit of give and take, even where people are unwilling to compromise.

And above all, it takes a willingness to listen and learn from every point of view, while denying to any one group the right to absolute control.

There is in the Democratic Party a wealth of talent. That, plus our standing as a nationwide party, represents our true strength.

Our real problem is to bring these men of talent together, to unite them in a common search for the solutions to the problems that face all Americans.

The fact that a man may be wrong about this issue or that problem has never been a matter of absorbing interest to me. But the fact that if he sits down to reason together with a man of a different viewpoint, a solution may be forthcoming seems to me the most important aspect of life.

I can ask you—in all sincerity—to appreciate the keen and understanding mind of a DICK NEUBERGER. With equal sincerity, I can ask the people of Oregon to appreciate the wisdom and the integrity of a SAM ERVIN.

I can ask you—with the same earnestness—to heed the vigorous, imaginative words of a HUBERT HUMPHREY. And I can ask the people of Minnesota to give serious consideration to the blunt candor and patriotic advice of a KERR SCOTT.

This request can be made simply because we are all Democrats—and everyone of us has something to contribute to our party.

Personally, I believe that the people of this country are tired of the kind of political thought that divides Americans into blocs. I strongly suspect that those most tired of that phrase are the men and women who are supposed to be members of the blocs.

I doubt whether the carpenter who built this rostrum thinks of himself only as a part of the laboring class. And I doubt equally whether the man who paid his wages thinks

of himself only as part of the management class.

They think of themselves first as American men and their wives think of themselves first as American women. And they are perfectly right in doing so.

Each has his own responsibilities and his own problems. But neither one is going to be very happy with a group or with a political party that seeks to promote conflict between the two of them.

The real problems of our times do not call upon us to fight just because you come from North Carolina and I come from Texas. They do not automatically require a man from New York to put on brass knuckles when he meets an American from Alabama.

I have an idea that a serious discussion of the basic issues would run just about the same in North Dakota or Georgia; in Idaho or California. The accents would be different but the conclusion would be just about the same.

Of course, there are differences between the sections. There is a northern viewpoint and a southern viewpoint. The outlook of the West differs from the outlook of the East.

Sometimes those differences become heated.

But those differences—heated and angry though they may be—are insignificant alongside of our real problems.

First, there is the question of monetary policy. How long can this Nation remain prosperous when the price of money goes up and up beyond the reach of small businessmen, farmers, and consumers?

Second, there is the issue of foreign policy. Are we working effectively to maintain the integrity of the free world or are we just operating on a "spend more money" basis?

Third, what is happening to our farmers? North Carolina has more small farmers than any other State in the Union. But can we keep them on the farm when costs constantly go up, and prices fall or remain the same?

Fourth, why are we lagging behind Great Britain and the Soviet Union in peacetime use of atomic energy? We have been operating under an act to encourage that development for 3 years. And yet we do not have a single large-scale reactor in this country. Great Britain has two and there is good evidence that the Soviet Union beat us to the punch on a small-scale reactor.

Fifth, are we wisely and prudently conserving our natural resources in view of our expanding population?

Sixth, are we using all our resources and all our newly acquired knowledge to conquer cancer, heart disease, and the other killing and crippling diseases?

Seventh, when only one in every 10 of our young people graduates from college, are we keeping pace with the Soviet Union in training the technicians whom we must have to preserve our freedoms?

I am not raising these questions because they are the only issues before us. I am a realist and I recognize that there are many disputes—some of them angry—that must be settled.

But these are the problems of the present—and their solution will determine the future. They are the problems of maintaining our prosperity; feeding and clothing our wives and our children; assuring the degree of freedom which we cherish.

Neither am I raising these questions in the sense of criticizing somebody else. The American people are not going to cheer because we proved that another party failed to do something.

They are going to ask what we—the Democrats—did. And their judgment will depend upon our answers.

I am not going to stand here tonight and tell you that there are a set of readymade answers to the questions. But I do believe the answers can be found—and can best be found—within the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party has an advantage which is enjoyed by no other political organization in this country. Through its governors, Senators, Representatives, and party officials, every section of the Nation is represented.

North Carolina speaks with a strong voice—as does Minnesota. Alabama receives a respectful hearing—as does Pennsylvania.

One of my father's favorite sayings was that a man's judgment is no better than his information. That is as true of a political party as it is of an individual.

The Democratic Party has available the best brains and the best information from all parts of the Nation. We must put them together—not in the service of a partisan cause but in the service of our country.

Each of us must give a little and take a little. And all of us—North and South—must give up the idea of crushing the other fellow and ramming our own pet ideas—no matter how nobly motivated—down his throat.

This is a big and a strong country. There is room in it for all of us. And by working together we can make it even bigger and even stronger and assure victory for our party and victory for our Nation.

Four years ago my colleagues did me the honor of electing me the Democratic leader of the Senate. At that time, I stated to them my policy—a policy which I have constantly followed.

In closing tonight I want to repeat to you the words and the philosophy which still guide my course.

I have a great faith in the Democratic Party. I am a Democrat of conviction—not out of habit. I believe that the Democratic Party is now—and always has been—the party that is best for America. I believe there are forces holding our party together greater than the issues over which we may squabble for the moment.

We are now in the minority. I have never agreed with the statement that it is "the business of the opposition to oppose." I do not believe that the American people have sent us here merely to obstruct.

I believe we are here to fight for a positive program—a program geared not just to opposing the majority but to serving America. I think that is the real desire of every Democrat—even though we may disagree as to methods.

Working together, I think we can do more than merely preserve the gains of the past 20 years. I think we can go forward with a positive program—a program that is pro-American and not just anti-Republican. And if we go forward as positive Americans—and not negative oppositionists—I am convinced that the time is not too far distant when the Democratic Party will again be in the majority.

Wilson Day Address by Hon. Wayne Morse of Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able address delivered last Saturday night by the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] at the Wilson Day dinner at Knoxville, Tenn.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WATER, ELECTRIC POWER, FLOOD CONTROL, RECLAMATION, AND AMERICA'S FUTURE

(Speech by Senator WAYNE L. MORSE to Wilson Day dinner, Knox County Women's Democratic Club, Knoxville, Tenn., March 16, 1957)

Ladies and gentlemen, your invitation to come to the State of Tennessee was one of the nicest compliments that has been paid to me for a long time. I suspect that none of you fully appreciates the fact that Tennessee is the Nation's outstanding symbol of the topic I propose to discuss with you tonight: water, electric power, flood control, and reclamation.

Our Nation and the people of our country for generations to come owe the people of the Tennessee Valley a great debt of gratitude for your tenacious faith in that great natural resource ideal and conservation principle, namely, that each generation is the trusted of God's gift of a priceless heritage in the natural resources of our country.

The people of the Tennessee Valley have taught the lesson to the people of the rest of the country that each generation owes a moral obligation to the next generation to see to it that our natural resources are handed down to the boys and girls of tomorrow in a better condition than that in which we found them.

Let me assure you that it is a much appreciated privilege for me to speak on a platform in the State of Tennessee, a State represented in the Senate of the United States by two such great statesmen and close personal friends as Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore.

When I selected the subject of my speech tonight, one of my associates said that to speak on that subject in the Tennessee Valley would be like carrying coals to Newcastle. But permit me to say to this audience that those of us who are interested in a sound conservation program for America's resources cannot review too often our obligation to the great issue that was fought out here in the Tennessee Valley.

Therefore, I propose to use this platform tonight to spread again information about what I consider to be probably the most important domestic issue confronting us, viewed from the standpoint of future generations of American boys and girls. I would have you think of our natural resources not in terms of the imagery of streams and dams and mountains and forecasts and irrigation ditches. I would have you look at our natural resources problems through the imagery of millions of faces of American boys and girls 25, 50, 75, 100, yes, even hundreds of years in the future.

When I talk about conservation and full development of the natural resources of our great river basin—the Tennessee, the Missouri, the Columbia, and all the rest, I am talking about the need for maintaining a high water table in order that we may maintain a high level of civilization.

History teaches a sad and ugly lesson that as the water table of a nation goes down, its civilization withers and dies. The Democratic Party should carry the fight to the Republican Party on the water resources issue, because the Eisenhower administration has already made a sorry record against the future generations of American boys and girls by its various proposals for underdevelopment in our river basins. For example, the administration's phony partnership sellout to the private utilities of the people's heritage of their own water rights will result in the cheating of future generations of American boys and girls out of a full enjoyment of the maximum economic potentials of our river basins.

I am convinced that the Democratic Party has a great duty to oppose the political expediency of the Eisenhower administration in the field of natural resources.

There can be no compromise of the principles inherent in this issue.

Let me make it clear that I hold no brief for any Democrat in the Congress of the United States who gives aid and comfort and support to the Eisenhower administration's proposals for underdevelopment of our river basins. If I say nothing tonight that I would have you remember until tomorrow it would be this: It is only through comprehensive, full, river basin development that we can protect the water rights of future generations, and give the greatest assurance of the greatest benefits to the greatest number of our people.

Let us never forget that water is the greatest nourishment of the civilization of any nation.

Let us look at a few facts about water, as the indispensable element of a high standard of living.

WATER—THE INDISPENSABLE ELEMENT

Over 2,000 years ago the Greeks believed that there were 4 elements—earth, air, fire, and water, and that all other things were combinations of these. While their chemistry was faulty, the emphasis of the Greeks was eminently correct.

Without water, human and plant life is impossible. Lack of adequate water has doomed whole areas that once flourished.

In the strife-torn Middle East, for example, there was 4 times the amount of land under cultivation in Roman times as there is today.

It is within man's power to waste water or use it to the full. The most fearful waste is that which permits the destruction of sources of water by failure to protect watersheds and the irresponsible pollution of our God-given streams.

Population growth and concentration, new industrial uses, and the proven benefits and necessity of irrigated farming have created vast new requirements for water. For example, at the Hanford Atomic Energy Commission Works, we see a dramatic consumption of water, where a prodigious amount of the flow of the Columbia River is diverted to provide the plant's cooling system. All about us, manufacturing plants use great quantities of water. For example, a soft-drink bottling plant uses thousands of gallons in very short periods. In our houses we are consumers of much water. One shower bath can use up 6 to 14 ballons of hot water alone—depending upon your habits.

In an average industrial community the per capita use of water runs between 100 to 200 gallons a day. A single fire hose has a minimum requirement of 250 gallons a minute.

All communities in our country are acutely sensitive to the growing need for water. So, for example, suburban Westchester in New York now uses 77 million gallons of water a day, compared with 47 million gallons in 1943. The Great Plains drought is a national tragedy. In Texas alone, 244 counties out of a total of 254 counties have been declared drought disaster areas.

At the same time, floods are an imminent threat to cities, towns, and bottom-lands throughout the Nation. New England, California, and Oregon suffered vast floods within the past 2 years. Kentucky and Tennessee are just coming out from under high water.

TVA'S SUCCESSFUL FLOOD FIGHT

TVA has once again proven its inestimable worth during the past few weeks. In this most recent flood, this great comprehensive, integrated basin system prevented flood damage which, at a conservative official estimate, was about 65 million at Chattanooga alone. TVA already has resulted in prevention of property damage equal to more than half the amount allocated to flood control for the entire system. Last year the Columbia River dams, and particularly the great water storage Grand Coulee Dam, helped avert great flood damage.

These recent experiences prove the wisdom of Theodore Roosevelt's and Gifford Pinchot's conservation program. They foresaw that natural resource development requires a basin approach.

The main cause of water feast and famine is deforestation. Without adequate upland forest cover, water flow is irregular. By turns the runoff is too great or too little where great forests do not catch and hold water for gradual flow.

A balanced basin system also requires man-made storage to control water for flood control, manageable power output, irrigation, industrial, and domestic use.

POWER—THE KEY TO WATER CONTROL

These great basin undertakings are not economically possible without electric power revenues. The electric power generated at multipurpose dams is vitally needed itself for farm, factory, and home. Unless its development is integrated with water storage for multiple use, all elements of development are retarded. As we progress with pollution control, it will probably be found that power has a major part to play in achieving it as well.

RECOGNITION OF PROBLEM THE FIRST STEP

It is urgent that the dimensions of our water problem be recognized, for it takes years and decades to achieve the means of adequate multipurpose water development.

As population grows and technology becomes ever more complex we will find, I predict, that the adequacy of water systems will be the ultimate limitation upon our capacity to grow.

Once this factor is taken to heart, we can move forward to meet the challenge of the future.

FAIR SHARING REQUIRED

At the heart of Theodore Roosevelt's resource and reclamation philosophy was the sound and simple principle that it is the people of the Nation who own its natural resources. It followed that its development and benefits should be widely and equitably shared.

The great trust buster also gave to this country a crystallization of the philosophy that monopoly is a prodigious threat to a free economy and free institutions.

So, when the great reclamation acts of his administration were enacted, the requirement was included that no beneficiary of a Federal reclamation project could obtain more than a reasonable share of water from that project. An individual's right to own land was not infringed. But his right to obtain water from a public project, financed by public funds, was limited.

This 160-acre limitation is rooted in the history of the West. It is a requirement of elementary fairness.

Events in California in the past weeks underscore the importance of this provision. I feel the California Supreme Court's Ivanhoe decision, which in effect sets aside the Federal reclamation law, was most unfortunate. I do not mean to comment on a matter of State concern. It is far more than that. A basic and vital Federal policy is involved. As a United States Senator, I have an obligation to speak my deeply held views about this Federal policy.

The decision can result in some good. For it dramatizes a basic issue which must be resolved before adequate progress can be made in water-resource development.

Recognizing the vital role of river basin development on a comprehensive basis—for power, flood control, irrigation, navigation, and recreation—we must decide our future course.

On great interstate streams like the Columbia and Missouri, it is clear that the Federal Government has a responsibility and alone can provide the unifying factor. This doesn't mean doing the whole job—but it does mean the main job of executing adequate plans and coordination. This means, as in TVA and the Columbia River system, the operating control of the key multipurpose dams in the systems. Such a plan is quite compatible with small private or local projects which do not affect the basic system.

Where a State cannot undertake a comprehensive plan for full development of a navigable stream or system within its borders, the Federal Government has a major role as well.

But, it is not fair or right to expect that the Federal Government should bear the burden of nonreimbursable costs for flood control, for example, and surrender, give away, the power facilities or the antimonoply irrigation policy of Federal law.

The Trinity project in California is one example. I opposed partnership at Trinity, and the project would not have been authorized in 1955 if partnership had been included. That is a simple statement of the facts.

Now California is considering the great multipurpose Feather River project as a State undertaking—but only partially so.

It is proposed that the State would finance part of the project without including the traditional and indispensable public-agency preference clause for power or the excess lands provision for irrigation.

Yet it is seriously proposed that the Federal Government will authorize a blank check to pay for flood control with the Corps of Engineers to negotiate the amount. The blank-check aspects are bad enough. But is it right or fair to ask that the Federal Treasury use taxpayers' money to help finance a multipurpose project and at the same time fail to include these two basic Federal policies? This is asking too much. Such over-reaching can defeat the whole proposal.

One Senator, at least, stands here who will oppose such a give-away of funds and policy.

RESOLUTION OF POLICY DISPUTE PREREQUISITE TO PROGRESS

Before real progress can be made on comprehensive basin development for power, irrigation, flood control, and the rest, there must be a resolution of the basic questions of policy on how we shall proceed. Extended controversy can only delay the undertaking of badly needed projects.

That has happened in my State and region. The voters of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana have rejected the administration's phoney partnership. Yet the administration seems determined to insist upon partnership, after even its congressional adherents have been defeated or rejected the method.

Congress will make good on some of the projects—as at John Day on the Columbia River. Yet, the close division of parties in Congress makes real progress impossible unless the dispute is settled and a real majority can pull together in one direction. If the Republican Administration cannot see this fact, the voters will do it for them in 1958 and 1960—as they have done in the past two elections. I say this not in partisanship but in an appeal to Republicans who traditionally have supported the policies of Theodore Roosevelt, Hiram Johnson, Borah, McNary and Norris—and Franklin D. Roosevelt as well—to get the administration back on the track.

This is a national problem which requires foresight and leadership. It also calls for firm adherence to the historical policies of multi-purpose development and fair distribution of benefits under which the West has prospered in the past.

We will make progress on comprehensive development when there is adequate recognition of the public interest, and protection is given it without evasion or equivocation.

The project that best dramatizes the water resource issue that I am discussing tonight is the great Hells Canyon Dam issue. I am sure that no one came to this meeting, expecting to go home without hearing me mention this issue. I do so with a political relish. I do because it is one of the many Achilles' heels of the Eisenhower administration.

The Hells Canyon Dam issue symbolizes the great difference between the private utility-controlled Eisenhower administration and the program for the future of forward-looking Democrats.

The Nation's farmers need the new low-cost phosphate fertilizer which low-cost Hells Canyon power alone can make possible to the fullest extent. The evidence on this point was fully documented in the 1955 hearings.

The power to be generated at site and which Hells Canyon would make possible downstream will make possible new private enterprise with new plants and the businesses which spring up to serve new industrial communities. What the supporters of high Hells Canyon Dam want is a transfusion of low-cost power for a more vigorous private enterprise economy.

A more balanced local economy will be achieved as population, with new purchasing power, grows. There will be a larger market for regional farm products and the manufactured wares of the whole country. This new economic vitality will be good for the whole country.

POWER FOR IRRIGATION AND MORE ECONOMIC FARMING

It does not take much foresight to know that in but a few decades our growing population will need a more abundant food supply. Expansion of agricultural capacity will require expansion of irrigation and reclamation. Even Secretary of Interior Seaton has warned of that need.

That expansion cannot be accomplished economically without the historic aid of public power revenues for irrigation and reclamation projects. In Idaho and eastern Oregon especially, the future or irrigation and reclamation depends upon Hells Canyon as a Federal project. In 1953, when Secretary of Interior McKay withdrew former Secretary Chapman's opposition to the Idaho Power Co. application, he mentioned that other possible dams might be pressed into service to provide power revenues for irrigation. Those alternatives are disappearing under the administration's resource policies. So-called partnership makes no provision for aid to irrigation.

The administration has even welched on its tentative recommendation of the Scriver Creek power facilities. In 1954, the Budget Bureau's report on S. 1664 indicated its concurrence in what it said would be the Interior Department's recommendation of this project. Yet, when the Interior Department's report arrived in August 1954, not even Scriver Creek was recommended.

The will-o'-the-wisp, so-called, high Pleasant Valley study promises very little for the future of irrigation, even if it is proposed as a Federal project. The administration is being so cagey and reticent on Pleasant Valley that I can only conclude that it is playing for time. This "maybe," "perhaps," "if" study approach of Secretary Seaton will build no dams and provide no help to future irrigation.

He may get a gold star for publicity, but he is flunking the kilowatt, acre-feet of storage-for-flood-control test.

Since the administration began to block the high Hells Canyon Dam in 1953, there has been no planning deserving the name. Instead, the current 308 Review Study has proceeded on the assumption that the Middle Snake should not be considered and the Snake and its tributaries have been Balkanized by the Bureau of Reclamation and the private utilities.

The administration comes forward belatedly and timorously with yet another projected study of a so-called high dam at Pleasant Valley.

This latest move is a patch on a flat tire of a program. Secretary Seaton hasn't even put the jack under the car. All he is saying, in effect, is that partnership has suffered a blowout.

Yet the 1957 winter flood of the Snake River shows that we are again headed for trouble. The 1956 flood threat was dissipated without severe damage, thanks to Grand Coulee storage on the main stem and lucky weather throughout the basin. We will not be so lucky again. It is irresponsible and inexcusable to delay a high dam at Hells Canyon which is indispensable to adequate flood control on the Snake.

Mr. Seaton can juggle proposals and figures as he pleases. He may cry "Eureka" or "Maybe, Eureka" with his "study" of high Pleasant Valley. It would wash out little Hells Canyon Dam and foreclose forever the possibility of a Nez Perce Dam—with its 4,800,000 acre-feet of storage. But he will not achieve full flood control.

Nez Perce is not presently feasible because of fish passage problems. If Secretary Seaton wants to study something important, let him study the Nez Perce fish problem. If it can be solved, we can achieve maximum flood control and low-cost power production. But, instead, the Secretary is proposing—perhaps—maybe—to substitute Brownlee and Pleasant Valley with 3,570,000 acre-feet of storage for Hells Canyon with its 3,880,000 acre-feet and Nez Perce with 4,800,000 acre-feet—a total of 8,600,000 acre-feet of storage.

PUBLIC ENDORSED HIGH DAM

In public test after public test, the free men and women of the region have voted for the high dam. This was so when the Idaho Power Co.-supported Senate bill 99 was defeated by referendum in 1949.

Again, in 1954, Senator NEUBERGER campaigned vigorously for Hells Canyon and won over an opponent of Federal development.

The two new Democratic governors of Oregon and Washington supported high Hells Canyon Dam, their defeated opponents did not.

Senator MAGNUSON defeated the most outspoken foe of Hells Canyon. The same pattern was present in the reelection of DON MAGNUSON and GRACIE PFOST, and was a factor in the great victory of Senator CHURCH. Hells Canyon advocates LEE METCALF and LEROY ANDERSON won in Montana.

In Oregon, Congresswoman EDITH GREEN, another outspoken and effective Hells Canyon supporter, won. CHARLES PORTER won a great upset victory in Oregon. The pattern held.

Congressman AL ULLMAN has been long identified with Hells Canyon as an organizer of the trie-State and National Hells Canyon Associations. His opponent was against the high dam.

My own Senate race involved Hells Canyon, as you know.

THE FUTURE IS LONG

Let us remember that what Congress does or fails to do, what the administration does or fails to do, will have long-range effects. The floods and power shortages of the future, the economic consequences of full development or underdevelopment cannot be undone once the pattern is set. A low, inadequate Idaho Power Co. dam cannot be repealed. A gerrymandered river cannot be reclaimed.

As trustees for future generations of Americans, as well as guardians of the public interest today, Congress, the President, the Secretary of Interior, and other executive officials have grave responsibilities. The issue is a moral one, all signs point to the necessity of the high dam.

Let us in the Democratic Party draw this issue of water conservation and full development of our river basins with the Republican Party in a fight to the finish. We are right, and the voters will so decree in 1958 and in 1960 if we give no quarter and stop providing the Eisenhower administration with the votes to give away the people's heritage in their own natural resources.

Why Prices Have Gone Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Here's Why Prices Have Gone Up," published in the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune of March 10, 1957. The article is most timely, as it concerns a situation with which all of us are confronted, relative to the cost of food to the consumer and the price which the producer receives.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HERE'S WHY PRICES HAVE GONE UP—COST OF GOODS, FOOD SHOW LITTLE OR NO INCREASE

WASHINGTON.—Whether the talker is President Eisenhower, the ordinary housewife, a Congressman, or even a professional economist, Americans today are hearing a common version of what has been happening to prices.

It ain't necessarily so.

Current folklore centers on two almost universally held beliefs:

Only reason prices were stable from 1952 to 1956 was that food prices were down while industrial prices were up.

Reason for the alleged steady rise in the prices of things other than food is that labor unions push up wages and big corporations push up prices.

Examination of the item-by-item details of the Government's cost of living figures disclosed that the first popular belief has no validity at all and the second has validity, if at all, only in a remote sense.

The surprising fact about what actually has been happening to prices over the past 4 years, even allowing for last year's price rises, are as follows:

1. Prices of goods—things other than food—are on the average no higher today than they were 4 years ago. Manufactured goods as a whole were falling in price at retail, not rising, from 1952 through 1955. They did rise, by a little, last year.

This generality holds for almost all goods. Only goods that today are markedly higher in price than they were on the day President Eisenhower took office, according to the Government's figures, are home-heating fuel, gasoline, cigarettes, and alcoholic beverages. And of those, the rise in prices of gasoline, cigarettes, and alcoholic beverages reflects mainly increases in Federal, State, and local taxes.

There have been slight rises over the 4-year period in such things as new automobiles, toilet articles, and newspapers. But the whole range of clothing and apparel is virtually unchanged, as are other items, such as tires.

Most important, there has been an actual decline in price over the 4-year period, in

some cases substantial, of appliances, furniture, the whole range of home furnishings, used cars, television and radios, toys, and sporting goods.

2. Price of food, despite a 3-percent rise last year, is still a shade lower than it was at the end of 1952.

3. Real villains of the piece—prices that actually have been going up all along—are prices of nongoods. This means services, public transportation, rent, and utilities.

Key point about these areas is that, for the most part, there simply is no big union problem and no large corporation. Or if there are, the Government actually has price control in effect, as in transit fares and utilities.

The list of increases is almost endless:

Auto repairs, up 15 percent; rails, bus, and rapid-transit fares, up 25 percent; medical care, up 15 percent; laundry, up 11 percent; haircuts, up 14 percent; beauty-shop services, up 12 percent.

How much do all of these nongoods account for in the average family's cost of living? By the Government's reckoning they come to almost exactly one-third, or far more than is generally realized.

The average family, according to the Government's figures, now spends about 29 percent of its total consumption expenditures on food, 37 percent in the stores for things, and 34 percent on nongoods.

The real truth about the last 4 years now begins to become apparent. Up to 1956, the price of food and the price of things in the stores both were falling. Prices in that one-third of the cost of living represented by nongoods were rising. The two balanced out and the cost of living was steady.

In 1956, food prices rose a little. So did the price of most goods. Neither reached their former peaks, but they did rise. Nongoods kept right on rising. Thus the overall cost of living rose almost 3 percent.

What conclusions can be drawn from these facts?

The first is that the big-union, big-corporation, high-wage, high-profit argument has little direct relevance to the cost of living of the average family.

For example, the price of steel could practically double the cost of living would hardly show it. Between 1951 and 1955 the price of steel rose 14 percent, but the price of household appliances declined 13 percent.

There are several reasons for this. A major one is retail competition. Another is new machinery and automation along the various stages of manufacture and distribution. In general wage increase in the industrial area have not seriously outpaced productivity.

In short, with some exceptions, the places where unions make their bite and where big corporations make their big profits are not the places that push up the ordinary family's living costs.

The second conclusion is a question. Why have prices of nongoods risen so much and so steadily?

There are no certain answers, but the Government's experts generally cite two theories:

First is that these prices are still catching up to the precipitous increases in the price of goods, both food and nonfood, between 1945 and 1952.

The other theory, expressed in economist's terms, holds that the nongoods area as a whole, capital investment and new machinery cannot greatly improve the productivity of labor. But these areas, at a time of full employment, must pay roughly prevailing in order to keep workers. The costs and prices must rise.

There are many exceptions, of course. In such areas as electric-power production and telephone service, productivity has risen very rapidly, fully as fast as in manufacturing.

But in the area of services, in particular, common sense indicates that productivity increases must lag behind those in manufacturing.

And if they do, then the prices of these services must continue to creep upward, particularly if we maintain reasonably full employment.

Small-Business Man Offers Hon. Wendell B. Barnes a Solution to Small-Business Failures

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the Members' attention to a letter from a small-business man, addressed to Hon. Wendell B. Barnes, Administrator of the Small Business Administration, a copy of which has come to me from our colleague the Congresswoman from Michigan [Mrs. GRIFFITHS], who is always an alert and extremely effective champion of the small-business man.

The letter is from Mr. Fred Scarborough, who is in the gas and electric appliance business in Detroit. Mr. Scarborough says that within 6 months he will lose his investment in his business, as well as the investment of a friend who helped him finance the business; and Mr. Scarborough further predicts that within this period some 50 or 60 independent appliance dealers in the Detroit area will also fail.

Mr. Scarborough's proposed solution to his problem, and the problem of the other independent dealers like him, is that he be allowed to buy his merchandise at the same price as his big competitors.

Mr. Scarborough has apparently been told by someone that the present antitrust laws prohibit his supplier from selling to him at the same price the supplier charges Mr. Scarborough's large-volume competitor. This is, of course, incorrect. There is no law which prohibits, or even tends to prohibit, the supplier from selling to the little man at the same price he charges the big corporate distributor. There is a law, however, which was intended—with certain qualifications—to prohibit the supplier from doing just the opposite. This is section 2 of the Clayton Antitrust Act, as amended by the Robinson-Patman Act. This law was intended to have a strong tendency to require the supplier to sell to the small firm at the same price he charges any other business firm that is in competition with the small man—except, of course, that the supplier may pass on any cost savings.

I say that the law has a strong tendency in this direction for this reason: The law was not intended to require that the supplier give absolutely equal treatment to its competing customers, even within the limits of difference justified by cost differences; but the law was intended to forbid the supplier to make such gross discriminations in price as between competing customers that the effect of the discriminations would be a substantial injury to competition, a substantial lessening of competition, or a tendency to create a monopoly.

The good intent of the law, however, has been misinterpreted by the Supreme Court, and the law now has a serious loophole in it which leaves little protection for small business. As we all know, there is a bill pending—H. R. 11, the equality of opportunity bill—which would plug that loophole in large part. This bill would not plug the loophole as to the substantial injury to competition, but it would restore the law to the extent that it would prohibit the supplier from discriminating in price as between his customers where the effect may be, in the language of the law, "substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly."

This bill would tend to restore the Golden Rule in business. It would say to the big manufacturers, and other big suppliers, that they must treat their customers fairly. It would not require the supplier to sell to any particular business firm. Each supplier will have, as now, complete freedom to select its customers. But the bill would say to the supplier this: "You are not required to sell to any particular buyer; you are completely free, as now, to select your customers; and you are free to charge that customer any price you choose—but when you select a particular customer, and so long as you continue to sell to that customer, you must not sabotage him and destroy his business by selling the same kind and quality of goods, at the same time, to your customer's competitor at a substantially lower price."

I am sorry that we are not able to say to Mr. Scarborough that H. R. 11 is not now the law of the land. We have considered such legislation as this during the past two Congresses. Last year the House finally passed the bill—by an overwhelming vote. But that was late in the session, and the bill did not get taken up in the Senate. The bill was reintroduced in the House on the opening day of this Congress (January 3, 1957) and was, of course, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. That committee has the bill under consideration, and I am informed by the distinguished chairman [Mr. CELLER] that the committee will hold hearings on the bill again this year. I sincerely hope that since hearings are to be held, they will be held at a very early date.

Mr. Scarborough's letter is as follows:

DETROIT, MICH., *February 3, 1957.*

Mr. WENDELL B. BARNES,
Administrator, Small Business Administration, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BARNES: It has become obvious to me that I will lose my entire investment in this business, as well as that of a friend who helped to finance it.

That statement is about as interesting to you as Detroit's temperature a week ago, but there is a vital factor involved that should interest your organization; I am only 1 of 50 or 60 small independent appliance dealers in the Detroit area that will be bankrupt in 6 months' time; several have already gone under. I assume that the same condition exists in all of the metropolitan centers.

If this flurry of failures continues, it will affect the smaller jobbers, and they will likewise go under.

The disease of this industry is an infection that is spreading to other industries. No small business can survive it.

This in turn leads to depression and unemployment. If a man in your position is so naive as to believe that we are not going to get it—and very soon—I am amazed. When the moral standards of the Nation are so low that business leaders will be publicly quoted as "no foreseeable downturn in 1957," in order to instill a sense of false security in the buying public in order to peddle their wares, we are in a bad way.

This situation has grown in the last 3 years to a point where the small displaying dealer is being used as a showroom for the warehouse, carload buyer who does no selling, no displaying, but gets the business that the small dealer has spent 2 profitless hours, in many cases, to create.

Let me reiterate this important fact—this situation will be true of all other lines of business unless an action is quickly taken to stop the trend.

I haven't consulted an attorney, and I know very little of law, but I do not believe that the Sherman Act, or the Robinson-Patman Act, or any other governing business, states that the supplier is not permitted to sell the small dealer at the same price as the large volume buyer.

That is the only conceivable solution. If I can buy at the same price as the big fellow, I can meet his price and operate at a small profit. Otherwise, all small appliance dealers who are honest are doomed.

John S. Knight, publisher of the Detroit Free Press, said in an editorial Sunday, January 27, "Merger follows merger, and the big get bigger. The little firms are being crushed by developments over which they have no control."

I'm not talking about me—I'm talking about a national disaster that can develop from this situation, unless the Government, business managers, and the unions are willing to make an effort to correct the situation.

Very truly yours,

GAS & ELECTRIC APPLIANCE CORP.,
FRED SCARBOROUGH.

Government Spending and Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very humorous and interesting article entitled "Think It Through," written by E. F. Hutton, and published in the New York Herald Tribune of March 14, 1957, dealing with the subject of Government spending and taxation.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THINK IT THROUGH

(By E. F. Hutton)

Ever hear of the old farmer and his hound dog? The dog was mighty clever looking after himself by catching jackrabbits. He loved red meat.

But the farmer wanted to do more for his dog than the hound did for himself. So one day the farmer cut off a piece of the dog's tail and said: "See, Buster, old fellow, what I've done for you. Here's a nice piece of red meat."

Buster needed a stimulant just then, so he chewed up the meat. "What a kind master I have," he thought.

Next day the same thing happened, and so on. Before long, Buster's tail was gone. With no tail he couldn't keep his balance going around curves after rabbits, and they got away from him.

And because the farmer could not catch rabbits himself, Buster slowly weazened away.

Well, sir, it sorta makes me think of Uncle. He cuts off a piece of my income and hands some of it back to me and says: "See, nephew, what I've done for you."

'Course, I don't get it all back 'cause Uncle likes meat, too, and can't catch rabbits without my help.

But I go along because it sure relishes good to get back part of my income.

Next year Uncle plans to cut off 72 billions of our meat; and after taking his cut, he'll give us a piece.

Neighbor, that'll taste mighty good.

Hon. Clifford P. Case, of New Jersey, Looks at Beliefs in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, under date of February 19, I inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by my distinguished colleague, the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE], and published in the New York Times magazine section on Sunday, February 17, entitled "A Republican Prescribes for His Party."

On February 20, an editorial appeared in the New Brunswick Daily Home News of New Brunswick, N. J., entitled "Senator Case Looks at Beliefs in America." This editorial is very complimentary to my colleague's presentation of his Republicanism, and I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR CASE LOOKS AT BELIEFS IN AMERICA

Writing in the New York Times magazine on Sunday, New Jersey's Senator CLIFFORD CASE gives the Republican Party a formula for winning the confidence and support of the American people under the title, "A Republican Prescribes for His Party."

More important, probably, than the Case prescription for the rejuvenation of the Republican Party in Ike's image, is his searching and perceptive analysis of what may be called, for want of a better term, the philosophy of America, what America believes, what America is.

Here are some of CASE's carefully chosen words on the subject. Americans "believe that people (the individual rather than the collective man) are the most important things in the world."

We believe that "people are entitled to equal treatment, to protection, to a fair break."

We believe "that things can always be improved and that they ought to be."

But having commonsense, we know that "man is not perfect" and that "therefore no single man or group of men can be allowed to run the show."

We Americans have a "strong belief in private property" but "we do not shrink from governmental intervention to insure that our economy produce a constantly improved standard of living shared as widely as possible."

We Americans "insist that the Government intervene to protect the individual against hardships he cannot master through his own efforts."

"Americans believe in work. Not just in work for the masses, with leisure for a chosen few. We believe that each should make his own way."

"The American understands that while change is inevitable—and desirable—it must not be too rapid."

"The American rejects, as destructive of the general feeling of security, any effort to pit one group of Americans against another * * * tolerance and consideration are not only virtues but necessities, if we are to maintain a democratic society under government by consent."

CASE sums up these beliefs as a "blend of compassion, optimism, and commonsense."

It seems to us that this is an incisive analysis of what America believes, of what America wants, of what America will get. And CASE himself suggests that either major party, if successful in persuading the American people that it stands for these beliefs, would get the overwhelming support of the American people.

Thus the Case prescription can be as much what the doctor ordered for the Democratic Party as for the Republican Party. But more significant than this is the picture which CASE gives America of its own beliefs, of its own faiths, of its own essential goodness.

Two-Man Monopoly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article entitled "Two-Man Monopoly," written by a former Member of this body and a distinguished American, the great Burton K. Wheeler, former Senator from Montana. The article was published in the Missoula (Mont.) Times of February 8, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWO-MAN MONOPOLY

(By Burton K. Wheeler, United States Senator, Democrat, from Montana, 1923–47)

There are three matters of public interest that on close examination tie together, and have ominous implications for the future of free speech in the United States.

One is a report that NARTB (the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters) is going to lobby the next Congress for repeal of section 315 of the Federal Communications Act, a provision I personally had written into the act. This section provides that if a station permits any legally qualified candidate for public office to use the station it shall afford equal opportunities to all other candidates for that office; and

that stations shall have no power to censor these political speeches.

Second is the suit filed by the Department of Justice against RCA and NBC charging them with illegal conspiracy to gain control of the Nation's five best television markets.

Third is the effort to have the Commission permit anyone to have any number of television stations. If section 315 is repealed, broadcasters will have the same power to censor political speeches that they now exercise over advertisers' messages, newscasts, entertainment, and other programs. They will also be able to provide free time to their political friends without granting equal time to opposing candidates and to sell or refuse commercial time to any candidate.

If the chain broadcasting companies had been able to do this during the court fight, then the opposition to the administration's court packing bill could never have gotten their views across to the American people. Even as it was, both the National Broadcasting Co. and CBS joined together and gave all three networks to the administration whenever the President or a Cabinet member spoke in favor of the bill, and they saw to it that every one of their affiliates carried the speech. But when we of the opposition spoke, we were refused equal time by all three of the chains. Furthermore, we knew that our talks usually were carried by far fewer of the network affiliates. No effort was made to see that they broadcast our side.

Television has become one of the most, if not the most, potent force for molding public opinion. People are more influenced by what they see and hear over television than by what they read. It appeals to the emotions far more than does the printed word, and we know that emotions exert a tremendous influence on the conclusions people reach. Any political candidate would enjoy a tremendous advantage if he had the facilities of radio and his opponents did not. Think of the overwhelming advantage the same candidate would enjoy if he had both radio and television facilities to the exclusion of his opponents. Almost any political program or candidate could win public support with such an advantage.

It follows, therefore, that any individual or group of individuals that controls what appears on television and radio will, if section 315 is repealed, also have power to determine what candidates will be elected to public office and what measures shall be enacted into legislation. They will not only control those who vote on legislation but they will largely control public opinion on all national and international issues which vitally affect the American people.

Unfortunately, two-man control of TV already exists to a dangerous degree. I am referring to NBC's attempt to dominate not only five major markets through station ownership but all the major markets if the Commission permits them to own as many TV stations as they desire. Today, many independently owned television stations are dominated by the chains for, as the Commission knows, if you have a television station with a million dollars invested in it, the chains can either make or break you by either letting you have their programs or by taking them away.

NBC and CBS domination of TV advertising and programming is such as to give them the power of economic life and death over most independent TV stations. NBC and CBS affiliates that get the good network programs and advertising prosper. Stations without network affiliation have a difficult time surviving. Local programs and public utterance by station owners are carefully tailored to the networks' position because the owners are all too well aware of the economic whip that the networks hold over them.

This power undoubtedly drove even the mighty Westinghouse Co. into a disadvantageous swap of stations. The Justice Department itself said that if Westinghouse had balked, "it would lose its NBC affiliation in Boston and Philadelphia and would not be granted NBC affiliation in Pittsburgh," adding that Westinghouse would in fact not be able to obtain NBC affiliation for any future station it might acquire. Without network affiliation, the stations could not be profitably operated.

The net result of this situation is that the two men who control NBC and CBS have almost absolute power over what is seen and heard on TV. This is too much power for any two men, regardless of their personal abilities and integrity. If there can be any question of the danger to the public this involves, the present Department of Justice suit against RCA and NBC should provide the answer. Incidentally, on his TV news show on December 4, when the lawsuit was announced (networked to TV stations in 83 of our largest cities) NBC's Chet Huntley devoted more time to NBC defensive propaganda than he did to the Government suit.

Network control of independent TV station programs can be broken only by making these stations financially independent of networks, by means of subscription TV which will give them supplementary income direct from the public. With this supplementary income, plus their financial return from local advertising, most independent stations could do just as well without a network affiliation. But that is another subject.

Repeal of section 315 would eliminate one of the few safeguards that we have to protect freedom of speech on the air, and could give to the two major network heads immense influence over public opinion—and terrifying political power.

Repeal of this safeguard might even make it possible for these two gentlemen to sit down in conference and select the next President of the United States. If that sounds fantastic, we must remember that it was through control of radio that Adolf Hitler secured his absolute domination of Germany. In every modern attempt at political revolution, the first target of the revolutionaries is control of radio communication. TV in the United States is a far more potent influencer of public opinion than radio has ever been, and it is dominated by just two men.

Whether or not NARTB was acting as a network's cat's-paw, the fact remains that repeal of section 315 would be a very dangerous blow to American liberties. Unfortunately, the public is almost completely unaware of the dangers involved, and we cannot rely on the broadcasters to enlighten them.

Congressional Organization and Procedures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NORRIS COTTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, Dr. George B. Galloway, senior specialist in American government and public administration for the Library of Congress, is well known to the Members of the Senate as one of the Nation's leading authorities on congressional organization and procedures. My friendship with him dates from our student days at Wesleyan University. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the March issue of the Beta Theta Pi magazine which pays a well-deserved tribute to the work of Dr. Galloway.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESSIONAL EXPERT

Dr. George B. Galloway, Wesleyan 1920, is one of the country's best informed and most thoughtful observers of congressional organization and procedure. His doctor's thesis submitted to the Brookings Institution in 1926 was on congressional investigating committees, and since that time he has maintained a continuing and lively interest in all phases of congressional activity.

After a distinguished career with the 20th Century Fund and the National Planning Association, Galloway in 1945 became staff director of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, where he did much of the research that led to the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. Members of the committee praised Galloway for his "remarkable vigilance and devotion" and concluded that "from his profound knowledge of the national legislature and the national Government and his penetrating analytical insight came not only many of the concrete proposals, but the moving and sustaining spirit of our study."

Following this stint, Galloway became senior specialist in American government and public administration in the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. Here his vast experience in legislative matters is available to congressional committees as well as to individual Members of Congress. And they have called upon him frequently: in the 80th Congress, he served as staff director of the Home Rule and Reorganization Subcommittee of the House Committee on the District of Columbia; in the 81st, technical adviser to the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia; in the 82d, consultant to the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, and in the last Congress, consultant to the Senate Special Committee on Lobbying.

One of Dr. Galloway's most pleasant duties in recent years has been to receive visiting groups of legislators from abroad and talk with them about our Congress. Under the State Department's "leader grant program," Galloway has briefed members of the German Bundestag, the Japanese Diet, the French National Assembly, the British House of Parliament, the Parliaments of India and Pakistan, and many others, on all phases of the work of Congress.

Dr. Galloway has written a number of books on Congress. His Congress at the Crossroads, published in 1946, has been described as "one of the most significant books about the American Government since Bryce's American Commonwealth." This was followed by The Legislative Process in Congress in 1953. In 1954, he received a grant from the Ford Foundation to make a comparative survey of Congress and the British Parliament. He spent several months in England observing Parliament in action and the results of his study, printed as Congress and Parliament, were widely publicized by the American and British press. Dr. Galloway found that the operation of Congress was in many respects superior to that of Parliament, but he also noted a number of lessons Congress could learn from the "mother of Parliaments." One reviewer remarked that "whenever Congress is in a mood to correct its shortcomings, it will find in Congress and Parliament not only a useful analytical study but in addition many forward-looking suggestions."

Soybeans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Japanese Market Not Yet Won," published in the Soybean Digest of March 1957.

The editorial relates to the exporting of the United States soybeans to Japan and the working of Public Law 480 in this regard. I think the article, written by George M. Strayer from Tokyo, Japan, is most timely.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JAPANESE MARKET NOT YET WON

(By George M. Strayer)

The operations of the Japanese-American Soybean Institute which are being carried on here under our market development project utilizing Public Law 480 funds, along with moneys from Japanese trade groups and from our ASA coffers, appear to be paying off.

Rumors flying around Tokyo now indicate that the Red Chinese are about to take a page from our book and invite a Japanese soybean delegation to their country in April. The delegation which visited the United States in August and September has been so influential that the Reds are now trying to win friends by using our approach. If the invitations actually materialize it is rumored they will invite about 15 persons from Japan, giving them the red-carpet treatment.

We have not yet won the Japanese market. We will never do so. This country is so located that there will be continuing trade with China, some of it on a barter basis. Segments of the Japanese business economy would like to increase the sales of industrial goods to China, and if they succeed in doing so Japan will buy things in return. Soybeans are a very logical purchase, since they are necessary in the Japanese economy, lie only $6 per ton freight distance away from Japanese ports, as compared with our greatly inflated ocean freight rates from the United States at present. With a $24 per ton rate now, how can we compete with $6?

We will win the Japanese soybean market just to the extent we are willing to work for it. Oilseed crushers like the high oil content of our soybeans. They like the availability of them, without the necessity of the bickering which takes place on Chinese purchases. They are more than pleased in the past with the general average quality of our soybeans, but they still object to our high allowable foreign material content. And they object strenuously to that occasional cargo which seems to slip through with a high foreign material content, largely based on the broken particles of soybeans which we still call foreign material.

Aggressive sales policies will pay off in this market over a period of time. The programs already underway to increase the total consumption of soybean food products will create more purchases of soybeans. Whether we sell them or someone else sells the soybeans to Japan depends on us. We must have a desirable product to offer. We must be competitive in price. We must be willing to take things into the United States from Japan in return for our sales to them. We must help create governmental policies here in Japan which will allow greater purchases of soybeans. We must use our influence wisely. We must help Japan solve its problems as a means of helping ourselves.

BROKEN BEANS ARE NOT FOREIGN MATERIAL

Each time I visit or revisit one of the countries which comprise our major export markets for soybeans I become even more convinced that we are just plain chumps if we do not change—and do it immediately—our classification of broken particles of soybeans as foreign material. It is being used against us at every turn. It will continue to be used against us until we make a change.

Chinese beans come into Japan with one-half of 1 percent foreign material, so I am told consistently. It is essentially correct. In their standards only those things other than soybeans constitute foreign material. They do arrive—some of them—with one-half of 1 percent foreign materials, or less.

And we, in our smugness, establish standards with 2 percent allowable foreign material in our No. 2 grade. But in that we include all pieces of soybeans broken small enough to go through an eight-sixty-fourth round hole screen. They are not foreign material. Foreign material is something other than soybeans. Broken particles of soybeans produce soybean oil and soybean oil meal—in fact the yield of end products per unit of weight will usually be more than from whole soybeans. How can they be foreign material when they produce soybean oil and meal?

A good example of what we are doing to ourselves took place in November. A cargo of United States soybeans arrived in Japanese port. Graded out as U. S. No. 2 yellow (maximum allowable foreign material 2 percent) when shipped it was designated here as having 7.39 percent foreign material, according to samples drawn and analysis run by the official sampling and grading agency. The cargo had been divided. One portion did show the above figure. The other showed 2.04 percent.

At my request a determination was made on the portion of the foreign material included in the 7.39 percent which was broken particles of soybeans. The result? All but 1.7 percent was broken particles.

The moral? Broken particles of soybeans are not foreign material. We are purely and simply chumps so long as we classify them as such.

Cancer Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, in its fight on cancer the New Jersey division of the American Cancer Society has been very fortunate in having the wholehearted support of the newspapers throughout the State and adjoining areas. Sometime ago, as a small recognition of this splendid cooperation, the Cancer Society of New Jersey sponsored an editorial contest and presented awards to both a daily and a weekly newspaper for the best editorial on cancer. The contest produced very gratifying results and has become an annual event.

The cancer editorial contest sponsored by the New Jersey division of the American Cancer Society was first established by Mr. George E. Stringfellow, a West Orange industrialist, in 1947, when he was the State division's first president, and he still offers the two plaques awarded annually for a daily and a weekly newspaper.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials which won the awards this year, one from the Montclair Times of April 5, 1956, and the other from the Bergen Evening Record of April 10, 1956.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Montclair (N. J.) Times of April 5, 1956]

NOT FOR MY JO

(By Donald Mulford)

The magazine was lying on my desk when I came back from the hospital. In large type on the cover, it asked "Is a cancer cure near?" I was interested in the answer, but there were a few more personal questions I wanted to ask.

I wanted to know how to tell my 3 teen-age stepchildren that their mother had only a few weeks to live.

I wanted to know how I could visit my Jo, from whom I had never had a secret in our brief 2 years of marriage, and bring her hope and courage when I knew that every day would mean greater pain and suffering until God brought her peace.

Now, 7 weeks later, its' all over. I've had the agonizing answer to both of those questions, but I have a lot more. When is my stepdaughter's biology teacher going to cover the chapter on cancer that she so thoughtfully skipped over last month? How do I thank the special nurses who every day—weekends, holidays, and blizzards not excepted—helped far better than I could to maintain her spirits while her tortured body wasted away.

Those questions too will be answered, and I'll be looking for the answer to that question in the magazine. A cancer cure is near—many forms of it can be cured or arrested already. A vast amount of research is now going on in the field. Although my Jo consented to the use of experimental drugs, she wasn't one of the lucky ones to obtain even temporary relief. Through her suffering, and that of others, however, the answer will some day come—perhaps very soon.

My Jo has done her part. Will you match her death with your dollars by sending a check to the American Cancer Society? Not for me, and not for my Jo—do it for your wife, your dad, or maybe even yourself.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is Cancer Control Month. The Times can think of no better way to support it than by printing this personal experience of a member of its staff.)

[From the Bergen (N. J.) Evening Record of April 10, 1956]

DEATH OF A GOOD TEACHER

(By William A. Caldwell)

We don't suppose Marnie ever in her life was angry, even at the cancer. Other things, maybe, like frustrated—Grant Wood had thought she had in her the stuff of greatness, and here she was teaching art to kids in the Westwood grades—or like lonely or scared. But she had no anger in her, not even for the cancer.

That she left to us. Hate is for the living.

The funeral services will take place tomorrow afternoon, as she wanted them to be. A friend of hers will play the Bach Little Fugue in G Minor and maybe too the Jesu Joy of Man's Desiring. Another friend will read for her dead what we'd somehow neglected to say to her alive. There'll be a benediction

for Margaret Dennis Apfel, and the last of many meetings will be over.

She wasn't afraid to die. She knew it was cancer, and she knew what kind it was—murderous melanoma, the black cancer of which they say that whenever it is discovered is too late. She must have known her number was up all these 2 years, and she must have known we all of us knew it. And so she devised a rather delicate game. Once she knew how things stood, she played that she had rejected the reality. She would shortly be as well as ever—as soon as this twinge of pleurisy passed, as soon as they could clear up this wretched pneumonia, by Christmas time, by March 1, by the end of April. So she compelled her friends to play her small solemn game. We all of us had a secret. It has not to this date been mentioned to Marnie.

Once in a while, nighttimes late in front of the fire at somebody's house when the talk was slow and confused, about what is man and what are we for, also what the hell's the use, she'd be looking away into nothing, the abyss, and sometimes the look in her eyes was terror.

It must have been grim, sitting there listening to Delius or calypso or bull session, getting up once in a while to dance maybe, all the while knowing this thing was inside, feeling its way into the lungs, biding its time. A woman great with death, Marnie was, and if she looked up and saw concern on your face she'd come over and sit down and tell you a story in that Iowa drawl of hers—nothing significant, just letting you know that sympathy, like bravery, mustn't show.

There in merciful Bergen Pines, when she must have known what the score was, she kept her contract with us, right up to the moment she slipped, lightly, making no fuss about goodbys, into whatever it is out there. Only once did she seem concerned about what was happening to her—concerned, that is, beyond the need to summon herself for the next wisp of breath.

To one of her visitors she said this was the first time she had ever had to do this—and he knew what she meant by that; to die—and, Marnie said, she didn't know quite how to act. Perhaps we would be disappointed in her. * * *

She was a literate and honest artist and a good teacher, and she taught us many things without having to say them.

Sitting outside her room, listening to her trying to breathe, you'd ask yourself questions, and she lived the answers.

What's the matter with euthanasia? When your number's up, why can't they let you go?

Marnie taught us the answer to that, and it is this: While there's life there's hope, and this is a platitude until in misery you learn that it is true. Dr. Cameron was saying last week that research is closing in now on cancer—one day soon it will know why a cell, any cell, goes crazy, and soon then it will know how to prevent this aberration, which will be a constant in all tumors.

Who'll give the order to put a pillow on the sufferer's face, and then turn to find an exultant doctor at the door crying that he has found it, the cure, and it works? Who'll give that order?

Question: Is a brief year, a brief day of life, worth the struggle? It is. Life is dear, so Marnie taught us, and there is in it nothing, not even pain and sorrow, that isn't precious. Life is to be felt and seen and smelled and tasted, all of it, with all our faculties. We dishonor our Maker when we let ourselves die, in boredom or escape or tired sophistication, before our time.

For days she had scarcely moved there in the sixth-floor room, the oxygen valve hissing behind the bed, the long eventless hours coming and going, nothing now for it but certainty and despair. "I have so much to tell you," was the last thing she said to us. "Such a good experience."

Why not anger and hate? Cancer has no malice in itself. It means no harm. A cancer's function is to grow and go exploring. If there is anything to hate, it is our failure to come to grips with it. We have scattered our energies; we have engaged the enemy in skirmishes and bitter little holding actions; we must do better or die. Not angrily, she did what she could—she went out last year and rang doorbells in Westwood for the American Cancer Society's campaign. Maybe one day, when the grant-in-aid has just about run out and the money Marnie raised is all that's left between work on the research project in some little college and another inconclusive report for the archives—maybe the last dollar will make the difference. Maybe the cure will come from there.

In our togetherness, not angrily but because we can love each other, we can try. We can try. Marnie was a good teacher.

The Indian Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a perceptive editorial entitled "Our Own Indian Problem," which was published in the New York Times of March 12, 1957.

The editors of the Times state the urgent need for legislation which would require that Indian consent be obtained before States are permitted to extend civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indian lands. This would be accomplished by enactment of S. 331.

The editors of the Times deem even more important the establishment of a positive Federal policy of helpfulness toward the Indian, as proposed in Senate Concurrent Resolution 3.

I commend this editorial to my colleagues and to all who share my concern over Federal policy toward Indians.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR OWN INDIAN PROBLEM

An Episcopal minister who also happens to be a Sioux Indian has brought home to New Yorkers something of the sense of desperation whith which many American Indians must today be facing their future. As reported in this newspaper yesterday, Dr. Vine Deloria of the division of domestic missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church has added his voice to those—led by the Association on American Indian Affairs—urging adoption of a point 4 program to help pull the Indians of our own country out of the slough of despond.

A large portion of the Indian remnant in the United States is suffering from lack of a clear and progressive policy on the part of the Federal Government, erstwhile protector of the Indians. Such policy as there is has not been satisfactory. The proposal, endorsed by Congress a few years ago, to terminate Federal responsibility for the Indian as rapidly as possible cannot and should not be carried out on any large scale because of the Indian's obvious unreadiness for competitive coexistence with the white man in a white man's world. The Federal Government is not going to make the Indian problem go away just by wishing it would. There is a deep and lasting obligation to help the Indian defend himself against the corrosive pressures of a civilization into which, for the most part, he is not yet prepared to enter as an independent competitor.

An example of what happens when the protective arm of the Federal Government is absent can be found in the Plains States and the Northwest, where—as we noted a few weeks ago—some 1,600,000 acres of Indian land have passed out of Indian control in the last 4 years. Individual Indian landowners too frequently cannot resist the temptation to sell their acres for immediate gain, even though such sale will deprive them forever of their birthright. The influence of the Federal Government ought to be brought to bear on this situation, just as its influence should be used in and out of Congress to insure a more understanding approach toward the needs of the Indian population.

Such an approach would include amendment of a fairly recent law allowing States to extend civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indian lands without Indian consent. A consent provision is urgently indicated. Even more important would be endorsement of a positive policy of helpfulness toward the Indian, as outlined in Senator MURRAY's point 4 resolution, the first clause of which recognizes that Federal responsibility toward the Indians "cannot be fulfilled by dispersal of Indian communities but by the continuous development of their human and economic potential."

Reconstruction Finance Corporation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The RFC, Earmarked for Death 3 Years Ago, Is Dying Hard," published in the Wall Street Journal of March 15, 1957.

This article gives an interesting account of the present status of the RFC. I have requested Mr. Robbins to calculate as closely as he possibly can the results of the business lending operations of this agency from the beginning to the present. It is my impression that the RFC has a very excellent record in this respect. I feel that this organization was one of the most successful of the Government agencies created during the thirties, and I think the record should be made complete for the information of the Senate and of the people.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RFC, EARMARKED FOR DEATH 3 YEARS AGO, IS DYING HARD—SOME 200 EMPLOYEES LABOR TO LIQUIDATE LOANS, BUT TIGHT MONEY SLOWS THE PROCESS

(By Ed Faltermayer)

WASHINGTON.—The once-mighty Reconstruction Finance Corporation, earmarked for the graveyard more than 3 years ago, is dying hard.

After the famed, fragrant mink-coast scandals, Congress ordered the lending agency to stop making loans as of September 1953. Nine months later, after it was transferred to the Treasury Department for final liquidation, the RFC appeared all but buried.

But the RFC still is alive and breathing. With credit relatively hard to get these days, private banks are reluctant to buy out the agency's big leftover loans made in bygone easy-money days and bearing low-interest yields. What's more, most of the over $80 million worth of loans left in the RFC's portfolio are "problem loans," and wouldn't be salable under any conditions, says Laurence B. Robbins, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, who bosses the job of liquidating the RFC.

CURVE FLATTENS OUT

Progress to date in whittling down the RFC portfolio has been impressive, to be sure. The agency's holdings are down to less than one-seventh of their $592 million height of September 1953. But the liquidation curve appears to be flattening out.

President Eisenhower, in his budget message this year, predicted that by June 30 the package of loans will shrink to $53,600,000. But in the fiscal year that begins July 1, the budget predicted, the Government will be able to cut the total by only another $11,500,000.

By no means all the remaining loans are "rotten apples," of course. Biggest of the bunch is a 4½-percent loan made in 1951 to Lone Star Steel Co., a Dallas company that started on a shoestring, but made good. Last month Lone Star made a $7 million payment on this loan which actually wasn't due until April 1.

The $16 million still outstanding on the $50 million Lone Star loan represents about one-fifth of the RFC's remaining loan assets. But because of "tight money" conditions, says Douglas S. Wilson, assistant comptroller, no bank is eager to buy the loan at par and the RFC prefers to wait until credit conditions ease and Uncle Sam can realize 100 cents on the dollar.

NO DATE FOR ITS DEMISE

Though now under the aegis of Treasury Secretary Humphrey, the RFC still is a corporate entity with a balance sheet and capital stock. Some time in the future, when the loan kitty becomes small enough, Mr. Humphrey will dissolve the corporation. But, according to Mr. Robbins, "no consideration has been given to setting a date" for this final burial.

The RFC still operates at its old stand, the handsome Lafayette Building at the corner of Vermont Avenue and I Street, just a stone's throw from the Treasury and the White House. Its old bronze plaque still graces the doorway—although it now shares space with emblems of five other agencies, including the Small Business Administration, which took over many of its lending functions.

Employment is down to 200 from a World War II peak of 13,000. The corporation now occupies only the top two floors of its building, which once swarmed with RFC workers and served as the headquarters for a far-flung network of regional offices.

But no one appears to fear a further drop of the ax immediately. "We have projections" on staff cutting, says Mr. Robbins, adding that "in the next year or so the staff might be cut to 125." Another aide sounds more confident: "With the servicing required on the kind of loans we've got left, the staff isn't going to shrink much."

CASH AND PROPERTY, TOO

Economy-minded Mr. Humphrey will, of course, continue to try to dissolve what's left of the RFC and return as much as possible of the remaining $80 million of loans to Uncle Sam. Since September 1953, the RFC has returned $434 million to the Federal coffers. As of December 31 it had, in addition to loans, $62.5 million in cash and other miscellaneous assets, including $1.9 million of properties obtained through foreclosure on loans that turned sour.

In addition to paying back sizable sums to the Treasury, Mr. Wilson says, the RFC continues to take in more in interest and other service charges than it pays out in operating expenses.

Launched during the last days of the Hoover administration as a depression antidote, the RFC pumped out $50 billion during its 21 year active life, the bulk of it under various World War II programs. It lodged out $12.3 billion to banks, railroads, and individual businesses. In addition, it passed out $7.5 billion to other Federal agencies such as the Rural Electrification Administration and the Home Owners Loan Corporation. The agency claims it made a total net profit of $650 million in its lending programs.

Most of the liquidation to date has been accomplished through sale of large loans or through repayments on some of the bigger investments. During the past year, the RFC has sold at par $17,748,000 of notes of Hidalgo Chemical Co., a subsidiary of Standard Oil Company of Indiana, and got back $28,362,000 through the private refinancing of the remaining balance on an RFC loan to Detroit Steel Corp.

Most vexing, RFC men lament, are a large number of mite-sized loans that add up to only about one-third of the present total dollar value of its portfolio. Liquidation of such loans continues slowly, in some cases through foreclosure. The small-loans account for the bulk of RFC's administrative costs. Eventually, Mr. Wilson thinks, the RFC package will shrink to about 200 of these hard-core loans totaling no more than about $2 million.

Pension Plans for World War I Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial relating to pension plans for veterans of the First World War, and published in the Good Thunder Herald of January 17, 1957. I believe the editorial will be of interest to many readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, more especially veterans.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This week I am at least partly selfish and perhaps a number of readers will not agree with me. I am going to discuss the need for some sort of a pension plan for veterans of the First World War.

I am selfish because I am a veteran of that war, so am in part asking for something for myself, eventually, at least.

When we left the armed services after World War I we received travel pay home, a $60 bonus payment, and that was all. The pay of a private soldier was $30 per month with a couple of bucks extra for overseas service.

If you came out of the Army early the town gave you a parade, perhaps a dinner and a few speeches telling you you were a hero. Three days later you would meet them on the street and they would ask you when you were going to work. The boys who had to remain overseas until the entire job was done got off the train or bus without fanfare, welcome, or anything else. What price glory?

The public and the Government has done a lot better for the chaps who were in the Second War, and the Korean conflict. They were voted good State bonuses in most cases and means was provided whereby they might continue their education at the expense of Uncle Sam.

There is no quarrel with the treatment given the men who served us in later conflicts. I do think we have forgotten the chap who served us way back in 1917 and 1918. Lots of them are reaching an age where they are unable to get along so well any more.

Most of them went through a depression that had them in breadlines and on the street corners selling apples. That started the song, Brother Can You Spare a Dime? and it was just that rough.

Many of the men who went into the first war were volunteers. The draft came along a lot later.

I think it is high time we did something for the men who served in the first war—commensuate with those who served us at a later date. Many moves have been made to try and get some sort of a pension through the Congress. A partial victory has been won, in that a pension is paid to those who are fully unable to work.

The pension, under present standards, is hardly enough to keep a man alive, less than we pay our later war dischargees to attend college or a trade school under the GI bill. That is hardly fair.

I see no reason why men who served their country in the first war should not have a reasonable income after reaching the age of 60 or 65. Most of those who served are over that age now. I was one of the younger men and it will not take too many years for me to get there.

Don't think for a minute I am against the treatment we have given the GI's who have had the chance to further their education and insure a better earning power. One can hardly do too much for men who have given a part of their adult life to serve their country and you and me.

But in the interest of fair play, let's consider that man or woman who made the same sacrifices 40 years ago. Army life was not any more pleasant nor was it less dangerous then than later.

It is high time we did something about the veterans of World War I.

United States Envoy Becomes Hero as Skin Diver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a rather interesting article from the Scripps-Howard papers about a service rendered by Ambassador Willauer, in Honduras.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES ENVOY BECOMES HERO AS SKIN DIVER

(By Andrew Tully)

The way our Ambassador to Honduras tells it makes it sound simple. "No one else could do it," says Whitey Willauer, "so I did."

It was not that simple, though. For more than an hour, Ambassador Whiting Willauer

prowled the 40-foot depths of a river pool near Honduras' Capital City of Tegucigalpa before locating and bringing up the body of a 12-year-old Honduran boy who had drowned while on a picnic.

DETAILS

In a brief interview today, Ambassador Willauer gave the bleak yet impressive details of how he had gone out to help with the aqua lung outfit he uses for spear fishing.

"They couldn't locate this boy," he said, "so they called me to ask if they could use my equipment. But nobody else knew how to do skin diving, so I went out personally to see what I could do.

"I found out the boy couldn't swim and he'd gone down when an inner tube he was using was swept away by the current."

So Whitey Willauer went to work with his mask and his tank of oxygen. Fruitlessly, he searched through the nooks and crannies of the pool's bottom. But then, on a ledge only 20 feet down, he found the body of the boy lodged among rocks. He tugged it loose and brought it up. Today he was being widely acclaimed in the Central American country.

"Actually, it wasn't much," he said. "I've always been a pretty good swimmer and I've been doing this skin diving for more than a year. It's all in knowing how."

TALENT

But knowing how seems to have been a persistent talent of this rugged, 49-year-old Ambassador in his first diplomatic post. He has known how to do tough jobs ever since he first came to Washington in 1938 as a Boston admiralty lawyer by way of New York.

His first job was in the Civil Aeronautics Administration (CAA), where he worked out a solution of the airmail subsidy mess as uncovered by Justice—then Senator—Hugo Black's Senate inquiry. From the CAA he went to the Justice Department's Criminal Division, first to clear up political corruption in the Federal judiciary and then to curb the early anti-Americanism of Nazi bundists.

Football injuries suffered at Princeton prevented him from taking a Naval Reserve commission in 1941. So he joined the China Defense Supplies Agency and went to Chungking to boss the transportation of supplies flown over the famed Hump. Later, he became Far Eastern director of the Foreign Economic Administration.

AIRLIFT

Then, in the early postwar period, he joined with Gen. Claire Chennault to set up the celebrated Civil Air Transport (CAT). When the Communists were overrunning China, Whitey Willauer directed CAT in a monumental airlift in which its 18 cargo planes averaged 28 round trips a day flying relief supplies to beleagured Nationalist forces.

In that post, he early recognized the growing menace of communism in China and fought it relentlessly. As a result he was posted No. 3 on the list of men wanted by the Reds for liquidation.

Editorials Applaud HHFA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BRICKER

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD editorials from two Columbus, Ohio, newspapers commenting favorably on the expeditious manner in which the Housing and Home Finance Agency certified section 221 housing assistance in connection with the city of Columbus' urban renewal program. The first editorial is from the Columbus Dispatch of January 21, the second from the Ohio State Journal of January 23.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch of January 21, 1957]

PROMPT WORK ON HOUSING

The speed of the Federal agencies involved in setting up a program for housing the many families which will be displaced here as the new expressway and slum clearance work gets underway has been met by an equally prompt response by our local builders.

They have signed up quickly so as to make possible the early construction of new homes and apartments to house the families which, perforce, must move to make way for a series of coming improvements.

The Federal Housing and Home Finance agency completed its plans for the Columbus area in about 90 days, and as a result more than $20 million in FHA insured loans for financing this extensive move has become available.

Enough builders have signified a willingness to go ahead with the construction to insure all the 2,212 units which the Washington office has approved as necessary.

This quick development will make possible the steady progress which will be necessary if the expressway work is to be finished on time, and if the slum clearance programs are to get underway within a reasonable time.

The promptness with which this part of the procedure has been tackled calls for some notice and approval for the Federal agency's efficiency at a time when so many similar agencies are being criticized for slow processing. It calls also for some notice of the vast amount of work done so rapidly by so many local people involved in preparing all the details.

[From the Ohio State Journal of January 23, 1957]

QUICK ACTION ON BACKING HOME LOANS

It is reassuring to observe from time to time that our Federal Government, notoriously slow in acting on some matters, can quickly deliver when great need exists. A gratifying example of this is the quick action taken by the Housing and Home Finance Agency to assist our community in obtaining replacement homes for families being displaced by our vast expressway system, slum clearance and other public improvements.

The Federal agency gave its stamp of approval to more than $20-million worth of FHA insured loans in the relatively short time of about 2 months after the request was made. This speed represents cooperation and good work by Forrest Smith, local FHA director; John P. McCollum, Chicago regional director of HHFA; Albert Cole, HHFA administrator, and city employes who prepared the application.

This special financing of privately built homes is not a panacea for the replacement housing problem. There are in our expressway and slum clearance areas many families and aged persons whose incomes are so low that the only way they can obtain adequate housing is through public programs.

Expressways could never be built if only those families capable of paying the cost of private housing are removed from the path. Every family must be moved and the low down payment plans for homes, made possible by the $20-million guarantee, makes such removal possible.

This special financing guarantee was made available by Congress to make certain that displaced families will have adequate homes. It appears to be working well toward that end in Columbus.

Major Oil Companies Can Meet Competition Under H. R. 11

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I know that the Members are receiving a number of letters from independent retail gasoline dealers which indicate a misunderstanding of the purpose and effect of H. R. 11. I, too, am receiving a number of such letters, although H. R. 11 was designed specifically to help the independent gasoline dealers, and to relieve them from an unfair discriminatory practice which chronically affects these dealers and is daily putting many of them out of business.

The misunderstanding which some of these dealers now have is that, under this bill, a major oil company cannot assist any of its dealers to meet competition—by giving those dealers a price cut—unless the major oil company also cuts prices throughout all of the marketing areas in which it distributes gasoline.

This misunderstanding of what would be required under H. R. 11 has been created and propagandized by certain of the major oil companies. Such claims are made in literature which the major oil companies have been passing out directly, and like claims have been made in such publications as the Gasoline Retailer, which I understand is widely circulated among gasoline dealers and usually follows the propaganda line of the major oil companies.

I have had an exchange of correspondence with a constituent of mine, Mr. W. A. Moore, who is in the retail gasoline business at Paris, Tex. I believe that the Members may be interested in the following letter to me from Mr. Moore, as well as in my reply, in which I have tried to dispell the misinformation, and clear up the misunderstandings about H. R. 11:

GASOLINE RETAILER MISLEADS RETAIL DEALERS

PARIS, TEX., *March 9, 1957.*

Mr. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I was out of town when your letter came—hence my delay.

I sure appreciate your interest in my feeling about H. R. 11 and have been thinking about it a lot.

I believe that I can answer your letter of February 25, 1957 best by quoting from H. H. Iffness Brown's article in the February 20 issue of the Gasoline Retailer. But since it is a rather lengthy article may I suggest that you read it in case that you haven't already. I feel just about as Mr. Brown does. I believe that in case of a price war here in Paris, that under H. R. 11, my supplier (a major) might not be able

to help me meet the local jobber's dealer prices. This, Mr. Patman, is my main objection and is the objection of nearly every dealer that I have talked to.

Please explain to me, if my idea is wrong, just how my supplier could help me without cutting the price everywhere he operates.

With kind regards, I remain,

Yours very truly,

W. A. MOORE.

NOW SUPPLIERS MAY MEET COMPETITION UNDER H. R. 11

MARCH 15, 1957.

Mr. A. W. MOORE,
Paris, Tex.

DEAR MR. MOORE: You were good to write me again, giving me more details on what is troubling some of the gasoline dealers about H. R. 11. I am sorry that the impression has gotten around that under H. R. 11 a major oil company could not discriminate in its prices to help a dealer meet competition—that is, that the supplier could not cut prices in one area to meet local competition without also cutting prices in every area where the supplier operates. This is a wrong impression of the bill.

At the present time, many of the major oil companies will cut the price to a dealer just across the street from an off-brand station but without cutting the price to the other dealer just down the street. The result is, of course, that the dealer receiving the price allowance cuts prices to consumers and diverts trade from the off-brand station. But it is equally true that trade is diverted from the major's other dealer just down the street.

H. R. 11 does not prevent a major oil company from assisting a dealer to meet competition. It does however, tend to place on the major oil company this requirement: When it cuts its price to one of its dealers to assist that dealer in meeting competition, then it must assist all of its other dealers who are substantially affected by that same competition. I use the word "tend" because the bill does not require the supplier to give completely fair or equal treatment to its dealers who are in competition among themselves; but it does forbid the supplier to treat its dealers so unfairly and so unequally that the result will be a "substantial lessening of competition."

This does not mean that there would be any tendency to require the supplier to reduce prices in all of the States in which it distributes; it does not mean that it would tend to require the supplier to reduce prices throughout any one State; nor does it mean necessarily that the bill would tend to require the major oil company to reduce prices even throughout a city. It simply means, as I have said, that the supplier must try to give fair treatment to its dealers who are in actual competition among themselves.

With kind personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

WRIGHT PATMAN.

Ramon Magsaysay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Free World Mourns Death of Magsaysay," written by Albon B. Hailey, published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 18, 1957.

The death of Ramon Magsaysay, the President of the Philippines, is a loss to all the world. It is an especially great loss to the United States. Ramon Magsaysay was a friend of the United States, and a friend of all the people of the Western World.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREE WORLD MOURNS DEATH OF MAGSAYSAY

(By Albon B. Hailey)

Free world leaders yesterday mourned the death of Philippine President Ramon Magsaysay, who in less than a dozen years of a public career became a hero to his countrymen and one of the staunchest defenders of free Asia.

President Eisenhower expressed "great personal concern" over the plane crash death of the man who had come to be regarded as a bulwark against communism in the Pacific and Asia.

The United States, the Philippine Republic and the "entire free world have lost a valiant champion of freedom," Mr. Eisenhower said in a formal statement from the cruiser *Canberra*, en route to Bermuda.

"I had been looking forward to meeting with President Magsaysay in Washington to reaffirm the close and affectionate ties all Americans have with his people," Mr. Eisenhower said.

"A staunch advocate of independence for his people, President Magsaysay was also an active and determined fighter against communism. He will be greatly missed.

"Mrs. Eisenhower and I extend to his family not only our personal sympathies but also the heartfelt sympathies of all Americans who have lost a good friend."

The dynamic Philippine president and World War II guerrilla fighter had planned to visit the White House in late May or early June.

On his last brief visit to Washington in June, 1952, Mr. Magsaysay was awarded a Legion of Merit for service in furthering United States-Philippine relations.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, returning from a SEATO meeting in Australia, joined President Eisenhower and other leaders such as India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Chinese Nationalist President Chiang Kai-shek in expressions of grief.

Dulles, saying he was "terribly upset," called Mr. Magsaysay a "great leader who cannot be spared."

Chief Justice Earl Warren said the world has suffered a tremendous loss in the death of a man who was a great lover of freedom, a great leader of his people, a true statesman and an inseparable friend of the United States.

It was during his tenure as Philippine defense minister in 1950–53 that Mr. Magsaysay broke the back of the Communist-led Hukbalahaps rebels and gained fame that swept him into the presidency by a landslide in 1953.

One of the new President's first acts was to dedicate himself to closer ties with the United States and to work for the betterment of the lot of the Filipino peasants.

As befits a champion of the people, he was born into a poor family on August 31, 1907, at Iba, across the bay from Manila in the Luzon Province of Zambales.

He was the second of eight children of Exequeil Magsaysay, who successfully was a a carpenter, blacksmith, schoolteacher, and farmer.

His early life was obscure, but he studied engineering at the University of the Philippines in Manila while working as a cab driver and later continued at Jose Rizal College.

Mr. Magsaysay was married in 1933 to the former Luz Banzon, of Bataan, and to them were born three children, Teresita, Milagros, and Ramon, Jr., all of whom survive.

When the Japanese invaded the Philippines, Mr. Magsaysay, then manager of a transportation company, went to Bataan along with 110 of his trucks requisitioned by the United States Army. There, he fought alongside General Douglas MacArthur and when the doomed bastion fell he fled to the hills.

Circling the Japanese lines, he made his way to his home province of Zambales and joined Lt. Col. Claude A. Thorpe and a handful of other American officers at Mount Pinatubo in the organization of the western Luzon guerrilla forces.

When MacArthur's forces returned to the Philippines in 1945, the guerrillas, with whom Mr. Magsaysay served as a captain and major, helped knock out an enemy fighter plane base that made possible a landing along the Zambales coast.

Impressed by the young Filipino's ability, MacArthur appointed Mr. Magsaysay military governor of Zambales in 1945 in what was the start of a career that was to change the face of the Philippines.

Within a year Mr. Magsaysay had restored order to his home province and had returned to private life.

But bitten by the political bug, he ran for the Philippine Congress in 1946 and was elected. He won reelection and in 1950 he was tapped by then President Elipidio Quirino for the critical post of Defense Minister.

The Philippines had never seen a campaigner like Ramon Magsaysay. A workhorse, he appeared to be everywhere at once.

Big for a Filipino—5 feet 11, and weighing about 175—he was built like a wrestler. But his booming voice and shock of jet black hair were tempered by an ever-ready smile and a warm handshake.

His badge of office he wore lightly, and he was always readily identifiable by the bright, thin sports shirt hanging over his trouser waistband.

The Communist-led Huks were at the height of their power at that time, but the new Philippine defense chief whipped the demoralized army into an effective fighting force which in 2½ years eliminated the Huk menace.

He treated his prisoners well and his strategy when fighting the Communists was to win them over to the Democratic front and then track down their leaders in the jungles of the 7,000 islands and destroy them. For former Communist Huks, he devised an elaborate plan to resettle them on undeveloped land in Mindanao.

After defeating his old chief, Quirino, for the Presidency, Mr. Magsaysay opened Malacanang, the palatial presidential residence, to the people of the islands and launched a vast and benevolent program of reform to save the tottering 7-year-old republic.

America first saw Ramon Magsaysay (pronounced Mog-sigh-sigh) in 1947, when he led a mission to Washington and succeeded in an appeal for additional benefits for Filipino war veterans. An humble man, he brought with him a letter of introduction from his Government.

In 1950 he returned to Washington as a one-man mission to expedite military assistance in the battle against the Huks. He also turned in at Mount Alto Hospital for treatment of an ailment contracted during his jungle fighting days.

Members of the Mount Alto ward to which he was assigned remember him as a jolly, talkative man—a handsome fellow who joked and visited from bed to bed to talk about politics, Army life, and his fierce determination that communism would never make headway in his homeland.

News of Mr. Magsaysay's death was taken as a personal loss by those who knew him.

General MacArthur cabled Mrs. Magsaysay condolences from New York in behalf of himself, Mrs. MacArthur, and his son, Arthur, 19, who was born in the Philippines.

In Washington the Philippine Embassy was flooded with messages of condolence. Ambassador Carlos P. Romulo said the "United States has opened its heart to the Philippine people in an unparalleled expression of grief."

"Ramon Magsaysay was one of the greatest leaders of our time," Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas said yesterday. "I knew him and loved him like a brother * * * I walked with him among the Huks and saw the great rehabilitation work he was doing. He turned back the Red tide that threatened the Islands.

"But it was his tolerant approach that kept the Philippines from a bloody civil war."

For Labor's Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, our current hearings before the Select Committee To Investigate Improper Activities in the Field of Labor or Management has up to now disclosed evidence clearly demonstrating that additional legislation will be required to protect the interests of the working men and women whose dues finance the operations of union officials.

In this connection, Mr. President, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues in Congress an interesting and informative editorial in the March 12 issue of the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Sun-Telegraph, and I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOR LABOR'S GOOD

Senate committee hearing disclosures of racketeering by corrupt labor bosses are important to the whole country but it seems to us they are of the most intimate concern to men and women who are members of unions.

It is their money that has been plundered.

It is their faith that has been perverted.

It is their good name that has been prostituted.

We have been thinking of these things in connection with remarks by Senator MUNDT (Republican, South Dakota) as a member of the Senate committee.

Senator MUNDT made the point that the evidence indicates the need for Federal legislation for the protection of union members.

One need is to provide more control of union affairs by members. Testimony has shown instances where the top brass made all the decisions without any consultation with the rank and file.

Another is to prevent abuse of welfare and pension funds and to insure an accounting of how they are invested or deposited.

A third is to prohibit use of union funds for political purposes. No one knows better than union members that their money has promoted candidates they themselves as individuals voted against in the ballot booths.

None of these proposals possibly could be construed as antilabor.

They are prolabor in that their purpose is to protect the money and the rights of union members.

Visit by Vice President Nixon With Pope Pius XII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, in sharp contrast with the denunciations and critical expressions that are constantly made by foreign spokesmen, especially those identified with the Kremlin, is the commendatory and favorable statement just made concerning the people of the United States and President Eisenhower and Vice President NIXON. I refer to the laudatory comments of Pope Pius XII made yesterday on the occasion of the conference between Vice President NIXON and the Pope.

In high praise of the lofty aims of the American people, the Pope noted, with genuine satisfaction, the spiritual influences which are motivating our people in their strivings for international peace. He referred feelingly to President Eisenhower, of whom he is an ardent admirer, and extended extraordinary courtesies and welcome to our Vice President and Mrs. Nixon.

In view of the unusaul circumstances of this visitation, I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "Pope Praises United States; Talks With NIXON," published in today's New York Times, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POPE PRAISES UNITED STATES; TALKS WITH NIXON—ENDORSES GOODWILL AS A KEY INSTRUMENT FOR SETTLING OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES

ROME, March 17.—Pope Pius XII told Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON today that it was "comforting" that Americans "at this delicate hour" continued to rely on "goodwill as a key instrument for the settlement of international disputes."

But, he continued, "less than ever can the human family today dispense with charters and statements of policy, carefully and laboriously wrought and worded, and rounded out with solemn sanctions."

His brief prepared speech in English followed a 20-minute private audience at the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican during which he and Mr. NIXON discussed problems of Africa, Asia, and the "cold war."

TELLS OF POPE'S REMARKS

Mr. NIXON reported the Pope had said the trend toward self-government and economic development in Africa would create a substantial new force in the world balance between freedom and communism in the next quarter century. For this reason, he said, the Pope called the current Vice Presidential tour of African countries most important.

The Pope inquired about President Eisenhower's health and was glad to have Mr. NIXON's assurance that it was good. Mr. NIXON said the Pope had been following closely reports of the President's cold and had commented that fortunately a cold was never fatal.

Mrs. Nixon joined her husband in the audience a few minutes before the Pope received the rest of the Vice Presidential party and accompanying news correspondents in the library. She wore a black veil over her blond hair and a black silk ankle-length dress with long sleeves. Mr. NIXON wore a cutaway coat and striped trousers. Neither is a Roman Catholic, Mr. NIXON being a Quaker and Mrs. Nixon a Methodist.

The Pontiff presented to Mr. NIXON a new papal gold medal in an ivory case. The Vice President delivered a letter of greeting to the Pope from President Eisenhower.

Wearing a white robe and skull cap and golden chain, the smiling Pontiff spoke in a firm, steady voice. After the audience he left the library to be photographed in the antechamber by an official Vatican photographer with the Nixons and United States correspondents. United States photographers were not permitted to take pictures. The Pope told the newspaper men they had "great power."

In a speech at the North American Pontifical College, which trains American novices for the priesthood, Mr. NIXON said: "In the struggle between freedom and slavery there is no doubt but that the spiritual strength we develop in the free world may be more important than physical and economic strengths."

TEXT OF POPE'S SPEECH

ROME, March 17.—Following is the text of the speech read today by the Pope to Vice President NIXON and members of his party during their audiences:

"In your honorable person, Mr. Vice President, and in the gracious company of Mrs. Nixon and your distinguished mission party gathered here this morning for a very welcome visit, we are happy once again to see represented so worthily the warmth and constancy of your beloved country's commitment to the cause of peaceful human relations within the family of nations.

"At this delicate hour, which we fervently hope and pray may mark the ending of a too long-continued crisis in the fortunes of East and West, it is comforting to note the reliance placed by your illustrious President and generous people, as well as by those in every corner of the globe who share your hopes and fears, on the simple, informal, unfeigned expression of goodwill, as a key instrument for the settlement of international disputes.

DISCUSSES NEED FOR TREATIES

"That does not mean to disparage the need and function of treaties and collective agreements. Less than ever can the human family today dispense with charters and statements of policy, carefully and laboriously wrought and worded, and rounded out with solemn sanctions.

"Authentic peace is always the work of justice; and justice can be little more than hollow mockery without reverence for the laws of God. But over and above the legal device or diplomatic approach—rather within them as the spirit animates the letter—it is the beating of human hearts in brotherly unison that will avail to make covenants a living and liberating force for peace in the world community. Speaking of human relations, St. Paul told the Romans, 'It is the love of man for his fellow man that fulfills the law' (Romans xxiii: 8).

"And how indeed may one expect the last somber vestiges of mistrust to disappear, unless men of goodwill everywhere make it manifest, at home first and then abroad, that their professed decent respect for the conscience and dignity of mankind is firmly

grounded on the rock of fraternal solidarity under God, and not on the shifting sands of economic or political expediency?

"The open heart, we are sure you will agree, even more than the open hand, remains the surest test of sincerity, and so of moral rectitude, for nations as for neighbors.

"Your Presidential mission of goodwill completed, then, Mr. Vice President, God grant that you may bring home with you to America good news in abundance from the continents you have visited, the fresh and heartening evidence, that is, of the world's mounting esteem for those unchanging spiritual values, enshrined forever in the gospel of the Prince of Peace, on which all our human institutions, frail as the best of them must be, will rest secure.

"With deep affection we pray that heaven's blessings may be vouchsafed to all your fellow citizens and their beloved President. May God grant him health and comfort in the arduous duties of his high office and his unremitting labors in the cause of world peace."

Invisible Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, Mr. George Meany, the president of the CIO–AFL, expressed a fear last week that certain businessmen would use the disclosures of the current investigating committee to promote laws that would cripple unions. I am sure that the Congress of the United States will not allow that to happen. What the Congress should do, however, is to examine carefully not only what has been and will be disclosed in the fields that are being investigated, but it should look further and discover what the rank and file members of these organizations feel and what the general public feels about these matters. In last week's issue of U. S. News & World Report David Lawrence has done just this, and has pointed out, in my opinion, some matters that already are worthy of congressional consideration. Probably the most important of these lies in the field of compulsory unionism. I ask that his editorial be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT

(By David Lawrence)

Revelations of the insidious influence and far-reaching power of some of the leaders of a national labor union have recently shocked the country.

A Senate committee, headed by the able and conscientious Democratic Senator from Arkansas, JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, which is investigating labor rackets, has thus far only scratched the surface. Senators on the committee are telling the press there are more exposures to come.

It will not be an adequate answer to say that most of the union leaders in America have nothing to do with rackets and are dedicated to the cause of labor and nothing else.

What the Senate committee has brought out into the open is the existence of an invisible system of government which elects its own mayors and its own district attorneys, and compels the choice of its own police chiefs, to say nothing of the use of large sums of workers' dues and forced contributions to elect governors and even Members of Congress to do the bidding of these self-styled leaders. It is this misuse of financial and economic power which now rightly concerns the American people.

Time was when corporations perpetrated many an abuse against their stockholders and against the innocent public. Congress stepped in and wrote laws, not to restrain the legitimate activities of corporations, but to make sure there was no opportunity for illegitimate power to be exercised.

Labor unions have grown in membership in large part because they have obtained from employers by duress the "union shop," which is, of course, a form of "closed shop." By whatever term it is described, the basic requirement is that a man must join a labor union if he wishes to keep his job, for the employer is by contract required to dismiss anyone who refuses to join a union after 30 or 60 days of employment.

What, in the name of "liberalism," is this but a form of compulsion, a denial of the privileges and immunities of a citizen? How can so-called liberals consistently argue for civil-rights legislation, while at the same time they never protest against compulsory unionization?

At the heart of the labor-union structure today is a rule of coercion. It takes away job opportunities from those who refuse to accept the discipline of a union.

In many occupations there is a waiting list of workers. The applicants are told they must join a union, but even when they are ready to join it is the union which, in effect, determines the priority in hiring. Isn't this a system of private government, with control over the lives and destinies of millions of our citizens, in a supposedly free America? Is it any wonder that some of the national unions with many millions of dollars in their treasuries—accumulated largely as a result of this power to monopolize job opportunities—find it possible to use such funds for improper purposes?

It is apparent from the testimony recently taken by the Senate committee that union funds and power are used locally for improper purposes—to control elections in cities and States where enforcement officers turn their eyes away from vice-ridden areas because union officials have a vested interest there. This raises the question whether there is on the statute books adequate legislation to safeguard the funds of the workers. It is the basic legislative reason behind the current investigation.

Our remedy, of course, is to require full disclosure. The Securities and Exchange Commission was created by Congress to receive and examine the financial reports of corporations, and a great deal of data is filed during the year about the relations of the corporations to their stockholders and long-term creditors. Is it not desirable to require labor unions to submit to the same kind of minute supervision so that the money they collect from workingmen will not be wrongfully used?

We now have strict antitrust laws that prohibit corporations from engaging in monopolistic practices. Political influence by the labor unions thus far has prevented the antitrust laws from being extended by Congress to cover labor-union practices.

National labor unions nowadays fix prices in a whole industry by fixing uniform labor costs throughout that industry. By ordering a strike or a boycott they can destroy a businessman who refuses to do the bidding of a labor union and they can favor a competitor who is willing to act in collusion with the union and pay tribute to it.

Should not the 30 States, moreover, which do not yet have provisions in their constitutions or State laws guaranteeing the citizen the right to work—the right to join or refrain from joining a union—be encouraged to adopt such measures?

The civil rights of citizens of every race, creed, and color are being abused in the numerous labor-union rackets of today.

It is time to bring about the abolition of invisible government in America.

Projected Inland Waterway Connecting Lakes Huron and Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, Merton M. Carter, of radio station WMBN, in Petoskey, Mich., has written a most interesting and excellent article titled "The Isthmus of Mich-i-gami," which appeared in the March issue of Inside Michigan magazine.

Mr. Carter's article pertains to a project of vital importance to northern Michigan—the once famous inland route which extends from Cheboygan to Conway, and which we hope to have extended into a through waterway connecting Lakes Huron and Michigan.

I long have been actively interested in the redevelopment of the inland route, reconstruction of which is now fully underway. I earnestly hope, as do so many of the good people of my State, that our dream of a through route will become a reality in the not too distant future. The people of Michigan are assured of my continued and full cooperation toward this end.

Mr. President, I ask consent to have Mr. Carter's article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ISTHMUS OF MICH-I-GAMI

(By Merton M. Carter)

Like the Isthmus of Panama, Michigan has its own barrier to a Northeast passage—a narrow strip of land which if opened would connect the fresh waters of Lakes Michigan and Huron and take the skipper by connecting lakes, streams, and channels through the pastoral waters of the famous inland route all the way from Petoskey to Cheboygan, a distance of nearly 40 miles by water.

A canal cutting through the sand dunes at the head of Little Traverse Bay would sever the tip of the lower peninsula, making two entire counties another island among the inland seas of the upper Great Lakes. More important, it would add another highway to Michigan's beautiful waterways and give a safe port of refuge from dangerous storms to pleasure craft sailing to and from Detroit and Chicago. Yacht owners, resort operators, and cottage owners, as well as civic leaders of northern Michigan, are looking for a way to make this dream of 50 years or more come true.

The inland route has always fascinated the visitor to northern Michigan. In the days before modern civilization, our red-skinned brothers from southern Michigan,

Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana summered in northern Michigan, too. At one time as many as 6,000 Indians were camped at Mackinaw City during the summer. Their light canoes were easy to portage from Lake Michigan to Mud Lake, Round Lake, and down the existing stream to Crooked Lake and thence to Lake Huron by the inland route.

Hundreds of Indians made this trip every summer for the lakes and streams abounded in fish and their banks with game. It also gave them protection from the choppy waters in upper Lake Michigan. Like the Indians of Panama, Michigan Indians took the shortest route to where they were going.

But then came civilization. The laying of the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad from Grand Rapids to Mackinaw City blocked off the natural water trip. Then the coming of the gasoline age laid highways which put 2 more barriers in the route's usefulness and for more than 50 years it was just a dream left over from days of old.

In the old days, steamboats for hire took visitors from many lands through the inland route of Michigan which started at the village of Conway, went through Crooked Lake into Crooked River, across Burt Lake, down Indian River into Mullet and up Mullet Lake into Cheboygan River and through the lock out into Lake Huron—a distance of 35 miles. In 1900 more than 32 steamboats ran excursions over these waters. It attracted visitors from all over the country who enjoyed a peaceful trip through wonderful surroundings.

The automobile and good roads changed all this, and because of lack of interest, deadheads clogged the water—hulks of old steamboats made navigation dangerous if not impossible for even the smallest of ships.

In recent years there has been a revival of interest. Mr. C. B. Palmer of the New York Times said in a recent article "a congressional committee was told recently that in the United States today the order of popularity of personal participation sports is first: card playing; second: fishing; and third: boating."

Because of this interest in boating the inland route is now being cleared of deadheads and within a year it will be possible again for a boat 65 feet or under to enter the inland route at Cheboygan and travel 35 miles through some of the most beautiful waterways of Michigan if not of the world.

In 1945 the Inland Water Route Association, Inc. was formed with more than 800 members. They elected C. T. Lathers of Burt Lake as their president and it was through the efforts of this association that a Federal grant of $241,000 was approved by the Congress in June 1955. Contributions from local interests have brought the total improvement fund up to $326,000. The State Waterways Commission appropriated $55,000; Emmet County Board of Supervisors, $6,000; the Cheboygan County Board of Supervisors, $6,000, and contributions by businessmen, resort owners and individuals amount to $18,000. Contracts have been approved and work was started in the fall of 1956 to improve the inland water route.

The specifications call for a channel 30 feet wide and 5 feet deep all the way from Cheboygan to Conway, Mich.—a distance of 35 miles. When this work is completed it will be possible for a boat up to 65 feet in length to enter the Cheboygan River from the Straits of Mackinaw on the Lake Huron side and travel by interconnecting streams and lakes to a point just 3 miles from Lake Michigan.

The Inland Water Route Association, Inc., now is attempting to get a new project approved which would cut a channel through to Lake Michigan.

On February 15, 1956, Senator CHARLES E. POTTER introduced a resolution to the United States Senate Committee on Public Works asking the Army engineers to make a preliminary examination of the feasibility of such a project. This resolution was adopted by the committee on February 20, 1956. However, the lack of sufficient funds at the present time has shelved the survey for the time being.

Proponents of the inland canal feel that the economic future of the resort business in Emmet and Cheboygan Counties requires its completion. They point out that yacht owners may not take full advantage of the improvements on the inland water route which are now being made. If they enter the route at Cheboygan and take the route to Conway they will have to turn around and go back all the way—a round trip distance of 70 miles or 8 hours sailing time. If the canal were built, they could proceed into Lake Michigan thus cutting down the distance from Detroit to Chicago and giving them complete protection from the narrow, rocky passages in upper Lake Michigan.

At the present time many yacht owners claim that facilities for the harboring and servicing of small boats are far superior on the Canadian side of Lake Huron and many take summer cruises to the Georgian Bay area.

Russell McKee of the educational division of the Michigan Conservation Department wrote in Land—Our Basic Resource on the value of recreational facilities, "our only real problem seems to be in the way we use this natural bounty. In the first place, it doesn't look like we've got much because we all want to use the same areas for the same old pastimes at the same time. In the second place, we haven't taken enough time or planned enough or spent enough money for these things. Otherwise the potential means nothing, and we've got to spend the time and energy necessary to do the job."

During the 15 months preceding August 7, 1956, the Michigan Waterways Commission had spent $450,000 on waterways and the Federal Government had spent $4 million in the State within the same period. They have improved many ports of refuge along the entire coast of Michigan but still fall short of offering complete safety to the many who sail these waters in pleasure craft.

One of the roughest passages in the entire Great Lakes area for small craft is from the ports of Charlevoix or Harbor Springs through upper Lake Michigan, past Waugoshance point into the Straits of Mackinaw. Even in fair weather the trip is a dangerous one for high winds come up at a moment's notice and it take an experienced navigator to keep his boat off the stone-infested shoals near Gray's Reef.

The Waterways Commission is improving the Port of St. James on Beaver Island to afford better refuge to pleasure craft, but the construction of the inland canal would give perfect protection all the way from Charlevoix on Lake Michigan to Cheboygan on Lake Huron.

Stoddard White wrote in the Pictorial Magazine of the Detroit News on May 20, 1956: "Cruising and sightseeing by water have become increasingly popular since World War II. One of the most delightful areas for this is the inland route, which stretches from Cheboygan to Petoskey—almost from Lake Huron to Lake Michigan across the top of the Lower Peninsula. This 36-mile waterway through big lakes and winding rivers calls to more than 400 'outside' boats a season, not counting all of those which are permanently housed at cottages and homes along the scenic waterway. The 'outsiders' are admitted to the route by a privately owned lock near Cheboygan."

The lock at Cheboygan is 75 feet by 18 feet. This would limit the size of the proposed lock on the inland canal as boats entering on the Lake Michigan side would have to go through the Cheboygan lock to get to Lake Huron. There is a difference of 21 feet between the mean water levels of Lake Michigan and Round Lake and a 4.7 feet drop from Conway to the Cheboygan lock.

Since there is a drop of 21 feet in less than a mile most engineers who have discussed the project feel that it would be best to pump the water from Lake Michigan into the lock. In this way they would always be adding water to, rather than draining from; the headwaters of the inland route. Round Lake is a very small lake in Emmet County and heavy traffic through the proposed canal might endanger water levels. A charge for locking would help defray the cost of operation.

The total cost of such a project only can be estimated at this writing. Until the Army survey is completed no specifications will be available. There would be a mile of heavy digging through sand from Lake Michigan to Round Lake with construction of a small lock in this section. A channel 5 feet deep across Round Lake and a canal for about a mile through an existing swamp over a stream bed would complete the project.

The few objectors to the canal proposal point out that there are some man-made obstables to cross which would add considerably to the cost. Proponents look further into the future than this and have these explanations. U. S. 31 which passes through Conway will be rerouted within a year or two. The highway department should cross the swamp with a bridge having the same clearance as all other bridges on the inland route. The Pennsylvania Railroad would have to raise its grade near Conway to give the same clearance. A road going to Harbor Springs would have to be bridged over the canal and a railroad spur between Petoskey and Harbor Springs also would have to be bridged if it were still in use at the time of construction. It does not carry any freight to mention, at the present, and has not offered passenger service for years. Some feel that it may be abandoned.

Since the Inland Water Route Association, Inc., has advocated the canal, it has met with instant approval of all legislators connected directly with the project. Governmental bodies, chambers of commerce, and yacht clubs have passed resolutions urging its completion at the earliest possible date.

Senator CHARLES E. POTTER has written: "As you well know, I, too, am enthusiastic about the prospects of such an undertaking."

Senator PAT MCNAMARA wrote: "I know that this project is important to you and your region. I want to assure you that I will keep working to get this project completed just as soon as possible."

Congressman VICTOR A. KNOX, Representative from the 11th Congressional District, says, in part, "I assure you that I look upon this project favorably and will be looking forward to the study and recommendations of the Michigan Waterways Commission in the near future."

State Senator Frank Andrews, of the 29th State senatorial district, says, "It is a very fine and constructive project. I assure you that I am ready to do anything which will help in the attainment of such a waterway."

Resolutions urging the completion of this proposed canal have been passed by the Cheboygan County Chamber of Commerce, the Petoskey Chamber of Commerce, the Charlevoix Chamber of Commerce, the Cheboygan County Board of Supervisors, the Emmet County Board of Supervisors, and the Petoskey Outboard Cruising Club. Many other interested organizations have indicated that they will prepare such resolutions at their next regular meeting.

The Petoskey News-Review, the Cheboygan Daily Tribune, the Otsego-Herald Times of Gaylord, the Emmet County Graphic of Harbor Springs, the Skipper magazine of Walloon Lake, and the Tipper magazine of Alanson all have editorially endorsed such a project.

Exponents of the Inland Canal are urging all parties interested to write to their State legislators, their governor, and their Congressmen to endorse this proposal. They point out that this is not a project of local interests. Anyone owning a boat anywhere on the Great Lakes capable of traveling considerable distances should be interested in this project. Yacht clubs and yacht owners in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania, as well as Michigan, should pass resolutions and forward them to their Congressmen for they, too, would be able to take advantage of this new 3-mile strip of marine highway which would open up a 35-mile dead-end channel.

The boating industry is growing by leaps and bounds. It is the obligation of those in government to see that our recreational resources are developed in step with our new pattern of life. With the social emphasis on more paid vacations, more time for recreation, with fishing and boating leading the parade of vocational desires, it is of the greatest importance that we develop these facilities in keeping with the demands of the future.

Lt. (jg.) A. P. Brown, Jr., information officer of the North Coast Guard District, with headquarters at Cleveland, wrote that as of June 30, 1956, there were 58,067 motorboats registered in the Great Lakes District. Canadian boats of less than 15 tons do not have to register, but with so much coastal mileage on the Great Lakes, the number of Canadian pleasure craft should be considerable. Many of these boats would be attracted to this new waterway. The investment in such a number of boats is almost beyond comprehension, and what they would spend in the territory during their stay, likewise would amount to hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The economy of the north country is largely dependent upon the resort business and any new development that can be accomplished to improve the recreational facilities of the State of Michigan should be of concern to local, State, and Federal interests.

Many local agencies, businessmen, and property owners have shown a desire to contribute to a subscription drive, but until the Army makes a survey and determines what percentage of cost local interests should contribute, nothing can be done in this regard.

The resulting benefits to the owners of pleasure craft, the men who service the boating industry throughout the north, and to those who own property on the inland route would more than repay the costs in increased taxable investments and activity within a comparatively short time.

As Senator CHARLES E. POTTER, of Michigan, wrote: "It is only through the ardent zeal and support of the people back home that we will be able to realize this dream."

Peter Graves, Chippewa Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two articles on the death of Peter Graves, an outstanding chief of the Chippewa Indians.

One of the articles is entitled "Death Comes for Peter Graves—The Grand Old Man of Red Lake May Have Been 'The Greatest Indian of Our Time.'" This article was published in the Minneapolis Star of March 16.

Mr. President, let me say that on several occasions I visited in the home of this outstanding Indian leader. Peter Graves was a grand man and a distinguished Indian. It is with deep regret that I have learned of his passing.

I hold in my hand articles published in the Minneapolis Star and the St. Paul Pioneer Press, both of March 16. They give some of the details of Peter Graves' life. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Star of March 16, 1957]

DEATH COMES FOR PETER GRAVES—THE GRAND OLD MAN OF RED LAKE MAY HAVE BEEN THE GREATEST INDIAN OF OUR TIME

(By Jay Edgerton)

Peter Graves, the 84-year-old Indian chief and elder statesman of Red Lake Indian reservation who died this week, was a man about whom there were many differences of opinion.

Some people thought he was "the greatest Indian of our time." Others said, "Pete Graves is ward politics applied to an Indian reservation."

Mr. Graves himself said many people considered him a dictator, "a backwoods Hitler."

But whether they were for Pete Graves or against him, most people who knew the facts admitted that it was Graves who held the Red Lake reservation together and made it work.

As judge of Indian court, a member of the general council of the Red Lake Chippewa tribe, and secretary of the Red Lake Fisheries Association, Graves was a powerful figure in the north country.

As he grew older, Mr. Graves mellowed. He developed a philosophy which he delighted to expound to visitors and friends. It went something like this:

God is everywhere, in all things and in all places.

But men are ignorant, like children. We have a long way to go to learn the secrets of creation.

The more good that you do in life, the more you build yourself.

The evil that you do you have to pay for. Evil brings its own rewards.

Material wealth won't last. The man who is too intent on material things is like a dog burying bones.

Moderation in all things.

Mr. Graves had known almost every leading Minnesotan for more than 2 generations. He was an intimate friend of the great Senator Knute Nelson. Once, in a reminiscent mood, Mr. Graves remarked, "I have often wondered why Senator Nelson liked me—because I was just as stubborn as he was."

Peter Graves was only part Indian, even though he had come to personify the Indian through his career as leader of the Red Lake Tribe. His father was Joe Omen, a part Scotch refugee from the Riel rebellion in Canada. His mother was a daughter of Munzaun (Wild Rice Chaff), a famous man among the Chippewas.

Mr. Graves received a good education at schools in Peoria, Ill., and in Philadelphia. He entered the Government Indian Service in 1889 and served in it until he went back to Red Lake to organize the Red Lake tribal council in 1918. From 1936 to 1943 he was judge of the Indian court at Red Lake.

For years Mr. Graves was the motivating force behind a program to keep Red Lake for the Indians. Many members of the tribe wanted to cut up their lands and sell resort sites and cabin sites on the lake. To this the old leader turned a flinty face.

"I want this paradise kept for my children and my grandchildren," he would say.

A realist and a shrewd one, Peter Graves had few illusions about his own people. He thought it would be a long time before Indian problems are solved.

"The only salvation for the Indian," he once remarked, "is education. It will take us at least 25 years."

Mr. Graves was firmly opposed to liquor and was an outspoken enemy to those who trafficked in liquor in Indian country.

"Outlaws and anarchists, I call them," he would shout. "All our troubles come from liquor."

For years people in northern Minnesota have asked, "What will happen to Red Lake when Peter Graves is gone?" Now, they will find out.

[From the St. Paul Pioneer Press of March 16, 1957]

CHIEF GRAVES, CHIPPEWA LEADER, DIES

RED LAKE, MINN.—Peter Graves, Indian chief and elder in Red Lake Reservation affairs, died at him home Thursday night. He would have been 85 on May 20.

A lifetime of work among his people led Graves to judge of Indian Court, various positions with the United States Indian Service, and with the Red Lake Tribe.

At the time of his death he was on the general council of the Red Lake Chippewa Tribe and served as secretary of the Red Lake Fisheries Association at Redby.

He attended Lincoln Institute at Philadelphia, graduating in 1889. He was in the Government Indian Service following graduation until 1917. He served as judge in Indian court from 1936 to 1943 and was an organizer of the general council of the Chippewas at Red Lake.

In 1940 he was presented an achievement medal by the Indian Council in Chicago for his welfare work among Indians, and won other similar awards.

As a young man he played baseball in the old Middle States League as a member of the Hazleton, Pa., team.

Surviving are his wife, 2 sons, Joseph of Red Lake, and Clyde, of Redby, and 8 daughters, Mrs. Isabel G. Strong, Mrs. Charles Beaulieu, Rose Graves, and Mrs. Alvin Oliver, all of Red Lake; Mrs. Richard Auginash and Mrs. Carl Carlson of Redby; Mrs. Mary G. Petite, Duluth, and Mrs. Francis DuHaine, of Grand Marais.

Graves, in addition to his children, left 51 grandchildren and 76 great-grandchildren.

Funeral services will be held at 2 p. m. today in St. John's Episcopal Church here.

Control of Billboards Along Federal-Aid Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Federal Squeeze," published in the Arizona Republic of March 15, 1957. The editorial deals with

the subject of control of billboards along Federal-aid highways.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FEDERAL SQUEEZE

Red-hot advocates of the theory that all rainbows spring from a pot of gold in Washington have perfected a standard horselaugh they turn on whenever someone suggests that Federal aid means Federal control, whether of schools, highways, or the psychiatric clinics to which Government spending may eventually drive us all. They will have a harder time than usual laughing off the battle of the billboards now raging in the Capital.

The battle swirls around a series of bills in Congress which would grant Federal aid to highways in States forbidding billboards along the highways, but deny it to those which refuse to outlaw the big signs. A news report says Congressmen are getting a lot of reaction from persons who, on one side, maintain that billboards deface nature, and on the other side argue that a lot of sign painters' jobs are at stake. If there is any thought in Washington that the whole thing is simply none of the Federal Government's business, everybody there is keeping quiet about it.

Yet that is precisely the situation. It isn't any of the Federal Government's business. If the States don't want billboards along their highways, the State legislatures are perfectly capable of doing away with them. If they want to impose restrictions on number, size, and placement of billboards, that, too, is their prerogative. The Federal bureaucrats have no more right to tell a State what to do about billboards than they have to tell an individual what color to paint his house number.

The billboard battle is as perfect an example as has come up yet of the truth that Federal control follows Federal aid. The Federal highway program was conceived to help States solve their long-distance traffic problems. At least, that was the plea on which it was set forward. It was said that, of course, there would have to be minimum standards of construction, but otherwise the grants-in-aid would not infringe one bit on States rights. Yet now, before the program is even under way, Congress is busily engaged with proposals for such extracurricular Federal controls as could not even have been thought of without the entering wedge of Federal aid.

Who controls the placement of billboards might seem an unimportant issue, but who controls the Nation's schools is far from unimportant—and the principle applied to billboards is no whit different from the same principle applied to schools. If a small group in Washington can use Federal aid to dictate to the States in one matter, they can use it also to regiment the schools according to whatever ideas they may have at the moment.

The closer the management of the people's affairs stays to the people themselves, the longer will America remain free of the totalitarian statism which has taken over so much of the rest of the world. Whether the decision to be made is what to do with billboards or how to educate our children, that decision should be made where the Constitution place it—in the States. Federal aid is robbery, not only of the tax dollars which come from local communities, but more importantly of the very rights of those communities. Congress would be wiser to cut the Federal budget, return taxing power to the States, and forget the whole idea that Washington can do the job better than the people can.

President Ducks Budget Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAT McNAMARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, last week I submitted in the Senate a resolution requesting the President to submit specific recommendations as to how and where his proposed budget could be cut, or take a position supporting his request.

The purpose of this resolution was to require the President to live up to the responsibilities vested in him before the Congress assumed the responsibilities vested in it.

On Friday, the New York Times carried an editorial which very clearly pointed up the extent to which the President is responsible for the budget.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALPHONSE AND GASTON

The public uproar over the size of the $72-billion budget—largest peacetime spending program in the Nation's history—has led to a remarkable example of buck-passing between President Eisenhower and the United States Congress. The Executive and the legislature are each bowing to the other in the old Alphonse and Gaston role: "After you, my dear Alphonse"; "No, after you, my dear Gaston." Nobody wants to go through the door first, though both sides recognize the pressing need for economy in a period of creeping inflation.

Last January the President delivered his budget message to Congress, and ever since then powerful spokesmen for his administration—notably the Secretary of the Treasury—have been clearly indicating that they would like to see that budget cut. The President himself, as recently as this week, has invited Congress to come up with sensible suggestions for budget-pruning, though he also suggested that he himself didn't see where it could be done. Congress, or at least the Democratic majority of the House, has in turn specifically asked the President to "indicate the places and amounts in his budget where he thinks substantial reductions may best be made."

And so in this struggle to pass along responsibility to someone else, the public will be left holding the bag—full of I O U's. Now, it is perfectly true that the bulk of projected expenditures for the coming fiscal year are fixed and cannot be seriously affected by what the President and Congress do in the next few months. Of the $72 billion that the President says will be spent, over $24 billion has already been appropriated and another $17.6 billion is already obligated in such items as interest on the national debt, price supports, veterans' benefits and the like. Whatever cuts might come would have to be taken out of the remaining $30 billion; and it is here that the President and Congress could, if they would, exercise their shears.

The responsibility is a joint one, but it is the President who must set the pace and determine the general direction of projected expenditures—whether up or down. He is of course technically right in pointing out that "there can't be a cent spent in this Government except for programs approved by Congress and out of money specifically appropriated by them." But he is wrong in virtually abnegating the responsibility for leading the way toward cuts that might be made. His budget is an executive budget; it is designed, as it must be, by the Executive; the Executive proposes the expenditures; and if the Executive wants to make reductions that only can be achieved by new legislation, there is nothing to prevent the Executive from saying so. The President did suggest in his press conference remarks on the budget this week that the postal deficit be eliminated; but when it came to discussing such items as defense, farmers or veterans, all he offered was the not very helpful advice that "Congress will have to say which one they don't want to carry out if they are going to make big savings." Huge Federal public works projects that might better fit a time of depression than of prosperity weren't mentioned at all.

A report of a Hoover Commission task force on budget and accounting 2 years ago observed that "An essential part of his (the President's) function is to exercise national leadership and to counterbalance the sectional and special interests which might otherwise exert undue influence on congressional decisions." Granted that Congress has it in its power to cut specific appropriations or to change basic spending legislation, the President must know that as Chief Executive Officer of the United States he too has a fundamental responsibility in respect to the budget. He cannot have it both ways; he either thinks this budget is the best that can be produced or he does not think so; and if he doesn't, it is his obligation to change it himself or to lead, prod, and cajole Congress into adopting legislation that would permit him to make it better.

4–H Makes the Best Better

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "4–H Makes the Best Better," from the March 7, 1957, issue of the Ocilla (Ga.) Star.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

4–H MAKES THE BEST BETTER

The old gray mare is not the only thing about farming in Georgia that "ain't what she used to be."

Just about everything about it has changed, and most of the oldtimers who lived on the farms of yesterday tell us that they have been changes for the better.

It is progress due to research, and to better methods of reaching the farmer and his family with up-to-date information then helping them put it into practice on the farm and in the home.

Much of the progress, we feel, is due to the 4–H Club.

And this week, during National 4–H Club Week, is a good time to give credit where credit is due.

The 4-H Club offers our rural youth projects as varied as the chores around the farm and the work in the farm home. Business organizations and individuals who care about the future of their State and, more than that, the welfare of their young folks, offer thousands of dollars in scholarships, trips, and other valuable awards as incentives to these boys and girls to continue their way of life.

And so, when the pessimists point to the danger of growing population and diminishing natural resources, when they cry about juvenile delinquency and increasing crime, we want to remind them of the 4-H'ers—141,825 strong in Georgia—standing guard over a precious part of Georgia's heritage—its rural life.

Our hats are off, too, to the county and home demonstration agents and other Agricultural Extension Service workers, and to volunteer local 4-H leaders. We feel that they, in truth, are helping bring a better Georgia.

Tribute to Prof. Selig Perlman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a great statement made by Prof. William Haber, of the University of Michigan, in honor of one of America's greatest living scholars, Prof. Selig Perlman, of the University of Wisconsin. He is probably one of the greatest living economic theorists in the field of labor economics.

I wish to commend Professor Haber for the very fine statement he made about Professor Perlman. Perhaps I am a little biased, because Professor Perlman was my major professor in the graduate work I pursued at the University of Wisconsin. He is a man to whom I owe a great deal, and I am proud to join Professor Haber in his tribute.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROF. SELIG PERLMAN—AN APPRECIATION

(By William Haber)

I am grateful to the Wisconsin Society for Jewish Learning for giving me the opportunity to participate with its members and friends in honoring Prof. Selig Perlman.[1] For me it is a special pleasure. Selig Perlman was my teacher and counselor during my student years at the University of Wisconsin in the early 1920's. I have continued to learn from him and to be counseled by him during the intervening 3½ decades.

His courses in labor history, in the theory of the labor movement, and on capitalism and socialism, which I took in 1922 and 1923, were then and have remained since exciting and stimulating experiences.

To me and the thousands of other students, Selig Perlman opened new vistas. He drew on his deep knowledge of philosophy, history, sociology, and economics. His students quickly developed a profound respect for his scholarship and his wisdom. They recognized his unique ability to illuminate current issues with dramatic insights flowing from his wide knowledge of American, Italian, Russian, and Jewish history.

Professor Perlman's lecture method was a study in itself. He invariably began with one or two ideas and around these he built a unified structure, comparable to a musical composition—the central theme supported by the related motifs. It is no wonder that a course with him was an intellectual delight. It was so for me over 30 years ago and is now for the present generation of Wisconsin students. It is no wonder that Selig Perlman's courses have long been a "must" for the sophisticated student on the Wisconsin campus.

As a teacher, Selig Perlman had a great influence in shaping the careers and the philosophical frame of reference for his students. These students—now themselves teachers, labor leaders, research workers, writers, Government officials, and industrial managers—acknowledge in their work the profound influence of this quiet and modest man whose ideas and graphic skill in expressing them carried overwhelming conviction. I recall, in my own case, how Selig Perlman guided me to study the building trades, then an unexciting segment of the American labor movement. As a young graduate student, I was naturally attracted to the more dramatic developments of left-wing unionism, noisy with loud promises of a better world. Selig Perlman taught me how ephemeral and transient was the character of this new reform group. And how right he was.

Professor Perlman is more than a great and stimulating teacher. He is a truly profound scholar. What he has written has attracted a wide audience in this country and abroad. His writings and their implications are well known the world over, even in Russia. His books have been translated into many languages.

Nearly 30 years ago, in 1928, Selig Perlman challenged the then widely accepted interpretation of the labor movement and specifically that of trade unionism. He inquired into a union's basic motivations, what makes it tick, what is its controlling drive and its fundamental objectives. His book, A Theory of the Labor Movement, is as vital today as it was when first published. To be sure, it is still controversial. Nevertheless, it is a great tribute indeed to him that his theory has stood the test of time. And what a time—three decades in which we have had depression and prosperity, the CIO and industrial unionism, a world war, Franklin Roosevelt, Hitler, and Russia—a series of political, social, and economic upheavals which certainly have radically changed the character of our country and the position of organized labor. The trade-union movement has advanced from a small insecure group of less than 3 million to its present unprecedented size of nearly 17 million., and to a position of power and influence in our economy.

In spite of these spectacular changes in our economy and in the role of our Government, no one has, in my judgment, effectively disputed the solid quality of Selig Perlman's interpretation of the labor movement and trade unionism. Perhaps the reason is that he did not invent or contrive his theory; he found it in the records and diaries, the meetings and proceedings, in the deeds and thoughts of American wage earners. He found, perhaps to his surprise, that workers did not conduct themselves as Karl Marx predicted they would. His Theory of the Labor Movement is the findings of an archaeologist in the sociological and economics diggings among labor records—not the invention by means of an intellectual's crystal ball. That is why his theory is still around and why it is as valid and pertinent for our day as it was 30 years ago. It probably explains why it was never necessary to bring it up to date. The details have changed; the basic interpretation has remained valid.

His theory represents a rich contribution in social philosophy and a really great achievement in scholarship. It is an acute search into the very soul of the labor movement. It is the most illuminating and enduring insight into the factors which shape and determine the character of the labor movement. He revealed the significant relationship between labor and the American community and provided a meaningful explanation of the conduct and attitude of labor, of its role in our society.

In observing the labor movement in action, he saw, not a groping for a radically different society, but rather day to day efforts to improve those special institutions which would make the job more secure, the standard of living higher, and opportunities for advancement more equally distributed. He saw in the union a conscious effort to solve economic problems. He saw in its activities a struggle to develop democratic institutions, and to introduce and strengthen constitutional law and due process in industry. In his view, the job was central to a wage earner's thinking and groping. Thus, he coined the idea of the "trade union mentality" and "job control". He emphasized particularly the essential conservatism of the American environment and the importance of a union so "behaving" as not to challenge the "middle class mentality" characterizing the American community. Thus he wrote about the place of the intellectual, the union in politics, the role of government, industrial democracy, and "working rules". In essence his analysis represents an exceptionally rich contribution to the philosophy of adjustment and the accommodation to social compromise. He foresaw early that the trade union organization represents a conservative, anti-radical and anti-authoritarian force; that the labor movement in Germany, England and the United States would be a vigorous opponent of Communism.

Not everyone accepted his thesis and the opposition from the left—whether reformer or student—was outspoken and persistent. His works have been attacked especially by those who had easy solutions how to establish a new society and saw the trade union movement as a vehicle to reach this end. But his ideas withstood assault and have value for today, giving us understanding and insight into the facts which have shaped and channelled the energies of the American labor movement.

Finally, I should like to say a few words concerning Professor Perlman's participation in Jewish affairs. It is a tribute to him that despite his preoccupation with research and writing, with teaching and counseling, he never lost his interest or contact with the traditions absorbed in his early training. He never lost his identity with the historical heritage of the Jewish people. He was always excited about their search for security and dignity and the expression of this search in the restoration of Israel. Accordingly, he has a deep concern in the development and growth of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He came back from his visit to the university and Israel stimulated and enthusiastic. He also has a deep interest in YIVO, in the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, in the Yiddish labor movement and a close contact with its leaders.

I am grateful for this opportunity to pay tribute to Selig Perlman for what he is, for what he has done for his students, and for his superb qualities as a teacher and scholar.

[1] Professor Selig Perlman was honored with an award by the Wisconsin Society for Jewish Learning in Milwaukee, Wis., on October 21, 1956. These remarks were delivered on that occasion.

Easiest Route to Effective Economy Lies in Hoover Commission Proposals To Take Government Out of Competition With Private Business

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHARLES B. BROWNSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

(Mr. BROWNSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BROWNSON. Mr. Speaker, at no time in my 6¼ years service in Congress has the public of my district been so sincerely aroused over the size of the budget, the rate of Federal spending and waste in Government resulting in high taxes. The letters I am receiving in unprecedented numbers are not inspired by any organized pressure group but represent the spontaneous and angry protests of citizens of all walks and all income levels.

To reduce taxes and retain any sense of fiscal responsibility Congress must reduce authorizations, appropriations and spending. What money must be spent, must be spent with maximum efficiency and effectiveness. Certainly the prompt consideration of the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission by all agencies of the executive and by the Congress itself is a first step toward achieving the efficiency and economy which makes possible skillful cuts in the budget, not only this year, but for years in the future.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud today to join with members on both sides of the aisle in introducing legislation suggested by the citizens committee report as an outgrowth of the recommendations and conclusions of the second Hoover Commission.

As Chairman Clarence Francis, of the Citizens Committee, declared:

> If there was one good reason for the Hoover report when the Commission began its work in 1953 there are two today. Since then a dangerous strain on our national economy has become clearly apparent. Today the cry is to economize. There are great differences of opinion, of course, as to where budget cuts should be made. But there is one point on which no one can disagree: Inefficiency, waste, overlapping, and obsolete governmental business procedures are costing us billions of dollars a year. Now is the time to get busy and put the findings of the Hoover Commission to work. This is no longer a merely desirable objective. It is a national necessity.

On February 4 and 5, the Citizens Committee held their third national reorganization conference, here in Washington. Adopting as their slogan, "Better Government at a Better Price," 25 distinguished Americans from government, industry, and the professions gathered to confer and discuss with good citizens from all over the country the question, "How to make 1957 the year of fulfillment" for the remaining 61 percent of the Hoover report.

After careful deliberation, this bipartisan group concluded that adoption of the remaining proposals can make possible savings of more than $5 billion to the American taxpayer—over $100 for each American family.

The first bill I have introduced today is one to establish a Federal policy concerning the termination, limitation, or establishment of business-type operations of the Government which may be conducted in competition with private enterprise. This legislation originates in recommendations of the Subcommittee on Business Enterprises. The Committee on Business Organization of the Department of Defense has transmitted these recommendations to the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, more familiarly known as the second Hoover Commission.

In a 200-page report, titled "Subcommittee Report on Business Enterprises," this group under the chairmanship of Joseph B. Hall, president of the Kroger Co., submitted 15 conclusions and 3 recommendations to the Committee on Business Organization of the Defense Department. This subcommittee report was accompanied by a staff study on business enterprises outside of the Department of Defense which resulted in 16 additional recommendations.

The subcommittee report on business enterprises in the Department of Defense is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents for 55 cents. The staff study on business enterprises outside of the Department of Defense is available from the Superintendent of Documents for 35 cents. The report of the Commission on Business Enterprises is available from the Superintendent of Documents for 45 cents.

In this last 113-page report, the second Hoover Commission devotes the first 42 pages to a discussion of Department of Defense business enterprises, with the remainder of the report dealing with business enterprises in the civilian agencies of Government. There are 22 recommendations, overall, of which 9 are directed at business enterprises in the Defense Department. Thirteen are directed at business enterprisses in the Dpartment of Justice, the Post Office Department, the Department of the Interior, the General Services Administration, and such other governmental agencies as Federal corporations, Federal lending agencies, and in the field of printing.

The problem of Government competition with privately owned, taxpaying business is not a new one, by any means. Emergencies resulting from wars and economic depressions have served to create most business-type enterprises in Federal Government. The problem is always one of terminating the Federally operated business-type enterprise after the emerbency is over.

Business-type enterprises created by Government during World War I, the depression, and World War II are still very much with us. In most cases these Government business-type enterprises pay no taxes, pay little or no interest on the capital invested, seldom charge depreciation and frequently do not include executive personnel payrolls as part of their operating expense. It is most unfortunate that, in addition to the fact that they usually pay no taxes, most Government business-type activities deprive all echelons of Government, local, State, and National, of taxes which would otherwise be collected from private enterprise performing the same functions.

As long ago as 1933, the House of Representatives found the Federal Government still operating 232 business-type activities from World War I. This special committee of the House of Representatives reported:

> The evidence in general indicates that the operations of the Federal Government in the field of private enterprise has reached a magnitude and diversity which threatens to reduce the private initiative, curtail the opportunities, and infringe upon the earning powers of tax-paying undertakings while steadily increasing the levies upon them.

Today, the Hoover Commission notes that it is almost impossible to estimate accurately the total number of commercial and industrial-type facilities in the Department of Defense, alone. The total number probably exceeds 2,500 with Government capital invested in excess of $15 billion. Some are essential parts of the military service and are not competitive with private enterprise. Many of them are competitive and not so essential.

In 1951 and 1952 I became acquainted with the intricacies of this problem while serving on the Bonner subcommittee of what was then the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. We inspected military operated coffee roasting plants, tire retreading shops, vehicle rebuilding facilities, and optical and dental manufacturing facilities. Time after time we listened to owners of small businesses who were being forced to the wall as the military competed with them from the vantage point of Federally owned buildings and facilities. There may be little that big government can do to help small business; there is much it can do to crush it.

In 1952 President Eisenhower defined in broad terms his concept of the relationship of government and its citizens when he said:

> To bring government closer to the people we will set up these principles and adhere to them: That no Federal project, large or small, will be undertaken which the people can effectively do or be helped to do for themselves; that no Federal project will be undertaken which private enterprise can effectively undertake; that no project and no program will be started on the Federal level which can be undertaken and effectively carried through on the State or local level.

The President's criterion is simplicity in itself; the ability of the people to accomplish the project for themselves. It is noteworthy that he makes no mention of competition or of comparative costs. It is obvious there are not common grounds for comparing corresponding private and Government business costs since the Government pays no income taxes, keeps its accounts in a different manner than business, and enjoys other special advantages.

During the period 1953 through 1956 marked progress was made in some areas by the executive departments which followed President Eisenhower's philoso-

phy to a degree. During the past 3 years, as a result of an administration review of Federal commercial-type activities, 492 such installations were discontinued or curtailed by military and civilian agencies.

The Defense Department decided to discontinue 355 of its commercial-type activities, including 83 office equipment repair shops, 79 automotive repair shops, 45 tree and garden nurseries, 22 bakeries, 20 cobbler shops, 15 laundries, 11 cement mixing plants, 4 coffee roasting plants, as well as some 70 others ranging from dry-cleaning plants to a tire retreading shop.

In the last 3 years, Federal civilian agencies have discontinued or curtailed 137 of their commercial-type installations, including 76 bakeries, 21 ice manufacturing plants, 20 surgical and orthopedic appliance units, and 15 ice-cream plants. In addition, they have turned back to the United States Treasury well over a billion dollars through the liquidation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the sale to private industry of such Government-operated ventures as synthetic rubber plants, the Inland Waterways Corporation, the PWA built Bluebeard's Castle in the Virgin Islands, the Island Trading Corporation of Guam, and many others.

In January of this year the Postmaster General recommended the discontinuance of the 46-year-old Postal Savings System. A measure accomplishing this end is expected to be reported out by the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service this week.

In spite of this progress, Government is still the businessman's biggest and his most unfair competitor. The taxpayers' money in the form of Government capital is still invested in commercial and industrial-type activities to the tune of $12 billion to $15 billion. As far as I can determine, the Army still raises flowers and manufactures clothing, paint, ice cream, rubber stamps, and eye glasses. The military still repairs furniture, mixes cement, carefully tends tree and garden nurseries, runs the world's biggest airlines, operates steamships and a railroad or two. At least one of the civilian agencies of the Federal Government still conducts one or more of these same activities and, in addition, produces helium, sells hot dogs at the national parks, manufactures fertilizer, engages in printing, baking, dry cleaning, and laundering.

Legislatively, the program toward elimination of Government competition in business-type activities has lagged. The Defense Department's decompetition activities virtually ground to a halt in June 1955 with the insertion of section 638 in the fiscal year 1956 Defense Appropriation Act. This section, making it mandatory for a committee of Congress to approve specifically each instance where Government business-type enterprise was to be curtailed, was withdrawn when the fiscal year 1957 defense appropriations were voted on in the House last session. I participated in the debate on this specific point.

However, a Senate Appropriations Committee report instructed the Department of Defense to maintain all commercial and industrial-type facilities, unless disposal or transfer is economically justified and unless no increased costs result. Despite a Budget Bureau policy declaration that comparative costs should not be the major consideration in deciding whether to discontinue activities involving highly competitive products, the Pentagon has been charged with devoting most of these past 6 months studying the feasibility of the Senate report and little has been accomplished in dissolving their business-type enterprises.

For three consecutive Congresses attempts have been made to enact policy provisions for the termination of Government operations which are in competition with private enterprises. The House Committee on Government Operations reported out July 21, 1954, the bill authored by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. OSMERS] written to accomplish this purpose. The measure passed the House on July 23, 1954.

In the 84th Congress six similar bills were introduced and referred to the Subcommittee on Legislative Reorganization. Mr. HOFFMAN's bill, was reported to the House Government Operations Committee as early as July 4, 1955, where it remained without action until the end of the session.

On last May 15, the Bureau of the Budget released the first inventory in history of certain commercial-industrial activities of the Government. It is a photolithographed book 8 inches by 10½ inches by a half inch thick. It weighs 16 ounces and contains 108 pages detailing 19,771 commercial- and industrial-type activities of the Federal Government. It represents a distinct step forward on which the administration is to be congratulated because it defined, for the first time, the extent of the problem of Government tax-free competition with business, even after the executive and legislative attempts to date.

This survey shows that 32 civilian departments and agencies were then engaged in operating 18,964 commercial-type enterprises with assets of $760,655,575. The Government owns another 301 commercial-industrial activities with assets of $4,028,545,658 which are operated by private contractors, under contracts with civilian agencies. The Department of Defense had 357 manufacturing installations with assets of $2,229,454,160 which it operated itself plus 149 installations with capital assets of $4,855,335,176 which were contractor operated.

Roughly, then, the Federal Government operates 19,711 Government-owned, or partly Government-owned plants and commercial-type facilities in which it has invested $11,863,990,569 of the taxpayers' money. These activities involve 258,425 civilian employees of the Government plus 8,096 other employees, roughly 10 percent of the entire Federal payroll. This apparently does not take into account military personnel, in uniform, used in supervision or in conduct of these activities.

This total Federal investment of $11.86 billion in business-type enterprises is over twice the valuation of the complete physical plant, before depreciation, of General Motors Corp., which listed its physical assets at $5,066,065,645 last September. The Federal investment is over 4 times the depreciated value of the physical assets of General Motors Corp., last September, which was $2,843,931,323. General Motors had 624,011 employees as compared with the total of 266,521 listed in the Bureau of the Budget study, Inventory of Commercial-Industrial Activities of the Government.

Commercial ventures reported by the Bureau of the Budget included automobile repair shops, garages, service stations, hotels, rooming houses, camps, and other lodging places. The Government also is running wholesale trade establishments, credit agencies, and eating and drinking places.

Industrial operations cover such fields as mining, printing, publishing, furniture making, and rubber and leather production. Four agencies—Agriculture; Health, Education, and Welfare; Interior; and General Services—are engaged in painting, paperhanging, and decorating, for instance. The Department of Defense, Veterans' Administration, Interior, and HEW engage in making bread and other bakery products, except biscuits, crackers, and pretzels.

The purpose of this bill is clearly stated in section 2. It is to provide for the termination, to the maximum extent compatible with national security and the public interest, of all business-type activities engaged in by the Federal Government in the United States to the detriment of private business enterprises.

It puts the Congress on record as opposing Federal business-type activities except where it is necessary for the Government itself to perform such activities in the public interest or in furtherance of national programs and objectives established by statute.

Other provisions require the Commerce Department to hear complaints from businessmen about Government competition and where the facts warrant to consult with the appropriate Federal officials to terminate or limit that competition. It requires the Budget Bureau to review and make recommendations to the President on each new type of business activity proposed that would be in competition with private enterprise. This bill also requires an annual report to Congress by the President on actions taken under this legislation.

Of all the ways open to Congress to cut the budget and increase tax revenue, this route of curtailing Government business-type activities may well be the most painless as well as one of the most effective.

I am also introducing today another bill which has resulted from the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission and the followup of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report. It has as its purpose the creation of a Supply and Service Administration in the Department of Defense and is offered in the form of legislation to amend title II of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended.

In the near future I plan to ask for time to discuss this measure in some detail, stressing the history of this particular concept, in order to place this current legislation in its proper perspective.

Labor and the Rackets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a timely and moving article by Victor Riesel entitled "Labor and the Rackets," published in the New Leader of March 18, 1957.

The article discusses recent revelations by the special Senate committee probing alleged criminal elements in the trade-union movement. Mr. Riesel is an appropriate author of such an article, for he has sacrificed his sight to exposure of those who would use the great American labor movement for selfish, ulterior and unworthy purposes. He has been a martyr to this effort.

One of my real fears over the current situation is that public opinion may be stirred to an unreasonable point, so that punitive legislation could damage the ability of the labor movement to achieve its basic goal, which is the protection of the living standards and working conditions of millions of American men and women. The Teamsters Union, for example, is under the most public criticism at the moment. Yet even the Teamsters Union has done useful work in helping to secure adequate wages for the truck driver, who is a worker peculiarly vulnerable to exploitation because he is so often in his cab alone, and thus separated from fellow workers.

The real task today is to purge whatever criminal element may exist in the Teamsters Union, without leaving the union permanently crippled and wrecked. The same alternative faces other unions. Mr. Riesel has rightly emphasized in his article that much of the decision is up to labor itself. He points out that, if genuine meaning is given to the ethical-practices codes of the AFL–CIO, "the public anger may subside." Mr. Riesel properly stresses the real challenge which the current situation poses to George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO, and to other outstanding leaders of American labor.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR AND THE RACKETS

(By Victor Riesel)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Organized labor today faces its greatest crisis since 1948. Then it had to expel Communist-controlled unions in order to avert more drastic legislation than the Taft-Hartley Act. Now it must smash corruption, or face right-to-work laws on the Indiana pattern and possibly worse. The corruption-ridden teamster, longshoremen, and smaller unions control several million dues-paying members, but the 16-million-member AFL–CIO will be committing suicide if it does not act against them before the legislators do. Only by swift, vigorous, action against the businessmen in labor—the Jimmy Hoffas as well as the Johnny Dies—can George Meany, Walter Reuther, James Carey, and David Dubinsky, be sure their own traditions will continue to inspire labor. Victor Riesel was managing editor of the New Leader before becoming labor columnist of the Post-Hall syndicate. Last year he was the victim of an acid attack as a result of his exposure of gangsters in labor.)

A racket is a racket. This is not from Gertrude Stein. It's a good old-fashioned, heavily muscled, high-button-shoe definition. Away back there when it all began and ward heelers were in fashion instead of the trucking business, the boys used to sell tickets to a ball. The dance was held. The dancers held their gals real tight and sometimes the gals of the other lads, too. Then the slugging began. The racket started. The meat wagons came—as did the patrol wagons—and the racket ended for the night.

Soon the shenanigans became so popular, the boys sold more tickets than there was space for dancers. So they decided that, since some of the ticketholders couldn't get in anyway, why not be democratic about it all? Just sell tickets for a shindig for which none could get in. All men were then equal. No hall was hired. No band played. No racket was heard—or held.

This was the birth of the racket—the something for nothing, the easy buck, and if you complained you'd wind up patronizing one of those white-curtailed offices which you recognized by the sign of the huge, three-pronged gold tooth on the outside.

Then the boys did this with picnics, boat rides for which there was no boat—sometimes not even a river or a lake. Soon the strong-arm men were on steady payrolls.

The union boys in the days of the bowler hat, heavy brogans, and walking delegates thought it a fine function for the union. Soon the racket was refined. Something-for-nothingism became a big business. But unnoticed.

Sociological immorality had come to stay inside labor. This is hardly the magazine for a recital of the techniques of easy money. Every sophisticate knows of shakedowns, the price of labor peace, picket lines which pivoted for a price and disappeared like Houdini in his heyday.

But this was just in one section of the labor movement. There was the other section—those unions which dispatched calls to the young intellectuals, the young Socialists—the idealists, the dedicated. Singing pickets poured into the street for four bits a day, just enough for carfare and coffee at Childs at the corner of Union Square, where you could release your hostilities across the white marble-topped tables at the Commies, who always poured in from their headquarters on 12th and 13th Streets. Those were famous picket lines, for many reasons. Many an honest union was born on those cobblestones. Many a famous labor leader burgeoned as he was bludgeoned by angry city police.

And after the day's picketing was over, there was conversation about morality. Dignity of the workingman. His right to the job. An injury to one is an injury to all. Workers of hand and brain, don't worry; you'll eat. Pie in the sky. There were songs. And there were labor clubs, some of which were hit on the head regularly by the Communists.

There was love and there was Gemütlichkeit. Some day, the depression would be over and the dawn would be bright and everybody would earn at least $7 a day and work 5 days a week. And John Lewis was the ogre because he was picking on the Progressive Mine Workers. And let's collect clothing for them. And who's going down to Harlan?

Many of these young pickets outlasted the depression. They were the forerunners, the advance men of the CIO. They became the intellectuals of the intellectual side of the labor movement. They marched again. They sang. They sat down. They became the experts in research and time-and-motion study, the publicists. They retained, in their maturity, their love of labor, their nostalgia for those days of coffee over at Childs and the wandering into the night to Washington Square with a gal who is today's suburban matron with a bigger ranch house than the other ex-pickets.

They saw the tiny unions for which they fought become big and powerful. They saw a movement of 2 million become a mass of 16 million with 60,000 locals and over 485,000 officials. They saw the fledgling skeletal units of the thirties grow into internationals with several hundred million dollars in assets.

They saw such strength develop that Government and industry were forced to take over the welfare and old-age security of the working class—the beginning of fringe benefits. And while they didn't count the millions, their researchers could have told them that there was over $35 billion in labor-management welfare funds throughout the Nation—just about $15 billion more than there is in the United States old-age social-security funds.

They grew proud of what they had built and what was being built around them. They were angry when they read that the outside press was pointing to Communists in their ranks. This was a problem to handle all their own way. They could clean house. They would make the fight when the time came, but labor must not be split. Finally, in 1949, the Commies were ousted, and labor did not suffer. And suddenly there were new criticisms. Here and there, word began seeping into the press of the other labor movement.

Insurance companies were being set up by union people—and were looting the welfare funds and pension money. Big union treasuries were being pilfered. Unions were buying heavily into Wall Street, and some of their officials were picking up stock on margin which should have gone to the union's credit. Unions were buying real estate for investment and projects. And union officials were picking up parcels nearby because they would accrue in value as a result of the union's purchase. Unionmen were buying into companies which the union could make or break. Union salaries began edging up from the $100-a-week norm to $2,000 per—plus expenses. Private homes were bought, estates, expensive cars, summer homes, winter homes, swimming pools on front lawns. And the other day Jim Carey revealed that one brother even had an artificial waterfall in his living room.

Now this was different from the Scalise type of operation. Or Willie Bioff's depredations, or the Lepke-Gurrah days, or the Communists' Black Gloves mob. This was the respectable, unpunishable type of looting. This was the beginning of the refinement. This was the new business-executive type of labor leader. This was the totally new type of union man.

There were now two kinds of labor movements.

There was the one led by wealthy men. There was the labor movement itself—full grown from the days of the 50-cents-a-day expense-account picket. Trouble was that the decent intellectuals and liberal folk just couldn't see the dichotomy.

No new leader reader need be burdened with a description of the years between—but soon came the merger of the AFL and CIO, and the old-time youngsters found themselves tied to sections of the old high-button-shoes crowd. Nastalgia overruled good sense. Misguided loyalty dominated clear thinking. There was insistence that those on the outside see it all as one labor movement which must not be hurt. There was the constructive role of the labor movement and that should overshadow it all. The outside critic should realize that exposures would injure labor's ability to bargain, the starry-eyed, decent ones said, rather testily at times.

But what they, in their reverence for their youth, did not know was that a sordid combine had moved in quietly—and deep. This was not labor gone tough. This was the tough gone labor.

It makes no difference whether the underworld actually captured unions or just became their buddies. The point is that the crime "take" out of the use of labor outfits was several billion a year. There was mayhem, terror—and worse. There was and is a terror tax on garments, Army uniforms, food, fish, home construction—even the facilities which carry water and natural gas.

There were cases, such as the Laundry Workers Union, where a cool million was looted from the welfare and pension funds. And this was just one of many. There were instances where homes for veterans and slum clearance programs in Negro areas were held up and even permanently canceled because some construction unions shook down contractors at $50,000 a clip. There were instances where even our atomic energy and defense construction setups were victimized—and the Justice Department claims that the extortions of one man, Evan Dale of the Southern Illinois construction unions, cost the Government over $50 million to build one atomic power project.

There was the waterfront. And the Operating Engineers Union, where Bill Wilkins, leader of the opposition group, was ousted because he took to the air and the press to tell his story. Wherever local opposition leadership sprang up, the national offices of the powerful unions involved simply put in a trusteeship. The experts tell me that some 15 percent of the locals of a certain combine of unions are under these trusteeships—and there have been no meetings, no elections, no reports to the membership for over a decade in some instances.

It was inevitable that investigations would be launched. Thousands of complaints poured in on the Government and on newsmen. Back in the winter of 1955, the Government Operations Committee of the Senate, just recovering from the Army-McCarthy hearings, began looking into reports of corruption in purchasing of Army uniforms. The committee counsel, Robert F. Kennedy, thought that this would be just another probe. He began following leads. He discovered that fully 95 percent of the legitimate men's garment manufacturers wouldn't bid for Philadelphia Quartermaster orders at one time—even though the Army could spend as much as $180 million in 1 year. He then found all roads leading to New York racketeers inside labor, and from then on out across the country to what you've seen exposed recently.

Out of this grew the Senate Select Committee. Now the issue is just how much damage all this will do the legitimate labor movement. It is fascinating that Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, who is certainly not enamored of most labor leaders, has said that he is disturbed lest the deep anger of the moment lead to tougher laws than are good for labor.

Well, that all depends on what labor does at this moment. If it implements its ethical-practices codes, as it appears to be doing, the public anger may subside. If the unions in which there is corruption really clean house even a little, the fury may calm.

But if there develops the old refrain that the current probe is merely an attack on labor, the public will implement its anger. If the men of the coffee circle at Childs don't join, the public will move in wrath.

I have in mind particularly an intellectual fellow now a Teamsters' leader in the Midwest. After the first week of Senate exposures, he or one of his colleagues said editorially in their union newspaper that the probe was really an attack on the Portland Teamsters and their wives because these men and their womenfolk had elected Senators DICK NEUBERGER and WAYNE MORSE. This was retaliation, the editorial charged, by some mysterious superforce.

Well, the point is that both DICK NEUBERGER and WAYNE MORSE favor the probe. They do not see it as any retaliation against the forces which elected them. But there you have the kind of rejection of reality in this Midwest teamsters' paper. Head-in-the-sand thing. Print it, believe it, and it will go away. I don't think it will. The people are too angry.

So are most of labor's national leaders. George Meany has not been offended by the probe, nor have Dave Dubinsky and the many others on the high council. Walter Reuther has spoken out in favor of it.

Jim Carey has also taken to the hustings. Listen to his words:

"But the issue today is far more menacing, because this time it comes from inside our movement. It is a betrayal from within. It is treason to trade unionism by those who pretend to believe in, and represent, trade unionism. It is pernicious perfidy by those who profess the ideals of union brotherhood only for the end of personal enrichment.

"These betrayers of labor, these traitors to trade unionism, have brought a terrible disease into the labor movement, a disease that must be cut out—surgically, swiftly, and unflinchingly—to prevent its spread into a corrupting contagion.

"Corruption is never a static thing. Corruption means decay, and decay—unless it is decisively halted—spreads from an unhealthy part of an organism to its healthy parts.

"The hard, cold inescapable fact is that we must utterly destroy racketeering and corruption in the labor movement or racketeering and corruption will destroy the labor movement."

To Jim Carey goes the order of the knights of the marble-top tables. Where are the children of yesteryear's Childs?

Resolutions Memorializing the Congress To Reduce the Eligibility of Persons Entitled to Old-Age Assistance to 62 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the resolutions memorializing the Congress to reduce the eligibility of persons entitled to old-age assistance to 62 years, which have been adopted by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

RESOLUTIONS MEMORIALIZING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO REDUCE THE ELIGIBILITY OF PERSONS ENTITLED TO OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE TO 62 YEARS

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts hereby urges the Congress of the United States to enact legislation whereby the age at which all persons entitled to Federal old-age and survivors insurance benefits shall be reduced to that of 62 years; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress, and to the Members thereof from this Commonwealth.

House of Representatives, adopted, March 5, 1957.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE,
Clerk.

Senate, adopted, in concurrence, March 7, 1957.

IRVING N. HAYDEN,
Clerk.

A true copy.
Attest:
[SEAL] EDWARD J. CRONIN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Compromise Necessary To Pass Corn Bill

SPEECH
OF
HON. H. CARL ANDERSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4901) to establish a minimum acreage allotment for corn, to provide acreage-reserve programs for diverted acres and for feed grains, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN], for 3 minutes.

(Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, as the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. JONES] stated previously, we are up against a very realistic situation. If anybody had asked me this morning if I would ever have agreed to this sort of compromise I would have said "No." I had hoped to propose and get serious consideration of the House on the basic problem of providing 90 percent protection on the family-size farm production.

Now, coming back to being realistic, I know that the temper of the House is such that it would refuse to give me the sort of consideration that that problem deserves. Consequently I am personally open to compromise.

I had intended this morning, as I said in a speech just before we went into this particular Committee, to force the issue of 90 percent parity on family-size production of 4,000 bushels of corn, 25 bales of cotton, and 3,000 bushels of wheat. I discussed the other feature of my proposal which has met with such widespread acceptance. But we must get the bill over to the other body. Unfortunately, I believe there are too many Members in this House who would just as soon see this legislation killed, and have no legislation at all. That is the only reason I am backing down in my viewpoint. I am willing to yield temporarily on the intention I had to force this price-support issue. I am willing to accept Mr. HARRISON's section 1. That is partially what my farmers are interested in. That says that we shall have an allotment of 51 million acres of corn. The farmers in the Corn Belt cannot survive with less. We have been urged to get that, which to me is the most im-

portant thing in this bill. If we have to concede something to our neighbors down South, what is wrong with that? We cannot shut them entirely out of this picture. I for one, as a Member from the corn producing area do not intend to say to the South that they cannot have any of the advantages of far-reaching agricultural legislation which we propose. So I am willing to accept the Poage amendment, mainly because, as has been stated before, it does not add a single dime to the cost for the soil-bank operation this coming year, $1,200,000,000, which is already before my subcommittee on appropriations.

Secondly, it will give us the 51 million acres corn allotment we must have.

Third, it will help get a lot of this feed grain acreage out of production, and if any of you think you are facing this basic problem without taking into consideration this acreage of feed grain production down South, you are not facing up to the situation.

Furthermore, it is obvious to me and should be to everyone that it is either this compromise or no legislation and we must pass a bill today.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, I yield my time to the gentleman.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I thank the gentleman.

I am pleading with you. Let us do something. I am yielding somewhat on my position. I voted for the Andresen substitute the other day because the House had accepted my amendment which had to do with feed grain acreage and a 51 million acre corn allotment was provided. My amendment was a part of it when I voted for it. Now the Poage amendment helps the Harrison amendment to some extent and I hope the bill will do some good. As the originator of the soil bank in the Congress, I want to see the soil bank go on through to success. Unless you do something along the line of reducing this feed grain acreage, wherever it may exist, we will never overcome this surplus feed-grain problem and the soil bank will not have a reasonable chance to succeed.

We are at a crucial point in farm legislation and much depends on our approving this compromise today.

Let me plead with the House, therefore, to finish this debate and accept the Harrison amendment as amended by the Poage amendment. Let us send it over to the Senate, Mr. Chairman. The Senate will then work its will, the conferees can get together, and I am sure we will have, as always is the case with such conferences, worthwhile agricultural legislation.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I yield.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Is not the feeling in the commercial Corn Belt that one of the things which has created their feed surplus problem is the planting of diverted acres in the Wheat Belt and other basic crop areas?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. There is no question about that.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Has not that been a problem that has plagued them for several years?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Yes; and it will remain a problem unless we adopt the Harrison amendment together with the Poage amendment.

Mr. ABERNETHY. If the Poage amendment is adopted and it operates to take out a bushel of corn here and a bushel there in sections where wheat and other basic crops were heretofore planted, it would actually benefit the commercial corn area, would it not?

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I, as a producer of corn up in the State of Minnesota, will benefit directly for every bushel of grain that is not produced outside the commercial corn area.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Of course.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Certainly the effects will be reflected right on the terminal market in Chicago.

May I conclude with the plea that we finish this. Let us have a reasonable bill, Mr. Chairman. What is before us is not 100 percent satisfactory to all of us, especially when I think of what I would like to see passed by this Congress, when I think of the protection I would like to see afforded to the family-sized farm, and certain other improvements in the farm program. I realize we have no opportunity to do all we would like today. But let us do what we can, let us try to do something for the corn farmers everywhere in the United States, and let us do it in time so the corn farmer can make his plans for the coming spring.

This would not be a bad compromise under the circumstances; and, when you consider it in the face of the hard reality that our choice is between this and no bill at all, there should be no hesitancy on the part of anyone to vote for the Harrison amendment together with the Poage amendment. All legislation is a compromise and this bill is no exception.

Georgia Champion Chicken State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Georgia Champion Chicken State," from the Waycross (Ga.) Journal-Herald.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GEORGIA CHAMPION CHICKEN STATE

Even Texas takes a back seat to Georgia when it comes to producing chickens.

Georgia last year had an estimated output of 238,829,000 baby chicks, a record production which represented one-ninth of all chicks produced in the United States.

Texas was runner-up, but the big State was a poor second to Georgia in commercial production with 112,715,000 chicks.

According to United States Department of Agriculture figures, 95 percent of Georgia's 1956 production (222,646,000 chicks) went into broilers.

This was 35,000 more than went into the same channel during the previous year.

The State's record-shattering output of chickens in 1956 represents a gain of about 534 percent in 10 years. A decade ago the commercial output was less than 37 million chicks.

Last year, as stated, Georgia hatched more than 233 million.

Georgia may not be able to claim honestly the title of Peach State, but no one will debate the fact that we are the undisputed champion in the chicken-production field.

The Hard Money Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in the Washington Evening Star of March 9, 1957, the great columnist, Thomas L. Stokes, wrote a penetrating column entitled "The Hard Money Issue." The subheading is "Administration Accused of Trying To Bar Investigation of Tight Credit Policy."

This column deals with a subject matter concerning which every Member of the Senate ought to try to read everything he can find. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE HARD-MONEY ISSUE—ADMINISTRATION ACCUSED OF TRYING TO BAR INVESTIGATION OF TIGHT CREDIT POLICY

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

One of the most intriguing behind-the-scenes battles for years is now being waged by the Eisenhower administration to prevent a congressional investigation of monetary policy and Federal financial institutions.

Such an inquiry would explore, among other matters, the hard- or tight-money policy of the administration about which Congress is receiving so many complaints. They come pouring in from small business, farmers, veterans who want to build homes, real-estate men, and others whose operations have been curtailed by the boost in interest rates all along the line which the administration has encouraged to curb inflation.

The resultant tight money policy also has depressed the value of Government savings bonds in which so many millions of persons of small means have invested—to the point, in fact, where the Treasury recently recommended an increase in interest from 3 to 3¼ percent over 10 years on savings bonds to make them a more attractive investment. The House Ways and Means Committee has just approved a bill for that purpose.

Instead of a congressional investigation of monetary policy and Government financial institutions, the Eisenhower administration favors an investigation into the nature, performance and adequacy of our financial system by a commission of able and qualified citizens, as President Eisenhower described the aim in his annual message to Congress January 10.

He did not, however, head off the move for a congressional investigation, as was hoped. For Speaker of the House RAYBURN, of Texas, promptly announced his support of a House investigation as outlined in a resolution introduced by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, which would authorize the House Banking and Currency Committee to do the job.

But the administration, with the backing of powerful financial interests, did not let up; in fact, redoubled its efforts.

Currently these are concentrated on the Rules Committee, which in recent years arrogated to itself life and death powers over legislation, though it is supposed to be merely a procedural committee to arrange for consideration on the floor of bills approved by legislative committees.

In the present case the administration has found a friend at court in its chairman, the veteran Representative HOWARD W. SMITH of Virginia, a very conservative southerner who has been cooperative with Republicans for years in the famous southern Democratic-Republican coalition that has often wrecked the plans of liberal Democrats. He kept the Patman resolution for a congressional investigation waiting for a long time.

Finally it was brought up for discussion this week and we saw how Chairman SMITH was still cooperative with the administration. By arrangement between high administration officials, on the one hand, and himself and Republicans who oppose the Patman resolution, on the other, two witnesses from outside were permitted to appear and argue against the Patman resolution and for the administration's proposal for an outside inquiry.

These two—Under Secretary of the Treasury W. Randolph Burgess and Fraser B. Wilde, of the Committee for Economic Development—were the first outside witnesses in 10 years to appear before the Rules Committee which usually confines witnesses to Members of Congress directly concerned with legislation.

In reply to Mr. Burgess' contention that a House investigation would be biased, Representative PATMAN pointed out in a speech to the House that Burgess had praised two previous congressional investigations into money and monetary policy as most impressive and said their reports educated public opinion.

Representative PATMAN said those advocating an outside investigation want a banker-guided study. A congressional investigation, he insisted, would be better able to get all the facts from all parties and all sides. Delving back into the past, he said he found precedents favor a congressional inquiry.

One reason the Eisenhower administration is trying to get the Patman resolution sidetracked in the Rules Committee is that it fears a number of Republicans would desert the administration and vote for a congressional investigation if the Patman resolution got to the floor. This is because of the many complaints from constituents about hardships due to high interest rates.

If the administration could get on its side another southern Democrat on the committee, Representative WILLIAM M. COLMER, of Mississippi, as well as Chairman SMITH, to join the four Republicans to vote against the Patman resolution, that would produce a 6-to-6 tie and a stalemate that would keep the Patman resolution bottled up. The committee consists of 8 Democrats and 4 Republicans.

A showdown is expected soon.

Obvious Peril to Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Obvious Peril to Democracy," from the March 8, 1957, issue of the Macon (Ga.) News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OBVIOUS PERIL TO DEMOCRACY

Georgians have been following the fate of United States Attorney General Herbert Brownell's civil-rights bills with an interest which is matched only by apprehension. Many southerners have appeared at hearings in opposition to these proposals, and Senator TALMADGE, of Georgia, and Charles J. Bloch, a Macon attorney, made particularly noteworthy statements.

In brief, the legislation being considered would:

Create a Federal commission to protect the civil rights of citizens, with power to subpena persons and records and to investigate claims of discrimination.

Empower the Attorney General to bring lawsuits for recovery of damages for discrimination, the expenses of the litigation to be paid by taxpayers.

Permit pronouncement of prison sentences without jury trial.

Authorize accusation and conviction not only for committing discriminatory acts, but for mere intent to commit such acts.

How can any intelligent person fail to see the perils of freedom and self-government in such bills? Yet, despite the recognized fact that discrimination is practiced in greater or lesser degree in every part of the country, only the South is outspoken in defending the Nation against these encroachments on democracy.

There is good reason to suspect that the national lawmakers from other sections of the country may on the one hand be so intrigued by the expression civil rights that they close their eyes to the obvious dangers, or on the other hand see clearly and with dismay the inequities of the bills but feel they must ignore their consciences and go along with this flagrant bid for Negro votes.

Mr. Bloch's testimony before a House subcommittee was calm and well reasoned. He traced the historical background of the present controversy and based his arguments on adherence to constitutional principles. His remarks were so impressive in one session that the chairman lifted the rule against applause.

Discussing the crumbling of the principles of constitutional law, Mr. Bloch asked for the South: "Are we supposed to supinely submit. I say 'No'—that we have the right to use every constitutional, legal means to demonstrate to Congress and the courts that these decisions are constitutionally wrong.

"We have just as much right to try to demonstrate to the Congress and the courts that *Brown* v. *Board of Topeka* is wrong as other people had to try to demonstrate that *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* was wrong."

(*Brown* v. *Board of Topeka* was the historic case which resulted in the public school desegregation decision of 1954 and *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* was the historic case resulting in the "separate but equal" opinion of 1896.)

Senator TALMADGE's argument that the proposed legislation is not only unnecessary, but would also be duplicative of and perhaps in direct conflict with the United States Constitution must surely have raised doubts even in the minds of northern Congressmen at the hearing.

"What rights would you protect which already are not guaranteed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights?" asked TALMADGE. "Are new rights to be created? If so, what rights?"

Continuing, the junior Senator from Georgia asked why it was necessary to create a commission to do what State and Federal courts are already empowered to do, and what procedures for redress in cases of civil-rights violations would be submitted in lieu of those already established by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Senator TALMADGE quite rightly pointed out that any person—regardless of race, color, creed, previous condition of servitude, or place of residence—is fully protected in the enjoyment of his civil rights and has available to him immediate remedies in the event those rights are circumscribed or violated in any degree.

In the Senator's view, and in the view of the South, the protection of the civil rights of United States citizens lies not in the enactment of a welter of confusing, contradictory, and possibly unconstitutional laws but rather in a strict adherence to the constitutional guaranties, processes and prohibitions which are already the law of the land and which, without question, are adequate to meet every requirement of those who are concerned about protecting the rights of the American people.

No Inferences, Please

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, another indication of the ultraliberalism of the present United States Supreme Court is evidenced by an editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the Evening Star, Washington, D. C.

With tongue in cheek, the editor of this respected newspaper calls attention to this fact in the following editorial:

NO INFERENCES, PLEASE

District Attorney William M. Langley, of Portland, Oreg., has taken refuge in the fifth amendment in his appearance before the McClellan committee.

On the ground that truthful answers might tend to incriminate him, Mr. Langley has refused to say whether he was involved with mobsters and officials of the Teamsters Union in the Portland rackets. He did say that he presumed he had taken an oath to uphold the laws, but he invoked the fifth amendment when asked whether he lived up to his oath.

We do not know what the people of Portland, who elected Mr. Langley, think about all this. It is possible, however, that they are wondering whether they made a mistake in selecting as their district attorney a man who will not say, for fear of self-incrimination, whether he is a crook who has been mixed up in his home city's vice.

If any such thought is running through the minds of the Portland voters we feel duty-bound to admonish them against drawing unfavorable inferences from Mr. Langley's reluctance to tell the truth. And this is not some ridiculous idea that we have dreamed up; we are merely repeating what the Supreme Court has said. In a 5 to 4 ruling last April, with Justice Clark speaking for the majority, the Court said in emphatic terms: "We must condemn the practice of imputing a sinister meaning to the exercise of a person's constitutional right under the fifth amendment. * * *"

In case the Portland voters don't quite follow this, it means that if Mr. Langley should run for district attorney again they are to mark their ballots without drawing any unfavorable inferences from Mr. Langley's refusal to tell the McClellan committee whether he is an honest or a dishonest law-enforcement official.

State Department Rejects Dominican Explanation of Disappearance of American Pilot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the complete text of the note sent by the State Department to the Dominican Republic on March 16, 1957, relating to the Gerry Murphy case:

The Embassy of the United States presents its compliments to the Department of State for Foreign Affairs and Worship of the Dominican Republic and has the honor to acknowledge the Department's note No. 3351 of February 9, 1957, transmitting the following documents in connection with the disappearance of Gerald Lester Murphy:

1. Report by the Attorney General of the Dominican Republic.
2. Photostats of the suicide note attributed to Octavio de la Maza, accompanied by photostats of known specimens of his handwriting.
3. Analysis of the de la Maza suicide note by Professor Manuel Ferrandis Torres, of the University of Madrid, concluding that the de la Maza suicide note is authentic.
4. Final disposition of the Murphy case by the examining magistrate concluding that he was murdered by de la Maza and must be presumed dead.
5. Final disposition of the de la Maza case by the examining magistrate concluding that he committed suicide after having murdered Murphy.
6. Interrogations by the examining magistrate in connection with the Murphy and de la Maza cases.
7. Miscellaneous reports related to the Murphy and de la Maza cases, including the medico-legal and autopsy reports on de la Maza.

From an examination of these documents and other evidence, this Government has concluded that if the specimens of handwriting submitted by the Dominican authorities as being of de la Maza are actually his, then the suicide note was not written by de la Maza.

Furthermore, this examination reveals a contradiction between the report of the Dominican Attorney General which states that Murphy's "political influence" in the Dominican Republic was the "object of investigation without anything serious being produced to justify it," and other available information. Our investigations indicate that Murphy was well acquainted with high Dominican officials, among them the late Col. Salvador Cobian, and Brig. Gen. Arturo R. Espaillat.

It would also appear that Murphy's income while in the Dominican Republic must not have been limited to the $350 per month salary which the Dominican Attorney General states he earned as a copolit for the Dominican Aviation Co. (CDA). Our investigations have confirmed the statements made by several American CDA pilots to the Dominican authorities that Murphy, in the words of one of them, "had more money than the rest of us" and that he owned 2 cars, 1 in Miami and 1 in Ciudad Trujillo. As far as is known, Murphy had no income of record in the United States during the period of his employment in the Dominican Republic.

The Government of the United States is gravely concerned about the disappearance of one of its citizens in the Dominican Republic. It assumes that this concern is shared by the Dominican Government.

In view of the foregoing observations and other evidence which it has developed within its domestic jurisdiction, the Government of the United States considers the case of Gerald Lester Murphy as unsolved. The Dominican Government is urgently requested to reopen and vigorously pursue its investigation of the disappearance of this citizen of the United States.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES,
CIUDAD TRUJILLO, March 16, 1957.

Fuller Answers Chamber

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, since the 4th of February, the General Education Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor has been conducting almost daily sessions hearing testimony for and against various bills authorizing Federal aid for school construction.

Secretary Marion B. Folsom has submitted data collected by the United States Office of Education to demonstrate the need for a Federal program which has been pointed up by a specific message from the President of the United States.

The data submitted by the Secretary has been under attack by opponents of the legislation presently under consideration, with the principal ammunition being fired by the United States Chamber of Commerce which has offered in evidence its own interpretation of the school facilities situation.

The fallacies in the chamber's interpretation has been pointedly answered by Secretary Folsom and by Edgar Fuller, executive secretary, Council of Chief State School Officers. Dr. Fuller publicized his answer in a letter to the editor of the Washington Post and Times Herald which was published by that newspaper on March 13.

Dr. Fuller's letter to the editor is included as a part of my remarks, and I invite my colleagues to read it carefully:

REBUTTAL TO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE SCHOOL AID VIEWS

Secretary Marion B. Folsom's reproach to the United States Chamber of Commerce for its barrage of misleading propaganda against the school construction legislation was highly justified. Most members of the Chamber will undoubtedly be as dismayed as the rest of the general public that such violations of fair play have taken place in the name of their organization.

Secretary Folsom illustrated the reasons for his protest mostly from one piece of Chamber literature, "Washington Report" for February. He could have used many others, since numerous graphs and other publications with no more than a part of the truth in obscure print have been widely distributed. Let us analyze a single page entitled "Is There a School Emergency?"

One side is covered by a huge colored graph, showing that each year since 1947 more public schools have been constructed than were necessary—for increased enrollments. In the narrative on the other side the need for Federal assistance is portrayed as nonexistent, on the basis of enrollment increases alone, with a minor exception that will be discussed later. The graph, headings, and all but a few lines near the end give no hint of any other reasons to build new schools.

The United States Chamber of Commerce disregards the specific purpose of the legislation, which is to eliminate the backlog of need accumulated through a great economic depression and 2 wars. Then it hides more than one-half of the total need for school facilities in a cleverly designed document certain to mislead the public. It ignores the overcrowding of 2,295,000 pupils in 1956 to which President Eisenhower referred in his special message requesting the legislation. No mention is made of schools necessitated by mobility of population or by the consolidation of schools. Only the few lines at the end mention the 840,000 pupils attending one-half-day sessions or the replacement of obsolete or unsafe schools.

The graph carries this basic fallacy forward and the narrative adds more. In 1947, it says, increased enrollments required 9,500 classrooms and 16,000 were built. 1950–51, comparable numbers are reported as 20,000 and 44,000, this just before the National Survey of School Facilities found the need to be 312,000 classrooms. In 1955–56 the Chamber found "* * * 38,500 were needed, 67,000 were built." The number of classrooms constructed in that year was 62,776—not 67,000.

Then the chamber goes further, "The Office of Education's most recent estimate placed the need for 1956–57 at 41,300 classrooms, 69,000 were built." The estimate of need referred to was 159,000, not due merely to enrollment increases. The 69,000 referred to is the estimate of construction from July 1, 1956, to June 30, 1957, so the number actually constructed will not be known for many months.

On the same page, the chamber overlooked the 33,750 classrooms constructed with substantial Federal funds under Public Law 815 since 1950, including them among the 470,000 classrooms described as built during the past 10 years, without Federal aid. (Some of the chamber's literature claims 490,000 instead of 470,000, but Secretary Folsom placed the number at 406,000.)

Near the end of the page the chamber discovers 179,000 classrooms constructed over a period of 10 years in excess of those necessary for increases in enrollment, and says these were "used to absorb accumulated shortages and to replace obsolete buildings." Thus it counts 17,900 classrooms annually for a decade for purposes other than increased enrollments, certainly a minor fraction of the need. (Secretary Folsom says the true figures are between 4,000 and 10,000.)

Then the chamber says the crisis consists of the 840,000 half-day pupils, or only 2.6 percent of the enrollment. There is no mention of the 2,295,000 pupils in overcrowded conditions or the need due to other factors.

The truth is that the school construction necessary to bring our public-school plant up to par, is at least 100,000 classrooms each year for 4 years. Enrollment increases will require an average of not less than 45,000 each year during the period. Elimination of overcrowding will add at least 20,000 each year, and this part of the program should be accelerated for the sake of the children now in school. Replacement of obsolete facilities makes necessary another 20,000 classrooms annually, and an allowance of 15,000 for mobility of population, construction due to consolidations and normal replacements of overage facilities is conservative.

Informed persons in the United States Office of Education have said that the real need is for 112,000 classrooms annually for 4 years. There were 62,766 constructed last

year. We need a Federal assistance program to increase school construction at least 50 percent without further delay.

EDGAR FULLER,
Executive Secretary, Council of Chief State School Officers.
WASHINGTON.

Restricting News Coverage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I include in my extension of remarks an article entitled "On Restricting News Coverage," written by Thomas L. Stokes, and appearing in the Washington Star of March 14, 1957.

In his article Mr. Stokes made one unintentional error when he referred to the get together with President Eisenhower "with the four Democratic leaders of Congress." There were 2 Republican leaders of both branches as well as 2 Democratic leaders of both branches.

While the following observation does not apply to Mr. Stokes, it is amazing that the approximately 90 percent of the newspapers of the country who supported President Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956 campaigns are silent on this matter, as well as on other matters of public interest, in addition, many of them discoloring political news.

The article follows:

ON RESTRICTING NEWS COVERAGE
(By Thomas L. Stokes)

An incident at the White House this week, trivial perhaps in the long history of empires and republics, illuminates the growing tendency to restrict news coverage of current history of the Eisenhower administration and its chief figure.

Oldtimers, at least, are getting irked. They can remember more free days, and not too far in the past, when Government was conducted in the fashion of a republic and not an empire. But for the incident—

President Eisenhower was having a get-together late in the afternoon in the White House, itself—the mansion—with the four Democratic leaders of Congress. As is customary in such cases, newspapermen left their usual stations in the lobby and press room of the Executive Offices and gathered in front of the White House, where the cars of the visitors were parked, so they could interview the leaders when they left. While they waited, a butler came out and talked to the drivers of the limousines. Immediately they sped away down the drive.

When the newspapermen returned to the Executive Offices, they found out that the congressional leaders had left by a back gate. James Hagerty, the President's press secretary who has become so much more than that, said it was he who had arranged for the visitors to use the gate by which they avoided the newspaper reporters and had sent word to the drivers. Then he added that the reporters had not been authorized to wait near the front porch.

Authorized.

Among the reporters thus duped were some who through the years have spent hours about the front porch of the White House, by day and by night, waiting for conferences of one sort and another in the White House, itself, to break up, and then interviewed the participants as they were leaving.

Newspapermen needed no authority. Nobody ever questioned our right—not even in wartime, so long as we had our regular credentials.

Still remembered by some of us were the night meetings at the beginning of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration concerned with ways to check the depression which gripped the country when President Roosevelt took over from Herbert Hoover.

Night after night we stood outside the White House as the new President conferred with Treasury officials and Members of Congress, initially over measures to salvage the tottering bank structure, later over many other measures to rescue the Nation from its worst depression. One night is more vivid than others, perhaps because somehow it reflected the lifting of the spirits of all of us under the tremendous drive and optimism of the new President.

As we waited, it began to rain, a cold March rain. A friendly police officer invited us up on the porch where we had shelter. Presently out of the White House came an old friend to join us, an ex-newspaperman, Marvin McIntyre, one of President Roosevelt's secretaries. Mac loved to harmonize. His favorite song was Home on the Range. He gave us the key and our chorus, rich and strong and not a little raucous, filled the rain-drenched air as we huddled together, arms across each other's shoulders, there on the front porch of the White House.

No one had authorized that.

Then there was the gloomy tragedy of the day of infamy when the Japs struck at Pearl Harbor. We stood outside the White House then for hours, grabbing for every scrap of news.

No one had authorized that.

Memory in this reporter's case goes much further back, back to a night when some of us waited outside for the breakup of a dinner that President Harding was giving to Judge Elbert Gary, of United States Steel, and Charles Schwab, of Bethlehem, and other steel magnates to talk over abolishing the 12-hour day then in effect in the steel industry. After it was over President Harding came out and invited us into the White House. He stod there while Judge Gary gave us a statement about the dinner conference.

There was one President, incidentally, who had a fondness for that front porch. One day, soon after Calvin Coolidge had moved into the White House after the death of President Harding, he was found sitting on that front porch by a Secret Service man. The latter politely informed the President that it was customary for Presidents to sit on the back porch overlooking the grounds and the Ellipse where, there was privacy.

"I like to sit here where I can watch the streetcars go by," the President replied.

So do we, Jim Hagerty.

Wake of the Farm Bloc

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the following article from the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 16, 1957:

WAKE OF THE FARM BLOC

The defeat of all the corn legislation in the House will come close to taking the prize in the present session for legislative botchery. At least two reasonable measures to keep corn under control this year were advanced with administration support; both went down to defeat because the House Agriculture Committee insisted on promoting a scheme which would have opened the Treasury to outlandish subsidy demands for feed grains. Of course, the representatives of consumers in the large cities, Democrats and Republicans alike, arose in revolt. For this the shortsighted majority of the Agriculture Committee has only itself to blame.

Chairman COOLEY says that so far as he is concerned "the corn legislation is not a dead item." But by the time he patches up an acceptable compromise, if indeed any such compromise is now possible with the farm bloc split asunder, cornfields are likely to be seeded and sprouting. The one chance of inducing the vast majority of farmers to curtail their corn planting this year was to pass early in the session a simple measure enlarging quotas or giving individual farmers a chance to choose the larger quotas and lower price supports as against the smaller quotas and higher supports which are now available but which are also generally unacceptable. These opportunities have been missed, and it is not surprising that Representative ANDRESEN referred to the action of the House as "the wake of the farm bloc."

To Amend the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 To Provide for More Effective Evaluation of the Fiscal Requirements of the Executive Agencies of the Government of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, now, when the Members of the Congress are more awakened to the gravity of our financial situation than at any time in the past quarter of a century, it is most appropriate that the House of Representatives, primarily responsible under the Constitution for taxation and appropriations, take some action to get our house in order.

It is past time for the Congress to revise its outmoded machinery.

In this age of alltime high taxes and record peacetime appropriations, our committees, and particularly the Appropriations Committees, responsible for appropriating the taxpayers' money, are substantially equipped for the job as they were 35 years ago when the appropriations and taxes were nominal—under $5 billion.

Our Appropriations Committees in both the House and the Senate are at the mercy of the executive department. They are forced, because of their limited knowledge of the subject matter, to largely take the recommendations of the executive department. This is primarily due to the fact that they are not equipped with the necessary tools to do the job. This is no fault of the Appropriations Committees. It is due to the failure of the Congress to provide them

with the necessary tools with which to work.

For instance, the President has a Budget Commission with approximately 500 employees, all experts in their several fields. On the other hand, the Appropriations Committees have only a handful on their staffs. There is urgent need for these committees to be equipped with an adequate staff of experts. If this staff is wisely chosen the committee will be in position to have equal knowledge with the President's Budget Bureau of the needs of the various departments. Then and not until then will the Congress be able to withstand and defeat unnecessary demands from the various bureaus of the Government for appropriations of the taxpayers' money.

For several years now the able Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MCCLELLAN], and I have introduced and worked for legislation which would provide for, first, a joint legislative committee on the budget from the two Committees on Appropriations of the House and the Senate; and, second, the creation of an adequate staff for the joint committee.

This joint committee on the budget would function largely and generally in the same manner that the joint Committee on Revenue now functions. I am sure that all Members of the Congress are in accord with the splendid job that that Committee has done and is doing.

Twice in recent years the Senate has passed Senator MCCLELLAN's bill.

In 1952 the House by a narrow margin of 16 votes defeated my bill. In the last Congress the Senate unanimously passed this bill.

On March 14 last Senator MCCLELLAN, on behalf of himself and 61 other Senators, reintroduced his bill (S. 1585). Those Senators joining with Mr. MCCLELLAN are as follows: Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. BARRETT, Mr. BEALL, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. BIBLE, Mr. BRICKER, Mr. BRIDGES, Mr. BUSH, Mr. BUTLER, Mr. CAPEHART, Mr. CARLSON, Mr. CARROLL, Mr. CASE of New Jersey, Mr. CHAVEZ,, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. CURTIS, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. EASTLAND, Mr. ERVIN, Mr. FLANDERS, Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. GOLDWATER, Mr. GREEN, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. HRUSKA, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. IVES, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. JENNER, Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina, Mr. KEFAUVER, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. LAUSCHE, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. MALONE, Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. MARTIN of Iowa, Mr. MARTIN of PENNSYLVANIA, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MONRONEY, Mr. MORSE, Mr. MORTON, Mr. MUNDT, Mr. NEUBERGER, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. PURTELL, Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mr. SCHOEPPEL, Mrs. SMITH of Maine, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. STENNIS, Mr. TALMADGE, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. WILEY, Mr. WILLIAMS, and Mr. YOUNG.

This majority of the Members of the Senate insures the passage of the bill by the Senate at this session.

In a few days the Committee on Rules will conduct hearings on my bill (H. R. 2416) and I am very much in hopes that the Committee on Rules will report this bill and that the House will pass it so that the Congress can then intelligently approach this momentous problem of cutting down of governmental expenditures and thereby give the solely pressed taxpayers some much desired and needed tax relief.

Mr. Speaker, I might add that the principle argument used to defeat my bill in the 82d Congress was that if such a joint committee were set up, it would be dominated by the other body. This is absurd. However, to meet this argument, I have provided in my bill that 9 Members of the House as against 7 Members of the Senate constitute the joint committee and, further, that since the House is constitutionally responsible for the initiation of appropriations and revenue, the chairmanship of the joint committee remain in the House. I have reason to believe that the Senate, in order to get this desired improvement in our fiscal policy, will be agreeable to this disproportionate representation.

Hells Canyon: Maximum Power at Minimum Cost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to invite the attention of the Members of the House to an editorial published in the Medford Mail Tribune of March 10, 1957, commenting on the manner in which the present administration is dragging its feet on the Hells Canyon issue.

The West is keenly aware of the historic decision to be met by us. Watching to see whether we favor ample and inexpensive power in the Pacific Northwest for industry, for defense, for agriculture, or for halfhearted, wasteful and incomplete use of our natural wealth.

I commend this editorial by the distinguished Robert W. Ruhl, editor of the Medford Mail Tribune, Oregon's Pulitzer prize-winning newspaper:

WHAT ARE WE WAITING FOR?

As memorials to Congress by the State legislature are seldom important, so the defeat of the Hells Canyon memorial by one vote was not so important.

But as a party voting index it was significant. Every Republican voted against this approval of public power on the Snake, and every Democrat voted for.

As the Democrats have a majority in the House naturally the memorial passed by a comfortable total there. But with a 50–50 party division in the Senate the result was a tie, 15 to 15, with the measure defeated because it failed to get the necessary 16 count by 1 vote.

This makes it reasonably clear that if the people of Oregon wish to get authorized Federal power projects finished, or any new ones started, they better vote Democratic.

We grant Hells Canyon has become extremely controversial politically but the debate over this memorial plainly demonstrated that in this field the Republicans have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. All the old cliches about the evils of public power from the standpoint of our cherished American way of life were brought from the moth balls, shined up and fired at the opposition with all the exaggerated salemnity of a firing squad delivering a salute to the unknown soldier.

As usual an entirely false picture of the public versus private power issue was presented, although the record of every Federal multiple-power project from TVA, Tennessee, to Bonneville, Oregon, refutes this.

It was claimed, for example, that if a high Federal dam was constructed on the Snake as recommended by the United States Army engineers, in place of the three small dams by the Idaho Power Co., not only would it cost the American taxpayers six or seven hundred millions, but the same taxpayers would lose a million dollars a year in taxes, and after all was said and done, the Idaho company project would, quote: "benefit Oregon and the Pacific Northwest almost as much as the high dam." There is another prize-winning understatement.

The only trouble with this argument is "it just ain't so."

Even the official examiner for the Federal Power Commission in an official report that was never overruled, declared "a high Federal dam would be dollar for dollar the better investment and more nearly ideal development of the Middle Snake.

Why this decision was not accepted and followed by the FPC has never been made clear. The reason given by one official in Washington was that Congress would never vote for another Federal project in the West, so why authorize it. But only a short time later the Congress not only did so vote authorizing the upper Colorado project but at far greater cost to the American taxpayers, for whom the Grand Old Party has such strong sympathies, whenever Hells Canyon is the issue.

But just what does this expense in increased taxes and woeful loss in taxes to local governments add up to when a multiple-project idea is adopted as it was, for example, at TVA on the Tennessee River?

In the first place the project is self-liquidating.

Every penny advanced by the Government is over a period of years returned to the Government through the sale and distribution of power, not directly to the consumer but through local cooperative distributing systems, and always at a low and reasonable cost.

In other words through a couple of generations such a project doesn't cost the taxpayers of the country one red cent.

Moreover at the end of that period, the Government—that is the people of the country—own an extremely profitable and extensive light and power system, the services of which they get indefinitely at a minimum charge. Does that promote the public welfare or doesn't it?

As for the much-advertised loss in taxes which the Idaho Power company, for example, would pay, if given the green light, is there anyone in the audience so naive they believe the company would pay these taxes?

Of course, as everyone knows, they wouldn't. They would merely add the tax costs to their rates, and as always the consumers would pay via the nostrils.

And there one comes to the crux of the entire problem.

Not only is it a question of getting more power—the maximum—but getting cheaper power—the minimum.

And we don't believe there are many who would deny that there is the crying need of the people of Oregon and the people of the Northwest.

Finally there is the multiple purpose item in the Federal project that by the nature of things, and our established financial system can't be included in any private power development.

Again taking the Tennessee Valley Authority as an example, such a trustworthy and conservative news commentator as Marquis Childs, in the equally trustworthy and conservative Oregonian, recently stated that in the matter of flood control alone, this Federal TVA development on the Tennessee River saved one city—Chattanooga—in the recent floods an estimated $65 million.

Of course there would not be a similar flood danger on the Snake but there would be on the Columbia, and on both there would be material, collateral benefits in the area of water storage, navigation, and irrigation.

In short, we can think of no better summing up on this issue of public against private power on the Snake or elsewhere than to quote the official examiner of the Federal Power Commission when, after a thorough examination of all items involved, declared in his official report:

"The high dam would be dollar for dollar the better investment and the more ideal development of the Middle Snake."

Why then don't we have it? What are we wating for?

That, we believe, is the $64,000 question for the present administration to answer.

Public Wants Federal School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, because an editorial appearing in a recent issue of the Des Moines, Iowa, Register, summarizes a Gallup poll with respect the public's feeling toward Federal aid to education, and because this poll will reflect the opinions of many people in Iowa, I ask consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The editorial follows:

PUBLIC WANTS FEDERAL SCHOOL AID

An astounding unanimity of opinion on the issue of Federal aid for school construction has been reported by the American Institute of Public Opinion. This Gallup poll shows that 76 percent of the public now favors Federal aid to help build new public schools. Only 19 percent oppose and only 5 percent have no opinion on this issue.

Congress has a clear mandate to approve a bill at this session. A squabble between Democrats and Republicans—both professing to favor Federal aid—and the desegregation issue prevented action at the last session. Both parties and both presidential candidates advocated Federal aid in the 1956 election campaign.

The segregation issue should not be permitted to block action at this session. Representative ADAM POWELL, Democrat, New York, again wants an amendment which would exclude aid to school districts which maintain segregation. Approval of the amendment means defeat of the bill because of the views of southerners.

But approval of the amendment would not speed desegregation in any way. Nor would defeat of the amendment mean countenancing defiance of the Supreme Court's finding that Negroes are entitled to equal educational opportunities in public schools. The issues are separate.

Opponents of Federal school aid contend such a program may lead to Federal control of education. The Gallup Poll shows that either the public doesn't oppose Federal control of education or doesn't think the danger exists in this proposed legislation. We think the public does cherish local and State control of education—but it doesn't see the peril of Federal dictation in this particular legislation. We agree.

There's no reason why United States assistance in building schoolhouses should bring about Federal control of education. The experience with Federal aid in vocational, agricultural and special education fields—as well as Federal aid in such fields as highway construction—has indicated that Federal dictation doesn't necessarily follow Federal assistance. The experience in most of these programs might indicate, however, that once Federal aid is started it isn't likely to be discontinued. It's more likely to be expanded.

We think President Eisenhower is wise to insist upon these provisions in school-aid legislation: (1) That the program of aid be limited to a definite period—the time it takes to catch up on the emergency needs of more classrooms; (2) that the aid be distributed—not on a handout basis of just the number of school-age students in each State—on the basis of varying needs in States and their ability to meet the needs; (3) that the aid be restricted to construction of classrooms.

With such a program, we don't see any peril of Federal control of education.

Views of a South Dakota Rancher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a portion of a letter I have just received from P. J. Cook, of Castle Rock, S. Dak.

This man is a rancher out on the prairies of western South Dakota who, because of his business and his calling, has an opportunity to live a little closer to nature and a little closer to the problems of everyday life. This man is not only wrestling with the problems of making a living, but is a student of government and of national affairs. His thinking is worth the time of every Member to read and ponder. A part of his letter is as follows:

I would like to briefly explain a few of my views. While the average citizen does not understand the processes of legislation it seems to me that the only way we can make democracy effective is to have an informed citizenry and your letters from Washington help to do that. One of the greatest needs of this day is tax relief and the truth of the statement that "the power to tax is the power to destroy" is becoming more evident. Some informed sources say that our Government can cut enough off nondefense expenditures to justify a tax cut. (No thinking person would want to weaken our defense.) Yet news dispatches from Washington and also your letter indicate the budget for the coming fiscal period is around $72 billion and the highest Eisenhower had submitted to Congress in his 4 years in office and higher than any peacetime budget ever offered by former President Truman; we all thought Truman was a spendthrift but it may turn out that he was a piker in this respect. The explanation given by Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey was that everybody has been looking to the Government for more and more. This philosophy of getting something for nothing is becoming more prevelant and does not conform to truth and honesty. The Government cannot give to the people what they have not already taken from them—this basic fact is elementary and fundamental and while all Congressmen should be aware of this it seems some have a tendency to place this truth in the back of their minds when it comes to more appropriations and more taxes. The present high taxes are killing any incentive to work harder and produce better products and are very near reaching the breaking point and this trend follows right down to the State and county level. I realize fully how complicated things can get when everyone seems to be clamoring for this and that and the Government trying to satisfy everyone. Federal aid in any form is nothing more or less than taxes collected from all the people in the United States and rechanneled back to the various States and cities for use in their own particular locality with a certain amount of loss in the process which some call overhead and administration. Finally, the labor unions have at present an unrestricted concentration of power and have shown gross irresponsibility in managing their affairs and should have their wings clipped before the results of their actions seriously affect every individual in this Nation.

St. Patrick's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, permission being granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to have included two editorials in connection with the great feast of St. Patrick on yesterday. The first editorial is from the Springfield (Mass.) Union of March 16, and the second from the New York Sunday Times of March 17:

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union of March 16, 1957]

ST. PATRICK'S DAY

It may be significant that St. Patrick, though he loved the Irish, was not, according to the available authorities, born in Ireland. In this he resembles most of the rest of us. But the Irish took St. Patrick to their hearts and he took them to his heart. There was warmth in him and warmth in them, and the combination has made St. Patrick's Day something more than was originally contemplated.

The Irish haven't lost their saint, but a lot of other people have taken him on, people of many races and people of more than one religion. When the bands come along playing Killarney or the Kerry Dances, when the green badges flower in the early spring, who is there who doesn't want to cheer for the good and great man?

We may ask ourselves why St. Patrick has attained this position, and there may be any number of answers. He was serious, but the Irish made him gay, too. He was a crusader who wouldn't put up with paganism or any sort of wrong-doing, but he was human and understanding, too. The personality of him comes down the centuries, cheerful and lovable, and one believes he would have enjoyed the parade and the music and the sight of people having a good time. We like to

think that the Irish are generously willing to share their day and their saint.

[From the New York Times of March 17, 1957]

VISITOR FROM DUBLIN

Tradition has it that St. Patrick expelled the snakes from Ireland. For that and other valiant deeds, March 17 has been celebrated as St. Patrick's Day in this country since well before the founding of our Republic. And nowhere has St. Patrick's Day been celebrated more joyously than here in New York, where the Irish and those of Irish ancestry play so large and honorable a role in the city's life.

This year's 2-day celebration of St. Patrick's Day is a particularly joyous and memorable event because the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Robert Briscoe, will be participating. Any Lord Mayor of Dublin would be a welcome guest here, but Mr. Briscoe is in a sense doubly welcome. As Irish as the shillelaghs he brought with him, he is also a Jew and thus personally incarnates the union of two of the great groups which make up this city's cosmopolitan population.

In welcoming our distinguished guest from Dublin, we pay tribute really to the foundation stone of the miracle of America, and particularly of the miracle of New York City. We are a community of the most diverse origins. Our ancestors came from many lands and from many cultures. We worship God in many different ways. Yet we live together here in peace, friendship, and mutual respect. Lord Mayor Briscoe's presence today reminds us that in Dublin as well as in New York the snakes of intolerance have been dealt with as they should be, and with that reminder we may all join our Irish fellow citizens in celebrating this particularly happy St. Patrick's Day.

How Much Is $72 Billion?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I call to the attention of the House an editorial published in the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner of March 16, 1957, entitled "How Much Is $72 Billion?"

The editorial is timely and I hope the membership of the House will read it:

HOW MUCH IS $72 BILLION?

Just how much is $72 billion—approximately the proposed Federal budget for the coming fiscal year—in understandable terms?

According to the family economics bureau of Northwestern National Life Insurance Co., $72 billion would make a stack of $10 bills 410 miles high.

It would pay the combined wages of a million manufacturing workers, at present average wage rates, for 17 years.

It is nearly 2½ times our farmers' total cash receipts for all the produce of American agriculture in 1956.

It is approximately twice as much as the United States Government spent for World War I.

It is more than one-fifth of our present national income.

It is $1,100 per American worker.

It is $1,700 per American family.

Spending $72 billion in a year means spending $137,000 a minute for 24 hours a day for 7 days a week for 52 weeks.

The Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress are being deluged with letters from their constituents who are demanding a drastic cut in the $71.8 billion Federal budget. While there can be no question that these protests are justified, the American people themselves must realize that selfishness must give way to the general good. We must be Americans—we must not try to serve our own personal selfish interests. Whether we like it or not, the programs which were initiated under previous administrations—and which have built the Federal Government to the gigantic size it is today—will continue to require a greater outlay of money as time goes by. The Federal Government cannot keep taking the rights and powers formerly held by the States, without assuming the responsibility of paying for them.

With Congressmen having to face reelection every 2 years, Members of Congress are reluctant to vote against programs which their constituency advocates. It is apparent in the country today that any measure that helps a group of individuals finds that group in favor of such legislation—even when they should know it is detrimental to the best interest of all Americans. Before any tax relief comes for the American people, there must be a real awakening to the dangers inherent in this situation. Pressure groups will have to be told they are trying to serve only a particular group which may have selfish interests at heart. And, Members of Congress must be able to withstand these pressure groups.

When we compare the expenditures for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1954, with the increases that have been made in those same items for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1957, we find that about $12.5 billion more revenue is required than was spent 3 years ago. Much of this money is needed for projects and policies started long before the present administration came into power. As our population increases, and expenses grow because prices have risen, we find all along the line there are more individuals who are entitled to pensions, more who are retired, more children who attend schools and need free lunches. We must face the reality that we cannot start any new commitments involving Federal expenditures, unless we are prepared to foot the bills. Need I remind you that the deepest well will run dry?

I have been happy to join with more than 60 of my Republican colleagues in urging that the Rules Committee give the House an opportunity to set some overall limitation on Government spending. Let each one of us rise above being partisan and make it our goal during the 1st session, 85th Congress, to reduce the $71.8 billion budget, insofar as it does not curtail essential services, or endanger the security of our Government. Our citizenry is aroused over the national debt, about the size of our Federal budgets, and over our ever-expanding Federal bureaucracy, and well they should be. Perhaps if we would remember that Lenin once said, "The easiest way to promote a bloodless revolution is for the currency of a nation to commit suicide," a concerted effort will be made by all of us to cut the budget at every opportunity. The decline in the purchasing power of our dollar has been underway for a number of years.

Who Should Cut Budgets?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to include an editorial which appeared in the March 14 edition of the Commercial Appeal, a prominent daily newspaper published in Memphis, Tenn. The editorial, having to do with budget cuts, is very significant inasmuch as this newspaper supported the President in each of his campaigns. The editorial is as follows:

WHO SHOULD CUT BUDGETS?

Democrats and Republicans in Congress are each anxious to appear the less liberal with the taxpayers' money, and hence a good deal of the current controversy over who should cut the Federal budget.

After due allowance has been made for politics, however, it seems to us that House Democrats have the right of it in asking President Eisenhower to tell them where and how to trim the administration's original requests. It is the duty of the President and his administrators to propose and of Congress to dispose.

Republicans, almost with one voice, accuse the Democrats of passing the buck, which is not so bad, after all, if the buck finally comes to rest where it belongs. President Eisenhower has likewise indicated his estimates can be pared and it appears logical to suggest that he and his Cabinet have the responsibility to say where reductions can best be made.

In this connection it is interesting and pertinent to turn to comments made recently in an interview published in U. S. News & World Report by former Vice President John Nance Garner. Mr. Garner, now in his eighties and living in peaceful retirement at his home in Uvalde, Tex., had 38 years' experience as Representative, Speaker of the House, and Vice President. He agrees with Senator HARRY F. BYRD, of Virginia, that the answer to a reduced budget lies in less spending.

Mr. Garner said in part, after noting that President Eisenhower talks about inflation: "Now, he is the author, the final author, of the budget. He has a budget man, but the President is responsible for sending it to Congress. He can't get away from that.

"Now, what he ought to have done when he got that budget, and he and his Cabinet sat around, was to tell them to go back and cut it down—cut it—cut it to the bone. Let Congress then, if necessary, do the job of increasing it. But he didn't do it. He has

recommended more money than I believe Congress will give him. And it will be about the first time that has happened."

"Cactus Jack" has done a fine job of putting the gist of the matter in plain language.

It's a Small World, and We Mean Small

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to ask unanimous consent that the column of Mr. Wes Izzard, publisher and editor, of the Amarillo Daily News, of Amarillo, Tex., which was printed in that newspaper under date of March 9, 1957, be included in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Mr. Izzard is well known throughout this country as an outstanding newspaperman, editor, commentator, columnist, and radio and TV executive. His observations are always excellent and his style of writing most interesting. We would like to share his splendid comments with others:

IT'S A SMALL WORLD, AND WE MEAN SMALL

Ever since Columbus discovered America people have been saying, "It's a small world."

It has never been smaller than it is today, and it's getting smaller by the minute.

A few years ago a trip to Dallas was a major excursion. As for Honolulu or Rio or Paris—well, only millionaires and adventurers went there; and one such trip in a lifetime was considered enough.

But look at the way things are today. Millions of young American men have been to Germany or Japan or Korea as members of our occupation forces. Other tens of thousands, many of them with their families, have done their stint at American bases in Greenland and North Africa and Arabia and a dozen other places.

Out at the airport the other day we ran into four friends we assumed were going to Dallas or maybe Denver. But it turned out they were headed for Hawaii on a casual 2-week holiday.

We know of half a dozen others who have just been or are just going on Caribbean cruises; and we can name at least 14 Amarilloans who are going to Europe as tourists this spring. Undoubtedly there are several times this number.

Last Wednesday night in Dallas we had the privilege of meeting Sir Harold Caccia, the British Ambassador to the United States, and several other Britons in Her Majesty's foreign service.

We talked about politics and the weather and socialized medicine, and Colonel Nasser, and Texas oil, and the best hotels to stop at, and where to get a good meal in London, and so on. It didn't seem in the least unusual for a bunch of Britishers to be sitting in a Dallas hotel dining room talking to a bunch of Texans. We all spoke the same language.

Then Thursday night we went out to the Knife and Fork Club and heard Ed Tomlinson, the Scripps-Howard expert on Latin America, tell about the industrialization of the southern republics, and the terrific competition among the various nations of the world to sell manufactured goods down there.

Thousands of United States-built factories; tens of thousands of United States technicians and salesmen, and swarms of peddlers from Britain, Germany, Italy, France, Japan, and even China are mingling in the world's biggest boom.

People are mixing with other people everywhere in the world. It's not a political or social movement, as the organized one worlders would have it. It's a natural development of quick transportation plus free enterprise opportunity.

There are no strange, out-of-the-way places any more.

You can buy a Coke in Addis Ababa or ride in a Ford in Jakarta.

A Russian or an Egyptian is no more a curiosity to an American than a New Englander is to a Texan.

American boys are bringing home brides from every quarter of the globe.

From now on if you want to adventure in strange lands among strange people, you'd better turn to outer space. There's no more mystery on this little old world of ours.

Parliamentary Bodies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Clifford B. Ward, writing in the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel, expressed some views concerning parliamentary bodies and the individuals of whom they are composed. Because I think he speaks truths which ought to be widely read, I am including the column with my remarks:

This is an age of propaganda and counterpropaganda, pressures and counterpressures. Improved methods of communications have made it possible to step up propaganda and counterpropaganda, while the ease with which organizations can be formed has made it possible to step up pressures and counterpressures.

All members of our parliamentary bodies are constantly beseiged by highly articulate and usually well financed representatives of pressure and counterpressure groups, except that they must wish always always that the general populace was as well represented.

The so-called common man is a pretty friendless individual around any lawmaking bodies, except as he gets friendship, as he should, from some of the representatives in parliamentary bodies that he has selected. Usually the more experienced lawmakers have learned not to overemphasize the noise made in their offices by professional lobbyists. They frequently remember conversations they have had with home folks and vote with such conversations in mind.

Of course, to some extent, the lobbyists for and against any measure serve a useful purpose, because they accomplish the education of the lawmaker with respect to pending bills. It is almost impossible for a lawmaker to study with any degree of intensity any or all of the bills on which he is expected to act and the lobbyists held inform him about what the bills contain. Ironically, a lobbyist frequently accomplishes a purpose opposite from what he had in mind. Where he intends to convert a lawmaker to his cause, he sometimes loses him by reason of his approach.

INTEGRITY NEEDED

The first thing that any public official needs is integrity. You might be tempted to say that he also needs courage, but actually courage is a part of integrity. Probably most persons want to be known for possessing integrity, but too many of them when the chips are down play the role of cowards.

Fortunately for the sake of the general welfare, the number of persons in Government with a sense of integrity outnumber those that lack it. If this were not so, this country would really be in trouble. Despite the general conclusions people are tempted to make about Members of Congress, both Houses can be proud of men who vote their convictions regardless of the pressures brought to bear upon them.

This country has some excellent men in the Senate now, and it usually has, because despite popular cynicism there are a lot of good men in the country. There are some people that can always be pushed around and there are others who quickly resent any attempts to push them around and stand firmly where they think they ought to stand. More than this, no one can ask.

RELIABLE APPRAISAL

Oddly enough, in any legislative body there is a pretty reliable common appraisal of ability and honesty. The incompetent and the dishonest usually agree with everyone else on the matter of who is able and who is honest. Even crooks will say, "Don't bother trying to get to him, because you can't." That is always the highest compliment any man can merit.

The safety of this Nation at all times depends largely I think upon the kind of men who are elected to the United States Senate and the United States House of Representatives. The attempts of many to lessen the prestige of Congressman is a mistake, because it plays into the hands of those who want to break down respect for all authority, especially authority granted by the will of the people and not handed down by despots who seize power.

Federal Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Gaffney (S. C.) Ledger of March 12, 1957:

FEDERAL TAXES

Even though we are in an inflationary spiral and the experts tell us that we should not reduce taxes, which they say would only add to the inflationary pressure, we cannot refrain from commenting that Federal taxes are so high as to stifle initiative and expansion and constitute a threat to the prosperity of the Nation.

This almost sounds like an old record, coming 12 years after World War II, at a time when some of the taxes of War II are still on the books. Moreover, the Korean war came along a few years later and Congress added a new set of wartime taxes, some of which are still in effect.

Taxes must be reduced in the near future or the country is going to suffer. There is no reason why individuals should be taxed more than 50 percent on money they are able to earn. If an individual is smart enough, or fortunate enough, to earn big money and give a dollar to the Federal Government for every dollar he earns, then he is paying enough to the Federal Government.

He must pay local taxes, State taxes, and other taxes, and he must have money for

expansion and for use as savings, or future security, and therefore it is exacting too much to take more than 1 out of every $2, even from large money earners.

In the lower income brackets, percentages should be reduced accordingly. The capital which is earned, if taxes are lowered, can go into new business ventures and create new industries and new jobs. When it is paid to the Government in taxes, the Government merely spends it, adding to the inflationary spiral.

While a good case can probably be made for the Government maintaining high taxes, the case for reducing them is even better, and they must come down in the near future or the country's expansion will be adversely affected.

The Budget Battle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to have printed the following editorial from the New York Sunday Times of yesterday:

THE BUDGET BATTLE

The budgetary battle this year between President and Congress promises to be livelier than usual, with each side trying to pass the responsibility for budget-cutting to the other but with neither likely to achieve a sensational success.

The House Appropriations Committee has already begun to slice into the President's estimates, late last week proposing, for example, a cut of almost 9 percent, or $500 million in the independent offices bill covering expenditures of 18 Federal agencies for the coming fiscal year. Doubtless the Senate will restore some if not all the cuts the House makes in this and other bills. All this may end up with some more or less haphazard reduction in projected spending for 1958, in response to the unquestionable public demand for a slash somewhere, somehow, in the President's $72 billion budget, largest in the Nation's peacetime history.

But cutting just for the sake of cutting is not conducive to a balanced, reasoned, and orderly program. The areas where political resistance is least—foreign aid, for example—are likely to suffer most; and yet these are not necessarily the areas where the Nation can best afford to economize. Executive leadership in any policy of budget-cutting is essential because the budget is an executive budget, prepared by the executive, defended by the executive, and supposedly representing what the executive thinks is the minimum expenditure required. Yet the President has virtually invited Congress to cut this budget if it can, with the implicit suggestion coming from important members of his administration that it could be cut if there were the desire to do so. But the President is offering few concrete proposals to this end, simply observing that "Congress will have to say which one [program] they don't want to carry out if they are going to make big savings."

Of course it is true that Congress in laying down the law for some of the largest kinds of spending—for farmers, for veterans, for public works, and so forth—has a major responsibility. Of course it is true that Congress could (and in some respects should) change these programs, with beneficial results for future budgets. But it is still true that the President ought to lead the way. There was a measure of justice—mixed in, to be sure, with a large element of political buck-passing—in the House resolution the other day asking the President to indicate just where he thought "substantial reductions" could best be made.

Federal budget-making is or ought to be a reciprocal process, though Congress in recent years has lost a good deal of its power of effective control. One step it ought to take to recoup some of that control would be adoption of the Hoover Commission's recommendation for modernizing the budget and appropriation system. But it is still up to the President to set the tone and character and direction of the budget; and if he thinks it can and should be cut he ought to say so with specific suggestions.

That Postal Deficit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the postal deficit, like the national debt, is always with us. Tribute must be paid, however, to the efforts of the Honorable Arthur E. Summerfield to wipe out that deficit and put his Department on a basis where it can pay its own way and thus help the Government reduce its appropriations in order to balance the budget. In recognition of Mr. Summerfield's efforts, I ask to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the March 7 edition of the Muscatine, Iowa, Journal. The editorial follows:

THAT POSTAL DEFICIT

Postmaster General Summerfield has expressed serious concern—and with good reason—over his Department's deficit problem.

The deficit will soon approximate a billion dollars a year, he warned, unless postage rates are raised to realistic levels. Indeed, the deficit would have passed the billion mark by now, had it not been for certain financial and managerial improvements put into effect during the past 4 years, including increased parcel-post rates and higher foreign mail rates, among others.

This situation is made worse by the fact that the Department faces higher operating costs, due to increased wages and mailing charges. And the fiscal plight is compounded by the Department's need to modernize its physical plant to expedite the handling of an ever-increasing volume of mail. As Mr. Summerfield sees it, "The only possible solution is increased postage rates to assure better service and to introduce financial sanity in the handling of the fiscal affairs of this huge businesslike operation within Government."

We usually think of these proposed increases in rates in terms of letter postage. But fiscal reforms should not stop there. Parcel post (the fourth-class-mail classification) is reported to be still operating at a deficit, and is thus subsidized by tht taxpayers, despite the rate increases Mr. Summerfield mentioned. And parcel post imposes a heavy burden on the Department's physical facilities that are in need of modernization and expansion—for it is reported to account for more than 56 percent of the weight of all domestic mail.

Making the user pay the full cost of such service would both relieve pressure on the Post Office Department, and on the strained Federal Treasury itself. And this would help the Department, to quote Mr. Summerfield again, to "contribute its share to the balancing of the Federal budget, so essential to the economic well-being and security of 170 million Americans."

A Bill To Provide for a U. S. S. "Arizona" Memorial at Pearl Harbor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, on March 11, 1957, I introduced H. R. 5809 to provide for a U. S. S. *Arizona* memorial at Pearl Harbor, T. H. I was joined in introduction by the Honorable CARLTON J. LOSER, of Tennessee (H. R. 5833). Some other Members have indicated a desire also to cosponsor the measure. I welcome their cosponsorship.

It has been truthfully said that the past is but the prolog of the future. The inspiration of the battleship *Arizona* and the significance of the sacrifice of the 1,102 great Americans whose tomb the *Arizona* is should be preserved to honor those who died and remind those who live of the sacrifice demanded of all who would preserve the heritage bequeathed us.

For the information and edification of the Members of Congress and the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include herewith an article from the Nashville Banner of March 13, as well as an editorial from the same paper:

PEARL HARBOR REMEMBERED

It is with gratification the Banner notes Nashville's Representative J. CARLTON LOSER has introduced a bill in Congress to provide a memorial at Pearl Harbor for the battleship *Arizona*, sunk in the sneak attack of December 7, 1941, with the loss of 1,102 men aboard.

Following a Navy-sponsored tour of Pearl Harbor last year, the Banner's managing editor was haunted by the fact that the sunken ship was rusting away beneath the salt water with no effort being made to memorialize those for whom the war ended as it began. In an article published in these pages on the 15th anniversary of Pearl Harbor, it was suggested that the sentiment of a bronze plaque and a flagpole was insufficient for such an American shrine. A public subscription was urged to establish a fitting and lasting memorial.

It was upon that suggestion that Representative LOSER acted in introducing his bill calling for the Navy's cooperation with the Pacific War Memorial Commission in developing plans for a fund-raising campaign to establish the project. His commendable action should serve to jog the memory of Pearl Harbor and pave the way for Americans to prove again that pride and gratitude are not so perishable as a ship's steel hulk before the inexorable force of time and tide.

The Banner congratulates Representative LOSER for his service to a cause long neglected.

REMINDER OF PEARL HARBOR: LOSER SEEKS MEMORIAL FOR ILL-FATED "ARIZONA"

WASHINGTON.—Representative J. CARLTON LOSER, of Nashville, today introduced a bill to provide a memorial at Pearl Harbor for the battleship *Arizona* sunk in the Japanese attack on Hawaii.

LOSER said he acted on a suggestion by Ed Clark Ford, managing editor of the Banner who wrote and published on December 7, 1956, an article urging recognition of the hulk of the sunken ship.

LOSER's bill would authorize the Secretary of the Navy to cooperate with the Pacific War Memorial Commission of Hawaii in developing a design for a memorial and museum to be built at, or near, the site of the hulk of the U. S. S. *Arizona*.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

The Secretary would also be empowered to furnish publicity material for a public subscription campaign to raise funds for the memorial and museum.

The Navy would later build the project with the private funds and maintain it for the use of the public.

LOSER said Ford first suggested the idea in a Banner article which the Congressman placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Delegate JOHN A. BURNS, of Hawaii, noticed the article in the RECORD and is cooperating with LOSER in sponsoring the legislation.

ARTICLE REPRODUCED

The article by Ford headlined, "The sea decays a hallowed shrine," has been reproduced in the Navy Times and the Naval Air Training Command's magazine. After its appearance in the Banner, Secretary of the Navy Charles S. Thomas wrote Ford that it was his hope appropriate legislation would be introduced and passed in this session of Congress "in keeping with that national spirit exemplified by memorials to our war dead throughout the world."

Problems of the Average Small-Business Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, there is a great need for this Congress to take decisive and constructive action toward improving the climate in which small business operates today.

This week I received an excellent letter from a successful, young South Dakota businessman, R. B. Wheeler, of Lemmon, which outlined in some detail the problems facing the average small-business man. I believe the premise of his letter could be summarized with this statement which I quote from his letter:

Many of our local businesses are operating in a balance that is extremely close where nearly any adverse condition will put their solvency in jeopardy.

He went on to write that while many small-business men are showing an increase in net worth in dollars, the gain is very slow and the numerical dollars are misleading. This is true because of inflation, and deflation brought about by a possible recession would destroy much of this net worth because of its highly depreciable inventories and accounts.

He emphasized that numerous businesses are unable to reduce their liabilities from year to year. In addition, they often find their cash position to be in worse balance from 1 year to the next.

He concluded the net result of this is that the small business must expand its volume in order to take on these additional loads. But at the same time the small business is powerless to expand at a rapid rate because of the income-tax structure.

Mr. Wheeler then commended the President for his recommendation that relief be granted to small business, allowing them to receive the essential benefits from tax reduction.

I have restated several of the ideas from this businessman's letter because it typifies the comments and suggestions I have been receiving. I therefore feel it is essential that small business be granted tax relief, and I have joined several other of my colleagues in introducing a bill to accomplish that purpose.

The bill calls for a substantial tax relief for small firms with incomes under $150,000 a year. It is designed to continue the protection Congress has historically afforded small business in this country and yet permit small firms to grow and adapt themselves to the complexities of our modern economy. It is very true, just as my businessman friend had indicated, that profits of small firms are subject to more frequent and violent fluctuations over a period of years than those of larger concerns. The inability of small businesses to retain stable earnings, both because of high taxes and these fluctuations, prevents the use of earnings for needed expansion and investment.

Congress has a commendable record of passing legislation through the years that in most instances has permitted a healthy climate for business. This started in 1890 when a Republican Congress passed the Sherman Antitrust Act. Since that time Congress has attempted, with considerable success, to protect small businesses, prevent restraint of trade, and maintain competition in the free enterprise system that has made this Nation great. Nonetheless small business must be given a better tax break if it is to continue as the cornerstone, yes, the very foundation, of the American free enterprise systems. Small firms usually start operations undercapitalized and even after some successful operation are unable to attract sufficient investment capital.

The bill I am offering provides for necessary growth and modernization of small businesses by initiating a reduction in normal tax rate from 30 percent to 20 percent and also providing small firms with tax amortization certificates enabling them to write off over a 5-year period the cost of expanding and modernizing their facilities.

In addition, if the small firm's taxable income is not over $10,000, it would be allowed to deduct for modernization purposes up to 50 percent of its taxable income with the deductible percentage reducing as income increases.

Other sections of the bill would provide accelerated depreciation on purchases of used equipment or property, allow an exemption from estate taxes for the so-called good will of a firm as an incentive to its owners to continue the business after the death of one of the leading figures, and provide for installment payment of estate taxes over a 10-year period to prevent disruption of business operations.

These benefits would serve as an incentive for persons to invest in small firms as would the additional provision for more liberal treatment for losses and bad debts.

The multiple benefits of this proposed legislation also apply to the farmer as a small-business man. This is also important to the farming and ranching business in South Dakota. Many family-sized farms and ranches would benefit greatly from the exemption for the improvement, modernization, and renewal of buildings and equipment used in the production of agricultural commodities.

Tax Merry-Go-Round

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an editorial which appeared in the Janesville Daily Gazette on March 9, 1957, in which the editor points out just what is going on in this matter of taxing and spending. The editorial follows:

TAX MERRY-GO-ROUND

A cartoon on this page today captures the nub of high taxes and high spending.

Everyone is for government economy and for lower taxes. The trouble is that there are too many who want economy somewhere else, and tax spending for their own pet project.

Janesville, Rock County, and Wisconsin are not without blame for the system as we have it. We in Janesville are now in line for State-Federal help in reconstruction of Highway 51 through the city, along with a new bridge.

As a second example, Rock County is hopeful of obtaining $90,000 in State and Federal funds to cover 75 percent of the cost of a new terminal building at the county airport. Both city and county are looking for aid in bridge and road building.

While there is opposition, heads of the Wisconsin educational system are among those on record as favoring Federal aid for schools. Federal interstate and primary highways are already on the drawing boards.

As city and county citizens contributing heavily in Federal and State taxes, our only hope of getting anything for our money is to grasp for handouts from Madison and Washington. If we could pay our money into the home town treasury we could easily finance all of the improvements for which outside money is "given" to us and save a prodigious amount besides.

By asking for a share of our own money back for local developments, however, we contribute to what State and Federal office-holders call pressure. Since the money is already being taken away from us and we are put in the position where we must ask that some of it be returned, we are "demanding" more and more in Government

services and expenses. Our representatives in Washington and Madison are thus put in the position where they can do us a favor by handing back a small percentage of what has been taken away from us.

Crazy? Yes, but that's the way America is running today.

How H. R. 11 Affects Freight Absorption

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most frequent questions raised about H. R. 11, the equality-of-opportunity bill, is whether or not, under this bill, producers could absorb freight. I would like to answer this question and in doing so, I believe that I may be able to point out some aspects of the present law on which some of the Members may not be fully informed.

To illustrate, several days ago I received a letter from one of the smaller steel companies which I quote, in part, as follows:

Our competition is from small companies up through to the largest, United States Steel Corp.

We have to make freight allowances when our customer's plant is nearer to another strip steel mill than to ours. That means that our prices vary according to the location of our customer.

We cannot stay in business unless we are allowed to meet competitive prices.

Under H. R. 11, introduced by you, would we be allowed to meet this competition?

In my reply to the above question, I have tried to point out what the present law on freight absorption is and how H. R. 11 would fit into the present law. My reply to the gentleman's letter is as follows:

DEAR SIR: • • • This bill will not prevent freight absorption; and I think that it will in no way change existing law with respect to freight absorption practices described in your letter.

DEFINITION OF ILLEGAL PRICE DISCRIMINATION

The bill is concerned only with a supplier's discriminations in price as between its different customers where the effect may be, in the language of the bill, "substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly." This language which defines an illegal discrimination is, incidentally, the same language which defines an illegal merger under section 7 of the act and an illegal exclusive-dealing contract under section 3 of the act.

THREE KINDS OF "SUBSTANTIAL LESSENING" OF COMPETITION

Perhaps the best way to clarify the matter for you is to point out that three entirely different kinds of competitive situations have come to be regarded as "substantially lessening" of competition under the act. The legislative purpose of the act, both in 1914 and in 1936, and now, is to curb price discrimination simply for the reason that the practice involves an abuse of marketing size whereby big firms destroy or squeeze out smaller firms.

(1) Big supplier destroys small suppliers

Thus one kind of "substantial lessening" occurs where a producer which has a considerable size advantage over its competitors, by discriminating in price, destroys the smaller competitors. In 1914, the Congress was mainly concerned with this kind of "substantial lessening." For example, the old Standard Oil Co. which was subdivided in 1912, had acquired better than a 90 percent monopoly of refined products simply by cutting prices in one market at a time until it destroyed its smaller competitors or drove them into merger.

(2) Supplier creates inequalities among his dealers

Another effect of the supplier's discriminating in price is, however, that when you have a general regime of discrimination the almost invariable rule is that the big buyers receive an unearned advantage by which they may destroy or squeeze out smaller competing buyers. This is the kind of substantial lessening with which we were principally concerned in 1936 and with which H. R. 11 is concerned.

(3) Suppliers restrain competition among themselves

Beginning with its so-called basing-point cases of a decade or so ago, however, the Federal Trade Commission injected a third kind of substantial lessening of competition. Thus there were several cases in which the Commission charged, and subsequently found, that in some industries the producers maintained a basing-point system of pricing by agreement and conspiracy in violation of the anticonspiracy law. In several of these cases the Commission threw in collateral charges that the antiprice discrimination law had also been violated, on the theory that the conspiratorial basing-point system involved a systematic discrimination in prices. The substantial lessening of competition which was alleged to flow from this discrimination, was not that big producers were destroying small producers by unfair means or otherwise. It was also not alleged to be that the discriminations created any inequalities among competing buyers which put some buyers at a substantial competitive disadvantage over others. Rather the allegation was, as would logically flow from the conspiracy charge, that price competition among the producers engaged in the systematic discriminations had disappeared and thus there was a substantial lessening of competition among these producers. The Supreme Court upheld this theory in the Cement case.

DISCRIMINATIONS MADE BY CONSPIRACY ARE NOT IN GOOD FAITH

Coming back now to H. R. 11, it is concerned only with the abuse of power kind of lessening of competition by which bigger firms destroy smaller firms. It is not concerned with conspiracy or conspiracy-type situations. In short, the bill amends only the so-called good faith defense in section 2 (b) of the act. The bill says, in effect, that where a supplier's discriminatory practice results in a substantial lessening of competition or tendency to create a monopoly, the practice is illegal despite the fact that the discriminations may be made in good faith to meet the lower price of a competitor. Such substantial lessening will require the enforcement agencies to prove that the supplier is creating such inequalities among competing customers that competition is substantially lessened.

The "good faith" phrase in the law, under present interpretation, is a presumptive matter. The seller who shows that his discrimination was made to meet the lower price of a competitor, or shows that he had reason to believe that he was meeting the price of a competitor, although he may not have been doing so in fact, is presumed to be in "good faith". This presumption is overturned, however, and the absence of good faith is established, where the enforcement agencies show the existence of a conspiracy to carry on the discriminations. Hence our third kind of "substantial lessening", which rests on a conspiracy, is not now justified by the 2 (b) defense, since it does not now pass the "good faith" test.

WHAT H. R. 11 REQUIRES

All of this means that under the bill, the seller would be required to avoid creating such gross inequalities among competing buyers that competition is "substantially lessened". Nothing would be added to or taken from the present requirement that the seller also avoid agreements or common understandings with his competitors to use a pricing system to lessen competition among themselves.

I hope you will pardon the great length of this letter; I wanted to try to make sure that you understand precisely what is involved in the bill.

Sincerely yours,

WRIGHT PATMAN.

Will the Budget Be Cut?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of Thursday, March 14, 1957, entitled "According to the Rules." This is a rather cynical approach, but the editors of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch have been long time advocates of bigger government in Washington which means bigger Federal budgets. The cynicism set forth in the editorial regretably may be justified, however, I am hopeful that this time the people are really behind the movement to cut down on the size of big government in Washington. Nonetheless, I do not believe I will accept the bet the editors offer.

The editorial follows:

ACCORDING TO THE RULES

Nobody should take too seriously the strictly party-line vote by which the House passed a resolution calling upon President Eisenhower to point out where budget cuts can be made. This is just part of the ping-pong game the executive branch and the Congress are playing with the White House recommendations for the biggest peacetime budget in history.

Mr. Eisenhower, who is supposed to be a novice, has learned the game pretty well himself. He batted the ball right back by simultaneously (1) denying that he had ever asked Congress to cut his budget; (2) challenging Congress to go ahead and cut it; (3) putting in a plug for 4-cent letter postage.

It's all part of the game and the game bears a close relationship to two events—to the strident economy cries emanating from business organizations, and to the income-tax consciousness of the public as April 15 with fateful implacability approaches.

After April 15, we'd be willing to bet, there will be much less talk about economy in Washington. The punitive 26 percent slash in appropriations for the White House, just triumphantly voted by the House, will then be quietly restored in the Senate, and the House will quietly accept the restoration. The speeches will be loud, and the voting

soft. And when it is all over, the total sums available for spending will in all likelihood be pretty close to the $71.8 billion that is recommended but not defended by the administration. That is usually the way it goes with budgets.

Homes Versus Ships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, in my Fifth Congressional District of Florida veterans are having a most difficult time getting mortgage money for homes because the 4½-interest rate is not a sufficient inducement to lenders in today's high money market.

A preliminary examination of a questionnaire I sent out to the people of my district shows that the majority favor an increase in the VA mortgage rates.

In connection with this situation, I present a timely editorial from the Orlando Sentinel, Orlando, Fla., of March 15, 1957:

HOMES VERSUS SHIPS

The complexity of present-day Government grows more and more confusing to the average citizen.

In a recent hearing before the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House it was revealed that the Government backs maritime 5½ percent bonds 100 percent, while its guaranty for 4½ percent GI mortgage loans on homes is only 60 percent.

To us this is just like saying it is more important that Gulf, Bethelehem, Ingalls and other big shipbuilding firms are financed than it is to house the men who fought our last two wars for us.

Naturally any moneylender is going to grab a 5½ percent, 100-percent guaranteed bond ahead of a 4½ percent, 60-percent guaranteed piece of paper.

Bowery Savings Bank bought $110 million of the maritime bonds. Before the tight money market beset the Nation Bowery had invested $160 million in Florida home mortgages.

It is apparent that unless interest rates on VA loans are raised to at least 5 percent, this source of money and business and new homes that growing Florida sorely needs will dry up.

Brailey Odham, of Sanford, told the committee in Washington that veterans are far more interested in getting well-built homes they can afford than they are in the interest rate they pay for the money.

"They want to know what the monthly payments are," said Odham. "They are intelligent people. They read the newspapers and know what is going on. They certainly know money is tight."

The Congress is the only body which can keep the important VA program going.

In Florida there have been 116,000 VA homes built and loans made. Losses suffered have been one-twentieth of 1 percent.

Here is a program which has been proved worthwhile.

Why abandon it when a mere adjustment to meet a changing money market would keep it pumping life into growing States?

If the money market goes the other way there's nothing to prevent Congress from lowering the rate. It started out at 4 percent, rose to 4½ percent, and now should go to at least 5 percent.

Congress ought to take a realistic view of this important part of our economy.

Louis Hector, Nominee for CAB Vacancy, Outstanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it is axiomatic that there are at least two sides to every question. In one of his recent columns Drew Pearson presented one interpretation of the significance of the nomination of Mr. Louis Hector, of Miami, to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

The question of what is truth is not a simple one. In our complex world no single fact stands alone, rather even a supposedly simple fact necessarily rests on certain assumptions and points of view. We are all more or less in the position of the five blind men who sought to describe an elephant.

It is much the same way with news. One columnist or newspaper may touch a part of the truth and the public thinks, "This is how it is." But, one cannot always get a correct overall picture of the truth from an understanding of only one or more parts of the news. To get the whole truth, one needs to get the whole story.

I have known the Hector family for over 20 years. They are one of Florida's finest. Louis Hector is an outstanding man. He has the ability, integrity, judgment, and character to do an excellent job.

In the case of Mr. Hector's nomination, Mr. David Kraslow, the Washington correspondent of the Miami Herald, has interviewed the people concerned and come up with a number of points which support a quite different overall interpretation from that advanced by Drew Pearson. Representative government requires an enlightened public aware of both sides of important questions. We are all agreed that a responsible press is one of the greatest means of promoting an enlightened public.

Mr. Kraslow's article follows:

PEARSON FOUND OFF THE BEAM ON CAB CHOICE

(By David Kraslow)

WASHINGTON.—It was only little more than a week ago that columnist Drew Pearson observed Washington's Birthday by writing an open letter to his grandson about the meaning of truth.

Pearson's letter appeared in the Miami Herald, which regularly publishes his column.

It was a good letter simply because it stressed that which needs stressing, and not just on Washington's Birthday.

Truth and accurate reporting, as Pearson well knows, are trademarks of responsible journalism.

HANDPICKED?

Yet on the day after he wrote the letter about truth, Pearson clobbered Louis Hector, a Miami attorney, with an unfair and wholly irresponsible bit of reporting.

Hector is about to become the first Floridian ever to serve on the Civil Aeronautics Board. There is nothing in his past to indicate anything but respectability.

Hector hasn't even been confirmed by the Senate, but Pearson already has him, in effect, using his position on the CAB to carry the ball for Pan American World Airways.

This is because, according to Pearson:

Hector was handpicked for the job by Senator GEORGE SMATHERS, and the Senator's law firm in Miami—Smathers, Thompson & Dyer—represents PAA.

ADDITION WRONG

It's no secret that SMATHER'S law firm represents PAA in court actions or that SMATHERS and Hector have been longtime friends, or that SMATHERS strongly supported Hector's appointment.

It's just that Pearson's addition is all wet.

If Pearson had bothered to make a few telephone calls, he would have come up with an entirely different story—one supported by the facts.

HOLLAND DID IT

It was Senator SPESSARD HOLLAND, not SMATHERS, who talked to Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams about getting Hector on the CAB.

And HOLLAND'S law firm in Bartow, incidentally, does not represent PAA.

HOLLAND talked with Adams about Hector on 3 or 4 occasions. Adams even telephoned HOLLAND once to obtain additional information on Hector.

Hector is far from a stranger to HOLLAND. The Senator has known the family for many years. When he was governor in 1941, he appointed Hector's father, Harry, to the State road board.

BOYD MENTIONED

When a former Texas Congressman turned down the CAB appointment and it began to appear as if a Floridian could get the Democratic vacancy, SMATHERS telephoned HOLLAND in Florida.

During that conversation, SMATHERS suggested Alan Boyd, chairman of the Florida Railroad and Public Utilities Commission, for the job, and said he thought Hector might also be considered.

Boyd was SMATHERS' top choice after John Stembler, of Atlanta, a former Miamian, was no longer in the picture.

SMATHERS asked HOLLAND to contact Adams and recommend Boyd and Hector. SMATHERS told HOLLAND he felt HOLLAND ought to be the one to do this because he was closer to Adams.

HOLLAND agreed, but only on the condition that Hector be placed first and Boyd second. He said he had a high regard for Boyd, but felt that Hector had to be his first choice. SMATHERS agreed to go along.

Later, Boyd asked that his name be withdrawn, leaving the field pretty much to Hector.

And that, Mr. Pearson, is how the people who know say it happened.

TOUCH OF IRONY

There's a touch of irony to having Hector tabbed as a PAA man.

Hector was, for a time, with a Miami law firm which then represented—and still represents—National Airlines.

This was known by Adams before the White House announced the nomination.

It would seem that Hector deserves to be judged on his performance as a CAB member, rather than prejudged on the basis of conclusions which do not appear to be supported by the facts.

Brief in Answer to the Army's Case for Closing the Murphy General Hospital, Waltham, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following brief in answer to the Army's case for closing the Murphy General Hospital, Waltham, Mass., which has been submitted by Mr. Kenneth T. Lyons, national commander of the Federal Employees Veterans' Association, Watertown, Mass.:

In answer to the Army's six-point program as to why the hospital should close, the Federal Employees Veterans' Association produces the following facts and figures showing where the Army exaggerated and misconstrued the hospital's extreme value.

1. The Army's claim that the hospital was doing only a trickle of business compared with other Army general hospitals and that of what it did during the Korean war is not true. The fact is that Murphy Army General Hospital is operating at 80 percent capacity (129 bed patients, 2,800 outpatients per month) as authorized by Congress.

2. The Army's claim that cost per patient was nearly double corresponding costs for other general hospitals throughout the Nation might be true but the Army's authorized strength of officers and enlisted personnel to service the hospital is 173 but presently assigned to the hospital are 215. Authorized doctors' pay is $10,851 per month, actually assigned doctors' salary is $17,000 per month. Enlisted payroll per month is $23,000 or $7,000 more than authorized. From these figures of overstaffing by the Army in Washington, we can easily see why Murphy's costs run higher than those of other Army hospitals.

3. The Army's claim that there are adequate facilities for accommodating servicemen and their families at five other installations in Massachusetts is violently incorrect. At present there are three station dispensaries (not hospitals) caring for minor injuries and emergencies located at the Army Base, Boston; Hanscom Air Field and Westover Air Base, who after preliminary treatment transfer these patients to Murphy Army Hospital. Chelsea Naval Hospital and Fort Devens facilities are operating under full-capacity loads.

4. The Army's claim that there are three times as many hospital employees at Murphy Army Hospital as there were patients is most ridiculous. Murphy has 214 civilian employees caring for 129 bed patients and 2,800 outpatients per month. The civilian personnel are also assigned to the care, preservation and maintenance of the Air Force and the Department of Engineers areas who are now occupying one-third of the total hospital facilities.

5. The Army's claim that highly skilled medical personnel were desperately needed in other assignments throughout the country is easily refuted when you consider the number of Air Force, Army, and other military personnel assigned to this area who are in constant need of proper medical attention. We are in a greater need for a general hospital than any other area due to our vast military population. At present many New England armed service personnel are being sent to hospitals in Washington, D. C., and Pennsylvania due to inadequate facilities here.

6. The Army's claim that the Air Force and Department of Engineers need for space of the entire hospital will help the economy of Waltham and will satisfy these two units' need for additional space is "false economy" as both the Air Force and the Department of Engineers had ample opportunity to make use of thousands of square feet of vacant space in vacant buildings at the Boston Army Base. Local economy at the expense of depriving proper medical attention and service to military personnel and their dependents as well as retired military personnel is against our American way of life.

At present the following services have been given by the hospital to military personnel, their dependents and to retired military personnel during the month of January:

Outpatients	2,800
Admissions, bed patients	249
Laboratory tests	4,000
Prescriptions filled	5,200
X-rays	1,700

The medical care bill that was passed by Congress in 1956 was not a cure-all for military personnel and their dependents due to redtape and loopholes incorporated in the medicare bill. Actually the Army hospital has shown a 20 percent increase in services since the passage of the medicare bill.

To close the Murphy Army Hospital at a time when we have just introduced the largest peacetime defense budget together with the fact that there has been no lessening of our military strength is dangerous and can only bring severe hardships to thousands of Massachusetts and New England people.

Here's What Happened to the Republican Corn Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, despite warnings that corn and livestock prices might be jeopardized if an emergency corn program was not enacted immediately, the Democratic-controlled House on Wednesday last killed off such a Republican-sponsored program by a vote of 217 to 188. Several days earlier, the House killed a similar Republican-backed plan by a vote of 187 to 180.

I am sure the corn farmers of the country are not fooled by what happened to the badly needed corn legislation. Certainly the Nation's press was not fooled and placed the responsibility squarely on the Democrat majority. Let me cite just a few representative headlines which tell the story.

The Washington Post and Times Herald pinned the blame where it belongs in the following headline: "House Democrats Block GOP Move for Emergency Midwest Corn Relief." Here are some other headlines worth noting:

Minneapolis Tribune: "Democrats Beat Ike Corn Soil Bank Bill."

Indianapolis Star: "House Beats GOP's Corn Bill in Row."

Roanoke (Va.) Times: "House Kills GOP Farm Bill To Aid Corngrowers."

Tulsa Daily World: "Demos Defeat Corn Relief by Seven Votes."

New York Times: "GOP Corn Subsidy Plan Killed in House, 217 to 180."

Baltimore Sun: "GOP Corn Aid Bill Loses."

American Legion Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, the American Legion has just celebrated its 38th anniversary. I am sure that we all owe a debt of gratitude to the men and women of this great organization—not only for their sacrificial service in wartime, but for their continuing interest in the kind of a peacetime America for which good Americans have always worked and fought. The record of the American Legion in such vital fields as national defense, child welfare, education, and civic improvement is well known.

The Watertown (S. Dak.) Public Opinion, in an editorial dated March 13, 1957, has ably summarized some of the many distinguished achievements of the Legionnaires. The editorial is reproduced as follows:

AMERICAN LEGION BIRTHDAY

The American Legion, launched just after the armistice that ended the fighting in World War I in 1917, and formally organized a few months later, celebrates its 38th anniversary this week, March 15–17.

Its potential strength now augmented by the younger veterans of service in World War II and the Korean affair, the American Legion arrives at its 38th birthday with the largest membership in its history. Reports to the Codington County Post show that the Legion numbered more than 2 million members who had paid their 1957 dues before the first of this year, this achievement reflecting new interest in this organization among veterans substantiates the American Legion's expectation that it will pass the 3 million mark by a wide margin during 1957.

The American Legion has been a great power for good in the United States. It has been a good friend of education, largely instrumental in the organization and continued annual observance of American Education Week. It has been vigorously active in the fight against communism. It has had a broad and effective child welfare program for years. It has championed national security.

The American Legion has been nationally active in youth programs and in community civic development. Two of the outstanding achievements of the Legion in these fields in this community have been its sponsorship of the junior baseball programs and its purchase and donation to the city of Watertown of several acres of land as a site for the new armory, 4-H Club, and other facilities scheduled for construction this season.

Veterans' welfare has been one of the uppermost considerations in the Legion program in which it has effectively sponsored or campaigned for veterans legislation at the State and National level. It effectively supported organization and establishment of the Veterans' Administration.

Veterans of the last war benefited materially from the foresight of the older veterans, who were largely instrumental in bringing

about adoption of the GI bill of rights. More than 10 million World War II veterans received educational and vocational training at Government expense under the educational program set up by this American Legion-supported legislation.

The American Legion has a proud record of promoting both the national interest and the welfare of the Nation's defenders. It is entitled to a 38-gun birthday salute.

Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 4, 1957

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following resolution adopted by the American Lithuanian Council of Norwood, Mass., in connection with the observance of the 39th anniversary of the declaration of independence by Lithuania.

We, the Lithuanian Americans of the town of Norwood, Mass., gathered together on the 17th day of February 1957, to recall to mind the valiant efforts of the Lithuanian nation in the great struggle for freedom and to commemorate the 39th anniversary of her declaration of independence.

Whereas having dutifully listened to the orators and their inspirational messages, fully aware of the gravity of the international crisis that has confronted the world during the past year and the present, cognizant of the horrendous reality which exists in the land of our ancestors—Lithuania, and also in all the Communist enslaved nations as was so shockingly demonstrated by the cruelty perpetrated in Hungary;

Whereas the Communist rulers of Russia violated all the human rights guaranteed under the United Nations Charter, in the Declaration of Human Rights, in the Genocide Convention and other bilateral agreements: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we humbly appeal to the conscience of the people of the free world, begging for their help in the name of justice and freedom; be it further

Resolved, That we protest the annihilation of nations and the suppression of the freedom in the lands under Communist domination; be it finally

Resolved, To petition the Government of the United States:

(1) To utilize all imaginable ways and means of stopping the annihilation of the Lithuanian nation and bring an end to their forced exile in the slave camps of Siberia;

(2) To compel the Russian Government to withdraw its forces of occupation from Lithuania and allow the people of this land to choose freely their own form of government and reestablish a free democratic Lithuanian nation;

(3) To request the United States delegation to the United Nations, to bring up the question of the unjust occupation of Lithuania by the Communist Russian Government, condemn Russia as an unjust aggressor and impose sanctions upon her.

THE AMERICAN LITHUANIAN COUNCIL,
JOHN M. PECHULIS,
Chapter President.
PAUL TYLER, *Secretary.*

WALPOLE, MASS.

Thoughts on Labor, 1861–1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Frank X. Veit is an officer of the Superior Court of the State of California in and for the county of Alameda and has been in that position for many years.

Prior to assuming his duties with the court, Frank Veit was an active member of the Molders' and Foundry Workers' Union and a sterling leader in the community of Newark, Calif., in which he resides.

In the February 1957 issue of the International Molders' and Foundry Workers' Journal an article appears by Mr. Veit entitled "Thoughts on Labor, 1861–1957." With this article, he included the statement by President Abraham Lincoln on the priority of labor.

I believe that this article is worthy of consideration by my colleagues and, under unanimous consent, I insert it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THOUGHTS ON LABOR, 1861–1957

(By Frank X. Veit)

The month of February each year reminds the writer of our great President, Abraham Lincoln, and his birthday being celebrated this month.

It is regrettable that so few know the history of this great man. It is regrettable that Lincoln's priority-of-labor message to Congress is seldom, if ever, quoted at the many annual Lincoln Day dinners. In fact, the publicity of his priority-of-labor message is almost nil.

In the many years of experience of the writer, as a member of the Molders' and Foundry Workers' Union, as a delegate from local union No. 164 to the convention of the international union held in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1923, as a representative to the stove and heater conference several times, and as chief superior court clerk of the Superior Court for the State of California in and for the county of Alameda, Oakland, Calif., the writer has observed much about the law and its application, including the far-reaching Taft-Hartley Act and the part of the act which allows individual States to establish the so-called right-to-work laws. How this right to join or not to join a labor union can be construed as beneficial and protective for the workers is beyond the writer's knowledge of fairness or decency. Some of its cleverly worded features practically nullify organized labor, or reduce its effect to a minimum. Its sponsors and advocates know full well that the main intent and purpose is to individualize labor for easy exploitation purposes and to minimize collective bargaining by organization labor. It is their wish that by establishing a State right-to-work law, they can return to the nonunion or open shops of the days gone by.

The right to join or not to join a labor union is not the real issue. It's phony and pure propaganda promoted by the main sponsors and advocates of the Taft-Hartley Act. They wish participation of the nonmembers equally with the membership of organized labor in the benefits, working conditions, wages, and other compensations established by the membership of labor unions through collective bargaining, without the nonmembers sharing equally with the members in maintaining the obligations and burdens which are necessary to maintain labor unions. In this way, they feel that eventually, enough of the people will quit the unions to cause them to disintegrate.

It should be a well-known fact that under individual bargaining, there is no bargaining or equality of bargaining power between the individual employee and the employer, and this inequality of bargaining permits the employer to make all bargains and terms and the individual employee either takes them or leaves them, according to his necessity to work and the availability of jobs.

"In numbers there is strength and security." This is worth remembering. Without 100-percent organization in a plant, there is no real effective collective bargaining power. There is a fundamental and sound principle of law that says that, "all laws must be equally applicable and obligatory upon all, and he that takes the benefit shall bear the burden." In accordance with that fundamental and sound principle of law, it follows with, "no person has the right to participate in the benefits, working conditions, wages, and compensation established by collective bargaining, without also participation equally in the obligations as a member of a labor union."

Prior to the Taft-Hartley Act, we had the Wagner Labor Act, which was established in 1935. There was nothing wrong with this labor act except that a few people felt it gave labor too many rights, and so to tighten up on labor, the Taft-Hartley Act was written to replace it. The advice of the writer to labor is to read and study the Taft-Hartley labor law together with the Wagner labor law and familiarize itself with the features of both and then to compare both with Lincoln's prophetic and immortal words in his "Priority of Labor" message to Congress. In view of Lincoln's prophetic words, it is reasonable to assume that, were he President at the time of the passage of the Taft-Hartley labor law, he would have vetoed the act.

"THE PRIORITY OF LABOR

"(By Abraham Lincoln, from one of his messages to Congress)

"I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me, and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all the wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment, more anxiety for the safety of our country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my forebodings may be groundless.

"Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit to raise a warning voice against the approach of returning despotism. It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask brief attention. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could not have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher con-

sideration. I bid the laboring people beware of surrendering the power which they possess, and which if surrendered will surely be used to shut the door of advancement for such as they, and fix new disabilities and burdens upon them until all of liberty shall be lost.

"In the early days of our race, the Almighty said to the first of mankind, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' and since then, if we except the light and air of Heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without first having cost labor, and inasmuch as most good things have been produced by labor, it follows that all such things belong of right to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored and others have without labor enjoyed a large portion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any government.

"It seems strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing bread from the sweat of other men's faces. This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it."

This Is "Declaration of Dependence" Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Reverend James Keller, in a recent news article, calls attention to a historic fact of some significance. It appears that the First Continental Congress issued a solemn proclamation of reliance upon God. John Hancock, as President of that First Continental Congress, signed what was called the Declaration of Dependence.

It would seem to me, Mr. Speaker, that this Congress should well reaffirm the dedication of that First Continental Congress that as a Christian people, we depend upon Almighty God to sustain us in our personal lives and as a nation.

The article by Rev. James Keller follows:

THREE MINUTES A DAY—IMPORTANT DECLARATION

(By Rev. James Keller)

On July 12, 1775, a year before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the First Continental Congress issued a solemn proclamation of reliance upon God. It has since become known as the Declaration of Dependence. John Hancock signed it as President of this Congress.

It urged the observance of a special day of prayer for divine guidance in the crisis facing the young Nation.

Here are the opening words:

"As the great Governor of the world, by His supreme and universal providence, not only conducts the course of nature with unerring wisdom and rectitude, but frequently influence the minds of men to serve the wise and gracious purpose of His providential government."

Dependence upon Almighty God was an outstanding feature of the beginnings of our great country. It must continue if we are to survive as a free nation.

Those who would undermine our country are champions of atheism. They know they must first remove that "dependence" on God before they can enslave us. That should be a challenge for all of us to be up and doing.

"The fool hath said in his heart: There is no God." (Psalms 13: 1.)

Awaken us, O Jesus, to a renewed sense of dependence on Thee.

Tax Rate Extension Act of 1957

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4090) to provide a 1-year extension of the existing corporate normal-tax rate and of certain excise tax rates.

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Chairman, it was with great reluctance that I voted, along with other Members of the House, for H. R. 4090, extending the tax rate on certain commodities for 1 year. Not only did this extend the normal-tax rate, but it extended excise tax rates on these commodities.

The commodities themselves are not the important items in this consideration; the danger of this legislation is that it recognizes the spending spree of the Eisenhower administration, and gives no hope to the American taxpayer, and the American businessman, for tax reductions.

We all know that the budget submitted to us by the administration is preposterous. On the one hand, the administration recommends appropriations in the budget and, on the other hand, says the budget must be cut. It does so without any apparent difficulties of conscience, and tells the American taxpayer to look to the Congress.

In the hearings on this legislation we have just passed, if I am correctly informed, the administration describes the extension of the tax rate as a necessity in order to meet the heavy expense of the Government.

I am surprised they did tell us this is an emergency as the Eisenhower administration, under the leadership of Mr. Dulles, has kept us in a state of emergency for 5 years. I just wonder how much of the money is committed to some despotic government, and how little the American taxpayer is going to get out of the extension of this tax rate.

I hope and pray that this Congress in 1958 will give a tax cut to the American people. If the administration will not assume the leadership in this necessary change in our affairs, then we must assume that leadership here in the House.

I know Mr. Cooper and his committee worked hard and diligently on this, hoping to get us a tax cut. He has told me; and he and his committee are just as distressed over this high spending as any other American citizen or group of citizens.

I shall continue to vote for a reduction in the budget and I hope that those departments of the Government where the budget is being reduced will renew their sense of obligation to the American people and will tighten their belts and help us reduce taxes next year.

Tight Money Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include letters from two of my constituents, and other material.

These letters from two prominent and successful men in separate fields of endeavor show the terrible toll that the tight money policy is taking.

The letters are from Mr. John Schwegmann, Jr., and Mr. Robley J. Gelpi.

The letters and article follow:

ROBLEY J. GELPI & SON,
New Orleans, La., March 7, 1957.

Hon. HALE BOGGS, M. C.,
Congressional Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR HALE: I am writing for information regarding the chaotic condition existing today in the $16 billion home-building industry.

From the reports we see in the press, it is apparent that the Congress is aware of the situation, but these reports indicate a state of confusion in the committee hearings.

Existing conditions in the home-building industry are the direct result of a monetary policy of the present administration. This policy could result in a serious economic recession, even a depression, if the Congress does not act immediately.

It is my opinion that the Congress should investigate the policies of the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal National Mortgage Association. These two agencies are directly responsible for the conditions existing today in the money-lending field.

The Federal Reserve Board's policy today seriously affects small business and has cost the Federal Government almost a billion dollars annually on its bonded indebtedness.

The Federal National Mortgage Association, created by Congress to bolster the mortgage market, is actually setting the prices that private money lenders are paying for mortgages. Today, FNMA is buying mortgages at 92; in other words, as a discount of 8 percent.

Did you know that FNMA has been paying 1 percent more for mortgage loans in Mississippi than in Louisiana or New Orleans?

I am enclosing a copy of the National Market Letter prepared by the Real Estate Research Corp. of Chicago. I have circled a section of this letter on page 2 regarding mortgage lending. This is very interesting, except that it does not state the price paid for the money.

I have talked with you several times in the past regarding this matter; however, it had never reached the serious proportions of the present time. Something has to be done to remedy this serious threat to the national economy, and I sincerely hope you see the threat as it really exists.

I would appreciate your advising me whether or not the Congress will act to rectify this condition at an early date, as well

as your views regarding my thoughts outlined above.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

ROBLEY J. GELPI.

SCHWEGMANN BROS.,
Metairie, La., March 8, 1957.

The Honorable HALE BOGGS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed is a copy of an article written by me that appeared in our advertisements the week of April 23, 1956, shortly after the Federal Reserve System increased its bank lending rate. Now, I believe, conditions are just as bad as we thought they would be, as shown in the article.

Do not misunderstand me, I believe the Government should take the necessary steps to combat inflation, but there is such as tightening the screws too far. Money conditions today are so tight that even long-established businesses (among which I count Schwegmann Bros., due to our phenomenal growth, the amount of business we do, and the public acceptance we enjoy) are having a very difficult time borrowing money. The usual sources of financing are not available, all due to the tight money situation.

No doubt you know that we are in the process of building our third store, a service which is greatly needed in the area where our building is located. Today, after contacting several insurance companies, most of them report they are not making any large loans and the ones who are lending any money at all are committed all the way into next year.

You can imagine the difficulty a small independent business-man would have obtaining financing for remodeling, not to mention expansion, if I am having trouble, with the assets I have, including a 50-percent equity in the building. In this area, I have not seen an independent branch out in the last 8 years, other than the first store or two. In our area we have national chain stores, instead of local men who pay taxes, vote, and spend their money here. I am not against national stores coming into our section, but I wish to point out to you that the independent has no chance to expand because the money market is not available to him. In regional shopping centers, of which we have two in the greater New Orleans area, independents were not eligible, because the financing paper could be sold much more readily if the occupants of the shopping center were nationally known or part of a national chain. At this time I am preparing a bond issue to be sold to my customers in the greater New Orleans area.

In the present tight money situation, the small independent business-man is being squeezed, and when I say small man, I include myself. And remember, this is a man-made situation. It was not brought about by economic necessity—it was artifically, purposefuily conceived in Washington, and unless this condition is changed, many people will be thrown out of work and many concerns will go into bankruptcy, especially those who have real estate in the process of dividing into subdivisions, etc.

I was prompted to write you this letter because of your interest in the small businessman, and because I believe I noticed in the paper that you were attempting to have some legislation put into effect to help the independent.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Yours very truly,

JOHN SCHWEGMANN, Jr.

[From the New Orleans Times-Picayune of April 23, 1956]

DOES THE GOVERNMENT THINK WE HAVE IT TOO GOOD?

Since last April, the Federal Reserve System has increased its bank lending rate five times. Last week it ordered into effect on its member banks the highest discount rate since 1933. This makes it more expensive for commercial banks to obtain money to satisfy their clients' demand for credit. Banks have to pay higher interest, therefore they must charge higher interest. Loans are harder to obtain, more collateral is asked, and general progress is impeded.

In order to have full employment, at good wages, it is necessary that sound business enterprises be able to secure credit at all times, and at low interest rates. This country operates on credit—which must be available and reasonably easy to secure. Under the increasingly high discount rates of the past year, the money market has tightened up considerably, which effectively ties the hands of all business which is planning expansion programs. It is especially hard on the small independent buinessman, because he must depend on his bank, while the large corporations can float a bond issue, or sell stocks. It is also hard on would-be homeowners, who have to pay higher interest on home loans. Every kind of a loan will be a little more difficult to get, and will cost more in interest—even installment loans on washing machines, televisions, or automobiles.

You may say—how could the Federal Reserve discount rate affect me? If you wish to own your own home, or if you buy anything on the installment plan, it affects you. To illustrate how much even a slight increase of one-half of 1 percent can affect the home buyer, when you buy a home costing $10,000 and pay for it over a 30-year period, 4 percent interest will amount to $7,210. When the interest rate is advanced by one-half of 1 percent, this increases the interest charges by $1,050. If you pay 6 percent interest, you might pay a total of $21,580 by the time you are through paying principal and interest on a $10,000 home.

Under the present tax structure, it is almost impossible for anyone to save money for the future, because there is so little left after taxes. Because so little can be accumulated from profits, no matter how successful a business is, money to expand and go forward must be borrowed. Sometimes the long term plans for expansion take months to perfect, and by the time the loan is approved the hard money policy is in effect, and the cost of borrowing is too high. When the cost of borrowing is too high, expansion is delayed or given up altogether, production falters, sales dry up, and people are thrown out of work.

Is it logical for the Government to tighten up money, discourage borrowing, and thus slow down construction at a time when we are still 15 to 20 years behind in home, hospital, and road construction? We have not solved our housing problems, our slum problems, or our road problems. Unless we are satisfied with the standard of living in this country, we must continually go forward, in manufacturing, in sales, and in consumption. Unnecessary high interest charges hamstring business, prevent expansion, and stagnate the economy of our country. In my opinion it is far better for the Government to keep interest rates low so that people may borrow, build, and progress, than to raise the rates and put millions out of work and let them live on unemployment insurance.

Tight money limits the number of businesses and makes it harder for new enterprises to develop, which limits competition and causes inflation.

When our country is able to loan billions of dollars to foreign countries without any collateral, or give the money or goods to them outright, what is wrong with showing a little faith in America, and the American businessman?

Du Bois, Pa., B. & O. Shops Pioneering With Assembly-Line Car Building

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the community of Du Bois, Pa., is mighty proud of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad's shops pioneering assembly-line car building in the railroad industry.

The following article, appearing in the February 1957 issue of the B. & O. magazine, tells the story of the fine job that is being done by over 500 of my constituents who are employees of the B. & O. Railroad Shops, in Du Bois, Pa.

The article follows:

ASSEMBLY-LINE CAR BUILDING

If things continue as they have, Du Bois, Pa., may soon come to be known as the Detroit of the railroad industry—at least insofar as the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad is concerned.

For in this busy little metropolis, in a vast and modern B. & O. car shop, they're now building railroad freight cars on the assembly-line basis, which made Detroit famous as the capital of the automotive world. This is something new in the railroad business and we are proud that the B. & O. is the first road to introduce the technique. Although automobile manufacturers have been using the assembly line method for many years, for various reasons it had never been utilized by the railroads for the building of their equipment. Railroad cars were always considered too heavy and too massive to be built on the mobile, precision-timed assembly line.

It remained for Francis B. Rykoskey, B. & O.'s general superintendent of motive power and equipment and his staff, to set aside this notion and introduce the so-called Detroit method to the highly specialized business of building rail freight cars. And this is precisely what they have done, with the full support of our management, of course, in the Du Bois shops, where a million-dollar conversion program has transformed what was formerly a steam locomotive shop into one of the most modern railroad car building shops in the Nation.

The new assembly line method was first put in operation in October 1956 for the rebuilding of bad-order freight cars. Already production of cars has been doubled—and by the same number of men as were engaged in this work prior to the introduction of the assembly line. Today at Du Bois, 14 cars—4 gondolas and 10 hoppers—are being turned out every 8 hours. By March production will be upped to a total of 24 cars—10 hoppers, 4 gondolas, 10 boxcars—when additional work forces are added.

The sight of freight cars being built by skilled workmen, as the cars move to and from them, is something to see. Every 40 minutes, all cars under construction are advanced by an electric puller, for the distance of one car length. At each stop, waiting workmen perform their assigned duties. A warning whistle gives men 2 minutes' notice before each progression is made. Everything moves like clockwork—from underframe shop to paint shop, where finished products move out into service.

As word of this remarkable operation has gotten around, railroad and car building officials from many parts of the country have come to Du Bois to observe the work, firsthand. Most have watched with amazement and all have had nothing but praise for "the B. & O. assembly line."

Typical of the ingenuity being shown by our men in charge of the assembly line at Du Bois are such techniques as these: rebuilt cars are being given only 1 cross-coat of paint, whereas formerly 3 or 4 coats were required. This is thanks to a new type of paint which has been pioneered by manufacturers at our request. Every day a motive power supply train rolls up to the door of Du Bois shop and delivers the exact amount of materials that will be required for 1 day's work—thereby preventing excessive inventories, eliminating the need for large amounts of storage space and saving the company large sums of money per year. Throughout the operation, countless jigs, dollies, and other devices invented by men of Du Bois shop, themselves, are used to speed and facilitate work. Countless other examples of resourcefulness that pays off, could be listed for this operation.

How do Superintendent of Shops L. M. Schalk and his 563 men at Du Bois like the new method? They're all for it. This way work is better organized; material and tools are placed on the spot and work is brought to the men, instead of their being required to assemble what they need. This way, too, each man becomes an expert on one particular phase of car building, instead of performing a variety of jobs as under the old method, which was more time-consuming and more costly. With assembly line building, a greater number of cars can be turned out, work is more challenging and efficient and the savings are impressive. General Superintendent Motive Power and Equipment Rykoskey and Superintendent of Car Department R. B. Fisher are both high in their praise of men at Du Bois shop for the loyalty and enthusiasm with which they have entered into this important new undertaking, which could mark the beginning of a new era in railroad freight car building.

Already plans are on the drawing board for the installation of an assembly line for the building and rebuilding of B. & O. passenger cars at a shop location yet to be announced.

Of course, none of this would be possible were it not for the full endorsement which has been given the program by B. & O.'s management, which is wisely looking ahead to the future in its effort to strengthen our railroad's position on every front. This intent was reflected in a recent statement by President Simpson to a shipper: "We are pleased that our effort to provide the necessary equipment so vital to your industry meets with your approval," Mr. Simpson said. "I'm sure you know that our endeavor in this respect will not falter."

Vice President W. C. Baker, operation and maintenance, the man under whose jurisdiction the car-building program is conducted, has characterized the new assembly line method as a progressive step of real importance to our railroad, and one in which we have great faith.

The Du Bois assembly line for freight car building is only one part of B. & O.'s new freight-car program for car supply explained by Mr. Rykoskey in his message on the inside front cover of this issue of the magazine. But it represents the heart of the program which aims to increase our supply of serviceable equipment through systematic building and rebuilding of cars—a process which will make necessary only additional light repair work. How well the new program is already working may be seen by the drastic reduction of bad-order cars which has been accomplished. On March 11, 1955, we had 15,160 bad-order cars, or 16.8 percent. By January 11, 1957, these had been reduced to 3,282 bad-order cars, or 3.5 percent. Putting it another way, since March 11, 1955, we have been able to increase our supply of serviceable cars by 11,815, thanks to the accelerated-car program.

They may not be Cadillacs—those gleaming hopper and gondola cars coming off the Du Bois assembly line at the rate of 14 a day, now. But they look mighty good to us. They spell traffic, dollars and cents, and they hold a world of promise for the future.

Public Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. CHRISTOPHER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Mr. Speaker, the most recent annual report of the Rural Electrification Administration covering 1956 shows that the REA co-ops provided 19,933,423,100 kilowatt-hours of electrical energy in 1956, and 8,060,625,900 of these kilowatts were purchased from private power companies, representing 40.4 percent of all the current used. The remainder was obtained from public power systems and their own generators.

So, it would seem to me that private power companies should consider the REA systems in the United States as very good customers, especially in view of the fact that they purchased over 8 billion kilowatts from them in a single year. But it seems instead of considering them good customers they are bending every energy toward the destruction of REA's and public power.

A new water resources policy, regarding public power programs that would first curb and then eliminate public power was drawn up by Secretary of Agriculture Benson, Secretary McKay, then of Interior, and Secretary of Defense Wilson. This recommendation or policy goes much further than even the Hoover Commission report in its proposal to stop the generation of power in flood control and irrigation projects. Even President Eisenhower endorsed the plan and presented it to the Congress a year ago with this comment:

> I commend the fundamental purpose and objectives of this report and I earnestly recommend that the Congress give its prompt attention to its proposals.

This plan is the blueprint for the drive against Federal power programs and the Farm Bureau is leading the drive in this session of Congress. In a letter to President Eisenhower dated February 25, 1957, Charles B. Shuman, National Farm Bureau president, endorsed the Benson-McKay-Wilson report and promised to line up farmers in favor of it. Shuman's letter to the President states:

> We offer our assistance in the drafting of the necessary legislation to accomplish these recommendations. We propose to lend our support to the formation of public opinion leading to the early enactment of such legislation.

Shuman went on to thank Eisenhower for throwing "the full weight of your office" behind the Benson-McKay-Wilson report. A copy of this letter is on file here in Washington.

The big pro-utility lobbies which Shuman said were allied with Farm Bureau in the campaign against power projects are:

First. The United States Chamber of Commerce:

Second. Engineers' Joint Council—the council is a private electric lobby.

Third. The National Reclamation Association which openly works as the main power lobby front in opposing public power projects in exchange for utility backing for irrigation projects without facilities for the generation of power.

Fourth. The National Water Conservation Conference. This power lobby ally works in the interest of soil and water projects but seeks to steer them away from any water projects that would develop hydroelectric power.

The Shuman letter to Eisenhower stated that Farm Bureau has been meeting with these organizations to study their reports and that Farm Bureau individuals, as well as the group collectively, supports the principles and objectives of this report.

If this Benson-McKay-Wilson report were adopted, hydroelectric power would no longer be treated as one of the concerns of the Federal Government. At three different points where the report lists the things that the Federal Government should be concerned with in handling water resources problems, there is no mention of hydroelectric power development.

There is not a single reference to TVA in the entire report. It is a surprising omission to say the least for a report on water resources in the United States to make no mention of the world's most outstanding water conservation and utilization project in an official cabinet level study of how to use and handle water in the United States. The administration is trying to promote and subsidize TVA's for foreigners on the Jordan, Nile, and Tigris-Euphrates Rivers, but the original pattern, TVA, is branded "creeping socialism" by the President and becomes an unmentionable word in his Cabinet Committee on Water Resources Policies.

Five lines of attack against present and future power projects are laid out in the report:

First. Create additional red tape to delay action on water projects.

Second. Increase the cost of power projects as much as possible.

Third. Return the responsibility for flood control to the States.

Fourth. Subsidize the private interests who take over projects in place of the Government, which simply means pay

the private power companies to steal the remaining power sites such as Hells Canyon, a resource which belongs to all the people of the United States.

The method proposed to Uncle Sam would pay the nonreimbursable cost of a dam plus the additional bonus of 10 percent as a direrct donation to the private power companies to encourage them to steal the dam site. The report also proposes "the making of guaranteed loans to private interests for the construction of projects, but would not make guaranteed loans for the power facilities."

Fifth. Worst of all, the report calls for the liquidation of existing Federal power projects.

The report makes this recommendation twice and in the conclusion states:

The committee recommends that operation of water-resources projects be turned over to non-Federal interests in all cases where this is practicable.

And no doubt it would soon be practicable to turn over every public power project in the United States to the private Power Trust.

It has been evident for a number of years that public power and the REA co-ops were fighting for their lives with their backs to the wall, and this administration has only added to and intensified the efforts of those who have been seeking their ultimate destruction. It is bad enough when public power and the REA co-ops have to fight for their lives against a multi-million-dollar power trust determined to secure an absolute monopoly on every kilowatt of electrical energy generated in the United States, but their predicament becomes doubly perilous when the President of the United States and an organization that purports to speak for many thousands of REA users ally themselves and pledge their wholehearted assistance to the enemies of REA and public power.

The enemies of REA keep repeating over and over the statement that co-ops do not pay taxes. I suppose it is the old Hitler technique that if you repeat a lie often enough and make it big enough after a while a majority of the people will believe it. But let us take the latest available record, which is for the year 1955, and see what the facts are relative to REA co-ops. In REA Bulletin 1–1 on page 23, table 20, you will find these figures. Taxes paid by REA co-ops in the United States in the year 1955, $10,979,276; in the State of Missouri, $508,925, or more than one-half billion dollars. The three REA cooperative associations in the Fourth Congressional District, State of Missouri, paid taxes in the following amount: Osage Valley, Butler, $10,501; Barton County Electric, Lamar, $6,007; and West-Central Electric, Higginsville, $4,665.

So you see that when the facts are checked the tax propaganda published against REA is pure fiction. The total REA tax figure for the United States does not include taxes paid by public power generating facilities such as TVA, Bonneville, Grand Coulee, and others because they pay taxes and make payments in lieu of taxes that are not a part of the figures quoted above.

ADDRESS TO ANNUAL MEETING, CALLAWAY ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE, FULTON, MO.

(By Rev. Beverly Ashburry, Director of Chapel, Westminister College, Fulton, Mo.)

It is a pleasure and an honor to be with you at this annual meeting. I am here as a guest and not a member, as a layman and not as a professional in this field. However, I feel a very close kinship with you because of my natural and personal interest in REA.

For one thing, my own lifetime roughly parallels the lifetime of the REA. I am just old enough to remember its humble beginning, and I have grown in size during the same years in which REA has swapped its swaddling cloths for overalls and boots.

For another thing, I was raised in a small town in a rural area of Georgia. My mother had been raised on a farm, and both her family and my father's owned and occupied farmland. This, of course, gave me a personal interest in watching the electric bulb replace the kerosene lamp and the gas lantern. In my short life, I have witnessed the farm people of my native region emerging from darkness into light, from drudgery into a more humane life, from senseless hardship into a life which offered more benefits and greater leisure. And all this occurred as the result of the Rural Electrification Administration. The REA did a job no one else would do, and I believed in it because I saw it work. A personal first-hand experience like that is more important than all the theory in the world—even though I have since come to believe in the theory of REA just as strongly as I believed in its practice.

Just look for a moment at what REA has meant to Missouri. There are 47 cooperatives serving over 263,000 rural consumers in the State. Twenty years ago 93.6 percent of Missouri's farms were in the dark. Fifteen out of sixteen depended on lanterns and kerosene lamps. Today approximately 95 percent of Missouri's farms have electric power, and of those farms 77 percent of them are supplied by REA. Twenty years ago only 6.4 percent had electricity; today, 95 percent. These statistics point to a revolution in living for our people, and I need not name the things you have and can do only because of electricity. Let it be said however, that a higher standard of living has resulted, and the face of rural America has been transformed. It should be no wonder that ministers like myself who are concerned for the welfare of the people, should be so interested in and concerned about the REA program.

II. THE ATTACK UPON REA

In the light of what I have said, it is disconcerting and downright disturbing to realize that REA today is being attacked from some quarters. The climate has changed from one of friendly appreciation to one of hostile suspicion. Some groups with selfish motives and unlimited ambitions are now seeking to destroy or take over a system which has done so much for the country. They seek to do this by brandishing false slogans and by propagandizing misleading statistics and half-baked ideas. They seem to have vast financial resources, and they intend to use them to gain favor for themselves.

As an example of this, let me read you this advertisement which has appeared this week in most of our leading magazines:

"Are you aware of this strange use of your tax money?

"Several million United States families and businesses get their electricity from Federal Government electric systems like the TVA. And your taxes help pay their electric bills. Here's how:

"About 23 cents of every dollar you pay for electricity from your independent electric light and power company goes for taxes. But because of present tax laws, people who get electricity from Government plants escape paying most of the taxes in their electric bills that you pay in yours. They pay taxes of only about 4 cents per dollar if their power comes from the Government's TVA, for example. So to make up for the lost tax revenues which Federal power projects don't pay, you have to be taxed more.

"Don't you think something ought to be done about this unfair tax favoritism?

"America's independent electric light and power companies"

In these ads—whether they be in newspapers, magazines, or on radio or TV—the private companies would lead the public to believe that the REA co-ops are receiving all of the power produced by the Federal Government. The tempo of these attacks is increasing, and the very system which has done so much over the past 20 years is now threatened with extinction. It is high time that we answered this opposition, and I should like to do so here and now.

Item I, tax favoritism: What the advertisements fail to tell us about is the subsidies private companies receive. These companies are allowed a rapid amortization of new facilities for tax purposes. For conventional businesses, this produces a tax savings. But electric utilities do not pay taxes in the usual sense but merely collect them from their customers as tax expense. So when they "write off" their new facilities, they actually collect sums from their customers as tax expenses but never have to pay some of that money in taxes. From June 1951 through April 1956, the Government granted such writeoffs by private utilities to the tune of $1,400,000,000, and over the estimated life of such a writeoff (33½ years) these subsidies will amount to $4,800,000,000. That is more than the total cost of all REA co-ops and Government dams combined. Now, just who is being favored?

Item II, the distribution of Federal power: The advertisements also fail to tell us that co-ops buy only 6.6 percent of "public power." Of the other 93.4 percent, the distribution runs like this: Federal defense agencies (AEC) 29.9 percent, municipalities 19.3 percent, State and other public agencies 10.9 percent, private power 33.29 percent. In the light of those facts and figures, it is difficult to conceive why REA is attacked so vehemently as a threat to free enterprise.

Item III, independent companies: What the ads don't tell us is that these local, independent companies are, in a majority of cases, owned and controlled by eastern financial houses. Their claim to be independent is almost laughable. Eleven eastern houses hold multiple, interlocking voting stock in 100 electric operating companies worth $19 million. These companies are among the largest in the Nation, and they extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They are no more independent than a slave chained in the galley of a ship.

These items should make it clear that the current attack cannot diminish the fact that REA is one of our most American institutions. What could be more American than rural folks going into business for themselves to procure electricity that private companies had failed to make available? This is not socialism. This is free enterprise at its best, and only God knows where we would be today if there was no REA. Nevertheless, we are here, and we know that vicious, insulting, misleading, untrue propaganda cannot destroy what has been built by the extraordinary ability of ordinary people. At least it cannot if we are aware of what the opposition seeks to do.

III. WHAT THE OPPOSITION PROPOSES

It proposes a so-called partnership with private utilities, whereby these companies would monopolize the revenue and energy at Federal power projects.

I emphasize the partnership because it represents today the spearhead of the current

attack upon public power. Yet what kind of a partnership is it? It is a partnership in which the Government relinquishes to private monopolies the powerhouse at Federal dams, while the Government continues to finance the nonreimbursable features such as fish ladders, flood gates, and navigation locks.

We had a partnership in operation. It wasn't this kind of partnership. It was a legitimate partnership between the Government and its citizens. It was the Federal-local partnership, under which kilowatts were being sold at low cost to whatever distributing agency the residents of a particular area preferred.

This was a bona fide partnership. But what is proposed today as partnership is no partnership at all. It is monopoly and special privilege. For at least 50 years, a private stranglehold will be given legal sanctity at a great power site, and there will be nothing that the man and women in that area can do about it, through half a century of time.

We are told the abandonment of public power is necessary in the name of Americanism. Yet the preference clause, which safeguards the power supply of our rural electric co-ops, goes all the way back to the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, who was no creeping Socialist.

One of the serious blows suffered by REA's under the new partnership policy was abrogation of 40-year contracts between the Interior Department and cooperatives in the Southwest. As a result, the REA's were threatened with bankruptcy or high rates, or loss of their independence.

I cite these things to indicate how politics and greed are intruding into programs which, until the last few years were decided by the needs of the American people and not by the selfish desires of 1 or 2 utility corporations.

As you are well aware, REA funds have been cut but not abolished by Congress. You have been successful in maintaining reasonably adequate loan funds and services during the past few years. But this cut was to be expected. It was forecast by the late George W. Norris. He said: "The attack upon REA will not be an open assault. The attack will be by stealth and treachery because REA is too popular to be attacked openly."

Let us look briefly at other things which are steadily undermining the REA program:

1. Undoing of regulatory agencies.
2. Failure to observe public preference legislation.
3. Refusal to build transmission lines.
4. Turning over last-choice sites to piecemeal exploitation by private companies.
5. Undermining existing structures.
(a) TVA and Dixon-Yates.

Believe me, the future of REA is fraught with danger. We may be faced with extinction unless present policies are reversed. The present policies also pose the threat that atomic power will be given over entirely to private companies. This is a threat, because we, the taxpayers, have already paid $14 billion to develop this source of power, and it hardly seems fair that we should pay for it all over again—in the way of a profit to private companies.

IV. WHAT WE SHOULD DO

In the light of what has been said, what should we do?

We should remember that we have come a long way, and we have come that distance in spite of formidable and almost impossible odds. Every gain has been carried out despite powerful opposition.

We must not give up our gains now. Nor can we afford to stand still—"man cannot live in a stagnant pool, even a stagnant pool of sunshine." It is time for REA consumers to realize their strength and to organize in multitudes. This is a day crying for men to be aware of what they have and to appreciate and fight for it. Now is the time for men of vision and character to stand up and answer the false propaganda by telling the truth. We must act soon if we are to make our voices heard, our desires known, and our strength felt. Get young people in.

In order to keep what we have, we must first be proud of what we have—remember where we were without it. From there we need to expose phony propaganda and to tell the truth about REA and what it has done. Only informed consumers like yourself—who take up the fight, who write letters—can assure the electric service which our dynamic Nation demands. Our power policies must stimulate the fullest effect by every kind of power agency if we are to realize our potential living standards and economic development and maintain our armed strength. This requires abundant, low-cost electricity if we are to have better living, full employment, and national security.

The fight for these things is ours. May God help us if we fail to win them.

HOW NTEA LOADS YOUR CONGRESSMAN'S MAIL WITH DRUMMED-UP LETTERS ATTACKING CO-OPS

The letters reproduced below provide a good example of the methods used by the National Tax Equality Association to influence Federal tax legislation.

NTEA sent out the form letter below as a means of drumming up letters, wires, and telephone calls to Members of Congress. (The name of the person who received this particular copy has been blocked out at his request.)

Leaving nothing to chance, NTEA sent along three sample letters. It suggested that they be rephrased in the sender's own words so that Members of Congress could not so easily detect a centrally-inspired campaign. The three samples appear below.

The two next-to-last paragraphs in the letter below show how far NTEA goes to promote antico-op letters. It asks that the sample letter, rephrased, be returned to it with a supply of the letterhead paper and envelopes of the person or firm that will be the sender. Then, free of charge, it will have the letters individually typed and will return them to the sender ready to be signed and mailed to Members of Congress.

Congressmen soon learn to spot inspired letters of this sort. NTEA's campaign nevertheless is a reminder that co-op members need to do some letter-writing of their own. As frequently has been pointed out, the best defense against this kind of propaganda is well-informed co-op members who maintain good relations with their Congressmen.

NATIONAL TAX EQUALITY ASSOCIATION,
Chicago, Ill., January 16, 1957.

Mr. ———,

DEAR MR. ———: You and your organization have long been known for your forthright stand on principles in issues vital to private enterprise. It is obvious that many of your members cannot long remain in business if the ever-growing Federal tax-free co-ops continue their inroads eating all lines of business.

Many national organizations have already written the 435 Congressmen and 96 Senators, urging action on this pressing problem during the 85th session.

It is imperative that organizations such as yours, wielding tremendous power in your State, write, wire, phone, or personally see your elected representatives in Congress.

Enclosed are several suggested letters. We would appreciate your rephrasing or rewording one of these letters in your own style, returning it with sufficient letterheads and envelopes to be sent to all Congressmen and Senators in the State where you operate.

We will, of course, free of charge, individually type these letters and send them to you for your signature and mailing from your office.

Your much needed help is deeply appreciated. Only through concerted action on all fronts can success be assured.

Cordially yours,

GARNER M. LESTER,
President.

"Honorable (name),
"House of Representatives,
"Washington, D. C.

"MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Our association, representing the druggists in every town and hamlet in this Nation, is concerned about the tax-escape privileges now extended the cooperatives. We have joined with other trade groups in protesting this unfair discrimination against the fully taxed proprietary businesses in this country.

"We not only feel this is economically unsound but is morally wrong. We cannot understand why any segment of the economy competing in the market place should have an unfair tax advantage.

"The taxpayers of this Nation are saddled with a terrific tax burden, and most of this money is being used to protect the interest of our country in an unsettled world. It is deeply resented when the cooperatives are permitted to pay less than their share, when they benefit to the same extent as do the rest of us.

"Our association is, therefore, urging you and every other Member of the Congress to intercede for us before the tax-writing committees of the Congress, asking that the cooperative corporations be fully taxed at the corporate level and thus remove this unfair, un-American discrimination.

"Will you please advise us what you are willing to do to aid us? Our —— members would be very appreciative of your assistance.

"Yours very truly."

"Honorable (NAME)
"House of Representatives,
"Washington, D. C.

"MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The members of our association, the National Association of ———— having felt the impact of competition by cooperatives escaping their share of taxes, feel that it is time that legislation be enacted that will eliminate this unjust discrimination.

"We feel that the tax burden of this country should be borne equally by all businesses and individuals earning income.

"Our association, therefore, is asking you, and every other member of Congress, to prevail upon the tax writing committees of the Congress, to the effect that cooperatives be fully taxed on the basis of income on the same level as corporations and that all tax favoritism be eliminated, thus insuring equality of taxation for all.

"May we have an expression of opinion from you in this regard?

"Very truly yours."

"The 85th Congress of the United States has many grave problems to face.

"With part of the world in turmoil, with the United States needing enormous sums of money for defense and assistance, the matter of taxation is of paramount importance.

"We feel that the burden of taxes should be borne fairly and equally by all businesses and individuals.

"To that end we ask you to use your influence with the tax-writing bodies of Congress to the end that the discriminating preference enjoyed by cooperatives be erased, and that cooperative income be taxed at the corporate level and in equal amounts.

"At the present time we feel that cooperatives enjoy all the privileges, without participating in the burden.

"May we have an expression of opinion from you in this regard?

"Yours very truly."

MISSOURI STATE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ASSOCIATION,
Jefferson City, Mo., March 4, 1957.

Hon. GEORGE H. CHRISTOPHER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHRISTOPHER: Enclosed herewith are 7 resolutions adopted during our annual membership meeting, February 9, which pertain to the following subjects:

1. Allocation of costs of multiple purpose projects.
2. Increase in rates of interest on rural electric and telephone loans.
3. The Hells Canyon project.
4. Hoover Commission Report on Water Resources and Power.
5. The National Tax Equality Association.
6. Tennessee Valley Authority.
7. Accelerated depreciation certificates granted by the ODM to commercial electric utilities.

Also enclosed is reprint of letters that the president of the NTEA, Mr. C. M. Lester, has mailed most business organizations throughout Missouri, which I believe is self-explanatory. To protect the person to whom the letter was addressed, we had to block out his name.

Sincerely yours,

JULIUS HELM,
General Manager.

ALLOCATION OF COSTS OF MULTIPLE-PURPOSE PROJECTS

Whereas the Flood Control Act of 1944 did not stipulate a definite formula for allocating the various costs in a Federal project; and

Whereas the executive agencies are now applying a cost-allocation method and payout period which are not fair and realistic to each use of the projects; and

Whereas H. R. 965 has been introduced in the House by Representative TRIMBLE, of Arkansas, and said bill would designate a proper method to allocate cost in Federal projects: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Missouri State Rural Electrification Association, duly assembled during its 20th annual membership meeting in Jefferson City, Mo., this 9th day of February 1957, urges the Congress to pass H. R. 965 in order to establish a definite guide for all executive agencies to follow in cost allocation of Federal projects.

MISSOURI STATE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ASSOCIATION.
J. C. OMER, *President.*
ROBERT PILLEN, *Secretary.*
JULIUS HELM, *General Manager.*

Whereas bills have been introduced in Congress calling for an increase in rates of interest on rural electric and telephone loans; and

Whereas an increase would place an additional burden on the already hard pressed farmer: Be it, therefore

Resolved, That the Missouri State Rural Electrification Association, duly assembled during its 20th annual membership meeting in Jefferson City, Mo., this 9th day of February, 1957, urges Congress to seek other means of raising revenue.

MISSOURI STATE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ASSOCIATION,
J. C. OMER, *President.*
ROBERT PILLEN, *Secretary.*
JULIUS HELM, *General Manager.*

Whereas the Hells Canyon Dam site on the Snake River is the best remaining undeveloped power site in the United States; and

Whereas Senator MORSE and 22 of his colleagues have reintroduced a bill in Congress calling for appropriations for Federal construction of this dam: Be it, therefore

Resolved, That the Missouri State Rural Electrification Association, duly assembled during its 20th annual membership meeting in Jefferson City, Mo., this 9th day of February, 1957, urges the Congress to approve sufficient appropriations to begin construction of this dam; and be it further

Resolved, That we earnestly urge all citizent and organizations interested in the welfare of the American farmer to give full support to full development of this site.

MISSOURI STATE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ASSOCIATION,
J. C. OMER, *President.*
ROBERT PILLEN, *Secretary.*
JULIUS HELM, *General Manager.*

HOOVER COMMISSION ON WATER RESOURCES AND POWER

Whereas the adoption of the Hoover Commission Report on Water Resources and Power would destroy the Federal program of development of public resources from which over 300 rural electric systems get their wholesale power: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Missouri State Rural Electrification Association, duly assembled during its 20th annual membership meeting in Jefferson City, Mo., this 9th day of February 1957, urgently requests the Congress to reject the approval or adoption of any part of the Hoover Report on Water Resources and Power.

MISSOURI STATE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ASSOCIATION,
J. C. OMER, *President.*
ROBERT PILLEN, *Secretary.*
JULIUS HELM, *General Manager.*

NTEA RESOLUTION

Whereas rural electric cooperatives and other consumer-owned organizations are recognized by Federal and State statutes as an essential segment of our national economy, and

Whereas the National Tax Equality Association, a perennial and avowed enemy of all types of cooperatives, persists in disseminating false and misleading information in an effort to discredit cooperatives and to generate pressure that would crystalize into unfair laws making it impossible for cooperatives to exist; and

Whereas NTEA has currently released a propaganda movie, The Senator's Daughter, attacking the nonprofit tax status of cooperatives and mutuals; and

Whereas this well-financed propaganda and lobbying organization fails to reveal whether it is financed largely by the commercial utilities, as it has been in the past: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Missouri State Rural Electrification Association, duly assembled during its 20th annual membership meeting in Jefferson City, Mo., this 9th day of February 1957, does hereby condemn the action of the NTEA as inimical to the best interests of farmers and other consumers the country over; and be it further

Resolved, That we earnestly urge Congress at its next session to initiate an investigation of NTEA aimed at bringing to light who finances NTEA and what motives impel it persistently to attack a vital segment of our national economy.

MISSOURI STATE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ASSOCIATION,
J. C. OMER, *President.*
ROBERT PILLEN, *Secretary.*
JULIUS HELM, *General Manager.*

Whereas the Tennessee Valley Authority has benefited the American people by furnishing a yardstick of the value of electricity and by pointing the way to flood control, navigation, industrial development, and health improvement; and

Whereas rural electric cooperatives in seven States depend upon TVA for their power supply; and

Whereas 56 percent of TVA electric power must go to the Atomic Energy Commission to further its far-reaching program of nuclear development: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the Missouri State Rural Electrification Association, duly assembled during its 20th annual membership meeting in Jefferson City, Mo., this 9th day of February 1957, urges the President and the Congress to provide TVA either with appropriations or authority to finance the necessary expansion of its generating facilities in order that it will be able to meet the needs of the valley.

MISSOURI STATE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ASSOCIATION,
J. C. OMER, *President.*
ROBERT PILLEN, *Secretary.*
JULIUS HELM, *General Manager.*

Whereas United States Senator HARRY F. BYRD has instituted an inquiry into the continued issuance of accelerated depreciation certificates to commercial electric utilities, and others; and

Whereas initially the issuance of such certificates was designed as an incentive for private expansion of wartime facilities, which justification is not now existant, and hasn't been for years; and

Whereas such certificates are held by some to be a form of subsidy; by others as the equivalent of interest-free loans by the Federal Government to the recipient; and by others as a program of tax forgiveness: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the board of directors of the Missouri State Rural Electrification Association, duly assembled this 8th day of February 1957, does hereby commend Senator BYRD for initiating an inquiry into the field of accelerated depreciation certificates; and be is further

Resolved, That we urge that the inquiry be broad enough to establish relative effects of "operational expenditures" which might be questionable, in the fields of advertising, propaganda, public relations, etc.; and be it further

Resolved, That we recommend that the information developed from this inquiry be transmitted to the Congress and to interested persons and organizations.

J. C. OMER, *President.*
ROBERT PILLEN, *Secretary.*
JULIUS HELM, *General Manager.*

For Labor's Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in view of recent exposures, it strikes me that the editorial which I am about to insert in the RECORD is pertinent. It appeared in a recent issue of the Milwaukee Sentinel and I think it is a timely expression of opinion which is reflected generally throughout the country.

FOR LABOR'S GOOD

The disclosures from the Senate committee hearings into racketeering by corrupt labor bosses are important to the entire Nation.

They are, of course, of the most intimate concern to union members.

It is their money that has been plundered.

It is their faith that has been perverted.

It is their good name that has been prostituted.

In this vein South Dakota's Republican Senator KARL MUNDT, who is a member of the Senate committee, says the evidence indicates the need for Federal legislation for the protection of union members.

Certainly the need for more control of union affairs by members, themselves, is obvious from the testimony that has shown instances where the top brass made all the decisions with no consultation with the rank and file.

There also is a desperate need for a provision to prevent abuse of welfare and pension funds and to insure an accounting of how they are invested or deposited.

Equally, there is a need for a provision to prohibit use of union funds for political purposes.

No one knows better than union members that their money has promoted candidates whom they themselves, as individuals, opposed.

These proposals are not antilabor. They are prolabor in that their purpose is to protect the money and the rights of union members.

President Should Take Lead in Economy Moves

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 7, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, everyone is theoretically in favor of economy in Government until our own favorite Federal projects are jeopardized by economy moves. It is entirely understandable that a Member of Congress should look across the waters, or perhaps into some other Member's district as a field for economy moves. That is why the President of the United States who is in the best position to view our national needs in broad perspective has been given the responsibility of drawing up our Federal budget. By the same token the President is in the best position to make recommendations as to where Federal economy moves can best be made in the public interest.

The Baltimore Sun of Saturday, March 16, 1957, editorializes on this theme in a logical manner as follows:

HIS RESPONSIBILITY

The opinion is quite general that the spending total provided for in the budget now before Congress is much too large. Congress senses this opinion, and so does the White House; and the result so far has been confusion. There is much quibbling about which side in this never stable collaboration of executive and legislature should take the initiative in introducing cuts. The President has said that he would like to have Congress point out the places where cuts can properly be made. Congress has asked the President to do the pointing out. Though some tentative steps have been taken, neither is disposed to take the full initiative, and each has an argument to back reluctance. The President's argument is that it is Congress which holds the purse strings under our scheme of Government and is therefore really responsible. The congressional argument is that budget making is specifically an executive responsibility.

Somewhere this impasse has to be broken, since it is perfectly clear that the temper of the country favors a trimming down of Federal expenses, and to us it seems clear that the President ought to make the first move and is in best position to do so.

This is our reason:

In cutting the budget Congress is peculiarly sensitive to domestic pressures, both geographical pressures and special-interest pressures. Congress, in looking for places to cut, will inevitably look for spots which will not be immediately damaging in a political sense. It will turn, therefore, with a special zest to the items of our foreign program, especially the military and economic foreign-aid items. Though we are convinced that there is water to be squeezed out of these items, there is not enough water to satisfy the whole demand for reduced expenditures. A whole series of thoughtful reports by disinterested groups confirms the importance of our program of foreign aid as a part of our national security program.

The President is not under quite such a necessity for playing politics when budget cutting. He is not under the same pressure as Congressmen when it comes to domestic items. Moreover, the fact that the President is constitutionally barred from seeking a third term (a fact that has been widely advertised as weakening his position) is in fact a source of strength in some ways. Since the President is no longer running for office, his armor against pressure groups is much thicker than it was before.

The President, in other words, is in a much stronger position to survey the whole budget. He ought to do so. He ought to recognize not only the vulnerability of Congress when it comes to budget cutting but the danger that Congress, should it be compelled to take the initiative, would cut it in places that are safe politically but dangerous in terms of the national interest.

An Open Letter to George Meany, President, AFL–CIO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 7, 1957

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, the current congressional investigation of the misapplication of union funds by certain union officers makes especially appropriate an open letter to George Meany, president, AFL–CIO. This letter was printed in the Mesa Educator, the official organ of the Mechanics Educational Society of America, AFL–CIO.

It indicates a very effective method which, if enforced, would eliminate the violations that are the cause of the current investigations. About the only reprimands that actually eliminated any of the racketeer element thus far from the AFL–CIO affiliates were a couple of the small so-called federal unions. No effective measures thus far have been taken against any of the big AFL–CIO affiliates, such as the teamsters, by the union committees authorized by the Miami resolution. The letter follows:

We in Detroit are profoundly disturbed by your council's determination to eliminate corruption in constituent unions with the aid of congressional committees.

Whether this passion for purity campaign can be carried out without positive danger to the merged federations, AFL–CIO, is the question uppermost in our minds.

It is obvious that financial skulduggery in labor unions can only be eliminated by standard rigid control by union constitutions. Acts of racketeering and dishonesty by individual officials simply reflect constitutional weakness. Eliminating the result without altering the cause is as leaving the barn door still open.

Financial clauses making it practically impossible for a union official to deviate from the path of financial integrity could be made a must for all unions affiliated to the AFL–CIO.

However, if the Ethical Practices Committee is to be used to carry on a personal feud between major union leaders in the federation, then all labor will lose by the fracas.

It will be very serious if the conduct of a few union officials results in a diminution of confidence by our memberships, in general, and against officials in general.

Most constitutions, including the one under which we operate, are so tight that you have to be careful to throw 3 cents in the postage fund when sending out a piece of personal mail.

* * * * *

Apart from finances, however, we are all guilty as anyone of unethical practices. Labor union officials have always lived under a double ethical standard. Tell the truth to your members, but if necessary to protect said members, lie like hell to the boss. The prevailing practice, a la Decatur, "May our members always be right, but anyhow, our members, right or wrong" has no relationship to pure ethics.

If we were before a congressional committee and they wandered far afield from financial racketeering and questioned us as to our conduct during strikes—the fifth amendment would have to be invoked. They might talk of dynamite, stink bombs, broken arms, and secondary boycotts, and who got how much for what. Is there any union official who would like to discuss such matters? They might even ask for names.

It would be fine if you could slowly and persistently educate union officials along the lines of financial rectitude and supplement this education by forcing constitutional changes that would make it very difficult to dip into the petty cash or maneuver financial deals.

Should this passion for purity result in any weakening of the whole labor movement by its use in personal feuds, then we shall have accomplished nothing.

Finally, we all live in glass houses.

Fraternally,

THE EDITORS.

Administration's Proposal for Alaska Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, the Milwuakee Journal during the week of March 11 carried an editorial commenting on the proposal of the administration as advanced by the Interior Department and endorsed by the Defense Department for national defense withdrawal areas within the boundaries of the proposed State of Alaska. Under leave to extend my remarks I should like to reproduce that editorial here.

The editorial follows:

GOOD ALASKAN STATEHOOD PLAN

The evidence is mounting that President Eisenhower wants Alaskan and Hawaiian statehood to list among historic accomplishments of his administration.

Secretary of Interior Seaton has come in with a sound program to meet defense needs in areas of Alaska closest to Siberia. It calls for authority for the President to create national defense withdrawals of land over which the Federal Government may exercise exclusive jurisdiction. In withdrawal areas, residents will continue to have Federal, State, and local voting rights. Local governments will continue to operate.

General Twining, Chief of Staff of the Air Force, emphasized this week that the withdrawal provision was "only military insurance" and that it might never be necessary for the President to exercise it. He said he saw no reason under present conditions for the President to exercise the power.

This is a far cry from the administration plan offered 2 years ago by former Secretary of the Interior McKay. That would have allowed unlimited land withdrawals for the military in approximately half of Alaska. It provided no safeguards for State or local governments and was generally considered, in Alaska, as a partition proposition.

Secretary Seaton, in offering the new plan to a House interior subcommittee, said that in his judgment "both Hawaii and Alaska have a rightful claim to the equal status of statehood."

If this is now firm administration doctrine, and is followed by passing the word along to Republican leadership, prospects for Alaska and Hawaii statehood at this session of Congress seem bright indeed. After all, both the Democratic majorities and the Republican minorities in Congress are bound by firm declarations in their 1956 national party platforms to vote for statehood.

The Future and the Basin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, my colleague from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON] delivered a very fine address at a meeting of the Arkansas Basin Development Association, held in Tulsa, Okla., on March 8, 1957. Every Member of the House is well aware of the tremendous interest which Mr. EDMONDSON has in the development of this great watershed through the States of Oklahoma and Arkansas and the enormous amount of work which he has put into the matter. We in eastern Oklahoma are convinced that development of the Arkansas Basin is the key to the future of the area in which we live. The importance of this project is pointed out in Mr. EDMONDSON'S address, the text of which is as follows:

THE FUTURE AND THE BASIN

(Remarks of Representative ED EDMONDSON)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, and members of the Arkansas Basin Development Association, it is a good thing to get together and to break the bread of fellowship in a common cause.

It can be a very satisfying thing, and even an inspiring thing, when the common cause which unites men is a great and a noble undertaking.

We break bread tonight in a rededication of common purpose in support of such an undertaking: the full and early development of the Arkansas River Basin.

For me, and I am sure for many who gather here tonight, the fight for the Arkansas Basin has been both satisfying and inspiring.

It has been satisfying, because we have already won some major battles along the road. If we think of years in terms of miles, and 1968 as our target date for navigation on this great river, we stand today only 11 miles from home.

The fight for the Arkansas has been inspiring, because this battle for the basin has produced a unity of spirit and purpose in Oklahoma—and between Oklahoma and Arkansas—which I have not witnessed in my 37 years as a Sooner.

What other great cause in your memory, peculiar to our own two States, has united so firmly the chambers of commerce of our principal cities and our smaller towns—the governors and the legislatures of the two States—and the complete congressional delegations of Arkansas and Oklahoma?

The leading citizens of Oklahoma and of Arkansas—in the ranks of industry, in the ranks of commerce, of finance, public relations, civic office and all walks of life—have joined forces to carry on this battle—and have given generously of their time, their talent, their energy, and their treasure, to advance this cause.

It is an inspiring thing, and the progress thus far made is a testimonial to the devoted efforts and sacrifice of hundreds of these leaders in our two States, who have dared to champion a great and a magnificent dream for Oklahoma and for Arkansas—and to work tirelessly to make that dream come true.

Today, in the spring of 1957, we can almost see the castles and towers of this great dream, in the shadows of the mountains still ahead.

It would be a pleasant thing tonight, in this refreshing company and on this splendid occasion, to talk about the magnificence and the splendor of the castles and towers in the Arkansas Basin's future.

The vision of this great and productive inland waterway, with its vast storage capacity of precious water and its vital movement of coal and oil and the produce of industry and agriculture, is a sight to stir the imagination and quicken the pulse of any basin resident.

But if I have a mission tonight, it is not to stir your imagination or quicken the pulses of my fellow citizens.

The message I bring to you tonight is addressed to other qualities—to the resolution and determination which we must have—all of us—to complete this journey by 1968.

Between the goal we seek and the place we stand tonight are not only mountains, but also a great precipice. We will need all the resolution and determination we can muster—and a helping hand as well from divine providence—to pass over these great barriers.

The precipice, of course, is the danger of another world war. An atomic war could not only interrupt all public works, including the Arkansas Basin, it could also pulverize and disintegrate our modern civilization.

The duty we owe as citizens, to help prevent that war, rises above our duty to the sovereign States of Oklahoma and Arkansas.

It is a duty we owe to our fellow men, to our wives and our families, to our children and our grandchildren—who may not know tomorrow if that war is not prevented.

In my own view, there are two duties of American citizenship which today transcend all others.

The first is to give our full support to a program of national defense—both military and civil defense—most likely to give a full measure of national security from atomic attack.

The second duty is to lend our full support to all honorable efforts on behalf of our Government to promote world peace and secure the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

If the citizens of our country perform these duties, and lend this kind of support to their Government, and we who have a responsibility in that Government do our job as well, I believe the chances are good that we will cross the precipice of war, and have the opportunity, in peace, to climb the mountains.

The mountains, of course, are the many steps involved in appropriating the money, and letting the contracts, and paying the bills, to build the great dams and locks which will bring navigation to the Arkansas.

And there is a special mountain in the Congress today, on which I recently reported by newsletter to the people of the second district, which could present some special problems.

I am speaking of the so-called economy wave in the House of Representatives, and especially in the Appropriations Committee, which already has resulted in the cutting of millions of dollars from administration requests for three great departments of Government.

There is good argument to be made in the cause of economy in Washington, and we in the Oklahoma delegation have supported that cause on more than one occasion.

In 1956, Oklahoma's House Members voted unanimously to cut a full billion dollars from the foreign-aid program recommended by the administration, and we are prepared to vote for further cuts in this field, and in some others, in 1957.

Movements for economy, however, can become wasteful and destructive when they are not selective, and when they do not take full accounting of the critical character of some governmental programs.

We do not have a more urgent problem, in our entire Nation today, than the problem of water and its conservation.

There is no waste in Government that even approaches the terrible and unforgivable waste of uncontrolled water resources.

California water engineers have estimated the value of an acre-foot of water at $10.

The 37 million acre-feet of wasted water flowing out of Oklahoma each year is an annual waste of $370 million, by California standards. If we cut that value to only $1 an acre, it is $37 million down the drain, each year, in terms of wasted water.

We do not need to argue in terms of dollars and cents, however, to make a case for urgency.

The Chief of Engineers, on more than one occasion, has warned that our Nation is rapidly approaching a water crisis.

With present needs for water expected to increase 2½ times by 1975—and a population figure of 300 million in sight for America in 1992—there is no room in our 1957 water program for a pennywise philosophy.

The people of America must assert, firmly and unequivocally to their Government, their determination and resolution to support an adequate water program at this time.

And the people of Arkansas and Oklahoma must join their representatives in Washington in expressing this resolution and determination to the representatives of other sections.

I hope the Arkansas Basin Development Association will send one of the largest delegations it has ever sent to Washington, when the Appropriations Committee hearings are held in May.

I hope your spokesmen will continue to speak from resolute and determined hearts of their full support for the basin program.

With resolution and determination, we shall cross the mountains and reach the castles and the towers of 1968.

For my own part, I have taken for my battle cry for the Arkansas the famous words of William Blake, the English poet, who wrote in the 19th century:

"I shall not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land."

The Jerusalem we seek is a promised land where the great treasure of water is conserved and harnessed for the good of our people in the valley of the Arkansas.

Let us carry on the fight together, and let no sword sleep in the hand of any man, until we have built our Jerusalem.

No One Happy Over Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include herewith the following editorial from the Oregon City (Oreg.) Enterprise Courier of March 8, 1957:

NO ONE HAPPY OVER BUDGET

One thing can be said with certainty about the administration's proposed $71.8 billion budget—the largest in peacetime history. Almost no one is really pleased or satisfied with it. Almost everyone is concerned and worried.

There is actually a school that believes the budget isn't big enough. Leon Keyserling, who once headed President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers, recently argued that in the New York Times magazine. In Dr. Keyserling's views, the Government should play a still larger role in national affairs of just about every kind, at a higher cost.

However, the members of this school are comparatively few and far between. The vast majority of people, in and out of the Government, who have studied the budget and considered its implications are convinced that it is dangerously large. As an example, Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH of Maine, a middle-of-the-road Republican and a strong Eisenhower supporter, has characterized the budget with the word "fantastic."

The President himself has said, in effect, that he hopes the budget can be cut, so long as it is done without peril to national security and world peace programs. Best publicized of all has been the statement by Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey that unless we mend our fiscal ways we will bring on a depression "that will curl your hair." Former President Hoover, after quoting this phrase, said: "Mine has already been curled once, and I think I can detect the signs. Unless we curb inflation on its way up, Old Man Economic Law will return with a full equipment of hair curlers." On the concrete side, Senator BYRD, a top congressional authority on money matters, has said that the budget should be very heavily cut—by $5 billion or more.

This brings up the $64,000 question. Where can it be cut?

Any major cuts, it seems evident, must be in the nondefense field. And that leads to a fact that may not be generally recognized: In the first four Eisenhower budgets nondefense spending rose by $7 billion—from $20.9 billion in 1954 to $27.9 billion in 1957. In a Newsweek column, Henry Hazlitt gave his ideas as to where specific reductions could be made. He said, "There will be no real economy until the Government is ready to slash drastically or to halt entirely whole categories of spending." Categories in which he believes either the ax or the pruning shears should be applied include Federal aid to schools, Federal highways, low-cost housing, foreign aid, and the agricultural subsidies. In his view the budget can be reduced to $60 billion—"all that is needed is the political courage and will to achieve it."

Other students have other ideas as to where and how and in what amounts cuts can be made. An additional point should be made. Concern over the budget is not limited to dollars-and-cents problems of the moment alone. One fear was expressed by Mr. Humphrey in these words: "If we retain our present high tax rates over a sufficiently long period of time, we won't be able to maintain the activities necessary to provide jobs for our people." Another fear is based on the hard fact that this enormous spending projected for a period of extremely high business activity and record employment. Obviously, any decline in business and employment, with the depressing effect that would have on tax revenues, could knock current plans, prospects, and fiscal policies into a cocked hat.

Coloring the News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, much of the agitation for the passage of the many force bills before Congress has come about as the result of discriminatory policies of much of the northern press in reporting news stories coming out of the South. Because racial incidents which occur in the South are headlined in other areas, while racial incidents happening outside the South are given little, if any, space in the papers in other sections, the South finds itself portrayed as a section peopled by barbarians, taking delight in depriving members of minorities of their constitutionally guaranteed civil rights.

The southern press, which knows the true conditions in the South, and which deplores journalistic shysterism, is beginning to fight back with truth as its weapon. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am including two editorials dealing with this subject: one, Coloring the News, taken from the March 11, 1957, issue of the Vicksburg Evening Post; the other, It Happened up North, from the February 19, 1957, issue of the Shreveport Journal. These editorials follow:

COLORING THE NEWS

There is no denying the fact that all news concerned with race relations in the South is published by some leading newspapers and news-dispensing agencies, such as radio and TV, completely colored to be detrimental to the South. The story of the Clinton, Tenn., incident was front-page and headline news, with careful attention to those circumstances which would put Tennessee in a bad light.

A national TV news program carried the story of the "death" of Alcorn A. & M., the oldest Negro land-grant college in America. This program, by inference, left the impression that Mississippi, the State so often accused of oppression of Negroes, had summarily closed this institution of Negro learning. There was no explanation of the circumstances which brought about the present Alcorn situation—no explanatory articles which would pinpoint the Alcorn story as one entirely of and by the Negro race. There was no reference to the fact that a Negro professor used his God-given right of free speech, and that the student body, evidently with outside inspiration, walked out in protest, because the professor's views were not shared by an ultraliberal organization which professes to speak for all Negroes.

The coloring of news has been viciously continued throughout the period of the last several years when the racial issue has been brought so much to the fore. Usually reliable news sources have fallen victim to this cunningly inspired method of disseminating news, and the net result has been a tremendous increase in tensions, which have no basis for existence when governed by the actual facts.

It is surprising to witness the extent to which people will go, even to the extent of doctoring news and, in some cases, falsifying it, just to gain support for a cause.

IT HAPPENED UP NORTH

If it had happened in Mississippi, Louisiana, or any place else in the South, every race-baiting magazine and newspaper in New York, Chicago, and Detroit would have had reporters and cameramen on the scene the next morning.

But this latest incident of racial violence occurred, not in Mississippi, but in Massachusetts. It was in Boston early Saturday morning that two white men kicked and beat a colored man to death while the victim's white wife looked on in horror.

So today there is a strange quiet about the offices of Look and Life and Time magazines and their contemporaries and—judging from the absence of reports on the major news wire circuits—everybody up North, including both the law-enforcement officers and the newspapers, must be anxious to drop the whole subject.

A few months ago you would have thought the northern press had formed a brigade and sent it into the South to avenge the death of Emmett Till, a teenage Chicago Negro who met violent death after he tried to force his attentions upon a white woman. But, now, little is being said by these Yankee newspapers concerning a brutal slaying which was far more horrible, because of its circumstances, than the death of Emmett Till.

Unlike the Till case, in which a Negro tried to force himself on a white woman, the Boston slaying involved a colored man who had a white woman for his wife. Two men held the woman's arms to prevent her from interfering while two other men stomped the life out of her husband on a public street. The colored man's death occurred after he protested because the men yelled "Poor white trash" at his wife.

Where are the Look, Life, and Time reporters? Where are the cameramen? Where is Attorney General Herbert Brownell and his civil rights gang? Where are the champions of integration?

Violence of any kind, no matter where it occurs, should be deplored.

But the people of the world should understand that racial integration is as violently opposed in the North as in the South—if not more so. Our northern newspapers and magazines are not worthy of their calling when they fail to note racial violence in

their own section of the country while pointing their fingers of ridicule and scorn at the South.

The Boston incident puts a new spotlight on the fact that integration is a threat to the welfare of the entire Nation—not just to the welfare of Dixie.

Economical Desalting of Sea Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include a memorial passed by the Senate of the State of Arizona on March 5 directed to the Congress requesting the Congress of the United States to appropriate sufficient funds to the Department of the Interior for the purpose of accelerating research of the problem of economically desalting sea water. The resolution is as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

The United States Department of the Interior has for the past few years been researching and conducting experimentation relating to the economical desalting of sea water. The Federal Government should be commended for exploring this very fruitful research area. However, the problem has become more critical as the years advance, and in order to avoid real hardship to the agricultural economy of this Nation, speed in research is of the essence.

During the past decades both surface and underground water supplies have been decreasing at an alarming rate. At the same time domestic and industrial uses of water, with the increased tempo of our industrialization, have been increasing at a quickened pace. The need for immediate action and research is imperative. Solution of the problem of economically desalting sea water will permit the State of California to have at its disposal all the water it requires, thereby allowing the State of Arizona to take full and complete advantage of all Colorado River water and facilites. This will allow the agricultural areas of both States to flourish and, furthermore, will provide the Nation and the world with much needed agricultural products.

During World War II, because time was of the essence and since we ignored the cost in terms of dollars, phenomenal progress was made in many hitherto unknown scientific fields. Success came because it was vital to the efforts of the free world. Today, the same application to a similarly difficult problem will supply the answer, providing the Congress of the United States is willing to appropriate sufficient funds with a mandate to the United States Department of the Interior that it proceed without delay with this research project.

Solution of the problem of desalting sea water for irrigation purposes is not an idle dream. Engineers have found 6 processing methods that are effective, but expensive, and are working with 7 other methods that appear promising. The United States Department of the Interior and private research firms are on the threshold of success, which means that we should expect desalting of sea water soon to be undertaken on a mass production scale. If desalted ocean water, useful for irrigation purposes, can be delivered to dryland areas at prices ranging from 10 to 20 cents per thousand gallons, the State of California should have all the water it wishes from the Pacific Ocean, and the need to draw water from any other source will be completely eliminated.

Wherefore, your memorialist, the Senate of the State of Arizona, prays: That the Congress of the United States appropriate sufficient and adequate funds to the United States Department of the Interior with express instructions to take every required step to accelerate the study of the process of economically desalting sea water so that the State of California can use for its needs the resources of the Pacific Ocean, while the State of Arizona thereby will obtain the full use of Colorado River water.

A Mail Carrier Protests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Mankato Free Press, of Mankato, Minn., of March 7, 1957, entitled "A Mail Carrier Protests," by Franklin Rogers:

A MAIL CARRIER PROTESTS
(By Franklin Rogers)

There was a gentleman who strode into our office the other day with fire in his eye and—though he didn't say so—he also may have had bunions on his feet. He was a mail carrier.

The cause of his wrath was a cartoon carried by this newspaper which spoke of what is commonly known as the deficit in the Post Office Department. He wanted to protest the use of that phrase because, he said, the postal division is a service department, and not a business, and therefore cannot have a deficit.

The more you think about it, the more you are obliged to conclude the gentleman is right.

The fact of the matter is that the people of the United States decided long years ago they wanted to send letters and other messages to each other through the mail. So a division of the Federal Government was set up and was called the Post Office Department. It has a director known as the Postmaster General, and he holds Cabinet rank.

The expenses of the Department are paid by the people, either through the use of postage stamps or by taxes, and in recent years by both. The Post Office Department is a little different from the Agriculture Department, for instance, because the latter depends entirely on taxes to keep going. And so do the Departments of State, Treasury, and the others.

Which is what our visitor was talking about when he arrived to protest the use of the term "deficit."

If the people want their mail delivered regularly and on time, it is necessary to pay the expenses connected with that service. Whether it is through the raising of the postage rates or by adding taxes is a relatively small point.

The reason the postal service is discussed in this section of our family gazette is because the mail carrier is a fellow you see every day. (He has more contact with more people than any other public servant.)

If you don't like the way he does things, you either growl about his service or you call the post office. If there comes a holiday and the mail doesn't arrive, you complain about the lazy mail carriers. When the service was cut from twice a day to once you said that was the way with all Government help—they do less and less and expect more and more.

At about this point we probably ought to suggest that we hold no particular brief for the mail carrier, except to suggest that the frequency of his visits are largely determined by the amount of money Congress provides for the postal service. And we have a notion that he isn't getting rich at the current pay scale, which gives him $3,600 a year to start and $4,710 if he hangs around—and his feet hold out—for 25 years more.

But that wasn't exactly what this piece started to discuss. We began by trying to make a case for the proposition that the postal department is like any other Government service. The people must determine through their Congressmen how much they want to pay for it, and then take what that amount of money provides.

We think a mail carrier—or mail clerk, or foreman, or postmaster—ought to be expected to do the best possible job in his particular duty. But, since the amount of money to be spent for the service rests in the hands of the people, we have a feeling they ought to decide how much service they want. It hardly is fair to expect that mail will be delivered twice a day when the budget provides for once a day service. And it is unrealistic to demand that 3-cent postage pay the bill when it costs more than that to mail a letter.

We are all for making the mail carriers step lively, and we likewise stand for paying them a living salary. We also are for providing the Post Office Department with enough money to do the kind of job we want.

Increased Postal Salaries and Pensions Requested

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD the following letter from Rochester branch No. 210, of the National Association of Letter Carriers:

MARCH 11, 1957.

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: On Sunday, February 10, 1957, at the Powers Hotel in Rochester, N. Y., approximately 600 postal employees gathered for the purpose of a salary rally. After much discussion by our invited guests, the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That we here gathered wholeheartedly endorse bills S. 27, and H. R. 2478, providing for postal employees salaries of $5,500 to $6,100 and also bills S. 21, and H. R. 607, providing increases of $800 for our annuitants; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we request our Senators and Representatives to insert said resolution into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD."

At this time, Congressman, I would like to ask this of you, as the Representative from the 39th Congressional District, this request.

Your consideration will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

THOMAS F. CORBETT, Jr.,
Secretary, Branch No. 210, NALS.

Balancing of the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, as a reminder of the extent to which Federal taxation is interfering with and preempting sources of taxation from which the State administration is able to receive funds, I beg leave to call to the attention of the Members of this House the speech recently delivered to the members of the West Virginia State Legislature by Mrs. E. Wyatt Payne serving her first term in that body.

I have no doubt that the situation so clearly set out by Mrs. Payne in this address applies equally to many other States in the Union.

At this particular period when Congress is faced with pressure from all classes of citizens to reduce budget spending, it is well that the facts set out so clearly by Mrs. Payne be given studious consideration by Members of this Congress.

The speech follows:

Mrs. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, we have heard pleas on this floor for money to bring our mental institutions, our schools, our roads, and many other departments up to standards required for efficient work and national recognition. I submit that our own budget cannot include such necessary funds unless and until the national budget is brought under control, by law. West Virginia, at the State and local level cannot meet its present needs, much less its future plans because our own tax money is doing the Washington circuit and seeing the world, as I shall show. May I suggest that the best and quickest way to guarantee more funds for every need is to join with the other States in support of the Byrd-Bridges amendment and vote for the resolution before you.

The Byrd-Bridges amendment simply requires an annual balancing of the national budget by limiting congressional expenditures in any fiscal year to the estimated receipts for that fiscal year, except in times of dire emergency, and this emergency would be determined by a three-fourths vote of the Congress. In short, this amendment would require the Government to live within its income. Can you run your house or your business successfully any other way? The amendment does not touch trust funds, such as highway development funds, the social-security fund, and other trust funds. Those sound leaders, both Democrats and Republicans, with whom I have talked in Washington say this amendment is the first step necessary to bring Government spending into line, and would give Congressmen their one best defense against unreasonable demands, either from their constituents or pressure groups.

The centralized government, continually over-spending itself, is the most active agency in promoting inflation today. Everyone is against inflation and when those in Washington want to blame capital or labor they should be reminded that they are the greatest offenders. If we would help those on whom the burden falls most heavily, the middle classes, the working man and all those living on fixed income, we must prescribe and proscribe the limits of spending with an annual balanced budget. There is no other way.

It is interesting, by comparison, that the States themselves are solvent. In the aggregate, the 48 States have $7½ billion of assets in cash and liquid securities more than their debts, and the reason for this is that the States, at least most of them, have State constitutions that require each State administration to live within its own income. The State, therefore, cannot spend funds it does not have, unless it has political fortitude enough to add another tax. Thus the States have remained solvent throughout the life of our republic.

The Federal Government, on the other hand, has no such limitations and has never been required to live within its income. The Federal Government is the only echelon of government that can be a free-wheeling spender and therefore it is going faster and faster into bankruptcy every year, and is operating in fields in which it has no constitutional right to operate. Many of these fields are in direct competition with private taxpaying business. The Federal operation always loses money because it operates on "other people's money," yours and mine, and no one man is ever responsible for the tremendous losses and waste. The only way to restrict the Federal Government is to curb its expenses, make it live within its income, and therefore stop adding debt on top of debt to burden our children and grandchildren.

In traveling all over the country, I find the people more concerned about this terrific problem than many of our legislators. They know they are being taxed for benefits they never see or feel and the following figures prove their conclusions to be valid. When any welfare government tells us it can do more for us than we can do for ourselves, it would pay us to look at the facts. In 1954 the Federal Internal Revenue Department collected $70,299,651,505. We got back from the Government, in all kinds of grants-in-aid, all highways, all airports, all relief checks and all payments to individuals, a total of only $4,284,380,522. This is an average kickback of only $6.09 of every $100 that goes to Washington. Reports for 1955 show $6.17 came back. Things are looking up, we gained eight cents. West Virginia fared some bette. than the average. They tapped our pocketbooks in 1954 for $295,062,486 and sent back $48,700,278, or a total of 16.51 percent, but, deducting a reasonable amount necessary to run our share of the National Government, think what we could have done with the difference. Would we be scraping the bottom of the barrel every legislature for necessary funds? Certainly not, we could live and move and have our being as free citizens in a free and independent State with opportunities for all who care to work and demonstrate the individual freedoms we have a right to enjoy under our free-enterprise system and our constitutional Republic.

The present Federal debt of the United States (your debt) is larger than the combined debts of all other countries in the world and all the 48 States. The interest alone is the largest single item in the budget, except national defense. Who are we kidding? Ourselves, of course. The Federal Government is all of us. If we allow it to spend itself into ruin, we, too, are ruined. Twenty great and powerful nations have gone the way of all the earth, and they did not fall when they were weak, but when they seemed to be very strong. I urge you, for the good of your Nation, your State, your family, and your grandchildren to join the other 31 States in asking the Congress to give the people, whose money and right it is to decide at the polls whether or not to save this Nation from financial ruin and collapse by demanding a balanced budget. Please vote for the resolution. Thank you.

St. Patrick's Day and Commodore Barry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, RAY J. MADDEN, of Indiana, delivered the annual St. Patrick's Day speech last Saturday at the Commodore Barry Monument, in Franklin Park, Washington, D. C.

The ceremony is conducted each year by the Washington Irish War Veterans and includes the placing of a wreath at base of Commodore Barry's statue.

Under unanimous consent I am inserting his remarks in the RECORD.

SPEECH OF HON. RAY J. MADDEN, OF INDIANA, BEFORE THE IRISH WAR VETERANS, MARCH 16, 1957, BARRY STATUE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Irish War Veterans of the United States of America are to be commended for preserving the name and memory of Commodore John Barry, United States Navy, on each St. Patrick's Day at the site of his memorial statue in Washington, D. C.

The memorial ceremony is especially noteworthy today because on September 16, last year, at Wexford, Ireland, the United States Government, represented by an official Congressional Committee and delegates from the United States Navy, sponsored the unveiling of a monument to preserve the memory of this great American naval hero of Irish ancestry. After 200 years, our Government officially recognized the great deeds and services this Irish patriot contributed in winning our war of independence from Great Britain.

The Congress of the United States through a joint resolution, presented a statue of Commodore Barry to the Irish nation which today stands majestically in Wexford Harbor as a perpetual tribute from all Americans for the great help that Commodore Barry, along with thousands of other Irish patriots and sympathizers, gave our Nation in the Revolutionary War.

As a Representative in the United States Congress from the State of Indiana, I was honored to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives as a member of the Congressional Committee representing the Congress of the United States at the unveiling ceremony at Wexford Harbor last September. The representatives of the Irish government joined with the official delegation from the United States in the unveiling ceremonies and the ceremonial banquet on that eventful date, Sunday, September 16, 1956. It was indeed fitting that the various speakers on this occasion brought to the minds of the assembled throngs as well as to millions throughout the world who were informed through the press, historical facts concerning the long time friendship between Ireland and the United States of America.

Events outstanding in the life of Commodore Barry were recalled.

He was but a young lad of 15 when he sailed from the very harbor which today is honored with a magnificent life-size statue. As a youth, his heart was always with the sea, and he naturally served his apprenticeship on ships and with shipping. Before many years, he became commander of a merchant ship called the *Black Prince* which afterwards under another name became the first ship in the Continental Navy. He was soon chosen by the Continental Congress to have charge of regimenting the vessels of the initial naval squadron provided by the Congress. This was indeed a great tribute to a

youth, acknowledging as it did his great mastery of ships and seamanship.

In 1776, he was commissioned a captain in the Continental Navy by the Congress of the United States. I do not propose to take time to narrate all of the outstanding battles and acts of bravery exhibited by Commodore Barry in his naval career in our fight for independence. It is only sufficient to say that his great contribution and recognition by General George Washington and the United States Congress bestowed upon him the justly deserved title of the "Father of the American Navy."

Many naval officers who greatly distinguished themselves later received their training under Commodore Barry. This list included Richard Dale, Charles Stewart, Stephen Decatur, Richard Somers, and others. It was Commodore Barry and these naval officers who pioneered the fighting naval tradition of which our Government has taken pride down to this day.

In March 1783, Commodore Barry fired the last shot of the sea campaign of the Revolutionary War. This was not the end of sea fighting for this intrepid Irishman; just before the turn of the century when the sovereignty of the newly independent Nation was first challenged and the first ships of the United States Navy under the Constitution were authorized, Commodore Barry was named the senior officer in the Navy, a position he held until his death 9 years later. His commission in the United States Navy, signed by President Washington, was commission No. 1.

There is a little story about Barry that I particularly like. Just after the close of the American Revolution, Barry received Commodore Sweeney of the Royal Navy on board his ship for an official call. Feelings of animosity still ran high. As the Royal Navy commodore was departing, he clasped Barry's hand and said, "Adieu, my countryman."

"Not exactly so," replied Barry, "you, Commodore, are a Briton; I am an American."

"I am an Irishman," Sweeney responded, "and so are you. You have too many of the strong features of a genuine Irishman for me to be mistaken. Your attachment to the country for which you have fought and bled is both natural and highly to your honor; but, sir, you are too good a fellow not to be an Irishman."

Needless to say, they parted good friends.

There were times when it was mainly Commodore Barry's personal prestige which kept the American Navy alive. His great vision nurtured its healthy development. Above all, he was a man of courage, of devotion to duty, and of the highest order of personal integrity.

John Barry was too good a man—too good an Irishman—to be consigned merely to the pages of history. In these days, when the freedom of man is threatened, the whole world needs the force of his inspiration, just as it has always been felt in the United States Navy.

Commodore Barry, of course, was not the only Irishman who left the beloved sod of his mother counutry to fight for American independence. He was the pioneer Irish patriot who inspired hundreds of thousands who followed later. He foreshadowed the others that were to distinguish the Irish, who, driven from their homeland by oppression and foreign domination sought new homes in the United States. Above all, they were loyal to their adopted land but they always were proud of their Irish origin. These Irish patriots dedicated themselves to America and worked at building what they had been denied at home—free schools of their own choice, a Christian education, an opportunity to expand and follow chosen professions, and to forget about the British system of class and privilege. Those were the days when the infant free United States became a beacon to people of all nationalities, who for generations have come to our shores to enjoy the freedom which our great Republic is so proud and privileged to offer.

The statue of Commodore Barry in Wexford harbor will forever be a symbol of deep friendship and fellowship between Ireland and the United States of America.

No two nations exist on the globe where peoples hearts are more closely entwined than Ireland and America. As we today, here on this March 17th ceremony, memoralize the gallantry of John Barry, we can pay tribute to the Irish-American friendship and understanding which have long lasted and we hope God will preserve this friendship so that it will continue to endure ever closer and ever deeper for all time to come.

Too many Americans of Irish descent during these times neglect to find time to read and acquaint themselves with facts of Irish history and the great part Ireland played in winning our independence during the Revolutionary War. It might be well to mention just a couple of the numerous unpublished historical incidents a great number which can be found in our Congressional Library and National Archives, revealing facts that are of great interest to all true Irishmen.

Unfortunately, certain writers of history neglected or omitted to give just credit for the great contribution made by Irish patriots in our early fight for freedom. Great reverses were experienced by the Revolutionary Army during the early days of the war for independence. During the hard winter of 1777, Washington's troops were deprived of adequate clothing, food, and other essentials so necessary to win a great war. History reveals that soldiers were poorly clad, some compelled to use gunny sacks for shoes by reason of the embargo placed on shipments to our shores by the enemy. A great number of soldiers deserted and others were incapacitated for physical reasons during this difficult period. It was the spirit of the Irish patriots as well as soldiers from other oppressed European governments that endured these hardships and continued through until America won her independence. France, through Lafayette; Germany, through Generals Steuben and DeKalb; Poland, through Generals Kosciusko and Pulaski; all with their fellow countrymen, contributed greatly to the strength of Washington's Army. The infant American Navy was able to make its great contribution to victory only by reason of the leadership of Commodore Barry.

The continued success of the British Army throughout the year 1776 disheartened the colonies and caused leading men in public affairs at that time to waiver in their steadfastness to continue the war for independence. It is interesting to note that Joseph Galloway, a prominent American Tory, a native of Maryland and of English descent, testified before a committee of Parliament where he had been called to give his views on the progress of the war. On November 13, 1779, the Royal Gazette, a New York newspaper of British origin, printed Mr. Galloway's testimony verbatim. In this testimony, he specifically stated that about one-half of George Washington's army who fought after the hard winter of 1777 were Irish. It is also noteworthy that the hearing of this committee of Parliament revealed documents of the official report of Ambrose Serle, private secretary of Lord Dartmouth, the English Secretary of State, requesting his government to exercise her authority by prohibiting the departure of any more Irishmen to America where they would "do Great Britain much injury by adding strength to the force of America against her." Another interesting document reproduced at the hearing was a portion of a long letter from General Sir Henry Clinton to Lord George Germain, Secretary of War, dated New York, October 23, 1778. This letter related to the difficulty of carrying out "His Lordship's instructions to draw off from the American Army the number of Europeans which constituted its principal force"; and on this point Clinton remarked significantly: "The emigrants from Ireland were in general to be looked upon as our most serious antagonists. They had fled from the real or fancied oppression of the landlords."

The United States from small beginnings and through many trials and tribulations has now become the greatest nation in the world, charged with the heaviest responsibilities ever to be placed on any nation. It is our pride that Irishmen, forced by adversity to leave their motherland, have made for themselves a position of influence, leadership, and high esteem as American citizens.

Although the United States was especially enriched by the extraordinary flow of immigration from the Emerald Isle, nevertheless, Canada, Australia, South America, and other nations benefited greatly from the large Irish immigration who settled within their borders.

Considering that we are today commemorating the Father of the American Navy, it might be well to incorporate with my remarks an Associated Press dispatch from Buenos Aires of 1 week ago. It is headlined:

"BUENOS AIRES, March 11.—Argentina is planning elaborate ceremonies to honor Adm. William Brown, Father of the Argentine Navy, on his centennial next weekend. A special delegation is coming from Ireland to participate. Brown was an Irishman."

For 700 years the people of Ireland have fought against oppression and for freedom. This century has brought partial victory to the land whose people refused to submit to tyranny. You may search the pages of history and you will not find a land or people matching Irishmen in courage and in devotion to the land that gave them birth. Liberty and freedom will win in any nation whose people worship at the shrine of men who were executed as traitors by their oppressors. Where in all history is there a story as pathetic, heroic, and enduring in interest, and as inspiring in its theme, as the story of Robert Emmett. His life and heroic deeds can be recorded in duplication again and again in different degrees of heroism over the centuries struggle for Irish freedom and self-government.

The Irish patriot whom our Government honored last September at Wexford, Ireland, and whom the Irish War Veterans of Washington are honoring today was one of the most illustrious, Commodore John Barry.

Ireland won a great victory 30 years ago when it established an independent Irish Government. The fight for Irish independence will never be completely closed until the northern six counties are united with the rest of free Ireland. That day will eventually arrive.

The last 20 years has seen world colonialism shrink and collapse over most of the globe. Colonialism will be driven from northern Ireland in due time. Then a united Ireland will take its rightful place as a free and independent nation of the world.

Inspiring Concept of Americanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I am very pleased to include an editorial appearing on Monday, March

11, 1957, in the Daily Home News, of New Brunswick, N. J. entitled "Inspiring Concept of Americanism." This editorial was prompted by remarks made by a prominent resident of New Jersey, Samuel D. Hoffman, when he received the 1957 Americanism award of the Jewish War Veterans Post No. 133. The editorial follows:

INSPIRING CONCEPT OF AMERICANISM

Accepting the 1957 Americanism Award of the Jewish War Veterans, Post No. 133, Saturday night, Samuel D. Hoffman summed up his concept of Americanism in what he described as "Ten Commandments for Americans."

This summing up is so direct, so eloquent, so inspirational, that we repeat it here in its entirety:

"Love of God and a deep abiding conviction that He is the Father of all humankind without regard to our origin, our religion, creed or color.

"Respect for our fellowmen of every religion, creed and color, respect for their rights, their hopes and aspirations.

"Belief that America can remain strong only so long as its humblest citizen receives the same benefits and protection of its laws as its strongest and most powerful.

"Recognition of the fact that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is not a meaningless platitude but includes the right of every citizen to speak his opinion freely, the right to the opportunity of employment, the right to educate his children, the right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience, the right to live in peace and harmony with his fellow citizens in full dignity as a man and as a creature of God.

"Compassion for the poor, the sick, the underprivileged, the physically and mentally handicapped toward all of whom each one of us might well say, 'There, but for the grace of God, go I.'

"Courage to speak out against injustice, inequity, and abuses of power.

"Obedience to law, not only laws which define and fix the penalties for crime, but the local rules and ordinances and regulations which touch our daily lives.

"Continued interest in the city or town which we call our home, willingness to make constructive criticism, unwillingness to be content with conditions which may be improved.

"Willingness to join one of our two great political parties, to work within its framework, to obtain the best available candidates for public office, willingness to serve for some time in some capacity on an administrative agency, board or commission to continue to improve the quality of government at every level.

"A quiet determination that regardless of whether our life span be long or short, no matter at what level we may work or the measure of importance placed upon our activities, to make America a better place when we leave than it was when we arrived."

A Day We Celebrate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

THE DAY WE CELEBRATE

(Address by Robert S. Meighen, assistant vice president, tinplate sales, Weirton Steel Co. (division, National Steel Corp.), Weirton, W. Va., to the 154th anniversary dinner of the Hibernian Society of Baltimore, Saturday, March 16, 1957, in Hotel Emerson, Baltimore, Md.)

Mr. Toastmaster, Mr. President, Reverend Clergy, Your Excellency Governor McKeldin, Your Honor Mayor D'Alessandro, guests, and gentlemen of the Hibernian Society of Baltimore:

This is not going to be a hot speech.

I can assure you that I haven't the slightest idea of what the new Congress is going to do either to us or for us. Nor do I have any idea on whether or not the new budget is going to be cut or maintained.

And after all the oratorical efforts of the wonderful speakers that have preceded me, I ask myself why, after the many verbal bouquets that have been given by such excellent men of high and honorable rank, why after all this well of words you gentlemen would want to listen to another talk either hot or cold.

I realize this is leading with my chin and before you can say in a loud chorus "We don't know why either," I'll quickly duck by reminding you that you not only asked for it but that since this program has been standard for the last 154 years "the day we celebrate" is still on the hit parade of the anniversary banquet program of the Hibernian Society of Baltimore, and I have been asked to sing it, for which opportunity I am extremely proud and grateful.

Just one more observation if I may to prove a point. The day we celebrate was number one in the hit parade of toasts on March 17, 1804, and it has moved to last place on this program, but it took 150 years to get it there.

However, the day we celebrate has to my way of thinking given this organization the opportunity of hearing from great clergymen who have related to you their philosophies and understanding of St. Patrick in his work and devotion to the people of Ireland whom he served so faithfully and tirelessly.

The day we celebrate has also given you the opportunities of hearing from men who have held and are holding public office, both State and Nationl, who have always delivered in great oratorical style their ideas of the great part the Irish have played in making our country the greatest single influence in the field of world politics.

And now, The Day We Celebrate, is going to provide you with the opportunity of listening to just a businessman. I would like to be able to dress that term "businessman" up by substituting the word "industrialist," but that would be highly improper. I am just a businessman like you men sitting out there.

This society—according to the records—was formed in 1803 for the relief of emigrants from Ireland. And according to an advertisement which appeared in a local newspaper of that day, The American Patriot and Fells Point Advertiser which stated "Emigrants are daily arriving from Ireland: Many of them are in a friendless and forlorn condition, deprived of health and asylum. They have a claim upon those who have preceded them to whom industry has proved propitious. There are many, very many of our inhabitants who feel all the influence of compassion and who impatiently wait to be informed how they may make themselves useful to unprotected adventurers. A meeting of all those who are so disposed whether foreigners or natives is requested tomorrow evening at 5 o'clock at Mr. Bryden's Tavern, Light Street, in order to devise a plan by which their benevolent designs may be carried into execution."

That was the advertisement of August 16, 1803.

Now, honestly, doesn't that sound like the appeals being carried daily in March 1957, for relief of Hungarian refugees arriving at Camp Kilmer, N. J., just 154 years later and approximately 150 miles north of Baltimore?

It took three attempts in 1803 to have interested people of sufficient number to put the Hibernian Society together, but on October 8, 1803, a plan of constitution was agreed to and officers were elected.

As is the case today so it was then—the busy people, the influential people, those people who have the greatest demands on their time were the ones who found time to launch this society.

For example let's look at some of the original officers. Dr. John Campbell White—credited with being the founder—was elected president. Dr. White's father was a Presbyterian minister, well enough off financially to educate his son in medicine at the University of Edinburgh and at Middlesex Hospital in London.

Dr. White practiced medicine in Belfast until 1798. He was active in the Society of United Irishmen which in 1798 attempted to overthrow British rule. This rebellion failed. Many of its members who became known as the Men of '98 either escaped Ireland or were deported. Dr. White and his wife fled to America and settled in Baltimore.

A busy man or a businessman? Yes.

The other officers of the first or charter group were also prominent men, one operated a soap and candle factory, one was the first president of the Bank of Baltimore, another was to become one of the great professors of the University of Maryland Medical School, and others were merchants, shippers, and so it goes.

All men just like you and me today, busy, yes, but with a desire and a will to help those less fortunate, for whatever cause, than ourselves.

The original need for which this society was founded no longer exists. But the basic concept of helping and doing for others as well as perpetuating the memory of St. Patrick will in my opinion keep the Hibernian Society of Baltimore a going institution for many years to come.

As I said earlier, it was with sincerest appreciation of the honor conferred upon me that I received the invitation to respond to a toast before this venerable society in honor of St. Patrick and answer to the principal toast "The Day We Celebrate."

Akin to this sense of appreciation is another feeling to which I confess tonight and that is a feeling of personal pride that, through the graciousness of one of your former presidents—Mr. William B. Hysan—I have been a guest of his at this Hibernian Society of Baltimore annual banquet for more than a decade, so in a sense gentlemen, I stand here with a feeling in my own heart of being a full-fledged member of the Hibernian Society of Baltimore, even without dues.

Full-fledged did I say? Well—hardly that but nonetheless a fledgling in the nest.

My forebears transmitted to their children along with the Irish blood—the Irish spirit and the Irish heart. Fortunately, one of the chief characteristics of the Irish race is its national spirit and traditions, its racial virtues, aspirations, and loves and I might add its hatreds, have been transmitted in all their vitality and ardor from generation to generation, no matter how distant from the motherland the lot of her childrtn has been cast.

Their lot as we know has been to be scattered to the farthest parts of the globe.

Hence, in reference to "The Day We Celebrate," a distinguished Irish orator has said, and I quote:

"Excepting the birth of the Master, the festal day of no other is hailed with such universal reverence, for not alone in the island which he Christianized, but far be-

yond its shores, to the uttermost confines of the earth, men and women meet to pay St. Patrick reverent homage."

This universal, undying, ever warm, and enthusiastic reverential love for St. Patrick, manifested throughout the centuries by a scattered people, is a marvel of the ages.

To account for this marvel would transcend the limits of an after-dinner address.

Still, a few points may be touched upon as throwing rays of light, however slender, upon the subject and those points may be expressed in a few words, namely the affinity between the strong yet gentle personality of St. Patrick and the race which under Divine Providence he Christianized and raised from a comparatively high state of civilization to the highest standard of culture. An affinity which drew Patrick to the Irish by "the cords of Adam" before the spiritual ties of Christianity made perfect their union.

I don't know whether you realize it or not but in my particular position with my company I am what is known as a salesman—from the general office—if that means anything to you.

I have always liked to think of St. Patrick as a great salesman or maybe even a vice president in charge of sales—if you will—since he was working under the leadership and direction of the Pope.

Historians disagree about the birthplace of St. Patrick.

Ireland, Italy, Wales, Scotland, and France have been listed as possible places of his birth.

It is agreed, however, that he was captured by pirates and brought to Ireland as a lad of 16.

There he was sold as a slave to a pagan priest and he grew to love the land and its people.

Later Patrick ran away and worked as a sailor, eventually making his way to Rome.

There again, the historians differ, some saying he was again captured and brought to a slave market where his handsome appearance attracted the attention of the Pope.

At any rate, he was trained for the priesthood in Rome, and was assigned as a priest (at his own request it is said) to convert the Irish people from Druidism to Christianity.

It is an error, not uncommon among many to suppose that Patrick found the inhabitants of Ireland a crude, primitive, savage, and uncivilized people, whereas, on the contrary history amply shows that he found Ireland ruled under the famous Brehon Laws, the nearest approach to a real democracy the world had hitherto seen.

For the Brehon Laws, a marvelously just and comprehensive code, compelling the admiration of the world's most eminent jurists, were not the result of legislative enactments but where the direct expression of public opinion and were administered accordingly.

So just, so complete, and so merciful withal were these laws safeguarding as they did the interests of the poor, the sick and the aged that St. Patrick found little in them to change to Christian standards.

Under them the land was owned, not by the kings or chieftans but by the clan itself, and serfdom which existed at the time throughout all the rest of Europe was unknown in ancient Ireland.

St. Patrick came back to Ireland, a land that was ruled by scores of kings, and made his first convert at Tara, the palace of the high king who exacted tribute from all of the other rulers.

To what more natural place would the salesman go than to call on the president of the company who was in this case the high king of Ireland.

In the history of Christianity, it is said that no other man made so many converts in a single lifetime as did St. Patrick. He was named the first Bishop of Ireland.

In religion, the ancient Irish people before St. Patrick, though ignorant of the true God, aspired to Him through their poetic worship of His handiwork: the sun, the moon, the stars, and the elements—a purer religion than was the gross mythology of ancient Greece and Rome.

In a word, Ireland's own spirit had appealed to Patrick in his early impressionable years and had taken possession of his soul and now that spirit glorified in him by Christian graces appealed in turn to Ireland's people, captivating their love and allegiance which centuries have not been able to weaken or diminish in Irish hearts.

Patrick's message to the Irish people was "you shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

It did make them free and inspired them with the indomitable fortitude under cruel persecution, and sustained their tenacious hope during the long dark night of their struggle for freedom, till now the dawn has broken with the promise of a perfect day.

It is interesting to note that St. Patrick was the first man of note to come to the priestly vocation late in life and his name is still honored by the St. Patrick Society—a group of priests and brothers who come to their careers in the church at an advanced age.

Thus it is that the name and influence of St. Patrick are so closely associated with every phase of Ireland's history as a Christian nation, than an Irishman would have to forget and cease loving both the country and Christianity before forgetting and ceasing to love the memory of St. Patrick.

Because as we know and as history records it, the priests and brothers who became identified with St. Patrick and ultimately left Ireland, traveling to the far corners of the earth to carry the Gospel of Christianity permanently and forcefully to those areas were no more and no less than salesmen of their product—Christianity.

Therefore we again liken St. Patrick to a salesman.

It has been said that salesmen should have the missionary as their patron saint. If this is true, salesmen could have no more perfect model than St. Patrick.

St. Patrick came to Ireland late in a life that had already included its full share of adventure.

When he came to the Emerald Isle, he was the only Christian there. Before his death he saw his 30 years of work among the Irish people result in bringing a majority of the people there to Christianity.

St. Patrick's feast day is agreed upon by all as March 17. As is customary in the observance of Feast Days of the Saints, this is the day of his death—the day of his entrance into heaven.

Following his death the work of his successors and his own converts was so great that to this day Ireland still has the largest percentage of churchgoers of any Christian nation on earth.

It is thought that St. Patrick came to Ireland on his missionary trip between 440 and 460 A. D.

Today 1,500 years later his name is still honored and revered and the people he converted are still loyal to the faith he taught.

Let us, therefore, as Hibernians, lovers of the old Dart, renew tonight our high resolve to keep our hearts true to the traditions, the virtues, the best traits of our Irish forefathers in order to love, cherish and honor as they did the memory of the great saint, the greatest of Celts, one of the world's greatest men, Erin's beloved patron, St. Patrick whose memory we lovingly and reverently salute and whose day we celebrate.

In conclusion then I propose this ancient and beautiful "Irish Blessing":

"May the blessings of Light be on you.
Light from without and light from within.
May the blessings of sunshine warm your heart till it glows like a great peat fire, so that the stranger may come and warm himself at it and also a friend.
And also may the lights shine out of the two eyes of you like a candle set in two windows of a house, bidding the wanderer to come in out of the storm.
May the blessings of the rain be on you.
The soft sweet rain.
May it fall upon your spirit so that all the little flowers may spring up and shed their sweetness on the air.
And may the blessings of the Great Rains be upon you—
May they beat upon your spirit and wash it fair and clean, and have it shine like a shining pool where the blue of heaven shines reflected, and sometimes a star.
May the blessings of the Earth be on you.
The great and round Earth.
May you ever have a kindly greeting for them you pass as your going along the roads.
May the Earth be soft under you when you lay out upon it, tired at the end of the day, and
May it rest easy over you, when at last you lay under it,
May it rest so lightly over you that your soul may be quickly up and through it, and up, and off, and on its way to God."

Response by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin to the Toast to Maryland, Hibernian Dinner, Emerson Hotel, Baltimore, March 16, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

RESPONSE BY GOV. THEODORE R. MCKELDIN TO THE TOAST TO MARYLAND HIBERNIAN DINNER, EMERSON HOTEL, BALTIMORE, MARCH 16, 1957

It is proud that I am, on the eve of St. Patrick's, to respond to your toast to our Maryland.

For Maryland is proud, sir, of its Irish heritage and its Irish traditions and of the love our people have maintained through the years for Irish things and Irish places, and the Irish heart and spirit.

We take pride in the reverence in which, over the centuries, we have held the name of St. Patrick.

Many times a day I look across the waters of the beautiful Severn River which flows by the city of my present abode, but never without thinking of the Great Bishop of Ireland whom we honor here tonight, for it was near the banks of another lovely Severn that he first saw the light of day; and it was there, I feel sure, that God placed His hands of grace upon the infant head and dedicated his life to the causes of human enlightenment and the salvation of souls.

This grand metropolis of ours bears the good and lilting name of a lovely town in Ireland—Baltimore. Close by is the thriving

community of Dundalk, named for a town in the Emerald Isle.

Here in the city are a Shannon Drive and a Shamrock Avenue—and out in the county a road called Rocksham—where someone slipped the shamrock in backwards—crosses Donegal Drive in a peaceful community with the fighting Irish name of Donnybrook.

From here to Dublin, there is no rocky road, but you can go southeast, if you choose, or northeast if you'd rather, for a Dublin you'll find in Somerset and a Dublin again in Harford.

There's a place in Allegany with the name of McCoole, which is about as Irish as a name can get, and in Montgomery we have a Travilah, which, from the musical sound of it, ought to be Irish even if it isn't.

Yes, there is a lot of Ireland about Maryland and the people of Maryland—and the bonds of old have grown stronger with the years.

Our love for St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, is as real as though he walked among us, for surely the spirit of so great a saint—and surely the teachings which he expounded so well—continue to give us light and show us the way to all that is good now and in the years and the centuries to come.

St. Patrick belongs to the ages—past, present and future.

May the age that is appreciate him in full measure.

May the ages for which we build seek to follow, ever more diligently, the wonderful example of his life and the precepts of his teaching.

Aid to the Polish People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. GORDON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very thoughtful and expressive letter which I have received from one of my constituents, Mr. X. A. Tomaszewski, on the subject of extending assistance to the needy people of Poland.

Mr. Tomaszewski's letter is typical of many that I am receiving from people all over the country who earnestly support the extension of United States aid to Poland and who are firmly convinced that by so doing we will help the Polish people in their efforts to achieve an increasing measure of freedom and national autonomy.

I commend Mr. Tomaszewski's letter to the membership of the House for reading:

CHICAGO, ILL., *March 14, 1957.*
Hon. THOMAS S. GORDON,
United States Congressman, Illinois,
Chairman, House Foreign Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE CHAIRMAN: I have just read in our Chicago newspapers where there is great controversy in connection with aid to the Polish people. I wish to mention that I advocate your stand in regard to this important issue, and sincerely hope that with your influence and support the people of Poland will not be left by the wayside, so that the Russian bear will engulf the entire Polish nation with its satanical desires.

The people of Poland are not Communists and never will be anti-American. We must not and will not deprive them of their pursuit of all the freedoms which all men are endowed to enjoy, through the grace of God. We can help them by granting them this aid and in due time I wish to predict that the Polish people will be the first to bear arms against our common enemy, the Communist. Let's be frank and face the naked facts. The Russians are out to dominate the world and someday hope to subjugate even our great country. Let's use some foresight rather than to say later on, "I told you so."

Shortly after the war I was sent to Poland as a director of relief operations, for the American Relief for Poland organization. I am well aware of the facts that are predominant in Poland. The Poles want freedom—the kind they enjoyed before World War II. Let's not enhance the stark reality that Russia will take over all of Poland should they be refused aid by our Government. We need Poland just as much as she needs us. I am sure she will never forget our generosity in case of any conflict we may become involved. Remember, Poland was the first to fight against Hitler.

I do hope that you realize that Poland is at its crossroads and we will witness a spectacle that may have earth-shaking consequences. Should Poland get this aid and of a significant figure, we will see a new Poland surge ahead since we have given her that confidence that she needs to free itself from the Russian economic structure. I dare not mention what will happen in Poland if the Polish commission will return emptyhanded. God save Poland.

Fortunately, our President, Dwight Eisenhower, is very much in favor of granting a loan to Poland since he is extremely aware of the significance of this entire undertaking. I believe, that half of the battle is over because of the desires of our President. Please do your utmost in the House of Congress, and you may rest assured that all the Poles all over the world will be grateful.

In closing, please accept my most sincere wishes and may the good Lord watch over you.

Respectfully yours,
X. A. TOMASZEWSKI.

Alaska Is Owned by All the People of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, there is an important issue that should be cleared up in connection with Alaska statehood. Many Alaskans have the idea that territorial rights are vested solely in those who live there, whereas Alaska and its natural resources belong to all the people of this country. Therefore, in granting statehood and transferring ownership of millions of acres of land and their resources, we should protect nonresidents from discrimination and incorporate adequate guaranties in any enabling act. In line with these views I am today asking the chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee to assure that adequate safeguards have been provided to prevent any such discrimination in the granting of statehood to the Territory of Alaska.

This point of discrimination is ably and clearly set forth in the following letter to the Washington State congressional delegation from the Alaska Fishermen's Union:

MARCH 12, 1957.
Re discriminatory bills before the Territorial Legislature of Alaska.
WASHINGTON STATE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMEN: The Territory of Alaska, acting through its Territorial legislature, is seeking by every means at hand, whether lawful or unlawful, to discriminate against members of organized labor who work for the salmon canneries in Alaska during summer months as employee fishermen and then return to their homes in Washington, Oregon, and California for the remainder of the year when no fishing employment is available in Alaska.

The ultimate objective is clearly to prohibit and restrict residents of the continental United States from participating in Alaska salmon fishing; this, notwithstanding the fact that residents of the Pacific coast have gone to Alaska from continental United States in pursuit of their chosen employment for over 50 years. Thousands of residents of Washington, Oregon, and northern California have gone annually to Alaska all of their adult lives. Many are the second generation which has been so engaged. These men are members of the Alaska Fishermen's Union, the oldest fishing union on the Pacific coast, which has negotiated annual collective-bargaining agreements with the Alaska salmon canneries since 1902. Action of the Alaska Legislature directed against these men is directed against the Alaska Fishermen's Union, and can and should be classed as antiunion and antilabor.

Ample proof of the above statement is apparent when the acts of the Territorial legislature—some previously enacted and some now under consideration—are viewed in the light of the fact, and it is a fact, that the great majority of the fishermen who go to Alaska from the States work as employee-fishermen, and not as independent producers engaged in private enterprise.

In contrast, a great majority of the resident fishermen—practically all of them—fish as independent producers owning their own nets and boats, and thus engaging in private enterprise.

The difference in the methods of fishing is a natural development of the differences in the conditions which surround the two groups. Those who live in the continental United States and travel to Alaska and return, cannot, as a practical matter in many instances, own their own nets and boats and transport them to and from Alaska nor can they leave them for the winter months in Alaska without costly storage and adequate provisions for care.

On the other hand, the resident fisherman lives within the area, generally maintains his home nearby and is able to store his net and boat during the winter months.

It follows then that laws which impose a heavy tax burden or other restrictions on employee-fishermen or on the hiring of them or on the net, boat, or catch of an employee-fisherman without a corresponding tax or restriction on an independent producer or on the nets, boats, or catches of independent producers, are in fact thinly disguised discrimination against nonresident fishermen and in favor of resident fishermen. There are presently some laws of a discriminate nature now in effect and several more are under active consideration by the Territorial Legislature in session in Juneau. Some of these acts or proposed acts are as follows:

House bill 48 is the graduated catch tax. The exemption and graduation are such to exempt all independent fishermen completely from the tax and to leave the burden entirely upon company fishermen, who are, in

fact, nonresidents. This bill would place a 6 percent tax on fish caught by company fishermen. While it has been general knowledge that the Territorial Legislature has for many years tried to tax the fish traps out of existence, or at least that has been their contention in the past, it now develops that the taxing of the fish traps did not entirely fulfill all of the demands made on the legislature in this respect, so they included company gillnet fishermen in the same bill, in order to make sure that residents of the continental United States would be excluded from the Alaska fisheries, for all practical purposes.

Notwithstanding this bill, another one was introduced in the Legislature of Alaska, House bill N162, which does not mention any traps but concentrates its fire completely on company fishermen and, in effect, provides a $1,000 license on each boat used by company fishermen, and as such, would make it an almost economic impossibility for the salmon operators to hire company fishermen in the future. This bill would have very serious effect in the Bristol Bay area of Alaska. It would also affect a large percentage of the fishing done in the Cook Inlet area, and to a lesser extent it would affect fishing in the Chignik district and part of the Westward district, which includes all of the south side of the Alaska Peninsula.

We are enclosing copies of the two bills mentioned so far, for your information and consideration.

House bill 124 would prohibit the use of fish traps, if and when the Territoory obtains control of the fisheries. Fish traps are maintained and operated almost entirely by company fishermen who are nonresidents, and the effect of the act is to destroy their employment.

One of the laws now in effect is the provision of the Employment Security Act which subjects the earnings of employee-fishermen to a one-half percent tax, and contains enough restrictive qualification formulas which, for the most part, prevent nonresident employes from receiving the full benefit of the act.

You will recall that we had a nonresident fish-license fee in effect some years ago which became so prohibitive that in order to be able to fish in Alaska, we had to go to court. The Supreme Court of the United States at that time ruled in our favor. The present act now provides, in effect, for higher fees for nonresidents than those paid by resident fishermen, and although this act has not as yet become prohibitive in its application, nevertheless, it does provide for some of the proceeds to be applied for the benefit of sick resident fishermen, but sick nonresident fishermen cannot qualify for any benefits. It appears to us that:

1. The Territorial legislature is trying to regulate the fisheries by taxation;

2. Each bill written so far carefully excludes resident fishermen from such taxation;

3. If control of the fisheries were transferred to the Territory of Alaska, all nonresident fishermen would soon either be taxed out of existence or, if this wasn't possible, discriminated against by fishery regulations to a point where they would have to quit.

On the basis of the statements made herein which supplemented bills from the Territorial legislature, plus keeping in mind that bills previously introduced in Congress would also have had the same discriminatory effect on employment of nonresident fishermen, it is becoming necessary for Congress to provide for legal language which in the future would make it impossible for Alaska to discriminate United States citizens out of their living and out of their employment which they have followed for over half a century.

If any consideration is given to statehood for Alaska, Congress must write language which will render unnecessary lengthy legal battles to obtain our rights as citizens. We cannot too forcefully stress this matter to you, which is of utmost importance to all nonresident employees working in Alaska.

Respectfully submitted.

ALASKA FISHERMEN'S UNION,
LIU 1821, AFL-CIO,
GEORGE JOHANSEN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Address by Hon. John F. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, Before Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, Baltimore, Md., March 16, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, March 16, Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, delivered a very fine address before the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, in Baltimore, Md. His address eloquently compares Ireland's fight for freedom with the recent revolt in Hungary, and was warmly received by close to 800 Irishmen who gathered at the Southern Hotel to hear it.

Under unanimous consent, I am inserting Mr. KENNEDY's address in full in the Appendix of the RECORD:

REMARKS OF SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY, DEMOCRAT, OF MASSACHUSETTS, ST. PATRICK'S DAY DINNER, 1957

It is fitting that we remember at this time three requests granted St. Patrick by the angel of the Lord, in order to bring happiness and hope to the Irish: First, that the weather should always be fair on his special day, to allow the faithful to attend the services of the church; second, that every Thursday and every Saturday 12 souls of the Irish people should be freed from the pains of hell; and third, that no outlander should ever rule over Ireland.

I have not heard a weather report from the Emerald Isle tonight, but I am certain that no rain fell—officially. Who pays any heed to a little Irish mist? And I have no doubt that 12 Irishmen have been freed from the nether regions this very Saturday. (In fact, the toastmaster tells me he thinks he saw several of them here tonight.) But certainly we need no report to tell us that tonight no outlander rules over Eire; and the Irish people are celebrating this day in peace and in liberty.

But is it not a bitter and tragic irony that the Irish should now enjoy their freedom at a time when personal liberty and national independence have become the most crucial issues of our time? No problem weighs heavier on the conscience of the free world than the fate of billions held in an iron captivity in areas stretching in a great half-circle from the plains beyond the captive city of Warsaw in the west to the Red River Delta beyond the trampled city of Hanoi in the east. And no problem plagues western leadership more incessantly than the struggle of millions in Africa and Asia to cast off the yoke of colonialism and achieve the dream of national self-determination.

I know of few men in our land, and none in this room, who would ignore these denials of freedom as far-off troubles of no concern at home. For Irishmen have always been concerned with imperialism and repression in other lands. Ireland's chief export has been neither potatoes nor linen, but human freedom. Throughout its history, its exiles and emigrants have fought notably with sword and pen, for freedom in other parts of the globe. Particularly noted were the "wild geese," the officers and soldiers forced to flee their native Ireland after the Battle of the Boyne. Fighting for the French, they broke the ranks of the English at Fontenoy. Fighting for the spanish, they turned the tide of battle against the Germans at Melazzo. And fighting for the American Union Army, they bore the brunt of the slaughter at Fredericksburg.

"War-battered dogs are we (they said),
Gnawing a naked bone;
Fighters in every land and clime—
(For) every cause but our own."

I do not maintain that the Irish were the only race to display extraordinary devotion to liberty, or the only people to struggle unceasingly for their national independence. History proves otherwise. But the special contribution of the Irish, I believe—the emerald thread that runs throughout the tapestry of their past—has been the constancy, the endurance, the faith that they displayed through endless centuries of foreign oppression, centuries in which even their mass destruction by poverty, disease, and starvation was ignored by their conquerors.

(For example, on February 19, 1847, it was announced in the House of Commons that 15,000 persons were dying of starvation in Ireland every day; and Queen Victoria was so moved by this pitiful news that to the society for Irish relief she contributed 5 pounds. Perhaps we should not be too quick to condemn the good Queen, however—for in those days the English pound was no doubt worth more than it is today.)

All this is now past. Yet the heroic annals of Ireland's fight for freedom should be recalled today. We are frequently urged to accept as permanent the enslaved status of the so-called satellite countries; and we are under heavy pressure to accept for an indefinite period those policies of our allies that have already postponed too long the granting of native rights and self-determination in the colonized areas of Africa and Asia.

But if anyone thinks such restrictions on freedom can withstand the irresistable force of human liberty, even if backed by superior military and political force, then let him recall the Ireland of 300 years ago, the similar techniques of oppression, the alternating hope and despair of the Irish, and the unquenchable thirst for human liberty that lingered on despite all defeats and disappointments.

I think it is important that we make that comparison today—not to revise the unhappy memories and national animosities of an age gone by—but to remind us all that along with the need to worship God, there has been implanted in every man's soul the desire to be free.

Perhaps the chapter of Irish history most sharply brought to mind—particularly these days when the tragic Hungarian uprising of October 1956 is still fresh in our memories—is the story of the Irish Rebellion of 1642, and its hero, Owen Roe O'Neill. The story actually begins with the famous Flight of the Earls in 1607 when the Earl of Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill, sailed sadly into exile on the continent accompanied by his young nephew,

Owen, other members of his family, and Rory, the Earl of Tyrconnell.

"O, sad in green Tyrone when you left us, Hugh O'Neill,
In our grief and bitter need, to the spoiler's cruel steel,
Will you come again, O Hugh, in all your olden power,
In all the strength and skill we knew, with Rory, in that hour
When the sword leaps from its scabbard, and the night hath passed away.
And Banba's battle cry rings loud at dawning of the day?"

Hugh O'Neill would not come again. He died in 1616 still dreaming of returning to free his native land. And in Ireland, hope gave way to despair. For now the Irish people were hard put to keep alive the memory of their lost freedom. The education of their children and the preservation of their native language and customs were controlled by a foreign dictator—priests were imprisoned, tortured and murdered, and the Catholic religion all but totally surpressed—lands and property were confiscated, basic legal rights denied, meetings banned, and their very existence regarded with contempt—and with fear.

When, in 1644, one Captain Swanley seized a ship, picked out from amongst its passengers 70 whom he considered to be Irish—and threw them overboard—the Journal of the House of Commons records that "Captain Swanley was called into the House, and thanks given to him for his good service, along with a chain of gold of 200 pounds in value." "To kill an Irishman," it was commonly said at that time, "was no more than to kill a dog."

But, just as the Hungarian people rose to cast off their chains when the Russians were troubled in Poland, so the Irish rose during the struggle between Throne and Parliament in 1641. Their initial successes, however, could not be maintained. Lacking arms, lacking experienced military leadership and sorely divided by factional disputes, their revolt was brutally crushed. On February 25, 1642, anticipating the slaughter of Budapest by more than 300 years, the English High Command gave the following order to its generals in Ireland: "Wound, kill, slay and destroy, by all the ways and means you may, all rebels and adherents and relievers; and burn, spoil, waste, consume and demolish all places, towns and houses, where the said rebels are, or have been, relieved and harbored, and all hay and corn there; and kill and destroy all the men inhabitants therein who are able to bear arms."

Overwhelmed with despair, outnumbered and outclassed, the Irish revolutionaries—led by a dedicated but untrained lawyer name Phelim O'Neill—were prepared to surrender all that remained. Then, suddenly, from the Boyne to the sea, from county to county, from mouth to mouth, the joyous word was passed: "Owen Roe has come."

"Glad news, glad news for aching hearts comes from the northern shore,
Ho, Phelim, rouse your sorrowing soul, and raise your head once more.
Magennis and Maguire, come from out your 'leagured tower,
And spit upon their Saxon laws—defy their Saxon power.
For eyes are fired that erst shone mee, and tongues loosed that were dumb—
Up Gaels. Up Gaels. Revenge. Revenge. Owen Roe, Owen Roe is come."

On July 6, 1642, having successfully evaded the British fleet, Owen Roe O'Neill stepped ashore in the north of Donegal. Nephew of the famous Earl of Tyrone, already famous in his own right for his brilliant battle for Spain at Arras, the greatest Irish general of his time was home at last—and he rallied around him a once ragged army and a once despondent citizenry. Owen Roe the liberator, he was called—the worthiest warrior of them all, and ignoring the jealousies and the petty divisions that hampered his efforts, he went steadily forward to his appointed task of building an army and driving the enemy from his native shores.

Finally, in June of 1646, with a greatly outnumbered army and with no artillery whatsoever, he fought and won his greatest battle, the famous victory of Benburb. Launching a whirlwind attack with the cry of Sancta Maria, he wiped out the enemy's army in one brief hour, captured enough equipment to outfit his entire force, and left 3,300 of the enemy dead on the battlefield. Fatalities in his own ranks numbered exactly 70.

It was a great day for the Irish—just as October 23, 1956, was a great day for the Hungarians—and these are the days that live in the minds of men long after all else has been crushed. For rival factions sued for an unworthy peace, dissident parties and jealous leaders fought among themselves and against Owen Roe; and thus a divided Irish nation was dismally unprepared for the invasion of Oliver Cromwell. And when at last they instinctively turned to the great liberator whom they had shamed and abused, Owen Roe fell ill before he could rejoin his army—and died the victim, it was said, of a poisoned nail placed in his shoe by an agent of Cromwell.

The entire Irish nation was overwhelmed with grief.

"Did they are, did they dare, to slay Owen Roe O'Neill?
Yes, they slew with poison him they had feared to meet with steel,
Had he lived—had he lived—our dear country had been free,
But he's dead—but he's dead—and 'tis slaves we'll ever be.

"Sagest in the council was he, kindest in the Hall;
Sure we never won a battle—'twas Owen won them all,
Soft as woman's was your voice, O'Neill; bright was your eye,
Oh, why did you leave us, Owen? Why did you die?

"Your troubles are all over, you're at rest with God on high,
But we're slaves, and we're orphans, Owen—why did you die?
We're sheep without a shepherd, when the snow shuts out the sky—
Oh, why did you leave us, Owen? Why did you die?"

So ends the story of the Irish rising of 1641. O'Neill's wife fled into exile, his son was captured in battle and beheaded; and, their armies overwhelmed, the Irish people were brutally slaughtered and enslaved by a ruthless and relentless Cromwell. In still another parallel to last fall's tragic events in Hungary, the entire population of Ireland within a few years after O'Neill's death had declined by more than 50 percent—the result of human slaughter, mass deportation, and a great exodus of exiles and emigrants.

"They are going, going, going, and we cannot bid them stay,
For their fields are now the stranger's, where the stranger's cattle stray.
But no foreign skies hold beauty like the rainy skies they knew,
Nor any night-wind cool the brow as did the foggy dew."

To those hapless exiles from the Emerald Isle, as to those fleeing Budapest today, and those struggling against overwhelming odds in other parts of the world, the prospects for the liberation of their homeland seemed very remote, indeed. And yet, as Sir Roger Casement told the British jury that sentenced him to hang for high treason in 1914: "Ireland has outlived the failure of all her hopes—and yet she still hopes."

"Ireland has seen her sons—aye, and her daughters, too—suffer from generation to generation always for the same cause, meeting always the same fate, and always at the hands of the same power; and yet always a fresh generation has passed on to withstand the same oppression. The cause that begets this indomitable persistency, preserving through centuries of misery the remembrance of lost liberty, this surely is the noblest cause men ever strove for, ever lived for, ever died for."

May this spirit, and this story of 1642, and all the stories of Irish martydom like it, be recalled in this year of 1957, in the minds of the oppressors, in the hearts of the oppressed, and in our own Nation's Capital.

It is a shocking fact that too many of the brave but discouraged men and women behind the Iron Curtain feel that the United States has abandoned them to permanent captivity. It is equally shocking that millions of Africans and Asians look with suspicion upon the United States as a sympathizer with colonialism and continued western domination. This Nation, after all, had to battle for its own independence from foreign control with the help of friends from other lands. We gave self-determination to our own dependencies; and we were for more than a century unafraid to speak up in opposition to the exploitation of any peoples by any outside power.

I would not equate the rapidly diminishing colonialism of the West with the brutal colonial policies of the Soviet Union. But I am confident that both are eventually as doomed to failure as was the subjugation of the Irish people.

I do not wish to oversimplify endlessly complex problems, to deny the measures taken by ourselves and our allies to clarify this issue of independence, or to ignore the dangers of moving too fast either in the Soviet satellites or the Western colonies. But the fact remains that in both areas human beings who were born free and equal are inevitably going to demand their full freedom and equality; and one by one, sooner or later, regardless of what is done to encourage or discourage them, they will obtain that freedom. And the only question then will be whether they will thereupon regard us as a friend who offered hope and encouragement in their darkest hour, or as a stranger—who left them to be "sheep without a shepherd when the snow shuts out the sky."

Therefore, let us here resolve that our Nation will forever hold out its hands to those who struggle for freedom today, as Ireland struggled for a thousand years. Let us recognize what the events of the past year in Hungary and Poland and Ghana and Algeria have firmly demonstrated—as the struggles in Ireland and elsewhere demonstrated in centuries gone by—what must of necessity be the cornerstone of our foreign policy, and every nation's foreign policy, for all time to come—that there may be satellite governments, but there are never satellite peoples—that nations may be colonized, but never men—and that whether a man be Hungarian or Irish, Catholic or Moslem, white or black, there forever burns within his breast the unquenchable desire to be free.

Memorial Passed by Arizona State Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include a memorial passed

by the Senate of the State of Arizona on February 26 directed to the Congress requesting that the Congress of the United States take favorable action on legislation restricting the movement of unmarried juveniles across international boundaries. The resolution is as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

The Legislature of the State of Arizona is aware of Senate bill 959 introduced in the 84th Congress, 1st session, by Senator ESTES KEFAUVER and others, which provided that unmarried juveniles, unaccompanied by a parent or guardian, were not to be permitted to leave the United States without a permit issued by the Attorney General of the United States or the facilities of the United States Department of Justice for such purpose. The State of Arizona being a border State and therefore cognizant of the many problems created by this situation is favorably impressed with the necessity for similar legislation and the need for its immediate passage.

Wherefore your memorialist, the Senate of the State of Arizona, prays: That the Congress of the United States give serious consideration to and take favorable action on a bill similar to Senate bill 956 which would prohibit unmarried juveniles, unaccompanied by parent or guardian, from leaving the United States without first having obtained a permit.

Continuing Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial entitled "Continuing Foreign Aid" from the New York Times, New York, N. Y., on Wednesday, March 13, 1957:

CONTINUING FOREIGN AID

As Congress and the administration busily pass the buck to each other in efforts to cut the $72-billion budget for the coming year, a real danger is arising that indiscriminate economies may be made in precisely the areas that this Nation can least afford to make them.

Along with President Eisenhower, Secretary Humphrey and a great many Democrats and Republicans in both House and Senate, we too would like to see some curtailment of this, the largest peacetime budget in American history. We have little doubt that material reductions can be made.

But the place where the gathering forces of budget cutting are most likely to focus their fire is the place where they would lose the fewest votes in doing so; and yet it is the place where heavy slashes would do serious damage to the long-term interests and even to the security of our country. That place is in the general area of foreign aid. The program of American military and economic assistance to our friends and allies abroad is a cornerstone of our foreign policy; yet it is relatively easy, from a political and emotional standpoint, to make that program the primary target in any campaign of budget cutting.

This is not to say that the present foreign-aid program of some $4 billions must be maintained at its present rate or in its present form, with almost exclusive emphasis on military assistance. Like all other programs, foreign aid deserves close and careful inspection. But it would be an act of the most incredible folly if the desire for economy should result in any large-scale, undiscriminating, across-the-board slash irrespective of the consequences. Practically every reasoned study of the subject that has been made in the last few months endorses the general principle of continued foreign aid on a large scale as essential to the welfare of the United States.

The Fairless report states that the programs "are proving their worth and we should hold to them." Other studies make a most impressive case for expanding the program to provide for basic long-range investments in underdeveloped countries as a means of raising their standard of living, and thereby opening the way for the growth of democratic institutions, prosperity and peace.

The incontrovertible success of the Marshall plan has shown us what can be accomplished. If there had been no such plan, our defense expenditures would be astronomically higher than they now are. The truth is that we cannot afford not to have a foreign-aid program of vigor, imagination and vitality for a long time to come.

Safety First Club of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, during the month of February it was my pleasure to report in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD about the excellent work being accomplished by the Safety First Club of Maryland, a nonprofit organization dedicated to traffic safety. This group is located in Baltimore and the officers include J. O. Shuger, president; Harry Waller, vice president; Maurice R. Shochatt, executive secretary; and Samuel T. Abrams, treasurer.

The organization sponsored a highly successful Wheelmaster Banquet on Thursday evening, March 14, 1957, at the Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel in Baltimore. The Honorable KENNETH A. ROBERTS, chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Traffic Safety, was the guest speaker.

The Baltimore Sun carried the following story on the banquet on March 15:

AUTO SAFETY AWARDS GIVEN—ROBERTS ASKS UNIFORM LAWS, PUBLIC EDUCATION

The chairman of a congressional subcommittee on highway safety last night cited the need for uniform traffic laws and public education as being most urgent in the battle against road deaths.

Representative KENNETH A. ROBERTS, Democrat, of Alabama, delivered his remarks before the first annual awards dinner of Maryland's Safety First Club which paid homage to two Baltimoreans for their roles in combating the national disease.

As prizes, Henry A. Barnes, the city's traffic director, and Charles Adler, Jr., a Baltimore inventor of safety devices, both won gold-plated Wheelmaster plaques.

Opening his address, Representative ROBERTS praised his Capitol Hill colleague, Congressman SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL, Democrat, of Maryland, for his part in introducing a measure in Congress which lead to the eventual creation of his safety subcommittee.

FIVE GUIDEPOSTS

Established in January 1956 the seven-member group now functions as part of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

At the outset, he said, his group outlined five guideposts to help determine their overall aims: the human factor in traffic deaths; legislation; law enforcement; vehicle design, and highway construction.

In the Sheraton-Belvedere dinner audience last night, the Safety First Club counted among its members—Maryland Congressmen, Baltimore city councilmen, officials of the magistrates courts, traffic court workers, State and Baltimore police executives, a member of the city's supreme bench and representatives from industry.

Taking a cue from the congressional safety group, J. O. Shuger, president of the Maryland organization, said the local unit was established early last year.

The Spirit of St. Patrick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I insert in the RECORD an address I prepared for delivery at the 90th annual banquet of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, in Cleveland, and over KYW–TV and WJW and WERE radio stations, Cleveland, on the Spirit of St. Patrick:

St. Patrick's day here in the United States has long been a special occasion for festivities, parades, banquets, and above all else, serious thinking and reflection on the heritage of the Irish people.

It is the American tradition that St. Patrick's Day is the occasion to recall the many wonderful contributions made by the sons and daughters of Ireland toward making this a better world for everyone. There is scarcely a field of human endeavor in which this tradition cannot be applied with merit and currency in understanding the problems of our days.

I have chosen as my subject, Eamon de Valera, again elected Prime Minister of Ireland, his participation in the old League of Nations, and the wise prophecies of that Irish statesman on the subject of peace or war.

The question of war or peace is an all important one to the people of the United States. We know from hard experience that wars can only be prevented by positive leadership, courage, and vigilance.

After World War I the League of Nations was established to prevent future war. The League of Nations sought to bring about negotiated settlement of disagreements between nations which in past generations, have been the outstanding cause of war, to effect a general disarmament, and to advance understanding among nations and people. In 1935 the League of Nations was presented with a real test when Mussolini invaded Ethiopia. The issue was whether a great power could invade and occupy a smaller power without suffering penalties imposed by the other member states of the League of Nations. Eamon de Valera at that time warned that this was the crucial test of the League of Nations. He warned that if aggression against the small and defenseless countries went unpunished, the days of the League of Nations were numbered.

The League of Nations took no action to stop Mussolini, Ethiopia was coldly written off by the League.

Thereafter a series of events were set in motion which led inevitably to the outbreak of World War II. It is now clear that had the league taken swift and positive action against the aggressor nation, the major events leading to war which followed could have been prevented. The failure of the league to take action increased the boldness of the dictators of that era. Soon those same dictators engaged in aggressive actions to show their contempt for the weakness and inaction of the League of Nations.

Prime Minister De Valera made another prophetic statement concerning war when the Dictators Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini, and the war lords of Japan were launching their campaigns to carve up the world into spheres of despotism. Speaking before the League of nations in September 1938 he said:

"The psychology of people facing the possibility of war is amazing. * * * Nothing has impressed me so much as the sudden and complete abandon which can seize responsible men when they are for a long time confronted with what they regard as unreasonable selfishness, or obstinacy, or disregard of consequences on the part of those whom they have been endeavoring to convince.

"In that, I believe, lies a very grave danger for the present. At a certain stage, men's patience becomes exhausted; a proper sense of values is lost; discretion is thrown to the winds. * * * A policy of drift is accepted and events are allowed to take command and determine the result."

Shortly thereafter the policy of drift in the League of Nations opened the way for dictators to instigate World War II. After a period of cold war threats and promises the dictators Hitler and Stalin signed a treaty which set off the war.

The dictators were convinced that the League of Nations was helpless, that democracy had lost its dynamic driving force and that the future belonged only to those who were aggressive, prepared, and ready to fight.

The trumpets of the dictators heralded the coming of a new order—preceded by war against the small and weaker nations.

Recent events offer disturbing evidence that a policy of drift is taking command over the affairs of freemen, that events controlled by the enemies of peace and human freedom are beginning to cast their ominous shadows upon the future.

The United Nations has demonstrated that as presently constituted it is incapable of preventing aggression or defending the rights of small nations, or even protecting the basic human rights which it was established to guarantee.

In the case of heroic Hungary, the United Nations stood paralyzed while the godless Russian Communists slaughtered the Hungarian patriots who sought nothing more than the basic freedoms which the United Nations and all its member nations are supposed to support and defend.

Finally, when world condemnation of Russian brutality had reached a fever pitch, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution condemning Russian aggression against Hungary and calling for the withdrawal of the Red army from that ravaged land.

But the United Nations has not taken one single step to date to enforce that resolution. Words—meaningless words are all that the United Nations has offered to stop a new wave of aggression which carries all the earmarks of a prelude to World War III.

In the Middle East crisis, where another dictator was attempting to cut off the lifeline of Europe, aided and abetted by the Russian aggressors, the United Nations curiously attempted to punish the small nation of Israel because it had the courage to fight for its national survival. With an air of frustration, if not despair, the United Nations struck out at Israel because someone had to be punished for the ineptness, the inaction and the general confusion in the United Nations.

Thus, the United Nations has fallen into the quicksand of weakness which suffocated the League of Nations.

We have reached the point where the determination of our leaders to stand up for what is right has been seriously impaired.

The great American sense of values of our leaders has been numbed in the cold war struggle with the masters of the Kremlin. We once supported, without reservation, the right of all people to freedom, self-determination and national independence. That was the time when we would have no understandings whatever, open or secret, with tyrants or dictators who deprive the people of their right to self-government and individual liberty.

We believed that men could not be half free and half slave. That all men, of right, ought to be completely free. Today some of our leaders shamelessly express their support for so-called national communism which violates everything we have stood for and fought for since the birth of our Nation.

Discretion has been thrown to the winds in our relations with the governments of other nations.

By recognizing tyrannical regimes we cloak them with respectability which they are using in a conspiracy to destroy all that is good in this world.

A policy of drift has taken hold here in the United States because events are allowed to take command and determine the results.

An example of this drift is presented by the stand taken by the American delegation to the United Nations when only last week it announced that the United States would not press the United Nations resolution on Hungary any further, because some other nations of the free world took a cool attitude toward that resolution.

The Russians, as the whole world knows, refuse to obey that U. N. resolution. The Russians have thus won another victory by default of our leaders.

Our present foreign policy is motivated by a desire to win some dubious popularity contest.

In no way is it related to firm support for those immutable moral and political principles which alone can preserve the dignity of man and bring a just and lasting peace to all the world. Our leaders have entered upon a policy of drift, in which events, caused by those who live by aggression and war, are allowed to take command and determine our destiny.

We must see to it that the mistakes of the League of Nations are not repeated in the United Nations. This we must do if we are to prevent world war III and create the basis for a just and lasting peace.

It is not too late to stop the policy of drift which very well could cause us to stumble into world war III.

What the world needs most today is the spirit of good St. Patrick. St. Patrick taught the Irish race love of their fellow man, respect for the rights of others, the great virtues of charity, patience, forbearance, and humility. St. Patrick gave the Irish people their indomitable belief in the dignity of man and the inevitability of the triumph of right over might.

St. Patrick taught the Irish people love of God and love of country.

That is the spirit of St. Patrick.

That is the spirit the world so badly needs today.

Nasser as Conqueror

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial entitled "Nasser as Conqueror," from the New York Times, New York, N. Y., on Saturday, March 16, 1957:

NASSER AS CONQUEROR

With the decisiveness and dispatch for which dictatorial regimes usually surprise and frustrate the more timorous and divided forces attempting to halt them, President Nasser is now nailing down the political victory he snatched from his military debacle and Egyptian propaganda is hailing him as a conqueror. It is still not clear just who he conquered and whether his conquests will prevail. But he is well on the way to liquidating the assumptions of the United Nations, the United States, and most Western Powers—assumptions based on his own assurances, which led to the British, French, and Israeli withdrawals. Negotiations with him are beginning to evoke uncomfortable memories of Munich and Yalta.

Thus, without consulting the United Nations and in disregard of previous understandings and all pleas for a go-slow policy, the Egyptian dictator has ousted the United Nations administration of the Gaza strip and installed his own administration under one of his generals. The new Egyptian governor pledges cooperation with the United Nations troops, but only as a border patrol, and announces that everything will go back to normal as before the Israeli invasion, when Gaza was the main base for Egyptian guerrilla raids against Israel.

At the same time, far from dropping his claim to belligerent rights under his unilaterally proclaimed state of war with Israel, Nasser's spokesmen continue to insist on Egypt's determination to resume the blockade against Israeli shipping in both the Aqaba Gulf and the Suez Canal in defiance of United Nations decisions. Finally, disdaining thus far to give an official reply to the American, British, French and Norwegian interim plan for the Suez Canal, he has rejected this plan through his spokesmen and now asserts his unrestricted control of the canal, in violation of the Suez convention, by collecting full tolls from the small vessels passing through it. He is thus establishing a precedent for application to all shipping when the canal is fully opened. Meantime, he continues to delay final clearance.

In assuming this conqueror's pose the Egyptian dictator relies on the immunities granted him by the United Nations, which ruled out the use of force against him, acknowledged his right to control Gaza and made even the presence of United Nations forces on Egyptian-controlled territory subject to his wishes. In these circumstances the immediate means of checking him are limited—unless and until he again steps beyond bounds and resorts to new belligerent actions in violation of international law and United Nations resolutions. Such a situation would invite both United Nations sanctions and the right of individual and collective self-defense.

It must be hoped that until this happens Israel will maintain its self-restraint and

will not permit itself to fall for provocations aimed at its destruction. Indeed, it would greatly improve Israel's international position if it should admit United Nations patrols on its side of the border in line with United Nations resolutions. In this case it can be assured of a quick resumption of American aid.

But this does not absolve either the United Nations or the United States from doing their utmost to live up to the responsibilities they have assumed to prevent a return to the conditions which precipitated the recent hostilities and to assure progress toward peace. This means, first of all, mobilizing all moral forces against Nasser's defiant and provocative actions. Such a mobilization would be greatly aided by the publication of a White Book by Secretary General Hammarskjold, and another by the United States, detailing their negotiations with Nasser and the basis on which their assumptions and assurances were made. This would also greatly aid whatever further action the United Nations can take to clarify the ambiguities of its previous resolutions, which Nasser now exploits. But such action must also mean continued and increasing political and economic pressure on Nasser by the United States and by all other peace-loving nations. This pressure should be given far more forceful expression than it has received heretofore, lest absence of it encourage Nasser to greater recklessness that would raise new dangers in the Middle East.

Moral Commitment for Alaska Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I should like to place before my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the March 14, 1957, issue of the New York Times on some of the basic reasons why Alaska should be granted statehood:

STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA

The latest hearings on the admission of Alaska to the Union got off to a good start this week with an unequivocal declaration that "the administration's position is that all of the Territory of Alaska should become the State of Alaska."

Sole reservation is that special powers be granted the President for defense purposes to cover a large part of northern and western Alaska, over which—if the President chooses—"the Federal Government may exercise exclusive jurisdiction." Even if and when such "withdrawals" were made, residents of the area would continue to have the right to vote, and such local government as exists would continue to exercise its functions.

There is no reason why the administration's proposal for special defense powers should affect statehood adversely; and even such an ardent proponent of statehood as Ernest Gruening, former Governor of the Territory and now "Senator-elect," says that the Federal Government would have the authority to make such withdrawals anyway, without amendments proposed.

The real question involving Alaskan statehood does not stem from its special defense problems arising from proximity to the Soviet Union. The real question is quite different: it concerns the moral commitment of the people of the United States to put an end to our own peculiar kind of colonialism that has so long afflicted this Territory. The people of Alaska overwhelmingly want statehood; they are ready to accept its responsibilities and obligations; they have demonstrated their determination to get it; and they ought to have it. Alaska cannot begin to reach its potential so long as it is held in Territorial status.

Former Governor Gruening and many others have repeatedly pointed to the discrimination under which Alaska suffers in respect to two of its vital interests: transportation and the salmon fisheries. Achievement of statehood would end the special-interest exploitation that keeps shipping costs unduly high and that deprives the Territory of control over its dwindling salmon catch. Even more important, it would give to a vigorous body of Americans—over 160,000 of them—the right to that full participation in our democracy that has been denied them far too long.

United States Hauls Red Rubbish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of Members of Congress, particularly the members of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, the editorial which appeared in the outstanding daily, the Cleveland News, issue of March 14:

UNITED STATES HAULS RED RUBBISH

Approximately 7 million pieces of Communist propaganda—from Russia and the Red satellite countries—were imported into the United States last year. This did not include additional Soviet rubbish in first-class mail or in diplomatic pouches.

This Red propaganda was unsolicited and much of it was addressed to colleges and student groups throughout the United States. Only a small percentage of it was confiscated as in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act—that is, political propaganda not sent to a registered agent.

Foreign postage pays for bringing such Russian propaganda into this country, but the cost of the delivery, mind you, is borne by the United States Post Office Department.

In other words, Uncle Sam obligingly pays part of the postal charges on tons of Soviet propaganda which yearly deluge this country from abroad.

This is all brought out by a congressional investigating committee in New York City. As much as 90 percent of the tons of Soviet propaganda coming into this country annually is in foreign languages.

Under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the stuff is supposed to be labeled "political propaganda" material, but none of it is because, assertedly the law is unenforceable.

Legislation should be adopted by Congress to require a "political propaganda" label to be attached at the foreign source of this Russian mailing. That's the least which should be done. It's bad enough having this flood of Red propaganda distributed in this country without our Post Office Department picking up the delivery tab. Little wonder we have a $500-million postal deficit.

President Eisenhower yesterday again urged Congress to eliminate the huge postal deficit by providing greater mail revenue.

Well, a lot can be saved in the Post Office Department by not having it bear the cost of delivering improperly labeled Red propaganda.

No other country in the world permits foreign propaganda to be imported in such devious fashion and then actually pays for its distribution.

Greek Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, March 25 of this year marks the 136th anniversary of Greek Independence Day, which goes back to the year 1821. Because of the present international situation and Greece's role as a military bastion of NATO, this anniversary takes on added significance.

After some 400 years of Turkish rule and following 21 fruitless attempts to gain their independence, the people of Greece made yet another attempt in 1821 when they revolted against their Turkish oppressors. It was a bitter struggle which lasted for 3 whole years from 1821 to 1824. Despite the fact that the Turks were then at the height of their power, the revolt of the Hellenes for freedom proved successful. Several great European powers of the time, notably, Great Britain, France, and Russia, aided the Greek people in their struggle for national freedom.

The American people, too, have always supported the independence of Greece. In turn, Greece has traditionally and consistently been one of our staunchest allies.

The people of Greek origin, who inhabit the island of Cyprus, today seek to gain their freedom from British colonialism. They desire to have the right to decide their own political future, which Great Britain has repeatedly denied to them. This desire on the part of the Greek Cypriots, a highly civilized and mature people, is nothing new or recent. It is a struggle which has been going on for nearly eight decades, since the British landed on the shores of Cyprus in 1878.

When the British first arrived there, the people of Cyprus welcomed them with open arms as saviors after centuries of domination by the Ottoman Empire. The English were told by the Archbishop of Cyprus that he hoped they would follow up their great work of deliverance of the Cypriotes from the Turks by bringing about the one thing which the people of Cyprus desired most, that is, union with their motherland Greece. Thus, from the very beginning, Britain was aware of the political aspirations of the people of Cyprus. Those aspirations still remain to be fulfilled. Britain still controls Cyprus, and the Cypriotes are still striving for freedom.

It is sometimes asked: Why should Cyprus join Greece? It is a known fact that 82 percent, or 400,000 Cypriotes living on the island, are Greek in ethnic background, Greek in culture, and of the Greek Orthodox faith; they are also

Greek in heart, Greek in nature, and Greek by birth.

It was only after all efforts of the people of Cyprus had failed to persuade the British to grant them the opportunity to choose their own form of government that the Greek Government intervened in their behalf. Greece has merely asked that the people of Cyprus be given the right to decide for themselves as to who should govern them. There would be no real validity to a Greek claim for sovereignty unless the Cypriotes voted for union with Greece, commonly referred to as Enosis. Greece has never claimed Cyprus, but merely asks for self-determination by its people. The Cypriotes think of freedom and independence in terms of self-determination and unity with the rest of the free Hellenic nation.

During World World I, Great Britain offered Cyprus to Greece on the condition that Greece join in the war against Germany. At the moment the offer was made Greece was in no position to enter the war, but it did so later and fought on the side of the Allies. The British subsequently claimed that their offer concerning Cyprus had lapsed.

During World War II, Italy had asked Greece in 1940 for the right of passage in order to occupy certain strategic ports, but Greece refused to do so. When the Germans joined forces with the Italians against the Greeks, the latter failed in their efforts to hold them off for very long, although they had succeeded in doing so for about 2 months. Nazi General Keitel later admitted at the Nuremberg trials that if the Germans had not been forced to send so many of their men against Greece the result of World War II would have been in favor of the German Army.

Since 1878, when Cyprus came under domination of the British, the people of Cyprus have never been able to organize their own political parties, and they have had little or no opportunity to participate in the government. Only on the very lowest levels of municipal government have the Cypriots been permitted to participate in formulating any decisions.

Great Britain claims that she needs Cyprus, in view of the loss of her military base in the Suez Canal zone. Greece does not dispute the need for a base. In fact, Greece has offered to Britain not only the retention of its bases on Cyprus, but has also offered bases in Greece itself, provided Cyprus is given her freedom.

Meanwhile, the fighting in Cyprus continues. There is needless bloodshed. But the people of Cyprus, in their desire for a government tf their own choosing, say:

Better 1 hour of freedom than 40 years of slavery and imprisonment.

On the occasion of Greek Independence Day it is worthwhile remembering these words.

Mr. Speaker, I understand also that in connection with this year's celebration of Greek independence an American Queen of Greek extraction is going to be chosen on March 29, 1957, at Manhattan Center in New York City. I have the honor to be one of the judges of this contest. It is my sincere wish that the selected Queen should make a tour of the NATO nations espousing the cause of Cyprus independence.

Disability Benefits Under Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, for the first time in the history of social-security legislation, the last Congress added a program of disability benefits so that people who have been retired from the labor force by a crippling illness or injury are now entitled to social-security payments provided they are age 50 or over. The bill as it passed the House of Representatives would have provided such benefits regardless of age. But, as you will recall, the compromise measure, which became law during the last days of the 84th Congress, used a much less liberal approach which limited the right to benefits to eligible men and women aged 50 or over.

In the months which have passed since August 1956, when the law was passed, I have talked with the people of my district and studied the subject. I have become more and more convinced that age should not be a factor in determining whether a man is entitled to disability benefits. I am concerned because, under present law, a man aged 45 who can no longer work because he is completely incapacitated, is not entitled to benefits, whereas his neighbor, aged 50, can receive benefits. Certainly the man 45 is just as effectively retired and as badly in need of benefits as is the man aged 50.

This discrimination because of age creates a vicious inequity in our social security system.

The disability plan requires a substantial work record under the social security plan. To qualify, a worker must show both a substantial and recent work history. Thus as to work record and contributions, two workers may meet the requirements on an equal basis—but the younger man cannot qualify because of his age.

Fortunately no such age distinction is made in connection with the disability freeze provision of our social security law which, in effect, preserves the insurance and benefit status of workers who have been determined to be permanently and totally disabled. We are today, therefore, making disability determinations regardless of age in our social security system. We are determining that younger men and women, as well as those in the 50 and over age group, are severely disabled. But we then illogically say that only those who are 50 or over are entitled to benefits.

Because I am convinced that the young people of this country and their families who undergo the misfortune of having a crippling illness or injury to the wage earner are equally entitled to disability benefits, I am today introducing a bill which would remove the age requirement in our disability benefits plan. In the words of the recent report of the committee on economic needs of older people of the Twentieth Century Fund, published last year:

In effect (total and permanent) disability frequently represents premature superannuation. When it occurs relatively early in life, it may have more serious effects for the family and for society than forced retirement in old age, for the worker is likely to have responsibility for the support of children, and the family commonly faces heavy medical expenses as well as loss of earnings. The effect of total disability on the need for socially provided income is evident in all studies of the composition of relief rolls, even in periods of high employment.

A real protective disability benefits program for all workers is provided by my bill at slight cost to the disability trust fund. According to the best estimates, it would add costs of around one-eighth of 1 percent of payroll for the worker and an equal amount for the employer. I believe that it may be possible to finance disability benefits for all workers without increasing the tax. The reason for this is that the disability trust fund was overfinanced in the sense that the amount added to social security tax to finance the plan exceeded cost estimates. But, even if it were necessary to increase the tax in the piddling amount of one-eighth of 1 percent each for worker and employer, I am convinced that the people of this country would gladly support a measure to provide the same protection against loss of earnings because of permanent disablement for our country's young people and their families as are provided for those aged 50 and over.

Youth's Stake in Soil Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, on February 15, 1957, there appeared in the weekly newspaper of San Marcos, Tex., the San Marcos Record, four of the winners in a statewide essay contest, the subject of which was Youth's Stake in Soil Conservation. The contest, sponsored by the Fort Worth Press, was promoted locally by the Soil Conservation Service and other civic clubs.

First place in the senior division was won by Miss Karen O'Banion; while second place was awarded to Miss Janice Little, both of San Marcos, Tex. In the junior division, the winners were Miss Leanice Harp and Wesley Odell, of Wimberly, Tex.

Because of the timely nature of the essays, I know that Members of Congress will be interested to read the comments

of the winner of the junior division, Miss Leanice Harp:

YOUTH'S STAKE IN SOIL CONSERVATION

When our ancestors came to America, this country was a vast land. It abounded in wildlife, forests, rivers, lakes, streams, and rich mineral deposits. On the prairies, the tall grass bent in the wind, millions of animals lived in abundance.

Then came the pioneers plowing land, killing wildlife, destroying the forests, and wasting land. Nature could do nothing except try to replenish that which the pioneers had destroyed. On the prairies where proud bison had roamed, dust storms blow; where had been meadows with tall grasses were gullies. What happened to our land? Where did most of our vast resources go? They have vanished, only to be replenished by man.

Our country's stake in the future is depending on the youth of today: The youth, many of whom are now probably sitting in a classroom listening to a teacher. The youth, citizens of tomorrow, will have many responsibilities upon their shoulders. One, of many, is soil conservation. What is conservation?

Conservation is the saving of water, soil, minerals, forests, wildlife, education, and human resources without which a powerful nation would decline and fall.

In regions where water is scarce the youth of today, with FFA and 4-H, are bringing the land to life again by conserving water.

If man who cleared the forests and ripped up the grass cover of the prairies, does nothing to protect the land, it will be blown or washed away, and as it goes, man goes.

The youth are being trained to conserve all resources. Will they take advantage of this training?

How long will America continue to be called the land of plenty? The answer to this question lies with the youth of today. Yes, our heritage was one of abundance. Will we pass this on to those who follow?

Miss LEANICE HARP.

WIMBERLEY, TEX.

How "Big" Is the Budget?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, during the past several weeks we have heard extensive discussion, both in and out of Congress, concerning the size of the Eisenhower budget. While Federal expenditures can be very considerably reduced, it is highly important that budget reductions be handled with sound discretion.

I commend the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Post on Friday, March 15, as representing a very sound and rational approach to the current budget problem:

HOW "BIG" THE BUDGET?

In the past 10 years, Federal nondefense spending has doubled in dollar value. This, and the fact that more than two-thirds of the increase has occurred since 1954, apparently worried the administration into its half-hearted budget presentation which, in turn, invited the unprecedented request by the House that the President trim his own spending proposals.

This, of course, he cannot do without seriously compromising executive responsibility for budget-making and, indeed, abetting a breakdown of congressional authority in this field, too. The President must somehow retrace the unfortunate steps he took in seeming to approve Secretary Humphrey's attack on the budget; he must seek to reestablish firm administration backing for fiscal 1958 spending requests.

The precarious balance of the budget does justify some concern, for a peacetime deficit would be dangerous during a period of continuing inflationary pressures from other sources. Moreover, a greater surplus than that budgeted might be a useful anti-inflationary weapon, if the temptation to cut taxes which this would induce could be resisted. Beyond such considerations, related to the present somewhat strained state of the economy, however, "big budget" fears need evaluation in longer-range terms. And in this broader context, the President can, if he will, find ample refuge.

For example, while projected 1958 nondefense spending is twice that of 1948, the country's gross national product has increased by nearly comparable proportions. According to some unofficial calculations, nondefense spending in 1948 accounted for some 7.3 percent of gross product, whereas the figure for next year under the Eisenhower budget would be only slightly higher, about 8.4 percent using a conservative forecast of economic growth. Measured in these terms, the rise in Federal outlays for other than national security and foreign aid purposes is hardly alarming, especially considering that in 1948 domestic spending had not yet increased to take full account of serious backlogs in school, highway, and other programs deferred during the war.

But what accounts for the still somewhat disturbing gain dollar-wise? Largely three factors: price inflation, population increases, and the both broadened and increased social-security coverage for a rapidly maturing population. The first two factors have made all but mandatory a fairly steady increase in most appropriations merely to maintain the level of Federal services and activities. They have, of course, figured largely in the increases for social security, too. In the past decade, the population has risen from 146 million to more than 170 million, or about one-sixth. There is no good measure of inflation for this purpose, but prices of most things the Government buys and Federal wages are substantially higher than a decade ago.

All of this is hardly a picture of "New Republicanism" running wild, as some conservatives of both parties have chosen to view it. It is, rather, a picture of a rapidly growing Nation that has not yet learned to stabilize its currency but that has been more or less responsive to the rising volume of demand for various Government services. These demands will continue to increase in amount and variety as the Nation grows in population, in economic output, and in complexity of social and economic organization.

Spending for national security, including foreign aid, is of course another story. Since Korea, outlays in this realm have far exceeded the nondefense items and probably will for some years to come. The demands here, however, are as irresistible as those at home, although, as the drastic cutbacks 3 years ago demonstrated, there is sometimes more room for flexibility in meeting military requirements. It is in this field, with all of its built-in opportunities (and sometimes necessities) for inefficiency and costly experimentation, that the opportunities for significant budget-trimming lie, if they lie anywhere.

In point of fact, however, until the immensely expensive nuclear and missile weapons race has been cooled off through arms control agreements, there is little room for safe retrenchment. And to help achieve the kind of security that will permit an ultimate end to the waste of armaments, there ought to be some increase in this country's long-range economic assistance to the underdeveloped nations of the world which, without aid, will find it more difficult to achieve stable, peaceful and constructive roles.

The House has had its fun. Let it now get down to business, eschew arbitrary, foolish penny-pinching, take due account of this country's great strength and equally great challenges and plan how best to meet these challenges in the year ahead with the resources at hand.

A Layman Looks at Natural Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, I was among those who were pleased to learn last year that the League of Women Voters of the United States had put "Conservation: Study of Water Resources" on the national program.

I was pleased because I thought it was high time the league—with its reputation for bridging the gap between the experts, the special interest groups, and the voters—turned its attention to the most precious of our natural resources.

Last week, I sat in on sessions of the North American Wildlife Conference here. Among the outstanding papers presented was the following by Mrs. John G. Lee, league president:

A LAYMAN LOOKS AT NATURAL RESORCES

(Address by Mrs. John G. Lee, president, League of Women Voters of the United States, to the 22d North American Wildlife Conference, Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., March 5, 1957)

Unfamiliar words, like hydrologic cycle, acre-foot, design flood, watershed and multiple-purpose project are slipping into the vocabulary of the League of Women Voters. Legislation such as the amended Water Pollution Control Act, Watershed Protection the Flood Prevention Act, as amended, Small Reclamation Projects Act, and Federal Flood Insurance Act, while perhaps not exactly household words, are a part of the vocabulary also of the league member.

The reason for this new vocabulary is that at its 1956 convention the members decided to put on the national program "Conservation: Study of Water Resources." We recognize, of course, the tremendous importance of all renewable and nonrenewable resources. Although it is true that you should never underestimate the power of a woman, you must also realize that we are rational beings and, as such, felt that it was not within the realm of reasonableness to try to tackle all the national resources at once. It made more sense to concentrate on water, which sounded somewhat limiting. This turned out to be a fallacy, since water is a vastly complex subject on which all living things depend. Furthermore, government, in dealing with water, has succeeded in developing complexities which only a Univac can untangle.

However, perhaps one reason the members of the League of Women Voters were so anxious to make a study of water resources is because they have an aversion to polygamy. Bernard Frank who might be here in the audience this afternoon, has written that

even marriage might influenced by the difficulties of obtaining water. The inhabitants of one rural community in southeastern Asia must walk 9 miles to the nearest sources of drinking—a group of wells. Local custom decrees that wives must fetch the water. One wife can make only one trip a day with her bucket—not enough for the family's needs—and so a man finds it desirable to have several wives. It is a thought worthy of some consideration.

In leagues of many of our western States the members have been anxious for a long time that we tackle the problem of water. Fort Worth was wondering whether it would be out of water in 5 years. I happen to be from Connecticut, and the grievous damage done by floods there in 1955 made me realize that higher food prices, depleted meat supplies, higher tax bills and less steel for school construction actually can be connected with raging waters and, as a citizen, I have a vital interest in the Nation's powerful rivers and the way in which they are controlled.

I am not going to tell you about water. That would be bringing coals to Newcastle indeed and I have been in that position myself. As president of the League of Women Voters presumably I am aware of the importance of voting but some years ago I posed for a publicity picture with an orchestra leader who had just recorded a stirring number called Voters on Parade. After posing for several pictures this man turned to me and with the air of one making a most profound discovery he said very sincerely: "Mrs. Lee, I think voting is terribly important. I think everyone should vote." He looked as if he expected me to challenge this novel and startling sentiment but all I could do was to agree as if I'd never run across the idea before.

So, I am not going to tell you about water. But is is possible that you have been so aware of America's water problems for such a long time that you have forgotten the impressions you first had when you entered the field. I'd like to give you a few of mine along with some of the questions that have come to mind as a result of a first look into this vast problem. Then I'd like to go from there and suggest a few of the ways in which a lay organization such as the League of Women Voters may be able to contribute to solutions.

The first impression many of us get when we embark on a study of this country's water resources is the tremendous number of governmental agencies concerned in one way or another with water. I am told that there are 25 principal agencies in the Federal Government with a major concern in water resources and power and that 18 others are concerned to a lesser degree. All of this looks pretty confusing to a layman like me. So the first thing we have done in our league study is to assemble all this information on chart form. On it you can see at a glance, for example, that the Corps of Engineers is concerned with flood control, irrigation, water supply, pollution control, and recreation, while the Public Health Service is involved in only three functions to do with water—supply, pollution, and recreation.

As soon as the national chart was issued, many of our State leagues started work on similar charts showing State agencies involved in water resource development and management and the way in which Federal agencies concerned with water resources are working in their area. They are trying to find out how the Federal activities are coordinated with State and local efforts or if they overlap and conflict with them.

The second thing we have observed is that there are not only many agencies involved but they seem to have different standards; they proceed in different ways and their experts do not always agree. I was also interested to learn that while some people who benefit from the Government's water policies are expected to pay for them, others get benefits for nothing. Sometimes, I understand the same water to different users will vary in cost—the agricultural user one price, the domestic user another. This may be very clear to you but it is confusing to the layman. It makes us wonder whether it is possible to come to agreement even on basic scientific data—much less on a national water policy. But long years of dealing exclusively in public affairs has developed in us a sort of hardy optimism.

The third thing we have learned is that our water problem is likely to cost us quite a lot of money. Those of us whose only previous contact with paying for water is when we make out checks for our semiannual water bills have been startled, to say the least, to learn that about $50 billion has been mentioned as the capital investment of the United States for use and control of water already and that up to $421 billion has been suggested as the total of our water development financing. As taxpayers we may have a lot of questions to ask about that—maybe one for each billion.

The fourth observation I should like to make as a newcomer to this field is that all of the uses of a particular water source seem to be interrelated. You can start out, for example, thinking you are going to study irrigation and end up learning about flood control, or you try to find out what constitues a good water supply and find out that it cannot be separated from the sewage-disposal problem. Trying to separate the uses of water is harder than trying to allocate water itself.

The fifth thing we have noticed is the tremendous number of different groups that use water and the number that have ideas and opinions on the way water should be used. We notice, too, that all of these groups seem to have an angle. Now that is not necessarily bad; it is quite natural that each group of water users tries to identify its use as being in the public interest so that rules and regulations will favor them. What makes it confusing to the layman—and possibly to you too—is when water uses that seem equally legitimate come into conflict. Usually we think of water as a pleasant cooling agent; we know, of course, that it is the source of steam; but we have been astonished to find it generating deep and hot emotional conflicts.

This brings me to one of the most important functions that can be performed by a disinterested citizen group. Laymen with no ax to grind can listen to the conflicting views of the pressure groups who want Government agencies to come up with the right answer and then they can help to balance the special demands. They can do this, of course, only after they have learned the facts.

Paul Sears has said "public issues should not be clouded and confused by failure to get the basic scientific facts." I agree and I do not wish to imply that the League of Women Voters or any other lay group can get the basic scientific facts that is up to the hydrologist, economist, geologist, engineer, or water law expert. But the league can—and so can any other interested group—use facts that have been available but about which no one has done much; it can assemble facts from various sources and put them together to make a more complete picture and it can prod the experts into making more facts available.

I'd like to outline for you, if I may, just how our group goes about getting the facts. As many of you know, New Jersey has had a water problem for years. In 1955, the New Jersey League started its study of water. Members were possibly stirred to action by the eloquent plea of the convention delegate who declared: "When the point comes that we have to ask 'Is this bath necessary?' it is time for New Jersey to take steps." They tackled the problem on a statewide basis. This is a copy of their kit. It goes into the history of the development of water supplies in New Jersey, and analysis of the supply problems in relation to population growth, fluctuation of use, agricultural, household and industrial needs, changes in climate and an analysis and comparison of the particular problems of the main geographic areas.

You would think perhaps that in a State like New Jersey where I understand they have been wrestling with the water problem for 40 years, all of this information would be close at hand. Not at all. The most telling part of this kit, to my mind, is a not at the end. It says:

"It is almost impossible to give a bibliography of the source material used to compile the information in this kit. Speeches of experts in the water supply field, study commission reports of the past, material available from existing water supply agents and interviews with persons responsible for providing public potable water supplies are some of the sources used. The committee, however, has been very careful to have the enclosed information checked by responsible persons, particularly so since much of the printed source material was out of date or no longer of value."

Now, 2 years later the New Jersey leagues have not only made use of this kit but the 83 local leagues in the State have studied the problem from a local point of view; they have taken innumerable field trips to innumerable local waterworks; they have considered the pros and cons of five possible types of development. The problem is clear; the solutions controversial.

Among the roadblocks to progress were strong local opposition to suggested reservoir sites, conflicting engineering analyses of proposed water supplies, opposition of muncipal and private water companies to the State's further entrance into the water picture, division of opinion as to who should pay for the new water supplies and south Jersey's feeling its needs should also be considered. The league also discovered that water problems don't confine themselves neatly to the boundaries of a State. New Jersey has started to eye the Delaware River as a source of water supply because they say "The Delaware River looks nice and big and doesn't run through anyone's town or farm—except on occasions."

However, they find that there are other eyes on the Delaware River. New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, as well as New Jersey have interests in the Delaware River; New Jersey must receive permission from the United States Supreme Court before it can take additional water from the river, to mention a few of the difficulties standing in the way.

The league in New Jersey is now in the difficult process of making up its collective mind as to what next steps are the wise ones. It is evident that there are no easy solutions right around the corner. But eventually with enough people working on it and thinking about it and the development of better public understanding of what is involved and needed solutions will be found, I am sure.

This brings me to a second role which a lay group can play in this complicated field, and that is the role of education—informing the public so wise judgments can be made. I'd like to give you a rather homespun example:

Two or three years ago Chester, Vt., population 1,981, had a problem of contaminated drinking water. Dr. Wayne Griffith, the town health officer, had recommended that the water supply be chlorinated. Similar recommendations came from the State health department but the suggestion was defeated in a village vote. The league in Chester got interested in this matter. They found that samples of the Chester water supply

should be sent to the State board of health twice a month but this was not always done especially during the winter. So the league sent samples during January, February, and March. Of the eight samples sent, four came back marked "water unsafe for drinking."

The league also wrote other Vermont communities to find out how they had purified their water supply, to inquire about costs, how the money was raised and what people thought about chlorination. The replies to these letters were made part of an exhibition which also featured a "taste test exhibit." Various bottles of water, chlorinated and unchlorinated, were on display. Anyone who could successfully tell which bottles were which was awarded a prize. Two public meetings were held and then a petition was circulated to include the chlorination issue in the warning for the village meeting. Usually a dozen or so people came to the meeting. But for the chlorination meeting there were 180 villagers present and they voted 91 to 67 for chlorination.

As the local league president wrote, "Chlorination might seem like a simple necessity but it has been argued here for years."

In these two examples, I have tried to demonstrate two of the ways citizen groups can function in the complicated field of water problems. In New Jersey the scientists got the facts but the league assembled them from various sources and put them in a form where they were more easily understood. In Chester, the league took the facts to the public—small though that public was.

There is still another way in which a lay group can function and that is in the role of sparkplug. I am sure you are all familiar with the Brandywine valley project. It is constantly being pointed out to us as the example of citizen action in improving a watershed. I have been told, however, that for years things in that valley were at a standstill. "Dead on their feet" is the way one expert expressed it—until the indomitable Mr. Hoff came along. He was the sparkplug. Providing the spark, it seems to me, is where interested laymen really shine. It is where citizen groups like the League of Women Voters shine, for certain.

Let me tell you about Salt Lake City, for example.

In 1938, the United States Public Health Service first warned of the potential hazards in the Salt Lake City drinking water. Ten years later, the same group declared the water definitely substandard and placed it on a provisional rating. This meant that unless the city immediately came up with a concrete plan for bringing the water up to standards, the use of the city's water by interstate carriers would be banned. There was no State or local law making it mandatory that the water supply meet safety standards and legislation setting standards of this kind had consistently been defeated.

In order to maintain the provisional rating the city government hired an engineering firm to survey the situation. Though the findings of that survey had been announced and reported in the local press, and though the State Medical Association had gone on record approving the recommendations, as had the State engineering council, there seemed to be little chance of raising the money necessary to improve the situation.

This was the situation in 1952 when the newly formed League of Women Voters decided that its first local program would be the "support of a soundly planned and financed water purification and sewage-disposal system for Salt Lake City." Careful study was made of the findings and recommendations of the official survey. In addition, the league interviewed city officials, members of the medical association, heads of the city and State health departments. The information gained was reviewed and discussed by league members and agreement was reached on what would constitute an adequate program of water purification for Salt Lake City. It was now time for action in the community. It is good league strategy to get as many people as possible involved with the team before the starting whistle blows. Members of the staffs of both newspapers and of the State and city health departments attended meetings in unofficial capacities and a full-scale campaign to inform the public of the true facts about the city's drinking water was launched. The league's weekly radio program was devoted solely to discussions on water. Doctors explained the potential dangers of a substandard drinking supply; engineers described the various systems of water purification; health officials reported on the present supply; financial experts pointed out various methods of financing the expensive undertaking; city officials were interviewed as to their intentions. A town meeting was held at which the mayor came out for the first time with a pay-as-you-go proposal for financing the program.

The league now puts its speakers bureau into action, and league members spoke and showed movies to all the groups that would receive them, several of whom joined the campaign.

In the meantime, the opposition became vocal. One powerful local group made a strong statement to the newspapers criticizing the hysteria and frantic fear concerning the water supply. This particular group felt that to publicize and dramatize the condition of the water was bad business for the city. It would scare off tourists and conventions. The spokesman for this group called the league chairman and told her in effect that the league just didn't understand these things, that they were heading the city into fabulous debt unnecessarily, and they would be better off if they would just forget the whole business. Actually there were many members of this opposing group who disagreed with the official stand; they formed a committee to study the reports and surveys and eventually went along with the league's position.

More difficult to cope with at the time was the opposition from another source, the Deer Creek Water Association. In a widely distributed leaflet, gotten out by the league in cooperation with the doctors and engineers, it was mentioned that Deer Creek water might need full filtration treatment eventually. This was received by the manager of the association as a terrible threat and he made the need for filtration a personal issue to which he was violently opposed. The irony of the situation is that after all his bitter battling when the proposed program was being formulated for the approval by the State health board, his association soon announced plans for installing a complete treatment plant for Deer Creek water, not for health but for taste and appearance reasons.

The results were: The mayor got a bill presented and passed in the State legislature which permits cities to levy a 4-mill tax for water and sewage purposes. The State legislature passed the antipollution bill and also approved a revision of the State health code so that at long last the State health department was able to set and enforce standards. The city government then began to draw up a 10-year program which, after some debate and compromise, was approved by State health agencies and the United States Public Health Service. Since then one water purification plant has been completed, 2 reservoirs have been covered and a second purification plant has been started.

Now, my point is this: The scientific facts were known—certainly the way to solve the problem was known; and eventually the public went along. What was needed was someone to bridge the gap between the experts, the special interest group and the voters.

I once read a very high-minded definition of politics which has stuck in my mind. "Politics is the point at which knowledge meets life and becomes socially effective." The politics of water run deep and full of currents and crosscurrents; there is extensive knowledge available to us; to make this knowledge socially effective requires a mastery of the politics involved and an ability to effect compromise.

This may be the special function of citizens groups—those that have no ax to grind—that wish to see the problem whole. It is a safe generalization that most Americans recognize that all natural resources including water should be developed so as to assure their best use and their maximum contribution to the national economy, growth, strength, and general welfare.

How to do this is, of course, the big question. Undoubtedly to find the answer it will take your brains, and resources and scientific research. It will also take citizen groups—many of them—to translate the scientific truths into action.

We should, as I mentioned before, try to see the problem whole but we can, I believe, approach it in terms of its parts. As Charles Frankel has said of society as a whole, "It does not have to be understood or remade all of a piece and all at once * * * social progress proceeds by deliberately instituted legislative, judicial and administrative techniques and by the piecemeal reconstruction of human institutions."

"Morality and Security: The Forgotten Equation," Thomas E. Murray

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I herewith include in the RECORD an article entitled, "Morality and Security: The Forgotten Equation," written by the Honorable Thomas E. Murray. Mr. Murray, member of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, made this statement on November 10, 1956, in an address before the Catholic Association for International Peace. The article which appeared in the December 1, 1956, issue of America follows:

The Christian effort at peacemaking from its origin undertook the task of civilizing warfare. It set itself against pacificism—the notion that war is always immoral. But it set itself even more strongly against barbarism—the notion that the use of armed force is not subject to any moral restraints. Against these two extremes the tradition asserts that war can be a moral action, but only if it is limited in its purposes and methods by the norms of justice.

The fact today is that the Christian tradition of civilized warfare has been ruptured. The chief cause of the rupture has been the doctrine of total war fought to total victory—the kind of victory that looks to the total ruin of the enemy nation. This doctrine of totalization of war represents a regression toward barbarism. It is contrary to the central assertion of the civilized tradition, that the aims of war are limited, and that the use of force in war is likewise limited, not merely by political and military counsels of expedi-

ency, but primarily by the moral principle of justice.

THE DRIFT INTO BARBARISM

I need not trace the history of the rupture of this civilized tradition; many of you doubtless know it better than I. The patriotism of the French Revolution gave birth to the concept of the nation in arms, which led to the idea of universal military conscription. Our own Civil War foreshadowed the fatal notion that victory in war means unconditional surrender. A further step toward the concept of total war to total victory was the rejection by the belligerent governments and peoples of Pope Benedict XV's proposals, made on August 1, 1917, for a negotiated peace.

The historically decisive stride in the same direction was taken in World War II by the inception of obliteration bombing. One purpose of this new kind of air attack was to terrorize the enemy civil population, in particular the industrial worker. The developing logic of total war showed itself in the disastrous announcement at Casablanca in 1943 that unconditional surrender was the war aim of the Allied Powers. The immoral decision that the civilian population has no claim to immunity from destruction in war was ratified, with most fearful effectiveness, by the unfortunate American decision to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Since World War II the technical possibilities for obliteration bombing have now become unlimited. The United States discovered the secret of the hydrogen bomb; later the Soviet Union came upon the same secret. The significance of this technological achievement cannot be exaggerated. Weapons of war have moved up into a new order of magnitude. Now the barbaric doctrine that everybody may be killed in war is assured of success. Now, everybody can be killed in war—easily, quickly, cheaply.

Throughout the course of this whole historical development, no one has ever made the argument that war ought to be made total as a matter of reason and right. War simply became more and more total as a matter of fact and possibility. The immoral impulses of exaggerated nationalism began the development. The material achievements of modern technology completed it. Technological progress has finally removed all the limitations formerly imposed on warfare by pure circumstances—by restricted financial resources, by difficulties in transport and communications and, most important, by inferior weaponry.

This is the historic juncture at which we now stand. If limitations are to be imposed on warfare today, they can be imposed only by the free decisions of men. No other source of limitation presently exists. This is why we stand at a parting of the ways. Two paths are open. In his encyclical of November 2, 1956, Pope Pius XII called one the road of justice, and the other the steep slope of violence.

MAN AT A MORAL CROSSROADS

Man can choose to let the mad logic of total war dictate his decisions with regard to military policies and weapons programs. This steep slope of violence, followed far enough, leads toward the totality of ruin implicit in the today's technologically certain fact: "Everybody can now be killed in war."

Or man can choose to shake off the hold which this mad logic has fastened upon his mind. He can elect to return to the road of justice—to the civilized tradition of limited warfare. He can recognize that the enterprise of war is inherently subject to certain limitations in its purposes and methods; that these limitations find their original source and their final authority in the moral order; that this order is sanctioned by God; that its precepts are therefore absolute in their command over all human action, including the action of war.

Only along this path of moral choice, as I shall say, will men find their way to security. In the last analysis, only the principle of justice can draw the line between civilized warfare and sheer massacre, between legitimate defense of the basic order of human life and the barbaric destruction of all order in human life. Unless this line is drawn, with absolute firmness, there can be no solid foundation for human security.

I do not say that it will be easy to draw the line at which the civilian claim to immunity from violence in war asserts itself in the face of the counsels of military expediency. But I do say that this civilian claim is made in the inviolable name of justice and that all military operations, defensive or retaliatory, must respect it. All expediencies cede in the face of right.

Similarly, I do not maintain that it will be easy to reverse the trend of a century-old regression into the immoral concept of war as total, and to reaffirm the trend of the Christian tradition toward the concept of war as limited. But I do maintain that this task is not impossible. It is always within the power of man to abandon false ideas and to dismantle the institutions built upon them. He can therefore do away with the idea and institution of total war, if only he decides firmly enough that he wants to do so, and that in the nuclear age he must do so.

He has already been powerfully helped to this decision by the facts themselves. On the practical level, the bankruptcy of any policy of total war is today amply evident. A total nuclear war, fought to a total victory, could only mean total woe. It would mean "woe to the vanquished," in a sense far beyond the savage meaning of that barbarian cry. And it would mean woe to the victor too, when he found himself in a world of ruins, amid a humanity which would bear death in its very bones. Here is an argument that must give pause even to the most cynical exponents of violence.

For us, however, the rejection of total war must be more solidly based. Our appeal must be to the high principles of justice that lie at the heart of the Western tradition of civilized warfare. Human reason has never refuted these high principles; the will of man has simply abandoned them. The tradition did not succumb to argument, but only to fact—to the fact of man's passions, as they are aroused by the violence of war and proceed to arm themselves with the products of technology.

Here perhaps I should note that the reason and moral conscience of America too have been obscured by the dark fires of wartime passion. Upon us, as upon other nations, there rests a responsibility for the rupture of the tradition of civilized warfare. For this reason, no less than for any other, there rests upon us a responsibility for repairing the breach.

The principles of the traditions are still with us, in all their undiminished vitality. The problem is to translate them into practical conclusions in two areas of urgent concern—first, in our military policy in general, and second, in a weapons program that will support our military policies. Here is the way I see the structure of the problem.

OUR PRESENT DEFENSE PROBLEM

The present goal of all the policies of the United States is to force the conflict with communism out of the field of armed violence into the areas of diplomacy, politics and economics. These areas are highly competitive indeed; but competition in them does not mean bloodshed. They are the chosen areas in which we undertake to urge the cause of justice for all men. Moreover, we must be continually mindful that the conflict with communism is basically spiritual; therefore, our victory will not be won without recourse to the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God.

The primary military contribution toward this general American goal must be the maintenance of the capacity to deter all unjust aggression, even of a limited kind. The primacy of this function of force is reinforced today, because our principal enemy will be restrained from the use of force only if we convince him that it will prove too costly to him.

This policy of deterrence may fail. Military aggression of one kind or another may occur. Peaceful methods of rectifying the injustice thus committed may likewise fail. We shall then be forced into war. This contingency must be faced now. The problem is to determine, in advance of this contingency, the military policies that will be consistent with the tradition of civilized warfare.

At one extreme, justice requires that we reject the concept of total nuclear warfare. The bald fact that large nuclear bombs can wipe out whole civilian populations does not put an end to the claim of the civilian to immunity from the violence of war.

At the other extreme, our tradition of civilized warfare does not require that we succumb to the deception involved in the Soviet proposal that all use of nuclear weapons be outlawed. This propaganda aims to make the world believe that any use of nuclear weapons inevitably means the totalization of the conflict. This is not true. A nuclear war can still be a limited war. To believe otherwise is to deny that man is a rational being capable of controlling his own actions. It is likewise to assert that American military men are capable of making intelligently moral use of their new weapon.

Furthermore, in the present situation of international lawlessness, a total renunciation of nuclear armaments by the United States would mean the betrayal of our moral tradition, which requires that we should not abandon the cause of justice or leave ourselves unprepared to defend it effectively.

Both of these extremes contain the moral fallacy of totalization. Between them we must find a middle course, the road of justice. It leads to a firmly defined but flexible military policy that will recognize two principles as controlling in the use of nuclear arms—first, the military principle of necessity or usefulness, and second, the higher moral principle of justice in the use of force.

This brings me to the next question. It is the practical question of developing a nuclear-weapons program which will be consistent with the foregoing general military policies.

Here I want to lay all possible emphasis on the initial principle that our military policies must control our weapons program. The fatal error we are presently in danger of making is that of allowing weapons to dictate policy. The danger is really twofold: first, lest we allow weapons technology to control the weapons program; and, second, lest we allow the stockpiled results of the weapons program to control military policies with regard to the use of the stockpile. To succumb to these related dangers would be to turn the whole of United States policy upside down.

RATIONAL NUCLEAR ARMAMENT

Early this year I outlined a nuclear-weapons program that would avert these dangers and give to moral principles and military policies their proper primacy over weapons. To the program I gave the title, "Rational Nuclear Armament." There were three proposals.

The first concerned the size of thermonuclear bombs. Three considerations led me to my position. I stated the first in a speech given on November 17, 1955, when I said that the advent of the H-bomb "taught us not only that we had a new weapon but that we had a different kind of weapon. * * * The

thermonuclear bomb crosses the threshold into a separate category of power" (America, December 3, 1955, p. 269).

The second consideration, closely related to the first, is the fact that it is technologically possible to enlarge indefinitely the qualitatively new dimension of destructiveness created by the hydrogen bomb. I adverted to this fact in a statement before the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament on April 12, 1956, in these words: "We know that there is no upper limit to the size of bombs that can be made" (America, April 28, 1956, p. 100).

The third consideration is likewise something that we know. As I put it in the November 1955 speech cited above, "there is a limit to the number of large thermonuclear explosions that the human race can withstand without harmful bodily effects," consequent on radioactive products.

From these three considerations a conclusion follows. We ourselves must make a responsible decision with regard to the size of H-bombs that we undertake to manufacture. This decision is not only technological and military, but also moral. It must be controlled by the moral principle of justice as well as by the military principle of usefulness. My proposal was that we make this imperative decision, setting an upper limit to the size of H-bombs to be placed in stockpile. I have already given it as my conviction that the weapons we have in hand are large enough. Indeed, they may prove to be too large. Once we make this decision regarding size, we can be free to give attention to the problem of improving the deliverability and consequently the military usefulness of weapons in the range up to this limit. In addition, we should set a limit to the number, as well as to the size, of the large weapons that we accumulate. The reason is the presumption that there are only a limited number of uses, militarily and morally justifiable, to which they might be put.

My second proposal was that we concentrate increasingly on the development of nuclear weapons in the lower order of destructiveness and that we equip ourselves with a wide range of weapons in this order. The purpose of this policy is to strengthen our capabilities for waging all the kinds of limited warfare into which we may possibly be forced.

Third, I came to the question of tests. Recently there has been much debate concerning the hazards to health involved in past and continued testing of large nuclear weapons. This is an area in which at the present time a great deal of uncertainty exists. The greatest possible study ought to be given to the entire problem of the dangers to health involved in the testing and use of nuclear weapons. However, my proposals have grounds of their own, even apart from the problem of these hazards. They follow from the two major policy decisions I have recommended. My proposals are, first, that no tests should be held of weapons whose magnitude would exceed the upper limit which we must set to the size of our nuclear weapons. Second, that we should accelerate the testing of a wide range of weapons in the lower order of nuclear force. The reason is that our objective should be a balanced stockpile, suited to every strategic and tactical need, but confined within the bounds set by justice to the use of force.

The weapons program I proposed is rational in two senses. It is consistent with the moral principles of the civilized tradition, and it is adapted to the military necessities of the nuclear age.

One further comment needs to be made. My proposals for a rational weapons program have to be considered as a structured unit, consistent in themselves and with their premises. This is particularly true of the proposal with regard to tests. This proposal cannot be called substantially similar to any of the proposals that were made during the recent election campaign.

The program that I propose is designed to carry us through the critical era of uncertain duration which confronts us. The crisis concerns, at bottom, the nature of man. But by the same token, it concerns the nature of war, as a human action. The danger in the crisis is lest we commit ourselves to the steep slope of violence that ends in the abyss. But let us not overlook the opportunity which the crisis likewise presents—the greatly historic opportunity to choose the road of justice and to undertake the restoration of the tradition of civilized warfare.

It is with a view to grasping this opportunity that I put forward my program for rational nuclear armament. Its several proposals are counsels of strength, not of weakness. But the strength they counsel is both military and moral. Therefore they constitute a program for security in the present crisis. They recognize that the security of America does not reside solely in its military power but more basically in its moral strength—the kind of strength that ultimately controls the use of power and makes it serve the ends of justice.

MORALITY AND SECURITY

Our national and international security has been undermined today largely by the rupture of the tradition of civilized warfare. This, and not the discovery of atomic energy, lies at the root of the terror experienced by the world at the thought of war. There will be no security as long as the rupture of the tradition endures. We shall have no security as long as we are prisoners of the moral fallacy of totalization—that is, as long as we consent to the immoral notion of total war, as long as we dream of the impossible notion of total victory, and as long as we cherish the empty illusion that our national security is totally reposed in massive military might. These fallacies furnish the impulse toward the steep slope of violence.

A program of rational nuclear armament would go far toward rescuing us from these disastrous fallacies. In setting us on the road of justice it would likewise set us on the road to security.

A balanced stockpile, resting on a broad base of small atomic weapons, would not indeed be the most destructive stockpile that we are capable of producing. It would not contain the increasingly immense weapons that the United States could manufacture, if we wanted, but that we could not use without carrying the enterprise of warfare over that fixed line, drawn by the principles of justice, which divides civilized warfare from barbarism. Moreover, the kind of stockpile I propose would not be the cheapest that could be assembled; it would not equip us to deal out the greatest number of deaths for the least number of dollars.

But for my part, I reject the reckless line of thought which would identify our national security with the accumulation of the most destructive possible nuclear arsenal and the cheapest possible nuclear arsenal. This kind of armament, heavily overweighted on the side of megaton bombs, would make neither military nor moral sense. It would not strengthen our military position in the face of threats from the Soviet Union or from other sources. Still less would it buttress our moral standing in the eyes of the international community. On the contrary, it would endanger both. And it would, in consequence, undermine our security.

This brings me to what I call the forgotten equation. I mean the equation between morality and security. This equation is inherent in the Western tradition. The first security that a civilized nation must protect is the security of its own moral life. The nation is secure in proportion to its fidelity to the moral norms that form the spiritual substance of the national life. Concretely, if the United States is obliged to have recourse to armed force in its own defense, it must understand that it is committed to a moral use of force, on penalty of self-destruction—I mean the destruction of its moral self.

The security which America seeks cannot be simply physical. It must also mean the protection of the spiritual identity of America as a member of the family of civilized nations. If America were to lose its own soul by sins of unjust violence, it matters little what else it might gain.

The tragedy is that in our day this equation between security and morality has been forgotten. We have come to believe that security means only one thing—massive power. And we have forgotten that the methods of power, when used in violation of the canons of justice, will undermine the basic moral security of the whole edifice of civilization which they should undertake to protect.

The equation between morality and security is, I say, part of our tradition. The nuclear age has confronted us with another equation whose ultimate terms are terrible indeed. I mean the equation between the immoral use of nuclear force and the destruction of all human security, even the fundamental security of human life itself. Surely this new equation should serve to jog our memories and bring to mind the old equation that we have forgotten. The reforging of the broken link between morality and security is itself an important element in the restoration of the tradition of civilized warfare.

To this task of restoration we are summoned today by the stringent demand of a moral obligation. It is a duty that we owe to ourselves as a civilized nation. It is further a duty that we owe to Almighty God, whose precepts presided over the formation of our constitutional commonwealth.

COMMISSIONER MURRAY SUMS IT UP

The Christian tradition of civilized warfare has been ruptured by the doctrine of total war fought in pursuit of total victory. The rupture must be repaired.

Total war in the nuclear age must be rejected on the practical level as a policy of bankruptcy. For us, however, rejection of this extreme must be based on higher moral principles.

We cannot accept the other extreme—banning all use of nuclear weapons. Our choice must be the middle course of a flexible military policy based on a rational and moral use of these weapons—in a limited way to achieve limited objectives.

The program of "rational nuclear armament" which I have previously proposed would furnish the weapons which this middle course requires.

This weapons program is one of strength, not weakness. The strength it counsels is both military and moral.

There can be no solid foundation for security unless the principle of justice draws the line between civilized warfare and sheer massacre.

The tragedy is that the "equation between morality and security" has been forgotten. The reforging of this link is an important element in restoring the tradition of civilized warfare.

Alaska Constitutional Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, I take especial pleasure in calling to the attention of my colleagues an article concern-

ing Alaska statehood which appeared in the GRA Reporter and which was written by Mr. John E. Bebout, assistant director of the National Municipal League. The article follows:

ALASKA'S BID FOR STATEHOOD

(By John E. Bebout)

As this is being written in the middle of December, a historic party is motoring down the Alcan Highway en route to the Nation's Capital. Although far removed from it in time and space, this party is following a political trail first blazed by a similar delegation from the Tennessee Territory in 1796.

The three principal members of this party are Ernest Gruening of Juneau, William Egan of Valdez and Ralph Rivers of Fairbanks. Elected in October under an ordinance adopted by the Alaska Constitutional Convention of 1955–56, these men are on the way to claim seats in the 85th Congress in behalf of the as yet unrecognized State of Alaska, the first two as Senators, the last as a member of the House of Representatives. Thus the Congress faces, for the seventh time in its history, the question of whether or not to bypass the usual procedure of a prior enabling act to admit a new State and accept a Congressional delegation elected prior to admission. If Congress follows its own precedents in the cases of Michigan, California, Oregon, Tennessee, Kansas and Iowa, Alaska will, by taking this initiative, have hastened its admission to the Union.

What the Alaskans call the Alaska Tennessee plan is only one of a number of aspects of Alaska's bid for statehood that are of unusual interest for persons professionally interested in government. Alaska's campaign for admission to the Union breaks down into something like a three-act drama. The first act began with the establishment of the official statehood committee in 1949 under the chairmanship of Robert B. Atwood, editor and publisher of the Anchorage Daily Times. The second act covered the election, meeting and ratification of the work of the Alaska Constitutional Convention. The third will cover the recently held election and the as yet undetermined fate of the Alaska Tennessee-plan delegation. Respect for the principle of dramatic unity requires postponement of a definitive review until the curtain has fallen on the last act. In the meantime it is worth while to get on the record participant and eyewitness accounts of parts of the drama that have already been enacted.

LABORATORY FOR RESEARCH

As a consultant to the constitutional convention for nearly 5 weeks, it was my privilege to observe an important segment of the second act from the inside vantage point of a performer occupying somewhat the role of an extra. As I reflect on the experience and compare notes with others who shared it, I am strengthened in the conviction that the Alaska convention constituted an exceptional laboratory for students and practitioners of the arts of politics, administration and governmental research.[1]

Perhaps the most challenging and most baffling fact about the job of governmental research for a constitutional convention is the fact that it has no readily ascertainable limits either in breadth or in depth. Most governmental research assignments have reasonably sharp focus and fairly definite limits determined by limits inherent in the subject matter and objective. Not so with research for a comprehensive job of constitution writing or revision. Here we are dealing with the basic structure and underlying assumptions of our governmental system which means that every serious proposal, every important decision needs to be considered in the light both of first principles and of its possible beating on a host of future acts across almost the whole gamut of governmental and political functions and operations. The fact that we are dealing with the constitution of a State, not of the Nation, is of little significance since State government occupies the strategic middle sector of our system and plays a crucial role with respect to almost all of the major problems and issues of Government except those that are strictly confined to foreign affairs. The more extensive the revision contemplated the broader will be the responsibility of research. The responsibility is, perhaps, widest where, as in Alaska, the first constitution for a new State is being drawn.

Imagine, for example, the problem of developing a system of representation in a State legislature for an area more than wice as big as Texas, almost four times as big as California, extending a distance as great as that across continental United States and in terms of climate and terrain from the mild, rainy mountain forests of southeast Alaska to the Arctic tundra of the northern slope. Reflect that on this vast land there are approximately 200,000 people, about 30,000 of whom are Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts, the rest a rapidly growing body of persons who have migrated from the older States with a few who have come direct from Canada and other countries.

PROBLEM OF URBAN DOMINATION

While the map of Alaska is dotted sparingly with small villages, an increasingly large majority of the people live in a few cities with by far the greatest concentrations in the burgeoning metropolises of Anchorage and Fairbanks. The present system of representation in the territorial legislature calling for election of members of both houses at large from each of four great judicial and electoral divisions, results not in the rural domination complained of in so many State legislatures but in urban domination. The convention recognized that most people will continue to live in cities but was determined to guarantee an effective voice to people living in the villages in all parts of Alaska. To this end it worked out an elaborate system of lower house districts based on natural boundaries and combinations of them to form senate districts. Provision was made for automatic reapportionment every 10 years by a process independent of the legislature. In developing this plan, geography, demography, economics, mathematics, history, and comparative government were all brought into play both on the research side and in debate, in committee, and on the floor of the convention. One delegate, a hotel owner from Juneau, delivered a learned blackboard lecture to the whole convention on the mathematics of the method of equal proportions.

One result of this system of representation will be that campaigning will be considerably eased for a majority of the members of the State legislature. All candidates for the Territorial legislature must campaign over very wide areas; in the case of those in the central and northwestern districts over areas considerably larger than the State of California. Under the proposed constitution the only legislative candidates who would have to cover such distances would be those running for two senatorships at large from each of the four major districts corresponding substantially to the existing judicial divisions.

Campaigning in Alaska is no casual matter. It is taken very seriously and election contests can get very hot. Energetic candidates will travel hundreds of miles to interview a dozen voters. The whistle stop is, of course, an airplane landing because the only practical way to reach most of the villages is by plane. The day I left Fairbanks in February a delegate to the convention from Nome set out by himself in his own small plane to campaign for his party's nomination to the Territorial legislature among the villages in a vast district extending from the Arctic Ocean, east of the Colville River, southwest almost to the Kuskokwim River. The airplane, both private and commercial, is the key to modern Alaska's development and the secret of its rapidly increasing sense of corporate unity and competence. Alaska uses airplanes much the same as the rest of the country uses automobiles. Most of Alaska has virtually skipped both the railroad and the automobile eras and moved from the dog-sled age right into mid-20th century on the wings of the airplane.

LIMIT LOCAL JURISDICTIONS

Another major subject dealt with in the Constitution which forced thinking out of traditional stateside molds was local government. Weldon Cooper of the University of Virginia and I successfully served as consultants to the committee on local government. We learned some very interesting things. First we discovered that the Alaskans had studied the history of the multiplication and pyramiding of local jurisdictions in the older States to the point where they were literally horrified at what they found. They had also heard so much about weaknesses of county government that the word "county" was almost a bad name with them. In writing the local government article, therefore, they provided that there should be no more than 2 layers of local government and to avoid the implication that 1 layer might take on the characteristics of stateside counties they called the larger local jurisdictions boroughs. They sought to insure cooperation between the borough and any city or cities that might lie within it by providing that borough councils or assemblies should include some members of the city councils. In order to avoid the freezing of local boundaries a boundary commission is to be established in the executive branch of the State government which may make changes in local boundary lines subject to veto by the legislature. Since it is clear that much of Alaska will continue for a long time in need of little or no genuine local government, it is assumed that much of the Territory may not be organized into boroughs for some time.

HOW MUCH HOME RULE?

The Alaskans set a high store by the principles of local home rule and participation, at the same time recognizing the need for State guidance and assistance to local communities trying to develop the tradition and the skills of self-government. How much home rule, how much of the burdens of corporate municipal existence is it reasonable to extend to an Eskimo or mixed village which, without formal legal status, has developed traditional ways of maintaining order and essential community activities? It seemed obvious that this was not a question that could properly be determined in advance by detailed prescriptions in the State constitution; yet the members of the convention were anxious to lay down some principles which might help the future State avoid obvious pitfalls.

These illustrations, sketchy as they are, will give some impression of the setting in which a number of stateside research consultants were called on to ply their profession in aid of the Alaska convention.[2] Most of us had never been to Alaska before and some were able to stay only 2 weeks. It may be of interest to tell something about the way in which we were beamed in on the local wavelength.

Of prime importance was the physical setting. With great astuteness the people who planned the convention provided that it should meet at the University of Alaska several miles west of the city of Fairbanks, the northernmost city on the continent, situated on the Chena River about 100 miles south of the Arctic circle. While Fairbanks can be reached at any time of the year by plane, automobile or the Alaska Railroad from Seward and Anchorage, it is far enough away from the homes of most of the dele-

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

gates that they not only worked but lived together as few such bodies ever have. They were insulated against many of the distractions from home and normal occupation that would ordinarily impinge upon members of such a body.

Virtually all the delegates lived in one of a number of hotels and apartment houses within 2 or 3 blocks of each other: the Nordale Hotel, The Alaskan Inn, the Northward and Polaris Apartments. They went by bus each morning to the convention hall on the campus of the university, where they stayed through lunch and often through dinner and on toward midnight for regular convention sessions and committee meetings. While Fairbanks and its environs are plentifully supplied with bars and night clubs, the campus is dry, which meant that the business of the convention was not distracted by occasional trips to the bar or quick consultations with lobbyists lurking around the corner. On the other hand, the delegates knew how to relax when curfew sounded, whether at six in the evening or at midnight, and they generally relaxed together.

Into this community the consultants as they came were introduced, accepted, and assimilated with remarkable facility and felicity. They made up for their lack of Alaskan background partly by reading but mostly by endless questioning of the delegates from different parts of the Territory. Seldom has the conversational method been more assiduously employed in applied governmental research. While I am sure all the consultants felt they learned much more than they imparted, the method was distinctly a two way street. It was evident again and again that in talking about their communities and the problems of government for which the constitution was to provide a new setting the delegates developed a fresh and more penetrating understanding of what they had to do. Thus an important function of the consultants was to serve as conversational and mental foils for the delegates as they thought through their problems. Consultants wrote memos, tentative drafts and reports but there was probably less of this than would ordinarily be called for in a state constitutional convention. To a remarkable degree the delegates themselves did their own writing and many of them did a good deal of genuine research both before and during the convention. One of them, for example, had prepared himself on the subject of local government with something like the thoroughness with which James Madison had prepared himself on the history of federalism prior to the Philadelphia Convention of 1787.

Although it was sometimes frustrating to be thousands of miles from the nearest comprehensive library, Public Administration Service, which had been engaged by the statehood committee for preconvention preparation, had assembled an excellent, small working library for the convention and supplied the delegates with well-written background papers.[3] These papers were tailored rather more satisfactorily to the needs of the delegates than most of the preparatory material prepared for other conventions. Partly for this reason but partly no doubt because of the setting of the convention and the earnestness of the delegates, these papers were so thoroughly studied that consultants working with committees were able to assume a substantial fund of common information. The principal frustration, felt at least by one consultant, was the result of his consciousness of the great gaps not only in his own personal knowledge but also in the whole body of literature on State constitutions and government.[4]

I am sure that all the consultants have given a good deal of thought to what their experience in Alaska contributed to their understanding of the proper role of the consultant to any constitutional convention or similar body. In the paper prepared for the meeting of the Southern Political Science Association referred to earlier, Emil Sady and I set down a number of our own conclusions, expressing the hope that they might help to develop some consensus by provoking dissent and discussion.

Here they are:

"1. Consultants should be selected as much for their flexibility, ability to get along with people, and willingness to submerge themselves and their prejudices in the service of the convention as for their technical knowledge. Some of the consultants should be chosen largely because of their qualifications as constitutional generalists rather than their knowledge of particular specialties.

"2. There should be a clear understanding regarding the lines of responsibility and channels of communication between convention officers, committees, and delegates on the one hand and consultants on the other.

"3. Consultants should be free to speak in committee meetings or with individual delegates but should avoid taking sides publicly on controversial issues and should never appear before the convention as a whole or at public hearings except on request or specific authorization of the convention.

"4. Delegates should not use the names of consultants as weapons in debate. Consultants should be quoted, if at all, on the convention floor, only to indicate technical backing of items in the committee reports.

"5. Consultants should recognize at all times that it is the convention, not they, writing the constitution and should so behave that there never can arise any criticism on this score.

"6. Consultants have an obligation however, to maintain complete integrity and should not refrain from calling attention through recognized channels to information or errors which may be germane to the work of a convention. A consultant has an obligation to see that the technical reasons for his disagreement with a committee or convention action are made known and considered first by the responsible committee and then by the president or steering body of the convention. He should, however, scrupulously avoid lobbying for any point.

"7. While a consultant may be engaged to advise on a particular segment of the Constitution, he has an obligation to recognize the relationship between his work and that of others serving the convention. He should in his work advance the sense of common responsibility for the whole constitution which is necessary to a properly functioning convention.

"8. It would also be desirable to have more of the consultants serving from beginning to end than was possible in the case of Alaska. On the other hand there is certainly need in every convention for the occasional or part-time consultant and it is also desirable for a committee not to get all its technical assistance from or through a single person.

"9. At least 1 or 2 specialists in style and drafting should be included among the consultants. The Alaska constitution reflects in part the superior skill of the late Kimbrough Owen who served as consultant to the hard working and able style and drafting committee."

ELIMINATE THE NEGATIVE

In many ways the Alaska Convention was the realization of the consultant's dream. Here are a few of the characteristics of the convention and of the way in which it went about its task that made me particularly happy to be associated with it:

1. Its members displayed a firm belief in the future of their land and exceptional industry, devotion and integrity in discharging what they conceived to be their responsibility toward it.

2. It showed a great readiness to look at pertinent experience anywhere, especially in the United States and Canada, and to select and adapt what seemed the best to its purpose.

3. It paid a good deal of attention to Federal-State relations and the future place of the state of Alaska in the Nation. This emphasis was doubtless largely the result of territorial consciousness of Federal relationships, but is worthy of emulation in the older States.

4. It placed great emphasis on providing the state of Alaska with effective government—in the words of its report to the people, "government that is energetic in fostering the growth and development of the whole state and the welfare of all the people."

5. As has already been indicated, it took a new and imaginative approach to local government and state-local relationships.

6. Because it had faith in the future it showed a readiness to trust future generations to handle their own affairs and to adjust the constitution and government to changing conditions. In its own words, therefore, it determined that the constitution "should be short and flexible, to allow for the great changes that the future will bring to Alaska." Noting with disapproval the recent trend toward limited constitutional conventions, it specified that any future constitutional convention in Alaska should have "plenary power to amend or revise the constitution, subject only to ratification by the people."

It will be recognized at once that a number of these characteristics or attitudes are in marked contrast to some of those that have influenced the direction of constitutional evolution in many of the older States where the emphasis has often been negative and essentially distrustful of future generations of politicians and citizens.

Obviously the climate in which the last frontier wrote its first constitution cannot be recaptured in States of the earlier frontiers. Surely, however, the older States can benefit by taking a few breaths of the clear Alaska air. In a sense our whole Federal system with its peculiar and vital system of interlevel relationships is at a new frontier in time. Explosive population growth, spectacular developments in technology and productivity and shifting and expanding demands on Government call for pioneering solutions of no less significance than those demanded of the founders of a new commonwealth.

RESEARCH WILL GROW

Like modern pioneering in the physical realm this constitutional and political pioneering must rely more and more heavily on research. There is every reason to believe that the second half century of the governmental research movement should be infinitely more exciting and productive than the first, and this is said without any disparagement of the achievements of the masters and journeymen who started it and have carried it on.

The first era of governmental research has, quite properly, been largely preoccupied with tidying and tightening up the organization and methods for conducting the public business. While the emphasis has sometimes been regrettably negative, almost nostalgic in harking back to a day when Government really was little business, it has performed invaluable service in readying Government for the expanding tasks of the present age. Governmental research must continue to perform its historic function of policing and rationalizing the way in which Government is conducted and alerting the people to the need for constant questioning and examining of the propriety of governmental undertakings old and new.

STATESMANSHIP'S PARTNER

As I see it, however, the great mission of governmental research is to serve as partner to democratic statesmanship in the creative role of developing new ways to meet new problems. Without such a partnership, I see no hope of any real solutions of metro-

Footnotes at end of speech.

politan difficulties; of any rationally directed evolution of federalism and intergovernmental relations so as to provide the benefits of effective, positive Government on a national scale without losing the values of local and regional initiative, variety, and experimentation; of finding workable ways to preserve the sovereignty of the individual citizen in a world of mass transportation, mass communication (whatever that is), and potential mass destruction.

---

[1] Staging a State Constitutional Convention," by John E. Bebout and Emil J. Sady of the Brookings Institution, paper at Southern Political Science Association, November 8, 1956, Gatlinburg, Tenn.

[2] Ernest R. Bartley, University of Florida; John Corcoran, P. A. S.; Dayton D. McKean, University of Colorado; Vincent Ostrom, University of Oregon; Weldon Cooper, University of Virginia; Kimbrough Owen, Louisiana State University; Sheldon Elliot, Institute of Judicial Administration, New York University; John E. Bebout, National Municipal League. Emil Sady, now of the Brookings Institution, was the representative of PAS throughout the convention.

[3] Constitutional Studies, 3 volumes, prepared on behalf of the Alaska Statehood Committee for the Alaska Constitutional Convention by Public Administration Service, Chicago, 1955.

[4] Bebout and Sady, op. cit.

What Price Education?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, in order to call to the attention of all House Members the suggestion incorporated in the following editorial, I ask unanimous consent to include it in the Appendix of the RECORD. This comes from the March 1 issue of the Aero Mechanic, a bimonthly publication of the Aeronautical International Association of Machinists, Industrial District Lodge 751:

WHAT PRICE EDUCATION?

There's an income tax problem affecting many Aero Mechanic parents—and other parents thruout the Nation—that deserves a careful scrutiny.

It's this: Parents with children of college age are making every effort to send young Johnny or Mary to a school of higher learning, in many cases at a great sacrifice to the family budget. Yet there is nothing in the income tax laws that allows a parent to make a tax deduction on this necessary expense.

Perhaps in bygone years a university education was regarded as a luxury. This certainly isn't the case today, for the average firm or company won't talk to a youthful prospective employee unless he has the benefits of a college education.

Great ado, also, could be made over the gains realized by our Nation, and thus on the welfare of the entire world, by having a growing number of our future adults approaching the problem of life with better tools of learning.

The Congress seldom, of course, looks with great favor upon proposals to allow tax exemptions. But think, for a moment, on some of the common exemptions in everyday usage—such as expense account allowances, oil well depletions, fast write-off of certain industry amortizations, donations. Why even industries are allowed to scratch off the entire cost of sending some of their executives to special training institutions.

So why not a tax relief for the long suffering parent struggling to keep his kids in school?

We'd like to make this suggestions to our congressional delegation:

Propose an income tax deduction of the cost of books and tuition, allowable either to the parents of the student, or to the student himself if he is working and sending himself through college.

Propose a limited allowance for board and room costs where it is necessary for students to live away from home.

We'll wager there'll be more young people attending college, and a lot of happy parents if some version of this needed relief is forthcoming.

Two Winning Essays in a Lincoln Day Oratorical Contest Held on Sunday, February 10, 1957, at a Boys' School in Los Angeles County, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me heretofore so to do, I feel it is not only a pleasure but an honor for me to be able to present the text of two Lincoln Day speeches by elementary school boys in the great 23d District, Los Angeles County, Calif.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, for each of the 10 years I have already served in this great legislative body at the time of memorializing Abraham Lincoln in connection with the anniversary of his birth February 12, it has been my pleasure to obtain unanimous consent to insert in the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD essays and speeches and memorials about Abraham Lincoln emanating from my congressional district.

And now, the two essays by elementary school boys in my congressional district are very much worth reading. Mr. Speaker, if the youth of our beloved Nation could but pattern after Abraham Lincoln's industry, integrity, ambition, decency, and righteousness, how much better our Nation would certainly be.

LINCOLN DAY SPEECH
(By Arden Lakin)

There was an officer in the Confederate Army who had been severely wounded in action. This officer was a prisoner of war in an army hospital in Washington, D. C. The officer knew he was going to die so he sent his small brother out to look for a lawyer to draw up a will for him. His brother was out looking for a lawyer when he ran into this big, tall, not very good-looking, but pleasant man. The man said that he used to be a lawyer and that he could draw up a will for him. When they got to the room in the hospital there were two guards outside the door. They saluted and the boy thought they were saluting him, so he felt quite important. When they got inside the wounded officer was lying in bed with bandages over his face and eyes. The man drew up the will for him and when he had finished, the wounded officer asked the boy to read him the article in the paper about President Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg. The wounded officer said many things about President Lincoln and that he was greatly interested in his country. The wounded officer started to recite what he could of the Gettysburg address and finally got stumped; so this man who drew up the will picked up where the officer left off and as he started to speak he said it with all the detail and importance that he had done at Gettysburg; quote "The brave men living and dead who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion. That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—That this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from this earth." When he finished the officer asked him are you Mr. Lincoln, the President of the United States, the man whom I was fighting against? And Mr. Lincoln replied "Yes." At that moment the boy knew why the guards had saluted them outside the door and was thrilled at being able to meet the President, and he was very happy that he could say he shook hands with Mr. Lincoln, the President of the United States of America.

"I saw this incident in a movie."

LINCOLN DAY SPEECH
(By Alvin Jenkins)

On February 12, 1809, Abraham Lincoln, one of the most famous men of our Nation, wsa born in a place called Hardin County, Ky. His parents were very poor and had no thought that their son would become so famous.

When Abraham was only 4 years old, his parents had another son named Thomas after his father. Thomas didn't live to see his brother become President, because about 2 months later he died. This was only one of the tragedies of the Lincoln family.

When Abraham was only 9 years old, another tragedy came upon the Lincoln family. Mrs. Lincoln, his mother, died. Before his mother died she said, "My boy, I am going away, and you will not see me again. Be good; I know you will; help your father; take good care of your sister; live as I have taught you, and love God always."

When Abraham was 23 years old, there was an Indian war. The Governor called for volunteers to fight the Indians. Abraham was one of the first to volunteer. After they had gotten together, they had to elect officers. There were two candidates for captain, a man named Kirkpatrick, and Abraham Lincoln. When he was President he was heard saying, "No other victory brought so much satisfaction." This was Abraham's first success in public life.

When Abraham was 25 years old he was a candidate for the Legislature of Illinois in 1834. Many people knew that he was a just man, so he won by a large majority. He was also reelected in 1835–36, 1838, and again in 1840.

Abraham Lincoln was now 37 years of age, he was the Whig candidate for the Congress of 1847. This was the only district of Illinois where the Whigs had a majority win. This was his first term in Congress.

Once Lincoln was nominated as a candidate for a United States Senator. The Democrats nominated General Shields, a soldier of the Mexican War. There was another party called the Anti-Nebraskas, they nominated a man named Lyman Trumbull. Later on in the race the Democrats dropped Shields and nominated Joel A. Matheson. Abraham wanted this office but he saw that unless the Whigs and the Anti-Nebraskas united, the Democrats would win the election. He begged his friends to drop him and cast their

ballots for Mr. Trumbull. Mr. Trumbull was chosen. Abraham was chosen by general consent to be their leader.

When Abraham was 51 years of age, he was the Whig candidate for the President of the United States. The Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas as their candidate. When election day came, Abraham Lincoln was chosen to be the next President of the United States.

Soon after Abraham was elected South Carolina seceded from the Union. Later Florida seceded, then Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. Delegates from these States met at Montgomery, Ala., and formed the Confederate States of America.

On April 12, 1861, Confederate cannon opened fire upon Fort Sumter, striking the first blow of the Civil War, which was to be a long and bloody war between the North and the South.

On July 1, 1863, the Confederates were badly defeated by the Union armies. Until then the Confederates had been defeating all of the Union armies. This was the turning point of the war.

Resolution Memorializing Congress To Amend Title I of the Social Security Act

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN JARMAN

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Enrolled House Concurrent Resolution 520, as the same was adopted by the House of Representatives and the Senate of the 26th Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

The concurrent resolution follows:

Enrolled House Concurrent Resolution 520

A concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to amend title I of the United States Social Security Act to authorize the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to approve a State plan which provides, in determining need, an exemption of $50 per month earned income in the old-age assistance category as is now provided in title 10 of such Social Security Act granting this exemption, in determining need, to recipients of the aid to the blind category

Whereas the aged and indigent citizens of the State of Oklahoma and the United States blazed the way in the frontiers of America for the development of the United States of America, the benefits of which the present generation are now reaping; and

Whereas the courage and fortitude of these people laid the foundation upon which the State of Oklahoma and the United States have developed; and

Whereas they did throughout their period of struggle and did throughout their lifetime, insofar as they were able, support and maintain the government of the State of Oklahoma and the United States for the benefit of the present generation; and

Whereas the increase in the cost of living has far exceeded the increase in grants and aid that the aged and indigent people are receiving and, as a result of such increase in the cost of living, the living standards of our aged in the State of Oklahoma and the United States are such that our aged citizens must live in a manner incompatible with decency and health; and

Whereas an amendment such as is suggested herein would create a desire in recipients of old-age assistance to earn whatever amount they are capable of earning and, in so doing, raise the standard of living in such category together with all dependents for whom they are legally responsible; and

Whereas it is the consensus of the members of the House of Representatives of the State of Oklahoma, now duly convened in the 26th session of the Oklahoma Legislature, that the Congress of the United States should so amend such Social Security Act to permit the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to approve a State assistance plan which will provide an exemption, in determining need, the sum of $50 per month earned income, as set forth above: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the 26th Legislature of the State of Oklahoma (the Senate concurring therein), That the Congress of the United States be memorialized to amend title I of the United States Social Security Act which would permit the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to exempt $50 per month earned income in determining need in the old-age assistance category; and be it further

Resolved, That the people of the State of Oklahoma, through their representatives in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the 26th Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, hereby pledge the State to enact or amend any State laws necessary to comply with such Federal amendment; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent by the secretary of state to the Chief Clerk of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States Congress, and each Member of the Oklahoma delegation in Congress.

Adopted by the House of Representatives the 6th day of February 1957.

B. E. HARKEY,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Adopted by the Senate the 18th day of February 1957.

COWBOY PINK WILLIAMS,
President of the Senate.

Received by the secretary of state this 25th day of February 1957.

ANDY ANDERSON.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Foreign

42 resi-
onal Dis-
lation to
olic bev-
to pro-
ment of
ittee on

of the
on, Chi-
of their
mmenda-
mpact of
istrative
eeting of
ican Bar
n Armed

and 609
o., Chi-
the bill
nsidera-
8, H. R.
he Com-
mmerce,
k, Tren-
actment
27 and
ffice and

Appendix

Effect of Cost Increases on Corporation Sales Gains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Profit Plateau—Cost Increases Hold Corporate Profits Level Despite Sales Gains," which was published in the Wall Street Journal of March 18, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROFIT PLATEAU—COST INCREASES HOLD CORPORATE PROFITS LEVEL DESPITE SALES GAINS—FIRST QUARTER DROP EXPECTED FOR AIRLINES AND METALS—ELECTRICAL FIRMS GAIN—RISING WAGES WORRY RETAILER

Corporate profits have paused on a plateau—a plateau somewhat lower than the record high reached in 1950.

Rising costs are widely blamed by corporate executives for the contrast between this standstill and the continued advance in other economic statistics such as those of national income and production.

A compilation of 750 earnings reports for 1956 shows practically no change from total 1955 income of the same companies. And early indications of how the first quarter of this year will stack up against the like period of last year suggest a similar comparison.

The 1956 figures, as brought together by the Wall Street Journal in its quarterly study show a total net income for the 750 corporations of $11,980,000,000, less than $8 million, or one-tenth of 1 percent, larger than their total of 1955. This comparison confirms the estimates of the Government, made a few months ago, that 1956 net profits of all United States corporations, at about $21.5 billion, would be up only slightly from the $21.1 billion reported for 1955.

These same Government figures, in turn, show 1956 earnings still below the $22.1 billion reached in 1950, and likewise not very far above the $20.3 billion achieved as far back as 1948. Totals for the other intervening years—1949 and 1951–54—ranged between $16 billion and $19 billion.

OTHER STATISTICS SHOW GAINS

These results stand in sharp contrast with other statistics of the Nation's economic system, which have been going to new record highs. National income, for instance, which includes compensation of employes, proprietors and rent receivers as well as earnings of corporations, is estimated at $342 billion for 1956. That was a 5.5-percent gain over the $324 billion of 1955, and it was 33 percent larger than the $240 billion of 1950.

The main cause of the decline in corporate profits from 1951 to 1953 was the excess profits tax imposed during the Korean war and not lifted until 1954. The latter was a year of mild recession in business generally, which naturally held down profits. But 1955 and 1956 were years of strong upsurge in the volume of business. The steel strike last summer, of course, depressed 1956 earnings somewhat, but even without it, the figures show clearly, the year's total would not have equaled that of 1950.

Rising costs, squeezing profits margins, are the principal factor blamed for the inability of the income figures to rise last year and early this year. This fact for last year is brought out by a comparison of 1956 and 1955 sales and profits of 204 large companies which have published detailed income accounts for both years. Their sales rose to $89 billion from $86 billion in 1955. But their net profits fell to less than $6 billion from more than $6.5 billion. It was not lack of volume which held earnings down.

SHOWINGS VARY BY INDUSTRIES

The over-all slight change in earnings for 1956 from 1955, of course, conceals some pretty wide variations among individual industries. The steepest drop was that of the auto and auto equipment industry—almost 35 percent. And the highest leap was that of the machine tool makers—over 40 percent. However, about half of the 33 industries represented in the compilation gained or lost 5 percent or less. In spite of the summer strike which shut down the industry for roughly one-tenth of the year, the steel mills found their aggregate earnings down only slightly more than 1 percent.

Pretty much the same sort of outcome is indicated for the current quarter as compared with a year ago. A few groups may do quite a lot better, and a few others a good deal worse. But overall, no very big change from a year ago seems likely.

One group which did particularly well in 1956 is likely to make a poor showing in the current quarter. It is the mining and metals companies. The principal cause of this change is the price decline in copper, which was at a record high just a year ago and has fallen sharply since then. Producers selling the metal at 32 cents a pound compared with 46 cents a year ago naturally are suffering declines in sales and profits. Other metal companies, including especially aluminum producers, are doing about as well as last year.

Outside of copper producers, in fact, last year's trends seem to be continuing currently in most groups. Aircraft makers, although some of them are plagued currently by changes in military procurement which later may affect their backlogs, seem unlikely to reflect such new order patterns in the first quarter. As a group, their 1956 profits were up 4 percent.

Airlines are still suffering from the rising costs which pulled their 1956 earnings down 1 percent in spite of rising revenues.

Here is the picture in other industries:

Auto and auto equipment makers show contrasting trends within their own industry, with Chrysler and Ford enjoying sharp gains in production and sales (even over the good 1955 rate) and General Motors lagging. Whether GM's probable earnings decline will be offset by the increases of the other two cannot be gaged yet. American Motors probably will show another loss—it lost $3.3 million a year ago—but Studebaker-Packard may be not far from the black, in contrast to a loss of $14.3 million a year ago.

Building materials from acoustical tile to zonolite also show varying trends. Concerns with a big stake in home building are not doing as well as last year but those which sell to commercial, industrial, and public construction customers report a favorable experience. Johns-Manville spokesmen say business for the first 2 months had a slight edge on the 1956 months, but National Gypsum, heavily in housing, will report declines in sales and earnings. Cement producers are doing well. The building group last year gained 6 percent.

Retailers find predictions of first quarter showings unusually difficult because Easter this year is later than usual. Treasurer G. H. Stuntz, of Interstate Department Stores says the whole first quarter is made or broken on Easter business. Agreeing with him, some merchandisers add that a late spring holiday often spurs ready-to-wear business.

But rising costs, as in many industries, are holding back profits. "It's difficult to predict the quarter's profits with costs going up so, particularly wage," says Isaac Liberman, president of Arnold Constable Corp. And Arthur C. Hallan, secretary-treasurer of Allied Stores Corp., chimes in, "We expect an increase in sales, but continued overhead rises make it difficult to say much about earnings." Except for grocery chains which gained 33 percent in part because of mergers and acquisitions, retailers last year showed small gains ranging up to 5.6 percent for department stores.

Chemical producers also complain of rising costs, together with inability to raise prices commensurately. Moderate gains in sales, perhaps 5 percent, over 1956 are expected for the first quarter, but earnings may be little better than steady. For 1956 this group fell almost 6 percent behind 1955.

Drug manufacturers, among the big gainers of 1956 with earnings up 30 percent, expect further improvement, though not as wide. Abbott Laboratories earnings and sales in the first 2 months showed definite progress over a year ago, a spokesman says.

Electrical equipment makers will pretty surely report gains in the first quarter, in contrast to their 3 percent decline in 1956. Much of that drop reflected the troubles of Westinghouse Electric, which was on strike much of the first quarter and lost money in that period. In addition to Westinghouse's better showing, huge General Electric says its sales are up so far this year.

Farm-equipment makers also appear to be on the way to better results than last year's 2-percent earnings drop, with employment increasing. However, there is some doubt the first quarter will have had time to reflect the improvement in earnings figures.

Sales finance companies say their earnings are running something like 10 percent better than a year ago in the first quarter. In all of 1956 their gain was 12 percent. "The receivables (loans outstanding) on our books are still bringing in good money and new volume continues fairly high, although there has been some falloff in new automobile sales," says an official of a big auto sales finance company.

Food products handlers are continuing gains which last year brought their earnings up almost 5 percent. Joel S. Mitchell, president of Standard Brands, Inc., predicts about a 13-percent increase for the first quarter to about $1 a share on the common, and the head of Sunshine Biscuits also foresees a gain.

Iron and steel earnings for the first quarter probably will show little if any decline and may show gains from a year ago. While production now has slid off to somewhat under a year ago, it was at record highs in the first 2 months. And while wages are up, so are prices, as a result not only of the general boost announced after last summer's strike was settled, but also of increases on individual products in the form of higher charges for extra qualities of specific steels.

Petroleum producers and refiners foresee higher profits in the first quarter than a year ago. Domestic consumption here and exports together exceeded the total of a year earlier in the first 2 months by 9 percent, and prices are higher. International oil concerns such as Socony and Gulf, of course, may receive lower dividends from some segments of their foreign operations as a result of the unsettlement surrounding Suez.

Paper producers may not do quite as well as a year ago, in contrast with a 9-percent gain for all 1956, because production in some sections of the industry is down a little.

Rubber companies should at least hold their own in the first quarter and the majority probably will show small gains. E. J. Thomas, president of Goodyear, has said his company expects another new record in sales and earnings this year, and other companies also express optimism. Tire shipments are calculated to rise about 6 percent over 1956, with automobile output scheduled to be up a little and replacement sales rising steadily year by year.

Textile earnings in the first quarter are reported by the vice president of one major mill concern as suffering a decline which is general, broad, and painful. Slow sales, slipping prices, and higher costs are all contributing. Earnings of this group in 1956 were down 17 percent.

Cigarette sales so far this quarter are mildly ahead of a year earlier, and some big tobacco companies believe their earnings will be up. Philip Morris sales in the first 2 months were up 15 percent, and Liggett & Myers also reports sales gains; but another big producer finds no important change either way. Costs are rising in this industry, too, so that the trend of earnings may not be quite as good as in sales. Tobacco profits in 1956 were up 6.5 percent.

Machine toolmakers look for first quarter sales and earnings to top those of a year ago. Orders came in last year at a very high rate, and though these have fallen off in the last few months, shipments, on which earnings and sales are calculated, continue high. For the first quarter they're figured at an average of $80 million monthly, compared with only $64 million monthly a year ago. Earnings of this industry in 1956 soared 40 percent.

Railroad earnings in the current 3 months probably cannot quite equal those of the comparatively good first quarter of 1956. Though freight rates were raised late in December, 7 percent in the East and 5 percent in the West, and later in February this year 5 percent for Southeastern carriers, the pressure of costs on profit margins continues. From a traffic standpoint, loadings in January this year ran 5.4 percent less than in the similar month last year, but the decline has been lessening, and was below 5 percent for the first 2 months.

Utilities continue their calm and steady gains of close to 10 percent, with consumption of electricity and gas growing with the country. Their 1956 gain was 9 percent.

TOTAL PROFITS OF 750 COMPANIES IN 1956 JUST ABOUT EQUALED EARNINGS IN 1955

The columns below show earnings reported for the year 1956 as compared with those of 1955, with percentage increases or declines by groups from 1955. A number of companies included do not report for the calendar year. In such cases, earnings for the nearest comparable period have been used:

	1956	1955	Change from year ago
13 aircraft makers	$222,724,000	$213,918,000	Up 4.1 percent.
8 airlines	45,409,000	46,005,000	Off 1.3 percent.
25 autos and equipment	1,216,363,000	1,860,738,000	Off 34.6 percent.
30 building materials	387,949,000	366,405,000	Up 5.9 percent.
24 chain retailers:			
6 grocery	62,366,000	46,864,000	Up 33.1 percent.
7 variety	73,346,000	73,107,000	Up 0.3 percent.
11 miscellaneous	72,635,000	70,499,000	Up 3.0 percent.
23 chemicals	816,140,000	866,894,000	Off 5.8 percent.
11 department stores	92,534,000	87,572,000	Up 5.6 percent.
6 distillers	51,518,000	40,435,000	Up 27.4 percent.
13 drug companies	186,162,000	142,963,000	Up 30.2 percent.
14 electrical equipments	287,512,000	297,418,000	Off 3.3 percent.
8 farm equipments	147,549,000	150,849,000	Off 2.2 percent.
15 finance companies	186,629,000	165,969,000	Up 12.4 percent.
25 food products	200,938,000	191,959,000	Up 4.7 percent.
25 iron and steel	1,015,532,000	1,028,520,000	Off 1.2 percent.
6 leather	30,808,000	26,538,000	Up 14.9 percent.
22 metals and mining	589,537,000	484,193,000	Up 21.7 percent.
7 movies and movie theaters	22,153,000	21,558,000	Up 2.7 percent.
9 office equipments	119,668,000	97,082,000	Up 23.2 percent.
25 petroleum products	2,045,427,000	1,846,249,000	Up 10.8 percent.
8 printing and publishing	29,516,000	23,700,000	Up 23.7 percent.
23 pulp and paper	169,325,000	155,321,000	Up 9.0 percent.
6 radio and television	63,276,000	82,529,000	Off 23.3 percent.
14 railway equipments	69,061,000	57,584,000	Up 19.9 percent.
12 rubber companies	218,909,000	216,806,000	Up 0.9 percent.
15 sugar companies	22,694,000	18,569,000	Up 22.2 percent.
21 textiles	88,027,000	105,579,000	Off 16.6 percent.
13 tobacco companies	181,486,000	170,391,000	Up 6.5 percent.
40 tools and machinery	199,673,000	142,197,000	Up 40.4 percent.
143 other industrials	912,796,000	810,453,000	Up 12.6 percent.
Total 604 industrials	9,827,162,000	9,908,864,000	Off 0.8 percent.
55 railroads	828,358,000	852,767,000	Off 2.8 percent.
91 utilities	1,324,946,000	1,210,651,000	Up 9.4 percent.
Total 750 firms	11,980,466,000	11,972,282,000	Up 0.1 percent.

Has the Republican Party a Future?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Clarence Budington Kelland at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Republican Party at Tucson, Ariz., on March 16, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HAS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY A FUTURE?

(Address by Clarence Budington Kelland, at the State Central Committee of the Republican Party in Tucson, Ariz., March 16, 1957)

The time has come when we assembled here, and all other members and workers in the Republican Party should give gravest consideration to our present condition, perhaps it would be more accurate to say our plight, and to what steps should be taken by Republicans of intelligence and integrity to meet and overcome the perils that so obviously lie before us.

In any such analysis we must hold before the eyes of our mind the high and noble history of our party. We must consider our obligations to that past and to the men of bygone days whose wisdom and foresight created our party, established its great principles, and built under our feet a sound platform upon which the future could erect itself. At the same time we must exercise such foresight as heaven has endowed us with to look into the future, to endeavor to foresee what obligations that future shall impose upon us, and to make certain that our future shall be worthy of our past.

As we look into the future we must peer with eyes clear of prejudices and ideologies. We must not listen to unreasoned clamors. We must not mistake will-of-the-wisps for lamps of wisdom. We must not make the fatal error of believing that merely because a proposal is new it is better than what has stood the test of time. Nor must we err on the other side, blindly to believe that mere age is sanctity.

The time is here, now, today, when we who have given our allegiance to the Republican Party for many years must face and answer certain hard, unpleasant questions. Upon our answer to these questions depends whether the Republican Party shall endure and persist as a party of recognizable principles and intentions; a party which has drawn a battle line between its principles and intentions and the principles and intentions of what we can only term the Socialist-Democratic Party. Or whether we shall become a mere shadow party without substance or reality.

A shadow is an unsubstantial, imponderable pattern of darkness caused when something stands between the sun and the earth. It imitates in form and movement the thing that casts the shadow. But it has neither warmth nor vitality. The first pertinent question we must ask is, Shall we permit the Republican Party to exist only as a shadow cast by the New Deal? Shall we permit our party which once proudly created such solid, such real, figures as Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt to lie flat and unsubstantial on the ground as the shadow of Franklin Roosevelt or ill-tempered little Harry Truman?

Perhaps the most important question for Republicans to answer is this: Shall the Republican Party continue to exist at all? Or shall it, because it stands for nothing, and is a mere weak imitation of something else, cease to be and vanish from the earth as did the Whig Party of a hundred years ago? The Whig Party was buried in an unknown grave because it had nothing to offer—no leadership, no reason for being, no integrity. Shall these same tragic reasons sap the lifeblood of our party which has given high

leadership and stability to our Nation for a hundred years?

Shall the Republican Party drag along, pale, anemic, lifeless down the middle of the road? Shall it walk the white line between lanes of traffic, too busy with dodging vehicles coming at it from both directions to be able to do anything but cringe and duck and sidestep? Shall we accept that contemptible destiny, taking no sides, initiating no action, content merely to pussyfoot down an imaginary line content to do nothing except avoid being bumped by passing events? We are advised by high authority that the middle of the road is the path for us. Just what impact upon the welfare of a Nation will be exerted by a party whose sole end and aim is to dodge from island of safety to island of safety breathing only the fumes from long lines of exhausts traveling in opposite directions?

Are we going to adopt this heresy known as New Republicanism? I have examined this new brand of sophistry—and lest there be any misconception of what I mean by sophistry, it is a clever argument based on fakery. It is a quibble.

* * * * *

New Republicanism betrays every historical tenet and principle of our Republican Party. It is a bridge, disguised as a rainbow, to carry us across the river which separates the land of sound, honest, efficient national finance from the treacherous morass of state socialism and ultimate bankruptcy.

Already we stand appalled at some of its results, the most dire of which is a budget of more than $70 billion. A budget which outdoes all the reckless spending in our history. It outdoes even Harry Hopkins whose idea of finance was to spend and spend, tax and tax. He added the words "and elect and elect." But I am afraid that formula will no longer serve its dire purpose. The country stands appalled at this budget put forward by an administration whose preelection promises were to economize and to balance. It is a formula dreadfully out of tune with the thinking of the rank and file of the Republican Party. If not modified, if persisted in, it will go down in history not as a sardonic, unscrupulous, successful device of spend and spent, tax and tax, elect and elect, but as one more stupid device to undermine and destroy the Republican Party. To spend and spend, tax and tax the Republican Party out of existence.

The initiative, the courage, the hope of the doers of our country are being sapped by this state of affairs, which is not far from confiscation. The country, cracking under a crushing burden of taxation from which no relief is in sight, moves ever nearer to a financial disaster which may forever destroy our way of life. Which may send our standard of living downward and downward until our despairing people may even grasp at the rope of straw of socialism or even communism. And so in their hopeless despondency swap their most precious possession—human liberty—for a doled crust of bread flung to them by an American Stalin.

The way to avoid this gulf of prodigality has been shown us by one of the greatest minds of our or any other generation. By a man whose probity and Christian patience under trial, whose unselfish services to our land and humanity, have earned him the love of his fellow citizens. One sure way, I repeat, to call a halt and face in the opposite direction has been shown to us by Herbert Hoover in the reports of his Commission into the conduct of our Government. To adopt his efficient plans alone would enable us to reduce the annual expenditure by billions of dollars and multiply the efficiency of the administration of our affairs.

Wise heads and thinking minds who have analized this Gargantuan budget believe that no less than $12 billion could be cut from its prodigality without impairment of safety or security, and without harm of any sort to our citizens.

Let us compare this offered budget of 1958 with the budget of Throw-It-Away Harry Truman for 1949. Harry's information service cost 15 millions. The Eisenhower information service is to cost $175 million in 1958. And for what? Asleep at the post, it could not even inform us of the impending treacherous adventure of Britain and France into Egypt which almost gave birth to a third Armageddon. Truman's public assistance in 1949 was $931 millions. Under the Eisenhower budget it will be $1,684 millions. Public health is jumped from the Truman high of $174 million to $606 millions. Education leaped from $65 million to $538 million. Agriculture, conservation and the like were increased from the Truman figure by 2 billions of dollars.

Foreign spending, which has brought us little but enmity—and latterly the double crossing 2 of our two greatest pensioners, Britain and France could, in competent opinion, be reduced by $3½ billion.

Another 3 to 4 billion dollars could be cut from the budget if our present unnecessary military forces in Europe were cut to adequate battallions plus retaliatory air forces capable with coping with any emergency.

So able and honest and patriotic experts say at least $12 billion could be cut from the Eisenhower budget without doing a dollar's worth of harm, and with a resulting cut in our cruel taxes of 30 percent across the board.

In a little more than 3 years, who will be blamed for this wastefulness and its resulting hardships when we enter another national election? Who will be blamed for these things when in 2 years we enter another congressional election? Why, the blame will be placed upon this administration, and unjustly as a consequence, upon the Republican Party. The country will not distinguish between administration conduct and Republican Party conduct.

And, my fellow Republicans, if we do not take speedy and severe and efficient steps during the next 3 years to remedy these conditions and to rehabilitate the Republican Party in the eyes of the Nation, then the Republican Party will take such a shellacking as no other party has ever taken in our history. Nor, in my opinion, can it survive, even in name only, such a drubbing.

Now then, as a matter of practical politics and party procedure, what can we do to save the life of the Republican Party?

My loyalty—and I have served the Republican Party to the best of my ability for 55 years—is not to any individual nor any coterie, but to those ideals and principles which are the Republican Party and which it personifies.

There may be those even in this room who may misunderstand or take amiss what I am about to say and to suggest. I do not utter these words without having taken prayerful thought, nor without asking the advice of men in whose commonsense and honorable intentions I have confidence.

I will commence this final portion of my remarks by repeating what I have written and spoken many times during the past 5 years. I repeat and emphasize that the first Eisenhower election was in no sense a Republican victory but a personal Eisenhower victory. In that election of 1956 President Eisenhower was elected by an unprecedented torrent of votes, but the Republican Party lost both Houses of Congress. What did this anomaly indicate?

It indicated that the United States, North and South, were infatuated by the personality of Dwight D. Eisenhower; but that the Nation was by no means infatuated by the party under whose emblem he ran for office. Again it was not a Republican victory—indeed it was a Republican defeat. It was a personal triumph for one individual. It was not the principles nor the platform of the Republican Party which sent General Eisenhower to the White House, but a national emotional orgy deriving from a sort of paroxysm of impassioned enthusiasm for the personality of Mr. Eisenhower. Such waves of febrile affection have swept various nations since the dawn of history, and will sweep nations again in the future. They have nothing to do with logic or reason, but are a sort of volcanic, instinctive outflowing of affection.

It was a similar phenomenon which kept Theodore Roosevelt in power and which elected Franklin Roosevelt three times. In the case of Theodore Roosevelt it gave new life and meaning and energy to the Republican Party; in the case of Franklin Roosevelt it destroyed the integrity of the great party of Jefferson and Jackson and Grover Cleveland.

In the case of President Eisenhower we do not know what affect it will have on the Republican Party, but the next 3 years will determine what it shall be.

But we do know this: That in the next election the Republican Party will not have General Eisenhower for its candidate. Whatever benefit his prodigious personal popularity has been to the party will not be a fatcor in the next presidential election. It is not an exaggeration to say that as a political figure 3 years from now he will be all but negligible. For the next 3½ years as his tenure of office becomes shorter and shorter so will his influence both as a Chief Executive and a political leader wane. And with his waning so will the power of that little coterie in the White House who have ridden roughshod over Republican Party organization diminish, And so, unless immediate vigorous steps are taken to rehabilitate Republican organization nationally and in the 48 States, we will face a vacuum.

Upon what we do or fail to do in the next 3 crucial years depends the fate of our party, and whether it shall live or die.

Already we see signs of the struggle that will continue and increase through the next 3 years to take over and control the remains of the Republican Party. If any man or woman is so naive as to believe the White House Janizaries will surrender the power they have wielded through this administration, they should buy themselves a book of fairy tales. This group who have had so much to do with our President's thinking and conduct, who are the inventors of New Republicanism, and who have labored in season and out of season to uproot and destroy Republicanism as we who are true to it and revere it conceive it to be, will occupy a most favorable strategic position.

They will be able to dominate such machinery as exists. They will possess, because of a supine, subservient national committee, to dictate the organization of the nominating convention. They will be able to name every officer and committee of that convention from its chairman and rules committee to its sergeant at arms and its committee on badges. They will be able to name its keynoter, its committee on contests. They will be able to dictate who will head its platform committee. Potentially, they will be able to control that convention, name its candidates, and compel the adoption of the set of principles upon which the party will go to the country.

I say that, as of today, this little headstrong un-Republican group of me-too New Dealers possess this potentiality. But it is only a potentiality. It is not a certainty. It is, as yet, only a plot—and the first step in frustrating a plot is to recognize its existence—to expose it to the light of day for what it is. And, having so exposed it, to create a force that will destroy it.

The only force that can save our party from disintegration is a nationwide revival—a revival that must start at the grassroots, in the precincts. It must work upward from the people, moving from precinct to

ward, from ward to county, from county to State. It must rise and swell as a great flood. There must arise and be heard eloquent voices who will restate the principles which are the backbone of Republicanism and which are anathema to New Dealism and New Republicanism. It must organize, and organize, and organize.

These United States are not a radical nation; our citizenry has its origins in a basic, decent, admirable conservatism. There is under us a firm foundation of integrity based upon such splendid copybook maxims as that honesty is the best policy. That a penny saved is a penny earned. That Satan finds work for idle hands to do. Our ideals derive from sturdy ancestors whose most admirable quality was self-reliance and a will to conquor a savage wilderness. Those men and women bequeathed to us something fine and strong and imperishable, which even 20 years of New Deal heresy could not erase. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman and their ilk did their dire best to change a maxim which was real and true to our forefathers and without which this Nation never could have become what it is today. They strove to substitute for that splendid old saying—"God helps those who help themselves," a new and shameful rule of life, "Don't bother to help yourselves, let Washington do it for you."

Our grandfathers went out in the morning to plow their virgin fields not knowing if at night they would come home with their backsides full of Indian arrows. Nevertheless they went out and plowed.

That is the spirit and the courage that gave birth to the Republican Party, and it is not dead. It lives. It is vigorous. All it requires is the ringing of a tocsin, the sounding of an alarm to awaken it from its lethargy and set it to marching once again. Set it to marching again, to trampling out the vintage where the grapes of falsehood and treason are stored.

We have but little more than 3 years in which to accomplish everything or lose everything. We must, one and all, enlist in this war. We must join the ranks and do our all to wrest control of our great party from those who would degrade it and make it unworthy to live.

It is a practical matter. At the end of 3 years President Eisenhower will be here no more as a political force. We must efficiently make ready for the day when he lays down the power and the authority. We must not let chaos result. But we must be prepared. In the interim we must join together to pick up the pieces and to weld them into a strong working whole, with leadership of enthusiasm and vision and probity.

Our opponents, the New Deal Party, have chosen the radical side; the left wing side, the socialistic side. They have laid down their battleline. They have stated their principles and shouted their battle cry. If we are to oppose them we cannot fight from their trenches or with their ammunition. We, too must draw our battleline and assert for all to hear the conceptions of policy and politics which shall be our battle cry. There is but one position we dare assume. We are left no choice if we are to be true to ourselves, true to our party, true to our obligations to this Nation. They, our opponents have chosen the radical side. We, then, must counter them by alining ourselves on the conservative side.

On these lines the battle must be joined, radical against conservative. Where is any victory if radical Democrats fight a war with radical Republicans? If tweedledee fights tweedledum.

Let us decide this thing once and for all. Let us put it to the test. Shall this Nation toss away its most precious boon, which is human liberty, for the swamp-born firefly of state socialism? It is for us—of the Republican Party—to give the answer. We must gird our loins. We must fight for possession of our party. Fight for its possession not merely for political advantage or patronage or offices, but because if we lose possession of our party we have lost the only instrumentality, the only weapon that holds back the attack of black forces which ultimately will plunge us into the gulf now occupied by Communist Russia.

I say to you, my friends, that the hope of the world is in the ballot boxes of America. The hope of a free, serene, prosperous America is in the ballots of the Republican Party. It is a high destiny that is ours. It is a noble obligation that rests upon our shoulders. Time is all too short before the fateful decision shall be made.

So let us dedicate ourselves to the task. Let us, in every forge from coast to coast, from north to south hammer out the weapons of true, wise, patriotic, forward looking Republicans.

We have 3 years. Let us not waste a moment of them. Let us be ready. Let us, when those 3 years are over and the crucial struggle comes in the national convention of our party, be prepared with a trained, devoted army equipped for a battle which may determine whether human liberty shall vanish from the earth.

I say to you again, in parting, that the hope of the free world lies in the revival, the rehabilitation, of the Republican Party. Not in that betrayal of every tried and proven principle masquerading as new Republicanism, but in uprooting that heresy and abolishing the men who have foisted it upon us.

Salary Raise for Postal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, at the request of Mr. Thomas F. Corbett, Jr., secretary of Rochester branch No. 210, National Association of Letter Carriers, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a letter which he wrote to me under date of March 11, 1957.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROCHESTER BRANCH, No. 210,
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
LETTER CARRIERS,
Rochester, N. Y., March 11, 1957.

Hon. IRVING M. IVES,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: On Sunday, February 10, 1957, at the Powers Hotel in Rochester, N. Y., approximately 600 postal employees gathered for the purpose of a salary rally. After much discussion by our invited guests, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That we here gathered wholeheartedly endorse bills S. 27 and H. R. 2474, providing for postal employees, salaries of $5,500 to $6,100, and also bills S. 21 and H. R. 607, providing increases of $800 for our annuitants; and be it further

Resolved, That we request our Senators and Representatives to insert said resolution into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

At this time, Senator, I would like to request this of you.

Your consideration will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

THOMAS F. CORBETT, JR.,
Secretary, Branch No. 210,
National Association of Letter Carriers.

Politics and the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, I should like to make the briefest possible statement on the question of the President's budget.

I believe that everyone will agree that what we want is the best possible budget. This does not necessarily mean the cheapest possible budget. If we were foolhardy enough, we could slash each item in the budget by, say, 10 percent or 25 percent or even 50 percent. In this manner, we could get a very cheap budget, but it certainly would not be a good or, in any event, a safe budget.

The President has sent a very large budget to Congress and asked the Congress to cut the fat out of it. In essence, the administration has confessed that it has not sent to Congress the best possible budget.

The House of Representatives threw the budget back to the President, suggesting to him that it was his responsibility to pare the fat out of the budget before submitting it to the Congress. As in the field of foreign affairs, the President refused to exercise his full responsibilities; he threw the budget right back at the Congress—still with the fat in it.

As matters stand, I see no choice for the Congress but to attempt to ferret out and eliminate unnecessary budget items. We do not have the facilities to do a very efficient or thorough job, but, in default of action by the administration, I do not see where we have any other course open to us.

In this connection, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial on the budget which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat on March 14, 1957. Mr. Richard Amberg, the publisher of this newspaper, is a close friend of mine, and one of the ablest journalists it is my privilege to know. I wish to commend Mr. Amberg and Mr. Louis La Coss, the editor of the editorial page, for this penetrating editorial on a very difficult subject.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICS WON'T PARE THE BUDGET

Political steam enveloped the resolution a Democratic House volleyed at the President, demanding Mr. Eisenhower indicate where and by how much his $71,800,000,000 budget can be slashed. But more than politics is involved.

This newspaper has respectfully urged Mr. Eisenhower to submit a revised budget to Congress, substantially cutting the aggregate requests, which represent a $6 billion boost over expenditures for the fiscal year ending last July.

There are two basic reasons we believe he should set the brake on a dangerous spending trend that is draining pyramiding billions down the Federal maw:

1. This is the President's budget, his initial responsibility. It is his recommendation for executive appropriations.

2. Realistic precedent in Congress is against overall budget reduction. Congress often makes gestures at retrenchment; in the end it almost invariably raises the total budget.

The President dispatched his budget to Congress with open reluctance at its size. He lamented that it was so big and urged Congress to trim it wherever possible.

Now the House of Congress has tossed the ball back to Mr. Eisenhower, saying, in effect: We, too, think the budget should be cut. But it's your baby. Tell us where to clip it, and how much.

Of course, this was a political gambit. Only a few Republicans voted for the resolution. Primarily, it was a Democratic riposte. Democrats want Ike to shoulder the obligation for slashing pet projects of pressure and lobby groups. They want to get out from under the onus of cutting back the spree largesse that sits on Uncle Sam's back like a mushrooming incubus. They argue Ike's budget paternity makes it his obligation to deal with the problem child.

Sure this is politics. But it is also salted with truth. It is a primary responsibility of the Chief Executive to fashion the budget; the administration should know best what the administration needs and make initial judgment of what the Nation can afford.

But it is also, as the administration and the GOP Senate conference contend, the ultimate duty of Congress to determine how much shall be appropriated. Congress has a right to look to the White House for budget leadership. It has the inescapable function to decide finally what shall be spent.

Playing political shuttlecock with the budget issue will settle nothing. By offering such a huge expenditure schedule, Mr. Eisenhower perhaps invited political action in Congress.

By passing the buck back to the President, the House accomplishes little toward solution of the inflationary budget, which has aroused a tumult of grassroots protest.

A wise course for the President now would be to offer a series of suggestions as to where his budget can be pared. Or better yet, present a whole new document to curb the excessive prodigality of Federal disbursement.

He need not do so legally. He can ignore the House resolution, which political advisers may urge him to do.

But the Nation believes in Eisenhower integrity. It trusts and expects his leadership. The President could again demonstrate that leadership by submitting a new, significantly lower budget—or showing where Congress can best slash the present requests.

Mr. Eisenhower is a big enough man to do this. Such conduct should enhance the country's economic outlook and the administration's prestige.

United Front of All Religions Against the Communist Threat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, Rabbi Dr. Abraham M. Hershberg, chairman of the Voice of Religious Freedom of United States of America, has prepared a very interesting statement why all religions must unite against the communistic threat which seeks to destroy them. He points out that physical weapons alone cannot penetrate the Iron Curtain, and that it requires spiritual weapons.

I am sure the statement will be of interest to many persons, and therefore I am requesting that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

All the religions must unite against the communistic threat which is out to destroy them. The Communist movement makes no exception of any religion.

The loss of religion means the loss of the people's rights and if there is not freedom of religion, there is not freedom of anything else because it was God himself who gave all the freedoms to humanity.

The Iron Curtain can be penetrated, not by physical weapons but by spiritual ones. And that means by the spirit of God. I have found in the Talmud of Babylonia, that was written 2,400 years ago, "that even an iron curtain will be penetrated by the spirit of God, by the prayers of people." When I was in Moscow in 1941 I asked a young college student, "Tell me, who is your God?" and he replied, "Stalin." And I then asked him, "What will happen when Stalin dies?" and he answered, "God knows." That proves to me that no one can destroy faith in God.

There is no physical shelter from A- and H-bombs. Therefore, we must use the spiritual atom to protect us from the physical ones. Because of this, all of the religions will ultimately unite and fight communism, not with arms, not on the battlefield, but with prayers and with spiritual weapons. United we stand, divided we fall.

It is not sufficient for us merely to be anticommunistic, we must also be truly democratic in the fullest sense. We must cultivate world brotherhood. Anti-Catholicism, anti-Protestantism, anti-Semitism, and national racial prejudices all weaken us in our fight against the totalitarian communistic regime. We need to work together in harmony to bring peace into the world.

Peace is not a negative of war. Peace is a positive term. We must teach people about peace. It is a great education and that will help to keep us from destruction. Lige the great Prophet Isaiah said, "Not by an army, not by strength, but by the spirit of God will be your strength."

Our organization has united already in an interfaith movement leaders of all the religions to speak by radio, television, publications, personal lecture tours—in the United States, South America, and other parts of the world, about peace and the danger of the Communist regime of destroying religions. Just now the Iron Curtain's started a new campaign, through the press, radio, to destroy religion. It proves to me that behind the Iron Curtain after the Communists are destroying the religion for 40 years, still they need now again to destroy religion because you cannot kill religion by bullets and concentration camps, because the faith of God exists in the depth of the soul and the hearts of people. I just noticed in the newspapers that the Russian Government is setting up a Rabbincal seminary in Moscow to train religious leaders for the Jewish faith. This contradicts the other news that Russia recently undertook a campaign of destroying religion. It contradicts the idea that they are destroying religion, but since it is known that the tactics of the Communists are to cover up with an Iron Curtain everything that they are doing, and that the Rabbincal seminary is a good coverup.

President Eisenhower, in his speech on the Voice of America, February 25, 1957, said we must face that, while we are trying to help build a world of freedom and justice among sovereign people, the masters of international communism are working constantly to tear down that kind of world.

Communism, according to all its own leaders, must be a system of international control and conformity. Thus, at its very heart, it is the complete opposite and enemy of any kind of nationalism. Its avowed program is to destroy totally the religion, governments, institutions, and traditions of the Christian world, the Buddhist world, the Islamic world, the Judaic world, and the world of every religion and culture. The Communist rulers then propose to substitute a whole new system of thought and control dictated from Communist Party headquarters. They think that a few theorists and rulers know what is best for everyone, and they are determined to drive everyone toward that kind of world.

The Kremlin destroyed Stalin, but not Stalinism and we hope and pray to the Almighty God that he will shine his glory upon the people behind the Iron Curtain.

The Death of Ramon Magsaysay, President of the Philippines

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. I yield to the gentleman from Hawaii.

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, there are some 63,000 Filipinos in Hawaii, more than half of whom are citizens of the United States of America.

I have not had the privilege of knowing the great President of the Philippines, President Magsaysay, but I have learned of him through the Filipinos of Hawaii. He was a great inspiration to them. His rise to the presidency of the Philippines brought them the realization that their country was truly and really free and that it was going to assume a position of leadership which would extend throughout the Asian continent and the Pacific basin, a leadership in which all of them in Hawaii could take pride.

I join with other Members of the House in paying tribute to great man who was an exemplary Christian and an outstanding leader in the Asian and Pacific basin. A man like this is never really dead. He remains an inspiration to the future. Those who, in their ringing tributes, have referred to Lincoln can add even further and more pointedly that it is for the living to carry on the fight for which President Magsaysay so nobly gave his life.

I am sure that the people of the Philippines will take the inspiration, the leadership and the guidance provided them by President Magsaysay and carry the torch forward that he so nobly exemplified in his life.

I convey to the people of the Philippines and to his family the deep regard of all the people of Hawaii for President Magsaysay and for the great goals he has attained and the even greater visions he has made clear. To them we extend our condolences and our deep sorrow at his sudden and shocking passing. May the Almighty receive his spirit.

Results of Questionnaire Mailed to Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOS. E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, under unanimous consent granted me by the Senate, I submit the results of my annual questionnaire from the State of Iowa.

On February 15 I mailed 41,348 questionnaires to Iowa. They were addressed to every 20th householder—both town and country. I used rural directories and all available city directories and telephone directories for towns not having householder directories. With each householder ballot I included also a woman's ballot of identical questions for the use of the wife or nearest female relative of the householder. The special women's ballots are tabulated in a separate column.

We have received a total of 8,312 replies which are included in the tabulation. The occupations listed by those replying are as follows:

Farmer	2,035
Labor	742
Business	607
Professional	465
White collar	544
Woman's ballot	3,486
Miscellaneous	433

Yellow sample copies were distributed freely but in order to preserve the true grass-roots value of the enclosed tabulation of the ballots, I have followed my practice of not including any sample-copy replies therein. Iowans returned 6,256 yellow sample ballots to me and more than half of them wrote special letters of utmost value.

This year has brought not only the largest number of ballots but also the largest number of good discussions that I have ever received in reply to my questionnaire and I deeply appreciate the good cooperation of the people of Iowa in this wonderful response.

The purpose of this questionnaire is best described in the words of Edmund Burke, 18th-century British statesman, as follows:

Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinions high respect; their business unremitting attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasure, his satisfactions, to theirs—and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own.

But a representative's unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure—no, nor from the law and the Constitution. They are a trust from providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.

Questionnaire—Tabulation of total Iowa grass-roots vote

	Total vote	Yes	No	Percentage Yes	Percentage No
1. Do you approve President Eisenhower's general foreign policy?	7,276	5,126	2,150	70.45	29.55
2. Do you approve inviting to this country for conferences the foreign heads of states with whom we are not in agreement?	7,909	5,818	2,091	73.56	26.44
3. Do you approve requiring all new National Guards men and Army Reservists to take 6 months' training on active military duty?	7,529	5,552	1,977	73.74	26.26
4. Do you favor industry taking the initiative in developing and producing atomic power, with the Federal Government paying part of the experimental and developmental cost?	7,376	5,206	2,170	70.58	29.42
5. Do you approve Congress authorizing the admission of a greater number of immigrants to the United States from Hungary?	7,854	1,694	6,160	21.57	78.43
6. Do you approve Congress authorizing the admission of a greater number of immigrants from all countries?	7,886	848	7,038	10.75	89.25
7. Do you favor requiring compliance with a soil-bank program to qualify farmers for price supports on corn?	7,414	5,091	2,323	68.67	31.33
8. Do you approve stricter controls on what farmers can plant on land diverted from major crops?	7,534	4,083	3,451	54.19	45.81
9. Do you favor requirement that acreage placed in either acreage reserve or conservation reserve of the soil bank should not be harvested or grazed under any circumstances?	7,424	3,268	4,156	44.02	55.98
10. Do you favor a price support program of 70 to 90 percent for corn for the next 3 years for farmers qualifying in a soil-bank program?	7,064	5,019	2,045	71.05	28.95
11. Do you favor reduction of Federal taxes even though it unbalances the budget?	7,835	1,876	5,959	23.94	76.06
12. When the Federal budget is balanced do you favor reduction of the Federal debt before reducing taxes?	7,608	5,041	2,567	66.26	33.74
13. Do you approve tax reduction for small business?	7,537	5,900	1,637	78.28	21.72
14. Do you favor Federal assistance for a school building program uncomplicated with integration problems to aid children of all races?	7,624	6,066	1,558	79.56	20.44
15. Do you favor requiring registration of pension and welfare funds of labor unions and disclosure of financial transactions involving them?	7,418	6,866	552	92.56	7.44
16. Do you favor extending unemployment insurance to employees of firms having from 1 to 3 persons on their payrolls?	7,398	4,659	2,739	62.98	37.02
17. Do you approve a program of Federal aid for technical assistance and loans and grants to communities suffering from chronic unemployment problems?	7,169	4,034	3,135	56.27	43.73
18. Do you approve including private business in partnership with municipalities, States, and the Federal Government for the development of water uses in irrigation, flood control, power production, domestic and industrial uses?	6,777	4,155	2,622	61.31	38.69
19. Do you favor United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation provided it is strictly an administrative agency without power to control United States tariff policies?	5,247	4,253	995	81.04	18.96
20. Do you approve the sale and barter of farm surpluses to communist nations?	7,719	3,162	4,557	40.96	59.04
21. Do you approve a food stamp plan under which needy persons would be given certificates with which to purchase surplus foods through normal commercial channels?	7,782	6,466	1,316	83.09	16.91
22. Do you favor the Federal Government subsidizing private companies for excessive losses on insurance issued by them against natural disasters?	6,787	1,980	4,807	29.17	70.83
23. Do you approve the Federal Government's providing credit with local banks for loans to disaster victims for rebuilding?	7,936	7,256	680	91.43	8.57
24. Do you favor direct Federal insurance against industrial atomic hazards?	6,400	3,298	3,102	51.53	48.47
25. Do you approve Federal legislation to ease the supply of housing credit, including greater Federal support of the mortgage market?	6,520	2,817	3,703	43.21	56.79
26. Do you approve increasing the maximum interest rate on VA-guaranteed home loans to secure more private funds for home construction or purchase?	6,940	3,278	3,662	47.23	52.77
27. Do you favor an increase in postal rates to meet Postal Department deficit and to provide better post office buildings and equipment where needed?	7,918	4,141	3,777	52.30	47.70
28. Do you approve enactment of Federal laws authorizing prosecution in Federal courts of anyone who intimidates voters in an election for Federal office?	7,677	7,269	408	94.69	5.31
29. Do you approve authorizing the U. S. Department of Justice to seek an injunction in behalf of anyone who believes his civil rights are about to be violated?	6,426	5,124	1,302	79.74	20.26
30. Do you approve permitting individuals to take complaints that their civil rights have been violated directly into Federal court?	6,545	4,619	1,926	70.57	29.43
31. With other safeguards to guarantee a fair price to the public, do you favor the return to the States by the Federal Government of controls over the production of natural gas?	6,557	3,755	2,802	57.27	42.73
32. Do you approve controls by the Federal Government of rents, wages and prices in peacetime?	7,694	2,237	5,457	29.07	70.93
33. Do you favor examination of our monetary policy and our financial system by a commission appointed by the President even though such examination may be made also by Congress?	6,434	3,486	2,968	54.01	45.99
34. Do you approve the Federal Government's encouragement of more liberal credit and lower interest rates for small business?	7,652	6,452	1,200	84.32	15.68
35. Please check 3 of the following 6 items you think should be cut most in Federal spending:					
(1) Number of Federal employees		(1) 7,315			
(2) Construction of Federal public works (dams, airports, buildings, interstate roads, etc.)		(3) 3,877			
(3) Federal aid to States, municipalities, school districts, and local public agencies		2,751			
(4) Foreign aid		(2) 6,810			
(5) National defense		1,361			
(6) Federal aid to agriculture and small business		1,721			
36. Please check 6 of the following 12 issues you think most important today:					
(a) Government spending		(3) 5,146			
(b) Balancing the budget		(6) 4,099			
(c) Reduction of debt of Federal Government		3,855			
(d) Taxation		(5) 4,465			
(e) Farm prices and policies		(4) 4,975			
(f) United States foreign trade policies		2,680			
(g) Control of communism in America		(2) 5,256			
(h) Labor policies		2,994			
(i) Defense and war preparedness		3,546			
(j) Maintaining peace		(1) 5,468			
(k) American foreign policy		3,501			
(l) Civil rights		2,609			

The total tabulation of the householder and women's ballots appears on this page and the tabulation by classification follows on the next page.

Total Iowa grass-roots vote by classification

	Farmer		Labor		Business		Professional		White collar		Woman's vote		Miscellaneous	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. Do you approve President Eisenhower's general foreign policy?	1,174	564	407	258	422	128	357	77	379	129	2,132	881	255	113
2. Do you approve inviting to this country for conferences the foreign heads of states with whom we are not in agreement?	1,307	563	489	228	484	109	400	47	427	106	2,448	872	263	146
3. Do you approve requiring all new National Guardsmen and Army Reservists to take 6 months training on active military duty?	1,281	527	507	192	405	150	309	112	378	127	2,387	769	285	100
4. Do you favor industry taking the initiative in developing and producing atomic power, with the Federal Government paying part of the experimental and developmental cost?	1,184	599	460	223	448	125	337	87	401	122	2,129	890	247	124
5. Do you approve Congress authorizing the admission of a greater number of immigrants to the United States from Hungary?	322	1,595	100	622	154	417	185	242	118	404	722	2,573	93	307
6. Do you approve Congress authorizing the admission of a greater number of immigrants from all countries?	142	1,788	56	665	73	494	92	333	84	465	381	2,934	80	359
7. Do you favor requiring compliance with a soil-bank program to qualify farmers for price supports on corn?	1,247	688	456	189	439	121	310	89	398	99	2,021	1,001	220	136
8. Do you approve stricter controls on what farmers can plant on land diverted from major crops?	1,208	740	362	307	339	220	228	178	295	199	1,491	1,597	160	210
9. Do you favor requirement that acreage placed in either acreage reserve or conservation reserve of the soil bank should not be harvested or grazed under any circumstances?	983	947	276	386	243	298	158	242	234	254	1,229	1,800	145	229
10. Do you favor a price support program of 70 to 90 percent for corn for the next 3 years for farmers qualifying in a soil-bank program?	1,448	425	412	213	384	156	253	125	307	158	1,995	843	220	125
11. Do you favor reduction of Federal taxes even though it unbalances the budget?	415	1,524	223	482	131	453	77	376	106	431	817	2,400	107	203
12. When the Federal budget is balanced do you favor reduction of the Federal debt before reducing taxes?	1,307	590	434	272	373	202	320	128	335	190	2,003	1,056	269	129
13. Do you approve tax reduction for small business?	1,411	419	541	152	465	100	294	117	361	135	2,530	619	298	95
14. Do you favor Federal assistance for a school building program uncomplicated with integration problems to aid children of all races?	1,442	421	583	122	404	67	304	136	394	126	2,631	605	308	81
15. Do you favor requiring registration of pension and welfare funds of labor unions and disclosure of financial transactions involving them?	1,628	134	591	84	565	17	434	16	496	24	2,816	231	336	46
16. Do you favor extending unemployment insurance to employees of firms having from 1 to 3 persons on their payrolls?	904	748	564	136	272	304	241	192	353	154	1,981	1,072	254	133
17. Do you approve a program of Federal aid for technical assistance and loans and grants to communities suffering from chronic unemployment problems?	920	786	478	196	250	302	195	223	275	220	1,696	1,271	220	137
18. Do you approve including private business in partnership with municipalities, States and the Federal Government for the development of water uses in irrigation, flood control, power production; domestic and industrial uses?	937	690	377	261	339	183	280	128	306	172	1,694	1,050	222	138
19. Do you favor United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation provided it is strictly an administrative agency without power to control United States tariff policies?	1,036	261	384	101	332	81	264	53	335	58	1,699	392	202	49
20. Do you approve the sale and barter of farm surpluses to communist nations?	904	897	190	517	276	287	209	215	203	306	1,146	2,083	144	252
21. Do you approve a food stamp plan under which needy persons would be given certificates with which to purchase surplus foods through normal commercial channels?	1,628	289	617	92	437	127	320	111	414	99	2,736	525	314	73
22. Do you favor the Federal Government subsidizing private companies for excessive losses on insurance issued by them against natural disasters?	443	1,246	184	442	163	371	94	292	127	345	867	1,881	102	230
23. Do you approve the Federal Government's providing credit with local banks for loans to disaster victims for rebuilding?	1,804	158	675	43	524	61	397	50	477	46	3,017	285	362	37
24. Do you favor direct Federal insurance against industrial atomic hazards?	739	800	344	259	248	246	142	228	206	237	1,441	1,185	178	147
25. Do you approve Federal legislation to ease the supply of housing credit, including greater Federal support of the mortgage market?	605	909	348	270	246	291	157	245	142	240	1,165	1,496	154	192
26. Do you approve increasing the maximum interest rate on VA-guaranteed home loans to secure more private funds for home construction or purchase?	709	948	281	378	331	215	237	166	278	223	1,268	1,551	176	181
27. Do you favor an increase in postal rates to meet Postal Department deficit and to provide better post office buildings and equipment where needed?	924	1,006	443	268	342	240	295	180	359	167	1,666	1,752	212	194
28. Do you approve enactment of Federal laws authorizing prosecution in Federal courts of anyone who intimidates voters in an election for Federal office?	1,757	108	671	33	550	27	425	24	508	14	2,998	176	360	26
29. Do you approve authorizing the U. S. Department of Justice to seek an injunction in behalf of anyone who believes his civil rights are about to be violated?	1,196	279	500	129	389	103	260	119	357	96	2,166	516	256	60
30. Do you approve permitting individuals to take complaints that their civil rights have been violated directly into Federal court?	1,064	461	457	177	356	142	263	117	325	133	1,919	805	235	91
31. With other safeguards to guarantee a fair price to the public, do you favor the return to the States by the Federal Government of controls over the production of natural gas?	926	611	300	338	297	227	202	194	251	232	1,800	1,053	175	147
32. Do you approve controls by the Federal Government of rents, wages and prices in peacetime?	626	1,240	236	467	107	473	70	367	108	417	970	2,230	120	263
33. Do you favor examination of our monetary policy and our financial system by a commission appointed by the President even though such examination may be made also by Congress?	758	796	336	241	303	200	251	139	248	206	1,402	1,252	188	134
34. Do you approve the Federal Government's encouragement of more liberal credit and lower interest rates for small business?	1,658	248	604	97	442	126	317	100	408	105	2,710	450	313	74
35. Please check 3 of the following 6 items you think should be cut most in Federal spending:														
(1) Number of Federal employees	(1) 1,855		(1) 696		(1) 542		(1) 404		(2) 405		(1) 3,068		(1) 345	
(2) Construction of Federal public works (dams, airports, buildings, interstate roads, etc.)	(3) 1,136		(3) 265		237		171		(3) 223		(3) 1,653		(3) 192	
(3) Federal aid to States, municipalities, school districts, and local public agencies	616		215		(3) 236		(3) 181		211		1,125		149	
(4) Foreign aid	(2) 1,694		(2) 674		(2) 506		(2) 326		(1) 465		(2) 2,834		(2) 311	
(5) National defense	300		110		87		93		86		530		65	
(6) Federal aid to agriculture and small business	169		239		137		142		189		728		117	
36. Please check 6 of the following 12 issues you think most important today:														
(a) Government spending	(4) 1,163		(2) 502		(1) 422		(1) 321		(1) 375		(3) 2,092		(2) 271	
(b) Balancing the budget	(5) 1,049		(6) 366		306		(5) 235		(6) 273		(6) 1,650		(5) 220	
(c) Reduction of debt of Federal Government	956		333		(5) 324		(6) 225		257		1,521		(4) 239	
(d) Taxation	(6) 1,017		(4) 442		(2) 361		(4) 242		(3) 317		(5) 1,873		(6) 213	
(e) Farm prices and policies	(1) 1,642		288		(6) 321		208		247		(4) 2,086		183	
(f) United States foreign trade policies	704		177		173		157		184		1,112		113	
(g) Control of communism in America	(3) 1,285		(1) 522		(4) 344		197		(4) 301		(2) 2,316		(1) 291	
(h) Labor policies	723		286		292		213		215		1,165		140	
(i) Defense and war preparedness	685		(5) 401		253		219		266		1,542		180	
(j) Maintaining peace	(2) 1,351		(3) 471		(3) 358		(2) 275		(2) 333		(1) 2,415		(3) 265	
(k) American foreign policy	748		304		272		(3) 264		(5) 292		1,427		194	
(l) Civil rights	553		274		134		147		149		1,207		144	

Tree Banks for the Northeast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a most interesting article titled "Tree Banks for the Northeast," from the February 2 issue of American Agriculturist.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TREE BANKS FOR THE NORTHEAST
(By Edmund Northrup Moot)

The late Ray Pollard, one of the first New York State county agents, was always exhorting farmers to plant trees, something which Schoharie County, N. Y., farmers had never heard about.

In the years following World War I Ray's appeal for planting demonstrations stimulated my teen-age interest in growing trees, especially after taking a course in botany under Professor Needham at Cornell.

Without consulting dad or granddad, the seventh and eighth generations on two Schoharie County hill farms (one of which was settled in 1819), I wrote Mr. Pollard and received approval for a demonstration to include 5,000 red pine and 3,000 white pine. Mr. Pollard would bring the trees up the old hill in his Model T when planting time rolled around. My job was to convince a highly provincial parent and grandparent that we should plant trees on those old hillsides.

Granddad would spend lots of time telling me how he, as a boy, helped get out those big virgin hemlocks for the old immense barn. There were two so-called 32 foot swing beams in that barn, hewn from oak, and measuring 18 inches on one side and 24 inches on the other. That barn raisin' story could fill a book by itself.

Well, the entire Christmas vacation between the 1919 and 1920 college terms was spent in discussing what I had done in agreeing to a tree planting demonstration on the old farm. Mom, who was 80 on February 2, always inspired such new ideas. Dad, recently deceased, never actively opposed; however, he had to be guided by his aging father's wishes.

Granddad was very deaf and there were no hearing aids in those days. Each family lived in its half of the old 17-room hop picking house. I ate many of my vacation meals with granddad and grandma where I could yell at granddad and try to explain why it was a good idea. He never said no, but he laughed and laughed and would turn to grandma and said so often: "Jane, do you think they will ever grow?"

Twenty years later (he lived to be 92) he, dad and I walked through the trees which were all over 20 feet high. Tears came in his eyes. He never said much. He did, however, turn to me and almost whisper, "They are nice.". That was all the return I needed.

We used every tool under the sun to plant those trees. The farm work was nearly all done by hand, anyhow. The rows were planted just as straight as a modern concrete highway. Mr. Pollard put up a well painted large wooden sign marking the original demonstration.

Three of us planted the 8,000 trees during the vacation, working 11 hours my last day home. We carried water in pails to put in each tree hole made either by a round pointed shovel or a hoe. We had no mattock. The percent of growth of the original planting and the following 5 years of smaller plantings has been fantastic. Several forestry men have checked the planting and figured over 90 percent grew.

On January 22, 1956, I spent several hours going all over the large planting. Memories clouded most of my intended close inspection of all the trees. Unfortunately I do not have title to this land but I can still enjoy the trees on that old farm and now have many acres in another area, in the same town, where I can follow some of my eccentric forestry practices.

Only recently I have had much fun in logging 75 big logs with a good neighbor's interest and his $25 doodlebug. No horses to break legs or fall over big logs, break harness or even run away in the woods as they did when I was a kid. The neighbor takes all the top and limb wood for hauling the logs to a suitable logway. This keeps the woods good and clean. The logs are taken by truck to the large cooperative mill near Cooperstown, N. Y., where I can then go, with my little car trailer, and get lumber as I need it.

You may be interested in some observations made as I walked around among the three types of conifers—white pine, red pine, and Norway spruce. The white pine have suffered most from weevil, sleet storms, and the high velocity of winds whipping upstate New York from the tails of vicious so-called "women" hurricanes. The red pine has exceeded in health, growth, and cathedral-like appearance up until the last few years. The 500 Norway spruce, which Dad and I planted in 1922 in a hollow box system, are now ahead in height. We watched them every year for many years and wondered when they would start growing.

A 1-acre field left in the center of the hollow block planting of spruce is a fantastic natural cathedral. A few of those tall stately spruces have cone covered crowns.

But the interesting fact is that I could not find a single natural seeded spruce. Both the red pine and white pine have large natural seeded areas. The red pine second growth trees, very rugged and clean appearing, are all growing on the left side of the plantings away from the strong winter hill winds.

The white pine, natural seedlings are all over, hit and miss in every direction and not too healthy in appearance. Wind burn, weevil, and water shortage signs are prevalent among these young white pine. I, personally, have stopped planting white pine in recent years.

The spruce are far out ahead in providing protective ground cover for all small birds and other types of game. The red pine have little lower branch cover while the white pine are rather open and unprotective for security of small life. The area planted to spruce has a deep protected snow cover literally dotted with all types of small game tracks.

Deer have bedded down many times in the red-pine plantings. It seems that all wildlife sets up its own protective system once we give them the security of having that protection. Several bluejays were very angry or disturbed to see me walking around among the young trees.

There is a rather pathetic side to this tree-planting saga. There are just two reforested areas in the neighborhood. A woman doctor, who inherited a few acres directly across the valley, has planted several thousand over the years. She is now deceased. Both plantings stand out like large green signs on both sides of the valley for thousands of tourists to observe each year.

Meanwhile fly-by-night loggers, chain-saw hot rodders, and debt-ridden farmers are cutting timber even as low as 6 to 8 inches in diameter. Rising prices of pulp cordage and expanding building requirements cause "slap-happy" logging methods. Sometimes even a nonagricultural hillside, protecting a much-needed water supply, is completely denuded. This process destroys ground cover, shrinks game-refuge areas, and allows worthless scrub growth.

The entire problem boils down to one pertinent question, "How can the small farmer be induced to set up a yearly tree-planting program?" The national theme, in all agricultural circles, centers on two words, "soil bank." Trees do a masterful job of producing excellent soil. Our old family farm was settled in 1819. The first ancestor was, I guess, a Palatine refugee, a good fiddler, and an accomplished pioneer craftsman. He burned large piles of hardwood trees to produce charcoal which brought in the first real money on the old farm.

The main purpose of cutting the virgin stand of all kinds of timber was to hew out crop-producing areas and pasture. Rail fences and small hand-erected barns plus the old log cabin house used up some of the timber.

What better cover for idle land could be selected for the Northeast than a tree bank cover? My only male descendent is a young "full of fire" grandson of 4 years, the youngest of my daughter's two children. As the years tick along very close to threescore, my one silent prayer is that we can inspire the lad to appreciate the young forest and hope there will be suitable homegrown logs to produce timber for two homes when he and his sister grow up and get married. It is the only wealth I can ever expect to pass along.

I have placed a small marble marker near the little rustic cabin in the large woods where our small family has many happy inexpensive times together. This marker bears my father's name (deceased in January 1955) and is a dedication to him and seven generations before him who were paupers in England after being shipped out of the Palatinate area of Germany during the religious struggles following the Reformation. They gave me a desire to work with my hands.

The trees provide frequent rest under which to contemplate, wonder, and deeply respect the divine force behind everything we enjoy most in this hurried life.

Increase in Labor Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Predicts Big Boom in Labor Force," which was published in the Gary Post-Tribune of March 17, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PREDICTS BIG BOOM IN LABOR FORCE

TUCSON, ARIZ.—Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell predicted Saturday that the Nation will have a labor force of 79 million by 1965. That would be an increase of 10 million in 8 years.

He said there is a growing shortage of skilled, technical, and professional manpower throughout the Nation. The shortage will become more acute, Mitchell said, unless educational training and employment opportunities are modernized and equalized for all workers.

In a speech before the third Arizona statewide industrial development workshop at the University of Arizona, Mitchell said:

"The economy must grow enough by 1965 to provide $560 billion in goods and services for a population exceeding 193 million.

"What we have already seen of industry's hunger for skilled workers is a powerful clue that we may be confronted in 1965 with a painful shortage of capable people."

Sound Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE W. MALONE

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, the action of the Nevada Republican State Central Committee announcing a platform of sound money, protection of the workingmen's jobs and investors' money, and for States rights, has attracted wide attention from both Republican and Democratic publications.

The Longview (Tex.) Sunday News-Journal of March 17, 1957, published a very interesting editorial in support of the Nevada party actions.

The same Sunday edition included a special dispatch by George Rothwell Brown and also reprinted supporting editorials which had been published originally in four Nevada newspapers, namely,, the Nevada State Journal, of Reno; the Elko Daily Free Press; the Ely Daily Times; and the Las Vegas Review Journal.

I ask unanimous consent that these editorials and article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Longview (Tex.) Sunday News-Journal of March 17, 1957]

NEVADANS ASKING FOR HONEST DOLLAR

(By George Rothwell Brown)

WASHINGTON.—It is a curious fact that although the Eisenhower administration has deplored the tendencies in this country today working for inflation, nobody in the Government has even so much as mentioned the one sure cure for it.

Inflation in the last analysis springs from the unholy union of a printing press and a stack of paper. If the Government really wants to stop inflation and prevent its further disastrous spread it will have to go back to the honest little dollar—the gold standard which F. D. Roosevelt repudiated in frightful violation of his most solemn campaign pledges in 1932.

(NOTE.—United States Senator GEORGE W. MALONE, of Nevada, is the inspiration and moving force behind the plea for return to an honest dollar and an end to sky-high taxes and inflationary free spending. For editorials on Senator MALONE'S position and the general subject, "Foundations of Our Freedom and Progress," and the popular response his stand is being accorded by the people, see below.)

Now the metal minded State of Nevada has revived a question of recent times all but unheard of in Washington.

The Republican State Central Committee of Nevada has come up with three recommendations of policies based on principles embodied in the United States Constitution.

First, it expresses the opinion that the Republican Party must advocate a free market for gold, with removal of all restrictions upon its purchase, sale, and ownership.

Coupled with this is a recommendation for a return to the hard money standard, gold and silver certificates redeemable in those precious metals.

It is more than an economic absurdity, it is an economic sin, that American gold mines should be shut down, idle and unproductive, while Communist Russia reaps the benefit of a world gold market from which American gold at only $35 is excluded. That price, fixed by law, has paralyzed the American gold mining industry.

Nevada Republicans also urge that the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act be permitted to expire next year. Under this law the tariffmaking power was transferred by Congress to the President, and by him relegated to obscure bureaucrats in the State Department.

The administration wants to extend State Department authority still further by legalizing GATT through the establishment of an international trade organization.

Nevada also suggests that the Republican Party rally to the support of State rights.

Commenting on this forward-looking stand taken by the Republican central committee, Senator MALONE told the Senate the other day that Nevada is the first State to reaffirm the principles of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln in 24 years.

"Since 1933," said Senator MALONE, "inflation has been encouraged, so that Congress can appropriate any amount of money for any purpose at any time, including billions of dollars to European and Asiatic countries, and can have the money printed without regard to its ultimate value.

"Under the free-trade policy of sending billions of dollars to Europe and Asia, more than $30 billion of American capital has gone abroad to operate plants with cheap labor and to ship the products to the United States to compete with our own labor and investments."

This word from Nevada sounds almost like a voice crying in the wilderness, but it isn't. Evidence piles up in congressional mail from back home every day that national public opinion strongly supports the point of view of Nevada and her senior Senator.

Runaway Government spending is properly spotted as the prime cause of inflation.

[From the Longview (Tex.) Sunday News-Journal of March 17, 1957]

FOUNDATIONS OF OUR FREEDOM AND PROGRESS

Constitutional government, based upon our traditional American principles, is sound and safe government. It is most refreshing, therefore, to note the encouraging response that comes to Senator GEORGE W. MALONE on his fortright call for a return to constitutional government and restoration of those basic principles upon which American freedom was founded and our strength and prosperity developed.

Senator MALONE, Nevada Republican and a professional engineer, for some years now has been a lone voice crying in the wilderness of party politics and Federal Government councils in Washington against pouring out the economic lifeblood of our Nation in the form of billions upon billions of dollars of subsidy money from the Federal Treasury to foreign countries.

Recently, the Senator more strongly than ever had advocated a return to the Constitution in the regulation of foreign trade and the national economy, ending of the ruinous free-trade policies which are enabling foreign sweatshop labor factories to compete in the American market and endangering our workingmen's jobs and investors' money, and return to our traditional gold standard which would do away with the funny-money regime and the ruinous inflation that has been riding high, wide, and handsome for the past 24 years.

The note of popular concern and public response which Senator MALONE'S vigorous advocacy of these policies has aroused in his own State and elsewhere across the Nation is perhaps best illustrated by three editorials from prominent Nevada newspapers. Republican and Democratic newspapers alike carried editorials and feature news articles explaining their Senator's position and complimenting him for his bold stand.

The editorials carried in Nevada Democratic newspapers, however, are most significant and revealing in their content. Because of their unusual significance and bearing upon current national policy, we are reproducing two of them and one from a Republican newspaper in the following order, and we will comment further at the end of the third one.

[From the Longview (Tex.) Sunday News-Journal of March 17, 1957]

REPUBLICANS SET THE STAGE

(Editorial from the Nevada State Journal of Reno, Paul Leonard, editor; and from the Elko Daily Free Press, Chris Sheerin, editor; both of which are leading Democratic newspapers.)

Taking almost a directly opposite stand to the rubberstamp attitude which dominated the party in the recent campaign, the Republican State central committee, meeting in Fallon on Saturday adopted a resolution advocating States rights, a return to the free market for gold and hard-money standards, and the resuming by Congress of the regulation of the tariff and foreign commerce.

Long will it be remembered in the political annals of Nevada that the Republican State central committee and the candidates for the Senate and House repeated time and time again that whatever President Eisenhower wanted they would favor.

No one ever before in Nevada's history ever agreed to surrender congressional rights to the executive branch of the Government in advance of an election. It did not happen in the Roosevelt era when the pressure from the White House was terrific.

The rubberstamp attitude gained very little support for the Republican contenders and left the party leaders out on a limb.

Senator GEORGE MALONE, who has never been a rubberstamp, told Republican leaders and candidates during the campaign that they were on the wrong track but MALONE was relegated to the sidelines in the campaign and did not seem to care very much.

He dominated the meeting at Fallon on Saturday. It was called at his request and the Republican Party, represented by its executive committee, went on record favoring the Malone policies. The resolutions adopted by the Republicans could have been adopted by Nevada Democrats not many years ago with a few changes.

Senator MALONE set the stage at the Fallon meeting for his 1958 reelection campaign and it behooves the Nevada Democrats to take a good look at what the Republican leaders did to help him.

The statement of policy set forth in the resolutions will appeal to most Nevada people, Democrats and Republicans, and if the Republicans go into the 1958 campaign on that basis and in the meantime straighten out some of their internal troubles the Democrats had better come up with something substantial for campaign material. The Republican rubberstamp policy was tossed into the discard at the Fallon meeting.

The resolution adopted by the Republicans is important in Nevada's political arena and it is as follows:

"The Republican Party of the State of Nevada strongly advocates the return to constitutional government by adopting the following principles which have been the

basic tenets of the Republican Party since its inception more than 100 years ago.

"We believe the Republican Party must advocate a free market for gold, with removal of all restrictions upon its purchase, sale, and ownership, and a return to the traditional hard-money standard using gold and silver certificates redeemable in the respective metals.

"We believe the Republican Party must urge the Congress of the United States to resume its constitutional responsibility of regulating foreign commerce through the adjustment of duties, imports, and excises, through its agent, the Tariff Commission, and allow the so-called Reciprocal Trade Act, which transferred such responsibility to the President, to expire in 1958.

"We believe the Republican Party should urge Congress to respect the rights of the individual States in all those matters which have been historically matters of State concern."

[From the Longview (Tex.) Sunday News-Journal of March 17, 1957]

BATTLE BY MALONE

(Editorial from the Ely Daily Times, Darwin Lambert, editor; a leading Nevada Democratic newspaper.)

Senator MALONE has certain ideas for the benefit of Nevada—and of the country as a whole in the long run. He has talked these ideas for 10 years, some of them even longer, before he was a Senator. As far as we can find out nobody in Nevada has put up a very strong case against them, but most of us have shrugged our shoulders and said they might be good for Nevada but are contrary to Federal policy; therefore, we can't do anything about them.

So we have smiled good naturedly at the Senator and let him go on talking, while his message goes in one ear and out the other. This has not been good. If our senior Senator's ideas are contrary to our ideas, then we should talk them over with him and see that his ideas are changed. If, on the other hand, his ideas are right, then we should listen carefully enough to understand them and give him wholehearted support in putting them across.

Surely, now, the time to resolve this ridiculous situation has arrived. In December the Nevada Republican executive committee backed the Senator in reaffirming what were called the three fundamental principles on which the Republican Party was based—sound money, protection of workingmen's jobs and investors' money, and States' rights—and now the Senator is drafting legislation on these subjects for introduction in Congress.

The Senator is a Republican. Most Nevadans are Democrats, as is the editor of this newspaper, but this has little to do with the situation. Surely, we are Nevadans and Americans first, and if the policies advocated are good for Nevada and America, they deserve our support.

A sound money policy is urged, including a free market for gold and return to the hard money standard, with gold and silver coins and gold and silver certificates. This policy would almost certainly be good for Nevada, and we suspect it would be good for the entire country. If not, let someone come forward and tell why. Let's not just shrug our shoulders and ignore the situations.

A policy of protecting workingmen's jobs and investors' money by means of a tariff—as provided in article I, section 8, of the Constitution—is urged. It is proposed that duties be paid by foreign nations to make up the difference between wage standards and general cost of doing business here and in the chief competing countries on each product. Surely, this would be good for the mining and livestock industries of Nevada, without hurting other industries in the State, and, we suspect, without hurting the country as a whole. If this belief is wrong, for goodness sake let someone come forward and tell why. Let's not just shrug our shoulders and say nothing can be done. The steady encroachment of centralized government in Washington on the rights of the States is opposed. Right now the Federal Government is collecting around $100 million a year in taxes in the State of Nevada, then giving a small part of this amount back to us under certain terms and conditions to which we must kow-tow. The Federal Government is taking us over, for the taxes collected here by Uncle Sam are far in excess of those we collect for government, within our own State. If this trend should not be reversed, for the the benefit of Nevada and the Nation, let someone come forward and tell why. And if they do not come forward, let's pitch in and work to strengthen States rights before it is too late.

We know these ideas are contrary to some trends. We know there are arguments against them, and we suspect that those arguments are arguments against Nevada and against free enterprise. We know it is being said now that tariffs must be still further relaxed, to build up other countries in the fight against communism, but we suspect that we are involved in a frenzy with little reason, and that American methods of building up other countries should be reexamined in the light of reason and logic—not entirely because they result in weakening Nevada but also because they seem to represent not a strengthening but a weakening of those other countries in the long view. Those countries must be strengthened from the ground up, not from the top, lest they collapse from topheaviness.

We haven't time or space to explore all the factors involved in one editorial. What we are calling for is serious consideration of the ideas advanced, serious discussion throughout Nevada, and then full support for the principles that are found to be good. Let's quit spinning our wheels. Down with the weak idea of rubberstamping anything the Federal administration advocates. After all, Nevada is part of the United States too.

[From the Longview (Tex.) Sunday News-Journal of March 17, 1957]

GOP PURGE

(Editorial from the Las Vegas Review Journal, John Cahlan, publisher; a leading Nevada Republican newspaper.)

Citizens of Nevada who are interested in politics should keep their eyes peeled on the Washington scene, because history is about to repeat itself. There is a desperate struggle developing in the Republican Party, much the same as came in the Democratic Party about 15 years ago and, now as then, a Nevada Senator is right in the middle.

This time it is United States Senator GEORGE MALONE, a rather outspoken critic of many of the Republican policies and the man who intends to introduce bills into the Senate to point up the GOP administration's failures. Fifteen years ago it was United States Senator Pat McCarran who battled the liberals in the Democratic Party, and found himself placed on the purge list by President F. D. Roosevelt.

The liberals of the GOP are laying plans to gain control of the party during the next 2 years and, marked on their lists as must go are Senators JOHN BRICKER, of Ohio; WILLIAM JENNER, of Indiana; BARRY GOLDWATER, of Arizona; JOSEPH MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin; and MALONE.

If a close look at the record is taken, it will be found that these men are far from being rubber stamps as the liberals demand of their cohorts. These men frequently are singled out as men who should not occupy seats in the United States Senate. However, their home States continue to vote them into office because they believe the men are doing a good job for their constituents and do not care what the Republican Party thinks about them.

It is a strange thing about the citizens of Nevada that they brook no interference in their politics by the upper echelons of either party. That has been demonstrated time and again during elections and both parties have steered away from bringing in outsiders during election campaigns to tell them how to vote.

During the McCarran purge, every effort was made to sidetrack the Senator at the polls but, when the votes were counted, McCarran was elected by larger majorities than before.

The same thing happened when Thomas Mechling ran for the United States Senate against MALONE. The people of Nevada believed that Mechling was an outlander, sent in by adverse interests, to take over the politics of the State.

The Republicans, if they don't know it now, will be convinced, the same as the Democrats were 15 years ago, that Nevada voters are a pioneer breed of citizens. They like their Senators to express themselves and steer clear from the rubberstamp label.

No matter what anyone thinks of United States Senator GEORGE W. MALONE, he cannot be tabbed with going along just for the sake of partisan politics. He is a wild maverick, who believes he represents the people of Nevada rather than the Republican Party, and doesn't care what his party thinks so long as he pleases the voters who elected him to office.

If the purgers have laid their plans on getting rid of MALONE, then they had best keep it a secret, because any attempt to influence the voters of Nevada through such action will backfire, just as it did in the case of the late Senator Pat McCarran.

[From the Longview (Tex.) Sunday News-Journal of March 17, 1957]

THREE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM

We want to go on record as being 100 percent in favor of Senator Malone's position calling for a return to a sound money policy, protection of the workingman's job and investor's money, and recognition of States' rights.

These three principles, enunciated by the Republican Party 100 years ago, are foundation stones of the Constitution and as such are the basis of our individual freedom and the springboard from whence arises our national strength and prosperity.

The first of these three great principles is a sound money policy. This kind of a policy was in effect when America had its great basic growth and expansion. It includes a free market for gold, with removal of all restrictions upon its purchase, sale, and ownership, and a return to our traditional firm money standard, using gold and silver certificates redeemable in these metals. As long as big government can control and depreciate the value of our money through inflation to meet its free-spending and give-away programs, there can be no sound basis for saving and investing, nor any assurance that the workingman's wages will buy reasonable value in merchandise and services. Progress and prosperity thus eventually must bog down and fail.

The second of these principles calls upon Congress to resume its constitutional responsibility of regulating foreign commerce through the adjustment of duties, imports, and excises, through the Tariff Commission, which is an agent of the Congress, and to let expire in 1958 the so-called Reciprocal Trade Act which transferred this responsibility to the President, who then delegated it to the State Department where it has become little more than an instrument of foreign meddling and give-aways.

The third principle would require the Congress to respect the rights of the indi-

vidual States in all those matters which have been historically matters of State concern. This is fully in line with the Constitution which specifically declares that all rights not transferred to the Federal Government by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States "are reserved to the States and to the people."

It has been no accident that the people of this Nation now are free people, and that as free people they have been able to plan and work and produce and sell in our own market so that we have developed the strongest nation in the world and the highest living standard of all time. The underlying principles which have permitted such progress had to be just and right.

These great fundamental principles of freedom and justice and sound economics have not been repealed, although they have been pushed into the discard in recent years by a "tax and spend and tax" wild-money philosophy, a "buy friends by the dollar" diplomacy, and a denial of individual and States rights by a mushrooming Washington bureaucracy—all of which is bleeding the Nation of its economic lifeblood, robbing the workingman of his wages through exhorbitant taxes, and taking away his job and the investor's capital by a free dumping of foreign-made goods in America.

These principles, since they are constitutional and fundamental, have been in bad repute in Washington. It is quite natural that in calling for a new recognition and practice of them in the Federal Government, Senator MALONE has been as a lone voice crying in the wilderness.

It is now a most encouraging sign to find the leading newspapers of Nevada, including both Republican and Democratic papers, coming out in strong support of the Senator's stand. It can only be a reflection of the way more and more people in Nevada are thinking today.

We commend you, Senator MALONE, for your bold stand. And we commend your position, and a restudy of the principles which you have cited, to all public officials everywhere and to every citizen who prizes his freedom, is proud of his heritage, and wants to protect and preserve his rights and privileges.

The Enemy at His Back

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.
OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, I should like unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the St. Joseph (Mo.) News Press. The editorial was written by my old friend, and a distinguished journalist, Mr. Arthur V. Burrowes. It is, in effect, a review of a new book by a friend of many in this Chamber. The book is entitled "The Enemy at His Back," and it is by Mrs. Constantine Brown. I have not yet had the opportunity to read the book, but certainly the estimate of it by Mr. Burrowes most strongly commends it to the attention of all thoughtful readers.

There being no objection, the review was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TIMELY OBSERVATIONS

No man dare make a study of the international situation in this midcentury before the year 2000 without reading a book just published. It is The Enemy at His Back. It is by Elizabeth Churchill Brown, wife of Constantine Brown, syndicated columnist. It is frankly the clearest and most factual expose of Communist influence on American foreign policies we have read inside one cover.

This book is recommended for every public library, every high school in America, for every newspaper office that pretends to treat editorially of the international situation. And not least by every Member of the Congress. Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer, retired, declares that it should be required reading by every American in Government service. With that thought we agree.

A House chairman on un-American activities has declared that "Liz" Brown, as she so graciously autographs this book to this desk, has done what few writers have been able to do. She has brought "the most dangerous enemy of our country" to be shown what it is, "the enemy at our back," and that is the hidden Communist. Here is a most amazing, almost unbelievable recital of how Communist strategy influences United States policies.

This is not an anti-Roosevelt book. It is not an anti-Truman book. It is coldly documented page by page with marginal notations, not footnotes. And there are pages that President Dwight D. Eisenhower himself will not be too happy to read. For this book indicates rather strongly that there are men in high place close to Mr. Eisenhower who this very day are dupes of qut and out Communists or of fellow travelers.

Here are some of the highlights we hope you catch as soon as Librarian Sexton can get the book on the shelves of each of our three public libraries. (He has already ordered the book for each library.) Early in the book you read of a secret meeting that took place in Tokyo, June 29, 1944, between a Mr. Kase, Prince Takamatsu and Shigemitsu. The younger brother of the emperor told Shigemitsu that after Saipan fell it would be highly advisable to end the war without delay. Then is shown the evil mind of Red Russia duping United States foreign policy to prolong the war. Chiang Kai-shek showed General Wedemeyer two notes from the Japanese emperor, in the winter of 1944–45, in which favorable terms to the National Chinese Government were provided.

When you get your hands on the book turn to page 49 and read where Admiral Leahy was warned at Yalta by a security officer not to mention high level secrets in the presence of Alger Hiss. And in the face of that remember what Harry S. Truman said just the other day, that this Red business was a red herring. We gently suggest Mr. Truman read "Liz" Brown's able book without delay.

The whole tenor of the book is that Russia too strongly influenced our foreign policy and dragged the war with Japan out until August of 1945. On page 63 of this book you will read that a highly strategic service of the United States reported that "by January of 1945 Japan was in fact a defeated nation." And yet at Yalta Joe Stalin was playing his cards like the man with the ace in the hole and Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt were the come-on boys.

On page 64 of this book you will read in the words of Mrs. Constantine Brown that "instead of persuading Japan to accept defeat, Roosevelt was persuaded that he must buy Russian help to defeat an already defeated foe." And then she adds "The price was high in blood, treasure, honor and in peace itself." On page 146 the author quotes Admiral Leahy that he has never once seen nor heard of the military intelligence report on the Chinese Communists until he read the manuscript of this book The Enemy at His Back.

We have said there are lines of this book the President himself will be unhappy to read. Not in his own behavior. But in permitting some men to get too close to him. You will find the names in the book. Let this be said for General Eisenhower and we quote from page 155 of this book that General Eisenhower warned Truman at Potsdam not to make any concessions to get the Russians into the Far Eastern War. And then Mrs. Brown adds "Forrestal says 50 divisions could not keep the Russians out."

Perhaps most controversial, and yet something that will be argued long after Mr. Truman is dead, is the question of dropping the bomb on Japanese cities. Mrs. Brown said it was unnecessary. We as Americans were confused by Russia pretending how hard Japan would be to defeat and how greatly we needed Russian help. On page 180 Mrs. Brown comments on the unanimous recommendation of 71 scientists against the use of that atomic bomb to be dropped on civilians in two cities of Japan and how Mr. Truman ignored that recommendation.

Read the book. Some of your favorite statesmen may be hit. The publishers are The Bookmailer, something unique in publishing. It is a bookstore by mail to all 48 States and 109 foreign countries. It is at Box 101, Murray Hill Station, New York 16, N. Y. Forewords to the book are from Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, of California, and Whittaker Chambers, ex-Communist, whose own Witness has been widely read.

Nomination of John S. Hastings to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Indianapolis News of March 16, 1957, commenting upon the excellent appointment made by President Eisenhower in nominating John S. Hastings to membership on the United States circuit court of appeals at Chicago.

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial on the same subject which was published in the Indianapolis Star of March 17, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Indianapolis News of March 16, 1957]

AN EXCELLENT APPOINTMENT

There will be widespread approval of President Eisenhower's nomination of John S. Hastings, native son of Washington, Ind., as a judge of the United States circuit court of appeals at Chicago.

Mr. Hastings, who is known as Jack to a host of friends and acquaintances, has the qualifications that make him eminently fitted for this important post in the Federal judiciary.

He is a member of a pioneer, distinguished Daviess County family and is thoroughly steeped in traditionel American principles.

The law firm of which he is a senior member is widely and favorably known in the Midwest and Mr. Hastings has given an additional luster to its reputation. He has been a member of the Indiana University board of trustees since 1936 and board president since 1950.

In many other ways Mr. Hastings has demonstrated that he can meet the exacting requirements of a good Federal judge.

We congratulate Jack Hastings on the high honor accorded him and President Eisenhower on his good judgment in making the nomination.

[From the Indianapolis Star of March 17, 1957]

A GOOD APPOINTMENT

President Eisenhower is to be commended for the nomination of John S. Hastings, of Washington, Ind., to the Federal court of appeals. It is the best appointment the President could have made, holding faithfully to the principle of choosing high-ranking Federal jurists for ability and integrity, not out of political expediency.

The 59-year-old Hoosier has demonstrated his qualifications ably in winning an outstanding reputation among Indiana attorneys in serving as a trustee of Indiana University and in otherwise devoting himself to public service. His elevation to the Federal bench will strengthen that judiciary arm considerably.

By temperatment, training, and experience, Hastings is remarkably suited to his new position. We believe he will make a great judge.

Promotion of Scientific Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, there recently appeared in the Sioux Falls Daily Argus-Leader an excellent editorial referring to a bill introduced by our colleague the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS].

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOOD PLAN TO AID SCIENCE STUDY

A proposal that deserves favorable consideration in Congress is the one advanced by Senator GEORGE A. SMATHERS, of Florida, to promote scientific education.

Senator SMATHERS would use a part of the proceeds obtained under the provisions of the Trading With the Enemy Act "for scientific scholarships and fellowships for children of veterans."

The funds involved are those obtained from the wartime confiscation of enemy property. There are claims of various amounts against these but Senator SMATHERS believes that at least $100 million could be made available for the scholarships and produce a return of about $3 million a year for the purpose he has in mind.

Under the terms of the proposal made by the Florida Senator, scholarships would be determined on a basis of ability with a broad distribution throughout the United States.

There is much merit in this suggestion. Scientific education has been lagging in the United States and Russia today is devoting much more attention to this type of education than this country. Unless we do something about it, we could find ourselves seriously handicapped in future years because of inadequate training in fields that are important to our security and well-being.

A question might arise, however, in respect to the limitation of the scholarships to children of war veterans. Perhaps it should be broadened to make eligible all children.

But, nevertheless, the general idea is an excellent one and it is to be hoped that Congress approves it.

Visit to Refugee Encampments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Oregonian of Portland of March 12, 1957, entitled "Mrs. Rene Bozarth Visits Refugee Encampments." This article describes the unselfish and humanitarian trip to Europe of Mrs. Alla Bozarth, wife of the pastor of St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Gresham, Oreg. Mrs. Bozarth, who is herself a refugee from Communist tyranny in Russia, has a special interest in the plight and problems of men and women who have fled from Soviet depotism in a later generation. She is also a talented writer in her own right.

Because the Senate will soon be considering legislation dealing with the need for these refugees to find sanctuary, I believe that the article about Mrs. Rene Bozarth should be of particular interest at this time. I ask that it appear in the RECORD in full.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MRS. RENE BOZARTH VISITS REFUGEE ENCAMPMENTS

"Anxiety and expectation of the strange unknown—and then perhaps a flicker of hope."

That's the attitude of the thousands of Hungarians still waiting in Austrian refugee camps, according to a first-hand account written for the Oregonian by Mrs. Rene Bozarth, wife of the pastor of St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Gresham, now in Europe with a flying team of Lutheran World Federation workers.

Mrs. Bozarth, herself a refugee from communism after the Russian revolution, plans to write a book on the refugee situation. She reports the whole problem seems in a completely different perspective in Europe.

YOUTHS FLEE DEPORTATION

"During the time that I worked in Oregon in the resettlement of refugees, it appeared that all was quite remote," Mrs. Bozarth explained in a letter from Camp Roeder near Salzburg, Austria. "We had the refugee's application sheet—his declaration to emigrate to the USA—found sponsors for him, job and housing, and when the refugee finally arrived, all the processing behind him, he was a finished 'product,' so to speak.

"Here the stark reality of the refugee's urgent desire to come to the United States, his escape, hopes, and longings, are strikingly pronounced."

The Gresham pastor's wife reports of individual interviews with several Hungarians. There were Szabo and Horvath, aged 20 and 19. Through an interpreter, they explained they had fled Hungary, "because we, along with many other young Hungarian boys, were rounded together to be sent to Russia and Siberia. Now we want to go to the USA"—which they pronounced "Oosha."

Then there were two doctors—a surgeon and an internist—who were trying to help refugees in a grimy dispensary at the camp. They, too, wanted to go to America—even though they realized that they might have to work as orderlies or assistants until they could get professional recognition as physicians.

SINGER LACKS SPONSOR

"My last encounter at Camp Roeder," Mrs. Bozarth reported, "was with a once prominent opera singer in Budapest. He talked to me eagerly with the affability and finesse of a gentleman and cultivated artist. In Hungary he was blacklisted by the Communists, he said, because his father was a prosperous farmer. He showed me a picture of his 8-year-old daughter, still in Budapest, with a father's joy.

"'If I could only go to America, I would sing to all the people there—all the free people,' he offered with touching emotion. 'But,' he sadly added. 'I have no one in America who will furnish an assurance for me from there.'"

At Camp Spratzern, a barracks occupied first by Hitler's Wehrmacht and then by Soviet occupation forces in Vienna, Mrs. Bozarth was attracted to a little woman who had fled Hungary with her 9-year-old son. Her husband had been deported to Russia and Siberia in 1946.

WOMAN EAGER TO SERVE UNITED STATES

"And where to from here? I queried," says Mrs. Bozarth's letter.

"To which she promptly answered, with a hopeful glow coming into her tear-filled eyes: 'To America.'

"When I told her that I am from America too, her heart overflowed. Profusely and warmly she reached out her hand to me: 'American people are good, so very good,' she murmured. 'When I come there, I want to do very much for the United States of America.'"

Third and apparently best run camp Mrs. Bozarth visited was Camp Traiskirchen near Vienna, under supervision of the Swedish Red Cross. There she inspected the dispensary, kitchen, and a kindergarten.

Her interpreter on the visit to the kindergarten, Mrs. Bozarth writes, had a particularly sad personal story. In November 1956, he had escaped from Hungary with his wife and three children.

WIFE WANTS TO GO BACK

"But no sooner were he and his family safe than his wife, wrecked emotionally—and mentally by now—decided that she wanted to go back. Her parents lived in a small place near Budapest, and she missed them now and was anxious for their safety.

"'She returned with the children into living hell,' he said, wringing his hands. 'The irony is that no sooner was she back in Hungary than she wrote me urgent letters that she wanted to escape again.'"

The man made every effort to get his family out, but nothing came of it. Meanwhile, his application to go to the United States came up but when the church organization which processed his case came upon his domestic tangle, it deferred him, explaining it did not want to separate families.

"And so," Mrs. Bozarth reports, "he had to remain there, crushed, hopeless, and completely wasting his life away in inactivity."

After visiting the three Austrian camps, Mrs. Bozarth planned to visit 5 or 6 refugee stations in Germany.

Public Aroused Again Against Oil Interests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, a major matter of discussion in recent weeks has been the role of the United States oil and gas industry at home and abroad.

As I have frequently pointed out, the oil and gas industry is one of America's great industries, one of the real pillars of our free economy.

At the same time, because this industry so vitally affects 170 million Americans here at home and throughout the world, Congress, as we all know, has been taking a careful look-see into its activities.

I have in my hand the text of an editorial which was carried in the Stevens Point Journal of Wisconsin with regard to reactions from the public and from the Congress on various phases of oil and gas industry activities.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PUBLIC AROUSED AGAIN AGAINST OIL INTERESTS

Stories coming out of Washington relate that the oil and gas industry is in the doghouse again. It landed there last year through distasteful and arrogant lobbying practices employed while advocating the suspension of Federal controls on natural-gas producers. This time the reaction was touched off by the recent cent-a-gallon boosts in the price of gasoline and fuel oil. Judging from protests reaching Washington, almost everyone except the oil interests believes these hikes were unjustified. Widely cited are the current surpluses, despite shipments to Europe as the the result of the Suez Canal closing.

A writer at Washington for a Milwaukee paper reported the other day that Congressmen have been getting some "high octane" protests from folks back home. As a result, 6 congressional committees and a Federal grand jury have gone into action.

It has been conjectured that the oil and gas industry may be sorry it tacked on that extra cent a gallon "because it has created a climate (in Washington) that imperils efforts to try again with a natural gas bill." Another development may be increased efforts in Congress to reduce the 27½ percent oil depletion tax allowance that oil and gas producers have long enjoyed. This is an economic incentive allowance authorized by Congress in 1926, and has long been criticized as special interest legislation, which it is.

Another element has also entered the picture in Washington. Some sources predict a tough road ahead for the new gas bill, despite support this time from President Eisenhower, as the result of election changes in both the House and Senate. The bill would exempt producers of natural gas from regulation by the Federal Power Commission. Mr. Eisenhower, who killed a similar bill last year by his veto, cited the arrogance of the oil lobby. But in a message this year, to the surprise of many, he came out in favor of the basic objective of the oil interests in principle.

Wisconsin officials and various communities have taken a strong stand against relinquishing of Federal control. Senator WILEY is committed to this stand. He wants effective regulation at the wellhead in order to protect the consumer.

The Washington scene will continue to be watched with special interest by Stevens Point, which is scheduled to get natural gas. Meanwhile, the oil and gas interests seem to have lost another round of public good will by boosting gasoline and fuel oil prices, judging by the price gouging complaints reaching Congressmen.

The Constitution and the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Dr. James A. Chandler, a retired Methodist minister, entitled "The Constitution and the Supreme Court."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Masonic Monthly, Mobile, Ala., for September 1956]

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE SUPREME COURT

(By Dr. James A. Chandler, 32d degree Knights Templar)

"They who mutually injure the state, mutually support each other." (Herodotus.)

From the signing of the Declaration of Independence (1776) to the ratification of the Constitution (1788) was one of the most precarious periods of American history.

Freedom from the tyranny of England had been won, but the fight to establish the Union was yet to be won. The States were like a barrel of 13 stout staves without a single hoop to hold them together. They were more like 13 hostile nations ready to fight each other.

The confederate system hurriedly devised in the summer of 1777 amid the horrors of war was pitifully weak. A ruined credit, a bankrupt treasury, the States in utter bewilderment, no executive, no judiciary, no power to levy a duty or impose a tax, and no authority to enforce obedience, were frightening conditions. Particularly from 1783 to the call for the Convention (1787), "the civil powers were in a state of chaos." George Washington with almost infinite sorrow said, "After all the sacrifices of the war, the Government of his country has become a thing of contempt in the eyes of all nations."

The call for the convention to meet the second Monday in May 1787, "in Philadelphia for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation" was approved by Congress. Because of an insufficient number of delegates, the convention was not organized until May 25, when George Washington was elected its presiding officer. The wiser men, such as Washington, Franklin, Pickley, and Madison soon saw the inadequacy of a revising of the Articles of Confederation and the absolute necessity of a constitution to form a more perfect union. Merely the suggestion occasioned a clashing of opinions and a discord of interests possibly never before witnessed in a deliberative body. The smaller States became fearful they would be swallowed in a great consolidated government, a monarchy in which the rights of the people would be utterly engulfed. * * * They were devoted to their local self-government and they had distrust and hatred for absentee authority * * * they were fearful that a strong federal government might, in time, produce a counterpart for that which the sacrifices of the revolution had sought to destroy—tyranny, despotism and oppression." (Walter J. Fourt.) Disunity, anarchy, chaos was imminent. Civil liberty was fading from the land.

But for Benjamin Franklin's wonderful address and call to prayer, it is possible that constitutional government would have failed utterly. Said he:

"The longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that God governs in the affairs of men. And, if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid? We have been assured, sir, in the Sacred Writings that 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' * * * Without His concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel." All future deliberations were preceded by prayer to the Almighty God for His guidance. The men of the convention were men of deep learning and solid piety.

After long debate and many reverses, the Constitution as finally drafted was signed by 39 members of the convention, September 17, 1787, and sent to Congress, which soon sent printed copies to the States for action. By June 21, 1788, conventions in nine States, the required number, had ratified the Constitution. Other States approved it later. The Constitution was adopted by Congress July 2, 1788, and was in effect March 4, 1789.

The victory was won by forming a dual government, or a duality of sovereignty, within the same orbit. The Constitutional Convention, a delegated body, representing the States and the people, formulated a plan of government whereby the powers necessary to the proper functioning of the National (Federal) Government, in providing order and security for all the people, were granted, and, whereby, at the same time, the sovereign rights of the States to be supreme in the conducting of their own internal affairs, without any encroachment upon or usurpation of those rights, were reserved to them by the people, in whom the totality of power resides, and only from whose consent can just powers be derived.

The States were very jealous of their own rights to self-government and they sought by all possible means to prevent the usurpation of those rights by the Federal Government. Accordingly, the powers were diluted by a distribution into three departments of government, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial, a government of checks and balances, which was further fortified by the creation of two Houses of Congress. Those precautions and provisions further indicated the fear the sovereign States had of an unbridled democracy, or the concentration of too much power in any one branch or body.

Still fearing that the Constitution as drafted would open the way for tyranny over the States by the Federal Government, the States demanded a declaration of rights that would fully protect and reserve to the States their rights. Certain State conventions had demanded in their ratification of the Constitution the adoption of a Bill of Rights, lest the rights unmentioned in the Constitution be assumed by the Federal Government.

James Madison, Member of the House, July 21, 1789, offered a resolution to the new Congress to consider such amendments as would be necessary to fulfill the pledges or assurances as had been made on all sides every-

where in securing the ratification of the Constitution "to quiet the apprehension of many that without some such declaration of rights the Government would assume, and might be held to possess, the power to transgress upon those rights of persons and property which by the Declaration of Independence were affirmed to be unalienable." Accordingly, the first 10 amendments to the Constitution were proposed by Congress September 25, 1789 and adopted June 15, 1790. Thereby the amendments became an integral part of the original Constitution.

Unless very definite promises had been made that the rights of the sovereign States would be protected and reserved to them, and amendments adopted adequate thereto, the States woul not have ratified the Constitution.

Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, South Carolina, New Hampshire, North Carolina, and Virginia specifically demanded the protection of their States' rights, said demands of those States being practically the same, e. g., that of Massachusetts: "That it be explicitly declared that all powers not expressly declared by the aforesaid Constitution are reserved to the several States to be by them exercised."

Our ablest legal talent who have access to all the records say that in all the discussions in the Constitutional Convention and in all the various States anent the ratification of the Constitution, no voice was raised anywhere that the national or Federal Government would be given any authority in the field of education, or that the Federal Government would have any powers except those delegated to it by the States and specifically listed to it in the Constitution. In full confidence of the pledges made of additional amendments to the Constitution, the Constitution was adopted.

Of the 1st 10 amendments to the Constitution adopted as the Bill of Rights, the 9th and 10th amendments were as follows: "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people—the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively."

It does not require a Philadelphia lawyer or a legally trained mind to understand the plain meaning of those two amendments. Until May 17, 1954, no court had ever questioned their plain, unequivocal meaning, namely, that the Constitution and the Bill of Rights gave to the Supreme Court no power not specifically stated and defined therein. Under that interpretation, our Nation has grown to be the greatest in the world. Thirty or more nations have molded their constitutions after our own.

The word education is not mentioned in the Federal Constitution, and there is no word in the Constitution that empowers the Supreme Court to say that segregation is unconstitutional. In all State constitutions, including the Thirteen Original States, education is mentioned as being exclusively the responsibility of the States.

The great men of our national history, such as Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and others recognized the constitutional rights of the sovereign States to govern their own internal affairs, such as their schools and public education.

The greatest jurists of all time, such as John Marshall, Joseph Story, Samuel P. Chase, Roger Fanney, Melvin Fuller, Edward Douglas White, Charles Evans Hughes, William H. Taft, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and many others on down to 1954, recognized and never questioned the fact that public education was the right and responsibility of the sovereign States.

When the 14th amendment (1868) was adopted, segregation was practiced in 23 of the 37 States that constituted the Union, while certain other States had no public school at all. There being no word in the 14th amendment, or civil-rights legislation or the Constitution to indicate otherwise, it was commonly understood that the 9th and 10th amendments reserved to the States full right to control their public schools. For 86 years, the Supreme Court said that the field of education belonged solely to the sovereign States and that the Supreme Court had no right to interfere with or in that field.

It is a very significant fact that, when the 14th amendment had been drafted and was being argued in the Congress, the proceedings of the Congress disclose the fact that not one argument was ever made that the 14th amendment should be adopted in order to enable the Federal Government to exercise the power in the 9th and 10th amendments reserved to the States in the field of education. But, contrariwise, the Congress at that very session enacted laws recognizing segregation in the Distrcit of Columbia. So, at the very time the 14th amendment was adopted, segregation was universal in Washington schools.

Ramon Magsaysay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the Washington Daily News of March 18, 1957:

RAMON MAGSAYSAY

The tragic death of President Ramon Magsaysay of the Philippines is an immeasurable loss to America, as well as to the young republic which idolized their incomparable "Monching."

In the little more than 3 years he served as President, he emerged as the key man of free Asia. His was the most exemplary, and, by virtue of his position, the strongest voice in all that tense area speaking for democracy against the threat of communism.

His physical and political courage was absolute. As leader of a guerrilla force against the Japanese invaders his operations became a legend in the Philippines.

Subsequently against the Huks—the home-grown Communists—he was usually at the forefront of daring raids on their strongholds. But as Defense Minister the youthful Magsaysay did not confine his war on communism merely to military expeditions. His long-range strategy was to get at the roots of what caused Filipinos to turn Communist.

Solution came in the form of a vast resettlement project, moving the dissidents and impoverished to the fertile but unpopulated areas of Mindanao.

"He makes the handling of commies sound easy—given courage and high purpose, of which he has plenty." That was the summation cabled just last week by Walker Stone, Scripps-Howard editor in chief, who had recently visited Mr. Magsaysay.

Yet the Filipino masses who swept Mr. Magsaysay into the presidency in late 1953 did not do so simply because they loved his shy grin, his boyish manner, his unchallenged reputation for honesty—and the fact that he sometimes campaigned in his bare feet. Their vote represented an irrepressible force sweeping the country—the new Philippine Republic was finding itself as the staunchest of our liberty-loving allies in Asia.

Mr. Magsaysay shaped the course of his relatively brief administration to close ties with the United States and the free world. We can prayerfully hope that his successor—who will be elected this fall—will be no less dedicated to the causes he served so well.

The Report on Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Report on Foreign Aid," from the March 15, 1957, issue of the Albany (Ga.) Herald.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE REPORT ON FOREIGN AID

The President's citizens advisers on the mutual security program proceeded to study foreign aid on the major premise that the purpose of foreign gifts and grants parallels the constitutional provision that the purpose of the Government is, among other things, "to provide for the common defense." That being so, the committee has reached the unremarkable conclusion that this purpose has crystallized since the beginning of the Marshall plan into a program of defense alliances now embodying 42 nations all joined to the United States in a protective periphery against Communist aggression. And the committee reasons that "our policies are proving their worth" and "a collective security program will be essential for some years to come."

As to the first conclusion, even recognizing the usefulness of a practical policy of collective security, it would be well to point out that the committee has anticipated what has not occurred. Our defense pacts policy has not been put to the sternest of all tests—a total war. The fact that we are pledged to defend 42 other nations of the West and Asia, and they are pledged to defend us in case of an aggression against anyone, may on the face of the treaties be a posture of strength. On the other hand, unless that strength is tested, and until that strength prevails, there can be no valid statement that the policy is successful. Survival is the sole true test of the mutual security policy, since it is upon ultimate survival in case of war that the policy was first conceived.

Concerning the committee's second point, that collective security with its huge outlays must be continued in the years ahead, and that the United States can afford to pay the cost now running at the rate of $8 billion a year, one need only observe that the committee itself had a great deal of reservation about foreign aid. Since our economic strength "is the foundation of our total strength," the committee was "disturbed by the high level and rising trend of our Government's expenditures at home and abroad." Yet these solid economic facts are used not to caution that the Communists would be delighted for this Nation to spend itself into bankruptcy, but rather to recommend that foreign aid not be increased above the currently whopping total of $8 billion. The committee does, however, insist that America's partners in the adventure

of collective security make sizable contributions, a recommendation not designed to sit well in certain foreign chancelleries where the "let Sam do it" theory controls all policy decisions. The committee goes on to propose, where possible, that aid should be in the form of loans, not grants, and where feasible our Government should promote private capital investment abroad to replace Government aid, through commerce and friendship treaties, by promoting freer trade, helping to create a climate that welcomes American capital, and by "more equitable taxation of foreign business income." All of these points, then, clearly are arguments against blank-check foreign aid, making the committee's ultimate conclusions even more mystifying in the circumstances.

With the national tax structure almost at the confiscatory level, there will be a great many Americans who will disagree, and some violently, with the foreign-aid program as outlined by the Fairless Committee. For the central core of disagreement remains, as it has always been, how much aid this Nation can afford. The committee says we can afford $8 billion, then proceeds to question its own decision. If the experts cannot agree, how can anyone expect the American public to render an intelligent decision on the issue?

Georgetown University To Name Foreign Service School After Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, Boston-Born Priest-Scholar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting article entitled "Memory of Boston-Born Priest-Scholar To Be Honored" which appeared in the Boston Daily Globe on March 18, 1957:

MEMORY OF BOSTON-BORN PRIEST-SCHOLAR TO BE HONORED—GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY TO NAME FOREIGN SERVICE SCHOOL AFTER REV. EDMUND A. WALSH

(By William Hallisey)

This is a day of honor for a famous priest, born in Boston but a citizen of the world.

He was the late Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, S. J., founder of the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service from which have been graduated numbers of American and foreign diplomats.

Tonight Georgetown men will gather at the University Club to hear Very Rev. John Bunn, S. J., president of Georgetown and a close friend of the late Father Walsh, discuss the future of the School of Foreign Service.

One of the first facts he will tell them is that in September 1957, the name of the school will be changed to the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, to commemorate its founder.

Men and women throughout the world knew Father Walsh as a priest, diplomat, author, educator, lecturer, and adviser to the Vatican and the United States Government.

A few are lucky enough to remember him as a boy in Boston.

His brother Fred, 43 years an organist in St. Bridget's Church, South Boston, a retired State employee and a volunteer worker for the National Braille Press, still lives in South Boston.

BOYHOOD RECALLED

Fred Walsh can remember as if it were yesterday the conversation Edmund Walsh had with his mother and father on a day in 1901. He had been born in South Boston and the family lived there, except for a few years in Dorchester.

Of the five children in the Walsh family, Edmund made his mark as the only one who ever was a problem to a teacher. Mrs. Walsh was summoned to school one day to help discipline her son who had tied to a chair the pigtail ribbons of a little girl.

In Boston College High School Edmund was an athlete—a sprinter on the track team—but most of all a student—such an enthusiastic one that he was graduated at the age of 16, a year ahead of his class.

He had applied for Annapolis and it was one day in 1901 that he received a letter from the Naval Academy telling him he was too young to be accepted, though his marks were satisfactory. He could have waited a year and entered the academy at 17.

But he didn't. He couldn't bear the thought of a wasted year. So he enrolled at a Jesuit seminary at Woodstock, Md., and the man who might have been a naval officer became a priest and pioneer American diplomat.

BORN IN VICTORIAN AGE

Once Father Walsh wrote about his boyhood in Boston, and he spoke rather wistfully: "It was my luck to be born into the waning years of the 19th century when life in Boston was tinged with roseate hues of a setting sun, rather condescendingly called the Victorian Age.

"The times were not violent nor harried nor hard on the nerves in 1885."

This statement wasn't typical of Father Walsh, who rarely was wistful and who thrived in violent times that were hard on the nerves.

He studied at St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia; at the University of Georgetown, in Detroit; in Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; at the University of London; the University of Dublin; and at Innsbruk. He held degrees in philosophy, law, and literature, but his scholastic career was just beginning when he entered the seminary.

Father Walsh started teaching in 1909 as instructor in freshman English at Georgetown. Before long he was teaching dramatics and coaching Shakespearian productions, some so polished that they were presented on the New York stage.

ORDAINED IN 1916

In 1916, he was ordained a priest by James Cardinal Gibbons and returned to Boston to celebrate his first mass at the Immaculate Conception Church.

He soon was named dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Georgetown, but left to work with the War Department as a member of a commission to administer a student program with officers of the United States Army.

Father Walsh's particular job brought him back to New England. He was assistant educational director of the Student Army Training Corps in the New England States.

While studying in Europe, Father Walsh had taken a close look at diplomatic schools abroad, particularly in Germany.

He knew the United States should have such training spots for young diplomats and in 1914, when he was forced to leave Germany, he brought back the idea of a college for diplomats.

He turned to that job in 1919 and founded such a school at Georgetown. It was the first school for diplomats every established in the United States, and for many years the only one.

MISSION FOR POPE

Father Walsh didn't remain very long to run his new school. In 1922 Pope Pius XI appointed him director of the Vatican Family Relief Mission to Russia and Father Walsh left on a journey that was to affect him far more than he could ever expect.

His job in Russia was a big one, but the effects were even greater. He ran relief kitchens for hungry Russians, dealt with top Bolshevists; acted as liaison between the Vatican and the Kremlin on church affairs such as church property and the religious rights of Catholics in Russia.

Named director-general of the Peoples Relief Mission to Russia, he supervised the feeding of 158,000 persons a day through Catholic relief agencies.

For 5 years longer he served as president of the Catholic Near East Relief in Soviet Russia, and toured Greece, Palestine, and Egypt to study post-war relief problems.

Meanwhile he became an expert on Russia. He built one of the greatest libraries of Russian books in the Western World. He gave more than 1,500 lectures on Russia in Europe and the United States.

Most of all, he studied communism. He warned Americans and Europeans of the danger of communism. He gave, for 18 years, an annual public lecture series of 10 talks in Washington on Marxist communism.

AUTHORITY ON REDS

Few men in the West knew as much about communism and Russia as Father Walsh did, and his message was always the same: Only armed force backed by spiritual strength and good government could halt the expansion of Soviet power with its negation of religion and moral standards.

In 1929 Father Walsh left Russia again on Vatican work.

This time, he negotiated with the Mexican Government. Two years later, he concluded the agreement with the Government of Iraq which brought about the establishment of an American college in Baghdad.

He was always busy. World War II brought additional responsibilities, such as lecturing at Army camps and officers' training schools, serving as a consultant to the geopolitical division of the War Department; lecturing at the Judge Advocate General's School at the University of Michigan, and at the FBI training school.

Between wars, he lectured, traveled for both the Vatican and the United States, was vice president of Georgetown, served on presidential commissions and wrote four volumes, The Fall of the Russian Empire, The Last Stand (both on Russia), Total Power, and Total Empire, the Roots and Progress of World Communism (on Nazi and Russian geopolitics).

AT NUREMBERG TRIALS

In 1945 he was summoned to Germany as consultant to the United States chief counsel at the Nuremberg trials.

That same year, he circled the world when he was appointed by the general of the Society of Jesus to visit and suggest means for development of a Jesuit mission in Japan.

A friend and critic of Presidents, world traveler, international diplomat, he still found time to put on overalls and an old sweater and build an elaborate miniature railroad system for the young sons of an instructor in the school, a project which went on for several years.

Father Walsh celebrated his 40th anniversary as a priest in 1956, a short time before he died.

His death brought letters from all over the world to his order, and to his family in South Boston.

One such note read: "In 1928 I had the rare privilege of listening to a magnificent

lecture (of Father Walsh) on the growing menace of communism. I think that I could recite some parts of it today."

That letter was signed "Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States."

St. Patrick—A Living Memory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, each year the feast day of St. Patrick is celebrated as a national holiday in Ireland. The memory of St. Patrick lives on after nearly 15 centuries.

Today, St. Patrick continues to hold the same high place in the minds and the hearts of the Irish—and of Christian peoples everywhere—as he has in the past. He is the patron of the See of Armagh and of Ireland's most illustrious college. Churches are dedicated to him not only in Ireland but also in all parts of the world to which the Irish have emigrated or which attracted their missionaries since the time of the Middle Ages. The name of Patrick is one of the most common of Christian names of the Irish both at home and abroad. He is indeed the national hero of Ireland.

Much has been written on the life of St. Patrick. The life and legend of the good St. Patrick is told again and again in song and story—in poetry and prose. His life is studied by adults and children alike. Interest in the life of St. Patrick and of all the traditions surrounding that life is as alive today as ever.

What kind of a person was this man? The average Irishman knows at least part of the legends associated with St. Patrick and through them something of the patron himself. He knows the wonderful story of how the shape of the shamrock helped St. Patrick to explain the Holy Trinity. He knows the story that his patron saint expelled the snakes and all venomous reptiles from Ireland.

Some of the facts surrounding his life are known, too. St. Patrick was born in Britain sometime around the year 387. When he was 16, he was captured by Irish raiders. There he became a slave. During his captivity, he learned the language of the country and the ways of the Irish. Six years after his capture he escaped to France and prepared himself for the holy orders. After he became a priest, he returned to Ireland as a missionary about 432.

In the years which followed, St. Patrick walked up and down the island, working zealously at his task of converting the Irish to Christianity. It is said that he alone founded 360 churches, baptized some 12,000 people, and ordained a countless number of priests. He conquered an entire nation with his weapons of unlimited faith, an indomitable courage, and a tremendous love of his fellow men. The apostle of Ireland, mystic and man of action, brought a faith to an entire people.

No matter how striking the personality, it is not the man who counts here. It is the faith that he brought to the nation. It is a faith that has stood the test of time. It is a faith that is interpreted today in the same integral way as it was interpreted by the church of St. Patrick in the fifth century.

It is a faith that has done well by the Irish. It has helped them to survive centuries of domination by foreign powers. It has helped them to survive religious persecution without forsaking their own beliefs. There can be no doubt in anyone's mind of the Irish love of freedom and justice. These two principles were a part of the teachings of St. Patrick. They have been cherished down through the centuries, giving strength and character to the people.

Thus it is that the Irish have been able to bridge the gap of almost 1,500 years between the religion of St. Patrick and that of modern times. They have proved that faith and freedom go hand in hand.

It is fitting that we should pay tribute on this day to St. Patrick. It is fitting that we should honor the Irish both in their native land and abroad. They and their beloved St. Patrick have contributed greatly to the world.

The memory of St. Patrick continues to live on through the people he loved so dearly. Through his heritage, they will ever be a glorious people.

America Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a poem entitled "America Speaks," written by H. I. Phillips.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA SPEAKS
(By H. I. Phillips)

To meet both ends I seldom can
(But I'm a help to Pakistan);
It's hard to keep my shirt and pants
(But after all, I'm fond of France);
I guess I'll have to break my lease
(I must cooperate with Greece);
Hedged in by debts quite vast I am
(But I must not neglect Siam).

The wolf from door I can't repel
(Still I must help keep Burma well);
By Tuesday I am out of dough
(Malaya's feeling better, though);
My dollar very little buys
(But Egypt's safer, I surmise);
My own financial outlook's murky
(But still my heart belongs to Turkey).

I'm busted, flat, and feeling blue
(But I'm a pal of Timbuktu);
We're adding breadcrumbs to our hash
(Who cares? Ain't Tito short of cash?);
The sheriff's knocking on my door
(However, England's asking more);
I'm in a hole, but feeling noble • • •
I wish things were not quite so global!

The Modern Republican Battleground

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 4, 1957

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks before the Women's National Republican Club, Inc., Waldorf-Astoria Hotel ballroom, New York City:

THE MODERN REPUBLICAN BATTLEGROUND

We gather today in this the first year of the second century of the Republican Party—proud of its accomplishments and determined that our generation shall lay the foundation of another 100 years of dedicated service.

At the start of a new Congress and a re-elected administration, it is a fitting time to take our bearings and chart our course. So let's study some of the lessons of recent events and discuss frankly a few controversial topics, which Al Smith used to call hot potatoes.

I shall try to do so without reflecting narrow partisanship and by giving full credit to those Democrats in Congress and the Nation, who believe in sound principles and support the President.

THE NEW DEALISM CHARGE

Now let's tackle the first controversial hot potato—New Dealism.

Right here I should like to say a word to those old friends we sometimes hear complaining that the Eisenhower program is "just like the New Deal."

Obviously, this just isn't so, period.

How short are some memories. How blind are some eyes. If the Eisenhower program really is a repeat performance of the New Deal, why is it that old line New Dealers and a new crop of leftwingers are fighting that program tooth and nail?

If it is a New Deal carbon copy, why did the last Republican National Convention—represenitng rock-ribbed Republicans from every State in the Union—endorse that program?

This administration's actions are different in spirit from the New Deal practices of its predecessors, who tried to pack the Supreme Court, seize the steel mills, and draft strikers into the Army.

The record clearly proves the sharp contrast between our middle-of-the-road administration and the New Deal which fostered socialized medicine and socialized agriculture, filled regulatory agencies with members hostile to private enterprise, tried to make electric power a Federal monopoly, used the tax system to change the social order, encouraged the squandering of tax funds, harassed honest business, retarded the sound recovery of agriculture, set class against class, played politics with civil rights, treated spy hunts as "red herrings," and some of whose leaders even condoned corruption.

Let those who grumble that we are New Dealish point out in what way the following great popular accomplishments of the Eisenhower administration are a second edition of the New Deal.

We rejected the despairing philosophy that prosperity must be based on a war boom. We stopped the agony and slaughter in Korea and thereby freed a peacetime economy to produce the greatest prosperity in all history.

We rejected the alien theory of nursemaid government which claims that distant bureaucrats know better how to run business and meet a payroll than businessmen.

In sharp contrast and often with the help of members of both parties in the Congress we created a climate favorable to private competitive enterprise and free labor—we removed straitjacket controls; we reduced Government competition with private industry; we checked fast-rising inflation; we kept Government's hand off the scales in collective bargaining; we checked monopoly and helped small business by enforcing antitrust laws; we established new programs to promote world trade. We made the greatest tax cut in history, paid installments on the public debt, balanced the budget twice, and plan to do it again this time. And we are making progress with the recommendations of the Hoover Commission.

The disposal of the Government's smelter in Texas, its synthetic rubber plants, and the liquidation of the RFC and its former activities, plus the release of cash previously held for working capital for these programs, have resulted in a return to the United States Treasury of more than $1 billion. That's the kind of benefit the public receives when this administration gets Government out of business—and I have cited only a part of this particular program.

Yes, my friends, when President Eisenhower was inaugurated in 1953, the New Deal went out and a new day dawned.

A wave of confidence lifted this Nation to unprecedented heights of prosperity because of his inspired leadership.

That which this administration is doing today is a projection of the Republican record of the past 4 years and is in keeping with the 1956 Republican campaign promises.

THE 1958 BUDGET

Now let's tackle a second hot potato—the budget. It provides for the expenditures of $71.8 billion between next July 1 and June 30, 1958, to finance national security and other services. It was designed to carry out the Republican program of peace, prosperity, and progress.

In order to present the whole truth about the budget, let us tell the public some of the facts which some critics fail to mention.

It is a fact, based on the latest comparative figures, that while Federal expenditures went down 13.2 percent, State and local spending went up 22.8 percent.

It is a fact that our population has grown more than 11 million in the last 4 years—that in the same period our gross national product rose more than $49 billion and that our national income increased $40 billion. Obviously, the Federal Government must expand some functions to keep pace with this tremendous growth.

It is a fact, nevertheless, that whereas in 1953 the budget, measured against the gross national product, was 20 percent, it has now gone down to about 16 or 17 percent.

It is a fact that the chief reason for the current size of the budget is national security—payment of former wars and spending to keep us out of future wars. The price of security and peace is not cheap.

This problem can be readily appreciated by showing where the budget dollar goes: 62.6 percent of expenditures are earmarked directly for national security, including defense and aid to our free-nation partners; 27.7 percent are earmarked for interest on the national debt, veterans' benefits, agricultural supports, and grants to States; 9.7 percent are earmarked for all the rest of Government—executive, legislative, and judicial, actually less than a dime in every dollar appropriated.

I repeat with grim emphasis that Americans, living under the awful shadow of the hydrogen bomb, must pay a lot of money to remain free and stay alive.

A disturbing paradox of modern times is that while science, technology, and invention have enriched modern civilian life, these innovations also have increased the heavy burden of national defense.

Every year it takes more money to buy the absolutely essential new weapons in the field of guided missiles, atomic forces and other ultra-modern war material.

One example will suffice:

The old B–29 bomber plane cost $693,000; our current B–52 bomber costs $8 million. Suppose a necessary household expense jumped from $6.93 to $80, can you imagine what a problem that would create in a family budget? Yet that is the comparative increase in just one type of modern airplane.

If we are ever to escape from the increasing burden of military expense, we must concentrate our utmost efforts in easing world tensions, in making friends among the nations, in spreading international good will and in bringing a just and lasting peace to this war-cursed generation.

I say—what I believe is the response of every woman at this gathering—that no man on earth is working harder and doing more to bring this era of peace than our great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Because the price of survival is so high, we dare not waste our substance. If we are to provide the private savings to produce the new plant and equipment that create jobs for the growing number of young people, we must do a better job in reducing the drain of taxes.

I should like here to enlarge on my reference to that portion of the budget (27.7 percent) which goes for interest, veterans' benefits, agricultural supports, grants to States, etc.

The almost insatiable demand of different groups and different people for new Government services and the continuing expansion of the old is one of the most difficult aspects of the budget problem. In turn, the temptation on their Representatives in Congress to vote for money to be spent in their district is almost irresistible. And, just so no one will think I'm trying to let the executive branch off too lightly, let me admit that in my opinion we in the executive branch can improve upon our record in this regard.

If we ever are going to be able to tighten the tap on public spending, all of us must throw our weight against the mounting pressure, year after year, to swell special favors, subsidies, pet projects, grants to States and pork barrel expenditures. By all of us, I mean the executive branch, the Congress and the public.

Ask most anyone today if he favors reducing the cost of Government and the reply is "yes." Then suggest stopping some Federal service which he wants and the reply is a loud "no." We'll not get very far in reversing the trend in Government spending if everyone says, "Cut the other fellow's benefit, but don't touch mine."

If every section, every segment, every pressure group succeeds in grabbing more and more, the future economy could crumple under the increasing weight of taxes. But if, on the other hand, the aroused people of the United States rise up and demand greater economy in Federal, as well as local and State appropriations, then they will get greater economy.

Let me ask every woman in this room to reflect a minute: Are you a member of any group which is pressing for projects that will expand the Federal budget? Is your husband? If you are, consider well whether your activity in this respect is right or wrong.

MEETING MODERN NEEDS

Still another "live wire" subject is meeting modern needs.

Complicated life in an urban industrial society and the rapid progress of science create many serious problems—undreamed of a few years back—which must be solved soon or we and the coming generation could face stagnation in our economy and other critical conditions.

Progress in an electronic-atomic age is one of the cornerstones of the Eisenhower Republican program.

To meet modern needs, programs have been designed for highways, peaceful uses of atomic energy, water resources, power development, St. Lawrence seaway, flood control, soil bank, widened opportunities for small business, a transport policy aimed at cheaper transportation, and a 4-year emergency program of Federal cooperation with States in overcoming the critical shortage of schoolrooms.

Although there may be some differences of opinion about some of these items, they are aimed at helping to create valuable private and public assets and at meeting the requirements of a growing population and a growing economy.

For example, in my own Department is lodged the duty of protecting the safety of those who fly—now and in the jet age.

Already the highways of the sky face congestion. The situation is being handled now. But it could grow more dangerous in the years ahead as slow-moving vertical-flight helicopters cross the slanted path of commercial and military jets, traveling at breathless speed.

If we do not get ready now to safeguard the airways of the future, the toll of tomorrow's crackups and collisions could be appalling.

To forestall such a hazard, the President appointed Edward P. Curtis, an outstanding expert, to recommend a long-range solution. In the interim the Civil Aeronautics Administration of the Commerce Department is embarked on the greatest air-safety program in history and is providing air-navigational aids such as radars, electronic devices, and other safe air-traffic controls. But this is costing money—nearly three times the bill in 1953.

One of the great current and future needs which we are trying to meet at the Bureau of Public Roads of the Commerce Department is modern highways. Had public demands not been neglected so long, we might not have had such traffic bottlenecks and road accident slaughter as now.

Although the President's highway program is by far the greatest public-works program in all history, its cost does not appear in the budget. Instead of passing along debts for our children to carry we have undertaken—thanks to sound legislation—the first major project of its kind that is entirely self-liquidating. Pay-as-you-build taxes on the gasoline and oils of highway users are footing the bill. Not a mile of road is laid until the money to pay for it is in the Treasury.

MODERN REPUBLICANISM

In conclusion, let us size up modern Republicanism—about which there is so much interesting talk today.

Modern Republicanism is not something brandnew, dreamed up recently—as some folks think—by maverick stargazers. It is as old as the principles of the first successful Republican candidate for the Presidency, Abraham Lincoln.

The Republican Party, in its finest hours, has been concerned with human freedom and human welfare. In fact, it was born to fight for freedom—and still does.

The Republican record of a century clearly proves that all through our history our party has provided sound Government services to foster the well-being of farmers, workers, businessmen, children, and others and to meet future national needs.

The Lincoln administration founded the Department of Agriculture and initiated the first Homestead Act, which gave land to farm families who would work it. Republicans passed the Sherman Antitrust Act to protect

small business against monopoly. To insure workers' rights Republicans started the Bureau of Labor which later became the Department of Labor. Republicans established the merit system through the Civil Service Act of 1883.

Republicans protected family health through the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act. Republicans in 1912 established the Children's Bureau after the passage of child labor laws in many Republican States.

The Panama Canal was built to meet future needs. Under President Theodore Roosevelt, programs also were launched to conserve the Nation's forests, minerals, and water resources. One of the conservation measures to preserve water and timber resources was the Weeks' Act of 1911—introduced in Congress by my father, when he was a Representative.

Later the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was established; the Federal Land Banks were strengthened; a new system of agricultural credit-banks was organized and the Home Loan Bank System was created to assist individual farm and individual homeowners. These latter protections against adversity were initiated in the administration of your honored guest, that lifelong humanitarian—President Herbert Hoover.

Republican policies today are the expression of our party's great century-old principles, dressed in the clothing of this current age.

So we are in keeping with a century of Republican accomplishments for the American people, when Republicans insist that Government must have a heart as well as a head.

We also are in harmony with our 1956 platform, in step with our Republican President and in line with the overwhelming majority of American citizens, when we support programs reflecting a hard head, a warm heart, and a far-seeing eye.

Let us go home with renewed faith that Republican policies are helping to encourage a healthy and growing economy with prosperity widely shared and are helping to advance peace, justice, and freedom. Let us, by our attitude on public issues, prove worthy of the trust the American people have placed in our party and in our great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The Betrayal of Trade Unionism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to submit the following address by James B. Carey at the special convention of the United Paperworkers of America AFL–CIO in Chicago, Ill., this week.

Mr. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the Industrial Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, AFL–CIO, made some very pertinent remarks on a subject which today is of very real concern to every reputable trade-union organization in the country. The title of his address was "The Betrayal of Trade Unionism."

His views in this field came at a most appropriate time when a number of so-called union leaders are being investigated by a Senate committee for consorting with gangster and racketeering elements for personal gain.

He has spoken out before on the subject, even going so far as to recommend expulsion from the AFL–CIO of any union proved guilty of unethical practices.

The union of which he is president, the IUE, is one of the cleanest and most respected of American labor organizations. There is no place in it for any officer or member who associates with individuals of even suspected criminal intent. Both he and his union are a distinct credit to the American labor movement. The great majority of United States unions share that distinction.

It is a real privilege and honor for me to include his following remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE BETRAYAL OF TRADE UNIONISM

Four memorable and deeply meaningful lines open the officers' report to this special and final convention of the United Paperworkers of America.

In a handful of words they encompass the story of your origins, the dramatic history of your growth and economic achievement, and your progress to the threshold on which you stand today—a proud, strong, militant organization ready to play a major role in the creation of a powerful, new, united labor movement in your industry. They are words that should not be forgotten in your new organization:

"The United Paperworkers was born in battle. It has grown in battle and it survived because its adversaries appreciated its willingness to stand up and fight for the principles which gave it birth."

Because I know your history I know that those words are as significant as any written by a union in our time; and I know also that they have enlarged significance today.

The adversaries your officers refer to—that ambushed and attacked you at various times down through the years—were not only employers who wanted to see your vigorous, young union dispersed and drived completely out of the industry.

Nor were your adversaries only the Communists who sought to destroy your organization, as they did others, by swallowing it.

There was a third enemy, even more insidious and dangerous than the other two, which would have pounced on your union had you ever let down your guard for a moment.

That enemy was racketeering and corruption, an ugly contamination that we now suspect has festered its way into a larger area of organized labor than perhaps we knew.

You of the Paperworkers can be justifiably proud that the wall of moral strength and integrity that you erected around your union proved impenetrable to racketeering and gangster elements, even to those who would have used your organization not necessarily for criminal activities but for unethical practices and personal enrichment.

You can be deeply proud that your union, throughout its history, has been one of the cleanest and most ethical unions in the labor movement. You are immensely fortunate, too, that the organization with which you are uniting in a few days has a similarly proud and unblemished record.

I do not digress from my theme if I tell you that a small flood of memories swept over me as I came into this scene of your final convention. There has been and will be, I am sure, a great deal of fond remembrance here of your hectic and sparkling history. Large quantities of sentiment and sentimentality will be wafted over tables and in corners of the lobby (which is as it should be), and more than one tear will plop nostalgically into a schooner of beer.

You will be sentimental and nostalgic for the simple reason that you have good things to look back on—such as your superb record of democratic trade unionism, your internal unit and militant sense of brotherhood, your many years of hard-won, pioneering economic gains, and the fact that you have been most happily blessed with gifted and aggressive leadership.

My memories of your union's early leadership extend back to the first CIO convention in 1938 and the episode, related in your officers' report, of Frank Grasso and his colleagues asking me to call a meeting of local industrial unions in the paper industry. I can take a special pride, therefore, in having been a participant in the very earliest stirrings of industrial unionism in your industry. I figure myself as something of a godfather to the United Paperworkers.

Your union's early leadership—I can tell you as one who personally survived it—comprised a real set of eager beavers; in fact, probably the eagerest beavers in the entire CIO. There were times, for example, listening to Frank Grasso's impassioned speeches and watching him scurry around that first CIO convention that you got the curious impression that the steel industry, the auto industry and the rubber industry were relatively minor and inconsequential problems compared to the paper industry, and that if we got the paper industry organized then steel, auto, rubber, shipbuilding and everything else would automatically fall into line.

You get the rough idea. Frank Grasso and his "paperworker pioneers" never sold the industry short. In fact, I have a vague but persistent recollection that at one CIO convention in those early days, Grasso tried desperately to get all of us to boycott the hotel dining room if it continued to refuse to serve us our meals on paper plates.

A few years later on, after your separation from the Playthings & Novelty Workers Union, on January 1, 1944, I recall that President Philip Murray asked me to serve on the new Paperworkers Organizing Committee with Allan Haywood as chairman. That post enabled me to renew my friendships with the leaders of your union and reacquainted me with the problems of your organization and industry. And I remember also the jubilation in your organization in January 1946 when you became the United Paperworkers of America and still later when you held your first constitutional convention in Buffalo.

At that first paperworkers convention, the unforgettable Allan Haywood urged your delegates: "Keep this union clean. Keep it free, free for all of you to express yourselves decently and proudly. You never can be too radical against evil nor too conservative for good."

Well, you did keep your union clean. And you kept it free. Your history shows that you kept it clean of unethical practices and free of racketeering and corruption. You kept faith not only with Allan Haywood but more important with your members and with honest, democratic unionism. You provided a model of sound, healthy unionism. The CIO was proud of you and the entire labor movement can be proud of you on this eve of your merger.

It is, of course, to your much greater credit that you maintained a clean and free union not in a moral vacuum but in the face of very grave threats and hazards.

The United Paperworkers didn't escape the greedy, criminal eyes of racketeers and gangster elements. They tried to lay violent siege to your organization in New York and New Jersey during the late 1940's. No doubt their cold-bloodedly evil plans were to capture your locals in those States first. Then they'd spin out their web into other areas to a private racket empire with the workers of

your industry becoming captives whose prime function was to pay monthly per capita tribute to these pirates.

In New Jersey racketeers sent in armed thugs and goons to break a paperworkers' strike. Your people were stunned and disbelieving when it was discovered that these armed strikebreakers carried union credentials. The credentials they flaunted, it is ironic to note today, were issued by two unions, the Distillery, Rectifying & Wine Workers Union and the Laundry Workers International Union, which last month were ordered by the AFL–CIO executive council to clean out the corruption in their leaderships within 90 days or face expulsion from the AFL–CIO.

The record of these two unions, the AFL–CIO reported, is "a sordid tale of irresponsibility, diversion of funds, jockeying of banking accounts, and heavy recompense for certain officers." Earlier, these two outfits brought disrepute to the labor movement when a Senate subcommittee headed by Senator PAUL DOUGLAS and the AFL–CIO council found they were "subject to heavy corrupt influence and domination."

It is to the eternal glory of the United Paperworkers that you stood toe-to-toe and slugged it out with the gangsters and goons, and finally sent them running for cover into their ratholes. The courage and incorruptible principles of the United Paperworkers defeated this racketeer mob, but other unions were not so fortunate.

It is because other labor organizations could not do what you did; it is because other unions were too weak and succumbed to corruption that the labor movement today faces an unprecedented crisis.

It is a crisis that is worse, in my opinion, than the crisis we faced in the 1930's when union-hating managements waged open warfare against us or in the 1940's when Communist infiltration and control of unions reached a decisive point of no return.

But the issue today is far more menacing, because this time it comes from inside our movement. It is betrayal from within. It is treason to trade unionism by those who pretend to believe in, and represent, trade unionism. It is pernicious perfidy by those who profess the ideals of union brotherhood only for the end of personal enrichment.

These betrayers of labor, these traitors to trade unionism, have brought a terrible disease into the labor movement, a disease that must be cut out surgically, swiftly and unflinchingly to prevent its spread into a corrupting contagion.

The hard, cold, inescapable fact is that we must utterly destroy racketeering and corruption in the labor movement or racketeering and corruption will destroy the labor movement.

Corruption is never a static thing. Corruption means decay, and decay, unless it is decisively halted, spreads from an unhealthy part of an organism to its healthy parts.

There is only one way to handle the betrayers of labor, the traitors to trade unionism, the men who have enriched themselves at the expense of rank-and-file workers. These men must be fully and mercilessly exposed as the loathsome disease-carriers that they are and quarantined off from the labor movement for the rest of their lives.

I have said before that such men are not unionists, but antiunionists. They are not labor, but antilabor. They are more dangerous to the democratic labor movement than the most vicious of union-hating managements and the most warped of Communist fanatics.

We should and must accord them their democratic rights—the kind of rights that labor racketeers and union gangsters themselves would never give the men and women they keep captive as faceless producers of per capita.

But after a determination has been made, swift and vengeful justice should be meted out to these betrayers and traitors. Their status as union officials should be erased, ruthlessly and uncompromisingly. And if they have committed crimes against society as well as against the labor movement, then union officials must encourage law-enforcement authorities to take action also.

There can be no compromising with these forces that would corrupt and destroy the democratic labor movement.

I insist, moreover, that it is incumbent upon the labor movement to initiate these actions itself, to police its own domain as completely as possible. We should not wait for State legislatures, grand juries or congressional committees to do our work for us. We should set our own house in order; we should not have to sanction others—outsiders with uncertain motives—doing our housecleaning for us.

Two other actions, to my way of thinking, are also required:

First, some union constitutions badly need rewriting, need to be made more democratic, need to provide more specific protections for the rank-and-file, and need to make union leadership both more responsive and more responsible to union membership.

Second, some unions very obviously need to follow the example of the national AFL–CIO and of the IUE–AFL–CIO in adopting comprehensive and enforcible codes of ethical practices.

The AFL–CIO could have no corrupt affiliates nor could unethical practices exist within AFL–CIO unions, for example, if all unions placed themselves into full compliance with the AFL–CIO constitution and the four AFL–CIO codes of ethical practices.

AFL–CIO ethical practices code, No. 3, declares that "there is no room within the federation or any of its affiliated unions for any person in a position of leadership or responsibility who is a crook, racketeer, a Communist, or a Fascist." This declaration is then made considerably more than a pious wish in the following words:

"It is the obligation of every union affiliated with the AFL–CIO to take appropriate steps to ensure that this principle is complied with. * * * It is the duty and responsibility of each national and international union affiliated with the federation to see to it that it is free of all corrupt, Communist or Fascist influences. Consequently, a trade union need not wait upon a criminal conviction to bar from office corrupt, Communist or Fascist influences. The responsibility of each union to see to it that it is free of such influences is not a responsibility placed upon our unions by law. It is a responsibility which rests upon our unions by the AFL–CIO constitution and by the moral principles that govern the trade-union movement. Eternal vigilance in this area is the price of an honest democratic trade-union movement."

But this AFL–CIO ethical practices code—adopted slightly more than a month ago—doesn't stop there; it carefully and specifically spells out a set of rules to govern AFL–CIO affiliates. These rules state, in part:

"1. * * * no persons who constitute corrupt influences or practices or who represent or support Communist, Fascist or totalitarian agencies should hold office of any kind in trade unions. * * *

"2. No person should hold or retain office or appointed position in the AFL–CIO or any of its affiliated national or international unions or subordinate bodies thereof who has been convicted of any crime involving moral turpitude offensive to trade union morality.

"3. No person should hold or retain office or appointed position in the AFL–CIO or any of its affiliated national or international unions or subordinate bodies thereof who is commonly known to be a crook or racketeer preying on the labor movement and its good name for corrupt purposes, whether or not previously convicted for such nefarious activities."

Right there in the AFL–CIO's ethical practices code, No. 3—backed by the constitution—is obviously the power and authority to purge the AFL–CIO of corrupt affiliates and the means, also, for AFL–CIO affiliates to cleanse themselves of corrupt elements.

I have no indication that this authority will not be used to its fullest extent where justified. It had better be, because the future of the labor movement may well hinge on our swift and uncompromising eradiction of corruption and unethical practices wherever they are found to exist in labor unionism.

As far as we know today, racketeering and corruption involve only a very small number of unions and a tiny percentage of union members. This is true even though one might gain the impression these days that there's one large union that's somehow been overlooked until now; the International Union of Procurers, Three-Horse Parlay Plungers, Pinball Professionals, Political Parasites, and Bawdy-House Promoters.

The problem of corruption may be, in itself, a relatively small one but the effects, the consequences of that problem are very far from small.

The entire labor movement, in fact, is already being hurt by the disclosures of corruption, magnified and exaggerated though they may be. The New York Times, it must be acknowledged, summed up the situation accurately in a headline which reads: "Senate Inquiry Is Likely To Hurt Labor Movement; All Unions May Suffer From the Corrupt Practices of Some of the Leaders."

The labor movement is being hurt, actually, not on one front but on three. We are being hurt in terms of public prestige and reputation. We are being hurt in terms of legislation both in Congress and in the States. And we are being hurt by the ammunition which is being given to union-hating employers in their fight against organizing drives.

The extent to which the labor movement's prestige and reputation is being injured can only be guessed at. Tragically, it comes just at a time when the labor movement had succeeded in winning a greater degree of public favor than at any time in the last quarter-century. A Gallup poll disclosed just last month that 76 percent of the people now approve of labor unions as compared with 72 percent in 1936.

We worked hard, awfully hard to achieve that improved reputation and we had reason to believe that the trend would continue.

On the legislative front there is reason for genuine concern. First, there is no way of knowing what kind of legislative proposals may come out of the current hearings of the Select Senate Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field. The proposals could be for heavily restrictive legislation. This year or next could produce another upsurge of demands that industrywide and companywide bargaining be prohibited, that the union shop and the checkoff be outlawed or drastically curtailed.

The National Association of Manufacturers, however, isn't going to wait for any moves in Congress. Last week, the NAM announced the opening of a campaign for a seven-point program admittedly designed to weaken the bargaining power of labor. The NAM's program would, among other things, outlaw the union shop, prohibit picketing for organizational purposes, bar national and international unions from participating in contract negotiations, and stifle political activity by unions.

What the NAM is really after was clearly implied by its president, E. G. Swigert, when he told newspapermen that none of the wage

raises in steel or auto since 1949 should have been granted.

It goes almost without saying that the labor racketeering and corruption scandals have made absurd any idea of repealing or even modifying the Taft-Hartley Act in the present Congress.

The racketeering charges have made the picture in State legislatures equally dark. In New York State Republican members of the legislature are pushing hard for a $150,000 investigation into the alleged domination of labor unions by hoodlums, racketeers, and gangsters. Similar demands are cropping up in other State legislatures, all aimed at the enactment of restrictive legislation designed either to supplement or supersede Federal antilabor laws.

The floodgates have now been opened for a new deluge of State right-to-work laws, encouraged in part by the fact that Indiana last week became the first major industrial State to outlaw the union shop. Indiana thus joined 17 other States—13 in the South and 4 in the North—which have enacted right-to-scab statutes.

Employers have already started brainwashing unorganized employees with propaganda drawn from the Senate committee hearings. But I don't think we've seen even a beginning of this management campaign yet. Before long it will probably start coming in huge waves, particularly at unorganized plants in the South, as more and more ammunition is made available in the hearings.

In our industry and in other industries employees in newly opened plants are being bombarded with propaganda that their dues payments will serve only to keep union leaders in sumptuous luxury and in such extravagances as racing stables, vacation trips abroad, and gambling expenses.

The heat has been taken off big business and industry as organized labor has been placed on the defensive.

A billion-dollar electrical manufacturing corporation is involved in the employment of call girls to push appliance sales but that immoral spectacle is quickly overshadowed in the daily press by the involvement of a few union officials with bawdy houses.

The immorality of 9,000 employer violations of the child labor law last year is swiftly forgotten as headlines report connections between unions and pinball machine rackets.

The immoral spectacle of major manufacturers instigating and exploiting race hatred in the South as a means of blocking union organizing efforts is obscured by the supposedly more dramatic crime of union welfare funds mishandled.

Unethical profiteering persists in industry after industry. In your industry, for example, the price of newsprint has been hiked from $68 a ton in 1946 to $135 a ton 3 days ago. But that's made to appear trivial in comparison with the unethical behavior of a union leader who pads his expenses.

And so it goes. The publicity picture of big business and industry comes out one of relative purity and whiteness against a blackly evil picture of trade union abuses.

We can find neither excuse nor consolation in the fact that present day racketeering and corruption in the labor movement started here in Chicago in the early 1930's not with unions but with employers.

When Al Capone, "Bugs" Moran, and other gangsters first moved into the labor union field after the repeal of prohibition it was at the invitation of employers in the cleaning and dyeing industry. The employers wanted strong-arm men and gunsels to provide protection against what they termed "unfair competition" but what was actually the reluctance of a few companies to adhere to price-fixing conspiracies.

Once they obtained a foothold in that industry the racketeers moved quickly into other industries, organising phony unions for the benefit of employers and collecting from both sides—dues from captive members and shakedown payments from the employer who soon found himself as much of a trapped victim as his employees.

The labor movement cannot afford to let its moral and ethical standards fall to the level of big business and industry standards. We cannot let the false impression prevail that trade unionism is as susceptible to racketeering and corruption as big business.

The ground we have lost we must regain; we must reestablish our hard-won reputation as a movement of dedication, high principles, idealism and brotherhood.

To do this we must not tolerate for 1 minute longer than is necessary those elements that have brought disgrace and shame on the labor movement.

Either we drive the betrayers of unionism out of our movement quickly and forever or else we risk irreparable loss of integrity and even the possibility of ultimate defeat.

This is a time for anger; this is a time more than ever before for indignation and outrage in the labor movement. This is a time for wrathful action against those who would despoil an ideal that thousands of men and women have devoted their lives to building, an ideal for which others have even sacrificed their lives.

We will keep our faith with them, with both the dead and the living, and not only with the men and women of the labor movement today but those who will inherit the labor movement from us—our children and the generations to come.

We will let nothing—absolutely nothing—prevent us from leaving the American labor movement a finer and cleaner and more effective instrument for the brotherhood of man under God than we found it.

The Death of President Ramon Magsaysay

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in expressing grief over the tragic and untimely death of Ramon Magsaysay, President of the Philippine Republic.

This is an occasion for a reaffirmation of the close ties the people of this country have, and have had, with the people of the Philippines. When the United States gave the Philippines their independence in 1946, it was an outstanding example of what an enlightened policy toward underdeveloped areas can produce. At that time, after a distinguished and courageous record in leading the Philippine guerrilla army against the Japanese invader, President Magsaysay entered public life as a member of the Philippine Congress and as a stanch friend of the United States. He never wavered from that friendship.

In 1950, when the Communist-dominated Huk movement posed a grave internal threat, Ramon Magsaysay, as Defense Minister, set to the task of reforming the army and defeating the Communists. He did not do so simply by military means, but by a policy of land reform and service to the people so that the Huk movement would have no grievances to exploit. Rank and file Huks were given land to work and an opportunity for a new life.

Mr. Speaker, the loss of such a great national leader, sincere patriot, and American ally, should spur us on in developing policies in Asia that will have a deep and friendly understanding of the burning desire for independence and the desire for equality which characterize the development of these new nations. We took the lead in granting Philippine independence after World War II, a fact which was never forgotten by President Magsaysay. It is my hope that we shall continue to espouse democratic causes in Asia, by deed as well as by word. If we understand Asia and think in terms of her people and their aspirations for freedom, if we throw our influence behind the new democratic forces there rather than authoritarian ones, we will make freedom more powerful than communism there. We must shift our emphasis from the military to the political and, like Magsaysay, employ the human approach. No finer testimonial to the life of Ramon Magsaysay could be offered by the United States.

St. Patrick's Day Address by the Honorable Eugene J. McCarthy, of Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following outstanding address delivered by the Honorable EUGENE J. MCCARTHY, of Minnesota, at the dinner held by the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick on Saturday evening, March 16, 1957, in Wilkes-Barre, Pa.:

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS OF EUGENE J. MCCARTHY, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, FOURTH DISTRICT, MINNESOTA, FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK, WILKES-BARRE, PA., MARCH 16, 1957

St. Patrick's Day is a day for remembrances. It is a day on which we recall again the great names of Ireland, the names of the counties and the towns and the villages, of the hills and of the valleys, of the lakes and rivers and bays of Ireland. A day on which we recall again the names of her saints and of her scholars, to recite and list again the names of her great patriots and leaders, of her singers and of her poets. Even though many of us have never seen the places, just as we have not seen or known the saints of Ireland, both the persons and the places come alive again in our minds and in our hearts. We recall the names of Donegal and Tyrone and Armagh in the North, of Kildare and Meath, Wicklow and Dublin in the east, of Waterford and Cork and Kerry in the South, of Limerick, Clare, Galway and Sligo in the west. The names of Niall, Cormack, Brian, Murray, O'Connor, Parnell, O'Connell, Plunkett, Emmet and Hyde; the names of Patrick, Bridget and Columkille, and Brendun and Malaky and all the rest of the saints, and the great leaders and the scholars, and the bards and genealogists and the poets of Ireland.

It is difficult for those who are not Irish to understand the character of the Irish. There is a strong undercurrent of sadness in any joyous Irish celebration. An on the other hand even in Irish mourning there is an element of the joyful. The Irish wake is not an accident. This seeming division characterizes the history of the Irish people as it does characterize the Irish personality. The line between the consideration of Ireland as a grey-haired old lady mourning in the shadows for the loss of her sons and waiting in vain for help from across the waves, and the consideration of Ireland as vigorous and fertile, producing sons and daughters and sending them forth triumphantly to the ends of the earth. The lines between the things of time and those of eternity, between the times of peace and the times of trouble have been finely drawn. It is common in the characterization of nations to picture them in an hour of triumph, and of strength and victory, rather than in a time of defeat and suffering. This is not the case with Ireland and the Irish people. The Irish character has not been formed and proved in 1 short test, or in 1 shining hour. It has been slow tested and proved in a long and bitter history, in defeat and oppression and suffering. It has been proved not only as to heroic virtues, but also as to unheroic ones; not only as to courage and fortitude and greatness of mind, but as to patience and tolerance and long suffering; the little, and unheroic virtues, without which neither a nation nor a man can claim perfection.

It seems as a result of this long slow testing, the Irish have developed a sensitivity which permits them to hear the last note of the harp, or the song of freedom, after other ears have become deaf to it. It permits them to see the last spark of freedom in what was once a great fire after other eyes no longer see that light, and to feel the warmth of freedom, and of hope, in what to others may appear to be a cold lump of peat. The Irish character as a result of this testing and trial has been marked by a great longing and aspiration for freedom. That longing and aspiration has been expressed in the five great loves of the Irish people.

First is their great love for country, for the soil of Ireland, for its towns and its people. So great is this love and longing, that the greatest punishment set for Columkille, the saint, was that he could no longer set foot on Irish soil. And so we have, all of us, in a sense remained exiles whenever we have been away from Ireland. Like Columkille we can say: "There is a grey eye which ever turns to Erin. What joy to fly upon the white-crested sea, and to sight the waves breaking upon the Irish shore. To return to Ireland where the song of the birds is so sweet and the clerks sing as well, where the young are so gentle and the old are so wise, where great men are noble and the women so fair."

The second great love of the Irish is their love for religion, for the things of the spirit. At the time of the coming of Christianity the Irish spirit was willing and ready. St. Patrick came and was received without martyrdom. The same cannot be said of the other lands, not of Rome, not of Gaul, nor of the East, nor even of the new continents found across the sea. Ireland gained the title of Isle of Saints and became the source of missionaries to all corners of the world.

The third great love of the Irish is their love of learning. It was this great love that kept alive the flame of knowledge and the pursuit of truth during the dark period of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries.

The fourth great love is that of political freedom—a love which sustained the Irish in standing against the Danes and the Normans, the Tudor armies, the hosts of Cromwell, and all the soldiers of the King.

The fifth great love is that of poetry and song. A love so strong and deep and so consequential that as late as the 15th and 16th centuries English rulers were moved to impose special penalties on bards, minstrels, rhymers, and genealogists who sustained the lords and gentlemen in their love of rebellion and other crimes and which moved the soldiers of Cromwell to break the harps still found on the walls of the cottages of the Irish at the time of the invasion. The ancient Gaelic law recognized this in forbidding the seizure by justice in any house of any Gael whatsoever, one of his books, his sword, or his harp. For his book was the symbol of his intellectual and of his spiritual freedom. The sword was the symbol of his political freedom, and the harp was the symbol of all the things that the human heart aspires to.

We must not, of course, forget the faults and failings of the Irish people. Not everyone is made perfect by adversity. There remains in some of the Irish a tendency to be cynical and to be negative, to find fault, to detract, and to criticize. It is not these which the world needs today of the Irish but a positive contribution based on the best of Irish tradition and inheritance. The times in which we live are not altogether bright. These may not be the worst of times, as some say. They may seem to be the worst in contrast with the hopeful optimism of this century in its beginning, for one by one modern man has seen the lights by which he thought he was guided grow dim and fade. The evils which the modern age asserted it was about to destroy forever—the evils of pain and suffering, of persecution, of torture, of ignorance, even the fear of evil, and finally the fear of fear which were to be abolished forever—all have returned in this century, and in this generation. And in some cases, like the evil spirit of the Gospel, once driven out they have returned sevenfold.

It is not enough for us merely to be aware of this distressful fact. These are not new difficulties. They were recognized long ago and best stated, I think, by the ancient Celtic monk, Cadoc the Wise. Cadoc expressed his concern over his own times and over times that might come in what was known and called Cadoc's Song of Hate. It was not really a song of hate, but rather a song of grief in which he catalogued all of those bad things, all of those undesirable things which he wished to see removed from the life of man. The Song of Hate runs thus:

"I hate the judge who loves money, and the scribe who loves war, and chiefs who do not guard their subjects, and nations without vigor.
I hate houses without dwellers, lands untilled, fields that bear no harvest.
Landless clans, the agents of error, the oppressors of truth.
I hate him who respects not father or mother, those who make strife among friends.
A country in anarchy, lost learning, and uncertain boundaries.
I hate journeys without safety, families without virtue, lawsuits without reason.
Ambushes and treasons, faults in counsel and justice unhonored.
I hate a man without a trade, a laborer without freedom, a society without freedom, a society without teachers, a false witness before a judge, the undeserving exalted to high position.
Fables in place of teaching, knowledge without inspiration.
Sermons without eloquence, and a man without a conscience."

The world needs the revival of the five great loves of the Irish today as it has always needed them. It needs love leading to positive action. In a time when the traditions of the past are rejected and frowned upon, when learning and truth must compete in the market place with falsehood and error and the only test is that of which is most useful, there is a great need for the return of the love of truth and the love of learning. When love of country and love of political freedom in many areas of the world have been destroyed, there is a great need for the revival of the Irish love of country. When the faith has grown cold and has been rejected my many, the love of the faith too must be revivified. When love of poetry is looked upon by some as unmanly, when it has little or no place in the deliberations of man, there is a great need for a revival of this Irish love of song and poetry. This, then, is the pattern and the way. For as Cadoc again said: "No man is the son of knowledge if he is not the son of poetry. No man loves poetry without loving light. Nor the light without loving the truth. Nor the truth without loving justice. Nor justice without loving God. And he who loves God cannot fail to be happy."

The responsibility of the sons of St. Patrick, of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, is clear. Let us hope that all may so meet and fulfill their responsibility that each and everyone say that he has been the good servant of learning and of song and poetry, but in all things God's good servant first. And then we can hope that the good St. Patrick, in his right, may judge us all with gentleness.

The Kids Fight Back

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, there has been called to my attention by one of the pages of the Senate an article entitled "The Kids Fight Back," by Joseph N. Bell, and published in the January number of the Coronet magazine. Freedom Foundation recently gave a special award for progress against vandalism. This article gives a good answer to what we hear so much of; namely, the delinquency of our youth. The kids are fighting back. They are fighting for good government.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE KIDS FIGHT BACK

(By Joseph N. Bell)

The trouble in Dallas began on March 6, 1956, when a half dozen windshields on used-car lots were peppered with BB pellets, and motorists about the city were shot at from cars filled with teen-agers.

Nightly, thereafter, the number of these attacks grew, the damage mounted steadily and Dallas became steadily more incensed at its young people.

At the end of 2 weeks, police estimated that 1,000 autos and 250 houses, schools, and business firms had been damaged by flying pellets to a total of more than $50,000. Ballistics tests showed that the missiles were coming from a mixture of air rifles, .22 caliber rifles and slingshots.

On March 16, the police stepped up night patrols and began stopping and searching teen-agers seen loitering.

In the midst of all this, Bill Crowell, a 15-year-old sophomore at Forest Avenue High School had an idea. Bill was a member of a high school organization called the Key Club, which was dedicated to public service works on behalf of school and community.

Who, thought Bill, could better put a stop to this senseless deviltry than the kids themselves? He believed that only a small minority were involved in the shootings. Perhaps concerted action by the majority would bring them into line. So, with the help of three buddies, he prepared a pledge to be circulated in the schools.

On March 17, while Key Club members from all but 2 Dallas high schools were meeting to consider the pledge, the vandalism hit an ugly high. That night, police arrested 24 juveniles on suspicion of pellet-gun raiding. Two boys were caught breaking into schools where they smashed more than 100 windows. Windshields were shot out of 57 cars at one used-car lot—in spite of a night watchman especially hired to protect them. A motorist was hit by pellets in 2 different parts of the city.

Two days later, the Key Club pledge was read and explained to the students at Forest High School. It said, in part:

"We, as citizens of this great United States, realize that her future will lie in our hands. * * * To prevent damaging our heritage, we shall respect the properties of all people. * * * Therefore, we pledge ourselves to abstain from any form of vandalism and earnestly recommend that others do the same."

Students began signing the pledge at Forest that afternoon. Tuesday, it was circulating in other Dallas schools with Key Clubs. The following day it appeared at the two non-Key Club schools, sponsored by student leaders who had been approached by Key clubbers. Up to 95 percent of the students were signing the pledge.

On Thursday, damage began to taper off and by Saturday things were almost back to normal.

Prompt police action had had a decisive effect in stopping the pellet-gun spree. But so, too, had the Key Clubs, which both city and police officials were quite willing to admit.

Key Club members all over the Nation are used to coping with such problems. For it was a serious one in Sacramento, Calif., that brought about the creation of the first Key Club in 1925. The problem there was secret high-school fraternities which had gotten completely out of hand.

A high-school vocational-guidance director named Frank Vincent realized that the only way to get rid of fraternities was to offer the youngsters a satisfactory substitute. This he did, in the form of a boys' club dedicated to a community service. Mr. Vincent figured if he could get the key youngsters in the school to go along with the idea, the others would follow. Hence the name he selected: Key Club.

With the help of the local Kiwanis Club, the first Key Club was formed. In a few years Kiwanians all over the country were activating Key Clubs. In 1942, Key Club International was formed, and today there are about 1,443 clubs in the United States and Canada, with a membership of some 33,892.

Most Key Club activities center on local problems, which the youngsters attack with tremendous zeal. When money is required to do a job, they go out and earn it—usually by selling the club's manpower for baby-sitting, car washing or similar activities. The only financial help they get is an occasional assist from a local Kiwanis Club—usually to help send representatives to the national convention of Key clubbers held each year.

But while focusing their major attention locally, Key Clubs are also capable of getting together to attack a national problem with potent impact. In 1953, Key Clubs took a hard look at the growing problem of vandalism. Almost $2 billion was going down the drain annually in the United States from wanton destruction. The following year, Key Club International adopted stop vandalism as its No. 1 goal.

Because Key Clubbers are able to approach this problem from the understanding viewpoint of enlightened youngsters trying to straighten out kids who have gotten out of line, they have achieved some remarkable results throughout the Nation.

In Laconia, N. H., Key Club members prepared and distributed antivandalism posters, appeared on the local radio station, in school assemblies and anywhere else they could be heard, appealing to fellow teens to stop acts of vandalism. Club members were so sure they had won their point that they offered to clean up or make right any damage done the following Halloween. Result: they had nothing to do to make good their pledge.

The Lewiston, Maine, Key Club antivandalism campaign was centered around the theme of respect—for self, elders, school, and community. A Key Club-sponsored Teacher Appreciation Day was held to focus attention on manners toward their elders. Each one of the 1,047 students came to school in his best clothes and cooperated in a spirit never dreamed of.

Sunbury, Pa., Key Clubbers sponsored an imaginative and effective drive to rid the community of horror-crime comic books which they considered a basic cause of vandalism and delinquency. They hit newsdealers who handled such books with a three-pronged attack: through city officials whose aid they enlisted in the campaign; through private citizens, especially parents, whom they encouraged to stop in at newsstands and express their feelings; and through personal calls on newsstand dealers. As a result, there hasn't been a single horro-crime comic book sold in Sunbury for more than a year.

The most spectacular of all Key Club antivandalism projects has been a youth rally staged for the past 2 years at Chicago's International Amphitheater. Last April, more than 35,000 Chicago high-school students crowded into the amphitheater to hear a group of top professional entertainers (who contributed their services) along with a discussion of juvenile problems from civic leaders and representatives of the kids.

The Key Clubbers who put across the youth rally were hoping to accomplish two things: prove to doubting adults that most young people are not delinquents but really interested in making their city a better place in which to live; and focus attention on and build up popularity among youngsters in positive objectives, and thereby bring borderline juveniles over to the right side.

Well over 100,000 Chicago high-school students have signed the youth rally pledge: "To respect my parents and to act so as to bring them honor; to cherish my school, for it gives me the tools to think and work by; to keep out of trouble and help others to stay on the right track; to serve God, to be a credit to my country and to make my city a better place to live in."

The winner of the youth rally slogan contest for boys last year was an inmate of the State reform school. He made a moving appeal to the huge audience of youngsters to stay out of trouble when he accepted his prize. Amos Reed, superintendent of the Illinois State Training School for Boys, said: "In all my years of training schoolwork, I've never seen anything like this. The rally showed our boys that this is not the end of the line. We continue to reap a harvest of positive thinking and good will as a result of the rally."

Positive thinking is a commodity in which Key Clubbers deal plentifully. They especially like to impress one point: that any community, working in concert, can lick any problem, whether or not there is a Key Club to lead the drive. Thus, when a local Key Club comes up with a big idea (like the youth rally) which is adaptable to many communities, Key Club International at 520 North Michigan Avenue in Chicago puts out a bulletin blueprinting the plan for any community group that would like to try it. Where a Key Club is available, these youngsters usually lead the drive. But any group of kids—the high school letterman's club, for example—could take over the job.

The Key Clubs have no problem attracting members—in spite of the high local standards set for membership. Applicants are usually screened by school authorities, and the size of the club dictated by the facilities available. Some clubs have more than 100 members, but most have much less.

"We've never lost a club for lack of membership or flagging interest," says Frank McCabe, director of Key Club International, proudly. "Rather, our problem is keeping the club from becoming unwieldy while still bringing in all the youngsters who want to work. And believe me, there are lots of them."

Freedom's Foundation (at Valley Forge) recently honored Key Clubs with a special award for progress against vandalism. No group has ever deserved such an award more. And no group has ever fought harder to earn recognition for the overwhelming majority of young people who are not only sincere and respectful but conscientious Americans as well.

Blueprint for Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the current issue of Life magazine—March 18, 1957—contains a timely article on civil defense entitled "Scientific Blueprint for Atomic Survival."

I commend this article to the House for reading in connection with our consideration of the bill to appropriate funds for the Federal Civil Defense Administration. In suggesting the type of civil defense programs our Nation needs, it contrasts sharply with the program advanced by the Federal Civil Defense Administration.

This article reflects the considered judgment of outstanding scientists who have been studying the hazards of nuclear weapons. Their conclusion is that to survive a possible enemy attack on the United States we must have shelters. Time will not permit us to run away, and even if we had considerable advance warning there is no place to go, so widespread are the hazards of nuclear weapons.

One of the men most responsible for the development of the hydrogen bomb, Dr. Edward Teller, states:

It is necessary to provide every person in the United States with a shelter.

Dr. Teller recently testified before the Holifield subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, at which time he urged the adoption of a realis-

tic shelter program as the essential first step toward insuring the survival of our people in the event of an enemy attack.

I ask unanimous consent to have the Life magazine article mentioned above printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

SCIENTIFIC BLUEPRINT FOR ATOMIC SURVIVAL—DIFFERENCE BETWEEN VICTORY AND DEFEAT

(By Willard Bascom)

The nuclear bomb poses, for the first time in history, a serious direct threat to the American people. The means to annihilate our unprepared civilian population is already in the hands of our potential enemy and the need for preparation should be obvious. Yet the bulk of our population is totally unprepared today to meet a war emergency.

Our civil defenses are incomplete partly because the public is so little aware of its danger and partly because the few who have investigated the effects of nuclear attack tend to be overwhelmed by the horrors they foresee. There is a temptation to say, "What's the use?"

But there is a use. Civil defense is not a hopeless task. If war should come an adequate program could save millions of people. It could mean the difference between American victory and defeat. And although it cannot guarantee the survival of any specific person, it can guarantee that the United States will continue to exist and to work for the things that we believe in.

Civil defense could also be of great value in preventing a war. Our policy in foreign affairs is to take a strong stand against Soviet intimidation of our allies and the neutral nations. But a strong stand, with the threat of war it implies, may be meaningless if the enemy knows that our civilian population is virtually naked before an attack. Protective arrangements for the public would greatly strengthen the hand of our President in a crisis by increasing his bargaining capacity at the international conference table.

The development of adequate civil defenses will be expensive, difficult, and time-consuming. Defenses cannot be prepared after a crisis is reached. They must be methodically increased over a period of years as a natural back-up to our military readiness. The most practical way to accomplish this is by emphasizing dual-use projects with peacetime as well as wartime applications. The very fact that all-out nuclear war does not appear to be likely in the near future—one reason for the present indifference—gives us a chance to plan and carry out public defense programs at a pace that will not endanger our economy or cause any raised eyebrows in the world.

Before considering a detailed program of civil defense, we should understand the nature of the threat.

First we must face the fact that there is no complete military defense against atomic attack. Complicated defenses will be invented and improved but they will never be perfect. Nuclear explosives can be carried by planes, or, eventually, by missiles launched from submarines. In a few years intercontinental missiles capable of carrying the H-bomb may become a reality.

HIGH PRIORITY TARGETS

The targets these might be aimed at cannot be predicted with certainty, but it seems likely that our air striking force, our air defenses and our centers of government, industry, communications, credit, and shipping would have highest priority. However, since the effects of the explosions are far-reaching and since we can assume that many bombs and missiles will widely miss their targets, everyone in the country will be in danger.

There are three major effects of attack against which we must protect ourselves:

IMMEDIATE PHYSICAL DAMAGE

At the instant of nuclear burst there is a great flash of light and heat. People many miles away who are looking directly at the burst will be blinded, perhaps permanently. The heat from a relatively small A-bomb like the one that fell on Hiroshima is strong enough to ignite white paper or unpainted wood at 4,000 to 6,000 feet and to burn human skin or ignite newsprint at 5,000 to 10,000 feet, depending on the amount of haze in the air. The blast pressure 3,000 feet from the center is 15 pounds per square inch—the equivalent of doubling atmospheric pressure. Our bodies can stand fairly rapid and substantial pressure changes, but many of the things around us cannot. Injuries to people are therefore much more likely to be caused by falling structures or flying objects than by the blast pressure itself. Glass, for example, may be flung about by as little as one-half pound per square inch of pressure (at Hiroshima people were seriously cut by glass over 5 miles from the explosion) and brick walls may be toppled by only 3 or 4 pounds per square inch.

The effect of a hydrogen bomb is, of course, many times greater than that of the A-bomb: In a 10-megaton H-bomb explosion that extra 15 pounds per square inch of pressure would be felt 24,000 feet away instead of only 3,000 and it would last 8 times as long.

Besides producing immediate radiation, heat, and blast, nuclear explosions endanger life by the lingering radiation they release. It is the fallout of radioactive particles that poses the greatest danger at a distance from the explosion. The all-penetrating gamma radiation kills body cells and reduces resistance to infection. Protection against these rays will be a major problem.

PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS

In the past our enemies have employed psychological warfare with considerable talent. They would certainly use it in any future attempt to destroy the United States. This form of warfare exerts its greatest power over people who are poorly informed about natural phenomena and who are likely to be terrorized by things which they do not understand. The possible hazards of radiation, germs, and chemical warfare could make every innocent bit of dust seem a radioactive fragment, every smoky cloud a poison gas attack and every ant a deadly germ, and make people afraid to eat, drink, breathe, go out of doors and mingle with others. The terror resulting from ignorance could paralyze large numbers of the people on whom national recovery and support of damaged areas would depend.

GENERAL DISRUPTION

A public which is confined in shelters or scattered to unfamiliar areas will have great difficulty caring for itself. People whose homes are destroyed will be threatened by the weather until they can be relocated or housing facilities can be rebuilt. They will be threatened by hunger until food processing and distribution systems can be reconstructed and farm products harvested. They will be threatened by sickness until drugs can be distributed and sanitation systems restored.

Finally, many people accustomed to easy living and much comfort may regard the loss of material things as the end of everything and may lack the spirit to continue. It seems possible that an attack could disrupt our society so completely that the ability to continue an organized fight would vanish and we would not be able to rise up again, reorganize and carry on—during the war or in the subsequent peace.

People who say they do not wish to survive amid the debris of nuclear war do not seem to realize that America is much more than the sum of its physical assets. Those it can lose, if it must, without irreparable injury. It is much more important that we do not lose the desire to maintain our part of the world in the freedom and democracy it has always symbolized.

A BUILT-IN DEFENSE

Such are the dangers. A defense must be devised that seems likely to counter them. Its goal should be the best protection we can actually provide rather than the best that is theoretically possible; it must get public support by being based on more durable motivations than fear or horror; it must offer a promise of better and more secure living; it must be made an effective part of our war deterrent; it must be built into our way of life.

The responsibility for this, as with all forms of national defense, rests with the Federal Government, which must provide the leadership, the overall planning and much of the financing. A real civil defense requires the following measures:

1. There should be general public understanding of enough of the physical and biological effects of nuclear explosions so that people can take the best possible protective action, before, during, and after an attack.

A Federal program to encourage the study of basic physical and biological science in schools at all levels would help prepare the public for both peace and war. Weapons effects should not be emphasized in such studies. Instead, the understanding of radiant heat or sunshine, of thunder, combustion engines or deep-sea diving problems, of X-rays—all things within common experience—would make possible an easy understanding of the similar thermal, blast, and radiation effects of nuclear weapons.

Subsidies might be offered providing part or all of the support for the additional teachers, books, and training aids required by schools that would accent science courses. A scholarship program would make it possible for good students to continue with these studies and for teachers to keep up with new developments in science education. Another possibility would be federally financed, university-produced TV programs, filmed and live, dealing with the same subjects.

Of all the bets that the United States can place on itself to ensure a bright peacetime future and contribute simultaneously to its defensive capabilities, this seems to be the most attractive.

2. Stout shelters are required, well equipped and provisioned and easily accessible to all people, especially while they are at home.

Evacuation of the crowded centers of assumed target areas has been ardently proposed as an alternative to shelters. At best, it would be an interim measure usable by some if the time between warning and attack is relatively long. Arguments for or against evacuation as a policy have hinged more often on whether it is feasible to move cars out of town rapidly than on whether it is the best thing to do for protection. As one measure that may help reduce casualties from direct bombing by manned aircraft, evacuation is worth consideration so long as it does not block a more permanent defense. Permanent defense means shelters.

It is possible to build shelters which will offer protection anywhere outside of the bomb crater (even within the atomic fireball) either by making them of very thick concrete or by excavating them in solid rock. Perhaps in densely populated areas near obvious targets, or for the protection of valuable facilities or workers, such high-strength shelters will have a place. Outside of this relatively small area, whose location cannot be forecast, shelters of somewhat lesser strength appear to be more economical and offer many other advantages.

Well-protected areas already exist in cities, in the form of deep basements, subways, and the like, which could readily be developed into shelters. New shelters can be most efficiently created by the construction of dual-purpose facilities which are kept in constant use in time of peace. For example, most cities seem to be in chronic need of transportation facilities, such as parking garages, bus and railroad terminals, or roadway underpasses. These are designed to bear heavy loads and could be adapted for use as shelters in an emergency. The Federal Government might subsidize construction of underground parking garage shelters just as it does that of ocean liners which can be converted to wartime use as troop transports. The cost of such structures would in many cases be self-liquidating.

Most Americans spend about three-quarters of their time at home, so the obvious place to have shelters which can be quickly reached at any time is in or near the home. There people will have the security of familiar surroundings and will be able to provide themselves with supplies from the house even when contact with the outside is cut off for several days. Although unattractive by comparison with ordinary living conditions, a family shelter should be incomparably more pleasant than a communal shelter shared with strangers of varying tastes and habits.

HOW TO GET SHELTERS BUILT

A Federal program is needed to stimulate the construction of such shelters. One or more of the following inducements might be offered: More favorable financing for homes with shelters, making materials or prefab shelter units available at low cost, providing property tax benefits for shelter owners—justifiable because it would be unnecessary to provide public-shelter facilities for people who have their own—or offering actual cash of up to two-thirds the total cost to shelter builders. As an absolute minimum effort, a social atmosphere must be created in which a person can provide a shelter for his family without being regarded as an idiot or an alarmist by his neighbors.

One way of demonstrating Government faith in the advisability of having shelters would be to build them for the families of the fighting men on or near military reservations, especially at Strategic Air Command bases and other likely targets.

3. A warning system should be established capable of arousing the attention of everyone in the country within the few minutes that will be available in the era of missiles so that all can quickly receive instructions and take protective measures.

To the present air-raid sirens which are effective in densely populated areas must be added a system of warning devices which will be more efficient in suburban and rural areas. One promising means of reaching into each home is via radio receivers which can be modified to monitor continuously for a broadcast warning.

It has been estimated that a system capable of warning 95 percent of the people in the United States could be built and maintained for about 80 cents per person per year. Some of this money would be spent in subsidies to manufacturers of warning devices, some would go into enlarging the public-warning system. An effective warning system is absolutely necessary for without it the vastly more expensive shelter program will be of little use.

4. Two major radio communications systems are required, one for the public, the other for the Government. The first should be capable of transmitting information to the public continuously from the instant of warning until the emergency has passed. The other should be able to keep government groups at all levels in contact with one another so that central control can be maintained in the emergency.

The public network would disseminate information about the imminent danger, the progress of the war and the best possible action to circumvent each danger. It would soothe and divert persons in shelters. Transmitters would (1) be manned continuously, in peace as well as war; (2) have several towers in dispersed locations; (3) have standby generators for emergency power; (4) have shelter facilities for staff and equipment; (5) have a stock of recorded announcements for use in each of many predictable contingencies; (6) monitor the Government network and accept instructions for retransmission to the public; and (7) have sufficient power to reach a substantial area. The Federal Government could designate certain existing commercial stations to be members of this national network, and could subsidize the expense of adding stations as required.

Radio receivers capable of operating independently of the public power system will be needed in or near every shelter.

The second communications network would enable State, local, and Federal Governments and subdivisions of each to maintain contact with one another. It also would allow the Nation's leaders to confer and to direct the work of reconstruction, thus permitting recovery and rehabilitation to be carried on as a coordinated national effort.

5. Some of the valuable assets of the country should be dispersed so that neither the bulk of our wealth nor any single irreplaceable element could be lost all at once.

The large nuclear bomb, if used against cities or large groups of civilians, is a cheap weapon. With it, great numbers of people can be killed a relatively small expense. One answer to a cheap weapon is a cheap target, and if people and their facilities can be spread so thinly that few are destroyed by each bomb, then the bomb is no longer cheap. The ideal (but obviously impractical) solution would be to distribute the people, the commerce and industry, the transportation and communications lines and other attractive targets evenly throughout the country. Fortunately, the most flexible and easiest of these to move—the people—is also the most valuable. If the people survive, the physical assets can be rebuilt; if the skilled people are lost it will take generations to replace them. Therefore the principal aim of dispersal must be to keep people spread as thinly as possible and separated from obviously attractive targets while danger is greatest.

There is already a marked trend away from urban areas toward dispersed living as a result of easy financing and inexpensive subdivision housing and more convenient automotive transportation to the cities and shopping areas.

Continued easy credit and development of highways and other transportation probably will produce as much dispersal as any direct program. The trend could be speeded even more by the construction of broad high-speed roads beyond those now required and by making credit easier in areas of less dense population.

6. A radiological defense plan must be developed so that areas of fallout can be identified and the hazard evaluated. It will be absolutely necessary to make rapid surveys as soon as the onslaught has subsided so that people will not spend unnecessary time in shelters in areas where there is little radioactivity, and will not emerge too soon in dangerous areas. Ground and aerial measurements must be made and passed along to points where they can be plotted and analyzed. The program must also offer instructions about the nature of the danger and means of decontamination.

7. Stockpiles must be accumulated of certain items such as medical supplies, processed foodstuffs, cloth (for tents or window coverings) and the like, as a safeguard against the temporary failure of our production and distribution system.

8. Measures must be taken to redevelop certain urban areas, especially for the purpose of reducing the possibility of great fires in areas which may not otherwise be seriously damaged. Shelters will not afford adequate protection to a populace unless safeguards are also provided against major fires.

A program of replacing slums with garden apartments and of constructing firebreaks in the form of parks and wide boulevards is clearly desirable from the point of view of improving city living as well as of defense. The Government could give additional stimulation and impetus to the existing desire for such projects by providing long-term financing at favorable rates.

9. Washington, D. C., must set an example if the United States public is to be expected to take a Federal program seriously. The Government must demonstrate a belief in the measures that are advocated, for it is obvious that our Nation's capital is a target of high priority on the enemy list. Government buildings, especially those now planned or under construction, should have built-in shelters.

10. A new department of the Federal Government should be set up to provide guidance and subsidies to those who require them during the periods of preparation, attack, and recovery.

This department would devise a comprehensive plan; it would conceive, build, and operate the parts of the program which are purely Federal (such as a warning system, a radiological monitoring system, a stockpile system); it would dispense funds for shelters and for dual-purpose developments to local government, private groups, and individuals; it would organize existing national facilities, both public and private, for effective use in wartime; it would encourage public education in technical subjects; it would devise means of testing the efficiency of its defenses—and it would be responsible for making the Washington, D. C., defense into a model for others as a demonstration of Federal interest. A bill to set up a Federal department somewhat along these lines has been introduced in the House by Representative CHET HOLIFIELD, of California.

The importance of dual-use projects for improving our defensive capabilities can scarcely be overstated. Many of the things proposed should be done anyway to keep pace with our rapidly expanding population and economy. It is quite clear that the country needs such things as improved educational facilities, especially in the sciences; a greatly expanded network of roads, including access highways to cities and to undeveloped areas; slum clearance; a widespread microwave communications system, and additional parking facilities in cities.

These are all-important elements of civil defense. However, they should be undertaken by local governments. They should not be under the centralized control of a civil defense department, nor should an important part of their cost be charged to it. Rather, this agency should (1) harness our protective instincts to furnish an additional motive and help us rationalize the costs; (2) see that the planning for each of these huge programs really does take the possibility of war into account; (3) supply the money for the additional cost of modifying the plans to make them more useful for defense.

It is not proposed that defense organizations take control of every aspect of our country's development. This is rather a plea for making a coordinated plan which takes all of the Nation's needs into account at the same time so that each can be accomplished more efficiently. It is hoped and expected that the percentage of the total

effort that would be identified directly with civil defense would be quite small.

How much might such a program cost? Anything that must be provided for 170 million Americans can't help being expensive. But in trying to estimate the price of this insurance against an event that we instinctively feel is unlikely, we must keep two things in mind: defensive facilities cannot be built at the last minute; their cost is necessarily spread over several years. And there can be a considerable contribution to peacetime efficiency and convenience from dual-use projects.

If we set as a goal the provision of 90 percent of the protective measures outlined here within 6 years (1 year of planning and 5 of construction), the total cost can be expected to be around $24 billion or an average of $4 billion per year. Not all of this expense, of course, would be borne by the Federal Government. In any case, it is not beyond our means: $4 billion is about 10 percent of the present Defense Department budget.

Most of the sum allotted to civil defense would go into shelters of various kinds. The warning and communications networks, the educational programs, and the stockpiling and radiological defense expenses combined might cost as much as a billion dollars each. The remaining programs as well as some not indicated here, plus the cost of administration for 6 years, would absorb the balance. After the principal construction period is over, the continuing budget for replacement, maintenance, education, administration, and so forth, would level off at perhaps $500 million a year.

These are admittedly rough guesses. Only the most rigorous engineering study of each item can be expected to produce accurate figures. However, it seems quite probable that they are within a factor of two, that is, the ultimate cost will be between half and twice these sums. For the purpose of making a decision to embark on a real civil-defense program that is probably close enough.

Most of the foregoing proposals have been offered many times before by others, and some of the needs, long since recognized, have been partly translated into reality. But the bulk of the work is still to be done. Unfortunately, too many people seem to believe that if war comes some magic will intervene to save them and that they are not personally required to make troublesome and expensive preparations on their own behalf. Let us hope that they are right and that evolutionists did not have them in mind when they speculated that war is a eugenic process which eliminates those without a special will to live.

Mr. Phleger Steps Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it is with real regret that I noticed that Herman Phleger, legal adviser of the State Department and a resident of the Ninth Congressional District of California, is leaving the Government service.

Like so many other Government officials, he has stayed in Washington at a tremendous sacrifice to himself and his family; and while we are all disappointed to see him leave, we are extremely pleased to have had him here for the past 4 years.

The editorial in the Washington Post and Times Herald this morning paid a very deserving tribute to Mr. Phleger and his service, which I wish to include with my own remarks here in the RECORD:

MR. PHLEGER STEPS OUT

Herman Phleger, legal adviser of the State Department, will be slipping out of Washington on April 1 as quietly as he came in more than 4 years ago. He holds no place among the noisier elements of Washington's officialdom. His name has seldom been mentioned in the newspapers. Yet it is no exaggeration to say that his departure will leave a gaping hole in the Department; for Mr. Phleger, in his unassuming way, has managed the legal adviser's office with much distinction and exerted a strong influence in some areas of policymaking.

His quiet but effective work was in large measure responsible for the defeat of the ill-conceived Bricker amendment to undercut the President's authority in directing the country's foreign policy. He was a source of seasoned advice to the American delegation at the Inter-American Conference at Caracas, the Geneva Conference on Indochina and Korea, the Summit Conference, the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva, and at numerous conferences abroad on the Suez crisis. As one of the country's eminent jurists, he has exerted a strong pull toward reliance upon international law in the conduct of our foreign relations. As Mr. Phleger returns to the practice of law in San Francisco, he will carry the best wishes of his coworkers and hosts of others who have come into contact with his keen mind and his engaging personality.

House Budget Resolution Popular

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I received a great number of favorable letters from Indiana in regard to the resolution which the House passed 2 weeks ago asking the President to assist in cutting the budget.

The following is an editorial from V. M. Simmons, publisher of the Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette, on this resolution:

EISENHOWER'S BUDGET TROUBLES

President Eisenhower is suffering from an acute case of budget troubles.

He has only himself to blame.

The Federal budget is an Eisenhower budget.

He, himself, submitted it to Congress. It bore his stamp of approval and his recommendation of passage.

It was the biggest and most bloated peacetime budget in the history of the Nation.

Ex-President Herbert Hoover felt it necessary to object publicly, and he issued a statement against the Government's extravagance.

A member of the President's official family, Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey, told a committee of Congress that it was absolutely necessary to reduce the cost of Government, and predicted trouble if this was not accomplished.

The Secretary advocated substantial reductions in the Eisenhower budget.

The Wall Street Journal, heretofore friendly to the Eisenhower administration, complained bitterly and demanded budget cuts and Government economies.

The press in every section of the country joined in the demand for budget revision. Finally, the American people, surprised and angry, made themselves heard in Washington.

Congress, always quick to react when public opinion expresses itself, acted promptly.

Senator STYLES BRIDGES, chairman of the Republican policy committee and recognized as one of the most partisan Republicans in the Senate, loudly demanded in a speech from the floor a substantial saving in the operation of the Government.

The Republican members of his committee joined their chairman in criticizing excessive Government expenditures.

Finally, the House of Representatives passed a resolution asking President Eisenhower to point out where "substantial reductions could be made in his record peacetime budget of $71.8 billion."

The country will approve the action of the House in this connection.

President Eisenhower should be glad of the opportunity to justify the budget which he, himself, created.

Certainly the American people would not understand if the President were to show any reluctance on his part in cooperating with Congress on this very important legislation.

The Sugar Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, one of the principal services performed by the Sugar Act since its original adoption more than 20 years ago is the stability it has brought to the American sugar market. It has assured consumers ample supplies of sugar at fair and reasonable prices. Simultaneously, it has permitted sufficient returns to producers to help maintain a healthy domestic sugar industry. The extreme market fluctuations of former years, when consumers and domestic producers alike were at the mercy of unstable and unpredictable world sugar developments, no longer exist.

When the Sugar Act came up for renewal last year, some opponents theorized that American consumers would pay less for sugar if we ignored the domestic industry and relied primarily on importation from foreign producers. To support this notion they pointed out that the world market price for sugar was below the domestic price, as indeed it was at that time. Even forgetting that sugar crops—like California's sugar beets—are vital to our agricultural economy, the fallacy of the argument is shown by the present relationship between the world and domestic prices of sugar. On the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange today the world price of raw sugar for May delivery is 50 cents per hundred pounds higher than the domestic price for May delivery. International tensions apparently have produced a demand for sugar that exceeds the supplies available

on the world market, thus driving up prices.

World prices, in fact, doubled in the course of only 60 days. During the same period, domestic wholesale prices increased only 4 percent, with little or no change at the retail level. The reason, of course, is that the Sugar Act assured ample supplies of sugar for American consumers and thus there was no need for scare buying domestically.

Judging by the history of the past two decades, the world price will, in the future, be below the domestic price on some occasions, and above it on others. Thanks to the Sugar Act, however, the American housewife need fear neither depression nor inflation when she goes to the store to buy sugar.

Aid to Whom?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Titusville (Pa.) Herald of March 15, 1957:

AID TO WHOM?

Goaded by constant hammering from several large pressure groups and nearly buried under a steady snow of publicity about the shortage of school facilities in the United States, Congress has before it several proposals to give Federal aid to local education projects. The spending proposals range from $1.3 billion to $5 billion over a period of 4 or 5 years.

But the question which should concern us in Pennsylvania, especially in our own community, is who would be aiding whom?

Based on the tentative allotments by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the United States Chamber of Commerce has figured out that 16 States would get considerably less of each dollar back for each dollar of taxes paid to the Federal Government. Pennsylvanians, for example, would receive only 84 cents for each dollar going to Washington. New York would be hit even harder, receiving 33 cents in change for each dollar bill sent to the Nation's Capital.

On the other hand, 32 States would receive in allotments for education more money than their citizens paid in Federal taxes. Getting the biggest haul would be Mississippi, an admittedly poor State, which would reap nearly $6 return for each dollar of taxes. Even the so-called "boom" States would fare pretty well. Florida, for example, would get $1.14 cents in allotments for each tax dollar. Texas, the fabulous land of the "big rich," would do even better. It would receive $1.48 for each tax dollar.

The citizens of the "have" States would be wise to ponder the question thoroughly before being carried away by the magic phrase of "Federal aid to education" and shelling out tax dollars which would only benefit the "have nots."

It is well to remember that in Titusville especially we have foreseen our school problems, have taken concrete steps to solve them, and have made our own financial arrangements.

The Hebrew Home for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an address by the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, mayor of the city of New York, delivered Thursday, February 7, 1957, at the Sheraton-Astor Hotel in New York City at the anniversary luncheon of the men's club of the Hebrew Home for the Aged at Riverdale, N. Y.:

Mr. Toastmaster, ladies, and gentlemen, New York is very fortunate to have a great many voluntary organizations dedicated to serving our people on every level. Our religious bodies, institutions, service clubs, charity societies, educational, and social organizations and the like perform a most vital function in our city. They help to promote the general welfare and the well-being of our citizenry.

The millions of people in our city of different races, creeds, and colors could not live together in harmony without the human interest and sympathy and the active practical assistance of their neighbors.

I have been told that the Hebrew prayer book contains a special blessing for "all who in faithfulness occupy themselves with the needs of the community." It asks that "The Holy One, blessed be He, abundantly recompense them."

Surely, those men who are associated in the work of the men's club of the Hebrew Home for the Aged at Riverdale have richly earned this important blessing.

In the 11 years since the club was organized, it has performed valiantly in helping to establish this great new home for the Jewish aged at Riverdale where there are facilities for 350 elderly folk.

I understand that these accommodations will soon be augmented by the construction of a 100-bed infirmary addition. The current improvement and expansion program of this notable institution will enable it to provide shelter and care for 450 old people.

My welfare commissioner, Henry L. McCarthy, and his staff have frequently visited the Hebrew Home for the Aged at Riverdale. He informs me that it is a model haven for the aged, boasting facilities and services which have not yet been achieved by most institutions of this character.

The spacious ideal location of this home, in the most northerly section of our city, overlooking our beautiful Hudson River, is an excellent setting for the peace and comfort of those who must live their sunset years in a sheltered environment.

We are proud of the officers and supporters of the Hebrew Home for the Aged at Riverdale and of the members of its men's club, whose anniversary we are celebrating at this luncheon.

I congratulate Mr. Murray D. Sandler, the guest of honor, for his activities in behalf of this notable home.

In the last 10 years there has been a 40-percent increase in the number of Americans over the age of 65. There are today more than 14 million in this age group. They present problems to our society which cannot be completely and satisfactorily solved by Government agencies on the National, State, and local levels.

Our department of welfare has estimated that 620,000 persons 65 years of age and over reside in our metropolis. The city contributes to the support of the indigent aged. We also maintain special facilities to shelter and care for old people at the Goldwater Memorial Hospital, at the Bird S. Coler Memorial Hospital and Home and at the farm colony on Staten Island. We are about to add 250 more beds for the aged at Neponsit. We have appropriated a million dollars to convert the nurses' home on the old hospital grounds there for this purpose.

Furthermore, we have succeeded in developing a boarding-out program for old people who can reside with private families. We are giving special attention to creating special housing facilities for the aged. The mayor's advisory committee on the aged will soon launch a pilot project at the Vladeck houses for determining the needs and services required by older tenants.

Besides all of these important activities, we are continuing and improving our day center program for our older citizens. All told, a substantial part of our welfare budget is devoted to the care of the aged.

However, the important services performed by voluntary homes such as the Hebrew Home for the Aged at Riverdale, cannot be provided by the city. There are problems relating to religious observances, habits, and associations of a lifetime, that are not easily dealt with in our public institutions, even if we had the means to provide publicly supported homes for all those who require shelter care.

Our elderly neighbors need our personal interest and the attention of individuals such as we see here at this luncheon. Their profound human understanding, sympathy, and concern for the welfare of their fellow beings spur them on to provide special facilities for those who cannot help themselves when their strength fails them.

We proudly proclaim the advantages of our democratic way of life, where we operate in a free environment. We have succeeded in building great voluntary institutions to shelter and care for those who are unable to provide for themselves in their concluding years. The builders of these institutions give of their energies, time, and means. They give generously to construct these homes and to help sustain them. They deserve our profound thanks and appreciation.

The strength and security of our great city and our great democracy rests upon the men and women who graciously serve those who need their help.

Editors Favor Reducing Foreign-aid Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, throughout my 10 years in Congress I have been talking for and voting for cuts in foreign-aid spending.

As a Nation we have spent $53 billion on these foreign-aid giveaway programs. They have not produced returns commensurate with their enormous cost.

Almost everyone admits these programs have been and still are filled with waste.

I have been convinced all along that millions of American taxpayers have felt as I do about this subject—that they

were against giving away so much of their wealth to foreign countries.

Recently the American Press, official magazine of the weekly newspaper editors of the Nation, took a poll of all weekly editors asking them if the United States should, first, spend more; second, spend less; or, third, spend about the same on these foreign giveaway programs as it had been spending.

A total of 794 weekly newspaper editors sent replies to that poll. Of these 63 percent, nearly two-thirds said "cut foreign-aid spending," only 6 percent said "spend more" on foreign aid than we are now spending while 26 percent favored continuing the program at the level of last year. Five percent had no opinion.

Here is the question the American press propounded to the 794 editors and here are their answers by regions and by totals.

Question: During recent years Congress has appropriated about $4 billion each year for countries in other parts of the world, to help prevent their going communistic. Do you think Congress should appropriate more, less, or the same amount for the coming year?

[In percent]

Answer	North-east	South	North central	West	Total
More	7	4	7	8	6
Less	52	66	64	64	63
Same	34	24	25	24	26
No answer	7	6	4	4	5

Mr. Speaker, no one is closer to the people in his town than the weekly newspaper editor. Usually he helps gather his own news. He visits and talks with hundreds of his townsmen each week, on the street, in their offices and homes, at their clubs, lodges, and grange meetings. He has his ear to the ground and his hand on the pulse of public sentiment. He knows by daily personal contact what the people are thinking. As a trained newspaper man he knows how to evaluate public opinion.

Sixty-three percent of the weekly newspaper editors, in response to the American Press poll, say the people want foreign aid reduced. Nearly all citizens are agreed that the present $71.8 billion budget must be drastically reduced. One place the Congress can cut the budget drastically is by reducing foreign aid spending.

Gen. Ernest O. Thompson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, in Texas, we are very proud of Gen. Ernest O. Thompson, one of the truly great public servants of our times.

General Thompson, a member of the Texas Railroad Commission, probably knows more about oil than any other man. And he has applied his knowledge to help maintain a stable industry which is one of our greatest assets in war or in peace.

These are troubled, uncertain times for our domestic oil-producing industry. It is surrounded by problems, not the least of which is a great deal of misunderstanding.

Foreign imports are constantly rising, and during the first quarter of this year it is estimated that they amounted to nearly 20 percent of domestic production. This has led our domestic producers to ask just what happened to the protection which Congress approved for them.

Costs of discovery, drilling, and production are constantly on the increase. But any increase in price to offset higher expenses is met with a storm of protest.

It is fortunate for the Nation that in such a period we have a man of the caliber of General Thompson. He is an understanding man and a man of patience, as well as a good pilot to steer a ship through troubled waters.

The March 21 issue of the magazine Reporter carried an article on General Thompson, written by Douglass Cater, one of our more distinguished commentators. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GENERAL AND THE UMBRELLA

(By Douglas Cater)

For the independent oil producers of Texas, Gen. Ernest O. Thompson, patriarch of the Texas Railroad Commission, is almost as much an object of veneration as the Lone Star Flag. Thompson, who joined the three-man commission in 1932, has been reelected without opposition by the people of Texas to his last 2 terms—a position lasting 6 years and paying $17,500 a year. When Thompson appeared before a House committee in Washington recently to give the Texas version of what was happening to the supply of oil for Europe since the closing of the Suez Canal, Senate Majority Leader LYNDON JOHNSON came across the Capitol to pay his respects. Speaker SAM RAYBURN, who usually chooses his words carefully, introduced Thompson, a lawyer who has never been in the oil business himself, as "the man who knows more about oil than any other man in the world."

Commissioner Thompson, a stocky and bushy-browed man of 65 whose fiery red hair is now grizzled, accepts such accolades as a matter of course. He can remember less popular times. "It used to be when I went to east Texas," he told me in Austin, "they would meet me with shotguns. Now they give a barbecue for me."

This change is significant. The general (he is a lieutenant general in the Texas National Guard) has been more responsible than any other man living or dead for persuading the Texas oilmen, renowned for his free-wheeling ways, to accept a number of strict regulations. Almost from the time he spuds in his first wildcat, the oilman is hedged about with rules and restrictions. He drills in compliance with detailed specifications about spacing and well standards. If he strikes oil, his production is subject to complex strictures relating to the gas-oil ratio, maximum efficient rate of recovery, and so forth. Finally, once his well's rate of flow has been determined, he must comply with the system known as prorations, which fixes the number of days each month the State's 173,638 wells (as of mid-February) are allowed to produce. If he exceeds this "allowable," his hot oil may be seized and sold at public auction, the proceeds to be turned over to the State.

The hegemony of the railroad commission extends from the independents to the giant subsidiaries, such as Humble Oil, of the oil empires known as the majors—Standard Oil of New Jersey, for instance. The line of demarcation between the majors and the independents is a rather vague one, since the independents range in size from individual wildcatters—a declining breed—to multi-million-dollar companies which, like the majors, carry on their own refining and marketing operations. Mainly, however, the independent is strictly a producer who disposes of his oil to the majors. Twenty-five years ago, when Commissioner Thompson began his career as oil umpire, it was the independents who met him with shotguns.

But the independents put their shotguns away a long time ago. Indeed, they gave every indication of being in complete accord when the railroad commission, in spite of urgent outcries about a pending breakdown in the oil lift to western Europe, refused for 3 months to add a few more producing days to the monthly allowables. Under prorations the wells were producing only 15 or 16 days a month. According to the commission's estimate, an additional million barrels a day could safely be taken from reserve capacity. (There are 42 United States gallons in a barrel of oil.)

Outsiders were puzzled by the turnabout that took place at the time of Suez in Texas' monthly ritual for adjusting its oil flow. Before the blockage of the canal in November, both the independents and the railroad commission had been complaining vociferously that the majors, who purchase and market the bulk of Texas oil, were holding the lid down too tight on production. Then suddenly the roles were reversed. The majors wanted more production but the independents were quite content to let the squeeze get tighter and tighter.

At the railroad commission's regular meeting on February 19, which I attended, there was little outward display of the dramatic conflict that had arisen over Texas oil. The buyers rose one by one to make their nominations. The most eloquent description of Europe's urgency—and of the case for raising the lid on production—came from the spokesman for Standard of New Jersey's subsidiary: "Humble Oil has a firm demand for 18 days and the capacity to move it." When the hearing was over, scarcely 3 hours after it began, the commissioners retired briefly and then announced that March allowables would be raised to 18 days. It meant a belated increase of approximately 210,000 barrels daily, which experts estimated would go a long way toward closing the gap in Western Europe.

Though the winter's oil controversy has had many effects in international relations, it didn't really have much to do with western Europe at all. Actually, it was part of a civil war being waged inside the American oil industry, with domestic crude pitted against the vast new wealth of foreign crude held by some of the majors. Suez merely provided the opportunity for a showdown—a chance for the independents to apply some pressure while the oil situation was tight. Out of it they emerged with a shining trophy—the January price boost of 35 cents per barrel on domestic crude. But there is every prospect that the fighting will be renewed with mounting fury.

THE BAD OLD DAYS

When General Thompson came to the commission in 1932 "Dad" Joiner's strike in the east Texas field 2 years earlier had let loose a vast new flow of oil that was glutting

the market and sending prices plummeting to as low as a dime a barrel. The discovery in east Texas raised acutely the problem of the independent in the oil business. An entire countryside was gushing oil; the Woodbine sands, stretching 10 miles wide and 60 miles long, passed under whole towns and villages, with their checkerboard patterns of landownership. It was just too big for the majors to control the way they had controlled Spindletop and the other large fields. Thousands of shoestring operators moved in, sinking wells and pumping oil as fast as they could with no regard for the consequences.

Governor Ross Sterling, who had once been president of Humble Oil, ordered the field shut down, and sent in National Guardsmen to quell the angry oilmen. When the courts refused to sustain this course of action, Sterling persuaded Thompson, who had had an illustrious record battling the utilities as mayor of Amarillo, to take an interim appointment to the railroad commission, which includes oil and gas among its wide variety of regulatory chores.

Thompson came to the commission, as he says, for 6 weeks and has stayed for 25 years. Gradually he and his fellow commissioners managed to put teeth in the State's statutes concerning physical waste of oil reserves and to bring a fair amount of order out of chaotic exploitation.

The problem has been uniquely difficult. In this country, the man who finds oil beneath his land can demand for it the royalty payment that in most oil-bearing countries goes to the national—or the sheik's—treasury. However, since the oil can be drained from beneath his land, a neighbor's well, taking advantage of the "law of capture," may deprive him of his wealth. In east Texas the anxiety to prevent this caused a frantic race to remove the black gold, one well being drilled to offset another, sometimes in such close proximity that the legs of their superstructures were intertwined. Of the first 24,000 wells drilled in east Texas it has been estimated that at least 21,000, costing $250 million, were unnecessary for efficient recovery of oil.

Over the years, the commissioners have made great progress in establishing more sensible spacing requirements. With the help of technicians they maintain surveillance all across the State, regulating the field "allowable" and the individual well "allowables" to prevent too rapid loss of pressure. (Pressure must be carefully controlled in order to get the maximum amount of oil out of the ground.) They have curtailed the needless flaring of natural gas and they have offered producers incentives to undertake secondary recovery practices that have considerably increased the amount of recoverable oil. Because of conservation practices the east Texas pool, which people once thought might produce 1.5 billion barrels, already has pumped twice that amount, with another 2 billion or so yet to come.

But the railroad commission has carried its fight against waste much further. Holding that the accumulation of excessive supplies of oil aboveground can lead to wasteful deterioration, it undertakes the proration of wells in accord with market demands. Here it has the aid but not the interference of Federal authority. The Interior Department's Bureau of Mines prepares a monthly market estimate which, along with the "nominations" of the buyers, serves as a guide for fixing market demand. The Connally "Hot Oil" Act, sponsored by the former Texas Senator, applies Federal sanctions against oil sold in interstate commerce in violation of State prorations.

Thompson was both a prophet and a pioneer in bringing this unique regulation to the oil industry. But he never had much patience for the intrusion of Federal controls, apart from the Connally Act sanctions. His feud with Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, who toyed with the notion of a permanent petroleum code after the NRA was knocked out by the Supreme Court, was long and ill concealed. Once Ickes sent a peremptory telegram ordering him to shut down a well that had gone wild in a disastrous blowout. Thompson replied by telephone, "Mr. Secretary, I have read your telegram to the wild well in Conroe and it is still blowing. Do you have any further suggestions?"

To independents who might be tempted by the idea of Federal regulations, Thompson warned that a "great monopolistic agency in New York would whisper over private wires down in Washington and tell us what we could do here in Texas." He even found occasion to warn President Roosevelt, who apparently had a liking for the peppery Texan, that some of his assistants had wrong notions about the oil business.

Thanks as much to Thompson as to anybody, the Federal Government has never played much of a role in the oilfields. The Interstate Oil Compact, which binds together a number of oil States, is purely a voluntary and permissive arrangement with no power to enforce anything. California, the second largest oil producer, is not even a party to it. Few member States carry out prorations as strict as those of Texas.

"Actually, we in Texas have to hold our umbrella over the whole oil business in this country," the head of a large independent company in Dallas told me.

The main reason the loose confederacy has managed to work so well is simply that half of the discovered oil reserves in this country are in Texas. The big umbrella that Thompson helped set up protected the oilman very well from the storms that buffeted his industry. It provided shelter for even the smallest independents, since the prorations guaranteed their wells a proportionate share of the market.

A CURIOUS INCONGRUITY

"In Texas we do not permit price to even be discussed at our hearings," General Thompson declared during a speech in Houston on January 15. "We are purely a physical-waste-prevention commission." Back when the Interstate Oil Compact was being drafted, he supported heartily the inclusion of article V, which specifically disclaims as the compact's purpose the stabilizing or fixing of prices.

Thompson may well have had his eyes on the antitrust laws. Critics point out that there is a curious incongruity in a regulatory system intended to equate supply and demand without taking price into account. They claim that the whole arrangement for oil, from the market reports sent out by the Bureau of Mines to the railroad commission's monthly meetings of buyers and sellers, constitutes collusion to fix prices that would be instantly prosecuted if undertaken by a private trade association. In 1955, Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois, managed to tack on a proviso to the extension of the Interstate Oil Compact requiring the Attorney General to report whether article V was being violated. Mr. Brownell has so far avoided a direct answer.

A few years back a Senate committee labeled the oil arrangement "a mechanism controlling the production of crude oil * * * that operates as smoothly and efficiently as the finest watch." Certainly the net result has been price stability, accompanied by recurring increases toward which Thompson and his colleagues have shown themselves remarkably benign. Price cuts, on the other hand, have been a different matter. In 1938, for example, when Humble posted reductions ranging from 5 to 20 cents a barrel, Thompson hurried back from a National Guard encampment to Austin and got the other two commissioners to sign a 15-day shutdown order applying to every field in Texas. Then he called an emergency meeting of the Interstate Oil Compact Commission and persuaded four other major producing States to follow suit. Before the shutdown period had expired, Humble, its stocks depleted, was humble indeed. It rescinded the price cut, whereupon the railroad commission promptly allowed the fields to resume production. It would take a callous oil company to fail to heed the lesson.

IT'S HARD TO GET RICH ANY MORE

Thompson, for one, seldom makes any bones about the fact that he believes higher prices are good for oil conservation. "You can afford to spend more money to recover $4 oil than you can on $2.50 oil," he was quoted in Oil Daily a few years ago. Queried by Congressmen during his recent testimony, he announced that he believed the January price rise was "long past due."

In this belief he is, of course, in agreement with a good many Texas oilmen, who are complaining constantly these days that the economic incentive has gone out of the oil business. Today's cost of exploring and developing oil, they argue, is greater than the price paid for crude, even after the January rise. The wells are getting deeper, the chances of hitting a sizable pool much smaller. It's only because most of the oil now being sold was explored and developed a decade ago when costs were lower, the oilmen argue, that there seems to be a profit at all.

They go on to claim that prices for other products are fast outrunning the price they get for oil. They point to a chart prepared by the Independent Petroleum Association of America in January, showing a 21-percent price increase in crude oil since December 1947, compared to 77-percent and 87-percent increases in oil-well casing. (The figures were carefully chosen. If we use 1945 as the base year, crude-oil prices have gone up 162 percent compared to a 130-percent rise in finished steel.)

The hard-luck story has endless variations. Bunker Hunt, son of the fabulously wealthy Texas independent H. L. Hunt, told me emphatically that the oil business was going to dry up unless it was kept "plenty prosperous." He said that it takes 5 or 6 years to pay out on a well drilled nowadays. "You can build a factory that will do that good." Why hadn't there been any signs of a slowdown? "The truth of the matter," Hunt replied, "is that the little independents don't realize how tough the oil business has gotten. Everybody keeps looking at his hole card and doesn't see what's happening to him."

Hunt's dire picture seems overdrawn. One still hears stories in the oil meccas of Texas about successful entrepreneurs who started from scratch. The Nortex Oil & Gas Corp., of Dallas, for example, began 3 years ago with only a handful of leases for assets and a staff of bright young college-trained petroleum experts. Today it has gross assets of more than $4 million, excluding oil reserves, and is growing fast.

James Wendover, Nortex's young president, a graduate of Harvard Law School who specialized in tax work before he ventured out on his own, points out candidly that success for the newcomer lies in the complex workings of our Federal tax system. About a quarter of Nortex's business is in drilling wildcats for a profit and a percentage, with money put up by other people, most of them in the 90-percent tax brackets. Since dry holes are allowed a 100-percent tax writeoff for the investor, nobody stands to lose very much. When they hit, there is the 27.5 percent depletion allowance, or, alternatively, the investor can sell out and take a capital gain. Wildcatting is still a gamble, but many of the gamblers are playing with 10-cent dollars.

The lure of wildcatting is widespread. When General Eisenhower was NATO commander, he put $20,000 into a drilling "pool" at the instigation of his good friend Sid

Richardson. After the 1952 election he received in the mail a check for $60,000 as the first dividend on his investment. The President-elect, sensitively aware of his new position, returned the check and asked to have his original $20,000 sent back. Apparently one can still get a fairly attractive return on money invested in oil.

But the Texas oilman sounds one more note of gloom. Despite a record number of new wells drilled last year, new discoveries accounted for only about one-fifth of the total consumption. (Revised estimates of existing pools did put the total of additions to the reserve balance in the black.) This situation, the oilman argues, is certainly no cause for cutting domestic production. Instead, he claims, incentives must be given for new drilling.

COMPETITION FROM ABROAD

In the ordered world of the Texas Railroad Commission, one unruly problem has reared its head in recent years—the competition of foreign oil. Near the close of the Second World War, General Thompson was dispatched by Secretary of War Robert Patterson to survey the oil situation in the Middle East. As he flew over the deserts, he told me, he could see the sloping domes that indicate vast untapped reservoirs beneath. Within a remarkably brief span of years, proved reserves in the Middle East have mounted to more than five times United States reserves. The tiny sheikdom of Kuwait alone has greater proved reservoirs than the entire Western Hemisphere.

Thompson openly opposed the Anglo-American oil treaty proposed by the State Department in an attempt to deal with the new situation. It would, he charged, create an international organization to set oil quotas, fix prices, and regulate production. He had repulsed the attempt to set up Federal controls in the 1930's. He was equally adamant—and equally successful—in resisting international controls. The treaty died in Senate committee.

By 1948 Middle East crude oil began to enter the United States market in substantial amounts. To the Texas independent producer, all evil dates from the time of this invasion. In the past he aired his gripes against the majors but always with the comfortable assurance that, thanks to the beneficence of the Railroad Commission, they were all under the same umbrella. Today he no longer feel this certainty.

As a result of expanding interests abroad, the Texas independent has thought he could detect symptoms of the major's waning interest in him as a supplier. He has complained bitterly about the increasing numbers of his wells for which he couldn't get pipeline connections—an estimated 8,000 in Texas at the time of the Suez blockade. He has sworn loudly over the pipeline prorations—cutbacks over and above the Railroad Commission's prorations—which the majors have applied from time to time claiming insufficient storage capacity. He has charged angrily that cheap foreign crude was the real reason for the cutbacks and for the delay in price increase that he sought so determinedly.

The independents were among the first to line up at the door of Office of Defense Mobilization Director Arthur S. Flemming when Congress tacked the national-security clause onto the reciprocal-trade program in 1955. They came armed with a report by the President's Cabinet Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy which concluded that anything above the 1954 ratio of imports to domestic production—16.6 percent, including crude and distillates—would impair the national security.

But though imports exceeded this barrier in 1955 and 1956, Flemming delayed taking action, calling on the importers to display industrial statesmanship and impose voluntary quotas. Finally, a formal hearing was held, and the matter was awaiting Flemming's decision at the time Nasser closed the Suez Canal. With obvious relief, Flemming laid the whole problem aside, declaring that except for the emergency he would have been obliged to recommend action—presumably quotas—to the President.

But nobody, least of all the Texas independent, feels that the matter has been settled. He points to the tremendous tanker-construction program, and to huge new refineries being built on the East Coast for the exclusive use of Middle East oil. He cites rumors that the British Petroleum Co. plans to step up its sales of crude in the American market, to recoup losses during the Suez crisis.

NO WORD FROM WASHINGTON

This, then, was the state of mind of Texas independents as the Middle East Emergency Committee, composed of representatives of 15 majors with international connections, issued a call for increased production. Hostility flared into open defiance when Humble and Magnolia, the latter a Socony-Mobil subsidiary, at first asked the Railroad Commission to suspend across-the-board prorations—a move, the independents suspected, to enable the majors to take the increase mainly from their own fields in the coastal regions. (The two companies later withdrew this incendiary proposal.)

All during this civil war, the role of the Federal Government has been strangely passive. Chairman Culberson remarked to me after the February meeting, "If President Eisenhower had called on us to boost allowables in the name of national security, we would have flooded him in oil within a week." But the call never came from the President or anybody else in high Federal authority. Shortly before the February meeting the Commission did receive a letter from ODM Director Flemming enclosing "for your information" a special supply-and-demand forecast from the Bureau of Mines. It was the first official communication on the subject of oil since the Suez Canal had been closed.

"YOU NEED A FAITH"

In Austin, I found General Thompson in his commission office, a cramped little room with shabby furniture offering startling contrast to the suites of the independent oil companies I had visited in Dallas and Houston. Thompson was in an affable mood. He discussed the early ordeals in east Texas and the long way oil had come since then. There had been times, one gathered, when he had been sorely tried.

But the general declared that he had always clung to one basic faith. "The Lord lets us find these things when we have brains enough to use them." It had been that way when the great Spindletop came through in 1901, only a short time after the internal-combustion engine had come along to make use of this vast new reserve. The east Texas field, once it was tamed, helped to fill the expanding needs of the automobile industry. Now there was the Middle East and Venezuela, and here again the problem was to maintain an orderly flow of nature's bounty. "As good stewards," Thompson said, "we should have the intelligence to conserve this wealth.

"You've got to have a basic philosophy in a job like this," the general concluded, "when you sit and listen to these men present their selfish little problems. Of course, you have to take care of them, but still you need a faith.

Undoubtedly, Thompson's faith has done much to bring order out of the chaos that the oil industry might have been. But the big question now is whether even such a tough and determined man as Thompson can be master of the situation any longer. The Texas umbrella just isn't big enough.

Public Housing and Local Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in February of this year the Chicago Housing Authority paid $722,976 to the city of Chicago as the authority's contribution to local taxes for 1955. This was over three times the amount of taxes paid by private owners before the property was taken over for public housing. I am sure my colleagues who may have been inclined to accept without looking into the facts the charge that public housing does not pay its way in the matter of local taxes will be glad to get the real figures. Here is the complete factual recital as given in the March issue of Today, the CHA publication:

CITY'S PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS ADD THREE-QUARTER MILLION DOLLARS TO TAX REVENUE

A check for $722,976.91 was presented to Mayor Richard J. Daley on Monday, February 18, by Joseph P. Sullivan, Chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority. Payment represented the Authority's contribution to local tax revenue for the calendar year 1955 and is the largest in the history of CHA. The sum consists of 10 percent of all shelter rents (rents less charges for utilities) collected from tenants living in the 27 public housing developments in operation in 1955, plus residual income from 8 housing projects built with city and State funds.

The money was turned over to County Treasurer Herbert C. Paschen who will divide it among city and county taxing agencies in the same manner that real estate taxes are distributed.

This year's payment of $722,976.91 compares with $548,145.62 paid last year for 1954 an increase of 32 percent, reflecting (1) the addition of 1,767 apartments, (2) higher rents due to increased tenant income, and (3) the effects of a streamlined and more efficient renting procedure resulting in reduced vacancy losses.

While public housing is exempt from real-estate taxes, payments of a percentage of rents collected by the authority are made annually to local taxing agencies under agreements with the city. The current payment is more than three times the $236,300 total of real-estate tax bills issued to private owners of these same properties the year before CHA acquired them and rebuilt them with public housing.

CITY-STATE PROJECTS PAY 98 PERCENT OF FULL TAXES

Of the total payment, $197,391.80 came from eight small projects built to relocate families displaced by the city's renewal program. According to estimates by the county assessor's office, this sum is equal to 98 percent of the $202,053.57, which would have been billed in real estate taxes had the properties been in private ownership. Because these projects were built with outright grants of city and State money, there is no indebtedness to repay as is the case with the developments built with Federal assistance. By special agreement with the city, CHA's annual payment for these developments consists of not only 10 percent of rents collected, but also all residual income, after providing reserves for repairs and replacements, up to the amount of full real estate taxes. Before the projects were built, total

tax bills issued to private owners amounted to only $22,611.

The remaining $524,585.11 in the new CHA payment came from 10 percent of rents collected from tenants in 19 public-housing projects built with Federal aid. This is almost two and a half times more than the $213,689 billed in real estate taxes the year before the properties were redeveloped.

CHA payments "in lieu of taxes" are necessarily a year late because funds cannot be turned over to the local taxing agencies until the exact amount of rents collected has been verified by audit. The audits are not completed until several months after the end of the CHA fiscal year on June 30, but tax payments are based on the calendar year which ends 6 months earlier.

Correct Posture Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, the general standard of health among the citizenry of our Nation is a matter of increasing national interest. Since America's productive capacity is a composite of the individual capacities of all of our citizens, the general health and physical well-being of our people is important to the Nation.

As more and more diseases have bowed before the conquest of new discoveries and developments, we have seen witness to the inventive genius of a free people.

Yet, ironically, our very high standard of living has brought with it new maladies. No longer a Nation of woodsmen and plowmen, many of our people succumb to the dangers inherent in the easier and more sedentary life which we enjoy.

Surely any individual, group or official organization which is actively promoting better health for America's citizens deserves to have its contribution called to the attention of the Members of Congress.

For a number of years, 1 week has been set aside and observed throughout this Nation and Canada as Correct Posture Week. Sponsored as a public service by the chiropractic profession of America, this week is proclaimed by the governors of the States and by the mayors of our cities, and features events held by other groups interested in the well-being, growth and development of our national health standards. During this week, many teachers in the public schools place a special emphasis upon the importance of correct posture for schoolchildren.

This year, Correct Posture Week will be observed from May 1 to May 7. The national chairman of this observance this year is a constituent of mine, Dr. L. K. Griffin, of Fort Worth, Tex. Under leave, I am inserting his statement at this point in the RECORD:

STATEMENT BY DR. L. K. GRIFFIN

Today's high-speed, high-tension way of living demands the utmost from the standpoint of individual health. The stresses and strains of existence in modern society require that each person make a special effort to be in his best possible physical condition. There is no question that a great contribution toward better individual health—and thereby better living efficiency at home and on the job—is the contribution made by correct posture.

Poor posture is expensive and poor posture habits are responsible not only for many days of lost time, but for poor response to job needs and eventually for a shortened life of top efficiency. But correct posture provides so much in terms of better living that the chiropractic profession annually sponsors Correct Posture Week from May 1 to 7 in order to bring the benefits of posture improvement to the attention of all Americans. This is the time when chiropractors use every means of publicity to draw public attention to this primary aim of their profession. They believe, preach, and practice that correct posture will promote better health and appearance. In that belief we are in complete agreement with every branch of the healing arts, and we are sincere in our constant efforts to cooperate with all Americans in improving the standards of our national health.

It is encouraging to note that many agencies of our Federal Government have been in the vanguard of those advocating correct posture as a definite aid toward sound health and long life. These include, among others, the Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor; the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and the White House Conference on Child Health.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

The White House Conference on Child Health, as early as 1930, recognized the importance of body mechanics in relation to health, as noted by the following quotations from its report:

"The part played by body mechanics, or posture as it is generally termed, in the health and well-being of the child, is another subject receiving more and more attention.

"While the majority of the medical schools give instruction on this subject, it is usually scanty or incidental and very inadequate. Definite information on the prevalence of bad body mechanics, its recognition as a casual factor in disturbances of health, and the methods of satisfactory treatment are needed.

"The idea that correct posture contributes to good health is based on the mechanics of the human body and is as sound as any principle that operates anywhere in the field of mechanics. The idea is gaining ground more rapidly now than ever before. And when it is finally accepted for its true worth by the whole populace, there will be a vast improvement in the health and vitality of men, women, and children everywhere."

The problem of poor posture and the low efficiency of workers which it brings on can be approached in two ways.

The first is a long, careful, and well-planned program to teach Americans how to walk and stand and sit in ways which will promote health and efficiency. We have such an educational program underway, and it is having its effect.

However, that takes time. Meanwhile, many postural faults can be corrected by proper care, or the bad effects can be modified or eliminated. In both programs individual doctors of chiropractic can play a decisive and important role.

OFFICIALS ENDORSE POSTURE WEEK

Without the wholehearted cooperation of the American people, Correct Posture Week would be a meaningless phrase. It is the wonderful assistance of school teachers and school authorities, of State legislatures, of governors and mayors, of Members of the United States Congress, and of the people themselves that has made Correct Posture Week an increasingly important observance in the United States.

Every year more and more officials at the city and State level proclaim its observance officially.

SECOND LARGEST HEALING PROFESSION

Chiropractic, as an organized professional body, is 62 years old, and now ranks as the second largest healing profession.

Chiropractic colleges are required to give 4,000 academic hours in a standard 4-year course to obtain approved ratings from the accredited committee.

Licensed by law in 44 States, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, and 5 provinces of Canada, there are some 25,000 chiropractors in the United States (for a population of 170 million), and 1,100 in Canada (for a population of 16 million). Chiropractic is an established but growing and dynamic profession, which has adopted high professional standards and ethics and is officially recognized as one of the four major healing professions in America by the Executive Office of the President of the United States, Budget Bureau, Washington, D. C.

A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION

This brief listing of professional training is encouraging, when we are told that one-half of all adults suffer from poor posture with resulting bad effects on health efficiency. The chiropractic profesison has made exhaustive studies which showed that 53 percent of adults and 76 percent of our children suffer from the effects of poor posture.

We may well conclude, then, that Correct Posture Week as sponsored by the chiropractic profession of America is a significant contribution to national health and welfare.

Active participation by everybody in observance of Correct Posture Week can bring many health benefits to the people of America.

Hungarian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, before last October only a limited number of people were aware of what was happening among the satellite states of Eastern Europe. But today there is a different story, and the whole world joins in congratulating and commemorating this anniversary of Hungarian Independence Day.

Hungary was, as you know, geographically unfortunate. Europe's main railroad to the East and Near East ran through that country. It was indeed the passageway to Europe. As such its history is replete with the disheartening stories of conquest and occupation. Yet throughout its history Hungary has consistently proved its right to be considered among the bravest of all nations—large or small. No nation has demonstrated a more forthright love of independence. Thanks in part, perhaps, to its linguistic uniqueness, Hungary was able to maintain a cultural insularity, if not a political one, which it has sustained down to this day.

Courage is commonplace to Hungarians. And what we would consider

nobly courageous they take with the stoic nonchalance reserved to the brave. 1848 and 1956 are closer in essence than in time. The Hungarian rebellion of last fall will surely remain one of the most inspiring events in the history of mankind.

A curious similarity exists between the situations in 1848 and that of last year. Like 1848 resolute strength proved fruitless; but as in 1848 once more the villain in a play for freedom is Russia. Between October 23, 1956, and January 1, 1957, it has been estimated that 155,000 refugees fled their homeland to escape the unbearable burden of oppression and communism.

Hungary has given to America—indeed to the free world—a renewed confidence in itself and a new recognition of the perfidy of communism; it has demonstrated that mere barbaric, naked force cannot stifle the indomitable will for the most basic desires of humanity and freedom. It is with a sincere sense of the accomplishment of their forefathers that I humbly add my voice to the memory of Hungary on this, their day of independence.

A Time for Rebellion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, we hear, to my great satisfaction, on all sides, our people demanding a reduction in Federal expenditures. I think our people should be made to realize that the budget is prepared largely by people interested in spending Government funds. In many instances, the people in the department who prepare the budget for that particular department are interested in seeing the department enlarged and its prestige increased.

We have seen in the press recently statements attributed to the Chief Executive to the effect that in preparing his budget he was merely requesting funds to carry out programs provided for by the Congress. My information is that the budget includes requests for funds for 13 new programs requested by the executive department and have never been authorized by the Congress. In other words, these new programs are being requested by the executive branch both as to authorization of the program and appropriation of the funds.

Mr. Speaker, a very timely editorial appeared in the Richmond News Leader of Monday, March 18, 1957, entitled "A Time for Rebellion." I am in accord with this editorial and, as one Congressman who over the years has voted for reduction in Federal expenditures, I would like to call to the attention of the people of America this fine editorial in the hope that it will be of great assistance in helping the Congress to vote real reductions in the monstrous Federal expenditures requested by the executive branch and in many instances at the request of Members of the Congress.

The editorial is as follows:

A TIME FOR REBELLION

The time is at hand, if the American people only will mobilize their latent powers, for a massive rebellion against excessive Federal spending. The opportunity exists—it needs only to be seized and explointed—to cut the Federal budget drestically. To judge from the reports of Washington observers and the statements of Congressmen, never before has a smoldering resentment been so close to flame.

It is easy enough to understand why this should be so. Despite a widespread and continuing prosperity, thousands of families are feeling a serious pinch. They find it difficult to save, to get aside capital. More than this, the growing revolt evidences a simple longing for individual freedom, the natural desire of men who labor to enjoy the fruits of their toil. And perhaps there is this element also—it may be wishful thinking—that growing numbers of Americans are turning against Federal usurpation of State and local prerogatives.

Whatever the causes, the voters back home, in unprecedented numbers, are demanding that the budget be cut and that Federal taxes be reduced.

Can these ends be achieved?

Of course they can.

For our own part, we grow increasingly weary of the bland assumption that 70, or 75, or 85 percent of the budget is "untouchable," in that it represents expenditures for the national security. There is one item, and one item only, in the budget that is in fact beyond the reach of Congress; that is the $7 billion interest on the Federal debt. The rest of the budget, amounting to almost $65 billion, can be reduced at a thousand points.

And what are some of these expenses for "national security" regarded as sacrosanct? The budget of the Atomic Energy Commission is among them. And while most persons would agree, however reluctantly, that the design and construction of atomic weapons must continue, Congress may properly challenge the millions of dollars earmarked for research in commercial electric power reactors. When Americans are so greviously burdened by taxation, we may ask if it is in fact "essential to the Nation's progress" that vast funds be expended "in order to help other nations develop their own atomic energy programs."

It may be necessary—it probably is necessary—to continue some form of military aid to 38 nations, but what of the $2 billion budgeted "to continue to help our friends overseas better their economic conditions"?

President Eisenhower has asked a large sum for "overseas information services and cultural exchanges designed to facilitate sympathetic understanding of American life, culture, and institutions by other peoples." In 1956, we were taxed $111 million for such programs; in the current year, we are taxed $133 million for such programs. Mr. Eisenhower has requested $175 million for the next fiscal year.

May we inquire if it is indeed an "urgent national responsibility" that $250 million be appropriated for new slum clearance? Why should we be compelled to provide $120 million in subsidies to ship operators wanting to replace their ships? Why a $175 million loan fund for college housing?

It is high time for revolt against an agriculture budget now approaching $5 billion a year, more than half of it for price supports and soil-bank payments. We may seriously question if it is a proper function of Federal Government, under some perverted construction of the general-welfare clause, to refinance farm debts and to make loans to farmers whose farms are smaller than family size.

The briefest glance at the budget discloses appalling new sums for expansion of research and education in a dozen fields, for new ventures in socialized public power, for $91 million in subsidies to the mining industry. Why are we frittering away even a small sum in a Council on Youth Fitness? The ill-advised program of Federal grants for local sewerage construction was adopted only last year; surely it is not so deeply entrenched that the program cannot be speedily abolished.

This budget is as fat as a Poland China pig; it is full of lard from top to bottom. If the Congress were to put a ceiling of $60 billion on Federal spending, including interest on the debt, the world would not come to an end nor the safety of the Republic be jeopardized. Once the armed services were compelled to economize, they might cease some of the extravagant and wasteful practices so severely condemned by the Hoover Commission. And if Congress could get over its panic at the veterans' lobby, it might be possible to make some thoroughly merited reductions in the overinflated $5 billion budget for veterans' benefits.

Readers of this newspaper who are sick of wasteful Federal spending can make their wishes known for the cost of a 3-cent stamp. They can write their Congressmen at the House Office Building in Washington; they can write Senators HARRY F. BYRD and A. WILLIS ROBERTSON in care of the Senate Office Building.

Members of Congress are under constant pressure from groups wanting money spent. If a superior counterforce can be mobilized among angry taxpayers who want the budget cut back, the budget will be reduced. And with all the emphasis at our command, we urge Virginia's spokesmen on the Hill: "Cut it back."

The National Banking Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to protect the integrity and independence of national banks by strengthening the laws relating to ownership of stock in such banks. If we are to prevent monopoly in finance and banking, corrective legislation is necessary before it is too late.

Our distinguished colleague from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK] has introduced a similar bill, H. R. 199. It is referred to in the article which follows.

My bill retains the principle of Mr. BURDICK's bill, but adds important enforcement features. I hope the bill will be enacted at an early date.

I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Emil E. Placek, chairman of the board, First National Bank, Wahoo, Nebr. Mr. Placek's article appeared in a recent issue of the Independent Banker, and is as follows:

LEGALITY OF CHAIN BANK STOCK OPTION DEALS CHALLENGED

(By Emil E. Placek, chairman of the board, First National Bank, Wahoo, Nebr.)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Challenged in this provocative article by Mr. Placek is the legality of stock option agreements signed by direc-

tors of holding company banks. He urges independent bankers to back the Burdick bill requiring that at least two-thirds of the outstanding shares of stock in a bank be owned by natural persons. Mr. Placek is Nebraska director of the Independent Bankers Association.)

(About the author: Born in a sod house in Milligan, Fillmore County, Nebr., Mr. Placek has been a bank president for 50 years. He was associated with four other banks before coming to the First National in Wahoo in 1932. He was graduated from the University of Nebraska Law School in 1897. In addition to banking, he has been in public office, having been mayor of Wahoo for 4 years, 4 years in the State Senate and 4 years as a county and probate judge.)

The National Banking Act was passed in 1863 and created the office of the Comptroller of the Currency. The act authorized the organization of a local national bank by any number of natural persons, but not less than five in number, to engage in the business of banking in any State or Territory. No bank so organized could issue or circulate currency unless it was secured by Government securities.

Banks created by the National Banking Act were designed to be local institutions and independent of each other, but under the control and supervision of the Government.

The United States Compiled Statutes of 1901, section 5133, provide for the formation of National Banking Associations by natural persons and specifies that articles of organization were to be signed by the persons uniting to form the association.

If only natural persons can organize a national bank, the logical presumption is that only natural persons can operate a bank.

Section 5134 of the 1901 compilation provides necessary requisites of organization such as name of bank, place of business, location, name and place of residence of each stockholder and number of shares held by each.

Section 5140 specifically provides that every director must own, in his own right, at least 10 shares of the capital stock of the association. Without such ownership, he cannot be a director. The director, too, must take an oath that the stock is not hypothecated in any manner whatsoever.

FALSE SWEARING CHARGED

My contention is that a director in a bank owned and controlled by a bank-holding company, to whom stock is issued under an option agreement, is guilty of perjury when he swears his stock is not hypothecated in any way.

Bank holding companies were organized to evade and circumvent the National Banking Act and the laws of the various States which prohibit branch banking. A bank holding company buys all of the stock of a bank and then issues qualifying shares to dummy directors with an option agreement giving the holding company the right to repurchase the stock.

Such stock must immediately be endorsed by the dummy director and be delivered to a bank owned and controlled by the holding company. There the stock is held in escrow, so the dummy director never has possession of the stock certificate.

If the holding company chooses to exercise its option to purchase, it may do so simply by mailing or delivering to the bank having the stock in escrow a notice of intent to purchase, accompanied by payment of the purchase price.

The stockholder, or dummy director, is not even notified, except that his services are no longer required. For his stock he receives only the amount originally paid in. He gets none of the accumulated profits earned during the period of his employment. He does not even get the money he paid in until he surrenders his copy of the option agreement.

If the stockholder dies while the stock still is held in escrow, the stock does not become part of his estate. The holding company exercises its option and returns the purchase price to the estate.

OPINION BURIED

On November 6, 1911, Frederick W. Lehmann, in his capacity as Solicitor General of the United States, delivered an exhaustive opinion and held that holding companies are illegal. For some unknown reason, the opinion was pigeonholed. Finally, after 20 years, the opinion was ordered printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the request of Senator Carter Glass, of Virginia.

Since Congress recently passed legislation regulating bank holding companies, it may be necessary to pass further legislation requiring that at least two-thirds of the outstanding shares of stock in a bank shall be owned by natural persons.

Such a bill has been introduced in the House by Representative BURDICK, of North Dakota. The bill is H. R. 7056. It is up to the independent banks of the Nation to press for passage of such a bill.

The only other alternative is to bring an action charging that directors in banks owned by a holding company are not qualified directors, because they do not own the stock in their own right under the option agreement they are required to sign.

The proper procedure would be for the Comptroller of the Currency to have the Department of Justice bring such an action.

The Comptroller and the Attorney General take the position, however, that the question was settled in the Federal case of *Transamerica Corporation* v. *Parrington, et al.*, the stockholder had possession of the stock, which is not true in the option agreements being signed now. Furthermore, the case was not appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which should pass on the whole matter.

After reading the *Transamerica* v. *Parrington case*, I am firmly convinced it was a friendly suit, and for that reason there was no appeal.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Reproduced below is a copy facsimile of the agreement cited by Mr. Placek in his article. The copy was obtained from the office of J. L. McLean, director of banking, Lincoln, Nebr., where it is a public record. The matter in brackets, for emphasis, was supplied by Mr. Placek.)

"This agreement, made and entered into this ——— day of ————, 19—, by and between Northwest Bancorporation (hereinafter called the company), party of the first part, and ———— (hereinafter called the shareholder) party of the second part,

"Witnesseth that—

"Whereas the company is the owner of a substantial amount of the common stock in ———— (hereinafter called the bank) and has this day agreed to sell and assign to the shareholder certain shares of said stock (said shares hereby so sold being hereinafter sometimes called shares of stock), for the consideration hereinafter set forth, and

"Whereas as an inducement to the company to sell said shares of stock to the shareholder and as a part of the consideration for the sale thereof to him, the shareholder is willing to make the agreements and promises hereinafter contained:

"Now, therefore, in consideration of the premises and other good and valuable considerations, the receipt and sufficiency whereof are hereby acknowledged, it is agreed by and between the parties hereto as follows:

"1. The company does hereby sell and assign to the shareholder ——— shares of the common stock of the bank and contemporeaneously herewith has delivered to the shareholder stock certificate No. ———— issued by said bank for said shares of stock.

"2. The shareholder does hereby purchase said shares of stock and contemporaneously herewith has paid to the company as the purchase price thereof the sum of ———— dollars ($ ————).

"3. [(A) The shareholder does hereby give and grant unto the company an absolute option to repurchase said shares of stock,] together with any and all additional shares (as hereinafter defined) and together with all rights appertaining to said shares of stock and additional shares, whether in the nature of subscription rights or otherwise, for a purchase price to be determined in accordance with the provisions of subparagraph (B) of this paragraph 3. The term additional shares as used in this agreement shall include all shares purchased by the shareholder pursuant to preemptive rights arising by reason of his ownership of the original shares of stock hereby sold and of any additional shares and all shares received by the shareholder as stock dividends from time to time upon said shares of stock and upon any additional shares, it being the intention of the parties hereto that said option shall cover and include all shares in the bank owned by the shareholder from time to time in any manner derived from the original shares of stock hereby sold and representing the proportionate interest in the bank which on the date hereof is represented by said original shares of stock.

"(B) The [aggregate purchase price for the original shares of stock and all additional shares, however acquired by the shareholder, to be paid upon the exercise of said option by the company shall be the sum of (a) $——, being the amount paid by the shareholder for the original shares of stock,] and (b) the issue or subscription price paid by the shareholder for the additional shares, if any, which he shall have purchased pursuant to preemptive rights arising by reason of his ownership of the original shares of stock or of any additional shares and shall then own.

"[(C) Said option may be exercised by the company upon or within 6 months after]

"[(a) the date upon which the shareholder shall for any reason cease to be a director of the bank,]

"(b) the shareholders of the bank shall have voted to authorize the consolidation or merger of the bank with any other financial institution, the assumption by any other financial institution of the deposit liabilities of the bank, or the voluntary liquidation of the bank, or

"(c) the date upon which the holdings of the company in the common stock of the bank shall be reduced by sale or otherwise to an amount representing less than 51 percent of the outstanding common shares of the bank.

"The shareholder may at any time make written request that the company exercise said option and the company may upon or within 30 days after the receipt by it of such written request exercise the same but, unless theretofore exercised by the company, said option shall terminate and become null and void 30 days after receipt by the company of such written request.

"[Any exercise of this option may be made by the company by mailing or delivering to Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis, Minneapolis 2, Minn., a notice of the company's intention to exercise the same accompanied by the payment of the amount of the purchase price determined in accordance with the provisions of subparagraph (B).]

"(D) The shares of stock and any additional shares shall be registered in the name of the shareholder upon the stock books of the bank and at all times prior to the exercise of this option the shareholder shall have, enjoy, and exercise with respect thereto all the rights, privileges, powers, and duties of a shareholder of the bank, subject only to the terms of this agreement.

"(E) [The shareholder agrees that so long as the option in this paragraph 3 granted shall continue in force and effect, he will not sell or assign to anyone other than the company, or pledge, hypothecate, or otherwise dispose of the shares of stock or] ad-

ditional shares and that he will continuously remain the owner thereof in his own right. In order to prevent possible loss of the shares of stock or additional shares, the certificates representing the [share of stock hereby sold shall be endorsed in blank by the shareholder and delivered to Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis for safe keeping and all certificates representing additional shares shall forthwith upon issuance be likewise so endorsed and delivered for safe keeping. Said Northwestern National] Bank of Minneapolis is hereby directed to hold and safely keep said [certificates and upon the exercise of said option by the company as provided in subparagraph (C) above, to deliver said certificates to the company and to deliver to the shareholder upon surrender by him of his copy of this agreement, the purchase price received by Northwestern] National Bank of Minneapolis.

"4. The shareholder agrees that any preemptive rights to purchase rights to purchase shares of the bank to which the shareholder may from time to time become entitled by reason of his ownership of the original shares of stock or of any [additional shares shall, if not exercised by the shareholder, be assigned by the shareholder to the company.]

"5. This agreement constitutes the only agreement between the company and the shareholder with respect to any of the shares of stock or additional shares and supersedes any and all prior agreements or obligations of either party to the other, howsoever arising or expressed, with respect to such stock, the dividends thereon, or any other rights derived therefrom.

"[6. This agreement shall inure to the benefits of and be binding upon the parties hereto and their respective heirs, personal representatives, successors and assigns.]

"7. This agreement has been signed in triplicate, one copy thereof to be delivered to Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis and one copy to each of the parties hereto.

"In witness whereof the company has caused this instrument to be executed by its proper officers thereunto duly authorized and the shareholder has hereunto set his hand, all as of the day and year first above written.

"NORTHWEST BANCORPORATION,

"By _____

"Vice President.

"and _____

"Assistant Secretary.

"_____

"Shareholder.

"Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis hereby acknowledges receipt of Certificate No. —— for ——— shares of common stock of ————, which it agrees to hold in accordance with the provisions of the foregoing agreement.

"Dated ———, 19—,

"NORTHWESTERN NATIONAL BANK OF MINNEAPOLIS,

"By _____

"An Authorized Official."

Latins Standing Up Against Red Peril

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following article which appeared in the Washington Daily News of March 18, 1957:

CITIZENS NO LONGER COMPLACENT—LATINS STANDING UP AGAINST RED PERIL

(By Edward Tomlinson)

The Communists in Latin America once again are active.

But for the first time they are meeting with determined resistance from responsible citizens, as well as most of the governments.

BRAZIL SITUATION

In Brazil the Communist underground still is attempting to stir up trouble over the Kubitschek administration's agreement to permit the United States to set up a guided missile tracking station and radar communication facilities on the island of Fernando Noronha off the northeastern hump of the republic. They continue to circulate false stories about Yankee military penetration.

But the Brazilian Foreign Office has been knocking down the rumors with straightforward statements giving the facts and pointing out that Brazil intends to cooperate in a program of defense of the Western Hemisphere.

ARGENTINA SETUP

The government of President Pedro Aramburu in Argentina has been contending not only with the Peronistas, but Communists as well. The Reds have joined hands with the diehard followers of the former dictator to promote strikes, antigovernment demonstrations and spread confusion among the farm workers.

The Bolivian Government also is struggling against serious strikes and work stoppages, in which the Reds as well as other extremists are the ring leaders.

In Central America and Mexico, the people are no longer complacent about the dangers of communism. Last week prominent bankers, businessmen and civic leaders in Costa Rica gathered at a public luncheon to accuse the Partido Liberacion Nacional (the Party of President Jose Figueres), of promoting what they called "a class struggle in line with Communist ideas."

SCHOOL ACTION

Red propagandists and agents long have been active among Mexican students and professors in the big cities. Last May they organized several strikes in the leading colleges and normal schools. In several instances they provoked riots and violent demonstrations that almost got out of hand.

In the last few weeks large numbers of students in Mexico City have set up a strong anti-Communist front to expose and resist Red propaganda penetration. Leaders of the front charge that Moscow is promoting a "vast conspiracy to disrupt the national educational system."

The significance of all this is not so much the resurgence of Communist activities in Latin America, but that the decent people of the various countries and of all classes, at last are standing up and fighting the Red menace.

The Vision of the Gael

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, with the spirit of St. Patrick's Day still in the air, it would seem appropriate that some remarks on that eventful occasion should be made today.

I am including in my remarks the following article from the Los Angeles Tidings which reviews the sentiment, cultural development, and search for intelligence and truth which has been characteristic of the Irish race for many centuries.

The contribution which the Irish have made to the world in the arts, literature and science is amazing considering the fact that Ireland has always been a small nation in comparison with the other nations of the world, but big in its generosity and contribution to the independence and freedom of mankind and to his intellectual and cultural development.

As this article indicates, everybody, regardless of nationality, wants to be identified with having a little bit of Irish in them on St. Patrick's Day:

THE VISION OF THE GAEL

Everyone boasts at least a drop of Irish blood on Patrick's Day. At festive gatherings, in speech and song, the saga of ancient wrongs and deathless glories will be retold, as long ago the tale was whispered beside the wayside hedge, before the humble hearth. Erin's tear and smile still mist the eye and lift the heart.

Someone has observed, perhaps an Englishman, that it is hazardous to write with realism of Ireland and her story. It is always surer and safer to be lyrical on the subject. We choose to be lyrical, especially after reading in an evening's sitting A Short History of Ireland by Roger Chauvire. Here is a Frenchman's testimony to the songs, the scholars, and the saints of Eire.

Ireland has been the land of songs from the dim days of the bards to Pierse and Plunkett in the glorious morn of the Easter martyrs. Sedulius had pride of place when Christian hymnology was aborning, and the earlier lyric and epic flights of her sons rival in imagination and vigor, if not in intensity, the later lament of the elegies when dread was over the land.

And Ireland has had her scholars, a host of them down the centuries in splendid array for the imperishable things of the mind. Her monks fed the flame of knowledge in Ireland's glorious age. They kindled anew the lamp of learning on the continent of Europe, after the marauding might of the barbarian pillaged and plundered. Her sons stimulated the intellectual zest of the medieval university with their devotion to the classics and their incisiveness in logic.

And this love of learning did not wane when doom blighted the land, but had prouder, if more pitiful, luster in the ragged hedgemaster spouting Latin and Greek to eager minds, beside the roadway, in bog and cave. With a price upon the head of him who taught and of him who learned, with a little fire to burn the scraps of lessons should the lookout's sharp eye weary, these generations, in penal servitude almost to the level of the brute, yet knew that the hope of freedom would not dim and could not die if fed with the faith and knowledge of Christian men. Other nations may tell of the genius of their sons in the splashed paint of canvas, in the spiralling devotion of stone. Only Ireland can boast of the heroism of the hedgemaster.

And saints—the little isle exudes an aura of sanctity in the innocence of her children, the strength of her martyrs, the purity of her virgins. And Patrick and Attracta and Brendan and Ita and Finbar and Columban and Bridget of Ireland, the whole Irish company of heaven, shall be names to give flight to the soul until time merges with eternity.

The Vision of the Gael has never been clouded with a surfeit of material things, and under the inspiration of these holy

saints of God, the Irish have wandered restlessly over the world, wedded to the things of God and vowed to sacrifice for the upbuilding of His kingdom. What continent, what island or even coral reef has not been shaken by their unconquerable faith, has not been charged with new-found faith in the flush of their devotion? The flower of her missionary sons and daughters looks now to Africa as the hope of the harvest, and Europe may see again other Columbans rescuing the nations from a newer and more sterile paganism.

If Ireland today has high and honorable place among the nations of the world, it is because her singers, her scholars, and her saints gave unending inspiration to her soldiers and statesmen, that right and honor and justice and truth might at long last prevail.

Statement on Railroad Retirement Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on January 31, 1957, I introduced two bills, H. R. 4194 and H. R. 4195, to amend the Railroad Retirement Act and the Social Security Act. The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee began hearings on amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act on March 11, 1957.

I was privileged to present a statement before the committee in support of these bills.

Under unanimous consent previously obtained I insert my statement herewith:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE JAMES C. DAVIS, FIFTH DISTRICT OF GEORGIA, BEFORE THE HOUSE INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE COMMITTEE ON RAILROAD RETIREMENT BILLS

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I appreciate very much your courtesy and consideration in extending me the privilege of appearing before your committee in behalf of the two bills I have had the honor to introduce and sponsor.

The first of these that I would enlist your consideration of is H. R. 4194.

This bill has three major objectives: (1) It repeals the dual benefit restrictions on spouse's annuities; (2) it allows survivor benefits under both the Social Security Act and the Railroad Retirement Act; (3) it removes the restriction on dual survivor benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act.

Under existing provisions of the Railroad Retirement Act the spouse of a retired railroad worker cannot receive the full spouse's annuity under the act if entitled to social security benefits, in which case the amount of the spouse's annuity would be reduced by the amount of such benefits. This is true whether the spouse has applied for such dual benefits or not. This restriction is equally applicable to a parent's insurance annuity under the Railroad Retirement Act. The spouse's annuity would be reduced by the amount of the parent's annuity.

Similarly an individual who is entitled to more than one insurance annuity under the Railroad Retirement Act as the surviving widow, widower, child or parent of a deceased railroad worker can receive only the one of such annuities which is the largest.

Finally, an individual cannot receive any social-security benefits (including a lump-sum death payment) as the survivor of an employee if he is entitled to an insurance annuity under the Railroad Retirement Act on the basis of the wages of the same employee.

This bill which I have introduced would remove these restrictive provisions of the act so that in no case would an individual lose any part of the social-security benefits to which he may otherwise be entitled merely because he is also entitled to a railroad annuity. Also an individual would not lose any part of a railroad annuity to which he is entitled merely because he is also entitled to a social-security benefit or to another railroad annuity.

The people of this Nation that have been most adversely affected by the inflation of the past 15 years are those who are or have been dependent upon pensions and annuities for their livelihood.

We all know what has happened to the value of the dollar. Its purchasing power has been reduced at least 50 percent. The majority of the Railroad Retirement Act was enacted in 1937. Compare the 1939 dollar with 1957. See what today's dollar buys in comparison with what it bought in 1939. It is unrealistic to contend that one can even exist today on the same amount that provided a comfortable living less than 20 years ago.

At a time when an individual's earning power has decreased or vanished entirely it is an impossibility for him to survive on a fixed pension or annuity that has failed to keep pace with the inflation in the value of the dollar.

We must not allow the living standard of our pensioners and annuitants to be reduced below a mere subsistence. This is especially true with respect to those annuities which have been purchased with sound dollars.

It is our duty to remove the restrictive provisions of the Railroad Retirement Act that would prevent a wife from receiving a social security benefit that she has earned solely because her husband may have earned an annuity for her by his service with a great industry. My bill would do only this. It would provide equity where it is most needed.

I have many retired people in my district who find it increasingly difficult to make their annuities meet the requirements of daily living. It is for this reason that I urge the approval of this bill. It will allow some of them to increase their annuity by an amount equal to that which they would otherwise be entitled to receive under the Social Security Act were it not for the present restrictions.

The second bill which I urge your favorable consideration is H. R. 4195. This bill would amend section 2 (a) (4) of the Railroad Retirement Act which presently requires certain permanently disabled individuals to attain the age of 60 years before they may receive their annuities. My bill would revise this section so as to lower the age limit to 50 years.

Here again we must consider the change in the situation of our country. Today the qualifications for employment of persons beyond the age of 50 have changed so very much since the enactment of the Railroad Retirement Act that we must give consideration to such present conditions. In the not too distant past an individual could live adequately on a very small income. Today that income must be increased.

This amendment to the act would allow a physically disqualified railroad employee with 10 years' service to receive his full pension at the age of 50 years whereas now he must wait until he reaches the age of 60.

Here again, I would point out that I have many people in my district that are adversely affected by the present restriction and I would seriously urge favorable action upon this bill so that the Government might do economic justice to these worthy individuals.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would urge your approval of these bills in fairness and equity for these people who have to bear the burdens of inflation and decreased earning power in a period that has seen the cost of living persistently increase month after month until pensions and annuities that in the past provided a decent living today hardly provides a subsistence level.

Trinity Partnership Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter in opposition to my stand on the Trinity partnership project which comes from Mrs. Grace McDonald:

CALIFORNIA FARM RESEARCH AND LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE,
Santa Clara, Calif., March 9, 1957.

Hon. CHARLES S. GUBSER,
Member of Congress, 10th District, California, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am afraid that we were unprepared for the blow dealt the Trinity project by Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton's favorable report on sale of Trinity's "falling water" to the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

The intent of the Congress when the proposal was first made in 1955 seemed so clear, as spelled out July 27, 1955, in the policy statement submitted by the Senate Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee, and the need for transporting Trinity water south, interconnecting with the San Luis project, so much more acute today than it was even a year and a half ago, that we were really shocked by the failure of the Secretary to guide himself accordingly.

It is likewise difficult to understand your support for this twisting of reclamation policy. We had read newspaper reports of your position but not until we were able to thoroughly absorb your January 31, 1957, statement which appeared in the January 31, 1957, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD did we feel qualified to take issue with you.

1. You note "that the first two contracts for the Trinity project have exceeded the Bureau of Reclamation's estimates by more than 30 percent" and from this you assume that the public will realize proportionate savings if the power facilities are developed and distributed by a private agency.

It seems academic to call to your attention that we are operating in an inflated economy, aggravated, for California especially, by a new series of increased transportation costs for everything which must be imported into this State; that living costs have reached a new high and that it is inevitable that wages must follow with resulting increases in each new contract let by the Bureau.

2. You pose "public ownership" against what you choose to call the free-enterprise system, but there is no question of public ownership involved. Federal installations such as Mare Island and the Ames Aeronautical Laboratory at Moffett Field are underwritten by taxation and whatever can be saved in their operation by sale of hydroelectric power at replacement cost plus interest versus sale of hydroelectric power to

cover such costs plus a profit to stock and bond holders is in the public interest.

As a farmer who understands what irrigation costs mean to your fellow farmers in our semiarid state, you must be aware of the fact that whatever the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. proposes to pay for Trinity hydro will be reclaimed in higher rates to farmers for pumping charges and similarly higher rates to industry and housholders in Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s service area. I assume that you know that on February 8, 1957, Pacific Gas & Electric Co. applied to the California Public Utilities Commission for permission to raise electric rates 6 percent at an annual increased cost in electric bills for its customers of $16,600,000.

Do you propose that the cities of Santa Clara and Palo Alto in your district turn over their electric distribution systems to private ownership and thus forfeit their present policies of operating such systems at cost for the benefit of their taxpayers?

Or that the Sacramento Municipal Utility District waive its historical right to be given preference in sale of hydroelectric power from water stored and passed through generators where reclamation projects have been authorized by the Congress such as the Central Valley project?

Or that the agricultural wealth of California which depends on irrigation and has been expanded and protected by interest-free money and a portion of revenues from sale of hydroelectric power from Feedral projects be penalized by removing such provisions of reclamation law?

Do you consider it "good business" for the Federal Government to have to buy back its own hydroelectric power to transfer water from its source, where it is surplus, to its ultimate use, such as the west side of the San Joaquin Valley or Santa Clara and San Benito Counties in your own district, at a price which first must have interest on bonds privately floated and an assured rate of return to stockholders as a lien before the public interest of irrigationists in areas of need are considered?

3. You state: "If public power were to serve all the people, perhaps I could find some argument to the public-ownership argument."

Here, again, you beg the question by stating: "But our power needs are so tremendous that even the wildest advocate of public power cannot hope for 100 percent ownership by Government."

Have you studied the rate maps issued by the Federal Power Commission, Mr. GUBSER? If you had, you would find that wherever reclamation projects of multipurpose scope include development and sale of hydroelectric power (even after fully covering construction amortization cost, replacement cost, operating cost, and interest on investment), the public which purchases private power in the area—the entire public—benefits through lower rates because publicly generated hydro, fully self-liquidating, establishes a yardstick and so keeps private rates in line, even though private rates assure investors a rate of return adequate to meet the obligations of the private company.

The much-advertised "lower rates" for electricity in California are directly related to the proximity of publicly generated hydro from the Central Valley project in the area north of the Tehachapi and from the Colorado River project in southern California.

Contrary to your conclusions that "low rates which are made possible by subsidies and tax exemptions" are "at the expense of other taxpayers across the country," may we point out:

1. Low-cost electricity means stimulation of new industries in the low-cost areas and a sharply increased use of electrical appliances which are extremely beneficial to business in those areas, both of which mean increased taxes to communities, the State and the Federal Government.

Facts and figures are available from the Bureau of Reclamation in every area where multipurpose reclamation projects are operating showing their tremendous wealth-creating stimulus. When any community prospers the entire Nation including all the Nation's taxpayers benefit thereby.

2. Cutting Trinity power off from an integrated power grid for the whole Central Valley project, as proposed in Secretary Seaton's "partnership with P. G. & E." plan, would deprive the entire service area of its maximum supply.

3. Instead of 650,000 kilowatts of energy available for local agencies eligible for such power under reclamation law, including various Army, Navy, and Air Force bases in California, the partnership plan would produce no more than 400,000 kilowatts, as a result of which the Federal Government itself, for its own installations would be paying $71 million a year more annually for required electricity.

4. The basic purpose of the Trinity project and of its integration with the entire Central Valley project and its extension south via the San Luis Reservoir, would be frustrated, because project pump lifts and irrigation needs would be subordinated to private power peak needs and the regulation of seasonal supplies during flood peaks and irrigation peaks would be unbalanced.

Our committee has consistently and constructively supported every phase of multipurpose development of our river basins during the 16 years of our activity; the American River project; the Sacramento canals; the Trinity and the San Luis yet to be completed.

At a time when California's population has reached 14 million, with an estimated 20 million by 1970, our committee considers the Seaton partnership proposal a dangerous step threatening the speedy and orderly development of our water resources.

At a time when the water table in our concentrated agricultural producing areas is dropping seriously, anything which will in any way impede transporting water as cheaply as possible to areas of need is a disservice to our farmers, to the national consumers of farm produce and to the economic prosperity of our State and Nation.

We are glad to be associated in support of a multipurpose Federal Trinity project with the California Water and Power Users Association, the Santa Clara County Water and Power Users Association, the Sunnyvale Chamber of Commerce, the California Municipal Utilities Association, and with the majority of California's representatives in the Congress, including Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL, a member of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and Representative CLAIR ENGLE, chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

We sincerely hope that you will find it possible to adopt a similar position.

We would appreciate having this statement placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. GRACE MCDONALD,
Executive Secretary.

Christ and Civilization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, recently the Subcommitee on Coal Research of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs held two hearings in the State of Pennsylvania. At one of these hearings, members of the committee heard as a witness the minister of the First Presbyterian Church at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., the Reverend Jule Ayers, D. D. All of us on the committee were deeply impressed by Dr. Ayers' report upon the impact of a distressed industry upon community life. We were strengthened in our resolve to find some constructive answer, if at all possible, to the difficult problems of the coal industry.

On the Sunday following our second Pennsylvania hearing, Dr. Ayers delivered a memorable sermon, which a mutual friend in Wilkes-Barre, Mr. J. Muir Crosby, was kind enough to send me.

The sermon not only is significant because of its comment upon the effect of congressional hearings in the field, but more importantly because of the minister's analysis of the secret source of the stability of our American Government.

Under leave to extend my remarks I am making Dr. Ayers' sermon a part of this RECORD, in the hope that it will be of inspiration to many.

The text of the sermon follows:

CHRIST AND CIVILIZATION

(By the Reverend Jule Ayers, D. D.)

THE ENLIGHTENMENT INFLUENCE

There is a remarkable stability about the Government and the people of the United States of America. This was brought home to me this week in the city of Wilkes-Barre. On George Washington's Brithday several Members of the United States Congress came to our community to discuss with some of our leaders the subject of coal research. I wish that you might have met those men personally. They were sincere, able, intelligent, concerned and willing to work hard at their task of worthily representing the citizens of this great land. Just to be around them for a few hours was a privilege that I shall cherish always. The newspapers, television and radio stations have carried reports and impressions of our meeting together. Regardless of the exact and immediate effect of this visit, confidence in the processes and spirit of American democracy were strengthened immeasureably.

While these men were in town my mind recalled the career of the late Peter Marshall in the United States Senate. Up to the time that Dr. Marshall was Chaplain of the Senate, I never thought of that position as a very significant responsibility. To me it was just one more job that a clergyman was asked to perform. In fact after Dr. Marshall recovered from his first heart attack, and after he expressed the belief that he may have been spared for further service by God and that this service may have been in connection with the Senate, I thought that Dr. Marshall was just kidding himself. Now I know how wrong I was in my reactions. Those Congressmen got under my skin. They made me proud to be an American, and more sober and concerned in my own civic duties because they had been here.

The coins that we carry in our pockets have these mottoes on them: "In God We Trust" and "E Pluribus Unum." They mean that we trust in God. They mean also that out of many backgrounds and traditions we are one in purpose and in freedom.

How did we get that way? What is the secret source of the stability of the Government and people of the United States of America? Perhaps we cherish these mottoes about trust in God and about our essential unity because we have roots that go deep into the Old and New Testaments. The 33d

Psalm tells the story of the joy of the Hebrew people over their national deliverance from their foes in 701 B. C. This deliverance is seen as the work of God, and not of man alone. To those who trust in Him, God gives reinforcement that provides greater help than can come merely from armies and horses. The watchword of the Psalm is found in these words: "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord; and the people whom He has chosen for His own inheritance." (Psalms 33:12.)

We do not claim that the American people or the American Nation is precious to God in any unique way. God loves, cares for, and helps all who repent and put their lives in His service regardless of nation, class, race, or creed. Nevertheless, this land of ours was influenced in its development especially in the 18th century (between 1700 and 1800) by ideas and influences that were rooted in faith in the Almighty. It is those ideas and influences that we desire to explore together this morning, in this sixth of our series of sermons on "Christ and Civilization."

I

The 18th century is known as the century of enlightenment. During this century there was a notable increase in literacy. In this century also the newspaper developed, the cheap pamphlet gained wide circulation, and libraries and social clubs grew up in Europe, and spread to the colonies. With more and more people learning to read, there arose a strong literate middle class devoted to the ideas of the enlightenment.

A number of great scientists and philosophers lived in the 16th and 17 centuries. Their ideas and discoveries paved the way for the age of the enlightenment. Some of these leading personalities were: Bruno and Galileo in Italy, Descartes in France, Kepler in Germany, and Newton and Locke in England.

Men of the enlightenment showed great interest in the external world in which they lived. They marveled at the way it was constructed and the way that it operated. They referred to this world as Nature. In addition, they were impressed equally with the capacity of man to discover the laws of this world. They referred to this capacity as reason. They thought of the universe as a machine, and God as the first cause as well as the mind and purpose through it all. They also thought of the universe as like a clock which was wound up by God, but later was able to keep going by itself.

Men of the enlightenment believed in the doctrine of progress. This was a new idea. Ancient pagan religions looked backward to a golden age. But they did not believe or teach that man and civilization every year was getting better and better. Moreover, the Christian church was so steeped in orthodoxy, and in consciousness of original sin, that it never taught such a doctrine for 18 centuries. Nevertheless, in the light of scientific discoveries, it seemed natural and right to believe in progress—if in the realm of external change, why not in all of life? Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau in France, were representatives of this phase of the enlightenment.

In particular Rousseau emphasized again and again that man, in and of himself, was good, but evil was in the environment. This was in the form of institutions, ecclesiastical, political, and economic, which oppressed and frustrated the good in man. But man had the power of reason. The more that man was educated the better he might claim his true heritage.

The world itself was marvelous enough that God could be seen and known through reason, and the manner in which nature revealed its workings. There was no need for the supernatural, and for Heaven beyond, because this world in itself was so wonderful, so complete in its structure, and so capable of improvement. Condorcet wrote of the stages by which man has lifted himself from savagery to the brink of perfection. This happened through reason and the will to progress.

Such thinking posed problems for orthodoxy in religion. As it was suggested through fossils that the world was much older than the Bible said that it was, that life on earth developed over a much longer period than was covered by the 6 days of creation, that Moses probably did not write all of the first 5 books of the Bible, and that there may have been 2 or 3 Isaiahs instead of 1, new problems in the relation of science and religion were posed, which it took a later century to answer.

However, faith in progress and the will to progress were mighty factors in the 18th century. These convictions formed some of the bedrock of the thinking and spirit of our forefathers.

II

The 18th century witnessed important developmens in the arts as well as in science. In architecture the early part of the century was dominated by the baroque style. Buildings were inclined to be solid and massive. The clergy within the churches were richly decked. The vaults of the structures were tremendous. Statues, pictures, flags, candles, torches, floats, orchestras and organs predominated in triumphant and impressive churches. Although the Protestant churches inclined toward simplicity, they also were affected by the decorative spirit of the age in Europe.

The paintings of Gainsborough and Reynolds dealt with beautiful women, delicate children and fat-cheeked men. These were the popular subjects of aristocratic courts. Frederick the Great and Louis XIV were called enlightened despots. They showed interest in universities and education. But they had no interest in liberty. Rather this was the era of Madame du Barry and Mme. de Pompadour. You can see that these references are primarily to the 18th century in Europe. This is because many of the ideas of the enlightenment came to us from Europe. In some instances they were modified by us, and took a quite different direction here than they did later in France.

The subject of literature during the enlightenment was man. The chief object of research was man. This was the period of the development of the English novel. Writers of the 18th century who led in this development were: Richardson, Fielding, Defoe and Swift. These novels were distinguished for the virtues which they exalted and the morals which they taught. They lacked original creative force. At times they were satirical. Yet they were about man. They put into practice Alexander Pope's dictum "the best study of mankind is man." They showed that 18th century literature was interested in people, in their affections, habits and reactions. They dealt with conditions and life in this world. They were humanistic. They breathed the spirit of the day.

Mozart and Bach represented the realm of music in the enlightenment. Bach actually lived before the 18th century, but his compositions and style belong to that period. Mozart showed well proportioned style and balance in his symphonies. This perfection of form and technique reflected the time and similar tendencies in other fields of art. Bach stressed the use of instruments, the pedal keyboard and organ in his prolific writing. His cantatas, oratorios and chorales are among the masterpieces of composition. Later in the 18th century there was a decline in the leadership and influence of church music, but there was an increase in orchestras and musical organizations which were sponsored by towns, cities and universities.

III

From this survey of the enlightenment and its influence upon science and the arts, you can see that this movement had more influence upon the intellectuals, the artists and the nobility than it did upon the common people. That was true. Yet some of these ideas about the importance of man, and about man's right to be free from institutions and systems that denied him his fundamental rights were to have telling effect in the near future. Meanwhile the rank and file of human beings found that religion had to do with something more than a first cause. It had to do with the heart as well as with the head.

In this century —John Wesley lived. John Wesley was born in a Christian home. He went to Oxford where he helped form the Holy Club. This club consisted of students at Oxford who gathered together for Bible reading, and who also set aside a certain amount of time daily for prayer, for visits to the prisons and for works of mercy to needy men and women. Those who belonged to the club were called Methodists, because they tried to be methodical in the use of their time. John Wesley went to Georgia to help evangelize the Indians. He came in contact with Moravians, as a result of which he himself was converted. He found that he was unwelcome in the Anglican Church of his day. Therefore, he gave the rest of his life to preaching on street corners and outside of factories. He traveled on horseback all over England proclaiming the Gospel. In a sense the whole Methodist movement was a reaction to the enlightenment, and a result of the enlightenment.

Meanwhile in the colonies George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, Count Zinzendorf, the Moravian, and Muehlenburg, the Lutheran, proclaimed the Gospel, and planted seeds of new religious vitality in this country. Revivals were held at Yale University, and in Raritan, N. J. Gilbert Tennent, a Presbyterian, established a log college for the proper training of men for the Christian ministry—seeking to provide adequate scholarship and evangelical fervor. Just as the Methodist movement set the stage for land reform and humanitarian legislation in Great Britain in the next century, the revivals in the colonies led to efforts to convert the Indians and the Negroes. They also furthered the demand for free land and free democratic institutions in the New World. So we see that both America and France moved toward revolutions near the close of the 18th century. The enlightenment made ready for these momentous events.

IV

We have considered the influence of the enlightenment upon science, arts, and religion. What was its effect upon politics? The effect in France was different somewhat from the effect in the colonies. In France the criticism of social institutions, and the environment which oppressed man, led to a tendency toward atheism and a reign of terror. A king and a queen were beheaded. Church lands were confiscated. Monasteries were abolished. Then came Napoleon, a dictatorship, and a Concordat under which France lived for 100 years. Under that Concordat the state controlled the nomination of bishops, and the state treasury controlled the funds for church and clergy. So the net result of the revolution was anything but religious freedom and separation of church and state. One wonders whether this is not always the consequence of trying to change the conditions of society without reference to God, the moral law, and an understanding of both, the goodness and the sinfulness of man.

Something quite different happened in the colonies. Many of the same ideas of the enlightenment were believed here. However, consider several outstanding leaders of early America. Ask yourself whether they did not have something totally lacking among the French, namely the conviction "in God we trust" and "out of many one." These fathers of our country had their faults and frailties, but Almight God was a living reality in their lives.

Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston. At 12 years of age he was apprenticed to his brother as a printer. He ran away from home to Philadelphia. Later he went to London. Through his own industry he became an outstanding reader, writer, and editor. He made himself into an educator, scientist, inventor, and statesman. He lifted himself by his own bootstraps. Nevertheless he never forgot also his Creator and Master. When the debates were waxing hot in the Constitutional Convention, he sought to reconcile the extremists. He called for all parties in the dispute, for all in the convention to set apart time for prayer to God—for divine wisdom and guidance. Although Alexander Hamilton referred to prayer as an appeal for "foreign aid," yet Franklin carried the day and said, "God governs in the affairs of men. Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." That was the voice of America speaking.

We give proper honor to George Washington and to Abraham Lincoln. They deserve our admiration and respect. But remember with me also Thomas Jefferson. His life purpose was to secure and defend the rights of man. He made an unsuccessful effort to free the slaves. He championed the separation of church and state. He wrote the Declaration of Indpendence. He fostered and secured the passage of the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom. As Ambassador to France, as Vice President, and as President of the United States he served this Nation with dignity and honor. He had faith in the common man. He was kind. He lived the philosophy that he preached in these words, "I have sworn upon the altar of liberty eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Where was the secret of his strength? Was it in himself? Was it of himself? These declarations from his lips show the real source of his wisdom and his influence. These he wrote for a young friend. Now they belong to us, to all Americans, and to the entire world. They are: "Adore God, reverence and cherish your parents, love your neighbor as yourself, be just, be true, and murmur not at the ways of Providence."

The United States of America has many problems and responsibilities in these times. Yet our Nation has a secret stability in its Government and in its people. It is the stability of trust in God. Our Congressmen showed it to us this past week. We feel it in our hearts. We believe it in our souls.

When the psalmist said, "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord; and the people whom He has chosen for his own inheritance," he was speaking in response to a mighty event in the year 701 B. C. After that time the whole Jewish nation went into captivity, the temple was destroyed. From that time to this hour the Jews have witnessed trouble as well as triumph. Yet they have held to their faith in God.

None of us knows what lies ahead. But God has made us one. We trust in Him. Whatever the future may hold we shall continue to live under God confident that in His service is our destiny and our peace.

The Old Order Changeth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRED MARSHALL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an oration delivered by the late Bryan Gilkinson while a student at Carleton College in Minnesota. It was published in the February 20, 1917, issue of the Carletonia, and was called to my attention by Mr. Carl A. Ryan, secretary-treasurer of the World Peace Association, Jenkins, Minn.:

THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH

Man is a progressive being. In the process of attaining civilization he has robbed the elements of their terrors, has removed the barriers of distance, and has forced the earth and the sea to yield up their treasures. As man has thus far conquered economically, so he has conquered socially. For the promotion of his happiness he has sought to regulate human relations by the creation of a complex system of law and Government. So far as this system of law and government has been applied, it has been highly beneficial to the human race. But, as yet, this system is far from completion—indeed so far from completion that the relations of man as an international being are regulated by few laws and no government. For such a condition of human relations no descriptive term is adequate save that of international anarchy.

How has this condition of international anarchy evolved? What prospects are there of its improvement? How can its improvement be accomplished? These are among the gravest and most urgent questions which lovers of humanity are asking in these days of trial and struggle.

THE REIGN OF ANARCHY

The law which governed the actions of our savage ancestors, the cavemen, was the law of the jungle. Brute force, guided by primitive instinct, was the dominant factor in the relations of man and man. For a long time, the savage families refused friendly relations with each other, and stood opposed in desperate warfare. At length, becoming convinced that union was preferable to fruitless conflict, the families united into tribes; and reason scored a mighty triumph. Following the same course, the tribes spent countless generations in vain struggle with each other. But reason again triumphed, and the tribes united to form great nations. Each of these groups, as it was formed, made laws, suppressed crime, and established order and justice within its own domain. But between the groups there was no law or government to regulate the relations of one group with another. Family fought family, tribe fought tribe, and nation fought nation, whenever the impulse seized them. Even to this day there is no law to prevent one nation from invading and laying waste the land of another nation. Anarchy, abolished between the families and between the tribes, reigns yet between the nations.

FAILURE OF CONFERENCES

For many centuries after the formation of the first nations, international anarchy was scarcely challenged. Wars between the nations were considered as inevitable as the rising and setting of the sun. But at length a few great minds came forth with new conceptions of international relations. As early as the 16th century, Martin Luther denounced war as one of the greatest plagues that can afflict humanity. In the 18th century Immanuel Kant caught a vision of world peace. In the last century, many men declared with Charles Sumner that the true grandeur of nations consists not in warlike preparation but in Christian beneficence and godlike justice. Slowly attaining strength, the peace movement brought about in 1864 and in 1868 the conferences of Geneva, at which 38 nations adopted means of lessening suffering in time of war, and pledged their efforts toward securing peace. Following these came the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907. But, although these conferences did much for the cause of peace, some of the nations had not yet learned the lesson of international anarchy, and refused to limit their power of aggression by any law.

THE PRESENT TENDENCY

Today this lesson is being taught in a more terrible way than ever before. How the nations of Europe expected the present conflict and prepared for it, how they surreptitiously evolved their diabolical instruments of destruction—their 42's and their 75's—how they fanned the smouldering flame of jingoism till it ignited the magazines of national hatred, is a matter of common knowledge. But the destruction that has resulted is not yet within human comprehension. The French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon sacrificed the lives of 2 million men in a period of 25 years. The present war has sacrificed over three times as many in a period but one-tenth as long. And for the future the possibilities of destruction are even more appalling. Our scientists inform us that if America were invaded it would be possible for them to produce poisonous gases and destructive instruments many times as deadly as those now used in Europe. Look at the scientific magazines and see the descriptions of the warlike inventions already foreseen—giant engines of steel capable of crushing whole cities within an hour. Exaggerations? Certainly. But not without their terrible portent. Think of the machinegun's stream of bullets; think of the thousands gasping for breath in the clouds of chlorine gas; think of the steelclad tanks lumbering their slow but deadly way over corpse-strewn fields; and then ask yourself what modern inventive genius will do for wars of the future. Truly, if international anarchy is to continue, the prospect for humanity is nothing less than fearful.

IS IDEAL A DREAM?

Such, then, has been the evolution of international anarchy. Anarchy between the families of our savage ancestors gave way to tribal peace and security; anarchy between the tribes gave way to national law and order. As the next logical step, anarchy between the nations must give way to—but no; the militarist says there can be no forward step. "War is inevitable." "There will always be the trampled fields with the silent, upturned faces." "Peace is but a utopian dream."

Are these sayings true? Has the evolution of law and order halted, to move no more? Is the ideal of the brotherhood of man a mere dream? Are the discoveries and inventions of the future to be devoted to the degradation and destruction of man, instead of to his benefit and his advancement?

AN AFFIRMATIVE ANSWER

To answer in the affirmative is to deny the fact of human progress. The mind of man is not static, but evolutionary; evil institutions are not permanent, but transitory. In the past, government by kings, no matter how tyrannical, was said to be divinely ordained and therefore inevitable. But, although tyranny grew no worse, the people grew wiser, and tyranny was forced to give way to democracy. Slavery was long said to be inevitable, and so it seemed to be until an enlightened public sentiment proved the contrary. The brewers told us that intemperance was inevitable; yet public opinion is fast securing its abolishment. The duelist, the corrupt politician, the child-labor exploiter, and a host of other enemies of progress have told us that their favorite institutions were inevitable; but not one of them has been able to withstand an awakened public conscience. Even poverty, disease, and crime were long said to be inevitable; yet today we are alleviating and hope to eliminate the great suffering caused by these evils.

SHALL PROGRESS HALT?

And is our progress to halt here? Shall we deny tyrants the privilege of exacting a paltry tax, and allow war to take all we possess? Shall we deny men the right to drive other men to work with the lash, and allow governments to drive their conscripts to slaughter at the point of the bayonet? Are we to deny men the excesses of rum, and allow them the diabolical excesses of war? Shall we ban the duelist, imprison the corrupt politician, eliminate the child-labor exploiter, and yet allow the minions of war full sway? Shall we struggle to eliminate poverty, disease, and crime, and yet allow war to reap its harvests of misery and destruction? No. Man destroys and abandons the evil institutions which bar his progress, and moves on to better things. Call it evolution, if you will, or call it social progress; few will deny that—

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
"And God fulfills himself in many ways."

PUBLIC OPINION AROUSED

The present conflict may not be the last great conflict between the nations, but it is hastening the coming of world peace. Public opinion, that power against which no evil institution can prevail, is aroused, never to rest till the curse of war is destroyed. Sympathy with the cause of permanent peace is becoming almost universal. England, fearful for the cause of peace, accepts a conscription law because of temporary opposition. Germany, fast learning the fallacy of war, hints at her willingness for disarmament. France stretches forth her lacerated hands and cries, "We fight that our children may be spared the curse of war."

Even the rulers of the warring nations are looking forward to the day of peace. The idea of a league to enforce peace, advocated by ex-President Taft and recommended by President Wilson, has been indorsed by the governments of 12 nations, including England, France, and Germany. The idea is undoubtedly crude and imperfect, but it is a long step toward the suppression of international anarchy and the introduction of "the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

A LEAGUE FOR PEACE

But a league to enforce peace alone will not guarantee peace. The old fatal philosophy that might makes right must give way to a broader philosophy, the philosophy of the Golden Rule. The international mind must be cultivated. Narrow nationalism and short-sighted patriotism must give way to the spirit of internationalism; militaristic fatalism must be abandoned; and incipient antagonism between the nations must be destroyed by active international friendship. This program will take time and patience for its completion; for the present the nations must take the most practicable step for the prevention of future wars. Let us demand a league to enforce peace.

THE PRINCE OF PEACE

You will remember Tennyson's description of the great hall which Merlin built in the city of Camelot for King Arthur. Around that hall were four great galleries of sculpture. In the lowest gallery beasts were represented as slaying men. In the second gallery men were slaying beasts. In the third gallery men were slaying men. In the fourth and highest gallery men were represented as standing erect with growing wings. Man has passed through the first two eras of progress so represented, and is now living in the third. May we not hope that he is soon to enter upon the fourth? The vision of that era rises before us. We see the lands of the world teeming the harvests, the seas dotted with countless carriers of peaceful commerce. We see the pagan nations of Asia and of Africa, clothed and taught, taking their places with the powers of the world. We see Latin and Teuton, Slav and Anglo-Saxon, Oriental and Occidental extending to each other the hand of friendship and of confidence. And, far down the future's broadening way, we see man regenerated, disabused of his hatred, suspicion, and fear, his poverty and suffering alleviated, and the shackles of his economic and social slavery broken, walking in closer fellowship with that wonderful counselor, that Prince of Peace.

(The above oration, The Old Order Changeth, was delivered by Bryan Gilkinson, a Carleton College student at the time (1917), in a nationwide oratorical contest in which many colleges participated and in which he won first prize.)

Shippingport Is the Scientist's Dream Come True

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, a layman's description of the atomic-power reactor under construction at Shippingport, Pa., written as well as any article as I have ever read on the project, appeared in the East St. Louis (Ill.) Journal of Sunday, March 17. The writer, Thomas G. Duffy, managing editor of the Journal, visited Shippingport a week ago and subsequently set down in print his impression of what he saw there.

I found Mr. Duffy's article not only interesting reading but very instructive, and I am certain it will bring a better understanding to thousands of people of what the atomic era holds in store for future generations. Mr. Duffy skipped the scientific jargon and engineering details to picture to his readers in a human, entertaining way what an atomic reactor is.

Mr. Duffy was one of the first of the Nation's daily newspapermen to visit Shippingport and report directly to his readers on the progress of America's first large-scale atomic powerplant. There will be others to follow, because this is one phase of our atomic-energy program which has been completely declassified and to a large degree thrown open to public scrutiny.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include Mr. Duffy's fine article:

PEACEFUL ATOMIC ENERGY IS SCARY

(By Tom Duffy)

SHIPPINGPORT, PA., March 16.—They used to tell me that when I heard the word "scram" it meant to get going—get out of there. Nuclear science has produced a new vocabulary, adding to the language and changing the meaning of some established words. In the glossary of nuclear science, "scram" means the "sudden shutting down the reactor."

The reactor—the atomic reactor—wasn't in place in the United States first commercial atomic powerplant when I toured it here the other day. But the mere thought of it made me want to holler at the top of my lungs: "Scram."

In other words, shut down that reactor. Stop splitting atoms.

The scientists who have unleashed atomic energy and the engineers who harness atomic energy for the scientists are not afraid of it. But I am. And that's the sensation, I believe, any other ordinary person would experience if he were privileged to see this plant.

The project is amazing, beyond the imagination of the layman. What makes it the more so is that while shaking in his boots, even a guy who all but flunked high school physics can understand what nuclear science—today's physics and chemistry and engineering—offers us for the future.

I visited Shippingport through arrangements made by United States Representative MELVIN PRICE (Democrat, of East St. Louis), who is chairman of the Subcommittee on Research and Development for the Joint Atomic Energy Committee of Congress.

TO COST $55 MILLION

Here is a plant that will cost at least $55 million by the time it is in operation, perhaps by next November. Into it are going 5,700 tons of steel and 50,000 cubic yards of concrete. For what? To house what might be pictured as a cube of atomic reactor 9 inches on the side. More than that, not just to house that cube but to prevent the radioactive water and air it creates from escaping into the open.

It's like a huge packing crate filled with excelsior and in the very center of all that is one little old coffee cup. The difference is that the coffee cup only is breakable; that cube in the center of the Shippingport project is dynamite—more TNT than man ever has compressed into such a small space. It contains 115 pounds of enriched uranium and 12 tons of natural uranium. It is housed in a 6½- by 6-foot core clad in zirconium and other resistants to nuclear fission. And that, in turn, is housed in a pressure vessel 33 feet tall and 9 feet in diameter and weighing 250 tons.

Around the reactor pressure vessel is a spherical container made of steel 1 inch thick and having a diameter of 38 feet. Around the heat exchangers and steam generators alongside the reactor "house" are similar inch-thick steel plate containers ranging up to 150 feet in length and 50 feet in diameter. The containers are safeguards against a break in pipelines leading from the reactor to the generators and heat exchangers, for out of that possible break would flash radioactive steam or water pressurized at 2,000 pounds per square inch.

Millions upon millions of dollars have gone into this project with one aim in mind: To protect plant personnel and the countryside from the devil of the elements inside that 9-inch cube.

But while we're trembling, let's consider what this cube is expected to do for the benefit of mankind. We already know that it has been used to destroy man in war.

Shippingport is the scientist's dream come true, a dream of using atomic energy for the good of man. Here on the banks of the Ohio River, some 45 road miles northwest of Pittsburgh, they are trying to substitute atomic energy for coal, turn water into steam that will drive the turbine generator to produce electricity. They feel certain this atomic plant will produce 60,000 kilowatts, enough to power the two-county Pennsylvania area served by Pittsburgh. They won't be surprised if the plant actually produces 100,000 kilowatts.

And they figure that by 1980 there will be enough privately operated atomic powerplants in this Nation to produce more power than our coal-burning and hydroelectric system is producing today—close to 115 million kilowatts.

Atomic power is too expensive for your and my pocketbook at the moment. But from the initial cost of 52 mills per produced kilowatt as they start this operation, they confidently expect to have that cost down within our range before many more years have passed.

Those who are building this plant see atomic energy as an almost inexhaustible source of power, cheap power at that. But to realize this vision they are experimenting constantly. Million-dollar test facilities have been built to give them an idea of what to expect once this for-keeps operation at Shippingport gets underway. They are preparing to handle the waste material, which will be radioactive. That calls for a separate decontamination plant and an underground tank farm to hold the materials until tests prove radioactivity has disappeared.

Everything is to be operated by remote control, from the sampling of specimens to the disposition of waste. Emphasis is upon experimentation and day-to-day learning, upon safety.

This, then is Shippingport. It's a pressurized water reactor project, the first commercial atomic powerplant in the United States, the first in the world to be operated by private industry. The Duquesne Light Co., a Pittsburgh area utility, will operate this plant. The firm has invested $5 million in it, the Atomic Energy Commission the rest.

Working with the Duquesne company and the AEC are the Westinghouse Electric Corp., which is building the nuclear part of the plant under AEC contract, and scores of other contractors and subcontractors. There are more than 1,000 construction workers on the project.

At the head of all this effort is a thin, "runt" of a man named H. G. Rickover, rear admiral of the United States Navy and the father of the world's first atomic submarine, the *Nautilus*.

A wiry, white haired guy who scorns a hat, who eats and sleeps and breathes atomic energy. A guy who thinks in terms of insure the future and tolerate the cost today.

A guy who, when plagued by foreign industrialists about the cost of building atomic powerplants, barked:

"Forget the cost, it's too much to consider. But remember, you can't have conception without sex."

And when the women interpreters refused to relay that message, he barked again:

"If they won't tell you what I said, I'll wait until they're out of the room and I'll tell you."

Presumably, when the women retired he told 'em—in each of their languages.

"You can't have conception without sex" has become a byword of the atomic energy crowd here at Shippingport. It's the only way they can forget the staggering cost of harnessing atomic energy for peacetime use.

Rural Industries Bill: H. R. 5827

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, on March 11, 1957, I introduced H. R. 5827, designed to promote the industrialization of underdeveloped areas by means of the establishment of rural industries. It is my aim in introducing this measure to focus attention upon one of the Nation's major economic problems—that of underemployment in certain areas which are generally defined as "underdeveloped areas." My primary concern is to assist rural areas to increase their per capita income and to arrest the exodus of surplus farm population to the city. This assistance should also benefit the country as a whole, as it would prevent the continued growth of our already overpopulated cities and would ease the pressures on the urban labor market.

Briefly stated, my bill will mobilize the resources of three Federal departments—Commerce, Agriculture, and Labor—to achieve these goals: First, provide technical information to communities desirous of developing small industries that could be integrated into the economy of the affected areas; second, set up a $100 million loan fund for approved industrial developments, with no loan exceeding 50 percent of the total cost; and, third, set up a $10 million fund to underwrite private loans to industrial enterprise, a means of promoting the investment of many times this amount in new industry.

Regions which will come under the coverage of this bill are those rural areas "in which it is determined that there exist the largest number and percentage of low-income farm families, and a condition of substantial and persistent underemployment." The factors which will be considered in this determination include: "The number of low-income farm families in the various rural areas of the United States, the proportion that such low-income families are to the total farm families of each of such areas, the relationship of the income levels of the farm families in each such area to the general levels of income in the same area, the current and prospective employment opportunities in each such area, and the availability of farm manpower in each such area for supplemental employment."

Available data indicates that 37.7 percent of the commercial farms in the United States are classified as low production farms. The percentage of farm-operator families receiving under $1,000 per year net money income—in 1949—was 28.1 percent, with an additional 24.8 percent receiving between $1,000 and $1,999. Whatever income increase has taken place since 1949 has easily been offset by the rise in the cost of living; and, therefore, from 25 to 50 percent of our farm families are in a relatively low-income bracket, with regard to constant dollar purchasing power. Such farm families are gradually leaving their homes and moving to areas where they hope to earn an adequate livelihood.

Declining population trends, attributable to the lack of employment opportunities in many sections, clearly demonstrate the need for legislation on this subject. The Bureau of the Census estimates that between 1950 and 1955 the State of Arkansas suffered a decline of 121,000 people, or 6.3 percent, in population. While the national average on per capita—not family—income in 1955 was $1,847, Arkansas had an average of $1,062, or 57.5 percent of the national average, ranking 47th in the Union. Since Arkansas is primarily an agricultural State, it is safe to say that our family farmers are not sharing in the general prosperity.

I wish to make it very clear that I would not lend my support to any measure that would cause unemployment in any region of the country by providing Federal funds to redistribute existing industrial potential. The rural areas, however, are entitled to share more equitably in the continuing expansion of American industry, which does not mean profiting at anyone's expense by taking away something he now has. With the passage of this bill, agricultural areas will have an opportunity to provide for the establishment of industries integrated into the local communities, possibly processing plants with part-time labor, and people who prefer to live on the farm will be given the employment necessary to maintain an adequate standard of living. It is my belief that Federal loan funds would provide a real stimulus to private investment in those areas which have particular economic advantages not now being realized. Not only would the industries provide markets close to the farmer, but the payroll would be a boon to the business interests of the community.

I introduced this bill last year in the form of an amendment to the area redevelopment bill which was approved by both the House Banking and Currency Committee and the Senate, but was never voted on by the House of Representatives itself. It is my hope and expectation that it will obtain favorable action by both Houses this year. The important thing is to bring to immediate public attention the grave problem of the underemployed low-income family farmer.

Ramon Magsaysay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, the news which came Sunday of the tragic loss of Ramon Magsaysay through an

airplane crash was greeted with deep sorrow throughout those nations of the world dedicated to the principles he so ardently supported during his lifetime. His death comes at a time of world political unrest when it becomes more apparent each day that there will be no rest from the struggle to defend our ideals against the undermining conspiracies of world communism. The free world can ill afford the loss of any of its great leaders, and chief among these was the beloved President of the Philippines.

Beginning with his elevation to the post of Defense Secretary of the Philippine Republic, Ramon Magsaysay waged vigorous battle against communism in his country. He made the Philippines a center of united resistance and a steadfast ally in the east upon whose loyal support the western democracies knew they could depend with assurance.

When a man of 49, dynamic, popular, and with the personal qualities of courage and integrity possessed by Ramon Magsaysay is lost from a position of high office it is always a tragedy to the nation affected. When the man occupies the position in contemporary world history which Magsaysay did it becomes a tragedy to be felt by that nation's friends, and all those who have followed his career with admiration and who have sensed above and beyond the spectacular biographical events of his career, the spirit of the man. I myself feel loss in the death of a personal friend.

The fact that the people of the Philippines saw fit to elect such a man to be their President gives us reason to feel certain his work for a better life for his people and for the cause of world freedom will live on.

Salaries of Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, two resolutions adopted at the February 13 rally, attended by 500 Federal and Post Office employees of the Anniston, Ala., area.

These resolutions express the sentiments of these deserving Federal employees in their hope that their pay will keep pace with the constantly rising cost of living, and the hope that they will have the right of employee organization representation with the Government. These extremely able civil servants perform services beneficial to the entire Nation and I hope the Congress will give its attention to these employees' requests.

Mr. Speaker I also ask unanimous consent to have inserted with these resolutions, an editorial which appeared in the Anniston Star stating its esteemed opinion of these excellent people.

The resolutions and editorial follow:

Whereas salaries of Federal employees have consistently lagged behind those of employees of similar skills in private employment, and

Whereas such salary lags have caused Federal employees to be caught in an inflationary spiral which has caused living standards to be slashed far below the average, and has made more difficult the recruiting of qualified personnel and the retaining of trained employees by the Government, and

Whereas such a situation is not good for the Government or the employee: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this group, assembled at Anniston, Ala., February 13, 1957, go on record in favor of an increase in the compensation of Government employees to meet the increased cost of living and to compare with the compensation paid to persons performing similar work in nongovernmental employment; and be it further

Resolved, That our Senators and Congressmen be urged to give their full support to such legislation.

Unanimously passed by 500 Federal employees in rally at the city auditorium in Anniston, Ala.

Adopted February 13, 1957.

Attested:

DANE L. ROSSER, *Moderator.*

Resolved, That we favor the recognition of the right of employee organizations to represent their members and the granting to Government employees of the right to full participation in the political life of the Nation.

Unanimously passed by 500 Federal employees in rally at the city auditorium in Anniston, Ala., February 13, 1957.

Attested:

DANE L. ROSSER, *Moderator.*

[From the Anniston Star of February 18, 1957]

RELIEF FOR THE NFPOC

Those persons who are familiar with the hardships that are being undergone by many of the civil servants here in Anniston and Calhoun County will not likely be inclined to begrudge them the financial relief that they are asking, the reasons for which were well set forth here last Wednesday evening at the meeting in the local city auditorium.

It is known that many of these faithful and efficient servants of the public, those who serve in the post offices and elsewhere, more often than not have to get other jobs on the outside after hours to make ends meet in this day of high living costs. And in several instances both parents in the home have to work at outside jobs.

If these excellent ladies and gentlemen were organized into a union, such as the longshoremen, for instance, they could quit their jobs and embarrass the entire Nation, including those in the homes as well as those in places of business.

But it is against their rules to strike, as a result of which they must rely on an understanding public for their relief.

The average person will be loath to make any addition to the record peacetime budget that Mr. Eisenhower has submitted to the Congress; but if economies can be effected, the NFPOC should be among the first to be considered. And of course they should be given favorable consideration in the event of any increase in postal rates.

This paper has no sympathy whatsoever with price increases that are being exacted by several of the giant corporations today, and neither do we have any sympathy with labor bosses who send their workmen out on strike and tie up the entire economy of the Nation. But we do have a fellow feeling for our friends of the civil service who serve the public so faithfully day in and day out.

How Much Help to Poland?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, one of the pressing problems facing the State Department today is whether or not to grant economic aid to the Polish Government. Failure to accede to this request from the Gomulka government might well mean that the efforts of the Polish patriots who suffered and died in the famous Poznan uprisings last June were in vain. For it was this reaction by the Polish people to Soviet domination that won for them a measure of freedom last October, and to deny economic assistance to Poland now would be tragic and might well force the Gomulka government to turn to the East for assistance from the Soviet Union.

Poland is not completely free from communism, but it has started down the road to freedom from complete Soviet control. Religion, to which the stalwart Polish people clung dearly as the Red Russians tried to stamp it out, is again being taught in the schools. The Roman Catholic primate of Poland, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, is again free to mingle with his courageous people after 3 years of Communist imprisonment. Economic controls have been lifted, and the Polish peasant is now free to leave the collective farms. Poland needs United States assistance, and needs it immediately if she is going to consolidate this new freedom and press for further liberation from the Soviet-dictatorial influence.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include with my remarks editorials from the New York Times on March 12, the Washington Post and Times Herald on March 16, and an article by former Ambassador Chester Bowles which appeared in the Washington Post on March 18. I ask my colleagues to read these articles and to join with me in urging the State Department to favor economic assistance to Poland:

[From the New York Times of March 12, 1957]

HOW MUCH HELP TO POLAND?

Dispatches from Washington and Warsaw suggest that serious difficulties have arisen in the negotiations over American aid to Poland. Whether justified or not, the Poles apear to have the impression that the United States may offer them only about $30 million in economic aid as against the $300 million requested by the Polish economic delegation now in Washington. Since the Poles feel they are taking a very substantial political risk in turning to the United States for aid, the thought is apparently being considered that it would be foolhardy to take the risk involved if American aid offered them is far below what Poland needs at this critical juncture in its history.

All this suggests that our responsible officials in Washington who must make the decision carry a heavy responsibility. Should the present Polish-American negotiations break up fruitlessly, there would be serious political as well as economic repercussions. Moscow's friends in Warsaw would

be strengthened and the Gomulka regime might have no alternative but to go humbly to Moscow to get the needed economic aid on whatever conditions, political as well as economic, Moscow demanded.

The United States interest in Poland is clearly that the progress lately made toward a free and independent Poland be continued. Despite some recent disturbing symptoms, it is still true that Poland is breaking a path toward national sovereignty, greater internal freedom, and friendship with other nations, the non-Communist ones included, which could well be followed by others. But to continue that progress there must be the material prerequisites for a tolerable economy and society. Past Communist mismanagement, now freely admitted in Warsaw, has created great difficulties which the Poles are trying to correct, but the job cannot be done in a few months nor can it now be done without outside aid.

Finally, and not least important, it is the Polish people who need our aid. They need American wheat for bread and American cotton so their textile mills can continue to operate. Polish farmers need American fertilizer to grow a crop this summer. We have often spoken of our friendship for and our sympathy toward the long-suffering Polish people. In the present situation the issue of adequate United States aid for Poland would seem to represent a key test of how seriously we have meant and mean these assurances of friendship and sympathy. Surely there must be a way of surmounting any legal barriers hampering our negotiators in this matter.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald]

STALLING THE POLES

If the administration fears that congressional objections will prevent effective economic help to Poland, the kindest thing would be to say so now. The Poles are taking a very considerable risk of Soviet reprisal when they approach the United States for surplus agricultural commodities and long-term loans. No doubt the $300 million total they reportedly are requesting is more than they expect to get. But a mere token gesture, a turndown after weeks of negotiation or even an inflammatory debate in Congress might make the whole request not worth the risk.

We hope that both the administration and Congress will take a broader view. President Eisenhower indicated at his news conference the other day that he would ask for revision of the Battle Act if necessary. Authority seems to be adequate to make available surplus commodities (Polish factories are crying for cotton, for instance), but a change in the law may be required in order to make a loan. If such a request should be made, we hope that Congress will be mature enough to avoid a political hog-calling contest.

But there ought to be no illusion that American aid will wrench Poland away from the Communist bloc. By dint of their own sagacity and restraint, the Poles have won some measure of freedom in internal affairs. There seems to be considerably more freedom in the press and in religion, for example, than prevails in Yugoslavia. But it would be folly to ask or expect Poland to renounce communism as such (even though the techniques are being modified on a national basis) or to break openly with Russia, for the Soviet Union has the means of squeezing Poland into submission.

About the most that can be looked for is that the Poles will be friendly to Russia in foreign affairs (while denying Russia the use of their army in any foreign adventure) and that domestically they will run their own government. In other words, this country must be satisfied with more freedom and independence in Polish internal affairs; the President and Secretary Dulles have made it clear that they do not expect an ally. The Gomulka regime is having a difficult enough time walking its tightrope.

Admittedly there is some risk to the United States in aiding Poland. There is an argument that even food sent to the Communist bloc would help Russia. The report of the Council for Economic and Industry Research to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee contends that aid to the satellites would release material for use elsewhere, and adds that although aid to Poland might strengthen pro-Western sentiment, refusal might weaken the Soviet position. This seems to us a narrow and cruel argument in the case of Poland, but it is likely to be seized upon by Senator KNOWLAND in his absolutism.

The more compelling argument, it seems to us, is that failure to heed the Polish plea would convince the Polish leadership that it cannot cooperate with the West and must look to Russia, and thus greatly increase the influence of the Stalinist faction. Changes in the satellite empire are not likely to come in terms of blacks and whites. Russia proved in the case of Hungary that she will use force rather than permit drastic change. Accordingly the best hope is gradualism that may persuade the Russians that more freedom and independence do not mean hostile governments on their borders. The distasteful alternative is to adopt the Knowland view that the Communist bloc is a total and eternal monolith—and to rebuff the hope for more freedom short of violence.

But the Polish request is a matter of great delicacy, and it requires urgent and understanding attention. The Poles cannot be left dangling without damaging the whole relationship.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 18, 1957]

CAUTION IS GOMULKA POLICY—POLAND EDGES SLOWLY TOWARD LIBERTY

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is another in a series of reports from the former United States Ambassador to India, who is currently on a 10-week trip to India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Germany.)

(By Chester Bowles)

WARSAW.—The young Polish student spoke with passionate earnestness. "Poland is now on the road to full freedom," he said. "Nothing can stop us."

Last fall he had helped rally factory workers, students and peasants to demand the end of Soviet control.

The older man across the table looked at him sadly. "I am afraid it won't work out that way," he said. "The support the people gave Gomulka was magnificent. Now the Russians know that any sudden move to seize the government will lead to an uprising, with not only the students and workers but the Polish Army against them.

"So Moscow will move step by step. No single move will be sufficient to set off the explosion. But added together they will spell Soviet control again. In Hungary the Russians proved that they will not retreat."

MIDDLE VIEW

Midway between these extremes of optimism and pessimism is another, and, I believe, more likely view. Gomulka is dedicated to Polish independence. Although still a Communist, his 5-year jail experience under the Soviets has modified his views considerably and he would like to give an increasing measure of individual and economic freedom to the Polish people.

But he is restrained by two factors. First, he knows that his Communist Party is a minority in an anti-Communist Polish sea. Second, he knows that Poland is at the mercy of the Red army.

So he will move cautiously. The final outcome of this drive for Polish independence will depend partly on his skill, but even more on developments between the Soviet Union and the United States, particularly in regard to German unification.

On one point everyone is in full agreement. The Polish people are openly, vigorously and almost unanimously opposed to Russian domination. This testifies to the total failure of Soviet efforts not only in Poland but in Eastern Europe.

THIRTEEN-YEAR RULE

Thirteen years ago the Red Army liberated Poland from the Nazis. For 13 years a Soviet-dominated government ran the country. Soviet planners directed the economy. Soviet educators shaped the educational system. Soviet-led censors decided what news the Polish people should hear and read. Yet Moscow's effort to tie Poland to the Soviet Union failed utterly.

To return to Warsaw after 9 years is an emotional experience. In 1948 when I came here on a United Nations mission, the city was a ruin, the most damaged of all cities in World War II.

Now, the city has been largely rebuilt on the same model as the old. The ancient city square, the Stare Miasto, has even been restored in all its beautiful 17th century detail.

But despite such great achievements in construction, Poland stands today as bitter evidence of the course forced upon Eastern Europe by Stalin.

WEST THRIVING

Western Europe, thanks to its free system and the substantial aid from us, is thriving.

"When you look at Italy or Belgium," I said to a group of Polish economists, "you can say, 'There but for the grace of Stalin goes Poland.'"

They agreed that Stalin's refusal in 1947 to let them participate in the Marshall plan, was one of the most costly byproducts of the Soviet occupation. Instead, the Russians forced Poland to create a topheavy economy designed to serve Soviet interests by concentrating on heavy industry and armaments.

With few consumer goods to reward the people for hard work, production in shops, mines, and on farms slumped lower and lower.

In June this economic failure touched off the heroic uprising of the factory workers at Poznan, which was followed last October by the reaction of the whole Polish people against Soviet domination.

RELIGIOUS UNITY

The Polish people never did succumb to communism. They are not only deeply religious, but unified in one faith. In the century-long darkness of German-Russian-Austrian occupation, the church was the rallying point for Polish patriotism. The individualist Polish peasant resisted Soviet collectivization so stubbornly that despite all kinds of tax and other pressures 80 percent remained individual farmers.

Now the Gomulka government has moved to satisfy the people on two important counts. First, there has been a drastic relaxation of economic controls, and incentives are being increased sharply. Peasants are now permitted to leave the collectives, and most are leaving.

Second, the Government has come to a working agreement with the church. In the upheaval of last October, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski played a central role. The previous month he had been released from prison 2 years after his arrest.

I had looked forward to meeting the cardinal and hearing his views on recent developments. But he was away from Warsaw this week.

I did have a 2-hour talk with Dr. Jerzy Stachelski, minister without portfolio for church-state relations, who I am told played a major role in working out the present basis of cooperation.

Dr. Stacheiski told me that before the war religious teaching in the schools had been compulsory. In 1949 it was abolished by the Soviet-dominated government. Now it is available again to each child whose parents request it. Nearly 90 percent have done so.

LONG WAY TO GO

Poland is a long, long way from being out of the Soviet woods. On her eastern border are 100 Red army divisions. Twenty more are to the west in Germany. The government in power, although in no mood to accept direct Soviet domination is a Communist government.

Moreover, to a large extent Poland's future is tied to that of Europe. As long as Germany remains divided, Soviet divisions will remain there. Because its military communication lines run across Polish territory Moscow will allow Poland only limited independence.

PEACE NEEDED

Only through an agreement between America and her allies on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other to pull back their troops from the explosive heart of Europe can Poland and the other Eastern European countries hope to become really free.

This will involve difficult negotiations, the establishment of many safeguards, and a more relaxed political climate. This is what the cardinal meant when he said on his release from confinement that the condition for Polish freedom is peace.

Thirty-eight Good Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Sun-Telegraph of March 16, 1957:

THIRTY-EIGHT GOOD YEARS

The American Legion originally was an organization of young men and women intent primarily upon preserving their wartime associations but eventually became something vastly different and bigger and better, as the American people are gratefully aware.

It was in the days following the close of the First World War that a group of veterans met in Paris, March 15 to 17, 1919, to organize the American Legion, which means that the Legion's 38th anniveraary is at hand.

America looks back over those 38 years with far more than a mere feeling of good will for the millions of men and women who have offered their lives in the country's service.

The American Legion has not been content to be an instrument of reminiscent nostalgia for people with a background of wartime service.

It has consistently and effectively been a fighting organization ever since its founding and has supported the vital interests of America in all its emergencies.

It has sought to avoid the mistakes of the past which have led to all our wars and it has strived for fulfillment of our national aspiration to universal and permanent peace.

The men and women of the American Legion have been warriors in the service of their country in peace as in war and have stood against its enemies in their home communities as on the battlefields.

They have made patriotism and loyalty words of meaning and vitality in the lives of all our people.

They have shown the same devotion and dedication to our free institutions that once they exemplified at the risk of their lives.

The American Legion now has spent 38 years in the service of its homeland, and it has the respect and affection of its countrymen.

The honor in which it is held attests its worthiness for the high place in which it stands.

St. Patrick Brought Christian Faith to Ireland 1,500 Years Ago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a short statement by Mr. William J. Conlon, of 23 Breed Street, Lynn, Mass., a student of Irish history on the life of St. Patrick, patron saint of Ireland, that appeared in the Lynn Telegram-News, on March 17, 1957.

The statement follows:

ST. PATRICK BROUGHT CHRISTIAN FAITH TO IRELAND 1,500 YEARS AGO

More than 1,500 years ago, St. Patrick went to Ireland for the purpose of bringing to that country the faith established on earth by Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

For more than 1,500 years that faith has burned brightly in Ireland. It has illuminated the world. It has brought the sons and daughters of Ireland into every far corner of the earth to spread abroad the light of that faith and reap a harvest of souls for salvation. Today, that faith is set as firm in the hearts and souls of the Irish people as it was during those first years when St. Patrick preached it on the Hill of Tara and poured the waters of baptism over the head of King Laoghaire, monarch of all Ireland. In no other country in the world has there been such fealty to faith, such loyalty to principle, and such willingness to suffer for both.

Today, that faith is set firm in the hearts and shootings visited on the Irish people by one English Government after another in an effort to break their faith, had but one result—to root Catholicity deeper into the soil of Ireland.

The penal laws, the most vicious and unnatural legal code ever devised by human beings, were enacted by England for the sole purpose of driving Catholicity out of Ireland. The penal laws failed.

Had Ireland given up the faith, had she been willing to sell her soul for material advantage as England did, Ireland would have been spared countless years of persecution and torment at the hands of the English bigots who were fired in their hatred by the knowledge that they had been false while Ireland had remained true.

So it is today. We not only celebarte 1,500 years of Catholicity in Ireland but 15 centuries during which the people of Ireland have been faithful and true to the teachings of the great apostle. It is a record of which every Irish man and woman may well be proud.

When St. Patrick went to Ireland, he found there a united and cultured race, a race that was far ahead of any other in Europe in its knowledge of the arts, in the methods of government, and in its devotion to high ideals.

It is, therefore, no wonder that St. Patrick met with such remarkable success. He lived to see the fruits of his labor. He lived to establish bishops throughout Ireland and to witness the erection of 365 Catholic churches and an entire people from the highest to the lowest, embraced in the church for which he had labored.

Such a result would have been impossible had Ireland not been at that time a center of culture, civilization, and unity. For in a disunited nation there would have been no possibility of such concerted action. It is not now necessary to dwell on these points. All fair-minded people have admitted that the evidence is such that it can no longer be denied. The old fable about Ireland being civilized by St. Patrick is now and then dug out of its grave by those who hate Ireland. Today, we rejoice because Ireland has been true to the faith and true to herself. As Ireland has triumphed in the faith, so Ireland will triumph in the resurrection of her national soul. We look back through 15 centuries of struggle and hard-won victories; we look forward to the coming final victory. With a sure knowledge of triumph, Ireland has been faithful and Ireland will emerge victorious.

In the days soon to come, Ireland will again be as she was in the days of St. Patrick, free and united, the center of light and culture, and the beacon of truth and liberty throughout the world.

Travel of President and Key Officials in Proper Perspective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I commend the following penetrating article which is devoid of some of the partisan statements we have been hearing lately, critical of responsibilities of our President, Vice President, and Secretary of State, which call them out of the country. The article, written by David Lawrence, appeared this morning in the New York Herald Tribune.

TRAVEL BY TOP OFFICIALS DEFENDED FROM CRITICISM

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, March 18.—Is the Democratic Party trying to turn the clock back to the days of Harding, or even McKinley?

Questions like this are being asked not only because so many of the Democratic Members of the Senate have been voting on the isolationist side of recent issues in American foreign policy but because the Democratic chairman of the House Judiciary Committee has just announced that he is introducing a bill to express the will of Congress that the President, the Vice President, and the Secretary of State should not be out of the country at the same time.

MODERN COMMUNICATIONS

One is led to believe that the airplane, which can land alongside a cruiser at sea with mail and official papers, or the radio

telephone or telegraphic communication from ship to shore have not yet been invented. It seems to be overlooked, too, that the President can be flown back to the mainland in a couple of hours.

One is led by the critics to think also that, when a President of the United States goes aboard a warship flying the American Flag, he is not on American territory. This is what they used to say 40 and 50 years ago, in fact until the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt started the custom of moving overseas to Yalta and other places—even during World War II—aboard United States Navy cruisers. Mr. Roosevelt went to sea once aboard Vincent Astor's yacht—a private vessel—without arousing even Republican criticism.

LAW OF SUCCESSION

The fact that the Secretary of State is out of the country hasn't a thing to do with Presidential succession, either. It used to be that the Secretary of State was next in line after the Vice President, but this was changed in 1947 by an act of Congress when the Republicans were in control. It provides that the Speaker of the House and then the President pro tempore of the Senate would become President in the event that anything happened to the President and Vice President. Since both Speaker RAYBURN and Senator HAYDEN are Democrats, it would mean the country would have a Democratic administration, so it would seem that this is something which should worry the Republicans, not the Democrats.

There is, of course, no function that the Vice President—even if he were in the United States—can perform that the President is required by law to do or which the President could not do when he is on board an American warship or inside an American Embassy abroad.

THE UNDER SECRETARY

When the Secretary of State, moreover, is out of Washington, the Under Secretary of State becomes acting Secretary of State and is empowered to handle all legal documents. No interruption to public business presents itself here.

It is not clear, therefore, what the purpose of the Democratic Party's spokesmen was in raising the issue of the absence of the President, Vice President, and Secretary of State unless it was to cast some reflection on the conduct of their respective offices.

The President has been away from the White House, of course, only because of health reasons, and surely even the Democrats haven't strayed so far in the partisan battle as to continue to try to make an issue of the President's health. It cost them plenty of votes in the last election.

As for Vice President Nixon, his mission to Africa to offset what the Communists are doing there was arranged by Mr. Eisenhower many weeks ago—long before the President found that his cough required sunshine and a sea trip to clear it up.

SENATE PRESIDENT

The President pro tempore of the Senate, of course, presides over sessions of that body in the absence of the Vice President. Few Vice Presidents traveled more than the late Vice President Barkley. No criticism was voiced then.

As for Secretary of State Dulles, he had a longstanding engagement to attend in Canberra, Australia, an important meeting of the nations which are members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. It turns out now that, with the death of President Magsaysay of the Philippines, the close personal relations established at Canberra by Mr. Dulles with Vice President Garcia of the Philippines were especially opportune. For the United States to have sent a subordinate to that meeting in Australia would have been regarded as an affront by the other countries in the SEATO alliance. It is a lucky thing, too, that an experienced diplomat like Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen, who is familiar with Communist intrigues, is at this time being transferred from Moscow to Manila.

But the carping criticism really has little to do with the merits of all these questions. The truth is that some members of the Democratic Party in Congress now are outdoing what Senator MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin, was accused of doing in "encroaching on the prerogatives of the executive branch of the Government." Although the President is charged by the Constitution with the duty of conducting the foreign relations of the United States, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has appointed a special subcommittee whose main object seems to be to badger the Secretary of State at the very time when a crisis is going on in the Middle East.

ITEMS FOR INQUIRY

Picayunish items in the press are seized upon for inquiry. Thus, when a former attaché at the White House made an off-the-cuff statement in a speech a few days ago about the breakup of the Aswan Dam negotiations with Nasser of Egypt in 1956, the Senate subcommittee promptly announced that it would "investigate."

But there's one thing the Democratic Senators will never investigate, and that's the background of the episode in which certain Democratic Senators served a warning against spending money for the Aswan Dam financing. In fact, the Senate Appropriations Committee early in 1956 wrote in its foreign-aid report a specific provision that no funds could be used for the Aswan Dam without the prior approval of the committee. It was quite clear at the time that Senators from cotton-growing States were fearful of the competition of Egyptian cotton grown at lower cost if the dam were built.

Many of the Democratic Senators, for some of these same reasons, voted recently against the provision in the Eisenhower doctrine resolution authorizing the President to use $200 million for economic aid in the Middle East. If the Democratic Party thesis of today is that Nasser should have been given the Aswan Dam, then the thesis of yesterday implies that the materialistic interests of a special economic group interfered with the peace efforts of the United States. It's a strange contradiction.

Bishop O'Gara Tells of Life in Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker and distinguished colleagues, we all know of the reign of terror that now prevails in Red China, but yet there are those in the Western World who entertain the thought of admitting Red China as a member of the United Nations.

Last month an expert on life in Red China spoke in my congressional district, and told of some of the shocking intentions of the Red Chinese Government. He was Bishop Cuthbert Martin O'Gara, and his address was so significant that under unanimous consent, I insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

CHRIST DID NOT WEAR A CROWN OF THORNS TO TEACH HIS FOLLOWERS APPEASEMENT

(Address by Most Reverend Cuthbert M. O'Gara, C. P., Bishop of Yuanling, Hunan Province, China, before the 15th annual communion breakfast of the Torrington Chapter Holy Family Laymen's Retreat League, Torrington, Conn., February 17, 1957)

This statement, especially to a group of Catholic men, might seem to be a truism except for the unbelievably dreadful things that are going on around us. I do not have in mind the immoral compromising of which our present day society is guilty—of the attempt to adjust Christian principles to secular, pagan action in the circle of the family and in the social order—rather, I have in mind the wider but even more devastating spirit and acts of compromise which are marking society at large today in the international sphere. Nations such as ours, founded on the principles of justice and truth, are compromising these sacred principles by appeasing nations whose only slide rule to conduct is injustice, barbarity, and deceit on the most colossal scale. That this is done by even supposedly Christian nations is not only the scandal, but likewise the tragedy, of our modern age.

Perhaps the supreme example of this tragedy at the present time, is what has come to be known as the Chinese question. For the moment a great debate is being carried on whether the moral principles of truth and justice or the base practices of appeasement are going to determine the solution of this pressing Chinese problem. In other words, whether this Christian Nation of the United States, or supposedly Christian Nation, is going to take a further fatal step along the path of appeasement, toward closer cooperation with another regime that has trodden under foot every principle of justice and truth and whose fundamental, avowed purpose is to destroy this country as it now exists—more especially, to do here what the murderers of the Kremlin have just done in Hungary, and what these same madmen have done to millions of other hapless people in the past 40 years.

Gentlemen, I have here the text of the Convention on Genocide and the Declaration of Human Rights, both adopted and proclaimed by the United Nations. Every article in this convention and in this Declaration is an arrangement of the People's Government of Peking. Do you realize that since the Convention on Genocide was adopted in 1948, the Chinese Red regime has liquidated (slaughtered) 20 million people? These are not my figures, but are to be found in the issue of Time magazine, March 5, 1956. This does not include, according to Time, the 23 million believed to be held in forced labor camps. Twenty million. Almost twice the population of present-day Canada. And not far short of the population of the United States at the time of the Civil War. In the section of Hunan Province entrusted to the Passionist Missionaries, over which I presided as bishop, a convervative estimate puts the number liquidated at 75,000. The Convention on Genocide covers inhuman treatment, slavery, and loss of human rights—what of the 20 million in China now doing forced labor? The Convention on Genocide condemns the causing of serious bodily or mental harm—what of the starving millions in China this very morning? Reports attested to by authentic statements made by released missionaries, reports taken from their own Red newspapers circulating in Hongkong.

The Declaration of Human Rights—which boldly affirms the dignity and worth of human persons, "no one shall be subject to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile"—what of

the 4,000 foreign priests and the 3,000 foreign sisters haled before the people's courts without any legal defense and ignominiously expelled from the country. I read here that—"everyone has the right to presume himself innocent until proved guilty." However, I was instructed while in prison, in no unmistakable terms, that the imperialistic system was all wrong and that the communistic system was correct, namely, that under its system a man is guilty upon arrest, because the evidence has been gathered against him and he remains guilty until he can match this trumped up evidence and hence win pardon. I read again "that the will of the people shall be the norm of the government." But, the only will in Red China is the will of the so-called People's Government, and to oppose that will by any word, deed, or thought, brands the individual a reactionary and a criminal before the government and liable to arrest and detention until he has brought his mind over to conform to the demands of the Red authorities. I have heard too often the principle expressed, "bring your mind over to us and all your troubles will cease," not to know that the will of the people has no meaning for Red dictators.

To recognize the present outlaw regime in Peking and to bring it into the Assembly of the United Nations would be a cynical, colossal, and crowning act of international hypocrisy.

Gentlemen, I know of what I speak, time and time again, while a prisoner of the Chinese Communists, I was given to understand very emphatically that the chief objective of the People's Government of China, was to cooperate with world communism in liberating the peoples of the United States, and this means simply to destroy the United States of America as this country exists today. This overall plan was told to me not by some unimportant Chinese here and there but by responsible officials—intelligent, well-educated, Russian-trained—who were carrying out the orders of their bosses in Peking.

These Red Chinese officials are the very ones that we are being conditioned, brainwashed, by powerful influences around us, to accept as our new collaborators in world affairs. Already, one would think, we have a sufficient number of such collaborators in the world arena—Soviet Russia to name but one—who are trying to destroy us even from within. Are we completely mad that we must now invite another assassin regime into the sacred precincts of our very homes?

And this is just what, it would seem, is being done, if one can read between the lines, if one can interpret rightly, the cleverly slanted press, slanted radio, slanted television, the carefully guarded statements of some of our highly placed public servants, of some big corporation executives, and of some self-styled experts in international problems.

Within the past 2 weeks, Mr. Ford, in a nationally publicized speech, asked the pointed question whether it might not be to our national interests to call off the economic blockade of Red China, to bring the Peking regime into the United Nations, and so to win the people of China away from Russia and over to our side. Let me repeat—the millions of Chinese are being held against their will and in the iron grip of the Red army. They would throw off the galling yoke tomorrow if they could and they would gladly return to our world. To do business with Communist China is only to build up the Red regime—to forge still stronger fetters for the enslaved Chinese masses and to quench the last flicker in the flame of hope for their ultimate deliverance.

Surely, the bloody explosion in Hungary should have taught us how far the aspirations of the enchained peoples differ from the will of their Communist masters.

Mr. Dulles tells us that Red China will not be recognized "just at this time." In other words, later on, no doubt; and the overtone is—perhaps sooner than you think.

In the Saturday Evening Post of January 19 of this year, Mr. Robert F. Donovan, author of the best seller Eisenhower, the Inside Story—in which confidential information was given which, up to this time, was refused to Congress—has an article What Will Ike Do? He pictures the President as pondering and hesitating on the question of recognition of Red China, and Mr. Donovan goes on to suggest the possibility of a material change in the relations between Communist China and the United States during Mr. Eisenhower's second term.

On the side of nonrecognition must be quoted Mr. Walter S. Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, who is quoted at length in the February 15, 1957 issue of U. S. News & World Report under the heading "Recognize Red China?—No—That's the Official United States Stand."

That Mr. Robertson makes an adequate, even strong, case against recognition is gratifying and encouraging—but when we consider that Mr. Robertson's superior—Mr. Dulles—is not nearly so positive and that the President is wavering, and that big business is urging America to play the part of Little Red Riding Hood to the Chinese wolf, can one blame the people of the United States, if they are confused and if they demand to know who is shaping their foreign policy and would like to know who they are to believe?

If we would only read carefully, intelligently, and with penetration, the writing on the wall—that writing whose only purpose, at the moment, it would seem, is to confuse and mislead us—or in the words of our holy father, spoken only last Christmas, "to obfuscate us"—we would see clearly that there is some powerful influence which is working tirelessly, ceaselessly, resolutely, behind the scenes for the eventual admission of Red China into the United Nations.

You may ask yourselves what has this international adjustment to do with the domestic situation here in the United States of America—or, for that matter, with life in the fair State of Connecticut. It would be bad enough to have another band of Red spies, cloaked as you-may-not-touch-me-now diplomats, entrenched along the East River in New York City, but this unholy, insensate move would be the prelude to the inevitable establishment of diplomatic relations between Washington and Peking, and the opening up of Chinese consular offices in the principal cities of the United States—each office in harboring a nest of dedicated spies—but over and above this would be the tremendous moral and economic assistance recognition would give to the very regime that openly boasts of its avowed purpose to liberate our country—liberate—a word which in the Red lexicon means simply to overthrow our Government, to mangle, to crush and to obliterate the Catholic Church—in short, to make America over into the image of Marx and Lenin and to breath the foul spirit of godlessness and hate into the new formed Red monster of North America.

Gentlemen retreatants, you wonder, perhaps, why I have chosen to discuss the problem of Red China this morning, and why I have stated the case so strongly. To me the matter is simple—very simple indeed. During the 2 years that I spent in Communist jails my Red interrogators questioned me often about the Laymen's Retreat League fostered by the Passionist Fathers in the Eastern United States. They were curious, these Communist fanatics, about the Retreat directors, about the circumstances of the laymen making the retreats (their intellectual, political, financial status)—about the retreat houses. I was amazed at the fund of information they already had (they made it very plain that they knew you didn't precisely occupy flophouses); oftentimes they were better informed than I was and they would berate me for my ignorance. It was very obvious that my interrogators regarded the retreat work as a very important movement in the church in America and that they appreciated fully the fact that retreatants constitute an elite body of the Catholic laity; consequently, for them a prime target to be first completely immobilized if their all-out assault on the Catholic Church was to achieve its purpose.

As members of the Laymens Retreat League—as convinced, practical Catholics—you are recognized in the Communist camp as a select corps of defenders of the church. In the Red book you are marked men. I have forewarned you. Now I exhort you to be alert at all times, in every place, in your business associations, in your social activities, in your political affiliations.

Bear in mind always the solemn teaching of the Sovereign Pontiff Pius XI: "Communism is intrinsically evil, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever. Those who permit themselves to be deceived into lending their aid toward the triumph of communism in their own country will be the first to fall victims to their error."

Ponder well the solemn warning of our present holy father, Pope Pius XII—against the mirage of a false coexistence. There is one condition that must be fulfilled, he says, before any sincere coexistence is possible—a condition so fundamental that it cannot even be discussed. It is that the church have the freedom to live within the State in conformity with her constitution and laws, caring for her faithful and freely preaching the message of Jesus Christ.

In Communist China the church is in chains, her ministers expelled, jailed, murdered. In Communist China to be a Catholic is to be a reactionary and to be branded an enemy of the People's Government. Communist China—this Red regime—we would bring into the company of civilized, cultured, and in a large part, Christian nations.

Let us harken, one and all, to the inspired voice of the Apostle:

"Bear not the yoke with unbelievers. For what fellowship hath light with darkness? "And what concord hath Christ with belial? Or what part hath the faithful with the unbeliever" (2 Corinthians 6–14).

President Magsaysay

SPEECH

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Boggs].

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, in December last year, a group of us returning from the annual meeting of the Interparliamentary Union at Bangkok had the great pleasure of a long and fruitful meeting with President Magsaysay of the Philippines.

The President of the Philippines, who was killed on yesterday in a tragic airplane crash, was one of the outstanding

leaders of democracy in southeast Asia. He personified the ideals and the essence of democracy. He was a man of his people, who understood his people; a man who had given all of his talents and his courage both in the arena of the battlefield and in the arena of politics. He had been one of the great guerrilla leaders in the Philippines against the Japanese in the war beginning in 1941.

His love for freedom and his unalterable opposition to communism was expressed in speeches to young people on the very day before his death.

Neutralism is un-Filipino—

He told graduates of Southwestern College—

To attempt to foist it upon our people is to do them a grave disservice. The country has no need of fence sitters in the struggle to preserve our way of life.

At the University of San Carlo he said:

You do not need to be anti-American or antiforeign to be resoundingly pro-Filipino. * * * You are the battlefield on which future wars will be won or lost. You cannot remain neutral. * * * You have to take a stand.

The free world can scarce afford to lose men of the character of President Magsaysay. I am quite certain that all of us join in expressing to the people of the Philippines our profound regret and sorrow at this tragic accident.

Inflation Can Be Stopped—Promiscuous and Extravagant Federal Spending Must Stop—"The State Cannot Get a Cent for Any Man Without Taking It Away From Some Other Man, and the Latter Must Be a Man Who Has Produced and Saved It—This Latter Is the Forgotten Man"—Professor Sumner, Yale University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, it is apparent to anyone who wants to think it through that the Federal Government has nothing to give to anyone that it has not first taken from someone else and the most extreme equity and fairness must be used in order to be certain that no one or group of people in the Nation are burdened or treated unfairly in the process. Thousands of people have been led to believe that the Congress and the executive branch of Government have unlimited sums of money to pass out to the people or the States instead of the fact that the Congress and the Executive merely act as trustees of the people's tax funds and try to distribute these funds for the security and welfare of all of the people.

Here is a recent editorial from the Saturday Evening Post which makes the point quite clear. I am confident the 1958 budget can be reduced to reason and logic without impairing our national security or our general welfare:

TO CURB INFLATION, SQUEEZE THE WATER OUT OF THAT BUDGET

The disquiet which President Eisenhower's budget for the fiscal year 1958 has created in financial circles and to a considerable degree in his own party in Congress is not explained by the size of the budget alone, although $71,807 million is more money than the people of the United States have ever been asked in time of peace to contribute to the maintenance of the Federal Government. The qualms and anxieties, pale reflections of which appear in statements by Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, and by the President himself in his statements regarding controls to curb inflation, arise from the suspicion that the administration has given up the retrenchment fight, so valiantly promised by Mr. Eisenhower in both his campaigns, and is now reconciled to spending "this kind of money" indefinitely.

Much of the responsibility for our fiscal confusion belongs to the present budget system itself. As matters now stand, the Federal budget bears only a remote relation to the ability of the Nation to pay for the services recommended. It is not a part of an appropriation measure, much less of a tax bill. Contrasted with the British budget, which puts the extra ha'penny tax on tea or cigarettes in the same bill which increases social-security benefits or the RAF appropriation, our budget is simply the sum of what the departments of the Government would like to have the taxpayer pay for.

As the survey of the Guaranty Trust Co. of New York for February points out, defense spending cannot be held accountable for the increase in the size of the 1958 budget. "Proper perspective is achieved by noting that the $2.7 billion increase in national-security programs over the 3-year period constituted less than four-tenths of the overall budgetary increase of $7.2 billion. Actually the $7.2 billion figure substantially understates the rise, owing to the fact that the greater part of Federal highway expenditures * * * are no longer in the conventional budget." There are plenty of places for cutting even if the military-security-foreign-aid items must remain sacrosanct—which may be doubted.

For example, Senator FRANK LAUSCHE, of Ohio, points to the item calling for $3 million to aid the States in fighting juvenile delinquency. "What," asks Senator LAUSCHE, "can be done by turning loose a swarm of social workers on the country to duplicate the job which schools, parents, ministers, priests, local officials and social workers are supposed to be doing already?"

Then there is the $1,300,000,000 for Federal aid to State and local school-building programs. According to figures supplied by the United States Office of Education, 36,000 new classrooms will be needed to provide for the expected increase in enrollment during the coming school year. Local communities have already committed themselves to build 69,000 classrooms—thus meeting the emergency shortage and cutting deeply into the overall shortage, which still exists. The need is still great. But the point is that, up to now, States and local communities have kept abreast of the classroom crisis largely from their own resources. Must we now—when the purchasing power of the dollar has fallen to one-half its value as compared to its worth in the 4 years 1935–1939—burden the Federal Treasury further?

Possibly any one of these isolated items, taken in comparison with the total budget figure of $71,807,000,000 is "peanuts." But a national budget is made up of an array of items, many of which in themselves are insignificant but which add up to a possibly unmanageable total. Furthermore, every new "service" taken on by the Federal Government is certain to stimulate new demands by new groups which want to cast their burdens on Uncle Sam.

Is Government spending at this level really the will of the people anyway? Members of Congress report that their constituents complain of high taxation which—at all levels of government—now exacts 29 percent of the national income. Few local school officials and taxpayers are seeking Federal involvement in that problem. In short, the pressure comes largely from the Federal bureaucracy itself.

Both the President and Mr. Humphrey urged Congress to look for hundreds of items where cuts in the estimates could be made. But surely it is the responsibility of the Budget Bureau and the Executive to point to these hundreds of items. If there is no positive lead at the top, it is unlikely that Congress—where pressures are even more intensively applied—can do much to resist the trend. Nor can labor unions and businessmen, caught in the inflationary squeeze, be relied upon to hold down wages and prices.

Perhaps those who order national spending could profit from perusal of the work of Yale's great sociologist, the late William Graham Sumner. In What Social Classes Owe to Each Other, which has been republished by Caxton Printers, Ltd., Sumner wrote: "The state cannot get a cent for any man without taking it away from some other man, and this latter must be a man who has produced and saved it. This latter is the forgotten man."

He certainly seems to have been at least temporarily overlooked in the budget for the fiscal year 1958.

The Federal Trade Commission Supports H. R. 11, the Equality of Opportunity Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, within the last few days we have been bombarded with many statements about H. R. 11, the equality of opportunity bill. In some of those statements assertions were made that the Government and the enforcement agencies are opposed to that proposed legislation. We know that representatives of many big business concerns are opposed to H. R. 11. Perhaps some members in the Cabinet of the present administration are opposed to it. However, reference to their opposition should be pinpointed. The record should show who opposes H. R. 11, and who supports it.

The Federal Trade Commission is the agency of Government which is charged with the primary responsibility for enforcement of Federal legislation dealing with price discrimination. That agency has dealt with the problem of price discrimination since it was created in the Wilson administration in 1914. Prior to

that the Bureau of Corporations, its predecessor, studied and reported upon the problem of price discrimination during the period from 1903 to 1914.

The Federal Trade Commission has just made—March 12, 1957—its official formal report on H. R. 11 to the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives. In that report, the Commission stated:

The Commission is of the opinion that the objectives of H. R. 11 and H. R. 398 are of sufficient importance to the effective operation of the Clayton Act that such legislation should be enacted without awaiting further case by case development under section 2 (b) as presently worded. (H. R. 398 was introduced by Hon. BYRON G. ROGERS, of Colorado. It is an identical companion bill to H. R. 11.)

Except for a short period of time, the Federal Trade Commission has supported strongly, since 1914, Federal legislation against destructive price discrimination. For example:

First. Three of five Federal Trade Commissioners supported H. R. 11 in 1956.

Second. In 1951, the Federal Trade Commission, in testimony before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, urged a strengthening of the law against destructive price discrimination.

Third. In the period from 1928 to 1934, the Federal Trade Commission made an extensive investigation of the practice of price discrimination. On December 14, 1934, it submitted to the Congress its final report on that investigation—see Senate Document No. 4, 74th Congress, 1st session. In that report the Federal Trade Commission urged that the Clayton antitrust law provisions against price discrimination be amended and strengthened. Such action was taken when the Robinson-Patman Act was approved on June 16, 1936.

In its report to the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, on March 12, 1957, the Federal Trade Commission stated:

The Supreme Court's decision in the *Standard Oil* case, followed by the opinions of the Court of Appeals (7th Circuit) in the matter, 233 F. 2d 649 (1956), and the Court of Appeals in *Balian Ice Cream Co.* v. *Arden Farms* (231 F. 2d 356 (C. A. 9, 1955)) and *Brown* v. *Standard Oil Co.* (238 F. 2d 54 (C. A. 5, 1956)), make it clear that section 2 (b) provides an absolute defense to all price discriminations regardless of the seriousness of the probable effect.

Of course, the representatives of some big business firms are not concerned about the effects of price discriminations they practice. One of their representatives in opposing the objective of H. R. 11, the equality of opportunity bill, not long ago wrote that the law should permit the practice of price discrimination when done in good faith regardless of the economic consequences.

H. R. 11 would limit the good-faith defense in price discrimination cases only in those instances where the price discriminations would "substantially lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly."

The Federal Trade Commission in its report on H. R. 11, the equality of opportunity bill, to the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, made it clear that that agency, speaking for the public interest and on the basis of its longtime experience in protecting the public interest, does not want a loophole left in the law to permit price discrimination which has the effect of "substantially lessening competition or tendency to create a monopoly." Who wants a "substantial lessening of competition and a tendency to create monopoly"? The lawyers and other spokesmen for the major oil companies made it clear in the testimony they gave before a congressional committee last week that they want a loophole left in the law so that the major oil companies and other big business firms will be left free to practice price discrimination with the effect of "substantially lessening competition and tending to create a monopoly." They have made it clear that it is for that reason that they are now opposing H. R. 11, the equality of opportunity bill.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that this is the time for each of us to reexamine our position on the question of whether we are for a free and competitive enterprise system, or for a system of monopoly. When that is done, we are confident that a majority will be found who are still opposed to "a substantial lessening of competition and a tendency to monopoly," and are therefore in favor of H. R. 11, the equality of opportunity bill. It is a bill against monopoly.

The Biggest Doublecross in History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, during the course of my remarks today during the debate on the independent offices appropriation bill for 1958, I made some remarks which some of our colleagues have intimated were rather strong and caustic, referring to the misconduct of our foreign affairs by the President and his Secretary of State. I have no apology to make for any of those remarks. If anything, they were not strong enough.

Never before in the history of this country have we degraded ourselves by doublecrossing our friends. We have done just that in the Middle East.

In that connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following item by Drew Pearson which appeared in this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald:

ISRAELIS VICTIMS OF DOUBLECROSS

(By Drew Pearson)

If you know the full inside story of the hectic negotiations by which Israel agreed to withdraw from the Gaza strip and the Gulf of Aqaba, you can't escape the conclusion that this little country has been given one of the biggest doublecrosses of modern diplomacy.

This may seem an extreme statement, but here is the hitherto unpublished record:

Around the middle of last month, the Eisenhower administration was worried sick over the position in which it found itself regarding the pending U. N. vote for sanctions against Israel. It was so worried that the first thing Secretary Dulles did when Premier Guy Mollet of France arrived in Washington was to ask his help solving the U. N.-Israeli impasse.

"If there ever was a time when the United States needs the good offices of France it's now," Dulles said in effect.

The reason was easy to understand. The Eisenhower administration by this time had got itself into a position where it was damned by the Arab-Asian bloc if it didn't vote for sanctions, and damned by a majority of Congress plus powerful political forces if it did.

What it needed was a compromise.

The West German Government had politely but firmly notified Dulles that Germany would not go along with sanctions. Germany's commitment to Israel, made as a result of Hitler's massacre of 6 million Jews, was a moral one, West Germany told the State Department.

Dulles also knew that France, plus probably Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and England would not go along with sanctions. Furthermore, both Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, the Democratic leader, and Senator WILLIAM KNOWLAND, the GOP leader, had publicly served notice on the administration that Congress would probably not agree to sanctions.

Finally, the administration was desperately anxious to get the Eisenhower Near East doctrine O. K.'d by the Senate.

All this was why Dulles literally begged Premier Mollet to help him out of the Near East dilemma.

DULLES GIVES O. K.

In the negotiations which followed, the French suggested that instead of getting a flat guarantee from the U. N. or Egypt that the Egyptian army would not go back into the Gaza strip, Israel might base its withdrawal on a series of assumptions which would be approved in advance by the United States and France.

So many murderous raids have been conducted from this little finger of land by Egyptian fedayeen that no Israeli Government could long remain in power if it permitted the Egyptian army to reenter.

As a result of the French suggestion, however, a series of assumptions were drawn up by Israeli Foreign Minister Golda Meir. One assumption was that the civil and military administration of the Gaza strip will be exclusively by the U. N. Another assumption was that the U. N. administration would continue until there is a peace settlement.

These and other assumptions were studied carefully in writing and agreed to by John Foster Dulles. He made six or eight changes in the wording. These Israel accepted.

It was also agreed that after Mrs. Meir made her U. N. speech outlining these assumptions, U. S. Ambassador Lodge should speak and describe the assumptions as "reasonable."

DULLES IN REVERSE

When Lodge spoke, however, he changed the signals. Instead of calling the assumptions reasonable as agreed, he called them not unreasonable. He also went out of his way to emphasize that Egypt could exercise control over Gaza.

This was what made the Israeli government almost reverse itself and not get out of Gaza after all.

Undoubtedly the Cabinet would have reversed its foreign minister's decision in Washington had not John Foster Dulles pulled a diplomatic rabbit out of his hat. He drafted a personal letter to Premier Ben-Gurion, which President Eisenhower cabled to Jerusalem.

The President said what Ambassador Lodge was supposed to say but didn't.

One day after the withdrawal, however, when it was too late for Israel to backtrack, Secretary Dulles told his press conference that President Eisenhower's letter did not mean what the Israelis thought it meant, that he did not endorse all of Mrs. Meir's assumptions.

It is important to note that these problems are not confined to the Middle East. They have worldwide implications. The best proof of that is found in the following item by Constantine Brown as it appeared in the Evening Star of March 19, 1957:

FAR EAST-MIDEAST ATTACK TIEUP?—POSSIBILITY SEEN THAT A GAZA OUTBREAK MAY BE SIGNAL FOR A RED DRIVE ON KOREA

(By Constantine Brown)

Will a possible new outbreak in the Gaza strip and the Gulf of Aqaba be the signal for renewed aggressive operations by the Chinese Communists against their three prospective victims, the Republic of Korea, China, and South Vietnam?

This possibility is being seriously taken into consideration by the military men in the Pentagon.

Reports from the Middle East indicate the so-called surprise move of President Nasser into the Gaza strip and his double talk about freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal are the work of his sponsors in Moscow, New Delhi, and Belgrade.

Without the prodding of the men in the Kremlin, the Egyptian dictator unquestionably would adopt a more conciliatory attitude and keep the promise he gave earlier this month to American and United Nations representatives that he would agree to a cooling-off period. Washington hoped that during that time some semblance of Egyptian-Israeli peace might be brought about.

Egypt is economically and financially bankrupt. Its military power is less than negligible. Its best troops collapsed within a few days last October under the impact of only a small portion of the Israeli forces. The U. N. resolutions backed strongly by America's persuasive arguments induced Israel to evacuate the Gaza and Aqaba areas. Thus Nasser's face was saved and he was able to represent himself before the Afro-Asians as a great man who had won over the "colonialist-imperialists." It was broadcast throughout the world that "justice had won over might." Under these conditions, it appeared logical to those who want to judge the present international situation by logic that he would be satisfied with the complete victory we and the U. N. gave him at a time when his position appeared hopeless.

There has been evidence for some time that the men in the Kremlin who seek to fish in troubled waters intended to synchronize military operations in the Middle East with similar operations in the Far East. Moscow, it is believed by competent military men not only in Washington but also in Paris and London, is neither prepared nor willing to tackle the United States militarily. But it persists in maneuvers, dating back to the Korean aggression in June, 1950, of engaging the United States by proxy. In this manner it can continue to cause a drain on our resources and manpower. And it always finds willing stooges. After the Korean Communist armies were crushed, Moscow pushed the Chinese Communists into battle. This operation cost us 140,000 casualties and more than $15 billion. We concluded a shaky armistice after 3 years of fighting. Now the 680,000 Chinese and Korean troops north of the 38th parallel are in a far better position to strike at the 500,000 ROK and the 50,000 American troops south of the 38th parallel than ever before.

But for the purposes of the Kremlin, it is essential that America should become deeply involved in another area as well, in the belief that we could not successfully operate on two fronts.

The nationalization of the Suez Canal Co. was, according to available information, not so much a Nasser as a Shepilov-Krishna Menon plan. It affected the United States only indirectly. But the Soviet-Indian bloc knew that America is a mother hen to all the free world and that the repercussions of the Nasser action would be strongly felt in this country.

We stopped peremptorily the military campaign of our British and French allies as well as that of Israel through our junior State Department, the United Nations. But even this patched-up peace was contrary to the plans of the Kremlin. No sooner did the handful of soldiers of the United Nations emergency force replace the Israeli army in the Gaza and Aqaba areas than Nasser went back on the unofficial assurances he had given that he would sit out a waiting period before he returned to administer the Gaza strip. And the fat was in the fire again, to the great satisfaction of the dictators of the Soviet Union. In the meantime, the men in Peiping are suspected of getting ready to strike in the Far East if the Middle Eastern pot boils over.

The Chinese Communists do not need any special preparations for an aggression against South Korea. They have been ready for such action since last summer. They are confident of success because we have taken no steps to provide modern military equipment either to our own troops in Korea or the ROK's.

Intelligence reports indicate a concentration of Red airpower in Fukien Province opposite the Nationalist offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu. Conquest of these isles by the Chinese Communists would be the first step toward a much more difficult attack on Formosa itself. Recently the Communist subversives have shown a much greater activity throughout Southeast Asia and Japan.

All this information compels those directly responsible for our national security to draw the conclusion that another series of affrays by proxy is being planned for this spring and summer.

Mr. F. W. Rohrs, Octogenarian of Rosedale, Md.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article which appeared in the Baltimore Sun on March 16, 1957. This article is devoted to Mr. F. W. Rohrs, octogenarian of Rosedale, Md., who has a most enviable and admirable accident-free driving record of 60 years. In honor of his excellent record, Mr. Rohrs was awarded a Wheelmaster Safety Scroll by the Safety First Club of Maryland at its Wheelmaster banquet held March 14, 1957, in Baltimore.

As chairman of the Special Committee on Traffic Safety, I sincerely hope that Mr. Rohrs' record will encourage all of us to emulate his outstanding achievement.

OCTOGENARIAN HOLDS RECORD

(By Robert G. Breen)

"MAN AND AUTO

"Alcohol in the radiator
Prevents freezing.
Alcohol in the driver
Prevents thinking.
Moral:
When you can't think
Don't drive an auto."

—*Rohrs M–71.*

That is just one of the many hundred cataloged (and copyrighted) maxims from the collected writings of Frederick W. Rohrs, of Rosedale, Baltimore County, octogenarian, inventor, musician, writer, war veteran, and for 60 years an automobile driver who has never struck a man, woman, child, dog, or cat, and (has) never caused an accident.

Recognition for this meritorious feat was accorded Mr. Rohrs Thursday evening at the Wheelmaster dinner given by the Safety First Club of Maryland at a local hostelry.

NOT THE LEAST

Mr. Rohrs, a dapper man of benign mien, whose slim, nimble bearing belies his years, accepted the honor with "humility blended with modesty," the while admitting that in his heart he realized that many sacrifices were involved in reaching his safe-driving goal. (The goal is one of many years' standing.)

Not the least of these sacrifices was the handing over, carte blanche, the right-of-way to his own estimate of 13 million other drivers who had no right to it whatsoever.

In addition, here are some recommendations made by Mr. Rohrs (like a lion) on behalf of safe driving:

"Never operate a car in traffic
If you have a missing motor,
If your brakes are faulty,
If your tires are bald,
If your windshield visibility is bad,
If there is any serious mechanical fault."

Mr. Rohrs, who operated his first automobile on Chicago's Jackson Boulevard on March 8, 1897, and his first one in Baltimore in 1900, has since 1910 operated a garage on Old Philadelphia Road, Rosedale.

THE FIRST TICKET

While his driving record is accident free, Mr. Rohrs admits to three traffic tickets. They were all protested by Mr. Rohrs, and all thrown out of traffic court. It wasn't a mere case of dismissal. In each case the magistrate ruled "no case" whatsoever.

The first traffic ticket, he recalls, was served on him many years ago, when he was playing in a band at Carlins Park. Mr. Rohrs' offense (or so the traffic officer imagined) was that Mr. Rohrs' coal-oil-burning taillamps were not lighted. Mr. Rohrs (who had 2 taillights, not just 1, as the law required) contended that a culprit had stolen the coal oil from his lamps. Hence, the law had "no case."

It was a relief to be rid of that ticket, for even then Mr. Rohrs was already working for a traffic-safety record that would be free of any blemish.

Mr. Rohrs, who has a total of 337 inventions to his credit, having to do mostly with the internal combustion machine and radio, has only one of his cars left, an old model T Ford, remodeled to his own design. Mr. Rhors thinks it is the first house-on-wheels ever built, containing as it does, hot and cold running water, built-in bunks, kerosene and electric stoves, and full kitchen facilities.

Only recently he was able to dispose of his first car, a 1900 DeDion Bouton Motorette, the 4½-horsepower motor of which was capable to cruising at a top speed of 7 miles per hour. This past year he also sold his 1906 Franklin, which in his estimation was the best automobile ever developed.

Agile of mind and body, Mr. Rohrs, who still wears stiff detachable Prince Albert type

collars, has four recommendations which must be blended together to form the formula for his longevity.

The recommendations:

"Constant moving about,
Not taking it too easy,
Refraining from using intoxicants,
Making new friends every day."

Mr. Rohrs lays great stress on the last recommendation, saying that it is imperative for one who is gaining in years to make friends with the young as a means of keeping the spirit free and buoyant.

A Spanish-American War veteran, Mr. Rohrs, who at one time had his own show on the road (Colonel Rohrs, Refined Comedy Co. it was called), now only gets out his violin once a year—to practice for the annual muster service of the Spanish-American War Veterans. It is held at the War Memorial Building on the anniversary of America's entry into that war.

Sermon of Very Rev. Msgr. George G. Higgins at the Annual Mass, Feast of St. Patrick, St. Patrick's Church, Washington, D. C., March 16, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have printed in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues a most inspiring and informative sermon delivered by the Very Rev. Msgr. George G. Higgins, director, social action department, National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington, at the annual pontifical mass for the Feast of St. Patrick in St. Patrick's Church, Washington, D. C., last Saturday, with Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Boyle, Roman Catholic archbishop of Washington, pontificating, and Most Rev. Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, the archbishop apostolic delegate to the United States, presiding.

The sermon follows:

SERMON OF VERY REV. MSGR. GEORGE G. HIGGINS AT THE ANNUAL MASS, FEAST OF ST. PATRICK, ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 16, 1957

"Hear ye all, lovers of God, the holy merits
Of the man blessed in Christ, Patrick the Bishop,
How for his good ways he is likened to the angels,
And because of his perfect life is deemed equal to the apostles."

(Hymn in honor of St. Patrick written by St. Secundinus in the fifth century.)

We have come here this morning to consider prayerfully the holy merits of the man blessed in Christ, Patrick the Bishop, the sainted patron and protector of this historic parish and the personal patron of our spiritual father and gracious host, the beloved archbishop of Washington. To the Most Reverend Pastor and the faithful of St. Patrick's parish and to His Excellency, the archbishop, who is so justly proud of his Christian name, we are privilege, on your behalf, to extend our sincere felicitations and the fondest greetings of the day.

It would, of course, be difficult, if not impossible, to talk about the holy merits of the man blessed in Christ, Patrick the bishop, without referring, however briefly and indirectly, to the glories of the fabled land of saints and scholars which he so successfully evangelized in the fifth century of the Christian era. Let us fulfill our pleasant duty in this regard by taking shelter, if only for the sake of Christian modesty, under the protective mantle of a recognized authority from another land—another land, indeed—across the Irish Sea. Our reference here, of course, is to the celebrated British biographer of the saints, the late Alban Butler. "If the virtue of children reflects honour on their parents," Father Butler writes—in a manner calculated to heal the wounds and erase the scars of centuries—"much more justly is the name of Saint Patrick rendered illustrious by the lights of sanctity with which the church of Ireland shone during many ages, and by the colonies of saints with which it peopled many foreign countries."

Suffice it to say, therefore—modestly, again, in the generous words of another friend of Ireland, not of Irish ancestry—

"For grandeur, nations, kingdoms have their day,
But faith like this will never pass away."

Speaking very frankly, however—and even at the risk of shattering an ageless tradition—we have not come here this morning primarily to praise the American sons and daughters of St. Patrick or to boast about the admitted glories of the Emerald Isle. Rather, our primary purpose is considering the holy merits of the man blessed in Christ, Patrick the bishop, is to ask ourselves in a spirit of humility and honest self-appraisal to what extent we are being faithful to his blessed memory and to the glorious heritage which he bequeathed to us approximately 1,500 years ago.

Surely it will be admitted at the outset that we are not being completely faithful to the memory of St. Patrick if we nostalgically glory in past achievements and contentedly rest on the laurels of an age which, for better or for worse, is gone forever.

In this connection, do you recall the delightful Irish fable entitled, "St. Columcille Foretells What St. Patrick Will Do for the Men and Women of Ireland on the Day of Judgment"? The concluding paragraphs of the fable contain a spiritual message which is full of meaning for American Catholics of Irish descent and indeed for those of every other nationality or national origin. "Thereupon," the fable concludes, "Columcille paused and Bauheen, in great anxiety, asked him: 'What will Patrick have to do for the people of Ireland upon that day?'" Colum-cille opened his mouth to speak. But at that moment the bell of Armagh * * * sounded. "That stroke is to remind us," said Colum-cille, "that it is fitter for us to be inside St. Patrick's church praying as St. Patrick taught us to pray, than to be foretelling what he will do for us on the day of judgment."

Paraphrasing the words which are here attributed allegorically to Colum-cille, we may properly say, I think, that it is fitter for us, as we gather in prayer this morning in St. Patrick's Church, to look to the future and its responsibilities more than to the past and its admitted glories, for the past, as the writers of history are so fond of telling us, is but the prologue to the future. The bell in the Vatican watchtower, like the ancient bell of Armagh, has sounded repeatedly and insistently, to remind us in this case that we are standing on the edge of doom. It behooves us, then, even or especially on the feast day of our glorious patron, to be perfectly honest with ourselves in the auditing of our spiritual and intellectual accounts.

In the face of the continuing crisis which his holiness has unweariedly brought to our attention in a hundred different documents and allocutions, is there anything that we can learn from the life of St. Patrick whose feast we are celebrating this morning in one of the oldest among the hundreds of American churches which have been placed under his official patronage and protection?

Obviously the first lesson to be learned from the life of any saint, and specifically, in this instance, from the life of the man blessed in Christ Patrick the Bishop, is the absolute indispensability of persevering prayer and complete abandonment to the providence of Almighty God. I think it can be said with perfect propriety and with all due reverence that the chronicle of Patrick's life of prayer reads remarkably like a chapter from the life of Christ Himself. When he was not engaged in the work of the sacred ministry, we are told by Patrick's biographers, his whole time was spent in prayer and penitential exercises. And on one occasion, in literal imitation of his Lord and Master, he prayed and fasted for 40 days and 40 nights on a rugged mountain peak which, for centuries now, has been known as Patrick's Mountain and which, until the end of time, will be honored and revered as the holiest place of pilgrimage in all of Ireland.

It was largely because they were men and women of perservering prayer and penance—because, in other words, they were faithful to the central core of Saint Patrick's heritage—that the Irish immigrants of the 19th and early 20th centuries were able to make such a magnificent contribution to the cause of Christ and His church in the United States in spite of prejudice and discrimination and in spite of their many natural handicaps and disabilities. It was the solidity and the intensity of their faith in God—plus a congenital and irrepressible sense of humor—which enabled them to mingle laughter with their tears in the face of staggering problems which would have broken the spirit of a lesser breed of men and women. We are justly proud of their phenomenal record in this regard, but again in the spirit of honest self-appraisal it must be said that a great deal more can rightly be expected of us at the present time. Thanks to a merciful providence, we have had the advantage of a formal Catholic education, an advantage which was denied to most of the early immigrants. In addition, we have at our disposal, as the immigrants did not, the rich fruits of the liturgical revival which was providentially initiated by St. Pius X and has been progressively enriched and extended by his illustrious successors in the papacy. And, finally, we have a degree of leisure which even the most optimistic of the immigrants never could have anticipated or even imagined. Our fathers, or in any event, our grandfathers and their fathers before them, were compelled to work 10 or 12 hours a day, 6 and even 7 days a week, for a very inadequate wage and, generally speaking, under miserable conditions. It was difficult for some of them to get to mass even on Sunday, and it was next to impossible for any of them to get to mass on weekdays. We of the present generation, on the other hand, have a greater degree of material prosperity and personal leisure than the rank-and-file of any other civilization in recorded history have ever enjoyed. This means that we are in a favorable position, with a modicum of self-sacrifice, to develop a new type of Christian civilization and Christian culture based on frequent, active and intelligent participation in the sacred mysteries of the liturgy.

Surely, then, the church has every right to expect to see us at mass and the sacraments more frequently as the years go by. And, by the same token, she has every right—in view of our unprecedented advantages and opportunities—to expect us to continue our education and to take an active interest as informed and zealous Christians in the social, political, and cultural life of our beloved country. What was good enough in this

regard 50 or even 25 years ago would be totally inadequate to meet the challenge of the present age.

This reference to our opportunities and responsibilities in the field of education brings us logically to the second obvious lesson to be learned from the life of the saint whose feast we are celebrating today. The Ireland which St. Patrick evangelized in the fifth century quickly became a land of saints, but let us never forget that it was also a land of scholars. Would it be out of order on St. Patrick's feast to ask ourselves, in all honesty, whether or not American Catholics, so many of whom can trace their origin to the land of saints and scholars, are adequately living up to the second half of her glorious title? This is neither the time nor the place to attempt to answer that question in detail. Suffice it to say that the tentative answers arrived at thus far by some of those who have seriously studied the problem are not altogether reassuring. If these answers are too pessimistic, so much the better. On the other hand, if they are reasonably accurate, then it would be the height of folly to ignore their implications for the future of Catholicism in the United States. We are no longer the underdogs of American society, no longer a beleaguered minority. We have long since "arrived"; we have long since been comfortably integrated into the mainstream of American life. And from the religious point of view, any fair observer would have to admit, I think, that we have already accomplished almost incredible wonders, under God, in many fields of practical service in the cause of Christ and His church. It remains for us now to assume our rightful share of leadership in the intellectual and cultural life of the United States—not only in philosophy and theology but in every other field of advanced study and in all the arts and crafts.

The third lesson that we can learn from the life of St. Patrick is a passionate interest in the missions, not only in the field afar but within the boundaries of our own country as well. The Irish-Americans and other Catholics of the United States have admittedly been very generous to the missions, financially as well as in terms of religious personnel. But, frankly, we have hardly begun to scratch the surface of the missionary problem either at home or abroad. Several countries are proportionately ahead of us, for example, in the number of priests, Brothers, and Sisters and lay auxiliaries that they have given to the foreign missions. What will St. Patrick do for us on Judgment Day? That will undoubtedly depend to a considerable extent on what we do for the untold millions of people around the world who have yet to find their way into the one true Church, the Mystical Body of Christ.

In our immediate backyard missionary approach to the millions of non-Catholics within the boundaries of our own country, there is still another lesson we can learn from St. Patrick, the exceedingly difficult lesson of charity and patience in the face of religious prejudice, contention, and misunderstanding. We are told by his biographers that when people mocked at St. Patrick in the exercise of his missionary apostolate, he instinctively turned the other cheek. "It was not because of malice on their part," he was wont to say, "but on account of my want of education." In citing St. Patrick's example of Christian forbearance, we do not mean to suggest that the Catholics of the United States in their missionary approach to our separated brethren should compromise or water down the content of their faith. On the contrary, we must steadfastly hold to the truth at any cost. But in the words of St. Paul's characteristically terse injunction to the Ephesians, and after the example of St. Patrick in his personal dealings with our ancestors, let us "practice the truth in charity."

In passing, and with particular reference to the unique role of the laity in the Mystical Body of Christ, it should be pointed out that there is also a tremendous missionary task to be performed in the application of Christian principles to the problems of the temporal order. This is primarily the task of the laity. We have time this morning to mention only two of the many fields of lay activity which are ripe for the Christian harvest—the field of race relations and the field of international affairs. Surely the field of race relations is preeminently one in which Americans of Irish descent—if only because of their own bitter memory of prejudice and discrimination—should be exercising energetic leadership at the national as well as the neighborhood and the local level. The courageous example of so many of our bishops in this important field of Christian social action is a source of legitimate pride to the Catholic Church in the United States. May it likewise be a source of inspiration to all of us.

In the field of international understanding, is there any group of people from whom more can rightly be expected than the descendants of St. Patrick, who, in the Providence of God, have been scattered to the farthest reaches of the world and, to their everlasting credit, have shown a phenomenal ability to adapt themselves to a hundred different cultures. Temperamentally and by reason of their historical background, they would seem to be providentially fitted to bridge the widening gap which separates the nations and the peoples of the world. Incidentally, if we Americans of Irish descent are ever tempted to withdraw from the rest of the world in a spirit of selfish isolationism, let us stop to recall that the saint to whom we owe our conversion and whose feast we are celebrating today, came to our spiritual homeland as an unwelcome foreigner—so much of a foreigner, if you will, that even today there is no substantial agreement among the historians as to the country of his origin.

We are conscious, in conclusion, that we have probably been too sparing in our praise of the American sons and daughters of St. Patrick on this the occasion of their patronal feast. As a matter of fact, what we have said about them thus far—and what we have failed to say about them—has probably reminded many of you of the ungracious orator who, in addressing the Roman gentry at the funeral of Caesar, stated very bluntly: "We have come to bury Caesar, not to praise him." If so—if that is the image which our public examination of conscience has evoked in your minds—it behooves us to say in conclusion that while we have not come here today primarily to praise the American sons and daughters of St. Patrick, neither have we come to bury them. They have had a glorious past, and as one who is proud to be numbered among them, we like to think that they have an equally glorious role to play in the years ahead in cooperation with their fellow Catholics and their fellow citizens of every other race and clime. And if, at times, that role is not too clear and if the obstacles in the way of its fulfillment should tempt us to become discouraged or disheartened, let us turn to Almighty God, through the intercession of the man blessed in Christ, Patrick the Bishop, and, with all the rugged faith of our hardy ancestors, confidently plead for spiritual guidance and for the gift of fortitude. Let us pray in the words of the collect which His Excellency has already solemnly chanted in this morning's mass:

"O God, who has pleased to send the blessed Patrick, Thy Confessor and Bishop, to preach Thy glory to the heathen, grant, through his merits and intercession, that by Thy mercy we may be enabled to accomplish the tasks Thou settest us. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, who livest and reignest with Thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God, world without end. Amen."

Textile Committee Urges Steps To Bolster Faltering New England Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting and factual article written by Juan Cameron, entitled "Textile Committee Urges Steps To Bolster Faltering New England Industry" which appeared in the Boston Sunday Herald of March 17, 1957.

The article follows:

TEXTILE COMMITTEE URGES STEPS TO BOLSTER FALTERING NEW ENGLAND INDUSTRY—SOME AREAS OF PROGRESS NOTED DURING LAST 4 YEARS

(By Juan Cameron)

Intensified research, lower regional property and corporate taxes, increased productivity, cooperation between mills and apparel makers, and higher national minimum wages were recommended yesterday by the New England Governors' Textile Committee as steps needed to bolster the region's faltering industry.

While New England textile mills continue to shut down and employment declines, the committee, in its first public report since 1952 to the Conference of New England Governors, noted areas of progress in the past 4 years.

PRODUCTIVITY UP

The committee reports the North-South textile wage differential has been narrowed; productivity in the industry as a whole increased; and needed protection from imports has been provided by the Federal Government.

New England's continuing textile decline, according to a supporting research report by the committee chairman, Prof. Seymour E. Harris, is part of a national decline in the industry.

Between 1947 and 1955 the industry nationally lost 243,000 jobs, or 18 percent. Investment declined 38.6 percent in the same period. Production increased 1 percent in textiles against 34 percent for all manufactures. Profits were 3 percent of sales nationally in 1955; 1.6 percent in New England.

New England's decline, however, has been swifter in the same period, the committee reported. In 1950, New England textiles employed 268,000 workers. Last January 158,000 were on textile payrolls.

Employment in Massachusets dropped 47.1 percent; 31.9 percent in Connecticut; 26.4 percent in Maine; and 46.3 percent in Vermont, Harvard's Harris reported, in the same period.

While some subindustries, such as knit mills, carpet and rug makers showed employment gains in recent years, textile machinery has experienced even greater losses than textiles.

New England textile machinery makers showed a 45-percent drop in employment between 1947 and 1954, compared to a national decline in the industry of one-third, Harris reported.

MORE DECLINE DUE

In his research report, Prof. Harris finds the industry destined to further decline in relative importance, to both the States and to the national textile industry.

Textiles, he adds, remain important within the region, particularly in Massachusetts, as much because other industries have failed

to replace it or offset its decline as because of its initial dominance.

The committee, composed of 21 men drawn from textile labor and management, and the public, found the reasons for this somber situation within and without the industry.

First, the cotton industry, despite a drop in the number of spindles in recent years, is plagued by overcapacity resulting from improved machinery and three-shift operation. This overcapacity tends to depress textile prices.

Secondly, changing patterns of consumer purchasing has hit textiles hard, the committee reported. In the last 8 years, Americans increased spending on housing nearly 100 percent; on autos, by 137 percent. Clothing expenditures, however, increased only 8 percent in the same period.

CHANGE PATTERN

The committee blamed Federal investment and guarantee policies for stimulating the changing consumption pattern.

"The vast increases in spending, inspired in part by Government policies," the group stated, "has brought great increases in spending in these fields that are fertilized by credit. But apparel profits little from these changes in financing, while products that compete for the consumer's money profit greatly."

The Government was also blamed by the textile committee for the high price of raw cotton at home, and for spurring the development of manmade fibers that hurt the region's textile industry.

Government support of cotton at home, and its disposal abroad at low prices, increased the price domestic mills must pay for raw materials and allows foreign competitors to obtain raw cotton more cheaply, the committee observed.

Manmade fibers, whose consumption has increased 200 percent in the past 15 years, now account for 20 percent of total fiber consumption. The new plants and machinery being built to utilize synthetic yarns are concentrated in the South, the group found, "where the industry tends to grow or lose less."

The popularity of the synthetic yarns with mills, Harris' research report said, is based on its price stability, and declining cost. In addition, synthetic yarn makers through research have provided qualities desired by consumers.

SUPPORT PRICES

The high Government support prices for cotton and wool are important reasons for the search for cheaper fibers, the committed stated, as is the rapid amortization program allowed under Federal tax laws, which stimulated the production of new plants at the expense of the taxpayer.

While textile wages dropped relative to manufacturing wages from 81 to 71 percent between 1947 and 1956, the committee reported that largely through Federal minimum wage legislation the wage differential between North and South had closed.

This wage gap has been common reason given for the decline of New England textiles.

Since 1952, Harris' research study shows, overall hourly wage differential between northern and southern mill wages well from 21 cents to 15 cents. A large part of this reduction, he adds, was the result of wage reduction in New England plants.

In the fall of 1956, the United States Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics showed a 12 to 13 percent differential between average gross hourly earnings; New England's rate was $1.62; the South, $1.45.

SOUTH WAGES HIGHER

"The most recent evidence suggests," the committee said, "that wages in the South are about as high as they are in the North. In the fine fabrics there is little difference. In the organized mills in the South wage rates are at times even higher than in the North."

Low productivity, another common reason given for textiles' weakened position, had improved for the industry as a whole, but had dropped in worsted and woolens, an industry segment still largely concentrated in New England.

"From the limited evidence available," the committee reported, "we find that from 1947 to 1954 productivity in three major branches of the industry had increased from 30 to 47 percent. The overall record compares favorably with the economy (productivity increase) as a whole."

The woolen and worsted mills, however, on incomplete statistics) showed a gain of only 18 percent in productivity between 1947 and 1954.

"This lag concerns us," the committee reported, "because the woolen and worsted industry is still centered in New England. Losses have been large especially in Massachusetts. This segment of the industry is especially vulnerable because its total national output is declining, and because southern competition is just beginning to be felt in a serious way."

Although the committee stated that its productivity results are little more than indications of trends, the improvement can in some part be laid to labor's willingness in recent years to allow new machinery to be introduced and approve adjustment of workloads.

REJECT INTEGRATION

The committee rejected diversification and integration as solutions to the industry's problems. "The use of limited funds and management to move into new fields, would not, in our opinion, be helpful. This approach seems to us to be a way out of getting out of textiles rather than of preserving the industry."

In his accompanying research report, Professor Harris reports little industry enthusiasm for diversification, as was urged by an Arthur D. Little, Inc., report, sponsored by the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston several years ago.

Mergers and integration, the committee said, can enable textile firms to reduce costs and expand markets. But the mergers in New England often destroy jobs without compensating advantages.

Vertical integration, it commented, seems to be disintegrating. Vertical integration means the control, through acquisition or merger of various firms, to control the whole textile operation from cotton production to sale at wholesale of finished textile products, such as blouses.

Several large firms, including Textron and Burlington, have recently given up attempts to integrate vertically.

The committee recommended more outlays on direct research. New England textiles research expenditures in 1956 estimated at $2.5 million by Boston's Federal Reserve Bank to increase productivity.

MORE RESEARCH

Closer contact with textile researchers and engineering studies at regional schools; more use of the fiber producers' extensive developments; more cooperative research with New England's textile machinery producers; as well as a periodic regional research conference on fibers, processes and machines, was urged by the committee.

The region's industry, the committee said, must press for enforcement of Federal minimum-wage laws, and support policies that protect the rights of workers to organize in the south in order to close further the gap between northern and southern wage levels.

New England textiles must urge State and local governments to place less emphasis on general property taxes, which are heavier here than in other textile regions.

The committee urged New England's governors and Congressmen to keep an eye out for State and Federal policies that work against the region's interest.

In particular, the committee urged that flood control or insurance that directly concerns the textile industry be speeded, and amendments made that will allow Massachusetts and other States to participate directly after 1959.

Ominous Outlook in Mideast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the foreign policy of this administration is nothing short of disgraceful. I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Constantine Brown, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of March 14, 1957.

OMINOUS OUTLOOK IN MIDEAST—NASSER BELIEVED USING U. N. TROOPS AS SCREEN FOR RESTORING GAZA SETUP

President Eisenhower appeared concerned over the developments of the last 2 days in the Middle East when he touched on the subject in an off-the-record conversation with Senate and House leaders early this week. All the same, he expressed his hope and belief that, thanks to the activities of the United Nations, the situation may not become "irruptive."

His qualified optimism is not fully shared by those outside the executive branch of the Government. These men are inclined to believe that Egypt's dictator Nasser is using the presence of the United Nations emergency forces as a screen behind which he will in the near future restore the situation as it existed before the withdrawal of Israel from Gaza and the Gulf of Aqaba, and also do exactly what he pleases regarding the passage of ships through the Suez Canal.

The official optimism in Washington is based on the mistaken belief that Egypt and its Communists or antiwestern supporters share our awesome respect for the United Nations. The American people have been propagandized in the belief that the cessation of hostilities initiated by the French-British-Israeli forces last October was caused by the immediate and determined intervention of the United Nations. The fact is that the forces of the three nations stopped their military operation when Washington put its heavy hand on their shoulders. It was the lack of a flow of oil from the United States to Britain and France that was the compelling reason why the British and the French complied so eagerly with the General Assembly's orders.

Equally it was some promissory notes, the contents of which have not yet been divulged to the American people, that have prompted Premier Ben-Gurion to order the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the two "security areas" occupied after the Egyptian Army melted away last fall. The administration is eager to give the United Nations credit for these achievements in the hope of strengthening its weak structure.

Unfortunately, Colonel Nasser, whose word is supreme in Egyptian affairs, has other ideas. This week he attributed the withdrawal of the British-French forces from the Suez Canal to the "glorious resistance of the Egyptian peoples backed by a small armed force to the aggressors" and described the only military affray at Port Said as "the Stalingrad of Egypt." He also described Arab nationalism represented by the "heroic Egyptian Army" as an impregnable force

which has ground the power of France, Britain, and Israel like a millstone, and is ready to do it again. The Egyptian dictator has only an ill-concealed contempt for the United Nations. He is putting all his eggs in one basket. In a recent conversation with a foreign ambassador in Cairo, Colonel Nasser spoke about the difficulties he encountered in organizing Egypt's economy to increase the standard of living of the Egyptian people. He pointed out that he could not use Egyptian economists in his project because they were all "British educated." Hence, he added, "I must look to India, the Soviet Union, East Germany, Yugoslavia and other Socialist countries for experts to formulate a national pattern for my country's economy."

For the time being, the UNEF is useful to the policies of the President of Egypt. When the Yugoslav contingent entered the Gaza Strip and was ordered by the Danish colonel in overall command of the United Nations token forces to carry out duties of the civilian police, it refused to do so. The Yugoslav officer in command insisted that it was the duty of the Egyptian police to undertake such chores. He said the task of the UNEF was, under instructions he had received from his own superior officer, only to replace and prevent the return of the Israeli forces. Shortly afterward, Cairo announced that it would take over the civil administration of Gaza. Ralph Bunche, Deputy Secretary General of the United Nations, who was on the spot at that time, rushed to Cairo, where he talked with some of Colonel Nasser's underlings. He agreed that juridically Egypt had that right but obtained their promise to delay the taking over of these civilian duties until later.

According to diplomatic reports from Cairo, India's roving Ambassador and troubleshooter (he is described in Washington as troublemaker), Krishna Menon, is the most-listened-to-person. When the question of Israel's right to use the Suez Canal was recently raised with Colonel Nasser he replied, "We are still studying the proposal and consulting with our friend Mr. Menon."

Californians Depart From Top Jobs in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles Times on March 17, 1957, carried a very interesting article concerning Californians in Washington. It expresses the concern of many of my colleagues and me over the fact that so many outstanding Californians had departed from Federal service recently.

The article follows:

CALIFORNIANS DEPART FROM TOP JOBS IN WASHINGTON—ZELLERBACH ONLY MAJOR CHOICE OF SECOND TERM

(By Robert T. Hartmann)

WASHINGTON, March 16.—Are Californians being eased out of top Government jobs in the second Eisenhower administration?

Or is the evident exodus of Californians from the Capital the result of homesickness for the western way of life combined with the curious coincidence that not one new Californian has been nominated to a high Washington position since the November election?

President Eisenhower's only major California appointee in his second term has been James D. Zellerbach of San Francisco, Ambassador to Italy, where he headed a special foreign aid mission for President Truman in 1948.

RESIGNATIONS LISTED

Consider these recent resignations:

Undersecretary of State Herbert Hoover, Jr., of Pasadena, succeeded by Christian A. Herter, of Massachusetts.

Secretary of the Navy Charles S. Thomas, of Los Angeles, to be replaced by a Pennsylvanian.

Philip A. Ray, of Hillsborough, general counsel of the Department of Commerce. His successor is from Michigan.

Herman Phleger, of San Francisco, State Department legal adviser, whose successor has not been named.

RETURNS TO PENTAGON

Presidential Assistant Thomas P. Pike, of San Marino, to return to the Pentagon as a special consultant to the Secretary of Defense. Pike formerly was an Assistant Defense Secretary.

Four years ago, so many Californians descended on Washington it provoked considerable resentment and jealousy from other States. Vice President NIXON, of course, shared President Eisenhower's triumphant reelection and Chief Justice Warren holds a lifetime appointment. But the third stellar Californian, Senate Minority Leader KNOWLAND, has announced his intention of leaving town in 2 years.

OTHERS HAVE LEFT

Other first-term Eisenhower appointees have long since departed for their California homes, among them Under Secretary of Labor Lloyd A. Mashburn, Under Secretary of Interior Ralph Tudor, Assistant Attorney General Stanley Barnes, Assistant Air Force Secretary Trevor Gardner, and Assistant Secretary of Agriculture J. Earl Coke, to name a few. The Cabinet is still without a single Californian.

Today there are no Under Secretaries from California and only 5 Californians serving as Assistant Secretaries in 4 executive departments: Warren Olney III and Victor Hansen in Justice; Floyd S. Bryant in Defense; William W. Parsons in Treasury; and Harold C. McClellan in Commerce.

Among the independent Federal offices and commissions there are Californians in top positions only on the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and the Securities and Exchange Commission.

The State is not represented at the top policymaking level on the Atomic Energy Commission, Federal Reserve Board, National Labor Relations Board, Federal Power Commission, Civil Aeronautics Board, Civil Service Commission, Veterans' Administration, Federal Civil Defense Administration, Federal Home Loan Bank Board, or the United States Information Agency, according to the latest Federal Register.

RADFORD TO RETIRE

Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, calls southern California home, but he is reported about to retire, as are some of the other officials listed above.

On the White House staff only two Californians can be found: Former San Juan Bautista Representative Jack Z. Anderson and John H. Hamlin, of Pasadena. Joseph S. Davies is a member of the Council of Economic Advisers and Dr. Lee DuBridge heads the President's Science Advisory Commission.

A number of Californians have been appointed to temporary White House commissions and citizens committees which submit specific recommendations and disband. But the present influence of the Union's second largest State inside the Eisenhower administration is giving genuine concern to the handful of Californians who remain. Without Vice President NIXON it would be meager, indeed.

Thirty-eighth Anniversary of American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, March 15 to 17 marked the 38th anniversary of the founding of the American Legion. The formative caucus convened in Paris on those dates and from that caucus emerged the American Legion.

In the brief years of its existence, the Legion has achieved a remarkable record of devotion to its high ideals. In hewing close to the avowed purposes of the organization, Legion members have contributed greatly to many phases of American life.

A succinct way of delineating the accomplishments of the Legion is by examining some of the many ways in which the provisions of the preamble to its constitution have been carried out. Included in the preamble are the following:

"To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America." In carrying out this provision, the Legion has led the way in promoting education in Americanism and flag etiquette for the youth of our Nation.

"To maintain law and order." Many branches of Legion organizations, including fire departments, auxiliary police, and ambulances help in time of disaster.

"To foster and perpetuate a 100 percent Americanism." Through Boys States, more than 19,000 boys each year learn the principles of good government.

"To preserve the memories and incidents of our associations in the Great War." In fulfilling their pledge in this provision, Legion members work diligently in many ways to preserve the memory of every veteran.

"To inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, State, and Nation." Legionnaires are well known as leaders in community ventures, striving to build better homes, churches and schools.

"To combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses." A fine example of Legion activity in fulfilling this purpose is the national oratorical contest, which encourages some 340,000 of our young people to become leaders in preserving democracy.

"To make right the master of might." Vigorous Legion efforts helped make the GI bill a reality, enabling 7,800,000 veterans to receive educational and other training.

"To promote peace and good will on earth." Knowing at firsthand the horrors of war, members of the Legion work diligently for the cause of peace. The

Legion's child welfare program helps provide care and education for the children of veterans.

"To safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy." More than 1,500,000 young people receive training in Americanism each year. Junior baseball and other programs also promote respect and practice of sportsmanship among our youth.

"To consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness." The American Legion, through the years, has never forgotten the less fortunate comrades of all wars at home or in hospitals.

Mr. Speaker, in putting into practice with vigor and perseverance the purposes set forth in its preamble, the American Legion has become a strong and important organization for the public good. Extending beyond interest in purely veterans' affairs, the Legion has worked in myriad fields for the good of the whole Nation.

In times of peace and in times of war, the Legion has been a bulwark of freedom. Through the years, it has realized that there is a crying need to spread an affirmative doctrine of the things for which this country has always stood. In joining in the battle for men's minds—a struggle surely as vital today as the struggle on the battlefield—the American Legion has added a powerful and effective voice to the arsenal of democracy.

Truly, for God and for country, the American Legion today continues to live up to its proud traditions. I am delighted to join in extending to my fellow Legionnaires congratulations on achievements thus far, and confidently express the expectation that in the years to come we will continue to see the Legion in the forefront of major movements for the good of our Nation.

Governor of Guam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an article from the Pittsburgh Press of Sunday, March 10, 1957, by Fred Wertenbach, entitled "Governor of Guam":

GOVERNOR OF GUAM
(By Fred Wertenbach)

It is a far cry from a judge's bench in Pittsburgh to the Governor's duties in Guam, 9,000 miles away in the central Pacific. But the change has been happily and successfully made by Mr. and Mrs. William T. Corbett.

Both lifelong Pittsburgh residents until the transfer to Guam last May, they have taken the change in stride, and been received by the islanders with open arms.

Prior to his appointment to Guam, Mr. Corbett had served for 2 years as a county court judge here. His wife, the former Helen Topping, was a Mount Lebanon girl.

Mr. Corbett's original appointment to Guam was as secretary, and second in command. But he was made Acting Governor when Gov. Ford Q. Elvidge resigned soon after his arrival.

The people of Guam like the Corbetts so much they have taken them to their arms, and they regularly attend all their social and religious functions.

ALMOST A SHOWPLACE

Now, acclimated and entirely satisfied with his island domicile, the former Pittsburgher finds life on Guam too active to pine long for the teeming steel metropolis which always will be his first love. For here are his mother, Mrs. S. J. Corbett, of Bellevue, a sister, and a brother, Congressman ROBERT J. CORBETT. To say nothing of the couple's attractive home in Wellington Heights, which they had landscaped and furnished until it was almost a showplace in that district.

"Mrs. Corbett and I found the people of Guam friendly, cooperative, highly intelligent and deeply intent upon advancing their island's progress," Mr. Corbett wrote, in a letter to a friend here.

The people of this progressive tropical isle are an intensely patriotic group, proud of their American citizenship.

The transition was made without too much ado from the beautiful Wellington Heights home the Corbetts own in West View to the spacious frame dwelling provided the United States official in Guam.

In Pittsburgh, of course, we had the home fixed up as we wanted—in accordance with our own tastes. Here on the island it is different. We had our own refrigerator units transported over here and some of our furniture. But my good old jalopy, a 1954 Buick, I left behind. Now I have only the official car provided by the Government—and I miss my own.

LEGISLATURE MEETS TWICE A YEAR

The new island official writes that Guam's form of government is a good bit like that in the United States.

The legislature is composed of but one body—not a senate and a house, as in Pennsylvania. It meets twice a year. Then is my busy season. During the last session, which I addressed and before which I presented my budget message, my days sometimes would run from 6 a. m. until past 8 p. m.

Mr. Corbett says that the heat, contrary to the impression of many not familiar with the island stronghold, is not oppressive.

The temperature rarely gets above 92 and generally stays around 70, with an ocean breeze frequently lessening any possible discomfort. Covers are necessary for comfort at night.

Mr. Corbett's annual address before the Guam Legislature was a 22-page document which drew high praise from the Guamanians.

It touched on all problems pertaining to the island. These dealt with public safety, medical services, agriculture, land management, commerce, education, public utilities, water resources, civil defense, labor and personnel, and parks and monuments.

Among the bills urged in Mr. Corbett's message were legislation dealing with insurance, health and sanitation, taxation, and even a zoning map for Agana, where the Acting Governor resides.

But it isn't all work and no play for the Pittsburgh lawyer and ex-judge who has transplanted his life and loyalties—at least for some years to come—to the Pacific.

He and Mrs. Corbett have plunged pellmell into the island's social life as well. Big vessels from the Pacific, some of them huge, trim-lined warships, come with admirals and others to be feted and entertained.

Liberation Day in Guam, Mr. Corbett finds, is a gala occasion. Marking the island's liberation from Japanese rule, it gives the islanders a chance to vent their patriotic fervor. A sort of combination July 4 and Mardi Gras, it is featured by huge floats, costumed parades, music, and festivity. The Corbetts entered into the festival like natives and enjoyed themselves immensely.

Most signs of Japanese occupation have been removed, Mr. Corbett says. But Pepper, the family's springer spaniel, finds untold canine pleasure in sniffing about the abandoned Jap pillboxes and dugouts, remnants of which still remain.

"It is odd how the problems and concerns of the Guam people have become my own," Mr. Corbett says. "Were I addressing the legislature of my own State here I would not be more deeply enwrapped in my proposals than I am in any suggestion or cooperation I may offer the citizens of Guam."

Mrs. Corbett likewise finds ample work for both her agile hands and her equally agile mind.

She has become one of Agana's "gray ladies," women who devote 100 hours to training for work in the hospital and then spend 2 days a week in actual service. There are two such institutions on the island, the 164-bed general hospital and the tuberculosis hospital.

MRS. CORBETT BUSY, TOO

Mrs. Corbett also serves on the board of advisers of the Guam Fine Arts Society, which includes Mrs. W. B. Ammon, wife of Admiral Ammon; Mrs. C. R. de La Cruz, J. Flores, and Guam Congressman C. P. Taitano. The board, composed of leading citizens of the community, aims at bringing the best musical talent to Guam for concerts and performances.

Mr. Corbett, whose nickname is Ted, served as judge of county court through 1954 and 1955. He is 54 and is a graduate of both Cornell and the University of Pittsburgh, and of the Pitt Law School.

Although his post in the diplomatic family of the United States is new to him, Mr. Corbett has had ample training in a public career. He was deputy attorney general of Pennsylvania for 8 years and later served 2 years as solicitor for the sheriff's office in Allegheny County and filled a similar post for 3 years under District Attorney Russell H. Adams.

Mr. Corbett is held in such esteem by the Guamanians that last December he was chosen Friend of the Year there.

The islanders also petitioned for Judge Corbett to become Governor at the time Governor Elvidge resigned. However, President Eisenhower recently appointed Richard B. Lowe, of North Dakota, to the position, instead.

Since that time Mr. Corbett has reverted to the status of secretary, acting as Governor also when Mr. Lowe is called away from the island for any reason.

He has visited his Pittsburgh home but once—and then for only 10 days—since going to Guam. Mrs. Corbett has yet to return here for a visit.

No Time for Bungling in Gaza

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by David Lawrence

which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of March 14, 1957:

NO TIME FOR BUNGLING IN GAZA—HAMMARSKJOLD CRITICIZED FOR NOT HALTING WITHDRAWAL AFTER SABOTAGE ATTACK

(By David Lawrence)

All the good the United Nations has done by interposing its mediating influence in the Middle East can be wiped out if the administrative responsibilities of the Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjold, are bungled.

The U. N. itself is a deliberative forum. It is not a supergovernment. It has no mechanism of its own for enforcing peace except as it may order a military mission or a peace commission, empowered with certain instructions, to take a specific action. The Secretary General has been given no instructions to go beyond the resolutions passed by the General Assembly.

Yet Hammarskjold has entered into an agreement with Egyptian President Nasser which upsets the whole mediation process of the U. N. itself. There was no instruction to the Secretary General to agree to allow the Egyptian Government to send in a civilian or anyone else at this delicate moment to take care of civilian matters in the Gaza strip. The general assumption was that the difficult problem of bringing peace within the Gaza strip would be handled cautiously, slowly, gradually, and with due regard to the emotional reactions that could come from both Egypt and Israel if a hasty move were made.

But at the same time that Ralph Bunche, an assistant to the Secretary General, was agreeing with Nasser that he could send a civilian governor, an Egyptian, into the Gaza strip, an act of war had just been committed against Israel through the cutting off of all rail and telegraph communications between the Gaza strip and Israeli territory.

The moment this happened, it became incumbent upon the U. N. Secretary General to stop all further moves and maintain the military units of the United Nations emergency force in complete control, with disinterested civilians taking charge until peace and tranquillity could be restored.

First reports said unidentified bands did the sabotage. This is the same camouflage which was used when the Suez Canal itself was blocked by unidentified Egyptians. But the Communists, who are trying to make more trouble in the Middle East, could easily have been behind both these moves.

Thus Moscow radio was quick to denounce the U. N. force for firing at the mob which was threatening it in the Gaza strip and, since the Soviets and the Red Chinese both use the device of volunteers, it is plausible to suppose that there is something of the same kind astir in the Middle East.

The reports that regularly come out of Cairo through the press and radio seem to have Communist inspiration and differ considerably from what the Egyptian Government actually says in its communications to the American Government and to U. N. officials.

Now, Egypt did occupy the Gaza strip before the events of last summer and, under the terms of the 1949 armistice between Israel and Egypt, the right to reoccupy the Gaza strip is technically vested in the Cairo Government. But, knowing this, the U. N. Secretary General's staff might better have waited for a plan to be drawn up that would prevent the outbreaks that have occurred. Certainly when the rail and telegraph communications with Israel were cut, it indicated clearly that this was no time to be handing over civil administration to the Egyptian Government and that it was much more desirable to set up a commission of civilians from neutral nations before arranging for the final transfer of authority or settlement of the issues involved.

Israel's chief concern has not been to occupy the Gaza strip at all but to insure conditions which would prevent the Gaza territory from being used as a base for raiding operations hostile to Israel. The cutting of rail and telegraph communications was such an act, and it is necessary now for the U. N. to discover who was responsible for this sabotage. The only way to prevent more steps of this kind is to suspend any further arrangements with the Egyptian Government for the reoccupation of the Gaza strip until a constructive plan has been set up that gives some assurance of being obeyed on all sides, particularly by those unidentified bands roving into Israeli territory from Egypt and the Gaza strip.

The United States Government has pledged itself to see to it that the resolutions of the United Nations are carried out. These call for protection for Israeli ships in the Gulf of Aqaba, unmolested passage of Israeli ships through the Suez Canal and safeguards against recurrence of the raids that have been carried on by Egyptians against Israeli territory from the Gaza strip.

The United States can insist that the U. N. take proper action but, if the Secretary General of the U. N. considers it his duty to appease Nasser and turn over the Gaza strip to the Egyptians without regard to the acts of violence already committed or that may be set into motion in the future, many Americans will begin to lose confidence in the efficacy of the U. N. to bring peace in the Middle East. The world may then find itself back again to a rule of force instead of reason. The U. N. Secretary General, who has a tough job on his hands, will not make things easier by ignoring the acts of sabotage already committed by unidentified Egyptians.

Budget Will Be Reduced

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, the cry is being raised throughout my district and I am sure in other places that the Congress reduce the administration's enormous budget.

In this connection, I insert in the RECORD an excellent editorial on the subject which was published in the Ocala Star-Banner, Ocala, Fla., on March 11, 1957:

BUDGET WILL BE REDUCED

There seems to be little reason to doubt that the Federal spending budget of $71,800,000,000 submitted to Congress by President Eisenhower will be reduced by some substantial amount.

The administration's budget has drawn sharp criticism from both Republicans and Democrats. Shortly after it was introduced Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey made a statement to the effect if some of the spending authorized wasn't curtailed, this country would be in for an era of inflation that would make everybody's hair curl. Mr. Humphrey called for reductions in the budget but didn't indicate what items should be cut.

Senator BYRD, of Virginia, one of the strongest economy advocates in Congress, in a Senate speech called the President's spending estimate a "luxury budget" and declared that if the budget isn't slashed at this session of Congress "it may be our last chance to reduce entrenched spending."

There were two developments last week that indicate budget slashes are in the offing. The President at midweek stated he has ordered a governmentwide effort to reduce the budget by a "slow-up" in projects and programs not immediately essential to the national welfare.

The President said the Government should cut its spending "to the ultimate of its ability" to lessen inflationary pressures causing a new round of price increases. That is about the position taken weeks ago by Secretary Humphrey.

At the weekend the House Appropriations Committee, by a vote of 22–12, adopted a resolution asking the President's guidance in cutting his peacetime record budget. The resolution was adopted along party lines with Republicans voting against it.

Republicans explained their vote by stating that with the budget now in the hands of the committee, the resolution was a buck passing move, or an attempt to duck responsibility.

It does not appear that the GOP spokesmen are on sound ground in that position. Reference need only be made to the President's statement later in the week, when he called on Government agencies to slow up in programs not immediately essential. In his statement the President said:

"We don't have to pursue them (Government services and programs) in the same speed at a time like this when everybody is contesting for dollars."

Congress, of course, can and should reduce the budget, but to do so without asking the President for guidance would be unwise and bring about repercussions.

The President, no doubt, within a short time will have responses from the different departments on his request to slow down spending, here and there. When he has received those responses he can and should communicate with the House Appropriations Committee and that group would have the information asked for in the unusual resolution passed last week.

It should be noted that the House resolution set no deadline for the President to "indicate" if and where cuts may be made. Nor did it spell out what it might consider "substantial" reductions.

It may be as some members of the House committee have suggested, adoption of the resolution could culminate with Congress formally urging the President to submit an entirely new budget. That may turn out to be the wise course after Mr. Eisenhower has received reports from the various agencies which cannot but carry out his instructions to slow up on projects and programs not essential to the national welfare.

What is taking place in Washington gives strength to the thought that the budget will be reduced, either voluntarily by the President or arbitrarily by the Congress. It also appears that the administration could save face by indicating where reductions can and should be made.

Reasons and Meaning of the Law on Price Discrimination and H. R. 11

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a letter from a small manufacturer which asks an elementary question about the law on price discrimination. This is not the question of a lawyer. Nor is it the question of a big business executive, or even a small-business man

who is informed about this law. It is simply the question of a very busy executive of a small company, who has heard that there is a law of some kind, somewhere, which may forbid the manufacturer to sell to one account at a price different from that made to another account—and he asks what the law is.

I have given him a simple answer—not in legal terms, but in everyday, layman's language. It occurs to me that there may be others who would like a brief and simple description of the law, and what its purpose is. The purpose is, of course, largely defeated by the so-called good faith loophole in the law. So in my answer to this small-business man, I have also explained briefly what H. R. 11 would do. These are matters which are of vital concern to several million small-business people, so I am offering for the record the letter to me, as well as my reply, both of which follow:

JOSEPH A. SHIRLEY CO.,
Dallas, Tex.

Mr. WRIGHT PATMAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PATMAN: I understand that laws are designed, that is, certain laws are designed to prevent a manufacturer or distributor from selling to one account at a price different from that made to another account, all other matters such as quantity, etc., being equal.

Mr. PATMAN, would you advise me as to the law itself, what it actually states and how action can be taken under it to prevent price discrimination. I would be very grateful for your help.

Courteously yours,
JOSEPH A. SHIRLEY.

WHY WE NEED A LAW ON PRICE DISCRIMINATION

1. Big manufacturers, or big sellers can destroy their smaller competitors even though their unit cost may be greater than that of the smaller competitors. As you may remember, the old Standard Oil Co., which was subdivided under the Sherman Act in 1912, had acquired better than a 90-percent monopoly of refined products. Standard got a substantial size advantage over its competitors (by merger), and thereafter cut prices in one market at a time until its smaller competitors were driven out.

2. Where sellers are discriminating in their prices, it is almost invariably the case that the big buyers receive an unearned advantage by which they destroy or squeeze out smaller competing buyers.

THE LAW IN GENERAL

The law on this subject is contained in section 2 of the Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914, as amended by the Robinson-Patman Act of 1936. In general, the law says that a seller must not discriminate in his prices if the effect is to cause a substantial injury, or a lessening of competition, or a tendency to create a monopoly. There are clear and complete exemptions for price differences which are justified by differences in cost of manufacture, sale, or delivery. And there is a complete and clear exemption for price changes made from time to time, so long as these price changes are not cloaks intended to conceal discriminations made in favor of particular buyers.

THE LOOPHOLE IN THE LAW

In section 2 (b) of the Act there is also a so-called "good faith" exemption which was intended, when we designed the law, as a procedural matter which would help assure that in a case brought by the Government, the Government would proceed against the firm really responsible for a discriminatory practice. In the Standard Oil (Indiana) case in 1951 however, the Supreme Court ruled that a seller is completely justified in discriminating in prices among his customers where the discrimination in favor of certain customers is made to meet the price of a competitor, irrespective of the effect on competition. An example of what this means, or as it is taken to mean, is that a major oil company may cut prices to a retail gasoline dealer across the street from an off-brand dealer without, at the same time, reducing prices to another of its dealers just a block down the street, even though the discrimination puts the second dealer out of business. The practical effect of such pricing is, of course, that the off-brand dealer is also put out of business—by the sheer weight of the major company's superior marketing power—as is the oil jobber who supplies that station, and as is the small refiner who supplies that oil jobber.

H. R. 11 WOULD PLUG THE LOOPHOLE

At the present time Congress is considering a bill which will overturn, in part, the Supreme Court's decision in the Standard Oil (Indiana) case. This is H. R. 11, introduced in the House by me, and S. 11, introduced in the Senate by Senator KEFAUVER. This bill simply says that if the effect of the seller's discrimination may be, in the language of the bill, "substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly", then the discrimination is illegal. In this event the Government may institute legal proceedings and if the effect of the discrimination is proved, it then has the power to issue a cease and desist order. Similarly, an individual or business firm may bring a private suit in a Federal court, and if he proves his case, he may collect threefold the damages which he proves he has suffered as a result of the discrimination.

I have tried to explain this in every day terms, rather than in legal language, as I thought this would simplify matters. I hope these remarks will be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,
WRIGHT PATMAN.

Solution to Mine Cave Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following recent editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News on two major problems confronting the anthracite coal region—subsidences and strip mining:

SOLUTION TO MINE CAVE PROBLEM

It is heartening to note progress in the solution of two major problems confronting the anthracite region—subsidences and strip mining. While separate moves are under way to solve them, obviously they are related. But it is just as well not to confuse the situation by tackling them together. They are of sufficient importance to justify separate handling in the interest of efficiency and results.

It should not be too difficult to work out a solution to the problem of strip mining to the satisfaction of all concerned, for the course is pretty well charted. But the threat of mine caves is far more complicated because of the factors involved.

For more than a quarter century, mine caves have been a major issue in this community, among others. They have been with us for a much longer time, but they have been demanding increasing attention during the past three decades. In every coal town, there is presently cause for concern about the future, so a showdown is at hand. Action cannot be postponed.

There is no easy way out of the dilemma, no shortcut, no cure-all. It has to be done the hard way—by direct approach, positive measures, and possibly sacrifice. No vague promises or wishful thinking will be a substitute for action.

Local municipalities and the industry, left to their own devices, have not the resources to meet the challenges. Both are in a position to make substantial contributions and their cooperation is absolutely essential, but the backing of the Federal and State governments must be forthcoming in financing the program and in the realm of prevention. It takes money to flush mines and to repair damaged surface property. The proposed tax on tonnage and some form of insurance are logical steps.

More than that, future mining must be done with assurance surface supports will be maintained. It would be foolish to correct abuses of the past while creating new hazards for the future. Regulations will have to be spelled out, so nothing will be left to chance, especially in operations that are leased by major producers to smaller outfits.

The job is one that can be done if all parties will work together unselfishly in the public interest.

Commemoration of Hungarian Independence Day

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, today, during the special order of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BENTLEY], both the distinguished majority leader [Mr. MCCORMACK] and the distinguished minority leader took part in the commemoration of Hungary's Independence Day. I wish to join them in paying tribute to the long and distinguished record in fighting for liberty and independence.

One hundred and nine years ago in Hungary a revolt against the Hapsburg dictatorship was led by the patriot Kossuth. It was crushed by Russian force. In November of last year, another revolt was ruthlessly suppressed by the same enemy.

Already, 25,000 Hungarians have lost their lives in a transcendentally gallant but fruitless effort to achieve freedom. Already another 200,000 have been forced to flee their hearths and homes, with only the clothes on their backs, in a desperate effort to escape.

We cannot but be abashed, we in the free world, at the helplessness with which we have had to witness this example of bravery and devotion. Nevertheless, we humbly associate ourselves with the Hungarian freedom fighters today in their hope for eventual liberation. They have shown that they can make history repeat itself, and will continue to make history repeat itself, again and again, in

revolution after revolution, until what they have fought for has been won.

In conclusion, I want to bring the attention of my colleagues to the response of the United States to the challenge of the Hungarian freedom fighters. We have, commendably, given asylum to the Hungarian refugees despite our discriminatory immigration policy, and we have given bread and bandages. However, is that enough?

Should we not take more effective action for the people who have remained in Hungary? The silence of the United Nations, concurred in by the United States delegation, stands in stark contrast to the threatening of sanctions against the State of Israel. The Soviet armed intervention, coupled with the mass arrests of the puppet Kadar regime, is in direct defiance of 10 U. N. resolutions. We must appeal to the conscience of the world in this matter. I believe we should continue to press for an investigation by the United Nations of the events in Hungary, so that the spotlight of world public opinion might be turned on that brave, little country. I look forward to the day when a free Hungary, in a free, undivided Europe, will take its place in the family of nations.

When Congress Stood for No Nonsense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include an article from the editorial page of the Chicago Tribune of March 3, 1957, as follows:

The United States Treasury says it is none of your business what organizations request tax exemption on the ground that they are nonpolitical and not for profit. You can ask for the information but the Treasury won't give it to you or to anyone else who may be interested in this aspect of Government.

This we learn from an indignant report made a few days ago by the House Committee on Government Operations, headed by Representative DAWSON, of Chicago. The report was based upon the researches of the Subcommittee on Government Information headed by Representative Moss, of California.

Well, it wasn't always so. In the February number of that spirited magazine, American Heritage, you can read of the Amistad case and learn that there was a time when Congress stood for no nonsense about the supposed right of the executive departments of Government to conceal the public's business from the public and its representatives.

The *Amistad* was a Spanish ship. In 1839 it was carrying 40-odd slaves who had just been bought in Habana to labor on plantations up the Cuban coast. These Negroes were newly imported from Africa, in violation of a Spanish treaty with England to abolish the African slave trade by 1820.

The slaves who had been treated with great cruelty managed to get possession of the ship and tried to sail it back to Africa but after many weeks found themselves in Long Island sound. They got back to Africa eventually, but it took a long time and, except for congressional insistence on the people's right to know, they would have been returned to Cuba and slavery.

The first thing that happened to them was that they were locked up. President Van Buren and his attorney general were determined to hand them over to the Spanish Ambassador for return to Cuba. This deeply offended the sentiments of abolitionists in Connecticut and elsewhere, and a defense fund was quickly raised. There was a trial in the New Haven Federal court in which the United States attorney represented the slave owners.

To nearly everybody's considerable astonishment, the judge, another Van Buren appointee, decided in favor of the slaves. The Government gave immediate notice of appeal, and it is at this point that John Quincy Adams enters the story.

He had been President of the United States from 1825 to 1829 and, after being denied reelection, became a Member of the House. He got Congress to adopt a resolution calling for all the official correspondence bearing on the *Amistad* matter. That is exactly the kind of thing that recent administrations, including President Eisenhower's, have declared to be a frightful invasion of the Executive department's right to secrecy.

What Mr. Adams wanted included letters that passed between Secretary of State Forsyth and the United States attorney in Connecticut. One of Mr. Forsyth's notes proved to be a "lulu." It was written while the judge had the case under consideration, it was marked "confidential," and it revealed President Van Buren's intention to deprive the Negroes of an appeal if, as was expected, the decision ran against them.

The President had ordered the Navy brig, *Grampus*, to New Haven, where the trial was held. Secretary Forsyth's letter instructed the United States attorney to hustle the slaves aboard the ship as soon as a decision against them should be announced and before their counsel could move for an appeal. The *Grampus* was then to set sail at once for Cuba.

"The order of the President is to be carried into execution," Mr. Forsyth wrote, "unless an appeal shall actually have been interposed. You are not to take it for granted that it will be interposed. And if, on the contrary, the decision of the court is different, you are to take out an appeal * * *."

Adams was one of the lawyers for the Negroes when the Supreme Court heard the Government's appeal. He spoke for 4½ hours and there is reason to believe that his scornful reading of the Forsyth letter went far to win the victory.

The Amistad Negroes were set free by the Supreme Court on March 9, 1841, which is to say almost exactly 116 years closer to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States than we stand today. We think it is fair to assume that at that time the Congress and former President Adams had a clearer idea of what the Founding Fathers intended to grant the executive departments by way of privacy in public matters than our latter-day Presidents have. Surely it is significant that President Van Buren and Secretary Forsyth did not resist the order of Congress on the plea of executive privilege. They came across, meek as lambs, with documents they had marked "confidential," as bearing on the foreign relations of the United States, even though the papers were utterly damning to them and their cause.

In consequence, justice was done. We can only guess how often injustice has been done in consequence of executive secrecy as it is now practiced.

The Federal-Aid Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER M. MUMMA
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with the privilege granted me, I want to put on record a letter of March 13, 1957 received from my neighbor, Mr. Charles E. Pugh, manager of the Pennsylvania Motor Federation, Harrisburg, Pa. It indicates just how the officials and members of the federation feel about the President's highway program. The federation is a most worthy organization, covering the entire State of Pennsylvania, and is particularly active in our Harrisburg community.

Mr. Pugh's letter is as follows:

PENNSYLVANIA MOTOR FEDERATION,
Harrisburg, Pa., March 13, 1957.

Hon. WALTER MANN MUMMA,
Harrisburg, Pa.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: There has been much publicity on the Federal expanded highway program. Just last week the president of our AAA organization here in Pennsylvania, who, incidentally, is chairman of the American Automobile Association's committee on highways, concluded some very interesting remarks. In the final paragraph he said:

"And now, speaking for all of the Pennsylvania Motor Federation, for our 564,000 members, and for myself, as president, our sincere thanks to the 84th Congress for their vision, their action in giving to our State of Pennsylvania, to the United States of America, this great gift, this one more freedom for all."

I got to thinking about these remarks and to my knowledge it is the first time that I can recall anyone congratulating the President and the 84th Congress for their vision and this great gift to the American public. I don't know what you think about it, but I am enclosing a resumé of the remarks of Mr. John S. Giles, president of the Pennsylvania Motor Federation, and I am wondering if they could be read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, perhaps by you or some member of the committee which proposed this legislation.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank you for your many past courtesies.

Respectfully yours,

C. E. PUGH, *Manager.*

The remarks of President John S. Giles, which Mr. Pugh refers to, are as follows:

The Congress of the United States in 1956 enacted highway legislation, which, in my opinion, is one of the most important legislative acts in many, many decades.

Why? Because it provides for an overall interstate highway construction program, which, over a period of years will generate for the use of the American motorist a highway system in excess of 40,000 miles.

Highways of today are of supreme importance in the minds of all American citizens.

Yes, highways are a prime factor, a vital necessity to our American way of life and to our continuing growth.

Each year brings thousands upon thousands of new cars, and hundreds of thousands of new drivers more than the year before.

Thus, the expansive use of highways continues to grow and grow.

Millions of Americans drive to and from their jobs, more of them this year than last, more next year than this.

Then, too, we have a shorter workweek, more hours to drive the roads for pleasure, a swim, a visit, a shopping trip.

And longer vacations now for lucky Americans.

Longer trips by car to faraway places, Alaska, Mexico, California, Maine. Yes, we in the automobile clubs know that people with cars are going places, traveling all over their country, getting to know each other pretty well.

They want to see for themselves what makes this Nation of ours click.

How is this possible? Our highways, of course. Yes, right now on the roads of today—millions of us are traveling constantly.

But as these great new broad highways are built, more and more of us will travel—and travel faster with safety. We'll do things, we'll see things we've only dreamed about. A new and wonderful future lies ahead on the magnificent, new highways of these United States.

I am interested, too, deeply interested, in the actual quality of these roads of tomorrow. And, because they are your roads, you, too, must be concerned. They should first of all be safe—safe with safety built into them; they must be highly resistant to skidding and slipping in bad weather. They must reflect light at night, and they must be roads that are beautiful, and they must be roads that are clean.

Secondly, because you and I are going to pay for these roads, they must be roads with long service life that will stand up under the heaviest type of traffic, and yet will require low maintenance and low cost repairs. We have in Pennsylvania many highways of this type, which have served the State well and with economy.

And now, speaking for all of the Pennsylvania Motor Federation, for our 564,000 members, and for myself, as president, our sincere thanks to the 84th Congress for their vision, their action in giving to our State of Pennsylvania, to the United States of America, this great gift, this one more freedom for all.

Evaporation Control in Southwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, water is the one ingredient indispensable to the Nation's future. For the last few years, we have been increasingly aware of the growing need to conserve our water supplies. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial from last Sunday's Fort Worth Star-Telegram, which conveys welcome news of progress in this important direction:

EVAPORATION CONTROL IN SOUTHWEST

The greatest thief of water in Texas is evaporation. Every year billions of gallons of the State's precious surface water supply simply vanishes into the air. In Fort Worth the loss by evaporation is almost the equivalent of the amount taken from the water supply lakes for use. In a year, evaporation will lower the level of a body of water across the western stretches of the State, until it reaches 120 inches annually at El Paso.

Obviously, the saving of this water is second only in importance to catching a new supply. If means could be found to prevent or even retard evaporation, it would add substantially to the volume of water available for municipalities, industry, irrigation, and livestock. It would also mean a saving in money to cities and other water users who find it necessary to add to their surface water supplies.

There are indications that such an agent may be near at hand. For 18 months experiments have been carried on with a wax-like substance—hexadecanol—which shows great promise. At least on small bodies of water, the protective film spread by the use of this chemical has been found to retard evaporation by 30 to 40 percent. The first large-scale use of this chemical covering will be made this summer at Lake Hefner, one of the major sources of Oklahoma City's water supply.

Independent experiment to determine the effectiveness and practicability of this evaporation-controlling substance are in progress in Texas under guidance of the Southwest Water Evaporation Research Council, of which Fort Worth's water superintendent, Uel Stephens, is an official. The results have been hopeful but not yet conclusive. Certain problems remain, such as the cheapest and most feasible means of applying and maintaining the film, safety of the use of commercial grades of the chemical, and means of protecting it against destruction by microorganisms in lakes.

So far the work has been privately financed, but a bill now is before the legislature to appropriate $89,000 to pursue the research. In view of the promising results so far and the immense importance of the project, the amount sought is infinitesimal in comparison to the potential benefits. And in view of the fact that nearly all the people of Texas would benefit from successful development of this water-saving technique, it seems properly an expense for the State to assume.

Lack of Executive Leadership on Budget Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to commend to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal of March 11, entitled "President Shows No Leadership on Budget Cut—Congress Must."

This is a very timely and to-the-point editorial. It points to three related factors. In the first place, it asserts that the people of the United States are disturbed about the high level of Government spending and taxation. Secondly, it points out that our present Chief Executive is apparently willing to submit ever bigger budgets to Congress as long as there is a demand for increased Federal services and aids.

And, thirdly, the editorial concludes that it is up to Congress to curtail and reduce Federal spending.

Contrary to the President's promises, the Federal budgets have continued to increase during the past 4 years. The new budget, presently before us, is the highest one in our peacetime history. What is even more alarming is the fact that nonmilitary expenditures have gone up 50 percent under the Eisenhower administration—from approximately $20 billion in 1953–54 to about $31 billion in the new budget.

This shows us very clearly that we cannot hope for Executive leadership in the field of curtailing Government spending. On the contrary, judging by past record, one would have to conclude that, if we give the Executive a free hand, spending and taxes will continue to rise.

These developments are certainly a far cry from the Republican promises made during the election campaigns—and from the pledges given by the President himself.

Mr. Speaker, I sincerely hope that this House will exercise public will by curtailing Government spending and taxes. I, for one, will continue to work to that end.

The editorial follows:

PRESIDENT SHOWS NO LEADERSHIP ON BUDGET CUT—CONGRESS MUST

For all that it exhibits a lack of consistent Executive leadership, the President's announcement of a study to determine whether administration spending can't be slowed down is to be welcomed.

For one thing it represents a shift in Mr. Eisenhower's thinking. Back in January, in defending his $71.8 billion budget, he said, "As long as the American people demand and, in my opinion, deserve the kind of services this budget provides, we have got to spend this kind of money."

Since then it has become abundantly clear that the American people do not want this biggest peacetime budget in history. Particularly they do not want to pay the kind of taxes needed to support it.

Indignant mail has so impressed Congressmen that correspondent Martin Hayden, whose dispatches appear frequently in the Journal, observes: "The economy mood of a frightened Congress is apparent to every reporter walking Capitol corridors."

Now, frightened Congressmen may be spurred to action, but without sound counsel from the executive branch theirs may not be wise action. Already one meat-ax solution has been proposed—to set a ceiling on spending, then let the executive department determine how the Government should live within that income.

Yet, except for a general invitation to Congress to cut the budget, neither Mr. Eisenhower, budget boss Brundage, nor Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey has been explicit or helpful.

One new proposal to cut the budget has now come from the Council of State Chambers of Commerce. Its recommendations, if carried out, would reduce spending by $4.5 billion without touching military defense items. Some proposals are unrealistic—such as slashing Federal employment from 2,400,000 to 2 million persons—but others merely propose scaling 1958 expenditures to those of 1956.

In that connection, it is worth noting that of the almost $7 billion increase since the 1956 budget, only $3 billion is for national defense. The other $4 billion has been distributed over almost every department and program.

Certainly, it is not unrealistic to believe that a great number of these items can be eliminated.

If the administration's new study discloses some of these unjustified sums, it will be worthwhile—even though it is scarcely an orderly step in the process of budget making. And if Congress can then find further legitimate places to cut, the protesting public will be gratified if not wholly mollified.

Urge Use of State and Local Segregation Laws in Veterans' Administration Hospitals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, this morning I presented to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Mr. H. V. Higley, a petition letter signed by 56 Members of the House of Representatives. This letter urged that local and State laws relating to segregation be applied to the operation of the hospitals. Accompanying me at that time were Congressman JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, of Mississippi; Congressman GEORGE M. GRANT, of Alabama; and Congressman JAMES C. DAVIS, of Georgia. The petition letter is the outgrowth of racial incidents involving veterans in the hospitals throughout the country and their treatment in Veterans' Administration hospitals particularly in the South.

This petition letter was signed by representatives of the House of Representatives from the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia. No effort was made to obtain signatures from States like Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas, and no all-out effort was made to obtain the signatures of everyone in the Congress who possesses this same viewpoint. On the contrary, the signatures just kept coming and we held the list open for them.

The delegation spent about 45 minutes with Mr. Higley, of the Veterans' Administration, discussing the problem and urging the use of State laws to eliminate friction and promote harmony in the operation of the hospitals in the South. At the end of this time, we were assured by Administrator Higley that the entire matter would be taken under careful advisement by him and his Administration.

I am presenting the copy of the petition letter, together with the names of the Congressmen who signed this letter, for publication in the RECORD.

The letter and signers follow:

Hon. H. V. HIGLEY,
Administrator of Veterans' Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Veterans' Administration hospitals were authorized by Congress for the purpose of taking care of the sick and the wounded veterans who need hospital treatment. Nowhere in the law authorizing these institutions do we find any reference to the use of these agencies to put over racial or social reforms. Since September 1953, VA hospitals throughout the Nation have been integrated often in violation of State and local statutes. We believe that the criticism which has been rising against VA hospitals can be allayed and the service which these hospitals render to both Negro and white veterans will be greatly improved by allowing State and local laws relating to segregation to apply.

In the interest then of restoring the efficiency and the morale to these hospitals, we are calling upon you to authorize immediately the applications of State and local laws to these institutions. We want both white and Negro veterans to receive the best treatment which VA hospitals can give; but we want these races segregated and hospitals run with the benefit of local laws covering segregation. Operated in this manner, they will have the support of both colored and white veterans.

Yours truly,

Mississippi: WILLIAM M. COLMER, ARTHUR WINSTEAD, JAMIE L. WHITTEN, THOMAS G. ABERNETHY, FRANK SMITH, JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, Members of Congress.

North Carolina: A. PAUL KITCHIN, RALPH J. SCOTT, ALTON LENNON, HERBERT C. BONNER, L. H. FOUNTAIN, HUGH Q. ALEXANDER, GEORGE A. SHUFORD, GRAHAM A. BARDEN, BASIL L. WHITENER, Members of Congress.

Alabama: FRANK W. BOYKIN, GEORGE M. GRANT, GEORGE W. ANDREWS, ALBERT RAINS, GEORGE HUDDLESTON, Jr., CARL ELLIOTT, KENNETH A. ROBERTS, ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, Jr., ROBERT E. JONES, Jr., Members of Congress.

Louisiana: OVERTON BROOKS, OTTO E. PASSMAN, E. E. WILLIS, GEORGE S. LONG, HALE BOGGS, F. EDWARD HÉBERT, JAMES H. MORRISON, T. ASHTON THOMPSON, Members of Congress.

Virginia: RICHARD H. POFF, BURR P. HARRISON, EDWARD J. ROBESON, Jr., J. VAUGHAN GARY, JOEL T. BROYHILL, HOWARD W. SMITH, WILLIAM M. TUCK, WATKINS M. ABBITT, Members of Congress.

Georgia: PRINCE H. PRESTON, JOHN L. PILCHER, E. L. FORRESTER, JOHN J. FLYNT, Jr., JAMES C. DAVIS, HENDERSON LANHAM, IRIS F. BLITCH, CARL VINSON, PAUL BROWN, PHIL M. LANDRUM, Members of Congress.

South Carolina: JOHN L. MCMILLAN, L. MENDEL RIVERS, JOHN J. RILEY, W. J. BRYAN DORN, ROBERT T. ASHMORE, ROBERT W. HEMPHILL, Members of Congress.

History of Effort To Outlaw Monopolistic Trade Practices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a reprint of an article which reviews the history of the efforts which have been made, in this country, to enact antitrust laws against monopolistic practices, so that we may have free and open competition and markets where the independent businessman can participate. This article, which I commend to the Members' attention, was written by Mr. John A. Touhey, executive secretary of the Southern California Service Station Association. It deals particularly with legislative efforts to create checks against big business abusing its power through discriminatory selling practices; and it brings up to date this history, pointing out how a serious loophole came to be placed in the antitrust laws. It also explains why big business firms—those firms at the top of the pyramid in their respective industries—strongly oppose any effective antitrust law to deal with price discrimination. The simple fact is that license to discriminate in prices makes the competition soft for the big firms; and any curb on discriminatory practices tends to make the competition more vigorous, since more competitors can effectively compete; but it also tends to make the competition much harder for the big corporations, because it tends to remove from the competitive contest the artificial advantages of bigness. Mr. Touhey's article, which appeared in the Automotive Dealer News for November 26, 1956, is as follows:

PRICE DISCRIMINATION DECLARED BASIC EVIL IN STATION INDUSTRY—SCSSA BOARD ANNOUNCES INTENT TO CONTINUE FIGHT FOR PASSAGE OF EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY BILL

(By John A. Touhey)

In 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt recommended that "a Bureau of Corporations be established in the Department of Commerce and Labor" for the specific purpose of investigating combinations in restraint of trade and to publicize the result in the discretion of the President. In carrying out that policy, the Bureau collected evidence that led to the outlawing of railroad rebates as a factor in creating and maintaining combinations in restraint of trade and evidence that made possible the dissolution suits against Standard Oil, American Tobacco, United States Steel, and International Harvester combinations.

As far back as 1887 when the Interstate Commerce Act was passed, there has been a continued battle against discriminatory pricing practices of manufacturers and refiners; yet, that battle continues today because of decisions by the United States Supreme Court that stated, "it is not a violation of our antimonopoly laws for one to discriminate in price with the result of destroying competition if the act of the discrimination is in good faith in meeting the price of another." This particular decision rendered by our United States Supreme Court applied to the *Standard Oil Company of Indiana* v. *Federal Trade Commission* suit.

Perhaps we should delve into history to find out why gasoline retailers need to eliminate the above loophole that has been found in the Robinson-Patman Act.

FTC CREATED

In the year 1914, the Federal Trade Commission was created for the specific reason to "eliminate unfair methods of competition in commerce." During the same year, Congress passed the Clayton Antitrust Act "against the practices of lessening competition and restraining trade by specific acts, namely, discriminations in price, use of exclusive dealing and tie-in contracts, elimination of competitors through unlawful acquisitions or mergers, and the use of interlocking directorates by competing corporations."

Primary authority to enforce the Clayton Antitrust Act, prescribing the several inhibited trade practices, was vested in the Federal Trade Commission, with certain concurrent authority conferred upon the Department of Justice. In 1915 the chief functions of the Bureau of Corporations was taken over by the Commission.

In 1936 Congress amended section 2 of the Clayton Act by enacting the Robinson-Patman Antidiscriminatory Act. By its provisions, Congress made unlawful the practice of price discriminations where the effect may be substantially to lessen competition, tend to create a monopoly, or to injure, destroy, or prevent competition. It also cataloged as unfair and illegal certain types of brokerages and commissions, and, under certain circumstances, advertising and promotional allowances and services and facilities when discriminatory.

OTHER LAWS

There have been other laws passed since the above dates that are used as a guide by the Federal Trade Commission, but the basic argument between gasoline retailers and their suppliers is the good faith—meeting competition defense that has been estab-

lished under the loophole found in the Robinson-Patman Act.

All major suppliers, I believe, use some form of subsidy, rebate, or special allowance, under the guise of good faith—meeting competition to discriminate in wholesale prices to their dealers, to foster, promote, and encourage gasoline price wars. Because the United States Supreme Court ruled in favor of the oil companies, it has given the suppliers the chance to establish a method of control over the retail price of gasoline.

The argument of gasoline retailers in their effort to eliminate price discriminations altogether is going to have to be sharp to defeat the proponents of discriminatory pricing tactics.

The self-styled champions of the competitive and free-enterprise system scoff at the idea of halting price discrimination. These self-styled champions argue that "it does not matter if competition is destroyed so long as it is done in good faith." These same individuals say that nondiscriminatory pricing practices would create soft competition and that competition involving price discrimination is hard competition.

CLEAN MARKET GOAL

The membership of SCSSA is of the opinion that dealer aid, subsidies, rebates, and special allowances should be eliminated if we are to have a clean and legitimate market.

"Soft competition," as it is referred to by our most capable opponents, is created by them for the simple reason they have convinced the majority of gasoline retailers that they are in competition with the dealer across the street and not the dealer of their same brand.

It is our contention that after the supplier sells a dealer gasoline at wholesale, he has no right whatsoever to stipulate a selling price, nor has he the right to give a lower price to his customer to meet a dealer's price of another brand. Suppliers are in competition with each other at the wholesale level and that is the only time that one refiner is in competition with another refiner as far as the retailer is concerned.

When large sellers are not permitted to discriminate in price between purchasers located in different communities, with the effect of smothering a small seller operating in only one of them, or when they are not permitted to discriminate between large and small buyers competing in the same community, the "hardest kind of competition will result."

SOFT COMPETITION

This is the kind of competition which places upon sellers the necessity of lowering prices generally in order to sell at all. When the supplier is able to discriminate in price, it creates the softest type of competition, but, when he is forced to lower his tank wagon price, this creates the type of competition known as hard and this is the part that suppliers do not like because they have all their commercial accounts and other sources tied in to this price.

Naturally, the gasoline retailer wants this type of hard competition because he wants to operate his place of business on service and efficiency for profit and he knows to be able to do this, he has to eliminate the main source that is barring his success.

ANOTHER EFFORT

Gasoline retailers have been unsuccessful during the past 5 years to have the loophole in the Robinson-Patman Act plugged so the good-faith meeting competition defense would be eliminated, however, they will try to have this amended during the next session of Congress.

Only a quirk of fate defeated them in 1956 when the Senate adjourned with the equality of opportunity bill lying dormant in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

In accordance with the wishes of the membership of SCSSA, the board of directors have unanimously voted to continue support of the equality of opportunity bill in an effort to protect small-business men from discriminatory practices.

Gasoline retailers can no longer afford to finance gasoline price wars, nor can they afford to operate their place of business on any other basis but service and efficiency.

Efforts of Leopold D. Silberstein and Penn-Texas To Gobble Up Fairbanks, Morse & Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of Congress to the latest list of tax free foundations published by the United States Treasury. Among these organizations, which this body has afforded special consideration because of their intended contributions to the public welfare, is an entity known as the Leopold D. Silberstein Foundation, Inc., of New York City. The man whose name this foundation bears is the same person who is manipulating the Penn-Texas Corp. in its unrelenting stockholder fight to seize control of Fairbanks, Morse & Co.

Mr. Silberstein, to whom this country recently granted haven from the vicissitudes of European politics, has forged this huge holding company to snatch control of this old American family industry. In his efforts to gobble up one of the oldest American family industries, he has enlisted an array of lawyers, lobbyists, public relations men and wirepullers which reads like a page from Who's Who in American politics. This bold move by Mr. Silberstein is understandable since he and the methods he used to try to gain control of Fairbanks, Morse & Co. are under investigation by the SEC.

While the Commission is examining the status of the Silberstein Foundation, it may appropriately inquire into the activities of the American Committee for the Weizmann Institute of Science, Inc., which is also on the United States tax free foundation list. It is reported as having a 5-percent interest in a syndicate set up by one Simon Jaglom, who had some arrangements for buying Fairbanks, Morse stock and reselling at a profit to Penn-Texas.

Another operator by the name of Jacques Sarlie, who has admitted a 20-year friendship with Mr. Silberstein, has recently emerged with a public press account of a fantastic bit of manipulation. In this almost unbelievable admission, Mr. Sarlie states that he acquired a large block of Fairbanks, Morse shares at a price far more than it was worth, without any prior commitment from Penn-Texas, but he nevertheless expects to make in excess of $2 million under his present arrangement to sell to Mr. Silberstein's Penn-Texas. The Commission should have no difficulty in determining that Mr. Sarlie's incredible profit will come out of the Penn-Texas stockholders. At the same time, they can determine whether operator Sarlie is another instrument of Silberstein's machinations whose true character as an agent for an undisclosed principal should be revealed.

The charges pending before the SEC against Penn-Texas in its attempt to gain control of Fairbanks, Morse & Co., include at least 5 evasions of disclosure regulations, 5 failures to comply with reporting requirements, 3 specific illegal solicitations of proxies and 3 failures to disclose required information.

The Commission requires disclosure of stock ownership, interest in securities and any arrangements with other people for acquiring, borrowing or financing securities. Penn-Texas has reported ownership of 669,000 shares of Fairbanks, Morse Co. stock. About 300,000 of these shares have been purchased through or from Swiss banks. One of the leading financial editors of this country, Mr. Leslie Gould, of the New York Journal American, stated on Monday, March 18, 1957, in his paper, that the Swiss banks which acquired these shares acted in contravention of the New York Stock Exchange rule 504 which requires that stock bought through the exchange from member firms cannot be acquired without disclosing the principals for whom they are acting. Over 200,000 shares are not paid for or only partially paid for. The Commission has been unable to get any information concerning the purpose of the Swiss banks in buying Fairbanks, Morse shares or whether they were bought for Penn-Texas.

As a Member of Congress who helped originally, under the chairmanship of our distinguished Speaker SAM RAYBURN, to draft the law for establishing the SEC, I have the utmost confidence that that agency will act in the best public interest. Its investigation has been carried on privately and is yet incomplete. I feel sure the results will be made public and any proposed meeting of stockholders of the companies involved will be held in abeyance until proxy solicitation can proceed on the basis of full disclosure of all pertinent facts. In drafting these strict provisions to police proxy solicitation it was always our foremost intention to safeguard the public interest through the medium of full and honest disclosure.

I am confident that the SEC will not be deterred by all of the wirepulling in its pursuit of the facts about all questionable practices and will develop all of the material facts about the organization claiming stock ownership which must be disclosed to give public stockholders a basis to exercise their best judgment.

The great public interest in this proxy contest is evidenced by the current publicity in five of our major national papers, excerpts from which I insert in the RECORD as a part of my remarks. These are the Wall Street Journal on Monday, March 18, 1957, a story entitled "Morse Calls for Penn-Texas To Report on 1956 Before Fairbanks Meeting; Sarlie Tells How To Make a Million"; the story in the Journal of Commerce on March 18,

1957, entitled "Penn-Texas Directs Ads at Fairbanks Workers"; the New York Journal American on Monday, March 18, 1957, an editorial by Leslie Gould, entitled "Exchange Members Must Know Customers—Do They?"

[From the Wall Street Journal of March 18, 1957]

MORSE CALLS FOR PENN-TEXAS TO REPORT ON 1956 BEFORE FAIRBANKS MEETING; SARLIE TELLS HOW TO MAKE A MILLION—COURT GRANTS LANDA GROUP RIGHT TO GET LISTS OF PENN-TEXAS STOCKHOLDERS

The already bulky record of intertwined proxy fights in Fairbanks, Morse & Co. and Penn-Texas Corp. got additional entries over the weekend involving a challenge, a disclosure, and a court order.

Robert H. Morse, Jr., president of Fairbanks-Morse, made the challenge—to Leopold D. Silberstein, Penn-Texas chairman and president—to issue the Penn-Texas financial report for 1956 before Fairbanks' annual meeting March 27.

Jacques Sarlie, Dutch-born financier and art collector, made the disclosure—that he stands to make about $1 million because he bought up a key amount of Fairbanks stock, assertedly offered it to both sides and wound up contracting to sell it to Penn-Texas at above the market price.

A three-judge court at Ebensburg, Pa., issued the order—to Penn-Texas to provide a dissident stockholder group with a list of and changes in Penn-Texas' stockholders.

SARLIE'S SHARES INCLUDED

Penn-Texas, winner last year of 4 seats on Fairbanks' 11-member board, is seeking this year to take control of the Chicago heavy equipment manufacturer. Mr. Silberstein has claimed Penn-Texas owns or has contracted to buy 48.7 percent of Fairbanks' outstanding common stock. Included in that amount are Mr. Sarlie's shares.

Mr. Morse, on the other hand, has said he has contributed $80,000 to the dissident Penn-Texas group, which is headed by Alfons Landa, Washington, D. C., attorney and chairman of the finance committee of Fruehauf Trailer Co. Mr. Morse has also indicated he may be one of the candidates Mr. Landa said his group plans to nominate for the Penn-Texas board.

In a statement in Chicago, Mr. Morse said Fairbanks' report for 1956, issued in mid-February, showed the company's profits rose 42½ percent over 1955 to $8,858,039 and "I have forecast that earnings for 1957 will be above those for the past years."

"Fairbanks-Morse is in a sound financial position," Mr. Morse asserted.

"What is the present financial position of Penn-Texas?" Mr. Morse asked. He also noted Penn-Texas' report to the Securities and Exchange Commission on its buying Fairbanks shares.

Mr. Morse asked what part of an $8 million profit Mr. Silberstein has estimated Penn-Texas made in 1956 "is from nonrecurring items such as the sale of properties."

He cited that Fairbanks paid an extra dividend of 25 cents a share March 1, along with the 35 cents it has been paying at quarterly intervals, and that Penn-Texas "is paying no cash dividends" despite a Silberstein statement that "he would recommend cash dividends."

Mr. Silberstein's comments on earnings and dividends were made at a special Penn-Texas stockholder meeting last December. He predicted the company would show a net profit of $8 million, equal to $2 a share, for 1956 and said he would urge directors to declare both stock and cash dividends this year. The company paid 35 cents a share last March and stock dividends of 2½ percent at quarterly intervals since then.

Under New York Stock Exchange rules, a listed company is supposed to issue its financial report within 90 days after the close of its fiscal year. Penn-Texas published at the end of last March its report for the calendar year 1955, showing a profit of $1,038,855.

The sale of properties referred to by Mr. Morse apparently are four transactions in which Penn-Texas sold and then leased back plants. Mr. Silberstein has defended these arrangements as a much cheaper way than loans or sale of securities to raise cash.

SARLIE TELLS HOW

Mr. Sarlie described at a press conference Friday his method for making a million dollars in a little more than a year: Find a company facing a proxy fight (Fairbanks-Morse). Buy the potential controlling block of stock, even if you have to pay a lot more for it than you think it's worth. Then sell it to the highest bidder (Penn-Texas), at a premium above the market price.

Mr. Sarlie said he has sold Penn-Texas 20,000 shares of Fairbanks common and has contracted to sell it another 110,000 shares at a total price of $8,155,700. As a result, he claims he now holds "voting rights to the shares that may determine the outcome of the battle."

Mr. Sarlie said he expects to vote these shares for Penn-Texas because it would be "most unrealistic" now to do anything else. But, he insisted, he has "no interest one way or the other" in how the fight comes out beyond his own profits. He estimated these "in excess of $1 million," though "I won't count it exactly until all the money is in my pocket."

Mr. Sarlie said he had twice offered through brokers to sell the same shares to Fairbanks management and desisted only because he got "no response indicating they would buy at the price I wanted." "I would have sold the stock to them if they had paid me a $1 a share more than Penn-Texas," he added.

Mr. Morse contradicted this in another statement issued in Chicago. "The Sarlie stock was never offered to me, and if it had been I would not have bought it," he said. "I could not have afforded to pay $69.80 a share" (the approximate price in one of Mr. Sarlie's transactions with Penn-Texas). Fairbanks-Morse stock closed at $56.75 Friday on the New York Stock Exchange. Its 1956–57 high has been $65 and its low $38.12½.

MORSE GROUP OWNS 34 PERCENT

The Morse family and management group own 34 percent of the 1,372,190 outstanding Fairbanks common shares. Mr. Silberstein has said his company owns or has contracted to by 669,270 shares.

Mr. Sarlie, a smooth-voiced, 41-year-old man who claims to own one of the world's most famous collections of Pablo Picasso paintings, said he had begun buying Fairbanks stock heavily on the open market in early 1956.

He said he stepped up his purchases sharply when Penn-Texas bid for control of Fairbanks at the March 1956, annual meeting and lost, because he calculated that both sides would need more stock in preparation for another round this year.

By last fall, Mr. Sarlie said, he had accumulated 70,000 shares—mostly through open-market purchases through some friends of mine—and approached Penn-Texas to sell them. Penn-Texas told him it could not pay immediately, he said so he contracted to deliver the stock this spring for payment then. He then figured out that another 60,000 shares would insure control for either side, he said, and set out to get them though an open order to brokers to buy whatever stock turned up on the New York Stock Exchange.

This order brought him the 60,000 shares in a 6-week period in November and December, Mr. Sarlie said, but he had to pay at least $1 million more than he thought the stock was worth. Though these purchases made him able to command a premium in reselling the shares, he asserted, "it was a calculated risk—I'll never do that again."

Mr. Sarlie several times seized occasions to emphasize laughingly his disinterest in the basic issues of the fight. Asked if he though Mr. Morse was doing a good job of managing Fairbanks, he replied: "I wouldn't think so, but I don't say Mr. Silberstein can do any better." After his contracts with Penn-Texas are fulfilled, he added, he won't own any Fairbanks shares at all and has no plans to buy any—not at these prices, thank you.

AN OPERATOR

Mr. Sarlie raised no objection when a reporter described him as an operator, but did object to some press descriptions of him as a "mystery man." He said he was born in Holland, the son of a broker on the Amsterdam Diamond Exchange, and made a great deal of money dealing in securities in his youth. He came to the United States in 1940, he said, was naturalized in 1943 and now specializes in financing of oil and gas properties. In addition he said he deals in special [stock market] situations, but only one at a time. "I'm already thinking of the next one," he remarked.

He has invested his own money in Fairbanks stock, Mr. Sarlie said, plus $2,200,000 borrowed from New York "banks and brokers." So far, he said, he has received only about $1 million from Penn-Texas for his stock, with the other $7 million-odd to be paid in "April, May, June, and July."

During his transactions, he noted, he had also freed some capital by selling 42,500 Fairbanks shares to 2 New York investment groups under contracts to repurchase them. This had previously been disclosed in a statement filed by Mr. Sarlie with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Mr. Sarlie said he had met Mr. Silberstein socially in Holland as early as 1937, but had seen him only infrequently over the years. And when he approached Mr. Silberstein with the Fairbanks stock, he had to negotiate for weeks.

"I find Mr. Silberstein a very difficult man to do business with," Mr. Sarlie commented.

THE LANDA ANGLE

The Landa group has been raising the question of its seeing the Penn-Texas stockholder lists since last December, when it tried to have the court block an increase in the company's authorized common to 10 million shares. That rise, from .5 million was approved at the December special stockholders' meeting. Final court action on such an injunction still is pending.

In December, Penn-Texas conceded the dissidents had the absolute right to see the voting lists.

In the case decided in Cambria County common pleas court last Saturday, however, Penn-Texas contended it hadn't refused Mr. Landa permission to examine the list, but had requested him to appear at the corporation office to answer questions on his good faith in seeking the list.

It added that in failing to appear, Mr. Landa had not exhausted his remedies with the corporation.

Mr. Landa has said the group will wage a vigorous proxy fight to win seats on the 8-member Penn-Texas board at the annual meeting May 6.

[From the Journal of Commerce of March 18, 1957]

PENN-TEXAS DIRECTS ADS AT FAIRBANKS WORKERS

Penn-Texas Corp., acting on the assumption it will win control of Fairbanks, Morse & Co., has taken newspaper advertisements in the 11 cities where Fairbanks plants are located to inform employees that "we have great confidence in our ability to guide Fairbanks, Morse to new pinnacles of success."

The workers were also told that, "We think

that you will be especially pleased with our established policy of promotion from the ranks."

It became apparent that Penn-Texas may control the vote of more than 50 percent of all outstanding shares when Jacques Sarlie, a New Yorker of Dutch extraction said that he holds voting rights to 110,000 shares which he plans to vote with Leopold Silberstein's Penn-Texas group. The shares will be sold to Penn-Texas later.

MEETING MARCH 27

Penn-Texas Corp., is seeking to gain control of Fairbanks, Morse at the annual stockholders meeting in Chicago March 27. This effort is being resisted by the Fairbanks, Morse management.

All told, Mr. Sarlie said he had accumulated 130,000 shares of Fairbanks, Morse stock, Penn-Texas has brought and paid for 20,000. Penn-Texas has contracted to buy and pay for the rest in April and May, 1957, he said. But Mr. Sarlie said he retained voting rights.

Mr. Sarlie outlined his position in the struggle in this manner:

He owned a relatively small number of shares of Fairbanks, Morse in 1955. He noticed that a proxy fight was imminent. In early 1956 he increased his holdings. After accumulating 70,000 shares he agreed to sell them to Penn-Texas for $3,963,000 for delivery and payment in April and May of 1957. He retained voting rights.

By November 1956, out of the total number of 1,371,170 outstanding shares, Morse controlled 500,000 shares and Penn-Texas had 600,000 shares. Mr. Sarlie said he reasoned that anyone who bought 60,000 shares would be in a favorable position.

BOUGHT PIVOTAL AMOUNT

"I then took a calculated risk," Mr. Sarlie said, "by buying on the New York Stock Exchange 60,000 shares, which I accumulated as rapidly as possible, paying up to $60 a share. By the end of 1956, I had accumulated 60,000 shares.

"I felt that if I sold to Morse, management would remain in control and if I sold to Penn-Texas they could claim 660,000 shares, which would assure them of control. I was then in a position to demand a price for my shares in excess of the market price."

Mr. Sarlie said he then negotiated with the Penn-Texas management. Penn-Texas agreed to buy all Mr. Sarlie's stock. Mr. Sarlie said he also approached Morse management through a broker but received no answer.

While he has made no voting agreement with Penn-Texas, Mr. Sarlie said, "It would be most unrealistic for me to agree to sell my shares to Penn-Texas and then not vote them with Penn-Texas."

Mr. Sarlie said he expected to make a "handsome profit" in excess of $2 million from the deal. He said he used his own money in most of his buying. And, he added, "Anybody could have done this."

MORSE DENIES OFFER

Robert H. Morse, Jr., president of Fairbanks, Morse & Co., declared that "the Sarlie stock was never offered to me, and if it had been, I would not have bought it. Remember, we are operating on our own personal funds. Mr. Silberstein is operating on other people's money.

"I could not have afforded to pay $69.87 a share for the Sarlie stock and, judging from their earnings record, neither could Penn-Texas stockholders."

[From the New York Journal-American of March 18, 1957]

EXCHANGE MEMBERS MUST KNOW CUSTOMERS—DO THEY?

(By Leslie Gould)

The New York Stock Exchange has the following rule covering accounts with its member houses:

"Rule 504: Every member firm and member corporation is required through a general partner or an officer who is a holder of voting stock to use due diligence to learn the essential facts relative to every customer, every order, every cash or margin account accepted or carried by such firm or corporation, and every person holding power of attorney over any account accepted or carried by such firm or corporation."

Then under its supplementary material covering application of the above rule, there is this:

"When an agency account is carried by a member firm or member corporation, its files should contain the name of the principal for whom the agent is acting and written evidence of the agent's authority."

These rules take on new importance in light of the use of Swiss banks as fronts in trading in shares of American companies listed on the Stock Exchange.

Under the penal code of Switzerland, banks of that country refuse to disclose the names of their customers. The customers' identities are covered by numbered accounts, and the names covered by the numbers are known only to 1 or 2 officers.

MUST KNOW PRINCIPAL

A strict interpretation of the stock exchange rule cited above would require a member firm to know the principal for which any agent is acting. That should cover the Swiss banks, as well as their American agents.

Yet, the Swiss banks have acquired stock bought through stock exchange member firms without disclosing the principals for whom they are acting.

This has happened in the present Fairbanks, Morse-Penn-Texas Corp. proxy fight. A block of 100,000 Fairbanks, Morse shares was bought by Penn-Texas Corp. from the Union Bank of Switzerland. Part of these shares were acquired by the Swiss bank through a stock exchange firm, where the son-in-law of the head of Penn-Texas is a customers' man. According to court testimony, the son-in-law as a customers' man was accredited with this business.

On this block a profit of between a half and a million dollars was made by the undisclosed customers of the Swiss bank. There was that difference between what the Swiss bank's customers paid for the shares and what the bank got from Penn-Texas.

There has never been any disclosure as to the identity of the bank's customers. So far, all agencies of the Government seeking this information have run into the stone wall of the Swiss secrecy law.

That 100,000-share block can be the deciding factor in the voting at the Fairbanks, Morse March 27 annual meeting. There have been other Penn-Texas deals with Swiss banks. These cover an additional 152,000 Fairbanks shares.

The question is whether the exchange's rule on disclosure of a principal goes beyond one agent. That is: If there are two or more agents, need there be no disclosure?

Let's Save Some More

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a sincere, truthful, and straightforward editorial that appeared in the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass., on March 17, 1957:

LET'S SAVE SOME MORE

The free-wheeling, free-spending Federal Government is headed for trouble—this time from the people who pay the bills and who are demanding that they be given less bills to pay.

According to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the man in the street—and the womenfolk, too—are deluging their Senators and Representatives at Washington with mail urging action to pare billions of dollars off the new budget.

The Administration and the Palace Guard might be inclined to ignore the ordinary individual's petitioning for less spending. That is demonstrated by the record size of the new budget. But when Senators and Representatives get a squirmy feeling as they listen to the voice from home, they are certain to reflect the temper of that voice in their official acts in Congress assembled.

Over the years, the people have accepted the fantastic increase in Federal spending as a necessary evil. World War II and the Korean conflict were with us to convince us that such fabulous outlays of cash were absolutely a must.

But now, although we have committed ourselves to defend the free world against Communist aggression, we are actually at peace. It is true that the time of peace is the time to prepare to defend ourselves. It is also true that it is silly to go broke preparing for the uncertainties of the future. And there is plenty of room for paring down the amounts that would be set aside for peacetime purposes.

The Hoover Commission report shows where some 5 billions of dollars could be saved by eliminating waste, inefficiency and duplication of effort, and by getting the Government out of businesses that could be operated by taxpaying private enterprises.

Do not escape the fact that the bombardment of protest against excessive spending at Washington is no mere feeble gesture. Mr. and Mrs. Taxpayer are getting angry. They want action, not political speeches. They want the red pencil and the shears right on the desk of every Member of Congress—not as props but as working tools.

Economists tell us, logically, that in a time of prosperity we should set some of our income aside as a cushion against possible future reverses. But every working person finds that, although his income is going up, the amount of money he has left over at the end of the week—if any—is not consistent with his apparently good financial health.

The reason, naturally, is almost boundless Government spending and failure of the Government to execute some of the major proposals in the Hoover report.

Don't forget that the more the Government wants to do for you, the more it will have to do to you. Get that letter off to Washington today.

Air-Sea Rescue Unit at Los Angeles International Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the mayor of the city of Los Angeles has drawn our attention to a matter most vital to those tens of thousands of Americans who fly in and out of California each year. There should be no additional cost if presently available units are used. On the other hand, many

human lives may be saved. For the information of Members who are interested, I include the correspondence:

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., *March 12, 1957.*
The Honorable JAMES ROOSEVELT,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Attached is a copy of a letter sent to Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey on March 11, 1957. Because of the grave importance of having the Coast Guard establish an air-sea rescue unit at Los Angeles International Airport at the earliest possible moment, I shall greatly appreciate anything you can or may do to this end.

With best wishes and assurance of my continued high regard, I am,

Sincerely,

NORRIS POULSON,
Mayor.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., *March 11, 1957.*
Hon. GEORGE M. HUMPHREY,
Secretary of the Treasury,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Since the midair collision in January of a military jet plane with a commercial aircraft over this city, with its resultant loss of lives, including schoolchildren playing in the schoolyard where the transport plane crashed, I have been conducting a thorough investigation into all phases of safety in the air, as well as rescue operations resulting from aircraft crashes. This investigation brought out a startling fact, and one which gives me grave concern.

As you know, Los Angeles International Airport is located in close proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Ninety-four percent of the takeoffs at LAX are from east to west. The flight pattern, therefore, takes these planes directly over the ocean while they are still at a comparatively low altitude. Also, when it is necessary to stack planes prior to landings, such stacking operations are done over the ocean. To me, it seems not only advisable, but imperative, that the Coast Guard establish an air-sea rescue unit at LAX or in the immediate vicinity thereof for use in event of a crash in the ocean.

Since 1946 an active committee, made up of representatives of the Department of Airports of the City of Los Angeles, airlines, aircraft manufacturers, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, United States Coast Guard, United States Air Force and the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Aero Detail, has been trying to obtain an adequate air-sea rescue facility in this area. Much correspondence and many memoranda from conferences are on file in our airports department on this subject. In 1951, Admiral Richmond, of the Coast Guard, spent considerable time at the airport going over the problem and, according to my information, reported favorably to his Washington headquarters on the establishment of an air-sea rescue unit at Los Angeles. Also in 1951, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution requesting Congress to provide facilities for air-sea rescue in this area. In January 1953, the problem was reviewed by the Board of Airport Commissioners and the chamber of commerce, and efforts were again made, without success, to obtain such a unit. In February 1957, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce recommended that its transportation division be authorized to request appropriate agencies of the Federal Government to take immediate steps to assure the installation of a United States Coast Guard Air-Sea Rescue Unit at the proposed Playa del Rey marina facilities. (I shall touch on the Playa del Rey marina in a subsequent paragraph.) Because the arguments upon which the chamber's recommendation was based are so compelling, I am attaching a copy hereto.

The responsibility for acquisition and maintenance of air-sea rescue equipment is, without question, vested in the Federal Government under the United States Code, title 14, section 29, we quote in part:

"For the purpose of saving life and property along the coasts of the United States and that sea contiguous thereto, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to establish, equip, and maintain aviation stations, not exceeding 10 in number, at such points on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Great Lakes, as he may deem advisable, and to detail for aviation duty in connection therewith officers and enlisted men of the United States Coast Guard."

Further, under Public Law 207 of the 81st Congress, chapter 393, 1st session, H. R. 4566, an act which may be cited as title 14 sets forth the primary duties of the Coast Guard and reads, in part:

"The Coast Guard shall enforce or assist in the enforcement of all applicable Federal laws upon the high seas and waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States; shall administer laws and promulgate and enforce regulations for the promotion of safety of life and property on the high seas and on waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States * * * shall develop, establish, maintain, and operate * * * rescue facilities for the promotion of safety on and over the high seas and waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States."

To me, the meaning and intent of the foregoing quoted section and enactment are crystal clear and place the responsibility for such safety measures on the Secretary of the Treasury and, under him, the Coast Guard.

In addition to the reasons indicated above for the establishment of an air-sea rescue unit in the vicinity of Los Angeles International Airport, there will shortly be constructed a yacht harbor at Playa del Rey, which is very close to the Airport. When such harbor is constructed, there will be a still greater need for an air-sea rescue unit in the vicinity.

The city of Los Angeles has previously and again offers the facilities at Los Angeles International Airport of space for storage of aircraft and office space, free of charge, if the Coast Guard will establish and activate an air-sea rescue unit there. For the past 11 years we have been working on borrowed time, so to speak; however, the time has now arrived when positive and immediate action must be taken. I, therefore, respectfully request that an air-sea rescue unit be established at or near Los Angeles International Airport at the earliest practicable date.

With assurance of my continued high regard, I am,

Sincerely,

NORRIS POULSON,
Mayor.

Conference on Delinquency Proposed by Judge Rodgers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, because of my interest in the juvenile delinquency problem, I wish to include a newspaper account of an address on the subject by the president judge of the Mercer County (Pa.) Court, the Honorable Herman M. Rodgers:

CONFERENCES ON DELINQUENCY PROPOSED BY JUDGE RODGERS

An effort to place the problem of juvenile delinquency in proper perspective was made by Judge Herman M. Rodgers in a hard-hitting address before the Sharon Kiwanis Club yesterday afternoon.

The president judge of the Mercer County court debunked the theory that juvenile delinquency is something new, saying that today's problem differs from yesterday's only in degree. The greatest single problem in the field today, he told the service club, is one of oversimplification of the issue.

At the same time Judge Rodgers proposed a series of conferences of leaders of all segments of community life to tackle the delinquency problem head on.

Said Judge Rodgers, in part:

A newspaperman holding a responsible position with a newspaper having a large local circulation told me very earnestly, within the past few days, that he and his people considered this a lost generation and that they must now fight to save the next generation.

"I am in complete disagreement with this position, because it is based on two false assumptions. First, because it assumes that juvenile delinquency is something new and, secondly, because it assumes that we have done what we can to correct it. How can they assume that juvenile delinquency, serious youthful misconduct, is a new problem? Are our memories that short? Have they forgotten that the fathers and uncles of these juveniles were vomiting their guts out on bootleg before these kids were ever born?

"Can they really, seriously, contend that fornication among teenagers is an innovation of the midtwentieth century? Some of the cruddy magazines they print these days are really trash, but is there no one here who remembers those Maggie and Jiggs jobs they used to pass around?

"Juvenile thievery is certainly a serious matter, as is adult thievery, but I cannot help remembering a situation out of little old Grove City. There was a fellow there who had a sort of general store, clothing, confectionery, sporting goods, and, unfortunately for him, he handled the distribution of the out-of-town newspapers.

"Everyone stole from him. He's still in business, but how he managed to survive is absolutely beyond me. Newspaper boys, friends of newspaper boys and just plain friends stole everything from Clark bars to shotgun shells to shirts and socks and golf clubs."

A MATTER OF PERSPECTIVE

"What I am trying to do is not to belittle our problems today, but rather to put it in its proper perspective. It is not a new problem. It differs from the problem of our generation only in degree.

"The advent of the 2-car garage and of the great increase in the number of children, plenty of cash and the very complexity of our society itself have all tended to compound the problem.

"The second assumption on which they base their decision to wash out this generation is even more serious. That is the assumption that we have already done all we can to save it. While there is general agreement on the fact that juveniles' misconduct is a serious problem, there is very little agreement on either the cause or the cure.

"If I may say so, I believe the greatest single problem in the juvenile delinquency field is the tendency to oversimplify the problem. Delinquency is a legal term. It is the symptom or outer manifestation of a personality, social or other disorder.

"The term, juvenile delinquency, itself, is as loosely used today as the term 'bellyache' ever was in the medical profession 100 years ago. What physician would be able to prescribe treatment on the basis of such a diagnosis when the specific problem could be anything from too much soda pop to an inflamed appendix or to cancer?

"How can you expect one specific prescription to stop this increase in juvenile delinquency when it results from all sorts of ills existing in all segments of this crazy mixed-up world in which we live?"

TOO MUCH PROPAGANDA

"We are all in a whirlpool of information and propaganda regarding delinquency. Radio, television, magazines, newspapers, and preachers, politicians, and public servants of all grades have aired literally thousands of heated words on the subject. Usually their comments are in the nature of an attack on the children or the parents or law-enforcement officers.

"The currently popular theory of the experts, and that includes everybody these days, is to blame the children's misconduct on the parents and the breakdown of family life.

"While I certainly believe that parental preoccupation in other matters is a major cause of our problem, I also believe that the recognition of this fact is of only limited value to use. That is, I am forced to say, 'so what, the parents are to blame.'

"How are you going to use that fact in helping the child? They say 'punish the parents.' A proper discussion of this point would require much more time than we have here, but in summary, I must say that the fact that we know that parents are to blame, in itself, is no solution to this problem—it simply suggests some things which may point to this solution."

FAMILY PICTURE HAS CHANGED

"Certainly we must do what we can to strengthen the family, but at the same time we must recognize that the very nature of our society is forcing changes, to say the very least, in our family life.

"The picture of the cozy little family of eight seated around the open hearth with mother knitting a sweater and father reading 'Pilgrim's Progress' is not a picture of our day, and I doubt that we can turn back the clock.

"The swing shift at the mill, the second automobile, mother working out to help meet the payments on the first automobile; in short, the basic change from a simple rural to a complex urban society with the increasing demands from outside the home evidences the changes we are talking about.

"And we believe that these changes explain to some extent the increase of the juvenile problem in America."

SUGGESTS COURSE OF ACTION

"In summary, I should like to list some things that we know and some things we don't know, and then suggest, perhaps, a course of action.

"First, we know that we love our children. Second, that they are important to our society. Third, that an increasing number of them violate the rules of society. We do not know, first, the specific causes of these violations. Second, the specific solutions of this problem.

"I think we also know some other things. I think we know that there has been a lot more crying, accusing, and wringing of hands that there has been of honest, constructive effort in dealing with these matters.

"The traveler who was beaten on the road was not aided by those who saw his problem and passed by. He got his help from the man who saw his injuries and went over, picked him up, took him to the inn and paid his bills.

"This problem, then being a many-headed enemy, must be met by all segments of society. All of us have an interest in this problem. I have had children in my juvenile court from homes in the $30,000-a-year class down to those on relief.

"Your interest, as members of the board of trustees of your church and as school directors, is obvious. Do you believe the tremendous physical plants at your command are being used to their maximum in this critical struggle?"

CHALLENGES UNIONS

"Our unions, in recent years, have been recognized as important forces in our civic life. We have a right to ask what specific steps they are willing to take. The merchant and the industrialist who are, by necessity, tax conscious, should be aware that the cost of maintaining one delinquent in a correctional institution averages $4 a day and that, in addition, he is at least temporarily a nonproductive drone in the community.

"The public press has great responsibility to spend at least as much space on the accomplishments of the over 95 percent of our youth who are hitting the ball, as it does on the 5 percent who are in a batting slump.

"In my remarks at my swearing-in ceremony on January 3, 1956, I promised to use the prestige of my office to promote in the lives of the young people a higher regard for the law and to promote in the community a deeper sense of responsibility to our young people."

PROPOSE CONFERENCES

"In conformance with this pledge and in my belief that the problems of our youth are the responsibility and concern of all of us, I propose to call in the Shenango Valley and in Greenville and in Grove City a conference of the leaders of all segments of community life to council together and to search for the best means of conserving and developing this most previous asset, this pearl of great price.

"In this conference, we will not only list our deficiencies, we will catalog our resources in the field of manpower and physical equipment.

"It is not our desire to make this conference an arm of the juvenile court. If it were that and nothing more, it would be, in our judgment, a failure. To be worthwhile, it must become an arm of the people in an assault on a very serious threat to our continued existence as a free, organized society."

Is Foreign Aid Useful?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

MR. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, George Sokolsky in a recent column questioned the usefulness of our foreign-aid program. Under leave to extend my remarks I am including that article at this point:

THESE DAYS

(By George E. Sokolsky)

IS FOREIGN AID USEFUL?

Hans Christian Sonne, chairman of the National Planning Association which has made a study of foreign aid, has reported to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that:

"If your committee's review of the foreign-aid program leads to the conclusion that it is useful for attaining our international objective, I believe the program should be continued at the present or an expanded rate, irrespective of the relatively minor effects on the domestic economy."

Two questions arise out of this paragraph:

1. Has our foreign-aid program been useful? What has it done for the United States? Precisely what political and economic benefits have accrued to the United States from it?

2. Is our present inflationary condition to be regarded as a relatively minor effect on the domestic economy? More paper money is being circulated now than during the period 1933–1952. The ratio of our gold stock to our nongold money is the lowest of yearly ratios since 1932. Is this to be considered a relatively minor effect on the domestic economy?

The argument that foreign aid is only a small part of the total economy seems to me fatuous. The fact is that Government expenditures of all kinds are now so high that the people are actually suffering from excessive taxation. The Hoover Commission believes that it can cut those expenditures by $4 to $5 billion, but nothing has been done about it thus far. When foreign aid was a dumping proposition to a great extent, it could be justified in a measure as a subsidy to industry, labor, and agriculture while making some friends perhaps in Europe.

Today, the problem is economy, not the expansion of expenditures.

Sonne's report says:

"If the United States were to double the present size of the foreign aid program (to $8.2 billion a year) by 1965, and assuming a gross national production level by then of $565 billion (in 1955 prices), there would be little additional impact on the United States economy."

The fallacy in this paragraph is the reference to 1955 prices which has nothing to do with the question. What does matter is what kind of dollars we are using, 50-cent dollars, or 35-cent dollars, or what. Sonne apparently disregards inflation altogether and pays no attention at all to the fact that individual debt has risen in this country to a point which all economists except the Keynesians regard as unwarranted and unsafe.

These days there is much talk in money markets of the raiders who use European or Canadian money to take over American companies, particularly those engaged in war industries. The scale on which the raids are taking place is now being defined by two Senate committees, the SEC, and other Government agencies, but thus far not enough data is available to establish any special reason for this activity, other than that money flows to a safe and profitable market. Should not the investigations deal with the question of the drying up of the reservoirs of private capital in this country? If interest rates are lower in one country than another or if money is taxed less in one country than another, borrowers seek the most advantageous market for money.

It is possible that those who borrow in Switzerland or Venezuela or who get tax-free arrangements in Liberia or Nassau are pursuing the ordinary course of private enterprise. The peril is that the beneficial owner of the securities or the rightful owner of the anonymous money employed may be an alien enemy of the United States.

It is impossible to study the full effects upon our economy of foreign aid without analyzing this particular phenomenon, namely, to what extent is the American reservoir of capital drying up because of the increasing individual indebtedness of Americans and the enormous bite that takes out of the individual's earnings.

Sonne's report also states:

"If the countries in need of foreign aid had to increase their own exports sufficiently to pay for all the goods and services they urgently need, they would probably have resorted to forcing or subsidizing exports, with

possible disruptive influences on world trade and on competitive conditions within United States industry."

Does this mean that foreign aid must last forever so that we can keep foreign subsidized goods out of our market? Why not use a high tariff?

There'll Be Dispute for Mr. Ballantine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under special leave to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to call attention to an editorial in the Louisville Courier-Journal, under date of February 22, commenting on the testimony of Thomas A. Ballantine, speaking on behalf of the United States Chamber of Commerce in opposition to Federal grants-in-aid for classroom construction before the Education Committee of the House of Representatives.

The editorial, under the caption "There'll Be Dispute for Mr. Ballantine," gives some true facts as to the seriousness of this problem in Kentucky. It questions the right of the chamber of commerce to tell the people of the Nation, and particularly the State of Kentucky, what they need.

The editorial follows:

THERE'LL BE DISPUTE FOR MR. BALLANTINE

Louisvillian Thomas A. Ballantine, speaking for the United States Chamber of Commerce, testified in Washington that Federal help to build schools is "unwise and unnecessary."

This is the other side of the picture. Only last week a group of Kentucky State and local school administrators told the same congressional committee that the need of new classrooms (around 10,000 in Kentucky today) is so great that many local districts cannot hope to provide them.

Even the extreme limit of assessment and taxation would not bring in enough for the job, said last week's delegation. It comes down to their point that there are simply not enough taxable resources everywhere.

There might be a lively debate if spokesmen for the two schools of thought got together. As chairman of the United States Chamber of Commerce committee on education, Mr. Ballantine speaks quite flatly on the subject:

"It is the consensus of business in this country that the States and their communities are responsible for, and able to finance the development of, the school systems required by their citizens."

It is to be assumed that Mr. Ballantine's soundings include the situation at home. Two years ago the Jefferson County school administration, preparing its case for a special school tax of 50 cents, reported on the dynamics of local population pressures. There were clear prospects that the number of county public school pupils, then around 27,000, would, by the school year 1960–61, go up to more than 43,000.

At the same time it was possible to report definitely, without leaning on estimates, that the "wealth" behind each county pupil had gone down from its peak of $15,197 in 1951 to $12,922 in 1954–55.

The wealth may be interpreted as values assessed for taxation. It was calculated at the time (1954–55) that the cost for each school child was $241 a year from the general fund (product of the $1.50 regular rate) and $67 from the building fund (product of the temporary 50-cent rate). This total of $308 for each child needed an assessment of around $15,000. The average residential assessment at the time was $3,550.

County school building needs, then projected through 1959, totaled $18,750,000. This was beyond the building program under way, supported by the temporary special tax of 50 cents and taking up all the anticipations from the full term of the tax.

We are not, of course, citing Jefferson County as typical of a school district in need of help, in spite of its experiences with explosive population growth. But if the situation has so large and troubling an impact on populous and wealthy districts, where we must admit people still need awakening, what must it be doing in many thousands of districts that are near or beyond their limit of resources and credit?

The Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, in a recent communication from the New York Board of Trade, that organization respectfully petitioned the Congress of the United States by resolution to reduce the budget. The resolution is a forthright and comprehensive one and in the opinion of this Representative from New York, it deserves to be engrossed in the RECORD. I, therefore, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, include in the Appendix of the RECORD the aforementioned resolution and the program suggested in connection with the same:

Be it resolved, That the New York Board of Trade respectfully petitions the Congress of the United States. The principles and program contained herein are adopted by the board of directors in whom such powers are vested, meeting on March 5, 1957; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this statement and resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Senate Finance Committee, the House Ways and Means Committee, and to the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives from the State of New York.

PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAM

One of the greatest problems before the Nation today is the preservation of economic strength side by side with defense strength. The door to this is opened through the Federal budget. As the 1957–58 budget is now before the Congress, the New York Board of Trade advocates and commends to the Congress the following principles and program:

The restraints against inflationary pressures, urged by President Eisenhower upon business and labor, should be even more exemplified by government. Government expenditures, taxes, and debt should be sharply curtailed. Budget balance is not enough. What counts is to achieve it at the lowest possible level of expenditures and revenues. The Nation's full productive energies are thus released, defense heightened, and economic disaster thwarted.

The avenue to tax and debt reduction is expenditure reduction. Expenditure reduction requires determination and forthrightness by the people. Lipservice and pious resolutions won't do it. There must be sufficient social consciousness to accept the fact that expenditure reduction may temporarily curtail or eliminate advantages that certain groups, areas, or parties now seemingly enjoy.

Only those expenditures presently and absolutely essential should be approved. All others should be postponed or eliminated. Department and agency heads should be required to assign priorities to their expenditure requests. Congressional staff facilities should be improved to afford thoroughgoing incisive review of these requests.

Immediate consideration should be given to the recommendations, not yet acted upon, of the second Hoover Commission. It has found that $5 billion can be saved through improved personnel policies; and that $2 billion on defense expenditures can be eliminated without undermining defense programs one iota.

The Federal Government should get out of private enterprise, and out of State and local governments. At the very least, all business activities, or all functions like the post office, should be self-supporting. The trend of diminished responsibility and independence of State and local communities and ever-increasing recourse to Federal aid should be halted. This, in turn, requires a realinement of tax sources among Federal, State, and local governments.

Control of the purse strings must, at all times, be in the hands of the Congress. That control is lost when, as at present, departments or agencies can be almost indifferent to current appropriations by reason of the vast backlog of unexpended previous authorizations. Budget and accounting procedures should be on an annual basis along the lines recommended by the Hoover Commission, the Budget Bureau, and the Comptroller General of the United States.

No tax reduction should be considered that will yield revenues insufficient to cover all expenditures, including a regular program of amortization of Government debt. Tax reform is always in order—and the need accentuated by high tax rates. The tax structure lacks stability in its excessive reliance on an unstable income tax. Furthermore, the income-tax law leaves a great deal to be desired in simplicity, equity, certainty, and administrability. The recommendations of a nonpartisan tax commission along the lines of S. 769 (introduced by Senator WILEY) and H. R. 41 (introduced by Congressman COUDERT) should be sought.

Statehood for Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, statehood for Hawaii is not only a desire of both political parties in Hawaii as well as of the mainland of the United States—it is the hope of the great majority of the people of Hawaii. Support for Hawaiian statehood comes from all levels of our social, economic, and political institutions. The people of Hawaii, in every walk of life, imbued with democratic ideals and principles, covet the status of equal sisterhood with the

United States of America. The following resolution, adopted by the Hawaii Mission of the Methodist Church at its conference on March 2, 1957, is inserted in the RECORD in full, in demonstration of the broad base of statehood support among the people of Hawaii—in this instance that of a religious and strictly nonpartisan group:

RESOLUTION ON STATEHOOD

Whereas statehood for Hawaii is a social and civic as well as a political issue. As such, it falls within the scope of the Methodist Conference and deserves our earnest attention and support; and

Whereas statehood is the aim and accepted destiny of every Territory of the United States. For Hawaii, in addition to political advantage (with voting representation in the Congress of the United States) it would be of material aid in our Pacific and Asian relations. It would be the most powerful single argument that can be offered that the people of Hawaii, of many racial ancestries, are accepted fully as citizens of the United States, and are not treated as colonials under the dictation of an imperialist government and bureaucracy; and

Whereas this would be an effective answer to the continued and insistent propaganda of the Communist agencies that Hawaii is being exploited by the capitalists of the United States mainland; and

Whereas statehood, furthermore, would encourage Hawaii to develop its social activities and agencies, directly along the line which the Methodist Church indorses and encourages: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the Hawaii Mission Conference of the Methodist Church (meeting in Honolulu, March 2, 1957), That we wholeheartedly support statehood for Hawaii and by this resolution ask that copies of this statement be sent to the President of the United States; to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior; to the President of the United States Senate; to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives; to the delegate to Congress from Hawaii, the Honorable John A. Burns; to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii; to the president of the Territorial senate; to the speaker of the Territorial house of representatives; and to the chairman of the Hawaii Statehood Commission.

President Ramon Magsaysay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of President Ramon Magsaysay is a tremendous loss, not only to the Philippine Islands, but to the entire free world.

I knew him personally and am deeply distressed by his untimely passing.

Years ago I spent a year in the Orient, part of it in the Philippine Islands, as a private secretary to the Governor General.

Ever since this experience I have been deeply interested in the welfare and development of the people in the islands.

I have been happy in the friendship and cooperation developed between the two countries, evidenced particularly in World War II when the soldiers of both countries stood and fought side by side.

President Magsaysay was a stanch supporter of this country.

I met him some years ago when he came to Washington.

I met him some 15 months ago in Manila when several Members of this House at his invitation discussed with him Philippine problems and world problems over the breakfast table in old Malacanan Palace, where I had lived for a short time in days gone by.

It was impossible to know him without sensing his integrity, his ability, and his great courage.

It was impossible to follow his career without realizing how close to his heart were the welfare and progress of his people, and the triumph of freedom over communism.

He made a great contribution to his country, to southeast Asia, and to the free world as a whole.

I join in heartfelt sympathy to his family and to the people of the Philippine Islands.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include at this point in the RECORD the following editorial appearing in the Washington Star of March 18, 1957, entitled "President Magsaysay":

PRESIDENT MAGSAYSAY

The airplane crash that has cut short the life of President Ramon Magsaysay has robbed the Filipino people of a great leader who well deserved all the confidence and affection they reposed in him. A man of incorruptible integrity, he labored tirelessly in their behalf, both for their material well-being and for the strengthening of their free institutions. To that end, among other things, he had liberated them from the terrorism of the Communist-led Huks and proceeded from there to promote their economic progress and insure their security as a nation allied with the United States and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

In the international field, there was never any doubt about where President Magsaysay stood. Under his leadership, which had the overwhelming backing of his countrymen, the policy of the Philippines was stanchly pro-American, pro-liberty and anti-Red. Accordingly, since Filipino politics are volatile, and since his firm guidance will be sorely missed, there is some fear now that opposition elements (neutralists hostile to the United States) may be able to stage a comeback and change the excellent programs he had set in motion in domestic and foreign affairs.

This is a matter that only events themselves can clarify. Nevertheless, despite the uncertainties of the moment, there is reason to hope that Vice President Garcia will carry on without making any basic change in policy. After all, the vast majority of the Filipino people have repeatedly demonstrated their approval of the course set by President Magsaysay. Certainly, although his death is a grievous loss to the Philippines, to the United States and to the free world at large, his faithful followers are not likely to permit radical moves calculated to undo the good work he has left behind him.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

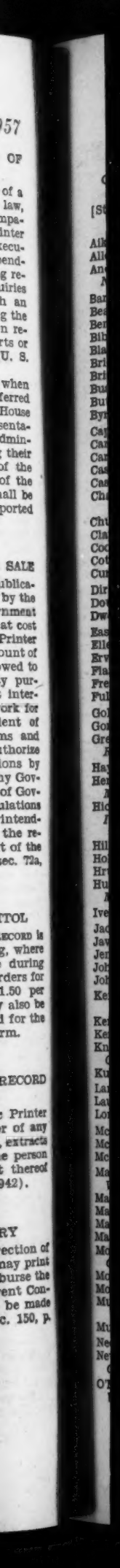

Appendix

Gangbustin' Game Warden

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, this is National Wildlife Week. Under the leadership of Walt Disney, National Wildlife Week chairman, Americans throughout the Nation who love the great outdoors are focusing public attention on the need to protect and preserve our great natural heritage of soil, water, forest, and wildlife.

It is most appropriate, therefore, to call attention to the colorful story of Ernie Swift, today the national executive director of the National Wildlife Federation which sponsors National Wildlife Week, in cooperation with its State affiliates. The following excerpts from an article in the April 1957 issue of True magazine is not only fascinating reading but gives the reader an appreciation of the coming of age of the conservation movement in America and of the kind of contribution made by thousands of conservation workers to protect our wildlife and our natural resources. The people of his home State of Wisconsin already admire and respect Ernie Swift, and I hope that all those who read this article will share that admiration and respect:

GANGBUSTIN' GAME WARDEN

(By Ken Smith and John Keats)

The young game warden had known what he was going to find ever since he first spotted the big Lincoln in the forest clearing, and saw the machinegun lying across the back seat. After glancing quickly around him, he had moved quietly and carefully through the woods toward the dam and now, standing on the edge of the riverbank above the rushing water, he could look down and see them. He stood there silently in the shade of the trees, nervously rubbing his hands on his trousers, knowing that only a fool would try to go down there and take them alone.

All I have to do is turn around and get the hell out of here, he told himself, and nobody will ever know. With those guns, they could cut me to pieces before I'd gone 2 feet. His eyes traveled from the automatic rifle that was leaning up against the sign reading "Closed area, fishing prohibited" to the heavy pistol butts that protruded from the pockets of the three fishermen. Why should I get myself shot over nothing but a few lousy fish, Ernest Swift thought.

But he knew all along that he had made his decision before he had even seen the Lincoln; he had made it back when he first heard that Chicago mobsters were coming up into his territory in Wisconsin. He had realized right then that sooner or later he would have to tangle with them. * * *

One eye on the guns that stuck out of their back pockets, Swift moved rapidly, counting on the noise of the water to drown out his movements. Just as he was congratulating himself for having successfully taken them by surprise, the three men whirled around—guns gripped in their hands. * * *

"What in hell do you want?" a cold voice demanded. The heavy face behind the voice would have been instantly recognizable to any newspaper reader in those days of 1928; chiefly celebrated as the inventor of the one-way ride, he was known as "Machinegun" Frankie McErlane.

Fighting to keep his voice steady, Swift said, "I'm going to have to arrest you. Let me see your fishing licenses."

"Jesus, a hayseed cop," McErlane sneered. "Well, whatta you know." * * * The second gunman, an ugly, stupid giant named Frank Novak, stood looking at Swift out of contempt-filled eyes. With his attention on McErlane, Swift did not realize that the third man had circled around behind him until he heard the soft, emotionless voice: "Good-by, you ———. We're settling this one right now."

In that instant, Ernie Swift knew for sure that he had been a fool. But he'd done what he said he'd do; what he thought he had to do. At least, he had that.

* * * * *

When Swift signed up as a State game warden in 1926, he figured he'd made a man's solemn promise. His first assignment had been to ride herd on a gaggle of transplanted Kentucky mountaineers who had just run the former warden out of the woods in the northeastern end of the State.

* * * * *

* * * On many occasions in the next 2 years he found himself alone in a woods full of slouch-hatted, spindly, bewhiskered mountaineers, every man-Jack of them armed. If they met casually, Swift and the mountaineers would nod with mutual respect. If it was a business meeting, Swift would walk boldly up and tell them to consider themselves under arrest—he'd expect them in court next day. * * * The Kentuckians admired this skinny little blue-eyed, redhaired lawman, who would walk right up to a band of armed clansmen and tell them where to head in and then have the guts to turn his back and saunter away.

Swift turned in such a brilliant arrest record, and earned himself such a reputation that in 1928 he was assigned to Sawyer County to take on the toughest chore any game warden in this Nation was ever called to face. High-riding Chicago gangsters had chosen the woods around Swift's hometown, Hayward, as a place to get cool when Chi got a little hot. * * *

Al Capone had a resort for his boys on the east fork of the Chippewa River. Bugs Moran and the Barker-Karpis gang showed up, along with Potatoes Koffman, Lefty Counsel, and Gus Winkler. The incredible Joe Soltis, * * * had a resort and a golf course on Barker Lake on the Chippewa's east fork.

The Chicagoans gaily machinegunned deer at night with the aid of auto headlights; fished illegally for muskellunge in the dam across the Chippewa where the big fish were held in a huge trap until the wardens could net them out and lift them across. Rules? Laws? Those were for suckers, the Chicagoans said. Trifle with us, they snarled, and you'll wind up at the bottom of a lake wearing a concrete kimono.

* * * * *

The man behind Swift, a chunky Italian named Joe Milaga, was about to fire when McErlane suddenly snapped, "Shove it, Joe."

Then, as the warden stood tense and sweating, the three gunmen began arguing about whether or not to kill him. Figuring his best bet was to take the initiative, Swift turned to McErlane and said, as calmly as possible, "Let's see your license."

The effrontery of it dazed the hoods. McErlane fumbled in his pockets and produced the last thing Swift expected to see—a fishing license. Silently, McErlane handed it over.

* * * * *

"G— d—, Frankie, I kill him now," Milaga howled, dragging his gun out again, but McErlane was doing the thinking for the mob that morning.

"Leave him go," he said. "He's just a hayseed."

Swift knew it would be silly to go up against such odds again, or to think simple candor would have any appeal to McErlane's kind of animal. * * * Specifically, he slipped into ambush beside the forest road that led to the dam, and 2 days later, nabbed Joe Soltis himself.

* * * * *

He took Joe to court and after half an hour of profane pleading and threatening, Joe Soltis contemptuously peeled $50 from a roll that was at least twice as large as the judge's and Swift's annual income put together.

* * * * *

Swift kept playing it that way, choosing his own ground and taking the offensive, but 2 weeks later he ran into a situation he couldn't handle on his own terms. He'd arrested 3 of Soltis' men, but couldn't herd all 3 of them to court. He told them to report, and when they didn't come to town to give themselves up, Swift knew he'd have to go after them—out to Soltis' camp on Barker Lake.

When Swift drove up, he saw four thick-bodied, mean-eyed, pasty-faced city types squatting on the front porch. They didn't say anything. "I want to see Joe," Swift told them.

Just as in the movies, one of them nodded slightly * * * and glanced at the door. It was an invitation. Swift walked past them, through the door, and the four men followed, pistols drawn, and took up various vantage points around the room behind him. Soltis waddled into the living room through another door, carrying a pint of whisky. * * *

"Why, Oinie," the beer baron rumbled genially, "whatsa matta, Oinie?"

* * * He waved one of the boys to pull up a chair for Swift. The warden ignored the hospitality. Then feeling trapped and tense, Swift told Joe how it was.

"Aw, Oinie," Joe protested, smiling greasily. "Don't get hard about it. Sit down. Let's have a drink."

* * * * *

For the next half hour Soltis tried to tell Swift in a hundred different ways to stop being a Boy Scout. Swift didn't seem to be getting it. At last Soltis seemed to think he realized the basic problem and hauled out his enormous bankroll. * * *

"It's yours, Oinie," Soltis said expansively. "Take any or all of it. Here, take a grand, whadda I care? Only lay off me and my boys."

"The State pays me," Swift said flatly, feeling idiotically heroic. The State was pay-

ing him $140 a month. * * * "I have to take three of your boys back to town with me," Swift added.

"You stupid bastard," Soltis exploded, lunging to his full 6 feet 3, his big face red with whisky and anger. "Do you know how easy it would be for me to kill you?"

Soltis brushed the table aside, lurched out the front steps and down the porch steps. There was a flock of chickens scratching around in the dirt a few yards from one of the cabins. * * * He drew his .45 caliber Army Colt and blasted away.

The big wasn't all reputation. He had gigantic shoulders and arms bigger than your legs, and he was a good fisherman and a good shot. Firing rapidly, he clipped the heads off three moving chickens. Then he turned back to Swift. "Catch on?" he grated.

"Yeah, I know," Swift said. "But all I came here for was to tell you your boys have to come to court today."

* * * * *

At 5 p. m., just as court was about to close, Soltis and a dozen hoods walked in. Three of the gunmen admitted they'd hunted out of season and Soltis, without a word, threw a roll of bills on the desk before the bench. As the big man turned to leave, he spotted Swift near the courtroom door. "Now lemme tell you something," Soltis sneered, towering over the slender warden. "Up to now I been easy on you. I thought maybe we could be friends. But the hell with that. Next time you think you gotta take me, you better come shooting."

"All right," Swift said, "I will."

Swift reported this conversation to the home office in Madison, and the effect was immediate—bringing Swift face to face with Gov. Walter Kohler, Sr., father of the present governor. After the warden had told his story, the Governor asked, "What do you intend to do about it?"

"Kill Soltis, if I have to," Swift said.

"I think you are absolutely right," Kohler said. "Stay with it, but use good judgment. Take all the men you need to get the job done. If necessary, I'll declare martial law in Sawyer County and call out the National Guard to back you up. * * *"

Characterically, Swift moved first. He called in four other wardens and this time, in addition to their issue Colts, they carried rifles. Instead of driving through the forest road that led to the dam, the law men entered the woods at dusk, worked their way around, and spent the night in a tent deep in the woods about 3 miles upstream.

* * * * *

The wardens arranged an ambush and Soltis and his two fishing companions eventually walked smack into the leveled rifles.

"Hey," the racket lord complained, his big face pale. "What the hell is this? How come all the G— d— hardware?"

"You told me the next time I had to take you, to come shooting," Swift explained. "Go on. Move."

* * * * *

The next day, Soltis was gone from Wisconsin forever. Told of this, Swift's only comment was, "I don't think Joe ever understood me."

But the remaining Chicagoans understood Swift only too well. He was a menace to their liberty and pursuit of happiness, and they marked him for death. The Federal Bureau of Investigation got wind of this and Swift was yanked into hiding, despite his bitter protests. "People will think I'm yellow," he said. "I'm damned if I'm going to run."

"We're getting you out of there before you get killed," the chief warden told him.

The State hid Swift and his wife in the Soldiers' Home at Mendota while FBI and State police began to comb the Chicago element out of Hayward's hair. Swift fumed and fussed, but he stayed put, and it's just as well he did, for the gang's threat was no joke.

Swift hadn't been out of Hayward long before a black Packard purred into town and stopped at the pool hall. Out stepped a good-looking, clean-featured youth, dressed with quiet taste in expensive city clothes. "Does anybody know where I can find Ernie Swift?" he asked.

George Taylor, an aged Indian wolf hunter, said sure, he knew. "I take you to him."

"That's awfully nice of you," the young man replied.

There were two sinister customers sitting in the back seat of the big Packard, surrounded by machine guns, rifles, pistols, sawed-off shotguns, and boxes of ammunition. All at once the Indian knew he didn't want to go anywhere.

"Get in there, you half-breed — — — ——," the young man said, and shoved the Indian into the car.

In front of Swift's house Taylor received his instructions. "When he comes to the door," the young man snapped, "get the hell out of the way and maybe you won't be killed."

Taylor knocked several times. * * *

Swift might have resented being yanked to one side while the cleanup went on, but the move proved a turning point in his life. He soon found himself riding a desk in Madison, learned the intricacies of top-level administration while advancing steadily through the ranks, and in 1947 he was made director of Wisconsin's Conservation Department.

There were two red-hot issues when Swift took office. One was the invasion of the lamprey eel, which had scuttled the lake-trout fishery, and the fishermen were lobbying for a law permitting them to use fine-mesh nets and claim anything caught in such nets to be a legal fish. Second, north country hunting-camp proprietors bitterly resented the conservation department's plan to kill off a percentage of Wisconsin's deer herd in order to save it.

This was necessary because there wasn't enough natural food for all Wisconsin's deer, so all deer were threatened with starvation. The department figured the only way to save the herd was to thin it, but thinning it, in the minds of the hunting-camp proprietors, meant fewer targets. And fewer targets meant less customers. One of the most influential resort owners in the north country came storming into Madison.

"Our deer are more important to us than you are, Swift," he said. "I'm warning you. If you insist on ramming a deer-killing program down our throats, I'm going to get you if it takes every penny I own and every dollar I can borrow."

"Look," Swift said reasonably, "You've been running a resort for maybe 30 years. Right here in my office there's a fellow been studying deer, scientifically, for as long as you've been in the resort business. Now if he told you how to run your resort, you'd laugh in his face. But when you come here, you're trying to tell him you know more about deer than he does."

"Maybe I do," the resort man said, unmoved. "I'm warning you. You prune that herd, and we won't rest till we get you fired."

The man left and Swift sighed. It was Soltis all over again; this time with political complications. The legislators committed to the fishermen and those committed to the resort men were all set to do a little log-rolling at the expense of the State conservation department. They'd vote for each other's bills and, meanwhile, try to cut the department down to size. Already they were reportedly cooking up a bill to support the public parks out of funds received through the sale of hunting and fishing licenses—funds which Swift's department then received and which it desperately needed. Further, the bill would reduce the department's cut of the State's general fund.

Accordingly, Swift found a friend in the legislature and got him to offer a bill that would support the public parks through an increase in real estate taxes. This thought so horrified the legislature that a hasty truce was arranged. They promised that hunting and fishing license funds would remain in Swift's department, and the department's cut of the general funds would be increased if only that real estate tax bill would be quietly forgotten.

All this was very well, but Swift had no intention of fighting one battle and calling it a war. He had the department prepare 24 conservation bills, and Sprecher went to the floor to fight them through. It went as planned. The legislators were kept so busy considering Swift's bills they never got around to those favored by the would-be fish thieves and deer-starvers. Instead, the legislature was maneuvered into passing 19 of the 24 bills Swift proposed.

In the 3 legislative sessions held during Swift's directorship, he and Sprecher got 79 out of 100 bills made into law—by far the best record of any government department with any legislature. * * *

* * * * *

Among other things, Swift's audits disclosed that the department operated several trout hatcheries so inefficiently that fingerlings were costing the State $4 each. The inefficient hatcheries were closed. * * *

* * * * *

The Federal Government had been dickering for Swift's service for years before 1954, when President Eisenhower's men asked Swift to quit the minors and join the big league in Washington. There was a newly created job tailored specifically for Swift in the Fish and Wildlife Service—that of Assistant Director. Under it, Swift would not only help form policy but see it carried out, and act as liaison man between the Federal Government and the States. * * *

* * * * *

As the months wore on, it became apparent to Swift that he and John L. Farley, Director of Fish and Wildlife Service, held different philosophies.

Swift couldn't stomach the granting of oil leases in public wildlife refuges and he said so. He told it to his superiors, and to anybody else in earshot.

Most important, he flatly refused, when ordered to do so, to compose a memorandum that would nullify all the Federal rules which make it illegal to bait ducks.

The story is interesting and ugly. The fact is, our duck population is so small that shooting over baited grounds would seriously deplete it. Hence, it's against Federal (and Canadian) law to bait duck. Rich men's gun clubs in Ohio, Maryland, and California want that law changed. In plain words, their politically potent members want a better chance for a bird than the chance granted any plain Joe.

One day Farley made a speech to conservation groups pledging the Federal duck-baiting regulations would be upheld. Two days later he called Swift into the office and told him to draw up a memorandum for Farley to sign—a memorandum so worded as to make enforcement of the regulations practically impossible. Swift pointblank refused to have anything to do with it, and the memorandum was prepared by someone else in the office.

"If you sign this after what you promised those people," Swift told Farley with unconcealed anger, "you better buy a one-way ticket to China, because they're going to come shooting."

It is to Farley's credit that the memorandum remained unsigned, for the political pressure on him was immense.

At this point, Swift, who'd been feeling that he was in the position of a quarterback who had been ordered by the coach to throw the game, resigned his Federal job. He was immediately offered another, also especially created for him, as executive director of the National Wildlife Federation. Swift accepted eagerly, feeling certain that he could do more good as spokesman for 3 million sportsmen and conservationists than he could do in any of the top Federal jobs.

He's had the job less than 2 years now, and already it's borne fruit. As all sportsmen know, the military has always acted as if game laws didn't apply to military reservations, much as the mobsters of Swift's youth didn't think game laws applied to them. Swift, as federation director, kept sniping mercilessly at the Pentagon and a year ago last March the Pentagon ran up the white flag. Henceforth, the brass told Swift, the military will obey conservation laws and practices on its reservations.

The oil-lease giveaway battle isn't over by a long shot, as far as Swift is concerned. And he's still watchful for a return of the baiting issue, which will come back as surely as the ducks themselves. But Ernie Swift feels that he's now in the best possible position to carry out his lifelong aim—the protection of America's wildlife.

Seven Hundred and Ninety-four Country Editors Tell How They Would Vote if They Were in Their Congressman's Shoes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the American Press, an independent magazine for hometown newspapers, recently took a poll of opinion among weekly newspaper editors of the Nation upon 20 issues of national interest.

A total of 794 editors responded. Since most of these editors live in small cities of from 2,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, and are close to the public of their communities, it seems to me they institute one of the most reliable soundingboards of present public opinion on national issues.

The poll of editorial opinion made by the American Press is therefore most interesting and informative.

Under unanimous consent I include this poll of opinion in the RECORD to provide all Members a chance to study it.

The American Press poll of editorial opinion, together with that magazine's article explaining it, follows:

SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-FOUR COUNTRY EDITORS TELL HOW THEY WOULD VOTE IF THEY WERE IN THEIR CONGRESSMAN'S SHOES

Seven hundred and ninety-four country newspaper editors, at the request of the American Press, have taken time to give their views on 20 questions of outstanding national interest in order that you will have an overall picture of "grassroots" sentiment on these vital issues.

There is no doubt among most Congressmen that the country editor does reflect grassroots sentiment. Without his help, it is often difficult to know what the rural half of America is thinking.

The American Press has tabulated the "votes" of the country editors on these issues in order to give you a quick method of knowing how the editors of the North, South, East, and West would vote if they were "in your shoes."

In addition, in this issue we have included hundreds of comments which will help you to see why the editors vote as they do.

We hope this study will be helpful to you as well as to America.

Below we are giving the 22 questions included in our survey as well as the answers of the editors to them. All replies are grouped according to the section of the country in which the editors live. One hundred and thirty-five of the replies are from the Northeastern States, 207 from the South, 329 from the North Central States and 123 from the West.

MIDDLE EAST AUTHORITY

Question 1. President Eisenhower has asked Congress to authorize him to use United States forces, if he considers it necessary to stop any Communist aggression against countries in the Middle East. Do you think he should be given this authority?

[Percent]

	Northeast	South	North Central	West	Total
Yes	80	66	70	74	71
No	19	31	29	25	27
No answer	1	3	1	1	2

FOREIGN AID

Question 2: During recent years Congress has appropriated about $4 billion each year for countries in other parts of the world, to help prevent their going communistic. Do you think Congress should appropriate more, less, or the same amount for the coming year?

[Percent]

	Northeast	South	North Central	West	Total
More	7	4	7	8	6
Less	52	66	64	64	63
Same	34	24	25	24	26
No answer	7	6	4	4	5

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

Question 3: Do you want to see John Foster Dulles continue as Secretary of State?

[Percent]

	Northeast	South	North Central	West	Total
Yes	67	47	59	51	57
No	29	46	35	41	38
No answer	4	7	6	8	5

SOIL BANK

Question 4: Do you think the soil bank plan should (a) be left as is; (b) extended to cover drought relief, flood relief, or credit needs; or (c) eliminated?

[Percent]

	Northeast	South	North Central	West	Total
Left as is	45	36	42	44	42
Extended	29	31	33	36	33
Eliminated	22	25	22	15	22
No answer	4	8	1	5	3

FARM PRICE SUPPORTS

Question 5: Do you favor or oppose a bill which would return Federal price supports to a fixed 90 percent of parity for the basic crops?

[Percent]

	Northeast	South	North Central	West	Total
Favor	11	32	22	18	22
Oppose	85	63	76	78	74
No answer	4	5	2	4	4

CORPORATION TAXES

Question 6: At present, corporations taxes are 30 percent on the first $25,000 of profit and 52 percent on profits above $25,000. Unless Congress extends the legislation establishing this tax, it will drop to 25 percent and 47 percent on April 1, with a loss in revenue of around $2 billion. Which of the following actions would you advise Congress to take: (a) Extend the 30 percent and 52 percent for another year? (b) Let the tax automatically drop to 25 percent and 47 percent? Continue the 52 percent but reduce the tax on the first $25,000 to 25 percent?

[Percent]

	Northeast	South	North Central	West	Total
Extend	28	30	38	25	32
Let drop	35	40	29	38	35
Cut on $25,000	35	26	28	33	29
No answer	2	4	5	4	4

INCREASE EXEMPTION

Question 7: A bill has been offered to increase the present $600 individual income-tax exemption to $700. It is estimated that a $100 increase would cost $2.4 billion in revenue. Do you think the exemption should be increased?

[Percent]

	Northeast	South	North Central	West	Total
Yes	54	66	63	59	62
No	45	32	37	39	37
No answer	1	2		2	1

TAX ON DIVIDENDS

Question 8: Do you think corporations should be exempt from taxation on the portion of their earnings which is distributed as dividends and upon which the individual shareholders pay taxes?

[Percent]

	Northeast	South	North Central	West	Total
Yes	74	72	70	59	69
No	25	25	28	38	28
No answer	1	3	2	3	3

TAX ON COOPERATIVES

Question 9: Bills have been introduced in Congress requiring that cooperative corporations and savings and loan associations be subject to Federal income taxation in the same manner as other business corporations. Would you favor such legislation?

[Percent]

	Northeast	South	North Central	West	Total
Yes	86	82	89	84	86
No	13	16	9	11	12
No answer	1	2	2	5	2

DEBT REDUCTION

Question 10: If Congress should cut items in the budget by say $2 billion, would you

suggest that taxes be cut by that amount or that this potential surplus be used to reduce the national debt?

[Percent]

	North-east	South	North Central	West	Total
Cut taxes	24	20	23	24	25
Reduce debt	70	66	74	68	70
Both	3	2	2	3	2
No answer	3	3	1	5	3

SOCIAL SECURITY

Question 11: At present, most people over 65 cannot collect social security pensions if they earn over $1,200 a year. Would you favor eliminating this restriction?

[Percent]

	North-east	South	North Central	West	Total
Yes	66	64	57	74	63
No	30	29	39	25	33
Increase	3	3	3	1	2
No answer	1	4	1		2

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

Question 12: A bill has been introduced calling for an appropriation of a minimum of $600 million a year for 5 years to be used to speed school construction. Do you favor such a program?

[Percent]

	North-east	South	North Central	West	Total
Yes	55	41	43	46	45
No	45	55	57	50	53
No answer		4		4	2

SEGREGATION PROVISION

Question 13: If a school-aid bill is passed, do you think it should include a provision denying aid to areas in which schools are segregated?

[Percent]

	North-east	South	North Central	West	Total
Yes	41	17	38	45	34
No	56	78	59	49	62
No answer	3	5	3	6	4

FEDERAL SCHOLARSHIPS

Question 14: Federal scholarships, to help 100,000 students with ability, but who can't afford college, to have a college education, are expected to be proposed to Congress. Are you for or against such Federal scholarships?

[Percent]

	North-east	South	North Central	West	Total
For	49	40	38	46	42
Against	46	57	60	53	55
No answer	5	3	2	1	3

CURB ON FILIBUSTER

Question 15: In order to curb filibustering, the Senate may consider a rule change so that a simple majority, instead of a two-thirds majority, can call for an end to discussion. Do you favor such a curb on filibustering?

[Percent]

	North-east	South	North Central	West	Total
Yes	79	36	75	68	64
No	20	60	23	30	34
No answer	1	2	2	2	2

VICE-PRESIDENTIAL DUTIES

Question 16. Would you favor giving the Vice President specific executive duties and relieve him of his job of presiding over the Senate?

[Percent]

	North-east	South	North Central	West	Total
Yes	71	58	64	59	63
No	24	38	32	37	33
No answer	5	4	4	4	4

POSTAGE RATES

Question 17: Would you favor legislation to increase first-class postal rates to 5 cents, with the provision that letters would automatically be sent by airmail to localities where airmail would be faster?

[Percent]

	North-east	South	North Central	West	Total
Yes	40	34	39	48	39
No	60	64	60	50	60
No answer		2	1	2	1

POST OFFICE SUBSIDY

Question 18: Do you feel that the Post Office should set rates based on paying its own way—or continue to be subsidized by taxes?

[Percent]

	North-east	South	North Central	West	Total
Pay way	55	45	49	58	50
Subsidize	42	51	49	35	46
No answer	3	4	2	7	4

DRAFT PERIOD

Question 19: Would you favor lowering the present draft period of 2 years to 18 months?

[Percent]

	North-east	South	North Central	West	Total
Yes	40	48	51	46	48
No	50	44	42	48	45
No answer	10	8	7	6	7

PAY AS YOU SEE TV

Question 20: The Federal Communications Commission has been asked to rule on whether television stations can broadcast pay-as-you-see programs, whereby owners of TV sets would pay to see those programs if they were interested. This, of course, would be in addition to regular free programs paid for by commercial advertisers. Do you think the FCC should approve pay-as-you-see television?

[Percent]

	North-east	South	North Central	West	Total
Yes	55	41	51	55	50
No	43	50	43	36	43
No answer	2	9	6	9	7

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Commercial interests favoring "Pay as you see" television and commercial interests opposing it have both objected to the wording of the above question. Each feels that the question fails to make its case clear. Because this is a vital decision to be made by the FCC, The American Press plans to make another survey on this subject, presenting the arguments on both sides, and asking editors to vote after reading the pros and cons.

Control of Fairbanks, Morse Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been drawn to the possible effect of a proxy fight for control of Fairbanks, Morse Co., one of the oldest, successful industrial companies in Illinois, headed by Robert H. Morse, Jr., a distinguished Illinois citizen whose family founded the company. This proxy fight and its possible results are of great public interest in my State. One of the company's principal operating plants and several thousand of its employees reside in Illinois and its main office is in Chicago.

In its campaign to take over control of Fairbanks, Morse Co., Penn-Texas Co., a holding company for Leopold Silberstein, has resorted to newspaper advertisements directed to officers and employees of the company. There is normally no harm in using such ads to get a message over to readers of the press, but many of the particular persons to whom these ads are directed are legally protected against improper representations as stockholders of Fairbanks, Morse Co., under its employees stock purchase plan.

The advertisements are of questionable legality, because Securities and Exchange Commission rules prohibit the solicitation of proxies through the use of advertisements or other communications containing predictions as to future market values, earnings, or dividends which may mislead stockholders into giving up their proxies.

It is also illegal under the SEC rules to make claims prior to a stockholders meeting regarding the results of solicitation of proxies. But these rules seem to have had little effect in the campaign by Penn-Texas Co. to take over the management of the long-established and conservatively managed Fairbanks, Morse Co.

The local advertising used in every State where Fairbanks, Morse plants are located has sought to reassure the officers and employees that their jobs will be secure under Penn-Texas management. The advertisements make vague references to Penn-Texas' financial condition by citing the gross 1956 sales figures for the several companies it controls, but omits even a general statement of earnings for the same period. Gross sales is no measure of a company's financial position. Mr. Silberstein has been repeatedly challenged by Mr. Morse, president of Fairbanks, Morse Co., to publish the Penn-Texas operating statement for 1956 but has thus far responded only with a promise to issue an earnings statement in the future. There is no assurance that any earnings statement will be issued before Fairbanks, Morse shareholders are asked to vote upon the management for the future. Fairbanks, Morse Co. enjoys excellent employee and stockholder relations. The only con-

celvable purpose of the advertisement used by Mr. Silberstein is to create friction and misunderstanding to the detriment of the Fairbanks, Morse Co.

What does it matter that Penn-Texas seeks to control Fairbanks, Morse and why should Congress be interested. But it does matter, and Congress should be interested.

During the twenties the acquisition of control of sound companies by large holding companies resulted in extensive losses to public securities holders and employees. The abuses of the twenties were intended to be controlled by the establishment of the Securities and Exchange Commission and arming it with various statutes, including the power to regulate the solicitation of proxies for companies listed on national exchanges.

The present Fairbanks, Morse proxy struggle for control of the company brings into question whether the various devices used by Penn-Texas disregard the Securities and Exchange Commission rules governing such contests.

It is very significant that on the same day Penn-Texas used the newspaper letter advertisements to officers and employees, Mr. Silberstein publicly claimed that control of Fairbanks, Morse had already been won by Penn-Texas and predicted the company would double its profits under new management by Penn-Texas.

One question of prime interest to Congress in this case is the effect of using foreign sources to finance the stock purchases for Penn-Texas without knowing, or being able to find out who is the real owner of the funds provided. Yesterday, George E. Sokolsky pointed out in his column in the Washington Post and Times Herald that there is a tremendous amount of money loose in the world, some of which is "hot money" going through a process of legitimization. Mr. Sokolsky points out that all of the "hot money" reaches the American borrower from an intermediate legitimate source, such as a Swiss bank or through American banks with such connections. Thus, the borrower has the advantage of an intermediate arrangement which makes it possible for him not to know who the actual beneficiary or rightful owner of the money is.

Acquisitions of shares of Fairbanks, Morse Co. by Silberstein have been arranged behind a cloak of foreign secrecy and possibly intrigue. This raises serious questions as to who may actually be behind the campaign to take over Fairbanks, Morse Co.

It is a matter of great public interest for the SEC to get all the facts as to the identity of persons who originally provided the shares and the arrangements that made them substantial profits by selling to Swiss sources. In turn, it is of prime importance to know whether there were any prior arrangements for sale or contract for sale to Silberstein or Penn-Texas.

These questions are properly subject for SEC inquiry. I am sure the Commission will make a thorough investigation of all of the questions raised in this proxy battle before it permits stockholders to choose the management for Fairbanks, Morse Co. for the next year.

Grave Risks of Fluoridation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an article from the New York World-Telegram of Wednesday, February 20, 1957, by Murray Davis, staff writer, entitled "Three Hundred M. D.'s Warn of Grave Risks in Fluoridation."

The article follows:

THREE HUNDRED M. D.'S WARN OF GRAVE RISKS IN FLUORIDATION

(By Murray Davis)

Fluoridation of drinking water "imposes an extraordinary risk on certain individuals," according to a report made public today by more than 300 medical men.

The report also termed fluoridation "mass medication without precedent" and with possible "mass side reactions."

The statement was directed to Mayor Robert F. Wagner's attention by a 13-member delegation of the medical-dental ad hoc committee on the evaluation of fluoridation. The delegation was headed by Dr. Jonathan Forman, Columbus, Ohio, and included 7 New York men.

The report comes just 2 weeks before the public hearings at city hall March 6 on fluoridating New York's drinking water.

NOT PROPER MEANS

It sets forth: "We, the undersigned, are opposed to the fluoridation of public water supplies. As members of the medical, dental, and related public health professions, we are as concerned as anyone over the prevalence of tooth decay, and as anxious that it be prevented; but each of us * * * believes that fluoridation of public water supplies is not a proper means of attempting such prevention."

The committee listed nine points in its rejection of fluoridation. It pointed to the lack of positive proofs of the safety of fluoridation; the proposed introduction of one part per million of fluoride in drinking water was criticized as in the toxic range. It was also stated that it is the individual's right to govern his teeth rather than that of public officials and that there is need of long-term studies to determine if fluoridation could be an insidious factor in chronic disease.

Other points cited were: The risk fluoridation imposes on some individuals; the mass medication aspect; the use of public water supply as a vehicle for drugs, and the available less hazardous and more efficient ways of obtaining the benefits ascribed to fluoridation.

EXTENSIVE INQUIRY

According to Dr. Forman and Dr. A. Allen London, D. D. S., of Boonton, N. J., the statement is a "strictly professional undertaking and represents the joint efforts of many doctors and scientists in various parts of this country who have conducted an extensive investigation of the facts and other information related to fluoridation."

Besides Drs. Forman and London, the other members of the delegation are Drs. Simon A. Beisler, chief urologist of Roosevelt Hospital; Henry W. Cave, consulting surgeon at Roosevelt and other hospitals; Edward Percy Eglee, specialist in thoracic diseases; Thomas J. Kirwin, urologist at Flower-Fifth Avenue Hospital; and William Coda Martin, geriatrician, associated with Coler Memorial Hospital.

Also Drs. Max Spencer Rhode, urologist, former chief of staff at Bellevue; William Wolf, endrocrinologist; Reuben Feltman, research dentist, Passaic General Hospital, Passaic, N. J.; Clive M. McCay, professor of animal nutrition, Cornell University; James W. Thornton, Manhattan and Mount Vernon dentist, and George L. Waldbott, allergy specialist, from Detroit.

Will the Budget Be Cut?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the RECORD an editorial appearing in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat entitled "Congress Heeds Cry for Economy." I hope there is a real cry for economy from the people and that the Congress will heed it. The day before yesterday I put in the RECORD an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch which intimated that the cry for economy that everybody is talking about is the same old thing, and that as soon as April 15, the deadline for paying taxes, passes Congress will go ahead and vote the same old amounts of appropriations.

Regrettably, the independent offices appropriation bill of 1958, which the editors of the Globe hail as an indication that Congress means business in its economy drive, is an example of how Congress can make itself look like it is economizing more than it really is.

First of all, the pared 1958 budget is still a bigger budget than the 1957 budget. Two items make this so. The 1957 budget contained an item of $525 million for payment into the civil service retirement fund. This item is not in the 1958 budget because under new accounting procedures payment into the civil service retirement fund is spread over all the Government agencies. Actually, to make the 1958 budget of the independent offices comparable with the 1957 budget, $564,210,000 would have to be budgeted for the payment to the civil service retirement fund.

Secondly, the 1958 budget shows a cut of $66,500,000 in compensation and pensions for veterans. These payments must be made in accordance with law and the item in the budget is an estimate of the amounts that will have to be paid. The Veterans' Administration estimated one figure and the Appropriations Committee another figure. If the Appropriations Committee is wrong in its guess, then a supplemental appropriation will be made to make up the difference. There is no saving here.

These two items add up to $630,710,000. Thus what the committee's publicity releases said was a $584,640,126 reduction over the 1957 budget becomes a $46,070,000 increase.

The proposed administration budget for 1958 thus was over one-half billion more than the 1957 budget. The alleged cuts which make up the purported 8.7

percent total $517 million. However, $206,657,700 are items in the Veterans' Administration, which, as pointed out, are not real savings; they are merely different estimates of what the Federal Government is legally liable for under the programs set by law. In other words, the real savings amount to about $300 million made up largely from two items. Ninety million seven hundred thousand dollars from the Civil Defense Administration; $111 million from the GSA strategic and critical material stockpile.

However, the committee does deserve credit for cutting the President's budget 5 percent and this is no mean achievement. I am hopeful that the editors of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat will be proven to be more right about the temper of the people and the Congress than the editors of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and that Congress really will cut the proposed 1958 budget substantially.

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of March 18, 1957]

CONGRESS HEEDS CRY FOR ECONOMY

The American taxpayers' revolt against high Federal spending has begun to make itself felt in the Nation's Capital. This past week the Appropriations Committee of the House pared $516,993,000 from the budget requests of 18 assorted Federal agencies.

They had asked for $5,923,195,000 to spend next year. The cut in their requests came to a sizable 8.7 percent.

Of course, there is no guaranty that the House itself won't restore to them the half-billion dollars that its Appropriations Committee lopped off. But popular feeling is running so high against Washington's free spending that there is good reason to believe these cuts—and others to come—will be sustained.

One of the Federal agencies that went under the committee's knife—the Federal Housing Administration—submitted willingly to surgery. Federal Housing Chief Albert Cole took the initiative by asking that his agency's request be cut by $200 million.

That is the kind of self-sacrifice that taxpayers are not accustomed to seeing in Washington bureaus. Every empire-building impulse encourages these agencies to take on more and more duties, and spend more and more money.

Other victims of the Appropriations Committee's economy drive had to be strapped to the table.

It is worthy of note that this Democratic-controlled committee picked on one of the agencies—the Veterans' Administration—which can stir up the most vocal protest for one of the biggest cuts. The VA had $206 million deleted from its projected spending program for the year.

Since the White House has urged the drive for economy, the chances are that the House hopes to wring as much political ill will out of it for the GOP administration as it can.

In the past, Capitol Hill has often put on a pious pretense of economy by having its committee make spectacular cuts in the budget—only to restore them quietly, and piecemeal, later on.

This time, however, the public is really up in arms over the huge $72 billion Federal spending plan—and the high taxes it takes to support these Federal agencies in the style to which they have become accustomed.

One GOP Senator summed up the national mood like this:

"A few years ago, all you had to do to stir up a crowd was to mention Douglas MacArthur. Now all you have to do is start talking about the budget."

Both Democrats and Republicans alike on Capitol Hill are getting mailbags full of angry letters demanding that Washington quit spending money like a drunken sailor on shore leave. If the people mean it, and let their Senators and Representatives know they mean it, Congress' economy moves won't be just a sham this year, but the real McCoy.

A Martyr Among Taxpayers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, the Nation has had a striking opportunity to witness an outstanding example of confiscatory taxation in the case of Mr. Charles Van Doren, recent winner on a television quiz show. Obviously, the real winner was not Mr. Van Doren, but the Treasury of the United States. The losers, as this example so aptly points out, are the people of the United States who like Mr. Van Doren are denied an opportunity to realize any substantial profit from their efforts. The Van Doren case unfortunately is repeated hundreds of times each year in business and industry. I am including in this extension of my remarks an editorial from the Los Angeles Times of March 13, 1957, which shows how Mr. Van Doren's television earnings were whittled by our confiscatory tax collection system.

The editorial follows:

[From the Los Angeles Times of March 13, 1957]

A MARTYR AMONG TAXPAYERS

So Charles Van Doren got out of the quiz show $129,000 ahead? Ah, no. He will be lucky if he winds up with $30,000 after the tax collectors have plucked him.

But what he loses in money he may gain in honor and saintliness among the oppressed taxpayers. He is their martyr and his loss may help them toward salvation through revision of the tax laws.

A POODLE CLIP

Of course, he is not the first citizen of high income to be clipped like a poodle by the Bureau of Internal Revenue, but he is the first to be shorn in public, a public of 60 million television viewers. Many of these people developed a warm personal interest in the diffident young man. Hearing how the collectors were going to cut him to pieces must have made expropriatory taxation seem personal and even painful to some of them, whereas it had only been an abstraction before.

Now let us watch as they strap Mr. Van Doren to the table to flay him:

He won $129,000 on the quiz show and earns a wage of $4,000 a year at Columbia University; his income is $133,000. The Federal tax collectors allow him $1,000 as a standard deduction and $600 as a personal exemption. That leaves him with a taxable income of $131,400. Schedule I covers his case, and it states that if the amount of income is over $100,000 but not over $150,000, the tax is $67,320 plus 89 percent of the amount in excess of $100,000. The amount in excess is $31,400, and 89 percent of it is $27,946, so the total tax is $95,266, leaving Mr. Van Doren $37,734 of his money after the Federal collectors have wrung him out.

WHAT IS LEFT

Then the State collectors have a go at him. We have no tables of New York income tax rates, but they are somewhat higher than California's. If Mr. Van Doren were a citizen of California, the $37,734 the Federal people left him would be reduced to $31,522. So let us say that in New York his take for what seems likely to be the highest earning year of his life is reduced to about $30,000, a little more than one-fifth of his actual income.

What can Mr. Van Doren do to elude the tax ogres? He can give enough of his income (up to 30 percent) to an appropriate charity, say to his university, and deduct the amount from his total income. If he gave $33,000 of the gross his income would be around $100,000 and the Federal tax on that would be $67,320, leaving him $32,680 before the New York State collectors got him; then he would go back to about $30,000. So the dollars he gave away would be worth nothing to him.

Or, if Mr. Van Doren had not been a sportsman, but was a good judge of his own form, he could have quit when he made $70,000, paid $42,120 in taxes to Uncle Sam, netted almost as much money, and saved wear and tear on his psyche.

NO NEST EGG

Most of the people who watched Mr. Van Doren sweat engagingly through his questionings must agree that it is a shame to take all that money away from a person when this seems to be his only chance to store up a little substance for the good, broad life. If he continues in university teaching he may, with luck, wind up 15 or 20 years from now as a $12,000 to $15,000 a year full professor. What the tax collectors leave him now is twice an annual wage in 1970 or the price of a fair to medium house or a 40-foot yacht, with no nest egg for upkeep on either. And as everybody knows, the money wouldn't keep a wife very long, even if Mr. Van Doren had one.

There is a broader moral, as we suggested in the first place. Taxation of the kind we have been analyzing robs many useful citizens of incentive. A superior surgeon may loaf 2 months of the year because his fees for the extra time would put him in a higher bracket and reduce his net annual income. Society loses and the benefits to a prodigal giveaway Government are slight. Why try harder or work harder, the superior professional may ask himself, if nothing comes of his effort but more aid to France or another Federal dam on the Upper Colorado?

But worst of all is the blighting of the chance of a lifetime, the case of a Van Doren, of an author who writes one great book, of an actor who plays one great part.

The soak-the-rich advocates don't realize that they are very often soaking their own kind, or worse, trying to break everybody down to mediocrity by denying superiority its rewards.

GI Home Roadblock

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, the veterans of my Fifth Florida Congressional District and throughout the Nation are finding themselves stymied in getting mortgage money to build homes because of the interest rate being out of proportion these days. The veterans want homes for their growing families and

they want them now, not years from now when their children will be grown. In this connection, I would like to offer an editorial from the Orlando Sentinel, Orlando, Fla., of Sunday, March 17, 1957.

The editorial follows:

GI HOME ROADBLOCK

Some of the professional veterans' organization lobbyists are telling the Congress, "Don't raise interest rates on home loans to the boys who bled for our country."

This sort of summer patriotism doesn't mean a thing to former soldiers, sailors, and marines.

They know that if they don't pay competitive prices for money they won't get loans and without loans they won't have homes.

Actually what these paid lobbyists are saying is, "Stop building GI homes."

That isn't what the veterans want.

They want places to live and raise their families.

Congress should raise interest rates on VA loans to at least 5 percent at once. If it doesn't, a program which has built 5.5 million homes in the United States with less than 1 percent loss will die. And with it will die many a lumber yard, concrete block plant, plumbing outfit, as well as a labor payroll bigger than any other in Florida.

Correct Posture Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following joint resolution recommended by the National Chiropractic Association that the week of May 1 to 7 each year be designated as Correct Posture Week:

Joint resolution designating the period beginning May 1 and ending May 7 of each year as Correct Posture Week

Whereas clinical and statistical evidence proves conclusively that correct posture in childhood and in maturity has a great and beneficial effect on the health of the individual and thus on the collective health of the Nation; and

Whereas it is self-evident that the general welfare of the people of the United States, both in peace and war, is best served by promoting a general high level of good health in the Nation; and

Whereas it has been adequately demonstrated that habits of correct posture can be readily acquired through self-discipline of the individual when properly instructed; and

Whereas for many years the first week of May has been sponsored by the Nation's chiropractic profession and observed unofficially as Correct Posture Week, with special educational campaigns conducted through schools, social and fraternal organizations, professional groups, and other media of information: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, etc., That the period beginning May 1 and ending May 7 of each year is hereby designated as Correct Posture Week. The President is authorized and requested to issue annually a proclamation calling upon schools, social organizations, and professional groups to cooperate in the observance of such week by conducting educational campaigns to provide instruction in the acquisition of habits of correct posture and to demonstrate the beneficial effect of correct posture on health.

Get the Government Out of Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 20, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, generally when people think of getting the Government out of competition with private industry, they think of the large plants operated by the Government during the war years and since the war. We have heard a great deal of bragging both from the Congress and the executive branch on how many businesses and how many enterprises out of which we have taken the Government.

There is no one, however, who brags about the fact that a serious effort has been made to get the Government out of competition with one of the most important of all industries, the printing industry. Everyone complains because the Post Office Department shows a tremendous deficit and yet one of the things that contributes so much to that deficit is the Post Office Department selling printed envelopes and carrying on a printing business in competition with the printing industries of America at a price that is far below the actual cost of operating that business.

As in previous years, I am today introducing a bill to remove the Post Office Department from competition with private industry with respect to the printing of names and addresses and advertising on envelopes sold by the Postal Department. It will prohibit the furnishing or sale by the Department to the public of envelopes having any printing thereon other than the simple words "return to" and the three blank lines, which can be kept in stock in each post office and sold for the convenience of those desiring to purchase such envelopes, as well as serving a purpose to the Postal Department in reminding the sender to place a return address on such envelope.

There probably was a time in the early history of this country when communities were new, when services had not caught up with the western movement and when printing facilities were not what they are today, when it may have been necessary for the Post Office Department to go into the job-printing business. That time has long since passed, that time ceased to exist with the invention of modern job-printing equipment, and with the installations of modern printing equipment in almost every job-printing shop across the land. Today the Federal Government is maintaining this outmoded monstrosity at a terrific subsidy to those who are using the service and in unfair competition to the job-printing shops across the Nation who are attempting to pay their taxes, maintain a business, and, in short, build a nation based upon individual initiative and private industry.

Under the guise of public service, the Postal Department accepts and fills orders for stamped or plain envelopes with the names and addresses of individuals, businessmen, or firms printed thereon. The actual printing is done by a single contractor, although competitive bids are invited in the letting of this contract, the last time there was a competitive bid was in 1928 when the present contractor, the International Envelope Co., received its present contract.

This printing contract which eliminates all competitors could be overlooked, were this the only abuse in this program. More serious, however, is the fact that the Department for years has been furnishing and selling the printed envelopes at a considerable loss. In one recent year when the Department handled 538,000 orders for sale of 1 billion envelopes, 26 clerks at an aggregate salary of $101,000 were required just to process the orders. This does not take into account the fact that every postmaster in every small post office across the land is required to take time out from his postal duties to take order, complete the forms, mail them into the Regional Office, and then when the shipment of printed envelopes finally arrives back in his office, he is required to notify the firm receiving the envelopes, take time that should be used in processing the mails to make delivery, make reports, collect and transmit the funds, and what not. It is not only a waste of valuable time, it is a waste of valuable effort, and another yard in the redtape of the Postal Department.

YARDSTICK

Another serious result of Government competition in printing is the fact that at present rates, the Government is printing 500 envelopes and charging $1 for such printing. The standard price for printing those envelopes in a commercial shop would be about $4 or $5, depending upon the locality in which the shop is located. There is no private shop that can pay overhead, taxes, and employment charges and compete with $1 printing. The result is that the Postal Department is thus establishing a yardstick on the price of printed envelopes, a yardstick that cannot be met by private enterprise. Discontinuance of this program is the only remedy which will permit the small job-printing businessman to come in and compete fairly for his business.

Obviously the Post Office Department with its tremendous volume of business, its thousands of outlets and vast assets can command far lower prices in obtaining printed material than any small printer coud offer. Because of this, the Department will always be in a position to have envelopes printed and sell them to the public at prices which the small printer cannot meet.

Through this program the Government has established a price yardstick, a yardstick by which prices of private industry to consumers are measured and compared with the prices of Government to the consumer. The public feels that

because the Government can do the job so much more cheaply, that the local printer is gouging the consumer, since his prices are so much higher than Government prices.

FREE PRINTING

The plant of the International Envelope Co. is located at Toledo, Ohio. Here the printing is done on envelopes at the rate of $1 per 500. Printed envelopes are delivered to a customer in Los Angeles or Spokane, Wash., at exactly the same price they are delivered to a customer in Toledo. A customer living in South Dakota ordering blank No. 8 envelopes from a paper house in Toledo would pay the Postal Department 82 cents parcel post charges in delivering those blank envelopes. If the same customer orders the envelopes printed by the postal department they are shipped to him free from Toledo, Ohio, which means that the customer is actually paying 18 cents for the printing.

A customer in Los Angeles would pay $1 parcel post charges to have 500 blank envelopes shipped to him from Toledo, whereas if they are printed by the postal department they are shipped to him free. The postal department has either lost a dollar or has had the printing done free, since the additional charge for such printing was $1.

SUMMARY

This is what Government does when it competes with private industry. You probably ask why has this monstrosity been permitted all of these years? The answer is that the Post Office Department's customers are businessmen scattered throughout the United States who like the present system, not because it is in anywise a good business venture, not because it is fair in any respect to private industry, not because it reduces Government or Government expenditures, but simply because it is convenient and cheaper for them.

Here—at a time when the Government is boasting of getting out of business, here at a time when the postal department is operating at a tremendous deficit, here at a time when there is an outcry for increased postal rates to reduce postal deficits, here, then, is the time and place to cut out a useless function costing the taxpayer millions of dollars a year, causing the postal department millions of yards of additional redtape; here is the place to use the ax.

Governor Extols Florida Horizons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article by Max K. Gilstrap which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of Tuesday, March 19, 1957. The article, entitled "Governor Extols Florida Horizons," calls further national attention to the spectacular growth of the Sunshine State and to its able and respected Governor, LeRoy Collins.

Governor Collins has completed a highly successful 2-year term as Governor of Florida, and is now beginning a full 4-year term to which he was elected by an overwhelming vote last November. Last May Governor Collins made Florida history by becoming the first candidate for Democratic nomination to the governorship to win by a clear majority in the first primary without the need for a runoff election. The article follows:

GOVERNOR EXTOLS FLORIDA HORIZON

(By Max K. Gilstrap)

TALLAHASSEE, FLA.—Sweeping the floor as a young grocery clerk, Gov. LeRoy Collins, Democrat, of Florida, broke a glass container of gooseliver—a luxury item then costing $1. He bought a loaf of bread, made five sandwiches and jauntily addressed all in the store:

"I know all of you have been looking at these gooseliver jars and wondering how the stuff tastes. Here's your chance to find out for a quarter." He made a profit of 15 cents out of the incident.

This kind of bouncing ingenuity makes genial but hard-driving, rollicking but statesmanlike Governor Collins an ideal chief executive of this State of explosive energies and fast industrial and population growth. He fits in with the ingenious man down the street from his office in the white capitol building who has a sign hoisted over his place: "Oyster bar and filling station." Or with the man in central Florida who started with $1,800 and a dream and built fabulous Cypress Gardens which now welcomes 2,500,000 visitors annually.

STATE POTENTIAL TOUTED

Governor Collins is easy to see in his office if he isn't christening a shrimp boat at St. Augustine or speaking at a citrus festival at Winter Haven or down seeing about enlarging that unique national park in the Everglades.

In recent months the Governor has been roaming beyond the State's boundaries to tout Florida's sunshine, its opportunities for investment capital and new industrial growth. He has concentrated on four States—Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois—which outrank all other regions of the country in sending visitors to the Sunshine State.

The thing that has brought most recognition to the Governor personally in recent months was his forthright exposition of his views on integration in his inaugural address. His ready smile fades and his brown eyes flash in earnestness as he restates and reemphasizes his words. In the Governor's view the United States Supreme Court's decision leaves the American citizen with no other choice than to obey the law.

SUCCESS STORY FAVORED

What Governor Collins and all loyal southerners emphasize, however, is the long tradition of law abidance in the South and the impossibility of a legal ruling changing overnight the attitudes and emotions of long standing. He reminds that the Supreme Court has allowed time as it befits local situations to comply with the ruling. Meanwhile he has decried the use of boycotts, ultimatums, and peremptory demands as a hindrance rather than a help toward achieving gains for the Negro. Such gains might be better sought, he believes, through enlightenment, persuasion, and normal judicial procedures.

Given a moment of relaxation from office chores, Governor Collins enjoys talking about Florida's success story more than anything unless it's playing with his three daughters whose ages range from 6 to 18. A son recently was graduated from Annapolis. Even at the executive mansion or at the Grove, his large home on a wooded hill across from the mansion, the Governor's phone and stream of visitors offer an outlet for his espousal of the State's virtues.

GROWTH BRINGS PROBLEMS

New industry is a favorite topic as is the peacetime uses of nuclear energy he is helping promote as chairman of the Southern Regional Education Board.

Into Florida, the Governor effuses, come 500 new citizens a day—75 percent of whom move in from other States. Five years ago Florida ranked 20th in population among the States. Today Florida is pressing hard for 13th place. Based upon existing trends, Florida will be 8th in population among the States by 1960. Now the population is 3,700,000. In less than 4 years it is expected to pass 5 million.

With the flood of people has come a flood of problems. Plant expansion is urgent to take care of basic needs. More highways are needed to accommodate the highest rate of traffic increase in the Nation. Schools must be built to take care of enrollments that are increasing at the rate of 80,000 additional students a year. College enrollment is leaping ahead at a record rate.

All of this means two things, as Governor Collins realistically explains. Florida is a land of opportunity but anyone who comes here for full-time or part-time living should have a plan of action. Jobs are opening up but not as fast as people are moving in. Starting a business here takes about as much capital and experience as it does elsewhere.

Even a Florida booster as exuberant as Governor Collins advises the would-be settler to come down and look around to see what's happening to Florida before making a decision. And happiness here, the Governor reminds, depends largely, as it does elsewhere, on what the visitor brings with him in outlook as well as ability.

If There Is Fat on the Budget, the President Put It There

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable comment here in Congress and across the country concerning the record high peacetime budget that the President has recommended. We in the Second District of Texas want a dollar's worth of good government for every dollar we pay in taxes, and I am sure most of the people of this country feel the same way.

Under the Democratic leadership here in the House of Representatives, we have sent a resolution to President Eisenhower asking him to indicate the places and amounts he thinks substantial reductions can best be made in his budget. Unfortunately this effort to eliminate nonessential spending by the Federal Government has been recklessly called politics by some people and buckpassing by others.

Personally, I do not think it is asking too much to expect the Republican administration and Mr. Eisenhower to work together with Congress in trying to save

money. People have worked for the money which is collected by the Treasury Department and every dime of it represents time used up in somebody's life. I do not believe it is either politics or buckpassing to try to trim any fat out of a budget totaling more than $70 billion.

The Beaumont Enterprise, in an editorial dated March 14, 1957, puts the case for efficiency and economy squarely before us by stating:

If there is fat on the budget, the President put it there. Now let him show Congress where it is.

I would like to include the entire editorial in today's RECORD so that all Members of the House may have an opportunity to study it:

A REASONABLE REQUEST

The National House of Representatives, through a resolution it has just adopted, seeks to put the matter of cutting President Eisenhower's mammoth budget right back in the lap of the President himself.

We don't blame them.

There may be, of course, a good bit of buck passing involved on the part of the lawmakers, but it must be remembered that the original buck passing was initiated by Mr. Eisenhower.

The resolution does not go to the Senate since it is only an expression of House opinion. The President doesn't have to sign it; in fact, doesn't have to pay any attention to it at all. But the White House cannot wisely brush it off as being insignificant.

The resolution calls on the Chief Executive to point out where "substantial reductions" can be made in his record peacetime outlay.

He certainly cannot object to congressional efforts to get some cutting done, because he has advised that very thing. But we doubt that he is pleased with the effort to give the budget back to the one who is responsible for it in the beginning.

Many have thought it a bit ridiculous to have Mr. Eisenhower and his Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey, calling for budget trimming when they were the top architects. A lot of Americans can't understand why the spending proposals were not worked down to basic essentials in the beginning—proposals that the executive branch would feel compelled to battle for to the last ditch.

It is unfortunate, of course, that the House action has some political overtones, it having been taken over almost solid Republican opposition. This GOP attitude would seem a little strange, since some of the loudest cries of anguish over the size of the spending outlay have come from Republican lawmakers and from industrial and business organizations that are pretty much run by Republicans.

But, in an apparent effort to offset the House action, the conference of Republican Senators approved on the same night a resolution calling on Congress to cut the President's budget "wherever possible consistent with the security of national defense."

The resolution sent the President says his budget must be cut "in the public interest" and requests him to "indicate the places and amounts where he thinks substantial reductions may best be made."

We don't think the request is unreasonable.

Mr. Eisenhower certainly should know a lot more how to go about it than does the average Member of Congress. He certainly should have a better picture of the country's spending needs than do most of the lawmakers, especially in the vital field of national defense.

If there is fat on the budget, the President put it there.

Now let him show Congress where it is.

California Taxpayers' Association Endorses Trinity River Project Partnership Development Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a letter from the executive committee of the California Taxpayers' Association enclosing a resolution endorsing the proposal that private enterprise develop the hydro-electric-power facilities of the Trinity River project in California.

If Congress approves the proposal presented by the Pacific & Electric Co. to construct, operate, and maintain the powerplants on the Trinity River project, it will mean a savings in capital outlay to the taxpayers of $55.5 million.

In addition, payments by the company to the Federal Government for the purchase of falling water will result in a return to the Federal Government of $165 million over the 50-year project period. During this same period, the company will make tax payments to Federal, State, and local governments amounting to an estimated aggregate total of $145.6 million.

Those are the figures contained in the proposal submitted by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. Secretary of the Interior Seaton on February 12, 1957, recommended to the Congress that this proposal by the private utility company be approved. The project is estimated to cost a total of $225 million. The savings to taxpayers and income to governmental agencies from tax revenues make this partnership plan a sound business venture. If we of the Congress are interested in reducing the Federal budget, here is an opportunity to save $55½ million and give to 90 percent of the power consumers of northern California the benefit of this project.

The purpose of the California Taxpayers' Association is "to aid in bringing about, through nonpartisan and nonpolitical means, the greatest possible economies consistent with efficiency in the expenditure of public moneys throughout California."

The resolution adopted by its executive committee on March 8, 1957, is as follows:

CALIFORNIA TAXPAYERS' ASSOCIATION,
Los Angeles, Calif., March 8, 1957.

TRINITY PROJECT AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

The executive committee of California Taxpayers' Association, at its March 6 meeting in Los Angeles, endorsed the proposal that private enterprise construct and pay for the power facilities on the Trinity project, and market the power over the private corporation's transmission lines, in the following resolution:

"Whereas the Hoover Commission has recommended that Federal Government activities which are competitive with private enterprise be eliminated; and

"Whereas with respect to the power component of new multiple-purpose waterpower projects of the Federal Government, the Hoover Commission has specifically recommended:

"'No. 15 (a) That private enterprise be offered the opportunity to provide the capital for the electrical component of multiple-purpose dams and dispose of the power through their own systems (they being subject to regulation of rates by Federal and State authorities) * * *'; and

"Whereas the President of the United States has proposed that there be a joint or 'partnership' principle with regard to development of water and power projects and this principle was endorsed by the board of directors of California Taxpayers' Association on May 12, 1955; and

"Whereas in line with these principles a private corporation has proposed to construct and pay for the power facilities on the Trinity project, including paying for the use of the falling water used to generate power, as well as to market the power over the private corporation's transmission lines throughout its service territory under rates fixed by the California Public Utilities Commission; and

"Whereas the United States Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Fred A. Seaton, on February 12, 1957, recommended to the Congress that it approve this proposal; and

"Whereas instead of a Federal subsidy or added Federal costs, a savings to taxpayers of some $55 million in the initial cost of construction, which cost would be carried by private enterprise, is evident; and

"Whereas under private ownership, over a 50-year period, it is estimated that some $145,600,000 of taxes which would otherwise have to come from other taxpayers would be paid by private enterprise for the support of Federal and local governments: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the executive committee of California Taxpayers' Association endorses the proposal of private enterprise to construct and pay for the power facilities at the Trinity project and to distribute such power over its transmission lines to consumers in its service territory under rates fixed by the California Public Utilities Commission."

Thousands Greet Weaver's Champs—Connecticut Rules Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I think it is particularly appropriate that I include this article describing the outstanding victory scored by Weaver High School, of Hartford, Conn., in the New England schoolboy tournament. I am very proud that a team from my district has established such a truly remarkable record. In the athletic annals of Hartford, Conn., this is a historic occasion:

THOUSANDS GREET WEAVER'S CHAMPS—CONNECTICUT RULES AGAIN

(By Don Clerkin)

Weaver's heart-stopping 85–73 win Saturday over Lawrence Central Catholic in the New England schoolboy tournament proves one thing: Connecticut teams are still pretty much the cream of the crop in the post-season payoff.

Certainly none of the teams that took part in the tourney at the Boston Garden, with the exception of the Lawrence team, came anywhere near several Connecticut teams, with at least one, Springfield, Vt., on a par with B clubs.

Rhode Island, which in recent years has presented some formidable entries, had a weak sister in LaSalle Academy, first-round loser to Weaver. Assumption Prep, of Worcester, bounced by Hillhouse on the opening night, was simply outclassed, but presented a topflight performer in Jack Foley, who would be welcome on any State team.

The other two teams, Manchester, N. H., Central, and Old Town, Maine, were very similar in style and ability, plenty of running and shooting, but practically no defense. Hence the record-breaking 90–82 "circus" won by Central.

The final game, beyond a doubt, featured the best teams. Lawrence Central, well rested through easy wins over Springfield and Manchester Central, certainly won many friends in going down to the bitter loss. It could well be that no other team in New England other than Weaver could have dumped the Bay Staters.

So it's safe to assume, especially in view of Weaver's magnificent win and Hillhouse's good showing, that this State will continue to be dominant at the Garden in years to come. That is unless the other States make great strides in a short time to close the gap.

Actually, Weaver returned the title to this State. Durfee High, of Massachusetts, winning it last year. Roger Ludlowe, of Fairfield, was the last Connecticut team to hold it, 1955.

The champs, of course, will be a long time (if ever) forgetting the great win over Lawrence. And few will ever duplicate Johnny Egan's play in the final seconds of regulation time and during the overtime session when the northenders blew it open.

Immediately following the game, the team, in company with school officials, newspapermen and close followers down a huge meal while shaking off the effects of a game never to be forgotten. All agreed that it was a fine Lawrence Central team which finally folded as the Beavers won going away.

Coach Charley Horvath, proud but still humble, told the gatherers of a well wisher who reached him en route to the dressing-room.

"I'm from Maine, and I just wanted to tell you what a great job you and your team did," the man told Charley. "Yes, sir; your teams have been good for years. Nice job, Mr. Bender." What did Horvath reply? "Thank you very much."

"Mr. Bender" is the coach of the Hillhouse team that bowed in the semifinal.

Egan was asked what Don Tremblay, of Lawrence, had said to him after he shoved Egan intentionally as the Weaver star sped for the basket with four seconds remaining in the game.

"He said he was sorry," Johnny explained. Then he told me that someone had shoved him in the game the night before. Asked about his injured leg, the good-looking youngster smiled and said he had forgotten all about it.

By winning the title, Weaver gave this State its 21st in the 33 tournaments that have been played. Nutmeg State teams have won its 7 of the last 8 years. None, probably, was any tastier than the Beavers' achievement.

In Tremblay, Lawrence Central Catholic showed a great little competitor. He made his team a fine one with deft ball handling and the ability to come up with the clutch points if needed. He was equally as capable on defense. Tom Moynihan and Jack Twomey were top performers, with the former nearly pulling his team through with his rebound basket to shove the losers ahead, 64–62, with time running out.

But Weaver wasn't to be denied. Especially with a kid like Egan around to convert 2 foul shots with 4 seconds left and 12 points in the overtime session. All while about 11,000 Garden fans howled in disbelief.

And so it's over. The 1955–56 season has come to a close. But not for Weaver and its many fans. With 24 straight wins, a New England title, Connecticut championship, CDC crown and a city title—how could anyone forget?

About 700 were on hand when the winners arrived home late Sunday afternoon. Police met the team at the Charter Oak Bridge and escorted the champs to the school where enthusiastic fans besieged the team and coaches.

Egan, who was to be mobbed as the welcome wore on, led the team off the bus to the cheers of all on hand. Each player finally reached the sanctuary of the school where the gear was deposited and then everyone went home weary, but very happy.

Hillhouse of New Haven, the Connecticut runnerup, defeated Manchester (N. H.) Central, 42–38, in the consolation game for third place.

Weaver	FG	F	Pt	Lawrence Cen.	FG	F	Pt
Countryman, f	2	3	7	Tremblay	4	14	22
Thomas	0	0	0	Moynihan, g	7	6	20
McBride	5	4	4	Court'che, c	3	0	6
Littman	2	1	5	Koza	5	1	11
Sullivan, c	7	7	21	Regan, f	3	2	8
Egan, g	13	10	36	Zolubos	0	0	0
Carter	0	2	2	Twomey	2	2	6
Total	29	27	85	Total	24	25	73

Score at half time: 27–27, tie.

Hillhouse	B	F	Pt	Manchester	B	F	Pt
Beck, f	4	3	11	Sarette, f	6	2	14
Davis	0	0	0	Harlan	3	3	9
Reid	0	0	0	Parsons, c	1	3	5
Swirsky	0	0	0	Parker, g	1	1	3
Tyson	1	0	2	Bussiere	1	5	7
Campbell, c	4	1	9				
Tullo, g	5	2	12				
Brooks	3	2	8				
Block	0	0	0				
Total	17	8	42	Total	12	14	38

Score at half time 21–13, Manchester.

The International Geophysical Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article by Victor J. Blum, S. J., on the International Geophysical Year beginning July 1, 1957, and ending on December 31, 1958. This period will be of momentous importance to the world. Not only will scientists watch with interest the development of physics in all parts of the globe, the future of our lives and those of succeeding generations may well be affected in no small measure by the experiments and observations which take place in this prescribed period. Following is a statement on the subject by Victor J. Blum, S. J., professor of geophysics and dean of the Institute of Technology, St. Louis University, which appeared in the March 16 issue of America:

THE INTERNATIONAL GEOPHYSICAL YEAR

The International Geophysical Year, which will begin on July 1, 1957, and end on December 31, 1958, is unique. Nothing in the field of scientific endeavor has ever taken place to compare, in magnitude and in the complexity of international cooperation involved, with the geophysical researches scheduled for this year.

During the International Geophysical Year (IGY) major research programs will be carried on in aurora, cosmic rays, geomagnetism, glaciology, ionospheric physics, geodesy, meteorology, oceanography, seismology, and solar activity. Problems in these areas are of such a nature that only international, simultaneous, and coordinated effort can make available the data necessary for research in these sciences.

It will be of interest to indicate briefly some phases of work in geophysical fields which will occur during the IGY.

Seemingly unrelated geophysical problems to be investigated during the IGY are linked with solar activity. In their 11-year cycle, solar disturbances will reach an anticipated maximum in 1957 and 1958. Sunspots, outbursts and flares in the sun affect, sometimes very profoundly, radio communications, radio navigation, aurora, and weather behavior.

The exact nature of the sun's influence in these matters is not clear. It is hoped that worldwide and careful correlation of solar activity with aurora, geomagnetism, and meteorology may eventually reveal ways to improve radio navigation and communications during magnetic storms and result also in improved long-range weather forecasting.

Another important geophysical study during the IGY will be meteorology. Observatories ranging along three world lines from the North to the South Pole will record weather data and measure the movements of air masses. These studies will include ample and systematic use of sounding balloons capable of reaching heights up to 100,000 feet. Such global studies should enable us to make a three-dimensional model of the structure of the world's atmosphere and its effects on weather.

Oceanography will be given much attention. Since water covers about three-fourths of the earth's surface, much remains to be learned about its influence on weather and

about its deep-seated circulation from one ocean basin to another.

Connected with the study of oceanography is that of glaciology, or of the water stored in the various icecaps and mountain glaciers throughout the world. For about 60 years there has been evidence of world warming, as shown by the melting of this ice. Climatic conditions have accordingly been changing. Work during the IGY will investigate what further climatic and other changes will be likely should warming of the earth continue for another 25 to 50 years.

One of the most dramatic events proposed for the IGY is the launching of the much-publicized earth satellite. This will, in a way, be the climax of an extensive rocket exploration program planned for the study of the upper atmosphere. The satellite will carry various instruments. Some will measure the intensity and fluctuations in intensity of cosmic and other particle radiations. While pursuing its orbit around the earth with a speed of about 18,000 miles per hour, the satellite will also provide the opportunity for making accurate measurements of the earth's equatorial radius and oblateness.

The idea of international geophysical research arose in the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU), and toward the end of 1952 was approved for action. The special committee for the International Geophysical Year was organized by the ICSU to act as the unifying agency through which the various nations of the world would carry on their geophysical studies. Over 50 nations have signified their intention to participate in the IGY.

In our country the United States National Committee for the IGY was established by the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council. Cooperating and working with the national committee will be several Government agencies, universities, various observatories, private foundations, and research laboratories.

Scientists and laymen alike hope that this unique international program will result in fruitful scientific discoveries and in better human understanding between the nations of our globe.

Cutting the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, we here in Congress hear a great deal these days from our constituents who are worried about the administration's enormous budget. In this connection I offer an editorial from the Orlando Sentinel, Orlando, Fla., of Sunday, March 17, 1957:

CUTTING THE BUDGET

While Congress and the President are debating whose business it is to cut the Federal budget, the national chamber of commerce has taken the initiative in pointing out where some substantial reductions can be made.

One of the best ways it can be done without eliminating public services long established is to avoid new commitments involving huge additional expenditures in the years to come.

The national chamber points out that such measures include $451 million for school construction, $500 million for additional grants to States for welfare programs and $11.4 million of the $20 million more sought by the Department of Labor.

Altogether the national chamber has found $1.8 billion in the current budget for projects of all kinds which historically have come within the province of the individual States and which represent additional burdens assumed by the Federal Government.

By prohibiting further encroachment upon the States and putting its own house in order through the practice of ordinary efficiency and economy, the Government can, the national chamber insists, save over $5 billion a year.

And this can be done without affecting national defense or eliminating Federal services now being rendered the public.

President Ramon Magsaysay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. CARRIGG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to express to the people of the Philippines my sincere sympathy upon the passing of President Ramon Magsaysay, whose tragic death occurred within the last few days. I wish to include a letter which I have received from the Honorable John A. O'Donnell, formerly a member of the Philippine War Damage Commission, in which a tribute is paid to our devoted friend.

I am sure that the Members of the House join with both Mr. O'Donnell and myself in the prayer that Almighty God in His mercy will grant eternal rest to President Ramon Magsaysay and to the freedom-loving friends who have joined him in tragic death:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 19, 1957.*
The Honorable JOSEPH CARRIGG,
Old House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: As a friend of the Philippines I know that you are deeply shocked, as I am, by the tragic loss to that young Republic of its devoted patriots and public servants who were killed in Sunday's airplane crash in the outskirts of the city of Cebu. Several of these, including the President of the Philippines, were close friends of mine from my days as a member of the Philippine War Damage Commission (1946–51).

President Ramon Magsaysay, a man from and of the people, was acclaimed far and wide not only for his leadership of the people of the Philippines in times of distress but of the forces of freedom against the threat of communism in the Far East.

I knew him when he was a member of the Philippines Congress representing his neighbors in Olongapo, near Subic Bay, a locality well known to the military forces of the United States. At a time when the Philippine War Damage Commission, of which I was a member, was under pressure from innumerable groups and individuals seeking compensation of personal claims, Congressman Magsaysay introduced a refreshing note in asking only for a schoolhouse to replace the one destroyed in his native village. I shall never forget the simplicity with which he addressed his petition to me. This characteristic of impersonal devotion to his public responsibilities remained with him throughout his brief and heroic career.

Another tragic loss in the recent catastrophe in the mountains near Cebu was that of Senator Tomas Cabili, a companion of the fighter Magsaysay in the days of guerrilla operations in Mindanao which made possible the early return of General MacArthur. Cabili was a close and trusted coworker of President Magsaysay in his more recent undertakings in behalf of the Philippines.

Another loss which is very close to me is that of my friend, Secretary of Education Gregorio Hernandez. A true scholar educated in the Philippines and in the United States, he became dean of the law school of the University of Santo Tomas. While I was War Damage Commissioner, he was an able Assistant General Counsel of this agency displaying a high degree of professional skill as well as an understanding of his countrymen and a devotion to his public duties. He was a kindly man who held his responsibilities high above his personal affairs which often included attacks of illness and obstacles which would have deterred less courageous and consecrated individuals. I consider his untimely death a loss of the greatest magnitude in the recent holocaust.

Another good friend of mine who lost his life in this terrible tragedy was Mr. Jesus Paredes, Jr., executive secretary of the Catholic Schools Association, which is affiliated with the Catholic Welfare Organization of the Philippines. Mr. Paredes was a newspaperman and a radio news commentator. He was a great student of communism and never for one moment was he ever deceived by the outward change in policy or procedure of the Communists. He knew that Communist control of any country would result in the impairment or destruction of the fullness of sovereignty and of the free exercise thereof. Jesus Paredes, Jr., knew that atheistic communism was a destroyer of all liberty.

The Philippines will mourn all of the people who were lost in the ill-fated airplane which left Cebu with its precious cargo, but at the same time they may well be proud of the record of attainment of the men to whom I have paid these few words of tribute.

Sincerely yours,
JOHN A. O'DONNELL,
Attorney at Law.

Anniversary of Hungarian Independence

SPEECH
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, Friday, March 15, marked the 109th anniversary of the Hungarian declaration of independence from foreign oppression by the Hapsburg dynasty. This is the traditional Hungarian anniversary of national independence.

Americans everywhere and from all walks of life have sought to express their heartfelt smpathy for the people of Hungary, now living under a new and even more brutal foreign oppressor. This year Hungary's anniversary is of special importance to both the free world and to the Communist bloc. The Hungarian revolution of last October and November began as a spontaneous outburst of pop-

ular opposition to both Communist doctrine and Russian domination. It soon developed into a tremendous mass movement which swept the countryside and dared challenge the very masters of the Kremlin. For the first time the true depth of anti-Communist sentiment within the satellite countries became obvious for all to see on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

The Hungarian freedom fighters were not able to complete their task of national liberation, but they demolished once and for all the myth of a Soviet monolith. The fighting which rocked Budapest has also had serious repercussions throughout the satellites, and even in Moscow.

The Hungarian revolution has proven many things. It has shown once again that man's yearning for freedom cannot be forever denied. It has shown that the very elements which the Soviets claim as the cornerstones of their society—the workers and the students—will be among the first to rise up against their oppressors and fight, if need be, with their bare hands. It has shown that the Soviets cannot count on the reliability of their own satellite armies. And for the benefit of any who may have forgotten or who still had doubts, it has shown to all the world the depths of brutality and treachery to which communism is committed. For these and many other reasons we are all deeply indebted to the Hungarian people for the tremendous sacrifices which they have made and are continuing to make.

I consider it an honor to be able to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the bravery of the Hungarian people and in expressing earnest hope that the day may soon come when March 15 will be openly and happily celebrated by a free and independent Hungary.

Postal Clerks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the Hartford Courant, dated March 14, 1957:

POSTAL CLERKS, WAGE SLAVES OF GOVERNMENT

One can hardly blame the quarter million men who operate our postal service for feeling anxious about what may happen to their needed pay raise when Congress starts paring the appropriation bill. It is an unfortunate fact that when it becomes necessary to cut appropriations of public moneys in any sphere of Government, the cuts are usually made not where the fat is thickest, but otherwise.

The truth is that, despite some small increase in recent years, postal clerks are still among the poorest paid members of the community. After 30 years of service a man can hope to make as much as $90 a week. Indeed the wage scale is so low that in labor shortage areas such as Hartford there is a constant shortage of trained workers and men are, in a sense, taken off the streets to fill out.

The present administration of the postoffice system has painted the boxes and brightened up the trucks. But the heart of a good postal service is a corps of dedicated men who enter the service as a career. These men deserve decent, clean working conditions and a wage scale that will permit them to live adequately. Now a large proportion of the men, particularly those with families, have to take outside work, or put their wives to work, to eke out an existence.

The entering wage for a postal clerk is now $3,660, or about $70 a week. In portions of the Deep South that may be a good wage, and that may account for the lassitude of southern Senators and Representatives toward postal increases. But that wage level is not high in Hartford, Detroit, or Los Angeles. Your postal clerk is a skilled workman who must possess great knowledge of routes, both local and national. Yet in the 17 years of prosperity in this country this group of workers has shared less of it than any other. Coal miners' wages have gone up 150 percent in that period, aircraft workers by 39 percent, schoolteachers by 36 percent. During that same time postal employees have enjoyed a niggardly 14-percent increase.

The present Postmaster General has, like many of his predecessors, spent a great deal of time trying to get postal increases to balance his budget. He has, to give him his due, made many improvements and modernized some equipment. He has not yet shown any signs of coming to grips with the fundamental issue that spells the difference between good and bad postal service—employees who are paid well enough and treated well enough to recapture the zeal and dedication that once were hallmarks of the postal employee.

Within the memory of man now living, the postal service was a career that men entered proudly, and carried on with unflagging devotion. But times have changed. Wages have lagged and working conditions have either deteriorated or remained static. And that once splendid morale has also begun to disappear. That is the priceless ingredient that makes the difference in postal service. The Postmaster General who first recognizes this fact will be a great one.

The Loss of a Fine American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of loss that I call to the attention of the House the passing of a fine American, Chief Jesse Cornplanter, of the Tonawanda Band of the Seneca Indians.

Chief Cornplanter was an outstanding leader among his people, as his forefathers had been for many generations, but he was also a great friend of the white man. He had himself served with honor in World War I, in which he won the Purple Heart. He was a treasury of Indian lore, much of which he had set down in his own book entitled "Legends of the Long House." In addition, he collaborated with Carl Carmer in supplying material for the latter's book entitled "Listen for a Lonesome Drum." Thus, both history and literature owe a debt to him, for both were greatly enriched by his understanding of his own people and their great part in the unfolding history of our country.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an article about Chief Cornplanter's passing from the Buffalo Evening News of Tuesday, March 19, 1957:

CHIEF JESSE CORNPLANTER DIES—DESCENDANT OF GREAT SENECA—HIS BOOK LEGENDS OF THE LONG HOUSE, ONE OF BEST HISTORIES OF SIX NATIONS—WAS WOUNDED IN WAR I

Chief Jesse J. Cornplanter, 67, a fifth-generation descendant of the great Seneca chief of the same name, died Monday (March 18, 1957) in his home on Council House Road, Tonawanda Reservation, near Akron.

Chief Jesse, who was born on the Cattaraugus Reservation, is best known for his book, Legends of the Long House, one of the best histories of the Iroquois Confederacy of Six Nations.

He became skilled in Indian handicrafts such as woodcarving and also was instrumental in keeping alive the religion, the laws and culture of his people. He knew and recorded for posterity many tribal songs.

Carl Carmer, in his best seller Listen for a Lonesome Drum, devoted much space to Chief Jesse and his Indian lore.

Chief Jesse was the son of Chief Edward Cornplanter, who served as a tribal teacher and exponent of the ancient Iroquois religion.

Chief Jesse received a serious wound while fighting in the Army in World War I and was injured again in an auto accident near Avon December 5, 1954.

He was a member of the Order of the Purple Heart, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Disabled American Veterans. He helped to form his reservation's Last Man Club.

He is survived by his wife; a daughter, Mrs. Beatrice Johnson; a sister, Mrs. Anna Lyons, both of the Cattaraugus Reservation, and five grandchildren.

Prayers will be said in the home at 1:30 o'clock tomorrow. Chief Corbett Sundown will conduct services in the Long House at 2.

I Met the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, during the President's recent vacation in Thomasville, Ga., a group of students from Valdosta State College, Valdosta, Ga., which is in my district, had the pleasure of meeting him.

Miss Marsha Paulk, of Valdosta, Ga., wrote an article, which appeared in the Valdosta Daily Times, describing in detail the meeting and events leading up to it.

I doubt that any news story was filed with any paper anywhere that could compare in human interest with Miss Paulk's article. Because of this, and also because the Miss Thelma Bruce mentioned in the article is from my hometown of Homerville, I insert the article in the Appendix of the RECORD so

that my colleagues may share the pleasure I derived from reading the story:

I MET THE PRESIDENT

(By Marsha Paulk)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Yesterday, Marsha Paulk and five other Valdosta State College students met President Eisenhower in Thomasville. Here is her reaction written expressly for the Times.)

Today, I've met the President of the United States. Five other students of Valdosta State College share that thrilling thought with me tonight—an almost unbelievable thought that will become a lifetime memory for each of us.

Years from now, six sets of grandchildren—those belonging to Lucy Henderson, Elizabeth Waltman, Thelma Bruce, Raymond Wilson, Denson Wood, and myself—will still be hearing our story of today's exciting experience, a story which begins with an invitation and a practical joke.

The invitation was extended by telegram to Mr. and Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower in Thomasville and stated that our college would be honored to have them as guests at the annual homecoming parade. The student government association anxiously waited Monday afternoon, Tuesday and Wednesday morning for a reply from the President. At 1:15 p. m. Wednesday, however, I left school disappointed that we had received no word from Thomasville headquarters. The birth of a great practical joke took place at exactly the same time and by 1:45 this "prize sucker" had bitten. Thelma Bruce, a fellow member of the SGA, called my house and in a very excited and thoroughly convincing voice told me that Eisenhower had wired regrets that they would not be able to attend our homecoming festivities but would be happy to receive the members of the SGA for a visit at 3 o'clock. Imagine my excitement. Thelma told me to dress for the occasion and to be in front of Ashley Hall ready to leave by 2 o'clock. Growing just a little skeptical after hanging up, I hesitated only a moment to call other members of the student government for confirmation of the good news. By coincidence, the member I called, Lucy Henderson, from Ocilla, happened to be the other victim of the practical joke and she, too, was hurriedly getting ready to go. I was convinced that we really were going to see the President and dashed out the door with hat, gloves, material for autographs, and, "Tell everybody I've gone to have tea with Ike. Oh how I wished as soon as I arrived at Ashley Hall, for a deep, dark hole to use as a hiding place. Waiting in front of the building were the other members of the SGA who had planned the joke and many, many laughing spectators. The joke was on two gullible girls who were all dressed up with no place to go.

The last laugh, though, is the best laugh. I'm sure that both pranksters and victims of yesterday's episode at VSC laugh happily now because interest in our invitation and the practical joke following it started a chain reaction which eventually reached President Eisenhower and accounted for our being able to meet and talk with him.

The chain reaction began when Student Government President Bill Jackson, from Sylvester, got in touch with Mr. Jim Hagerty's secretary, and secured permission for us to attend his 9 o'clock press conference this morning.

Our first contact there was Mr. Harold Davis, Washington correspondent for the Atlanta Journal, who advised us to invite Mr. Hagerty to the homecoming festivities. Much to the amusement of other national newspaper correspondents watching from the Scott Hotel mezzanine, we stopped Mr. Hagerty as he walked into the lobby and extended the invitation, for which he graciously thanked us. After the very interesting press conference where we heard Mr. Hagerty answer or cleverly evade questions fired at him by White House correspondents representing newspapers throughout the United States, we again talked with the busy press secretary, thanking him for allowing us to sit in on the conference and answering his questions about our school and about our mission to Thomasville. Here, too, another part of the chain reaction took place, for when we gave Mr. Hagerty our names, he pulled a telegram from his pocket and much to our surprise looked at me and said, "Oh, you're the one who had a big hoax pulled on you yesterday, aren't you? Tell me about it." He then heard and laughed at the account of our joke as we marveled at his knowledge of it.

The Secret Service, we thought, was really on the job. Later, however, we learned that the telegram to Hagerty was from Charley Barnes, chairman of the Republican committee in Valdosta. Mr. Barnes had been told by my cousin, Billy "Dynamite" Goodloe, of the prank and with him planned a way to compensate for our disappointment. The telegram in Mr. Hagerty's pocket, I know now, said something about a trick pulled on Marsha Paulk and expressed a wish that he (Mr. Hagerty) could secure for the VSC delegation an introduction to the President. Then, we knew only that Mr. Hagerty was giving us a cordial reception, an invitation to the 4:30 press conference, autographed news releases, and directions to the Glen Arven Country Club, where he said we would be able to see the President from a distance. We certainly did not dream that within 2 hours we would be posing for a picture with Mr. Eisenhower.

Following the introductions and our squeaky-voiced acknowledgments, a very kind and friendly man put us completely at ease with questions about the school and about Valdosta. The biggest surprise of all came when he, too, said, "Tell me about this practical joke—who were the victims and who pulled it?" Mr. Eisenhower laughed at our story, and then said that we would probably need proof of our experience for the students at home and told the Secret Service man to arrange to have a picture made as soon as the golf game was over. It seems that Mr. Hagerty had mentioned our joke and mission to Mr. Reilley and he in turn had told his boss, Mr. Eisenhower, who agreed to the introductions. The chain reaction was complete and six Valdosta State College students were thrilled beyond words as we were flocked on return to the clubhouse by a horde of newspaper correspondents.

At the country club we stood like a group of fascinated children as the Chief Executive and the other members of his golfing foursome neared the ninth hole where also waited a gallery of correspondents and disappointed photographers. (They had just been given the word from Mr. Hagerty: "No pictures today boys.")

We had never seen the person who was to be the next link in our chain reaction today and Raymond Wilson looked mighty puzzled when a casually dressed man interrupted his concentrated gaze to ask him to bring our group over to one side saying that his boss might want to talk with us.

We had no idea who the man's boss was but assembled quickly and then watched dumbfounded as our new friend ambled over to Mr. Eisenhower and talked with him briefly. He returned and said, "Follow me, the President will see you at the 10th hole." People gasped as the same group who had amused the press correspondents earlier in the day now amazed them. We were being privately escorted by the Chief of the Secret Service, Mr. Jim Reilley, far beyond the spectators' boundary line to a spot on that beautiful course where we met and shook hands with the President of the United States.

I wish that every girl and boy in Valdosta could have shared with me our climactic thrill. When Eisenhower and his party came in on the 18th hole, they were again surrounded by the newspapermen and by people who had wanted to catch a glimpse of him. The 12 weakest knees in the world belonged to 6 students who saw the President finish his golf game and stride directly to the spot where we waited. He was followed by all those people and more cameras than I had seen in my entire life. The clicks and blaze of flashbulbs and the whirring of movie cameras began the minute Mr. Eisenhower said, "Now, let's get this picture I was talking about."

As we posed together, our Nation's leader jokingly accused us of being "a. w. o. l. for a day" and asked us the distance to Valdosta. Four girls stuttered in unison "F-f-f-orty-five miles."

Right after the pictures had been made and Eisenhower turned to walk into the clubhouse, Raymond Wilson stopped him with an unforgettable "Wait, wait Mr. President" and presented, on behalf of the student government, a complimentary ticket to the VSC homecoming dance Saturday night.

The treats of being recognized at the 4:30 press conference and of watching the Associated Press and United Press wirephotos and stories of our visit with the President being transmitted to newspapers all over the country added even more excitement to a wonderful day.

February 14—Valentine's Day? No, siree, not for these six students. From now on, we'll celebrate the date as "We Joked With Eisenhower Day."

Another River Power Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, as indicated in my statement to the House a few days ago, the administration's recommendation that the Pacific Gas & Electric Power Co. be permitted to develop the Trinity project power facilities is another attempt to circumvent and repudiate a half century of Federal power policy and revise the concept of reclamation projects. An excellent article by Thomas L. Stokes in the March 19 issue of the Washington Evening Star throws some light on the reason why the administration recommends acceptance of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s proposal. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including Mr. Stokes' article, which follows:

ANOTHER RIVER POWER ISSUE—UNITED STATES SEEN PLANNING TO CUT PRIVATE FIRM INTO FEDERAL DAM PROJECT IN CALIFORNIA

Every now and again the social welfare, New Deal, modern Republican cockade affected by the Eisenhower administration for sweet politics' sake will slip askew and reveal the bald head of mighty business, industrial, and financial interests which contribute so heavily to Republican campaigns and call so many tunes here these days.

How powerful they are we are learning now in the case of a river in northern California—the Trinity—which has assumed an importance far beyond its size for what it tells us of administration aims.

The Trinity River is part of the great Central Valley project, a public project like TVA in the Southeast, and the folks in California are just as proud of it as the folks in the Southeast are of TVA, for each has broadened the lives of the people. The Central Valley project, built by the Federal Government, as was TVA, embraces an integrated system of dams, reservoirs, canals, and transmission lines. Its function, as described by Representative CLAIR ENGLE, Democrat, of California, is for comprehensive development of the basin to protect the people and land from floods, to furnish a dependable water supply for agriculture and for defense purposes, and to furnish power and energy at lowest rates possible consistent with project repayment.

The Government now is building a dam on the Trinity River which is in Representative ENGLE's district.

But these days they don't get very far along with such things before someone comes along to try to mess it up. So with the Trinity River. The scheme this time, devised by Secretary of Interior Fred Seaton, is to cut the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., the Nation's second largest electric utility, into the Central Valley project by selling it the falling water from this dam paid for by the public. The company would be permitted to install a powerplant there on the public domain and rake in all the profits. In 50 years it would own the plant. This is known as partnership in the Eisenhower book, whereby the Government builds the dam and for its money and pains controls the flood regulating works, from which it gets no revenue, and controls the fish ladder, where there is one, from which there is no revenue—and the company gets what is sometimes loosely and colloquially called the gravy.

This is all too much for Republican Senator THOMAS KUCHEL, of California. He rose up, along with Representative ENGLE, to condemn this attempted disruption of the Central Valley project. In the criticism now of this latest Eisenhower partnership venture, you hear it compared with the attempt to undermine TVA with the Dixon-Yates deal that finally got so noxious with its behind-the-scene finagling that the Eisenhower administration abandoned it. The Seaton plan, says Senator KUCHEL, is fraught with many perils and he will not support it.

Both he and Representative ENGLE pointed out that it not only would disrupt a project intended throughout to be a public project, but also would violate the 51-year-old principle established by Congress in 1906, and reenacted 13 times since. This is the guaranty for preference to public agencies, municipalities, and cooperatives in the sale of electricity from such public projects.

Representative ENGLE sees it as the beginning of an attack by the Eisenhower administration on the preference principle that would be extended elsewhere. In a comprehensive analysis for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, he showed that, rather than being good business for the Government as Secretary Seaton claims, this Pacific Gas & Electric cut-in would be bad for the Government in the long run, bad for consumers, and a bonanza for P. G. & E.

To anybody who read carefully last November's election returns from the West and Northwest, in which champions of the Eisenhower partnership policy were mowed down right and left, it would seem foolhardy for the Eisenhower administration to try to put over this patent donation to the utilities.

But a casual peek into the big book on campaign contributions compiled recently by the Gore Senate committee offers a clue. That shows with what an authoritative voice California now speaks in the Republican Party. Contributions to the Republicans in California totaled $1,913,176, as publicly acknowledged, compared with $260,079 to various Democratic candidates, national and State, in the State.

Five officials of P. G. & E. contributed $13,950 to the Republicans. This was listed in donations from officials of the 88 corporations which participate in the Government's atomic-energy program. Of the total of such, $397,342 went to the Republicans; $34,700 to the Democrats. Most of the donors were, like P. G. & E., electric utilities.

They look to the administration to be kind to them; and it can be said that their trust is well placed.

One Hundred and One Problems of Jet Aviation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by John G. McCullough on the multiple problems of jet aviation. This article appeared in the Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin on March 17, 1957:

ONE HUNDRED AND ONE PROBLEMS RIDE THE WINGS OF NEW SKY GIANTS, INCLUDING CONGESTION ABOVE, NOISE BELOW

(By John G. McCullough)

WASHINGTON, March 16.—In less than 2 years the skies over the United States will reverberate with the scream of jet transport planes flying at 600 miles per hour.

The planes are being built right now.

The airlines expect them in operation next year.

That looks like a bright prospect for a nation that is geared to maximum speed, but it has both the airlines and Federal aviation officials worried. What disturbs them is the fact that as matters now stand many of the airports cannot accommodate those planes, the traffic control system now in use cannot keep them from destroying each other in midair collisions, and even the problem of providing them with adequate fuel has not yet been solved.

PROBLEM FOR CONGRESS

Congress is going to have to face those problems for Congress alone can make the decisions and provide the money that is needed.

It is another must situation and requires what the military calls a crash program. More than $2 billion worth of jet-powered passenger planes are on order. By late 1958 paying passengers will be queuing up on the ramps to board these sleek giants.

Marring this picture is the fact that these faster and further planes, unless giant strides are made in the meantime, will have to fight for flying room and safety under an air traffic control system that is not only long outdated but was designed to handle airplanes flying at well under 200 miles an hour.

Even without the jets there is already an aerial traffic jam of critical proportions. The big conventional passenger planes now in use do around 400 miles an hour. There are more and more of them, and other kinds, too. The wonder is that the Government's Civil Aeronautics Administration is now able to keep the skies relatively free of accidents.

This airspace trouble, while it is by far the most serious problem facing commercial jet operation, is not the only one. The CAA, in fact, has a special force working on what it calls the 100 problems of jet aviation. And it admits that the number of problems was cut for simplicity.

BIGGER, BETTER, HEAVIER

The new jets, for example, are not only bigger and carry more passengers, but weigh much more than the present fleets of "prop" planes. This, of course, makes for a problem in both the length and strength of airport runways. The biggest of the new planes will weigh about 300,000 pounds, have a 4,000-mile range, a cruising altitude of between 30,000 and 40,000 feet, speed of between 550 and 610 miles an hour and will seat between 80 and 145 passengers.

For comparatively short hops, with lighter fuel loads, the new jets will have no trouble with the existing airport runways. But for long-range trips, some of them need 10,000 feet of takeoff space. Relatively few airports now have it.

Philadelphia's International Airport is in better condition to face the coming commercial jet age than most big airports. Philadelphia's aviation officials kept their planning fluid and are now starting construction of an additional runway which can be extended beyond 11,000 feet. The city's terminal facilities can be expanded greatly and there is plenty of space available at the airport for anything that may have to be added to handle the new jets or their passengers.

Congressional committees in some preliminary inquiries into the jet aviation problem, heard that the Nation's airports plan over a half billion dollars' worth of improvements—much of it on runways. They learned, too, that the new planes have special landing gear to distribute the weight load and ease the impact on runways.

Noise also is a problem which has been getting attention. Aircraft manufacturers and the military services have been working on the problem for years and report progress on devices to cut down the roaring shriek of the jet engines. Not long ago the Federal Housing Administration conferred with aviation industry representatives on the effect of jet noises on areas around airports and were assured the problem would be licked.

FEDERAL AIRPORT AID

About half of the money to be spent improving airports will come from the United States Treasury under airport aid legislation. This big Federal windfall, however, has not made all local officials enthusiastic about the program. Some complain that airports are in sharp competition with schools, roads, and other projects for local funds. Some say aircraft manufacturers should design planes to fit existing facilities. There are some, too, who worry about the reaction of taxpayers whose money is used to expand an airport and are then bothered by the noise of the planes.

Aviation industry leaders, however, say these matters will all be settled. They note that some of these problems actually do not result from the coming of jet planes at all, but from the great growth of commercial aviation itself. Many airport terminal buildings, for instance, are hopelessly outdated and cannot handle the passengers using present-day 40- to 60-place planes.

The fact that the new jets will carry far more riders simply brings new importance to an old condition, these leaders explain, by pointing up the fact that there is not much sense in racing a passenger across country in a matter of hours if he has to waste time waiting for baggage and ground transportation in an old-fashioned terminal.

PERIOD OF TRANSITION

These industry spokesmen say, too, that there will not be anything like a complete and sudden switchover from propeller or piston planes to the new jets. The new planes will come into service gradually and, these spokesmen insist, with but "minimum problems" for the airports which will handle them.

Actually, the use of jet-powered planes for short trips would not be a payload proposi-

tion, so the airlines also have placed orders for hundreds of piston-powered and turbo-prop planes for delivery in the next few years.

The jet-engined planes devour fuel on the ground—while waiting to take off—and while flying at low altitudes. The comparative figures most often heard are that jets, operating at 35,000 feet, roar along on 2,400 gallons of fuel an hour. At 1,000 feet they use 3 times this much. The new jets, then, are designed for long-range high-altitude flying, not for trips of a few hundred miles.

The fuel consumption by the jet planes has posed another problem for the airports. Some of the new jet passenger planes will carry over 18,000 gallons of fuel, while most conventional planes hold less than 6,000 gallons. Airport tank trucks which fuel planes at many airports now would be inadequate for the new jets and there have already been suggestions that airports install a system of pipes and hydrants for jet-age fueling.

AIRLINES OPTIMISTIC

Here again, say the airline people, this is a problem that can be overcome without much difficulty.

So are such items as the surfacing of the sides of runways and taxiways so that gravel and dirt will not be swept about by the exhausts from the jets and the building of blast fences to block the exhausts from airport buildings—and people.

All of these items, however, are minor compared to the problem of air traffic. Here it is the situation of the jet age merely emphasizing the inadequacy of obsolescence of current aviation facilities.

Recently, in discussing its air traffic control system, the CAA itself said the setup was built with the resources of yesterday and is not able to cope with the demands of traffic today.

The traffic CAA talks about runs into awesome figures. There are about 60,000 active aircraft registered with the Federal Government today. The scheduled domestic airlines account for about 1,200 of these but the great bulk falls into the classification of general aviation, the grouping CAA uses to list all civil flying except that of the scheduled airlines. This general-aviation category includes business planes. It covers personal planes, ranching planes, and aviation instruction planes. It covers the planes which do everything from aerial surveying for precious minerals to crop dusting.

STAGGERING STATISTICS

Last year, too, CAA control towers at 180 airports throughout the country handled nearly 19 million landings and takeoffs.

Much of this traffic, of course, is between big cities, and much of it is over regular routes known as the Federal airways. There is no open sky over the entire country. About 500 separate areas, totaling some 400,000 square miles, are listed on the air maps as prohibited, restricted, or warning areas because of atomic-energy installation, artillery firing, aircraft testing, or bombing and missile ranges.

To fit the planes into the available airspace with some safety buffer between, the CAA, under certain conditions, allocates a space in the air to a specific plane. This is supposed to guarantee to the pilot that he has his own private bit of airspace, with no other plane within a certain distance in front, behind, above, or below him.

BASIC SAFETY PRINCIPLE

The idea is to keep planes traveling in different directions at different altitudes. The idea, too, is to provide a separation of at least 10 minutes between planes moving in the same heading. The surprising thing, actually, is that it works as well as it does.

One need not be an engineer to see that the answer to the problem of high speed aerial traffic control is complete radar coverage and an assortment of other electronic and automatic devices to help it out.

The CAA has known it for years and has installed as much of the equipment as it could get Congress to provide. CAA controllers point out that with radar providing eyes to watch the planes in flight they will be able to reduce the buffer zone between planes. They look forward to radar identification signals to identify the planes themselves.

WEATHER BIG FACTOR

With the radio and pencil system now in use, it is estimated that only 3,000 planes can be fitted into the entire country's airspace during bad weather. With the required 10 minutes' separation between planes, flights have had to be delayed for hours at a time. The CAA learned years ago that a delay at one airport has a box-car effect across the country. Hold up activities on the ramp at New York and you soon have planes waiting for clearance at other airports in other parts of the Nation.

Radar has proved itself an invaluable aid around major airports where it is used by the CAA both to detect aircraft within a 50- to 60-mile range and to help guide pilots to the runways. The radio position report system, of course, could not function around the congested skies of the airports.

Pilots have been complaining about the inadequate protection of the present traffic control system for the past 10 years. Trained as perfectionists, they see no reason why the airlines' already good safety record cannot be made a lot better. And they tell harrowing tales of near misses not only over the crowded airports, but in remote places where there has been unlimited visibility.

RISK OF COLLISIONS

Early last year a Federal study of long-range aviation requirements warned bluntly that the risk of midair collisions had reached critical proportions, and that the danger was becoming greater as the increases in civil and military air traffic outspace the capabilities of traffic-control facilities.

This survey, conducted under the sponsorship of the Bureau of the Budget, found that much of our airspace is already overcrowded and that in many important areas the development of airports, navigation aids, and especially the air traffic-control system is lagging far behind aeronautical development.

As the result of this initial study, President Eisenhower named Edward P. Curtis, a vice president of the Eastman Kodak Co., as his special assistant for aviation facilities planning. Curtis, who has been at work on this assignment 1 year, was Chief of Staff to the Strategic Air Force in World War II.

It was the crash last June 30 of two airliners over the Grand Canyon—a crash which took 128 lives—which brought the air traffic-control problem into sharp focus.

Within days, several congressional investigations were under way. Government officials were recalling the warnings of airline pilots who estimated there were on an average of four near collisions a day. CAA witnesses found Congress a willing listener for its improvement program and the early Budget Bureau study of air congestion received new attention.

CAA PLAN COSTLY

The CAA plan for improvement of the air traffic control system—a plan disclosed before the Grand Canyon crash—carries a $246,000,000 price tag over a 5-year period. What it boils down to is the placing of enough long-range radar equipment to track planes in flight along the regular airways in all parts of the country. This, of course, would permit the CAA controllers to "see" the planes—not merely depend upon voice reports.

The CAA plans, too, to install electronic equipment of the "mechanical brain" type to do away with as much of the routine duties now handled by the controllers as possible. The idea is to have the machines, through the use of "memory drums" and key punch cards, file away and remember much of the data which CAA personnel must now record manually.

In what it described as a start toward automation the CAA has already installed some of the electronic equipment and figures on getting a great deal more. A study is under way, too, into the possibility of using the military $3 billion network of radar and electronic computers—designed for air defense—to track and guide civilian planes.

MILITARY NET

The network, known as SAGE for Semi-Automatic Ground Environment, has as its primary mission the guiding of interceptor planes to any enemy flight. But there are many in the Government who insist it can perform in a dual capacity. These people insist, in fact, that for the CAA to eventually build up anything similar would be nothing more than a waste of taxpayers' money.

This is one of the questions that will be debated back and forth before Congress during the coming year. And it will be but one of many. Another, already showing all the earmarks of a major controversy, is the question of whether or not all planes in many areas should be required to operate "on instrument," and under ground control.

This, of course, would have an immediate effect upon thousands of private pilots who are not trained for such flying and whose planes lack the equipment for it.

All in all, before the first jet airliners go into full service they and their problems will have had many hundreds of hours of "dry flying" before congressional committees.

Budget Can Be Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE MEADER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Adrian (Mich.) Daily Telegram of March 13, 1957:

BUDGET CAN BE CUT

Members of Congress are receiving an increasing amount of mail demanding reduction in Government spending. And the news reports about this say that while some comes from pressure groups a considerable amount is from individuals who had written personal letters. Thus the demand appears in large measure to be from grassroots sentiment and to be spontaneous. Such sentiment is highly persuasive and counts heavily with Senators and Representatives.

Congress is in position to make spending cuts. There is a disposition in some quarters to pass the buck to the President, pointing out that when he handed Congress the $72 billion budget and later said Congress could cut it he was shirking his own responsibility. But this view overlooks the point that Congress makes the laws, and in making them it determines to a large extent how much the Government shall spend.

In a Detroit speech the other day Treasury Secretary Humphrey drove this point home when he said that "substantial reductions in Government spending can come only from changes in programs * * * and by new decisions of Congress."

To be sure, the Federal budget is prepared by the executive branch. It is an estimate of how much is necessary to carry on the functions of government, many of which

have been brought on by statute. The executive branch may not be in favor of all these but since they are law they must be provided for. So the budget office asks for adequate appropriations to take care of all of them.

The other day President Eisenhower said the administration was trying to slow the speed of spending by various departments and bureaus. That means some proposed undertakings, provided for in the budget, may be postponed for the sake of immediate sayings.

But at the same time he argued emphatically against any cuts in foreign aid and added that no vital programs could be delayed or curtailed. He was not specific where savings could be made; he only suggested that some spending could de delayed for a time. That is not a great deal of help.

It is up to Congress to decide whether some kinds of Government spending can be curtailed, whether some Government services can be cut down drastically and others discarded entirely. Many of these are of long standing.

The President pointed out the other day that the Federal Government has been assuming the major responsibility for repairing flood damage and that he thought it is time for the States and communities to take on a greater share of this load. If it wishes, Congress could provide less Federal money for this purpose and stipulate that the States and local units pay more. Then there is the matter of new Federal programs, Federal aid for school building for instance. It is up to Congress to decide if such aid is essential. Programs of that sort traditionally begin modestly, but they are continued from year to year and demand more funds year to year. Land reclamation and water power projects in the West always cost a lot more than the original estimates. This shows up in succeeding appropriations.

Since Congress is the appropriating body it has the responsibility for economy. It can, and should, make cuts in the budget. But the trouble with economy moves in Congress is that they run into opposition from powerful pressure groups. Likewise a Member of Congress is perfectly willing to slash spending on some project that is benefiting some other district but he howls mightily if something in his district is threatened. Congress can reduce the budget but it is going to need help from the executive branch. But most of all any budget-cutting move must have support from the public. The public simply has to demand less from Government if it wants to pay less to Government.

Tobacco in Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a series of articles which appeared recently in the Atlanta Journal. They were written by the able and capable farm editor of that great newspaper, Harold Joiner.

Mr. Joiner discusses in great detail, with specific examples, the hardships that are being heaped on the Georgia tobacco farmer by the shortsighted policies of the present administration.

I hope that every Member of the Congress will take the time to read these articles. They point up the many injustices of our present farm program and offer a challenge that a responsible government cannot overlook. I herewith submit these articles for your study.

TOBACCO IN GEORGIA, NO. 1—STATE'S GROWERS FACE $13 MILLION LOSS

(By Harold Joiner)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first of a series of articles on tobacco production in Georgia.)

Georgia tobacco growers face a possible loss of almost $13 million from their 1957 crop as a result of the 20 percent cut in their allotments.

The reduction in acreage by the Federal Government, brought on by a mounting surplus of tobacco in storage, will affect most of the State's 30,000 tobacco growers.

This 20-percent cut follows on the heels of a 12-percent cut in 1956 and a 5-percent reduction in 1955, for a total of 37 percent in 3 years.

Farmers have little hope of overcoming this heavy loss through increased yields. The 1956 average yields were 28 pounds less than those in 1955, but still both years place the poundage well above the 10-year average from 1946 to 1954.

All over the Tobacco Belt the growers are showing mounting concern as the season gets under way with the planting of tobacco beds. Most of them are looking for other sources of income to bolster the staggering losses that face them.

Many of the growers depend on the tobacco crop for their chief source of income. A few of the growers face possible loss of their allotments because the reduction makes the production costs prohibitive.

The relatively small allotments on the Georgia farm cause most of the growers to be concerned by such a large reduction. The average size of the allotments range around 2½ acres for the 1957 crop.

H. L. Wingate, president of the Georgia Farm Bureau Federation, said the reduction would hit most of the farmers hard, but actually is not quite so bad as it appears on the surface.

He said the reduction of the production and thereby the surpluses would enable the prices to be increased. Besides, he pointed out, the farmer can't continue to grow tobacco and let it pile up in the Government storage houses.

The farm organization president said legislation will be offered in Washington asking for an appropriations bill to pay the farmers for the acreage reduced under the 20-percent cut at the same rate as that placed in the soil bank.

This bill, if passed, would pay the grower around $225 per acre for that part of his allotment he lost over the 1956 crop. Such a bill, however, is expected to cover only the 1957 crop, Mr. Wingate said.

Some agricultural officials say the Georgia growers can partially overcome the acreage reduction through higher yields. However, the United States Department of Agriculture records show that Georgia farmers lost nearly $8 million in 1956 when the reduction figure was 12 percent.

John F. Bradley, State administrative officer of the Agricultural Stabilization Committee in Athens, said the 1957 allotment for Georgia centers around 72,000 acres. The 1956 allotment was 90,100 acres.

The soil-bank program is expected to offer some relief to the smaller allotment holders who find it impractical to plan their tobacco. Mr. Bradley said Georgia has been allotted funds to take up to 13 percent of the 1957 allotments in the soil bank.

TOBACCO IN GEORGIA, NO. 2—HOW CAN GROWER OVERCOME LOSSES?

(By Harold Joiner)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the second of a series of articles on tobacco production in Georgia.)

Some 30,000 Georgia farmers face the equivalent of a 20-percent salary cut in 1957 because of the reduction of their tobacco allotments.

Take the case of Harold Adams, of Douglas. He faces the 20-percent allotment cut the same as the other tobacco growers. Unless he does something else he will lose 20 percent of his net profits or maybe more.

He said his yields, now more than 200 pounds above the county average, are about as high as he hopes to get them. So that is the end of his drive toward overcoming the loss in that direction.

Mr. Adams bought some irrigation equipment last year to use on his tobacco crop. He didn't need it, however, because of the rains. This year he still has the equipment in case he needs to use it.

But he must pay for this and other farm equipment. The advancing prices of machinery make it difficult with the reduction in his cash tobacco crop.

Is there an alternative for Mr. Adams and the other growers who face the staggering losses?

Some of the growers have realized their problems and are turning to other sources of income. Mr. Adams grew sweet potatoes last year to supplement the 12-percent cut in tobacco allotments then.

Now he is planning to increase his sweet potato production. There are no allotment controls on this crop. He will also cure the potatoes as an extra step toward more income.

With Mr. Adams the problem is about the same as with other growers. There is a basic expense involved in the production of the leafy product and after that the additional acreage causes only a percentage increase in expenses.

"I can grow 7 or 8 acres about as easily (economically) as I can 3 or 4 acres," the Coffee County grower explained.

Some growers face the problem of too little acreage to make it practical to grow the tobacco. Unless they can have enough to fill a barn during the curing stage, the costs are prohibitive.

In Atkinson County, as in all the counties in the Tobacco Belt, the story is the same. The farmers are growing restless over the problem that faces them. In this county the two main sources of income are tobacco and turpentine.

"To cut out our tobacco profits would leave most of us behind in our debts," one grower said.

There were 431 growers in the county in 1956, but this year that number has been reduced to 416. Some of the growers have combined their allotments in an effort to have enough acreage to make it practical to grow the tobacco.

Some of the smaller growers will be putting their allotments in the soil bank.

In Tift County, William Pool county agent, said not only would the farmers suffer in his county, but the merchants would feel the effects of the reduction in tobacco dollars.

Several million dollars worth of the golden leaf tobacco was sold in the Tifton markets in 1956. To reduce this by 20 percent would certainly effect the merchants' trade, he said.

"Our farmers are facing a crisis," said County Agent Bryon Dyer, of Statesboro. "Our average allotment now is about 2 acres and it will be extremely hard for the growers to make ends meet on such a small acreage."

The loss to the 1,630 growers in Bulloch County will be nearly a million dollars, Mr. Dyer said. He has begun a promotion of hog production to aid the growers in making up the losses from their tobacco.

In Coffee County the loss will be around $1 million, too, according to County Agent Larry Torrance. The growers receive nearly $5 million from the sale of tobacco last year.

TOBACCO IN GEORGIA, NO. 3—FILTER IS GRAVE INFLUENCE ON TYPE USED IN CIGARETTE

(By Harold Joiner)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the last of a series of articles on tobacco production in Georgia.)

The entry of filter tips may have greatly influenced the type of tobacco used in cigarettes.

A few years back the tobacco companies asked the growers and research men to come up with a tobacco that was light in flavor and with a heavy sugar content.

But shortly after the development of these tobaccos the filter-tip cigarette made its debut on the scene. The filter was designed to cut down on the nicotine intake.

A problem developed, however, when the flavor of the light tobaccos would not penetrate the filter. As a result the tobacco companies turned their back on the newly developed plant varieties, known as the neutrals or paleslicks.

This year the tobacco experts are asking the tobacco growers to return to the heavy aroma type plants formerly used. The Federal Government has accepted the demand by reducing the support price on the so-called undesirable tobaccos to 50 percent.

The heavy surpluses now in Government storage houses are primarily the light aroma tobaccos that the tobacco companies refused to buy during the 1956 market season. The 3 varieties that were the subject of controversy were 139, 140, and 244 types.

Georgia producers, however, will not have to change their varieties, says J. B. Preston, extension service agronomist in charge of tobacco. More than 93 percent of the 1956 crop was of the acceptable type, he said.

The tobacco companies want the tobacco with full body, rich color and good flavor and aroma, the agronomist said. This allows the flavor to reach the smoker even through the filter.

The present consumer demand for cigarettes is about 66 percent for the nonfilter cigarette and 33 percent for the filter variety.

Since the arrival of filter-tip cigarettes, whether by coincidence or otherwise, the tobacco producers have found a better market for their lower and medium-grade tobaccos.

Last year the lower and medium grades sold above the support prices whereas much of the top-grade tobacco found its way into Government loans.

Georgia producers, because of weather conditions, usually have all grades of tobacco available for the buyers, Mr. Preston said.

Two things are certain among the tobacco growers this year. They know the tobacco companies want the heavy aroma-type tobacco and they will try to produce it.

They will not ease up on their attempts to grow top-grade tobacco, because under the Government-support program they will continue to receive top payment for this tobacco.

Florida Atomic Plant Expected by 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, the progress of the United States has been marked by the great free-enterprise system. There is no better demonstration of that type of economic growth in this atomic era than the active participation and program of the electric utility companies of this Nation in the development of atomic energy plants to generate electricity for public use. I am particularly proud that the Florida nuclear power group composed of the Florida Power Corp., the Tampa Electric Co., and the Florida Power & Light Co. has well advanced plans to establish an atomic energy generating plant to serve the people of my State. The Tampa Times, published in Tampa, Fla., has commented editorially upon a statement made by the chairman of the Florida nuclear power group as he appeared before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. This editorial ably points out the importance of atomic development to our fast-growing State, and, under unanimous consent, I include it in the RECORD for the information of this Congress:

FLORIDA ATOMIC PLANT EXPECTED BY 1962

It should be of real interest to both residents and industries in the Tampa Bay area that Tampa Electric Co., working in cooperation with Florida Power Corp. of St. Petersburg, and Florida Power & Light Co., of Miami, is letting no grass grow under its feet in efforts to secure an atomic electric plant.

William C. MacInnes, president of Tampa Electric, made this point plain late last week when he told the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of plans to produce electric power in an atomic plant by 1962.

The Middle Eastern crisis, posing a threat to oil fields there, and the possibility of further increases in the cost of United States crude oil spell higher costs of power in Florida. This State has no natural fuel and must ship in heavy quantities of fuel oil to produce electricity in its steam generator plants. A few electric plants use coal, which also must be imported from other sections of the country.

It is important that Florida's power production be shifted to an atomic basis if the State's industrial expansion is to continue.

The growing demand for power may be judged by Mr. MacInnes' statement that demands on the three company producer groups are doubling every 5 years. Their total generating capacity is now 2 million kilowatts. By 1962, Mr. MacInnes said, 4 million kilowatts will be required to meet existing needs.

Some of the history Mr. MacInnes revealed about the Florida nuclear power group's efforts to develop an atomic plant here are interesting. This planning has been underway for the last 2 years. The group has met with staff members of the Atomic Energy Commission and such manufacturers as Babcock & Wilcox and Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co. for the purpose of securing information relative to the construction of a reactor plant.

Cost of the proposed plant will be higher than the conventional steam plant, but, Mr. MacInnes noted, it would eliminate the use of high cost fuel and offer a savings in operational expenses.

Planning has included a study to indicate where additional power capacity should be located to serve best the needs of the three systems. A tentative site has been selected for the atomic plant.

Mr. MacInnes said that the group expected to be in a position to ask for bids on the new facility by 1958 and that the goal of actual operation has been set for 1962.

Florida, it seems, approaches the threshold of the atomic age. Conversion of all electric production to atomic reactor plants would do much to conserve present petroleum supplies for other uses and pave the way for cheaper electricity to bolster the State's industrial progress.

Textiles Need Surgery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the March issue of the Textile Challenger, official newspaper of the United Textile Workers of America. The editorial calls attention to the serious problems confronting the textile industry and its 1 million employees, and urges support for my bill, H. R. 2570, to rehabilitate and stabilize labor conditions in the textile industry:

TEXTILES NEED SURGERY

The pessimistic reports now current from the management of the textile industry demands some comment from the officials of unions with textile membership, and a vital interest in future employment prospects. It would seem that textiles of all major industries is the least able to manage its marketing, production, price, and wage problems. Surely an industry paying 50 cents an hour less than the average manufacturing wage is a matter of public concern and demands more than passing interest by Government and professional economists. One million textile workers should not be the victims of adventurers in monopoly and financial manipulation.

Mill closings in the North and South with severe curtailment of employment makes this a national, not a sectional problem.

The attributed reasons for this sickly condition in textiles takes on many facets. For some closings and curtailments the blame is placed on Japanese competition. Since a recent partial agreement with Japanese producers on imports, the blame has switched to a poor market and price situation, and the unwillingness to produce for inventory. Some textile employers are advocating a 4-day week, time and a half for the third shift, and, in some cases, the elimination of the third shift in accord with the textile bill now before the Congress.

BUSINESS AND FINANCE

"Textile production cutbacks deepened. Deering Milliken & Co., manufacturer of cotton fabrics, reduced operations to a 5-day week from the previous 6 days at 5 mills turning out heavy cotton cloth used in work clothing and for industrial purposes. At the same time, Bates Manufacturing Co. announced it will discontinue operations about April 1 at its Androscoggin division, Lewiston, Maine. The mill, which produces rayon goods, is currently employing 350. Scattered cutbacks have been appearing among cotton and synthetic cloth mills since early January as a result of a lull in demand for unfinished cloth which set in last November and still persists." (Wall Street Journal.)

BALANCED PRODUCTION

"It is foolhardy for the textile industry not to gear production to consumption." F. E. Grier, president of the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, said, in an address during which he also expressed for the coming year "more optimism than I have felt in a long time." Mr. Grier injected the com-

ment on production-consumption in a departure from his text, and said further in the same vein:

"I do hope the day will come when every textile manufacturer will give very, very serious consideration to bringing the two (production and consumption) into balance." (Daily News-Record.)

CONFUSING EXAMPLES

The situation has even been described as a "war of attrition" with some textile merchants recommending a limitation of productions to 80 hours a week.

It is quite plain that many employers in the textile industry are coming nearer to the union proposal for the 35-hour workweek of two shifts, and whether we call it the "war of attrition" or the war of the jungle, we respectfully suggest to the textile industry that we utilize the machinery of the Congress to assist management and labor in working out a fair solution to the deplorable conditions in textiles.

H. R. 2570 provides the platform for a complete exposition of textile problems as stated in the principles and purposes. The textile unions have repeatedly offered to cooperate with management for our mutual benefit and in the public interest.

To quote the president of the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, "When you reach the bottom there are only two ways to go: We can go up or we can go out."

Independent Offices Appropriation Bill Item Illustrates the False Economics of the Administration's Power Partnership Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the House is today considering final action on the independent offices appropriation bill for fiscal year 1958. One of the defense research installations which is covered in this bill is the Ames Laboratory in California. This installation utilizes a rather extensive amount of electric energy. As a matter of fact, the estimated needs for fiscal year 1958 amount to 432 million kilowatt-hours. Funds are included in this bill for purchasing this amount. Now, the reason I am interested in this particular item is because of its relationship to Secretary Seaton's recent recommendation that the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. be allowed to develop the power facilities of the Trinity River project.

The Ames Laboratory purchases all the energy it can from the Federal Central Valley project because it can obtain such energy at a very low rate. The remaining needs must come from the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. For the fiscal year 1958 the testimony given the Appropriations Subcommittee indicates that half of the energy needed by the installation, or 216 million kilowatt-hours will have to be purchased from the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. Testimony given the Appropriations Subcommittee further indicates that the installation will have to pay about 13 mills per kilowatt-hour for this energy purchased from the company, as compared to 5 mills for the energy purchased from the Central Valley project, or a difference of 8 mills per kilowatt-hour. Based on these figures, 216 million kilowatt-hours would cost the Federal Government $1,728,000 more from the P. G. & E. than from the Federal project.

Now the point is this: At the same time the Federal Government is paying this excessive electric energy cost for operating one of its own installation, the administration is recommending that Central Valley project power facilities which could supply this energy be developed by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. There is a growing indication, and this is an example, that Secretary Seaton has greatly underestimated the financial losses to Federal installations and public agencies which would result from acceptance of his Trinity project recommendation.

Tax Advantages of Giant Corporations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks, I desire to insert in the RECORD a letter from Mr. Bruce J. Maguire, suite M–8 Capitol Savings and Loan Building, Lansing, Mich., in which he pointedly focuses attention to the serious effects of the special tax advantages enjoyed over the common people and small businesses by the giant corporations of this country.

Mr. Maguire's letter follows:

LANSING, MICH., *February 20, 1957.*

DEAR MR. WIER: I strongly urge your consideration of the special tax advantages enjoyed over the common people and small businesses by the giant corporations of this country. Among these are the 27½-percent depletion allowance allowed the oil companies and the accelerated depreciation allowed many companies for building capital assets.

Is there any reason why our giant corporations should be in a more sheltered tax position than the average individual or the average small business?

Why should the very wealthy oil companies be granted a 27½-percent deduction against all of their profits before taxes to compensate them for the using up of their oil reserves, when practically every one of them ends up each year with more proven reserves than they started with? In addition, all of their expenditures searching for oil, such as airplanes, many people on the payroll, all drilling expenses, depreciation, charges for abandonment of leases, and so forth, are charged directly as expenses.

Is it not true that most of the items on which the Government has granted accelerated amortization are actually for capital purposes that have a life of from 20 to 30 years and that by allowing a writeoff in 5 years or less, those corporations enjoy a great tax advantage?

It seems to me that we should reverse this picture by doing everything possible for aid to the small individual and the small business. Small businesses are at a great disadvantage in competing against the giant corporations who have the finest brainpower in the land without also being subjected to unfair tax discrimination.

For over 25 years I have been a retail jobber or distributor for large oil companies. The major oil companies generally have a policy of allowing their jobber a gallonage margin rather than a percentage margin as is the general business practice; this results in the oil jobbers being forced to operate on a bare existence minimum. As a result, a large majority of the individual jobbers of 20 years ago have been absorbed by the oil giants.

An article in one of the trade papers a short time ago indicated that General Motors for the past 8 years has averaged, after taxes, 25 percent on its total invested capital. If this is true, does it not highlight a very real danger to the economy of our country by concentrating such great power in a few corporations?

Yours sincerely,

BRUCE J. MAGUIRE.

Tribute to Jimmy Durante

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following column from the Chicago Sun-Times of March 19, 1957:

NEW YORK.—It was a big night for James Francis Durante, the beloved Schnozzola. It was the first time in his 50 years of show business that he permitted a testimonial dinner in his honor. And it was the first time he sat on a dais and delivered a formal speech. It was a big night, too, for Liz Taylor and her Mike Todd, two of the hundreds of celebrities who had come to pay homage to Durante. They had just learned that they had dated the stork for fall delivery.

Few testimonials, which are commonplace in New York, have been as humorous or touching as the one in honor of the Schnoz, the Cyrano of the Cellars. Largely because there is only one Durante, Toastmaster George Jessel, who was at his wittiest, summed it up succinctly when he said "Jimmy Durante never made a friend he didn't keep." And Danny Kaye expressed it still another way in describing how it feels to meet Durante for the first time: "A hand is extended and then a drop of sunshine falls on you."

This was a night rich in nostalgia as a series of speakers, each limited to a few minutes (hurrah) painted a word picture of the life and times of Jimmy Durante. Jessel pointed out that Durante was born on February 10, 1893, in the midst of a financial panic—"and he's been a panic ever since." Mayor Robert Wagner had considerable research done to find the first time Jimmy appeared in the public prints. It was a newspaper photograph showing Durante as a newsboy 55 years ago peddling a paper to the then mayor of New York. "I want to assure Durante," continued Wagner, "that the present mayor of New York is also a patron of his."

Veteran Actor Billy Gaxton recalled Durante's early days in show business as a piano player in a Coney Island joint. There Durante met a singing waiter who was instrumental in encouraging Jimmy to further his career. The singing waiter was Eddie Cantor. Together, in the Coney Island joint, they were known as the Nickel Kick-

ers. They lived for the tips the customers would fling on the floor during their performance. Most of the coins were nickels, which Eddie and/or Jimmy would kick into a corner until they had finished their number and could retrieve them.

Ted Lewis told of Jimmy's days at the long-gone Club Alamo in Brooklyn where he met the first of his two partners, Eddie Jackson, and then a girl singer, Jeanne Olson, who later was to become Mrs. Jimmy Durante. Phil Silvers brought the Durante saga to 1923, when Lou Clayton joined up to form the never-to-be-forgotten team of Clayton, Jackson, and Durante. No contract was necessary to bind the trio together. A signed document never existed for them. The only signatures they exchanged were on autographed pictures which were inscribed, "Till death do us part."

One of Jimmy's toughest decisions came when Hollywood paged him in the early thirties. MGM offered him a 5-year contract, but as a solo. Durante at first refused to leave Clayton and Jackson. But friends and advisers urged him not to forgo the golden opportunity offered by movies. Ralph Bellamy revealed that the problem was solved by Durante's partners. Clayton doffed his dancing shoes to become Jimmy's manager, and Jackson agreed to go along to be available for any night club or personal appearances Durante would accept.

The low point in Durante's career came some years later when Hollywood turned its back on him. His wife died shortly thereafter of a lingering illness. Durante, in the laugh-clown-laugh tradition, returned to night clubs. Though heavy of heart, his indomitable spirit saw him through this trying period and once again he became the "people's cherce."

The story of Jimmy Durante perhaps is best told with statistics like these: Eddie Jackson has been with him 40 years; Jack Roth, his drummer, 39 years; Lou Cohen, his business rep, 20 years; Jules Buffano, his piano player, 17 years, and Jackie Barnett, his writer, 15 years. As Jessel put it so aptly, "Durante must love people. Who else could kiss Jackson good night every night for 40 years?" Durante's 30-year association with Clayton was ended by Lou's death. But Clayton was present at the testimonial dinner. His soft-shoe dance was heard on a recording. A spotlight "picked up" his imaginary solo number on stage and Durante and Jackson went through their old act as if they were a trio once again.

The memorable evening was topped by Jimmy's speech, his first in a lifetime of public appearances. "There were offers to write a speech for me," Durante explained, "but I turned 'em down. I just want to get up here and say what's in my heart." As Durante admitted, "I got no command of the language," but it wasn't what he said that touched the audience. It was how he said it. None of the 3,000 gathered in the Waldorf-Astoria grand ballroom attempted to hide the tears that flowed. Jimmy himself reversed the tide by ending with a chuckle: "I came in here tonight 64 years old. Thanks to you, I'm leaving feeling no older than Jack Benny."

Stephen Foster Memorial at White Springs, Fla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most beautiful spots in Florida is the Stephen Foster Memorial in White Springs, in my congressional district. Here on the banks of the beautiful Suwannee River we have a most attractive building that houses many of the mementos connected with Stephen Foster. I cordially invite my colleagues and their friends to visit this beautiful site when next they go to Florida. White Springs is located on United States Highway No. 41, and it is fast becoming one of Florida's most attractive shrines.

Many interesting programs are held at the Stephen Foster Memorial throughout the year. Musical programs featuring the songs of Stephen Foster are attracting increasing attendance and interest.

I am delighted to note that Mrs. Eisenhower, Mrs. George Humphrey, Mrs. George Allen, and Mrs. Eisenhower's mother, Mrs. Dowd, visited the Stephen Foster Memorial on Friday, February 15, for about 2 hours. I appreciate the fact that these gracious ladies expressed their enjoyment of their visit.

On next July 4, we plan to dedicate the memorial tower and carillon. I know this will be a great occasion for our people in that area of the State, and I hope it is possible for many of our friends from all over the country to be with us on that occasion.

Give Surpluses to the Needy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, one of the great problems facing this body has to do with our huge agricultural surpluses. I have introduced legislation that will help solve this problem. I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues an editorial which appeared in the Valdosta (Ga.) Daily Times. It was written by one of Georgia's outstanding journalists, Turner Rockwell, under the title "Give Surpluses to the Needy."

The editorial follows:

GIVE SURPLUSES TO THE NEEDY

Congresswoman IRIS BLITCH, of this district, for the second time has introduced a bill in Congress which she feels will answer the question of what to do with the enormous farm surpluses which have accumulated in this county and at the same time give relief to the many needy families over the country.

To set her plan in motion, Mrs. BLITCH proposes a systematic method of reducing the surpluses and at the same time keeping future surpluses from accumulating.

Mrs. BLITCH explains her proposal this way: "The program would work like this: Each person now on welfare relief would be granted an additional $10 a month in food-fiber stamps to be spent at any retail store for items which the Secretary of Agriculture might declare in surplus. The stamps would have to be spent within the month they are issued or else would be void."

Mrs. BLITCH pointed out that nearly 170,000 Georgians on public assistance would be benefited by her proposed program. "More than 16,000 of these persons are now living within the Eighth District," she said.

"These food-fiber certificates could be used to purchase cotton and wool products, such as children's clothes and other items, as well as any food that might be surplus, such as sugar, flour, citrus, cooking oil, and many other items."

Congresswoman BLITCH explained that she introduced a similar bill last session. "It didn't get very far because the idea was just too new and too far reaching for some people. Since then, the idea has received a great amount of attention. The bill has been reviewed more or less favorably by the Department of Agriculture, and much sentiment in its favor has been developed in the Senate. I don't give up easily when the good of so many people is at stake. I feel sure that we'll make a great deal of progress with this plan this year."

This proposal appears to have considerable merit. Since the Government has already advanced the money on the crops that are in surplus storage, it would not involve any considerable amount of additional spending. Of course, there would be the administrative cost and probably some other small items of spending.

There is, of course, the danger that it might tend to encourage more additions to the surplus supplies. However, it has the advantage of giving aid to the needy among our own population, rather than sending these surplus items abroad. There are a lot of our own people who are in need and they should be given consideration by the Government.

Some Members of Congress have indicated an interest in the idea and Mrs. BLITCH explains that she is hopeful that it will be given earnest consideration by both the House and Senate.

Certainly it has sufficient merit to warrant careful attention. Huge surpluses have been the cause of a lot of thought and any plan that will utilize them to the advantage of those in need is worth consideration.

The Mideast Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following letter, which appeared in the National Review of March 9, is a very interesting impression by a very brilliant woman who has been on the spot and is therefore speaking of something she has seen and experienced.

Mr. Speaker, lest the cry of anti-Semitism be raised over this letter, may I point out that Freda Utley's husband was a Jew and that he is believed to have perished in a Russian concentration camp. At least he was torn from his home and family many years ago by the NKVD and was never seen or heard of again.

We must at this time keep our heads cool and our feet on the ground and above all hear and see every side of these vexing questions. We must not indulge in epithets nor allow local politics and voting blocs to obscure our thinking and our reason.

In the words attributed to Washington, "Let only Americans be on watch tonight."

DISSENT ON EGYPT

(By Freda Utley)

Returning home at the end of December after a 7-month study tour of the Far East, southeast Asia, and the Middle East, I was dismayed to find that National Review had not supported Eisenhower's wise and politically courageous stand on Suez, which has so greatly enhanced American prestige, influence and power almost everywhere in the world.

Instead of studying and calmly appraising the evidence in the case of Egypt versus the Suez Canal Co., you have taken an ex parte stand and engaged in vituperation instead of argument. In your November 17 issue, Nasser is accused of "a ravenous ambition and unbounded unscrupulousness," of "strutting lawlessness," and of leading "primitive Arab nationalism." Permit me to give you readers a few of the indisputable facts ignored by National Review and generally unknown to Americans.

First, Nasser did not break any treaty nor contravene international law when his government took possession of the Suez Canal and started to operate it. What he actually did was to "nationalize" an Egyptian company, incorporated under Egyptian law, which had a concession to operate a canal running through Egyptian territory which had been built by Egyptian labor. Far from having expropriated the shareholders, he offered them full compensation at the price of their shares on the Paris Bourse on the day preceding the nationalization decree.

Paragraph 16 of the 1866 agreement between the Egyptian Government and the Suez Canal Co. reads: "The Suez Canal Co. is an Egyptian company subject to Egyptian laws and customs."

In 1939, in a memorandum submitted to the Mixed Courts in Egypt which pronounced judgment in its favor in February 1940, the British Government maintained that:

"The Suez Canal Co. is a legal person in accordance with Egyptian law. Its nationality and character are solely Egyptian. It is, therefore, subject to Egyptian laws."

The British memorandum further stated: "It is true that the company is given the name of 'The Universal Co. of the Maritime Suez Canal.' * * * this designation cannot deprive the company of its Egyptian nationality. The company is Egyptian in accordance with the established general principles of law and in particular with the principles of private international laws and the company's organic law."

Lastly, it should be noted that article 8 of the agreement concluded between Egypt and Britain in 1954 states specifically that the Suez Canal is an integral part of Egypt.

If the British Government had not argued in 1939–40 that the Suez Canal Co. is Egyptian, it would have been contravening international law by denying passage to Italian and German ships during the war. If Egypt, under British control, had the right to block passage to enemy ships during both world wars, one cannot deny Egypt's right to bar Israeli ships, since there is only an armistice between her and the State of Israel.

And since Egypt, after nationalizing the canal, managed to keep it operating and allowed free passage to the ships of all nations except Israel, Nasser cannot be accused of having contravened the 1888 Constantinople convention.

National Review's attempt to "subtract the role—indeed, the very existence—of Israel from the Suez question" is like staging a performance of Hamlet, not in the classic phrase "without the Prince of Denmark," but without the background of the murder of his father.

The U. N.'s partition plan had stipulated that the Arabs should retain their property and civil rights in the part of their country delivered over to Israeli rule. But Israel dispossessed most of them, and drove a million out of their homes and ancestral lands in the 60 percent of Palestine allotted to it, as well as from the half of Jerusalem that it took under its control. This action, which created the problem of the 900,000 destitute Arab refugees, was accomplished by means of such terroristic measures as the massacre of the entire male population of Dier Yasin.

In contrast, Nasser, now called an Arab Hitler by some American newspapers, as well as by the British "gutter press," displayed exemplary moderation in his treatment of the Jews following the Israeli-Anglo-French attacks on Egypt. Instead of following the precedent set by America in the treatment of our Japanese citizens following Pearl Harbor (which, as Congressman WALTER JUDD said in a speech on December 7, 1956, had now been copied by our Anglo-French allies at Port Said), the Egyptian Government left its many Jewish citizens unmolested, and expelled only enemy nationals.

ARMS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Similarly, with regard to the accusation that Nasser is an ally of the Communists or their puppet because he bought Czech arms last year, why has no such accusation ever been leveled at Israel, which, in 1948, when it defeated the Egyptian Army and the poorly armed Palestinian Arabs who vainly endeavored to defend their lands and property, was largely indebted for its victory to timely and substantial shipments of arms from behind the Iron Curtain, primarily from Czechoslovakia?

A judgment against the State of Israel, which falsely pretends to speak for all Jews, has been pronounced by Rabbi Elmer Berger in his book, Who Knows Better Should Say So; by Alfred Lilienthal in, What Price Israel; and by other courageous American Jews and gentiles alike who realize that Israeli pretensions, ambitions, and practices must eventually redound to the discredit and hurt of Jews everywhere in the world.

In the hour interview I had with Colonel Nasser on December 19 in his retreat near Cairo, he said to me:

"We do not want to see Egyptians dispossessed of their lands and property and become refugees like the Arabs of Palestine. This is the prospect we faced last month. We knew we were too weak to resist Britain's attack, but we had confidence in western moral force to defeat British power politics. For the first time, we were able to put our case to the world and consequently, western morality defeated aggression."

President Nasser denied that there was any Russo-Egyptian agreement or alliance. He had bought Czech arms and equipment after the West denied them because Israel was receiving large quantities, especially from France. "Our fear of Israel," he said, "is comparable on a smaller scale to America's fear of the atom bomb."

The favorite quotation of the sophisticated Arabs of both the Christian and Moslem faiths whom I met in Cairo and Port Said, Beirut, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem was Winston Churchill's wartime statement that he would "take the aid of the devil himself" to save England. Why, they asked, should Nasser be called a Communist agent or puppet because he bought arms from Russia, whereas Churchill at Teheran and Yalta agreed to deliver millions to Communist slavery in order to win the war against Nazi Germany?

I became convinced during my interview with President Nasser that he is not an extremist who dreams of driving Israel into the sea. He indicated that he would make peace, but only on the condition that Arab rights and national dignity be respected and that Israel be compelled to make restitution to the refugees, abandon its expansionist aims, and obey the U. N.'s resolutions concerning its borders. Unfortunately, however, just as Israeli leaders make extremist statements, such as expanding from the Nile to the Euphrates, so, too, Nasser is inclined to make fiery speeches in the fashion of a cheerleader shouting to his football team, "Rip 'em and tear 'em up."

In the Middle East climate of fear, suspicion, hatred, and exacerbated nationalism engendered by the tragic cycle of injustice, violence, retaliation, and counterretaliation, it is now practically impossible for the leaders on either side to pursue a policy of moderation leading toward reconciliation and peace. In order to retain the support and leadership of their peoples, they are compelled at the very least to make belligerent speeches. Yet the situation is not hopeless. President Eisenhower, having won the confidence of the Arab world by his courageous and principled stand against the Israeli-Franco-British attack on Egypt, could now enforce a just and enduring peace between Israel and the Arab world involving concessions by both sides. If Eisenhower is of the stuff of which great American Presidents are made, he will continue to ignore Anglo-French and Zionist pressures and save the Middle East from Communist conquest by default, by his adherence to fundamental American principles.

By some strange logic which can be understood only by acceptance of the premise that two wrongs make a right, Henry Hazlitt, in your February 9 issue, argues that Israel should not be compelled to obey the U. N. by evacuating the Egyptian territory it occupied by armed force unless there is also an immediate withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary and from every other satellite nation where they are not wanted. How can the Arabs be expected to see any justice in the argument that they should, again and again, be called upon to pay the penalty for the crimes, follies, or fears of the western powers? In 1947 when Truman and Stalin jointly pressured the U. N. to establish the State of Israel by partitioning Palestine, the argument which won approval for this act of injustice against the Arab population was the need to make restitution to the Jews for their abominable treatment by Nazi Germany. Today, the Arabs are in effect being told, even by such good men as Senators KNOWLAND and BRIDGES, that because the West dared not risk war with the Soviet Empire by supporting the Hungarian fighters for freedom, the Arabs must be penalized, lest it be said that Israel was punished for her aggression while Soviet Russia goes unscathed.

COMPARISON WITH CHINA

History never repeats itself so exactly that its lesson is clear for all to read. Yet, there is a close and tragic similarity between the situation in the Arab Middle East today and that of the Chinese Far East a generation ago. In 1922 Sun Yat-sen turned to Moscow for help in the liberation of China after the Western Powers had refused to relinquish the imperialist privileges, rights, and powers which kept China impotent, divided, economically backward, and poverty stricken. By so doing, he unwittingly opened the door to Communist infiltration, subversion, and armed attack which, a quarter of a century later, delivered China over to Communist tyranny and converted her into Moscow's most reliable and subservient satellite.

Anyone well acquainted with the tragic drama of modern China realizes that we could have prevented the Communist conquest if we had given real backing to Chiang Kai-shek and the forces of moderate, western orientated nationalism he represented. Yet, there is a similar obtuseness with regard to the Arab world where it is not yet too late.

The great danger which confronts us, and of which there is reason to hope that President Eisenhower is aware, is that by treating Nasser as if he were a Communist agent or ally, which he is not, we shall force him to

become one, or alternatively, destroy him and make way for a Communist dictator.

Vice President NIXON has truly stated that history will give eternal credit to our President and Secretary of State for choosing the hard road of principle. If President Eisenhower were to revert under pressure to the support of Britain, France, and Israel, right or wrong, National Review, together with most of the American press, must take its share of the blame for pushing the Middle East into Moscow's welcoming arms.

New Deal a Mere Tyro at Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert a reproduced column by Fulton Lewis, Jr. The article appeared in the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of Monday, March 18, 1957. This newspaper by the way, is owned by the Hearst interests who supported Preident Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956.

I do not happen to be an admirer of the customary journalistic gyrations of Mr. Fulton Lewis, Jr. In this instance, however, he makes some very pointed observations on "the case of the $72 billion budget." The article follows:

NEW DEAL A MERE TYRO AT SPENDING

(By Fulton Lewis, Jr.)

Thumbing back to the profligate days of the late spendthrift Franklin D. Roosevelt brings a sort of fond nostalgia.

We screamed, we protested, we castigated his administration for wanton waste and financial vandalism. Actually, we never had it so good; at least, not since.

And if Mr. Eisenhower, Bermuda-bound aboard his sunny cruiser, is wondering at the nettle bed of public opinion in which he finds himself as a result of his $72 billion budget, a casual review of the spending records of his predecessors might enlighten him.

Actually, the $72 billion covers only the budgeted spending.

The real figure is approximately $86.2 billion which is more than any President has ever spent in all history, excepting only the last 2 years of World War II, when the Nation was fighting on war fronts all over the world.

The late F. D. R. came into office on March 3, 1933. Thus, the first full year, probably chargeable to him, was the one ending June 30, 1934.

The plowing under of little pigs, leaf raking, pump priming, NRA, WPA, CCC, PWA, and assorted other alphabetics were in full swing. Total spending for that year ending June 30, 1934: $6,694,000,000.

THE NEW DEAL

The New Deal record thereafter:

1935	$6,521,000,000
1936	8,493,000,000
1937	7,756,000,000
1938	6,792,000,000
1939	8,858,000,000
1940	9,062,000,000

The following year was full time defense production:

1941	$13,262,000,000

Then the war:

1942	$34,046,000,000
1943	79,407,000,000
1944	95,059,000,000
1945	98,416,000,000

The slackoff and 2 years under the Republican-controlled 80th Congress:

1946	$60,447,000,000
1947	39,032,000,000
1948	33,068,000,000

Two Truman peacetime deficit-spending years:

1949	$33,068,000,000
1950	39,507,000,000

KOREAN WAR

Mr. Truman's Korean police action (total American casualties, 155,000):

1951	$44,058,000,000
1952	66,407,000,000
1953	74,274,000,000

Finally, Mr. Eisenhower:

1954	$67,772,000,000
1955	64,570,000,000
1956	66,386,000,000
1957 (estimated)	80,200,000,000
1958 (proposed)	86,200,000,000

The deluge of acrid mail flooding the Congress is impressive—no signs of instigated campaigns.

It is clearly the spontaneous outpouring of basic individual protest by irate, grassroots citizens.

And it is not against Congress, but the President himself. The responsibility for the budget is his, and efforts to shed that responsibility are unconvincing to the general public, as his own White House mail shows—if his palace guard would ever let him know what happens in the mailroom.

More of the Questions Asked by Congressman Doyle and Answers Thereto From Department of Defense re Military Discharges and Dismissals; Carl Vinson Appoints Special Subcommittee of Armed Services Committee re H. R. 1108

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, I know that you and all the Members of this great 85th Congress will be pleased to know that Hon. CARL VINSON did on the 19th day of February 1957 name and appoint a special subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Now, members of the committee, a very important bill has been introduced by our distinguished colleague, Mr. DOYLE, H. R. 1108, Navy discharges, a matter to which he has given considerable thought and study. And he made a statement on the floor of the House in regard to it yesterday. And I am asking that that bill be referred to a special subcommittee. I am appointing as a subcommittee to handle that bill Mr. DOYLE, chairman; Mr. HUDDLESTON, of Alabama; Mr. KITCHIN, of North Carolina; Mr. BRAY, of Indiana; and Mr. GUBSER, of California. They will take full charge of that bill and make an investigation and report back to the full committee. Speaker SAM RAYBURN has previously referred the Doyle bill to the Armed Services Committee.

The legal counsel appointed for the committee was distinguished military lawyer Russell Blandford, who when in the Military Establishment, was frequently a member of the military review boards.

You will be pleased to know that this special subcommittee has already had several informal meetings to discuss and deliberate upon the subject of the objectives of H. R. 1108 and of the procedures and processes by which the said special subcommittee would proceed. Growing out of these several informal meetings, I am able to state that it appears all members of said subcommittee are unanimous in a position that something must be done. As one result of our discussion we have asked the Department of Defense several more important questions and have also urged that all questions previously made be not only answered but hurried along for the purpose of our earliest possible consideration and study; that we may be prepared for the public hearings to be held by the committee on H. R. 1108 and the subject of military discharges when we first begin our public hearings. You will realize, Mr. Speaker, that these several informal meetings, limited to members of our special subcommittee, and our legal counsel, have been in special consideration for the public hearings that we might be able to treat this important subject promptly and thoroughly and also constructively. In this connection, I wish to say that in drafting the bill I not only had the able assistance of the House legislative counsel, but I myself recognize that it should be improved to the fullest extent by virtue of the joining of many minds in legislative content on this important subject.

So, we are already agreed on certain changes in the text of H. R. 1108, which I am very pleased to recognize as very substantially beneficial to the objectives I originally had in mind.

You will also be pleased to know that almost 30 Members of the House have adopted H. R. 1108 as their own and have filed the same under their own authorship. I am pleased that they have done so for not only did each Member file said bill in their own name but about a dozen other Members of the House have also asked to appear at the public hearings and testify for the worthy objectives sought. We now plan to begin public hearings not later than the first week in May. This certainly will give the Defense Department and all the Departments of the Military Establishments involved, more than ample time to have their specific answers to our inquiries and study back to our attention. We have asked the same to be completed on their part by April 15.

The very considerable number of comments and letters we have already received from throughout our Nation, together with expression of interest from

the national offices of the several veterans organizations, all indicate the manifest interest and concern there is from thousands of American homes where some member thereof has received less than honorable discharge for some error or violation or act which was never a crime. I will say that in preparing for and submitting H. R. 1108, I never intended to make it easy for one who had been discharged from the military with less than honorable to establish the fact before the military review boards that he had rehabilitated himself in civilian life. But I would hope and pray—and still do—that the many thousands of American boys who have been discharged with less than honorable discharges and have never been convicted of a crime in the Military Establishment, could find some reasonable procedure in the Military Establishment for the man who has rehabilitated himself in civilian life to prove that he had lived an exemplary life for at least 3 years so that the stigma attached to him can be removed and also help him to obtain dignified employment worthy of his natural ambitions and abilities.

And, Mr. Speaker, from my many years of study of this subject, which is vital to the total concern of military establishments as well as to every American home from which an American lad has already gone into the military, or may in the future go, I am convinced that just, practical, reasonable, and constructive changes can be made in the law and practices of our Defense Department in this subject without there being any degree of disciplinary problems evolving, which would reasonably overcome the greater benefits of the objectives of H. R. 1108.

Calling your attention to the fact that on the 18th day of February 1957 in our CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, at pages 1938 and A1192, I inserted a few of the 23 questions which I asked the Department of Defense about military discharges and included therein their written answers thereto, I am pleased to present further of my 23 questions and the answers thereto as given me by the Department of Defense.

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (NAVY)

4. Question: Using layman's language, please give me the basis of each type of discharge or separation issued in 1945 and each type of discharge or separation issued under present regulations. Give the number of each type of discharge or separation issued in 1945, and the number of each type of discharge used under present existing regulations.

Answer: (a) The following types of discharges or separations were in effect for the Department of the Navy in fiscal year 1945:

Type	Criterion	Number issued
Honorable	Fidelity, obedience and excellent service.	
Under honorable conditions	Satisfactory conduct and performance of duty but not sufficiently deserving or meritorious to warrant honorable discharge.	[1] 177,542
Undesirable	Unfitness, desertion without trial, trial and conviction by civil authorities, or fraudulent enlistment.	4,570

Footnote at end of table.

Type	Criterion	Number issued
Bad conduct	Approved sentence of general or summary court-martial. Appropriate for offenses which warranted separation as part of punishment but which were not of sufficiently grave nature to warrant dishonorable discharge.	8,619
Dishonorable	Approved sentence of general court-martial. Appropriate for serious offenses warranting dishonorable separation as part of punishment.	283

[1] Total honorable and under honorable conditions discharges issued. Statistical information for fiscal year 1945 does not include separate figures.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

4. Question: Using layman's language, please give me the basis of each type of discharge or separation issued in 1945 and each type of discharge or separation issued under present regulations. Give the number of each type of discharge or separation issued in 1945, and the number of each type of discharge used under present existing regulations.

Answer: (a) The following types of discharges or separations were in effect for the Department of the Army (including Air Force) in fiscal year 1945:

Type	Criterion	Number issued
Honorable	Honest and faithful service.	567,814
Discharge (blue)	Administrative discharge without characterization of service awarded through board action for reasons of unfitness, undesirableness, etc.	15,085
Dishonorable	Approved sentence of a general court-martial for serious offenses warranting dishonorable separation as a part of punishment.	9,634

(b) The following types of discharges or separations were in effect for the Department of the Army in fiscal year 1955:

Type	Criterion	Number issued
Honorable	Honest and faithful service.	619,194
General	Satisfactory conduct and performance of duty but not sufficiently deserving or meritorious to warrant an honorable discharge.	18,584
Undesirable	Issued pursuant to board action for such reasons as unfitness, misconduct, disloyalty or homosexuality.	14,566
Bad conduct	Approved sentence of a general court-martial for offenses which warrant separation as part of punishment but which were not of a sufficiently grave nature to warrant a dishonorable discharge.	965

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE

4. Question: Using laymen's language, please give me the basis of each type of discharge or separation issued in 1945 and each type of discharge or separation issued under present regulations. Give the number of each type of discharge or separation issued in 1945, and the number of each type of discharge used under present existing regulations.

Answer: (a) The following types of discharges or separations were in effect for the Department of the Air Force in fiscal year 1955:

Type	Criterion	Number issued
Honorable	Honest and faithful service.	175,400
General	Satisfactory conduct and performance of duty but not sufficiently deserving or meritorious to warrant an honorable discharge.	7,200
Undesirable	Issued by administrative action under conditions other than honorable, i. e., unfitness, misconduct or disloyalty.	6,200
Bad conduct	Issued pursuant to the sentence of a general or special court-martial as prescribed, in the Manual for Courts-Martial, United States 1951. It is a discharge under conditions other than honorable. Bad-conduct discharges are appropriate for offenses that warrant separation as included punishment but are not of a sufficiently grave nature to warrant dishonorable discharge.	2,400
Dishonorable	Issued only be approved sentences of general courts-martial and appropriate for serious offenses warranting dishonorable separation as included punishment.	1,000

(b) Appropriate information for fiscal year 1945 is reflected in paragraph 4a, Department of the Army, page 4–1. The Air Force was included in the Army at that period of time.

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (MARINE CORPS)

4. Question: Using laymen's language, please give me the basis of each type discharge or separation issued in 1945 and each type of discharge or separation issued under present regulations. Give the number of each type of discharge or separation issued in 1945, and the number of each type of discharge used under present existing regulations.

Answer: (a) The types of discharges utilized by the Marine Corps in fiscal years 1945 and 1955 are the same, with the single exception noted in the answer to question 3. However, statistical data pertaining to the number of the various types of discharges issued is not available prior to fiscal year 1949.

(b) The following types of discharges or separations were in effect for the Marine Corps in fiscal years 1949 and 1955:

Type	Criterion	Number issued	
		Fiscal year 1949	Fiscal year 1955
Honorable	Excellent service; proficient in rating, industrious, and possessing good conduct record.	18,873	22,023
General	Satisfactory conduct and performance of duty but not sufficiently deserving or meritorious to warrant honorable discharge.	521	1,407
Undesirable	Pursuant to board action for unfitness or misconduct.	626	1,991
Bad conduct	Approved sentence of general or summary court-martial. Appropriate for offenses which warrant separation as part of punishment but which were not of sufficiently grave nature to warrant dishonorable discharge.	832	2,069

Type	Criterion	Number issued: Fiscal year 1949	Number issued: Fiscal year 1955
Dishonorable	Approved sentence of general court-martial. Appropriate for serious offenses warranting dishonorable separation as part of punishment.	165	127

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

7. Question: How many discharges have been reviewed by each of the military services by the respective Boards of Review of Discharges and Dismissals? List each type of discharge or separation given during each of the last 5 years.

Answer:

(a) The total number of discharges reviewed by the separate Discharge Review Boards are as follows:

TO JUNE 30, 1955

Total discharges reviewed

Service:	
Army	49,399
Navy	36,968
Air Force	12,506

(b) For the results over the 5-year period ending June 30, 1955, see attached sheets immediately following.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

9. Question: Have any discharges been changed as prayed for by the Board for the Correction of Military Records or the Board for the Correction of Naval Records?

Answer: Yes; 561 discharges or separations have been changed during the 5-year period July 1, 1950, to June 30, 1955.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

17. Question: In considering the review of an adverse type of discharge upon the request of the dischargee, is any consideration given by the reviewers to exemplary behavior subsequent to the date of discharge on the part of the petitioner?

Answer: Generally speaking, the answer is "No." However, in those borderline cases where the Board considers that the dischargee, on the basis of his record of service alone, could have been properly and equitably discharged with a higher type discharge, the Board may be influenced in its decision to change or not to change the awarded discharge by his record since discharge.

Tabulation by service of type discharges and number issued for fiscal years 1945 and 1955:

	Army	Navy	Air Force	Marine Corps
Fiscal year 1945:				
Honorable	567,814	177,542	(1)	18,873
General				521
Honorable conditions				
Discharge (blue)	15,085			
Undesirable		4,570		626
Bad conduct		8,619		832
Dishonorable	9,634	283		165
Total	592,533	191,014		21,017
Fiscal year 1955:				
Honorable	619,194	173,251	175,400	22,023
General	18,684	6,675	7,200	1,407
Honorable conditions	(2)			
Discharge (blue)	(2)			
Undesirable	14,566	3,529	6,200	1,901
Bad conduct	965	3,127	2,400	2,669
Dishonorable	2,546	76	1,000	127
Total	655,955	186,658	192,200	28,127

[1] See (b), pp. 4–6.
[2] Not utilized in fiscal year 1955.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE DISCHARGES THAT HAVE BEEN CHANGED

Discharges reviewed and action taken during period July 1, 1950–June 30, 1955

Service	Discharge cases reviewed	Dishonorable, bad-conduct discharges, and dismissals changed to better type discharges or separations under honorable conditions	Undesirable discharges (blue) and resignations changed to better type discharges or separations under honorable conditions	Total discharges or separations changed	Total discharges or separations denied
Army	3,423	171	[1] 20	191	3,232
Navy	3,946	278	25	303	3,643
Air Force	773	48	19	67	706
Total	8,142	497	64	561	7,581

[1] An approximate number.

TOTAL NUMBER OF DISCHARGES REVIEWED BY THE SEPARATE DISCHARGE REVIEW BOARDS TO JUNE 30, 1955

Service:	*Total discharges reviewed*
Army	49,399
Navy	39,963
Air Force	12,506

Discharges reviewed by each of the separate discharge review boards over 5-year period ending June 30, 1955

Service	Appeals denied after review of discharge	Findings modified without change in type of discharge	Discharges changed after review from—					
			General to honorable	Blue to honorable	Undesirable to general	Bad conduct to— Honorable	Bad conduct to— General	Bad conduct to— Undesirable
Army	14,646	235	447	428	1,043	5	11	
Navy	7,753	265	555	62	556	31	424	4
Marine Corps	1,725	40	145	9	85	5	23	1
Air Force	8,886	282	138	94	366	3	5	2
Total	33,010	822	1,285	593	2,050	44	463	7

TOTAL APPEALS PROCESSED BY SERVICE

Army	16,815
Navy	9,650
Marine Corps	2,031
Air Force	9,776
Total	38,274

Tabulation by type discharges of service and number issued for fiscal years 1945 and 1955

	Honorable	General	Honorable conditions	Discharge (blue)	Undesirable	Bad conduct	Dishonorable
Fiscal year 1945:							
Army	567,814			15,085			9,634
Navy	[1] 177,542		(1)		4,570	8,619	283
Air Force	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Marine Corps [3]	18,873	521			626	832	165
Total	764,229	521		15,085	5,196	9,451	10,082
Fiscal year 1955:							
Army	619,194	18,684	(4)	(4)	14,566	965	2,546
Navy	173,251	6,675			3,529	3,127	76
Air Force	175,400	7,200			6,200	2,400	1,000
Marine Corps	22,023	1,407			1,901	2,669	127
Total	989,868	33,966			26,196	9,161	3,749

[1] Total "honorable" and "under honorable conditions" discharges issued. Statistical information for fiscal year 1945 does not include separate figures.
[2] The Air Force was included in the Army this period of time.
[3] The figures under fiscal year 1945 represent fiscal year 1949 as statistical data prior to 1949 not available.
[4] Not utilized by Department of the Army in fiscal year 1955.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

Army Board for Correction of Military Records Action. Discharges reviewed and action taken during the period July 1, 1950, to June 30, 1955:

Discharge cases reviewed	**3,423**
Dishonorable, bad-conduct discharges, and dismissals changed to better type of discharges or separations under honorable conditions	**171**
Undesirable discharges (blue), and resignations changed to better-type discharges or separations under honorable conditions	**[1] 20**
Total discharges or separations changed	**191**
Total discharges or separations denied	**3,232**

[1] An approximate figure.

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY

Board for Correction of Naval Records Action. Discharges reviewed and action taken during the period July 1, 1950, to June 30, 1955:

Discharge cases reviewed	3,946
Dishonorable, bad conduct discharges, and dismissals changed to better-type discharges or separations under honorable conditions	278
Undesirable discharges and resignations changed to better-type discharges or separations under honorable conditions	25
Total discharges or separations changed	303
Total discharges or separations denied	3,643

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE

Air Force Board for Correction of Military Records Action. Discharges reviewed and action taken during the period July 1, 1950, to June 30, 1955:

Discharge cases reviewed	773
Dishonorable, bad conduct discharges, and dismissals changed to better type discharges or separations under honorable conditions	48
Undesirable discharges (blue) and resignations changed to better type discharges or separations under honorable conditions	19
Total discharges or separations changed	67
Total discharges or separations denied	706

(b) The following types of discharges or separations were in effect for the Department of the Navy in fiscal year 1955.

Type	Criterion	Number issued
Honorable	Excellent service: proficient in rating, industrious and possessing good conduct record.	173,251
General	Satisfactory conduct and performance of duty but not sufficiently deserving or meritorious to warrant honorable discharge.	6,675
Undesirable	Pursuant to Board action for unfitness or misconduct.	3,529
Bad conduct	Approved sentence of general or summary court martial. Appropriate for offenses which warrant separation as part of punishment but which were not of sufficiently grave nature to warrant dishonorable discharge.	3,127
Dishonorable	Approved sentence of general court martial. Appropriate for serious offenses warranting dishonorable separation as part of punishment.	76

Indicative of the seriousness of the subject matter of H. R. 1108 is found in the 38th National Convention of the American Legion held at Los Angeles, Calif., September 3–6, 1956, for page 55 of the report of the special committee, appointed on December 16, 1955, by the then national commander, consisting of Franklin Riter, Salt Lake City, Utah, chairman; John J. Finn, Alexandria, Va.; and Carl C. Matheny, Detroit, Mich.; Resolution 23 by said committee was unanimously adopted as follows, to wit: Provide for congressional investigation at the earliest possible time into the activities of the Boards of Review of Discharges and Dismissal and the Boards for the Correction of Military Records, for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not said Boards have been carrying out the intent of Congress in their creation.

Chief Peter Graves, Outstanding Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, one of my most beloved constituents and one of the most noted and capable Indian chiefs of our lifetime, just recently passed away. I was always happy at an opportunity to talk with Peter Graves, the chief and elder statesman of the Red Lake Indian Reservation. I wish to pay tribute to this great and good man who thought with his heart.

I relied heavily on Peter Graves' advice and had the greatest respect for his opinions and his profound wisdom and judgment. He was naturally most interested in the improvement of conditions, the culture and the well-being of his people, but not to the exclusion of other considerations such as their relations with the white people in his area and the problems of the area as a whole. He worked and fought continually for his high goals and I intend to continue to promote legislation which will benefit Peter Graves' people and fulfill his dreams for them and the better world he hoped for.

An article appeared in the Bemidji Daily Pioneer on March 15 concerning this venerable man. Under leave to extend my remarks, I request permission to place this article in the RECORD.

The article follows:

PETER GRAVES, PROMINENT IN RED LAKE INDIAN AFFAIRS MANY YEARS, DIES AT AGE 84

Peter Graves, for many years a leader in Red Lake Reservation affairs, died at the Redlake Hospital about 7 p. m. Thursday. He would have been 85 on May 20. Although he was not a chief, he was popularly known by the title.

A lifetime of work among his people led Graves to judge of Indian court, various positions with the United States Indian Service at Walker and at Redlake and with the Red Lake Band of Chippewas.

At the time of his death Graves was secretary-treasurer of the Red Lake Chippewa Tribe and served as secretary of the Red Lake Fisheries Association at Redby.

Funeral services will be held at Redlake at 2 p. m. Sunday at St. John's Episcopal Church, of which he was a member. Rev. Thomas Phillips will officiate and burial, under supervision of the McKee Funeral Home, will be made in the Redlake Episcopal Cemetery.

Mr. Graves is credited with making an outstanding contribution in his efforts to preserve the heritage of the Red Lake Chippewa Indians. Without financial backing of any kind, and with only the courage of his convictions, he was a constructive force among his people and consistently fought for what he believed to be their rights and welfare. He was largely instrumental, as secretary-treasurer of the Red Lake fisheries organization, in building that business up to a revenue of $305,000 gross per year. Also, largely due to his efforts, the Red Lake Diminished Reservation was saved along with some $10 million. As an assistant clerk for the Leech Lake Agency, he opposed the claims of the Minnesota Chippewa against the Red Lake Band. He was accused of opposing the claims because of his governmental position, and he resigned rather than have his integrity impeached.

On the merits of his life as a leader, with a story of accomplishment for his people, he was awarded the 1940 Indian Achievement Medal of the Indian Council Fire at Chicago, Ill.

Peter Graves was born on May 20, 1872, at Redlake. After attending grade school, he worked on a farm. He learned carpentry and cigarmaking, and in 1889 played baseball in Hazleton, Pa., with the old Middle States League.

He attended the Lincoln Institute at Philadelphia, Pa., and graduated with the class of 1889. He was connected with the Redlake Agency at various times as interpreter, chief of police, and assistant clerk until 1919. In 1936 he was appointed judge in the Indian Court.

From 1920 until the time of his death he was secretary-treasurer of the General Council of the Redlake Band of Chippewa Indians, which he helped found in 1918, and from 1929 was secretary of the Red Lake Fisheries Association at Redby. In 1918 he was awarded the Certificate of Merit at the dedication of the Bemidji Airport.

Mr. Graves' first wife, nee Mary Fairbanks, died in 1912. In 1915 he married Susan Wright, who survives him, at Walker.

Surviving are 2 sons, Joseph, of Redlake, and Clyde, of Redby, and 8 daughters, Mrs. Isabel G. Strong, Mrs. Charles Beaulieu, Rose Graves, and Mrs. Alvin Oliver, all of Redlake; Mrs. Richard Auginash and Mrs. Carl Carlson, of Redby; Mrs. Mary G. Petite, of Duluth; and Mrs. Francis DuHaine, of Grand Marais. Fifty-one grandchildren and 76 great-grandchildren also survive.

World Famous Westminster Choir Makes Friends for America Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the Westminster Choir College of Princeton, N. J., in the Fourth New Jersey District which I have the honor to represent, has just returned from 5 months abroad during which 22 countries were visited.

Regardless of where this world famous choir appeared it was greeted enthusiastically.

The Department of State has made available to me some of the reports on this great choir which it received from its officers overseas. I give one or two of them here for the information of my colleagues.

The 84th Congress adopted important legislation—Public Law 860—making cultural exchange programs a permanent part of our foreign policy.

It is encouraging to know that this program is working out so well, especially so since I was coauthor of the legislation with Senator HUBERT H. HUM-

PHREY, of Minnesota. This legislation ranks with the Fulbright Act and the Smith-Mundt Act in the importance of the activities being carried on under its authority. These programs will undoubtedly grow in importance and value through the years.

I include here an editorial and an article from the Trenton Evening Times together with the reports on the tour furnished me by the Department of State. The State Department reports are from Karachi, Pakistan; Calcutta, India; and Naha, Okinawa.

The editorial and article follow:

[From the Trenton Evening Times of] March 12, 1957]

WESTMINSTER CHOIR, HOME FROM WORLD TOUR, REPORTS EVERYBODY LOVES MOZART

PRINCETON.—With musical groups carrying JAZZ throughout the world to unqualified raves, it seems strange to find that during a recent globe-circling singing tour, "everybody loved Mozart."

Yet, according to John Finley Williamson, founder of the Westminster Choir College of Princeton, that describes the reactions of listeners in the 22 countries visited by the Westminster Choir over the past 5 months. The tour, which was sponsored by the American National Theater and Academy, came to an end on March 1 after having carried music to 228,000 people throughout the world.

According to Williamson, who conducted the singers, the trip was the first round-the-world tour ever made by any choir. Consisting of 45 male and female singers the choir's repertory ranged from the classical through the whole realm of contemporary and folk music. It included Negro spirituals and an authentic Navaho war dance.

The bulk of the tour was in Asia where concepts of music are supposedly quite different from those of the West. Nevertheless, Williamson, describing the choir's reception recalled, "It was just wild in every country; they just kept on applauding."

Mozart's vesper programs were the favorite selections throughout the tour. The next most popular work was Testament of Freedom, by Randall Thompson, former head of Princeton University's music department and currently professor of composition at Harvard.

ANTA, the tour's sponsor, is the appointed agency of the State Department for the administration of President Eisenhower's fund for cultural relations. In Okinawa, the choir drew an audience of 20,000, the largest outdoor audience of the tour.

The singers who appeared in Japan, Cambodia, India, Ceylon, Iran, Yugoslavia, and 16 other countries, traveled 40,000 miles since the tour began on October 1 of last year. Williamson points out that "we didn't go as a choir representing any particular religion. We tried to appeal to a universal philosophy in which the love of poetry and a melodic line is basic."

Williamson, a resident of Princeton, founded the Westminster Choir in 1921 and the Westminster Choir College in 1926. The choir has sung in 122 concerts with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra over the past 18 years.

Reflecting on the warm reception that the choir received throughout the world, Williamson declared that "music is a bridge of friendship between peoples."

[From the Trenton Evening Times of March 18, 1957]

EVERYBODY LOVES MOZART

Unity of opinion and universal affection are encountered so rarely in the discordant and troubled world of today that the emotions are deserving of mention when they are expressed. The Westminster Choir College of Princeton returns from 5 months abroad, during which 22 countries were visited, with an encouraging report. Notwithstanding impressions to the contrary, it is possible to find a spirit of unity. Regardless of where the singers appeared—whether in India, Cambodia, Ceylon, Iran, Yugoslavia, or 16 other countries—everybody loved Mozart.

How could it be otherwise? The report is a tribute to the good taste and the good sense of many people in many lands. Furthermore, it stands as refutation of the somber conviction of Antony that "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones." After all, Mozart has been dead these 166 years but his power to inspire appealing emotions in men survives.

VISIT OF WESTMINSTER CHOIR TO KARACHI VERY SUCCESSFUL—FULL PROGRAM ARRANGED WITH ONE COMMERCIAL, ONE RADIO, AND NUMEROUS PUBLIC APPEARANCES

The Embassy is happy to report that the visit of the Westminster Choir to Karachi was an unqualified success. Its members arrived in two groups on February 10; the first, at 1:40 p. m., the second, at 11 p. m. As the Ambassador was leaving the following morning for East Pakistan, his reception in honor of the director and members of the choir had to be scheduled for 5: 30 p. m. on the 10th, even though half of the group was unable to be present. The reception was attended by the 40 members of the intercollegiate body, the entire membership of the American University Alumni Club and local government officials who had assisted in arranging the program. Toward the end of the reception, the choir sang two songs for the guests and was warmly applauded.

The department had authorized $60 for entertainment for the choir in the form of a tea to be given by the intercollegiate body. The tea was scheduled at the United States information center at 5 p. m. on February 11. There being no language difficulty, the members of the choir and those of the board mingled freely from the start and obviously enjoyed talking with each other. At the conclusion of the tea the choir graciously consented to sing two numbers in a specially constructed tent in the gardens. The cultural affairs section of the Embassy believes that the contact made with this group will be of continuing value in the execution of its program. The young men and women making up the board are representatives of the student organizations of all the colleges and universities of Karachi. Each is a leader in student activities and an influential member of his school. Observers report that never have Embassy relations with this group been so firm as they are at the present time.

At 8:30 p. m the choir was entertained at a reception in the home of Mr. Z. A. Bokhari, Director General of Radio Pakistan. Here was provided an opportunity to meet and listen to many of Pakistan's leading musicians.

On February 12, the director and members of the choir were guests of honor at a luncheon given by Mr. Amjad Ali, Minister of Finance and president of the Pakistan American Society.

The same evening they gave their commercial concert at the Hotel Metropole under the auspices of the Women's International Club. Approximately 600 people attended this concert, including the Prime Minister, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy. The members of the intercollegiate body and five members of the Pakistan Industrial Fair Committee were invited guests of the Embassy.

Following the concert, Mrs. Goshi Bhappu, manager of the Hotel Metropole, entertained at a buffet supper for the performers.

On February 13, the Deputy Chief of Mission gave a small luncheon in his home in honor of Dr. and Mrs. Williamson. From 2 to 3:30 p. m the choir recorded a program at Radio Pakistan that was broadcast the following day. After the recording, they were given tea and entertained with eastern music played by the Radio Pakistan musicians.

For the first time, the Embassy planned outdoor concerts for a visiting group, and the results were spectacularly successful. On February 13, from 6:30 to 7:10 p. m., standing before a specially constructed shell on the terrace of the museum in Frere Park, a large public garden in Karachi, the choir presented 40 minutes of song to an audience of approximately 1,200 people. Announcements, before and during the performance, were given both in English and Urdu. Some member of the audience sat on the grass to listen, but the majority stood, seemingly willingly, for the entire show. One member of the intercollegiate body arrived with a group of students from his college; the principal of the New Town Girls School escorted a group of her students. The remainder of the audience ranged from workingmen in their everyday clothes to Pakistani families, obviously dressed for the occasion.

At 9 p. m. the same night, the choir, under the auspices of the Pakistan American Society, gave another half-hour performance, this time at the Pakistan Industrial Fair. The Fair's regular advertisement had listed the Westminster Choir as an added attraction to its regular program of snake charmers, sword swallowers, and grave sitters. The crowd drawn by the choir was so large that the regular acts had to be almost forcibly dissuaded from proceeding onto the platform to interject their shows between the songs of the choir. Approximately 5,000 people laughed uproariously with the Laughing Song and cowboy yells resounded through the fairgrounds to the accompaniment of Get Along Little Dogie. This audience was completely different from any the choir had reached before and appeared to be the most responsive.

At 10 p. m., Dr. and Mrs. Williamson and the students composing the choir were guests of honor at a dinner given in the residence of the Prime Minister. Mr. Suhrawardy, who had planned to leave the commercial concert at Hotel Metropole at intermission, had been so impressed with the first half of the program that he remained to the end, and played havoc with his schedule that evening. At the conclusion of the program, he came to the platform and warmly congratulated the director and the choir, thanking them for the pleasure they had given him. At that time he extended his invitation to the dinner. At his residence the choir sang again, Mr. Suhrawardy joining with them to sing Old Black Joe.

The entire group comprising the troupe was invariably courteous and cooperative. The manner and demeanor of the students made a very favorable impression on the Pakistani students with whom they came in contact. Dr. Williamson, in addition to his ability as a conductor, endeared himself to everyone meeting him. His remarks in connection with the program were, because of their sincerity and simplicity, almost as effective in achieving the cultural objectives of the United States as was the program of song itself.

All sections of the Embassy and the USIS contributed to make the visit of the Westminster Choir in Karachi a success. Only through cooperation and concerted effort could the splendid results attained have been achieved.

For the Ambassador:

ARTHUR Z. GARDINER,
Deputy Chief of Mission.

WESTMINSTER CHOIR SCORES AN UNQUALIFIED SUCCESS IN ITS 2 APPEARANCES BEFORE OVER 1,000 ENTHUSIASTIC STUDENTS AT THE NEW EMPIRE THEATER IN CALCUTTA, FEBRUARY 4, 1957

The Westminster Choir gave 2 concerts in Calcutta on Monday, February 4, 1957, at 3 p. m. and 6 p. m., and achieved what no other musical group devoted to the presentation of western music has been able to do: the evoking of enthusiastic and laudatory response from the 2 audiences composed almost entirely of college students. The program, designed to interest Indians not yet initiated into western music, aroused the interest of the audience by providing them with a stimulating musical experience. The "House full" sign which went up long before the second concert began testified to the interest of the students of Calcutta in seeing and hearing a group of their American contemporaries and to the indisputable fact that an attraction of this kind has real appeal here in Calcutta.

Miss Padmaja Naidu, Governor of West Bengal, who attended the 6 p. m. concert, was lavish in her praise of the choir's singing, and said, in a letter to the director written shortly after the performance, that she could not permit the Westminster Choir to leave India without expressing her personal thanks to them. She added that in her opinion musical programs of this kind which were directed to the young people of India were a great help in the establishment of good will and friendship.

USIS Calcutta decided to utilize the services of the choir in reaching, as far as possible, the students of the various colleges in the city. With this in mind, the usual channels of publicity were disregarded and all efforts were concentrated on the college campuses. Student secretaries of 20 colleges were personally approached, and in every case they expressed their willingness to cooperate in publicizing the concert at their own college. In order to limit the two concerts to students, identification vouchers were given to the secretaries to be distributed to those interested in obtaining tickets. These vouchers were exchanged at the New Empire Theater for tickets priced at 4 and 8 annas. By putting the price of the tickets within the range of the financially inpoverished college students we were able to attract a great many who ordinarily could not afford to attend similar programs. The supply of vouchers was soon exhausted, and secretaries continued to call into the office requesting many more.

On Sunday afternoon, February 3, at 4 p. m., USIS gave a reception for the choir members and invited to meet them about 200 student leaders and professors. Held in the USIS library, the reception proved a great success as the individual members of the choir circulated among the Indian students and talked informally with them. At the conclusion of the party the choir sang two numbers which were very well received and turned out to be excellent advance publicity (see press clipping attached as enclosure No. 1).

Both of the concerts were outstanding successes due not only to the musical talents of the members of the choir but also to the experienced and expert direction of Dr. James Williamson, the director. Dr. Williamson's informal approach made him easily understood and his friendly manner established excellent rapport with the students. Calcutta has only the highest praise for Dr. Williamson and the choir which performed so nobly under his direction. As the curtain descended and the concerts concluded to ringing applause, there was no doubt that the choir had succeeded in charming and captivating the audience (see enclosures No. 2 and 3).

Aside from the fact that the Westminster Choir musically made a hit, USIS Calcutta would like to point to the one major achievement which in effect constituted the true success of the choir in this city: the fact that over a thousand men and women of college age atended the concerts. To have reached this particular group and to have impressed them to the extent that they expressed their profound gratitude to the USIS for providing this opportunity characterizes the really effective contact of a musical event such as this.

Photographs are attached as enclosures Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

GORDON H. MATTISON,
American Consul General.

VISIT TO OKINAWA OF WESTMINSTER CHOIR

On November 27 and 28, 1956, the Westminster Choir, of Princeton, N. J., gave a series of three concerts on Okinawa. The response, both in attendance and in audience appreciation, was very favorable, and the consular unit feels more strongly than ever that the itineraries of all such organizations in the future should include Okinawa.

The Westminster Choir was not originally scheduled to appear on Okinawa during its tour of the Far East. Okinawa was added to the itinerary at the request of the Consul General, Naha.

On the evening of November 27 the choir gave its first concert at the Kokuei Kan, Okinawa's largest motion picture theater, which was made available free of charge for the occasion by its owner, Mr. Kotaro Kokuba. After a short introductory speech by the consul general the choir sang a varied program ranging from Bach and Mozart through Grieg to contemporary American music. The encores consisted of Negro spirituals.

The audience was composed largely of Okinawans, including Chief Executive and Mrs. Jugo Thoma and other officials. Most of the consular staff also attended this concert. Unfortunately, the demand for tickets far exceeded the supply, so that many Okinawans who wanted to attend were unable to do so.

The following afternoon, at the University of the Ryukyus in Shuri, the choir gave an outdoor concert that had been added to the schedule only a short time before the choir arrived here. It would be difficult to overstate the impact of this concert. (For the opinion of one experienced observer of Ryukyuan-American relations, see enclosure No. 1.) A huge crowd of high school and university students stood for hours listening to the music. Some of them had been brought many miles by bus to attend the concert. The Japanese language press commented most favorably in news stories, and one paper, Ryukyu Shimpo, printed an editorial welcoming "America's cultural mission." Pictures of the performance were printed in the following day's papers.

A third concert was held the same evening at Kadena Airbase for an American audience and was also very well received.

More events of this kind are needed on Okinawa owing to the lack of any indigenous threater or musical aggregation worth mentioning. People here, both American and Okinawan, have a keep appetite for cultural events like the Westminster Choir, partially, it may be assumed, because of the scarcity of entertainment of this sort. As a result, such performances have a greater impact than they might in a more cosmopolitan area.

Since tours under the aegis of the State Department should serve to further foreign relations, primary emphasis should be placed on performances before Okinawan audiences, while Americans should look to other agencies for satisfaction of their entertainment needs.

ACTION REQUESTED

It is respectfully requested that Okinawa be included in the itinerary of all musical groups to bring the Far East under State Department or other auspices, with the understanding that State Department endorsed performers will appear primarily before Okinawan audiences.

For the Consul General:

RICHARD W. BOEHM,
American Vice Consul.

Our Sacred Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the following address was given at the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense held January 31, February 1 and 2, by Mr. Kent Courtney, editor, writer, and lecturer. It appeared in Guardians of Our American Heritage, and was sent to me by Nagene Campbell Bethune its founder-president. The address points up the reverence with which we should regard our Constitution and all patriotic Americans will find in it new inspiration, and I believe will be moved to a higher devotion to our Nation's traditions:

ADDRESS BY KENT COURTNEY

Ladies and gentlemen, I am holding aloft for all to see an old-fashioned kerosene lantern. The kind that is used around the farm.

I like to think that our Constitution is like an old-fashioned lantern. It sheds a steady light and the light glows out in all directions.

The glass, which might be called the Bill of Rights, protects the flame of liberty from the cold winds of socialism and centralized tyranny.

Now, here is a modern flashlight. It casts a bright beam. But the beam only shows in the direction which the person holding the flashlight wishes. If a Socialist and world-government man is in charge of holding the flashlight of governmental policy and we follow his leadership, we may be led down the path that turns evermore to the left, and we may end up back into a dictatorial tyranny from which our Founding Fathers rose to glorious independence.

True American patriots can pick out the best path, the safest path to the preservation of our independent Republic by that old-fashioned lantern which points out the hidden dangers of centralism and tyranny: the sacred Constitution.

Now we begin our story of the sacred Constitution:

The date is November 11, 1620.

The scene is aboard the *Mayflower* at Cape Cod. For it was in 1620, with the *Mayflower* compact, that we began a splendid history of writing important documents of self-government, of independent government, a history of written constitutions that led to the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the United States Constitution. And all of these documents recognized the importance of our Creator. The *Mayflower* compact recognized God in these ways. It started off, "In the name of God. Amen." It continued, "Undertaken for the glory of God and the advancement of the Christian faith"; and the pledge at the end stated, "Solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one another."

Today we find ourselves tagged with the term "conservative." We are called patriots.

These names properly describe our wish to conserve the Constitution and its guaranty of personal liberty and limited government.

But the document we wish to preserve was and is the most revolutionary document in the history of governments. As a piece of literature governing men, it is second only to the New Testament of the Bible in its far-reaching effects on the daily lives of every man on earth.

Yes; the Constitution of the United States is revolutionary. It has the most revolutionary idea in the history of man.

The spirit of this idea recognizes that the forerunner of the Constitution is the Declaration of Independence and the many other documents that were developed by the Colonies in the period from 1620 to 1776.

This spirit of the Constitution is a revolutionary one which connects the central ideas of the Declaration of Independence and the first 10 amendments of the Constitution.

This central revolutionary idea is that men derive their power directly from God, that they allocate a little of this power to the State government, that the States in turn gave some of their power to the Central Government through the written and defined limitations of the Federal Constitution, but that all powers not specifically granted to the Central Government should remain with the States or with the people.

This is the most revolutionary idea in government since the beginning of written history.

And we who believe these things are rightly called patriots.

And now I quote from one of the noblest American patriots of them all who said, "Be not deceived by strange voices heard across the land decrying this old and proven concept of patriotism. From the beginning it has been the main bulwark of our national strength and integrity."

He continues: "Seductive murmurs are arising that (patriotism) is now outmoded by some more comprehensive and all-embracing philosophy * * * that there is a higher destiny for us under another more general flag. * * *

"Listen not to these voices * * * be they from the high and mighty or the lowly. Heed them not.

"Repudiate them in the market place, on the platform and in the pulpit. * * * Be proud to be called patriots * * * or nationalists or whatever you will if it means that you love your country above all else and will place your life if need be at the service of your flag."

And ladies and gentlemen, that is a statement that all of us here can surely support. And to it I wish to add my personal pledge to support the ideals of the man I have just quoted, that greatest of American generals—Douglas MacArthur.

Van Doren's Home Run Halted at First Base

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, March 17, 1957, there appeared in the Hereford (Tex.) Brand, one of the fine newspapers of the Southwest, an editorial which clearly and concisely points up one of the grave dangers to the individual-incentive philosophy, which is so essential to the private-enterprise system of a free government. This paper is published and edited by Mr. James M. Gillentine and has long been recognized as one of the outstanding newspapers serving our section of the country. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial referred to be made a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The editorial follows:

THE RULES ARE DIFFERENT THESE DAYS—VAN DOREN'S HOME RUN HALTED AT FIRST BASE

A quarter of a century ago it was sudden death to the political future of any candidate who announced for office on the Socialist Party. Today, however, the economy of the United States is based on theory far more liberal than any advocated by the Socialist group.

The case of Charles Van Doren, Columbia University professor and alltime big money winner on TV quiz programs, perhaps best illustrates the extent to which socialistic tendencies have spread through application of taxation. Van Doren won $129,000 in his 14 appearances and, unfortunately, got a $100 salary raise at the university, bringing his annual income to a level of $133,450. Of this total amount, Van Doren, according to Associated Press reports, will keep only $28,795. In addition, he has written a book and should royalties amount to a sizable sum he can expect little in monetary returns. Accountants estimated that he will realize only $3 from the recent university raise.

While Van Doren's case is an extreme one, it is definitely along the same level faced by millions of American citizens today. People who have long advocated soaking the big corporations are today paying higher utilities bills and higher retail prices as a direct result of taxation on these various companies.

Socialism, according to textbooks, curbs initiative. In other words, what incentive does Professor Van Doren have to write another book? In the face of prohibitive taxes, why should a man double his business or farming activities? Will this new type of economy, as we have been taught since childhood, sooner or later gnaw away at our national vitals until we fall apart from apathy and decay?

These are some of the things people should think about before they make up their minds how they will vote. Instead of "How much can I get?" the time has come to consider "How will my country prosper?"

It is like playing baseball under a new set of rules. The runner is not always out, although the throw beats him to first base. To assume a wrong conclusion because of the old rules can be disastrous. In Professor Van Doren's case, we would say he hit a home run, but could advance no further than first base.

Operating under the profit system, the United States has established itself as the world's leading Nation. Our farms grow more, our factories have greater production and our people maintain the world's highest standard of living. It is possible that our new form of economy may make us even more productive and happier. Only time will tell. The important thing right now is not to kid ourselves into thinking that we are still playing under the old rules.

New Republicanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald today, March 20, 1957. The article entitled "Weeks, on TV, Willing To Cut Budget, Insists, at Hearing, on Keeping It All," follows:

TO PARE OR NOT TO PARE—WEEKS, ON TV, WILLING TO CUT BUDGET, INSISTS, AT HEARING, ON KEEPING IT ALL

Members of a House Appropriations Subcommittee yesterday said Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks backed down under questioning from his televised suggestion that Congress could cut his budget by $50 million.

"He wants us to leave it all in the bill," Representative PRINCE PRESTON, Democrat, of Georgia, told the House. PRESTON said Weeks supported every item in the new budget, including grant funds that he characterized Sunday as Federal handouts to the States.

PRESTON said his subcommittee, called Weeks for questioning after he said on a broadcast Sunday that Congress could knock $50 million out of the $804 million budget for his agency by eliminating projects it authorized last year that the Department did not request.

"They have added that on to what we asked for," Weeks said on the telecast. "And I think if they want to start economizing, they can start right there."

PRESTON said the subcommittee, which had heard from Weeks earlier, recalled him yesterday to ask where the cuts could be made.

"Upon direct questioning, he didn't want to take it out at all," PRESTON said. "So here we have a Cabinet member saying one thing to a TV audience for public consumption and another thing when he comes before a congressional committee."

According to PRESTON, Weeks told the group what he referred to was $42.5 million in airport aid and $7.5 million for construction of forest roads. Authorization for this spending was passed by Congress last year and President Eisenhower included funds to finance the work in his budget for the new fiscal year.

PRESTON accused Weeks of "trying to put the monkey on the back of Congress" in discussing possible savings in President Eisenhower's record $71,800,000,000 budget.

He pointed out that the Commerce Department is seeking 28 percent more funds than Congress allowed the agency for the current year.

A Measure of Doubt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Gerald W. Johnson, which appeared in the New Republic of March 18, 1957, is worthy of the attention of our colleagues:

THE SUPERFICIAL ASPECT—A MEASURE OF DOUBT

(By Gerald W. Johnson)

Well, Israel has been battered to her knees. She has surrendered her natural defenses and hereafter will exist at the pleasure of the United Nations and specifically that of the United States. She has been compelled to subscribe to the theory that the United Nations will defend her in the future, although it has not defended her in the past; and she had as an excuse for accepting this theory only the word of Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles. Even that is

qualified. They do not say that they will defend Israel, only that they will consider her case.

To a superficial observer this appears to be a bit rough on Israel but no doubt there are underlying motives imperceptible on the surface. As to these, one can only guess, but presumably one is the necessity of maintaining respect among foreigners for the high moral tone of Washington. Nations less elevated morally must not be allowed to get the impression that the United States will ever condone sin, except when the sinner, like Russia, is too strong to be chastised; or, like Egypt, is too tough; or, like India, is sinning only against infidels who do not believe even in the Old Testament, to say nothing of the New.

Israel comes under none of these exceptions. Israel is weak. Israel has always been polite to this country. Israel prays to the same God who receives the devotions of Mr. John Foster Dulles. Therefore Israel, like Britain and France, must be dealt with sternly, lest she begin to get ideas. After all, it is not easy in this sinful world to maintain respect for a high moral tone. The pure in heart are always being misrepresented by the morally stunted, and steps must be taken to counteract the effect.

For instance, there was the matter of the lavish hospitality we extended to the eminent slaveowner from Saudi Aradia. Some have seen in that a sign of approbation, if not of slaveowning, at least of the general attitude of the Arabians toward this country, which has been, and is, one of studied insolence. It goes without saying that a government taking pride in its elevated moral tone cannot approve of either slavery or insolence. The Arabian was anointed with goose grease for no such reason, but strictly as a matter of business. He is in position, if he were offended, to make trouble for the oil industry which considers itself entitled to the tender care, not only of Vice President NIXON since the days when he was a Senator, but also of the Texas-dominated opposition.

What the morally stunted seem incapable of understanding is the fine distinction that the administration draws between a business deal and a moral attitude. No important industry was threatened by the squashing of Israel, so the administration in that case was free to take the highest moral tone and happily availed itself of the opportunity. As touching Egypt, India, and Russia, circumstances are entirely different. Taking a high moral tone with them would upset any number of applecarts, which is not to be thought of.

There is, of course, the danger that Israel itself contains a considerable number of the morally stunted, who may take the view that they might as well be hanged for the old sheep as for the lamb, and who therefore may desert morality for business. If they are destined to be squashed in any event they may decide that they would stand a better chance under the Russans than under the Arabs, and so throw out Ben-Gurion and his pro-western government.

Recent events strongly indicate that if we, or anybody else, should supply the Israeli with, say, $100 million worth of the harrows of hell, there would shortly be no Arabian problem in the Middle East because there would be no Arabs. It has undoubtedly occurred to the Kremlin that this is a possible business deal, but the Kremlin needs cash which the Israeli do not have. Yet the record of Israel is strengthening the belief that if anyone would accept, say, 30-year, 3 percent bonds, the interest would be paid and the bonds retired when due, which would be a good investment, as international deals go. If Ben-Gurion should be thrown out, the Kremlin might stretch a point.

This creates a measure of doubt that the administration has clearly perceived the truth in this situation. Perhaps this, too, instead of being entirely a moral issue, is affected with a business interest and should be approached with the same moral elasticity we have displayed in dealing with Egypt and India, to say nothing of Russia. It would be a neat irony of history if the event should prove that an administration priding itself on the equal devotion it has exhibited to the two principles of moral elevation and business is business, had confused the two at last and applied moral principle to a business deal. The effect would be terrific; but it would not be the first time that some such irony has crept in, as for example, at Munich in 1938, to reduce the pure in heart to confusion and chagrin.

Rosy Partnership Claims Fade in Light of Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. McFALL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am privileged to provide for the information of the Members of this House, an excellent editorial from the March 16 edition of the Modesto (Calif.) Bee opposing the proposed partnership plan on the Trinity River project in California:

ROSY PARTNERSHIP CLAIMS FADE IN LIGHT OF FACTS

The Pacific Gas & Electric Co. has disseminated advertisements claiming the so-called power partnership at the Trinity project would save the taxpayers and water users $310 million as against what the cost would be if the Federal Government built the power facilities.

The utility contends the Government would gain $165 million net from Pacific Gas & Electric Co. payments for the use of falling water, plus $145 million in Federal, State, and local taxes which the company would pay during the 50-year amortization period.

As the late Al Smith was wont to say, let's look at the record.

The $145 million tax figure is $10 million more than is figured by the Secretary of the Interior.

But in any event it is not the company which pays the taxes. It is the customers, every time they pay their light and power bills. Taxes are allowed in rates set by the State public utilities commission and the company merely acts in fact as the tax collector. So how would the company save the people anything in taxes?

Likewise the $165 million which the company says it would pay the Government over what the Government would get from selling power also would come from the rate payers. Who else?

The customers of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. should be mighty unhappy at the prospect of paying this huge bill which the Pacific Gas & Electric states otherwise would be paid by the Government.

The fact is the Trinity project like all reclamation undertakings will be paid for by the water and power users and not the taxpayers.

In addition the repayment schedule for the Trinity project at the end of 50 years under Government operation shows an anticipated surplus of $114 million which would be the people's money and they would own the powerhouses.

Many Federal agencies, such as the Mare Island Navy Yard, are customers of the Central Valley project. If they cannot buy Trinity power from the Government they will have to buy it from the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. at an additional cost of $71 million. Wherein is the saving here?

What the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. is striving for, of course, is to wipe out every vestige of publicly generated power in California. How this would benefit the people is illustrated in the case of the Sacramento Municipal Utility District.

Sacramento Municipal Utility District buys power from Central Valley project. Were there no Central Valley project power, Sacramento Municipal Utility District would be forced to purchase its energy from the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

Assuming the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. charged the same wholesale rate which applies to some 10 California cities now buying power from the utility, Sacramento Municipal Utility District would have to pay $4 million more annually than it pays Central Valley project, or $200 million over the Central Valley project payoff period.

And without the competitive yardstick of public power, the outlay might be even more.

To make a saving to the people out of the proposed phony partnership would take the financial wizardry of a Ponzi.

Chairman Durham, of Joint Atomic Energy Committee, Talks About Demonstrable Facts—Commissioner Vance, of Atomic Energy Commission, Talks About Undemonstrable Opinions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch on March 17, 1957:

SUPERIORITY WE DO NOT PROVE

It is unfortunate that the grave issue of atomic power has to be argued in the unrealistic terms which have become the official line of Chairman Strauss in the Atomic Energy Commission. These terms were echoed by AEC Commissioner Vance in his dispute with the chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, Representative CARL T. DURHAM, of North Carolina.

Representative DURHAM was urging that the Federal Government spend more money to get more and bigger atomic powerplants built swiftly. Commissioner Vance countered by declaring that the United States is "definitely ahead of the rest of the world in the technological development of atomic power."

Mr. DURHAM was talking about demonstrable facts—specifically, atomic powerplants. Commissioner Vance was talking about undemonstrable opinions—specifically, his opinion that the United States could build better atomic powerplans than Russia or England if it were building them, which it isn't.

The opinion of someone else equally as well qualified to speak may be exactly the opposite of Commissioner Vance's. Many qualified authorities, indeed, do hold the opposite opinion, including AEC Commissioner Murray and several distinguished members of the Joint Committee: Senator Anderson, of New Mexico; Senator Gore, of Tennessee;

Representative Holifield, of California, and Representative Price, of East St. Louis.

Whatever the comparable merit of our technology relative to that of the Soviets and the British, it is languishing now in a static state, while theirs is flourishing in an active one. They are learning things they never expected to learn, by building life-size atomic powerplants and operating them.

There is an unearned increment of learning that comes of boldly putting one's knowledge into practice as we in this country are largely failing to do, and that is the nut of the controversy.

Some Fresh Air in the Fish and Wildlife Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, for the last 4 years conservationists have been greatly worried at the steady erosion in morale of the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior. This erosion has been due to the attempts by the administration to destroy the merit system in the Fish and Wildlife Service, and to replace its top career civil servants with political spoilsmen.

For more than 30 years prior to 1953, the Fish and Wildlife Service and its predecessor, the Biological Survey of the Department of Agriculture, were 100 percent career civil service agencies. Staffed with men and women of unusual skill and devotion from top to bottom, the Fish and Wildlife Service was an effective and dedicated branch of the Government.

THE SPOILS SYSTEM

Then early in 1953, shortly after President Eisenhower took office, began the degradation of the Fish and Wildlife Service. The top 4 positions in the Service—Director, Associate Director, and 2 Assistant Directors—were placed under schedule C, which meant that the career civil servants holding these positions were fired and replaced by political appointees.

The effect of this raid on the Service was utterly destructive of morale within the Service, and recruitment from without. In quick succession at least 8 top career conservationists of the Fish and Wildlife Service resigned, including Dr. Paul Hickie, Acting Chief of the Branch of Wildlife Research; Dr. Albert Day, Assistant to the Director; his assistants, Clarence Cottam and Dr. John L. Kask; Dr. Logan Bennett, Chief of the Branch of Wildlife Research; Dr. Durward Allen, Acting Branch Chief; Dr. Joseph Linduska, also Acting Branch Chief; Ernest Swift, Assistant Director.

CONGRESS RECOGNIZES THE SERVICE

The deterioration in the morale of the Service was quickly reflected in a deterioration in administration. The Service capitulated to the duck-baiting interests. It allowed an unprecedented horde of leases in the wildlife refuges. It let the program of acquiring wildlife refuges drag to a halt.

Congress last August 8, 1956, enacted into law Public Law 1024, the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956, designed to restore the morale and effectiveness of the Fish and Wildlife Service. The act specified that the Fish and Wildlife Service should contain only two political appointments, the Assistant Secretary of Interior for Fish and Wildlife and the Commissioner of Fish and Wildlife, both to be appointed by the President with Senate confirmation. The intent of the act was that all lesser positions in the Fish and Wildlife Service should be restored to civil service.

THE NOVEMBER 27, 1956, LETTER

Hardly had the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956 become law when the Department of the Interior moved to subvert it. Earlier, in 1953, the Department had taken the 4 top Fish and Wildlife positions from civil service and put them under the spoils system. Now, by a letter to the Civil Service Commission of November 27, 1956, signed by B. Otis Beasley, Administrative Secretary, Department of the Interior, the Department requested that 12 career positions in the Fish and Wildlife Service be taken from civil service and made political appointments. Of these 12 positions, 6 were vital line civil-service positions in the Fish and Wildlife Service—Director, Associate Director, and Assistant Director of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries and of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, respectively. This request would have increased from 4 to 6 the number of key Fish and Wildlife Service officials to be removed from civil service.

On January 24, 1957, I called to the attention of this House the Interior Department's further onslaught against the civil service. I pointed out the happy omen that on January 2, 1957, Ross Leffler, a nationally known conservationist, had been appointed Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife, and expressed the hope that Mr. Leffler would, upon learning the facts, rescind the Interior Department's November 27, 1956, letter and instead fill the top positions according to the merit system.

The next day, January 25, 1957, I wrote Mr. Leffler. After referring to the November 27, 1956, request of the Interior Department, my letter stated:

If the Civil Service Commission concurs in this request, it seems to me, such action would not only deal a severe blow to the morale of the career men in the Fish and Wildlife Service and hamper future recruitment, but go counter to the intent of the last Congress when it passed Public Law 1024, approved August 8, 1956.

CIVIL SERVICE RESTORED

I have now been informed that on March 13, 1957, a second letter has gone forward signed by B. Otis Beasley, Administrative Secretary, Department of the Interior, to the Civil Service Commission, withdrawing the request of November 27, 1956, for the transfer of 12 positions, including the 6 key-line positions referred to above, from the Civil Service to political appointment. Instead, the letter asks that only three positions be placed under schedule C—special assistant and administrative assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife, and special assistant to the Commissioner of Fish and Wildlife. Since both the Assistant Secretary and the Commissioner are properly political appointments, confirmed by the Senate, the request for 3 confidential assistants to these 2 political officials, on other than a civil-service basis, is justified. The March 13, 1957, letter furthermore abolishes the 5 political appointments set up in 1953.

The net result of all this is a complete victory, for the time being at least, for the conservationist principle in the Fish and Wildlife Service. Under the March 13 letter, all key-line positions in the Fish and Wildlife Service, up to the purely political level of Assistant Secretary and Commissioner, are placed under civil service, which is where they should be. There is still a need for the enactment of H. R. 3650, a bill to prevent further tampering with these positions, but for the moment the civil-service principle has been vindicated.

I want to give full credit to Assistant Secretary Ross Leffler for redeeming the integrity of the Fish and Wildlife Service. Although he has been in office for only a few weeks, he has already gone far to restore morale in the Service. I know that Secretary Leffler will find those of us who have criticized the Fish and Wildlife Service in the bad old days now happily past will be equally quick to applaud and help him in his forward-looking administration of the reinvigorated Service.

The American Legion Has a Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, March 15 through 17 marks the American Legion anniversary.

For the past 38 years the American Legion has been dedicated to service for God and country. It would take many pages to list the outstanding achievements rendered by the American Legion posts and their auxiliary units throughout the Nation. The following article appeared in the March 1957 issue of the Sunflower Legionnaire, the official publication of the Kansas department of the American Legion. This article makes an excellent presentation of the beginning of this great patriotic organization. I believe that every Member of Congress can gain inspiration from this article.

The article follows:

March 15 to 17, 1957, marks another milestone in the life of the American Legion. It's the 38th anniversary, and the 39th birthday—counting 1919 as the first.

During the past 38 years, since the origin of the American Legion, in Paris, France, it has been said many ways and many times, what a great achievement has been accomplished—what a splendid contribution has

been made to America and the American way of life—what a great program of assisting those who cannot quite do it for themselves; veterans, their widows and orphans, and the youth of America.

The American Legion has been favorably editorialized, in most of the leading press of the Nation, during all these past 38 years, and it is with pleasure that we present the following editorial from the Chicago American of Chicago, Ill.:

"Observance this week of the American Legion's formation 38 years ago brings to mind the singular coincidence of its birth with the advent of an era marked since then with almost uninterrupted world crisis.

"The Legion was created opportunely, for during this period it has proved itself a factor of great strength in upholding our country's ideals and liberties.

"The years that followed 1919 tested the fortitude, loyalty, and capacity for sacrifice of Americans more deeply and sternly than the First World War.

"During the ordeals of social and economic uncertainties, of a still more devastating world conflict, the Legion has stood stanchly for America's freedom and strength.

"The Legion no longer is young. But it is just as virile, as dedicated, as before. Its patriotic action has never wavered. Its service as a rallying point of Americanism remains constant.

"Our greatest assurance of national safety and progress will always rest upon the readiness of our men to undertake the works of peace as well as the duties of war.

"The Legion has done it admirably for 38 years. America is proud of the Legion, and profoundly grateful to it."

As stated at the beginning, it's been told many ways and many times—it's an old story, which bears repeating on each anniversary, until the end of time—and here it is, in extremely brief form:

Two men lie wounded on hospital beds in Paris, France, while the shooting was still going on, during World War I. One of these gentlemen was Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and the other a Sergeant Patterson who was later killed in action.

While convalescing, these two men often talked about what might be done to cement the friendships gained through war, after they returned home to peace.

Time went on, the armistice was signed, and Roosevelt invited a group of 20 men to have dinner with him at the Allied Officers' Club in Paris. This was on February 16, 1919, and much discussion occurred during the evening. However, the general concern was about the postwar attitude of the average soldier toward extreme political radicalism, for even then communism was making inroads in several countries, including America.

Questions and opinions flew back and forth across the table that evening of February 16. Out of the talk came the definite agreement that a veterans' organization should be started; that it must be all inclusive of those who served in the American uniform, at home as well as overseas; that it must be a civilian and not a military organization, and must be composed of man-to-man membership, devoid of rank. Also, it must formulate principles of its own. It must be democratic in form.

It was agreed that at least two organization meetings must be arranged, one in France, and one in the United States. Roosevelt was the man chosen to come to America to undertake preliminary steps toward the assembling of a meeting there.

The meeting in France was held in Paris, March 15, 1919, with Bennett Clark, of Missouri, being nominated for chairman of the caucus, and it was a somewhat hectic day as it was the first time in many a long month the delegates had been able to express their opinions without any curb of military rule.

March 16 was Sunday. The men who met on Saturday as strangers began to be acquainted. More and more delegates were arriving, and Monday saw the Cirque de Paris, a sizable amusement hall, arranged with unit banners in American convention style, to accommodate the caucus.

From there on, the caucus proceeded about as most American conventions—reports of the committee on constitution, selection of a name for the organization, etc.

The astounding item so much worth repeating, is the fact that from this meager beginning—a thought in the minds of two men—the American Legion has grown into the largest organization of its kind in the world, and in all history.

Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, 26th Infantry, 1st Division, had been gassed and wounded at Soissons. However, he would live to perform many public services, to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy, to be a candidate for Governor of New York, to be Governor of Puerto Rico, and Governor General of the Philippines, and to serve once more with the First Division in World War II, and to die as a brigadier general in Normandy with the second AEF on July 12, 1944.

Although Roosevelt, more than any other, contributed enthusiasm, hard word, and persuasive inspiration, many others were highly effective in the formulation period.

In fact, the best answer to the question, "Who started the American Legion?" is "Nobody and everybody."

It simply sprang from the comradeship of arms, the strongest tie that binds men together.

At the Paris caucus, the selection of a name created much heated debate. A majority favored Legion of the Great War as first choice; Veterans of the Great War as second. Alexander Woollcott objected to the word "legion" as savoring slightly of the silk stocking. Whereupon, a 1st Division delegate remarked that he had fought alongside the Foreign Legion, "and if the fat medico thinks those babies are sissies, he is just nuts." Woollcott, a pleasingly plump medical corps sergeant in those days, subsided. The delegates adjourned for lunch, returned less stubbornly determined, and adopted the American Legion.

It was determined the next meeting would be the St. Louis caucus, to be held in the Shubert-Jefferson theater at St. Louis, May 8, 1919.

The two caucuses had avoided declarations of policy on controversial subjects. Those were held in abeyance until there should be a properly constituted convention, representative of all veterans who wished to join, selected by democratic process. The American Legion had been started, organized, chartered by Congress, and explained to the veterans and the public for what it was, an all-inclusive, voluntary, civilian organization of men who had served in uniform in World War I. It belonged to every veteran who wanted to be part of such an organization. An honorable discharge was the passport to membership.

America had seen veterans' societies before, but never before so large a group, without military rank or titles, without distinction as to length, location or circumstance of service, if it was honorable.

Thus, the American Legion had been launched on a career which would have its full share of influence on the life, the character and the history of this great Nation.

Former President Truman Says Free World Must Close Ranks To Meet New Russian Threat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article written by former President Harry S. Truman entitled "Free World Must Close Ranks To Meet New Russian Threat." The article which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of March 18, 1957, follows:

FREE WORLD MUST CLOSE RANKS TO MEET NEW RUSSIAN THREAT

(By Harry S. Truman)

I think the time has come for the free nations of the world to close ranks to combat resurgent Russian expansionism in the face of the brutal revival of Stalinism. We need bold and decisive moves to make more effective our grand strategy of common security. Our preoccupation with recent Middle East events has tended to obscure the existence of explosive conditions in other strategic areas of the world.

The more we deal with the Russians, the more we realize that they cannot or will not change their determination to dominate the world. It would be sheer folly for us to assume that we can look to anyone other than our alliance of free nations for our security.

The meeting this week at Bermuda between the President and the British Prime Minister I hope will bring about the restoration of British-American solidarity based on mutual understanding and closer cooperation. It is equally important that we also achieve the fullest understanding and cooperation with the French, and I was glad to see the President take the first step in that direction with Prime Minister Mollet during his recent visit here.

But it is my judgment that the meeting at Bermuda should be followed by consultations with our friends and allies everywhere. We should do this for two reasons:

First, we need to restore the machinery of continuous, close consultation so that we do not risk again the dangers of division among us.

Second, we need constantly to review and reappraise our methods and measures for dealing with international communism.

NARROW ESCAPE

I hate to think how narrow was our escape from disaster in the Middle East when we became separated from our allies. However, we have gained a little time there, and United Nations emergency forces are on patrol. The Russians have been duly warned. But, as yet, we have solved nothing fundamental, and the threat of war still remains. Until the causes that led to the recent crisis are promptly and wisely dealt with, there will be no peace in the Near East or elsewhere around the world.

The Russian Communists are skilled troublemakers and are ceaselessly engaged in fomenting and exploiting fear and trouble everywhere.

I think we have to be especially vigilant in Germany. The ruthless crushing of Hun-

gary's bid for freedom shows that Russia will not stop at mere intrigue, conspiracy, and subversion but will embark on military intervention in cynical disregard of its obligations to the United Nations and world opinion. This points up the danger that exists to the West in similar moves the Kremlin can make at any time it suits its purpose in East Germany.

If the Russians should launch a military operation in East Germany, similar to the one in Hungary, then the security of West Germany and Western Europe will be immediately threatened.

AFRICA DANGER SPOT

I think there is a second danger zone in Africa. With all Americans, I welcome the statesmanship which brought about the establishment of the independence of Ghana. For Africa, where there are many explosive situations, is a prime target for Russian penetration and exploitation. Russian intrigue with certain political adventurers in Africa is already at work trying to exploit the rising tide of nationalism and growing racial tensions there. Russia is after the vast resources of the African Continent for its own benefit.

And there is a third area in which we face immediate and serious trouble—and that is in southeast Asia and in the Far East, which are in political ferment, and where newly independent nations are being preyed upon by the Communists. There is a grave development in Indonesia where the rich natural resources and remarkable skill and aptitudes of the people have already exposed them to Communist encroachments. The hope of democratic development there is threatened, exposing at the same time the free nations of Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and Thailand. For Indonesia is so situated geographically that it could serve as a springboard for intrigue and subversion against this perimeter of free nations by the Communist masters of China and Russia.

In view of these great dangers, I hope the President at Bermuda will henceforth exercise personal leadership in the conduct of our foreign policy. It is impossible, under our system of government, to conduct foreign policy successfully by delegation of the President's personal powers and responsibility.

No matter how able the individuals to whom the President may attempt to delegate his powers, it usually leads to confusion and misunderstanding with foreign governments and with our own Congress and people.

When I called in Dean Acheson to name him Secretary of State, I said, half seriously, to him: "Dean, you are going to be Secretary of State, but you will not be the President. I have no intention of being my own Secretary of State at any time, but under the Constitution only the President has the power to make foreign policy. I will exercise that power. I expect you to come to me with your recommendations. I will make the final decisions which the Department is to carry out."

CARRIED OUT POLICY

This policy, faithfully carried out, helped reduce the margin of misunderstanding both with foreign governments, which were kept closely informed, and the Congress, which was always consulted and briefed in strict bipartisanship.

Therefore, beginning with Bermuda, the President has an opportunity to resume personal control which is so essential to restore to the United States its position of world leadership of the free nations.

At Bermuda, I hope the President will undertake to bring Britain back into full partnership for our mutual benefit and security. I cannot subscribe to the contention of some of our experts and self-designated prophets that Britain and France are in decline and no longer can be depended upon as major powers. These experts would have us abandon historic friendships on the ground that we must now seek out new and rising nations with which we could build more firmly for the future. If I remember my history correctly, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Russell foretold the end of Britain in the 1840's.

This was sheer nonsense in the 1840's. It is sheer nonsense now. The greatness of Britain and France call for no defense from me or anyone else. Their contributions to democracy, industry and science, apart from their culture, are so enormous as to assure their continuance as important factors in civilization for centuries to come.

They have come through two terrible wars at enormous sacrifices with their democratic institutions and their cultures standing firm. We should and will do everything in our power to give them encouragement and support, as much for our own sakes as for theirs.

HISTORIC MOVE

A historic development is now taking place in Europe—the putting into action of an age-long dream of an economically united Europe in which Britain and France would play important roles. Many of the historic trouble spots in Europe would vanish once this dream becomes a reality.

This would help us to encourage other evolving areas of the world to make use of their resources for their own benefit and the common interest of the peoples of the world.

Let no nation take advantage of the awakening of Asia and Africa for purposes of aggrandizement and exploitation, or set into motion new alignments of power and rivalry. In a world of so much undeveloped resources and riches, there is room and opportunity for all nations to thrive and for all peoples of all colors to achieve their rightful dignity and place among men.

At the Potsdam Conference in 1945, Stalin turned to Churchill in my presence, after the British Prime Minister had made some comment about the Pope, and asked cynically, "How many divisions has the Pope?"

By that one question Stalin betrayed the crassest ignorance of history, misjudging the real sources of power—the mind and the spirit of men.

Twelve years have passed since Stalin asked this question, and the threat to the free world by the Russians is still with us. History is on the side of the men who believe in the power of the spirit. But until the Russian people do something about their own freedom, we, and the free world, will have to maintain the necessary divisions. That is the only condition the Communist rulers appear to respect.

Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s Advertising Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to direct special attention to the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s current advertising and public-relations campaign in California, aimed at depriving the residents of my State and district of the full benefits of their vested rights in the Trinity River project authorized by the 84th Congress.

The current high-priced, high-pressure advertising campaign of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. to sell its so-called partnership plan to the people of northern California in connection with the Trinity River development is the most brazen I have ever seen undertaken by anyone at any time. It is akin to an attempt to convince millions of people that white is really black after all.

The ads are loaded with distortions of fact, half truths, false assumptions, and outlandish juggling of figures. They are cunningly designed to justify the taking away of a most valuable public resource, and allow its resale to the people at a fat profit to the utility company.

I do not propose to sit silent while the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. attempts to sell the people of my district this partnership fairy tale about the Trinity project. Actually if the company's plan goes through, the Government would pay all but a small part of the entire project, the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. would get the lion's share of the benefits and the user would pay in full for those benefits.

The Pacific Gas & Electric Co. makes much of the claim that if it is permitted to utilize the falling waters of the Trinity for the production of power, it will pay large sums in State, local, and Federal taxes and that other water developments, such as the San Luis project, can be built in whole or in part with the benefits gained under the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. plan. This is a deliberate effort to fool and delude the power and energy users of California.

What shocks me most about the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s deceptive advertising campaign, however, is that it is being conducted at the expense of the power-buying public. The utility company does not actually lay out a dollar in this vast and expensive advertising campaign.

Not only does the homeowner, farmer, and businessman using electricity pay for these ads, but if the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. plan goes through, every single item of cost involved in this partnership venture will also be paid by the consumer.

I am convinced that the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s design on the Trinity project foreshadows something even bigger—a future attempt on the part of this utility to take over the federally owned Central Valley project power facilities from Shasta Dam in the north of California to Friant Dam in the south.

If the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. is permitted to buy the falling water of the Trinity, it will be a reversal of more than 50 years of Federal power policy. Ever since the Reclamation Act of 1902 it has been the established policy of the United States that electric power and energy be disposed of to consumers in such manner as to encourage its widespread use at the lowest possible rates consistent with sound business principles. Additionally, the policy has been to give preference for public power to public agencies, municipalities, and cooperatives.

If the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. partnership plan is approved, current preference provisions of the law could not be complied with and preference agencies would be required to pay $86 million more for power and energy over the 50-

year period of repayment than under Federal development of the project.

In the event that the San Luis unit of the CVP now proposed for authorization is constructed, preference customers would have to pay a total of $118 million more for energy.

The CVP, of which Trinity is an integral part, was not constructed for profitmaking purposes, but to meet the needs of the people of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys for water, flood control, and low-cost electric power. Water rates are set by the Federal Government according to the ability of the farmers to pay. Sale of public power helps keep these rates down.

As presently operated the CVP is an integrated system of dams, reservoirs, canals, distribution systems, powerplants, and powerlines, all designed for comprehensive development of the Central Valley. Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s so-called partnership would set apart one unit of the CVP, the Trinity project, and operate it on a different basis from all the rest.

This is neither efficient nor sensible. To permit the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. to get away with its scheme to grab Trinity power would mean the end of public power in California, and probably in the Nation.

There is another point I should like to mention. Under the P. G. & E. proposal, the project plan of operation would provide for releases of water to maximize the power and energy production. The proposed contract includes a very detailed schedule of releases designed to produce the maximum amount of power and energy for integration into the company's overall power system.

Theoretically, the water needs of the project would retain priority. However, any time the Federal Government could not meet the schedule of releases for power because of interference with water consumptive use requirements, the Federal Government would have to pay the company penalties for such noncompliance with the schedule.

I have strongly urged the citizens of the Third Congressional District not to be deluded by the specious promises of the P. G. & E., but to ascertain for themselves the facts in the Trinity River controversy before it is too late to preserve their rights.

Irish Heritage: Its Contribution to Civilization and Its Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an excellent address delivered by James A. McGravey, director of public relations, assistant professor, Merrimack College, North Andover, Mass., at the annual St. Patrick's banquet and dance conducted by division 8, Ancient Order of Hibernians, and the Rev. James T. O'Reilley, auxiliary, on March 16, 1957, at the Central Catholic Auditorium at Lawrence, Mass., entitled "Irish Heritage: Its Contribution to Civilization and Its Future."

Dr. McGravey, in conjunction with his many other duties as a professor at the college, has been a student of Irish history and is well qualified to talk on this interesting subject:

No civilization will be long remembered that has not a tradition, and tradition is the handing down of ideals, of a culture, of a heritage. It cannot be denied that heritage is what gives the lifeblood to the pride of a nation.

Today, western civilization as we know it, and which we in America, and especially in our colleges and universities, are trying to protect, is that which has been contributed by the Greeks and the Romans, and crowned with the greatest contribution of all—Christianity.

Unless we protect this Greco-Roman civilization, increased by the classical contributions of a free world throughout the centuries, and which is now being threatened by materialism and secularism within our own country, and by communism from without, a civilized world, as we know it today, may not long exist.

And it is essentially this tradition that has made Ireland, and those in whose veins flows Irish blood, a living symbol of a heritage, that was begun in the past, is being carried on in the present, and must now be handed down to the future by the young Irish who have taken up the task. It is this tradition that makes each one of us here tonight, Irish-born or descendents of Irish forebears, inwardly proud. Each one of us boasts that he is directly, or indirectly, from the "land of saints and scholars." And I suppose if any one of us were called upon to fight because he were Irish, he would probably stand up, get knocked down, and like any real Irishman, get back up again, and knock his opponent's brains out. The ancient rhymer put it well when he said:

"With my staff and my club,
The harp I can clout,
But, be gorrah, how much I lay on,
I can never knock him out."

But I wonder why each one of us is proud that he is Irish. I wonder how many of us know what a wonderful privilege it is to be Irish.

Sure we claim to be Irish and yet sometimes we are not aware of the great heritage that is ours. To be Irish is a noble gift, but to know what being Irish is means more. For being Irish is a part of a history as old as the world itself, and part of a history still to be fulfilled.

Truly the history of Ireland, and especially here in America, remains to be written; for the purpose of Irishmen remains yet to be achieved.

The struggle for national realization, begun so many centuries ago, is not ended; and if the long story of Erin offers a so frequent record of failure, it offers a continuous appeal to the highest motives and a constant show of a most sorrowful patriotism linked with the sternest courage.

Irish wars, throughout all time, have been only against one enemy, the invader; and ending so often in material disaster, they have conferred always a moral gain. Ireland has never warred against anyone; and yet she has fought the wars of everyone. For the Irish heart is filled with the one hope to help others: that has always been the Irish creed.

The memory of Irish warriors in Irish wars, of Brian Boru, of Malachi, of MacMorrough, of Fitzgerald, of O'Neil; in the American Revolutionary War, of O'Brien, of John Sullivan at Bunker Hill, of Stephen Moylan, and of the father of the American Navy, Commodore John Barry; in the War of 1812, Andrew Jackson, later President of the United States, proud of his Irish father; William Carroll, later twice Governor of Tennessee; the great Commodore Perry, son of an Irish mother; Adm. Charles L. Stewart, commander of *Old Ironsides;* in our Civil War, a Sheridan, a Meade, a Logan, a Mulligan, a Boyle, a Cahill, on the North; a Cleburne, a Brennan, a Garry, on the South; in World Wars I and II, the fighting Irish again, the O'Briens, the Sullivans, the McAuliffes, all uplift the Irish heart; for no nation, no people can reproach Ireland with having wronged them; but every nation on the face of the earth, the white, the yellow, and even the black, can point to Ireland as a nation that somehow or other, or at some time or another, has helped it. On the pages of history Ireland can only be pictured as the nation that righted the wrongs of others—and always of the underdog, and of the oppressed.

This love of freedom and of the desire to help the oppressed goes back even beyond the dawn of recorded history. When at the beginning of the Christian era, we first hear of Ireland from outside sources, we learn of it as an island harboring freemen, whose only love and hope was to live as men endowed by God with the attributes of justice, liberty, and equality.

And so in the romance of Irish history, for it is a romantic one, it is clear that when the Irish went forth to war abroad it was not to impose their yoke upon other peoples, or to found an empire, but to battle against the empire of the world in the threatened cause they held so dear at home.

It was this struggle that Ireland sought to maintain against every form of attack down through Danish, Norman, Tudor, Stuart, and Cromwellian assaults, to the imperialism of the 19th century, to the today, when she has total freedom in mind—the freedom that was born when Rome was young and Ireland was old. For long before the Roman legions came to Ireland the land of saints and scholars was already very old.

But if the romantic history of Ireland as a fighting race, and more especially as the defenders of others be great, it is more in the field of learning that Ireland is greater. She has been termed the "isle of scholars," and surely it is a deserving title.

We name St. Patrick as our great saint and scholar, and feel that Irish learning began with him; yet when he went to Ireland schools had already been established at Wicklow, Down Patrick, and at Meath.

In the sixth century schools had been established in Ireland by St. Finnian, Clonmacnois on the Shannon, St. Comgall, St. Kevin, St. Bridget, St. Ita, and by St. Columkill.

And if we be honest with history, education cannot live without the Irish; for it was the Irish scholars of the past and of today, who related education with God, as they did 15 centuries ago when Ireland was the land of saints and scholars.

Sure, to talk of the Irish would take ages, for their achievements are so great. In astronomy long before a Galileo was known, Augustin, an Irish monk, had accurately charted the stars in the heavens. In 785 Fergil O'Farrell taught that the earth was round, approximately 700 years before Columbus proved that it was. Six hundred years before the discovery of America, Dicuil, an Irish monk, wrote of Iceland and mapped the eastern coast of the United States. Where Lief Ericson and his bold Norsemen sailed into Greenland, St. Brendan of Ireland had left footprints more than two centuries before.

In music, who could leave out the Irish, for Balfe and his melodious Bohemian Girl

is there. In poetry, who could leave out the Irish, when Thomas Moore is the first. In drama, we have a William Boyle, Padriac Colum, O'Kelly, and Synge; in medicine we have a Corrigan, one of the greatest authorities on heart disease. Name any field, name any phase of history, name even a sport, and there you have a John L. Sullivan, who ruled the heavyweight division until he was knocked out by another Irishman, Jim Corbett. Today we have a Delaney (and we at Merrimack are proud of him since he is an alumnus of our sister school, Villanova), who may one day turn the present-day unbelievable 4-minute mile into an Irish 2½-minute mile.

Legend even has it that when Moses came down from Mount Sinai with the Ten Commandments the first man he met asked him: "Did Michael O. K. them? If he didn't then no Irishman on earth will pay any attention to them." But, as we all know, he did and every Irishman has obeyed them ever since.

This is the heritage that belongs to the Irish, who have lived it and who have handed it on; but more important it is the heritage that the young Irish must take up and give to the future. And it is especially upon the young Irish, coming out of our colleges and universities, that the heritage of the past depends. They must take their rightful place in government, in education, and in social progress. It is now the young Irish in America who must carry on the traditions of the past. It is in America that Irish heritage has its most fertile soil; it is here that it must be specifically carried on.

It is the traditional Ireland overseas that looks to the Irish here to carry on. It is to the young Irish that the trust has been given. Just as the old Irish, as my own forebears came here and planted the seed, it is now the new young who must make the most of Irish pride and heritage. Just as in 1776, as in 1812, in 1865, in 1918, in World War II, and in Korea, it is still America asking the young Irish to write again the pages of history. And we may be sure they will not fail; for the Irish, be they old or young, are proud; and being proud, can act only as real Irishmen have acted in the past.

And it is this pride and faith in a tradition that must be blended with the old and the new here in America. It is this honest, sincere love of being Irish, mixed with the realization that Americanism and Irishism (if we may term it such) must go hand-in-hand in a modern nationalism that will continue to write Irish history on the pages of civilization.

It's no wonder then that Irishmen are proud; they have so much to be proud of. It's no wonder Ireland has a permanent place in history; she has written so many pages of history itself. It's no wonder Ireland is blessed, for on either side of her at the throne of heaven stands a Bridget and a Patrick.

Is it any wonder then that every Irishman, worthy of the name, either born in the land of the shamrock itself, or here in America, the home of the new Irish, can on the eve of another St. Patrick's Day feel his eyes sparkle, his pulse quicken, his blood tingle, when he says to himself: "I'm part of a great tradition—treasurer of a greater heritage—and recipient of the greatest baptism of all. I'm Irish."

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

The Nasser Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, Walter Lippmann, one of the most profound thinkers of our times, this morning addressed himself to the disturbing implications of the problems in the Middle East.

Mr. Lippmann's analysis should be read by all thinking Americans. He outlines some fundamental questions to which thus far no one has produced any really satisfactory answers.

I ask unanimous consent that his column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TODAY AND TOMORROW
(By Walter Lippmann)
THE NASSER PROBLEM

Having taken off a bit of time before starting on a short trip abroad, I have spent quite a little of it wondering about the Middle East and the turn in our affairs. We have had forced upon us vast but undefined responsibilities in another great region of the globe. There are some who think that by the role we have played in the United Nations since the Egyptian crisis last autumn we have won the esteem and the confidence of the Afro-Asian nations, and that they will now accept us as being uncontaminated with colonialism. Our optimists think we have achieved a position in the uncommitted world of Asia and Africa which is at once anti-Communist and purged of historic grievances and suspicions against Europe. I do not share this view. It seems to me naive and wishful thinking. Our connections with the West are inseperable. The Communist competition is very strong. And a new accommodation between the East and the West will not come easily. It is perhaps the greatest and most difficult task which lies before us.

I think rather that the events of the past few months have made this difficult task much more difficult. For we have fallen into what may prove to have been an irreparable error in the way we took our stand on the Anglo-French-Israeli intervention. Instead of insisting from the outset that their attack was provoked by Nasser, and that the intervention and the provocations must be cured together, we have insisted that the intervention must be liquidated first before the causes which provoked it are dealt with. We put all our pressure on Britain, France, and Israel. We put no pressure on Nasser, and we have cleared Egypt without obtaining any serious assurances from anybody—from Nasser, from Krishna Menon or from the Soviet—that this would not bring about a return to the status quo ante from which the explosion erupted. The result is that on the great issues of the regime of the Suez Canal and on the pacification of Palestine, our policy has meant that before negotiations are to begin, we have restored and in fact aggrandized Nasser's bargaining power. We have provided him with the big trumps before the diplomatic game is played.

Unless we make it our business, which we could do if we were resolute and resourceful, to restore the greatly diminished bargaining power of the United States and of the western nations, we shall be negotiating from weakness. The Soviets are against us. China is against us. Nasser and the Arabs are against us. India is under the influence of their combined pressure. So, in fact, also is the United Nations.

Since the Second World War we have entered a new epoch in the relations between East and West. We are at the end of the centuries which began with the great European voyages and were followed by the imperial conquest of so much of Asia and of Africa. Though there are pockets of diehard imperialism, it is no longer debatable whether imperialism and colonialism are to be liquidated. They are to be liquidated. The questions everywhere, be it in Cyprus, Algeria, or Goa, are how the imperialism is to be liquidated and how soon.

What is not yet in sight is anything that could be called an understanding of the new international order which is to follow the imperial and colonial epoch. For national independence and the disestablishment of the old imperial regimes will not alone produce a new order in which East and West can live peaceably together. Neither the new nations nor the old nations can live in isolation from one another, and they must, therefore, work out an order of relationship which they can accept. They are interdependent, as we can see clearly in the case of the Suez Canal and of the oil of the Middle East. Europe needs access to the oil, and the Arab countries would be sorely stricken if they could not dispose of their oil to the West. They cannot dispose of it to the Soviet Union. But if this East-West interdependence is to be stable and durable, there must be a reasonable equality of bargaining power in working out the principles and the details of the new relationship.

Since Nasser's seizure of the canal, since the miscalculations of the London conferences, since the fiasco of the intervention, and since our own mistaken policy in the United Nations, the balance of bargaining power has turned drastically against the West. This is reflected in the fact that the United Nations and the United States are not negotiating with Nasser. They have been appeasing him, finding themselves so short of negotiating power.

In Nasser, both as a political figure and as a symbol, we are bound to recognize, it seems to me, a radical opponent of an accommodation between East and West. Nasser's rebellion against the West has a momentum and a direction which, if it is not contained and restrained will carry him beyond any negotiated settlement which the West can accept. There is every reason to believe that Nasser will not voluntarily agree to any kind of international regime for the canal which guarantees to the users rights that they can count upon. It is plain that he means to use the strategic importance of the canal as an instrument of his anti-western and pan-Arab movement. And it is quite evident that he intends against Israel to keep on waging war, as hot a war as appears to him a safely calculated military risk.

The crux of the Nasser problem is that his position in Egypt and his influence in the Arab world would soon collapse if he agreed to negotiate and to abide by settlements with the western nations. He must remain in rebellion against them, never for long allowing the conflict to subside. He needs the tension of international, indeed of interracial, struggle. He needs it to maintain among the Arab masses the image of himself as their champion. He needs the tension also for his political survival at home, to divert his rivals who conspire against him, and as a distraction for the people.

The effect of Nasser's movement extends far beyond Egypt, the canal and Palestine. By his example, through his agents and his propagandists, he is making it very dangerous, perhaps impossible, for moderate leaders of the Afro-Asian peoples to arrive at settlements with the West. He is identifying moderation with treason and settlement with betrayal. This makes it for all practical purposes impossible for any other leader in north Africa and south Asia to come to terms with the West. This applies even to India where, unhappily, Nehru is now declining the role in which he had cast himself, the role of mediator. For many months past it has been apparent that India does not feel strong enough to differ with Nasser.

In fact it is an open question whether India is now able to put through an independent policy, what with Nasser on one side of it, with red China on the other, and with the Soviet Union behind both Nasser and Chou En-Lai. It is certain that we have no right to expect India to redress the balance which has turned against the West as long as our policy, or at least our practice, is to acquiesce in our weakness and to accept appeasement.

The enlightened leaders of the western nations have hoped and believed that the old imperial system could be liquidated in peace and goodwill by a wise and friendly acceptance of eastern nationalism, by education and technical assistance, and by generous contributions of capital for the development of the new nations. But as things stand at the moment, there is no ground for thinking that Nasser, who is astride the strategic center of East-West relations, believes in or wants or will permit such a peaceable evolution to take place. It is not easy to make peace when only one side wants it.

Nasser thinks he has the upper hand, having obtained control of the access of the Western nations to the oil of the Middle East. He thinks it has been proved at the British-French failure last autumn that his paramountcy cannot be challenged. He thinks that the United States will not only refuse to coerce him but will in fact appease him.

All this will now be put to the test. It will be put to the test over the regime of the canal, over whether Gaza becomes again the base of a guerilla war, and over the right of innocent passage in the Gulf of Aqaba. The United States has been heavily committed by the President, and if he cannot or does not carry out the commitments, the prestige of the United States will be gravely impaired in the whole Afro-Asian world. If Nasser is not effectively checked, it will be idle to suppose that American influence can

then be maintained by the Eisenhower doctrine, by arms deliveries, by some economic aid, and by resounding declarations against the menace of communism.

The Middle East Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I have read with interest an article by Walter Lippmann in this morning's Washington Post, which was inserted in the RECORD by the majority leader. It was an excellent discussion of the problems facing us in the Middle East. I ask unanimous request to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief part of a talk I gave in Everett, Mass., last Sunday evening, March 17, which summarizes my own thinking on this important problem.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

As Americans, we believe in keeping our word to each other. We believe that the United States, as a Nation, should keep its word to other nations. We stand for this not only because we want our country to deal with the rest of the world in an honorable manner of which we can be proud, but also because it is the only way in which progress can be made toward the friendly relationships between nations which are essential to world peace.

We joined in the United Nations. Under its charter we agreed not to join in military aggression. That is the reason we refused to join with or support England, France, and Israel last fall when those nations attacked Egypt. We had given our word to the United Nations that we would not support armed aggression, and we considered the attack on Egypt to be armed aggression.

When the United Nations called upon England, France, and Israel to withdraw from Egyptian territory, they did so. This was honorable and commendable.

We are still faced with the problem of making the armistice stick until a final peace settlement can be worked out for the Middle East. That's going to take time. We all know it. Now today we are under obligation to the community of free nations to see that Egypt lives up to her responsibilities. We must be as firm with Egypt as we were with England, France, and Israel. It is my personal belief that the Suez Canal should be opened to the ships of all nations, including Israel; that Israel and all other nations should have the right to use the Gulf of Aqaba; and that the Gaza strip must not be used as a base for attacks on Israel.

We must progress toward these objectives by persuasive and diplomatic action and by any other legitimate means available to us.

The real enemy in the Middle East is Soviet Russia. We want to make clear to Russia, and those who may be inclined to turn toward Russia, that we intend to do our utmost to gain a permanent peace in the world, and that we are trying as hard as we can to turn the faces of many nations, whose people want freedom, toward the West.

Relief for Southern Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, on Tuesday last I had the privilege of appearing befort the Johnston subcommittee of the Senate Agriculture Committee, along with a group of farmers and agricultural leaders from Alabama. We endeavored to emphasize the fact that Alabama and the rest of the South are presently in the grips of a farm depression of far-reaching proportions, and that it is absolutely necessary to provide relief for our farmers, who are so hard hit by depressed farm prices and reduced cotton acreage allotments. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the statement I made before the subcommittee.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR HILL BEFORE THE SENATE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE, MARCH 12, 1957

Mr. Chairman, I deeply appreciate the opportunity afforded me and my fellow Alabamians to appear before you in support of pending measures to relieve the hardships suffered by so many of our farmers as a result of inequities in our existing acreage-allotment program for cotton. We are fortunate in having with us today agricultural leaders from Alabama who, because they have worked and lived with the problem, are intimately acquainted with the tragic circumstances confronting the Alabama cotton farmer. These outstanding leaders will give you a firsthand account of the effects on the Alabama cotton farmer and our agricultural communities of the acreage-allotment program as it is being administered under existing law.

It is appalling to me that our farm people, whose prosperity is basic to the prosperity of the Nation and constitute 13.2 percent of the national population receive only 6.3 percent of the national income—less than one-half their proportionate share. While corporate and personal income, take-home pay and buying power of other segments of the population continue to rise to new peaks, the standard of living of our farmers grows steadily worse. While corporation profits in 1956 jumped 47 percent over the annual average for 1947–49, while dividends increased 69 percent and interest 93 percent in the same period, the farmers' total net income fell 25 percent.

These unhappy facts cannot be regarded as mere statistical data, for they can be translated into the practical realities of stark tragedy for thousands of men, women, and children whose hopes and aspirations for a decent standard of living are inseparably tied to the soil. I am sure that our friends who are here today can graphically portray the disheartening and desolate prospects the future promises, if we do not improve our farm program, particularly the administration of acreage allotments under present law.

In many States, as in my home State of Alabama, cotton is still the No. 1 cash crop. The sharp reduction in acreage allotments over the past few years adversely affects all cotton farmers but most gravely jeopardizes the economic position of two groups.

The first group consists of those farmers who followed the advice of farm leaders and the policy of Congress and diversified and voluntarily reduced their cotton acreage. With the decline in the prices of livestock and other crops to which they have diverted they are now being penalized and in many instances driven off their farms for carrying out the very agricultural reforms Congress declared were necessary to strengthen their economic position and that of the Nation.

The second group is composed of small farmers whose cotton acreage has been reduced to the point of virtually destroying their ability to get credit to carry on their farming operations. Many such farmers in Alabama and throughout the South are being forced to leave their farms, only to swell the rolls of the unemployed in our towns and cities.

The situation presents a most serious national problem that must be dealt with by Congress immediately. We are forced to realize that when one large economic group—such as the cotton farmer—suffers, all of us suffer. The depressed income and the reduced purchasing power of our farm people are inevitably passed along to industry and business in the form of reduced demand for consumer goods and loss of sales. The results are curtailed production, unemployment and a weakening of the Nation's economy. Great depressions have had their beginning in depressed farm prices.

The measures Senator SPARKMAN and I are sponsoring do not propose a permanent solution to the farm problem. They are in the nature of stopgap measures pending enactment of long-range remedies, but they will provide emergency relief for our cotton farmer by preventing a decrease in the acreage allotment of his main cash crop and by removing the penalties now imposed on an individual farmer because of the failure of his fellow farmers to plant their allotted quota of cotton.

If America is to continue to build her strength and her greatness, we must make the fruits of our labors available to all. The American farmer still continues to do his job courageously and to sustain us by providing us, at great sacrifice to himself, with the food and fiber necessary to life itself, and yet during the years between 1947–49 and 1956, 900,000 farm families were forced to leave their farms and their homes.

Despite the heroic efforts of our farmers to provide for the Nation, its welfare and its strength, and despite their love for their soil and their way of life, their love of living close to nature and nature's God, today we behold the sad spectacle of millions of our finest and best citizens driven by the specter of poverty and economic oppression from their land and their heritage.

The annals of human history record indelibly the rise, the degeneration and internal decay, and eventual fall of nations and civilizations. Let us not forget that the farm homes of America have given us the great reservoir of the manners and the spirit and of the moral and spiritual values that have preserved the vigor of our Nation and the foundations of our freedom and our enterprise. Indeed, America's greatness has been builded not alone upon material wealth, but far more importantly upon the initiative, the independence, and the love of God that have flown from the farm homes of America into the warp and woof of the Nation's life. To forsake our farmers now is to forsake our priceless legacy, the fountainhead of our strength and of our continued greatness.

We must extend to the American farmer understanding, not indifference; faith, not

cynicism; action, not promises. The question is: Can we afford not to come to his rescue? For if we fail him we shall fail our America.

Address by Hon. Wayne Morse, of Oregon, Before Methodist Leaders in Social Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me on March 19, 1957, before the national meeting of Methodist Leaders in Social Action.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY SENATOR WAYNE MORSE BEFORE NATIONAL MEETING OF METHODIST LEADERS IN SOCIAL ACTION, MARCH 19, 1957

My friends, it is a notable and memorable experience for me to address the social action leaders of the Methodist Church, and I have accepted your invitation to come here today with pleasure, but also with some trepidation.

It is more to be expected, and is perhaps more natural, for social action leaders of a church to speak to practicing politicians about their obligations to the moral standards of Christianity, and to social welfare, than for a politician to speak to churchmen about the obligations of the church to political life.

Yet it is well to keep in mind that the foundation of American government is essentially a religious one, and that its basis and its objective are as well known, and sometimes better known, to the practitioners of government as to the clergy. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights are religious documents. They are grounded in the doctrine of natural rights, a doctrine which holds that freedom of thought and conscience are inherent in all people wherever born, regardless of the form of government under which they live. It is the heritage of Americans that our Government was founded and organized for the explicit purpose of protecting and furthering these natural rights.

Few who enter American political life, and particularly the Congress of the United States, can fail to gain a greater appreciation of the purposes of the framers of the Constitution as a result of their political participation. The general-welfare clause, which empowers Congress to legislate to promote the general welfare, is the heart and soul of the Constitution, and of the American system of government. It was put best by Lincoln when he described it as the legitimate object of government "to do for the people what needs to be done, but which they cannot by individual effort do at all, or do so well, for themselves." This definition has been attacked even today by many in the party of Lincoln who have not even caught up to the Great Emancipator, much less with modern Republicanism. But the people, in election after election, have fulfilled the definition of Lincoln's, because they know that it is the means whereby the true wealth and value of America can be realized. And that true wealth is our human wealth. It is the wealth we have in the hearts, minds, and talents of nearly 170 million people. In our Declaration of Independence it is written that governments are instituted among men to obtain the objectives of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. These are objectives of the mind and spirit and not of material wealth only, and it is to their realization that our best efforts must be dedicated, relying on the superb instrument of the American Constitution and its general-welfare clause to do it.

I have dwelt at some length on the philosophic foundation of American Government because it is an important preface to what I want to say about the obligation and responsibility of the individual who seeks to carry out the objective of government by entering politics.

THE OBLIGATION OF AN ELECTED OFFICIAL

The historic writings of most of our constitutional fathers, such as Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, John Dickinson, Robert Morris, and James Madison, all show that they did not believe that the elected representatives of free people serve as hired men of political parties and political machines, but held their offices as the servants of a free people.

Our Founding Fathers set up a representative republican form of government which placed the ethical duty upon the shoulders of the representatives of a free people in a parliamentary body to act on the basis of the facts, to keep faith with the truth, and to stand up against a temporary wave of public opinion that is characterized by an emotional reaction to propaganda, misrepresentations, and unsound public policy.

Edmund Burke put this principle of representation in eloquent language when he said in his great speech to the electors of Bristol on November 3, 1774: "It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. But his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion. To deliver an opinion is the right of all men; that of constituents is a weighty and respectable opinion, which a representative ought always most seriously to consider. But authoritative instructions; mandates issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and conscience • • • these are things utterly unknown to the laws of this land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenor of our constitution."

Let me assure you that keeping faith with that basic principle of representative government many times is not the best way to make political friends and influence your political party. Yet I hold to the view that unless one keeps faith with that principle he will, time and time again, sell his constituents short in the matter of standards and values. Why do I say that? I say it because frequently public opinion is wrong, frequently public opinion is based upon misrepresentation, misinformation, and misunderstanding of the facts. One of the obligations of statesmanship, as I see the problem, is to sit in the Congress of the United States and exercise an honest independence of judgment on the merits of issues in accordance with the facts as one sees them and vote accordingly, even though at the time a wave of public opinion in one's State and throughout the country seems to hold a contrary point of view.

However, if one is right on the facts and will keep faith with his duty of political leadership, he need have no fear as to what the final decision of the people will be once they come to understand the facts which form the basis of their representative's vote and action.

To you churchmen, let me urge you to remember to watch out for the officeholder who is afraid to be defeated. Watch out for the politician who thinks that his reelection is more important than the public interest. Watch out for the politician who scratches your back, tells you he agrees with you on every controversial issue. I say watch out for him because he has ceased to be your true representative. It is this type of representation in public office that is weakening standards of government because it constitutes placing politics above principle. It makes a virtue out of political expediency and a liability out of intellectual honesty.

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN AMERICAN POLITICS

Having discussed the role of government as an instrument of the natural aspirations of man, and the role of the politician, as I see it, in a government established to promote those aspirations, I would like to talk a little about the role of the church and of religious leaders in American politics.

The pulpit has many uses. It can be used to exhort the individual listener to mend his ways in order to gain salvation; or to explain the word of God; or to relate the Judeo-Christian ethic to our political and social lives.

I am principally concerned here with the latter use of the pulpit, and I take it that you are met here primarily to examine this relationship.

As I see it, the greatest contribution that the clergy, particularly those individuals concerned with the social-welfare challenge of Christianity, can make to American politics is to view with a critical and even ruthless judgment the two elements I have discussed—the extent to which a program or policy of a party or an administration furthers the general welfare of the American people, and the extent to which our representatives at all levels of government fulfill their responsibility to providence and to the people they represent to be guided by the dictates of conscience and not by the pressures of expediency.

As a student of history, I am obliged to say that in all American history we have seldom had an era when so little of that kind of judgment was being used. Today, the press, the political commentators in all mediums of communication, the intellectual leadership of most walks of life, have virtually rolled over and played dead for the most colossal publicity campaign of all time.

A conscientious, critical, constructive discussion of Government policies, both foreign and domestic, is almost absent from the Nation's press. The voice that calls for deliberation and analysis of a life or death issue such as confronts us in the Middle East is shouted down on grounds that a terrible emergency exists, one that will not permit the elected Representatives of the people to find out the purposes and possible consequences of the policy, though one that apparently does not preclude a Bermuda cruise on the part of the Chief Executive who has asked for and received an abdication by Congress of its responsibility to participate in decisions involving war or peace.

The Eisenhower administration, and the President himself, have enjoyed an immunity from critical appraisal almost unknown in American history. I fear for the consequences of this renunciation of responsibility on the part of American intellectual and

spiritual leaders. I fear for it because we are no longer in an age when a wrong or mistaken policy can be reversed and what was lost reclaimed. Today, when a foreign policy goes awry, we wake up one morning faced with the awful prospect of annihilation, as we were last October when a situation in the Suez area that we were told never looked brighter, suddenly erupted into war. We got off easy that time. The price we paid for allowing the administration to run our foreign affairs for 4 years without a searching debate from the press—and from Congress—was a small one, compared to what it could have been, and to what it may well be the next time.

At home, a natural resources policy that puts a premium on private profit instead of on the full development of the common heritage of the people in their river basins means a permanent loss of that heritage, to ourselves and to future generations.

A failure of government to provide the money needed for good schools means a future generation of American citizens whose needs and abilities are underdeveloped, and that is a far more serious social loss than even the economic loss of an underdeveloped river basin. I would even submit that the clergy of America who have traditionally been the custodians of the principle that education of the common people is the first obligation of a Christian community, have no more compelling duty than to demand that out of the great material wealth of the country, we provide for the common education. We are not doing it now. We are shortchanging our boys and girls with half-day classes, with a shortage of qualified teachers that deprives our children of the attention to their individual problems which they deserve. Right now, there are at least 840,000 children attending school part time because we have not provided them with enough teachers and with adequate school facilities.

This school situation is a disgrace to America—a disgrace to the Nation that founded compulsory public education as the best means of achieving the moral and spiritual improvement of its people. It is a disgrace to any society of our material means and our professed beliefs in education. Yet we have tolerated it for nearly 10 years, and we have accepted excuses and delays in the place of action.

When the first ordinance for compulsory education at public expense was issued in Massachusetts in 1649, it was expressly for the purpose of thwarting the lures of "Ye olde Deluder, Satan." Our language today would be more sophisticated, but our belief in education as the sine qua non of democracy and of the betterment of the individual remains the same.

Yet I have found little disposition on the part of the clergy generally to draw the issue with those who are responsible for our failure in the field of education. I have found little disposition on the part of the clergy, or of American spiritual and intellectual leadership as a whole, to insist that the present administration return to the fundamental objective of our Government, namely, the promotion of the general welfare.

What I do see is a blind, uncritical acceptance of the trappings of spirituality in place of the substance of moral responsibility in high office. The personal activities of the President and his associates are of no concern to me, but what is of concern to me is what I regard as their failure to promote the interest of the American people of today and tomorrow, and their policy of giving to the public ostentation and display instead of concrete performance of public duty. The clergy has, I believe, been as ready as any other group—and I regret to say this—to accept this unworthy substitute. It has, generally speaking, accepted the form without demanding the substance of ethical behavior in public office.

It has done this with regard to the programs and policies of government, and it has done so with regard to the obligation of individuals who hold public office.

The duty of the elected representative of the people as it was visualized by Burke and by the framers of the Constitution is on the defensive. The candidate or officeholder who defies the steamroller of the publicity campaign because his mind and conscience tell him that the public interest lies in another direction finds himself regarded not a hero in the cause of duty to his conscience but as an obstructor who must be silenced or removed as soon as possible. Like the simple man of the fairy tale who tried to point out that the emperor really had on no clothes at all, he becomes a pariah to a domineering political leadership and to its idolatrous followers. The test of a candidate for public office today, and of the fitness of an incumbent, is too often the measure of his kinship to the current political administration, rather than the measure of his kinship to his conscience.

More so than any other social group, excepting possibly only the press, the religious leadership of America has an obligation to serve the political truth. Not just the truth that is found by application of the mind to a problem, but to the truth which holds that the mind of man is responsible to God. Truth is the hardest of all masters. It requires ceaseless mental activity, and perhaps that is the principal reason why it has attracted few disciples. But, it also requires that the individual mind be honored for devotion to principle and to conscience, even when that devotion leads to another conclusion from our own.

In September of 1862, President Lincoln was wrestling with one of the most momentous decisions of American history, the issue of emancipation, when a delegation representing the religious denominations of Chicago called on him to ask that he proclaim emancipation. His reply was as follows: "I am approached with the most opposite opinions and advice, and that by religious men who are equally certain that they represent the divine will. I am sure that either the one or the other class is mistaken in that belief, and perhaps in some respects both. I hope it will not be irreverent for me to say that if it is probable that God would reveal His will to others on a point so connected with my duty it might be supposed he would reveal it directly to me; for, unless I am more deceived in myself than I often am, it is my earnest desire to know the will of providence in this matter."

I know of no test for a political candidate more in keeping with the Christian ethic than the test of his adherence to his own conviction and conscience and his refusal to accept another's judgment in place of his own. The church, and its religious leaders, ought to insist upon that adherence, just as it ought to insist upon political platforms and policies that will promote the general public interest. Its role in political life ought to be to expose cant and hypocrisy, no matter in what area of government it is found or by whom practiced. Its contribution must be to hold before the American people the moral objectives of our society, and to measure political programs against those objectives. It must not hesitate to speak out against policies that are a denial of the general welfare, nor to advocate those that expand human freedom and activity.

It must also demand that our officeholders keep themselves free from political dictation by economic pressures or political bosses. It must awaken voters to the fundamental concept of representative government which requires that an elected official keep faith with his own judgment and conscience.

A social action group of a church must constantly turn a searching light upon governmental affairs at all levels. More so than even our media of political expression and information, the church must give a standard and a direction to governmental policy. Without the guidance of spiritual and moral leadership, any government—regardless of its form—will founder, our own no less than any other. If the church does not perform this function, I know of no other institution that will.

The American Nation must continue to be guided by the spiritual and moral values of Christianity, no less now than when it was founded. Your group has made a notable contribution in that direction, one that I hope will be expanded and developed in the future, for without the fundamental principle of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God as our guide, the forms of government lose all meaning and vitality.

To hold this guide before us is what I regard as your mission in political life. It has been indigenous to American politics in varying degrees since colonial days, but today it is in eclipse. The future of America and of the American people depends upon the extent to which it can be brought back as the focal point of our Government and politics.

Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriation Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN TABER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the unanimous consent request that I received, I am submitting an extension of my remarks in the RECORD with reference to the bill for making appropriations for the Department of Labor and for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. I hope that this might have the earnest consideration of all the Members of the House.

We had a great to-do here last week over a resolution submitted by my esteemed colleague and friend, Chairman CANNON of the House Appropriations Committee.

At the same time that this Cannon resolution recognized that this House "must, in the public interest, make substantial reductions in the President's budget for the fiscal year 1958," it asked our President to show us how to do our work.

And the President, quite properly, tossed the Cannon resolution back in our laps.

Now that we have disposed of it, I think it is about time that we stopped fussing and finagling and settled down to our job of examining this budget. It is only fair to point out that so far this year this House has demonstrated that it does know how to cut an executive budget in a great bipartisan effort.

If we do not do it this year and we approve the executive budget as submitted, we will have increased the spending authority of the Federal Government by $16 billion in the last 3 years.

All of us are familiar with the way Federal spending grows. Every year the appropriations for the departments,

agencies, and bureaus of the vast Federal establishment are upped—most of them a little, and some by large amounts. And when we are dealing with billions, increases of hundreds of thousands or a million dollars are not too striking.

But I submit, gentlemen, that the overall impact is shocking if we look at the items percentagewise. I have been making some comparisons of the spending proposals in this new budget we are considering with actual expenditure authorizations in fiscal 1955.

The percentage increases gave me a jolt. I think they will startle you, too. For that reason I am submitting some tables that should prove helpful to all of us in cutting these appropriations.

It is not too much to ask that we not only refuse to increase 1958 appropriations over last year but also cut them back to the actual expenditures in 1955.

Public Health Service, funds for research

	1956 enacted	1957 estimated	1958 estimated
General	$5,248,363	$9,477,000	$10,966,000
National Cancer	22,898,042	36,433,000	38,618,000
Mental Health	16,775,791	30,115,000	32,873,000
National Heart	18,085,062	30,163,000	31,991,000
Arthritis	10,534,790	15,474,000	17,384,000
Allergy	6,246,946	13,049,000	15,661,000
Neurology	9,442,365	17,248,000	18,315,000
Dental health	1,303,057	4,635,000	5,009,000
Total (all fields)	90,534,416	156,594,000	170,817,000
Grants for research:			
General	4,999,945	7,979,000	9,468,000
Cancer Institute	9,282,965	18,559,000	20,175,000
Mental Health	3,936,952	8,572,000	10,902,000
National Heart	8,532,500	16,895,000	18,364,000
Dental Health	418,913	2,600,000	2,825,000
Arthritis, etc	4,809,973	8,140,000	9,537,000
Allergy, etc	2,566,997	8,212,000	10,824,000
Neurology, etc	4,344,504	9,130,000	9,750,000
Research fellowships:			
General	248,418	998,000	1,498,000
Cancer	849,127	1,000,000	1,000,000
Mental health	299,997	647,000	647,000
Heart	868,415	1,335,000	1,335,000
Dental health	99,966	500,000	500,000
Arthritis	146,392	300,000	300,000
Allergy	116,837	117,000	117,000
Neurology	149,960	500,000	500,000
Total	2,779,102	5,397,000	5,897,000
Training grants:			
General research		500,000	500,000
Cancer	2,732,628	4,675,000	4,675,000
Mental health	5,884,227	12,000,000	12,000,000
National heart	3,140,206	4,400,000	4,400,000
Dental		500,000	500,000
Arthritis	954,318	1,850,000	1,850,000
Allergy			650,000
Neurology	1,631,662	3,750,000	3,750,000
Total	14,343,041	27,675,000	28,325,000
Grants for detection, etc.:			
Cancer	2,217,825	2,250,000	2,250,000
Mental Health	2,980,547	4,000,000	4,000,000
National Heart	1,088,061	2,125,000	2,125,000
Total	6,286,433	8,375,000	8,375,000
Cancer, grants field investigations	1,299,280	1,900,000	1,900,000
Direct research:			
Cancer	6,515,417	8,049,000	8,793,000
Mental Health	3,674,008	4,896,000	5,324,000
National Health	4,455,880	5,408,000	5,767,000
Dental health	784,178	1,035,000	1,184,000
Arthritis	4,624,107	5,184,000	5,697,000
Allergy	3,873,142	4,720,000	5,342,000
Neurology	3,316,239	3,868,000	4,315,000
Total	27,243,031	33,160,000	36,422,000

Remedy for the Corn Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT D. HARRISON
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, on March 11, 1957, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. POLK] and I joined in transmitting to Members of the House of Representatives a statement of reasons why our companion bills, H. R. 4555 and H. R. 4589, should be passed. The bills were designed to permit corn farmers to use either 1 of the 2 options on which they voted last December to bring supply into balance with demand. The letter of transmittal and the statement follow:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 11, 1957.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Attached is a brief statement on the corn situation. It urges you to support this Tuesday, March 12, a bipartisan compromise introduced by Mr. HARRISON, Republican, of Nebraska, and Mr. POLK, Democrat, of Ohio (H. R. 4555 and H. R. 4589).

It permits corn farmers to use either of the two options voted on last December to help adjust corn production.

It does not increase costs over the options offered corn farmers by the 1956 act.

It provides a 1957 minimum national base acreage for corn similar to the minimums now in effect for cotton, wheat, rice, peanuts, and some types of tobacco.

It can be put into effect with a minimum of administrative difficulty since it uses the same notices to farmers that were used last December in the referendum.

It is only for 1 year—1957.

It will substantially increase participation in adjustment programs to reduce corn production.

It will help stabilize livestock, dairy, and poultry product prices.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT D. HARRISON.
JAMES G. POLK.

H. R. 4555 by Mr. HARRISON, Republican, Nebraska, and H. R. 4589, by Mr. POLK, Democrat, Ohio, companion bills, should be passed.

1. They permit corn farmers to use either 1 of the 2 options on which they voted last December to bring supply into balance with demand. This gives the farmers the option of (1) staying within the 37.3 million corn allotment with price support of at least $1.36 per bushel or (2) staying within the 51 million acre soil bank base with price support of $1.31 per bushel with the requirement that an acreage of cropland equal to 15 percent of the base be put into the soil bank. This soil bank acreage cannot be harvested or grazed. This is exactly what the corn farmers were offered in the December 1956 corn referendum for the 1957 program. Sixty-one and five-tenths percent said they preferred the 51-million-acre-soil-bank base with lower supports; 38.5 percent said they preferred the 37-million-acre-corn allotments with higher supports. The law required a 66⅔ majority vote to put the soil bank base approach into effect. Since only 61.5 percent favored this, the present law forces the program back to the old discredited allotment program favored by the minority (38.5 percent). The effect is to allow the minority to deprive the majority of the kind of a program they prefer. The program favored by the majority will get more adjustment for the money spent. A combination of the old and new approach, which these bills provide, authorizes a program to obtain more participation in adjusting corn production in 1957.

2. They do not increase the cost in 1957 of the price-support and soil-bank programs over the options which were offered to corn farmers by the Agricultural Act of 1956.

3. This is not special privilege for corn in relation to other basic commodities since cotton, wheat, rice, peanuts, and some types of tobacco have minimum allotments. Corn does not have a minimum. These minimums permit payments to farmers for price-support and soil-bank participation which otherwise would not be made. Wheat farmers this year would be cut from 55 million acres to 12.4 million acres except for the minimum national allotment. Likewise cotton would be cut from 17.6 to 3.9 million acres this year. It is unreasonable for the law to deny corn a similar minimum and require an acreage cut from 56 million to 37 million in 1 year. In the past, acreage taken out of basic crops has been devoted to the production of feed grains which has substantially contributed to the lower acreage allotment for corn which is holding down on corn participation in the production-adjustment programs. This will help correct the situation without giving special privileges to corn farmers.

4. Farmers have their allotment notices under these programs so that administrative actions to put the programs into effect would be the very smallest possible. This would be the quickest way to put a workable program into effect.

5. They are for 1 year only.

6. This legislation would result in a substantial reduction in corn production in 1957. This will help stabilize livestock, dairy, and poultry product prices.

7. This will help solve the corn problem this year and as soon as the legislation passes we can get to work this year on the bigger problem of balancing feed supplies of all kinds with demands. This latter problem is too big to attempt to solve before corn-planting time. It involves not only corn, grain sorghums, oats, barley, and rye, but also hay, protein feed, byproduct feed, synthetic feed, and pasture. Likewise it involves the whole theory and application of the price-support and adjustment programs for the so-called basic commodities.

8. It permits both the majority and minority of the corn farmers to have the kind of programs they believe are most desirable.

9. Attached is a list of how each State voted in the referendum.

State	Percent favoring soil-bank program	Percent favoring acreage allotment program
Alabama	83.6	16.4
Arkansas	59.6	40.4
Delaware	88.4	11.6
Georgia	85.9	14.1
Illinois	80.8	19.2
Indiana	74.6	25.4
Iowa	59.5	40.5
Kansas	51.7	48.3
Kentucky	87.2	12.8
Maryland	67.2	32.8
Michigan	75.0	25.0
Minnesota	23.6	76.4
Missouri	47.8	53.2
Nebraska	50.0	50.0
New Jersey	80.7	19.3
North Carolina	78.8	21.2
North Dakota	28.5	71.5
Ohio	71.3	28.7
Pennsylvania	73.9	26.1
South Dakota	27.0	73.0
Tennessee	86.9	13.1
Virginia	50.9	49.1
West Virginia	94.6	5.4
Wisconsin	55.0	45.0
Total	61.5	38.5

Federal Budget Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, once again I have found it helpful to contact the people of the 15th District of Ohio, with regard to vital issues which are before the Congress. Through the medium of a questionnaire I am asking my constituents to give me the benefit of their thinking on several issues. Their responses will be helpful to me and my colleagues in guiding us to a decision on these important subjects.

The current budget is a subject which has received widespread publicity throughout the Nation. Many of my constituents are becoming more aware of the magnitude of our expensive Government. As an added feature of my questionnaire I have included a breakdown of the current budget and have asked that my constituents express themselves on any part of it, whether they feel that the individual items be retained, reduced, or eliminated.

The questionnaire is as follows:

FEDERAL BUDGET QUESTIONNAIRE

Much dissatisfaction with high Federal expenditures has been expressed since the budget recommendations for fiscal year 1958 (July 1, 1957–June 30, 1958) were presented to Congress in January. On this page is a brief outline of approximate expenditures recommended. If you care to comment, please indicate your feeling about these programs.

	Yes	Reduce	Eliminate
I. Major national security items ($43,335,000,000—60.3 percent):			
Purchase of aircraft, ships, guided missiles, and other military equipment ($12,273,000,000)			
Pay and support of military personnel ($10,524,000,000)			
Operation and maintenance of military equipment and facilities ($9,598,000,000)			
Military public works, research, reserves ($5,605,000,000)			
Military assistance to foreign nations ($2,600,000,000)			
Atomic energy programs ($2,340,000,000)			
Stockpiling of minerals and defense production ($395,000,000)			
II. International affairs and finance items ($2,444,000,000—3.4 percent):			
Foreign aid (economic and technical development) ($1,833,000,000)			
Export-Import Bank loans to assist United States industries in foreign markets ($243,000,000)			
Conduct of foreign affairs ($194,000,000)			
Foreign information and exchange activities ($174,000,000)			
III. Commerce and housing ($1,748,000,000—2.4 percent):			
Aviation ($465,000,000)			
Housing and community development ($438,000,000)			
Water transportation ($420,000,000)			
Civil defense and disaster aids ($168,000,000)			
Postal Service ($58,000,000)			
Highways ($42,000,000)			
General aids to business and other ($157,000,000)			
IV. Agriculture and agricultural resources ($4,965,000,000—6.9 percent):			
Farm price supports and related programs ($2,490,000,000)			
Soil bank ($1,293,000,000)			
Agricultural land and water resources ($366,000,000)			
Farm ownership and operation loans ($271,000,000)			
Rural electrification and rural telephone loans ($265,000,000)			
Research and other agricultural services ($280,000,000)			
V. Natural resources ($1,538,000,000—2.1 percent)			
River basin development and public power ($992,000,000)			
Forests, public lands, and Indian lands ($263,000,000)			
National parks and fish and wildlife ($137,000,000)			
Minerals ($99,000,000)			
General resource surveys and other ($47,000,000)			
VI. Labor and welfare ($3,538,000,000—4.9 percent)			
Public assistance (payments to States to aidneedy persons) ($1,664,000,000)			
Promotion of public health $606,000,000)			
Promotionof education ($534,000,000)			
Labor and manpower services ($400,000,000)			
General p urpose research, libraries and museums ($111,000,000)			
School-lunch program, vocational rehabilitation and others ($203,000,000)			
VII. Veterans services and benefits ($5,027,000,000—7 percent)			
Compensation and pensions ($3,103,000,000)			
Hospitals and medical care ($836,000,000)			
Education and training ($757,000,000)			
Veterans unemployment and loan guarantee benefits ($110,000,000)			
Insurance and indemnities ($42,000,000)			
Other services and administrative costs ($179,000,000)			
VIII. General government ($1,451,000,000—2 percent)			
Financial management ($519,000,000)			
Property and records management ($307,000,000)			
FBI, alien control and related programs ($196,000,000)			
Legislative and judicial functions ($152,000,000)			
Central personnel costs ($104,000,000)			
District of Columbia, U. S. Territories ($103,000,000)			
Weather Bureau and other ($70,000,000)			
XI. Interest on our national debt ($7,360,000,000—10.2 percent) This figure represents a fixed debt and is not subject to change except through the retirement of the principal.			

The Nasser Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I am looking very carefully into the economic cost in money and into other possibilities of bypassing the Suez Canal, which I think is the only way, by peaceful means, to bring Colonel Nasser to some terms with the free world and its necessities.

In aid of that effort, I had intended to ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Today and Tomorrow—the Nasser Problem," written by Walter Lippmann, but I am informed that the distinguished majority leader, the Senator from Texas [Mr. JOHNSON] has already presented it for the RECORD.

I do ask unanimous consent that an address I delivered last night to the National Council of Jewish Women here in Washington be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS, OF NEW YORK, DELIVERED BEFORE THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN, SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 20, 1957

The time for a showdown with Colonel Nasser in the Middle East is now. The war of nerves with him is on, and the prestige of the United States and the United Nations is on the line.

In his letter to Prime Minister Ben-Gurion President Eisenhower assured him that "Israel will have no cause to regret" its withdrawal of troops. Now that Israel has withdrawn, I am deeply convinced that she has the full support of the American people on the moral justification of her position.

I believe that the United States and the U. N. have undertaken serious moral commitments involving their good faith and the judgment of the world will be based upon the effort to perform these moral commitments more than on strict legal construction. In this connection, I do not see why it should be taken for granted that Egypt belongs in the Gaza strip under the armistice agreement of 1949. On the contrary, a very good case may be made out for the proposition that, having violated the armistice by its fedayeen raids, Egypt may not use this agreement now to assert civil jurisdiction, and the area should revert to U. N. disposition as before the armistice agreement.

I think we must understand that in the Mideast crisis the U. N. is facing one of its greatest tests as an agency to maintain the peace and could be seriously damaged for future effectiveness in this area if it fails here.

Expressions about hopes and expectations regarding a settlement of a conflict between Israel and Egypt contained in a joint declaration by United States Secretary of State Dulles and Israel Foreign Minister Meier cannot obscure that hard fact.

Let us never forget that Nasser needs the U. N. far more than the U. N. needs Nasser. Nasser needs U. N. funds to clear the canal and feed the Arab refugees in the Gaza strip. In dealing with him we should lead from strength; strength that comes from the realization that our position regarding the Gaza strip, the Suez Canal, and the Gulf of Aqaba is morally right and that Nasser depends on the Suez Canal monetarily in a big way. I sincerely hope that the challenge of Nasserism will be felt in Bermuda, where President Eisenhower, the free world leader for peace, is meeting with Prime Minister Macmillan, of Great Britain, our greatest ally.

If necessary to bring Nasser to terms, I believe we should lead the free world in bypassing the canal. We should assure Great Britain, France, and other large users of the canal that we intend to help them financially to bypass the canal, thereby in effect invoking economic sanctions on Egypt, without U. N. action, if it does not cooperate in maintaining Mideast peace.

Bypassing the canal presents an analogy with our problems with Iran during the rule of Mossadegh who found that the free world could not be defied indefinitely when it refused to submit to his injustice or exactions. Our country, in the interest of peace, should back the same kind of treatment for Colonel Nasser.

I recognize the budget implications of such a declaration as it probably would involve an estimated underwriting of $250 million a year, but the very reason for budget reduction in other respects is to be able to meet just such emergencies in the maintenance of peace.

The moral commitments of the United States and the U. N. respecting the Middle East are: That the U. N. Emergency Force will remain deployed to separate Egypt and Israel land and sea forces at the Strait of Tiran and the Gaza strip "until it is clear that the nonexercise of any claimed belligerent rights has established, in practice, peaceful conditions." These are the words of United States Ambassador to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge on January 28, in the U. N. General Assembly. Also, that "the United States believes that the gulf [of Aqaba] comprehends international waters and that no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the gulf and through the straits giving access thereto." These are the words of the United States memorandum to Israel dated February 11. Also, in the words of President Eisenhower in his address of February 20, when he said, "the United States as a member of the United Nations would seek such disposition of the United Nations emergency force as would assure that the Gaza strip could no longer be a source of armed infiltration and reprisals." The three points upon which Israel has always insisted and which were the basis for the "grave and repeated provocations" which brought on the hostilities of October 1956 are: Cessation of guerilla (fedayeen) raids from the Gaza strip into Israel; freedom of transit through the Gulf of Aqaba to Israel's port of Elath; and transit on the same basis as other nations for Israel's shipping through the Suez Canal.

It is now clear that Colonel Nasser will not allow, if he can help it, Israel's shipping to move through the Gulf of Aqaba or the Suez Canal, thereby invoking belligerent rights, the nonexercise of which is one part of a moral commitment of the U. N. and the United States. He has already ousted the U. N. from civil administration in the Gaza strip and is clearly getting ready to oust the UNEF from military responsibilities there, in this way not waiting until peaceful conditions are established, but on the contrary giving every indication of renewal of the Fedayeen raids.

The grave question facing the free world is: What will the United States do? What will we do within and what will we do outside the United Nations to keep the peace in the Mideast. We are dealing now not with form or verbal assertions but with acts. The U. N., because of the tenuous legal position it has taken that it has a right to be in the Gaza strip through the UNEF only by the consent of Egypt, is yielding one position after another. Colonel Nasser will obviously persist in pressing every possible opening, and so long as he so persists and if he is successful, the free world must expect the danger of war, vast Communist influence in the Mideast, the denial of the area to peaceful commerce and ultimately either being held up for the oil resources of the Mideast which it needs or else having them denied.

Within the U. N., the United States should call for a special emergency session of the U. N. General Assembly to deal with: (1) Backing up the UNEF in its stated mission "to help maintain quiet during and after the withdrawal of non-Egyptian forces" over "an area extending roughly from the Suez Canal to the armistice demarcation lines"; and (2) serve notice on Egypt that if it should attempt to send troops into the Gaza strip or assert belligerent rights and deny to Israel's shipping transit through the Gulf of Aqaba or the Suez Canal, we should consider that an imminent threat to peace and demand sanctions against Egypt.

Acting outside the U. N. we should also send our own shipping through the Gulf of Aqaba, demonstrating its character as international waters.

We should take the initiative in this situation because the prestige of our country and our own self-interest in maintaining the peace in the Middle East are at stake.

The Soil Bank and Northwest Wheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two separate articles from the Christian Science Monitor of March 14, 1957, dealing with the wheat problem which confronts us annually. The first article is entitled "Northwest Wheat Men Shun Soil Bank," and is written by Alice Myers Winther.

The second is an article by Malcolm Bauer, one of the most able writers in Oregon, and a great newspaperman. The article is entitled "Joe Meek Tries Self-Help."

These two articles will form the basis of reference for future discussions on my part on the floor of the Senate when the Senate comes to consider wheat legislation.

There being no objections, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NORTHWEST WHEAT MEN SHUN SOIL BANK

(By Alice Myers Winther)

SEATTLE.—Many wheat farmers in the State which has 3 of the top 4 wheat-producing counties in the Nation take a dim view of the soil-bank program. According to the State Department of Agriculture, the present acreage signed up for 1957 for the acreage reserve part of the program is only about 10 percent of the wheat land of the State. This indicates that only a small percentage of Washington's 8,000 wheat farmers are participating.

This may be due in part to the fact that 85 percent of Washington wheat is fall wheat, and participation for 1957 would have had to be decided upon last October. At that time the program was still so new farmers had had little time to figure out what they wanted to do. More likely, however, it is due to general dissatisfaction with the program itself.

John Stephenson, retiring vice president of the National Association of Wheat Growers and himself operator of a wheat farm in Adams County, explains it this way:

"The program defeats its own purpose of an overall reduction in grain supplies. In the heavier production areas, where a cutback in acreage would really make some dent on surpluses, the payments are not high enough to enable the farmer to participate. In the lighter production areas, the soil bank serves as a crop-insurance program for the continuance of uneconomical wheat farms.

"In the intermediate production areas the compensation that the participating farmer receives comes in two parts: an acreage reserve payment for leaving acreage out of wheat production, and the payment he gets for the sale of alternate crops produced on the same acreage that would normally have been sown to wheat. These alternate crops—generally barley or alfalfa—in turn glut the market the soil bank was established to help in the first place, since wheat has to compete with other grains in the feed market."

INEQUITIES SEEN

There is even less participation in the conservation reserve part of the soil bank program. Soil conservation district leaders meeting in Seattle not long ago expressed both confusion and disillusionment. Some said they thought at first it was going to be a good program, but now they doubt if it can attain its objectives. There are too many inequities, they said, and the provisions are not flexible enough to make it fit conditions that vary from county to county.

"It doesn't cut down surpluses and all we get is conservation. It's a terribly high price to pay for conservation," was one comment.

Others termed the program a "slap in the face" for the conservation farmer. "I'm sick and tired of Washington coming out and penalizing the farmer who has been doing a good job for a long time," groused another.

The Washington Association of Wheat Growers, according to Mr. Stephenson, who

was its first president, believes the only sound program for wheat is one which will return to wheatgrowers their historic right to compete fairly in the markets of the world without having to sacrifice a fair return on that portion of the wheat which is consumed domestically for food.

In its opinion, reiterated at its convention last December, the only effective means of accomplishing this objective is what is called the domestic parity plan. This plan has had not only the vigorous support of the National Association of Wheat Growers but also the blessing of the National Grange. The Oregon Wheat Growers League also recently reaffirmed support of the plan as offering a long-range solution to the wheat problem.

DOMESTIC PARITY EXPLAINED

Under domestic parity, Mr. Stephenson explained, all wheat would be sold in the market at the going market prices. The prices would be established freely by competition and not by Government edict. Consumers of bread and other wheat food products would continue to pay in the market place, as they do now, only what he called a fair price.

But, unlike the present program, there would no longer be a necessity for consumers as taxpayers making a second payment in the form of taxes for export subsidies, storage costs, or losses because of spoilage.

The operation of the plan, about which there has been much misunderstanding, would be this, as explained by Mr. Stephenson."

At the beginning of each marketing year, the Secretary of Agriculture would determine the portion of the wheat crop which would go into consumption for human food. This domestic food quota would be allotted among wheat farms substantially on the same basis as acreage allotments are now made, except that the acreage would be translated into bushels and the share of each farm would be in bushels.

Each farmer would receive a certificate stating in bushels his share of the estimated domestic consumption of wheat for food. This certificate would have a dollar value representing the difference between the average market price (as estimated in advance by the Secretary of Agriculture) and 100 percent of parity.

The value of the certificate plus the price received in the market place would return to a grower the equivalent of full parity on that portion of his crop consumed domestically as food. For the portion of his crop used for feed or export, he would receive whatever the wheat sold for in the market place.

These marketing certificates would be negotiable drafts on the Commodity Credit Corporation. They could be issued to farmers ahead of harvesting time, thus helping them to finance farm operations during the high-expense season.

[Proponents of the plan generally pass lightly over the fact that the dollars represented by the certificates would, one way or another, have to come from the farmer's fellow citizens who buy what the farm produces. Either as taxpayers or consumers, Mr. and Mrs. America have to foot the bill, as they do for other necessities.

[Critics argue, too, that the plan would be complicated to administer. Nevertheless, it has won substantial support, although not sufficient to put it through Congress.]

In 1953 Washington ranked third in total bushels of wheat produced. The fact that the State now ranks only sixth among the States is attributed by local growers to what they consider the unfair treatment accorded them in the national allotment program.

JOE MEEK TRIES SELF-HELP

(By Malcolm Bauer)

PORTLAND, OREG.—Joe Meek is an Oregon wheat farmer. He has worked his 640-acre farm in Gilliam County, on the State's central plateau, for more than 20 years. In all that time his best year was 1951, when he had a total gross farm income of $19,044 and a net of $11,695. But, in 1955, with his gross reduced to $11,638, he was able to earn, above costs, only $3,953, the return for his management, labor, and capital investment.

Joe Meek is not the farmer's real name. But his farm is real, and the record is real; and it is, according to the Department of Agricultural Economics of Oregon State College, a record typical of Oregon wheat farms. Joe Meek's production has increased steadily, and the price received per bushel is still at a high level. But his income, largely due to skyrocketing costs, has been reduced to a level comparable only to that of the prewar years.

The predicament in which Joe and his fellow Oregon wheatgrowers find themselves was the reason for the assembly here recently of the Oregon Wheat Industry Conference, the first such all-industry gathering since 1926.

Represented were growers, handlers, processors, transporters, millers, bakers, livestock feeders, consumers, labor, restaurant operators, retailers, and exporters—all the long line of those concerned with the production and marketing of this basic grain crop. Sponsors were Oregon State College and the Oregon Wheat Growers League, an organization created for the specific purpose of solving wheat growers' problems through self-help.

INITIATIVE REPORTED

The conference heard encouraging reports of Oregon initiative in solving many producing and marketing problems. Oregon State College experimental stations have made many discoveries contributing to increased yield per acre. The Oregon Wheat Growers League and the Oregon Wheat Commission, a State agency, have taken aggressive and imaginative steps to promote wheat consumption, not only domestic but worldwide.

The latter program has gained national attention. A few months ago, for example, spokesmen for Oregon wheat handed out 100,000 sweet rolls at an international trade fair in Osaka, Japan, to stimulate the growing Japanese appetite for wheat foods. The Japanese market, in the past few years, has absorbed a considerable part of Pacific Northwest wheat exports.

The Oregon wheat-promotion campaign is responsible for the appearance on United States grocery shelves of the wheat food, bulgor, a modern adaptation of an ancient oriental dish made by boiling and drying soft wheat, rubbing off part of the bran and then cracking the kernels. The result is a substitute for rice and has much the same qualities of taste and appearance.

The bulgor development is a direct result of Oregon wheat industry's investigation and sampling of native opinion in Japan, India, and other Asian nations. Asia is by far the greatest potential market for Oregon wheat, only about 25 percent of which can be consumed within the State. The bulk of the remainder must be sold outside the United States, or stored.

The conference resolved to increase such promotional activity and to work especially for a wider consumption of wheat as livestock feed. Wheat could be economically fed by cattlemen if priced about the same as corn, a conference subcommittee reported. [While this development can help wheat farmers, it means competition—and new problems—for corngrowers.]

A surprise was the conference's majority report on Government wheat programs. The report, prepared in advance by a study committee and distributed in mimeographed form at the meeting, criticized present and proposed Government price-support programs, including the domestic parity, or two-price, plan recommended by the Oregon Wheat Growers League. Instead, the committee suggested a direct income payment to farmers—like the Brannan plan proposed during the Truman administration—such as is in effect with respect to wool. This, the report said, is a program of abundance, not scarcity, with no Government manipulation or control.

In present scarcity programs, the committee said, "taxpayers pay the costs of making the food scarce, so they in turn have the privilege of buying at higher prices."

There is good reason, however, to doubt that this is an expression of the sentiment of the Oregon wheat farmer. Some farmer delegates to the conference suggested that the committee's majority report was a reflection of the views of city-based representatives of the industry—such as bakers and millers—rather than of Joe Meek and his fellows.

As a result of such criticism, the final report of the conference was rewritten in compromise form, giving more prominence to committee minority reports recommending: (1) The domestic parity system, which has been once rejected by Congress; and (2) greater reliance on wheat industry self-help.

The marked success of the latter—including experimentation with wheat types and promotion in foreign markets—was one of the most encouraging revelations of the 2-day conference.

The Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. POTTER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by Philip McCallum, general counsel of the Small Business Administration, before the Association Executives of Michigan, at the Bancroft Hotel in Saginaw, Mich., on March 2, 1957.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the address is estimated to make 2¼ pages of the RECORD, at a cost of $173.25.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY PHILIP MCCALLUM, GENERAL COUNSEL, SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, BEFORE ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES OF MICHIGAN, BANCROFT HOTEL, SAGINAW, MICH., MARCH 2, 1957

It is a real pleasure and indeed an honor to be afforded the opportunity to address the Association Executives of Michigan today here in the Thumb area.

At the outset I want to emphasize how greatly the Small Business Administration values the work of your organization and similar groups throughout the country. We feel close to you because we have found that it is not difficult for you to grasp and endorse the significance and benefits of the

services which the Small Business Administration is making available on an increasing scale to small-business owners of the Nation.

As you doubtless know, we are a young and small agency. We are only a little more than 3½ years old. The 83d Congress, upon the recommendation of President Eisenhower, recognized that there was a great need for an agency that could effectively meet the individual needs of the small business concerns of the country. There are more than four million such concerns.

We believe that the decision—to establish this agency—has been more than justified. In fact, the Congress and President Eisenhower have given us wide responsibilities and solid encouragement continuously and in increasing measure since the Small Business Act established our agency in 1953.

Trade associations have helped tremendously to spread the word about what we do to assist, promote, and encourage the small-business man in meeting the increasing competition which confronts him today.

We welcome your continued support and interest and I know that our Administrator, Wendell B. Barnes, joins me in urging you to help us even further in channeling the availability of our services to the thousands of small-business enterprises of this great Wolverine State of ours—in the advancement of their growth and economic well-being.

We welcome your help, your advice, but most of all your encouragement.

Members of the Congress from Michigan have been helpful to us and alert to the needs of this State. Senator POTTER is frequently in contact with us and Congressmen ALVIN BENTLEY and ELFORD CEDERBERG from this area have also demonstrated their interest in assisting small businesses.

Your association deserves great credit for its efforts to advance the widespread interests and usefulness of its membership.

Nothing seems to stand still in this jet-propelled age of technological ferment. One of the most important functions of management is to make new discoveries, produce new methods, creating improved products and services. I think you will agree that the businessman who ignores the necessity of constant stocktaking does so at the grave risk of being left behind in today's fast-stepping parade of progress.

Concern over the welfare of small business is not new; it goes back to colonial times. Benjamin Franklin and other leaders often expressed the view that economic power should be distributed among many proprietors.

The concern that the United States Congress has for the welfare of small business is nowhere better expressed, I believe, than in the opening sentences of the Small Business Act of 1953.

Let me cite for a moment what the Small Business Act says:

"The essence of the American economic system of private enterprise is free competition. Only through full and free competition can free markets, free entry into business, and opportunities for the expression and growth of personal initiative and individual judgment be assured. The preservation and expansion of such competition is basic not only to the economic well-being but to the security of this Nation.

"Such security and well-being cannot be realized unless the actual and potential capacity of small business is encouraged and developed. It is the declared policy of the Congress that the Government should aid, counsel, assist, and protect insofar as is possible, the interests of small-business concerns in order to preserve free competitive enterprise, to insure that a fair proportion of the total purchases and contracts for supplies and services for the Government be placed with small-business enterprises, and to maintain and strengthen the overall economy of the Nation."

To discharge the great responsibilities outlined in this congressional policy, the Small Business Administration carries on four major activities:

1. We help small firms gain access to adequate credit at reasonable terms;

2. We help small firms obtain a fair share of the Government's contracts;

3. We help small firms with their management and technical production problems;

4. We make disaster loans at 3 percent interest to owners of homes and businesses damaged or destroyed in natural catastrophes.

Now I would like to explain how the Small Business Administration is ready to aid or advise you and others, individually and collectively, in meeting the day-to-day challenges of our enormously developing and changing economy.

The Small Business Administration is a 100-percent service organization. We have only one objective—that of helping the Nation's small-business concerns in every way possible.

To make it easy for small firms to take advantage of our services, so they need not spend their time and money coming to Washington, all of our services are available through our nationwide network of field offices.

Many of you doubtless know that we have a regional office in Detroit. The address there is 211 West Congress Street. Mr. Frederick W. Pritchard is our regional director. Do not hesitate to call upon Fred Pritchard at any time. He has a courteous and expert working staff of specialists. Refer businessmen to them.

How do we determine whether a firm is a small-business concern?

For financial-assistance purposes in the act which created the Small Business Administration, the Small Business Act of 1953, as amended, a "small business" is defined as one which is independently owned and operated and which is not dominant in its field. The act also authorized the SBA, in making a more detailed definition of small business, to use such criteria as number of employees and dollar volume of business.

In general, the Agency's criteria for determining whether a firm is small, for loan purposes, are as follows:

A manufacturing concern is considered small if it employs 250 or fewer persons, including employees of affiliates, and large if it employs more than 1,000 persons; if it employs more than 250, but not more than 1,000 persons, it may be considered either small or large, depending on the employment size standard which the SBA has developed for its particular industry.

Most wholesale concerns are classified as small if their yearly sales are $5 million or less.

Most retail and service trades firms are considered small if their yearly sales or receipts are $1 million or less.

For purposes of Government procurement, a manufacturing concern is a small business if (a) it is not dominant in its field of operations and, with its affiliates, employs fewer than 500 employees, or (b) it is certified as a small business by the Small Business Administration.

To be classified as a small business concern, a nonmanufacturing firm bidding on Government purchases (dealer, distributor, wholesaler, jobber, or agent) must meet the same criteria as a manufacturer, plus two additional requirements: (1) It must be defined as a regular dealer under the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, and (2) in the case of a Government purchase reserved for award to small business, or in appropriate cases involving equal bids, it must furnish the product of a small manufacturer or producer in the performance of the contract.

Now let us turn to the four major objectives which I referred to a few moments ago.

One of these major objectives is to help small firms overcome their financial problems by increasing the flow of credit to them, at reasonable rates.

In this program, we counsel with small firms on their financial problems, assist them in obtaining credit from private sources; and, if private credit is not available at reasonable rates, we will ourselves make the loans to the small firms.

Under the Small Business Act, we are authorized to make direct loans to small firms, or loans in participation with private lenders. However, we cannot make a direct loan if a participation loan is available.

By law, there is a $250,000 limitation on the Agency's direct loans, as well as on the Agency's share of a participation loan.

We have the authority to make loans larger than $250,000 to corporations formed by small business concerns for the purpose of producing or securing raw materials or supplies. In these cases, the maximum Agency loan is $250,000 multiplied by the number of small businesses which have formed the corporations.

Let me describe briefly what might be called a typical Small Business Administration loan, say, to a manufacturer. Usually the manufacturer applying for a loan wants to add to his capacity, enlarge his plant, acquire more machinery, improve his manufacturing process.

Or perhaps his business has been expanding so rapidly that he is urgently in need of additional working capital to provide sufficient inventories of the raw products he must have for efficient operation.

In a typical loan situation, the borrower has a good record. His management has been competent, and he is able to show that the loan should result in increased earnings so he can repay it on schedule. Usually a local bank is helping this manufacturer with some of his credit needs, and is willing to continue with short-term financing. But the applicant needs help in financing the new construction and in consolidating his obligations so they can be repaid over a longer period. Perhaps his bank is willing to provide part of the long-term financing and share the loan with Small Business Administration. If not, then we will consider making the entire loan ourselves.

In our lending program, we seek the cooperation, the participation by banks and other private lending institutions. We feel we are receiving their cooperation, as shown by the fact that about two-thirds of our loans have been in participation with banks.

Since the start of the agency's financial-assistance program in 1953, the Small Business Administration has approved 5,421 business loans totaling $247,551,000 to aid small firms, and 4,862 disaster loans, totaling $56,200,000.

In the past month of January the agency approved 261 business loans totaling $11,801,000 and 32 disaster loans totaling $552,000, a record increase in our loan activities.

Thus, in the majority of our loans, we do more than help provide for the long-term credit needs of worthy small firms. At the same time, we help small concerns establish a line of credit, with a private bank, in their own city or town. Then, in the future, when they need financing, they should be able to obtain it without difficulty from their local bank.

Just about 1 year ago we put into operation a new type of loan program designed to provide term credit for the very small wholesaler, the retail shop, and the small service establishment. We call this type of loan our limited-loan participation plan, and it is meeting with a tremendous response on the part of both the banks and the very small establishments.

These are all bank-participation loans—a bank must take at least a 25-percent share. The loans may run as long as 5 years, and

the interest cannot exceed 6 percent—it may be even lower if the bank agrees to it.

The Government's share of these loans is limited to $15,000 or 75 percent of the total, whichever is smaller—so you can see most of these loans are in the $10,000, $15,000, or $20,000 category.

They are providing the small firms, the really small fellow, with a ready source of credit for expansion, for working capital, for fixing up his place—and he is building up an established line of credit with his local bank at the same time.

Our second major program of assistance to small firms is that of helping them obtain a fair share of the Government's contracts.

The most impotrant activity in this area is small business set-asides program with other Government agencies.

Under this program, we have assigned representatives to the principal United States Government purchasing centers to review proposed purchases and to determine, in cooperation with contracting officers, which orders should be set aside entirely or in part for award to small business.

Since the Small Business Administration began its operations on August 1, 1953, more than $1,400,000,000 in Government purchases have been set aside for exclusive award to small firms.

The Small Business Administration's third major activity is assistance to small business concerns with their management and production problems.

Our program in this field is largely an educational one, designed to help a businessman fill in the gaps in his knowledge and experience, and acquire a better grasp of overall business administration—in short, to become a more capable executive.

As one part of this program we are sponsoring small business administrative management courses in cooperation with leading educational institutions in all parts of the country.

Since starting this program in the spring of 1956, we have cosponsored 196 courses in 82 educational institutions. More than 5,000 small business owners and managers have attended the courses. The University of Michigan and Wayne University are participating in this program.

In addition, we provide small firms with four series of publications dealing with important management, technical production, and marketing subjects. These are practical, clearly written publications prepared largely by management consultants, university teachers and other recognized experts in private indstry.

The four series cover a wide range of subjects, such as market analysis; budgeting, business insurance; employee selection; appeal procedure for income tax cases; records management; and sales forecasting.

Three of these series are distributed free by our Agency, while the fourth is sold at nominal prices. More than 3 million copies of these publications have been obtained by businessmen and others from our Agency, or purchased from the Government Printing Office.

Let me cite just a few of the titles of our Management and Small Marketers Aids, which are distributed free upon request. I think you will find them interesting. "How to Build Your Sales Volume," "How to Analyze Your Own Business," "Sales Forecasting for Small Business," "How to Reduce Your Operating Costs," "Planning Your Working Capital Requirements," "Attracting Customers to Your Small Store," "Basic Stock Control for Small Stores."

Another series of publications, which we call our Management booklets are available from the United States Government Printing Office at nominal prices. Here are a few titles you may find interesting: "Human Relations in Small Industry," "Making Your Sales Figures Talk," "A Handbook of Small Business Finance," and "New Product Introduction for Small Business Owners."

The Small Business Administration also makes loans to assist in the rehabilitation of businesses and homes which have been damaged or destroyed by natural disasters, such as storms and floods. This humanitarian function is a very important part of the work of the agency.

When natural catastrophes occur, we quickly open temporary loan offices in the stricken areas and offer 3 percent loans to help in the rebuilding of homes and businesses. Our disaster loans may run as long as 20 years.

We also make drought disaster loans to small firms in areas where prolonged drought has caused serious losses to the businesses.

In addition to these four major programs, we are active in many other ways to help small firms.

Our agency is helping small firms keep abreast of the times. This is important in this technological age in which new products and new processes appear on the business scene daily. Research and development on new products and processes represent insurance of future profits of a business. The management of many business concerns say their firms would be out of business in a few years if they discontinued their research and product development programs.

At the same time, large numbers of small business concerns are unable to conduct effective or continuous research on new process and product development.

Our products assistance program is designed to supply this need by providing small businesses with information and data on product research, including but not limited to assistance in these areas: Product development, product marketing, possible new and improved products, inventive ideas, patentable ideas, Government-owned patents, privately owned patents, product redesign, and new processes.

Information of this type is contained in a products list circular which we issue every month and mail without charge to firms requesting it.

The Administrator, Wendell Barnes, is a member of the Attorney General's National Committee To Study the Antitrust Laws. Protection for small business has been a determining consideration in making recommendations designed to preserve competition and freedom of entry into the market.

The recent increase in merger activity has resulted in the absorption of many small businesses, intensifying the competitive problem for the small businesses which have not been merged. But the problem has many facets, and generalization is difficult. In many cases mergers of small firms have been beneficial to the members.

One of the ways in which small businesses may suffer the greatest injury through mergers is by the invasion of a giant corporation into a field which has been characteristically dominated by small concerns and which is not germane to the larger concern's main line of activity. It is in cases like this that a watchdog attitude on the part of our agency may be clearly justified. We are concerned with the effect on the competitive strength of small business that this type of merger may have.

I should make it clear at this point that, although the Small Business Administration is the one agency of our Federal Government that is exclusively concerned with the welfare of small business, there are many other United States Government agencies which also have small-business programs.

The Department of Defense, for example, has small-business specialists in all three branches of the armed services. They not only assist our agency in earmarking contracts for small-business award but also advise and assist small firms with special problems relating to specifications and other procurement matters.

The Department of Commerce has a special unit for small business in its Business and Defense Services Administration for the purpose of making the vast reservoir of business information compiled by the Department more readily available to small firms. This unit also cooperates with our agency in obtaining basic raw materials and equipment for small firms when they have difficulty in finding a supplier.

A Small Business Unit has been established in the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice to which complaints from small business firms, unrelated to pending investigations or cases, are initially channeled. There such complaints are reviewed to determine whether substantial questions of antitrust violation may exist.

The Federal Trade Commission, the General Services Administration, International Cooperation Administration, and other branches of our Federal Government, also have small business units working actively in behalf of small business.

In addition, both Houses of our Congress have special Small Business Committees which deal only with the problems of small business and legislation affecting the small business community.

Now, let us look for a moment into the future to get some idea of the business potential in the years ahead.

For one thing, our population is expanding by leaps and bounds. We are increasing our population at a rate of more than 3 million each year. Our population is now past the 170 million mark. Every 8 seconds a new American baby is born, adding 8,500 new mouths to be fed every day.

To give you a more graphic idea of what this means, the increase in population adds the equivalent of a new city about twice the size of Saginaw each month. It adds every year half the population of the State of Michigan. Babies are our greatest treasure—the biggest impetus to increased business volume.

This means more and more business for the milkman, the laundry, the doctor, the clothier, and the food distributors. As long as prospects are promising and prosperity becomes ever more universal and permanent, young Americans will have the confidence to marry, have children, and multiply the demand for mountains of food, goods, and facilities.

There is another powerful force which is being exerted steadily to increase our economic growth—our rising standard of living.

The electrical manufacturing industry is now planning to build the vast amount of equipment that will be required to double the present electric service in less than 10 years. And it is estimated that the electrical industry will be called upon to quadruple its output in the next 16 years.

One of our leading business magazines not so very long ago predicted that the average American family will double its purchasing power in the next 25 years. Think what this increase will mean to all industry.

Closely coupled with this steadily rising standard of living is our rapidly developing technology. The peacetime developments of atomic energy are only beginning, but already they are opening up fields so vast that the imagination can scarcely comprehend them. Color television and automation are here. Space satellites will soon be launched.

Incidentally, a small firm was recently awarded the contract to build the third or final booster stage of the earth satellite—and all of its subcontractors are small firms. It is gratifying to us that small businesses are going to give the earth satellite the final nudge that will take it into outer space.

We are entering the age of commercial jet aviation, and solar energy is now being harnessed on an experimental basis to power a telephone line.

The commercial applications of new developments are endless. We hear of new ex-

amples every day—portable radios that will fit wrist or pocket; and household appliances that turn on and off at the brush of a hand.

All of these things are persuasive evidence, it seems to me, that this Nation's economy is now poised for the greatest, most wonderful period of expansion and development we have ever known.

In closing, I should like to call to your attention something that happened in Washington recently that is of great importance to the future welfare of small business.

I refer to the appointment by President Eisenhower of a Cabinet Committee on Small Business, and more particularly to the Commitee's first progress report issued last fall.

The Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Small Business is Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. Other members are the Administrators of the Small Business Administration and the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, and the Secretaries of the Departments of Defense, Commerce, and Labor.

Here are some of the recommendations the Committee has made:

1. Several forms of tax adjustment for small business;

2. A broadened program for increasing small business participation in Government purchasing;

3. Legislation to enable closer Federal scrutiny of mergers;

4. Procedural changes in the antitrust laws to facilitate their enforcement; and

5. Measures to reduce the amount of paperwork required in operating a small business.

In commenting upon the Committee's report and recommendations, the President said:

"I want to assure you that I shall give the recommendations of the Committee the prompt and favorable consideration they deserve—both in preparing for executive action and in drawing up the administration's legislative program for the new Congress."

The programs and actions I have discussed clearly indicate the continued interest there is today in the welfare of small business. But the businessman of today must be alert and ready to seize new opportunities as they develop. He must keep constantly in mind the long-term effects of the changes that are now occurring—our rapidly growing population, rising standard of living, and rapidly advancing technology.

John Ruskin has said: "Every human action gains in honor, in grace, in all true magnificence, by its regard to things that are to come. It is the far sight, the quiet, confident patience, that, above all other attributes, separates man from man."

For those businessmen who hold steadily to the far sight, and have a true regard for exercising sound judgment and constructive business principles to the things that are to come, the opportunities for the future are indeed promising.

VA Home Loan Interest Rates—Johnson Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the article by economist Sylvia Porter, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, is evidence of the mounting testimony that second thought should be given to raising the interest rates on GI home loans. There is real hope that the present tight-money market can be expected to ease within the foreseeable future and that the supply of funds available for housing will increase without any further rise in interest rates. Earlier this week, for example, the press reported that 91-day Treasury notes had dropped to 3.041 percent, the lowest point since November—except for a special tax anticipation loan in December.

But the anticipated easing of the money market apparently will not be sufficient to provide for the 1.5 million housing starts this year, which our country requires, if we are to provide housing for new family formations and replacements for outdated and run-down structures. Early passage by the Congress of S. 726, which would authorize the use of some $1.3 billion in NSLI funds for direct veterans' home loans at the present statutory rate of interest, 4½ percent, would go far in helping to make available this vitally needed housing and in easing up the demand for VA home loans and to facilitate the supply. The most optimistic predictions of new housing starts for 1957 has been the same as for 1956, 1.1 million. The preponderance of thought is there will be a sharp drop. The present rates is at about 910,000 starts for 1957, and this is a crisis figure. This is far short of what our Nation requires and far short of what we should be able to produce during a period of unprecedented prosperity.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request?

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star of March 20, 1957]

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH

(By Sylvia Porter)

PEAK OF TIGHTNESS

We are seeing the tightest phase of the tight money cycle which has dominated most of the Eisenhower administration right now.

Unless the economy takes off soon again into a new boom, the level of interest rates will not go higher, obtaining a loan will not become harder, the money squeeze of 1956–57 will not get rougher.

Few experts believe that we're in for another exuberant business upsurge in the months ahead, even though today's lull well may give way to a moderate advance later. Assuming the experts' judgment is correct, the above statement about money also will turn out correct.

And that will be of the most practical bread-and-butter significance to millions of Americans, home builders and home buyers, big businessmen and small, ordinary buyers of goods on the installment plans, and officials of cities and States the Nation over.

For it means that getting a mortgage to build or buy a home will be less difficult as 1957 rolls on.

It means that the interest rate you have to pay for a home loan won't get higher and it may go lower.

Easier downpayments

It means that downpayment terms on house purchases won't get stiffer and they could become easier.

It means that you'll have a better chance to obtain the credit you want and need to expand your business, modernize your shop, improve your home.

It means that the cash officials of your local or State government must raise to build schools, roads, hospitals, and to follow through on other public projects will be more readily available.

And it means that you're now getting as fat an interest return as you are likely to get on savings in your local bank or savings institution, on the soon-to-be-sweetened United States savings bonds, on other highest-grade Government, corporation, and municipal bonds.

We're not back into a cycle of easy, cheap money—far, far from it.

But the pressures of demand for money are easing.

Big sales anticipated

Businessmen are anticipating big sales this year. But they are not jamming their warehouses as eagerly as they were, and so the pace of their borrowing to stock their shelves with goods is milder, too.

Building of homes is sharply down, and as a result demands for mortgage money are sharply down as well. This is cutting the pressure.

Although the Federal Government is still spending at a rising rate, State and local government borrowing has been curtailed by the very unreceptiveness of the money markets.

And now the Federal Reserve Board is shifting from a policy of aggressive restraint on credit to a more passive attitude (to use the words of the authorities themselves).

For the first time since 1955, there are signs that the worst of the tightening is over. And there even is a faint glimmer of easier money ahead.

Agricultural Price-Support Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, more and more people are demanding that the agriculture program be carefully reexamined with the objective in mind of making it more effective, both for the producer and the consumer.

Recently, Prof. L. H. Simerl, professor of agricultural economics at the University of Illinois, delivered an address at the 19th Annual National Farm Institute at Des Moines, Iowa, which deals directly with the price support program and on alternatives to the present system.

Mr. Simerl is considered one of the Midwest's leading agricultural economists. His recommendations are worthy of the careful and thoughtful consideration of every Member of Congress. His remarkable address, entitled "Income Payments, an Alternative to Price Supports," affords an opportunity for the Senate to undertake a review and study of our present agricultural price support programs. There needs to be some rethinking and new thinking. Surpluses continue to mount while the Government seeks to stifle production. Farmers are being driven from the land, by low prices, and processors find their

business interfered with by Government; grain dealers are frequently at the mercy of the Department of Agriculture in both its domestic and export programs.

How much longer do we have to wait before we seek a better way to do what every fairminded American would expect us to do to provide equality of opportunity for American agriculture?

I ask unanimous consent that the address of Professor Simerl be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INCOME PAYMENTS, AN ALTERNATIVE TO PRICE SUPPORTS

(By L. H. Simerl)

Our Federal Government has tried many plans to raise the prices of farm products and farm incomes. For example, the Federal Government has supplied easy credit. It has set up tariffs and other barriers to the import of agricultural products. It has subsidized the export of farm products. It has regulated charges and services by railroads and other public utilities. It has regulated market practices. It has exempted farmers from various legal restrictions applying to most other industries.

Our Federal Government has fixed prices of farm products through marketing orders and agreements. It has supported prices through direct purchases and through price-support loans. It has made direct payments to producers of some products in order to get them to produce more. It has made direct payments to producers of some products in order to get them to produce less. It has offered voluntary production control programs for some crops like corn. It has imposed compulsory production control programs for important crops like wheat, cotton, and tobacco.

Our present collection of farm programs includes all of the above types of procedures, and others as well. The collection is the accumulation of 40, and more, years of talk, resolutions, legislation, trial, and error.

At the present time the Federal Government annually takes about $5 billion from taxpayers for the support of farm prices and farm incomes. Neither the farmers nor the taxpayers are satisfied with this situation. In fact, I have never found a single individual who approves of it. Some people want more and higher price supports. Most, but not all, of these would also impose tighter production controls. Some people want to reduce price supports. Still others would eliminate them entirely.

A substantial number of people recommend the replacement of price supports with an extensive system of direct payments to producers of the crops and animal products.

We have such a program now in effect for wool. Somewhat similar payment programs were used for milk during World War II. They were much more widely used during the years 1934 and 1939. In those years the payments were called rental payments, parity payments, benefit payments, production adjustment payments, agricultural conservation payments, Government payments, Agricultural Adjustment Administration payments, price-adjustment payments, dairy-production payments, etc. More recently we have added a new name—soil-bank payments.

It is not my purpose to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of such direct payments as a substitute for price supports. Rather my assignment is to discuss a completely different type of income support program for agriculture.

I am not the originator of this proposal. Rather I am a reporter of it. The idea first appeared in print back in 1945 in an article by Dr. R. L. Froker, of the University of Wisconsin, in the Journal of Farm Economics. At about the same time two other men, L. J. Norton and E. J. Working, both of the University of Illinois, were developing a similar plan which was published in a publication of the university called Illinois Farm Economics, January 1946. Prof. Goeffrey Shepherd, of Iowa State College, also proposed a similar plan for supporting farm income. His article appeared in the August 1946 number of the Journal of Farm Economics. All four of these men are professional agricultural economists of the highest standing. Professor Froker now is dean of the College of Agriculture at the University of Wisconsin. He spoke from this platform in the 1956 National Farm Institute. Prof. L. J. Norton was also scheduled to speak here last year, but was fatally stricken shortly before the institute was held. At the time of his passing he was head of the Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of Illinois. Professor Working now is head of the Department of Agricultural Economics at Washington State College. Professor Shepherd, of Iowa State College, is well known to this audience.

Most direct payment plans call for payments to individual producers of a few crops or products. A separate program is or would be required for each product. The Froker-Norton-Working proposals would eliminate all the separate and special commodity programs and provide a single uniform program for all farmers.

In the words of Dr. Froker, "Agriculture as a whole should be guaranteed a minimum share of the national income as a floor below which total farm income will not be permitted to fall. If total net farm income from normal operations is below the prescribed minimum then it should be supplemented with parity income payments direct to individual farmers in proportion to the market value of the products which they produce and sell." (R. K. Froker, J. F. E., November 1945, page 848.)

Notice that there are only three simple steps in this program: (1) Congress would specify some proportion of the national income which would be guaranteed to farmers; (2) whenever farm income fell short of this proportion, the Government would make payments to farmers to make up the deficit; (3) the payments to individual farmers would be in proportion to the value of the products produced and sold by each one.

The chief limitation of the method is that it would afford least protection to the producers whose products have fallen more in price than others. However, it must be recognized that these relatively low prices, which develop in prosperous times as well as in depressions, usually indicate a need for production shifts. In such cases the single-payment program would stimulate needed changes rather than retard them as present plans do.

Our present program is particularly deficient in aiding farmers who need it most. For example, anyone who knows American agriculture knows that the pork and beef producers were hardest hit a year ago. Yet our program of price supports did nothing for them, except to make their feed costs higher.

This single overall farm-income support program would have several important advantages over the many and varied programs now in effect, and also over a system of separate payments for each of several products. A few of these advantages will be listed here:

1. The plan would avoid interfering with the function of prices in directing the production and consumption of farm products.

2. It would avoid the production controls that are necessary to prevent a greater production than can be sold at support prices.

3. The single-program plan would eliminate the determination of the incomes of producers of each of several farm products by congressional action and administrative rulings.

4. It would permit full production and freedom of action for each farmer.

5. It would give farmers a direct interest in promoting the national economy, since they would be assured of a stated proportionate share of that income.

6. The single-payment program would encourage the production of the farm products that consumers want, rather than those that are already in oversupply, as is the case with present programs, and as would be the case with commodity production payments.

7. The exact cost of the program would be readily apparent each year, not hidden or disguised as under present, and many proposed programs.

8. The exact payment and benefit to each producer would be also readily available. The consumer-taxpayer-citizen has a right to know who gets his money and why. This is a generally accepted principle in American government, whether it be local, State, or national.

9. This would be the simplest of all programs to administer, since all of the information required for the calculation of payments to individual farmers would be available from the farm records that are required for income tax and social-security tax returns.

10. The single-payment program would give the consumer-taxpayer something valuable for his money, whereas under price supports, and probably commodity payments, too, he pays more taxes, pays more for food, and gets less to eat.

11. The outstanding advantage of making payments to farmers in proportion to cash farm receipts (less feed and livestock purchased) is that additional distortions among prices of individual farm commodities would not be created.

12. Finally, the single-income-payment program would avoid setting farmer against farmer. It would avoid granting benefits to some farmers at the expense of their neighbors, and to some regions at the expense of others as is the case with individual commodity price support-production control programs, and as must also be the case with any program of payments based on the production or nonproduction of individual commodities.

Tribute to President Magsaysay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Concord Daily Monitor of Concord, N. H., on Monday, March 18, 1957, written by James M. Langley, editor and publisher.

Mr. Langley, representing the United States, was in charge of the United States trade negotiations with the Philippines. He did an excellent job as negotiator, commanding the respect of both our country and the people of the Philippines.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRAGEDY

Four weeks ago tonight we boarded the *President Cleveland* in Manila Harbor to end the most extraordinary 3 weeks of our life. Our host during that time, the President of the Philippines, Ramon Magsaysay, came aboard that evening to bid us goodbye. So did the man who now succeeds him in office, Vice President Garcia. And so did other prominent Filipinos, some of whom today lie dead beside their President in the wreckage of his personal plane upon the side of a mountain on the island of Cebu.

It is hard for us to believe the words we have just written. We had flown in that plane, to Baguio, the famous Philippine summer capital and resort town; to Negros, principal sugar island of the nation; to Mindanao, island of fabulous untapped wealth; to Jolo, capital of the Sulu islands, where Captain Jack Pershing had defeated the Muslim Moros. It was a new plane, less than a month in service, and it was manned by the best Philippine Air Force pilots.

We had gone to the Philippines as a tourist. We had hoped we might meet President Magsaysay. We never had to ask. Instead, while we were still at sea, there came his invitation to be his guest at Malacanyang, the Philippine White House. A great delegation of Filipino friends we had made in 1954 during the trade agreement negotiations we had conducted for the United States met us as our ship sailed into Manila Harbor. Upon landing they conducted us to the palace, and there the President and his lovely first lady welcomed us as "our friends."

We lived at Malacanyang for 4 days, then transferred to the presidential suite at the Manila Hotel as a base for touring the islands. We ate with the Magsaysays several times, and saw them formally and informally on other occasions. The President could not have done more for anyone, and we were just plain American citizens without title. All the other hundreds of Filipinos, great and small, whom we met, were equally gracious and we made many new friends besides the members of the first family. As we write this we are not yet certain just how many and which of these friends have been killed in the tragedy which has befallen the Philippines and the free world.

The people of the United States never had a more loyal friend than President Magsaysay. He would have been reelected this year by his own people, but now the course of Filipino politics is made obscure again.

Magsaysay had faith in his people, and so do we. They have met great tragedy before and there is that within them, as it was within their late, great President, which will show them the right.

The Filipinos are friends of the people of the United States. Either way there are occasional irritating incidents. There is, at times, excessive nationalism on either side, or displays of intolerance. But fundamentally no two peoples on earth hold more closely to identical concepts of human liberty than do Americans and Filipinos. In the days ahead this should never be forgotten.

It was Ramon Magsaysay's great talent that he recognized this true brotherhood of freedom between the two peoples and that he could interpret it into valid actions. But he was not alone in this. There are other great Filipinos who think as straight and act as morally as did this greatest of their recent leaders and they will not let his memory down nor witness the destruction of his inspiration.

On our side we must realize that this is so or we will betray the faith President Magsaysay had in us no less than in his own countrymen.

Significance of Hungarian Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Scores Inaction in Hungary Issue," written by the Most Reverend Robert J. Dwyer, bishop of Reno, Nev., and published in the Brooklyn Tablet of January 12, 1957. The article states brilliantly the significance of the Hungarian revolution to the American conscience.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SCORES INACTION IN HUNGARY ISSUE—RENO PRELATE DECLARES AMERICANS ARE LAZY AND INDIFFERENT

(By Most Rev. Robert J. Dwyer)

Shakespeare's phrase for it would be the "expense of spirit in a waste of shame." It exactly describes the magnificence of Hungary and the ignominy of the rest of us.

Here, for anyone who cares about such things, is the supreme example of heroism in our age, the test case of the meaning of Christendom, the most glorious vindication of the human spirit we have known.

The classic instances, Thermopylae, Pickett at Gettysburg, the defense of the Alcazar, fade as the stars before the mounting sun. Here is an expense of spirit so lavish as to enrich all history.

But then, by contrast, our wasteland of shame. We have cited all the prudential reasons why we should work "through channels"; we have marshaled all the arguments for avoiding a world conflict of incalculable risks and dangers; we have even called upon the moral theologians to assure us that no revolution, however just, should be undertaken without reasonable hope of success; but the fact remains that while we have been talking a nation has been murdered.

NOTHING BUT TALK

Our shame is that we have been able to do nothing but talk. But it goes deeper than that. It lies in the fact that we have allowed ourselves to be maneuvered into our present embarrassment, and that we did so pretty well with our eyes open.

It might have been foretold by anyone with a glimpse of vision that the precise concatenation of circumstances we accepted would produce the precise results we now so grievously deplore.

There would have been no need for a prophet; a mathematician would have done as well. William Lloyd Garrison's burning words, "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," may have been Abolitionist rhetoric, but they could well serve as a plain unvarnished statement of what we let ourselves in for when we signed on the dotted line at Yalta.

BLAME SHARED BY ALL

There is not much point now in trying to foist the total blame for the great sellout on certain individuals, living and dead. If we were to assess it completely we might have to go back much farther than the hypothetical rivet in grandfather's neck. Blame Karl Marx for Stalin, blame Mr. Secretary Cecil for Winston Churchill, blame Wilson James for F. D. R.

It is a line of reasoning which obviously gets nowhere, for the simple reason that it ignores the blunt fact of personal responsibility.

If there is blame to be assessed it is to be shared by all of us. We consented to the fact. We were too lazy or too indifferent or too occupied with making money to bother our heads about it.

We consented to a world half free and half slave, and we entered into a compact with the slave power which literally bound us to the maintenance of that peculiar institution over one-quarter of the habitable globe.

We dressed it up with pious phraseology, of course, to placate the ghost of Father Abraham, and we even—God forgive us—talked about the new types of collective democracy. We knew what we were doing. Now we are paying the price.

IDEALS BLASPHEMED

Not that we are suffering physically. Our gas supply is not rationed, our cities are intact, our holiday crowds are not being machine-gunned. All these things are happening in Hungary, and Hungary is a long way off.

But we are suffering in our conscience. It comes home to us that this is actually the result of our doing. We have blasphemed the ideals that are the most sacred inheritance of America, and now they rise us like bloodstained furies to haunt us.

We open our gates to 25,000 Hungarian refugees, and every one of them is a living reproach to the criminal stupidity that ruined them.

In a few more days we will celebrate the Christmas of 1956. We will sing the old carols, recalling the eternal hope of peace on earth to men of good will. We will salve our conscience with the reflection that if there is precious little peace and even less of good will; we at least are not wholly to blame, and even if we were, there is nothing we can do about it. Which is, precisely, to miss the entire meaning of Christmas.

For the whole point of Christ's coming is that we are to blame for our sins and that we are responsible for the world we live in. The nativity was not a sentimental gesture for our comfort but the divine answer to our absolute need for salvation. Christ came not as a gentle visionary but as the supreme realist to change the face of the earth.

Christianity is actually far less theory than it is the stern practice which places the burden of justice and charity exactly where it belongs, in the hands of each individual. Our Christmas joy would necessarily be incomplete were even one human soul denied its God-given liberty. With Hungary in agony and half of Christendom enslaved this is a Christmas more of hope than of joy. May that hope come quickly, as the day star from on high.

Speaking Awards to Mary Winter and Estrid Baldwin, of Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on Saturday night, March 9, I had the honor of attending the banquet of the 15th annual 4-H Radio Public Speaking Contest in Minneapolis This banquet honored

the 17 district winners and Minnesota State champions, who for 2 months have been competing with over 800 young people in Minnesota from the ages of 14 to 21

During these 2 months, almost every radio station in Minnesota carried talks from this group on "How the International Farm Youth Exchange Program Builds Better World Understanding." The first place winner this year was Mary Winter, of Redwood Falls, Redwood County, Minn. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the text of her talk which won the 1957 radio speaking State championship be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The second place State winner this year was Miss Estrid Baldwin, of McGregor, Aitken, Minn. I also ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the text of her talk be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I know of nothing more heartening, Mr. President, more encouraging for the future and vitality of American democracy, than the continuation and expansion of activities like these speaking contests.

There being no objection, the orations were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW THE IFYE PROGRAM BUILDS BETTER WORLD UNDERSTANDING

(By Mary Winter, Redwood Falls, Redwood County, Minn., 1957 radio speaking contest State champion)

There was Mary, from England, with a neatly clipped accent, throwing American slang around like a veteran; Carlos, a dark-eyed teen-ager from Uruguay, getting his feet tangled up in a 4–H square dance, "Allemand left with your left hand, and a right and left grand." Fred, the Australian fellow, whose lonely look vanished in the glow of admiration over pretty American girls; and Anders, the tall, blond, very reserved Swedish farmer, who blushed as 100 American teen-agers sang "Happy Birthday" to him—these were 4 IFYE's from many lands that I met in 1956—4 I met personally and with whom I enjoyed many jokes, proving that an effective bridge between language difficulties is laughter. These four, plus the American IFYE's I've heard and whose slides I've viewed, were those who taught me that the way to peace is through basic understanding of people. The IFYE program blazes the trail toward accomplishing this because, through this program, young farm people develop a sympathetic grasp of the problems of the farmer of another land, and a keener appreciation of the universality of human traits. The IFYE participates in an international exchange of ideas and methods, besides sharing the best, and worst, in another country's daily life.

All of these rural young people in this wise exchange are helping build world understanding through their part in the International Farm Youth Exchange, or IFYE, as it is less formally called. The IFYE delegate works toward world peace through two intersecting avenues—the roads "why" and "individual." The whys determine the actions of many countries which are derived from the people of those countries as individuals.

The foreign farmer whose American IFYE works by his side as he picks grapes, harvests wheat, plants potatoes, herds sheep, or milks cows gains a much different idea of America from this grassroots ambassador, whose interest in farming equals his own, than the farmer would ordinarily get from his only contact with America—its movies, depicting gangsters, cowboys, and Indians, and its tourists, who are more relaxed than they would usually be because they are taking a well-earned vacation. To the foreign mother whose American IFYE daughter helps her do the family washing by hand, prepare a simple meal, or weave cloth for the wearing apparel of the entire family, America becomes a friendly people, not just a vast country whose large enterprise and hurried pace does not concern itself with the individual. The American youth takes many steps toward world peace when he learns that the Scottish people don't wear kilts every day; that Greece isn't only ancient ruins; that Switzerland isn't all high peaks, inhabited by yodelers and mountain climbers; that Iran's horizon isn't composed entirely of oil derricks—the list of changing concepts is endless, and it is a two-way process, duplicated by American and foreign IFYE's alike.

To understand an individual's problems is to enlarge the compass of one's world understanding, for to understand individuals is to understand the composition of nations, and their reasons for actions in world relations. Perhaps, for example, France's reluctance to permit West Germany's entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization stems from the total destruction of his land wrought by the German war machine, as seen twice through a French farmer's eyes—his answer, multiplied by several million, gives an important reason for French hesitance, and one not to be taken lightly. For a brief while, a foreigner's problems become his own, and who can gainsay the fact that a more sympathetic understanding comes with sharing a problem. As IFYE delegates at the person-to-person level, American youths learn these reasons for world crises from the individuals concerned, and acquire broader understanding of the world situation as a whole. In like manner, the IFYE delegate to America hears from the American farmer, whose earnings are near the bottom of our national wage scale, his version of America's hostility toward the influx of foreign farm products on American markets.

Probably the most important way the IFYE program builds world understanding is not only through actual contacts with people, which are, of course, still comparatively few in number, but also through the reports these IFYE's from America and from abroad bring to the "folks back home," helping them gain the same understanding of world problems as the IFYE himself has. All parts of our globe, as seen through an IFYE's slides, talks, conversation, and attitudes, become real, with people's hopes, dreams, joys, and sorrows not so different from the listener's own.

From its beginnings in 1947, when 6 young British farmers journeyed to America, to its present proportions, when the foreign IFYE's I met were only 4 of over 100 delegates from 50 different nations, the International Farm Youth Exchange has grown to a prominent place in the quest for world understanding and hence, world peace. One American IFYE summed it up in these words, employing the four letters, I-F-Y-E in its beginning:

"If ye understand each other,
Ye shall have world peace."

HOW THE IFYE PROGRAM BUILDS BETTER WORLD UNDERSTANDING

(By Estrid Baldwin, McGregor, Aitkin County, Minn., 1957 radio speaking contest reserve State champion)

An idea is born. Formed in the minds of young men and women all over the United States, the idea came out of a desire to promote better understanding between the peoples of the world in a more realistic way than food and clothing.

Countries that are desperately in need of these things appreciate our help, but there the contact grows cold and the feeling is lost. We can feed the empty stomach and clothe the body, but when understanding between people about their culture and social customs is left out, the message is lost.

Ed Aiton, the originator of the International Farm Youth Exchange program, worked with former 4–H and rural youth members in a program that would aid the search for world understanding. They decided that this search should begin on the grassroots level of society, the home.

In 1947, the program of International Farm Youth Exchange was begun, and their idea became a reality. The first letters of each word were used to spell IFYE, which applies to the program itself and the participants.

Let us follow John Smith, a typical American tourist visiting Europe. We find him visiting all the important places, seeing all the important things—by a split-second timetable of events. Occasionally, he hears vague detached reports of conditions in the country; but he is so busy rushing from place to place, country to country, trying to see everything, he sees nothing of true importance. Back in America he feels adequately prepared to solve the whole foreign situation because he has seen the situation. But has he really seen it? His knowledge stops at the size of the grapes used in his favorite wine and stays there. However, he is not the only one who may lose the meaning of his trip. To many tourists in America, the farm is pictured as a completely automatic pushbutton machine that takes all the work out of farming and puts TV sets and Cadillacs in its place.

IFYE's go to Europe, and come to America, for a different reason than these tourists. It is the aim of the IFYE program and each of its participants to develop an appreciation of these problems and the resulting misunderstandings.

It is said that a picture may instantly present what a book can set forth only in a hundred pages. An IFYE is the picture of a nation and its people. In his host country an IFYE lives with farm families sharing the work, fun, and ideas with his new mom and dad and brothers and sisters as he would in his own home. He experiences the thrill of doing new things, like driving an American tractor for the first time, or the ache of newly discovered muscles after a day in the vineyards on the steep mountain slopes of Italy. The hardships, happiness, customs, and personality of these families become a part of the IFYE because he becomes a part of them.

An IFYE from Finland noticed the extreme complexity of the American farming system on a large dairy farm. He later said, "Farmers in America work very hard, for they use both their brains and their hands." His understanding of the situation carried more meaning to him than a walk through the barns and a look at the grazing herd, while on a 3-week tour of the United States.

The social differences have an important influence on the relationship between nations. In Europe, for example, a woman out of respect for her husband, opens the door for him. American culture teaches the young male citizens to extend the same courtesy to the girl, and both nations disagree as to which is right. Perhaps there is no one answer, and the comparison may seem trite, but each exchangee finds it very hard to become accustomed to the opposite procedure in his host country. He realizes, however, that because the custom has become an integral part of their society, individuals have learned to accept it as a truth and other ways as wrong.

Call it diplomacy, call it tact, call it brotherhood. It is because someone has gone beyond the boundary of placid observation and projected himself into an environment to

find out how and why a people think and feel as they do.

When an IFYE returns to his homeland, whether it be Ireland, Germany, America, or any of the 48 participating countries in the exchange, he devotes several months to the sharing of his experiences with others. His stories and observations, reported by movies, slides, or talks, spread the purpose of the IFYE program to others.

One person can observe and learn, but when he shares his feelings with others the circle of understanding grows. When it reaches the corners of the earth, and each man realizes his fellow man has the same hopes, dreams, and feelings he has, world peace can be achieved.

Disappearance of Aviator Gerald Murphy—Tribute to Representative Charles O. Porter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, once again America's most thorough and famous daily newspaper, the New York Times, has recognized the courageous leadership of Congressman CHARLES O. PORTER, of the Fourth Oregon District, in seeking a solution of the disappearance in the Dominican Republic of the American aviator, Gerald Murphy.

This grave matter is most properly a concern of CHARLES O. PORTER, for Gerald Murphy is from Mr. PORTER's home city of Eugene, Oreg.

The New York Times gives full credit for the State Department's new interest in the case to Congressman PORTER. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the New York Times of March 19, 1957, entitled "The Murphy Case," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MURPHY CASE

It was heartening news that the State Department has at last decided to challenge the Dominican dictatorship on behalf of an American citizen. On Saturday it was announced that Generalissimo Trujillo has been asked urgently to reopen the case of Gerald Murphy, the American aviator who disappeared from his apartment in Ciudad Trujillo last December.

The case is especially interesting and important because it has been linked to the even more mysterious disappearance of Jesús de Galíndez, the Columbia University teacher, a Spanish Basque. Dr. Galíndez disappeared from the heart of New York City more than a year ago after having written an exposé of the Trujillo dictatorship in the form of a doctoral thesis.

The evidence bringing together these two sensational cases is circumstantial. Mr. Murphy piloted a hired plane from Long Island on the day Señor Galíndez disappeared and it is known the American flew to Ciudad Trujillo. Other details also pointed to a connection with the Galíndez case. The story given out by the Dominican authorities concerning Mr. Murphy's disappearance and the supposed suicide of his companion, the Dominican aviator Antonio de la Maza, was so fantastic that it would have been disgraceful if the Washington administration had accepted it without challenge. One has to suppose that we might have done so, for our policy toward Generalissimo Trujillo has been exceptionally friendly.

It certainly looks as if credit for the State Department's move must go to Representative CHARLES O. PORTER, of Oregon, who spoke up boldly and well in the House for his constituents, the parents of Gerald Murphy. On that day no Congressman came to Mr. PORTER's support. On the contrary, he was abused in unworthy fashion. His justification has now come.

It is to be hoped that the State Department will insist on a satisfactory answer from the Dominican Republic and its dictator, Generalissimo Trujillo.

The Foreign Student Exchange Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, within the next few weeks a group of students from Sweden and Denmark will be arriving in my home State of Minnesota. Their coming is a part of the foreign student exchange program under which they will attend the University of Minnesota for about 6 months and live and work on Minnesota farms for an equal period of time.

The people of Minnesota will benefit from the presence of 11 Swedish and 6 Danish students. They are all 21 to 27 years of age and were selected from among the outstanding young agricultural students in the two countries. While they are here, an equal number of students will be studying and working in Sweden and Denmark.

Mr. President, the importance of this type of program in the development of international understanding and the spreading of cultural understanding can hardly be measured, but I am sure that the families in my State of Minnesota who take these young Scandinavians into their homes will have their lives greatly enriched and, as a result, their communities and their State will be enriched.

I ask unanimous consent that an article which appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune announcing this plan may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Tribune of March 17, 1957]

DOWN ON THE FARM—17 SWEDES, DANES TO LIVE ON FARMS IN STATE

(By Axel Hansen)

In a few more weeks Minnesota is going to be richer by 11 Swedish and 6 Danish young farmers.

By a year from now we'll be richer by a great deal of increased understanding of our American ways and traditions on their part.

Also we'll be richer by the same kind of understanding on the part of six Minnesota farm youth who right now are on their way to Sweden.

As I see it, everybody gains by this type of foreign student exchange program. If anybody loses, I don't know who it is unless it's the spirit of narrow thinking and provincialism.

Seven of the Sweds already have arrived. The others, plus the six Danes, will arrive in early April.

They all are 21 to 27 years in age. They were selected from outstanding young farm students in the two countries.

They'll study for about 6 months at the University of Minnesota and live and work on Minnesota farms for an equal period. The American students do the same in Sweden.

There are a lot of names involved. I want to mention those of the visiting students, and where they are staying. There may be some Minnesotans acquainted with the visitors' hometowns who would like to drop them a note or to drop by for a chat.

The Swedish students and the host farmer with whom they will stay in Minnesota are:

Bertil Gunnar Fleming Riise, Stockholm, who will visit the farm of Selmer Foss, Kenyon, Minn.; Sven-Erik Malte Backgarden, Vasterlosa, visiting Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Thompson, Route 4, Waseca, Minn.; Hans Inge Larsson, Langebro, visiting Porter Olstad, Hanska, Minn.

Nils Goran Evert Mattisson, Vanga, visiting Philip Pahan, Underwood, Minn.; Sven Gunnar Arne Erlandsson, Skoghult, visiting Mr. and Mrs. David Zimmerman, Weseca, Minn.

Bo Ingemar Larsson, Ljungbyhed, visiting Einar M. Jensen, Tyler, Minn.; Arne Bertil Andersson, Klagstrop, visiting W. C. Drysdale, Wabasha, Minn.; Lars Gustaf Akesson, Skelleftea, visiting at our farm at Battle Lake, Minn.; Ake Philipsson, Norrkoping, visiting, Henning Clemedtson, Moorhead, Minn.

Carl-Wilhelm Ottergren, Kopingebro, visiting Duane Pearson, Ogilvie, Minn.; and Jorgen Rockler Vaderstad, visiting Mr. and Mrs. Harry Youngdahl, Russell, Minn.

The Danes and their host farmers are:

Svend Poulsen, Olgod, visiting with us at Battle Lake; Frits Lundager Sorensen, Nykoping, visiting Harold K. Shaffer, Route 1, Pipestone, Minn.; Paul Andersen, Tryggelew, visiting Glenn Holmberg, Vesta, Minn.

Georg Nielsen, Gandrup, visiting David Woodward, Hawley, Minn.; Jens Herluf Druebjerg Jensen, Klippinge, visiting Samuel Bigalk, Harmony, Minn., and Arne Gudmund Bjerre, Esberg, visiting W. H. Neumann, Watertown, Minn.

Proposed Experimental Farm in Southwest Missouri

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, I read in the March 12, 1957, edition of the Joplin, Mo., Globe an excellent editorial entitled "For an Experimental Farm." Although the editorial deals specifically with a proposal for the creation of an experimental farm in southwest Missouri, it contains also a number of well-expressed ideas which are of universal applicability. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues in the Senate, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOR AN EXPERIMENTAL FARM

Widespread interest is displayed in proposed creation of an experimental farm in southwest Missouri, and for good reason. Such a project would be an advancement in the development of agriculture in the 22-county area and a contribution to the vitality of the area's economy.

Understandably a few people might question the validity and timeliness of the research center because one of the products of research, but only one, is furnishing know-how for the purpose of increasing productivity. Therefore, certain objections are natural in view of the fact that we are now living in an era of surplus, and surplus in farm economics inject a depressing influence.

However, immediate troubles and contrary situations of the moment must not be allowed to jeopardize the future. Population is growing at a much faster rate than was predicted by the experts 10 to 15 years ago. Productive capabilities of farmers in the future must accelerate to meet the approaching enlarged demand. Research has many functions to perform from the standpoint of commodity output and plays its biggest part in the preparatory stages.

The country today enjoys unparalleled abundance because yesterday there were industrious men and women who studied and learned, then taught. It should not be forgotten that the practice of research more often than not is judged in terms of years, even decades, in the attainment of measurable success or final fruition from studies.

Without an experimental farm in southwest Missouri, the College of Agriculture of the University of Missouri in past years has contributed to many facets of agriculture in this part of the State, notably in diversified farming, animal husbandry, and dairying. With an experimental station there is no doubt that it could make a much greater contribution through new knowledge to be gained and imparted to the farmers.

Carrol M. Shanks, President of the Prudential Insurance Company of America

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, it is appropriate, I think, for me to bring to the attention of this body the contributions to our Nation's life being made by an American business firm with a Minnesota-born man at its helm. Minnesotans are aware, of course, of that firm's contribution to our State's commerce, its participation in the construction of the great Southdale Center, its beautiful regional home office in Minneapolis, but I wish at this time to point up especially the clear, basic humanitarian philosophy he and his company have established for not only a gigantic industry but for big business generally in our country today.

I ask unanimous consent that a condensation from the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune of March 17, 1957, of a recent story in Time magazine surrounding Carrol M. Shanks, president of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS IS CARROL SHANKS—MAN WHO DEALS WITH BILLIONS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The subject of this week's cover story in Time magazine is Carrol M. Shanks, president of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, who lived during much of his boyhood in Fairmont, Minn., where his father was postmaster. The following is a condensation of the Time story on Shanks and Prudential.)

How long will you live?

Today everybody expects to live longer. But the man who can give the best longevity estimate, at least for 1 out of every 5 Americans, is Carrol Meteer Shanks, president of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, which has 33,200,000 carefully analyzed policyholders.

By charting a man's age, background, diseases, job, habits, even his morals, the Prudential can chart the odds on the death age down to the last decimal.

Prudential's tables show that a male policyholder 21 will probably live to be 73, one 30 will live to 74, one 45 can expect to live to 75.

It also knows that its women policyholders live 3 years longer than the men it insures.

Prudential, of course, also knows what odds to expect on its president, who turns out to be the perfect risk.

At 58, with a trim 175 pounds spread over his 5-foot 10-inch frame, Shanks is lean and rosily healthy.

He likes to get 8 hours' rest most nights—10 p. m. to 6 a. m. He does an hour's calisthenics before eating a sensibly big breakfast.

His other meals are light; he tries to keep lunch within 300 calories and dinner within 700. He does not smoke, rarely drinks, and has few financial worries.

His salary is $250,000 a year—more than any other life insurance executive. He is a family man, a Methodist, and thriftily drives a well-weathered 1948 Cadillac.

When he dies, he will have the satisfaction of leaving his family secure. At a cost of $27,000 in premiums annually, something that keeps him "insurance poor," Shanks will leave his heirs policies totaling $450,000.

By dint of his ideas and exertions, Shanks has not only become one of the most respected spokesmen for United States life insurance, but also has made the Prudential, whose head offices are in Newark, N. J., the fastest-growing company in a rapidly expanding industry.

Last week, with 1956 figures all in, President Shanks announced Prudential had passed its biggest rival, Metropolitan Life, as the world's No. 1 seller of life insurance.

In 1956 Prudential sold $8.2 billion worth of new insurance, now has a total of $58 billion worth of insurance in force. With assets of $13.3 billion, it ranks as the world's third largest company of any kind.

In 10 years as boss of Prudential, Shanks has taken some giant steps along the road to insurance for all, has boosted the company's sales 165 percent, its assets 95 percent.

He is a great believer in group insurance by which entire companies can insure their work force for far less per capita than the cost of insurance for an individual, and will insure groups as small as four.

Last year Shanks launched his biggest innovation: Family insurance for as little as $10.90 a month. It covers the lives of an entire family—father, mother, children—under the same policy.

In the first 4 months after the plan started, 190,000 families signed up for $1.5 billion worth of the new insurance and made it by far Prudential's best-selling policy.

Last year some $10 billion of life insurance funds was invested in the United States economy, $1.6 billion of it by Prudential.

Almost anyone, big businessman or little, farmer or factory hand, can qualify for a Prudential loan or mortgage. At the top of Prudential's list of borrowers is a Who's Who of United States industry: International Business Machines, General Motors, Chrysler Corp., Union Carbide & Carbon Corp., International Harvester, Goodyear Tire & Rubber.

Prudential is the world's biggest private holder of home mortgages (500,000), one of the biggest financers of huge skyscrapers (Manhattan's Empire State Building, Chicago's Merchandise Mart, Cincinnati's Terrace Hilton Hotel), a strong backer of the new shopping-center boom.

It supplied $8 million for Minneapolis' new Southdale center and $100 million for Los Angeles' Lakewood shopping center and for more than 7,500 houses in a new development surrounding the center.

Nor does Prudential stop there. The apple of Shanks' eye is a new commercial and industrial loan department, set up to make funds available to small-business men who ordinarily cannot get long-term loans through normal bank channels.

"What we're looking for," says one Prudential executive, "is the nice little company making a nice little product in Bucyrus, Ohio."

To do a better job selling insurance—and spreading loans evenly throughout the economy—Shanks kicked off the biggest decentralisation program in the history of United States insurance.

Since 1946 Prudential has opened 6 regional offices spread across the United States and Canada. Shanks laid out more than $10 million for a towering Los Angeles home office, another $10 million for a 21-story Houston home office to back Prudential's faith in Texas' booming economy, still another $40 million for a 41-story Chicago home office that was the first new skycraper to rise over the lake front in 20 years.

Millions more went into Minneapolis, Jacksonville, Fla., and Toronto, Canada, for modern regional home offices with air conditioning, restaurants (free lunches for employees), and auditoriums.

As Prudential's seventh president in 81 years, Carrol Shanks sits behind a huge mahogany desk in a suite of offices in Newark, built in the days when insurance men spent heavily for purposes of prestige.

Hand-carved Honduras mahogany frames the president's doors and windows; the walls are covered with silver-filigreed blue paper, the ceiling fringed with gold leaf; deep-piled rugs smother the floor. Shanks sometimes works in his shirtsleeves, dials his own phone.

Shanks hates memos, delegates responsibility, passes out assignments with the informality of a man offering a stick of gum.

When tapping the man to head the Prudential's $5 billion midwestern operation, all he asked was: "How would you like to go to Chicago?"

Yet Shanks can be a flinty chip off the old rock with anyone who attempts to balk his overall policies.

"I hate to be frustrated," he says. Last year, when a bitter disagreement came up over his idea of pushing small loans, Shanks stood it as long as he could, then shook up his bond department from top to bottom. Two executives were fired, six others quit.

At least 25 percent of the time, Shanks is out on the road and the trips are mankillers. Says the boss of the Toronto regional head office:

"We brought him here one Sunday afternoon to do some work; he went to Winnipeg, where he gave 2 or 3 speeches, met every single Prudential employee, met the mayor, the

Premier, went on TV and radio twice in 1 day.

"The same thing happened in Edmondton, Calgary, Vancouver. The rest of us were all 'pooped out.' But he just thrives. If he's at a dinner party one night, he's perfectly willing to have the press in for breakfast—every morning."

Shanks, a resolute homebody, is almost unknown in suburban Montclair, N. J., where he lives with his wife Martha. Their 3 children—Wallace 31, Margaret 28, Meteer 25—are married and living away from home.

His main relaxation is the piano. He practices 1½ hours each day, takes a weekly lesson from the same teacher he has had for nearly 20 years, and once every year sits down to a duet with her at a local recital.

Since he became president, he has read innumerable books on how to be a successful executive, and has yet to find one, he says, "that indicates that I have a chance."

His father was the postmaster at Fairmont, Minn.—a firm-handed Methodist who looked on liquor as the root of all evil. From the start, young Carrol was smart in school.

Following an elder brother, he went to the University of Washington, made straight A's, Phi Beta Kappa, the presidency of Beta Theta Pi, courted his future wife, and clerked afternoons and Saturdays in a downtown Seattle, Wash., shoestore.

Married in 1921, he headed east to Columbia Law School, where he made a reputation for himself both as a bright young lawyer and a boxer with a Sunday punch.

Once, when a cocky student dared Shanks to hit him on the chin, Carrol obliged—and knocked him cold.

Shanks took a job teaching law at Yale, wrote four legal books with a Columbia classmate and lifelong friend, Supreme Court Jutsice William O. Douglas.

But teaching was not for him. "I wanted something to happen, wanted to hear the telephone ring."

Moving on in 1931, he took a job with Root, Clark, Buckner & Ballantine, one of the big Manhattan law firms, and again was disappointed.

"Law is bookish," says Shanks. "I like the action, the battle, the campaigns."

Finally in 1932 he found just what he wanted. Over in Newark, the Prudential Insurance Company of America, with millions invested in railroad bonds, asked Root, Clark for someone to help with their portfolio. Shanks was the man. Overnight he started a rise punctuated by enough battles to satisfy any warrior.

Shanks rose swiftly, first as an adviser to Prudential's brass on their railroad securities, later as general solicitor for the company, finally in 1939 as a vice president.

By 1944 he was Prudential's executive vice president, second only to President Franklin D'Olier.

With D'Olier away much of the time working for the Government on the war effort, Shanks gradually became the company's acting president.

Typically, one of his first moves was to call his vice presidents together and ask: "All right, now what is our biggest problem?"

Everyone had the same complaint: New Jersey taxes. They were levied on Prudential at an annual rate of $5.50 for every $100 surplus in its treasury, for more than New York (where some of its biggest competitors were) and other States charged their companies. It put Prudential in the worst possible competitive position.

Quietly and inflexibly, Shanks laid it on the line to State officials; either taxes come down or Prudential, one of the State's biggest taxpayers, would move out.

The fight that followed was so rough that more than one vice president got sick and had to retire. Finally Shanks won: New Jersey reduced the taxes. Says Shanks: "I'd hate to think what would have happened if I'd failed."

Two years later, at 47, Shanks was Prudential's boss. Franklin D'Olier opened a board meeting by announcing he wanted to move up to chairman. "And here," said he, pointing to Shanks, "is your new president."

Shanks is convinced that insurance men must change their thinking if they hope to serve the expanding United States population successfully.

They must find new and exciting approaches to spur mass insurance sales, and ways of cutting the costs of insurance.

The price of failure, says Shanks, is the specter of Government encroachment on the industry.

Says Shanks, with a rock-ribbed finality worthy of Gibraltar itself: "The stakes are high, and the greatest stake of all is the preservation of our free capitalistic system.

"Capitalism makes it possible for us—alone among all the countries of the world—to feed ourselves, finance ourselves, transport ourselves, and produce what is necessary.

"But we must face the fact that capitalism cannot be static. Our capitalism must continue to evolve and develop if it is to meet the ever-changing needs of our expanding society."

School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, among our smaller Minnesota newspapers, the Park Region Echo, of Alexandria, Minn., as achieved a special reputation for independent and constructive editorial writing. In the March 14 issue of the Echo an editorial appears entitled "United States Chamber Roasted on School Aid." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES CHAMBER ROASTED ON SCHOOL AID

The editorial department of the Echo is in receipt of a communication from John R. Miles, manager of the education department of the United States Chamber of Commerce. Among the statements he makes are the following: "While I am sure that you did not intend to do so, your editorial only deepens the misunderstanding both about the problems of school finances and the attitude of businessmen generally toward education. Let me assure you that business leaders know even better than you do the critical role which education is playing in the development of this country and the importance of full manpower development to both our expansion and our national security."

The writer of the Echo editorial has been a teacher for several years and he has taken an active part in attempting to bring about the kind of schools and education which is needed in our country. Not only need we depend upon our own knowledge of the needs of education but we know what the National Conference on Education in Washington a year ago brought out on the needs of the proper education and what were the remedies. Also we have read a great deal of what the National Education Association officials have stated about the needs for education on the national scene.

And these statements are opposite in every respect from the statements issued by the United States Chamber of Commerce in regard to the situation, especially on school finances. We did not say the members of the United States chamber did not know about the needs. We are sure they know it all too well. But the thing is that they are opposed to national aid toward the building of schoolrooms, and in that respect the United States chamber has actually misconstrued the facts. There is need for more schools, not as the chamber circular asserted and that there is less need now and the situation is not serious in any sense. A circular from the Washington offices of the United States chamber contains the following statement "Is there a school emergency? National figures don't indicate it. If there is it hasn't been identified." Such a statement defies the facts as pronounced by most of the Nation's educators.

Mr. Folsom, President Eisenhower's Secretary of Welfare, told Congress Tuesday, "the very serious classroom shortage will not be erased by statistical legerdemain of pretending that it does not exist." Mr. Folsom, hitting back at opponents of Federal aid for schools, said in a statement to the General Education Subcommittee of the House that the group committee has recently been given statements that have been "seriously misleading, and some have been clearly inaccurate." What Mr. Folsom had in mind was the statements sent out by the United States Chamber of Commerce, as we have quoted.

The Welfare Secretary continued: "Those who deny the existence of a serious shortage offer no new or additional information of their own. They have accepted bits and pieces of data from the Office of Education, and various other sources. They have used these data out of context, or only in part, to try to prove their theory."

We believe we are fully substantiated by Mr. Folsom's statement. The letter of Mr. Miles verifies Folsom's statement about distortion, and we want to add innuendoes. The thing is that the wealthy—which will include most of the members of the United States Chamber of Commerce—are not willing to take their moral obligations regarding the education of our youth nor for our national security.

The Eisenhower Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Eisenhower Doctrine—How It Was Born and What It Can Do," from Time magazine of March 18, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE—HOW IT WAS BORN AND WHAT IT CAN DO

(EDITORS' NOTE.—In the long weeks of political debate, the Eisenhower doctrine was wrenched into so many debatable pieces that

the United States all but lost sight of the remarkable meaning of the whole. From Washington Time's Diplomatic Correspondent John Beal this week explained this meaning in the first story of how the doctrine evolved from scratchpad to policy.)

In Key West, Fla., last December, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was convalescing from his operation for intestinal cancer. It was some convalescence. Each day at 10 a. m. he was on the phone to the President and the State Department, keeping abreast of the Suez crisis and the United States efforts to keep the Russian volunteers out of the Middle East. At 11 o'clock he would knock off to lie on the beach or go fishing; after lunch he would take a nap or go fishing some more. Each evening before dinner Dulles would invite his one Key West assistant, John Hanes, Jr., 32, and his wife Lucy, and perhaps his doctor, to his quarters for cocktails (a rye on the rocks for the Secretary), and there the Middle East would dominate the conversation. One day Dulles got out his yellow scratchpad and pencil and wrote out a draft of what he called "A United States Declaration on the Middle East." But his thoughts had not jelled, and he tore up the declaration without having it typed.

THE ADVANCING CONCEPTS

After 4 postoperative weeks Dulles returned from Key West, flew a few days later to the December 11 meeting of the NATO Council in Paris. There, separately, the British and French Foreign Minister told him that the United States principal job was to make its presence felt in the Middle East. Dulles assured them both that a way would be found to do it. The objective: developing a long-range United States initiative to fill the post-Suez power deficit and to work toward an enduring stability.

Back in Washington, he reviewed several alternative plans prepared by the State Department's policy-planning staff. Three of these alternatives were: (1) United States adherence to the Baghdad Pact, which links the northern tier nations of Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey, to Britain; (2) United States proposal of a Middle East Charter that would invite the area nations to subscribe to a statement of social and economic betterment for their peoples, with no reference to military considerations; (3) bilateral treaties between the United States and individual Arab States. Out of these policy papers Dulles borrowed some ideas, junked a great many more, then evolved with the President what the United States press—not Eisenhower, not Dulles—at once began to call the Eisenhower doctrine.

One complicating factor for the State Department was Eisenhower's post-Korea policy, expressed during the 1955 Formosa crisis, of getting prior congressional approval for the use of United States forces. Once again Ike was adamant: it was essential to get congressional approval in advance for the use, if necessary, of the United States deterrent power in the Middle East. So after Ike and Dulles won a National Security Council O. K. for the doctrine, Ike went before a joint session of Congress to (1) request standing authority to use United States Armed Forces to help protect any Middle Eastern nation requesting help against aggression from any nation controlled by international communism, and (2) spend $200 million in the area in stability-making foreign economic aid.

THE PROJECTION OF POWER

The Eisenhower doctrine was old and also new. It was old in the sense that it hewed (as the Truman doctrine for Greece did) to the sustained United States objective of seeking an areawide, indigenous capability of self-defense and an insulation of the area's disputes against embroiling the rest of the world. It was new in that it projected the factor of United States power into a defense of the area. It was also new in its attempt to provide economic flexibility in achieving another sustained United States objective for the area—the raising of its economic level.

The features which recommended this policy to the administration were:

It is bilateral (a point advocated strongly by Deputy Under Secretary of State Robert Murphy); it extends the United States offer of protection to individual Mideast nations, but only at their request; it does not require organization of the whole region to be effective.

Although it is designed principally to preserve the vast stretches of Arab territory from communism, it also applies to the Arabs' sworn enemy, tiny Israel, without taking sides.

It is informal; neither the requesting nation nor the United States has to sign a new pact, and sensitive nationalists are not required to line up on the United States side.

It is exclusively American and noncolonial. The United States is no longer coupled rigidly or identified in the Middle East with Britain and France—and yet the doctrine in no way excludes them, but, in fact, helps to preserve a western influence behind which the British and French may rebuild.

The Task Before Delegate Burns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Task Before Delegate BURNS," having to do with conditions in Hawaii. The article is written by Hon. Oren E. Long, former Governor of Hawaii.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Honolulu Advertiser of January 6, 1957]

THE TASK BEFORE DELEGATE BURNS

(By Oren E. Long)

Delegate JACK BURNS has his work cut out for him. Only the most courageous would wish to assume his task. In relation to the more routine legislation everything will tend to fall into place. Appropriation items for Federal projects in Hawaii and grants-in-aid are generally handled by the Bureau of the Budget. The same is true, in the main, for appropriations for the Territory—roads, health, public schools, the university, and all the public services that are financed through Federal funds. Special financial items will be initiated by the Delegate and carried through by his personal efforts.

There are legislative projects that rest squarely on the shoulders of the Delegate. Statehood is such an issue. True, the program to make Hawaii a State has a long history. The effort has been cumulative. Determined workers in the community and in Congress are still enthusiastic. There is a rather general feeling, however, that prospects of success are more remote now than they have been in a decade. This poses a problem that will test the ingenuity of the Delegate.

The leaders who now are against statehood always have been opposed to it. Two of the 28 Senators who voted against the bill in 1953 have been replaced by supporters. Of the 57 who voted for it, not a single one has publicly announced that he has changed his position. The probabilities are that the support is about what it was 4 years ago.

There are grounds for believing that support from the Democrats will be stronger than it has been in the past, particularly in the Senate. If this proves to be true, it will be due in part to the strong Democratic trends in both Territories in the 1954 and 1956 elections. The attitude of Republicans will doubtless be influenced by the type of support which President Eisenhower gives to statehood in his message to Congress on January 10.

The issue of communism will continue to be stressed by the opponents of statehood. For a period of time they questioned the loyalty of a large segment of the population. World War II made that position untenable.

Whether the admitted presence in Hawaii of a limited number of Communists, under a California leadership, will be a determining factor in the statehood issue remains to be seen. Although leading witnesses in the recent Senate hearings in Hawaii challenged the loyalty of top officials of the ILWU, they were agreed that the people of this Territory, including the rank and file membership of the ILWU, are good loyal citizens of the United States.

For example, when one of the Senators questioned Senator Ben Dillingham on this point, the reply was: "Senator, I have known many of these members personally, and I can say that they are just as good Americans as I am." Similar statements were made by others. There was a strong criticism of the judgment of the members in following the leadership in noneconomic actions such as the demonstrations staged when the Eastland committee began its sessions. The most significant thing about these demonstrations was the extent to which they were condemned by union members—even to the extent of nonparticipation by entire local units.

It is this situation with which Delegate BURNS will have to come to grips. Fortunately, he has only to refer to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to prove how aware he has been of the problem and that he has been working to meet it. The report of the House Un-American Activities Committee, July 6, 1951, records the testimony of Jack Kawano before that committee in Washington. When the question came up as to why he had left the Communist Party and had decided to appear as a witness for the Government, he stated frankly it was due in part to the influence of JACK BURNS, the present Delegate.

Also, during the trial of the 7 in Honolulu in 1953, Mr. Kawano, who was the principal witness for the Government, in reply to a question as to whether local people had influenced him to change his outlook, he said that they had and that "one of those, in fact, the most vigorous in expressing opinions and impressing me along that line, was Mr. BURNS—Mr. JACK BURNS—who was then one of the leaders of the Democratic Party of Hawaii."

This testimony and four other documents bearing on the future Delegate's personal efforts to change the thinking of people in Hawaii were inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Senator RUSSELL LONG of Louisiana—March 15, 1954, volume 100, No. 48, page 3022. These records are known to the Members of Congress with whom the Delegate will work on the issue of statehood. They also indicate that there is more than one way of combating the evils of communism.

Within the next few weeks, we will probably know whether Hawaii and Alaska are to attain statehood or continue as stepdaughters in the sisterhood of States. The issue is clearly drawn. All those who believe in the people of Hawaii will wish to join Delegate BURNS in pressing our claim for statehood now.

Services of Chester J. Olsen, Regional Forester for the Intermountain Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, recently Chester J. Olsen, regional forester for the intermountain area, was given an award as Utah's outstanding Federal employee of 1956. This award is the first to be presented by the Federal Business Association of Utah.

Mr. Olsen next month will retire, after 37 years of activity with the Forest Service. For the valuable services that Chet has rendered not only to his native State of Utah but to the Nation generally, this award is most heartily deserved. As one of the editorial writers of Utah noted, "Chet Olsen's genius has not been confined to the Forest Service. His civic and community accomplishments are legend."

So that we all may have the inspiration of reading of Chet Olsen's career in public service, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a news report and two editorials from some of Utah's leading newspapers. They tell much of the appreciation in which Chet Olsen is held by the people of Utah.

There being no objection, the article and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Ogden (Utah) Standard-Examiner of March 13, 1957]

RETIRING FORESTER IS "TOP FEDERAL EMPLOYEE"

SALT LAKE CITY.—An Ogden Forest Service administrator has been chosen as Utah's "outstanding Federal employee of 1956."

The award was presented yesterday to Chester J. Olsen, regional forester for the intermountain area. He received the award at a luncheon meeting of the Federal Business Association of Utah.

Mr. Olsen, who will retire April 1, after 37 years with the Forest Service, was honored "for outstanding contributions to community welfare during 1956."

The award is the first to be presented by the association, which said it plans similar presentations annually in the future.

Forester Olsen is a native of Utah. He is a graduate of Utah State Agricultural College and joined the Forest Service in Humboldt National Forest in Nevada in 1919.

He has served on the Fishlake, Toiyabe, and Wasatch Forests and became regional forester in 1950. His region includes southern Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Wyoming, and eastern California.

[From the Deseret (Utah) News of March 11, 1957]

CHET OLSEN RETIRES

Back through its history, the United States Forest Service has been built into perhaps the most respected of Government agencies primarily by westerners. Something seems to be in the fiber and experience of men reared in these western valleys that the protection of the Nation's forests, water, and soil resource demands.

So it has been with C. J. Olsen. When he retires at the end of this month, he will have completed 37 years of distinguished service in conservation. Never in that time has he served outside the Intermountain region, the area of his birth. He has come up through virtually every rank, in Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and since 1950 has been in charge of all Forest Service activities in the 19 national forests of 4 States.

It is no small tribute to the man to say that to a large extent, he has been responsible for changing what used to be an attitude of suspicion and dislike between stockmen and Forest officers to one of trust and cooperation.

"Chet" has, moreover, been a remarkable and excellent influence in civic and church affairs wherever he has been stationed. The chamber of commerce, Kiwanis, scouting, and a dozen other organizations have been better because of his association with them. It is fitting that during the past 2 years, at the close of his career, he should have received such coveted awards as a merit citation from the National Civil Service League, a distinguished service award from Utah State Agricultural College, and a superior service award from the Department of Agriculture.

As we pay tribute to "Chet" and wish him well in the new activities his retirement will bring, it is also a pleasure to welcome another westerner as chief of the Intermountain Region. Floyd Iverson is a Californian by birth and has spent his Forest Service career in the mountains and forests of California, Oregon, Washington, Montana and Idaho. He has been stationed at Intermountain Region headquarters at Ogden for the past 2 years, as head of range and wildlife management.

Mr. Iverson already knows, we hope, that he will have a grand group of men under his direction in the forests and ranger districts of this region. We wish him and his associates as much success and happiness as the region has enjoyed under "Chet" Olsen.

[From the Salt Lake Tribune of March 11, 1957]

ABLE, PERSUASIVE CONSERVATIONIST RETIRES

Tremendous changes in the use of the remaining wild lands of the country and the public attitude toward their administration have taken place in recent years, particularly in the intermountain region.

Last year, for instance, the recreational visits to the 19 national forests for the intermountain region totaled more than 6.5 million, and in addition that many more persons drove through or went sightseeing in the forests. These figures contrast with a few thousand visitors of a quarter of a century ago.

Increased demands for all kinds of use, plus some dramatic lessons presented by nature in the form of disastrous floods and other forms of erosion, have served to win solid public support for the sustained-yield and multiple-use principles of the United States Forest Service.

Old attitudes of special privilege persist, of course, but many communities and farming areas have learned the hard way the heavy price we must pay for abusing the ground cover or failing to adjust our activities to nature's hard laws.

There is another potent element in the gradual persuasion of the public that the plant cover and topsoil must be kept healthy if man is to prosper. This has been a patient, persistent program of public education. At the forefront of this program of demonstration and persuasion is C. J. "Chet" Olsen, regional forester for the last 6 years and a forest officer in the region for 37 years.

The announcement of Mr. Olsen's plans for retirement April 1 will be received with mixed feelings in all walks of life throughout the intermountain West, where this amiable crusader is as well known, respected, and loved as any figure in public life. Tempering the feeling of loss and regret is the knowledge that Mr. Olsen will now have time to enjoy more fully the outdoors he loves so well and that a topflight man, Floyd Iverson, now assistant regional forester in charge of range and wildlife, will succeed him.

Mr. Olsen's record as an administrator in a sensitive and demanding governmental service is matched by his ability to mix with people and convert them to the cause of conservation. He has devoted his adult years with unusual zeal and ability to promoting conservation of natural resources, meanwhile working for long-term rural life betterment.

Reared on a small ranch at Mayfield, Utah, he later herded sheep on the Manti National Forest near the Great Basin Experiment Station. There he became acquainted with forest scientists engaged in water research and learned first-handedly and dramatically the results of unwise grazing, indiscriminate timber cutting, fires, and other forms of mismanagement. He entered the Forest Service as a young man, became a ranger in 1919 and steadily climbed through the years to his present position.

Friendly, warm, and articulate, his natural liking for people wins friendship and confidence and his vast understanding and qualities of leadership have gone far to make the conservation movement in the intermountain West the great force that it is. True, much remains to be done, but a solid foundation has been laid for future programs.

"Chet" Olsen's genius has not been confined to the Forest Service. His civic and community accomplishments are legend. Among his many honors have been distinguished service awards from the Department of Agriculture in 1955 and from the National Civil Service League and the Utah State Agricultural College, last year. He has served on many scores of important local and national committees and action groups.

The many improvements in region 4 since 1950, too numerous to list, reflect in part Mr. Olsen's ability, leadership, indomitability and tireless work. He is giving up his arduous day-to-day duties, but we have no doubt that his persuasive voice and typewriter will continue the splendid crusade.

Proceedings in Tribute to the Western Maryland Railroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, last night I had the extremely great pleasure of attending an event which can best be described by a phrase borrowed from the rich terminology which is associated with Maryland's noble racing traditions. Without a doubt, the affair was a three-winner parlay.

In the first place, the event itself was the 74th annual banquet of the Old Town Merchants and Manufacturers Association, in Baltimore, and that alone is enough of a comment for those who have ever had the privilege of attending these yearly events to indicate that it was truly a memorable occasion.

Then, to add to the festivities, the night had been set aside as a special tribute to the Western Maryland Rail-

road. This railroad has long offered faithful service to millions of Marylanders, but because of the business before us, I will not attempt at this time to eulogize it as extensively as I would like.

The third winner of the night took the form of an address by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland. Governor McKeldin's oratorical ability and well-chosen comments consistently make the affairs he attends extra enjoyable, but last night he was, if possible, even better than usual.

Therefore, I now ask unanimous consent that his address be included in the Appendix of today's RECORD immediately after the names of those who made last night's banquet so outstanding.

There being no objection, the names and the address by Governor McKeldin were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Program: Bernard L. Glazer, president; Robert V. Dallmus, chairman, banquet committee; Claude B. Hellmann, toastmaster, Secretary of State of Maryland; Hon. Theodore R. McKeldin, Governor of Maryland.

Officers: Mr. Glazer, president; Gerald Jaffein, vice president; Russell Loock, vice president; Alfred Sundheim, vice president; John C. Sponsel, vice president; Robert V. Dallmus, secretary; Wilmer T. Jones, financial secretary and treasurer; William Saxon, counsel.

Banquet committee: Mr. Dallmus, chairman; Charles W. Pohlman, cochairman; Charles E. Clough, Irvin Greenbaum, William Hoyer, Gerald Jaffein, Wilmer T. Jones, Jerome Kahn, John C. Sponsel, Ernest Zimmerer, Ned H. Strauss.

Past presidents: Theodore F. Wilcox (deceased), J. George Gehring, Jr. (deceased), Col. Jacob W. Hook (deceased), Herman H. Gettemuller (deceased), Wilmer C. Carter, Jerome Kahn, Walter I. Seif, Joseph R. Schneider.

Guests of honor: Rev. John Hoetzelein, St. James Church of Oldtown; Eugene S. Williams, chairman of the board, Western Maryland Railway Co.; W. Arthur Grotz, president, Western Maryland Railway Co.; Hon. Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., mayor of Baltimore; Hon. J. Glenn Beall, United States Senator; Hon. John M. Butler, United States Senator; Hon. Edward A. Garmatz, Member of Congress; Hon. Samuel N. Friedel, Member of Congress; Hon. Simon E. Sobeloff, United States Circuit Judge, Court of Appeals; Hon. C. Ferdinand Sybert, Attorney General of Maryland; Hon. R. Walter Graham, Jr., comptroller, city of Baltimore; Hon. George L. Radcliffe, former United States Senator; Hon. Howard W. Jackson, former mayor of Baltimore; C. R. Zarfoss, vice president, Western Maryland Railway Co.; Charles W. Pohlman, secretary to the Governor; Wilmer C. Carter, past president, Old Town Merchants; Jerome Kahn, past president, Old Town Merchants; Walter I. Seif, past president, Old Town Merchants; Joseph R. Schneider, past president, Old Town Merchants; J. Stephen Becker, business manager, Baltimore News-Post; W. Spaulding Albert, advertising director, the Sunpapers; Hugh F. Kiernan, advertising director, Baltimore News-Post; George T. Bertsch, business manager, the Sunpapers.

ADDRESS OF GOV. THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, OLD TOWN MERCHANTS AND MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION 74TH ANNUAL BANQUET

On this 74th anniversary of the founding of the Old Town Merchants and Manufacturers Association it is a pleasure and a privilege to pay tribute to it, and to the Western Maryland Railroad, which it honors tonight and with which it has been associated for so many years. The contribution of these two organizations to the upbuilding of Baltimore and the State can never be computed, but it is very great; so the rest of Baltimore and Maryland have good reasons to wish for the association and the railroad at least 74 years more of prosperity and usefulness.

In glancing over an outline of the history of this association, I was interested to note the evidence of its very broad views from the beginning. The affairs of Old Town were its immediate concern, but that did not mean that it shut itself off from the rest of the world. So we find it raising funds for the victims of the Charleston earthquake in 1887 and for victims of the Johnstown flood in 1889; urging a better transit service to enable residents of Old Town to reach the concert halls and other cultural institutions; traveling by special excursion to points as far as Gettysburg, in one direction, and the eastern shore, in another, and urging the building of a viaduct over Jones Falls as early as 1886.

I note with special pleasure one other intimate contact with the history of Baltimore on the western side of the falls. In 1884 one member was elected who is still a member and who had much to do with the history not of Old Town alone, but with the whole city. I refer to the man who, at the age of 101, may fairly be described as the honored patriarch of commercial Baltimore as well as the senior member of this association—Mr. Max Hochschild.

But I did not come tonight merely to review the accomplishments of the association in the past. There are others more fit to do that and in any case my interest is less in the past record of the association than in its future prospect; less in what it has done for Old Town than in its relation to the rest of the city and State.

An association such as this, when it is really a lively and active organization as this one has been and is, does a great deal more than secure a certain number of neighborhood improvements. It offers a means whereby the private individual may find a place in the community and may really play a part in the conduct of civic affairs.

Do not dismiss that as unimportant. It is extremely important. In some ways it is more important than all the pavements and parks and schoolhouses and other physical improvements your efforts may secure. For experience in working for the common good tends to make good citizens; and we need good citizens far more than we need anything that the architects and engineers can provide.

"It is more blessed to give than to receive," says Scripture, and moralists long ago discovered that the person you love most is not the one from whom you have received most, but the one for whom you have done most. This goes beyond personal relations. The man who loves Baltimore City most is not the one who has made millions out of the city, but the one who has given time and thought and labor to building up the city. The man who joins an association of this kind, even though he plays a very minor part in it, at least learns something about the city's problems, and he is a better citizen for knowing. If he works hard to forward the program of the association, he is a much better citizen.

In addition to that, he is likely to be a happier man. One of the curses of living in a great center of population is the danger of getting lost in the crowd. In a small village where everybody knows everybody else, each man has his place and knows it. Even if he doesn't like his place, he has a sense of belonging, of being somebody. But when the population rises to a million and a half it is terribly easy to lose the sense of having any place at all, of belonging to anything. If you don't belong anywhere, of course, you have no attachment to any place and feel no responsibility for anything.

We are accustomed to thinking of responsibility as a burden, which it certainly is. And yet a man who is responsible for nothing whatever is seldom a happy man. There is something within us that tells us that the man responsible for nothing is not good for anything. Therefore he cannot have the self-respect that comes to the man who has duties and does them.

You don't have to be a psychologist to know that if you are living in a city for which you feel no responsibility, for which you have done nothing, not even one hand's turn, you aren't going to like that city much. You may be raking in money, and stick to it on that account, but you don't really like it because you are simply taking and never giving; and it is the place to which you have given that you like.

But in a large center of population personal contacts all over the place are impossible to make and maintain. The most active mixer cannot possibly know everybody in all parts of Baltimore; and people who are poor mixers are likely to know nobody at all. This is the great value of the neighborhood association. Its merit is not that it divides the city, but that it divides civic problems and civic interests into pieces small enough for an ordinary man to understand. But as he comes to understand his neighborhood problems, and goes to work to solve them, he immediately becomes part of the greater whole. He has found a place. He belongs. And he is not only a better citizen, but by the very fact of having taken on some burden of responsibility, he is a happier man.

This I regard as the supreme value of an association of this kind, but, of course, it is not the most conspicuous value. The conspicuous value appears when all such groups can be linked together in a joint effort for the good of the whole community—and you can extend the word "community" to cover the city, the metropolitan district, the State, or the Nation.

Politicians understand this well enough. Organization at the precinct level is the aim of every party. But it goes beyond party politics; it applies to every phase of citizenship. If you want to become master of the problems of a great city, the way to start is to take note of what is wrong in your own block, figure what can be done about it, and find out why it isn't being done. Do that, and it will surprise you how readily the larger problems, one by one, will fall into a pattern that you can unedrstand.

The enormous change that has come over American life since the turn of the century is the shift to urban living. Only 23 percent of our people now live on the farm, and of the 77 percent in the cities vast numbers have moved into town without any acquaintance with the necessities of urban life. Even those who were born and brought up in small cities find themselves bewildered by the problems that arise in huge concentrations. So all of us have a great deal to learn, and it is small wonder that our big cities are in a state of confusion that gives rise to waste, not merely economic waste, but the waste of human lives. We have not yet mastered the art of metropolitan living.

In my opinion, the best hope of mastering it is by the process I have described—the process of persuading our citizens that they do belong, if not to the great city, then certainly to the neighborhood, and if not to the neighborhood, at least to the block. Yet if a man can develop a genuine interest in doing everything he can to improve the conditions of life in a section of 1 street 400 feet long, he is a valuable influence in creating better living conditions for a million and a half people.

If you doubt this, examine the history of the Old Town Merchants and Manufacturers Association. It started shouting for

a viaduct over Jones Falls 71 years ago. No doubt it started shouting for the benefit of Old Town and it shouted in vain for a matter of 50 years; but eventually it came, and with it came benefits not to Old Town only, but to Catonsville and Sparrows Point, as well.

Every intelligent project of civic improvement that this association has fostered has inured to the benefit of every resident of Baltimore. This is enough to persuade all others to cheer you on and wish you well.

But I repeat, underneath this, and largely unperceived, there is a greater thing. The existence of this association has contributed to the training of good citizens, who will remain good citizens wherever they may go. Perhaps you are even this year training in civic responsibility another like Max Hochschild, who may remove to Howard Street, or may remove to the ends of the earth, but wherever he goes will be a great citizen; and I know you are training many to be good citizens. And in so doing you are engaging in work as honorable as it is given to men to perform.

List of Countries in Which Artists Have Been Assisted by International Exchange Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the problem of United States relations with Egypt is very much to the fore today.

We are closely watching, as well, the latest developments in troubled Syria, where, up until now, there have been many disturbing occasions concerning Soviet infiltration.

Whenever I note one of these countries with which we are currently experiencing serious problems the thought naturally occurs to me:

"What have been our recent American contacts with these countries?"

"What assistance have we given, for example, to the United States Information Agency so that it can help transmit the truth concerning America's good wishes to the people of Egypt and the people of Syria?"

I have asked in my own mind, too, "What have been our cultural relations with these countries? To what extent have we tried to reach, let us say, the people of Egypt, or the people of Syria, or of some other country, through the medium of common interest in the various performing arts?"

If we cannot speak the same language, then at least we can communicate through arts which all men can understand and appreciate; through the international language of music and the international language of the dance.

The problem is no less important in relation to countries which are not crisis areas, but countries which are allied with us. Here, too, we want to improve our two-way communication.

Here, too, we want to answer the charge which is often raised against us to the effect that we are only materialist minded, and that we are not interested in culture.

As I stated the other day in the Senate, one of the vital media through which we can answer this false charge is through the international exchange program. Hearings are now underway in the House Appropriations Committee on next year's appropriations for this program.

I believe that it will be of interest to my colleagues to see a listing of the actual countries where funds have enabled artists to perform.

I believe it will be of interest to them, for example, to know that the great company of the noted folk opera, Porgy and Bess, has visited Egypt; that the fine artist, William Warfield, visited the newest of all nations, the Gold Coast; that a host of splendid artists have toured the subcontinent of India; that Marian Anderson has visited Indonesia, and so on down the line.

The responses to these visits have been outstanding. In countless newspapers—newspapers in lands full of anti-American propaganda—the visits have been followed by favorable editorials saying, in effect, "We did not realize that the Americans were so interested in great music, in great song, in great dancing."

We must remember, Mr. President, that we are a young Nation; we must remember that there are many nations throughout the world which have only just gained their independence, but which have cultures going back 2,500 and more years. It is only natural, therefore, that they should look to see to what extent we are genuinely interested in culture ourselves.

I send to the desk the country-by-country list showing how a great many artists have been assisted under the international exchange program as operated through the American National Theater and Academy, a congressionally chartered organization. I ask unanimous consent that the list be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COUNTRIES IN WHICH ARTISTS HAVE BEEN ASSISTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Algeria: Betty Allen, 1955 and 1956; New Music Quartet, 1956; Minneapolis Symphony, 1957.

Afghanistan: John Sebastian, 1956–57; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957.

Argentina: Philippa Schuyler, 1955; Porgy and Bess, 1955; Teahouse of the August Moon, 1956; Ballet Theater, 1955; Dizzy Gillespie, 1956; Jubilee Singers, 1956; New York Woodwind Quintet, 1956; Leonard Rose, 1957; Joseph Fuchs, 1957.

Austria: William Warfield, 1955; Philadelphia Orchestra, 1955; New York Philharmonic, 1955; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; Boston Symphony, 1956; New York City Ballet, 1956; Cleveland Orchestra, 1957; Jose Limon, 1957.

Belgium: Philadelphia Orchestra, 1955; New York Philharmonic, 1955; New York City Ballet, 1956; Ballet Theater, 1957; Cleveland Orchestra, 1957; Jose Limon, 1957.

Brazil: Jose Limon, 1954; Philippa Schuyler, 1955; Joyce Flissler, 1955; Porgy and Bess, 1955; Ballet Theater, 1955; Tallchief and Eglevsky, 1955; Teahouse of the August Moon, 1956; Dizzy Gillespie, 1956; New York Woodwind Quintet, 1956; Blanche Thebom, 1957; Joseph Fuchs, 1957.

Burma: Martha Graham, 1956; Tom Two Arrows, 1956 (twice); Westminster Choir, 1956; John Sebastian, 1956; San Francisco Ballet, 1956; Benny Goodman Band, 1957; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957.

Cambodia: Tom Two Arrows, 1956; Westminister Choir, 1956; John Sebastian, 1956; Benny Goodman, 1956; San Francisco Ballet, 1956; Marian Anderson, 1957.

Czechoslovakia: Cleveland Orchestra, 1957; Boston Symphony, 1956.

Ceylon: Symphony of the Air, 1955; Jubilee Singers, 1955; Martha Graham, 1956; Eugene Istomin, 1956; Westminister Choir, 1956; Eleanor Steber, 1956; Richard Tucker, 1957.

Chile: Porgy and Bess, 1955; Ballet Theater, 1955; Jubilee Singers, 1956; New York Woodwind Quintet, 1956; Leonard Rose, 1957.

Colombia: Porgy and Bess, 1955; Ballet Theater, 1955; New Orleans Symphony, 1956; New York Woodwind Quintet, 1956; Blanche Thebom, 1957; Leonard Rose, 1957; Joseph Fuchs, 1957.

Costa Rico: Ballet Theater, 1956; New Orleans Symphony, 1956; Joseph Fuchs, 1957.

Cuba: New Orleans Symphony, 1956; Teahouse August Moon, 1956.

Curacao: New Orleans Symphony, 1956.

Denmark: Robert Shaw; Chorale, 1955; New York City Ballet, 1956; Cleveland Orchestra, 1957.

Dominican Republic: New Orleans Symphony, 1956.

Ecuador: Ballet Theater, 1955; New Orleans Symphony, 1956; Dizzy Gillespie, 1956; Joseph Fuchs, 1957; Leonard Rose, 1957.

Egypt: Porgy and Bess, 1955; Erwin Lazo, 1955; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; Jose Limon, 1957.

England: New York Philharmonic, 1955; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; Boston Symphony, 1956; Cleveland Orchestra, 1957; Jose Limon Co., 1957.

Ethiopia: Philippa Schuyler, 1956; William Warfield, 1956.

Finland: Philadelphia Orchestra, 1955; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; Boston Symphony, 1956.

France: Philadelphia Orchestra, 1955; Medea, 1955; Skin of Our Teeth, 1955; New New York Ballet, 1955; Oklahoma, 1955; New York Philharmonic, 1955; Betty Allen, 1956; New Music Quartet, 1956; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; Boston Symphony, 1956; New York City Ballet, 1956; Cleveland Orchestra, 1957; Jose Limon, 1957; Long Day's Journey Into Night, 1957.

French Morocco: Porgy and Bess, 1955.

French Equatorial Africa: William Warfield, 1956.

Germany: William Warfield, 1955; Philadelphia Orchestra, 1955; New York City Ballet, 1955; Beal Twins, 1955; New York Philharmonic, 1955; John Sebastian, 1955; New Music Quartet, 1956; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; Boston Symphony, 1956; Marian Anderson, 1956; New York City Ballet, 1956; Jose Limon, 1957; Cleveland Orchestra, 1957.

Gold Coast: William Warfield, 1956.

Greece: Porgy and Bess, 1955; Erwin Lazlo, 1955; New York Philharmonic, 1955; Neil Tangeman, 1955 and 1956; Benno and Sylvia Rabinof, 1956; Dizzy Gillespie, 1956; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; William Warfield, 1956 (twice); Ballet Theater, 1956 and 1957; Westminster Choir, 1956; Minneapolis Symphony, 1957; Jose Limon, 1957; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957.

Guatemala: James Wolfe, 1955; Ballet Theater, 1955; New Orleans Symphony, 1956.

Haiti: New Orleans Symphony, 1956.

Holland: Philadelphia Orchestra, 1955; New York City Ballet, 1955; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; Ballet Theater, 1957; Jose Limon, 1957; Cleveland Orchestra, 1957.

Honduras: New Orleans Symphony, 1956; Joseph Fuchs, 1957.

Hong Kong: Gregor Piatigorsky, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; John Sebastian, 1956; Benny Goodman, 1956; San Francisco Ballet, 1956; Eleanor Steber, 1956; Richard Tucker, 1957; Marian Anderson, 1957; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957.

Iceland: Isaac Stern, 1955; Erwin Lazlo, 1955; E. Power Biggs and the Boston Symphony, 1955; Ruggiero Ricci, 1955; Philippa Schuyler, 1956; Eugene Istomin, 1956; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; Boston Symphony, 1956; Boston Symphony Group, 1956; Jeanne Mitchell and James Wolfe, 1956; Blanche Thebom, 1956; Jacques Abram, 1957.

India: Jubilee Singers, 1955; Martha Graham, 1956; Sylvia Marlowe, 1956; Leontyne Price, 1956; Tom Two Arrows, 1956; Eugene List and Caroll Glenn, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; Rudolf Serkin, 1956; John Sebastian, 1956; San Francisco Ballet, 1956; Eleanor Steber, 1956; Minneapolis Symphony, 1957; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957; Ruggiero Ricci, 1957; Marian Anderson, 1957.

Indonesia: Martha Graham, 1956; Sylvia Marlowe, 1956; Tom Two Arrows, 1956; Eugene List and Carol Glenn, 1956; Eleanor Steber, 1956; Ruggiero Ricci, 1957; Marian Anderson, 1957.

Iran: Martha Graham, 1956; Dizzy Gillespie, 1956; Ballet Theater, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; John Sebastian, 1956; San Francisco Ballet, 1957; Minneapolis Symphony, 1957; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957.

Iraq: Westminster Choir, 1956; John Sebastian, 1956; Eleanor Steber, 1956; Minneapolis Symphony, 1957; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957.

Ireland: Boston Symphony, 1956.

Israel: Porgy and Bess, 1955; Erwin Lazlo, 1955; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; William Warfield, 1956; Jose Limon, 1957.

Italy: Fizdale and Gold, 1954; Porgy and Bess, 1955; William Warfield, 1955; Philadelphia Orchestra, 1955; New York City Ballet, 1955; Oklahoma, 1955; New York Philharmonic, 1955; John Sebastian, 1955; New Music Quartet, 1956; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; New York City Ballet, 1956; Blanche Thebom, 1956; Ballet Theater, 1956; Cleveland Orchestra, 1957; Minneapolis Orchestra, 1957.

Jamaica: New Orleans Symphony, 1956; Joseph Fuchs, 1957.

Japan: Symphony of the Air, 1955; Martha Graham, 1956; Sylvia Marlowe, 1956; Eugene Istomin, 1956; Los Angeles Symphony, 1956; Gregor Piatigorsky, 1956; Tom Two Arrows, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; John Sebastian, 1956; Benny Goodman, 1956; Eleanor Steber, 1956; Richard Tucker, 1957; Edward Vito, 1957.

Jordan.

Kenya: William Warfield, 1956.

Korea: Symphony of the Air, 1955; Gregor Piatigorsky, 1956; Tom Two Arrows, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; John Sebastian, 1956; Benny Goodman, 1956; Richard Tucker, 1957; Marian Anderson, 1957.

Laos: Westminster Choir, 1956; Marian Anderson, 1957; Vito and Renzi, 1957.

Lebanon: Erwin Lazlo, 1955; Neil Tangeman, 1955 and 1956; Philippa Schuyler, 1956; Dizzy Gillespie, 1956; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956, William Warfield, 1956; Ballet Theater, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; Eleanor Steber, 1956; Ballet Theater, 1956–57; Ruggiero Ricci, 1957; Minneapolis Symphony, 1957; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957.

Liberia: William Warfield, 1956.

Malaya: Symphony of the Air, 1955; Martha Graham, 1956; Sylvia Marlowe, 1956; Eugene Istomin, 1956; Los Angeles Symphony, 1956; Gregor Piatigorsky, 1956; Eugene List and Carol Glenn, 1956; Tom Two Arrows, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; John Sebastian, 1956; Benny Goodman, 1956; San Francisco Ballet, 1956; Eleanor Steber, 1956 Ruggiero Ricci, 1957; Richard Tucker, 1957; Marian Anderson, 1957.

Mexico: James Wolfe, 1955; Joyce Flissler, 1955; Porgy and Bess, 1955; Ballet Theatre, 1955; Ballet Theatre, 1955; New Orleans Symphony, 1956; Joseph Fuchs, 1957.

Monaco: New York City Ballet, 1955.

Nicaragua: New Orleans Symphony, 1956.

Nigeria: William Warfield, 1956.

Norway: Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; Boston Symphony, 1956; Grant Johannesen, 1956; Marian Anderson, 1956.

Okinawa: Symphony of the Air, 1955; Westminster Choir, 1956.

Pakistan: Jubilee Singers, 1955; Martha Graham, 1956; Tom Two Arrows, 1956; Dizzy Gillespie, 1956; Eugene List and Carroll Glenn, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; John Sebastian, 1956; San Francisco Ballet, 1956; Eleanor Steber, 1956; Ruggiero Ricci, 1957; Marian Anderson, 1957; Minneapolis Symphony, 1957; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957.

Panama: Porgy and Bess, 1955; Ballet Theatre, 1955.

Paraguay: Jubilee Singers, 1956.

Peru: Porgy and Bess, 1955; Ballet Theatre, 1955; New Orleans Symphony, 1956; Joseph Fuchs, 1957; Leonard Rose, 1957; Blanche Thebom, 1957.

Philippines: Symphony of the Air, 1955; Martha Graham, 1956; Sylvia Marlowe, 1956; Eugene Istomin, 1956; Los Angeles Symphony, 1956; Gregor Piatigorsky, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; John Sebastian, 1956; Benny Goodman, 1956; San Francisco Ballet, 1956; Eleanor Steber, 1956; Marian Anderson, 1957; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957.

Poland: Cleveland Orchestra, 1957.

Puerto Rico: New Orleans Symphony, 1956.

Portugal: William Warfield, 1955; Philadelphia Orchestra, 1955; New York City Ballet, 1955; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; Ballet Theater, 1956; Cleveland Orchestra, 1957; Jose Limon Co., 1957.

Russia: Boston Symphony, 1956.

Scotland: New York Philharmonic, 1955; Boston Symphony, 1956.

Southern Rhodesia: William Warfield, 1956.

Spain: Porgy and Bess, 1955; William Warfield, 1955; Philadelphia Orchestra, 1955; Philippa Schuyler, 1956; Everett Lee, 1956; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; Ballet Theater, 1956; Cleveland Orchestra, 1957; Minneapolis Orchestra, 1957; Jose Limon Co., 1957.

Sweden: Philadelphia Orchestra, 1955; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; Boston Symphony, 1956; New York City Ballet, 1956.

Switzerland: New York City Ballet, 1955; Byron Janis, 1955; Grant Johannesen, 1955; New York Philharmonic, 1955; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; Boston Symphony, 1956; New York City Ballet, 1956; Cleveland Orchestra, 1957; Jose Limon Co., 1957.

Syria: Neil Tangeman, 1955 and 1956; Dizzy Gillespie, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957.

Tanganyika: William Warfield, 1956.

Taiwan: Symphony of the Air, 1955; Gregor Piatigorsky, 1956; Tom Two Arrows, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; San Francisco Ballet, 1956; Eleanor Steber, 1956; Richard Tucker, 1957; Marian Anderson, 1957; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957.

Thailand: Symphony of the Air, 1955; Martha Graham, 1956; Los Angeles Symphony, 1956; Tom Two Arrows, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; John Sebastian, 1956; Benny Goodman, 1956; Eleanor Steber, 1956; San Francisco Ballet, 1957; Richard Tucker, 1957; Marian Anderson, 1957; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957.

Trinidad: Joseph Fuchs, 1957.

Tunisia: Betty Allen, 1955 and 1956; New Music Quartet, 1956; Minneapolis Symphony, 1957.

Turkey: Jubilee Singers, 1955; Vera Franceschi, 1955; Philippa Schuyler, 1956; Dizzy Gillespie, 1956; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; William Warfield, 1956; Ballet Theater, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; Eleanor Steber, 1956; Ruggiero Ricci, 1957; Minneapolis Symphony, 1957; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957; Jose Limon Co., 1957.

Uganda: William Warfield, 1956.

Uruguay: Jose Limon, 1954; Philippa Schuyler, 1955; Porgy and Bess, 1955; Ballet Theater, 1955; Dizzy Gillespie, 1956; Teahouse of the August Moon, 1956; Jubilee Singers, 1956; New York Woodwind Quintet, 1956; Joseph Fuchs, 1957; Leonard Rose, 1957.

Venezuela: Porgy and Bess, 1955; New Orleans Symphony, 1956; Teahouse of the August Moon, 1956; Joseph Fuchs, 1957; Blanche Thebom, 1957.

Vietnam: Eugene Istomin, 1956; Gregor Piatigorsky, 1956; Tom Two Arrows, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; John Sebastian, 1956; Eleanor Steber, 1957; Richard Tucker, 1957; Marian Anderson, 1957; Edward Vito and Paul Renzi, 1957.

Yugoslavia: Porgy and Bess, 1955; Jubilee Singers, 1955; Eleanor Steber, 1955; Neil Tangeman, 1955; Benno and Sylvia Rabinof, 1956; Ruggiero Ricci, 1956; Dizzy Gillespie, 1956; Robert Shaw Chorale, 1956; William Warfield, 1956; Ballet Theatre, 1956; Westminster Choir, 1956; Jose Limon Company, 1957.

United States Mortgage Debt Exceeds $100 Billion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "United States Mortgage Debt Exceeds $100 Billion," from the Lafayette (Ind.) Journal and Courier of March 19, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES MORTGAGE DEBT EXCEEDS $100 BILLION

(By Hugh L. Morris)

WASHINGTON.—Mortgage debt on American homes has just topped $100 billion, but foreclosures—a word that calls up depression memories—are few and far between.

Year-end reports on 1956 show that the Nation's housing loans are being retired on schedule and that Americans are well on the way to free-and-clear home ownership.

Despite record-breaking construction of 10 million homes in 10 years, the proportion of mortgages which have gone sour averages only 2 for every 1,000 homes bought on credit.

The record on Government-insured mortgages compares favorably with that of conventionally financed mortgages.

Further lowering of downpayment required on FHA-insured mortgages has been challenged in hearings before Congress on the ground that less equity in homes will encourage defaults.

DISPUTE VIEW

Government spokesmen dispute this view, however, and point to the record of GI home mortgages on which even less down payment is required.

A delinquency survey by the Mortgage Bankers Association shows that in 1956 its proportion of defaults—no payments in 3

months or more—was 0.14 percent on conventional, 0.11 on FHA, and 0.22 on GI mortgages.

Government reports on its insured mortgages in default, as a proportion of the total number outstanding, run higher—nearly 1 percent for GI and more than one-half of 1 percent on FHA.

Neither of the Government insuring agencies expresses concern about the rate. Over the years their net loss after resale of the property has amounted to no more than $50 million.

FEW DEFAULTS

The low rate of defaults is brought into sharper focus when foreclosures of the past decade are compared with the flood of home losses in the late 1920's and 1930's.

About 30,000 mortgages were called in for lack of payment last year, bringing the total in 10 years to some 200,000.

The low point was in flush, postwar 1946, when only 10,453 homes were lost through foreclosure. The alltime high was 252,400 in 1933. The total between 1926 and 1935 come to 1,713,963.

In recent years, with Americans buying homes in ever-increasing volume, the number of foreclosures has been rising gradually and the 1956 total was nearly three times that of 1946.

The proportion of foreclosures, however, has shown no significant change, because of the simultaneous jump in the number of outstanding mortgages.

Although there are nearly 50 million residential units in the country, no one knows exactly how many mortgages the $100 billion value represents. The lack of information is on conventional mortgages; there are 2,229,599 FHA and 3,759,784 GI mortgages in force.

American Aid for the People of Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of March 7, 1957, which comments on the aid program of the Polish American Congress of Northeastern Pennsylvania to the people of Poland as well as the aid which is currently being discussed concerning American economic aid to the people of Poland:

AID FOR POLISH PEOPLE

Decision of the Polish American Congress of Northeastern Pennsylvania to send food and clothing to Poland for distribution among Poles, returning to their native land from Siberia where they were exiled for years, should strike a responsive chord in this community.

For years, local residents have been supplying these essentials as well as medicines to relatives in Poland, directly and through organizations. In many instances, recipients of packages have shared them with needy neighbors.

The program of the Polish American Congress fits in with the policy of the administration in Washington which has indicated a strong desire to aid the people of Poland, as distinguished from the government, the intent being to drive a further wedge between Poland and Russia in the former's struggle for independence. It is felt that anything that will make the Polish people less dependent on Moscow will contribute to the cause of liberty.

Apart from political considerations, there are, of course, the humanitarian aspects of the situation. The lot of the Poles has not been an easy one for two decades of war and enslavement. An opportunity to ease their plight will have widespread appeal.

Court Decongestion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to address the House and revise and extend my remarks, I desire to comment briefly upon a very impressive article recently appearing in the Journal of the American Judicature Society by the Honorable Irving R. Kaufman, able and learned judge of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York on the subject of Calendar Decongestion in the Southern District of New York. This fine article elaborating on the encouraging results achieved in relieving court calendars in New York is timely indeed.

It will be generally agreed, I believe, Mr. Speaker, by lawyers and all those interested in our great judical system that the most important function of our courts is to dispense prompt and speedy justice.

Of late years, we have witnessed throughout the Nation the unpalatable spectacle in many of our courts of litigants who are forced by calendar congestion to wait for several years for the trial of their cases.

From time to time the Congress has recognized these undesirable conditions by providing additional judges for the hard pressed Federal judiciary. We have also taken action to provide additional facilities and personnel and make other improvements in the administration of the Federal courts.

It can be agreed, however, that congestion and delay in the trial of legal causes is not confined to Federal courts alone, but is present in many of our State and district courts.

Judge Kaufman's article outlines with considerable particularity effective measures which have been pursued by the judges and the bar of the southern district court in New York to combat court delays and congestion. The striking thing about these measures enumerated in Judge Kaufman's elucidation is that they have apparently been so successful and effective in clearing the court calendar of deadwood and expediting early trials in probably the busiest judicial district in the country.

The results achieved by the learned judges and the bar of this district would seem clearly to indicate that there is an available, practicable remedy for stultifying court congestion. If this remedy has been so successful in one district, there is no reason why it cannot be equally successful elsewhere. I think that the judges of this court are to be particularly congratulated upon their resourcefulness and the ingenuity which they displayed in conceiving and carrying out this ameliorative program, as well as for the ability, tenacity, and persistency which characterized their action.

To be sure, in principle most of the techniques employed are not novel. They have been suggested and tried before in some places. But the particular organization and timing and application of these techniques, coupled with the vigor, intensity, and drive manifested by the judges, as well as the splendid cooperation of members of the bar, present a pattern in the field of efficient court administration which may well be emulated.

I can wholeheartedly commend to every jurist, lawyer, student, and person interested in our American system of justice the reading of this excellent article. It contains much food for thought for the legal profession and for the courts everywhere, as well as for harrassed litigants, and is a definite contribution to the solution of one of our most vexing problems of legal administration. I hope that other States and districts will benefit from this salutary program and thus bring nearer our ideal of speedy justice in the courts.

Modern Republicanism—Commerce Secretary Weeks "Maybe" Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Mr. Weeks Shows How" which appeared in the March 21, 1957, issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald:

MR. WEEKS SHOWS HOW

Secretary Humphrey invented the new style "maybe" budget, the great virtue of which, if it works, is that the administration can take credit for the benefits and the Congress for the costs. It has remained for Secretary Weeks to demonstrate the proper use of the "maybe" budget in action. First you make a speech in New York defending the budget as merely the cost of the promised GOP peace and prosperity. Then you hint darkly that if the taxpayers would look about them, however, they'd find plenty of specific places to start saving. Next you get on television and complain about all the programs Congress forces on the administration and suggest that here is an excellent place to start cutting. But finally, when Congress calls your hand, you defend the budget once again to the last dime.

All of this, if it does not enlighten the taxpayers, at least amuses them and rather neatly leaves the hot potato still in the hands of Congress. Congresmen know there is nothing to do but eat this spud and be done with it. But there was more than a little

gravel in the remark heard in a Capitol corridor yesterday that one good way to save some money at Commerce would be to eliminate the office of the Secretary.

Address by Dr. Bower Aly in Observance of the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Bower Aly, professor of speech, University of Missouri, delivered an address at the Sam Houston State Teachers College, Huntsville, Tex., in observance of the Alexander Hamilton bicentennial on March 14, 1957, which I think holds sufficient interest to justify making it available to the Members and the public through the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

From December 15, 1774, when Alexander Hamilton's first pamphlet in defense of the American Revolution was published, until February 17, 1801, when his efforts on behalf of Thomas Jefferson were rewarded by Jefferson's election to the presidency, Alexander Hamilton was energetically engaged in the service of his country. During the remarkable quarter century that witnessed the revolution of the American colonies from their mother country, the Declaration of Independence from Britain, the harrowing war of revolution, the period of indecision under the Articles of Confederation, the drafting and the ratification of the Constitution and the establishment of a nation under the administrations of George Washington and John Adams, Hamilton was either officially or unofficially and almost continuously involved in public enterprises, earth-shaking in their significance for the men of that day and in their consequence for posterity. During the latter 20 years of the period, Hamilton was never far from the epicenter. His remarkable achievements in the center of the storm have caused President Eisenhower to proclaim and the Congress to provide for the observance in 1957 of the 200th anniversary of his birth.

As a teacher speaking to teachers—present and prospective—I think it appropriate here and now to consider with you what the life experience of Alexander Hamilton has to offer to us. What can we learn, what can we teach of Hamilton that will be serviceable today?

I

The first lesson taught us by this remarkable man is one of special interest to all young people: It is the power of youth. Since we do not know for certain when Hamilton was born, we cannot know how old he was when he was killed by Aaron Burr, but according to the current way of reckoning he must still have been a young man—not yet 50—when he died in 1804. By his own account, he was only 19 when, in 1776, he became captain of artillery; and he would thus have been aide-de-camp to Gen. George Washington before he was 21. Throughout his life, he showed an amazing precocity and demonstrated beyond peradventure the fact that young men can accomplish, if they will, outstanding deeds not only of valor but of prudential judgment. Not merely in his chronology, however, but also in the vigor of his actions he exemplifies those spirit-stirring qualities that have made him for posterity a symbol of brilliant and audacious youth—preternaturally wise, perhaps, but young still in his hopes, in his expectations and in his enthusiasms. Too often nowadays, forgetting the lessons of American history, we discount the power of youth. Hearing great clamors about juvenile delinquency—which more often than not is simply youthful energy gone to waste—we forget the strong potentialities of our young people in America. Yet our Nation in the past was built and defended by young men and women. My great-grandmother was only 16 when she bore the first of her 11 children in the wilderness that Missouri then was: Her husband was but a few years older. I dare say that many of you here would not need to go far in your family tree to find among the pioneers a boy-girl family who struck out for themselves and surmounted the dangers and privations of the frontier.

We forget, too, that although our old men have declared our wars, our young men have usually fought them. The actual fighting in the Civil War, the bleeding and the dying, was chiefly done by boys—boys in blue and boys in gray. Even today, some of the most vital units of our air defense are manned by men so young that they consider 25 to be an old and 30 to be an ancient age.

To our young people today, Alexander Hamilton—rightly understood—could well serve as a symbol of youth, a source of inspiration. And I will state as my considered judgment that in the war in which we are now engaged—a war in which the future of our Nation and our people is at stake—no more urgent task confronts us than the complete and effective mobilization of all our youth, not as unwilling draftees but as eager volunteers in the mastery of the sciences, the humanities and the languages necessary to our survival and to theirs. The hour is late, the time is short; yet a way must be found to cultivate the aspirations and to use the energies of young Americans. Youth responds to youth. Even today, 200 years after his birth, Alexander Hamilton may still serve his country if our young people will learn of him that they may be both young and useful to themselves and to their fellowmen.

II

What can we learn, what can we teach of Hamilton that will be serviceable today? Hamilton can teach us the power of integrity. For Hamilton's usefulness as a man and a leader depended not only on his brilliance and his audacity but also on his incorruptibility. During the decade when he was one of the leading architects and the chief builder of our Federal Union, Hamilton had almost unparalleled opportunities to advance his private fortunes at the public cost; but the most searching inquiries by his enemies in his own time and since have only illuminated the sense of honor that made his responsibility a public trust. Sometimes imposed upon by friends and acquaintances, sometimes despairing of the capacity of men to govern themselves without corruption, he nevertheless maintained for himself a code that permitted him no private profit from his public office. Indeed, even in private life, when he held no office, he declined to enter into a money-making scheme lest it should reflect upon the confidential relationship he was known to have to the administration. It is touching yet heartening to observe Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury with millions of dollars in his charge, seeking a loan of $20 from a personal friend. It is reassuring to hear the cynical Talleyrand exclaim, "I have just come from viewing a man who had made the fortune for this country but now is working all night to support his family."

Need I dwell on the relevancy of Hamilton's example for us today? In our times, we have witnessed the shameful selfishness of little men of both political parties, men who, far from protecting their honor as persons and as officers of government, have contrived devious illegal or perhaps legal ways of advancing their private interest from the public funds. In so doing they may have profited personally—but at what enormous cost to the body politic. For by their example they have tended to teach many of our young people falsely to believe that our Government is a racket and that our officers are plunderers. This, my fellow teachers, is the real subversion of our times: to teach young Americans, from whom our strength must be drawn, to distrust their country and their Government; to believe that dishonesty is the expedient way of life; to assume that the only honor is that proverbial among thieves. Against such subversion Alexander Hamilton stands as a confident witness to the personal satisfaction to be gained from an honorable career as well as to the power of integrity in public life.

III

What can we learn, what can we teach of Hamilton that will be serviceable today? Hamilton can teach us the value of applied energy. A prodigious and systematic worker, Hamilton developed within himself the faculty of sustained and powerful effort toward a prudential goal. Time and again one reads in amazement of his feats of sheer labor—of physical, of mental endurance. Whether he was negotiating with Gates to obtain soldiers for Washington's army or writing a Federalist paper or constructing for Washington an opinion on the constitutionality of the National Bank, Hamilton pushed himself hard and purposefully. As we contemplate the millions of hours that men dissipate nowadays in those time-killers that indulge the wish to be suspended—half-waking, half-sleeping—in a world of make believe, we must view with even greater admiration the approach of life and labor examplified by Alexander Hamilton. Usually genial, sometimes even merry, Hamilton was primarily a man at work. As Fisher Ames observed, "It is rare that a man who owes so much to nature descends to seek more from industry. But he (Hamilton) seemed to depend on industry, as if nature had done nothing for him."

Hamilton's means to the life adjustment that seems to be the goal of modern educators was to work without ceasing to make himself the master of whatever problem confronted him at the moment. Could we do a better service to our young people today than to recommend to them this kind of life adjustment to the problems of the present day?

IV

What can we learn, what can we teach of Hamilton that will be serviceable today? Hamilton can teach us the primary need for responsibility. Able in the fullness of his powers to delegate and to assign tasks, Hamilton was never, either in a lowly situation or in an exalted one, the least inclined to shirk or to shift responsibility for his own actions. On the contrary, he was front and center in every enterprise in which he was engaged. His eagerness to be in the forces attacking the British redoubts at Yorktown symbolizes his approach to problems civil as well as military. Even when most oppressed by the personal problems of earning a living, of caring for his family, he was unwilling to transfer to other persons those tasks that, under his conception of his public responsibility, fitly belonged to him.

In modern times we have witnessed the proliferation of what has been called public relations. Doubtless in a highly complicated society, some systematic and continuous means of relating great enterprises to the public must be found; but if pub-

lic relations becomes a mere substitute for the active and vital interest that men of the first rank should have in public questions, then our country is indeed in danger. For the times require nothing less than the best efforts of our best men in and out of Government. Our enemies abroad will not be appeased by even the highest paid publicity agents nor by the slickest of all public-relations counselors. One of the gravest dangers in our present society is the inability of conservative men to speak for themselves. The inarticulate conservative, the leader of judgment and of experience who cannot form a policy and defend it before his colleagues and the public may have limited usefulness, but he has not learned the lesson that could be learned of Hamilton: A leader should be responsible for explaining and defending his own policies.

▼

What can we learn, what can we teach of Hamilton that will be serviceable today? Perhaps the greatest of all lessons that Hamilton has to teach us is the lesson of realism. Highly imaginative, Hamilton channeled his ideas so as to envision fact rather than fantasy, to predict what should and could and would be rather than to sigh for beauteous but unrealizable dreams. Hamilton's ideas were his servants rather than his masters. His contributions to the concept of federalism—surely one of the greatest offerings ever given by the new world to mankind—was thus derived not only from reflection, from thought resulting from reading and study, but also from experience; and the whole was heated in the crucible of immediate and compelling need. The central idea of sovereignty—of two governments operating within defined limits upon a single citizen—is obvious as to be touched with the simplicity that often marks true genius.

Hamilton's characteristic mode of thought was that of problem solving: how can a given purpose be accomplished with the means at hand or in prospect? In this approach to life, he thus somewhat more nearly resembled the modern American man of affairs than he did the men of his own time. If his preferred solutions to problems were not always realistic, he endeavored to accommodate his preferences to the facts existing and to proceed toward his major objective "* * * to promote the increasing respectability of the American name; to answer the calls of justice; to restore landed property to its due value; to furnish new resources both to agriculture and commerce; to cement more closely the union of the States; to add to their security against foreign attack; to establish public order on the basis of an upright and liberal policy."

In his realistic approach to problem solving, Alexander Hamilton was almost unique among American statesmen in understanding and using all of the three great forms of power, the military, the fiscal, and the persuasive. Trained in the hard school of the War of the Revolution, he knew both the necessities and the limitations of war. Perhaps one of the greatest services he ever performed for his country was his insistence on keeping the peace with Britain at the time of the Jay treaty. Yet when force seemed to be necessary to the exigencies of the union, he did not hesitate to use it. His theory and practice of finance was also realistic. The measures for funding and assumption were designed, above all, to provide a powerful interest favorable to the new Nation-state and to offset the agrarian devotion to the State government. The Federalist Papers, the Continentalist, in fact, nearly all of his writings should be viewed, like his use of military force and fiscal policy, as means to an end, the end that he envisioned during the whole of his mature life: to establish "a great federal republic, closely linked in the pursuit of a common interest, tranquil and prosperous at home, respectable abroad."

Hamilton was realistic also in his assessment of human nature. It is simply not true, as has been alleged against him, that his measures were inspired either by a love for the rich or by a hatred for the poor. The fact, which would be simple were it not obscured by the fogs of partisan politics, is that Hamilton was completely engaged in building a nation which, as he thought, had to be constructed of the materials at hand. All men, not simply the rich and well born, had virtues. All men, not simply the poor and weak, had vices. As a precaution, Hamilton accepted the Biblical doctrine that "the heart [of man] is desperately wicked and deceitful above all things," and he did not find in the doctrine any exemption of farmers as a class. As a realist in politics, he did not believe that the voice of the people is necessarily the voice of God. He wished to protect all of us against that bit of the knave in each of us, and he wished so to order events that even men's vices and their more unlovely virtues might be made to work for the common good. Aristotle, keen student of men and nature, observed long since that to praise the Athenians in Athens is not difficult. One might construct a corollary—to be realistic about Americans is not politically expedient in America. A politician is on much safer ground at election time if he sings the ancient hymns of praise; but is not the Nation more likely to prosper in the long run if the realist has his say?

Hamilton was a realist also in his conception of our true policy toward foreign nations. In his contribution to Washington's Farewell Address, as in the Camillus letters, he sets forth clearly the obligation of the statesman not to think more highly of other nations than he ought to think. Hamilton's prime devotion was to his own country and to its welfare as he and George Washington conceived it.

CONCLUSION

Many men have attempted to account for Hamilton's ardor in the pursuit of his vision of American nationhood. He has been charged variously with corruption, with ambition, with desire for power, and with the need to sublimate the sense of inferiority growing out of his illegitimate birth. It has even been charged that, as a servant of the rich, he was dazzled by plutocracy. A wiser reading of the sources would suggest rather that the plutocracy was dazzled by Hamilton.

The simplest explanation is the best. It seems to ring true and to fit the facts we know about Hamilton: The power that motivated Hamilton, whatever its source, was that which moves the artist in any field. As Beethoven expressed himself in composing the Moonlight Sonata or as Michelangelo satisfied his creative urge by working on the Last Judgment of the Sistine Chapel, so Alexander Hamilton, the artist in statecraft, gained profoundest satisfaction from moving forces military, financial, and persuasive toward the creation of a Federal republic.

Seldom has any Nation owed so large a debt to any man. To Alexander Hamilton and to George Washington jointly we owe the nationhood we have achieved. If our country could not have been born without the aid of George Washington, it would not have developed without the genius of Alexander Hamilton. As a Nation we owe to this waif, this boy, this young man, this statesman more than we can ever hope to recognize. It is gratifying to know that in the Nation's high schools this year we are at least acknowledging our debt by an observance planned in every one of the 55 States, Territories, and possessions of the United States of America that Hamilton helped to plan and to build. It is satisfying to reflect that if we can but learn and teach of Hamilton the lessons of youth, integrity, energy, responsibility, and realism, his life may serve now as heretofore to bless his countrymen.

The "Papa Knows Best" Attitude

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which originally appeared in the Miami, Fla., Herald and was reprinted in the Daytona Beach, Fla., Morning Journal of March 18, 1957:

THE "PAPA KNOWS BEST" ATTITUDE

The watchdog committee of the people's right to know what the Federal Government is doing with their business has submitted its second report to Congress. Over all it is encouraging.

The special subcommittee on Government information has titled its report: "Availability of Information from Federal Departments and Agencies." Representative DANTE FASCELL, of Miami, is a member of the committee.

The study, which covers the period from July to December 1956, shows progress in tearing down the curtains of secrecy that have shut off information from the people about the little kingdoms and principalities that make up official Washington.

However, the report leaves the very distinct impression that there is a long way to go before the bureaucrats and other Capital officials recognize that the people have a right to know what is being done with their business.

Some executive and independent agencies have taken positive steps to remove unnecessary restrictions on information. But the special subcommittee was quick to assure Congress that its work has not been a pathway of quick acceptance even by the bureaucrats who recognized the people's rights.

"Following contacts by the Special Subcommittee on Government Information, other agencies have moved part way toward a freer flow of information.

"Still other agencies have taken no action to improve their information practices."

The report is quite explicit in naming those that would and those that would not come out from behind the secrecy curtain.

Among those agencies which have removed information restrictions in certain specific areas are:

The General Services Administration, the Civil Service Commission, Post Office Department, Treasury Department, the Federal National Mortgage Association, the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Rural Electrification Administration.

Information practices also have been improved in certain lines by the Civil Service Commission, the United States Coast Guard, the Treasury, the Federal Trade Commission, the Agriculture Department, the Veterans' Administration and the General Services Administration.

These groups show at least a willingness to inform the people to a greater or less degree.

The subcommittee, however, found that the Office of Strategic Information has "continued to operate, even though no apparent justification was found for the agency from the viewpoint of efficiency and economy of the Government."

Despite its releasing of certain data, the Treasury Department "continues its refusal to make public applications for tax exemption from organizations which claim nonprofit nonpolitical status."

The report concludes that the maze of Federal restrictions on the people's right to know is becoming a little less complicated

as clear policies are developed to spell out the basic right.

But the House group still stands by its original conviction that the attitude of Federal agencies is one "which says that we, the officials, not you, the people, will determine how much you are to be told about your own Government."

It is this "papa knows best" attitude that bars the people from information to which they are entitled. It is an attitude that is contrary to every principle of democracy.

The watchdog committee is serving the public welfare in trying to end this anti-public attitude by fingerpointing.

Silberstein's Penn-Texas Compromising National Security?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, during the last few weeks national attention has been focused on the activities of one Leopold Silberstein and his Penn-Texas Co.'s efforts to take over one of America's fine old companies and one of our most important national-defense producers. Through the use of squads of high-priced lobbyists working at every level of our Government, and the financial backing of unnamed principals buying through Swiss banks, Silberstein claims he has achieved his goal of taking over the Fairbanks, Morse & Co. What deals he has made with the Swiss banks and the foreign principals we do not know, and the Securities and Exchange Commission has been unable to find out. Even the firms of the New York Stock Exchange which made the purchases for the Swiss banks do not know who the real purchasers are. I am informed that the charges of violations of proxy-solicitation rules against Silberstein and his Penn-Texas Co. at the Securities and Exchange Commission include evasion of disclosure regulations, charges of failure to comply with the information-reporting requirements, charges of failure to disclose who his associates are and what are their true interests, as well as illegal proxy solicitations.

I am also advised that the Securities and Exchange Commission has been investigating these charges for some time but, as of now, has done nothing.

In the meantime, the annual meeting of the Fairbanks, Morse & Co. will be held on March 27 and Mr. Silberstein tells the public in paid advertisements that he is set to take over. If Silberstein ousts the Fairbanks, Morse management and takes over with his undisclosed associates who operate through Swiss banks, it will be too late for any effective action to rectify any violations of law that may have occurred.

Fairbanks, Morse & Co., as the builder of components so vital to the national-security program that they cannot be mentioned, will be in the hands of Penn-Texas whose interests have always been in overnight profits. The interests of Silberstein's associates who act anonymously through Swiss banks are not known.

Should the Congress and the Securities and Exchange Commission stand on the sidewalk while this sinister parade marches by or should we not be doing something now, before it is too late, so that our vital national interests are not being compromised?

Booze on the Bowery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues the following Associated Press news item that appeared in the Washington Post on March 19, 1957, and which provides an eloquent argument against the continuance of booze broadcasting or telecasting or advertising in any channel of interstate commerce:

HE'S RESIGNED TO HIS FATE: BOWERY ADDICT SPURNS $40,000 OFFER; PREFERS SOUP, BOOZE TO FILM CAREER

NEW YORK, March 18.—A jug of wine, a can of soup and his own introspections are paradise enough for Ray Salyer, a Bowery alcoholic. So today he turned down a $40,000 movie contract.

"I don't want the $40,000," he was quoted in a copyrighted story in the World-Telegram and Sun. "I don't ever want to come back. I just want the Bowery and to be left alone."

The 42-year-old Salyer was 1 of 3 Bowery alcoholics who were central figures in a documentary movie, "On the Bowery." The other two since have died of drink.

Producer Lionel Rogosin said a preview of the movie led Hollywood to offer Salyer a $40,000 acting contract. Salyer was quoted as replying:

"There isn't a man living who can drink all day alone and spend more than $10. I'm a loner, see? I've got my little room on the Bowery. I lock myself in with my half gallons of wine and I go on a week's bender. Now and then I eat a can of beef soup. Now and then I bum a day's work to get money for the booze.

"There came a day in my life when I knew what I was doing, but I was no longer capable of doing what was right. Maybe you don't know what I mean. Or what it does to a man who starts to drink. It has nothing to do with morals. It has to do with certain tensions, like some awful disease, and these tensions come and you say—'the hell with life. The hell with hope. The hell with all meaning.'"

Salyer said he once was married, with children. But he turned to the Bowery when he came out of the Army after World War II.

"It's the only place in the world where they're really tolerant of the drunk," he continued. "But I've been in jail here.

"They've tried to straighten me out. But I don't want to be straightened out. I'm not the typical alcoholic, not the compulsive alcoholic, who wants to snap out of it. He lives through hell. So does the compulsive fighting to stay off the stuff. I'm the recreational alcoholic, see? I like to drink because there's nothing else in life but the booze.

"We're all like that on the Bowery, lost and no one will find us. We don't have the will to struggle for comfort. We don't want love. We don't ask for money. We don't complain against fate. We don't even hope for salvation. We only seek oblivion so that we can forget all the things we don't even remember.

"Just see that I have a few bucks for the wine, eh? Spend that $40,000 on somebody who can really use it."

South Sees High Court Inconsistency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a newspaper article which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of yesterday.

The article follows:

SOUTH SEES HIGH COURT INCONSISTENCY—PRO FOOTBALL DECISION SURE TO PLAGUE JUSTICES ON ISSUE OF SEGREGATION

(By David Lawrence)

Maybe the Supreme Court of the United States will be surprised to learn about it, but down South they are having a field day over the recent decision of the Court on professional football which seems to knock the props from under the reasons given by the same Court for its ruling on segregation.

Newspapers in the South in a number of editorials are pointing to the inconsistency, if not the hypocrisy, of the judges who have just overturned a longstanding interpretation of the "law of the land" on baseball and substituted for it a new law on football that never has been enacted by Congress.

The language of the Supreme Court in this case, if written into the decision on mixing the schools, would have upheld the "law of the land" as it had been set forth during a period of nearly 60 years. The Supreme Court, in the latest case declaring that professional football comes under the antitrust laws but professional baseball doesn't, has this to say:

"In Toolson—the 1953 case on baseball—we continued to hold the umbrella over baseball that was placed there some 31 years earlier by Federal baseball—a previous case. The court did this because it was concluded that more harm would be done in overruling Federal baseball than in upholding a ruling which at best was of dubious validity.

"Vast efforts had gone into the development and organization of baseball since that decision, and enormous capital had been invested in reliance on its permanence. Congress has chosen to make no change.

"All this, combined with the flood of litigation that would follow its repudiation, the harassment that would ensue, and the retroactive effect of such a decision, led the Court to the practical result that it should sustain the unequivocal line of authority reaching over many years. * * *

"We, therefore, conclude that the orderly way to eliminate error or discrimination, if any there be, is by legislation and not by court decision."

Yet, ever since 1896, when the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the right of the States to carry on "separate but equal" school facilities, enormous amounts of money have been invested by the States in separate schools, and a whole system of education has been established over the years based on that decision. In 1954, however, the Supreme Court overturned the decision and gave not a single reason based on any precedent or historic principle of law, offering instead a vague discourse in the realm of sociology.

Certainly there has been a flood of litigation since, and the Supreme Court has endeavored through court orders to enforce the ruling, while many eminent lawyers, including former Justice Byrnes of the Supreme Court, insist that only Congress can enact the legislation necessary to enforce the 14th amendment and the interpretation given it by the Court.

Congress had ample opportunity between 1896 and 1954 to enact laws forbidding segregation in the schools, but did not do so. The 14th amendment, unlike other parts of the Constitution, is not self-executing. The 14th amendment says specifically that "the Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article."

Borrowing the language of the football case decision, it could be said that from 1896 to this day, "Congress had chosen to make no change" in the matter of desegregation. It could be argued, too, that the orderly way is "by legislation and not by court decision."

But it will be noted that, in the latest case, Justices Frankfurter, Harlan, and Brennan insisted that what the Supreme Court had previously decided should stand. In his dissent, in which Justice Brennan joined, Justice Harlan said:

"If the situation * * * is to be changed, I think it far better to leave it to be dealt with by Congress than for this court to becloud the situation further, either by making untenable distinctions * * * or by discriminatory fiat."

Justice Frankfurter, in his dissent, stressed the importance of upholding a rule once decided. He wrote:

"But considerations pertaining to 'stare decisis' (let stand what has been decided) do raise a serious question for me. That principle is a vital ingredient of law, for it 'embodies an important social policy'. * * * It would disregard the principle for a judge stubbornly to persist in his views on a particular issue after the contrary had become a part of the tissue of the law."

The "separate but equal" doctrine in relation to schools for different races certainly became a vital part of "the tissue of the law," but nine justices, relying on some writings of sociologists, disregarded the principles and precedents of law and made a decision based on personal philosophy. Indeed, many lawyers who really favor desegregation have hailed the Supreme Court's ruling as "the right decision for the wrong reasons."

The way the justices have expressed themselves in the latest football case will rise to plague them hereafter when they are confronted with enforcement orders from the lower courts on the desegregation issue. Already, for example, the Supreme Court of the State of Florida has raised a pertinent question by insisting that a State court is itself the sole judge of when any order shall be put into effect relating to State laws declared invalid. It holds that this "discretionary process" has to take into account harassment and mischief or violence that may result from any immediate enforcement measures.

Farm Program Figures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most widely held political myths of recent years is the totally false notion that Secretary of Agriculture Benson has been cutting the cost of our farm program and at the same time reducing farm surpluses. It would be more accurate to give Mr. Benson credit for piling up more farm surpluses and wasting more of the taxpayers' money than all the previous Secretaries of Agriculture combined.

The editor of the Mitchell (S. Dak.) Daily Republic in an editorial dated March 13, 1957, has commented as follows on the statistics pertaining to Mr. Benson's operations to date:

FARM PROGRAM FIGURES

Because of the skilled and intensive propaganda campaign that has emanated from the Republican National Committee and the Department of Agriculture in the past few years, many persons no doubt have the impression that the farmer's financial status has begun to show some improvement and that Secretary of Agriculture Benson has been highly successful in reducing the surpluses of farm products.

That being the case, it should come as more than a slight shock to those persons to read some statistics cited in Representative GEORGE MCGOVERN'S Washington Report.

"Since Mr. Benson took over our farm program in 1953, net farm income has dropped from $15.1 billion in 1952 to $11.7 billion in 1956," MCGOVERN revealed. "Government held surpluses have increased from $3.5 billion as of June 30, 1953, to $8.2 billion as of December 31, 1956. Federal costs for supporting farm crops during the past 4 years are 3 times higher than the cost of the entire previous 20-year period."

These are shocking and sensational statistics and certainly would appear to bear the Congressman out in his conclusion that "obviously the Benson farm program has benefited no one with the possible exception of the processors. We can only hope that Congress will support the efforts some of us are making to restore farm income."

The Passing of Elmer E. Edwards, of Wilkes-Barre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News commenting on the passing of Elmer E. Edwards, a member of a prominent Wilkes-Barre family:

ELMER E. EDWARDS

Member of an old and respected Parsons family, Elmer E. Edwards served with fidelity his native borough and, subsequently, the city of Wilkes-Barre, into which the municipality was incorporated, as well as Luzerne County.

Mr. Edwards had a flair for public service as 16 years on the board of education, 10 years on the central poor board, and a tour of duty in the assessor's office testified. Associates, who included many of the town's leading citizens, paid him an impressive tribute by elevating him to the presidency of the board of education and the treasurership of the central poor board, posts of considerable responsibility.

Mr. Edwards' service extended into other fields. He was active in the YMCA for many years and also served as commander and adjutant of Parsons Post of the American Legion.

His business background and varied experience enhanced his value as a public official. A quarter century ago, he was an outstanding figure on the local scene. His passing will recall not only his own career, but the activities of his wife and brother, both deceased.

Dr. Harry Cohen, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include therein a transcript of the ceremonies which took place on March 14, 1957, on the occasion of the introduction into the Order of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa and the presentation of a medallion and diploma to Dr. Harry Cohen, Jr., and his response thereto.

This honor was conferred on Dr. Harry Cohen, Jr., by Ambassador Westerman of the United Nations in the delegates lounge of the United Nations.

Dr. Cohen's response embraces the story of Panama; includes the history of Panamá and of the canal as compared to the Suez:

INTRODUCTION INTO THE ORDER OF VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA OF DR. HARRY COHEN, MARCH 14, 1957, AT THE U. N., BY AMBASSADOR GEORGE W. WESTERMAN

No more pleasing assignment could have been given me by my Government than that of inducting Dr. Harry Cohen, of New York, into the Order of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, in the name of President Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr., Grand Master of the Order. This pleasure derives not from the fact that Dr. Cohen is a distinguished surgeon, writer, civic leader, philanthropist, historian and humanitarian but more so because he is a sincere friend of the Republic of Panama; a friend who sympathizes with that country's just aspirations and a friend who tries to interpret the culture of the Panamanian people to the people of his country. This, to the mind of any Panamanian, is as heartwarming as it is significant.

In the academic fellowship of New York city as well as at Cornell University, Dr. Cohen achieved the highest ratings and ever since he received his State board license "with honor" he has been honoring his profession and his society. He has crowded his lifetime with accomplishments that eloquently speak of his greatness in a number of specialized fields, and is attested to by the citations and honors that have been bestowed upon him nationally as well as internationally.

As inventor of several surgical instruments, author of numerous articles, most of which described for the first time the surgical subjects treated, as head of various medical organizations, and to the many scientific bodies with which he is associated, the contribution of Dr. Cohen always has been unique. His eminence as a surgeon has transcended Columbus Hospital, Manhattan General Hospital and Wickersham Hospital with which he has been identified over the years and he now enjoys a well earned international status.

The world travels of Dr. Cohen have taken him to Europe, Canada, South America, parts of Asia, China, India, Japan, Alaska, and all through Palestine. He has visited a world suffering from chronically depressed living standards and each time he has returned to the United States more determined to help organize succor for less fortunate peoples. Thus his humanitarian work has had wonderful effect both at home and abroad.

Scientific literature and research have been greatly enriched by his creative mind from which has issued a stream of solid literary essays and historical writings. The ardors of Dr. Cohen's youth are by no way cooled as he continues, after threescore and ten years to channel his energies into many useful services on behalf of mankind. This he does gallantly and enthusiastically.

His belief in the principles of equity and equality have induced him to sponsor many philanthropic acts without regard to religions, racial or national status. That he has had a major impact on continental understanding is not surprising as he has studied the lives of Latin American leaders since the time of Simon Bolivar, and must be considered a true exponent of Pan-American cooperation and solidarity. Most, if not all the American republics, have honored him in some form or other.

Today, Panama joins in this Pan-American tribute to a worthy son of the United States who has become a living and working symbol of the good neighbor and who is only happy when those next door to him also enjoy a measure of happiness.

The ideas and personality of Dr. Cohen have had a profound effect on the scientific, educational, social, and professional entities with which he has immediate contact. His qualities of loftiness of purpose and breadth of character have enabled him to gain recognition in all parts of the world as a scholar, a gentleman, and a friend of mankind. Such is the individual to whom the Republic of Panama pays tribute on this occasion.

AWARD OF VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA MEDAL, MARCH 14, 1957

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, tonight I am being awarded the very great honor of the Vasco Nuñez de Balboa Order, to me one of the highest orders in the world, and for this I am humbly grateful. I do not know whether I rate this or deserve it, but I do know that I am very acquainted with the history of Panama, with the history of Latin America; and that for years I have exerted my influence for whatever it was worth, in behalf of Latin America, and its history, and this included Panama in particular. Many of you know that I have written a book entitled "Simon Bolivar and the Conquest and Liberation of South America. That, of necessity, shows that I have familiarized myself with its history. I have made five trips to Latin America, was an honorary president of one of the medical congresses in Mexico, have visited Panama on several occasions, and the canal by boat, train, and plane. During one of the plane flights over the canal the pilot confessed to us, that he was half drugged by escaping gas fumes but he felt certain he could complete the flight, for which statement we felt greatly relieved. I mention these facts to show that Panama is not very unknown to me, quite the contrary, I am very partial to it.

Let us review very briefly the pertinent facts of Panama and Balboa. Following the discovery of America by Columbus, there was a veritable wave of discoveries. Shall I say for reasons of new lands to be discovered, or shall I tell the truth, for the great amount of loot, especially gold and silver that was waiting for them? In fact, it has been stated that the Spanish kings then suffered with an incurable disease, which could only be alleviated by gold and silver. Among these discoverers was Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific Ocean, which he did in 1501, then calling it the Great South Sea and claiming it in the name of the Spanish monarch. As was usual with almost all of the then great discoverers of America, they eventually met the same fate, they were arrested and executed, and Balboa was no exception. He was executed in 1517. During Balboa's period of discoveries and exploration he had earned the reputation of being brave, courteous, kind at heart, and of just dealing. That was the character of this man and I am proud and humble to be the recipient of this great honor bearing his name.

I remarked before that I wrote a book about Simon Bolivar, my hero, as he is the hero of so many. I mention him here because of the inumerable accomplishments associated with his name and to me the three most outstanding are: (1) The liberation of South America; (2) the appointment of a committee to study the feasibility of building the Panama Canal; (3) the formation of a Congress of Latin American countries, for a Pan American Union to settle all disputes arising in the course of human events. This last is growing in power and importance year after year and had its most dramatic demonstration recently when President Eisenhower met in Panama with most of the Presidents of Latin America. In other words Panama, though perhaps small in geography occupies a most exalted place in the hearts of the entire Western Hemisphere, a position of influence shared by few other countries on this side of the world. Let me digress a bit and tell of another great hero of Latin America, this time in Ecuador. I wish to make a few remarks about Eloy Alfaro. His name too, is intimately associated with Panama, as we shall see. He was President of Ecuador from 1895–1901 and again from 1907–11. He was regarded as the greatest of Ecuador's liberal champions; he introduced tremendous material and especially constitutional reforms. The constitution he gave his country lasted 22 years, the longest in the history of his Ecuador. He forbad the immediate reelection of a President, build the first railroad from Guayaquil to Quito. He was pilloried by the opposition and eventually murdered by a mob in 1911, and we next meet his son, and my very dear friend, the Honorable Captain Colon Eloy Alfaro, who has honored Panama; yes, I know he would object to my saying so; he would say he is honored by Panama. Undoubtedly both statements are correct. His is one of the most remarkable histories of achievements. There are not many to equal his. America is proud of him because he is a graduate of our West Point Military Academy, and to make the bond stronger, his three wonderful sons likewise are graduates of West Point. Capt. Colon Alfaro has represented his Panama as its Ambassador, with outstanding ability in many countries, including of course, our own United States. In our United States, he has brought glory to his Panama. He is truly the very great son of one of the great leaders of Latin America. His name, like that of his illustrious father, will live forever and for me personally, it will always be one of the great privileges of my life to have been counted among his friends. Even though he visits the United States infrequently, his influence is greatly felt and carries great weight because of his goodness of heart, his noble character and his great achievements. I know Panama is fortunate in having Colon Alfaro's three wonderful sons because I know they will carry on like their father and grandfather and will help make Panama an outstanding country.

We next come to the relationships of the Republic of Panama, the Canal Zone, and the United States. Before I do so let me first describe another canal, in many respects similar to Panama; I, of course, refer to the Suez Canal. There is more than one bond of similarity between the two canals. I refer to Ferdinand De Lesseps who built the Suez Canal and who initiated the building of the Panama Canal. The Suez Canal has been and is in the public eye daily for months. The entire world is now aware of its importance, its value, its great influence on the economy of the whole world. The canal was opened November 16, 1869, and took 10 years to build. England, through Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, bought a controlling stock, 44 percent, from Khedive Ismail of Egypt, and together with France gained financial control of the canal till very recently. During this entire time all ships were allowed to go through freely without any hindrance or obstacle placed in their path. Tolls were equitably priced and collected. Recently there has been a rise in nationalism all over the world and Egypt was no exception. It rid itself of Farouk, of Naguib, and is now ruled by Nasser. He has developed a megalomania with Hitlerian ideas. There is always a slight justification at the start but this can be enlarged way out of proportion till it becomes a serious menace. He decided that the canal belonged to Egypt, forgetting that it is really a waterway belonging to the whole world and of its being built by the money, brains, ingenuity, know-how, and engineering skill of France. The only part Egypt played in its construction was to furnish the site and the labor for both of which it was paid. If the financial part was inequitable, I feel certain that that could have been adjusted but it was more nationalistic than financial. "It belongs to Egypt and Egypt only, and Egypt can do with it as it pleases," he said. He did just that, dictating who could and who could not use the canal. Eventually interfering with England and France, we know what ensued. Let me here state another fact, having visited Egypt before World Wars I and II, and seen firsthand what I now state. There is abject poverty of the masses, disease, underdevelopment in every sense of the word, illiteracy, a truly backward country. This was in time of peace. If the income of the canal were tripled or even quadrupled, I doubt if the masses would get any of its benefits.

Where the money goes we must guess. Now the canal was closed 4 months with no income and that increases the sad lot of the masses, and what the future holds for them only God knows. Nasser could have been a hero had he turned his talents toward a democratic and benevolent world. I have spoken thus lengthily about the Suez Canal because of the parallel to Panama and the Panama Canal. Let us compare the two. Panama had been part of other neighboring countries. Wars, especially about boundaries, were constant. In November 1903 Panama revolted from Colombia and declared itself free and independent. One month later the new Government granted the United States a strip of land 10 miles wide for the purpose of the canal. The financial considerations and the purchase of the French company stock were quickly completed, and were quickly ratified by the Governments of Panama and the United States. Preparations for building the canal were begun at once, and took 10 years. It was opened on August 15, 1914, but officially in 1920. Three American names will always be associated with it. President Theodore Roosevelt, Lt. Col. George W. Goethals, the engineer; and Col. William Gorgas, the Army surgeon. Now let us compare the two countries adjacent to the canals—Egypt and Panama. Egypt we have already described. Panama we have mentioned. It is prosperous, not prosperous enough, it has peace, the health of the populace has been tremendously improved. Whereas previous to the canal, it had been fever ridden with malaria, yellow fever, etc. Our own Walter Reed

Hospital will forever remain a monument to the work of ridding that part of the country from the ravages of yellow fever. It will be recalled that the cause of this yellow fever was a small mosquito stegomyia fasciata, which for years prevented the building of the canal. The Government of Panama and that of the United States are on very friendly terms and if at times we seem to neglect Panama, as we do some of our other Latin American brothers, I feel certain there exists no cause for friction or worse, I feel certain time will cure all misunderstandings. America seeks no colonies, does not seek to exploit anyone, and delights and encourages good neighborliness and as time marches on our friendship will rally, be brotherly, as though one family. Even in families there are petty quarrels but we hope they never will be serious. The canal is for the use of the whole world without any exceptions, and that is how it should be. The upkeep of the canal is terrific and, knowing my Uncle Sam, I doubt if there are any profits, and if there are these are at a minimum.

I now would like to say a few words about Panama's Ambassadors here, that I have met. The greatest and most important and most valuable diplomat has been Capt. Colon Eloy Alfaro. About him I have already spoken and will add I never can say enough about him. There was Eusebeo Morales, a gentleman of the first order, an honor to any country. Recently we met Edurardo Ritter-Aislan, and he too is a gentleman and a diplomat in every way and a credit to Panama. I have had more relationships with Ambassador George W. Westerman. A true gentleman and a diplomat but in addition he can be described as dynamic. He is in my estimation, one of the best salesmen for Panama. He has spoken to many groups with me, in my office at the National Council of Business and Professional Men, in Washington, D. C., and to my knowledge in many parts of the United States, always selling Panama. He never loses an opportunity to speak for and about Panama. He has spoken of Panama as the distribution center of Latin America, especially South America. He has mentioned a large number of important United States firms who already have made investments in Panama. He has emphasized that Panama's money, the balboa, has the same value as the American dollar and is interchangeable. That is only a brief sample of the opportunities for investors that Ambassador Westerman has been selling to Americans. His parents must have loved America because they named him not George W., but George Washington Westerman. In fact, they even arranged to have him born on February 22. That has been the pleasure I have had in knowing him.

I now come to my final remarks and these concern the gentleman who has so greatly honored me today with this Order of Vasco Nunez de Balboa. I, of course, refer to the President of the Republic of Panama. We are most happy that you received your education in America, at Dartmouth University. That gave you a thorough knowledge of America, her ideals and character, the main object of which is to make friends. With all nations, wishing harm to none, your country has prospered considerably under your guidance and leadership, the health of your people is excellent, you are using every human endeavor to obtain employment for your people, you are encouraging industry, and trade, and commerce. You are encouraging education; you are building new roads. You are a friend of the United States and you had evidence not so long ago of the esteem we hold for you by the visit of President Eisenhower to your country. I do not want to add any sour note before closing but please compare your country and the Panama Canal and Egypt and Nasser and the Suez Canal. Truly on opposite ends of the pole. One nation, progressive, healthy, peace-loving, friendly, and beloved, the other, truly a sad one. Mr. President Ernesto de la Guardia, your very name means "on guard" always on watch for your country's welfare and interest. May you have a long and healthy and prosperous life and continue to see your country prosper and take a leading role in the affairs of nations.

Annapolis, Md., High-School Students Do Something To Improve Foreign Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, at times I have felt that in our efforts to improve relations with other countries we are too much concerned with governments and not enough with people. Sometimes we forget that it is vitally important to our foreign relations that peoples of other nations as well as governments understand us, how we live, our hopes and aspirations, among other things. It is easy to talk about how we can foster understanding between peoples of the United States and peoples of foreign countries. Frequently, somebody does something concrete about it. I am proud to say that the student body at Annapolis High School in my district are doing something concrete about it. The students are working on a project that will help build understanding and friendship for the United States overseas, and I understand they are doing a good job of it.

The other day I received this letter:

I thought you might like to have a look at the attached special issue of a student newspaper published at the Annapolis High School in your district.

The idea for this project came to me as a result of the Agency's experience and success in suggesting similar publications in American colleges and universities. I wondered whether or not this could also be achieved at the secondary school level. As you can see, the Annapolis High School has done a very creditable job. The issue is designed specifically for high-school students in the city of Karachi, Pakistan, and I am now awaiting comment from our Embassy regarding its impact among the Pakistani students.

You may also, I think, take some pride in knowing that this is the first high school in the country, to our knowledge, which has engaged in precisely this type of project. The headmaster of the school has just written my office requesting guidance for the next issue for Pakistan. They plan to publish at least four separate issues each year.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN M. BEGG,
Deputy Director, Office of Private Cooperation, United States Information Agency

Since I received this letter, the students have published their second special edition and this is now on its way to Pakistan.

In these newspapers, our Annapolis students tell about life in America—in school and elsewhere. In the first issue in December, for example, there were articles about classes, about the subjects studied, and how the young people dressed. Other articles told about how our courts work in a democracy, the meaning of freedom of the press, and brief history of school sports.

The February issue continues to give background about American life including articles about family life, recreational activities of teenagers, and historical facts about Maryland and Annapolis.

Both papers carry friendly greetings to students in Pakistan. It is hoped that the high schools of Karachi will be able to prepare a counterpart newspaper which will provide our youngsters with similar information regarding life and work in Pakistan.

It is with pride that I tell about this accomplishment of our students at Annapolis and the leadership they are giving to young people in building friendship overseas. I hope Members of the Congress will bring this kind of activity to the attention of schools in their districts so that their students may also join in this worthy endeavor.

Ex-Presidents Should Have Pensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the March 19, 1957, Kansas City Times, Kansas City, Mo., is self-explanatory and deserves the thoughtful attention of every Member of Congress:

EX-PRESIDENTS SHOULD HAVE PENSIONS

We notice from Washington dispatches that an effort is being made to block a bill to provide pensions and clerical staff for former Presidents of the United States. The real reason is animosity toward Harry Truman. This strikes us as just cheap politics and we are for economy, too.

The bill should pass. In fact, it should have been a law long ago. This isn't a question of whether Mr. Hoover or Mr. Truman may or may not need or desire such action or whether President Eisenhower will or will not need such retirement provisions. It is just a matter of plain commonsense.

We have provided pensions and retirements for just about everybody in Government service. Goodness knows, we have no particular reason for enthusiasm over judges at this particular time, but financially they were treated miserably until the last few years. The Presidency of the United States is the biggest job in the world. Upon finishing his term a President simply can't slip back into the niche of an ordinary citizen. He carries, or should carry, influence in public thinking. The demands upon him necessarily are heavy. They should be.

Having occupied the most powerful position in the world, no former President should be put in a position where even remotely he was forced to capitalize on his former prestige in order to make a living. We can think back over the years of two instances, at least, where a former President faced such an

alternative. The Presidency isn't a job just for rich men but for any American, rich or poor, who may attain it.

We are in entire sympathy with the present surge for economy in Washington. It is healthy. But in this case the opposition has nothing to do with the issue of economy.

Frankly, we believe greater use should be made of the experience of former occupants of the White House. Even in the opposition a former President has an opportunity for real service. Failure to recognize the value of such service is outrageous.

President Ramon Magsaysay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, the free nations of the world were shocked and saddened to learn of the tragic airplane accident that took the life of President Magsaysay on Sunday, March 17.

While I did not know President Magsaysay personally, I have a warm regard for his country and have watched his career with great interest. In 1946, our Government sent a delegation of some 15 members to Manila to assist in the launching of the new Republic of the Philippines and to witness this important historical event. Of the congressional group, there are only three remaining in Congress, the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER], Senator ELLENDER, of Louisiana, and myself. While the first President of the Philippines was President Roxas, Ramon Magsaysay was already making a name for himself, and his phenomenal and dedicated career will always be an inspiration to the youth of his country. He was a great hero and his untimely death cut short a brilliant career as a national and world leader.

Under unanimous consent I extend my remarks and include brief tributes from the March 19 issues of the Des Moines Register and the Chicago Daily Tribune:

[From the Des Moines Register of March 19, 1957]

A GREAT LEADER OF NEW ASIA

The death of President Ramon Magsaysay of the Philippines in an airplane crash Sunday is a tragedy for the young republic and for the world.

Magsaysay was a truly great man. As Philippine secretary of national defense 1950–53 and as president 1953 on, he broke the back of the long-drawn-out Huk rebellion in central Luzon. What's more, he made an excellent beginning toward removing the grievances which made a rebellion possible. Instead of shooting rebels, whenever possible he paroled and resettled them, opening up new lands and buying up old to soothe the land hunger of Luzon villagers.

Political corruption, long a problem in the Philippines, was tackled boldly by Magsaysay also. For example, he started a practice of public declarations of private assets by incoming functionaries, and did not exempt himself. His net assets on becoming president were $13,179.17.

A fighter much of his life, Magsaysay managed to avoid bitterness. He fought the Japanese and the Huks with arms. With speeches and ballots he fought first one major Philippine political party and then (switching parties) fought the other. But his old chief whom he beat for the presidency in 1953 spoke highly of him. The Huk leader, Luis Taruc, at Taruc's trial for rebellion, murder, robbery, arson and kidnaping, pleaded guilty to these charges, made an impassioned plea for social justice—and said a good word for Magsaysay's reforms.

Magsaysay's career was meteoric. The second of 8 children of a blacksmith-farmer, Ramon himself started engineering school but did not finish. He was an auto mechanic, a truck driver, then manager of a trucking firm, then guerrilla captain against the Japanese invaders in World War II before he went into politics.

He was only 46 when he became president, and 49 when he died.

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune of March 19, 1957]

PRESIDENT MAGSAYSAY

President Magsaysay of the Philippines was an outstanding figure among the public men of our times, not only in his own country but in the world. He had many of the virtues of a George Washington: integrity, good judgment, an instinct for command, self-control, and selfless patriotism. His country was fortunate beyond reckoning in having him at its head in a formative period. His countrymen may find consolation in the knowledge that his example will remain as an inspiration to his successors and serve as a standard by which to measure their characters and achievements in the generations to come.

Fifty Percent Pensions After 30 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

FIFTY PERCENT PENSIONS AFTER 30 YEARS: THE NEED AND THE POSSIBILITY

(A report of the Railroad Pension Conference, New Haven, Conn., March 1957)

SUMMARY

A. The Railroad Pension Conference calls for full retirement after 30 years of service regardless of age as provided by H. R. 2165. Annuities to be one-half of taxable earnings based on the 5 years of highest earnings, maximum annuity $200 a month. Taxes would be collected on the first $400 of each month's earnings, instead of first $350 as now provided.

However, compromise bill H. R. 3545 would be acceptable at this time. It provides full annuity at age 60 after 30 years service, and a reduced annuity of one one-hundred-and-eightieth for each calendar month that he or she is under age 60 when annuity began to accrue. Annuity to be one-half of taxable earnings based on 5 years of highest earnings. There would be no increase, or decrease, in present maximum annuity now about $184 a month. However, the average annuity would be increased, and could rise to $175 a month.

Higher benefits are needed because the present annuities have not kept up a proper relationship with the earnings of employed railroad workers. Instead of 50 percent, they amount to approximately 26.4 percent, or including the spouses' supplementary benefits, to 29.8 percent of earnings of employed workers.

Higher benefits are needed because annuities have not kept up with living costs, falling behind at least 20 percent since 1940. Full-age annuities now average $119.87 a month, less than $28 a week. But in terms of the prewar dollar, the purchasing power of this average monthly sum is roughly equal to approximately $59.94 a month, or only $14.97 a week.

Railroad workers are getting lower annuities, in comparison with the taxes they pay, than workers under the Federal Old Age and Survivors Insurance System. One railroad worker pays more than the combined tax paid by three industrial workers, under OASI, who, along with their spouses may receive a total of $488 a month. (The maximum amount a retired railroad worker and his spouse can receive under railroad retirement is approximately $239 a month). (However, the average amount received is roughly $163 a month for the retired worker and his spouse.)

Even more discrepant is the length of service required by both systems. To receive the current maximum railroad retirement benefits the employee must have earned $300 a month from 1926 through June 1954, and $350 a month thereafter for a total service of 30 years.

The industrial worker under OASI retiring at age 65, to receive the present total maximum benefit needs only 18-month coverage if he earned $350 a month since January 1, 1955, regardless of prior earnings less than $350 a month.

The annuities of the railroad workers are in sharp contrast with the luxurious pensions set up by the railroads for company executives.

Legislators in other countries provide their senior citizens with retirement at age 50, 55, and 60 upon completion of 20–25 or 30 years of service, many at half pay, others even a higher amount.

The railroad retirement fund can provide the benefits proposed by the railroad pension conference were the railroad retirement board actuaries less conservative and more realistic in their actuarial valuations and assumptions.

B. The railroad retirement fund can pay the higher pensions proposed. The actuarial calculations used to keep benefits low follow the principles of private insurance companies, seeking profit and accumulation of financial power. The public railroad retirement fund should be guided by a different motive, that of providing maximum security to railroad workers.

The actuarial valuations of the railroad retirement board do not allow for future increases in payrolls, therefore departing from realism, and grossly exaggerating the estimated costs of pensions as a percentage of payrolls. In other ways also, the actuarial valuations adopt unduly conservative assumptions, which have the effect of artificially raising costs.

Even so, the actuarial valuation shows that the fund could afford to increase pensions 60 percent for all employees entering the industry since 1947. The so-called unfunded liability for pensions to earlier employees should be a social obligation, and not one of the newer employees.

C. Reasonable assumptions show that the proposals of the railroad pension conference could in fact be financed with a 10 percent tax, rather than the 12¼ percent tax now in effect, for all employees entering the industry since 1947. The extra taxes collected from these employees, together with the reserves in the fund, can be used to complete pension liabilities to older employees.

THE FUND CAN AFFORD THE HIGHER BENEFITS PROPOSED

Hon. PAUL H. DOUGLAS, chairman of the Joint Committee on Railroad Retirement and Senator from Illinois, is a known expert in his own right and the author of the constructive 1951 amendments. Speaking be-

fore the Senate on August 3, 1953, Senator DOUGLAS said:

"I believe substantially better benefits are possible by means of more profitable investment of the railroad retirement reserve and other methods. Increasing tax rates will not be necessary."

He listed a series of eight possible improvements that had been recommended, and expressed the opinion that a sound program of improvement could be enacted, although this could not include all the items on the list. This position is consistent with that of the railroad pension conference, because the Senator, in addition to listing most of the conference's recommendations, had certain additional ones, such as a minimum annuity of $100 monthly; and did not suggest any raise in taxes, whereas the railroad pension conference does not object to limited tax increases, if necessary to finance the improvements.

However, Congress, in 1954, while markedly liberalizing benefits under the OASI system, made only certain fringe liberalizations in railroad retirement, the total amount of which is less than the increase in taxes which was enacted at the same time.

COST OF THE PENSION CONFERENCE PROPOSALS

The Railroad Retirement Board advised the 83d Congress that the proposals of the Railroad Pension Conference would increase costs by over $175 million annually. This estimate is likely to be high, as the Railroad Retirement Board tends to be unduly conservative in its financial evaluations. However, even if the estimate of $175 million is accurate the facts show that the system can afford to pay it. The amendments enacted in 1954 have had the immediate effect of increasing employee annuities by roughly $15 million yearly (in addition to the increases in survivor annuities.) Over the long run, it will add another $25 million to railroad employee annuities, owing to the higher wage base. Thus the total long run gain may be figured at roughly $40 million. Presumably the Board's $175 million estimate exceeds its estimate of immediate cost, and refers to its actuarial, long range estimate. Therefore the entire $40 million should be subtracted to obtain the net cost in comparison with the present situation. This indicates a net cost of $135 million per year.

(It must be noted that our present bill H. R. 2165 increases the tax base from $350 to $400 a month. And compromise bill H. R. 3545 is less costly than H. R. 2165 inasmuch as full annuities are paid from age 60 upward, and reduced annuities are paid to those who retire before age 60.) Our previous bills did not raise the tax base.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE CALCULATIONS OF THE ACTUARIES?

Railroad workers are told that higher benefits are impossible because the actuaries show that they would bankrupt the fund.

The cost calculations of the Railroad Retirement Board are based on actuarial valuations which are made every 3 years. These calculations are made by skilled actuaries, masters of complicated mathematical formulas. However, the calculations depend not only on knowledge of mathematics, but on what actuaries think will happen for many decades in the future. These opinions, or assumptions, of the actuaries, concern a wide variety of happenings—how many railroad workers will be employed and at what wages, how many railroad workers will leave the industry after a short period, how many will die in service, how many will remain employed until retirement age, at what ages will they choose to retire, how long will they live after retirement; and so on.

None of these happenings can be predicted exactly by mathematical formulas. Some of them—such as how many railroad workers will die in service—can be predicted more or less accurately on the basis of past experience. Others, such as wages of railroad workers, involve economic and political judgments on which actuaries have no special competence. Wrong guesses, or assumptions, on such matters can render the calculations of the actuaries valueless and misleading, for all their technical skill in handling mathematical formulas.

Their assumptions are usually conservative. That is, their guesses are such as to indicate high expenses and low receipts. Therefore, their calculations end up by showing a need for comparatively high taxes and the possibility of paying only comparatively low benefits.

PRIVATE INSURANCE COMPANIES AND THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

The whole tradition and training of the actuaries make it inevitable that their methods be of this character. The actuarial profession developed as an adjunct to the insurance companies. The insurance companies were organized or taken over by the most powerful financiers, with the object of deriving profit, especially from the accumulation of huge supplies of capital. That they have succeeded in this is evident from the fact that the assets of life insurance companies alone are now well over $80 billion, and are increasing at the rate of over $5 billion a year.

These funds are piled up by charging high premiums and paying low benefits. Each year the life insurance companies collect more than twice as much in premiums as they pay out in benefits. This is justified by the formulas of the actuaries.

The catch is that the actuaries use a mortality table that is hopelessly out of date, so that most policy holders live longer than the actuaries figure. The insurance companies collect the premium and the interest for all the extra years of life. If the premiums were based on actual death rates, they would be much lower.

Now let us suppose the policyholder wishes to get around this, and secure his money's worth by buying an annuity. Then the longer he lives, the more money he collects from the insurance company. But the insurance companies are a step ahead of him. For annuities, they use a different mortality table than for regular insurance, one which says that people will live much longer than they actually do. The premiums for annuities are calculated on this mortality table, and again are much higher than they would have to be to pay the actual cost of annuities.

This, and other devices with similar effect, constitute the conservative framework of actuarial technique. And the actuaries, trained for a lifetime in this approach, carry it over to the calculation of benefits and tax rates for the Railroad Retirement System.

But the Railroad Retirement System is not a private money-making proposition. Its main function is to supply adequate pensions to retired railroad workers and their dependents and survivors. Conceivable it could be financed out of ordinary Federal revenues, without the establishment of any special fund. The fund merely exists to give an additional guaranty to the railroad workers, to assure them a proprietary interest in their pensions. There is no need to build it up to the monstrous proportions of the private insurance funds.

Yet there is this following comparison. At the end of 1953 there were 90 million policyholders in private insurance (life) companies. Some $78 billion of assets existed to guarantee their future claims, or roughly $870 per policyholder. In June 1954 there were some 2.5 million workers who had either paid taxes for railroad insurance during this past year, or were receiving (including their survivors) benefits under the system, A fund of $3.4 billion had been set up to guarantee their future claims, or roughly $1,360 per railroad worker. (In 1990 the railroad retirement fund is expected to reach $7.5 billion.) Of course this is not exact or scientific.

It doesn't take account of differences in benefits provided by the average private insurance policy and the average railroad retirement "policy." But it does show how, in general, the railroad retirement fund has been built up by the principles comparable to the funding of profit-making private insurance companies.

LEVEL COSTS AND THE HISTORY OF CONSERVATIVE FORECASTS

The actuarial evaluations are expressed in terms of "level costs." This is what level costs mean. If payrolls are taxed at a fixed rate, and the interest at 3 percent accumulated on the taxes until benefits are due, the fund will either grow enormously, or become bankrupt, depending on the tax rate and the scale of benefits. If the tax rate is set "just right," at a certain time in the future, tax collections and interest income will exactly match benefit payments, and will continue to do so indefinitely.

Experience has invariably shown the estimated level costs of the actuarial valuations to be too high. In each case the actuaries have been forced to cut their previous level-cost estimates, but because of changes in benefits, they have remained just as far as ever out of touch with reality. This is illustrated by the following table:

Level costs under:

Actuarial valuation	1937 act	Amendments		
		1946	1948	1951
1st	10.80			
2d	10.21			
3d	8.99	12.63		
4th		10.24	12.72	
5th				13.41

Source: Compiled from Retirement Policies and the Railroad Retirement System, Report of the Joint Committee on Railroad Retirement Legislation, pt. 1, 83d Cong., 1st sess., S. Rept. No. 6, pt. 1, pp. 309-315. Omits preliminary estimates presented other than by the regular actuarial valuations.

Between the first and the third valuations, the estimated costs under the original act were cut 17 percent. In just 3 years, between the third and fourth valuation, the level costs under the 1946 liberalizing amendments were cut 19 percent. The estimated costs under the much more liberal 1948 amendments were put by the fourth valuation at hardly any more than the third valuation placed the level costs under the 1946 amendments. The 1951 amendments increased overall benefits by perhaps 25 percent. Yet the fifth valuation showed an increase of level costs of only 6 percent over the fourth valuation. If the actuaries had used the same tables and assumptions as in the previous valuation, they would have shown a level cost of 15 to 16 percent, but were forced by outside pressure to make slightly less conservative assumptions. This is more or less conceded by the actuaries themselves, in the introductory statement to the fifth valuation of the actuarial advisory committee:

"The committee was advised that various interested groups had challenged the use of the old tables on the ground that they did not reflect actual experience. The advisory committee had favored the use of the old tables on the ground that current experience could be greatly changed by a deflationary shift in the economic cycle. However, the committee feels that rather than remain in the position of having the basic assumptions used considered too conservative, it would be preferable to use the new tables which are closer to current experience."

However, even reluctantly revised tables are still far from experience. Even they set a conservative standard which exaggerates likely percentage costs, and covers up the possibilities for greatly expanded benefits.

WRONG ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT PAYROLLS

The most important wrong assumption of the actuaries is that taxable payrolls will be frozen forever at $5 billion per year, slightly less than payrolls in 1951 and 1952. This, also, has been the main wrong assumptions of the actuaries in the earlier valuations. Here is why this is important. The railroad retirement system provides pension rights for the future to employees based in part on earnings before any taxes were collected, and also for many years when taxes were lower than they are now. Because taxes were not collected against that part of the pension rights, they are called unfunded liabilities. If payrolls are doubled, the same amount is needed to meet the unfunded liabilities, but as a percentage of payroll, the cost is cut in half. If not for these unfunded liabilities, the benefits could admittedly be sharply increased with present taxes.

To estimate frozen future payrolls, the actuaries made two other assumptions which do not stand up. Their estimate of future payrolls consisted of four steps:

1. Estimate of future industrial production.

2. Estimate of amount of railroad traffic for a given level of production.

3. Estimate of increased labor productivity and hence, of man-hours of employment for a given level of traffic.

4. Estimate of hourly wage rates.

The second and third steps are not at issue. But the assumptions concerning industrial production and hourly wages are. According to "high estimate," industrial production was to rise 16 percent in 9 years, and per capita industrial production only 4 percent. According to "low estimates," industrial production was to not rise at all in 9 years, and fall 10 percent on a per capita basis. The final valuation involved rough averaging of these two assumptions. In other words, the actuaries assumed virtual economic stagnation.

Averaging the high and low estimates, the actuaries expected industrial production in 1954 to be 5 percent below 1951. But actually, despite the slump in 1954, it was 5 percent above 1951. For 1953, the difference between the actuaries assumption and the actual level was even more marked.

The President's Economic Report to Congress of January 1955 set forth a perspective of a 39 percent growth in national production in the next decade. This may be right or it may be wrong. But the point is that it is the minimum necessary to conform with the national policy as expressed in the Employment Act of 1946. Whether its measures are adequate, or in the right direction, is a matter of political opinion. But it is reasonable that policies should look toward the perspective of an expanding economy. For example, in the case of taxes, the latest budget assumes a steady rise in prosperity. If a slump were assumed, it would be necessary to raise the rate of taxes, say on corporations, in order to meet Government expenditure requirements. However, it is claimed by the administration, lower corporate taxes help to realize the prediction of a higher level of output, and higher revenues from current rates.

The assumption of the retirement system actuaries are not in accord with this principle. Their assumptions of industrial stagnation may prove accurate. If so, they will have contributed to that result by pauperizing the increasing number of retired railroad workers, and hence reducing consumer markets. Assumptions in accord with a general policy of high-level employment and rising production, which would show the possibility of paying more liberal retirement benefits, would at the same time contribute toward that end.

The actuaries also assume that railway wage rates will be frozen forever at the level of January 1955. But experience has proven otherwise. And to think that railroad workers will not continue in the future, as in the past 20 years, to achieve steady improvements in wages is to underestimate the railway labor unions, and the general power of the trade union movement in the United States.

The actuaries deal with taxable wages, and assumed in the fifth valuation continuation of the $300 per month ceiling. Already this has been raised to $350, and bills are now before Congress to raise it to $400 including the railroad pension conference bill, H. R. 2165.

Clearly, if realistic assumptions were made about future payrolls, allowing for continuation of historical upward trends, the retirement system would be shown to have a capacity to pay much higher benefits than at present.

THE RAW DEAL FOR NEW RAILROAD WORKERS

This whole question is brought out best by considering the special situation of workers entering the system now, or in the future. These workers will have a tax of 12½ percent levied on their wages from the start of their employment. In the language of the actuaries, their pensions are "fully funded"—taxes on their wages fully pay for their benefits. Workers who entered the industry any time beginning with 1947 are much in the same situation.

The fifth valuation showed that the "normal cost" of benefits provided by the Railroad Retirement Act for these new entrants is 7.66 percent of their payroll. Adding 0.15 percent for administrative expenses brings this to 7.81 percent. That is, the benefits paid to those workers should be increased 60 percent in order to return to them the full value of the 12.5 percent taxes paid from their payrolls. Or, in other words, they are getting benefits amounting to only 62.5 percent of what they pay for and the railroads pay on their account.

The justification offered for this scandalous state of affairs is that the extra taxes collected are needed to pay the interest on the unfunded benefits payable to workers who were in the system prior to 1947.

Like the debt of the feudal usurer, this unfunded liability will go on and collect interest forever, to be borne by all future generations of railroad workers, according to the calculations of the actuaries.

It is our contention that this approach is wholly inequitable to the vast majority of railroad workers. Benefits should be paid on the full scale covered by present taxes. That is, the new worker should get benefits at a normal rate of 12.35 percent, representing the taxes he pays less than administrative costs. If in fact, rather than theoretical calculations, the drain of funds to pay benefits to employees who were not fully funded begins to reduce the fund, the Government should appropriate from general revenues a sufficient sum to fully fund the remaining potential unfunded benefits.

When the Congress enacted the Railroad Retirement Act, it recognized the existence of a social obligation to pay adequate pensions to retired railroad workers. The fact that today's railroad workers pay taxes into the system to buy their proprietary rights to it, does not imply that they as individuals should take over the social obligation of all the people to pay annuities to the retired workers of the previous generation.

The Railroad Retirement Board, unfortunately, has attempted to obscure the significance of this low cost of present benefits for workers. At the 1954 hearings, Mr. Thomas Stack, president of the National Railroad Pension Forum, Inc., brought out the fact of the low "normal cost" figure. The Railroad Retirement Board, in its report "rebutting" Stack's testimony, wrote:

"Mr. Stack is evidently talking about the 7.66 percent that appears in Table A–48, page 213 of the 1952 Annual Report. The cost of benefits for new entrants who will, as career railroad employees become eligible for benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act is 10.83 percent—rather than 7.66 percent—to compare with the 12½ percent tax."

This is an evasion of the issue. Of course, the 7.66 percent is an average of the situation of different workers, who will get benefits in varying ratio to their original contribution. Many workers, who do not stay in the industry for 10 years, will get no benefits. The proper cost figure for the workers who get the full benefits, as apparently referred to in the Railroad Retirement Board answer.

Similarly, the actuarial valuation adds to the 7.66 percent an adjustment of 3.41 percent, to a total of 11.07 percent, representing the net balance of adjustments with the OASI on account of "new entrants." But this addition is a fictitious bookkeeping entry, which is more-than counterbalanced by an opposite bookkeeping entry elsewhere in the accounting.

In actuarial terms, the valuation shows the "level cost" of future benefits to workers already employed at 23.96 percent. A weighted average of the 7.66 percent for future workers, the 23.96 percent for present workers, and comparatively minor adjustments for retired workers and funds on hand, produces the overall "level cost" figure of 14 percent, which is then reduced to 13.41 percent by taking account of the transactions with the OASI.

The more total payrolls increase in the future, the more weight is given to 7.66 percent for future workers, and the less to the 23.96 percent for present workers. If it were assumed that payrolls in the future increase by 3 percent per year or more all the weight would have to be given to the 7.66 percent, and this would become the level cost figure. An increase of 3 percent per year would mean that railroad payrolls would double every 24 years. Actual experience shows a faster rise than this. Between the years ending June 30, 1895 and calendar year 1952, that is over 57½ year interval, compensation of railroad employees increased slightly more than 12 times. This is equivalent to a compound annual rate of increase approximately 4.4 percent.

Since a sizable continued rate of increase in railroad payrolls is a reasonable assumption for the future, it is appropriate and fair to all, the railroad workers to base calculations on such assumption ,and to place benefits at the rate now being collected in taxes—12.50 percent less 0.15 percent for administration.

OTHER WAYS IN WHICH ACTUARIAL VALUATION EXAGGERATES COSTS

Besides the basic error, concerning payroll assumption, the actuarial valuation involves a number of other conservative assumptions which have the effect of exaggerating the cost of benefits. Some are exaggerating the length of time an employee will receive an annuity; exaggerating the number of employees who will retire, instead of working until their death or final illness; exaggerating the number of employees who will stay in the industry long enough to receive retirement benefits.

1. Exaggeration of duration of annuity: The valuation uses a mortality table which gives the retired railroad worker a longer span of life than he really enjoys.

The following figures show the percentage ratio of deaths among retired railroad workers receiving annuities to expected deaths according to the fifth valuation formula:

Policy year 1947–48	103.4
Policy year 1948–49	160.2
Policy year 1949–50	104.4
Calendar year 1950	107.0

(Source: 1952 Annual Report, tables A–1 and A–3 pp. 146 and 148.)

For those workers on full annuities—that is, retiring at 65 or later—the excess of deaths is somewhat more marked. In addition, the assumed retirement ages are a little lower than those which have actually prevailed.

How much does the conservative assumption exaggerate costs?

The valuation amounts to assuming that the life expectation of a newly retired railroad worker on full-age annuity is about 11.8 years. (See appendix (a).) The actual experience to date has been a life expectancy of about 11 years. (See appendix (b).) Thus the valuation assumes that payments will be made for almost a year longer than experience indicates, and that the total cash outlay for annuities will exceed that indicated by experience by roughtly 7 percent.

Use of a conservative mortality estimate might be justified if there were evidence that annuitants are living longer and longer. But no such evidence exists. A special calculation made in connection with the valuation showed "that there is no discernible secular trend as yet toward lower mortality rates after retirement" (Annual Report, 1952, p. 149). The rationalization for using a more conservative mortality table is as follows:

"While it is true that relatively little improvement has been shown in mortality among our age retirements in recent years, considerable improvement has been noted below that age in various mortality experiences over the last 20 years. It is therefore possible that in the not-too-distant future the same trend may also be evident above age 65 as advances in medicine and social conditions also begin to reflect themselves at the higher ages" (R. R. B. 1952 Annual Report, pp. 157–158).

This is a substitution of wishful thinking, or speculation, for fact. It would be more to the point to increase the annuities of retired railroad workers, which by improving their economic conditions would help to increase their longevity.

The mortality tables used for actuarial valuations of disability retirements are, if anything, more conservative. The same applies to reduced age retirements—that is, to workers who retire on a reduced pension at age 60–64.

2. Exaggeration of the number of employees who will retire: Not every employee who reaches retirement age elects to do so. Partly because of the low level of retirement benefits, many of the railroad workers keep on working until they die. In 1950, for example, only 30.2 percent of the railroad workers retired during the year after they reached 65; and roughly one-third of those who had reached 65, 5 years earlier, were still working at the end of the year. The third and fourth actuarial valuations had used retirement rates based on prewar experience. But for the 1948–50 period actual retirement totaled only 73 percent of the number expected according to the old formula. This was too much of a discrepancy even for the conservative standards of the valuation. A compromise was made between actual postwar experience and the obsolete formula; but the compromise formula is such that actual retirements during 1948–50 were 16 percent fewer than according to the revised formula (R. R. B. 1952 Annual Report, p. 157).

The rationale for retaining such a wide discrepancy is that retirement rates might increase in bad times. This possibility has already been disproved by the experience of 1954, when the severe slump hit the railroad industry, involving heavy and prolonged unemployment.

The number of applications received during the fiscal year 1953–54 was only 4.2 percent more than during the previous fiscal year of comparatively low employment (R. R. B. Monthly Review, August 1954).

Obviously, an exaggeration of the number of railroad workers retiring leads to an exaggeration of the net cost of the system. Railroad workers who keep on working until their deaths or final illnesses pay more taxes into the system; and the benefits ultimately going to their survivors are generally one-half or less the benefits they would have received if they had retired.

Approximately the same distortion is involved in the estimation of disability retirements.

3. Exaggeration of number of workers who remain to qualify for retirement: This is accomplished in the valuation by underestimating the number of workers who withdraw from the industry. Over half the workers who obtain jobs in the railroad industry do not last out the calendar year in which they began. Forty percent of those who do finish the year are dropped from the industry during the following year. One-quarter of those who finish the second year do not get through the third—and so on (1952 Annual Report, R. R. B., table A–17, p. 165).

The reasons are clear enough. A large part of railroad employment is seasonal in character. Because of the difficulty in getting steady work, many workers who take a seasonal job do not return in following years, or cannot get railroad jobs in the following years. Moreover, in the event of layoffs, workers with the least seniority are laid off first. In 1952, for example, approximately 300,000 workers were more or less permanently separated from the railroad industry, other than by death and retirement. In the overwhelming majority of cases, taxes have been collected from these workers for a few months up to several years; with no retirement benefits accruing as a result of the 10-year-service requirement. The railroad retirement fund obtains a windfall which has to be taken into account in estimating the net cost of the system.

The acturial valuation used a system which grossly underestimated these withdrawals, and therefore underestimated the windfall tax receipts. Because of the effect of the 1951 amendments requiring 10 years of service for rights to vest in an employee, the fifth valuation recognized that the effect on this was greatly increased. Therefore, it modified its formula so as to underestimate withdrawals a little less sharply than in the fourth valuation. But the remaining underestimate is still extreme, especially in the ranges having the maximum effect on costs. Again, the justification is that withdrawals were much less during the years 1938–41, affected by the depression conditions; and that another depression might again lead to low withdrawal rates (1952 Annual Report, R. R. B., p. 167).

This argument is invalid. The low withdrawal rates in most of the period 1938–41 were at least partly due to the fact that employment was rising during that period, so there were very few layoffs. Moreover, unemployment generally was still marked, so that workers kept jobs when they could get them. The valuation itself shows a much higher withdrawal rate in the slump year 1949, than in either 1947 or 1948. It is not likely that the 1954 experience will show still higher withdrawal rates.

Approximate calculations give an idea of how much is involved in this. On the basis of the difference between actual withdrawals during the first 5 calendar years of work, and expected withdrawals according to the fifth valuation estimates, the retirement system collects each year approximately $19 million more in taxes on payrolls of $152 million, representing taxes for which the retirement system inherits no liability because of the withdrawal of the workers over and above the corresponding allowance in the fifth valuation. (See appendix (c).)

This amounts to 3.04 percent of total theoretical taxable payroll and a savings of 0.41 percent in the level cost actuarial calculation. Of this $19 million tax difference, $11 million accrues because of extra withdrawals during the fifth calendar year. Unfortunately, the annual report does not contain statistics on withdrawals year 6–10, but indicates that they are also considerably above the expected rates allowed in the actuarial valuation. Thus the total effect is probably several times the $19 million shown for the first 5 years.

Another side of this is the reduction through withdrawals of persons who might otherwise ultimately be eligible for pensions. The difference between the actual experience and the assumptions of the actuarial valuation are as follows:

Consider a group of 1,000 workers first taking jobs in the railroad industry. At the end of the fifth calendar year, according to the actuarial valuation, 185 of these are still working in the railroad industry. According to the actual experience of 1947–49, only 143 of these are still working at the end of 5 years. (See appendix (d).) That is 22.7 percent fewer workers actually liable to receive pensions in the future. This can make an enormous difference in the actual cost picture; although precise calculations are impossible because of the intermingling of this factor with others concerning which the assumptions of the actuarial valuation cannot be tested so readily.

FINANCING THE PENSION CONFERENCE PROPOSALS

Ability of system to pay 50 percent benefits after 30 years with present tax rate

The following calculation, while using actuarial formulas, is not a precise estimate, but a rough indication which demonstrates the ability of the system to pay the retirement benefits proposed by the Railroad Pension Conference.

The following assumptions are made:

1. The typical worker who retires enters the industry at age 28, earns $350 per month, and retires at the age of 60 after 32 years' service; receiving a pension of $175 per month.

2. He lives for 15.88 years after retirement, in accordance with the 1944 railroad annuitants mortality table.

3. For every dollar of taxes collected, 64.6 cents is from workers who ultimately retire, 35.4 cents is from workers who die or leave the industry before retirement. (See appendix (e).)

4. For every $1 of benefits paid, 74.4 cents consists of retirement benefits, and 25.6 cents of spouses' annuities and survivors' insurance benefits, these being the proportions estimated for present employees in the fifth valuation (1952 annual report, Railroad Retirement Board, table A–44, p. 208).

These assumptions are far from presenting the situation in the most favorable light. We believe that, even with the 50 percent retirement annuities, most workers will choose to work beyond the age 60. As shown in the appendix, the ratio of taxes collected from workers who never retire on a pension is assumed at a minimum level. The improvement of retirement opportunities will probably reduce the proportion of spouses' and survivors' benefits in the total paid.

However, proceeding from these assumptions, the results are:

1. Yearly wages of worker, $4,200.

2. Yearly taxes collected (12½ percent of line 1), $525.

3. Amount of taxes after 32 years (at 3 percent annual interest compounded monthly), $28,149.

4. Total taxes collected and interest compounded, including allowance for taxes against which no retirement benefit will be paid (line 3 divided by .646), $43,574.

5. Annual annuity collected by the retired worker, $2,100.

6. Total annuity collected in dollars before he dies (15.88 times 5), $33,348.

7. Value at time of retirement of that annuity, allowing for interest at 3 percent compounded monthly on sum not yet paid out (a 13/50 or 11.9331 times line 5), $25,080.

8. Value at time of retirement of total benefits, including spouses' and survivors' insurance, including same for workers who never retire (line 7 divided by .744), 0.773.

9. Ratio of total bentfits to total taxes, valued at time of retirement (line 8 divided by line 4), 9.66 percent.

10. Indicated necessary rate of tax to provide specified benefits (line 9 multiplied by 12.5 percent), 9.66 percent.

11. Normal rate for new entrants including allowance of 15 percent for administration, 9.81 percent.

This, then shows that a tax of 5 percent on the employers and the workers would be enough to provide the pensions called for by the Railroad Pension Conference, so far as workers paying the tax throughout their employment is concerned—that is, essentially workers first employed since 1947. The result would have to be modified for some factors which cannot be estimated closely. It would have to be reduced to allow for the fact that the assumptions specified, while more liberal than those of the actuaries, are still conservative.

It would have to be increased to allow for the extent to which the 5 highest years' earnings, up to $400, exceed the average earnings for the entire period.

The margin between the needed tax and the actual tax of 12.5 percent would continue, as at present, to help pay for the benefits of those workers who have retired without having been in the system long enough to have paid fully for their own benefits through taxes. In reality, this problem of unfunded benefits is diminishing. The average worker who retires in 1955 is about 50 percent funded in theory, and in practice much more than that, because of the inadequate level of benefits.

APPENDIX

(a) Calculated for immediate age retirements from table A–9 and A–11, pages 156 and 159 of the 1952 annual report; this indicates a calculated average immediate retirement of 67.9. Using the 1944 railroad annuitants mortality table with 1-year rate back, as in the fifth valuation, this is equivalent to a life expectancy of 11.58 years. The valuation assumed that deferred retirements took place at 66. This is equivalent, with a 1-year rate back, to a life expectancy of 12.62 years, according to the valuation standard. The valuation does not make clear the assumption used in estimating the proportion of immediate and deferred retirements. For this calculation, an assumption of 4 immediate to 1 deferred retirement was made, roughly corresponding to the average of recent years' experience. This yields an average life expectancy of 11.8 years.

(b) Calculated from table B–8, 1953 annual report, page 101, for full age annuities. This shows the percentages of annuities awarded in each year still in effect at the end of 1952. The differences between these percentages indicate the proportion of annuitants dying in each ordinal number of years after 16.5 years (awarded in 1936) the life expectancy of the 1944 railroad annuitants mortality table (with no rate back) was applied to the average age at the end of 1952 of these annuitants. This calculation indicates a life expectancy for full-age annuitants of 11.02 years. Corresponding figures as of the end of earlier years were, 1948, 10.64; 1949, 10.74; 1950, 10.86; 1951, 11.03. The increasing trend does not represent greater longevity, but the diminishing effect of the usual number of high-age persons among those retiring in 1936–37. This effect is largely exhausted by the 1952 calculation. What is left of it is probably offset by an opposite effect, the concentration of 1936 and 1937 awards in the latter parts of those years, not allowed for in the calculation.

(c) Calculated approximately on the basis of data contained in the 1952 annual report, tables A–17, page 165, and unnumbered table of percentage increases were adjusted from a service year to a calendar year basis, so that they could be used in conjunction with table A–17, as follows:

Calendar year (duration year in parentheses)	Percentage increase	
	Service year	Calendar year
1 (0)	30	31
3 (1)	25	27
3 (2)	20	21
4 (3)	16	17
5 (4)	13	14

The difference between actual withdrawals and expected withdrawals was calculated on an average for the period 1947–49, and converted into dollars on the following assumed average annual earnings of workers according to duration of their railroad employment:

Calendar years in railroad employment	Years for which wages received	Average annual wage
1	½	$1,200
2	1½	1,400
3	2½	1,600
4	3½	1,800
5	4½	2,000

(d) Obtained by cumulative application of withdrawal percentages, actual for average of 1947–49, as calculated from table A–17, and expected by actuarial valuation calculated as indicated in previous note.

(e) This assumption is derived as follows: The average retiring employee to date has had about 27 years' experience. Therefore, if every single employee worked until retirement, and actually did retire, on the average there would be 1 new retirement for every 27 employees. The number of retirements would equal one twenty-seventh, or 3.70 percent, of the average number of workers employed during the year. Actually, over the 17 years, 1938–54, retirements have averaged 1.98 percent of average employment. (Compiled from 1953 annual report Railroad Retirement Board, table D–1, page 164; table B–18, page 116; 1953 and 1954 data, partly preliminary, estimated from issues of the Railroad Retirement Board Monthly Review and the Bureau of Labor Statistics Monthly Labor Review.)

This means that so far, only 53.5 percent of the employment taxed have been reflected in ultimate payment of retirement benefits; or that for every dollar of tax collected, roughly 46.5 cents has been a windfall, save for possible payment of survivor benefits, which are much lower than retirement benefits.

In 1947 disability retirements were eased and the rate of retirement has been higher since 1947. In the 7 years, 1948–54 (1947 is left out because there were so many delayed disability retirements, exaggerating the total, in that year) retirements averaged 2.39 percent of average employment. This may prove more representative of the future situation, with liberalized disability requirements. During that period, then, 64.6 percent of employment taxes has been reflected in ultimate payment of retirement benefits; for every dollar of tax collected, 35.4 has been a comparative windfall. This was used as an assumption for the future in the calculations.

Modern Republicanism—Antilabor Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, businessmen in Illinois as well as in other States are being plagued with solicitations for money by a group that calls itself the National Right to Work Committee. The purpose of this committee is to promote so-called right-to-work laws in every State in the Union.

There are several facts to be noticed.

The first is that a great many businessmen have no sympathy whatever with so-called right-to-work laws. They know that the whole purpose of such laws is to break down union security through outlawing the union shop or even a simple 1-year maintenance-of-membership clause in a collective-bargaining contract.

Enlightened businessmen with a tradition of getting along with their workers, with bargaining fairly, are not the ones who join in movements to disrupt collective bargaining and disrupt unions.

The second fact to observe is that this right-to-work approach of 1957 is merely the modern expression of a now outmoded resistance to unions.

Fifty years ago the more reactionary industrial barons denied the right of workers to form unions and bargain collectively. They ran a campaign for the so-called open shop, wherein union members could be compelled to work side by side with nonunion members. They tried to force workers to sign "yellow dog" contracts, agreeing as a condition of employment not to join a union.

The same type of employer who argued half a century ago for a yellow-dog contract is the one now claiming that his interest in State right-to-work laws is solely to protect the worker.

He is not interested, really, in protecting the worker. He just does not want to pay union wage scales. He does not want unions to be secure, so that they can devote themselves to their proper business. In the guise of safeguarding the freedom of his employees, he seeks to force unions on the defensive.

In my neighboring State of Indiana recently a right-to-work law was passed by an overwhelming majority of the Republican members of the State legislature, pushed on through a campaign that was announced in advance to be financed by a fund of $360,000.

Now businessmen in my home State of Illinois are being solicited and harassed by demands from mislabeled right-to-work committees for financial contributions to their work.

Is this the new Republicanism of which we have heard so much? Secretary of Agriculture Benson devotes his time to blaming workers' wages for his own failures with farm policy. The Small Business Administration of this self-labeled dynamic, progressive ad-

ministration blames the troubles of little-business men on union wage scales.

Mr. Speaker, I venture a word of warning to the new Republicans. American workers have seldom believed that those who tried to hold down their wages and weaken their unions were true friends. They do not believe that the businessmen on the National Right To Work Committee are true friends.

Every time a State legislature passes a so-called right law against unions, workers are given a new sense of grievance and a determination to use their political rights as citizens to redress the grievance.

It is extremely interesting that most States passing mislabeled "right to work" laws in recent years are States controlled by what President Eisenhower wishes to make the party of the "new Republicanism." It is interesting that in Kansas a "new Republican" Governor who vetoed a right-to-work bill was repudiated by his own party and denied renomination.

It is interesting that Secretary of Labor Mitchell has made a lot of speeches against so-called right-to-work laws—but that he cannot get support from his own President and is being ignored by not-so-new Republican State legislatures.

Mr. Speaker, under permission to revise and extend my remarks, I offer for the RECORD the following story from the Machinist, weekly paper of the International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO:

NEW REPUBLICANISM IN INDIANA

(By Peter E. Terzick, editor of the Carpenter)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Mr. Terzick is one of the Nation's outstanding labor editors and a vice president of the International Labor Press Association. His report was written for the Machinist from Indianapolis.)

New Republicanism and a $360,000 slush fund added up to a "right to wreck" law for the workers of Indiana. The Indiana Senate, by a vote of 27 to 23, has placed its stamp of approval on a measure to prohibit all forms of union security. The measure had already cleared the house by a 12-vote margin.

Governor Handley, a prime example of the New Republicanism which talks like Eugene Debs but votes like Calvin Coolidge, refused to veto the bill.

Indiana thus achieved the dubious distinction of becoming the first highly industrialized State in the Nation to include such a law on its statute books.

The wreck law was actually passed 2 weeks ago, but the groundwork was laid in the elections of 1954 and 1956. Last November, Indiana voted overwhelmingly for New Republicanism, and New Republicanism repaid the State by passing the right-to-work measure.

Two new Republicans, George Diener, speaker of the house, and Crawford Parker, Lieutenant Governor and chairman of the senate, personally engineered the measure through the Indiana General Assembly.

In the senate, 25 Republicans voted for the measure. Eight voted against it. Two Democrats O. K.'d the measure while 15 voted against it.

The vote in the house was equally partisan. Fifty-one Republicans backed the measure; 22 opposed it. Three Democrats favored the bill; 20 voted against it.

Whether you use algebra, calculus, or plain third-grade arithmetic, what it adds up to is this:

New Republicans in the senate voted better than 4 to 1 for the measure while Democrats voted better than 7 to 1 against it. In the house, new Republicans backed the bill by about 2 to 1 while Democrats lined up better than 7 to 1 against it.

However, the measure did not spring up spontaneously in the legislature. Rather it was conceived, engineered, and pushed by an Indiana right-to-work committee which has been active in the State ever since the 1954 elections. Last summer Steve Nolan, executive secretary of the committee, announced in Indianapolis newspapers that the committee was raising $360,000 to promote right-to-work legislation.

How much money the committee raised, of course, is not known, but indications are that it was plenty. Long before the legislature met, the committee was propagandizing and beating the drums for right-to-work legislation. For all the valiant opposition that Indiana labor could muster, the law was railroaded through the general assembly.

Now that right-to-wreck forces have succeeded in Indiana, there is little doubt but that many other highly industrialized States will become targets in the near future. It is too early to completely assess the Indiana situation, but in order that unions in other States may get some idea of what they may be up against, a few lessons from the Indiana battle are herewith presented:

"Right to wreck" laws are promoted or discouraged at the ballot box. The political complexion of any legislative body is determined on election day. If too many of the wrong people are elected, no amount of lobbying during legislative sessions can change things very much.

"Right to wreck" propaganda is subtle and deceptive. Every bit of literature and every bit of propaganda put out by the "right to wreck" backers exuded love for organized labor. They pretend they were all for organized labor. The only aim of their bill, they claimed, was to strengthen unions. Such ballyhoo is very effective with the general public.

Indiana newspaper were virtually 100 percent in the "right to wreck" camp. In 1 week, 4 editorials praising "right to wreck" appeared in Indianapolis newspapers. In addition there were 4 vicious cartoons, 21 stories besmirching all labor for the sins of a few evildoers in scattered parts of the country, plus numerous references to labor czars, bosses, etc.

Although no one knows to this day who the culprit was, the shooting of a baby during an IAM strike near Princeton was linked, by inference at least, to the union. The sob sisters pulled out all stops. Within 3 hours of the time the news broke, the House Labor Committee voted the "right to wreck" bill out favorably. To this day no one knows whether the shot was fired by a company stooge, a unionman, or a personal enemy.

Educating rank-and-file members to the dangers of "right to wreck" is a tremendous job. For all the fine work done by labor leaders in Indiana, too many rank-and-file members still failed to realize all the implications contained in the wreck law. States which hope to keep out wreck laws must educate their members before bills reach the life-or-death stage in the legislature.

The impact of new Republicanism on wreck laws transcends State boundaries. United States Representative MADDEN, of Indiana, recently charged Secretary of Agriculture Benson had been using his Indiana employees to promote the "right to wreck" legislation in the State. Whether or not Representative MADDEN'S charges are correct, the fact remains that someone somehow thoroughly organized the farm organizations of Indiana solidly for "right to wreck." Only the Farmers' Union was not behind the bill.

Employers, too, were somehow or other intimidated. Many of them who privately expressed themselves as opposed to the wreck measure quickly backed away from any suggestion they go on record as so stating.

If there is any moral implicit in the Indiana situation, is it a two-pronged one: First, the best place to really beat the "right to wreck" legislation is at the ballot box; second, the time for all unions to start educating both their own members and the general public is right now.

Celebration of 50th Anniversary of Tivoli Hotel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ROBSION, JR.

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, last November one of my distinguished predecessors in this body, Hon. Maurice H. Thatcher, who represented the Louisville, Ky., District for 5 terms—1923–33—was the recipient of a very pleasing and honorable recognition. He is the only surviving member of the Isthmian Canal Commission—1910–13—during which period he also served as civil governor of the Canal Zone. There are some who are yet serving their constitutencies in the House who recall his services here with respect and esteem. From time to time since his retirement from Congress, statements of the high character of his public service and of his continuing activities for the public welfare have been voiced here, in one or another form, and gone into the permanency of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. All of us who know him are very much gratified that he is yet active and effective in various fields of usefulness.

Just now I have in mind the fact that in November 1956 in response to the invitation of the Governor of the Canal Zone, Gen. William E. Potter, he and Mrs. Thatcher voyaged to the Isthmus of Panama and there spent several days as the guests of the Canal Zone Government. The ship that carried them was the *Cristobal*, whose master was Capt. Charles L. Foley, a most capable navigator and a fellow Kentuckian of the Thatchers.

On the Isthmus Governor Thatcher participated in the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the world-famous Tivoli Hotel, located in Ancon, C. Z., immediately adjacent to the city of Panama. On that occasion he was the guest of honor and principal speaker at the celebration, and both he and Mrs. Thatcher were warmly received—not only at the celebration itself, but, as well, everywhere they went in the Canal Zone and Panama.

Those in charge of the celebration provided a very interesting program, featured by talks by oldtimer Fred de V. Sill, who introduced Governor Potter; Governor Potter, who offered a word of welcome to the assemblage and pre-

sented Governor Thatcher; and the latter, whose subject was Reminiscences.

The Tivoli Hotel has played a very important part in the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Panama Canal. It was erected in 1905–6 because of a most urgent situation. Chief engineer of the canal project, John F. Stevens, in his characteristically vigorous manner, under due authorization undertook in August 1905 the building of a hotel at Ancon. It is recorded that the name selected for the structure, "Tivoli," was derived from the famous Tivoli Hill—one of the seven in Rome. The work was speeded, not only because of the general need involved, but also for the very special reason that President Theodore Roosevelt in the latter part of June 1906 had indicated he would visit the isthmus in November of that year. When President Roosevelt arrived on the isthmus in November, he and Mrs. Roosevelt—who accompanied him—were assigned to quarters in the uncompleted hotel; which quarters ever since have been known as the presidential suite. Henceforward, for a half century the Tivoli Hotel—more recently known as the Tivoli Guest House—has furnished most satisfactory accommodations for the thousands of its patrons, including some of the most famous people in the world. Throughout the years the Tivoli Hotel has been, indeed, one of the most famous hostelries of the Western Hemisphere. As a guest house, the Tivoli no longer is operated for commercial purposes but is maintained for the direct use of canal officials and employees, and others visiting the isthmus in formal capacities. The newly constructed and ultramodern hotel, El Panama, in Panama City, now furnishes accommodations for the general public.

Following the talks by Mr. Sill, Governor Potter, and Governor Thatcher, the program dealt with well-acted skits of interesting historic events occurring during the life of the hotel, in which the actors were chiefly young people of the Canal Zone. A splendid musical program was rendered by the Balboa High School Concert Band and the chorus of Canal Zone boys and girls of the Balboa High School Glee Club.

The President of the Republic of Panama, the Honorable Ernesto de la Guardia, and Senorita de la Guardia, were among the large number present. The assemblage—made up of the residents of the Canal Zone and the Republic of Panama, the armed services and members of the diplomatic corps—was most impressive. The following is quoted from the printed program:

Maurice H. Thatcher, member of the Isthmian Canal Commision from 1910 to 1913, is loved and respected by the people on both sides of the Panama Canal Zone border.

Although his direct connections with the Panama Canal were severed over 40 years ago, his interest in its affairs have been as keen over these years as that of the most enthusiastic employee.

His present visit to the isthmus to participate in this significant anniversary program is one of several trips to his second home he and Mrs. Thatcher have made since 1913.

Mr. Thatcher served 10 years, 1923–33, in the United States House of Representatives from Kentucky. During this time he devoted much attention to Panama Canal affairs, sponsoring legislation for the ferry and highway to the interior of the Republic which bear his name.

An author and poet, Mr. Thatcher has written many well-known poems dealing with the canal and its people.

Regarding the celebration and the visit of the Thatchers, the following news story was carried in the December 7, 1956, issue of the Panama Canal Review, official organ of the Panama Canal Company and Canal Zone Government:

It was a real nice party, and the Tivoli would be the first to say so, if it only could. After all, 50th birthdays are something special, even if the celebrant is a hotel.

On hand to help with the celebration was one of the oldest oldtimers of them all—Maurice H. Thatcher, of Washington, D. C., the only member of the Isthmian Canal Commission still living. He and Mrs. Thatcher, who were given the Roosevelt suite for their stay here, enchanted young and old with their spryness and interest in the isthmus.

Also on hand was the Canal Zone's top-ranking good neighbor, President Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr., of Panama, who came accompanied by his wife and some of his official family and who seemed to enjoy thoroughly every minute of the birthday party.

The printed program furnished the following interesting text about the Tivoli Hotel:

Now the oldest public building in the Canal Zone in use, the Tivoli Guest House observes its 50th birthday in the grand manner which the anniversary and the institution deserves—with a salute and a toast from its friends, old and new, far and near.

The Tivoli—its name, the building, and its guests—has been intimately connected with the stirring events of the history of the Panama Canal. Its broad verandas, its spacious public rooms, and its commodious living quarters all echo the sounds of exploding dynamite, of rattling dirt trains rolling out of Culebra Cut, and of a quarter million ship whistles which have followed the dirt trains.

There is little of the prosaic about the Tivoli and these facts are little needed on this festive occasion.

Let us savor the memories that its corridors hold. Let us salute an old friend on a significant birthday.

Governor Thatcher, in his address, after thanking Governor Potter and his family for the invitation to Mrs. Thatcher and himself for the courtesies being accorded them, spoke of the gratification he felt because of the popularity Governor Potter and his family had achieved in so short a time following his selection for the post. Thereupon, he spoke in a reminiscential mood, with respect to the Tivoli Hotel and the canal construction era; and took occasion to address directly President de la Guardia and Governor Potter with regard to the many problems arising between Panama and the United States through the administration of the canal, and ventured to emphasize the importance of careful consideration and mutual understandings necessary for the solution of any differences which might arise. This, it may be added, is the spirit in which these two distinguished officials are acting.

An interesting article in regard to the celebration appeared on the following day, November 16, in the Panama American, the afternoon Spanish-English daily of Panama City, as follows:

NO ROOM ON FRONT PORCH AS CROWD PACKS TIVOLI

Almost everybody was to be seen at the Tivoli last night. So much so that regular residents could hardly find a seat out on the big front porch.

The President and his lady came early.

Already on hand to welcome them were the Governor and his lady, and their daughter.

Maurice H. Thatcher, who served on the Isthmian Canal Commission when the waterway and the Tivoli were young, was the chief speaker for the hostelry's 50th birthday party.

Mrs. Thatcher, who accompanied her husband from Washington, was also an honored guest.

Frederick De V. Sill, a distinguished hero of World War I and a retired employee of the canal made the introductory remarks. Hundreds of people had worked to make the Tivoli celebration the roaring success it was. Among them was Phil Thornton, who served as a general coordinator.

Playing seven stirring marches and songs that were first played on the isthmus at Isthmian Canal Commission band concerts, the Balboa High School Band set the fast pace for the party. They wore costumes reminiscent of the pre-1911 era.

Gov. William E. Potter welcomed the guests, speaking in the role of President Theodore Roosevelt, whose impending arrival at the Tivoli in 1906 caused it to be rushed into readiness.

Still speaking as Roosevelt, Potter greeted "President Manuel Amador Guerrero," Panama's first President, in the person of President Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr.

Thatcher struck an international chord in his address. Voicing his delight at being back on the isthmus, he said to President de la Guardia:

"I am sure, Mr. President, that you will find in Governor Potter and he in you that desire to cooperate and work in mutual regard toward the relationship which distiny has brought in our two countries."

This morning Thatcher and Mrs. Thatcher paid a call on the President and the First Lady at the Presidencia.

Last night's crowd gave an enthusiastic reception to the musical narrative, "Out on the Big Front Porch," written and produced by Donald E. Musselman and Victor A. Herr.

• • • • •

The crowd at the Tivoli was estimated at more than 1,200. Seats had been arranged for slightly over 600 in the ballroom; several hundred more persons were sitting or standing in the lobby, bar and grille.

One estimator said: "If the Tivoli stood up under that crowd, it ought to last another 50 years."

H. J. Chase, manager of the Tivoli Guest House, reported that light refreshments were served to about 1,000 in the dining room after the formal program.

• • • • •

Zonians were delighted by familiar references in the script for "Out on the Big Front Porch." Frequent laughter greeted well-known names, and one woman who had lived here for many years was heard to say, repeatedly, "That's right; that's exactly how it happened."

A good many of those who attended the program took the trouble to tell members of the committee how much they had enjoyed it. One of the nicest compliments: "There was more friendliness and more neighborliness at the Tivoli party than there has been at anything held here for years."

Also, on November 16, the Star and Herald of Panama carried the following story of the celebration:

THATCHER STRESSES REPUBLIC OF PANAMA-UNITED STATES COOPERATION AT TIVOLI FETE

The old walls of the Tivoli Hotel echoed last night to the voice of time, speaking 50

years ago through the sons and daughters of the generations who saw the world go by, out on its big front porch.

There was one voice with the authentic ring of an oldtimer. It was that of Maurice H. Thatcher, only surviving member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, and special guest at the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the world-famed hostelry.

"If these venerated walls could speak," he told an audience of Isthmians—young and old—who packed the Tivoli ballroom, "what stories they might tell and what inspiration they would bring to those who might listen."

And some of the stories were told—and sung—last night. A superb 50-minute musical narrative, Out on the Big Front Porch, written and produced by Donald E. Musselman and Victor A. Herr, inspired the audience—the oldtimers who helped make the heyday of the Tivoli, the present generation which still enjoys its quiet atmosphere, and the new generation that looks upon it as a storied landmark.

The reminiscent mood was set from the start by Fred De V. Sill, himself an oldtimer, who acted as master of ceremonies. It began with his story about the carometta driver who was asked to drive to the casa loco (the old insane asylum at San Juan Place) and replied, "Oh, yes, the Administration Building."

And it continued as Gov. W. E. Potter welcomed the guests—he speaking as President Theodore Roosevelt, whose visit to the Tivoli on November 15, 1906, marked the official opening of the hotel, and greeting President Manuel Amador Guerrero, then Panama's Chief Executive, in the person of President Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr.

The reminiscent mood heightened as Thatcher, erect and firm-voiced despite the weight of years, was introduced to the hundreds in the ballroom. He spoke of the pleasure he and Mrs. Thatcher experienced in revisiting Panama and of the fitting recognition to the Tivoli's anniversary.

Then, addressing President de la Guardia, he added:

"I am sure, Mr. President, that you will find in Governor Potter, and he in you, that desire to cooperate and work in mutual regard toward the relationship which destiny has brought to our two countries."

It was an appropriate remark, for in the audience were many Panamanians who themselves had shared in the days of glory of the Tivoli.

The mood built up as the musical narrative unfolded on a stage which was a replica of the big front porch. From the very first scene where Giacomo, the homesick Italian who named the site after the Tivoli Hill which rises over Rome, the audience was captivated.

With a magnificent rendition by the Balboa High School Glee Club, which provided the musical background, the narrative told of Teddy Roosevelt's visit, of the old hostelry days, the romantic and not-so-romantic incidents, and life in the Tivoli through two world wars. All seven scenes were acted with feeling by the cast and sung with fervor by the Glee Club.

And the fitting grand finale—which preceded an informal reception in the dining room for all comers was the stirring rendition of the show's theme song:

"Out on the big front porch
We see the world go by.
Out on the big front porch
The past will never die.
Although the time may flee
I know there'll always be
A waiting chair for me
Out on the big front porch."

The Thatchers were kept very busy during their short Isthmian stay in attending functions in their honor. On the evening of their arrival on the Isthmus—November 15—they were guests at a meeting of the Isthmian Historical Society—a most praiseworthy and successful organization founded in 1954 at the suggestion of Governor Thatcher. Rev. Edward J. Cooper, long-time pastor of the Colon church, shared honors at the meeting, at which both spoke. In this connection, this editorial appeared November 16 in the Star and Herald—itself an old-timer with more than 100 years of history behind it:

WHEN OLDTIMERS GET TOGETHER

Gray, white, and a few bald heads predominated Wednesday evening when the Isthmian Historical Society met at the Hotel Tivoli to honor the Honorable Maurice H. Thatcher, member, the Isthmian Canal Commission (1910 to 1913). Mr. Thatcher, long-time Member of Congress and now a practicing attorney in Washington, D. C., is a guest of the Canal Zone for festivities honoring the 50th anniversary of the Hotel Tivoli, the main gathering place for Canal Zone festivities, meetings of various kinds, popular dances, also the favorite stopping point for more than one United States President and hundreds of visiting Congressmen through the past half century.

There were many speakers presenting carefully compiled reports on various Canal Zone events and activities through the years. They spoke of the make-do arrangements through those early years, the building and organization of churches and other meeting places for groups and organizations whose main motive was to make United States citizens and their families feel at home in those early years of tropical service.

One of the most heart-touching and colorful addresses was made by the Reverend Edward J. Cooper, for many years pastor of Christ Church By-the-Sea in Colon, which is said to be the oldest structure of its kind on the Atlantic side. Father Cooper, now completely blind and residing since his retirement in Guatemala, was brought to Panama by the society to speak at this meeting. He was as eagerly greeted as Mr. Thatcher by the mostly elderly audience.

Mr. Thatcher spoke briefly, but it was clear that he was greatly touched by the program and his elderly listeners who also included Canal Zone sons, daughters, and grandchildren. Some of the latter bespoke the fact of intermarriage of the early Canal diggers with Panamanians.

"The Canal Zone," said Mr. Thatcher, "is an agency for freedom, and for those who love freedom, also of defense. If at any time I can be of service in helping you, or in which the Library of Congress could help, I hope you will call on me." He then thanked the Historical Society for inviting him to speak and assured his audience that any among them who may visit him in Kentucky will receive a warm welcome from Mrs. Thatcher (who is with him on this historic visit) and himself at their home in Kentucky.

Perhaps the most cheering thought expressed by the numerous elderly speakers was that voiced by Father Cooper who, though he has worked in this vineyard since 1907 and despite his blindness, is still living usefully and happily. Father Cooper assured his listeners that he is still only 21 years old.

"I do not believe in age," the churchman declared with complete sincerity. "Only my clothes grow old. Since we draw our life from God who is ageless we are born again by the spirit of God. A thousand years from now when we meet in our Father's Kingdom, I shall still say: 'I am 21.'"

On the morning of November 15, Governor Thatcher, at the Canal Zone Administration Building plaza, presented to the Panama Canal Company—Canal Zone Government—the National Safety Council Award of Merit for the splendid safety record set by the Panama Canal Company and the Canal Zone Government in the operation of the Canal and Canal Zone activities.

While on the Isthmus, Governor and Mrs. Thatcher called on President and Senora de la Guardia at the Presidencia in Panama City, and visited the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory, created under legislation sponsored by him in Congress in 1928. This great research institution, supported by congressional appropriations and dealing with the cause and prevention of tropical diseases, is located in Panama City. The building and the grounds therefor were donated by the Panamanian Government to the Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine—named for General Gorgas, the famed sanitarian and member of the Commission during the canal construction days. After his retirement from Congress, Governor Thatcher was chosen as vice president and general counsel of the institute, positions he yet holds. The director of the laboratory, Dr. Carlos M. Johnson, and the efficient laboratory staff are doing splendid work in the important field of research; and the fame of the laboratory—which has been in existence since its founding in 1928—is worldwide.

The Thatchers, following a formal invitation, visited the Panamanian town of Arraijan, situated on the west side of the canal, not far from Panama City, and located at the terminus of the Thatcher Highway, which extends from the Thatcher Ferry—across the canal—westward through the zone strip. The ferry and highway constitute important links in the inter-American highway system. Governor Thatcher, while in Congress, was the author of legislation which provided for the establishment of the ferry and the construction of the highway, both of which have always been free from tolls and unite the eastern and western portions of the Canal Zone and the Republic of Panama. These important works were officially named in his honor.

An interesting story derives from the establishment of the ferry and the construction of the highway in 1932. The people of the town of Arraijan, in the autumn of that year, in gratitude for the fact that they were thus placed in easy contact with Panama City, the capital of the Republic, which is situated on the east side of the canal, named a street—Calle Thatcher—in Governor Thatcher's honor and gave him a lot in the town. At that time Arraijan had a population of less than 1,000; now the population has risen to nearly 3,000. Through the years he had indicated his desire to return the lot to the town of Arraijan for some public benefit, as, for instance, a playground for children for Arraijan. On the occasion of this visit to Arraijan, arrangements were concluded between himself and the municipal authorities for the exchange of a considerably larger piece of ground within the town's limits for the lot to which he held title.

His standing offer to make a substantial personal contribution for the playground was accepted, and it is expected shortly that the playground, now officially named by the Arraijan authorities, "Parque Infantil don Maurice H. Thatcher"—Maurice H. Thatcher Children's Park—will be in operation.

Regarding the Arraijan matter, there appeared in the Star and Herald of November 20, 1956, the following:

MAURICE H. THATCHER PARK IN ARRAIJAN CLOSE TO REALITY

A children's park in the town of Arraijan is almost a reality thanks to Maurice H. Thatcher, sole surviving member of the Isthmian Canal Commission.

Back in 1935, shortly after the completion of the Thatcher Highway which linked Arraijan with Panama City, the people of the town voted to present Thatcher with a lot of land as a gesture of gratitude. On a subsequent visit to the Isthmus, Thatcher visited Arraijan and told officials that he would like to return the land to the town for use as a children's park.

When Thatcher came to the Isthmus last week to attend the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Hotel Tivoli, Mayor Ismael Amaya of Arraijan and the town's council had things well planned.

At a special night meeting on the eve of Thatcher's visit, the council voted approval of the return of the land originally presented to the former Congressman—and voted to give Thatcher, in perpetuity, a larger tract of land which already had been set aside as a children's park.

On his visit to Arraijan last week, Thatcher was received by Mayor Amaya, the city council, other town officials and 600 students from the Arraijan school. He was formally presented with the council's resolution accepting the land originally presented to him and awarding him title on the larger tract for the park.

Thatcher offered to donate playground equipment for the proposed park and left a catalog with the town officials to have the children themselves choose the equipment they want. A movement immediately began to have the Arraijan council appropriate funds to add to Thatcher contribution.

The Arraijan council's resolution, naturally, provides that the childrens' park will be named, "Maurice H. Thatcher Children's Park."

In and out of Congress, Governor Thatcher through the years has indicated in numerous and effective ways his interest in the welfare of the Canal Zone and the Republic of Panama, as well as in the oldtimers of the canal construction days and of the later operating forces of the canal and of the Canal Zone Government—serving these officials and employees in effective work in behalf of legislation providing annuities and other benefits for them.

On the last night of their stay on the isthmus a largely attended and very pleasing reception was accorded Governor and Mrs. Thatcher at the Tivoli guesthouse, given by Capt. and Mrs. Cornelius S. McCormack, of Ancon—Mrs. McCormack was a member of the 50th Anniversary Committee—largely attended by oldtime friends of the Thatchers on both sides of the line—between Panama and the Canal Zone—and by many others, including officials of the Canal Zone and the Panamanian Government, and distinguished members of the military and naval forces stationed on the isthmus, and the diplomatic establishments.

In the Canal Zone and Panama it was the judgment of all that the celebration was an outstanding success and that Governor and Mrs. Thatcher made an indispensable contribution thereto.

Mrs. Thatcher is remembered as a most charming hostess during their isthmian residence in Ancon and their home, which was a social center of activities, importantly served to cement friendship between the people of Panama and the Canal Zone.

All of which serves to indicate the reason Governor and Mrs. Thatcher are held in the highest regard and esteem—both in the Canal Zone and in the Republic of Panama, and by the builders of the Panama Canal and the operating forces.

In the epic history of the Isthmus of Panama many things of vast import have occurred. Sprinkled along the way there have been lesser incidents of a most interesting character, serving to link together the major events and eras. The celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Tivoli Hotel was such a link, and a most vital one; its formal recognition was altogether fitting. Also, it was most appropriate that Governor and Mrs. Thatcher should have been invited to attend, and fortunate that they did so, honoring the occasion by their presence and participation.

Are Big Farms Taking Over?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following article from the March issue of the Farm Journal:

ARE BIG FARMS TAKING OVER?

(By Claude W. Gifford)

Big corporation farms—"factory-type farms," as they're sometimes called—aren't Goliaths swallowing up farmland. These larger farms—of all kinds—are actually shrinking in average size.

And family farms aren't dying out, as some claim. The family farms make up the same proportion of the Nation's farms as they did 10 to 15 years ago—and are even gaining some on the big farms in size and income.

The farms that are disappearing (nearly a million in the last 10 years) are largely small farms—whose operators have never made an acceptable living, even with good farm prices.

These are the three main conclusions of a surprising study just finished by Jackson V. McElveen, of the USDA. It's probably the best look we've ever had at what's really happening to our farms.

It reveals a normal adjustment of both farm size and numbers to the times. The alternative: Cut up the farm income pie into smaller chunks—with less for each and worse poverty for some.

Before we go any farther, let's get it straight how McElween and the USDA define these farms:

One group they call "family scale" family farms. These farms sell $2,500 to $25,000 of farm products a year (before deducting expenses), with the farm labor largely supplied by the family. There are 2 million of these farms at the latest count (1954 farm census). They are the real backbone of the family farms.

A second group they call small-scale family farms. There are 1 million of these with yearly sales of $250 to $2,500. Some would say these are really low income or small farms.

Big farms, in McElveen's description, sell more than $25,000 yearly (although many of them accomplish this with only their family labor). A big farm by this definition might have few acres. This big-farm group accounts for only 134,000 farms, or less than 3 percent of the Nation's total.

Together these 3 farm classes make up the 3.1 million commercial farms that produce 98 percent of the Nation's farm output.

This leaves 1.7 million part-time, residential and subsistence farms that raise only 2 percent of all farm products.

What's happened to the farms that account for the drop in numbers from 5.8 million 10 years ago to 4.8 million now? McElveen points out that almost 9 out of 10 of these disappearing farms were small, low-income units selling between $250 and $2,500 worth of farm products a year.

More than a half million of this loss was in the South (where 645,000 of the 1 million low-income farms remain).

Many of these folks on disappearing farms decided to take off-farm jobs—and they're doing better financially than ever before. Many kept on living right on the farm, thus accounting for part of the 150,000 increase in part-time and residential farms in the last 10 years. Others took over adjoining small farms, thus moving up into the family-farm class.

This change is normal, healthy, and probably could be stopped only by a serious recession, says McElveen.

Now back to those big farms that sell $25,000 or more of farm products per year. What's the evidence that big farms aren't a growing menace?

They have increased in the last 25 years—from 47,000 then to 134,000 now.

But with today's prices and today's increased output per farm, farms small in acreage can get into that $25,000 class. The average size of those big farms has actually decreased from 2,900 acres 15 years ago to 1,939 acres now.

There's more than one way to look at farm size. For instance, if farmers back in 1929 had had today's machines, varieties, know-how and prices, how many would have sold $25,000 worth of farm products? There'd have been 205,000, instead of 47,000.

So measured by today's farm know-how and prices—the kind that puts 134,000 farms into that $25,000 big farm class now—there are actually 71,000 fewer farms that you'd call big. No sign of spawning "factory farms" here.

Using today's farm know-how and prices, McElveen makes these points:

1. Ten years ago, big farms controlled 30 percent of the Nation's farmland, but only 26 percent now.

2. Family farms operated 59 percent of the Nation's farmland 10 years ago; and since have increased their share to 63 percent. Since 1939, family farms have increased their output faster than big farms, and have equalled their growth in acreage size.

3. In 1939, big farms produced 35 percent of all farm products sold, now down to 32 percent. Family farms contributed 59 percent of the products in 1939—62 percent

now—thus closing the gap slightly in the last 15 years.

4. While total numbers of farms have been declining steadily, about the same proportion of the commercial farms now classify as big farm, family farm and small farm as back in 1929.

We're better off than we would have been without the changes, but we've still got a ways to go before farmers catch up with the rest of the economy.

Dairy Stabilization Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR A. KNOX
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the Hoard's Dairyman of February 28, 1957. The editorial comments on the much-discussed and proposed dairy stabilization program. I feel the editorial has food for though in solving surpluses in the dairy industry. It is my hope that all farm groups will direct their attention of study to the proposals and endorse or reject the self-help program advanced by the National Milk Producers Federation:

WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS FOR A BETTER DAIRY PROGRAM?

For the first time in print, the much-discussed proposed dairy stabilization program is outlined, beginning on page 169. Obviously, many questions will be raised in addition to those included in the article. Many will involve the prospects for the adoption of the program.

Four years ago the National Milk Producers Federation advanced its self-help program. Experience in Congress indicated that some modifications were needed before it would be considered favorably. To serve that end, Hoard's Dairyman suggested a two-price proposal as an amended self-help bill.

During the past 3 years, there has been a growing realization that both proposals needed additional work and refinement. About a year ago, the National Grange moved to establish a policy committee on dairying. It was the function of this group to review the entire dairy economic picture, possible solutions, and make a recommendation for a peacetime dairy program that was not a warmed-over wartime program which had failed to meet the peacetime need of dairy farmers.

To serve on this committee, Herschel Newsom, master of the National Grange, invited a working group representing many interests and areas. Yet the group was small enough to make steady progress. In addition to four State Grange masters, Newsom invited the president of the largest dairy farmer organization in the New York milkshed, the president of the major dairy farmer organization in the Chicago market, and a representative of the State milk control markets of the Southeast.

In addition, Newsom invited officers of the National Milk Producers Federation and the editor of Hoard's Dairyman because of their interest in and sponsorship of dairy proposals in the past. These men served only in an ex-officio capacity, however.

The committee's chairman was a manufacturing milk producer from Minnesota.

WHAT COMMITTEE SAW

When the committee met for the first time last summer, here is what it saw:

1. After 4 years under the present price support program, supply and demand were not in balance. The Government was still buying about 5 billion pounds of milk a year, trying to support the price.

2. The Government loss the previous year was $449 million.

3. Dairy farmers' hourly income had been reduced about 50 percent in 5 years.

4. Under the present program, price supports could drop another 30 cents per hundred, to 75 percent of parity, beginning April 1.

5. Reliable Government and industry forecasts were that supply and demand would not be in balance, under the present support program, for another 9 years, or until 1965.

This information, plus much more, was ample reason for the committee to buckle down in a series of long sessions to develop a sound peacetime program. Their conclusions to date are recorded on page 169.

It should be emphasized that these are the findings of these men as individuals. On the basis of their long experience in the dairy industry, they came to an agreement on the proposal. They could not and did not imply by their actions that their organizations would approve the proposal. Such endorsements can come now only from their memberships, either through annual meetings or by action of boards of directors.

CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS REQUESTED

When the committee first met, Mr. Newsom emphasized repeatedly that the findings of the committee were not to be considered a proprietary property of the National Grange. If that happened, the prospects for approval by Congress would be dim because of the ever-present existence of farm and dairy organizational competition that exists on the national scene. The program was to stand on its merits alone. All groups were to be in a position to contribute their thinking to the proposal and then support it as a dairy stabilization bill.

This first report on the program now goes to farm and dairy organizations for review and suggestions for improvement. Particular attention will be given to the personal opinions and reactions of dairy farmers.

Members of Congress will be consulted to obtain their counsel on the proposal.

Armed with this information, the committee will complete its work.

MAY DEPEND ON SECRETARY'S ACTION

Now what are the prospects for its passage and subsequent approval by dairymen?

In our opinion, it depends heavily on the action of the Secretary of Agriculture prior to April 1. If he decides that there is an "adequate supply" and drops supports to 75 percent of parity, or 30 cents per hundredweight, the proposal would almost certainly be approved quickly by Congress and dairy farmers.

If, however, the Secretary continues to support manufacturing milk prices at $3.25, the acceptance of the new program will depend directly on organized support, shown by dairy farmer groups.

Incidentally, if the Secretary drops price supports 30 cents, it will affect all farmers, not just those selling manufacturing milk. This is true because the base price on almost all fluid milk is the manufacturing price. To this is added a premium for grade A production.

In our reporting of the new program, we made some assumptions for purposes of illustration. Since they may be questioned, we would like to comment on them.

It will be noted that we allowed for a possible decrease in sales as a result of an increase in the retail price. Using the commonly accepted demand-price ratios, we estimated an initial loss of 4 billion pounds. Incidentally, any such estimated loss would be taken only the first year when the retail price was raised. Many experienced dairy observers claim that no such loss will be incurred. If not, then the market-surplus ratio could be 97 to 3.

EVERYONE PARTICIPATES

In some quarters it has been suggested that small producers should be exempt from the market-surplus ratio. To do so would wreck the program, in our opinion. No matter how large or how small the producer, he benefits under the program.

Some may question the reference in the article to converting surplus to export sales. The State Department is on record favoring a properly drawn two-price proposal over the present price-support program. And we think they should feel this way. Whether administrative or foreign policy in future years will give dairymen this opportunity only time will reveal.

What about the markets for new producers and those farmers who want to increase their herd size? Was the committee unrealistic in its recommendations?

You will note that under the program, the new producer and the enlarging producer will still be better off than they are under the present program. Will this defeat the purpose of the program?

Only experience can provide an answer. Men on the committee felt, however, that farmers quitting dairying and the continuing consolidation of farms would offset the possible production increases from new or enlarging producers.

Certainly the dairy farmers elected to the Dairy Stabilization Board will watch this part of the program closely during the first few months of its operation.

HISTORY OF DISSENSION

A key question on the future of the proposal hinges on the attitude of the Secretary of Agriculture and the White House.

It is known that the Secretary is personally favorably inclined toward this type of program. He was seriously disillusioned 4 years ago, however, and he has not forgotten the experience. At that time, he appointed a Dairy Task Committee to do exactly what the Dairy Policy Committee has done. But 4 years ago the Secretary's committee failed to agree on anything in the way of a new dairy program.

If farmers and processors do not squabble among themselves or with each other on this proposal we are confident that administration endorsement may be received. In other words, if farm, dairy, and processor groups take a constructive rather than a negative attitude, the Dairy Policy Committee can reconcile many differences before the proposal reaches bill form. Then strong, near-unanimous support may be shown Congress.

The Late Honorable Harold C. Hagen

SPEECH
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, unfortunately, I was required to be elsewhere when Members paid tribute March 20 to Harold C. Hagen.

However, I should not want the permanent RECORD to be without a statement from me.

Harold Hagen was one of the first men I met on coming to the House of Representatives in 1945. Early, Mrs. Bartlett and I formed a friendly association with Harold and his lovely wife, Audrey, which continued throughout the years.

Nothing that can be said by me now can do other than to repeat the estimates of the character of the man, Harold Hagen, which were recorded here last Wednesday by ever so many Members. But I surely can, and do, subscribe to every sentiment which was then expressed. It was said that Harold Hagen was a man of ability, coupled with gentleness, of integrity, of devotion to his country, and faithful in the interests of the people of the constituency he served so long. Those were not exaggerated statements; they come naturally and quickly in consideration of a man whose firmness was accompanied by the gentleness of a kind disposition. Harold Hagen had sort of a rocklike quality that in a way seemed to serve to delineate the boundaries of those high qualities of integrity and responsibility with which he was so richly endowed.

Time has had its way with the mortal man we knew as Harold Hagen, but his memory will not fade.

Mrs. Bartlett and I desire to extend our deepest personal sympathy to Mrs. Hagen, to the children, Andora and Harold, Jr., and to all others close and dear.

A Fateful Parley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting editorial entitled "A Fateful Parley" which appeared in the Boston Daily Record on March 11, 1957:

A FATEFUL PARLEY

Preparations are underway to make the Bermuda conference which begins on March 21 a great success. This is to be a first meeting between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan of Great Britain.

Why it is held in Bermuda and not in the United States has not been explained, but it may be due to climate.

The importance of the conference is that the British have been taking stock of their position in the world since the Suez fiasco which most Britishers attribute to American policy in the Middle East.

The Prime Minister will undoubtedly come to Bermuda with a full statement of British policy in the Middle East and in other parts of the world.

For one thing, Britain has long been irked by a sense of inferiority as compared with the United States.

It would seem to be the present attitude both in the Government and among the people of Great Britain that if history requires that the British withdraw from many costly international enterprises, then the British will withdraw.

But they have no desire that Russia should be the successor imperialist power, nor do they believe that the United States wants to be.

In this sense, the new British policy may be anticolonialist and anti-imperialist, the British devoting themselves to trade which alone can restore their strength.

Prime Minister Macmillan is a businessman as well as a politician and he can be relied upon to read a balance sheet which most politicians in this era cannot do.

He must recognize the enormous losses that have come to Great Britain since the Suez catastrophe.

It is likely that it will be British policy to devote itself to the continent of Europe and forget the splendors of being a great African and Asiatic empire.

This is what will be threshed out at Bermuda between the President and the Prime Minister and their staffs. Such a conference can restore the grand alliance between the United States and Great Britain or it can change the picture of great nations.

Charles Miner Hospital Versus Hamburg Sanatorium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader Evening News of March 14, 1957, which comments on the proposed change through legislative enactment of renaming the present Charles H. Miner State Hospital to the Hamburg (Pa.) State Sanatorium:

CHARLES MINER HOSPITAL VERSUS HAMBURG SANATORIUM

A bill has been introduced into the general assembly at Harrisburg to change the name of the Charles H. Miner State Hospital on the outskirts of Hamburg to the Hamburg State Sanatorium. Obviously, this is a sop to local pride, although it is not clear what claim to distinction Hamburg has to justify the legislative enactment.

The name of the sanatorium was changed to the Charles H. Miner State Hospital last December to honor the distinguished Wilkes-Barre physician and pioneer in the field of tuberculosis. The names of sanatoriums at Mount Alto, Cresson, and Philadelphia were changed at the same time to honor other professional men who made notable contributions to public health in Pennsylvania during the past half century.

Dr. Miner, a recognized authority on tuberculosis and truly a public benefactor, if there ever was one, richly deserved this tribute and more, too, for his humanitarian labors, above and beyond the call of duty. Hamburg apparently is not aware of his service or it would regard the designation of the sanatorium as the Charles H. Miner State Hospital a tribute to the community as well as a rare privilege.

Down through the centuries, men of science have been honored at home and abroad in this fashion. The Walter Reed Hospital in Washington is an example. Dr. Miner belongs in this illustrious company, although his extreme modesty makes it difficult to mention him in the same breath as these towering figures whose names are household words.

The development at Harrisburg is distressing to local residents and other Pennsylvanians familiar with the career of the former State commissioner of health who has been honored on innumerable occasions by the profession and the public. It reflects anything but credit on the intelligence and appreciation of those individuals who would remove his name from the sanatorium. Long after Hamburg is forgotten, the name of Charles H. Miner will be remembered with gratitude for his service to humanity.

Department of Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, early this year I introduced a bill—H. R. 4298—to create a Department of Peace, through which our country's dedication to international good will and amity can be made more manifest.

My bill would combine our economic assistance, student exchange, and international-information programs under a Secretary for Peace, so that the import and impact of these programs can be clearly, emphatically, and everlastingly directed toward peace-building activities. My bill also calls for the establishment of a peace college, comparable to our War College, where the arts and techniques of peace can be subjected to the same kind of diligent and dedicated study and practice that now goes in to the techniques of defense and war.

The establishment of a Department of Peace is in no sense a reflection on the departments and agencies now working in the field of peace. Rather, it is an effort to make their work more effective in relation to the one goal which must be achieved within the near future.

Since the introduction of my bill, I have had letters from individuals and organizations all over the country expressing enthusiastic approval and endorsement of such a step. Indeed, it is evident that the proposal merely expresses in legislative form an idea that has been long harbored by many individuals.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD some excerpts from correspondence I have had with respect to this proposal:

HANOVER STREET PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
Wilmington, Del., March 16, 1957.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: I am tremendously glad and interested to read your bill to create a Department of Peace and a National Peace College for training young men in the building of peace. I have long advocated this. It is a wonderful idea and the only solution to the war problem.

Enclosed is an article I published in 1955 on the subject.

With my prayers and best wishes for the success of your bill.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD DOUDS, *Minister.*

EXCERPTS FROM WAGING PEACE

"The supreme irony of our world is that we are so able, so devoted, and so clever for war; but so helpless, so blind, and so clumsy for peace.

"For war we do anything. We give and sacrifice endlessly. We give billions. We spent more on the last war than all else in our history. We give our best natural resources, science, wealth, industry—even the lives of our finest youth. For war our resourcefulness has no bounds. We invent radar, jet planes, atom bombs. Our intelligence, our ingenuity, our resourcefulness for war are astounding. Are we doing the same for peace?

"How could we be as resourceful for peace as we are for war? As a Nation we have a secretary of war and defense. Why not a secretary of peace? In a sense our Secretary of State is a secretary of peace, but he spends most of his time building military alliances, and huge armaments have never stopped war.

"Why not a secretary of peace to mobilize our Nation for peace, to invent new sociological and psychological methods and techniques (as amazing as the atom bomb) for creating peace? We need a department of peace with as many dollars and men as the Department of War.

* * * * *

"We have a West Point for the Army, an Annapolis for the Navy, and now a new training center for the Air Force. Why not a West Point for peace? A national academy where the ablest young men of America would be trained in the practical techniques of building goodwill and democracy?

"We need a peace army of a million dedicated men and women to go into the world and wage the war of ideas—wage peace—through teaching, writing, speaking, serving, working, and living sacrificially with the people of each country until we win them to understand and want peace and democracy as we do.

"A huge undertaking? Yes; but not as great as fighting another war."

STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
GEORGE ELLWANGER UNIT 53,
Rochester, N. Y.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN OSTERTAG: The George Ellwanger Unit 53, Steuben Society of America, compliments you on the bill you sponsor in behalf of the establishment of a department of peace.

We agree with you that all possible means to keep the peace among nations in this atomic age should be explored and evaluated, and that a department of peace would be the logical office to coordinate all these efforts.

We wish you success in having your bill adopted at this session of Congress.

Very truly yours,

PAUL OEHMKE,
Secretary.

UNITY EVANGELICAL
AND REFORMED CHURCH,
Antigo, Wis.

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Our committee on Christian social action of the North Wisconsin Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, inspired by the bill you have introduced in the National Congress (H. R. 4296), is planning on submitting a resolution at our annual synod conference, to be held May 7–9 in Sheboygan, Wis., in endorsement and support of that bill. The resolution is herewith enclosed on a separate sheet of paper.

It is our intention to bring this matter which we believe to be supremely important and timely to the attention of other groups, both secular and religious throughout the country.

Respectfully yours,

WALTER A. WERTH,
Pastor; Chairman, Committee on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church, North Wisconsin Synod.

CHARACTER RESEARCH ASSOCIATION,
St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN OSTERTAG: * * * Certainly, both Dr. (Theo. F.) Lentz and myself feel that you are indeed rendering America and the entire world a genuine service in your efforts to cause the establishment of a department of peace.

Cordially yours,

BUFORD POSEY,
Associate Director.

CHARACTER RESEARCH ASSOCIATION,
St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN OSTERTAG: According to a news release of last March 16, you urged Congress to set up a department of peace. I am enclosing herewith a copy of a statement prepared for and presented to the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament at their St. Louis hearing last December 12. In this I am urging consideration of a department of peace.

Sincerely yours,

THEO F. LENTZ,
Director.

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT

"The psychological aspects of the problem of disarmament have not been recognized with sufficient clarity and emphasis. * * * The most astounding fact of our time is the relatively small amount of human intelligence thus far invested in disarmament. * * * It may be necessary to appropriate as heavily for (peace as for defense).

"I would envision:

"1. A strikingly increased appropriation for UNESCO specifically earmarked for research to determine the conditions necessary for disarmament and peace.

"2. A well-manned, adequately financed United States Departmen of Peace. * * *

"3. 'West Points' for peace. * * *

"4. Peace colleges analogous to war colleges. * * *

"5. Research corporations for peace research * * * et cetera."

Civil-Rights Legislation Menace to Civilization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, on February 26 last, there appeared in the Greenville (S. C.) News a very timely and thoughtful editorial pertaining to the racial issue with particular reference to the 1957 "civil wrongs" bill.

The proponents of this type of legislation base their advocacy thereof on the high ground that they are doing something for the Negro, particularly in the South.

We have long contended that such proposals regardless of motive behind them, would, in reality, if enacted into law, do the very people they contend they are trying to help real and lasting harm.

The editorial from the pen of Mr. W. W. Freeman, a real friend of the Negro race, should cause the real friends of the Negro everywhere to stop, look, and listen.

The editorial follows:

CIVIL-RIGHTS LEGISLATION MENACE TO CIVILIZATION

The civil-rights bills of 1957, like those proposed during the last 20 years and more by individuals of both parties and by administrations of both parties, are anachronistic, says an editorial in the Greenville (S. C.) News.

An anachronism is something that is misplaced in time. In this instance, it is a throwback to a more primitive age which is, at best, a misfit and, at worst, a destructive force in the age in which it occurs.

And when intelligent and otherwise dedicated men ignore more pressing and more serious problems and pass up greater opportunities for service to deliberately create such an anachronism, the result is bound to be tragic.

Even if we could assume, which we cannot, that the broad and untested powers these proposed laws would confer on an already oversized and unwieldy Federal bureaucracy, would be wisely and fairly administered, the need for them, if it ever existed, has long since passed.

The purposes now claimed for them have been better served by processes springing from the people themselves than ever they can by pressure and threat of punishment imposed upon the people by an omnipotent and omnipresent "big brother" sort of government.

WOULD OPPRESS MEN

Furthermore, the instruments now proposed to protect liberty and to uplift men are such as to be capable of being used to destroy liberty and to oppress men.

To appreciate the origin of the civil rights bills and the natural resistance to them in many parts of the country, especially the South, one must consider them in their proper perspective with past history and present trends.

To put it bluntly, this legislation grows out of a latter day extension of the overzealous efforts of the abolitionists, who profited and were exalted during the era preceding the War Between the States. It is being pushed in the same sort of spirit that motivated the vengeant and vindictive planners and executors of the reconstruction.

Not even during the tragic and oppressive reconstruction did a Congress, which was dominated by radicals and in which the conquered South had few friends and spokesmen, see fit to enact such laws as now proposed.

There was military occupation and corrupt government imposed from Washington, but there was no permanent board of inquisitors that could be turned into an agency of harassment and intimidation. There was injustice, but there was no permanent overturning of the processes of the courts.

Purged by bloodshed of the sin of slavery, which was not his alone, nor his country's alone, the southern white resisted the reconstruction. He resisted it because it was intended to take from him in order to give to the Negro. He resists court-decreed integration and the civil rights proposals for the same reason—again with justification for his fears.

NEGRO IS MISLED

The Negro was misled in those days, and he is being misled now.

The end of the abominable institution of slavery was inevitable, and it could have been accomplished without fratricide and without threatening the Union and creating abiding bitterness. As its end, the Negro was led to believe he could switch from the status of slave to that of master. In some instances, for a time, he did. In others, he was promised "40 acres and a mule," but more often than not he didn't know what to do with 40 acres, and he never got the mule.

The Negro again is being falsely led to believe that integration will solve all of his remaining problems and that all he needs to realize the millennium is a few more court decrees and Federal laws. He has been led to believe that political largesse will bring to him those things that he can best realize by earning and exercising the rights and privileges already available to him.

Until fairly recent decades, southern whites and Negroes engaged in a pathetic sort of competition for the lesser degree of poverty, but they have made progress together and they have achieved a mutual understanding. Education and a rising prosperity were easing the old bitterness and misunderstanding and improving relations between the races at a rate that has been positively amazing.

The tragedy of this era is that, Court decision in the school cases, and especially since the renewal of agitation of civil-rights legislation with almost virulent vigor, this progress has been slowed down. And the Negro stands to lose the most. The bitterness and the old suspicions are being revived.

A few years ago in a prosperous South Carolina industrial city, a joint committee of white and Negro citizens conducted a survey of the needs of the Negro community, ranging from health and housing to transportation and recreation. Much progress came of it.

Also a few years ago, with the help of the newspapers and interested white citizens, certain racial barriers in the public hospital were broken down and qualified Negro doctors were granted staff privileges for the first time on full equality with their white colleagues.

Along about the same time, the newspapers and interested white citizens campaigned for better housing for Negroes. City substandard housing laws were strengthened and better enforcement machinery established. The improvement in rental property has been marked.

Also, it was urged that property be made available to Negroes of means who wanted to build better homes away from congested areas in which Negroes tend to congregate. Subsequently, a fairly exclusive Negro residential section, near white neighborhoods, was started. There were no objections.

Dairy Stabilization Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR A. KNOX
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from Hoard's Dairyman of March 25, 1957. This is a follow-up editorial to one in this magazine dated February 28, 1957, commenting on the Dairy Stabilization Program:

NOW IT IS UP TO YOU

Three years ago last December we published on this page an editorial, "This self-help proposal deserves a chance to work." In it, we endorsed the self-help program advanced November 12, 1953, by the National Milk Producers Federation.

As the months passed it became obvious that other dairy and farm organizations would not support the federation's bill. Further, it was clear that Congress, for various reasons, would not pass it.

Still firmly believing in the validity of the federation's approach, we advanced, in the spring of 1954, an amended self-help proposal embodying a two-price principle. While our suggestion was slightly more palatable in some areas, it, too, failed to garner sufficient support.

Finally, in a determined effort to develop a workable and acceptable program, the National Grange established a dairy policy committee which has been working for several months. Drawing talent from many areas, the committee reached tentative agreement on the dairy-stabilization program outlined in our issue of February 25.

Since the appearance of this article, we have been besieged by personal appeals and letters to carry the program forward.

The following statement of policy may come as a disappointment to some, but we believe it to be founded on sound principles.

The function of Hoard's Dairyman never should be that of determining programs and policies for the dairy industry. Even had we the power to put the new program into effect, we would not exercise it. To do so would be autocratic, undemocratic, and contrary to the principles of self-government.

It should be our function, however, to report and comment impartially on dairy policies and developments.

Further, it is an important function of a magazine such as ours to advance new ideas and proposals for the improvement of the economic lot of dairy farmers.

During the past 3 years, the editor of this publication has traveled approximately 100,000 miles, equal to four trips around the world, meeting with individual dairymen and dairy organizations in all sections of the United States. A great proportion of that energy, time, and expense has been devoted to a reconciliation of differences among dairy groups and an attempt to aid in the solution of the surplus problem through the construction of a program assuring a sound, profitable future for dairy farming.

In our opinion, the recommendations of the dairy policy committee, as published in Hoard's Dairyman, February 25, are the culmination of those efforts. Now, however, the actual acceptance or rejection of that self-help proposal is strictly in the hands of the dairy farmers and their organizations.

How About Nasser?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a bold but truthful statement entitled "How About Nasser?" which appeared in the Boston Daily Record on March 13, 1957:

HOW ABOUT NASSER?

What has been apparent to many all along now becomes clearer. There will be no peace in the Middle East as long as Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser is around to bluster and threaten in a grade B imitation of the late Adolf Hitler and of his current mentors, Khrushchev, Bulganin, and others of the Kremlin crowd.

It seems only yesterday, because it practically was only yesterday, that at least some kind of makeshift truce was rigged up providing the United Nations forces to take over the police work in the Gaza strip upon the withdrawal of the Israeli Army.

Certainly part of a police force's work is to maintain order and protect itself from mobs.

That is what Norwegian and Danish troops under the U. N. banner did when they were stoned by Arab rioters attempting to storm their headquarters. Withal, they used considerable restraint. They employed tear gas. They fired over the heads of the rioters, breaking up the mob without casualties.

But Nasser doesn't like it and has used the incident as an excuse to announce that an "Egyptian administration will take over responsibility for Gaza immediately."

Where does this put the United States? Where does it put the U. N.?

The United States exerted strong pressure to accomplish the Israeli withdrawal and the filling of the vacuum by the U. N. troops.

Is this agreement, won by tense and difficult bargaining, to be torn up at the first flimsy whim of Colonel Nasser?

And if the Eisenhower doctrine was applicable to Israel, is it not also pertinent to Egypt?

The questions as of this writing pose a grave test for the policies of the Eisenhower administration, and for the influence and integrity of the U. N.

Changes Marked in Czechoslovak Capital of Prague

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by Elie Abel which appeared in the New York Times earlier this month in which is set forth changes observed by the writer in Prague:

CHANGES MARKED IN CZECH CAPITAL—GAIETY GIVES WAY TO WORRY—GOODS ARE PLENTIFUL BUT QUALITY APPEARS POOR

(By Elie Abel)

PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, March 2.—The warmth on the windblown shoppers in the bestowing a little light but very little warmth on the wind-blown shoppers in the center of Prague.

The River Vitava (Moldau) winds through the old city, its hundred spires blurred by overhanging fog, past the monstrous Stalin statue on the embankment and under the carved stone saints of the Charles Bridge.

Take away the granite Stalin, the Soviet flags, the Communist mottoes in subdued neon lights downtown, and the face of Prague is as it must have been 20 years ago, in the last days of Thomas Garrigue Masaryk's First Republic.

Yet a great deal has changed. The hotels swarm with young Egyptians in civilian

dress, wearing air-force blue trenchcoats. It is a fair guess that they are fighter pilots being trained to fly MIG's in Czechoslovakia.

RUSSIAN VISITORS NOTED

Stocky Russians, their nationality given away by their flapping bell-bottomed trousers, sip tea in the lounge. Their mission here is unknown, and they seem to speak only with one another.

Gaiety is a stranger here, worry a constant companion. An old Czechoslovak friend politely refuses to call on an American visitor in his hotel room.

"I'll meet you outside in the street," he explains gravely.

"Nowadays there are always some formalities."

Compared with the capitals of other Communist states, Prague is a city of abundance. Store windows are loaded with consumer goods. Street crowds are warmly if not stylishly dressed.

But an hour or two of comparison shopping discloses that the quality of goods in the shops is low by western or prewar Czechoslovak standards. And the prices are high.

A badly cut suit of clothes, the fabric stiff with cheaper substitutes for wool, costs an industrial worker 700 crowns, or more than 2 weeks' work. According to the Government's own statistics, average wages are 1,200 to 1,300 crowns a month.

Square-toed women's shoes, designed to make the most graceful foot look clumsy, are 300 to 400 crowns. That is the equivalent of 1 week's earnings for a skilled worker. But many office clerks and secretaries receive no more than 800 a month.

WOMEN'S SHOES $30–$40 A PAIR

At the unrealistic rate of exchange maintained by the State Bank of Czechoslovakia, the plainest pair of women's shoes on display cost $30 to $40 (United States).

Coffee is 17 to 21 crowns for 100 grams, or about 85 to 105 crowns a pound. Even if you apply the special tourist exchange rate this translates into $4 or $5.

There are many more automobiles here than in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, Bucharest, Rumania, or Warsaw, some earmarked for sale to private citizens. But the price of a small Czech-built Skoda is 27,000 crowns, or the equivalent of 14 months' pay for a hard-coal miner, the aristocrat of present-day Czechoslovakia.

According to Svobodny Slovo, former Socialist newspaper, 30,961 Czechs and Slovaks had their names on waiting lists to buy automobiles as of last December 31. Each application was backed by a virtually irrevocable deposit of 20,000 crowns.

WORKER'S RATING A FACTOR

Then there is the Communist merit system with which to contend. Allocations of automobiles are made on the basis of a worker's rating in his factory. Shock workers have first call.

Take the case of a Czechoslovak machinist known to this correspondent. His name is 51st on his factory's list of deserving workers. This particular factory is allotted 10 automobiles a year. At that rate, the machinist should get his Skoda by 1962, other things being equal as the mathematicians say.

Supporters of the Communist regime say price comparisons are misleading because they do not take into account free medical care, cheap rents, and streetcar fares. There is some merit in this contention. A young engineer proudly showed an American visitor through his drab but comfortable two-bedroom apartment in a new housing development on the outskirts of Prague. His rent, 215 crowns a month, amounts to 10 percent of his salary.

The national health plan was started back in the days of the first republic, a point the Communists carefully ignore. Moreover, Czechoslovak doctors today are so overworked that the quality of medical care often suffers.

Military Public Land Withdrawal Report: H. R. 5538

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, which I have the honor to serve as chairman, is today filing its report on H. R. 5538, a bill "to provide that withdrawals, reservations, or restrictions of more than 5,000 acres of public lands of the United States for certain purposes shall not become effective until approved by act of Congress, and for other purposes."

The report of the committee reflects the conclusions and findings which result from a total of 28 hearing and legislative markup days which my committee devoted to this matter in the past 18 months, and reaffirms the wisdom of the House in passing without a single objection, in the 84th Congress, the predecessor to the reported bill.

Under permission to extend my remarks, I take this opportunity to include hereafter an extract entitled "Summary of Committee Action and Findings," taken from the committee's report on this urgently needed legislation. I trust that the House will take early action, through approval of H. R. 5538, to recapture to the Congress—in light of the findings of our committee with regard to military public land withdrawals—its constitutional responsibility under the property clause for direct congressional control of these matters.

SUMMARY OF COMMITTEE ACTION AND FINDINGS ON MILITARY PUBLIC LAND WITHDRAWALS

On the record made by this committee in a total of 28 hearings days and legislation markup sessions spanning the last session of the 84th Congress and the first 8 weeks of this Congress, the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs believes that the findings hereinafter set out are established.

1. DEFENSE HOLDINGS, PENDING REQUESTS

Twenty years ago—in 1937—defense agencies of the United States controlled a total of 3 million acres of real property, for all defense purposes.

Today, the total is more than 30 million acres in the United States and Alaska; if all pending defense applications for public lands had been approved, then defense agencies would today control nearly 40 million acres of real property in the United States and Alaska, of which 25.6 million acres would represent withdrawn public lands.

2. RATE OF DEFENSE LAND ACQUISITION

In the 18-month period preceding June 30, 1955—a period of 547 days—agencies of the Department of Defense acquired land at the rate of more than 5 acres per minute every minute of the day and night. Had the applications totaling 8.7 million acres pending been approved between that date and January 1, 1957, the rate of defense agency public land acquisition alone would have been at a rate in excess of 11 acres per minute.

3. "FREEZE" ON EXECUTIVE WITHDRAWALS

In view of the sharp upturn in Defense Department land acquisitions, and in view of the fact that all such withdrawals were finalized within the executive departments by executive action (Defense requests, Interior approved), the committee chairman, Representative ENGLE, on October 29, 1955, after consultation with ranking committee members on both sides, addressed a letter to the Acting Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Public Land Management requesting that further approvals be withheld until the committee could initiate an inquiry into policies and procedures governing defense withdrawals.

Interior agreed to withhold approval of pending requests, and urged early committee study of the matter in the 84th Congress. Since October 29, 1955, less than 40,000 acres of public land have been withdrawn for defense purposes.

4. DEFENSE WITHDRAWAL CONTROL LEGISLATION

After extensive hearings during the 2d session of the 84th Congress, the committee developed legislation aimed at returning to the Congress direct control of future defense agency withdrawals of public lands, with both Defense and Interior agreeing that except in cases of most urgent necessity, none of the pending applications would be approved until the control legislation had been disposed of by the Congress.

H. R. 12185, the bill reported in the 84th Congress, passed the House on July 26, 1956, without a dissenting vote and after receiving unprecedented support from official State agencies of 39 States, from all major national conservation groups, from numerous regional and local groups, organizations, and individuals and in very large measure the support of the Department of the Interior and the Department of Defense.

House Report No. 2856 (84th Cong., 2d sess.), which accompanied H. R. 12185 to the House set out in detail the findings and conclusions which formed the basis for the unanimous recommendation of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee for early and favorable House action, which came too late for Senate consideration of the measure.

The bill also unanimously reported by the committee herewith is in all essentials the bill approved by the House in the 84th Congress, with some language changes made for greater clarification as to scope and procedure.

In addition to requiring an act of Congress before defense land acquisitions exceeding 5,000 acres take effect—including public lands of the United States, Alaska and Hawaii, outer Continental Shelf lands and Federal lands, and waters off the coasts of Alaska and Hawaii—the bill operates to: make applicable to all military reservations and facilities the hunting, fishing, and trapping laws of the State or Territory in which such installation is located; redefine the responsibility of the Secretary of the Interior with respect to defense-held public lands found surplus to defense needs; and to clarify the existing law with respect to disposition, management, and control of the mineral estate in defense-held public lands.

The findings of the committee in the past 18 months underscore in the committee's view the urgent need for enactment of H. R. 5538.

5. DEFENSE AGENCY CONTROL PROCEDURES

The record made by the committee constitutes a severe indictment of central control procedures in the Military Establishment in nearly all phases of public land acquisition, utilization, and management over a period spanning many years. It appears that the 800 percent jump (from 3 million to more than 25 million acres) in total military land holdings from the War Department days of 1937 to the creation of the Department of Defense in 1947 was made by independent actions of the military departments—the Army, Navy (for the Navy and Marine Corps), and Air Force—without benefit of centralized control procedures. Further, that until August 27, 1955, the record shows Defense had cleared without question applications for withdrawal of millions

of acres of additional lands solely on the basis of an asserted need by the requesting military department. In turn, the Department of the Interior—responsible for finalizing all public land withdrawal orders—had for years approved application after application on the basis of Defense Department requests, since Interior was without authority or the technical data needed to challenge them.

The consequences of this procedure, until August 27, 1955, when Defense for the first time issued a departmentwide directive establishing a comprehensive periodic reports control procedure, are best indicated in the following sections.

6. TEMPORARY WITHDRAWALS BECOME PERMANENT

During the 6-year period 1939–45, more than 13 million acres of public lands were withdrawn or reserved by Executive action for the use of the military. By the terms of the orders which set aside these lands for the military, they were to automatically revert to public land status 6 months after the unlimited national emergency; the unlimited national emergency terminated April 28, 1952, and the 6 months' plus period expired October 28, 1952.

Yet, on February 20, 1956, a total of 49 of these temporary withdrawals—made from 11 to 17 years earlier—embracing 11.9 million acres, and located in 10 States and Alaska, were still in effect.

7. DEFENSE AGENCY POSITION, JANUARY 1956

The testimony of the Departments of Defense, Army, Navy, and Air Force with respect to the more than 30 million acres held in the United States and Alaska as of January 1, 1956, and with respect to the 8.7 million acres' worth of applications which had already been approved by them and by Defense was, in effect this: All of the land held as of that date is needed and is being used under maximum multiple purpose use, and all of the land under application is needed.

Defense Department witnesses did concede that the results of the August 1955, directive might modify these positions. The modification—in dollars, acres, resources, and deficiencies revealed—has been staggering.

8. IMPROVED PROPERTY FOUND EXCESS, 1956–57

After the January 1956 testimony of Defense the first of 2,153 reports on that number of Army, Navy, and Air Force installations began to flow into Defense under the 1955 utilization directive.

As of February 2, 1957, with approximately 66 percent of the reports in, but with only about one-third of the total to be received evaluated, Defense found that 1,056,083 acres of land, together with improvements costing $345.2 million, were excess to the requirements of the military department having custody and control. It should be emphasized that 18,200 acres which cost about $230 million represents industrial property recommended for disposal, subject to a national security recapture clause.

It will be seen that if the reports evaluated to date are representative, the ultimate finding of surplus improved property (industrial and nonindustrial) may reach 3 million acres with an initial cost of more than $1 billion. From the standpoint of this committee's particular interest, the significant figures are more than 1 million acres with improvements, but representing nonindustrial property, which cost originally $125 million.

9. MILITARY DEPARTMENT CONTROLS

The committee's tentative conclusion in its 1956 report that "serious deficiencies" were indicated in defense agency control procedures, in retrospect, appear to have been fully justified, if unduly cautious.

The committee has pointed out in its report that of the 3 military departments, Army, Navy, and Air Force, as of February 2, 1957, only the Department of the Air Force had submitted to Defense utilization reports on all of its properties (701 properties, 701 reports), while Navy had submitted about 30 percent (342 of 982), and Army about 90 percent (428 of 470). In turn, Defense had evaluated only about 30 percent of the total reports to be received.

It has also been noted that only the Department of the Air Force had, as of the close of the committee's hearing record, completed a detailed review of its range holdings, real property policy, multiple resource policy, and fishing and hunting policy. It has also been noted that the Air Force Board, under the chairmanship of Maj. Gen. Leland S. Stranathan found that as of October 9, 1956:

(a) Instructions governing Air Force ranges were "incomplete, obsolete, and complex."

(b) No valid criteria existed for determining range sizes.

(c) Regulations as to multiple use on Air Force ranges "do not announce clear-cut policy with regard to the desirability of permitting or encouraging hunting, fishing, grazing, agricultural and mining activities."

(d) Regulations governing hunting and fishing are "divergent and complex."

(e) A total of 9 Air Force ranges in 8 States, and embracing 5.1 million acres of land had been "without justification" closed to general hunting and fishing.

(f) There is no policy guidance in regulations regarding the desirability or undesirability of leasing Air Force rangelands for grazing and agricultural purposes.

(g) A total of 12 Air Force ranges, embracing more than 6.7 million acres in 10 States had been closed to grazing or agriculture "without justification." (As the committee noted, in its report, applying nationwide Bureau of Land Management grazing averages, such an area would have a theoretical, potential carrying capacity for more than 67,000 cattle and more than 420,000 sheep, per year.)

(h) Finally, and of greatest import, the Board found on October 9, 1957, that about 40 percent of the 14.4 million acres of land held by the Air Force and described 9 months earlier before the Committee as "fully utilized and needed for the foreseeable future"—5.7 million acres—were, in fact, excess to current and long-range Air Force requirements as bombing and gunnery ranges: thus, an area equal in size to a strip of land 2.8 miles wide from New York to San Francisco, held but excess.

The committee has no basis for any conclusion as to whether the findings of the Stranathan Board with respect to Air Force holdings are representative of the situation throughout the military departments. It does here reiterate its unqualified conviction that no additional public land withdrawals should be finalized—except in cases of most urgent necessity, and then only subject to revocation thereafter if dictated by the results of studies not yet completed—until the Defense Department has reviewed the Stranathan Board findings, and until Defense has in turn insisted on development of similar internal reports on the part of the Departments of the Army and Navy to be followed by detailed scrutiny and evaluation of both at the defense level.

10. INCALCULABLE WASTEFULNESS

The commendation of the Air Force Board in the body of this report for the Board's forthright and direct assault on Air Force internal control procedures, and the highly critical and constructive self-analysis resulting will not, of course, obscure the clear message in the findings. The record of this one military department's analysis of its own operations is, in the committee's view, a recitation of incalculable wastefulness—of taxpayers' dollars, of resources within the reservations marked "closed" for so many years to public multiple use and enjoyment, and of unquestionable but immeasurable damaging effect to the local economies from which each unneeded or unused acre was carved.

11. LOST: 303,000 UTAH ACRES

Reference to one other finding should serve as an exclamation point to the committee's plea for early enactment of legislation which will provide a basis for review of military land requests by the Congress.

For 15 years—from 1942 until at least last month—the Air Force has controlled, but admittedly they had never used an area of approximately 303,000 acres of land in western Utah, held in conjunction with Wendover Bombing Range. When pressed for an explanation as to why this 500-square-mile area (more than 7 times the size of the entire District of Columbia) had not been used, Air Force witnesses said that it could not have been used because it was traversed on the surface by a major railroad, highway, and pipelines, and overhead by a commercial airway.

In turn, when asked why it had not been released 15 years ago if not used and admittedly not useable, the Air Force witness made it clear that the Air Force did not know it controlled the area, with this explanation:

"I think there may be an explanation of that. I know when I first looked into it, it just did not occur to me that we would own land in a bombing and gunnery range under a commercial airway * * *. I think that is probably what beclouded the issue, that the airway was plotted across the map and one would not think of looking for land under it."

12. NAVY NEVADA LAND

The committee has, in the body of the report, brought up to date the developments on the request of the Navy for withdrawal of some 2.8 million acres of land in northern Nevada for use as a gunnery range, and the decision, after many months, that Navy would instead satisfy the bulk of its requirement by using the nearly 2 million acres in southern Nevada declared excess on March 1, 1956, by the Air Force.

It appears that by reason of this decision, to the northern Nevada economy there will be saved within the proposed area all or most of the inheld 35 ranches (ranging in size from 200 to 19,000 acres); 22,400 cattle and 14,000 sheep grazing in the area; 142 patented mining claims, 1,609 unpatented mining claims, and several millions of dollars worth of operating mines, and a priceless wildlife habitat for antelope, mule deer, sage hens, and chukar partridges.

13. MILITARY HUNTING AND FISHING

The committee has noted the very substantial progress made in the matter of military-local relationships on hunting and fishing during the past year, with a number of specific accomplishments listed in the body of the report. It is clear, however, that there remains some validity in the assertion that "exclusive military hunting preserves" still exist.

There has been set out in the body of the report, in some detail, the views of the committee in opposition to the present practice of the "guest of the military" approach, as well as its views on the privileged status of retired military personnel, visiting military personnel, temporary duty military personnel, and various classes of dignitaries—including Members of Congress—all or some of whom are listed as entitled to hunting and and fishing privileges on all or some of the Army's installations. The committee believes that this principal remaining questionable practice should, and can be, reevaluated throughout the military departments where it prevails.

14. THE MILITARY AND PETROLEUM RESOURCES

The report of the committee has dealt, at several points, with the effect of the military overwater or offshore range policy on petroleum resources. Reference has been made specifically to the committee's position on San Nicolas Island, Calif. (p. 50–51, supra), and on the Navy's insistence on retaining intact the existing W–92 warning area in the Gulf of Mexico off Louisiana (pp. 51–55, supra). It is believed section 6 of H. R. 5538 effectively lays to rest the San Nicolas matter.

The combination of intractability of the Navy in the matter of the W–92 withdrawal area with the unwillingness or inability of the Department of the Interior to act, and the failure of those responsible in the Executive Office of the President to settle a months-old Defense/Navy-Interior clash, is simply incomprehensible, for the reasons the committee noted in the body of the report on this subject.

This multiple inaction at the Executive level does, however, afford an opportunity for early and decisive disposal by the Congress of the matter, in keeping with the basic objective of recapturing to the legislative branch its too-long-abandoned constitutional responsibility under the property clause.

The statistical effect of permitting Navy's use of 800,000 acres of the shelf lands overlaid by the W–92 Navy warning areas is this: The taxpayers of the United States are being asked to pay outright (through revenues not received from oil leasing) about $250 per surface acre of saltwater airspace over the Gulf of Mexico for asserted naval gunnery needs—when the same Navy controls more than 16,000 square miles (13.8 million acres) of other warning areas in the Gulf of Mexico and has had designated there an additional 10,000 square miles (8.8 million acres); further, that the Navy already controls, or has had designated warning areas totaling 236,000 square miles (198.7 million acres) in surface area off the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

The committee—failing action before House disposition of H. R. 5538—stands ready to propose an amendment aimed at resolving the W–92 matter.

15. "SUPERRANGE" PLAN DISCARDED

From testimony of witnesses representing the Atomic Energy Commission, Air Force, and Navy in 1956, the committee had expressed concern at the proposal to carve out of public domain a new joint-use "superrange" for ballistics-testing purposes in the vicinity of Albuquerque, N. Mex. From testimony last year, it appeared this range might require as much as 10,000 square miles in 1 piece (an area 100 x 100 miles on its extreme axis), or roughly 6 million acres.

Decision of the Air Force to obtain use of the airspace and of non-federally-owned lands of lesser area, within and over the Navaho Indian Reservation, and on terms satisfactory to the tribe, is applauded by the committee as an alternative to the original, and tentative plan.

16. SUMMATION OF TODAY'S DEFENSE NEEDS: "CUBIC MILES"

The technological advances made in development of our modern utensile of war have outmoded traditional concepts of military land acquisition, management, and control—just as they have made obsolete, over the years, what were called at the height of World War II conventional weapons concepts.

In an age of high-speed, high-altitude, and pilotless aircraft, of ground-to-ground, ground-to-air, air-to-ground and air-to-air atomic and hydrogen projectiles and missiles, it appears that the United States Defense Establishment had concentrated so much—and so effectively—on the operations aspects of its collective missions that it had at the same time largely ignored updating the procedures and policies governing acquisition, management, utilization, and control of real property deemed necessary to carry out these missions. Put another way, while policies for carrying out the basic defense mission advanced to a supereffective point, policies for assuring vital domestic land and related resources were permitted to remain outmoded, wasteful, stifling to resource development, decentralized, and ineffective.

We have said that if all pending Defense applications were approved today, then Defense agencies would control nearly 40 million acres of land surface area in the States and Alaska, and at the same time they would control inland and offshore airspace overlaying a surface area aggregating an astronomical 602,000 square miles (388.9 million acres). The answer to the 1956 plea of this committee that Defense agencies should get out overwater with their ranges is clear: they're already there.

It is clear to this committee, then, that military use requirements today must be thought of in terms of both horizontal and vertical needs. While the concern and jurisdiction of this committee is limited to the former, and then only where public lands are involved, the committee believes that it is absolutely vital that continuing reevaluations be made of Federal legislation and administrative controls governing the assignment and use of airspace, which does involve the latter.

As reported above, the committee believes that very substantial progress has been recently made by Defense agencies in the direction of vastly improved real property procedures, which involves horizontal needs; it is possible that similar studies of Defense airspace, or vertical needs, would achieve similar results. This is so because the record made in the 84th Congress, and in this Congress makes it clear that, where we spoke of military acres pre-World War II, and military square miles by 1945, today those requirements can only be adequately described in terms of cubic miles.

The Cause of Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a sincere statement of facts entitled "The Cause of Peace" which appeared in the Boston Daily Record on March 12, 1957:

THE CAUSE OF PEACE

There is worldwide approval of the manner in which American policy has contributed to the lessening of the peril of major war in the Middle East.

It is to be suspected that this response is not confined to our side of the Iron Curtain, since the feeling of relief that hostilities are more remote is probably just as keen throughout the territory dominated by Moscow.

While the grave and complicated problems of the Middle East lack a total and permanent solution, even a temporary turning away from the course of violence and aggression is a tremendously good thing.

That good thing has definitely been accomplished in the Israeli withdrawal from Egypt, and it is a gratifying turn of events for the whole civilized world.

The credit belongs in great measure to the patient and painstaking labors in the cause of peace by President Ensenhower and Secretary of State Dulles.

W. R. Hearst, Jr., touched on this phase of the situation in his recent Editor's Report in the Hearst Sunday newspapers, and we think he reflected a much wider opinion than that of his own newspapers when he said with respect to the easing of the crisis in the Middle East:

"Curtain calls are very much in order in bringing this act so hearteningly to a close, and among the deserving recipients, besides Israel, are such nations as Canada and France. But I would place in the forefront for bravoes the United States policy and influence as patiently pressed by President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles."

Human minds and hearts rest more easily in consequence of this beneficial service to the peace of the world, and that indeed is a high credit to the men who have served such a cause so well.

Requirements for Good Citizenship in America and in Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, last Monday evening I was privileged to be in attendance at the National Good Citizenship Award banquet sponsored by the National Association of Food Chains at the Mayflower Hotel. At this dinner the 12 guests of honor presented were men chosen for their excellent records as managers of food stores and also for their community interest and service.

The principal address of the evening was delivered by Tracy S. Voorhees, a man who himself has a long record of unselfish service to Government and to his State, New Jersey. He is presently Chairman of the President's Committee for Hungarian Refugee Relief.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include his talk:

REQUIREMENTS FOR GOOD CITIZENSHIP IN AMERICA AND IN HUNGARY

Good citizenship in America today is not an easy achievement; yet it is less difficult than good citizenship has ever been in our land or any other land before.

Good citizenship grows only from a philosophy of life with some idealism in it—as distinguished from a materialistic interpretation of the meaning of life. So good citizenship is beyond the reach and the understand of those who are principally interested in hogging things for themselves. It is a possession which can be owned only by those who have a different set of values. It grows only where there is less ambition for Cadillacs and country clubs than for contributions to civil life. Yet it may have room for cars and country clubs, too—but as incidents of life, not ends in themselves.

Good citizenship in America is made easier by our Nation's unparalleled economic wealth. Shorter hours in factory and business give more time, not only for leisure—as is too often thought—but for service in interesting and worthwhile causes. As Frederick H. Ecker, honorary chairman of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., has recently written, "It is easy for youth to be misled by

such terms as the 'new leisure' and the '6-hour day.' * * * There seems to be a general belief that work is merely a means of securing leisure, that we work in order to be released from work. That attitude is fatal to creative endeavor and progressive life."

Another factor making good citizenship easier is that higher earning power, now so widely distributed to millions of workers as well as to all executives like yourselves, makes it possible to give of one's time and financial resources to civic and charitable, including religious, objectives, and to do so without undue sacrifice. Great compensating satisfactions flow from such work in friendships formed which would otherwise have been missed entirely, and in an ability to sleep at night without a feeling that life is frustrating. These are what the late Chief Justice of the United States, Harlan F. Stone, termed "The durable satisfactions of life."

It would be easy for me to illustrate good citizenship by reference to one man with us tonight whom I happen to know well. Lansing Shield has to my knowledge found energy and time, not only to build up and head a great and highly successful business enterprise, but also to give unstintingly of his time to "Rutgers, the State University" in successive capacities as vice chairman and chairman of the board of trustees, and specifically in leading the reorganization of this colonial college into complete recognition as the State University of New Jersey. Yet this is only one of Mr. Shield's varied civic activities.

Another illustration of good citizenship in America from persons present tonight may be drawn from a composite picture of your 12 guests of honor, the winners of the Good Citizenship Awards of the National Association of Food Chains:

You are, collectively, 35 years young. You are two-thirds veterans, including all of the younger age group. You are unanimous in being all married. Almost all of you have children. The average number is two, and I suspect you haven't stopped yet. Generally you are self-made men, who have completed high school but have not gone on to college. Many of you started part-time work in food chain stores while still in school. Most of you worked up from minor jobs to the important position of store manager. You are unanimous again in activity in church and community affairs. You are one and all the product of the spirit of America. Your destiny paces her destiny.

Let me now move back two generations for another illustration in one of our greatest of good citizens: the late Senator Dwight Morrow.

Mr. Morrow's philosophy of public service was placed in sharp focus in a letter which he wrote to the brilliant and then young Frenchman, Jean Monnet, in December 1925, saying:

"I fear that I am in danger of getting out of the class of which my son considers you one of the most conspicuous members—that small group which tries to get things done for which other people get the credit."

Such is good citizenship in America in the 20th century. But, except for those who fought in World Wars I and II and in Korea, none of us has had to throw his life into the balance to prove his good citizenship or to win or preserve his freedom.

Freedom was given to us in America by action of our revolutionary ancestors. It was retained by the accident of geography—the great oceans on either side of us—and for 100 years before World War I, when we were young and defenseless, by the protection of the British fleet. We have come to accept freedom as our God-given birthright, often with little thought of our almost unique privilege.

Let me contrast then the relatively modest demands which good citizenship makes upon us, with the demands of good citizenship in Hungary, especially last October and November. Hungary is a nation of proud people caught for generations between two great and aggressive powers, a nation overrun, captivated, liberated, and again enslaved—a nation which for years has known, instead of freedom, only the iron rule of communism and the secret police.

Then last fall, unable to stand it longer, men and women fought for freedom and for a few brief days won it for their country, only to lose it again to overwhelming force. Many more were enslaved and disappeared—God knows where. Many who survived fled for asylum to the free nations of the West in pursuit of freedom—often to avoid Siberia or the execution wall. Let me give you three examples from refugees who have since come to the United States, of the high price and the hardships of good citizenship last fall in Hungary:

A young married woman in Budapest cooked breakfast for her husband one day last fall. After he left for work, she felt the compulsion to duty to join those Hungarians who were fighting in the streets against their oppressors. She spoke to her father about it, then went out to fight in the streets herself. She was wounded. After some treatment in a hospital, she was able to escape and is now in America.

A second example: Last December, a Hungarian woman arrived at the Joyce Kilmer Reception Center. Because of a very bad elbow she was sent to the United States Army field hospital there. The doctors found that her elbow had been shattered by a bullet; also that there were more bullet wounds in her body with the bullets still there. Army doctors are good at removing bullets, and they fixed her up. But how can we measure the courage of a woman whose desire to get to America was so great that she voluntarily got aboard an airplane for the long flight from Austria to New Jersey without treatment of her wounds, and who apparently concealed them in order to be sure not to miss the chance to come here?

A third example is Mayor Josef Koevago, of Budapest. He was mayor of Budapest in 1947, later was thrown into prison for 6 years; was liberated shortly before the uprising last fall; was mayor again for a matter of days; then when the Russian tanks moved in was able to flee with his wife and child. He is now trying to help other Hungarian refugees in America. He speaks good English. How did he learn it? He told me that he learned it during those years in prison from a 1912 edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica. On March 2 he was a guest of the Gridiron Club, that famous group of Washington newspapermen, at their annual dinner. When he was introduced by Marquis Childs, the president of the club, he was given a standing ovation by the distinguished group of newspapermen—and they are a group not easily impressed. Appearing on the television program Meet the Press last night, he said, about the revolution in Hungary last fall, that there is a question whether heroism is wise, "but only heroism can get freedom forever." I leave this thought with you as one Hungarian's concept of good citizenship.

Such have been the kinds of demands of good citizenship in Hungary, and the kind of price it has exacted. May we in America not be subjected to similarly cruel tests. But for the first time in our memories, our freedom in America is really in danger from the Communist colossus and the infernal weapons which exist now, and those which soon will exist. At this time, one principle of good citizenship for us is not to take our freedom for granted, but to act in time and adequately to protect it. To do so we must maintain our own strength—military, economic, and spiritual. We must continue to assist our allies in maintaining their strength—military, economic, and spiritual. We must strengthen the bonds between our allies and ourselves. We must protect with our strength, under the Eisenhower doctrine and otherwise, the less developed nations which call on us for help. We must furnish directly through the United Nations the leadership which our unparalleled resources make possible to show the uncommitted—or so-called neutralist—millions the contrast between slavery under communism and liberty under democracy.

The evil brutalities of the Russians against the Hungarians have done much to awaken both our allies and other friendly nations to their dangers. But have they done enough? In this new kind of defense of our freedom we as a nation must never stop, never weaken, never grow tired. This in America must be one great and never-forgotten part of good citizenship for the future.

Private Investment and Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, on March 7, 1957, His Excellency Dr. Ramon Villeda Morales, the Honduran Ambassador to the United States, delivered a very significant and far-sighted address on private investment in Latin America, particularly in Honduras, before the Pan American Society in New York. I commend this important address to the attention of my colleagues because it illustrates how American private investment can be a vital element in United States foreign policy.

The address follows:

INVESTMENT DYNAMICS

It is an obvious truth that the less-developed countries are the ones that offer the greatest opportunities in investment dynamics and the best outlook for returns on capital.

The highly industrialized countries have developed their own natural and human resources progressively; they have perfected production techniques, they have supplied international markets, they have accumulated reservoirs of capital, and, as a logical consequence, they have led in the investment of such capital in the under-developed countries.

As a supplement to this principle of investment supply and demand, economic collapse through the oversaturation of idle capital is prevented and a powerful contribution is made to the economic development of great land areas, and especially, backward peoples have become aware of the need to progress through the utilization of their own resources and now want to do so.

The ability to transform raw materials into finished products has become universal. Men everywhere have become convinced that they are "capable," that they can, if they really want to, better their surroundings, improve their living conditions, raise their cultural standards, dignify their lives.

But although technology is the instrument that sparks industrial development, it is evident that without capital it is impossible to make the machinery of progress go, since technology alone cannot set it in motion. That is the basis of investment dynamics.

This fact lies at the root of the problem today confronting the Latin American countries, which, having available an abundance

of exploitable resources—mineral, agricultural, timber, fish, travel—are beset by the difficulty of exploiting them for lack of capital.

And in this same fact also lies the origin of the growing interest of those who have capital available: in the possibilities of investment in Latin America, which offers the best conditions and the greatest advantages.

No other regional area in the world, among the nations classified as economically underdeveloped, offers greater opportunities for investment and a greater assurance of recuperation of capital.

It should be pointed out, however, that investment capital is a phrase that the social evolution of the Christian world has greatly modified. No longer is it merely an instrument of exploitation; today capital is a spiritual factor as well as a material one, since it comes from accumulated work, which is work that ennobles, and its dividends should be considered not only as drawing wealth from the subsoil, the forests, and the seas, but as spreading civilization and culture among men, who are the potential wealth of our nations.

Investment should be something more than a movement of money and tools of production: it should be overall cooperation, improvement of human relations, equitable distribution of gain. That should be the constructive spirit in investment dynamics, because only in this way can investment be adapted to the norms of the Pan American ideal, summed up in the policy of the good friend, the good neighbor, and the good partner.

As Ambassador of Honduras, may I express my thanks for the tribute paid me by the Pan American Society of the United States, by this dinner in my honor, and since this gathering includes a select group of leaders in commerce and industry who are interested in Latin American affairs, and especially investments in Honduras, I take this opportunity to make a brief statement about the possibilities for foreign investment in Honduras.

Since 1910 the United Fruit Co. and the Standard Fruit & Steamship Co. have been operating in the country. The principal activity of these firms is the production of bananas for export. Nevertheless, they have also branched out into the cultivation of abacá and Palma Africana and the establishment of cattle ranches, lumber operations, and other industries in general.

Other foreign capital investment enterprises in Honduras include the New York and Rosario Mining Co., the British-American Tobacco Co., the public utility company that has invested in the production of electric power, and others devoting their activities to the exploitation of lumber, the distribution of petroleum, and the cultivation of cereals and fruits.

The total direct investment of United States capital in Honduras amounted to $32.1 million in 1953. The net profits of the 2 fruit companies in the country amounted to $19 million in 1952, of which sum $10 million was reinvested in Honduras; their operations provided $26 million in foreign exchange.

Foreigners residing in Honduras may freely engage in commerce or industry; they enjoy the same rights and have the same obligations as the nationals of the country. Honduras has traditionally been hospitable, and has welcomed foreign capital investments for the development of its natural resources. To offer a more attractive investment climate, it signed in 1955 a treaty with the United States of America, assuring investors that they would run no risk of expropriation or inconvertibility.

Honduras has great deposits of iron, lead, graphite, manganese, tin, opals, agates, and other semiprecious stones. Extensive deposits of coal of a high caloric content have recently been discovered within its borders. All this latent wealth is waiting to be utilized by dynamic businessmen ready to invest in a country that offers the best opportunities for operation. With respect to mining, a broad, liberal policy has been adopted toward the exploration in exploitation of mines, permitting the free importation of the machinery and tools for such purposes. Taking advantage of these facilities, there is at present a company exploring for petroleum in the western part of the country. Its explorations so far have been encouraging.

Another important Honduran natural resource is its immense pine forests, which cover practically all the country. To exploit them, a modern paper and cellulose factory, representing a $25 million investment, is being installed. At the recent meeting of five Central American Ministers of Economy, plans for the establishment of such a factory were developed with the help of the Economic Commission for Latin America, the United Nations agency.

Here we have a propitious field for putting into practice the Pan American policy inspired in the principles of economic development, social welfare, and continental solidarity. Distinguished members of the Pan American Society of the United States, I thank you.

Ireland: at the Dawn of History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, few people know that the Irish have a long history.

It is commonly assumed that the first known records of this remarkable people date from the beginning of the Christian era.

To others, the introduction of Christianity by St. Patrick in 432 A. D. is the first fact that is remembered.

But the impressive truth is that the Irish can trace their origin to antiquity. Their moist, mild island of lovely lakes and rich greenery was discovered thousands of years ago.

For this information we are indebted to the research of an American who is proud of his Irish ancestry. I ask unanimous consent to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD The Origin of the Irish Nation: Adam to Milesius, by Capt. William A. O'Reilly, Lawrence, Mass., Fire Department—retired.

I am sure that you will enjoy, as I did, this scholarly narrative of Ireland's early history, and the obvious affection that Captain O'Reilly has for a subject that is dear to the hearts of so many Americans.

His article originally appeared, and on an appropriate day, namely, in the March 17, 1957, issue of the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass.:

THE ORIGIN OF THE IRISH NATION: ADAM TO MILESIUS—HISTORIAN DELVES FAR INTO THE PAST

(By Capt. William A. O'Reilly)

From time to time, and at no very long intervals, throughout centuries upon centuries, flippant writers have been accustomed to point out in a sort of playful persiflage, certain claims of the Irish to an ancient and distinctive genealogy of the Milesian Irish, being mindful, however, in their desire, to bring ridicule and scorn upon the Irish, that prior to the invasion of Ireland by the hordes of English invaders and the ultimate devastation of the country, that every Milesian family had its place in the ancestry of its kings and chieftains, and that there was in all the land no servile class or so-called common people of the race. All low tasks were performed by captive slaves of war.

The single source, the fountainhead, so to speak, of the descent is Milesius of Spain, concerning whom we will have more herein.

Following the deluge, and after which, the flood having subsided, Noah and his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, had come out of the Ark, God blessed them and said: "Increase and multiply and fill the earth."

Thereupon, Noah, who was the 10th generation from Adam, divided the world amongst his sons Shem, Ham, and Japhet. Japhet was the eldest son of Noah and was his favorite. To him he gave that portion of the world embracing all of Asia lying beyond the Euphrates, and all of Europe to Spain. The combined area was called Scythia. Japhet had 15 sons, among whom he divided Europe and that part of Asia allotted to him by his father, and thus the Celts, of whom Japhet was the progenitor, became the first inhabitants of Europe after the deluge. The Celts and the Gaels were identical in origin, the Celts as descending from Gomar, and the Gaels from Magog, both sons of Japhet.

Upon Japhet's division of his portion of the earth among his sons, they, in turn, reapportioned their allotments among their sons. Scythia, embracing Southeastern Europe and Central Asia, came to Baoth's (Baath) lot. Baoth was a son of Magog, son of Japhet.

TOWER OF BABEL

Dwelling in Scythia, Baoth and his people, it is related, being far removed from the scenes of Babel, took no part with the descendants of Shem and Ham, the other sons of Noah, in the building of the Tower of Babel, which resulted in the confusion of tongues, thus affirming that they did not incur the displeasure of the Lord, and that therefore their language was not confounded. The Scythian language was the one language of mankind. The language of the entire world, from Adam to the building of the Tower of Babel, so it follows that the Scythian language and the Celtic language were the same. Although no system or form of letters existed, symbols of unfixed determination were in use.

Phoenius Farsaidh (Fenius Farsa)—14th generation—was King of Scythia, and is accredited with being the Father of Letters. Being of a learned and wise disposition, and desirous of learning the languages, that not so long before had very seriously confounded the builders of the Towel of Babel, he sent many learned men among the dispersed multitude to seek out and acquire what knowledge they were able to attain concerning the several languages, which mission they accomplished skillfully, and with much success. Fenius Farsa, leaving his country in the hands of his elder son, Nenual, proceeded with his younger son, Niul, to Aethena, in the Valley of Shenaar, where he erected a school. They remained teaching here for 20 years. Niul (15th generation) was skilled in the teaching of languages and other laudible sciences, and because of his great reputation for learning, Pharoah of Egypt invited him to come to that country, where he was given lands, and the hand of Pharoah's daughter, Scota, in marriage, from whence their posterity have been called Scots.

Ancient historians relate that the River Nile was called after this Niul, and that Scota, his wife, was the daughter of the Pharoah who rescued Moses from the Nile, hence the great interest of Niul and Scota

in Moses, concerning his welfare and education, and the great affection Moses had for them and their son, Goodhal. Moses, in later years, was reputed to be the most learned man in Egypt.

THE GAELS

It was Niul who engaged Goodhal (Gael), a brilliantly learned man, to invent an alphabet, and to refine the language which was common to all of Niul's posterity afterwards. It was called Goadhilg (or Gaelic) from the said Goodhal, who accomplished his task of composing the constituent part of the language. So pleased was Niul that in appreciation he called his eldest son Goodhal. This Goodhal (Gael) was the ancestor of the Clan-na Gael, that is, the descendants of Gael. Gael was fifth in descent from Japhet, and was contemporary to Moses, who, according to the Book of Genesis, was of the line of Shem, son of Noah. It is related that upon one occasion, Gael, having been stung by a serpent, was brought to Moses, who upon laying his rod on the wound, cured him instantly, and further extended a blessing, namely that no venomous beast can live any place where his posterity should inhabit.

The Gaels of antiquity for nearly 20 generations, did not establish themselves in any country, had no houses or cities, but were continually roving and lived in tents, first in one country and later in another. A common custom in the early ages of the world, following the great dispersal of the races after the Tower of Babel.

Lahmfiom, King of Scythia (24th generation), following in the footsteps of six of his predecessors, had therefore been leading his followers in nomadic peregrinations, both by land and by sea, when it was announced by Cachear, their Druid, that there should be no end to their fovings until such time as they should arrive at the western island, predestined for their future and lasting abode. Such would not be consummated until some 300 years by their posterity, who would arrive there and possess the land.

The colonization and plantations of Ireland began about 300 years after the deluge, and Partholan and his followers, coming from Scythia, were the first planters of Ireland, all of whom, after having been in Ireland for about 30 years, perished from a plague.

SECOND COLONY

The Nemedians, coming also from Scythia, were the second group to colonize Ireland, in the year of the world 3046, or exactly 380 years after the birth of Abraham, or 2,153 years before the birth of Christ. They continued in Ireland for 270 years, during which time they had sent colonies into the northern parts of Scotland, under the leadership of Briottan Maol, from whom Britain takes its name.

From Magog were also descended the third group of colonists to invade Ireland, the Formorians, and they in turn were succeeded by the Firbolgs (or Belgae) in anno mundi 3256, who first erected the monarchist form of rule in Ireland, which proves that the country was an established monarchy before and after Christ for 4,149 years.

The "Tuatha-de-Danans," whose name signifies the people of the God "Dan," whom they worshipped, invaded Ireland, overpowered the Firbolgs and took possession of the land as the fifth colony, which they maintained for 197 years, during the reign of 9 of their kings, until they were subsequently conquered and subdued by the Gaelic-Milesian or Scotic-Irish, the three names by which they were known, anno mundi 3500.

The Milesian nation possessed the land and enjoyed their occupancy thereof for 2,885 years, under the already-mentioned unbroken lone of 184 monarchs, until the submission of Henry II of England, in the year A. D. 1186.

The Milesians invaded Ireland 197 years later than the "Danans" and were called the "Sian-na-Mile" (Meel), signifying the descendants of Milesius of Spain.

A HERO

Subsequently, through several generations, we come to Bile, who was of the 35th generation of man, and King of all Galicia (comprising in part the Iberian Peninsula, including Spain and Portugal) who had a son Galamh (Galv)—35th generation—who was known as Milesius. The original name of Milesius, here mentioned, was Galamh (Irish—gall, a stranger—amh, a negative suffix) which means no stranger in Egypt where he was called Mile Spaine (Milesius of Spain) meaning Spanish hero, and finally—Milesius (Mileadh) meaning in Irish—a hero.

This Milesius, in his youth, during his father's lifetime, went into Scythia, where he was kindly received by the King of that country, who appointed him general of all his forces and gave him his daughter, Seang, in marriage. Milesius defeated all the King's enemies, gained great fame and respect of the King's subjects. His growing greatness alarmed the King and, fearing for himself, plotted to get rid of Milesius secretly. Milesius becoming aware of the plot, slew the King, and thereupon left Scythia and retired into Egypt with a fleet of 60 ships.

Pharoah Nectonibus, of Egypt, heard of his arrival and because of his valorous record, placed him at the head of all of his forces against the King of Ethiopia, then invading his country. Here, as in Scythia, Milesius found great favor with Pharoah, who gave him—he being a widower—his daughter Scota, in marriage, and kept him for 8 years thereafter in Egypt. And, thus from Milesius for thousands of years, has flowed the Celtic blood unmingled.

During his sojourn in Egypt, Milesius required that the most talented persons among his people be instructed in trades, arts, and sciences used in Egypt, in order to have them taught to the rest of his people upon his return to Spain.

Eventually, Milesius took leave of his father-in-law, and sailed from Scythia toward Spain, much to the great comfort and joy of his people, who following the death of his father, Bile, had been much harassed by the incursions of other nations, during his own long absence from Spain.

There had occurred in Spain, a great famine of 26 years' duration, and Milesius, being of a superstitious nature, believed the blight had fallen upon his people because of their continued failure and negligence in seeking out the country foretold as their place of final abode, by the Druid Cochear, as already mentioned. The time for accomplishment and fulfillment of this had all but expired.

CALLED IRELAND

To expiate this fault, Milesius sent a compliment of men and ships to bring back an account of the Western Isle, under the command of his uncle, Ithe, and his own son, Lughaidh (Luy). They called the place Ireland. Ireland, according to early chronicles, is so-called from Ir, the second son of Milesius, who left no issue. It was known to the ancients by many different names—to the Irish themselves as (1) Inis Ealga, or the Noble Isle; (2) Fiodh Inis, or the Woody Isle; (3) Crioch Fuidnidh, or the final and most remote country; (4) Inis Fail, the Isle of Destiny; (5) Eire. To the Greeks and Romans—Hibernia and Verna—Green Isle. Plutarch in the first century of the Christian era, called Ireland Ogy-gia or the most ancient land, as the Irish can trace their history from the most remote antiquity.

Ireland has also been known as Insula Sanctorum.

Ithe and his band were pleasantly received by the three Tuatha-de-Danan brothers, then ruling kings of the country, MacCuill, MacCreacht, and MacGreine. The country at that time was called Eire after the wife of MacCuill. After a short stay and many honorable discussions with the Danans, they took leave for their return to the mainland, but were waylaid by a strong force and Ithe and many of his companions were murdered.

Milesius, infuriated by the tragic death of his kinsmen, as well as in obedience of the prophecy of Cachear, made extensive preparation for a full-scale invasion and conquest of Ireland, by his eight sons, but before it could be accomplished, he died.

Milesius was a great champion, as attested by his name Mile—Irish for thousand—he having fought and won more than a thousand battles throughout his career as a warrior.

DIE IN BATTLE

Soon after the death of their father, the eight sons of Milesius, in fullfilment of his plans invaded Ireland. Five of the eight brothers lost their lives in the battle. Heber, Heremon, and Amebrin, the three surviving sons, overpowered the Danans, landed on the coast of Ireland, which they called Inis Fail or the Island of Destiny, and having sufficiently avenged the death of their great-uncle, Ithe, gained possession of the country, as foretold in ages past by Cachaer, as already mentioned.

Sir Thomas Moore, in his Irish Melodies, commemorates the foregoing circumstances in The Song of Innisfail:

"They came from a land beyond the sea
And now o'er the western main
Set sail in their good ships gallantly
From the sunny land of Spain.
'Oh, where's the isle we've seen in dreams,
Our destined home or grave?'
Thus sang they, as by the morning's beams,
They swept the Atlantic wave.

"And Lo! where afar o'er ocean shines
A spark of radiant green,
As though in that deep lay emerald mines,
Whose light through the wave was seen.
'Tis Innisfail—'tis Innisfail!'
Rings o'er the echoing sea;
While bending to Heaven the warriors hail
That home of the brave and the free.

"Then turned they into the Eastern wave,
Where now their day—God's eye
A look of such sunny omen gave
As lighted up sea and sky.
Nor frown was seen through sky or sea
Nor tear on their Isle of Destiny
Our great forefathers trod."

Heber and Hereman, now the leaders of the remaining sons of Milesius, divided the land, and reigned jointly, thus becoming the first Milesian monarchs of Ireland. The first in an unbroken line of 184 "Ard-Righ" or High Kings. After reigning jointly for a year, Heber was killed and Hereman became the first in a long line of solemn monarchs, who ruled Ireland down through the ages, from generation to generation, for 2,885 years, the last monarch of the lines of Heber, Hereman, and Ir, being Roderick O'Connor, who in 1186 A. D. capitulated to the English in submission to the King, Henry II of England.

Amergin, the remaining brother, son of Milesius, died without issue, so consequently, the entire Milesian line is descended from Heber, Ir, and Hereman. From Heber, the eldest brother, were descended 38 sole monarchs.

As previously mentioned, the Milesian conquest and plantation of Ireland took place in the year of the world, 3500, or the year after Solomon began the foundation of the Temple of Jerusalem, and 1,699 years before the Nativity of Christ, which according to the ancient Irish computation of time, occurred in A. M. 5169 in agreement with various ancient chroniclers.

Inasmuch as the Milesian invasion of Ireland took place the year after the foundation-laying in Jerusalem, by Solomon, it may

be inferred that Solomon was contemporary to Milesius of Spain, and that the Pharoah of Egypt, who gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon, was the same Pharoah who conferred upon Milesius of Spain another daughter, Scota.

The first 127 monarchs of Ireland were pagans. It is chronicled that King Laeghaire, the 128th monarch died a pagan though reigning at the time of St. Patrick in Ireland.

During the reign of Crimthann, the 100th monarch, Our Lord Jesus Christ was born.

Kidding the Public About E-Bonds

SPEECH

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 5520) to amend the Second Liberty Bond Act to increase the maximum interest rate permitted on United States savings bonds.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Chairman, this bill—H. R. 5520—comes before us under a closed rule permitting no amendments. The bill authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to increase the rates payable on Government savings bonds to not more than 3½ percent per year but limits the increase to savings certificates and bonds issued on or after February 1, 1957. The bill before us has the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury and follows his recommendation asking that he be vested with discretion to increase such interest rates to 4¼ percent. The same request from the Treasury Department indicated that it was the present intention to use such authority only to the extent, however, of increasing the interest rate on E-bonds to 3¼ percent.

The action of our distinguished Ways and Means Committee in reporting the bill and in urging the House to enact it is placed almost entirely upon the testimony of the Secretary of the Treasury. His position is best summarized by the statement he made before the Joint Economic Committee when, in referring to E-bonds, he said:

> Right now it is the finest security in the world. There is no security as good as it is. There is no security that you can go up and lay on the counter any time that you are ready and get your dollars back for it. There is no depreciation in it, no market fluctuation.

This is typical of the double talk and gobbledygook that has been emanating from the executive departments of our Government since January 20, 1953. That statement is in accord with his testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee by which he proved that a 3-percent bond is better than a 3¼-percent bond and that, when the Secretary of the Treasury gets the authority sought by this bill and issues 3¼-percent E bonds, the holders of 3-percent E bonds will not redeem them or seek to exchange them for 3¼-percent bonds.

I refuse to believe that the American public is so stupid as to believe that a 3-percent bond is better than a 3¼-percent bond.

I refuse to believe that the American public is so stupid as to think that a bank book issued by a savings bank or a savings and loan association which pays 3½-percent or 4-percent interest, or even a savings bank book of a commercial bank paying only 3-percent interest, when insured by Federal corporations, is not finer security than an E-bond. Any one of them is just as good security which "you can go up and lay it on the counter any time that you are ready and get your dollars back for it."

I refuse to believe the American public is so stupid as not to know that, with such savings accounts, "there is no depreciation in it, no market fluctuation."

I refuse to believe that the American public is so stupid as to think that they are not better off with such insured savings accounts which draw interest from the day of deposit to the day of withdrawal at 3, 3½, or 4 percent, or that they will not seek such accounts as the repository of their savings rather than buying savings bonds which bear a deferred graduated rate of interest, the maximum of which will be either 3 percent or 3¼ percent, as now contemplated.

These savings bonds have traditionally borne interest of at least one-half percent per annum more than other Government securities. Since 1951, however, that difference has ceased to exist. Savings accounts have been paying larger rates; municipal and State government bonds have been paying larger rates; the tax-exempt feature of municipal and State government bonds have made those investments much more attractive than savings bonds.

Since 1951, I have been introducing bills to provide for a premium on savings bonds and savings certificates, providing they are held for a period of 10 years. In each session I also introduced bills providing for tax exemption on the earnings of these bonds. On January 10, 1957, I again introduced similar bills. H. R. 2480 provides for the premium payment on these bonds, and H. R. 2481 provides for the waiver of income taxes on series E bonds.

If this bill, H. R. 5520, were not before the House under a closed rule, I would offer each of those bills as an amendment to the pending bill. I cannot do that because of the imposition of the gag rule prohibiting such amendments.

For the information of our colleagues, I set forth in full the provisions of these two bills. H. R. 2480 reads as follows:

> A bill to provide for the payment of premiums on savings bonds and savings certificates, and for other purposes
>
> *Be it enacted, etc.*, That subsection (B) of section 22 of the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended (31 U. S. C. 757C (B)), is amended by adding the following at the end thereof:
>
> "Subject to the terms, conditions, and limitations contained in the foregoing section (B) (1) hereof, the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, may provide that any or all of such certificates or bonds shall provide for the payment of a premium of not more than one-half of 1 percent per annum payable only if the original owner thereof retains complete and absolute ownership and control thereof, free of any pledge or assignment, for a specified number of years not less than 10. Deposit thereof as part of any reserve required by law or regulation shall not be deemed impairment of the ownership or control thereof. The Secretary of the Treasury with the approval of the President may provide that any or all of such certificates and bonds hereafter issued shall contain provisions that upon the redemption, sale, or transfer thereof prior to the maturity date therein set forth, by or to the United States Treasury or the Federal Reserve Bank, the interest paid or payable shall be adjusted and reduced in accordance with the length of time elapsed between the date of issuance and the date of redemption, sale, or transfer. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to promulgate rules and regulations to effectuate the purpose thereof."

H. R. 2481 reads as follows:

> A bill to provide for the waiver of income taxes on series E United States savings bonds, and for other purposes
>
> *Be it enacted, etc.*, That the income and earnings on all series E United States savings bonds presently outstanding is waived for income-tax purposes on condition that the said bonds are not redeemed for at least 10 years after their maturity. Upon redemption of said bonds prior to 10 years after their maturity the holder thereof shall have the option of reporting the income and earnings thereon and paying the income tax therefor as though received or earned during the year when the bond is actually redeemed or during the year when the bond originally matured so that the taxpayer can obtain the benefit of the lower rate of taxation.

The enactment of my bills would provide an incentive for thrifty Americans to continue to hold their E-bonds and to make further investments therein.

The enactment of H. R. 5520, on the other hand, will provide an incentive to the holders of E-bonds to cash them in.

I predict that most of those people will not reinvest the proceeds in the new E-bonds. They will either spend the proceeds of those bonds or reinvest them in insured savings accounts or in tax-exempt bonds.

Each year, after I introduced my bills, I have received literally hundreds of letters from all across the country urging the enactment of my bills. There have been dozens of editorials and newspaper and magazine articles written upon the subject, urging action such as would be accomplished by my bills.

It makes me sick to my stomach to hear some people prate about the patriotism that causes Americans to buy E-bonds. Too much of this talk comes from those who would keep the general public uninformed, urging it to save its money at low interest rates in order to keep their money out of circulation and to prevent inflation. Too many of these people urging that argument on the unsuspecting public are the very ones encouraging inflation by running up the cost of government through higher interest rates on the negotiable bonds, the same bonds which are bought under par.

Every year for the last 4 years, there have been more E-bonds cashed in than were sold. This bill will accelerate the rate of cashing in and decelerate the amount of new purchases of E-bonds.

State of Connecticut Gets Valuable Collection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, an event of significant importance has recently taken place in my State of Connecticut. It has national as well as international significance. I refer to the presentation to the State of Connecticut of the Colt Collection by Leopold D. Silberstein, presidentof Pratt and Whitney Foundation and chairman and president of Penn-Texas Corp., of which the Colt Patent Fire Arms Manufacturing Co., is a part.

The Colt Collection, valued at more than $1 million, is an historic gift of world famous fire arms, letters, and documents. This famous collection was initiated by and has been a striking symbol for 121 years of the vision and outstanding craftsmanship of Samuel Colt, inventor and Connecticut industrialist who manufactured his first revolver in Hartford in 1835.

The official program incident to the presentation of this Colt Collection to the State of Connecticut on March 7, 1956, had this to say about this unusual gift:

It contains more than 20,000 valuable letters, documents, books, and other memorabilia as well as approximately 2,000 fire arms that tell the 121 year history of the company that Sam Colt founded. For more than a generation it has been the authentic source of information concerning Colt's most notable invention, the revolver, and the dramatic effect that this single creation has had upon the progress of our Nation.

Among the documents will be found letters from Abraham Lincoln, Mark Twain, Horace Greeley, and Winston Churchill. Other names associated with the collection made famous by the "gun which won the West" are "Wild Bill" Hickok, "Bad" Madison, General Custer, and Annie Oakley.

Gun collectors and students of fire arms from this and other countries in the years to follow will frequent the State's Library Hall in Hartford where the collection will be on display.

Of special interest will be the Colt 44 caliber "Dragoon" made in 1850 and used by Samuel Colt. The gun is inlaid with gold and valued at about $35,000.

Another is a Colt 1851 36 caliber known as the Belt Pistol. This gun with the bust of Abraham Lincoln engraved on the handle is valued at $25,000. It was originally made for the United States Navy.

Still another interesting item in the collection is a Colt 31 caliber "Pocket." This one presently carries a value of $20,000.

Of unusual interest is a pistol originally designed for a Czar of Russia, now valued at $35,000.

Governor Ribicoff of my State in accepting the gift praised Mr. Silberstein and the State Library Committee for the part they played in keeping the collection intact. The Governor stated:

The fact that it has been in Connecticut as a unit instead of going out of our State or being broken up is the result of a gesture that verges on the magnificent.

Whitney L. Brooks, chairman of the Connecticut Historical Commission, praised Mr. Silberstein, Governor Ribicoff, and the State library committee for clearing the path that made it possible for the collection to remain in the State. The gift was considered of such importance that an act of the legislature was passed to enable the State to accept the gift from the Pratt & Whitney Co. Foundation, of which Mr. Silberstein is president.

As a Member of Congress from Connecticut I am sure that my colleagues in the House will be interested to know that one of the greatest collections of firearms in the world is now the property of the people of Connecticut. The State, in turn, will welcome the thousands of people from all parts of the country and from abroad who will visit the State library in Hartford to see and study the most significant collection of its kind in the whole world.

I want to join with many other citizens of Connecticut in expressing appreciation for this unusual gift made possible through the public spirit and good citizenship of Mr. Leopold D. Silberstein, of Greenwich, of my own congressional district. I likewise commend the associates of Mr. Silberstein, the Pratt & Whitney Foundation and the Penn-Texas Corp., for their generous contribution to this and other most worthy causes.

Following is a news article from the Hartford Times of March 7, describing the presentation:

BIG COLT COLLECTION ACCEPTED BY GOVERNOR
(By Ralph Minard)

The Colt Museum became the Colt Collection at noon today in the Memorial Hall of the State library. The State formally accepted the world-famous collection of historic firearms, letters and documents that began when Samuel Colt started manufacturing his revolver in Hartford in 1835.

Governor Ribicoff accepted the collection for the State. Leopold D. Silberstein, president of the Penn-Texas Corp. and of the Pratt & Whitney Co. Foundation, presented it. Colt's Patent Fire Arms Manufacturing Co. became a part of Pratt & Whitney Co. after Penn-Texas acquired Colt's in 1955.

The 20-minute noontime ceremony was given color by the presence of the Governor's Foot Guard Band, State officials and other guests.

Governor Ribicoff called the Colt Collection "a magnificent gift" which brings to the State a world-renowned collection of historic significance. He said it was further evidence of the civic awareness of Connecticut's industrial leadership.

On behalf of the State he thanked Mr. Silberstein, the Pratt & Whitney Co. Foundation, the Connecticut Historical Commission and the State Library Committee for their efforts in bringing the collection to a place where it can serve the entire public.

Mr. Silberstein said: "In the short 48 years of his productive and truly astonishing life, Sam Colt gave to this great city and to our lovely State not only an industry but a way of life. From the wilderness of the great meadows he carved an industrial empire that spread Hartford's fame throughout the world. It is my privilege to present to the people of Connecticut these tokens of Colt's achievements. It is as Sam Colt would have had it. May they be enjoyed forever by all lovers of liberty who visit this great hall."

Whitney L. Brooks, chairman of the Connecticut Historical Commission, pointed out that State laws cover acquisitions by purchase or by condemnation, but did not provide for gifts, and a special act of the Legislature was required to make it possible for the foundation to give the collection to the State.

He praised Mr. Silberstein, Governor Ribicoff, and the State library committee for clearing the path that made it possible for the collection to stay in the State.

"The fact that it has been kept in Connecticut as a unit, instead of going out of our State or being broken up, is the result of a gesture that verges on the magnificant," he said.

The collection, valued at around $1 million, includes approximately 2,000 firearms and 20,000 documents, letters and other historical data relating to Colts. The pistols include one originally designed for a czar of Russia, valued at $35,000, and all models of Colts used by famous people who settled the West. There are letters from Abraham Lincoln, Mark Twain, Horace Greeley, Winston Churchill, Annie Oakley, and many others.

Although it is world known, the collection has been available to the public only since 1940, in two rooms in the Colt factory. One reason for giving it to the State is to make it more accessible to the public.

Since its opening, it has been in charge of Charles H. Coles, an employee of Colt's since 1892 and an authority on firearms. Mr. Coles, who has completed 65 years with the company, has been given the lifetime post of curator of the collection. He will make his headquarters at the library as consultant. State Librarian Robert C. Sale becomes custodian of the collection.

Cramer Makes Sound Plea To Reduce Huge Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, in these days when much is being said about making real and realistic budget reductions, and now that some of the buck-passing has subsided and the House of Representatives has finally gotten down to accepting its constitutional duty of trimming the huge proposed budget, I think it well to call to the attention of the House two editorials in the Tampa Times dated March 14, 1957, on the subject:

CRAMER MAKES SOUND PLEA TO REDUCE HUGE BUDGET

Congressman CRAMER, of Florida's First District, has taken a commendable stand in asking in a speech in the House, that the President's $72 billion budget be reduced by at least $3 billion.

Mr. CRAMER observed that the people of his district are economy-minded and not in favor of the grandiose spending program outlined by the administration.

Since Mr. CRAMER is the sole Republican Congressman from Florida, his opposition to the administration budget shows a large

measure of political courage. It would have been much easier to accommodate the President and his supporters by accepting the budget request and thus earn the affection of the spending element in the White House.

Mr. Cramer's position indicates that resentment of the record peacetime budget exists on a bipartisan basis. Both Democrats and Republicans are hearing from the folks at home and, according to reports, the words they hear are warnings against vast international spending programs in areas which are already in competition with American industry.

Similarly, there is a growing reaction against the President's domestic spending plans. Such projects as Federal Aid to Education—as indicated in Mr. Moley's column on this page today—are founded on a poor basis of fact.

A $3 billion budget cut would hardly make a dent in the vast sum requested by the President.

PUBLIC MUST DEMAND ECONOMY FROM CONGRESS

The shadow boxing in Congress on ways and means to cut President Eisenhower's budget recommendations is not indicative of any earnest endeavor to get down to business so far.

The House got the kind of answer it might have expected when it passed a resolution asking the President to point out where the administration's budget could be cut "substantially." Obviously, if the President thought his proposals were sound in the first place, he would hardly contradict them by telling the House how to slash them.

It is the job of the House and Senate to be realistic and pare to the bone the administration's recommendations. Nor will it prove any real help to make a grandstand play of cutting by 26 percent the funds asked for operation of the Executive Office of the President. That is an infinitesimal part of a more than $71 billion budget.

If Congress does seriously intend to slash by $3 to $5 billion the administration's proposals, it is going to have to do it in the field of foreign spending, by putting curbs on efforts to extend costs of social welfare services at home and sharp analysis of every project that smacks of pork barrel politics—and right there is where Congress falls flat on its face. The old "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours" method of doing business has spoiled many a drive to "force" economy in Government.

Yet, hope springs eternal, and from each new session of Congress the American taxpayer awaits expectantly to hear at last that it will be his turn to get a "break."

Numerous voices have been raised in favor of a $3 to $5 billion budget cut from Republican as well as Democratic ranks. It is inconceivable that such a reduction cannot be obtained, but there must be realism in Congress to obtain it. Only time will tell the answer to this one, but the taxpayers of America should be showering Washington with demands for budget reductions. That does impress Congress.

The Big Hand to Polio Fighters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of Cleveland are imbued with a great community spirit. The Cleveland Press has presented its 41st award for distinguished service to its citizens and under uanimous consent, I include the following editorial which appeared in the March 20 issue of the Cleveland Press:

THE BIG HAND TO POLIO FIGHTERS

Because they have made 1957 a milestone year in greater Cleveland's public health history; because the doctors—led by the Academy of Medicine—the public and parochial school officials, the nurses, the PTA mothers and countless volunteers all have joined in forging a community of polio-protected children; because business and industry, unions and churches, institutions of all kinds, have enrolled in the crusade for a polio-free greater Cleveland by getting adults to roll up their sleeves for Salk polio shots, the Press proudly presents its 41st award for distinguished service. The big hand goes to all those persons who have played a part in this community's polio immunization program.

CLEVELAND BOWS TO ALL WHO AIDED SALK SHOT DRIVE

It may some day be that as Cleveland looks back over the pages of its history it will find no more glittering passage than the one on 1957's polio fighters.

That passage will tell how the Academy of Medicine led the way in an unprecedented program to create a polio-free city. First school children were unshackled from fear of iron lung and braces, then preschoolers and adults.

As of today the program is still underway, with teams of doctors, nurses, and volunteers holding their Salk ceremonies, their polio-shot parades, school by school.

This very moment round A is being completed in the 165 Cleveland public schools, with about 93,000 children inoculated at least once against infantile paralysis.

In the parochial schools the first-shot campaign has reached the halfway point, with about 15,000 youngsters inoculated.

In the schools under the county board of health 25,000 more youngsters will have had shots by the end of this week, most of these boasting second doses.

And tots and adults, too

Meantime, preschoolers have paraded to clinics at hospitals or have gone with their parents to the family doctors' offices, where adults and tots have rolled up their sleeves together.

Industries have set up programs that resulted in thousands of adults getting the protection of Salk vaccine.

There are so many to credit, to pat on the back for this great demonstration of community teamwork against a public menace.

Dr. A. Macon Leigh, president of the Academy of Medicine, and Dr. Frederick C. Robbins, head of the academy's polio committee; Dr. Thomas D. Kinney, chairman of the polio program committee, and Dr. George L. Sackett, head of its public health committee, provided much of the impetus. They were among the academy leaders who met with press editorial executives prior to the start of the program.

Schools Supt. Mark Schinnerer and Dr. James P. Cozzens, director of the schools' health services, headed the almost overwhelming task of administering Salk vaccine to the city pupils systematically.

Msgr. Clarence Elwell and City Health Commissioner J. Glen Smith led the way for the polio program in parochial schools.

Dr. A. J. Pearse, county health commissioner, carried the ball in the 35 communities under his jurisdiction.

Six hundred doctors lend hand

More than 600 doctor members of the Academy of Medicine volunteered their services. Nurses worked along with them in giving the shots. Hospitals furnished interns and nurses.

Hundreds and hundreds of PTA members and other volunteers have been helping, too, manning telephones, keeping records, and the like.

Some 500 volunteers have worked on the "syringe bank" at St. Luke's Hospital, providing sterilized syringes and needles for the program.

The March of Dimes contributed $38,000 for supplies, and the academy chipped in $2,000.

The "big hand" is extended to one and all.

The Case of the Suspected Cop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a story appearing in the Antidefamation League Bulletin of B'nai B'rith published in Detroit, Mich., recently. The story is by one of my good friends, Robert Kohler, and details how a Jewish policeman was literally the salvation of a Catholic convent whose purpose was to care for the poor and downtrodden:

THE CASE OF THE SUSPECTED COP

(By Robert Kohler)

Lt. James Cole, of the Detroit Police Department, was assigned to investigate a disturbing report. A patrolman of the Hunt Street precinct was suspected of shaking down the merchants on his beat. Lieutenant Cole trailed the man, Eldridge Baughman, as he made his rounds of the Eastern Market. He saw Baughman step into fruit, meat, and grocery stores, come out with bundles of food which he loaded into a truck belonging to one of the merchants, and drive off.

Lieutenant Cole was deeply saddened. He knew that Baughman was a good cop, now in the twilight of an active career of 25 years, 15 of them on the same beat. He also knew his duty; he headed after Baughman to make his arrest at the point of delivery.

Somehow the arrest was never made. Soon another rumor reached police officials: Lieutenant Cole had joined Baughman in the shakedown. Inspector John M. Carnaghie went to Eastern Market to investigate personally. He, too, failed to make an arrest. By now police officials were aghast—a third rumor was that Carnaghie was working the shakedown with Cole and Baughman. Other men were assigned to investigate. Starting out with one clue—the fact that the suspected policemen collected no meat, only fish, on Fridays—they soon broke the case. What they found forestalled any disciplinary action; the suspected shakedown turned out to be one of the most unique cases of interfaith cooperation in Detroit's history.

The trail had led to the Convent of the Felician Sisters. Baughman had indeed been picking up and delivering food—but it was an act of charity done with the full cooperation of the merchants—Jewish and Christian—involved. The extensive charities of the Felician Sisters had left them with barely enough to feed themselves. When the case was broken, Patrolman Baughman told how it all started:

"Last spring, my friends on the beat told me about the plight of the Sisters. It seemed

incredible that people who were devoting their lives to religion, education and charity shouldn't even have the right food. I took a look at the convent and went inside to see the Sisters. Their poverty struck me and I wanted to help. They didn't know what to make of me at first, but I told them, 'Sisters, you handle the inside; I'll handle the outside.' "

Baughman went back to his beat and told the merchants what he had found. "Everyone wanted to help right away. It was as though they had just been waiting to be asked," he says. "It was funny when Lieutenant Cole followed me and walked into the convent. He saw me give the food to the Sisters, looked around, and just said, 'Well, you got them the food but now let's do something about a paint job.' When Inspector Carnaghie showed up, we all got together and talked to some friends who contributed paint, brushes, rollers—everything we needed. When the boys at the precinct heard about it, they came down on their days off and painted the convent from top to bottom, including the attic. Mother Superior Mary Anthony cried a little when we were finished. She said, 'We can only repay with our prayers all the men who are helping us.' "

The Sisters of the convent have themselves long felt the need for better interfaith cooperation. Some of the nuns have participated in a human relations workshop at the University of Detroit. The Michigan ADL office has, on request, supplied the convent with a consultant service on a continuing basis.

Patrolman Baughman, who retires this spring, is concerned about the future. "I hope I have some say about my replacement on the beat. I would like to break him in right so he'll know where to get the food. There won't be any question about his wanting to do it—he's a Detroit cop, isn't he?"

The Felician Sisters have nicknamed Patrolman Baughman—a Jew—St. Anthony after their patron saint.

Aid Slashed as Housing Slumps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Robert J. Lewis, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of March 16, makes most interesting reading:

UNITED STATES SLASHES AID AS HOUSING SLUMPS

(By Robert J. Lewis)

One off-the-cuff reaction to this week's news of the administration's proposal to reduce housing authorizations:

"What do they want us to do, live in tents?"

The answer is, of course, that it's not that bad.

Housing Administrator Cole says there can be a $200 million cutback in authorizations without an adverse effect on housing activity.

This is an almost miraculous accomplishment—involved, somewhat, in the realm of semantics—and naturally leads to another question: Why was the extra $200 million included in the first place?

"SAVINGS" LISTED

Under Mr. Cole's cutback proposals:

There would be $100 million less to encourage construction of low-cost private housing for low-income families, new housing in cleared-off slum sections and rehabilitation of homes in such areas, to build cooperative housing, and to push other housing projects that were originally believed to be necessary.

There would be a $75 million cut in the amount available in Federal funds to encourage communities to get started on urban renewal undertakings.

There would be a reduction of $25 million in the amount to be made available for college housing.

Looked at more closely, the cutback proposals don't have, as their total effect, a saving of $200 million.

Fully $100 million of the so-called saving represents a cut in the budget-proposed mortgage-purchasing authority of the Federal National Mortgage Association. If FNMA received this money it would not spend it at all. The money would be used by the Government largely for the purpose of investing in home mortgages—many of them of a type specially designed for the family of moderate or low income.

The Government would not be giving the money to anyone, or spending it.

Through FNMA, it would be investing it with homes as security for the investment.

Without this authorization, FNMA will be held back in supporting types of medium- and low-cost housing that Congress has wanted to have encouraged.

As for the cutback in funds for urban-renewal grants: The $75 million saving was not scheduled for expenditure immediately anyway. Withholding authorization of this amount will have the chief effect of forcing additional delays in the already lagging campaign to clear slums in cities throughout the country.

The final item—a cut of $25 million for aid in construction of housing for college students—was apparently included in full realization that the accommodations were originally considered important.

The rush to save by wielding the scapel on housing activity demonstrates that interests seeking to postpone housing have allies within the administration, in the opinion of some builders.

It is significant, in this connection, that the administration has never publicly stated its 1957 housing target, builders point out. Spokesmen, indeed, have sidestepped questions on whether the Government has a minimum goal at all.

Whatever the administration's objectives, it's becoming more and more of a certainty that housing production will take a deep plunge this year that could have far-reaching economic consequences.

OUTPUT DOWN SHARPLY

The Bureau of Labor Statistics disclosed yesterday that the number of new homes started in February was the lowest since the corresponding month of 1949. This was a decline of 17 percent from a year ago.

In the first 2 months of this year, home construction was down 15 percent from the similar period in 1956.

On a seasonally adjusted basis, this brought the annual rate down to 910,000 units. Such a rate would amount to a decline of more than 200,000 units below even last year's relatively low production.

The decline emphasized the correctness of builders' previous warnings that pressures exerted by the administration to raise interest rates were sending the housing industry into a slump.

In a statement this week, George S. Goodyear, president of the National Association of Home Builders, called the BLS revelation "an alarming report."

"These figures confirm the repeated warnings sounded by this association in recent months, all of which have been consistently ignored by the Government officials chiefly responsible for housing credit policies," Mr. Goodyear said.

"They underscore the need for emergency action by Congress and the administration now, if homes are to be provided for American families of modest means.

CALLED BODY BLOW

"The Government's tight-money policy has struck a body blow at a large and vital section of our economy. It has caused a rapid and prolonged decline in new home construction, and it has had grave repercussions throughout the many allied industries which depend on home building."

Mr. Goodyear said the BLS report is a clear warning there will be an increasing slump if action is not taken.

"Home builders and home buyers have been singled out for the imposition of the most discriminatory and unfair restrictions in the history of our free-enterprise system, under the guise of anti-inflation controls," he said.

Mr. Goodyear said it was "well-nigh incredible" that the effects of builders' warnings have been "ignored for so long, and that they continue to be ignored by those directly responsible for our national housing policy."

In Virginia's Oldest Tradition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, March 19, 1957, Senator HARRY F. BYRD, senior Senator from Virginia, made an outstanding and memorable speech before the Richmond Kiwanis Club in Richmond, Va.

Senator BYRD again demonstrated the love he has for America as well as the desire to maintain our way of life in this great Nation; he demonstrated why so long he has been looked to by most Virginians as a leader of courage, integrity, and real ability—one who dares to stand up and fight for the causes he believes to be right.

There appeared in the Richmond News Leader of Wednesday, March 20, 1957, a very fine editorial commenting upon Senator BYRD's speech and the stand that he has taken in this great hour of crisis in Virginia.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to include herewith this editorial:

IN VIRGINIA'S OLDEST TRADITION

One hundred and sixty-nine years ago, come June, a convention of Virginians met in Richmond to consider ratification of the new Constitution. Among their number were many of the most distinguished patriots of our history—Madison, Marshall, Pendleton, Mason, Henry, Edmund Randolph, George Wythe, Light Horse Harry Lee, James Monroe. Their debates offer absorbing reading in our own time.

We fell to reflecting upon the Convention of 1788, and the great assertions of political principle that gathering produced, in listening to Senator BYRD on Monday afternoon. The Virginia Senator stood squarely in Virginia's finest tradition.

He denounced the civil rights bills, in part because these measures would deny trial by jury in certain cases. What was it our fathers said on Shockoe Hill? "In all criminal and capital prosecutions, a man hath a

right to * * * a fair and speedy trial by an impartial jury of his vicinage." And again, "in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man and man, the ancient trial by jury is one of the greatest securities to the rights of the people, and ought to remain sacred and inviolable."

Mr. Byrd renewed his frequent warnings against the despotism that must result when government becomes as massive as it is today. What did Virginia say then? "All power is naturally invested in and consequently derived from the people; magistrates therefore are their trustees and agents and at all times amenable to them."

Most significantly, Senator BYRD resolutely asserted a right to resist the Supreme Court—indeed, to defy it—by an unyielding refusal to submit to usurped power. What did the Virginia Convention say in 1788? It said this, and let it be written large in our councils of state: "That government ought to be instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people; and that the doctrine of nonresistance against arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive to the good and happiness of mankind."

It was Virginia that demanded, 169 years ago, an explicit statement in the Constitution that all powers not delegated by the Constitution to the Federal Government, or denied by the Constitution to the States, were reserved to the States respectively. It was Virginia that denied the power of any department of the Federal Government to "cancel, abridge, restrain or modify" any right or power which the people reserved to themselves within their States.

If Senator BYRD, in echoing these high resolves of our greatest men, was in any sense advocating "anarchy," he was in illustrious company. He was not, of course, advocating any such thing. He was reflecting not only the most fundamental principles of our Government as these were asserted long ago, but also the most immediate desires and convictions of the people of Virginia in our own time.

Is it wondered that Virginia follows Senator BYRD's leadership? Virginia has been following such leadership since the stormy summer afternoons that Madison and Henry tangled in debate, here in this very city, 169 years ago.

Statement of George J. Burger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in the past few years, we have seen a rapid increase in the number of mergers of corporations and banks.

In some instances, these consolidations may have helped promote competition. In many others, they have frustrated the basic objectives of the antitrust laws in the preservation of our free competitive enterprise system—they are reducing competition in many areas and concentrating economic power in the hands of smaller groups.

During the 84th Congress, this body unanimously approved legislation aimed at adapting our antitrust laws to meet the changing economic conditions. This legislation was pending in the Senate when Congress adjourned.

It was re-introduced in this Congress by two of our colleagues from New York, Mr. CELLER and Mr. KEATING. Hearings are going on now. Following is a statement presented to the Antitrust Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee today by Mr. George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business:

STATEMENT OF GEORGE J. BURGER, VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS, BEFORE ANTITRUST SUBCOMMITTEE, HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, MARCH 21, 1957—H. R. 264 (KEATING), H. R. 2143 (CELLER)

I'm George J. Burger, vice president and legislative representative of National Federation of Independent Business, Washington Building, Washington, D. C.

We urge you to report favorably to the House for action at the earliest possible time premerger notification bill H. R. 2143 and its twin brother, H. R. 264.

Congressmen, small business has been pressing you for years to get on the ball and enact legislation like this, to permit Government to be more effective in enforcing the laws you have written * * * to prohibit business marriages that promote monopolistic concentrations, and thereby build a more favorable climate for independent business opportunities.

By "small business" I mean the real, live, flesh-and-blood men and women who run the millions of independent business and professional enterprises along the main streets of the thousands of towns and cities that dot our country—your own constituents.

With each passing year the voices of these business and professional people have grown louder and more insistent for this legislation. And you know it.

How do we know you know? Simply because we make it our business to poll out almost 100,000 independent business and professional man members on legislative issues, and arrange for their individually voted and personally signed ballots to go directly to you, their Congressmen, to let you know just what is on their minds * * * and because we know that while in August 1955 some 70 percent of our Members who used their ballots voted for this type of legislation, some 75 percent voted for it in October 1956, and some 76 percent voted in January 1947 urging you to enact H. R. 2143.

Our cards are on the table face up. We submit for your inspection copies of each of our mandates which carried these polls to our members. Read them over and see how we sketched arguments evenhandedly and factually for and against this legislation, to help them make up their own minds. And then read the results of their votes freely reached, which we tabulated on the basis of reports given us by local independent business and professional people who head up federation chapters in their areas.

Congressmen, here's the situation as we see it:

You in Congress considered and all but passed similar legislation last year. Actually, the House stamped its seal of approval on premerger notification. The Senate might have done likewise but for the fact that at the last minute someone tried to piggyback the "good faith" bill S. 11 through on it.

Further, when President Eisenhower appointed a Special Cabinet Committee on Small Business last year, this group rolled up its sleeves for searching study in the antitrust field, and came up with a recommendation for enactment of advance notice legislation like H. R. 2143 and H. R. 264.

As a matter of fact, the President and his party heartily endorsed this recommendation in their platform adopted at San Francisco last year. Party brass trumpeted this pledge again and again during the fall safaris. Just last month the President recommended to you in Congress that you enact this type of legislation.

Similarly, after searching the facts and their consciences, the Democratic Party promised enactment of this type of legislation in their platform adopted at Chicago in August. Members nailed this pledge high on their mainmasts throughout the whole campaign.

All this was done in response to a clearly demonstrated need for this legislation and in line with responsible soundings of independent business sentiment.

If anything, this need and this sentiment are greater today than ever * * * because the merger wave that threatens to capsize our small, independent business system and our free opportunity economy has swelled to its greatest size to date, and it is still growing larger.

You know that the agencies charged with enforcing the laws prohibiting monopoly producing mergers—Justice Department and Federal Trade Commission—are at last beginning to do a good job on this section of antitrust law. But they have told you that without this power to require advance notice on merger planning, their hands are partly tied. They have offered convincing testimony on this point.

Now if you were a boxing promoter, you wouldn't send your fighter into the ring with one hand tied behind his back. Why then send these antitrust agencies into the really tough monopoly-merger ring with one hand tied behind their backs?

Congressmen, our independent business and professional man members don't expect any miraculous cure from these bills. But they do firmly believe that this legislation will lubricate the sometimes creaky, squeaky machinery spinning out the action necessary to check the monopoly threat inherent in this merger wave.

Frankly, there doesn't seem much need for further talk about these bills. We think there's been enough already. Like Julie Andrews in My Fair Lady, our members are tired of "Words, words, words" * * * and want some definite action, in this case, by favorable vote on these bills, to show them your party meant what it said when it made its vows to independent enterprise in its platform and during the campaigns last fall.

Federal Aid for Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, there is no such thing as free Federal aid. The Federal Government has no money of its own to give away. It must first take away from the citizens of the States in taxation the dollars it so generously gives back to the States. Uncle Sam must also take away from the States the billions it gives to foreign governments. Uncle Sam has not one dime of his own to give away. He can only give away the dollars he takes from you and you and you.

Mr. Speaker, the total amount appropriated for Federal school aid during the 8-year period from July 1, 1949 to July 1,

1957, was $1,997,606,731. It was spent as follows:

1. School lunch programs	$569,542,600
2. Grants to colleges for agricultural and mechanical arts	140,306,000
3. Grants to States for vocational education programs	224,699,961
4. School construction grants to local school districts in federally impacted areas—where Federal activities have overloaded the regular school accommodations	593,406,019
5. Grants to local school districts for maintenance and operation of schools in federally impacted areas	469,652,151
Total	1,997,606,731

Mr. Speaker, today Congress is being urged to provide Federal aid for public schools—both elementary and secondary schools. Tomorrow, it will be Federal aid for colleges and universities; in fact, that movement has already started.

Both major political parties went on record in support of the principle of Federal aid for public schools. The drive for Federal aid is being sparked by President Eisenhower; the power behind the drive is being furnished by certain professional organizations, college, and university heads, big Government-minded laymen, the NEA, and various State education associations.

The drive will be difficult to stop. Senator LAUSCHE, of Ohio, says:

> Federal aid is invariably followed by Federal control.

I am in full agreement with Senator LAUSCHE. Federal control follows Federal aid as inevitably as night follows day.

For example, in 1916 Congress passed the Smith-Hughes Act providing Federal financial aid for local vocational educational systems. Prior to passage, its proponents insisted vigorously and incessantly that it would involve no Federal control. However, Federal regulations in connection with the act have been expanded over the years until they now fill a 108-page book, Administration of Vocational Education, published by the Government Printing Office. One sentence, on page 4, however, is all that is necessary to quote:

> Each State is required to submit a plan which must meet with the approval of the Federal Office of Education.

No approval of plan, no money. What is that but Federal control?

Mr. Speaker, an authority on the subject of Federal aid for schools, Roger A. Freeman, the former Research Director for the Intergovernmental Relations Commission, had this to say on the problem of Federal aid for schools:

> Education for many years has been the largest item of public expenditure in the United States next to national defense. The cost of education accounts for about one-third of all State and local expenditures and is about twice as great as the next largest public function—highways. * * * School funds have consistently risen faster than enrollment, or other public services, and are continuing to do so.

Mr. Freeman stated that Federal money is not needed for schools when the facts are known even if the Gallup poll last year indicated that 68 percent of the persons questioned in the poll favored Federal aid for schools. He explained the results of the poll came about because "the opponents of Federal aid have let the controversy go by default." He calls for a nationwide movement to lay the facts before the American public to head off pending congressional action in favor of Federal aid for schools.

The report of the Intergovernmental Commission on Education stated:

> We have been unable to find a State that cannot afford to make more money available to its schools or that is economically unable to support an adequate school system.

Mr. Speaker, in his book, Let's Face It, Dean Clarence Manion says:

> In the Communist Manifesto Karl Marx made control of public education 1 of the 10 commandments of communism. Crypto-Communists, fellow travelers, and left wing progressives in the field of education have kept their sights fixed upon this objective ever since. Twenty-five years ago a group of liberal American educators, appointed by the American Historical Society and financed with more than a quarter of a million dollars from the Carnegie and other foundations, went into a long learned huddle and finally came out with a 15-volume report. In their findings they declared that our form of Government was a failure and should give way to a collectivized society, wherein the individual should be made to surrender his liberty in the interest of group welfare. They determined that only the schools of the country could bring about this revolutionary change in our American system, and that it was the duty of every educator to see that the schools did so.

Mr. Speaker, the following article by Raymond Moley, entitled "The States Can Do It" is carried in the March 25 issue of Newsweek. It is an excellent article, worthy of careful and thoughtful consideration. I therefore include it as a part of these remarks:

THE STATES CAN DO IT

(By Raymond Moley)

OKLAHOMA CITY.—Two weeks ago, Steve Stahl, executive secretary of the Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, in behalf of the taxpayers of his State, appeared before a congressional committee in Washington to demonstrate with unimpeachable facts that his State needed no Federal aid for school construction.

He was treated with inexcusable discourtesy, notably by a Democratic Congressman, C. M. BAILEY, and by PETER FREYLINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey, a Republican. BAILEY, in the course of his attack, offered this bit of evidence why taxes are so high: "If the money is not spent for school construction it will be spent for something else." FREYLINGHUYSEN suggested that Federal grants for schools would "encourage the tapping of new sources at State and local levels." This tapping has been pretty bad already. A statement of a taxpayers' association of FREYLINGHUYSEN'S State points out that, since the State is already shelling out plenty in taxes, it wants no Federal tap for school construction.

Stahl's conclusion is that citizens, native and foreign, who go to Washington with a tin cup get a royal welcome, but those who go to say they do not want anything are treated to a "bum's rush."

Since the collectivists behind the school bill are claiming that the measure is only for needy States, I have taken pains on this trip through the South to find out whether the poor States can or cannot meet their own school needs. Two of these are Oklahoma and Louisiana.

MONEY AT HAND

Stahl pointed out, amid hoots and jeers, that while the figures of the United States Office of Education say that Oklahoma needs 500 new classrooms, the State and local communities have raised the money for and are planning to build 1,200 new classrooms. He said also, in denial of the President's claim that school construction has been lagging, that Oklahoma has increased its school revenues 57 percent since 1951; that while in 1951 school bond issue in the State amounted to $6.4 million, the figure rose to $27.2 million in 1956, and in the first 6 weeks of 1957 an additional $3 million were voted. Surely a State that pays $750 million yearly in Federal taxes is not poor. And if some of the people living in the stuffy atmosphere of phony figures that prevails in Washington would come out here and look around, they would have ocular evidence of the financial capability of the State.

In Louisiana I secured a copy of a school survey by a responsible taxpayers' agency, the Public Affairs Research Council. This study gathered firsthand data regarding the bonding authority for the State's 67 parishes and cities. It showed that 62 had sufficient authority to raise all the school-construction funds necessary, with $569,100,000 left over. The 5 "needy" parishes would require $4,100,000 in help. The President's plan would give the State $9,204,000 of Federal money, and the State would match with $4,601,000. Why in the name of common sense should Uncle Sam give $9,204,000, gathered from other States, to induce Louisiana to raise $4,601,000, which is all it needs?

FASTER PROGRESS

Moreover, the financial facts completely refute the charge of the President that there has been inadequate progress in keeping up with the rise in school population. In 1954 Louisiana's State Department of Education estimated that the State's school systems would require $235,600,000 to finance their building requirements to 1959. Since then, 13 of those systems have issued bonds sufficient for their needs, and 54 have reduced their needs very materially. In addition, there may be as much as $100 million in local funds for school construction authorized but not yet spent. Over a 10-year period the rate of school construction has exceeded the rate of increase in school population and has also covered obsolescence.

Apparently the Federal school-construction program is not designed to meet legitimate needs, but to bribe States to do what they are not only able to do for themselves but are doing at a rate faster than would be accomplished with Federal aid. Certainly if the bribe is paid, the States will not move faster. They will quit and let Uncle Sam do it.

Depressed Areas Need Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AIME J. FORAND

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill providing for an effective program to alleviate condi-

tions of unemployment in distressed areas.

This bill is quite similar to S. 964, now under consideration at the other end of the Capitol. It contains, however, one very outstanding feature not in the Senate bill; namely, a section that would extend the benefits of accelerated amortization for new and expanding industries. This feature would not apply to any existing industry just moving its operation from one State or area into a depressed area. I do not think that raiding one area to help another is good business.

Under leave to extend my remarks, already granted me, I include a press release and a digest of my bill:

Congressman AIME J. FORAND, Democrat, of Rhode Island, today introduced in the House of Representatives a bill which has for its purpose the establishment of an effective program to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment in certain economically depressed areas.

Citing the tax features of his bill Congressman FORAND said: "This is the shot in the arm Rhode Island, whose average unemployment is much higher than the national average, and other areas throughout the country need to combat persistent unemployment problems. This most important tax feature of my bill will tend to lure new industry into these depressed areas for the mutual benefit of all, and it is so designed that it will not permit the transfer of business operations from one State to another. We want new business and those industries that will take advantage of the technical skills of our people, and not just the tax relief."

Congressman FORAND, who is a ranking member of the House Ways and Means Committee, is working together with Senator DOUGLAS for the inclusion of this tax provision on the House side, since matters dealing with revenue must originate in the House. Many provisions of Mr. FORAND'S bill are similar to the Douglas bill now pending in the Senate. They include:

1. Loans to assist in financing the purchase or development of land for industrial use.
2. Loans for public facilities.
3. Grants for public facilities.
4. Procurement practices by the Government.
5. Financial assistance under Housing Act.
6. Vocational training.
7. Tax relief (amortization) for the erection, construction, reconstruction, etc., of new industry not heretofore removed from another State.

DIGEST OF AREA REDEVELOPMENT BILL INTRODUCED BY CONGRESSMAN AIME J. FORAND

1. Purpose: To assist communities, industries, enterprises, and individuals in areas needing redevelopment to expand their productive activity to alleviate excessive and prolonged unemployment and underemployment by providing new employment opportunities and developing and expanding existing facilities and resources without reducing employment in other areas..

2. Organization:

(a) Creates an Area Redevelopment Administration with an Administrator appointed by the President, subject to Senate confirmation.

(b) Creates advisory committees to assist Administrator:

(1) Government Advisory Committee consisting of heads of major interested Federal bureaus.

(2) National Public Advisory Committee consisting of representatives of business, labor, and agriculture.

(3) Administrator also authorized to confer with parties in interest from any industry in which employment has dropped substantially over extended period of years, causing high levels of unemployment in redevelopment areas.

3. Redevelopment areas defined:

(a) Industrial redevelopment areas are defined as "those within the United States in which Administrator determines that there has existed substantial and persistent unemployment for an extended period of time."

Areas shall be so designated where unemployment is not less than:

(1) 12 percent for preceding 1-year period.

(2) 8 percent for 15 months of preceding 18-month period.

(3) 6 percent for 8 months in each of 2 preceding years.

(b) Rural redevelopment areas are defined as "those rural areas within the United States in which he determines that there exist the largest number and percentage of low income farm families, and a condition of substantial and persistent unemployment or underemployment."

Administrator shall consider in making determination:

(1) Number of low income farm families in rural areas and proportion such low income families are to total farm families in such areas.

(2) Relationship of income levels of families in such areas to general levels of income in the United States.

(3) Current and prospective employment opportunities in such areas and availability of manpower there for supplemental employment.

(c) Administrator may designate several counties or municipalities or a part of a county or municipality as a "redevelopment area."

4. Local committees: Once a redevelopment area is determined, local redevelopment committee shall be appointed by Administrator consisting of at least seven residents of area, representing management, labor, commercial, industrial development, and agricultural groups. Committee shall submit plans and cost estimates for:

(a) Development of resources, processing and marketing facilities of area.

(b) Construction, rehabilitation, and alteration of industrial plants or commercial facilities of area.

(c) Purchase of machinery or equipment for use in area to attract new industry and stimulate economic activity.

Local committees shall enlist support of local residents and private and public lending agencies in financing such plans. Administrator shall furnish technical and professional assistance to local committees.

Administrator may appoint regional advisory committees on same basis as above to represent two or more redevelopment areas.

Funds for local committees: Not more than $1,500,000 of sums available to Administrator may be used to aid regional and local committees for administrative expenses only—salaries and traveling expenses of committee members excluded.

5. Loans:

(a) On application approved by a local committee, Administrator may make loans to assist in financing (1) purchase or development of land for industrial usage; (2) construction, rehabilitation or alteration of industrial plants or other manufacturing, commercial, or processing facilities; and (3) purchase of machinery or equipment for use in area, if he finds:

(1) Project planned is reasonably calculated to provide more than temporary alleviation of unemployment or underemployment.

(2) Funds requested not otherwise available on reasonable terms.

(3) Amount of loan plus private funds available are adequate to insure completion.

(4) There is reasonable expectation of repayment.

(5) Borrower will not transfer business operations to such plant so as to effect a significant reduction of employment in any other area within the United States.

(b) No loan shall be in excess of 75 percent of aggregate cost, or for more than 40 years. Interest rate shall be at cost to Administrator plus one-half of 1 percent per annum.

(c) Administrator shall require not less than 10 percent or more than 25 percent of aggregate cost to be supplied by (1) States or subdivisions thereof, or (2) local interests. Federal lien has first status. Five percent of aggregate cost for which loan is made shall be supplied by nongovernmental sources. Financial condition of area to determine amount of local contribution to costs. (Balance if any needed for 100 percent of loan would have to come from other sources outside the area.)

(d) "Borrower" includes lessees, subcontractors, or persons or firms under common control.

(e) One hundred million dollars authorized for making industrial redevelopment loans, on revolving fund basis.. One hundred million dollars appropriated for rural redevelopment loans, with limitation of $6 million to any one State, on revolving fund basis.

6. Assistance to public facilities:

(a) Loan for public facilities. Upon application of any State or political subdivision thereof, Indian tribe, private or public redevelopment organization, Administrator is authorized to make loans to assist in financing purchase or development of land for public facility usage, and construction, rehabilitation, alteration, expansion or improvement of public facilities in redevelopment areas, if he finds:

(1) Project provides more than temporary alleviation of unemployment or underemployment and will tend to improve opportunities in area for successful establishment or expansion of industrial or commercial plants or facilities.

(2) Funds requested are not otherwise available on reasonable terms.

(3) Amount of loan plus amount of other available funds are adequate to insure completion.

(4) There is reasonable expectation of repayment.

No loan shall be in excess of 75 percent of aggregate cost, or for longer than 40 years. Interest rate at cost to Administrator plus one-half of 1 percent.

Administrator shall require not less than 10 percent or more than 25 percent of aggregate cost to be supplied by State or political subdivision as equity capital or loan. Federal lien has first position. Financial condition of areas to determine amount of local contribution to cost. (Balance if any needed for 100 percent of loan would come from other sources inside or outside area.)

Seventy-five million dollars authorized for public facility loans, on revolving fund basis.

(b) Grants for public facilities: Administrator may conduct studies of needs and probable costs in redevelopment areas for needed land acquisition for public facility usage and for construction, rehabilitation, alteration, expansion, or improvement of useful public facilities. May receive proposals from States, Indian tribes, organizations, etc., showing plans, costs, and contributions to be made to proposal and Administrator may make grants where he finds:

(1) Proposal will provide more than temporary alleviation of unemployment or underemployment and proposal will tend to improve opportunities of area for establishment or expansion of industrial or commercial plants or facilities;

(2) Local groups will contribute to cost of project in proportion to their ability to contribute.

(3) Project will fill a pressing need of area, and there is little probability project could otherwise be undertaken.

Amount of grant for any project shall not exceed difference between funds which can be practicably obtained from other sources (including loan under section 8 of this act) and amount necessary to insure completion.

Administrator shall provide supervision to prevent waste of Federal funds.

Appropriations authorized not to exceed $50 million for making grants.

7. Funds for industrial plants and public facilities: Administrator with approval of President may issue notes and obligations not exceeding $275 million. Secretary of Treasury shall purchase and may sell such note.

8. Establishment of revolving funds: Creates revolving funds for industrial redevelopment loans ($10 million), for rural redevelopment loans ($100 million), and for public facility loans ($75 million).

9. Information: Administrator shall aid redevelopment areas by furnishing assistance, technical information, market research, advice, etc., obtainable from Federal Government agencies. Administrator shall also supply Federal procurement agencies with names and addresses of redevelopment area firms desirous of obtaining contracts from United States Government.

10. Technical assistance: Administrator authorized to provide technical assistance to redevelopment areas, including studies of needs and protentials for economic growth. Administrator may provide use of his staff or services of private individuals, firms, or institutions under contract. Appropriation authorized for these purposes in amount not in excess of $4,500,000.

11. Powers of Administrator: These include all ordinary and necessary powers to employ and compensate staff; hold hearings; secure data from other agencies; make, extend, service, modify, collect, and liquidate loans; acquire, manage, and sell property in collection of loans; employ experts; and establish rules, regulations, and procedures.

12. Termination of eligibility for assistance: Whenever Administrator shall determine that area designated as redevelopment area no longer meets requirements for such designation of section 5 of act, no further assistance shall be granted. But an area may be redesignated as a redevelopment area if requirements of section 5 of act again prevail.

Contracts or undertakings previously entered into shall continue to be valid.

Administrator shall advise Federal and local agencies of changes.

13. Procurement by Government agencies: Each department of the Federal Government engaged in procurement of supplies shall:

(a) Use best efforts to award negotiated procurement to contractors in redevelopment areas.

(b) Where deemed appropriate, set aside portions of procurements for negotiation with firms in redevelopment areas.

(c) Provide bid matching opportunities for redevelopment areas firms.

(d) Assure that firms in redevelopment areas have opportunities to be bidders and get notices.

(e) In event of tie bids, all other things being equal, award contract to firm in redevelopment areas.

(f) Encourage prime contractors to award subcontracts to firms in redevelopment areas.

(g) Cooperate with other departments and agencies of Federal Government to achieve objectives set forth.

14. Financial assistance under Housing Act:

(a) Housing and Home Finance Administrator is authorized to use slum clearance and urban renewal projects in redevelopment areas for industrial and commercial rebuilding without regard to requirements of existing law that project area be predominantly residential in character or that it be redeveloped for predominantly residential uses. This is, however, subject to the limitation that not more than 10 percent of the funds authorized under existing laws for loans or capital grants for slum clearance and urban renewal shall be available to provide financial assistance under this section.

(b) Housing and Home Finance Administrator is authorized also to make urban planning grants for planning in redevelopment areas.

15. Tax relief (relating to amortization of emergency facilities and new facilities in depressed areas):

(a) Allows for fast amortization on facilities (where the construction, reconstruction, erection installation or acquisition of the facility is commenced on or after the date of the enactment of the Area Redevelopment Act) to provide new employment opportunities and develop and expand existing facilities and resources in areas designated as "depressed areas" by the Administrator.

(b) No facility shall be certified under the first part of this section if such facility is determined by the certifying authority to be ineligible for a loan under the Area Redevelopment Act by reason of section 7 (a) (4) of this act. (Antimigration section.)

(c) Effective only with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1956.

16. Vocational training: Secretary of Labor shall:

(a) Determine vocational training or retraining needs of unemployed individuals in redevelopment areas and cooperate with Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and State and local agencies engaged in vocational training to assure that all facilities are available to such unemployed persons.

(b) Determine additional facilities needed to meet vocational training or retraining needs. Secretary of Labor shall then so advise Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare who shall furnish assistance, including finances, to State agencies to meet needs. If State agencies are unable to meet vocational training and retraining needs, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may contract for such services with public or private institutions. Secretary of Labor shall provide any necessary technical assistance for setting up apprenticeship, journeymen and other job training needed in locality.

17. Retraining subsistence payments: Secretary of Labor shall:

(a) Enter into agreements with redevelopment area States whereby the States as agents of the Federal Government make weekly retraining payments to unemployed individuals not entitled to unemployment compensation (exhaustions or not insured) and certified by Secretary of Labor to be taking training.

(b) Make retraining payments to such individuals for not more than 13 weeks in amounts equal to average unemployment compensation payments payable in State making payments.

18. Penalties:

(a) Knowingly false statements or willful overvaluations of security for purpose of influencing Administrator or obtaining loan, etc., are punishable by fine of not more than $5,000, or imprisonment for not more than 2 years, or both.

(b) Whoever being connected with Administrator embezzles, misapplies, etc., any funds, or with intent to defraud the Administrator or other body politic makes false statements, entries, reports, etc., or with intent to defraud participates or receives any profit or benefit through any loan or act of the Administrator, or gives unauthorized information concerning future action or plan of Administrator which might affect the value of securities or invests, speculates, etc., in securities of company receiving a loan or assistance from Administrator, shall be punishable by $10,000 fine or imprisonment for not more than 5 years, or both.

19. Employment of expediter and administration employees: No loan shall be made to business enterprise unless owners (a) certify to Administrator names of attorneys, agents, etc., employed for purpose of expediting application and fees paid for service, and (b) execute agreement binding such business enterprise for period 2 years after assistance rendered by Administrator to it to refrain from employing any person who on date assistance was rendered or within 1 year prior thereto shall have served as officer or employee of Administrator in position involving discretion as to granting assistance under this act.

20. Annual report: Administrator shall make a comprehensive and detailed annual report to Congress of his operations for each fiscal year. Report shall also show, among other things:

(a) Number and size of Government contracts for furnishing supplies and services placed with business firms located in redevelopment areas; and

(b) Amount and duration of employment resulting from such contracts.

Governmental agencies shall furnish administratively such information as may be necessary for purpose of this section.

21. Appropriations: Authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out provisions of the act.

Frightening

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, there is in Virginia a very fine newspaper published in Lynchburg, Va.; it is the Lynchburg News. From time to time there appears in this newspaper fine editorials which have been most enlightening, as well as helpful, to our people.

On Wednesday, March 20, 1957, there appeared an editorial which calls attention to the so-called civil-rights legislation just favorably approved by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives. This so-called civil-rights legislation is the most iniquitous, dangerous, ill-conceived, abortive, vicious, and ill-begotten legislation that has ever been my experience to know about. If the people of America do not wake up in the immediate future and realize what is happening to them, it will be too late; we will have lost the rights, privileges, and freedoms that have been ours for many generations.

The editorial that I have mentioned calls attention to many of the dangers that the enactment of this legislation will place upon a freedom-loving people.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to include herewith that editorial, in the hopes that people who love this Nation will read this editorial and realize what is behind the effort to place Americans in a political straitjacket and that they will act accordingly.

The editorial follows:

FRIGHTENING

One of the most amazing, if not the most amazing, spectacle of recent times in

the United States was that presented in a secret meeting of the House Judiciary Committee Monday when Members of the Congress refused to endorse a main feature of the Constitution they had sworn to protect.

The proposal rejected by these unidentified Members of the Congress of the United States was an amendment to a pending bill which had for its purpose the inclusion of a guaranty that the right of citizens to a trial by jury, as provided in the fifth amendment to the Constitution, would be respected.

Any criminal, any member of any organization dedicated to the overthrow of his country's Government by force, may invoke the fifth amendment. A loyal citizen of the United States is to be denied that right in certain cases. Only recently a man accused to his face of misuse of trust funds was told that he would not have to testify against himself, under a provision of the fifth amendment, one of the most important sections of our Bill of Rights. But a citizen accused behind his back may be hauled into a Federal court and denied that provision of the same amendment which guarantees him the right of trial by jury. In the name of protection of some ill-defined civil right, a citizen of the United States is to be denied a constitutionally guaranteed civil right as old as Magna Carta. Here is an attempt by a handful of Members of the Congress not only to amend the Constitution of the United States by legislation but to throw a part of it into the junk pile. We have called it an amazing action. A Member of Congress has called it an "unbelievable" action. It is more than either. It is frightening. Its frightfulness is intensified by the fact that it was all done in secrecy and no vote was recorded.

Some years ago a crooked and cynical old politician asked the famous question: What's the Constitution among friends? Obviously there are those who can ask and answer a similar question: What's the Constitution among politicians who find it standing in the way of action they are determined to take? The answer is a resounding "Nothing, nothing at all."

The hope is that when the House of Representatives considers this measure the rejected amendment affirming the validity of the fifth amendment to the Constitution will be offered and that when a recorded vote is demanded there will be found so many Members ashamed to stand up in public and vote against the Bill of Rights that the amendment will be accepted. It will still be an evil bill but some of the poison will have been extracted from it.

There Is a Place for the Small Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WALT HORAN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am privileged to include a speech delivered recently at the Spokane farm forum by Mr. Eugene Harms, of Pullman, Wash.

Mr. Harms spoke on the subject There Is a Place for the Small Farm. His talk points out some of the problems that face the operator of the family-sized farm:

THERE IS A PLACE FOR THE SMALL FARM

(By Eugene L. Harms, farmer, Pullman, Wash.)

As was stated by the chairman, I live on a 260-acre farm near Pullman and of which 250 acres are cropland.

I think that this question of a small farm is a relative question. A 250-acre farm in the Columbia Basin, on the west side of the State would be a good size farm, but if you went out in Adams County, they'd say why gee whiz it takes that much for us to turn our outfits around on. In the Palouse area and Whitman County where the average size of farm now is over 500 acres, I think you'll agree that a 250-acre farm is a small farm from the standpoint of wheat production. But I do not believe that a farm of small acreage necessarily means a farm of a small business. There is opportunity to increase the total income and increase the size of business by doing some diversification.

First, I wish to state emphatically that I believe the efficient small farm has and will continue to have a place in agriculture and in our national economy. I notice that our previous speaker said almost the same thing. He emphasized the fact that efficiency was a prerequisite of any farm or of any business staying in business. If they are inefficient they have no place in our present economy.

Now just a few of the disadvantages of the small operation. The investment for modern equipment is necessarily very large per acre on a small farm. This investment is very much larger than if the farm were large enough so that maximum use could be made of the equipment. For example in my own case, I have about $70 an acre in equipment alone and I don't feel that I can get along with much less. As a matter of fact, I would like to have about $25 an acre or more in some of this modern equipment. Not only labor saving, some of the modern machines that have come out will do the job better than what I have. But, I don't feel that I can do that at least under the present conditions so I am worrying along trying to keep the equipment that I have used as efficiently as possible.

What can the small operator do to cut down his cost of machinery? He might do as I have done on most of my equipment. He might buy used equipment which some larger operator has felt is not efficient enough for him. A new machine has come along and he has an acreage to justify it. An example might be our combine. At the present time we can buy a good full combine for about 10 cents on the dollar or less of what a new self-propelled combine would cost us. I think there are several of you who would bear me out that you can do just as good a job of thrashing and cleaning and preparing a crop with the old type machine as you can with the self-propelled. We have also got down to where our labor requirements on that type of machine are not as great as they used to be. In other words with the self-propelled we put a $12,000 investment in and we save one man during harvest. And, of course, we do it faster and if we have a green spot we can cut around it without wasting grain. All of the arguments which are offered to you as reasons why you should have a self-propelled, I don't belittle them. I would like to have one myself but certainly can't justify it. Another thing that a farmer may do is to do a little custom work with some of his equipment. The trouble is that in our area I have 2 or 3 neighbors that are trying to do the same thing so it becomes a case of doing the thing so near cost that probably the machine is just as well off not pulled out for that purpose.

Another thing I think the small operator must consider pretty carefully is whether or not some labor-saving piece of equipment is going to pay out for him. Just take as an example, we might say that a manure loader might be handy. Goodness knows, I don't like to pitch it by hand any better than the rest of you. But if I have only 100 loads of manure a year to handle, I can hardly justify a $4,000 equipment charge for that particular item. Another thing that we must not forget is that on a small farm the labor of the operator and his family is one of the cheapest commodities that he has to sell. If he buys a machine which saves him a good many hours of labor, that's nice for his back. But it still may cost him quite a little more for that machine which he can't use to full capacity.

The small farm, I feel, has suffered under our past Government farm programs in that most of the programs have further reduced the units of cash crops that can be produced. As a result a high support of parity price does not help very much on a small farm—particularly if you don't have anything to sell. For example, on my own place (I can speak of that because I am more familiar with that than I am with others) a 60-acre wheat allotment even at a good yield will not give much of a net return. So that our setup in our past farm programs have had a tendency to not help the small operator because they have cut his units down so much that even though he got more for what he had in total he didn't increase his income very much. Now those are the two disadvantages, as I see it, of the small operator. He has a high equipment cost and he has under our Government program been limited even more than he would have been on the number of units that he can produce.

Coming down to the credit side of the ledger, let's look at a few of the things that we have on our side. First, the chief commodity that a small farmer has to sell is his and his family labor. So he must plan his program to make the best use of his labor. This means enterprises that will spread and utilize this labor over the entire year rather than to 1 or 2 high seasonal peaks. Livestock enterprises do this to a very good advantage and have some disadvantages. Certainly he is not able to take off for California or Hawaii and even come here to Spokane for the farm forum. It means that somebody has got to go and milk the cow, feed the pigs, gather the eggs. He is not quite as free as if he were out here and did most of his work in a 2 or 3 month period and then had a lull between them. It's a year around business. But that is one of the chief things he has to sell is his labor and I don't think that he is going to be able to get by. I would like to have a larger operation. My present equipment would handle without adding a single item 500 to 600 acres. Instead of using a cat 450 hours, I might increase that to 1,000. And the same thing with my other equipment—but how are you going to do that. I've had an economist or 2 and some friends that said "well, that's all right, just get another 250 acres." That is a darn sight easier said than done. You are just about limited in an area like the Palouse area to what you already have because it seems like whenever anything comes up it isn't a small operator like myself, who probably couldn't pay much more than the shoestring payment necessary to start the thing, gets it but it's somebody that's got the cash to put down on the barrel head and that talks these days.

The small operator can intensify his operations and his efficiency so that he produces more per acre. This can be done through improved cultural practices, improved varieties and our new crop varieties and our new developments in livestock. In 1928 when I was working on my masters thesis the experts thought they were getting

very efficient production if they could get by with 100 pounds of pork on 350 to 375 pounds. I noticed an article the other day an experiment which they actually were getting pork production for as little as 2½ pounds of grain per day. There is just one of the examples of more efficiency in livestock. We're using fertilizers today in the area by Pullman which used to be considered a summer fallow area. Right now there is just a lot of recropping. That's being done by the use of fertilizers and by the use of some improved cultural methods and by the use of improved varieties. Where can we get that information. I think one of our best sources is our extension soil conservation service and other Government agencies as well as private organizations. I don't think we should sell private organizations down the river but I think that we should take some of their claims, and at least study them pretty carefully because usually if the fertilizer salesman feels you need fertilizer I think he is right, but sometimes I wonder if you need 500 pounds or whether you need 250. I do feel that, perhaps, the information that is given out through our research programs and our extension service probably would not tend to be a little prejudiced sometimes against our pocketbooks, and I think you'll find that sometimes happens.

What else can the small farmer do? I think he must produce a quality product and one which is in demand. Right now the lard-type hog, as we all know, is out of business. I mean as far as the packer is concerned it is out of favor. Let's put it that way because he has no demand for it. So the grower that is going into the hog enterprise certainly doesn't want to go in for the little short lard-type hog but rather for some of the improved meat-type strains of hogs. That is just one example. In times of a surplus of any commodity the quality product always moves. The quality produce moves first and usually at a higher price. If there is going to be any left, it's usually the poor quality product. Fourth, labor may be utilized and income increased by what I like to call vertical diversification and upgrading. For example, the small farm operator might grade and candle his eggs and thus increase his return 8 to 10 cents per dozen on eggs. Or, he might rogue and certify his cereal crops and increase their value 25 to 50 cents per bushel. The same thing would apply to selling a small percent of his livestock as breeding stock. In other words, he's got a commercial herd but if they are of the right quality and type he can sometimes add a few dollars to his income by selling some as breeding stock. Quality products are a must if this part of the program is to succeed. If you are going in for this thing, that's the thing you've got to strive for. Fifth, the small farmer must, and this applies to all farmers, must be a good businessman and an economist as a difference of 30 days in marketing a commodity which has seasonal peaks may mean the difference between a nice profit and a loss. He again should make use of the crop and livestock economic information available through his extension service and other Government agencies. Sixth, I think that he and his family must like farm life and be willing to work for what they wish to accomplish.

I personally am old-fashioned enough to think that there is no place like the farm to raise a family. And I think some of our surveys will bear out the fact that our rural boys and girls who live on a family-size farm have plenty of work. We don't find as much juvenile delinquency among the rural group as we do those who may be wondering just what they can do with their time next. I think any of you who have been out to the Spokane Junior Livestock Show can appreciate what I mean when you see what those young farm people are doing. Many of the junior show animals, incidentally, are coming from the small family-size farm.

The small farmer must be willing to sacrifice a little bit. He is not going to work on a union wage scale nor hours. I suspect he is going to put in over 3,000 hours a year rather than the 2,000 hours a year which our industrial workers seem to feel is really too much. And, according to our previous speaker, they would like to get that down probably to 1,500 hours a year. They say that hard work never killed anybody. I'm not too sure that it didn't shorten some people's lives but I feel pretty confident that my chances of dying from overwork on the farm are a lot less than my chances of being killed in an automobile accident on vacation in California. That's just my feeling on the thing. Maybe our home farm isn't going to kill us off as quick as some of the vacations we may take in our car.

To Israel's Lebanese Neighbors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I very much wish to again bring to the attention of our American people the fact that Israeli and Arabs alike in the Middle East are not desirous of war but really hope for peace. It is the extremists who seek to prevent a peaceful settlement so that all may live together in the Mideast to develop the resources of the area for the good of the people. I again insert into the RECORD an article appearing in the Leesan Al-Adl, a weekly Lebanese newspaper published by Checri S. Kanaan, expressing the desire of all the people of the area to live together in peace and harmony:

TO ISRAEL'S LEBANESE NEIGHBORS

Through the Lebanese in our own community, as one Detroiter to his fellow-citizens of Lebanese extraction, I wish to appeal to the people of Lebanon in behalf of the just cause of good neighborliness and humanitarian fellowship.

Lebanon, bordering on Israel, has been and remains to this day the most peaceful of Israel's neighbors.

I believe that this is due to your countrymen's recognition of the fact that Israel desires to live in harmony with the peoples who surround her.

Therefore there have been no border incidents on the Lebanon-Israel frontiers.

This is an indication that both peoples respect the rights of their citizens to live in their homes without danger, to work in their fields, to conduct their business, to walk freely in their communities, at any hour of day or night, without fear of attacks from terrorists.

Such human relationship must become the order of the day among all peoples.

But your country is officially a member of a league that is encouraging enmities against Jews, that has instigated murders of Jews, necessitating retaliations by the Israelis.

There are some Lebanese who are giving comfort to the enemies of peace.

But I am deeply convinced that most of the people of Lebanon lean in the direction of peace, that they seek amity not only for themselves, but also for Israel, and therefore also among and for all the other peoples of the Middle East.

My appeal to you is to join hands with Israel, to encourage your countrymen in Lebanon to make peace with Israel and to strive for peace in that entire area.

Israel suffers from the state of war. So does Lebanon.

Israel tourist trade has been cut off as a result of the inhumanities that have forced Israel into an armed camp, in order that the lives of her citizens should be protected.

Lebanon, too, once a great attraction to tourists of all faiths and all nations, is suffering from the war scares that have been imposed on the Middle East by tyrants.

Beirut suffers as much as Tel Aviv.

So do Cairo and Alexandria and Damascus.

No Jew nor Christians ever went to Jerusalem without also visiting Beirut and Cairo and other great centers in the Middle East. Now they all suffer.

I appeal to you: Let us join hands for peace, so that all peoples may benefit from Goodwill and humanitarian neighborliness.

The Lebanese in this country can do much to encourage peace. Won't you begin the movement for peace, to start with Lebanon and to spread to other lands of the Arabs, our cousins, with whom Israel desires peace and for whom the Jews of America would like to feel only the warmest kinship?

This is an American Jew who appeals to you to work for peace, to induce your countrymen to make peace with Israel, and who chooses to sign himself with the Hebrew word for peace, "Shalom."

South Carolina's Republicans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen of the House, the Republican Party of South Carolina is making fantastic progress under the leadership of the Honorable David Dows. As a member of the opposition party in my State, I have come to respect Mr. Dows as a clean fighter, a man of ability and of the highest character. Mr. Dows believes in our constitutional form of Government and our free enterprise system. He has dedicated his efforts in establishing a strong opposition party in our State to give us better Government. He believes in the two-party system. Under his leadership, the Republican Party in South Carolina last fall polled the largest vote, I believe, it has ever polled in South Carolina, certainly the largest vote since 1876.

I might say, Mr. Speaker, that 4 years ago, Mr. Dows was the Republican nominee for Congress in my district. While making no active campaign, he polled the largest Republican poll received in the Third District since the 19th century.

He is my warm, personal friend, and I am happy, Mr. Speaker, to insert at this point in the RECORD an editorial from the Index-Journal, my hometown newspaper:

SOUTH CAROLINA REPUBLICANS

South Carolina Republicans apparently do not intend to let their organization die, now that it has been given some life.

Republicans from this State plan to attend a regional meeting at Louisville, Ky., May 10–11, it is reported from Columbia. Also, young Republicans of the State plan a meeting in Columbia, April 27.

South Carolina could profit from the two-party system, and the Republicans are probably on the right track when they deal with young people. For many older persons the name Republican leaves a bad taste in the mouth, and while they have left the Democratic Party, they can not bring themselves to embrace the GOP.

David Dows of this county has given a respectability to the Republican Party in South Carolina which should get it off on a sounder basis than ever before. He did that through his own integrity and through his firmness in fighting the party battles of the past few years through the courts and the party councils to a decision.

His goal was to conduct affairs so that it would not be on a personal basis, but would conform strictly to the rules of the party and the laws of South Carolina. His efforts have done much to help bring about the two-party system here.

The Lighting of the Torch for Religious Freedom in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY J. LATHAM
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert in the RECORD for the benefit of the Members a copy of a letter to the Postmaster General, which is self-explanatory; an editorial from the Long Island Press of March 10, 1957; and the text of the Flushing Remonstrance:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 21, 1957.

The Honorable ARTHUR E. SUMMERFIELD,
The Postmaster General,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SUMMERFIELD: I write this appeal on behalf of the four Members of Congress from the County of Queens, in the State of New York, the Honorable ALBERT H. BOSCH, Hon. JAMES J. DELANEY, Hon. LESTER HOLTZMAN, and myself. You will note, therefore, that this appeal is bipartisan and unanimous, as far as the congressional delegation from Queens County, N. Y., is concerned.

We would like to renew a request made before to you that the Post Office Department issue a stamp in commemoration of the signing of the famous Remonstrance at the Bowne House, Flushing, Queens County, N. Y. This landmark was dedicated as a national shrine to religious freedom and tolerance on October 10, 1945. December 27, 1957, will be the 300th anniversary of the signing of this document which lighted the torch of religious freedom in America.

It is our understanding that the Post Office Department prefers to issue commemorative stamps only on significant anniversaries. Could there be any more significant anniversary than the 300th anniversary of religious freedom in America?

It was in Bowne House in 1649 that John Bowne openly defied Gov. Peter Stuyvesant and the Dutch Government by giving asylum to persecuted Quakers who had been prohibited and denied the freedom of worshiping God according to their beliefs. For this John Bowne suffered arrest, imprisonment, separation from his family, and banishment from America.

I am sure you will find in your files numerous endorsements of this commemorative stamp and suggestions for a design.

I hope you will give the most earnest consideration to this request.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY J. LATHAM,
Member of Congress.

MUST LONG ISLAND REMONSTRATE AGAIN?

The Post Office Department has issued stamps to commemorate many historic events and to honor famous Americans.

It also has issued special stamps in tribute to poultry-raising, the trucking industry, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad—to name a few.

The time now is ripe for the Post Office Department to issue a stamp commemorating one of the greatest events in our history, the establishment of true religious freedom in America.

That freedom was established on Long Island. It was born in the historic Flushing Remonstrance of 1657, and this is the 300th anniversary of that event.

In those early colonial days, some valiant Long Islanders ran into trouble with Gov. Peter Stuyvesant over their right to worship according to their personal religious convictions. This series of troublous events reached its climax when Stuyvesant posted a proclamation in every town forbidding the good countrymen to accept Quakers into their homes.

The Remonstrance was Long Island's answer to Governor Stuyvesant. It marked a turning point in the battle for religious freedom.

The Post Office Department has been asked to issue a special commemorative Religious Freedom Tercentenary Stamp. A proposed design for this stamp has been submitted to Washington. It bears the picture of Bowne House—the home of John Bowne, an early fighter for religious freedom.

Unless the Post Office Department soon shows some indication that it is going to authorize a Religious Freedom Stamp—in connection with the tercentenary—it will be time for Long Islanders to send Washington a 1957-style Remonstrance.

REMONSTRANCE OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF FLUSHING TO GOVERNOR STUYVESANT, DECEMBER 27, 1657

RIGHT HONORABLE: You have been pleased to send up unto us a certain prohibition or command that we should not receive or entertain any of those people called Quakers because they are supposed to be by some, seducers of the people. For our part we cannot condemn them in this case, neither can we stretch out our hands against them, to punish, banish or persecute them, for out of Christ God is consuming fire, and it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.

We desire therefore in this case not to judge least we be judged, neither to condemn least we be condemned, but rather let every man stand and fall to his own Master. Wee are bounde by the Law to doe good unto all men, especially to those of the household of faith. And though for the present we seem to be unsensible of the law and the Law giver yet when death and the Law assault us, if wee have our advocate to seeke, who shall plead for us in this case of conscience betwixt God and our own soule; the powers of this world can neither attack us, neither excuse us, for if God justifye who can condemn and if God condemn there is none can justifye.

And for those jealousies and suspicions which some have of them, that they are destructive unto Magistracy and Minsterye, that can not bee, for the magistrate hath the sword in his hand and the minister hath the sword in his hand, as witnesse those two great examples which all magistrates and ministers are to follow, Moses and Christ, whom God raised up maintained and defended against all the enemies both of flesh and spirit; and therefore that which is of God will stand, and that which is of man will come to nothing. And as the Lord hath taught Moses or the civil power to give an outward liberty in the state by the law written in his heart designed for the good of all, and can truly judge who is good, who is evil, who is true and who is false, and can pass definitive sentence of life or death against that man which rises up against the fundamental law of the States General; soe he hath made his ministers a savor of life unto life, and a savor of death unto death.

The law of love, peace, and liberty in the states extending to Jews, Turks, and Egyptians, as they are considered the sonnes of Adam, which is the glory of the outward state of Holland, soe love, peace, and liberty, extending to all in Christ Jesus, condemns hatred, war, and bondage. And because our Saviour saith it is impossible but that offenses will come, but woe unto him by whom they cometh, our desire is not to offend one of his little ones, in whatsoever form, name or title hee appears in, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist or Quaker, but shall be glad to see anything of God in any of them, desiring to doe unto all men as wee desire all men should doe unto us, which is the true law both of church and state; for our Saviour saith this is the law and the prophets.

Therefore if any of these said persons come in love unto us, we cannot in conscience lay violent hands upon them, but give them free egresse and regresse unto our town, and houses, as God shall persuade our consciences. And in this we are true subjects both of church and state, for we are bounde by the law of God and man to doe good unto all men and evil to noe man. And this is according to the patent and charter of our towne, given unto us in the name of the States General, which we are not willing to infringe, and violate, but shall houlde to our patent and shall remaine, your humble subjects, the inhabitants of Vlishing.

Written this 27th day of December, in the year 1657, by mee

EDWARD HART,
Clericus.

Let Us Correct the Causes of the Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a notable and timely address by Hon. JAMIE L. WHITTEN, of Mississippi, delivered before the Plains Cotton Growers Association at Lubbock, Tex., Monday, March 18, 1957.

Mr. WHITTEN has served as chairman of the Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations in the Committee on Appropriations for many years and is perhaps as familiar with the farm problem as any man in the Nation today:

LET US CORRECT THE CAUSES OF THE FARM PROBLEM

We have learned that controlling acreage will not control United States production.

We also have learned that reducing United States production will not reduce world production.

Also, the Department has shown, through its shortsighted policy of holding United States offerings in world trade above world prices, which it followed up until a year ago, that while such course would help hold up world prices, in the process foreign countries increased production, got the markets, and the United States ended with surpluses on which it paid storage and continued to reduce United States acreage, while foreign acreage expanded.

We have learned that Secretary Benson's theory of reducing price supports won't work. In recent hearings before my committee, it was shown that the Secretary's action in reducing price supports on cotton $15 per bale had not decreased production, had not increased consumption, nor had this reduction been passed on to the consumer. All his action did was to lower farm income.

Existing law invites every farmer to increase his production per acre to the fullest extent he can. Present efforts to control United States production by acres leads to more and more use of expensive fertilizers, insecticides, irrigation equipment, and other expensive equipment, adding to operating costs. As the farmer, with reduced acreage, tries to produce more and more per acre under existing law, in effect he cuts his own acreage for the following year. And, if continued, it would mean a gradual shrinkage of an already too small acreage, resulting in more and more people being forced from the farms.

The present acreage reserve program, where the farmer is paid for leaving out of production a part of his allotted cotton acreage, also heads in the wrong direction and is based on the false premise that removing acres until present supplies are sold will correct the farm situation.

It is my opinion that such program is doing untold harm to every city, town, and village in the country. I would point out another fact which farmers should recognize. Today there are only 13 percent of the American people on farms and the other 87 percent will believe that this acreage reserve payment is a direct gift to the farmer, whereas in fact it will be of little help to the farmer, for the reason that the farmer must leave this acreage out of his already limited allotment. Such payment from the Government will not substantially add to his income, but is in substitution for the income he would have received from the acreage. Since the payment comes for not farming, it is my opinion this will, in time, inflame the American people against farm programs generally.

It is my belief that we must rewrite our farm legislation so as to reverse the present approach, which leads to less and less farming on a more and more expensive basis, which does not relieve the world supply and demand situation and makes the condition with the American farmer more and more dependent upon the 87 percent of Americans who are nonfarmers, who in the final analysis, through their Representatives in Congress, must accept any farm program in order for it to continue.

We must start out with the premise that any farm program, to be worthwhile, must let the American farmer farm. The world needs American production; if American farmers do not farm year in and year out we will gradually lose our markets to foreign competition. If our farmers do not farm, all businesses which are to any degree dependent upon farm production and activity will feel the pinch greatly as they are beginning to do at the present time.

If we do not let our farmers farm, where are the thousands and thousands of young 4–H Club members going to find a place to use their talents in connection with farming?

It is my belief that the best approach to our present farm difficulties is through a domestic allotment plan. I have been working with lawyers at the Department of Agriculture in recent weeks, in an effort to write such a bill, which would apply to wheat, tobacco, and rice on the same general basis as it would for cotton. We all recognize that with a dollar an hour minimum wage, the bargaining rights of labor unions, 14 freight rate increases since World War II, and all the other costs built into the American economy by various laws, it is absolutely essential that some protection against such costs be given to the American farmer through price supports. I am convinced, however, that these protections should be self-financing in that the costs should be passed on to the consumer by the sales price. All cost of wage contracts is paid by the consumer. All the costs of freight rate increases are borne by the user. Thus it goes. Only the farmer is left dependent upon annual appropriations of the Congress; and yet the necessity for such financial support of the farmer flows from these other laws which add to his costs. Therefore, I am preparing a bill which will be introduced shortly, wherein the American cotton farmer will be given support on his share of the domestic market, figured in terms of bales or pounds. Such supports on the farmer's share of the domestic market should be on the basis of 100 percent of parity. Under such bill, the farmer will be released from acreage controls and any cotton that he produces beyond his share of domestic markets would be available only for world trade and on that share of his crop the farmer would be dependent on what the world market would pay.

This approach would guarantee to users of American cotton that the United States would continue as a consistent source of supply. Under this approach we would get rid of all acreage controls and the many troublesome features of such a control program.

Based on my years of experience as chairman of the Agricultural Appropriations Subcommittee, where we review annually the overall farm-program operations, it is my belief that the mechanics of such a program would be to issue to the farmer annually certificates for his share of the domestic market, figured in bales and pounds on somewhat the same basis as acreage is now figured. Domestic mills then would be required to use only certified cotton to meet their domestic market, but would be authorized to buy at the world price a sufficient quantity of cotton for their export market.

Such an approach would prevent the outlay of millions of dollars each year by the Government, as is now required. Instead of the American people being taxed to support the farm program, the users would pay the cost just as now the users pay the cost of wage contracts, freight-rate increases and all the rest.

Such a program will make it possible to use our exchanges, it will restore cotton movements to normal channels, and above all it will let our farmers farm as against present programs. It will let the farmer rotate the use of his land, reduce his operating expenses and will relieve the farmer from having to vote more and more acreage restrictions on himself in order to obtain support prices.

Such bill will require the Secretary of Agriculture to sell at competitive prices any cotton above a security reserve which comes into the hands of the Commodity Credit Corporation, within 12 months after title is taken over by such Corporation. Such a program would regain and retain the farmers' export market upon which his economic well-being is dependent.

May I ask that all farmers and farm organizations study such proposals for the purpose of improving on their views. I am sure that such a program will not be perfect. However, I do know such an approach will do much to correct the glaring defects in the present law which reduces the farmer's farming every year and which leaves the farmer more and more dependent upon annual appropriations of the Congress.

Barns and Skyscrapers Inseparable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am privileged to include a talk given at the Spokane Farm Forum recently by Mr. W. B. Camp, of Bakersfield, Calif.

Mr. Camp's speech graphically depicts some of the problems today facing the rural businessman.

BARNS AND SKYSCRAPERS INSEPARABLE

(By W. B. Camp)

It has been well said, "There is nothing so constant as change." This is particularly true in American agriculture. The story is the same whether it be north, south, east, or west. Farmers are breaking away rapidly from the traditional pattern of agriculture. We are in the era of intensive mechanization and keen competition. We are in the middle of an agricultural revolution all over America.

Research and education are the fundamental bases for all progress, and the progress made in American agriculture up to now is but a steppingstone to what we may expect in the future. Agriculture has advanced step by step with scientific and technological achievements; it has kept pace with the rapid advance of industry. Together they have made possible the unparalleled standards of living that we now enjoy.

Newspaper cartoons still picture farmers wearing patched overalls and seedy straw hats, and I'm sure we don't mind. Most of us do wear sturdy clothes when out working our crops or when around the barn taking care of farm chores; but the time has come when farmers must not be considered a separate or a special class of the American society. No longer should we use the term "farmers and businessmen." It should be "farmers and other businessmen."

A successful farmer these days must be a combined scientist, engineer, and good businessman. He must have expert training, and it should come early. Our school authorities in this country are to be complimented for the fine agricultural programs set up in almost every school. The progressiveness of agriculture in each of our States today can definitely be measured by the training boys and girls have been receiving in agricultural courses, and through their 4–H Clubs and Future Farmer chapters. This in-the-classroom and on-the-farm training, combined with the work given at our agricultural colleges, gives our young folks the finest agricultural training available anywhere in the world.

Awareness of the mutual interdependence of agriculture and industry is growing generally. The present-day farm could not exist without the products of industry. It is also true that industry could not prosper without strong outlets among its farm cus-

tomers. This interdependence is due primarily to the development of mechanized commercial agriculture. And while increasing commercialization has at times brought more prosperity to the farmer, it has also made it possible for him to go broke much faster. In the 1920's it took 8 or 9 years for a farmer to go broke—while today the job can be done in 2 or 3 years—or even less.

This growing commercialization of agriculture quite obviously then has brought town and country closer together. The farmer buys more of more different things in town now—and he also sells more in town than ever before.

It is difficult for many of our people to fully appreciate the true meaning of this. So it is important that we do everything possible to bring about a more realistic understanding concerning these matters. We must tell the full story where it will do the most good for the future—to the youth of the country.

City chambers of commerce have done a good job of getting their school children to visit industrial plants as a regular part of school work. Let's get busy and have these same city schoolchildren taken on well planned farm tours. This could be of great value to all.

Again I speak of "change." For the country as a whole, the tendency over a period of years has been toward the consolidation of small farms into larger farms. That tendency will continue, if we are to have the greatest economic production.

The family farm of the future will be a new type of farm. It will be bigger, better equipped, better financed, and better manned than it has been in much of the country. As such, it can survive. The family farm is invaluable. The best men and women the world has ever seen have come from this type of farm. It will still provide us with these men and women—if we give it a chance. I am for giving it a chance as a free independent enterprise, where ability will find its natural and abundant reward. But what we have known as the family-size farm in parts of the country in the past is definitely on the way out. This naturally applies more to some types of agriculture than to others. Farm consolidations and abandonments have reduced the number of farms 10 percent in the last 4 years. This is at a rate of nearly 120,000 farms per year.

Increasing the size of farming operations does not automatically guarantee a higher income. Sound management is still a must—in fact, even more necessary as the size of the operation increases. Good farmers will survive if they are good managers, employ modern methods, recognize progress, and honestly face the fact that their operation must be large enough to comprise an economic unit. Please don't misunderstand what I am really saying. I am not arguing for large farms as such. I am merely saying that for most of our crops in the United States farms will continue to increase until they have reached a size that will be economic for that crop.

Those who are close to the land should be helped to stay if it is possible to do so, but I do not want them kept as mendicants nor as slaves of the "welfare state." I do not want them kept there by any sort of device that penalizes initiative or rewards inefficiency. Such devices cannot last. After all the public interest is going to prevail, if we are to remain a free people.

Yet, we have a bunch of so-called do-gooders over the country blindly arguing for unrealistic programs. These bleeding hearts are advocating higher and higher wages (and I am for this up to a point—I like to pay good wages). The same bunch is yelping for cheaper food (I'm for that too, provided there is a profit left to furnish a decent living for the farmer and his family). The very same bunch is damning the actual and inevitable trend in American agriculture and demanding a return to the old-type family-size farm—which really means a return to horse and buggy days. In those days, modern plumbing and other conveniences were not for farmers.

This type of mouthing has its appeal to many unthinking people, but the fact is these three things—higher and higher wages, cheap food, and smaller farms—never have, don't now, and never will go together. We all know that a pair of shoes, a tractor, or an automobile would cost very much more if they were made in thousands of little shops, and if present high rates of pay maintained. And I insist that farmers are entitled to just as good wages as anyone else.

And again I speak of change. It has not been so terribly long ago that I was plowing my bull on our small farm in South Carolina. It has been still a shorter time since I went to California and planted the first patches of cotton in the San Joaquin Valley.

Today cotton is the number one cash crop in California, Arizona, and New Mexico. The income from cotton in California in 1953 was greater than the total combined income from the three major fruit crops of citrus, grapes, and peaches. Of course, all of this cotton is grown with irrigation.

This leads me right into another subject that I wish to mention—namely, supplemental irrigation in the rainfall region. I speak of this here today because I suspect there are many of you who do not know just what is taking place in this respect.

It is my conviction, based upon my own personal experience and observation, that supplemental irrigation is the most important single thing now offered for the improvement of agriculture in the rainfall belt. I say this in spite of the fact I know there are still a lot of doubting Thomases. My two sons and I own and operate farms in South Carolina and we irrigate everything with highly pleasing results. In my opinion, the time is not far distant when all the better farmers across the country will accept irrigation just as readily as they accept tractors and electricity today. Certainly a revolutionary change.

So progress marches on. We cannot, and should not attempt to reverse a natural economic trends. We should not, by legislation, try to prevent the shift of crops from one State or area to another.

I have always been one of those who feels that just as surely as water runs downhill crops and livestock are also going to flow, or migrate, toward those areas in this country where they can be most economically produced and marketed. This same reasoning also applies to industrial plants. This is as it should be—though it can only happen under a free economy. This is not the way they do it in Russia.

As you folks know, farmers have been called many ugly names for refusing to sign contracts with unions. We recognize the right to collective bargaining, but we also recognize the right of any person to choose for himself whether or not to join any organization. We are still proud of the independence of our industry in this respect. We want to remain free to produce, free to harvest, and free to market the crops that means so much to our families and to our country's prosperity.

For this reason, we believe that it is in the interest of everybody that the law be enforced which recognizes and assures the fundamental right of freemen to work to obtain a livelihood for themselves and their families, and to do so entirely free from coercion by unions, employers, or any other agency.

And now a word about the present farm situation. It is possible that most of you are now experiencing a mild to strong boom in your business. We farmers have been told that 1956 was another wonderful year for business in general. Almost everything we read or hear over the radio says the same thing. Therefore, it must have been so. However, as you know there is one major segment of our economy that has not done so well for a lot of our people during the past few years. I am speaking of agriculture. We do have farm problems. They are real, and we can't just wish them away. Overproduction is the heart of the farm-price problem.

We farmers could stand many of the price declines if we saw our costs coming down proportionately. But just the opposite has happened. As a result we find ourselves fighting with our backs to the wall. Writers call it a squeeze. That is really quite an understatement. Industrial wage increases has caused higher prices for machinery and other farm supplies. The only things that are cheaper for the farmer are the farm products he buys from other farmers.

A few years ago we said, "Food will win the war." Farmers went to work and produced in abundance—as never before. We won the war—but farmers were geared or tooled, for high production. It isn't possible to flip a switch and shut off crop production like you can factory produced items. Now we have several billion dollars worth of surplus crops on hand. What to do with it is a very big question. It is very encouraging to see that during the past several months much progress has been made in exporting vast quantities of these surpluses, and the future begins to look brighter.

I think it should be said right here that even though this surplus is troublesome, our problem would certainly be more painful to all America if our farms failed to produce enough to feed and clothe us.

How long can farm income be squeezed without upsetting city prosperity? I know of no sure-fire answers, but here are some facts and theories:

Effect of low farm prices on the cities is being offset so far by bullish factors in the rest of the economy.

Increased employment in industry, housing, etc., is absorbing any unemployment stemming from decreased farm expenditures. It's also absorbing the workers who are migrating from farms to cities. Net migration from farms to cities averages over 1 million yearly.

Serious unemployment and reduced farm income would mean trouble in the entire economy; but unless considerable city unemployment develops, some farm distress, in the midst of city prosperity, may continue for a while.

We have many people in this country writing newspaper articles and making pretty speeches about how well off they think the farmer really is. They tell you in one breath that the farmer may not be selling his produce for enough to pay expenses—but they hasten to say this should not be considered too bad because farmers have other off-the-farm income.

These smart boys have the audacity to say that farmers a few years back were living in a "dream world." A world in which they have no right to dwell. Farmers must get back to the "good old days" they say when their living standards were much lower than those of their city cousins. This in spite of the fact that all of the businesses in this country, together with all of our labor, except farm labor, are enjoying the greatest prosperity they have ever known.

These same fellows will tell you that for the country as a whole about one-third of the farmers' total income is from sources other than the sale of produce. Recently, I heard one of them state that more than one-half of the total income of farmers in the New England States is from sources other than the sale of farm produce. When questioned about what these other sources of income might be, this fellow gave as an ex-

ample, that: "some farmers make additional money by taking in overnight lodgers."

I am sure all of you will agree that in the long run our farm prices have got to be such that farmers can pay their expenses and take care of the needs of their families from the income derived solely from the farm itself. Farming as such has got to be a profitable business just as does the operation of a department store, or anything else.

Those of you who are farmers here today recognize the value of cooperating with other businessmen. We must bear in mind that the proportion of people who understand agriculture is small, and constantly declining. So I ask you to take this suggestion back to our colleagues. Join with other businessmen in the doings of our chambers of commerce, and other civic bodies. Your local chamber, State chamber and the United States Chamber are organizations through which we can make ourselves heard by others than just other farmers. And we farmers will be heard, if we are willing to listen to others; as well as speak ourselves.

As farmers, we must face up to it. We may not be the political force we once were. Even so, it is important to remember that farmers, and the farms, are absolutely essential. Food and fiber must be produced if the people are to live and work. They can do without radios and automobiles and other modern conveniences, but they must be fed and they must be clothed.

Today less than 13 percent of the Americans live on farms. Yet almost a hundred percent have an opinion on how farmers should live and how they should be treated. We have members of State and national legislatures who don't even know the difference between a steer and a bull. They debate violently over agricultural problems. Men vote on laws affecting prices of agricultural products who know absolutely nothing about agriculture.

This is why the farmer wants the city man to better understand his problems. Unlike labor bosses or big government, the farmer is not trying to take over the country. He is not attempting to take over control of cities, and he is not trying to stuff any new systems or way of life down the throats of the people. The farmer is a capitalist. He owns property and wants to make it pay a profit.

With these basic facts in mind I have made it my business, during the past 5 years that have been your agricultural representative on the United States chamber board, to try and stamp indelibly in the minds of other members the fact that agriculture is a very important segment of our overall economy.

Actually, when we speak of our agricultural plant that produces food and fibers, we think of only a part of it—the farm. In reality, many more segments of the nonagricultural economy are included in the agricultural plant. Aside from the automotive, farm machinery, and petroleum industries, more and more chemical industries have become suppliers of agriculture. And when all the processing, transportation, banking, and other commercial services are considered, there are scarcely any industries which do not, in some way, participate in farm production.

Perhaps you feel you know all about agriculture—what it is; where it is; how big it is. If you live on a farm, you know agriculture as the farmer knows it. If you live in a city, agriculture probably means what you see on a drive in the country—or fresh milk on your doorstep, fruits and vegetables at the grocery—or exhibits at the county fair.

But agriculture is much more. It's big, broad and basic. It's the basic industry—its the big job—look at these figures. Of 62 million employed Americans, 25 million work somewhere in agriculture—10 million on farms, 6 million produce for and service farmers, and 9 million process and distribute farm products. In addition, a quarter-million scientists directly serve agriculture.

So, you see, about 40 percent of all jobs are in agriculture—jobs important to everyone, jobs with futures, jobs with financial and personal rewards.

So, as stated by Dr. Karl Brandt recently, it is very important for us to see the goal in our aid to agriculture in the perspective of the overall growth and stability of the national economy. Such growth requires manpower in new occupations and industries. And the reservoir from which much of this labor must come is the low-income farms.

This will be good, because as has so often been said the marginal farmer who produces very little for the market, and the unemployed farm worker is a social problem—not a farm problem.

The choice of occupation and search for the place where people earn their living must be their own. To avoid crossing the threshold of the economy of compulsion and the police state, we must either push people out of their chosen place in the economy, or bribe them with a guaranty of security in such position.

And now, with very deep gratification I again speak of change—this time I refer to politics. Most of the social reformers and do-gooders working out of Washington for many years prior to 1953, would have us believe that success is a social evil. They have been trying to help legislate unsuccessful people into prosperity merely by legislating the successful people out of it.

Even though I am a registered Democrat, I am pleased to admit that under this administration we are finding that farmers are being given a greater voice in determining what is needed. In fact, they are being made responsible for all the new agricultural programs that are now in effect.

Farmers are well aware that the Government in some capacity directly assists nearly all groups in our economy. They know of such things as certain reserve funds being exempt from taxation for shipbuilding; of industry tariffs; of the subsidization of postal rates for magazines and papers; of mail subsidies for airlines; minimum social-security benefits for labor and the like. Therefore, it is well that none of us assume the attitude that farm subsidies are unconstitutional or that farmers have an inside track on Uncle Sam's protective arm or on his pocketbook.

I am not arguing for farm subsidies, as such, but I am saying it is my opinion that farmers will relinquish their demand for some type of Federal help—only when other segments of our economy relinquish theirs. It seems fair to assume that we cannot embrace the theory of subsidies in general and then deny them to agriculture, our most basic industry, without courting complete ruin for all. I am in favor of farm programs that will place the farmer on an equal footing with other groups of citizens of the country.

After all, the real issue in our agricultural policy is not whether farmers should be assisted by the United States Government in improving their income, or, how much assistance they should receive. The Congress, as well as the executive branch of our Government are agreed that such aid will be granted in generous amounts. The issue is the clear recognition of the proper goal of such aid, and how to reach this goal with a minimum of waste and damage to the system itself.

Most Americans are yet unaware of the evil forces trying to shape the future for them. This is why we need today as never before, intelligent and enlightened understanding. We must read the signs of the times. We must read them correctly and wisely. Without this wisdom and understanding we may barter away our birthright and destroy our national security. We have too many of our good people saying, "It can't happen here." I plead with you to please not be so blind. Just look what is happening all over the world—and for that matter, here as home, too. It may be later than we think.

None of us can afford to be complacent. It is high time we wake up to what is happening. There are those among us who would challenge our American way of life; who would sustitute a system of economic controls for our tried and tested system of free enterprise, a system which has given us the highest standard of living of any nation in the world.

When the farmer is told how much acreage he must plant; when the laboring man is told he must join a union in order to work; when the merchant or manufacturer is told how much he can charge for his product; then we are dangerously close to a controlled economy.

When the power to tax is used to redistribute our wealth, then we are dangerously close to socialism.

A way of life brought us to this high place which we call the American way of life, and all the facts of history and all the facts of life today tell me that our way of life is the fullest, the freest, the most satisfying, the most promising the world has ever seen. The American way of life has provided us with an abundance, and the world with an example, the like of which was never seen before in all the history of the world.

That we may be better enabled to put up a winning fight, let me urge that we all review again two of our great basic instruments, our Constitution, with the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence. For guidance in all our thinking, these instruments have no equal in the history of any people, for they are without parallel. We must once and for all turn back to the constitutional government, and turn away from these foreign ideologies that in recent years have so bedeviled us and so bewildered our people.

And now, as Lady Godiva said as she neared the end of her journey: "I now approach my close."

Summing up, then, we might ask, what do our farm problems mean to the man behind an assembly line in an auto factory? To the man behind a desk in a New York skyscraper, or the salesman behind a counter in a Spokane department store? Not much; only the breath of economic as well as physical life; only the difference between hunger and plenty; only the difference between success and failure; that much and nothing less. Therefore, I say, barns and skyscrapers are inseparable.

The Death of President Ramon Magsaysay

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, with sorrow I join the other Members of this Body in expressing my deep regret upon the tragic and untimely death of Ramon Magsaysay, president of the Philippine Republic.

A great and courageous leader of noble people, his loss will be mourned by all freedom loving peoples of the world. His passing will be especially felt in the United States because his friendship and that of his people was an anchor of strength in Asia upon which we could

unfailingly depend. His dedication to democratic principles were and should continue to be an inspiration to his people, to Americans of Philippine descent and to all people, and his life will be recorded in the pages of history as one of honor and glory.

Passing Out the Dollars Is Poor Kind of Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Akron (Ohio) Beacon Journal dated Sunday, March 17, written by the owner of the paper. I believe this editorial to be a significant analysis and worthy of bringing it to the attention of the Members of Congress:

PASSING OUT THE DOLLARS IS POOR KIND OF DIPLOMACY

(By John S. Knight)

The United States is finding that the role of a peacemaker has few rewards.

The British and the French press are blaming President Eisenhower for the present chaotic situation in the Middle East.

The Israelis are furious because their withdrawal from the Gaza strip was carried out on the assumption that Egypt would on no account be permitted to regain control of that area.

Colonel Nasser has consistently flouted the will of both the United States and the United Nations. The Egyptian dictator, by moving to take administrative control of the Gaza strip, has violated the spirit, if not the letter of the assurances given to Israel.

Israel, with good reason, feels she had a moral commitment from President Eisenhower that the Egyptians would not be permitted to return.

The London Telegraph is sputtering that "the decision to force the Israelis out of Gaza by threatening sanctions was taken by the President, and by the President alone. "It sprang," continues the Telegraph, "from his own personal conception of his role in world affairs as upholder of moral law."

PROPAGANDA AND DOLLARS WON'T WIN FRIENDS

And so it goes. This is the price we pay, quite apart from the billions available to any nation that has communism for sale, for accepting, as President Eisenhower has said, "Our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere."

One day we will regret this global nonsense and scrap the present concept of foreign policy which is aimed at bringing about what the President calls "a universal moral order."

But, meanwhile, we go blundering along in the naive belief that propaganda and economic aid (your tax dollars) will make communism less tempting to the so-called backward nations.

On the propaganda front, Secretary Dulles predicted in Canberra "the inevitable failure of communism in Red China."

Now how does Foster, as Ike calls him, know this to be so? How can he say with such certainty that "Chinese communism will stumble over its own inherent defects"?

Dulles' remarks must have given Chou En-lai a good laugh. From all I can learn, the leaders of Red China are sitting pretty. In due time they'll be living at the Waldorf as accredited representatives to the United Nations.

RICHARDS TRYING HARD TO GIVE AWAY MILLIONS

And speaking of the United States money tree, former Representative James P. Richards, of South Carolina, is now in the Middle East to shake off a few million dollar bills for the "underprivileged" in that area.

As the President's personal ambassador, Mr. Richards has $200 million in his pocket and is looking for projects such as dams, irrigation and hydroelectric installations, roads, communications, hospitals, and schools.

And Mr. Richards is a man in a hurry. He has to spend the $200 million before July 1 when the 1958 fiscal year begins.

So the State Department has prepared a list for Richards of the projects which it thinks the Arabs would like to have.

All he has to do is to obtain promises from their oil-rich leaders that they won't again play footsie with the Russians.

According to William McGaffin, of our Washington bureau, State Department officials hope he will come back with results, meaning, of course, that he has managed to get rid of our money.

JOHNSTON ADVOCATES SPEEDUP IN SPENDING

Another pie-in-the-sky advocate is Eric Johnston, Chairman of the International Development Advisory Committee. Johnston, who has Eisenhower's good ear, wants Uncle Sam to sponsor a world welfare state.

He thinks we are spending far too little on foreign assistance. Using the rationalization that more economic aid will reduce military spending, Johnston recommends a vastly expanded program to help meet the capital and technical needs of the underdeveloped countries—financed in part from funds presently designated for military spending.

Johnston prefers loans to grants, but he'll settle for outright giveaways where loans are not practical.

Like Dulles, he sees cracks in the facade of the Soviet Empire but says the new empire arising in Communist China is the next force with which we must deal.

Johnston does not specify how he would deal with Red China, but presumably he, too, would shake the good old United States money tree and stand by for results.

EISENHOWER COURSE CHANGED AFTER ELECTION

In 1952, Eisenhower campaigned for a balanced budget and lower taxes. As President, he achieved both in his first term.

But following his reelection in 1956, the Eisenhower administration sharply changed direction until today Republican spending outstrips anything ever contemplated by the Democrats.

By getting so involved "in the destiny of men everywhere," the United States is now an unhappy victim of international blackmail.

Our Mr. Richards should have little difficulty in giving away your money to the nations in the Middle East.

But when the $200 million is gone, they'll all be back for more.

At that time, we either increase the ante or find them threatening to turn again to Russia.

As Senator RICHARD RUSSELL, of Georgia, has said so succinctly, "You can buy 'em once but they won't stay bought."

PAYING BLACKMAIL WON'T WIN RESPECT

It is indeed a sickening spectacle to see the United States, once a proud and self-reliant Nation, bidding in the open world market for "friends."

The true strength of our country in foreign affairs lies in the strength of our policies, the dignity and firmness with which we back those policies and the respect in which we are held by other nations.

We cannot earn this respect keeping Foster Dulles as Secretary of State, nor buy it by paying blackmail wherever the threat of communism appears.

Plea to Statesmen, Our Arab Cousins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, proof that the peoples of the Middle East are deeply interested in peace for the good of all, Arab and Jew alike, is found in an article which was first printed by Philip Slomovitz in the Detroit Jewish News. This article was picked up by a very fine gentleman, Mr. Checri S. Kanaan, editor and publisher of Leesan Al-Adl, a weekly Lebanese newspaper published in Detroit, Mich. In this article men of both the Jewish and Arab races show their good will and sincere desire for peace in the Middle East. All right-thinking men join these two very fine newspapermen in their wish that some day there may be peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors.

The article follows:

PLEA TO STATESMEN, OUR ARAB COUSINS

(By Philip Slomovitz)

Charged with tensions and uncertainties, the atmosphere surrounding the world political situation remains uncertain, replete with threats, predominantly marked by barbs constantly aimed at Israel and frequently at American Jewry for being Israel's strongest supporter.

We are reminded of the lines written 75 years ago by Emma Lazarus, in The Crowing of the Red Cock:

"His cup is gall, his meat is tears,
His passion lasts a thousand years."

Jewry's cup still is gall, and Israel, the Jew's highest achievement in 2,000 years, is being subjected to dangers that are threatening not only the security of the infant, small Jewish State, but the peace of the entire world.

New programs are in the making. A new policy is about to be formulated, but Israel is kept in doubt as to her status in international relations.

Objective students of world affairs are agreed that there can be no permanent peace in the world without an effective peace between Israel and the Arab States, and fair-minded statesmen agree that there can be no solution to any of the existing problems without the recognition of Israel's existence and her right to existence.

Therefore, there must be a return to fundamentals. Saber-rattling nations must be informed, by our Government, which has been giving them succor and has done everything to please them, and by the United Nations, they now form a formidable bloc, that if there is to be peace in the world—and peace is the first objective of this country and of the United Nations—there must be peace with Israel and that they must stop festering the free air of the world with threats that Israel must be destroyed.

What would the statesmen of the world say if Russia were to adopt a policy of repeating, time and again, an aim to destroy Britain, or France, or Germany, or New Zealand, or the United States? Would the U. N. permit that to go on unabated? We doubt it. Therefore, we plead against the application of similar threats to Israel.

On this score, we would like to address ourselves to our dear cousins, the Arabs. Neither they nor Israel can afford the continuation of a state of war. American Jews cannot afford it because they will not stand by and see their kinsmen slaughtered. We have witnessed enough holocausts not to permit another.

But the air of the entire Middle East has been polluted. The economic status of Israel and her neighbors is seriously affected by the war threats. The Middle East is suffering from economic stagnation, and even progressive Israel is seriously endangered by the lack of freedom on the seas, by the boycotts, by the termination of a lucrative tourist trade.

We reiterate: it is not Israel alone that is affected. Millions of dollars are lost annually in tourist trade, to every one of the Arab States wherefrom visitors are barred. Tens of thousands of Jews would have visited Egypt yearly under conditions of freedom. They are barred from such travel. Their American passports have been invalidated for travel to Arab areas. Their lives would have been endangered had they stepped foot on Arab soil.

Also many Christians who now are compelled to take roundabout routes when planning tours to both Israel and the Arab States are abandoning their trips rather than risk humiliations when their passports indicate the inclusion of Israel in their itineraries.

These represent great losses. So does the termination of trade among states in that area.

Those who support the policy of threatening Israel's existence, those who encourage the continuation of the present state of affairs in the Middle East, therefore are not helping anyone. On the contrary, while harming Israel, they are harming the Arabs. Instead of assisting in the elevation of the standards of living of the Arabs, they are contributing toward lowering them.

This is why we say, in addressing ourselves to our dear cousins, that it is not only the crime of fratricide that is involved here: it is not only the injustice of man threatening man, but also the basic economic interest of the nations in the Middle East that is at stake.

We wish to say to our dear cousins that when they applaud an archeological professor at the University of Michigan who assails Israel; when they embrace a so-called foreign expert who writes misleading newspaper articles about Israel's enemies, but to people who are rendering them great harm.

Can't these people understand that while Israel's cup is gall, while his meat is tears, his passion (nevertheless) lasts a thousand years? Haven't they learned the lessons of Haman and Pobedonostziev and Torquemada and Hitler, that Israel is indestructible?

Also: haven't they learned the basic right of people to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? They desire it for themselves; let them grant it to Israel.

Therefore, as the bargaining proceeds on the international front, as new policies are being formulated, we pray for peace, and we plead: with the statesmen of the world—primarily with our President—to strive for amity in the Middle East, by insisting upon immediate direct peace negotiations between Israel and her neighbors; and with our dear Arab cousins that they should stop being misled by propagandists who flatter them in support of a "destroy Israel" policy while they thereby harm them as much as Israel.

PHILIP SLOMOVITZ,
Editor, the Jewish News.

There Is a Place for the Big Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 14, 1957

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am privileged to include a speech delivered at the recent Spokane farm forum by Mr. Stanton Ganders, of Bickleton, Wash.

Mr. Gander's subject was There Is a Place for the Big Farm, and I feel that it is a searching study of some of the major problems facing the farm operator today:

THERE IS A PLACE FOR THE BIG FARM
(By Stanton Ganders, farmer, Bickleton, Wash.)

Mr. Chairman, Congressman HORAN, Honorable Director of Agriculture in the State of Washington Joe Dwyer, ladies, and gentlemen of the Pacific Northwest: I may be a Democrat but I've also only one course in argiculture and I think that was in the 8th grade. The rest of it has been in the dirt. So, I'm coming right out of the dust and I'm still in the dust to a certain extent.

I would like at this time to acknowledge the help that has been given me by the major farm organizations, Mr. Art Peterson, Perry Ness, Ted Alexander, Marion McNell, and all the rest of my friends and neighbors whom I bothered so much. I was not trying to pry into their business; I was just trying to get information. When we were through we shook hands and both usually acknowledged we didn't know what we were talking about. I feel after going into this problem that it was about the most intangible—about the most difficult assignment—I have ever had. It's just a whole lot like talking about the American way, or about free enterprise, or about surpluses. It's just plain hard to put your hands on it. After spending sometime in preparation for this talk I feel a whole lot like the little flea who was flying around the country looking for some choice victims and he happened to enter a California nudist colony. He looked and he looked and finally he said, "I just don't know where to start."

When we're talking about agriculture in our country, we're talking about a $97 billion industry. I think today our task here is not to criticize or defend the large farm but to evaluate it in the light of the times in which we are living. I am not going to attempt to justify the large farms in the terms of any layout, capital investment, or number of acres. I think we should try to interpret and appraise the large farm in terms of whether it constitutes a farm unit. And I think in evaluating a farm unit we should determine what the net income is on the farm unit.

No definition has been accepted for the family-sized farms by commodity groups, industry or actually the farm people themselves. So, I suppose I have the same privilege of any other American in attempting a definition. I am going to say that a family-size farm is one in which I can gainfully employ myself the year round, in such a way that I can make the best use of my managerial abilities in the light of the money I have to invest.

When we start on this topic we have to consider every farm individually. First of all we have a difference in individuals and in farm individualities. One person can take a farm and make it pay while another person cannot. A lot depends upon the ability of the person managing the farm and a lot depends on his previous experience. Of course, there are different amounts of capital to invest. You need a lot of capital today because land prices are up. Each family is different; the individuals are different. They have different personalities and they are different in size. It depends a lot upon the amount of family labor we have on the farms. It depends a lot upon the type of farming—whether it is a dry-land farm or whether it is an irrigated farm—whether it is a summer-fallow farm or whether it is one that can be cropped every year. It makes a lot of difference whether a farmer came in the midthirties to Whitman County and bought a farm at $250 an acre or whether he came over to Benton County and bought one for $2.50 an acre. We have different types of soils. There is a difference in climate, depending on whether we are in southern California or in the State of Washington. It makes a lot of difference in rainfall whether we are in Whitman County or whether we are in Jefferson County or Benton County. We cannot, I believe, make a blanket statement about every individual family.

It has been pointed out that the number of farms is declining in the United States. In 1935 there were 6,312,360; in 1954 there were 4,782,393. So we have lost about 2 million farms in 20 years. In 1935, 25.3 percent of the population of the United States lived on farms; today only 13.5 percent. But there was no more land in cultivation in 1954 than in 1935. In 1935 there were 345 million acres. Today the acreage is approximately the same. New land has gone into cultivation. About 1,400,000 acres are lost to suburban development, highway development, airports, etc. So, it boils down to the fact that we have fewer farms on about the same amount of land.

Farms are getting larger. I do not want to bore you with statistics but in the United States in 1935 the average farm had 154.8 acres, in 1945, 109.8 and in 1954, 242.4. In our own State of Washington in 1920, the average-size farm was 199.8 acres. In 1930 it dropped slightly to 190.9 acres. In 1941 it had risen to 185.9; in 1945, 209.3, in 1950, 248.8; and in 1954, 270.7. Of course, that includes the farms in western and eastern Washington. Let's look at Oregon, our neighbor to the south. In 1920, the average size farm in Oregon was larger than in Washington at 269.7 acres. It rose in 1930 to 301.1; in 1940 to 290.9 and in 1954 to 386.6 acres.

Hired workers all this time are decreasing in number. In 1910, 13,555,000 people were employed on the farms in the United States. Of that number 3,381,000 were hired; or about 24.9 percent of the people working on farms were hired labor. In 1955 we had 8,190,000 people employed on the farms. The hired workers amounted to 1,900,000 or 23.2 percent of the total labor. In the Yakima Valley in the last 10 years the sugar beet industry has lost practically all harvest hand labor. Also again in the Yakima Valley 10 years ago the hop harvesting used to require 60,000 workers. Now it is reduced to 12,000 to 15,000 workers. So the decrease in hired workers also shows that corporation farms are not gaining to any great extent.

I am quoting a recent article from the official organ of the American Farm Bureau Federation, the Nation's Agriculture. The article stated that corporation farms com-

prised only 3 percent of the total of United States farmland. It also stated the amount of sharecroppers is decreasing. In 1940 there were 541,000 sharecroppers; in 1954, only 272,000. So it shows that perhaps this trend to larger farms is raising the standard of living in a good many respects even in farm labor.

I sincerely believe that the farms are not growing larger because of the desires of the individual farmers to grow wealthy. First of all, farmers had to add acres in self-defense. The high fixed cost on capital investment is one reason. There are more tractors and less horses and mules than there used to be. What the farmers do now, they buy the power that they formerly raised. But we find that the power they buy is much more efficient and that way they get more bushels or more acres per manpower of labor. The tractors release from, it is estimated, 60 to 80 million acres used formerly for horse and mule feed. In 1920 there were 25,700,000 horses and mules; in 1954, 5 million horses and mules. In 1920 there were 246,000 tractors and in 1954 there were 4.6 million tractors. So there were almost as many tractors in 1954 as there were individual horses and mules.

Farmers today have to use machinery but it depreciates and it becomes obsolete. In fact, I think, at the present time much of the machinery we buy new is probably a good deluxe model of about 1937. That's the way I feel about farm machinery. Also machinery is rising in price. Farm income is going down. I am going to take just a few items, a few averages at Spokane, Wash., in 1954, showing a few articles of machinery that rose in price, a few implements, the increase from 1950 to 1954. That's 4 years only. Crawler tractors were up 22½ percent; wheel tractors were up 17 percent; moldboards were up 30 percent; dragharrows were up 16 percent; drills were up 26 percent, mowers up 16 percent, balers up 14 percent; disc plows were up 10 percent; combines were up 20 percent; delivery rakes were up 23 percent; and manure spreaders were up 30 percent. Now I am told in interviewing several dealers that these prices for 1955, 1956, and this portion of 1957 we could conservatively add 10 to 14 percent on the cost of this machinery of the figures I have just given.

Small farms cannot use high-priced machinery because of the high initial cost, so production must be increased by purchasing more land. In the Columbia Basin project we find that the machinery costs estimated by the Department of the Interior averages about $90 per acre of cropland. Now what are the advantages of the larger farms and larger production? First of all, they have improved and increased the food production. That gives us the best fed nation in the world and the highest standard of living. Our food bill averages about $395 per person or about 25 percent of the consumers' income. In an older nation the people pay over 50 percent of their total income for food. Now 13.5 percent of our population is producing our food requirement while it takes 40 percent of the population in the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics to produce their food. Farm population has dropped 9 million in 20 years, while the United States has increased its population 42 million. If farm income had to be divided with that 9 million the standard of living would certainly be much lower in our country. People can progress by living on the farms and helping to improve our technology and so forth as has been mentioned by previous speakers. World War II again added to the trend of the smaller to the larger units with larger equipment to handle it. But the cost per unit was less so the man gets more for his labor.

I think it would be fitting and proper before I finish to state a few of the factors that I believe, are limiting the farm growth—the growth of farms in the Untied States. First of all is our lack of skilled labor to handle the expensive equipment. You put a man out in the wheat harvest with a tractor and other equipment and maybe he's sitting on a $10,000 or $12,000 tractor pulling $3,000 or $4,000 worth of equipment. You just can't put anybody out there. Also what do you have to pay. We find that with a furnished home and the utilities, the monthly farm labor wage in the United States is about $160 per month. In the State of Washington we find the same layout requires about $245 per month to get good labor. In the State of Oregon about $223 per month; in the State of California which is the highest in the Nation $255. Our neighboring State of Idaho we find according to statistics about $220. So in the Pacific States the average is about $252 per month with furnished home. In the Mountain States the average wage is about $214 per month and in the West North Central about $158 per month. Again with this huge farming operation we have a housing problem. We need more labor, we need more housing, we will have to put that on several of your farms. That is a cost. That is something to be taken into consideration. That's definitely a limitation on large farms. And again we run into working hours. We have to compete with industry. We find that the United States hourly farm wage, that's average without room and board, is about 95 cents. In the Pacific States the wage is about $1.14 which is the highest in the country and in the Southeast Central States it is very low at 59 cents an hour. So there's the difference. We are in a high wage area out here. Then again normally in this latitude we have a very seasonal demand for labor.

What are we going to do? We have your fixed cost on machinery and depreciable equipment. Are you going to let that help go and hope to pick up some comparable help in the spring? Are you going to keep them over and bear the additional expense? It's certainly a problem. Particularly to the middle-size farmer. We have fringe benefits coming up for labor. There's competition with industry, there's social security, there's many other things all adding to our costs. It makes it more difficult for the large farm to operate where we are hiring so much of our help. Also when we are talking about an intensive and extensive farm, where does an intensive stop, where does an extensive stop? What does it all means? It's hard to define.

However, we do know this. If we are increasing our production, what is the use if we cannot sell it at a decent price. And another reason why increase our managerial problems when the taxes take our additional compensation. I do not think I have to elaborate on that statement. I think we all know what that is.

Because of our desire to raise the standard of living and the people that work in industry we are having more part-time farms, more urban-rural farms, and more bedroom farms. I think that they have a place in our economy. The only thing is the people who purchase this type of farm especially if they are nonfarm people should realize, is they will have to supplement that farm and they have to live on that farm only because they like to live in the country and should work in town. We have a lot of those people. I think they have a place in our economy.

We have roughly 2 million large mechanized farms, and roughly 3,500,000 small farms with a limited income. I'm caught in the middle. I think sometimes that the middle-sized farmer is the man that is caught in the pinch right now. He isn't big and he isn't little. He has trouble with his labor. He doesn't have a steady occupancy for them. I think it's a very difficult thing. The middle-size farmer is neither fish nor fowl. Of course, we have 1 million part-time low-income farms.

In closing I'm just going to say one word about the outlook. Because of the limitations it appears to me that the large farms will not grow bigger unless efficiency factors enter in to increase the farm family labor. It appears to me that strictly hired labor does not pay. It looks like intensified farming, although technocracy and a lot of other factors may enter in. We are told by many experts that our farm machinery at the present time is 36 or 39 percent efficient. Technocracy has come in technological development, atomic energy; we can't guess what's coming. Maybe extracting energy from the sun's rays; taking the salt out of sea water, not only for domestic consumption but for irrigation. Again we have grain and other farm products that may be used for fuel alcohol. They change the picture. Plastics may take more of our agricultural products and then again comes farm programs. What are we going to get? Are we going to get good farm programs? Are we going to get handouts? Have we got something that will help us? We have the question of tariffs. We have freight rates. We have inflation or deflation. We may have war. One of our international cronies like Nasser may drop a bomb on us and may change the picture of the whole world. Interest rates may go up or down. Credit may be better, or may be loose or may be tight. We don't know.

It has been a pleasure to be here.

In Memoriam—George Holden Tinkham

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, we were all saddened to learn sometime ago of the passing of a former very distinguished Member of this body, Congressman George Holden Tinkham, who represented the 10th Massachusetts District for many years.

George Tinkham was a close friend of mine. He was one of the first men I met when I came to Washington years ago, when I was in college, to work on the other side of the Capitol during my summer vacations.

Throughout the years, I kept in touch with him, and saw him from time to time up to the time of his death. Of course, I held him in highest regard and esteem as everyone did who knew him. I had a real affection for him.

He was an able, devoted, and faithful public servant. More than that, he was a Bunker Hill American, and he had the courage to express and stand by his convictions for America.

George Tinkham was a keen student of Government and economics and many other subjects. Possessed of splendid training and an alert, inquiring mind, he spent a great deal of time studying governmental and financial reports. His forecast of financial and economic trends were always most interesting and accurate.

His political success was sensational; his personality and makeup unique. For years, he was returned to Congress from a district that time and time again gave him overwhelming majorities on some occasions when he was in remote parts

of the world following his hobby of big-game hunting.

As a result of his exploits in Africa, Asia, and other parts of the world he collected a large and very interesting exhibit of animals and reptiles, which were mounted in his apartment in the old Arlington Hotel in the Capital. The rare exhibits were set up against a dark background with real threatrical, dramatic skill.

When showing these exhibits to his friends he seldom turned on the apartment lights, but would personally escort his guests from one room and one exhibit to another, guiding the way with a large flashlight. There were many striking exhibits in his collection, but I always thought that the most impressive, to me at least, was the one that he had brought from India of the cobra and the mongoose. The Congressman captured the deadly cobra and the mongoose by himself in the Indian hinterlands and had them mounted in one piece in a simulated death battle.

He might seem to some to be extraordinary in appearance. He affected a Vandyke beard of the kind that General Grant wore. His black hats were invariably jauntily worn. In the winter, he wore an old-fashioned reefer, or pea coat, rather than a full-length overcoat, which came to a point just below his hips. This costume accentuated his rather short, robust stature.

He was a world traveler, linguist, and keen student of foreign policy and problems of other nations. In his own philosophy, he was a strong nationalist, rather surprising for a Harvard-bred scion of an aristocratic Boston family.

In his creed, America was predominant and paramount. He had no time for internationalism or other isms and was an implacable foe of communism. His great success in politics was attributable to his forthright, courageous attitude on foreign policy and current domestic issues and his faithful service to his entire constituency.

He was an able statesman, given to meticulous study of governmental problems and well versed in many fields of learning. He enjoyed a long, useful life and lived to a ripe old age.

George Tinkham will be mourned and missed by a great many people who knew and admired him. His outstanding service in the Congress will long be remembered. His sparkling, unusual, engaging personality, his ready wit, his good company, and his friendly spirit have left an indelible imprint upon his friends and upon the Congress and the time in which he lived.

He will be long remembered as a man of character and intestinal fortitude and devotion to his country. In the company of other Massachusetts colleagues, I attended the most impressive funeral services which were conducted for him in a historic church in his home city of Boston.

Like the many present, I was anxious to pay my last tribute to a good friend whom I had known for many years and who during his lifetime had given me so many reasons to marvel at his alert, informed, and penetrating mind, versatility, his patriotism and his loyalty to those things which are essential to uphold the Nation and its free institutions.

Few, if any, more unusual men have ever trod the halls of Congress than George Tinkham. His valuable service will have a place in our history; his kindly, generous nature a place in our memory.

To his family, I tender again my most heartfelt sympathy in their sorrowful bereavement. May he find in his eternal reward peace and rest.

Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, as the Congress is about to begin consideration of the very vital civil-rights program, I feel that it is especially appropriate to insert in the RECORD the very keen analysis of this problem in the Hartford Times editorial of March 20:

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

The civil rights bill, embodying most of the Eisenhower administration's proposals, again is starting its tortuous route through Congress. The 32-member House Judiciary Committee has approved the measure in the face of the usual bitter opposition from southern Congressmen.

This is the bill which would set up a six-member bipartisan commission with broad authority to investigate complaints on denial of equal rights because of race, religion, or national origin.

Whether this Congress will pass the bill, of course, is doubtful at this juncture. But, whether it approves it or not, the basic ideal embodied in the measure is bound to be enacted someday. We cannot stand before the world as champions of equality and, at the same time, withhold it from large blocks of our own citizens.

Before the committee passed the bill the southerners managed to get two of their suggested changes accepted. They had been firm against granting blanket authority to the Attorney General to institute suits on behalf of alleged victims of discrimination, even if they did not want such costly litigation. The bill now stipulates that the complainant must initiate the action himself.

In the other instance, the southerners prevailed with an amendment which gives the Attorney General authority to seek preventive injunctions only when the evidence gives reasonable grounds for suspicion that an employer or an election board had intended to discriminate.

These changes appear on the surface to be adequate safeguards against abuse of the law as well as unnecessary legal action instituted more as harassing devices than with any sincere hope of redress. They should not weaken the measure.

The South, however, lost two major points. Its representatives attempted to write into the proposed law a guaranty that anyone accused of civil-rights violations should have a jury trial.

It is not difficult to see through that one. When it comes to following the evidence the record of many southern juries is scarcely exemplary.

The South also was defeated in its effort to strip the proposed Civil Rights Commission of its subpena power.

The bill now goes to the Rules Committee which channels measures to the floor. Democratic Congressman SMITH of Virginia is chairman of this committee and is opposed to the bill. What effect this will have remains to be seen but already the committee has been warned that if it doesn't clear the bill in a reasonable time an attempt will be made to force it out.

If civil rights should pass the House it then must face bitter opposition in the Senate where it can be talked to death via the filibuster route.

In his state of the Union message to Congress the President said with respect to civil rights:

"We have much reason to be proud of the progress our people have made and are making in mutual understanding—the chief buttress of human and civil rights. Steadily we are moving closer to the goal of fair and equal treatment of citizens without regard to race or color. But unhappily much remains to be done."

Again the President called for enactment of the administration bill. Human relations in the United States will indeed take a giant step the day this measure becomes the law of the land.

A Proposal for Small Business Financing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the problem of adequate financing for small business is one which has been with us for many years. Congressional committees have investigated the problem, students of our business system have researched the problem, and all have found substantially the same answer—the present private financing machinery leaves a great gap insofar as small business is concerned. It does not provide adequate financing, either of risk capital or credit for people wishing to start a new business, for established small businesses with good expansion opportunities, or for small firms' working capital needs. This gap is especially severe with respect to long-term capital. But while the problem has long been recognized, little or nothing has been done about it, and the problem ever grows more severe.

This is a problem which affects not merely the welfare of small business people. It has a direct bearing on the welfare of the whole country. It involves such questions as whether we shall continue to have a competitive system of business, with low prices for consumers, or whether we shall have increasing concentration of business into the hands of a few corporate empires, with consumer exploitation and all of the political and social consequences implied in a system of great concentrations of economic power.

A CHRONIC PROBLEM HAS BECOME ACUTE

The present tight money policy has only served to make a chronic problem a most acute problem. Since the Federal Reserve Board began applying the brakes to commercial bank credit 2 years ago this month, small firms have found it increasingly more difficult to obtain

credit, either for new plants, new stores, new equipment, or for financing inventories at their old levels of operation. Yet credit is still available in abundance to the big corporations, and these continue to expand at a record pace. New shopping centers and new supermarkets are springing up everyday. Although the credit squeeze was in full force and effect throughout the whole of last year, it did not reduce the total volume of nonresidential commercial construction, nor the volume of industrial construction. On the contrary, while the effect of the credit squeeze was plainly visible in the drop in residential building last year, both commercial and industrial construction showed substantial increases over 1955. According to reports of the Department of Commerce, the value of private commercial buildings constructed last year reached $3.3 billion, which was 8 percent more than in 1955, and 49 percent more than in 1954.

The fact that the new supermarkets being built today are being built almost exclusively as new outlets for the great national chains, is no fault of the small-business people. Many well-established retail firms would very much like to build the new supermarkets and keep pace with the trends. It is not by choice that they must sit back and watch their trade dwindle away. But the difference is that the big national corporations can obtain the money for these new stores, while smaller firms cannot obtain the money, or can obtain money only on such unfavorable terms as to make the venture impractical.

A LONG-RANGE SOLUTION OFFERED

My attention has been called to a most interesting analysis of this problem which I know will interest all the Members. It appears in the January issue of the magazine Skirmisher, which is a monthly publication of the Independent Retail Grocers and Meat Dealers Association of Baltimore. Here the editors point out that the big chains are obtaining financing for new supermarkets at what amounts to 100 percent of the land and construction costs. The big chains can find big financiers, with access to the big money markets, who will construct these supermarkets in exchange for a long-term lease. The small firm, on the other hand, is confronted with the problem of meeting 40 to 50 percent of the construction costs, and obtaining mortgage money to cover the other 50 or 60 percent.

The editors of Skirmisher have proposed a solution, not merely to meet the present tight-money situation, but a solution to the chronic problem of small-business financing. The proposal is for the establishment of what the editors call a Federal discount agency. Such an agency, which would require an initial investment of Government money, would be run by the small-business people themselves, on a voluntary cooperative-membership basis; and the members would have a financial risk in the organization. The fact that this proposed agency would be managed by the small-business people themselves, on the self-help basis, is to my mind the most appealing part of the proposal.

LITTLE HELP FROM THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Skirmisher does not overlook the loan program of the Small Business Administration. The editors point out several reasons, however, why SBA does not meet the need. And they reach the conclusion that "small-business benefits from the SBA are almost infinitesimal." The principal difficulties with the SBA lending are that its requirements for collateral and assurance of loan repayment parallel those of commercial banks, which have helped to create a credit gap in the first place, and the process of trying to obtain a loan from SBA involves too much redtape. In consequence, SBA has made very few small-business loans. Furthermore, I would add another objection of my own, which is that SBA's program involves direct lending from the Federal agency—an arrangement which, to my mind, is not nearly as conducive to a real and permanent solution to the problem as is a cooperative arrangement, managed by small-business people themselves.

40 YEARS EXPERIENCE WITH FEDERAL LAND BANK SYSTEM

Coincidentally, I have today received a most interesting pamphlet from the Federal land bank of Baltimore, commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Federal Land Bank System. This system presents an exact parallel to "Skirmisher's" proposal for small business, and it has had remarkable success in assisting farmers with their financing problem.

The Federal Farm Loan Act, which brought the land bank system into being, was part of President Woodrow Wilson's program for breaking the control of the "money trust," and creating a self-help system whereby small farmers could obtain financing to carry on the business of farming. The act was passed by a Democratic Congress and signed by President Wilson in 1916, and the 12 Federal land banks began making loans the following year.

MORE LOANS TO FARMERS IN 5 STATES THAN TO ALL UNITED STATES SMALL BUSINESS

In the past 40 years, the Federal Land Bank of Baltimore has made more than 69,000 loans, totaling more than $263 million, to farmers in 5 States—Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia. This amounts to an average of 1,700 loans per year. In contrast, through December of last year, SBA's record of loans made to small business amounted to 1,300 loans per year. In other words, the Federal Land Bank of Baltimore has made substantially more loans per year to farmers in just 5 States, than the SBA has made, in each year of its operation, to more than 4 million small-business firms in the whole United States. Furthermore, a majority of SBA's loans have involved the guaranteeing, in part, of commercial bank loans, and to some probable extent, do not represent new credit which would not have been available to small business anyway.

FEDERAL LAND BANKS HAVE HELPED FARMERS AND MADE PROFITS

The Federal farm-loan system works in this way:

In order that farmers might own and operate the system, the law provided for the organization of local farm-loan associations through which land-bank loans would be made. Each borrower must buy one $5 share of stock in his association for each $100 he borrows. The association, in turn, must buy a like amount of stock in the Federal land bank. The stock is redeemed at par value when the loan is repaid.

In the beginning, Government capital was placed in the banks, to get the system going; and Government capital was added in the depression period, when these banks were asked to be especially lenient to farmers, and to help them meet their obligations to other creditors.

But by 1947 all Government capital had been repaid. Furthermore, the Baltimore bank now has more than $9,600,000 of retained earnings, plus some $4,500,000 of capital stock owned by the local associations. This is after having paid all operating expenses and having paid, in most years, dividends on the capital stock.

Yet farmers have had the benefit of financing—on lenient terms and at low interest rates—which would not otherwise have been available to them. They have been able to buy land, erect buildings, buy livestock and equipment, and generally carry on the business of farming by a system of individual, family-owned farms.

SMALL BUSINESS AND BANKING COMMITTEES SHOULD CONSIDER "SKIRMISHER" PROPOSAL

I would like to invite the Members' attention to "Skirmisher's" article which I mentioned earlier. This reflects authentic, firsthand experiences of small-business people in the retail grocery and meat businesses. I am offering a somewhat condensed version of this article for the RECORD, below. It goes into other possible functions of the proposed Federal Discount Agency—such as pooling purchases of supplies—in addition to the financing operations which I have discussed.

In addition, I invite the Members' attention to the 40th anniversary statement of the Federal Land Bank of Baltimore which follows the "Skirmisher" article.

It would seem to me especially appropriate that the Small Business Committee and the Banking Committee give careful consideration to the proposal which "Skirmisher" has made. It is a serious and thoughtful proposal. Certainly, some solution must be found, and found promptly, to the unequal and inadequate financing available to small firms, if we are to continue to have a business system in which there is a place for vigorous and progressive small firms.

The article and statement follow:

MARYLAND GROCERS' ASSOCIATION MAKES PLEA FOR FEDERAL DISCOUNT AGENCY TO PERMIT SMALL BUSINESS TO EXPAND AND COMPETE WITH CHAINS ON EVEN TERMS

According to the Small Business Administration, the Government agency set up to aid

small business—or make a gesture toward it—there are 4 million small businesses of all types; there are 200,000 big businesses.

Thus the small business units outnumber the big ones by 20 to 1.

While big business deals in heavy volume and, in some cases, in heavy production, the overwhelming majority of small business units makes their aggregate volue an equally important contribution to the national economy.

It is a contribution that should not be lost or risked. But what is happening? In this era (not to say this administration) of big business small business is getting smaller and big business is getting bigger.

If the trend not so unfortunate and undesirable it might recall the old joke: "The rich get richer, while the poor get children."

FAMILY OF SMALL BUSINESS SHRINKING

* * * * *

One of the greatest advantages big business has is greater ease and better terms for obtaining public and private financing for expansions and improvements.

In the big new housing developments and shopping centers mushrooming all over the country, one central chain outlet can put dozens of neighboring competitors out of business almost overnight.

Small business can hardly relocate because it hasn't the means. What is sorely needed—and what in all fairness must be made available before it is too late—is some comparable financial plan for small business to expand, improve or relocate.

SMALL BUSINESS LOANS

The Small Business Administration as it stands is not of much help to the average small business because its terms are too restrictive.

* * * * *

During the first 5 months of the Government's present fiscal year the SBA received 2,734 loan applications and approved 1,255 for a total of $52 million.

In Maryland the SBA has lent about $1,500,000 in regular loans and about $1 million in "disaster" loans. Most of the latter were to borrowers hard hit by Hurricane Hazel.

* * * * *

Harry Baron, manager of the Maryland office of the SBA, in the Calvert Building, was asked why a businessman would go to the agency for a loan if he had collateral enough for it at a bank. Mr. Baron countered:

"Have you tried it lately?" meaning money is tight.

"The banks are making short-term loans only now," he explained. "The SBA is about the only place a small-business man can get a long-term loan."

This, in itself, is added evidence of the need for easier Administration terms for small business. In the present state small business benefits from the SBA are almost infinitesimal.

* * * * *

SBA FORMS AND REDTAPE

One Small Business Administration requirement—that the small-business applicant must have certification that his bank will not lend him—means, in effect, that he must ruin his credit to that extent.

Then, if finally he can establish credit with SBA, its forms, procedures, etc.—all the so-called Government redtape—are so long, complicated, and generally impossible that the average applicant ultimately throws up his hands.

The need is for a guaranteeing Government agency that will permit the small-business man to build for himself or have built for him facilities that will allow him to compete with the chains on even terms.

As matters stand, the small-business borrower has to add the greater costs of his credit to the cost of his merchandise.

* * * * *

WHAT IS THE REAL NEED?

The big corporate chains can go on the open market and have a builder construct not only an outlet but also all parking and other outside facilities. By delivery of a long term lease the builder can discount the lease at 100 percent on the dollar and an interest rate of from 4 to 4½ percent.

Can anyone imagine a small-business man persuading a big lease insurance company to buy ground and build an outlet for him on a basis of 1 or 1½ percent of his annual business volume? No.

But this type of discount is a common function with the chains—and banks, insurance companies and other creditors fight to keep this kind of business. Why?

Because they have the assurance of the chains, with the latter's strong financial backing, that their construction money is secure. It amounts to a guaranty.

* * * * *

The independent grocer or any other small-business man—and any landlord he might persuade to build a store for him—must pay 5 or 6 percent interest on any loan. They also must have cash or security sufficient to discount the loan at only 50 or 60 percent.

Thus the grocer or other small-business man not only has to add the additional interest cost to the cost of everything he sells; he also has to depreciate his own credit 40 percent of the cost of his facility or has to pay his landlord a premium rate to establish a 40 percent credit against the improvement.

* * * * *

Summing up, what the small-business man needs—what is really required if the balance between big business and small business is to be maintained—or regained—is a Federal discount agency. This would provide the small-business man with services already available to the chains.

They include adequate interest on mortgage commitments, legal and tax advice and some Government control of volume purchasing and distribution. The last would enable the small-business man, too, to enjoy the direct benefits of distribution of the present surplus market, the same as the chains enjoy it.

As matters stand, local suppliers in any area are in danger of seeing their markets dry up because the chains, with their tremendous purchasing power, are wiping out the middleman, buying produce, canned goods, bake goods and even meat directly from producers.

The condition already is obvious on the Eastern Shore, where the tremendous fryer industry is definitely a distressed market.

Since the activities of the chains is a standing threat to the suppliers, the latter's only countermeasure is to pledge their credit and build their own centers to supply the small grocer. This would guarantee them an outlet for their production and also assure them that the chains could not, under any conditions, dry them up by direct buying and eventually take over their industry.

FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY STATEMENT OF THE FEDERAL LAND BANK OF BALTIMORE

Forty years of service in helping farmers solve their financial problems—that is the contribution made by the Federal Land Bank of Baltimore to the agricultural economy. On March 24, 1917, the bank received its charter to make mortgage loans to farmers in Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia. (The charter was later amended to include the Island of Puerto Rico.) For several years prior thereto individuals and farm organizations had demanded a source of credit which would provide long-term loans, at reasonable interest rates, that could be repaid from farm earnings on a systematic basis. The Federal Farm Loan Act, which brought the Land Bank System into being to meet this need, was signed by President Woodrow Wilson July 17, 1916, and the 12 Federal land banks began making loans the following year.

In order that the farmer-borrowers might own and operate the new system, the law provided for the organization of local national farm loan associations through which land bank loans would be made. Each borrower is required to buy one $5 share of stock in his local association for each $100 he borrows, and the association, in turn, buys a like amount of stock in the Federal land bank of its district. (The stock is redeemed at par value when the loan is paid.) Except for Government capital which was placed in the land banks in the beginning, and during the depression years when these banks were asked to give lenient treatment to borrowers in financial distress, the farmer-borrowers have had complete ownership of the system. The final amount of Government capital was retired in 1947. The funds which the land banks lend have always been obtained by selling bonds in the security markets.

During the depression years of the early 1930's, the 12 land banks rendered a great service. At that time they constituted the principal source of mortgage credit available to farmers. It has been estimated that in the year 1934 they granted 70 percent of the total volume of mortgage loans that were made, including the funds they loaned as agents of the Federal Mortgage Corporation. A substantial portion of the money loaned at that time was used to meet borrowers' obligations to other creditors who were demanding payment. The land banks followed courageous lending practices during that period when land values were exceedingly low, and their collection policies were lenient for all farmers who were doing their best and who appeared to have a reasonable chance of working out of their distressed financial condition over a period of time.

The Federal Land Bank of Baltimore has made more than 69,000 loans totaling over $263 million. These funds were used to help buy land, erect farm buildings, pay off other debts, buy livestock, machinery, and equipment, and, generally, to improve farm properties and farm operations. A high percentage of the loans have been completely repaid and a large number of folks now own their farm homes free of debt because the repayment plan enabled them to make small annual or semiannual payments from their farm earnings.

The Baltimore bank has more than $9,600,000 of retained earnings in its reserve and surplus accounts and over $4,500,000 of capital stock owned entirely by the 36 national farm loan associations in its district. Dividends were resumed in 1951 and a 4 percent dividend has been paid each succeeding year. The combined capital stock of the national farm loan associations amounts to over $4,500,000 and their retained earnings exceed $1,300,000. Many of the associations pay dividends to stockholders-borrowers but others thus far have used all earnings to strengthen their reserves.

Recently, credit life insurance was made available, on an optional basis, enabling a borrower to have his loan paid off, up to a maximum of $10,000, in event of his death, thereby relieving his family of a heavy debt burden.

The land-bank system has served as a pioneer in the farm-mortgage field, instituting such features as the amortized plan

of repayment, the normal value appraisal concept, and the future payment plan. The System has had a stabilizing influence in agriculture, thereby benefiting many farmers who have never used its credit services. Its well-trained personnel, sound financial condition, and constructive credit policies place the System in a better position than ever to render helpful credit service to farm people as we look forward to the challenge which changes in agriculture will bring in the years ahead.

St. Patrick's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the East Side News of New York City commemorating St. Patrick's Day:

ST. PATRICK'S DAY
(By Harry H. Schlacht)

Sunday will be a great day for the Irish. It will be a great day for the Shamrock. It will be St. Patrick's Day.

We celebrate the life of an ancient race. We celebrate the life of an illustrious saint. We weave the shamrock into a garland of glory for the Emerald Isle—the home of scholars, the abode of poetry, the nursery of patriots and the isle of the saint. It is a country with the heart of a child and the smile of God.

We can see today the earthly flowers of springtime—revealing their beauty above the grass sod of the verdant sealocked isle. We can see the enticing loveliness of its mountaintops, and the landscapes with heartwarming delight and admiration. We can see the heather blooming everywhere in the valleys. We can hear the birds caroling in every glen. God has truly cast his abundant benedictions upon the Emerald Isle.

We recall the history of the Irish people whose courage is without limit, and whose honor is without blemish. We rededicate ourselves to the philosophy of St. Patrick, who found his strength in reason, who found his success in tolerance, and who found his faith in God.

To remember St. Patrick is to rejoice in freedom. He was born in Scotland. He was sold at an early age into slavery, escaped and returned to Ireland through the intervention of a vision to preach the Gospel of Christianity. He taught among the hills and dales, and used the highways and byways as his pulpit and classroom. To illustrate the Christian principles of the Trinity, he would pluck a shamrock from the roadside and use the 3 leaves on the 1 stem to symbolize his religious concepts.

The shamrock is a symbol of unity. The shamrock marks the union of 1 God and 3 divine persons. Long may the shamrock, the plant that blooms forever, with the rose combined and the thistle twined, defy the strength of foes to sever. O, firm be the triple league they form despite all change of weather. In sunshine, darkness or calm, still may they fondly grow together.

What an example of red-blooded courage and unflinching spirit the sons and daughters of Erin have given to the world. Indeed their names are emblazoned in golden letters on the pages of civilization. The sun never ceases to shine on the grave of an Irish hero. The battlefields of the Republic have been crimsoned with Irish blood. On land, on the sea, and in the air, the gallant men and women of Irish extraction have played their part in the inextinguishable chapters of American history.

Glamorous as have been the exploits of the Irish in war, in statesmanship, in commerce, and in the arts and literature, none have been more glorious than the accomplishments of the Irish women in the gentler virtues of mercy, love, and motherhood. God bless them for their loveliness, their radiant smile, beneath which lies the steadfastness of the oak, caressed by the beauty of a budding flower whose delightful fragrance rises to greet the morning sun.

The greatest gift ever given to the Irish people was the lovely spiritual Irish mother. There is no figure in all Irish annals which typifies so beautifully, and yet so calmly, her faith, her patience, and her love. From the land of their birth generations of her children have gone forth under the blessings of her watchful and benign gaze. For in her eyes was the warmth of the sun and the radiant light of day. From her the Irish have been imbued with the greatness of soul that has made them rise to the tasks and problems of the day.

So long as the world's records revere the narrative of St. Patrick's mission, so long as the waters of the lovely Shannon shall gently flow to the sea, so long as the beautiful lakes of Killarney shall reflect upon their bosom the blue vaults of the heavens, so long will men and women of the Irish race love their ancient isle, revere their saint, cherish the shamrock and uphold the principles of national freedom and of individual liberty.

May we close with an old-fashioned Irish prayer? "May the road rise to meet you. May the wind be always at your back, and may God hold you in the hollow of His hand."

Playing Politics With the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, we have heard much in the last few weeks about the desire of the administration to reduce expenditures of the Federal Government. We have seen presented to the Congress the largest peacetime budget ever presented by any administration; we have seen in the press certain Cabinet members of the present administration pretend that they desire to economize in their departments and to reduce the budget request.

On Tuesday, March 19, 1957, there appeared an article by Roscoe Drummond in the Lynchburg News, published in Lynchburg, Va., entitled "Playing Politics With Budget."

Today, March 21, 1957, there appeared an editorial in the Washington Post entitled "Mr. Weeks Shows How."

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to include these two articles.

The articles follow:

PLAYING POLITICS WITH BUDGET
(By Roscoe Drummond)

In Washington today we are witnessing a monumental, buckpassing hassle over the size of the Eisenhower budget—$71.8 billion for the coming year—which must seem frustratingly confusing.

Right now it is a kind of political merry-go-round which the politicians understand and which can only fool the voters—if anybody.

President Eisenhower has painted himself into a box of his own making. In permitting, even encouraging, Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey to urge Congress to make a substantial cut in a budget which the administration described as the best it could devise, Mr. Eisenhower should have known that Congress would leap to trim an item the White House considers vital to national defense—the economic-aid program. Thus the President has given momentum to a budget cut he will greatly deplore or have to fight to the last trench to avert.

Both sides are playing politics.

House Democrats, normally eager to preserve the fullest congressional authority over appropriations, are resisting the HUMPHREY theory that Congress ought to do what he said the administration was unable to do. They pass it to the President. Mr. Eisenhower holds up his hand and says, "Who, me?" and gingerly tosses the ball back to the Democratically controlled Congress.

The President himself has never bid Congress to cut his budget—and for a very good reason. He screened it and approved it; he will have to expound it and defend it. Should he fail to do so, he will be abdicating executive responsibility in the most serious manner.

Mr. Eisenhower's position is by no means free of politics. He takes the popular public stance in favor of less Federal spending in principal and then blandly tells the country through his press conference that if there is to be any solid reduction of spending Congress will have to abandon some of its programs—veterans' benefits, farm relief, school construction, etc.

Whose programs are these? They are Mr. Eisenhower's programs. If he believes that it is more desirable for the country to reduce Federal spending substantially than it is to carry out these programs, then it is his duty as President and as leader of his party, to ask Congress to cut back these programs.

My judgment is that Mr. Eisenhower does not hold any such view, that he does not see his budget as overtaxing the economy and that he believes it more desirable to continue what he considers needed civilian programs than to cut the budget significantly. He is certainly not taking any step to develop a public opinion to the contrary.

But it is obvious that the President wants it to appear that it is Congress, not he, who is standing in the way of doing what would have to be done if there were to be a real slash in spending.

The objective fact, as pointed out by the McGraw-Hill economists, is that the proposed $71.8 billion budget places no greater burden on the economy than any budget in the last 6 years, because the economy has been growing. Per capita Federal spending under this budget would be about $416, or $10 more than last year. But per capita income rose nearly $80 last year. On top of this is our increasing population in light of which next year's Federal expenditures will be less per capita than in 1954, when Federal spending was $4 billion lower.

This is why the McGraw-Hill statement warns not against the size of this Eisenhower budget but against the prospect of "steadily increasing budgets" which take 20 percent or more of our national income and, in its judgment, deprive "private industry of the savings and resources needed to expand and modernize producing facilities."

Federal saving that will permit reduction will be hard to come by. It will require either (1) A great easing of the cold war, or (2) ingenious and still undiscovered econo-

mies in defense or (3) a radical cutback in civilian programs. None of these is in sight.

Mr. Weeks Shows How

Secretary Humphrey invented the new-style "maybe" budget, the great virtue of which, if it works, is that the administration can take credit for the benefits and the Congress for the costs. It has remained for Secretary Weeks to demonstrate the proper use of the "maybe" budget in action. First you make a speech in New York defending the budget as merely the cost of the promised GOP peace and prosperity. Then you hint darkly that if the taxpayers would look about them, however, they'd find plenty of specific places to start saving. Next you get on television and complain about all the programs Congress forces on the administration and suggest that here is an excellent place to start cutting. But finally, when Congress calls your hand, you defend the budget once again to the last dime.

All of this, if it does not enlighten the taxpayers, at least amuses them and rather neatly leaves the hot potato still in the hands of Congress. Congressmen know there is nothing to do but eat this spud and be done with it. But there was more than a little gravel in the remark heard in a Capitol corridor yesterday that one good way to save some money at Commerce would be to eliminate the office of the Secretary.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat, 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the Record with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Ramon Magsaysay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 22, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the free world mourns the death of Ramon Magsaysay. It is felt very personally by his own people in the Philippines, but free men everywhere will sense the uncertainty of the days ahead with Magsaysay lost to us.

He was a bulwark against communism in southeast Asia; he was a friend to the western democracies. The sense of tragedy could hardly be reflected more accurately than in the response of many of my own friends in Texas.

The response was eloquent and immediate, and I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD four editorials from Texas newspapers which appeared on the day following the discovery of President Magsaysay's body on the mountainside on the island of Cebu.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Tyler Morning Telegraph of March 19, 1957]

MAGSAYSAY'S DEATH

The tragic death of President Ramon Magsaysay of the Philippines in a plane crash on a lonely mountainside on the island of Cebu in his homeland took from the world one of the stanchest foes of communism and one of the strongest friends the United States had in the Far East.

President Magsaysay was only 49 years old—young as national leaders go—but he had captured the adoration of his countrymen and the respect and trust of the entire free world through his accomplishments as a Philippine patriot.

He was a fierce guerrilla fighter against the Japanese during Word War II when Japan overran the Philippines, then a United States Territory.

In the years before he became President he was Defense Minister in the Philippines Government after the islands became an independent nation.

As Defense Minister, he spearheaded the Government action that defeated the Communist-inspired Huk uprising. In doing this, he won a following which saw him swept into office as President in the last Philippines election.

President Magsaysay never swerved from his anti-Communist fervor and his friendship for the United States. His was the most outspoken voice for freedom and capitalism in the Far East. He will be sorely missed because of this.

His death will throw the next Philippines elections, set for November, wide open. Mr. Magsaysay was considered a cinch for reelection, but now his Nationalist Party must find another nominee.

Vice President Carlos P. Garcia took the oath of office Monday to succeed Mr. Magsaysay as President, and he can be depended upon to continue the alinement of the Philippines with the West. He is a stanch supporter of the Magsaysay foreign policy.

But the new President Garcia does not have the strong hold on the people of his nation that Mr. Magsaysay enjoyed, and whether he can win election or even nomination this fall, if he chooses to run, is questionable.

President Magsaysay's loss was a great one. It was a personal loss to most Filipinos. Next to his own country, his death was most poignantly felt in the United States.

A true friend of freedom has been taken from the scene.

[From the Houston Chronicle of March 19, 1957]

MAGSAYSAY'S DEATH IN CRASH IS BLOW TO ENTIRE FREE WORLD

The free world, as well as his own nation which is right under the guns of voracious international communism, suffered a severe blow in the tragic death of President Ramon Magsaysay of the Philippines.

Magsaysay was uncompromising in his convictions and effective in his labors in behalf of his country. He was a remarkable man who combined the virtues of a military and a civilian leader of his people.

During the Japanese occupation of the Philippines he fought the invaders constantly and with astonishing effect. When General MacArthur's forces landed he had cleared the way for them to get ashore unopposed.

After the war he became Defense Minister of the Philippines, and in this post he personally led much of the fighting against the Filipino Communists known as Hukualahaps. That lengthy and persistent rebellion was stamped out through his use of a combined policy of unremitting military pressure and resettlement of the rebels on good land.

The Filipinos rewarded Magsaysay with the highest office in the land in 1953. As President he had been carrying out progressive policies. He was a mainstay of freedom and anticommunism in southeast Asia.

Vice President Carlos P. Garcia, who has taken over the reins of government, fortunately has been a stanch supporter of the Magsaysay foreign policy. Either he or Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, Ambassador to the United States, who withdrew from the 1953 presidential contest, would be an excellent successor if either is chosen in the election next November.

[From the Houston Post of March 19, 1957]

FREE WORLD CAN ILL AFFORD LOSS OF FAR EAST LEADER, MAGSAYSAY

The untimely death of Philippine President Ramon Magsaysay is of much graver world significance than that of an ordinary head of a small far eastern state would be. Not only was he a brilliant and extremely popular young statesman and a true friend of the United States, he was a bulwark of strength against communism and the prospective spearhead of western resistance to communism in the Far East.

Magsaysay's removal from the scene comes at a time when the ideological struggle for Asia is building up to a critical stage. And Asia is a crucial factor in the Red quest of world domination. Only last week, President Magsaysay's Ambassador to the United States, Carlos P. Romulo, declared to a Houston audience, "If Asia falls to Russia, it's curtains for democracy." The free world will need the able young leader more than ever before in the perilous years ahead. His loss is a tragic blow to freedom's cause.

A leader of guerrillas against Japan in World War II, he later gained renown as Philippine defense minister by wiping out the Communist Huk guerrillas in the islands. Then in 1953 he was elected president on pledges to clean up corruption and communism in the Philippines and to turn the former United States dependency into a "showcase for democracy in Asia."

He kept his pledges, and more. He grew rapidly in stature, and was emerging as a key Asian spokesman against communism. In September 1954, he keynoted a conference that resulted in the alliance known as the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. By an ironic coincidence he was returning home from the latest SEATO meeting in Sydney, Australia, when his presidential airliner crashed, killing him and all but one of the other 25 passengers.

The big question now is, who will succeed Magsaysay as Chief Executive of the hundreds of Philippine Islands and their 20 million people. Vice President Carlos P. Garcia has automatically become President and will serve until a successor to the champion of freedom is elected in November. Garcia is a good man, dedicated to Magsaysay's policies. He may be elected to the office, and if so the government will be in safe hands, though not as strong ones as his late chief's.

A happy answer to the question would be the election of Ambassador Romulo, who withdrew from the 1953 presidential race in favor of Magsaysay. He is a distinguished statesman and militantly anti-Communist. Romulo has not yet indicated whether he will be a candidate.

No prospective successor now in sight could fill Magsaysay's shoes, but it will be vitally important that the people of the strategic island group elect another president who will be on the side of the free world, and able to maintain his position against the Communist forces.

[From the Dallas Morning News of March 19, 1957]

NEW PROBLEM IN PHILIPPINES

Ramon Magsaysay can ill be spared by the free world at this time of crisis in the struggle between democratic capitalism and ruthless communism. The value of a strong executive who has the confidence of his country cannot be overestimated. And Magsaysay was such a man.

It is possible that, without Magsaysay's personal leadership, the comparatively quick postwar swing of the Philippines away from the rising trend to communism, represented in the islands by the Hukbalyaps, would not have occurred. Certainly the implicit trust of the Philippines in the man killed tragically in the crash on Cebu was by far the biggest factor in the Philippine political situation.

How severe the loss may be to the Western World cannot be judged except by results. If sabotage is shown as the cause of the fatal plane disaster, the patriot Magsaysay, who had bared his breast unhesitatingly to the foe in war, will pass into the realm of martyrdom. That fact will go far toward checking any upsurge of the still present Communist instigators. (From the start

the Reds never sold the Philippines short as a vital base on the Pacific. Magsaysay's battle against them had to be fought against trained, skillful native Red leadership.) Even accidental death will serve to keep the dead President's memory enshrined and about it may center Filipino resolution to adhere to the principles for which he has stood.

Much will depend, too, on the progress already made under Magsaysay and on the executive strength of Carlos Garcia. The dead President was elected in 1953, could be expected under the two-term limitation of the island constitution to have served until 1962. He had guided the Philippines into SEATO (launched in Manila in 1954). But Magsaysay is dead and the future must be guided by men of whose strength in crisis we are today less sure.

A Capital Budget for the Federal Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 22, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on last Monday, March 4, the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] addressed the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association in Chicago on the subject of a capital budget for the Federal Government. In this speech the Senator outlined the basic defects in our present budgeting system, namely, that it does not present a true picture of the assets and liabilities of the American people as a whole, and that it fails to provide a yardstick whereby the financial wisdom of governmental expenditures for capital projects can be measured.

I ask that the address by this great economist who sits among us be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, so that his analysis of Federal budgeting may be read and studied. It deserves thoughtful consideration from students, from those in business, and from those in public service who recognize that the American people lack a basis for evaluating the investment uses of their tax dollars.

It discusses a subject which cries out for reform in our Federal budgetary bookkeeping system. For several years I have urged the adoption of a capital budget for the Federal Government, and I shall introduce legislation to accomplish it just as soon as I can complete my research and drafting work on it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request?

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CAPITAL BUDGET FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

(Speech by Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS before National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, the Coliseum, Chicago, March 4, 1957)

It gives me great joy to see you all here this afternoon and to be given the honor of speaking to you. I literally marvel at the progress made in rural electrification during this last quarter-century.

Twenty-six years ago, I was an adviser to a progressive Governor of Pennsylvania, Gifford Pinchot. One of my dearest friends, Morris L. Cooke, was also working with Governor Pinchot, and the two were developing plans for a network of electrical transmission lines through the rural areas of Pennsylvania with the distribution to be handled by farmer cooperatives. This idea was ridiculed by many and bitterly opposed by the private utilities. It was said there would be no demand for the power on the farms and that it would therefore be a white elephant. The utilities said that if it would pay, they would have done it before, and that the effort to inject the government and the cooperatives into the field was un-American socialism of the worst order.

These forces were too strong for Gifford Pinchot to overcome in Pennsylvania. But a new national administration took office in 1933 which believed in vigorous action to deal with the depression and which was receptive to new ideas. I was glad to play a modest part in getting Morris Cooke together with my fellow Chicagoan, Harold Ickes, who had just been made Administrator of Public Works. They began experiments with rural electrification on the cooperative principle with the Government making loans and furnishing technical assistance, but with the cooperatives doing the local operation and paying the loan back with interest out of the income from the service.

Out of this grew the Rural Electrification Administration, and out of that and the Government loans came the local co-ops and your great organization. I feel, therefore, like a midwife's helper who sees the child he helped to bring into the world reach sturdy, honorable, and respected manhood. I have, therefore, always been a believer in the REA, and in recent years it has been a deep source of satisfaction to support its principles and to help it develop by voice and vote on the floor of the Senate.

For a quarter of a century we have had to face the opposition of the private utilities. At first, this was open and violent. Today, it is more concealed and subtle. One of the arguments which their high-powered public relations experts use upon an unwary public is that expenditures for the REA are wasteful, that we get nothing back from them and that such outlays, as well as virtually all Government expenditures, are money and resources down the drain.

Today, I would like to talk to you about a capital budget for the Federal Government. This phrase, capital budget, might sound quite formidable, but it is actually simple. You all use this concept in your business—farmers, cooperatives and the entire private sector of the economy. A cooperative, for example, when it receives a loan from the Rural Electrification Administration to build a generation and transmission system makes two entries in its accounts. One is a liability for the loan, and another an asset showing that this generation and transmission system is worth so many millions of dollars. The same is true for the farmer when he borrows money to build a new barn, to plant a crop, or to replenish his breeding stock, and the same is true for your National Association when it borrowed money from you, the member systems, to build its new building.

A corporation does the same thing; it too operates on a capital budget. It always reports, as you know, in addition to a profit and loss statement, a balance sheet at the end of the year showing the financial condition, growth or stagnation, profit or loss of the organization. This balance sheet shows on the one side the assets of the corporation, and on the other side the liabilities. A private utility, for example, when it increases its electric plant in service by a million dollars, an asset, it balances this item on the liability side of the ledger by an item of $1 million for mortgage debt. If in a given year a corporation adds a million or a hundred million to its debt (liabilities) it adds an equal amount to its asset and the change is heralded and greeted as "good management," and "progress."

Farmers, cooperatives, and private business therefore use the concept of a capital budget. They distinguish between operating expenses and investments. Investment is not an operating expense. But not so the Federal Government.

The Federal Government has no balance sheet. When the Government's common stockholders, the people, try to look at expenditures for government operations this is what you see. Liabilities amount to the total amount of the Federal debt—about $275 billion and assets equal to zero. If, in a given year the Federal Government goes into debt for a billion dollars there is no cry of "good management"—but cries of "waste, inflation, bureaucracy, and pork barrel politics."

This attitude of the people toward Federal expenditures and the debt is inevitable as long as John Citizen, seeking to find the facts, has to pick up a 5- to 10-pound budget report every year in order to figure out what the Federal Government is doing. And even if he has enough time and aspirin to get through this monumental tome, he may still not know the facts because much of the verbiage and the accounting gymnastics contained in these volumes are purposefully obscured so that even we, the Congress, cannot figure out precisely what is going on in the Federal Government.

On the other hand, this attitude of Citizen Taxpayer is unsound because he does not insist that the Federal Government keep books that make sense.

We have been lulled and propagandized into believing that Government expenditures are like a Christmas tree—it looks good for a week or two, but then you have to throw it out. In other words, Federal expenditures offer no permanent achievements. It has been pounded into us that a good government spends no more than it takes in—regardless of the purpose of the proposed deficit expenditures.

Now what does all this mean in terms of the problems of your rural-electric cooperatives and the related Federal-power program?

Let us sweep aside some propaganda and take a look at the facts. But first let me reiterate one important fact. Money borrowed or saved and used for investment purposes by any sector of the economy except the Federal Government, whether it be to build a new plant, buy a tractor or build a barn, shows up in the accounts as an expenditure, but it is balanced on the books by the net worth of the land, building, or equipment. If this were not so every business in the country, your farm, cooperative, would always be shown to operate in the red, technically bankrupt at all times. But this is not the way we keep the accounts for the Federal Government. For the Federal Government, an expenditure is an expenditure whether it lends money for a public housing project, a hospital, or it gives money to the military to purchase oyster forks for the Navy.

Now let us go back to what a capital budget for the Federal Government would mean to the rural-electric cooperatives. As in the example cited above, when the Federal Government lends money to the rural-electric system, the loaned money is repayable with interest and secured by a mortgage on the system, the loan shows up in the budget as an expenditure just like the money used to purchase oyster forks. Operating under this outmoded accounting system, the Government has only expenses and no assets—an absurd situation and contrary to fact.

It is absurd, because it puts the Federal Government in the position of having spent upward of $3 billion for Federal power facilities, with no corresponding notation made of the fact that these facilities at the same time that they represent expenditures also represent investments.

Such practices create a false impression in the minds of all people. The Hells Canyon project fight is a good case in point. You and I know that if the high Hells Canyon Dam were built by the Federal Government most of the cost would be repaid, with interest, and the project would be owned by the people of the United States. You will recall that the private utilities propaganda against this project took, in part, the form of a full page and showed how much money this project would cost the taxpayers if developed by the Federal Government. Much of the confusion emanating from this controversy would have been eliminated if the Federal Government had in force a capital budget system of accounting.

With a capital budget everyone would have known that the expenditures of the Federal construction of a high Hells Canyon Dam would be reimbursed with interest. The rug would have been pulled from under the propagandist who argued that this project would be paid for by the taxpayers instead of by those who purchase the power output. The basic arguments advanced by the utilities in this and all similar fights would be far less influential if we could get a Federal capital budget in operation. It would then be possible for Congress and citizens to see that it is not more economical to give away their power sites and atomic resources than to invest public funds in their development.

Let's switch our attention for a moment to look at the effect a Federal capital budget might have directly on the rural electric cooperatives. Under the existing method of keeping Federal books, when REA, NRECA, and members of your rural electric cooperatives go to the Congress requesting loan funds, which are really investment funds repayable with interest, they encounter opposition not to "investment" but to expenditures. When the Bureau of the Budget considers the request of the REA Administrator for a new year's loan budget, the Administrator, in the eyes of the public, is placed in the position of asking for "expenditure" funds (like for our oyster forks), rather than investment funds. This situation is unrealistic, a misrepresentation of reality, and leads to endless misunderstandings and thoughtless opposition.

For you, the rural electric cooperatives, this does lead to endless problems and frustrations, but for the private utilities it is most useful. Remember, the private utilities operate as a cost-plus industry. They are authorized to earn a fixed rate of return on their investment over and above all costs. They can engage in very expensive propaganda campaigns and charge it up to the ratepayers as a cost and to the Treasury as a legitimate deduction from profits.

At the same time that this propaganda campaign has been going on, the private utilities have been "sneaking in the back door" of the Treasury. You all know to what I refer—the rapid tax amortization subsidy which the private utilities are receiving under section 168 of the tax laws. My colleague, Senator BYRD, of Virginia, has recently released through his committee, the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, a very interesting report on this matter which you all should read. This subsidy amounts to an estimated $4.7 billion, and as you will recall the Federal Government has invested under $3 billion in the rural electrification program and just about another $3 billion in the Federal power program.

But this is not all. Again, while the private utilities were hurling all kinds of epithets at the rural electric cooperatives and the Federal power program, they were at the same time busily engaged in 1954 in helping to push through Congress the 1954 amendments to the Internal Revenue Code. As you know, section 167 of the code now allows any business to choose what is called a liberalized method of depreciation in place of the conventional straight line method of computing depreciation. This is another subsidy to private business, an ultimate loss to the Treasury, and means in the final analysis that when the Federal Government needs more money it will not be forthcoming from business, but must be exacted from personal income taxes. This subsidy, it has been estimated, will be worth many billions of dollars to the private utilities. This amounts to more than 6 times the investment in the rural electrification program and 3 times the combined investment in the rural electrification and Federal power programs.

Let me recall the Senate fight which occurred in 1954 over whether REA needed an additional $35 million in electric loan funds. As you may remember, I introduced this amendment from the Senate floor knowing that the funds were needed and also knowing that the money would be repaid with interest to the Treasury. We were told by the Acting REA Administrator that the funds could not be used under any circumstances, but, as a matter of fact, in the spring of 1955 when the Colorado Ute loan was made it was necessary for REA to draw down earmarked funds from the 1956 budget in order to process the loan before July 1, 1955.

Now I believe that under a capital budget plan this fight simply would not have occurred because justifiable loans by REA could be made without bringing about all the cries from even sincere people who sincerely want to balance the budget.

If we could get this one idea of the capital budget across to the public and incorporated into the accounting practices of the Federal Government, I think many of the problems which we run into in attempting to get the Congress to invest in worthwhile undertakings would be eliminated.

Just keep in mind that the basic difference between a capital budget and the present Federal budget is that the capital budget would distinguish between investments and ordinary expenditures for current operations so that the Congress and economy-minded citizens could primarily concentrate on current expenditures and not confuse productive and profitable investments such as in the rural electrification program with them. To be sure we need as much economy in governmental operations as possible, but even operating under this valid assumption does not refute the need for investing in enterprises which will benefit the entire Nation.

Probably also the capital budget itself should be divided into three parts. The first would be those where the principal is to be reimbursed with interest, as is the case with REA and power investments. The second would be where the principal is reimbursable but no interest paid as in irrigation, while the third would consist of those investments which, while judged socially beneficial are not reimbursed to the Treasury and upon which no interest is paid. The most striking examples of this are the expenditures for flood control and river and harbor improvements. They might also include the Hill-Burton grants for hospital construction.

All of you rural electric leaders know that you have had to fight with the public, the Congress, with the private utilities and private utility fronts on this point of economy in Government. And it is quite true that many times when the Congress has insisted on economy, when the Bureau of the Budget has cut the REA request for funds or put a ceiling on the loan program, it was hard to tell where sincere economy left off and the power company front began.

An accounting system which would be based on the principal of capital budgeting would go a long way in bringing rationality into Federal policies. It would place Government investment for capital creation in its proper perspective. It would give the public a true picture of their status as owners of the national property and assets. In this way, the public could intelligently measure the total debt and expenditure policy of the Federal Government against total assets. Such a budget was advocated 45 years ago by the eminent Boston accountant, Harvey S. Chase. It is even sounder now than it was then.

Under a system of capital budgeting the public could readily distinguish between current expenditures which are nonreimbursable—gone forever, and investment expenditures which are wealth creating and reimbursable—just as though they were private investments.

Operating under a capital budget, there would be no problem in proving to the Congress and the people that REA, based on the best estimates possible, will need a certain amount of credit the following fiscal year. The credit would be forthcoming because everyone would know that such funds are merely borrowed from the Government and paid back with interest, and that such loans are backed up by a mortgage on the cooperative electric system. The same would be true for Federal power projects.

There is every reason in the world for a divided or capital budget, and no valid arguments against one. Habit, fears that we would spend more on Federal power projects, fears that Mr. Hoover could not justify abolition of REA as "an expense" are some basic reasons why we do not already have a capital budget.

Now, of course, no accounting system can create miracles. A capital budget would not have prevented Mr. McKay from recommending the giveaway of Hells Canyon; but it would have made him sound ridiculous. A capital budget would make the Dixon-Yates deal sound absurd to almost everyone except Admiral Strauss and his banking and utility friends.

No miracles, but a lot of interesting facts and rational thinking regarding Federal expenditures and investments could flow from a capital budget.

Now, attempting to incorporate a capital budget into Federal accounting will not be an easy job because many vested interests would be opposed to such a plan. The private power companies and others who hope to profit from grabbing parts of the public domain including the atomic energy program would probably oppose such a reform. But you would be joined by many individuals and groups who do not like the idea of the Federal Government hiding its assets and investments under a lot of red ink.

If we want a government run on a sound business basis, an efficient government—a government striving to maximize economies—then we need to adopt a good set of accounting techniques.

The answer is the capital budget.

United States Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 22, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the highly complex situation in the

Middle East has caused one of the most widespread public debates in our history. It has led to a healthy criticism of many of the fundamentals of foreign policy.

A contribution to the discussion which is worthy of study was made by the commentator George Sokolsky. I ask unanimous consent that his column, as printed in the March 21 edition of the Washington Post, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COST OF ERRORS

(By George Sokolsky)

Responsible statesmen do not knowingly or consciously commit their countries to costly errors; what happens always is that human factors, psychological factors which are just as significant historically as the clash of economic and political forces, play their part in the confusion which are engendered not by the course of events but by the whims of men. The destruction of the British, French, and Dutch empires by American attitudes antagonistic to what is called colonialism has created a vacuum in Asia and Africa. That vacuum is being filled not by independent governments but by Soviet Russia.

The whimsicalities of our State Department which seems to believe that it is possible to maintain NATO while destroying NATO countries are as personal as the selection of a necktie.

Historically it has already had the result of forcing Western Europe together into the common market which is a cover for a Western European alliance against all comers. It could leave the United States without an ally and that is why the conference between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan is so important. It may be the decisive meeting which will determine whether the Anglo-American alliance has been drowned in the waters of the Suez Canal.

The role of Israel has been overdramatized. From the standpoint of historic perspective, it is not the battles over the Gaza Strip or Aqaba that will decide the course of history. It is rather that Great Britain has been pushed out of Egypt and Jordan and that the Suez Canal has ceased to be an international waterway and has become a domestic canal, controlled solely by Egypt for its own political advantage or that of its ally, Soviet Russia.

The ultimate historic effect of this would be to turn the Mediterranean into a Soviet lake, imperiling Turkey, Greece, Italy, and the British in Gibraltar. On the south bank of the Mediterranean, it could imperil every American airbase. It could be one of the decisive victories in history.

These are the frigid facts that President Eisenhower will face at Bermuda, and if he should decide that doctrinaire pacifism is preferable to historic reality, this country will become as isolated as it has not been since 1933.

If isolation is an evil and a peril, as some say, this is the moment in history when a choice must be made. The alternatives will be a continuance of the Anglo-American alliance or a rejection of alliances with any country, a return to the doctrine of going it alone to avoid war at any cost.

There is a tendency to believe that because of President Eisenhower's special gifts, his friendly disposition, and the regard in which he is held throughout the world, he can manage to talk European and Asiatic statesmen out of their worst intentions.

While the President's ability as a conciliator must be recognized, it must also be acknowledged that no statesman can long last in his own country who agrees to his country's dissolution and loss of position. And that is what faced the leaders of Great Britain, France, Israel, and Egypt during the so-called Egyptian crisis. Therefore, there is today no Middle Eastern settlement.

For what the United States and the United Nations require is that the great nations should not defend themselves against whatever the weak and backward nations do to them, even if the weak and backward nations are acting as Soviet allies in Russia's march toward empire.

It is an untenable position which was accepted as long as Western Europe was wholly dependent upon the United States for revival and reconstruction. Today no European country is actually dependent upon the United States, although European aid is acceptable up to a point. The danger point is naturally suicide.

This is what we face in world affairs and we might as well know where we stand. During recent years, Americans seem to have developed a tendency to assume that money will solve all problems and we are now engaged in peddling $200 million in the Middle East.

There are problems that money cannot solve and those involve national dignity and self-respect. The Europe of 1957 is not the Europe of 1945 and the sooner that is recognized and acknowledged, the fewer will be the errors of policy—errors which during the past 4 years have been startlingly notorious.

Challenges to America at Home and Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 22, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on Monday evening it was my pleasure to journey to Lancaster, Pa., for the purpose of presenting a talk on the subject of the challenges to America at home and abroad.

I send to the desk the text of this address and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR WILEY SAYS EISENHOWER-MACMILLAN MEETING SHOULD REVITALIZE NORTH ATLANTIC COOPERATION; URGES STRONG CITIZEN SUPPORT OF PRINCIPLE OF MUTUAL SECURITY AGAINST ATTACKS FROM BACKWARD-LOOKING 19TH CENTURY MINDS

(Address by Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, Wisconsin, senior Republican, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, at the annual dinner of the Funeral Directors of Lancaster County, Lancaster, Pa., March 18, 1957)

I am honored to be included as your guest speaker on the occasion of your annual meeting.

I have always had a warm spot in my heart for this particular area of your fine State, rich in true American tradition. Lancaster is probably one of those realtively few communities in the country which has safeguarded its local way of life against some of the more artificial effects of our fast-moving technological age. It has continued to retain that wonderful charm and individuality, engendered by the spirit of Pennsylvania's early pioneers.

As members of a vital service and as respected leaders of your country, you hold a thoughtful philosophy toward life and toward your fellow man.

Your associations and daily contacts undoubtedly make you more sensitive to human problems and needs than is the case with many other segments of our population. Carried to a much wider scale, I would also presume that your concern for America's welfare and her future role is a deep one.

In my discussion with you this evening, I would like to highlight some of the crucial issues facing our country today.

OUR OWN TOP CHALLENGES TODAY

What are the basic challenges? They are two in number:

1. First, on the home front, to keep our economy strong, healthy, and secure.

2. Second, on the international front, to maintain world peace and to promote world freedom.

I am confident that we are going to fulfill both challenges.

BRIGHT SPOTS ON DOMESTIC SCENE

Here, at home, 1957 finds us continuing upward on the prosperity scale.

Our "gross national product" is rising up from an alitime high of $430 billion.

Our personal income is rising from the $330 billion level.

The purchasing power of the dollar, while it has been slipping somewhat because of wage and price increases, has, nonetheless, not skyrocketed upward, as some people feared.

Sixty-six million people are gainfully employed.

Our population estimates continue to soar upward. This country of 170 million as of 1957, will be 200 million in 1967. It may be as much as 300 million as far as 7 years before the turn into the 21st century. This means vast new markets for goods and services.

NUMEROUS PROBLEMS AT HOME

Now, we all recognize that we have our problems here at home. Our budget is at a peacetime high, and our taxes are at a peacetime peak. As a matter of fact, one-third of all United States income is going into Federal, State, and local taxes.

It is important, however, to look at that budget burden and at that heavy tax burden in the light of a changing America in a changing world.

There is not too much meaning in comparing present budget figures with absolute prewar budget figures. Why? Because the world, and America, have utterly changed, and so have our needs and requirements.

TODAY'S CHANGED WORLD

In this world of 1957, man has circled the earth, nonstop, in B–52 bombers in 45 hours.

Man has crossed the North American Continent in 3 hours 45 minutes, in the forerunner of a jet commercial airliner.

Science has reached out in such masterful discoveries—in nuclear energy, electronics—that the world has been contracted in space and time.

THE DANGER TO NORTH AMERICA

What does that mean in terms of the military danger to us?

Well, the Administrator of the Federal Civil Defense Administration, Governor Peterson, has made this grim estimate: In the event of world war III, even if we built a nationwide system of shelters (costing upward of $40 billion), as much as 60 percent of the population of the United States might be exterminated by an enemy attack. I repeat—60 percent of our 170 million people might be wiped out by a shower of enemy-guided missiles and strategic bombings.

It is small wonder, therefore, why we find it necessary to have 3 separate radar lines drawn from the frozen north regions of Canada to the United States-Canadian bor-

der; a strong continental Air Defense Command to intercept the enemy; Nike-guided missile sites around our major cities; and a budget, of which 60 percent is devoted to military preparedness.

REEVALUATING WEAPONS SYSTEMS

Thus we are learning that to protect national and collective security is not cheap. Preserving peace in our time is dear, and it will continue to be so long as we have to combat a formidable ideology dedicated to world domination.

Yet, while we must support a strong defense structure, we are entitled to get the most for our money. Are we getting this? I'm not sure. I feel that the Pentagon must meet the test of a thorough weapons reappraisal. How much reliance should be placed on nuclear planes and missiles in the future; on aircraft carriers, for example, on ground forces. And what are the types and numbers of weapons we can best afford. These are basic questions which the American people are entitled to have answered.

OUR WORLDWIDE PROBLEMS

It is against the background of these facts that we turn to the second top challenge, and that is to fulfill our diplomatic and economic responsibilities on the world scene.

Wherever we look around the globe we see significant problems. Let me name just a few:

(a) In the powder-keg Middle East, we find ourselves, unfortunately, confronted with a new crisis because of President Nasser's sending of a civil governor into the always explosive Gaza strip.

We likewise find the crisis intensified by Nasser's insistence that tolls be paid directly to Egypt before ships' passage through the Suez Canal.

(b) In Western Europe, we find that our allies, who are hard-pressed financially, especially in view of the Suez-caused oil shortage, have been seriously reducing their contributions to NATO.

(c) We find likewise that Western Germany, which in September faces a critical national election, is under extreme diplomatic and propaganda pressure from the Soviet Union. The Kremlin seeks to pressure Bonn into accepting some Soviet compromise arrangement as regards neutrality in return for reunification.

(d) In south Asia we find Communist subversive movements continuing at work in virtually every country. Red penetration ranges from revolution-torn Indonesia to other relatively new nations like India, Burma, Nepal, and Afghanistan. All of these underdeveloped lands face exceedingly difficult economic problems in trying to raise primitive standards of living.

These then are but a few of the challenges on the world scene.

WHY WE ARE SO CONCERNED

But I can almost hear someone ask, "Senator WILEY, what business is it of ours whether there is Communist penetration of Egypt or Syria or Indonesia, or whether West Germany goes neutral, or whether anybody else refuses to side with us in the cold war?"

The answer is very simple: It is absolutely crucial that international communism not pick up additional "real estate." It is crucial that the Kremlin not force us out of key western areas, particularly areas where we have air, naval, and sea bases.

This country needs allies. We need foreign bases, especially for our Strategic Air Command. We need foreign war materials for the building of our tanks, guns, planes, and ships. We need Mideast petroleum (and so do our allies).

We need allies who are ready, willing, and eager to keep their own forces alert to defend their own borders—allies like South Korea, Turkey, Vietnam, Pakistan.

We dare not permit the Soviet Union to get away with grabbing virtually any country, however small. Why? Because if she does succeed, then all other small countries will be frightened into neutrality or into the Soviet camp.

Under these circumstances, it is important that the Western Allies revitalize their ties—economic, military, political, social.

EISENHOWER-MAC MILLAN MEETING SHOULD BE HELPFUL LANDMARK

That is one reason why I anticipate with the deepest of interest constructive results from the conference in Bermuda, commencing on Wednesday, between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Harold MacMillan, of the United Kingdom.

It is clear that our British friends and ourselves have had some serious differences in the recent past—notably over the Middle East.

It is clear, too, that our disunity has, regrettably, tended to play into the hands of our enemies.

Of course, I do not believe that the United States should, for the sake of real or token unity, compromise on any of its basic principles. But I do believe that the United States should and will make every reasonable effort to find common ground with our best and strongest ally.

The Eisenhower-MacMillan meeting can and should be a landmark in reuniting the Western World, in halting the trans-Atlantic baiting and sniping which have been going on for many months.

Closer cooperation with our long-standing French ally is likewise imperative. But this must be only part of our forward-looking foreign-policy program.

AVOIDING APPEASEMENT IN MIDDLE EAST

In the Middle East, the latest unwarranted provocation by Egypt's Nasser is a vivid warning that the United States can definitely not sit in the sun and let the world go by.

If Colonel Nasser commits any new infractions in the Gaza strip, flaunting the United Nations and dishonoring his own assurances on the Israeli withdrawal, the immediate responsibilities of the United States are clear.

We have patiently steered through the Mideast crisis over the past months. We have tried to calm the many disturbances threatening to erupt Arab-Israeli relations once and for all. It was due chiefly to United States assurances that Israel withdrew her troops in accord with United Nations requests.

Now, we cannot allow ourselves to drift or be pushed on Nasser's tide.

What actions should, then, be considered?

A firm warning to Egypt against further belligerency; a possible emergency call to the United Nations General Assembly in the event of additional troublemaking; consideration of further economic pressure against Egypt—these are actions which we must weigh. The alternative is to submit to a dictator who is "feeling his oats" in defying international law and moral responsibilities.

Not only must we quickly meet the issue at hand. We must lay bases for permanent settlement in the Middle East. It's time we learned that we cannot ride on a retread tire forever.

It's dangerous to the occupants and puts the whole car out of balance. Comparing this common auto situation to the chronic Middle East turmoil, we find that a patched-up armistice agreement is no good.

Positive initiative is needed, therefore, in settling the Arab refugee problem, the endless boundary disputes, the problem of transit rights through Suez, and the Gulf of Aqaba.

And, as leader of the free world and its leading spokesman in the United Nations, the United States responsibility for meeting this overall challenge is clear cut.

UNITED STATES MUST SHOW UP THE NEW "RED FACE"

The dangers we see on the Mideast front are, of course, part and parcel of a much greater epidemic, intended to draw all diseased victims into its ward—international communism.

The amazing turnabout tactics of the Soviet Union just within the last 5 months, and her gross hypocrisy during the Hungarian rebellion, are grim reminders that Soviet aims under Khrushchev, or anyone else, are still world domination.

Showing Soviet Russia up for what she is and countering her current lure moves throughout the world make a big order for the United States. But it is one which must be filled.

The Soviet Union continues to follow her historical pattern of avoiding outright aggression in seeking to add more countries to her satellite chain.

She is embarking on an expanded program of political and economic warfare designed to wean over strategic areas. She is taking advantage of tensions such as we face in the Middle East; so she seeks to keep the fires of dispute smoldering. She is certainly doing a thorough job of it from Greece to Africa to Indonesia, where the forces of nationalism and low standards of living can be fed on, for Communist gains.

Further, the Soviet (phony) good-neighbor policy is being pinpointed to strategic spots in the Kremlin scheme. Vast arms aid to Syria and Egypt, supplemented by trade and cultural missions, large offers of economic assistance to less-developed nations struggling for self-sustaining economies, a simultaneous campaign of anti-American propaganda—these are some of the hard facts of the new Red face.

WE MUST STRENGTHEN TIES WITH UNDERDEVELOPED WORLD

How must we proceed in erasing the Soviet blueprint? There are several ways:

First, we must recognize that the evolution of underdeveloped countries with rising expectations is at hand. We must strengthen our ties with these new governments, desiring independence and self-government.

We must disprove Communist accusations of our alleged siding with imperialism and colonialism. Vice President NIXON's visit to the Gold Coast and seven other African countries is a positive step in this direction. President Eisenhower's meeting with King Saud, of Arabia, is another effort to show that we sincerely want to help stabilize the Middle East and help further economic progress in that area.

Putting new life into our security pacts with countries of the Middle East, southeast Asia, and the Far East, is still another way of tightening the bonds of mutual interest. By "new life," I mean greater emphasis on political and economic ties.

The major emphasis on military security alone has too often fostered misunderstanding and suspicions abroad. It is necessary, of course, to strength the internal security of countries fighting subversion and revolutionary elements. But we must realize that there are nations who want to remain free of military alliances, in order, they feel, that they may concentrate on the battle against hunger, disease, and poverty.

PRESIDENT'S REMINDER OF OUR RESPONSIBILITY

And may I stress the need for a new, dynamic approach to economic assistance. The problem of international economic development is one which the United States must meet. It is to our national interest that we do so. Why? As the President stated in his second inaugural address:

"One-third of all mankind has entered upon an historic struggle for a new freedom: freedom from grinding poverty * * * (and) wherever in the world a people knows des-

perate want, there must appear at least a spark of hope, the hope of progress—or there will surely rise at last the flames of conflict."

HISTORIC CONCEPT OF ENLIGHTENED MUTUAL SECURITY

Now, secondly, what about the overall concept of United States Mutual Security itself?

In my judgment, it is sound and, indeed, indispensable.

Congress now has before it no less than three separate series of reports, confirming the advisability of this program:

The report of the Benjamin Fairless Commission.

The report of Eric Johnston and his associates, on the International Development Advisory Board.

The reports of various private contractors who have studied the program on behalf of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

(On Wednesday, we are opening hearings on these reports.)

Each and all of these reports bear the most careful study. There is no doubt that constructive changes can and should be made in mutual security, e. g., to stimulate more sound private investments; to secure better coordination in planning of assistance, etc.

20TH CENTURY VERSUS 19TH CENTURY THINKING

But the basic concept of aid, in our own enlightened self-interest, must be protected. The 1958 Mutual Security Budget must be scrutinized; but it must not be sabotaged.

Why? Because of the facts in the changed, danger-filled world of the 20th century—facts such as I earlier mentioned.

Open, alert 20th century minds may honestly differ as to the details of the program. But backward-looking 19th century minds, unaware or uninterested in the grim realities of the 20th century, must not be permitted to destroy or sabotage this program. We—you and I—take rightful pride in the rich traditions of Lancaster's and Pennsylvania's and America's past. But we are more concerned with Lancaster's and Pennsylvania's and America's future.

The past has much to teach us. The best of the past must always be preserved. But it is the present and the future which hold the challenges which must be fulfilled.

We must find new teachings in the old books. We must find new guides for the beckoning future.

ANSWERS TO CRITICS OF MUTUAL SECURITY

May I, before continuing, point out to those who have criticized—wholesale—the mutual security program, certain essential facts:

In the first place, mutual security expenditures have been eminently successful in helping to revitalize the economies of many foreign lands—economies which would long since have collapsed into bankruptcy. In so doing, many a foreign country has become a better customer for America's own goods and services.

In the second place, the very appropriations for this mutual security have been spent in overwhelming part on the products of our own factories. In other words, the dollars which we have appropriated have actually been spent largely inside the United States, where they have helped create jobs.

And, finally, let me point out this fact, so far as direct military expenditures are concerned:

A dollar spent to maintain a South Korean or Turkish or Pakistani or Vietnamese soldier at his own border will save spending perhaps 25 times what would be necessary to maintain an infinitely costlier American lad in uniform at that very same border.

Thus, it is far cheaper and more efficient to help these allied countries protect themselves, than it is to send more American boys overseas to try to protect them.

CAN THE UNITED STATES MEET THESE TESTS?—WE CAN, WITH DETERMINATION

I have reviewed what are, in my opinion, the major challenges to United States strength of leadership, here at home and beyond our national boundaries.

I, for one, continue my faith in our President and in his desire to meet these challenges head on through positive and firm policies. And so, I believe we are well on our way to confirming our ability to meet the tests of our times.

The recent overwhelming passage of the Eisenhower Mideast doctrine was one such landmark.

The Eisenhower-Macmillan meeting should prove another.

The forthcoming visit of Chancellor Adenauer should prove still another landmark in western unity and adequacy.

Like the past visits of French Premier Mollet, English Defense Minister Sandys, German Foreign Minister Von Brentano, each of these get-togethers establishes stronger foundations for the edifice of peace, which we are building for this 20th century and beyond.

Can we, then, meet the tests of this time? Yes; with patience and fortitude we can, we must.

Foreign Aid Is Vital to United States Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 22, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on Thursday, March 7, I addressed the American citizenship award dinner of the Golden Slipper Square Club in Philadelphia. In the course of my remarks I sought to marshal the facts in support of the vital importance of continuing United States overseas economic and technical assistance programs. Subsequently these remarks were reprinted in the New York Herald Tribune of March 13, 1957.

I ask unanimous consent that the New York Herald Tribune article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEED FOR FOREIGN AID

(By Senator JACOB K. JAVITS)

The following are excerpts from a speech delivered recently by Senator JAVITS at the American citizenship award dinner of the Golden Slipper Square Club in Philadelphia:

"United States overseas economic and technical assistance programs are in danger in the Congress. Unless there is a great rallying of public support behind these programs, they could be so seriously crippled as to materially retard the fight against communism and the struggle for international peace. For the economic and technical assistance programs are as vital to the security of the United States as the military assistance program.

"There is considerable evidence that the economic and technical assistance programs are in jeopardy. One solid indication is in the temper of the Congress shown in the recent Senate vote on the Russell amendment that would have eliminated such aid from the President's Mideast doctrine. Another is the large number of surveys on the programs being made both inside and outside Government. A third is the series of attacks on the programs because of individual failures in particular countries. Finally, and very importantly, these programs are the prime targets of those who would cut at any price the admittedly large $72 billion budget for the coming fiscal year.

"I am an advocate of pruning any unnecessary spending from the Federal budget and I shall devote my efforts in the Senate to that cause. But at the same time, I believe that economies that would endanger our national security, as a drastic cutdown in the economic and technical assistance programs certainly would, are unwise economies to be avoided in the national interest.

* * * * *

"What then is needed and what should be the objective in the Congress? First, we need to step up our economic aid program from approximately $600 million a year to $2 billion a year. This would still be less than one-half of 1 percent of our gross national product.

"In this should be included sums for technical cooperation, both directly and through the United Nations; today our own technical assistance programs cost $135 million and our contributions to the U. N. program about $15.5 million a year. Not all this need be in grants, although in critical areas where we are spending 80 percent of our economic aid now, such as Korea, Formosa, Vietnam, Pakistan and Turkey, loans may prove difficult. However, loans may prove difficult. However, we can certainly make the ihcrease primarily in loans, long-term and at loan interest.

"Second, we need also to expand very materially the availability of personnel for overseas technical and economic assistance programs, and especially for the preliminary training for these individuals. For truly, these are among the finest soldiers for peace we have. In my recent trip around the world, I learned that it takes 18 months to orient an American properly in an economic aid job. And he stays for only 2 or 3 years. This preliminary training should be done in advance in the United States.

* * * * *

"Third, it should be our job to increase overseas private investment from the present level of just under $2 billion net per year to $5 billion a year within the next 10 years. To do this, we should give prompt consideration to an income tax program for the accelerated amortization of investments made in coordination with the foreign policy of the United States. And we should consider establishing a governmental medium for integrating the private sector of the American economy into the Nation's foreign policy.

"In order to place our foreign aid programs in their proper perspective, I believe it is vital to dispel certain myths about them.

"First, the myth that the programs represent such a huge expenditure that we would jeopardize some major domestic social and economic advances. The fact is that every dollar of aid abroad must return to the United States to be spent. The National Planning Association reports that since 1948 foreign aid programs have involved relatively small cost to the United States. For example, in the whole period since 1948, the aid programs, including military aid, amounted to 1.7 percent of our gross national product, and in the last year they have amounted to only 1 percent of our gross national product.

* * * * *

"The second myth is that other free nations who are capable of overseas assistance, are not doing their part. This is dispelled by a special study, just released, prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by a private research organization showing that

the Western European nations plus Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the Union of South Africa have spent about two-thirds as much in relation to their gross national product on foreign aid as has the United States.

"The third myth is that failures in a particular country damn the whole program. Certainly, there have been failures; for example in Iran. But the program is so great, involving 60 countries and 8,000 United States citizens employed directly and indirectly, plus 3,000 foreign nationals for clerical and housekeeping functions, how could some failures be avoided?

* * * * *

"But failures must be compared with the literal revolutions which such aid has caused. In India, aid has been heavily responsible for the community development program referred to there as the silent revolution. This program has reached 80 million rural people directly and before it is completed it will have reached all of the 500,000 villages in India with their population of over 250 million. In Latin America, the cooperative health program has affected more than 25 million with vast improvements, not only in health but in productivity. In the Asian arc, agricultural output has been brought up 10 percent over prewar levels, an absolutely vital need because increased population would otherwise have brought on widescale starvation.

"We in the United States cannot be either prosperous or secure in a world suffering from chronically depressed living standards. By way of contrast, the per capita annual income in India is $60; in Pakistan, $70; in Japan, $190; Brazil, $230; Peru, $120; in Lebanon, $260, with even less in other Middle East countries—all compared to our $1,870. The Fairless Committee, reporting just the other day, truly concluded that both military and economic aid programs have successfully countered Soviet expansion and should be continued.

* * * * *

"The situation is critical and the hour is late. The Communists are pressing their offensive upon free institutions all over the world. Military security, for which we are today spending 60 percent of our foreign-aid budget—for this fiscal year a total of $3,178,570 out of appropriations of $3,766,570,000—is only the shield. Behind this shield, we must integrate and develop a free world, give it hope, encouragement and progress, if we are to overcome successfully the constantly increasing Communist drive of infiltration and subversion."

Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 22, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, many of our State legislatures during their current annual and biennial sessions seriously considered, and in many cases spoke out for, repeal of the 10-percent Federal tax on transportation.

The Legislature of Washington was among that group. Our legislature unanimously adopted a memorial to this Congress, urging repeal of this tax, which was imposed in wartime.

Before the Washington Legislature took this action, our new Governor, the Honorable Albert D. Rosellini, expressed himself in favor of repealing this tax.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the statement made by Governor Rosellini, an editorial published by the Seattle Daily Times, and the memorial approved by the Washington Legislature.

There being no objection, the statement, editorial, and memorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OLYMPIA, February 16, 1957.—Gov. Albert D. Rosellini today commended the legislature on senate joint memorial No. 16, which urges Congress to abolish the 10-percent tax on transportation.

"The measure is a sound one and it is my hope that the legislature passes it and presents the memorial to Congress," the Governor said.

The memorial currently is before the transportation committee, which will set on it favorably it was predicted by Senator James Keefe, committee chairman, and one of the sponsors of the measure.

In urging the legislature to act favorably on the measure, Governor Rosellini said: "The 10-percent transportation tax was an emergency measure in wartime and one of its principal purposes was to discourage travel when all transportation was desperately needed for military uses. We all remember the signs in railway stations, 'Is this trip necessary?'

"Today the picture is entirely changed. People need to travel for business and pleasure. Both commerce and the tourist trade depend upon travel; indeed, our whole economy is based upon the free flow of people and goods.

"This 10-percent tax is particularly discriminatory against our own State of Washington, because we are in the northwestern corner of the Nation, freight charged from central and eastern points are highest to this State—the tax is consequently the largest for our people and for manufactured articles coming here.

"I believe that this memorial will bear weight with Congress, and will give our congressional delegation a tool to work with in fighting to eliminate this discriminatory tax against us."

[From the Seattle Times of February 17, 1957]

FEDERAL TRANSPORTATION TAX IS BOTH OUTMODED AND UNFAIR

One of the most flagrant illustrations of the maxim that a tax once imposed stays on the books forever is the unjust Federal transportation tax that was enacted by Congress as a war measure in 1941 and 1942.

This is the 3-percent tax on the transportation of freight and the 10-percent tax on passenger travel, originally levied for purposes of emeregncy war revenue and, in the case of the tax on passengers, to discourage civilian travel when transportation facilities were overburdened with troop and supply movements.

The freight transportation tax was enacted in 1942 as a 3-percent tax—4 percent on coal—and has remained at that level until the present time. The pasesnger tax, first enacted in 1941, then was a 5-percent tax. It was raised to 10 percent in 1942 and 15 percent in 1944. In 1954, it was reduced to the present rate of 10 percent. Both taxes are charged against users of American rail, air, bus, and truck transport carriers.

As a war measure, for purposes it was intended to fulfill, this tax was cheerfully accepted by the American public, as were many other wartime inconveniences. But it was not to be expected that this attitude would be continued indefinitely, long after the war emergency no longer exists. In the Pacific Northwest and other western sections of the country, the levy has become particularly objectionable.

This is partly because this region and all the west coast are far from principal centers of distribution of many commodities and far from eastern travel destinations. The long-haul shippers and long-distance travelers are required by this tax to make an entirely disproportionate and unjust contribution to Federal revenues. In this sense it is a highly discriminatory tax. It includes some absurdly discriminatory rates on air travel between Seattle and the cities of Alaska and between Seattle and Honolulu.

Across the northern section of the United States, moreover, it discriminates against American transportation lines to the profit of Canadian carriers. Passengers originating in Seattle, for example, can easily travel to Vancouver, B. C., and save considerable sums on fares on Canadian rail and air lines, escaping the transportation tax they would be required to pay here.

The Seattle Chamber of Commerce and the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce are taking the lead in their respective areas in efforts to have this Federal transportation tax repealed during the present session of Congress. It would be helpful if the Washington Legislature would join in this movement by memorializing Congress, urging that the tax be rescinded this year.

Senate Joint Memorial 16

To the Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, and to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled:

We, your memorialists, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Washington, in legislative session assembled, respectfully represent and petition as follows:

Whereas for the purpose of meeting wartime emergency necessity, the Congress of the United States enacted as excise taxes a levy upon the transportation of persons and property; and

Whereas one of the principal purposes of levying such tax upon the transportation of persons was to discourage unnecessary wartime travel; and

Whereas today, 12 years after the cessation of hostilities, there continues a 10-percent levy on the transportation of persons and a 3-percent levy on the transportation of property; and

Whereas it is the opinion of the Legislature of the State of Washington that excise taxes should not impose an unfair burden on the long distance shipper and the long distance traveler as does the present tax on the transportation of property and persons; and

Whereas it should be a principle of Federal taxation to levy taxes in such a manner as to prevent them from falling as an unequal burden on citizens residing in different areas of the country; and

Whereas the distances to, from, and within the West impose an unfair burden on the western traveler and shipper; and

Whereas the present transportation tax on property is unfairly burdensome upon the State of Washington as it adds what is in effect an additional tariff on the goods shipped from Washington to the eastern markets; and

Whereas the development and preservation of open markets leads to the efficient development and stimulation of the agricultural resources of the Nation; and

Whereas the State of Washington is particularly interested in preserving the eastern market as an open market in which the agricultural products of Washington may

compete freely without the hindrance of artificial barriers such as the present transportation tax; and

Whereas the State of Washingon is particularly interested in protecting and developing its vacation and tourist travel on an equal basis with other vacation travel areas; and

Whereas the transportation of both persons and property plays such a vital role in the economic life of this country to the extent that the costs of transportation should always be kept at the lowest possible level; and

Whereas transportation is in no sense a luxury but is a vital necessity and there is, therefore, sound reason for distinguishing between the transportation taxes and other excise taxes that are imposed upon luxury items; and

Whereas it is the opinion of the Legislature of the State of Washington that the best interest of the country and particularly the Western States, who are now discriminated against by the present transportation taxes, would be served by a repeal of those taxes; and

Whereas there is presently pending before the Congress of the United States legislation which would repeal the tax on transportation of property and which would repeal the tax on transportation of persons: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of Washington respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to enact into law such legislation or any other bill or bills which would accomplish the same purpose; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be hereby directed to transmit copies of this memorial to the President and Vice President of the United States and to each Senator and Representative from Washington in the Congress of the United States.

United States Has Moral Obligation To Reunite Families Kept Apart by Immigration Barriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 22, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement entitled "United States Has Moral Obligation To Reunite Families Kept Apart by Immigration Barriers," by Judge Juvenal Marchisio and Rev. Caesar Donanzan, national chairman and executive secretary, respectively, of the American Committee on Italian Migration. Parts of this statement appeared in the New York Times of March 18, 1957, and it clearly demonstrates the need for liberalization of our restrictive immigration laws.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES HAS MORAL OBLIGATION TO REUNITE FAMILIES KEPT APART BY IMMIGRATION BARRIERS, SAY MIGRATION GROUP OFFICIALS—RESTRICTIVE POLICY PLAYS INTO HANDS OF RED PROPAGANDISTS

The dramatic and pathetic plight of families separated and kept apart by American restrictive immigration laws was pointed up in a joint statement issued today by Judge Juvenal Marchisio and Rev. Caesar Donanzan, national chairman and executive secretary, respectively, of the American Committee on Italian Migration at the headquarters of the organization, 65 East 55th Street, New York. The committee is a member agency of the National Catholic Resettlement Council—NCWC. The statement reads as follows:

"The United States has a moral obligation to bring here as soon as possible the wives and minor children of those immigrants who came to this country, within the last 2 years, under the provisions of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. A total of 20,153 spouses and minor children were left in Italy and Greece alone (18,230 Italians and 1,923 Greeks) with the hope that they would join the 'breadwinner' within a short period of time.

"It is immoral and psychologically unsound to keep these families apart. It is also dangerous to our foreign policy since it adds another argument to the Communists' constant barrage of criticism of the restrictions in American immigration laws.

"The American Committee on Italian Migration which, through its 107 chapters from coast to coast, helped to implement the R. R. A. by obtaining the necessary job and housing assurances for the 60,000 Italians permitted to enter under the act, is besieged daily with many heart-rending appeals from the newly arrived immigrants. Many of them came here without their families because the sponsor could not accommodate the entire family and others because of the lack of means for transportation. They also came without the knowledge of the restrictions under the law that their wives and minor children could not join them for 5 or 6 years under the third preference category of the Immigration and Nationality Act (McCarran-Walter law.)

"The problem is aggravated by the fact that by the time the family is eligible to come here, many of the minor children will reach 21 years of age and thus be excluded from entry.

"We hope that Hon. FRANCIS WALTER, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration, who is aware of the problem and from whom we have received repeated assurances that special legislation to bring about the immediate reunion of these families 'is a must,' will initiate legislation that will remedy the situation.

"Moreover, the husbands and fathers who have been legally admitted were carefully screened by both Italian and American authorities in Italy before they were granted visas.

"We are confident that no Senator, Congressman, or other American would oppose the fruition of this vital objective, not only as it affects Italians and Greeks but also other nationality groups.

"The resolving of this problem is urgent and important. Another that begs solution is that of the 'pipeline' cases. These are the people whose applications for immigration to the United States under the Refugee Act were processed after exhaustive investigations and whose hopes were raised only to be dashed when the Refugee Relief Act quotas were filled and the barriers of immigration again clamped down for many years to come. These leftovers number 24,841 Italians, according to the United States State Department; for the Greeks it is 11,290; for the Netherlands, 377; Germany, 568. 'Pipeline' cases for escapees residing in NATO countries are as follows: France, 2,001; Great Britain, 1,556; Belgium, 1,601. (The Refugee Relief Act quota for escapees in the NATO countries number 10,000 plus 4,000 Anders Poles, most of whom are in Great Britain.) 'Pipeline' cases for the entire Far East number 16,429, and all others in the program 1,314, thus making a total of 59,977 for all cases.

"It is imperative that Congress give serious consideration to the effect of this frustration in the propaganda battle with the Communists.

"Finally we must realize that immigration is part and parcel of our foreign policy and not the exclusive domain of one or a small group of legislators who are relegated the power by which they can thwart the will of the people as reflected in last year's campaign platforms of both the Republican and Democratic Parties, which called for justice and equality in our immigration laws. Our leadership of the free world and our national interests are at stake when we supply the fuel that oils the propaganda machine of the Communists.

"The world will judge our good intentions and our good will by the dispatch with which we treat this moral problem of separated families."

The Adopt-a-Ship Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 22, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, as a glowing example of what young America can accomplish when its efforts are properly directed, I call attention to several programs staged recently by the sixth-grade pupils of one of our Washington State schools in connection with the adopt-a-ship plan to better publicize the doings of the American merchant marine.

The children involved are students at the Ahtanum Valley School, at Yakima, Wash., under the direction of their teacher, Mrs. Ella L. Ferris. A letter from Mrs. Ferris tells of the highly successful television program staged by them on March 1 over station KIMA–TV. The day before, they had put on a birthday celebration at the school to mark the natal day of Capt. Louis Nagel, of the S. S. *Expeditor*, of the American Export Lines, which is "their vessel," the one they have adopted.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter, and a newspaper clipping describing the party for Captain Nagel, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, because I believe that Senators will find them of interest, and because I am convinced that many other pupils in other States will thereby be inspired to take up this splendid work of public relations in behalf of American shipping and American seamen.

There being no objection, the letter and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WEST VALLEY PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Yakima, Wash., March 7, 1957.

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MAGNUSON: I am so happy to be able to report to you that our television broadcast was a huge success. We have had a wonderful response from many parts of the valley.

I cannot say enough in praise of Mr. James Nolan, of KIMA, and many others connected with the station. They exerted themselves to the 'nth degree to help us and said the most complimentary things in regard to our subject matter as well as the manner in which the children presented it.

I am enclosing a news account which I think will interest you. This celebration, in honor of Captain Nagel, was held the day before our TV program.

During the proceedings the class received a cablegram from their captain. It was from Salonica, Greece; and parents, as well as children, were really thrilled.

As a result of the class party and the television program, we have been asked to give three other programs on our Adopted Ship.

Without the most wonderful help from Captain Nagel, the public relations department of the American Export Lines, and the women's organization of the American Merchant Marine, none of this would be possible. The yreally go all the way to lend a helping hand.

Thank you again for your interest in my class activities.

Most sincerely,

MRS. ELLA L. FERRIS,
Sixth-Grade Teacher, Ahtanum Valley School.

AHTANUM STUDENTS HONOR MERCHANT MARINE CAPTAIN

(By Velma Baylor)

Captain Louis Nagel, of the United States merchant marine, is 55 today. At Ahtanum School, 33 well-wishers celebrated this important anniversary, because Captain Nagel is their captain, and they have been traveling with him for many months.

The well-wishers are members of Mrs. Earl Ferris' sixth grade class. As they cut a special birthday cake for Captain Nagel today and were surprised with his gift to them of a model of the Coast Guard ship, *Nantucket*, they knew that their captain was just heading out in the Atlantic after visiting many Mediterranean ports.

The captain's ship is the steamship *Expeditor*, of the American Export Lines. It is a question whether the Ahtanum students have adopted the captain and his ship or whether the captain has adopted them. Their classroom is full of mementoes of his trips. Colored postcards from Mediterranean ports are on display as are picturesque folders from Capri, Haifa, and the Holy Land.

FOLLOW COURSE

The students follow their ship's course on Atlantic and Mediterranean charts and on their school maps and globes. A large picture of the steamship *Expeditor* hangs at the front of the room. Near it are several smaller pictures of the ship, a picture and several snapshots of Captain Nagel.

Included in the classroom's marine decor are several model ships, including one just like the *Expeditor*.

His letters to the students are carefully kept and are referred to many times. In his latest letter, written February 19, he described the trip across the Atlantic. He wrote, "The weather inside the Mediterranean has been and still can be described as lovely considering what month it is. The air temperature has been between 55 and 65, with the water a steady 58 degrees, with light variable westerly airs and a smooth sea. * * * We passed Capte Tenes on the north African coast, and have been running within 3–5 miles off the coast to obtain what favorable easterly running current there may be. We will run as far as Cape de Fer and then haul up for Ras Engela."

VALLEY SCRAPBOOK

The students assembled a scrapbook to send to Captain Nagel. He is interested in Indian lore, and has been following the story of the Fort Simcoe restoration with a great deal of interest.

"On the way over I finally had the opportunity and the time to sit down and enjoy the Album," he wrote about the scrapbook, "I really enjoyed reading all the articles about the Indians and also those about the restoration of the fort. The various snapshots, paintings, prints, and all, made the articles that much more interesting. Thanks. I surely would like to see the country about Yakima and possibly one of these days we will get out that way."

He closed his letter with, "This is all for now. Have a sled ride for me and the fishermen in the class will kindly catch a few and remember me while they are eating them. The trappers need not bother with that angle."

VARIED CARGO

The *Expeditor's* cargo for this trip included everything from "chewing gum to farm machinery," Captain Nagel wrote in an earlier letter. In the cargo were 3,000 tons of wheat for Greece.

On a former journey the ship returned to the United States with 3,000 tons of Turkish tobacco for American manufacturers. On one notable trip the ship carried 1,000 tons of birdseed.

When the ship sails from New York Harbor, it has 12,000 barrels of oil aboard for fuel. Daily consumption is 270 barrels.

The class read about the merchant-marine-sponsored program for adopting ships in a current events paper last year. It is one of 270 classes in the United States taking part in the program now, and there is a long waiting list of classes.

BIRTHDAY PRESENT

Tom Akehurst, 12, and Wayne Clasen, 11, prepared a puppet Captain Nagel, that will be the class birthday present to him. They referred to his pictures in making the uniform, but had to check with the Yakima Navy recruiting office for advice on final touches.

Captain Nagel's home is in New Jersey. He is married but has no children of his own. He calls the Ahtanum students his crew and they elect ship's officers from their class.

Captain Nagel has become an important individual in the lives of 33 Ahtanum youngsters. Since he is practically "one of the family," the parents of the sixth-grade students also were present for his birthday party today. It was a wonderful party. The room was jammed and everyone was enthusiastic with happy birthday wishes for the captain.

It is rumored that some of the sixth graders are a bit reluctant to pass and leave their captain and their ship. On the other hand considerable rivalry is developing among fifth graders who are vieing for a berth in Mrs. Ferris' room next year.

On the playground one day this week, a little second grader sidled up to Mrs. Ferris and asked, "Will you still have your captain and your ship when I get to the sixth grade?"

The Education of Our Talented Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 22, 1957

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, oftentimes in our study of America's educational needs, we tend to concentrate our attention upon the handicapped, and tend to neglect the talented youth. Such lack of foresight can only result in a loss to our Nation.

One of our finest scientific and military spokesmen, Rear Adm. H. G. Rickover, has noted the dubious results which neglect of our talented youth—which he terms "our presently most neglected natural resource"—can accomplish. Turning over this problem in his mind, he has come up with specific suggestions for solution of the problem. Some of these he incorporated in an address entitled "The Education of Our Talented Children," delivered recently before the Thomas Alva Edison Foundation.

I believe Admiral Rickover's statements should be before every Member of the Congress. I have submitted the address to the Public Printer, at the Government Printing Office; and it is estimated its reproduction cost in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will be $385.

Notwithstanding this estimate of the cost of printing it, I ask unanimous consent that this timely address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE EDUCATION OF OUR TALENTED CHILDREN

(Remarks by Rear Adm. H. G. Rickover, U. S. Navy, Chief, Naval Reactors Branch, Division of Reactor Development, U. S. Atomic Energy Commission, and Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Ships for Nuclear Propulsion, at a luncheon sponsored by the Thomas Alva Edison Foundation, Inc., Hotel Suburban, East Orange, N. J., November 20, 1956)

It was my privilege to speak last year in this same hall on engineering and scientific education. I stated then that the United States is faced with a crisis in education and that, unless it is dealt with promptly and effectively, the machinery which sustains our level of material prosperity will begin to slow down, endangering not only our standard of living but also our position in the world.

Today I will discuss one specific aspect of this problem: our failure to identify and develop our talented youth, and the loss to the Nation which results from this waste of our most precious national asset.

Two recent developments have abruptly lifted this problem out of the academic atmosphere of leisurely debate among the experts in the field of education and thrust it upon the consciousness of the whole American people, and with an urgency demanding immediate and drastic action. These developments are: First, the sudden, if belated, awareness of an alarming shortage of trained manpower in this country; and, second, the emergence of a new mass producer of trained men and women in science, engineering, and the professions—Russia.

With regard to our deficiency in trained manpower: This has been known to leaders in education, government, and industry for some time, even if the general public has been slow to perceive it. But only in the last few years have we begun to see that our trained manpower shortage is the inevitable consequence of a long-term trend in American education which must be halted if we wish to retain our technological lead. To put it bluntly, our schools do not perform their primary purpose which is to train the Nation's brainpower to the highest potential.

One half of our children who are endowed with the ability to enter college and university do not do so. For every high-school graduate who eventually earns a doctoral degree there are 25 others who have the mental capacity to achieve that degree, but do not. If our schools had succeeded in inspir-

ing a love of learning in these children they would have become professional men and women and we would not be faced today with a deficiency of trained manpower. Lack of funds is only partly responsible for this irreplaceable loss. Had there been proper motivation, nearly all of these young people could have found ways and means to obtain a professional education.

This is a serious indictment of our schools, but it would be most unfair to place the blame on our harassed teachers and school officials. Inadequate staffs of underpaid and overworked teachers must cope with a tidal wave of children which threatens to overwhelm our crowded schools. No, the blame rests squarely upon us all.

The sort of schools a community has depends entirely upon what the community thinks of education and what the community is willing to pay for it.

If we do not realize that the education of our children is our most important task; if we are more concerned with their clothes or with their recreation and entertainment than with the training of their minds, then we need not be surprised that our schools do not produce either an adequately educated citizenry or a sufficiently large and competent corps of professional men and women to maintain our culture and civilization.

As of today, the American people seem to feel that education is worth no more to them than about half what they are paying for recreation, that is about 4 percent of the national income.

I need not elaborate to this audience on our crucial shortage in trained manpower. I refer you to the ample data presented by leading experts from industry, government, and the sciences before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of the Congress of the United States during hearings in April and May 1958 concerning the shortage of scientific and engineering manpower.

Commenting on this problem, the committee remarked that it was a shocking indictment of America's indifference toward one of the most serious problems facing this Nation and that it paints a graphic picture of what America stands to lose in future years if we do not immediately initiate vigorous corrective measures.

Every American has a legitimate concern with our educational system. Our children are the Nation's hostages to the future. Both as parents and as citizens we have no more important job than to insure that they are given the very best education they are capable of absorbing. And never has this been more important than today when we are in danger of being outstripped in technological developments by Russia.

In recent years distressing intelligence has reached us that Russia has created a formidable educational system which bids fair to outproduce us in trained personnel. They may even beat us to the goal of becoming the first nation to give every child the opportunity of advancing upward on the educational ladder to the very topmost rung—provided he has the intelligence and applies himself—with tuition, books, room, and board entirely provided by the state.

It would be unwise to dismiss as empty boasting Krushchev's remark that Russia will soon have more scientists and engineers than we. She is already training more than her economy presently needs while we are training fewer. Unless we take drastic steps to reverse this trend she will catch up with us and eventually surpass us. The Russian aim is to achieve world scientific and engineering supremacy.

Someone has aptly called this the cold war of the classrooms.

In this grim competition with the Communist world, the choice of methods is unfortunately theirs—whether to wage real war or to continue the present cold war where each side tries to gain strength by winning the support of the uncommitted nations.

Most of these nations are newly independent and technically backward. They are determined to achieve technological equality with the West at the earliest possible moment. Trained manpower has become a weapon in this cold war since it determines how much technical aid each side can offer. Russia will soon have a surplus of trained manpower which she can export. We have a shortage. Can we allow Russia to outdo us in aiding the neutrals? Can we let her become big brother to all the backward countries of the world?

No matter what methods are chosen in the duel between the Communist and the free world, education will, in the final analysis, determine the outcome, particularly the education of talented youth.

It is therefore most unfortunate that our social mores are hostile to the concept that children of superior mentality ought to receive special consideration at tax-supported schools. The very thought of recognizing differences in intellectual ability is repugnant to our equalitarian philosophy.

In our democratic society we are committed to the basic assumption that there is no person who can claim to be an indispensable man. We proceed from this entirely correct assumption to the incorrect conclusion that neither does a democracy have indispensable men. This is obviously erroneous. A moment's reflection will show that no society can function without its indispensable men. By this I mean the men who because of natural endowment and careful training possess the intellectual, artistic, and moral abilities to carry forward the momentum of civilization and to build upon its existing foundations.

It has been estimated that the efforts of a mere 1 percent of the total population move the world forward. This small group is indispensable to the maintenance and advancement of our civilization.

There is never an abundance of indispensable men. In primitive handicraft societies a handful suffices; more are needed in civilized societies. No nation has ever had too many indispensable men.

The more complex a society becomes, the larger proportionately is the number of intelligent, highly trained men needed for its proper functioning. They are the men who provide leadership in government, industry, and labor; the men who think creatively, who invent, who push the boundaries of knowledge outward; the men who enrich life through their moral leadership or artistic gifts—all of the competent people who manage our complex technological civilization. They are all indispensable to our society. We must keep their ranks replenished by the inflow of properly trained youth of superior mental ability if we are to progress in the future as we have in the past.

A few figures will illustrate the proportionately greater number of trained men needed in a technologically expanding society.

It is estimated, for example, that a 3 percent annual increase in our gross national product will require a 4½ to 5½ percent annual increase in scientific and engineering manpower. Or, to put it differently, in the last 20 years our population has increased by 35 percent, but the number of scientists has increased by 450 percent, and engineers by 225 percent. Yet even this tremendous increase leaves us seriously short. Fifty years ago we needed 1 engineer for every 1,000 workers; today the proportion is 1 engineer for 65 workers, and in some industries it is already 1 for every 20 workers.

Every advance in any given field of knowledge leads to greater specialization; each specialized field in turn requires a new army of people trained for it specifically. Today, technological progress is limited only by availability of trained professionals, and this, in turn, depends on but two factors: Incidence of superior brain power—over which we have little, if any, control; and development of available talent—here we can do much.

Who then are these talented youth, and what provisions are we making for their intellectual training?

There is no general agreement on the definition of the term "talented." Sometimes it is applied to only the top 1½ to 2 percent of our children—those with an I. Q. of 135 and above. At other times it is given wider application to take in all who are above the average of high-school graduates, i. e., 110 I. Q. and over.

A few figures may help to give perspective. The average intelligence of the total population has been arbitrarily set at 100 on this basis, those who enter high school average 105; those who graduate from high school 110; those who enter college 115; and college graduates 120. Generalized classifications such as these tend to be arbitrary, and I. Q. tests are not infallible. Moreover, they leave out of consideration differences in character and in will power. A lazy child with a high I. Q. may well be outstripped at school and later on in life by a child with a lower I. Q. but with drive and motivation.

However, for a rough approximation of the percentage of children with sufficient mental capacity to absorb training for a professional career let us take the figure of 15–20 percent; which includes those having an IQ of 115 and over. This incidentally is also the percentage of children who in Europe are able to pass the examinations for entrance to academic secondary schools. I shall henceforth use the term "talented" for the top 15–20 percent of our children and "brilliant" for the top 1½ to 2 percent.

Very little is done in our schools to seek out and identify this top 15–20 percent of our children. With few exceptions they are being taught along with the 80 percent of average and below average mentality. Up to age 12, the curriculum for all children is the same. In junior and senior high schools a basic core of the curriculum remains obligatory for all, and this is taught in classes which are attended by the whole range from below average to brilliant children. This is so except in some few large high schools where attempts have been made to set up different sections for children having different degrees of ability and achievement. The length of schooling is the same for all children, with some very few instances where talented children are allowed to skip a grade or two.

Now, there is ample evidence that in any class which includes slow and fast learners, the slowest group sets the pace and receives most attention from the teachers. The above average child is kept from advancing at the speed appropriate to his ability, with the result that many lose interest in learning as such, others develop sloppy habits, and some build up a false sense of superiority which convinces them that they are so smart that they will never need to apply themselves to anything. The deadly routine sets in on these young and malleable minds.

Talented children whose minds are not challenged become frustrated and often turn into poor pupils from sheer boredom. Mental muscles become flabby if the child's mind is not constantly being strained to the utmost. The mind is no different than any other part of the body. It deteriorates when it isn't used for its proper purpose—to think.

As is often the case, where there is community pressure not to fail the poor student, advancement into the next higher grade becomes virtually automatic. This tends to convince the slow learners and lazy pupils that they can get by without working. Talented children may well resent having to work harder for no tangible reward. All children

need incentives to keep up the learning process. Therefore, the practice which is to be found in many schools of never giving A's, or of grading the child only as against his own past performance, or of limiting report-card comments to satisfactory, and needs improvement, is a particularly unfortunate concession to a dubious tenderness for the sensibilities of those parents whose children show neither ability nor a desire to learn.

In addition to the common core of obligatory courses, our high schools offer a wide choice of elective subjects from which each child may pick those he prefers. Among the electives there are the tough academic subjects which constitute the college preparatory program—methematics, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, physics, chemistry, biology, foreign languages; there are the vocational subjects which make much less demand on the intellect or willpower since little homework is required—domestic sciences for the girls, and various trade skills for the boys; finally there are the subjects of a recreational nature—square dancing comes to mind—or those which in a vague sort of way aim to train children in cooperative and mutually helpful living—courses in social manners, life adjustment, the art of makeup, and how to attract the opposite sex.

All except the academic subjects are of the kind which we might term know-how. That is, they have nothing to do with the school's primary task which is to teach young minds to think and to train them in the elementary tools of learning. This is a task which can be performed only by the school. Vocational, recreational, or life-adjustment training can be and should be obtained elsewhere. Our teacher shortage would be greatly lessened if we relieved them of all responsibilities except those of teaching the minds of children and developing their bodies through physical training.

This may sound strange to us, accustomed as we are to the intermingling in our schools of academic and vocational training, and to the great emphasis given to social activities. But we are the only country where schools are part social institutions; everywhere else children receive academic training in general schools, and vocational training in special vocational schools or through on-the-job training programs combined with general education at special secondary schools.

Nowhere else in the world are curricula in secondary schools so largely elective as in America. Very few children have so earnest a love of learning—such intellectual fortitude as to pass up the chance to coast through school on the easy subjects. Unless they are wisely guided by their parents and teachers, they will tend to choose the easiest and most pleasant school subjects.

It is the children from the better homes where entrance into college is taken for granted who take the college preparatory course at high school. But the talented children who come from poor homes often lack the parental example and urging to take this more difficult course. Classes are too large and teachers too burdened with extraneous responsibilities heaped upon them by the community to have time for the kind of counseling which discovers the talented children from poor homes and encourages them to take the tougher courses.

In nearly all respects the mentally superior child is less adequately served at school—taking into account its special requirements—than the average or, for that matter, the physically or mentally handicapped child. I realize, of course, that we must and should make special provision for unfortunate children. Our hearts are here involved and it is to the credit of our people that they will readily abandon such cherished principles as equal education for all to answer the call of compassion. Yet why should we show less compassion for the mentally superior child whose fine abilities are being left untended? Oddly revealing of American thinking is the fact that the term "exceptional child" conjures up to most educators not the talented child but the handicapped one. Books and magazines dealing with exceptional children seldom give more than perhaps 1 percent or so of space to the needs of the talented child.

It is true that of late the needs of our talented children have won some recognition. But so far such recognition has been confined to a small segment of the population. Not yet won is the mass support necessary to bring about truly effective measures by legislative bodies, from which must come the necessary regulations and financial contributions to upgrade the schooling of talented youth. We are still in the early stages of isolated studies, tentative experiments in a few localities, and long-drawn arguments pro and con. More important, American public thinking has not yet connected shortages of trained manpower with inadequate provision for the proper education of the talented. Nor are we sufficiently aware that, in the final analysis, our cherished American standard of living is largely dependent on the work of a very small group of skilled professionals.

In part this is a consequence of a curious inconsistency in our attitude toward science as against scientists and scholars. We admire science greatly and we place in it an almost childlike trust; we expect it will continuously pour out delightful wonders to make our lives ever more agreeable. But upon scientists and scholars many of us look with a somewhat jaundiced eye; we call them "eggheads" and "intellectuals"; we do not consider them to be entirely normal persons. In truth, we have no real admiration for higher learning as such, nor are we willing to respect those engaged in it unless we see an immediate practical advantage to ourselves in their work. Most Americans dislike the very idea that people are unequal in intellectual capability, though they are ready enough to recognize inequality of natural endowment in other respects. This ambivalence is our attitude toward the mentally superior is surprising when we compare it with the generous applause we lavish on superior talent in athletics or in the arts, on superior beauty, or on superior business acumen.

However, as I mentioned, a beginning has been made toward the understanding of mentally superior children. The talented child has been put under the microscope; it has been studied, measured, and observed. Our knowledge of its capacities and needs has been somewhat increased. For example, Professor Terman's studies with a group of youngsters having I. Q.'s of 135 and above verify certain factors long suspected by those dealing with talented children. They are usually as superior physically as they are mentally. The comforting folk myth that if they have brains they are undersize or spindly ought now to be discarded together with black cats and knocking on wood. Usually, talented children are more cheerful and emotionally more stable than others. This is so, of course, unless their intellectual progress has been too severely hampered, in which case frustration may bring about boredom and irritability, thereby upsetting their emotional equilibrium. Possibly adjustment to the age group is more than one can expect of a child who is several years ahead of it mentally.

Even with the inadequate provisions for their specific educational needs, Terman's group of 1,000 brilliant children did remarkably well. As compared with average high-school graduates, 10 times as many went to college and on to postgraduate work; 16 times as many made Phi Beta Kappa; 20 times as many became lawyers or physicians; and over 60 times as many had either taken a doctor of philosophy degree or were well on the way toward achieving it.

Although not all talented children are academically inclined, enough of them do so well at institutions of higher learning that the spending of public funds for the better education of all talented youth is an exceedingly good investment for the Nation as a whole, and would do much to relieve our national deficit in trained professionals.

However, few concrete measures have, as yet, been taken to improve the educational program of talented youth. Most of these programs are, in my opinion, quite inadequate for two reasons:

First, they deal only with the brilliant child of 135 I. Q. and over, leaving untouched the needs of the far larger group of talented children, those having an I. Q. between 115 and 135.

Second, they are not bold enough because they seek solutions within our existing all-inclusive school system. Usually, they offer merely "enrichment" or "individual acceleration"—poor substitutes for the carefully thought-out program needed by talented youth.

It is my impression gained from reading about "enrichment" courses that, to an extent, they are being used by teachers, turned amateur psychologists, to try out their psychological theories and techniques on the gifted children. In effect, "enrichment" too often becomes no more than a sort of "make work" or "make study" project to keep the smart children occupied and out of mischief.

"Individual acceleration" or "skipping" is the other means we use today to take care of the talented child. But, because our schools are partly social institutions, the child who has skipped a grade may feel a little out of things. This disadvantage is usually temporary, however, and is outweighed by the advantage of greater intellectual challenge. Even at best, the child who skips misses part of the curriculum and still does not find the challenge to his mind that would be given him by being in class with equally talented children; though older, his new classmates are still slow learners.

That talented children need less time to master a given course of study than the average pupil is evident; how much less may come as a surprise. Dr. Hollingworth found that children with an I. Q. of 135-plus were able to complete the requirements of the curriculum prescribed for the public schools of New York City in from one-quarter to one-half the time needed by average pupils. The Terman study found that most of the gifted children would have been 2 to 3 years further along in their schooling if they had been properly placed.

Experiments in a few large cities—Chicago, New York, and Baltimore come to mind—where talented children are being taught in special schools, proved that 1 year could easily be cut from the high school course. Other experiments have been made through collaboration between groups of colleges and public high schools whereby selected high school students were admitted to college at the end of the 10th or 11th grade. Still other experiments made arrangements for high school students to take a special course during the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades which prepares them for entrance directly into the sophomore year at college. A group of 3 private colleges and 3 private preparatory schools has also studied the possibility of reducing the time spent in high school and college by 1 year and have found this to be feasible.

These experiments have also indicated that talented children should be taught separately, preferably in separate schools or, if this is not possible, in separate classes.

Such treatment of the talented would merely give belated recognition to their spe-

cial educational needs, long after the needs of the average and below average, as well as of the physically handicapped, have been taken care of. It is well to remember that the transformation of the traditionally academic American high school into a combination college preparatory, vocational, and social institution came about in response to the demand for schooling of a type more appropriate to the majority of children—those who could not or did not want to take academic courses but whose parents nevertheless wished them to attend high school. As nonacademic, know-how subjects wormed themselves into the curriculum, the high school became less and less able to give proper attention to the special educational needs of the minority of children whose superior intellect could find no challenge in downgraded curricula. This is particularly true in small communities where the college preparatory program of the high school is apt to be curtailed whenever shortages of school funds or teachers occur, as at present.

Almost half our high schools teach no foreign languages—and this at a time when our foreign commitments call for a large corps of trained men and women with linguistic as well as professional ability. Almost a quarter of the high schools offer no physics, chemistry, or geometry—and this at a time when a grounding in science becomes more and more important for everyone, including those not in academic careers.

As a matter of fact, I seriously question whether substitution of know-how subjects for academic subjects benefits even those children who do not intend to follow academic careers. A great deal of this high-school training in know-how is wasted because obsolete methods, equipment, and instruction are used. Such training is primarily the job of industry and can be done much better and in considerably less time in a factory than in a high school. Education is not a process for transmitting techniques.

Today, every citizen needs the tools of thinking, the three R's—reading, writing, and arithmetic—and such general knowledge of history, civics, and literature as will make the world we live in understandable. In our technical civilization, manual and white collar workers, tradesmen and merchants—in short, everyone needs as much general education as he can possibly be coaxed to absorb. It isn't doing our children any favor to spare them all mental effort by making school too easy and too pleasant, and to substitute know-how subjects of doubtful value for mental training.

Eliminating know-how subjects from the high-school curriculum and requiring all students to take more academic ones does not solve the problem of our talented children. It is high time that we recognize their right even if they are a minority, to schooling appropriate to their needs. For the last 50 years we have, in the name of educational democracy, tried to make one common school serve all children instead of finding the appropriate school for the two main groups of children, the majority who plan on nonacademic careers, and the minority who plan for college and university. We must reverse this unfortunate trend in American education.

If I may digress here for a moment, let me remind you of the separate purposes and traditions of academic and nonacademic schooling.

It was Socrates who said that "knowledge is virtue." Though there have been regrettable lapses, western civilization has never completely lost sight of this truism. The Greeks, alone of all the nations of the ancient world, placed knowledge and the power of thought above all other pursuits as being the most worthy of a civilized man and a civilized state. We are indebted to them for that marvelous pedagogical invention—the liberal arts curriculum—which has never been surpassed for training the young to think, to use their brains in solving particular problems, and for providing a broad basis of general knowledge upon which specialized training could later safely be superimposed. We are rediscovering that a professional man needs the foundation of a liberal arts education in order to use his specialized training wisely. The man who is highly trained in only one field of knowledge and illiterate in all others can be a positive danger to society.

Rome went to school in Greece, and so Greek ideas on education spread throughout Europe. When Rome fell, Europe was more literate, it had more books, libraries, and schools than at any time during the next thousand years. Only a dim flicker of learning was kept alive by the church. From this and from the knowledge of the ancient world which had been preserved in Arab schools and was transmitted westward during the Crusades, Europe rebuilt its education. In the 12th century universities made their appearance and soon spread all over Europe—there were 108 by the year 1600. Latin was the language of the church, and since churchmen made up the faculties of medieval universities, Latin was the language which every person had to learn to enter a university to study for a professional career.

To this end, so-called Latin schools were founded in which youngsters were given a classical education preparatory to enrollment in the university. Sometimes these schools were attached to a cathedral, sometimes they were set up by private endowment, or founded by kings as charitable institutions for children of poor or deceased courtiers. These Latin schools, or grammar schools, as they are still called in England, are the forerunners of European—and of early American—secondary schools. Although the brilliant child of poor parents was seldom barred from these schools and scholarships were always available, the secondary schools were used for the most part by children from well-to-do homes.

Alongside this education for children destined for political leadership or for professional careers, there developed an entirely separate system of education for the common people. In the late middle ages, cities rose to power and wealth. Their craftsmen and merchants found that elementary knowledge—the three "R's"—was of practical use to them. They therefore founded schools where their children could be taught these subjects. Since these children were not intended for the universities, Latin was not needed, and the schools therefore taught in the vernacular. These schools later became the elementary schools and were eventually taken over by the State. elementary education originally lasted for 3 years but was gradually extended to 8 years as technological progress raised the standards of general knowledge and the primary skills required—even of persons in nonacademic careers. For these and humanitarian reasons child labor was ultimately outlawed and the compulsory school age progressively extended. In the United States, as in most of Europe, this is now age 16.

As a result of the rise of labor to political power and a general movement toward greater democracy, European schools have lost much of their class character. In England public secondary schools of all types are now free of charge, and some three-fourths of the undergraduates, even at Oxford and Cambridge, receive financial assistance from the Government. In continental Europe, elementary education has been both free and compulsory for more than 150 years. Secondary education has been a state enterprise for almost as long, and school fees have always been moderate—in addition, scholarships have been available for the gifted poor. Secondary school fees have now largely been abolished or scaled to fit the financial resources of the parents. Even universities have become free in some countries and are inexpensive everywhere on the Continent.

But while the educational ladder has been opened throughout Europe, the separation of the two educational tracks has been retained. At 10 or 11, if they can pass the entrance examinations for academic secondary schools, children may enter the upper track—about 15 percent achieve this. The remainder enter one of several other types of secondary schools, depending on whether they seek a general education not as demanding as that of the academic secondary schools, or whether they seek immediate training for their future careers. In this latter case they enter a commercial or trade school which gives some general education but with the emphasis on vocational training.

The upper track secondary schools carry the student up to 18 or 19, at which age he is considered to have received sufficient liberal arts or general education to permit immediate study for a profesisonal career at institutions of university rank. Most of the liberal arts education given in our liberal arts colleges has been absorbed into the curriculum of the European academic secondary schools; the remainder has been incorporated into the faculties of philosophy of the universities. England has a 3-year college course but it is far more centered on the student's special professional interest than is customary in our colleges.

In general, the European student is ready to begin his specialized professional studies from 2 to 3 years before his American counterpart. This is due to the early separation, in Europe, of talented children into schools which they attend for a period of 8 or 9 years. This long stay in a single school allows for a carefully planned curriculum in which subject follows subject in logical sequence—no choice is left to the pupil except at the outset when he may choose among three types of academic secondary schools—classical; modern, with emphasis on the sciences; and the third type which combines parts of both.

European children go to school 6 days a week; their school day is longer, and school vacations are shorter than here. Frequent examinations weed out the incompetent or the lazy. This rigorous intellectual discipline result in a reduction of 2 to 3 years in the time needed to educate the professional man.

Allowing for the limits set by Marxist dogma, Russian schools resemble those of Europe. This, in part, explains why they are producing more men and women of professional caliber than we do. Since the government is all-powerful, it can exert more pressure on children to spur them on to maximum efforts than is possible in democratic countries; teacher shortages can be overcome by ordering people into the teaching profession regardless of their wishes; building materials can be diverted from housing desired by the people to buildings deemed more useful to the state—such as schools, laboratories, libraries, universities. Obviously a totalitarian government, once it decides to set up a formidable educational program, can do so more quickly and easily than a democracy. For these reasons it is all the more necessary that we upgrade our schools without delay.

What concerns me most about the Russian school program is not the coercive element which speeds totalitarian programs, but the solid evidence that Russia has found a way to inspire in her children the desire to put forth their utmost mental efforts; and that she has done this through what we think of as capitalist incentives. A Russian child works hard and examinations are tough. But ahead looms a professional career which is highly attractive, combining excellent salary with much honor, prestige,

and respect. Teachers, for example, are well paid and highly regarded. Children are imbued with a love of intellectual adventure through books in which the hero is a scientist or engineer who does valiant deeds that will benefit the country—not, as in so many of our books, and even more on radio and television, a cowboy or space cadet. I doubt whether you could find a counterpart in Russia of the 100 American high school pupils who were recently queried on why they did not take mathematics and science courses. Their answers reflected disdain for scientists who were described as "squares," "long-hairs," and "little men with beards" working in musty laboratories. These youngsters were not interested in scientific or engineering careers because they regarded them as financially unrewarding as well as being too difficult and time consuming.

A hundred years ago, Americans could be proud that we were the first country in the world to promote free secondary school education for all children. However, today free secondary school education has been achieved or is well on the way to being achieved in all of Europe. But where we have lowered our secondary school curriculum to accommodate all children, Europe has maintained the high standing of its academic secondary schools and has provided special secondary vocational and trade schools for those unable to absorb academic training.

I have seen it boasted that 83 percent of our children of high-school age attend high school and that 55 percent graduate. These figures lose their force when we realize that many of these graduates have had no more of an education than European youngsters who attend the lower track secondary schools.

I was interested to read in the Clearing House, a journal for high-school teachers, that in our teacher-exchange program with England, our high-school teachers exchange places with teachers in the lower secondary English schools and not with those that prepare for college. This is perhaps an indication of how the secondary school systems of the two countries compare.

Our high schools may excel in turning out pleasant and attractive youngsters, but their heterogeneous character makes them poor institutions for training the talented.

When the great inflow into our high schools began after the First World War, some 80 percent of the students were found incapable of absorbing the academic subjects being taught. Community pressure and political expediency forced the schools to downgrade the curriculum. Now that the great inflow into the colleges is about to begin, something similar may well happen there. Already we have a number of colleges which are hardly better than secondary schools. Already we have State universities which are required by law to admit all high-school graduates from the home State, or all those with a C average—obviously not college material. This shows up in their fantastic first-year failures—in some instances 40 percent fail at the end of freshman year. One might compare this with the 2-percent first-year failures at Ivy League colleges where students have been carefully screened for scholastic aptitude. Requiring State colleges to admit students unable to do college work is a waste of tax money which could be used to better advantage on higher salaries to obtain better teachers.

But even worse than wasting expensive schooling on children who are neither able nor want to absorb it, is the damage done to our talented youth who are forced to waste 2 or 3 important years of their lives in omnibus schools unless their parents are rich enough to send them to private college preparatory schools. We shall not do justice to our talented youth until we seek them out at an early age—no later than 10 or 11—and educate them separately from the rest of the children. This need not necessarily be in a separate school; it could be in a college preparatory section of the school. But this separate schooling must begin earlier than junior high school. It should start after the fourth grade or, at the latest, the fifth grade. The schooling must be purely academic, and the teachers must have professional competence in the subjects they teach. Admission as well as advancement into each higher grade should be by examination. If possible, the school year should be extended to 210 days. There is no other country of comparable civilization where children go to school for only 180 days as they do here. This may have made sense when we were an agricultural country and children were needed to help on the farm. But our long vacations make no sense today, especially when we consider how rapidly knowledge is increasing and how much more a child must now learn to become truly educated. The more we know, the more there is to know.

We need to set ourselves the goal of making it possible for all children who have the will and the capacity to complete their general education in 14 years, or by the time they are 20. Fourteen years is a long enough time to provide a good liberal arts grounding. Professional postgraduate study ought not to begin later than the age of 20, and brilliant children should be permitted to begin a year or so sooner.

The undue length of professional education in America is a significant element in our trained manpower deficit. Today, the American professional man will complete his education when he is between 25 and 26, and for most there will have to be added two additional years of military service before they can become self-supporting. All of this becomes particularly onerous in the United States where early marriage is part of our social pattern. Surely, we must do all we can to allow our talented youth to move through their schooling at their own rate of progress and not retard them by the pace of the average or the slow learner.

I am aware that any change in the American public school system will meet opposition. Special schooling for the mentally superior will be branded a "undemocratic" and as "class" education. It will be considered "unfair" to give the talented child education superior to that offered the average. It will be said that the separation of children according to mental capacity will deny them valuable experience in living together with other children of varied background and ability, and that this constitutes an important ingredient in the smooth functioning of American democracy—so it will be said. None of these objections, however, bear critical examination.

It would, indeed, be "undemocratic" to propose a cleavage along class lines, but not one along the lines of natural ability, which hardly anyone will claim is limited to the children coming from better homes. It is, however, often forgotten that we already have just such a separation along class lines in large American cities where schools draw their pupils from a particular neighborhood rather than from the whole population, as is the case in smaller towns. Neighborhoods in America are usually homogenous, at least as far as the finances of families are concerned. Parents in better class neighborhoods generally succeed in obtaining better schools for their children. Finally, we must not forget that well-to-do parents always have it in their power to assure their children a good education by sending them to private preparatory schools. But the talanted poor child must depend solely on the public school. Education in a democracy must not only be democratic, it must also be education.

Education is not a commodity such as a house, a television set, or an automobile. Everyone can use and enjoy a house, a TV set, or a car; it would, indeed, be unfair if the State distributed these commodities free of charge but limited them to only part of the population. The ability to use and enjoy academic training, on the other hand, is not universal; therefore, to limit it to those who can benefit from it is not unfair; but to deny it to the minority who can use and derive benefit from academic training is both unfair and undemocratic, as well as a waste of our most valuable national asset.

Finally, as to the objection that experiences valuable for democratic living will be lost if the talented are separated, this again would be true only if all the talented came from the same type of home. As long as pupils in all public schools, including those giving college-preparatory courses, are drawn from the whole population and all are given the same opportunity to advance in accordance with their ability, the social values of learning to live together with children of varying backgrounds will still be preserved.

In considering ways to improve our schools, we must recognize that no institution is so hallowed by age or tradition that it ought to be exempt from periodic examination and appraisal in terms of whether it accomplishes the goals for which it was established; in particular, whether it is adjusting itself to the realities of a rapidly changing world. Measured by these tests, the American school system must be judged to need a thorough overhaul. Now that ours is no longer the only school system with an open educational ladder, the time has come when we should subject it to a searching comparison with school systems in England and on the Continent of Europe. It should be easy to obtain from foreign-school authorities such information as:

1. The subjects taught in the several types of secondary schools, with data on the number of class periods and length of class periods devoted to each subject.

2. The extent to which mastery in each subject is achieved, as measured by examinations at the end of each period of schooling.

3. School fees, if any, and scholarships granted to poor children.

4. Requirements for entrance into different types of secondary schools and universities, with samples of examinations required to obtain the school leaving certificates which are required for study at a European university.

5. Extent to which such certificates are given credit in foreign universities.

6. Extent to which courses taken in the university of one European country are given credit by other European universities.

7. Scholastic requirements demanded of American students wishing to enroll at European universities.

In addition, school textbooks could easily be obtained for comparison with those used in American public schools.

We need not slavishly copy the schools of other countries; neither should we succumb to the happiness of ignorance. In studying their ways of educating the young, we may discover valuable ideas. To these we could add the experiences of those American secondary schools that have already instituted special accelerated courses for the talented. On the basis of this information, it would then be possible to work out a course of schooling—open to all children but on a basis of entrance examination—which would proceed alongside our present junior and senior high school courses. Such schooling would begin after the fourth or fifth grade and be dovetailed into the 4-year liberal arts course in such a manner that the student could attain a bachelor of arts degree by 20 years of age.

I believe the necessary steps to bring about this educational reform will be taken as soon

as the American public has been made aware of the great need to cultivate our presently most neglected national resource—the talented child. But it will require the devoted efforts of many men and women who are willing to make this problem their own personal responsibility, perhaps as many as it took a hundred years ago when it was first proposed to remove all financial bars to higher education so that no child might be denied equal educational opportunity. That was a hard fight too, but it was won because those who fought had the inner force to confront facts. Later developments have, however, diminished the splendor of what, up to that time, was one of the noblest achievements of American democracy.

In connection with my work in atomic power, I have interviewed more than 1,000 young college graduates. These interviews have made it plain to me that our educational system needs considerable improvement. It has, therefore, been a great disappointment to me that, despite the vast amount that has been said about it in recent years, so little is being done. We must, somehow, make a start. We cannot keep on just talking while our ruthless opponent acts. How can any American remain complacent about our educational dilemma?

Is money the problem? Then what are we going to do with all our wealth? If an additional $4 billion a year, 1 percent of our gross national product, makes the difference between good teachers and mediocre ones, good schools and poor ones, can we afford not to spend that sum? Is our end aim merely to become more wealthy, to acquire more things?

Can we afford to make our talented children remain in school any longer than they have to, when our schools are already so overcrowded and the teachers so few?

Last year I suggested that industry's growing need for trained personnel made it good business for them to take active steps to help. I proposed that industry make available its scientists and engineers for 1-year periods to teach in our high schools, in this way helping to relieve the teacher shortage. I pointed out that in present day America the business corporation is not a business device alone; that it has become a social institution and has acquired the obligations inherent in this concept; that there is justification for industry to assume a responsibility for financing education because the college graduates they obtain have been trained at public expense; that such expenditures are vital for the future, and should be considered as part of the routine expense of running the business.

Today I should like to plead earnestly for even greater help from industry.

I suggest that industry, together with our educational foundations, undertake the setting up of model academic secondary schools in perhaps 25 different centers in the United States. These schools would be on a par with our best academic secondary schools. They would be free; the ability to pass an entrance examination of a kind which would weed out those not mentally capable of absorbing an academic secondary education would be the only requirement. The schools would be staffed by teachers truly capable of teaching talented children; teachers whose qualifications place less emphasis on training in teaching methods and more on graduate study in their fields. The competence of European secondary schoolteachers, based as it is on years of postgraduate study in their fields, is one of the main reasons why they can teach as much in 12 years as ours do in 14 or 15.

Teachers' salaries in these schools would be in accord with the high scholastic qualifications required and, therefore, equal to those paid for comparable positions in industry. Such salaries would attract competent teachers.

These model schools should aim at a ratio of at least 1 teacher for every 20 pupils. One of the reasons why the private English boarding schools, such as Eton, Harrow, and so forth, contribute so large a percentage of England's leaders is their ratio of teachers to pupils—1 for every 12 students.

The schools would start with the fifth grade so as to have the pupils ready for college at 16. To do this, it may be necessary to provide a choice: students could complete the course the regular way in 7 years, or they could finish in 6 years by taking extra courses during 3 summers. We must find a way for our children to attend school for more than the present 180 days. Lengthening the time in school might most easily be done through the medium of voluntary summer courses.

Teachers in these schools would be given no extracurricular work of any kind, because a teacher, as does any professional person, requires time for thought and study. The schools would be scholastic institutions, so social activities would be kept at a minimum.

The management of these schools, qualifications and salaries of teachers, entrance requirements, curriculums, and standards would be left to an independent body not connected directly with the donor. But I see no reason why the schools could not be given names to indicate the corporation, or industry, or labor organization—for labor ought to participate in this endeavor no less than industry—which contributes financial support. This seems to me fair and legitimate, and even desirable; it would win friends for industry as a whole, and for the donor in particular.

I estimate that the cost of operating each model school for a period of 6 years will be about $10 million. At the end of that period the community ought to have an option to take over the school, provided it agrees to continue the high scholastic standards set under private management.

These model schools would demonstrate what could be accomplished by competent teachers, a proper curriculum, and an adequate school year. They would be goals and living examples of what can be done by the community for the education of its children.

These are my suggestions. Others can and will be made. But let us make a start. As a beginning, let us get the data on European curriculums and teaching methods and then let us devise a way to make our schools as good, and even better, than those of any other country. We have the ability to do this. We are rich enough to do this. All we need is the will to do it and to recognize that "the inevitable comes to pass through effort."

Senator Williams a "Watchdog for Taxes"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 22, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Westchester (Pa.) Daily Local News on Tuesday, March 19, 1957, entitled "Why Don't They Pay."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY DON'T THEY PAY?

If Senator HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, is the "watchdog" of the Senate when it comes to budgets, then Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, Republican, of Delaware, is the "watchdog" for taxes.

The Senator from neighboring Delaware who a few short years ago caused consternation in the ranks of the Internal Revenue Department and was responsible for some far-reaching changes which shook the Department to its foundations, got up in the Senate yesterday and again took the Internal Revenue "boys" to task.

Delinquent Federal taxes as of the last day of last year, WILLIAMS told the Senate, basing his figures on a Treasury Department report amounted to $1,619,629,000. Included in this total was a figure, $279,180,000, representing employees' income taxes, social security, and unemployment taxes withheld by employers.

Then Senator WILLIAMS aroused (we hope) some of the Senators by pointing out that instead of setting aside this money, pending its being forwarded to the Treasury, some employers have been using it for their own purposes.

Putting it bluntly, this means these delinquents have had the use of funds which properly belong in the Federal Treasury while millions of other employers with a greater sense of integrity, having paid their debts, had to get along without this money which, no doubt, many of them could also have put to good use in their business.

Is it possible that certain internal revenue districts are so busy accounting for the money of conscientious taxpayers that they don't have time to tap delinquents on the shoulder and tell them to pay up? If this is the case, it's high time these tax delinquents are smoked out and compelled to come across. It's only fair to those who do.

Senator WILLIAMS has a way of putting his finger on situations which, with a little official pressure, cause some people to squirm. It's happened in the past. Let's hope it will happen again.

Progress in the Field of Air Transportation—The Impact of the Civil Jet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 22, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, as chairman of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, I am constantly impressed with the tremendous progress being made in the field of air transportation. In a relatively few years we have seen the development of airplanes which now take us where we want to go faster and more comfortably than we would have believed possible only a short time ago. Even so, we have only scratched the surface, for with the advent of the commercial jet air transport plane, a whole new era is before us.

Recently, Stuart G. Tipton, president of the Air Transport Association, made a significant speech before an important forum in the Nation's Capital, the National Press Club, on the subject of the Impact of the Civil Jet.

I ask unanimous consent that this speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE IMPACT OF THE CIVIL JET UPON THE USER, UPON THE COUNTRY, UPON THE AIRLINES

(Remarks by Stuart G. Tipton, president, Air Transport Association, the National Press Club, Washington, D. C., February 19, 1957)

Today I am undertaking to enter the realm of prophecy. This is a hazardous journey, inevitably accompanied by some error. The picture I offer you today will, I hope, prove to be generally accurate. But I must remind you that generalizations must always allow for exceptions.

For example: I can say to you now that the big jet airliners can use today's runways. I mean that the weights upon runway surfaces as expressed in pounds per square inch of pressure exerted by the tires upon the runway surface will not greatly differ from the pounds per square inch exerted by today's aircraft. I mean that the big, new jet airliners, with such devices as spoilers and outboard flaps, will be controllable enough so that no new approach problems will be created. And I mean that for the average flight on the average day, perhaps some 8,000 feet of runway will suffice. But—and here comes the exception—it still may be that a heavily laden intercontinental jet airliner may require runway lengths of 10,000 feet or more on some occasions. Studies are being conducted right now to determine average runway requirements for various types of services.

But the point is that if we keep a place in our minds for the exception to the general rule, we can draw today a pretty accurate picture of what tomorrow's jet operations will be like.

WHAT JETS AND HOW MANY?

Perhaps we ought to begin by answering the question: What do we mean by civil jet transports? As this audience is well aware, jet transports are already flying in regularly scheduled service. They are of the type called turboprops or propjets. With that type of engine, the gas turbine drives the propeller.

But what most people mean by the civil jet transports are the faster, bigger airplanes which are scheduled to go into service in 1959 and 1960. Those fleets will be made up in part of the larger propjets, such as the Lockheed Electra and the Bristol Britannia. But there will also be large fleets of Boeing 707's, Douglas DC-8's, Convair 880's, and Comets, the so-called pure jets, large airliners in which the forward propulsion is obtained directly from the thrust of expanding gases in the combustion chamber. And some jets will be destined for short-haul service. Some of the local-service airlines have already ordered the Fairchild F-27, a turboprop designed for short-haul operations. Inevitably, there will be efforts to apply turbine power to other short-haul vehicles, including the helicopter.

How many jets will there be? To date the American-flag industry is committed to purchase 397 pure jet and propjet airliners. The cost will be $2.6 billion, including the standard 20 percent purchase of spare parts. These do not include Viscounts already delivered. Of that sum $2.5 billion will be represented by jet airliners produced in the United States. Jet airliners produced in Great Britain will account for a little over $100 million. Of the 397 jet airliners now on order, 213 will be pure jets.

The airlines of the world, including the airlines of the United States, now have on order 722 jet airliners. Of that total number, 457 will be jets built in the United States; 265 will be jets built in other countries. All of the orders for the largest and heaviest types are placed with United States manufacturers.

SIZE, RANGE, COMFORT

What about the physical characteristics of jets? You have heard that they will be big, smooth and very fast. They will be.

A typical big jet airliner may weigh close to 300,000 pounds, as compared with 145,800 pounds for the largest airliner in regular service today. It will have a lift capacity of 40,000 pounds, as compared with 23,640 for a typical big airliner today. In tourist configuration, it will offer up to 150 seats, as compared to the 95 seats available on a typically large tourist-class plane today. And the large jets will have nonstop ranges extending to 5,900 miles.

Those of you who have riden on the de Havilland Comet or the Vickers Viscount know of the relative lack of vibration and relative lack of noise which characterize jet operations, either propjet or pure jet. The big jets of the future will also offer, with respect to noise and vibration, a more comfortable service than is offered even by the fine new planes of today.

SPEED

How fast will you go in a big jet? Its cruising speed will be approximately 550 miles an hour; and, incidentally, the time may eventually come when you will get an entirely different view of the earth and of the heavens—from 40,000 feet up. Today's airliners, as perhaps you know, seldom operate above 25,000 feet, and most flights operate below 20,000 feet. Needless to say, the new jets, like today's airliners, will be pressurized.

NEW SCHEDULES

How will those speeds be translated into schedules? Let's take a few examples: Miami and Washington are 180 minutes apart today; they will be 99 minutes apart in the jet age. It takes you 8 hours and 45 minutes to fly to San Francisco now; the 707 or the DC-8 will take you there in less than 5 hours. Eastbound, London is 12 hours from New York today; in the jets you will fly there in less than 7 hours. From Washington, Hong Kong is today 9,000 miles and 41 hours away around the world. In the jet age, you will get there is about 22 hours—on the assumption, of course, that Hong Kong will have an airport that can receive the jets. Today Hong Kong, like Washington, has an airport which cannot accommodate the big jet airliners.

These new flying times could have implications for a newspaperman's—or anybody else's—business day. Most of you can remember, as I do, how a trip to Chicago used to entail, at the least, an overnight train ride, and probably two. Today, as many of you are probably aware, it is quite common to fly out for a day of business in Chicago and return the same evening. In the jet age, you will be able to catch a 7 o'clock morning flight for Los Angeles, and, because of the difference in time, you will arrive in Los Angeles at 9 o'clock. After spending an 8-hour working day there, you will be able to catch a 5 o'clock airliner back to Washington and arrive here just after midnight.

NOISE?

What about the noise of jet airliners? We have heard quite a few dire forecasts. The pessimism stems, of course, from the operation of military jets. But there will be differences between the big military jets and the new jet airliners.

More importantly, the military cannot sacrifice—and no American wants them to sacrifice—even one ounce of thrust in a jet engine. That ounce could literally be the difference between life and death. The airlines can sacrifice some power to achieve noise reduction. Naturally, we want to sacrifice as little as possible. But the fact is that every American-flag airline purchasing jets has stipulated that the engines must be equipped with noise suppressors. And the expectation is now that the noise of jet engines will be no greater than the noise of today's big piston-engine types.

For those of you who wish to look at what now appears to be the future picture, there are two charts set up in the corner of the room. After I am through, Mr. Stanley Seltzer and Mr. Roger Flynn of our staff will be standing by the charts to discuss them with any of you who are interested. You will note that in addition to the relatively small noise envelope expected from the 707, that the jets have a more rapid rate of climb than do today's aircraft, with the result that the noise will be dissipated more quickly.

FARES?

How much will it cost you to ride aboard a jet airliner? I know of nobody who can answer that question with certainty today. In 1957 the average airline fare stands about where it did in 1938, the year of the passage of the Civil Aeronautics Act. It costs you, in fact, just $1.80 more to fly between Washington and Chicago on a first-class flight than it did in 1938. It costs you $11.30 less if you go by aircoach. And in either case, the service is faster, more dependable, and more comfortable than it was in 1938.

Since 1938 general costs have nearly doubled. The price of bread, for example, has tripled. Average airline wages have more than doubled. Even bus fares have increased 27 percent. First-class rail fares are up somewhat less than 50 percent. Yet, the average air fare shows an increase of a little less than 3 percent.

What has happened, you see, is that increasingly efficient management, spurred by competition, has used ever-improving technology to resist and overcome the very great rise in general cost levels which has occurred since 1938. Now, however, costs appear at last to be catching up with both technology and management. This development was inevitable. It was obvious that the airlines could not continue forever to swallow constantly increasing costs. That is why today there is talk of a moderate increase in airline fares.

In terms of seat-mile costs and seat-mile revenues, it is hoped that the jets will be at least as productive and perhaps more productive than are today's airliners. Because the airlines are firmly committed to expanding their market—as witnessed by the growth from 1946 to today—and because an expanding market requires the lowest fares consistent with sound operating economics, it can be stated that the fares for jet travel will be reasonable when compared with the costs of other goods and services in the economy of 1960. But it is plain that the exact fare level—which in any event must be passed upon by the United States Civil Aeronautics Board—will be determined in very large part by what happens to the general level of costs between now and the time at which the jets go into service.

REVOLUTION BY TRANSPORTATION

Traditionally, new methods of transportation have wrought revolutions not only in the way in which America does business but in the way in which America lives. There is no need here to rehearse the past and continuing contributions of such components of our national transportation system as the railroads, or the highways and the vehicles which move upon them. And in talking about the impact of jet travel upon the traveler and the shipper, I think it is enough at the moment to content ourselves with the broad but factual statement that the jet airliners will bring about a revolution in the way in which men think. The single fact that the intercontinental distance between Europe and North America can, for the first time, be measured intelli-

gibly in minutes instead of miles is a signpost on the way to change.

EFFECT ON AIRLINES

The effect on the airlines will, of course, be major. Three times since 1946 the airlines of the United States have undertaken equipment revolutions. They are now preparing to do it all over again on a scale so much larger that it represents almost a new dimension.

Since 1946 some 82 percent of all funds available to the air-transport industry has gone into new equipment, which is to say into improvements in service. But the cost of all the property owned by the airlines today is $1½ billion, whereas the commitment for jets already amounts to $2,600,000,000, and there is an additional half-billion dollars of piston-engine aircraft on order. It is estimated that the next 9 years will see that total expanded to at least $4,700,000,000, including ground equipment.

Nor, as I am sure you understand, will airline expenses be limited to equipment expenditures. Perhaps new reservation systems must be invented and applied—a joint airline committee is already reexploring the field of electronic equipment. New ways of handling your baggage must be devised. Airline people must be retrained in the care and servicing of the jets—and some airlines are thinking of investments in new and ingenious forms of ground equipment to expedite loading and unloading.

The airlines, however, face these admitted burdens with optimism. They are certain that the result will be worth all the effort. Scheduled air transport, as is evident by the statistics, has grown continuously in usefulness since 1938. The advent of the jets should permit it to make a quantum leap in usefulness. But that leap will not be made, the airlines know, without an intensification of the already vigorous campaign to sell the use of air transportation—for travel, for freight, for express, and for mail.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

The impact of the jet transports on the country as a whole has been suggested by some of the things I have said previously—the broad changes in the patterns of commerce and in the patterns of living. There will also, of course, be an important effect on the national defense. Let me make it clear that I make no claim that the airlines are alone among American industry in contributing to the defense. Certainly all segments of the transportation industry make a contribution.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that airpower, like seapower, depends upon civil as well as military operations. It is a fact that we are in competition with our international rivals for the building of civil as well as military airpower. It is a fact that the Russians are building a jet transport fleet for Aeroflot—good transports, derived from the twin-engined Badger and the four-engined Bison jet bombers. It is a fact that the Russian taxpayer is being called upon to build this jet transport fleet, not for his own travel comfort—it is unlikely that he will get to use it—but because such a fleet will be an indispensable part of total Russian airpower.

The United States is also going to have a civil jet fleet. It is not only our hope but our expectation that it will be superior in both equipment and operations to Aeroflot. This fleet, like our present fleet, will become part of the Civil Reserve Air Fleet, which is required to be ready on 48 hours' notice. This added airlift capacity for our national defense will be paid for, not by the taxpayer but by the airlines.

In conclusion, I ought not to evade a question that is sometimes posed to us. The question is whether progress will stop with the jets now on order. On the contrary, the jets now on order probably will be simply the first members of a growing and constantly improving family. And beyond the descendants of the jets now on order lies the possibility of supersonic transportation. I would guess that it is inevitable that one day the airlines will be employing supersonic equipment. My only suggestion is that first you let us operate—and pay for—the jets.

And now I should welcome any questions. At the pleasure of your president, they need not be confined to the subject of the new jets.

Suburb Breaks Racial Barrier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 22, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the New York Times last week carried a significant and hopeful story about an integrated suburban development in Philadelphia. We are accustomed to reading less hopeful accounts. Because of our tendency to sensationalize setbacks, we do not always give examples of progress the attention they deserve.

The Times article is entitled "Suburb Breaks Racial Barrier," and it is written by Thomas W. Ennis. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUBURB BREAKS RACIAL BARRIER—NEW PRIVATE HOUSING PROJECT AT PHILADELPHIA INTEGRATES NEGROES AND WHITES—NO INCIDENTS OCCUR—NOT A FAMILY HAS MOVED FROM COLONY THAT IDEALS AND TENACITY BUILT

(By Thomas W. Ennis)

Segregation in private housing is being successfully challenged in a suburb of Philadelphia.

That Negro and white families can be good neighbors is being proved in an interracial colony of ranch homes nearing completion at Trevose in Bucks County.

The project, Concord Park, is attracting nationwide attention as the first privately built residential development in which open occupancy has become a reality.

Its sponsors say that Concord Park is disproving certain shibboleths regarding racially mixed housing. Opponents of interracial housing usually make these points:

Negroes and whites do not mix.

Negroes and other minorities will spoil a neighborhood and lower the social status of white families.

Realty values decline whenever Negroes moves into a white neighborhood.

Concord Park has broken the pattern of segregation in new private housing in the Philadelphia area. There, as in other metropolitan centers, the postwar housing boom has been mostly all-white.

ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY THOUSAND HOMES BUILT

Out of about 140,000 new homes built in the area between 1946 and 1953 only 1,044 or less than 1 percent of the total were sold to Negroes, who make up 20 percent of Philadelphia's population of almost 2,500,000.

And none of the thousands of homes recently built in Levittown and in Fairless Hills in Bucks County was sold to a Negro.

Concord Park did not spring up overnight. It is the result of years of preparation carried on in spite of difficulties.

It is largely the creation of one man, Morris Milgram. He joined his father-in-law's Philadelphia building concern in 1947, when he was 30 years old, on the condition that when he learned enough about building he would be permitted to build housing without racial restrictions.

Philadelphia was ready for such housing. An article on Concord Park in a recent issue of the Interracial Review, published by the Catholic Interracial Council, noted that the traditions of liberty and opportunity that were a part of Philadelphia were mocked by racial barriers.

In 1952 when Mr. Milgram announced his plans for an interracial community he was confronted with cynicism, disbelief, and antagonism. Contractors, bankers, real-estate men, and even those who had been urging open-occupancy housing predicted disaster. Financial loss, professional ruin, and public stigma were forcefully mentioned, and violence and community strife were foreseen.

FIFTY ACRES CHOSEN

But Mr. Milgram, as tenacious as he is idealistic, went ahead. He was joined in the summer of 1953 by George E. Otto, a home builder in Philadelphia, and a leader in the Society of Friends. In 9 months they raised $150,000 working capital from 65 stockholders, including a group of Quakers.

Fifty acres of farmland just beyond the northeast city limits in Trevose were acquired. The site was carefully chosen to minimize community resistance.

After a long search for mortgage financing—some 40 lending institutions turned the builder down—financing for the first section of about 30 homes was obtained from the Bowery Savings Bank of New York. Additional funds were later provided by the People's National Bank & Trust Co. of Langhorne, Pa.

When the development opened in August 1954, people flocked to see the model house—a 3-bedroom ranch home priced at $11,990. Within 6 weeks, Mr. Milgram says, he could have sold 5 homes to Negroes for every 1 sold to a white. He faced the prospect of turning the development into an all-Negro community.

When it was made clear to white buyers that they could not count on a "white-only" community, many lost interest. The Milgram organization worked hard to find white buyers. They mailed letters to groups that were associated with humanitarian causes; the project was advertised steadily; friends of Concord Park, not necessarily buyers, were asked to sell the idea, and expert salesmen experienced in interracial housing were hired to boost sales to white families.

These efforts brought enough white purchasers to integrate the first 30 of the 139 homes on a 50–50 basis, but it still did not produce a steady flow of white home seekers.

FAMILIES GET ALONG

To secure enough white buyers Mr. Milgram reluctantly set a quota of 55 percent white families to 45 percent Negroes. It was later found that white buyers would not buy without assurance that Negroes would be in a minority. Mr. Milgram does not like the occupancy quota—which is a form of discrimination—but he says that the alternative would have been a nearly all-Negro community. This has been the fate of other open-occupancy projects.

All except 5 of the 139 homes in Concord Park have been sold. The remaining houses are to be sold to white families under the quota system. The 3-bedroom basic house now is priced at $12,690. A 4-bedroom house with an extra lavatory and a playroom is selling at $14,350.

No family has moved out of Concord Park. There has been no vandalism and no incidents. The children play together. The parents join in community enterprises, such as building a playground and setting up a

baby-sitting pool, and do not differ in the degree of friendliness from families in other residential communities.

The success of Concord Park may result in racially integrated housing sooner than many experts have predicted, according to a study of the community made by the Institute for Urban Studies of the University of Pennsylvania.

The study found that white buyers in Concord Park vary in occupation from truck-drivers to college instructors. They were classified in these categories: 37.5 percent professional, 25 percent skilled workers and 21 percent semiskilled workers. The average family income is $5,998. About one-third of the white wives work.

The Negro families have an average yearly income of $6,361, and 50 percent of the wives are employed. Of the Negro men 26 percent are semiskilled workers, 18.5 percent are in the professions, another 18.5 percent are clerical workers.

The report noted that among white buyers there is no excess at all of idealists or crusaders. About 70 percent belong only to church groups, unions or professional societies.

The Milgram organization is building a development of contemporary homes called Greenbelt Knoll within the limits of Philadelphia at Holme Avenue, about a mile east of Route 1. The houses are priced at $18,650 to $23,950. About two-thirds of the 19 are being sold to white families. Dr. Nathaniel Duff, a well-known Negro physician in Philadelphia, is one of the Negro buyers.

Mr. Otto is president of Concord Park Homes, Inc., the building organization, and Mr. Milgram is vice president. Dr. Duff is a director, as is the Reverend William A. Gray, of Bright Hope Baptist Church in Philadelphia.

Strategic and Rare Metals in the Colorado River Basin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 22, 1957

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, during congressional action on the Colorado River storage project an attempt was made by the southern California water and power lobby to evaluate the benefits of this great project in agricultural terms only.

However, proponents of the bill successfully established that this project is comprehensive in nature, and that water from the project is vital to municipalities and to the industrial progress of the great raw materials area of the upper Colorado River Basin.

A study of the importance of Colorado River water and power to development of the strategic and rare metals in the Colorado River Basin was made recently by Otto Herres, of Salt Lake City. Mr. Herres is a vice president of Combined Metals Reduction Co., and is one of the Nation's top authorities on lead-zinc mining and the economics of minerals production.

In view of the expanding interest in metals production in this new age of atomic energy, jet aircraft, and guided missiles, I hereby request unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, the text of an address on this subject made by Mr. Herres before the December 6 meeting of the Colorado River Water Users' Association's annual meeting, at Las Vegas, Nev. The speech was entitled "Strategic and Rare Metals in the Colorado River Basin."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STRATEGIC AND RARE METALS IN THE COLORADO RIVER BASIN

(By Otto Herres)

COLORADO RIVER BASIN

Looking to that future where we shall be spending the rest of our lives, one of the brightest spots on the map is the Colorado River Basin. For this is a region blessed with an abundance of natural resources. It is a veritable treasure house of metals, minerals, and fuels, and sources of power and water needed for their development.

The States of the Colorado River Basin, namely, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, cover one of the richest mineralized areas on earth. The future of the Basin States is bright with promise of a wealth of metal production. But mining is no newcomer here. The region is deep in the lusty tradition of the miner's West.

TRADITION OF THE WEST

Centuries ago mines were worked by Spaniards seeking in the New World the strategic and rare metals of their day, gold and silver, metals still no less rare and strategic to the average American taxpayer of these later days. It will be remembered that Spain was a mining country long before the discovery of America. Her ore deposits have been exploited throughout much of recorded history by the Phoenicians, Romans, and Carthagenians, and on down to today—which may cast some doubt on the often heard propaganda that a mining country soon becomes a have-not nation in mineral production.

BASIC INDUSTRIES

Mining and metallurgy are basic to the well-being of nations, not only in time of war but in peace. No nation can prosper if its mining and metallurgical industries do not flourish. Compare pastoral countries and lands rich only in agriculture with nations strong in mining and the working of metals.

But important as is the development of the rich mineral resources of this region to the people of the Basin States and the Nation, no less important are Colorado River water and power to mining and metallurgical activities. Without ample power and water for its production and processing, ore stays in the ground. Power and water from Hoover Dam and Lake Mead made possible the production of magnesium metal in southern Nevada during World War II and now support the country's largest production of titanium at the same Henderson plant, and the mining of copper, lead, zinc, manganese, and tungsten in the immediate area as well.

Metals important to the national defense are classified by the Government as strategic. Shortages of these in case of a grave crisis would be most dangerous. Metals to be had only in limited quantities in our country may be called rare, although they may not be so scarce in other parts of the world. Metals of an uncommon nature, valuable because of their exceptional properties, we also consider rare. Some, such as the rare earths, are neither rare nor are they earths, but they may be uncommonly difficult to extract in metallic form.

METALS OF THE COLORADO BASIN

Our industries of today have risen from experience accumulated through centuries of work with common metals such as iron, copper, lead, zinc, and tin; the noble metals, gold, silver, platinum, and mercury; and the alloys, brass, bronze, and pewter. All of these metals with the exception of tin and platinum are found in comparative abundance in the Colorado River Basin States.

Most of the Nation's copper comes from the open pit mines of Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico. The iron mines of Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, and California supply a growing steel industry at plants in Colorado, Utah, and California. Complex lead-zinc ores containing gold and silver are mined in quantity in all of the basin States except Wyoming. Nevada and California are producers of mercury.

However important the part newer metals may play in our future, iron and steel represent over 90 percent of our metal production; copper, lead, zinc, and aluminum make up 90 percent of the remainder. All the rest, including the precious, rare and newer metals amount to less than 1 percent of the overall tonnage. Aluminum, now the second metal in weight and volume of production, is produced largely from imported ores and is lacking from the Colorado Basin picture, although possibly there may be hope that sometime in the future clays in this area will prove to be a source material.

RARE AND NEWER METALS

Coming now to some of the rare and newer metals, molybdenum, vanadium, uranium, radium, beryllium, manganese, tungsten, lithium, boron, cadmium, thallium, selenium, and the rare earths, all are produced from ores mined in commercial quantities in the States of the Colorado Basin. Titanium is produced in Nevada from rutile imported from Australia but large deposits of titaniferous ore in Wyoming may become a source of iron and titanium in future years.

Molybdenum, vanadium, manganese, and tungsten are valuable ferroalloy metals used in making steels. They impart to steel such special properties as great strength, resistance to high temperatures and to corrosion. Steels are being developed that will withstand the thermal barrier where air friction creates incredible heat, steels that will provide the tremendous tensile strength needed to keep craft from exploding in the near-vacuum of outer space. It is said that frictional forces produced by an aircraft flying at twice the speed of sound at 40,000 feet in 64 degrees below zero air cause the surface of a plane to reach a temperature of 250 degrees. By the year 1961 it is estimated that materials will be required to stand temperatures between 500° and 1,000°.

Tungsten is particularly valuable in alloy steels for high temperature applications. It has the highest melting point of any metal, 6,152° F. Molybdenum in metallic form possesses very remarkable high-temperature strength.

Nevada and California are the leading tungsten producing States of the country. Substantially all production of molybdenum in the world comes from Colorado Basin States at Climax, Colo., and the copper mines of Nevada, Utah, and New Mexico where it is a byproduct of copper mining. The United States is the world's largest producer of vanadium from mines of the Colorado Plateau in southwestern Colorado, southeastern Utah, and adjoining sections of Arizona and New Mexico. Vanadium is a coproduct of uranium mining in this area. Millions of tons of low-grade manganese ore are available in Nevada and Arizona awaiting the development of successful beneficiation methods before coming into any large-scale commercial production.

THE MAGIC METAL

But uranium is the magic metal of this day and age. A source of immense power and fantastic heat, and an explosive of tremendous force, its many applications will

shape our lives and the destiny of the world for generations to come. Never has human security been tied so thoroughly to a single metal. And yet less than a score of years ago uranium received scant consideration when it was known as a byproduct of radium refining.

The potential reserves of the producing areas of the United States have been estimated at 30 million tons of uranium ore. Another 30 million tons are indicated and inferred (now 60 million tons—1957). The States of the Colorado Plateau, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, and New Mexico, produce most of the Nation's ore and contain the largest known United States reserves.

METALLIC FUELS

Recently it was reported that high defense priority is being given to the designing of a chemical bomber, a plane powered by new super fuels. These special fuels are compounds of boron, lithium, and other metals packing tremendous energy and little weight. Boron and lithium are the lightest elements to which hydrogen can be attached. B_2H_6 releases 16,000 calories per gram on burning, coal 8,000; boron alone 4,000 calories. Hence the boranes may provide propellants for rockets, guided missiles and supersonic ramjet aircraft.

Boron also has good radiation shielding properties, and because of its ability to absorb neutrons may have use in control rods for atomic reactors.

Some 95 percent of the country's boron reserves are in southern California, in Searles Lake brines and Death Valley dry lakes.

Lithium is the lightest of all metals with a specific gravity of 0.534. Possibly the most significant use of lithium may well be in connection with the hydrogen bomb. The lithium isotrope is bombarded with neutrons in an atomic pile to produce tritrium for use in the bomb, and lithium plays an essential part in the thermonuclear reaction of the bomb itself.

A significant portion of the United States supply of lithium is recovered from the brine of Searles Lake in California.

Interestingly enough, both the lightest and heaviest of metals are produced from minerals of the Colorado River Basin—the light metals, lithium, boron, and beryllium, and the heaviest, uranium, thorium, thallium, lead, mercury, gold, and tungsten.

BYPRODUCT METALS

Cadmium, thallium, and germanium are recovered almost entirely as byproducts in the smelting of nonferrous ores, particularly zinc and zinc flue dusts. Selenium likewise is recovered commercially as a byproduct in the electrolytic refining of copper. While germanium is recovered from zinc ores of the Tri-State district, substantial quantities of cadmium, thallium, and selenium are produced from Colorado Basin ores.

As to the rare earths, a closely related family of 16 metals, and monazite, a rare-earth phosphate containing thorium—monazite is known in California, as is also a newly discovered very large deposit of bastnaesite, a fluocarbonate of the rare-earth metals. Separation of the rare-earth metals is difficult. Investigation of the little-known group affords one of the most interesting research fields for science and industry.

GOLD AND SILVER

Something also might be said here of gold and silver as strategic metals. Some 50 years ago this area was more greatly concerned with silver at Tonopah and gold at Goldfield than with manganese, molybdenum, and tungsten. What would we do without gold in case of a serious international disturbance when the world looks askance on paper money? And what would we have done during World War I and again in World War II without silver to meet the demands for good money in Asia? Something also may be remembered about the silver and gold of Nevada's Comstock Lode coming to the rescue of the Union during the War Between the States.

PRODUCERS' PROBLEMS

Important as metals are to the welfare and security of our people, American producers of many important metals of this region are facing trouble. Gold and silver prices have remained at a fixed figure established by the Government a generation ago, while inflationary costs and rising wages have made worthless rock out of much once-valuable ore.

Producers of lead and zinc have been on the defensive against free-trade policies that threaten to destroy their very existence for nearly 20 years. Workers in the mining industry believe in world trade, but they question the wisdom of Congress surrendering its authority over the Nation's trade and commerce to the State Department, whose responsibility is to look after our foreign interests rather than the domestic welfare.

The problem of the Nation's lead-zinc mines, as well as that of other industries essential to the national defense and civilian welfare, is how to compete with world prices that do not carry the higher wages, living standards, and social benefits enjoyed by our workers. We no longer have the advantages of richer resources and better machinery and equipment. Our foreign-aid programs have placed foreign competitors on an even footing in this respect.

Vast as are the mineral resources of this great region, rising costs, high wages, and free trade competition with world prices are forcing large mining companies to move to countries with richer ore deposits and lower wages for survival, and many smaller companies mining our important industrial metals to close down their operations.

LONG-RANGE CONSIDERATIONS

But while the immediate future may see a surplus of metals at times, the long-range prospects are for eventual shortages because of increasing populations and growing industrialization. United States population is increasing at a rate of 3 million yearly. Man's use of electricity has been doubling every 10 years. But there can be no doubling in the use of electricity without a corresponding increase in the demand for metals. We may get our power from the atom, but metals and water are needed to put the atom to work. For defense we are going from guns to electronically guided missiles, from gunpower to nuclear weapons, from subsonic to supersonic speeds, none of which is possible without more and better metals. The cold war is becoming a battle for markets and economic dominance with technological progress and strategic metals and materials for weapons.

DAWN OF ATOMIC AGE

At the dawn of an atomic age no man "can look into the seeds of time and say which grain will grow and which will not." But peacetime use of the atom promises power from nuclear sources even to the undeveloped areas at the far corners of the earth.

Living standards advance somewhat in proportion to the availability of power for producing man's needs and easing the burden of his toil. Whatever may be the outcome of the social and industrial revolutions going on in the world today, man must work and produce in order to live. And as populations continue to multiply and power facilities and industrialization reach out to serve more people and wider areas of the earth, requirements for metals and minerals and raw materials will increase. And competition for the material resources of the earth will grow.

Therein the future is bright with promise for the Colorado River Basin.

American Legion Merchant Marine Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 22, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, more than once in the past I have had occasion to pay tribute to the efforts and achievements in behalf of America's merchant fleet by the national merchant marine committee of the American Legion, under its longtime chairman, Mr. Henry C. Parke.

The February 1957 issue of the Merchant Marine Bulletin, published at Indianapolis under the sponsorship of the legion's national security commission, contains an outstanding editorial by Mr. Parke which expertly assays the Legion policy of support to American shipping in the light of ocean transportation confusion and inadequacy following the blockade of the Suez Canal.

So much on point is the editorial, both as to, first, the demonstrated need for additional ocean tonnage to meet existing commercial and possible defense needs of our country; and, second, the fallacy of dependence upon the shipping of other nations in an hour of need, that it richly merits the thoughtful consideration of Senators and the public alike.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR POLICY STANDS UP

(By Henry C. Parke, chairman, national merchant marine committee, the American Legion)

Nothing could have vindicated more emphatically the merchant marine policies which the American Legion, through its merchant marine committee, has always supported than the recent events in the Middle East and their repercussions on the shipping of this country and the world. The protracted closing of the Suez Canal, one of the chief arteries of that shipping, altered overnight many of the patterns of trade, upset the balance between supply and demand of merchant tonnage, and above all showed how indispensable an adequate merchant fleet is to this country's commerce and defense.

Take the last point first. The allied action against Egypt created an instant emergency for American nationals in the zone of fighting. Mass evacuation was necessary. Foreign shipping, even if it were desirable to use it under such circumstances, was probably not available. It would take time for American naval craft to reach the scene, and when they did their passenger accommodation would be both limited and uncomfortable. Fortunately—and thanks to the national policy embodied in the Merchant Marine Act—there was in the immediate area an American-flag passenger liner, the *Exochorda*, which reached Alexandria ahead of the Navy and was of vital assistance in the evacuation.

More broadly, the aftermath of the Suez crisis has shown that we do not have enough ships of our own—either dry cargo or tanker—to cope with a major commercial dislocation of this sort, and very probably would not have enough to meet immediate defense needs should we be drawn into the military

phase of any comparable crisis anywhere in the world. It has shown us, too, that the often repeated fable of the ready availability of foreign-flag tonnage to supply our own deficiences is a fable and nothing more. It is understood that Britain, for example, even had to postpone her own operations for lack of readily available British-flag shipping. There would certainly have been none available to meet our needs, had a real military need developed.

We know now, with greater certainty than ever before, that the course of prudence is the course plotted in our merchant marine resolution. In the light of what has happened and is still happening, we must press even more strongly for the realization of its objectives.

Resolution on the Rights of the States Adopted at State Conference, Mississippi Society, DAR, February 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following important resolution adopted by the Mississippi Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution:

RESOLUTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE STATES ADOPTED AT STATE CONFERENCE, MISSISSIPPI SOCIETY, DAR, FEBRUARY 1957

Whereas the present United States Supreme Court, through numerous recent decisions, has repeatedly invaded the constitutional rights of the States and encroached upon the powers of the legislative branch of Government; and

Whereas the United States is a Republic, a federation of the States, with powers reserved to the States, and such decisions have nullified many of the laws of the States, as will be shown in the cases cited below:

First. Decision of May 21, 1956, in the case of the *Railway Employees Department, AFL International Association of Machinists, et al.*, v. *Hanson, Cameron, Grau, et al.* (*Officials, Union Pacific Railroad Company*), which held that the right-to-work laws of the States are unconstitutional when applied to the closed shop participated in by this union. The Court, in its decision, has preempted the field of legislation on that subject and the State laws must yield to Federal jurisdiction.

Second. Decision of April 9, 1956, in the case of *Slochwera* v. *Board of Higher Education of the City of New York*, in which the Court ruled that the said board could not discharge Slochwera as a teacher on the charge that he invoked the fifth amendment and refused to answer questions concerning his Communist affiliations. The Court held that such action by the school board was in violation of Slochwera's constitutional rights and the board had no authority to dismiss him.

Third. Decision of April 2, 1956, in the case of the *State of Pennsylvania* v. *Steve Nelson*, notorious Communist, in which the Court held that the State of Pennsylvania could not legislate against sedition; that the States had no right or power to punish those who are trying to overthrow the State and National Government because there is Federal statute on this subject. This decision has nullified the laws of 42 States, Alaska, and Hawaii and is another invasion of the rights and powers of the States as provided under the United States Constitution.

Fourth. Decision of May 17, 1954, in the case of *Brown* v. *Board of Education and four related cases*, known as the public-school cases. This decision denied the right of the people to determine the policies, rules, and regulations of its local and State institutions and disregarded the decisions and doctrine approved and reaffirmed 5 times by the Supreme Court in previous cases; it overruled 13 decisions of the lower Federal courts; it overruled or ignored 59 decisions of State and Territorial courts; and it struck down the provisions of 16 State constitutions and the District of Columbia.

This is a clear abuse of judicial power and deprives the parents of the right to direct the lives and education of their children: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Mississippi Society Daughters of the American Revolution, strongly protest this unwarranted exercise of power by the United States Supreme Court and point to the dangers inherent in interpretations which reverse long established and accepted laws. We believe that such interpretations invade the rights of the States and invalidate article 10 of the Constitution which specifically provides that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved by it to the States respectively, or to the people"; be it further

Resolved, That we urge the United States Senators and Representatives of our own State of Mississippi to present and support reforms in the laws which will limit the powers of the court; and that they support measures to provide well defined requirements of judicial and legal experience, as well as recognized ability, for those who would aspire to the seats of the justices of the highest tribunal in the land; and that such requirements also be applied to those who seek judgeships in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals; be it also

Resolved, That we petition the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate and of the House of Representatives, respectively, to consider and support such court reforms, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to each member of the Judiciary Committee of both branches of Congress and to the Members of that body who represent the State of Mississippi.

And we hereby declare our faith in and respect for the Constitution of the United States of America and our belief in the right of the States to regulate and determine their own domestic affairs.

We furthermore believe it is our sacred duty to uphold our republican form of government and to defend it in the political as well as the military field. We regard this as a trust, a heritage handed down to us by our Revolutionary forefathers and in this we shall not falter—we must not fail.

MISSISSIPPI STATE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT, DAR.,
Mrs. S. TALMADGE PILKINTON, *State Regent.*
Mrs. J. ALLISON HARDY, *National Defense Chairman.*
Mrs. HARRY C. OGDEN,
Mrs. JAMES R. PEASTER,
Authors.

Harold C. Hagen

SPEECH
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, Harold Hagen was a man with a truly rich conscience. It was my privilege to have known him during the years since we both were elected to the House of Representatives in 1942.

He was an outstanding member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service during the six terms he served here. He took a personal interest in all measures and efforts to increase efficiency, provide better working conditions and fair, comparable pay for all governmental employees. He was their champion in the deliberations in this Chamber when such bills were before us. I know these folks grieve with us today.

I want to join my colleagues in the extending of our warm condolences to his wife Audrey and to Harold, Jr., and to his daughter Andora.

While Harold has passed from us he leaves a rich legacy inscribed in the hearts of all of us who were privileged to know him.

Economy in Government but Not at Expense of Humanitarian Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the thing which has worried me most about the recent remarks by Secretary Humphrey, indicating that he and the President had sent Congress a rough draft budget, has been the possible use to which those remarks might be put. I am interested in economy in government and have voted a number of times this year for cuts in appropriations. However, the chamber of commerce in an article reported in the Washington (D. C.) Evening Star on Friday, March 15, 1957, has apparently seized upon the size of the present budget and the remarks of the Secretary of the Treasury as being an invitation to eliminate certain very important programs. The chamber of commerce advocates doing away with the Federal aid to States for school construction, and Federal contributions to the States in the amount of some $850 million in 1957, and $1,049,000,000 in the proposed 1958 budget for Federal contributions to old-age assistance.

Those contributions are some of the best and most important features of the budget. They make possible a $60 a month payment by the States to aged needy, of which $39 is furnished by the Federal Government. The danger of this situation is aggravated by the fact that the States at present are having an extremely difficult time finding new sources of revenue. The effect of this proposal will be to do away with or very substantially curtail payments of old-age assistance by the States. The best that can be hoped for if the proposal of the chamber of commerce goes into effect is that old folks will witness a very substantial reduction in the amount of their old-age assistance payments. I am surprised and shocked to see that the chamber of commerce would come out with such a

proposal. It becomes clear to me that the big budget talk of which the chamber of commerce has made so much, is not a genuine desire for lessening Federal expenditures, but rather is a hope to do away with worthwhile programs like old-age assistance and Federal aid to States for school construction. In effect the chamber of commerce is striking at the youth and aged of this country. We can well expect to find that the next subject for attack will be existing Federal school-aid programs, assistance for school-lunch programs, social security, Federal grants for hospital construction for research and health, and a multitude of other important, humanitarian programs.

Dedication of Navigation Lock at the Dalles Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, March 17, 1957, an important landmark in Columbia River navigation was officially dedicated. The celebration that day marked the completion of the navigation lock at the Dalles Dam. This lock, which is 86 feet wide and 675 feet long, will provide a lift of 87 feet for ships and remedy a navigation system which has long been limited and cumbersome.

Completion of this facility is one more indication of the speed and efficiency with which work at the Dalles Dam has been progressing. The dam was originally authorized by Congress in 1950, and construction started in March of 1952. The 5 years which have elapsed since then have seen a structure of 8,700 feet, or 1.6 miles long, come into existence. Work has been expedited to the extent that the dam now is said to be further advanced than any other dam of similar size in a similar period of time.

It was indeed fitting, therefore, that this engineering achievement was properly observed. Both the newly elected Governors of Oregon and Washington, Robert D. Holmes and Albert D. Rosellini, attended the ceremonies and participated in the events of the day. Other officials from both States and from surrounding communities also participated in the ceremonies.

Certainly the Columbia River Development Association is to be congratulated in planning and arranging the March 17 celebration. Their work on this particular occasion is indicative of their dedication to the achievement of full and comprehensive development of the great Columbia River system. The success of that organization represents the hard work of many individuals, but I doubt if anyone would object if I paid particular honor to Mr. Edward T. Chambers, president of the Columbia River Development Association, and Mr. W. S. Nelson, chamber of commerce manager of The Dalles. In connection with the dedication ceremonies, Mr. Nelson spoke briefly on the passing of a historic landmark as a result of completion of the navigation facilities at the Dalles Dam. For many years the Dalles-Celilo Barge Canal has been of great historic and scenic interest. This canal, placed in operation in 1915, made navigation possible on the Columbia River above The Dalles. Yet, it has long since served its period of usefulness and the new facilities necessitated the flooding out of the old barge canal. The remarks of Mr. Nelson with regard to this barge canal are, I believe, of great historic interest and, under unanimous consent, I include them with my statement:

DALLES-CELILO CANAL: HISTORICAL HIGHLIGHTS
(Remarks of W. S. Nelson)

Within a few weeks, we shall witness the passing of the Celilo Canal and with it Celilo Falls. Celilo Canal has been the important link in through navigation of the Columbia River, betweeh its mouth and the upper Columbia and Snake Rivers. Through it has gone many millions of tons of waterborne commerce.

Until Celilo Canal was completed and placed in operation, May 6, 1915, through navigation on the Columbia above The Dalles was impossible. Such navigation as was conducted abve Celilo Falls was made possible by the portage of commerce around Celilo Falls.

The first wagon portage road—19 miles long—around Celilo Falls was established in 1858. In 1862, the Oregon Steam Navigation Co. began the construction of a portage railway between The Dalles and Celilo, which was completed and opened to operation April 20, 1863, 15 miles in length. This railroad was a 5-foot gage instead of the conventional 4 feet 8½ gage. This portage connected with boats built at Celilo and operated between there and points on the Columbia and Snake Rivers. The freight rate between The Dalles and Celilo was $15 per ton. From The Dalles to Lewiston it was $80 per ton. Passenger fare was $60 from Portland to Lewiston. In 1880, the line was sold to Henry Villard, who was then building a railroad system, and in 1882 it became a link in what is now the Union Pacific Railroad. With the extension of rail service throughout the interior, navigation finally ceased on the upper river.

The first project adopted by Congress for navigation improvement around Celilo Falls was authorized in the River and Harbor Act of August 18, 1894, a boat-railway sytsem. This project was abandoned and another adopted by Congress in the River and Harbor Act of March 3, 1905, at an estimated cost of $4,485,000.

In 1908 the Oregon Legislature appropriated $165,000 for the cost of acquiring the right-of-way for the Dalles-Celilo Canal and the construction of the second portage railroad for use in connection with the construction of the canal. It completed this road in 1905. Work of construction of the canal began in 1908. The largest number employed at any one time was 1,500. Eight were killed during construction. Drilling of rock was done by steam. Canal completed May 6, 1915.

A few years ago, John W. Kelly, a writer of news articles, wrote the following, which appeared in the Spokesman Review, Spokane, Wash., December 2, 1951:

"The Dalles Dam on the Columbia when completed will obliterate another of the river's most historic physical features, the most historic Celilo Falls; just as historic Kettle Falls became a thing of the past with the rising waters behind Grand Coulee Dam. The Cascade rapids disappeared behind Bonneville Dam. Only in memory will these beautiful and inspiring falls remain to man (man merely moves the falls to the site of the dam, he does not obliterate them). Celilo Falls holds an even more impressive place in history as a fishing rendezvous for Indians than did Kettle Falls. Early travelers called it Salmon Falls and marveled at the sight of Indians fishing there. As historic and beautiful landmarks of the Columbia River pass from sight, with the building of dams and other monuments of progress, it becomes more important that man's recollections of these landmarks be treasured zealously."

No project for the improvement of the Columbia River for navigation excels the accomplishment of the Dalles Dam. Celilo Canal, 8½ miles long, with limited locks and channel depth, has long been a bottleneck in water carrier operation on the upper Columbia. It limited 8½ miles of navigation to 1 towboat and a barge carrying 600 to 800 tons. In contrast, the Dalles Dam will permit the passage of 1 boat and 7 barges, carrying from 7,000 to 10,000 tons, all lifted to or lowered from the Inland Empire in 20 minutes.

No organization has suggested that this forceful change in navigation of the Columbia be recognized. What is here submitted is for thinking about whether such a change so beneficial to our welfare merits any acknowledgment. But more than this, as historic Celilo Canal fades from sight shall our farewell be the wiping away of a falling tear. Shall we reflect our exultation at the opening of the majestic gates of the Dalles Dam to the commerce of the world by the raising of a feeble salute. Shall such be our thanks for a great project. Progress is the activity of today—and the assurance of tomorrow.

Henry Ward Beecher said, "We should so live and labor in our time that what came to us as seed may go the next generation as blossom, and what came to us as blossom may go to them as fruit. This is what we mean by progress."

Forrester Fights for All Citizens—Right of Trial by Jury in Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, one of the most able members on the House Judiciary Committee is Congressman E. L. FORRESTER, of Georgia. His effective work in the committee in opposing the infamous so-called civil-rights legislation has attracted the attention and earned the admiration of those who believe in constitutional government in all sections of this country.

One of the excellent newspapers published in Georgia, the Metropolitan Herald, of Atlanta, carried a splendid editorial commending my distinguished colleague in its issue of March 20, 1957. The editorial is as follows:

FORRESTER FIGHTS FOR ALL CITIZENS

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to Georgia's Congressman E. L. (TIC) FORRESTER for his fight in the House Judiciary Committee against the obviously un-American

provisions of the administration's so-called civil-rights proposals.

The brutal truth is that these proposals would destroy our basic civil rights. They would reverse the fundamental concepts that a man is innocent until proven guilty, that an acused person is entitled to a trial by jury, that one accused of violating the law has the right to face his accuser, and that there is no place in our system of justice which allows a person to be arraigned because he might violate a law.

Throughout the hearings, Congressman FORRESTER has hammered away at these dangerous and unconstitutional proposals. For weeks it looked like his (and every American citizen's) cause was lost. The committee, of which he is a member, was stacked with proponents of these measures. However, the Georgia Congressman's persistence and devotion to constitutional government is at last beginning to pay off.

Already this battling defender of the Bill of Rights has been able to get a few amendments adopted which eliminate some of the more dangerous proposals. However, many others still remain in the proposed legislation.

Because of his fight, based solely on constitutional law, thoughtful citizens in other sections of the Nation are awakening. They are discovering that while these proposals are aimed at the South, they would destroy our most cherished constitutional rights. Therein, Congressman FORRESTER has rendered an outstanding service to the entire Nation.

We are thankful for the courage and tenacity of "Tic" FORRESTER. We are fortunate that he is a member of the committee. We are grateful that the gentleman from Leesburg does not have a faint heart.

We salute him for his courage and commend him for his determination in defending constitutional government and the Bill of Rights.

In the same issue of the Metropolitan Herald the editor deals with the prospect of the loss of one of our most precious rights, namely, trial by jury, a right which is guaranteed to us by the Constitution.

This splended editorial deserves wide distribution, and I have asked unanimous consent to insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This editorial follows:

RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY IN DANGER

One of the most precious heritages we have, as citizens of this great Republic, is the right of a trail by jury. The Founding Fathers recognized this to be one of the foundations of any free government and wrote this guaranty into the Constitution.

Yet, this week, 17 members of the House Judiciary Committee voted to destroy this basic right * * * and in the name of "civil rights." What sham. What hypocricy.

Thomas Jefferson and James Madison knew what they were doing when they insisted that this right be written into the Constitution. The framers of the Constitution understood well the dangers to ordinary citizens if they were not protected by this right. Until recent years no American dared challenge this great principle.

However, alien ideologies have gained a grip in this Nation. Many segments of our population have been brainwashed by subtle propaganda wrapped in the cloak of such seemingly fine phrases as "civil rights" and "brotherhood." Many well-meaning citizens, who believe in civil rights and brotherhood, have been used and are being used by those who would destroy our form of free government.

In Communist Russia and other Soviet-dominated nations, citizens have no right to a trial by jury. Commissar judges try, convict, and condemn those citizens at will. There is no appeal. There are no civil rights. There is no liberty, no freedom.

Now we are faced with a similar tragedy in this Nation. Petty politicians, fearful of the bloc vote, would destroy the fundamental civil rights of every American citizen to appease a small segment of our population.

If this measure, now before the Congress, passes in its present form, it will mean that Congress officially repudiates the Jeffersonian principle of a republican form of government and replaces it with the Marx-Lenin doctrine of the all-powerful central state which controls and dictates every facet of human life.

Surely we in the United States are not ready to replace the doctrines of Jefferson with those of Marx? Surely we are not willing to destroy our constitutional liberties for a mess of political pottage.

God have mercy on us if we do.

Resolutions Adopted by the Kansas Livestock Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under consent heretofore granted, I am including resolutions adopted at the 44th annual convention of the Kansas Livestock Association in Wichita, Kans., on March 14 to 16, 1957. I believe Members of the House who are particularly interested in livestock and agriculture will be interested in these resolutions.

The resolutions follow:

BRUCELLOSIS AND TUBERCULOSIS

Whereas the Kansas Livestock Association has been informed that the original budget requested of the legislature by the State livestock sanitary commissioner for the control and eradication of brucellosis and tuberculosis, has been reduced; and

Whereas this reduction of appropriations would seriously reduce the effectiveness of these programs; and

Whereas the amount of State appropriations influence the amount of Federal funds appropriated for the program and would result in a corresponding decrease from this source: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Kansas Livestock Association, That the Kansas Legislature restore and appropriate the original budget requested by the State livestock sanitary commissioner for the control and eradication of tuberculosis and brucellosis in Kansas.

PINKEYE AND SHIPPING FEVER

Whereas the Kansas cattlemen are aware that pinkeye (keratitis) and shipping fever (pasteurellosis) of cattle annually accounts for great economic loss to the cattle industry: Be it

Resolved, That the Kansas Livestock Association go on record urging the United States Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Research Service, Animal Disease Section, and the appropriate Kansas agency, to recognize the importance of these two diseases and to set aside sufficient funds to implement research leading to their control and/or eradication.

STATE TAXES

Resolved, That the State government refrain from using the ad valorem tax as a source of revenue, thereby reserving said revenue exclusively for local governmental units; be it further

Resolved, That the sales tax residue be returned to the counties for local use as it has been in the past.

FEDERAL TRANSPORTATION TAX

Whereas the price for farm products has been in a depressed position, and the 3-percent transportation tax is collected on all freight shipments, which charge is a hindrance to the movement of freight and actually reduces prices to farmers:

Therefore, it is recommended that this tax be removed from all farm product shipments.

SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION

Whereas the livestock industry is a major industry in Kansas and is in the grip of a critical water shortage, we recommend a soil and water conservation program engineered to use the earth, nature's great reservoir, in holding the water where it falls to the greatest extent possible, through proper land use, ponds and detention dams.

We recommend a partnership approach to flood-control and water-conservation problems and we agree with the several reports submitted recently relative to a national water policy based on the same proposition and theory that the Federal Government and the local beneficiaries jointly contribute to the cost of all flood-control and water-conservation projects of the Federal Government, the local beneficiaries paying for easements and rights-of-way.

We recognize that agricultural and urban water needs are increasing rapidly, and that many mutual problems are involved. We urge that rural people acquaint themselves with urban water problems and strive to help town folks understand our problems and their dependence on agriculture, proper land use, and water conservation.

As an example of cooperation and mutual benefit, we cite the completed watershed treatment on Sandstone Creek in Oklahoma which has already controlled a storm of 50 to 100 years, frequently with flood storage to spare. In addition it has changed a dry water course into a flowing stream of quality water.

We recommend that where the people are asking for a cost-sharing program of flood and water control and have organized a watershed, but have been stopped from further progress by an authorized but inactive Federal dam project, we request the Governor, our Senators and Representatives, to take appropriate steps to allow them to proceed under the watershed flood prevention act.

RIGHT TO WORK

Whereas the right to work is an important issue in Kansas: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Kansas Livestock Association favors the right-to-work principle. We oppose any form of compulsory membership in our organization or any other organization and will work for and support the passage of House Concurrent Resolution 20, the resolution now in the calendar committee of the house of representatives, which will permit the people of Kansas to vote for right to work in 1958.

BRAND LAW

Whereas the Kansas Livestock Association has long recognized the need for effective brand inspection in certain areas of Kansas and the bill passed by the house of representatives as house bill No. 116, allowing brand inspection on a county option basis, was in the form approved by the association's officers and directors.

Therefore we, the Kansas Livestock Association, strongly support and urge the passage of this bill by the senate.

PACKERS AND STOCKYARDS ACT

Whereas the Packers and Stockyards Act adequately provides for the control and supervision of trade practices in the meatpacking industry; and

Whereas it appears that proper control and supervision of the meatpacking industry under this act has not been effected, due possibly to insufficient funds; and

Whereas legislation has been introduced in the 85th Congress to transfer the authority now under the Packers and Stockyards Act to the Federal Trade Commission: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we oppose legislation that would transfer authority now under the Packers and Stockyards Act to the Federal Trade Commission; and be it further

Resolved, That in order that the act be properly and adequately administered under the Secretary of Agriculture, we urge the responsibility for administration of the act be removed from the Commodity Branch and placed under a separate and independent agency; and be it further

Resolved, That we urge adequate funds be made available for the proper administration of the act.

PACKERS' CONSENT DECREE

Whereas the Kansas Livestock Association is committed to the principle of efficiency in marketing livestock and meats; and

Whereas the so-called 1920 packers' consent decree prohibits only certain packers from owning and operating retail meat markets and from manufacturing, transporting, distributing or otherwise dealing in certain commodities specified in the decree, and popularly referred to as the "unrelated lines,"—the Kansas Livestock Association believes that meat distribution would be more efficient and its costs lowered if these packers were permitted to retail meats and other related products as are their competitors: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Kansas Livestock Association opposes those portions of the consent decree which conflict with the beforementioned views; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Secretary of Agriculture and to the Attorney General of the United States.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

We commend the State board and department of agriculture for their work on behalf of the livestock industry. We look forward to continued cooperation with their personnel in utilizing the department's facilities whenever we need aid in our marketing problems.

LIVESTOCK SANITARY COMMISSIONER

Resolved, That during a period of years when most State and National agencies have increased their expenditures, the State livestock sanitary commissioner, A. G. Pickett, be commended for economy and a decrease in expenditures in his department while providing better service to the industry.

QUALIFICATIONS OF STATE LIVESTOCK SANITARY COMMISSIONER

We vigorously oppose any change in the method of selection of the State livestock sanitary commissioner or any basic change in the qualifications necessary to hold that position.

CONTROL OF PREDATORY ANIMALS

In dealing with the problem of the control of the coyote as a menace to livestock and poultry producers as well as to wild life such as quails, prairie chickens, and pheasants, it is the feeling of this association that the use of the so-called gas or cynamide gun should not be prohibited by law because it has been found to be a most effective weapon in dealing with this problem.

However, as a protective measure for domestic animals the association recommends that these guns should not be set less than one-half mile from any occupied farmhouse without the consent of the landowner or tenant. The association also recommends that the use of these gas guns by minors be prohibited unless they have written parental consent to use them.

MEAT PROMOTION

Whereas meat promotion is vital to the livestock industry in Kansas and Kansas livestock auction markets have increased financial support of the national livestock and meat board; and

Whereas the meat merchandising committee of this association has performed excellent service in seeking more widespread support of the national livestock and meat board: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this association ask all possible financial support of the national livestock and meat board by nonparticipating Kansas markets.

DROUGHT DISASTER FEED PROGRAM

Be it resolved, That the Kansas Livestock Association, in convention assembled, requests the Secretary of Agriculture to immediately reexamine the drought disaster feed program to eliminate the widespread inequities. A copy of this resolution is to be sent to the Secretary of Agriculture and the chairman of the Committees on Agriculture of both Houses of Congress.

HUMANE SLAUGHTERING

Whereas a number of bills have been introduced in Congress calling for mandatory use of humane slaughtering methods by all slaughterers; and

Whereas the American Meat Institute and the American Humane Association are cooperating in studies and research on more humane methods of slaughtering: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Kansas Livestock Association is opposed to any mandatory legislation until more acceptable and economical methods are developed by the industry.

APPRECIATION

The Kansas Livestock Association extends its thanks to all those who have contributed so much to the success and enjoyment of our 44th annual convention.

Especially, we extend our thanks to the city of Wichita and the Broadview Hotel; to the Oklahoma City Livestock Market, the Santa Fe Railroad, the Wichita Livestock Marketing Interests, the Fourth National Bank in Wichita, and the Kansas City Stockyards Co. for special events; to the press, radio, and television services; to our convention speakers; to our convention committee and its chairman, Tom Potter; to our president, vice president, secretary and his staff, and all other officers and committee members.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

The Slow Pace of American Development of Peacetime Uses of Atomic Energy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one situation which has been deeply disturbing to many of us is the slow pace at which our country has been operating in the development of peacetime uses of atomic energy.

Three years ago the Congress passed a measure which was supposed to speed that development. Yet today there are indications that we may have been outstripped not only by our friend, Great Britain, but perhaps even by the Soviet Union.

The Baltimore Sun on yesterday carried an article written by its Moscow correspondent, Howard Norton. Mr. Norton is a reputable newspaperman, considered by his colleagues to be an accurate and well-informed reporter.

This article describes—apparently from direct observation—the Soviet Union's first atomic power station. It is not a station that can be termed a tremendous commercial achievement. Nevertheless, it is established and is operating; and a second one is also running.

Because of the tremendous importance of this development, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Norton's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNDER A MOSCOW DATELINE

(By Howard Norton)

Moscow, March 23.—Russia's first atomic-power station is not what you would call a resounding commercial success.

It hums bustly, day and night, for 100 days days at a stretch without refueling. And it manages to turn out about 5,000 kilowatts of power.

But the engineers who run it will confess, if you ask them, that it is not producing quite enough power to supply the needs of the little atomic city that was built specially to house the people who built and operate the power station.

"Of course," they explain, "it's an experimental project. It should be much larger."

Secrecy still cloaks much of the activity at the atomic city, though the power station has been running since 1954, and films of the whole setup have been shown in the theaters both here and in the West.

IT IS NOT GIVEN A NAME

Despite the fact that many thousands of people know it is located about 135 kilometers south of Moscow, in a forested region, the Kremlin still insists on taking the precaution of not giving the city a name, and not showing it on the map.

The atomic city housewives do much of their shopping at the town of Maloyaroslavyets, which is also nearby.

The powerplant itself is a squat, unimpressive thing by comparison with the city of huge apartment houses, theaters, stores, and schools that has been put up to keep it going.

Like an iceberg, its most important part is out of sight.

The heart of the station is a graphite cylinder about 15 feet tall which, in turn, is housed inside a water-filled concrete cylinder with walls 9 feet thick.

And to make doubly sure that there is no stray radiation, this whole thing is buried deep in the ground. The station itself is built over and around it.

REPORT NO ACCIDENTS

The Soviet scientists who have been studying the station since it was opened in June of 1954 claim they are amazed by its safety and by the smoothness of its operation.

They say there has not been a single breakdown of any kind or the slightest accident or injury to personnel.

They admit it is uneconomic to operate here in European Russia where cheaper types of fuel are available, but they have their eyes on some of the remoter regions of Siberia where the cold rules out water power, and the lack of transport bars coal-operated power plants.

An atomic plant, they say, could be kept going in these far regions by a single airplane-load of uranium, flown in once every 3 months.

They see in it the key that may open some of Siberia's untapped resources.

It takes 1,400 pounds of uranium to load the graphite cylinder and start the chain reaction going.

128 RODS REPLACED

After 100 days of operation at full capacity, only 7½ pounds of uranium will have been consumed.

But at this point the "critical mass" of fuel falls below the amount required to maintain the chain reaction, and the 128 uranium rods have to be pulled out and replaced by new ones.

The old rods are cooled off for 3 months in water-filled storage tanks, and they they go back to the factory where the uranium is recovered and reused.

The way the plant operates sounds simple enough. Ordinary water is pumped through the uranium rods. The heat generated by the atomic reaction raises the temperature of the water to between 260° and 280° C. (water boils at 100° C.).

This jet of superheated water is then used to create steam to turn the generator turbines.

WANT IT SIMPLE

Persons who claim to know something about atomic energy say this is an elementary system—just in the kindergarten stage of atomic power.

But the Soviet scientists, who agree to a point, explain that this is exactly what they want—something simple enough to operate efficiently far from civilization; something that does not require heavy loads of fuel or frequent repairs.

Russia has a second atomic power station in operation, too. But it is not ready to show that one off, or say much about it.

The first one—at the little "atomic city" south of Moscow—probably will continue to operate as a sort of monument, long after its days of usefulness as an experiment are over.

For, in addition to being the first in Russia, it was also the first operating atomic power plant in the world.

And this is one Soviet "first" that nobody will brand as a phony.

The Still Explosive Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I believe that most of us have now become resigned to the realization that the Middle Eastern situation is far from a solution.

The Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba was one of the preconditions for working out a solution. But there were other preconditions, in the form of actions to be taken by the other side. These have not been met.

The careful and very perceptive columnist, Roscoe Drummond, summed up the situation admirably in an article published yesterday. I ask unanimous consent that his article, taken from the New York Herald-Tribune, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE STILL EXPLOSIVE MIDDLE EAST

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The candid judgment in Washington is that the Middle East crisis is going to become more explosive, not less, during the coming weeks.

Most United States officials take an increasingly gloomy view of Egyptian President Nasser's uncooperative, even provocative, attitude since the withdrawal of Israeli forces.

Thus far, President Nasser has done nothing to improve the climate for peace since the United Nations and the United States rescued him from the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion.

Cairo has announced that it will continue to deny the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping, which means that Egypt asserts the right to use the restored canal as an instrument of national politics. This would be a clear repudiation of the six principles for the operation of the Suez unanimously approved by the U. N. Security Council and accepted by the Egyptian Government.

President Nasser appears to be persistently and successfully elbowing the U. N. forces out of the Gaza strip, from which so many harassing raids were launched against the Israeli frontier.

Although the U. N. General Assembly approved the function of the U. N. expeditionary force to help maintain quiet during and

after the withdrawal of Israeli troops, Nasser is doing everything he can to undercut the U. N. either as a means of helping to administer Gaza or to guard the border.

Either Nasser will prevail or the U. N. will prevail, and that is the nub of it right now.

It is true that one Israeli freighter has sailed down the Gulf of Aqaba to the Red Sea undisturbed by either Egypt or Saudi Arabia in using its right of innocent passage through international waters.

But it is too soon to consider even this issue settled. Cairo continues to talk about barring Israeli ships from plying the waters through which they must pass to reach the Israeli port of Elath. It may soon be more than talk, because Egyptian troops are now reported to be moving toward Sharm el Sheikh, where installations survey the Gulf of Aqaba.

President Nasser justifies these anti-Israel practices with the assertion that Israel must not be rewarded for aggression. This is an empty justification.

If the basis for discrimination again Israeli ships in the use of the Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba is the recent invasion, then there was no basis for such discrimination before the invasion.

Of course, Israel should not be rewarded for aggression, but it is not reward for Israel to receive the fair and impartial treatment which she, in right, deserved to receive, and the denial of which helped to bring on the invasion.

The U. N. Assembly has overwhelmingly condemned both the Israeli invasion and Egypt's discriminations against Israel.

Now that Israel has obeyed the U. N. resolution, are we to accept the fantastic Egyptian contention that Egypt does not need to cease its provocations on the ground that to do so would reward Israel?

All these are the reasons why the hardest tests in the Middle East still lie ahead for the U. N. and the United States.

For years, the U. N. resolved against but did nothing to stop the Egyptian provocations against Israel. Will it act effectively if these provocations are, in fact, resumed?

We shouldn't overlook the fact that the U. N. did not get Israel out of Egypt. It was the United States which persuaded Israel to withdraw after we assured Premier Ben-Gurion that we would actively and energetically work to realize the assumptions on which she was withdrawing: freedom for Israeli shipping, freedom from the Gaza raids.

In many ways, Israel is today resting her safety and, perhaps, even her survival, upon the good faith and good offices of the United States. If Nasser continues in his present course, the United States, by itself and through the U. N., will be called upon to prove that these assurances are strong, not weak.

The peace and stability of the entire Middle East will be at stake.

The Character and Accomplishments of Hon. Sam J. Ervin, of North Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, recently I had an opportunity to visit the great State of North Carolina, and there I met many of its outstanding citizens. I learned of the great admiration and affection which all the people of that State have for their distinguished senior Senator, SAM JAMES ERVIN, JR.

This morning there was published in the New York Times a biographical sketch regarding Judge and Senator ERVIN. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIXIE'S JESTER-KNIGHT, SAMUEL JAMES ERVIN, JR.

WASHINGTON, March 24.—Adversaries of SAMUEL JAMES ERVIN, JR., frequently find themselves opposing, not the senior Senator from North Carolina, but Job Hicks, Uncle Ephraim, or Old Jim.

MAN IN THE NEWS

These belong to a host of folk heroes, all endowed with the eternal wisdom of his native hills, who in anecdotes heed the Senator's slightest beckoning to deflate a pompous speaker or needle a reluctant witness. The lawyer-judge from Morganton is acknowledged to be the Senate's best raconteur.

But since entering the lists as a States rights champion, especially in the current struggle over civil-rights legislation, the Senator has offered his colleagues less the portrait of the jester than of the county prosecutor in Dixie armor.

This has not necessarily dulled the point of his lance.

WASHINGTON AND ANANIAS

Jousting with Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., at a hearing of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Senator ERVIN made the point that signed affidavits cited in a civil-rights case might not be "verified information."

"When you reduce the testimony of George Washington and that of Ananias to cold paper with no opportunity to see their demeanor of conduct * * * it is practically impossible to distinguish between them," he said to the Cabinet officer.

The Senator at 60 presents a handsome bearing that belies, somewhat his attachment to the hill people he tells so much about. His features are bold and his voice is easily heard across the Senate Chamber. He is addicted to highly polished tan shoes, fine fabrics and neat cravats. But some who observe him from day to day swear that the judicial robes fall over his shoulders when he rises to speak.

When appointed to the Senate in 1954 he was an associate justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court.

BORN IN NORTH CAROLINA

He was born September 27, 1896, in Morganton, N. C., and received his early training in the law traveling over Burke County with his father.

He likes to startle visitors by telling them he is the only man to have gone through Harvard backward. He went there just for the third-year course, because, as he puts it, "he was afraid some other fellow would get my girl back home." At the end of the first year, though, the romance still seemed stable, so he took the second year. Reassured again, he went back and completed the first year.

He got his law degree and the girl, too. Senator ERVIN and Margaret Bell Ervin now have three grown children—two daughters, Margaret and Laura, and a son, Sam J. Ervin 3d, who recently began his law practice in his father's old office back home.

The Senator's gift for the illustrative yarn was demonstrated recently at a committee hearing in which a ranking Government official, evading specific questions on foreign-aid spending, confined his answers to general statements.

THE CASE OF THE DIVORCE

Senator ERVIN said the witness reminded him of the husband back home who notified his lawyer he wanted to divorce his wife. He conceded she was beautiful, a fine cook, and a model mother.

"Then why do you want to divorce her?" the lawyer asked.

"Because she talks all the time," the husband replied.

"What does she talk about?"

"That's the trouble. She never says."

And that, Senator ERVIN said, is the trouble with many witnesses who come before congressional committees.

Address by Hon. Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee, to the Young Democratic Club of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered to a meeting of the National Committee Men and Committee Women of the Young Democratic Club of America on Friday, March 22.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY SENATOR KEFAUVER TO THE YOUNG DEMOCRAT CLUB OF AMERICA, MARCH 22, 1957, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON

I am very happy to be present at the opening of this national committee meeting of the Young Democratic Clubs of America.

It is appropriate that you young Democrats, with such a great stake in the future because you are young, should meet here in the Capital to take stock, so to speak, at this particular time.

There is abroad in the world a vast and sometimes turbulent sense of change. Many patterns being set today will have profound effects on the future. Many of these results will be unchangeable. As Democrats, although we do not control the executive branch of the Government, I think we must assume our fair share of responsibility for the way in which those patterns of the future are shaped.

In Bermuda today the head of this Nation and the head of Britain are meeting. We can see dramatized in that island one of the profound changes. The British Empire, which was such a source of power and strength in the 19th century, undisputed ruler of the seas, obviously comes to the island of Bermuda as still a great world power, but the second power. The United States is the first.

This meeting, concerned as it is with the eruptions of the Middle East, with the plaguing questions of the Far East, with renewed understandings between two old friends, the British and the United States, presents in capsule form the concerns of the world.

It also emphasizes how little understanding really exists of the new world order—how little understanding there is of what is to replace the age of imperialism and colonialism, of how the new nations, bursting with a sense of nationalism, are to live together.

You, as young Democrats, will have to live in that world. You, therefore, have a vital interest in its shaping.

The sense of change is just as profound within the borders of our own Nation. The seeds of new social and economic problems are being planted. You and I will have to live with them. One of the most important is size—size of the industrial unit and economic power which it represents.

Let's take a look into this future for a few minutes.

There is no question but that science and technology are getting ready to produce goods and services that even to the sophisticated border on the fantastic. That this is not a dream is demonstrated by the fact that working models of some of them are currently on display at the New York Stock Exchange. I recently read an article entitled "Focus on a Fabulous Future" which appeared in the March 1957 issue of the Exchange, a little magazine published monthly by the New York Stock Exchange. This is what it says:

"While the future cannot be forecast in great detail until it finally settles around us, there are revealing portents available inside test tubes, on drawing boards, in research laboratories—and the Stock Exchange's new million-dollar exhibit hall gives visitors an exciting glimpse of this incredible world of tomorrow. Working models, animation, color, 15,000 moving parts and 11,000 lights all open a window on the goods and services corporations are developing for future delivery."

The article goes on to describe the exhibits of several corporations. Of the United States Steel exhibit, it says:

"Through show windows of the United States Steel Corp.'s exhibit, for example, model rocket ships built to scale whoosh by a towering metallic city, while far below a farm flourishes beneath the sea. As the future unfolds in almost bewildering sequence, Narrator George Hicks describes the magnitude of what tomorrow is expected to yield."

Of Consolidated Edison's exhibit the article says: "Against a large panoramic night view of New York City, an atomic powerplant in miniature demonstrates how nuclear energy will be harnessed for electric power, from boiler to turbogenerator. Since the model represents the Consolidated Edison Co.'s Indian Point nuclear steam-generating plant now under construction, the future may be around the corner. The plant is scheduled to start supplying energy in 1960."

As even the staid New York Stock Exchange suggests: "The future will stagger the imagination of even the most visionary guest * * * a coming age of rockets and atomic energy and cities in the sky."

This all sounds wonderful—and ths progress was made possible, I may note in passing, by the vision of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman who had the courage to turn the scientists loose, with adequate support and appropriations from the Government, to make it possible to harness the atom.

But while we are exulting over this peek into the future, let us not forget that it raises new social and economic problems which you as young Democrats will have to live with and concerning which the pattern may be in the process of being fashioned right now.

How is all this to come about? In the Wall Street Journal of March 14, I read the report of a speech by Mr. Roger M. Blough, chairman of United States Steel, made to the Economic Club of Chicago. Speaking for one of the world's most powerful corporations, Mr. Blough is worth listening to.

Mr. Blough told his audience that "a new business concept—giant corporations joining to form large combines for spreading their risks—may be developing on the economic scene."

"The future may indeed call for bigger business organizations, as man seeks to unlock the secret of the atom, penetrate outer space, and harness the rays of the sun," he said. He suggested that "business which evolved from the individual entrepreneur to the partnership and then to the modern corporation, now may be moving into an era of partnership of corporations."

Mr. Blough then went on to point out that this partnership of corporations was not merely a forecast of what would be necessary to handle America's tomorrows, but that it was also a report of what is already taking place. He said:

"Our biggest corporations are rapidly getting too small to do all the things that are expected of them. The development of raw materials, for instance, has become so expensive, and involves such risks, that a number of large steel companies have had to band together to develop faraway iron-ore deposits, and to establish plants and processes for the manufacturing of usable blast-furnace materials out of low-grade taconite ores."

He asks, but leaves unanswered this question: "Does this joint development idea, perhaps, presage the birth of even larger joint venture in business enterprise than our present-day organizations?"

Following Mr. Blough's speech the Wall Street Journal itself raised the questions which I know must have occurred to you as they did to me. The Journal, in its editorial, asked:

"Would it be possible to prevent such organizations from becoming literal monopolies? Even if so, how much damage would be done to competition? Would small businesses continue to multiply as they now do? Could these giant enterprises remain efficient and so, in fact, meet the demands of the consumers in whose name they were created?"

These questions are relevant. You and I, especially you, must answer them. They are relevant to you as young people; they are relevant to you as Democrats. They foreshadow the formulation of the kind of world you will live in.

My own tentative answers to these questions, result from my knowledge of the past. In the America of today, it has not been possible to prevent existing giant corporations from becoming monopolistic. If the America of tomorrow demands combinations of these giants, it is not likely that we shall be able to prevent them from becoming literal conopolies.

The answer must be either that the America of tomorrow does not require such combines, or that, if it does, they as literal monopolies must be controlled in the public interest.

That is a function of government, and, therefore, of politics, not in the narrow sense of partisanship but in the broader sense. We must prepare ourselves. We must study most intensively the necessity for increase in business size to accommodate the problems of the America of tomorrow. We must study most intensively the techniques of Government control. We must be prepared.

I submit our Democratic Congress is now leading the way in a very statesmanlike manner toward exactly the kind of study and planning we need for the America of tomorrow.

In the Foreign Relations Committee, as a result of the resolution passed during the Middle East hearings on the motion of Senator FULBRIGHT, we are gathering together the information needed to assess the policies of the past as a guide to the future.

In the antitrust and monopoly subcommittee, of which I am chairman, we are engaged in a study of concentration and I certainly have in mind the further extension of this study to determine just what kind of society we will be living in tomorrow.

This Nation was founded on the principles of free enterprise and individual liberty. What we want to do, and what we must do, is save our freedom, and still have the blessings of the scientific and technological achievements of which we are capable.

This will be the task of the Democratic Party, and you, as young Democrats, must play a large role in molding the policies by which we will achieve our goals. For you, with your future ahead of you, the America of tomorrow is more important than for any of the rest of us.

Local Service Airline Subsidy Payments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, Mr. C. A. Myhre, the president of the Frontier Airlines, delivered a very interesting address at the Chamber of Commerce of Grand Junction, Colo., in which he discussed the question of local service airlines, and whether they will continue to be a subsidy burden to the taxpayers.

It is a very timely discussion, and should be of great interest, particularly as we consider the whole question of subsidies in connection with the Commerce Department's appropriations.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF GRAND JUNCTION, COLO., BY C. A. MYHRE, PRESIDENT, FRONTIER AIRLINES, INC., FEBRUARY 22, 1957

Will the local service airlines continue to be a subsidy burden to the taxpayer or will presently available corrective measures be applied by the regulatory agencies in time so that the present local service airline subsidy will be reduced and eventually eliminated?

The subsidy paid to the 13 local service airlines has increased every year since 1947, when it amounted to $7 million; in 1956 it was $24 million, and the CAB estimate for 1958 is $29 million. This estimate, in my opinion, is low; most of the carriers are currently requesting increased subsidy and, as a result of area cases now in process, there will be substantial route extensions which will further increase our mail pay needs. I would guess that by 1958 the subsidy may approach $40 million. But whether it is $29 million or $40 million, the problem which I want to discuss with you remains the same: How can these rising subsidy bills be offset?

We are long past the point that there is any question that the local service airlines are a necessary part of our air transport service and are performing a function required in the public interest. The function of providing good air service from small and medium-sized communities to the larger metropolitan centers has proved of great economic value. This fact has been established by your steadily increasing patronage, by numerous certificate renewal cases and finally confirmed by Federal legislation in 1955 when Congress, by unanimous vote, made permanent the certificates of public con-

venience and necessity of the local service carriers.

There is likewise no question but that further extension of the local airlines routes into presently unserved areas is also in the public interest. The people in such States as Nebraska and South Dakota, which have been completely by-passed by local air service, have contributed by Federal taxes for many years to the support of local air service in the rest of the United States and are entitled to local service in their own States. As our country grows, more and more air service will be necessary.

I don't want you to get the idea there is anything wrong with air transportation as a business or that subsidy has been necessary. The 12 domestic trunk airlines are among the fastest growing, strongest business concerns in our entire economy and, as of last week, no subsidy is being paid for domestic trunk operations.

The carriers which serve the smaller communities require subsidy today primarily because they are required by Board order—not by traffic or economic reasons—to operate under such conditions and limitations that they cannot operate economically.

None of us in the local service industry enjoys being subsidized. We look forward to the day when, like the trunk carriers, we can operate on a profitable basis. Please don't be under the misimpression that because we are subsidized we have no financial worries; despite the $24 million which the local service industry received in subsidy last year, it had an operational loss of $660,000. After almost 10 years of subsidized operations, the local service carriers show a deficit in their earned surplus accounts of $327,000. These financial problems are of obvious concern to our stockholders and we think they ought to be of concern to the public we serve simply because in the long run only financially healthy companies can provide the best in air service. Beyond that, we fear that unless we show progress toward reducing our subsidy requirements, the Congress may not indefinitely foot the bill; in a sense, therefore, I'm suggesting that the very existence of the local service airlines is at stake. Representatives of the industry as well as representatives from the CAB itself, have on numerous occasions advised Congress that the reduction in subsidy was one of the two major objectives—the other one being improved air service. These are not incompatible objectives, and let me emphasize that I don't think that the expansion of the local carriers should be curtailed because it will involve additional subsidy; but I do think that steps can be taken which will reduce the cost of this expansion. The solution that I will suggest for this problem promotes the most important objectives in civil aviation—reducing subsidy and improving the quality of the air service.

Before discussing a solution, I would like to give you a few statistics about the typical local service airline:

It represents an investment of $500,000; its annual revenue is about $3 million which is $2 million less than its expenses—this difference is made up by subsidy. This company operates with a load factor of 45 percent; the average distance between stops is 85 miles. Its costs per revenue ton-mile are $1.10.

Theoretically, we can reduce or eliminate subsidy by increasing revenues and decreasing expenses, or some of both. What I want to do is to place some of the suggested solutions in their proper perspective by indicating the extent to which they can contribute to the reduction in subsidy. Let us first look at three ways in which our revenues might be increased:

First, the board itself is conducting an investigation to determine whether, in fixing the amount of subsidy payments, the rate of return on the carrier's investment should be greater than the 8 percent now authorized. Even assuming that this might be increased to 12 percent, the financial benefit to our typical local service carrier would be only $20,000 (4 percent of investment of $500,000). Obviously, this is no solution; in addition, it also represents an increase in subsidy rather than a decrease.

Secondly, our company could raise the charges for its services. No doubt you noticed that United Air Lines has recently indicated it will raise its fares by 6 percent; Capital and Eastern Air Lines have stated they may follow suit. The typical local service carrier would receive approximately 6 percent of the available annual revenue of $3 million provided that no decrease in the volume of traffic would result from increasing the cost of travel. Past experience indicates that a decrease would result and a fare increase would not be pure gain. In addition, local service fares are keyed to the level of trunkline fares and it does not appear fair or justifiable to expect the traveling public to pay more to avail themselves of local air service than it costs them to travel on trunkline carriers.

Thirdly, it is possible for continued improvement in increasing traffic. It is a historic fact that virtually all local service carriers have not only increased their traffic, but have increased their load factors consistently over the years they have been operating.

Next, let us look at some of the opportunities for reducing costs:

First, costs may be reduced through increased efficiency. There is, of course, some variation in the level of costs among the 13 local service carriers. Differences in weather conditions, mountain flying, wage scales, gasoline prices and the like explain in part some of the cost differences. In my opinion, success in this area is represented by holding the line—no one has found it possible to reduce costs significantly.

Many have hoped that costs could be reduced by the introduction of more modern aircraft—after all, the DC–3 (which is the workhorse for our industry) is 20 years old. However, none of the three carriers which has tried newer equipment have been able to reduce its subsidy needs. The operating results of the three airlines which are operating modern postwar equipment (Martins and Convairs) demonstrates that the shortness of haul made necessary by certificate restrictions on their routes results in significantly higher direct expense per ton mile in two cases, and virtually no improvement in ton mile expense in the third case. Furthermore, the depreciation expense per ton mile on the new equipment is so much higher than the comparable expense for DC–3 equipment that any operating efficiency is more than offset.

These are the results:

Type of aircraft	Airline A [1]		Airline B [2]		Airline C [3]	
	Martin	DC–3	Martin	DC–3	Convair	DC–3
Direct expenses per ton-mile less depreciation	$47.49	$44.78	$38.14	$42.69	$40.09	$52.53
Depreciation per ton mile	$10.26	$1.70	$5.34	$2.02	$8.22	$1.66
Total direct expenses per ton-mile	$57.76	$46.48	$43.48	$44.71	$48.31	$44.19
Average load factor (percent)	42.2	47.7	49.1	47.9	52.1	54.1
Average length of hop [4]	97	69	93	61	81	78

[1] Allegheny for calendar year 1956.
[2] Southwest for 12 months ended Sept. 30, 1956.
[3] Mohawk for 12 months ended Sept. 30, 1956.
[4] Estimated.

From these figures it can be seen that the carriers which have started to use larger and more modern aircraft have not been able to reduce their unit costs.

While each is helpful, none of these solutions comes even close to solving the problem.

There is only one solution and that is to treat us as if we were airlines and to start relaxing the artificial restrictions—which none of the trunks have—on our operations so we can operate economically. These restrictions are the heart of the problem—today we must stop every flight at every point on the route with minor exceptions.

This has three results. First, it prevents us from operating the airplanes at economical distances—our average length of flight is only 85 miles. Second, it prevents us from getting enough people on each airplane to be economic. Third, by forcing the public to make an unnecessary number of unwanted stops to reach their destinations, it becomes a disservice to the public and discourages use of our services.

The same economics apply to the small carriers as apply to the trunks—whether an airline makes money or loses money is largely dependent on three factors, the volume of passengers carried, the number carried on each plane and the distance the plane operates before it comes down again.

To prove this point, we have undertaken an analysis of the costs and traffic characteristics for a 5-year period for a number of local service carriers and so-called regional trunklines. We have computed statistically what everyone in the industry has taken as axiomatic: that unit costs sharply decline as load factor and length of haul increases. The theory has never been challenged; the only question was, how much. Through this detailed analysis, we have attempted to answer this question: How much? Our study shows that if the average hop of our typical airline increased from 85 miles to 100 miles (and if at the same time the volume of traffic remained constant), costs would decline by approximately $500,000. Moreover, if the average length of hop increased to 120 miles, costs would decline by $1 million. These startling conclusions are based on what actually happened to a number of airlines over a recent 5-year period. The DC–3 can be operated at its maximum efficiency at hops of approximately 125 miles; the Convair, for example, achieves its maximum efficiency on hops of approximately 200 miles. On shorter hops neither aircraft is an economical piece of equipment—remember that the average local service airline has an average hop of only 85 miles. I suppose that most of the local service carriers have carefully studied the opportunities for replacing the DC–3 with larger and more modern airplanes. The problem has been, and is today, that no economies will

result from operating a modern airplane on flights which are too short for even a DC–3.

But substantial savings will result if we could operate the newer aircraft at the stage lengths for which they were designed. It should also be realized that not only would great strides be made in attaining self-sufficiency, but substantial improvements in air service would be made available to the traveling public.

We are not asking for anything that will harm the trunk airlines. As I have said, the trunks are among the fastest growing, most profitable concerns in our economy.

The contrast between the members of this industry is enormous. The domestic trunks carry over 97 percent of the ton-miles moved by passenger carriers in this country and receive over 98 percent of the commercial revenues. In the year ending June 1956 the total revenues of the trunks approximated $1¼ billion. For the same period, the total net operating profit of the trunks was $124 million. As of December 31, 1955, the trunks had an earned surplus of $276 million. Since the enactment of the Civil Aeronautics Act in 1938 to 1956, their passenger revenues increased more than 44½ times (from $24 million to over $1 billion), their total assets approximately 31 times (from $36 million to $1,100,000,000).

Trunk airline growth from 1955 to 1956 was the equivalent of the total revenues of five trunk carriers, Western, Braniff, and National, Northeast and Continental. This single year's growth is twice the total revenues of the entire local service industry.

In the 10 years since 1947, the growth in revenues has been about 3½ times. In the last 7 years the domestic trunks have realized almost $600 million in net profits on operations.

On the other hand, the other members of the domestic air passenger transportation family, the 13 small carriers, present an entirely different picture. They account for only 2½ percent of the ton-miles carried in domestic operations and 3.3 percent of the commercial revenue operations. They showed an operating loss of $661,000 in the last year compared to the almost $124 million operating profit realized by the domestic trunks. For the entire local service industry our books show a deficit of $327,000, after all charges, as a result of our 10 years of operations.

In contrast to the $276 million earned surplus of the trunks, we have an actual deficit of $327,000.

The controlling reasons for the strong position of the trunks is that the Civil Aeronautics Board has made it one of its major policies to strengthen their routes and thereby to eliminate their subsidy need.

The last two carriers to come off subsidy, Northeast and Continental, have received major route awards from the Board in the last several months. Northeast was extended from New York to Washington to Miami in order to participate in one of the major markets in the world and Continental was extended between Chicago and Los Angeles, via Kansas City and Denver, for the same purpose. Every one of the trunks has received a number of major route awards since the locals started in business. Delta and Braniff have been extended from Texas and Georgia, respectively, into New York. A carrier operating in our part of the country, Western, had its route modified so that it would have a Minneapolis-Los Angeles route and a Denver-San Francisco route, and even American, which has the greatest profit-making route in the world, received a new route between Chicago and San Francisco.

Obviously, it wouldn't take any such program as this to get the locals off subsidy, but it is going to take determination on the part of the Board and a lot of consideration for our plight to make this possible.

Even if the Board should adopt as a major policy the reduction of our subsidy, Civil Aeronautics Board proceedings are becoming so complicated and time-consuming that little effect could be accomplished in the next several years. In order to get some action started, we have three specific proposals (I am using Frontier as an example, similar situations apply to all other local carriers):

1. After Frontier has provided two daily round trips to intermediate cities, allow us to operate without restriction between any two cities where competitive air service is not available. This would permit, for example, nonstop service between Denver and Phoenix, Denver and Grand Junction, Salt Lake City and Albuquerque, Phoenix and Farmington. Between these cities, Frontier offers the only air service available today. This suggestion creates no new competition for other air carriers; it would simply give the public better service, and enable Frontier to reduce costs by really allowing us to serve the demand over our existing routes, and to serve it in an economical and sensible manner. If the CAB were to take this action today with respect to only two segments on Frontier's present system, our subsidy needs for the next year would be reduced by a minimum of over $700,000, or by nearly 30 percent.

2. The CAB should declare a moratorium on proceedings involving trunkline applications for service between terminals served by Frontier. This would mean that while the Board is studying the problem of reducing subsidy, the potentially lucrative routes in the area we serve would not be awarded to an already prosperous trunk carrier. If we lost our chance for profitable routes today, we'll still be on subsidy many years from now. Good routes not yet served are becoming scarce.

3. The Board should institute an investigation to determine whether, after providing required local service, Frontier could operate without restriction between all cities it is authorized to serve. We think that the opportunities for savings through route improvement are so amazing that the Board should test our conclusions in a formal investigation—where all interested parties could voice their agreement or disagreement. The acceptance by the Board of the principles which I have discussed could then be used as a guide in planning the future development of air transportation.

If the CAB were to take this action today with respect to only two segments on Frontier's present system, our subsidy needs for the next year would be reduced by a minimum of over $700,000 or by nearly 30 percent. With such savings in prospect, you may well ask what possible objections can be raised to this plan? In the first place, trunk carriers are seeking authority to operate between terminals served by Frontier; they will not remain silent if opportunities for even further expansion are denied them.

Secondly, the Board itself appears to have had some difficulty with authorizing local carriers to serve profitable route segments. The Board's past policy has been to eliminate local carriers as applicants from profitable route cases. In the last seven major local service route cases, only one involved the prospect of a profitable operation. Indeed, it has been regularly suggested by the trunk carriers that the true or real distinction between a "local service" and a "trunkline" route is whether it can be profitably operated.

Neither of these objections is substantial in terms of the opportunities offered the public by granting the route improvements we seek.

Our proposals, we believe, go to the very heart of air transportation economics; the Board has, in a sense, shifted the unprofitable, subsidized obligations from the trunk airlines to a new class of carriers without granting them offsetting, profitmaking opportunities. We seek to give best possible air service and to minimize our costs in the confident belief that through route modifications the industry will become not only self-sufficient, but a profitable part of our free enterprises.

We all recognize that carriers like Frontier were created to serve the local, short-haul markets. This type of service must not only continue, but, in our opinion, be extended. The thrust of my thesis is not that we abandon the service we were designed to perform, but rather that in addition, we be permitted to operate profitable routes, the profit from which can be used to offset the losses on the short-haul routes. This is a mighty important issue—it can reduce our subsidy, strengthen us financially so that we can finance newer equipment, and lead to an improvement in our short-haul service.

The problem is an economic one; we think it calls for an effective and practical approach, and we believe that route improvements is the place to start.

An economic route structure, supported and served with adequate, modern equipment, will permit the best possibility of providing all of the services required in the public interest and with the greatest possibility of eventually relieving the present subsidy burden upon you, the taxpayer.

Address by Hon. Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee, to National Capital Wing, Civil Air Patrol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered at Parents' Night, National Capital Wing, Civil Air Patrol, on Friday, March 15, in Washington, D. C. This is the 15th anniversary year of the Civil Air Patrol. It is doing a fine job.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR KEFAUVER AT PARENTS' NIGHT, NATIONAL CAPITAL WING, CAP, MARCH 15, 1957, INTERDEPARTMENTAL AUDITORIUM, WASHINGTON, D. C.

I am pleased to be here, at the invitation of your Wing Commander, Colonel Donohue, to meet with you members of the National Capital Wing of the Civil Air Patrol. I am particularly pleased at the opportunity of speaking to so many of the Cadet boys and girls, and to their parents, who are here with them tonight.

I was a member of the 79th Congress which passed Public Law 476, an act to incorporate the Civil Air Patrol. I was also a member of the 80th Congress which enacted Public Law 575 which established the Civil Air Patrol as an official civilian auxiliary of the United States Air Force. In my home State we are very proud of our Tennessee Civil Air Wing and of its commander, Colonel Alfred M. Waddell.

As a member of the United States Senate, I serve on both the Armed Services and the Judiciary Committees. I am, therefore, in a position to know of the valuable contribu-

tion made by the civilian pilots and observers in Civil Air Patrol aircraft. They flew over 24 million miles over water in our effort to meet the enemy submarine attacks in the coastal waters of the United States during World War II. Twenty-six CAP airmen were lost and more than 800 were awarded the Air Medal for their service in actual over-water reconnaissance.

Fortunately, the end of the war did not mean the end of the Civil Air Patrol. It has been continued and it has played a new and challenging role in these days of an uneasy peace. Under the guidance of Gen. Carl A. Spaatz, the retired Chief of Staff of the Air Force, serving as chairman of its National Executive Board and of its immediately past national commander, Maj. Gen. Lucas C. Beau, and its present commander, Maj. Gen. Walter R. Agee, the Civil Air Patrol is effectively fulfilling its mission.

I agree with President Eisenhower who had this to say in his message of congratulations to you in this 15th anniversary year: "From nearly 3,000 bases throughout all our States and Territories, the 90,000 volunteers of the Civil Air Patrol fly daily missions for the safety and well-being of their fellow citizens. In case of national or regional emergencies, the Civil Air Patrol stands by in flight readiness."

Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Nathan F. Twining described your function well in saying: "We in the Air Force look to the youth aviation education program of the Civil Air Patrol to help answer the ever-increasing demand for alert young men and women in private civil and military aviation. With its light plane operational force and its nationwide youth program, the CAP is a major element of American airpower."

General Twining refers to that aspect of the mission of Civil Air Patrol which particularly commends it to me—the emphasis on youth training and youth programs. As many of you may know, as Chairman of a subcommittee of the United States Senate, I held public hearings in many parts of the United States, seeking information in the field of juvenile delinquency. I am hopeful that those hearings, and the facts which they developed, may make some contribution toward marshalling the forces of parents, teachers, clergy and public officials to the seriousness of the problem and to the importance of its solution.

It is in this area that the program of the Civil Air Patrol, maintaining as it does a nationwide youth organization of some 50,000 boys and girls, ranging in age from 14 to 18, is of great importance. It offers a partial solution to the problem of the boy or girl whose leisure time is used without direction or incentive and who too often becomes a statistic in the reports of the juvenile authorities. The training of your cadets in the basic fundamentals of aviation, in the theory of flight, in communications, navigation, and meteorology is an important contribution to them and to the Nation in this jet age of supersonic movement and supersonic thinking. That this is so is evidenced by a survey conducted by the United States Air Force last year. This survey showed that some 28,000 former Civil Air Patrol members were then on active duty with the Air Force. The quality of your cadets and the effectiveness of their training is indicated by the fact that the first two classes of tthe New United States Air Force Academy lists 67 of your former cadets among their numbers. Of equal, if not greater importance, is the training they receive in the fundamentals of military drill, in discipline and courtesy. These are the important rudiments in character training which will give meaning and direction to the other fields in which they are instructed.

Of this program, on October 5, 1955, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, said, in part: "The frontiers of today reach skyward. The Civil Air Patrol, through its work with teen-age cadets, is creating in thousands of young Americans an intense desire to explore a field in which the horizons appear to be unlimited. * * * The energy of youth must be utilized in some manner. The channels into which it is directed may be either creative or destructive. Certainly the work of the Civil Air Patrol * * * is one very effective means of reducing the opportunity for delinquency. * * * I believe that the cadet program is a unique contribution in the fight against juvenile delinquency as well as added insurance that we will have eager young explorers patrolling the unknown airways of tomorrow."

This is a powerful endorsement of your organization. At the same time it is a challege to you, the senior officers of the Civil Air Patrol, to interest on an ever widening scale the thousands of boys and girls as yet not enrolled in your cadet program.

During the coming summer, thousands of young cadets will be attending encampments at many of our airbases. Some will have qualified for a special course in the operation and tactical application of jet aircraft. And still others will go as your representatives to some 22 friendly foreign nations in exchange for their counterparts who will visit with us here. This International Cadet Exchange is an important contribution to better understanding and mutual appreciation among the participating nations. And these are the foundations upon which the peace for which we are all striving may well be built.

Again, I am happy for the opportunity of meeting with you. I want to assure you that I am aware of what you are doing and that I will always be sympathetic as a Member of the United States Senate to such of your problems as may be presented to us for assistance.

Thank you again. And goodnight.

Heroism of Ambassador Willauer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, a week ago today, my distinguished colleague from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] had printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the story, as printed in the Scripps-Howard press, of a notable act of personal courage and compassion on the part of the United States Ambassador to Honduras, Mr. Whiting Willauer.

Mr. Willauer has been a friend of mine for many years and he has had a remarkable career in the Government service, which I have followed with interest. I wish to join with my colleague from Illinois in recognition of Ambassador Willauer's recent act of heroism, and to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article about it which appeared in Time magazine of March 18, and also an editorial from the Memphis Press-Scimitar of March 7 entitled "Beyond Duty's Call."

I feel that these articles will be of interest to all the Members of the Senate, and I wish to invite special attention to one paragraph in the editorial which reads as follows:

One courageous, selfless deed such as this will do more to cement relations between the United States and another country than a generation of protocol and stately receptions.

I wish we had more ambassadors capable of such dramatic and effective acts of good will in the countries to which they are accredited, and I hope the Department of State will use the special qualities of Ambassador Willauer to the full extent.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Time magazine]

During a routine day as United States Ambassador to Honduras, one-time Boston admiralty lawyer Whiting Willauer, 50, got a call for some strictly nonroutine work. A 12-year-old boy had drowned while swimming in a river pool near the capital city of Tegucigalpa, but the body could not be found. Would the Ambassador lend his skin-diving equipment to help the search? "Whitey" Willauer gladly complied, but the borrowers did not understand how to use the equipment. The Ambassador forthwith donned his own oxygen mask and tank, dived into the 40-foot depths, found the boy's body, and brought it to the surface. Explained Willauer, "Nobody else could do it, so I did it."

[From the Memphis Press-Scimitar]

BEYOND DUTY'S CALL

If you harbored the idea that American ambassadors abroad never got out of their striped pants or far away from their tea caddies, you can be mighty wrong about that.

Take the case of Whiting Willauer, our Ambassador to Honduras. When a 12-year-old Honduran boy went down helplessly in a treacherous river, His Excellency Whitey Willauer donned his skin-diver's outfit and went in for him.

For more than an hour the Ambassador prowled the 40-foot depths and finally came up with the body. His feat is getting a great play in the Honduran press, as it well deserves.

One courageous, selfless deed such as this will do more to cement relations between the United States and another country than a generation of protocol and stately receptions.

Our hat's off to the colorful Whitey Willauer, more than making good in his first diplomatic post.

Three Hundred and Twenty-third Anniversary of the Founding of the Free State of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I request unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I have prepared in honor of Maryland Day, the 323d anniversary of the founding of the Free State of Maryland.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, today, March 25, is the 32d anniversary of the Free State of Maryland. On this day in the year 1634, a small group of God-fearing, freedom-loving men and women came ashore from the *Ark* and the *Dove* at a point in what is now St. Marys County, Md. With firm conviction and belief in the teachings of God, with courage and fortitude, with enthusiasm for hard work, these men and

women set out to change a wilderness into a home, both for themselves and others who cherished liberty and freedom and the rigt to worsip God in accordance with the dictates of their own consciences.

The fertile lands of Maryland, the sea and the great Chesapeake and its tributaries, responded to the steadfast, dedicated efforts of these brave people. Maryland flourished; its people obtained material wealth, and more important, that peace of mind that comes only with religious freedom.

During the American Revolution, Maryland played a dominant part in the events which led to our independence and throughout the pages of American history, Maryland, during times of peace and war, has amply fulfilled its responsibilities to our Nation. Maryland has protected our liberties and our freedoms and contributed immeasurably to the wealth, the culture and the great American tradition. Our history rings with names of such great men as Hanson, Carroll, Decatur, and Taney, just to mention a few, who gave America capable and dedicated service and leadership in times of stress and need.

Maryland was also at the forefront of the expansion and development of America. Almost 150 years ago, just west of Cumberland, a small band of western Marylanders began felling the trees and clearing the trail for the construction of the National Road; the first internal improvement to be undertaken by our young Nation. Running straight as a plummet into the setting sun this highway eventually reached St. Louis, Mo., and was a spectacular success. Millions of Americans and immigrants—families, gold seekers, adventurers of all types, traveled over this road on their way to the west.

From an early date, Baltimore has been one of America's great seaports, the center of merchant-marine activity reaching to every part of the world. This great port is also the focal point of a vast railway system which stretches to every section of our continent.

Today, as in the past, Maryland exerts a great influence over the affairs of our Nation. The industrial output of her factories, her fine seafood, her quality food and dairy products, her unequalled tobacco—all contribute to the prosperity and high standard of living in America.

From the scenic mountain wonders of western Maryland, past the fertile farm and dairy lands of the foothills, the industrial colossus centered in Baltimore, the quiet dignity and fine tobacco lands of southern Maryland to the charming and fruitful Eastern Shore, Maryland is truly America in miniature.

The Way to Peace and Security in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, on March 21, our former colleague, Senator Herbert H. Lehman, made a forceful and well-considered analysis of problems in the Middle East. He also outlined the failures of American foreign policy to deal with them properly. Senator and Mrs. Lehman were paid a highly deserved tribute by the large audience assembled to do them honor. I ask unanimous consent to have the address delivered by former Senator Lehman printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF HERBERT H. LEHMAN AT THE CONVENTION BANQUET OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN, SHERATON PARK HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 21, 1957

My memory of associations with your organization is a long one. I had the privilege of working with the National Council before I ever thought of getting into public life. That goes back to a time that very few of you here can remember—before many of you were born.

During all the years that I held public office I had reason to know that in nonpolitical matters affecting the public interest, the National Council of Jewish Women could always be depended upon to take its stand in support of the public good—to meet the needs of the underprivileged, to promote the welfare of all the people, and to serve the best interests of our country.

Although I have now left public service, I expect to continue to work alongside your organization, and with many others, for the same good causes and purposes—for freedom, justice, and equality at home, and for peace with justice in the world, for all men everywhere.

I shall continue to work in the direction of these goals—with Mrs. Lehman, my life's companion, at my side—just as long and just as hard as the good Lord lets me.

Tonight I want to talk about one of those goals—the goal of peace, justice, and freedom abroad, with specific reference to the Middle East.

Today, as it was many centuries ago, the Middle East has become the chief arena of world struggle, the area where our leadership is being tested, our principles are being tried, and the peace of the world is at issue.

The Middle East has become the center of world struggle, because about 2 years ago Soviet Russia saw a chance to stir up the Middle East, and by a single stroke to sit astride the jugular vein of Western Europe—the Suez Canal, the lifeline for the vital supplies of oil and other essential materials which Europe requires from the Middle East.

Soviet Russia made her move and gained her objective.

Soviet Russia gained the foothold she sought, first in Egypt and then in Syria. Throughout the Middle East and the entire Arab world the voice and the words have been Nasser's, but the direction and the power have been the Kremlin's.

With the welding of the Moscow-Cairo axis Egypt's dictator, Nasser, was able to pursue his dream of destroying Israel—to launch his murderous raids against Israel's territory and people while stockpiling Russian arms in Sinai for the final assault.

He was encouraged to send his agents throughout north and east Africa to stir the boiling pot of Arab nationalism and to direct its force against Israel, France, and Britain.

He was emboldened to seize the Suez Canal, crux of the Soviet design for the Middle East.

This was the course of events of 1955 and 1956.

It was not until January 1957 that our Government seemed to recognize the fact and magnitude of the Soviet threat in the Middle East.

In January of this year, President Eisenhower took public cognizance of the danger and requested Congress to pass a resolution. Secretary Dulles declared that the threat to the free world was the greatest of the past decade.

But by January of 1957, the danger had already been running—and growing—for almost 2 years. Its critical nature had become obvious to most observers as soon as the Kremlin began the large-scale shipments of arms to Egypt in September of 1955.

At that time, and in the months following, I, and many others, strongly urged the United States Government to do something to meet the danger, but our officials chose rather to wait and see. In spite of continuous Arab aggression and public threats to annihilate Israel, our officials rejected the requests from Israel for arms to restore the precarious military balance. They turned thumbs down on a proposal for a security pact with Israel.

The errors and shortcomings of American policy in the period before the Soviets moved into the Middle East helped to set the stage for that move.

Beginning in 1953, our Government undertook to follow a new policy of falsely-called impartiality as between tiny, besieged Israel, and the vast Arab States which menaced and besieged her, as between Israel, the bastion of freedom, and the Arab States, the backwash of feudalism.

The effect of this policy was wholly disturbing and provocative. In the Arab States, it awoke hopes which could not be realized, and hence contributed to disillusionment. In Israel, it aroused fears which could not be stilled, and hence contributed to desperation.

In 1954, our Government brought pressure to bear on Great Britain to yield to Egypt, unconditionally, the right to occupy and defend the Suez Canal area.

Beginning in the late summer of 1955, and throughout the months of 1956, Soviet power grew and spread in the Middle East, with Nasser acting as the spearhead of it.

On October 29, 1956, Britain, France, and Israel struck back violently, in their separate ways, against the provocations, threats and attacks upon their vital interests, emanating from the Moscow-Cairo axis.

The response and reaction of our Government to the actions of Britain, France, and Israel were almost incredible.

Apparently without recognizing the Kremlin's role in this whole situation, we linked hands with the Soviet Union—and thus played directly into her hands—in the rush to frustrate the Anglo-French and Israeli undertakings. In this way, we unwittingly helped pull the chestnuts out of the fire for both Nasser and the Kremlin.

I suppose that President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles thought that they were acting in the best interests of the United States, but I do not yet understand how they could have thought that way. By its acts last November, our Government, out of pique at Britain and France, almost destroyed the western alliance, the very bedrock of our national security.

Our Government has been trying ever since to repair that damage, and has not wholly succeeded yet.

But in regard to Israel, I do not know how much President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles have learned from past errors. Based on the most recent developments, I have growing doubts and fears.

This brings me down to the very present time.

Last month our Government brought every pressure it could against the Government of Israel to induce or force the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Gaza strip and from the heights dominating the entrance into the Gulf of Aqaba.

The pressure was brought because Israel had demanded, as a condition for her withdrawal, assurances of security against attack and strangulation, and for the safety of the lives of her people.

President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles expressed what amounted to outrage at this very reasonable attitude on the part of Israel.

I should have thought that the United States Government, eager as it must be to promote conditions of peace and stability in

the Middle East, would have welcomed the Israeli determination to remain in possession until firm concessions could be secured from Egypt—concessions that could not help but advance the cause of peace in the Middle East.

But our Government did not seem to understand this. Our Government continued to insist on unconditional withdrawal—on a return to the status quo ante. We publicly stood with U. N. Secretary General Hammerskjold in his legalistic interpretation of the situation. President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles joined in the threat of sanctions against Israel.

American public opinion, and world public opinion, soon revolted against this position. The idea of sanctions against Israel impressed people everywhere as basically immoral. And Ben Gurion's steadfast insistence on assurances struck a responsive chord.

Finally, the United States Government, in concert with other great powers, gave Israel the assurances she sought, and Israel withdrew her forces.

Today's question is: Will we redeem our pledges to Israel or will we try to hedge on them?

I would judge it an act of gross perfidy if the United States Government should now try to dodge or avoid in any respect its assurances to Israel. I still refuse to believe that our country, proud of its noble traditions and high ideals, could ever lend itself to such a course. We would inevitably forfeit the respect of the whole world.

We are now responsible for the security of Israel. We gave our word. On the basis of that word, Israel withdrew her forces from the strategic positions they had occupied. Now we must share in the responsibility of preventing Nasser from once more standing at Israel's throat with a bared knife.

Our failure to act in this situation would endanger the peace of the Middle East, and would, as in the past, play straight into the hands of the Kremlin.

Underlying our assurances to Israel are two immediate objectives:

1. To remove the danger of hit-and-run raids and attacks from the Gaza strip or from other areas along Israel's borders;

2. To insure to all freedom of shipping through the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba, thus lifting the illegal blockade that has strangled Israel for so long.

These objectives must be achieved. We must make clear to the world that we are determined to achieve them. Without their consummation, there will be no real or lasting peace in the Middle East. We must make all of this crystal clear to Egypt and to the Arab States.

This brings me to what I believe is the real heart of the basic problem in the Middle East.

First of all, there is the fact of grinding poverty and social injustice. There is also the fact of surging nationalism. The real trouble is that the major forces of Arab nationalism have been deliberately focused on the destruction of Israel, rather than against the prevalent conditions of poverty, disease, and social injustice.

The rulers of the Arab States have vied with one another in hostility to Israel. Seeking to expand their influence at home and abroad, each would like credit for the destruction or crippling of Israel.

The destruction of Israel is always on the bargaining table when Arab leaders hold talks among themselves or with the representatives of the great powers.

But our Government has consistently pretended not to notice while the Arabs have talked about wiping Israel off the map. And, indeed, some of our diplomats in Arab countries have sometimes sounded as if they privately sympathized with the Arab viewpoint.

This attitude on the part of some of our Foreign Service people dates back a long time. They had the same attitude during the Truman administration. The State Department has never understood the importance of Israel.

But the present Secretary of State started something new in our relations with the Middle Eastern countries. He inaugurated a policy he called impartiality. I have already referred to it. In my judgment, it has been one of the chief sources of trouble.

Of course, I cannot see how one can be truly impartial between a would-be murderer and his intended victim, or between a gang with murder in their hearts and a single individual, marked for destruction, who wants only to live in peace.

Our Government's persistent reference to "impartiality" as a new American policy in the Middle East has meant to some Arab leaders that under the right conditions, the United States might consider the destruction of Israel to be justified.

Closely related to this is the question of direct negotiations between Israel and her Arab neighbors concerning some of the complicated questions between them * * * the question of permanent borders, and the question of the Arab refugees, for instance.

It has been urged by some men of good will that the settlement of these troublesome questions be left to direct negotiation between the countries concerned, and that our Government should confine itself to insisting on such direct negotiations.

I, myself, find it hard to see how Israel can successfully negotiate with her Arab neighbors as to borders as long as these Arab neighbors do not agree that Israel should have any borders at all, or even should exist.

I cannot see how there can be good-faith negotiations with regard to Arab refugees, as long as the Arab leaders insist that the Arab refugees should take over Israel, and that the Israelis should become refugees or be exterminated entirely.

In other words, the first obstacle that must be overcome is the notion in most Arab quarters that under some conditions, at some time in the not too distant future, the destruction of Israel may be accomplished.

The United States must take the lead in extinguishing this notion once and for all.

The United States Government must start talking straight talk to the Arab leaders and the Arab masses. We must stop telling the Arab leaders one thing and the Israeli leaders another. This practice may be good old-fashioned diplomacy, but in the present situation, good old-fashioned diplomacy will not do.

The difficult prescription of simple honesty is called for.

Our Government must convince the Arabs that when our officials say that America supports Israel's right to existence, our Government is talking primarily to them, the Arabs.

Our Government must convince the Arab leaders that there are no circumstances, and no considerations—diplomatic, political, or economic, under which or for which we would stand aside and let Israel be attacked and destroyed.

We must point out to the Arab leaders and the Arab peoples that in any event, they would gain nothing real if they were to succeed in adding to their vast territories this little finger of land called Israel, in which an economy has been built by the blood, sweat, and tears of the Jews of Israel. On the contrary, the Arabs would lose much. They would gain much more by emulating this model of enterprise, and by trading with its people.

It must be made clear to the Arab leaders, but especially to officials in our own State Department and in the British Foreign Office, that any suggested solution which envisions the territorial reduction of Israel, making it impossible for this little nation to sustain itself, would weaken rather than strengthen the stability of the area, and would endanger rather than promote the cause of peace.

It must be made clear to the leaders of all nations that the million and a half Jews who have found refuge in Israel also have a right to live and to belong. And there is also a right of existence for a Jewish homeland to which Jews from other lands, seeking asylum from persecution, may go.

This is the first part of the message which the United States must deliver to the Arab States and to the Arab peoples—in forthright and straightforward phrases, without doubletalk or evasion of any kind.

The second part of the message which must be conveyed especially to the Arab peoples is that when the security of Israel is assured, the United States is prepared and ready to assist with all our might and resources to help the Arab peoples achieve their proper and legitimate aspirations to prosperity, honor, and dignity.

We are ready to help the Arab States and peoples defend themselves against attack or subversion.

We are ready to help them advance toward the frontiers of freedom and greater human rights for each and for all.

We do not sympathize with their hates or their prejudices—and will not, for any consideration, lend our approval or sanction to such hates and prejudices. But we will respect Arab customs and traditions, as they affect Arabs.

We are ready to welcome the Arab States into the comradeship of free peoples. We are ready to embrace them as friends, or to respect them as neutrals, whichever they desire.

We will not seek to dominate or exploit them, or to win them to any way of life except that which they freely choose.

But they are not free to destroy their neighbor, who is our friend and ally—Israel.

This should be our message. To deliver it is our mission and responsibility.

If our officials will deliver this message and convince the Arabs that we really mean it, I am convinced that a new chapter will be opened in Middle Eastern affairs. I believe that there would be a change of attitude and then, a change in the course of events.

Negotiations between Israelis and Arabs, leading to a lasting and cooperative peace, with the United States and the United Nations organization standing by to contribute their good offices and assistance, would not only then be possible, but, in my judgment, would inevitably follow.

In this way, the designs and cabals of the Kremlin can be frustrated. This would be a truly effective and I believe the only way of meeting the threat of Soviet power in the Middle East.

In the meantime, we must, as I have already said, do everything within our power to insure maximum security for Israel, and for her neighbors, too, and make clear that our interest in the Middle East is to advance the cause of peace and justice, and no other.

I am just a private American citizen, as most of us here tonight are. I have no greater authority in the councils of our Government than any of you. But, thank God, this is a democracy, and the voice of the people is and can be heard.

It is our responsibility, as American citizens, to make our views known and our voices heard in the seats of power in the Capitol, in the State Department, and in the White House.

This is our responsibility—yours and mine. If we insist on the kind of approach I have discussed tonight, an approach so consistent with the best traditions of America, we will have served well the cause of peace and justice.

Hamilton's Enduring Contribution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an outstanding address delivered by Dr. Bower Aly, professor of speech at the University of Missouri, on the subject, Hamilton's Enduring Contribution.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HAMILTON'S ENDURING CONTRIBUTION

(An address delivered by Dr. Bower Aly, professor of speech, University of Missouri, at a convocation held at the Sam Houston State Teachers College, Huntsville, Tex., in observance of the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial, March 14, 1957)

From December 15, 1774, when Alexander Hamilton's first pamphlet in defense of the American Revolution was published until February 17, 1801, when his efforts on behalf of Thomas Jefferson were rewarded by Jefferson's election to the presidency, Alexander Hamilton was energetically engaged in the service of his country. During the remarkable quarter-century that witnessed the revolution of the American colonies from their mother country, the Declaration of Independence from Britain, the harrowing war of revolution, the period of indecision under the Articles of Confederation, the drafting and the ratification of the Constitution and the establishment of a Nation under the administrations of George Washington and John Adams, Hamilton was either officially or unofficially and almost continuously involved in public enterprises, earth-shaking in their significance for the men of that day and in their consequence for posterity. During the latter 20 years of the period, Hamilton was never far from the epicenter. His remarkable achievements in the center of the storm have caused President Eisenhower to proclaim and the Congress to provide for the observance in 1957 of the 200th anniversary of his birth.

As a teacher speaking to teachers, present and prospective, I think it appropriate here and now to consider with you what the life experience of Alexander Hamilton has to offer to us. What can we learn, what can we teach of Hamilton that will be serviceable today?

I

The first lesson taught us by this remarkable man is one of special interest to all young people—it is the power of youth. Since we do not know for certain when Hamilton was born we cannot know how old he was when he was killed by Aaron Burr, but according to the current way of reckoning he must still have been a young man, not yet 50, when he died in 1804. By his own account, he was only 19 when, in 1776, he became captain of artillery; and he would thus have been aide-de-camp to Gen. George Washington before he was 21. Throughout his life he showed an amazing precocity and demonstrated beyond peradventure the fact that young men can accomplish, if they will, outstanding deeds not only of valor but of prudential judgment. Not merely in his chonology, however, but also in the vigor of his actions he exemplifies those spirit-stirring qualities that have made him for posterity a symbol of brilliant and audacious youth—preternaturally wise, perhaps, but young still in his hopes, in his expectations, and in his enthusiasms. Too often nowadays, forgetting the lessons of American history, we discount the power of youth. Hearing great clamors about juvenile delinqency, which more often than not is simply youthful energy gone to waste, we forget the strong potentialities of our young people in America. Yet our Nation in the past was built and defended by young men and women. My great-grandmother was only 16 when she bore the first of her 11 children in the wilderness that Missouri then was; her husband was but a few years older. I dare say that many of you here would not need to go far in your family tree to find among the pioneers a boy-girl family who struck out for themselves and surmounted the dangers and privations of the frontier.

We forget, too, that although our old men have declared our wars, our young men have usually fought them. The actual fighting in the Civil War, the bleeding and the dying, was chiefly done by boys—boys in blue and boys in gray. Even today some of the most vital units of our air defense are manned by men so young that they consider 25 to be an old and 30 to be an ancient age.

To our young people today, Alexander Hamilton—rightly understood—could well serve as a symbol of youth, a source of inspiration. And I will state as my considered judgment that in the war in which we are now engaged—a war in which the future of our Nation and our people is at stake—no more urgent task confronts us than the complete and effective mobilization of all our youth, not as unwilling draftees but as eager volunteers in the mastery of the sciences, the humanities, and the languages necessary to our survival and to theirs. The hour is late, the time is short; yet a way must be found to cultivate the aspirations and to use the energies of young Americans. Youth responds to youth. Even today, 200 years after his birth, Alexander Hamilton may still serve his country if our young people will learn of him that they may be both young and useful to themselves and to their fellowmen.

II

What can we learn, what can we teach of Hamilton that will be serviceable today? Hamilton can teach us the power of integrity. For Hamilton's usefulness as a man and a leader depended not only on his brilliance and his audacity but also on his incorruptibility. During the decade when he was one of the leading architects and the chief builder of our Federal Union, Hamilton had almost unparalleled opportunities to advance his private fortunes at the public cost; but the most searching inquiries by his enemies in his own time and since have only illuminated the sense of honor that made his responsibility a public trust. Sometimes imposed upon by friends and acquaintances, sometimes despairing of the capacity of men to govern themselves without corruption, he nevertheless maintained for himself a code that permitted him no private profit from his public office. Indeed, even in private life, when he held no office, he declined to enter into a moneymaking scheme lest it should reflect upon the confidential relationship he was known to have to the administration. It is touching yet heartening to observe Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury with millions of dollars in his charge, seeking a loan of $20 from a personal friend. It is reassuring to hear the cynical Talleyrand exclaim, "I have just come from viewing a man who had made the fortune for this country but now is working all night to support his family."

Need I dwell on the relevancy of Hamilton's example for us today? In our times, we have witnessed the shameful selfishness of little men of both political parties, men who, far from protecting their honor as persons and as officers of government, have contrived devious illegal or perhaps legal ways of advancing their private interest from the public funds. In so doing they may have profited personally—but at what enormous cost to the body politic. For by their example they have tended to teach many of our young people falsely to believe that our Government is a racket and that our officers are plunderers. This, my fellow teachers, is the real subversion of our times: To teach young Americans, from whom our strength must be drawn, to distrust their country and their Government; to believe that dishonesty is the expedient way of life; to assume that the only honor is that proverbial among thieves. Against such subversion Alexander Hamilton stands as a confident witness to the personal satisfactions to be gained from an honorable career as well as to the power of integrity in public life.

III

What can we learn, what can we teach of Hamilton that will be serviceable today? Hamilton can teach us the value of applied energy. A prodigious and systematic worker, Hamilton developed within himself the faculty of sustained and powerful effort toward a prudential goal. Time and again one reads in amazement of his feats of sheer labor—of physical, of mental endurance. Whether he was negotiating with Gates to obtain soldiers for Washington's army or writing a Federalist paper or constructing for Washington an opinion on the constitutionality of the National Bank, Hamilton pushed himself hard and purposefully. As we contemplate the millions of hours that men dissipate nowadays in those time killers that indulge the wish to be suspended—half waking, half sleeping—in a world of makebelieve, we must view with even greater admiration the approach to life and labor exemplified by Alexander Hamilton. Usually genial, sometimes even merry, Hamilton was primarily a man at work. As Fisher Ames observed, "It is rare that a man who owes so much to nature descends to seek more from industry. But he [Hamilton] seemed to depend on industry, as if nature had done nothing for him."

Hamilton's means to the life adjustment that seems to be the goal of modern educators was to work without ceasing to make himself the master of whatever problem confronted him at the moment. Could we do a better service to our young people today than to recommend to them this kind of life adjustment to the problems of the present day?

IV

What can we learn, what can we teach of Hamilton that will be serviceable today? Hamilton can teach us the primary need for responsibility. Able in the fullness of his powers to delegate and to assign tasks, Hamilton was never, either in a lowly situation or in an exalted one, the least inclined to shirk or to shift responsibility for his own actions. On the contrary, he was front and center in every enterprise in which he was engaged. His eagerness to be in the forces attacking the British redoubts at Yorktown symbolizes his approach to problems civil as well as military. Even when most oppressed by the personal problems of earning a living, of caring for his family, he was unwilling to transfer to other persons those tasks that, under his conception of his public responsibility, fitly belonged to him.

In modern times we have witnessed the proliferation of what has been called public relations. Doubtless in a highly complicated society, some systematic and continuous means of relating great enterprises to the public must be found; but if public relation becomes a mere substitute for the active and vital interest that men of the first rank should have in public questions, then our country is indeed in danger. For the times require nothing less than the best efforts of our best men in and out of government. Our enemies abroad will not be

appeased by even the highest paid publicity agents nor by the slickest of all public relations counselors. One of the gravest dangers in our present society is the inability of conservative men to speak for themselves. The inarticulate conservative, the leader of judgment and of experience who cannot form a policy and defend it before his colleagues and the public may have limited usefulness, but he has not learned the lesson that could be learned of Hamilton: A leader should be responsible for explaining and defending his own policies.

V

What we can learn, what we can teach of Hamilton that will be serviceable today? Perhaps the greatest of all lessons that Hamilton has to teach us is the lesson of realism. Highly imaginative, Hamilton channeled his ideas so as to envision fact rather than fantasy, to predict what should and could and would be rather than to sigh for beauteous but unrealizable dreams. Hamilton's ideas were his servants rather than his masters. His contributions to the concept of federalism—surely one of the greatest offerings ever given by the New World to mankind—was thus derived not only from reflection, from thought resulting from reading and study, but also from experience; and the whole was heated in the crucible of immediate and compelling need. The central idea of sovereignty—of two governments operating within defined limits upon a single citizen—is so obvious as to be touched with the simplicity that often marks true genius.

Hamilton's characteristic mode of thought was that of problem solving: How can a given purpose be accomplished with the means at hand or in prospect? In this approach to life, he thus somewhat more nearly resembled the modern American man of affairs than he did the men of his own time. If his preferred solutions to problems were not always realistic, he endeavored to accommodate his preferences to the facts existing and to proceed toward his major objective "• • • to promote the increasing respectability of the American name; to answer the calls of justice; to restore landed property to its due value; to furnish new resources both to agriculture and commerce; to cement more closely the union of the States; to add to their security against foreign attack; to establish public order on the basis of an upright and liberal policy."

In his realistic approach to problem solving, Alexander Hamilton was almost unique among American statesmen in understanding and using all of the three great forms of power: The military, the fiscal, and the persuasive. Trained in the hard school of the War of the Revolution, he knew both the necessities and the limitations of war. Perhaps one of the greatest services he ever performed for his country was his insistence on keeping the peace with Britain at the time of the Jay Treaty. Yet, when force seemed to be necessary to the exigencies of the Union, he did not hesitate to use it. His theory and practice of finance was also realistic. The measures for funding and assumption were designed above all to provide a powerful interest favorable to the new Nation-State and to offset the agrarian devotion to the state government. The Federalist Papers, the Continentalist, in fact, nearly all of his writings should be viewed, like his use of military force and fiscal policy, as means to an end, the end that he envisioned during the whole of his mature life: To establish "a great Federal Republic, closely linked in the pursuit of a common interest, tranquil and prosperous at home, respectable abroad."

Hamilton was realistic also in his assessment of human nature. It is simply not true, as has been alleged against him, that his measures were inspired either by a love for the rich or by a hatred for the poor. The fact—which would be simple were it not obscured by the fogs of partisan politics—is that Hamilton was completely engaged in building a nation which, as he thought, had to be constructed of the materials at hand. All men—not simply the rich and well born—had virtues. All men—not simply the poor and weak—had vices. As a precaution, Hamilton accepted the Biblical doctrine that "the heart [of man] is desperately wicked and deceitful above all things," and he did not find in the doctrine any exemption of farmers as a class. As a realist, in politics, he did not believe that the voice of the people is necessarily the voice of God. He wished to protect all of us against that bit of the knave in each of us, and he wished so to order events that even men's vices and their more unlovely virtues might be made to work for the common good. Aristotle, keen student of men and nature, observed long since that to praise the Athenians in Athens is not difficult. One might construct a corollary: to be realistic about Americans is not politically expedient in America. A politician is on much safer ground at election time if he sings the ancient hymns of praise; but is not the nation more likely to prosper in the long run if the realist has his say?

Hamilton was a realist also in his conception of our true policy toward foreign nations. In his contribution to Washington's Farewell Address, as in the Camillus Letters, he set forth clearly the obligation of the statesman not to think more highly of other nations than he ought to think. Hamilton's prime devotion was to his own country and to its welfare as he and George Washington conceived it.

CONCLUSION

Many men have attempted to account for Hamilton's ardor in the pursuit of his vision of American nationhood. He has been charged variously with corruption, with ambition, with desire for power, and with the need to sublimate the sense of inferiority growing out of his illegitimate birth. It has even been charged that, as a servant of the rich, he was dazzled by plutocracy. A wiser reading of the sources would suggest rather that the plutocracy was dazzled by Hamilton.

The simplest explanation is the best. It seems to ring true and to fit the facts we know about Hamilton: The power that motivated Hamilton, whatever its source, was that which moves the artist in any field. As Beethoven expressed himself in composing The Moonlight Sonata or as Michelangelo satisfied his creative urge by working on The Last Judgment of the Sistine Chapel, so Alexander Hamilton—the artist in statecraft—gained profoundest satisfaction from moving forces military, financial, and persuasive toward the creation of a federal republic.

Seldom has any nation owed so large a debt to any man. To Alexander Hamilton and to George Washington jointly we owe the nationhood we have achieved. If our country could not have been born without the aid of George Washington, it would not have developed without the genius of Alexander Hamilton. As a nation we owe to this waif, this boy, this young man, this statesman more than we can ever hope to recognize. It is gratifying to know that in the Nation's high schools this year we are at least acknowledging our debt by an observance planned in every one of the 55 States, Territories, and possessions of the United States of America that Hamilton helped to plan and to build. It is satisfying to reflect that if we can but learn and teach of Hamilton the lessons of youth, integrity, energy, responsibility, and realism, his life may serve now as heretofore to bless his countrymen.

National Cultural Center for the District of Columbia—Correspondence Between Senator Wiley and Mrs. Robert Low Bacon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on March 18, as indicated beginning on page 3360 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I spoke in praise of the proposed National Cultural Center for the District of Columbia.

I mentioned at that time the splendid job which had been performed by the National Auditorium Commission which we of the Congress had created for the purpose of preparing the plans for such a center.

Since making my comments, I have been pleased to hear from a great many citizens in the metropolitan area who are especially interested in seeing Congress promptly select one of the alternative sites, so that this fine project can be commenced.

It will be recalled that in making my original remarks, I pointed out that, since I am not a member of the Senate District Committee and have not had as much opportunity as I would like to explore the site and other questions, it was not possible for me at the time to attempt to make any recommendation on the matter of sites.

I stated, however, that all the factors bearing upon choosing the best possible site should be carefully and promptly studied by the Congress.

Among the many prominent persons with whom I subsequently conferred was one of the most distinguished members of the Commission, Mrs. Robert Low Bacon.

I had invited her detailed reactions, and I was pleased to receive this morning a letter from her. In it she points out the case for the selection of the Foggy Bottom area.

I know that her communication will be of deep interest to my colleagues, especially those serving on the Senate and House District Committees, as well as to the members of the Washington Board of Trade, the Federal City Council, and other interested groups which have given devoted attention to this very important subject.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my letter of inquiry to Mrs. Bacon and her response today be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the exchange of correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARCH 22, 1957.

Mrs. ROBERT LOW BACON,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MRS. BACON: I've just returned from a meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee this morning. I was glad to hear from our committee consultant, Mr. Julius Cahn, of your kind phone message, regarding my Senate speech on March 18 on

the need for a national cultural center for the District of Columbia.

I know that there are comparatively few, if any, people, here in the District, who are better qualified to comment on this subject than yourself. I say that, not only on the basis of your most active role on the Auditorium Commission, but in view of your many years of other service to this community, as well.

I understand, for example, that since the 1920's, you have been doing your part toward the establishment of a National Opera House here. Such great civic leadership is certainly to be commended.

Under the circumstances, therefore, I would like to invite you personally to give me the benefit of your judgment now on the status of the cultural center project.

I am sure that you feel, as I do, that no time should be lost in getting under way on it.

I recognize, as I know you do, the great international significance of this cultural center. Since, however, I have to work simultaneously on many other foreign-policy fronts, I have asked Mr. Cahn—in his committee service—to help follow through—on the cultural center.

I look forward to receiving your personal observations.

Sincerely yours,

ALEXANDER WILEY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 25, 1957.*

DEAR SENATOR WILEY: Thank you for your letter of March 22. I am indeed glad to know of your appreciation of the international significance of the cultural center for which the Auditorium Commission was created by act of Congress.

It has long been a matter of amazement that the capital of the United States should be unique in its lack of facilities for opera, ballet, and drama.

Our planning committee has studied the requirements and the question of the most suitable site, evaluated according to convenience, surroundings, outlook, terrain, size, and zoning.

Although in the presentation of our plan to the joint district committee of the Senate and House the choice of the site was left to Congress, the executive committee of the Auditorium Commission passed a unanimous resolution in favor of the Foggy Bottom site. It is the only site easily accessible to 90 percent of those who would use the center, also being near the Lincoln Memorial and Memorial Bridge, it would be more frequently seen by prominent visitors and tourists.

Foggy Bottom, between the Lincoln Memorial and Virginia Avenue is the last stretch of the river fronrt as yet unspoiled and it should be made beautiful, therefore it would be as advantageous to the development of that area to have our beautiful buildings, which would not be high, nor completely obstruct views of the river, there, as it would be ideal for the cultural center to be located on that site.

With confidence that your support will help to bring about this happy conclusion,

Sincerely yours,

VIRGINIA M. BACON.

How We Lost the Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, Elizabeth Churchill Brown, the wife of Constantine Brown, the columnist, has written a book entitled "The Enemy at His Back." This very interesting book deals with how we lost the peace. It was reviewed by Mr. Walter Trohan, and his review was published in the Chicago Sunday Tribune of October 7, 1956.

I ask unanimous consent that the review be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the book review was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW WE LOST THE PEACE—THE ENEMY AT HIS BACK, BY ELIZABETH CHURCHILL BROWN

(Reviewed by Walter Trohan)

This is the story of how we lost the peace after winning World War II in Europe and in the Pacific. It is strong meat, but it is meticulously documented to support the thesis that Communists launched, and dupes furthered, policies which prolonged the war in Europe and in the Pacific for advancement of the interests of the Kremlin.

There is a detailing of the policy of "unconditional surrender" which prolonged German resistance and of the ignoring of Japanese surrender overtures so that Soviet Russia could get into the Pacific war in time to communize Asia.

Perhaps the book is best summed up by its quote of Eugene Dooman, able career diplomat, in testimony before a Senate committee. In detailing pressures which rejected sage counsel to keep Soviet Russia out of the Pacific war, Dooman said:

"My purpose in testifying here was to indicate in general that policies put forward by the left-wing press, from the Daily Worker right down through the line, were in effect substantially translated into United States policies and to indicate from personal knowledge how that operation was carried out."

All this story has been told, as it developed, to readers of the Tribune. Mrs. Brown has done a creditable job in weaving one segment of the Communist conspiracy into a rounded, if unhappy and even frightening, story. Every statement is documented except for the one that she went to the Library of Congress to read some of the columns of her husband, Constantine Brown, diplomatic correspondent for the Washington Star, and found the initial inspiration for her book in a column January 30, 1945, detailing Russia's price for intervention against Japan. It would hardly be necessary to go to the Library to get any of Brown's prophetic columns; his friends could testify that he has memorized them and is most happy when talking about them.

Corn Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Deadlock Hurts Midwest," which appeared in the Minneapolis Star of March 22, 1957, referring to the question of legislation on a corn program, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEADLOCK HURTS MIDWEST

Now that there seems to be little chance of any new legislation to benefit corn farmers this year, indications point to a further increase in the surplus of corn that already is bulging out of Government bins. The prospects also are for a further cut in income of Midwest corn and livestock farmers.

The huge carryover of corn required that the corn allotment be set at 37,300,000 acres for this year. That represents such a sharp cut in acreage that Corn Belt Congressmen had been seeking a new formula to increase the 1957 allotment. Without some change, the prospects are that many farmers will not abide by their allotments and the overall national corn acreage will be far in excess of the 37,300,000-acre allotment. Unless farmers plant within allotments, they will not be eligible to join the soil bank.

The efforts of the farm-State Congressmen to work out a solution for this problem were stymied by an intramural quarrel that split the farm bloc wide open. The Democrats wanted a bill that not only would increase corn plantings but also would provide soil-bank payments for feed-grain producers and increase soil-bank money for growers of wheat, cotton, peanuts, tobacco, and rice. The Republicans were chiefly interested in benefiting the corn and livestock farmers.

From the Midwest point of view, however, the results of the congressional deadlock are serious. Further overproduction of corn probably will result in a big increase in livestock output, which, in turn, could have an adverse affect on farm income from this source. In addition, many farmers will be ineligible for soil-bank benefits which otherwise could help prevent a drop in farm income in this area.

Both parties will have to share the blame for their failure to work out an acceptable compromise unless a bipartisan group of Midwest Senators succeeds in its current last-ditch attempt to put through an acceptable measure.

United States Foreign Policy and the Truman Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, 10 years ago this month President Truman went before Congress to proclaim the Truman doctrine. This important anniversary went by without much public attention in the United States. It did not escape the attention of some of our allies abroad, however; and in a dispatch to the Manchester Guardian, Mr. Max Freedman, the Guardian's Washington correspondent, pointed out an appropriate moral.

Mr. Freedman's article, which appeared in his newspaper on March 14, 1957, was entitled "Lessons in How To Master a Crisis." In his opening paragraph Mr. Freedman says:

It is impossible to imagine a more forlorn contrast than the contrast between the creative initiative of 1947 and the shambling ineptitude which produced the Suez adventure.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Freedman's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD; and I suggest that th. message be pondered by all Members of Congress who are concerned with the development of a more forthright foreign policy.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LESSONS IN HOW TO MASTER A CRISIS

(By Max Freedman)

WASHINGTON, March 12.—Ten years ago today Mr. Truman went before Congress to proclaim the Truman doctrine. This anniversary is notable for at least three different reasons. The doctrine achieved its immediate purpose in saving Greece and Turkey from Communist domination. Still more important, it gave the decisive impetus to America's rejection of the allurements of isolationism and to her acceptance of full responsibility in world affairs. Finally, it has many lessons to teach, if only by the wisdom of contrast, in showing how a crisis should be mastered. It is impossible to imagine a more forlorn contrast than the contrast between the creative initiative of 1947 and the shambling ineptitude which produced the Suez adventure. For all these reasons the Truman doctrine deserves study.

At the outset it is essential to dismiss two myths which have become part of the consecrated folklore of American politics. It is said that the British retreat from responsibility in Greece and Turkey, a retreat enforced by an oppressive sense of economic weakness, marks the deliberate renunciation by Great Britain of her status as a World Power. The other myth would have us believe that the United States not only stepped into the breach with heroic promptitude but that it did so armed with the wisdom which soon produced the Marshall plan and the larger vision of the North Atlantic Treaty. The design of history cannot so easily be twisted into the trappings of melodrama. In the development of American policy there was as much creative improvisation as consistent foresight.

Only by an effort of memory is it possible to recover the mood and atmosphere of those vanished years. The compulsion of events had driven the American people to accept burdens and duties completely remote from the traditions which had sustained their early greatness. All the same, there was a visible reluctance to abandon the emotional comforts of isolationism. More disturbing was the refusal of public opinion to recognize that Russian communism had become an armed doctrine on the rampage, eager to cast into thralldom the vulnerable economies of Europe. American opinion had to be educated before it could be led; and the education, conducted during a period of unexpected crisis, could be effective only if there were no suggestion of superior wisdom belonging to the policymakers. The history of the next few weeks provides a salutary lesson in the importance of good manners as well as in the courage of statesmanship.

The decision that Britain's burden in Greece and her responsibility towards Turkey had grown too great for her diminished strength was communicated to Washington it is true, at short notice, but the State Department and the Foreign Office had both been aware for many anxious months that Greece and Turkey might be lost to the free world, a loss which would open the Middle East to the covetous appetites of the Kremlin. There was no recrimination between London and Washington: no cry of betrayal. Unlike the incoherent indignation which disgraced the Suez crisis, the alliance was in good heart and was functioning with exemplary cordiality. It never occurred to anyone to interrupt the sombre march of events by an idle and irritating assessment of each country's measure of responsibility for the crisis. The urgent task, clear to every official in Washington, concerned not the pedigree of the crisis but the necessity of preventing it from having a disastrous sequel. (No such spirit prevailed after Suez. There were two fatal barriers: the lack of confidence in Mr. Dulles, and the absence of wisdom and candor in London and Paris.)

The significance of the Truman doctrine is not to be measured by the grant of $400 millions in military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. The United States had expended more than that amount in emergency aid to Greece since the end of the war. The Truman doctrine became a memorable declaration of American policy because of the principles it expressed and the obligations assumed by Congress. The United States could have thought in terms of an immediate crisis; it could have turned to the United Nations to escape the burden of national leadership; it could have accepted the permanent decline of British and French power; it could have diluted the responsibility of the administration by deferring to the wishes of Congress. In fact, it did none of these things.

The principles under which Greece and Turkey were to be saved from Communist enslavement applied with equal authority to the other threatened nations. It was the universal recognition of these principles that made the Truman Doctrine something more than an heroic gesture in response to a direct challenger and elevated it to the status of an enduring principle of American action. Equally important was the decision to grapple with the problems of economic weakness in Western Europe: unless this task dominated the nation's thinking there would be a desolating succession of problems similar to the perils of Greece and the anxieties of Turkey. Once this fundamental point became clear, it was possible to move from a mere rescue operation to the more constructive experiments in world order: the Marshall plan and NATO suddenly found themselves on the agenda of statesmanship. (Once again the Suez crisis provides a shabby contrast. The only responsible voice raised in a plea for these larger issues belonged to Mr. Acheson, who had played perhaps the decisive role in the earlier solution of American policy. But he was now out of power. So in the end, after all the torrents of rhetoric at the United Nations and the careful debates in Congress, nothing was done to help Western Europe to pay for its dollar imports of oil; the border problems which harass the security of Israel were left in smudged confusion; and the ugly feuds which darken the Middle East were still unresolved.)

At least as impressive as the Truman Doctrine, and the greater decisions which followed it, was the manner in which the United States accepted the risks of leadership. After formulating its policy, the administration won the quick and valuable cooperation of Congress, then responsive to the flexible gifts of Senator VANDENBERG. American opinion was instructed to realize that the burdens cast on the United States would be heavy and would be borne for a long time. Although the United States acted outside the United Nations, as it had to do if its policies were to succeed, all the decisions were in conformity with the charter and saved it indeed from tragic eclipse. Out of the perilous fate which menaced Greece and Turkey the United States once wrought a deliverance which increased the safety and strength of the free world. Could not a wiser, a more courageous, and a more generous policy in Washington have used the spur of the Suez crisis to open a happier chapter for the Middle East?

Address by Hon. John Bell Williams, of Mississippi, Before the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include a very able and scholarly address delivered by our colleague, the gentleman from Mississippi, Hon. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, delivered in the ballroom of the Jefferson Hotel in Richmond, Va., on Friday evening, March 22, 1957. The occasion was a meeting of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. Our colleague from Virginia, Hon. WATKINS M. ABBITT, was the toastmaster and I had the privilege of presenting Congressman WILLIAMS to the audience. It was a large and enthusiastic audience and the address of Congressman WILLIAMS was frequently interrupted by loud and sustained applause. At the conclusion of his address the entire audience stood and applauded for several minutes.

The address is as follows:

I bring you greetings and best wishes from 2 million citizens of the great sovereign State of Mississippi. As a guest from a neighboring State, I come before you not in any sense to suggest to you what policies you should adopt or what courses to follow in coping with the problems which you may encounter in the conduct of your internal affairs. Rather, I appear before you as a fellow American and a neighboring southerner to discuss with you matters of mutual concern to our respective States and people. In the words of the Apostle Paul: "Come, let us reason together."

There is little need to recount the many and complex problems that confront our great Nation. You know, as I do, that we face almost insurmountable difficulties in the field of our domestic economy. The foreign doctrines of socialism and communism are on the march. Our currency is undergoing a steady trend toward inflation, and our national debt exceeds that of the rest of the world combined. We try to cope with problems over production in agriculture with domestic programs, while our foreign policy dreamers concoct new scheme to spend our tax moneys to expand the operations of our competitors. We face the threat of predatory war with an atheistic enemy across the seas. We have many problems.

All these, as grave and foreboding as they are, must pale into insignificance, though, in the face of the montsorus problem presented to us by a political Supreme Court on Monday, May 17, 1954.

Other issues are temporary, and deal with the present; they affect primarily this generation of Americans. The issue presented by the Supreme Court threatens to undermine the very structure of our form of government. It would dissolve the very foundations upon which our free democratic society was built, and destroy forever the purity of

race that future generations of Americans, both white and Negro, have a right to expect. It threatens to pervert moral premises by translating them into a conglommerate potpourri of amalgamated theories of mongrelization.

We might well consider the fact that once mongreilized, we can never reestablish purity of race, nor can we revive a pride of racial integrity. The hand of man can be employed to destroy racial purity, but once destroyed, man lacks the power to restore that purity. That is why we, both white and Negro, who have pride of birth and race must act to protect and preserve that legacy; otherwise those who follow in subsequent generations will be shackled with the fetters of miscegenation and a heritage of immorality beyond which there will be no escape.

For the shame of this it will not be their generation, but our generation, which must suffer to account.

In facing up to these problems, we cannot afford the luxury of complacency or the convenience of hasty action. If we are to prevail, and we must prevail, we must act in calm and deliberate judgment, but with the firmness and resolve which the occasion demands. There can be no retreating from principle, no compromise born of momentary expediency, and no haggling over methods when that haggling retards the progress of our high purposes.

Above all, we must present a united front, for there is our strength; and we must also understand fully the nature of the evil and know the identities of our enemies in this struggle for our American freedoms.

It was to meet this vital need that the defenders of State sovereignty and individual liberty came into being. It was to meet this need that the citizens councils in my State were born and subsequently the Association of Citizens Councils which etxends throughout several of our sister States.

Your presence here tonight is evidence, in itself, of your love for the institutions of freedom under our great American Constitution, and your dedication to the preservation of the noble ideals that have become an integral part of the America we know and love. Your presence here speaks eloquently of your concern for the happiness and strength of the America of the future.

Yours is a fight for the future of our great American institutions, our civilization, and our ideals. You are waging a fight of morality and conscience: that children of both white and colored races may be permitted to enjoy participation in a society unsullied by almagamation and untsained by moral disintegration.

I would be a coward indeed, unworthy of my self-respect, unfaithful to the trust of my heritage, and a traitor to my children and my children's children, if I sought refuge—as some do—behind a laissez faire acknowledgment of these dangers, and fail to rally behind the great and good people of my State and Nation when they marshal their forces to repel the evils that beset us—evils that imperil the future happiness, security, and freedom of my children. I salute you as great and fearless Americans, and I am proud to be a part of you.

We are struggling to uphold law—not lawlessness. We intend to hold our ground firmly and resolutely against those who would honor an illegal fiat of nine men who have made an abortive attempt to change the meaning of our Constitution.

But let there be no mistaking our motives; no flouting our aims. We are gaining friends throughout this Nation among thinking people; patriots who love, respect, and revere the basic concepts of our form of Government. These friends are coming to our side because they know we are right. They know that the continuation of our dual sovereignty form of Government depends upon our ultimate victory over the forces of centralization and totalitarianism.

There is no room in our movement for those who advocate violence, nor do we have a place for those who practice race-mixing in private, but who in public anoint themselves as leaders in the fight for racial purity. If hatred of minorities is to be the criterion for membership in our resistance movements, it would be better that we dissolve our organization, for hatred breeds strife, lawlessness, anarchy, and destruction.

Ours must be a firm but peaceful resistance. Peace and understanding, enlightenment, and fundamental Americanism will have to be our battlecry as we seek to enlist friends and allies throughout the rest of the Nation.

Remember this: All the progress we have made since Black Monday toward exposing the hyprocrisy and evil designs of our modern carpetbag enemies; all the gains we have made in demonstrating the illegality of the Court's decisions; all the sympathy we have cultivated in other areas of the country in our crusade for the rights of the several States—all this can be swept away with one shotgun blast, by one explosion of dynamite touched off in the heat of passion.

Our legitimate patriotic organizations will not fight lawlessness with lawlessness. The Defenders in Virginia, the citizens councils in my State of Mississippi and our other legitimate resistance organizations will never condone or place the stamp of approval on violence as their weapon to preserve individual freedom in this country.

It is tragic, indeed, that our once-respected United States Supreme Court, honored through the ages for their legal ability and their personal and judicial integrity, should conduct themselves officially in such a manner as to bring down on their heads the shame that has followed in the wake of some of their recent decisions.

Three years have passed since they exchanged their judicial robes for the caps and gowns of sociology professors and proceeded to tear the heart from the American Constitution by their fantastic ruling in the school-segregation cases. It is a sad commentary on current judicial integrity when their decisions can be attacked on legal premises by eminent lawyers and jurists from every part of our country. Sadder, indeed, is the fact that, to my information, at least, not one single legal authority of any stature has been willing or able to come forward and offer a legal defense for the Court's Black Monday decisions.

Criticism of the Supreme Court's recent decisions, which overtly usurp powers and functions rightly belonging to the States or other branches of the Federal Government, has not been confined to unofficial sources.

We have reached a pretty pass, indeed, when the supreme court of a sovereign State of the Union finds decisions and orders of the Federal Supreme Court so unreasonable, so fantastic, and so contrary to both law and the public interest as to compel them openly to defy its edicts. This occurred but a few weeks ago in Florida, when the Florida Supreme Court was compelled in good conscience and consistent with established law, to state in one of their decisions:

"Indeed, it is unthinkable that the Supreme Court of the United States would attempt to convert into a writ of right that which has for centuries at common law and in this State been considered a discretionary writ; nor can we conceive that that Court would hold that the highest court of a sovereign State does not have the right to control the effective date of its own discretionary process.

"It is a 'consummation devoutly to be wished' that the concept of States rights will not come to be of interest only to writers and students of history. Such concept is vital to the preservation of human liberties now. And whatever one's ideology may be—whether one is a strong defender of State sovereignty or an equally fervent advocate of centralized government—we think the great majority of persons would agree that if the death knell of this fundamental principle of Jeffersonian democracy is to be toiled, the bell should be rung by the people themselves, as the Constitution contemplates. President Lincoln's words of warning are just as true today as they were almost a century ago, when he said, in his first inaugural address on March 4, 1861:

" 'If the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court * * * the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.'

"And we do not feel it is amiss to refer to the following remarks made by George Washington in his Farewell Address:

" 'If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed.' "

A recent Alabama criminal case, reversed by the United States Supreme Court, brought forth this comment from the circuit judge before whom the case had been tried:

"The opinion is the voice of the Supreme Court of the United States, but the hand is the hand of the NAACP. The opinion of the majority of the Court speaks the truth neither as to the facts nor as to the law. The opinion offends and is repugnant to judicial sensibilities and the good name of the people of Alabama. In the sacrifice of the South on the altar of the Supreme Court's psychological and sociological omniscience the Fikes case is but another handful of salt to rub into our wounds. It is a damning confession and commentary on our times."

Here in Virginia, your supreme court of appeals, on January 18, 1956, found it necessary to repudiate a directive of the Federal Supreme Court in a case involving Virginia's marriage laws.

Rejecting an unwarranted invasion of the field of jurisdiction reserved to the State of Virginia, and refusing to be intimidated by the Supreme Court into taking action contrary to established law, your supreme court of appeals said in its opinion:

"The record before the circuit court of the city of Portsmouth was adequate for a decision of the issues presented to it. The record before this court was adequate for deciding the issues on review. The decision of the circuit court adjudicated the issues presented to that court. The decision of this court adjudicated the issues presented to it. The decree of the trial court and the decree of this court affirming it have become final so far as these courts are concerned."

Recently, a Federal judge in the great State of Texas refused to order compliance with the Supreme Court's black Monday decisions, reminding the Supreme Court that "if there are civil rights, there are also civil wrongs." In his decision, he openly and officially criticized the Supreme Court for its segregation decisions, stating flatly that they were based on no law, but rather on what the Court regarded as more authoritative: modern psychological knowledge.

The fact is, my friends, that there is no legal basis for the Court's decision in the school cases. Their decision flies in the very face of the Constitution, and is repugnant to every principle and concept of established law.

For 58 years, since the Court first enunciated the separate but equal doctrine as

being in accordance with the constitutional requirements of equal protection under the law, the right of the States to educate their children in segregated public schools was not in question. In a succession of decisions the Supreme Court affirmed and reaffirmed that right of the several States, so that the separate and equal doctrine became a firmly fixed principle of law, a part of the American institution.

Acting on this premise, the Southern States have poured multiplied millions of their State tax dollars into programs of equalization, to bring Negro schools to a level of equality with the white schools, and seeking to assure complete equality in educating the Negro and white youth. The States have initiated and carried out these programs out of a sense of fairness to both races, and in complete disregard of the fact that the burden of expense in so doing rests squarely and almost wholly upon the members of the white race alone.

Even this was not enough to satisfy the radical element, which continues to agitate and to press—not for equal status for so-called minorities—but for a preferred status, and a condition wherein the majority shall be subject to the rule of the minority.

Simply and succinctly, the Supreme Court, in its Black Monday decisions, yielded to the pressure of these johnny-come-lately political opportunists, who claim to hold the balance of power between the two major political parties and who demand ransom with the political future of this country as their hostage.

All these facts the liberals brush off as the bigoted rantings of Southern race baiters and demagogs, and when confronted with these truths, they cringe and seek shelter behind pious declamations and idealistic but irrelevant platitudes.

I am sorry to say, though, that these elements have become so strong in recent times that they control a great segment of the press and radio of this country, to the extent that a form of censorship has been imposed against the dissemination of information and news that might—directly or indirectly—reflect favorably on the attitudes of southern white people, and the logic—moral and legal—of our position.

In many areas, news stories that justify southern attitudes are deliberately withheld from print; statements favoring segregation by Southern leaders are deliberately distorted to make the author appear as a bigoted fool. Words are lifted from context to make it look as if we in the South hold our Negro friends and neighbors in utter contempt—which is, as you know, contrary to all of the teachings and traditions of the southern people. They refer to our area as the Bible Belt, and proceed to hold our religious beliefs up to public ridicule. It has been impossible for us to tell our side of the story to the Nation, because we have been denied access to the means with which to communicate it.

It is significant that those who are farthest removed from the problem, and who know less about it, are the first to come forward with solutions to it. Segregation is no problem, for instance, in Minnesota, or Montana, or Oregon, or Arizona, where an infinitesimal percentage of the population is comprised of Negroes. The problem belongs to the South, and it is ours to solve in the way we deem best suited to local conditions and needs. We do not welcome the interference—however well-intentioned it may be—of outsiders whose only knowledge of conditions here is to be gained from a slanted northern press, or the commercialized diatribes of scalawag southern journalists.

Is it bigotry to hold that race consciousness is a virtue, as distinguished from race prejudice? Race consciousness is neither prejudice nor intolerance. It is an innate awareness of a birthright being held in trust for posterity. In every group, white and Negro, there are individuals who, despising their birthright, have violated that trust. It is even so in Virginia, but, thank God, a majority of us have been taught, and we understand, how it came about that Israel became a great nation, while Edom faded into oblivion. We recall the downfall of every great empire when it became infiltrated with immorality and was reduced to mongrelization through racial intermarriages and intermingling. Even Benjamin Disraeli, a great man in his day, said: "No man will treat with indifference the principle of race, for it is the key to history."

Race consciousness, recognized as a virtue among the southern people, both white and colored, is a symbol of evil in the eyes of a great majority of the northern press and, I am sorry to say, is being preached as anti-Christian from many pulpits throughout the country.

I am not a student of the Bible, though I profess faith in Christianity and the omnipotence of God. Eminent southern clergymen, in whom I rely for my interpretations of the Word of God, have told me unequivocally that segregation is not a spiritual subject, and that there is nothing in the Bible or its teachings that can be cited directly or indirectly to support the theories recently advanced that segregation, per se, is anti-Christian or contrary to the teachings of the Son of God. Yet, they tell me that the Bible deals with miscegnation and interracial marriages in no uncertain terms, holding this to be contrary to the principles of godliness, and in contradiction to the teachings of Christianity.

Thus, church leaders who adopt the pious attitude that interracial marriage and the resulting mongrel offspring are acceptable in the light of Christian teachings assume unto themselves the divine power to rewrite the meaning of the Gospel. In so doing, they invade the realm of politics and their preachings to that extent, at least, should be accorded consideration in that light, and that light alone.

The fact is that there are basic differences between members of the white and colored races, and so long as those differences continue to be as pronounced as they are, integration of the races where Negroes exist in great numbers is but a meaningless figure of speech and will not work. This fact was never more clearly documented than it was last fall, when the tragic results of racial integration in our Nation's Capital came into public view through the vehicle of a congressional investigation. As a member of that investigating committee, I can tell you that the conditions revealed to public view were shocking beyond imagination. If you have not had an opportunity to read the report of findings that resulted from that investigation, I would urge you to do so. It is a vivid portrayal of what we may expect if we sit by and permit forced integration to come about in our schools.

I shall not deal here with the various force bills, popularly called the civil-rights bills, one of which was reported by the House Judiciary Committee last week, except to tell you that these bills deprive American citizens of their most fundamental and basic civil rights, while guaranteeing no additional civil rights to any citizen, white or Negro. These bills specifically deny the right of citizens to trial by jury in certain cases; make the United States a party to lawsuits against individuals for the benefit of other individuals, and grant more authority to the Attorney General of the United States than has ever been conferred on an individual since the days of absolute monarchies and the "divine right of kings."

The civil-rights bills deal primarily with the so-called right to vote, and would grant the Attorney General the power to interfere with the right of the States to determine the qualifications of electors as specifically and exclusively granted to them under the Constitution. All this they would do in the name of protecting the so-called right to vote.

Proponents of the civil-rights bills overlook the fact that the privilege of franchise is not now, and has never been—under our form of government—considered a civil right. So we wonder just what kind of civil right they are trying to protect by depriving our citizens of the right to trial by jury, to free speech, and the right to choose one's own associates.

In Kent's commentaries, there is the definition of civil rights as "the right of personal security, the right of personal liberty, and the right to acquire and enjoy property. Right itself, in a civil suit, is that which any man is entitled to have, or to do, or to require from others, within the limits of prescribed law."

Bouvier's Law Dictionary is very concise in the definition: "Civil rights are those which have no relation to the establishment, support, or management of government."

Black's Law Dictionary says: "Civil rights are such as belong to every citizen of the State or country or, in a wider sense, to all its inhabitants, and are not connected with the administration or organization of government. They include the rights of property, marriage, protection of the laws, freedom of contract, trial by jury, etc."

If the right to vote is an inherent civil right of the American people, then it must be conferred on all our people without restriction for any reason, whether it be age, place or length of residence, failure to register, or any reason whatever.

Otherwise it is a conferred privilege and not a right. The fact that the Constitution gives the States the power to prescribe the qualifications of their electors, and did not require the granting of universal suffrage without restriction, of necessity removes the privilege of voting from the category of being an inherent civil right.

All of these developments: The drive for integration of the races; the passage of Federal civil rights legislation, and recent Supreme Court decisions depriving the States of other basic powers specifically reserved to them by the Constitution are but part and parcel of an alien movement that has been underway in this Nation ever since we became the dominant world power. Enemies of America know that if they can destroy the sovereignty of the several States of this Union and concentrate all authority in Washington, their last major hurdle toward gaining control over our vast commonwealth shall have been completed.

I would quote from a well known American: "The Federal Government did not create the States of this Republic. The States created the Federal Government. The creation should not supersede the creator. For if the States lose their meaning, our entire system of Government loses its meaning and the next step is the rise of the centralized national State in which the seeds of autocracy can take root and grow."

Those are the words of Dwight D. Eisenhower, spoken during his 1952 campaign for the office of President of the United States.

Listen to this, spoken by this same man to the Conference of Governors, meeting the next year in Seattle, Wash.: "I am here because of my indestructible conviction that unless we preserve in this country the place of State government with the power of authority, the responsibilities, and the revenues necessary to discharge those responsibilities, then we are not going to have America as we have known it. We will have some other form of government."

My friends, those words were spoken by our President at a time when he was seeking the political support of good and patriotic Americans, and they ring with the essence of American statesmanship. I regret to tell

you that, in my opinion, his subsequent official actions have not been consonant with those statements of basic principles. On the contrary, I think it can be said with reasonable accuracy that no president in the history of our great Nation, in the discharge of his official duties, has more flagrantly reneged on his campaign pledges or violated his publicly pronounced beliefs more than the present occupant of the House at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Where advocates of States Rights and Constitutional Government had thought they had a champion, they soon found a quisling to their cause.

I regret to say that few champions of States' Rights are found in my party—the opposition party—outside the Southern States; nor can my party be held blameless for the many sins against America that have been committed in the name of civil rights and general public welfare.

America can be saved, and our democratic society preserved, but only if Americans have sufficient love for it to make the sacrifices necessary to preserve it.

As God-fearing people, we are obligated to resist tyranny, no matter what form it may take. If we are true to ourselves, we must resist it even when it wears the sheep's clothing of judicial robes, if freedom is to be the legacy we bequeath to our children.

The resolving of this crisis does not call for complacency, timidity, or cowardice. It will call for taxing new reservoirs of courage, and will demand sacrifices that will test the strength of our convictions. In the face of the Supreme Court's brazen usurpation of authority, its flagrant disregard of constitutional limitations, its willful flouting of judicial precedents, its wanton contempt for the doctrine of stare decisis and other recognized principles of established law, we must resort to drastic measures if we are to preserve the structure of our Republic. This will mean suffering and sacrifice on the part of liberty-loving Americans, and it means seizing the offensive from the conscienceless self-seeking elements who seek to destroy our Republic. It means that we must seek and find the courage that distinguished our great American ancestors in their struggle to build this Republic, and there can be no retreating from principle for any cause whatsoever.

In this historic fight to preserve American liberty, I would remind you—as did your great senior Senator, the Honorable HARRY FLOOD BYRD, earlier this week—that the great sovereign Commonwealth of Virginia is marked as the first and most important target of those who would destroy State sovereignties. As your Senator said, the Federal Government and the NAACP mean "to try and bring Virginia to her knees first." I can tell you, as a citizen of a sister State, that the integration forces are concentrating their fire upon you, not only because of the great prestige you enjoy among the several States, but because they know that if they can break the will of the people of Virginia, other States will lose the will to resist, and will capitulate as a matter of course.

These beautiful rolling hills gave to us the architects of American liberty. It was one of your sons who wrote the Declaration of Independence; another is credited with being the father of the American Constitution; and still another led the forces of independence against the crown, and later served as our first and most revered President.

The character of the people of the Commonwealth of Virginia has always been reflected in the quality of leadership that Virginia has furnished to our Nation from colonial times until now. You have never failed America in any hour of crisis, and I am confident as an American that in this crisis, Virginia will again furnish the leadership so badly needed for our patriotic American cause.

We in Mississippi, our neighbors in Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, and our sister States are also under attack. We know that direct assaults against us are in the planning stage. But for the present, the frontlines of the fight to save America are in Virginia, and our hopes and prayers are with you as you seek to turn back the evil forces of centralization, miscegenation, and racial amalgamation.

The man from Monticello once said: "Timid men * * * prefer the calm of despotism to the boisterous sea of liberty." He said, "The God that gave us life gave us liberty at the same time. The hand of force may destroy, but cannot disjoin them."

It was his creed that resistance to tyranny was obedience to God.

The same God that watched over Jefferson, and inspired him to swear eternal hostility against tyranny, watches over us tonight. With His divine guidance and help we shall not fail.

Does Congress Really Want Economy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled, "Does Congress Really Want Economy?" published in the Louisville Times.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Louisville Times of March 21, 1957]

DOES CONGRESS REALLY WANT ECONOMY?

Congress, reflecting what may well be a general public uneasiness, has been bemoaning the size of President Eisenhower's proposed budget. If Congress is in a mood to do more than weep, it could make a good start by adopting the administration's proposal to increase postal rates so as to diminish if not eliminate the annual postal deficit.

In the last 10 years, the total Post Office Department deficit has been approximately $5 billion. "The interest alone on this portion of the national debt is now costing American taxpayers more than $100 million a year," Postmaster General Summerfield said early in 1955. And unless postal rates are increased, the 1957–58 fiscal year will add nearly $700 million to the postal deficit.

A POSTAL BARGAIN

Despite this burden, Congress always has been reluctant to increase postal rates. Despite congressional talk about economy, there is no assurance that Congress will be consistent this year and pass the cost of the postal service on to those who use the service.

In comparison with people in other countries, American postal users are getting a real bargain. A study made a couple of years ago showed that postage on an ordinary letter, 3 cents here, is 4.17 cents in England, 5 cents in Canada, 8.5 cents in Sweden, and 9.6 cents in Germany. Yet costs in this country are higher and distances are greater. No wonder the Post Office Department runs up a larger deficit than any other national system.

WOULD CUT DEFICIT

The administration's proposal, put before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee this week by Mr. Summerfield, would not eliminate the deficit but would reduce it to $189 million. The rate on first-class mail would go from 3 to 4 cents; post cards would go up from 2 cents to 3; airmail letters from 6 cents to 7, and airmail cards from 4 cents to 6. Other increases would be made for second- and third-class mail.

What would this amount to for the average household? Very little, actually, for it is estimated that the ordinary family mails only about 10 letters a month, which would mean an added cost of 10 cents a month.

It seems to us that if Congress wants to be taken seriously in its talk about economy, it will demonstrate its good faith by putting the postal increases into effect.

The Engineer in the Atomic Era

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks I include an article entitled "The Engineer in the Atomic Era," written by Thomas E. Murray, P. E., member of the Atomic Energy Commission, and appearing in the issue of the American Engineer of November 1956. The views of Mr. Murray should be publicized as extensively as possible and his article should be read by as many persons as possible. It is an article which should not only command the attention of all, but challenges the attention and consideration of all persons. There is no man more qualified in the world to discuss or write on the subject matter of the within article than Mr. Murray.

Thomas E. Murray graduated from Yale University's Sheffield Scientific School in 1911 with a bachelor of science degree in mechanical engineering. Within a few years after graduation from college, he entered directly into the field of management, becoming president of the Metropolitan Engineering Co., which was founded some years earlier by his father, who was himself an engineer of achievement in the electric and power industry. From 1915 to 1949, Mr. Thomas E. Murray served as president of that company and of the subsequently founded Murray Manufacturing Co. He has served as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission since 1950.

His ingenuity and creative ability are indicated by some 200 patents which have been granted him covering a wide range of achievements. During World War II, Commissioner Murray won a special award from the United States Government for his invention of a new method of manufacturing shells which saved tons of strategic material and accounted for 25 percent of all World War II trench mortar shell production.

His sound judgment and rare mixture of kindly understanding and adherence to principle being well known and appreciated, he has been called upon to serve the public in many capacities, such as his successful peace-making efforts in

1941 in the important Bell Aircraft controversy and his successful efforts in labor disputes involving New York City bus companies.

The article follows:

THE ENGINEER IN THE ATOMIC ERA

(By Thomas E. Murray, P. E.)

The realities of atomic energy have made one fact abundantly clear—that no individual can rightly stand apart from mankind or remain unconcerned by his responsibilities for the well-being of his fellowmen. The fact of this mutual interdependence among men as a condition of human welfare has been recognized for ages. But the practical consequences of the failure of the individual to assume his responsibilities could—in this nuclear era—be tragedy on a scale not yet experienced. Where failure in the past has meant poverty and death—even of tremendous porportions—failure in the future can bring into question the very continued existence of mankind.

Each individual—and particularly each educated man—has under these circumstances the responsibility of acquainting himself with the facts of atomic energy as they pertain to the possibilities both for the betterment and for the destruction of mankind. The engineer should feel this responsibility to a preeminent degree. For his special qualifications endow him with an ability to comprehend with greater clarity than most, the concrete dimensions both of the threat and promise inherent in the atom. And this greater comprehension should bring forth in his own actions and in those of his profession concerted efforts, not only to alleviate the threat; but to transform the promise of atomic energy into practical reality.

Quite apart from the danger of catastrophe inherent in atomic energy, engineers would by their nature enthusiastically seek to penetrate its secrets, to harness it in man's service. This is in the very best traditions of the engineering profession. Ordinarily any relationships that exist between the constructive and destructive uses of the various forces of nature are not in themselves of special importance. Yet my over 6 years experience as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission has convinced me, an engineer by profession, that the promise of atomic energy and programs for its realization cannot rightly be disassociated from the threat. These years of close association with with the ever-growing proportions of the menace have intensified my views as to the responsibilities we have, individually and collectively, to accelerate development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Moreover, I am persuaded that more widespread awareness of the nature and scope of the danger we face would be accompanied by an increasing insistence that our programs for peaceful employment of the atom be greatly augmented. Engineers have the opportunity and the responsibility of contributing to that wider understanding. But first each must himself become acquainted with the facts. In what follows I shall attempt to indicate some of the more important ones.

The first is that man has now developed nuclear weapons of such power that the explosion of a sufficient number could render the earth uninhabitable. The President in a speech on September 20, 1956, described the situation in these words: "We witness today in the power of nuclear weapons a new and wider dimension of the deadly horror of war. Humanity has now achieved, for the first time in its history, the power to end its history."

This is the stark, if almost inconceivable, reality. As such, one might suppose that the collective intelligence of mankind would be imbued with concern lest man, as a consequence of his actions, be overtaken by a fate so monstrous. Regrettably there is little or no evidence that it has. At least there is little to indicate that the consequences of nuclear warfare are being permitted to exercise the decisive influence which they should wield in determining the actions of nations.

Some insight into the grave nature of the problem can be gained by retracing the course of nuclear weapons development. In World War II the power of a bomb was its explosive force, the force of a blast, accompanied by heat and followed by fire. The atomic bomb, of the kind unfortunately dropped on Hiroshima, was a bomb bigger by many thousands of times than the biggest high explosive bomb dropped during the war. Before we had time fully to comprehend the implications of these weapons we were catapulted into the hydrogen era by the thermonuclear explosion of November 1, 1952. This and subsequent explosions have made it clear that nuclear weapons can be produced, not many thousands but many millions of times the explosive power of World War II blockbusters. Beyond that we know that there is no upper limit to the size of nuclear explosions that can be produced.

The several orders of magnitude by which thermonuclear weapons transcend and even dwarf atomic weapons in explosive power warrants our considering hydrogen weapons as in a class by themselves. But great as is this difference, it is not the more important one. The thermonuclear bomb inflicts destruction by blast and thermal effects over a far larger area than atomic weapons. But it also unleashes destruction in a more insidious form—in the form of a fallout of radioactive particles. This radioactive fallout, which consists largely of the products of atomic fission is localized in the case of atomic weapons. But the fallout which results from the detonation of hydrogen weapons reaches in its effects far beyond the areas of blast and thermal damage.

The contamination which results from this fallout creates hazards of both an immediate and long-term nature. An immediate hazard is created in thousands of square miles adjacent to the site of a thermonuclear explosion carried out in close proximity to the ground. In this area the radioactivity is of such intensity that protective measures would have to be taken for days and sometimes even weeks and months to prevent death or serious illness to those exposed.

Hazards of a long-term nature would include those due to internal exposure to radiation from materials inhaled or ingested. The most important contribution to this hazard is that from radioactive strontium. And the potential danger associated with this substance is of such immense importance that it is worth discussing in some detail.

Radioactive strontium is one of the products released in all nuclear explosions. Unlike the strontium ordinarily occurring in nature, it emits beta particles, 1 of the 3 types of radiation given off by radium and its decay products. Moreover, its radioactivity persists over long periods of time—its intensity dying off by a factor of one-half every 28 years.

Some of the radioactive strontium produced in the explosion of a large thermonuclear weapon falls to earth rather quickly. But a significant quantity is shot up into the stratosphere where it diffuses throughout the entire envelope of atmosphere surrounding the earth. From the stratosphere it settles slowly into the lower regions of the atmosphere where it soon falls to earth. Since only a fraction of the amount stored in the stratosphere falls to earth during the course of a year, the contamination continues to be deposited for years after the explosion has taken place.

From the soil and by other routes the radiostrontium enters the structure of growing plants. It then passes as food into the human body where it is absorbed in the bone structure. Here its beta radiation, if sufficiently intense, can cause changes in the bone and even bone tumors. Of this fact there is no question. Questions do arise, however, in attempting to establish the amount of radiostrontium that can be carried by humans without harmful effects. Nevertheless, from what we know it is clear that the explosion of a sufficiently large number of thermonuclear weapons could bring about concentrations of radiostrontium in human bones on a worldwide basis which are considerably in excess of the maximum considered permissible for the general population.

This is one of the consequences that must be understood by the term all-out nuclear warfare. There are others. There is, for instance, the harmful effects of a genetic nature that mankind would incur as a result of large-scale use of nuclear weapons. Although our knowledge is not sufficient to predict the degree of damage; it is adequate to warn us of the disaster that could lie in this direction.

These and other consequences of all-out nuclear warfare should, I think, convince every individual that he has a responsibility to prevent this present threat from becoming a reality. I am of the belief that one of our best hopes for insuring against this is to educate each individual to a very real understanding of the potential for good and for evil in atomic energy. From widespread understanding of this type there would come forth concerted efforts to insure realization of the potential for good inherent in atomic energy. Such a positive approach poses special responsibilities for the engineer. For his is the "art and science by which the properties of matter and the sources of power in nature are made useful to mankind." And atomic energy as a source of power is one of the potentially most attractive of all the applications of atomic energy.

As the nations of the world strive for higher living standards and as ever increasing inroads are made in the world's energy and material resources, the availability of energy becomes a matter of crucial importance. Certain aspects of the problem are of a long-range nature; others are of such immediacy as to require action beginning now.

Over the long term there is for example the necessity of providing for population growth. The world's population will have risen in the course of the present century from 1.5 billions to between four and five billion individuals. Even in the absence of improved living standards and depletion of material resources, this increase in population would have posed eventual problems. The fact is, of course, that strenuous efforts are being made the world over, and particularly in undeveloped countries to increase standards of living. It has been estimated that, if the entire world were to use mineral resources at the rate characteristic of this country, six times the amount currently being used would be required. The implications in terms of increased energy requirements are at once apparent.

Meanwhile the availability of these resources is dwindling. For example, where we were formerly using copper ores containing 5 percent copper, we are now reduced to processing those averaging nine-tenths of 1 percent. In consequence greater expenditures of energy are required. A like condition obtains with respect to iron ore. Within a few years we will be processing ores containing 25 to 30 percent iron. By contrast the ore originally mined in the Mesabi Range contained 50 percent and more iron. If we start using taconite ore we might be using 2 or more pounds of coal to produce 1 of steel where formerly 1 pound sufficed for producing 1 pound of steel from high grade ores.

These three factors of population growth, prospective improvement in living standards, and depletion of materials resources combine to heighten the importance of energy to man's future. Such is the need that we are forced to look beyond the limited resources of conventional fuels to a new source. And such a source—almost unlimited in its potential—is available in atomic energy.

The need to accelerate development of this new source of energy is a matter for action now. Shortages of conventional fuels are of present concern for some countries abroad, especially the highly industrialized nations of Western Europe. In such countries imported fuels are necessary to maintain and expand their economies. For example, in the case of Western Europe, the total net expenditure of fuel imports have been placed at between $1.5 and $2 billion for 1955, and these are expected to increase to $5 billion by 1975.

The United Kingdom has already determined that the development of atomic electric power is essential to its future and has undertaken its development as a matter of national policy. Under its program a large number of power stations will be built by 1965, having a combined installed capacity of 1½ million kilowatts.

The pattern of atomic-power application in underdeveloped countries is still a matter of conjecture. This is not to say that the need is uncertain. There are many situations where shortage or inaccessibility of conventional fuels argues for the application of nuclear power now. In others, sound planning for the future should mean that at least a start be made now in this direction. What eventuates from this pattern of need will depend on the progress we as a nation make in developing atomic power. The fact is, however, that formidable barriers stand in the way of progress in this field. And there is the further fact that these barriers lie, in large degree, in the field of engineering. Some of the problems involved are new; in others the only element of newness derives from their application in association with the utilization of atomic energy. Most of the traditional branches of engineering have already felt their impact in some degree. This combination of the new with the familiar and this diversity in scope can best be illustrated by examples.

To begin with the familiar, some of the most crucial problems that confront us in building power reactors are those of corrosion. In water-cooled reactors, for example, the corrosion resistance in very hot water of the materials involved is a decisive element in their selection. Poor corrosion characteristics can have unfortunate consequences in reducing heat transfer in the reactor, in increasing the radioactivities carried in the coolant, in causing malfunction of moving parts, and deterioration of the coolant-containing boundaries. One thing is clear, we need far more information than we now have concerning the corrosion characteristics of conventional materials in ordinary water at high temperatures, the basic requirement of corrosion resistance is not new, but it is one of crucial importance in reactor design.

Corrosion resistance, for example, is important in the selection of materials for reactor fuel elements. These fuel elements, which contain the heat-releasing fissionable materials, must operate at high temperatures in the presence of intense radiation with little consequent deformation. In addition to being corrosion-resistant the materials used should capture as few neutrons as possible. This combination of requirements has given rise to the use in reactors of an entirely new metal, zirconium.

There is another approach to the fuel element problem which would eliminate the difficult problems involved in fuel element fabrication and corrosion. That is to dissolve the fissionable material or fuel in the coolant which circulates through and removes heat from the reactor. The present difficulty is that the chemical solutions which carry the fuel are very corrosive and also tend to break down under reactor operating conditions of high temperature and radiation. To solve this problem will be to take a long stride toward the realization of a reactor that is fundamentally attractive with respect to such characteristics as control, safety, and the economics of power production.

In the broader field of metallurgy there is this same insistent need to cope with older problems while at the same time extending our knowledge to solve the newer ones. We have still to learn much more about the welding of materials used in reactor plants than we now know. Several factors make it especially important that we acquire this knowledge. Among them are the necessity of using welded joints to meet stringent leakage standards that must be met in reactor construction and the severe hazards that can accompany failure.

In its newer aspects atomic energy has already brought with it the development of new metals such as hafnium, and more intensive development of others such as beryllium and the liquid metals. But there is one metal that presently requires much more development than it has hitherto received. I refer to plutonium, a fissionable material produced in all nuclear reactors. As power reactors come into operation more and more plutonium will be produced, processed, and made available as fuel for new reactors. As matters now stand, however, we just do not have sufficient information to enable us to use this plutonium satisfactorily as a reactor fuel. Hence, the development of plutonium metallurgy must stand high on the priority list of problems whose solution is vital to the future of nuclear power reactors.

Problems not less difficult than those already mentioned will be encountered in the other branches of engineering: in developing technologies of liquid metal coolants, in synthesizing complex circuitory to control nuclear processes, in extending heat transfer knowledge to meet the special requirements of reactors, and in myriad other forms. Beyond these problems, however, there are two general considerations pertaining to the engineering development of reactors which are of paramount importance. Both concern the potential hazards of reactor operation. And for that reason each brings into focus the responsibility that the engineer has to the community.

One of these general problems is that of reactor safety. The possibility exists that power reactor accidents could conceivably occur in which large amounts of radioactivities would be dispersed over wide areas. Even conceding that the probability of their occurring is small, the potentially catastrophic consequences of such accidents requires that no step be overlooked which would contribute to reducing their probability to the smallest value possible. A reactor incident could have its origins as much in a faulty valve as in faulty control circuits, as much in poor mechanical design as in the area of reactor physics. Hence, each engineer involved in the design of atomic powerplants will feel an additional sense of responsibility that derives from a knowledge of the possible ill consequences of failure on his part.

The second of these problems is perhaps less immediately apparent. Yet it goes to the very root of the engineer's responsibilities. I refer to the long-range consequences of the development of atomic energy insofar as they could contribute to contamination of the environment in which man lives—and in which his children must continue to live. The fact is that the increasing utilization of atomic energy will inevitably increase the amount of radioactivity present in the world. We must not let the accompanying hazards from this radiation rise above acceptable levels. And we are assured by competent groups of scientists that we need not do so if we are alert to the responsibility we have for finding safe ways of disposing of these radioactive substances. This then is another area in which the engineer must overcome formidable problems in the interest of discharging his responsibility for the welfare of mankind.

The problems which I have cited are only barely indicative of the large number that confront the engineer in the broad fields of atomic energy. These will be for him a call to action. And a call that will, I am confident, be sharpened by the ever-widening threat to humanity from nuclear weapons. It is a summons which can and must be met by bringing to bear the full genius of the American engineer in a concerted effort to eliminate the barriers that now stand between us and widespread utilization of atomic energy. I know of no field of engineering endeavor where the individual could contribute more in the service of this Nation and of mankind.

Municipal Credit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I am sure that all of my colleagues will agree that one of the real challenges facing us is to make sure that the municipalities of this Nation are in the strongest possible position so to say that they can meet the complex problems of this new age.

There is hardly a major city across the land which is not plagued by such chronic problems as congested downtown areas, spreading blight in the older portions of the cities, rising overall expenses of municipal government, difficulties in finding equitable sources of tax revenue, and similar issues.

Meanwhile, the trend to the suburbs has complicated most municipalities' problems. Thus, they find that some of their principal taxpayers now reside outside their cities' tax jurisdiction, while the suburbanites still benefit from municipal services during the day.

I was interested, therefore, to read in the February 1957 issue of the National Municipal Review a most interesting article, based on a previous address, by Mr. Wade S. Smith, director of municipal research for Dun & Bradstreet. The article frankly describes what the investor looks for in evaluating municipal credit.

Naturally, the municipalities cannot have a strong credit rating unless they achieve certain sound standards, such as those outlined by Mr. Smith. Upon such rating depends the municipalities' ability to sell their bonds at reasonable terms so as to meet municipal obligations.

This article, I may say, is published in the periodical of the National Municipal League, a splendid citizens' organization founded as far back as 1894, and devoted to the cause of good government—effi-

cient, democratic, incorruptible government.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, preceded by a list of the officers and councilmen of the National Municipal League itself.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

National Municipal League, 47 East 68th Street, New York, N. Y.: A citizens' organization for better government, founded 1894, incorporated 1923: Alfred Willoughby, executive director; John E. Bebout, assistant director; Allen H. Seed, Jr., assistant director; Cecil Morgan, president; John S. Linen, vice president; William Collins, vice president; Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer; Richard S. Childs, chairman, executive committee. Regional vice presidents: Jac Chambliss, Chattanooga, Tenn.; C. E. Commander, Jr., Jacksonville; Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle; Robert H. Fouke, San Francisco; John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.; Carl J. Gilbert, Boston; Barry Goldwater, Phoenix; Thomas Graham, Louisville; Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis; A. E. Johnson, Denver; Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.; H. Bruce Palmer, Newark; Ed P. Phillips, Richmond, Va.; Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.; Lee M. Sharrar, Houston; Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati; Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio; H. V. Watkins, Jackson, Miss.; James E. Webb, Oklahoma City; James C. Worthy, Chicago. Council: George H. Gallup, chairman; Frederick L. Bird, New York; Henry Bruere, New York; Mrs. Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati; W. Howard Chase, Hohokus, N. J.; Jerome K. Crossman, Dallas; Winston W. Crouch, Los Angeles; E. D. Dodd, Toledo; Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.; Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J.; Herbert Emmerich, Chicago; Bayard H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.; Ewart W. Goodwin, San Diego; Francis A. Harrington, Worcester; Harry T. Ice, Indianapolis; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids; Myron C. Law, Seattle; Bruce H. MacLeod, Springfield, Mass.; L. E. Marlowe, Richmond, Va.; Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse, N. Y.; Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, N. Y.; Vernon C. Myers, New York; Otto L. Nelson, Jr., Princeton, N. J.; John K. H. Nightingale, Jr, Providence; Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines; James M. Osborn, New Haven, Conn.; Kenneth Perry, New Brunswick, N. J.; Lawson Purdy, New York; Robert H. Rawson, Cleveland; Arthur B. Richardson, New York; Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati; Edmund B. Shea, Milwaukee; Charles T. Silverson, Minneapolis; James A. Singer, St. Louis; Halsey Smith, Portland, Maine; Frank A. Vanderlip, Jr., New York; George S. Van Schaick, New York. Honorary vice presidents: Harold S. Buttenheim, New York; W. B. Munro, Pasadena, Calif.; William J. Pape, Waterbury, Conn.; Henry L. Shattuck, Boston. Former presidents: James C. Carter, Charles J. Bonaparte, William Dudley Foulke, Lawson Purdy, Charles Evans Hughes, Henry M. Waite, Frank L. Polk, Richard S. Childs, Murray Seasongood, Harold W. Dodds, C. A. Dykstra, John G. Winant, Charles Edison, Henry Bruère, George H. Gallup.

WHAT THE INVESTOR LOOKS FOR IN EVALUATING MUNICIPAL CREDIT

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is the address of Wade S. Smith, director of municipal research, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., before the Municipal Tax and Credit Clinic, a session of the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, November 14, 1956, at Memphis, Tenn.)

While this is a nontechnical discussion, some prefatory definition is necessary. Three words in the topic call for agreement:

1. Investor: This is no little fellow. Municipal bonds come in thousand-dollar pieces and round lots are 10 bonds and multiples of 10. Our man probably is not the actual owner-investor anyway—he is an employee or officer of a financial institution, insurance company, or large estate. He is knowledgeable, well informed, and spends both time and money to get the facts he wants.

2. Credit: My company (Dun & Bradstreet) has a widely displayed motto reading "Credit—man's confidence in man." "Reputation" would be a satisfactory synonym.

3. Municipality: Used here in the jargon of the municipal bond trade to mean State and local governments of all varieties.

About the same things that make a community a good place to live in, work in, and do business in, also make its bonds attractive to investors. And conversely, about the same things that make citizens dissatisfied and impede business and industry also make a community's bonds less attractive to the investor.

Of all the factors pleasing alike to citizens and investors, the most important easily is good management. Management activities in at least four areas are significant to the discussion here: (1) The defining of objectives and determination of means of realizing them most effectively and economically—in other words, planning; (2) the operation of the machinery of government to attain the planned program—or administration; and (3) checking up on performance to see whether the expected result was obtained and at what cost—or reporting.

LOOK TO PAST

Management obviously doesn't exist in a vacuum. Competent management necessitates competent men, equipped with the needed tools. And you don't necessarily have to see the men and the tools at work to see the evidence of their existence, any more than a woman need see a stranger at work in her home to determine whether she is a good housekeeper—a look inside the house will tell.

Reputation, for housekeeping and for anything else, has its roots in the past. Consequently, the investor looks to the credit history of the community. Has it paid its debt punctually in the past? Has it met its current bills in a provident manner, living within its means? Or is there a history of default, of refunding of maturing bonds, of long-term borrowing to meet operating costs or budget deficits? These are all black marks on a record, but can be offset, not eradicated, by remedial action.

The past, of course, is no guaranty of the future, and the investor consequently looks to see how things are going here and now. Is a sound future in the making or are the seeds of trouble being sown?

1. Is the community planning adequately for its needs, both immediate and long term? Does it have, and use effectively, the tools to do a good planning job—standard zoning and building laws, an effective planning agency integrated with the legislative body and top management, a master plan, a capital budget? Do the several local governments in the community work in harness or are they competitors? Possession of the tools does not insure that a good job will be done, but their absence imposes insuperable obstacles. The alternatives are doing without needed services and facilities, or doing things piecemeal, with the attendant risk of unpleasant surprises for both taxpayers and bondholders.

2. Does the community adhere to sound principles of debt administration? Does the local debt—and this includes that of all the local government units in the community—appear to be within ability to repay? Is debt arranged so that annual debt service charges are manageable or so that recurrent budget crises are probable? Is the term of the debt at least no greater than the probable useful life of the facilities acquired with the bond proceeds?

3. Does the city have a revenue system which provides revenues adequate to meet local requirements? The richest community is no better off than a poor one if laws prevent its local government from realizing on that wealth. Is the system flexible to meet future needs? Is the property tax system soundly administered, with equitable assessment of property by competent appraisers, efficient collection on a tax calendar well geared with flow of cash requirements and adequate and impartially administered enforcement procedures? Is there a well-balanced program of non-property-tax revenues? (The average city now receives less than half its governmental revenues from property taxes.)

In this same connection, are there any significant reservations of or limitations on the taxing power? Tax rate limits which include debt service find little favor with investors, who understandably want an unconditional promise to pay. Earmarking of revenues also is potentially troublesome.

4. Does the community use standard techniques in making and controlling the execution of its budget? The budget is the heart of effective management, whether in industry or government, and a city executive's budget message is sometimes the most revealing piece of information available.

5. Finally, is there a regular periodic checkup on progress? The best evidences are the comprehensive annual administrative report and the comprehensive annual financial report.

If this list has a familiar sound it is not coincidence. Good local government and good local credit go together. And if you want more details on some of the standards applied by the investor in judging some of these basic factors, look to the standards set forth in publications of the National Municipal League: Model County and Municipal Bond Law, Model Cash Basis and Accrual Budget Laws, Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, Model City Charter, and so on. Sound practices in municipal government beget sound municipal credit.

In a short paper like this, necessity requires omission of discussion of some special areas of concern to the investor—economic resources, their extent, stability, and trends, notably. But our interest here centers on the governmental side, and the investor applies many of the tests in determining bond quality that a citizen applies in determining whether he has good or bad local government. If the citizen is satisfied, the chances are good that the holder of his community's bonds is also satisfied; if the citizen dislikes the way his community is run, and fears for the future, the investor probably shares that apprehension.

Such Is the Way of Winter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted to extend my own remarks and to include extraneous material, I wish to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a poem written by James Brick. Young Brick is 11 years of age and an enthusiastic student of nature. The poem was written after reading Longfellow's Hiawatha and I feel it

is worthy of inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The poem follows:

SUCH IS THE WAY OF WINTER

(By Jim Brick)

In the land of snowshoe rabbits,
In the land of falling snowflakes,
Long flown south has the raven,
Long flown south has the plover.
Here the country is Wabbasso's
In the icy grip of winter.
Now the small and silvery snowflakes
Fall against the winter's bleakness,
Fall on lifeless, whitened lowland,
Fall on barren snowswept highland.
And in concealment of the fir trees
Are the gentle, timid roe deer—
Shivering, shaking to their utmost
From the cold and from starvation.
For the wind has stripped the leaflets
From the slender treeling mothers.
And now the bear, fat with gorging,
Prepares to make his winter denning
To slumber soundly through the winter,
And when spring comes, then awaken.

Then the air is rent with howling,
Howls of wolves, truly famished.
Now they charge upon the roe deer
White-fanged, cruel, and relentless.
Ho, the roe deer leaping upward,
Leaping toward the deadly circle
Made of wolves—bristling, snarling.
Now the quarry is selected,
'Tis a sturdy roebuck yearling
Leaping also with the others.
Now the leader, in his cruelty
Gives the orders, yelping, barking
"Cut the hamstring or the throat vein
For after that there shall be feasting";
And with this cry they cornered swiftly
The roebuck to dispatch him.
And the frenzied roebuck, alas poor roebuck,
Striking out with bony antlers,
Striking out with dainty forehoofs
But in vain, the wolves are heedless.
In they charge and soon it's over.

Dead now lies the spirited roebuck.
Gone now is the light of living.

Now the wolves begin their feasting
To gorge until the sun arises,
Then hide the meat for future eating.
For game is scarce upon the northland.
Now the wolves will soon retire,
And when night falls begin again
The cycle of the north.

The 5 Percent Tax Switch Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was interested to read in the March 1957 issue of the magazine Investors Future, published at Crystal Lake, Ill., a most interesting article on what has been called the 5 percent tax switch plan.

This is the sort of proposal—one of many stimulating ideas—which, in my judgment, should have the review of the Hoover-type Tax Study Commission which I have been recommending under the Wiley bill, S. 769.

Under this particular plan, an investor, instead of paying the full capital gains tax—25 percent maximum—would pay only 5 percent tax on long-term profits—over 6 months—on that portion of the total amount which he or she received from the selling of one stock which he or she then reinvested into another stock or stocks within 30 days.

As will be readily apparent, the basic idea of the plan is to unfreeze present investments in stocks—investments which have been described as locked in because of the present 25 percent capital gains tax.

Proponents of the plan, including Mr. William D. Bowden, editor of Investors Future, as well as others who have studied it, believe that the plan will accomplish several objectives simultaneously:

First. Basically, they feel, it will encourage a turnover in investments and unfreezing of risk capital, so as to encourage the expansion of our free enterprise system.

Second. It will, they feel, bring more money into the Treasury, not only right away, but over the longer term.

Third. It will, in their judgment, provide a break for the investor by giving him more freedom to use his capital as he or she desires.

Of course, any such proposal would have to be studied in greatest detail by the best experts of the Treasury Department and the tax-writing committees of the Congress.

So, I trust that in time to come, we will indeed have a Hoover-type Tax Commission which would be in a position to study this and other constructive ideas and then submit their analysis to the Congress.

I send the Investors Future article to the desk and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR ECONOMY'S GREATEST IMMEDIATE NEED

(By William D. Bowden, editor)

("Someone has got to worry about the investor—and right now," says G. Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange, in a discussion last month of need for tax reform in which he recommended a tax-switch plan as formulated by the staff of Investor's Future in November 1955.

(The investor does have someone worrying for him—Investor's Future. We have mailed thousands of copies of the original 5-percent switch-tax plan to business and industry leaders. Valuable discussion have been carried on with pertinent Senators and Congressmen—as well as important Government officials. And the plan has—and is—receiving serious consideration.

(We have worked closely with William Jackman, president of the Investors League, a national, nonprofit, nonpartisan membership organization of investors—which is waging a continuing and effective fight for improvement in our tax laws.

(Investor's Future will continue to worry about the investor, and its staff will continue their efforts for a capital gains tax revision. But the ways of Government are often slow and devious, and sometimes the only way to produce speedy results is to use the threat of the ballot box.

(Action on a tax revision should be taken during the current session of Congress—and, outside of eliminating the capital gains tax entirely, no better solution to the problem has been announced by any Government official. You, as an investor and a citizen, should make your wishes known to your Senators and Congressmen, and to Treasury Secretary Humphrey and President Eisenhower.

(One large investment house informs us that it estimates over 40 percent of all risk accounts have holdings locked up in one or more securities because investors are reluctant to risk a switch into more promising ventures while they must pay a 25 percent capital-gains tax on their accrued profits (this situation has not lessened in 2 years).

(On these pages the 5-percent switch-tax plan is presented in full detail—and we again urge that all investors give it their support. This is a tax proposal that, if adopted, would give much deserved relief to the investor—increase the immediate and total tax flow into the Treasury—aid the immediate release of much capital from the deep-freeze—stimulate new ventures and the expansion of others—and add immensely to the popularity of the administration with the taxpayer.

(Why are Congress, Government officials, and the President "dogging along" when such a tax revision could be the most vital action possible to keep our economy prosperous and sound for the present and for the years ahead? If they think they are soaking the rich, they're badly mistaken. The latest available statistics of the Internal Revenue Service (for 1953) discloses that 78 percent of all people paying capital gains tax in that year had incomes of under $10,000.)

In spite of the fact that our country's present great industrial status is the result of individual companies being nursed on risk capital—and only because of this vital nourishment were able to grow into important, self-sustaining maturity—we now have an embargo to hinder the flow of risk capital into companies that would promise us an even greater future.

This embargo operates under the name of capital gains tax, and apparently is deeply entrenched into our economic life mainly because it is still believed politically preferable to "soak the rich."

Yet it is very obvious that our economy will suffer if vital nourishment is withheld from it—just as a child cannot grow properly if it does not receive required quantities of nourishment.

The problem seems to have reached a stalemate, since the Government says it must have the capital gains tax revenue, elected Government officials feel they cannot politically afford to cut the taxes of the rich and the men of business and investors, themselves, are willing to accept the fact that no change in this tax law will be made.

Yet, suggested here is a very simple arrangement, which would not only permit the investor to switch his risk capital into investments of his choice without paying the present high capital gains tax but also at the same time bring more money into the United States Treasury.

Let's take a look at the effects of the present capital gains tax. Without a doubt, it is freezing more capital and stifling more new investment ventures than any other single factor. One large investment house estimates that over 40 percent of all risk accounts have holdings "locked-up" in one or more securities because the investor is reluctant to risk a switch into more promising ventures—and thus have to pay a 25 percent capital gains tax on his accrued profits.

Now, the investor may be right or wrong in making his decision but the fact does remain that the present tax is (a) stopping the flow of risk capital; (b) limiting the investor's horizons; and (c) postponing, if not almost nullifying in such cases, the capital gains tax collections that the Internal Reve-

nue Bureau had hoped for under the present tax.

So we can see that the capital gains tax, in its present form, hurts everybody.

But what if we used a simple 5 percent switch tax plan with our present capital gains tax law? Certified public accountants, businessmen, and a number of Government officials who studied the plan, agree it would accomplish the following: (1) bring more money into the United States Treasury, not only right away, but also over the longer term; (2) give the investor more freedom to use his capital as he wishes—and thus to make larger profits; (3) permit our economy to grow and prosper through a distribution of risk capital where it is needed.

HOW WOULD THE PLAN WORK?

Instead of making an investor pay the full capital gains tax (25 percent maximum), the switch tax would let him pay only 5 percent tax on long-term profits (over 6 months' on that portion of the total amount received from selling one stock which he reinvests into another stock (or stocks) within 30 days.

The investor can keep on taking profits on stocks held 6 months or more and only paying 5 percent as long as he continues to reinvest each time within 30 days. When he finally doesn't reinvest within the 30-day limit, he pays the full tax (at present rates), minus the 5 percents already paid on the difference between his initial investment and the final selling price.

This means that the investor can switch all of his investment capital, or as much as he desires, to stocks he prefers and still pay only a minor tax. His money continues to word hard * * * and the Government receives tax money now that it wouldn't have if the larger tax kept the investor from selling.

One thing that must be considered, of course, is what date should be used to determine what price level should be used for stocks held when the switch-tax plan goes into operation. In order to give the most immediate effectiveness to the plan, January 1, 1954, seems like the best price-level date.

In other words, on any stocks purchased before January 1, 1954, full capital gains would have to be paid, when sold, on gains realized to that period * * * but only 5 percent on any gains since then if the money is reinvested within 30 days.

Using this date (prior to the 1954–55 market rise) would let most investors have the 5 percent advantage on at least a good portion of the long-term profits they have to date.

On any stocks purchased subsequent to January 1, 1954, the actual cost price would be used. Only the 5 percent switch tax would be paid when the stocks were sold and paper profits realized.

The personal bookkeeping needed to carry out the plan might seem complicated to start with, but tests have proven that actually little more bookkeeping is needed than is required under the present tax system.

Let's look at the hypothetical example that is given on this page and analyze the transactions.

As of January 1, 1954, $20,000 is invested in stocks. Approximately 7 months later, the stocks are sold and a long-term profit of $17,000 is realized.

The investor pays the 5-percent tax on this profit—or $850. If the present capital gains tax payment was required, he would have paid $4,250.

So when the money is reinvested within 30 days, $3,400 more money is put into the market because of the lower switch tax.

(And, remember, many investors probably would not cash in their profits and switch stocks if the 25-percent penalty was present.)

Now $36,150 is invested and approximately 11 months later these stocks are sold with a profit of $5,850. The 5-percent switch-tax payment is $292.50, compared with the present tax's maximum 25-percent requirement of $1,462.50.

When the money is reinvested this time, an additional $1,170 goes into the market because of the tax "saving." So now the 5-percent switch tax has enabled $4,570 additional to be used by the investor.

Total invested on September 13, 1955, then, is $41,707.50. And profit taken on this is $9,292.50. The 5-percent switch tax of $464.63 is paid instead of a 25-percent (maximum) tax of $2,323.12. So an additional $1,858.49 can be reinvested. By now the investor has been able to have $6,428.49 more invested because of the switch-tax plan.

And here's a really important point: the Government has received $1,607.13 which it would not have received if the 25-percent capital-gains tax had deterred the investor from "taking his profit" in order to switch into what he considered a more promising opportunity.

Thus the investor now invests $50,535.37. However, on the next transaction he has a loss of $5,535.37. Hence, he pays no 5-percent tax and, naturally, would pay no tax under the present 25-percent-tax law.

He decides not to reinvest his $45,000 within 30 days, so the investor must now pay the 25-percent capital-gains tax (but minus the three 5-percent tax payments made) on the difference between the original investment and the final selling price, because that difference is his actual realized gains.

The original investment was $20,000 and the amount received from the last sale was $45,000. Thus the 25-percent tax must be figured on a $25,000 profit, and is $6,250. This, less the total of $1,607.13 already paid in switch taxes, leaves a tax balance due the Government of $4,642.87.

The investor would have been required to pay $8,035.62 under the present tax law (if he had made the switches). But he only paid a total of $6,250 under the switch-tax plan, so he has a tax savings of $1,785.62, or 22.2 percent.

However (for the sake of comparison), had he been able to deduct the loss under the present law, his tax would then have been $6,651.78. So he still has a tax savings of $401.78 or 6 percent.

The total tax savings (or privilege) received by the investor is due to the fact that he is credited as though he kept the 5 percent switch taxes invested even though these sums actually were paid to the government.

WHAT ARE THE NET RESULTS?

1. A road block was removed that probably would have stopped the investor from switching his stocks when he preferred to change his holdings. Thus we get rid of an artificial prop under stock prices, and we can expect more new investment dollars to be attracted as a result of more equalized supply and demand influence on stock prices.

2. The government received $6,500 during a time when it would have received nothing if the switches weren't made.

3. The investor received more total profit because he was permitted to reinvest the difference between the 5 percent tax and the present 25 percent tax.

4. Thus the government received the 25 percent tax on a larger profit with the result that it received more total income.

5. The investor would also benefit from the fact that he wouldn't need to worry about taking profits in any one specific year in order to get tax credit for a loss incurred in that year.

However, if it should happen that a total loss was incurred, the investor would not get credit for the 5 percent tax payments he had made. The payments were made for the privilege of making the switches without paying the higher tax. In such a case, of course, the government would have received tax payments which it otherwise would not have received.

If an investor dies and has already paid some 5 percent switch taxes—the estate would have no more liabilities on the capital gains for capital gains tax.

Also, if an investor takes some profit and only reinvests within 30 days a portion of the amount received from selling the stock, he would pay full capital gains tax on the portion not reinvested—but only 5 percent on the portion reinvested.

THE MOST IMPORTANT BENEFIT

The advantages to the Government and to the investor are important. But of even more importance are the benefits which our economy would receive from the 5-percent switch tax plan.

You know as well as I that, in order for our economy to remain healthy, it must continue to grow, which means business must expand. And, in order for business to expand, there must be an investment of risk capital.

Yet, when it costs so much via the present capital-gains tax (or investor's profit tax), how can we expect those investors who have made a profit through one risk investment to move their money to another similar situation? Yet that is what our economy needs.

* * * * * *

We should not forget that it was risk money that started such companies as General Motors, General Electric, Minneapolis-Honeywell, RCA, etc.

There is absolutely no sound reason why the capital-gains tax law should continue to hinder the flow of money into the segments of our economy that need that money for vital growth. The 5-percent switch tax plan would do a lot to correct the basic faults of the present capital-gains tax law.

While this discussion has been directed toward the field that interests you most—the securities market—there is no reason the plan would not be adaptable for all transactions now covered by capital gains—a house, farm, etc.

This would stimulate a much greater flow of investment money within our economy. And it would encourage many investors to leave the presently tax-privileged investment mediums and obtain more capital gain potential.

The way to go about making a change in the present highly impractical capital-gains tax law is to convince our representatives in Washington that they should act without delay. Investor's Future will continue its efforts in this behalf, but the individual investor should also make his wishes known.

"The Regulation of the Press Is the Most Difficult, Dangerous, and Important Problem They Have To Resolve. Mankind Cannot Now Be Governed Without It, Nor at Present With It," Said John Adams

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in 1946 a Commission on Freedom of the Press, financed by a grant of $200,000 from Time, Inc., and $15,000 from Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., completed a 3-year study which reached

the conclusion that freedom of the press is today in danger for three major reasons. The reasons given by the commission were as follows:

First, the importance of the press to the people has greatly increased with the development of the press as an instrument of mass communication. At the same time the development of the press as an instrument of mass communication has greatly decreased the proportion of the people who can express their opinions and ideas through the press.

Second, the few who are able to use the machinery of the press as an instrument of mass communication have not provided a service adequate to the needs of the society.

Third, those who direct the machinery of the press have engaged from time to time in practices which the society condemns and which, if continued, it will inevitably undertake to regulate or control.

The commission's report created considerable controversy at the time it was published and its findings were questioned.

The issues with which it dealt were deeply controversial, and have been so throughout the history of this Republic.

President John Adams, for instance, wrote in 1815 that—

If there is ever to be an amelioration of the condition of mankind, philosophers, theologians, legislators, politicians, and moralists will find that the regulation of the press is the most difficult, dangerous, and important problem they have to resolve. Mankind cannot now be governed without it, nor at present with it.

My distinguished colleague from California, Representative JOHN E. MOSS, JR., as chairman of the Government Information Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee, is constantly faced with important aspects of the pressures operating against an entirely free press in our country.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors has an important committee on freedom of the press, and this committee has a full-sized job on its hands.

Some time ago Adlai E. Stevenson issued a warning against any "deterioration of democracy, when self-criticism withers, debate dries up, and power over the mass mind is concentrated in a few hands." To Mr. Stevenson's mind there exists a crisis in the honest political communication on which an informed electorate must depend.

The Democratic standard bearer continued:

Ordinarily, the party in power can confidently rely on both the minority party and the press for critical examination. This was true—and then some—when we were in power. But alas it is not true now.

Mr. Stevenson's view of the situation was given a strong factual basis last week in New York City at a meeting of the National Editorial Association, a group whose membership totals about 5,500 publishers and editors, mostly of smalltown weeklies.

Dr. John Tebbel, chairman of the department of journalism, New York University, declared that "only the most myopic partisan would deny that for the past 20 years the press has been overwhelmingly Republican." Dr. Tebbel reported on the partial results of a study of political campaign coverage by the newspapers in seven cities.

The New York Times on Saturday, March 23, carried the following article regarding Dr. Tebbel's findings:

PRESS IS CALLED REPUBLICAN

At an earlier session, Dr. John Tebbel, chairman of the department of journalism, New York University, declared that "only the most myopic partisan would deny that for the past 20 years the press has been overwhelmingly Republican."

Dr. Tebbel reported partial results of a study of political campaign coverage by the newspapers in seven cities. The study was made possible, he said, through a $5,000 grant from the Skinner Foundation, a Michigan fund.

Twenty-one newspapers published in New York, Providence, Chicago, Memphis, Houston, Kansas City, Mo., and Los Angeles were surveyed.

Dr. Tebbel said he had found little evidence of bias in the writing of news, but considerable bias in picture coverage. Also, "the general tendency was to give Mr. Eisenhower better position and more favorable headlines," he said.

"The device of the press conference, which Mr. Eisenhower used adroitly as a campaign weapon, was abetted by some newspapers through the common practice of splitting up the conference into special topic stories," Dr. Tebbel reported.

He criticized the "unfortunate tendency" by some newspapers to display in the news columns political stories by staff writers "which are really highly partisan editorials and columns."

One of America's great editors, William Allen White, once said:

Too often the publisher of an American newspaper has made his money in some other calling than journalism. He is a rich man seeking power and prestige. He has the country-club complex. The business manager of this absentee owner quickly is afflicted with the country-club point of view. Soon the managing editor's wife nags him into it. And they all get the unconscious arrogance of conscious wealth. Therefore, it is hard to get a modern American newspaper to go the distance necessary to print all the news about many topics.

In the last 30 years, according to Mr. White, newspapers "have veered from their traditional position as leaders of public opinion to mere peddlers and purveyors of news, the newspapers have become commercial enterprises and hence fall into the current which is merging commercial enterprises along mercantile lines."

What Thomas Jefferson saw in 1786 as true then is even more true today. He said:

Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost.

He also said that "where the press is free, and every man able to read, all is safe."

Jefferson also said:

No government ought to be without censors; and where the press is free, no one ever will.

The distinguished editor, Virginius Dabney, of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, wrote a few years ago that "Today newspapers are big business, and they are run in that tradition."

Which brings me to my subject today.

II

It seems to me there exist compelling reasons for a national labor newspaper today, and that the establishment of such a paper would be a major contribution to a free press, and the cause of freedom in our country.

The need for such a national labor newspaper today was illustrated best, I think, though this conclusion was not reached, in the dissenting opinion by Associate Justice William O. Douglas in the case involving the United Auto Workers and the Taft-Hartley Act provision prohibiting union expenditures in connection with Federal elections. Justice Douglas was joined in his dissent by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice Hugo L. Black.

Justice Douglas wrote that—

We deal here with a problem that is fundamental to the electoral process and to the operation of our democratic society. It is whether a union can express its views on the issues of an election and on the merits of the candidates, unrestrained and unfettered by the Congress.

The Jeffersonian thesis that "our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost" has been undermined and endangered by the Court's position.

The text of the brilliant dissenting opinion by Justice Douglas is included here as part of my remarks:

[From the AFL–CIO News, Washington, D. C., of March 23, 1957]

DISSENTING OPINION ON UAW VOTE CASE SCORES BREACH OF RIGHTS

The following is excerpted from the dissent by United States Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas in the case involving the auto workers and the Taft-Hartley Act provision prohibiting union expenditures in connection with Federal elections. The majority of the Court found that the UAW must stand trial on charges of violating the act. Douglas was joined in his dissent by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice Hugo L. Black.

"We deal here with a problem that is fundamental to the electoral process and to the operation of our democratic society. It is whether a union can express its views on the issues of an election and on the merits of the candidates, unrestrained and unfettered by the Congress.

"The principle at stake it not peculiar to unions. It is applicable as well to associations of manufacturers, retail and wholesale trade groups, consumers' leagues, farmers' unions, religious groups, and every other association representing a segment of American life and taking an active part in our political campaigns and discussions.

"It is as important an issue as has come before the Court, for it reaches the very vitals of our system of government."

POLITICAL SPEECHES NOT CRIMINAL

"Making a speech endorsing a candidate for office does not deserve to be identified with antisocial conduct. Until today political speech has never been considered a crime.

"It usually costs money to communicate an idea to a large audience. But no one would seriously contend that the expenditure of money to print a newspaper deprives the publisher of freedom of the press. Nor can the fact that it costs money to make a speech—whether it be hiring a hall or purchasing time on the air—make the speech any the less an exercise of first amendment rights.

"Yet this statute, as construed and applied in this indictment, makes criminal any expenditure by a union for the purpose of expressing its views on the issues of an election and the candidates.

"The principle applied today would make equally criminal the use of a union of its funds to print pamphlets for general dis-

tribution or to distribute political literature at large.

"Can an act so construed be constitutional in view of the command of the first amendment that Congress shall make no law that abridges free speech or freedom of assembly?"

SIZE OF AUDIENCE IRRELEVANT

"The Court says that the answer on the constitutional issue must await the development of the facts at the trial.

"It asks, 'Did the broadcast reach the public at large or only those affiliated with appellee?' But the size of the audience or its nature has heretofore been deemed wholly irrelevant to first amendment issues. One has a right to freedom of speech whether he talks to 1 person or to 1,000. One has a right to freedom of speech not only when he talks to his associates and friends but also when he talks to the public.

"It is startling to learn that a union spokesman or the spokesman for a corporate interest has fewer constitutional rights when he talks to public than when he talks to members of his group.

"The Court asks whether the broadcast constituted 'active electioneering' or simply stated 'the record of particular candidates on economic issues.' What possible difference can it make under the first amendment whether it was one or the other?

"The first amendment covers the entire spectrum. It protects the impassioned plea of the orator as much as the quiet publication of the tabulations of the statistician or economist. If there is an innuendo that 'active electioneering' by union spokesmen is not covered by the first amendment, the opinion makes a sharp break with our political and constitutional heritage.

"The Court asks, 'Did the union sponsor the broadcast with the intent to affect the results of the election?' The purpose of speech is not only to inform but to incite to action. * * * To draw a constitutional line between informing the people and inciting or persuading them and to suggest that one is protected and the other not by the first amendment is to give constitutional dignity to an irrelevance.

"Any political speaker worth his salt intends to sway voters. His purpose to do so cannot possibly rob him of his first amendment rights unless we are to reduce that great guarantee of freedom to the protection of meaningless mouthings of ineffective speakers.

"Finally, the Court asks whether the broadcast was 'paid for out of the general dues of the union membership or may the funds be fairly said to have been obtained on a voluntary basis.' Behind this question is the idea that there may be a minority of union members who are of a different political school than their leaders and who object to the use of their union dues to espouse one political view.

"This is a question that concerns the internal management of union affairs. To date, unions have operated under a rule of the majority. Perhaps minority rights need protection. But this way of doing it is, indeed, burning down the house to roast the pig. All union expenditures for political discourse are banned because a minority might object."

Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, recently declared that he considers "the development of an effective labor daily newspaper to be one of the most important challenges and opportunities which confronts the united labor movement."

Now that we have achieved a united labor movement—

Mr. Reuther wrote—

I feel that the question of developing effective means of communication with the great mass of our membership is a matter of compelling urgency. Certainly a daily labor paper is one of the essential instruments of communications.

It is to be hoped that the Supreme Court will take no position that will hinder or impede such an important development as the establishment of a free and independent press in this country.

III

The other day I saw a newspaper headline which caused me concern. It said: "Labor's Daily's Future at Stake. ITU Can No Longer Go It Alone: Hurd"

Labor's Daily is, as every Member of Congress doubtless knows, a unique and praiseworthy project begun about 4 years ago by the ITU, whose President is Woodruff Randolph. The ITU is the 104-year-old International Typographical Union, the printers' union, affiliated with the AFL–CIO. The ITU is the oldest continuous labor union in United States history. The "Hurd" mentioned in the headline is Don F. Hurd, ITU secretary-treasurer.

The headline was bannered across the front page of the national edition of Labor's Daily, a tabloid-size newspaper generally of 12 pages which has an influence far in excess of its nationwide circulation, said to be in the neighborhood of 10,000.

As I understand it, the ITU began the national edition as an adjunct of several local editions which were used, in effect, as strike weapons at locations where the union's locals were striking against publishers. The national edition itself apparently was founded also for idealistic reasons, and it has been continued in that same vein until now it alone remains out of nearly a half-dozen local ventures at one time associated in one major project.

As I mentioned, this newspaper is truly unique, and it would be tragic if it were to have no future. Until Labor's Daily was established, the United States had never had a national labor paper. This seems rather astonishing when one realizes the United States has more free trade union members than any other country. Europe, by contrast, has many labor dailies.

I don't say these things as a partisan of labor but as a partisan of the cause of free competition of the press.

Competition in this field, like so many others, seems to be declining.

New examples of this are provided often by the news services, but one of the most recent summaries of this trend was provided by the Commission on Freedom of the Press, composed of a number of prominent civil leaders from outside the press itself. Their book on the topic was published by the University of Chicago in 1946, and was entitled "A Free and Responsible Press."

Among other things, the booklet documents the conclusion that the responsibility for organizing and selecting news for national distribution is being concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer people, under a declining number of publishers.

In many places—

The report summarized—

the small press has been completely extinguished. The great cities have 3 or 4 daily newspapers each; smaller cities may have 2; but most places have only 1. News-gathering is concentrated in 3 great press associations, and features are supplied from a central source by syndicates. . . .

Throughout the communications industry, the little fellow exists on very narrow margins, and the opportunities for initiating new ventures are strictly limited.

Details of this distressing picture have improved little since 1947, I'm sure, despite or perhaps even in part because of the advent of television.

Perhaps the lack of competition is causing the press to become complacent. One of Washington's journalistic statesmen, Thomas L. Stokes, commented the other day he thought the complacency of the press is partially responsible for the closing of avenues of information in Government here, so that reporters are hamstrung in trying to dig out the facts in their effort to keep the public informed.

We all realize competition in the field if ideas is our foremost importance in the search for truth. Each limit on such competition is as potentially dangerous as a cancer cell getting a foothold in living tissue.

Freedom of the press is always in danger, for it is the first target of those who would limit the right of the people to learn how they may best elect their governments, and govern themselves.

As Alexander Hamilton, in an address in 1804 in defense of Harry Croswell who had been indicted for libel of President Jefferson, said:

The liberty of the press consists, in my idea, in publishing the truth, from good motives and for justifiable ends, though it reflect on government, on magistrates, or individuals. If it be not allowed, it excludes the privilege of canvassing men, and our rulers.

If this be not done, then in vain will the voice of the people be raised against the inroads of tyranny.

In addition to these compelling reasons for the continuation of Labor's Daily to help provide press competition, there are other reasons which relate to the characteristics of organized labor itself.

We may not realize it, for example, but the publication of Labor's Daily is a continuous flow of living, current history. I am sure future historians will find it a valuable source of material with which to write the story of the labor movement. No other publication contains so much daily news about labor.

What is more, there are many areas in this country where the voice of labor is not permitted to be heard in the local press. If it is heard, it is distorted and maligned and attacked until many union officials have adopted a policy of not making and statements to their local newspapers. Labor's Daily gives—or would give—them a chance to present their own views.

Most of those areas are in the South, where a recent Gallup poll found 31 percent of the people disapprove unions altogether.

It seems to me a national labor daily with a special southern edition made available in large quantities in certain areas could be of great importance in helping southerners become better acquainted with the reasons for trade unions.

A national labor daily with a reputation for honesty and accuracy could do much to dispell the growing smog about labor's weaknesses and failings which is obscuring its basic integrity and practical worth in an economy such as ours.

It is hardly necessary to point out that few of the daily newspapers which carry the smoking headlines about foul balls in part of the labor movement ever bother to carry news of the myriad of worthy activities conducted by union rank-and-file members and the majority of their leaders.

It seems to me the truth would be greatly helped if the public had easy access to a national labor daily which told of labor's daily efforts to get more civil rights for all people, to get better educational facilities for all children—whether of union members or not, to get more health and welfare programs for the sick, disabled, and the aged; to make use of the Federal Government's facilities to prevent localized depressions before they become big, national depressions; and to raise wage standards for those in the lower wage brackets—most of whom are not union members.

I could go on with this list at great length.

There are many union leaders and others who agree with me and who have expressed their congratulations to the International Typographical Union for having started Labor's Daily, and who would like to find a way to see to it that the United States continues to benefit from an independent newspaper such as Labor's Daily is well on the road to becoming.

At the same time there have been other interesting comments from readers of Labor's Daily, such as that of Barrow Lyons, Washington newspaperman and author of several books, who wrote:

> If there is anything organized labor needs most it is objective, straight information about what is going on in the world, and especially what is going on within organized labor. It is impossible for labor leaders to form sound judgments without such information. And certainly, if we uphold the democratic principle, we must believe that only a well-informed rank and file is capable of choosing leaders able to meet successfully the issues which labor must face today.

I think the whole sorry mess now being unfolded by the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, popularly known as the Senate Rackets Committee, headed by Senator McCLELLAN, is a living demonstration of the truth in this advice of Barrow Lyons. I am confident that an overwhelming majority of all labor representatives are completely honest, as are the union members who elect them. What is needed is an honest labor paper to help them get at the truth and clean up their own situations—which they will do, make no mistake about that.

While there have been many proposals set forth as to how a labor daily newspaper can be firmly established, only two seem to me to be practical enough for further consideration:

First. There should be a national conference of trade union and civic leaders who believe ways should and can be found to establish an independent labor daily. Among ways and means that should be considered by such a conference are subsidies from a number of powerful international unions and moral support from those unions which cannot afford to give such financial support.

An independent national committee should be organized to supervise publication of the labor daily so that no single union or group of unions can dictate its policy to the detriment of other unions. Such a committee should include leaders from the communications industries who are familiar with the problems and idiosyncrasies of daily newspapers.

Second. Some national private foundation devoted to the theory that competitive freedom in the world of ideas is worthy of promotion should offer its services and financial support to any group or person who can set forth a sensible method to maintain a daily labor paper on a nationwide scale.

This suggestion was among those proposed by the Commission on Freedom of the Press in 1946. This commission included such outstanding members as Zechariah Chafee, Jr., professor of law, Harvard University; Arthur M. Schlesinger, professor of history, Harvard University; George N. Shuster, president, Hunter College; Reinhold Niebuhr, professor of ethics and philosophy of religion, Union Theological Seminary; and Jacques Maritain, president, Free French School for Advanced Studies.

Surely somewhere leaders will come forward to shoulder the burden of such a project which could go down in history as one of the great steps in the history of the free press in the United States.

This is an appeal for such leaders to step forth now before it is too late.

I am sure history will reward them for the foresight they show and the work they do in behalf of such a worthy enterprise.

Additional Judge Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House a situation that vitally affects the administration of law in my district. The United States Judicial Conference has taken an adverse position with reference to our need for an additional Federal judgeship.

For some time we had two Federal district judges in middle Tennessee. One of them was a temporary judge. The regular judge died a few weeks ago, and, under the law existing at the time, the temporary judge became the permanent judge. We now have the one judge in the district. This presents an unfortunate situation. If the recommendation of the Judicial Conference is adhered to, justice in middle Tennessee will be interminably delayed. Litigants in our district are entitled to have their cases tried promptly. This cannot be done with only one judge. Judge Miller is capable, efficient, and handles the business of his court with dispatch, but the caseload is such that it is humanly impossible for one judge to dispose of the normal legal business in our district.

I want my colleagues to know about this situation.

An editorial in one of our great daily newspaper, the Nashville Tennessean, of March 22, 1957, points up the need in splendid fashion. I commend its reading to the Members of the House. It follows:

FEDERAL COURT LOAD HERE TOO HEAVY FOR ONE JUDGE

Congressman J. CARLTON LOSER, of Nashville, is justifiably shocked by the latest recommendations of the United States Judicial Conference regarding middle Tennessee's need for an additional Federal judgeship.

The people of middle Tennessee can well be shocked, too.

For the conference, made up of Chief Justice Earl Warren and the chief judges of each of the Federal circuit courts of appeals scattered throughout the Nation, has just recommended to Congress that no relief be granted this section.

The recommendation was made in the face of figures showing that middle Tennesseans now wait an average of 16 months for Federal court justice—more than three times as long as the wait in west Tennessee.

Yet the conference recommends that west Tennessee be awarded a second and permanent judgeship.

And in spite of the fact that middle Tennesseans wait an average of 6 months longer than east Tennesseans for a decision in their cases, the conference recommended a third and permanent judgeship for the east section of the State.

The conclusion reached by the distinguished conference is all the more surprising since it is a complete about-face from the considered judgment of precisely the same group less than a year ago.

Last fall, the conference recommended that the temporary district judgeship in middle Tennessee be made permanent, giving the central section of the State two permanent district courts. At that time, the jurists saw no need for any sort of relief—temporary, part-time or permanent—for the west and east Tennessee divisions.

The only significant change that has occurred since the conference made its last recommendation was the loss of one middle Tennessee judgeship through the death of District Judge Elmer Davies, Sr.

Thus, it would appear the conference reasoned that the need for a second permanent court in Nashville, so pressing last fall to meet the mounting caseload, died in a season with one of the district's judges. Obviously, however, Judge Davies' death did not halt the flow of lawsuits.

It is granted, as the conference points out, that much of the work accumulated in the middle division is attributable to Judge Davies' illness before his death. And it cannot be denied that Judge William E. Miller is young and energetic and doing a fine job in chipping away at the backlog of cases piled up here.

All of Judge Miller's youth and energy, however, cannot remove the fact that when he called his civil docket here March 11 there were exactly 54 more civil cases waiting than he had days available on his calendar for the term.

Neither should the conference overlook the fact that Judge Miller is the only Federal judge in the State who must hold court at three sites—Columbia, Cookeville, and Nash-

ville. , The other three have only two assigned sites.

No less than five varying recommendations have now been made concerning Tennessee's need for additional Federal judges. In addition to the two conflicting recommendations of the judicial conference, the judicial council, made up of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, has made a pair.

It is significant that the council twice recommended a permanent judge for middle Tennessee. In its first study it also recommended a permanent judgeship for east Tennessee; in its second it suggested a roving judge between the east and west divisions.

Finally, the administrative office of the Federal courts recommended a permanent judgeship for east, a roving judge shared by middle and west Tennessee. The conference brushed them all aside with its latest recommendation, which normally becomes the administration's request of Congress.

If middle Tennessee Congressmen entertain any hopes of defeating the conference plan, and they have anounced plans to try, they may look in the interest of equity to a solution not yet hit upon by any of the study groups.

Why not two roving judges for Tennessee, one shared by the two district courts in east Tennessee, the other shared by the middle and west divisions?

This would appear to be a fair solution in the light of new cases filed last year. Between them, the two courts in east Tennessee had 1,101 new cases, civil and criminal, filed last year.

Middle and west Tennessee courts together had an almost equal number, 1,074.

It may be but a stopgap solution to a growing national problem but it would be better than that big, fully outfitted, empty courtroom yawning in the dark at Nashville's nearly new Federal building.

And if something isn't done to ease the situation here, more and more middle Tennesseans are going to cool their heels longer in the courthouse corridors, learning the meaning of that adage:

"Justice delayed is justice denied."

One Way To Cut Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Peoria Journal Star of March 19, 1957:

ONE WAY TO CUT SPENDING

Federal offers to bear half the expense of projects have a fatal fascination for State and local governments.

Even when local authorities know they only are getting their own money back, they find it almost impossible to resist a Federal proposal that the State "match" funds provided by the United States to build a road or a schoolhouse or to finance some welfare payment.

The result of this matching procedure is that the State frequently has to raise additional money it would not otherwise be spending in order to qualify as a recipient of the Federal aid. And the poor taxpayer pays twice, once to the Federal Government to help provide its share of the fund-splitting project and once to the State or local government for its half.

What looks like a bargain, therefore, often results in a boosting of taxes on the State or local level.

One State finally has decided to do something about the situation in which the Federal Government constantly is dangling tempting offers before it to pay half the cost, if you'll match our contribution.

The Nebraska State Legislature, by a vote of 38 to 3, has adopted a resolution calling on the Federal Government to curtail grants-in-aid which call for matching State funds. If a few more States would take similar action the custom of the Federal Government making contributions to State projects on a matching basis might be cut down materially.

The temptation of getting half of something paid for by the Federal Government is strong enough to tempt State legislatures into appropriating money for projects they might otherwise turn down. When you launch a project you wouldn't otherwise undertake just because the Federal Government will pay half the cost, you really aren't getting much of a bargain.

It took real courage for the Nebraska Legislature to take a stand against accepting Federal handouts. It is the kind of courage which will be necessary to cut State and Federal spending down to a reasonable level.

Resolution Endorsing Alaska-Hawaii Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following resolution endorsing Alaska-Hawaii statehood, adopted by the California Democratic Council at its conference in Long Beach, Calif., on March 16, 1957:

RESOLUTION ENDORSING ALASKA-HAWAII STATEHOOD

Whereas the United States of America has become the greatest power in the history of mankind because it is a united nation of equal and sovereign States and not an empire; and

Whereas the people of the United States devised a method and program of incorporating territories, which method, as a first step leading to the full privileges of statehood, imposes on the people of such territories the full obligations of the citizens of the several States, while withholding from such territorial citizens, the basic rights of self government and voting representation in the counils of the United States; and

Whereas Alaska and Hawaii have been incorporated as Territories of the United States for many years, and by the very act of such incorporation they have been promised the full privileges of statehood with first-class citizenship for their people; and

Whereas both political parties have recognized in their platforms and other party declarations, that every consideration of fairness demands that the people of these Territories be given the full privileges of American citizenship; and

Whereas the granting of statehood to these Territories will strengthen the United States immeasurably in human resources and in its foreign relations particularly as regards the great Pacific Basin area; and

Whereas we in California have a particular interest in and close ties with the people of Alaska and Hawaii: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the California Democratic Council, That we urge in the strongest terms that Alaska and Hawaii be admitted to the Union in this year 1957; and be it further

Resolved, That we request every Democratic assemblyman and State senator to vote for the resolution now pending in the California Legislature which requests favorable action by the United States Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That we request all California Democratic Congressmen to vote for bills admitting the Territories of Hawaii and Alaska as States of the Union' in 1957 (whether such bills are separate for each Territory or in the form of a consolidated bill for both).

Proposed U. S. S. "Arizona" Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, on March 11, 1957, I introduced H. R. 5809, a bill to provide for a United States Ship *Arizona* Memorial at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The distinguished gentleman from Tennessee, the Honorable J. CARLTON LOSER, and the distinguished gentleman from Oregon, the Honorable CHARLES O. PORTER, have joined in the sponsorship of this measure by introducing bills H. R. 5833 and H. R. 6100, respectively.

H. R. 5809 authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to cooperate with the Pacific Memorial Commission of Hawaii in developing a memorial and museum at or near the site of the hulk of the U. S. S. *Arizona*—the tomb of 1,102 of America's heroes—in Pearl Harbor.

The proposed U. S. S. *Arizona* Memorial would be part of the Pacific Memorial System which uses as its theme, "Out of an Honored Past—Toward a Better Tomorrow." The Pacific Memorial System was developed by the Pacific War Memorial Commission created by the legislature of the Territory of Hawaii.

For the information of the Members of Congress, I include an excerpt from the report of the commission explaining the system.

PACIFIC MEMORIAL SYSTEM—OUT OF AN HONORED PAST TOWARD A BETTER TOMORROW—TO HONOR THE DEAD AND BUILD FOR THE LIVING

This is a plan for a memorial to man.

Never mind what man. Call him Smith, Katz, Wong, Murphy, Kryzbsky, or Tomassini. And disregard his color—white or brown or black.

He was a man. And he's dead.

Died in the Pacific. By the thousands. Buried on Guadalcanal * * * in the deep of the sea off Tulagi * * * in scorched hills of Korea.

This is a master plan for memorial to man, to all men who died for an honored cause in the Pacific during World War II and the Korean war. Let it consecrate their memory by building toward the ideal they gave their lives for—peace and honor.

To honor the dead and build for the living—that is the object of the master plan for a Pacific memorial system you will find described in these pages.

It is a plan that summarizes more than a decade of thought and study as to why there should be such a memorial, what it should be, and where. These are no longer unresolved questions. Many minds working together have found answers. These answers have been approved by a large body of supporters in private, public, and official life.

The master plan for a Pacific memorial system is here presented with the confidence that it may fulfill the longing of so many, throughout so much of the free world, for a permanent, living shrine that will dignify man's sacrifice for his fellow men of the future.

THE ORIGIN

Ideas

Barely had the dust of Pearl Harbor settled before people began talking about a memorial. They wanted a living symbol raised to honor those who sacrificed their lives in the Pacific—for the world.

As the idea caught on and grew, it expanded. The originators felt a Pacific memorial must do more than passively honor the dead. It must be dedicated to the ideal they died for, a free world of the future, founded on peace and humanity.

That feeling was intensified during the bitter chapters of the Korean war. In time, the idea of a Pacific memorial system became encompassing. While originally conceived as a dedication to the heroes of free-Pacific nations, today it is thought of as a spiritual monument to all the forces in the world striving toward a goal of universal brotherhood.

The place

No doubt has ever existed that the best place for such a memorial is in Hawaii, where a Pacific and a World War erupted, but where peace is normally a part of life, like the sun and surf.

Hawaii is a land that practices the preachments of brotherhood and harmony. For democracy comes naturally to this smiling land where many nationalities and races live together in true harmony.

There are still other reasons.

Hawaii has understandably been called the "crossroads of the Pacific."

As a military base, it is a center of movement and an active headquarters for the far-flung operations of Uncle Sam's Pacific forces.

In civilian life, Hawaii is America's western gateway to Asia and the South Pacific. Its sea lanes are busy with ships of commerce and travel. Its airport is the Nation's 11th busiest.

Hawaii is a Territory of the United States and a lively candidate to become the 49th State. Thus Hawaii is American soil. The location of the Pacific Memorial System will enable thousands yearly to visit a place of deep inspirational meaning.

Action

When the idea for a memorial first took form, little could be accomplished in the midst of war. But immediately thereafter, in 1946, several groups formed for action. Among these, a Pacific Memorial Foundation was chartered by the Territory of Hawaii "to build * * * a suitable memorial to commemorate the illustrious services of our glorious sons who served in World War II."

In 1949, the Hawaii Legislature (act 288) created the Pacific War Memorial Commission as the sole war memorial agency of the Territory. The new Commission, consisting of seven members appointed by the Governor, was given powers to receive public lands and deal with Federal agencies. It was authorized to cooperate with the American Battle Monuments Commission, Pacific War Memorial, Inc., and similar organizations.

A week later the legislature adopted a joint resolution (J. Res. 29) requesting the American Battle Monuments Commission to erect a war memorial in Honolulu.

Plans studied

The Pacific War Memorial Commission at first became a meeting place for ideas. Nearly 100 plans for a memorial had been suggested and it was the Commission's task to study all proposals accumulated since 1946.

Advice from civic groups, veterans' organizations, national groups and individuals was considered. A design committee of the American Institute of Architects, Hawaii chapter, volunteered valuable help. Out of all this, the Commission outlined tentative plans for a Pacific Memorial System and in 1951 received the legislature's approval (J. Res. 37) to get the program underway.

Good beginning

The beginnings, though tentative, were good. During the 2 years from 1951 to 1953, the value of many ideas was proved. Those dropped were not necessarily unworthy, but simply unfeasible. The outbreak of war in Korea also affected the plans.

Finally, a refined master plan was evolved. A committee of 21 island architects chosen by the Hawaii AIA chapter in 1951 has designed a Pacific memorial system. The people of Hawaii, through a unanimous vote of their Territorial Legislature (S. J. R. 66, April 7, 1953) have approved, ratified, and confirmed these plans, an action then signed into law by the Governor of Hawaii.

Nation's gratitude

That system, the resolution stressed, is to "express the Nation's gratitude toward its fallen heroes and serve to inspire the living to build for a world without war—a world wherein there is peace with honor, respect for both the dignity of the individual and the rights of minorities—and where all peoples place their faith in God."

THE PLAN

Historic sites

The master plan for the Pacific Memorial System binds together several historic sites in a majestic setting in Hawaii.

It extends from Pearl Harbor, birthplace of World War II, to the National Cemetery of the Pacific in Punchbowl Crater, last resting place of 14,000 war dead—heroes all—and beyond that to Honolulu's best-known landmark, Diamond Head.

Memorial Boulevard

The unifying artery in the system is a Memorial Boulevard to be built along 2 miles of existing motor highway between Pearl Harbor and the gateway to the city of Honolulu.

No road could be more appropriately chosen. For along this very stretch many heroes of December 7, 1941 fell under a rain of machine-gun bullets that shocking Sunday.

The present road will be transformed into a broad, impressive avenue lined with arching banyan trees and gracefully landscaped. Each tree will be dedicated to one of the 48 States or a free nation of the Pacific. Both at the Honolulu and Pearl Harbor gateways will be dignified overpasses—symbolic portals that will represent living archways on the road to peace.

Military shrines

Along the Pacific memorial system, individual shrines will honor those who fell in the cause of freedom.

At the Pearl Harbor terminus of the system, the site of the sunken battleship *Arizona* will be developed as a naval shrine to the heroes of December 7, 1941.

The other armed forces headquartered along the boulevard, the Air Force at Hickam Field and the Marine Corps at Camp Catlin, have indicated their intention to adapt existing structures or build new ones to fit in with the memorial scheme.

The system also includes a memorial at the Army's Fort De Russy on Waikiki Beach, where an existing recreation center will be further developed.

At the National Cemetery of the Pacific in Punchbowl Crater, known in Hawaiian as Pouwaina (hill of sacrifice), the Commission is pledged to all-out effort to make this site a beautiful and lasting memorial to the 14,000 war dead who lie buried on the hillside. This effort includes continuance of the Commission's campaign for the restoration of the white crosses and Stars of David over the graves which were summarily removed in 1951.

Finally, Diamond Head Crater will be developed suitably as "nature's monument," a fitting devlopment for a landmark known the world over.

Other memorials

Elsewhere along the system, national veterans' organizations are invited to participate. On November 19, 1952, an executive order signed by the Governor of Hawaii gave the Pacific War Memorial Commission approximately 11 acres of land on Keehi Lagoon for development as a memorial site. Less than a month later, on the 11th anniversary of Pearl Harbor, the Disabled American Veterans conducted ground-breaking ceremonies for a monument to be built on this land, made available for the purpose by the Pacific War Memorial Commission and to become a part of the Pacific memorial system.

A second executive order giving another 10 acres of an adjacent site to the Commission has already been approved by the Governor and awaits only formal processing before the land can be utilized as another link in the system.

The memorial system will eventually include a memorial auditorium for Pan-Pacific meetings of representatives of the Pacific nations, and United Nations meetings on Pacific affairs.

Additionally, a Pacific House is planned as a repository for relics and historical documents and the showing of films and slides. Names of those missing in action in Pacific combat will be suitably memorialized.

Additionally, the American Battle Monuments Commission has committed itself to establishing a memorial in Hawaii—to be an integral part of the system.

Memorial scholarships

The University of Hawaii will become a part of the system, symbolizing education as a dominant force in promoting peace and understanding among peoples.

Through a system of memorial scholarships, the exchange of students of every free country of the Pacific with the United States will be encouraged. Such students may attend the University of Hawaii and other accredited American universities. The grants will be awarded after the pattern of Rhodes scholarships.

Aims restated

In embarking on the master plan, the Commission reaffirms its original purpose, which is to create and maintain in Hawaii a living memorial commemorating the sacrifices in the Pacific of the Nation's heroic war dead.

This includes not only the heroes of World War II, but those of Korea as well, or those who in the future may lay down their lives for their country in the Pacific area.

The memorial is to be one that can acquire international significance.

Hawaii is the natural place for such a memorial because of its role in Pacific affairs and because of the lesson in world brotherhood its people teach.

A challenge

As the Hawaii Legislature stated in its resolution of April 1953:

"The members of the Pacific War Memorial Commission (are) commended for the planning which is embodied in its Pacific memorial system, and are further challenged to exert even greater efforts toward the ultimate fulfillment of their high and lofty purpose, for and on behalf of the people of Hawaii and all of the liberty-loving peoples of the world."

Real Budget of United States Nearly $100 Billion for Coming Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH Q. ALEXANDER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Real Budget of United States Nearly One Hundred Billion for Coming Year," which appeared in the March 22, 1957, issue of the Stanly News and Press, of Albemarle, N. C.:

REAL BUDGET OF UNITED STATES NEARLY $100 BILLION FOR COMING YEAR

People of the United States have been hearing a lot about the budget of $71.8 billion proposed by President Eisenhower.

It is the biggest peacetime budget in the history of the country and one which has brought clamors from many sides for cutting the expenses of Government.

This $71.8 billion budget is not the whole budget, however, and does not accurately reflect the cost of Government services which we are paying for. It is a sort of net budget and does not tell us how much the Government spends nor how much the Government takes from the people.

The real budget for the next fiscal year is $95.6 billion and it is proposed to take from the taxpayers the tremendous total of $98.9 billion or almost one-fourth of the total national income.

What, then, is the difference between what is generally considered to be the budget and the real budget?

To arrive at the real budget, we must use instead of the commonly quoted figure of $71.8 billion the gross expenditures of $81.2 billion. The difference is that the gross expenditures include such receipts as stamp sales and other income of Government agencies paid by the people. These costs, however, are in the amount paid by the people for Government services.

To this total must be added the trust-fund expenditures which consist of money paid in to the Government, such as the social-security funds and the new highway trust fund.

These trust-fund payments by the Government for the coming year will amount to $14.4 billion, bringing the total gross budget expenditures to $95.6 billion.

The gross income for the budget is arrived at in the same manner, by adding to the budget receipt figures of $73.6 billion the applicable receipts for services of $8.4 billion and the trust-fund receipts of $15.9 billion.

In other words, the total budget is about $25 billion bigger than most of us had realized.

Even in these days when we speak of billions with a glibness never before experienced, expenditures of nearly $100 billion for the Federal Government should be enough to shock us into a realization that Government has gotten too big, that some halt must be called to the spending being carried on by Government in the name of rendering services to the people.

The Government is not a money-making organization. Every dime it spends comes from the taxpayers, from you and me. Ninety-eight billion dollars is a tremendous sum to be taking from the pockets of the people in a single year.

People should at least realize just what their Government is actually costing them and how big the real budget is.

Modern Republicanism — Defense of Eisenhower Budget Dishwater-Weak

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article entitled "It's Humphrey's Program, Really," written by Stewart Alsop, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of Sunday, March 24, 1957:

IT'S HUMPHREY'S PROGRAM, REALLY

(By Stewart Alsop)

Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey seems likely to have his way in the end, as is his custom. In other words, the national program to emerge from the current session of Congress will probably be much more a Humphrey program than an Eisenhower program.

In the struggle within the Eisenhower administration which preceded the President's budget message, Humphrey, of course, fought and bled to hold down and cut back the budget. But his power in the administration is not quite what it was, and in this preliminary struggle he suffered a partial defeat.

For example, the requested fiscal 1958 Defense budget was up somewhat more than $2 billion over the sum requested for the current year. This is a lot less than the $6 billion increase which Gen. Nathan Twining, Air Force Chief of Staff, said last year would be necessary to maintain current Air Force strength. Even so, it is certainly more than Humphrey wanted to spend for defense.

It is too early to make any precise predictions about the defense budget which will eventually emerge from Congress. But the best guess of the best guessers is that defense, which was increased by $900 million by the Senate last year, will be cut back this year by between $1 and $2 billion. This is close to what Humphrey wanted in the first place.

Again, it is no secret that Humphrey is less than an enthusiast for foreign aid. He was no doubt disappointed when the Fairless committee, which was largely his creation, failed to propose cutting the liver and lights out of the program. But again, Humphrey seems likely to have his way in the end. Current estimates on Capitol Hill are that foreign aid will be reduced by between $1 billion and $1.5 billion.

Or take the Eisenhower-sponsored program for Federal aid to schools, with a price tag of just under a half billion dollars in the Eisenhower budget. The school aid bill is probably the most important item in the Eisenhower program of new Republicanism.

A few weeks ago it looked as though the school bill would pass rather easily, if the civil-rights hurdle could be overcome. Now there is an increasing tendency in both parties to shy away from the bill. The present prospect is that it will pass only if the President himself is prepared to make a real fight for it.

If the bill does not pass, it is exceedingly unlikely that George Humphrey, who is hardly an evangelical modern Republican, will shed tears for it. Nor will he weep very bitterly if the costly farm program, another modern Republican item, is cut back sharply, as also seems possible.

In short, something rather close to the kind of budget Humphrey wanted in the first place seems likely to emerge. The main reason is the pressure on Congress, the most intense in years, to cut spending. The man chiefly responsible for generating the pressure is, of course, George Humphrey.

Humphrey's famous curl your hair press conference, in which he attacked the administration budget head-on, was the real kickoff for the cut-spending campaign. The campaign, pushed by the chamber of commerce and similar organizations, has flooded congressional offices knee-deep in mail.

While the pressure to cut is much heavier than ever, moreover, the defense of the President's budget is dishwater weak. Ordinarily, an administration defends its budget with all the ferocity of a mother protecting a favorite child. But this administration is acting toward its budget more like a mother who leaves an unwanted child on a strange doorstep.

It is hardly surprising that the defense of the budget is weak, since the President himself, commenting on Humphrey's statement, seemed to agree with him. In the circumstances, the Republicans feel no obligation to defend the Eisenhower budget, and neither, naturally enough, do the Democrats.

Altogether, it is a queer situation, and a tribute to the power and pertinacity of George M. Humphrey, a man accustomed to getting his way. If Humphrey's getting his way means wrecking or watering down the whole Eisenhower program, in the defense, foreign aid, and domestic fields, no one seems to care very much, not even President Eisenhower.

Alaska and Hawaii Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. HEALEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Speaker, the New York State Junior Chamber of Commerce convened in its quarterly board of directors' meeting at Syracuse on March 15-17, 1957. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include the following resolution adopted at the meeting, which was attended by 275 delegates representing 6,500 Jaycees:

Whereas our national heritage has developed upon the principle of the people having a duly elected voice in the affairs of Government; and

Whereas administration of Alaskan and Hawaiian Territorial affairs from the Nation's Capitol is less than adequate for the needs of the citizens in the upbuilding of the Territories; and

Whereas Alaskans and Hawaiians share the same standard of living to which we in the States are accustomed; and

Whereas the methods and forms of government for villages, municipalities, and the Territories are already functioning and are comparable to ours in the States; and

Whereas the people of Alaska and Hawaii are United States citizens paying Federal taxes, subject to military service, and generally subject to the same Federal statutes as the citizens in the 48 States, but do not have representation in Congress: Now be it hereby

Resolved, That the New York State Junior Chamber of Commerce, Inc., urge that our Representatives to Congress from New York State vote for pending House and Senate bills endowing statehood upon the Territory of Alaska, and the Territory of Hawaii.

Answer to Secretary Seaton's Recommendation for Acceptance of Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s Proposal on Trinity River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the recommendation of Secretary Seaton that Congress approve the so-called partnership proposal of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. on the Trinity River project, whereby the company would build the powerplants and purchase falling water from the project, boils down to one more attempt to repudiate and reverse a half century of Federal Government power policy and at the same time load hidden charges on the power bills of California power and energy users, This proposed revision of the concept of reclamation whereby the project is operated for profitmaking purposes would also result in the partitioning of one segment of the project for construction and operation entirely separate and different from the rest of the project, would emphasize operation of the project for power production to the detriment of water consumptive use purposes and would result in additional costs of power to Federal installations in California. Acceptance of the recommendation would mean the end of public power in California. Following is a brief summary of reasons why Secretary Seaton's recommendation should be rejected and the Pacific Gas & Electric proposal disapproved.

COMPANY'S PROPOSAL VIOLATES AND REPUDIATES LONG-ESTABLISHED FEDERAL POWER POLICY

First. Acceptance of Secretary Seaton's recommendation and approval of the company's proposal would be a reversal of half a century of power policy in the Federal Government. The policy which has been established by Congress relative to disposal of electric power and energy made available through development of the Nation's water resources is set out in numerous acts of Congress, including but not limited to, the Reclamation Project Act of April 16, 1906, the Raker Act of December 19, 1913, the Federal Water Power Act of 1920, the Boulder Canyon Act of 1928, the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933, the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, the Bonneville Act of 1937, the Fort Peck Act of 1938, the Reclamation Project Act of 1939, the Flood Control Act of 1944, the River and Harbor Act of 1945, the Eklutna Project Act of 1950, the Falcon Project Act of 1954, and the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956. This long-established policy provides that such electric power and energy be disposed of in such manner as to encourage the most widespread use thereof at lowest possible rates to consumers consistent with sound business principles, and that preference in such disposition shall be given to public agencies, municipalities, and cooperatives.

It appears that the decision to repudiate existing Federal power policy comes from the White House, as it is not consistent with Secretary Seaton's stated views to the Senate Interior Committee only 9 months ago. When asked if he believed "that the Department of Interior should adopt a policy, in harmony with Congress, to maintain the principle of public power" Secretary Seaton replied as follows:

Yes; I see no difficulty there. Whenever the people of a given area, whether it is a region or a State, want public power, it seems to me that they have the determining voice in the matter in any legislation which Congress has passed which makes it possible for those people to exercise their own right of choice. It is a matter which is entirely up to them.

* * * * *

So far as I am concerned, as long as the preference clause is part of the law of this country, as passed by the Congress, the Department of Interior, so far as I am able to see to it, will adhere to the letter of the law.

Now, only 9 months later, in his report to Congress, Secretary Seaton recommends a proposal which he recognizes cannot comply with long-established power policy and with the Trinity authorizing act:

I am not unmindful of the fact that acceptance of the company's proposal would render it impossible to comply with two of the restrictions contained in the act. The first of these is the provision which requires that contracts for the sale and delivery of the additional electric energy available from the Central Valley project power system as a result of the construction of the plants authorized and their integration with that system shall be made in accordance with preferences expressed in the Federal reclamation laws. The second of these is the requirement that a first preference be given to preference customers in Trinity County, Calif., to the extent of the 25 percent of the additional energy added to the Central Valley project as a result of the construction of the Trinity River division. Since joint development of the Trinity resource would add no energy to the Central Valley project power system, except to the extent that the company provides support under its proposed amendments to the existing sales and interchange contract, it appears that there would be no power from which to satisfy either of the two restrictions mentioned.

Secretary Seaton's recommendation would lay aside existing Federal power policy in the interest of a greater financial return to the Federal Government. The Secretary admits that, by so doing, preference provisions in the authorizing act could not be complied with and preference agencies would be required to pay $86 million more for power and energy over a 50-year period than under Federal development. If the San Luis unit, now proposed for authorization, is constructed, preference customers would have to pay $118 million more for energy.

If it were the policy of the Federal Government to exploit the power potential of Federal projects for profitmaking purposes, a less drastic measure but a more lucrative one would be to simply raise the project power rates. Power rates for the Central Valley project could be brought in line with the existing rates of the private utilities and return to the Federal Government, over the payout period, several times the additional $165 million which the Secretary claims from the P. G. & E. proposal.

There is another approach that might be considered if the project is to be put on a profitmaking basis. The value of the Trinity energy at load center is estimated at 13 or 14 mills per kilowatt-hour. Why should not the Federal Government go ahead with construction of the power plants, keeping the Central Valley project intact, and deliver the energy to the company at the load center at its stated value? The surplus to the Federal Government over the repayment period would be close to half a billion dollars.

IT IS THE POWER CONSUMERS WHO PAY

Second. Acceptance of Secretary Seaton's recommendation, and approval of the P. G. & E. proposal would load hidden charges on the power bills of northern California power and energy users. The homeowner, farmer, and businessman would find the P. G. & E. highly advertised generous payments to the Government on their power bills. Also on their power bills would be the costs to the company for construction and operation of the powerplants as well as the Federal, State, and local taxes, which the company claims that it would pay if it builds the power facilities. These are all costs to the company which would necessarily have to be passed on to the consumers. Specifically, the Pacific Gas and Electric Co. pays no money it does not collect on the electrict bills. The cost of the power houses, the money paid the Federal Government for falling water, as well as the Federal, State, and local taxes, would all be charged to the power users, and at a profit. To put it simply, if the P. G. & E. proposal produces $165 million more in surplus revenues over the payout period than under Federal construction and the P. G. & E. Co. pays $135 million in taxes, then the power consumers pay $300 million more, plus the company's profit.

It is pertinent to point out that just 4 days before Secretary Seaton made his recommendation, the Pacific Gas and Electric Co. submitted a petition to the California Public Utilities Commission asking for an increase in electric rates of almost 6 percent, which would average 37 cents per month per household. The company itself estimated that the elec-

tric rate boost affecting 1,735,000 California customers would increase revenues by $16,600,000 annually. Under a system where allowable rates are based upon costs plus a nice profit, why should the company hesitate to raise its offer for falling water by $1,100,000 per year or to place an additional $300 million burden on the power consumers?

PARTITIONSHIP NOT PARTNERSHIP

Third. The Central Valley project was not constructed for profitmaking purposes. It was constructed to meet the needs of the people of the Central Valley Basin for water, flood control and for low-cost electric power. Under the Secretary's recommendation and the company's proposal, one segment of the vast integrated reclamation project would be constructed and operated entirely different from the rest of the project. The Central Valley project is a whole integrated system of dams, resservoirs, canals, transmission lines, powerplants and so forth constructed by the Federal Government, all designed for comprehensive development of the basin to protect the people and land from floods, to furnish a dependable water supply for agriculture and defense purposes, and to furnish power and energy at lowest rates possible consistent with project repayment. This recommendation for partnership or partitionship, as it has been referred to, whereby one segment is set apart and operated different from the rest, just does not make sense. Acceptance of the Secretary's recommendation would irreparably disrupt existing operations of the Central Valley project and threaten future development.

ACCEPTANCE OF SECRETARY'S RECOMMENDATION WOULD MEAN THE END OF PUBLIC POWER IN CALIFORNIA AS A DETERRENT TO HIGH POWER RATES

Fourth. The great effort of the Pacific Gas and Electric Co. to put over this proposal goes, of course, beyond the specific facilities involved here. The real purpose of the company is to stop for all time the expansion of Federal power in California in order that it may monopolize the power market in that area. Acceptance of this proposal would set the precedent for future Federal development. Experience and history have shown that in areas of public power such as the TVA area, the Northwest, the Missouri Basin, and California, prevailing power rates, including the rates of private utilities, are lower than in areas where there is no Federal power. Compare, for instance, the prevailing electric power and energy rates in the Northwest with those in the Northeast.

Federal power, therefore, has not only resulted in low-cost power to public agencies, municipalities, and cooperatives, but it has had the effect of holding down the rates charged by private utilities in Federal power areas. Not only have the so-called preference customers benefited but all the users of electric energy in the area have benefited. If Federal power is cut off in California, it will be to the detriment of not only the potential direct beneficiaries of Federal power but also every user of electricity in the area.

PROPOSAL EMPHASIZES POWER OPERATION TO THE DETRIMENT OF CONSUMPTIVE USE PURPOSES

Fifth. Under the P. G. & E. proposal, the project plan of operation would provide for releases of water to maximize power and energy production. The proposed contract includes a very detailed schedule of releases designed to produce the maximum amount of power and energy for integration into the company's overall power system. Although, theoretically, the water needs of the project would retain priority, any time the Federal Government could not meet the schedule of releases for power because of interference with water consumptive use requirements, then the Federal Government would have to pay the company penalties for such noncompliance with the schedule. The proposed contract contains this paragraph:

If, by reason of (1) water supply conditions more adverse than those of record, (2) the authorization of additional divisions of the Central Valley project by Congress, or (3) changes or revision of the crop pattern of said project, the United States is unable to meet the irrigation requirements of said project through releases of water made available pursuant to paragraphs (a) and (b) of this article in combination with releases of all water available from the active storage capacities of Shasta and Folsom Reservoirs as defined below, and of such other reservoirs as may be authorized as part of said project the United States may, on advance written notice to Pacific and subject to the provisions of article 12 (d), make available for such irrigation requirements and for use through the powerplants of Pacific's project additional amounts of water even though storage in Trinity or Whiskeytown Reservoir is then less than that specified in table 5 above. Pacific may thereafter take such action as is necessary to provide, from the most economical alternative source or sources, dependable power capacity in lieu of the dependable power capacity which otherwise would be assured by the reservoir storage specified in table 5. If the release of such additional amounts of water by the United States or the action taken by Pacific to provide such capacity causes an increase in the cost to Pacific of furnishing electric power to its customers the United States shall compensate Pacific for such increased cost by direct reimbursement to Pacific or by appropriate adjustment of the payments provided for in article 13 or both.

The costs to the Federal Government which would result from penalties have not been considered in the evaluation of the proposal. Since the project operating plan is based on historical flows and therefore nothing more than an educated guess, conflicts are bound to arise from time to time between the needs for water to develop electricity and the needs for water to meet requirements of irrigation and municipal water supply. When this serious problem involves the substitution of dollars for water, I fear that it is the water users who may come up short. Even if the priorities are adhered to, I can visualize huge unforseen payments to the company. It seems to me that the basic purpose of the Central Valley project is the storing and releasing of water in the interests of irrigation and municipal water supply. I believe that, in the public interest, such purpose should be fulfilled without imposing payments on the Government of the United States for noncompliance with a specific schedule of operations designed to maximize power benefits.

"MORE FUNDS FOR POTENTIAL IRRIGATION" ARGUMENT NOT VALID

Sixth. Secretary Seaton states in his letter to Congress that acceptance of P. G. & E.'s proposal would "provide substantially more funds for potential irrigation and multipurpose development in the Central Valley project area."

He also states:

It seems to me that the development of power resources of the Trinity River division under a joint proposal such as that offered by the company would mean that power would become a better partner of irrigation development in the Central Valley project area than under all Federal construction.

Unfortunately, the Secretary overlooks two important factors which makes the first statement invalid and proves the second statement false. First, financial studies of the Central Valley project, based on Federal development, indicate surplus revenues sufficient to expand irrigation as fast as the need develops. The need for additional power revenues to assist irrigation development does not exist. For instance, the report of the Secretary indicates a surplus of about $114 million in the repayment analysis of the authorized features. With the San Luis unit added, a recent report indicates a surplus of about $100 million at the end of the repayment period. It is pretty clear that under the present power rate structure of the Central Valley project there will be sufficient power revenues available to carry forward future irrigation development as fast as it is needed. In this connection, in Secretary Seaton's report one of Commissioner Dexheimer's conclusions is as follows:

Construction of the Trinity River division either as an all-Federal undertaking or through the proposed joint development is feasible and justifiable from both an engineering and economic viewpoint. Under either arrangement there appears to be ample opportunity for expansion of the irrigation phase of the Central Valley project.

The second fallacy in the Secretary's statement is that he overlooks and does not consider the energy needs of the irrigation districts throughout California and the cost to the districts of obtaining necessary energy for pumping. It should be evident that any proposal which results in the irrigation districts having to pay higher rates for their pumping energy does not result in power becoming a better partner of irrigation.

TAKEOVER PROVISIONS NOT FAVORABLE TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND WERE NOT CONSIDERED BY SECRETARY IN FINANCIAL ANALYSIS

Seventh. Consonant with the provisions of the Federal Power Act, the proposed contract between the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. and the Federal Government provides that the United States could acquire at the end of the 50-year contract period the power facilities constructed by the company. However, acquisition by the Federal Government would require payment for the company's net investment in the project, not to exceed the fair value of the property taken, plus severance damages. The

financial advantage which the Secretary claims for the company's proposal completely overlooks this matter of acquisition costs to the Federal Government. In other words, the analysis on which the Secretary's recommendation is based overlooks the fact that under Federal construction the Federal Government will own the power facilities at the end of 50 years while under the recommended proposal the company will own the power facilities. In connection with the Secretary's claimed surplus of $165 million under the company's proposal, the report of the Commissioner of Reclamation has the following to say:

> For comparison, these two figures require an adjustment that cannot be determined at this time. Under all-Federal development at the end of the 50-year payout period the Federal Government would own outright the fully amortized and operative Trinity River division power facilities, an equity of substantial value. Under joint development the Federal Government could acquire this equity only by payment to the company its remaining net investment plus severance damages. The effect of the retired adjustment would be to reduce the difference in surpluses shown above.

The recent experience of the State of California with respect to its negotiations for the purchase of Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s Big Bend powerplant on the Feather River is an indication of what the Federal Government may be faced with at the end of the 50-year contract period. The Big Ben powerplant was constructed by the company sometime between 1908 and 1916, at a cost of about $7,700,000. This plant will have to be purchased by the State in connection with its construction of the Feather River project. In the negotiations for purchase of the plant, the company has advised the State that this powerplant is now worth $33 million.

It appears that the Federal Government is put in an unfavorable position with respect to takeover of the power facilities at the end of the contract period and that the Secretary has overlooked this in setting out the financial advantages of the recommended proposal.

ASSUMING A POLICY OF "THE MORE SURPLUS THE BETTER" THE AMOUNT OF COMPANY'S OFFER IS STILL TOO LOW

Eighth. When the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. appeared before congressional committees 18 months ago, its offer to the Federal Government for use of the falling water was $3.5 million annually. Since that time the company has increased its offer to $4,617,000 annually, or an increase of over $1,100,000 annually. Although on the surface this appears to be a generous offer, it is still too low if it is to be the policy to exploit the power resources to the fullest. Analysis of the offer indicates that it is comparable to loaning the company Federal money at about 3½ percent. The Bureau of Reclamation has allocated to power $94,693,000 of the construction cost of the Trinity River division joint-use facilities. The annual payment of $4,617,000 by the company would just about amortize this power allocation in 50 year at 3½ percent and pay a reasonable share of the operation and maintenance expenses. Therefore, it appears that the offer is not as generous as it may seem on the surface. If it is to be the policy to make money from the power operations, then the Federal Government should expect a return on its investment of better than 3½ percent. Other lending institutions get a considerably higher return.

Also, there is another approach that indicates the company's offer is not enough if the policy was to put the project on a profit-making basis. The Pacific Gas & Electric Co. contracts for bulk sales of electricity, such as the contracts with Sacramento Municipal Utility District, Southern California Edison, and various chemical companies, include a clause whereby the price of energy is tied to the cost of fuel. In other words, as the cost of fuel fluctuates the price paid to the company for energy will fluctuate. The company has been attempting for some time to get the California Public Utilities Commission to permit it to include a similar clause in its regular rate schedules. In recent years the price of fuel has gone continually up and the company's recent petition to the Public Utilities Commission for a 6-percent rate increase was based upon increases in the price of fuel oil. In this connection, the company, in its offer to purchase falling water, determined the value of the Trinity energy by a comparison with the cost of steam generation. Therefore, the value of the Trinity energy to the company likewise fluctuates with the cost of fuel, and as the cost of fuel increases the value of the energy to the company increases. Using the company's argument for including an escalator clause in its contracts for disposal of energy, whereby the price is tied to the cost of fuel, why should not a similar clause be included in a contract whereby the company, in a sense, is purchasing energy. In other words, as the value of the Trinity energy to the company increases, why should not the company pay more for it? It is my understanding that, with respect to the company's present offer, the energy was evaluated on the basis of fuel oil at $2 per barrel. The price of fuel oil today is in the neighborhood of $2.75 per barrel. Already, then, the value of the energy to the company is considerably more than the company reported as a basis for its offer. Over the 50-year contract period, if past economic trends mean anything, the price of fuel will continue to go up. If it were the policy, then, to put the project on a profit-making basis, it would appear imperative that the Federal Government would have to insist that any contract include an escalator clause tieing the company's payments to the price of fuel.

PREVIOUS CLAIMS BY COMPANY REGARDING THE ADDITIONAL POWER GENERATING CAPACITY UNDER ITS PROPOSAL ARE NO LONGER VALID

Ninth. At the time the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. appeared before the congressional committees its proposal called for installation of 130,000 more kilowatts of generating capacity than the Bureau proposed at that time to install. This higher capacity, of course, was based on integration of the power facilities into the company's overall system and the use of the Trinity facilities for peaking purposes. It was a little difficult at that time to understand how the company could claim this advantage in the face of the understanding we have always had that regardless of who constructed the power facilities the energy therefrom, along with the energy from the other CVP power facilities, would be integrated into the overall system for the benefit of both the company and the Federal Government. Since that time a firm agreement with respect to integration has been reached between the Bureau and the company and the authorized capacity of the Trinity division has been incerased to "not to exceed 400,000 kilowatts." Therefore, this argument in favor of the company's proposal is no longer valid and the operating plan will be the same regardless of who builds the powerplants.

SECRETARY'S RCCOMMENDATION DOES NOT MEET THE INTENT OF CONGRESS IN AUTHORIZING THE NEGOTIATION

Tenth. The authority in the Trinity authorizing act for completing the negotiations did not imply authorization for the Secretary to study proposals which would violate existing law and, as a matter of fact, language in the act itself. In other words, it was assumed that any agreement with the company would include protection for preference customers as well as protection for the power consumers against exorbitant power rates. To make this clear, the Senate report on the legislation carried this statement:

> The proviso is in no sense to be understood as an authorization to waive, in any negotiation for the sale of falling water, any preference in the sale or transmission of power as expressed in section 5 of the Flood Control Act of 1944, in the Reclamation Project Act of 1939, or in any other law.

In not following this instruction, there is a serious question as to whether the expenditures for the studies involved in this proposal have not been made illegally.

ACCEPTANCE OF RECOMMENDATION WOULD RESULT IN ADDITIONAL COST OF POWER TO FEDERAL INSTALLATIONS IN CALIFORNIA

Eleventh. Secretary Seaton's report indicates that if the company's proposal is accepted it would result in Federal installations paying about $30 million more for power over the repayment period, and this additional payment by Federal installations would be increased to $71 million if the San Luis unit is constructed. It just does not make sense for the Federal Government to build a project which includes the potential for producing power and to dispose of the power potential without any marketing restrictions while compelling its own governmental agencies to pay excessive private power rates for their required electric energy.

A good illustration of this comes to light in connection with the House Appropriations Committee's consideration of the independent offices appropriation bill. This bill includes funds for the Ames Laboratory in California which uses a rather extensive amount of electric energy. The installation expects to use 432 million kilowatt-hours during fiscal year 1958. The Ames Laboratory purchases all the energy it can from the

Federal Central Valley project. Its remaining needs must come from the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. Testimony given the Appropriations Committee indicates that the installation will have to pay about 13 mills per kilowatt-hour for the energy purchased from the company compared with 5 mills for the energy purchased from the Central Valley project—a difference of 8 mills per kilowatt-hour. Additional testimony indicates that the installation expects to purchase half of its energy needs for fiscal year 1958 or 216 million kilowatt-hours from the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. Based on the testimony given, 216 million kilowatt-hours would cost the Federal Government $1,728,000 more from the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. than from the Federal project. There is a growing indication, and this is an example, that Secretary Seaton has greatly underestimated the financial losses to Federal installations and public agencies which would result from acceptance of his recommendation.

Should FHA and GI Loan Program Be Combined and Interest Rates Made Flexible in Order To Make Government Assistance More Effective in Home-Building Program?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, there is a growing awareness that basic changes must be made in our FHA and GI home-loan programs if they are to accomplish the objectives intended for them. Particularly helpful, in considering these changes, are the views of those with long experience in the field itself.

Donald T. Knutson, president of a large construction firm in Minneapolis, Minn., has brought to my attention the carefully reasoned proposals of Mr. Harry Held, of the Bowery Savings Bank of New York. This recommendation represents a plan for merging VA loan activity into the FHA and reconstituting the FHA loan program on the basis of a free interest rate.

Mr. Held is not only recognized as an authority but is often referred to as the dean of the mortgage banking field. I believe this idea merits the thoughtful consideration of each Member, as we deal with this admittedly difficult problem.

Mr. Held's article follows:

PROPOSAL FOR MERGING VA LOAN ACTIVITY INTO THE FHA AND RECONSTITUTING THE FHA LOAN PROGRAM ON THE BASIS OF A FREE INTEREST RATE

This proposal represents an effort to evolve a plan whereby federally underwritten home lending would be combined in one agency and still maintain such preferential treatment as Congress may decide upon for veterans and further to reconstitute the FHA insurance program on the basis of a free interest rate.

Much has been written and much more has been said about the question of fixed interest rates on federally underwritten mortgages. In the case of FHA the fixed interest rate policy in connection with the insured loan program has been set forth by Congress since the inception of the National Housing Act in 1934. However, unlike the VA program, where Congress prescribed a low maximum interest rate, the FHA was empowered by Congress to set the interest rate administratively for FHA-insured mortgages within a limitation, which at present is set at 6 percent.

As of December 3, 1956, the FHA increased its interest rate from 4½ percent to 5 percent on small home loans and from 4¼ percent to 4½ percent on large-scale dwelling loans. The general reaction to this increase, in the light of existing circumstances, was that while lenders and builders mildly applauded the slight increase authorized on the terms of FHA mortgages, they felt that the step was too modest.

The New York Times of December 5, 1956, commenting editorially on this increase in rate, and further commenting on the reaction of people in the mortgage field who believe that the ceiling should be taken off FHA, felt that this argument had much logic behind it. The following quoted comment from this editorial we believe succinctly points up the shortcomings embodied in maintaining a fixed interest rate policy in connection with federally underwriten loans:

"Money is essentially no different from commodities, goods, or labor in that it is subject to the basic law of demand and supply. When there is a limited amount of savings it is going to be employed where it will bring the best price (i. e., the highest return). This goes far to explain why the major share of the decline in housing starts this year is to be found in those areas where mortgage rates are administered rather than in those areas where the conventional mortgage is used, with its completely flexible interest rates."

From the experience of the past decade and more particularly the last few years, it seems abundantly clear that if FHA mortgages are to be able to compete with other forms of long-term investments on a basis which will be successful in maintaining a reasonably steady rate of home building, these mortgages should be freed of a fixed interest rate.

Surely in the past history of FHA there is ample evidence that the fixed interest rate on FHA loans has not (except in short-run isolated periods) been truly an effective rate. In periods of generally low-interest rates FHA loans sold at premiums—in some cases very substantial premiums—and in the periods of high-investment rates FHA loans have sold at discounts reflecting the difference in required investment return and the fixed FHA rate. These situations have been detrimental to the home builders and/or permanent-mortgage investors and/or the ultimate home owner-purchaser. When premiums were paid for these mortgages it was disadvantageous to the investor and usually resulted in unjust enrichment to the builder, who generally did not pass on such premium to the ultimate home purchaser. Under the discount system the price structure of new housing was inflated to reflect the cost of money via the discount route to the detriment of the ultimate purchaser, with the permanent investor making the loan on a yield basis in competition with other forms of investment available to him.

Basically it would seem that all segments involved in the making of FHA loans, namely the FHA, the builder, the mortgage banker, the ultimate purchaser, and the permanent mortgagee, would be better served if a par market for FHA mortgages could be created. Proponents of the fixed interest rates lay considerable stress upon the fact that a fixed interest rate is obligatory on FHA mortgages because of the fact that they are fully insured by the FHA, that they have the full credit of the United States of America behind them, and that the ultimate purchaser should get the benefit of a lower interest rate than that available on conventional loans because of the Government insurance and the fact that the Government does all or most of the underwriting of the mortgage security. Such contention might be true if the interest rate on FHA loans were at all times competitive with other types of investments. Such adjustment as might be necessary to attain this goal under a so-called flexible interest rate system is well nigh impossible because of the long range considerations in connection with the development and building of homes. Mortgage financing must be arranged substantially in advance of the actual construction or sale of the proposed houses. Advance commitments for permanent financing are the generating power providing funds for the building of new homes. Available funds for such financing are in constant competition with other types of investment which are not subject to rigidly fixed interest rates. In order to eliminate the inequalities inherent in setting a fixed interest rate for FHA insured loans as outlined above, it would seem that we should consider a re-evaluation of the FHA program of mutual mortgage insurance, with the objective of seeking out a means whereby such insured loans would be freed from the fixed interest rate theory and a new theory adopted which would be based upon a free interest rate subject only to market conditions. It is therefore proposed that consideration be given to the following plan to accomplish these objectives:

1. That all loans insured by the FHA be made free of fixed interest rate control and that the rate of interest on such loans be governed only by the maximum rates of interest permitted on real estate mortgages in the various States of the United States.

2. That FHA, instead of insuring 100 percent of the principal amount of the loan, be required to insure only 50 percent of the amount of the loan approved by the FHA, such insurance to run on a proportionate basis throughout the life of the loan.

3. That the proposed mortgagee, upon filing FHA application for commitment, shall designate upon such application the rate of interest at which the permanent insured loan shall be closed, and further shall certify that no discount or premium is to be received or paid in connection with the loan transaction. The commitment to insure issued by the FHA shall further incorporate as part of its commitment to insure the rate of interest (as designated by the applicant for such commitment), which the insured loan shall bear and shall require as part of the closing documents, certifications, or other satisfactory evidence, that no discount or premium has been received or paid in connection with the loan transaction. FHA shall as heretofore continue to specify allowable fees and charges and may include therein a brokerage fee not to exceed one-half of 1 percent if required in arranging financing of the loan.

4. That, as suggested in a recent round-table discussion conducted by House and Home magazine (November 1956 issue), the FHA "substitute a single 2 percent premium for its present ½ percent annual premium and that the cost of this insurance should be added (as in England) to the cost of the house and the face value of the mortgage, i. e., it should not be added to the down payment." The insurance premium of 2 percent would be based upon the 50 percent of the mortgage which would be insured by FHA and would be paid to FHA out of mortgage proceeds at the time of endorsement of bond for insurance. The adoption of this

feature of the plan would have the following advantages:

(a) The homeowner's insurance cost under this plan, as compared with present procedures, would be substantially lowered, thereby reducing his monthly payments;

(b) The FHA would be able to eliminate costly billing procedures to collect its insurance premium, and would also secure an investment return on a full premium basis from the inception of its insurance.

5. That, in connection with defaulted loans, the FHA will adopt—in place of its present procedure—the procedure now in use by VA with reference to the conveyance back to the FHA of foreclosed properties. Under this procedure FHA would set an "upset price" on the property based upon FHA appraisal and would issue debentures to the mortgagee to be due 5, 10, 15 or 20 years from date of issuance at the mortgagee's option, with the rate of interest on such debentures to be based upon the 6-month average yield for United States Government bonds with maturities of 5, 10, 15, and 20 years. FHA would also include in debentures the foreclosure costs, including attorneys' fees, not to exceed $250, together with interest from the date of default at the debenture interest rate.

6. That the VA loan program, as such be eliminated and that the FHA, under title II, provide a special subsection for loans to veterans based upon the receipt of an eligibility certificate from the VA evidencing the veteran's eligibility under such subsection for such additional loan benefits as may be decided upon. Suggested additional loan benefits which might be provided under this subsection are as follows:

(a) With the FHA present loan limitations of 95 percent of value on the first $9,000 and 75 percent of value on amounts in excess of $9,000, a provision could be made for veterans which would give them loan benefits of 100 percent of value up to $9,000 and 90 percent of value on amounts in excess of $9,000 up to a total loan of $20,000.

(b) A waiver of the mortgage insurance premium outlined in No. 4 above or a payment to the FHA by the VA of such prepaid insurance premium.

7. That the Board of the FHA be expanded to include by appointment a member designated by each of the following trade organizations to serve for a 1- or 2-year term in a nonvoting advisory capacity:

National Association of Home Builders.
National Association of Real Estate Boards.
National Association of Mutual Savings Banks.
United States Savings and Loan League.
National Savings and Loan League.
American Bankers Association.
Life Insurance Association.
Mortgage Bankers Association of America.

Some of the benefits of the above proposal are outlined as follows:

1. The free interest rate approach to the federally underwritten mortgages would permit the housing industry to compete in the money market on an equal footing with other users of credit. The building industry would be competing for money on an interest rate basis, rather than on a discount basis. This would provide a sounder situation in the housing industry, as it has been evident in the past that while large-scale builders can absorb in one manner or another a fairly large discount, the small- or medium-volume builders are in an extremely disadvantageous position in a successively increasing discount market. Also, under the free-interest rate concept, the flow of funds would be determined by market forces and the construction of new houses would be made responsive to normal housing demands.

2. The homeowner should be able to benefit pricewise in the purchase of a home because of the elimination of a discount on his mortgage. The emergence of a par market for FHA loans should be reflected in a lower price for houses to the extent that discounts in various areas of the country are eliminated.

3. The home-building industry should benefit by the merging of the FHA and VA activities—first by the elimination of the need to deal with two agencies with greatly varying rules and regulations, and second by the cutting down of the amount of paper work required in dealing with two agencies, and third by a reduction in actual dollar expense in the processing of the loan as a federally underwritten mortgage.

4. The elimination of the VA home-loan program should result in a decided saving to the Government. This has been recommended by many Government commissions which have studied the question of Government agencies.

5. Under the proposed plan the FHA liability under the insurance program would be reduced from 100 percent to 50 percent of the amount of the principal.

6. There should be no objection to such a program on the part of permanent investors who presently, as part of normal lending operation, make conventional loans on a free interest rate basis. With the permanent lender having a stake in the mortgage to the extent of 50 percent, there would be little likelihood of relying on the guaranty rather than the security for the repayment of the loan.

The overall objectives of the housing policy of the Government are to provide more and better housing for its citizens and to maintain a high level of construction activity in the home building field. Such objectives can be reached only if financing is available for such home construction and purchase. Past experience has indicated that the fixed interest rate policy on federally insured and guaranteed loans has made such loans unattractive to local investors who could secure higher rates of interest on conventional loans without Government insurance and guaranty and to secondary permanent mortgage investors in periods of rising interest rates and yields on competitive types of investment. It would seem that if it is the housing policy of the Government to insure loans in amounts in excess of the amounts which may be lent by a local lender for mortgage purposes, the Government should be willing to—and required to—insure that portion of the loan which would exceed the amount of the loan which normally would be made without Government insurance. Under such circumstances it can be rationalized that the fixed interest rate, because of the Government guaranty, is an unnecessary restriction which limits the use of FHA-insured loans. Further, it could be argued that under the proposed plan, only 50 percent of the loan would be insured and therefore it would be unfair to fix the interest rate on the 50 percent of the loan on which the Government would have no liability.

The above proposal is submitted as one possible solution to the impasse which exists in the mortgage investment market whenever changes in interest rates or yields occur in other investment markets. Such proposal with reference to interest rates charged on mortgages would be in effect become self-regulatory, which has been the situation in the conventional loan market for many decades. Should mortgage funds become available in large volume, the interest rate at which mortgages can be secured would be reduced by competition; in periods when money is generally tight, builders and mortgage companies would at least be in a position of being able to finance their housing production by securing mortgage funds on a competitive basis.

In drafting this proposal, we have aimed at formulating a plan which would prove workable to all segments of our economy which are involved. It is also believed that now is the time to take stock of the whole program of federally underwritten mortgages in the light of past experience, with the idea in mind of setting up a fully workable plan to take care of the required financing of our housing needs now and in the future.

Tribute to Greece: 136th Anniversary of Her Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, Greece today celebrates again the return to independence and freedom for which she is justly famous. The cradle of political freedom and self-restrained individual liberty, in the 5th century before Christ, Greece has a history and a record of influence on civilization which was not only unsurpassed in all the succeeding centuries but which has known no equal. This tiny country on the map of the world has spread its influence around the globe and down the centuries. Despite countless invasions, conquest, ravaging hordes, and superimposed dynasties, Greece has remained the captor of her conquerors, the victor over those who would vanquish her.

When the Archbishop of Petras raised the standard of revolt against the Turks on March 25, 1821, and led his people in the national struggle against tryanny he was but renewing the tradition of nonsubservience of the Greek body politic and reaffirming the indomitability of the Greek mind. Four centuries of domination by the Turks could not obliterate, could not dim the permanence of that quality of ancient Greece which insured that freedom would prevail.

President Monroe himself lent his voice to the cause. In his annual message on December 3, 1822, he stated our interest in the situation thus:

> The mention of Greece fills the mind with the most exalted sentiments and arouses in our bosoms the best feelings of which our nature is susceptible. Superior skill and refinement in the arts, heroic gallantry in action, disinterested patriotism, enthusiastic zeal and devotion in favor of public and personal liberty are associated with our recollections of ancient Greece. That such a country should have been overwhelmed and so long hidden, as it were, from the world under a gloomy despotism has been a cause of unceasing and deep regret for ages past. It was natural, therefore, that the reappearance of these people in their original character, contending in favor of their liberties, should produce that great excitement and sympathy in their favor which have been so signally displayed throughout the United States. A strong hope is entertained that these people will recover their independence and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth.

It is interesting that it was this Greek war for independence that occasioned the statement of Daniel Webster that the United States could no longer hold itself aloof from world affairs. He said:

As one of the free states among the nations * * * our side of this question is settled for us, even without our own volition. Our history, our situation, our character, necessarily decide our position and our course before we have even time to ask whether we have an opinion. Our place is on the side of free institutions.

In the following century, and in our own time, the Truman doctrine has been called the first real break in peacetime of the American public as a whole from isolationism. The aid was needed to maintain the independence of Greece and Turkey from Communist subversion. Referring to this situation, Lincoln MacVeagh, a recent Ambassador from the United States to Greece, wrote in 1955:

Since our declaration of the Truman doctrine in 1947, we have shown an understanding not only of the importance to us of the independence and territorial integrity of Greece, but also of the great step forward she has taken on the international stage in composing her age-long differences with Turkey and allying herself with that country on the present frontiers of freedom.

Thus the accent on freedom and independence has echoes from Greece through the world, through the centuries for more than 2,300 years.

Address by Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Ervin L. Peterson Before the 1957 Southern Forestry Conference of the Forest Farmers Association, Atlanta, Ga., March 15, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Ervin L. Peterson, an able administrator who has rendered outstanding service to the agricultural interests of America, delivered an address before the 1957 Southern Forestry Conference of the Forest Farmers Association, in Atlanta, Ga., on March 15, which I feel justifies being put in the RECORD so as to make it available to the Members of Congress and the people.

The speech follows:

It is a pleasure to participate in this Southern Forestry Conference of the Forest Farmers Association. Your conference theme, "Soil, Trees, and Water—Their Role in the South's Economic Future," and the subject matter covered in your program are clearly indicative of the breadth of your interest.

Today there are great opportunities in all phases of forestry. In no section of the country are those opportunities brighter than here in the South. The growth cycle for most of your commercially important forest trees is relatively short. Earnings on investments made in forest properties begin to accure more quickly than in most other forested sections of the country. Here is a desirable combination of soil, climate and water for the maximum forest productivity.

People of the South are alert and responsive to their opportunities. It is, I believe, in recognition of these many desirable factors that wood-using industries have established themselves in your midst, creating for southern forest producers a readily available market outlet for your forest products. Also rapidly increasing economic values of forest properties resulting from accelerated public demand for forest products of all kinds has made it economically feasible for owners of forest properties to undertake the expenses and make the investments required to achieve better management and increased productivtness from their properties.

As in most cases, the opportunity before you and the expansion in forestry activities which have occurred bring with them problems and responsibilities. It is entirely fitting that meetings of this kind should bring people together to discuss a subject of such broad interest as forestry, not only here in the South but over the entire Nation.

The search after understanding, not only in forestry but in all facets of our national life, must be continuously pursued with vigor. A working democracy—a republican form of Government—wherein the powers of Government derived from the people requires for its best performance an informed, intelligent, alert, and responsible citizenry. It is in the pursuit of truth, of fact, through discussion and meeting together, that fuller information and understanding is disseminated, discussed, debated, and accepted. It is through such understanding, and through responsible and informed action that we, all of us, depend upon progress as individuals, as organizations, as States, as a Nation.

This Nation is singularly blessed with a great heritage of natural resources—our soils, water, forests, minerals, scenic wonders, wildlife. We have been profligate in their use. Some we have damaged greatly. Great forests have been harvested without provision for their regeneration. Many of our farm lands were all but destroyed for productive use. Our fish and wildlife resources are only a small fraction of what they once were. Many of our streams and rivers have been, and are now, heavily polluted. Even the air itself around some of our industrial sections is contaminated and impure. At times both public policy, or lack of it, and economic forces have added their impetus to the erosion of our vast natural heritage.

We have, as a people, awakened to the fact that our physical resources are not inexhaustible. We have come to realize the significance of the fact that all of these resources are encompassed within the physical confines of our country. With a rapidly growing population, now 170 million people, and estimated to possible reach 225 million by 1975, we are sharply conscious that the resources we now possess must be managed and used wisely if a growing economy is to be fully supplied with the raw materials necessary to satisfy the needs and wants of all our people. The need to conserve, to wisely use our resources of soil, forests, and water, is achieving ever widening recognition. This recognition did not come all at once. It has been developing over a 50-year period. Recognition of need too often results in the assumption that only Government can provide the means for meeting common objectives, and usually the Government meant is the Federal Government.

Our Federal Government is already big. It grows bigger. It consumes the preponderant portion of total tax payments. What role do we expect our Federal Government to play in the field of forestry? What responsibility should it assume in connection with resource use and development?

While the Federal Government is a substantial landowner and manager, and must discharge its managerial responsibilities as to these lands, the fact remains that the vast bulk of our land is owned by people in their private capacities. In the field of forestry, private industry has demonstrated that it has both the interest, the capacity and the understanding to achieve sound management, wise use and development.

Increasingly, too, the States have effectively demonstrated their capacity in this endeavor. Under our system of government, sovereignty resides in the people to be exercised through the respective States. The Federal Government possesses only those powers specifically granted to it in the Federal Constitution. Insofar as organized public effort is required in resource management, use and development, it seems to me that the States should assume the major share of responsibility. They are closer to the people. The immediate economic benefits of more productive lands come to the people in the States and in their local communities.

State administrations are usually more cognizant of the immediate local problems. They are usually more responsive to public attitude. State government, too, is usually more flexible in its organization so that it can respond more quickly to problems of local significance. If big government, big spending, and high taxes are to be brought firmly under control so that increasing proportions of private earnings can be reinvested in private enterprise and thereby contribute to the further building of America, the States, and the people themselves, must undertake greater responsibilities for achieving the objectives they desire whether this be in forestry or in other facets of our national life.

There is a real opportunity to develop a stronger and better America through the enlargement of our resource capabilities. Let us see to it that in realizing on this opportunity the role of government—local, State, and Federal—is a cooperative one with the citizens in their private capacities. When we think of forestry we must think of all forestry—private, State, and Federal.

Let us, however, emphasize private opportunity, private responsibility, for our economy itself is built around the concept of private ownership of property and upon the expectance of reward for private initiative, industry, and ingenuity.

If Government is to increasingly accept responsibilities for meeting the needs of people, whether it be in resource or in other areas, greater and greater amounts of the rewards which come to people in their private capacities from their own initiative and industry and ingenuity must be taken by the Government, for Government itself produces nothing. It is only a consumer of production and never can it return to the people as much as it has first taken from them.

Moreover, with all taxes taking approximately one-fourth of our gross annual product a sizeable portion of our business community is dependent on a high level of Government spending for its livelihood. These, in fact, develop some degree of competition for Government expenditures and for enlarged public programs of all kinds. This is not the kind of expenditure which develops new wealth—it uses that already created. Only you and all other citizens all over America can stop this trend. Under our concepts, people are the Government. If citizens continuously press for ever-increasing public responsibility in the many facets of our national life, only increased public spending and increasing taxes can result. I do not believe such a course is either necessary or desirable. If we believe that opportunity is more valuable than security; if we believe that we as individuals have the capacity, the intelligence, the industriousness, and the creativeness to develop our re-

sources to provide greater opportunities for all of us, then we will resist as individuals and as a people passing our future to the keeping of Government. The price of freedom is eternal vigilance. Economic freedom is important too.

I do not deprecate the contribution of Government—local, State, and Federal—nor do I minimize its responsibility in resource development and especially in forestry. Necessarily the Federal Government as a land managing agency has played, and will continue to play, a significant and important role in resource conservation and in forestry particularly. I am sure all of us recognize the very real and significant contribution of the Federal Government through the United States Forest Service, particularly, but through other Federal land managing agencies as well to better forestry management and better forestry practice, both public and private.

I do want to emphasize that in the Department of Agriculture, through the United States Forest Service, it is firm policy that we will not duplicate or compete with State Governments in rendering forestry assistance to their own citizens. It is our purpose to encourage State forestry departments and to help them improve their services to private forest landowners in fire prevention, in pest and disease control, in management practices, in all phases of forestry.

All of us are stimulated and encouraged by the fact that here in the South people like yourselves in your private capacities are assuming greater and greater responsibility for development of forestry which is so significant to the South's economic future and which, it seems to me, will become increasingly significant with the passage of time.

The continued development of forestry in the South will not be without problems. In the 15 Southern States, private forest landholdings are distributed among 2½ million different owners. This means the average ownership is small, less than 70 acres per holding. Most of these small holdings have in the past suffered from inadequate fire protection, the ravages of forest pest and diseases and destructive cutting.

In the aggregate, these ownerships represent almost three-fourths of all the private commercial forest lands in the South. On a nationwide basis, the small forest ownerships represent 74 percent of total forest properties.

It is clearly evident to all foresters and to the private forest industries that the small private forest landholder holds a key position in the future adequacy of our production of forest products. Many of these small holdings do not of themselves provide a base of income to their owners. Fortunately, many of these holdings are in association with farm ownerships. Income from forest products is supplemental to farm income.

Another factor of increasing importance is the rapid industrialization within the Southern States. Many small landholders have been afforded opportunity for industrial employment and through the income thus provided are able to continue as landholders. It will take intelligent and sustained public and private effort if the greatest productiveness is to be achieved from these many small holdings, both here, in the South, and nationally. More effective programs of research, education, and technical assistance can bring to the owners of these properties the understanding and know-how necessary to make of these many small holdings productive and valuable enterprise. Fortunately, education in farm forestry is gaining ground rapidly through the extension service of our several land-grant colleges.

Many, if not most, of the large wood-using industries are providing management assistance to small forest landholders. Several public programs also afford help to these people—cost-sharing, tree planting, and forest land management through the agricultural conservation program; the low-priced planting stock from State forest nurseries with assistance from the Federal Government in the production of the planting stock rendered to State forestry departments. Many private consulting foresters are also doing an excellent job with small forest ownerships. The several soil conservation districts, through their State and national associations and within the individual districts themselves, recognize the value of forest properties and are rendering real service in more effective forest management on these properties.

The forestry task ahead, private and public, is to develop and apply the techniques that make possible increased yield and intensified use to achieve all the opportunities afforded from the forest resource. Here again the question arises of, "What part shall Government play?" I believe that Government, Federal or State, should undertake only those tasks which the people as individuals cannot accomplish for themselves.

Two of the most important contributions which Government can make is that stemming from research and from education. From research comes the necessary technology; from education comes an understanding of how to use that technology. Insofar as Federal assistance is concerned with respect to forestry on private lands, it can best be performed in cooperation with the States through established State organizations. Awareness of the opportunities available is also important. In this connection, organizations such as yours, the Forest Farmers, the Forest Industries, credit organizations, and others, have a real opportunity to supplement and complement public forces at work.

I understand that considerable stimulus is given to tree planting as a result of the conservation reserve portion of the soil-bank program. This planting will, of course, take place on lands which come out of crop production. Other lands are planted with planting stock made available under the cooperative Clarke-McNary program, pursuant to which low-cost forest seedlings are made available to State forest nurseries.

Forest-fire protection must be provided for all of our producing forest lands, public and private. Research must constantly go forward to find better and more productive species, to find the most effective ways of producing the greatest yields per acre of land in production, to find new uses for wood products.

But forest lands have other values than the production of wood products. In this section of the country, nearly all of the principal watersheds, as well as the smaller ones, are covered with forests. The manner in which these forests are managed and harvested will have important effects upon both the quantity and quality of water accumulated within these watersheds. Nationally, water is rapidly becoming recognized as the No. 1 resource problem. In the intermountain regions of the West where forest landholdings are predominantly in public ownership, the forests in that locale are, in many instances, more important for their watershed values than for the production of forest products.

The manner in which the multitude of small forest properties are managed here in the South can have an important impact upon your water supplies. We need to know more about the behavior of water under various types of forest management. Here again research is necessary and is under way.

The relationship of stocking intensities to total fiber yield is important in the production of pulpwood. The impact of forest pests and diseases and methods for combating them needs more clear understanding. More economical harvesting methods and better end product utilization, as well as the development of new products, is important to our forestry endeavors. In most of these areas research and education will play an important role.

It is, of course, well recognized that there can be no healthy forestry program unless there is a healthy forest-using industry to utilize the raw forest products and market them efficiently and profitably. In short, there is no one part of forestry which is separable from all of the other parts.

Forests provide important habitat for many species of wildlife. The effect of forests upon streamflow and stream temperatures are important to the sports fishery. A growing population is increasingly turning to the outdoors for more and more of its recreational activities. Here, too, is a problem and a possible opportunity to forest landholders.

Yes, forestry is more than planting trees. This you are demonstrating every day here in the South, even though you lead the Nation in tree planting—588,000 acres in fiscal year 1956, 92 percent of which was on private land. While we know that the various parts of forestry, from the planting of the tree to the use by the consumer of the product, are not separable, one from the other, we do know that the trees must be planted, managed, grown, harvested, and manufactured if forestry is to have significance. I am told there are 19 million acres in the 15 Southern States which are now understocked.

So there is a big job ahead. There is likewise a big opportunity. Let us together see to it that this opportunity is understood, that it is grasped, and that the benefits will, in turn, create further opportunities for the reward of individual effort, enterprise, ingenuity, and inventiveness.

While we who represent Government can help, should help, and wish to help, it is not for us to undertake any except those responsibilities which people in their private capacities are incapable of assuming. By the record you have achieved here in the South, I am convinced there will continue to be demonstrated the American tradition that our peoples have the capacity to create and to build for themselves. This is the spirit which has made this country the great Nation which it is. This is the spirit to which we might all dedicate our efforts to sustain.

I congratulate the Forest Farmers Associattion for their Southern Forestry Conference. I encourage and commend your efforts to make soil, trees, and water of increasing reward to the South and thereby to the entire Nation.

SEC's Power To Enjoin Proxy Fights in the Public Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the current proxy contest being waged for control of Fairbanks, Morse & Co., between the Penn-Texas corporation headed by Leopold Silberstein and the present management, headed by its president, Robert H. Morse, Jr., is of widespread public interest. It is of particular import to many people in my district who are officers, employees, and stockholders of the Fairbanks, Morse & Co.

I want to call attention to the application of the proxy rules as they are administered by the SEC.

The Commission is an independent agency which must be impartial in its examination of proxy material used by participants. Its guiding purpose is to see that public stockholders receive protection from false, misleading, and irrelevant statements to which they are entitled.

Early in 1956 the Commission revised its proxy rules to permit more effective control over proxy solicitation, especially in the case of contests for the election of directors. In recent years there have been many bitterly fought proxy contests between management and groups opposing, with the control of large corporations at stake. The Commission recognizes the legal relationship of a proxy holder to the security owner as that of being a fiduciary and that proxy holder is, accordingly, subject to legal concepts generally governing the conduct of directors who manage corporate affairs. Documents that are to be used for the solicitation of proxies must be filed with the Commission and be examined to see whether they comply with the Commission's standard of disclosure. The responsibility for the accuracy and completeness of the material used rests with the user of the material.

It is within the power of the Commission to institute proceedings to enjoin solicitation of proxies; to compel resolicitation or to restrain the voting of proxies where it has reason to believe that false or misleading statements are being used in seeking the support of stockholders. In fact, the Commission must turn to the court for plenary action since it has no administrative process for compelling false or misleading material to be corrected, nor can it by its own order stop a solicitation which violates these rules. The compelling force which the Commission may use is to seek Federal court action to prevent the use of material that is misleading or false.

In the bitterly fought Fairbanks, Morse proxy campaign the principal issue is whether all persons and institutions who should be named as participants have been named, and whether they have complied with the Commission's requirements for filing information as to the extent and nature of their interest. This question is particularly pertinent since large blocks of Fairbanks, Morse shares are reported as under contract of purchase by Penn-Texas through foreign banks or institutions who are admittedly only agents. Their principals are hidden behind the rule of secrecy, imposed by foreign laws. As it stands, persons or institutions who are probably actual participants have not been required to disclose their background, personal history, the extent of their ownership or the circumstances under which they became participants. Nothing is known as to the transactions by which their holdings were acquired or whether there are any understandings or arrangements affecting their disposition. The Commission has always regarded this type of disclosure as vitally important in protecting investors in corporate control contests. In this case, with the issues being so bitterly contested, it is essential to any fair decision. The admitted failure of the holders or beneficial owners of large blocks of stock to comply with requirements of disclosure prior to voting the proxies should be adequate basis for the SEC to invoke its statutory powers to restrain the voting of such proxies until there can be no question about compliance.

We Can Build Our Own Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is refreshing when a Congressman receives letters such as the following. It gives cause to at least hope that the American people still believe in the principles that made our country great—individual responsibility. I am proud to say that I receive very few letter from the people of the Seventh Iowa District in favor of Federal aid to education.

I congratulate Dr. Odell of his letter to me, which follows:

MARCH 11, 1957.

Hon. BEN F. JENSEN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. JENSEN: I have been reading with much interest the accounts of the various attitudes and feelings, concerning Federal aid to school construction, on Capitol Hill.

I cannot know how the mail may be running from the Seventh District on this subject, but I would like to express my view on it.

I, as a member of the school board of the Red Oak Independent School District, have been vitally interested in schoolroom shortages. We are currently in the process of preparing our second schoolhouse bond issue in 10 years. We are going to have to build, as we are short of space and expect the load to be with us for a number of years. Our local taxes are quite an item now, as they must be everywhere. The competition between the Federal and local governments for the tax dollar is becoming greater each year, as you know.

I have felt for a long time that there are many things in our community living which we must assume more responsibility for ourselves, and here at home. Schools are among these things. We can build better and less expensively by doing it without help, and above that we must assume the responsibility for it.

Lack of financial responsibility, I am afraid, is a disease which most of the people in the United States have been victims of for about 25 years. Now it is becoming a disease of communities and of States. In my lifetime I think it may be entirely possible that the Federal Government will be responsible financially (through taxation, of course) for the birth, health, education, old age, and burial of all of us. I sincerely hope this will not happen—I am 34 years old.

We can build our own schools, and if we do, we can pay for them here. We must be responsible for something.

If your thoughts are along these lines, I would appreciate appropriate action on H. R. 1 and H. R. 3986 when they come up.

Sincerely,

JOHN H. ODELL, D. D. S.

A Petition To Get the United States Out of the U. N. and the U. N. Out of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I present a petition from citizens of Alabama and Georgia relative to the United Nations. It is obvious that I am not the only one who desires to get Russia out of that organization, or if that cannot be done, to get out ourselves.

Since the President has shown some 14 violations of the Charter of the United Nations by Russia, something should be done. As long as Russia remains in the organization with its well-used veto power, nothing will result in the name of world peace. Russia prospers on a cold war, and does not seek peace. She talks peace, but when a move is made for that which all people long for, the Russians stop the movement before it gets started. While Russia cannot veto action by the Security Council, they have control of that through a Russian Communst who is permanent Secretary of Military Affairs, and therefore are in a position to thwart security action. Here follows the petition:

We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States and registered voters in our respective States, respectfully submit that in the year 1945 the United Nations premeditatedly employed deceit, fraud, and misrepresentation to delude and seduce the Senate Foreign Relations Committee into ratifying the U. N. Charter, and thereby gravely endangering the sovereignty of the United States and the freedoms of the American people as guaranteed by our Constitution and Bill of Rights, to wit:

The United Nations Charter, section 7 of article 2, says: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nation to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State."

Had it not been for this provision the Charter would not have been ratified by the Senate in 1945.

But immediately after the ratification the U. N. did wilfully and deliberately proceed to plot to transform itself into a super one-world government that would absorb the United States, destroy our sovereignty, and void and nullify our Constitution. To achieve those objectives the U. N. set up special agencies, such as ILO, the Economic and Social Council, UNESCO, etc, etc., through which they nullified various of our State and Federal laws. They further wilfully employed fraud and deceit in an endeavor to delude the Senate Foreign Relations Committee into ratifying additional "treaties," such as the "Genocide pact," the "Covenant of Human Rights" and 200 similar "treaties," any one of which would have forever destroyed the freedoms of the American people. They further wilfully and deliberately concealed the existence of secret agreements, not written into the Charter, one of which provided that the military head of the U. N. is always to be a Moscow Red—and we provide documentary evidence that 132,000 of our boys who fought in Korea were ambushed and trapped, mur-

dered, and maimed, as a result of the Red Chinese receiving advance information through that U. N. military head.

(NOTE.—Ten pages of documented evidence will be attached to the petition when it is submitted to the committee.)

Had the Senate foreseen these developments the Charter would have been overwhelmingly rejected in 1945.

Therefore we do earnestly and prayerfully beseech and implore the Foreign Relations Committee to weigh and appraise the documented and prima facie evidence submitted with this petition and to move to rescind and revoke the original ratification on the ground that it was obtained by fraud, deceit, and disrepresentation, with intent aforethought to destroy the sovereignty of the United States and the freedoms of the American people as guaranteed to us by our Constitution and Bill of Rights.

This petition was signed by 98 people from Alabama and Georgia and I have their names on file in my office.

The Menominee Indian Tribe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a new bill which provides for a 2-year extension on the final termination date of Federal supervision of the Menominee Indian Reservation. I have been advised by the Wisconsin State Committee on Menominee Indian Affairs and the Menominee Indian Tribe that it will be impossible for a final termination plan to be placed in effect by December 31, 1958. For that reason, the new bill which I have introduced today provides that the termination date be extended until December 31, 1960, and the date for filing the termination plan be extended from December 31, 1957 to December 31, 1959.

Under unanimous consent I include in today's RECORD two editorials which appeared in the Shawano Evening Leader, Shawano, Wis., under dates of March 15, 1957, and March 21, 1957, which expresses the concern of many people in Wisconsin over the present termination date.

The editorials follow:

[From the Shawano Evening Leader of March 15, 1957]

THE INDIAN (BUREAU) PROBLEM

The Menominee Tribe of Indians has just completed 2 days of conferences and negotiations with Mr. Glenn L. Emmons, the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and more than a half dozen of his top aids.

Now that it is over, there is cause for wonder just what this important delegation came to the reservation for to meet with our Menominee friends.

Surely if the Emmons Co. came to the Menominee Reservation to provide the answers to the many perplexing questions facing the tribe, they might just as well have stayed in the United States capital.

It has been a long time since our area has experienced the evasiveness and the coyness which characterized the 2 days of conferences at Neopit.

The Menominee people had some serious questions for the Federal officials. And how these questions will be answered affects them dearly.

Take for example, this intelligent query by Mr. James G. Frechette, chairman of the Advisory Council:

"We have arrived at a point where general research (on termination) has been completed. We need more time to complete plans for termination. We are compelled to ask the question, 'Where do we go from here?'"

In other words, the Menominee leadership wanted to know whether the high officials of the Indian Bureau were prepared to go to bat for them on acquiring an extension of time.

Commissioner Emmons' reply included this, among other things:

"We will thoroughly consider the facts when we get back to Washington.

"We want to give young Indian people the tools and confidence to go outside and get a job and succeed.

"American Indians make the best employees any industry can employ.

"Given the opportunity, Indians can do what any other people can do."

Nice words came from Mr. Emmons' lips, but no answer to the question.

He didn't even come close. Not one of Mr. Emmons' many aids arose to cover the ground the Commissioner so glaringly left uncovered.

Did not the tribe have a right to expect a crisp and definitive answer so that it could map its plans accordingly?

This is but one instance. There were others equally obvious. It required no perceptive powers to spot them.

Overall, the 2 days at St. Anthony's auditorium were friendly and cordial. But cordiality and good fellowship are not enough to solve the burning problems facing the Menominee people.

The Menominees have reason to expect concrete assistance, specific answers, and helpful suggestions from the Indian Bureau which has served as their supervisor for a century. Alas, how this was lacking Tuesday and Wednesday.

It leads one to the conclusion that the Indian problem would not be nearly so grave if it were not for the Indian Bureau problem.

[From the Shawano Evening Leader of March 21, 1957]

MORE ON THE INDIAN BUREAU

A number of citizens with a firsthand grasp of the facts have commented with favor upon this column of 6 days ago which dealt with the Indian (Bureau) problem.

It was pointed out then that—on the basis of the showing of the United States Indian Commissioner and a half dozen of his high-priced aids—the Bureau was fully deserving of a high ctiation for evasiveness.

The Commissioner and his assistants came to the Menominee Reservation ostensibly to help the Menominee people with their termination problems and to answer their questions.

The way it turned out, what concrete and substantial discussion resulted from the meeting came from the Indian people themselves. And they were left to answer their own questions.

The Menominee people have plenty to be dissatisfied about in the United States Indian Bureau. Their great protector proves out to be a spineless and weak-kneed agency instead of a defender of the people it is supposed to champion.

Now comes new data to bolster the Menominees' complaint against the Federal agency with which they must deal in their important termination negotiations.

The New York Times reports that an Episcopal minister who is a Sioux Indian "has brought home to New Yorkers something of the sense of desperation with which many American Indians must today be facing their future." Dr. Vine Deloria called for the adoption of a point 4 program to help the Indians of our own country.

The Times comments that a large portion of the Indians is suffering from lack of a clear and progressive policy on the part of the Federal Government.

"Such policy as there is has been satisfactory. The proposal, endorsed by Congress a few years ago, to terminate Federal responsibility for the Indian as rapidly as possible cannot and should not be carried out on any large scale. * * * The Federal Government is not going to make the Indian problem go away just by wishing it would. There is a deep and lasting obligation to help the Indian defend himself against the corrosive pressures of a civilization into which * * * he is not prepared to enter as an independent competitor."

The Times notes that 1,600,000 acres of Indian lands have passed out of Indian control in the Plains States during the last 4 years and that Indian landholders have not been able to withstand the temptation to sell their acres for immediate gain. It believes that the influence of the Federal Government ought to be brought to bear on this situation.

The leadership of every Indian tribe in the United States foresees the day that the United States Government will be out of the Indian business. And they see it ultimately as a desirable thing.

But why should a 40-year termination project be rushed to the extent that it must be accomplished in 4 years? And why is such pathetically little advice and guidance provided by the United States Indian Bureau?

Maybe some kind of point 4 program is needed. There is need for a program more definite and more inspiring than the United States Indian Bureau have provided to date. A new Federal program and new, dedicated leadership in the Indian Bureau are called for.

Good Plan To Aid Science Study

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, Senator GEORGE A. SMATHERS, of Florida, and Congressman FRANCIS E. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, have introduced excellent bills which provide for the investment of certain funds obtained under the provisions of the Trading With the Enemy Act and also provide for the use of interest from such investments for scientific scholarships and fellowships for children of veterans.

The proposal would make available an additional $3 million a year for the National Science Foundation without any additional appropriation by the Congress. The foundation, established by act of Congress in 1950, would operate under existing law and would select students for scholarships on the basis of ability with the widest possible geo-

graphic distribution. The Veterans' Administration advises that there are some 2,500,000 children of veterans in the college age category who would be eligible to compete for scholarship assistance under the proposed program.

I have introduced a similar bill on March 21 with the conviction that the measure will not only contribute to our national defense, but will convert enemy assets dating from the recent World War II to constructive peacetime purposes. The editor of the Sioux Falls (S. Dak.) Argus-Leader has written an excellent editorial in support of this proposal dated February 20, 1957, which I include as follows:

GOOD PLAN TO AID SCIENCE STUDY

A proposal that deserves favorable consideration in Congress is the one advanced by Senator GEORGE A. SMATHERS, of Florida, to promote scientific education.

Senator SMATHERS would use a part of the proceeds obtained under the provisions of the Trading With the Enemy Act "for scientific scholarships and fellowships for children of veterans."

The funds involved are those obtained from the wartime confiscation of enemy property. There are claims of various amounts against these, but Senator SMATHERS believes that at least $100 million could be made available for the scholarships and produce a return of about $3 million a year for the purpose he has in mind.

Under the terms of the proposal made by the Florida Senator, scholarships would be determined on a basis of ability with a broad distribution throughout the United States.

There is much merit in this suggestion. Scientific education has been lagging in the United States, and Russia today is devoting much more attention to this type of education than this country. Unless we do something about it, we could find ourselves seriously handicapped in future years because of inadequate training in fields that are important to our security and well-being.

A question might arise, however, in respect to the limitation of the scholarships to children of war veterans. Perhaps it should be broadened to make eligible all children.

But, nevertheless, the general idea is an excellent one and it is to be hoped that Congress approves it.

Maryland Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD T. MILLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, today is Maryland Day and, in common with all sons and daughters of the great little Free State, I join in singing its praises and in pausing to review the great inheritance and inspiration that is to be derived in remembering the great debt we owe to those who have gone before us in its history of nearly three and one-quarter centuries. Maryland is still, and I hope always will be, a strong point in the structure that has made America great, an area dedicated to rugged individualism and the system of free enterprise, coupled with a high sense of moral values and the importance of tolerance.

Under leave granted, I include herewith the remarks of Maryland's Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, prepared for delivery at the luncheon held today by the Maryland Society of Washington:

ADDRESSES OF THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, MARYLAND SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, MARCH 25, 1957

We Marylanders have always been a trifle careless about real estate. If the second Lord Baltimore could have been a bit more tenacious of his rights, all of Delaware and half of the city of Philadelphia would be in Maryland today; and if Maryland, in 1846, had demanded the retrocession of the river when Alexandria demanded retrocession of the land across the river, the District of Columbia today would be totally surrounded by Maryland, which, as things are, encompasses it only on three sides.

But the barons of Baltimore, apparently more peaceful than the Quakers, preferred to surrender 14 minutes of latitude rather than quarrel endlessly with Pennsylvania. Later Marylanders have not cared much that Maryland's ownership of the Potomac itself is interrupted from Little Falls to Jones Point. It relieves us of the responsibility of enclosing the District completely and, therefore, of having to provide means of exit to Virginia, whether for Government girls or for the Union Army.

Nevertheless, the three-quarters enclosure has had an appreciable effect on both the State and the District. The enforced intimacy has not always been comfortable for either, but it has had advantages for both and I believe that, on the whole, the advantages have outweighed the discomforts. In recent years, especially in the past quarter of a century, the presence of the National Capital within the body of the State has given to Maryland a cosmopolitan flavor that it could hardly have acquired otherwise. On the other hand, the fact that about one-third of the people of Washington are technically Marylanders has given the Capital a provincial flavor that it could not have retained otherwise.

I am aware that to some minds the word "provincial" has a derogatory significance; but that simply means that such minds have not understood the full meaning of the word. The United States is a Federal Republic, which is to say it is of a dual nature, and when a citizen forgets that he loses something of his Americanism. Yet when a man is employed by the Federal Government, especially if he is a career man who remains in the service for many years, his daily concern with affairs of national scope is likely to blunt his appreciation of the importance of local affairs. But if he returns at night to a neighborhood in which State citizenship is exercised to the full, the balance is restored. I believe that a lively interest in the public business of Montgomery or Prince Georges County, and the State of Maryland makes a man more, not less competent to deal with affairs of national scope.

In any event, the greatness of America is based as much on diversity as on unity. This is a historical fact that recent events have tended to obscure in the minds of many of us. Three times within the memory of living men we have had to face crises that threatened our national existence and in such a crisis, of course, unity is all important. Twice we have had to fight for the Nation's life against powerful coalitions of hostile powers; and once we had to face an economic collapse worldwide in its ruinous influence. Then indeed it was all for one and one for all; and after a triple experience of that kind it is easy to forget that diversity also has its uses.

Even today, as regards foreign affairs, we are facing a vast concentration of power, dangerous in its military strength and perhaps even more dangerous in its insidious ability to deceive and mislead the minds of men. So in foreign affairs we have realized that divided counsels are no longer permissible and have decreed, in theory at least, that politics shall cease at the water's edge and our policy abroad shall be bipartisan.

But in domestic affairs we have shown some tendency to carry that attitude too far. Some of us have conceived the idea that the unity that must be maintained in time of war, by force if necessary, is equally necessary in time of peace. Thus there has arisen among us a tendency to put down dissent on the assumption that all dissent is of the nature of sedition. But this attitude forgets or ignores two-thirds of the motto on the Great Seal and on every coin of the United States. It includes three words, not one. Its last word, its climax, is indeed, unum, expressing the unity that we have achieved; but before that come two others, e pluribus, describing the origin of our unity, which is based on the free consent of many.

I think it would be well for us in these stressful times to ponder the significance of one feature of our colonial history, a device that was invented in equally stressful times, and that served the country well. I refer to the Committees of Correspondence that historians agree did more than any other invention to knit the colonies together.

They were based on a realistic admission of diversity. It was necessary for Massachusetts to know what Georgia was thinking; it was necessary for Maryland to act with caution until the opinions of New York and the Carolinas were known. The Committees of Correspondence were in effect an admission that nobody pretended to know all the answers and that everyone had a right to be heard.

That is as true today as it was in 1772, when the first Committee of Correspondence was set up in Boston. James Otis, its chairman, was a man of strong convictions, but he did not on that account refuse to listen to what Charles Carroll, of the Maryland committee, had to say. The descendant of the Massachusetts Puritans and the pupil of the Maryland Jesuits doubtless abhorred each other's religious principles, but each respected the other's intelligence and patriotism, each knew that he needed the other's strength.

So do you and I today. It is in the battle of contending ideas that the false is exposed and the true discovered, for none of us knows it all. The very fact that in America we have every kind of man is the ground for our hope that by hearing them all we may find out the best. Of course our enormous population includes a certain number of fools and villains, and it is hard to be patient when folly and villainy are being shouted from the housetops. But it is necessary for the simple reason that hitherto unknown truth, when it is first proclaimed, always sounds like folly and often sounds like villainy. But the test of truth, as Justice Holmes remarked, is its ability eventually to get itself accepted in the market place against the competition of every kind of falsehood. By the market place Holmes meant the free field of ideas in which every man can express his opinion without let or hindrance.

That market place we must preserve at all costs. The fact that it is clamorous is annoying, but the annoyance must be endured. The fact that false leaders in the beginning may outshout the true, and for the moment gain the ear of the multitude, is terrifying, but the danger must be faced. Freedom is not, never has been, and never will be altogether safe; but to submit to tyranny is

always moral and intellectual suicide, and often physical suicide too.

We cannot ever be completely safe in this world; yet by accepting freedom with all its danger we have not only survived thus far but are at this moment by far the safest people on the face of the earth. Americans are constantly running risks and some of them die violent deaths every day; but so do other people. Can you think of any other place where the average man has a better chance of living tranquilly and dying in his bed than in this country where for nearly 200 years all kinds of dangerous ideas have been expressed with complete freedom?

More than that, it is my firm conviction that as far as the art of self-government is concerned we have discovered more of the truth than any other nation. I am not complacent about it. I know that we have a great deal still to learn—so much that we are far closer to the beginning than to the end of our political education. Nevertheless, the principle of free speech has served us magnificently for more than five generations; and it is my profound belief that it is capable of serving us still better in the years that lie ahead.

As a Marylander, it is my special pride that we began this process in Maryland. It is true that the colony established in 1634 extended tolerance only to religious ideas; but once established in that field its spread to all the other activities of the mind of man was inevitable. Where that great stone cross rears against the sky on an island a few miles down the river from Washington, the idea was introduced that eventually led to freedom of speech and freedom of the press, as well as freedom of worship.

So you members of the Maryland Society, in the enjoyment of a proud tradition, have also a great responsibility to carry. It is for you to make sure that the tradition is sustained. Far be it from me to deprecate the contribution of others; similar groups from other States also have their traditions, and with them their responsibility. I merely assert that the Marylander's first duty is to be a free man, especially in the realm of ideas.

It is in some respects an onerous duty. It is not easy to be free at a time when all the world seems to be afflicted by a great stampede from freedom. It is far easier and far safer to run with the herd. But it is not consonant with the traditions of Maryland. The blindfold over the eyes, the gag in the mouth, the fetters upon the wrist that will not permit the hand to write—these are the peculiar abhorrence of our State, these are the things against which we must contend; for to the fight against them long ago we pledged our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Greetings to Walthall's New Publisher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the March 18, 1957, issue of the McComb (Miss.) Enterprise-Journal:

GREETINGS TO WALTHALL'S NEW PUBLISHER

The Tylertown Times has a new editor and a new owner. He is Paul Pittman. Recently Lester Williams, former president of the Mississippi Press Association, who took over the Tylertown Times at the age of 23 to become the State's youngest editor, relinquished the field to its new publisher who at the age of 25 again gives Tylertown recognition as having the State's youngest publisher. It is interesting to observe that Editor Pittman takes over the Walthall County newspaper during the year of its golden anniversary.

Young Mr. Pittman will not have to go through a period of years becoming acquainted with his area. He is a native of Walthall County. He graduated from Ole Miss where he specialized in journalism. His wife, formerly Miss Betty Ann McDonald, is also a graduate of the University of Mississippi.

The former Navy Antisubmarine Squadron flyer is well qualified for his new post. Above all he has enthusiasm and a wholesome point of view toward the task of editing a newspaper. He wants most to give his people the best possible newspaper consistent with the resources of his country. He is interested in his town and area. He will prove to be a good newspaperman as well as an earnest community builder. There is, indeed, a close relationship between community development and the editing of a hometown newspaper. Mr. Pittman has that attitude toward his newspaper and his community which will benefit the people he has chosen to serve.

Walthall County is a progressive county. It is often referred to as a "good county"—one of the top agricultural counties of Mississippi. Our best wishes go to Lester Williams in retirement from the Tylertown Times. Our felicitations to Mr. Pittman and to the people of Walthall County—our congratulations.

If a President Collapses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the March 23 issue of the Saturday Evening Post contains a brilliantly considered article by its Washington editor, Beverly Smith, Jr., concerning the much discussed and unsettled matter of national interest which calls for considered legislative action. That issue is who, constitutionally, can act in case of the inability of the President to discharge the duties of his office.

Mr. Smith points out the two crises that almost developed in our history during the long illness of former Presidents Garfield and Wilson. In both instances Congress debated the issue but failed to act. The writer declares that in a nuclear and atomic age the hazards to the President are far greater than ever before and indicates that the absence of Presidential leadership, action, and power, in case of disability, may lead to far greater consequences. He discusses several proposals before Congress citing that our Constitution fails to spell out who can act for a disabled Chief Executive—and concludes that no thoughtful citizen can disagree with President Eisenhower's warnings that the doubts surrounding this question should be resolved.

Because this article summarizes so brilliantly the whole disturbing situation, I commend the article highly to my colleagues and ask that it be preserved in the RECORD.

The article entitled "If a President Collapses," follows:

IF A PRESIDENT COLLAPSES

(By Beverly Smith, Jr.)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Our Constitution fails to spell out who can act for a disabled President. Here are the many proposed solutions to a problem we can no longer neglect—including Smith's 2 Cents' Worth.)

On Thursday morning, January 19, 1956, I was 1 of 290 newspaper, radio and television reporters crowded into a room in the old State, War, and Navy Building, awaiting the arrival of the President. The atmosphere was tense, because this was Mr. Eisenhower's first large-scale news conference since his heart attack on September 24, 1955.

Promptly at 10:32 the President entered. He strode to the front of the room, to take his place under the dazzling lights of the cameras. He looked thinner than before his illness, but his step was firm, his blue eyes clear and steady.

Quickly the questions turned to the state of his health. He answered frankly and seriously, but with as much impersonal detachment as if he were discussing a weather report. Then came a question which made me strain my eyes and ears still further, to be sure of the answer. The question was asked by W. H. (Bill) Lawrence, White House correspondent of the New York Times. It was:

"Mr. President, have you considered what, if anything, should be done about the failure of the Constitution to specify when and by whom the disability of the President might be declared, and when and by whom it might be removed?"

Here was a question which has puzzled officials and students of American government since the Constitution was written. It must often have haunted the minds of our Presidents and Vice Presidents, especially since that July day in 1881 when President Garfield was shot, and then lingered on, helpless and frequently unconscious, for more than 11 weeks until his death. It was a question which, had it been cleared up before Woodrow Wilson's tragic collapse in 1919, might have permitted the entry of the United States into the League of Nations and thus—some historians believe—have prevented World War II.

It is a question, also, the solution of which grows ever more urgent. With every advance in the speed and range of planes and missiles, with every increase in the destructiveness of nuclear weapons, the possible perils of presidential incapacity in a time of crisis become more apparent. This has no special reference to Mr. Eisenhower, who, as this is written, is believed fully restored to health. But any President, however young and vigorous, can be unexpectedly stricken by illness or accident which utterly incapacitates him for days or weeks or longer. There are certain decisions which, under the law, only the President can make.

And so Bill Lawrence's question was a bold one, and a tough one, to put to a President just recovering from a critical illness. Some Presidents might have resented it. Mr. Eisenhower answered it readily and willingly. His answer indicated that he had pondered the matter deeply, and perhaps consulted with his legal advisers. He spoke earnestly. He said:

"Well, when you are as closely confined to your bed as I was for some time, you think about a lot of things, and this was one of the foremost in my mind. I do believe there should be some agreement on the exact meaning of the Constitution—who has authority to act.

"The Constitution seems to be clear the Congress can not only make the laws of succession but it can determine what is to be done. * * *"

Mr. Eisenhower then made a reference to the sentence in the Constitution which begins: "In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President——"

But, Mr. Eisenhower pointed out, the Constitution does not say who shall determine the disability of the President. "And," he continued, "we could well imagine a case where the President would be unable to determine his own disability."

Therefore, he said, he thought that Congress should study every phase of the subject "in its broadest aspects." He suggested that Congress advise with the Attorney General, and he offered any advice which might be helpful from the Executive Department. The doubt surrounding the question, he said, should be cleared up. And he concluded: "I think it would be for the good of the country."

Mr. Eisenhower's impressive admonition had its effect. Studies were begun in the office of the Attorney General, and hearings were held in Congress. EMANUEL CELLER, of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, who had circulated a questionnaire on the subject, made public the replies of a score of eminent authorities on government, including former President Hoover. Noted experts on constitutional law appeared before the Judiciary Committee and made their recommendations. But positive action was stalled by two events: the President's intestinal attack last June, and the subsequent presidential campaign. Members of both parties felt that discussion, right then, of presidential disability might be construed as raising the "health issue."

Now, with the President reelected, restored to vigor and reportedly as anxious as ever for a clear solution of the disability problem, the way seems open for congressional debate and action. A number of bills, varying widely in their approach, have already been introduced in the House and Senate, and have begun their tortuous crawl through the committees. Other bills are in preparation. Still other solutions have been proposed by jurists, journalists, and public officials.

The danger is that Congress, which has always dodged this problem in the past, will quietly brush it under the rug again before adjournment. Admittedly it may be difficult to obtain majority agreement on a solution. And the subject, thus far, hasn't developed much voter appeal.

FREDERICK G. PAYNE, respected Republican Senator from Maine, believes a statute would suffice. It would allow the Vice President, whenever he believes the President is so incapacitated that he cannot act upon his own disability, to notify the Chief Justice. The Chief Justice would then appoint a panel of 3 to 5 qualified medical specialists in civil life. If they unanimously found the President unable to perform his duties, the Vice President would take over until the President stated that he was able to resume.

Chairman CELLER has heard enough expert testimony on this subject to make your head swim. He believes the situation could be clarified by a concurrent resolution. It would authorize the Vice President, whenever he decides the President is incapacitated, to convene both Houses of Congress and announce that he has taken over the powers and duties of the Presidency. It would allow the President to resume his duties when he feels fit to do so.

Arthur Krock, veteran Washington correspondent of the New York Times, has been a shrewd observer of our Government's working since 1910. He remembers the dreadful and unsolved dilemma posed by Wilson's collapse in 1919. Appearing before Mr. CELLER's subcommittee, he commented severely on the proposal to allow a Vice President, on his own initiative and decision, to assume the mighty powers of the Presidency.

"Preposterous," he said, "* * * It is beyond credence that Congress, the courts or the people would accept such an arrangement."

Mr. Krock's own suggestion is, in brief, that Congress create a permanent Inability Council composed, ex officio, of 6 congressional leaders—of both parties and from both Houses—and of the 5 senior members of the Cabinet. This Council, if a serious question of inability were raised, would consult with an advisory panel of 5 leaders of the medical profession. If a majority of the panel finds the President incapacitated, in a written public report, the Council in turn, by majority vote, could make a report of inability which would be decisive. On recovery, the President could be restored to his duties by the reverse process.

You can see at once, from the above 5 proposals—and there are others—that we have here what is called a healthy difference of opinion. So healthy, indeed, as to threaten indefinite delay in agreement on a solution. And such delay might be unhealthy to the point of disaster.

There is a brighter side, however, which the above brief summaries fail to reflect. Most authorities, whatever their other differences, agree on certain fundamental propositions which, if they could be clarified by prompt congressional action, would dissolve much of the present perilous uncertainty.

The most serious uncertainty is this: If a President becomes disabled and the Vice President takes over, does he merely take over the powers and duties of the office (as acting President)? Or does he assume the office itself, and thus become the President? It makes a vast difference. If the Vice President becomes the President, then we have the absurdity of two living men, each President of the United States. And suppose the original President feels fit to resume his office, but the successor President—having tasted the power and the glory—declines to step down? Apparently he could then be removed only by impeachment proceedings—a long and messy process involving conviction of high crimes and misdemeanors.

The commonsense of the matter is that the Vice President should take over a disabled President's duties only as acting President. Many authorities believe that Congress could properly by law declare this to be the fact. But Congress has never got around to declaring it. Thus a doubt remains, which has caused trouble before, and could cause worse trouble in the future. Consider the past:

The semideranged assassin, Guiteau, shot President Garfield on July 2, 1881. Garfield lay desperately ill, much of the time in coma, until his death on September 19. Members of his Cabinet discussed the problem. At one time they agreed that it would be desirable to have Vice President Arthur become acting President until Garfield's hoped-for recovery. They took no action. What deterred them was the possibility that Arthur might thus become the President, thus excluding Garfield from office for the remainder—nearly 3½ years—of the term. Loyalty forbade their taking such a risk without Garfield's approval, and he was too ill to be consulted.

During Garfield's illness much public business was neglected, and our foreign relations took a turn for the worse, but the Nation—safe then behind its oceans—wobbled through without major mishap. The dilemma was removed, and soon forgotten, after Garfield died and Chester A. Arthur became President. Arthur, who had been acutely worried and embarrassed during Garfield's illness, urged Congress to take clarifying action. Congress talked about it and—did nothing.

After Woodrow Wilson's collapse in 1919, some of his associates, including Robert Lansing, his Secretary of State, considered whether Vice President Marshall should be asked to take over temporarily as acting President. Here again, doubt whether Wilson could later reclaim his position prevented any action. In Wilson's case there were so many complicating factors—which will be referred to later—that a simple law authorizing the Vice President to take over temporarily as acting President would hardly have sufficed.

But such a law, it is generally agreed, would be helpful in most ordinary cases of Presidential disability. And once this point is cleared up, a further useful provision would be in order—namely, that a President be authorized to announce his own temporary disability, thus "devolving" his duties upon the Vice President. (An ailing President could then do this with his mind at rest, knowing that his duties would be restored to him on his recovery.) Most authorities agree on this. The only objection I've heard is that a malingering President might take advantage of this to shirk his duties and responsibilities. The obvious answer is: If a President should become so sick of mind or poor in spirit as to do such a thing, his declaration of inability would be a blessing for the Nation.

There are also several minor points on which most of the experts seem agreed. One is that while there might be a finding of temporary disability, there should never be a finding of "permanent disability." First, because in these days of medical miracles it is always possible that the President may recover. Second, that because it would be an unnecessary and cruel blow to an ailing President to declare him permanently incapacitated.

Further, it is felt that when a Vice President takes over as acting President, he—as well as the ailing President—should receive presidential pay. When the President recovers, the acting President would revert to his pay and status as Vice President. Similarly, if the Speaker of the House, who is second in line of succession, were called up as acting President, his pay and status in Congress should be merely suspended, reverting to him upon the President's recovery. Otherwise the Speaker, after serving a few weeks as acting President, might find himself out of a job—a job which he had won by decades of public service. The same logic applies to the next in line of succession, the President pro tempore of the Senate.

All the above pesky underbrush could and should be cleared away. Then we reach the major obstacle in the way of a solution—the tough question posed by President Eisenhower himself—who shall determine the disability of a President, when the President is unable to determine his own disability?

The importance of the question has been veiled from the public by an extraordinary series of chances and events. Physicians tell me it is amazing, by the law of averages, that no American President has developed overt mental derangement. We cannot expect this luck to continue indefinitely. Mental illness, particularly a borderline case, would confront us with the most agonizing dilemma of all. Any procedure set up to determine presidential disability must embody the clarity, strength, and public acceptance to cope with such a situation.

Consider the case of President Wilson. Following his stroke and paralysis he did not suffer from mental illness in the ordinary sense. At times his mind functioned brilliantly. But his terrible physical illness produced a nervous and emotional instability, a reluctance to take the initiative, an invalid's seclusion from the events of the world, which certainly impaired his judg-

ment and his ability to deal with his fellow men. These side effects were as complex and tragic in their results as certain forms of mental illness might be. They persisted, in varying degree, through the remaining 17 months of his presidential term, and indeed until his death in 1924.

It came on this way: In the late summer of 1919, Wilson, already worn down in his battle for the League of Nations, decided to take the issue "to the people." Valiantly he set out on a punishing, nationwide speaking tour. His train left Washington on September 3. The weather was torrid. There was no air-conditioning in those days to keep out the heat, dust, and cinders. He made 1 or 2 major addresses, plus a dozen whistle-stop speeches, per day. The strain and fatigue increased. Racking headaches began to torture the President. He would not quit. In the early-morning hours of September 26 his body, less strong than his will, broke down. A stroke (or cerebral hemorrhage) paralyzed his whole left side from jaw to foot. He called to Mrs. Wilson, who quickly summoned Wilson's personal friend and physician, Admiral Grayson. On Grayson's order, the tour was abandoned and the train headed for Washington.

Now note this sad and fateful circumstance. Mrs. Wilson records in her memoirs that, as she sat near her husband at dawn on September 26, she felt: "From that hour on I would have to wear a mask, not only to the public but to the one I loved best in the world; for he must never know how ill he was." And Josephus Daniels, in his Life of Woodrow Wilson (1924) wrote that Wilson, soon after his collapse, "exacted a promise from his wife and doctor (Grayson) that his condition, if serious, should not be made known. The country knows how true they were to the promises."

Such affectionate loyalty inspires sympathy, but the result was that the facts of Wilson's illness were long concealed from the public, and even today few people realize how sick a man he was, not only in the weeks following his stroke, but in the months and years after his "partial recovery." Mrs. Wilson't words, above, suggested the possibility that Wilson himself never knew "how ill he was." If so, this presents the hard case, envisioned by Mr. Eisenhower, of a President "unable to determine his own disability."

The loyal secrecy surrounding a President has complicated the question of disability. The bulletins from Garfield's bedside were vague and overoptimistic. Even the forthright Grover Cleveland concealed from the public the fact that he had a cancer operation while he was President. The secrecy around Wilson's illness was so dense that the Vice President and members of the Cabinet were for a time kept in the dark. And President Franklin Roosevelt's intimates, from sometime in 1944 until his death in April 1945, knew far more about his failing strength than was divulged to the public.

One of Mr. Eisenhower's most useful and least appreciated services to his country has been in dispelling this dangerous secrecy which formerly shrouded presidential illness. Following his heart attack in September of 1955, and again after his intestinal operation in June of 1956, the medical bulletins, as well as the statements by his physicians, described the President's condition with unexampled clinical particularity. Some reporters grumbled because they were not allowed to cross-examine the doctors ad libitum, but certainly enough was revealed to permit intelligent judgment and comment. Credit for this public service must go to the patient; credit for an assist should go to his advisers, especially Press Secretary Jim Hagerty.

Now that Mr. Eisenhower has set the wise and courageous precedent, it seems unlikely that any future President or his entourage will dare disregard it. This open information policy will enormously facilitate the functioning of any lawful procedure set up to determine Presidential disability. But some procedure there must be.

For warning, let's look back once more at the case of Wilson and the league. Charles Seymour, president emeritus of Yale and historian, has written that Wilson's illness resulted in "a progressive breakdown certain to affect his judgment and his personal dealings wtih men. * * * [He] was thus divorced from political realities. * * * Wilson's illness led directly to the defeat of the treaty."

Col. Stephen Bonsal, noted foreign correspondent, diplomat, and confidential intermediary between Wilson and Colonel House, kept a diary of those days. Not until 1944 did he publish his book, Unfinished Business, based on the diary. He revealed that in early November of 1919, at House's suggestion, he had a friendly private conference with Senator Lodge (the elder), chief foe of the League. Lodge minutely went over the printed copy of the League Covenant and, in his own hand, made certain moderate changes, mainly of verbiage, and totaling less than a hundred words. These changes were far milder than the reservations Lodge had hitherto insisted on. Hastily Bonsal conveyed the precious document to Colonel House, who joyfully sent it on, addressed to President Wilson at the White House. There was no reply, not even an acknowledgment. Silence. Bonsal could not find out what happened to this historic document, or even whether Wilson ever saw it.

On November 19 the Senate voted against ratification. Bonsal estimated that if President Wilson had not been entirely out of touch with the situation, the treaty and the covenant, with only slight reservations, would have been ratified in the Senate by a vote of 81 to 13.

A few days later Colonel House spoke to Bonsal about the important question, that cannot and should not be avoided: Who was President of the United States during those crucial weeks? * * * Here is a situation which may occur again under, if possible, even more tragic circumstances. It is to be hoped that congressional action on the matter will not be long delayed.

Here was a grim warning, voiced by a man closely involved in the crisis, urging congressional action more than 30 years ago. Congress, as in Arthur's day, did nothing.

We cannot be absolutely sure that Wilson's illness or incapacity prevented America's entry into the League; we cannot be sure that the League, even with the vastly increased power and momentum of American membership, could have prevented World War II. These are hypotheses, speculations. What we can be sure of is this: the historic decision against the League was made when the American Government was not functioning normally at the top.

The Garfield and Wilson cases not only show the urgency of the problem; they also throw light on the merits and defects of the proposed remedies. Let's examine again the various proposals.

Former President Hoover would authorize the Cabinet to determine a President's inability, as well as his ability to resume his duties. This has the virtues of simplicity and clarity, and avoids the pitfall of allowing a disabled President to reclaim his powers at will, which would obviously be perilous if the disability were mental. The main objection to Mr. Hoover's plan is that members of the Cabinet are often bound so closely to the President, by ties of affection and loyalty, that we could hardly count on them for impartial judgment in a borderline case. The Cabinets of Garfield and Wilson were influenced by such loyalty. A more remote danger is that a President, if he felt disability creeping upon him, might remove the more independent Cabinet members, replacing them with pliant men. (This is not entirely remote. Lansing, who had dared to consider the possibility of the Vice President's taking over after President Wilson was stricken, was fired when Wilson had partly recovered, in February 1920. Secretary Tumulty quotes Wilson as saying that Lansing was disloyal: "Lansing sought to oust me when I was upon my back.") Another possibility, under Mr. Hoover's plan, is that an acting President might put his own coterie into the Cabinet—men who might be less than judicial about terminating the President's disability and incidentally endangering their jobs.

For these reasons, I think Mr. Hoover's plan might fail to command the public confidence so essential to a disability procedure. But it would be far better than the present utter uncertainty.

Congressman FRELINGHUYSEN's plan would, by constitutional amendment, place the final decision with the Supreme Court. Such a decision would be beyond effective dispute. The objections to this plan are (1) that it usually takes a long time to get an amendment ratified by the States; (2) that the Court should not be asked to pass upon a matter involving the political leadership of the Nation; (3) and—I think this is most serious—that by this plan the Court could not even consider the matter until authorized by a two-thirds vote of each House of Congress. In a crisis, and with the Senate's rules of unlimited debate, this could result in fatal delay.

But here again, I think, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN's procedure would be a great advance over the present situation.

Senator PAYNE's plan would allow a final decision to be reached by the unanimous opinion of 3 to 5 qualified medical specialists, selected by the Chief Justice. I think this gives more power to a Chief Justice and to a small panel of doctors than the American people would grant. A Chief Justice is highly respected. But, however honest and learned in the law, he might have fads of his own about health and the medical profession.

Congressman CELLER's plan is simple and direct. It clears the air by allowing a President to declare his own disability, in which case the Vice President would act. The danger of the plan is that it also allows the Vice President, on his own initiative, to decide that the President is incapacitated, and to announce to Congress that he, the Vice President, has taken over the powers and duties of the presidency. I agree with Mr. Krock that such a decision should not be granted to or thrust upon a Vice President.

If the Vice President is a loyal and effectionate lieutenant of the President's—remember Vice President Marshall—it is too much to ask that he decide upon the degree of disability of his ailing chief. If he is unfriendly toward the President or overambitious—remember Vice President Aaron Burr—it is too great a power to grant him.

Mr. CELLER's plan would also allow the President to announce his own recovery and thus resume his powers at will. This would be obviously unwise in cases of mental instability. Suppose a President developed, as do many able and brilliant men, a maniac-depressive tendency. In his depressed phase he would be inclined to turn over his duties to the Vice President. A few weeks later, in his maniac phase, he might happily and overconfidently resume his full presidential powers. This could occur, I am assured, in a case far short of certifiable insanity.

Arthur Krock, as we have seen, suggests the creation of a continuing Inability Council, composed of 6 Members of Congress and 5 of the Cabinet. While I disagree with some details of his plan, I think the idea of a permanent commission, composed of ex officio of certain persons high in the Government, is practical and valuable. Other ex-

perts have thought along the same lines. Prof. Arthur Sutherland, of the Harvard Law School, suggests a commission of 5 members: the Chief Justice, the Secretaries of State and Defense, and the 2 leaders respectively of the President's party in the Senate and the House. Prof. David Fellman, of the University of Wisconsin, proposes a somewhat similar commission. David F. Houston, who, as Secretary of Agriculture and then of the Treasury, sat under the guns of indecision during Wilson's illness, concluded that the determination of presidential disability might properly be vested in "a commission * * * composed possibly of Supreme Court Justices, members of the Cabinet and Members of Congress."

Having thus canvassed the field, I will now throw into the pot of discussion my own plan entitled "Smith's 2 Cents' Worth." Even this title may claim too much, because the ideas expressed are not really my own. They are a distillation of the ideas of others, based on considerable study and on interviews with many men eminent in the Government and in constitutional law.

I would have Congress establish by law a Presidential Powers Commission of nine members. It would be composed ex officio of 3 members of the Supreme Court—the Chief Justice and the 2 senior Associate Justices—of 2 members of the Cabinet—the Secretaries of 2 senior departments: State and Treasury—and of 4 Members of Congress—the majority and minority leaders of the Senate, and the Speaker and minority leader of the House—but if the Speaker were next in line of succession, he would be replaced by the majority whip.

This Commission would be authorized to find as a fact, at any time, by a two-thirds vote in writing, that a President was suffering from a temporary "inability to discharge the powers and duties of his office." Thereupon, the Vice President would become acting President. When and if the Commission voted that the President's disability had been removed, he would at once resume his full powers and duties.

Such a commission would satisfy, I believe, the most vital requirement of all—general public respect and acceptance. Its members would represent, in the American tradition, the three great branches of our Government; both political parties; and checks and balances. Taken together, the group would embody a vast deal of ability, integrity, wisdom, and practical experience. There might at any time be a bad egg or two in the lot, but it is hard to imagine a plot or cabal involving 6 out of 9 such men.

The three Supreme Court members, secure for life in high honor and status, are as free from ignoble ambition and party bias as human beings can normally be. Of the remaining 6 members, 4—2 from the President's own party in Congress and 2 from his Cabinet—could be expected to prevent any unfair finding of Presidential disability. Any 4 of the 9 could block such a finding.

The four congressional leaders would bring to the Commission their practical knowledge of Government and of public opinion. They are always men of great experience, but long service alone does not carry men to the top of the House and the Senate. They must also be admired and trusted by their fellow legislators.

Some experts think the two Cabinet members would be too swayed by loyalty and affection for inclusion in the Commission. I disagree. I think it only fair that they, who are likely to know the President better than the other members, should take part in the inner councils of the Commission. If delicacy required, the two Secretaries could vote "No" or abstain, without blocking a two-thirds vote.

Some authorities feel that Supreme Court members should have no part in such a political matter. Again I disagree. A decision on presidential disability has political aspects, but, far more importantly, it involves the Nation's welfare and survival. The Justices would strengthen the public prestige of the Commission; they would add judicial dignity to its proceedings; they would contribute their invaluable experience in weighing evidence. For similar reasons, I think the Chief Justice should be ex officio chairman of the Commission.

The members of the Commission would serve without pay. Service on the Presidential Powers Commission would carry great honor and high responsibility. This in turn would have its influence on even a member inclined to partisanship. As Professor Sutherland has eloquently said, "We want this thing done soberly, reverently, discreetly, and in the fear of God."

As suggested earlier, I think the law should also allow the President to declare his own temporary disability. But with such a Commission established, he might well choose to advise with it before doing so. He should be allowed to resume his duties when he feels fit to do so. With the Commission functioning, there would no longer be the danger of a mentally unstable President reclaiming his powers. If he did so, the Commission, in touch with the Nation's best medical opinion, would simply intervene, with all necessary speed, and declare the ailing President "temporarily unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office."

I think the Commission should be provided with a paid administrative secretary and small staff, for two purposes: To handle the mail, some serious and some crackpot, which would flow to the Commission; and to keep available, on 24-hour service, the places where the Commission members could be reached in times of crisis. Also the whereabouts of their alternates.

Alternates? Yes. In case of sudden nuclear attack, regular members of the Commission might be atomized or themselves disabled. It would be simple to provide by law a clear line of alternate members. For the judicial members, it would run straight down the Supreme Court's seniority and then to judge's of the Federal Courts of Appeal. In Congress it would run down prescribed lines of congressional seniority. Similarly in the Cabinet.

Maybe I'm getting too gruesome, but why not, while we about it, provide for eventualities? Thus, short of universal cataclysm, we would always have an ascertainable, respectably constituted Presidential Powers Commission.

Returning to the more normal world, I think the Chief Justice should call occasional meetings of the Commission, however robust the President, to discuss procedures of disability and the problems of proper medical and other testimony. The meetings should be spaced at variable times and intervals, so that a critical convocation of the Commission would cause no premature alarm. The Commission should be given the power of subpena, though it would hardly need it.

But why try to advise a body of such able men? The law should make no attempt to prescribe their procedures or to lay down any precise definition of disability, which can take so many unforeseeable forms. It might be physical or mental. It might grow from severe nervous and emotional instability. If a President's plane were lost over the Arctic wastes, we might not even know, for days or weeks, whether he was alive. Or he might fall into the hands of the enemy in wartime. In all such cases we could trust the Commission's own good judgment whether to declare the President's "temporary disability."

One more point: Could Congress properly establish such a commission by ordinary statute? Or would the plan, to be fully effective, require the long process of a constitutional amendment? Most authorities feel that a statute would suffice; that Congress would merely be creating a fact-finding body to carry out the obvious and sensible intent of the Constitution. But some respectable authorities doubt this. One older constitutional lawyer, recognized as a leader of the American bar, told me recently:

"Your plan is the most practical I have heard of so far. I would like to see it in a statute, signed by the President, as soon as possible. I think it would command such widespread acceptance as to be followed without question by the officials involved if we were caught in a disability crisis in the near future. But to make doubly sure, I would also start it on its way—in its main essentials—as a constitutional amendment. This would nail the matter down beyond dispute."

Such, then, is my plan—Smith's 2 Cents' Worth. Since it is my brainchild—however numerous the other putative fathers—I fondly regard it as darn near perfect. What I am more seriously convinced of is this: Any of the other plans mentioned here—with certain stated qualifications—would be better than our present feckless, reckless uncertainty. I don't see how any sane citizen can disagree with President Eisenhower's earnest warning that the doubt surrounding this question should be resolved.

Jeffersonianism, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, much has been written and spoken on the themes of Jeffersonian democracy. Certainly, the concepts of the Sage of Monticello, that great architect of American freedom, have provided a continuing stimulus to each new generation.

Last Saturday night, March 23, a new Member of the Congress, FRANK M. COFFIN, of the State of Maine, offered a brilliant and timely interpretation of Thomas Jefferson. Displaying both a keen historical insight and a profound appreciation for democracy's contemporary challenges, Congressman COFFIN spoke to the problems of 1957 in the perspective of a century and a half of Jeffersonian thought.

It was a great personal statisfaction to stand by FRANK COFFIN'S side as we took our first oath of office together as new Members of the Congress in 1957. It was our able colleague from Maine who led the revival of two-party government in that great State as chairman of the Democratic Party in 1954 until the end of 1956.

After successfully directing the campaign that in 1954 gave Maine its first Democratic governor in many years, FRANK COFFIN was elected to the Congress in 1956. A distinguished graduate of the Harvard Law School and an able lawyer, Congressman COFFIN is the first Democrat to represent his State in the Congress in nearly a quarter of a century.

His address of March 23 follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. FRANK M. COFFIN, OF MAINE, BEFORE THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY DINNER, HOTEL MAYFLOWER, MARCH 23, 1957

The daily publication on Capitol Hill, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, is a repository of two kinds of entries: Actual debate and what we refer to for some unknown reason as extraneous matter. This could be correspondence, editorials, even poetry, book reviews, and magazine articles. Often these nuggets prove quite as valuable as the debate.

Tonight, I shall not attempt a speech. (Being accustomed to the 5-minute rule in the House, I do not see how I could possibly fill the 12 minutes allotted me.) I shall, instead, exercise my congressional privilege and insert some extraneous matter into the record of these proceedings. This extraneous matter is a rather remarkable document which has just come to my attention.

It is the fragment of a correspondence with Thomas Jefferson. This, in itself, is not remarkable, because the correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, by one count, ran to some 18,000 letters. Indeed, in his later years he complained that his letter writing kept him "at the drudgery of the writing-table all the prime hours of the day" and made him lead "the life of a mill-horse."

This fragment, however, is remarkable for two reasons. First, it is not included in any standard collection; and, second, it apparently is a correspondence between the Sage of Monticello and a present-day young Democrat. At first I viewed these fragments with skepticism. But I became convinced when I went to the Library of Congress and compared Jefferson's preliminary draft of the Declaration of Independence with the handwriting in the fragments. He still uses one of those very first post office pens.

Apparently the young Democrat had written him with some doubts in his mind, being born after 1932, whether the Democratic Party was really, as Republican canard went, like a mule "without pride of ancestry or hope of posterity."

Jefferson replied: "My dear young man, please excuse this old goose quill pen. It has been grossly overworked. But, poor as it is, it is infinitely superior to those I have seen in your present-day post offices. May I suggest that you go back to using geese for a source of pen points rather than administrative policy?

"Really, I am amazed that the party still exists. After I left Washington in 1809, it seemed to be falling apart at the seams. But somehow our party's performance always managed to exceed its promises. Even Old Hickory showed little promise at first although he voted for me twice. But he finally transferred his fighting ability to the cause of the farmer, the laborer, and the mechanic against the rich and the powerful. He was a great President.

"Jim Polk, from the Duck County Valley in Tennessee, liked politics from the beginning, but he was the first and the most unlikely darkhorse we've had. I never thought he would be his own man. But again I underestimated our party and its leader. Polk was one of the hardest working Presidents we ever had. And I want to remind you that he thought the job so important that he wouldn't take any time politicking for a second term. He made his Cabinet men stick to their jobs and forbade them to waste any time campaigning for him. I had hoped the same thing might happen a couple of years ago. But it didn't.

"I don't know how our party came back after the terrible War Between the States. But we did very well under Cleveland. Then along came that proper and earnest young fellow Virginian, Tommy Wilson, son of the preacher. You can imagine how I felt about him. He said I was a great man but not a great American. He wouldn't even come up the hill to see Monticello when he attended my own University of Virginia. He was 40 before he said a good word for me publicly. Even then he liked Grover Cleveland better. But he gradually came to understand the aspirations of the common people. His New Freedom was the voice of the small farmer and the small-business man raised against partnership of Government and monopoly. He helped us enter the 20th century.

"That squire of Hyde Park, Franklin Roosevelt, came closer to my personal tastes. But it seemed improbable that this patrician would sense the needs of the times and lead our country through its worst domestic and international crisis to a place of preminence in the world. But you knew him, too. And that cocky little infantry captain from Missouri. He had a great deal of Andy Jackson in him. His great accomplishment was to maintain our Nation's place in the world and our party's place in the Nation.

"So, I can't really see why you are worried at all about your background, except that the other party has begged, borrowed, or stolen everything you've thought up. I just wish Alexander Hamilton had felt the same way about my ideas. I am incensed, though, that the other party felt it necessary to take our name. * * * I thought it such a good one."

This seemed to satisfy the Young Democrat as far as "pride of ancestry" went. But apparently he wrote another letter inquiring about "hope of posterity." In due course he received a reply:

"My dear young friend, you flatter me by your continued attentions. You have asked whether there is still a job to be done by our party. To read your question I wonder if you are contemplating turning the donkey out to pasture. You sound almost old enough to be a young Republican—and I cannot imagine anything more ancient.

"No; this donkey may occasionally go out to pasture, but he doesn't stay there. He has an unquenchable instinct for harness. It was put to the test in the most distant part of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I believe it is now called Maine. Those good people in my day, being small farmers, artisans, and businessmen, were good Democrats. After the unpleasantness in Mr. Lincoln's time, they led the donkey out in the middle of their great pine forests and hoped to lose him. But look what has happened. Not only have they just reelected their fourth Democratic governor in 90 years by the greatest vote ever given any governor, but they have sent to Washington their first Democratic Congressman in a quarter of a century. This, to me, carries the same moral as the return of the tribes of Israel after the Babylonian captivity.

"You are concerned about what you call civil rights and what we used to call the rights of man. These rights are not quickly or painlessly achieved. I found that out even on my own plantation. That bloody War Between the States was only half the task. The other half is, in a sense, more difficult, more demanding of the highest order of sensitivity, patience, and determination that you can muster. I have seen the problem building up for two centuries. It cannot be solved overnight, but solved it must be.

"In your domestic economy I see the wheel has turned full cycle. Without being immodest I suggest that you read some of the things I wrote about the small farmer and the communities in which he lived. I am still convinced that they are the backbone of this country. But this backbone is vertebra by vertebra, being taken out by surgery. (As I look over the Nation today, I see that their place in society is challenged by those great forces that have so developed since my time. The party must meet that challenge by insuring that, given a reasonable amount of initiative and competence, the small farmer and businessman shall not be squeezed out of existence. I tried to tell Hamilton of this danger, but to no avail.) This challenge to our way of life has hardly been recognized. If it is to be met, there is only one party equipped by philosophy to take the leadership. You cannot reasonbly, expect those whose affections and loyalties are inextricably woven into the great industrial fabric of the age, to foster the cause of those smaller units which they have so long fought, acquired, or destroyed.

"I used to think that our natural resources were limitless. Yet even so I spent a good part of my life taking care of my land at Monticello. I confess to a sense of shame as I read of the devastation of our forests, the erosion of our soil, our floods and dust storms. I canot imagine how good husbandmen can allow a land of plenty to go to waste. This challenge, too, is yours, because these are the resources of all the people, not just a few. Again, you cannot reasonably expect this challenge to be met by those whose wealth has come from the exclusive use or abuse of these resources. Not, that is, unless human nature has changed since my time.

"One of the fields of my life work I remember with greatest pride was the education of our youth, particularly my work in establishing a public-school system and in founding the University of Virginia. That system has gone a long way. But when I read of what has been done in what used to be that remote barbaric land of the Czars, I realize that we have not gone far enough. It is hard for me to believe that the goal of providing enough good classrooms for our young people is a debatable subject. And I am dismayed to find so little thought about the other problems of education. Here is a challenge worthy of our party's mettle. In fact, so long as you have unsightly and unhealthy slums, bad roads, men out of work or slaving at poor wages, sick people uncared for, and old people living in indignity, you as a party face continuing challenges to your conscience as the heirs of a land of plenty.

"These things I hope our party will remember in Congress. I much admire its efforts toward economy in Government, but true economy means doing the job that must be done at the lowest cost. Simply to save money by not doing the job is merely to substitute human cost for financial cost. Beware the Trojan Horse of economy which carries within its hollow frame the forces of reaction.

"Finally, I have come to realize that an ocean is not an ocean. It is just a distance of a few hours by aircraft, or less by guided missile. The world has shrunk since my time, almost beyond recognition. You are faced with an awesome threat and an unprecedented opportunity. The threat is annihilation by total war. If my own experience in diplomacy means anything, I must say that this threat is not reduced by weakening our bonds with friends of long standing, by failing to think ahead of current crises, by vacillating in time of decision, by shifting the total burden of leadership to others, or by failing to keep commitments whether legal or moral. When I succeeded Dr. Franklin as Minister to France, I was careful to say that neither I nor anyone else could replace him. To entrust foreign matters to men whose replacement is regretted rather than desired is a goal toward which you should strive. I might add that neither Dr. Franklin nor I obtained our position because of any contribution to anyone's campaign.

"The opportunity you face is that of an imaginative, patient, and responsible leadership working toward a world of free peoples. This opportunity exists only if you can shake

off the bonds of smugness and self-centeredness. I had the great privilege of writing the Declaration of Independence for our young Nation. You have the supreme privilege of applying it to the nations of the world.

"My young friend, the party we both hold in common is—if you but have the faith, the energy, and the determination—entering upon its days of greatest service. I envy you the times in which you live.

"Your obedient servant.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

One Hundred and Thirty-sixth Anniversary of Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 136th anniversary of the struggle of Greece for independence from Ottoman tyranny. On this day, Greeks and friends of Greece all over the world pay tribute to those heroes of the past who laid down their lives to win Greece's freedom from the rule of foreign despots.

In a larger sense, also, all of us pay tribute to, and give thanks for, the many contributions of the Greek people to the progress of civilization as we know it today. How different our world today would be without the philosophy, drama, medicine, literature, mathematics, astronomy, oratory, politics, and education which have, in large measure sprung from the Hellenic cradle.

Greek Independence Day this year finds the whole world concerned above all else with the life-and-death struggle with the forces of communism. It is fitting, therefore, that our thoughts linger longest on the noble traditions of freedom which repose in the Hellenic heritage.

From our earliest days, this Nation has felt a special kinship with the people of Greece. President Madison enunciated the sentiments of the United States well in 1822 when he said:

> The name of Greece fills the mind and heart with the highest and noblest sentiments. * * * The disappearance of this country for a long time under an aggressive dark yoke has profoundly agrieved the generous spirits of the past. It was therefore natural for the reappearance of this people in its original character, fighting for its liberty, to arouse enthusiasm and sympathy everywhere in the United States.

Having regained that freedom which had remained kindled in their hearts through long centuries of oppression, the Greeks rebuilt their nation on the principles of democracy which had first found expression in ancient Greece. It is those same principles, Mr. Speaker, which today inspire Greeks and all lovers of freedom.

Today, as 136 years ago, the people of Greece stand prepared to resist oppression regardless of its form or from what quarter it comes. In combating the threat of communism within their borders, in fighting side by side with other brave soldiers of the United Nations in Korea, the people of Greece have shown the continued strength of a culture and a tradition which finds its inception in the principles of human rights and dignity of the individual.

These qualities, combined with other attributes of their rich heritage, have made the sons and daughters of Greece who have come to America admirable citizens. Their perseverence, passionate love of freedom and abilities in myriad fields have made Greeks leading members of any American community where they have settled.

Through organizations such as the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association—AHEPA—Greeks in America have kept alive the proud traditions of their homeland and harmonized them with the activities of their new land.

Mr. Speaker, we need have no fear about the future of Greece. As they fought in 1821, they are prepared to fight again and again to protect their freedoms against foreign aggression. That is the spirit which made them free. It is the spirit which will keep them free.

Mr. Shanley Shames the Devil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, March 24, 1957, a very revealing and enlightening editorial appeared in the Richmond Times-Dispatch. I wish that all of the people who pretend to be solicitors of good race relations, and particularly in the South, could read this editorial. It is self-explanatory.

In the hopes that at least some of the people who are in the forefront fighting to compel by judicial fiat a mixing of the races in the public schools will read it, I am including with my remarks the editorial referred to above:

MR. SHANLEY SHAMES THE DEVIL

"We have made more progress in the South in the past 4 years than was made in the previous 20 years. But the Supreme Court decision on segregation has set us back many years."

Who said that? Senator BYRD? Senator KNOWLAND? Representative TUCK?

No; this statement, incredible as it seems, came straight from the White House.

It was made Thursday night by Bernard M. Shanley, Mr. Eisenhower's appointments secretary and counselor, during a question-and-answer period following an address to 300 students at Fairleigh Dickinson University in Rutherford, N. J.

Later, during the question-and-answer period, Mr. Shanley emphasized his opinion in unmistakably strong terms.

"The Supreme Court's decision," he said, "has done a tremendous amount of damage and has set us back many years."

Mr. Shanley is not a southerner. He is a Jerseyman, educated in Newark, at Columbia, and Fordham Law School.

As you can well believe, the news of this startling statement made the wires buzz, not long after it had been made.

A Rutherford reporter phoned Mr. Shanley and asked him to clarify the statement.

Mr. Shanley did. He used an even stronger adjective to describe the harm done by the Supreme Court decision.

He said it was "incalculable."

Coming from an experienced lawyer, trained to weigh his words, they cannot be considered as careless or casual.

As a member of the official White House family, Mr. Shanley had to make it unmistakably clear that what he had said was "no reflection on the court."

He telephoned a Newark reporter with a further clarification. He said he "had not correctly conveyed his thoughts, because his answer to the original question (at the student gathering) had been cut short by a subsequent question. Undoubtedly considering the effect of what he had said on a much-harried head of state conferring in Bermuda on matters of worldwide importance, Mr. Shanley explained:

"I am not criticizing the Supreme Court decision. Were I a member of the Court I would have voted as the majority did." (There was no minority.)

Mr. Shanley may consider himself fortunate not to have occupied that exalted position. Had he been on the High Bench, and voted as he said he would have voted, he would feel personally responsible for the "incalculably tremendous" damage that has set back, he said, racial relations for "many years," thereby hurting the very people the decision was intended to help.

The Friday edition of New York's leading newspaper (ardently "integrationist") carried a picture of Mr. Shanley, with the caption:

"He said Supreme Court antisegregation ruling has 'set us back,' but later he explained and modified this."

That was inexcusably misleading.

Mr. Shanley did not modify his statement that the Court ruling "had set us back." He let that stand. He did "explain" that his statement was not made in criticism of the Court.

We are grateful to the President's aid for speaking the truth, and shaming the Devil.

Is Modern Republicanism Merely Disguising New Dealism?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article from the March 23, 1957, issue of National Review:

IS MODERN REPUBLICANISM MERELY DISGUISING NEW DEALISM?

There is something nerve-racking in the efforts of apologists for modern Republicanism to dodge the rhetoric they hurled years ago against the statism of the New Deal. They hurled it so hard, back in the days of Roosevelt and Truman, that it is still in flight, and it keeps them dancing around frantically to avoid being hit by it. Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks told 1,200 Republican women last week that modern Republicanism is "the traditional party philosophy"—in modern dress, to be sure, but

decidedly not something brand new, dreamed up recently—as some folks think—by maverick stargazers. To begin with (Mr. Weeks pressed his case), most Federal spending goes for defense. For the rest, "We'll not go very far in reversing the trend in Government spending if everyone says 'Cut the other fellow's budget, but don't touch mine.'" Question 1: Whose benefit, then, is modern Republicanism proposing to cut? Question 2: What did the New Deal have that the new Republicanism hasn't got—except joie de vivre, and an intense pride in itself? Question 3: What is it us folks are supposed to think? That big government is bad only if administered by Democrats?

Let's Be Practical About Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial from the Somersworth Free Press of March 21, 1957, entitled "Let's Be Practical About Foreign Aid":

LET'S BE PRACTICAL ABOUT FOREIGN AID

Let's take a practical view of so-called foreign aid.

We are, of course, a humanitarian people. We believe in helping others because we feel it is the right thing to do. But we must keep in the forefront the maintenance of our own security and our high standard of living.

The foreign-aid program of the United States is authorized in the mutual-security legislation. Its purpose is to associate ourselves with other free nations, because we have found that in a world threatened by international communism and by poverty, disease, hunger, and illiteracy, our own way of life is directly challenged and menaced. The more allies we have throughout the world who are willing to share the burden of defense and of building a peaceful world, the less the drain on our own citizens.

Top flight military leaders who have testified before congressional committees on the mutual security legislation have stated that the military aspect of our foreign-aid program is as much a part of our own defense as our own domestic military program. They have also emphasized the importance of economic aid. Admiral Radford, in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on foreign policy evaluation, stated: "I have often testified that as far as the defense effort is concerned, the military-aid program is an integral part of our overall defense program. The economic aid is a vital adjunct in our program to counter Communist aggression."

There is another practical side to this foreign-aid program which is illustrated by the relatively small amounts spent by the United States on foreign aid. In the proposed budget for the coming fiscal year, which begins July 1, 1957, $45.3 billion is requested for "protection." The foreign aid is $4.4 billion; $2.5 billion for military assistance and $1.9 billion for economic aid. The $4.4 billion to be spent abroad means, to put it in practical terms, that fewer American soldiers will be needed to protect our own interest abroad. Furthermore, between 75 and 80 percent of our foreign-aid dollars are spent in the United States and accordingly means more American business and more American employment. In addition, the dollars which go abroad always come back to their home—the United States.

If foreign aid is arbitrarily cut, it means cutting down on our own security and cutting down on the strength of the people who need to help us with the gigantic task of maintaining our world leadership. It means increasing the danger of international communism and that we may ultimately have to spend much more than the amount cut in order to gain a commensurate security for our own people.

Adding up all the practical effects and objectives of the foreign-aid program, foreign aid is just as much, if not more, aid by foreign nations for us as it is aid by us for them.

Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD a speech made by the Honorable SAMUEL K. MCCONNELL, JR., entitled "Federal Aid for School Construction" before the Penn Valley Parent School Association on March 19, 1957. In this address, Congressman MCCONNELL effectively and concisely analyzes the subject of Federal aid to school construction.

The speech follows:

DISCUSSION BY REPRESENTATIVE SAMUEL K. MCCONNELL, JR., ON FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION, PENN VALLEY PARENT SCHOOL ASSOCIATION, PENN VALLEY SCHOOL, MARCH 19, 1957

Tonight, I will discuss a subject of vital and far-reaching significance to America. Because it concerns the welfare of our children; because it involves questions of fundamentals of government; and because it contains elements of emotional conflict, there is need for sober reflection and restraint.

Federal aid to education has been discussed for a number of years. The term "Federal aid to education" has been used rather broadly and loosely in arguments. Roughly, the subject can be divided into three broad categories.

1. Aid to school districts adversely affected by the impact of Federal activities (principally defense establishments). In these situations the Government acquires land for airfields, camps, arsenals, etc. After purchasing the land the Government will thereafter pay no rent or taxes for the use of the land. Obviously, some payment is due to the local authorities. Congress has overwhelmingly passed legislation for assistance to the affected school districts for a period of many years.

2. Aid for maintenance and operation of schools, for textbooks, teachers' salaries, light, heat, power, etc. This type of aid has been very controversial, resulting in arguments over aid to private schools, and control of the running of the schools of America.

3. Aid for the construction of school facilities. This type of aid has been somewhat less controversial, but arguments are occurring over assistance to districts and States failing to show intention to desegregate; over formulas for grants to richer and poorer States; and over the possibility of operation of schools later if such assistance is granted now.

The bills presently before Congress are for construction aid only, and therefore I will discuss that subject more fully tonight.

Why do we have classroom shortages at this time and how large are the shortages?

The depression period of 1929–33; two wars with attendant shortages of labor and materials; a rapidly expanding and shifting population with big increases in the birthrate; and the inflationary spiral which greatly increased the costs of construction; all contributed to a growing shortage of school facilities. States and local areas have been increasing their efforts to meet the situation. For example, in 1949–50, they spent about $1 billion to build 36,000 new classrooms; last year they spent about $2½ billion to build 62,600 classrooms; and this year they are attempting to construct about 69,000. They have done a creditable job but even at the present accelerated rate of construction it will take some years before the shortages will be eliminated.

Exact estimates of shortages and future needs are not easy to obtain, because standards vary in different States and matters of judgment are involved.

The latest figures available from the Office of the United States Commissioner of Education indicate a shortage in the entire country of 159,000 classrooms. This figure was obtained from State educational offices throughout the Nation; 80,000 classrooms for excess enrollments, and 79,000 to replace classrooms abandoned because of obsolescence, consolidations, fires, and other types of destruction of schoolrooms—a combined total of 159,000.

Practically all authorities agree that new enrollments will total 1¼ million children annually for the next 4 or 5 years. The new enrollments alone will require about 45,000 new classrooms annually. Abandoned schools yearly will total about 14,000 to 15,000. Thus about 60,000 new classrooms will be needed annually to keep abreast of current new demands. All above that figure would apply to past shortages of 159,000.

The job before us is to arouse greater State and local action in order to more rapidly eliminate the shortages. President Eisenhower has proposed a short 4-year program to supplement and encourage State and local effort, not supplant it; $325 million a year for aid to the States to be used for financially needy school districts to construct classrooms—the money to be divided among the States under a formula which takes into account the per capita income of a State and the school-age population. A bond purchase revolving fund of $750 million to purchase school bonds of districts not able to market their bonds at a reasonable rate of interest. Up to a total of $150 million to provide for one-half of a basic reserve fund to provide greater security for the bonds issued by a school financing agency. The purpose is to encourage States to establish such agencies. At the present time only four States, including Pennsylvania, build schools by means of school authorities or financing agencies. And $20 million for administrative expenses assistance to States in developing long-range plans to eliminate restrictions on school construction. The entire purpose of the program is to stimulate and encourage greater State and local action to handle their own school construction needs.

The Kelley (Democrat) bill is a 6-year program and calls for direct grants to States of over $600 million a year, and under a formula based entirely on the school-age population of a State. Financial need is not considered. The Kelley bill also provides for a bond purchase fund and a basic reserve fund contribution for school financing agencies similar in type and amount to the Eisenhower program.

What are some of the major arguments against the proposed school construction legislation?

Opponents of Federal assistance have argued that such a program would mean Federal control and domination of education in this country. I am strongly opposed to Federal control of education. I believe there is danger of such control when a bureau of the Government is providing maintenance and operation aid, but I cannot see that same danger from construction assistance. This is "brick and mortar" aid, and once a school is constructed, and the local authorities take title to the building the Government assistance would end and there would be no further contact or connection whatsoever with the school. The running of the school thereafter would be under the supervision of the local school authorities.

Opponents say "yes, but this program would be just a foot in the door." Actually the Federal Government has been financially aiding education in various ways for almost a century, and there is no Federal domination of education today. We have been aiding land grant colleges since before the turn of the 20th century, as one example.

Another contention is that large amounts of the proposed Federal funds would be required for administrative expenses. The fact is that the budget provides for only two-tenths of 1 percent of the proposed funds for administrative purposes. Even counting the cost of collecting Federal revenues and other overhead expenses, 99 percent of the proposed funds would be distributed for actual use by communities to help build needed schools.

There is a serious argument over the fact that the President's program would call for more money from the wealthier States than the poorer ones. That is true, because the program is based on an equalization principle. Many States have equalization programs which require heavier contributions from richer areas to help the poorer areas in their educational activities. Michigan, California, Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio would pay out larger amounts than poorer States.

The administration's program would distribute grants on the basis of school-age population and relative financial income. The Kelley bill would distribute Federal funds according to school-age population alone.

A recent analysis by the Office of Education shows that the 12 wealthiest States in per capita income have an average of $10,655 in annual income to support each school-age child. They have more than one-half of all the income in the country. They are now building about 45 percent of all the schools being built in the country this year. And they have less than one-fourth of the actual classroom shortage this year; but, under the distribution system based on school-age population alone, these States would receive almost 40 percent of the Federal grants.

On the other hand, the 12 lowest States in per capita income have an average of only $4,416 income annually per school-age child. They have only 12 percent of the total national income. They are building only 16 percent of the rooms being built this year. And they have well over 35 percent of the current classroom shortage. And yet, if grants are distributed according to school-age population alone, these States would get only 22 percent of the Federal aid.

Under the administration's proposal, the 12 wealthiest States would receive 27 percent of the Federal grants, and the 12 lowest income States, where the shortage is most acute, would receive 32 percent of the Federal aid.

Opponents of any Federal assistance are attacking the accuracy of the figures concerning classroom shortages. Not a single authority that I know of claims that no shortages exist, but efforts are being made to discredit the shortage figures which have been obtained by the Office of Education from State educational departments who are closest to the situation and best able to get the facts. Those who deny the existence of a serious shortage offer no different figures of their own.

Every responsible survey of conditions has concluded there is a substantial and continuing classroom shortage in various areas of the United States. This was the conclusion from information received from State education agencies in response to a questionnaire last fall from the Office of Education. Also, from the School Facilities Survey undertaken more than 4 years ago, using different methods. And the conclusion from independent surveys made for the White House Conference on Education and National Education Association.

The Office of Education questionnaire last fall asked the States to estimate the number of children in excess of normal capacity of the schools in use. This was the third successive year in which the States have reported on this item. And for the third year in a row the figure was about the same—about 2¼ million children above capacity. These children are not imaginery. They are in school today, and can be counted with reasonable accuracy.

The States estimated 80,000 new classrooms were needed last fall just to accomodate this overflow of enrollment. Further, the States estimated 79,000 additional classrooms were needed to replace facilities unfit for use, or a total shortage of 159,000 classrooms.

One serious impediment to passage of a school construction bill is an amendment which will be offered by Representative ADAM POWELL. His amendment would deny aid to any State for school construction which fails to show compliance with the Supreme Court decision calling for an end to segregation in schools. Such an amendment would kill the bill, especially in the Senate.

While I can understand the desire of those favoring more rapid desegregation, nevertheless it does not appear necessary in a school construction bill. No Commissioner of Education could start to grant aid if a bill is passed, without the likelihood of a court challenge of his action. Then before aid could be given the courts would have to decide whether a State is complying or not. The Supreme Court in deciding the original case stated that decision as to compliance would be decided by the courts. It would not be decided by a department or an official of the executive branch of the Government.

One of the serious objections raised to this program is that it calls for Federal spending at a time when the budget is high. I believe the budget is high and can be cut. My past record would show that I have voted to reduce or eliminate many items, and I will continue to vote for lower amounts. I do believe, however, that provision for adequate classrooms for the children of America is of immediate concern to this Nation. Lost educational opportunities in the formative years can seldom be regained. In the complex world of today, such economy could be detrimental to our national security and a drag on the full development of our human resources.

In summary, I favor a relatively short-term Federal program, for a moderate amount of money, to stimulate, not supplant, State and local action to enable them to more rapidly eliminate the shortage of classrooms in this country. It would be a sound investment in the future of America.

Anselm Forum, of Gary, Ind., Celebrates Silver Jubilee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the Gary (Ind.) Post Tribune reviews the outstanding work and accomplishments of an organization in Gary, Ind., which has contributed in time and service greatly to civic advancement and the advancement of tolerance in the city of Gary, Ind.

Every city, town, and hamlet in the United States should have an organization similar to the Gary Anselm Forum. The following article reveals the secret of its outstanding success and accomplishments:

Anselm Forum, of Gary, knows only one enemy: "Those who preach hatred amongst brothers, those who incite creed against creed, race against race, nation against nation."

A baby of the 1932 depression, Anselm Forum this year rounds out a quarter century of dedicated service in the field of human relations, a quarter century of practicing brotherhood, 25 years of living the golden rule and encouraging others to follow its example.

Gary Anselm observes its silver jubilee at 6:30 p. m. today with a banquet at the Hellenic Center, 11th Avenue and Jackson Street. The Reverend Archibald Carey, Jr., Chicago minister and former Chicago alderman, will be the guest speaker.

Anslem's first steps were unsure. Nine young men of varying backgrounds huddled over cups of coffee on Sunday afternoons and unburdened their depression fears. They concerned themselves with the petty prejudices they feared were undermining their town. They learned to respect each other's differences and opinions. They reached across the barriers of race and religion, joined hands, smiled and called each other "friend." And they meant it.

FORTY-FIVE ETHNIC GROUPS

The name and purpose of Anselm Forum were found in an Italian saint, St. Anselm, who was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093. The Forum adopted the name Anselm because the archbishop was a champion of brotherhood and had the courage to urge men to forget hatred and work for peace.

Anselm men are doctors, educators, newspapermen, legislators, scientists, steelworkers, physicians, businessmen, laborers. These men—125 strong—represent 45 different ethnic groups. Religiously, Anselm men are Christian, Jew, Mohammedan, Hindu, and Confucianist. There is an agnostic among them.

Anselm men subordinate their cherished prejudices and personal convictions to strive for better understanding among men. They respect each man's right to disagree and be different. They teach that disagreement and physical differences should not create hate or suspicion. Anselm men are happy when devoting their normal hours of leisure to the difficult and sometime thankless, task of furthering the cause of brotherhood.

The work of Anselm Forum has been a time-consuming task. Over 1,000 Anselm men have been members of the forum's panel teams and traveled hundreds of miles in the past 25 years to appear before over 200 audi-

ences in 30 or more cities in Indiana and Illinois. Discussions at these forums have included juvenile delinquency, world government, the atomic age, community crime, displaced persons, world affairs, and women in modern society. Anselm panels are not meant to answer questions or resolve differences. They are designed to stimulate thinking about basic issues—issues which eventually will resolve the question of the brotherhood of man.

PAMPHLETS, FILMS, BOOKS

Pamphlets do wonders and Anselm Forum uses them as an effective weapon in its campaign to foster better human relations. Anselm has been directly responsible for the distribution of nearly a million pamphlets dealing with 225 different subjects. Like the panel discussions the pamphlets have been all inclusive, treating such subjects as interfaith unity, mental health, the danger of communism and the cost of prejudice.

Film and recordings, too, have been enlisted by Anselm for its battle against prejudice and hate. A dozen films on human relations have been shown over 3,000 times to audiences totaling 225,000 persons. Dramatic and musical records numbering 80 have been played over a thousand times to over 35,000 students. Over 15 tape recordings have been used in human relations projects.

Anselm knows that books encourage the study of mankind's complex problems of learning to live together. So, the forum established the James H. Garnett Memorial Library at Indiana University Gary Center so students and others would have access to literature concerned with human relations. Intergroup workshops sponsored by Anselm and universities have furthered the cause of brotherhood.

The job of Anselm Forum has not been easy. When first organized, outsiders grinned and predicted the forum would not last over a year. Others were generous and gave the organization a life expectancy of 5 years.

There were internal problems, too. Convictions of members were put to the acid test, latent prejudices bounded to the surface when certain members of ethnic and religious groups were recommended for membership. A Negro was proposed for membership, and a Caucasian said if the membership was granted it would force his resignation. His resignation was accepted on the spot. Anselm tolerance wandered too far afield for another member of long standing who resigned when a Christian Scientist was accepted as a member. Another member who was greatly admired by the forum voluntarily left the group because a Mohammedan became an Anselm man. And Anselm Forum is not a religious organization.

This type of internal organization structure prompted a California professor to write: "Anselm tolerance is not wishy-washy goodwillishness. It is hardheaded intelligent good will. It is creative, dynamic. It is respectful of the next man's right to be religiously, politically, socially different. It seeks not conformity or compromise, but agreeableness."

Anselm Forum uses the quiet, unspectacular approach to issues. There is no getting hot and bothered about situations and adding fuel to troubled waters. Anslem men use the quiet, person-to-person approach. A person seeking to incite hate and prejudice is quietly shown that he not only is endangering an individual of different religious or racial identity but that he is sowing the seed that can choke the growth of the entire society of freeman.

* * * * *

It was at an Anselm Forum coffee clatsch that a white minister proposed the merger of Gary's Negro and white ministerial groups. It was at a coffee clatsch that Anselm Forum became concerned with the problems of the American Indian.

Anselm Forum makes public its views, too. It publicly supports slum clearance, endorses home rule, concerns itself with social diseases, supports Federal anti-lynching legislation, works for equalization and humanization of American naturalization laws, thinks fair employment laws are necessary, and deplores racial and religious persecution.

Anselm Forum work is done on a shoestring. There is no paid executive or file clerk. Nor, is there a high-pressure public relations expert to extol the achievements of the group. All work is volunteer.

Anselm Forum dreams of a world free of ethnic and religious prejudice, a world where humans live in harmony and peace, a world where there would be no need for an Anselm Forum.

And this world, Anselm Forum feels, could be named "friends."

How Many Aliens Can We Take?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I insert the following article by Cy Peterman:

HOW MANY ALIENS CAN WE TAKE?
(By Cy Peterman)

We have just asked our Congressman a fair question: How many of Europe's people can the United States safely absorb? The question is prompted by a few progressive statistics.

In 1900, the population of this country was 75,994,575, of which around 10 million were foreign born. By 1950, United States population had almost doubled to 150,697,361. It has increased another 18 million in the last 6 years, and during 1957 the Department of the Interior assures us, there will be 4 million babies born to Americans, 1 every 8 seconds, according to the big dial on the Department's wall. (Next fall, college applicants will number 200,000 above last September's totals.)

With or without a slide rule, Junior, this means that in the dawn of the next century, more than 350 million will be clogging the jetways, throughways, pneumatic or electronic tubeways, and whatever other channels crisscross our 48 States. Moreover, plenty of those 4 million babies of 1957 will have to direct them, because in 2000 A. D. they'll be just 43 years old. Quite a prospect, eh, kids?

The subject of immigration has emerged anew from Comrade Khrushchev's modern version of the 1940 Hitler blitz, by which terrorized refugees were thrust upon the opposing side. Soviet tanks, spreading Communist culture by running down Budapest women, repeat the job of Goering's dive-bombers, driving patriotic thousands from their country to add to Western problems, while the Reds reenslave the balance.

Sympathetic Americans who by December 31 had welcomed 17,077 refugees—of which only 6,210 had visas hastily issued, the rest arriving on parole—will not debate on such sanctuary, and only wish they could take them all. But is this a solution?

Representative FRANCIS E. WALKER, Democrat, Pennsylvania, coauthor of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, and chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, doesn't think so. Immigration Commissioner, Gen. Joseph M. Swing, who was President Eisenhower's roommate at West Point, also has doubts. Together they went to Austria and over the Hungarian border to check. They report some things that an emotion-wreathed situation has obscured.

First, there is no overall plan for allocating the Hungarians, any more than with previous displaced persons. They cannot be sent to sparsely populated areas such as Alaska, which is crying for settlers. The Constitution forbids it, as it prohibits assigning anyone to a specific job, and except for quick Communist checks—without guaranties—there is little reliable screening, they say.

"I found there were three waves of Hungarian refugees. The first were mostly Hungarian Communists, scared stiff when the patriots seized power under Nagy and began squaring accounts with their oppressors. They rushed for Austria to save their lives, and when the revolt was crushed by Soviet arms, most of them went back," Mr. WALTER said.

"The second wave contained the real victims, bona fide anti-Communists who in turn were fleeing for their lives. Most of them were from Budapest and larger towns. A high percentage are students. A great many are professional people; there are few peasants in the refugee camps," he said. For these there is warmest sympathy and the hope of finding them new homes. Most of them fought for freedom, and with proper help might have won.

"The third wave has come along recently; contains plenty of infiltree Reds, and," says Mr. WALTER, "is filled with opportunists." He asked questions:

"I'm going to New York because business is better than in Budapest," one candidly told him. Another: "Hungary's finished. Why should I stick?" He had not fought.

Representative WALTER came back determined to have full hearings on the Immigration Act, with inquiries into the use of the Hungarian refugees to spark its liberalization.

Now that cold mathematics is entering the picture, perhaps our crowded citizens will ask: What's capacity?

Resolution of the Pennsylvania Bar Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution of the Pennsylvania Bar Association Endorsing H. R. 9 and H. R. 10, now pending in the House of Representatives:

Whereas the Pennsylvania Bar Association has heretofore endorsed the proposal that the Congress of the United States should enact legislation to give self-employed individuals the right to defer income tax on a portion of income as an equitable method of tending to equalize the self-employed and employees benefiting from corporate pension plans under which money set aside by the corporation for the benefit of employees is exempt from income tax; and

Whereas Representative EUGENE J. KEOGH, of New York, and Representative THOMAS A. JENKINS, of Ohio, have introduced H. R. 9

and H. R. 10, in the 85th Congress to lessen the present inequity; and

Whereas there is general recognition of the fairness and necessity of such proposed legislation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Pennsylvania Bar Association endorses H. R. 9 and H. R. 10, now pending in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, and urges that both bills be enacted into law, as soon as orderly procedure permits; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the association shall cause duly authenticated copies of this resolution to be delivered to each Senator and Representative from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in the Congress, to Representative KEOGH, to Representative JENKINS, and to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives.

The Morale, the Organization, and the Ability of NATO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, under permission granttd me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am very pleased to include a letter dated March 21, 1957, I received from an old friend of mine, William H. Baumer of the pharmaceutical company of Johnson & Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J., who has just returned as an Army Reservist from his active duty with the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers Europe.

Mr. Baumer, who is a man of keen judgment and of rare patriotism, brings to the people of America much encouragement in his report about the morale, the organization and the ability of NATO. Knowing him as I do, I feel well assured by his report and I think every American may take pride in the knowledge that our representatives abroad are working closely with the other nations to protect us and to preserve our free way of life.

His letter follows:

JOHNSON & JOHNSON,
New Brunswick, N. J., March 21, 1957.

Hon. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR JIM: Last Saturday I returned from my Army Reserve active-duty training with Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers Europe. It was a memorable experience.

My military background and my continued civilian interest have been in foreign affairs. To see the Allied Command in Europe in action was one that thrilled me.

I came away with three definite reactions. First of all, a few years ago it would have been impossible to believe that 15 nations could live together so harmoniously as do the NATO military staffs. This mutual confidence practically assures that never again in history will one of these nations take up arms against a brother nation in the alliance. Practically knowing as much as they do about each other's arms strength, it would be a foolhardy move.

The second striking impression I got was one of intense realism. Every person was thinking in terms of the military reaction in a matter of hours to any enemy aggression as a cooperative venture.

The willingness to subordinate in-service competition to the common goal was the third matter of interest. It seems that I had to go overseas to find the finest type of in-service cooperation among American Army, Navy, and Air Force personnel.

I am writing to you as one of your constituents to tell you how intensely pleased I am on how well SHAPE is operating. It is a concept and a force that every American can be proud of. The problem, it seems to me, is to let every citizen know how their shield against communism stands guard every hour.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

WILLIAM H. BAUMER.

Greek Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, it is a matter of great pride to me that the first Member of Congress of Greek descent was a Democrat from the State which I am proud to represent today—the State of Wisconsin. Representative Lucas Miltiades Miller, a Member of this House in 1892 and 1893, came to the United States as the adopted son of an American colonel, who had gone to Greece as a volunteer in the Greek War of Independence, just as Greeks had come to the United States to fight under George Washington for our independence. Not only a Congressman, Miller became a prosperous businessman and himself a colonel in the militia.

All Americans can be proud of our country's support of the efforts of the Greeks to free themselves from alien rule during their great War of Independence which began 136 years ago today. Our faith in the rightness of their cause was a reflection of the deep roots of our own dedication to freedom—roots which in turn went back to the democratic heritage of the ancient Greek city states.

Greece is indeed the mother of western civilization and from her have come the basic values which animate America today—values which have drawn many Greeks to our shores seeking freedom and opportunity. These men and women have greatly enriched our common life. It is all the more tragic therefore that today our Nation's gates are barricaded so that we no longer welcome Greeks to our shores with open heart and hand. These barricades must be lifted. Moreover, our country again has an opportunity to assert its historical devotion to freedom by making every effort to assure self-determination for the people of Cyprus.

To these goals, let us repledge ourselves on March 25 as we once again celebrate Greek Independence Day.

Greek Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on this day 136 years ago, Greece declared independence from the Ottoman Empire. Today we are happy to join with the Greek nation and our own citizens of Greek heritage in celebrating this event. The American people have always held the warmest and most friendly feelings toward the Greek people. Throughout these years our spirits have been united in devotion to freedom, but today we are also allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for the mutual defense of that freedom.

The American Revolution of 1776 served as an inspiration to the Greek people in their battle for national independence. In 1821 the United States was the outstanding example of a colony that had revolted, obtained its independence, and successfully defended it against a major European power, in the War of 1812. When the Greek people became one of the first to lift high the standard of liberty in Europe, Americans of all political parties were united in their hopes for Greek freedom. Not only did this seem to be a second case of a people seeking freedom from domination by a foreign power, but also Greece represented the source of historic wisdom in philosophy, literature, and art which was most highly prized by the Founding Fathers of our own Nation. As President Madison said in 1822:

> The name of Greece fills the mind and heart with the greatest and noblest sentiments. * * * It was * * * natural for * * * this people * * * to arouse enthusiasm and sympathy everywhere in the United States.

Our two countries were united in both World War I and the second world war, when Greece was a shining example of how tenaciously a freedom-loving people could fight to retain their independence. For a long time, the courageous Greek people battled the forces of Nazi Germany. Finally, Greece was occupied amidst a devastating destruction of many of the architectural gems of Western civilization. When, in 1944, Greece was liberated by the victorious allies she soon faced renewed threats to her freedom as well as the task of rebuilding her war-devastated land.

In 1947 this new threat came from the Communist guerrilla bands in the north which were actively aided by Russian-controlled Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania. The Soviet Union thus sought to foment and support a Communist revolution that would add Greece to her growing number of satellite states. And at that very moment, when Greek peril seemed greatest, Britain's desperate economic straits forced the withdrawal of her troops from Greece. The United States, which had emerged from World War II with its great strength still in-

tact, responded with the famous Truman doctrine. The American people sent both economic and military aid to the embattled Greek Government which enabled it to successfully fight off this latest attack upon her independence.

It became clear there was a threat of a Soviet armed attack upon Western Europe that would last for a long time. It also became clear that it could only be successfully met by united action. Thus, in 1949, Greece joined with the United States and other nations of the general Atlantic area in founding the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. An attack upon any one member of NATO is considered an attack upon every other member. United States military might is committed to the defense of Greece. The brutal repression of the Hungarian revolution is only the latest proof that the Soviet threat is a continuing reality and that unity amongst the NATO powers is as vital today as any time since the founding of the organization. Today as we celebrate Greek Independence Day, it becomes increasingly vital that all members of the alliance settle their mutual differences by amicable means in the interests of continuing the united strength and common purpose needed to defend our basic independence in the world today.

Not for U. N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, as I have previously pointed out, other nations are more solicitous of the welfare of their troops than is the United States. In the RECORD of February 14, page A971, I called attention to Canada's refusal to subject its troops to a status-of-forces arrangement in the Near East. Under leave to extend, I include herewith an editorial from the Chicago Tribune pointing out that the United Nations refuses to assent to any such arrangement.

NOT FOR U. N.

Mr. Truman, Mr. Eisenhower, and the State Departments of both of them (assuming there is any difference) have executed a number of "status of forces" treaties which subject American service men to criminal trial in foreign courts. These agreements deprive Americans abroad of the constitutional guarantee of due process and have been strongly criticized on that ground, in Congress and out.

Now the United Nations has an emergency police force, composed of Swedes, Finns, Danes, Norwegians, Indians, and Colombians, commanded by a Canadian, which has been dispatched to the Gaza strip and the Gulf of Aqaba.

This contingent of foreigners on alien soil is in a situation not unlike that of Americans sent to England, France, Germany, Japan, and other foreign duty stations, where they are exposed to criminal prosecution by the host country for offenses committed off duty or off military reservations.

Any distinction of status between the Americans and the U. N. forces is more apparent than real. The Americans are generally sent to countries with which the United States is in alliance, but that is no real distinction, for the U. N. forces are stationed in two countries which are also U. N. members and are there by agreement of these countries.

But there is one real difference in the protection accorded the two groups of troops. That is that the U. N. secretary general, Mr. Hammarskjold, refuses to assent to any "status of forces" arrangement exposing the U. N. troops to trial in the courts of the host states. He says that they are subject only to the criminal jurisdiction of the nations which lent then to U. N.

Thus the United Nations takes zealous care of the rights of forces committed to its jurisdiction for foreign duty, while the United States, in an excess of internationalist fervor, yields the national rights of its men who are sent overseas to protect other nations. That is, the United States Government insists on being far more internationalist than the world organization which is supposed to be the very embodiment of internationalism.

We submit this anomaly to the attention of our global salvationists and ask them why the American Government is obliged to surrender the rights of its nationals when the international body sternly upholds the national rights of troops assigned to an international mission?

Modern Republicanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to note the opinions of the people as expressed by the Gallup poll published in the Washington Post of March 25. In the final analysis, the people are the ones that decide the policy of a government or a party. I think this survey is most illuminating in the search of the Republican Party to continually look to the future, a philosophy constantly advocated by President Eisenhower and national chairman, Meade Alcorn:

GOP RANK AND FILE SEES IT IKE'S WAY

(By George Gallup)

PRINCETON, N. J.—Where does the rank and file of the GOP stand on the question of "modern Republicanism"?

This is something political strategists are asking themselves as the congressional battle over the President's fiscal policies highlights the liberal-conservative division in the Republican Party.

Despite sharp opposition from some Members of his party on Capitol Hill, the evidence from the grassroots is that Mr. Eisenhower is winning his battle to establish his brand of "modern Republicanism" as the basic philosophy of the GOP.

The fact of the matter is that many elements of the President's new concept of Republicanism have already been accepted by a substantial majority of GOP voters across the country.

Such things as support of the United Nations, foreign aid, and Federal aid to education—to take three key issues which have been dividing the liberals and conservatives among congressional Republicans—have consistently been supported by substantial majorities of the rank-and-file GOP voters.

But perhaps the most conclusive evidence that so-called modern Republicanism has won acceptance from GOP voters is seen in the latest institute survey in which Republicans were asked to "choose up sides" when the leaders and basic philosophies of the two wings of the GOP were presented.

On this count, the President scores a telling victory—74 percent of GOP voters pick the "liberals" and their philosophies compared to 18 percent who prefer the "conservatives" and theirs.

The question was as follows:

The Republican Party contains two major groups which often fight each other:

1. One group includes persons like Mr. Eisenhower, Dewey, Nixon, and Lodge who want the Republicans to keep social security and welfare programs, to be active in international affairs and to support and strengthen the United Nations. This wing of the party is called the "Liberal Republicans."

2. The other group includes persons like Mr. Hoover, Knowland, McCarthy, and other followers of the late Senator Taft. In general, this group wants to cut down or reduce many social security and welfare programs; to get out of the United Nations; and to reduce spending both at home and abroad. This wing of the party is called the Conservative Republicans.

Now, of course, you may think that one group is right in one respect and wrong in another—but if you had to choose between the two groups—which would you prefer?

The results among all persons in the survey classifying themselves as Republicans:

	(*Percent*)
Prefer the liberals	74
Prefer the conservatives	18
Don't know	8

There is no question but what Congress has received a lot of mail from conservative quarters—particularly in regard to the President's new budget. But political observers know that mail is, in many cases, an unreliable index of public opinion, expressing more often the will of the "articulate minority" than it does any judgment of the population as a whole.

The Union Racketeering Probe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Oil City (Pa.) Derrick of March 21, 1957:

THE UNION RACKETEERING PROBE

The evidence on alleged racketeering within American trade unions is, of course, not all in by any means. Nevertheless, the story already unfolded before the Select Senate Committee on Labor and Management Practices is so sensational that even blasé Washington, which is accustomed to investigations that make the headlines, has been shocked.

The testimony to date has dealt largely with activities of the giant Teamsters Union of which the crafty traveler, Dave Beck, is the head. It indicates some dubious actions in the upper echelons of the union, evidence of a hookup with racketeers and gamblers in the Northwest, and questionable manipulation and use of union funds.

But the probe is bound to spill over into other unions and other areas. For counsel for the Senate committee says that over 1,000 individual reports of racketeering have been received by the committee. The trail uncovered by the investigation will lead into many cities of the country.

Though the inquiry is just in its infancy, the shocking testimony already is sufficient to show that union monopoly provides a fertile field for operations of hoodlums and gangsters; that some unscrupulous characters have set themselves up in key positions in some labor organizations and fattened off everybody they could, including their own followers.

Witness after witness testified that west-coast officials of the teamsters union had made devious deals with racketeers and gangsters, had tried through bribery and otherwise to control law enforcement in Oregon, and had used union funds for purely personal gain.

Unquestionably the great majority of union officials are honest and busily concerned with carrying out the legitimate trade-union objectives of their members. But the inquiry testimony clearly is indicative that unscrupulous individuals have wormed their way into positions of authority in some unions, have placed themselves above the law, and unaccountable to their own union members.

Clearly, too, the inquiry shows that too many in the rank and file have not concerned themselves enough with matters beyond what shows up in the pay envelopes to watch out for those who would prostitute union solidarity to criminal ends. They fail to attend meetings, to vote in union elections, and to take an active interest in all union affairs. The result has been to place control in a handful of members not responsible to the will of the majority. Hence there is rule by a minority which makes easy the institution of corrupt practices.

And for too long, also, top leadership in the labor movement has been either unable or unwilling to exercise the authority necessary to discipline member unions that were known to have been infiltrated by racketeers or dominated by unscrupulous leaders. Consequently, it is not previous to say that these hearings could possibly change the climate of public opinion to a degree arguments of those promoting right-to-work legislation have not achieved.

The current inquiry is not, and it assuredly should not be, prejudicial to the union movement and the great body of good men and women involved in it. Rather, it is in the interest of labor as a whole and, significantly, most rank-and-file union people as well as the vast majority of honest union officials heartily approve it.

The investigation is long overdue. Out of it should evolve some checks and restraints to give the rank and file better control of union funds and activities and to help honest labor leaders keep their ranks free from racketeers and criminals.

Wilkes-Barre Selected as Convention City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution by the committee for the State encampment of the allied organizations of the Grand Army of the Republic selecting Wilkes-Barre for its convention city in 1957:

MARCH 15, 1957.

Dr. CHARLES J. HIGGS,
Commander, Camp 169, Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War.

Honorable COMMANDER: We the undersigned members of this camp and also members of the committee for the State encampment of the allied organizations of the Grand Army of the Republic, wish to present to you a resolution which we feel is vitally important at this time:

"Whereas the allied organizations of the Grand Army of the Republic has selected Wilkes-Barre as their convention city for 1957; and

"Wheras the allied organizations of the Grand Army of the Republic are the heirs of those men who offered and gave their great devotion to the cause that all men are created equal, and, who, at the call of that great President, Abraham Lincoln, many young men left Wilkes-Barre and went into service of this Nation and participated in many battles with one thought in mind; namely, that one Nation under God would enjoy the freedoms so perpetuated: So, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we ask the honorable mayor of the city of Wilkes-Barre, Luther M. Kniffen, to declare the year 1957 'Memorial Year' in tribute to the Grand Army of the Republic; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be presented to the honorable mayor of Wilkes-Barre, and same to become part of the minutes of this organization."

A. M. BREDBENNER,
PAUL M. WINTER,
EDGAR M. POST.

Approved:

LUTHER M. KNIFFEN,
Mayor.

Federal Aid to Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues an excellent statement of opposition to Federal aid sent to me by Karl Bodenbender, superintendent of schools of Bellefontaine, Ohio. I admire the firm statement of principle that impels Mr. Bodenbender to reject such federalization. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of his letter. The letter follows:

BELLEFONTAINE CITY SCHOOLS,
Bellefontaine, Ohio, March 11, 1957.

Hon. FRANK T. BOW,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BOW: Bellefontaine city school district, and most of the school districts in Ohio, have a difficult struggle raising enough funds to operate a good school program and to provide buildings and facilities for a good program. We could very well use assistance from the Federal Government for both building and current expenses.

However, I am personally of the opinion that (1) education is a function and an obligation of the State rather than the Nation; (2) each State in the Union is capable of financing a good educational system if they decide to do so; (3) it is much more expensive to provide aid through the Federal Government than it is on a State or local basis; (4) the Federal Government is now much too far in debt, and that we should make every practical effort to reduce this debt; (5) even though we in Bellefontaine would receive some assistance from a program of Federal aid, such a program is in the direction of further socialization of our Government and economy, and to that principle I am opposed.

My suggestion is that this problem of financing schools be turned back to the individual States. Ohio has not properly taken care of the situation, but we are better able to than is our National Government.

Sincerely,

KARL R. BODENBENDER.

Florida Jaycees Choose Alan S. Boyd as One of the Outstanding Young Men of 1956

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, recently the Florida Junior Chamber of Commerce in convention at Pensacola, Fla., recognizing the accomplishments and many worthwhile contributions to the welfare of Florida by an able, young Miami attorney, Alan Stephenson Boyd, presented him 1 of Florida's 5 outstanding young men of 1956 awards. Never before in Florida Jaycee history has this award been given to a more deserving individual.

Alan was born in Jacksonville, Fla., July 20, 1922. The major portion of his childhood was spent in MacClenny, a small north Florida community. He gained his elementary and high-school education in public schools in Florida, Massachusetts, and New York, later attending the University of Florida and the University of Virginia, where he obtained his law degree.

During World War II Alan served 4 active years as a pilot in the United States Air Corps, Troop Carrier Command. He participated in the French D-Day activities and in the airborne invasions of southern France, Holland, and the airborne assault across the Rhine in the spring of 1945. These activities brought him the Air Medal with 3 Oak Leaf Clusters, 11 battle stars—ETO—and two Presidential unit citations.

The United States Air Force saw fit to recall him during the Korean conflict where he again served as pilot in the troop carrier forces, and as wing staff operations officer in charge of all troop carrier participation in Western Hemisphere defense. Alan piloted 1 of 2 planes which were the first to land on the ice pack 300 miles from the North Pole.

The Miami Jaycees and the Florida Junior Chamber of Commerce, in submitting Alan Boyd's qualifications to their committee, listed briefly his activities and contributions to the State of Florida. The following is from their report.

PUBLIC

Chairman citizen committee for the development of aviation in Florida. Appointed member Florida Railroad and Public Utilities Commission 1955. Elected to 4-year term in 1956. Chairman Railroad and Public Utilities Commission (1956). Member executive committee, National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners. Member Interstate Commerce Commission Joint Board to investigate national railroad passenger fare deficit."

ORGANIZATIONS

President and director of Kiwanis Club of South Miami 1956. Miami Jaycees. Miami-Dade Chamber of Commerce. State chamber of commerce. Member Advisory Committee Civil Air Patrol South Florida. Member advisory committee, State Democratic Party. National Conference of Christians and Jews. Pinecrest Elementary School Daddy's Club. University of Florida Alumni Association; University of Virginia Alumni Association and Law School Association.

OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTIONS IN HIS VOCATION OR PROFESSION

Alan Boyd is very active member of all the bar associations that he belongs to and takes an active part in the affairs concerning attorneys in the State of Florida.

He is the former general counsel for the Florida State Turnpike Authority and was instrumental in setting up the legal machinery to make this project a reality. Mr. Boyd's efforts are worthy of consideration because of the time element involved in this matter.

He was appointed by Governor Collins to the Florida Railroad and Public Utilities Commission in 1955. The electorate of the State gave him its approval by voting him to a 4-year term in May of 1956. The other members of said commission elected him as its chairman in 1956, and he is now serving in that capacity.

OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GENERAL WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE

Alan Boyd instigated the Federal Interstate Commission public hearing in West Palm Beach last year, concerning the FEC station in Miami. This hearing lasted 7 weeks. Mr. Boyd was instrumental in having representatives of the city in different categories to testify before the Federal Interstate Commission. The FEC station is one of the major problems facing the citizens of Miami.

Mr. Boyd is also a member of the executive committee of the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners, and has made studies comparing the methods employed in other States with the ones established in Florida.

Mr. Boyd is also serving as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission joint board which is investigating the national railroad passenger fare deficit.

By being so primarily concerned with the different boards and commissions of which he is a member, Mr. Boyd is serving the State of Florida in an exceptional manner, trying to seek remedies to the present condition of our railroads and freight rates. By being actively interested in developing the aviation industry in Florida, Mr. Boyd also rates consideration for this award.

The Miami Daily News in an editorial dated Tuesday, April 24, 1956, said as follows:

RETURN ALAN BOYD TO THE RRPUC

When Richard A. Mack resigned from the State railroad and public utilities commission last year to become a member of the Federal Communications Commission, Alan S. Boyd was appointed by Governor Collins to fill the vacancy. During his short tenure in office, Boyd already has made a profound impression on Florida's citizens.

Boyd, an attorney, came to the board well qualified to serve the entire State. A resident of populous Dade since 1948, he is fully aware of the problems which face this community; on the other hand he still has strong family and friendship alliances in north Florida.

The RRPUC is responsible for the establishment and regulation of rates for all privately owned power, communications, and transportation systems operating within Florida including judicial, executive, and administrative powers in these industries.

Immediately upon taking office, Boyd proceeded to take a firm voice in matters before the commission. Just last week he traveled to Washington and spoke before a congressional committee in behalf of proposed legislation designed to enable the various States to enforce their railroad regulations, even though the railroad be in Federal bankruptcy proceedings at the time. The proposed legislation, if enacted, would give the RRPUC power to force the Florida East Coast Railway to start construction on a new depot and thus relieve downtown Miami of choking congestion.

At the time of his appointment to the commission, Boyd was serving as general counsel to the Florida Turnpike Authority. He is the first attorney to serve on the commission in over 50 years.

The people of Florida, by voting for Alan S. Boyd, should return this highly qualified, energetic man to the railroad and public utilities commission.

The Miami Herald of Saturday, April 7, 1956, endorsing Alan's candidacy for the State railroad and public utilities commission, said as follows:

UTILITIES BOARD NEEDS BOYD

An all-Florida candidate for the State railroad and public utilities commission is Alan S. Boyd, 33-year-old attorney.

He was born in Jacksonville, grew up in MacClenny and has lived in Miami since 1946.

As he said in announcing his candidacy, "I have had a unique opportunity to know and understand the requirements and feelings of citizens from vastly different sections of this State."

The three-man commission to which he seeks election is the most powerful agency of State government. It snared judicial, executive, and administrative responsibilities.

Its work determines how well the people are served by their public carriers and public utilities.

In performing their duties, the three commissioners must keep the people's welfare paramount and, at the same time, be fair to the businesses whose rates and services they regulate.

Boyd has the proper approach to this difficult task.

Many articles have been written about this outstanding young man, but the majority of them are not at my immediate command. Two, however, of which I have obtained copies were written by Allen Morris in his column titled "Cracker Politics." They appeared in the Tallahassee Democrat, a newspaper printed in Tallahassee, Fla. A portion of those articles follows:

Like many another returned veteran, Boyd, his wife and young son, Mark, faced an acute housing situation when he came back from service.

"I was making $175 a month and paying $100 a month for an unfurnished apartment," he reminisced. "Our savings were dwindling rapidly. So in spite of the fact that my carpentry experience was limited to putting up a shelf, a job where I had miscalculated by 3 inches, my wife insisted that we acquire a piece of property and build ourselves."

He now says he doesn't know for sure whether the house-building enterprise was a happy experience or a sad one. Except for the plumbing and electrical installation, Boyd did all the work on the house himself.

"I knew so little about it I had to do a great many things twice," he said ruefully. "In fact, you might say I built two houses to get one. But we're still living in the house. It's butchered but comfortable."

As for Alan Boyd, the postelection recognition of his talents came from Washington with what amounted to a tender of nomination (subject to President Eisenhower's appointment) of Democratic membership on the 5-man bipartisan commission which administers the country's nonmilitary airpower, the Civil Aeronautics Board, with a 6-year term at twice Boyd's Florida salary.

This bid to national office came by way of a telephone call at 3:30 of a recent afternoon. His answer had to be given by 9 the next morning. His reply—"No, thank you"—was ready at 5 minutes of 9. (The honor afterward went to another Miamian, Louis Hector.)

It was a hard decision, for the CAB is right in the center of Boyd's interests—flying. He has an excellent World War II record as a pilot in the Troop Carrier Command, plus additional duty during the Korean conflict. (He maneuvered the second flying boxcar in the flight which landed on the ice nearest the North Pole.) And however important to Florida householders the railroad and public utilities commission may be through its power to fix rates, including those of electric light and telephone companies, and to regulate service, there is undeniably more of a sense of true accomplishment in the determination of this Nation's civilian air destiny.

Yet Boyd turned it down, and without continuing regret.

He did so for a variety of reasons. He probably could not rank these in order but they included (1) a sense of obligation to those who had worked and voted for his election to the 4-year term on which he had just entered, (2) his wife's desire to stay in Florida, and (3) his own preoccupation with Florida people and places.

There are those who believe that Boyd may be governor some day. At 34, he has a good 20 years for the ball to bounce his way. But, like Justice O'Connell, he doesn't even like to discuss this possibility—he thinks such discussion might harm him in the job he is trying to do now. He doesn't want litigants and others to think his decisions as 1 of the 3 members of the commission are influenced by what may be someday. And he doesn't want his own subconscious to sway him in the making of those decisions.

But, again like Justice O'Connell, Boyd can't prevent other people from speculating.

Alan Boyd, although only 34 years old, has indeed compiled a very impressive record. All Florida is proud to count him among our leaders. We predict for him a still brighter and more promising future.

Spiraling Rise in the Cost of Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, in today's newspaper releases we see further evi-

dence of the spiraling rise in the cost of living. Excepting the New York Times, New York City newspapers in unison announced an increase in prices ranging between 20 percent to 100 percent.

Today, the New York Post announced a 100-percent price increase in raising the price of the newspaper from 5 cents to 10 cents. This announcement follows by several days the recent 100 percent increase in the price of the World Telegram and Sun and the New York Journal-American from 5 cents to 10 cents. The tabloids were more conservative in holding their price increases to 20 percent.

The newspaper industry, thoroughly united in multiplying newspaper prices, has utterly denied its paramount obligation to hold the price line. While newspaper editorials condemn creeping and runaway inflation, their publishers quietly seek to double the price of their product to the public. It appears therefore that newspaper publishers fail to be impressed by the editorials which appear in their own publications.

Newspapers are not alone. In the face of a continued reduction in the demand for steel because of lowered steel requirements by the automobile industry, the major steel companies recently put over a 4½ percent increase in the price of tinplate. This increase raises the price of tinplate about $7.70 a ton, effective April 30.

This rise in the cost of tinplate is not economically justified and results only because of a cutback in tinplate requirements by American canmakers. This price increase in tinplate will soon affect the canned food costs of every household.

Statement of George D. Riley, AFL–CIO Legislative Representative, Before Subcommittee No. 3 of the House Armed Services Committee on H. R. 4910 and H. R. 4911, To Amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I enclose herewith a statement of George D. Riley, AFL–CIO legislative representative, before Subcommittee No. 3 of the House Armed Services Committee on H. R. 4910 and H. R. 4911, to amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950.

The statement follows:

The AFL–CIO appreciates this opportunity to present its views regarding the critical issue of civil defense.

H. R. 4910 and H R 4911 contain the administration amendments to the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950 and, in our opinion, these amendments will bring to civil defense, for the first time, something akin to our thinking that civil defense—like the military defense of our country—is the responsibility of the Federal Government. The proposed amendments contained in the bills do not go as far as they might in establishing Federal responsibility; and yet we find no serious area of disagreement but, instead, feel reassured that these proposals constitute a step in the right direction.

We do not feel qualified to make extensive comments on all aspects of this proposed legislation. We are not experts in nuclear warfare or bomb damage. However, labor has always been particularly aware of the danger of Communist aggression. Moreover, as an organization with over 15 million members largely concentrated in the urban areas of the country, we represent the individuals in the Nation most vulnerable to attack. A vast number of our members are in great production centers, typically denominated as critical target areas. Our members are engaged in the operations of huge industries, practically all of which are above ground. They are actively producing much of the useful items or which could be converted in time of national stress.

When we think of civil defense, we instinctively think of medical supplies, including plasma, stockpiling of the essentials of life—water, clean air, sanitation, food, clothing, and provision for living quarters—all in shelters where survival can be considered a reasonable expectation.

AFL–CIO POLICY

It is appropriate to refer to a resolution titled "Civil Defense," adopted by the First Constitutional Convention of the AFL–CIO, in which it was stated that:

"Organized labor has supported civil defense from its very beginning in 1940. In the planning and programing of civil defense procedure, representatives of organized labor have been consulted. Representatives of organized labor have been called upon to help plan the protection of civilians and the restoration of industries and service facilities that may be destroyed or interrupted."

The same resolution continues by stating:

"Organized workers who work in plants and live in critical target areas cannot be regulated on the basis of State, county, or city lines. Leadership in developing civil defense programs for such industrial areas must of necessity come from plans developed by Federal Government authorities based on a knowledge of an enemy's ability to penetrate into such areas."

There were seven concluding points in the same resolution which read as follows:

"*Resolved*, That reality of the situation and the dangers we face make it mandatory that the first convention of the united labor movement under the banner of the AFL–CIO call upon the Congress of the United States to pass a new Civil Defense Act which will provide that:

"1. The primary responsibility for civil defense rests with the Federal Government in the same manner as provided in the United States Constitution for the Common Defense of the Nation.

"2. The Federal Government be responsible for giving direction, service, and financial assistance to the States, counties and communities for developing civil defense plans in line with the Federal responsibility.

"3. The Congress through the proper committees authorize and appropriate sufficient funds for these purposes.

"4. Congress authorize the Civil Defense Administrator to set up minimum standards of civil defense preparation and facilities to maintain them, such standards to be maintained subject to Civil Defense inspection in order to qualify for Federal aid in any respect.

"5. Congress be directed to provide proper protection, wages, and terms of employment, and workmen's compensation for civil defense workers who may be required to work or train in civil defense procedures prior to or after an attack on any community.

"6. Civil defense regional boundaries be revised to meet the reality of the Nation's critical target area and fallout potential as a result of the use of nuclear weapons.

"7. Direction of the civil defense programs will not be abandoned or delegated to the Armed Forces in the event of martial law or enemy attack."

RESPONSIBILITY FOR CIVIL DEFENSE

With this policy as background, may I mention a few specific points in the proposed legislation. First, our organization has not been satisfied with the degree of progress which this Nation has made with regard to civil defense preparations. While we recognize that many Federal, State, and local officials have exerted their utmost to perform a credible job, we feel, nevertheless, that they have been working under serious handicaps.

To begin with, the American public is notoriously lax in waking up to the possibility of attack. Our immunity from attack in World War II naturally has made it more difficult for individuals to grasp the necessity for civil-defense preparations. In addition, available funds have been quite limited; neither the Congress nor the legislatures have been willing to authorize extensive appropriations.

As a result, the AFL–CIO is keenly disappointed with the degree of readiness which has been achieved by our civil-defense organization. A major reason in our mind for this lack of preparation is the very cumbersome administrative machinery which was written into the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950. As you know, the declaration of policy in that law stated the policy and intent of Congress that the "responsibility for civil defense shall be vested primarily in the several States and their political subdivisions."

The Federal Government thus was left as little more than a simple coordinator of State activities regarding civil defense. In effect, the States have all the responsibility and are supposed to do all the work.

UNSATISFACTORY RESULTS

The results have been quite unsatisfactory. Some States, particularly those including a number of important target areas, have moved promptly to meet this problem. Others have felt little responsibility. Consequently, the degree of our readiness varies sharply from State to State, and the quality of civil-defense preparations is very uneven.

In our view, the language written into the 1950 act by Congress was based on extremely faulty assumptions. It failed to recognize that the danger of attack is a danger to the entire Nation. While it is true that in the event of attack, possibly certain particular areas might be considered more vulnerable than others, the entire Nation would be involved. State lines will have little meaning. Areas outside the potential attack centers will have to be called on to give aid in the form of supplies, equipment, and manpower.

Yet, at present, there is little recognition of this fact. States which do not include prime target areas naturally are reluctant to spend money, simply to support target areas in another State.

ESTABLISHING FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY

Clearly, the Federal Government must become more directly involved in the civil-defense process. This is exactly the direction in which H. R. 4910 is oriented. We, therefore, want to make clear our support of the changes which would affirm the Federal Government's broader responsibility for the Nation's civil-defense program.

The AFL–CIO feels that H. R. 4910, section 205, beginning on line 19 of page 4, meets one of the important needs of a strong civil defense. Since civil defense must be con-

sidered as part of our national defense, it would be a fair comparison to say that this section follows the same pattern as is now employed by the military in the National Guard, which secures financial assistance and the loan of equipment from the Federal Government in its training program.

Certainly, the education of Americans in the need and responsibility of so great a service as civil defense must be of paramount importance. Once the citizens of this great country of ours are properly aware of their responsibilities, a training and education program the like of which the world has never seen will become a fact and not a promise or a need. The usefulness of civil defense in peace as well as in times of war is a matter of record—records which show that the membership of the AFL–CIO has played a leading role with both financial contributions and contributions of manpower.

In this respect, Mr. Chairman, H. R. 4911 would remove the $100,000 limitation upon annual appropriations made for the purpose of paying the cost of students from States and cities attending FCDA schools. The need is for more students, if we are to go forward in our training program. New language in H. R. 4910 would cover the per diem and travel for students necessary to run FCDA schools.

CONCLUSION

I express the full appreciation of the AFL–CIO in having this opportunity to set forth for the record our position and sentiments in a subject which so vitally and completely potentially affects our population.

Each year, we request the Appropriations Committee to provide funds sufficiently adequate to enable the Federal Civil Defense Administration to function at its highest potential. We did the same at the time that agency was known as the Office of Civil Defense.

Members of our Civil Defense Committee in the AFL–CIO have given generously of their time and thought to the manpower phases, as well as shelter, stockpiling and many others.

Early in the concept of civil defense, we took the position that the prime responsibility lies with the Federal Government to provide leadership, coordination and facilities, the latter especially where State and local governments on their own initiative cannot or do not take action in behalf of the population.

It is gratifying to note that responsibility on the part of the central government has now been fixed in the thinking and the planning of practically all concerned.

We share completely the expression contained in the foreword of House Report No. 2946 of the 84th Congress, titled "Civil Defense for National Survival," issued by the Holifield Subcommittee on Military Operations, and which reads as follows:

"If a nuclear attack should be launched upon the cities of this Nation, millions of lives could be lost and the accumulated tangible assets represented by our homes, churches, schools, libraries, cultural treasures, industrial facilities, and other things we hold dear, could be completely destroyed.

"Such an attack now is possible by a potential enemy possessing atomic-hydrogen weapons and sufficient means to deliver them by airplanes and submarines."

It is because of these facts that labor has been doing everything possible to be on the alert. We recognize the destructive power of nuclear weapons, radioactive fallout, and our vulnerability to attack.

We hope that from these hearings can come a more effective Government organization to alert and prepare the American people for any eventuality that may lie ahead.

Cooperatives in South Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article entitled "Cooperatives in South Italy," published in the Washington Post of Tuesday, March 19, 1957. The article is most timely and I believe will be of interest to Members of the Congress as well as all readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article is as follows:

COOPERATIVES IN SOUTH ITALY

I have found at last what I had been hoping for in south Italy, namely a truly Christian social movement. I thought I saw the signs of such a movement in the agrarian reform movement last year but I could not catch all the implications. Here and there the settlers on the land were beginning to show new signs of life. On my last trip I saw all these signs standing out clearly. I saw them in the spirit and devotion of the entire staff of the operating personnel.

I participated in a large number of staff interviews in the field and I also participated in many group discussions with staff members and the new settlers on the land. I hear the questions raised by the new settlers. I found, moreover, that the leaders in the agrarian reform were in process of developing a new type of personnel in between the technicians and the ordinary people. I talked to a number of this group on the experimental farms. In formal education they were not too far removed from the ordinary people with whom they were dealing. Special courses had been set up for the training of this new personnel.

In previous visits to south Italy I was inclined to emphasize the technical limitations of the agrarian program. The availability of adequate water supply had not kept pace with the general program of land settlement. There was a lag of 4 years in the planting of fruit trees and full production. I learned on my last trip that their problems did not loom too largely in the minds of the settlers.

The settlers had a very good grasp of the advantages of cooperation. The cooperative for them had advantages not only for the sellers but also for the buyers. They sold their milk, their fruits and vegetables through the cooperative and they were able to buy their fertilizer, their seeds, and use of machines through the cooperative. In describing their present status they were not only thinking about the present but also of the future. I had the privilege of hearing the settlers discuss with the technicians the extent of their probable income at the end of the next 4 years when their fruit trees reached full production.

All through the high mountains of Calabria and the plains of Puglia and Lucania I found myself in a constant debate with the administrative personnel in regard to the new qualities of the settlers on the land. There was general agreement in regard to their feeling of independence. They were doing things for themselves.

The new settlers on the land in south Italy are looking ahead to complete ownership in a period of 30 years. After the 3 years' trial period they may reach the condition of permanent settlers. At this stage they begin to make their monthly payments to pay off two-thirds of the capital investment made by the government in the land. Up to date I had not found one single instance of real failure to keep up monthly payments. This is another evidence of the new independence of the people on the land.

In the new villages of Puglia and Lucania one can see the social aspects of the agrarian reform at their best. These are not villages in the old south Italian tradition in which people are crowded together in the poorest kind of housing without any health or social facilities. They have social centers with schools, clinics, adult education programs, offices for agricultural technicians, churches, social visitors, and religious teachers. They represent the best kind of team approach to the problems of the settlers who are scattered around in wide areas.

In my interviews with the technicians I learned that they were giving very special attention to the health of the new settlers. They recognized that health factors play a very important part in their lives. Clinical facilities were available for the people in all the villages. Health examinations were also given to all schoolchildren.

In my trek through the high Sila I was impressed by the development of a new cooperative program for the sale of Sila seed potatoes. This crop constituted a very large part of the income of the new settlers in the high mountains.

It was the general agreement among those interested in the agrarian movement that the cooperatives that had grown out of the movement had really laid the foundation for the development of an increasing number of small industries in south Italy. If the cooperatives can lay such a foundation they will have made a most significant contribution to the whole social and economic development of the entire region.

The south Italian agrarian movement is bound to receive more attention throughout the world than it has received up to date. In all probability it is the most significant movement of this kind to be found in any country. The experience of the Italian technicians will be most valuable to other countries that are facing the same type of problems.

The full development of the agrarian program in south Italy supplemented by a large development of small industries and possibly of a few somewhat larger industries will make far-reaching contributions to lifting the whole development of the economy of south Italy. However, there still will remain a very considerable area that must be served by programs of social assistance of one kind or another. Up to date these assistance programs have carried the largest part of the economic and social needs of south Italy.

Rt. Rev. Msgr. JOHN O'GRADY,
BARI, ITALY.

(Monsignor O'Grady is secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities.)

Congressional Watchdogs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial

from the Ridgway (Pa.) Record of March 21, 1957:

CONGRESSIONAL WATCHDOGS

Congressional investigations, in theory, are supposed to provide a basis for intelligent lawmaking. They often do not. But even without that end result they may serve usefully as a kind of watchdog check on various phases of American life.

In this latter aspect there is danger of abuse. Some legislators seem to investigate for investigation's sake, figuring there is ammunition to be gained for the next election or notoriety achieved which can advance political fortunes.

The current Senate inquiry into racketeering in labor and industry may possibly lead to some healthy house cleaning by labor itself and at the same time produce new Federal legislation.

New laws mostly are in the talk stage now with not too many well-defined projects shaping up so far. One that is clear, however, is a proposal to compel union officials who manage union pension and welfare funds to make full and regular disclosure of fund finances.

Labor fought hard to win the allowances that make these funds possible. They were hailed as milestones in the improvement of the average organized worker's lot. It would seem automatic that such moneys should be guarded scrupulously.

Yet, this evidently has not always been the case. Reports of irregularities in the handling of pension and welfare funds are not uncommon. And, as Secretary of Labor James Mitchell says, they represent a great temptation to racketeers.

He estimates that these sums now amount to more than $26 billion, a huge reservoir indeed. To protect the million of ordinary workers who are the beneficiaries of this rainy-day money, Mitchell favors the proposed law demanding financial declarations.

It is hard to quarrel with the purposes of this measure. Responsible unions and honest union officials can have no fear of it. They cannot fairly brand it labor-busting legislation, since its aim is to aid the union rank and file.

The money steadily is set aside to ease the suffering and the old age of workingmen. There can be no excuse for shuffling it around behind closed doors, with no fair accounting. Big sums mean big responsibility, wisely borne. And $26 billion is a lot of money.

Chaplains' Day Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a Chaplains' Day resolution adopted by the New London Aerie, No. 594, Fraternal Order of Eagles, New London, Conn.:

CHAPLAINS' DAY RESOLUTION

Whereas on February 3, 1943, the S. S. *Dorchester* was sunk in the North Atlantic, during World War II, with the loss of more than 600 American lives, including four chaplains of three great religious faiths: George L. Fox, Protestant; John P. Washington, Catholic; Alexander L. Goode, Jewish rabbi; and Clark V. Poling, Protestant minister; and

Whereas these four chaplains gave up their lives that others might live, going down together on the deck of the S. S. *Dorchester*, to give to the world for all time a dramatic example of human brotherhood, courage, and selflessness, and an inspiring demonstration of inter-faith unity and understanding; and

Whereas in order that the meaning and significance of their heroic deed may be perpetuated each year, memorializing not only the supreme sacrifice of the four chaplains, but the supreme sacrifice of all chaplains who gave up their lives for others, inspiring all Americans by their example of faith and courage: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we urge the Congress of the United States to set aside the first Sunday in February each year, as Chaplains' Day, and that the day be devoted to the dedicated memory of the four chaplains of the U. S. S. *Dorchester* and all chaplains who gave their lives for our country.

Above resolution adopted by New London Aerie, No. 594, Fraternal Order of Eagles, on Tuesday, March 19, 1957.

JAMES W. MORRIS,
Worthy President.
STANLEY M. COBB,
Secretary.

The Caudle-Connelly Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following article from the Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer, of March 21, 1957:

"CHUB" SEAWELL SAYS CAUDLE-CONNELLY CASE IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF GOP POLITICS PLAYING

CARTHAGE, March 20.—The Caudle and Connelly case is another example of administration politics playing, and of the personal vindictiveness of Attorney General Brownell toward Harry S. Truman, was the opinion expressed today by H. F. Seawell, Jr., "ex-Republican," in one of his increasingly high-rate commentaries on the current political scene.

"Chub" Seawell said politics had nothing to do with his pronouncement, that he felt he was expressing the feelings of right-thinking citizens everywhere—especially in North Carolina, where Lamar S. Caudle, convicted with Matthew S. Connelly of malfeasance in office by a Federal court in St. Louis, Mo., is widely known, respected, and loved.

But he charged that what Caudle may have done to bring on charges of favoritism in a tax-evasion case, while serving as Truman's Assistant Attorney General, is "no more than what is going on every day, only bigger and bolder, in Washington today." He predicted that it would backfire.

"Everything's good and proper except if a man was ever employed by Harry S. Truman," said the local attorney who, as head of the Republican Party in North Carolina, used to tongue lash Truman with the best of them. "In this case, the prosecution accomplished just two things:

"First, it helped to satisfy the egotism, the vanity, and vindictiveness and personal animosity of the Attorney General toward Mr. Truman, who told him one day he was going out and give him and Mr. Tom Dewey hell and it was so, and came to pass. When the Attorney General and his cohorts go out to speak, they will no longer have to raise Harry Dexter White from the dead, they can cuss out Caudle and Connelly, who are still living.

"Second, it well nigh destroys the usefulness of two well-educated good citizens of the United States, and plants the seeds of bitterness in the heart of a good mother and several fine children.

"Sometimes you can make the fire so hot for your enemy, you scorch yourself. History will prove that this prosecution was unwholesome and un-American."

As to Caudle and Connelly's chances if an appeal is taken, Seawell commented wryly that "what the Supreme Court of the United States might do about anything nowadays is as unknown and uncertain as Eisenhower's foreign policy."

The man who, as Republican candidate for Governor in 1948, polled more votes than any other member of his party ever had for any office in the history of the State (368,000), has withdrawn entirely from active politics.

Having quit the Republican Party in disgust at modern carpet-bagging methods, he has not yet quite leaped the chasm into the Democratic Party, but reserves the right to stand on the sidelines, prodding at both or either as the spirit moves him. He stays busy with his widespread law practice in several counties, and in evangelistic activities which take him into several States.

Equal Pay for Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, 5 years ago, as a member of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, I was privileged to introduce a bill for Equal Pay for Equal Work for Women. The bill was passed by both Houses of the legislature and became a law the same year. With passage of the bill, New Jersey became the 13th State in the Nation to adopt an equal pay law.

Since 1952, three other States have added such legislation to their statutes. Sixteen States and Alaska now have equal pay laws, but this progress by the States has been painfully slow. A large majority of our States still have not enacted equal pay legislation—a factor which, I believe, sharply emphasizes the need for Federal action in this field.

Today, at the request of the administration, I have introduced a bill calling for Equal Pay for Equal Work for Women. My distinguished colleague from Indiana, Congresswomen HARDEN, is introducing similar legislation. It is our hope that this legislation—based on President Eisenhower's recommendations—will receive just and favorable consideration during this session of Congress. Certainly, the time for such action is long overdue.

The demand for such legislation, of course, is not new. As early as 1868, the National Labor Union Convention adopted a resolution urging Federal and State governments to pass laws, securing equal salaries for equal work to all women employed under the various departments of the Government. Since that time, we know, the Federal Government, under the Classification Act of

1923 and the Classification Act of 1949, has come to recognize the validity of equal pay rate for the job, regardless of sex, for its own employees.

On the State level, Michigan and Montana were the first to enact equal-pay legislation applying to employees in private interstate industry. That was in 1919. Fourteen other States and Alaska have slowly followed suit.

On the Federal level, equal pay bills have been introduced in every congressional session since the 79th Congress in 1945.

These various bills have attracted wide interest and support by unions—both AFL and CIO; women's organizations and civic groups, as well as the United States Department of Labor and various State departments of labor. But no action has been forthcoming.

I do not believe this hesitation by the Congress can be justified.

More than a century has passed since women first were openly accepted as part of the labor force of our country. Today, more than 20 million women are included in our labor force. The earnings of these women contribute significantly to the well-being of their families and help to increase our national wealth.

This rise in the number of women in our labor force has been accompanied by an ever-widening range of occupations in which they are engaged. After all, the great majority of occupations and industrial processes today are neither exclusively men's nor women's fields of endeavor. There are only a limited number of jobs that women are not able to hold if given the training and the opportunity.

It has been said, by those arguing against equal pay, that men have the responsibility of supporting dependents. That is partially correct, but they do not have that responsibility exclusively. Widowed and single women often are the only wage earners in a family, and some married women carry the entire responsibility for family support. In 1953, for example, a woman was the chief breadwinner in nearly 4 million of this Nation's families—or about one-tenth of all families in the United States.

In addition, the continuing high cost of living has made it necessary for more and more married women to continue working in order to contribute to family expenses, to help pay for homes and to help educate children.

Yet, in the face of such indisputable facts, women still are generally paid less than men for their services. The average earnings of all women in the Nation who are paid wages or salaries is about $1,400 per year, compared to $3,200 for men, according to a study by the business and professional women—one of the strong advocates of equal-pay legislation.

The need for equal pay is a matter of simple justice. Women are contributing more and more to the economic life of our country; they are playing an increasingly important role in the support of their families. And yet they are expected to accept a second-class role as far as wages are concerned.

I believe equal pay is important to the economic life of our entire country.

Equal pay will protect both women and men workers. For the women, it means equality in wage treatment. For the men, it helps sustain wage rates and discourages employers from hiring women at lower rates. For employers, it means better labor relations and efficiency. For the community, it means increased consumer purchasing power, increased economic security for the families of workers and a prosperous, full employment.

The arguments against this type of legislation have been proven groundless in New Jersey and other of the States which have adopted equal-pay laws. These States have provided ample proof that such a law is workable. I hope this session of Congress will follow the examples of these States. We cannot correct injustice with inactivity; we cannot continue to apply outdated customs and traditions to the women in the labor force of our great and progressive Nation.

GOP Faithful Fade Away Into Fat Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, with all the talk about reducing the cost of Government, attention should be directed to the increased cost of the executive branch of the Government. While President Truman had 12 White House secretaries and administrative assistants, President Eisenhower has 38, an increase of over 300 percent. At the same time, total White House employment has multiplied over 200 percent—from 40 in 1953 to more than 300 to date.

The greater portion of the spiraling cost of executive service takes place in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. James G. Forrestal as Secretary of Defence had 8 principal assistants, no deputies and no under or assistant secretaries. Today Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson, has a deputy, 9 assistant secretaries, plus 3 special assistants and a personal staff of 11. Each assistant secretary has from 3 to 23 special assistants. There certainly is a great need for automation in the Department of Defense.

Following is a very interesting article on the whole subject by Peter Edson, entitled "GOP Faithful Fade Away Into Fat Jobs," which appeared in the Cleveland Press on Friday, March 22:

GOP FAITHFUL FADE AWAY INTO FAT JOBS

(By Peter Edson)

WASHINGTON.—Any fear among the Republican Old Guard that the Eisenhower administration isn't taking care of the party faithful with fat jobs shouldn't be taken too seriously.

The payoff of contributors to Republican campaign funds of 1956 is proceeding apace. Since January there have been at least seven contributors appointed to high patronage jobs.

Here is the list, with the amount of their gifts to the GOP, as given by Senator ALBERT GORE's campaign expenditures report:

John Hay Whitney, $24,500; Ambassador to London.

Amory Houghton, $6,000; Ambassador to Paris.

James D. Zellerbach, $3,000; Ambassador to Rome.

Lewis W. Douglas, $2,000; reappointment to United States Advisory Committee on Information.

Robert Dechert, $1,000; General Counsel, Defense Department.

Leon Pierson, $900; United States attorney for Maryland.

Edward Foss Wilson, $500; Assistant Secretary for Health, Education, and Welfare.

To this list should be added the names of two of the appointees' wives.

Mrs. Whitney contributed $9,000, Mrs. Zellerbach $4,500. This brings the total of these jobholders' contributions to $53,400.

ALL GOT PAY RAISES

In addition to these recent handouts, it is, of course, a matter of record that during the first Eisenhower term political appointees to top policymaking jobs were given salary increases.

The Executive Pay Act of 1955 increased the salaries of 287 political appointees by a total of $1,250,000 a year. This was to carry out a campaign promise to economize. Natch.

Twelve Cabinet-level jobs were raised from $22,500 to $25,000 a year. Eleven Deputy Secretary rank jobs were raised from the $18,000–$20,000 level to $22,000–$22,500.

Twenty-two policymakers having the rank of Under Secretary were raised from $17,500 to $20,000. And 23 Assistant Secretaries were upped from $16,000 to $20,000.

Below these Cabinet and sub-Cabinet jobs, 184 directors, administrators, commissioners, and the like were raised from $15,000 to $20,000 and 35 more from $14,800 to $17,500.

TRUMAN WAS PIKER

All these increases were, of course, made to attract higher type executives to Government service. Natch.

What sticks out in all this, however, is how many more high administrative types the present administration needs to run the Government than the previous administration did.

President Truman listed 12 White House secretaries and administrative assistants. President Eisenhower lists 38. Total White House employment is up from 140 in 1953 to more than 300.

The late James G. Forrestal, first Secretary of Defense, ran the Pentagon with eight principal assistants, no deputies, no under or assistant secretaries.

WILSON HAS 24 ON STAFF

Today Secretary C. E. Wilson has a deputy and 9 assistant secretaries, plus 3 special assistants and a personal staff of 11. Each assistant secretary has from 3 to 23 special assistants.

Department of State used to have 6 assistant secretaries. Now it has 8. Treasury used to have 1 under secretary and 2 assistant secretaries. Now it has 2 unders and 3 assistants.

Justice used to have 7 assistant attorneys general. Now it's 9.

Army, Navy and Air Force used to get by with 1 or 2 assistant secretaries. Now each service has 4.

MORE TO COME

Agriculture, Interior, Commerce and Labor Departments formerly had 1 or 2 assistant secretaries. Now they have 3 apiece. There wasn't any Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Now there's a secretary, under secretary, and 2 assistants.

But this apparently is just the beginning. A letter has gone out from the White House telling all department and agency heads to make up new and bigger lists of top policy-making jobs which shall be exempt from the career civil service.

What they want is greater efficiency through more patronage plums. Natch.

Legal Problems in the Submerged Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, it is now a little over 3½ years since the Congress enacted the Submerged Lands Act and the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act. I am certain that many recall the difficulties which we experienced in solving that perplexing problem. We found ourselves in a field where legal precedences were few, if any. One might say that we pioneered in the wilderness of the offshore lands.

Mindful of the fact that problems would arise in the future involving questions arising out of the administration and operation of those laws, I had taken upon myself a personal responsibility to closely observe and study the experiences of those handling this problem. At my suggestion a cursory study was conducted last year by the staff of the Committee on the Judiciary. The results clearly confirmed the opinion I had at the time the laws were enacted that many problems would arise which, at the time of enactment, could not be foreseen nor properly cared for, if foreseen.

Therefore, at the start of this Congress I urged that the Committee on the Judiciary be authorized specifically to conduct a study and analysis of the problems arising from the operation and administration of these laws. Fortunately, such authority has been granted the Committee on the Judiciary and the chairman the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] has appointed a subcommittee comprised of myself as chairman, Messrs. TUCK, FRAZIER, KEATING, and HILLINGS.

Besides this action the question has also been approached in an excellent and scholarly manner by the School of Law of Tulane University. Last fall, at New Orleans, La., the lectures and forums of the professional study program for 1956 were devoted to the legal problems in the tidelands. These lectures encompassed such subjects as the Federal-State jurisdiction in the tidelands; the mineral operations in the tidelands; status of an employee in the tidelands, including discussion of State compensation, the Jones Act, the Death on the High Seas Act, article 2315 of the Louisiana Civil Code, admiralty remedy, and the Harbor Workers Act; and insurance in the tidelands, including discussion of the nature of marine insurance, types of underwriters, types of policy, analysis of the Policy Act and the perils covered, total loss, general average, particular average, cargo insurance, hull insurance, builders' risk, and reinsurance agreements. The lecturers for this series were outstanding men in their respective fields. They included United States District Judge John J. Shelly Wright, of the eastern district of Louisiana; George C. Schoenberger, Jr., Esq., an outstanding attorney of Louisiana, general attorney and manager of the legal department of the Shell Oil Co.; John W. Sims, Esq., a leading member of the Louisiana bar; Raymond H. Kierr, one of the outstanding maritime lawyers in the Nation; W. Ford Reese, Esq., a leading attorney in Louisiana and past president of the Louisiana State Bar Association; Purcell T. Baumgartner, an insurance specialist in maritime underwriting; Charles Kohlmeyer, Esq., a Louisiana attorney specializing in admiralty law; and Benjamin W. Yancey, Esq., another Louisiana attorney specializing in maritime and insurance law.

The proceedings of the program entitled "Legal Problems in Tidelands" were printed and distributed by the courtesy of the Offshore Co., Baton Rouge, La. I do not hesitate to recommend this study and wish to express my gratitude to the School of Law of Tulane University for its outstanding and excellent contribution.

A preliminary study points up many and varied problems to which the Judiciary Subcommittee will devote much of its time. There is the question arising in criminal law of double jeopardy because of violations committed in the Outer Continental Shelf area. Also, there is the question of possible mutiny when certain acts are committed in the Outer Continental Shelf region. There is the peculiar problem of contract law which results from the drilling and building operations in the Outer Continental Shelf area. These are merely some of the problems which result from these two laws enacted in 1953. There are many others.

It is my hope that the work which the subcommittee will undertake will gather sufficient facts and knowledge from the time and experience of operating under the laws so that a definite conclusion may be reached as to what, if anything, should be done in the way of amendments to existing law. It is agreed by most people that Congress made a very commendable effort in attempting to solve this difficult problem of submerged lands, but the true test of the success of that effort must be found in time and experience. The time has come to initiate a very necessary study in order that improvements may be made in the best interest of all parties involved, including the Government of the United States.

Indicative of the many ramifications of this problem is a recent article which appeared in the New Orleans Times-Picayune entitled "Outer Continental Shelf Poses Legal Problems." The remarks of United States District Judge J. Skelly Wright are most pertinent and under unanimous consent I include it with my statement.

The article follows:

OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF POSES LEGAL PROBLEMS—JUDGE TALKS ON FIELDS OF JURISDICTION INVOLVED

The outer Continental Shelf of this country's coastal States presents numerous unsolved legal problems, Federal district judge, J. Skelly Wright, United States district court, eastern division of Louisiana, said Sunday night at the New Orleans Country Club.

These problems, he said, occur in the fields of criminal, contract, admiralty, and personal-injury law and involve State-Federal jurisdiction, mutiny, and double jeopardy.

Judge Wright was principal speaker at the annual banquet of the Tulane chapter of Phi Delta Phi, international legal fraternity.

He said that, according to the Outer Continental Shelf Act of 1953, the area of the shelf seaward from the 3-mile line or other recognized State boundary shall be under the exclusive control of the United States.

This control is exercised much in the same manner as a post office or fort, Judge Wright said.

But, he added, the civil and criminal laws of the adjacent State, where not in conflict with the law, are to be applied by the Federal district court to controversies "arising out of or in connection with" any mineral operations in the shelf area.

EXCEPTION CITED

An exception to the application of the State law in the area, Judge Wright explained, "seems to be that the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act supplants any State workmen's compensation statute which might otherwise be applicable."

The possibility of double jeopardy in criminal law, being tried twice in court for the same offense, is very much present in legal matters pertaining to the outer Continental Shelf, Judge Wright said.

The Supreme Court has ruled in a previous Court case "that the same act may be published under State and Federal law without violating the 14th or 5th amendments or any other constitutional provision," Judge Wright said. "The Court held that where there is dual sovereignty, there may be double jeopardy."

QUESTION ARISES

This poses the question of whether States can continue to punish offenses committed seaward of their boundries now that boundaries of States have been extended at least 3 miles into the marginal sea, Judge Wright said.

"If the doctrine of *Hebert* v. *Louisiana* is to be followed, a person may be punished by a State government under the State penal statute, and then the same penal statute may be used by the Federal Government to exact an additional, and perhaps identical punishment," he said.

The question of possible mutiny also arises in legal problems pertaining to the Outer Continental Shelf, Judge Wright said.

MUTINY POSSIBILITY

"If the floatable, submersible drilling platforms which are used in the tidelands are to be considered vessels, are workers on these platforms who engage in economic strikes guilty of mutiny?" he asked." It will be up to the courts to determine if these platforms are artificial islands or fixed structures."

An unsolved problem also occurs in contract law: To what extent is the building and operating of these drilling platforms subject to State or Federal law or has the Outer Continental Shelf Act made a change in existing approaches to the problem?

Judge Wright said that the Outer Continental Shelf Act "is not a utopian act but it is a creditable one. Time and experience will probably indicate the necessity of changing

it. Most people agree that Congress has made a commendable effort to solve a very difficult problem involving the tidelands."

Prior to Judge Wright's address, initiation ceremonies were held for 28 Tulane law students. Judge Wright received an honorary membership to Phi Delta Phi, which was presented by Malcolm W. Monroe, New Orleans attorney and national vice president of the fraternity.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Bette

EXTE

HO

IN THE SEN

Tue

Mr. CAS
President, I
have printe
ORD an artic
More of It,"
Dakota St
March, publ
Stock Growe
This artic
out some of
tion and t
water. Des
more impor
stepped up
covery of n
the quality
solving the
There be
was ordered
as follows:

BETT

(By United

Your Uncl
growing shor
President
years ago tha
critical natu
A table pr
tee on Public
ing the incre
United State

Billions of g

Ty
Rural and farm
Municipal
Steam power
Private industri
Irrigation
Total

And the pr
of our indus
total 1975 re
of water per
But we ca
to South Da
Is there a
some time ha
Uncle Sam
water—and s
ranchers.
A few year
well on whic
plenty of wat
would not to
And I hav
with crippled
water.
Last week
mittee on P
the Governm

Appendix

Better Water and More of It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix to the RECORD an article entitled "Better Water and More of It," which appeared in the South Dakota Stockgrower magazine for March, publication of the South Dakota Stock Growers Association.

This article, which I prepared, points out some of the problems facing the Nation and the individual in regard to water. Desalinization of water becomes more important as our use of water is stepped up and as use outstrips the discovery of new sources. The increase of the quality of water will go a long way in solving the problems of quantity.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BETTER WATER AND MORE OF IT

(By United States Senator FRANCIS CASE)

Your Uncle Sam is concerned with the growing shortage of water.

President Eisenhower said to me a couple years ago that he regarded water as our most critical natural resource.

A table presented to our Senate Committee on Public Works gives these figures showing the increased water requirements of the United States:

Billions of gallons per day in United States

Type of use	1900	1955
Rural and farm	2.0	5.4
Municipal	3.0	17.0
Steam power	5.0	42.0
Private industrial	10.0	55.0
Irrigation	25.0	110.0
Total	45.0	229.4

And the projected use based on the trends of our industry and civilization indicates a total 1975 requirement of 377 billion gallons of water per day.

But we can bring the problem a lot closer to South Dakota than these statistics.

Is there a stock grower who has not at some time had a water problem?

Uncle Sam has some costly lessons on water—and so have individual farmers and ranchers.

A few years ago one rancher showed me a well on which he had spent $400 that had plenty of water but it was so strong his cattle would not touch it.

And I have seen horses at various times with crippled feet said to be due to alkali water.

Last week hearings before the Senate Committee on Public Works brought out that the Government had spent $7,500,000 on the Shadehill Dam and Reservoir on Grand River but that up to date, the experts are not ready to say the stored water can be safely used for irrigation.

Also that the Government had spent several hundred thousand dollars getting ready to build a dam on the Moreau River near Bixby but suspended operations when it was discovered that the twater was likely to make certain soils too tight for plant growth and limit the crops that could be grown on other soils.

So, it occurs to me to report a bit about what the Government is doing on this two-headed problem: the quantity and quality of stock water.

Quantity of water has always been the first question, of course.

From 1910–11 and from 1931–37, I have some vivid memories of wells going dry, shallow dams drying out, creeks turning into muddy pools few and far between.

And, within the past 3 years, a lot of springs that had been good for 50 years have turned into a clump of dry hoof tracks.

Along about 1937–38, the Government started measurably to help build stock-water dams.

That was my first term in the House of Representatives and, coming from "the short-grass country," I tried to do what I could to develop a useful program.

Dams that were deep did not dry out when August came. In the 20 years that it has been my privilege to boost this dam-building program, over 90,000 stockwater dams have been built in South Dakota. They will average about 1 acre each in surface area—together, 90,000 acres of water surface.

But, just as the deep-draw dams that called for heavy equipment to pack and roll the dirt replaced the disappointing dams that we once built with horse-drawn scrapers and fresnos, so now we are turning in many places to "scoop-outs" that are deeper in ratio to surface area and offer the least possible chance for evaporation.

But whether dam or scoop-out, most of these projects would be beyond the capability of the average farmer's equipment. So, through the ASC program which pays so much per cubic yard, or through the use of jointly owned equipment in a Soil Conservation District and its technical assistance, water facilities are being provided that individual farmers could not provide.

These programs should continue.

There is another problem. It was probably best expressed most graphically in that couplet of the shipwrecked sailor who found—

"Water, water everywhere,
But not a drop to drink."

Government attention is now also going to the quality of water as one way to increase the quantity.

That's the why of the desalination research program started by a bill which I sponsored in the Senate a few years ago and extended last year.

This program seeks to find answers, if such exist, to the problem of the rancher who spent the $400 drilling and hit a strong vein of water, plenty of it, but too strong for his stock to touch.

It is to find the answer, if it exists, for the farmer and the government who prepare to irrigate but discover that some water sours certain soils or makes them so tight in a few years that the water will not percolate through it—or possibly produces forage that seems to founder livestock occasionally if selenium is present. The Agriculture Yearbook for 1948 on grass says:

"Alkali disease, the chronic type of selenium poisoning, is characterized by dullness and lack of vitality, depraved appetite, rough coat in horses and cattle, loss of hair from the mane and tail of horses and from the switch of cattle, soreness and sloughing of the hoofs, and stiffness of the joints."

So—the program of research for the desalting of water has a real meaning for both the grower of livestock and the government when money is spent on increasing the quantity of water. The quality must be worth the effort, too.

Interior Secretary Fred Seaton has just sent me a report on the progress in desalination research for the past year.

The so-called membrane electrodialysis process, it is now believed, can take the salt out of water for about 50 cents per thousand gallons.

The rotary distillation process promises to run about the same in moderately sized quantities—but may be cheaper.

This distillation process, right now, however, must find a way to overcome the deposits of scale. It's like getting rid of the scale in mother's old teakettle. The membrane process has one advantage of turning out a sludge that carries away the salts.

Solar and freezing processes are receiving increasing attention. They would use cheap natural sources of energy, of course—the sun and the cold.

In solar processes, the trick is to catch the moisture that evaporates in the process which takes place when a pond dries at the edges and leaves that white alkali ring.

At the present, all of these processes are in the research state, but some of them offer considerable promise.

The time may come, however, when, as a result of this Government research, that the ordinary stockgrower may be able to run his water through some sort of a wringer and take out the salts, improve the taste and have the water so soft that his wife will not need extra soap powders or detergents.

Reduction of the Federal Budget—Power of the Purse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, we are all concerned with the problem of reducing the vastly inflated Federal Budget.

The New York Times, in an editorial published this morning, has commented on one aspect of the problem. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POWER OF THE PURSE

Amid all the shadowboxing between the administration and Congress over the size of the 1958 budget both sides must realize that Congress has actually lost much of its control over annual expenditures by the Federal Government. The obsolete way in which appropriations are handled by the national legislature means in fact that the people's "power of the purse"—one of the basic features of a representative democracy—has to a large degree been dissipated.

If Congress is to recover this essential feature of self-government, one vital step would be passage of a Hoover Commission recommendation on which House hearings will begin today. This measure would put congressional appropriations on an annual accrued expenditure basis, which simply means that Congress would vote funds for expenditures each year on the basis of estimates of goods and services actually to be received. Though this may seem the only logical way to keep a budget, it is not the procedure now followed, under which vast sums are voted that may not be paid out for years to come.

The proposed Hoover Commission bill would change present methods so that Congress would be in a position to review costs and expenditures each year and thus know whether or not additional funds were justified, as well as to recover funds not actually spent. A measure to this end passed the Senate last year, but was knocked out in the House; it again has strong Senate support, but faces a tough battle against the opponents of change, among whom Representative TABER, of the House Appropriations Committee, is one of the most prominent. The President is for it and so are the Nation's top fiscal officers and an impressive array of nonpolitical experts in budgeting and accounting. A special Presidential message to Congress would help immeasurably at this time if the White House is really interested in advancing the chances of this important bill.

Richard Evelyn Byrd

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, a few days ago the people of our country were saddened by the death of that intrepid explorer, that heroic pioneer, that great American, the conqueror of the land, of the sea, and of the air, the late Adm. Richard Evelyn Byrd. In the New York Times of March 13 there was a beautiful and richly deserved editorial written in tribute to Admiral Byrd, his life and service. I wish every American could read the tribute, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RICHARD EVELYN BYRD

Adventure calls to every man, but few have answered so aptly or won greater rewards than Richard E. Byrd. The lure of far-off places, to set one's foot where no man has gone before, to be the first to round the Cape of Good Hope, to cross the Atlantic, to circumnavigate the globe—such were the dreams of men until the chosen one came along and made them realities.

Richard Byrd was the first man to fly over the North and South Poles. The Antarctic has ceased to be an unknown sea largely because of his work. The loneliest of all continents is now peopled with men from the far corners of the world. It was Admiral Byrd, more than any one person, who made it known to the man in every street. As author and lecturer he literally popularized the Antarctic.

The United States is down there strongly because Richard Byrd drove the opening wedges and planted the American flag. The concept of polar defense—north and south—was based on his explorations, at least in the beginning. The preparatory work for the geophysical year in the Antarctic, now almost ready to start, was for several months partly under Admiral Byrd's direction as head of the United States Navy's Operation Deep Freeze.

He was to have gone to the Antarctic a few months ago to rejoin his expedition, but, as we know now, "Death was at his shoulder." It was ironical—and a bit sad—that such a man should die in bed. An explorer would want to go as the old Ulysses did—

"To follow knowledge, like a sinking star
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought."

Such men are not easy characters. They burn with a bright flame. They go their way alone, partly because they stand on a narrow summit. They do not belong to friends or even, in a certain sense, to their families. They are men of the world, the sort of men who carry the world forward, who open horizons, who make a mark on history's pages that can never be erased. Richard Evelyn Byrd was such a man.

Montana Legislative Memorials Stress Federal Indian Neglect

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, the people of Montana are concerned over the inadequacy of Federal policy regarding Indians. This concern was expressed in several memorials to Congress by the Montana State Legislature, which recently adjourned.

The lead editorial of the March 8 issue of the Great Falls Tribune deals with this subject, concluding that "a Federal program more responsive to Indian needs is highly essential."

I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial, entitled "Montana Legislative Memorials Stress Federal Indian Neglect," printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MONTANA LEGISLATIVE MEMORIALS STRESS FEDERAL INDIAN NEGLECT

In four joint memorials to Congress and the Secretary of Interior, the 35th Montana Legislature has given recognition to special problems relating to Indian welfare and employment.

In the manner of their passage these memorials given bipartisan endorsement to active efforts of Montana's Democratic Senators and Representatives in Congress to obtain more responsive Federal performance to deal with Indian family subsistence, health, education, and welfare.

Legislative memorials from small-population States may not have great impact on the whole body of Congress but these serve to emphasize a distress situation that is quite common to the whole Federal effort to shift American Indians from Federal wardship and reservation status to integrated citizenship in our social and economic life. This is a desirable longtime objective but it is one that cannot be realized by mere legislative or departmental decree.

Senate Joint Memorial No. 5 passed both the senate and the house of the legislature by unanimous vote. It requests that Federal money be made available to depressed Indian areas to be utilized in promoting employment of Indian citizens at or near reservation areas in Montana.

House Joint Memorial No. 6 requests thorough congressional study of the effect of promoting off-reservation migration upon the American Indians' family life, and the advisability of extending family assistance programs to Indians away from reservations. It applies specifically to the Hill 57 situation in Great Falls.

There is a bill pending in the United States Senate (S. 964), introduced by Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois, and cosponsored by Senators MURRAY, MANSFIELD and others, designed to give Federal assistance along lines set forth in the Montana Memorial No. 5.

A Federal program more responsive to Indian needs is highly essential.

Responsibility of the Office of Defense for Mobilization in the Event of Nuclear War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one of the recurring and deeply disturbing thoughts of our time is the tremendous responsibility which would be placed on our Government in terms of the survival of our population should an atomic war break out. That awesome responsibility has been placed upon the shoulders of Gordon Gray, of North Carolina. He is the man who must plan against such a catastrophe. Our prayers are with him for success.

The distinguished and perceptive columnist, Arthur Krock, of the New York Times, calls our attention to this problem this morning. I ask unanimous consent that his article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BARRIER TO CHAOS IN EVENT OF NUCLEAR WAR

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, March 25.—The President was speaking relatively the other day when he described the job of the Secretary of State as the greatest and most important in the

world. The Presidency itself is, of course, greater and more important, and there are comparative aspects in the immediate work of certain military defense officials.

But what is not generally understood is that, in event of a nuclear weapons attack on this country, a Federal administrator who rarely comes to public attention will have responsibilities of such magnitude that only those of the Secretaries of State and Defense, of the overall military commander, and of the President himself will be comparable. And in a large degree their ability to function will depend on how well this administrator has planned and executes his herculean task.

ODM DIRECTOR'S DUTY

The reference is to the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization in which Gordon Gray, of North Carolina, has just succeeded Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, of Ohio. To this office a number of statutes dating back to the emergency laws of the thirties, and seven Executive orders, have assigned the duty of maintaining the national economy and the continuity of the Federal Government, and its liaisons with State governments and the people, if and when a devastating atomic attack on the United States cripples the natural order and requires relocating the executive branch outside Washington.

Unless governmental and economic chaos is to follow such an attack, and the people—in the lack of visible government—are to be subject to the threat to their morale implicit in such a condition, Gordon Gray and his staff must be ready and effective.

SOME VAST RESPONSIBILITIES

To be ready and effective these are some of the accomplishments they must demonstrate:

The safe relocation of the President and his principal administrators in places and in circumstances where they can continue to function.

The transfer of defense industries and labor from ruined installations to other operating installations without disastrous loss of time and efficiency; and the maintenance of transport.

The establishment or maintenance of constant communications among all Government units, between these and the people and between these and the States.

A list of substitutes, who will be ready and trained, for officials lost, killed or disabled.

A shelter system for populations in the direct path of the attack or open to its radioactive aftermath. (The incredible, insoluble problems presented by the proposal of mass evacuation of cities inclines toward the probability that this shelter system eventually will be composed of single and group units in homes and multiple-tenant buildings.)

EVERYDAY AUTHORITIES

These are only a few of the responsibilities for which Gray and his staff must be prepared in event of an atomic attack which would call them into play. Not only does ordinary imagination stagger at contemplating the assignment; it goes out like a light. Yet unless these and other responsibilities of the director of the ODM are met, if and when, the ability of the United States to retaliate in kind on the aggressor, or even to inflict greater damage than received, will be of greatly reduced importance in determining the basic consequences of the war.

In the everyday, immediate work of the Executive branch the ODM also exercises a great number of important functions. The director acts for the President to direct, control and coordinate all the mobilization operations of the Government. These are not limited to manpower, production, procurement, stabilization and transport on the domestic front. He fixes the policies for establishing and maintaining an adequate stockpile of strategic materials, which makes him the arbiter of the flow of certain imports. He must approve the rate and pace of the exchange for agricultural commodities of strategic and critical materials acquired by the Commodity Credit Corporation. He coordinates policies and standards for the development of telecommunications; he assigns radio frequencies to Government agencies. And so on.

CABINET AND NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

By statute Gray is a member of the National Security Council. By Presidential selection he is a member of the Cabinet. And because of the nature and variety of his functions there is hardly any subject, including the current discussions of legislation on Presidential "inability" to govern, arising in any of these groups to which the director of the ODM has no active relation. Yet, since he is the only member of the groups without a vested interest in some department or agency, his objectivity in council is established a priori.

As Washington agencies go, Gray works with the aid of a corporal's guard, through he is authorized to perform his functions through other agencies he may select. This is the equipment, and these are the terrifying responsibilities, of the quiet, very able, little heralded public servant from North Carolina.

Natural Gas Service in Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, this morning I had a conference with Mr. Jerome Kuykendall, Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, relative to a question which is discussed in an editorial entitled "FPC Should Act," which appeared in the St. Paul Pioneer Press of March 22, 1957.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FPC SHOULD ACT

Minnesota continues to be deprived of the benefits of full natural gas service, especially in the Iron Range region, because the Federal Power Commission in Washington cannot seem to make up its mind on one important question. This is which American company is to be permitted to hook up with the Canadian gas fields and import fuel from there.

This indecision on the part of the FPC may result in higher prices for natural-gas consumers in Minnesota, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Michigan, and elsewhere. American distributing companies hold tentative contracts with Trans-Canada Pipe Lines for purchase of Canadian gas at specified rates. But some of these contracts run out later this year if not made permanent through approval by the FPC. If new contracts have to be negotiated later on, the Canadian wholesale price probably will go up. This would mean higher retail prices eventually.

Trans-Canada Pipe Lines is ready and willing to sell gas to American buyers at or near the Minnesota border. At least two American companies are ready to buy it on long-term agreements. But no deal can be consummated until the FPC in Washington decides which company gets official approval to proceed. Hearings have dragged out for more than a year. Long recesses taken by the FPC keep piling up the delays. Everybody concerned wishes to expedite proceedings except, apparently, the Government officials at Washington who must make a decision.

Governor Freeman, Senators THYE and HUMPHREY, and officials of other interested States have appealed for action. Still the FPC does not move.

Aside from the direct interest of this part of the country in getting additional gas supplies, there is a larger national stake involved. The Minnesota connection with the big Canadian fields would tie in the far-flung national network of gas pipelines in the United States with a new and valuable source of reserve fuel in event of a national-defense emergency. The sooner this is done the better. It is time for the Federal Power Commission to get off the fence and make Canadian gas available to a responsible American distributing company.

Passport Service Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appears in the March issue of Travel News, the official publication of the American Society of Travel Agents, Inc.

This article describes the tremendous changes which have occurred in the past year in the Passport Office and its field agencies in terms of efficiency and service to the public. Every Member of Congress will be interested in the improvements detailed herein.

I wish to congratulate the Passport Director, Frances Knight, for the unusually effective job she has performed.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PASSPORT SERVICE TODAY

Any travel agent who has helped a client to obtain a passport recently must have noticed the change that has come over the United States Passport Office. Just how deep and fundamental that change has been, however, few realize.

In a talk before the New York chapter of ASTA last month Frances G. Knight, Director of the Office since 1955, explained it this way: the new look in the Office emphasizes speed and courtesy, in addition to consideration of the general comfort and good service due an American citizen by a responsible Government agency.

The speed has come through the introduction of modern business machines and modern management practices. Now the average citizen receives his passport in less than a week; in case of necessity, he can have it almost immediately. Two-way teletype communications between Washington and the field offices permit clearance of an uncomplicated application in a matter of minutes and the passport itself can be made up on the spot.

ELBOW ROOM

The comfort is reflected in the Washington headquarters office, the new Los Angeles agency, the remodeled New York office and soon will be found in the Boston, Chicago, New Orleans, and San Francisco agencies. The New York office, for instance, has had 800 square feet added to its space. No longer does the man making out his application have his elbow joggled by the people waiting in line for an agent. The writing desks are now located in the entrance room, some distance from the information counter. This information counter, incidentally, takes mere inquiries out of the agents' lines and permits faster processing of applicants.

No longer do the witnesses, frequently elderly, have to stand while waiting for applicants to reach an agent. There are comfortable benches for them to sit on until needed.

Nor does anyone wishing an application blank now have to wait in an agent's line to obtain one. There are application forms in a rack beside the information counter to be taken as needed. (The travel agency which sent its messenger to the New York office for two application forms for its clients, only to have him return empty-handed because he was told applicants had to come in person for the forms, will not run into this difficulty today.)

PLEASANT COMFORT

The office, which is completely air-conditioned, is a pleasant place in which to do business. All but two of the walls are a light gray. One, at the end of the entrance area, is deep coral—almost rust color—and the wall opposite the agents' counter is covered with a sea blue, woven-design wallpaper. The benches in this room are upholstered in deep coral plastic material which can be wiped clean with a damp cloth. In each room there is a 9- by 12-foot United States Army map of the world on which the locations of American embassies and consular offices are marked. Behind the information counter is the seal of the United States, flanked by two United States flags. Miss Knight believes that those coming to the office should be reminded that this is a Government agency where one of the most valuable documents in the world today is obtained—a United States passport.

The thinking behind her use of color was described at the New York meeting by Miss Knight: "I believe it is generally agreed by those who have studied environment that certain colors have a psychological effect on people. I believe they call it 'color impulse.' I am not expert in this field. I only know that the colors usually found in Government offices depress me and I have been determined to brighten up passport agencies wherever they are not located in Federal buildings.

"One of the universities recently reported that colors have been found to have a physical as well as psychological effect on individuals and cited the results of one experiment which indicated that a shift in wall colors from buff to pale green helped increase efficiency of a group of Government employees by 5½ percent. The so-called cool colors keep people calm and collected while the vibrant colors animate people. I have selected cool colors for the decor of passport agencies with a spot of vibrant color here and there to keep people happy as well as calm."

ZIG-ZAG EFFICIENCY

Another feature of the New York office, which has proved popular with the public, is the zig-zag agents' counter, similar to those used in some banks. In this arrangement the conversation between applicant and agent cannot be overheard by those in the other lines. This same type of counter is planned for the San Francisco and Chicago offices; in Los Angeles plastic partitions were used.

Nor has the agent behind the counter been overlooked. His work space has been designed for ease and efficiency and his chair for comfort. (Incidentally, Miss Knight says she sat in chairs all over New York before she finally found the type she sought in a bank, where it was used by the tellers.) Good working conditions generally make for better public relations, for the employee works swiftly and in a pleasant frame of mind.

Here is a tip travel agents might pass on to their clients: tell them not to go to the passport agency at noon if they can avoid it. That is when the big rush is on, and agents have to eat lunch just like everyone else.

All passport agents are given a week of indoctrination in the headquarters in Washington. They see how the system works; they become acquainted with the people with whom they deal by phone, letter, or teletype. They learn the answers to many of the questions they are asked by the men and women facing them across the counter.

BEHIND SCENE CHANGES

These are the changes the passport-seeking traveler sees and appreciates. But the deeper-seated changes, the more important ones, have occurred in the Washington headquarters. The move from the antiquated Winder Building to larger, modern office space permitted the reorganization of the work along modern business lines. Take the matter of filing. Modern sorting devices now speed paper handling to the point that filing production has increased from 300 per day per clerk to 1,300.

Explained Miss Knight in her New York speech: "A backlog of one million unfiled or partially filed documents which were stored in scattered boxes and under tables, desks and on top of cabinets for lack of equipment, space and manpower, when I became director of the Passport Office, has now been filed."

A source of friction with the public has been eliminated in this way: "Birth evidence and other private documents are returned to applicants, reducing the need to refer to old files and making possible the disposal of old records. This new policy has also eliminated considerable argumentative correspondence between citizens who wanted their birth and baptismal certificates returned after they had been officially recorded and the Passport Office, which refused to do so."

Modern business methods of handling mail now bring answers to uncomplicated correspondence within a week or 10 days. "Complicated cases which involve legal problems or long searches in our files take much longer," Miss Knight said, "but these are being reduced as our correspondence training program progresses."

In the summer of 1955, 5,000 general inquiries were found that had not been answered for the lack of men, money, and machinery.

"To speed up and facilitate the handling of applications by the field agencies," Miss Knight stated, "we have installed Teletype facilities in our offices in New York, Boston, Chicago, New Orleans, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. The immediate result of this installation has been a 60-percent reduction in communication costs. It has also speeded up service to applicants who have required passports in an emergency."

TIME, MONEY SAVING TECHNIQUES

This is just one example of how modern techniques have not only provided better service but actually reduced costs. In a report to the United States Senate, the Committee on Government Operations summed it up in this way:

"While passport applications in 1956 increased 47 percent over 1952, the number of equivalent full-time employees increased 28 percent and the total salary cost (on a 1956 conversion basis) increased by only 28 percent. If the production per employee in 1952 were in effect in 1956 it would have taken 50 additional employees at a cost of $218,150 to process the applications."

The passport itself has been redesigned, and reduced from 32 to 20 pages as a result of a survey of expired passports which indicated that 88 percent used less than 16 pages. This not only resulted in a substantial saving in paper and printing costs but means less bulk in the traveler's handbag or coat pocket.

Changing the page on which the office must type the applicant's vital statistics from vertical to horizontal makes it possible for this work to be done on an ordinary typewriter. Formerly a special machine had to be used and a person especially trained to use it.

The one old-fashioned operation which the office has not been able to change, however, is the affixing of the photograph. This is still done by hand with a glue pot and electric iron. Anyone who can lick this problem at a cost of less than a new atomic submarine should communicate with Miss Knight immediately.

A machine which does away with irritating delays in answering inquiries is the Roll-Dex Trans-Dex file. "This machine," said Miss Knight, "is used in our telephone and public inquiry section and will hold as many as 580,000 individual status cards at one time, making available for quick reference the name of the applicant, the receipt date of the application, and its current status. Thus, our information clerks and operators are now able to tell, in a matter of seconds, whether a passport has been issued, when it was mailed, where it was sent, or whether the application is being held for further information."

One activity of the Passport Office, which can be of direct benefit to travel agencies, especially when dealing with clients making their first trip abroad, was outlined by Miss Knight. "All literature issued by the Passport Office," she said, "has been revised, rewritten, or revitalized with new formats in the past year. We are cooperating with other agencies of government to make travel information better known to the public. We have placed in all passport agencies large posters advising applicants of passport fees and requirements in brief. We have issued a pocket-size folder entitled 'You and Your Passport' for distribution to the public in passport agencies. This gives general guidance to the applicant with regard to obtaining proof of American citizenship, photographs, passport fees, vaccinations and inoculations, care of the passport, visas and other entry documents, and general tips on getting along abroad. The brochure is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, at the Government Printing Office in Washington."

COMPILATION OF APPLICATIONS

An innovation which is important to the entire travel industry is the statistical unit which the Passport Office has established. "Statistical information is now being compiled on the basis of a tabulation of 80 percent of the applications received by the Passport Office" which "gives us the data required to chart our future in terms of service to the public as well as the transportation and travel industries," explained Miss Knight.

As the wife of Wayne Parrish, publisher of Official Airline Guide and other aviation publications, Frances Knight understands the travel industry's point of view as well as that of the Government. "I am very anxious to establish and maintain a close relationship with all segments of the travel industry," she told her New York audience, "in order to afford us the opportunity to discuss our

mutual problems and exchange ideas on the improvement of services to traveling Americans."

GIANT-SIZE INCREASE

Again, at the close of her talk, speaking of the introduction of jet transportation in commercial aviation, Miss Knight said: "With such speed and volume of traffic literally around the corner in terms of fiscal year planning, the Passport Office stresses the need for vision in its role as a public service. I strongly advocate a close liaison with the travel industry and a coordination of all activities in the Federal Government which influence or pertain to overseas travel * * *. We forecast the receipt of 814,000 applications in fiscal 1960 or an increase of 45.2 percent over the applications received in fiscal 1956. Industry sources indicate that this prediction is too conservative. In any event, I firmly believe that it is our job to chart the future and be prepared to service American travelers with speed, courtesy, and efficiency."

Crises Are Chronic in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, on the current situation in the Middle East, I believe that the American people are developing a high degree of understanding. As one contribution to that understanding, the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, one of the most influential newspapers of my State, recently published an excellent editorial. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CRISES ARE CHRONIC IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Peace again is on a precarious perch as the threat of hostilities between Egypt and Israel persists over the Gaza strip and the Gulf of Aqaba area. Middle East crises have become more or less chronic since Egyptian President Nasser was enraged by cancellation of United States aid for the Aswan Dam project.

The United Nations forces are in a delicate position between the forces of the two rival countries in the Middle East. Egyptian troops are in the Gaza strip by reason of the 1949 armistice agreement giving Egypt control of that small area. But Israel is apprehensive lest the strip be used as in the past for Egyptian raids on Israeli territory.

The other critical area, the Aqaba Gulf region, developed dangerous potentialities from the time Egypt in 1951 took over the Tiran Islands at the mouth of the gulf, fortified them and blocked passage of Israeli ships through the straits. Now, in another adroit move, the Tiran Islands have been restored to Saudi Arabia to which they belong. Saudi Arabia denies Israel has any rights in the waters around the islands.

It is patent that Israel should have protection from Egyptian raids from the Gaza strip and should have an outlet from the Gulf of Aqaba for shipping. By no means incidentally, tankers bearing oil for Western Europe should have the same access route to the pipeline being constructed across Israel to the Mediterranean.

Virtually all the oil in the Middle East lies in the Arab States, which may side with Egypt against Israel in instances where they already have not done so. This is the difficult situation in handling Nasser as circumstances otherwise would warrant.

The key to the Egyptian leader's recalcitrance may well be found in the precarious economic condition of his country. Nasser's government sorely is in need of finances, and the Soviet Union is loath to fill that vacuum after having extended him military aid and advice. The rubles are needed at home.

Nasser's course not too faintly resembles an effort at blackmail. He should not be allowed to make a farce of the United Nations and to push aside its troops, committed only to preventing war in the Middle East. At the same time, Israel should not be thrown to the wolves in the Middle East so that Western Europe may have its oil. The crisis there should not be oversimplified, and it calls for the ablest diplomacy with a resolute stand.

Are Corporations Big Enough?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, at this time there is much discussion in regard to big business and small business. We who live in the United States are interested in both.

In the March 23, 1957, issue of the magazine Business Week appears a very interesting summary of a statement made by Mr. Roger Blough, chairman of the United States Steel Corp. The summary is entitled "Are Corporations Big Enough?" I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARE CORPORATIONS BIG ENOUGH?

This is an age when big business is deprecated—and often deplored—simply because it is big.

Yet Roger Blough, chairman of United States Steel Corp., has stepped to bat with an arresting question. He asks: Are our big corporations big enough to do all that the American people expect of them?

Blough starts with the proposition that the great enterprises of America are the result—simply and solely—of the great expectations of the American people. Through history it has been the nature of man to have great expectations—and he has created the instruments through which those expectations could be realized.

Today the United States has more than 4 million businesses designed to meet the wants and needs of people. Many are small and their number is growing as the variety of demands made on them increases. A few are very big—and their size is growing as the expectations of people soar.

Blough points out all of these businesses have been created by the American people themselves—by their actions as consumers, investors, and workers. By simply withholding their patronage, their investment, or their services, these people can regulate—or destroy—these businesses.

Over the years, these expectations have led businesses to develop from the entrepreneurship to the partnership to the modern corporation, "where hundreds of thousands of persons provide the necessary capital and share the risks involved."

Blough thinks he sees the next significant step already taking form: the corporations joining with each other in partnerships.

He cites the development of raw materials. It has become "so expensive and involves such risks, that a number of large steel companies have had to band together to develop faraway iron resources."

Blough also points to the instances where several companies have joined to create the titanium industry, to the utilities going into partnership to develop atomic power for peacetime use, and, finally, the joining together of the great oil companies to develop Middle East oil.

Clearly, as the United States population grows, as we have to go farther for resources, as technology continues to expand in every direction, and as expectations grow, there's the possibility of more and more of these joint ventures.

Blough doesn't attempt a prophecy on whether joint ventures or the big corporations will grow.

He does point out that in the past bigness hasn't developed into the threat many people expected. United States Steel in 1909 represented 22 percent of all the assets of the 100 largest industrial corporations. United States Steel has more than doubled its assets since. But new industries and new companies have risen. United States Steel's assets now represent only 4 percent of the assets of the 100 biggest corporations.

And Blough does believe that any arbitrary limitation that may be placed on corporations must automatically place similar limits upon the realization of man's expectations.

The whole question of bigness and how you measure it is one of the most tangled in economics. The smallest auto company is a giant compared to the biggest companies in many industries.

There are also many limitations—tangible and intangible—on the growth of corporations. These are evident enough so that there is no serious move underway today to reduce the size of corporations. Nevertheless, the picture Blough raises will raise questions in the minds of many people.

We think the chairman of United States Steel has done the country a real service in casting the controversy over bigness in realistic terms. He may well have helped to reduce the controversy over measuring bigness—and to expand the effort to fulfill the evergrowing expectations of Americans.

Bar Endorses Hastings for United States Judge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Bar Endorses Hastings for United States Judge," which was published in the Indianapolis Star of March 23, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BAR ENDORSES HASTINGS FOR UNITED STATES JUDGE

The Indianapolis Bar Association's board of managers yesterday announced endorsement of John S. Hastings, of Washington,

Ind., for judge of the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals at Chicago.

Howard P. Travis, president of the local bar, reported that he sent letters of notification to Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which makes recommendation on the judicial appointment to the Senate. Letters also were sent to both Indiana Senators.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

President Eisenhower nominated Hastings to the Federal bench a week ago.

Hastings, a Washington lawyer since 1924, is president of the board of trustees of Indiana University. He would replace Judge Earl Major, of Illinois, on the appeals court bench.

A Constitutional Flaw

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include three articles by James Reston in the New York Times of March 19, 20, and 21, 1957, entitled "A Constitutional Flaw—I, II, and III":

[From the New York Times of March 19, 1957]

A CONSTITUTIONAL FLAW, I—A DISCUSSION OF THE HISTORICAL ISSUES INVOLVED IN A PRESIDENT'S INABILITY

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, March 18.—Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., has started a fascinating and possibly historic debate by recommending action to remove what is perhaps the most serious flaw in the Constitution.

This is article II, section 1, clause 6, which raises, but does not answer precisely, a number of questions about what happens in the "inability" of the President to "discharge the powers and duties" of his office.

The language is clear enough that the Vice President should substitute for the President, but it does not answer beyond serious challenge these questions:

What constitutes "inability"?

Who is to determine when an "inability" exists and when it ceases? The President himself, who might be unconscious, or deranged, or captured in time of war? The Vice President, who is an interested party? Or some third distinguished and disinterested group?

What does the Vice President take over during a President's "inability"—the "powers and duties" of the Presidency for the duration of the President's "inability" or the office itself.

A LIMITED ANSWER

John Dickinson, of Delaware, raised this problem at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Mr. Brownell now proposes to answer, and his answer is limited: Amend the Constitution, he says, in two respects—(1) make clear that the President himself has the power to declare his own "inability," and (2) most important, clarify, in any case of "inability," that the President does not forfeit his office, but merely hands over his powers and duties temporarily for the duration of his "inability."

The root of the problem is that article II, section 1, clause 6 makes no clear distinction between what the Vice President does in the death of the President and in the "inability" of the President. It says:

"In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected."

COMPLICATED BY PRECEDENT

Many distinguished constitutional lawyers have argued that the phrase "until the disability be removed" clearly implies that the Vice President should take over, not the office of the Presidency, but merely the temporary exercise of the powers and duties of the office.

Constitutional precedent, however, has complicated the issue. Although many experts think the Founding Fathers intended the Vice President to be merely an acting President when the President died, John Tyler succeeded to the Presidency itself after the death of William Henry Harrison in 1841. And, of course, six other Vice Presidents from Tyler to Truman, also took the Presidential oath of office after the death of the President.

WHAT LAWYERS ARGUE

This has led to the argument that the Vice President cannot become acting President but actually takes over the office and displaces the President. And because article II, section 1, clause 6 fails to make a clear distinction between death, removal, resignation and inability, this is the way many constitutional lawyers have argued:

The Constitution does not provide for 2 but only for 1 President.

The Vice President becomes the President when he takes over Presidential duties.

Since there cannot be two Presidents at the same time, assumption of the President's powers and duties by the Vice President is equivalent to removing the former from office.

Once the Vice President takes over these Presidential duties, he cannot be replaced by the previous President.

This line of reasoning has, of course, been sharply challenged since it was first made, but the point is that as long as it has any support and validity, sick Presidents and their Cabinets and staffs always hesitate to risk a temporary grant of power lest they get involved in a bitter constitutional argument.

For example, the three Presidents confronted with any question of inability through illness—Presidents Garfield, Wilson, and Eisenhower, avoided any temporary grants of power to the Vice President concerned lest such action provoke a constitutional crisis.

AFTER GARFIELD WAS SHOT

President Garfield performed only one official act during the 80 days after he was shot in 1881. This was the signing of an extradition paper. There was much urgent business to be performed at that time and his Cabinet agreed unanimously that it would be desirable to have Vice President Arthur act as President during the President's "inability."

However, 4 or the 7 Cabinet members thought the powers and duties of the President could not be passed to Arthur without displacing the President altogether. Since the President was too ill to weigh the question himself the Cabinet decided that it was not fair to risk the danger of abdication.

Ruth C. Silva, of Pennsylvania State University, and Everett S. Brown, of the University of Michigan, who have written definitive studies of this problem, agree that "there can be no question that Wilson was unable to perform his Presidential duties much of the time from September 25, 1919, to March 3, 1921."

AFFAIRS ALLOWED TO DRIFT

During this period, Wilson was partly paralyzed. He did not met his Cabinet for 8 months during his illness. During the special session of the 66th Congress, 28 bills became law because of his failure to act on them within the prescribed period of 10 days.

Again there was much talk about passing on responsibility to Vice President Marshall, but again the affairs of state were allowed to drift while members of his family, Cabinet, or staff debated the ambiguities of article II, section 1, clause 6 of the Constitution.

Immediately after President Eisenhower's heart attack on September 24, 1955, the question of Vice President NIXON's role was raised. But here again, the constitutional issue worried Attorney General Brownell, and a decision was made to avoid any new grants of power to Vice President NIXON but to leave what could be done, instead, to the Cabinet and the White House staff.

Since then, at the request of President Eisenhower, Mr. Brownell has been studying the question. His recommendation of a limited constitutional amendment, now in the White House, is bound to lead to a revival of one of the oldest and most intriguing questions in the history of the Presidency.

[From the New York Times of March 20, 1957]

A CONSTITUTIONAL FLAW, II—AN APPRAISAL OF THE PROBLEMS POSED WHEN A PRESIDENT BECOMES DISABLED

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, March 19.—In the current constitutional debate over who runs the administration when a President is disabled, President Eisenhower has played a responsible and disinterested role.

Like all his predecessors—including Presidents Garfield and Wilson, who were also stricken in the White House—he has been aware that the Constitution does not state clearly what constitutes presidential inability or who is to be the judge of when it exists and when it ends.

Unlike his predecessors, however, General Eisenhower has taken action to deal with the problem. Fourteen months ago, he told a news conference that doubt should be removed about the inability question for the good of the country.

And at his urging, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., has come forward with a recommendation for a constitutional amendment that would deal with at least part of the problem.

Mr. Brownell is convinced that the main thing is to amend the Constitution. He wants it made clear that the President himself can, during any serious illness or other disability, delegate the powers and duties of the Presidency to the Vice President temporarily without risking the possibility of not getting them back again.

SOME VEXING QUESTIONS

His view is that any attempt to try to settle all outstanding questions—as to what consitutes inability, of whether a Vice President is authorized to make a finding of presidential inability and of what is to be done if a President cannot declare his own inability—would merely lead to an endless constitutional wrangle settling nothing.

Therefore, it is important to define what the Attorney General is not trying to do. He is not proposing to define what constitutes inability. This includes so many things—loss of ability to see, to hear, to move, etc.; capture by an enemy in wartime; physical unconsciousness; mental derangement; tem-

porary absence in a crippled and grounded aircraft, etc.—that Mr. Brownell has apparently agreed with those who oppose any attempt to define the term.

He has avoided also the highly controversial subject of whether the Vice President, or the Cabinet, or the courts, or some disinterested commission should make a finding of presidential inability.

All of these, to one degree or another, involve the question of personal advantage or the dangers of political bias—at least in the minds of many people. Therefore, Mr. Brownell has decided to limit his recommendation to issues that will raise a minimum of controversy.

THE GARFIELD CASE

In 1881, when President Garfield lay helpless and dying after he was shot, most constitutional authorities seemed to agree that it was the Vice President's duty to determine when the President was disabled.

This view was based on the theory that, since the Vice President was called upon to act for the President in certain conditions he was obliged to decide the question of presidential inability if the President did not do so.

It was noted during the illnesses of both Garfield and Wilson that, while the Constitution was vague about what constituted inability and who should decide it, the language was not permissive or optional but mandatory in saying that the powers and duties shall devolve on the Vice President.

Nevertheless, for reasons of propriety and public confidence, Vice Presidents Arthur, Marshall, and Nixon did not take effective action to assume Presidential responsibilities.

Consequently, Attorney General Brownell has reached the conclusion that it is necessary to remove the Vice President from the delicate position of seeming to usurp the President's powers—an act that would almost certainly divide the country and make it difficult for the Vice President to govern.

Many experts seem to agree that it is questionable whether the Congress or the courts have power to deal effectively and legally with the question.

EXPERTS DOUBT COURT'S POWER

In their testimony to the House Judiciary Committee last year, two experts on the subject, Everett S. Brown, of the University of Michigan, and Ruth C. Silva, of Pennsylvania State University, stated:

"It seems almost certain that no court has power to issue a writ of mandamus to the Vice President * * * directing him to act as President during the latter's inability, because a court can only order performance of a ministerial function * * *

"Whether Congress has power either to determine actual inability or to provide a means for deciding such cases is questionable. Opinion on the matter is divided, but the weight of opinion seems to be that Congress has no such power."

This is the sort of wrangle Mr. Brownell is trying to avoid by recommending merely that the Constitution be amended to give the President himself the clear right to hand over his powers and duties temporarily without fear of not getting them back when he recovers.

The House Judiciary Committee held hearings on this question 37 years ago when President Wilson was paralyzed. Three bills and one constitutional amendment were considered to declare his "inability." But they brought out what seemed to be insurmountable constitutional difficulties, the most difficult of which was whether the transfer of powers to the Vice President would mean the abdication of the President.

Consequently, as Mr. Brown and Ruth Silva reported last year when the question was revived, "public affairs were conducted (when Mr. Wilson was ill) much as they had been during Garfield's illness. Either Presidential powers and duties were not discharged in such manner as the Cabinet, the President's family and his personal entourage could devise."

At that time, state papers were given first to Mrs. Wilson. If she had any doubt about them, she would show them to Dr. Grayson, the President's physician. If he thought they might upset the President, they were passed on by Mrs. Wilson to Secretary of the Treasury Houston or somebody else in whom Mrs. Wilson had special confidence.

Secretary of State Lansing protested against this exercise of Presidential powers by persons not elected to public office. He proposed that Vice President Marshall take over Mr. Wilson's duties. Mr. Lansing was charged by Joseph Tumulty, the President's secretary, with "disloyalty" and finally ousted by Mr. Wilson on this ground.

Mr. Brownell, after an exhaustive study of all this, has concluded that the best thing to do is to make it easy for a disabled President to hand over his powers and duties temporarily, and this he has recommended to General Eisenhower.

It seems likely, however, that once the administration agrees to seek a constitutional amendment, the wider question of what happens if the President is unable even to declare his own "inability" will come up.

This will raise a whole series of proposals.

[From the New York Times of March 21, 1957]

A CONSTITUTIONAL FLAW—III—AN EVALUATION OF THE PLANS SUGGESTED FOR WHEN A PRESIDENT IS DISABLED

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, March 20.—The crash of President Magsaysay's plane in a Philippine jungle last weekend illustrates the most troublesome aspect of the constitutional controversy now under discussion in Washington.

Once President Magsaysay's body was found, the Philippine Constitution clearly directed the transfer of his powers and duties to Vice President Carlos P. Garcia.

But what if the plane merely had been lost? Or what if President Magsaysay had been found in a state of semiconsciousness or prolonged unconsciousness, unable to direct that his duties be transferred to the Vice President?

Here the Philippine Constitution, which follows the United States Constitution word for word on the Presidential disability question, would have left the country in a quandary. For neither Constitution states clearly what constitutes Presidential disability, or who is to be the judge of it, or whether the president can get his powers and duties back once he has handed them over to the Vice President.

In the two previous articles in this series it has been shown that there is general agreement, inside and outside the administration, that the President should be able to delegate his powers and duties to the Vice President for the duration of any Presidential "disability" and that he should be assured of getting his duties back once he has recovered his health.

Where there is no agreement on what should be done if, in a clear case of Presidential disability, the President cannot or will not agree to hand over the direction of his office to his Vice President.

MANY IDEAS ON SUBJECT

For example, of more than 20 distinguished constitutional lawyers, statesmen and journalists who testified for the House Committee on the Judiciary on this subject in the last session of Congress, almost every one had a different proposal for removing the constitutional dilemma.

Former President Herbert Hoover proposed that "the determination of disability and its termination should rest with the Cabinet, and the Executive powers should be executed by the Vice President during any such period."

Representative EMANUEL CELLER, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, after listening to many hours of testimony and submitting a questionnaire to many learned political scientists all over the country, favored a concurrent resolution that would authorize a Vice President to determine the "inability" of the President and announce to both Houses of Congress that he was assuming the powers and duties of the President.

Many students of the problem have rejected these proposals, however, on the ground that public opinion would reject such a course of action. Arthur Krock, the distinguished Washington correspondent of this newspaper, for example, described the Celler proposal to the Judiciary subcommittee as "preposterous" on the ground that "it is beyond credence that Congress, the courts or the people would accept such an arrangement.

On the other hand, Sydney Hyman, historian and student of the institution of the presidency, told the Judiciary Committee:

"What gives the whole question of presidential disability its real significance * * * is a disability that coincides with an hour of national and international emergency. In that sort of hour, it is inconceivable to me that a Vice President who found a seriously disabled President in the White House, who declared him to be such on the basis of proofs that would stand microscopic inspection, and who then proceeded to do what a President must do to save a country when it is in danger * * * it is inconceivable to me that the people, the parties, the court, and the Congress, would assail him or deny him those marks of esteem to which he would be entitled."

INABILITY COUNCIL URGED

There has been considerable testimony in favor of the creation by Congress of a presidential commission or, as Mr. Krock proposed, an inability council composed of congressional leaders from both parties, of senior members of the President's Cabinet, and in some cases, of members of the Supreme Court of the United States.

For example, Beverly Smith, Washington editor of the Saturday Evening Post, in an excellent review of this whole problem in the current issue of that magazine, has proposed the establishment by Congress of a presidential powers commission to determine when a presidential inability has taken place.

Mr. Smith's proposed commission, which has some support in the administration, would be composed of the Chief Justice of the United States and the two senior Associate Justices of the Supreme Court; the Secretaries of State and Treasury; the majority and minority leaders of the Senate and the Speaker and minority leader of the House.

"This commission," he suggests, "would be authorized to find as a fact, at any time, by a two-thirds vote in writing, that a President was suffering from a temporary inability to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon, the Vice President would become Acting President. When and if the commission voted that the President's disability had been removed, he would at once resume his full powers and duties."

The trouble with all this is that, while almost everybody who has studied the problem agrees that, in this day and age, the Constitution leaves the Nation open to paralyzing dangers, the proposed remedies are so numerous and varied that the chances of getting consent for a total solution are not good.

ABUSES HELD POSSIBLE

For example, those who think Congress should have the power to determine when a President is disabled are met by the argu-

ment that giving Congress power to suspend or end the President's duties would alter, in an important respect, the present distribution of powers between the executive and legislative branches.

Similarly, while some authorities favor the creation of a presidental powers commission, others feel that drafting any new mechanism into our constitutional system might lead to political abuses in the future.

Those who fear this, for example, think that a disability commission, once established, might one day be used unfairly as a concealed impeachment weapon—to be used, as Mr. Hyman has suggested, "against a President on the pretext of his disability."

Mr. Hyman does not suggest that this would, but he observes:

"Even if the use of that concealed weapon failed in its ultimate objective, the bringing of it into action would split the Government, foster bitter dissensions, lower the dignity of the Presidency, weaken its authority, distract the public mind, and by this means, produce a toxic effect throughout our whole system of responsible power."

Thus, the more the problem has been studied in the Department of Justice, the more it is realized that there is indeed a potentially disastrous uncertainty in the Constitution, but one that probably ought to be dealt with one step at a time.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., is not averse to seeking a total solution to the problem, including, as President Eisenhower himself has said, "a case where the President would be unable to determine his own disability." But Mr. Brownell is mindful of proceeding in such a way as to limit the controversy as much as possible and retain in the end the greatest possible public support for whatever steps are taken.

OPPONENTS OF CHANGE

Already he is confronted by the fact that powerful legislators, including Speaker SAM RAYBURN in the House, are skeptical if not actually hostile to the long, intricate business of changing the present system.

Thus, for the time being, Mr. Brownell is concentrating on making clear that the President himself can delegate his powers and duties to the Vice President, without risking the loss of the Presidential office itself.

Such a move might not deal clearly with the possibilities of such an accident as befell President Magsaysay, but it would go part way. And the Justice Department's view is that, once it was clear that the Vice President was merely exercising the powers and duties of the Presidential office temporarily, it would be easier for the Vice President to initiate a finding of temporary inability during any grave national emergency.

Research Keeps Business Busy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Research Keeps Business Busy," which was published in the Indianapolis Star of March 23, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESEARCH KEEPS BUSINESS BUSY

Huge amounts currently being spent by American industry for research and development may be a major factor in doing away with the boom-and-bust pattern of business activity which has prevailed in the past.

This was pointed out by Dexter M. Keezer, vice president of the McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. and director of its economics department in an address before a luncheon session of the 11th annual alumni conference of the Indiana University School of Business yesterday.

Theme of the conference, which was held in the Student Union Building at the Indiana University Medical Center, was "Business Research and Business Horizons."

Keezer called the annual expenditure of more than $5,500,000,000 for research and development the most dramatic thing about American business today. This is 20 times the amount being spent for this purpose a generation ago, he added.

This mammoth research program means a steady flood of new and better products, processes, and equipment, Keezer declared.

And it is at least a good sporting proposition that handling this flood will keep business so busy right along that there won't be either time or cause for severe business letdown," he said.

Keezer explained that business ups and down will not disappear entirely, but it can be reasonably expected that serious plunges like that of the thirties are a thing of the past.

He also was optimistic about business prospects in the immediate future. Consumer income, business investment, and Government spending all are at alltime highs and going higher, Keezer said.

The nearly 400 alumni members attending the all-day meeting elected J. Evan Stiers, of Indianapolis, president of the School of Busines Alumni Association. Robert L. Boyd, of Kokomo, was named vice president, and Prof. J. Douglas Snider was reelected secretary-treasurer.

The Tax Load on Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, an awakened and interested America is responsive to the unusual and uncalled for high budget presented to this body. One of Arizona's outstanding newspapers, the Mohave County Miner, has made some editorial comments on the fiscal situation in this country. I believe that our colleagues should read it, and for that reason I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TAX TIME

This is the time of year when all American citizens take a look at their hole card and settle up with the Federal Government. The look they take is at their income taxes.

The next look they take later on concerns State, county, municipal taxes—and every day they pay luxury, sales, and other taxes.

The simple truth of the matter is that today, as never before, Americans face a tremendous tax load. Everybody faces it from the richest man in town to the fellow just struggling along.

It has always been our contention that about the only kind of taxes we pay that do us much good are county and municipal taxes. We are in a position of being able to watch the expenditures of these echelons of government and making our complaints felt if we feel they are unreasonable.

Just to set the record straight we sincerely believe that the city and county give us dollar for dollar in value received for the taxes we pay.

But do we get the same treatment from other echelons of government.

Five years ago the voters turned out the Democrats and brought forth a so-called economy-minded Republican administration. One of their primary pledges was a balanced budget and an end to deficit spending. The same pledge was reiterated in the campaign of 1956 when the GOP was again returned to the White House.

But what do we find? We find a budget submitted to Congress that makes Harry S. Truman look sick. Never in his wildest days of spending and planning did he come close to the Eisenhower budget of today.

Amid the hue and cry of the press and the populace the President tells Congress, "you cut it"—the Congress replies by resolution "tell us where." It is political buck-passing at its very worst.

We find an evergrowing American policy of spend, spend, spend. Not only at home, but throughout the world the Government is showering our dollars on people who don't like us, never have and never will. We are, in effect, trying to buy friendship and every youngster who ever tried to buy off the neighborhood bully knows it won't work.

Foreign aid, we believe, is unconstitutional. Where does the Government get the right to take from its own citizens and give to citizens of other countries? Governor Lee, of Utah, tried his best to test this matter and was ridiculed out of public life.

The Congress of the United States should accept the Eisenhower challenge and assess the good done by the Dulles policies of foreign aid.

Foreign spending should and can be stopped—or drastically dried up. This would be an excellent place to start cutting the monstrous Federal budget.

For no tax relief can be given to the American public until the spending ways of politicians in office—be they Democrats or Republicans—is trimmed and made to stick.

Family Allowances by the Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the next forward step in social legislation should be a program which helps secure for the youth of America a happier, healthier, and more abundant life. More than 8 million American families are making less than $2,000 a year and the children in these families face an insecure future.

In the first session of the 84th Congress, I submitted a resolution in the Senate to provide for a study of family allowances such as that adopted by Canada and many other countries. Children are the most precious wealth of any nation. Under the Canadian family allowance plan, allowances are paid monthly to mothers who have children up to and including 15 years of age.

I was indeed pleased to see that the 25th Annual National Catholic Family Life Convention, at their recent convention in Milwaukee, Wis., urged the Federal Government to study the possibility of adoption of a family allowance program.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Casper Nannes which appeared March 22, 1957, in the Evening Star of Washington, D. C., reporting the resolutions adopted by the recent National Catholic Family Life Convention.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNMENT ALLOWANCES SOUGHT FOR BIG FAMILIES

(By Casper Nannes)

MILWAUKEE, March 22.—The 25th annual National Catholic Family Life Convention at its concluding session yesterday urged the Federal Government to study the possibility of providing allowances for large families of low-income brackets.

The Reverend Donald N. Webber, assistant director of the Family Life program, Milwaukee Archdiocese, presented the statement for the resolution committee of the convention.

Those attending the meeting represented education, research, and study, and family policy groups in 73 of the 132 Catholic dioceses in the United States.

The statement pointed out that more than 8 million families in the Nation are making less than $2,000 a year and a majority of these families have more children than those making larger salaries.

MANY NATIONS HAVE PROGRAM

The Right Reverend Irving A. DeBlanc, of Washington, at a press conference, explained 33 countries in the Western Hemisphere have family allowance programs.

"We are the only country in the Western Hemisphere without one," Monsignor DeBlanc said. "Many think welfare projects take care of the problem, but numerous people do not want to take money this way because it hurts their dignity and pride."

He noted that while these people make too little money to file income-tax returns, they still were subject to all hidden and indirect taxes and to sales taxes.

While no specific figures were proposed, the 1955 Family Life Convention at St. Paul, Minn., suggested that $6 a month be allowed for the third child in a family with perhaps a larger sum being given to each additional child. The allowance would continue until the child reaches the age of 18.

TWO OTHER RESOLUTIONS

Another resolution called on the Government to study ways of keeping military personnel with their families, not only in the United States and Europe, but particularly in Asia.

By doing this the Government would encourage a reverence for sex and provide a climate for morality, the motion stated.

Also adopted was a resolution assailing international traffic in pornography. It said the Family Life Bureau had received complaints from abroad that obscene literature was being sent from the United States to other countries, as well as being received here from nations overseas.

Still another resolution suggested that the State use its power to increase the stability of marriage by devising a suitable law further to protect it. Such a law, it said, might require premarriage instruction and also insist upon a cooling off period of at least 90 days if a separation is applied for, stipulating a marriage counselor must be visited during that period.

American Agriculture Called Solvent and Sound

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "American Agriculture Called Solvent and Sound," which was published in the Journal and Courier, of Lafayette, Ind., of March 22, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN AGRICULTURE CALLED SOLVENT, SOUND

Indiana bankers and farm leaders received assurance here that despite the cost-price squeeze and materially lower income, American agriculture is financially solvent and sound.

Howard G. Diesslin, assistant managing director, Farm Foundation, Chicago, made the statement in a luncheon speech concluding the 13th annual agricultural clinic at Purdue University.

More than 400 persons attended the 2-day event sponsored by the Indiana Bankers' Association and Purdue's School of Agriculture.

Diesslin said that total farm debts, now near $20 billion, are double the prewar level. However, assets have more than tripled in value since 1940.

The ratio of debts to assets in agriculture is much lower than any time during the 1920's and 1930's in the United States, he went on.

"Agriculture has and should continue to get its share of credit to produce efficiently, even in spite of the tight-money market of recent years," Diesslin asserted.

"Informed and up-to-date credit policies have and should continue to forestall further Government intervention in the agricultural field," he declared.

PANEL OF BANKERS

A panel of Hoosier bankers took up the question, A Farm Representative for Your Bank? Participants were R. Earl Miller, Corydon; J. B. Crosby, Greencastle, and Earl F. Hammond, Shelbyville. T. P. Axton, Lafayette banker, was moderator.

Irrigation and water rights were brought to the attention of the clinic.

D. Woods Thomas, Purdue agricultural economist, asserted that irrigation, under a specified set of physical and economic conditions, can be highly profitable on certain farms in humid regions such as Indiana.

The practice provides an opportunity, Thomas went on, for lending institutions to assist agriculture in the adoption of new, more efficient technologies.

The economist called across-the-board extension of credit for irrigation highly risky but added:

"Extension of credit for irrigation purposes to those individuals possessing the bundle of recourses needed for the profitable use of irrigation is no more risky than other uses of farm credit.

John C. O'Byrne of the Iowa University agricultural law center, told the group that water requirements of Hoosiers, both privately and industrially, are expected to double in the next 20 years.

"Good sense, good planning, and good law can meet these demands," he asserted.

Indiana's existing riparian doctrine is resulting in "anarchy, chaos, confusion, and disorder," O'Byrne declared.

"Riparian law purports to give all lands along a watercourse equal, but undefined, rights to water use and flow. This nebulous measure, this equality of uncertainty where every man's right is defined only in terms of all other potential water users—this is the anarchy of the present system."

O'Byrne said a sound water law for this State must be rooted in Indiana history and must follow or be contemporaneous with intensive physical research and the articulation of a comprehensive, statewide water policy.

Avoiding the Maginot Psychology—Importance of National Inventors Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was interested to read in the Monday, March 18, issue of the Milwaukee Journal a most interesting writeup concerning a now almost forgotten chapter in the history of modern warfare.

I refer to the so-called Maginot Line, which was constructed by our French friends at a cost of around a half billion dollars as a so-called impregnable barrier to German aggression.

I cite this chapter in history now for one reason, and one reason only.

I ask, "Are we, perhaps, inadvertently developing—even in part—a modern counterpart of the Maginot psychology?" In other words, are we mistakenly putting our military eggs in a basket which is now totally inappropriate? Are we in the process of preparing against the danger of World War II, working to too great an extent with weapons which were basically appropriate for World War II, instead?

I think that, fortunately, the answers to those questions are largely "No." I think that the Pentagon is working with might and main, with ingenuity and resourcefulness to come up with answers to tomorrow's type of warfare. But this is a question of degree, a question of all-around adequacy.

Therefore, I think we cannot too often stress the absolute importance of the fact that war has been revolutionized and is being revolutionized today by scientific inventiveness.

That is one of the reasons why I have been especially interested in the work of a small group of a great research and engineering talent which is available to America in the form of the National Inventors Council of the Department of Commerce.

It is this group of men who, from the days of World War II onward, have been responsible for helping to generate and then to sift and pass along to the Defense Establishment the inventive ideas of America's own private citizens. This Council costs a mere pittance in relation

to our $72 billion budget—a mere $90,000 for its expenses. But it repays its cost manyfold.

I was pleased to read that the Inventors Council's incoming mail is growing with an improved quality and quantity of inventive ideas.

The Council is, of course, by no means the only or the main source for generating new military ideas, processes, and products.

But it is so available to all comers that it is the foremost channel for this process open to the private citizens of America.

Through citizens' fresh approaches may come constant new results which will make sure that America will not have a Maginot psychology.

I send to the desk the text of the Journal article of March 18, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHEN FRANCE PREPARED TO FIGHT LIKE A MOLE—RECENT NEWS RECALLS UNDERGROUND MAGINOT LINE, HALF BILLION DOLLAR FOLLY WITH WHICH FRENCH HOPED TO REPEL GERMANS IN WORLD WAR II; NAZIS MADE FORTS USELESS BY FLANKING THEM

(By Gerald Kloss)

According to recent announcements, the final and farthest north of three radar networks—the DEW line, or Distant Early Warning line—will be completed in July and go into full operation by the end of the year. Cost of the 3,000-mile DEW line, designed to warn of enemy bomber attacks over the North Pole, is estimated at close to half a billion dollars.

If for no other reason than the cost figure, this may remind us of another defense line—constructed before World War II as an "impregnable" barrier to German aggression. The elaborate system of underground fortifications running 200 miles along the French-German border was named after its chief proponent, Andre Maginot, French minister of war in the 1920's and early 1930's. The Maginot line also cost about half a billion dollars, at a time when the franc was worth more than 10 times what it is now.

There the resemblance ends, however. The Maginot line was outflanked by the German panzer forces in their drive through Belgium in 1940, and fell to the enemy within weeks. The French had placed too much reliance in fixed defense; in the months of the "phony war" before the German blitz, they were enslaved by the "Miginot line psychology."

Perhaps because of that monumental failure, our defense officials have taken care not to give the same illusion of impregnability to our radar networks and other defenses. They have candidly admitted that some enemy bombers might slip through the protective screen and have stressed the point that no fixed defensive system can offer complete security.

THE DEVIL HIMSELF CAN'T BREAK THROUGH

How different it was before the spring of 1940. If there was anything certain, thought France and much of the world, it was that the Maginot line could not be cracked. "We must build a wall that the devil himself can't break through," Maginot had urged after World War I, and this mighty chain of underground fortresses was the result.

Unfortunately, Maginot—and France—forgot that instead of breaking through a wall, an invader might decide to go around it, or even fly over it.

Maginot had based his plans on the success of the French forts in staving off the Germans in World War I. Artillery was the queen of battles in that stationary war, and, obviously, the best protection against artillery was to go underground. So the Maginot line went underground with a vengeance.

Work started in the late 1920's. To stress the point that the system was purely defense, the French built the line several miles behind the actual border. More than 1,600,000 cubic yards of concrete were poured into the fortification, and some 50,000 tons of steel plate went into the underground works.

The turrets and pillboxes above ground were carefully camouflaged and blended into the landscape. To the layman, at least, the scene looked as peaceful as any other stretch of countryside.

EVEN UNDERGROUND RECREATION HALLS

But under the grassy slopes and leafy glades lay what some military experts called the greatest monument to military engineering the world has ever seen.

The entrance to a typical fort was a huge steel door in the side of a ridge.

Subterranean tunnels led to gun emplacements overlooking the front. Another corridor, with railroad tracks down the middle ended at an elevator which went some 200 feet below ground. The fort might have 8 underground levels, for barracks, messhalls, power stations, ammunition magazines and even recreation halls.

Small electric trains ran on the tracks, bearing food and ammunition for the men in the turrets. Remembering the poison gas attacks of World War I, the French provided air conditioning systems that would increase the inside air pressure to keep out the fumes. Switches could be thrown to flood the ammunition chambers with carbon dioxide in case of fire or explosion.

The line was not continuous, like a trench, but the fortresses and pillboxes were placed so that they could, theoretically, cover every foot of ground along the border with a curtain of fire. The underground fighters were spared the dirt and discomfort of World War I trench life—as well as the danger.

The statistics were impressive, and the French made no secret of them. In the prewar years, they allowed photographs and movies of the fortifications to be shown, giving away whatever surprise value the carefully camouflaged casemates and gun turrets might have had. In articles on the Maginot line before the war, its length varied from 200 to 450 miles, the number of soldiers manning the system ran from a few thousand to a few million and the tally of pillboxes ranged from 14,000 to 22,000.

Why didn't the Maginot line work out in practice?

For one thing, it didn't go far enough. It started dribbling out along the French-Belgian border, on the assumption that Belgium would have its own defense system to ward off German attack. The fact that the Germans had swung through Belgium in World War I apparently did not register strongly enough with the French high command.

MEN UNHAPPY IN SUPERTRENCH

Another basic flaw was the failure to realize that a new war would not necessarily be fought with the weapons of the previous one. The Maginot line was, essentially, a supertrench. If it could be overrun at one point, the whole system would be outflanked. There was no defense in depth to take care of such an emergency, no chance for maneuver or counterattack.

And while the soldiers in the Maginot line were comparatively safe in the early months of World War II preceding the blitzkrieg, they were not happy. Living like moles hundreds of feet below ground, they were cut off almost entirely from outside life. They knew that the Germans were only a few miles away, but they couldn't see them or hear them. Wild rumors swept through the underground fortresses, subsided and gave place to new rumors.

Not to see daylight or feel the breeze on one's face for weeks at a time was a morale shattering experience for many of the poilus. In one fortress, a soldier painted a landscape on a wall, showing a sunny scene of trees and flowers and hills. It became the most popular room in the whole fort.

Despite these drawbacks, the Maginot line itself was not broken by the Germans. It was simply outflanked by the panzer attack through the low countries. Not one major fortress in the system was captured until the whole of northern France was in German hands. Peace terms were signed before the Maginot line could be put to the test.

GERMANS MADE PLANE ENGINES IN FORTS

The Germans took the large artillery pieces from the turrets and placed them along the French coast of the English channel. When Britain and the United States started bombing Germany in earnest in 1943, the underground fortresses were converted to factory space for manufacture of airplane engines and propellers. German inscriptions still remain in parts of the Maginot line.

After the Allied dash across France in 1944, the line again came into French hands. They found it in poor condition, with some of the underground chambers flooded by the retreating Germans. But in the postwar years, it was cleaned up and renovated—possibly for use as bomb shelters in an atomic war.

So once again the Maginot line is operating, although no Frenchman would claim that it is "impregnable" against attack. Its counterpart across the Rhine river, the German Siegfried line, has been turned around to face east, as part of a defense in depth system against possible Russian aggression.

But even if the Maginot line might prove its worth in the future, the French are not proud of it. Writer Joseph Wechsberg, who toured a section of it in 1951, conjectured:

"Being utterly realistic, they know only too well, now, that the Maginot line, 'that impregnable mass of concrete and steel, the flaming curtain of death,' was doomed to failure from its start. No one likes to be reminded of past mistakes, and the Maginot line was one of the costliest mistakes the French ever made. It has become a skeleton in the closet of France's national pride."

Mr. WILEY. I append the list of the distinguished membership of the council. It worked, I may say, through the Commerce Department's Office of Technical Services, whose director is John Green.

I ask unanimous consent that the list of membership be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the list of membership was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL INVENTORS COUNCIL

Dr. Charles F. Kettering, chairman, General Motors Research Corp., Post Office Box 188, North End Station, Detroit, Mich.

Dr. Oliver Buckley, vice chairman, 13 Fairview Terrace, Maplewood, N. J.

Mr. Lawrence Langner, secretary, the Theatre Guild, 23 West 53d Street, New York, N. Y.

Dr. Roger Adams, department of chemistry, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Mr. George Baekeland, 35 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Dr. Alvan L. Barach, 929 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Dr. George W. Codrington, Post Office Box 506, Edgewater Branch, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dr. William D. Coolidge, 1480 Lenox Road, Schenectady, N. Y.

Mr. Watson Davis, Science Service, 1719 N Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Rear Adm. Luis de Florez, de Florez Engineering Co., 116 East 30th Street, New York, N. Y.

Dr. Hugh L. Dryden, National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, Room 601, 1724 F Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. Homer H. Ewing, development department, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., 10th and Market Streets, Wilmington, Del.

Dr. Frederick M. Feiker, 1235 34th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Rear Adm. Rawson Bennett, Chief of Naval Research, Department of the Navy, Room 1804, T-3 Building, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Webster N. Jones, director, College of Engineering and Science, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Maj. Gen. R. P. Swofford, Jr., director, research and development, Headquarters, United States Air Force, Room 4E344, the Pentagon, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Henry J. Rand, Rand Development Corp., 13600 Deise Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

Brig. Gen. T. J. Conway, office, Deputy Chief of Staff for Research and Development, United States Army, Room 3B483, the Pentagon, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Brooks Walker, suite 203, Alexander Building, 155 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif.

Hon. Robert C. Watson, Commissioner of Patents, Washington, D. C.

Mr. James C. Zeder, engineering research, Chrysler Corp., Detroit, Mich.

Dr. Edgar C. Bain, United States Steel Corp., 525 William Penn Place, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Lawrence B. Biebel, president, American Patent Law Association, 802 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

Dr. C. S. Draper, director, Instrumentation Laboratory, Department of Aeronautical Engineering, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.

Mr. Wallace H. Martin, chairman, section of patent, trademark, and copyright law, American Bar Association, 60 East 42d Street, New York, N. Y.

Dr. Jerry McAfee, Gulf Oil Corp., Gulf Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Alex F. Osborn, president, Creative Education Foundation, 1614 Rand Building, Buffalo, N. Y.

Hon. Bernard J. Berry, Mayor of Jersey City, Appeals to the Congress of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have just received a wire from the dedicated and conscientious mayor of Jersey City, Hon. Bernard J. Berry. Jersey City, as well as all municipalities engaged in urban redevelopment, needs help in mortgage financing.

The forthright appeal of Mayor Berry follows:

JERSEY CITY, N. J., *March 26, 1957.*
Hon. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

In the interest of our most important national fight against some slum decay in cities, I respectfully request you extend maximum assistance to Jersey City's special redevelopment counsel when he meets with you Wednesday, March 27. I need not emphasize how urgent this matter is to all the United States urban areas. Please help in every way possible.

BERNARD J. BERRY,
Mayor, City of Jersey City.

Mr. Speaker, the mayor of Baltimore, the Honorable D'Alessandro, it is said, has done a unique thing. He has reacquired land from the Government when its funds were not forthcoming for housing development. Then the mayor, through private financing, carried forward the housing projects his people so sorely needed.

Review by George E. Sokolsky of the Book The Enemy at His Back, by Elizabeth Churchill Brown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, a valuable book, entitled "The Enemy at His Back," recently came off the press. This contribution to our literature was written by Mrs. Elizabeth Churchill Brown, the wife of a distinguished columnist, who is brilliant in her own right.

The complete documentation of this work indicates its authenticity and adds to its interesting treatment of this subject. What Mrs. Brown has said should be read by all Americans.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a column written by George E. Sokolsky and published in the New York Journal American of September 27, 1956, commenting upon this book.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A BOOK BY WIFE OF A COLUMNIST
(By George E. Sokolsky)

The life of a wife of a columnist is not an easy one but Elizabeth Churchill Brown has found time to do a book out of her experience in following the Washington scene either in company with her husband, Constantine Brown, or alone.

The book, The Enemy at His Back, is a study of available but elusive information, most of which has already been published here and there. Liz Brown brings it all together and proves a point; namely, that we have for 20 years or so been governed by men without a sense of history, whose greatest ability seemed to be to cover up their errors or the errors of their chiefs. In fact, they wrapped them up in such delicious language that they ceased to look like errors.

DECISION WEIGHED

For instance, the book cites the occasion of the decision to publish a document on the American policy toward Japan, particularly toward the Emperor. There were those in the administration who wanted the Emperor abolished, which others held would prolong the war indefinitely. So there were numerous conferences to consider the wording of a statement. There was endless talk but no one was quite willing to denounce the document because no one wanted to be responsible for guessing wrong, but Gen. George Marshall postponed further discussion by say the publication would be "premature." The one word did the job which it took all of Gen. Douglas MacArthur's ingenuity later to undo.

However, the document which on May 29, 1945, was declared to be premature was actually issued on July 26 of the same year, which surely is not a great lapse of time. The answer undoubtedly was that there was considerable pulling and pushing in the State Department and in the White House and there were all sorts of experts and authorities who have proved, in the long run of history, not to have been experts or authorities about anything, surely not about the Far East and beyond doubt not about Japan and the role of the Emperor in Japanese history. Most of these experts have been forgotten by the American people, but they still fill little niches in universities where they teach small phases of great subjects to admiring students.

Mrs. Brown's book establishes beyond doubt that from the available data it is certain that Japan was defeated long before the atom bomb was hurled at Hiroshima and that Japan was suing for peace. It is possible also to reach the conclusion from the data she presents that surely the Pentagon and the State Department and probably the White House were aware of the fact that Japan sought peace and that if the President was not fully informed, he and the American people were betrayed by those whom they trusted. It is a conclusion that it is inevitable from the available material.

There is a further point to be made on this subject. Prince Konoye kept a diary and I have been told authoritatively that his diary fully covers the period discussed in this book. I have also been informed that the Konoye Diary is in the United States. Mrs. Brown apparently has not had access to this diary, she not giving it in her extensive and carefully compiled bibliography. However, in an appendix there is a considerable quotation of a conversation between Prince Konoye and the Emperor of Japan, which fully upholds the hypothesis that Japan wanted peace before the bomb was thrown at Hiroshima.

EXCELLENT JOB

Liz Brown has done an excellent job of research and reporting in The Enemy at His Back. It is a book to which one can refer not only for the needed fact, but also for easily accessible references to the sources, so that each statement, each quotation may speedily be checked. The unusual device is employed of putting the references in the margin close to the statement to which they refer. Senator WILLIAM KNOWLAND wrote a foreword for the book in which he says:

"The Enemy at His Back will be of value to all individuals anxious for a free world of freemen. We must recognize that in dealing with the Kremlin, the road to ap-

peasement is not the road to peace. It is only surrender on the installment plan."

This is the thesis and the book might help those who really are interested in why so many things that look right, go wrong.

The Major Role of United States Business in Latin America's Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Herbert Bratter, which appeared in the March 1957 issue of Banking magazine, entitled "The Major Role of United States Business in Latin America's Economy."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MAJOR ROLE OF UNITED STATES BUSINESS IN LATIN AMERICA'S ECONOMY

(By Herbert Bratter)

A preview of a forthcoming Commerce Department survey of the role of United States business in the Latin American economy is published in the February issue of the Survey of Current Business. The article, written by Samuel Pizer and Frederick Cutler, applies the economic tapemeasure to the length, breadth, and depth of American enterprise "south of the border" and uncovers more significant information than could be gathered in a year of personal travel in the hemisphere. Every traveler in Latin America knows that American firms occupy positions of great importance there. This article tells us, and our good neighbors, just how important that position is.

In 1955 United States companies contributed $8.5 billion of net gain to Latin America's economy. The gross contribution included the production in agriculture, mining, oil, and manufacturing; $2.5 billion of goods for use within Latin America; $1.3 billion of goods exported to the United States and paid for in dollars; and $800 million of other exports producing dollar exchange. In addition, new capital brought into Latin America by these companies approximated $100 million.

From the aggregate yield of these items only $600 million went to the United States as income and fees earned by our firms. Another $500 million was spent for imports from the United States. All the remaining $3.5-billion was a net gain to Latin America.

Of the nearly $4.3 billion paid out in Latin America by American companies in 1955, the largest expenditure was $1.8 billion for local materials, supplies, and equipment. Local payments for wages and salaries and for taxes constituted the bulk of the $4.3 billion, however. These direct payments comprise a considerable part of the incomes of the area and in turn generate other activity when spent by the recipients.

United States manufacturing, oil, and trade enterprises are the biggest buyers of local materials and supplies, the oil companies being the heaviest contributors of local tax revenues. All United States firms combined pay out more in taxes and other levies than in salaries and wages. For materials and supplies in 1955 they spent there $1.8 billion; for taxes and other payments to governments, $1.1 billion; for wages and salaries, $1 billion; and otherwise, $400 million. The heaviest tax collections from United States companies are garnered by Venezuela and Chile—oil and mineral producers.

Exports produced in Latin America by United States firms constitute some 30 percent of the area's total exports and about a third of its exports to the United States American companies account for about 20 percent of the net output of Latin America's industry, including mining, oil, and manufacturing. The $2.5 billion of goods those companies sold locally in Latin America constituted a major contribution to the standard of living in 1955; for otherwise most of these goods either would have had to be imported and paid for in hard currency or not be obtained at all.

Employed in Latin America by United States firms in 1955 were 609,000 persons, only 9,000 of whom had been sent from the United States, mostly supervisory, professional, and technical people. Of the 609,000, agriculture accounted for 162,000 and manufacturing 154,000. Oil, far and away the biggest income and tax producer there, accounted for only 60,000 employees. American tax payments amount to about 15 percent of all Government revenues in the area and about 35 percent of all direct income and profits taxes.

The Commerce Department survey clearly reveals the vital role which private United States enterprise plays in the economy and well-being of the Latin American countries. The data reflect not only Latin America's preponderant economic orientation toward the north, but also, indirectly, our heavy dependence upon Latin American raw materials, so important to our own standard of living and the defense of the free world.

Penn-Texas Corp. Versus Fairbanks, Morse & Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, a titanic struggle of interest to everyone in the business world will probably culminate this week in Chicago. I refer to the fight between the leading industrial corporation, the Penn-Texas Corp., and Fairbanks, Morse & Co.

From reading some of the accounts of this matter in the newspapers, and indeed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, one would assume that it is a reprehensible thing for one company to attempt to take over another. I deplore the unfair and uncalled for attacks which have been made on Leopold D. Silbertstein, head of the Penn-Texas Corp.

I would like to aline myself with my colleagues from Pennsylvania, the Honorable FRANCIS E. WALTER and the Honorable HERMAN P. EBERHARTER, who, like myself, are aware that Mr. Silberstein came into our State and took over a failing company and within 1 year was able to report substantial profits.

Thus began, in the State of Pennsylvania, what may be termed his meteoric rise. With that as a base, he followed the American traditional pattern and has expanded his activities. Inevitably, such a rapid rise draws attention, creates comment and also opposition. With that opposition I am not concerned. I am concerned only with trying to keep the record straight to the effect that every American is entitled to the benefits of his ingenuity and ability and that a man's activities so long as they are honorable, as they are in this case, should not be smeared and particularly when the sole purpose is to gain a financial advantage.

Mr. Silberstein and his Penn-Texas Corp. is rapidly nearing the end of the corporate struggle with the Fairbanks, Morse & Co. for ownership and management of the latter. I have no interest in the outcome of this fight, provided the efforts of both sides are in conformity with the rules and regulations of the Securities and Exchange Commission, but I do have an interest in clean and aboveboard fighting, whether in corporate struggles or in other human endeavors.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I, like my colleagues from Pennsylvania, am concerned because the evidence in this case indicates that methods are being used which are not in keeping with American standards of fair play. The Penn-Texas workers are engaged at this moment in making millions of dollars worth of vitally needed national defense products so secret that, I am told, the Secretary of Defense could not get inside the plants without a special pass. In several other States, particularly Michigan and Connecticut, I am informed, the Penn-Texas people are busily engaged in major national defense projects.

Now that this matter is before the court, I am sure that neither I nor any other Member of the House would make any statement that in any way could effect the outcome of this highly publicized proxy contest. I am equally sure that all of us in both Houses do have an interest in seeing to it that outside the courtroom this contest is carried on according to the rules and regulations of the Securities and Exchange Commission which has jurisdiction over such contests.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that this matter has reached a point where it should be focused in proper perspective. As fas as I can gather from the press and the statements made in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the principal charges against Mr. Leopold Silberstein are these:

First. He, an immigrant from Germany and a recently naturalized citizen of the United States, has built up a small company into a large one, namely, Penn-Texas Corp., and through Penn-Texas is trying to acquire control of Fairbanks, Morse & Co. by buying its shares on the open market.

Mr. Speaker, since when has it been illegal—when no monopoly or restraint of trade is involved—for one company to acquire control of another?

Second. Mr. Silberstein and the Penn-Texas Corp. are condemned because they have bought Fairbanks Morse shares on credit. Mr. President, since when has it been illegal to purchase securities in the open market on credit? Our economy is largely built on credit. If no law or regulation has been violated why

should there be any criticism of stock purchase made on credit?

Third. Mr. Silberstein and the Penn-Texas Corp. are accused of some nebulous wrongdoing because they have purchased shares of Fairbanks stock in the United States from certain Swiss banks and that the Swiss banks under the laws of Switzerland are not permitted to reveal the beneficial ownership of the shares which they have sold.

Mr. Speaker, the laws of Switzerland are entitled to full faith and credit. Is Congress prepared to legislate against American stock ownership by the banks of Switzerland unless Switzerland—a nation with whom we maintain cordial relations—is prepared to repeal her bank secrecy laws which have formed a part of that nation's policy for over a century? Is Mr. Silberstein or Penn-Texas Corp. to be held accountable for the laws of the sovereign state of Switzerland?

Mr. Silberstein and the Penn-Texas Corp. have been accused of violating the rules and regulations of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Mr. Speaker, if there has been any such violation, the Securities and Exchange Commission has the power to seek an injunction against Mr. Silberstein and the Penn-Texas Corp. or to prevent their solicitation of proxies in the Fairbanks-Morse contest. It has done neither.

Mr. Speaker, does any Member of either House of Congress suggest that this excellent agency of our Government has failed to perform its duty as required by law. No such insinuation has been called to my attention and I know of none.

Mr. Silberstein is a good and decent citizen. We should give him the benefit of the American tradition of fair play.

I have every confidence that Mr. Silberstein can meet all such unwarranted attacks, but I think it most incumbent upon the Congress to fully investigate the circumstances surrounding the present struggle and thus provide that in the future responsible persons can carry on their business activities under ground rules of fair play which will preclude a repetition of what is going on in the case of Mr. Silberstein.

Government Employee Pay Raise Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to point up the failure of the present administration to take one of the basic steps necessary to increase the efficiency of the operation of the Federal Government and to contribute to real economy. Faced with the President's budget, which calls for spending money in such huge amounts as to frighten the average intelligent citizen, it seems to me that the board of directors of any well-run business would fire the executive responsible for presenting such a program if he had not first done everything possible to pare it to the bone and to eliminate waste. Yet this administration and its Chief Executive have neglected in any of their proposals to Congress to date to recommend action in the most elemental and fundamental area where economy in either business or Government must start. That area is, of course, the organization and maintenance of a personnel staff trained to do the job efficiently, and given pay and working conditions adequate to maintain high morale and a low turnover rate. In other words, the Government employees with whom, regardless of commission recommendations or executive orders, economy begins and ends.

The business community long ago woke up to the fact that the best way to run a business is to maintain the best personnel program. It sometimes took a little educating to convince hardheaded business men of that fact, and I helped in some cases, but they know it now on the basis of profitable experience. Yet, faced with an extremely high turnover rate, and tremendous difficulty in finding and keeping qualified people to fill any kind of a Government job in the face of competition from industry which pays far more and provides far more benefits, the President has done nothing to remedy this basic cause of waste. I have searched the state of the Union message and the budget message in vain for any evidence of a concrete program of Government employee legislation. As a matter of fact in the budget message the President specifically states that "at the present time, I do not contemplate proposing an extensive program of personnel legislation." He did make 2, and only 2, recommendations. One to set up a system of health and medical insurance for Federal employees, with which I certainly concur, and the other to authorize the training of Government employees outside of the employing agency. This is what I call making a molehill out of a mountain.

People qualified in industrial relations work will tell anybody, including the President, that one of the primary methods of attracting and keeping qualified people on the job is to pay them adequately. That's elemental. As a matter of fact he has been told just that by the Advisory Committee on Professional and Technical Compensation—the so-called Cordiner Committee, which dealt specifically with Department of Defense pay scales but whose findings are equally applicable throughout the Government. But the President, it is reported, advised of the findings of the committee staff that substantial salary increases would be required to make Government jobs as attractive as industry jobs of a comparable nature, privately indicated that he would not approve such a report. The formal issuance of a report has been delayed. Whether the President's reported attitude has anything to do with this delay I do not know. But I shall bear in mind the President's indication in his budget message that legislative recommendations would be forthcoming as a result of the Cordiner report and watch for such recommendations with interest. It will be particularly interesting to note whether the committee's formal recommendations square with the staff study released to the press some time ago.

Presumably, administration reluctance to recommend or approve wage increases for Government employees is based on the false premise that the initial increased cost to the Government could not be justified. The administration apparently does not know or has shut its collective mind to the facts which I have pointed out, namely, that a satisfied, permanent work force pays for itself and returns dividends in increased efficiency and reduced numbers. The Civil Service Commission informs me that the annual turnover rate in Government jobs throughout the country reached a rate of 21.2 percent in 1956. In other words, better than 1 out of every 5 civilian employees of the Government had to be replaced in 1956. There were a total of 460,585 separations from jobs for the year. Almost one-half of these were outright quits. On February 4 of this year former President Hoover, who I am sure even the administration will acknowledge is a good authority, stated in a speech that "it costs about $3,000 to process and to give a year's training to a new employee." Now suppose that through improved personnel policies we were able to reduce the turnover by 200,000. It does not take much figuring to calculate that as much as $600 million could be saved by this means alone. The total civilian payroll of the Government in the United States last year was about $10,800,000,000. That is quite a saving if the administration is really interested in economy.

Presumably, the President's thinking on the matter of Government-employee legislation is indicated in his state of the Union message when he warned of the inflationary tendencies of wage increases. He urged that such increases should be "reasonably related to improvements in productivity." If that is the criterion he is applying in determining not to ask Government employee wage increases, and indicating opposition to them, his thinking is typically naive and uninformed. In the largely unmechanized Government jobs productivity, and the consequent saving therefrom, is directly governed by the employee and his satisfaction with his job. Job satisfaction is directly related to his pay and working conditions. So long as the Government employee is underpaid, as he now is, and restricted on fringe benefits, as he now is, increases in productivity in any appreciable amount are just not in the cards. Wage increases and improved working conditions must provide the necessary incentive.

The President does not seem to have been nearly as much perturbed over the inflationary tendencies of his enormous budget as he apparently is over the relatively minor effect any Government wage increase would have. Nor does he seem to be concerned over the moral and prac-

tical obligation to keep the Government, as an employer, within at least a respectable distance of the private employer in its treatment of its employees. I am sure that the Government worker and his family, struggling to keep up with the high cost of living induced by the inflationary-price policies of the big-business interests with whom the Eisenhower administration is so closely allied, would rather swallow an Eisenhower grilled steak than his lame reference to inflationary tendencies as a reason for not offering enough pay to maintain a decent living standard.

Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a number of bills in the House for the benefit of Government employees because I know from long experience that any employer, Government or private, must keep abreast of the times if he does not want to lose his employees wholesale, as the Government is now finding out. In this connection I have received letters from a number of Government employee groups commending me for my stand and pointing out the weakness of the administration position. I ask that these letters be printed at this point in the RECORD:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES,
Washington, D. C., March 11, 1957.

Hon. JACK SHELLEY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SHELLEY: In the absence of National President Campbell, who is away from the city, I am acknowledging receipt of your letter of February 27, 1957.

On behalf of the entire membership of our federation, I would like to express their sincere appreciation of your sponsorship of these important measures.

It is most reassuring to know that Federal employees have friends in Congress, such as yourself, who are vitally interested in seeing that the Federal Government as an employer provides pay and working conditions commensurate with those utilized by progressive employers in private industry.

Much work is being accomplished now by our members to advance the legislation you have offered. Our efforts will intensify as time progresses.

As trade unionists, all of us in the AFGE are keenly aware of the excellent work being done by Members of Congress who are associated with the labor movement.

We are most happy to number you as a friend in this category.

Again, a hearty "thank you" for your cooperation in sponsoring the bills enclosed with your letter. They will be a source of great encouragement to all members of the federation, but particularly those in the San Francisco area.

Sincerely,

JOHN A. MCCART,
Legislative Representative.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF POST OFFICE CLERKS,
Washington, D. C., March 1, 1957.

Hon. JOHN F. SHELLEY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR JACK: Thanks for your letter of the 27th and for the introduction of a number of bills in the interest of postal and Federal employees.

I am sure you know that postal employees particularly appreciate your action which is thoroughly in line with your past record in support of their interests.

I appreciate also your appraisal of the current situation and I am forced to agree with you that current delays result largely from the failure of the administration to recommend a program and their apparent strong objection on the grounds of economy to necessary salary increases. It is a strange thing, but apparently true, at least in the minds of some administration spokesmen, that price increases thus far have not been inflationary but wage increases that would permit postal and Federal employees to catch up would be a danger t othe entire economy. I am always surprised when I hear about private industry waiting for postal employees to get salary increases before they raise prices or wages. I must be listening to the wrong radio and television programs and reading the wrong newspapers because I certainly get an entirely different slant on this problem.

I am attaching herewith a current issue of the Union Postal Clerk containing an editorial I have written on this subject which you may find of interest.

With kindest personal regards and all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

E. O. HALLBECK,
Legislative Director.

[From the Union Postal Clerk for March 1957]

HERE WE GO AGAIN

A few years ago it was perfectly correct to say that "nothing is certain except death and taxes." In these times we can amplify the quotation to "nothing is certain except death, taxes, and opposition to postal salary increases."

It seems that simultaneous with the introduction of a bill to bring postal salaries into line with salaries paid in private employment, we are certain to hear the claim that such increases in pay would be inflationary and would destroy the Nation's economy. This cry of "wolf" is repeated time after time despite the very obvious fact that increases granted in the past did not prove inflationary as forecast by the calamity howlers.

We are becoming rather accustomed to having certain administration spokesmen raise vigorous objections, and weep copious tears about the dangers to the national budget every time postal salary increases are mentioned. We have, in fact, come to expect such objections. Private business does the same thing every time the unions seek wage increases. We suspect that Congressmen are also coming to expect such claims from the administration and have come to recognize this cry of "wolf" as a fake designed to becloud the issue.

This year something new has been added. We still hear the same doleful claims from the official spokesmen but with a new twist. They have added volume to their cry of "Wolf" by having others shout it for them. At the moment it is the United States Chamber of Commerce and its president, John S. Coleman, who are doing a lot of public worrying about inflation.

The February 6 issue of the chamber's paper, Washington Report, features an editorial "Postal Workers Pay Hike Clue to Inflation Binge" which offers the ridiculous theory that postal wages are the harbingers of inflation and that the granting of a postal salary increase would "set off clamorous demands by labor union officials upon business and industry for wage hikes covering millions of employees across the Nation." One wonders just how silly an argument can get. It must certainly be news to people in private industry, be they on the side of management or labor, to learn that the contracts negotiated in the past 2 years did not provide wage increases but that increases are being held in abeyance until such time as postal employees receive an increase. That will surely be news to the Steel Industry, to those in the Automobile field, and to industry generally. What world is the United States Chamber living in? Since when has labor or industry waited for postal wage increases to raise wages and/or prices? Since when has government set the standards either in pay or working conditions? Postal and Government workers generally are the victims of what inflation exists and surely cannot be considered the cause of it. Those who state otherwise are probably the same type of people who, living in the days of the Roman Empire, worried about the poor lions and the effects on their digestion, rather than the helpless Christians.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS,
Washington, D. C., March 1, 1957.

Hon. JOHN F. SHELLEY,
United States House of Representatives,
Old House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Subject: Federal-employee legislation.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN SHELLEY: I am in receipt of your communication dated February 27, 1957, along with copies of H. R. 4700, H. R. 4701, H. R. 4703, H. R. 4704, and H. R. 4705; all bills relating to important and much-needed improvements in the economic status and working conditions of Federal employees and those on the civil-service-retirement rolls.

Your evaluation of the inert attitude of the administration as it applies to the much-needed improvements in the Federal civil service, is very appropriate. It appears that every maneuver in the book is being used, and some new maneuvers have been devised, for the purpose of deliberately stalling the enactment of intelligent and progressive legislation which is designed to raise the Federal employee from the substandard wages and working conditions.

We deeply appreciate your interest in these matters, and we sincerely hope that the Democratic-controlled committees will not await the administration's belated proposals, if any, and immediately proceed to enact many of the good bills presently in the legislative hopper.

By taking the initiative, the Democratic-controlled Congress can place "the monkey" squarely upon the shoulders of those responsible for such unseemly attitudes, for all the public to see and, especially, that segment of the Federal employee group which has not as yet recognized the impact of the great harm being predicated upon them and their families by the administration.

In your position as a member of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, you can provide a splendid service to the taxpayer and the Federal employees employed by the Defense Department activities by taking the lead in a battle to preserve the jobs of these employees, who are in grave jeopardy of losing same by virture of the administration's active efforts to curtail or close down Government owned and operated navy yards, air stations, and arsenals.

The Federal Government has invested huge sums of money for equipment and trained personnel to operate these activities in the interest of protecting the taxpayer against the unconscionable profit gouging of armaments and ship-manufacturing combines. If the administration's present policy is permitted to go on unchallenged and unbridled, we will be lending our country into a situation where these unconscionable combines will be able to dictate warlike policies to the administrators of our Government.

I would be most happy to discuss this subject with you in greater detail at your convenience.

Our organization deeply appreciates your interest in Federal employee problems, and we have notified all of our affiliated locals in the State of California, as well as through-

out the Nation, of the bills introduced by yourself and other legislators who have taken an interest in the economic lot and working conditions of Federal employees.

With best wishes, I remain,

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

WILLIAM H. RYAN,
President, District No. 44, International Association of Machinists, AFL–CIO.

WESTERN REGION PUBLIC HOUSING,
LODGE NO. 922,
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES,
San Francisco, Calif., March 7, 1957.

Hon. JOHN F. SHELLEY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SHELLEY: We appreciate your interest and courtesy in sending us copies of your several bills in behalf of Federal-employee benefits; pay raise, health insurance, and annuitants' increase.

There is a growing tendency to adopt a retrogressive philosophy toward Federal employees which must be countered and subverted by progressive legislative action. Programs and studies are delaying tactics. Legislative action is necessary on all progressive fronts.

Federal employees are not second class—they are first line, loyal citizens. Their work merits the worth of their hire and a 20-percent differential below that of comparable positions in private industry reflects the penury of some legislators not as favorable to workers and their welfare as you have proven to be.

We are appreciative of your continuing efforts and cooperation and trust you shall be successful in our behalf with all the benefits you recognize are due Federal employees.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. COLLINS,
President.

As a final point, Mr. Speaker, I have just received from Senator OLIN JOHNSTON, chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, a fine report by the Citizens' Advisory Council to that committee. The advisory council has as its members 7 outstanding people, including leading businessmen, educators, and only 1 representative of organized Government employees. The final recommendation of the council is worth quoting in full because it substantiates to the hilt the things that I have just said. It applies equally well to all branches of our Federal Government as well as to the Post Office at which it is directly aimed.

This is what the council says:

Improvement in postal service and better working conditions for postal workers can only come about if wages are adjusted on the basis of merit and economic conditions, and not tied to postal rates or postal revenues.

Dedication of New Church

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News commenting on the dedication of the new St, Casimir's Roman Catholic Church in Hanover Township, a suburb of Wilkes-Barre:

ST. CASIMIR'S DEDICATION

To Americans of Lithuanian extraction and to their neighbors as well, next Sunday will be a milestone because of the dedication of St. Casimir's Roman Catholic Church in the Lyndwood section of Hanover Township.

The new edifice replaces the old one in Larksville, damaged beyond repair by mine subsidences. Incidentally, this house of worship was not the original structure, erected in 1889, but one that was built after a fire in 1902.

Thus, two generations have been confronted with misfortune and, in both instances, they have triumphed. The new church in Lyndwood offers impressive testimony that the spirit of the congregation was not adversely affected by this second blow in a half century.

Rather, the people under the leadership of their pastor, the Reverend A. J. Sinkiewicz, accepted the challenge as an opportunity to give expression to their faith by erecting a modern edifice with which to carry on in the footsteps of the forebears.

It is reassuring to note the completion of the new St. Casimir's Church which is a link not only with Wyoming Valley's past, but with the old country, for it was in St. Casimir's that so many immigrants worshipped after their arrival in America. Many of these early families now are affiliated with St. Casimir's two daughters, Holy Trinity in Wilkes-Barre and St. Mary's in Kingston. The Reverend Father Sinkiewicz, who has been pastor since 1924, was baptized there in 1894.

Aid to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, few, if any, countries have paid a greater price for liberty than Poland. Conquered many times, she has never been silenced. Her love for freedom and her willingness to bear the pain and anguish for those God-given rights of human dignity mark her history as an epic of courage and determination perhaps unrivaled in the pages of civilization.

For almost 20 years, she has suffered under the oppression of tyrants, but her indomitable fortitude has not been suppressed. Perhaps it is in recognition of these valiant characteristics, that Russia has recently tended to be more lenient with her in the vain hope that she will not be as persistent in her hopes and desires.

However, our admiration is not enough nor will it assuage her grief nor erase the problems which she now experiences. Consistent with the interests of our own country, we should do all we can to assist her in this hour of difficulty. It is my pleasure to introduce into the RECORD a resolution toward that end which was unanimously adopted by the St. Joseph's Society of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, No. 604, of Salem, Mass.:

Whereas Poland, who throughout the centuries has been the bastion of western civilization has again, by itself, shaken if not entirely the fetters of Communist domination and is taking the initial steps in the very shadow of Russian guns towards independence; and

Whereas Poland is now seeking our economic help to further aid her in securing economic independence as a prelude to freedom and a mission from Poland is in Washington to obtain such aid; and

Whereas this country through Yalta and through passive acquiescence is in a measure responsible for Poland's present plight; and

Whereas in the past we have rendered economic and material aid to countries less deserving and to whom we have not been in any measure indebted:

Now, therefore, we the members of the St. Joseph's Society, No. 604, of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America here assembled on the 58th anniversary of its founding, do hereby go on record as being in favor of giving such economic and other aid consistent with the best interests of our great United States and thereby help Poland to consolidate the gains she has recently won at great sacrifice, and we further urge our Representatives in the Congress and the United States Senate to express themselves in favor of such economic aid.

Communism and You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

COMMUNISM AND YOU

(Address by Maj. Gen. Joseph F. Carroll, U. S. Air Force, Deputy Inspector General for Security, Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus, exemplification and banquet, Marquette province, northern district of Illinois, February 24, 1957, Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Ill.)

Mr. Toastmaster, Your Excellency Bishop Hillinger, Monsignor, Reverend Fathers, Your Honor Mayor Daley, distinguished guests, Sir Knights, I must admit that my mind is diverted, temporarily, I hope, from the subject matter of my talk. As I heard myself being introduced in such kind and glowing terms, I could not help but think of something I read a long time ago to the effect that there are three things in life which are difficult to do: one is to climb a fence which is leaning toward you, another is to kiss a pretty girl who is leaning away from you and the third is to acknowledge with becoming humility an overflattering introduction.

Now, despite these more than incipient gray hairs of mine I will admit that I still aspire to a modest degree of success on the first two, but the third one has me stumped. I suppose in a way, the recipient of an overflattering introduction should feel something like the bachelor girl who has been eligible for matrimony for lo these many years, but no takers. And then one day a rumor began to circulate in her home town to the effect that she was engaged to be married. When confronted with this report she said, "Honesty and modesty compel me to tell you that the report is not true, but thank God for the rumor."

Now, anyone who presumes to accept a speaking engagement hopes that he may

say something interesting in order that he might hold attention, and if his subject be a serious one, as is mine, he hopes that he may say something constructive in order that he might be helpful. Well, I too hope that I may say something interesting and constructive. But as I look at you seated here before me almost as far as the eye can see I must confess to a feeling of misgiving and a sense of humility as I realize the high honor which you have accorded to me in inviting me here to participate with you in this most magnificent and most inspiring affirmation of our faith.

As you look at me standing here before you, you see a man wearing the proud uniform of one of the armed services of the Department of Defense. What does that signify to you? Well, it might signify this: The Department of Defense is that agency of your Government which is striving mightily to develop and maintain a posture of power; modern military power. But that power represents a force so incredible that it is capable of utterly devastating vast segments of the earth upon which we live and bringing unbelievable misery, suffering, anguish and death to millions and millions of men, women and children all over the world.

Now, by what right do we do this? How in conscience and under God can we develop and maintain such a power? Well, the answer is, of course, that in accord with the will of the American people we are developing and maintaining a power for self-protection; that during this international crisis in which we live we are developing and maintaining a power for self-defense in the hope that it may deter aggression. In a word, we are developing and maintaining power for peace.

Power for peace. Those two words standing together seem incongruous, don't they? They sound a discordant note. Down through the ages mankind has known power in such forms as the Asian hordes of Genghis Khan or the barbarous Huns falling upon the civilization that was Rome, the mighty Napoleon bending Europe to his subjugation or, in more recent times, the marching legions of Adolph Hitler crushing the proud peoples of Europe beneath their boots. Yes, all too often power has been synonymous with rape and plunder and bloodshed. It has been the heel of the conqueror driving and grinding human dignity into the dust of the earth.

How then can we justify, how can we reconcile power with peace; peace which in the minds of man means the peal of church bells, the laughter of little children, a farmer gazing pridefully across his fields of grain, or a family gathered together for thanksgiving dinner? What does power know or care about such things as these?

Well, the power for peace may be incomprehensible to the unfortunate peoples of many other lands, but we Americans should understand it well because with us it has been a tradition. As we look back across the span of years to an earlier day in our history we see Americans at Lexington and at Concord taking up arms for the first time in the pursuit of freedom and in the establishment of rights not thereafter to be alienated; and each passing American generation since that memorable day has been called upon to take up arms and to make a necessary albeit a reluctant resort to power, but always in that same tradition, that of protecting right and endeavoring to preserve the peace.

And now today a new menace threatens the peace of the world; the menace of communism.

As you know, the Soviet Union boasts of vast land armies which are numerically superior to those of the free world. They have developed and they have in being tremendous air and naval power which actually rivals that of the United States and all of its allies. This impressive military array is backed by vast natural resources, a surprising technological capability, and perhaps the most rapidly expanding industry in the world. This represent power; real power, terrible power. Considering the world-domination aims of the Communist movement, it is not power for peace but aggressive power.

When we talk of power today we must relate it to the realities of modern power and of modern-day warfare. For example, deeply etched in the pages of history is the tremendous airpower developed by this Nation during World War II. Nazi Europe and Japanese imperialist Asia can attest to the tremendous force of that power. The thousands of sorties which we launched, the thousands and thousands of bombers which we used over and over again, the tens and tens of thousands of bombs that we dropped all added up to the most incredible display of devastating force that had ever been visited upon mankind. This was power in capital letters. This was power the like of which had never been seen or even conceived of before. And yet, because of tremendous, fantastic technological and scientific developments in the last few years, that tremendous destructive force represented in our World War II power amounts to nothing more than a snap of the fingers when compared to the power existing in the world today; the power of atomic energy, the force of atomic and thermonuclear weapons. Thus, today one United States Air Force plane carrying an atomic weapon can deliver on a selected target much more force than all of the bombers used during World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict. Or, to put it another way, today one, just one, Air Force plane carrying an advanced atomic weapon can deliver much more destructive force, it represents much, much more destructive power than all of the bombs in accumulated total that ever have been dropped from the air since the invention of the airplane.

This is a sobering thought, isn't it? And it is one that becomes truly disturbing to contemplate when it is realized that this power is now in possession of the Communist world. They have it now, at this very moment.

This nuclear weapon air delivery capability of the Soviet Union represents a truly terrible threat to the free world. Never before in our history have we been confronted with a threat so immediate in nature and so potentially catastrophic in scope. Never before in our history have we been confronted with the alarming realization that an enemy attack, if ineffectively deterred, can result in wiping out most of our population centers throughout our beloved country from north to south and from east to west, and all in less than a single day.

Now, I have touched upon power; our power for peace and the Communist power for aggression; power in military terms. However, most of the truly great accomplishments in life have stemmed not from the exercise of superior physical force but rather from the spirit of determination, from the fires that burn within a man, from devotion to belief and from dedication to cause. And since this is so, let us make a brief review of certain tangible aspects of the spirit of communism.

Revolution in permanence, dictatorship of the proletariat, abolition of religion, destruction of democracy, conquest of the whole world. These are often repeated communistic expressions which I know you have heard many times. But what are they really? Are they, as some would have us believe even today, the insipid meanderings of the insane, the grandiose ravings of the fanatic, the blustering big talk of the bully, or mayhap the to be ignored bombast of the intellectual crackpot?

Well, let's take a look. Let us take a look first of all at that small handful of men, not even 10 percent of those who are gathered here tonight, at that small handful of men who met in London in the fall of 1847 to draw up the Communist Charter which was published the following year as the Communist Manifesto. Then began what Marx and Engels have so aptly described as a revolution in permanence; then began communism as we know it today.

Just th'nk of what this small handful of men dared to undertake. Atlas is renowned in Greek mythology because he undertook to hold the sky on his shoulders. Well this small handful of men in their Communist resolutions dared to undertake to overthrow by force and by violence all of the social, all of the economic, all of the governmental structures in all of the countries of the world. They literally arrayed themselves against the whole world; just a small handful of men against the whole world and all of its institutions.

Never before in history have opposing forces been so ill matched. Truly the Communists embarked on this titanic struggle of theirs from a posture of almost absolute weakness. They were crazy. They were foolhardy, weren't they? They did not have a chance. And yet communism took root, and it began to grow in many countries in the world. Then Communist Parties all over the world received a tremendous practical impetus with the revolutionary establishment in 1917 of the Soviet Union. Then for the first time individual Communists around the world were provided with a fatherland, a fatherland to which they could transfer their loyalties and allegiances from the land of their accidental physical birth to the land of their chosen ideological birth. Then for the first time Communist Parties around the world were provided with a model party, one to which they could look for guidance, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. And they get guidance. Specifically they get four things: they get international leadership; they get international recognition, which is so important to any cause; they get international cohesion; and, above all, they get an international blueprint for world conquest.

Now, the success of this Communist idea in action is available for all to see in many ways. Perhaps the most frequently cited is found in merely looking at a map. After observing the vast expanses of the Soviet Union, then note what has happened to Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Albania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Eastern Germany, and the like, observing at the same time the Communist conquest of China and Communist inroads elsewhere in the Orient. And they are still going, as witness what has transpired in North Korea, in Indochina, and what they are endeavoring to do now in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world. This is the point to which that small handful of men who met in London in 1847 have been able to project themselves today, to the point where, as you know, more than one-third of all of the peoples in the world are suffering under the direct political domination of communism; to the point where millions upon millions of other people around the world, such as you and I gathered here tonight, are affected one way or another by communism. Truly, as was described by Pope Pius XI, from small beginnings the Communists have grown to a satanic scourge.

Now, to me the most significant thing about that small handful of men who met in London in the fall of 1847 was not the brazenness of their challenge to the world nor even the shamelessness of their objective, but rather this: The spirit of determination, the firm confidence, the almost absolute faith with which they embarked on this

global task. And, in the light of what has transpired, it does appear, doesn't it, that they had some basis for that belief? No wonder rank and file Communists all over the world today believe it when their leaders tell them "The victory of the proletarian revolution is assured; the formation of the world into a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is approaching." In the light of what has transpired, who among us can say they do not have some basis for their beliefs?

Surely it is clear, is it not, that as our Communist antagonists maneuver in the arena of conflict they are strengthened by a most firm determination and a dynamic dedication to cause?

Just what is this communism that we hear so much about? There is no simple definition of commmunism, and time does not permit my developing a comprehensive definition during the course of this talk. However, I can offer a description of communism and what it means to our way of life.

If we study the guiding principles of communism, if we try to understand the economic and social development theories of communism or if we just observe communism in action now and for the past 30 years we can see that communism is not merely a political or an economic or a social phenomenon. It is not a mere holding and sharing in commmon of the great productive forces of life. It does not merely represent the abolbition of private property. It is not a movement that seeks the usual advantages which governmental control brings to political parties in power. No, it is much more than all of that. It seeks a power monopoly; a power monopoly that extends to every phase of human life, not only to those ranges of experience that are traditionally associated with politics but to art, education, religion, science, industry, agriculture, recreation, family life—to every facet of human existence. It is truly a complete philosophy of life. It claims man body and soul.

The Communists have developed a materialistic concept of the universe. This is a universe of substance and form without God.

In this law of nature of theirs there is no countenancing of the concept of God and therefore there can be no relationship between the individual and God.

Communism is materialism, yes; but it is distinguished from all other forms of materialism because it is a positive and dynamic materialism. I do believe that it is the most militant and the most aggressive materialism of all time. You see, communism must be universal and it must be forced upon all of the peoples of the world. In their concept of the law of nature the course of history is predetermined and man, whether he wills it or not, whether he likes it or not, is being moved inexorably toward a Communist world.

Communism is truly totalitarian. This is totalitarianism in the fullest and the most complete sense of the word. As a matter of fact, in comparison with the totalitarianism of Hitler and Mussolini becomes the insignificant toy of juvenile delinquents.

Now, if we reflect on all of this, on Communist power and Communist aims, we should see clearly that we live in an age of peril in which not only our national existence as a political entity is at stake but our culture, our civilization, our very lives as well. It should be evident that this Communist enemy seeks in victory not merely to plunder and to loot our homeland but to extinguish its light, to convert it into a dark prison and to wash from the minds of our young every concept of decency and dignity and to drive God from their souls.

Now, the Communist dogma which forms the basis for this description of communism which I have just offered is not something that is buried in the aging pages of Karl Marx, it was not entombed with the bodies of Marx or Engels or Lenin and Stalin; it is alive and vibrant in the minds and in the actions of the Communist leaders today.

This was very simply and succinctly expressed for us just a few months ago, last November I believe, by Nikita Khrushchev, the present top dog in the Communist hierarchy. I am sure that many of you will recall that at a public function, a formal function at the Polish Embassy in Moscow, Khrushchev insulted the Western diplomats present, including our own Ambassador. And I might say this: he was not only addressing himself to the Western diplomats there, he was talking to you and to the rest of the people of the free world.

Let us hear the man talk. Thus Khrushchev spoke: "Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you. The situation is favorable for us. If God existed we would thank him for this." I would like to repeat that because these words are so full of meaning. "Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you. The situation is favorable for us. If God existed we would thank him for this."

Now, these were not just the angry words of a cantankerous old man. Khrushchev was frankly voicing basic Communist belief and determined Communist intent—intent to bury us.

At the time of the American Revolution just when this country was being born as a nation, a distinguished Englishman, Edward Gibbon, wrote an eight-volume masterpiece entitled "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." In these luminous pages he traced centuries of Roman rule and he compressed between these covers perhaps the greatest narrative ever told of this once great people.

Now, history is not a set of books. History is human experience; it is people who live, who struggle, who love, who hate, who aspire and who finally die. A set of books only records these facts. And may I presume to remind you that like the people of old Rome we at this very moment are living in the midst of great history in the making. We are participating in it and we are aiding in shaping its course. We do not hold with the Communist theory of historical determinism. We know that man by the exercise of his free will determines the course of history. And we must will it, that our cause will be sustained in this conflict with the Communist cause. Whatever form the struggle takes we must meet it with a superior spirit of determination and a more fervent dedication to cause. We have got to do this else some day, somewhere, some historian may begin the narrative of the United States with the words, "Once upon a time."

Now, in this all-out conflict with communism in which we are engaged, we can take pride and comfort in the knowledge that our cause is right and just. But this in and of itself does not mean that our cause shall surely prevail. We know that communism seriously rivals us as a military power, we have seen that the Communists are truly formidable foes in the political arena, we know that the Soviet Union is making tremendous strides in the technological and industrial fields, we have seen that they are fortified by a great spirit of determination and it is obvious that they are contesting for supremacy with us in every field of power—except one. The one great and dominating asset which we have on our side is God if we will but earn and thereby merit His help.

The Communist is anticapitalist, he is antidemocratic, he is anti-Christian, but to give the devil his due, he is more than that; he is pro-Communist all the time. And we have got to be more than just anti-Communist, for a negative philosophy will not sustain us, not in this conflict. Like the Communist we must live a positive philosophy and our faith must permeate all of our actions and it must be clearly evident in our conduct of national affairs. Today the horror and the possibility of atomic war plagues the mental well-being of people all over the world. Mankind cries out for peace, but peace can be attained only if man learns to conduct human affairs in the light of basic moral principles.

The United States is the most powerful and the most influential nation in the free world, hence, it is our responsibility as a nation to give moral leadership to the rest of the world. But the capacity of any nation to show leadership in displaying moral responsibility exists only in direct proportion to the moral character and the individual moral responsibility of its citizens.

In this giving of our spiritual substance in our struggle for peace it behooves all of us in this country to give thought from time to time to an old scholastic adage which I vaguely recall. "Nemo dat quid non habet," no one gives what he does not have. And since these spiritual assets are our main weapons in this conflict it behooves us as a nation, a prudent nation, and as individuals who cherish our way of life, to take occasional stock, occasional inventory of our arsenal of faith.

In this conflict our Government needs the patriotic support of all its citizens. The mere willingness to pay taxes or even to fight and to die for our country is nbt enough. A secular or civic patriotism will not suffice. What is needed is a patriotism which embraces the spiritualistic concepts of democracy and the relationships of man to his God. What is needed is a patriotism which receives its origin in and its strength and inspiration from a combined love of country and love of God.

It is not very often in considering great and complex problems that we find an absolute formula of success already in being, but such a formula does exist. It is gloriously alive in the lesson of the fourth degree Knights of Columbus; the lesson of patriotism. This lesson of patriotism which characterizes your order, and the pledge which you have taken today make it clear that you have made a firm resolve to practice a patroitism which embodies the love of country and the love of God. I know that each member of the fourth degree realizes that he not only has been accorded an honor and a privilege but that he has assumed a solemn responsibility to display in his public life what Cardinal Mercier so aptly described as "patriotism going hand in hand with religion."

But this kind of Christian patriotism which must characterize our national and our individual efforts must be continual, it must be constant—not something sporadic, not something which we haul out of the attic and dust off for special occasions—because our problem is constant. The problem of communism is with us all the time.

If we are properly to understand this problem of communism we must abandon the conventional concept that wars begin only when armies begin to march or that wars are always fought by a trained and a uniformed soldierly, because in the communistic scheme of things war is not always confined to the organized and the calculated violence of the battlefield. The battleground is often in the hearts and the minds of men and the assault is upon the intellect where there is no suggestion of the carnage of war. The weapons used frequently bear no resemblance at all to the conventional weapons of the battlefield, but it is war nonetheless. And in the Communist scheme of things it is total war.

War does not become total merely because all of the assets of the nation, human and physical, are devoted to war and dedicated to victory nor even because the home front becomes the scene of bloodshed and suffering just as surely as the advance post of the military. No. War becomes total only when the prize for which the war commenced

is total, the world itself. And the Communists have told us, oh, so many times that they are engaged in a revolution in permanence to conquer the world. This is evident in all of their teachings, it is even evident in the chorus of their song, "The Internationale" when they sing, " 'tis the final conflict, let each stand in his place, the Internationale Soviet shall be the human race."

Today we are at peace. At least it so technically qualifies. But in the Communist scheme of things there is no peace, only war. Lenin and his disciples completely accept the famous Clausewitz thesis that politics is a continuation of war by other means. But to this Lenin added the unconventional corollary that peace is a continuation of war by other means. Ponder on that for a moment. Take it home with you if you can. Peace is a continuation of war by other means. This precept is deeply embedded in Communist military and political doctrine. It shapes national attitudes and national behaviors. It even explains Communist intransigence and stubborness at the counsel table because, since there is no peace and only war, they are always dealing with an enemy and they must be guided accordingly. Addiction to this thesis that peace is a continuation of war by other means makes it necessary for the Communists to wage war even in times of peace. They are in the anomolous, the unusual position of being at war with those who are at peace with them.

Now, I have mentioned this point of Communist philosophy merely to indicate to you that with them this is indeed a serious business, and we have got to make it a serious business with us. With them this is not just a job from 8 to 5 or for the duration of an assignment. It is now and forever, until they have achieved their total end. Communist leaders have expressed this for us very well when they said of the Communists, "We demand of them not their spare evenings but the whole of their lives." I do believe that this is the reason why that small handful of men who met in London in the fall of 1847 has been able to project themselves into the power and the strength that is communism today. This is what these people are willing to do for their cause. Should we, can we, if we want to survive, do any less for our cause?

You may recall with me that it was Thomas Jefferson who said, "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time." And in the same era, across the seas, a thought of vital significance was added to this by the Irish statesman John Curran when he said in a speech in Dublin in the year 1790, as I recall it, "It is the common fate of the indolent to see their rights become prey to the active. The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance, which condition if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt."

From this statement from John Curran there has come ringing down to us through the ages that famous quotation which acts today as an admonition which we dare not ignore. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Thank you very much.

MAJ. GEN. JOSEPH F. CARROLL BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Maj. Gen. Joseph F. Carroll was born in Chicago, Ill. He attended Nativity and Visitation parochial schools and Quigley Preparatory Seminary in Chicago. He studied at St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, Ill., where he received a bachelor of arts degree. He received a doctor of jurisprudence degree from Loyola University in Chicago in 1940, being awarded the Chief Justice Edward J. White Award for consistently leading his class scholastically during the 4-year course.

In October 1940 he joined the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and after being assigned to various field offices of the FBI, he was transferred to its Washington headquarters in 1944. In September 1945 he was loaned by the Director of the FBI to the Surplus Property Administration where he organized and served as Director of the Compliance Enforcement Division, remaining in this capacity when the organization was redesignated the War Assets Administration. Completing this assignment he returned to the FBI in 1947.

During his assignment to the FBI headquarters he progressively served as a supervisor, Chief of the Criminal Section, Assistant Chief of the General Investigative and Accounting Division, and Inspector.

In December 1947 he was loaned to the United States Air Force to assist in reorganizing the worldwide investigative and counterintelligence activities of the Air Force. In February 1948 he was commissioned a brigadier general in the United States Air Force Reserve and immediately ordered to active duty, serving as Director of Special Investigations. He was promoted to major general on August 1, 1950, and the following month was appointed Deputy Inspector General, United States Air Force. On February 28, 1952, by special act of Congress, General Carroll was integrated into the Regular Air Force Establishment. The Office of the Provost Marshal, United States Air Force, as well as the Office of Special Investigations, is a part of the organizational family of the Deputy Inspector General for Security, United States Air Force, in which capacity General Carroll presently serves. He has been awarded the Legion of Merit and the Distinguished Service Medal.

(He is married to the former Mary Morrissey of St. Gabriel's Parish in Chicago. They have five sons.)

NATO Needs Spain's Troops

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Evening Star, Washington, D. C., of Friday, March 22, 1957:

NATO NEEDS SPAIN'S TROOPS—BRITISH AND FRENCH OBJECTIONS EXPECTED TO BE WITHDRAWN

(By Constantine Brown)

Britain and France, which have been the main stumbling blocks to admission of Spain into NATO, are now expected to withdraw their objections, which were based on emotionalism and domestic politics rather than on international realities.

Earlier this month, New Hampshire's Senator STYLES BRIDGES introduced a concurrent resolution declaring that it was "the sense of the Congress of the United States that the Department of State should use its good offices toward the end of achieving the earliest possible participation by Spain in the North Atlantic Treaty and as a member of the NATO."

The State Department wasted no time in fully indorsing the move in a letter to Senator GREEN, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. The matter has already been expedited in the House Foreign Affairs Committee and it is expected that before the end of this month the "sense of Congress" resolution can be used by the State Department as an additional argument to induce the other NATO members to receive Spain as a full-fledged member.

As a matter of fact, as things stand now in Europe and the Middle East, it is the Madrid government which is doing NATO a favor. The military forces of that coalition have seriously declined in the last few months. The French withdrew their best troops and sent them to fight the rebels in Algeria. The British withdrew the equivalent of a division which was used in the sorrowful expedition into Egypt. Some of these elements are said to have returned to their stations in West Germany.

But at the Bermuda meetings, Prime Minister Macmillan will inform President Eisenhower that his government must redeploy a number of troops in overseas garrisons for the sake of economy and because of the shaky domestic situation in the United Kingdom. The redeployment will affect 2 of the 4 divisions in Germany, the understrength battalion in the United Nations command in Korea, and some contingents in Hong Kong and Malaya.

Germany is a full-fledged member of NATO and had hoped to provide 12 divisions for that organization. But on account of the opposition of the German people, who are loath to see their prosperity interfered with, the Adenauer government has not been able to muster anywhere near that force. The Bonn officials hope that by the end of this year they will have some 100,000 men in the ground, naval and air forces of the West German Republic. This number by no means compensates for the withdrawal of the British and French and the reported planned reductions of Norway, Denmark, and Holland.

Those aware of the real conditions of western defense in Europe do not take too much stock in some of the official statements that the new weapons with nuclear heads and the new guided missiles make the presence of large forces unnecessary. Even before the British and French began to withdraw their ground troops from Germany there was a great disproportion between the forces of the free nations and the Reds.

The Supreme Command hoped that the new weapons and our retaliatory air forces at bases all over the world would be an adequate equalizer. But, now that the British are serving notice that they will withdraw about half of their military strength and the French have already done so, NATO is in dire need of more armed manpower. This is nowhere available in Europe except in Spain.

The alternative—if the British and French had insisted on ostracizing that country—would have been additional American divisions. This they were told, was inconceivable. This country would never stand for an increased draft in order to satisfy the mood of Socialist groups in Britain and France who are opposing the regime of Generalissimo Franco.

The State Department is convinced that after its hand is strengthened by the concurrent resolution introduced by Senator BRIDGES, even the token opposition of our partners in the Western coalition will disappear.

Admission of Spain into NATO may cost the American taxpayers an additional dozen or so million dollars. Spain has a standing army of about half a million men with twice as many trained reserves. But only a couple of Spanish divisions have modern equipment. The rest are armed and being trained with antiquated hardware—some of it pre-World War stuff. However, the expense, considering the present state of the world, will be worth while.

Trial by Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith two very timely editorials condemning the civil-rights program submitted to the Congress by President Eisenhower both in the 84th and the present Congress.

These editorials, one from the New Orleans Times-Picayune and the other from the New Orleans Item, point out that the legislation, if enacted, would circumvent one of the fundamental rights of free Americans—the right of trial by jury.

The right of jury trial is one of the cornerstones upon which this Republic rests. It is astonishing to me that the Attorney General of the United States and others would question this right. Certainly, the fight against this proposal is not a regional one, but one based upon the liberties of citizens in every corner of our great country.

The editorials follow:

[From the New Orleans Item of March 22, 1957]

TRIAL BY JURY AT ISSUE

President Eisenhower's civil-rights proposals have produced a strange spectacle in Washington.

Men who profess themselves liberals are leading an onslaught against one of America's most cherished ideals—the right of the accused to trial by jury.

That is what the proposed provision authorizing the Government to seek Federal court injunctions to prevent civil-rights violations amounts to.

No single feature of the civil-rights omnibus measure is more hotly contested by southern leaders than this.

This proposal is no regional issue. Its opponents are making a determined effort to safeguard a constitutional guaranty for all Americans.

Briefly, this is what is involved in the provision on injunctions:

When an individual feels his civil rights have been violated in one way or another, he may go into court and file suit seeking redress.

Under ordinary procedure, the person he accuses would be entitled to trial by jury.

But not under the injunctive provision of the proposed civil-rights measure.

For it is provided in this bill that the Federal Government may move in and make itself a party to this kind of private suit. And by doing so it may obtain an injunction against the alleged offender.

What is this injunction? And what does it mean?

It is a set of rules laid down by a court, to which compliance is ordered. The injunction can extend to persons not parties to the suit and can turn a private controversy into a means of establishing a code of conduct for an entire community.

But that is not the worst.

Suppose, after an injunction has been issued, someone disobeys it. The court which issued the injunction then has the power of bringing contempt action against the offender and the judge can try him without a jury.

In other words, a single judge would be able to issue the injunction, make its initial interpretation, determine who has violated it and inflict punishment for contempt.

Is the offender under a civil-rights injunction the most dangerous criminal in the land? Appranetly, under this provision, since persons accused of murder, burglary, and all other crimes are entitled and guaranteed a trial by jury.

Our Founding Fathers knew the inequities inherent in depending solely on judicial temperament for justice.

In the Declaration of Independence they said:

"The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations * * * He has obstructed the administration of justice * * * He has made judges dependent on his will alone * * * He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution * * * For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury."

It is true that in the history of our Nation, some jurisdictions have adopted the right of contempt proceedings without a jury trial, basing their position on English common law, and quoting Blackstone, the eminent Birtish judicial authority.

However, it has been discovered that when Blackstone referred to "the method, immemorially used by the superior courts of justice (of England) of punishing contempt by attachments" (without jury trial), his only authority was an opinion written but never rendered.

Even if such an opinion had been rendered and used "immemorially" by British courts, the fathers of this country made it clear in their Declaration they wanted no part of such a system.

We should remember, further, as Senator ERVIN, of North Carolina, has pointed out, that our founders established constitutional guaranties—"because they loathed bureaucratic and judicial tyranny more than they loved bureaucratic and judicial hate."

[From the New Orleans Times-Picayune of March 24, 1957]

DEVICE FOR EVADING TRIAL BY JURY

Southern Members of Congress and other informed people who charge the liberals and the Department of Justice with seeking to circumvent the right of trial by jury through the proposed civil-rights bill, have a real issue. It is not a "phony" as some liberals would have people believe.

A reading of the bill leaves no doubt that jury trials could be omitted in injunctions cases—and would be omitted if current court practice were followed. That is so even though it would be a contradiction of the plain reading of the Bill of Rights and still another article of the Constitution.

Attorney General Brownell's own testimony shows how the skipping could be done, and one of the fervent civil-rights Senators told the Senate committee he favored dropping jury trials in these cases.

Isn't it a bit odd that hot-under-the-collar liberals who so frequently shout about "constitutional rights" should be so willing to have the plain, unobscured provisions of the Constitution circumvented?

Here is the set-up for by-passing the constitutionally prescribed jury trials: The Federal code says that in contempt cases, the defendant, on demand, shall be entitled to "trial by jury" but "this section shall not apply in any suit or action brought in the name of, or in behalf of the United States." Mr. Brownell's proposed bill says that injunction proceedings shall be instituted, not in the name of the real plaintiff who thinks he has been prevented from voting or exercising some other right, but in the name of the United States. The Department of Justice says the substitution of names in these suits "is accepted practice in criminal contempt cases."

The jury skipping provision in the code is frequently explained, we believe, as a device to enable judges to take summary action to preserve courtroom order, protect threatened damage to United States property, and so forth, but what is the urgency in so-called civil-rights injunctions and contempt cases? Yet, it is sure that if the Brownell bill passes, making the United States the complainant, Federal judges will have the option of denying jury trials.

The Constitution makes no exceptions to jury trials on criminal charges except "impeachment." Article III, section 3 says: "The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed." As if this was not plain enough, it was added in the Bill of Rights that: "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury in the State or district wherein the crime shall have been committed."

This civil-rights bill, like all the Federal force bills, proposed in recent years is political in that it is intended to benefit politically its backers in their particular districts. It is not needed because civil rights, including voting rights, are better protected and observed than they ever have been in the history of the country. The people and the States are sovereign, and the central government infringement on their rights is repugnant to the Constitution. It is not surprising, therefore, when Congress or the Government undertake something so repugnant that they should be willing to cut corners with the Constitution in other respects.

The Jenkins-Keogh Bills, H. R. 9 and H. R. 11

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following resolution by the Southern California State Dental Association in unanimous support of the Jenkins-Keogh bills, H. R. 9 and 10:

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
STATE DENTAL ASSOCIATION,
Los Anegles, Calif., March 14, 1957.

Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT,
House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: This association, numbering nearly 4,000 ethical dentists, respectfully submits the following resolution in unanimous support of the Jenkins-Keogh bills H. R. 9 and 10.

"Whereas there are now pending before the Congress, H. R. 9 and 10, commonly referred to as the Jenkins-Keogh bills, which bills would grant to self-employed persons substantially the same tax benefits as are now available to employed persons participating in corporate pension plans; and

"Whereas common justice demands that self-employed citizens of the United States have available to themselves the same tax

benefits as are provided for employed persons:

"*Resolved*, That the Southern California State Dental Association in annual session assembled, urges the 85th Congress to enact the said proposal into law.

"*Resolved further*, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each Senator and Representative from California and to the Vice President of the United States."

We earnestly hope that you will be willing and able to place this resolution in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

We shall be very grateful to you, sir, for all that you may do to advance so wholesome and so worthy a cause.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN J. WHITE, D. D. S.,
President.

Poland Needs Moral and Material Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following translation from the Polish language of an address by Mrs. A. Lagodzinska, president, Polish Federation, at a meeting of the federation:

[From the Dziennik Chicagoski (Chicago Daily) of January 19, 1957]

POLAND NEEDS MORAL AND MATERIAL HELP

(Mrs. A. Lagodzinska, president of the Polish Federation)

"Poland needs our material and moral help." "When the Poles get help, they will be able to manage their internal problems." "We lost spiritual contact with the Polish people." "We need a uniform position of the Poles at the present time."

These are the main ideas of the over 1 hour lasting address of President Adela Lagodzinska a the Polish Federation (Federacja Polonii) last Saturday. Mrs. Lagodzinska talked on her impressions from her last-year trip to Poland.

STRENGTH OF THE POLISH PEOPLE

Mrs. Lagodzinska is of the opinion that the Polish people have shown so much spiritual and physical strength in getting through the past period that they will be able to settle their internal problems in the spirit of their ideas in the future. However, moral and material help of the American Poles is needed, backed by uniform action and solidarity.

In Mrs. Lagodzinska's opinion, unity of the Polish group [outside of Poland] would contribute much to strengthening the willingness to help Poland and to make this help more effective.

"We have been complaining that the Polish emigrees of London keep quarreling," Mrs. Lagodzinska said. "London, on the contrary, complains that the American Poles are divided and keep quarreling. But at the same time, at Czestochowa (Poland) a mass of 1½ million of Poles clearly demonstrated their unity in their ideological aims."

Mrs. Lagodzinska criticized the viewpoint of the Polish group in Washington, where the opinion is growing that the American Poles do not know themselves what is their aim in the present situation of the Polish people; that people above all need material help and moral support of the United States.

Mrs. Lagodzinska demonstrated by vivid examples how the population [of Poland] reacted to her visit in Poland, and she expressed her view that mass contacts of the American Poles constitute an important factor in strengthening Poland's feeling of belonging to the West. Therefore, the Association of Polish Women [in America] resolved to organize a trip to Poland this year.

Mrs. Lagodzinska ended her address by stressing her belief in the Polish people. About 150 people came to hear the address in spite of the great cold.

A GIFT OF $1,000

President Edward Piusdrak presided over the meeting. He stressed Mrs. Lagodzinska's courage in carrying out her trip which would be considered as breaking through the Iron Curtain.

Acting on the motion of Mrs. Emilia Kowynia, seconded by Mr. Wojciech Babioz, the federation resolved to donate $1,000 from its funds for the help of the Polish people, giving this sum at the disposal of the council of the Polish group [in America].

THE PROBLEM OF IMMIGRATION QUOTAS

The problem of new immigration quotas for individual nations was broadly discussed at the meeting. Mr. St. Pictrowich raised the question by quoting from the paper Polish Courier (Kurier Polski) of Milwaukee, Wis. The paper revealed that in distribution of the immigration quotas the Poles were neglected again, whereas the Germans were favored too much. It was resolved to intervene in this matter with the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Representative THOMAS S. GORDON, Democrat, of Chicago.

How Big Are Farm Subsidies?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, in the recent debate on farm legislation there were certain statements made from this floor which would tend to slant public opinion against the farm program. This was done by pointing to the budget of the Department of Agriculture as being nearly one-half of the total income of the American farmers. This certainly is a supposition which cannot be substantiated in fact and an editorial appearing in the Des Moines Register of March 24, 1957, adequately replies to the question.

The editorial follows:

HOW BIG ARE FARM SUBSIDIES?

Apparently one of the main reasons why the United States House of Representatives rejected all plans for revising corn-acreage-control and soil-bank programs for this year was concern about the size of the Federal budget. The proposals would have increased the amount of spending for the soil bank or for corn price support.

The estimated expenditures by the Department of Agriculture in the Eisenhower budget for the next fiscal year add up to about $5 billion. Many city people (and city Congressmen) assume that this big chunk of money all goes to farmers as "subsidies." In fact, some critics of the budget have implied that farmers get nearly half their income from the Federal Government—since net farm income totaled $11.6 billion in 1956.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

A large part of the $5 billion agricultural budget is for loans. About $1.24 billion are for restoration of capital impairment of the Commodity Credit Corporation. This is not all net expenditure. Some of it will be recovered from the sale of commodities accumulated by CCC under price support operations. And some will be recovered by repayment of loans on farm products.

Nearly half a billion dollars in the budget are for loan authorizations for the Rural Electrification Administration and the Farmers Home Administration. In the past loans made by both of these agencies have been repaid almost 100 percent on schedule. It is not correct to call these loans expenditures or subsidies.

But the biggest error in references to the Department of Agriculture budget is of another sort. Critics usually assume that the genuine expenditures in this budget are strictly aid to farmers and therefore a cost to city people. Actually, most of the spending for farm research and education is of more benefit to city people than to farmers.

The many activities of the United States Department of Agriculture directed toward lower production costs and increasing output per man in farming (including the conservation payments of $230 million a year) tend to expand total food production. Consumers benefit in lower food costs. The gains from this process of improving agricultural efficiency are transmitted to the general eating public very quickly.

A rise of 2 or 3 percent in total food production usually causes a drop of 8 to 12 percent in prices received by farmers. The demand for food is highly inelastic in this country. Farmers get less net income from a large supply than a small one.

To charge expenditures for expanding food production up as farm subsidies is incorrect public accounting. These expenditures should be classed as general welfare expenditures like all other education and research.

Aid to Schools in Bitter Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the San Francisco Chronicle may be of interest to Members concerned about classroom shortages in their districts:

AID TO SCHOOLS IN BITTER FIGHT

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, backed up by the Council of State Chambers of Commerce and by various local chambers—including San Francisco's—is fighting a multipronged campaign against President Eisenhower's $1.3 billion school-building program.

By publication, by letter, by direct testimony, by clinics, and by all other means at its disposal, the national chamber is striving to block the appropriation of Federal funds to make up an estimated shortage of 159,000 classrooms in the 48 States.

The chamber and its affiliates are, of course, well within their rights in opposing the proposal. But we believe their course a mistaken one, and their methods have come under sharp criticism from various groups and individuals, notably the National Education Association and Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education, and

Welfare. Secretary Folsom is, himself, a former director of the national chamber.

Arguments brought forward against the Federal construction program allege that no serious shortage in classrooms exists, that no emergency assistance from the Federal Government is required, that Federal aid to schools presages Federal control, that some 16 States—including California—would contribute more in taxes to a Federal building fund than they would receive in return.

Secretary Folsom has accused the national chamber of distorting facts and of making seriously misleading and inaccurate statements in its publications. In particular, he declares himself surprised and deeply disappointed by the chamber's use of questionable figures designed to indicate that an abundance of classrooms is already available.

The chamber alleges that in the decade 1947–57 some 490,000 classrooms were built whereas only 291,000 were needed to take care of increased enrollment. Such statistics, indicating overbuilding by almost 200,000 classrooms, overlook obsolescence, population shifts, school consolidations, and losses from fire and other disasters—which factors, alone, would require from 140,000 to 200,000 new classrooms over the period cited.

As a matter of fact, a recent survey by the Office of Education disclosed a present shortage of 159,000 classrooms and found that the school population is larger by 2,295,000 than the capacity of present facilities.

In reply to fearful prophecies that Federal building aid will mean Federal control, Secretary Folsom observed that for a century or more the Federal Government has been supporting education in various ways without imposing its domination. Furthermore, President Eisenhower has frequently expressed a conviction that Federal aid must be administered without Federal control of schools, and has specifically offered the assurance that the current legislation has been tailored to prohibit any Federal direction of education.

The argument that some States may give more than they receive in connection with the construction program is one that might be levied against almost any project involving the expenditure of Federal moneys. It strikes us as of little relevance. So does the corollary argument that some States may be well able to build an adequate system of schools without Federal aid.

The circumstance exists that classrooms fall short of present needs and are not being built fast enough to make up the deficit. The White House Conference on Education has verified the shortages and the need for emergency Federal aid. The facts, we submit, clearly refute and outweigh the opposition marshaled by the chambers of commerce.

A Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times, which discusses the question of how big a flag should be:

A FLAG

The question has been raised in a recent news story in this paper as to how big is a flag. There is no standard-size American flag. The main criterion is that the flag's width be two-thirds of the length. We think that there are certain general dimensions, however, that should be observed.

A flag is a symbol, of course, and as such it should represent the qualities for which it stands. Consequently it can be large or small. It should be large enough to deserve respect and allegiance wherever it is flown. But it should not be so big that it can serve as a ready shield for scoundrels, the intemperate, or the ignoble. It must not be so small that it is easily forgotten in the times or places where liberty is a dim and distant thing. It must be large enough to win a place dear to the hearts of its sons and daughters. But it should not be so big that its sight strikes terror and fear where it is shown.

It should be large enough to cover all its people, not just the few. It should not be so small that it is easily waved in moments of wild, careless enthusiasm for causes that in a more sober, reflective moment would be rejected as unworthy. It matters little if a flag's history is long or short, its colors bright or pale, its design simple or complex. What matters is that where the banner waves those who live under it dwell in peace, in liberty, and in justice.

Tom Tandy Retires After 75 Years in Vanishing Occupation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, one of the last of the practicing blacksmiths in my section of the country, Tom Tandy, of Edwardsville, Ill., is the subject of a story in the Alton Evening Telegraph. Until a year ago—even at the age of 88 at the time—he shod horses. His active career covered a period of more than three-quarters of a century.

Mr. Tandy suffered a stroke about a year ago and he no longer is able to work at his trade. But he still maintains an interest in life and pleasant memories of his services to his customers.

Under permission to revise and extend my remarks, I offer the story on Mr. Tandy for the RECORD:

TOM TANDY, EDWARDSVILLE, SHOD HORSES AT COUNTY SEAT FOR THREE-QUARTERS OF CENTURY

(By Mel Wiener)

EDWARDSVILLE.—When Tom Tandy laid down his hammer beside his anvil about a year ago, it marked the end of a career as a horseshoer which spanned more than three-quarters of a century.

According to many older residents around here and 89-year-old Tandy himself, he was the last practicing horseshoer in Madison County.

Except for the fact that he suffered a stroke about a year ago, the native Madison Countian would still be hammering away at the ancient craft, he said, for "I never felt so bad as when I had to tell a man I couldn't do a job for him."

Tandy, who lives with his wife on Schwarz Street, began work as an apprentice horseshoer in 1880 and throughout his life worked at no other job. All during that time, he says, he would "eat breakfast every single day at 5 a. m. and then start working."

After some years he went into partnership with another smith and finally had his own shop on Main Street. He has shod horses all over the country though, for when he was 30 years old, he said, he wanted to "see the world" and went around the country shoeing horses.

About 15 years ago he gave up his Main Street shop and went into business in a building set up in the backyard at his home.

Most of the equipment there has been sold and the shed is not used for anything now. Only about 3 or 4 horseshoes are in evidence, compared to years ago when Tandy bought them by the ton. But his old hitching post is still in the backyard under a shade tree where Tandy would fit the shoes to the horse's hoofs.

Though Tandy can still get around fairly well now, he needs to use a walking cane. His speech, due to the stroke, is hampered, and he spends most of his time in the house watching television.

But his favorite type of show is not the "western" which its abundance of horses, but professional prizefights which he avidly follows.

Mr. and Mrs. Tandy are the parents of 3 children and they have 13 grandchildren and 10 great-grandchildren. Nowadays he eats breakfast about 6:30 a. m. each day and spends the rest of the time loafing around the house.

It certainly is a change after so many years of a rigid schedule, he says.

"In the old days," he says wistfully, "I could handle a horse with this hand," as he slowly extends his semiparalyzed right arm. "But now, my cane feels heavy in it."

Forty-second Anniversary of the Incorporation of the City of Miami Beach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, March 26 marks the 42d anniversary of the incorporation of the city of Miami Beach. From a tiny fishing village of barely 600 population Miami Beach has grown to a thriving city of 60,000 which plays host to 1¾ million visitors annually. I want to take this opportunity to extend my heartiest congratulations to all the officials and citizens of Miami Beach who have helped make this fabulous growth possible.

Only a few years ago Miami Beach was generally thought of as only a winter resort. Today the advantages of its spectacular location and unsurpassed climate have made it famous the world over as a year-round vacation spot. The vision and foresight of the early city fathers has been more than vindicated. Where formerly there had been only mangrove swamp and sand dunes there is now a modern resort city of palm-lined boulevards, multimillion-dollar hotels and apartments, fine shops, and beautiful homes.

Since 1935 more hotels have been built in Miami Beach than in most of the rest of the entire United States. Today Miami Beach has over 370 hotels, with a total of 30,000 rooms. The city itself owns 706 acres of public parks, including eight beaches and 15 play-

grounds. With its two municipal auditoriums, many hotel meeting rooms, and outstanding accommodations for visitors Miami Beach has become America's most modern convention city.

All this, plus an absence of soot, smoke, smog, or snow, makes Miami Beach an ideal place whether for permanent residence or for a relaxing vacation.

It is a pleasure to extend birthday greetings to one of the truly fabulous cities of the world.

Our Post Office Worries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting article entitled "Our Post Office Worries" which appeared in the Boston Daily Globe on March 22, 1957:

OUR POST OFFICE WORRIES
(By Uncle Dudley)

The postal system of the United States has been described as the largest public utility in the world. Perhaps no service of the Government touches the lives of more citizens more often. From feeble beginnings—it was almost strangled at one time by private competitors—it has attained a size that can be described only in terms that are astronomical. It has become customary now for it to have as well a substantial deficit.

In 1952, the last year of the Truman administration, the deficit was $702 million. It has not reached that figure since, but in 1958 it will have climbed to at least $651 million, it is estimated, unless Congress ups the rates. Postmaster General Summerfield, who has asked the increases, contends that if it were not for the economies and efficiency he has introduced the deficit would now be more than a billion dollars.

Given the increases requested, the deficit for 1958 would be reduced to less than $200 million. But even then ahead of the Department lies a building and modernization program and, more than likely, a larger and continuing deficit.

The first Postmaster General of the United States, Samuel Osgood, Esq., set out from Boston by stagecoach with a sword cane, a powdered wig and the hope that the mails might be made to pay for themselves. The attempt to realize that hope did no more than encourage private competitive systems, lead to fluctuating rates and generally make for disorder and dissatisfaction.

Inviolability of the mails and public service in the sense of national service grew to fullness only with the close of the Civil War. Second- and third-class mail came into being not as poor relations of first-class mail but as partners taking up the slack period of the labor force necessary if first-class mail was to get its preferential treatment. The special services today are expanding, air mail most of all, with private industry collaborating with the Government instead of competing. Automation will aid economy and efficiency.

There can be no thought today of making the system pay for itself. Receiver as well as sender benefits from the use of the mails. To try to break even would, in effect, be calling upon a certain class of citizens—those who use the mails the most—to pay for the franking privilege Congress uses for the benefit of all and to make up the loss suffered on all Government mail. A deficit is inevitable and generally accepted. But how much of a deficit? Where to start and where to stop?

Our postal system cannot be compared readily with those of other countries of the free world. In most of these, postal system, telegraph, and telephone are in one government department, and the loss from one is offset by the profits from another. Our postal system stands alone.

With the growing recognition of the mails as a public service of the first order may come a solution that will relieve the annual distress over deficit and rates.

In an age of statistical wisdom and the magic of cost accounting, experts might well find a relationship between deficit, dollar value, cost of living, and volume of business and would provide a general satisfactory and continuing formula. This in turn would free post-office executives and other citizens from deficit worries and the chore of recurrent lobbying.

Still Knocking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, I take pleasure in calling to the attention of the House an editorial regarding Alaska statehood entitled "Still Knocking," which appeared in the Boston (Mass.) Herald of February 6:

STILL KNOCKING

You might call it baked Alaska politics.

Every year for the past 20 years the major political parties have lovingly inserted a clause into their platform stating that practically their first act on assuming office would be the admission of Hawaii and Alaska into the Union.

The reception in the convention hall is always frenzied. Enthusiasm is a mild word. The 49th State plank is always adopted unanimously—and just as quickly squelched after either the Republicans or Democrats assume office.

Once again the eternal promise is being tested in committee before reaching the floor of the Senate. The Alaskan and Hawaiian Senators-elect have been introduced to a thunderous wave of applause from their would-be colleagues. Speeches of welcome were read, the unbounded good feeling of the conventions still prevailed.

Realistically speaking, the whole thing is apt to be another instance of soured optimism. Except for the time element the circumstances regarding Alaska and Hawaii have not changed a whit. Fear governs the arguments against admission; the southerners fear votes against civil rights; the Democrats fear Republican Hawaii; the Republicans fear Democratic Alaska; everyone fears the influence of statehood on defense. The issue is inevitably treated in a partisan manner.

But time and time again the arguments against admission have been refuted. And the fact remains that the citizens of Hawaii and Alaska are required to exist under the same conditions from which America revolted in 1776. How long can they go on knocking at the door, taxed without representation, unable to elect their own governors?

It's time that the fine promises of election became something more than shameful campaign oratory. The knocking has grown so loud that America cannot afford to listen with a deaf and partisan ear.

Milk Market "Bigs" Battle the "Littles"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, there is an obvious amount of uncertainty among the dairy producers and dairy operators in Iowa concerning whether or not actual free trade is being exercised in the dairy industry in our State. An item appearing in the Des Moines Register, March 24, 1957, brings to light some of the aspects of this condition.

The item follows:

MILK MARKET "BIGS" BATTLE THE "LITTLES"

The Iowa milk market is churning, with rugged economic battles reported between "big dairies" and "little dairies."

A supermarket was selling milk from a distant "little dairy" at three half-gallons for $1. Since a week ago Saturday, the supermarket sells only milk from a nearby "big dairy" at three half-gallons for $1.26.

The supermarket manager's mind was changed when a group of protesting farmers who sell milk to the big dairy came in that Saturday and bought up the store's entire stock of milk that came from the small "outside" dairy.

"When they came in and bought us out, we quit," said the store manager. "We don't handle that (small dairy's milk) anymore."

The manager said he received protests from some customers with large families that buy a lot of milk. "We have to string along with the farmers because they're a big part of our business," the manager said.

One Iowa supermarket operator reportedly was given $500 by a dairy to sell only that dairy's milk.

In another instance, the pressure came from the supermarket operator. This store manager, in northern Iowa, reportedly offered a dairy representative exclusive rights in his store if the dairy would put a new Buick in my driveway in place of the old one that's there now.

This reported deal did not go through.

TELEPHONE THREATS

"I've received telephone threats that they'll put milk down to practically nothing in my area if I don't stay out of their area," said the operator of a southwest Iowa dairy.

There have been reports that restaurant operators were given free milk-dispensing machines in return for selling a certain brand of milk.

"A lot of milk has been given away" under competitive pressure, said another dairy operator.

The sharp competition for milk markets reportedly extends to schools which, with Federal subsidies, buy large quantities of milk to serve to pupils.

"The independent operator doesn't object to competition," said Bill Oberg, Fort Dodge dairy operator. "The only thing he would like is fair competition to avoid complete monopolizing of the dairy industry."

DAIRIES RUINED

Oberg is president of the Independent Milk Dealers Association, organized about 7

months ago with a membership of 30 to 40 operators of smaller dairies.

"We formed this organization for the purpose of trying to keep the small independent operator in business," Oberg said.

Oberg said poor business practices and failure to maintain milk quality have ruined some small dairies, but, "I think the whole darn thing is a matter of these larger companies coming in and not playing fair with the small dairies."

"It's really getting out of hand," said Earl Johns, Sr., Corning dairy operator and a member of the independent dealers' group.

Roy W. Nelson, manager of the Des Moines Cooperative Dairy (which supplies milk to a number of Des Moines dairies) said he believes reports of sharp competitive practices are exaggerated.

"The milk business has always been competitive," he said. "As far as I know there's been nothing different than it's always been."

NO FORMAL COMPLAINTS

About the Independent Milk Dealers Association, Nelson said, "I didn't even know such an organization existed."

President Oberg of the independent dealers' group said that early this year an "FTC (Federal Trade Commission) man met with us and we told our problems." The organization has not filed any formal complaints with the FTC, he said.

"We're just going to sit back and watch what happens," he said. He referred to FTC complaints filed last October against three of the Nation's largest dairies.

The FTC has charged the 3 with violating Federal monopoly laws by acquiring a total of 251 dairy companies since 1951. The 3 are the Borden Co., New York; Beatrice Foods Co., Chicago, Ill., and National Dairy Products Corp., New York.

Borden and Beatrice own or operate some dairies in Iowa.

The number of dairy plants in Iowa has been cut in half since the end of World War II.

There were 527 dairy plants in Iowa in 1946, and 269 at the end of 1956. Dairies owned by one company are still counted separately in these figures, from the Iowa Department of Agriculture.

Elizabeth Haili Among

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, on Monday of last week Elizabeth Haili Among, a valued constitutent and a long time personal friend for whom I have always had the highest respect and admiration, died of cancer in Honolulu.

Mrs. Among had long known she was going to die, and it was entirely characteristic of her self-forgetfulness and of her absorption in the welfare of others, that only a few of her closest friends knew of this. Her death is a great loss to the community, her friends and family, and to me personally.

I include herewith a copy of a wire I sent to her family last Thursday:

Elizabeth Haili Among more than deserves to be honored among the outstanding and distinguished citizens of Hawaii. Her completely unselfish devotion to the good of the community, marked by deeds and great personal effort as well as by words; her constant effort to improve the lot and opportunity of the so-called forgotten and common man; her untiring and ceaseless endeavor to build a society wherein the God-given dignity of man would have meaning and would have reality for every human being demonstrated her complete and unswerving belief in the principles and ideals of the United States of America.

Her life is an outstanding instance of that generosity and that greatness of soul which is so characteristic of the native Hawaiian, and which it is his glory, more than anyone else's, to have contributed to our unique Hawaiian democracy.

Haili understood and sympathized deeply with human weakness and with human faults. They made her only all the more ready to help others in their struggle to begin anew. No one who needed her help was ever refused, no matter who he was. She never condemned anyone or spoke in hatred of anyone. She spoke well even of those whose ideas or whose programs she strongly opposed. Haili did much for the "least among us." Unassuming, seeking neither credit nor glory, she gave of herself freely to her fellowman, and by her tact, her understanding and her intelligence gave him much more than she will ever be credited with.

She lived among us, and she gave us strength. In memory she lives among us still, and as long as we remember and love her—and we will always—she will continue to give us strength.

I extend my deepest and heartfelt sympathy and understanding to her family. We, who live, must and will go on inspired by her example. May God have mercy upon her soul.

Congressman Morano Brings Credit to the Congress on Trip to Guatemala

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from the Bridgeport (Conn.) Post of Sunday, March 24, pertaining to my Connecticut colleague, Representative AL MORANO.

All of us have heard of the wonderful reception accorded our colleague when he addressed the officials and the people of Guatemala in their native tongue.

As the editorial points out, Congressman MORANO has contributed greatly to good relations and better understanding with our Latin American neighbors.

I believe, as do many of my colleagues, that AL MORANO should be called upon again and again by our State Department for similar missions where his forceful talents may be utilized for the furtherance of inter-American relations and a greater understanding of our motives and ideals.

The editorial follows:

AL'S LINGUISTIC TRIUMPH

A group of Congressmen, members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, recently returned from a study mission to Guatemala, a key country in hemisphere relations. In a report to President Eisenhower the goodwill members said their mission had been successful.

The report pointed out to the President that one of their Members, Congressman AL MORANO of our district, "has enhanced the prestige and standing of the United States and has increased good will toward the United States to a remarkable degree."

The Members called particular attention to the work of their Republican colleague for his fluent Spanish addresses, in the local idiom, which "won the hearts of the people." He addressed the Guatemala Congress and received a standing ovation. The Foreign Affairs delegation also hailed Congressman MORANO for "his profound understanding of Latin America, its people and its psychology, and his ability to tell the story of the United States" to them.

The congressional delegation visited Guatemala as the guests of President Castillo Armas and were received in plenary session of the Guatemalan Congress. They were invited to see what Guatemala had done with $15 million in United States aid in the 1955–56 period, following the crackdown on Communist rule in the Republic.

El Espectador, Guatemala City newspaper, lauded the visitors but also singled out Congressman MORANO who endeared himself to the people and their political leaders for speaking to them frankly in their own language. This is most unusual as few Congressmen have any knowledge of the languages of the countries all over the globe which they visit so frequently. In this country our legislators and political officeholders are so accustomed to hearing foreigners speak English they don't bother to learn another language.

All the Russians who have come and gone since our recognition of the Kremlin mob have been able to speak English. They speak it in Washington and in the U. N. How many of their United States counterparts speak Russian? Knowledge of foreign languages has long been neglected in this country, simply because most Americans are not called upon to use other tongues.

Representative MORANO's Democratic colleagues were quick to see the advantage he had, and the good that he accomplished by his ability to speak the language of the Guatemalans. Through that medium he was able to state the United States position clearly and simply—and they liked it.

Our Congressman is to be congratulated not only for his linguistic ability but in knowing how to make friends in Latin America. He has the honor of being the first Congressman to address a native legislative body in its own language.

Construction Loans to Veterans

SPEECH
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4602) to encourage new residential construction for veterans' housing in rural areas and small cities and towns by raising the maximum amount in which direct loans may be made from $10,000 to $12,000, to authorize advance financing commitments, to extend the direct loan program for veterans, and for other purposes.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Chairman, may I be heard on the point of order?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman may proceed.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Chairman, may I supplement what the gentleman from Oklahoma just said in support of the amendment and against the point of order by pointing out to you the very title

of the bill we are considering provides in part, "to extend the direct loan program for veterans." The gentleman's amendment would do just that. It would extend the direct loan program for veterans. It does not amend the National Service Life Insurance Act because what the gentleman is doing in providing the amount which shall be used for this purpose of extending the direct loan program is merely a limitation of how much money will be used to extend the program. He uses that as a guide as to the amount to be used. I urge that the point of order be overruled.

Career by Chance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 10, 1957

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article written for the San Francisco Examiner, dated February 5, 1957, by Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz. It is entitled "Career by Chance," and was written to help the Edgewood Home for Boys and Girls in San Francisco.

Admiral Nimitz, a native of Fredericksburg, Tex., located in the district I have the honor to represent, is now living in Berkeley, Calif., where in his retirement he continues to make his vast storehouse of knowledge, experience, and wisdom useful for the country. He now serves as special assistant to the Secretary of the Navy in western sea frontier, serving in an advisory capacity. And he serves the public interest in many other capacities.

In order that the article written by Admiral Nimitz may have the fullest coverage, I include it in the RECORD. I am certain that his millions of admirers and friends everywhere will be pleased to read this very interesting and inspiring story about some experiences that occurred early in his life.

The article follows:

CAREER BY CHANCE

Fifty-seven years ago, in the small town of Kerrville, Tex., a 15-year-old youth worked feverishly at his studies in algebra, geometry, history, geography, and grammar, fired with determination to win an appointment as a cadet at the United States Military Academy, at West Point, N. Y.

What sparked that activity? It was the presence of Battery K, 3d Field Artillery, encamped in the hills close by Kerrville and engaged in routine training and gunnery practice. Each summer that battery departed its normal base at Fort Sam Houston, Tex., for field exercises, as did several troops of cavalry which wheeled and maneuvered on the plain just south of Kerrville. These detachments brought a measure of prosperity to the merchants of the community and added greatly to the excitement and entertainment of the youngsters and small fry of the area.

Especially admired in their spanking new and well-fitting uniforms were two newly graduated West Pointers, Second Lieutenants Crulshank and Westervelt, who, on their way to join Battery K, stopped a few days at the St. Charles Hotel, where the above-mentioned youth worked as a desk clerk, janitor, and general handyman outside of school hours in exchange for board, lodging, and $15 per month.

By now, it must be apparent that in the foregoing are a few paragraphs of my own autobiography. You may be sure that I lost no time in becoming acquainted with those smartly turned-out young Army officers, who, in my opinion, had everything. Coming from a poor family, I could foresee no prospect of an education beyond high school. I had already formed vague plans to seek employment as a surveyor's assistant to learn that skill as I carried his chain.

But here were two young men who had been educated by the Government and I was determined to follow in their footsteps. "Write to your Congressman and ask for an appointment to the United States Military Academy," I was told. It was also suggested that I ask for a description of life at West Point after one has successfully passed the strenuous physical and mental entrance examinations.

My Congressman, the late Hon. James L. Slayden, of San Antonio, promptly informed me he would have no appointments to the Military Academy for several years, but that he had a vancancy for the United States Naval Academy, at Annapolis, Md., in the coming summer of 1901. If I could meet the physical requirements he would permit me to participate with a number of other applicants in a competitive examination to be held in San Antonio in the spring of 1901. An Army doctor at Fort Sam Houston quickly assured me that I could meet the physical requirements.

The time has now come for me to admit that I had never heard of the Naval Academy, but, because it gave me the opportunity for further education, I determined that I would work hard for the competitive examination. Such ignorance on my part concerning the Navy was not strange in my part of Texas, which was well acquainted with the Army because Fort Sam Houston, on the outskirts of San Antonio, was one of the largest military establishments maintained in the South.

Now began that hard grind in preparation for the competition. For several months every available moment was devoted to study. My stepfather, William Nimitz, who assisted in the management of the hotel, was an excellent coach and quiz master. He tested me constantly with sample entrance examinations sent out by the Naval Academy authorities to illustrate the difficult character of the entrance requirements. The principal of the Tivy High School, where I was a student, tutored me in algebra and geometry, in which he was a specialist. A very fine teacher and a wonderful woman, Miss Susan Moore, took over the remainder of my preparation. My mother, also employed at the hotel and in charge of the kitchen, gave me daily encouragement.

My day-to-day routine may interest present-day youngsters. School hours were from 9 a. m. to 4 p. m. after which my janitorial chores began with lawn care and raking followed by splitting cedar for kindling, filling wood boxes and attending some dozen or more stoves and fireplaces, which occupied the time between the end of school and supper. After supper I took my turn as clerk at the desk until about 10 p. m., when everyone had retired and I could occupy my lodging. This consisted of a cot set up in the ladies' parlor of the hotel. I arose at 3 a. m. to study until 5:30 a. m. when it became time to light fires, attend stoves and call early risers. After breakfast I was free to go to school.

For the competition that April there were about 7 who completed the 3-days of examination, although double that number started. In due time I was informed that I was the winner and that the appointment to the Naval Academy was mine. Early in July 1901, my Congressman, Mr. Slayden, accompained me to Annapolis where I entered the Wernts Preparatory School for 2 months of further drill and preparation for the entrance examinations in late August. These I passed with no difficulty. On September 7, 1901, I entered the Naval Academy and was sworn in as a Naval cadet, a designation later changed to midshipman.

From that day until this moment I have enjoyed my naval service which encompassed duty in many types of naval vessels in many parts of the wrold, and in ranks from the lowest, naval cadet 4th class, to fleet admiral. The Navy has given—and is giving—me a good life. On September 7, 1956, I remarked to M. Sgt. George E. Cozard, United States Marine Corps, that "Today is an anniversary for me—a very special day because it was on this day 55 years ago that I entered the Navy." After considering the statement for a moment Sergeant Cozard asked, "Well, Admiral, do you think you will make a career of the the Navy?" I replied in all sincerity, "Yes, I think I will." I meant just that.

Although I originally set my sights on an Army career, circumstances over which I had no control diverted me to the Navy. I am glad it turned out that way. The Navy has been my life and will continue to be my life—as long as I have life left in me.

Price Discrimination in the Petroleum Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, the fact of whether or not there is price discrimination in the petroleum industry to jobbers, retailers, and others is being widely debated especially as it relates to H. R. 11. I have a recent letter from a constituent who is engaged in this business, being a retailer, which points out the conditions of price discriminations in Iowa at the present time.

The letter follows:

MARCH 20, 1957.

The Honorable MERWIN COAD,
Member of Congress,
Old House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN COAD: As per our conversation while you were last in Boone, I am setting down some of the inequalities as they exist in gasoline pricing in this area.

At the time you were here, the gasoline market at Jefferson 28 miles to the west of us, was selling to dealers at 26.3 and to the farmer at 24.9. Now this is bad enough but when you take into account that the agent which delivers the gas is paid from 2 to 2.5 cents to deliver to the farmer and only 0.4 to 0.5 to deliver to the dealer it makes the companies selling gas to the farmer for as much as 3.9 cents less.

Most anyone in the business knows that the average dealer will buy as much in 1 week as the average farmer buys in 2 years. At the same time at Ames and Boone Standard Oil Co. dealers were displaying the price of gasoline to the consumer at 30.9—yet the dealer cost at Ames as 25.4 and at Boone 25.7. There is no freight differential between the two towns.

The claim that the companies have of selling at one price to the same type outlets is not true and can be proven upon investigation. I am wondering if the Federal Trade Commission is aware of these price discriminations. I am sure that all of these statements can be substantiated upon investigation.

We never have a price change except when Standard Oil Co., Indiana, makes one and then every one follows. I have asked my supplier why that is, and they tell me they have a gentleman's agreement that Standard Oil Co., Indiana, is the market maker in this area and other areas are assigned to other companies depending upon the amount of business each one has.

Thank you for your time and if I can serve you in any way don't hesitate to let me know. I feel that at last we have some one to represent us who is taking an interest in our problem.

God bless you and yours,

ERNEST JACKSON.

A Tribute to Lawrence J. Keefe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened this week by the passing of an old and trusted friend—Mr. Lawrence J. Keefe, the distinguished dean of New Jersey's political writers.

I would like, at this time, to pay tribute to Larry—and I am sure all other members of the New Jersey congressional delegation join with me, for we all knew and loved and respected him.

For nearly a half century, Mr. Keefe was a newspaperman and a political columnist in New Jersey. His integrity, his penetrating and unbiased reporting, his respect for confidences typified the highest standards of the journalism profession.

I know there are many in public life in New Jersey who, like myself, were helped and encouraged during our early years by Larry's sound advice. I know that, among Republicans and Democrats alike, he made friendships that endured through the years of heated political campaigns and partisan differences.

During the years of my friendship with Larry, I never once knew him to do a small or mean thing, or distort facts for the sake of a story, or use the power of the press for personal advantage. Larry was a gentleman, and one of the keenest students of politics it has been my privilege to know. It can be truly said that Larry Keefe enriched the world in which he moved; that there was a meaning and a purpose and a striving for the goodness of truth in the life of Larry Keefe.

This week in the Elizabeth Daily Journal where Larry began—and ended—his distinguished career, an editorial was written in his memory. This editorial, I believe, should be perpetuated in the records of the Congress of the United States as a fitting tribute to a man who served his profession well.

I respectfully request that this editorial be entered in the RECORD:

A HISTORY LEFT UNWRITTEN

Larry Keefe's last column has been cast. In a moment now, it will be clamped somewhere among the cylinders of a great modern newspaper press. A thoughtful man in inkstained gear will stand by. On signal he will press a button and the immediate roar will herald a new edition. That will be finis. It will be "30," the epitaph of all newsmen—"30" for a career that deserves to be bracketed among the memorable of New Jersey newspaper history.

There was no indication that the man who eventually would be acknowledged the dean of the Garden State's political writers had reported for work the day Lawrence J. Keefe, new out of Rahway High School, joined the staff of the old Elizabeth Times. He was a tall and gangling adolescent, but he was already gifted with a talent for observation, a quiet humor, and the product of a family background that should have forecast the shadow of coming success.

Young Keefe was already displaying marked aptitudes when he came under the indelible influence of the late John Mitchell as a Journal man a half dozen years before the first World War. For Mr. Keefe it was a fortunate partnership in which he ripened quickly to attract the attention of former Union County Assemblyman Joseph Gunn and who, as Newark Star city editor, was in need of a promising youngster he might school for the duties of his paper's legislative correspondent at Trenton.

But, schooling exceptional ability is never much of a job. Rare gifts have a way of coming to the surface of themselves. And at Trenton Larry Keefe found the stage and the vehicle which, until his terminable illness, was to demand attention for every line of political opinion that came from his typewriter.

For almost two score of years the mighty political generals hearkened and were guided by the asute, penetrating appraisals to which he gave wing. The voter and the gambler, too, fixing his odds, missed no line of trend or prognostication he wrote.

Newark Star, Star-Eagle, Sunday Call, Ledger, the Port Authority, even, harvested the considerable benefits of his talents. And then, in the renaissance that so completely changed the course of the Elizabeth Daily Journal and gave it a state audience, Lawrence J. Keefe was weaned back to the typewriter of his early successes. The "voyager at last was home again, "among old friends and old surroundings and still to write some of his most sparkling columns.

But this evening, the friendship of a lifetime ends as our voyager lands "now upon the farther shore." Larry Keefe has gone. It is too bad that he has gone without writing the 20th Century Political History of New Jersey which he was so signally equipped to set down. It is too bad that so many masterpieces of political observations he recorded with such facility have not been preserved as textbook items in the schools where journalism is taught.

DAV Is 25 Years Old

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article which appeared in the Lynn Telegram-News, Lynn, Mass., on March 25, 1957.

DAV IS 25 YEARS OLD

This marks the 25th anniversary of the granting of a congressional charter to the Disabled American Veterans. This charter carries certain obligations which the DAV has not taken lightly.

Since its beginning in 1920 the DAV has served without charge millions of disabled veterans, their widows and dependents. During the last 11 years its national service officers have obtained more than $220 million in benefits for the war handicapped. This free service was possible through projects, especially the idento-tag program—miniature individual license plates for keyrings.

The DAV is justly proud of its devotion to furthering the cause of the war disabled. These efforts have resulted in a fine national program of rehabilitation for the wartime disabled. All eligible veterans should be interested in joining and helping improve the lot of veterans who have suffered injury or disablement in wartime service to their country.

Waging Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to invite the attention of the House to a recent book by Mr. Claude Maxwell Stanley entitled "Waging Peace." I realize that few of us have adequate time for reading, but I think this book is especially worthy of your attention.

This is not a book by an expert. The author calls himself an amateur in the field of foreign relations. He is an engineer—a businessman. But this book, Waging Peace, is not an amateur's work. It is the work of an American who has given what I consider to be a stimulating contribution to our thinking about foreign affairs. Gentlemen, I believe that this book will have a great influence. It is a tight, comprehensive presentation of the desires, objectives and objections of a perceptive and brilliant citizen. It is indeed seldom that one may find an analysis of our problems that cuts through the morass of grandiloquent speech and shadowy thought so penetratingly. Mr. Stanley pinpoints the problem in American foreign policy which all of us in our own glimpses of the "whole picture" have, at one time or another, felt. That is the inescapable inadequacy of the way our goals and aims have been defined and our seeming inability to anticipate problems. He says our problem is, and I quote:

(That) we jump from crisis to crisis, usually late and often inadequate. We appear to change our minds without reason, to waver and to delay. The result is often diplomatic defeat. We cannot afford the luxury of politics and diplomacy as usual in the nuclear age. The consequences are too great if we fail to avert nuclear war or to stem the onward march of communism.

And a bit further on, Mr. Stanley says:

We dare not wait for the slow-moving reaction of an oppressed people to change their government. We cannot count upon a change of leadership to alter the path of the Soviet Union.

In short, gentlemen, Mr. Stanley decries our failure of will, of courage, if you will, and our failure to wage peace with the earnestness and aggressiveness that waging war warrants. For the waging of peace is a vital, indeed an inescapable task of this great Nation in which we cannot afford to fail. We must seize the initiative. Foreign policy by counteraction is inadequate, degrading and dangerous.

Mr. Stanley has seven specific principles on which a program for waging peace should be based. I will not attempt to elucidate these in this short space, but will leave them for your own reading. Let me only say that Mr. Stanley points out that our first responsibility is the preservation of our freedoms, and to preserve these freedoms in the immediate, pragmatic sense, we are obliged to maintain our strength. We cannot legislate evil out of existence. The differences between the two dominant philosophies of the world today, communism and democracy, can best be emphasized by our exemplary conduct. This book, Waging Peace, stresses the transitory nature of military might, and rather places its strongest reliance upon the ramifications flowing from other instrumentalities of diplomacy and foreign policy.

This book has the refreshing capacity to reflect in depth on the whole picture of what America is and means. Gentlemen, both as inheritors of a rich full heritage and culture, as well as representatives of the people of this Nation, we have an unflagging, dogged obligation to administer its governmental affairs in such a manner as to clarify, as well as prevent the undermining of, our deepest traditions and philosophy. There is a time for reflection in the lives of all of us, and I know of no more important time in the history of our Nation or of the world for reflection and reevaluation than the present. We must seek direction and unity in our policies. Mr. Stanley shows us one such direction, and this direction warrants review. It is a viewpoint which should be understood by most, and must be recognized by all Americans. Regardless of whatever position on world affairs any one of us may hold, every American, I earnestly feel, should read this book.

DAV Protest to Army's Annual Attempt To Close Murphy Army Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very comprehensive letter received from Mr. Anthony D. Tieso, past department State commander, Disabled American Veterans, 198 Manchester Street, Mattapan, Mass., which presents the protest of the Disabled American Veterans to the Army's annual attempt to close the Murphy Army Hospital at Waltham, Mass.:

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS,
Boston, Mass.

Hon. THOMAS J. LANE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The Department Executive Committee of Disabled American Veterans, in its meeting held on March 9, 1957, resolved to protest the Army's annual attempt to close Murphy Army Hospital. Department Commander Jerome P. Troy has appointed me to handle matters concerning the proposed closing of Murphy Army Hospital at Waltham, Mass.

Needless for me to tell you that this is the only Army general hospital within the New England region and it has been serving the population of the whole area. The next such general hospital to the New England area would be the one located at Valley Forge, Pa.

The permanent-type building construction and the most modern medical services available at Murphy Hospital make it the equal of any other such hospital in the United States. As you will recall, the Defense Department, last year and the year before last, did not request funds to continue the operation of Murphy Hospital; but the House Appropriations Committee did so with express direction to the Army to keep Murphy Hospital in continuing operation.

The Defense Department is again persisting in their long attempt to close the hospital and they intend to discontinue all the medical facilities for New England unless legislation is introduced by the Massachusetts congressional delegation and the Appropriations Committee again approve funds for and direct the continuing operation of the hospital.

If you recall, the Defense Department stated that they need the hosptal space to accommodate the housing of the officers of the New England Division of the Army Corps of Engineers, certain Air Force personnel and to conduct an electronics research project. But the facilities at Boston Army Base could have been used by the Army Corps of Engineers at much less cost than it would cost to house them at Murphy Army Hospital. We have been told that space at Boston Army Base would have cost the Army engineers approximately 35 cents per square foot to maintain, whereas Murphy Army Hospital maintenance cost of occupancy by the Corps of Engineers would approximate, and might exceed, as much as $1 per square foot.

We do recall just a few months prior to the Korean war when the Defense Department was forced to reopen this hospital at an unnecessary cost to the American taxpayers. We daily read about the mounting tensions and increasingly threatening war dangers in the Middle East and the many other trouble spots in our confused world of today. It seems that these same officials still persist in wanting to make the same mistake that they did just before the Korean outbreak, when there was much less possibility of war than there is today.

As this time no one can foresee the dangers of tomorrow—not even the Defense Department itself. It would be false economy to close the Murphy General Hospital and of no savings to the Department of Defense. The permanent type of buildings are already standing there; wards, laboratories, and operating rooms already established there; medical instruments, and X-ray machines, whirlpool baths, and so forth, and investment valued at more than $6 million.

At a meeting held at Kenmore Hotel, Boston, on March 7, 1957, by the Federal Employees Veterans Association, attended by representatives of the American Legion, Disabled American Veterans, military dependents, and civilian employees of Murphy General Hospital it was stated that the Army's claim that there are adequate facilities for accommodating servicemen and their families at five other installations in Massachusetts is violently incorrect. There are many stations or dispensaries (not hospitals) in New England. I have been told that these stations are at the Army base, Boston; Hanscom Air Field and Westover Air Base, and at Dow Air Base in Maine and at every military installation throughout the area; but these are comparatively small institutions, designed to care for the emergency needs of the men and women stationed there. Severe cases have always, whenever possible, been transferred to the general hospital which is equipped with laboratories, fine operating facilities and equipment, staff surgeons, and expert medical men.

As I have stated, the nearest such hospital when Murphy General Hospital closes down will be at Valley Forge, Pa. Therefore, the Department of Disabled American Veterans and its chapters have no intention of quitting the fight to keep Murphy General Hospital open and we Disabled American Veterans request the Massachusetts congressional delegation to introduce legislation and the Appropriations Committee to again approve funds and direct the Army to continue operation of the Murphy General Hospital.

Yours sincerely,

ANTHONY D. TIESO,
Past Department State Commander,
Disabled American Veterans.

Tight Money and Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the following resolution concerning House Resolution 85 was adopted at the convention of the Democratic Party of Michigan on February 22 to 23, 1957, in Grand Rapids, Mich. I request that this resolution be printed in its entirety:

TIGHT MONEY AND INFLATION

The tight-money policy which the Eisenhower administration has been following for the past 4 years has resulted in a crisis of severe proportions. Rising interest rates have been accompanied by increasing corporate profits, dividends, and interest income, while farm and small-business income have been deflated and consumer-purchasing power has lagged behind.

The increase in interest rates has created windfall profits to moneyed interests. This has imposed an undue burden upon the general public by increasing costs on home mortgages, school-district construction loans, highway-construction loans, and city and municipal improvements. Higher interest rates have precipitated an alarming number of small-business bankruptcies, which reflects the Republican policy of making big business bigger.

The resulting tight-money squeeze demands a full-scale study of the Nation's monetary and credit policy. This is an ines-

capable constitutional duty of the Congress. In order to legislate wisely, Congress must be informed and there is no substitute for firsthand inquiry and observation.

Therefore be it,

Resolved, That we support House Resolution 85 authorizing the House Committee on Banking and Currency to conduct a full and complete investigation and study with respect to any matter or matters in the field of national monetary and credit policies and the financial structure.

Statement by the Honorable George Bell Timmerman, Jr., Governor of South Carolina, Concerning Federal Aid for School Construction, Prepared for the Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the House the following most excellent statement by Gov. George Bell Timmerman, Jr., of South Carolina, opposing Federal aid to education:

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN, JR., GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA, CONCERNING FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION, PREPARED FOR THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE, HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Public education is recognized as one of the big problems in most, if not all, States. South Carolina is no exception.

For us the financial burden of public education is a peculiarly heavy one. We are 46th in the Nation in per capita income and second in the Nation in the percentage of schoolchildren. In other words, only 2 States have a lower per capita income and only 1 State has a higher percentage of schoolchildren. We must educate approximately 30 percent more children in proportion to population than the average State. And this 30 percent greater burden must be borne by 19 percent fewer adults.

Despite our disproportionately heavy educational burden, we in South Carolina are meeting our school needs.

Since 1951, South Carolina has allocated more than $170 million for the construction of approximately 8,000 new classrooms. These new classrooms are sufficient to accommodate 240,000 pupils or 44 percent of our total school enrollment. Of the total allocation, more than $89 million has been allocated for Negro school construction and approximately $81 million for white schools.

Our credit rating is double A and we have no difficulty in selling our bonds at the lowest marketable interest.

South Carolina, with its low per capita income, its small number of taxpayers, and its relatively high percentage of schoolchildren, has been able to accomplish this without Federal aid.

We in South Carolina are opposed to Federal aid for education. It is folly to think that Federal aid will not mean additional taxation.

It is inconceivable that the Federal Government would cut its vast expenditures for national defense, foreign aid, public-welfare assistance, and debt service which it cannot cut, in order to return money to the States for local school purposes.

The Federal Government might rely on deficit financing for a short time, but as the States become dependent upon the Central Government, additional heavy taxes will be imposed. Inevitably, the heavier burden will fall upon those least able to pay—the small farmer, the wage earner, and other low-income groups.

The effect of Federal taxation for State services is illustrated in the field of highway user taxes—taxes levied in the name of better roads. In reality, much of the revenue from this source goes to support other Federal programs. That is one of the reasons additional heavy Federal taxation has been proposed for Federal highway construction.

I cannot agree with the claim of an acute shortage of school buildings that necessitates Federal aid. South Carolina and some of the other States have tackled the problem head on and are fast alleviating their shortages.

In fact, more school buildings have been constructed in America within the last decade than during any other comparable period. We have more schoolhouses and better schoolhouses than any country in the world.

Some States may have failed to do all that they could do in the field of school construction, but that is a poor pretext for Federal aid. All needs can be met by the several States without aid from Washington.

The control of our public schools always has been in the States. It is a matter primarily of local concern.

The public schools of our State, and I am sure in most States, are an integral part of almost every family with children of school age.

I can conceive of no better way to destroy local control over our schools than for the schools to become financially dependent upon the Central Government.

Federal taxation for school purposes is the opening wedge for central control of our public school systems.

Central control of education inevitably will lead to thought control.

If the Federal Government can tell a State where and how to build a school, it can tell a State who can teach in that school, and it can tell a State what can be taught in that school.

One of the most important considerations is that the parent is the natural guardian of the child.

The parental right to determine what is best for the child is fundamental. It is a divine right. It is a basic law of nature that no man, no group of men, can successfully destroy. It finds expression among all living things.

The public school exists for one basic purpose. It is to help the parent in the education of the child.

Educational assistance is the only justification for taking the child from the home and placing him in the public school.

Nothing is more vital to the successful operation of our public schools than support on the community level—support of the parents.

The surest way to undermine the public school is to deny to the parent the right to a voice in the school which his child attends.

The surest way to deny that right is to permit the responsibility of operating the schools to be shifted from the community to the Federal level.

Without parental support the public school cannot survive.

Speech of Congressman Elmer J. Holland, Democrat, Pennsylvania, Given on March 18, 1957, Before the Members of Local 1272, United Steelworkers of America, on the 20th Anniversary of the Signing of the First Contract for Collective Bargaining Between the Union and the Steel Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN ELMER J. HOLLAND, DEMOCRAT, PENNSYLVANIA, GIVEN ON MARCH 18, 1957, BEFORE THE MEMBERS OF LOCAL 1272, UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, ON THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE FIRST CONTRACT FOR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING BETWEEN THE UNION AND THE STEEL INDUSTRY

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Abel, and distinguished guests and brothers and sisters of the labor movement. Mr. Jones, you have missed what I believe to be one of my most important assets in your introduction of me—and that is—I am a dues-paying member of local 1272 of the United Steelworkers of America. I am very proud of that fact and I am always glad to have others join with me in that pride.

Mr. Abel has, very ably, recalled to your attention many of the events that have occurred since the first steel contract was signed 20 years ago.

Now, I would like to take you back a little further—say 20 years before the birth of the United Steelworkers of America. That would be before the First World War. And, I would like to recall some things that happened right here on the South Side.

My parents settled here in the 16th ward when they came over from the old country and all of my brothers and sisters and I, there were nine of us, were born right here within a stone's throw of the mills. The first Hollands arrived about 90 years ago and we have seen many changes right here in our own front yard during those years. Of course, I wasn't around all 90 of them, but I have firsthand information on what occurred before I arrived on the scene.

I had started to work in the mills before World War I, but I must admit my period of employment with them was not too long, for I did not hesitate to criticize the working conditions and even went so far as to suggest that we workers organize a union. Need I add that when the reports of such a conversation got to the proper individuals, I received notice that my services were no longer needed.

That really wasn't anything new in our family, though.

My father, before me, had been a member of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, and had taken part in the now famous and historic Homestead Strike.

Because of his interest in the union and his participation in that strike, he was not only fired, but he was blacklisted, as were many of the union men of those days, and could not secure employment at any mill in the United States.

It is hard to believe today that such a condition ever existed in this country of ours, but it did, and this is how it worked.

The mills, in those days had on their payrolls agents of the Pinkerton Detective Agency and even if a man changed his name and moved to another town to get work, he was discovered and fired immediately upon discovery.

The families of these men suffered too. They were hunted and hounded like criminals if they dared ask for food or help.

The industrialists kept their mills running by using immigrant labor which they brought in. These poor individuals were shipped in with numbers on them. They could not read or speak or understand our language. All they knew was work, work, work.

Most of them came from the Balkan and Mediterranean countries. They knew nothing of our standard of living—they did not know the value of American money—they were assigned to beds in overcrowded rooming houses, and when they weren't sleeping from sheer exhaustion, they were working. And they worked for practically nothing.

Hundreds of them were killed in the mills or crippled and maimed for life.

Here on the South Side, when I was a child, it was a familiar sight to see the old horse-drawn wooden wagon careening up Carson Street to the hospital and back for another load of workers. It was called the butcher's wagon by the workers.

The company lawyer apparently had a "district office" in the hospital, for as the poor worker arrived at the hospital he was there with a paper to be signed—and Joe and Mike and Steve and John put their "x" on the line. When they recovered sufficiently to get out of the hospital and go back to work—then they found out they had signed a statement saying that "through their own negligence they had been injured and the mill was not responsible" and their job was gone.

On paydays you would trip over cripples at the 27th Street Gate for the only way they could get any money to live on was through begging from the more fortunate workers.

Back in those days you didn't have to be injured to lose a job. If the boss had a friend or a relative who needed work * * * you could be fired without cause and replaced without recourse.

In 1917 we went to war, the one that was being fought to "save the world for democracy."

We on the South Side contributed much in manpower to that war. Most of the families from this district had large families and many of the sons of these families went overseas. In fact we had a larger percentage than most communities, and most of us from the South Side, coming from poor families and working homes, had a few ideals that we were fighting for. Among them was that "we were going to make the world a better place in which to live."

Times were good at home, as they always are during a war.

Employment was high, wages were high, and living costs were higher. The workers actually were not making any more because the price of everything had gone up.

The war ended in 1918 and the boys started to come back.

They were happy with the thought that they had won the war, and the world would be better because of their victory.

The workers in the mills had seen steady work during the war years. They had seen millionaires made from their sweat and toil, and, they had decided it was time for them to organize and get better working conditions and a small share of the enormous profits the companies had secured.

They knew that once war orders ceased work would fall off, and jobs would be scarce. They decided they wanted some protection from the whims of the boss so that he could not fire them if he so desired.

In 1919 the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers started a campaign to try to organize the workers.

I had just returned home from France and was asked to come down to 27th and Carson Street and make a speech on the advantages of belonging to a union. I accepted and my father helped me get my speech ready.

You must realize, of course, that the company did not take this organizing campaign lying down. They had brought in coal and iron police, and thugs whom they had sworn in as deputy sheriffs, and these gentlemen kept people moving on the streets of the South Side. You were not allowed to stand around in groups and talk. If you did you could be jailed for loitering.

Meetings that were scheduled were broken up, even in private homes, and these paid thugs dragged men who attended them from their homes, beat them up, and you always landed in the South Side police station.

As I was on my way to make my speech I saw these hired thugs, with their tin badges, forcing everyone to move on.

I started to speak and paid hirelings from the mills appeared from all sides. They pushed and jostled anyone who might stop to listen.

I asked one, "What's the idea? I just returned from France from the war that was to make the world safe for democracy. Is this how I am to be welcomed home?"

One said, "Oh, fresh guy, are you?"

And since you all know my reputation for having such an even temper, you can imagine what happened next.

The fight was on, and I landed in jail.

I got out, of course—came back—and we had a repeat performance. The whole thing over again. Even another ride—another sojourn in jail.

It's hard to believe, I know—but I know it did happen and it was right here on Carson Street in 1919.

We failed in our attempt to organize the mills, and, once again, many men were blacklisted as they were when my father was a young man. Time had not changed any in the eyes of the industrialists.

Then came the roaring twenties.

The Charleston days—the speakeasy days—the days of the skyrocketing stock market. Fortunes were made overnight—cars were manufactured on assembly lines and Fords sprouted like toadstools after a rain.

The boom was on.

Then someone lowered the boom—1929, and the bottom fell out of everything.

Depression enveloped our land from coast to coast. It also enveloped the whole world in general.

People were desperate, families were starving, adults and children alike were ill clothed, ill housed, and ill fed.

The financial wizards of the world had—by their own greediness to get more and more and more—failed to see that if the average man didn't get enough money in wages, he could not buy what was being manufactured, and, if no one bought, there was no need to manufacture.

The little people were grabbing at anything that would give them food and shelter and clothes.

Banks had failed and life savings were lost.

Soup lines were everywhere.

Apples were sold on the corners.

Churches and private charity agencies tried to help, but the job was beyond them.

During those years Hitler took over in Germany and became their idol with his Nazi theories.

Mussolini moved in on Italy—and he got the trains running again. His Fascist theories were followed willingly.

Stalin and Lenin saved the peasants of Russia, so they thought—and their communistic theories were followed.

In America, we elected Roosevelt.

1933—when Roosevelt took office as President, the people of America would have followed in anything he had suggested—socialism, fascism, natizism, communism. They had nothing to lose—for they had nothing left.

We were fortunate though.

Roosevelt like out capitalistic system. He wanted to make it work, and to make it work he knew that all the people had to share in it, not just the few as had been the practice in the past.

He knew the workers and Labor in general had to be recognized as a component part of that system.

To assure Labor of its place in our economic system, Roosevelt—and a Democratic Congress—passed the Wagner National Labor Relations Act.

With that law on our books, Labor had the right to bargain collectively for the sale of its only product—labor.

We, of the South Side, remember well the day at the gates of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., at 27th and Carson Streets—the same place I had attempted to speak from in 1919—when the campaign began to organize the workers into the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

The Pennsylvania State Police were there.

They were there because a Democratic governor of the State of Pennsylvania, George Earle, had ordered them to protect—not the strike-breakers this time—but the organizers of the union.

The coal and iron police were there, too, but they were not permitted to touch anyone outside the mills.

Then a strange thing happened. For the first time in the history of any labor dispute—anywhere in the United States—a car drew up to the gates and out of this car stepped the governor of Pennsylvania.

I will always remember the words he spoke.

"You were brought here today," he said to the State police, "to avoid bloodshed and disorder. Above all, I want to warn you—you are not here to give protection to this mill in its effort to break the strike. These workers have the right to organize into a union of their choosing, and you are here to protect their rights."

A few days later, the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee was recognized as a bargaining unit for the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation.

Mr. Abel has told you the story from that date up to the present.

I must warn you, however, that to keep the gains you now have and for which these thousands of men before you fought to give you, you must not becme indifferent to what is happening around you.

I know, as well as you, that management has made many statements that they are not against unions—that they are willing to negotiate with your representatives. We have heard these many times.

But statements and actions are two different things.

We just have to look at the record of the 20 years Mr. Abel has covered.

I told you about the strike of 1937 when we first organized the steelworkers.

During the war years, World War II, that is, organized labor was loyal to our country.

Wages were permitted to be frozen, although the profits of the corporations were not.

After the war, the United Steelworkers asked for an adjustment of wages, and we got a 4-week strike in 1946 in order to get that adjustment.

In 1949 we asked that those who had spent their lives in this mill and made possible the profits the company had made be given

a pension. We got the pension after a 6-week strike.

In 1952 we asked for a wage adjustment and an improvement in fringe benefits. Again we got what we wanted—after another 6-week strike.

In 1956 we were fortunate, we were out only 1 day.

In 1956, last year, we had to go out on strike for 4 weeks in order to get our increases and benefits.

Management's statements that they are not against the union—and they are always willing to negotiate—are true apparently after they are forced to do so.

Incidentally, there is an interesting sidelight to our 1956 strike, and I think I should tell you why I believe it was a political strike.

In January of 1956 the Wall Street Journal, Business Week, and Newsweek magazines began to run articles pointing to the large stockpile of steel that had been accumulated. They predicted that on or about October 1 there would be a 30-percent layoff in the iron and steel industry.

Now, this was a presidential election year—and a layoff in October, right before election, would play havoc with the Republican chances to win the presidency in November.

It has been stated by a number of columnists that this strike, which we were forced into, should never have occurred—for, according to them, the steel companies were willing to grant the requests made by the steelworkers.

There was rumored to have been a meeting of top Republican politicians and leading industrialists—and it was decided there to put the blame on the union and force a strike for about 4 weeks.

While the strike was in progress, the companies could then get rid of the stockpiles and the mills could reopen with full employment and keep working right through election time.

You can't help but wonder if this rumored meeting didn't really take place, for that is exactly what happened.

Let me warn you, as your Congressman and a former State Senator, don't be taken in by the "honeyed words" of management—for their words and their actions do not coincide.

Management has learned they cannot defeat or destroy your unions by forcing you to strike.

So—they are turning to other methods.

They can defeat you and they can destroy your union by legislation—by taking a little each year until you have nothing left.

Propaganda, coming over my desk in Washington day after day, contains speeches made by anti-union industrialists. These speeches are printed and distributed by advertising companies that receive huge fees—and—its done for only one purpose—to weaken your union.

This sort of thing causes me to fear for your future.

They couldn't break you on the picket line—so now they will do it by law.

They have succeeded in getting 18 States to pass the so-called right-to-work law. This law was not passed to help the individual or the union, it was passed to destroy the union movement in America, State by State, and they now have 18 of the 48 States in their corner.

Many of us, in the union today, are not fully acquainted with the battles we were forced to fight in order to get what we have.

The working conditions we now enjoy are results of the fights the union waged in the past.

Vacations with pay.

Pensions in addition to your social security.

Holidays with pay.

Hospitalization, which assures your wife proper medical care at childbirth.

These are all benefits the union has fought for—for you.

Life insurance; 40-hour week; security of employment, so the boss can't replace you with one of his relatives just because he happens to be out of work.

If you had tried to discuss a grievance in the old days, you would have been fired for complaining to the boss.

Workmen's compensation protects you when you have been injured.

Unemployment compensation feeds you during a layoff.

And above all your union has given you dignity, as an individual, rather than just another number on the payroll list.

Our fight still goes on.

We cannot let down.

Today, you are working in a war economy. All of us pray for peace—but—do you realize what would happen to the economy if the Government suddenly stopped spending for defense?

Millions would be laid off in the change-over from wartime to peacetime production.

The productivity during the war did not just happen.

It was planned.

First—the brains of America were brought to Washington. Men representing labor, capital, management, and Government, sat around a table in Washington and worked out an answer to the question "What was needed to win the war?"

The military decided they needed thousands of planes, ships, submarines, tanks, guns, bombs, and all other weapons.

They didn't ask where the money for these was coming from—they were needed; we had to have them.

Plans were made to get this great productivity at once.

Mills, mines, factories, plants, all were ordered "full speed ahead."

Wheels turned day and night.

It was a must.

I know that many of you must have asked yourself this question: "Why is it the wheels of industry only turn 24 hours a day when they are making the weapons to kill, to lay waste, to destroy, and to bring sorrow to the world?"

And here is another question we all want answered: "Why can't this be done in peace as well as in war?"

These are the questions that you, as a member of your union, must help to answer.

In peacetime there are no stirring speeches made on winning a peace.

Everything goes back to the humdrum existence of "am I working tomorrow or next week?"

Government forgets about that great productivity they hammered at us during the war.

In peacetime they worry very little about having a job for every man to do. No rousing speeches come over our radios or TV about absenteeism or part-time work. It is the old story of layoffs.

The loss of jobs is shunted aside with expressions like this: "There are only between 2 and 3 million unemployed."

But if you are 1 of those 2 or 3 million, it is not so simple to you. You have house payments to meet, car payments to meet, grocery and meat bills to meet, youngsters to clothe—are you worried?

If 2 or 3 million were unemployed during wartime, our Government would move from top to bottom to place them in necessary jobs.

The greatest answer our Government can give to the people of the world in general—and the Communists in particular—is that we can have full employment in peace just as we did in war.

That kind of propaganda would be understood by workers all over the world.

How can it be done?

Just as easily in peacetime as it was in wartime.

Call back to Washington the brains of America—labor, management, capital, and government. Let them gather around that same table and plan to win the peace as they planned to win the war.

Let them determine how many jobs are needed to have full employment, and then start the wheels once more.

Let them find out what we need now, and the answer could easily be:

Houses are needed for our people.

Schools are needed to have adequate room for our children.

Surgical and medical hospitals are needed so that immediate attention can be given to our ill.

Mental institutions are badly needed so that our mentally ill, so long neglected, can be treated and cured and rehabilitated.

Roads are needed to relieve the present over-crowded conditions on our highways and provide safe means of transportation.

These are only a few of the many things that could be planned that could contribute to the winning of the peace.

You, as members of labor, should play a big part in demanding that this be done.

America is at the crossroads.

The Communists are saying to the world that America must have war to have prosperity.

We must prove otherwise.

Let us all, each and everyone of us, work for this new peacetime goal.

Let us prove to the world that we, who in war could keep the wheels of industry going 24 hours a day making the weapons of war, can again keep the wheels of industry going 24 hours a day making the necessities for a life worth living.

The United Steelworkers of America must and shall do their part.

Corn Belt Taking the Rap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the failure of the House of Representatives to pass legislation for a corn program so far this year, I note with interest the editorial in the Des Moines (Iowa) Register of recent date which outlines the burden under which the corn-hog farmer operates with relation to the other segments of our agricultural economy. I commend it to the study of all my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

CORN BELT TAKING THE RAP

"Prospects for any new corn legislation this session were at low ebb," reported Charles Bailey, of our Washington bureau, after the defeat in the house of several proposals for changing the present acreage control and soil-bank laws.

For the first time in several years, city Congressmen of both parties joined in voting down plans for increasing corn-acreage allotments or expanding soil-bank benefits. The legislative maneuvering on farm bills this session has been so complex that many city representatives may have voted "no" out of sheer bewilderment. We couldn't blame them for that, and we hope this vote does not

reflect a lack of appreciation or sympathy for Corn Belt farmers' problems.

Feed grain and livestock producers are undergoing severe downward pressure on their incomes from a steady rise in output exceeding the rise in demand for their products. Prices decline more than enough to offset the bigger volume. This "built in" tendency for supply to increase faster than demand has been accelerated by the shifts of cotton and wheat farmers to livestock production.

The corn-livestock sector of agriculture is bearing the lion's share of the cost of adjustment to advancing farm technology.

Without any change in the Government programs affecting feed grains, we can expect a further growth in feed output which will mean more livestock later. Corn allotments are so low (and the price support has been reduced) that relatively few farmers are likely to comply with the allotments, except in severe drought areas. Few farmers, therefore, will be eligible to put land in the corn acreage reserve.

In short, the changes in the farm program this year have (1) lowered price supports for feed producers, (2) reduced the incentive to curtail output and (3) decreased the possibility of supplementary income through the soil bank.

It is getting late to do much about it, with corn planting only a little over a month away. But a substantial increase in soil bank payments would help.

Construction Loans to Veterans

SPEECH

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4602) to encourage new residential construction for veterans' housing in rural areas and small cities and towns by raising the maximum amount in which direct loans may be made from $10,000 to $12,000, to authorize advance financing commitments, to extend the direct loan program for veterans, and for other purposes.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MULTER. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. AYRES. Now I think we are getting down to the real crux of the issue. Are you going to put the Government in the lending business or are you going to let free enterprise do it? Are you going to increase the budget or are you going to cut it? I think the gentleman was a party to a resolution that was sent down to the President trying to get advice from the President as to where the budget should be cut. I can say to the gentleman if he does not want it increased $2 billion, he should withdraw the amendment. If he wants to put the Government in the lending business, he should make it $5 billion so that all the veterans can get loans.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Chairman, if what the gentleman has said really had me in a box I would ask leave to withdraw the amendment. The fact of the matter is this amendment is a temporary measure to make $2 billion available only to June 30, 1958. It is less inflationary than any measure that has been sent up to us by the administration and which the Secretary of the Treasury has told us was not inflationary. It is a lot less inflationary than the billon dollars you voted a few days ago at the instance of the Secretary of the Treasury for FNMA.

If you are serious, if you have been serious since 1954, and I have before me the RECORD of March 24, 1954, where you were all protesting how anxious you were to help the veteran, how you were going to put money back into the veteran's mortgage market by keeping his interest down so he could buy a house at a reasonable price with reasonable financing, you must vote for this amendment. If you meant all that you will have to vote for this amendment. It is not the Democrats who are on the spot; it is my friends on the left side of the aisle.

If you really want to help the veterans this is the way to do it. You have over $7 billion in the veterans' reserve insurance fund. The amendment that was ruled out of order a little while ago required that that fund be used for this purpose. My amendment does not require it to be used for this purpose. If the Secretary of the Treasury does not want to add any more to the budget or does not want to increase the interest rate, he may use the veterans' money out of that fund for loans to veterans. Under this amendment he has the discretion to do that.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman state exactly what his amendment does? Is it to end direct loans?

Mr. MULTER. This extends the direct loan program. This brings in another $2 billion to the direct loan program throughout the country so that the city boy and the farm boy, if he is a veteran, can come in and get his direct loan if he cannot secure it through private financing. It does not put the Government in the lending business in competition with private enterprise. The amendment simply says that if the veteran cannot get his loan from private sources at 4½ percent interest, he can apply to the Veterans' Administration and the Secretary shall make available to the Veterans' Administration up to $2 billion for that purpose until June 1958. If these big bankers mean what they say that the mortgage market is going to ease up and things are going to get easier and veterans will be able to get mortgages again, they need not fear this amendment. As soon as they come back into the market with their guaranteed mortgages, this program ceases. As long as they stay out of the mortgage market for veterans, the Veterans' Administration can say to the veteran: "Come in here. If you have a good house and you qualify under this program and you cannot get the money privately, the Government will lend it to you at 4½ percent interest."

This is the veterans' own money. It is the same money that is bringing the Government 2½ percent but which we will lend to the veteran at 4½ percent, earning for the veterans' reserve fund an additional 2 percent return.

I would like to see the program enacted with a provision that would provide that the veteran should not pay any more for his mortgage than the Government pays for borrowing money. But, I know you would not be able to get that kind of an amendment through, so I have taken a middle course. By these direct loans the veterans could get money at a fair interest rate.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MULTER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Under the program the gentleman is proposing now, can any of his constituents in the city of Brooklyn get any money out of his program?

Mr. MULTER. Yes.

Mr. SHEEHAN. How would they go about it?

Mr. MULTER. All they need to do is come in and show that the veteran qualifies for a loan and he cannot get it from private industry; he cannot get it from a savings bank or insurance company, and he will get it from the Veterans' Administration. The same for your people in Chicago.

Mr. SHEEHAN. We cannot build a home in Chicago that a veteran would get a $13,000 mortgage on.

Mr. MULTER. But I covered that, too. My amendment increases the amount up to $20,000. He can do that, can he not?

Mr. SHEEHAN. That is right.

Mr. MULTER. He can do in in New York. The limit under this amendment is $20,000. This gives equal treatment to the city boy and to the farm boy, who are veterans.

Atomic Energy and Free Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article entitled "Atomic Energy and Freedom of Enterprise" by Prof. John D. Garwood, of Fort Hays Kansas State College. This article presents an excellent résumé of the development of atomic energy for peacetime use, its possibilities, the role of government in relation to private enterprise up to the present day, and the future cooperation which will be necessary between private enterprise and Government in the full development of atomic energy for peacetime uses, and should be of interest to all Members of Congress.

The article follows:

ATOMIC ENERGY AND FREEDOM OF ENTERPRISE

(By John D. Garwood, professor of economics, Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, Kans.)

INTRODUCTION

Let us suppose you had lived in 1900 and somehow were confronted with the problem of seeking a solution within 56 years to any of the following problems:

1. To build and maintain roads adequate for use of conveyances, their operators, and passengers.

2. To increase the average span of life by 30 years.

3. To convey instantly the sound of a voice speaking at one place to any other point or any number of points around the world.

4. To convey instantly the visual replica of an action, such as a presidential inauguration, to men and women in their living rooms all over America.

5. To develop a medical preventive against death from pneumonia.

6. To transport physically a person from Los Angeles to New York in less than 4 hours.

7. To build a horseless carriage of the qualities and capabilities described in the 1957 advertising folder of any automobile manufacturer.

Without much doubt you would have selected the first problem as the one easiest of solution. In fact, the other problems would have seemed fantastic and quite likely would have been rejected as figments of someone's wild imagination. Yet 57 years later which of these problems remains unsolved? What accounts for the 1957 automobile and other fantastic accomplishments? Government did not preempt these activities.[1]

A little more than a decade ago a new source of energy thrust itself with dramatic emphasis upon the world. Its political and economic ramifications are almost beyond comprehension. Nuclear fission may well become the chief source of industrial energy as well as offering numerous other benefits to mankind.

It would seem that we must now consider the role of the Government and private enterprise in developing peaceful uses of atomic energy. Some have expressed a belief that the decisions dealing with atomic power in industry, commerce, and in the military are too important to be left to the traditional frame of reference of a free competitive society. They postulate governmental direction at the helm. This at once poses a question as to whether such direction will maximize welfare in the categories indicated.

Our ideology is that of a freely competitive society. Traditionally, in our ideology the role of the government has been that of the maintenance of the rules of the game in which private initiative, private property, freedom of contract, the profit motive, and competition have been relied upon to maximize the private and public weal. Historically this kind of an economic system has been eminently successful in that it has provided its adherents with the good things of life, yet at the same time has afforded them a considerable measure of freedom and opportunity to exercise their talents.

The system has poured forth a myriad of new products at competitive prices. It has enabled new territories to be opened up with amazing rapidity. It has fashioned an economic colossus the like of which has not been duplicated anywhere else in the world. In a word, our society achieves its potential through a free-market mechanism.

In the field of energy man progressed from animal and human power to the use of coal, waterpower, oil, and electricity. Each step forward in the field of energy has increased man's command over his economic future.

AGE OF THE ATOM

In the area of atomic power it has been estimated that were complete fusion of a pound of uranium 235 to occur, the heat generated would be equivalent to that generated by 2½ million pounds of coal. This to the layman is Buck Rogers material. Incidentally, a pound of uranium 235 is about the size of an inch cube. In addition, there is the possibility of combining atoms which is the opposite of the fusion process.

[1] John C. Sparks, "If Men Were Free to Try," Foundation for Economic Education, Clippling of Note, No. 63; also printed in Reader's Digest, July 1954.

With our ever-increasing demand upon our energy sources it does not appear unlikely that, in the not too distant future, electricity produced from atom splitting may be competitive from a cost standpoint with electricity generated from the other energy sources. This frame of economic reference will be different from country to country.

Sir John Cockraft, director of the Atomic Energy Research Establishment at Harwell, England, noted that by 1975 the British Isles will obtain half of its total electricity from nuclear energy.

Further, the products of atomic materials are utilized in the fields of agriculture, food processing, medicine, industrial production, etc. Besides these direct applications of the atomic materials there are the indirect ramifications of this new source of power; i. e., education, legal services, sales services, waste disposal, insurance, investment, transportation, etc. In short, this new source of energy means investment, private or public, of billions of dollars annually.

All of this brings us to the question of public versus private ownership and/or control. From 1933–55 federally owned electrical generating capacity increased from several hundred thousand kilowatts to approximately 12 million kilowatts. Percentagewise, federally owned facilities have increased in the last 22 years from two-thirds of 1 percent to about 15 percent of the total.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ATOM

The military direction given our atomic development during the war years and in the decade following 1945 placed our Federal Government in a commanding position in the development of this giant of energy. In October 1945, President Truman sent a message to Congress requesting legislation "to fix a policy with respect to our existing plants, and to control all sources of atomic energy and all activities connected with its development and use in the United States."

This message resulted in the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. It is a matter of record that the executive branch of the Government had already developed a proposed bill. The act provided for a general advisory committee composed of scientists and technical experts, a military liaison committee, and a congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy composed of Members of both House and Senate.

Fissionable materials are owned exclusively by the Government, thus:

"The Commission as agent of and on behalf of the United States shall be the exclusive owner of all facilities for the production of fissionable material * * *. All right, title, and interest within or under the jurisdiction of the United States, in or to any fissionable material, now or hereafter produced, shall be the property of the Commission."

The policy of secrecy in the development of atomic devices has further solidified Government direction and influence in this field. Initially, and to this day, the development of atomic energy has been primarily governmentally directed and inspired.

Yet, it was through private industry that the Government program was first carried out in terms of plant construction, production, and research. As of April 1955, of the 116,000 persons employed by the Atomic Energy Commission, 110,000 persons were employed under private industry. This represents about 95 percent of the total.

To summarize, private industry from 1946–54 was prevented from developing peaceful uses of atomic energy because:

1. Military requirements were given priority on the technical know-how.

2. The Government owned the fissionable materials.

3. Security and secrecy regulations are Government costs; private venture capital does not like to incur these costs.

4. Atomic energy patents under the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 were retained in a Government-controlled pool.

5. The provisions of the act of 1946 were oriented toward Government monopoly, a position in keeping with the political party in power.

Changes in the executive branch of the Government and the appointment of Lewis L. Strauss as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission was indicative of change for an increased participation of industry in the development of atomic energy.

The Atomic Energy Act of 1954 revised the act of 1946. It gave emphasis to the peaceful uses of the atom in that industry was encouraged to participate in the development of nuclear power. The ownership question was not definitely settled, however. It now became possible to license private industry, or State or local power groups, to use nuclear materials in research and power reactors. Further, access to restricted data was permitted. The area in which a private firm could claim a patent was broadened. Security clearance was made less stringent. Nonsensitive information was to be made available.

All release of scientific and technical information concerning atomic information is governed by the Atomic Energy Commission. The decision of the Commission is final. In addition, the thorny problem of personnel security is under Commission jurisdiction. The law of 1946 requires an investigation by the FBI of all employees of the Commission and private industry connected with atomic research and production. Out of 503,810 persons investigated since 1947, only 494 persons or one-tenth of 1 percent have been denied the highest or Q clearance.

The field of research and development has taken place in Government-owned facilities; i. e., Oak Ridge National Laboratory, private or public educational institutions, and private or industrial research institutions. As of June 1955, 90 universities, colleges, and research institutions were doing physical science research.

The domestic information and education program of the Commission has resulted in two training schools, one at Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies which conducts intensive courses in the safe and efficient handling of radioisotopes, while the other, the Oak Ridge School of Reactor Technology, offers graduate study to private industry. The Commission also makes an effort to provide speakers and information for conferences, symposiums, conventions, and other gatherings.

Following the 1954 law, the Commission supplied certain technical information to industry. Some 2,000 Atomic Energy Commission declassified reports are now or soon will be available for purchase. Depositories for unclassified reports are kept in the Atomic Industrial Forum in New York, the John Crerar Library in Chicago, the Stanford Research Institute in Stanford, Calif., and at the Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta.

Special publications are distributed to libraries by the Commission. Appendix 6 of the 18th Semiannual Report of the Atomic Energy Commission lists these publications.

The atoms-for-peace program represents an attempt to export our atomic know-how as well as atomic materials. Apparently, it had its inception with President Eisenhower's speech to the United Nations, December 8, 1953. Thus, an International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy was held in Geneva, Switzerland, August 8–20, 1955. A United States built research reactor was shipped to Geneva and exhibited.

Technicians and students from other countries were also trained in nuclear science and 23 foreign doctors and surgeons toured United States medical installations.

During 1955 the United States negotiated bilateral agreements with 27 countries for the mutual exchange of information on peaceful uses of atomic energy and on construction and operation of research reactors.

Thus it becomes plain that the atoms-for-peace program looks first toward an exchange of information; secondly, technical instruction; and, lastly, aid in the construction of research reactors including the sale or lease of small amounts of uranium 235.

For the past 5 years the AEC has conducted a power reactor research program in terms of (1) choosing the best reactor type, (2) production of experimental reactors, (3) encouragement of study by private industry, and (4) encouragement of production and generation of full-scale central station reactors.

Experimental reactors have been constructed by Westinghouse at Shippingport, Pa., by the Sumner Sollit Co., Inc., at Argonne National Laboratory and at Oak Ridge, and at Santa Susana, Calif., by North American Aviation, Inc.

The Commission hopes to get private industry to construct and operate nuclear powerplants of greater capacity than the experimental plants. Thus, at the present time five major power demonstrator reactors are built or being built—the Nuclear Power Group in Illinois, the Yankee Atomic Electric Co. in Massachusetts, the Detroit Edison Co. group near Monroe, Mich., the Consumers Public Power Group in Columbus, Nebr., and one proposed in New York by the Atomic Power Development Associates Group. In addition, smaller reactors have been approved for Massachusetts, Florida, Ohio, Michigan, Alaska, and Minnesota.

In the field of new material exploration, the AEC has encouraged exploration and extraction of the uranium ores through the media of price. In addition, maps, research programs, and opening of the public land have facilitated the development of the uranium ore industry.

In the area of processing of nuclear materials the AEC has spent tremendous sums in separating the uranium atoms into uranium 235 and uranium 239. The investment in this type of plant is in the neighborhood of $6.6 billion.

Radioisotopes have been made available by the AEC for use in cancer research and therapy. Some have been sold and some have been made available without charge.

CONCLUSION

It must be obvious from the foregoing that the atomic-energy industry is not at present one where we may expect private industry to carry on alone. The Government is too intricately involved from the standpoint of military purposes to throw the gates open completely to free enterprise.

Louis H. Roddis, deputy director of the Reactor Development Division of the AEC, in speaking before the Ohio Conference on Peacetime Uses of Nuclear Energy in August 1956, noted that by 1970 25 million kilowatt-hours annually would be produced in nuclear powerplants in the United States.

He estimated that by 1975 the figure would top 80 million kilowatt-hours annually or about 20 percent of total American power production. One may well ask what part private industry will have in all of this.

The writer would call attention to the opening lines of the "If Men Were Free To Try" cited at the beginning. It is clear that we now have in our hands a source of energy which is capable of performing tasks of undreamed-of magnitude. Let us resolve to use it to the fullest extent.

In the past we have looked to private enterprise to provide us with our innovations and our production of goods and services. Let us no abandon our traditional and tried way of getting the job done.

We are heading in the right direction. Let us hope for a continuation of the program initiated in 1954–55 in which private industry has been given a larger share in atomic development.

Eventually we may hope for an evolution of the AEC from a body commanding our atomic development to a regulatory body whose functions are those of providing information and research, guardian of our nuclear stock of materials, setting safety standards, etc. It is in this manner that we may expect to see fullest use made of our new source of power.

A Commendation for Our Connecticut Colleague, Mr. Morano

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the text of a letter recently sent to the President of the United States by several members of a special subcommittee study mission to Guatamala.

The letter includes excerpts from editorial comment in one of several Guatamalan newspapers, all of which are generous in their praise of the work of the American congressional committee, and especially Representative ALBERT P. MORANO, of Connecticut's Fourth District:

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
March 14, 1957.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Recently a group from the House Foreign Affairs Committee completed a special study mission to Guatamala. In addition to ourselves, the mission included Congressman THOMAS S. GORDON, of Illinois, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; Congressman A. S. J. CARNAHAN, of Missouri; and Congressman ALBERT P. MORANO, of Connecticut, the third Republican member of the group.

Guatemala is a key country to hemispheric relations and it is essential that good relations with that country be constantly furthered. We are happy to have served with this group in the accomplishment of a successful mission.

In this connection, we wish to call to your attention the very special talent, skill, and personality possessed by our colleague, Congressman ALBERT P. MORANO. During a prior study mission on which we served in June 1955 to Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala, Congressman MORANO addressed the legislative bodies of two of those countries, Nicaragua and El Salvador, in fluent Spanish, in the local idiom, and with a warmth that won the hearts of the people in those two countries. During our recent mission to Guatemala Congressman MORANO addressed the legislative body of that country and again received a standing ovation. Typical of the reaction was the following editorial from a Guatemalan newspaper:

"THE AMERICAN CONGRESSMEN

"This morning five members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States House of Representatives were received in plenary session of the Guatemalan Congress, an event that is referred to in the news story appearing in another part of this edition. The gentlemen are invited guests of President Castillo Armas and it is the second time that they have come to our country. The first time was at the beginning of this regime, only a short time after the events which brought about the political change which proscribed the Communist rule in Guatemala. They observed then how the political and administrative affairs were being conducted by the movement which triumphed in July 1954; now they have returned to find out what has been done to bring about recovery, how programs are being developed, and how the democratic life again has established itself among our people.

"The aforementioned Congressmen—Messrs. MERROW, GORDON, MORANO, CHIPERFIELD, and CARNAHAN—were influential in the decision of the American Congress to grant $15 million in aid for the 1956-57 period. This lends a certain luster to their presence here now which they have so recognized and stated.

"Reinforcing the protocolary greetings of Mr. Carnahan, Mr. MORANO was highly expressive. He was so in every sense, but particularly in affirming the community of spiritual, or better said, ideological interests of the two nations; the United States of America and Guatemala. The speaker strongly stressed the force of this tie, describing it as the integration of a domain whose elements are coexistent and which cannot bo loosened without risking loss of the most precious of all possessions—liberty. Mr. MORANO said so in this phrase which must be highlighted before publishing in its entirety the brilliant speech which he delivered this morning before our Congress:

" 'The heartbeat of liberty here in Guatemala and the heartbeat of liberty in the United States are the same. If this heartbeat is interrupted in the United States, the same will happen in Guatemala and the same will occur inversely.'

"This conclusion in itself makes the address historical and it should receive attentive consideration by Guatemalans, apart from other merits found in the contents of the text, which follows." (Translation from Spanish, editorial in El Espectador, Guatemala City, Guatemala, February 14, 1957.)

Many United States officials, as well as local residents of the three countries whose legislative bodies Congressman MORANO addressed, have stated that Congressman MORANO has enhanced the prestige and standing of the United States in those countries and has increased the good will toward the United States to a remarkable degree. This has been accomplished not only by his fluent knowledge of Spanish, but by his profound understanding of Latin America, its people and its psychology, and by his ability to tell the story of the United States to the people of Latin America.

We know that you agree with us that good relations between the United States and our Latin American neighbors are vital to the peace and security of the hemisphere and to our own national interests. It is essential that there be made the best use of our resources, skill and manpower to the end that hemispheric relations may be constantly improved. In this effort we feel strongly that Congressman MORANO can render a great service to our Nation and to you in your efforts to improve United States-Latin American relations.

We feel certain that Congressman MORANO would be happy to serve on any special good will mission you may find necessary in our dealings with our Latin American neighbors.

We are happy to call these unusual qualifications of our Republican colleague, who is doing so much to implement your farsighted foreign policy programs, to your personal attention.

Because we believe this matter to be of such vital importance, we are addressing this letter to you for your personal comment, and

are sending a copy to the Secretary of State for his information.

A copy of the report of the special study mission to Guatemala is attached herewith.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD,
Ranking Minority Member, Committee on Foreign Affairs.
CHESTER E. MERROW.

Operation Mercy, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a great number of people in our country are deeply concerned about the possibilities of a third world war fought with nuclear weapons—a war which might easily include every member of our families in forward combat areas.

Fortunately, I believe, there are also a number of our fellow-Americans who are taking time out from their own busy lives to train themselves to save lives in case of war or any other disaster. These unselfish citizens have worked long and hard under the guidance of local civil defense directors. Typical of these citizens, their civil defense directors, and the proficiency they have gained is Operation Mercy, 1957, which was recently carried out in Jefferson County, Tex.

Following is a report of the success of Operation Mercy from the Beaumont Journal of March 1, 1957, and I feel confident that after reading this report we all will want to congratulate Jefferson County Judge James A. Kirkland, Commissioners Dick Scurlock, T. B. Ellison, Lamar Lawson, and Ted R. Walker, Jefferson County Civil Defense Director George Gary and the citizens of southeast Texas who took part in this exercise:

CIVIL DEFENSE TEST TERMED SUCCESSFUL

(By Charles Culhane)

A highly realistic civil defense test exercise dubbed "Operation Mercy 1957" went off like clockwork at Hotel Dieu Thursday.

George Red Gary, county civil defense director, called the exercise very successful. Dr. T. E. Dodd, civil defense liaison officer of the State health department, commented that the drill was "one of the best I have ever witnessed."

The exercise was based on a simulated sabotage explosion in the basement of the hospital.

The drill began at 1:30 p. m. About 45 "casualties" were sprawled in a room off the basement corridor of the hospital.

Their faces and limbs were smeared with mercurochrome to simulate blood. Nurses and sisters from the hospital staff moved in to administer first aid and attach name tags to the "victims."

The marines and nurses carried the "casualties" on stretchers to a sorting center in the doctors' parking lot of the hospital.

The stretcher-borne "casualties" were placed across wooden sawhorses at the sorting center. "Victims" who needed surgery were carried to a shock center or minor and major surgery rooms set up in Rosary Hall.

At 2 p. m. the Magnolia Petroleum Co. helicopter landed on the hospital grounds near the bank of the turning basin and evacuated one of the "casualties" by air.

The helicopter was piloted by Travis Rhodes, Johnny Vaughan, mechanic for the plane, acted as the "casualty."

He was belted into an open-air stretcher rack on the right float of the plane and carried from the hospital to the Jefferson County Airport—a distance of almost 10 miles.

A complete communications system with walkie-talkies, auxiliary telephones, and a control center was set up in and around the hospital.

The communications setup was supervised by L. M. York, assistant fire chief at Orange. Boy Scouts acted as messengers between the different stations of the drill.

Police were posted at all entrances to the test area to divert unauthorized traffic away from the scene. The sheriff's department, the department of public safety, the city fire and water and Beaumont ambulance services departments also took part in the test.

The entire drill was under the direction of Mr. Gary and Sister Mary Wilfred of Hotel Dieu. Dr. Dale Hager was in charge of medical personnel.

More Tributes to the Late Harold Talbott

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker and distinguished colleagues, Harold Talbott had many important unachieved ambitions at the time of his death, and we all know of his great service to this Nation.

There are 2 recent articles that appeared in the New York Journal American and the New York Times that, I believe, reflect an accurate understanding of Harold Talbott. Under unanimous consent, I insert these articles in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point.

[From the New York Times of March 5, 1957]

SAD CASUALTY OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, March 4.—"The Air Force has become a part of my body," said Harold E. Talbott to the Senate investigators, and the simple words are his true and fitting epitaph. From his interment that part survived; it has grown in strength and efficiency ever since it became one with him, and for that reason.

Talbott gave up his post as Secretary of the Air Force because he had made himself politically expendable. But to understand the circumstances, it is necessary to understand two underlying factors. One is the standard required by the public service, particularly exacting on citizens who have spent most of their lives in competitive business pursuits. The otner is the lifelong determination of the late Secretary of the Air Force to spread efficient practices throughout American industry.

The standard imposed on men drafted into Government from private life is not only exacting and sudden; it is new and strange to them. They find that fitness for and dedication to the task assigned—and Talbott had these in full measure—are only two of the requirements. The businessman brought into Government must at once develop another set of antennas, not only to alert him when a conflict of his private interest and that of the public may be posed, but also when critics and ill-wishers may merely contend it has been posed and deliberately resolved by him to his own material advantage.

Moreover, these recruits from business, especially when they deal with Government procurement in large amounts from manufacturers with whom they have had any degree of association, are more exposed than others to that well-known Washington treatment known as the smear. This is the product of politics, of personal envy, of false witness, of zealotry for doctrine, and it is usually fed into journalistic channels by anonymous sources. Only a very cautious man, with a sixth sense of the pitfalls of office, is fully equipped to deal with these hazards. And Talbott was neither cautious nor extrasensory in these respects.

EFFICIENCY HIS IDOL

His determination to spread the most efficient practices throughout industry was one of Talbott's most familiar chracteristics. That is an overriding reason why he became a partner in an efficiency engineering firm, and why, after he was Secretary of the Air Force, he continued the effort to persuade other businessmen they should employ the firm. His venture was profitable, like others to which he addressed his great administrative talent: Talbott would have been highly self-critical if he had backed a loser. But those who knew him well never doubted that he was led into the ethical error of promoting this firm from his Air Force office by his passion for this project, and by his conviction that improvement in American industry would grow with the growth of use of this service.

Such persons could thoroughly understand, therefore, how it was that Talbott saw his errors only in retrospect and sincerely believed they were merely errors of judgment and procedure, without reflecting a basic intention to use his office to advance his financial interests. They could understand also his unhappy dismay when he was told his exterior activities had injured the cause of the Air Force and for its sake he should resign. For he had devoted one part of his life to establishing aviation on a sound basis, another to tooling it for the defense of the United States, and a third to bestowing all possible might on military aviation and improving the condition of every individual who labored in that field. To that fact his predecessors and successors as Secretary of the Air Force, and thousands of others in Government and out, are emphatic witnesses.

The President and the Senate investigators were wholly aware of this dedication and this achievement, though not all of them understood the psychological elements in Talbott's wholly unwitting lapse from the rigid ethical standard the President set for his administration. In commenting to a news conference, after the Secretary testified before the committee, the President said that "somewhere" in the 1952 campaign he "tried to explain my conception of what a public servant owed to the Government, the people * * * that his actions had to be impeccable, both from the standpoint of law and the standpoint of ethics." And he had told the voters that "the new administration will not tolerate any deviation from an uncompromising code of honesty and ethics in the Government service."

On that Spartan rescript, though neither honesty nor law had been breached, one of the ablest and most devoted architects of our national security was separated from the Government.

But the important sections of the foundations and superstructures of the Air Force that Talbott built will long survive him. And not in even one tiny chink of the structure is there a grain of self-serving.

[From the New York Journal-American of March 13, 1957]

HAROLD TALBOTT—HIS SERVICE BUILT A BETTER AIR FORCE

(By Leslie Gould)

The desk calendar says this is the day we were to have lunched with Harold Talbott. The date was made a few days before he left for Florida, never to return.

While he cannot keep this date, we will, in a different way.

Harold Talbott became the central figure in a political controversy and was forced out of his office of Secretary of the Air Force.

This was unfortunate, for the issue, involving a conflict of interest, got the headlines and forgotten was the really great service he performed for his country.

Harold Talbott, without question, was the best Secretary the Air Force has had since it became a separate service. He was dedicated to the air service. The generals will tell you that. So will others down the line, including the enlisted personnel.

As he once said—the Air Force had become a part of him.

This was why having to leave his post was such a shock—a shock that must have hastened his end. He was given a rough time—not all of it deserved.

DEVOTED TO THE SERVICE

While his resignation probably had to come—he did err in judgment—anyone knowing Harold Talbott over the years also knew his personal devotion to the Air Force and his personal integrity.

This writer knew Talbott for many years, back to the days of the 1929 boom. His word was always good, and he never attempted to give you a bum steer or to mislead—even if it would have been in his personal interest to do so.

He also was a loyal friend, and being a loyal friend he would do anything to help a friend. Being the kind of person he was, he was aggressive about it. That was one thing that made it so hard for him in his time of trouble—some of his friends might have been a little more aggressively loyal to him.

EARLY CHRYSLER BACKER

His interest in aviation goes back to the days of the First World War. He headed the Dayton Wright Airplane Co. in 1916 and during the war was a major in the production organization of the Army Air Force. He was one of the early backers of Walter Chrysler, when he developed the motorcar company that bears his name. He was a director of that for many years and also served as board chairman of North American Aviation. Another major interest was Electric Auto-Lite.

In politics he was one of the biggest money raisers for General Eisenhower, and before that for Governor Dewey and Wendell Willkie.

His main interest was aviation and he was named Secretary by President Eisenhower. He played a major role in furthering the cause of the air service and one of his big achievements was the founding of the separate Air Force Academy.

Nothing can cloud the real contribution Harold Talbott made to his country through the Air Force—which is stronger and more efficient today because of him.

Taxpayers Should Rebel Against Reckless Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, John S. Knight, publisher of the Chicago Daily News and several other metropolitan newspapers, is an outstanding journalist. On last Saturday there appeared in the Chicago Daily News an editorial written by Mr. Knight entitled "The Editor's Notebook."

It sums up the attitude of the American people toward this matter of reckless spending on the part of our Government. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the editorial in question.

THE EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

(By John S. Knight)

TAXPAYERS SHOULD REBEL AGAINST RECKLESS SPENDING

The news these days is usually distressing, but never dull.

One item that caught my attention last week was a United Press story from Washington which said that President Eisenhower plans to ask Congress for a special foreign aid fund of around $400 million for emergency projects.

It seems, according to the United Press, that although foreign aid spending ran at the rate of $7.9 billion for the fiscal year of 1956, "the administration faces some possible embarrassment because it is low on cash at a time when Poland is urgently seeking American help."

In addition, the UP says the President will ask Congress to drop the requirement that around 80 percent of the administration's disbursements should be made through loans.

To replace this stipulation, the President will request a generalized requirement that the administration distribute as much as it can in the form of loans.

Now what this all means is that our Government, instead of gradually curtailing foreign aid, is planning an even bigger spending spree.

And the administration would like to get rid of the irksome restrictions imposed by Congress on the theory that it is impossible to predict what the need may be.

FOREIGN AID GROWS INTO PERMANENT DOLE

It would seem to me that Congress should view this latest request with a fishy eye.

By July of this year, the American people will have forked up $60 billion in foreign assistance. No one begrudged the aid given to rehabilitate war-worn Europe, even though the administration of that aid was deplorably inefficient and often used for highly questionable projects.

When the Marshall plan was born in 1947, it was generally accepted as an emergency measure.

In fact, representations were freely made that within 4 or 5 years, this assistance could be safely terminated as Europe's economy was restored to a sound basis.

But, following the Marshall plan expenditures of more than $11 billion, the Mutual Security Administration was organized to carry on with foreign aid.

When the Republicans came into power in 1953, MSA became the Foreign Operations Administration, and, later in 1955, it was rechristened the International Cooperation Administration.

By this time, foreign assistance was no longer in the emergency category, but had become a permanent function of the United States Government.

THE FALSE PREMISE: DOLLARS BUY FRIENDS

What began as a compassionate effort to aid our friends and allies in Europe is now a planned year-by-year arm of our foreign policy.

It springs from the over simplified premise that, in the war against communism, you can buy friends with American dollars.

This was shown recently when Howard Pyle, a presidential assistant in the White House, defended the administration's foreign spending record with these words:

"I would rather see our money waging peace on the world's economic battlefields than our sons waging war on bloody battlefields."

This is the loose type of rationalization usually heard from the apologists for unlimited foreign aid.

If the question were really this simple, there would be few objections to the Government's program. But, in addition to the $200 million Congress has just authorized for the Middle East, our sons are committed under the Eisenhower doctrine to "wage war on the bloody battlefields" of that area, should any country seek our help in warding off Russian aggression.

Moreover, as Governor Pyle undoubtedly knows, the United States is also obligated to defend no less than 42 other nations.

So we do not have, as Pyle implies, a choice between "economic battlefields" and "bloody battlefields."

Rather, our situation is that we are actually in a position where Russia can trigger trouble at a time of her own choosing.

AFRICA ALSO HUNGERS FOR AMERICAN HANDOUTS

Vice President NIXON'S good-will trip to Africa may open up a new area of foreign spending. To keep our readers adequately informed, Peter Lisagor of the Chicago Daily News Foreign Service accompanied the Vice President and reports that American prestige currently runs high in Africa.

"But," says Lisagor, "it would be a mistake to imply that Africa can be taken for granted in the United States, or that friendship for America is without its price."

"The plain fact is that the bite has been put on NIXON, wherever he has gone, for American aid, economic and military in most cases. * * * If American aid should not be forthcoming in countries now counting on it, the cheers NIXON has heard as a representative of Uncle Sam could quickly turn into jeers."

At present, Lisagor thinks this would be an unlikely possibility because "the amounts contemplated are modest by the usual aid standards."

But the question is: How long will they stay modest?

Based upon the record, you are entitled to your own guess.

LUXURY BUDGET IGNORES GIGANTIC PUBLIC DEBT

One day this country will have to regain its perspective.

The Federal debit is now $276 billion. According to Senator HARRY BYRD, of Virginia, the contingent liabilities, by guaranties of various Federal borrowing programs, total $260 billion.

Yet the new $71.8 billion budget contains 13 additional State and local grants, making 67 in all.

It also creates 31,500 new civilian jobs. The major increases are not in defense, but in domestic-civilian expenditures.

As BYRD said in a letter to Percival F. Brundage, Director of the Budget, "This

is a luxury budget, padded with increased spending all down the line."

But, instead of facing the economic facts, we plunge blindly ahead with greater expenditures at home and constantly enlarge our commitments abroad.

A taxpayer today, with a wife and two children, pays 20 cents out of every dollar of a $10,000 income for Federal, State and local taxes.

And taxes keep going up.

ONLY PEOPLE CAN CURB HEEDLESS SPENDING SPREE

It is time the people rose in protest against the scattering of their dollars around the globe.

No one else will do it from them.

Business enjoys Government contracts, labor leaders favor all spending programs, former United States officials and politicians get fat fees from abroad to promote foreign aid, bankers enjoy Government deposits.

The planners and the spenders are running wild in oversized, self-perpetuating agencies. Key people in foreign aid often hold jobs for which they have no background of experience.

Even Vice President NIXON commented on the cornball diplomats he found in Africa. In one city, the consular and information staffs totaled 100 people. NIXON observed that a third as many might do a better job.

In Iran, deep in the mountain canyons, the United States has spent $3,500,000 for an uncompleted road hacked out of the mountainside and tunneled through solid rock. It leads to a dam and power project that isn't there.

There must be a cure to this nonsense.

But it all seems pretty hopeless.

I have just read that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is asking Congress for $228,000 to teach the people of our 48 States how to fish.

Polish National Communism: A Myth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, last autumn a political change, only superficial in character, took place in Poland which has an important bearing upon the welfare of the Polish people and the status of Polish-American diplomatic relations. A new Communist Government came into power, claiming to be an advocate of "national" communism. This government is now in the process of negotiating an agreement for American economic aid.

Americans should have a clear understanding of this new so-called national Communist Government in Poland. In the first place, it is still a Communist regime, guided by the same body of thought of other Communist regimes throughout the world. Claims to "national" communism are in themselves contradictory because communism by theory and practice is a worldwide antidemocratic, antinational conspiracy dedicated to the ignoble end of destroying man's natural right to freedom.

The new regime in Warsaw has appealed to a concept that is dear to the heart of every Pole; that concept is, patriotism and love of country. Such is the only claim of this refime to popularity.

And what is the basis of this claim?

What is the justification for the appeal to Polish patriotism?

It is fear: Fear inspired by the belief that if the Polish people do not accept their "nationalist" regime, and if they seek to overthrow it and establish a genuine democracy as we know they do, Soviet Russia would intervene and crush the Polish nation in a bloodbath of war and terror.

Thus, the heart of the matter is this: The Polish people are compelled to accept their masters who have but one fundamental objective in their policies and that is the preservation of communism in Poland.

America is, therefore, faced with a very delicate situation.

What are we to do?

The dangers are great; the siutation is full of uncertainties.

Nonetheless, we must act. There is a natural humanitarian instinct within us as a nation which compels us to do whatever we can to alleviate the terrible economic conditions of the Polish people. We must respond to this instinct, for the interest of the Polish people—and not their Communist oppressors whether they be nationalist or Stalinist—is a matter of great concern for us.

Aid the Polish people we must, but it must be done with great caution. We must make it clear that we do not seek to strengthen the regime and perpetuate communism in Poland, but that we are aiding the Polish people, doing only what we can to give them hope for the future.

Nor do we want our aid to be an occasion for the terrible retribution that befell Hungary. It is not our aim to provoke Russia. We want no military alliance with Poland. We desire only to aid the Polish people.

Such aid agreements that are concluded must stipulate, however, that the United States has the right to observe the distribution of the aid, seeing that it is placed where it will do the people the most good. Safeguards should be a key stipulation in whatever agreement is finally concluded.

When this important question is solved, then our attention should be turned to such issues as the danger posed by Polish consulates in America being used again as propaganda centers; the inequity of exchange in currency which is so unrealistic in relation to the true economic values; religious freedom in Poland; and the question of cultural exchange and travel in Poland on both of which I hold many reservations at this time.

Our position vis-a-vis Poland should be clear to everyone. The Polish nationalist regime does not deserve our sanction any more than other Communist regimes do. What does deserve our blessings—indeed our everlasting blessings—are the people of Poland. It is their interest, their welfare, their future which concerns us, and whatever is done by way of aid to Poland should be done solely for them.

A Battle Lost but a War To Be Won

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, a sad news item has come to my attention from the Burlington (Vt.) Free Press of March 16, 1957. Under unanimous consent, I include the attached article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I have not met Mr. Simpson but I have had considerable correspondence with him and with his friends. Mr. Simpson is a State employee in Vermont, and he was charged by the Civil Service Commission to be in violation of that portion of the Hatch Act that pertained to State employees. Why? Merely because he wrote a letter for publication stating that he thought that Mr. Taft would make a good candidate for President. This letter was written prior to the 1952 convention.

This is an example of the long arm of the Federal Government reaching into the activities of the State government. If this principle is permitted to continue, it will mean that all of the authority will be centered in a strong Federal Government and the local and State governments will be forced to be subservient to Federal power.

Mr. Simpson is representative of many other State employees of both political parties who rightfully feel that they should be entitled to an expression of their political choice and their political convictions. This is the American way, and Mr. Simpson may well become a symbol of a battle lost but a war that will be won.

I introduced H. R. 3084 in the 84th Congress which passed the House but was stymied in the Senate. I have reintroduced the same bill, H. R. 558, which would amend the Hatch Act and exempt the State employees from its provisions.

The above-mentioned article follows:

A 4-year battle between the State of Vermont and the Federal Government over charges of violations of the Hatch Act by W. Arthur Simpson, social welfare commissioner, ended in United States District Court in Burlington yesterday.

Simpson and the State pulled down the flag of resistance with the claim, "We may have lost the battle but we have won the war."

Attorneys for Simpson and the State filed a stipulation calling for dismissal of their appeal of a United States Civil Service Commission finding that Simpson violated the Hatch Act by engaging in political activities.

The veteran State office holder and Lyndonville farmer was charged March 12, 1953, with violating the Hatch Act by running for office while a member of the Old Age Assistance Commission in Vermont, by making speeches at a Republican State convention while serving as welfare commissioner and by writing a letter for publication urging the election of the late Senator Robert A. Taft for President.

The commission ruled against Simpson in November, 1954, saying his political activity "warrants his removal from office."

The commission told the State that unless it discharged Simpson, it would lose about $11,000 in Federal grants.

But the State board of social welfare balked and won the backing of the executive and Legislature.

Former Attorney General F. Elliott Barber, Jr., was named a special counsel to the State and an appeal was filed in Federal court.

CASE CAN'T BE REOPENED

Yesterday's action by Simpson and the State amounted to a withdrawal of their attempt to reopen the case. Their petition to discontinue the legal battle was granted by Judge Ernest W. Gibson.

The appeal was dismissed "with prejudice," meaning it cannot be brought again.

Simpson said the action was taken because "we won most all of our points and established the fact it was a constitutional right to write a letter to the editor."

He pointed out that the Civil Service Commission has since changed its regulations to permit such activity.

The $11,000 is simply a bookkeeping item, he said. It will not cost the State a cent unless "at some far distant time the Federal Government ceases to give grants in aid. Then there would have to be a settlement."

The Commissioner, who has not denied his political activities but who insisted they did not constitute Hatch Act violations, noted bills have been introduced in the United States Senate and House of Representatives to exempt other than Federal employees from provisions of the Hatch Act.

A bill to accomplish this passed the House unanimously last year but was not acted on by the upper Chamber.

STATE NOT AFFECTED

Simpson, his personal attorney, Fletcher Joslin, of Montpelier, and Barber indicated they felt the State had little to gain by continuing the fight "inasmuch as State operations had not been affected by the United States Commission ruling."

Gibson's order in October 1955, that the Commission produce more evidence to support its charges against Simpson if there was to be a ruling from his court was also cited as a victory for Simpson and the State.

The welfare chief yesterday also reiterated his contention that he had had assurances under Federal Security Administration rules he was exempt from provisions of the Hatch Act.

However, the matter appeared academic.

Simpson, the State and the Federal Government, through its failure to follow Gibson's directive for new evidence to support its charges, seemed willing to bury the hatchet in a grave marked only by the technical wording of a "stipulation dismissing an action with prejudice."

Briton's Faith in United States Is Shaken as Result of Censure on Egypt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article entitled "Britons' Faith in United States Is Shaken as Result of Censure on Egypt," by Drew Middleton, from the New York Times, Wednesday, March 13, 1957:

BRITONS' FAITH IN UNITED STATES IS SHAKEN AS RESULT OF CENSURE ON EGYPT—FEELING IS WIDESPREAD THAT WASHINGTON LET THEM DOWN—PRESSURE ON ISRAEL IN U. N. IS CALLED "BULLYING WRONG MAN"

(By Drew Middleton)

LONDON, March 12.—A loss of confidence in the Government of the United States, its leaders, its policies, and its most solemn pronouncements, is the most serious casualty in Britain of the international events of the last 4 months.

United States censure of Britain and France during the Suez crisis alienated a section of the population whose members are usually friends and defenders of the United States in Britain.

The Washington administration's handling of the dispute between Israel and the United Nations over the former's withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the Gulf of Aqaba aroused the hot antagonism of those who had approved the United States position on Suez, including prominent members of the Labor Party.

The net result is that Labor voters, usually critical of United States policy, are more critical than ever. And the Conservative Party is increasingly hostile in both Parliament and the country toward United States policy.

Not once in more than a month of travel and discussion did this correspondent hear a Briton support the United States administration over Suez or Israel.

People felt they had been let down. They thought the United States action of voting with the Soviet Union in the United Nations against Britain mocked a decade of fine talk about the transatlantic alliance. This, they kept repeating, they would not forget.

BULLYING WRONG MAN

To people in pubs, factory canteens and trains the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East seemed to be an American attempt to do in the Middle East what President Eisenhower had censured Britain for doing. United States pressure on Israel over the withdrawal was interpreted as "bullying the wrong man."

"If [Secretary of State] Dulles is so smart," a Staffordshire man said, "why doesn't he start bullying Nasser? He's the bloke that started all this, not the Israelis."

Such comments may be narrow, ill-informed and emotional, but they are ubiquitous. The alliance between the United States and Britain may be convalescent in Parliament; it is still mighty sick in the country.

One of the most important policymakers saw an encouraging side to the deterioration of relations, however.

"It would be a good thing, good for Britain and good for the United States, if from now on we look at the alliance more realistically," he said. "Emotion is a bad guide for policymaking and there has been too much emotion in all this 'hands across the sea' business. Naturally, neither of us will 'go it alone.' But a little more independence of the United States will encourage us to be more flexible and adventurous in foreign policy."

The average Briton's attitude toward the rest of the world clearly expresses that confidence in himself and his country's future that, in the circumstances, was one of the most important discoveries of this inquiry.

DECADES OF DIFFICULTIES

Nearly two decades of political crisis, war and economic difficulties have not appreciably weakened that strain of assurance, touched with condescending superiority, that has helped to make the British highly successful and heartily disliked in the past.

Paradoxically, there is little anti-Americanism directed at a visitor. The American traveler meets a ready welcome, keen interest and warm hospitality. He also is subjected to sharp questioning and a real desire for information.

One questioner wanted to know if President Eisenhower really owned "thousands of acres" of oil lands. But in general the questions were intelligent.

In Stourbridge in the Midlands a man wanted to know the prospects for changing the filibuster rule in the United States Senate. In Cardiff, Wales, an accountant asked about the powers of the National Security Council.

There is a danger that suspicion of the United States Government will spread to suspicion of the American people, of the Atlantic Alliance, of the United Nations and ultimately of all international agreements. The present strong currents of nationalism have their undercurrents of isolationism and neutrality.

"I'm fed up with these treaties and such," was a typical comment.

Criticism of the United States Government is phenomenal in that it includes all classes and political parties. In Newcastle a visitor was reminded that "the workers" had always suspected American capitalism. The era of Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, of course, left its scars on young intellectuals of both political parties.

British opinion of the United States in these circles never has recovered from the shock occasioned by the manner in which Senator MCCARTHY rode roughshod over American liberties.

The reporting of MCCARTHY'S influence between 1952 and 1956 may have been slightly exaggerated in British newspapers and weeklies but no one can exaggerate the harm he did to the reputation of the United States as the champion of human freedom.

The Left saw Senator MCCARTHY as the standard bearer of an emerging American fascism. The Right saw him as an isolationist who would break United States commitments overseas. Both factions united in condemning American hesitancy in dealing with him.

CONSERVATIVES JOIN CRITICS

Conservative criticism has emerged into the open since the Sues crisis.

"What in heaven's name did you think we were?" a retired officer asked. "A lot of pet dogs who'd sit up and beg when Mr. Dulles spoke?"

He, and many like him, were as worried by what they considered the Washington administration's inability to understand the British approach to the Middle East as by its actions after the intervention.

The United States censure shocked even some who were most critical of the British Government's intervention in Egypt. The trans-Atlantic alliance may have been overvalued in this country. But to the British an alliance is—or rather was—an alliance.

"Possibly you didn't see the need for it (intervention)," an actuary said in Scotland, "but surely there was no reason to turn on us and to vote with the Russians against us. Man, that made nonsense of all your President and others have said about the alliance. It's like a marriage; it's valid even when things aren't going your way."

A more extreme view was put by a mechanic in Stafford.

"All we are to the Americans is an aircraft carrier," he said. "As long as you can use our airfields and do the leading, everything's fine. But when we do something on our own, you come all over religious on us. You'd move damned quick if someone grabbed your Panama Canal."

ATTACK CENTERS ON DULLES

Rightly or wrongly, Secretary of State Dulles has become the focus of criticism of the United States Government. But recently this criticism has touched President Eisenhower, long the most popular American in these islands.

In many cases a visitor finds that criticism is so violent, so unreasoning that past contributions by Mr. Dulles have been forgotten. In the north, especially in Durham and Newcastle, many persons were convinced that Sir Anthony Eden did not resign as Prime Minister because of ill health but had been removed as a sacrifice to jealous gods in the United States State Department.

Discussion of the Washington administration's plan for the Middle East almost invariably produced the charge of hypocrisy. Labor voters, torn between party allegiance and a strong dislike of the Egyptians and President Gamal Abdel Nasser, asked how they could approve the Americans' doing something that had been the basis for criticism of the Eden government by their leaders and the United States Government.

"They must have had blinkers on over there if they didn't see that the 'wogs' (Egyptians) were getting guns from the Russians," a farmer said in Bristol. "That's what Eden was telling them all year. First you vote with the Russians against us and then you turn around and say the Russians ought to get out of the Middle East and you should go in."

To which a physician added: "I was against the Government because I thought its course would lead straight to war. How can I support the American line?"

Beyond the present and perhaps ephemeral animosity toward the United States Government there is a hard-headed attitude toward the United States. Britain is one of the few countries in Europe in which strangers do not buttonhole an American to tell him how much they would like to live in the United States.

Britons are interested in the United States. They admire and copy American techniques in industry and living. They are at times envious and jealous, although, on the whole, power has been surrendered with remarkable grace.

But there is little enthusiasm for the traditions and promise of United States democracy and free enterprise. The starving cotton workers of Lancashire cheered the liberal principles of President Lincoln during the Civil War. Today the traveler frequently senses that the United States means little more than big shiny cars, gadgets, and the half-real world of Hollywood.

Profound distrust of capitalism may be one reason. The British workers have never learned, nor have their own leaders explained to them, what modern capitalism in the United States means in terms of a worker's life.

The present increase in the emigration of skilled workers worries Government officials here who know that the proportion of workers in the total population is steadily decreasing. But it did not appear to worry particularly those with whom this correspondent talked in a month of travel in Britain.

EMIGRATION NOT NEW

Emigration is not new. A minister remarked recently that there are six times as many Scotsmen around the world as there are in Scotland.

"We've always needed brains and skills but so has the Commonwealth," a lawyer said. "People have been getting fed up and leaving for hundreds of years. We'll manage."

The lawyer looked around the room and said hurriedly and rather ashamedly: "You know we may not have America's resources, but we've got character and intelligence. They count."

The Mail Should Pay Its Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, editorial columnist Larry Collines, Sr., of the Long Beach Independent newspaper recently set forth his thought with respects to the proposition that the mail should pay its way. Since the matter of postal rate increases is expected to be before the Congress in the near future, the views he sets forth are pertinent to the record. They are as follows:

If the cost of mailing a first-class letter were increased to 5 cents it would wipe out the $500 million annual deficit of the post office. That would be putting that great institution on a pay-its-way basis. It would cost the average family very little more, because they do not mail many letters. But it would be costly to many business concerns who use the mails for sending out first-class mail. But before the 2-cent-a-stamp increase is put in effect, careful consideration should be given to a major increase in second-class mailing.

Under second-class mailing privileges many newspapers and magazines are subsidized to the extent of millions of dollars annually. Some individual magazines mail their products at millions of dollars lower rates than it costs the post officer to handle. That means those individual magazines and their subscribers are subsidized by the taxes paid by all the people. This also applies to newspapers with large mail subscriptions. It is apparent the strongest opposition to an overall increase in postal rates comes from these interests.

The post office system is just about the most important service organization in this country. It reaches into every home. In its early days the exeremely low rates for publications were set by Congress as a means of getting information to all the people as cheapiy and quickly as possible. It provided that newspapers and magazines would be distributed at lower rates than average costs because that was the people's only means for getting information.

That condition does not prevail today. Radio, television, and fast transportation bring the people in touch with world and domestic affairs almost as quickly as they happen. Advertisers pay a large share of the cost of publications. It should no longer be necessary to subsidize them. If the people want them badly enough they will pay the small difference in postal rates to insure their delivery. In such cases it is unreasonable to ask others to pay part of the cost of that subscription through taxes which go to make up the post office deficit.

We hear businessmen say postal rates will cost them more money, which they oppose. We hear the same men loudly opposing subsidies to the farmers. It makes a difference "whose ox is gored." But to those who believe government services should pay their own way wherever possible, we urge them to let their Congressman and Senator know they favor increasing postal rates to accomplish that purpose.

Another newspaperman, Col. C. S. Smith, publisher of the Herald-American newspapers in the Los Angeles County area, also has expressed to me similar thoughts with particular reference to so-called junk mail. The telegram I received from him reads as follows:

Concerning pending legislation regarding the Post Office Department. A large portion of the mail is now what we call junk mail or advertising matter which is mailed at greatly reduced rates addressed only to "occupant." This rate is lower than the distribution rate using the cheapest kind of distributors therefore we are sure the Post Office Department is losing vast sums on this class of mail. Nearly all of this mail is in direct competition to established newspapers and established merchants. We cannot see why the Post Office Department wishes to subsidize this class of business. Perhaps if this junk mail at vastly reduced rates of 1½ cents each were discontinued the first-class mail rate would not have to be raised as much as now suggested. Urgently request you consider this matter fully before raising first-class rates or accepting another multi-million-dollar deficit in post office operation.

COL. C. S. SMITH,
Publisher, Herald American Newspapers, Compton, Calif.

Construction Loans to Veterans

SPEECH
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4602) to encourage new residential construction for veterans' housing in rural areas and small cities and towns by raising the maximum amount in which direct loans may be made from $10,000 to $12,500, to authorize advance financing commitments, to extend the direct loan program for veterans, and for other purposes.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MULTER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MASON. I just want this time to serve notice on the committee that there will be no future extensions of time.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Chairman, this amendment, I think, would accomplish the purpose of making more money available for veterans loans. It is the subject matter of a bill which I introduced, together with the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEOGH], in the last session. It is H. R. 804 in this session. It provides, in effect, tax exemption of the interest received from loans to veterans, provided the interest rate on those loans does not exceed 3½ percent.

By this simple enactment, the veteran could get a 3½ percent loan and the lender could get a net return to him of 3½ percent less the cost of placing and servicing the loan. Now, they tell me, and I think it is the fact, that it costs about one-half percent to place, process, and service a veterans mortgage loan. That means they would have 3 percent free of taxation on every mortgage of this kind that they made to veterans. Now, there is nothing mandatory about the provision. I do not say the lender or the bank must loan at 3½ percent, but I say if they do extend themselves to this extent and help the veterans of this country, giving them a low interest rate, then

they get a tax exemption on the return of their interest on these loans, and these loans only.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the enactment of this amendment.

Segregation and "Surrender"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, there is a gradual movement in this country toward Federal control of all activities. Many leaders are adopting a so-called middle-of-the-road philosophy. The bartering of principle is a dangerous business. In making concessions and compromises, principle is lost and the rights of the people diminish.

If the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, is allowed to stand, the school system of our State will be wrecked; the rights of our people mutilated; and the sovereignty of our State desecrated. Somewhere along the line it becomes necessary to meet the issue head-on.

Many politicians, in their zeal to secure political preferment, are willing to turn their backs on constitutional government, the sovereignty of our States, and the privileges and freedoms of the individuals of this country. Some of our would-be leaders in Virginia have adopted an attitude that they are for segregated schools but there is nothing that can be done to permit the Commonwealth of Virginia to continue to operate her schools on a segregated basis; that there must be a little integration in compliance with the decree of the Supreme Court.

There is no such thing as a little compliance. Either we comply or we exert every possible legitimate, peaceful means at the disposal of the Commonwealth of Virginia and her people to maintain the right to operate our schools as the people of Virginia desire them operated.

I am convinced that if our people will stand together on this great issue and fight for the principles involved we have reason to hope that the people of this country will some day awaken to a realization of what the Court has attempted to do to our Constitution and demand a return to constitutional government.

On Monday, March 25, 1957, there appeared in the Richmond News Leader an outstanding editorial entitled "Segregation and 'Surrender'." On Tuesday, March 26, 1957, there appeared in the Richmond Times-Dispatch an equally outstanding editorial entitled "Dalton Should 'Choose to Run'." These fine editorials pointed out in detail the political manipulations of one of the politicians in Virginia who is attempting to secure political preferment by playing upon words and forgetting principle. In one breath this politician pretends that he favors keeping white schools of Virginia white and in the next breath says we must have some integration. He wants to be all things to all people and at the same time no doubt hopes in his heart that by playing up to the modern Republicanism of the present administration he will secure an appointment to one of the judicial plums now dangling in Virginia.

There is an unholy alliance between Attorney General Brownell, the present administration and the NAACP to bring Virginia to her knees and to force us to take orders from Brownell and the NAACP. Could it be that Mr. Dalton has now joined this unholy alliance?

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to include these editorials which are as follows:

[From the Richmond News Leader of March 25, 1957]

SEGREGATION AND SURRENDER

With Senator Ted Dalton's address before the Republican State Central Committee on Saturday, the issue of a school policy in Virginia is fairly joined.

Mr. Dalton, speaking for the Republicans, is agreeable to some racial integration under a plan of pupil assignment. He would keep the white schools "as white as possible," but he would prefer integration to closing schools.

On the opposite side, the dominant Democratic organization of United States Senator HARRY F. BYRD, which has endorsed the gubernatorial candidacy of J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., favors an approach of "massive resistance" at the State level. This carries with it the denial of State funds to any locality which integrates its local schools. Because the State supplement is vital to school operations in most counties and cities, this might have the effect of closing some schools in order to prevent race mixing.

It is fair to say that Senator Dalton is no more "in favor of integration" than the Byrd organization is "in favor of risking the closing of some schools." Both parties denounce the Supreme Court's school decision (Mr. Dalton, who may abandon politics to accept a Federal judgeship, described the opinion as "unreasonable and unfair"), and both parties, it may be assumed, have an equal devotion to the cause of educating children. Their division lies at that critical point, some time in the future, when a local school division at last faces the bitter choice: Mix the races, or close the school. Mr. Dalton would mix. Mr. BYRD would close.

In this bitter, tragic choice, this newspaper alines itself with Senator Byrd—and for a number of reasons.

To permit the assignment of white and Negro pupils to the same classroom, as a State policy, is to surrender altogether to the Supreme Court of the United States. We are not yet ready to surrender.

To risk the closing of a school, or actually to close a school, is a miserably unhappy prospect. Yet the stakes are high. If the Federal courts can be convinced that Virginia means business—if Negro petitioners can be convinced that to win a suit means to lose their school—we may reach an impasse at a price which is relatively small in terms of the overall gain. In any event, this newspaper has enough confidence in the ingenuity and resourcefulness of the white people of Virginia to be confident that a school, once closed, would not remain closed long. The loss in educational opportunity to white children, at least, would be only temporary. Negro petitioners, having precipitated the crisis, would have only themselves to blame for whatever consequences might result.

The capitulation advocated by Senator DALTON might begin with "just a little integration," but the experience of Baltimore offers abundant proof that a little integration swiftly develops into big integration. Baltimore began with a 3-percent mixing in its first year; this jumped to 7 percent in the second year; it is now 15 percent in the third year. Moreover, physical conditions in rural counties make "a little integration" impossible. It is total, or none at all.

We oppose Senator Dalton's soft view for other reasons: Important as public education is, other things are important, too—and among them is a steadfast insistence upon obedience to the Constitution as the supreme law of the land. To submit tamely to this flagrant usurpation of power by the Supreme Court will make every subsequent usurpation that much easier; for the South to resist, and to keep on resisting, even at bitter price, may serve to awaken the rest of the country to the serious nature of the constitutional crisis at hand.

One final point: To accept race-mixing now, in our view, will be to saddle succeeding generations in the South with the terrible consequences of racial amalgamation. No responsible person contends that integration in 1957 will mean "mongrelization" in 1958. The apprehension is for 1977 or 1997—for 20, 30, or 40 years hence. If a firm stand now will prevent that consequence then, our children one day will be thankful for this resistance in our own time.

Let us take it to the hustings, Mr. Dalton. If devotion to the Constitution is so dead in Virginia, and pride of race so feeble, that the people of this State will abandon both Constitution and race on the altar of a few public schoolhouses, we deserve the worst that may happen to us.

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch of March 26, 1957]

DALTON SHOULD CHOOSE TO RUN

"Although I am taking a hard and long look at the matter of running (for governor), the chances are that I will not do so," State Senator Ted Dalton told the Republican State Central Committee on Saturday.

We hope Mr. Dalton decides to accept the nomination.

The likelihood of his doing so appears less certain than it had been before he made his speech to the GOP committee.

He did not speak like a man who expects to run for governor, on a Republican ticket, in a traditionally Democratic State.

The less charitable will accuse him of speaking like a man in line for lifetime appointment to a Federal judgeship to succeed Judge Barksdale, slated to retire 4 months hence from the bench of the United States district court of western Virginia.

Nor did he speak like a Republican.

What he said was unmistakably in line with the new Republicanism, whose standardbearer has reneged on his pledge to protect States rights.

Heretofore Mr. Dalton's gubernatorial aspirations had been regarded with a sort of kindly interest by some Virginia Democrats. This attitude reflected favorably on his popularity, as well as a belief that his chances of success at the polls were comfortably remote.

We doubt that the same tolerant attitude prevails now that he has unmistakably identified himself with the neither-here-nor-there middle-of-the-road "republicanism" symbolized by Mr. Eisenhower and those White House advisers who appraise the school issue in terms of political strategy.

Mr. Dalton told the GOP committee that he had not made up his mind on whether or not to run for governor, because, he said, he was not satisfied that he had "fully done his part to establish a two-party system in Virginia."

This newspaper believes a genuine two-party system to be indispensable to the system of checks and balances which protects

a nation and a state against abuse of political power.

But as GOP Committeeman William Siple of Hopewell said, in comenting on the Dalton middle-of-the-road policy, "It might put the Republican Party (in Virginia) behind the 8-ball for the next 50 years."

The prospect of that hopeless position (to the detriment of 2-party government) was enhanced by the committee's 25-to-5 vote against Committeeman Walter G. Gambill's motion to censure Mr. Eisenhower's modern Republicanism, as an expedient surrender to the big government ideology of the New Deal.

Mr. Dalton, in Saturday's speech, referred to the Supreme Court school decision as "unreasonable and unfair." Yet he would have Virginia bow to that unconstitutional directive—gradually.

"We do not approve of the decision in Virginia," he said, adding that we should "keep white schools white."

But having said that, he half-about-faced. "An intelligent approach" to the situation, he said, would be to "keep the white school as white as possible, under law and order."

Mr. Dalton's proposal advocates gradual surrender to a Supreme Court directive we do not recognize as law, enacted by the representatives of the people, or by State ratification of an amendment, but a directive—a judicial fiat trespassing explicit constitutional limitations on the Court's powers.

This possible successor to a Federal judgeship in Virginia would have the people of this State yield to insertion of the thin edge of the wedge. Once inserted, the Federal courts would be free to wield the sledgehammer to drive that wedge in deeper.

As the forcible transfer of pupils in New York has clearly shown, the NAACP is not content with such integration as would take place along neighborhood lines. They wish to uproot white children from white schools, and uproot colored children from colored schools, in order to expedite race mingling by force.

There was a time when it could still be hoped that both the NAACP and the Court itself might be sensitive to the enormity of the disruption created by hasty implementation of the school decision—and the imperative need for permitting southern mores, rather than the Court's impatience, to determine regional reaction to the Court order. The growing aggressiveness of the NAACP, and the intransigence of the Court (as seen in its refusal yesterday to review the Charlottesville and Arlington cases) have destroyed that hope.

Mr. Dalton seems completely unaware of this radical change in the situation.

Mr. Dalton ignored another salient fact in the dilemma created by the court's decision:

Virginia is not an isolated target of the Eisenhower-Brownell campaign to win the big city Negro vote. It does not exist in a vacuum. It is traditionally and inseparably linked to the South as a whole. The South's public school system is in jeopardy as a result of the "new" Republicans' determination to regulate State-financed education.

Mr. Dalton takes a defeatist attitude. He says there's no hope of the court reversing itself. He says that our public schools must be preserved—even at the cost of integration by gradualism. He accuses Senator BYRD of "Calling on our little children to bear the brunt."

This resort to pathos is most disappointing in a statesman who had been, and is, widely respected. It was a deplorable appeal to the very "emotionalism" he charges against Virginia Democrats.

Mr. Dalton refuses to recognize that the "massive (but passive) resistance" advocated by Senator BYRD, not only in Virginia but throughout the South, may prove to be our best hope to bring about a change of the court's approach to a deadlock of its own creation.

Nor does Mr. Dalton seem to realize that this deadlock cannot be broken along judicial lines.

A political decision can be altered only by political means.

It seems reasonable to assume that a court which allowed itself to be influenced by a minority political-pressure group may not be indifferent to the great majority of voters in 13 States determined to resist en bloc.

Mr. BYRD and other southern statesmen do not advocate, as Mr. Dalton charges, the closing of public schools. They do say that the closing of schools, in deference to the wishes of parents, will be the only alternative—if the high Court refuses to recognize the preponderance of hard fact over the abstract philosophizing of the NAACP.

Mr. Dalton professes to believe that the majority of Virginians see things his way. He alone can give them an opportunity to be counted—by running for Governor.

Trinity Project Partnership Advantageous

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker. The Secretary of the Interior has recommended that a partnership arrangement be concluded with the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. with respect to development of the Trinity River project in California. A discussion of Secretary Seaton's recommendations and their advantages is contained in the following editorial appearing recently in the Long Beach Press-Telegram newspaper:

BIG TAXPAYER SAVINGS SEEN IN TRINITY PARTNERSHIP PROPOSAL

Power potential from a water development project on the Trinity River in far northern California has suddenly become a vigorously debated issue.

Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL widened and intensified the discussion when he came out flatly against a proposal by Interior Secretary Seaton for a partnership power development on the Trinity, a unit of the Central Valley project.

Seaton's plan calls for construction by the Government of the water storage facilities and canals, with the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. constructing, at its own cost, three powerplants and paying an estimated $4,617,000 annually over a 50-year contract period, for use of the falling water.

The alternative plan favored by Senator KUCHEL calls for exclusive Federal development of the entire project.

The Senator and the Interior Department are in direct disagreement on certain important phases of the issue, but there is apparently no challenge to these claims by Secretary Seaton as to financial benefits of joint development:

It would save the Government not less than $55 million in initial cost.

The Government would collect $165 million more in revenue in the first 50 years of the project.

Federal, State, and local government would collect $135 million in taxes over the contract period, while a straight Government project would be nontaxable.

Seaton makes the further conclusion that these financial gains would provide substantially more funds for potential irrigation and multipurpose development in the Central Valley area.

Senator KUCHEL's major objection is in behalf of preference purchasers of power in the area, such as municipally owned utilities. He says that such purchasers would pay $86 million more for power in the 50-year period if the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. develops the project.

He also makes the point that if San Luis Reservoir in the San Joaquin Valley is developed as a major feature of the Feather River project, Trinity power would be called upon to pump water to that reservoir and preference customers would have to look elsewhere for virtually all their required power. In that event, both the Federal Government and preference purchasers would have to pay substantially more for power.

Supporters of the partnership plan answer these objections on the grounds that the people of the United States should not be forced to forego a financially attractive program for the benefit of a few privileged electric customers in the Central Valley. They say further that the tax benefits to the Federal Government would more than offset the increased Federal power costs in case San Luis Reservoir is built.

In our opinion, Secretary Seaton has made a good case for the partnership plan.

It is sound principle that the Government should do only those things which regular industry cannot do, or cannot do so well.

The power phase of the Trinity project appears to be a case where free enterprise can do the job better, and to greater benefit to the general public, than it would be done as an exclusive Government operation.

There's another point that is timely in this Federal income-tax paying period. Putting the Government operation label on a project does not take off the price tag, as some people seem to think. The partnership plan means that regular industry will make a substantial contribution to the cost of Trinity, saving the general taxpayers of the country proportionately.

Southern California Dental Association Endorses H. R. 9 and H. R. 10

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H. R. 4403, a companion bill to H. R. 9 and H. R. 10, the Jenkins-Keogh bills, and I believe that early consideration should be given by the House to this legislation, which would grant to self-employed persons substantially the same tax benefits as are now available to employed persons participating in corporate pension plans.

I have received many endorsements of this legislation, and the following is a resolution submitted by the Southern California State Dental Association, which represents nearly 4,000 ethical dentists in unanimous support of this legislation:

Whereas there are now pending before the Congress H. R. 9 and 10, commonly referred to as the Jenkins-Keogh bills, which bills would grant to self-employed persons sub-

stantially the same tax benefits as are now available to employed persons participating in corporate pension plans; and

Whereas common justice demands that self-employed citizens of the United States have available to themselves the same tax benefits as are provided for employed persons:

Resolved, That the Southern California State Dental Association in annual session assembled urges the 85th Congress to enact the said proposal into law.

Resolved further, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each Senator and Representative from California and to the Vice President of the United States.

Suez: The Alternatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 10, 1957:

SUEZ: THE ALTERNATIVES

With the Suez Canal open to smaller ships and work progressing on removing the last major physical obstacles to regular traffic, the problems of the political and economic nature of canal control are again in the limelight. The immediate questions are the passage of Israeli ships through the waterway and the manner in which tolls are to be paid. These questions must be answered soon, and with justice to all parties. But to assist in reaching such a conclusion as well as in the long-term interests of the free world, it is necessary to press for alternatives to the canal.

Both international justice and the advancement of the prospects of peace in the Middle East require that Egypt's ban on Israeli shipping in the canal (posed as a belligerent right) must be lifted. And until some permanent regime for the canal can be established, there should be a kind of trusteeship, either through the Users' Association or a United Nations body, to receive tolls; transmit a fair percentage to Egypt, and retain the balance for improving shipping facilities in the waterway.

The Suez crisis revealed three major threats to the oil supply of Western Europe:

1. The blocking of the canal, which disrupted the transportation of a great portion of Europe's oil.

2. The sabotage of the three pipelines operated by the Iraq Petroleum Co. through Syria, which cut off a major alternative route for oil.

3. The refusal of Saudi Arabia to sell oil for consumption in Britain and France, which hit at one important source of oil for those countries, passing through the undamaged Tapline, operated on behalf of Aramco, to the Mediterranean.

At no time was every source of Mid East petroleum, or every transportation route, barred to Western Europe. Iran, Iraq, and Kuwait were still producing freely; had there been a sufficiency of alternative transportation routes, Europe's petroleum crisis would have been far less severe. It is up to the free world to encourage such alternatives, since even if President Nasser should make a satisfactory agreement for the management of the Suez Canal it has been demonstrated how easily the waterway can be closed, either by the Egyptians or by air attack. The vulnerability of the pipelines was also vividly illustrated.

More pipelines constitute one answer. The Israeli line from Elath, on the Gulf of Aqaba, to Beersheba, is approaching completion. But it is only an 8-inch pipe, for domestic purposes. A larger line, from Elath to Haifa, which would bring oil to the Mediterranean for European use, is now projected.

Another pipeline project would bring oil from Kuwait, Iraq, and Iran around the northern border of Syria to the Turkish port of Iskenderun. This would be a major program, entirely within the Baghdad pact nations. Elsewhere on this page Mr. Frederick Wildman, Jr., advocates an extension of this idea to link the Middle East oilfields directly with Europe by pipeline.

The most flexible answer to the Suez problem is the big tanker. Even before Nasser seized the Suez Canal Co., it was recognized that the canal constituted a potential bottleneck to the mounting tide of oil flowing from the Middle East to Europe and America. Tankers of average size could not transport oil around the Cape of Good Hope economically. But with big tankers—60,000 tons and over—the cost per ton taking the long route would be about the same as passing through Suez with smaller vessels.

There has been a notable development of the big tankers. Craft in the neighborhood of 50,000 tons have already been launched and one of 106,500 tons is on order. Such vessels, bigger than the biggest ocean liners, will have a problem in docking, loading, and unloading. They constitute a large initial investment. But if ports are available they can go where the oil is and take it where needed.

It would be a mistake for the Western World to concentrate exclusively on the reopening of the Suez Canal. That is undoubtedly of vital importance, but it can be achieved more quickly, on better terms and with greater security for the interests of the free world if Egypt, Syria, and the Soviet Union are all aware that a determined and concentrated effort is being made to reduce the dependence of consuming and producing countries upon a limited number of routes for transporting petroleum.

Resolution From Rochester Branch, No. 210, National Association of Letter Carriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, at the request of Mr. Thomas F. Corbett, Jr., secretary of Rochester Branch, No. 210, of the National Association of Letter Carriers, I am inserting herewith a resolution adopted at a meeting of postal employees held February 10, 1957:

Resolved, That we here gathered wholeheartedly endorse bills S. 27 and H. R. 2474, providing for postal employees' salaries of $5,000 to $6,100, and also bill S. 21 and H. R. 607, providing increases of $800 for our annuitants; further

Resolved, That we request our Senators and Representatives to insert said resolution into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The President's Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, January 5, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave obtained, I wish to insert in the RECORD an address I delivered over WHK Radio Station, Cleveland, on Saturday, March 23, on the President's budget.

The speech follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET

My subject is the President's budget. I know this is a subject of great interest to you because it affects your pocketbooks and every taxpayer of the United States. Congress is very much concerned about the new budget the President recently submitted. Our concern grows out of a number of reasons.

The latest budget submitted to Congress by President Eisenhower is the largest peacetime budget ever presented in the history of the Nation. It called for enactment of over $73 billion in appropriations and authority to obligate over $76 billion.

This latest budget is $3 billion over the budget of the current year. It is between five and six billion dollars more than last year. Think of this, the new budget is between seven and eight billion dollars more than the year before that. The records show that the proposed economy program which President Eisenhower promised the American people has resulted in an increase each year of several billion dollars over the preceding year. Naturally you, the taxpayers, have to pay this increase.

It is important for you to remember that the administration has been asking Congress each year for increased authority to enter into financial obligations. Obviously larger and larger grants of such authority each year means higher spending in succeeding years. This is a consideration which Congress will give most careful study during the immediate months ahead.

On the same day the President submitted his new budget to the Congress, Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey called a press conference at which he made the following statement: "The cost of living has recently moved up somewhat in spite of monetary measures to restrain it. Governmental expenditures and the number of Government employees are now increasing. This trend should promptly be stopped." Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey is a member of the President's Cabinet and traditionally a man holding such a position is supposed to advise the President on money matters. It appeared that the President and his other advisers forgot to consult with Secretary Humphrey before they prepared their budget and sent it to Congress. However, a day later, President Eisenhower, at a press conference, stated he was in agreement with Secretary of Treasury Humphrey that the rate of spending was dangerously high and should be checked. After the President restated his position on the budget, we in Congress, were confronted with the problem of trying to determine whose budget we had before us. Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey stated that he disagreed with it and President Eisenhower later concurred with Humphrey—obviously someone other than the President must have been responsible for preparing, approving, and submitting the budget sent to Congress.

However, both President Eisenhower and Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, while

stating that the budget was too high, failed to tell Congress where the cuts should be made. The President is Chief Executive of the Government, responsible for running the Government and therefore he should know best where cuts can be made.

It is obvious to Congress that a serious divided command exists at the highest levels of our Government. Congress decided to support the President in this issue of a divided command. Accordingly last week the House of Representatives put itself on record as anxious to make substantial reductions in the President's budget for the fiscal year of 1958 and passed a resolution which reads as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the President respectfully be requested to indicate the places and amounts in his budget where he thinks substantial reductions can best be made; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President."

By this action Congress made it unmistakably clear that it intends to support the President of the United States in a situation of divided command which prevails in the executive branch of the Government.

The appearance of Secretary of Commerce Weeks, another member of President Eisenhower's Cabinet, on a nationwide television network last week would have been very funny were it not for the fact that it emphasized the divided command of President Eisenhower with respect to matters of the budget. Secretary Weeks, while on the television program, emphatically stated that the budget, as submitted by the President, could and should be cut substantially. A few days later this same Secretary Weeks, when appearing before the House Appropriations Committee, could not find one way by which a cut of any kind could be effected in the budget submitted for the Department of Commerce. From this, one could very well conclude that when members of President Eisenhower's program appear on national television programs, they have a sharp eye on the presidential campaign of 1960, but when appearing before the House Appropriations Committee, they express a cold disregard for the taxpayers' pocketbook. It is a tough job for Congress to get at the bottom of the new budget submitted by the President and to know where substantial cuts can be made. We Members of Congress are anxious to maintain public services necessary to the security and welfare of the American people and to cut off all the window trimming, unnecessary services and sinecure jobs allocated to political hacks, some of them coming as high as $20,000 per year of the taxpayers' money.

Another matter of interest to the citizens of Cleveland who voted to bring the Pan American games to Cleveland is the effort being made by some of the Ohio Members of Congress to secure Federal support for these games. It is my conviction that the holding of the Pan American games in Cleveland in 1959 will make a substantial contribution to the improvement of relations between the people of North, Central, and South America, as well as provide an example of real down-to-earth friendship for the whole world to observe. Cleveland is known as one of the most cosmopolitan cities of the world. This makes Cleveland an ideal host for the Pan American games.

Reasons were advocated before a committee of Congress only a few days ago in support of a proposal that Congress appropriate funds to cover part of the expenses necessary to the successful conduct of the Pan American games. On March 8, I, together with a number of civic leaders of Cleveland, incuding Mayor Celebrezze, visited the White House urging suport for the Pan American games to be held in Cleveland. The President was unavailable and Gov. Howard Pyle, one of his assistants, received the delegation. After a full discussion of the merits of our proposal, Governor Pyle assured us that President Eisenhower was firmly behind the Pan American games.

On March 12th this same delegation of civic leaders from Cleveland appeared before a House Subcommittee on Appropriations in support of a request for $4,900,000 to cover part of the expenses of the Pan American games. We were astonished to hear from Hon. JOHN J. ROONEY, chairman of the subcommittee, that the State Department had withdrawn its support of the Pan American games. Later I was informally told that withdrawal of this support very likely would eliminate Federal support for the holding of the Pan American games in Cleveland.

In light of this development on March 14, I addressed a letter to the President in which I expressed my concern about this situation of divided command in which the President favors the Pan American games and the Department of State has reversed its position which, only a few months ago, promised all-out support for the Pan American games. On March 20 I received a letter from the White House signed by Howard Pyle, Deputy Assistant to the President, assuring me that the President had not changed his position in support of the Pan American games.

It is difficult to estimate the outcome of any project put under the spell of the divided command. I assure you that I, in company with civic leaders of Cleveland, will do my best to eliminate the divided command which now jeopardizes the holding of the Pan American games in Cleveland. The Federal Government spends billions of dollars each year for our national security and to improve solidarity of the Western Hemisphere. We seek to impress upon the countries of the world the record of developments of such progressive cities in the United States as Cleveland. What better expenditure of Federal funds, could be made to increase the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere than to support the holding of the pan-American games in Cleveland in 1959?

Northern Parents Join Resistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, those of us who believe in our constitutional form of government take heart when we realize that there are people all over America who feel as we do.

Gradually, the people in this country are awakening to the fact that for many years minority pressure groups have, by exerting influence far beyond their real strength, been taking this country slowly along the road to socialism.

Once the rank and file of our people are aroused to the dangers engulfing us they will rise and put a stop to the socialistic trend, provided they become aroused soon enough and before it is too late. The only hope left to recapture our republican form of government is to bring home to the masses of our people the knowledge of what has already taken place, what is happening now, and what will soon happen in the very near future unless drastic action is taken in the immediate future.

Mr. Ross Valentine, a very noted, able, and courageous editorial writer for the Richmond Times-Dispatch, had a most enlightening article in the Dispatch on Monday, March 25, 1957, entitled "Northern Parents Join Resistance." It warms the cockles of the hearts of those of us who believe in the ability of the American people to take care of themselves and to throw off tyranny once they become aware that their rights, privileges, and freedoms are being usurped from them. It is heartening to know that the good citizens of Queens Borough, N. Y., feel as do the people of our great State in matters pertaining to the education and welfare of our youth.

Mr. Valentine's article also comments upon the scholarly approach that Representative JOHN BELL WILLIAMS of Mississippi undertook in his speech before the Virginia Defenders of State Sovereignty last Friday evening, March 22. This speech was not one of vengeance or malevolence for the Negro citizens of the South, but rather one of intelligibility, understanding, and perception for the problems which face all of our people as a result of the Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954. We, his colleagues, need not attend a speech made by Congressman WILLIAMS to know of his wisdom and forthrightness for any and all matters affecting the people of this great country of ours.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include Mr. Valentine's fine article in the hopes that it will further enlighten the people of this country as to what is happening to them. The article is as follows:

[From the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch of Monday, March 25, 1957]

NORTHERN PARENTS JOIN RESISTANCE

(By Ross Valentine)

Representative JOHN BELL WILLIAMS of Mississippi is a man after my own heart. His speech to the convention of the Virginia Defenders of State Sovereignty was factual, dispassionate, frank, and considerate of the feelings of our colored fellow citizens.

I hadn't been sure of just what kind of man he would turn out to be. I went to the Jefferson Friday night to find out. If there's anything that "twists my tripes," it is a ranting demagog. I've heard plenty of them in my day, including Father Coughlin, whose delivery, working toward an apoplectic climax, was disturbingly reminiscent of Hitler's and Mussolini's.

I am happy to report that Mr. WILLIAMS' approach was diametrically opposite to that of the Michigan priest who (verbally) unfrocked himself to reveal the hate-filled "racist" hiding under the vestments of his venerable church.

WILLIAMS appealed to reason.

He might have been arguing a case before the Supreme Court. Even the political minded neophytes on that bench might have been impressed by his presentation of the case against judicial usurpation of legislative and amendatory powers.

"Black Monday," he summed up, referring to May 17, 1954, "was the blackest day in the history of Anglo-American jurisprudence."

He deplored the distoration of the southern resistance movement by an uninformed and often leftwing-manipulated northern press. He pointed out what we all know, that the white South's feeling for its Negro citizen is one of understanding, and of desire to provide educational opportunities, as attested by the multiple millions contributed (by predominantly white taxpayers)

to bring Negro schools to a level commensurate with the whites'.

He called on Virginia, as the No. 1 target of a court committed to a race-mixing philosophy, to resist—but to resist lawfully—not to resort to lawlessness, as reciprocal to lawlessness-in-high-places.

And he also pointed out that, in time, the North would become aware of the southern delimma occasioned by the unwise decision of the Court.

I picked up a New York paper the next morning to find considerable space given to massive resistance by citizens of Queens Borough (population circa 1,700,000) to the city school board's integration-by-bus policy; that is, the transfer of white pupils to Negro schools and vice versa.

The unusually complete news coverage at first astonished me—until I recalled the tremendous circulation enjoyed by the big city's dailies in its borough of homes.

Also significant was the fact that less than 5 percent of Queens' 208,195 school-age children are nonwhite.

A federation of civic councils formed in Queens 2 months ago, a northern counterpart of Virginia's Defenders. Its leaders have come out point blank against forced integration.

"More than 2,000 letters," says the New York news story, have been received by the city's board of education, protesting NAACP aggression against their neighborhood-way-of-life. I quote from the New York paper:

"Sociologists suggest that many of suburban Queens' residents had moved from the heart of the city either consciously or partly to get away from integrated patterns in more congested sections. Still others might be worrying about changes that affect property values.

One surburban newspaper headlined its pertinent story The Red Plot To "Rezone" Your Children. A civic newsletter referred to "The Red Hand in New York Schools."

Not far away from Queens, in the city of New Rochelle, the NAACP and a clerical group calling itself The Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance protested the proposed erection of a $1,516,000 Lincoln Elementary School in a preponderantly Negro district.

The Rev. M. deWitt Bullock, identified as head of the local NAACP, said erection of the school would wreck plans for housing integration, and frustrate efforts toward achieving the best educational climate for all our children. He pointed to integrated schools elsewhere as the kind of enriched and democratic living that should be duplicated a thousand times.

It begins to look as though resistance to integration by dictation is not restricted, entirely, to the backward South.

Paper Classrooms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the March 14, 1947, issue of the Warren Sentinel, Front Royal, Va.:

PAPER CLASSROOMS

For the first time we've seen the statement in print for national distribution that there is no school emergency. A circular published by the United States Chamber of Commerce, notwithstanding, all responsible reports that have come across this desk indicate an immediate, alarming, and growing shortage of classrooms.

Getting back to the United States Chamber's brief circular, it states that:

In 1947 when spiraling enrollments required 9,500 new classrooms, local school boards built 16,000.

The trend of classroom construction outstripping need has continued each year.

During the last 10 years 470,000 classrooms were built with local funds when there was need for only 290,000.

The overage of 179,000 classrooms should not be considered surplus, but were necessary to replace obsolete buildings from depression and war years.

The only crisis is that 840,000 pupils or 2.6 percent by National Education Association estimate are on half-day session and this need can be met by local citizens.

Willing to accept United States Office of Education building estimates based on reports from local school boards, the United States Chamber refuses to accept information from the same sources that an immediate need exists for 159,000 classrooms because of overcrowding, obsolescence, and double sessions. Incidentally, 69,000 of the estimated 470,000 built classrooms have not been constructed and may never be, because of rising financing and construction costs.

The chamber circular states that the need is critical for 840,000 pupils or 2.6 percent of present school population. Compared with this number United States Office of Education statistics show that 2,300,000 children are in overcrowded schoolrooms and another 840,000 on double sessions. How many on double sessions are also in overcrowded facilities, no one knows. Conservatively, 10 percent of the children in United States schools are being cheated of a decent education.

Walter Lippman, commenting on the demonstrated need for more classrooms, referred to a Commerce Department estimate that $4 billion would be needed annually for the next 10 years for school construction, a rise in expenditures of 60 percent above current level. This need exists in spite of impressive building efforts at the local level which cannot hold the dike against mounting classroom requirements.

Overlooked by the United States Chamber is the varying impact of enrollments upon elementary and high schools. Until now emphasis has been on relieving shortages in elementary schools. Clearly predictable is the 49 percent increase of high school enrollments between 1957 and 1964 which compares with a 21 percent rise in the past 7 years. In one year alone, between the fall of 1955 and the fall of 1956, overcrowding in high schools increased 9.8 percent.

United States Office of Education Circular No. 490 dated January 1957 showed that the Virginia State Department of Public Instruction this past fall reported a need for 2,680 classrooms to take care of 74,833 pupils in overcrowded buildings and another 2,294 rooms to replace unsatisfactory facilities. In Front Royal more than 16 percent of the pupils are in overcrowded classrooms and almost 1 of every 3 pupils is on half day sessions at Front Royal Elementary School.

Complete figures from the United States Office of Education based on information from local school districts show that the need for additional classrooms exists beyond a doubt. Irresponsible use of partial statistics from the same source by the United States Chamber only serves to muddy the picture.

And we cannot afford to waste much more time. The issue faces us now. The remedy was needed 10 years ago.

To deny a child part of his education now is to cause a loss that cannot be remedied later on. Children who are shortchanged on instruction now are almost certain to bear the marks of an inadequate education for life.

Statement of Hon. Robert C. Byrd, of West Virginia, to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct to the attention of our colleagues the statement I today presented to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in support of the bill H. R. 4353, which has been introduced by the chairman of the committee, the Honorable OREN HARRIS, to amend the Railroad Retirement Act, the Railroad Retirement Tax Act, and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, so as to improve and liberalize benefits payable to railroad workers and other beneficiaries under those laws. I have today introduced a similar bill.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT C. BYRD, SIXTH DISTRICT, WEST VIRGINIA, PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE MARCH 26, 1957

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity to present this statement in support of the legislation that has been introduced by the chairman of this committee to amend the Railroad Retirement Act, the Railroad Retirement Tax Act, and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, so as to improve and liberalize benefits payable to railroad workers and other beneficiaries under those laws. I am today introducing legislation similar to H. R. 4353.

Legislation to increase benefits under the railroad retirement system is overdue. The abundant information and testimony already on record convincingly reveal that the benefits available to rail workers upon their retirement from active employment are inadequate to support a man and wife at an average standard of living. The responsibility to correct this situation, as well as the obligation to so do, is that of the Congress—for the very reason that the railroad retirement system is under the management of the Congress and is not worked out through bargaining between labor and management.

With reference to the Railroad Retirement Act, the proposed measure would increase all annuities, pensions, and insurance lump sums by 10 percent. The only exception under the 10 percent increase would be those annuities that are based on the equivalent of the annuitant's average monthly compensation while working in the railroad industry. A disability annuitant would not lose the annuity for any month in which he earned over $100 in outside employment, provided his total annual earnings did not exceed $1,200. Women workers with less than 30 years of service would be eligible to retire at age 62 on a reduced basis, rather than at age 65. A wife may elect to receive her annuity at age 62 on a reduced basis, rather than at age 65. The election to draw an annuity before reaching age 65 would reduce the annuity by one one-hundred-eightieth for each month that the annuitant is under age 65. The bill authorizes payment of the insurance lump sums up to a maximum of $750. The act presently precludes the payment of this sum if the deceased employee is survived by a person entitled to an annuity in

the month in which the employee died. The maximum creditable compensation under the Railroad Retirement Act would be increased from $350 to $400 a month.

To finance the benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act, an amendment is proposed to the Railroad Retirement Tax Act which will increase the rate of tax from 6¼ percent to 7½ percent on carriers and employees.

Of great importance are the amendments which the bill proposes to the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. The daily benefit rate would be increased to 60 percent of compensation for the employee's last employment in a "base" year—the present rate being 50 percent. Daily benefit rates would be $0.50 to $1.70 higher than the present rates. The maximum benefit rate would be increased to $10.20 from $8.50. Sundays and holidays would be treated as days of employment. Benefits would be payable for each day of unemployment over 4, rather than the present requirement of 7 days. The period for which unemployment benefits are to be paid will be extended in the case of career railroad employees, i. e., those with at least 5 years of railroad service—the extended benefit period depending upon the employee's years of service. The maximum period for which unemployment benefits are presently payable is 130 days. In this regard, the bill, H. R. 4353, provides as follows:

Years of service:	*Number of compensable 14-day periods*
5 and less than 10	39
10 and less than 15	65
15 and less than 20	91
20 and over	117

In the Sixth District of West Virginia, which I have the honor to represent, we have many railroad workers—a good number of whom in recent years have been made idle because of the conversion from steam to diesel power. This is seemingly inconceivable when one realizes that the net income of railways in 1955 was $925 million against a total of $681.5 million in 1954. I recall distinctly the despairing letter I received around the holidays from one of my constituents—a man, 63 years of age, with 50 years of service as a roundhouse machinist, who had been "advanced to the rocking chair." Under the proposed amendment, this worker could receive unemployment-insurance benefits until he reaches 65 years of age.

The absolute necessity of expanding the unemployment-insurance benefits has been clearly demonstrated by the bare statistics of railway employment in recent years. The testimony before this committee shows that railway traffic in 1956 was 40 percent above 1929, but employment in the same period went down by 40 percent. The tabulation that follows substantiates this fact:

Year:	*Number of railway employees*
1948	2,300,000
1951	2,100,000
1956 (approximate)	1,600,000

In other words, there were 30 percent fewer railroad workers in 1956 than there were in 1948, and yet the volume of traffic in those years was almost the same. Furthermore, the prospect is that another 250,000 railroad workers will be dropped from the rolls within the next 10 years or so. Automation is taking its toll. I understand the newer yards have a machine with an electronic memory by which the routing of cars can be selected in advance and recorded on a machine. When the cars come to the yard, the machine sorts them automatically and rolls them into their proper place.

In July 1956 when legislation was enacted by the Congress to increase benefits by, generally, 10 percent, the echo resounding from the enactment was that the increase was, in essence, a temporary measure, for the purpose of providing an interim modest increase in benefits of 10 percent which, on the average, amounted to $10 a month. That was merely a step in the right direction, and its purpose was to afford some measure of hope to beneficiaries under the Railroad Retirement Act. At the time of the 1956 enactment, the rolls of the Railroad Retirement Board showed 650,900 beneficiaries. Out of that total number, the increases went to about 300,000 annuitants, about 40,000 wives, and 65,000 survivors. The average monthly benefit now is only $111.70, and the average for survivor benefits ranges from only $46.30 to $50.50. It is also noteworthy that prior to the 1956 legislation employee annuities under the railroad retirement system had been increased only twice since 1937, and survivor benefits only once since their inception in 1946. On the other hand, the cost of living, as measured by the Consumer Price Index, has risen 5 percent in the period between 1950 and November 1956. Today it is the highest it has ever been in the history of our country.

The retirement income now provided for industrial workers under most negotiated plans is far above that received by railway annuitants. The retirement income for a 30-year worker in industry, with annual earnings of $4,200, has been placed at between $170 and $200 a month (including social-security benefits of $108.50). It is plainly evident that railroad workers lag behind the rest of American workers. Surely, such workers should not be penalized with working and living conditions below the standards of other industries as a result of governmental regulation. Railroad workers and their dependents are entitled to share in the improvements and adjustments received by all other American workmen. I, therefore, sincerely hope that the committee will be able to give favorable consideration to legislation beneficial to railroad workers and their dependents.

Need for New School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, recently, Mr. Louis Schimmel, president of the Pontiac, Mich., School Board, told a committee of Congress that Michigan has been able to take care of its own school building needs.

He presumes to speak as head of one small school district for all the school districts of Michigan.

The country needs a vast number of additional classrooms to handle a population growing with explosive speed. Population growth exceeds 1 percent a year. Last year the country was reliably reported to need 150,000 classrooms, enough to build a one-story school, one classroom wide, extending from coast to coast.

A number of facts have been overlooked by the maker of the statement to which I alluded. The first is that Michigan's total value of public school property per pupil is only $647, or about 60 percent of that expended by the 2 top States in per-pupil expenditure. Equally important is the fact that he is not authorized to speak for the State of Michigan.

The best rebuttal of the statement by Mr. Schimmel is an impartial study made by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare during the last session of Congress. That study shows that 14.5 percent of Michigan's total capital needs for school construction cannot be met by 1959–60.

Mr. Schimmel's arguments are simply reduceable to this, that he does not like Federal aid to education; and that he feels it unnecessary, even in view of compelling and obvious evidence to the contrary in the form of antiquated, unsafe, and overcrowded schools, children going half days to school, and receiving inadequate supervision.

Each year's delay in the passage of an adequate Federal school construction program robs another year's baby crop of an adequate education. Each year's baby crop in school suffers another year's loss. Further, in a very real way, the people of the United States suffer a loss in skills, invention, and progress in an age where the Soviet Union is making tremendous strides in the production of skilled technicians, scientists, and engineers, in what probably is the critical test in the battle for supremacy between communism and free society.

Russia in the past 5 years has turned out 216,000 engineers, we have graduated only 142,000 in the same period. In the next 5 years Russia will train 400,000 exclusive of a large number trained in the satellites and China. America's projected output of engineers will be 153,000. The results are similar in other fields of scientific and technical endeavor.

Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, has warned that unless immediate steps are taken to correct this educational deficiency the results can become disastrous. Edward Teller, the father of the hydrogen bomb, a distinguished scientist has said simply and positively that the Soviet will surpass the United States in the technical and scientific field.

The tables below by the research division of the National Education Association, published in January 1957, are of interest. The first is the average value of public school property per pupil enrolled. The years cited are 1951 to 1952. Ordinarily that would not be the best figure to use because of the time lag. However, it is substantially reliable, and the most recent figures I could find. The thing which makes it most useful is that school construction in no area has kept up with the population growth:

TABLE 25.—*Average value of public-school property per pupil enrolled, 1951–52*

Delaware	$1,102
New York	952
New Hampshire	926
Wisconsin	815
Kansas	781
Oregon	725
Rhode Island	724
Washington	698
Nevada	683
New Jersey	656
Michigan	647
Pennsylvania	637
Wyoming	630
Ohio	614

TABLE 25.—*Average value of public-school property per pupil enrolled, 1951–52*—Con.

Montana	$605
Minnesota	590
North Dakota	582
Nebraska	579
Connecticut	575
Illinois	574
Massachusetts	573
Colorado	555
Iowa	547
California	546
Maryland	538
United States	525
Utah	497
Idaho	486
Vermont	463
Missouri	462
South Dakota	445
New Mexico	427
Louisiana	416
Virginia	404
West Virginia	392
North Carolina	384
Indiana	374
Oklahoma	374
Maine	368
Florida	367
Arizona	360
Texas	342
Kentucky	336
Arkansas	308
Georgia	282
Alabama	278
South Carolina	234
Mississippi	209
Tennessee	148

The next table from the same source is of equal importance. It shows expenditures for public education from State and local sources as a percent of income payments. The figures are not new, but again they are substantially identical with, or below today's expenditures:

TABLE 26.—*Current expenditures for public education from State and local sources as a percent of income payments, 1953–54*

	Percent
North Dakota	3.64
South Dakota	3.48
New Mexico	3.13
Idaho	3.10
Arizona	3.05
Louisiana	3.03
Iowa	3.02
Montana	3.02

TABLE 26.—*Current expenditures for public education from State and local sources as a percent of income payments, 1953–54*—Con.

	Percent
Oregon	2.98
North Carolina	2.93
Oklahoma	2.90
South Carolina	2.89
West Virginia	2.87
Wyoming	2.85
Utah	2.84
Minnesota	2.74
Kansas	2.72
Nebraska	2.71
Colorado	2.67
Georgia	2.65
Mississippi	2.64
California	2.61
Vermont	2.54
Texas	2.51
Alabama	2.50
Tennessee	2.43
Washington	2.42
Arkansas	2.40
Indiana	2.33
Florida	2.31
Maine	2.31
Wisconsin	2.30
United States	2.29
Pennsylvania	2.24
Michigan	2.16
New York	2.11
New Hampshire	2.09
New Jersey	2.00
Virginia	1.99
Kentucky	1.98
Massachusetts	1.96
Nevada	1.96
Illinois	1.91
Ohio	1.90
Maryland	1.90
Missouri	1.89
Delaware	1.86
Connecticut	1.75
Rhode Island	1.50

The third table shows the estimated percent of capital needs for school construction by 1959 to 1960 which States cannot finance:

TABLE 27.—*Estimated percent of total capital needs for school construction by 1959–60 which States cannot finance*

	Percent
Nevada	4.9
Louisiana	6.3
Montana	7.4
Colorado	8.0
Oregon	10.6

TABLE 27.—*Estimated percent of total capital needs for school construction by 1959–60 which States cannot finance*—Continued

	Percent
Michigan	14.5
Massachusetts	14.7
Minnesota	15.3
Mississippi	17.1
Vermont	18.0
Florida	18.4
Wisconsin	19.5
Arizona	20.9
New Hampshire	27.2
California	29.2
Connecticut	35.5
Iowa	35.5
Georgia	36.9
Kansas	38.3
All States	43.2
Indiana	43.5
North Carolina	52.4
Texas	52.7
West Virginia	54.5
Kentucky	54.9
Washington	56.0
Tennessee	61.2
Arkansas	65.0
Maine	67.8
Oklahoma	68.4
Pennsylvania	72.7
Maryland	76.0
New Jersey	86.9
Rhode Island	87.3
New Mexico	92.9
Alabama	95.3
Delaware	No data
Idaho	No data
Illinois	No data
Missouri	No data
Nebraska	No data
New York	No data
North Dakota	No data
Ohio	No data
South Carolina	No data
South Dakota	No data
Utah	No data
Virginia	No data
Wyoming	No data

The last two tables I insert are equally indicative of the need for school aid to Michigan and other States of the Union. They are from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, published in a school facilities survey. The first shows the number of units which are now in use and the number of which should be abandoned:

(1) States	(2) Now in use				(3) Should be abandoned by 1959–60			
	Elementary (a)	Secondary (b)	Combined elementary-secondary (c)	Total (d)	Elementary (a)	Secondary (b)	Combined elementary-secondary (c)	Total (d)
Alabama	947	50	1,211	2,208	827	8	535	1,370
Arizona	268	46	----	314	32	3	----	35
Arkansas	730	128	775	1,633	345	4	164	513
California	3,771	678	16	4,465	698	37	6	741
Colorado	1,203	125	173	1,501	459	10	34	403
Connecticut	701	70	59	830	11	2	5	18
Florida	919	144	299	1,362	334	12	24	370
Georgia	2,093	195	602	2,890	1,307	35	106	1,538
Indiana	1,482	241	545	2,268	578	18	71	667
Iowa	492	170	722	1,384	41	6	22	69
Kansas	3,347	323	236	3,906	1,430	62	48	1,540
Kentucky	4,008	116	392	4,516	3,471	13	52	3,536
Louisiana	1,295	34	510	1,839	610	2	25	637
Maine	1,158	132	67	1,357	673	62	10	745
Maryland	713	146	92	951	150	3	----	153
Massachusetts	1,273	307	439	2,019	455	61	109	625
Michigan	4,292	235	456	4,983	1,897	25	19	1,941
Minnesota	3,937	115	428	4,480	3,246	6	7	3,259
Mississippi	2,512	60	606	3,208	2,030	----	77	2,107
Montana	1,169	48	138	1,355	318	12	59	389
Nevada	169	17	19	205	35	1	1	37
New Hampshire	417	50	34	510	282	19	8	309
New Jersey	1,465	197	67	1,729	230	11	2	243
New Mexico	621	60	130	823	22	10	6	38
North Carolina	1,416	78	850	2,344	545	----	7	552
Oklahoma	1,684	215	504	2,403	48	18	8	74
Oregon	1,030	185	56	1,271	43	3	1	47
Pennsylvania	5,642	685	528	6,855	2,657	90	40	2,787
Rhode Island	267	44	18	329	47	----	1	48
Tennessee	3,437	129	376	3,941	2,374	5	9	2,388
Texas	4,272	506	1,097	5,875	1,084	177	468	1,729
Vermont	552	23	62	737	358	7	35	400
Washington	1,102	381	----	1,483	30	2	----	32
West Virginia	3,375	219	158	3,752	916	9	8	933
Wisconsin	5,205	198	283	5,686	695	2	2	699
Alaska	129	3	23	155	2	1	1	4
Hawaii	127	24	30	181	14	----	----	14
Puerto Rico	1,097	90	225	1,412	6	1	1	8
38 States	68,420	6,485	12,315	87,220	28,300	737	2,051	31,088
United States	94,203	8,929	16,956	120,088	38,965	1,015	2,824	42,804

The last table from the same source above shows the outlay required for meeting school plant needs is substantial, and shows still more substantial deficits for the States and municipalities in meeting these needs:

TABLE J.—*Estimated capital outlay of projected plans for meeting school plant needs by 1959–60: Totals for States, and for administrative units with inadequate applicable capital outlay resources, within the law and customary practice in the respective States at the time of the survey*

[Financial data in thousands]

State	For entire State		For administrative units with inadequate applicable capital outlay resources (within the limitations of law and customary practice)				State	For entire State		For administrative units with inadequate applicable capital outlay resources (within the limitations of law and customary practice)			
	Number of administrative units	Costs	Number of such units	Costs	Applicable capital outlay resources (see p. 27)	Computed deficits		Number of administrative units	Costs	Number of such units	Costs	Applicable capital outlay resources (see p. 27)	Computed deficits
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Alabama	108	$350,411	108	$350,411	$16,337	$334,074	New Hampshire [1]	234	$45,326	26	$31,946	19,623	$12,323
Arizona	158	117,004	62	63,651	39,222	24,429	New Jersey	546	506,659	395	440,120	[2] 0	440,120
Arkansas	423	198,391	375	185,233	56,319	128,914	New Mexico [1]	104	123,073	73	115,721	1,442	114,279
California	2,018	2,116,924	146	1,264,665	645,717	618,948	North Carolina	174	303,693	155	259,119	100,002	159,117
Colorado	1,151	171,618	51	44,636	30,972	13,664	Oklahoma	1,845	211,142	1,014	205,137	60,752	144,385
Connecticut	174	261,449	83	170,484	77,581	92,903	Oregon	766	104,233	71	23,930	12,881	11,049
Florida	67	326,937	38	131,422	71,310	60,112	Pennsylvania	2,505	871,125	1,989	798,963	165,338	633,625
Georgia	200	492,550	187	426,338	244,796	181,542	Rhode Island	39	64,334	31	63,114	6,920	56,194
Indiana	1,104	439,150	424	318,100	127,000	191,100	Tennessee	150	337,476	139	310,916	104,380	206,536
Iowa	4,558	113,980	198	82,665	42,154	40,511	Texas	2,030	862,059	126	543,158	88,671	454,487
Kansas	3,420	292,460	195	292,460	180,455	112,005	Vermont	263	36,568	70	21,551	14,987	6,564
Kentucky	228	359,091	127	305,565	108,514	197,051	Washington	524	242,240	104	184,502	48,948	135,554
Louisiana	67	235,591	19	49,974	35,234	14,740	West Virginia	55	106,608	42	90,299	32,161	58,138
Maine	497	84,803	343	77,176	19,690	57,486	Wisconsin	5,778	189,074	280	70,093	33,215	36,880
Maryland	24	280,130	24	280,130	67,138	212,992	Alaska	31	20,876	0	0	0	0
Massachusetts	351	558,708	146	213,748	131,368	82,380	Hawaii	5	42,548	5	42,548	15,929	26,619
Michigan	4,532	526,287	180	239,038	162,476	76,562	Puerto Rico	77	46,348	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
Minnesota [1]	5,441	419,453	158	172,589	108,354	64,235	38 States	42,509	11,630,883	7,513	7,941,267	2,918,061	5,023,206
Mississippi [1]	1,417	117,608	63	61,832	41,689	20,143							
Montana	1,274	33,610	35	7,000	4,500	2,500	United States [4]		16,013,882		10,933,866	4,017,708	6,916,158
Nevada	171	21,346	22	3,031	1,986	1,045							

[1] Data based on local planning areas instead of local school administrative units.
[2] All of the 395 deficit units have exhausted their statutory bonding capacity.
[3] The territory is a single fiscal unit for school construction, with applicable resources of $21,953,000 and a deficit of $24,415,000.
[4] Projected on the basis of enrollments in all States and Territories, rounded to thousands, from data reported from 38 States enrolling 72.62965 percent of the pupils in the fall of 1954.

Even a casual perusal of the statistics shows that Mr. Schimmel is in error.

One of the best sources of authority in speaking for all the people of a State is the Governor. In Michigan we have a remarkable Governor, the Honorable G. Mennen Williams, elected last fall for the fifth time, by one of the largest majorities given any Governor in the history of the State. His position is that Michigan needs Federal aid for construction of schools. It is superfluous to say that position has been supported by the people of the State at the polls.

The summation of this is found in a statement by Mr. Albert J. Phillips, executive secretary of the Michigan Education Association, made before the House Committee on Education and Labor, showing the need for a Federal school construction program:

STATEMENT IN FAVOR OF FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION SUBMITTED BY ALBERT J. PHILLIPS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE MICHIGAN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Michigan schools need both Federal and State aid for school construction if they are to meet the school buildings needs of the near future and over a long range period.

This is due to the following factors:

1. The annual enrollment increases are now 70,000 pupils per year. These will be higher within a few years. This calls for an additional 2,200 classrooms per year for the elementary grades. Other school facilities are necessary in addition to these classroom needs.

2. Michigan will soon need additional junior high schools, and later senior high schools in addition to the elementary school needs. The cost of high schools is greater than that for elementary schools.

3. Increasing costs of school construction is proving to be an acute problem in many school districts.

4. Some districts already are overburdened by high millage levies for the retirement of school bonds.

5. Many districts are now levying excessively high combined millages for school operation and debt retirement. These added to the millage levies for other governmental units (city and county) have produced extremely high millage rates on property in these school districts.

6. Increasing interest rates, which have more than doubled in the past few years, are going to prevent the construction of many school buildings. If interest rates on school bonds could be reduced this would help a great deal.

7. Some areas, especially in southeastern Michigan, are growing so rapidly in population that the schools have hundreds of children added to their enrollments before many of the homes are placed on the assessment rolls.

8. The school building needs up to June 30, 1956 were estimated at about $423,500,000. There is a great backlog of school construction and needed repairs.

Michigan has done a great deal to solve its school building needs. The Michigan Education Association in 1948 initiated and secured the adoption of a constitutional amendment which changed the period for bond issues from "up to 5 years" to "up to 20 years."

This was the greatest single move in helping to solve our school building needs.

The following data will show how Michigan moved forward on this problem:

Year	Building and site fund	Debt retirement	Total
1940–41	$410,000	$9,690,000	$10,100,000
1941–42	340,000	9,650,000	9,990,000
1942–43	310,000	9,270,000	9,580,000
1943–44	1,300,000	14,120,000	15,420,000
1944–45	1,960,000	12,830,000	14,790,000
1945–46	2,910,000	7,270,000	10,180,000
1946–47	5,300,000	7,060,000	12,360,000
1947–48	9,980,000	7,240,000	17,220,000
AMENDMENT TO CONSTITUTION PASSED NOVEMBER 1948			
1948–49	13,220,000	8,990,000	22,210,000
1949–50	19,360,000	13,290,000	32,650,000
1950–51	17,170,000	17,810,000	34,980,000
1951–52	17,550,000	23,130,000	40,680,000
1952–53	17,560,000	29,560,000	47,120,000
1953–54	21,600,000	36,540,000	58,140,000
1954–55	26,520,000	47,940,000	74,460,000

Another constitutional amendment was passed in April 1955. We do not have data as yet on building and site fund and debt retirement payments for 1955–56.

The following data will give information on the extent to which school-bond issues have been voted in Michigan since the MEA sponsored amendment was adopted in November 1948:

July 1, 1949, to Jan. 1, 1950	$29,446,790
Jan. 1, 1950, to June 30, 1950	25,892,800
July 1, 1950, to Jan. 1, 1951	17,765,100
Jan. 1, 1951, to July 1, 1952	28,964,000
July 1, 1951, to Jan. 1, 1952	22,964,390
Jan. 1, 1952, to July 1, 1952	24,067,000
July 1, 1952, to July 1, 1953	64,096,015
July 1, 1953, to Jan. 1, 1954	28,422,500
Jan. 1, 1954, to July 1, 1954	59,623,900
July 1, 1954, to Jan. 1, 1955	48,635,825
Jan. 1, 1955, to July 1, 1955	25,736,500
July 1, 1955, to Jan. 1, 1956	54,093,500
Jan. 1, 1956, to July 1, 1956	92,718,500
July 1, 1956, to Jan. 1, 1957	66,242,650
Total	588,689,470

In spite of the fine support given by Michigan's property taxpayers, the school-building problem is becoming increasingly acute. The present State superintendent of public instruction has appointed a State committee to study the problem and offer suggestions as to possible solutions.

The Michigan Education Association on April 6, 1956, adopted the following resolution:

"We urge immediate action by the United States Congress in providing aid to the States for the construction of public school buildings, especially the appropriations of funds as proposed by the Kelley bill, H. R. 7535, without the inclusion of the Powell proposal which we believe would prevent the passage of much needed legislation for construction of schools."

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

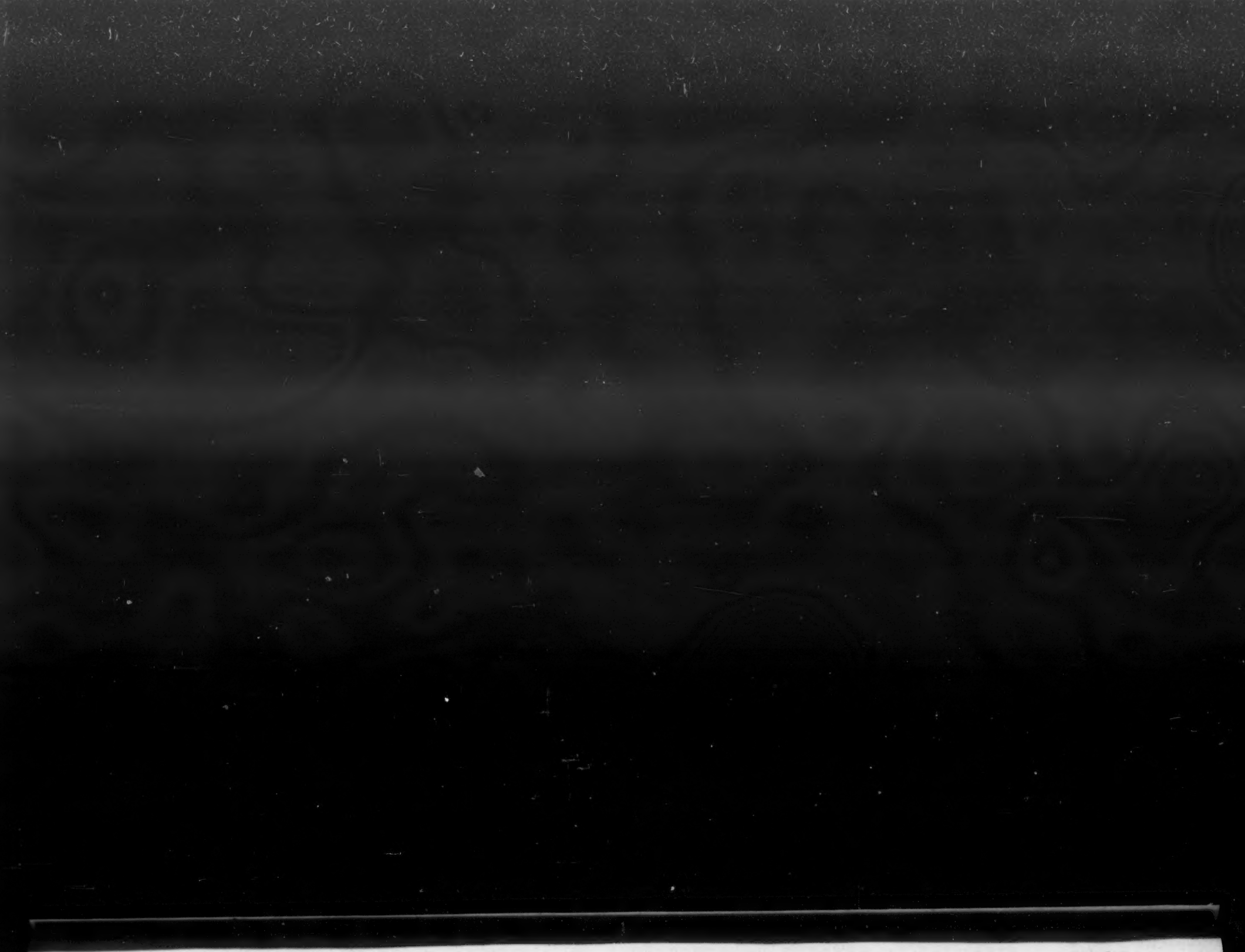

Appendix

Sovereignty, Civilization, and Ships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BEALL], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a brief statement prepared by him, a letter from Governor McKeldin to President Eisenhower, and the text of an address delivered by Governor McKeldin at the Chicago World Trade Conference.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BEALL

The distinguished Governor of the Free State of Maryland, Theodore R. McKeldin, delivered a very significant speech recently before the Chicago World Trade Conference. In it the Governor expressed his concern over the fact that, at times in the past, there has been a gap between America's stated objective of increased world trade and our occasional lapse into unwise protectionism as typified by the unfortunate 50 percent increase in duties in Swiss-watch imports. Governor McKeldin underlined this point by adding the following statement:

"I have had a few occasions in the past to comment in particular on the injury to the Swiss-watch import trade by restrictive Government actions over the last several years, and now it faces threatened imposition of quotas based on claims of defense essentiality. Regardless of whether or not the domestic industry can properly be regarded as essential to our national defense, it is clear to me that import quotas will not serve the purpose of maintaining the vigor of this domestic industry—or of any other industry. I am convinced that the imposition of such devices only serves to harass trade—commerce which is so patently essential to our common security position. Far from expanding restrictions, we should liberalize them and expand trade instead. I have recommended to President Eisenhower, and I reaffirm today my conviction that beneficial psychological and foreign-policy results would flow from a revocation of the 1954 tariff increase on Swiss watches. This would be a bold stroke that could not fail to achieve good results both at home and abroad."

Governor McKeldin has sent a copy of this speech to President Eisenhower and, in his covering letter, the Governor warned the President that he is apt to be faced with a mounting drive for import quotas on watches, bicycles, and many other products, frequently based on a questionable claim by domestic manufacturers of their essentiality to national security. He urged the President not to yield to such pressures, but to continue to stand by the principles enunciated in his inaugural address when he rejected the "fortress America" concept.

Because of the thought-provoking character of the expressions of Governor McKeldin in his speech and in his letter to President Eisenhower, and because I believe that his opinions can be of value to all of us, whether we agree or disagree with him, I request unanimous consent to have them printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Annapolis, Md., March 5, 1957.

The Honorable DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As I have expressed to you on other occasions, I am in full accord with your continued efforts to increase the strength and security of the free world through policies designed to expand mutually beneficial trade and I try to lend support to these efforts at every opportunity.

It was especially gratifying to me, therefore, to note that in your memorable Inaugural Address you reaffirmed your deep commitment to this philosophy by rejecting the "fortress America" concept. It was meaningful, also, to read in your recent report to the Congress the affirmation that "our national trade policy, which seeks to promote the continued growth of mutually profitable world trade, is thus doubly in the self-interest of the United States; it furthers both our prosperity and our national security."

The principles embodied in these recent statements of yours have served me well in the preparation of an address which I made several days ago at the Chicago World Trade Conference. As I believe it may be of particular interest to you, I am attaching a copy of the speech herewith.

In this speech at Chicago before a large gathering of businessmen engaged in international trade, I emphasized an essential concomitant of the principles to which you have given expersion and support: That it is the special responsibility of the business community to exercise its influence in enlarging the area of freedom for the conduct of world trade. I stressed the need for sustained interest and effort on the part of those businessmen and others who recognize the vital importance of expanded international trade. Only through such widespread understanding can we avoid further undermining of our trade objectives such as occurred when tariffs on Swiss watch imports were, unfortunately, increased by 50 percent in 1954. As I have mentioned previously, I do believe that beneficial psychological and foreign policy results would flow from a revocation of this tariff increase, and a more economic and more effective means of aiding the domestic industry might be developed if, indeed, such aid is merited.

I am disturbed to see today the threat of import quotas in both the Swiss watch and English bicycle cases. The use of such quotas, as I mentioned in my address, is alien to our free enterprise system because they stifle trade and tend to divert it into unnatural and artificial channels. Most alarming to me is the excessive clamor of protectionists for the use of import quotas in the name of national security. This proposition—at least, any promiscuous adherence to such a proposition—stands in bold contradition to your forthright rejection of the "fortress America" concept.

Therefore, at the Chicago World Trade Conference last week, I took this occasion to call for a removal of restraints that inhibit foreign trade and to emphasize the need for acting with application and consistency if we are to achieve the goals we seek. One significant example is the present need for the Congress to endorse without further delay your repeated requests for enactment of legislation authorizing United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation. Such an expression of leadership spells not only an important milestone in the course of world trade—it also represents enlightened self-interest by the acknowledged leader of the free world.

I hope that my efforts to gain increasing support for the principles you espouse will yield fruitful results and that the national interest will, as it must, eclipse the narrow goals of those who press for the restriction of imports. Clearly, the realization of this objective is of major importance in our continuing endeavors to achieve a true and durable security for the Nation and, in fact, for the free world itself.

With highest regards and all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

THEODORE R. MCKELDIN,
Governor of Maryland.

"SOVEREIGNTY, CIVILIZATION, AND SHIPS

"(Address by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland, Chicago World Trade Conference)

"The word 'sovereignty' has come into increasingly common use in this country in recent years, especially in the dozen years that the cold war has been raging. I wish I could say that it has come into increasingly widespread understanding; but I am afraid that the facts would not bear out any such claim.

"As a matter of fact, it has always been an ill-defined word. Some of the shrewdest brains in the world among lawyers, philosophers, and statesmen have struggled to define it exactly, but with only partial success. Webster's Dictionary offers three definitions, of which perhaps the most definite is "the power that determines and administers the government of a state in the final analysis," which leaves the inquirer free to settle upon practically anything he wishes.

"Certainly in the United States the power 'that determines and administers the government' is very diffuse. Congress has part of it, the President has part, the Supreme Court has part; but I do not understand how any candid man can seriously maintain that all three branches of the Government put together have all of it 'in the final analysis.' At this moment we are shuddering at the threat of war in the Middle East. The President and Congress are making every effort to avoid it and in that I am sure they have the sympathy of the Supreme Court. Yet it may come, and if it does, to that extent this Government will be 'determined and administered' by forces beyond our control.

"In this sense, the 'power that determines * * * the government of a state'—the force that confronts and challenges the government—is external in nature. Recently the President asked the Congress for a declaration of support, for a vote of confidence, in the exercise of the influence and power of this Government in meeting this challenge. In the final analysis, he asked the Congress, the body representative of the people, to express the support of the American people. In a democracy no al-

ternative course is possible. 'In the final analysis'—as that phrase is used in the definition of sovereignty—can only 'mean the people, the electorate who freely determine their government and the policies, both active and responsive, that their government will pursue.

"I cannot fail to observe in passing, that it is dangerously mischievous to attempt to interfere with or impair the essential function of sovereignty—that is, the conduct of foreign relations—through 'Brickerization' of presidential powers.

"Even within our own borders, government can do no more than direct and to some extent control forces that it did not create and could not subdue, if it wished to do so. One of the most powerful of these is commerce, or in the older, and in some respects better term, 'world trade.' The typical American trader is a private citizen engaged in what he regards as private business. The last thing he wants is to be saddled with any responsibility for the conduct of public affairs and most certainly he cherishes no ambition to regulate the affairs of foreigners, which he associates with sovereignty.

"Nevertheless, regardless of his wishes, he exercises part of the power 'that determines and administers' our national policy 'in the final analysis.' The conditions of modern life impose a certain measure of sovereignty on him, and unless he recognizes this and accepts the implications, he will not serve his country well. In the long run he will not serve himself well, either, although for a short time he may profit at the country's expense.

"What I wish to emphasize here is the special responsibility that American businessmen—particularly those businessmen who are engaged in foreign trade—have in helping give direction to our foreign-trade policy. The determination of the posture that our country assumes in the conduct of commerce among nations is an essential responsibility of the business community.

"The traditional policy of our country has been to encourage the maximum expression of individual preferences, initiative, and enterprise in the marketplace. This policy has brought great benefits to the economy and rewards to the participants. The logic of such a policy is equally applicable both with respect to domestic trade as well as to foreign commerce. Yet there are those in the business community who would wittingly subject our foreign trade, and the American business community that is engaged in such trade, to restrictions and harassments. Indeed, if such restraints were applied to their own domestic affairs, these would be described by them at the very least as 'undue Government interference.'

"Is there any reason why freedom of enterprise should stop at the shoreline? Clearly, the answer must be 'No.'

"There cannot be one logic which applies to domestic trade and another to our foreign trade. To do so is to imperil our own economy. Our export trade accounts for over 3 million American jobs and for commerce that maintains our ports and merchant fleet. The simple arithmetic of logic and experience shows that we cannot export unless we import. And we must remember that imports not only support our exports but afford us supplies of essential and strategic raw materials that sustain our industries and offer competition which lends vigor to our industry and sharpens its enterprise.

"But, as important as is foreign trade to our Nation's economy and to our livelihood, such trade has assumed another dimension of critical importance in the middle of the 20th century. Trade nurtures and sustains the economies of our allies and of the entire free world community. Threats to their trade are threats to their very economic life. By the same token, the opportunity to expand trade offers them the promise of economic progress and growth.

"This is a setting in which we must regard the future of United States trade and tariff policy. And it is a future that is veiled in uncertainty and beclouded by lack of clear purpose on the part of the American people. We can do no better than to chart our course as did President Eisenhower in his stirring and memorable inaugural address. You will recall that he shunned the vague and illusory picture of a fortress America—a safe and solitary refuge in a sea of trouble. He proclaimed America's irrecovable commitment to a unity of purpose with the world community. Our strength is the common strength of free nations; our future inexorably entwined with that of all freedom-loving peoples.

"We are prepared to make sacrifices to achieve our common purpose: to shoulder the burden of armaments and to support the cost of essential programs of economic assistance. There is one thing, however, which we can and must do which will involve no cost but which will bring a harvest of mutual benefits to all the participants. That is to remove the restraints that inhibit foreign trade and to permit the expansion of such trade as conditions of the market place and the activity of the business community will permit.

"It saddens me to observe that our citizenry does not appear willing to give the support to this objective which it merits and requires in order to be brought to reality. The impetus of the 23 years of the reciprocal trade-agreements program has slackened. Instead of further tariff reduction, we have seen the expansion of escape clauses and higher duties imposed on such products as Swiss watches and British bicycles.

"I have emphasized that, in the conduct of foreign relations, the exercise of sovereign power must be accomplished without hindrance. We must recognize that trade relations are no less a part of foreign relations than diplomacy itself. Yet the free conduct of trade relations is threatened by restrictive restraints and compromises which can only sap the vigor of our policy and cast doubt upon our intentions.

"The treatment of British bicycles, Swiss watches, woolens and cotton textiles from Japan has become an unfortunate symbol of our trade policy to many of our free-word friends. Such actions and threats of restrictive action spell inconsistency in our trade-agreement commitments and inject uncertainty into the conduct of world trade. It is particularly ironic that the tariff increases on watches and bicycles have not satisfied the domestic industries; now they seek compound protection through import quotas.

"We have thus seen, as well, increased pressure for the use of quotas to restrict imports—quotas which are alien to our free-enterprise system because they involve direct intervention in the market place for the purpose of controlling and allocating trade. Foreign traders who have chafed over the use of such restrictions by foreign countries during the postwar period of reconstruction know too well how quotas stifle trade and tend to direct it into unnatural and artificial channels.

"Perhaps most alarming is the clamor on the part of protectionists for the use of import quotas based on the contention that a domestic industry is essential to the national defense. Nothing is more contradictory to a rejection of the 'fortress America' concept. Nothing would more directly alienate our allies than to limit our imports by making use of so thoroughly protectionist a device as import quotas.

"I have had a few occasions in the past to comment in particular on the injury to the Swiss watch import trade by restrictive Government actions over the last several years, and now it faces threatened imposition of quotas based on claims of defense essentiality. Regardless of whether or not the domestic industry can properly be regarded as essential to our national defense, it is clear to me that import quotas will not serve the purpose of maintaining the vigor of this domestic industry—or of any other industry. I am convinced that the imposition of such devices only serves to harass trade—commerce which is so patently essential to our common security position. Far from expanding restrictions, we should liberalize them and expand trade instead. I have recommended to President Eisenhower and I reaffirm today my conviction that beneficial psychological and foreign policy results would flow from a revocation of the 1954 tariff increase on Swiss watches. This would be a bold stroke that could not fail to achieve good results both at home and abroad.

"It is well to emphasize again and again that international commerce has a quality of essentiality of its own. For commerce is now and has been from the beginning of recorded history the lifeblood of civilization. At times various nations have sealed their borders against the trader, and centuries of stagnation have been the invariable result. China before the 16th century is the most conspicuous example, but Japan, India, Korea, and Tibet are others. Only where trade moves does civilization really live; and only where trade moves briskly does civilization grow strong and great. Can it be denied, then, that in the final analysis the trader exercises power that determines the destiny of the state?

"It is true enough that this sovereignty of trade is far from absolute, but it exists as certainly as the power exercised by the three branches of Government. It is part, and a highly important part, of the complex of forces that must be brought to work in unison if the Nation is to play successfully the part to which destiny is plainly calling it.

"If I could tell you how these forces are to be brought into focus, I could solve all the problems of statecraft and half the problems of business, here and now. I am not oracle enough for that; but I have wisdom enough—and so have you—to know that the problem will never be solved except by men who have faced it squarely, who know that some responsibility for the solution lies upon them, and who work vigorously to discharge that responsibility.

"I am reminded of a wise phrase of Wendell Willkie's which is found in his book of essays entitled 'An American Program.' Willkie wrote, 'Our sovereignty is not something to be hoarded, but something to be used.'

"Your sovereignty as citizens and as businessmen engaged in foreign trade must be used and exercised for when—and I refuse to say 'if'—when the men who control the movement of American commerce solve the perplexities that harass them today and gain a clear conception of the part they can play and how it should be played, an astonishingly large proportion of our international difficulties will disappear. I have no fear of any failure of either skill or will in American businessmen; what I fear is the shortness of time left to us. Our position in the world is clouded by many obscurities and the work of clearing them away is bound to be difficult; but with firmness, good will, and mutual confidence it can be done, and when it is done a large share of the credit will belong to the traders who have kept the blood stream of civilization moving."

Mounting Federal Expenditures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from a constituent in regard to mounting Federal expenditures. This letter appeared in the March 25, 1957, issue of the Manchester Union Leader. I should like to insert also the lead editorial from that issue entitled "Ruinous Indeed," and which refers to the letter. This letter is typical of the great volume of communications on the subject which I have received since the opening of this session of Congress.

There being no objection, the letter and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPENDING INTO NATIONAL RUIN

(The lead editorial on this page today, Ruinous Delay, refers to a letter to Senator BRIDGES from Roland P. Genest, Champagne's Super Markets vice president. A copy of that letter appears below. Reprinting it is indeed a public service.)

DEAR SENATOR BRIDGES: Unfortunately, it was necessary for me to cut short my recent visit to Washington. I had intended to call upon you personally to air my views on a subject which I believe is of paramount concern to people of our country today—Government spending. In my opinion, it is needlessly exorbitant with the attendant result that taxes are eating up consumer incomes and are well on their way to stifling the incentives of all businesses. I can vouch for these two evils from personal experience, both as a wage earner and as a responsible executive in a New Hampshire business with a sales volume of approximately $12 million annually.

Being in a rapidly growing business, we are consciously aware of the fact that costs of all types have been mounting for several years. However, we have never felt that there was ever an excuse for not practicing the most rigid economies possible, at all times, to keep our costs at a minimum commensurate with these upward spirals. As a matter of record, these upward spirals have caused us to exercise even more caution and scrutiny in the setting of our budgets and our needs.

The Government's current spending is becoming ruinous. It is going on with a reckless abandon that reminds me of a nouveau riche family who wastes its newly acquired riches on a multitude of things it never had and doesn't need simply because the money is there and it appears that there is plenty more where that came from. But everyone knows of the wells that eventually run dry when nobody thought they ever would.

Of course, there are more and greater demands for Government spending than ever before, but this is all the more reason for greater attention to the really necessary projects and the finest examination of proper allocations. In other words, exercising the most solid principles of business—"getting a dollar's value for each dollar spent," is badly needed now. Foreign aid is more vital than ever, yes; but in my opinion, it is without proper direction—it is too big and too wasteful. Everyone with any exposure to it is critically conscious of the overlapping costs, duplications, and excesses in the military budget caused in large measure by factional jealousies and bickerings, and lack of sound businesslike coordination of all efforts. The growing feeling on the part of the Government to play big brother and assume the responsibility for many questionable costs in the matters of housing, schools, agriculture, and health insurance is cause for great alarm for the serious-thinking people of this country.

The cause for alarm is the greater because these excesses are being carried out under a Republican administration—an administration which violently criticized the terrible wastefulness of the previous Democratic administration. The American people are sick to death of these extravegances. Having once hopefully turned to the Republican Party for relief from these abuses, they find this relief has not been forthcoming.

I am concerned and practically every businessman with whom I come in contact is deeply concerned about the needless excesses of current Government spending and stifling taxation.

Something must be done soon to restore adequate incentives to individual wage earners and businesses to keep our country and its economy on a safe, secure, and sound keel.

I urgently request that you invest your sincere and wholehearted efforts, and enlist the support of all of your colleagues in a concerted effort to eliminate wasteful, pointless Government spending, and unnecessary taxation.

Very sincerely yours.

ROLAND P. GENEST.

P. S.—I am and have been a Republican all my life.

RUINOUS INDEED

Cuts in the heavy spending in Washington will be made only if the Senators and Representatives hear from the folks back home by way of letters such as the letter written to Senator BRIDGES by Roland P. Genest, vice president in charge of operations of Champagne's supermarkets. That correspondence appears on this page today. Let enough Americans write, telegraph, and phone their Senators and Representatives and tell them that the budget should be cut, and it will be.

The Genest letter is especially encouraging. One of the unfortunate aspects of the last decade has been the fact that both on the State of New Hampshire and on the Washington level prominent businessmen and other community leaders have abandoned the principles of thrift in Government by which this Nation grew great. Moreover, these same leaders have been leading the clamor for more spending. Therefore, to have a business leader of Mr. Genest's stature writing so strongly to Senator BRIDGES is a most heartening event.

Indeed, as Mr. Genest says, "the Government's current spending is becoming ruinous."

The rush to ruin will be stopped only if all of us let the spenders in Washington know we want an end to their extravagance.

Toward European Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the signing of the common market and Euratom pacts in Rome 2 days ago was one of the most significant steps in the history of strife-torn Europe. I believe its significance has received general recognition from the American people.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from today's edition of the New York Herald Tribune summarizing this event be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOWARD EUROPEAN UNITY

The international reaction to the signing of the common market and Euratom pacts in Rome was what might have been expected—pleasure in Washington, imprecations in Moscow, and quiet satisfaction among the European peoples who stand to gain most from the new agreements. What the signatories of the six European countries have done is to agree to weld their 160 million citizens into a single economic unit. Their objectives are to remove the customs barriers and trade quotas that now impede their commerce and to permit free exchange among them of labor, capital, and goods. Concurrently, they will pool their resources for the development of peacetime atomic energy.

The six nations—France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg—have realistically allowed themselves a period estimated at from 12 to 17 years to make the national adjustments necessary for the complete establishment of the common market. The parliaments of the six nations involved must still give their approval, but steps toward clearing the way for the common market and Euratom are expected to start at once. Aside from their purely economic aspects, Europe's new communal arrangements are significant in their creation of a continental parliament, council of ministers, and court of justice—all designed to further free commerce by lowering national barriers.

In a sense, the signing of the agreements at Rome constitutes an acknowledgement of a fact of life that some Europeans have been reluctant to face—that neither France nor Germany nor the other nations can any longer stand alone and self-sufficient in a world of superpowers. A continent long rent by war and suspicion can hold its rightful place in today's world only if it pools its resources of peoples, goods, and ingenuity.

The nations which signed the common market and Euratom pacts comprise 160 million persons, including some of the most industrious and imaginative in the world. Together they can produce and prosper; separated they offer an easy target for the Soviet colossus on their east. That is why Moscow is disturbed at their decision to unite their resources; that is also why the free world welcomes their creation of so powerful a federation. Obstacles and roadblocks are still ahead, but in this historic meeting in Rome the statesmen have written in bright letters their conviction not that Europe is finished, but that Europe, as a great entity in the world, is just beginning.

Outstanding Growth of North Central Airlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, this is a season when a great many annual reports are pouring out to the more than

8½ million stockholders in publicly owned corporations.

These reports are read with interest by investors in terms of determining how the capital which they are risking is being utilized. The reports are likewise read with interest by public officials and citizens of the areas where companies play a crucial role in the economic life.

It is natural, therefore, that we of Wisconsin should read with particular interest the annual report of one of the vital enterprises which means a great deal to our State and to its competitive position in this air age. I refer, of course, to America's leading local airline—North Central Airlines.

I was pleased, therefore, as a citizen and as senior Senator from Wisconsin, to receive North Central's 1956 annual report, just as I am pleased to note progress reflected in other reports of other fine enterprises serving my State.

North Central, I should like to point out, last year established new passenger, air express, and airmail records, leading the Nation's 13 local airlines. Indeed, North Central widened its margin of industry leadership during the year by setting new records in plane-miles, passenger-miles, and commercial revenues.

Thus, North Central concluded its 10th year of public service by not only racking up new achievements—thanks to its 1,000 devoted employees—but by preparing even more intensively for a still more successful future. I understand that North Central has on file with the Civil Aeronautics Board applications which, if approved, would expand the present system fivefold.

I cite these facts now because I feel that one can hardly emphasize enough the community importance of this and other local airlines.

America naturally follows with deep interest the progress of its great regional air carriers and its international carriers. But too little public attention has been given thus far, I believe, to the indispensable job of the local airlines in building the economy of this great Nation, especially its smaller communities.

I send to the desk a few selected paragraphs from the annual report of this company. I ask unanimous consent that the paragraphs be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, to be preceded by a list of its officers and directors.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NORTH CENTRAL AIRLINES, INC.

General offices: 6201 34th Avenue South, Wold-Chamberlain Field, Minneapolis, Minn.

Directors: H. N. Carr,[1] Werner L. Christensen, Garnet F. DeCoursin,[1] Robert F. Grover, Arthur E. A. Mueller,[1] A. L. Wheeler, K. B. Willett.

Officers: Arthur E. A. Mueller, chairman of the board; H. N. Carr, president and general manager; Frank N. Buttomer, vice president, traffic and sales; R. H. Bendio, Sr., vice president, maintenance and engineering; Alvin D. Niemeyer, vice president, operations; Arthur E. Schwandt, vice president, industrial relations; Bernard Sweet, secretary-treasurer.

Registrar and stock transfer agent: Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis, Minneapolis, Minn.

[1] Executive committee.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1956

North Central Airlines in 1956 again established new records in passenger, air express and airmail traffic and commercial revenues for the Nation's local airline industry.

Commercial revenues totaled a record $46,746,781 in 1956, an increase of 26 percent over 1955. Operating costs were reduced from 102.8 cents per plane-mile in 1955 to 99.6 cents in 1956, one of the lowest in the industry.

• • • • •

AGGRESSIVE ROUTE DEVELOPMENT

North Central Airlines is executing one of the most aggressive route development programs in the local service industry. In terms of route miles, North Central would become the Nation's largest scheduled carrier if the Civil Aeronautic Board approves the majority of the new routes for which the company has applied. The present system of 51 cities in 9 States would be expanded to 145 cities in 17 States and 1 Canadian province. It would reach east to Buffalo, N. Y., south to Kansas City, Mo., west to Denver, Colo., and north to Port Arthur-Fort William, Ontario.

The company's applications pending before the Board propose the addition of some 12,000 miles and 94 cities to the present 3,240-mile system. This would make North Central five times larger. In addition, North Central has on file with the Board long-range plans for 1,072 miles of helicopter routes serving 53 points in the metropolitan areas of the system.

A major portion of the company's effort, as well as substantial expenditures, has been directed toward the successful conclusion of these applications and the building of a larger, stronger airline. In addition to filing for several new routes in 1956, North Central participated in six major route cases before the Civil Aeronautics Board during the year. The results of this tremendous investment in route development will be realized within the next 2 years, with a Board decision affecting North Central occurring on an average of every 90 days.

• • • • •

SERVICE INCREASED 22 PERCENT

North Central Airlines offered more service to the traveling public in 1956 than in any previous year. The DC-3 Northliner fleet flew 7,754,836 miles, an increase of 22 percent over 1955. Since no new routes were inaugurated in 1956, this increase reflects the strides made during the year in the development of the present system, by improvements in route patterns and intensification of flight schedules.

Service to Chicago's second airport, new O'Hare Field, was inaugurated on April 29, 1956. The number of daily flights between the 2 Chicago airports and Milwaukee now stands at 51, one of the world's most frequent flight schedules.

Another round-trip flight between Chicago and the Twin Cities was inaugurated during the year, along with additional service between the Twin Cities and Duluth-Superior, between Chicago and Detroit and between Chicago-Milwaukee and a number of intermediate Wisconsin cities. New early morning service to the metropolitan cities was instituted by overnighting aircraft at selected intermediate points for morning flight origination, and new limited-stop flights have substantially improved service over a number of important routes.

In terms of flight operations, North Central Airlines attained "trunkline" proportions in 1956. The airline currently operates nearly 100 daily flights—about 650 takeoffs and landings for an average of 1 operation every 90 seconds.

Major improvements in facilities and procedures during the year have resulted in increased operational reliability and better passenger service. Airport expansion and additional radio navigational aids have enabled North Central to provide better service at several smaller cities during marginal weather conditions. More than half the cities on the system have begun major airport improvement programs which will be completed in 1957 and 1958. These include lengthening runways and constructing new runways, laying additional taxiways, installing instrument landing systems, building modern passenger terminals, and purchasing additional acreage to protect approaches for future expansion.

To expedite operations and reservations communications, new automatic "selective" teletype circuits were installed systemwide, and a private line telephone between the Twin Cities and Chicago via key cities was placed in operation. To better handle the rapidly growing passenger reservations traffic, the Chicago Reservations and System Space Control offices were transferred to more suitable quarters where equipment and procedures are designed for greater efficiency and speed.

The confirmed ticket pick-up policy (proof of ticket purchase before confirming a passenger's reservation) is helping to reduce the "no-show" and late cancellation problem. This procedure was put into effect by the entire scheduled airline industry in September.

North Central has plans to increase flights to the Wisconsin cities now threatened with loss of service by the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad. The railroad has petitioned to discontinue 21 trains, including several between Chicago and Madison, Chicago and the Twin Cities, Chicago and Milwaukee, Madison and Milwaukee, and Milwaukee and Green Bay—all routes currently served by North Central.

TRAFFIC LEADERSHIP

North Central again established new traffic records for the Nation's 13 local airlines in 1956 and further strengthened its position of industry leadership.

A total of 549,654 revenue passengers flew the route of the Northliners in 1956, representing an increase of 28 percent over the 1955 total of 430,445 passengers and a lead of 36 percent over the second place local carrier. North Central's passenger business would have been even greater if the weather conditions had not been unusually severe during the 4 winter months of the year. In addition to scheduled service, North Central carried 2,121 passengers on 113 charter trips, 10 of which involved more than 1 aircraft.

Air express shipments rose to 4,959,925 pounds, a gain of 15 percent over 1955 and 66 percent more than the second local airline.

Air mail volume reached a record 2,174,801 pounds, an 18 percent increase. This exceeds the second place carrier by 29 percent. In addition to air mail, North Central advanced 581,062 pounds of regular mail which is ordinarily carried via surface transportation. This type of mail is carried on selected flights over the interpeninsular Michigan route and between the Twin Cities and Duluth-Superior, and over all routes during the Christmas postal rush.

While the amount of scheduled service (plane-miles) increased 22 percent in 1956, revenue passenger-miles increased 24 percent to 83,052,834. Load factor (percentage of seats occupied) rose from 50 to 52 percent.

In July more persons boarded North Central flights at Milwaukee than those of any other airline, marking the first time a local carrier has surpassed the trunklines at a major terminal. A new single-day system passenger record was set on October 13 when 2,315 passengers enplaned.

Monthly system traffic records were 56,467 revenue passengers in August and 39,422

ton-miles of air express and 20,665 ton-miles of airmail in October.

* * * * *

FORECAST

As a result of the company's aggressive route development program, North Central Airlines will experience unprecedented growth in 1957 and 1958. In addition to system expansion, the company anticipates dramatic improvements in present route certification, for example, the nonstop rights for which it has applied. These developments will enable the company to improve and expand service, operate more efficiently and at the same time, increase commercial revenues considerably.

North Central will establish new industry records in commercial revenues again in 1957. The company's two-millionth passenger will be carried in May, and passenger traffic over the system as now constituted is expected to approach the 700,000 mark for 1957. With this high volume of traffic, continued efficiency of operations and important route improvements, the company will be in a position to strengthen its financial condition substantially during 1957.

More Funds for the Federal National Mortgage Association (Fannie May)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, my hometown newspaper, the Austin Statesman, recently carried an excellent editorial on "the largest mortgage company in the world"—the Federal National Mortgage Association.

I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Austin (Tex.) Statesman of March 16, 1957]

MORE FUNDS NEEDED FOR LOANS BY "FANNIE MAY"

The Federal Government operates the largest mortgage company in the world. It is the Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA), but usually called Fannie May, first chartered by Congress in 1938 and rechartered with revised functions in 1954.

Congress is about to make Fannie May even larger. The move will help thousands of bankers, home buyers and builders, officials of the huge association say. It buys and sells Veterans' Administration and Federal Housing Administration home mortgages all over the United States.

One of Fannie May's chief functions is to keep money fluid. It does this by purchasing Veterans' Administration and Federal Housing Administration mortgages from banks and other lending institutions in scarce money areas and reselling them in places where investment dollars go begging. It deals only with private lending firms, not individuals.

Today money is so tight over a large area that Fannie May has a special problem. Hundreds of banks want to sell their mortgages to Fannie May so they will have cash to reinvest in more profitable channels, but few want to buy mortgages from the agency. By the end of March, the institution will have brought $1 billion worth of home mortgages, a record amount under its new charter. In contrast, the agency has been able to sell only $5 million worth of its mortgages since 1954.

Under current law Fannie May is authorized to borrow $1.1 billion to buy mortgages. Its buying cannot continue much longer unless Congress gives it permission to borrow more money. If it can't buy mortgages, money for home buyers won't be easily available.

On February 20, the House authorized Fannie May to borrow an additional $500 million. The Senate is expected to do likewise in the next few days. The President is expected to sign the legislation.

E. Herbert Norman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Canada Protests a Senate Inquiry," from the Chicago Daily Tribune of March 25, 1957.

In the same connection, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Study Demand for Lid on Red Probe Record," written by Willard Edwards, and published in the Chicago Daily Tribune of March 25, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune of March 25, 1957]

CANADA PROTESTS A SENATE INQUIRY

Lester B. Pearson, the Canadian Minister of External Affairs, has announced a strong protest to the United States Government as a consequence of an investigation undertaken by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The subcommittee was primarily interested in an American diplomat, John K. Emmerson, but a Canadian diplomat, E. Herbert Norman, was discussed during the proceedings.

The American State Department lost no time in announcing that it repudiated the allegations concerning Norman which were embodied in the Senate subcommittee record. These, said the Department, are not "opinions of the United States Government." The Department added that if Canada considered its diplomatic agents in the clear, that was enough to satisfy the United States.

The Canadian Foreign Minister may be excused for failing to remember that the Government of the United States has three independent and coordinate branches and that, of these, the executive, represented in this instance by the State Department, has no business trying to qualify or reject the activities of the legislative, as represented by the Security Subcommittee. There is less reason for the State Department to ignore this fact.

Indeed, the executive branch is able to remember its restricted jurisdiction when it cares to do so. Before the United States entered World War II, and while diplomatic relations were still maintained with Germany, Mayor LaGuardia, of New York, made a speech denouncing Hitler. When Germany protested, Secretary of State Hull pointed out that the Federal Government had no control over the head of a municipality.

The same answer, varied to fit the circumstances, would have sufficed in dealing with the Canadian complaint relative to the Senate inquiry, but the State Department chose, instead, to apologize in effect for the activities of a legislative committee.

Norman has received attention on this side of the boundary in the past. In August 1951 Prof. Karl Wittfogel of Columbia university, a former Communist, testified before the security subcommittee that he knew Norman as a Communist. Norman had been No. 2 man in Pearson's ministry of external affairs, where he presided over the American desk. Later he was Canadian high commissioner to Uew Zealand, and now is Canadian ambassador to Egypt.

In that position, Norman has seen Emmerson, who is counselor of the American embassy in Lebanon. Norman's commission also extends to Lebanon, and he met Emmerson there. Emmerson at first said it was a casual encounter, but later recalled it lasted 2 hours. He denied, on the basis of an acquaintance dating back 17 years, that Norman was a Communist. This line of questioning grew out of the fact that Emmerson was an American diplomatic agent in China before the Communist conquest of that country. Previous testimony had suggested that he had some association with Communists, and he himself admitted that he had "illusions" about the Soviet Union at one time.

Inasmuch as Congress has vested Mr. Eisenhower with war powers in the Middle East and has given him initial authority to start spending $600 million in that area, legislative curiosity concerning the ideology of the diplomatic agents executing this policy against communism on the spot is entirely legitimate. There certainly is no reason for the State Department to make excuses to another government when the Senate wants to ask a few pertinent questions.

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune of March 25, 1957]

STUDY DEMAND FOR LID ON RED PROBE RECORD—FOLLOWS PROTEST BY CANADIAN AID

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, March 24.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee today pondered a State Department demand to suppress publication of all further testimony involving the past Communist connections of a Canadian diplomat.

Chairman EASTLAND, Democrat, of Mississippi, put the problem up to the eight other subcommittee members. He noted that if the State Department's request is granted, the Senate will be in the position of having published a partial text of testimony by a witness and then cutting off release of additional testimony in which changes were made in the original statement.

PEARSON IN STRONG PROTEST

The State Department interceded after receiving a strong protest from Lester Pearson, Canadian Minister of External Affairs, who declared that "slanders and unsupported insinuations" had been published against E. Herbert Norman, Canadian Ambassador to Egypt and Minister to Lebanon.

The information relating to Norman was placed in the record during questioning in executive session by John K. Emmerson, deputy chief of staff in the American Embassy in Beirut, Lebanon, a friend of Norman since their days together in China and Japan during World War II and thereafter.

LINKED TO SPY FIGURE

Robert Morris, subcommittee counsel, introduced a Government security report which labeled Norman a member of the

Communist Party in 1940 who had been questioned by his own Government concerning his connection with a principal figure in the Canadian spy-ring investigation.

The Canadian protests followed release of this executive session record. The State Department was informed that Norman had been cleared of all charges in 1951.

When State Department officials carried the Canadian objections to the subcommittee, they were informed that another high government officer of a friendly government also had been named in testimony. This caused such alarm that Christian Herter, Acting Secretary of State, called upon Senator JOHNSON, Democrat, of Texas, Senate majority leader, and Senator DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, acting minority leader, to demand a halt to EASTLAND's inquiry.

REPORT TESTIMONY CHANGED

Emmerson was questioned again in executive session last Thursday and Friday. He was reported to have altered his original testimony in relation to the manner in which he and Norman met in Beirut last October 27, and discussed the Middle East crisis.

The sessions also developed that the State Department had checked with the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning the accuracy of the Government security report on Norman and received corroboration of his past record.

Although Norman is a representative of another Government, the questioning revealed that he was employed in 1945 in the Allied Counter Intelligence Corps attached to the staff of General MacArthur in Japan and was thus under American supervision.

Tax Relief for Persons Caring for Handicapped Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I should like to commend to my colleagues an excellent column written for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer by Mr. Fergus Hoffman, the paper's business and financial editor.

The column deals with existing tax-relief measures now available to the families of handicapped children. It also points up the need for additional relief in some cases, and is very commendable as a public service for its instructive value to taxpayers.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of March 14, 1957]

SEATTLE'S BUSINESS: HANDICAPPED YOUTH CARE TAX AID GIVEN

(By Fergus Hoffman)

When it comes to carrying life's burdens, the parents of handicapped children generally are not a complaning lot. They have only to look at the child to erase any twinge of self-pity. They consult with specialists in medicine and education; they join with other parents in organizing special schools and treatment centers for all handicapped children.

And they bear the extra costs to the last penny to provide whatever can be provided for the youngsters.

Maybe that's life—but every such parent should look into the chance of pinching pennies on taxes.

The Federal instruction manual for 1956 income-tax returns says expenses for special schools for handicapped children are not allowable medical expenses.

The official Government publication Your Federal Income Tax says the same thing.

These assertions are not necessarily so. It may require the expert service of a tax consultant, but many taxpayers parents of handicapped children should discover that they are entitled to deduct a variety of expenses involved in providing specialized education for their youngsters.

Not only should these deductions be taken for 1956 but for the so-called open years. Refunds for 1955 and 1954 may be obtained, depending upon individual circumstances.

The Seattle office of Internal Revenue Service cautions that no general rule can be readily applied to tax returns by parents of handicapped children. However, the Treasury Department, in a special ruling, has changed its thinking on this point, and it is certainly worthwhile for parents to investigate.

The special ruling would allow deductions for meals, lodging, and transportation involved in giving a handicapped child specialized schooling. These would be categorized as deductible medical expenses. Cost of ordinary education in addition to specialized education may be deductible.

The broad rule on medical care is amounts paid for diagnosis, cure and mitigation, treatment or preventment of disease. Money spent for the purpose of affecting any structures or function of the body is also spent for medical care.

Many taxpayers may find they already are taking full advantage of the medical deductions, but for those whose major financial burden comes from providing special schooling for handicapped youngsters, the special ruling may be beneficial. Uncle Sam doesn't like to pick on little kids.

The Two-Party Political System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Abilene Reporter-News, one of our great and influential newspapers in far west Texas, recently carried some very thoughtful observations on our two-party system. I ask unanimous consent to have these editorial comments printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[The Abilene (Tex.) Reporter-News of March 16, 1957]

TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IS PREFERABLE TO SPLINTERS

At debates recently held by the Oxford Union some British youngsters spoke with asperity of the two-party system in the United States which finds Republican and Democrat almost as alike as 2 peas in a pod, with only slight difference between the 2. So, there is little or no choice offered the American voter, they argued.

However, the differences are there, less apparent than real perhaps. There is not much difference between the two parties in the matter of social security legislation and administration, true enough. This makes some conservative Republicans unhappy, and roils some Democratic liberals on the ground the GOP has stolen their stuff, but a two-party meeting of minds on social security should not surprise a British observer over much. In truth, the same thing has happened in a Britain divided between Labor and Conservative; the Conservatives have left social legislation almost untouched, just as the Republicans have in this country.

There are, however, enough differences between the two major parties in this country to offer refuge and accommodation to large segments of our population who disagree with both on relatively minor points.

Most Americans, we believe, recognize the wisdom and strength of a two-party system, as opposed to a fractionated system such as that long prevalent in France, where the real power quite often is wielded by splinter minorities. In France, the hands of government, not to mention the cogs of legislative machinery, are quite often paralyzed by a coalition of splinter parties, who rally around personalities rather than issues.

British critics of our system—representative as contrasted with parliamentary—seem to forget that there are only 50 million Britishers as contrasted with 169 million Americans. Britain's population is homogenous; ours is highly diverse. Ours is spread over 3 million square miles; Texas alone is bigger than 2½ Great Britains.

In so huge and diversified a country as ours there are conflicts of interest between the agricultural Middle West and manufacturing New England, between a traditionally Democratic South and a traditionally Republican New England, between the economic interests of half a dozen major geographical divisions of the land.

If all these conflicts of interest socially, economically and culturally were split into as many warring political parties it would sap the Nation's strength and reduce us to the impotence of France.

The two major parties are enough alike to insure against sudden violent changes, and different enough to give all men of good will the opportunity of self-expression.

The Bermuda Conference—Diplomacy by Trickery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Diplomacy by Trickery," which appeared in the Indianapolis Star in its issue of March 26, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIPLOMACY BY TRICKERY

President Eisenhower is seeking by trickery to circumvent the Constitution of the United States and the laws made by the United States Congress. No other conclusion is possible from the announcement of the agreements made at the Bermuda Conference.

The President has unilaterally, and without the advice or consent of the Senate, announced that he intends to join the military alliance of the Baghdad Pact. He has no constitutional right to do so. This is a treaty to which he has no power to bind the people of the United States without the approval of the United States Senate. For, if this country joins the military part of this pact, we automatically become obligated to defend the Middle Eastern interests of Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan. Yet no alliance can, under the Constitution, be binding on this country without senatorial approval.

Mr. Eisenhower says that he is acting under the Middle East joint resolution. That is not so. He did not ask Congress for authority to join the Bagdad Pact when he proposed his Middle Eastern policy. He did not inform Congress that he intended to make a military alliance with some of the nations in this area and not with others. Yet now he has simply taken matters into his own hands in an attempt to avoid having to ask approval by the Senate which is his constitutional duty.

Would the Senate approve American entry into the Bagdad Pact if asked? We do not believe it would. But whether it would or not, the Senate has not even been asked. This is the very sort of "back door" diplomacy that Republicans have been bitterly criticizing Democratic Presidents for doing at Yalta and in Korea. The President himself has repeatedly stated that he will never seek to circumvent his responsibilities to Congress in foreign affairs—particularly when he was opposing the Bricker amendment which would prevent such evasion. Now he himself has proved the necessity for limiting still further the power of the President to make treaties singlehandedly and without responsibility to either Congress or the people.

This agreement to enter the military alliance with Bagdad Pact nations is an example of Presidential duplicity that needs to be repudiated by Congress. If the President wants to put the United States into this Middle Eastern military alliance, let him do it legally. Let him come before Congress and ask for approval in the proper manner instead of trying to sneak it in through the back door.

We did not think the President would stoop to this sort of obvious trickery. Because he has done so, we suggest that Congress by resolution repudiate this illegal alliance. At the same time we suggest that Congress also ask the President to explain why he has agreed to give guided missiles—with atomic warheads located nearby to be supplied in case of war—in violation of the law passed by Congress prohibiting him from sharing atomic missiles with anyone.

The Late Honorable Harold Hagen

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT HALE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, I want to add my word to what has already been said about Harold Hagen. He was by no means an intimate friend of mine. We were never on the same committee or otherwise drawn closely together, but for many years his name came immediately ahead of mine on the rollcall and somehow that alphabetical proximity contributed to the warm and friendly feeling that I had for him. We were both 78th'ers.

I think Harold Hagen was a most devoted, conscientious and useful Member of this House. His work on the Civil Service and Post Office Committee was outstanding. I was very sorry to have him leave the House, and I lament today his sudden and untimely death. I join most sincerely in the expressions of sympathy to his wife and family.

Al Butler, All-American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 4, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, the city of Rochester, N. Y., is famed for many things, not the least of which is the excellence of its athletes. Added luster to the city's athletic reputation has come in recent years through the feats of native sons Johnny Antonelli, Bob Keegen, and Walt Dukes—to name just a few—in the ranks of professional sports.

For the last 4 years the city sports pages have been set ablaze by the feats of a young man still in high school. His name is Elbert (Al) Butler, and this year he led his East High School team to the city and section 5 AA basketball championships.

In the reason just completed, Al scored a recordbreaking 526 points in 16 league games. His total of 1,691 points for 4 seasons is another alltime high for the Rochester Interscholastic League, and his selection as an all-scholastic 4 years in a row is also an unprecedented feat.

Mr. Speaker, this fleet "phenom" was selected in a poll of high school, college, and professional coaches for an all-America high-school team published last Sunday in Parade magazine. A glance at Al Butler's record will attest to the soundness of this selection. All who have seen him in action add an emphatic amen to the superlatives which are clear from the figures alone.

His rebounding, feeding, and scoring proclivities have been nothing short of phenomenal and mark him as perhaps the greatest Rochester schoolboy athlete of all time. All of us in Rochester look forward with eager anticipation to the continuation of his feats in the years to come.

But perhaps the most remarkable thing about this young man is something which fails to show in the cold statistics of his athletic prowess. This is his unassuming modesty. It is well known in Rochester that Al has always been the first to give credit to his teammates and to praise them for any successes he personally has achieved.

This combination of modesty and ability—a virtue not always found in high school athletes—mark Al Butler as an all-around, all-American, fully worthy of this high award.

Mr. Speaker, I should like also to take this opportunity to salute the entire East High team for their winning performance in the recently completed New York State section 5 AA tournament. Great a part as Al Butler played in this accomplishment, he would be the first, I am sure, to say that it was a team performance which brought victory.

To all concerned, and especially Al Butler and coach Ben Daly, I extend congratulations on a job well done.

Difficult Task

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Difficult Task" which appeared in the March 20, 1957, issue of the Park City Daily News of Bowling Green, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

DIFFICULT TASK

At budget time in former years, Congress has resolutely set about cutting the President's money requests almost as a matter of course. But the lawmakers always assumed the White House had presented a budget it earnestly believed was essential in every detail.

They are not thus convinced in 1957.

When Mr. Eisenhower presented his figures for the coming year, he permitted his potent Treasury Secretary George Humphrey to assail them as too big.

Many legislators and a horde of others interested in the Federal budget took this as an unmistakable sign the President didn't really believe in his new figures. There has been widespread feeling that he either ducked the task of tight budgetmaking, or didn't know how to bring it off.

Some observers have thought that Mr. Eisenhower was honestly torn between the desire for economy in Government and the belief that many costly Federal programs are necessary to meet the problems of this expanding country in a troubled age.

Whatever is in his mind, whatever the facts of budget preparation, within the administration, the President plainly doesn't intend to revise his requests. He has tossed the ball to Congress.

The lawmakers obviously do not like this. Even though in past years they have relished the job of budget slashing, they didn't like to undertake that part of it which they feel is properly the administration's responsibility.

The President says big savings aren't possible unless sizable projects like the farm or the veterans' program are trimmed. And he adds that since these are authorized by Congress, the latter must decide which if any must suffer.

It is true that these things have been authorized on Capitol Hill. But most legislative programs originate in the executive branch of the Government.

"The President proposes, the Congress disposes," they used to say.

The responsibility for Government programs generally is a joint one. If a major project is to be heavily slashed, the matter hardly seems one for congressional decision alone.

The budget situation this year is extremely puzzling. Probably there are not too many Americans who feel that up to now the administration has discharged its full responsibility toward the vital budget-making assignment.

Repeal of 20 Percent Cabaret Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I feel that it is particularly appropriate at this time to submit in the RECORD a resolution drawn by the City Council of Los Angeles, and forwarded to me by the Honorable H. ALLEN SMITH, 20th District, California, in which they heartily approve of the repeal of the 20 percent cabaret tax. There is growing sentiment throughout the country for repeal of this discriminatory tax. The voice of the large and populous city of Los Angeles added to the many others who are for repeal is an important step forward in implementing passage of H. R. 4583, a bill which I recently introduced for complete repeal of the 20 percent cabaret tax.

Following is the text of the resolution:

Whereas on March 7, 1957, there was introduced in Congress a bill to repeal the 20 percent entertainment tax now levied on restaurants with floor shows; and

Whereas this discriminatory tax has caused countless musicians and entertainers to become unemployed due to the resistance of the American public to pay this added tax to the cost of their meals in places where such entertainment is offered; and

Whereas the industry as a whole has shown a remarkable gain in dollar volume of business in places other than where entertainment is offered; and

Whereas the major contributing factor to this decrease in employment of musicians and entertainers is the wartime 20 percent cabaret tax which the Federal Government is still attempting to impose on the public, but the public is not accepting this 20 percent tax, and such is demonstrated by the decrease in the number of full-time jobs available to musicians, as well as the restaurants and hotels that have discontinued entertainment subject to the 20 percent tax; and

Whereas an excellent demonstration of the destroying impact of the 20 percent tax is the restaurants and hotels of the city of Los Angeles that have discontinued all entertainment that would make their sales subject to the 20 percent tax. Within a few blocks of the city hall, one of the major hotels has already darkened its lights in one of the finest cabaret rooms in the Nation. Another hotel within a short distance is waiting out the action by Congress, and if the 20 percent tax is not repealed, then all indications are it will discontinue the offering of cabaret entertainment—the closing of these cabarets will result in loss of employment to 250 employees: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the council of the city of Los Angeles go on record favoring the passage of this vital legislation whereby we, in the center of the entertainment world, might be of assistance to these many fine musicians and entertainers who are suffering because of this discriminatory tax.

Federal Transportation Taxes Should Be Repealed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, as the spring arrives, and millions of Americans prepare to take their vacations, I am reminded that the 10-percent Federal transportation tax is still with us. That tax should be repealed as quickly as possible.

Mr. Speaker, the United States Government is one of the very few governments in the world—federal, state, or territorial—which does not recognize the importance of travel to the overall economy.

Forty-three of our States and three of our Territories maintain travel promotion departments and spend considerable sums of money in attracting visitors. There is every reason to believe that within a few years the remaining States and Territories will fall in line on this matter of travel promotion.

More than 40 foreign governments maintain branches of their official government travel bureaus in the United States. The purpose—to attract visitors from this country. Everyone of these foreign countries recognize the great importance of travel dollars.

Why do our States and Territories and more than 40 foreign countries devote so much attention to the development of travel business? I think the reasons are well summed up in this statement recently issued by the National Association of Travel Organizations:

It has been demonstrated that each State has its own distinctive features and attractions which appeal to travelers. There is no other way in which a State can sell itself to people everywhere as effectively as through advertising and exploiting these distinctive attractions. Travel appeals to everyone. Through it a mass appeal can be made, as distinguished from the limited appeal which can be made through extolling industrial or agricultural advantages.

It has been demonstrated that once a travel-promotion program has been undertaken, attention must be devoted to basic improvement programs at home. These programs must include such matters as better accommodations, better food, a wider variety of entertainment, sports and activities, greater neatness and cleanliness, and more friendliness and hospitality. These things benefit residents as well as visitors.

It has been demonstrated that, in conducting a State travel-promotion program, the travel industry is not being set up as a favored industry. The large amount of money brought in by travelers benefits the hundreds of types of enterprises which cater to the needs of travelers. It also creates, through their prosperity, a large demand for all types of goods and services. Travel promotion programs aid everybody, not just a favored few. No one has yet been able to devise a promotional program for any other industry which will, over a long period of time, benefit so many people. Travel promotion does not exhaust tangible resources. Instead it sells scenery, friendliness, and countless services over and over again to the benefit of all.

It has been demonstrated that effective State and regional development programs must include travel promotion, industrial promotion, and agricultural promotion, properly blended. The three go hand in hand and none can be neglected. The mass appeal is made through travel advertising and promotion. If large numbers of visitors are attracted to a State, many will return to become permanent residents. Among them will be business and professional people—industrialists, farmers, and retired people. The businessmen and industrialists will bring their employees, their manufacturing plants, and their payrolls. Business executives today are looking for pleasant living conditions for themselves and their employees, along with good transportation, ample sites, abundant water supply and the other usual requirements. The record shows that at the present time the States which are most adept at attracting visitors also have the best record for attracting new industry.

Although this statement pertains to the States, it also explains why the governments of more than 40 countries attach so much importance to travel promotions.

The United States Government has failed to follow the trend established by more than 40 other nations and by its own States and Territories.

There is no official program for attracting visitors from other nations to this country or assisting the States in the development of travel within the United States of America.

Just the opposite is true.

The United States Government, alone among the governments of the world maintains a 10 percent excise tax on the transportation of persons via the public carriers. It has removed a similar tax on foreign travel. It chooses to help send our people abroad and penalize them if they travel at home.

The United States Government, also alone among the enlightened governments of the world, maintains repressive laws pertaining to the admittance of visitors from other countries. In our anxiety to keep out undesirable alien immigrants, we have unwittingly built a fence around the United States which presents a very inhospitable barrier to those who would visit us of their own free will to spend their money with us and gain some first hand information about this country.

These two major obstacles to the development of travel which have been created by acts of the United States Government should be removed.

The tax on the transportation of persons should be promptly repealed.

The immigration statutes should be revised to encourage people from abroad to visit the United States of America.

The removal of the tax on the transportation of persons would deprive the Government of an estimated $190 million in revenue during 1957. But since a great deal of the travel via the public carriers is performed by businessmen traveling on expense account, the tax on travel is deducted from their income tax. Thus the $190 million collected from

travelers will not be clear profit for the Government.

What would the effect of the removal of this tax be?

It would mean that the cost of travel via the public carriers would be reduced by 10 percent, making it possible for the more than 14 million families representing more than 40 million people in this country who do not own automobiles to travel more freely than they do now.

Travel officials estimate that with this brake removed, the 14 million families which do not own automobiles would take long-deferred trips and vacations, spending thereby, about a billion dollars in the year following the removal of the tax—a billion dollars that would be scattered around the Nation in your States and in mine.

If this is true, then the transportation lines would get 22 percent of this, or $220 million dollars in new business, which they could use.

The restaurants and food stores would get 27 percent or $270 million in new business.

The hotels, motels, and resorts would get 21 percent or $210 million in new business.

The retail stores would get 14 percent or $140 million spent for luggage, cameras, skis, sporting goods, and special clothing needed by the travelers.

The theaters, travel attractions, sports events, night clubs, and sightseeing lines would get 11 percent or $110 million.

The laundries, cleaning shops, barbers, telephone companies, utility companies, and other service institutions across the country would get 5 percent or $50 million in new business from this travel.

I submit that this substantial augmentation of the travel business throughout the land would help so many business enterprises meet more payrolls and pay for more goods and supplies that both corporate and individual income taxes payable to the Federal Government would be increased, as would the returns from the many sales and excise taxes which are involved when a billion dollars is fed into the economy in the manner just outlined.

If anyone questions the accuracy of the statistics and estimates quoted, let me tell you this. No agency of the Federal Government could supply this information. It came from the National Association of Travel Organizations, a nonprofit association of all types of travel enterprises in the United States of America.

This association is so anxious to prove that its facts, collected from State and private travel research agencies are right, that it has just raised a fund by private subscription, that will enable the United States Bureau of Census to make a national travel survey during 1957. Note—the travel industry is paying the United States Government to gather facts for it.

Based on the private research figures maintained by this travel association, United States citizens spent $25.5 billion for travel in 1956. This was for business and pleasure travel at home and abroad. $1.9 billion of this was spent abroad. The rest was spent in the United States of America, giving some idea of the very important role of travel in the national economy.

An indication of the fact that their figures are conservative may be gained from this comparison. The Florida State Chamber of Commerce estimated out-of-State tourist expenditures in Florida at $1,210,000,000 during 1955. The National Association of Travel Organizations credits Florida with an even billion in their tabulation.

It is difficult to compute the amount of Federal taxes generated by the travel business, but the total is very substantial. It is estimated that at least 40 percent of the total mileage piled up by private automobiles is for intercity or long-distance travel. The taxes on the gasoline, oil, and rubber alone constitute an enormous sum. Intercity bus mileage generates further Federal taxes. Diesel engines pulling passenger trains do. Gasoline consumed by airplanes is a factor. This is only the beginning of a long list of Federal taxes paid by travel enterprises.

The point is—the time has come for the United States Government to recognize the need for stimulating the travel business for the common good. The States and most foreign governments have long since done so.

The first step is to repeal the 10-percent excise tax on the transportation of persons.

Closely associated with the tax on travel is the 3-percent tax on the transportation of goods. This, too, has a repressive effect on the national economy.

That $72 Billion Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include an article by Hyman H. Bookbinder, legislative representative, AFL-CIO, in the April issue of the American Federationist, as follows:

Early this year the President of the United States sent to Congress a volume that was heavier and larger than the Chicago telephone directory. But on almost every one of its 1,165 pages were figures much larger than telephone numbers.

The volume was President Eisenhower's justification for his proposal that Congress permit him to spend $72 billion in the 12 months starting July 1, 1957. It was the annual budget for Uncle Sam.

How much is $72 billion? About a billion and a half dollars every week—about $200 million every day. In the time it takes you to read this article, about 10 minutes, Uncle Sam will have spent more than a million dollars.

Does this huge spending by our Federal Government frighten you or disturb you? In the 2 months since the budget was proposed, many people and newspapers have tried to frighten you. Leading the fear campaign was the President's own financial lieutenant, Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey.

"If Government spending is not cut," the Secretary said, "I will predict that you will have a depression that will curl your hair."

The rather unusual spectacle of the President's No. 1 financial aid attacking the budget proposals of his chief was soon followed up by another fear-monger. Former President Herbert Hoover demanded a lowered budget and offered his credentials as an expert.

"My hair has already been curled once," he said. "And I think I can detect the signs."

The huge budget, it is argued, will aggravate inflation. But this is a phony argument. Actually, even with $72 billion expenditures, there will be a budget surplus of at least $2 billion next year.

Mr. Eisenhower himself was challenged regarding the budget at a press conference. After all, his questioners reminded him, hadn't he made many speeches and campaign promises about bringing down the costs of Government? His answer was simple and direct:

"As long as the American people demand—and, in my opinion, deserve—the kind of services this budget provides, we have got to spend this kind of money."

Here, in a single sentence, the President demolished all of the political nonsense of the campaign. The Federal Government's role—in the words of our Constitution—to "provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty" would just have to cost money.

In a recent speech Marion Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, stated:

"We say the Federal Government would fail to serve the people's interest if it stood idly by, indifferent to broad deficiencies in health, education or economic security. * * * We believe the Federal Government * * * can and should act in these fields for the benefit of all the people."

These statements by President Eisenhower and Mr. Folsom are welcome evidence that we have come a long way these past 25 years.

The New Deal and the Fair Deal once were bitterly attacked by political opponents as welfare states and handout states, as programs which would destroy a free America.

Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman had to blaze new trails to extend the areas of Government responsibility. But today, except for some diehards in both parties, there is substantial agreement in principle that a free, democratic society is enhanced rather than hurt by responsible Government efforts to promote the general welfare.

But agreement in principle is not enough. There must be determination to resist unscrupulous cuts and to support expenditures which are in fact necessary to carry out our constitutional obligations. To do so requires an understanding of what the budget provides, what our capabilities are, what our unfilled needs are.

It is unfortunate that the President himself seems to have succumbed to the mounting pressures for slashing the budget. Instead of defending the budget which he himself asked Congress to support, he has urged Congress to cut wherever possible, but without indicating where or how.

It goes without saying, of course, that for every dollar we decide to spend we must raise a dollar in taxes, unless we go further into debt. Nobody likes to pay taxes, and, because of this, demands to "reduce the budget" seem very appealing. Wage earners especially would welcome reduced taxes so that they could more easily meet the rising costs of living and enjoy a decent standard of living. But workers have demonstrated time and time again that they are ready to

pay a fair share of the taxload through a fair tax system. Thus, they have never resisted increases in social-security taxes; they want a solvent, sound social-security system.

Reduced taxes would be very welcome. But more welcome would be reduced slums and school shortages, reduced threat of war and Communist aggression.

What makes up the proposed $72 billion budget? The calamity howlers would have us believe that all or most of this money goes for bureaucrats in Washington who dream up crazy schemes for giving away our precious tax dollars. The fact is that only a very small part of the total budget goes for what might be called welfare activities. Here is a breakdown:

[In billions]

National defense (including atomic energy)	$41.3
Mutual security (military and economic)	4.8
Interest on debt	7.4
Veterans' benefits	5.0
Agriculture	5.0
Labor and welfare	3.5
Commerce and housing	1.8
Natural resources	1.5
General Government	1.5

Take a good look at this breakdown. Sixty-five cents of every tax dollar is going to build up our own defenses and those of our allies in order to deter Soviet aggression. Shall we cut this?

The AFL–CIO does not presume to have any expert judgment about the proper size of the Military Establishment. It does share the general apprehension, however, that we may be erring on the low side rather than the high side.

As far as foreign aid is concerned, labor has ofttimes been critical about specific aspects of this program, but labor has never swerved from its conviction that our country has made no better investment in world understanding and world peace than our mutual-security program. We cannot permit budget-balancing preoccupation to weaken our efforts for peace and against world communism.

After defense and mutual security, there are only 26 billions left. But $7.4 billion of this must be paid out in interest on the national debt. (It is interesting to note that the very ones who scream "Cut the budget" have furthered the high-interest policies of government, which have added about half a billion dollars to the interest costs of the Federal Government.)

We will need about $5 billion for meeting our obligations to our war veterans. Another $5 billion is needed for our agricultural support program—and many people believe that even this is not enough.

But these facts of life have been conveniently ignored by some of the calamity howlers. Without indicating where or how, some of them have talked about cutting the budget by 2 billions, by 3 billions, even by 5 billions. The most casual study of the figures listed will show that such cuts can be made only by cutting down our defense expenditures or by destroying much of the regular functions and responsibilities of our Federal Government.

A few weeks ago representatives of labor appeared before the subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee which deals with the labor and welfare portion of the budget. The AFL–CIO urged the committee to resist entering any competition on who can cut the most out of the proposed budget.

The AFL–CIO statement said:

"We are disturbed at the hue and cry which has been raised about the huge budget which the President has submitted. Of course, it is huge. But so are our responsibilities. And so are our capabilities. Let those who are ready to sell America short wail and moan. The AFL–CIO will not join the hysterical cut-the-budget-at-any-price crowd.

"We have confidence in America's ability to meet its tremendous responsibilities both in the worldwide struggle against imperialistic communism and in the challenge at home to meet the needs of our people.

"Where shall the billions in budget cuts come from? Shall we stop our payments to veterans? Shall we stop our interest payments on the public debt? Shall we stop making soil-bank payments to our farmers? Shall we cut the wages of our underpaid civil servants?

"Or shall we just nibble away at every regular program of the Federal Government—an arbitrary 5 percent or 10 percent or 20 percent cut right across the board?"

At the time this article is being written it is not known whether this subcommittee has joined the race to cut the budget. But two other subcommittees have set an unfortunate precedent. Cuts in the post office appropriations, for example, if unrestored in the Senate, would mean the loss of thousands of jobs and a tremendous increase in workloads for all employees, to say nothing of deterioration in postal service.

Only $3.5 billion is in the Federal budget for a whole range of very important labor and welfare activities. This comes to only 5 percent of the entire budget. It represents, moreover, less than 1 percent of the entire national income of the American people. It comes to only $20.40 for each of the 173 million Americans who will be living in the year starting next July 1.

Can America afford 1 percent of its income for the kinds of services provided in our labor and welfare budget? A brief review of some of these services raises the more appropriate question, "Can America afford not to spend at least this much money?"

Almost half of the entire Labor-Welfare budget, $1,700,000,000, is distributed by the Social Security Administration in the form of grants to States for public assistance.

There are about 2,500,000 older persons who need public assistance because they have no other source of income. These are the folks who never had an opportunity to be covered by the social-security system and now need help.

Even when the Federal money is added to the State funds, the average recipient of old-age assistance receives only about $59 a month. The public-assistance program also provides an average payment of about $33 a month for dependent children, about $63 for aid to the blind, and about $59 for aid to permanently and totally disabled persons. Can we do less than this in a country as rich as America?

About $550 million has been allowed in the budget for the Public Health Service. This comes to about $3 a year for every man, woman, and child in the United States. It is the best value in the world. With this very small per capita expenditure, the Federal Government has helped build thousands of hospitals, has conducted medical research, has provided grants to States to fight tuberculosis and veneral disease and communicable diseases, has promoted sanitary engineering activities, has worked on health problems of our American Indians—to name just a few activities of the Public Health Service.

If there is any complaint at all, it is that we have spent too little on health activities. Take hospital construction, for example. The Hill-Burton Act was passed 10 years ago. Since its passege, more than 3,000 projects costing a total of $2.5 billion have been supported with Federal funds. The Federal share came to $800 million. But even this has not met our needs. The experts have stated that we are still short 800,000 hospital beds.

Year after year, labor has urged Congress to appropriate the full amount authorized by the law. But it has refused to do so. Last year, for example, Congress allowed only $125 million, even though the law permits as much as $210 million. The proposed budget for next year calls for only $121 million. The AFL–CIO has requested the full authorization.

Take medical research, as another example. In recent years spectacular progress has been made toward the conquest of some of our major sicknesses. Federal money helped support the work which led to the discovery of the Salk vaccine. We know more about heart disease now, more about mental health, more about cancer.

But it has taken bold, imaginative leadership in Congress to push ahead in this field despite the penny-pinching proposals which came from the White House. Last year, it is recalled, the President proposed a total of only $126 million for medical research, including the National Institutes of Health. Congress raised it to $184 million—an increase of 50 percent.

The American people are indeed fortunate to have men like Representative JOHN FOGARTY, of Rhode Island, and Senator LISTER HILL, of Alabama, heading the respective committees charged with responsibilities in this area. They have worked long and hard to keep medical research at the highest possible level, and we are now seeing the brilliant results of their work.

Let the budget cutters read these words of Congressman FOGARTY and then tell us how much they want to cut:

"We have made great strides in the fight on cancer through new surgical techniques and new detection methods that have been developed, with the result that there are at least 15,000 people walking around alive today who would be dead except for the progress that has been made in the past 10 years. * * *

"When there is such an obvious possibility of alleviating human suffering and prolonging human life, I am in favor of resolving our doubts on the side of optimism regarding our research potential, instead of on the side of economy. * * * I do not know how anyone can, in good conscience, vote for a lesser amount just for the sake of saving tax dollars. I do not think these are the kind of dollars that the taxpayers want saved."

How else are some of our tax dollars spent in the labor and welfare area? Space does not permit a listing of all the other vital services which are today being provided to at least some degree, but here are just a few illustrations:

Apprenticeship and training programs and grants for vocational education to provide skilled manpower for our advancing technology.

Research work and safety programs to meet the challenge presented by atomic radiation hazards.

Study of problems affecting the aged and chronically diseased.

Support for education through research activities and through grants for school construction.

Vocational rehabilitation programs—both for actual rehabilitations and for further research in new techniques.

School-lunch program for about 12 million children.

Maternal and child-health services and aid to crippled children.

Labor has a strong interest, of course, in seeing to it that our labor laws are properly enforced. A minimum-wage law is meaningless if we don't provide the funds for proper enforcement. Bacon-Davis provisions for prevailing wages on public construction must be properly administered. The Mexican farm-labor program needs good policing to prevent hardships to both Mexican and American workers.

All of these things cost money. But it should be remembered that all of these labor

and welfare activities of our Federal Government—and many, many more which have not even been touched upon in this article—cost only 5 percent of the total national budget and only 1 percent of our national income. This is a small enough price to pay for a healthy, happy, and productive people.

Some day—soon, we hope—the danger of war and aggression will recede. Perhaps then we shall be able to cut our defense budget from $40 billion down to $30 billion or even $20 billion. Just think how much more we could do to provide for the domestic needs of our people if $5 or $10 billion a year were diverted from our defense budget to things like housing and education and health. And this would still make possible substantial tax cuts.

In the meantime, can America afford a $72 billion budget? Of course it can. Can it afford not to provide adequately for national defense or for the vital services described above? The answer is obvious.

American workers do not want their taxes wasted. But they are prepared to do their share to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare.

Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, the Committee on Banking and Currency of the Senate has been holding hearings in connection with the continuation of the slum clearance and urban renewal program, one of the best programs for our cities that has been inaugurated in many years. A very effective analysis of the necessity for continuing this program as originally recommended without cutback and without diminution was made yesterday before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency by the mayor of Nashville, Tenn., the Honorable Ben West. Mayor West made the statement on behalf of the city of Nashville, and also on behalf of the American Municipal Association.

I ask unanimous consent that the testimony of Mayor West be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TESTIMONY OF BEN WEST, MAYOR OF NASHVILLE, TENN., ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN MUNICIPAL ASSOCIATION BEFORE THE HOUSING SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE, MARCH 26, 1957, ON THE SUBJECT OF URBAN RENEWAL

The mayors of this Nation are shocked by the administration's order to kill the slum-clearance and urban-renewal program.

Municipal officials are shaking their heads in disbelief at the new administration policy of limiting urban renewal projects to small piecemeal undertakings in cities which are already participating in the program or to those struck by disaster.

It is even more unbelievable, since this appears to be no temporary fund curtailment but a permanent change in policy—requests for future slum-clearance money have been so drastically reduced that we question whether or not we can wage any serious war on slums.

These developments are particularly discouraging to the American Municipal Association, which has spent much time and effort backing adequate housing legislation. As you know, the American Municipal Association vigorously supported the 1949 Housing Act and has appeared before Congress each year since to assist the committees in their deliberations on this vital legislation.

CITY DWELLERS IGNORED

More than two-thirds of our population live in urban areas. Five million families are forced to live in rock-bottom dwelling units which should have been demolished decades ago.

We have Federal programs to assist those who live on the farm and even to assist persons living in other countries. But aside from the housing program we have little or nothing in the way of Federal assistance for those who live in our cities. To discontinue urban renewal would be to ignore the vital needs affecting a great majority of our people.

FALSE ECONOMY

Naturally Congress is concerned about Federal spending. So are we all. As municipal officials, we try to reduce our own budgets, too. But to practice saving by eliminating essential items is to practice foolish economy. In our cities we might save money by doing away with the police and fire departments—but it would be a violation of public trust. Likewise, we believe it is a violation of the public trust for Congress to turn its back on our Nation's slums. Cutting the urban-renewal program to a point where it is ineffective may save a few million in Washington—but how much is that saving going to cost at every level of government? Let's look at this saving in its entirety. How much will it save our future citizens who must grow up in delinquency-ridden slums? How much will it save the community which has geared its highway, schools, and public facilities programs to an expiring urban-renewal program? How much will it save the businessman who has planned to develop new plant facilities in a slum clearance area? How much will it save in terms of crime, disease, and human frustration? In a general stunting of economic growth?

REHABILITATION AND CONSERVATION

When we consider urban renewal, there is a tendency to think only of projects where entire areas are cleared and redeveloped. The conservation aspects of urban renewal are, however, in our opinion equally important. Without the assistance of the urban-renewal program it will not be possible to channel private capital into the great grey areas of our cities. These are the neighborhoods which are not slums but which are beginning to deteriorate. Homeowners are unable or unwilling to make necessary repairs and to adequately maintain their property. Many of the most energetic families move out. Private investors will not risk money in neighborhoods that are going down. In size, impact on the community and opportunity for economy this is the area where the investment of the smallest amount of Federal and local funds can bring the greatest return. Even the most conservative elements of the business world have recognized this and are lending wholehearted support to this aspect of urban renewal.

May I make a prediction? If we cut the heart out of the Urban Renewal Program now, within a period of 5 years we are going to have one gosh-awful clamor for public housing. These grey areas are going to turn into slums. Neighborhoods that can be saved if we act now will be doomed if we delay.

LOCAL PROJECTS DOOMED

Figures will be presented to show how the cut in renewal operations will kill many local programs. In my own State of Tennessee, projects planned, those under contract negotiation and approved projects for which additional funds will be needed will require $45 million of Federal grant funds. If we have to stop or sharply reduce our efforts, imagine the blow to the cities involved. It takes literally years of effort to plan and program a project. We have reorganized our local administrative machinery. We have created new agencies. We have hired and trained key personnel. Citizens groups have been formed and all elements of the community have given their support to renewal. And all of this will be for nothing if the program is reduced in an ineffectual dribble.

Congress gave us a "do it yourself kit" in the form of urban renewal with its workable program. We took the advice and went to work. It took some time but we are just beginning to roll. Now it is proposed to take away our hammer and saw. If the administration policy sticks, it seems to us that this is clearly a breach of faith with the municipal officials and all those who have worked so hard for this program.

STOP AND GO ADMINISTRATION

We cannot make sound local plans for highways, public facilities, long range finances and dozens of other local activities that are geared to urban renewal if we must operate with a "stop and go" national program. There must be an element of predictability.

We would respectfully suggest a program of action to accomplish the goals envisioned by the Congress in the Housing Act. We recommend the following:

1. Capital grant authorizations should be increased to an absolute minimum of $250 million as originally requested by the President. The House subcommittee recommended that loan and grant authorizations should be raised from $1 billion to $2 billion. We agree. We can accomplish little if we are going to think little. This is a big problem and we are not going to make a big improvement with puny efforts. We must conserve those neighborhoods that can be saved and rebuild the slum areas.

2. Local public agency letter 91 should be rescinded immediately. This March 6 communication from the Acting Urban Renewal Commissioner to all the municipalities orders a drastic cut in new project authorizations and all but precludes sound slum-elimination programs. It instructs that henceforth those few new projects which are to be approved shall be reduced in size or divided. This piecemeal approach will only serve to generate more Federal paperwork. It won't eliminate slums.

3. Federal participation in urban-renewal projects should be increased from the present two-thirds to four-fifths of the net cost. The reason for this is simple. We are running out of local money. As long as Federal and State taxes are at their present level, we don't know where we are going to get any more either.

4. Authorizations for public housing should be maintained at adequate level. The various programs of the Housing Act are interrelated. They fit together into a whole. We cannot proceed to clear slums unless we have an adequate amount of low-cost housing to accommodate those who are displaced by renewal projects and who cannot afford decent shelter. Low-cost housing is even more important in view of new Federal aid highway legislation. It has been estimated that in the next 13 years, up to 1 million acres of land will have to be cleared in urban areas to make way for new roads. Naturally we are going to try to route these highways through the slum areas and this

is going to increase the demand for low-cost housing for the displaced.

5. The community facilities programs should be maintained at an effective level. Smaller cities and towns are turning increasingly to the program of advances for public-works planning to help them provide the schools and other facilities which they so urgently need. In this tight-money period, the community facilities loan program is providing needed financing for facilities that could not be otherwise provided. Many communities are also receiving valuable benefits from the urban planning assistance program. The combined cost of all three of these measures is small or even insignificant in relation to their value to municipalities.

Tremendous forces are at work in our cities. Impatience with slums and blight is everywhere. Individuals and groups are demanding action. Our cities must be built into the healthy, attractive places we know they can be. We mayors want to meet this challenge but we cannot do it alone.

This is a national problem, too, and the National Government must respond. We have a golden opportunity to act, and we must act. As a nation of plenty in times of comparative peace, when will be have a better chance?

United States Warned To Guard Hemisphere Interests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following article from the Washingtong Post and Times Herald of March 26, 1957:

UNITED STATES WARNED TO GUARD HEMISPHERE INTERESTS

(By Ernest B. Vaccaro)

The United was told yesterday that its vital interests in Central America and the Caribbean "are in danger of being overlooked" in its concentration on world-shaking events elsewhere.

A report was made public by a special Senate committee studying foreign aid.

It was prepared by James Minotto, Phoenix, Ariz., rancher and a former Mutual Security Agency chief in Portugal. He drafted it for the committee after a survey of Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and Mexico.

While he said the threat of Communist subversion in those areas appears "negligible," he declared Guatemala showed "the ease with which some of these countries can be subverted to a base for mounting a Communist-led psychological offensive against the United States."

In "rging continuation of military, economic development, and technical assistance for the area, he declared:

"For example, the Castillo Armas Government in Guatemala must convince most of the people that they are better off than they were in 1954 if the present trend toward more democratic government is to be maintained.

"If the government is unable to demonstrate such improvement, very few observers are willing to predict the orientation of the new administration that will come to power in 1960.

"The great gap in incomes in several of these countries plus the lack of education presents a fertile field for Communist activities. The Communist Party is outlawed in almost every country in the area. Despite this fact, untoward events, or dramatized issues of the local government against the people in some countries, can result in a repeat in the unhappy history in Guatemala from 1950 to 1954."

Minotto said the United States must carry out its moral commitments to Guatemala, which cannot carry on necessary programs within the borrowing limits of its own economy.

"The availability to the United States of sites for naval and air operations and the denial of such sites for use against the United States by other countries are considered essential parts of our security interests," he said.

Minotto said the Defense Department should speed up machinery for arms deliveries about which there have been some disappointments. And he said the Government should relax its policy of restricting grants and loans to emergency conditions to provide help for construction of public facilities needed to stimulate private investment.

All Northern California Democrats Oppose Pacific Gas & Electric Co. Partnership Proposal on Trinity River Project Powerhouses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by all the Democratic congressmen from northern California opposing the so-called partnership proposal of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. for building the powerhouses on the Trinity River project.

JOINT STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMEN FROM CENTRAL VALLEY AREA IN OPPOSITION TO PACIFIC GAS & ELECTRIC CO. TRINITY PROPOSAL

We have studied carefully the recommendation of Secretary Seaton that Congress approve development of the Trinity Project power facilities by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. This bold attempt on the part of the administration to circumvent and repudiate existing law and revise the concept of developing reclamation projects is completely unacceptable to us. A few of our reasons are set out briefly in the following paragraphs.

EXISTING LAW AND POLICY WOULD BE VIOLATED

The Federal Government's power policy, as set out in numerous acts of Congress, provides that electric power and energy be disposed of in such manner as to encourage the most widespread use thereof at lowest possible rates to consumers consistent with sound business principles, and that preference in such disposition shall be given to public agencies, municipalities, and cooperatives. If this long-established policy is to be modified to put power operations on a profit-making basis—and we believe it should not be modified in the interest of fullest use of the Nation's water resources for the benefit of the greatest number of our people—but if it is to be modified, the approach should be direct and not by the back door; i. e., it should be done by legislation generally applicable to all projects and areas and not by singling out one individual unit of a going multiple-purpose development.

BASIC CONCEPT OF RECLAMATION DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE CHANGED

The Central Valley project was not constructed for profitmaking purposes. It was constructed to meet the needs of the people of the Central Valley Basin for water, flood control, and low-cost electric power. The Trinity River addition to the project, as indicated in the authorizing act, is subject to the provisions in reclamation law with respect to the disposal of electric energy. The Secretary's recommendation would require extensive amendments to the authorizing legislation enacted less than 2 years ago and approved by the President. The Secretary's recommendation would further deny 250,000 kilowatts of low-cost electric power to the consumers of northern California, including Federal installations, and would result in the partitioning of one segment of this vast integrated system of dams, reservoirs, canals, transmission lines, etc., for construction entirely separate and different from the rest of the project. Such a procedure would irreparably disrupt existing operation of the Central Valley project and threaten future development.

POWER CONSUMERS WOULD NOT BE PROTECTED

The proposed contract between the Department of the Interior and the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. contains no provisions for the protection of the power consumers, and in this respect the proposal violates the intention of Congress in authorizing the negotiations. The Senate report implementing the authorizing legislation clearly states that the authorization for negotiations should in no sense be understood to waive, in the negotiations, existing provisions in reclamation law. Secretary Seaton admits that acceptance of his proposal would result in preference agencies paying $86 million more for energy over the contract period and that this additional cost to preference agencies would be $118 million if the San Luis Unit is constructed. There is a growing indication that the Secretary has greatly underestimated these losses.

The Pacific Gas & Electric Co. pays no money it does not collect on the electric bills and therefore, if the proposal were accepted, the homeowner, farmer, and businessman would find on their power bills the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s highly advertised "generous payments" to the Government as well as the cost of the powerplants and the Federal, State, and local taxes, and a nice profit to the company.

WATER USERS WOULD NOT BE PROTECTED

Acceptance of Secretary Seaton's recommendation would place project operations on the basis of maximizing power and energy production. This is indicated in the proposed contract by provisions requiring penalty payments by the Federal Government for noncompliance with release schedules designed to maximize power and energy production. Unforeseen periods of low flow could result in enormous payments by the Federal Government to the company in penalties. Conflicts between operations for meeting the water needs of the Central Valley and power operations would be bound to arise and we fear that when this serious problem involves the substitution of dollars for water, it would be the water users who would be hurt. Although, theoretically, the water needs of the Central Valley would retain priority, we fear that there is danger in actual practice that this would not be the case.

WOULD MEAN THE END OF LOW-COST POWER IN CALIFORNIA

We believe that the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s design on the Trinity power facilities

foreshadows something even bigger and that the real purpose of the company is to stop for all time the expansion of Federal power in California in order that it may monopolize the power market in that area. Acceptance of this proposal would set the precedent for future Federal development in California and elsewhere. If this happens, it will be to the detriment of not only the potential direct beneficiaries of Federal power but also every user of electricity in the area. Experience and history have shown that the existence of Federal power in an area has had the effect of holding down prevailing rates in that area, including rates of private utilities. Compare, for instance, the prevailing rates in the Northwest with those in the Northeast.

CLAIMED ADDITIONAL SURPLUSES NOT NEEDED

The Central Valley project is already on a very sound financial basis. Financial studies of the presently authorized project, including the Trinity addition, indicate a surplus of about $114 million at the end of 50 years and financial studies including proposed future additions all indicate that power revenues will be sufficient to carry forward future irrigation development as rapidly as it is needed. Additional revenues, therefore, are not needed to assist irrigation development. On the other hand, the denial of low-cost electric energy to irrigation districts would hardly support the Secretary's statement that, under his recommendation, power would become a better partner to irrigation development in the Central Valley project area.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN UNFAVORABLE POSITION AT END OF CONTRACT PERIOD

Another very important aspect which we believe has not been given adequate consideration by the Secretary is the relative positions of the Federal Government and the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. at the end of the 50-year contract period. The Federal Government could take over the power facilities at the end of this period only by payment of the company's net investment plus severance damages. In other words, under Federal construction the Federal Government would own the power facilities at the end of the 50-year contract period while under the recommended proposal the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. would own the power facilities. The Secretary's financial comparisons overlook this item. Recent experience of the State of California in a similar situation is an indication of what the Federal Government may be faced with at the end of the repayment period. The Pacific Gas & Electric Co. constructed its Big Ben powerplant on the Feather River sometime between 1908 and 1916 at a cost of about $7,700,000. This plant will have to be purchased by the State of California in connection with construction of its Feather River project. On December 2, 1954, the company advised the State of California that the plant is now worth $33 million.

OUR CONCLUSION

Therefore, for the reasons set out above, among others, we reiterate that Secretary Seaton's recommendation that the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. be permitted to build the Trinity project power facilities is completely unacceptable and should be rejected, and construction of the Trinity River division should proceed in accordance with the Trinity River Act of August 12, 1955.

CLAIR ENGLE.
B. F. SISK.
JOHN J. MCFALL.
JOHN E. MOSS.
JOHN F. SHELLEY.
GEORGE P. MILLER.
HARLAN HAGEN.

Does the End Justify the Means?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by David Lawrence:

DOES THE END JUSTIFY THE MEANS?—HENNINGS' OPINION ON CIVIL-RIGHTS CASES SUGGESTS USE OF UNITED STATES INJUNCTIVE POWER

(By David Lawrence)

The end seems to justify the means—and if the Constitution stands in the way, it must be circumvented.

This is a dangerous doctrine in a democracy and one that the American people will resent to the utmost. But it comes, in effect, from the chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Senator THOMAS HENNINGS, Democrat, of Missouri, who, though denying any intention to abandon jury trial in America, says frankly that, because southern juries will not convict in civil-rights cases, some way has to be found to get around them.

In a formal memorandum to the members of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Mr. HENNINGS says:

"We know that, regardless of the facts, juries in some such cases are not likely to convict. An alternative is the grant of injunctive relief to the United States."

This means government by injunction. It is something that the labor unions successfully fought until they got relief from Congress in the Norris-La Guardia anti-injunction law. But this is a special privilege granted only to individuals involved in labor disputes. Now it is intended to punish without jury trial any citizens who become involved in any way in disputes over civil rights.

This, of course, would result because the suits in civil-rights cases would be prosecuted in the name of the United States, and such a device automatically bars any jury trial.

The Missouri Senator frankly admits this. In fact, his candor is to be commended, for he takes issue with Assistant Attorney General Olney of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, who on March 15 issued a statement arguing that the defendants in the Clinton, Tenn., case had not been deprived of a jury trial. Mr. Olney contended that, because in the middle of the proceedings the United States had been made a party to the suit, this was a technical matter and it didn't mean jury trial had been forfeited. Here is what the Assistant Attorney General said:

"The right to a jury trial is not a matter of discretion to be granted or withheld by the Department of Justice or by the court and could no in any case be defeated by the subetitution, for technical reasons, of the name of the United States on the contempt citation."

But the memorandum by Senator HENNINGS, which he says is supported by an exhaustive analysis made by the chief counsel of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, takes the opposite view.

Mr. HENNINGS, after giving a list of 28 Federal statutes in which injunctions may be issued, says:

"As outlined above, with one exception (labor disputes cases under the Norris-La-Guardia Act), there is no right to trial by jury in cases for criminal contempt of court for violations of injunctions, under these statutes, where the United States is a party to the case."

The history of this type of case under Federal injunctions shows that, where contempt is committed in the presence of the court or where the principal who is ordered to obey an injunction disregards it, he may be hauled into court and tried and punished without a jury trial.

In the Clinton, Tenn., case, however, the complainants were private individuals who said that 18 defendants had conspired to violate the Federal injunction. These alleged acts were committed outside the courtroom. The defendants were not principals in the dispute. The school board itself had complied with the Federal injunction ordering the end of segregation. Then, all of a sudden, the Department of Justice on February 25 last asked the court to change the name of the case and insert the name "United States" as the complaining party. This automatically bars a jury trial because the law specifically says so.

Surely, the American people are entitled to know what's going on here and what subterfuges are being used at Clinton. For, if what happened in the Clinton case is valid, in fact, the Federal judge promptly approved the change in the name of the case—then civil-rights legislation by the Senate or the House isn't really necessary after all. If indeed the end justifies the means, the Department of Justice, whether authorized or not by civil-rights legislation, can change the name of any case and deprive the defendants of a jury trial in criminal contempt cases. There need be no explanation given except perhaps the excuse of technical reasons, though everyone will know that it's really an effort to get around the fact that southern juries might not bring in convictions in civil-rights cases.

A constitutional amendment is the logical way to deal with the whole problem. If two-thirds of both Houses of Congress and three-fourths of the States want to take away or limit further the right of trial by jury, then the Constitution and law will order it done—and such orders will be obeyed.

Our Middle East Policy Has Been One of Confusion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a statement given by me to the Boston Traveller, of Boston, Mass., and appearing in its issue of March 25, 1957:

Our foreign policy during the past 2 years has been one of sharp contradictions, due to uncertainty and indecisive thought and action. The responsibility for this definitely rests with President Eisenhower. It is about time that the blame for our present situation be placed where it rightfully belongs—on President Eisenhower.

Our Middle East policy has been one of confusion.

The Eisenhower Middle East doctrine is as a result of the lack of vision to appreciate the implications involved, and with the proceeding upon the hope that the Kremlin and Nasser would be good. This is false thinking.

It is well known that with firmness on our side, Nasser would have been ousted by forces within Egypt long ago. It is also known that while the leaders of the other Arab nations are determined to destroy Israel, that most of them hate and fear Nasser. President Eisenhower has failed to exploit this fact.

We now find Nasser, whose forces were decisively defeated by the Israelian forces, gaining a great political victory, and more dangerous as a result of the weak leadership on the part of our country.

By the indecision and failures of President Eisenhower, we find Dictator Nasser—saved from defeat and removal from office—acting not only like a dictator, but also like a conqueror.

It is clear that Israel withdrew its forces from the Gaza strip and elsewhere upon at least implied promises being made by our Government and by representatives of the United Nations that Aqaba Bay would be open to Israelian shipping, and that Israel would be protected in the future from Egyptian raids from the Gaza area by the United Nations forces taking over. It is a moral, if not legal, obligation to carry out promises made, either expressedly or by implication.

To allow Nasser to get along with his present plans will be capitulation on our part. Our own national interest is involved. Every nation is watching the United States to see if it will follow a weak or firm policy. When they see weakness or indecision on our part, it causes them to doubt us. The result is neutralism, or the journey toward neutralism—either one of which is unfavorable to us. So, it is more than a question of Israel and Egypt, or other Arab nations—it is a question of our own national interest being involved.

If Nasser gets away with his present plans, our country will be the laughing stock of the world. It will be a serious blow to our best interests. The Kremlin will benefit.

Our leadership should have foreseen the probability of what is now happening. At the last meeting of the leaders of both parties at the White House, when administration spokesmen said that if Israelian forces withdrew, the problem was solved, some of us present warned that if Nasser objected to the United Nations forces immediately going into the areas vacated by the Israelian forces, that the United Nations forces would probably not do so. We also warned them that if this happened, and there was a good probability, that would be capitulation on our part.

We were informed that in private talks with representatives of the United Nations, that the United Nations forces would take over at once when the Israelian forces withdrew.

I have always been of the opinion that Israel, acting for its self-preservation, was justified in going into the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza strip, and also in taking the position that Aqaba Bay is an open waterway and that another international agreement should be made in connection with the use of the Suez Canal, with the ships of all countries being permitted to use the same. However, without regard to how anyone felt in relation to the action taken by Israel, Israel has a clear case now.

It is a mistake for President Eisenhower to delegate or abdicate our foreign policy in the present crisis to the United Nations. There are occasions when we should act within the United Nations, but there are occasions when we should act unilaterally in our own best interests.

We are now faced with a greater crisis in the Middle East than heretofore. It is not too late to repair the situation and to avert danger of another world conflict.

This can only be done by firmness on our part—abandoning our present policy of indecision and appeasement that is making Nasser a conquering hero.

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD extracts from a speech by Chief Justice Irving Ben Cooper, court of special sessions, city of New York, on the subject of juvenile delinquency, which I think is deserving of wide circulation.

There being no objection, the extracts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DRAMATIC PLIGHT IN THE COURTROOM

(Remarks of Chief Justice Irving Ben Cooper, court of special sessions, city of New York, under auspices of the Earl P. Nelson Memorial Fund, University of Missouri Law School, Columbia, Mo., December 13, 1956)

The special privilege accorded me to address those soon to be invested with professional status at the bar is accompanied by a deep sense of responsibility. The occasion calls for plain, straight talk.

Let us consider together a throbbing problem—presenting an awful challenge as much to you as to me—affecting daily the peace, dignity, and welfare of the national commonweal. How goes it with the courts of the Nation with jurisdiction over the personal liberties and destinies of our citizenry? Who comes there nowadays, how are they dealt with, what abuses by overt action or by oversight take place? Who really cares? While we are inquiring, let us keep in the forefront two piercing observations, one by Chief Justice Vanderbilt, of New Jersey: "Most American lawyers show disdain for the criminal laws and our law schools dispose of it in 2 or at most 3 semester hours, forgetful of the fact that it is ultimately on the enforcement of the criminal law that we must depend for the vindication of our private civil rights."

As to the other, we hear from Mr. Justice Holmes: "If the training of lawyers led them habitually to consider more definitely and explicitly the social advantage on which the rule they law down must be justified, they sometimes would hesitate where now they are confident, and see that really they were taking sides upon debatable and often burning questions."

What do you do with the brilliant college student who picks up a piece of jewelry in a store so that she can look pretty when she is married in a week or two? With the university boy who in a moment of silliness commits an act of exposure that brings him before the criminal bench? With the attractive young lady who has become a drug addict and wants to marry the source of her supply—a man with a long criminal record? What do you say to her parents standing before you wrung white with the anguish resulting from the arrest? Is it sufficient to rule "guilty," "innocent," "fingerprint," "reformatory," "prison"? Are we really coping with the broad problems of human life when we permit the community to believe that a criminal court handles only the "untouchables"?

These problems, these situations, this plea are succinctly summed up in two brief commentaries by two observers. They require no amplification. They constitute the challenge to all citizens who care. The first is contemporary testimony by a 19-year-old city boy: "Guys who don't feel like they're countin' who are being shoved around, who feel like they are worthless to everybody, well, they're the guys who go out and try to make names for themselves by being big stickup guys. It's on account of they feel like they are nobody."

The other, by one of the greatest jurists of our land, former Associate Justice Benjamin N. Cardozo, of the Supreme Court of the United States: "Run your eyes over the life history of a man sentenced to the chair. There, spread before you in all its inevitable sequency, is a story of the rake's progress more implacable than any that was ever painted by a Hogarth. The correctional school, the reformatory, Sing Sing or Dannemora, and then at last the chair. The heavy hand of doom was on his head from the beginning. The sin, in truth, is ours—the sin of a penal system that leaves the victim to his fate when the course that he is going is written down so plainly.

THE DETERMINED OFFENDER

I shall not discuss tonight the problems presented by the determined offender, except to say that the determined offender against the peace and dignity of the people presents a challenge not to be evaded. The right to move safe and unmolested through the city, to be secure at work and at home, to be protected against frauds and schemers, is the supreme luxury of civilization. For it the community pays a huge price, and is intolerant of failure or lag on the part of its agents and instruments. It cannot be patient with or concerned about the welfare of offenders while they threaten its security and comfort.

THE YOUNG FIRST OFFENDER

According to FBI recent predictions, in excess of 2,500,000 major crimes will be committed this year in the United States. They are not talking about the millions of traffic and other relatively petty offenses. The reference is to murder, robbery, assault, burglary, larceny, embezzlement, sex offenses, narcotics, etc. It is a matter of grave concern when the FBI informs us that of all the persons arrested in our country and charged with the commission of crime in 1955, at least 50 percent had not yet attained their 21st birthday. Most of these are first offenders, little people in the matter of possessions and what is commonly considered social importance. Most of them are decent, law-abiding human beings, who in a moment of excitement, strain, or depression gave vent to impulses whose strength they had rarely admitted to themselves, and became enmeshed in the criminal law.

* * * * *

In or out of court, these are the marks of delayed adolescence, of failure to accept responsibility, of purposelessness in the face of life and destiny—the temper of generalized irresponsibility. Youth offenses, after all, follow in the main patterns of adult desires. Deep in the heart of many an average mature citizen, walled off as an incipient tuberculosis by protective tissue, are the prohibited acts he fortunately escaped committing or being caught redhanded at. To consider youthful crime as something foisted on an innocent, a highminded and law-abiding community rather than as an aspect of its own thought of itself and its own action, is to be naive beyond sanity.

My plea is addressed to the plight of the young and adult first offenders whose numbers are legion. Generally speaking, every

first offender is a potential recidivist. The stake which the community has in the legal process is that he should not actually become one. The object of sentence, then, should be to fit the punishment not to the crime, but to the offender.

Today we speak less of punishment as retributive, as deterrent, or as regenerative. We are more aware that the sickness of the soul that brought about the crime is not to be properly treated by a given number of dollars in fines or of days in prison.

Young offenders have a long potential for good as well as for evil. But the potential is in them—not in their act. Sentencing the offense rather than the person plunges certain young people headlong into hatred, revolt, community repudiation—into something approaching self-destruction, that is, moral suicide. Society then has lost a son, and gained a wastrel whose depredations have been known to affect the lives of many and to cost millions.

And so they come before the court, month in month out, day after day, an apparently unending line of human misery and tragedy. How are we equipped to handle them?

GROPING IN THE DARK

These are issues that face judges as they approach the fateful act of sentencing. After interminable hours of listening to charges and counter-charges, quibbling and evasions, painstaking establishment of self-evident facts, and the final officially established legal description of an act, judges often find themselves merely at the beginning of what they should know in order to act professionally.

What judges want to know at this point is:

Why did he commit his act? Others about him, somewhat similarly placed, have not so acted. What was there in his experience to turn him criminal? What of his home, his relations with parents, siblings, and neighbors? With social institutions? With peer groups? With friends and boon companions? Who has influenced him? After whom did he mold himself? What variety of activities did he participate in? What has work, love, marriage, parenthood meant to him and how has he behaved in these relationships? Most important of all, what variety of opportunities was open to him? Did he participate in his culture and cherish it? Was he proud to be an American, a Jew, a Catholic, a Negro? What interests does he now have? What skills? Whom does he love? Hate?

• • • • •

It is inadequate answers to these inquiries that pose the dilemmas of sentencing. Not until the courts which deal with these perilous problems are adequately staffed with the professional skills will we be able to identify the youthful offender with good moral potential, who can be safely returned to the community to line up with the orderly citizen, from the hair trigger, perverted, or psychopathic first offender who needs institutionalized care. Yes, "possibilities of murder and desperate love are inside all the least likely skulls." As thing stand now, the courts can do little to minimize recidiviam; they cannot complete their mission with assurance.

• • • • •

THE MAJORITY—A TREMENDOUS PROBLEM

The great mass of offenders consists of persons who have not made very good use of their opportunities and who are prone to give vent to their feelings at slight provocation. They accept the easiest way out of trying situations. They have never really faced up to life as a challenge.

A common factor in most of these cases is that, set against the life situation, the criminal charge lacks major importance. Where there is so much deep-seated misery one additional increment does not seem to matter too much. The life situation may inhere in the defendant's relations to his mother or father, to his family tradition, to his neighborhood associates, to the social situation of his school or shop or other place of employment, to the standards of the community as these are reflected in the magazines, papers, movies, actions of important people, envy of others. Treatment involves dealing with these primary causes.

The need of these defendants for the help of society and the court is greater than that of the morally sensitive and the family-bolstered individuals. For these misguided defendants are in great peril—the peril of rejecting and being rejected by the community. Their own inner resources, often considerable if they can be reached, are blocked by widely publicized community standards which have been hammered into them by print, screen, and radio. In many cases the family, source of moral and sentimental education, has taught them to be immoral and hard. There will be no reinforcement to them or to the court from this source. The neighborhood, that social unit formed of the interaction of families directly and through the schools, churches, recreational activities, shops, and festivals which they initiate, support and patronize, is in effect nonexistent. Families live side by side, but do not function as families or as neighbors. There is no family or interfamily support of children. The contaminated child of the tainted family passes on his infection without other families knowing, caring, or acting.

• • • • •

THE PROBATION OFFICER

The probation officer, like the priest, teacher, doctor or lawyer, is at his best both symbol and practitioner. His art is to integrate individuals in society. He meets his client as a friendly ambassador to the social order, accepting him at his own evaluation. He points out the resources and explains the rules of the house. He arranges meetings, makes introductions, facilitates acceptance.

He rejoices in his client's successes, consoles him in setbacks, points out new gambits and openings. The intensity of his expectations for his client become part of the latter's urge to succeed. He works in and through his client.

After all, the delinquent has defied the community. He is threatened both in depth and extent, and he is insecure of his own integrity. The probation worker who can help him must be prepared to participate in recriminations and discouragements, in false starts, failures, hard ascents, and periods of slow gain. He must see his client to the point where he can keep pace with his peers.

Probation has come to its present importance in the treatment of offenders because it has demonstrated itself a valid instrument of moral reeducation in a very considerable portion of cases in which it is used. Probation workers, following their charges into and through family, neighborhood, and community relationships, are accumulating a great body of knowledge and experience about the channels into which the community forces life to flow. Probation today is applying some of the new knowledge of sociology, cultural anthropology, case and group work, psychology and psychiatry to the social situations its workers must meet. The educational requirements needed for skilled probation workers and supervisors, and the length and severity of the internship called for to season them, demand superior mental and emotional equipment and a high order of moral purpose and devotion. Public recognition of their status as professionals, increased funds to provide scholarships for training probation workers, and more adequate salaries are long overdue.

We believe in probation, but we do not "hand it out." We prescribe it. We watch its effects on the delinquent with solicitude and hope. Our hopes are realized to an astonishing degree.

• • • • •

Indeed, the court, insofar as it is able to reflect the immutable will of society to be protected against willfulness, and society's readiness to receive those healed of their moral infirmities back into the community, must be counted among our most important instruments of moral regeneration.

THE CHALLENGE

• • • • •

This is a challenge no more invincible than many others that the bar has met and resolved for the betterment of the commonweal. Only the legal profession can assure its success. The fervent efforts of some lawyers have made whole communities their grateful beneficiaries. The time has come when the rest of us must lend a hand. If the profession wills it, an end can come quickly to abuses that outrage the sensitive and fragile area of personal life and liberty.

• • • • •

You will distinguish, I am sure, between the self-righteous breastbeaters, demagogs, boasters of their humanity, and those who out of a world full of human limitations, half truths, comfortable rationalizations, eyes turned away from the galling facts of life, rise and say, "I go this way and not there. I am this and not that. I have no price but only value." Indeed, for those who build their safety in things, and things alone, there is no greater threat, no more incomprehensible danger than such a lawyer—a lawyer in pursuit of truth.

Let us put an end to such shoddy thinking as, "Why should I stick my neck out?" "Why should I be the one to speak up?" "What's in it for me?" "What's your angle?" "You've got to get along." And it is so easy to be cynical, pessimistic and run with the pack. We must throttle the growing conviction on the part of all kinds of people that whatever we hope for and whatever we do are irrelevant; that our individual efforts really make no difference in stemming the sweep of world forces. To me this mood of resignation is but a desire to escape from the problems of freedom, a fear of growing up and maturely accepting one's responsibilities. They have lost faith—if they ever had any—in the efficacy of effort. Because they believe they are suffering, they make others suffer; tormented by fear, they make others afraid.

They need to be shown that they are wrong by people who take their religion with them right into the thick of the world and put it to work there. Life has taught me that men serve causes not by exhortation or by rules solemnly pronounced, but because of their inner devotion to them. And so, the will to do justice is so very much more than a mental exercise. Never succumb even temporarily to the notion that intellectual advancement can become superior to ideals. As Santayana pointed out, it is "not wisdom to be only wise."

Above all, my friends, character and courage. We assume these indispensable qualities abound. When on occasion our profession falls to low estate, you will find their absence the principal cause. Enter the open lists—to win or lose. Do not be dismayed by those who come charging with colors flying and shining shield raised. The fickle crowd may for a while cheer them as heroes, but the triumph is usually brief and they leave us nothing but "the echo of a name and a suit of rusty armor." Always carry on, toughened in battle and hardened by victory and adversity. You will be heartily welcomed back again and again.

For your own contentment and peace of mind, line up with those at the bar who grow angry in the cause of decency. Be it remembered it was Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell

Holmes who wrote, "I have had to deal with cases that made my blood boil and yet seemed to create no feeling in the public or even in most of my brethren." Associate with lawyers to whom a principle is not a thing you talk about but do something about; those who realize that it is difficult to fight for principles but much more difficult to live by them. Yes, men placed among us as standards against which we can measure our own integrity; men who serve with honor and not for honor; men, to paraphrase Judge Learned Hand, content to be themselves, confident that if they are faithful in that, their light will shine, steady and far; "unafraid before the unknown universe, indifferent to the world's disparagements and uncorrupted by its prizes," they are "ardent and secure in that faith by which alone mankind in the end can live."

The true administration of justice becomes a reality only when the judiciary and the bar join harmoniously in the solution of problems common to both. The issues presented this evening constitute a challenging illustration. In 1846, it is related, Henry David Thoreau was jailed in Concord, Mass., for refusing to pay his taxes as a political protest. Visiting Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson peered through the cell bars and asked: "What are you doing in there?" Thoreau replied: "What are you doing out there?"

It's Time To Kill a Killer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, polio is still a crippling, killing disease against which we have made tremendous strides since the development of the Salk vaccine. But there are still thousands who have not availed themselves of the shots. In connection with this apathy on the part of the public, a newspaper in my district, the Melbourne Times, is doing an outstanding job in trying to get everyone to take the vaccine.

In its all-out effort, the newspaper on Sunday, March 24, gave over a large portion of its front page to point up the necessity for taking the shots. Its publisher, Mr. Frederick L. McFarlin, and the staff are to be commended for this most worthwhile public service.

Mr. Speaker, with my remarks I wish to include an editorial which appeared on this front page of the Melbourne Times:

IT'S TIME TO KILL A KILLER

In many ways crippling, killing polio is Public Enemy No. 1.

Running it a close second is public apathy.

We have feared the scourge for years and there was rejoicing in every city, town, and village when a humble Pennsylvania medical man, Dr. Jonas Salk, was able to offer the world a safe and effective serum to combat poliomyelitis.

It is too bad the American people forget so many things so quickly.

In April of 1955 everyone was so inoculation conscious it seemed we had polio on the run.

Then another new discovery hit the front pages. Another phase of research produced a 20th century miracle. And Americans turned their thoughts to other things.

Meanwhile, polio continued to strike without warning. It still claims the life of an occasional victim and the free mobility of others.

Polio has been cornered and is tottering. But a few more lethal punches are needed before it goes down for the count.

The head of every house should ask this question: Has everyone in this family taken advantage of one of medical research's greatest miracles: inoculation against polio?

If one member of the family has not been immunized there is work to be done.

Polio is not kid stuff. Adults up to 50 years of age are susceptible. Last year one-quarter of all polio victims were between the ages of 25 and 50.

The medical men and women of South Brevard have joined all doctors in Florida in an all-out all-ages campaign to see that everyone is inoculated with the safe, effective, and miraculous Salk serum which fosters immunity against polio.

The Daily and Sunday Times is dedicated to cosponsor this all-out campaign to beat the killer which strikes without warning.

Nothing will be left undone, no effort will be ignored, in this comprehensive battle against a dread foe.

You owe it to yourself, and to your family, to see to it that everyone at your house gets the three painless injections of Salk serum which may keep your family on its feet without crutches or braces.

Florida Supreme Court Decision on Integrating Schools of the State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, Florida's Supreme Court has been hailed in recent years for its outstanding work. Particularly impressive was the record of the court during the period in which the Honorable B. K. Roberts was chief justice. The volume of work handled during that period was far greater than at any other time in the history of the court and far greater than that processed by any other comparable court in the land. Now in a decision about integrating the schools of the State, the Florida Supreme Court has taken another wise and forward-thinking step, for the court has ruled that it has control of its own discretionary process in issuing orders to carry out United States Supreme Court decrees and holds that violence would result from ordering admission in a test case at this time. Justice Roberts wrote for the majority in a 5 to 2 decision. I believe that this important document should be invited to the attention of each Member of the Congress and under unanimous consent I am having it reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The majority decision follows:

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF FLORIDA, JANUARY TERM, A. D. 1957, EN BANC—THE STATE OF FLORIDA, EX REL., VIRGIL D. HAWKINS, RELATOR, VERSUS BOARD OF CONTROL, A BODY CORPORATE, ET AL., RESPONDENTS—CASE NO. 21,138

Opinion filed March 8, 1957.

A case of original jurisdiction—mandamus.

Richard W. Ervin, attorney general, Ralph E. Odum, assistant attorney general, and John J. Blair, special assistant attorney general for respondents.

Horace E. Hill and Robert L. Carter, New York, N. Y., for relator.

Roberts, Judge: This litigation is concerned with the rights of the relator, a Negro, to be admitted to the University of Florida Law School, provided he meets the entrance requirements applicable to all students. The history of the litigation is set forth in *State ex rel. Hawkins* v. *Board of Control* ((Fla. 1955) 83 So. 2d 20), our latest decision in the controversy, referred to hereafter as the 1955 decision.

Our 1955 decision was entered in response to the mandate of the United States Supreme Court in *State ex rel. Hawkins* v. *Board of Control* ((May 1954) 347 U. S. 971), directing this court to reconsider its decision in *State ex rel. Hawkins* v. *Board of Control* ((Fla. 1952) 60 So. 2d 162) (the 1952 decision hereafter), "in the light of the segregation cases decided May 17, 1954, *Brown* v. *Board of Education, etc.* (347 U. S. 483) and conditions that now prevail." Since this court has held in a long line of decisions that it is bound by the decisions of the United States Supreme Court "construing the meaning and effect of acts of Congress and those provisions of the National Constitution which restrict the powers of the States," *Miami Home Milk Producers Association* v. *Milk Control Board* ((1936) 169 So. 541, 124 Fla. 797), we held in our 1955 decision, under the authority of *Brown* v. *Board of Education, etc., supra* (347 U. S. 483), that the relator could not be denied admission to the University of Florida Law School solely because of his race. In the exercise of our discretion, however, we decided to withhold the issuance of a peremptory writ of mandamus in the cause, pending a subsequent determination of law and fact as to the time when the relator should be admitted to that institution; and the Honorable John A. H. Murphree, resident circuit judge of the circuit in which the university is located, was appointed as the commissioner of this court to take testimony on behalf of the relator and the respondents, members of the board of control, relating to the factual issue. Our decision in this respect was based on two considerations, one a Federal and the other a State ground: (1) the application to the controversy of the formula set out in the so-called implementation decision, *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka* (349 U. S. 295); and (2) the exercise of our traditional power as a State court to decline to issue the extraordinary writ of mandamus if to do so would tend to work a serious public mischief. *City of Safety Harbor* v. *State* ((1939) 136 Fla. 636, 187 So. 173); *State ex rel Carson* v. *Bateman* (131 Fla. 625, 180 So. 22); *State ex rel. Gibson* v. *City of Lakeland* (126 Fla. 342, 171 So. 227); *State ex rel Bottome* v. *City of St. Petersburg* (126 Fla. 233, 170 So. 730).

The relator then filed a petition for certiorari in the United States Supreme Court to review our 1955 decision on the ground that the decision in the *Brown* case (347 U. S. 483) did not apply to "State junior colleges, colleges, graduate and professional schools." The Court disposed of this petition by a short but not entirely unambiguous opinion, dated March 12, 1956, reading as follows:

"Per curiam.

"The petition for certiorari is denied.

"On May 24, 1954, we issued a mandate in this case to the Supreme Court of Florida. 347 U. S. 971. We directed that the case be reconsidered in light of our decision in the segregation cases decided May 17, 1954, *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (347 U. S. 483). In doing so, we did not imply that decrees involving graduate study present the problems of public elementary and secondary schools. We had theretofore, in three cases, ordered the admission of Negro applicants to grad-

uate schools without discrimination because of color. *Sweatt* v. *Painter* (339 U. S. 629); *Sipuel* v. *Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma* (332 U. S. 631); cf. *McLaurin* v. *Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education* (339 U. S. 637). Thus, our second decision in the *Brown* case (349 U. S. 294), which implemented the earlier one, had no application to a case involving a Negro applying for admission to a State law school. Accordingly, the mandate of May 24, 1954, is recalled and is vacated. In lieu thereof, the following order is entered:

"Per curiam: The petition for writ of certiorari is granted. The judgment is vacated and the case is remanded on the authority of the segregation cases decided May 17, 1954, *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (347 U. S. 483). As this case involves the admission of a Negro to a graduate professional school there is no reason for delay. He is entitled to prompt admission under the rules and regulations applicable to other qualified candidates. *Sweatt* v. *Painter* (339 U. S. 629); *Sipuel* v. *Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma* (332 U. S. 631); cf. *McLaurin* v. *Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education* (339 U. S. 637)."

The cause is now before this court on the relator's motion for a peremptory writ of mandamus to compel the respondents to admit him to the University of Florida Law School, his contention being that the above-quoted opinion entitles him to immediate admission, provided he is otherwise qualified, without regard to the outcome of the factual study which was in progress at the time of the filing of his motion and which has now been concluded.

There can be no doubt that, by revising its May 1954 mandate directed to our 1952 decision in the manner above noted, the Supreme Court of the United States neatly, albeit laconically, cut off the Federal prop that supported, in part, our 1955 decision. But it will have been noted that the opinion stated that "[t]he petition for certiorari is denied," presumably referring to our 1955 decision; and, this being so, our 1955 decision still stands, nonetheless firmly, on the State ground mentioned therein and referred to above.

Indeed, it is unthinkable that the Supreme Court of the United States would attempt to convert into a writ of right that which has for centuries at common law and in this State been considered a discretionary writ; nor can we conceive that that Court would hold that the highest court of a sovereign State does not have the right to control the effective date of its own discretionary process. Yet, this would be the effect of the Court's order, under the interpretation contended for by the relator. We will not assume that the Court intended such a result.

In what appears to be a progressive disappearance of State sovereignty, it is interesting to read certain decisions (among others) which the United State Supreme Court has handed down in recent months. See *Railway Employees Dept., etc. et al.* v. *Hanson et al.* ((May 1956) —— U. S. ——, 100 L. ed. (advance), p. 638), holding that a union shop agreement negotiated between certain railroads and certain organizations of employees of such railroads which had been authorized by an act of the Congress superseded the right-to-work provisions of the constitution of the State of Nebraska and the State statutes enacted pursuant thereto; *Dantan George Rea* v. *United States of America* ((January 1956) 350 U. S. 214, 100 L. ed. (advance), p. 213), holding that it was within the power of the Federal courts to enjoin an officer of the executive department of the Federal Government from testifying in a State court in a case involving a violation of a criminal statute of that State; *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* v. *Steve Nelson* ((April 1956) 350 U. S. 497, 100 L. ed. (advance), p. 415), outlawing anti-sedition laws in 42 States, Alaska and Hawaii; *Griffin et al.* v. *People of the State of Illinois* ((April 1956), —— U. S. ——, 100 L. ed. (advance), p. 483), requiring the States to finance appeals by penniless persons convicted of crimes; *Slochower* v. *Board of Higher Education of the city of New York* ((April 1956) 350 U. S. 551, 100 L. ed. (advance), p. 449), limiting the power of States and cities to discharge public employees when they plead the fifth amendment against self-incrimination in duly authorized inquiries affecting the general welfare; *Browder et al.* v. *Gayle et al.* (142 F. Supp. 707 (M. D. Ala. 1956)), affirmed by the Supreme Court, 77 S. Ct. 145, holding invalid statutes and ordinances requiring the segregation of the white and colored races in motor buses operating in the city of Montgomery, Ala.

It is a "consummation devoutly to be wished" that the concept of States' rights will not come to be of interest only to writers and students of history. Such concept is vital to the preservation of human liberties now. And whatever one's ideology may be—whether one is a strong defender of State sovereignty or an equally fervent advocate of centralized government—we think the great majority of persons would agree that if the death knell of this fundamental principle of Jeffersonian democracy is to be tolled, the bell should be rung by the people themselves as the Constitution contemplates. President Lincoln's words of warning are just as true today as they were almost a century ago, when he said in his first inaugural address on March 4, 1861:

"If the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court * * * the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal."

And we do not feel it is amiss to refer to the following remarks made by George Washington in his Farewell Address:

"If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

But we repeat that, despite these recent decisions, we cannot attribute to the Supreme Court an intention to abrogate the rule which denies to Federal courts the right to regulate or control long-established rules of practice and procedure adopted by State courts for the administration of justice therein. Cf. *Naim* v. *Naim* ((Va. 1956) 90 S. E. 2d 849), in which the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia declined to remand a cause to a lower court, as directed by mandate of the United States Supreme Court, because to do so "would be contrary to [the] fixed rules of practice and procedure" of the Virginia courts, as well as the statute law of that State. A motion to recall the mandate and to set the case down for oral argument upon the merits, or in the alternative, to recall and amend the mandate was denied by the United States Supreme Court for the reason that the decision above referred to (90 S. E. 2d 849) "leaves the case devoid of a properly presented Federal question." *Naim* v. *Naim* ((March 12, 1956), — U. S. —, 100 L. Ed. (advance), p. 352). A fortiori, we cannot assume that the Supreme Court intended to deprive the highest court of an independent sovereign State of one of its traditional powers, that is, the right to exercise a sound judicial discretion as to the date of the issuance of its process in order to prevent a serious public mischief. As recently as June 4, 1956, in *United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, et al.* v. *Wisconsin Employment Relations Board et al.* (— U. S. —), the Supreme Court recognized the "dominant interest" of a State in preventing violence. It there said: "The States are the natural guardians of the public against violence. It is the local communities that suffer most from the fear and loss occasioned by coercion and destruction. We would not interpret an act of Congress to leave them powerless to avert such emergencies without compelling directions to that effect." We are cognizant of our duty to compel relator's admission to the University of Florida Law School without delay, if it is feasible to do so at this time; but we have an equally compelling duty to perform in respect to the public peace and a long-established State judicial procedure by which to perform it. We point out, additionally, that the relator, having a choice between a Federal and a State court, selected this court as the forum in which to try his cause; he thereby selected the rules of practice and procedure long established in this jurisdiction. We have no doubt that the Supreme Court intended that we should adhere to such procedure in the instant controversy. The relator's contention in this respect cannot, therefore, be sustained.

We come now to the question of whether the facts, as developed under the guidance of this court's commissioner, require the immediate admission of the relator to the University of Florida Law School, provided he meets the entrance requirements. It might be noted that the relator had due notice and an opportunity to be heard at the hearings scheduled by the commissioner. He did not appear nor did he present any testimony in support of his right to immediate admission. Moreover, the history of this controversy leads us to believe that the relator does not, in fact, have a genuine interest in obtaining a legal education. He was given an opportunity to secure a legal education outside this State under the regional education plan, but declined; he was given an opportunity to attend the University of Florida Law School, temporarily, if law facilities were not available at the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, but declined; he was then given an opportunity to attend the law school at the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, but declined. And, as noted, he was given an opportunity to appear before the court's commissioner and offer evidence in support of his right to immediate admission to the University of Florida Law School, but declined.

It should be noted that the law school at the University of Florida is an integral part of that institution. A law student is not in a class separate and apart from all other university students—he is a university student just as much as those entering the enginering school, or the educational school, or the architectural school, and entitled to participate in all campus activities.

Against this background, we have considered the evidence adduced by the respondents which, in the state of the record here, must constitute the basis for the exercise of our discretion in the matter. The factual material on file in this court reflects a prodigious amount of work by the commissioner and the respondents or those acting in their behalf. It is not contended—nor could it be—that there was even a modicum of bias on the part of any person involved in the work of assembling the data here presented nor in the formulation of the questionnaires which were the basic mediums by which much of the information was obtained. The survey is completely objective and as accurate and comprehensive as the time available for the study would permit. The testimony of the witnesses shows no bias and reflects only a sincere desire to do whatever is best for all concerned.

The survey conducted under the guidance of the court's commissioner shows, among others, that a substantial number of students and a substantial number of the parents of students state that they expect to take action—which apparently is positive action—to persuade Negro students to leave the university or make it so unpleasant for them that they will move out of a dormitory room or out of a class or out of a cafeteria or otherwise stop using the facilities of the University of Florida, should integration occur. It was also shown that 41 percent of the parents of students now in our white universities would cause them to drop out of those schools or transfer to another school; and that 62 percent of the parents of white 1956 high-school graduates would send their children elsewhere than to our white State institutions, if we have enforced integration. There would be loss of revenue to our white institutions from grants, from activities on the part of the alumni of those institutions in support of their financial affairs, and from students moving out of dormitories (many of which are being paid for out of revenue certificates), if we have integration. Those institutions would lose the support of 52 percent of their alumni, if integration occurs, which would seriously impair the financial support to be expected from our State legislature. Integration would unquestionably result in the abandonment of substantially all of the graduate work now being offered at the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University because it would be an unnecessary duplication of the same courses offered at the University of Florida or at Florida State University.

Our study of the results of the survey material to the question here, and other material evidence, leads inevitably to the conclusion that violence in university communities and a critical disruption of the university system would occur if Negro students are permitted to enter the State white universities at this time, including the law school of the University of Florida, of which it is an integral part. This court has an opportunity to prevent the incidents of violence which are, even now, occurring in various parts of this country as a result of the States' efforts to enforce the Supreme Court's decision in the Brown case. We quote with approval that part of the language of Mr. Justice Hobson in his special concurring opinion in which he said, "The testimony which was taken at the direction of this court by the Honorable John A. H. Murphree, and which is now before us for consideration, was not in the record when the Supreme Court of the United States said 'there is no reason for delay.' This testimony, as well as the revealing incidents (of which we may take judicial notice) which have occurred since the repudiation of the 'separate but equal' doctrine, convinces me that the immediate admission of relator to the University of Florida College of Law would result in great public mischief." The homely expression, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," is especially applicable to the situation here—involving, as it does, the public welfare of all our people.

In the exercise of what we sincerely believe to be sound judicial discretion, we have decided that the relator's motion for a preemptory writ should be denied, but without prejudice to the right of relator to renew his motion when he is prepared to present testimony showing that his admission can be accomplished without doing great public mischief. For the reasons stated, the entry of a final judgment is deferred until further order of the court.

It is so ordered.

Thornal and O'Connell, judges, concur.

Terrell, circuit judge, and Hobson, judge, concurs specially.

Thomas and Drew, judges, dissent.

Assistant Attorney General Holifield Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, recently the Nation's oldest active State assistant attorney general was again given recognition for his outstanding service to the people of Kentucky by receiving a medallion presented to him by the Governor of Kentucky for service to the commonwealth. General Holifield is a lawyer's lawyer, a judge's counsel. For many years his profound knowledge of the law and his great ability to apply that knowledge to the legal problems of the State has made General Holifield a competent source of advice and counsel to his fellow members of the bar. His knowledge of constitutional law has won him wide recognition. The people of Kentucky and of the South owe him a debt of gratitude for his brilliant and successful legal battles to free southern rail shippers from discriminatory freight rates. General Holifield incidentally is the uncle of one of our esteemed colleagues in the House of Representatives, the Honorable CHET HOLIFIELD, of California.

Under unanimous consent I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD following these remarks a newspaper article from the Lexington Herald of March 16 concerning this great Kentuckian:

[From the Lexington (Ky.) Herald of March 16, 1957]

FIRST GOVERNOR'S AWARD GIVEN TO ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

(By Paul R. Jordan)

FRANKFORT, KY., March 15.—Assistant Attorney General M. B. Holifield was honored today with the first Governor's Award for "exceptionally meritorious, conspicuous, and longstanding public service."

Gov. A. B. Chandler presented a medallion, inscribed "for service to the Commonwealth of Kentucky," to Holifield's secretary, Mrs. Lucy Rodman, as several hundred State employees watched the ceremony in front of the capitol.

The 85-year-old Holifield, an assistant under 7 attorneys general since 1928, is seriously ill in a Lexington hospital.

Holifield, considered the foremost authority on the Kentucky constitution, observed his 85th birthday February 7 as the oldest assistant attorney general still active in the United States.

Chandler indicated the Governor's Award will be made yearly on June 1—anniversary of the commonwealth's birthday—to an employee of the State.

He said it had been hoped to make the first presentation this June 1, but in view of Holifield's illness, "we wanted to give it to him while he yet lives."

LETTER READ

Chandler read a letter to Holifield in which he said in part:

"Many of your achievements have earned the undying gratitude of the people of Kentucky. Perhaps most notable was your successful handling of the legal struggle that freed southern rail shippers from discriminatory freight rates.

"This outstanding example of your ability, which was exemplified most dramatically by your brilliant representation of the commonwealth's interest before the Supreme Court of the United States and the Interstate Commerce Commission, has saved Kentuckians millions of dollars.

"I am sure that every Kentuckian has directly or indirectly benefited from this display of your superlative legal talents. • • •

"As you enter the twilight of your career, may God walk with you and protect you. Our hearts and thoughts go out to you as a majestic pillar of the commonwealth, and I know I am joined by all Kentuckians in saying, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant'."

Accepting the medallion, Mrs. Rodman said: "I know General Holifield will be very pleased and very, very proud of this."

The 14-karat gold medal bears on its face the great seal of Kentucky and the words, "The Governor's Award." It hangs on a blue and write ribbon from a bar pin that says "for service." On the reverse side of the medal are these words:

"Presented to M. B. Holifield by the governor of Kentucky."

EXECUTIVE ORDER

The citation of the award was contained in an executive order signed by Chandler.

In it, he described Holifield, a native of Graves County, as an "outstanding citizen and public servant, cherished legal, civic, and lay religious scholar and mentor, grand dean of Kentucky jurisprudence and lawyers' lawyer, gracious gentleman and upholder of the Christian faith."

Holifield is the author of a number of articles on both religious and constitutional subjects.

He has served continuously as an assistant attorney general since 1928 except for 1 term, 1932–36, when he returned to Mayfield to rejoin his law firm.

Holifield was admitted to the bar in 1896 after being graduated from Cumberland University in Tennessee.

Big Man, Big Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an excellent feature story from the Bridgeport Sunday Post of March 24 entitled "Meade Alcorn: 24 Hours a Day for GOP."

This penetrating profile presents a well-rounded picture of a completely able and energetic man whose experience and accomplishment in the field of public service and politics is a great pride to all of us in the Connecticut delegation.

Republicans look forward with great hope for a brighter future for the Republican Party under the helm of Meade Alcorn, who most deservedly may be entitled "Mr. Modern Republican."

The article follows:

MEADE ALCORN: 24 HOURS A DAY FOR GOP

(By Ann V. Masters)

President Eisenhower has put it very bluntly. Wagging his finger at Meade Alcorn, Jr., new Republican national chairman, he said, "Meade, I want a Republican House and Senate in 1958. That's your job."

Red-haired, blue-eyed Meade Alcorn, 49, had his job cut out for him some 6 weeks ago when that same august finger tapped him. Connecticut's distinguished political and legislative leader was Ike's personal choice for the party's top political post. The Republican Party unanimously confirmed it.

Energetic Meade Alcorn, a former hurdle champion, has been on a steady jump since then. In the past 6 weeks, he has had 1 evening free. Just over a week ago, he faced his first large press conference with 65 newspapermen. The questions flew from tough, veteran news hawks. "They're a great crowd," he said admiringly when seen in his home in Suffield a few days later. "But believe me, you're like a duck on a rock, a fair target for everyone and anyone."

TOP LEVEL

No political tyro, Alcorn has been recognized for years as a key party leader in Hartford County and the State, before his move to the top level in national politics. He was right-hand man to Leonard W. Hall—previous Republican national chairman—at the Republican National Convention in San Francisco last year, where he served as vice chairman of arrangements. This strategically important position groomed him for his present role. He also was chairman of the Connecticut delegation.

What does a national committee chairman do? In his Suffield home, situated on the main street of that handsome New England town, against a backdrop of rolling hills, Alcorn explained. "As the President put it, 'you're the head of the political hierarchy.'" This means he is in close touch with members of the Republican National Committee and with the State chairmen in 48 States.

At Republican national headquarters, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D. C., he is top boss with a staff of 104. Special departments handle research, public relations, women's interests, agriculture, labor, and speakers who are sent out on a constant schedule.

WHITE HOUSE BREAKFAST

A lawyer, who for many years served as State's attorney for Hartford County, Alcorn is a partner in the law firm of Alcorn, Bakewell, and Alcorn in Hartford. It has a staff of 7 or 8 lawyers and about the same amount of office help, a considerable difference from the battery of aids he now faces.

Alcorn spends most of his time in Washington. Seated in the tastefully furnished living room of his large, rambling home where he spends weekends, he gave his program. In Washington, his day starts not later than 8 a. m., usually with a breakfast meeting with members of his staff.

He is at the White House for breakfast at 7:30 a. m. 2 or 3 times a week. At least once a week is a necessity, he pointed out. Usually Sherman Adams, the President's aid, is present, as are other White House staff members. Cabinet members, high-ranking Republican political figures, and, on occasion, heads of Senate congressional committees.

SERIES OF PROBLEMS

At the Republican National Committee office, Alcorn is on the phone a great deal. "Life is a series of problems," he declared. One State official calls, disgruntled over an appointment, a State chairman wonders about a program, or a Senator is unhappy about a bill coming up.

A staggering amount of mail pours in. Several hundred letters in a day on the budget and on the Israeli situation now swamp the office.

Speaking engagements keep Alcorn moving. Last Monday, he flew to Lincoln, Nebr., stepped off the plane to meet the flash bulbs, newsmen, TV cameramen. He spoke at a big Republican dinner given in honor of Nebraska Founder's Day. Up until 1 a. m., the next day he was back in Washington. In the past 6 weeks he has given speeches in Missouri, New Jersey, Washington, and other places.

Does a Republican national chairman influence matters of policy? And to what extent is he involved in formulating them?

LEAD IS SET

The President and Republican Members of the Senate and House set the lead, Alcorn made clear. "Of course," he said, "the chairman has a voice in these things." On questions of campaigns, political strategy or technique, the national chairman is officially responsible. The dividing line is difficult to fix. But one thing Alcorn was emphatic about. "I don't say 'this is the party policy.' I would not lay down any laws. It isn't that way. Subjects are discussed."

"This is the sort of thing I am involved in," said Alcorn, explaining some of the distinctions, the manner in which policy and strategy sometimes overlap and his own role. A vacancy for United States Senator in Texas now to be filled by election. Alcorn has been in touch daily giving help advice. Four field men from Washington are working in Texas.

A week ago the political leader learned some drought-relief measures were due to expire, an occurrence of grave concern to Texans. He got in touch with Ezra Benson, Secretary of Agriculture. The matter was checked, the measures extended.

In New Mexico, a special election for a Member of the House of Representatives demands conferences, help in mapping out a program and campaign.

APPOINTMENTS CHECKED

The Republicans' top man works closely with members of the Cabinet on appointments in all manner of jobs, a United States district attorney, a circuit court judge, filling positions in the FHA in various States. These are cleared through the national committee. The person's background is checked to see that no problem exists that might embarrass the administration.

One question that he is now plagued with is: "What are you going to do about Senator McCarthy?" President Eisenhower officially snubbed the Senator by not inviting him to the official White House reception upon his inauguration. "The national committee is not going to intrude itself," said Alcorn emphatically. "We are not going to do it. We are staying out of these contests."

The Republicans' major political task will be to win control of Congress in 1958. Work is already started on this.

Six regional conferences, followed by a meeting of the national committee, will really kick off the House and Senate races in 1958. State by State conferences will take place, followed by county and district meetings.

The Republican chieftain plans to attend as many State conferences as he can, and hopes to get to all 48. He is now on a 16-hours-a-day schedule, spends Monday through Thursday in Washington, and returns to Connecticut and his law office Friday and Saturday. Like his predecessor, Leonard Hall, he serves without pay. His living is made at law, at which he does a lot of trial work.

POLITICAL INSIGHT

The new political leader referred to Hall as "the greatest Republican chairman we ever had." Asked what made him say this, he outlined Hall's qualifications and, in doing so, the qualities called for in a chairman's job.

"Hall is a resilient personality. Affable and genial, he can listen to troubles by the hour and be helpful, patient, and firm when necessary," said Alcorn. "He's been in politics so long. For 25 years he was head of a town committee. As a chairman, he was able to evaluate and get at the heart of a problem. He understood problems at the grassroots level, like a question of a postmastership—not a major patronage, but important to people. He has insight into what makes people go around politically."

Alcorn has the same background, to a large degree, and an understanding that also begins at the grassroots level. He has been chairman of Suffield's Republican town committee since 1938. An indefatigable worker, he has proved his organizational and administrative ability on State and National levels. Objective, with keen, balanced judgment, and a trained mind, he effectively presents ideas. He also works well with people and inspires cooperation.

His outstanding record of civic and political experience includes: Assistant State's attorney for Hartford County from 1935 to 1942; State's attorney, 1942 to 1948; member, Connecticut House of Representatives, 1937 to 1943; Republican majority leader, 1939; and speaker of the house, 1941.

He has served as delegate to five national conventions, was State chairman of the Citizens for Eisenhower, is a State central committeeman, a national committeeman, and was a vice chairman of the Republican National Committee until his election to his new post on January 22.

FATHER FAMED PROSECUTOR

Hugh Meade Alcorn, Jr., has added further luster to a name made famous for public service by his father. As State attorney, the late Hugh Meade Alcorn, Sr., sent Gerald Chapman, who murdered a policeman in New Britain in 1925, to the chair a year later. During the case the notorious Chapman gang murdered two key witnesses and set fire to the barn of another. Young Alcorn, Jr., his brother, Howard, now a superior court judge, and Robert, a writer, who appears in the March Reader's Digest, were threatened with kidnaping.

"That was some time," recalls his son, who was then in school. Asked if he felt his heritage had an influence on his choice of career, he replied, "There's no question about it." Since he was a child he has been called Meade to distinguish him from Alcorn, Sr. His father also ran for Governor of Connecticut and was defeated by Wilbur L. Cross.

HURDLE CHAMPION

Born October 20, 1907, H. Meade Alcorn, Jr., went to Dartmouth, graduating cum laude in 1930. He was a track star and hurdle champion. In 1927 he broke the world's indoor record for the 60-yard low hurdles. He became New England's 220-yard low-hurdles champion a year later and has won over 50 medals at various events.

He graduated from Yale Law School in 1933 and was admitted to the Connecticut bar the same year. Two years later he followed his father's footsteps as assistant State's attorney, and upon his father's resignation succeeded him as State's attorney.

Meade Alcorn, Jr., established his own brilliant criminal prosecution record. He broke the Waterbury corruption ring in 1939, which saw Mayor Frank Hayes and Democratic and Republican politicians defrauding the city by phony bills for alleged contracting. Kickbacks from the contractors were then given. Three and a half million dollars was involved

SMASHED HARTFORD CONSPIRACY

In the late forties, he smashed the Hartford conspiracy. This dealt with a powerful politician, a member of the vice squad, and a gambler who rigged up a protection system to which pay-offs were made.

Connecticut's distinguished citizen is a native of Suffield. His first wife and only son died. He has one daughter, Janet Eileen. Recently remarried, he met his wife, Marcia, while she was working for Senator Prescott Bush on a campaign. She is vice president of the Suffield Women's Republican Club. Of

her, Alcorn says, "She's the best thing that ever happened to me in politics."

The man who today has the Republican Party's top post has the job of winning friends for Ike and his "modern Republicanism" among clashing GOP factions. Alcorn has been an outspoken supporter of progressive policies, and is credited with broad liberal views. Defining the difference between modern Republicanism and fundamental or Old Guard Republicanism, he said: "Modern Republicanism is a determined effort to make the Republican Party, within the framework of traditional Republican principles, alive and responsible to the needs of today."

He pointed out that the party has to keep up with today's problems and give the answers today. An approach that "what was good enough for grand dad is good enough for me" will not do. "Grandfather went to work in a horse and buggy," he said.

UNITE WARRING FACTIONS

How does he expect to unite these warring factions? Republicans must: 1. Not shrink from talking about views. This is a wholesome approach. They must be willing to talk and evaluate. 2. Discussions of the differences cannot be permitted to create a real division in the party.

"Compromise is the essence of politics," he said. "Ultimately policies are reasoned opinions." He added, "The party has always had differences." A stanch advocate of Ike's "Middle-of-the-road Republicanism," he feels "you can find a common denominator of thought."

Speaking of the hotly discussed budget, he pointed out that it followed the President's platform on which he was elected. There will be considerable difficulty cutting it. He commented:

"One thing that has been terribly obscured is that the budget is well within the receipts of the United States Government. It's a balanced budget."

MAJOR CONCERNS

The party's major problems include the farm problem, "a real battleground," with some farmers misunderstanding what the Government is trying to do, he felt. Others are Federal aid to education, foreign aid, budget cuts, and segregation.

Whipping the party into top form is naturally a fundamental concern of Alcorn's. With organizational skill and sound judgment, he outlined the three ingredients necessary: (1) Best candidates. "It is shocking to realize some districts do not run candidates," he pointed out, and he plans to "whittle away at that," in addition to running top men and women. (2) Good program. As long as the President is in the White House, the policies he stands for should be endorsed. (3) Good organization. Aggressive party organizations should be on a 365-day, year-round basis. Team spirit and pride in the party should be developed.

IKE-NIXON RELATIONSHIP

His association with President Eisenhower has been, he declared, "a wonderful relationship. He's such a dynamic personality. It's hard to describe him. He's the kind of man who inspires great loyalty, devotion, and dedication. He arouses zeal and a sense of mission in those around him. There's not an insincere thing about him, and it's not a pretense."

The President is intensely interested in the long-range Republican Party program, and Alcorn sees him frequently. "When he talks about its importance," said Alcorn, "it's not just a political expedient, but because he has seen his Government program interrupted and halted."

Of Vice President RICHARD NIXON, he said, "He's one of the most completely informed men in public life today. His capacity is beyond description." Describing NIXON as a tireless worker, he declared, "he's carried more responsibility than any other Vice President in history."

President Eisenhower is barred by the Constitution from running for a third term. Asked to comment on the possibility of NIXON as a presidential candidate in 1960, Alcorn stated his official position: "I will not use the office of Republican national chairman to further the political interest of any individual."

THE FUTURE?

As a major political figure in Connecticut and nationally, Alcorn's plans for the future are of interest. The former Republican national chairman, Leonard Hall, is mentioned as a strong possibility as candidate for Governor of New York State. Queried on whether he might one day be interested in running for Governor of Connecticut, Alcorn looked startled, then said emphatically, "Flatly, no."

What happens to old chairmen of political parties? With a grin, Alcorn, who looks in trim, tiptop shape said, "You can't be old and last at this. You couldn't stand the pace." Then answering the question, he said, "Some become postmasters, some land in the Cabinet."

Alcorn's tenure of office is for 4 years, although continuation usually depends on the man himself. Many find it a long, arduous stretch without pay. Said Alcorn: "When I finish I want to get back to my law office." Admitting it was a tough grind, he added, "But when it's all over, I'm sure I'll be very glad I've done it."

At the President's Gettysburg farm, where the Alcorns recently were his guests, Eisenhower gave one of the most important requirements for a political career. He said: "A man must have a glint of enthusiasm in his eye and a spark in his heart." Alcorn has both.

Small Business Needs Tax Relief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by me as to the small business needs for tax relief.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR KEFAUVER

I support the bill offered by the Senator from Arkansas to amend the corporate tax rate. The effect of the Senator's measure would be to bring about a limited degree of graduation in the corporate tax rate. My only complaint with his bill is that it does not go far enough. But at least it is a step in the right direction and one that is sorely needed by small business, particularly at the present time.

Rarely in our history have we had such widespread distress in the ranks of small business at a time of relative prosperity and high employment. It is an ominous portent for the future of our free economy that last year business failures were 16 percent higher than in the preceding year and in the first months of this year, the trend continues steadily upward. In January and February of this year failures were 11 percent higher than in the corresponding period of last year. The tight money policy of the present administration has fallen most cruelly on small firms, which are far less able than large companies to finance their operations out of internal savings and which, even during times of relatively free credit, must pay much higher interest rates than the giant corporations. Today, many small enterprises have found that their traditional sources of credit have dried up. As a result, the competitive disadvantage under which they labor in trying to compete with their large rivals has been increased.

The recent investigations by the various committees of Congress into the price increase in the oil industry have provided a graphic example of the way in which large companies are able to finance the cost of expansion by the simple device of raising prices to the consumer. This, of course, the small company is rarely in a position to do. A minute of the board of directors of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey of December 13, 1956, states:

"3. Based on the estimates of future expenditures submitted by the affiliates, and assuming continuance of the company's present dividend policy and of crude prices at their current levels, the forecast shows that for the first time in many years the consolidated group is faced with the prospect of being unable to generate, internally, sufficient cash to cover replacements, modernization, and expansion to the degree desired—and no change in this situation is indicated throughout the period covered by the forecast.

"In this connection, however, it was pointed out that, in part, the high capital expenditure rate reflects deliberate efforts to use, to a greater degree than in recent years, the ownership route rather than the leasing route to cover tanker and service-station requirements" (House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, vol. 5, p. 694, hearings transcript, Feb. 20, 1957).

Later officials of Standard Oil acknowledged that the recent price increases which the oil industry has put into effect have made it unnecessary for the company to go to outside sources for funds needed for the purposes set forth in the minute. They could have borrowed money to cover the costs of these additional tanker and service-station requirements; they could have floated securities, but they did not do so. Instead they have made the consumer pay the cost of this expansion.

This is merely one example of what has tended to become the principal source of financing of the large corporations—financing out of internal savings, paid for ultimately by the consumer. The present bill, while not limiting in any way the power of the large corporations to finance themselves in this way, would at least to some extent restore the competitive balance between the large corporations which are able to finance themselves in this way and smaller companies which are not. Therefore, I wish to express my hope that the measure will receive the support of all Members of the Senate who are concerned with the future vitality of our competitive system.

A Helping Hand for Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial

from the New York Times of March 22 which discusses the present negotiations over American economic aid to Poland:

A HELPING HAND FOR POLAND

The Eisenhower administration will have lost a major opportunity of its own making if it allows the present negotiations over American economic aid to Poland to peter out in a morass of doubts, indecision and timidity. While obviously there is no necessity to grant the Poles the entire huge sum of $300 millions in agricultural produces and machinery for which they are asking, it nevertheless is vitally in the interests of the United States to offer them substantial help at this crucial moment in their relations with Soviet Russia.

It is only to be expected that with their usual myopia some Members of Congress would object to anything that smacks of aid to a Communist state, even to one that has been showing signs in recent months of some independence from Russian imperialism. But the administration should be willing to face a hot political fight, even with members of its own party, so long as it knows that under the peculiar circumstances of the present situation American loans to Poland might help drive the wedge a little deeper between Gomulka's government and its imperial Russian "protectors." Here is the first real chance we have had in respect to Poland in several years; it is a chance—which our own Government wisely encouraged—to offer Warsaw some alternative to complete and hopeless dependence on the East.

Naturally, the grant of a few score million dollars' worth of American aid is not going to change the situation overnight; deep-dyed Polish Communists insist, of course, that it won't change it at all. But it is a thin opening of the door. For effective aid congressional action will probably be needed, but before congressional action can be expected there must be Executive decision. A study of foreign aid made last December by former Representative James P. Richards, now the President's emissary in the Middle East, stated: "One of our primary objectives is to help nations such as Poland disengage themselves from Soviet domination, and it is essential that we be able to provide them assistance." Senator Kennedy has wisely pointed out that the Poles' "ability and willingness to turn to this Nation for assistance for the first time should be encouraged." Many bitterly anti-Communist Polish-Americans say the same. And President Eisenhower himself, talking last fall in the specific contest of the Polish upheaval, spoke of America's mission to help peoples "who need and want and can profitably use our aid," so that they can advance toward self-support and, by implication, to ultimate political independence.

"Tonight We Are All Irish"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States, known the world over for their open hearts, are giving an especially warm welcome to the Jewish lord mayor of Dublin, Ireland, the present capital city of Eire, and the future capital city of the entire Emerald Isle.

The visit of lord mayor and Mrs. Robert Briscoe to Boston, by a strange and happy coincidence, took place on St. Patrick's Day. It was small wonder, then, that the greeting they received, touched off the most enthusiastic celebration ever recorded in Boston, which made it seem more Irish than Dublin itself. The way those people with names like O'Schwartz and McRocco joined heartily in the demonstration was a grand thing to see and hear.

For the theme was "Tonight we are all Irish."

Irish in neighborliness, in devotion to freedom, and in love of God.

The meaning of this great day was eloquently set forth by His Excellency, Archbishop Richard J. Cushing, spiritual leader of the archdiocese of Boston.

The archbishop, who combines personal piety with a generous outgoing spirit that has enlisted support from people of all faiths in building hospitals, and colleges, and homes for the aged, and other humanitarian works, summed up the universal significance of St. Patrick's Day.

Under unanimous consent, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the complete text of an address given by Archbishop Cushing at the civic reception for Lord Mayor Robert Briscoe, of Dublin, at the annual St. Patrick's Day dinner, Sheraton Plaza, Boston, Mass., on March 18, 1957:

ST. PATRICK RESEMBLES PATRIARCH OF OLD TESTAMENT

If this were a religious rather than a civic gathering, and if theology rather than patriotism were our theme tonight, I would then speak to you of that kinship between the Lord Mayor's people and my own which is established by all the religious traditions, realities, and values which the great Pope Pius XI had in mind when he declared: Spiritually we are all Semites.

But this is not a directly religious meeting. The traditions, values, and realities which bring us together tonight are chiefly cultural, national, and fraternal. Tonight we are all Irish.

But since the traditions of Ireland are always colored by religion, and since the great national feast of Ireland is the feast day of her patron saint, even on a civic occasion I must speak to you in terms of religion and piety. Happily I can do so appropriately tonight by speaking of the two great chieftains to whom the right honorable mayor and all others here present owe the allegiance of grateful spiritual sons. I refer to Patrick, the apostle and father of the Irish people; and Abraham, the patriarch and founder of the Jewish people.

Not long ago I enjoyed the pleasure, rare for me, of watching a new moving picture. It was this recent version of the Ten Commandments which has proved so popular a film. Watching its portrayal of the mighty personality of Moses, the manner in which he became a willing instrument in the hand of God and the lawgiver of a people destined to influence and to edify all the world with the doctrine Moses preached to them, one could not help thinking of the parallel between Moses and Patrick, between the Jews and the Irish, the one a people scattered throughout the world to spread the law of Moses, the other not less scattered to preach the faith of Patrick. I reflected, as I watched the film, on how Patrick, as their lawgiver, might well be called the Moses of the Irish people. Even the features attributed to Moses, the majesty of his heroic bearing, made me think of the imposing statues by which our people represent and remember their glorious apostle, St. Patrick.

STONE OF DESTINY

Then a week or two later I read an account of a talk given by a great Jewish scholar to an Irish society in New York. This scholar spoke of the parallels between the Irish people and the Jews, the kindred nature of their strange destinies as tiny nations called upon by God greatly to aid in the building of His universal kingdom. He spoke of the common characteristics of poetic vision and prophetic hope shared by the religious Jew and the devout Irishman. He appealed to the memory and influence of another of the great Jewish patriarchs as the source of these inspirations. He told the story of Jacob. Jacob, avoiding hatred and cherishing love, was walking a lonely road one night when he was taken unaware by the call of sleep. He laid his head to rest on a stone which, in such weariness, felt good as a pillow. From this cold stone came Jacob's vision of a ladder reaching up to God's own house. "This," said Jacob, "is the gateway of heaven and I knew it not." And Jacob arose and preached the kingdom of God, the hope of God, and the loving mercy of God by which the Jews were kept a people down through the centuries.

It is symbolic, this scholar pointed out, that the stone of destiny, so long cherished by the Irish as the stone on which her monarchs were crowned, the legendary Stone of Scone (scoon), is reputed to be the very stone on which of old Jacob rested his head. No one, I think, has ever explained how the stone of Jacob's journey found its way to Ireland, and yet it seems fitting that it should have rested there. For surely the parallel between the Irish sense of destiny, the Irish poetic vision and unflagging pursuit of God's will be the children of St. Patrick and these same qualities in the children of Jacob, make the Irish and the Jews somehow spiritual kinsmen and identify Patrick as the Jacob of the Irish people. Patrick avoided hatred and cherished love, as did Jacob. Patrick heard his call from God in a dream, as did Jacob. Patrick conceived his mighty work in loneliness by night, as did Jacob. Patrick raised up to God a faithful tribe of spiritual sons even as did Jacob. Patrick saw in the rocks of Ireland the gateway of heaven just as Jacob recognized the stone on which he rested his head.

But the clearest and most appropriate parallel between the patriarchs of the Jews and the apostle of the Irish is that between Patrick and Abraham. No parallel dramatizes the relations between these mighty men of God and the spiritual likenesses between their respective peoples better than does this; no parallel demonstrates more clearly the roots of the spiritual destinies and racial qualities which the Jews and the Irish share than does the parallel which identifies Patrick as the Abraham of the Irish.

VOCATION

The origins of Abraham were obscure; so were those of Patrick. God called Abraham out of his father's house and the land of his own people to go into another land to serve another people; so also did God call Patrick. In the moment when Abraham placed himself at the disposition of God, the Almighty promised him a people who would be faithful to him forever and through whom his name would be brought to the ends of the earth.

"And the Lord said to Abraham: Lift up thine eyes, and look from the place wherein thou now art, to the north and to the south,

to the east and to the west—and I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth. For in thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed!"

There is no corner of the world to which has not been brought the vision, the vitality and the promises made to Abraham, and to his seed forever in that moment when God called him.

Even so was the call to Patrick, who, like Abraham, was brought out of his own land to raise up a people who would go to the north and the south, the east and the west, making his seed as the stars of the sky and the dust of the earth. Even so has the story of the O'Higgins in South America, the Plunketts in New Zealand, a Duffy in Australia, an O'Doherty in Manila, a Hennessey in Hong Kong, an O'Donnell in Spain, Taafe in Australia, the MacMahons and Flynns in France, the Fitzpatricks in Canada, the Welchs, Glynns, Farleys, Sheridans, and McCormicks in the United States, brought into all the nations the national genius and the religious faith for which the Irish are indebted to Patrick.

The Messianic hopes and strivings conceived by Abraham at God's command, and perpetuated by the Jews of old, find their counterpart in the historic missionary aspirations and efforts which Patrick kindled in the Irish people and by which they have brought the Gospel to the most remote islands of the most distant oceans, to the loneliest corners of the five continents. The parallel between Abraham, the Patriarch of the nation chosen to redeem the Gentiles, and Patrick, the Apostle of the nation which has been the mother of missionaries beyond counting, is echoed in the words by which Patrick himself expressed his presentiment of how his spiritual seed would enrich the whole world. He wrote:

"I am immensely indebted to God, who granted to me this great grace that through me many peoples should be regenerated by God."

It is as if the prophecy made to Abraham had been fulfilled by Patrick, as if work prospered by Patrick had been begun by Abraham—and so, indeed, it was.

The Jews think of Abraham as the lofty father of their tribes; such is the popular interpretation of his very name. The Irish see in Patrick the father of all their scattered flock; the popular observance of his feast all around the globe keeps the Irish, wherever they may be, a single family. Abraham is the physical progenitor of his people, but his historic importance derives from the fact that he is the starting point or source of the Old Testament. Patrick is the spiritual father of his people, but he is such because his preaching is the starting-point or source of their knowledge of the New Testament. The Jews were wont to speak of God as the God of Abraham; it is no exaggeration to say that the Irish think of their God as the God of Patrick.

Abraham was made mighty by his faith; of him the Scripture says simply: "Abraham believed God," and so powerful was that belief that Abraham would not hesitate to see his own son die rather than repudiate his faith in God. Abraham's unique faith in God became, for the Jews, the pledge of their privileges as the chosen people. Patrick made faith, unqualified and indestructible, the supreme virtue in the thought of his people; it is proverbial that the devout Irishman would prefer to suffer any tragedy rather than deny the faith of Patrick. Such fidelity has been, for the Irish, the title to the unique honor they claim among the nations of Christendom as a people who have never produced a heresy. To be the seed of Abraham and the children of Abraham, to do the work of Abraham, to merit the promises made to Abraham, to keep the faith of Abraham, to be justified with the faithful Abraham—no Jew could imagine a greater glory. To be the sons of St. Patrick, to be numbered forever among those justified with the faithful Patrick—no Irishman knows a greater consolation.

Others may find the Irish cult of Patrick romantic, even fanatical; a Jew will understand it immediately, when he remembers Abraham. Others may find the Jewish loyalty to Abraham mysterious, even unintelligible; an Irishman, remembering March 17 and his own love of Patrick, understands why on October 9, the Roman Martyrology commemorates St. Abraham "patriarch and father of all believers"—and rejoices that he walks by faith as did Abraham, as did Patrick. In this he acknowledges a bond between himself, the son of St. Patrick, and the Jew, the son of Abraham. Patrick is the Abraham of the Irish; Abraham is the Patrick of the Old Law.

WORLDWIDE MISSION

And so tonight we salute with affection a guest of honor who is doubly prepared to understand the joy of this occasion. Abraham and Patrick are names both rich in special meaning for Mayor Briscoe. He has learned lessons from both Abraham and Patrick, the patriarch of the Jews and the patriarch of the Irish; his presence here this evening reminds us of these lessons and of how timely they are. Abraham and Patrick both taught and exemplified them all. Let me mention but a few: The obscure, sometimes bitter, ways of God's merciful providence: Abraham and Patrick, the Irish and the Jews, exemplify these. The immortal majesty which surrounds those, however humble their origins, who are called to do the work of God: Abraham and Patrick exemplify this. The worldwide mission and the service to all humanity which are accomplished by even the smallest nations when these obey God's call and follow faithfully their spiritual fathers: Abraham and his Jews, Patrick and his Irish, both prove these. The terrible cost of fidelity to God and His will for us: The cost in exile, opprobrium, austere discipline, and heartbreaking renunciations; the Jews of Abraham and the Irish of Patrick understand these. That God's providence assigns vocations to nations as well as to individuals, and that these vocations come to nations through their spiritual chieftains: Abraham and the Jews, Patrick and the Irish, demonstrate these truths unforgettably. The justice and unity in the battle for it; faith and valor in the profession of it; sacrifice and generosity in the practice of it, are the things which keep a people strong, free, and indestructible—of all these truths the personalities of Abraham and Patrick are the pledge and the histories of Ireland and the Jews are the proof.

We cannot better prove ourselves worthy of our patriarch Abraham and our apostle Patrick than by resolving not to forget the spiritual fruits of the exile, the sorrow, the strife, and the struggles to which the children of Abraham and those of Patrick have been the willing heirs from time immemorial.

These trials should have taught us patience, sympathy, kindness, and the high spirituality of which St. Patrick's Day is an annual reminder and of which the whole world stands in such tragic need today. May the children of Patrick and those of Abraham continue to bless all the nations of the earth, and chiefly, at the moment, by exemplifying toward one another, toward all others, the persevering forbearance, and unconquerable faith of Abraham and Patrick, the twin patrons of our guest of honor, the patriarchs of the religious and cultural heritage of all the Irish.

A Bill To Bring Tax Fairness to Distillers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHELF
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to include an editorial under date of March 21, 1957, from the Louisville Courier-Journal, entitled "A Bill To Bring Tax Fairness to Distillers."

This editorial has to do with the extension of the bonding period with respect to distillers. As the editorial goes on to say, this is "no wet-dry issue." It is meting out simple justice to the small distillers who are unable to pay the terrific tax of $10.50 per gallon at the end of the 8-year bonding period. Briefly, it simply means that the Government does not lose 1 cent in taxes. The legislation is designed merely to give the small distiller an extension of time in which to orderly market, sell, and to pay their tax. Frankly, it is comparable to a bank giving an individual in financial difficulty more time in which to meet his obligation and to preserve and maintain his credit.

Mr. Speaker, I have several small distillers located in my congressional district. They employ a considerable number of my people in Marion, Nelson, Larue, Meade, Bullitt, and Mercer Counties. For this reason, I know of their problems and I can assure the House that this is indeed a most difficult—a very real, and a heavily pressing financial problem. These little distillers are in an emergency and they desperately need help. If they do not get this legislation, many will be forced out of business by flooding the market with distress merchandise. The big distillers would grab their products up for a song and make a killing because they are able to pay the tax now due. The little outfit does not have the money and what is even worse—he cannot borrow it. I repeat—this gives nobody concerned a rebate or tax cut—it just gives additional time in which to pay the Government tax that is due.

The Ways and Means Committee of the House and especially the Forand subcommittee have done a magnificent job on this subject matter. They heard the testimony and the evidence and they know that this legislation is necessary, important, and fair.

The editorial follows:

A BILL TO BRING TAX FAIRNESS TO DISTILLERS

Whisky distillers in general, and small distillers in particular, will be given a long-overdue tax break if Congress adopts the revision of the excise tax law approved this week by the House Ways and Means Committee. The committee proposal would not change the tax on whisky, now $10.50 a gallon. But it would allow distillers a longer period in which distilled spirits can be kept in bonded warehouses before payment of the Federal withdrawal tax.

The Federal tax on whisky is paid not when the whisky is made, but when it is withdrawn from storage for sale. At present, distillers are allowed to keep wiskey in storage warehouses 8 years before it must be withdrawn and the tax on it paid. Under the proposed revision, they could keep the whisky in storage for 20 years before compulsory withdrawal and tax payment.

This would be a considerable break for the small distiller. Right now, most distillers have great volumes of whisky in storage. When th estorage period ends, and tax payment time comes, some of the smaller distillers may find themselves painfully squeezed for cash with which to pay the heavy Federal excise, and may be forced to flood the market with whisky, on which they may suffer an actual loss in order to get ready cash with which to pay taxes. The larger distillers, of course, are not so pressed for cash. And there is some evidence that they have welcomed the shorter bonding period as a means of forcing out of business some of their small competitors, especially some of the small Kentucky firms specializing in quality bourbon.

If adopted by Congress, as we hope it will be, this revision will not excuse the distillers from payment of a cent of taxes. It will merely allow them to withdraw their whisky when market conditions make it advisable, in a manner that will permit them to meet the demands of competition. A similar measure, which would have extended the period of storage for 4 years, was passed by the House but defeated in the Senate 4 years ago, when it became involved in a fight between wets and drys.

Actually, of course, no wet-dry issue is involved in the matter, and none should be allowed to obscure the real issue, which is justice for the distiller and the improvement of orderly marketing conditions within the distilling industry.

Juvenile Delinquency: A National Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the remarks I had the privilege of making before the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, the chairman of which is the distinguished gentleman from Alabama, Hon. CARL ELLIOTT. My subject was juvenile delinquency, so important to the future of our country:

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF H. R. 2495

Mr. Chairman, in coming before you and the members of this distinguished committee, I come only because of my deep conviction that the subject matter which you are considering deeply affects the future of our country.

Juvenile delinquency has been steadily increasing, until today we find it one of our great national problems. Its causes are, in many cases, national and not local. National distribution of horror books and pornographic matter, as documented in Senate Report No. 2381 of the 84th Congress, 2d session, together with the car-conscious mobility of modern youth, are cases in point.

The mobility of our total population has also added to the need for national legislation. Juvenile delinquency cuts across State lines, just as it also cuts across economic lines. Every citizen up and down the economic scale, therefore, has a stake in controlling juvenile delinquency. While it is true that a majority of crimes are committed by adults, it is equally evident that most of our older, hardened criminals started their evil ways early in life.

It is my belief that it would cost the Nation far less in the long run to spend a little in the beginning, in an effort to turn potential delinquent children to useful lifetime pursuits, rather than careers of violence.

That is why I joined a number of my colleagues in introducing a bill (H. R. 2495). The problem of crime in this bill is dealt with in its early, formative stages. Specifically, the bill calls for Federal leadership and funds to stimulate and promote the training of specialized personnel and to supplement State and local resources and programs, as well as coordinate public and private nonprofit agencies already active in this work.

The bill calls for (a) establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on Juvenile Delinquency, (b) provides for grants to States to strengthen and improve local programs, (c) authorizes the appropriation of $5 million for each of 7 fiscal years for the purpose of training personnel to properly service juvenile-delinquency programs, and (d) authorizes the sum of $1 million for the ensuing fiscal year and such sums as the Congress shall determine for each of the following 6 fiscal years for the development and demonstration of special projects embodying improved techniques and practices for the control, treatment, and lessening of juvenile delinquency.

These measures, I believe, are necessitated by the grim facts of juvenile delinquency. In 1954 juvenile crimes increased by 13 percent; out of 1½ million juveniles dealt with by police, an estimated 475,000 boys and girls were brought to the attention of juvenile courts that year. In 1955, there was another 9-percent increase, and the rate is still growing. Boys outnumbered girls 5 to 1, and there were noticeable signs of delinquent tendencies in half of the group at the age of 8 years.

Incidentally, let me point out to the committee that this is a worldwide trend, as attested by United Nations figures. In only two countries, the United Kingdom and France, have juvenile delinquency rates decreased in the past 5 years. It is significant that in those two countries, there has been launched a nationally coordinated program designed to curb delinquency among youth.

An important feature of this bill which has not been emphasized sufficiently, is the provision (p. 8, pars. D and E) which authorizes the States to enter into contracts with private voluntary organizations. Many private recreation associations are doing a splendid job in providing recreation programs. Many of these are in need of assistance from public funds due to increasingly insufficient recreation facilities. I have just recently received a letter from such a struggling association, expressing their needs and concern.

H. R. 2495, therefore, emphasizes action on the local level, resulting in individual treatment. For that reason, the Federal Council will not choose State councils and the authority of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is strictly spelled out by section 203. In addition, the States have the right of appeal to the courts if the Secretary should suspend payments without due cause.

The members of both the Federal and State councils will represent various professional backgrounds. This recognizes that the problem of juvenile delinquency has criminal, educational, medical, and social aspects. No single approach can do the total job.

When a wave of juvenile delinquency strikes, it means that there is something wrong in our social fabric and in social institutions. Juvenile delinquency implies failure to some extent on the part of every American. This bill would mobilize the resources of our society to accept responsibility for the lives of our children up to the age of 18. It will provide our communities with better mental-health services, with better educational and recreational facilities and with agencies to promote youth employment. The need for such facilities is attested to not only by voluminous testimony before Senator KEFAUVER's Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, in the 84th Congress, but also by various witnesses before this committee. I join them in urging adoption of this bill so that we may safeguard the Nation's greatest resource, the young people who will determine its future.

Jurisdiction Over Members of Our Armed Forces Overseas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include house joint resolution No. 35 adopted by the 80th General Assembly of Tennessee in support of pending legislation in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States to direct the President to seek a modification of all international agreements so that the United States may regain exclusive jurisdiction over the members of its Armed Forces for all purposes, or if such a modification is refused, then to terminate or denounce the agreements according to the terms of each:

House Joint Resolution 35

Whereas the members of our Armed Forces serving abroad, their civilian components and the dependents of each, are now subject to the criminal jurisdiction of more than 50 countries in which they may be on duty, by reason of the NATO Status of Forces Treaty, the administrative agreement with Japan, and Executive agreements with other nations; and

Whereas these agreements penalize our servicemen for foreign service by depriving them of many of the rights granted by our Constitution, which they are sworn to defend; and

Whereas it is impossible for any serviceman accused of transgression in a foreign country to receive a fair and impartial trial because of the varying systems of jurisprudence which make it impossible for him to receive the protection of all of the rights and guarantees which our Constitution gives to every citizen, and because of the prejudice and animosity sometimes existing against our men; and

Whereas legislation has been introduced in both the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States to direct the President to seek a modification of all such agreements so that the United States may regain exclusive jurisdiction over the members of its Armed Forces for all purposes, or if such a modification is refused, then to terminate or denounce the agreements according to the terms of each: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring) of the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, That the members of this legislature deplore the arrangements now existing which make service in our Armed Forces abroad a hazard by depriving our servicemen, their civilian components and dependents of each, of the rights and and guaranties of our Constitution when they are stationed in other lands; and be it further

Resolved, That we respectfully urge the Congress of the United States to immediately enact the legislation now pending or similar legislation which will secure a modification or denunciation of the provisions of the NATO Status of Forces Treaty and all other agreements which surrender to foreign nations criminal jurisdiction over our servicemen; and be it further

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of Tennessee expresses its belief that all United States service personnel stationed abroad should be tried by United States military tribunals under the Uniform Code of Military Justice for any offense committed on foreign soil and respectfully urges the President of the United States, by negotiation, and the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States by legislation directing such negotiation, to immediately seek a modification of all existing agreements with foreign nations so that the United States may regain criminal jurisdiction over its Armed Forces, and failing such modification being secured, to denounce such agreements; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread on Journals of the House and Senate and that copies hereof be transmitted forthwith to the President of the United States, and to all Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States Congress, and filed with the Clerk of each.

Adopted March 13, 1957.

JAMES L. BOMAR,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Concurred in March 18, 1957.

JARED MADDUX,
Speaker of the Senate.

Approved March 21, 1957.

FRANK G. CLEMENT,
Governor.

Farm Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, a recent exchange of correspondence between myself and a constituent, Dr. Herbert H. Kersten, M. D., of Fort Dodge, Iowa, is presented as follows:

THE KERSTEN CLINIC,
Fort Dodge, Iowa, March 16, 1957.

Congressman MERWIN COAD,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. COAD: In the recent election I worked actively for the election of your opponent because I believed that a Republican Congress would give this country a better chance for a solvent economy. I sincerely hope that you will cause me to get a different view of things.

In the last 20 years the Federal Government has been attempting to subsidize more and more segments of our economy so that it is now the style to scream for handouts of federally collected tax money the minute anyone has financial difficulty. When such grants are given it means only that the particular difficulty experienced rightly or wrongly by a given group is paid for by other citizens who are not directly concerned.

It has reached such an extreme state of affairs that we now find demands on the Federal Treasury (meaning you, me, and the other citizens of the country) for dollar aid for everything under the sun. And with such Federal aid goes Federal control and Federal waste and inefficiency.

Some Congressmen operate on the theory that they will provide whatever a given vocal pressure group demands, regardless of the final effect on the country.

I see that you are beginning to fall into such a trap by endorsing high tax paid subsidy for farmers in the form of corn payments. Can you not see that this will only mean that we are all going to be taxed to provide an artificially high price level for the farmers, and that once this has been done for that particular group that we will be obligated to do the same for all other economic groups when basic changes in the economy threaten to cause long-term readjustments? In 1776, 90 percent of our population lived on the farms. Economic pressures and changes in the price structure have now caused most of our people to live away from the land. If we had subsidized them to maintain old-time price relationships they would still be on the land, and we would still have a primitive economy.

If we will limit Federal meddling in our economy to a minimum amount of police action to prevent unfair competition, and to control a smooth flow of money and credit, long-term evolutionary trends will have a chance to manifest themselves, and we will continue to have a prosperous economy with unregimented citizens.

Continue on the present road and we will tax and spend ourselves into serfdom.

Let's cut Federal spending and the concomitant Federal taxing to the bone. Don't let Congress continue this insane effort to buy the people with their own tax money.

Let us reduce Federal spending and Federal taxing so as to leave some source of tax income for State and local governments. Then there will be no need for Federal intrusions into such fields as financing schools, propping up commodity prices, and so on.

And I am not speaking from a selfish standpoint. Our family's main asset is in the form of several Iowa farms.

We believe that if prices are permitted to seek their own level (as they should in a genuinely free economy) that inefficient farm operators will go to better paying jobs in town, food costs for most of the country's population will be lower, and unnecessary taxes to pay for the subsidy can be eliminated.

I wish you good luck and good judgment in your career as our Congressman.

Yours very truly,

HERBERT H. KERSTEN, M. D.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 26, 1957.

HERBERT H. KERSTEN, M. D.,
The Kersten Clinic,
Fort Dodge, Iowa

DEAR DR. KERSTEN: Because of the press of legislative matters, I have not been as prompt in replying to your letter of March 16, as I would have liked.

At the outset, let me state that I appreciate your frankness and I shall attempt to reply in kind. There is no achievement in the harangue of vague generalities, and I never like to deal in that regard.

Your letter deals generally with the Federal Budget, Government spending, Government efficiency and related subjects. There is no one who is more convinced than I that definite reductions can and should be made in the budget request for the fiscal year 1958. A budget of $71.8 billion is simply out of line with good judgment and with the economy in general. During these times of general prosperity we should be in a position to at least hold the budget down to a consistent level, pay off some of the public indebtedness and to personally save a fair amount. We cannot do this if the budget is going to rob us of that opportunity.

In line with reducing the Federal Budget, I have assisted in asking that it be cut, and have voted to do so. I am sure that, as further appropriation measures come to the floor of the House, I will seek to cut it to a realistic and workable level.

However, the picture of some specifics of our economy is not in line with what the general scene would lead us, at first glance, to believe. During the 1947–1949 period, the wholesale price level leveled to an average of 100 percent. However, now we find that the mineral prices stand at 125 percent and mineral production stands at 130 percent. Therefore, the mineral price has just about remained even with production.

On the other hand, while farm prices and production were on a par during the period of 1947–49, we find that since that time the following changes have occurred. Farm production is 112 percent of what it was during that base period, but the price level has fallen to 88.4 percent. This general situation has caused a basic dislocation in our economy, and this is the basis for the economic situation which we are experiencing in Iowa.

Any Federal aid which I have supported, do now, or will in the future support (for the farmer) is certainly not on the basis that we ought to give him a direct handout. We have placed artificial values on gold for as long as history has established—it is only fair that we place a real value on those things which are basic to life—the very foodstuffs which we eat and the fiber which we wear, and the materials of our homes.

All industries set a price on their products, which basically is figured at cost of production plus a reasonable profit. This is firmly established and is a policy with which everyone is in general agreement. Industry and labor, as well as other segments of our economy, have been able to regulate their production and their prices. The farmer, unfortunately, has not been able to organize to the degree that he can accomplish this. The Federal Government, because of this lack of organization, has made these many attempts to do for him what he has been unable to do for himself.

There are those who ask for and almost demand that the American farmer be placed on the strict law of supply and demand. I certainly will agree with this, providing the other segments of the economy are also in full operation on the same basis. We are well aware of the tax writeoffs, the subsidies, the tariffs, the land grants, the defense contracts, and all the rest. If these were done away with, and they are no more than artificial stimulants to business, then I would be quite willing to place the farmer in the same operation.

Now it is a readily recognizable fact that we are not going to be able to take industry away from these artificial stimulants, and we cannot completely do away with the actual productive waste which is caused by a defense program. It is therefore not only the prerogative but the basic responsibility of the Government to protect the rural American population by the placement of values on the raw materials which all come from Mother Earth.

To carry the line of logic concerning the efficient farmer to its ultimate and furthest conclusion, we would end up with only one farmer producing all the world's goods at the lowest possible price, if indeed not for free. For, whenever you have even as few as two farmers, one will ultimately be proven to be less efficient than the other. There is

a matter of human dignity to be concerned with here, and that is one of the highest privileges and responsibilities which I have, as one who represents the people of the Sixth Iowa District.

Again, I wish to express to you my sincere appreciation for your letter, and feel that the above, generally, if not specifically, sets forth the philosophy under which I guide my thought and action.

Please accept my personal best wishes.

Most cordially yours,

MERWIN COAD,
Member of Congress.

Tunisia Celebrates First Anniversary of Independence, March 20, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to extend warm greetings to the people of Tunisia, Prime Minister Bourguiba, and His Excellency Mongi Slim, Ambassador of Tunisia on the occasion of the celebration of the first anniversary of Tunisian independence, March 20, 1957.

The signing of the protocol agreement on March 20, 1956, recognizing the independence of Tunisia was a political act of the highest importance. By this historic act the Tunisian state acceded to a fully independent international status. This marked the end of a long period of tension. Tunisian independence bears witness to the fact that it is the ideas of liberty and dignity which today motivate dependent peoples, while only yesterday they were the prerogative of ruling nations.

The following editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 20 seems especially significant to recent developments in Tunisia:

A LOT TO CELEBRATE

In her first year as a sovereign nation, Tunisia has rather astonished the world and itself with its impressive social and economic reforms. Vice President NIXON, who is in Tunisia for the anniversary of independence from France, will see many evidences of a rapidly emerging democratic society. A constituent assembly has drafted a constitution, which will provide for universal suffrage in a parliamentary monarchy under the Bey. Civil courts have replaced religious courts. Land reforms are underway. Polygamy has been abolished and women have been given equal rights with men in matters of divorce. The old semifeudal administration of the country has been modernized. Desert reclamation programs are underway. Nearly two-thirds of the school-age children are in school.

Equally promising is the mature political temper of the country under the guidance of Prime Minister Bourguiba. Mr. Bourguiba has surmounted any bitterness toward France, which imprisoned him for 11 years because of his nationalist activities, to work for effective rapprochement with Paris. His counsel of restraint and friendship has won him wide admiration and has contributed to the development of proposed Western European economic aid to north Africa. Toward his Arab neighbors, Mr. Bourguiba has also been friendly but not blinded by the emotionalism of the independence groundswell. He has been critical alike of Nasser's firebrand nationalism and of the French-British-Israeli invasion of Egypt, yet a stanch champion of independence for Algeria. Significantly, in Tunisia almost alone among Arab countries, Jews occupy prominent and secure roles in government and the society generally.

Tunisia is rich in mineral wealth and has considerable agricultural potential, but it needs assistance in development of processing industries to build a modern economy on these natural foundations. Here, if anywhere, is a chance for realistic and fruitful American economic-development aid. Here especially is a good opportunity to avoid the "leap before you look" approach that sometimes has characterized American proffers of help designed to make a political impression in other newly independent nations. Instead of blanket promises of mere dollars, there ought to be a careful advance appraisal of what Tunisia needs and can profitably use. An appropriate recognition of Tunisia's freedom anniversary by this country would be the formulation of such a program to help Tunisia achieve the important role it covets—a bridge of understanding between the Arab world and the West.

The Atomic-Age Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following column by Hanson W. Baldwin, of the New York Times, on the subject of the new atomic-age army:

THE ATOMIC-AGE ARMY—AN APPRAISAL OF THE CHANGES PLANNED IN ORGANIZATION, TACTICS, AND WEAPONS

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

The new atomic-age army will be born in the next fiscal year, starting July 1.

Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, Army Chief of Staff, told the Senate Armed Services Committee recently that the Army expected to make "major changes in organizations, tactics, and weapons" in the 1958 fiscal year.

There will be, he said, a "major shift to surface-to-surface and surface-to-air missiles, both with warheads of great destructive capacity."

The new Army will number about one million men—approximately its present size. It will be organized in 17 of the new pentomic, or five-sided divisions; 9 separate regiments or regimental combat teams, "several"—perhaps 6—of the new atomic-support commands equipped to provide atomic fire support to our allies, and additional antiaircraft missile battalions.

DIVISIONS TO BE SMALLER

The new five-sided divisions will be considerably smaller than the existing divisions. The airborne division will be reduced from 17,087 men to 11,500, and will have five combat groups instead of three regiments—each group with a headquarters company, mortar battery and five rifle companies.

The division artillery will include 5 batteries of 105 millimeter artillery plus an Honest John rocket battery. The Honest John can utilize a nuclear warhead.

The infantry division will be reduced from about 17,500 men to 13,800 of 5 regiments or groups each. The division's reconnaissance unit has been increased in strength from company to battalion size, and the division retains its present tank battalion, although there are no tanks assigned to the five groups or regiments. The field artillery is to be completely reorganized to permit both nuclear and nonnuclear firepower.

The armored division will experience little change. Its approximate strength will be about 14,600, as compared to present strength of 14,683. It, too, will utilize the Honest John rocket.

Of the Army's 17 divisions, 8 are scheduled for overseas deployment.

ADAPTABILITY A GOAL

General Taylor said that there were four principles upon which the reorganization of the Army was being based. These were, he said: Ready adaptability to the atomic battlefield; pooling in higher units of equipment not habitually required in the division; recognition of the increased reach of modern communications; adaptability to integration of news arms and equipment as developed.

Many of the Army's new weapons will not be available in quantity in the fiscal year 1955. However, the new units will be armed with the new weapons that are ready, and others will be integrated as they are produced.

Some of the new weapons that will give the Army a completely new look are:

Redstone guided rocket with a range up to about 200 miles, capable of carrying a nuclear warhead.

The Little John rocket, a lighter version of a free field artillery rocket.

The Dart, an assault demolition and antitank missile.

LaGrosse, a close-support missile.

The Spat—a self-propelled 90-millimeter antitank and assault gun.

The 105-millimeter mortar.

A new light machine gun to fire the NATO standard 7.62-millimeter cartridge.

The mechanical mule—a cross-country, 4-wheeled steering lightweight vehicle, 100 inches long, 46 inches wide, capable of carrying 1,000 pounds.

Such weapons and equipment plus new helicopters and aircraft are expected to provide the new atomic-age army with the firepower and mobility required for the battlefield of tomorrow.

We Win Two Ways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to bring to the attention of the House an editorial taken from the Yorkville Enquirer, York, S. C., of March 21, 1957:

WE WIN TWO WAYS

With the first sensible move in some time toward a cut in Government spending taken by the House Appropriations Committee cutting of $517 million from the Federal budget, maybe we can look forward to a rising sentiment against extravagance and waste.

Of course, this is a small cut but it may be a trend.

Many politicians see it as a threat to President Eisenhower's school bill providing enor-

mous aid to education. That, too, we consider fortunate. Not only are we cutting the budget but we may keep the Federal Government out of our schools for a while longer.

Wherever the Federal Government makes great outlay, they gain control. This State has done wonders for its schools and every other State could do the same without Government aid. It all comes back to the same source and what the Federal Government hands out so graciously we pay back through the nose. There is no source but the people from which the Government can secure the funds they give away and there is always the added expense of redtape and handling.

This promising cut in funds will serve a twofold purpose in stemming the tide of spending and leaving the States to their own devices in school matters.

Secretary of State O. Frank Thornton, former York County representative, this week made a fine point when he told the Columbia Traffic and Transportation Club in Columbia that less Federal spending and less Federal interference with States rights are two of the most effective means of checking communism. He sharply denounced the spending of many times our national income and urged citizens to seek the cooperation of their Representatives in Washington in standing firm for cuts in Government spending.

Taxation of Cooperatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, in a recent letter from Mr. Allen Arnold, secretary of the Independent Grain and Feed Association of Iowa, I was asked to support H. R. 501 which is a bill to equalize taxation and provide revenue. My reply to this request is as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 26, 1957.

Mr. ALLEN ARNOLD,
Secretary, Independent Grain and Feed Association of Iowa, Lake Park, Iowa

DEAR MR. ARNOLD: Your letter of March 18 is at hand, in which you ask that I support H. R. 501, which calls for changes in the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

The fundamental principle of a cooperative is basically set out by law and establishes that a cooperative, which does business with other than members, must pay regular taxes on the amount of profit which is accrued thereby. However, that part, which is returned to the members in the form of patronage dividends, is not profit in the same sense that corporation profits are. These dividends are on a proportionate share to the amount of business which the given member has transacted with himself. It is, therefore, not a profit but merely a business saving, which the member has thus been enabled to effect. Because of this principle, as established by law, that amount of dividend is not so classified as corporation profits are classed.

Now in effect, H. R. 501 says that any person who is able, through his own marketing facilities and otherwise, to effect a saving should be taxed as if he had made that amount in profit. The enactment of this bill would destroy the initiative of a person attempting to be thrifty and frugal in his business operations.

The cooperatives, as historically established, have proven their worth many times over, in the overall good which they have done, not only for those members specifically involved, but also for the good of the general economy. While there may well be specific instances of needs for change in the cooperative laws, it is not my present opinion that a blanket taxation of cooperatives is by any means the answer to whatever problem might exist.

I take this opportunity to thank you most kindly for your letter, and feel that this frank appraisal on my part is more appreciated by you than any standoff I might make up in this regard.

Please accept my personal best wishes.

Most cordially yours,

MERWIN COAD,
Member of Congress.

Aqaba Is Open

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Gulf of Aqaba is open, but I wonder for how long. Unless the United States takes the initiative and sees that it stays open, the world has no assurance that peaceful commerce will be allowed to continue.

The following editorial, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 20, 1957, makes most interesting reading:

AQABA IS OPEN

On Monday a freighter chartered by Israel sailed down the Gulf of Aqaba through the Strait of Tiran and into the Red Sea. The ship, called the *Queen of Sheba*, was bound from the Israeli port of Elath for Masawa in Eritrea, on a mission of peaceful commerce. In a few days a Danish freighter, the *Brigitte Tost*, will pass the Strait of Tiran on her ways to Elath from South Africa.

These ships, and others like them, are able to make this voyage today for a simple reason. The promontory that overlooks the Strait of Tiran is no longer in the hands of Egyptian artillery men but is manned instead by the blue-helmeted forces of the United Nations. If this state of affairs were certain to continue indefinitely the prospects for tranquillity in the Middle East would be brightened considerably. But what has happened in the Gaza strip, where President Nasser of Egypt has singlehandedly deprived the U. N. of the control it was expected to exercise, leaves the future of peace commerce in the Gulf of Aqaba far from settled.

Yet of all the aspects of the Middle Eastern situation, the matter of free passage in the Aqaba is the least open to conflicting interpretation. There has been equivocation on the future of Gaza, and the matter of the Suez Canal is as tangled as ever, with Cairo's memorandum of yesterday contributing further to the confusion.

But there simply can be no question of what the maritime powers of the world, led by the United States, meant to do about the Gulf of Aqaba. Only the day before yesterday, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, in his joint statement with Israel's Foreign Minister Golda Meir, reiterated the American position that there should be "free and innocent passage of the Strait of Tiran by the ships of all nations in accordance with international law."

On February 20, to go back a little further, President Eisenhower asserted in his public address that it should not be assumed that "Egypt will prevent Israeli shipping from using the Suez Canal or the Gulf of Aqaba." On February 11 the United States formally told Israel that "no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the gulf." On January 16 U. N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold reported that "the international significance of the Gulf of Aqaba may be considered to justify the right of innocent passage through the Strait of Tiran and the gulf in accordance with recognized rules of international law." Similar views were expressed in the General Assembly by delegates of many maritime nations after Israel had announced its intention of withdrawing its troops from Egyptian territory overlooking the gulf.

All of these statements are blunt and unequivocal. Yet they have not produced the slightest sign of acquiescence from any Arab leader. The statements emanating from Cairo have been to the effect that Egypt relinquishes none of its rights in the gulf. And Saudi Arabia, which holds title to two tiny, unhabited islands that block the entrance to the gulf, has announced that it considers it an Arab waterway and "will not allow the establishment of any right for Israel."

True, there has as yet been no overt act by Egypt to repossess the entrance of the gulf. But if the performance of the U. N. in Gaza is any touchstone, Cairo has only to say the word to move back in. And if Nasser's past record gives any indication of his future policies, he will not be long in elbowing aside the UNEF troops.

Right now the Gulf of Aqaba is an open and peaceful waterway. It is up to the United States to take the lead in seeing that it stays that way—whether Nasser likes it or not.

St. Vincent's High School of Plymouth Wins State of Pennsylvania Basketball Championship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of March 25, hailing St. Vincent's high school of Plymouth, Pa., upon winning PCIAA class B State championship in basketball:

HAIL, THE CHAMPS

The fighting spirit that gave rise to the slogan, "Shawnee against the world," perhaps helps to explain the magnificent victory of St. Vincent's high school basketball team over St. Casimir's of Pittsburgh at Hazelton on Saturday night, giving the local lads the PCIAA class B State championship.

St. Casimir's had been unbeaten in 44 games, so it was a major undertaking for Coach Joe Evan's proteges who, incidentally, had 26 straight victories to their credit, no mean achievement. The pre-game scuttlebutt was the Plymouth aggregation was go-

ing down to defeat, but apparently the team was not aware it was due for a licking.

St. Vincent's bewildered the opposition from the beginning with its brilliant play. It was obvious the visitors were stunned by the outcome of the game, although there was no disgrace in losing under the circumstances. St. Vincent's simply would not be denied the grand prize—the State championship.

Wyoming Valley joins Plymouth in saluting St. Vincent's on this achievement. Pennsylvania is a big place and a State championship in any line is a great distinction.

The Late Percy Priest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, the General Assembly of Tennessee adopted House Joint Resolution No. 22 as a memorial and tribute to the life and public service of the late J. Percy Priest, United States Representative from the Fifth Congressional District of Tennessee, who served in this great body for almost 16 years and distinguished himself as a statesman and public servant.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this very fine resolution in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

House Joint Resolution 22
Memorial

Whereas on the morning of October 12, 1956, there were tears in the eyes and a quiver in the voice of the Honorable Zeke W. Johnson, Jr., Sergeant at Arms in the United States House of Representatives, as he called the Capitol Police Corps together and solemnly announced: "Lower the flag to half-staff, Percy Priest is dead"; and

Whereas on that same morning, the citizens of Nashville and Davidson County, Tenn., on the way to their chosen work, observed that flags at Federal, State, county, and city public buildings were flying at half-staff, and later found out that said flags were flying at half-staff out of respect to Representative Percy Priest, whom Almighty God in his infinite wisdom had seen fit to call home from these earthly portals at 2:15 a. m. on this morning; and

Whereas the entire populace of the State of Tennessee, as a result, became cognizant of the fact that not only had they lost a good and faithful servant, but that each individual citizen in his own peculiar rights had lost a true and devoted friend; and

Whereas only a short time back, and on December 14, 1954, Representative Priest was invited by the Nashville Civitan Club to deliver a speech, but upon his arrival was precluded from this task due to the fact that it was the purpose of this club to instead honor the said Percy Priest and as he sat for an hour, between smiles and tears, his life moved before him, with scores of old friends and neighbors crowding by to remind him that said life had been an unselfish one and full of human warmth and Christianity; and

Whereas on December 16, 1954, only 2 days after this tribute by the Civitan Club, and almost 2 years prior to the death of the Honorable Percy Priest, an editorial appeared in the December 16, 1954, edition of the Nashville Tennessean, which editorial is so appropriate it is thought that same should be reproduced in part for the benefit of this general assembly, and which is as follows:

"Perhaps it is enough to say that the life which passed in review before him—his own life—has been a good one from its early years to the rewarding maturity. It has been a good and unselfish life, savored with genuine humility; but there has also been an unwavering courage to stand for that which is right when the example of spiritual strength was most needed.

"The qualities which made Percy Priest a good schoolteacher, and later an able newspaperman, have served him well as a maker of laws in the Nation's Capitol. The friends of old, he has maintained, and always he has gone on to win new ones. In the face of national emergencies he has shouldered heavy responsibilities and worked with diligence and patriotism for his country's welfare.

"One of the finest things he has done is to set a standard official conduct which, if taken as a guide by all, would do away with the need of a revised code of ethics in the conduct of congressional business.

"For many years, Percy Priest, has been a member of the Nashville Civitan Club, and it was fitting that these associates should honor him so appropriately by turning back the pages of his life to reveal not only 'the things I might have done,' but the things indelibly written to the credit of the honored guest and associate. For all, it was a happy occasion."

Whereas Mr. Priest was a native Tennessean, having been born at Carters Creek in Maury County, on April 1, 1900, son of the late George M. and Harriet Hastings Priest; and

Whereas he attended Maury County public schools and Central High School at Columbia, then Middle Tennessee State College, and later the University of Tennessee, and Peabody College; and

Whereas as a student he was deeply interested in oratory, debates, dramatics, and history, all of which were to make a substantial contribution to his career; and

Whereas in his youth he knew the rigors of farm and country life, and often rode horseback the 15 miles between his farm home and the high school at Columbia, and other times hitched a horse to a buggy, or rode on a little mixed train on the Middle Tennessee Railroad; and

Whereas after ending Middle Tennessee State College he taught in Maury County 2 years and then became a teacher and athletic coach in the high school at Culleoka and, in all, was a schoolteacher for a period of 7 years, during which time he took summer courses at the University of Tennessee and Peabody College; and

Whereas he was associated with the Nashville Tennessean from May 1926 until September 1940, advancing to State news editor, city editor, and managing editor, later becoming the newspaper's roving reporter and writing human-interest stories based on his travels throughout the State; and

Whereas it has been so truthfully stated that it was as an individual rather than a public official that James Percy Priest was best known to thousands, with no request from any individual being too small, nor any person being too unimportant to get his attention, and with his greatness being attributed to "a simple faith in God"; and

Whereas Mr. Priest, during his lifetime, was quoted as saying:

"Whatever my achievements may be, I shall look back—not on these achievements, but on the warm personal friendships I have made along the way.

"In the discharge of my duties, I have faced every issue frankly, and have acted forthrightly, without dodging, straddling or equivocation. I have not followed the way of expediency to advance my own political personal ends"; and

Whereas in view of the entire life portrayed by James Percy Priest, the above excerpts being only a sketch of the fullness of same; and

Whereas the people of this great State are always cognizant of the true virtues of life and eager to commemorate for the fulfillment of said virtues: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the 80th General Assembly of the State of Tennessee (the Senate concurring), That this tribute to this outstanding Tennessean be expressed by this joint resolution, and that as a body we extend to his bereaved family our sympathy and sincere condolence in the great loss sustained by them and by all the people of Tennessee; be it further

Resolved, That the 80th general assembly go on record as being in support of the idea first proposed by the Reverend Harold D. Gregory, superintendent of missions, Nashville Baptist Association, with said idea later being carried into effect by the introduction of a resolution in the Congress of the United States by the Honorable Carlton Loser, whereby the new permanent veterans' hospital at Nashville be named in honor of the late James Percy Priest; be it further

Resolved, That the clerk be directed to prepare and forward a copy of this resolution to each Mrs. J. Percy Priest and their 4-year-old daughter, Harriet Frances Priest; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each Member of Congress and each United States Senator serving the State of Tennessee; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be mailed to the President of the United States, the Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower, who stated after the death of Congressman Priest:

"The Congress of the United States and the people of the Nation have lost a valuable Member, in the sudden passing of James Percy Priest of Tennessee."

Adopted February 21, 1957.
JAMES L. BOMOR,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
Concurred in March 14, 1957.
JARED MADDUX,
Speaker of the Senate.
Approved March 19, 1957.
FRANK G. CLEMENT,
Governor.

Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Knights of Columbus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in saluting the accomplishments of a fine, American religious organization, the Knights of Columbus on its 75th anniversary.

This splendid organization has made a great contribution to belief in God and the preservation of our heritage of American citizenship and ideals of human freedom. Its good works have been legion.

It is particularly significant that the Knights of Columbus is celebrating its 75th anniversary in our country at a time when a great portion of the world is forced to live in darkness, slavery, and atheism. In the struggle today for the control of the minds of men between

communism on the one hand and the forces of freedom on the other, the Knights of Columbus can stimulate and strengthen our efforts toward achieving victory in this world struggle.

If an organization like the Knights of Columbus could exist behind the Iron Curtain, it would be impossible for the Communists to maintain their dominance and control over so many millions of people.

As a member of the Archbishop John J. Cantwell Council in Arcadia, Calif., I am proud to extend best wishes and congratulations to my brother knights on this gala occasion.

Construction Loans to Veterans

SPEECH
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4602) to encourage new residential construction for veterans' housing in rural areas and small cities and towns by raising the maximum amount in which direct loans may be made from $10,000 to $12,000, to authorize advance financing commitments, to extend the direct loan program for veterans, and for other purposes.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER].

(Mr. MULTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MULTER. Briefly, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. I want to say to the gentleman from West Virginia so far as the discussion between the gentleman from Massachusetts, the majority leader, and myself, it was a question of whether he stated it was an administrative order or an administration order.

Mr. MULTER. I have no right to speak for him. I think that it is the responsibility of both, the administration in the first instance and secondarily, the Veterans' Administration, which is administering this program.

Mr. Chairman, we have before us a bill which all agree is a good bill as far as it goes. There are going to be some amendments offered to it, one of which would make it a very bad bill and the other must necessarily make it a much better bill.

The problem is whether or not by adopting the amendment, when offered, to increase the interest rates you are going to get any more money into the mortgage market for the veterans who want to buy homes. I say to you the answer is no.

You can increase the rate of interest to 10 percent and it is not going to bring another dollar into this mortgage market. The tight-money policy means that there is not enough money to meet all the demands for it and this administration is going to keep the money supply short so that the demand will continue to exceed the supply. Where is this money going to come from if you increase the interest rate? We were told not so long ago, "Let us give Fanny May another billion dollars of lending power." We were told that that would not be inflationary. That is what this administration said. What was that going to be used for? That billion dollars was going to be used to buy mortgages from mortgage lenders so that they could relend the proceeds. That would bring more money into the mortgage market to the extent of that $1 billion.

Another amendment which will be offered will make this a better bill by increasing this direct-lending power so that it will cover the whole country and make money available to veterans who want to buy homes by using only their own money. It will make available their life-insurance reserve funds which are held for their benefit and are now invested in United States Government obligations. I tell you that it is necessarily less inflationary to take a billion dollars or $2 billions of the veterans' own money out of their reserve fund and lend it to them on long-term loans than it is to take that amount of money from the Treasury and giving it to the money lenders of the country to put into a revolving fund for the purpose of purchasing and selling mortgages.

Here is a Veterans' Administration release of March 16, 1957:

The Veterans' Administration received 25,773 home-loan applications during February, a decrease of 18.5 percent from the previous month. Appraisal requests also decreased about 34 percent from the previous month.

That means that the trouble is your veteran is being priced out of the home market. When you go to the Veterans' Administration and ask them for a commitment, you show them the costs of the home. That includes the cost of the land, the cost of the materials, the cost of the labor, and the cost of financing. On that basis you get a commitment, whether it be the VA or the FHA, that financing cost or discount, which is anywhere up to 15 points is included in the cost of the home. As a result, a $10,000 mortgage must now be $11,500 or a $12,500 mortgage must be increased by $1,250 if there is only a 10-point discount.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MULTER. I yield.

Mr. KEARNEY. I presume that the gentleman from New York is like myself, he wants to be sure that the veterans can obtain loans.

Mr. MULTER. That is right.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you believe that the veterans today, taking our own State of New York for instance, can get along with 4½ percent interest?

Mr. MULTER. May I quote to you letters that I have received from builders and bankers who wish to be left unnamed, who say that the increased interest rate would not bring $1 more into the mortgage market; that there are mortgages available to the veterans at 4½ percent if the price of the house is kept down to where the veteran can afford to purchase and carry it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] has expired.

Tribute to Congressman Albert P. Morano

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I deem it a privilege to bring to the attention of my fellow Congressmen a story in the true Horatio Alger style about one of our distinguished colleagues, the Honorable ALBERT P. MORANO, of Connecticut. It was published in the New York Sunday Mirror, March 24, 1957.

One of the features in this newspaper is a column by Sidney Fields called Only Human. It is well known and widely read by Mirror readers, and it is also regarded as one of the highlights of a person's career to be the subject of this column. Our colleague is the subject of last Sunday's column, which is devoted to him in its entirety.

Congressman MORANO is well deserving of this signal honor. He is a great humanitarian and, regardless of political affiliations, he stands out as one of our great public servants. It was no surprise to me that in the last election he received the largest vote ever given to a Connecticut Congressman. I do not know of any record elsewhere which matches his 105,000 vote majority. It is no wonder he is being widely mentioned as his party's choice for Governor of Connecticut.

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the people of his district for electing such an able and outstanding Representative in Congress as ALBERT P. MORANO.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the article from the Sunday Mirror:

ONLY HUMAN
(By Sidney Fields)

ALBERT PAUL MORANO was 25 when he won his first elective job as a Republican member of the tax-relief board of Greenwich, Conn. It was at the depth of the depression and AL supported tax relief for all those who deserved it, but when he opposed it for a big GOP politician who didn't he was promptly bounced from his job.

"The job paid $200 a year and I needed it desperately," said AL recalling the incident in his home. "But I'd do the same thing again." He's the son of Italian immigrants, never got beyond second year in high school, and is now beginning his 4th term and 7th year as the Republican Congressman from Fairfield County.

AL, stocky, greying, 49, was one of 12 children, and his father was a gardener. At 10, AL held his first job, helping a milkman from 3 to 8:30 a. m., earning 50 cents and a bottle of milk each morning. Thereafter he was a pinboy, caddy, dancing waiter, and ditchdigger. In between he was an amateur boxer and a member of the Boys Club of Greenwich.

"The club took me away from wrong things," he said. "There were plenty of opportunities for going all wrong around here. At 14, I was arrested for breach of the peace. It was a penny crap game. One fellow tried to cheat. I tried to stop it and got hit, but I hit last. The fight lasted an hour. We were all put on probation."

He's never lost his association with the Boys Club, and since he became a Congressman allows the club to submit their candidates for West Point and Annapolis, which he forwards to the proper authorities for approval. They're never rejected.

AL divides his devotions among his people, regardless of party; his family; and his faith. He was indifferent to faith until 17 years ago. He was then broke and out of work, and applied for a job as a production man with a valve company with little hope of getting it, when he drove his wife and niece to church, and was persuaded by them to come in.

"For the first time in years I prayed," AL said. "I felt all my despair leave me, and I knew a new life was coming. I call it my little miracle."

He got the job, of course, and has never missed church since.

In 1935 he was elected to the unpaid job as a town meeting representative. Always something of a maverick, AL joined the district health officer, Dr. Albert Austin, in a losing fight against the installation of an incinerator, then helped get Austin nominated for Congress against the weight of the whole local Republican machine. He went to Washington as Austin's secretary.

"When Dr. Austin died in 1942 his wife asked me to notify all the family and friends," AL said. "Clare Boothe Luce was his step-daughter, and I thought, what a candidate for Congress she'd make. I persuaded her to run."

In 1946 AL became unemployment commissioner for Fairfield, then head of the State unemployment commission, and was reappointed to the job by a Democratic governor. He was sent to Congress in 1950. In 1956 he won his fourth term by 105,000 votes, largest majority ever given a Connecticut Congressman.

He's the first Representative of Italian origin to sit on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and the first Congressman ever to address joint sessions of foreign legislatures in their native tongue (Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua). AL taught himself Spanish.

It was AL who got social security payments for women starting at age 62, and continued aid for mentally retarded children after they're 18. He is still fighting the injustices in the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act, and succeeded in getting refugees admitted on a first come, first serve basis rather than having them disqualified from quotas by such devices as "only bombed out refugees."

"And please say I got NIXON to wear hats at official functions," AL pleaded. "He never did, and Fairfield is the biggest hat making center in the world."

AL married a former phone operator, and has two children; Clare, 11, named after her godmother, Clare Boothe Luce; and Anthony, 24, in the Air Force, and himself the father of a 3-month-old son. Anthony married a southern girl and an index to AL's character is his first meeting with her parents. AL, with a straight face, told the father-in-law: "You're a southerner, and I'm a Yankee. You're a Protestant and I'm a Catholic. What's more you're a Democrat and I'm a Republican."

"His face went white," said AL, "until I slapped him on the back and told him: 'But that's what makes America'."

Time To Relieve Taxation Burden on Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, increasing concern is being expressed over the need for greater assistance to the small businessman who is traditionally the backbone of our economy.

I feel that the following editorial, from the Longview Daily News, Longview, Wash., points out many of the problems which the small businessman faces:

For almost a decade both political parties have been paying court to the small businessman at election time and leaving him to his own devices in the interim.

This was never more true than during the last general election. Yet Congress now is in the process of extending business taxes as they stand for another year. This means that the incorporated business will continue to pay income tax at the rate of 30 percent on earnings under $25,000 and 52 percent on earnings above that figure.

Large corporations, of course, are taxed the same as small ones. Yet the larger firms have been given some help. Rapid tax write-offs on major capital investments have been common. This has been done under the guise of defense need in many cases but the war emergencies was stretched thin when Pacific Power & Light Co. obtained rapid amortization privileges on the Yale Dam.

The large corporation also has more ready access to investment money and at lower rates than the small firm.

Thus the small-business man is at something of a disadvantage. He goes into business, as often as not, with a minimum of capital. But even if business is good, confiscatory taxes prevent accumulation of substantial reserves.

In a period of competition such as we have today, in most fields, he must keep his machinery and equipment up to date, his plant at the peak of efficiency, if he is to survive. But how can he do this if he is not allowed to accumulate reserves—if taxes drain off the substance of his earnings?

The small sawmill operator, for example, cannot hope to improve his machinery, increase his product, and make more jobs unless he has funds above the amount needed to operate and live.

Yet, because his business is small and his equipment obsolete, he is not a good risk in the money market. If he can find financing for capital improvements he must pay dearly for the money.

As time goes by and his machinery becomes older it becomes more difficult for him to compete with bigger companies who have the most up-to-date equipment technology can provide. Still taxes siphon off the funds that might be used to improve the plant and keep men on the job.

National security has been the chronic reply to requests for tax relief. To keep the Nation in a state of preparedness is, of course, both costly and necessary.

But it is time we realized that we are not living from crisis to crisis, that tension and disturbance in the international arena may go on for decades or generations. We must learn to live with this situation and adjust our lives and economy to it. Surely the national security is not helped by penalizing small businesses.

Actually the reverse is true. The national security can best be served by a strong economy. So long as the sinews of war are provided at the level deemed necessary by the Pentagon and Congress, every effort should be made to give the economy a badly needed boost. Nowhere is the need greater than in the small-business field.

Bills have been introduced to give the small-business man—and this includes the farmer—a tax deduction on money spent for capital improvements. The deduction allowances would be made on a sliding scale and would apply only to those businesses where profits are below $150,000 a year.

Such a measure would allow business to improve and expand, creating more jobs and very likely create enough added tax revenues to offset the initial losses.

The Postal Service Should Pay Its Own Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service is currently holding hearings on bills to readjust postal rates and to establish a congressional policy for the determination of postal rates.

These bills, introduced simultaneously by the chairman of the committee and the ranking minority member, encompass administration proposals to offset the annual postal deficit by increasing rates.

Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield deserves a great deal of credit for economies effected since his nomination to that important post by President Eisenhower on January 20, 1953. However, the Post Office Department simply cannot break even and maintain the efficient service desired by the public without increasing rates to meet such legitimate expenses as salary increases and rising operational costs.

The first-class postal rate of 3 cents per ounce was put into effect in 1932, and has remained unchanged since that date. The present airmail rate of 6 cents per ounce has been static since January 1, 1949.

It is time the postal service starts paying its own way. A penny or two more for a postage stamp will mean little to the individual, but it will put the Post Office Department on a paying basis.

Apropos to this subject was an editorial appearing in the Santa Rosa (Calif.) Press-Democrat on February 26, 1957, which I desire to include, as follows:

LET'S NOT PAY HIDDEN TAXES FOR POSTAL COSTS

Even as you and I, the United States postal service is making operating and management economies, only to see them swallowed up by new added costs.

Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield says that the Department ran $720 million in the red in 1952, the last fiscal year of the Truman administration.

Since, $542 million in annual economies and increased rates have been put into effect—but new expenses of $473 came along to leave the total deficit only $138 million better off than in 1952.

The new expenses consisted of $207 million in pay increases, $59 million employee fringe benefits, $132 million increased retirement fund contributions, $47 million increased capital expenditures and $38 million in higher rail rate charges.

What's the solution?

Mr. Summerfield wants to increase postal rates, to bring in revenue to meet the increased costs.

The House Appropriations Committee has come up with another idea, that of knocking $58 million off the postal budget for 1958 and forcing the postal service to get by on less money.

According to the post office people, this would require closing of post offices and ending of mail deliveries on Saturdays, reduction of daily rural free delivery service and suspension of postal money orders.

Mr. Summerfield's idea—that of charging enough for postal services to break even—seems to make sense. What's the point of running at a deficit and then charging the public in a hidden manner by taxes, instead of charging in an open manner that lets people know what the service costs?

Here's an Answer to Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to bring to the attention of the House an editorial taken from the Rock Hill (S. C.) Evening Herald of March 25, 1957:

HERE'S AN ANSWER TO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

We met a charming woman the other day. Slender, attractive, and more youthful looking than her years.

Knowing that she had 3 children, 2 of them teenagers, we marveled at the spotless appearance of her home.

"Oh, it's not my doing," he said quietly. "The children deserve the credit. They do a lot of the work. Take my teen-age daughter. She made her bed, cleaned her room, and found time to straighten up the living room this morning before she left for school."

And how did she develop this attitude of helpfulness in her youngsters? we asked in wonderment.

"Why, I have always taught my children to do things for themselves," she said. "When they were 4 or 5 years old, for example, and they asked for a sandwich, I would put the makings on the table. But I wouldn't make the sandwich. I let them do that.

"They learned to do things for themselves and they developed pride in doing things for themselves."

In training her children to stand on their own feet and to have pride in their home and a sense of responsibility, this mother has given her youngsters priceless assets for their adult lives.

If all parents took the trouble to develop such traits in their children, juvenile delinquency might become a vanishing problem.

The Late Judge Paul Brosman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a tribute to the late Judge Paul Brosman, written by Dr. Rufus Carrollton Harris, president of Tulane University, and published in the Tulane Law Review for December 1956.

Judge Brosman was one of the first appointees to the United States Court of Military Appeals. His untimely death was a blow to that court and to the whole field of military justice.

No finer tribute could be written about him than that of President Harris, an associate of Judge Brosman for many, many years.

The article follows:

PAUL BROSMAN

(By Rufus Carrollton Harris)

Paul Brosman was a native son of Illinois. He became, however, the most enthusiastic adopted son of Louisiana. No son typified more gallantly the traditional—as distinguished from the professional—qualities of the southern gentleman. He was the husband of a charming wife from Indiana, and a father of a scholarly teacher not of law but of romance languages. He was professor of law in Indiana, Georgia, and Louisiana, and the 13th dean of the Tulane Law School. He was colonel in the Air Force, pioneer judge of the United States Court of Military Appeals, and specialist in the law of evidence and procedure. He was, moreover, a man who by the quality of his private life chiefly manifested the conditions essential to distinction and happiness in each of these relationships—citizen, husband, father, scholar, administrator, military officer, and Federal judge.

To succeeding classes of law students, he was the teacher who brilliantly saw and presented not only the views of both sides of a question but also he sought to find the middle view as well. He attempted to understand if not to accept all sides in the conflicts and issues of men. It may be doubted if anyone was more successful at this.

He was a dean who in his faculty meetings waited patiently until all the evidence was in and all the arguments exhausted before deciding. Even then he did not find decision a light and easy matter. Those who have served with him on the faculty or on committees know the seriousness with which he weighed the evidence on all questions. Students and colleagues on occasion may have differed with his judgment but none could complain of lack of hearing and of fair consideration. He taught by personal example that which he proclaimed so often that the basic purpose of education is to condition people to decide the great issues of life on the basis of rational instead of emotional processes.

Paul Brosman was one of those able administrators who made administration seem at once easy and natural. One of the real secrets of this was that he sought not only to understand but also to help people. He was equally at home in a convention, a private home, a social club, a student forum, or a solemn convocation. Moreover, he had a fund of wit and story which he used well and aptly. He remembered the names of students and their problems and kept their confidence. He knew the alumni and the bench and bar. Yet for all his bonhomie I sometimes wonder if many persons really knew Paul Brosman. Appearances of understanding so often are deceitful. Paradoxically, he expected but little of people and yet so very much. He possessed rare and extensive insight into human motivation and decision. This was due in part to his almost passionate effort to understand the dominant personal factors that chiefly moved the people he knew.

After World War II, it is correct to say that law school teaching and administration seemed not to hold for him the freshness and compulsion it once held. He sensed a lack of fulfillment and when the Korean crisis called him back into uniform and ultimately to the court a new door opened to him.

This period on the court was his time of flowering. Here he returned to writing at which he was so apt and which he had so long foregone for administrative duties. Here he could put to wiser use his natural endowment of extraordinary judicial temperament. The opinions he handed down were richly expressive, objective, and scholarly. They were marked by the same sense of fairness, thoroughness, aptness, and conviction seen earlier in the law school, and in all his personal as well as professional relationships. His service on the bench thus became more than an opportunity for him. It was a timely and happy challenge. It was a service which he enjoyed and one to which he responded with his usual humility, enthusiasm, and warmth. His death cut short a brilliant and promising new career. It brought an end to an aspect of jurisprudence needing his realism, intellectual honesty, and subjective understanding. It removed a wise counsellor. It took away one loved by a host of people, into whose ranks I long ago entered.

The Best Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very thoughtful and sensible editorial, worthy of the attention of every Member of the Congress, that appeared in the National Tribune, Stars and Stripes, on March 28, 1957:

THE BEST DEFENSE

Knute Rockne, one of the great football coaches in American collegiate history, once said "the best defense is a good offense." Sir Walter Scott suggested the same thing in a more poetic vein when he wrote "Who spills the foremost foeman's blood, that party conquers in the end."

Naturally we often ponder about the futility of war but since time immemorial all

nations have been faced with its dangers and, to save themselves, have had recourse to battle to secure domination or safety.

Apparently the millenium has not yet arrived when the lion shall lie down with the lamb and the warrior shall turn his sword into a ploughshare.

All this is unfortunate for the happiness of the teeming millions who now inhabit this earth of ours. If the common man in any nation were asked if he preferred war to peace he would response without question "peace." We all want peace in a quiet world. This is the desire of mankind but there are proud, willful men who, in their unfortunate philosophy would make all men subject to their will, regardless of cost in lives and fortunes.

To them it matters not that whole countries should be wiped out if only they may have their way. They have lost sight of the Divine principles with which most of us have been endowed and which we strive to observe no matter how fraught with danger are the times in which we live.

The United States of America has fought a number of wars since it declared our independence in 1776. We almost went to war once with our ally France. We did go to war with England in 1812, but only because we felt that the high-handed actions of the British in pressing our citizens into the service of the Crown was something to be stopped. We won that war. Again in 1848 the arrogance of Santa Ana in Mexico brought us to war and our troops proved victorious.

Unfortunately, from 1861 to 1865 we were engaged in what, to that time was the greatest and costliest war of all times. Men took sides because of their convictions but happily the Union was preserved and time has healed most of the sores of that bloody era.

In 1898 we went to war to free an oppressed people in Cuba because of our belief in freedom as it applied to all men. We defeated one of the great powers of Europe in that struggle and proved that we had established our place among the nations of the world.

Coming down through the years we were engaged in World War I. Not for gain, but because we believed that a world power was growing to such vast strength that it was necessary to take up arms to defend ourselves. The same was true of World War II, and our action in Korea was again taken in the cause of freedom for an oppressed people.

In the years between these conflicts we settled down to enjoy a peaceful prosperity. Like Cincinnatus of old we did turn our swords into plowshares and developed an economy which has become the wonder, and sometimes the envy, of the world.

Now we are faced with peril. We still seek peace with all the will our leaders possess. But there are those who do not want peace but desire only conquest. These enemies from without and their emissaries within our borders seek only to destroy us and in the face of this enmity we must brace ourselves not only to be able to withstand the shock of an offense but to be ready to retaliate in such a manner that these foes of our way of life shall never dare again raise their hands against us.

To be ready for such an onslaught requires money—money for armament, money for manpower and money to help other nations stand firm against the wiles of a common enemy.

There are those among our legislators who cry out at the vast demands being made upon the American people for defense. It is true that here and there some reductions in defense spending can be made but by and large, to so weaken ourselves as to be unable to take up the cudgels when necessity demands is a poor economy in the long run.

It is true that to keep up the requirement of our Armed Forces means more taxes for the American people. However, without the means to help ourselves we could become victims of some predatory power. In a short time we would not be rendering tribute to our own salvation but rather tribute to some strange Caeser who would grind us down without pity and squeeze the last drop of blood from our veins to satisfy his greed and will to be overlord of all creation.

It therefore behooves us all to give thought to the demands being made upon us in support of the military needs of our country, here and abroad. It is a poor economy that would lose everything eventually in order to save a little now. Such shortsightedness must be condemned.

While we recommend to our legislators the use of the most careful judgment in determining the appropriations which must be made to meet our needs we also urge upon them serious consideration of the dangers which present themselves to our country and not seek savings for the sake of saying in the next election, "Well, we saved you so much money during the last 2 years. Remember us when voting time comes around again."

In order to preserve our Nation and our people—in order to live the life we wish—we must be strong. Stronger than any potential enemy and ready to face any hazard which confronts us, not only with courage but also with the weapons that will assure success. Only with strength can we subdue the powers of evil which work against us. Only with strength can we maintain our dignity and our way of life.

As Knute Rockne so ably expressed it, "The best defense is a good offense." We must be able, when sufficient provocation arises, to offer such a show of offense that our enemies will hesitate to take up arms against us. If the still-free nations of the world would join us in this philosophy we need have no fear of danger from our common enemy.

Tribute to Herky Rubenstein

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, on April 8, Mr. Herky Rubenstein will be the recipient of a testimonial dinner at the Waverly Inn in Cheshire, Conn., in the district which I represent.

Herky Rubenstein has long been active in the game of basketball and has made valuable contributions to the game through his participation as a player, coach, and founder of the Connecticut State Basketball League.

Below is a brief biography of Herky and some of the reasons why his many friends will gather next month in paying him tribute:

Herky Rubenstein was born October 16, 1902, in Syracuse, N. Y., where he attended elementary and high school. (His given name is Harold, but he never uses it.)

He was active in basketball as a player for 36 years prior to his retirement in 1949. He played with the All Syracuse Pros, Canton Bulldogs, Kingston Pros, All New Britain (Con.), New Haven Atlas and West Haven Red Devils, plus an assortment of other clubs, amateur and semipro, throughout the Northeast.

Herky coached the Red Devils for years. He played on some great Red Devil teams, alongside such performers as George Heyer, Ed Bennett, former Yale Capt. Bob O'Donnell, Milt Northrop, Bill Carroll, Chubby Malinconico, Frank Iwanski. He was still playing in his forties. He always has found time and energy to suit up when a charity game came along. Only last year he played for the March of Dimes. His legs were a bit rubbery and his reflexes weren't as sharp as they used to be, but the old Rubenstein talent still was there.

The best Rubenstein-coached Red Devil team probably was that of 1948–49. That year the Devils won 66 and lost only 9. They finished a close second in the Eastern Professional Basketball League. (Herky, for years was vice president of the league. He had helped to found its predecessor, the Connecticut State Basketball League.) The team also represented Albany in the New York State League, dropping a playoff series to Cohoes, 4 games to 3. Its members included Malinconico, Iwanski, George Collins, Johnny McHugh, Frank Crisafi, Johnny Dobrutsky, Joey St. John, Hy Shindell, Hank Donesky, and Big Moe Monahan.

How does Herky compare modern basketball with the game of yesteryear? "You've got to be big, but not necessarily smart," says Herky. "The big men are the key to any ball club. If you have size, a good coach can turn you into a good ball player." Does Herky (who has three boys and a girl) want his kids to play the game? "It's all up to them," he says. "Naturally, I want them to play, but primarily I want them to get an education."

Herky, who operates a concession at Savin Rock (where often old basketball friends call and olden days are relived), was famous for hise "sleeper play." In the day of the center jump, poker-faced Herky would set up this play with George Heyer, and pull it off beautifully. Face to face with his guard, Herky suddenly would break away, take a Heyer pass, and dump the ball in the hoop. The play often was used when a basket or two were needed to pull a tight game out of the fire. Herky was a line-drive shooter who never arched a shot. This probably was the result of his having played so much, largely in upstate New York, where the baskets didn't have backboards.

Rubenstein still has a bushy head of hair, but it now is graying. He hasn't changed a bit otherwise. He remains one of the most modest fellows on the scene.

The testimonial to Herky at Waverly Inn, April 9, 1957, will be the first of a yearly series honoring the stars of the old West Haven Red Devils. The speakers will be President Maurice Podoloff, of the National Basketball Association, and Albert (Albie) Booth, Yale's mighty mite of old, both longtime Rubenstein friends. About 300 are expected to attend.

Reds and Race Trouble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to bring to the attention of the House an editorial taken from the Camden (S. C.) Chronicle of March 22, 1957:

REDS AND RACE TROUBLE

The Herald has frequently commented that there is a decided connection between the race troubles of the South and the Com-

munists. The Reds are famous for taking advantage of any situation to further their nefarious ends.

The New Orleans racial investigations have proved to the satisfaction of many Louisianians that such connection does exist. Ex-Reds testified that infiltration had been sought with some measure of success into the NAACP, and that the Communists have many agents working within the NAACP.

The purpose of the Communists is to cause as much trouble as they can, and racial differences offer a choice ground for their operations. The Communists, aided and abetted by the United States Supreme Court's integration decisions, have created more racial dissatisfaction in the past 2 or 3 years than the country had to contend with in all of its previous history.—Bamberg Herald.

Nasser's Latest Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Nasser is asking for a showdown. How soon will he get it? In this connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of March 21, 1957:

NASSER'S LATEST CHALLENGE

Having ousted the United Nations from control of non-Egyptian Gaza, President Nasser has offered a new challenge to the United Nations. He has sent all governments a memorandum outlining the terms under which he will permit the ships of other nations to pass through the Suez Canal.

These terms, expressed in general principles to be elucidated in detail later, brush aside all the solutions for the canal dispute proposed by the West, including the interim solution based on a division of the tolls proposed by the United States, Britain, France and Norway. They ignore the principles adopted by the United Nations Security Council and agreed to by Egypt for a settlement of the dispute—principles which call for "insulating" the canal from Egyptian politics and for agreement between Egypt and the canal users on the tolls. Finally, Nasser's terms undertake to confirm and make permanent all the violations of the Suez convention of 1888 which Egypt has already perpetrated and to establish conditions which would enable Nasser and the Soviets, which stand behind him, to hold West European economy at their mercy.

To this end the memorandum not only reaffirms Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal; it also reasserts Nasser's determination to manage and operate the canal under his sole authority and for his own purposes. To the same end the memorandum makes plain that only those ships will be permitted to use the canal which pay the full tolls in advance to the Egyptian Canal Authority or to its nominees. Whether the mention of "nominees," added to other statements that the "system of levying the canal tolls" will remain as under the natonalized company and that a special fund will be set aside for programs of improvement and expansion of the canal, still provide for talking points is not clear. But the general purport of the memorandum is brutally plain, and the West can accept it only at the price of complete capitulation.

This purport is not changed by the memorandum's pious promise that Egypt will respect the letter and the spirit of the 1888 convention and cooperate with the world community of nations. For Nasser has violated the convention by seizing the canal and blocking it in defiance of the convention's specific provision that not even measures of self-defense shall interfere with the free use of the canal in peace or war. What is more, he has proclaimed his intention to resume the blockade against Israel as soon as the canal reopens. Moreover, he continues to delay the reopening of the canal and lets it be known that it may remain blocked for technical reasons unless the United Nations, which is already paying for clearing the canal, also replaces the tugs and dredges he sank in it. "Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed, that he is grown so great?"

Following Egypt's seizure of the canal and until it was blocked, Britain, France, and some other maritime nations paid tolls into blocked accounts pending later settlement. The United States is pledged to pay the tolls to the Canal User's Association, or the World Bank, or the United Nations. Should Nasser now stop their ships if they seek to resume this practice, these nations will face an immediate showdown.

Determining Egypt's Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter which was addressed to the editor of the New York Times and which appeared in that newspaper on March 27, 1957:

DETERMINING EGYPT'S POLICY—U. N. RESPONSIBILITY SAID TO BE THE SECURING OF DEFINITE ANSWER

(The writers of the following letter are educators and members of the American Christian Palestine Committee.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Unofficial reports already suggest that slight success will attend U. N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold's present mission to Cairo, at least insofar as Arab-Israeli issues are concerned. Egyptian policy, we may presume, will largely continue to follow already established precedents: to resume the war with Israel under a United Nations umbrella, preserving the power of option as to weapons and as to the place of use.

In this respect President Nasser suffers only from an embarrassment of riches. U. N. Emergency Forces, thinly stretched across an expanse of desert, will find it difficult to contain infiltrating commandos, although they will prove more than adequate to identify a countering force from the Israeli Army. If the fedayeen should fail, there is the Suez Canal or the Gulf of Aqaba.

Along with the blockades are other alternatives: warlike declarations and incitements to hostility directed at the Arab refugees and the Arab population in Israel; policies of economic and diplomatic boycott; encouragement of hostile actions by other Arab States. Clearly, when it comes to a protected war, Egypt has all the advantages.

RELATIONSHIPS OF COUNTRIES

According to Secretary General Hammarskjold, relationships between Israel and Egypt are still governed by the general armistice agreement which they signed on the Island of Rhodes, February 24, 1949. It was on the basis of the Israeli-Egyptian armistice agreement that the General Assembly urged the withdrawal of Israel's troops from the Gaza strip and the Gulf of Aqaba area. Yet this agreement was never intended to apply only to the border relations between the two signatories.

The preamble to the agreement states that the signatories had decided to negotiate an armistice to "facilitate the transition from the present truce to permanent peace in Palestine." Again, article I of the agreement begins as follows: "With a view to promoting the return to permanent peace in Palestine."

Mr. Hammarskjold is now in Cairo. It is clearly his responsibility to request from President Nasser an authoritative pronouncement on future Egyptian compliance with the true sense of the Israeli-Egyptian general armistice agreement.

Specifically and formally, the Egyptian Chief of State should be directed to answer whether it is actually the intention of his government "to facilitate the transition from the present truce to permanent peace in Palestine." The answer must be unequivocal; and it must be reported by the U. N. Secretary General to the United Nations on his return.

This responsibility of the U. N. Secretary General is an inescapable one. Since from Israel the United Nations has secured an act of compliance, it may from Egypt at least require a statement of intent. Israel has the right to expect more from the United Nations than the partial supervision of one phase of a war which is elsewhere fought to the utmost.

STRINGFELLOW BARR.
HOWARD M. LESOURD.
THOMAS CLARK POLLOCK.

NEW YORK, *March 22, 1957.*

Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1958

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6287) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies for the fiscal year year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Chairman, I join with the distinguished gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] in urging the committee to reject the amendment of the gentleman from Texas to cut this item by $201,000. I am concerned with the attitude of the membership of this committee this afternoon in its headlong flight to slash numerous items in this particular appropriation bill. I fear and I know that in its anxiety to cut this budget without regard to the consequences, great harm will be done to many programs of the Department of Labor that have proved invaluable and worthwhile to the economy of this Nation. The program under discussion is one that has been completely justified. The amendment to cut it will do irreparable harm. As pointed out by Chairman

FOGARTY, the reported amount of $3,600,000 is a reduction of $340,000 from the request of the Department. It is an increase over fiscal 1957 but only as to mandatory increases occasioned principally by the contribution to the civil-service retirement fund. There is no provision for expansion of the staff. The committee has been told this afternoon of the great good that this program has worked between labor and management. I trust that the proposal to cut this item will be defeated.

Some Concrete Goals for United States Policy in Middle Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article by me entitled "The Hope of Europe," which is contained in the April 1957 issue of the Progressive:

THE HOPE OF EUROPE
(By HENRY S. REUSS)

The people's rejection of Soviet tyranny throughout Middle Europe demonstrates once more that there is no finality to despotism. Neither years of Communist indoctrination nor the use of Soviet tanks and bayonets have succeeded in keeping the captive peoples immobile.

Nothing about Middle Europe is stationary, in fact, except the position of the United States Government. For years the administration has talked loudly of liberation. The 1952 Republican platform promised to replace the Democrats' "negative, futile, and immoral policy of containment" by a program which would "set up strains and stresses within the captive world." Newspaper advertisements depicted a uniformed General Eisenhower swearing "upon my honor, as a fighter for freedom, before God, I will work for liberation." In January 1953, Mr. Dulles said he "would use the Voice of America to help stir discontent and to let the Poles, Czechs, and others know that they have this country's support," and talked encouragingly of "air drops to aid such peoples." All this caused headshaking by sober people like Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, who warned that "the so-called policy of liberation is a very tricky and dangerous one."

Big talk about "liberation by air drop" died last November 4, with the pathetic unanswered S O S for Western help from the free Hungarian radio.

Within a few days, on November 14, President Eisenhower was saying, "But I must make one thing clear: the United States does not now and never has advocated open rebellion by an undefended populace against a force against which they could not possibly prevail." Simultaneously, the State Department let it be known that the captive nations must not go too far too fast toward freedom. At his December 18 press conference, Secretary Dulles denied that this country was contemplating negotiation for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Central Europe. On hearing this, according to the London Economist's Hungarian correspondent, "the people of Budapest cursed Mr. Dulles; and the security police, their peace of mind restored, resumed their activities." In January, President Eisenhower turned down Prime Minister Bulganin's November 17 offer to negotiate the European question on the basis of mutual troop withdrawals. And in March the administration let the U. N. General Assembly session run out without attempting to add to its agenda the question of the threat to world peace posed by ferment in the satellites.

Whether because of a guilt complex stemming from the bankruptcy of its own "liberation by airdrop" talk, or from a general lack of creative imagination, the administration remains immobile on the Middle Europe question. Meanwhile, there is emerging from the Democratic side of Congress the outline of what a responsible opposition is supposed to produce: an alternative policy. Such a policy rejects the role both of saber rattler and of dazed and passive bystander. In the Senate, MIKE MANSFIELD of Montana set the framework in a thoughtful speech on January 29:

"Our interest with respect to Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union itself is not merely in the tearing down of tyranny * * * Our fundamental interest is in the building up of stable, responsible, and humane governments, peaceful governments, which can take their rightful place in a peaceful Europe and in a world at peace."

In December, Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY had called for more detailed discussions on the establishment of a demilitarized zone. And a group of 12 Democrats in the House (HUGH J. ADDONIZIO, THOMAS L. ASHLEY, CHARLES A. BOYLE, JOHN D. DINGELL, TORBERT H. MACDONALD, EUGENE J. MCCARTHY, HENRY S. REUSS, GEORGE M. RHODES, PETER W. RODINO, JR., JAMES ROOSEVELT, B. F. SISK, FRANK THOMPSON, JR.) had written the President suggesting some concrete goals for United States policy in revolution-torn Middle Europe, based on our own revolutionary ideals of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness:

"1. Life: To bring an end to the threat of war in Central and Eastern Europe. A road toward that goal: creation of a demilitarized area, without the capacity to make aggressive war, for 1,000 miles from the Rhine to Russia's historic boundaries, with the demilitarization and the security of the area guaranteed by East and West.

"2. Liberty: To free the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe from foreign occupation or domination; to confirm their right to free elections, free speech, free worship, the civil liberties, protection for minorities; and at the same time to guard against the rebirth of totalitarianism from any quarter. A road toward that goal: embedding these human rights in the constitutions of the liberated states, with an international guaranty of their preservation.

"3. The pursuit of happiness: To hasten the economic and social progress of the liberated areas, and to provide an alternative to the old nationalistic rivalries for territory and resources. A road toward that goal: encouraging (by such steps as economic aid under international auspices) regional federation and economic integration in Central and Eastern Europe."

Let us look at the effect of such a proposal upon the United States, upon our NATO allies, including Western Germany, upon the captive nations, and finally upon Russia herself.

First, how will it serve the national interests of this country? Brute military force is the single most important factor behind Soviet control. To secure the withdrawal of Russia's troops to her own borders would at one stroke remove the greatest daily threat of atomic war and rescue an area which is essential to Communist plans for world domination. Thus our great object must be to rid mid-Europe of Russian soldiery.

Since war has rightly been excluded as a method of attaining this object, and since do-nothingism will do nothing, a proposal for negotiation is essential. It was pressure and negotiation, after all, which got the Russians out of Iran in 1946 and broke the Berlin blockade in 1949.

A Russian troop withdrawal would obviously require as its price a somewhat parallel Allied withdrawal. The exact measure of the price is subject to much debate. But a Western withdrawal to the Rhine, as proposed, would leave us our major air bases, and still provide room for all the United States troop strength presently in Europe. In view of the proposed shrinking of NATO ground forces in Europe in any event, it seems shortsighted to allow them to be depleted without at least attempting to get something in exchange for the depletion.

But how can you trust the Russians? As for getting out, you don't have to trust them: unless they get out, no cigars. As for staying out, there would be guaranties by NATO on the one hand and Russia on the other of the security of the demilitarized areas, including Germany. Just as now, a violation of its pledge by Russia could be the subject of retaliation by the West—but with two important differences. First, a general settlement would reduce the present tensions which might lead to Russian aggression. Second, a Russian aggression would have to start, not from East Berlin or Mecklenberg or Thuringia as at present, but from hundreds of miles east, on Russia's own border.

Now, what of the reaction of our NATO allies to the proposal? How does it serve their interests, and what view are they likely to take of it? In fact, the relaxation of tensions seems a much more immediate need to the Western Europeans than to us, insulated to some extent by the Atlantic. The specter of a Germany divided or reunited with unrestricted armaments, deeply troubles Britain, France, and other European countries which remember vividly the two recent world wars. Even in Germany—if my impression from recent conversations with dozens of German visitors is accurate—there is strong sentiment that cuts across right, middle, and left that Germany's best chance of greatness lies in peaceful statesmanship, not armed might. It is a rare German who would assert publicly that reunification in freedom and Russian troop withdrawal would not be a good trade for a self-imposed arms restriction. Such approval as you find for German rearmament is often couched in the statement: "America wants German rearmament, so we go along."

Not only would such a proposal suit the interests of our NATO allies. There is considerable evidence that their leaders recognize this, and are willing to act on it if we give them a chance and let them know that the subject is not out of bounds for discussion. French and British spokesmen have from time to time talked about troop withdrawals and demilitarized zones.

It is true that until recently Chancellor Adenauer admitted no possibility of discussing the question of "thinning out" of troops. But recently he has changed him mind, at least until the elections next September. The Eisenhower administration's refusal to propose a negotiation, so far as it stems from fear of undermining the Chancellor's campaign for reelection, seems misguided. The proposal asks for a united Germany restricted to defensive armaments, as a first step toward world disarmament. It does not ask for a Germany that is neutral, or one that could not aline itself with a continuing NATO to the extent of its restricted military abilities. It is thus not identified with either the positon of the German Social Democrats or with that of Chancellor Ade-

nauer's Christian Democrats. In any event, the position of government and opposition in Germany has moved much closer on the issue of a negotiated reunification.

It is important to consider the question of German reunification and liberation of the satellites together. Unless a basis for settling the Oder-Neisse territorial question between Germany and Poland is presented as part of a central European settlement. Poland might oppose a pullback of the Red army because she feared future designs on the territory by a reunited and possibly rearmed Germany. Moreover, the Oder-Neisse problem, if unresolved, would continue to haunt prospects for peace generally.

An Oder-Neisse compromise would be a lot easier if set in the framework of a middle Europe in which nationalism is played down. If the ultimate order for a free middle Europe is to embrace economic integration and federation, it should be possible to find a solution for these territories—perhaps by a division between Poland and Germany, perhaps as an autonomous member of some larger federation. If all can share in the economic benefits, it is no longer so necessary to national pride that each country seek to expand its boundaries.

But what of the captive peoples, who cannot speak up for themselves? They have already spoken, most eloquently, in the streets of Budapest. The one great lesson of Hungary's agony is that the spirit of human liberty seems able to continue even through 1984. Whover has fought to conquer middle Europe in the past has found that the spirit for freedom of its people can never be shaken, that their individualism is a passionate belief.

But national freedom alone—Wilson's "self-determination"—is now recognized as a will-o'-the-whisp. The states of middle Europe in an atomic world cannot possibly revert to 1919 nationalism in a military or economic sense.

Demilitarization of the area with security guaranties from East and West is no longer anathema to nations which could defend themselves only for minutes under modern armed attack. A demilitarized Finland has succeeded in preserving its national sovereignty in spite of its location next to the Soviet Union. When the Polish workers issued their manifesto at Poznan and asked for withdrawal of Russian troops, they sought not reincarnated Polish forces but forces of the U. N. instead.

Just as a middle European nation cannot be self-sufficient in defense, it cannot be self-sufficient in economic life. A workable solution must protect the great cultural heritages of Poles and Czechs, Hungarians and Slovaks by supporting them in a going economy. And that means economic integration, free movement of goods and people, and the steady development of regional insituations—stimulated if need be by western economic aid. Such a regional federation, based on the free consent of the people concerned, could ultimately look toward voluntary association in appropriate matters with larger units of the free world. For instance adherence to the Council of Europe could help lead toward an ultimate political and economic unification of Europe that would revive the dream of Dante.

This middle European goal of national freedom, of language, customs, and cultures, coupled with an international look to defense and economics, would surely be embraced by the democratically elected representatives of these peoples as soon as they have the power to speak.

Finally, we must ask whether Russia would accept such a proposal. Until we try, no man can tell. But the time seems ripe. The satellites, once thought firmly in the Kremlin's grip, have shown they are ready to turn their guns east, not west. Even within Russia, the post-Stalin collective leadership has not been able to silence the inquiring minds of the youth which it has gone to such pains to educate.

These new elements—independent thought in Russia and weakness in the satellites—may induce a breakthrough of a new Russian leadership if a sense-making proposal were presented.

And surely the proposal answers the real Russian need. It would minimize the threat of atomic war, which Russia should want no more than we. In return for getting out of the badly sagging satellites—and gaining a little reputation for good behavior among its slipping Afro-Asian clientele in the bargain—Russia would get assurance against what she considers to be the military threat of a rearmed middle Europe, including Germany. This assurance could be made even stronger if it were backstopped by a reciprocal ground and air inspection system for the demilitarized areas, and if a European security treaty were adopted by both East and West. The guaranties of human rights in the liberated states would be guaranties against iron guardist tyranny as well as against Communist tyranny. And economic internationalism in middle Europe would insure Russia of a trading area very much in her interest. Indeed, the proposal has such real advantages for Russia's legitimate interest that we need to remind ourselves that our primary objective is not making things difficult for Russia but producing a peaceful world.

But suppose Russia rejects such a proposal. Still, we are vastly ahead for placing it on the record. America cannot remain silent on the kind of Middle Europe we want to see emerge from the long nightmare of communism. The responsibilities of world power require that we define our aim, in time and so clearly that all men may paste it in their hats. Woodrow Wilson's 14 points, by presenting the Allies' blueprint for a future world order, did much to counteract the spurious Bolshevik peace offensive of 1918 and to halt the march of communism. Contrarily, in World War II the Allies' failure to announce a policy for postwar Germany other than the negative policy of unconditional surrender was, in the words of Hanson Baldwin, "the biggest political mistake of World War II * * * it discouraged opposition to Hitler, probably lengthened the war, cost us lives, and helped to lead to the present abortive peace."

Our vision of a free Middle Europe should be made known. For once known, it can begin to mold events—by encouraging the captive peoples and by giving the Russians an alternative. The times cry for a fresh policy, but the administration sits idle, afraid to seize the moment. Before another such opportunity presents itself, a new Stalin may arise, and it will be too late.

Gaza Strip Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting article, entitled "Gaza Strip Again," which appeared in the Boston Daily Record on March 21, 1957:

GAZA STRIP AGAIN

Obviously, Israel did not leave the Gaza and Aqaba areas without some kind of an understanding with the United States, France, and Canada, the three countries that entered upon negotiations with Israel to solve the Near Eastern problem.

Whether it is called an agreement or an understanding or assumptions—a new term in international relations—a deal was made. Israel acted in accordance with the deal which Nasser is now violating.

Mrs. Meir, Israel's Foreign Minister, is now back in the United States discussing this deal with John Foster Dulles, who is also back in the United States.

But neither Mrs. Meir nor John Foster Dulles can prevent the Israeli armies from marching on Cairo if there is certainty that they have been doublecrossed.

No government could stand in Israel for 24 hours after the people became convinced that a doublecross had taken place.

And there can be little doubt but that Dag Hammarskjold, of the United Nations, is playing up to Nasser in much the same manner as Hitler was built up by the Great Powers before he turned on them and started World War II.

What frightens Hammarskjold is the very real voting strength in the United Nations General Assembly of the Afro-Asian bloc which now holds the balance of power. When this bloc is combined with the Soviet countries, it is a case of the tail wagging the dog. The Great Powers, which must assume real responsibility for the peace of the world, can always be outvoted by this mass of small countries.

From now on, therefore, it is necessary for the United States to bypass the United Nations or to be subject to the maneuvers of the small states, many of which, like Egypt or Syria, already have Soviet affiliations; or like India, are so frightened by British colonialism that they are subjecting themselves to Russian and Red Chinese colonialism.

The Post Office's Job Is To Serve the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very comprehensive article on the United States postal system which appeared in the April 1957 issue of the AFL-CIO American Federationist, the author of the article being the very able president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, Mr. William C. Doherty.

The article follows:

THE POST OFFICE'S JOB IS TO SERVE THE PEOPLE

(By William C. Doherty)

History will verify that our postal system is older than the Nation itself. A year before the Declaration of Independence was framed, the Continental Congress appointed Ben Franklin as the first Postmaster General of the new United States Postal System.

In addition to its longevity among Federal departments, the postal establishment has another claim to fame—albeit of somewhat dubious character. In the years since Ben Franklin's era, there has seldom been a letup in the controversy about the role our postal system should play.

Arguments can be advanced by both proponents and opponents on the question:

"What is the role of the postal establishment?"

Is it primarily a public service which, like other Federal departments and agencies, is adjudged worth what it costs? Or is it primarily a business venture operating within the framework of accepted business concepts? In brief, should our postal system break even or, indeed, make a profit, or should it not?

Not only has this controversy generated a considerable amount of heat but—unlike many other arguments—it has also produced a great deal of light. Unfortunately, no solution has been reached on the main issue.

In the early days of the Nation, the role intended for the postal system was clearly defined. The Founding Fathers made abundantly clear what they had in mind when they instructed the first Postmaster General:

"If the necessary expense shall exceed the produce, the deficiency shall be made good by the united colonists."

President George Washington, in an early message to Congress, advocated transmission of publications free of charge through the mails as a means of unifying the new Nation. The lawmakers agreed with him. In reply to Washington's message, Congress said:

"The circulation of political intelligence through these vehicles is justly reckoned as the surest means of preventing the degeneracy of a free government."

Proponents of the "service first" concept can take comfort in these and subsequent pronouncements. In 1814 Congress returned to this policy after a brief experiment in authorizing new post roads only when they could show that a profit would be realized. In 1844 the self-sustaining theory was again rejected after a careful study by a postal commission appointed by Congress. In 1851 Congress stated firmly:

"The Post Office is primarily a service organization."

Many postmasters general have associated themselves with this service concept, although the thesis that the Nation's postal system should be self-sustaining is not without its vigorous supporters.

Postmaster General Creswell, in 1869, was of the strong conviction that a pay-as-you-go policy was the only sane way in which to operate. However, he made a complete about-face 2 years later and, in his report to Congress, argued against the profit motive. He thought it was necessary for private enterprise but stated that "a government system, managed in the interests of the people, pursues exactly the opposite course."

In 1920 Postmaster General Will Hays said:

"The Post Office is not for profit nor for politics, but for service."

Congress, the executive branch, and mail users still demand good postal service, but sometimes their enthusiasm for resolving what is popularly referred to as a "postal deficit" defeats these demands.

It would be neither accurate nor fair to say that anyone has publicly suggested the complete abandonment of the service concept to embrace an all-out drive for a self-supporting postal service. They have not reached for the profit goal as yet, but in their zeal to prove that a "postal deficit" exists they are willing not only to refuse to underwrite the necessary cost of a mail service in an ever-expanding and dynamic national economy, but they also willingly forfeit existing services.

This happened in 1950 when several vital postal functions were either curtailed or eliminated. These cuts were made under the pious guise of balancing the budget. Currently there is thinking along the same lines.

Perhaps our generation has developed a blasé attitude toward the contributions made by the postal service to the growth and development of our Nation. The mails have aided our commerce, diffused knowledge among our people, and served to unify the Nation. Given the proper tools, the postal establishment will continue to make and enlarge upon these contributions.

Proper tools are not exclusively fair and reasonable postal rates, as some would believe, but must include a modern wage structure, labor-management policies, supplies, and equipment.

The motives of those who believe increased postage rates will cure all the ills of the postal establishment are not questioned. Their arguments are sincerely presented and well intentioned. However, it does seem that more emphasis, more information, more public enlightenment should be directed toward the positive features of the postal service. This suggestion would hold true in the field of costs to the taxpayers, as well as statistics pointing up the multiplicity of services performed—both postal and nonpostal.

It is one thing to say that service is provided to 70 million citizens from 37,000 local offices, spread out over more than 3,600,000 square miles of American territory. The magniture and complexity of the postal system require more than 520,000 employees. They work in terminals, on trains, in small and large post offices.

Each year rural carriers cover 1,500,000 miles of good roads and some not so good; 135 horseback routes are still in existence; 96 carriers deliver mail by boat; 32 routes call for delivery by private airplane; and more than 100,000 city letter carriers whom I have the honor to represent trudge the streets collecting and delivering more than 50 billion pieces of mail a year.

These statistics will prove that the American postal establishment is an enormous undertaking in an era of giant commercial enterprises and huge corporations. But these Bunyanese characteristics standing alone neither prove nor disprove that postal operating expenses are as costly as some would have us believe. An examination of the facts discloses that these operating costs are not the major contributing factor to the national budget problem we hear so much about these days.

It is true that postal revenue seldom has exceeded expenditures. All agree on that. No one has asserted or attempted to prove that it is not so.

What constitutes the principal unresolved area of disagreement is whether the disparity between operating costs and revenues is to be treated differently in the Post Office Department from the way it is treated in other Departments and agencies of Government. It is because of the absence of a clear-cut policy on the subject that the postal system has become the whipping boy in any discussion of Federal spending.

The facts do not support this unenviable role of spendthrift of the Nation. A look at the figures reported in the President's budget for fiscal 1955 discloses a gross postal budget expenditure of $2,714,000,000. Applicable receipts of public enterprise for the same period are listed as $2,390,000,000. This indicates that approximately 88 percent of its costs were recaptured in the form of postal charges and other revenue.

Compare this 88 percent figure with some of the other Federal Departments for the same fiscal year. The following table shows that the postal system comes closer to paying its way than any other agency:

[In millions of dollars]

	Gross budget expenditures	Applicable receipts
Agriculture	6,018	2,974
Commerce	1,142	18
Health, Education, and Welfare	1,994	2
Interior	546	34
Justice	179	(1)
Labor	401	1
State	142	(1)
Treasury	1,153	644

[1] Less than 1.

These figures reflect the expenses and revenue from measurable services performed. The Post Office, in addition, provides many immeasurable services, some of which are nonpostal in nature. In this category is included the unmistakable contributions a good postal system makes in the unending effort to think together and work together toward building a world community of free peoples through communication.

There are also many measurable nonpostal services performed by the Post Office which are reflected in its operating costs. Among those in this category are the handling of documentary stamps and the collection of duty for the Collector of Customs.

Everyone these days is conscious of Federal spending. Well they might be, in view of the taxes levied against all of us. In this connection, the interest of postal employees is no less lively than that of other citizens. But in one area they have a particular stake because invariably their legitimate economic interests are involved.

This particular phase of public spending is the cost of operating the postal service. As long as no policy exists to identify the proper role of the service, it is unlikely that the controversy over the alleged postal deficit will subside. And until it does or until it is clearly understood what constitutes the "deficit," postal employees are going to be squarely in the middle. Every time in recent years they have gone before Congress for a wage increase, they have been confronted with the bugaboo of a "postal deficit."

Once again the employees are about to be put through the wringer in their quest for a fair and adequate wage scale. Before a Congressional hearing 2 years ago, I presented a statement bearing directly on this point. I said:

"It has always been difficult for postal employees to rationalize the fish-on-the-one-hand-fowl-on-the-other thinking when their wages are concerned. No one suggests paying a forest ranger on the basis of admittance charges to any of our national parks. Army personnel are not paid according to PX receipts.

"'Why, then,' asks the postal employee, 'must my salary always be tied in with postal revenues and postage rates? Why not determine it on the basis of the very human need for adequate wages to enable me to purchase food, warmth, shelter, to say nothing of recreation and health and education of my children?'

"It is a justifiable inquiry."

A recent report submitted to the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee by a Citizens Advisory Council, created in the 84th Congress, commented as follows:

"We fail to see why there should be any connection between postal rates and postal pay. The laborer should be worthy of his hire, and the fact that it costs money to operate the postal service should not influence the level of postal pay."

In private enterprise no reasonable person would maintain that a company would be justified to remain in business only because inadequate wages make it possible to continue to meet competition. This is the position which some would have the Government adopt in relation to postal wages. The Government has no more right to use poor wages as an excuse for staying in the postal business than General Motors has to deny fair wage treatment on the grounds that it must follow that course to compete in the automotive industry.

The time-honored procedure for effectively burying a wage request from employees is to establish a study group or a committee whose charter can be indefinitely continued. In recent weeks this method was given a severe jolt.

Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson appointed a committee headed by Ralph J. Cordiner of General Electric. The complement of the Cordiner committee listed other equally distinguished leaders from the industrial world. The group was known formally as the Defense Advisory Committee on Professional and Technical Compensation. Its study was confined to positions in professional and technical categories of the Defense Department.

However, its findings and recommendations have equal application in many areas to all Federal employees, including postal workers. Stripped to its essentials, the Cordiner committee's report simply states that the wages of Government workers have not kept pace with the compensation paid to workers in private industry.

At this writing, the report has not been officially released. Newspaper stories suggest the White House is reluctant to allow the report to be released. On the basis of excerpts from the report appearing in new stories, one might readily say that White House reluctance is understandable.

The report is said to be critical of the unconcern at the progressive lowering of the level of the Department's civilian work force resulting from inadequate Government pay. That criticism would have application in any agency of the Federal Government.

At another point the Cordiner Committee's report is said to puncture one of the most prevalent misunderstandings about Federal employment. It is the area of so-called fringe benefits. Newspapers have published the following excerpt:

"Furthermore, the Federal Government has lost the advantage it once enjoyed in the area of fringe benefits. In brief, the magnet of interesting work and public service is no longer strong enough to overcome the pull of higher salaries in non-Federal employment."

The report also is said to comment on recruitment problems within the Defense Department. This is not a problem exclusive to that agency. The Post Office Department also finds this a headache—and a costly headache.

In Minneapolis, for example, 53 civil-service examinations were conducted in an effort to recruit needed postal personnel. One a year or 2 at most would normally suffice. From the 53 examinations, 1,343 men were given followup assignments to report to work. Of this small number only 526 accepted. The others apparently had been disenchanted by the meager pay offered.

"Pay is the most tangible condition of work to a newcomer to the labor market," the Cordiner report says.

It is interesting to note that of the 526 men who did accept postal employment in Minneapolis, 320 quit for greener financial pastures within a year.

When it is considered that cost estimates range from $100 to $300 simply to recruit and put a man on the job in the postal service, it will be readily seen that a high quit-rate is a tremendous drain on the national treasury.

Although most of the Cordiner Committee's conclusions have specific reference to limited segments of employment in the Defense Department, one conclusion is applicable to every person who works for a living, in or out of Government. The report says:

"Employees must receive sufficient compensation to enable them to establish and maintain a standard of living which will allow them to discharge their responsibilities to their families and to their employers."

It is to be hoped that, when the question of wages for postal workers comes before Congress at this session, the matter will be considered on its merits and in the light of the philosophy that every man is worthy of his hire. It is to be hoped, further, that it will be remembered that the postal worker is not merely a statistic in the Federal or postal budget, that the presence or absence of proper postage rates is not involved, that a bookkeeping difference between revenues and expenditures should be balanced in the light of numerous immeasurable services.

A fiscal policy for the Post Office Department should embrace proper rates in relation to operating expenses, fair treatment to mail users and such intangible factors as the role the service is to play in our lives. A wage policy for the Department should be separate and distinct, based on traditional American concepts of living costs, productivity and the right every man has to discharge his responsibilities to his family, his employer and his community.

There must not be a double standard of morality, one standard for employers in private industry and another standard for the Government. And low wages, inadequate wages— anything less than a saving wage— cannot be morally justified. Unfortunately, this is precisely the position in which the Federal Government now finds itself.

Postal employees will continue to look to their colleagues in the American labor movement for moral support in the fight to bring Government wages into line with reality. When the time comes and the shouting begins about "postal deficits" and "raiding the Treasury"—cries that were heard in 1955—it might be a good idea for all of us to recall that our postal system costs us 12 percent of the amount appropriated by Congress.

As the well-known commercial slogan might be paraphrased, no other Federal agency can make that claim.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

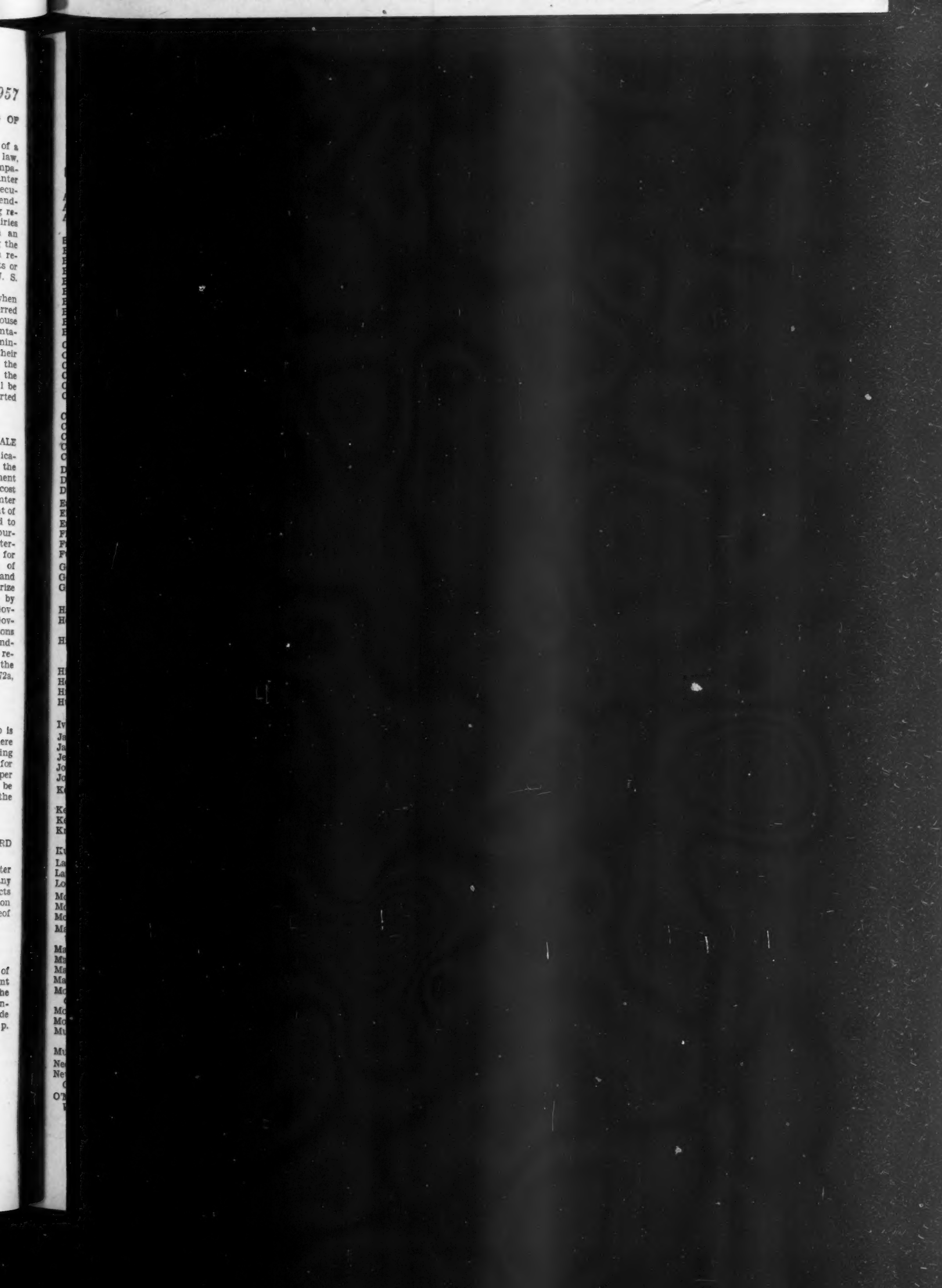

Appendix

Contributions of the General Electric Co. to the Economic Welfare of the Schenectady-Troy-Albany Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a letter I have received, which points up the contributions of the General Electric Co., to the economic welfare of the Schenectady-Troy-Albany area of New York State. It demonstrates the advantages which can accrue to both community and business through meeting mutual responsibilities and obligations.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GENERAL ELECTRIC CO.,
MOTOR AND GENERATOR DIVISION,
Schenectady, N. Y., March 7, 1957.

Senator IRVING M. IVES,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR IVES: A few days ago we had the privilege of sending along to you a copy of a press release in which we announced the planned investment of $28 million in 1957 to help keep the Schenectady facilities of the General Electric Co. modern, productive, and competitive so we can continue to remain a substantial job provider for many of your constituents in this area.

Since the mailing of that press release, it has occurred to me that you should have in your possession other pertinent information concerning our activities here in Schenectady. I venture to pass this information along to you because I know you are vitally interested in the economic well-being of this area. Also, I have been wanting to write you to make a few observations on how all of us here—with your help—feel we can collectively do a better job in meeting our business and social obligations.

You may not have thought of it quite this way before, but it seems to me that you and I are really in the business of pleasing the many and that our decisions must be based on what is best for the long-range interest of the many—not just any few.

In the employment area, you will be pleased to know that our Schenectady operations currently provide some 33,400 people with good paying jobs, and collectively these people are earning more than $200 million a year, and will continue to earn more each year as wage increases are put into effect in accordance with the 5-year "better living" contract that we negotiated with the union in 1955. Since many General Electric people live outside Schenectady County, this unusually large payroll—I believe it is the largest single industrial plan payroll in the State—contributes heavily to the economic well-being of many neighboring cities and towns in this general area.

You know, of course, that a basic payroll such as ours is said to generate local business in a volume 3 to 5 times the payroll itself as the money is passed from hand to hand in local purchases. On this basis, then, our payroll is currently generating local business in a volume of $600 million to a billion dollars annually. This is truly an impressive figure.

I don't need to tell you how conscious we in General Electric are of our obligations to the employees who make up the enterprise and how we constantly strive to do everything we can to have the best possible relations with them and with our neighbors here in Schenectady.

In addition to meeting this responsibility, we also have a very important responsibility to our many share owners, without whom there would be no enterprise at all. Our share owners now total 366,000 and, as you may know, they are people in all walks of life. More than 18,000 live right here in the Schenectady area, and in the State as a whole there are more than 83,000. More than two-thirds of them hold less than 100 shares. Of real significance is the fact that more women than men are owners of the business. It is of interest to note that many thousands of General Electric employees themselves are owners of the company, and many more are becoming owners through their participati onin the company's savings and stock bonus plan.

There is also another group to whom we have a responsibility. They are the many thousands of suppliers who manufacture parts for our operations and who provide us with all manner of essential services. I was impressed to learn the other day that our company does business with more than 42,000 such suppliers throughout the country. Many of these are located right here in New York State. An impressive fact is that nearly half of every dollar General Electric receives from the sale of its products is paid to this large group of suppliers. This means that in 1956 our suppliers received approximately 2 billion General Electric dollars for their products and services. Incidentally, 90 percent of our suppliers are small businesses.

In addition to the suppliers, there are also 400,000 independent distribution-type businesses who perform an important function in the distribution of the company's products to the eventual consumer. All these independent businesses are, of course, free at the time of each successive purchase from us to discontinue their arrangements with us, depending on whether we are offering them a rewarding value for themselves and their customers.

I am, of course, calling your attention to this information because I hope that it will help you to judge each issue on the basis of how it is likely to affect business and, therefore, the jobs of your constituents here in your own home State.

As managers of the business, our primary responsibility is to manage prudently and successfully. Only if we are successful, can we meet our obligations to employees, share owners, suppliers, customers and our community neighbors. I think you will agree that we would be the worst kind of community and State liability if we failed in meeting this primary responsibility.

It also follows that if we are to be successful, we must also help many others to succeed in their jobs, for success can only be realized through mutual effort.

This leads me to the observation—and I sincerely hope you will agree with me—that we can continue to operate successfully and be a good job supplier only if we have a business climate which encourages economic growth and which will enable us to do the best possible job for employees, customers, suppliers, share owners, and the general public. In view of this, I am naturally deeply interested and concerned with what takes place in Congress, for we both have a uniquely common interest in jobs and the flow of business in this area.

In short, we here in Schenectady try to be a good citizen-contributor to the common good, and we think we do pretty well at this as a rule. There will, of course, be the usual human errors in carrying out our good intentions, but we shall always continue to try to keep these at a minimum.

I am sure you will agree that the soundest economic growth in this community will come from our continued ability to meet our obligations to those who have claims on the business. We can do this when a vigorous business has a fair political climate which enables it to live up to its fullest utilization in serving all those depending on it or affected by it. That's what we keep assuring all our employees and neighbors here in the Schenectady-Troy-Albany area as the basis for their continued support for those who want to do right in public life.

I realize this has been a rather long letter, but I sincerely hope that its contents will be useful to you. I also hope that you will let me know how you feel about the various issues that come up in Congress, and I shall be glad to comment in turn to our employees, their families, and the community at large.

Is there something I can be doing now for the good of the cause?

Very truly yours,

JAMES M. CRAWFORD,
Vice President and General Manager,
Motor and Generator Division.

Testimony in Support of S. 11

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, Mr. George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, has recently testified before the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly Legislation supporting S. 11. I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Burger's remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

As you know, S. 11 is intended to reverse the 1950 decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Indiana Standard case. There, the Court ruled that a supplier may defend himself completely and finally against charges of unfair price discrimination, springing from the grant of special

low prices to one but not all of his customers, if he can show that he offered the special low price in good faith to meet an equally low offer by a competitor. This defense would hold regardless of injury created among his customers denied the special low prices.

We do believe there is need for this bill to become law. Here's why:

For instance, let's consider the following situation which could easily arise: a large supplier is selling through both a giant mass merchandiser and a large number of smaller, independent retailers competing with the mass-merchandiser. Due to certain economies, the supplier is extending a lower price to the mass merchandiser than to his independent outlets. But the differential does not give the mass merchandiser unfair advantage over his independent business competitors, and is defensible under the antitrust laws.

Fine and good.

Then a second large supplier decides to cut in on this mass merchandiser and offers a much lower price than the merchandiser is receiving. The first supplier has the choice of either holding his price and losing the account, or of cutting the price to meet competition. Quite humanly, he decides to do the latter.

But for one reason or another he decides against cutting prices proportionately to his other outlets, the independents who are competing with the mass merchandiser. The differential between them and the mass merchandiser has become so big they can't cope with it, and are squeezed profitwise and forced out.

This would be the situation: A large supplier cutting his prices in good faith to meet the competition of another supplier, a giant mass merchandiser customer receiving the benefits of the price cut and reflecting them in its selling, many smaller independent business competitors not receiving any reductions and being pinned to the wall.

Under the law as it now stands, these independents would have no recourse, no protection at all; theirs would be but to stand and die. And after they had died, perhaps, the law could be used to break up a fullblown monopoly.

S. 11 would change this situation, would give such independent businessmen the protection they need. As we see it, the bill offers no doctrinnaire approach to or solution of the problem. It recognizes that there are real and honest needs for meeting competition. To this end, it allows the "good faith" meeting of competition to remain a full and complete defense to unfair pricing charges where one, or a few unfavored firms are injured. It attempts only to cope with widespread injury such as is described above.

And make no mistake, gentlemen, such monopoly damage has occurred due to unfair pricing. With my own eyes I have seen it in the tire industry. Others have seen it in the grocery and other fields. What has happened before can happen again.

That is basically why our members favor this bill and urge it to be enacted into law.

Now, we realize it may be argued that by preventing such meeting of competition in good faith, the interests of the firm involved may be injured. We are not happy about this, for we wish no one damaged. But we think that such firm has an obligation to maintain such efficiency that it can meet competition, and when lowering prices to one customer lower them to all. Within the past year one large firm testified before Congress that, as a matter of policy, when it cuts prices for one customer it cuts them for all. What it can do, others should be able equally to do.

It may be argued, too, that perhaps the firm trying to take this business away may itself be discriminating among its customers in offering the lower prices, and confronting the first firm with an unfair situation. Our only observation here is that to guard against such contingency, Congress should equip the antitrust agencies with ability to meet and curb such an occurrence.

But even if this is not done, if it is not practical, then we think basically what you gentlemen of this committee are confronted with is a problem involving the weighing of damage to one against damage to the other, of benefits and protections to one against benefits and protections to the other.

Frankly, our members believe that our small, independent business structure is the real backbone of our country, and moreover is one of the main economic underpinnings of our very liberties.

For this reason we believe that when any balancing is done, if this is considered necessary, the scales should definitely tip in the direction of independent, smaller businessmen.

I have watched patiently the operations of the Robinson-Patman Act these past 20 years. In the first instance when it became a law I held to the premise the "magna carta" for small business had arrived for the first time in our Nation's economy. It is my belief that thousands upon thousands of small businesses held to the same view, and I must confess, after observing the scene for 20 years, that small business of this Nation has been disappointed in the results obtained under the law as a result of: (1) The many interpretations placed on the act by the courts, and (2) what can be commonly called a 50–50 decision action in the Federal Trade Commission.

Big business interests have consistently fought against this law. It is self-evident, from their action, they realize that for the first time efficient small business would be placed on parity with others so they could fairly compete.

So it behooves members of your committee, if they are desirous of maintaining the free enterprise system and the millions of small businesses of all descriptions, to take every action to protect the overall good of the Robinson-Patman Act, and that no attempt, direct or indirect, be made to weaken or nullify this major law.

In view of this we urge your favorable action on S. 11.

Problems in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, many excellent and edifying articles about the problems in the Middle East have been published during the past several weeks; but I have been most impressed by editorials published by two of my State's most influential newspapers, the Corpus Christi Caller-Times, in south Texas; and the San Angelo Standard-Times, in west Texas.

I ask unanimous consent to have these two views on the Middle East situation printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Corpus Christi (Tex.) Caller-Times of March 22, 1957]

MID EAST DILEMMA

Israel's withdrawal from Gaza was prompted in a large measure by "assurances" given him in a letter from President Eisenhower, Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion told a Newsweek correspondent.

"In his letter the President stated we would have no regrets if we withdrew," Ben-Gurion was quoted as saying. "For me, this was more valid than any treaty between nations. That was the word not only of the President of the United States, but of an honorable man, a friend, and a general of armies. When he said we would have no regrets, I took that to mean everything—since I am sure he knew what would cause us to regret our withdrawal."

Thus, in the plainest of prose, Ben-Gurion has exposed the painful dilemma facing the Eisenhower administration in its Middle Eastern policy course. The United States cannot afford to be gored by either of the two horns of this dilemma.

The Eisenhower administration certainly as far as Congress and many of the people of the United States are concerned, is committed to assuring Israel free use of the Gulf of Aqaba and of the Suez Canal. Egyptian Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser has rejected the principle of Israeli use of Suez and both Nasser and Saudi Arabia's King Ibn Saud apparently are prepared to deny Israeli ships use of Aqaba. We are caught with water on both shoulders. We cannot abandon Israel to the Arabs nor the Arabs to Soviet Russia.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, as a result of Egyptian and Arab intransigence, finds himself in one of the most nettlesome predicaments in his long career. He'd better come up with a good solution or be prepared to return to the private practice of law.

[From the San Angelo (Tex.) Standard-Times of March 23, 1957]

BYPASSING SUEZ CANAL COULD BAFFLE NASTY NASSER

Eight major oil companies are taking steps, says a London dispatch, toward laying new pipelines in the Middle East. Committees have been set up to study routes, finances, and equipment, and the work of these committees is expected to be completed in a few weeks.

Spokesmen refused to comment on a proposed 1,000-mile pipeline from southern Iraq to Iskenderon, Turkey.

The vast uncertainties that surround the Mideast as long as Nasser sets astride the Suez Canal and the fact that Europe and the Western World must be ready for any eventualities suggests perhaps that our State Department would be interested in thwarting, frustrating, and otherwise baffling Gamel Nasser, who hasn't been averse to doing those same things to the rest of us.

If he wants to play it rough, Secretary Dulles might suggest that it use some of its $200 million emergency funds for getting that pipeline built with utmost expediency.

Of course, if private industry can give an assist to the State Department and is willing to proceed with its planning as though the pipeline were an emergency, that's well and good. But a little move on the part of the State Department could convince Nasser that he isn't going to have a monopoly on an essential artery of commerce.

If he is depending on the canal to undergird Egyptian economy, and if he is committed to pocketbook thinking as many of the rest of us, he might easily be persuaded to get down off his high horse and start being agreeable for a change.

As long as we are gambling for big stakes, and at times sloughing off our loose change in world diplomacy, this $200 million might not be such a bad debt. Our actually owning the pipeline might be a good investment.

For one thing, in Turkey we could count on some friends who are not afraid of Russia, and who furnish some defense against sabotage.

Nasser, in charge of the canal and threatening always to be disagreeable, is much of a thorn in the flesh of everybody but Soviet Russia. If the thorn can be blunted by arranging for diversionary routes for commerce, there is no reason for putting up with a dictator who wants to play nasty all the time.

How To Run an Honest Labor Union: Be Honest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Victor Riesel on how to run an honest union. This article, dealing with the International Association of Machinists, is particularly pertinent in light of the disclosures brought forth by the Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Sunday Mirror of March 10, 1957]

HERE'S HOW TO RUN AN HONEST UNION: BE HONEST

(By Victor Riesel)

Me, I'm proud to carry honorary membership cards in the Sing Sing Prison Guards Union and the Screen Extras Guild.

True, they're not like Jimmie Petrillo's solid gold honorary cards, but the sentiment is worth more. So is the fact that the International Association of Machinists has a local, 1 of its 2,069, which humbled me by naming the union after me after I was hit.

You'll forgive me this bit of personal history, but I want to make the point that everything inside labor isn't a slice of that Portland crowd. That's why it gave me a charge, as they say in rock 'n roll, when the Government said to Dave Beck, "Look, don't bother, we're going to send a fellow by the name of Rudy Faupl of the machinists to that International Labor Organization meeting in Hamburg, Germany."

Faupl won't embarrass his people, the Government, or labor itself. His union is big. It is powerful. It is wealthy. It has a modern headquarters in Washington which is palatial without showing signs of the nouveau riche. And it has a code to guard every penny of the 900,000 men and women who are dextrously putting together our aircraft, bombers, and missiles—guided and unguided. I'd like to tell you about that code:

This union's money can be invested only in United States or Canadian Government bonds, or in those securities approved for investment by trust funds by the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

It is absolutely forbidden by the IAM constitution to lend money for any purpose at any time to private individuals.

All this is no new practice, burgeoning after the hearings on Capitol Hill created sensitivities in some corners of the house of labor. The union's records have been audited for over 50 years. The constitution orders the international president, Al J. Hayes, to set up a special auditing committee each 6 months.

This committee is made up of 3 men from each of 3 local unions within a radius of 40 miles of the national headquarters in Washington. No man is permitted to serve on this auditing committee more than once in 3 years. It must hire a certified public accountant. Together they go over the books.

Then a full audit report is made up. It is signed and verified under oath by the committee on the C. P. A.

This report has run 60 pages because it shows every penny paid to every official—by name. It is printed and mailed to every 1 of the 2,069 local financial secretaries. Any 1 of the 900,000 members of IAM has the right to inspect it whenever he wishes. Those unionists sure know where their money goes.

And just to make certain, the union's leaders print a summary of the report in the national newspaper, edited by Gordon Cole, whom many of us consider the Nation's leading labor journalist.

But this is just the beginning. There's a tracer kept on every cent in every one of the locals, too. The national constitution specifically prohibits the lending or appropriating of funds, property, or assets of the local lodge for any other than the legitimate purposes of the IAM.

Furthermore, locals are required by the national headquarters to elect auditing committees to examine the union's local finances every 3 months. To enforce this provision, the national headquarters maintains a staff of 21 full-time, trained auditors who swirl around the country, checking not only the local books, but the health and welfare funds, building funds, and every other fund which is kept for the benefit of the members.

Thus it's no coincidence that the union's national chief, Al J. Hayes, is head of the AFL–CIO ethical practices committee. He goes in for ethical practices. It adds up. All you "gotta" do is want to do it. He preaches what he practices and vice versa.

Sharing International Labor Organization Costs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a recent editorial, from the New York Times, concerning the vital importance of Senate Joint Resolution 73, which would increase the ceiling on United States contributions to the International Labor Organization from $1,750,000 to $3 million.

The position of the United States in the International Labor Organization will be subject to serious criticism by other member nations unless it agrees to pay its fair share of International Labor Organization costs without further delay.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of March 20, 1957]

SHARING ILO COSTS

At the request of Secretary Dulles, Chairman Green of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has introduced a joint resolution (S. J. Res. 73) to increase the ceiling on United States contributions to the International Labor Organization from $1,750,000 to $3 million. The need to do so has been emphasized by a concurrent report of the Departments of State, Commerce, and Labor pledging continued and wholehearted Government support for the ILO.

The account of our Government with the organization shows how urgent is the need to raise the limit on our financial support. Our contribution is smaller in relation to the organization's total budget—25 percent—than our payments to the United Nations and its other agencies, which range from 30 to 33⅓ percent. Then, too, we will actually be in arrears in our ILO account this year unless the ceiling is raised. The United States assessment for 1957 is $42,000 higher than the present law permits. And the ILO's tentative budget for 1958 totals $139,000 more than does the present one.

The tridepartmental report attests to the ILO's importance in forwarding the foreign policies of the United States—as did the reports of the Department's advisory committee headed by Joseph B. Johnson and those of the Commerce and Industry Association and the Chamber of Commerce of New York. The department's report, as well as the others, not only urges continued participation in the ILO but points to ways in which our representatives can make its—and their—activities more effective.

Our delegates will be seriously hampered in playing this role if the United States is not willing to pay its fair share of the ILO's costs. Senate Joint Resolution 73 should be enacted without delay.

The Middle East Problem Is Not Yet Solved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUART SYMINGTON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, it is clear that the Mideast problem has not yet been solved. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Can We Muddle Through?" written by Walter Lippmann, and published in today's issue of the Washington Post.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAN WE MUDDLE THROUGH?

(By Walter Lippmann)

Mr. Dulles, having returned to Washington from Bermuda, was at pains to dispel any notion that there exists a British-American agreement on the line we shall take in the Middle East. As a matter of fact, nobody had any reason to suppose that there had been such an agreement. But the very fact that the President and the Prime Minister chose to meet at all in such a conspicuous way was bound to cause speculation, and in Egypt at least to arouse the suspicion that the two great powers, separated since last November, were now going to act together.

If, as we know from Mr. Dulles, there were no firm agreements, were there real disagreements? There were not, so it would seem, though there are undoubtedly wide differences of opinion as to what Nasser intends to do and how he should be dealt with. Al-

most certainly what happened in Bermuda was that the British accepted American leadership in the making and in the conduct of policy in the Middle East. There was no agreement as to what the policy would be, though no doubt various possibilities must have been canvassed. But there was an assent by the British, never formalized in any agreement, that the President, and more specifically that Mr. Dulles, should manage the Middle Eastern business. It was in that role that Mr. Dulles spoke with such personal authority at his press conference on Tuesday.

As the President and Mr. Dulles appear to see it, the American role in the Middle East is to be its protector as against the Soviet Union from the outside, and within the region itself to be the impartial mediator and the friend of everybody. In practice, they have little or no hope of reaching genuine settlements within the area, be it about the canal, about the future of Jordan, or about the Egyptian-Israeli conflict. Our real policy in the Middle East is to speak boldly and loudly about what is unlikely to happen—namely, an overt Soviet military aggression—and on the real issues to zig and to zag, and somehow to muddle through without any more shooting.

When Mr. Dulles spoke of feeling a "cautious optimism," he means presumably that there is a fair chance that for a while at least there will be tacit arrangements to keep the hot issues below the boiling point. We might guess that Nasser will have his way about the canal but that, except as to Israel, he will not actually molest or discriminate against other ships. We might guess that he will not build up serious military forces in the Sinai Peninsula which could threaten Israel, and that the raiding from the Gaza strip will not be organized on a big scale. And there would seem to be a fair chance that neither Nasser nor King Saud will in fact interfere with the passage through the Gulf of Aqaba.

This is, conceivably, how a new crisis may be stalled off by saving Nasser's face and by adding to his prestige without provoking Israel enough for her to use force.

It can be argued that this is the best that can be made of a bad job. It can be said that the revolutionary movement among the Afro-Asian peoples which Nasser leads cannot be stopped by force or bought off by force or bought off by economic concessions; it can be said that the local conflict in Palestine is insoluble in this generation.

But it can be argued also that the best way to deal with the situation is not to muddle through, not to carry water on both shoulders, not to finagle and to finesse, with the object of provoking no one and of placating everyone. For if, as is now contemplated, we in fact appease Nasser both on the canal and his claim to belligerent rights against Israel, we shall find ourselves much weaker when we come to the next phase of Nasser's revolution against the Western World.

The Preservation of Wildlife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, as one keenly interested in the preservation of wildlife in my own State and in other parts of the Nation, I was pleased to note an editorial in the Sioux Falls (S. Dak.) Argus-Leader of March 25, 1957, which calls attention to this important subject. The State of South Dakota is one of the Nation's most significant wildlife areas and must play a key role in fostering improved wildlife programs.

As the editorial writer has suggested, it is particularly fitting that we turn our thoughts to the problems of wildlife conservation and management following the recent observance of National Wildlife Week.

The editorial is included as follows:

PROVIDE A HOME FOR WILDLIFE

Last week was National Wildlife Week and the occasion suggested that attention be devoted to the problems involved as civilization develops.

Civilization and wildlife can live together in a happy relationship but some adjustments must be made. If study is not devoted to the subject, wildlife will be gradually exterminated. In fact, some species already have disappeared from the scene.

But wildlife should be maintained and surely it is worth while to expend considerable effort toward this objective.

What we must realize is that wildlife needs a degree of protection as civilization encroaches upon its natural watering, lodging, and feeding places.

Before civilization appeared on the scene, wildlife existed on the basis of its own adjustment. One species might be eliminated through natural processes but there would be another one to replace it.

Then came civilization and the net result has been a constant decrease in wildlife. The buffalo has vanished from the plains and there has been no species to replace it. The once common prairie chicken is virtually a bird of the past in this area and though pheasants have been developed as a replacement, they are not nearly so numerous as the prairie chickens once were.

Various groups have interested themselves in the preservation of wildlife and their efforts are to be commended and supported. Wildlife is an asset we should preserve.

Workers Have Important Stake in Proposed Reorganization of Fairbanks, Morse & Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in all of the recent controversy over the attempted grab of Fairbanks, Morse & Co., by Leopold D. Silberstein and his Penn-Texas empire, have we not overlooked the most important possible effect of this struggle? I refer to the potential plight of the industrious, conscientious employees of this outstanding company who are concerned over their future employment status. The past and present management of Fairbanks, Morse has pursued such a sound course of corporate management that the company is free of debt and possessed of sufficient capital to insure continuing expansion and modernization. Sound fiscal programs of constructive American management, in creating greater markets and employment opportunities, is the mainstay of our ever-widening prosperity. Contrarywise accumulation of wealth through reduction or liquidation of instruments of productivity is not farsighted or economically healthy, and is most certainly not in the public interest.

My constituents who are employees and stockholders of Fairbanks, Morse & Co., are in accord with the present sound policies which have proved beneficial to both employer and employee.

The prospect of entirely dissimilar management unconcerned with the continuing operating welfare of Fairbanks, Morse & Co., has caused great concern to its employees. The very reason for its present vigor, sound fiscal planning, has made Fairbanks, Morse & Co., a prime target for corporate raiders and stock manipulators. There is substantial evidence that Silberstein not only intends to siphon off the $70 million quick assets of Fairbanks, Morse but actually must, in order to pay for the very stock he is voting to gain control of the company. Silberstein has pyramided an empire by the most unorthodox and shortsighted of schemes, notably sale and lease backs, large debt and high interest long term financing. He has publicly criticized what most economists consider the sound, debt-free, short-term financing policies of Fairbanks, Morse & Co., and stated that if he wins control there will be some changes made.

That in this proxy fight, Silberstein and company have been guilty of numerous and flagrant violations of the proxy rules of the Securities and Exchange Commission is an admitted and published fact. Failure to disclose, hiding behind the cover of Swiss banks, questionable use of third party stock procurement, illegal solicitation, all of these and many more improprieties and illegalities have been definitely ascribed to the Silberstein Penn-Texas operation. The failures of the Securities and Exchange Commission to take more positive action has been a mystery to all who have followed the fortunes of Mr. Silberstein, especially in his zealous quest of Fairbanks, Morse & Co. Whether or not the Silberstein crowd has acted improperly or have been guilty of any violation of the law in this proxy contest is now to be decided by the United States Federal court in Chicago. I will not attempt to prejudge the respective rights of the contending parties.

My more immediate concern which I believe should be the concern of this legislative body is for the protection of the innocent and almost powerless employees of these corporations which are being raided. If the present laws are not adequate then we should enact statutes which will safeguard healthy operating corporations from the attacks of those who would drain off the available capital thus destroying an operating concern with the resultant loss of means of livelihood to its workers.

Congress adopted the securities regulatory laws partly to protect American corporations from the assaults of those who would use any means of taking over corporate control. Behind the establishment of these safeguards lay the

knowledge that without them any corporation was easy prey to marauding speculators and financial jugglers. The SEC's mechanical and literal application of its regulatory power seems to indicate a lack of appreciation for the original and motivating congressional purpose in enacting these laws. Perhaps Congress should restate its desire that the administration of the securities laws be directed toward the ultimate protection of sound, prosperous, and economically stimulating productivity.

Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the statement of George Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, Washington, D. C., before the Senate Small Business Committee on the subject of Small Business Administration:

I am George J. Burger, vice president and Washington representative of the National Federation of Independent Business. I am appearing here solely for the membership of the federation.

We represent independent business and professional people in all vocations from all parts of the country. We have the largest directly supporting membership of any business organization in the country.

Our position on legislation is dictated directly by our membership. We poll our members on all important issues, and are committed by their majority vote.

The Federation, of course, has a vital stake in seeing to it that the operation of the Small Business Administration is carried out in accordance with the will of the Congress. In view of this, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, it might be well to do as the late Al Smith often said: "Let's look at the record," as it pertains to the actions of the federation since the Small Business Administration was created by the Congress, to make certain that the agency has carried out the will of the Congress in its help to small business of this Nation.

First, the record will show that in our appearances before the banking committees of the Congress we recommended the creation of the agency, and more important, that it be an independent agency, subject at all times to review by the Congress. This was the action we took in 1953.

Second, shortly after the agency was created in the summer of 1953, I made my usual annual visit to the head office of the federation at Burlingame, Calif., and during the time of this visit out there, I had an opportunity to visit some few regional offices of the Agency and confer with the regional directors. Mr. Chairman, at the time of these visits I always make it a must to be accompanied by someone else so that whatever my findings are, they can be confirmed by others present.

During our visits to the regional offices of the Small Business Administration in the West and Middle West, we found a situation as to policy that was not in keeping with the intent of Congress, and as a result of our findings on my return to Washington a joint meeting was held with Treasury and Commerce officials on October 26, 1953, which resulted in a complete change of policy through which all small business could be helped through the SBA. I might say that in November 1953, the press gave full publicity to that action. Shortly thereafter, Mr. Wendell Barnes became Administrator.

Third, during the life of the Agency the closest liaison has existed between the Washington office of the federation and the top officials of the Agency. Many conferences have been held with Mr. Barnes and his deputies, all in keeping with the intent of being a help to the Agency, and we believe the information we have been getting from our nationwide membership, commonly referred to as the "grassroots" has tended to advance the standing of the Small Business Administration with small business throughout the Nation. During these past 3 years we have made it our business to visit regional offices of the Agency throughout the Nation for the sole purpose of finding out what was taking place at the local level.

Fourth, on July 5, 1956, speaking for the federation, I conferred with Dr. Arthur Burns, Economic Adviser to the President, and presented to him as Chairman of the President's Cabinet Committee on Small Business, seven specific recommendations on small business to be considered by his group when they made their report to the President. Among the recommendations made by us were (1) that the agency be made a permanent agency of the Government, and (2) that the control of the agency be placed exclusively in the hands of the Administrator, eliminating the policy board as heretofore existing in that agency. In making the above recommendations we reaffirmed the recommendations which we made from the first instance when the legislation was proposed.

Fifth, in our appearances before the platform committees of both national convention—in Chicago and San Francisco, 1956—we urged these committees to have the same recommendations adopted in their respective platforms.

Sixth, on December 11, 1956, I had a 2-hour conference with Mr. Barnes and his deputy, at which time I gave to them our recent findings after personal visits to regional offices of SBA in certain sections of the Nation. As a result of that 2-hour or more conference we believe that SBA is showing a steady progress in carrying out the will of the Congress. However, there is still plenty of room for improvement.

Seventh, on the opening of the new Congress we urged introduction of legislation to make the agency a permanent one, with full power as to the overall policy of the agency being placed in the hands of the Administrator. We are more than pleased to advise that quite a few bills have been introduced along the line of these recommendations, and we have just completed a nationwide poll of our entire membership on S. 545 introduced by Senator THYE, and H. R. 2513, introduced by the Honorable FRANK THOMPSON, JR., both of which bills provide for the establishment of the Small Business Administration as a permanent agency, and with full control vested in the Administrator. The result of the poll disclosed: 83 percent for, 14 percent against, 3 percent no vote.

We believe the action of the Congress in making the Small Business Administration a permanent agency, with full control vested in the Administrator, will result in increasing the efficiency of the operation of the agency, which will act as a morale builder for small business of this Nation, and the establishment of the agency on a permanent basis will also attract more competent personnel.

Of course, there are many other operations the Small Business Administration can fulfill and carry out, such as making greater and greater efforts toward securing an equal share of Government contracts for small business, even, if necessary, to take the prime contract.

There is another important recommendation which should be considered, and that is that the regional and national advisory groups to the Small Business Administration should be made up exclusively of independent businessmen because through this action those groups will be able to give to the agency, both at the national and local levels, the correct picture facing small business in the respective areas. We look upon this as very important for a successful administration of the agency.

We have noted, and the Small Business Administration is to be commended for the action they have taken in the issuance of publications for distribution which provide information as an aid to small business. We also recommend that this action be continued and improved upon as time goes on.

As the views I have expressed come from the grassroots, we trust that Congress will take early action in following through on such recommendations.

Farmers Are Overtaxed Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an interesting letter from a farm family in my congressional district on the subject of overtaxation. Taxes have become a byword with every person who has a taxable income and the efforts now being made by this House to cut spending and reduce taxes are appreciated by the people.

The letter in question follows:

ALBANY, WIS., *March 1957.*

DEAR MR. SMITH: This letter should be short, necessarily it must be long. The subject—Overtaxation.

We own 2 small farms, 120–140 acres. Just ordinary buildings 50 years old—not fancy. Just ordinary land, not excellent, not poor. Our taxes total $1,636. These constitute two-thirds of our living expenses. There is something wrong with Government when taxes are twice as much as it costs a couple of people to provide themselves with everything else it requires to be able to live. We have to buy and pay for our own homes ourselves. Government provides us with nothing else put the privilege of being able to live here.

This sort of thing breeds communism from the inside, not as they would have us believe, from the outside in. After all which is different, taking two-thirds of our harvest away from us at the place of production, or handing us the tax bill to pay that makes up two-thirds of our living expense?

After having read an article written by Representative GEORGE MEADER of Michigan in the April issue of Reader's Digest we were prompted to write this letter. If only half of what he writes is true, that is bad.

In the first place, why can't these countries do for themselves as we have to? We do, however, recognize the need to save the oil in the Middle East. No doubt we here at

home can get along without Middle East oil for many years to come, even though we are heavy consumers of petroleum products. But we cannot provide oil for ourselves plus Europe's needs for many years in the future. Three-fourths of the world's oil lies under Arab soil. It cost $3 billion to drill for that which is flowing there now, of which two-thirds of it was American money for the drilling. Naturally our capitalistic government is interested in saving this investment for the oil companies. However, mostly this is a private interest. It is up to the oil companies to try to protect their investments there as much as possible themselves. Perhaps they could not do it alone. It is all right for the Government to give them the support which they cannot provide themselves; however, this is none of the taxpayers' business to provide it all. The oil companies who have their money invested there should be compelled to carry the financial burden as far as they are able, and then they could write it off as a tax loss, with the Government using public funds only where absolutely necessary.

The salaries of our public officials are paid out of the taxpayers' pockets—not necessarily out of the voters' pockets, as many millions of voters pay no other taxes except hidden ones. Those people would not provide our lawmakers with a living. First of all, you should attempt to serve the needs of those who pay. Learn to cut this waste spending to the bone. It is getting to the point where those who have to pay can stand it no longer. Imagine the bank interest of $80,000 to pay taxes for just 1 year. We are 57 and 45 years old. After having worked hard all the time, we should be able to retire on two farms; instead, now as we get older, we have to work ourselves to death just to pay taxes. We're unable to sell the farms because of the poor farm income plus these prohibitive taxes.

The President's budget for this year is outrageous. He was voted into office on the assumption that he would economize and save the country from bankruptcy. Instead, he is spending as much as our previous spendthrift administrations. He claims the people demand it. Who? Those who do not pay very much taxes, and those who get a nice job, also those who get a good deal out of it one way or another. Trim that man's budget wherever possible; it is your duty as a public servant and for your country's sake.

Don't you get other letters that sound something like this? Now let's hear you read this off on the House floor. Thank you for reading this.

Yours truly,

Mr. and Mrs. FRED HAMMERLY.

The Enemy Property Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, this session of Congress will probably have to decide whether or not the United States will return to its former enemies of World War II those properties which were seized during the war.

In this connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Oscar Schisgall. Mr. Schisgall is a freelance writer, served with the O. W. I., and is the author of numerous books.

THE ENEMY PROPERTY ISSUE

(By Oscar Shisgall)

The people of the United States and their representatives in the Congress are faced with an issue that is peculiarly and deeply rooted in their emotions. The passions and arguments it has roused—and will not doubt continue to rouse—cross party lines, finding supporters and opponents among Republicans and Democrats alike. What the Congress votes to do will affect not only American citizens but the people of Germany and Japan and of all nations which were the Allies of the United States in World War II. In short, this promises to be one of the most controversial issues with which American citizens will be confronted.

In its simplest terms it is this: Shall the United States return to its former enemies of World War II—Germany and Japan—all those properties which were seized during the war and vested in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian?

Admittedly, if such properties are returned to citizens of the Axis, the act would be the complete repudiation of agreements the United States made after World War II with its allies. America must consider the issue, not only in terms of its immediate interests, but in terms of the long-range interests of the world as a whole.

To understand the problem one must understand its background.

BACKGROUND

After the first conflict with Germany the victorious Allies assessed their enormous losses. They tried to recoup them, at least in part, by imposing heavy repatriations on the German people. The reparations were so heavy, indeed, that they were eventually to become an insupportable burden for Germany. In any case, the Germans defaulted in paying the debt. More than $100 million remains unpaid to the United States; and a number of thoughtful historians have expressed the opinion that these overwhelming reparations were in large measure responsible for the rise of Hitler. For the Germans, crushed under financial burdens, were in a mood to welcome anyone who promised to deliver them from their economic distress.

After World War II the question arose: Would the Allied Nations repeat the disastrous policy of imposing heavy reparations on Germany?

The United States opposed such a plan. So did Great Britain and France. In fact, at the Paris Conference of Allies, held from November 9 to December 21 of 1945, a resolution was drafted which would do away completely with reparations. Heavy reparations, they all agreed, were bad for the victors as well as for the vanquished. The health of the world would depend largely on restoring Germany to a position in which her 80 million people would be able to trade with other nations. It was better, in other words, to make these 80 million people self-supporting than to make them economic vassals, helpless under the weight of reparation demands.

Did this mean that the Germans, who had launched the war against mankind, and the Japanese, who had subjected the United States to the infamy of Pearl Harbor, would go scot free,' unpunished, untaxed, unaffected in any economic sense by the results of the war? Were all the appalling costs of the conflict, all subsequent war claims of innocent victims, to be paid by the victors?

A NEW PLAN

An alternate solution was advanced by the United States, England, and France and urged upon the rest of the Allied Nations. Recognized as the most liberal and humane postwar terms of modern history, the plan embraced these factors:

During World War II the United States like all the Allied Nations, had immobilized German and Japanese holdings within its national boundaries. It had done this by seizing enemy property and vesting it in the control of the Alien Property Custodian. All such enemy assets were still in the possession of the Alien Property Custodian. Their total value, in the United States, was estimated at approximately $365 million at the time of appropriation.

According to the new plan, none of this seized property would be returned to the Germans and the Japanese. Instead, the Alien Property Custodian (and his counterpart in other nations) would be empowered to sell such properties. The proceeds of the sales would take the place of reparations.

True, whatever money was thus raised would be insufficient to pay for Allied losses. After all, the United States itself had expended some $300 billion in the war. It would be futile to expect that all of this could ever be repaid by the Germans and Japanese. But the sale of enemy assets would bring the Allies some compensation.

This plan was adopted by 18 Allied Nations in the Paris Agreement on German Reparation of January 24, 1946. In the words of the agreement:

"Each signatory government shall, under such procedures as it may choose, hold or dispose of German enemy assets within its jurisdiction in manners designed to preclude their return to German ownership or control."

The Bonn Convention of May 26, 1952, which was submitted to and approved by the United States Senate, specifically provided that (a) the Allies waive all claims for reparations from Germany, (b) Germany agree never to contest the retention of vested assets by the Allies, and (c) Germany agree to compensate the former owners of vested property. Japan had agreed to similar terms in the treaty of September 8, 1951, negotiated by John Foster Dulles and called by him a good treaty.

WAR CLAIMS ACT OF 1948

As for the United States, it has championed the plan from the start; and in its War Claims Act of 1948 it reaffirmed its policy:

"No property or interests therein of Germany, Japan, or any national of either such country vested in or transferred to the Government at any time after December 7, 1941, pursuant to the provisions of this act, shall be returned to former owners thereof or their successors in interest, and the United States shall not pay compensation for any such property or interest therein."

So the decision seemed firm and final.

What was to be done with the money received by the Alien Property Custodian if and when he sold the enemy assets?

"The net proceeds remaining upon the completion of administration, liquidation, and disposition pursuant to the provisions of this act of any such property or interest therein shall be covered into the Treasury at the earliest practicable date."

These funds were earmarked to help settle the war claims of Americans—primarily prisoners of war and certain civilian internees.

The number of enemy nationals whose property was placed under the control of the Alien Property Custodian exceeded 34,000. These, however, were not all firms doing business in America. The type of such assets ran into countless categories: For example, an empty lot somewhere on the outskirts of Brooklyn, bought by a German national for a downpayment of $250 as a rael-estate investment, was technically enemy-owned property. It was seized. At the other end of the list, however, stood such an industrial giant as the General Aniline and Film Corp., owned by Germany's I. G. Farben Industrie.

The total worth of German assets in the United States was estimated to be approximately $300 million at the time they were taken over by the Alien Property Custodian. But about 50 percent of the total value

was concentrated in the holdings of 435 industrial firms.

The Alien Property Custodian put these companies under American management. For the most part they prospered. As their business grew, they were sold, often at a sizable increase of value. The North American Rayon Co. which was worth about $8 million when seized as enemy property, was sold for $12,700,000; E. Leitz, Inc., of New York, seized as an asset worth $175,000, was sold for $787,000; the Schering Corp., worth $1,300,000 in 1942 brought the astonishing sales price of $30 million. Such examples of increased worth were numerous, the increases ranging from 10 percent to over 2,000 percent.

The Alien Property Custodian disposed quite rapidly of those assets whose previous ownership was not being contested. By July of 1956, according to the Department of Justice, 382 of the 435 industrial firms had been sold; of the remaining 53, the physical assets of 35 had been disposed of, though their corporate names still were owned by the Custodian. Most of the 18 that had not been sold hung under the shadow of legal uncertainties. General Aniline, the largest of them all, worth $35 million when seized, $100 million now, was being claimed by a Swiss company—a claim which was rejected by a United States Federal court.

THE DEMAND FOR RETURN OF ALIEN PROPERTY

This, then, was the general situation when a movement began in Washington to return all vested property to its former German and Japanese owners.

The demand, initiated by the Dirksen committee, was later sponsored by a group of Americans called the Committee for Return of Confiscated German and Japanese Property. They based their case principally on moralistic grounds. Confiscation, as they termed the seizure of enemy property, was held to be contrary to all American ideals. It violated the American regard for the sanctity of private property. In support of this contention members of the committee quoted the Bill of Rights:

"No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

But could this principle be applied with equal logic to the property of aliens who had just attempted to destroy the United States? To be more specific, were the American holdings of I. G. Farben, for example, which had been one of Hitler's mainstays, to be regarded as inviolate now and beyond the jurisdiction of the Alien Property Custodian?

Those who opposed a return of enemy property opposed every part of the plea. They began by pointing out that confiscation, in the usual meaning of the term, was hardly a word to be applied to a process on which all of the affected nations had agreed, calling the agreement liberal, humane, and sound. They further pointed out that no private individual in Germany would suffer from this so-called "confiscation" since the German Government had undertaken to reimburse its private citizens. The demand for the return of enemy assets, they argued, merely called upon the United States to reimburse German citizens instead of allowing the obligation to remain with the German Government. It was, in short, they maintained, "a grab for an American handout."

As one clergyman, writing to the Pulpit Digest, put it: "What a strange, new philosophy that is—that those who win a war in the cause of decency should be called upon to pay heavy reparations to those who lose it in the cause of intolerance."

To implement their indignation further, those who opposed return of enemy property—and the consequent repudiation of the Paris agreement made with our Allies—attributed the campaign to high-paid German lobbyists and produce the names of several who had registered as being in German employ. Congressman LEO W. O'BRIEN, of New York, speaking before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, in April 1956, quoted expenditures by I. G. Chemie, or Interhandel (a Swiss holding company for I. G. Farben interests) of over $400,000 in 1954 and $350,000 in 1955 for lawsuit and attorney fees in the United States. "This, of course, is the action to gain the return of the General Aniline and Film Corporation," the Congressman said. "This is $750,000 in only 2 years." And it concerned only one of many German properties.

In spite of such disclosures the movement for the return of enemy assets had steadily gained momentum. Several Senators and Members of the House of Representatives were induced to work in its behalf. Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, introduced such legislation in 1954, and the following year a joint resolution was introduced into the House of Representatives.

Neither these nor subsequent bills which have been introduced have reached a vote on the floor of the House or Senate.

Added to this has been the personal intervention of Chancellor Adenauer of West Germany who sent a communication favoring return to the President of the United States. In his reply of August 7, 1954, President Eisenhower stated that "None of the measures [for return of German property] has the approval of my administration." He added:

"Because of the great dislocation in the German economy which took place as a result of the war, the Allied Governments decided to look to German assets in their territories as a principal source for the payment of their claims against Germany. The recovery of the German economy, which has progressed so rapidly and so well under your administration, was thus not hampered by a large reparation burden. In considering the problem of the vested assets, it is necessary, therefore, to take into account legitimate claims on the part of American citizens arising out of the war for which some provision should be made, if the original approach is reversed."

Many persons on both sides of the issue attempted to demonstrate the legality or illegality of the proposal—indeed, of all measures intended to give property back to those who had been enemies of the United States. Would such an act be in conformity with international law? Or was the only applicable international law that which had been written in the 18-nation pact known as the Paris Agreement?

The American Bar Association assigned a special committee to report on the Dirksen bill. Though the committee voted by a margin of better than 3 to 1 against the bill, both sides concurred in the opinion that the question of returning enemy assets involved not legalities but rather a matter of national policy. Ten distinguished members of the bar association who professed themselves to be in favor of the Dirksen bill nevertheless asserted in a joint report: "The central problem is not whether privately owned German and Japanese property could lawfully be confiscated by the United States in 1942, under appropriate congressional authority, as an act of war, but whether those assets, having been vested, should now be returned as an act of grace. We therefore agree that the issue before the Congress is not one of juridical power but of national policy."

One of the most important phrases in the entire controversy lies in the four words: "an act of grace."

These words recognize, wherever they appear, that the return of enemy assets is not a matter of law, of obligation, or of compulsion; it is to be determined solely as an act of grace—which is to say, a matter of choice based on America's feelings. The decision to be reached lies not in legal texts but in the heart and conscience of the American people.

THE JOHNSTON BILL

The newest of the bills designed to return enemy property—the Senate bill 600, sponsored by Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, of South Carolina, is expected to be reported out of committee for a Senate vote in 1957.

The Johnston bill differs from the earliest bills and resolutions on the subject. The difference has evoked outraged protests from the bill's opponents. For, whereas early efforts to have alien property returned to the Germans and the Japanese concentrated on this single objective, Senator JOHNSTON's bill does not. It has added some 24 pages that bring together, in a single bill, all war claims against former enemy nations. The bill seeks to legislate for Americans with claims against the German and Japanese Governments as it legislates for Germans with alleged claims against the United States.

Senator JOHNSTON's bill asserts that this joint purpose "should strengthen the foreign political and economic policies of the United States; such a program is necessary to reaffirm and promote respect for the basic and fundamental concept of the inviolability of private property in our national and international relationships; * * * to that end it shall be the policy of the United States and the purpose of this act to provide a coordinated program for—

"1. Financing the payment of war damage claims of United States nationals against Germany and Japan in their conduct of World War II.

"2. Returning privately owned property, or proceeds thereof, vested by the United States as the property of German or Japanese nationals or the nationals of friendly neutral nations."

The immediate charge of those opposed to the bill is clearly expressed in the words of several New York attorneys:

"The effect of this joint-purpose bill is too obvious to be missed. A well-intentioned American legislator who would willingly and promptly do everything in his power to bring about the settlement of an American citizen's claim against Germany is stymied. He cannot vote for the interests of his American constituent without also voting for the interests of those who were recently enemy aliens. He is required to regard German demands as equivalent to and morally as compelling as American claims. This is political trickery of the most blatant kind, designed to send the German lobby's program through the Congress on the tails of a superficially patriotic attempt to help American citizens settle their claims. The device is unworthy of the Congress. It is unworthy of all who would give unbiased consideration to the problem of enemy property that is vested in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian."

Critics of the Johnston bill demand that it be divided into its two basic parts, each to be considered and voted upon separately: (a) the interests of American citizens and (b) the interests of former enemy aliens.

Yet proponents and opponents of the bill alike regard this change as wishful thinking. The bill has already been written, considered in committee, debated in newspapers. It is what it is. When it comes to the floor of the Senate for vote, it will undoubtedly appear substantially in its present form.

ARGUMENTS PRO AND CON

This fact, however, in no way alters the moral and ethical factors involved in the return of enemy assets. Whether these be judged by themselves or in conjunction with

American claims, the arguments for or against remain unchanged.

Some of the questions which the American people will have to weight, pro and con, are analyzed below.

Confiscation?

Those favoring the return of enemy assets hold that retaining them would amount to confiscation. They argue that the United States, dedicated to the sanctity of private property, should never sanction confiscation. It cannot set such an example to the rest of the world. As long as we preach the inviolability of individual rights, we must demonstrate our faith in such rights by our actions.

Those who oppose the Johnston bill insist that no confiscation of any kind is involved in the present issue. The Republic of Germany, in the Bonn Convention, undertook to safeguard its nationals against individual loss by compensating them from the German treasury. Considering the total amount at stake at the time—$300 million—this would subject the German treasury to far less strain than if it had to pay full war reparations to the Allies. Even the Germans never spoke of this method as being confiscatory—that is, not until their lobby began to operate in Washington. If German nationals have not yet been compensated by their government, the fault lies with the German Government itself, not with Americans. There is no reason why Americans should be penalized for the failure of the German Government to meet its promises to its own people.

Retaliation?

Continuing the argument against confiscation on another tack, the proponents of the bill warn of the dangers it threatens. We Americans, they point out, are constantly and peculiarly vulnerable to retaliation. To quote Mr. Charles R. Carroll, an attorney speaking before the American Bar Association:

"American private investment in foreign lands today is certainly not less than $23 billion * * *. These totals are made up of thousands of enterprises * * * subject to the attitudes and practices of the foreign governments under which they live * * *. If we use the incident of war as a justification for confiscation, we can expect that justification to be availed of against our nationals."

In other words, other nations may subject citizens of the United States to a quid pro quo, and we Americans have a tremendous foreign investment at stake. Let us not tempt others into hostile reprisals by setting a confiscatory example.

This argument, say the opponents of the bill, is an absurd threat calculated to stir our fears. It is founded on an illusion urging appeasement in the face of a danger which does not exist.

To begin with, the argument presupposes another world war, with Americans this time fighting all those nations in which they have their $23 billion investment—which is to say, practically the entire free world. It presupposes that having gotten into this war, the United States would then lose it; and that as a result of defeat all American property in foreign lands would be confiscated.

Under what other circumstances would enemy countries be in a position to retaliate for our refusal to return enemy assets today? This argument, say its opponents, has no reality or imminence.

RETURN THE FULL PROCEEDS?

If properties which were vested in the Alien Property Custodian have been sold, let the full proceeds be returned to the citizens of the Axis, say those in favor of the Johnston bill. This is the only fair and equitable procedure possible, even though many of the properties are worth more today than when they were seized. As a committee of 12 lawyers put it in a statement to the bar association: "To suggest that we should keep the excess over book value (the profit realized by the sale of the property) * * * is to use an accounting device as a measure of just compensation. Are patents, recorded at a value of $1, subject to seizure for that price? * * * Since the war the value of the dollar has been more than halved." How, then, proponents of the bill ask, can we provide an adjustment for this inflation? "To attempt to adjudicate just compensation in each case would be the work of years. We have, therefore, recommended that assets on hand be returned to those from whom they were vested; that if the properties have been sold, the proceeds be returned."

The demand that full payment be made to the Germans on the basis of the price for which their property was sold rouses instant moral indignation.

As has been indicated, the total value of the vested property in question had approximately doubled in value at the time of its sale, over what it was when sequestered. Put in figures, the $300 million in assets which the United States seized climbed to a worth of more than $500 million when sold. To return the full proceeds to the Germans on the terms suggested would give them a profit of more than $200 million.

Of this a minister wrote: "Do we now condone the recent Nazi efforts to destroy our civilization? If we do not condohe them, how can we be so illogical, so paradoxical, so utterly inconsistent as to reward those who tried to crush our liberties?" He pointed out that the $500 million which would be turned over to the Germans by this plan must ultimately come out of the American pocket; and he adds of the advocates of return: "They speak of the horrors of confiscation, as they piously plead the cause of former Nazis. But why are they in no sense concerned about confiscating $500 million from Americans?"

This minister urged that we "prove to all mankind that there can be no monetary profit in any Hitler-like attempt to rob civilization of its freedom." Maintaining that Americans are not a vindictive people—the United States has, indeed, given Germany over $4 billion for rehabilitation—he asserted that on the other hand Americans ought not to be foolish enough to be cruel and unjust to themselves.

Another speaker in opposition to the Johnston bill declared that if the United States penalized itself by returning all German property plus a huge windfall of profits, it would virtually be admitting it had been wrong in fighting Hitler. The return of property with the award of fat profits would constitute a recognition of our war debt to the Axis. We would, in effect, be paying a $200 million premium as the price of having opposed the Nazis.

Abrogate the Paris agreement?

Do we have the right in the United States unilaterally to abrogate the terms of the Paris agreement?

We have that right without question, say the supporters of the Johnston bill. The Paris agreement was not technically a treaty at all, they maintain. It was an executive agreement among representatives of the heads of state. When Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was asked to comment on this point before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, he said:

"In my opinion, the agreement, whatever its intent may have been as an executive agreement, was without authority whatever to bind the Congress of the United States in this matter. The property had been vested by action of Congress. I believe Congress has the right to decide what to do about the matter. I do not believe that the freedom of Congress in this matter has been curtailed in any way by this executive agreement. I am not a believer in the power of the President, through executive agreements, to cut across the normal legislative powers of Congress.

"I may say that, as a matter of interpretation of that agreement, it can be argued that it was not intended to operate in perpetuity but was designed as a temporary measure perhaps to assure against a revival of German militarism and the use of German important commercial assets possible as an instrument of German militarism.

"I think that that danger has passed and that if the agreement be given that interpretation, which I think is a reasonable one, then the action which you contemplate is not only compatible with the powers of Congress but also is compatible with the executive agreement itself."

Later in his testimony the Secretary of State made his position even more emphatic. He added: "I do not believe that there can be any executive agreement, not approved by the Congress in the form of legislation or a treaty, which would bar the Congress from doing what it pleases with respect to this vested property."

Such a declaration on the part of the Secretary of State brought an immediate response from those Americans opposed to returning enemy property. Was the United States turning its back on its recent allies, upon whom it had urged the retention of these same enemy assets at the Paris conference?

The Secretary's words also evoked instant protest abroad. Several of our allies made formal protests to the United States. One of the most articulate objections came out of the Netherlands. Conceding the fact that the retention of enemy property had indeed been done by executive agreement, this document, written by J. C. W. M. Huijsmans, declared:

"The limits within which the President is empowered to conclude executive agreements have never been precisely stated. In practice, the President himself decides on these boundaries. Foreign countries must rely on the President's not going beyond the extent of his powers. * * * No President will be willing to bind his country by agreements without having the certainty that these were within his powers to conclude and can be carried out. * * *

"On the basis of existing practice, the Netherlands and the other members of the Paris Agreement had good reason to believe that these agreements were authoritatively signed by the United States. * * * If this were not so, the United States would be permanently guilty of a shameful abuse of confidence of foreign countries with whom they conclude agreements almost daily in the form of executive agreements. * * * Furthermore, it is, to say the least, remarkable that an American Secretary of State, who is responsible for relations with foreign countries and who himself daily concludes executive agreements in the name of the United States or has them concluded, should confine himself to the constitutional aspects solely during the hearing spoken of above and does not say anything as to the fact that under international law, the United States is bound by executive agreements. * * * In any case, it is not permissible that this provision should be abrogated unilaterally by 1 of the 19 countries, involved in the Paris Agreement. A unilateral violation of the obligation assumed here would undermine the entire settlement, as laid down in the Paris Agreement."

As a matter of dollars and cents, the opponents of the Johnston bill say the United States may well be able to afford the gesture of turning $500 million over to the Germans and Japanese. Some of the other signatories of the Paris agreement, however, would find such an act a drain on their economies. Burdened by heavy debts incurred during

the war for the Allies' common survival, relying now on loans and assistance from the United States, they would deem it a shattering sacrifice to return former Nazi property with a bonanza of accrued profits. These are the lands that were recently overrun by German tanks and Panzer divisions; these were the lands that felt the full, crashing impact of German bombs. Are they now to be urged, by our example, to reward their former enemies with handsome profits, assuring them in spirit that their property was merely being held in friendly escrow during the battles? Such an attitude is declared unrealistic and unwarranted. Even Guatemala, which was not physically attacked during the war, refused by decree to allow the Germans to profit by the return of their property.

Generate ill will?

A report of the Senate Judiciary Committee, dated July 26, 1956, argues in favor of the Johnston bill: "In comparing relative values or costs, no one can estimate what it may cost the United States not to return the seized assets. Confiscation penalizes a few but generates ill will among many. We cannot afford to relinquish the good will which we have labored so assiduously at such great cost to promote." Later, quoting an aide memoire, the committee adds, "Membership in the family of nations imposes international obligations."

Opponents of the Johnston bill see in this bid for international good will only a bid for the good will of the former enemy nations. They cannot understand why the United States should now, to all intents and purposes, be siding with its former enemies against the economic interest of its allies. Does the good will of our allies mean less than the good will of former enemies?

Create individual hardship?

We should never forget, say the advocates of returning enemy property, that much of this property represents the sacrifice of individuals in modest circumstances. Only a few of the cases at issue concern huge corporations like I. G. Farben. The vast majority—thousands, indeed—affect persons who suffered bitter private hardship because of confiscation.

As illustrations of such hardships there are allegations such as the one of the boys who fought in the American Army in Korea. He was killed. The beneficiary of his $10,000 insurance policy was his mother—a German national. The policy was sequestered as an enemy asset. The mother has never been paid.

This type of case, multiplied by the thousands, represents some of the smaller war claims the Germans hold against us. As a matter of morality and humanitarianism, say the supporters of the bill, their property should promptly be returned.

The Alien Property Custodian has branded the story of the boy who fought in Korea as completely untrue. The story has been quoted by many proponents of return, and it has brought many letters. But the Custodian insists that his office does not and never did operate under a policy of seizing military insurance. Moreover, it had nothing to do with Korea. Whether the story is true or not, however, the opponents of return say they do not counsel unfair treatment of any individual, German or otherwise. Nevertheless, they do not approve of giving German nationals preferential consideration over Americans. Our own people, they point out, still hold over 13,000 unsatisfied claims as a result of war damage; and they repeat that these claims should not be tied up in a single bill with German demands. Why, these opponents ask, should Americans be left to wait while first we placate our former enemies? The only explanation they can see lies in the determined activities of the German-paid lobby. And the German lobby, they add, is supported by the great corporations like I. G. Farben, not by small claimants. When the administration offered to return seized German and Japanese assets up to $10,000 to each former enemy, pointing out that this would be a full return to 90 percent of the claimants (about $50 million to Germans and $7,500,000 to Japanese), this offer was rejected by the German lobby.

How much will it cost?

As a matter of banking and fund management, it will cost us little or nothing to return German property, say the advocates of return. The proceeds of its sale by the Alien Property Custodian, it should be remembered, were to be earmarked for paying American war-damage claims. But there exists another source for raising such sums.

The latest report of the Senate Judiciary Committee explains: "The United States expects to receive $1 billion from Germany for postwar economic assistance under the London Debt Settlement Agreement of 1953. Payments are to be made on this obligation semiannually. Payments currently being made are in the amount of $12,500,000 and represent interest only. Beginning July 1, 1958, payments are to be made semiannually in installments of $23,790,000, including principal and interest. There are to be 59 such installments and one additional final installment in the amount of the unpaid balance."

Those who would return enemy property would use these German debt payments to meet American war-damage claims. Since the money is already out of the United States Treasury, they argue, the fund to pay damages—or certainly no great additional amount—need not be taken from the Treasury.

This kind of reasoning, say the opponents of return, is false and illogical, and can lead only to uneconomic conclusions. The money from Germany is due the American Treasury. It is part of the Nation's assets. If we divert it, using it to pay war claims, we divert it from all the other uses to which it might have been put.

To siphon a billion dollars away from our Treasury is fundamentally to take it from the American taxpayers. In other words, to keep it out of the Treasury is tantamount to taking it out. The difference is one of semantics. In the long run the act will cost the American people a billion dollars.

Again, say the bill's opponents, we return to the principal of penalizing ourselves and our own citizens in order to satisfy the demands of former enemy aliens—and of the active lobby that now serves German interests in Washington.

As all parties appear to agree, the problem is not so much one of law as of national policy; not so much one of finances as of ethics and morality. The answer must lie in our Nation's heart and conscience.

St. Patrick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the invocation by the Most Reverend John J. Russell on the occasion of the Hibernian banquet in Charleston, S. C., on March 16, 1957. We should all take this as our motto in these days "which try men's souls":

THE BREASTPLATE OF ST. PATRICK

I rise up today,
God's power guiding me, God's might upholding me,
God's wisdom directing me.
The eye of God looking before me, the ear of God listening for me.
The word of God speaking for me, the hand of God defending me,
The way of God, stretching out before me, the shield of God protecting me, the hosts of God guarding me,
From the snares of demons, from the seduction of vice, from the wicked desires of my nature,
From every man who plots against me, near or far, alone or with others.

Also included is a speech on the same occasion by the Reverend Louis F. Sterker, society chaplain. I have never found so much contained in so short an address.

Your excellency, Bishop Russell, distinguished guests, officers, and brother Hibernians, victory is the theme of St. Patrick's Day. Fifteen centuries ago St. Patrick, with zeal for God and the sword of faith, won a battle over paganism. The spoils of his victory is the joyous faith of the Irish people, who through the centuries have steadfastly held to this faith, and which faith they carried throughout the world.

What kind of a man was Patrick, and why is his victory so significant for us today?

St. Patrick was a spiritual giant who burned with love for the very people who enslaved him. This was not a natural but a supernatural love (a love like God's for us) which led him fearlessly face to face with the greatest obstacles to accomplish a mission of sharing his divine faith with the Druids of old.

The paganism of Ireland in Patrick's time was much the same as the communism of today. Slavery, fear, oppression enshrouded the place and people. The hostility against Christianity was as rampant. St. Patrick accomplished a devastating victory—paganism was destroyed and the faith planted among his beloved people. His battle was won with the weapons of prayer, penance, and personal zeal.

How many other Patricks are there in the world today? Men who are on fire with the love of a people, a mission, a homeland, from which they have been exiled, or in which they have been enslaved by the Communists. The Mindzenties, the Stepanacs, the missionaries, the thousands who are willing to suffer imprisonments, tortures, even death, for this same faith.

St. Patrick brought the blessings of Christianity to the Emerald Isle 15 centuries ago. We pray and hope that the blessings of faith will replace the evil of communism which has engulfed so much of the world today. We know the faith will not only survive, but will triumph over this evil; however, we must plan our defense against any eventuality on the part of the Kremlin. It would be well for us to ponder the victory of St. Patrick whose only weapons were prayer, penance, and personal zeal for the cause of Christianity.

Navy Appreciation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, most communities appreciate it when a service unit is moved into their area but I

dare say that few have taken one to heart as much as Sanford, Fla., has its naval air station. There a wonderful spirit has developed between the station personnel and the community. The city and its chamber of commerce, headed by Manager John Krider, and the newspaper, the Sanford Herald, and the Seminole County Junior Chamber of Commerce have cooperated 100 percent with the Navy and its wishes. On the other hand, the Navy has cooperated to the same extent with them.

Now to show what the people of Sanford think of the Navy, the folks down there are going to hold Navy Appreciation Day this Saturday. In this connection, I include the following editorial from the Sanford Herald of March 26, 1957:

FOLKS TO SHOW GRATITUDE AT NAVY APPRECIATION DAY, SATURDAY, MARCH 30

Saturday, March 30, is a day that will long be remembered in Sanford.

It will be Navy Appreciation Day for all of Seminole County. The entire day and festivities will be turned over to the honor of the United States Navy and all its personnel at the Sanford Naval Air Station.

Navy people—their entire families—will be admitted free to all of the activities which will include a gigantic fish fry with all of the trimmings, a baseball game between two of the New York Giants farm system teams at Sanford Memorial Baseball Stadium, fireworks early in the evening, and climaxed with a big street dance.

To make the event a complete success, the Seminole County Junior Chamber of Commerce, staking the daylong festivity, is asking that local citizens turn out in force to show their appreciation for all that the Navy has meant to them here in Seminole County.

Plans have been completed to feed more than 5,000 people—and to do that there will be more than 2 tons of fish, 6,000 ears of corn, and tons of other food to go along with making a fish fry an enjoyable and delicious meal. To be sure—the Jaycees even thought of butter for the corn on the cob.

All of Sanford will more than likely be out to proclaim the day one of importance to them for as each person in our community knows the Navy has been the bulwark of our economy.

The Navy, when the Sanford Naval Air Station was reactivated, brought with them hundreds of families, each one looking for housing, each one a customer in Sanford's fine stores, each one purchasing automobiles, gasoline, boats, fishing tackle, everything that makes life worth living—and most of those purchases have come from Sanford and Seminole County shops and stores.

Merchants of Seminole County well know that the Navy is important to our economy and the growth of the community. Merchants have prospered because of the increased sales, the movement of stocks which they had previously not carried, and because of the many intangibles Navy families purchase such as insurance, stocks and bonds, savings accounts in our banks, and investments of many kinds.

Best of all is the fact that Navy families have become Sanford families. They have made the finest of neighbors, joined parent-teachers associations, churches, their children have made fine and honored students, the concert series became a huge success because of their attendance, Sunday schools have been overflowing because of Navy family children, the Women's Auxiliary of our hospital have added many Navy wives to their roster and in turn they've rendered valuable service to the community—whatever the event, the organization, the group, you will always find someone from the Navy an important cog in the operation.

Now—Sanford and Seminole County want to show in a small way just how much the Navy means to the community.

The Seminole County Junior Chamber of Commerce has shouldered an enormous task in sponsoring and putting on the Seminole County Navy Appreciation Day. Naturally, these young businessmen have found it necessary to call upon other civic and fraternal organizations to help them out because of the huge number of people necessary to serve the meal and handle the big crowd that is expected to attend.

The Sanford National Guard, as they have done many times in the past, have pitched in to help and as these young men filter through the crowds Saturday we will see them again in action to lend a helping hand and doing their always exceptionally fine job of being courteous and helping others in their trouble.

Other organizations have spoken up and voiced their desire to take part in the job to be done in showing the Navy that "we like them." For instance, the USO girls are going to serve in one of the many serving lines, the Business and Professional Womens Club will take over one or two of the serving lines—and there will be other organizations speaking up to offer assistance in one of the biggest undertakings of the community in a long time.

The Jaycees are to be commended for the wonderful job they are doing—from every side there comes complimentary remarks about their agressiveness and willingness to do the tough jobs when they come along.

The president of the group, and the officers and board of directors, the committee heads and members, all deserve a round of applause from a grateful community for taking upon their shoulders of this gigantic task.

When Saturday night comes to a close there won't be a Navy person in Sanford who will not have been honored for the grand job they're doing in the service to their country.

Sanford is grateful for their being here and becoming a part of the community—Seminole County Navy Appreciation Day is just a gesture in letting everyone in the Navy know that they are appreciated—deep in the hearts of Sanford people there is a greater appreciation, one that just can't be shown by any event, no matter how large or how long.

The United Nations and Public Understanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I wish to call to the attention of the Members of the Senate an address by the Honorable Francis O. Wilcox, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. This address was delivered before the National Council of Jewish Women, Tuesday, March 19, 1957.

Assistant Secretary Wilcox discussed the role of the United States in the United Nations during these recent critical months. He also appropriately emphasized the importance of public understanding of the United Nations—its assets and its limitations.

I call to the Senate's attention one paragraph from this excellent speech, where Secretary Wilcox said:

In this connection, may I remind you that the United Nations can only do what its members want and permit it to do. We should not make the mistake, therefore, of blaming the Organization for the doubts, the uncertainties, and shortcomings displayed by its members.

He reminds us of the great responsibility that the United States has as one of the members of the U. N.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNITED NATIONS AND PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING

(Address by the Honorable Francis O. Wilcox, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, before the National Council of Jewish Women at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., March 19, 1957)

I am happy to take part in your public affairs panel this morning. The National Council of Jewish Women has a long and distinguished record of fostering enlightened understanding of national and international problems.

Your organization reflects an important segment of American opinion. Your help and your understanding will continue to be needed very much as we seek to establish through the United Nations the basis for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

I am glad to have the opportunity to be here to discuss some aspects of critical issues before the United Nations. The intense glare of publicity that has attended every step of the negotiations on Hungary and on the Middle East has not always been illuminating. It has at times perhaps highlighted the unessential, even the nonexistent, and at other times cast into deep shadow the main lines of policy and action. I should like to try to set in focus the role of the United States in the United Nations and the role of the United Nations in dealing with world problems, especially aggression and threats to the peace.

Set in its simplest terms it is United States policy to support the United Nations and to work through it to establish and maintain peace and well-being among nations. We believe it holds the best hope for the security and well-being of the American people.

We attempt to conduct our relations with other nations in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. We avoid the use of force as a means of settling disputes between ourselves and other states. If a problem arises which properly belongs in the United Nations, we use our influence to bring it there. If, in our opinion, it is not a United Nations matter, we urge its settlement by other means.

The United Nations is a political organization which has its proper uses and its limitations. It is not a remedy for all the world's ills. Misunderstanding on this score is, I think, the basis of most criticism of both the United States role in the United Nations and the role of the United Nations when attempting to deal with world crises.

LIMITATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

This past year has been a year of grave tests for the United Nations and a time of peril for world peace. The situations that arose in Egypt and in Hungary provided both the peril to mankind and the tests for the

efficacy of the United Nations. These issues have in common the fact that military force was used by one nation against another. This is the ultimate issue the United Nations was designed to meet and solve. The degree of success achieved by the United Nations to date in restoring peace with justice is a gage of its capabilities and its limitations as a peace-enforcing institution. Even more important, in my opinion, it is a measure of the extent to which member states will permit it to perform its peacemaking functions.

The criticism has been leveled at the United Nations that it has proved weak and ineffective. This was charged not only in the case of Hungary because of the Assembly's inability to get the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces, but also in the Middle East when compliance with the recommendations of the General Assembly lagged.

We must face the fact that with great power disunity reflected in the Security Council, the United Nations, for the time being, is handicapped in preventing breaches of the peace and bringing about restoration of peace. The role of the General Assembly is largely one of discussion and recommendation.

This does not mean, however, that the United Nations is without power to influence the conduct of nations. In some ways it may be likened to the role of the policeman in a community. In a well-ordered community he is a symbol of law and order, an arbiter, created by the community for its own protection. Called in on a dispute, he is not set upon by the mob. He is permitted to exercise a power which he does not in himself, possess. But this means that the community must be back of him.

The world, unfortunately, is not yet wholly made up of such communities. Where force alone is respected the General Assembly must still play a limited role based largely on the constructive power of world public opinion.

This state of affairs has not been fully appreciated in the two great issues with which the United Nations is still seized.

The United States, because of the leading role it has played in this historic session of the General Assembly, has shared to a considerable degree both the public approval of the United Nations successes and the criticisms of its failures.

In this connection, may I remind you that the United Nations can only do what its members want and permit it to do. We should not make the mistake, therefore, of blaming the Organization for the doubts, the uncertainties, and shortcomings displayed by its members.

THE CRISES IN EGYPT AND HUNGARY

The problems presented to the United Nations by the crises in Egypt and Hungary are well known. There was a fundamental difference in the nature of these problems, however. In Hungary Soviet troops, ostensibly there to protect Hungarian territory from outside aggression, turned their guns inward against the defenseless Hungarian people whose only crime was to seek peaceably a government of their choice. In Egypt, on the other hand, the clash was between the armed forces of the states involved.

Moreover, the Israeli attack occurred as a result of a long series of serious provocations and violations of the armistice agreement. There was no such conceivable excuse in the case of the Soviet use of armed force against Hungary.

Events so turned out that the United States found itself taking the lead in United Nations action in the case of both Egypt and Hungary. In neither instance did we really have any choice of the role we were to play. Both were instances of the use of force against the territorial integrity of another state.

In the former case, it was our grievous task to bring the charge of violation of the United Nations Charter against our friends and allies; in the latter, against a government and a system which is the implacable foe of freedom.

We pride ourselves on being a Nation of laws, not of men. The U. N. Charter likewise provides that nations conduct their relations on the basis of international law and justice.

We had to say to ourselves that if we ever hope to get anywhere with the peaceful settlement of disputes we must constantly take a stand against recourse to military force, as a matter of principle, and in the interest of our own Nation as well as world peace. Speaking to the nation on the Middle East situation on February 20, President Eisenhower said: "It is an issue which can be solved if only we will apply the principles of the United Nations."

Our reason for going to the United Nations, then, was to defend this fundamental principle—not because we were pro-Arab or pro-Israel or anti-Russian or because we were for or against any state or group of states.

I think there was no lack of public understanding and support in this country for the decisions taken by the United Nations on both areas of conflict. Certainly there was wide and strong backing from the membership of the United Nations. There was, however, great public impatience with the delay in the Middle East and the flat refusal in Hungary to comply with the terms of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly aimed at restoring peace. It was quickly forgotten that in both cases what the United Nations was doing, or trying to do, was dependent on the voluntary cooperation of the offending states and the states offended against. The reason for this, of course, is that only the Security Council may take decisions of a compulsory character in such instances. With the power of the Security Council weakened by the veto, the United Nations has had to fall back on the General Assembly which has only the power to recommend.

Given these circumstances, I believe we should be encouraged by what the United Nations has so far accomplished in the Middle East. It has shown that the conscience and the moral consensus of the vast majority of United Nations members, when the chips are down, favors peaceful settlement of disputes and adherence to commitments assumed under the Charter, even when such course seems to run counter to individual national interests.

In the case of Hungary, the United Nations inability to secure compliance with its urgent and repeated recommendations has caused deep concern not only to the American people and Government, but to free peoples throughout the world. In the circumstances, it has been, perhaps, only natural for segments of public opinion to oversimplify the problem in seeking to place the blame. It has been charged that the United Nations is weak and futile; it has been urged that Hungary and the Soviet Union be thrown out of the United Nations for their defiance; it has been argued that the United Nations and the United States have applied a "double standard"—one for the weak and one for the strong.

I would like to attempt some clarification of this latter point. In his broadcast to the American people the night of October 31 on the critical situations in Hungary and the Middle East, President Eisenhower said: "There can be no peace without law. And there can be no law if we were to invoke one code of intenrational conduct for those who oppose us and another for our friends."

Though he was speaking about the attack on Egypt at the time, the record shows that the United States and the United Nations consistently adhered to this principle. The standard applied to the use of force in Egypt was likewise applied to the use of force in Hungary. The essential difference was that the countries directly concerned in the Middle East crisis responded to offers of United Nations assistance to bring about a peaceful settlement. In Hungary, such assistance was flatly refused. Had the response been the reverse there would now be no United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East with a deterioration of the situation there which I leave to your imagination.

THE HUNGARIAN SITUATION

The crux of the problem of Hungary was what can the United Nations do when one of the major powers refuses to cooperate with the peacemaking efforts of the General Assembly?

The answers are fairly simple but not very satisfactory. We could attempt to terminate its United Nations membership. This is obviously not a very practical solution since the concurrence of the permanent members of the Security Council is required.

The General Assembly could recommend certain political measures such as breaking diplomatic relations. Unless it could persuade a large proportion of United Nations members to do likewise, this would not be a very effective sanction and in the case of the United States, would cut us off from a useful diplomatic contact.

The General Assembly could also recommend economic sanctions. Again, unless a large number of nations could be persuaded to join in such sanctions, the pressure thus exerted would be relatively slight. This is especially the case with the U. S. S. R. and its satellites whose total resources are great and where trade and economic relations with the West are already on a very small scale.

There is, of course, the possibility of attempting to introduce United Nations observer personnel, but their entrance would require the consent of the state concerned.

The final recourse would be to recommend the use of military forces. There is not the remotest likelihood, with the dangers involved in the atomic age, that the United Nations would vote for the latter action.

Depressing as this picture may be, it reflects the situation in which the world finds itself at the present time. This does not mean, however, that because outlaws exist in the world community, that the rule of law should not be applied wherever possible.

May I add just a word, here, about the so-called double standard. This is nothing new. In effect, the double standard was built into the United Nations Charter when the veto provision was inserted at San Francisco. This gave the great powers a privileged position in the organization.

But I think that we seriously misread recent history if we believe United Nations resolutions on Hungary failed to have an impact on the Soviet Union and its satellite system. These resolutions put the Soviet Union's barberous misdeeds squarely under the white light of world opinion. They did more to expose the implacable and diabolical nature of international communism than anything that has happened since World War II. Perhaps more important, the inherent weakness of a system that has to rely on force alone to impose its will on the majority was shockingly revealed.

The Secretary of State at Canberra last week said, "Throughout the satellite area, there is a revulsion against the brutal colonialism and exploitation of Soviet imperialism." It is my opinion that this revulsion, as a result of the facts revealed in General Assembly debate, has extended to the corners of the free world.

THE MIDDLE EAST

There was a great deal of public controversy over the possibility of the United Na-

tions imposing sanctions against Israel. Now it is true that at one time it appeared that a majority of United Nations members might have felt themselves compelled to impose sanctions if other methods had failed to bring about Israel troop withdrawal from Egypt and the Gaza Strip. As a member of the United Nations, the United States would have had to take its stand on such an issue should it have arisen.

We believed it essential that Israel should withdraw in its own best interests. This we felt was a necessary prelude to a solution of other problems in the Middle East.

I think it significant that the use of traditional bilateral diplomacy to supplement United Nations action with regard to the Middle East problem was of major importance in preventing the matter of sanctions becoming a divisive issue in the United Nations. In this connection, I would like to quote a statement of the delegate of Ceylon to the General Assembly after Israel had announced its intention to withdraw: "I, as a humble representative of a small nation, would like to pay my tribute to the Government of the United States of America for creating a set of circumstances which enabled the withdrawal of Israel troops. It is, in my opinion, a very useful act in the solution of the troubles before us."

UNITED STATES POSITION ON GAZA AND SHARM-EL-SHEIKH

The United States position on the Middle East problem has been made clear in various public documents beginning with the February 11 aide-memoire. During the long weeks in which the General Assembly has been occupied with the grave situation in the Middle East, the United States has sought a solution which would be based on justice and which would take account of the legitimate interests of all parties. On March 1 Israel announced in the General Assembly that it had decided to make full and prompt withdrawal behind the armistice lines in accordance with the General Assembly's Resolution of February 2, 1957.

In the course of this announcement, the Foreign Minister of Israel made certain declarations which, for the most part constituted restatements of what had been said in the General Assembly or by the Secretary General in his reports, or hopes and expectations which seemed to the United States not unreasonable in the light of prior actions of the Assembly.

On March 1, Ambassador Lodge, speaking for the United States in the General Assembly, took note of the statement of the Secretary General of February 22 in which he reported Egypt's readiness and willingness to make special and helpful arrangements in Gaza with the United Nations and some of its auxiliary bodies. In this connection, Ambassador Lodge said: "Obviously these matters are not for the United States alone to decide, but the United States can, I think, properly entertain the hope that such a useful role for the United Nations and its appropriate subsidiary bodies as the Secretary General has described could usefully continue until there is a definitive settlement respecting the Gaza strip or some final general agreement between the parties."

With respect to the situation in the area along the Gulf of Aqaba and the Strait of Tiran the United States position remains as stated in Ambassador Lodge's General Assembly speech of March 1: "It is essential that units of the United Nations emergency force be stationed at the Strait of Tiran in order to achieve there the separation of Egyptian and Israeli land and sea forces. This separation is essential until it is clear that the nonexercise of any claimed belligerent rights has established in practice the peaceful conditions which must govern navigation in waters having such an international interest. All of this would, of course, be without prejudice to any ultimate determination which may be made of any legal question concerning the Gulf of Aqaba."

Since then developments in Gaza have moved rapidly. We have kept in close touch with UN Secretary General Hammarskjold and with various members of the United Nations. Just yesterday Mrs. Meir, Foreign Minister of Israel, called at the Department of State to express her deep concern at the return of Egypt to Gaza, the reestablishment of its control therein and the reduction of responsibilities of the United Nations in the Gaza area. Mrs. Meir pointed out that Israel viewed this situation as contrary to the assumptions and expectations expressed by her and others in the United Nations on March 1 and subsequently. She also expressed her anxiety at reports and statements envisaging restrictions against Israeli shipping in the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba, and the maintenance of belligerency by Egypt.

SECRETARY DULLES

Secretary Dulles reaffirmed that the United States policy continued to be as publicly expressed in the speech of Ambassador Lodge in the United Nations General Assembly on March 1 and in the President's letter of March 2 to Prime Minister Ben-Gurion. The Secretary reaffirmed "that the United States would continue to use its influence in seeking the objectives of peace and tranquillity and the avoidance of any situation which would negate the great efforts which had been made by the world community to settle the current disputes in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter." The United States stands firmly by the hopes and expectations it had expressed with regard to the situation which should prevail in the area with respect to the exercise of the responsibility of the United Nations in Gaza, the free and innocent passage of the Straits of Tiran by the ships of all nations in accordance with international law, and the settlement of the Suez Canal problem in accordance with the six principles adopted by the Security Council and accepted by Egypt.

This Government will use its influence in every appropriate way to assist the Secretary General and the parties concerned to carry out the recommendations of the General Assembly and to create peaceful conditions in the area.

Very critical times remain with us. We have made progress along the road toward our objectives in the Middle East but the road ahead is long and difficult.

Our objectives have not changed. Through the United Nations there has been accomplished a cease-fire, the withdrawal of forces and the clearance of the Suez Canal has almost been completed. Immediately before us is the necessity for agreeing on interim arrangements for use of the canal and moving on to solution of the basic problems which gave rise to the present crisis. It is not sufficient to put out the fire, we must prevent it from breaking out again.

Getting at and removing the root causes is a formidable task. It is more than enough to challenge the patience of a Job and the wisdom of a Solomon. But can anyone seriously believe that a lasting peace will be possible so long as the boundaries between Israel and her neighbors remain unsettled and a feeling of insecurity pervades the entire area? Can we hope to avoid serious difficulties in the future unless real progress is made toward the solution of the Arab refugee problem and the development of the area's natural resources?

The solutions to these problems are as difficult as they are necessary. To find them, the United States is determined to continue to use every appropriate means both within and without the United Nations. In the process, we shall be serving the cause of peace with justice everywhere.

ENLARGED UNITED NATIONS MEMBERSHIP

I would like now to turn briefly to a development in the United Nations of great importance and, of late, of great public interest. That is the recent rapid increase in the size of United Nations membership—especially from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. This reflects one of the great phenomena of the postwar period. In 12 years some 600 million people from this area have gained self-government or independence.

The United Nations is open for membership to all peace-loving countries able and willing to carry out the obligations of the Charter. The United States favors, within this definition, a United Nations as broadly representative as possible.

A United Nations that has grown in less than 2 years from 60 to 81 members and in which the Afro-Asian States now constitute more than a third of the total presents new problems and, I think, new opportunities. I do not think that it is necessarily cause for alarm.

Those who are concerned point to the fact that the General Assembly rather than the Security Council has become the voice of the United Nations and its most influential body. The relative strength of the Latin American States has been reduced. The conflict over so-called colonial problems has been sharpened. With the recent increase in membership the Afro-Asian nations alone, if they stood together, could no doubt prevent the passage of any important resolution.

This situation requires careful consideration. In actuality, aside from the U. S. S. R. and its satellites, these blocs do not often vote as an entity. We think of Afro-Asian as a unit. In fact, it is extremely diverse and contains sub-blocs of an ethnic, religious, or political nature.

On certain fundamental issues the Afro-Asian nations do stand very solidly together. I refer particularly to colonialism and economic development. On these they are often joined by the so-called Latin American bloc.

The fact is that the people of the world, regardless of their military or economic strength, want an increasing voice in world affairs. In the United Nations, and especially in the General Assembly, they find this voice. The traditionally great powers of the West whose greater economic and military strength give them a preponderance of authority and responsibility must heed this voice if they desire wide support for their policies and actions. They do not have to heed it, of course, and the General Assembly cannot enforce its recommendations on other members.

In my opinion, what is required of United Nations members in the enlarged General Assembly—where each State has one vote—is a special sense of responsibility. The smaller and undeveloped countries do have a collective power far out of proportion to their economic, military, and political strength. If they abuse this power, the General Assembly can become a center of contention and deadlock. On the other hand, the great powers, if their cause is just, should not lack the support of the majority of the General Assembly on important issues.

I believe, if we examine the record, that the performance of the 11th General Assembly reflected in general this sense of responsibility of which I speak.

On the Algerian question, for example, two Asian States, Japan and Thailand, played a leading role in developing a procedural-type resolution which avoided exacerbating the situation. This was an excellent example of Assembly moderation and restraint. On the Cyprus question, the General Assembly similarly avoided prejudging any substantive solution by adopting a simple resolution which has helped maintain an atmosphere reasonably conducive to future negotiations.

Here, too, an Asian State, India, was able to work out a compromise resolution generally acceptable to those principally concerned.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I should like to quote from an editorial in a recent issue of your magazine, Council Woman: "One thing is certain. The United Nations is the one solid hope of humanity for a peaceful and better world; and the United States can and must be its strongest supporter."

If the nations of the world had been compelled to live the past 12 years without a common meeting place; without basic rules by which they should conduct themselves; without machinery for the peaceful settlement of international differences; without a place to air disputes and seek agreements; then it is my opinion that the world might not have survived those 12 years. The stresses and strains have been so great; the ideological conflict so sharp, and the destructive power of the weapons available so immense, that without the unifying power of the United Nations we could have by this time, destroyed ourselves.

If the United Nations is indeed the one best hope we have for peace with justice, it is only commonsense to use it as the cornerstone for a sound, creative foreign policy. This does not mean that the United Nations dictates foreign policy to us or any other country. But enlightened self-interest dictates that we bend every effort to make the United Nations serve with increasing effectiveness the common and fundamental desires of mankind for a world in which "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are not only possible but attainable.

The Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following address by Sir Francis Rundall, K. C. M. G., O. B. E., H. B. M., British Consul General, in New York. Sir Francis Rundall delivered his address at the annual meeting of the New York State Bar Association, in New York City, on January 25, 1957:

THE MIDDLE EAST

(By Sir Francis Rundall)

Mr. President, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great honor to be invited to speak to you today. I do so under the triple handicap of being an Englishman, a layman amongst lawyers, and a foreign-service officer. The first is really no great handicap, for during my time in the United States I have always found that Americans are ready—indeed eager—to listen to another's point of view. The other two are more serious. We are as a nation reputed—I am sure wrongly so—not to take lawyers seriously. I was told by an eminent professor of law at Cornell that the British were rash enough to undertake international negotiation with a minimum of legal aid—even to the point of letting laymen draft international instruments. The folly of this must be apparent to you all, but we remain, as he put it, curiously unrepentant. It is too sometimes stated that the British are both empirical and pragmatic in shaping their foreign policy—and neither quality should commend itself to a good lawyer. Finally, a Foreign Service officer should have no views of his own. He should ideally be a two-way mirror—reflecting the views and policies of his government to the country where he is accredited, without distortion or personal bias, and reflecting back that country's views equally objectively, without fear or favour. This being so, I can only try and remind you of some of the main problems in the part of the world I propose to discuss, and tell you what, in my understanding, the British Government and people would like to see done about them.

Having tried to establish my alibi in advance, may I turn to my subject—the Middle East—an area vital to my own country, vital to you as Americans and, indeed, vital to the peace and prosperity of the whole world. To say anything in the time available I must limit myself largely to that part of the Middle East which is now in the front pages of our newspapers and to the events of the last few months. In a way this is a pity, because one's views as to who is right and who is wrong in the Middle East tend to vary according to one's point of departure in its history. We need to take a long perspective in order properly to understand the intractable, basic problems that have plagued it for so long.

First then, why is the Middle East so important? Has it always been, or has it suddenly become much more so? I think both statements are true. Since the beginning of history it has been a vital piece of geography, the link between Europe, Asia, and Africa. It was vital enough to be the turning point in the Napoleonic wars, when Nelson won the battle of the Nile and denied Africa, India, and the Far East to the conquering French. It is now both the barrier and the bridge to Soviet expansion in the same direction. During the last 70 years it has contained the Suez Canal—the highway between Europe and the Far East—a highway increasing in importance as world trade has expanded, whose value we in Western Europe can truly measure now that the canal is blocked. During the last 20 years the Middle East has become the major source of industrial power for Western Europe. It contains two-thirds of the world's proved oil supplies. The world's oil consumption has doubled in the past 10 years and is expected to more than double again in the next 10. This oil is vital to 20th century industrial civilization, vital to the warmaking capacity of NATO. In short, the Middle East is an area which the free world, only at its peril, could afford to see pass into Communist control.

And this vital area is inhabited by a number of small nations—most of them lately emerged into independence and aflame with the heady nationalism which goes with new-won freedom. Countries where there is great wealth and also abject poverty, some with immense natural resources and some with none. Where some are governed on western democratic lines and some are as feudal as 1066. Countries divided from each other by dynastic intrigue and mutual fear, coalescing and parting like bubbles in a basin as the wind of world events blows upon them.

In this area too there is one of the most difficult international problems of our time—the problem of Israel. Opposition to Israel—to her very existence as a separate state—is the one thread which binds the Arab countries to each other. As the mandatory power in Palestine, Great Britain tried to hold the balance between Jews and Arabs for nearly 30 years. When we found the mandate unworkable, early in 1947, we placed the problem in the lap of the United Nations—who have so far been unable to solve it either. I should like to quote a sentence or two from the speech made in the House of Commons early in 1947 by the British Foreign Secretary of the day, because they seem to me to sum up the basic conflict as it existed then and as it exists still. He said this:

"His Majesty's government have been faced with an irreconcilable conflict of principles. There are in Palestine about 1,200,000 Arabs and 600,000 Jews. For the Jews the essential point of principle is the creation of a sovereign Jewish state. For the Arabs, the essential point of principle is to resist to the last the establishment of Jewish sovereignty in any part of Palestine. The discussions of the last month have quite clearly shown that there is no prospect of resolving this conflict by any settlement negotiated between the parties. But if the conflict has to be resolved by any arbitrary decision, that is not a decision which His Majesty's government are empowered as mandatory, to take. His Majesty's government have of themselves no power, under the terms of the mandate, to award the country either to the Arabs or to the Jews, or even to partition it between them."

You will remember the history of the next 8 years—the continued efforts of our two countries and France to prevent an arms race and to promote a permanent settlement between Israel and her neighbors. We were no more successful than the Security Council has proved to be in maintaining an effective true organization, or in having its decisions respected by either side. For some years now the armistice of 1949 has virtually ceased to exist.

To this confusion there have been added recently two new and sinister factors, Soviet expansionism and Colonel Nasser. It has, of course, long been a Russian dream to gain a foothold in the Middle East—in fact the Russian drive for warm-water ports dates back to Peter the Great. You will remember directly after the war the attempt to install a Communist government in Greece, the pressure on Turkey in respect of the Dardenelles, and the attempt to infiltrate Persia through the installation of a puppet government in Azerbaijan. All these failed. Since then Soviet expansion has been stopped in Europe, by the Berlin airlift and NATO; it was stopped in the Far East by the Korean war. In its ceaseless probing for weak spots the Soviet Union has now turned its attention to the Middle East.

Politically, economically and strategically the Middle East is tailormade for the kind of expansionism in which the Soviet Union excels. The stakes are high and the risks apparently low. It has consequently been their main ambition to keep the pot boiling, to prevent the relaxation of tension, to obstruct any chance of a permanent settlement. Having supported Israel at the time of her creation, political expediency dictated a complete switch of Soviet policy to support in turn the extreme wing of Arab nationalism. The Arab States have been protected by the use of the Soviet veto in the Security Council and encouraged in their crusade for the destruction of Israel. The uneasy balance maintained by the Western World in the supply of arms between both sides was overset by the arms deal with Egypt. The Baghdad Pact—which attempted to seal off the Near East from Soviet penetration—was outflanked.

And in all its Middle Eastern ambitions the Soviet Union has found a willing ally in Colonel Nasser. Although history may term it a mistake, I think it is to the credit of my country that we made an honest attempt to get on with Colonel Nasser when he first came into power. We negotiated with him the end of the condominium in the Sudan—seeing to it that the Sudanese were given their chance to opt for independence and were not, as Nasser wished, forced into the Egyptian orbit. We negotiated after much difficulty the evacuation of our great Suez base. Incidentally, we obtained from Nasser at that time a renewed affirmation of the international status of the Suez Canal—

for what that has proved to be worth. We saw in Nasser a new deal for Egypt, a possible center of stability in the Arab world who might in time develop the enlightened self-interest to negotiate a settlement of its problems.

We could not have been more wrong. Colonel Nasser has since made it very clear that his objectives are the elimination of western influence, both political and economic, from the Middle East; the destruction of Israel; and the creation under his leadership of an Arab empire which would control the canal, the pipelines, and the oil resources of the area. He has mortgaged his country's economic assets for $420 million worth of Communist arms and equipment. He has accepted a thousand or more so-called technicians from the Communist countries. He has played the Soviet game of propaganda and subversion even amongst all his Arab friends and in north Africa, with great success in Syria and Jodran, and with some success in Iraq. He has tried, but so far failed, to disrupt the Baghdad Pact. It is worth noting that the Egyptian military attachés in Iraq, Libya, and Ethiopia and the assistant military attaché in Lebanon were expelled by those governments during the past year for arms running or other subversive activities. Even the Saudi Arabian Government has arrested and imprisoned Egyptian military agents. Cairo radio is ceaseless in its attempts to stir up trouble throughout the Middle East and Africa.

Given such a situation, what is the cure? No easy or short-term one, to be sure. It is clear that the Middle East needs three basic things. First, external security—freedom from outside attack. This President Eisenhower's recent proposal, if endorsed by the Congress, should help to provide. Secondly, internal security—freedom from Russian or Egyptain subversion from within, from inter-Arab rivalries, and settlement, above all, of the Arab-Israeli dispute. Thirdly, economic development—proper use of the great wealth of the region for the betterment of its peoples. There is a crying need for education, for modern agricultural skills, for water development programs. Much of this could be financed by the Arab nations themselves, but most of the technology and some of the funds must come from the free world. If they do not, they will come, in other forms and for other purposes, from the Soviet bloc.

These three things are vital, not only to the countries primarily concerned, but also to the free world, including in particular my country. Historically Great Britain has carried the major responsibility for the defense of the Middle East. She is the only great power with ground troops there, the only great power east of Turkey with firm treaty commitments to defend the area against Russian attack. Great Britain lives by trade, by importing much of its food and raw materials and exporting its manufactures. If the channels of international trade are blocked she cannot survive. And the most important of these channels, from her point of view, is the Suez Canal. This is why we reacted as we did to Nasser's seizure of the canal last August, and why we and the other main user nations continue to resist the prospect of its operation under exclusive Egyptian control. More than a quarter of Britain's exports and imports normally pass through it; about one-third of the shipping that uses it is under the British flag. Furthermore, Britain and Western Europe have come to depend since the war upon the Middle East for more than 80 percent of their oil. If this is denied them for any considerable period, either by canal blockage or sabotage of the oil pipes, their economies must be vitally affected.

The analogy of the Panama Canal has been used often in the last few weeks. It is not a very close analogy, but it is nevertheless true that the Suez Canal, with over double the tonnage of Panama, is a much more vital interest to Great Britain than the Panama Canal is to the United States.

Nor is only Western Europe affected, but the whole free world. India, Africa, and most of Asia must depend on Europe as a source of capital goods and as a market for their products, and the highway of the Suez Canal is no less vital to them than it is to Australia and New Zealand. Unless the Middle East countries sell their oil to the West they are left virtually without any source of revenue.

It is thus to Great Britain's interest—and not to her interest alone, but that of Western Europe also and the whole free world, including the United States—that there should be peace with justice between Israel and her Arab neighbors. It is to her interest, and it is therefore her policy, to try and promote stability and prosperity in the whole area, so that the Middle East shall be a sure barrier against aggression or subversion from the Soviet Union instead of a fertile field for it. It is vitally to her interest that there should be freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal.

I do not want to dwell on recent events, with their legacy of frustration, recrimination, and strain in the relationship between our two countries. The record of what the British and French Governments actually said and did during the hectic days at the end of last October has been blurred in the following weeks. But I should like to try and answer the two most common questions—namely, why did we start and why did we stop?

It had been plain for some time that we—the free world, that is—were confronted with Soviet penetration and Egyptian subversion and aggression acting hand in hand. When after much provocation Israel reacted to the undeclared war on her borders, there was the clear risk that the whole Middle East would be engulfed in war. There was grave risk of damage to the Suez Canal—not just the sabotage which Colonel Nasser carried out, but permanent damage to its banks.

Accordingly, as you will remember, Great Britain and France called upon both sides to keep their forces 10 miles from each side of the canal. We asked Egypt to let us occupy, temporarily, the three main canal towns in order to separate the two armies and to protect the canal. Israel agreed and halted its forces; Egypt did not.

Who else could have moved? Not the United Nations. Not the United States. There was no time to lose. The French and ourselves were the only powers with troops in the area able to act quickly. And our action was fruitful. The Egyptian commander in chief has since revealed that he had called upon the armies of Syria, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia to attack Israel. When the Anglo-French ultimatum arrived, he hastily called them off. It is, I think, legitimate to ask our critics what they would have done, and what action they would have taken.

So much for why we started. Why did we stop? We stopped because both sides finally accepted the cease fire, and accepted too the proposal, put forward by Sir Anthony Eden as early as November 1, that there should be a United Nations force to supervise the cessation of hostilities. It has been argued since that perhaps we should have gone on—particularly because another 24 hours might have seen the Anglo-French forces deployed the full length of the canal. We did not foresee that Colonel Nasser would blow up the bridges, wreck the installations, and sink 50 ships in his own nationalized canal. But—our conditions were met, and there was a United Nations force in being. In passing, I do not think that the British Government took the threat of rockets and "volunteers" from the Soviet Union very seriously. In any event, President Eisenhower and General Gruenther made the reaction of the United States and the NATO alliance to such a threat exceedingly clear.

And our cease-fire was followed in due course by the complete withdrawal of our troops and those of the French. This was carried out under strong American economic pressure and in the hope and belief that the United Nations meant—what so overwhelmingly it had said—that the General Assembly would in due course tackle the long-term problems in the Middle East as well as the short-term ones.

Far more important of course is what happens next. The crisis is by no means over, it may in fact be only beginning. But in any analysis of the present position, if one tries to build up a balance sheet of profits and losses, there are a few obvious credit items, and perhaps a preponderance of debits.

Let us take a few of the debits first, relations between Great Britain and the United States have been put under severe strain, and, rightly or wrongly, there is a widespread distrust in my country of the policies and even of the motives of the United States. We are suffering from an oil shortage which could be serious if unduly prolonged. Happily our trading position is sounder than it has been for a long time, and the prompt measures which the Government took in December, with American assistance, to restore confidence in sterling have been fully effective.

There is a power vacuum in the Middle East. Hitherto it has been British power which has stopped the Soviet Union from crossing this land bridge into Africa and cutting off Asia from the free world. This power is now taken out of our hands, and the responsibility of exercising it lies with the United Nations and the United States.

The canal is still blocked and, in spite of the United Nations resolution, several weeks went by before clearance even started. The Egyptian Government has been exceedingly sticky in its negotiations with the secretary-general on this matter, and in particular has refused to allow any of the specialized salvage equipment collected by the French and ourselves to be used anywhere outside of Port Said harbor. Even when the canal is finally cleared, it is far from certain that the Egyptian Government will not try to discriminate against British and French ships and to keep the canal closed against the Israeli flag. No progress has yet been made, so far as I am aware, to repair the sabotaged pipelines running through Syria from Iraq. Clearly, the longer this state of affairs goes on, the more serious will be Western Europe's oil shortage and the economic dislocation in India and other countries in Asia.

Politically too there has been little progress—although it is perhaps early days to hope for any. Syria appears to have come still more closely under Communist influence in the last week or so. Russian influence in Cairo is certainly not on the decrease. Jordan has apparently renounced her annual subvention of some $30 million from Great Britain and will rely in future on her Arab friends to provide an equivalent amount—without which she cannot survive. Iraq, the only Arab country which is a member of the Baghdad Pact, has been under extremely heavy pressure to orient its policy away from the West. And at first sight we are further away than ever from any settlement of the Arab-Israeli problem and from any solution acceptable to the user nations on the future operation of the canal. Israel is evacuating the Sinai Peninsula, but is holding out in the Gulf of Aqaba, although United Nations pressure for her complete withdrawal is inevitably building up. Colonel Nasser has offset his military defeat by diplomatic victory, so that his prestige with the Arab people—not, I think, with the Arab

governments—is higher than ever. He is able, without much apparent impact upon the United Nations or world opinion, to "Egyptianize" all foreign assets in his country, to imprison and expel Jews and British and French nationals, and to seize their property without recompense. While there has been no overt action by the Soviet Union, Moscow is doing its best to make the Arab nations' flesh creep about the dangers of accepting American aid. It will clearly be Russian policy to support Egypt in every way to hinder any attempts for the settlement of current problems.

A gloomy picture indeed. But there are credit items. World war III has not broken out. The world has seen from the mass of military equipment captured by the Israeli army that the Russian buildup of arms in the Middle East was infinitely more serious than some western countries had supposed it to be. Nasser's army has had a good licking, and despite the efforts of Egyptian propaganda to convince the world to the contrary, news of this is bound to spread through the bazaars of Egypt and of her Arab allies. He has in addition lost most of the guns, tanks, and aircraft for which he has mortgaged his country's economic assets, as well as the income he received from canal dues. One can only speculate on this, but I think it is pretty certain that he has seriously frightened some of his allies. One doubts too whether the immediate resumption of Fedayeen attacks on Israel, in flat defiance of United Nations resolutions and the cease-fire he accepted, will add to his support in the General Assembly.

Another asset is of course the presence of the United Nations emergency force on the ground, whether it will be allowed to carry out its long-term mandate, beyond clearing Egyptian territory of British, French, and Israeli troops, or whether it will then retire upon Nasser's order, remains to be seen. There is clearly a growing opinion, which is now reflected in the United Nations, that it could have an important and longer term part to play in the pacification of the Middle East and in the protection of the just interests of Israel and her neighbors.

There is President Eisenhower's recent speech to the joint session of Congress enunciating a new United States policy for the Middle East. This speech had a somewhat mixed reception at first in the British press—there were those who said that the United States Government had become converted, at rather a late hour, to the British and French point of view about the dangers of Russian penetration. But on the whole comment was distinctly favorable. I think that there is general agreement in Great Britain, and in most of Western Europe as well, that this is the lead for which we have been looking. The Russians have had fair warning against any attempts at overt aggression and, subject, of course, to the views of the Congress, some provision is being made for economic assistance to the area generally. Much will, of course, depend upon how details of the policy are spelled out in practice, and also upon the response to it by the Middle Eastern countries themselves. It is already clear that some of the problems—internal subversion, propaganda, and aggression short of all-out war, are going to be particularly difficult to handle.

Perhaps the most significant and welcome development, however, is that the world has been forced to face up to the problems of the Middle East. The Russian threat. The Arab-Israeli dispute. The dependence of the free world upon oil. New ideas are emerging—the building of new pipelines and tankers being discussed or planned, even a new canal has been suggested.

One thing, however, is clear. Although my country voted for the most recent United Nations resolution calling upon Israel to withdraw completely behind her borders, this does not mean that we advocate going back to the status quo ante in the Middle East. This would be intolerable for everyone. The burden for seeing that this does not occur lies at the door of the United Nations, who have already committed themselves in their resolutions to seek a permanent and just settlement both of the Suez Canal dispute and the quarrel between Israel and her neighbors. But the United Nations cannot do more than express the collective will of its members, and that will often needs formulating, guiding, and leading. As the most powerful nation in the world today, some of that guidance at least must inevitably come from the United States. We cannot sweep all these problems under the rug again; we cannot draw a ring around them and hope that they will settle themselves nor, in my view, can the risks of internal conflict and external menace be kept separate. External protection only cannot be an effective substitute, in the long term, for removal of the basic causes of Middle East tension. But it should be possible for the United Nations, if the collective will is there, to insulate the sensitive spots inside the area against renewed violence whilst the basic problems are tackled.

There will be no quick solutions. There lies ahead a long, difficult, and undoubtedly frustrating period of patient and detailed negotiation before we reach in the Middle East the goal of peace, with justice, under law—the long-term solution that will survive. I know that my country is fully prepared to play its part in this work.

State of Tennessee Senate Resolution 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR.
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted in the Tennessee State Senate expressing gratitude to two outstanding citizens of Chattanooga, my home town, for their generous contributions and humanitarian achievements for Chattanooga and its citizens:

Senate Resolution No. 40

A resolution to express gratitude to the Honorable Mose Siskin and the Honorable Garrison Siskin for their untiring efforts and numerous achievements for the people of Chattanooga and Hamilton County, Tenn.

Whereas the city of Chattanooga in Hamilton County is blessed with a great number of people who are charitably and philanthropically inclined; and

Whereas in particular the individual efforts of Mose and Garrison Siskin have achieved success, and in that success have carried with them an idea of responsibility to the underprivileged people of their city and county; and

Whereas these two men have contributed unstintedly of their time and money on a nonsectarian basis, and have reached into all walks of life where good could be accomplished to their fellow men; and

Whereas one of their special projects for a number of years was the studious effort to aid incapacitated people, and did in many instances build camps and furnish wheel chairs so as to make the lives of these unfortunates a little more cheerful and afford them the opportunity to help themselves; and

Whereas at the time Billy Graham was invited by the many churches in Chattanooga to conduct an evangelistic campaign, these two men, of an entirely different religious belief, contributed approximately $50,000 toward the building of a tabernacle in which he was to conduct his services; and

Whereas together they have built for the benefit of Chattanoogans a beautiful chapel and a wonderful administration building in which the Mose and Garrison Siskin Memorial Foundation is conducted, with any organization, either Protestant, Catholic or Jewish, by proper application, having the right to free use thereof, and in the beautiful chapel of said building, weddings may be performed for people of any denomination without charge; and

Whereas recently they have built an annex on the above building to be used in the teaching of paraplegics, and

Whereas together they have recently purchased a building for the purpose of conducting a school for the deaf and dumb, and are now establishing in the same building a school for the blind in order that these unfortunates may be taught to become useful citizens and take their place in the community, and

Whereas their interest in the community has not been confined to the above projects, and at numerous times, have provided food and raiment for families for a long period of time until they could become rehabilitated: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the 80th General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, That by this resolution we pay tribute to the said Mose and Garrison Siskin, and commend them for their humane interest to the less fortunate, and for their farsighted approach to the civic interests affecting all the citizens of Hamilton County; be it further

Resolved, That this tribute to these outstanding gentlemen be enrolled on the Senate Journal; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be mailed by the clerk of this body to the Honorable Mose Siskin, the Honorable Garrison Siskin, the Chattanooga Times, the Chattanooga Free Press, and to the Siskin Steel & Supply Co., Inc.

Adopted March 13, 1957.

JARED MADDUX,
Speaker of the Senate.

United States Communism and Moscow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the so-called American Communist Party has a long and dishonorable record of abject subservience to Moscow. The party went all out in opposition to our defense efforts in 1940, and opposed all aid to the nations fighting Hitler until he invaded Russia. Then the party performed a complete flip and became all-out supporters of anything that would hurt Germany or aid Russia. Since the end of the war they have continued their calculated policy of aiding the Kremlin in any and every way.

At its recent convention in New York City this same so-called American Com-

munist Party has, supposedly, performed another flip. In the wake of worldwide reaction against Soviet action in Hungary and continuing criticism of Stalinism the convention adopted pious resolutions calling for loyalty to the American tradition and the right to independent interpretation of Marxism. This false front, however, is not going to fool anyone who looks at the facts.

For its clarity in unmasking this hypocrisy I would like to commend the author of the following editorial from the Americas Daily of March 15, 1957:

UNITED STATES COMMUNISM AND MOSCOW

It is convenient to comment, editorially, on the reaction of John Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, to the calculated announcement of United States Communists that, because of a motion approved at their convention in New York, they are now divorced from Moscow.

There is a fortunate circumstance in the fact that Hoover has given a voice of alert, so that this great North American democracy will not be taken by surprise by Communist treachery, which pretends to maintain its dangerous penetration in this land whose ideological banner is the antithesis of communism.

The success that Communists may achieve in this country would have untold repercussions in the whole hemisphere. The surprise they may inflict on men of good faith and in Government circles of the United States could be a threat of great proportions which may have consequences in Latin America.

To prevent, by means established by democracy, the forward march of the Communist movement in the United States is, besides a necessary measure for national security, a support for the unity of the Americas, for that unity which the Communists are always trying to undermine. It would be very foolish on the part of the United States to be deceived in the way the Reds in this country are trying to do it, because that would give encouragement to the threats of Moscow against the institutions of the United States and against hemispheric solidarity.

Yesterday, today, and tomorrow, communism will always be the same, and will not break away from its physical supporter which is Russia, notwithstanding what it may be said at the ad hoc conventions, integrated by men who would accommodate themselves to any situation, with the ease liquids have to adapt themselves to the shape of the container in which they are poured.

Work for Equal Legal Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to call to the attention of the House the following excellent article on equal rights for men and women, which appears in the Business Woman for April.

Miss Hazel Palmer, the writer, is the president of the Business and Professional Women of the United States. This group has long supported the amendment, House Joint Resolution 127, and has done and continues to do yeoman's service for its enactment:

WORK FOR EQUAL LEGAL RIGHTS
(By Hazel Palmer)

Since 1937, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., has supported the equal rights amendment to the United States Constitution as the most effective means of assuring equal legal rights to women, and of adjusting legal inequalities based on sex which exist in the United States. Accredited delegates from the clubs and State federations in the 48 States, Washington, D. C., Alaska, and Hawaii reaffirmed support of the amendment at our national biennial convention held in Miami Beach in July 1956.

The Constitution has been construed as granting certain rights only to men. The 14th and 15th amendments would seem to give equal protection and political rights to all persons. However, the effect of court decisions has been to except women in certain of their applications. As an example of the discrimination women suffer because they have not been included, specifically, in the rights contained in the 14th and 15th amendments, the Executive order which sets forth the policies and procedures of the President's committee on Government employment prohibits discrimination "against any employee or applicant for employment in the Federal Government because of race, religion, color, or national origin." There is no prohibition against discrimination on the basis of sex. Similarly, the Executive orders which set forth the nondiscrimination provisions to be included in Government contracts prohibit discrimination "against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, religion, color, or national origin." There is, however, no prohibition against discrimination on the basis of sex.

The 19th amendment, in 1920, gave women the right to vote, but did not give them legal equalities in other respects. Over a period of years, there has been some improvement in women's status, through changes in State laws. However, in some States today the legal rights of men are far superior to the legal rights of women. In the absence of a constitutional amendment granting equal legal rights to women, what rights a State legislature may give this year, it can take away next year.

There need be no fear that the equal rights amendment will interfere with States rights to legislate on health, welfare, and civil matters. The only limitation that would be imposed by a constitutional amendment granting equal rights to men and women would be that laws shall apply to all citizens, regardless of sex.

The chief objection to the amendment seems to stem from a fear that it would nullify "protective" legislation.

Our federation believes that restrictive work laws for women only (minimum hours, wages, and conditions of work applying to women only) serve to make employment of women a matter of additional burden to employers, and result in discriminations in the employment of women. Women know that the equal-rights amendment would not force anyone to hire a woman, but they do know that it would give women the legal right to be hired if someone did wish to employ them, where such employment is now prohibited in some States under the guise of "protective legislation" for women.

The equal-rights amendment would not prevent enactment of protective legislation for classes of citizens—that is, mothers, widows, and children. Veterans' legislation, legislation for farmers, legislation for our elderly people, constitute examples of legislation for a "class" of citizens.

Such legislation is not based on sex, but on the circumstances of a group of citizens. We believe there is a real need for supplanting current protective legislation exclusively for women by new and broader laws protecting both men and women without discrimination. The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs believes that all workers should be assured favorable working conditions regardless of sex, and that legislative progress in this direction would be more rapid if working men and women enjoyed equality under this constitutional amendment. Both the Democratic and Republican National Conventions adopted platforms in 1956 pledged to the support of the equal-rights amendment. To not honor this pledge is to place a weapon in the hand of our ideological enemy, we feel.

The equal-rights amendment will not require more extensive testing by the courts than any other new law. Of course, there will be some changes in some State laws if this amendment is ratified. That is its purpose. But surely, legal equality under the laws of this country is well worth the necessary legal decisions in the courts if the questions are taken there.

To become a law, the equal-rights amendment will have to be ratified by 36 State legislatures. The thing we ask is that Congress submit the question to the States and give the people of America a chance to decide the future legal status of one group of citizens, women.

Efforts toward legal equality have proven successful. Federal law during the past World War placed women in the service on an equal basis with men in relation to pay, status, and benefits. This gave impetus to the acceptance and utilization of women's capacities, and proved the value of women as an integral part of the service. Our country needs the intelligent acceptance of responsibility by all of its citizens. More than 50 percent of the American people are women. With women under legal disability, this means that over one-half of our citizens are prevented from making their maximum contribution to the solution of the critical problems which face us.

The United Nations Charter, to which the United States is signatory, stated in its preamble as one of its purposes "to reaffirm faith in the equal rights of men and women." By subscribing to the charter, each nation has endorsed this principle. Internationally, so far as equal rights are concerned, we lag behind countries which the United States itself has encouraged to grant equality to women. Egypt, Burma, Greece, Japan, Western Germany, and Pakistan have all given constitutional equality to women. The prestige of the United States is assailed by Russia on the grounds that it does not grant its women equal legal rights. If our Constitution contained the equal-rights amendment, the United States would not be placed in the position of endorsing this principle in theory but violating it in practice.

The equal-rights amendment would give women equal legal rights in such areas as inheritance, guardianship of children, and property rights. These are urgent matters that need to be corrected. We recognize that the intangibles of social inequality cannot be solved by legislation. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that nondiscriminatory law is basic to the achievement of a just society, and the only apparent way the several States can be assured of nondiscriminatory laws and permanency of them, is by the passage of the equal-rights amendment to the United States Constitution.

We urgently and respectfully seek your wholehearted support of this very important legislation. The women of America seek only their just rights as full citizens. To those of

you who have fought beside us in the past for our full citizenship, we are grateful. To you who will now join us, may we say, "Thank you," and express our deep appreciation.

If You Really Want To Cut the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, all of us Members of Congress are highly conscious of the resentment of the citizens back home with reference to their attitude on the enormous budget.

The Chicago Daily News and its editor and publisher, John S. Knight, have been cognizant of the possible ill effects of the huge budget on our economy from the very moment the budget was disclosed. Mr. Edwin A. Lahey, chief of the Washington Daily News office, and David Kraslow went over the 1,249 pages of the budget and gave a comprehensive and interesting report to the readers of the Chicago Daily News.

I personally feel that the message they tell is must reading for everyone interested in economy and efficiency in Government. Their article is as follows:

MEMO TO CONGRESS: IF YOU REALLY WANT TO CUT THE BUDGET

(By Edwin A. Lahey and David Kraslow)

WASHINGTON.—President Eisenhower has challenged Congress to find places where it can cut his budget for the fiscal year of 1958.

Members of Congress, egged on by mail from irate taxpayers, are stirring about these days, looking for soft spots in the budget.

Citizens who wish to make suggestions to their Congressmen for cutting Government expenses might get some ideas from browsing through the 1,249 pages of the Federal budget.

Many of the items in it might send the taxpayer dashing to his desk to pen an angry note to his Congressman about the apparent nonessentials that seem to get loaded into the evergrowing cost of Government.

A trip through the budget book is a long and tedious journey, but it is of more than passing interest to the individual taxpayer, as distinguished from the corporate or excise taxpayer.

The taxpayer looking for things to tell his Congressman about might:

Do a double take over an item of $300,000 that the Army spends to finance Sunday morning recreation for civilian members of thousands of private rifle clubs.

Be indignant to learn that a "hearing board" gets $70,000 for devoting 23 days hearing cases in 1 year.

Show some irritated interest in the fact that one commission is spending $4,710 just traveling in and around Washington to find a spot for a memorial to Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Want to ask his Congressman where they are taking the Botanic Garden greenhouses, which are being relocated in 1958 at a cost of $587,000.

A $4 million item to enable the Department of Agriculture to give trees to the States for planting should also capture the interest of a citizen writing to his Congressman.

President Eisenhower wants us to approach this budget in a wholesome frame of mind.

You must think big, as becomes a citizen of a great nation. A government must provide the services its people need.

Like, for instance, making certain that Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, Democratic leader in the Senate, has the most expensive Cadillac in the regular line. The price, with accessories, $8,226.57.

And like paying $16,500 a year to the fellow who's known as doorkeeper of the House of Representatives. Only he doesn't open doors and has a Republican assistant who gets paid $12,500 a year, also apparently for not opening doors.

The going rate for doorkeepers at hotels in Washington is about $2,600 a year, with tips.

Maybe that's what the President meant when he said we must think big.

It should also actually make your proud to learn that you are participating in a program for air-conditioning Federal buildings at a cost of $328 million.

They are giving it to you in easy doses, stretched out over 7 years.

Mr. Eisenhower's words of cheer should also sustain you when you ponder with us why the "miscellaneous items" in the contingent expenses of the House of Representatives should be increased from $1,165,000 this year to $2,165,000 in 1958.

There are dozens of little items in the 1958 budget to give the uninitiated pause, or even irritate them.

But you'll have to take the solemn word of your temporal rulers that this is a "tight" budget, a spending program that a rich and proud Nation can well afford.

And you will have to grit your teeth and hang on to your faith when you read the innocent report of a bureaucrat to Congress that he seems to lose money when he sells stockpile material at less than he paid for it.

Optimistic as the White House is about our future, somebody over there must think that a lot more of us are going bankrupt next year. They've asked Congress to increase the salaries of referees in the United States courts from $1,233,500 in 1957 to $1,699,000 in 1958.

JOB FOR IDLE EXPERTS

The hopeful type of taxpayer might get a lift out of one item in the 1958 budget.

There is a sum of $335,000 left over from $400,000 appropriated in 1957 to pay experts $75 per day "to assist the President * * * the establishment of more efficient business methods in Government operation."

Mr. E. can turn a lot of experts into production at $75 per day with this, and they could find a lot to intrigue their fancy.

In the Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control Division of the Army Corps of Engineers, for example, there is indicated a need for some flood control work at the hiring hall.

The budget for this branch of Government (which carries out the provisions of the annual pork-barrel bill) has increased from $172,645,137 in 1956 to $196,385,000 in 1958.

The increase in money is about 13 percent.

The jobs in this agency have been increased 23 percent, from 16,507 in 1956 to 20,257 in fiscal 1958.

The experts also might discover that Federal payrolls sometimes expand more rapidly than the duties assigned to the payrollers.

The Public Housing Administration wants to add $6 million in 1958 to its "annual contributions to public housing agencies."

It has asked Congress to increase this item in the budget from $93 million in 1957 to $99 million in 1958.

And for the arduous task of giving away $6 million more than this year, the PHA needs a boost in its administrative budget, the man says, from $10,700,000 to $13,300,000.

The President's $75-per-day efficiency experts might take more than a second glance at a small agency with five employees in the Department of the Interior.

This agency, the Federal Coal Mine Safety Board of Review, puts its budget need for 1958 at $70,000.

Coal mine operators who object to orders issued by Federal safety inspectors may appeal to this Board for review, revision, or relief from these orders.

In 1956 this agency determined four appeals which required a total of 23 days of hearings, the book says.

Then there is an item in the Census Bureau's estimate calling for $212,189 to collect certain agricultural statistics. The official description of the work for which this $212,189 is requested is as follows:

"Information is compiled on cotton ginned at 11 dates during the ginning season."

The gathering of information is a big operation over at the Department of Agriculture.

The Agricultural Research Service in this Department has increased its budget from $94,416,000 in 1957 to $102,580,000 in 1958.

The home economics branch of this service reports this year that it needs some extra money to expand its inquiries into the problems of fat in human nutrition.

The cost of making crop and livestock estimates has also shot upward. This branch at agriculture had $4,626,854 in 1956. It went to $5,229,900 in 1957, and wants $5,737,100 in 1958.

There's a different twist to an information item in the budget request of the Department of Commerce.

They have a little branch over there that wants money to kill information, rather than to collect it.

The book says this Bureau is "for development of national policy on, and evaluation of, the flow of unclassified information to minimize access to such information by unfriendly nations."

A committee of Congress has recommended that this Bureau be abolished. But it keeps coming back for more and more money. It had $49,710 in 1956, and wants $105,000 in 1958.

Another note for the attention of the $75-per-day experts is detected in a passage of the voluminous budget estimates of the Veterans' Administration.

The VA reports that it needs an extra $67,760,000 right now "to cover uncontrollable education and training costs which are exceeding the original estimates."

MILLIONS FOR LOVE

We invest heavily in culture these days to win the love of people in other lands.

The President has a special international program in this connection. It had a $9,900,000 budget for 1957. Mr. Eisenhower wants $20 million in 1958, most of it for trade fairs in foreign countries.

Some $3,100,000 of this Presidential fund would be spent for artistic and athletic presentations abroad, under the direction of the Department of State.

The Department conducted 90 such invasions in 1956, and 47 in the current fiscal year. Secretary Dulles wants 59 of these artistic and athletic presentations to go to foreign lands next year.

The Department of State has still another cultural device for buying love, through educational exchange activities.

The purpose of this project is to promote the foreign policy of the United States through exchange of key persons, selected for their capacity to build up a receptive climate of public opinion overseas.

This pursuit of love cost us only $18 million in 1956. In the current year the bill will be $20 million.

But for fiscal 1958, Mr. Dulles wants to spend $30 million in the creation of a receptive climate of public opinion overseas.

On top of this $30 million, the program would benefit from $3,575,000 in foreign currencies, generated by the sale of surplus commodities.

The Department of the Interior is also very culture conscious. One of its permanent projects is the Commission of Fine Arts.

"The Commission advises the President, Congress, and the department heads on matters of architecture, sculpture, painting, and other fine arts," the prospectus says.

Cost to the taxpayer: In 1956, $22,200; in 1957, $31,000; in 1958, $35,000.

There are four payroll jobs on this commission.

United States membership in a large crop of international organizations might be included under the head of culture, or as a phase of our political maturity.

Membership dues are on the rise.

We paid $33,859,285 in the current fiscal year to belong to international agencies. The Department of State is asking $37,475,552 for this purpose in 1958.

The United Nations is our most expensive club. Membership here for 1958 will cost $29,603,337.

The cost of belonging even to the teensy-weensy little organizations is going up.

Our duties in the International Bureau of the Publication of Customs Tariffs are increasing from $2,233 in 1957 to $8,658 in 1958.

EVEN FISH, WE GOT

Our Government thinks of recreation, as well as culture, in its budget.

The National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, a bureau in the Army, wants to spend $300,000 in the coming year for recreation for the civilian members of 3,300 rifle clubs in the United States.

The rather tenuous justification for this project seems to be that a citizen who is good with a rifle can prove mighty handy if we're invaded, provided some other Government agency doesn't evacuate him.

The $300,000 is for ammunition for issue to members of rifle clubs and to competitors at authorized matches. Also, for the issuance of trophies, medals, and badges for marksmanship to civilian members of rifle clubs.

A lot of travel goes with this rifle club gambit.

The travel budget for this activity in 1956 was only $4,407. In 1957 it jumped to $30,000.

And in 1958 the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice wants to spend $80,000 on travel.

The National Park Service of the Department of the Interior, a great source of recreation for the public, looks onward and upward in its annual budget estimates.

For 1956 the service had $10,443,000. It is asking for $14,523,000 for 1958.

The park and recreation program of the Service has a separate budget that is almost triple what it was in 1956 ($1,988,746, compared with $702,000).

This program provides technical services essential to public use in the fields of biology, geology, history, and archeology. Also, archeological investigations and salvage on Federal water-control projects and surveys of historic American buildings and sites.

When a taxpayer grows weary of watching antics of the bears under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, he can drift off to a forest that will be well kept for him by the Department of Agriculture.

The Forest Service in Agriculture wants $11,500,000 from Congress next year for a new program of recreational facilities in the national forests.

This agency wants an additional $4 million to give to the States for tree planting.

Recreation to many people means fish, and fish we got in this budget for 1958.

The Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior, which had a budget of $6,539,317 in 1956, is asking Congress to come up with $11,500,000 in 1958.

Some of the big items of expense for this Service are the management of fishery resources, administration of wildlife resources, and the control of predatory animals and injurious rodents.

There is also a Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, down for $5,985,00 in 1958.

Its purposes are scientific and economic studies, conservations, management, investigation, protection, and utilization of commercial fishery resources, including whales, sea lions, and related aquatic plants and products.

The United States also belongs to an International Fisheries Commission, which seems to get more expensive every year.

In 1956 our participation in this Commission cost us a modest $455,000.

In 1957 the budget is $1,265,587. And for 1958 the Department of State, which has a man in charge of fish, says it needs $1,654,000 to keep up appearances in this organization.

This Commission is made up of seven subcommissions that study measures necessary to the preservation and expansion of the world's stock of halibut, salmon, tuna, and other tidbits of the sea.

COMMISSIONS? AND HOW

Did we says commissions? You name it, we've got it. One of the most intriguing is the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission, which had $200,000 from Congress to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the birth of that eminent hard-money man.

The birthday was celebrated on January 11, 1957.

But they will probably be cleaning up the field until June 30, 1958, the end of the next fiscal year. The 1958 budget has $15,000 in it to wind up the labors of this Commission.

Then there is a grant of $225,000 to the Booker T. Washington Centennial Commission, "to promote interracial good will."

This Federal grant actually is a grant to the Commonwealth of Virginia, whose legislature created the Booker T. Washington Centennial Commission between innings of their antidesegregation debates on interposition.

The Boston National Historical Sites Commission had $40,000 for the purpose of preparing an inventory of historic sites and buildings in Boston and vicinity, together with an analysis of their condition.

There is also the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Commission, which got $10,000 from Congress to formulate plans for location, design, and construction of a permanent memorial to Franklin D. Roosevelt in Washington or its immediate environs.

The challenging feature of this Franklin D. Roosevelt Commission is that of the $10,000, the Commission is spending $4,710 in travel in 1957 just to locate a place in Washington or its immediate environs, where we have the cheapest taxicab rates in the United States.

The Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Centennial Commission had $115,000 appropriated in 1957 and is down for $88,000 in 1958.

This Commission is authorized to pay experts $50 a day to plan a celebration commemorating the 350th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown in 1607 and the winning of independence at Yorktown in 1781.

Soo Locks Centennial Celebration Commission * * * minor league operation * * * only $15,000 authorized, 2 budgets ago.

Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission, $144,000 appropriated in 1957. It will spent about $55,000 in 1958 to prepare plans and program commemorating the 100th anniversary of Theodore Roosevelt's birth.

Travel expenses for the 6 payrollers on the TR Commission increased from $1,200 in 1957 to a planned $3,000 in 1958.

The Woodrow Wilson Centennial Commission, $51,500 in 1956 and $48,500 in 1957.

What has this Commission done with $100,000?

The budget book says it cooperated with other organizations in commemorating in 1956 the centennial of Woodrow Wilson's birth. That's all it says.

There is also the Permanent Committee for the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise. The books says the committee had $434,812 in 1956, $14,700 in 1957, and should have $14,000 in 1958.

The purposes of this committee are to prepare a history of the Supreme Court of the United States, to set up an annual lecture or series of lectures, and to publish a memorial volume of the late Justice Holmes' writings.

There's a brandnew one in the 1958 budget.

It's the National Monument Commission, for which Congress is expected to provide $25,000 in the coming year.

The 2 members of this Commission would be permitted to spend $6,000 of this on travel.

This Commission will be responsible for securing plans and designs for a monument to the Nation symbolizing the ideals of democracy as embodied in the freedoms of speech, religion, press, assembly, and petition.

Finally, there is the National Security Training Commission. It had $50,000 in 1957 and wants $75,000 in 1958 for its 6 payrollers.

And who would argue with its purpose?

This Commission is concerned with the development of policies and standards governing the welfare, health, morals, and safety of reservists undergoing 6 months of training.

POLICING PARADISE

A few paragraphs of the budget carry a note of sadness for those who believe that man is essentially good.

The 58,000 natives on the 2,141 Pacific islands that became our trust territory after the defeat of Japan are about the gentlest souls you could find outside an old people's home.

But they could be dead-end kids the way the cost of a "judiciary" for these islands increases.

The "judiciary" for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands cost the United States taxpayers $44,310 in 1956. This year they want $53,000.

The cost of the high commissioner's office for these sleepy islands has also increased from $34,766 in 1956 to $61,500 in 1958.

Our whole civilian administration of these Pacific islands—including grants—costs us about $85 per native.

In the Bureau of Employment Security of the Department of Labor, there is another item that casts doubt upon the basic goodness of man.

This bureau supplies United States farmers with seasonal workers from Mexico, under terms negotiated with the Mexican Government.

This program, devised solely for the convenience of American farmers, cost the taxpayers $1,957,000 in 1956. They want $2,683,000 for 1958.

And part of that increase is for the rising cost of "investigation of contract violations." This is going up from $331,536 in 1956 to $634,700 in 1958.

In other words, in spending $2,683,000 of tax money to get seasonal workers for United States farmers in their hour of need, the Government must use $634,700 of this to see that the farmers are not cheating.

CRUTCHES FOR BUSINESS

In its concern for the welfare of all branches of the society, our Government has not forgotten the private industrialist and businessman.

Programs connected with defense production, particularly the stockpiling of strategic materials that western mining interests find

to be slow moving, offer surprising bits of information in the big budget book.

One program for the expansion of machine tool producing capacity provides for "installing under lease Government-owned machine tools in the plants of private producers."

Another paragraph on defense production reveals "a program to round out capacity to produce steam turbines and turbine gears by installing machinery and equipment in plants of private contractors."

The biggest part of this defense program, of course, is the acquisition of strategic minerals. The budget for 1957 provided $21 million for the minerals program.

For 1958 Congress is asked to provide $40 million for the purchase of domestic tungsten, asbestos, fluorspar and columbium-tantalum.

It will come as no shock to the taxpayer that these programs are conducted at a loss out of the revolving fund used to build up stockpiles and to keep manufacturing facilities of private industry up to par.

In 1956 these losses to the Government (meaning the taxpayer) totaled $19,700,000. In 1957 the loss will be $38.5 million.

In 1958 the Government expects to set a peacetime track record, with a loss of $42 million in conducting the programs of all the defense production agencies.

The reasons for this loss belong in the history of economics as a science.

"These losses primarily result from the resale of high cost material at market prices," the Budget Bureau reports to Congress.

(They probably didn't know it, but this line is an indirect steal from an old recording called Two Black Crows. One of the characters tells how he raised goofer feathers at a cost of $4 and then sold them for $4. "You can't make money that way," said the second Black Crow. "We found that out," the first man replied.)

Our natural concern for mineral stockpiles calls for a lot of surveys.

The Department of the Interior has one survey going for "coordination and advice to the Federal Government on all phases of metals, minerals, and solid fuels, including mobilization planning."

This survey had $225,000 in the 1956 budget. For the coming year, the Department is asking $313,000 for the project.

In the Bureau of Mines at the same Department, there are bigger and more expensive surveys underway for research and investigation of ferrous and nonferrous metals, and nonmetallic minerals.

This survey weaseled along on only $14,743,000 in 1956, but the Department wants $19,575,000 in 1958.

There is one more survey in the Department of the Interior that we'll bet you never heard about.

It's the cadastral survey, Division of the Bureau of Land Managment. This survey will cost $500,000 in 1958 to "locate and identify legal boundaries of lands under application for lease and disposal, including submerged lands on the outer Continental Shelf."

BOY, DO THEY TRAVEL

A trip is good for what ails you, the travel ads say.

Your servants in the Federal Government like to travel, too.

The Civil Aeronautics Administration got $3,852,160 in 1956 for travel expenses. Business must have increased considerably in 1957 because the CAA was given $5,910,188 for travel.

And the President has asked Congress to jump the agency's allowance for travel to $9,522,534 for 1958.

There is a 600-percent jump in travel expenses for the Bureau of Foreign Commerce—from $10,998 in 1956 to $82,500 in 1957 and 1958.

The Foreign Agricultural Service wants its travel allowance virtually doubled—from $240,000 in 1957 to $474,100 in 1958.

The Office of the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency spent $492,676 for travel in 1956. The budget makers felt like rounding off the figure for 1958—at $1 million.

The Interstate Commerce Commission did $659,815 worth of traveling in 1956. For 1958, the request is just about double—$1,247,700.

There are many more examples attesting to the boom in Government travel, such as the Civil Service Commission (up from $464,700 to $609,000), the Federal Trade Commission (up from $163,861 to $272,500), and the Atomic Energy Commission (up from $2,800,000 in 1956 to an even $4 million for 1958).

In fact, there are few instances where agencies asked for less travel money than they have been getting.

Business is so good.

Your public servants also travel in cars, like ordinary folks. In most cases the vehicles are Government-owned. But many millions are spent for the hire of motor transportation. In either case, it's at your expense.

Let's take a look at the largest and by far the most expensive part of the Government—the Department of Defense.

The Department operated a fleet of almost 45,000 motor vehicles—the great majority being cars—in 1957.

For 1958, the Department wants to buy 6,719 vehicles and plans to get rid of 6,347 "over age and wornout" buggies. This would mean an overall increase of 372 vehicles in the fleet.

The cost for the 6,719 new vehicles—only a few hundred of which would be ambulances and busses—is set at $14,386,900.

On top of that tidy sum, the Department has asked for $6,598,000 to pay for the rental of cars.

LANDLORD PAYS RENT

When you moved out of the rented apartment into the home you bought, there were no more worries about paying rent to a landlord.

That's the way it was with you. But not with our Department of State.

The Department has been spending—at an increasing rate—a lot of money buying buildings overseas to house our diplomats and their staffs.

So, does the figure in the budget for the rental of buildings abroad go down? It does not. I goes up.

The Department purchased $8,500,000 worth of buildings overseas in 1956, $19 million in 1957, and the request for 1958 is $20 million.

At the same time, the overseas rental and utility costs for the Department went from $1,755,701 in 1956 to $1,866,895 in 1957, to a request of $2,230,802 for 1958.

Uncle Sam's Government is a big and growing operation and his hunger for bigger and better office buildings seems to be insatiable.

The supersecret Central Intelligence Agency, about which only a few select officials know anything, is going to get a new home in Washington. Cost: $49 million.

The money was appropriated in 1957's budget, but the bulk of it is to be spent in 1958 or later. Not even the plans will be completed until late this calendar year.

The Smithsonian Institution is going to get a new Museum of History and Technology. Cost, $33,712,000.

This money was provided in the 1957 budget, but less than $2 million has been spent and the plans are still in the works. Construction cannot be started until temporary buildings are removed from the site selected for the museum.

Even the Federal flowers are headed for a new home. There's a new appropriation request of $587,000 in the 1958 budget so that the greenhouses of the Botanic Garden can be relocated.

Repair and improvement of 4,500 Federal buildings under the management of General Services Administration is going up from $42,600,000 in 1957 to a requested $85,500,000 in 1958.

The big jump will enable thousands of Federal workers to keep a cool head on the job.

Included in the total figure is $41,850,000 to pay for the first full year of a 7-year air conditioning program. Cost of the entire program will be $328,000,000.

Only $963,358 was spent on air conditioning in 1956. It skyrocketed to $18,138,200 in 1957.

Congressmen, who already have two huge office buildings, are getting a third. There was a $10,000,000 appropriation for this in 1957 and another $7,500,000 is asked for 1958. The entire cost is estimated at $60,000,000.

This has admittedly been a sketchy review of this magnificent volume entitled "The Budget of the United States Government for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1958."

A truly adequate discussion would fill a library shelf. A simple taxpayer could not even understand the necessity for spending hundreds of millions on a bomber that might be outmoded before it flies.

But we hope we've given you a general idea. After reading through this budget, we feel as though we've finally achieved the life ambition of every literate adult and read "War and Peace."

Long-Range Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, in the March 16 issue of Prairie Farmer, there are two very important items. One is an editorial by their distinguished editor, Mr. Paul C. Johnson. In it Mr. Johnson calls for Congress to work now on a long-range farm program. He quite rightly complains that at present we have a patchwork of programs which are not helping farmers in any major way but in many respects have been accentuating his problems.

However, Mr. Johnson is no anarchist and accepts the fact that if farmers are to share fairly in the national income, they must have some form of Government program. He urges Congress to get busy on that now.

I ask unanimous consent that his very fine editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD and that the second article which describes a specific program by Mr. Melvin Gehlbach, of Lincoln, Ill., be printed immediately following Mr. Johnson's editorial, which refers to it.

My office has worked closely with Mr. Gehlbach on numerous occasions over the past 2 years and I believe he has a fresh and constructive approach to the farm problem. From time to time, I have encouraged him and have drawn his proposals to the attention of my colleagues

on the agricultural committees. I hope other Members of Congress will read them too.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS SHOULD DECIDE NOW ON A LONG-RANGE FARM PROGRAM

(By Paul C. Johnson)

Another year has rolled around, bringing very little improvement in our congested farm economy. The so-called soil-bank which was legislated about the middle of 1956 will hand out some Government money. It may take some marginal land out of production, but most farmers are pessimistic about what it will do for agriculture in the long run.

Again we find ourselves waiting for Congress to act. This time we need an acreage law to patch up a nearly impossible corn program. As this is written there is no assurance that Congress will make its decision before corn-planting time.

This practice of holding off farm-management decisions, while the Washington lawmakers maneuver for political position, is getting tiresome.

In the meantime, our overexpanded agriculture slips another cog to a poorer bargaining position as compared with other parts of the economy. Farmers shake their heads in bewilderment.

Clearly, we need a fresh and bold approach to farm programing. Too many persons from whom we should expect leadership are hashing over old programs and defending former positions. At a time when agriculture needs a strong, unified front, farm policy is cut into many pieces too often opposed to each other. Conservative farm organizations, bent on preserving free enterprise in agriculture, are still hoping that price problems will be solved by greater efficiency and decline in the number of farmers.

The farmer is getting precious little of the fruit of this efficiency. It is going to the processors, handlers, and consumers. But the leaders have little to offer but more of the same.

In the meantime, ever-increasing pressure for efficiency is jamming the markets. Farm size may not stop at 300 or 400 acres but may go on to 1,000 or 1,500 acres.

There are other alarming signs. Egg and pork production, like the broiler business, is going into the hands of feed companies and financial promoters. The same thing can happen with cattle feeding. Are these omens of a new kind of feudal system in agriculture?

Radical farm organizations are exploiting the present discontent and trying to hasten the day when we will remodel our farming on European patterns, with price fixing and complete control of land and production. They preach their doctrine with emphasis on higher prices but say little about the police state that goes with socialized agriculture.

Our cooperatives are busy making money and enlarging their operations in safer and more profitable areas of marketing and merchandising. Too often they forget their original purpose which was to fight for the farmer's interest and improve his bargaining power in areas where the need is greatest.

USDA is in a state of confusion. Starting with a commendable goal of decentralization and greater freedom in agriculture, the farmer's own department of government has compromised itself into the impossible position of stimulating production of products not needed, and also paying farmers to refrain from producing them. The surpluses are still with us, depressing the markets, in spite of anything that can be done. The farmer isn't getting any richer.

Congress helped create our problems and we can never clear up the present mess without some cleancut, honest leadership from our lawmakers in Washington. It's about time they were thinking more about the long-range welfare of farming and less about getting reelected.

Prairie Farmer also deserves criticism in connection with the present farm situation. We had hoped that improving our efficiency and freeing our markets would put farming on solid ground, and we have worked hard with that in mind. We are ready to admit, however, that efficiency alone will not give farming the bargaining power it needs so desperately at the present time.

Where do we go from here? What should we ask of Congress in the present session?

It looks now as if we will have to accept the principle of strengthening the bargaining position of agriculture with substantial Government authority. We can still hope that this may be done without robbing the individual farmer of the power of decision, leaving room for ambition and good management. We should strive also for a program which can be operated with honesty and a minimum of policing.

With these things in mind, Prairie Farmer is presenting on page 9 of this issue an explanation of the Gehlbach soil-bank which is also called the Soil-Bank Association plan.

While it needs many refinements, and it must meet intelligently many of the criticisms now lodged against it, this plan looks as if it may have the basis for the long-range solution of our farming predicament. We commend it for your study.

We hope that our farm leaders everywhere will put aside old positions and old animosities and give this plan an honest hearing. If agreement can be reached among farm organizations and other agencies of farm leadership, the time is here to push hard in this session of Congress for a long-range farm program before 1958.

Prairie Farmer believes a farm people are ready for a new and bold step toward the solution of our problems. There is nothing easy or wishy-washy about this Gehlbach soil-bank. It still calls for hard work and good farming.

At the same time, it seems to get at some of the basic problems on which our other farm programs have failed in the past. It leaves the farmer comparatively free to choose his crops and his livestock enterprises.

There will be no perfect plan. But any program that we can live with over a period of years must adhere to laws of economics and common sense. Let's keep this in mind as we consider the soil-bank plan, or any other plan for the unification and strengthening of agriculture.

SOIL-BANK ASSOCIATION OFFERS NEW FARM PLAN

(By Dick Albrecht)

Prairie Farmer presents here an outline of the revised Soil-Bank Association farm program which will get a lot of attention in the next few weeks.

Melvin Gehlbach, Logan County, Ill., farmer and farm-management fieldman, worked up the original soil-bank plan in 1953. The term "soil bank" caught on, and is now commonly used for the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1956. However, while our present acreage reserve has some of the features of Gehlbach's plan, it definitely is not his plan.

In the past 4 years Gehlbach has presented his proposed farm program to many agricultural leaders. He has worked diligently on it, using his own free time and limited funds.

The Soil-Bank Association plan has been changed and further developed so the price-support program wouldn't work against the soil-bank features. Gehlbach has been working these past few months with economic advisers to President Eisenhower as well as United States Department of Agriculture officials and the House Agricultural Committee.

He has always recognized that price supports on grain crops, even low ones, help to stimulate production beyond our present needs. And even a slight overproduction seriously hurts grain prices. On the other hand, a 10-percent reduction in supply will normally increase prices 20 percent.

Gehlbach also believes, however, that farmers need some price supports to make them financially able to reduce production. Merely lowering farm price supports does not reduce production when farmers have no alternative way to get the income they need to meet their obligations.

So the Soil-Bank Association plan makes use of two economic factors. It uses high price supports to bolster farm income. And it utilizes a true soil bank to reduce production and store up fertility until needed by our growing population.

Any successful farm program must effectively reduce the quantity of farm products going to market. Yet Government purchase and storage programs tend to collapse. Holdings eventually reach unmanageable proportions and they must be sold. But public opinion seems to favor some Government holding and storing of food supplies to give us a cushion against drought and war.

Farm people also prefer a program that will leave them free to make as many of their own cropping and livestock production decisions as possible. And for a healthy agriculture, the major part of farm income should come from products sold on the open market, and not as a dole from a fatherly Government.

The soil-bank association plan appears to meet these basic requirements fairly well.

It is a bold plan. And we need a bold plan if we are going to cope with the many problems of agriculture.

Gehlbach's proposed soil-bank looks as if it would be fairly effective in reducing overproduction. It is aimed at expanding soil-building acreages to reduce the acreage of crops in oversupply.

NOT ACCOMPLISHING MUCH

Our present acreage reserve is not reducing grain production very much, says Gehlbach. Land already is pasture or summer fallow may be shifted into acreage reserve or other crops.

Farmers who reduce corn acreage may put leftover land into wheat, soybeans, or sorghums, and wind up with more acres devoted to crops than before (and still get soil-bank acreage reserve payments). In like manner, wheat and cotton farmers can shift to corn, soybeans, and grain sorghums.

Gehlbach's plan will shrink this loophole by assigning each farm a minimum soil-building acreage. Based largely on land use, this soil-building acreage must be kept out of grain production (with no soil-bank payment) if the operator is to receive price supports and soil-bank payments on the rest of the farm.

We now have around 170 million acres of land in sod crops, in fallow, and temporarily idle. This is our normal minimum soil-building acreage. It could be broken down by counties and eventually farms. This acreage will range from 10 or 12 percent on level farms to 50 percent or more on farms that need more conservation.

This minimum soil-building acreage must be kept in hay and pasture or left idle, and additional cropland put into the soil bank, if we're going to make any headway in reducing surpluses.

Individual farm assignments of minimum soil-building acreages will not be based on a farm's cropping history, however.

A county will be divided into 1, 2, or 3 land-use areas. Your minimum soil-building acreage figure will then be based on the prevailing percent of cropland in soil-building crops for comparable land use in your

county. You will not be penalized if you have been keeping more land in soil-building crops than your neighbors.

Government payments would be made in two ways. You become eligible for soil-bank payments when you (1) meet the minimum soil-building acreage requirement, and (2) shift additional land into grasses and legumes. When you put a prescribed minimum into the soil bank you also become eligible for price supports at full parity on a portion of your grain crops (about 30 percent).

Under the Soil Bank Association plan, needed crop reductions would be brought about by means of a soil bank only. Acreage allotments on grain crops would be dropped. The soil bank payments would tend to shift the lower-yielding acres into the bank. Also, the acres normally used for growing lower-profit grains would tend to end up in the bank.

Farmers will use their best land to produce crops that are most profitable in their region. The present incentives to shift crops out of their best-adapted areas will be eliminated.

Here is the way this soil bank will work on an average 240-acre Corn Belt farm with 200 acres of cropland. The remainder is in farmstead, roadways, and untillable pasture. Say the minimum soil-building acreage assigned the farm is 40 acres.

The first requirement to become eligible for soil-bank payments, then, is to have this 40 acres of cropland out of grain production. The next requirement is to put at least enough cropland into the soil bank to meet the minimum requirement that is set up each year. Let's say the soil-bank acreage minimum is 20 acres.

You must put this 20 acres into the bank. You can put more in the bank if you want to. This soil-bank acreage may be used for seed, hay, or pasture and still get a soil bank payment.

But if you don't use this acreage for feed or seed, it will get a premium soil-bank payment that would be double the standard rate. But the choice to use or not use the soil-bank acres remains with the farmer.

The remaining 140 acres of free-choice cropland may be planted to any crop or combination of crops, or part of it may be added to your soil bank. There are no restrictions on its use, so you can pick the crops that are likely to be most profitable, and that fit your soil and skills best. Here is the way the 200 acres of cropland is divided: 40 acres minimum soil-building acreage; 20 acres soil-bank; 140 acres free-choice grain crops.

A portion of your normal grain production would be supported at full parity. To start with, Gehlbach thinks 30 percent is about the right portion to bring about needed adjustments. The supports will cover all freed grains as well as soybeans and wheat.

The supports will be on a bushel basis, and support may be taken on any crop or combination of crops grown. Different crops will be equalized by a formula. Using corn as a base, 1 bushel of each grain is assigned a value according to their parity prices. Right now the values are roughly: corn, 1; wheat, 1.4; soybeans, 1.7; oats, 0.5.

All crops will be figured in terms of crops units in figuring supports. One crop unit is equal in value to 1 bushel of corn. Say the normal production on the 140 free-choice cropland acres is 8,400 crop units. If 30 percent is supported, then the farm is eligible for supports on 2,520 units (if soil-building and soil-bank requirements are met).

This would be 2,520 bushels of corn, 5,040 bushels of oats, 1,482 bushels of soybeans, 1,800 bushels of wheat, and so forth. Since you can take your supports on any crop or combination of crops, you could feed your corn and oats and get supports on, for example, 1,482 bushels of soybeans.

FREE MARKET FOR PART

Any grain production above the supported portion would, of course, have to be fed, sold at current market prices, or held on the farm for higher market prices. Price supports would not stimulate overproduction as in the past. All that a farmer grows above the supported portion would have to be fed or sold at market price.

Much of the grain eligible would receive price support, and go into Government bins. Gehlbach plans to place upper limits, however, on the amount of any grain crop that the Government can accumulate in storage. Though not fully spelled out now, it would be a logical step to pay farmers the difference between the open-market price and the support price, and let them feed the price-supported portion of grain when Government storage bins are full.

When any grains approach the upper limit set on Government holdings, they would be released to the open market on a regular schedule. In this way an oversupply will be reflected through market price, and encourage farmers to accept soil-bank payments for retiring land instead of producing for the Government. This is the key of the entire Soil-Bank Association plan.

Each year each farmer would have to decide whether to produce corn on all available land or put more into the soil bank.

Which way the decision went would depend largely on the cash grain price. But if the price is too low to allow much profit by growing grain, you have a good alternative choice that produces income—the soil bank.

Farmers who get fairly low yields may soon decide to produce only enough crops to take advantage of their bushel support quota. When they do this, production is reduced and the open-market price will rise. Then the swing will reverse, and more will decide to grow crops for cash sale or livestock feed.

Here are some of the advantages of the Soil-Bank Association plan as we see them, realizing it's not possible to tell exactly how people and markets would react to it.

Our present agricultural problems point to more and more controls, and the Gehlbach plan puts on what appear to be effective controls, yet leaves farmers free to make most of their own management and cropping decisions.

He merely shifts incentives somewhat from grain to grass. The incentive payments given to take land out of production will help maintain farm earnings while difficult adjustments in production are made.

A farmer is free to go it alone if he chooses and put his entire farm in corn. But he must accept open-market price for all of it and give up Government aid.

On the other hand, the farmer who keeps extra cropland out of grain production will be rewarded with soil-bank payments and high-price supports on a portion of his grain crop.

This plan takes in all grain crops, and it gets supports off the acreage basis onto a bushel basis. Both these changes are desirable for a fair, practical, long-range program.

Open-market prices, not Government allotments, will determine what farmers grow. There'll be no more production solely for Government bins or warehouses. Stored commodities will be fed back into the market to discourage production when reserve supplies reach fixed levels.

The poorest land will be taken out of production and conserved in the soil-bank first. This tendency will be true both on a national basis and on a farm basis. In other words, fringe farming areas where income is low anyway will be banked, and the market left for the more efficient, high-producing farms.

Most important, perhaps, of all features in the long run is that the Gehlbach plan will encourage good farm management practices. Farmers who comply will have fewer crop acres to use, so they will grow crops that are best adapted and yield the highest return.

FEWER DISLOCATIONS

Wheat is likely to move out of the Corn Belt, corn out of the wheat and cotton areas. More land will be kept in grasses and legumes.

Most corn grown will be first-year corn, with resulting high yields and low per-bushel costs. More pasture land, and low or moderate open-market grain prices, will encourage more livestock production and higher meat consumption. Here lies our greatest opportunity to use more acres in food production—marketing more of our crops through livestock.

The program also appears to have some disadvantages that can, perhaps, be eliminated with further study and refinement. The cost of operating it, especially for the first few years, may be a real problem. Present stored surpluses greatly complicate the job of getting the new plan in operation.

Our production facilities will keep the open market pretty well loaded up with all grain and livestock products, in spite of the banked acres, as it appears to us. The open market price will probably hover around the average cost of production for each item.

Some economists will say this is not a disadvantage, but a natural working of the law of supply and demand. And, the less-efficient producer has an alternative—he can take maximum advantage of soil-bank payments.

Cost of production, as the term is used here, is not as bad as it may sound. It includes a 4-percent charge for investment and a $1-an-hour labor charge. If you're average or better, you can make a living when prices equal production costs.

CHIEFLY FOR CORN BELT

Gehlbach has designed his plan primarily for the Corn Belt, and ways have to be worked out to fit cotton, wheat, and other specialized farmers such as cattle and sheep ranchers. Perhaps it would be necessary to superimpose a cotton acreage allotment program, and a two-price plan for wheat on top of Soil-Bank Association plan.

Since minimum soil-building acreage allocations are set according to long-time county land use, the dairy farmer in a strictly grain county will get favorable allocations.

On the other hand, the grain farmer in a heavy dairy county may be penalized because most of his neighbors keep a lot of land in pasture.

The features of the Soil-Bank Association plan will get a thorough going over in the next few months. They may well be the basis of common ground on which various farm organizations and factions can reach agreement. Gehlbach is aiming all his activities at getting it into law this summer for use in 1958, realizing that it's already too late to get the plan into operation this year.

United States Money to Poland?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, I enclose two editorials on different subjects.

However, both of these subjects require more money if they are implemented by the Congress. I feel that the press of the country has rendered an admirable service if it could help to make the taxpayer and the legislators conscious of the fact that we dare not continue the policy of attempting to buy friendship and, at the same time, we do not need more Government jobs.

Under unanimous consent I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Kokomo (Ind.) Tribune and an editorial from the Marion (Ind.) Chronicle, both dated March 25:

[From the Kokomo (Ind.) Tribune of March 25, 1957]

UNITED STATES MONEY TO POLAND?

The idea of sending United States aid to Communist Poland is downright shocking to a lot of Americans. Why, they ask, aid a government that is allied with the master Communist conspirators in Moscow?

The answer is that our own Government thinks it is possible that the alliance between Poland and the Soviet Union rests on a thinner basis than is generally realized. Our State Department is exploring the possibility that the gulf between Warsaw and Moscow may be widened if the present Polish Government can be helped to stay in power. One way to help it hold on is to furnish economic aid which could improve living conditions for the Polish people.

All this would be taking a big risk. Russia might tolerate Poland receiving United States aid and then appropriate most of the aid itself. Or the Soviets might use United States aid as an excuse to crack down hard on the Poles and install a more Russian-minded government in Warsaw. And a great amount of American cash would be lost in the process.

The argument in favor of making a stab toward aiding Poland is that by doing so we might encourage increased resistance to Russian domination of eastern Europe, to an extent that the end of Soviet occupation there might be hastened.

With the stakes as high as they are, some risks seem worth taking. If aid from us at this important point in history would provide the further spark that would keep alive the hope of freedom and actually give it some emphasis, we ought not miss the opportunity.

No one knows how good the chance to win this advantage may be. We are not sure yet, at this point in history, whether United States aid to Yugoslavia, for instance, has done the free world any service or whether it has been a waste of money.

It is, then, a real gamble if we send economic aid to Poland. It could wind up in a throwaway of American money or it could further undermine the Soviet grip on the satellites. If it weakened that grip, it would ease our overall burden in the world struggle, and we would be thankful that we had taken the gamble.

[From the Marion (Ind.) Chronicle of March 25, 1957]

MORE GOVERNMENT JOBS

Officials of the United States Department of Agriculture will go before a House subcommittee on manpower utilization this week to explain why they need a requested increase of 25 percent during the next 15 months in the Department's work force. They should have no great difficulty. The soil bank set up by Congress last year, with an annual $1.2 billion to distribute among farmers, probably accounts for most of the additional jobs.

Other departments and agencies may have more trouble in convincing the Congressmen that they need more hands. The Eisenhower budget, now under attack from many quarters, calls for an increase of 73,000 Federal employees. Representative JAMES C. DAVIS, Democrat, of Georgia, chairman of the House subcommittee, says that would add $360 million to the Government payroll. He suggests that the time may be at hand to put an overall ceiling on Government jobs or even to reduce them by 10 percent. "The situation confronting Congress today calls for action over and above the ordinary."

During the first 2 years of the Eisenhower administration 200,000 employees were separated from the Federal payroll. This compared 140,000 added during the first 2 years of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The firings were labeled reductions in force but Democrats in Congress complained that jobholders of their political persuasion were being rolled out of office on the slightest pretext. Civil employees of the Federal Government now number about 2.5 million, as against 3.8 million at the end of the war of 1945.

A Salute to NTA Film Network

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to welcome a new member to the family of television networks. April 1, 1957, marks the coming of age of the Nation's first television film network—the NTA Film Network—whose film programing is being carried by 133 television stations throughout the United States and its possessions.

Despite the existence of three powerful television networks that operate on a coast-to-coast basis, the NTA Film Network, a newcomer to the field, possessed the vision and courage to launch a new film network, one dedicated to provide outstanding film programing to the American viewing public.

The network, which achieves commercial status on April 1, asserts that it was organized to fill two basic needs; the first to provide an important and major new source of film programing to stations; the second to provide another market place for the national advertiser—one which will offer him the convenience and prestige of network and the flexibility to conform with his market pattern in line with an economically sound advertising body.

The new film network is a subsidiary of National Telefilm Associates, one of the Nation's major television film distributors. It is jointly owned by National Telefilm Associates and 20th Century-Fox Film Corp.

The full import and significance of this new network was expressed by its president, Ely A. Landau, who, in a recent address before the Radio and Television Executive Society, declared:

We already offer an opportunity for advertisers to reach the country's TV viewers at a cost that adds up to sensible advertising economics. We already represent a vital new source of film programing to our affiliates. But we are fully aware of the fact that our scope today is, and must be, restricted by the limitations of today's television economy.

The problems of this tight television economy exist and we must face up to them. We have tried to build a film network that would be a practical operation in television's restricted economy today and an important contender in television's expanded tomorrow.

The blueprint has practically drawn itself. It is not in our power to expand the number of stations, but we can help to enhance the potential strength of those stations already in existence. We can't stretch the standard 24-hour day; we believe we can, however, make more of those hours important audience hours.

Fortunately, some of the country's important markets have four stations or more; that means there is at least one station in each now denied the programing strength only possible through national exposure. In such important concentrations of populations as New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Denver, Milwaukee, and others, we have affiliated with independent stations, who heretofore have lacked that programing strength.

By strengthening the program structure of independent stations we can broaden the base of television. In a market where an independent, the exact mechanical counterpart of the wired network affiliate, has had to sell its time for a fraction of its competitor's rate card, we can help put them on a more evenly competitive basis.

In markets where no independent station was available we signed agreements with stations already affiliated with other networks. On many of these stations we asked for so-called marginal times, times under the direct control of the station. In this time period we are programing top-quality feature motion pictures.

And so it is that to the television-set owner the NTA Film Network means more and better entertainment. He gets the benefit of new creative thinking, and the accelerated creativity of present programing sources, stimulated to greater activity by fresh competition.

To the national advertiser, hitherto plagued by availability and clearance problems, the NTA Film Network represents a new, convenient and sensibly priced central market place for buying nationwide coverage. The new network gives him buying leverage; he is now less dependent on the only networks previously available to him.

The successful formation of the NTA Film Network, the first film network ever to reach the operational stage, is a significant development. The acceptance of its basic concept by two of the Nation's leading advertisers who will sponsor the network's premiere performance show presages an expanded television era, an era of revolutionary change that will benefit the station, the advertiser, and the public to whose service this great medium is dedicated.

To the new NTA Film Network, I say, welcome and congratulations.

Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the House this

excellent statement by Gov. George Bell Timmerman, Jr., of South Carolina:

This statement is made in response to a telegram from Congressman RALPH W. GWINN, of the 27th District of New York, member of the House Committee on Education and Labor. The telegram reads as follows:

"State department of schools reported to United States Office of Education, South Carolina short 1,953 classrooms and needed to replace 4,500 classrooms. Can you get answers these questions?

"How many of the 1,953 needed are in poor school districts unable to meet own needs? How many of these districts can meet their needs by State aid? How many school districts are unable to meet their need from local and State financing? How many are unable to finance themselves without Federal aid? Is this data exact or estimated? How many school districts are there in South Carolina? How many school districts supplied the information? Was the information supplied by the superintendent of the local school district? Was any part of the data regarding schoolroom shortages supplied by school boards themselves or other political body acquainted with the facts? Questions apply to both figures.

"RALPH W. GWINN."

The figures "1953" and "4500" mentioned by Mr. GWINN were reported January 1957 in the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Circular 490 (cols. 21 and 22), as the number of classrooms needed to relieve pupil overcrowding (see text) and to replace unsatisfactory facilities as of fall 1956. Circular 490 contains 23 columns of statistical data, 3 pages of text, and the facsimile of a questionnaire which was used in collecting the data. A copy can be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for 15 cents.

THE FIGURE "1953"

The figure "1953" is actually an estimate of new classrooms in various stages of completion as of fall 1956. It reflects no need for Federal aid. The estimate was based on a capital outlay for new classrooms. It is not a statistic of a shortage which was not being met. It is an estimate of a need which was being met. It was determined in the following manner.

The questionnaire, facsimile of which is printed on pages 7 and 8 of circular 490, was sent first to our State department of education. Although it does not administer our school-building program, that department undertook to supply the requested data. Its estimates for item 5, columns 2 and 3 of the questionnaire, entitled "Number of pupils enrolled in excess of normal capacity" are reported in columns 14 and 15 of Circular 490. These estimates are important because they are the immediate basis for the estimate of the figure "1953."

In footnote 1 of the questionnaire printed on page 8 of Circular 490 are set out certain criteria to be followed in supplying data for item 5, columns 2 and 3. A reading of this footnote will reveal that the criteria are overlapping, and, if followed, the estimates would be erroneous and misleading. For this reason, the State department of education quite properly employed its own criteria.

The estimates for item 5, columns 2 and 3, were based upon a fifty-eight-odd-million-dollar figure found in the following quotation from the 88th annual report of our State superintendent of education for 1955–56, to wit:

"From July 1, 1951, to June 30, 1956, school districts reported a total of $110,134,141 for new school plants put into use. The total capital outlay reported during the same period is $168,814,858. These figures indicate that $58,682,717 of new school plants were in various stages of completion June 30, 1956, the majority of which will probably be put into use during the 1956–57 school year."

I now quote from the report on how the estimates for "item 5, columns 2 and 3," were made, to wit:

"At the end of the school year 1955–56 there was approximately $58 million already expended on schools in various stages of completion. We figured that some $6 million worth of plants would be completed prior to the opening of the 1956–57 school year, leaving some $52 million of school plants to be completed in the future. We then figured that a classroom in a complete school plant would cost $25,000. This gave us a capital outlay of 2,080 rooms which we rounded off at 2,100 schoolrooms. Twenty-one hundred schoolrooms would house between 50,000 and 63,000 pupils depending on whether or not they were high school or elementary school pupils. Thus we arrived at an arbitrary figure of 15,500 high-school pupils and 40,000 elementary school pupils."

The figures "40,000" and "15,000" then were inserted in item 5, columns 2 and 3 of the questionnaire and subsequently reported in columns 14 and 15 of circular 490 as the number of pupils enrolled in excess of normal capacity.

The figure "2,000" mentioned above was inserted in item 8 of the questionnaire as the number of instruction rooms scheduled for completion during the 1956–57 school year, but it is not reported in circular 490.

The figure "2,100" did not suit the United States Office of Education, and back came the questionnaire, but not to the Department of Education. This time it went to the office of the Educational Finance Commission. In lieu of the 2,100 instruction rooms scheduled for completion during the 1956–57 school year, the figure "1,186" was inserted in item 8 of the questionnaire and subsequently reported in column 23 of circular 490. It was in fact a guess-estimate of the number of newly built classrooms completed for occupancy in the 1956–57 school year, exclusive of library rooms, gymnasium classrooms, and shop-rooms (all of which could be made available and are used for classrooms when needed).

Actually there is no way to predetermine with accuracy the number of classrooms to be completed during any given time. There are too many variable factors, and our school-building program is too vast.

This brings us directly to the figure "1953." It was inserted in item 7 (a) of the questionnaire which reads as follows:

"7. Additional public elementary and secondary instruction rooms needed (as of fall 1956) for housing the pupils enrolled:

"(a) Needed to accommodate excess enrollment reported in columns 2 and 3 of item 5."

As requested by this item, the enrollment estimated in "item 5, columns 2 and 3" of the questionnaire was translated into classrooms by dividing the 40,000 elementary pupils reported in column 2 by 30 and the 15,500 high school pupils reported in column 3 by 25 and totaling the results.

The figure "1953" was the result. It is reported in column 21 of circular 490 as "additional instruction rooms needed (as of fall 1956) to accommodate excess enrollment."

In this connection, it should be noted that while the statistical tables in circular 490 and the questionnaire speak of "excess enrollment" and "pupils in excess of normal capacity," the text of circular 490 substitutes "pupil overcrowding," which is vastly different in meaning.

It thus will be seen that the figure "1,953" is an estimate of new classrooms in various stages of completion as of "fall 1956." Obviously, we would not have been building them had we not thought we needed them.

All this illustrates how fickle statistics can be without sufficient information for proper interpretation. The State Department of Education started with $52 million. It translated the $52 million into 2,080 classrooms by the use of the norm 25,000, rounded off the 2,080 to 2,100 classrooms, and translated them into 15,500 high school pupils and 40,000 elementary pupils, only to have the office of the Educational Finance Commission at the request of the United States Office of Education translate the pupils back into classroom figures. Only this time it came out 1,953 instead of 2,100 because of the use of different norms.

I repeat: The figure "1,953" is not a statistic of a shortage that is not being met. It is an estimate of a need that is being met. In no sense does it reflect a need for Federal aid. The estimate was based upon an existing capital outlay for new classrooms then in various stages of completion. The questionnaire asked how many were needed. It did not ask how many could we not provide. The questionnaire also asked how many pupils were enrolled in excess of normal capacity. It did not ask how many pupils were "overcrowded."

THE FIGURE "4,500"

The office of the Educational Finance Commission also supplied the figure "4,500" mentioned in Mr. Gwinn's telegram. It is reported in column 22 on page 5 of Circular 490 as "additional instruction rooms needed (as of fall 1956) to replace unsatisfactory facilities (exclusive of those in column 21)." Actually, the figure "4,500" is a guess-estimate made "as of fall 1956" as to future construction expected to replace existing classrooms under our present State aid program by 1960. It does not represent "unsatisfactory facilities" in the sense that 4,500 classrooms are now inadequate. It represents classrooms that are well-lighted, well-heated, and well-equipped, and of sufficient size and design, but which are old (not obsolete) models, in comparison with the more than 8,000 new, modern classrooms already constructed under our new building program. Some of these will be eliminated by future consolidations. Also, we are meeting our needs so quickly that many taxpayers are thinking now in terms of replacing all old buildings with modern buildings. Most of our Negro pupils are housed in new buildings. Many of our white pupils are housed in old buildings. Taxpayers with children in good but old buildings also want their children housed in modern structures. The building of these future needs is well within our own means, and our own ability to determine.

SCHOOL BUILDING PROGRAM

Since our current school building program was begun on July 1, 1951, South Carolina as mentioned in my earlier statement has allocated more than $170 million for the construction of approximately 8,000 new classrooms, although we have the third lowest per capita income and the second highest percentage of school children.

Despite our disproportionately heavy educational burden, we have increased our State aid to schoolteacher salaries 150 percent within the last 10 years, almost double the earned income gain for labor in the United States during the same period.

As of February 14, 1957, the exact total of expenditures under our present building program was $173,113,006.45, the exact total of allocations was $170,948,141.45; the exact total remitted to school districts on projects was $154,900,461.25; and the exact total of allocations made but to be remitted to school districts on approved projects was $16,047,680.20. These figures involve State funds only. They do not include local funds for school construction.

The total debt service on State school bonds, including principal, interest, and bank service charges, was $18,212,545.30 on February 14, 1957. In comparison, the proposed Federal aid program appears insignifi-

cant. South Carolina would receive only about $9 million over a 4-year period which, as you can see, would be hardly enough to finance our bonds.

In order to evaluate properly statistical data concerning our schools, you should know that under our school building program the average cost of constructing a classroom for 36 pupils (not to be confused with the average number of pupils in a class) is about $15,000. But since a bare classroom, unattached to a completed school unit with its many necessary appurtenances, would be of little value, a more realistic average would be about $21,000. Our State department of education, which, among other activities, compiles statistical data for publication annually by the State superintendent of education used an average cost figure of about $25,000. In dealing with millions of dollars, several million pupils, or thousands of classrooms, the use of different norms can produce some widely different conclusions.

How many school districts could finance their own school construction without aid is a debatable question. Indirectly, they all contribute to our school building program. The State gets the revenue to finance the program from a sales tax. It is paid by people in every district. There are 106 school districts in our State now. Prior to our consolidation program there were more than 1,600.

STATE EDUCATIONAL FINANCE COMMISSION

As Governor, I am also chairman of our State Educational Finance Commission which administers the allocation of State funds to local school districts for school construction under our present school building program. The allocation of public moneys for public-school construction carries with it the responsibility of making wise allocations.

The commission does not impose school building funds or school buildings upon local communities. We allocate funds on the basis of approved applications. We advise with local authorities on their school building needs and they in turn, if they desire, apply for construction funds, subject to our approval.

The whole program is geared to the actual needs of the local community and to the ability of the people of our State to maintain our schools once they are built. This program is not based on unrealistic statistics. There is little point in building for bankruptcy.

CIRCULAR 490

Circular 490 is an illustration in point. Therein has been collected and reported as a "panic starter" the total number of students in the Nation in excess of "normal capacity" in all the classrooms of America. That means that if 30 is the norm for classrooms in State A, then the number of students in excess of 30 in every classroom in State A goes into that total. To translate such a total into classrooms and base an appropriation of several billion dollars on it is ridiculous. Where would these classrooms be built? Surely you would not build a classroom for a student just because a class happened to have 31 students in it last fall. Since most classrooms with students in excess of the norm have only 1, or 2, or 3 more than norm, are you going to build a classroom for those 1, 2, or 3 students, or are you going to collect students from all classes in the school in excess of the norm? If the latter alternative is selected, the students in the new classroom would range in ages from 6 to 18 and in grades from kindergarten to the 12th grade. Are you then going to put 13 teachers in that classroom, one for each grade? If you do, the class would sound like a bazaar in Basra. You could collect excess students from all schools in a district and maybe make up enough of the same age and grade to fill several classrooms, but how would you get them from home to school and back again without at least great inconvenience? They now attend schools reasonably near their homes but these classrooms can't be split into parts and distributed among the several schools. They would have to be located somewhere. Unless they are attached to a school, they would be worthless as classrooms.

To plan or administer a school building program out of the abundance of one's ignorance would be a calamity. No one on the national level is endowed with sufficient knowledge to predetermine accurately the future needs of the whole country. The problem of public school construction is too intricate to be handled by long distance. Too many variable factors are involved in intelligent planning. These factors multiply as we move from the district level to the community level and then to the local school level. It is farcical to think that a program can be developed in Washington to meet the needs of the Nation.

While I sincerely hope this statement may contribute toward the prevention of what threatens to be a monstrous $2 billion Federal blunder based upon statistical data which is utterly worthless for the purpose of establishing either a need or a base for Federal aid to school construction, I gravely doubt that my effort will make any more impression on some proponents of Federal aid than the weight of a gnat's wing on a 90-foot wave in the middle of the North Atlantic during a midwinter cyclone.

With a blind prejudice against representative government, the moguls of centralization go left-winging along in a frenzied rush to outdo the other side of the Iron Curtain in nationalizing everything presently involving a free people's choice.

First, in the name of democracy the Bible was expelled from our public schools. Then Myrdal's American Dilemma was enrolled. Next the States were denied the legal right to prohibit subversive activities. Now comes the effort to nationalize our public schools, and, under the guise of civil rights, abolish the right of trial by jury. History already records the tragedy of the reconstruction era. A similar niche in future history waits our presentday resurrected-reconstructionists.

Polish Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Star on the subject American Aid to Poland:

POLISH AID

We do not know why Senator KNOWLAND has chosen to attack a possible Polish-aid program as being the forerunner of a "Communist Marshall plan" for Eastern Europe. For such a plan would be eminently worthwhile if it could be as successful in rescuing the Eastern European states from communism as the Marshall plan was in saving Western Europe from the Communists.

A Polish delegation is negotiating with the State Department for American farm surpluses and loans with which to buy American farm and mining machinery. It has been estimated that this would amount to $300 million over a 2-year period.

Aside from the cost, Senator KNOWLAND's main objection seems to be that American aid to Poland would relieve the Soviet Union of the burden of supporting its own satellite. This may be true, but it is an argument which must be appraised in the light of the possible alternatives. And the only alternative we can see is a policy of no aid, which would leave the Poles totally dependent on Russia or drive them to a desperate and futile revolt.

It seems to us that this is another case in which the judgment of the responsible administration officials should be trusted. It is certain that the Polish people, and it is probable that the Polish Government, would like to follow in the path of Tito and break away from subservience to Moscow. If an American-aid program will accelerate this trend it may well be a desirable project to undertake. But it is absurd for Senator KNOWLAND to suggest that the Polish Government must demonstrate its independence before qualifying for American aid. If any appreciable independence comes to Poland it will come slowly and by degrees. To insist now on some spectacular gesture of independence would merely be to invite the Russians to march in and reenact the butchery of Hungary.

Commissioner John J. Allen of the Salvation Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. VORYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, on March 29, Commissioner John J. Allen, of the Salvation Army, retires after 50 years of distinguished service. Although he served all over the United States and in countries around the world, we feel that he belongs especially to us in Columbus, Ohio, where he served the Salvation Army and the community for many years. Here are some facts about Commissioner Allen's life and achievements:

Born in Hazleton, Pa., in 1887.

Commissioned Salvation Army officer over 50 years, rendering distinguished service.

Held the position of chief of staff of the Salvation Army for 7 years in London. This is the highest appointive position in the Salvation Army.

During the First World War, he was senior chaplain of the 77th Division. His organizing genius was recognized by military authorities and he was transferred to General Headquarters, Chaumont, where in addition to administrative work, was appointed senior chaplain of advance section service of supply.

As a chaplain in the United States Army, Commissioner Allen was decorated for bravery with the Croix de Guerre at Vesle River.

During the Second World War, Commissioner Allen was called to be a member of staff of Chief of Chaplains in Washington, D. C.

In October 1940, the commissioner suggested and effectively organized the heads of welfare organizations that had served in World War I and formed what later became the United Service Organizations.

For the past 3½ years he has traveled around the world as special representative of the general of the Salvation Army, holding conferences with top world leaders in government, church, and educational fields with a view to seeing how the Salvation Army can better serve, especially in the underdeveloped countries.

Commissioner Allen has been a great servant of the Lord, and richly deserves to live long to enjoy the retirement to which his long record of splendid service to his country and to the Salvation Army entitles him.

School Integration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, the other day on the floor of this House I had something to say concerning the question of surrendering principles for political advantage. I have been highly pleased with the wide endorsement of these views in the press of our State. Our Virginia papers have had a good deal to say on this matter during the past few days, and it is interesting to note that there is almost no evidence of support for the kind of thinking which contends that we should give up our fight to preserve segregation in Virginia and throughout the South.

There have always been some in our midst who are adroit in criticizing someone else for what they are doing in connection with a great problem. This has been true since the beginning of time. But these same people are never willing or capable enough to suggest ways of doing differently. It is easy to knock down what the other fellow proposes, but it is a lot harder to map out a program of your own, to put it into force and to get the people to agree to it and have it successfully administered.

Those who would oppose all we have attempted to do in Virginia apparently are in this category. They contend that what we have done is wrong, although the vast majority of the people of Virginia think it is right and have approved it overwhelmingly by the vote of the elected members of our assembly and through their public expressions.

The people of Virginia will never willingly submit to the theory of integration and they have shown overwhelmingly that they respect efforts of those who are trying to preserve it. They are not about to change their minds and put their confidence in people who are of the opinion that the best we can do is to keep the white schools as white as possible and at the same time accept some integration.

I wish to include with my remarks a splendid editorial from the Farmville Herald of Farmville, Va., dealing with this question and, as usual, Mr. J. Barrye Wall, the paper's editor, has grasped the essential truth of the problem. He poses some vital questions and puts in proper perspective this question which is now before us.

No man in Virginia has been more forceful or effective in presenting his views on this problem than has Mr. Wall. On several previous occasions I have included in the RECORD some of his fine comments on this problem of segregation in the schools. Mr. Wall edits his paper in the community from whence came one of the first suits which resulted in the infamous Supreme Court decision in 1954 and yet no man is more respected in that community—by white and Negro citizens alike. He is fair and honest, yet he is a man of his convictions and those convictions are shared by the great majority of the people of our section.

Mr. Wall was one of the original group of Virginians who foresaw this problem and who began immediately to deal with it. He has not wavered one iota in his conviction that the only way to preserve our way of life is the determination to resist integration anywhere. He has lived long enough to see our great school system in Virginia grow and develop until we have a system of which we can be proud. This applies to both white and Negro schools. More of our people are being educated better today than ever before. Our people are improving our schools every year and we will continue to do so, unless chaos should come with an attempt to integrate and thereby force the closing of large numbers of schools under the laws of the State.

Mr. Wall recognizes these problems as well as any man in the State and people of Virginia are fortunate to have him in the capacity he holds so that his voice may continue to sound loud and clear for the maintenance of our way of life. We must stick together on this and reject as utter folly the suggestions made by well-meaning, but misguided individuals who would sell out all we hold dear for political advantage.

I commend the reading of this editorial to the Members of the House and congratulate Mr. Wall upon his continuing efforts to make our people aware of the seriousness of this situation and as long as we have those who are willing to stand for these principles, our way of life will be maintained.

The editorial follows:

SENATOR DALTON SETS STAGE

Republican State Senator Ted Dalton set the stage Saturday for the gubernatorial campaign in which we expect him to be in the months just ahead. Though he disavows his intention to carry the Republican gubernatorial banner he certainly is placing himself in a position to be its candidate, which he can be by merely saying the word.

His statements before the Republican central committee were nothing new, except that he took occasion to oppose the principle of massive resistance renewed last week by United States Senator HARRY F. BYRD. Mr. Dalton is not out of character in this. He opposed the interposition resolution, in the regular session and the Governor's school program in the special session. He maintains that Virginia can accept the principle of nonsegregation laid down by the United States Supreme Court, and then keep white schools white under law and order but keep the public schools. Just how this will be done has not been detailed by Senator Dalton, nor by anyone else. It is a slogan of several other Virginia politicians, some Democrats, who overlook the important governmental principles of usurpation of power by the Federal courts, and the ineffective experience of other States and cities—Washington, D. C., New York City, to mention just two—in maintaining public schools efficiently on an integrated basis. We presume that Mr. Dalton and those who follow his reasoning will accept, first a little racial integration in schools, which will inevitably lead to more and more integration with its complexities of administration, breeding of racial discord, and loss of efficient operation.

The State of Virginia, under the Constitution, is a definite unit of government. Its laws must be effective in all parts of the Commonwealth. There will be no integration at any place in Virginia, or there will be racial integration in all parts of Virginia. So, those who would accept, maybe, a little racial integration in some of the counties with only 25 or 30 Negroes, like Carroll County, must realize that the schools in other parts of the State may find much larger percentages. Further, with the integration of public schools, integration of faculties will follow naturally. The problem becomes more and more complex.

But this is but a part of the question. The overshadowing phase is the usurpation of the powers and sovereignty of the States under the United States Constitution. We have seen no recognized legal authority which has stated unequivocally that the school decision of the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, is according to law and precedent. The present trend toward government by judicial fiat, executive orders, and bureaucratic interpretations transcends the question of racial integration of schools as imminently important as that is. Our entire system of government is at stake. Will the Constitutional Republic stand or fall? Will there be sovereignty of the States or will we submit to the political whims of an all powerful judiciary or executive oligarchy? Will Congress be stripped of its powers, or through inertia retreat from its duties? These are questions which cannot be answered simply by using the school and racial issues for political advantages. There is no way under the sun that the school and racial issues can be eliminated from the forthcoming gubernatorial elections, but for goodness' sake do not overlook the important principles of government which are directly connected with those questions.

We hope Mr. Dalton's trial balloon explodes, and quickly.

Election of President and Vice President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAURENCE CURTIS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Irving Edinger of Brighton, Mass. has made a study of the various improved procedures which have been suggested for the election of President and Vice President, and has written a thoughtful letter which has been published in one of Boston's outstanding newspapers. Because of the current interest in this question, I believe that

Members may be interested in his point of view. His letter was as follows:

To the EDITOR:

The question of an amendment to the Constitution to determine the fitness or disability of a President while in office also involves the vital factor that the man replacing the President under a condition of disability be one who has been chosen and selected by the people themselves and not by proxy.

To accomplish this it will also be necessary to include in this amendment a change in the manner of selection of the Vice President.

Many might have observed in the last election that when they went to push the lever down for President they also found the name of the Vice President covered by the same lever. In other words, they actually voted for President, but whatever name was under his received the same amount of votes.

It gave the people no voice, choice and selection, and we the people could say very little about it when we market the ballot. In case of disability the Vice President would become President, and anyone holding that office should only be one who has received the direct mandate by the people to occupy that office. Anything less than that is not a true representative form of government.

The way the election is set up today we do not have it. The President picks his man; the delegates sanction it and that's the end of it as far as the voting public is concerned.

But if the delegates could pick a 3 or 4-man slate of vice presidential candidates who could work in harmony with their presidential candidate, and put them on the ballot for the people to choose one, we would not only have a truly representative form of government, but the people would have a choice, a selection and a direct vote for the next best man to govern them, and we would be setting an example of real democracy in action.

IRVING EDINGER.

BRIGHTON.

United States Army Command Management School, Fort Belvoir, Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert some observations by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Hon. THOMAS S. GORDON, as a result of his recent visit to the United States Army Command Management School at Fort Belvoir, Va. As the guest of the post commander, Maj. Gen. David H. Tulley, and the commandant of the school, Col. Frank Kowalski, Jr., Congressman GORDON was accorded a 17-gun salute, 4 ruffles and flourishes, and the playing of a march by the 356th United States Army Band, during which he inspected the honor guard. I think Members of the House will find his remarks on the mission, the methods, and the accomplishments of this important training institution most informative:

Last week it was my distinct pleasure to participate in a program at the United States Army Command Management School at Fort Belvoir, Va. I would like to share with you some of the impressions that I gained from this gratifying experience.

The primary mission of our Army is the defense of the Nation's security, but in recent years the Army has realized that it has become in peacetime a complex business as well as a fighting force. The present precarious world situation dictates that we maintain poised and powerful military forces at all times: However, even a Nation as abundantly endowed with resources as ours does not possess an inexhaustible supply of money, material, and manpower. Therefore, it is most important that in this nuclear age, we match technological preeminence with administrative and managerial proficiency. The integration of advanced business techniques and procedures into our Army will do much to increase our combat power. In extension of this progressive program, the Command Management School was established to assist our senior commanders and key staff officers to prepare themselves for the important tasks of managing our worldwide Military Establishment.

The school is located at the fringe of metropolitan Washington in Fort Belvoir, Va., the engineer center. This fort is held in high esteem throughout the military world for its efficient operation, high level of military decorum, and single mindedness of purpose of its troops. A great deal of this well-deserved reputation is directly attributable to the inspiring leadership of Maj. Gen. David H. Tulley, the post commander.

While the school is located physically at Fort Belvoir, it is under the direct command supervision of Gen. W. G. Wyman, Commanding General of the United States Continental Army Command. This distinguished military leader, who directs all our land combat forces in the United States, voiced the central theme of the school's program when he said, "The science of management must be taught here in its perspective as a tool for the successful building of thought and action which will result in Armed Forces prepared to win a war of any dimension."

The school offers its participants an intensive 3-week executive development program. It is concerned with practical problems of command and is designed to give the commander a better understanding of the management tools which are available to him in his operations. If one single thought of the school could be raised above the others, I believe that it would be the essentiality of cost consciousness, cost consciousness not only in the sense of dollars but also the cost of the resources of money and material. As you well know, before steps can be taken to effect economies in the vast complex of Government, a point of view must first be established. The establishment of a permissive intellectual climate at this school in which the participants are encouraged to explore the entire field of management, military and civilian, is a fundamental requirement in the Army efforts to place the peacetime operation of its forces on a sound economical basis.

You will be interested to know that the school has found the case method of instruction particularly effective in its program. This method avoids academic generalizations and encourages the participants to develop their own practical solutions to daily operating problems. The cases which are studied here are uniquely Army cases reflecting actual management situations encountered in daily operations. These serve the dual purposes of providing a vehicle for broad management discussions and a means of introducing the class participants to the new business tools and techniques now being integrated into the established Army structure. There are no approved or school solutions. Each participant is urged to express his views and to test his thinking against the views of his classmates. We can be assured that in this dynamic climate, there can be no dogmatism or stagnation.

An extensive guest speaker program supplements the case method, bringing to the school outstanding executives and educators from many diversified fields. The list of speakers includes such men as Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker; Gens. Matthew B. Ridgway and Maxwell D. Taylor; Harold Smiddy, of General Electric; Don Mitchell, of Sylvania; and John Kusik, of the Chesapeake & Ohio; along with Peter Drucker, of New York University; Dean Stanley Teele, of the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard; and Dean Arthur Upgren, of Dartmouth. These lecturers bring to the classes the latest thinking, innovations, and techniques in military and civilian management. The spokesmen from private industry and educational institutions make a significant contribution to the solidification of the bond of understanding and friendship between leaders of private industry and education and their military counterparts. The speakers from the Department of the Army, after facing the critical scrutiny of the Command Management School participants, return to the Pentagon with a new insight into problems which the commnaders have grappled with on a day-to-day basis in the field.

This school for executives is more than a classroom. It is, in effect, a meeting place where the participating officers live, sleep, and breathe management on a 24-hour basis. Long after the formal classroom discussions have ended, the participants who are organized into small discussion groups, continue their pursuit of solutions to the thought-provoking management problems confronting them. The assemblage of 50 officers and civilians, each with 20 or so years of service ,represents a vast pool of experience that can be utilized by colleagues and is shared among all. The key to the school's success is the discussion of down-to-earth problems and the exchange of ideas of how best to solve them.

The Army realizes that no school can be any better than the men who administer it. Its reputation in military and academic circles along with the unbounded praise of its 1,200 alumni is testament enough to what the commandant, Col. Frank Kowalski, Jr., and his astute staff have accomplished in just 3 short years.

In conclusion, I should like to point out that the complexities of logistoics and the magnitude of our Military Establishment makes it necessary for alert military leaders to balance their skills in tactics and logistics with proficiency in day-to-day management. I am happy to say that this challenge is being met at Fort Belvoir. Among the graduates of the school are commanders of our largest installations and activities. More than 50 general officers, one admiral of the United States Navy, and 1 out of every 7 or 8 colonels on active duty in the Army have attended the school.

We, the Congress of the United States, are the great board of directors of the United States Army: we make the allocations, we periodically examine its functions, and we check its balance sheets. The Command Management School is important to us because it shapes the thinking of those who manage the day-to-day operations of our Army.

I am sure that every Member of this body would be impressed with the school if they availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting Fort Belvoir and observed this prime example of our Army's forward thinking. You will find a visit a most interesting and thought-provoking experience and you will derive a clearer perspective of some of the problems that our Army is faced with today. I think we might do well to remember the motto of this outstanding school: "From knowledge the power of decision."

Ray Moley's Comments on the Report of Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD M. SIMPSON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the 85th Congress must modernize our election laws relating to campaign expenditures and contributions. As the chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, I am well aware of the problems which confront us in this area.

A study of the 1956 campaign was undertaken by the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Committee on Rules and Administration in the other body. This study has been reviewed by Ray Moley. I feel that his comments are of sufficient interest to my colleagues who must ultimately deal with this problem that I am bringing them to their attention through this extension of my remarks. His first article on this subject appeared in a syndicated newspaper column on February 22. The others were in Newsweek in its issues of March 4 and 11, 1957.

[From the Waterbury Republican of February 22, 1957]

STATISTICAL SMEAR

(By Raymond Moley)

Some congressional committees actuated by political considerations have in the past made low marks in honestly presenting the facts, but an especially created Oscar for the smear of the year should go to the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections in the 84th Congress. Senator ALBERT GORE was chairman, and MIKE MANSFIELD, and CARL T. CURTIS were the other members. Senator CURTIS, it should be noted, disagreed vigorously with the report as well as with the methods followed in conducting the investigation.

The full report with exhibits is a mighty affair, nearly as large as the President's budget. Perhaps the very size of the thing precluded a careful examination by writers who have commented on it in magazines and newspapers. Perhaps they took merely the summary that it pleased the majority of the committee to air to the public. In any event, the content of the report, bad as it is, has been made worse by sloppy reporting thereon in at least one magazine and in two signed columns that I have seen.

There is space in this article for only a few specimens of the outrageous abuses of statistical method followed, but I shall make it my business in due course to do what is within my power to expose this malicious hoax.

The basic data for the study were obtained by collecting information both from the givers and the receivers of money for the campaign. But the period upon which the major conclusions are based was only from September 1 to November 30. By this method the contributions made to the two party organizations appeared very large while the amounts spent in money and manpower by labor organizations over the entire year are small. It is also basically a misrepresentation because these contributions include only money spent for professedly political purposes. Thus there is omitted what is spent out of union funds for what are called "education and news dissemination" in print and on the airwaves.

There are various categories selected in order to show that a very large percentage of the money was contributed to the Republican Party. While it is clear from a close reading of the report that the contributions were from individuals, it has been easy for people who choose to smear corporations and business associations to say that companies or firms or associations gave the money. This, of course, is not true.

The aggregate for such a category as military prime contractors, for example, is made up of contributions from officers and directors. The same person and his contribution can appear in several categories. One man and his contribution, for example, appear in the largest military prime contractors, the largest oil companies, the American Petroleum Institute, the National Manufacturers Association, 12 selected families, and probably in several other groups in which individuals are not specified. Therefore the meaning of the statistical compilations vanish in a series of duplications. If this committee were not entirely interested in political pay dirt, it might have found that this man was a very large contributor to many causes of a religious, philanthropic, and civic character.

One category lists the contributions to the parties by 37 leading advertising agencies. Presumably, as one commentator has indicated, this is to show that some of these companies were interested in getting business from the parties. The pay dirt was thin, for only $51,600 was unearthed. It is worthy of note that the subcommittee failed to mention, in connection with this item, that the widow of a man who headed one of these agencies in his lifetime gave $64,400 to the Democratic Party.

One of the most interesting items in the book is the identity of the largest individual contributor to either party. It was Lansdell K. Christie. He gave $70,564 to the Democrats, and $2,600 to "miscellaneous."

[From Newsweek of March 1, 1957]

DOCUMENTING A SMEAR

(By Raymond Moley)

It would be sound public policy to limit by law the overall amount an individual can contribute to a political campaign. It is sound to prohibit contributions by corporations, associations, and labor unions—a policy now under adjudication by the Supreme Court. But the smearing of all of business by selective figures and sly insinuations is demagogery.

That is exactly what is contained in the bulky report of the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections on the campaign of 1956. Responsible for this distortion of the facts are Senators ALBERT GORE and MIKE MANSFIELD, majority members of the subcommittee. Senator CARL CURTIS vigorously dissented.

The report is really an attempt to document the major contention of the 1956 Democratic campaign which was in essence that American businessmen, especially successful businessmen, are the untouchables in public life—benighted, predatory, and unfit for public office or trust.

This week, I offer a small sample of its misrepresentation of American business; next week, its effort to obscure the part taken in the campaign by some labor unions.

CONSPIRACY

The report arranges the contributions which it uncovered, mainly to the Republican Party and almost entirely by business men and women, in categories suitable to serve the implication that business management and great wealth are engaged in a conspiracy to ravish the Republic.

There are several such categories which include groups of corporations such as 100 largest industrial firms, 25 largest utilities, 88 corporations participating in the atomic-energy program, 100 largest military prime contractors, etc. Then there are trade associations and groups such as the American Petroleum Institute and Chamber of Commerce of the United States. There is also a group of members of 12 selected families. These are not claimed to be the richest families. They just happen to be mostly Republican.

It is admitted that business groups and corporations do not contribute as such. The report lists gifts from their officers, directors, and members.

The joker in the report is not only the insinuation that these groups and corporations contribute as such, but the reiteration of literally scores of single contributions by including the same people in many groups. For example, one man is a member of the 12 families, a director of one of the largest corporations, a director of a corporation participating in military contracts, and a member of two trade associations. Thus his money is mentioned five times.

DUPLICATION

The report views with alarm the total contributions of $751,914 by "selected groups," including trade associations. Without attempting to show how many times the same contributions are counted in that total, I note that the contribution of an ambassador (there is a category of "heads of diplomatic missions") is counted as such, and it is again counted in a list of the Business Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce. Another man's contribution is counted twice in the total since he is a member of the Business Advisory Council and a director of the Iron and Steel Institute. There are other such duplications which, if taken into account, would greatly change the total.

There is a category of the "37 leading advertising agencies." The selection shows that officers of these contributed $51,600 to the Republicans and nothing to the Democrats. This is hard to believe, unless the selection was deliberately made to show Republican unanimity. But the widow of a man who made his fortune in one of the largest agencies gave $64,400 to the Democrats.

The largest contributor to either party was Landsdell K. Christie, who gave more than $70,000 to the Democrats. He is president of the Liberia Mining Co. There is the Greek, Aristotle Socrates Onassis of Monaco, bearing gifts to both parties—$1,500 to the Republicans and $3,000 to the Democrats. Retrospect over prospect is true generosity. Or maybe his information service missed the boat.

I find no mention of Perle Mesta. Perhaps the levelers' revel provided for the party of the poor at the Chicago convention sufficed.

[From Newsweek of March 11, 1957]

MEANINGLESS REPORT

(By Raymond Moley)

Last week in this space I described some of the insinuations and misrepresentations in the report on 1956 campaign contributions and expenditures prepared by Senator ALBERT GORE's Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections. Now let us see what the report has to offer on the subject of the contributions and expenditures of politically inclined unions.

The figures are sketchy and their presentation clumsy. Either the subcommittee was overwhelmed by the volume of what they collected, or they were anxious to minimize the help given by the unions to the Democrats. The net result is meaningless and incomplete.

The report fails to make clear what a political expenditure really means. The unions

decided for themselves what was "political" and what was "education." The smaller part of union activity in politics is supported by "voluntary" contributions by members, while the larger part, called education, is paid out of union funds.

MANY SOURCES

In the general table in the report listing direct campaign expenditures, "labor" is down for $941,271. Later in the report there are listed "transfers" from "national labor groups" to labor campaign committees, Democratic candidates for the House and Senate, Democratic Party committees, and other labor or Democratic committees, totaling $1,209,560. This amount was buried in the expenditures of the Democrats or of the labor organizations. Another tabulation appears for expenditures of "State and local labor groups." These come to $890,344, half of which they spent directly, and half of which they transferred to other labor and Democratic committees and candidates. Thus it would seem that labor groups raised and spent, from "voluntary sources," $2,981,175. Another tabulation lists the receipts from specific unions. This shows that about 80 percent came from the United Auto Workers, the Steelworkers, the Ladies Garment Workers, and Railway Labor's Political League. Note that this covers only national, not local contributions.

But the report also shows that a very considerable number of labor organizations did not comply with the subcommittee's request for information. Hence the figures cited above are far below even the actual voluntary contributions and expenditures. Also, it should be noted that contributions for the most part are limited to the 3 months from September 1 to November 30. Traditionally, that is the season when the contributors to the Republican Party give birth to the heaviest contributions. Political labor organizations are year-round affairs.

A WIDE FIELD

Enormous funds are spent for what are actually political purposes out of union treasuries. Representatives of the unions cited the following activities which they consider they are permitted to support out of general union funds: "(1) Systematically organized drives for registration of voters; (2) carry out a systematic program of political education, including organization of schools where political questions are discussed, and the compilation and distribution of voting records; and (3) exercise the right of free speech by expressing their views on political questions in print and by means of radio, and television, and otherwise." Since such drives for registrations are limited to those whose minds are prepared by the educational methods described, these three activities cover about all that is ordinarily mean by politics. Altogether, it is a fair guess that the total of contributions by the unions to the Democrats is greater than that contributed by Democrats as such. This means that in many of the Northern and Western States the unions actually dominate the Democratic Party.

Finally, there is invaluable manpower furnished by paid union officers, shop stewards, and others. This contribution cannot be evaluated in monetary terms, but it is very great. It was stated in the publication Labor's Daily last year that "the expenditure of manpower * * * is the real power of the UAW in the political arena."

It is not only in what the subcommittee's report admits, but in what it conspicuously omits that there are portrayed the dimensions of political power which may well dominate the political life of a nation.

H. R. 4602

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHIL WEAVER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, during the recent debate on H. R. 4602, there was considerable discussion about discount practices and their relation to the 4½-percent interest rate on Veterans' Administration guaranteed and direct loans. I want to further discuss this matter in some detail to call to your attention the many complexities of this somewhat technical question. The discount practice is a device where the lender enlarges his net interest yield by obtaining a bonus in excess of the interest rate established by law. The practice has been prevalent throughout the United States for several years.

The amount of the discount or bonus which the lender demands depends on the geographical area in which the loan is made. During most of the 10 years in which the veterans' loan program has operated, money has been loaned at par—no discount—on the east coast. Discounts in the South and Midwest have varied from 2 to 5 points during the last few years and they have varied from 4 to 8 points in the Southwest and on the west coast. The law prohibits the veteran from paying the discount, or bonus, to the lender for the loan; therefore, it is paid by the builder, if the real estate in question is a new house, or by the seller of the property if it is an old house. The simplest form of the discount transaction is as follows:

A builder, planning to build a new subdivision of 100 houses with a sales price of $15,000 and a downpayment of $1,000, goes to a savings and loan bank or life insurance company and asks for an advance commitment of mortgage financing from that company. The company will guarantee that financing will be available for a loan for a veteran when the houses are complete and a veteran purchaser who is otherwise qualified contracts for the house. At that time the lender and the builder agree as to the amount of the discount. The houses are constructed by the builder, usually on a short-term construction loan which he obtains from a local bank, and the veteran and builder, after approval by VA, go to closing. The veteran pays his $1,000 downpayment and makes a note to the lender for $14,000; however, the lender pays the builder only $13,300—5 percent less than the face value of the note—for the $14,000 note. This means that the builder has sold a $15,000 house and has actually only realized $14,300 cash from the sale. On the other hand, the lender owns a $14,000 note signed by the veteran and guaranteed by the Veterans' Administration bearing 4½ percent interest, for which he paid only $13,300. In its simplest from, this means that the builder has paid a bonus to the lender of $700 per house to induce the lender to make money available to veterans who purchase his houses. On the project being described of 100 houses, this means that the builder has paid the lender a bonus of $70,000. The lender will realize, with interest of 4½ percent per annum paid him by the veteran on the note, and the discount, or bonus, paid by the builder, a net interest yield of 5.01 percent through a maturity period of 25 years. If the loan is paid off in 12 years, the net interest yield will be 5.15 percent.

A discount transaction involving old, or existing, property is slightly different. An owner of an old house applies to VA for an appraisal. If the appraisal of VA is suitable to him, he finds a veteran purchaser who is willing to pay the price asked for the property, so long as it is not more than the appraised price by VA. The veteran and the seller of the property are then confronted with the problem of obtaining a source of permanent financing for the loan. Application is made to a lender for permanent financing and the lender advises the seller of the property that he will require a discount of five points. If the loan being requested by the veteran is $14,000, the lender takes the veteran's note for $14,000 at 4½ percent, but actually only pays the seller of the property $13,300. This means that the lender has the veteran's $14,000 note for $700 less than its face value. In this instance, the net interest yield to the lender would be 5.01 percent on a 25-year loan, even though the maximum interest permitted by law is 4½ percent. The veteran is prohibited by law from paying the discount.

Where a builder enters into a commitment to pay a discount on his new houses, there is a very good chance that the quality of the houses will suffer as the builder attempts to cut corners and preserve his profit margin despite the discount he is paying. In these cases, the veteran pays the discount indirectly, since he is getting an inferior product for his housing dollar.

The discount practice has proved an impediment to the veterans' direct loan program. Before Veterans' Administration will make a loan to a veteran, they refer his application to the Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program—VHMCP—in order that that organization may attempt to find a private lender. If a private lender is found, the lender is permitted to require the seller of the property to pay a discount of up to 2 points. If the seller of the property refuses to pay the discount, the veteran is not permitted to renew his application with the Veterans' Administration for a direct loan, since the VA has approved the 2-point discount requirement as being reasonable.

Even though the discount practice is used to enlarge net interest yield and is, in effect, an interest charge, lenders

resorting to this practice are not affected by the State usury laws, since technically and legally the discount has not been held to be an interest charge.

A demand has been made for an increase in interest rate on VA loans from 4½ to 5 percent. With the discount practice being followed, lenders are now obtaining net interest yields of 5 percent or more in some instances on Veterans' Administration loans. The proposals before the Congress was that the interest rate be raised from 4½ to 5 percent; however, there was no prohibition against discounts in the amendment. Had the amendment been adopted, the veteran would be required to pay the higher rate of 5 percent and the lender would be permitted to obtain all the discount points from the builder or seller that he could obtain. The interest rate was raised in December of 1956 on FHA loans from 4½ to 5 percent. Even with this increase, the discount practice has not disappeared from that class of loans. FHA loans are being made today in many parts of the United States at discounts varying from 3 to 5 points.

Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1958

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6287) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. LONG. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I know a lot of you are ready to vote. Well, I have been here all day and I was here nearly every other day listening to the debate, so surely you can spare me about 4 or 5 minutes. I am vitally interested in this subject. I have vigorously opposed this Mexican labor bill every time there was any part of it on the floor, and I expect to continue to do that very thing. Many say, "Oh, they pay the same wage for this labor as they do for local labor." That is the same as saying that the veteran does not pay the discount when he buys a home. I live in a district that uses Mexican labor, too, and am familiar with how the program operates. I live in a district where they have been shipping in Hungarian labor also, and I want to talk about that, too, if I have time. But, this Mexican labor comes there and lives in small shacks.

They arrive by the truckload. Just as they ship in livestock, I have seen as many as 30 or 40 packed into 1 flat-bodied truck. They travel all the way from the Mexican border in the trucks and unload at the farm of the contractor. Here they are domiciliated in tiny shacks which amount to no more than a lean-to shelter. There is no such thing as sanitation or plumbing, and what water they use they haul it in barrels. Many of them do not even to bother to live in these shacks but simply bed down on the ground without any shelter.

Customarily they have a so-called foreman who is able to speak some English, and he is the spokesman for the entire group. He comes to an agreement with the farmer and handles all the money or the group. There is no such thing as wage standards, and no one knows exactly what was paid except the farmer and the foreman. Wage standards and living conditions are thrown out of the window, and it is a matter of each person making the best deal possible. That is the way this program works in the Eighth Congressional District and the adjoining districts in the State of Louisiana.

In my district there are some large plantations, and in other areas there are small farms. In the area where the small farms are predominant the people do some truck farming and raise a small amount of cotton or corn but principally make their living working away from home. A considerable source of employment is on the larger plantations, and this category of labor is being deprived of the opportunity to work by the importation of Mexican labor. The residents of the Eighth Congressional District of Louisiana perform an honest day's work and in turn expect to be paid a fair and prevailing wage.

We are all proud of the living standards and conditions in our country, and these conditions are made possible only by payment of a fair wage scale. The entire balance is upset when cheap foreign labor is imported at the expense of many for the benefit of a few.

Apart from the displacement of local labor, I object to the morals of these imported Mexican laborers. My experience with them has been limited, but it is obvious that law-enforcement officers encounter a problem when the Mexican laborers are in any given vicinity. One was understood to make this reply upon learning that he would spend some time in jail for theft, "So what, it's O. K. with me; I will get three meals and a place to sleep."

Let us not misunderstand this thing. I am in support of knocking out the $2.5 million or any other amount for the importation of Mexican labor or other foreign labor that comes here in competition with local labor. If you want to vote for those few who hire this labor under contract for little or nothing, then vote for it, but do not be misled.

In the little city of Pineville, La., which has less than 10,000 population, there are about 15 Hungarians who have displaced 15 local citizens in jobs within the creosote and other plants.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONG. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. GATHINGS. Before any of this labor can come into this country there must be a certification that local labor is not sufficient to take care of the needs in the area.

Mr. LONG. The program does not always work as intended. In my area I see every day during the cotton-picking season, the farming season, literally hundreds of good American boys walking the streets begging for jobs while the Mexican labor does the work.

Mr. GATHINGS. Let me tell you what they do in trying to get local labor. They preach the need for labor from the pulpit. They ask for this labor in every conceivable manner to do this work.

Mr. LONG. I am telling you of my experience with this program. I live among these people in my district and I know what is going on.

Mr. GATHINGS. How many of those Mexicans who worked in the gentleman's district were convicted of thievery? We have not experienced too much difficulty from these people. They are peaceful and largely law abiding.

Mr. LONG. I have no way of knowing how many of the Mexican contract laborers have been convicted of thievery but I do know that in every locality where contract labor is used there are complaints and law enforcement officers are kept busy in seeing that these laborers behave themselves.

We want to practice a little economy, and we want to keep the Government out of private business. We want the Government to quit interfering with the farmers and other people who have business to transact. I believe this is a very good place to begin. Stop the wetbacks from coming into this country and if we do not have a treaty to back it up, let us make one.

Adequate Safeguards in Tariff and Trade Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD M. SIMPSON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in many instances the voice of our people first expresses itself in the decisions of our various State Legislatures. A recent action by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is a particularly timely and important example of this phenomenon.

Recognizing the many serious dangers to the welfare of American labor and industry resulting from rising trends in imports of foreign products, the general assembly has approved a resolution memorializing Congress to provide adequate safeguards for the legitimate interests of millions of our citizens by adopting appropriate trade and tariff legislation. There is no question in my own mind but that it is absolutely essential to the health of our Nation's economy for the Congress to give serious attention to this vital problem. In adopting this resolution by a near unanimous voice vote of both houses, the assembly has rendered

a great service to the citizens of Pennsylvania and of the Nation.

The resolution as approved is as follows:

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION MEMORIALIZING CONGRESS TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS IN TARIFF AND TRADE LEGISLATION

The increased importation of numerous products that come into competition with the output of factories, farms, and mines of Pennsylvania, replacing the products of Pennsylvania's industries, is a constant menace to the State's continuing economic stability.

The lower wages paid abroad make it impossible for many of our smaller and medium-sized producers to compete with imports without resorting to ruinous price cutting, which in turn would result either in financial losses or heavy pressure for wage reductions and outright unemployment.

Our national obligations have reached such extreme proportions that the national income must be maintained at its present unprecedented high level, or close thereto, lest we become insolvent.

Unemployment caused by the imports of residual oil, which represented 3.43 times the average of 45 million barrels imported in 1946, to approximately 154 million barrels in 1956, or the yearly equivalent of 36,640,000 tons of coal; and unemployment caused by imports of crude oil; various types of glass, steel, aluminum, brass and zinc products; pottery and chinaware; granite, tiles, cement, hardboard, plywood, hardware, plumbing, flat glass, and other building supplies, lace, carpets, and all kinds of woolen, cotton, and synthetic fiber manufactured goods; leather and fabric gloves; bicycles; hydraulic turbines; machine tools and other machinery; heavy electrical equipment and other electrical industry products and electronics; watches, clocks, and parts; optical industry products; cutlery; scientific apparatus; pencils and pens; pins, clips, and fasteners; soft fiber; insulation board and manufactured cork products; chemicals; toys; mushrooms; farm, dairy and dried milk products; wallpaper; hats and millinery; printing industry products; ladies hand bags and leather goods; nails, wire, screws, bolts, and nuts, and many other commodities; will render the upholding of the economy at its high levels most uncertain and difficult unless all import trade is placed on a fair competitive basis and the potential injury therefrom thus eliminated.

Agricultural products such as wheat, wheat flour, cotton, butter, cheese, and peanuts, enjoy the protection of import quotas.

A maximum of satisfactory trade results from a prosperous domestic economy freed from the threat of a breakdown resulting from unfair import competition: Therefore be it

Resolved (*the house of representatives concurring*), That the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania memorializes the Congress of the United States to provide adequate safeguards in tariff and trade legislation, including import quotas and an effective prohibition against dumping of imports in the United States; against the destruction or lowering of our American standard of living, the labor standard of our workmen, and the stability of our economy by unfair import competition and that the existing trade agreements legislation be amended accordingly; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and each Senator and Representative from Pennsylvania in the Congress of the United States.

School-Aid Extravagance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

SCHOOL-AID EXTRAVAGANCE — CONGRESSMAN BOW REVEALS WHAT HAPPENS IN FEDERALLY SUPPORTED SCHOOLS

(By Raymond Moley)

In his pleas for Federal aid for school construction, including his not very successful controversy with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States over the validity of the administration's figures on the need, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Folsom gives every assurance that Uncle Sam will just give the money and look the other way so far as spending is concerned. In short, the impression is given that there will be no Federal control of schools. But isn't such control inevitable, considering the itchy hands of Washington bureaucrats? Would not the Federal Government be under an obligation to be responsible for the grants to the States in this case? Thus the administration is caught in a serious dilemma. It must assure—perhaps should assure—Congress that it will see that the money appropriated is providently spent. And it must, so far as the political exigencies are concerned, assure the States that it will not interfere with the operation and maintenance of the schools.

Also involved in the whole question is the established fact that when State and local agencies are spending their own money they are more careful to avoid extravagance than when they are spending everybody's money. That is obvious.

Secretary Folsom takes great pains also—both in his statement before the House committee considering the subject, and in his letter to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States—to claim that while the Federal Government for some years has been giving hundreds of millions for the construction and maintenance of schools in areas overburdened because of Federal defense installations and other Federal activities, it has not exercised any control over the expenditures of those funds.

According to the revelations to the House by a very useful Member, Congressman FRANK T. BOW, of Ohio, somebody ought to be supervising such gifts because of evidence of wanton extravagance. The Congressman's interest was aroused because of the refusal of the school board of Arlington County, Va., to make public the details of its budget for 1957–58.

It appears that because of the great Federal burden on Arlington County, the Federal Government paid about 10 percent of the costs of the schools there, both for maintenance and construction.

Upon investigation, Congressman BOW turned up some very interesting items. There is in the budget, he says, $6,000 to pay expenses of employees to conventions and for training courses at schools. Those attending these conventions, whose expenses the Nation's taxpayers are thus paying, then pass ringing resolutions in favor of Federal aid.

Of course, there are many items in school maintenance and construction other than the classrooms that the President and the Secretary are talking about so much. There are incidentals such as school bands. There are requested in Arlington "several sousaphones at costs ranging from $700 to $850," and also a harp at $1,500, and 4 pianos at $500 each. The children of the Federal bureaucrats living in Arlington will thus be amply supplied the means if not the reality of music.

But the abuse of those musical instruments must be something frightful: For there is an item of $1,900 for piano tuning. Congressman BOW found that a good piano tuning job can be done for a non-Government-owned piano for $8.50. Thus there must be 224 pianos already in Arlington in 44 schools. Strange that they should need any more—that is, pianos.

A ping-pong table is needed at $50. This seems high. There are also items of furniture for tearooms in some schools. Children, according to Secretary Folsom, are crowded in unfit, insanitary schools, but teachers must have their tea, perhaps so that they can best stand the horrible sight of crowded children.

This delineation of what a school seems to need these days makes it clear that Federal aid is not merely to provide good, comfortable rooms and desks and blackboards where children may learn the three R's. There must be fringe benefits. Or are they benefits?

Water Diversion and the Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 2 and companion bills, if enacted, would permit diversion of great amounts of additional water from the Great Lakes at Chicago. Recently I registered with the Public Works Committee of the House my vigorous objection to such proposed legislation.

While I am concerned with the protection of valuable and vested property rights belonging to thousands of Lake Michigan real-estate owners in my district, I would like also to focus the attention of Congress upon the tremendous stake and interest which the Federal Government, as a whole, and all the taxpayers of the Nation, have in this matter. The protection of a huge Federal investment should certainly be important in these days when the Members, as well as their constituents, are economy conscious.

To date, Congress has already authorized $105 million toward this country's share of developing the St. Lawrence seaway.

A bill has been introduced in the House in this session seeking authorization of an additional $35 million, which will make the total cost of this vast project $140 million.

The purpose of the St. Lawrence seaway development, of course, is to enable deeper draft oceangoing vessels to use the Great Lake ports.

The legislation proposed to divert Great Lakes water is working directly contrary to, and at cross-purposes with, the seaway project.

Cargo ships presently are operating within an inch of the bottom of the Great Lakes in some areas. The evidence is clear that even a so-called tem-

porary diversion of additional water through the Chicago waterway will cut that navigation tolerance to less than one-half inch.

It is clear that the diversion of additional water will affect not only Lake Michigan, but most of the other Great Lakes as well.

If the diversion proposal should become law, the cost of the entire St. Lawrence seaway development project must be reevaluated. The expense for deeper and deeper dredging would inevitably add vast sums to the overall cost of the project.

Accordingly, it should be clear that part of the cost of providing sewage disposal for the Chicago area, which should be financed locally by that municipality, would be borne not only by Lake Michigan property owners, but also by all taxpayers of the United States who are underwriting the St. Lawrence seaway.

The background and issues involved in the diversion proposal were well presented in an editorial by Don Gordon writing in the Leelanau Enterprise Tribune, recognized as one of the outstanding weekly newspapers in the Nation. The editorial follows:

[From the Leelanau (Mich.) Enterprise-Tribune of February 7, 1957]

FUTURE OF THE GREAT LAKES IS AT STAKE

We of Leelanau County, surrounded as we are on three sides by the waters of Lake Michigan, should be particularly alert to efforts of Illinois to extend large volumes of emergency diversion of water from Lake Michigan to relieve low-water conditions in the Mississippi River.

Fourteen bills already have been introduced in the House of Representatives to allow the Chicago Sanitary District to draw additional water from Lake Michigan for sewage disposal purposes. Other water diversion proposals are rumored. Decisions reached will affect 2 nations (United States and Canada), 8 States, plans for the St. Lawrence seaway, power stations along the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River, and Great Lakes shipping. Looking at the problem from a selfish standpoint, every inch of Lake Michigan frontage around our shores is threatened.

The water diversion controversy arose from 1892 to 1900 when Chicago carried out a plan to dispose of sewage by cutting a canal across the low continental divide about 10 miles west of Lake Michigan, and discharging sewage of the entire metropolitan area into the Mississippi watershed by way of the Chicago sanitary canal, Des Plaines and Illinois Rivers. To achieve this purpose, it was necessary to reverse the flow of the Chicago River, and to take water from Lake Michigan and divert it into the Illinois and Mississippi River drainage basins.

For nearly 40 years, until at the insistence of our Senator Vandenburg, the Supreme Court in 1930 relieved the situation, enormous quantities of water were drawn out of Lake Michigan * * * as much as 14,000 cubic feet of water per second. Many local persons still remember what a disastrous effect this drainage had on our shorelines.

The Supreme Court held that the Chicago water diversion had caused a lowering of 6 inches in the levels of the Great Lakes. It held that the lowering of lake levels by approximately 6 inches caused a substantial and injurious effect upon the carrying capacity of vessels, and deprived navigation and commercial interests of facilities which otherwise they would have enjoyed in commerce on the Great Lakes. The Court held too that the 6 inch lowering of the Great Lakes had caused substantial injury in connection with fishing and hunting grounds, beaches, summer resorts, and public parks.

The Court ordered Chicago to provide other means of disposing of the sewage of the sanitary district. It also ordered diversion of water from the lakes to be reduced permanently to 1,500 feet per second.

The sanitary district since then has argued that more water is needed from Lake Michigan for navigation, public health, recreation, community use, agriculture, restoration of fisheries, and atomic power. Each of these claims has been disproved.

The Supreme Court did, however, just 2 months ago, modify its 1930 decree to allow temporary diversion of 8,500 feet per second from the date of that decree (December 17) until January 31, 1957, Illinois has petitioned the Court to extend this emergency diversion until the end of February.

The Great Lakes Basin now is confronted with a bold demand that waters of the Great Lakes be used to restore water levels in the Mississippi River system and to maintain navigation at normal levels in the Mississippi and its tributaries, despite a prolonged drought in the Mississippi Valley. If the precedent is established that the Great Lakes are to become a storage basin for the Mississippi Valley and other great river systems, what of the future of our Great Lakes?

These new and unprecedented demands for water come as the Great Lakes themselves move rapidly toward a low water cycle. Levels of the Great Lakes dropped 3.5 inches during November, reflecting reduced precipitation for many months over the Great Lakes Basin, exactly the same natural phenomenon which has impaired water levels in the Mississippi and its tributaries. Lake levels have dropped more than 3 feet since the high levels of 1952. If you find that hard to believe, check the Lake Michigan beaches and harbors anywhere around Leelanau County.

The Great Lakes Harbors Association, port cities, the Lake Carriers' Association, and the governments of the States bordering the Great Lakes have been united in opposition to the demands of Chicago that the waters of Lake Michigan be exploited for the political or financial benefit of the Chicago Sanitary District. The Canadian Government repeatedly has protested the attempts to take water from an international basin for the benefit of a single community.

It has been the long-standing position of many interests on the Great Lakes that if Chicago has a legitimate basis for adjustment of the 1930 decree, it should go back to the Supreme Court and make its petition, which will become the subject of reasonable and thorough investigation. This important issue, affecting a great watershed, 2 nations and 8 States, should be decided by the judicial processes and not by political methods.

Status of Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, article VII of the NATO Status of Forces Agreement which surrenders criminal jurisdiction over our servicemen to the foreign countries where they are serving purports to throw certain safeguards around an accused who is subject to such jurisdiction. Section 9 of article VII provides that whenever a member of a force or civilian component or a dependent is prosecuted under the jurisdiction of a receiving State he shall be entitled—

(a) To a prompt and speedy trial;

(b) To be informed, in advance of trial, of the specific charge or charges made against him;

(c) To be confronted with the witnesses against him;

(d) To have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, if they are within the jurisdiction of the receiving State;

(e) To have legal representation of his own choice for his defense or to have free or assisted legal representation under the conditions prevailing for the time being in the receiving State;

(f) If he considers it necessary, to have the services of a competent interpreter; and

(g) To communicate with a representative of the Government of the sending State and, when the rules of the court permit, to have such a representative present at his trial.

When Attorney General Brownell appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 24, 1953, to support this agreement, he said that these provisions constituted "civilized standards of justice." He did not appear to be concerned that these provisions did not give to an accused any of the following rights:

First. A right to bail.

Second. The right to be tried by a fair and impartial court.

Third. The right to have a reasonable time to prepare his defense, after being informed of the charges against him.

Fourth. The right to be present at his trial.

Fifth. The right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

Sixth. The burden of proof on the Government in all criminal cases to prove such guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

Seventh. The right not to have involuntary confessions used against him.

Eighth. The right not to be compelled to testify against himself.

Ninth. The right to cross-examine the witnesses against him.

Tenth. Protection against double jeopardy.

Eleventh. Protection against ex post facto laws.

Twelfth. Protection against bills of attainder.

These are all rights guaranteed to an accused by our Constitution. He will lose most of them in foreign courts. Are we to consider that these rights are uncivilized standards and that our Constitution is wrong in granting them to an accused?

In discussing the effect of Article VII of this Treaty it is generally considered that the jurisdiction over our servicemen has been surrendered to civil authorities of the foreign states. This is not necessarily true. It would be possible under the treaty for a foreign power, having refused to waive its jurisdiction, to try an accused in its own military court. In fact that has been done on at least one occasion. Those who justify the treaty on the ground that sentences in foreign courts are less than would be meted out by an American court-martial should consider the effect if such a practise of trial by foreign court-martial becomes general.

The Constitution—Temple of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include in the RECORD the prize-winning essay in the Alabama American Legion essay contest, entitled "The Constitution—Temple of Liberty," Mr. George Kinzer, of Demopolis High School, Demopolis, Ala., took first place honors in school, county, district, and area contests before entry in the State finals, and in placing first, young Kinzer received $100 in United States savings bonds from the Department of Alabama American Legion in addition to school and local American Legion Post awards. There were entrants from practically every high school in Alabama participating.

This annual essay contest is one of the many Americanism Programs promoted by the American Legion which moulds the minds of the youth of today to make them the citizens and governmental leaders of tomorrow.

Naturally we, in my district, are quite proud of young George Kinzer.

The essay follows:

THE CONSTITUTION—TEMPLE OF LIBERTY

(By George Kinzer)

There is a beautiful marble building in Washington, D. C., which houses many of the treasures of our Nation's past and present. In this structure resides yet another physical part of the United States' early history. It is found in a white altar-like casing in the most hallowed room of the building. To gain the entrance of this chamber you must walk along halls that seem to be the echoing corridors of time. As you enter, your eyes are irresistably drawn to a softly lighted spot which seems dazzling in comparison to its shadowed surroundings. There, on its pedestal, lies the mighty document which made America; our great Constitution.

We, as a Christian nation, believe that our creator made all people with equal rights and freedoms. Our Constitution is our physical assurance that no person, group, or nation will ever violate our rights while it is within the power of the Government to prevent it. It is the provision that our forefathers made for an everlastingly strong government which will insure justice and freedom for all. The principles and ideals incorporated into our Constitution were formed by the men who fought and died and by those who fought and lived to fight again. Their fierce hunger for liberty and freedom seems to fill every space between the lines of the Constitution. The wisest men of our country during that time saw what a young and growing nation would need. Around this, our love for freedom and our need for democratic government, those great men built our Constitution and from that, our Nation. Our Congress, the President and his Cabinet, our system of courts, all were provided to serve and protect us. They serve us by uniting our people, keeping law and order supreme in the land, providing education for all the children and other necessary services. A mighty armed force protects us from physical harm; and our laws, an even mightier force, protect our God-given rights and freedoms.

The framers of the Constitution set down all the laws and rulings needed to successfully build our Government. When they had finished this, most of the men realized, with justifiable pride, what had been accomplished and were satisfied. Others in the group, along with most of the common people, were not. They felt that there should be some assurance that this strong government would never break down its barriers and trample the people's liberties. Those of our forebears who felt this way demanded and received this assurance in the form of our Bill of Rights, the first 10 amendments to our Constitution. The 10 additions state emphatically what our rights are and afterwards decree that no power shall remove these holy freedoms.

In our life are constant reminders of these freedoms. A man knocks on our door and asks us to sign a petition for better city playgrounds for the neighborhood children. We fiercely argue with each other over everything from baseball to ballots. On Sunday some of us attend the church, temple, or synagogue of our choice while others see fit to devote their day to sandtraps, fishing, or extra sleep. We may, during the week, attend a political rally called to let a candidate tell how he will correct the wrongs of the present government if elected. Our sporting arms are never subject to confiscation as revolutionary equipment. No transient military officer can violate our home in time of peace and find a free place to spend the night. All citizens are entitled to the same legal rights regardless of their position in society. No dictatorial judge can, in a fit of ill temper, sentence us to death for a minor crime. We will be punished, but it will come through a jury. No arm of the law is so long that it can search into our home or impound our property without a search warrant and completely legal cause. We are rarely ever slow to claim our rights, but we often seem to forget that one of the 10 assurances states that our rights and liberties extend and are legal only to the point where they do not impair the freedoms of others.

These are our rights, tempered in the fires of war, encased in the gold of peace. They are God-given freedoms which shall forever be protected by our sturdy Government. We stood before their origin in that hallowed marble chamber. We live among them in every moment of our life. The spirit and feeling of liberty embodied in these historic words cannot be incased in that shining pedestal with the aging sheaf of parchment. They are free and flowing, existing in every corner of the land. And the people who owe their freedom to those rights should forever stand, humble and awed, before that sacred temple of liberty: our Constitution.

Editorial Praise for United States Senator Lyndon B. Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith two editorials from prominent newspapers published in the congressional district I have the honor to represent. They represent the sentiment in our section of the Nation in praising our very fine and able United States Senator from Texas, the Honorable LYNDON JOHNSON, majority leader in the United States Senate.

They are as follows:

[From the Paris (Tex.) News of March 24, 1957]

PRESS NOTES JOHNSON LEADERSHIP

The Nation's press is sitting up and taking notice of what some commentators call "the new position of leadership" taken in the Senate by the majority leader, LYNDON B. JOHNSON of Texas.

Although the Texan is not even a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, many viewers of the Washington scene hail him as the one man who has had most to do with the formulation of foreign policy from the Senate angle since the retirement of Senator George (Democrat, Georgia), the longtime chairman. One writer brackets JOHNSON with Senator George and the late great Republican foreign policy expert, Senator Vandenburg of Michigan, as giving breadth and purpose to our foreign policy.

Some of the Nation's top columnists broke out in praise of Johnson for his skill and effectiveness in guiding the Eisenhower Doctrine through the mazes of congressional confusion when it looked for a time as if it either had no chance in the first place, or would be riddled beyond recognition.

Robert C. Albright, columnist of the Washington Post, says JOHNSON stepped into George's shoes largely by common consent. Officially, the post of bipartisan foreign policy leader does not even exist, says Albright, "But when it became quite apparent during 2 months of foment over the President's Middle East resolution that bipartisan cooperation had badly deteriorated, JOHNSON started to move."

The Democrats were in a dilemma, says Gerald Griffin of the Baltimore Sun, when JOHNSON stepped in and by a few slight changes in the George pattern soon had his fellow-Democrats with him.

The New York Herald Tribune's Roscoe Drummond notes that in the wake of the administration's "bumpy and often acrimonious struggle with the Middle East" several consequences are emerging.

"There is, first of all," writes Drummond, "an increased appreciation in the White House for the effectiveness and intellectual competence of Senate Democrtic leader LYNDON JOHNSON."

The fact is, he goes on, "that Senator JOHNSON demonstrated a responsiveness and an independence which can create a new relationship between Congress and the President in foreign policy."

Another Herald Tribune writer, Rowland Evans, Jr., wrote:

"Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON of Texas has staked a claim as the Senate's foreign policy leader with a deftness that has impressed even those accustomed to his political artistry. And, at least privately, the White House and the State Department have welcomed the Texan to this new role."

So, once more, as he has on many other occasions, the Texan has demonstrated his worth to State and Nation in a critical moment.

[From the Texarkana (Tex.) Gazette of March 21, 1957]

SENATOR JOHNSON ASSUMES NEW ROLE

The political astuteness of Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON, of Texas, is becoming more and more evident in Washington. His skill in the science of government long has been recognized and now it is producing for him a new role—that of foreign policy leader in the Senate.

Virtually all of the Washington news analysts have taken note of the strides Senator JOHNSON has made in this direction since the first of the year.

Says Howard Evans, Jr., Washington correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune: "Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON, of Texas, has staked a claim as the Senate's foreign policy leader with a deftness that has impressed even those accustomed to his political artistry. And at least privately, the White House and the State Department have welcomed the Texan to this new role. Minutes after the Senate finally endorsed the President's Middle East resolution, Mr. Eisenhower called Senator JOHNSON to say how delighted he was with the 72-to-19 Senate vote. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles also offered congratulations. The two calls were symbolic of an unstated agreement to heal a serious rupture between the executive branch and the Senate on highest matters of foreign policy. The shattered lines of communication have been restored, the breakdown in confidence at least temporarily repaired, and the Senate's influence in foreign policy vastly enhanced. For that, Senator JOHNSON must be given the lion's share of the credit, under any objective analysis."

Gerald Griffin, of the Washington bureau of the Baltimore Sun, writes as follows: "Senator JOHNSON has moved into a new position of leadership in the Senate, on foreign policy, and has made some changes in the pattern set by former Senator George. The revisions which JOHNSON has brought about were reflected in the handling of the Middle East resolution, and they are expected at the Capitol to result in more consultations and a freer exchange of ideas on foreign issues, from now on, between the Eisenhower administration and Democratic leadership."

Says Roscoe Drummond, also of the Herald Tribune: "In the wake of the administration's bumpy and often acrimonious 58-day struggle to get the Middle East resolution through Congress, several consequences are merging. There is, first of all, an increased appreciation in the White House for the effectiveness and intellectual competence of Senate Democratic Leader LYNDON JOHNSON. The fact is that Senator JOHNSON demonstrated a responsiveness and an independence which can create a new relationship between Congress and the President on foreign policy."

This new role that Senator JOHNSON has taken on is not merely significant from a foreign policy standpoint, it also shows that JOHNSON is demonstrating that he has the stature that goes along with a Presidential nomination. His actions since the first of the year, in our opinion, have strengthened materially whatever claim he may make to the nomination.

World-Policy Council Seen as State Department Need

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is obvious to all Americans that our State Department is in need of something or someone to help it formulate policy.

David Lawrence, in the following article which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 21, 1957, proposes a World-Policy Council. Mr. Lawrence's article is interesting and it reads as follows:

WORLD-POLICY COUNCIL SEEN AS STATE DEPARTMENT NEED

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, March 20.—Sometimes, in fact, too often in Government, the obvious is overlooked.

Today it is obvious that no one man can run the entire Government of the United States, and in the same sense no one man can run the Department of State, either. The tasks are too big, and the position of the United States in world affairs is more exacting than at any time in its history.

A Cabinet whose members are freed from administrative responsibilities and which could sit as a council to the President every day if necessary would help him shape national and international policies.

The problem in almost every Government Department is the same, the responsibilities have grown so large that no one executive head can administer and also have time to think about the making of policy.

Although the Constitution gives the President the duty of conducting foreign relations, this has always been delegated to a Secretary of State. He, in turn, has had to rely on ambassadors abroad with the natural limitations imposed upon them in getting promptly information concerning world problems. But today, with intercontinental telegraph and telephone, communication is instantaneous. Cablegrams and reports by telephone and letter pour in every hour from all parts of the globe. No one man at the head of the Department of State can examine them all and have time for anything else. Also, personal diplomacy, direct contacts with the heads of other governments, is tremendously important and takes time away from Washington.

WORLD POLICY COUNCIL

Congress has authorized a number of Assistant Secretaries to administer the different Divisions of the Department of State, but what is needed is a world-policy council of which the Secretary of State would be chairman. This would be the policy-planning instrument of the Department, and it should not be left to staff men and subordinates to carry on.

The suggestion is not new, but it has an even more compelling reason in the state of world affairs today than when it was first mentioned by this correspondent in an article on November 14, 1952—before the present Secretary of State was selected and when the whole concept was presented on an impersonal basis. Here is the way it was set forth at the time:

"Last May (1952) this writer was sitting in General Eisenhower's office in Paris chatting with him about fundamental principles of governmental organization. The General listened attentively to some thoughts about present-day government derived from many years of intimate contact with the Government at Washington. Before I began, the General had said:

"'I want new ideas. I don't know what the future holds in store for me but, if I am called to a high position of responsibility, I will want new ideas.'

"The main idea that I suggested was based on this realistic fact: Our National Government today has become too big to be run by one man.

"Even some of the big Government departments are too big to be run by single Cabinet officers to whom vast powers are usually delegated.

BIGGEST RESPONSIBILITY

"Making the foreign policy of the United States nowadays is almost the biggest responsibility in Government. It covers not just diplomatic relations with other governments. It covers also economic cooperation involving billions of dollars in grants, loans, and trade relationships. It covers delicate questions of military cooperation affecting 50,000 boys who are drafted every month. All this has its impact on taxes and on almost every phase of our economic life. No such complexities have ever confronted us before in time of peace.

"The truth is that we need a policymaking board of 5 men in the Department of State, 4 of whom should be completely separated from all administrative responsibility. The Secretary of State should be the chairman of such a board. He should have sole responsibility for operating his Department and executing policy. But the views of the four other members as well as those of the Secretary should be at all times given directly to the President of the United States, individually or as a group, orally or in writing.

"Five able men, paid adequate salaries, who are disconnected from all private interests and will give their full time to the making of foreign policy, are bound to improve our international relations. It means a better chance for long-range planning and for thoughtful evaluation of the mass of data that comes in hourly from sources around the globe."

There is need also, of course, for a divorcement of administrative duties from policymaking in every one of the other major departments and, particularly, in the overburdened United States Joint Chiefs of Staff. But the most acute need at the moment is to give the Secretary of State a freer hand and the aid of a council of men of great ability and national stature to help formulate world policies.

Mail Service Facing Breakdown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include a pertinent editorial from the Weekly Mayfair of San Jose, Calif., on Thursday, March 21, 1957, relating to the danger of a serious breakdown in postal services as a result of postal workers leaving their jobs for better paying positions elsewhere.

The editorial follows:

MAIL SERVICE FACING BREAKDOWN

"The postal service is in grave danger of a serious breakdown because postal workers are leaving their jobs in droves for better paying jobs and that postal worker turnover in many cities has reached the alarming rate of 33⅓ percent.

"Among employees with less than 5 years service it amounts to better than 50 percent." This was a statement made recently by William C. Doherty, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

A check reveals that the San Jose Post Office is having much the same trouble, and in addition, is finding it increasingly hard to recruit new employees because of the low pay offered.

The civil service register for letter carriers is practically exhausted and very few applicants are offering to take the examination. Out of those who take the examination a very small number take jobs offered, and out of those who accept many soon quit for better paying jobs.

All of this has a morale-depressing effect that permeates all departments.

Further checks show that there is never more than barely enough employees on hand to execute a complete delivery schedule, and it is not impossible that a wave of sickness would cause cancellation of mail deliveries in parts of the city.

Further complicating this situation is the fact that Congress, now faced by a budget dilemma, has cut the Post Office allocation. Locally, there is no fat to trim and it is possible that Saturday service may be curtailed.

Post Office salaries last year averaged $4,350, which could be regarded as a level of bare existence in these times. The many who receive less find it impossible to make ends meet, so seek other employment. Those who stay, unless their wives work, put in 20 to 30 hours per week at an extra job in order to live decently.

The only hope that postal employees thave to ease and correct these situations is that postal patrons in large numbers contact Senators and Congressmen and urge them to work something out that will prevent this hamstringing of our main means of communication.

Anniversary of Byelorrussian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the geographic location of Byelorussia has determined the history of the country. This innocent nation, situated between Western and Eastern Europe, has been throughout most of her history under the domination of foreign powers. For over 3½ centuries the Byelorussian people had to endure enslavement by her predatory neighbors. It was not until the First World War, when the advancing German armies forced the Bolsheviks to leave the subjugated country, that the Byelorussian people, on March 25, 1918, proclaimed their independence.

With the establishment of the republic, the Byelorussians zealously set to work to expand activities in every aspect of national life. Although their period of independence was short, the Byelorussian people made concrete progress in the social, economic and cultural fields. In the international field, this infant nation demonstrated its ability to take its place among the community of nations.

Unfortunately, however, this tiny nation could not resist for long the encroachments of Soviet imperialism. When the German armies withdrew in November of 1918, once again the Red forces advanced into Byelorussia. The independence for which the Byelorussians struggled so valiantly was again lost. At first, while they were consolidating their hold on the country, the Soviets were relatively tolerant to the people; but by 1928 they instituted a policy of Sovietization aiming at the elimination of all vestiges of Byelorussian nationalism.

The extent of Soviet genocide was incredible. It has been estimated that over 4½ million Byelorussians have been liquidated since the Soviet occupation. The Kremlin was well aware that although the Byelorussian people had been enslaved for centuries they had managed to retain their national identity. Consequently, to make sure that these brave people would be subservient, the Communists set out to completely eradicate Byelorussian national feeling and to substitute for it a Soviet culture.

For the last 39 years the Byelorussian people have suffered under this inhumane Soviet brutality. However, they have never voluntarily accepted communism. By constant passive resistance and acts of sabotage these brave people have shown their reaction to Red rule. Their desire for freedom has never been obliterated. As long as there is any hope, this spirit of liberty will remain in their hearts.

Accordingly, it is appropriate on this anniversary of Byelorussian independence that the free world bolster this hope by assuring these enslaved people that their unquenchable desire for freedom will eventually triumph over alien rule. It is also appropriate on this occasion that the American people promise the captive Byelorussian people that we have not forgotten them; and that our minds will not be at ease until they, once again, are free.

Dr. Henry Steele Commager on the 22d Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, as I announced earlier this week, from time to time I intend to place in the RECORD replies received from historians and political scientists who respond to my cross section survey of opinion on the wisdom of the 22d amendment.

I present today the reply of Dr. Henry Steele Commager, of Amherst College, in Massachusetts. Dr. Commager has authored many works on the history of American government. He is, I believe, one of our eminent authorities in the field of American history.

Dr. Commager's statement follows:

AMHERST COLLEGE,
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
Amherst, Mass., March 17, 1957.

DEAR MR. UDALL: I opposed the 22d amendment when it was proposed, and I have been a consistent critic of it since it was ratified. It was, as President Eisenhower said, an act of retroactive vindictiveness. It is wrong for the reasons you indicate; it is wrong, too, because an amendment of that kind has no place in the Constitution at all—that document should concern itself with principles, not with mechanical details of the principles.

The fundamental and, to my mind, irrefutable criticism of the 22d amendment is that it represents a vote of no confidence in democracy. It says, in effect, that our generation cannot trust any other generation to make the right choice. It denies to the American people the right to do what they have a natural right to do—the right to elect to the Presidency the man they prefer. It is based on an arrogant assumption that we somehow have more wisdom than our children and their children will have.

There is another and practical objection that should be stressed. The only time the American people ever had a chance to vote on the question, namely in 1940 and 1944, they voted overwhelmingly in favor of more than two terms. The vote of the State legislatures, therefore, is an act of defiance of the American public. Clearly it misrepresents that public, as it misrepresents history. It should never have been written into the Constitution; it should come out of the Constitution.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY S. COMMAGER.

Who Profits From Trading Stamps?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial on trading stamps from a Salt Lake City, Utah, newspaper, the Deseret News:

[From the Deseret News, Salt Lake City, Utah, of March 13, 1957]

WHO PROFITS FROM TRADING STAMPS?

Through the years, competitive enterprise has been the foundation on which America is built. Any effort to regulate that competition, and certainly some regulation is necessary, should be critically examined.

But the growing public reaction to trading stamps, as evidenced in part by recent letters to this page, clearly indicates that it is time to ask whether regulation isn't required in that field.

As a matter of fact, nearly half the 45 State legislatures in session this year, are considering bills to curb or regulate trading stamps in one way or another. Tennessee has led with a law, signed by the Governor last week, levying prohibitive taxes on stamp operations. Maryland has a bill requiring stamp firms to pay the State the face value of all stamps unredeemed after 1 year. South Carolina is reviving an old law prohibiting trading stamps with food purchases. Other States, including Idaho, are considering taxes on stamps or other means of controlling them.

The trading stamp craze, obviously, isn't confined to Utah, though what has happened here recently represents about as thorough a saturation as exists anywhere. The Department of Agriculture estimates half of all United States families save stamps. Sales covered by stamps run to about $11 billion a year.

The typical system works like this:

A store pays from $10 to $15 for a packet of 5,000 stamps, which it distributes to its customers with their purchases. A customer's book of 1,200 stamps, representing purchases of $120, costs the merchant from $2.50 to $3.75. Thus, the cost of the stamps to the merchant is 2 percent to 3 percent of his gross sales. This is a big cost item in businesses such as grocery stores or service stations where competition keeps markups at a bare minimum.

The stamp company then redeems the 1,200-coupon booklet (for which it has received $2.50 to $3.75) for an item retailing for $2 to $3—but which costs the company much less at wholesale. The markup from wholesale to retail represents the stamp company's profits. In addition, it has a 100 percent profit from the stamps that are never redeemed—and estimates of stamps redeemed vary widely, from less than 50 percent to 97 percent.

What's wrong with all this? Asking that question is a sure way to start a heated argument in almost any group.

For one thing, stamps increase the cost of the things you buy. It is strange that people who complain about the "middleman's profit" seem to give no thought to the fact that an entirely new, profit-making but nonproductive operation has been introduced into the market system. The customer, of course, pays for profit the trading stamp company makes.

It is argued by the stamp promoters that a company offering trading stamps increases its volume of business and thus is able to keep its prices at competitive levels. With some reservations, this is true. But what of an area, like most of Utah, in which virtually all food stores and service stations offer stamps? There is no overall increase in volume, but there is an overall increase in the cost of doing business.

There are, of course, other objections. There are persons who prefer not to lick stamps and who would rather trade in the coin of the realm at established stores rather than at premium centers. For these people, the saturation of trading stamps forces a choice between savings stamps or paying the higher prices without even a partial compensation.

As for the stores, the nuisance and increased costs of handling stamps has set many retailers against them.

What the future holds for this peculiar kind of merchandising, we don't pretend to know. There will be no stamp-curbing legislation in Utah this year. Moreover, as long as there is private enterprise in America, there will be premiums or free balloons for the children or other ways of bringing the customers in.

But the saturation of trading stamps in this area, along with the price increases that have accompanied it, have brought the public to the point of recognizing the futility of paying to keep an extra, unneeded operation in business. Public reaction is now in the position of accomplishing what legislation will not.

In other words, some smart businessman is going to make a killing one of these days by advertising that he does not give stamps and by displaying lower prices to prove it.

Carpenters Hit Fifth Amendment Use in Probes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 14, 1957

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a most interesting news story which appeared in the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, of March 23, 1957, under the heading of "Carpenters Hit Fifth Amendment Use in Probes."

CARPENTERS HIT FIFTH AMENDMENT USE IN PROBES

The Sacramento-Yolo Amador District Council of Carpenters has announced it is in complete agreement with the national AFL–CIO executive council's statements denouncing the use of the fifth amendment by any trade-union official for his personal protection and to avoid scrutiny.

"We invite any and all properly authorized committees of law enforcement agencies of the State of California or of the United States to scrutinize all records, books, and files governing our council," a policy statement declared.

RECORDS AVAILABLE

"The officers and elected representatives of this council are hereby directed to make available to any such legally authorized person or persons such books, records, and minutes as are requested.

"The officers and representatives are also directed to extend whole and complete cooperation to such committees and to not take refuge by use of the fifth amendment if such requests are made to them."

The statement was signed by Robert Georges, president; J. B. Russell, financial secretary, and Victor LaChapelle, business agent of the council.

PROMPTED BY PROBE

LaChapelle said the statement was prompted by current investigations of the teamster's union by a congressional committee and the actions of some of the union's officials.

"We want to let the people know," he said, "that if evils exist they are not present in the trade union movement generally. We are not afraid to let any constituted authority take a look at our operation."

Attacking the Moon by Rockets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, among the many men and women of world stature in the district that I have the honor to represent is Dr. Harold C. Urel, of the University of Chicago, winner of the Nobel prize and one of the great scientists of our times. My colleagues will be interested to learn that Dr. Urey now is engaged in an important work in the laboratories of the University of Oxford in England, where he has advanced the suggestion that by use of long-range rockets we can chip off pieces of the moon, eventually to reach the earth for use in scientific research.

The suggestion of this distinguished, world-famous scientist is so intriguing that I am extending my remarks to include the following news article from the New York Times of March 24, 1957:

DR. UREY DRAFTS ATTACK ON MOON—HE SUGGESTS ATOMIC ROCKET TO CHIP OFF SOME PIECES FOR SCIENTIFIC TESTING

LONDON, March 20.—The suggestion that long-range rockets with atomic warheads should be fired at the moon has been put forward in a technical journal here by Dr. Harold C. Urey, of the University of Chicago. His idea is that the resultant explosion would chip pieces off the moon. These pieces, he believes, would arrive later at the earth's surface intact and unheated, thereby enabling geophysicists to say what the moon is made of and why its visible surface has such a pock-marked appearance.

Dr. Urey is at present working at the Clarendon Laboratories, University of Oxford, on the composition of meteorites. His suggestion has been published this week in the British astronomical journal, the Observatory, as one peaceful use of the military employment of atomic energy and intercontinental ballistics.

The idea of bombarding the moon has arisen as a result of arguments at recent meetings of the British Royal Astronomical Society about the origin of the features of the lunar surface.

One school of thought has argued that the smooth appearance of the moon's craters has been caused by an outflow of lava from the moon's interior. The rival school says that the crater holes were caused originally by the impact of a mighty flock of meteorites, now covered over by thick beds of lunar dust.

Dr. Urey is an impact theorist. He also considers that the moon's surface was sculptured when the satellite was at a low temperature, arguing that the enormous mountains on the moon would sink into the interior if the surface was or ever had been as plastic as the earth.

In this view, he is supported by Dr. Thomas Gold, former chief assistant to the British Astronomer Royal. Dr. Gold considers that the original landscapes of the moon have been eroded or cracked and worn down by intense solar energy. The resultant dust, he says, has slowly crept down the side of the moon mountains, filling craters, fissures, and the so-called seas or maria.

Dr. Urey approves of the dust idea but considers Dr. Gold in error in assuming how it got there. The sun, he believes, did not create the dust. It was caused, he believes, billions of years ago in a relatively brief period when the moon was bombarded by enormous meteorites or planetesimals.

The still-visible remains of one of them (Imbrium) would make a layer about 1,000-meters deep if spread uniformly over the moon's surface. His idea is that after each large planetesimal collision a great cloud of dust and water vapor rose above the moon. The dust settled out and the water fell as rain.

The rain washed the dust off the mountain peaks into the lower levels and sank into the dust and crevices, turning the lunar silicates into hydrates and eventually disappearing, leaving the dead, cold, motionless moonscapes known to present astronomers.

The bombardment, Dr. Urey says, was due either to the moon running into a flock of objects passing through the solar system, or else he considers it was part of the terminal stage of the formation of the earth and the moon. He favors the latter theory.

And because the flock of objects (the preplanetary basis of the solar system) was traveling in the same orbit as the slowly building-up fragments of the moon. Dr. Urey considers that the impact velocity that left craters on the moon would not have been excessively high.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

The American Bar Association's Program for Lawyers in the Armed Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an outstanding address which was delivered by the Honorable Charles S. Rhyne, of Washington, D. C., before the Judge Advocates Association and the Judge Advocate Chapter of the Reserve Officers Association on March 27, 1957.

Mr. Rhyne, who is chairman of the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association, was nominated recently to be president of the American Bar Association during the coming year. This address, entitled "The American Bar Association's Program for Lawyers in the Armed Forces," presents a very factual discussion and a keen analysis of the need for procuring and retaining experienced lawyers in the Armed Forces.

I recently introduced a bill, S. 1165, which would accomplish much of what Mr. Rhyne has in mind.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION'S PROGRAM FOR LAWYERS IN THE ARMED FORCES

(Address by Charles S. Rhyne, Washington, D. C., chairman, House of Delegates, American Bar Association, before the Judge Advocates Association and the Judge Advocate Chapter of the Reserve Officers Association, March 27, 1957, Bolling Air Force Base Officers Club, Bolling Field, Washington, D. C.)

It is indeed a genuine pleasure to be here this evening and meet with you, the members of the Judge Advocates Association and the Judge Advocate Chapter of the Reserve Officers Association and your guests. I am familiar with and heartily endorse your fine work in seeking to explain to the organized bar the disciplinary needs of the Armed Forces and in seeking to explain to the nonlawyers in the Armed Forces that the American tradition requires for the citizen in uniform equal treatment with the citizen out of uniform. You are entitled to the highest commendation for helping to bring about a broader and truer understanding of the relationship between the law and the man in uniform.

* * * * *

Because of your interest in the Armed Forces and affiliation of the Judge Advocates Association with the American Bar Association, I wish to discuss with you tonight some of the things the ABA intends to do for the military lawyer. This program's broad objectives can be stated simply as an effort to obtain for lawyers in the Armed Forces a fair professional recognition, including the same status with respect to rank and compensation as is presently granted doctors and dentists. This program resulted from a study which indicated that the military lawyer was not enjoying the professional prestige to which his educational attainment and comparable standing in the civilian community entitled him.

I am happy to be able to further this ABA program because for many years I have been intimately acquainted with many lawyers in the military service and have learned much of their outstanding work for our country, about their problems and the discriminations that exist against them.

Because of this background it is my firm conviction that ABA's program to sponsor legislation providing equality of rank, pay and other considerations for lawyers in military service is long overdue. We in the organized bar have been too slow in recognizing and doing our duty here—a duty which if performed would result in great benefits to our country and to our profession as well. Tonight I wish to discuss this important subject with you, review the facts as we understand them and enlist your aid in performing our duty.

The relatively inferior status of the attorney in the military service, in my opinion, costs the United States Government many millions of dollars each year. In order to maintain peace in this world, it is essential that the military service obtain the greatest value for each dollar expended in its multibillion-dollar procurement program. It must also obtain the highest possible morale for each member of its combat team. Military lawyers make a tremendous, though little recognized, contribution to these objectives. I would summarize the work of military lawyers which aids in achieving these objectives, as follows:

1. Reviewing contract actions for legal sufficiency and rendering legal advice in the field of military procurement; assisting the Attorney General's office in litigation cases which involve a military department; administering laws relating to claims in favor of and against the United States Government; representing the military departments in contractual disputes; and handling patent and copyright matters concerned with weapon, transportation, and communication systems of the present and future; and

2. Protecting the constitutional rights of our fighting men at home and abroad; rendering aid and assistance to the families of our fighting men; and assisting our fighting men in matters concerning marriage, divorce, wills, adoption, insurance, taxes, claims, landlord-tenant relations, and in many other fields.

You could undoubtedly add many other duties to those I have listed, but these illustrate the tremendous field of responsibility of the military lawyer.

Our study reveals that there is an excessively high turnover rate among military lawyers. Most military lawyers can hardly wait to return to civilian life. In addition to its adverse effects on legal service and assistance, this high turnover rate is inordinately expensive in terms of travel costs for the officer, his dependents, and household effects; uniform allowances, and wasted man-hours. When one considers administrative processing, security checks, physical examinations, initiation of records, training, terminal leave, and travel to and from stations, it is obvious that the actual useful time of a 2- or 3-year man produces very little for the United States Government. Concurrently, the training period decreases the productivity of the experienced military lawyer who trains the inexperienced military lawyer.

I am familiar with the requirement that military lawyers perform certain functions under the Uniform Code of Military Justice; with the requirement that a military lawyer must attend all trials of military personnel by foreign courts; and with some of the individual service requirements for military lawyers to perform professional services in various administrative situations. It is obvious that if the mass exodus to civilian life of professionally qualified military lawyers is not stopped, the military services will not be able to comply with the law of the land in the manner contemplated by Congress.

Let me emphasize a point, numerically the number of military lawyers on duty, while below that authorized, is not critical. However, experiencewise, the loss is staggering. For, I am told that approximately 50 percent of our military lawyers are inexperienced and only recently graduated from law school.

Specifically, we must face up to the fact that lawyers do not desire to make a career of the military service because of (1) inadequate pay; (2) lack of promotion, and (3) lack of prestige. Because of the post-college years he must spend in law school and preparation for his bar examination, the military lawyer commences his career 3 to 4 years later than does his college contemporary in the line and most of the other staff corps. This causes him to remain permanently behind his contemporaries in both promotion and eligibility pay. It makes his 3 to 4 years older upon reaching retirement eligibility. In the event he is retired for physical disability, his retirement pay at a given age is less—due to the longevity factor. All during his career the military lawyer loses up to 4 years' longevity pay credit and receives approximately $50 per month less than his line officer contemporary. It should also be noted that military lawyers are required to finance their own professional educations.

For these reasons primarily, because obviously there are other reasons such as frequent moves and family life disruptions, assignment to station of choice, eliminations of nonlegal duty details such as OD, inventory officer, etc., young lawyers do not often seek a military career. Since virtually every young lawyer gets out of the service as soon as his required tour of duty is completed, obviously he would not have come in at all if it were not for the fact that he owed some military obligation to his country. Thus, the Selective Service Act indirectly has the effect of drafting young lawyers for the military legal departments. Senior military lawyers are being retired involuntarily each month. We are told that the majority of career military lawyers have indicated an intention to retire voluntarily at the end of 20 years' service (when they first become eligible to retire) because of the dim outlook for promotion and pay increases. These departing officers are being replaced by young lawyers recently graduated from law school, who too, at the end of 2 or 3 years will also return to a more rewarding and lucrative civilian practice.

The December 1956 issue of Survey of Current Business, published by the United States Department of Commerce, states: "The aver-

age net income of lawyers engaged in all forms of legal practice was $10,220 in 1954." If this trend continues, in a few years the only military lawyers remaining on active duty will be those who have just graduated from law school and have no legal experience. And, as I have stated many times previously, a young lawyer is not fully ready to practice law when he graduates from school. The gap between law in practice and law in the books has not been adequately bridged by our law schools. The young lawyer should serve an internship before actually practicing law. Yet in the military service young inexperienced lawyers represent the United States Government in matter concerning millions of dollars and in matters concerning the life, freedom, or death of our servicemen. Brilliant as a young lawyer may be, without experience and maturity he is not completely competent to be the adversary of the highly skilled and experienced counsel of many business interests, or to defend an accused against a murder or rape charge. There is no substitute for experience. Experienced lawyers must be retained in the military service.

With regard to the possibility, often mentioned, of utilizing greater numbers of civil-service lawyers, there are limits on the number that can be utilized and more important, on the number that can be procured. In general, civilian lawyers in significant numbers can only be obtained in or near large population centers where they have professional and cultural advantages. When civil-service lawyers are employed, they usually receive higher pay (and their pay is also too low), and have shorter working hours than their military colleagues; they are also entitled to overtime pay and are not subject to military regulations and responsibilities, change of assignment, combat and operational orders, or overseas duty.

Further, in accordance with the established policy of the American Bar Association, I believe that legal assistance should be kept as a military operation. The giving of personal legal advice and assistance to servicemen should be accomplished within the Armed Forces only by lawyers in uniform and not by civil-service employees. The utilization of civil-service lawyers is not the solution to the problem of retaining more military lawyers on active duty. This most disturbing situation can be resolved only by furnishing sufficient incentives to encourage some of the well qualified younger lawyers to make a career of the military service.

At the midwinter meeting of the house of delegates in Chicago last month, the American Bar Association, at the suggestion of a great Vermont lawyer, Osmer C. Fitts, who I understand also is a director of your Judge Advocates Association, resolved:

"Unless legislation is promptly enacted by the Congress which will provide realistic, scientific pay schedules for all members of the armed services sufficient to provide the incentive to keep competent officers and technical enlisted men on a career basis, thus saving huge sums now lost by the rapid turnover of highly trained and experienced personnel in all branches of the armed services, then this association considers it essential to provide compensation along the lines of Senate bill No. 1165 and H. R. 4786, of the 85th Congress, 1st session, for members of the legal profession serving with the armed services commensurate wtih the special professional pay schedule now available to the other learned professions."

I have been informed that the Cordiner committee recommendations, which are referred to by implication in the ABA resolution, were released late yesterday. While I have not seen these recommendations I have heard a lot about them. From what I have heard, grave doubts exist in my mind that adoption by Congress of the Cordiner committee recommendations would solve the problem of retaining career lawyers in the military services. The proposed pay rates of the Cordiner committee are too low in the critical grades of lieutenant, captain, and major to be of sufficient help in the military legal career field. It is interesting to note that the Cordiner committee recognized that special incentive pay would still be necessary to procure and retain medical and dental officers, and hence supports medical incentive pay as a continuing means for attracting and obtaining an adequate supply of dental and medical officers. There is no doubt that this premise is equally applicable to military lawyers. The preservaiton of basic legal rights is just as essential to the well being and morale of the citizen in uniform as medical or dental care.

Senate bill No. 1165 and H. R. 4786 which provide for the procurement of judge advocates and law-specialist officers for the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Coast Guard, go a long way toward solving this whole problem. In addition to professional pay, they provide for additional service credit and early promotion to place military lawyers on an equal footing with their contemporaries in the service. Surveys among members of the bar reveal that enactment into law of S. 1165 and H. R. 4786 will procure more desirable experienced lawyers for a military career and also induce desirable military lawyers to remain on active duty as careerists. It is pertinent to notice that Congress solved a similar problem concerning military career doctors and dentists with the passage of the Medical and Dental Career Incentive Act of April 30, 1956.

On February 7, 1957, Senate bill No. 1093 and H. R. 4787 bills providing in part for each Judge Advocate General to serve in the rank of lieutenant general or vice admiral, were introduced by the Honorable STROM THURMOND and the Honorable DEWITT HYDE, respectively. These bills come within the principles of the American Bar Association's resolution. In addition to raising the prestige of the military lawyer, the Judge Advocate General would be receiving only his just due. Each of the three Judge Advocates General acts as the senior member of one of the world's largest law firms. For example, let us look at the responsibilities of just one of these Judge Advocates General. He supervises a force of over 1,300 lawyers, 500 enlisted personnel and 1,100 civilian employees, such as stenographers, court reporters, clerks, and the like, employed in approximately 400 different legal offices throughout the world. During a normal year, his service will prosecute in the name of the United States more criminal cases (37,697 in 1956) than are filed by the Attorney General in the United States district courts. With few exceptions, these cases will be defended by military lawyers and the records of these trials will be judicially reviewed by various appellate agencies within the structure of his department. This tremendous responsibility in the field of criminal law is equaled if not surpassed by many facets of his civil law responsibilities—claims, military affairs, patents, litigation, and procurement counseling.

Because the Government is a self-insurer, it does not carry public liability on its ships, vehicles, or aircraft. Yet, at times these instrumentalities have accidents and cause damage and personal injury. The responsibility for the adjudication and settlement of claims for damages arising from military activities is vested in the Judge Advocate General's Department of the service concerned. In effect, the Judge Advocate General supervises a large casualty insurance company.

Through personal friendships with Judge Advocates General—who, like all other lawyers, talk about their work—I have learned of other phases of their duties and responsibilities such as rendering thousands of formal legal opinions annually to commanders and their staffs concerning jurisdiction, military and civilian personnel law, administrative law, criminal law, marriage and divorce, international law, foreign law, and other subjects.

The Judge Advocate General's Office often represents its service in matters before the tribunals of the United States Patent Office and assists the Department of State in its dealings with eight foreign governments with which our Government has entered into patent exchange agreements. Authority to settle claims for the unlicensed use of inventions by the Government has been delegated to the Judge Advocate General.

The Office of the Judge Advocate General assists in representing the Government in cases resulting in litigation when the individual service is concerned. These cases have involved bankruptcy, receivership, labor, public utilities, taxation, admiralty, employees compensation, torts, subpenas, and procurement of witnesses. I can testify from personal experience of some 20 years on the other side of various matters that a good job is constantly being done by military lawyers.

Military lawyers are required to review certain procurement actions for legal sufficiency. In fiscal year 1956, military lawyers of one of the services reviewed for legal sufficiency procurements valued at more than $7 billion and rendered legal services in approximately 15,000 procurement actions. Military lawyers write and review contracts, render advice to contracting and purchasing officers of the United States Government. They try cases before the Armed Services Board of Contract Appeals in matters of contractual disputes wherein the Government's opponents are represented by the best legal talent which business corporations can obtain.

Overseas, in addition to routine legal duties, our military lawyers are engaged in leasing real estate for the United States Government and protecting our Government in tax matters. Thus, they must be acquainted with not only our real property and tax laws, but also with companion laws of foreign nations. As one example of a new field of law, Air Force military lawyers recently assisted in the writing of the agreements between the United States and Spain for air leases there. More and more frequently military lawyers are called upon to assist in on-the-spot negotiating with foreign nations.

For the above reasons, it can easily be seen that the responsibilities of the Judge Advocate General are equal to those of his civilian counterparts in business and industry, and are in fact, equal to those of the incumbents of positions which already have been allocated the rank of lieutenant general and vice admiral.

The American Bar Association is now preparing proposed legislation to implement that portion of the report to Congress of the Hoover Commission which concerns the establishment of a JAG Corps in the Navy. This organization would be similar to the other Navy Staff Corps while yet paralleling the Army JAG Corps and the Air Force JAGD. Physicians, dentists, civil engineers, and chaplains have their professional staff units. It appears that the only way in which a strong professional spirit can be regained by lawyers in the Navy, with consequent benefit to the service, is by establishing a staff corps or its equivalent for legal specialists which would assure opportunities for career development in their profession. It is particularly important that the Navy Judge Advocate General and his assistants be selected from such a corps.

I would not feel as strongly as I do concerning the critical need for procuring and retaining professionally qualified military lawyers on active duty, if it were not for the same concern being expressed by nonlawyers who know the true value of military lawyers

to the United States Government. It is most reassuring to have seen letters from military commanders who are not lawyers, which strongly confirm our concern with the continuing loss of experienced attorneys from the service.

With the indulgence of those of you—alas, too few—who are active in and cognizant of the many specific activities of the American Bar Association, may I point out exactly where our bar association is striving to do some special jobs in collaboration with the armed services?

Not only are we deeply concerned with the problem of status and recognition and compensation of the lawyers as a member of the armed services—the special charge of our special committee on lawyers in the armed services, but we also try to keep current in the administration of justice within the armed services through our special committee on military justice, and ever since the establishment of the legal assistance program during World War II we have enthusiastically collaborated upon that program through our special committee on legal assistance.

And the two host associations here tonight have through their members almost always supplied the greater part if not all the personnel for the members of this committee of ours.

This is not the first ABA fight to eliminate a glaring injustice in the field of public service. I served as General Counsel of the Federal Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries. There, our hearings revealed a most shocking picture of enormous loss to the public because of low pay for Members of the Congress and Federal judges. The evidence revealed that these positions of important public service could not always attract or keep the most able men of our Nation because of the low pay scales then in existence. You know that Congress did partially adopt that Commission's recommendations, chiefly because the ABA mobilized the support of the public through a program which carried the facts to the grassroots. On the problem of which I speak tonight a similar job must be done. The people do not know the facts—not yet. But they will. I am informed that local bar associations representing attorneys from every part of the United States are already considering resolutions strongly endorsing Senate bills S. 1093 and S. 1165, and their counterparts in the House, H. R. 4786 and 4787. This stimulus flows from ABA action and is a first step in the right direction.

For years ABA has fought for adequate pay for Federal hearing examiners and for the elimination of inequities in their pay scales. I served as counsel for the Federal Trial Examiners Conference in litigation which served to push the agencies into accepting essential reforms. And there the battle is not yet won because the highest pay scale is, like that of military lawyers, still too low for the duties and responsibilities performed.

We in the ABA are also fighting now for broad improvements in the whole legal service of the Federal Government. Here, too, the organized bar has neglected its plain duty too long.

All of these programs for improvement of the public service fit in with the general ABA program to strengthen the whole of the legal profession. Such a program is essential if our profession is to fulfill its duties and obligations in the critical age of crisis in which we live. These programs are referred to here in order to demonstrate to you in soldier's language that the organized legal profession is on the march.

These efforts we are making to enhance the status and increase the pay of the lawyer in uniform are not motivated solely by selfish motives—although such motives are quite legitimate. Our interest is broader, and extends to the public at large. We believe that one of the most vital interests of the public at large is to have a strong legal profession in our country. All over the world today the battle is going on to determine whether freedom and individual rights will survive. Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death" has taken on new meaning in a world where our chief adversary denies individual liberty and glorifies the all-powerful State. In today's world the legal profession is one of the strongest bulwarks on the side of individual liberty. From the time of our Government's inception to the present zenith of its power, lawyers have been the chief creators and defenders of individual liberty. Despite occasional public misunderstanding of the role of the lawyer, the American legal profession has never shirked its duty to provide legal defense for unpopular causes and persons. You and I as lawyers are aware that the protection of individual rights and liberties is as important and essential to our country as is the maintenance of our military might and our economic well-being. We know also that for the legal profession to continue to fulfill its historic role as the protector of individual rights it must jealously guard its dignity and prestige and—let us not be too modest to state it—be willing to insist that its members be rewarded financially as befits their profession's important status in our society. For I do strongly believe that in a strong legal profession lies the liberty of the people of the United States and in the liberty of the people of the United States lies the hope of the world.

The Soviet Attitude Toward Stalin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, to the people of the Western World one of the greatest riddles of Soviet communism will always remain its attitude toward the late Dictator Josef Stalin.

It is a paradox that a man who can be accused of some of the most horrible crimes in history can still be honored by the very men making the accusations. That is precisely what has happened.

This situation is admirably summed up this morning by the distinguished historian and commentator, William Henry Chamberlin, in an article in the Wall Street Journal. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal of March 29, 1957]

STALIN'S GHOST: IT STILL HAUNTS HIS KREMLIN HEIRS AS THEY VACILLATE BETWEEN CONDEMNING AND VINDICATING HIS CRIMES

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

The ghost of Josef Stalin dies hard. Ever since Soviet Communist Party boss, Khrushchev, delivered his sensational indictment of the dead dictator a little over a year ago, Soviet official comment has vacillated between condemnation and vindication of Stalin.

At the moment the trend toward vindication seems to be gaining. For example, "Pravda" marked the fourth anniversary of Stalin's death early this month by calling him "an outstanding revolutionary, a devoted Marxist-Leninist theoretician and a great organizer."

Even Khrushchev, the man who delivered the devasting expose of many (by no means all) of Stalin's acts of cruelty and oppression, has been speaking of the deceased tyrant in milder accents of late. And several major developments—the revolt in Hungary, the demand for more national freedom in Poland, the breaking away of a number of individual left-wing intellectuals from the international Communist movement—are related in some degree to Stalin's rule as denounced by Khrushchev.

Within the Soviet Union the immediate reaction to these developments was to stiffen party discipline, to close ranks and to suspend, for the time being at least, inconvenient discussion of Stalin's shortcomings. Yet it would seem difficult, if not impossible, to erase from the memory and consciousness of Communists in and out of the Soviet Union the impact of such grim phrases as fill Khrushchev's report:

PROLONGED TORTURES

"Rudzutak who spent 10 years in Tsarist prisons was broken in 3 months * * * Monstrous falsification of cases * * * Executions and arrests increased tenfold in a year * * * Prolonged tortures * * * The most brutal torture and oppression * * * 'Tormented from the time of my arrest until I began to write nonsense' * * * Thousands executed without trial * * * 'Everything has it limits, my torture has reached its extreme' * * *"

And Khrushchev brought out beyond the shadow of a doubt that the ferocious terror which raged in the rank of the ruling Communist Party itself in the thirties took place with Stalin's full knowledge and sanction. He cited cases where Stalin personally gave orders for extorting confessions by any and all means of physical pressure.

No anti-Communist survivor of a Soviet concentration camp could have composed a darker and more sweeping indictment of Stalin's methods of rule than did Stalin's lieutenant, Khrushchev. One would have imagined that after these facts had been brought to light, Stalin would have been thrown with ignominy out of the Soviet pantheon. In a sense this was what happened in Hungary, where Stalin's huge statue was the first target of the insurgents, and in Poland, where the comparatively few places which had been named in Stalin's honor have now been renamed.

But in the Soviet Union retributive condemnation seems to have fallen considerably short of what might have seemed the clear implications of Khrushchev's indictment. Stalin's embalmed corpse still lies in state with Lenin's. The Stalingrads, Stalinabads, Stalinos—towns which assumed some variant of the dictator's name—have not been rechristened. And, although there has been no return to the fulsome adulation that prevailed during the dictator's lifetime, it has now become more fashionable to dwell on Stalin's alleged merits than to pursue further the subject of his crimes.

Even at the time of Khrushchev's speech two significant reservations could be noted. First, the concluding verdict seemed out of line with the gravity of the charges. According to Khrushchev, Stalin had been guilty of crimes suggestive of the worst tyrants in history, of Nero and Ivan the Terrible. But this nightmare of wholesale arrests, false confessions extorted by torture and executions, often of veteran Communists, was euphemistically set down to Stalin's cult of personality.

Second, the indictment was highly selective. Stalin was called to account for what he had done to Communists and to leaders of the Red army. His claim to military infallibility was questioned; serious political and military errors in the conduct of the war against Germany were admitted for the first time.

FOUR TERRIBLE YEARS

But many of Stalin's most ruthless acts were not mentioned at all. Stalin himself once remarked in a wartime conversation with Winston Churchill, that the stresses of war had not been as bad as the collective farm struggle, about which the Soviet dictator, after giving 10 million as the number of resisting peasants affected, said: "It was terrible. Four years it lasted."

During those 4 years hundreds of thousands of families of the more well-to-do peasants, the so-called kulaks, were uprooted, deprived of all their property and sent to slave labor in remote northern timber camps and new industrial centers. Several million peasants perished of famine in the winter and spring of 1932–33.

Khrushchev did not mention these cruelties. Nor did he refer to the mass deportations from Poland and the Baltic States or to the massacre of some 15,000 Polish war prisoners in the Katyn Forest and elsewhere or to the institution of a gigantic system of forced labor concentration camps. Nor was there any reference in Khrushchev's speech to the blotting off the map of several of the Soviet nationality republics and areas where the people were considered too sympathetic with the incoming Germans in World War II. Recently the Soviets announced that some of these groups had been reinstated.

It is easy to understand why the indictment of Stalin's crimes was so selective and why the verdict, "cult of personality," was so inadequate in the light of the factual allegations. Khrushchev and his associates are all Stalin's men, brought up in his school, profiting from many of his acts of ruthlessness, and ready to repeat these acts when they feel the situation demands it, as the suppression of the Hungarian movement for freedom showed.

ALTERNATING APPRAISAL

There have been and probably will continue to be zigzags in the official appraisal of Stalin, periods of criticism alternating with periods of rehabilitation. But, there is too much continuity in the Soviet system to enable its present leaders to make a clean, conclusive break with Stalin and Stalinism.

That can come only when there is a far more fundamental change in the Soviet regime than there has been during the 4 years since the death of Stalin. Meanwhile the ghost of the dead dictator will continue to haunt his heirs.

Capitalizing on the Capitol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the March 27, 1957, Manchester Union Leader, Manchester, N. H., entitled, "Capitalizing on the Capitol." This article was written by Mr. Francis H. Buffum, who is an outstanding New Hampshire citizen, and both an author and an authority on historical matters pertaining to New Hampshire.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAPITALIZING ON THE CAPITOL

(By Francis H. Buffum)

The ancients pictured "opportunity" as a minor, but very important, deity. In view of a decision which is about to be made here in the capital city of New Hampshire, this writer takes the occasion to recall said deity from obscurity, dust him off and proclaim his importance.

The unique feature of this demigod is the forelock on his otherwise bald head. In his course through life he is said to approach, at one time or another, every man, group and leader of men, and especially when important decisions are pending. But only those who grasp him by the forelock can get the priceless service he has to offer. So it will be with those who are charged with planning for the future in respect to the land and buildings necessary to house city and State governments here and accommodate the Federal Government, at least to the extent of a central site for a new post office building when that becomes necessary.

I believe this matter is of sufficient importance and interest to warrant a brief résumé of our State capitol buildings and what they point toward in future expansion and, it is to be hoped, consolidation. It appears that the New Hampshire provincial assembly (the legislative embryo from which the general court of New Hampshire grew) met at first in the taverns of Portsmouth, and later in the courthouses of Portsmouth and Exeter.

When John Wentworth, the last royal governor, fled from Portsmouth in 1775, Exeter became the seat of State government and remained so for 6 years. From 1782 to 1808 the legislature met in eight different cities and towns in Portsmouth, Exeter, Dover, Charlestown, Amherst, Hanover, Hopkinton and Concord. Finally, it came to Concord to stay, although Salisbury and Boscawen wanted it. The first session in Concord was held in the Old North Meeting House in 1782 on ground now occupied by the Walker school. From 1790 to 1819 its sessions were held in the new town house built where the Merrimack County Court House now stands. But our then slowly growing State government found its quarters in the Concord Town House inadequate, and after a hectic contest settled upon the present site for a State house. This location for our capitol has been contested only once, so far as the writer knows. That was in 1909 when Manchester made a strong bid for its removal to that city.

The original Capitol Building was completed in 1819. It was only two stories high and limited in breadth and depth to the east side of the present building. By 1863 this building also had become inadequate, and another story, together with dome and pillared portico were added, and interior changes made.

During the next 44 years another chapter in the story of growth in State government and inadequacy of housing it was written, and closed as the previous chapter did. An addition to the old building "as amended" was made on its west or State Street side. Finally, in 1938 the present State Office Building, or Annex as it is better known, was erected.

Let it be noted that the word "finis" has not yet been entered on the record, for today much of our State government is scattered here and there in the city of Concord. The necessity for housing existing State departments outside the original Capitol Building and Annex is evident. What is not so evident, but still real, is the desirability of bringing them together in one compact area for the benefit of those who seek their services as well as for economy of operation. However, the immediate question as I see it is not whether either the State or Federal government is ready at this time to put up a new building; but whether the block now occupied by Parker School and the Unitarian Church is to be held as public rather than private property.

While serving as State House guide I was impressed by what I heard one day from a far westerner who was touring New England in a study of public buildings and their sites. He was one of a commission chosen to produce a plan for undoing the hodge-podge job done in the environs of the State House. "It could have been done at reasonable cost by foresight and timely action," he said. "But private interests moved in, and when we finally decided to have a Capitol Building and grounds worthy of our State, with allowance for future growth, the cost was enormous." "You have a very beautiful civic square here," he continued. "I hope you keep it so." Whether or not it is kept an unbroken civic square may be decided at the meeting of the school board on April 1, and at a meeting of the city council on April 8. "Opportunity" will have come and gone unless it is grasped then by the forelock and held until the wishes of the people of Concord and the State of New Hampshire can be learned.

Postal Pay Increase for Postal Employees Living in Localities of Over 500,000 Population

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H. R. 6453, a bill to provide cost of living increases in the compensation of postal employees living in localities of 500,000 population or more.

This bill would provide a salary adjustment for postal employees living in metropolitan urban areas, which areas have much higher living costs than rural areas. In the bill, postal employees of any incorporated area and its surrounding suburbs whose population exceeds 500,000 or more, as disclosed by the 1950 census, shall receive an increase in their existing rate of basic compensation of 20 percent per annum, and employees paid on an hourly or part-time basis shall receive additional compensation at an equivalent additional hourly rate.

The Hoover Commission has made extensive studies in the matter of postal wages, has clearly seen the need to increase postal remuneration, and has so advised Congress. Since the Commission submitted its report the financial plight of the postal worker has been aggravated, and thus, a more realistic solution to his problem has become more urgent.

The need for a raise by the city postal employees in metropolitan areas—and especially in the Chicago area—is most forcefully brought out by the cost-of-living statistics. According to the United States Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, living costs hit an alltime high in Chicago in February of this year. The February living costs were 2.7 percent above a year ago and

the index for the same month was 121.5—the 1947–49 averages equaling 100. According to Mr. Adolph Berger, of Chicago, the regional BLS Director, all major groups and services were up over February 1956.

A great number of the employees of the postal service working in the Chicago area are at a disadvantage in their average workers' income when compared with the average for the city as a whole. According to the U. S. News & World Report, February 15 issue, the average worker's income in Chicago was $4,816, which was an increase of 3.7 percent over a year ago. The difficulty of recruiting new postal employees in the Chicago area and practically all other metropolitan areas has been tremendously magnified due to the low starting rate of salaries as compared with the average salary.

Faced with the spiraling cost of living and the unfulfilled promises made on their behalf for a living wage increase in keeping with the inflationary times, many trained postal employees are leaving the postal service. This failure to retain a trained force compounds the cost of processing and expediting the mails. This is especially true in the large metropolitan cities with populations of 500,000 or more. Former President Hoover pointed out recently to the high cost of Government turnover when he said of Government service that "with inadequate pay for top executive skills and the uncertainties of promotion, our best employees become the easy recruits of private business."

I do not think it is necessary to go into a detailed analysis of the many items which increase the cost of living for city and urban postal employees. In my own city of Chicago the greatest majority of postal employees have a cost for transportation to and from work of anywhere from $8 to $30 per month, and this includes only public transportation systems. The cost of housing in Chicago is tremendous. Just the other day the Congress passed a bill for rural housing benefits for veterans. In the House the limit on mortgages was raised from $12,000 to $13,500, and this is supposed to represent from 80 to 90 percent from the value of the House. Where in the city of Chicago can one even begin to build a 5- or 6-room house for $15,000? Rental units for new houses in urban areas like Chicago run from $90 to $150 per week. I could go on endlessly stating the much higher costs a postal employee faces in metropolitan areas over and above the rural areas.

Today, in Chicago, the Post Office Department is begging for employees and a regular distribution clerk is offered $3,660 per year as a starting salary, which is approximately $70 per week. Realistically, the fact must be faced—in areas like Chicago—that high-school graduates coming out of school, in a great many positions, command the same salary with no experience and no family obligations to take care of.

The foregoing are pertinent and commanding reasons why the general public should give its full support to the legislation I propose. The expansion of service and facilities necessary to cope with the increasing population has overburdened our postal worker. While it is true that automation has alleviated the daily work in the form of mechanized output, the need for better remuneration remains. If the postal service of our great country is to properly serve all segments of our working society, a more realistic approach must be taken to better the situation of the postal employee.

H. R. 6453 is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That as a salary adjustment for postal employees in those localities having high costs of living, each employee in the postal-field service resident or working in any incorporated or unincorporated city, town, or other metropolitan area or locality, having a population of 500,000 or more as disclosed by the 1950 decennial census shall receive an increase in his existing rate of basic compensation of 20 percent per annum; except that employees paid on an hourly or part-time basis shall receive additional compensation at an equivalent additional hourly rate.

SEC. 2. (a) No rate of basic compensation shall be reduced by reason of the operation of this act.

(b) No postmaster, officer, or employee shall receive compensation at a rate in excess of $19,000 per annum by reason of this act.

SEC. 3. This act shall take effect on the first day of the first pay period which begins after the date of enactment of this act.

Federal Grants-in-Aid to States and Local Governments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Joker in Federal Grants," from the March 29, 1957, issue of a prominent newspaper, the Camden, S. C., Chronicle.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOKER IN FEDERAL GRANTS

Federal grants-in-aid to the States and to local government—which are now made for all manner of purpose, running the gamut from airports to traveling libraries—are "the biggest con game in politics." And it is an ever-expanding con game, which is currently adding $5 billion a year to our Federal tax bill.

That is the opinion of a man who has had considerable experience with these grants-in-aid, Alfred E. Driscoll, former Governor of New Jersey. His account, written in collaboration with Charles Stevenson, appeared in a recent issue of the Reader's Digest.

Governor Driscoll defines grants-in-aid as "nothing more than our own taxes which Federal bureaus distribute to States and localities for specified services, usually with the requirement that the recipients put up some matching cash." In an earlier era, the grants involved comparatively small sums of money, and most of that was earmarked for roads. Today, by contrast they have become, in his words, "the fastest growing gimmick in politics," and they embrace some 50 different programs.

The grants have come in for heavy attack from authoritative quarters. The governors' conferences have demanded their curtailment time and time again. The Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, created at President Eisenhower's request early in his first administration, came up with all kinds of evidence of waste. "Yet," says Governor Driscoll, "pressure groups and politicians, lacking the ability or courage to sell their projects to their own hometown or home State constituents for financing at home, prevail upon Congress to hand out more and more Federal tax money."

There is, as the article makes clear, nothing "free" about this money. In the first place, Government rules concerning wages and other matters tend to run the costs up. Payments to contractors may be long delayed, so bids are frequently increased to compensate for this. According to a Missouri official, "In most cases a community could build an adequate facility for less than its half-share of the Federal aid project." Then there are so-called concealed costs, such as Federal administrative overhead. No one knows how big this total comes to, but an investigatory commission found that for every dollar granted for slum clearance, about 22½ cents went for Federal overhead and the figure for low cost housing is estimated at 39.9 cents.

Governor Driscoll disputes the claim that the grant money goes to areas so poor they can't supply their own essential services. He says, "Since qualifying for a grant usually means putting up matching funds, the biggest returns go to those States which repudiate economy and, at the sacrifice of real requirements, put the bulk of their cash into Washington-blessed programs designed to produce handouts at the expense of somebody else."

The root-trouble of the grant-in-aid concept seems to have been well summed up by our own James F. Byrnes in these words: "Whenever a State or county receives a grant which officials can spend without the responsibility of collecting the money by taxes, you are certain to have extravagance." Governor Driscoll quotes that and concludes, "Let us destroy this free-money myth before it destroys us."

Born in Slavery 106 Years Ago, Louis Burns Held Present Generation Weaker—but Wiser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, a respected citizen of East St. Louis, Ill., died Sunday last—less than 3 weeks short of his 106th birthday.

His name—Louis Burns.

Louis Burns lived through a changing world. He began life as a slave. He had many pleasant remembrances and he had memories of the worse things that men can do to each other.

He was very young when the shackles of slavery were unloosed. He spent most of his life as a freeman who contributed much to his family and associates through good example and sage advice. He was an industrious, hard-

working man—the kind who makes a valuable citizen in any community.

Mr. Burns lived over such a long span of years that he had the opportunity to observe several generations. Of the present he gave this appraisal: "This generation is weaker—but wiser."

Born in slavery, Louis Burns lived a full life that came to an end among his free people, mourned by a community which admired and loved him.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I herewith include an article which appeared on page 1 of the East St. Louis (Ill.) Journal of Tuesday, March 26, 1957:

BORN IN SLAVERY, MAN, 105, DIES

Louis Burns, who was born in slavery and probably was the oldest area resident is dead. He would have been 106 on April 12.

Mr. Burns, who was blind and in failing health the last 2 years, died at 10:20 p. m. Sunday at home at 1308 Market Avenue of a cerebral hemorrhage.

Funeral arrangements are incomplete. The Green Funeral Home has charge.

Mr. Burns was born on a plantation near New Madrid, Mo., April 12, 1851. Regarding his age, he often said, "It ain't my goodness that has kept me alive, but the goodness of the Lord."

He was noted for colorful remarks. Asked last April how it feels to be 105, Mr. Burns said: "It don't feel any different, but I wish I was 100 again, then I could move around more and do things."

Asked to compare his generation with the present generation, he summed it up by saying "This generation is weaker—but wiser."

REMEMBERS HISTORICAL FIGURES

As late as his 105th birthday the former slave could recall his days as a youth on the the Missouri plantation. He also remembered meeting such historical figures as Gens. Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee, and Ulysses S. Grant.

Less pleasant remembrances included the whipping post present on every plantation, knife duels, cockfighting, and dogfighting.

Mr. Burns came to East St. Louis in 1910 and started work in a packinghouse. He then worked for a roofing firm and finally the Alton & Southern Railroad. He retired from this firm in 1939 because of failing eyesight.

An accurate count of his living descendants is impossible according to his son Ora Burns, of East St. Louis. At the last count, in addition to 7 children, he had 26 grandchildren, 48 great-grandchildren, and 6 great-great-grandchildren.

Mr. Burns' wife, Parthina, died in 1948 at the age of 84.

The surviving children are Mrs. Addie Janes, 70, of Fireworks Station; Mrs. Marcella Garner, 69, of East St. Louis; Leonard Burns, 64, of St. Louis; Mrs. Gussie Hendricks, 62, of East St. Louis; Mrs. Blanch Harrell, 60, of Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Leola Brooks, 58, of East St. Louis; and Ora Burns, 52, of East St. Louis.

Jury Service of Basic Importance in Maintaining Ideal of Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one of the outstanding newspaper editorial pages in Texas is that of the Waco News-Tribune. Recently this great Central Texas paper commented forcefully on a statement by the State bar regarding the fundamental importance of the right of trial by jury.

I ask unanimous consent that this eloquent expression by the State Bar of Texas and the comment of the Waco News-Tribune be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial containing the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Waco News-Tribune of March 20, 1957]

IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MIND THE IDEAL OF JUSTICE

The State bar of Texas has put into words the essence of why citizens ought to respond to the call of jury service. It goes this way:

"My forefathers wrested my right to serve as a juror from tyrants.

"Under our law no one's life, liberty, or property can be taken without due process of law.

"Trial by jury is our basic right. All who seek their day in court should have a fair hearing. They will get it from me.

"I will not ask to be excused from jury service except in emergency.

"On my oath I will well and truly try each case before me, and a true verdict render under the law given me by the judge and the evidence introduced at the trial—without fear, favor, or hope of reward.

"I will listen closely, with open mind to all of the testimony, instructions, and arguments. I will not make up my mind until all the facts are in and the judge has instructed the jury on the law.

"I will search for the truth regardless of wealth or poverty, friendship or enmity, of any party or witnesses.

"To someone my decision may mean the difference between freedom or imprisonment, poverty or wealth.

"Justice, once but a dream, is a reality when I, as a juror, do my full duty. No act of mine shall bring shame to our system of liberty under the law."

This is an expression of the ideals of jury service. Perhaps if citizens fixed that ideal in their minds, the inconveniences, the discomforts, the confusions, and delays involved in answering the rollcall on a jury panel would be submerged. For the other side of the picture, we can refer the lawyers and judges to a cogent article written not long ago by Associate Justice W. St. John Garwood of the Texas Supreme Court. Mr. Justice Garwood accurately described the lack of perfection in the historic ways of treating prospective jurors, of handling juries in civil cases and in generally obscuring the jury ideal in actual practice.

By continuing to discuss our judicial system, we may generate ideas that can lead to improvements in the interests of true justice. The feelings and surroundings of the jurors play a part. The endless hairsplitting delays in the law play a part. Devotion to the ideal can motivate the solutions.

The United States and Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, in Miami Springs, Fla., there is published a newspaper called the Americas Daily, mostly for Latin Americans.

On Tuesday, March 26, 1957, and Wednesday, March 27, 1957, editorials were published in that paper entitled, respectively, "The United States and Latin America" and "What Benefits Can the United States Obtain From a Poor Latin America?"

I ask unanimous consent that the editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Americas Daily, Miami Springs, Fla., of March 26, 1957.]

THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA

Too often, almost continuously, we hear semidogmatic references—even with assurances of infallibility—about the 170 million human beings, soon to reach the 200 million figure, that constitute Latin America. The opinions expressed about these extremely rich regions, that hold the key to the future, are dictated by individual or collective reactions generally determined by vested interests.

The 20 nations located south of the border have a powerful role at present, even though relative if compared with their fantastic future potential.

Latin American potentialities are indeed underestimated, not only in the United States but, even if in a smaller extent, in the proper Latin American countries as well. The realities buried beneath the mountains of in their fertile valleys greatly exceed the most flattering calculations voiced in the capital cities of the respective countries. Those mountains and those valleys contemptuously bounce the opinions that about them are expressed abroad and within the national confines; because their resources lie unknown in their true and incalculable value.

Latin America represents the future in the Western Hemisphere. Should there be no need for continental interdependence and if we could unfortunately talk about isolation instead of unity, the United States would stand for the present.

But since the spirit of continental solidarity has to prevail at all times, and this solidarity should categorically be based on cooperation between the present and the future—the United States and Latin America, respectively—both have to move together, through a well planned coordination, toward one ultimate goal.

Today the Latin American countries contribute very significantly to the preservation and progress of the greatness of the United States. The United States, in due time, will have to reciprocate accordingly to the Latin American nations. But both sides, sharing common ideals and interests, united by a common fate, should provide to themselves and to the world an example of the prevalence of justice, of liberty, and of economic and social wellbeing. Along these lines, the development of Latin America will never mean the decadence of the United States. Latin Americans and North Americans together will strengthen the formidable, constructive and generous reality that America is, each contributing in the proportion permitted by the period and their historical circumstances.

This unity cannot be brought forth by the geographical circumstances alone; neither can it be produced by the assurances of the experts nor the smiles of the Presidents, ex-diplomatic representatives. Presidents, experts and diplomats, united with other leaders of American nations, should direct their efforts to achieve a more solid hemispheric unity based on human understanding, cultural relations and economic cooperation. With these elements at hand, the political ideal of democracy will have

a new birth, more vigorous than ever, to be enjoyed by our internal institutions and to offer a challenge to Communist imperialism, a common enemy of the United States and Latin America.

[From the Americas Daily, Miami Springs (Fla.), March 27, 1957]

WHAT BENEFITS CAN THE UNITED STATES OBTAIN FROM A POOR LATIN AMERICA?

The question used as title for this editorial comment has only one answer: There are no benefits for the United States in a poor Latin America.

But not only this must be answered, because, more important and more transcendental than that is to point out how much, how very much, damage for the United States, there is in a Latin America which is poor, within her wealth. Yes, poor within her wealth, because even if there are now multiple economic difficulties for the development of her great resources, it is undeniable that the vast Latin American region possesses immense wealth.

In the strictly economic field, the United States needs the Latin American markets, in order to increase production and to export to those 20 countries. But if they are not enjoying adequate economic conditions, it is very difficult for them, not to say impossible, to import from the United States the products offered to international markets by industry in this great North American nation.

Regarding military security of the people of the United States, it is well to take into consideration that economic prosperity in Latin America must determine its development in the increase of production, and that production must play, as it has already done, a very important role, almost decisive for the United States in times of war. If only when an emergency appears is that the machinery for production in Latin America is put to work, much time would be lost, and during a war the factor time may well signify victory or defeat.

In the political and social field, economic crisis of the Latin American people creates a critical problem for the United States, because, within such crisis, Communist agitation and infiltration find a propitious atmosphere.

Political stability, of course, is not determined in absolute form by economic well-being. However, it is evident that such stability could suffer serious setbacks as a consequence of the lack of economic equilibrium which, speaking in general terms, leads to social crisis, which is the gateway to communism.

It is for this reason that the lack of economic development in Latin America is not only unprofitable, but it is greatly harmful, as much in trade as in the military and political fields for the United States. Naturally, this means that the leaders in the United States should channel their activities, according to circumstances, toward achieving improvement of economic conditions in the 20 Latin American countries.

Southwest Research Institute Works To Save Water and Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a just cause for pride among Texans is the Southwest Research Institute, located at San Antonio. This institution, staffed by a large group of outstanding scientists, is engaged, among numerous other activities, in research into ways and means of conserving our water supplies.

Notable progress in this connection was the subject of comment in a recent editorial in the Dallas Times Herald, a leader among Texas newspapers. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial comment be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SAVING OF WATER, MONEY FORECAST

Texas, where the sun for 8 years of drought, has blazed over its parched lands, will welcome the news issuing from the Southwest Research Institute in San Antonio whereby we learn it will soon be feasible to prevent as much as 45 percent of the enormous evaporation which loses nearly as much water each year as Texas uses. And, says the institute, the means whereby this may be achieved is both simple and inexpensive.

The institute's experiments are still going on but sufficient progress has been made to justify the announcement. The trick lies in covering surfaces of lakes and reservoirs with a filmy hydrocarbon, a petroleum derivative of the paraffin series known as hexadecanol. This film would be about the thickness of a molecule, sufficient to arrest evaporation yet permit oxygen to be exchanged between the atmosphere and the water.

Hexadecanol is used by manufacturers of lipstick. The institute tests initially sought to guarantee that it would prove harmless not only to humans but to plant, animal, and fish life. United States public health officials agree with the findings of the institute, so soon all we will have to do is sit back and wait until sufficient supplies of the chemical will become available. The cost, says the institute, will be $1.60 to save each acre-foot—325,850 gallons. Certainly this should be worth a try. Its practical value would lie in the fact that, granting it works, the system would save us the cost of building a great number of reservoirs that otherwise would have to be constructed to catch and hold surface water for use.

Accounting by Members of Congress for Travel Expenses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Shop Talk at 30," written by Robert U. Brown, and published in the magazine Editor and Publisher for March 23, 1957. The article deals with the subject of accounting by Members of Congress for travel expenses.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHOP TALK AT 30

(By Robert U. Brown)

The attention of Congress and of the American people has been turned on the subject of expense accounts because of Senate committee disclosures of questionable practices in the Teamsters Union.

It would be a good idea if Senators and Congressmen found time to give a little thought to disclosure of their own expense accounts especially those incurred while junketeering at the taxpayer's expense. This is not said to belittle the work of the present investigating committees or those that have traveled on Government business, but to suggest that here is an area of information that should be made the public's business.

Senator THEODORE F. GREEN, of Rhode Island, is the only Member of Congress to reveal such an expense account in a long time. Recently returned from a tour to study economic and technical assistance in Africa, Senator GREEN reported in terms of French francs, Libyan pounds, Egyptian pounds, Ethiopian dollars, East African shillings, Moroccan francs, and United States dollars, and the total bill to the United States Treasury was $806.01. This covered overseas expenses of the Senator and a staff assistant, Alwyn V. Freeman, and not oceanic travel.

As can be seen, the amounts involved individually are not necessarily large. The total might be sizable. But the principle is important.

Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, of Delaware, has urged a full accounting. He said "many Members of Congress who have traveled abroad * * * have said they would be glad to see the cloak of secrecy removed in order to prevent suspicion of those who have made these trips for constructive purposes and spent the money in conscientious manner."

But still there seems to be some reluctance to do so.

Pat Munroe, correspondent for the Albuquerque Journal, has been conducting a one-man crusade at White House press conferences and elsewhere to obtain such disclosures on congressional junkets. After several tries in the past year he seems to have received assurance that the information will be forthcoming sometime in the future.

President Eisenhower, at a recent press conference, said: "There is no expenditure of public moneys, except only involving that where the public security itself is involved, that should not face the light of day any time any citizen inquires for it."

Subsequently, legislation has been introduced in Congress to require a full accounting of funds used for congressional travel abroad. Whether anything will come of it, we don't know.

Mr. Munroe says in addition there are two laws which should be amended or repealed to require a public accounting of funds spent thereunder by executive departments. Last year the Pentagon quoted to him two laws as its reason for not giving out any information of this kind, citing section 1314 of the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1954 (67 Stat. 438) and section 502 (b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended (68 Stat. 850).

He says the late Representative Thurmond Chatham, of North Carolina, sought a ruling from the General Accounting Office on these two laws and on December 17, the Comptroller General, Joseph Campbell, wrote:

"Information regarding the purpose for which funds, made available under either of the two statutes concerned, were expended by congressional committees would have to be obtained from the committees involved." And so far they won't talk.

"This reporter has written all committee chairmen of Congress," Munroe writes, "asking for the release of information on junketing and their responses can be summed up: 'We'll do it if everybody else does. But we're not going to be the only ones dancing around the May Pole.'

"It goes entirely against human nature to suppose that a Member of Congress can be in any other than a vacation mood, instead of in a mood to make a thorough check of foreign spending, when he leaves this

country knowing he's the free guest of the agencies he's supposed to be inspecting. And that nobody will ever tell the folks back home about his big trip."

We won't go as far as Mr. Munroe does in suspecting that every Member of Congress who makes a trip abroad automatically lives high off the hog at the taxpayers' expense. There may be some who do. But it is entirely possible that many, if not most, of the Senators and Congressmen and their staffs who go factfinding abroad do so on legitimate business and are conscientious about their expenditures. It would be foolish to deny, however, that there have been some excesses and some unjustified use of public funds in this direction.

Therefore, it would be to the interests of all to have this information a matter of public record. In the interests of public confidence in Congress, good relations with other countries, and orderly procedure in the dispensation of Government funds, Congress should adopt legislation to reveal travel expenditures in detail.

Most of the Members of Congress should have nothing to hide. Those that do should be brought to light.

Importance of United States-Flag Shipping Between Great Lakes Ports and Foreign Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, yesterday there opened in Chicago a most important hearing before the Federal Maritime Board. The hearing relates to applications of 5 United States steamship lines for charters for Government-approved service between Great Lakes ports and foreign lands.

I have previously pointed out how essential it is that the United States Government give the go-ahead sign for American-flag shipping to serve lake ports and foreign ports. The quicker that ships flying our own flag can begin to gain experience on what is known as "essential trade route 32," the stronger will be the United States merchant marine in years to come when the St. Lawrence seaway is open with a 27-foot depth throughout.

While we welcome the fine service rendered to us by foreign-flag ships, we are naturally especially interested in adequate service by our own United States-flag shipping.

I ask unanimous consent that a New York Times article of yesterday, describing the current hearing, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIVE SHIP LINES SEEK LAKES SUBSIDIES—UNITED STATES OPENS CHICAGO HEARING ON CHARTERS FOR EIGHT LIGHT VESSELS IN RESERVE

CHICAGO, March 28.—Five United States steamship lines sought charters for subsidized service between Great Lakes ports and foreign countries today.

Arguments supporting their applications were offered before Edward C. Johnson, examiner of the Federal Maritime Board. The hearings opened today.

No vessels of the United States flag are operating between ports of the Great Lakes and overseas points. Operations are limited to small-tonnage vessels and are conducted by lines registered under foreign flags.

The Grace Line is seeking the establishment of a trade route between Great Lakes ports and northern ports of South America. It also seeks charter rights to 8 light cargo vessels of approximately 4,000 tons loaded displacement. The ships are owned by the Government and are being held in the reserve merchant fleet.

Four other applicants for the vessels are arguing their requests in the United States Court of Appeals Building. They are: Isbrandtsen Co., Inc.; United States Lines Co.; T. J. McCarthy Steamship Co.; and Einar H. Crown.

Isbrandtsen has applied for 8 of the ships; United States Lines for 8; McCarthy Steamship for 4; and Crown for 2.

GRACE ARGUES ITS CASE

Grace representatives told the examiner that the expense of establishing operations for light cargo vessels between the lakes and South America would prove too expensive unless service could be established with this year's shipping season.

The other lines presented arguments in favor of their transatlantic routes over the South American routes of the Grace Co.

The port directors of Cleveland and Milwaukee urged that American-flag service be established between lake ports and foreign ports as soon as possible to provide valuable experience for the opening of the St. Lawrence seaway in 1959. William J. Rogers, director of port control of Cleveland, said exports from his city via deep-water shipping had jumped 400 percent since 1950.

H. C. Brockel, Milwaukee port director, expressed the hope that in the future, Great Lakes service also would go to the Far East.

Subsidies are being sought by the lines to offset foreign shippers' advantages in lower costs of operation, repairs, insurance, and crew pay scales, it was explained.

Freedom Versus Servitude

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, the leopard, Russia, has not changed her spots in the last 122 years. Freedom was the objective of the American struggle then as it is today. Servitude was the objective of Russia then, as it is today. Thus, the French humanist and traveler, Alexis De Toqueville, wrote in 1835 as follows:

There are at the present time two great nations in the world, which started from different points, but seem to tend toward the same end. I allude to the Russians and the Americans. Both of them have grown up unnoticed; and whilst the attention of mankind was directed elsewhere, they have suddenly placed themselves in the front rank among the nations, and the world learned of their existence and their greatness at almost the same time.

All other nations seem to have nearly reached their natural limits, and they have only to maintain their power; but these are still in the act of growth. All the others have stopped, or continue to advance with extreme difficulty; these alone are proceeding with ease and celerity along a path to which no limit can be perceived. The American struggles against the obstacles which nature opposes to him; the adversaries of the Russian are men. The former combats the wilderness and savage life; the latter, civilization, with all its arms. The conquests of the American are therefore gained by the plowshare; those of the Russian by the sword. The Anglo-American relies upon personal interest to accomplish his ends, and gives free scope to the unguided strength and common sense of the people; the Russian centers all the authority of society in a single arm. The principal instrument of the former is freedom; of the latter, servitude. Their starting points are different, and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.

C. N. Florence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to offer my felicitations and best wishes to my good friend, C. N. Florence, formerly of Corbin, Ky., in my own congressional district, and who recently retired from active duty after many years of service to our war veterans in the capacity of representative of National Rehabilitation Commission, National Headquarters Branch, Washington, D. C. I feel that no man I have known has rendered more dedicated service to veterans, rich and poor, black and white, famed and unknown, than this Kentuckian, C. N. Florence, a good and faithful servant to thousands of his comrades throughout the passing decades of time. I have traveled with him, been on programs with him, and had good fellowship with him on many occasions. He always kept his sense of humor and retained his deep interest in veterans and veterans affairs in a consistent and admirable manner during the many years I have known him and been honored to claim him as a friend.

In the November 1956 issue of the Kentucky Legionnaire, published at Louisville, Ky., there appeared the following tribute and commendation for this amiable, worthy, and skilled leader of veterans at the time of retirement of "C. N.," as he has been well and affectionately known by many people over a long period of time. The well-deserved tribute is as follows:

RETIREMENT OF C. N. FLORENCE IS ANNOUNCED

(By Frank H. Dyer)

Word has been received that C. N. Florence, known to thousands of members of the American Legion as "C. N.," has retired as representative of the National Rehabilitation Commission at National Headquarters Branch, Washington, D. C.

As a representative of the National Rehabilitation Commission, "C. N." appeared before the various Government agencies having charge of veterans and their dependents in behalf of the claims of ex-servicemen.

With an unsurpassed knowledge of the laws pertaining to the rights of veterans, and a pleasing personality, "C. N." was equipped to represent the cause of the veteran and to win for them their rights, previously denied.

Before going with the National American Legion, "C. N." served for many years here in Kentucky as representative before the Veterans' Administration of the Kentucky Disabled Ex-Servicemen's Board and as department service officer. His success here in our State brought him national recognition as an advocate in behalf of the ex-serviceman fore the Veterans' Administration.

We of the Department of Kentucky, especially the disabled among our members, during all the years "C. N." was active, always had a true and kindly friend, for he is first and always a loyal Kentucky Legionnaire and never so happy as when winning a cause for a fellow Legionnaire from "Old Kentucky."

"C. N.," now in retirement, resides in the beautiful city of Arlington, Va., the home of President George Washington and General Robert E. Lee. We wish for him many, many happy active years ahead with his loved ones. We shall never forget his years of service to the disabled veterans.

Low Bid Rejected by United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, one of the reasons we have difficulty in holding down the cost of Government is our costly purchasing practices. An example of this is reported in the following newspaper story:

FOREIGN LOW BID REJECTED BY UNITED STATES—INTERIOR TO BUY TWO TURBINES FROM DOMESTIC CONCERN AT 20 PERCENT AND 70 PERCENT MORE

WASHINGTON, March 14.—The Interior Department is about to award two contracts for turbines to a domestic manufacturer despite foreign bids lower by 20 percent and 70 percent.

Foreign bidders, under a Presidential order interpreting the Buy American Act, are generally supposed to get the contract if they are 6 percent or more below the domestic bid.

The reason for the forthcoming awards to the domestic bidder is a finding by Arthur S. Flemming, Defense Mobilization Director, that the domestic manufacturer is essential to national security.

In one case the Interior Department had already decided to make the award to the foreign bidder. But, under the urging of the domestic manufacturer, the Department submitted the case to Mr. Flemming for review on the question of its essentiality to national defense.

REJECTS A FLAT ORDER

Despite his decision in this case, Mr. Flemming, it was learned, sent a letter last week to the National Electrical Manufacturers Association rejecting the association's demand for a flat order barring acceptance by Government agencies of all turbine bids by foreign manufacturers.

Mr. Flemming in his letter did, however, promise to consider the issue on a "case by case" basis.

In the first test case, Mr. Flemming decided to buy American. Mr. Flemming left office today, to be replaced by Gordon Gray.

The test cases involved turbines for two reclamation projects, one in Colorado and one in Montana.

On the Colorado project, the low foreign bid, by American Elin Company of Austria, was $56,280 and the low domestic bid, by James Leffel & Co., of Springfield, Ohio, was $65,989.

AWARD REVERSED

The award to the foreign bidder on this project was reversed by Mr. Flemming's decision.

On the Montana project the low foreign bid, again by American Elin, was $168,400 and the low domestic bid, again by Leffel, was $199,156.

ODM officials said the Leffel company was of especial importance because, unlike most turbine manufacturers, it was in a dispersed location—that is, not in or near a major urban center.

They also said that turbine-making capacity was one of the major elements in the mobilization base, and was short of the desired full mobilization capacity.

Declaration of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. It was my good fortune to be present with my family at the special services at the Washington Cathedral on Sunday, March 17, 1957, commemorating the independence of Ghana. The outstanding message delivered by the Reverend James H. Robinson, D. D., L. H. D., senior pastor at the Church of the Master in New York City, was an inspiration to me as I am sure it will be to the other Members of the House.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to have included the text of Reverend Robinson's sermon:

DECLARATION OF FREEDOM

(The Reverend James H. Robinson, D. D., L. H. D., senior pastor, the Church of the Master, New York City, preached at the Washington Cathedral, March 17, 1957, on the occasion of a Divine Service of Thanksgiving)

A new and exciting chapter is being added to the history of free people. It was written in this year of grace, 1957, at Accra, West Africa. In a very few years, from the relative perspective of historical progress, the people of the former Gold Coast colony have blended the progress of the West, which they have eagerly grasped, with the heritage of their past which they do not mean to give up, to evolve the new nation of Ghana, which may very well combine the best of both and, we hope, escape many of the evils of both. The very name of the new land Ghana, is in itself a remarkable indication of the ability of the people of the land to combine the truth of the new and the old. The truth that makes men free, is the truth which helps men to grow, to create, to think, to organize, to worship, and to govern. This is the truth which springs in the hearts and minds of men everywhere. Ghana's freedom is a dramatic example that this truth will never be crushed.

But this is a freedom, which is not merely freedom from something—although it is that in part, for it is freedom from superstition, from tyranny, from oppression, from colonialism, from ignorance and poverty and from outside control. Whenever we define our freedoms by the height of our discarded ambitions or measure them by negatives this is just another form of slavery. But, it is more than freedom from something. It is freedom to be something, freedom to do something, freedom to create, to take one's full share of responsibility in a family of responsible people or a world of free and responsible nations. This is the truth of freedom which sets men really free. It is that, that Ghana prizes and we who also love freedom and are willing to purchase it with our labors, our fortunes and if necessary our lives, are grateful for the opportunity to give thanks to Almighty God today in this great cathedral on behalf of this young nation with such a great future.

The freedom which brought Ghana into the family of independent nations is a cause in which the whole world can rejoice. The achievement of their dreams was long delayed, but they never despaired of its fulfillment. The citizens of Ghana and their government leaders can rejoice because freedom and independence are now their proud and cherished possession, which they have won by the labor of their own hands and the wisdom of their own minds. The people of England can rejoice because they had the wisdom to recognize the necessity for progress and change and both the courage and the grace to evolve a new partnership based upon equity and mutual respect. Both peoples can rejoice, even more, because Ghana's freedom lifts Great Britain to a greater height and raises Ghana to that place of dignity and self-respect which is basic in the heritage of freedom.

It is not without great significance that this exchange both of power and political relationship at the birth of this new nation, was achieved democratically and without violence, at the very same moment in time that millions of other people, in several areas of the earth are struggling for the same freedom of self-determination, respect and human decency, who are wrenched by bitterness, seamed with hatred, torn by strife, crushed by armed violence, and drenched in blood.

But those of us who are neither British nor Africans can also rejoice. American citizens can take pride that many of the most capable political, educational, and religious leaders of Africa were educated in our institutions. Our share may be small in comparison to Britain's, but its potential is tremendous. The role of African leaders in every field of human endeavor, who received their education here, is large and honorable enough to excite the imagination and inspire the hearts of all of us.

Ghana's declaration of freedom, which alines it with all those nations standing for self-determination, should cause us to redouble our efforts to welcome many more sons of Africa for training and preparation for its future—a future which is all before it. There is no better, nor more permanent, investment we can make for both Africa's future and our own. This is one way in which our thanksgiving could stand up and march towards Ghana's brighter future.

And that segment of our population—Americans of African descent—can greatly rejoice because Ghana's freedom will help them to have both a new pride in themselves, and to lose that unspoken stigma of shame because of their African origin. This was a psychological problem of greater depth than most of us realized and, if we did, that we

could even to ourselves, because it was so painful, admit. This is a fact of greater significance than either Negro or white Americans, in our country, have as yet fully understood.

Above all else, Africans all over that great continent can rejoice because they can see the definite evidence that freedom for all of them is both a possibility and a reality which can withstand all frustration and overcome all tyranny which denies men their freedom. The event for which we give thanks to Almighty God "who loveth all his children" gives added hope to all Africans who look for the dawn of a brighter day. They need not succumb to the false illusions of freedom in a regimented dress, which promises all but guarantees nothing and offers independence, which is really the worst of all slaveries. Here is positive proof that the democratic method can and does work on the contrary, and that it produces the right for a people to govern their own destiny.

Although this newest nation will face many perplexing problems, the good auspices of its beginning is one of the best guaranties of its success. It is quite apparent that the people of Ghana know this as well as the rest of us. Although one would not think so because of the frequency and the manner in which the fact is alluded to by many of us. We need to understand that their problems will be no greater, no weightier and no more perplexing than those every other nation has faced and overcome in the early days of its history. Furthermore, they have help at hand from ourselves and England, which neither of us had when we weathered many political, international, industrial, religious, and economic upheavals of our difficult beginnings. The reservoirs of our largess, our services and our people are Ghana's for the asking, as they themselves must determine.

The basic idea of a free society of free men is, after all, a moral idea. The individual and collective responsibility of a democratic society are grounded in a moral order which sustains the rights of men as children of God whom he loves as brothers. This is an order in which human personality is precious and every human being is sacred. It was this moral order by which Great Britain judged itself to the extent of recognizing failure of finding a better way of relationship with the people of Ghana, and it is this same moral order which inspired Prime Minister Nkrumah and his associates to pursue their tactics with strength and determination by the methods mitigated with peace, commonsense, dignity, and justice to achieve their ends.

Behind the advent of Ghana's freedom is the fundamental order of a universe grounded in the eternal purpose of Almighty God. No impersonal dialectic of contradictory notions can achieve good and just ends by using negative and despicable means. Ghana is the achievement of men of faith who believe in a moral order, guided by a loving God to the end of a more equitable and secure society where "all men might have life and have it more abundantly." "Faith is not a leap into the dark," as someone has said, "but a leap into the dark which passes into light." Prime Minister Nkrumah was such a man of faith who leapt into the dark which has lead into the light of freedom.

Of all the forces which have helped to shape the destiny of Ghana—and there are many—none is any more important than the Christian religion. It has not always been what it ought to have been; it has had some miserable failures and very often it has been weak, but it has been bravely there, educating the new leaders, inspiring the people, developing a sense of integrity and justice, creating a moral atmosphere, and pointing out that everyone of them was important to God; that their rights were grounded in the righteous will of God and that hope springs eternal. But Christian missionary forces still provide education for 80 percent of all schoolchildren in Africa.

Religion has had a more powerful and positive impact upon Africa than any other single force; and Africa, on its part, has been exceedingly receptive of the Gospel. In fact, Christian missions have won a million more converts in Africa than in all the other missions lands of the world combined. Both we in the West and the people of Africa, despite all our failures and mistakes, owe more growth in social responsibility, political freedom, and progress to religion than to any other single factor in our culture. It is this foundation upon which Ghana has been started, and this anchorage will not fail it in the trying but glorious days ahead.

Minnesota Presents Excellent Library Services for Its Rural Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, in this session, the House will have an opportunity to reaffirm its true belief in the value of educational assistance, such as the excellent Library Services Act, Public Law 597, passed by its predecessor Congress in the interests of providing library services to the Nation's vast rural areas, now completely without such services, or very sparsely served by inadequate bookmobile service. This was a splendid dream realized after years of effort to secure such legislation. The rural areas of the country looked forward to its development with keenest anticipation of a need soon to be satisfied.

Now the administration has proposed that this dream of educational assistance shall not be adequately financed—in short, the dream will not come true. The Congress has this one opportunity to back up its fine action in the passage of the act during the last session. Will it have the courage to back up its own action and vote the full authorized amount of $7,500,000 which is little enough at best for services in 48 States and United States Territories? By the time this RECORD goes to press, we will know if this Congress will take the independent action of approving the full amount neded, or negate its own action of last year in the act's passage.

Given adequate financing, Minnesota plans a fine library service to its rural areas. This excellent plan, I ask permission to insert here into the RECORD:

THE MINNESOTA PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL LIBRARY SERVICES UNDER THE LIBRARY SERVICES ACT

1. THE FIRST STEPS

The first money ($40,000), which has already been qualified for and received, is being spent to prepare for efficient and economical use of funds in succeeding fiscal years. Two modern adequate bookmobiles have been ordered which will be used to demonstrate the bookmobile idea, to survey bookmobile service patterns as they are developed, and to institute service in newly served rural areas while local bookmobiles are on order. The time factor of nearly 6 months between order and delivery of bookmobiles on the present market make this advisable. The library division is in the process of securing two professional field workers to assist local rural areas in developing their plans for creating and establishing local public library service. The division is also in the process of securing additional clerical personnel to relieve professional personnel of clerical duties. These personnel positions are included in the division budget now before the Minnesota legislature.

A third step in the preparation will be the acquisition of a large collection of standard public library books and other library materials which will serve as the basic collections for library service in the areas where new rural service is developed. At present, in the areas most in need of service and most enthusiastic about new developments, there is not a sufficient supply of books to sustain service to wider areas and larger populations.

2. THE SUBSEQUENT STEPS

A bill (Senate file 12) is now before the Minnesota legislature, having been reported favorably out of both House and Senate Education Committees, to provide the full amount of required matching funds for the full Minnesota allocation under a full appropriation by Congress as provided in the Library Services Act.

The Minnesota plan provides that this money shall be used to develop systems of libraries, serving rural people, which would cover two or more counties. A minimum of local support is required to qualify for aid.

The Federal and State aids would be combined to provide sufficient money to help cover the high initial establishment costs (books and other materials and equipment, including bookmobiles) and a sliding schedule is provided for future development so that in a few years local support would carry the costs of the local library operations.

These library systems would be organized under the joint exercise of powers statute, be under the management of library boards appointed to represent the local areas involved in the system, and under the direction of a fully qualified trained librarian. The supervision required by the Federal act will be performed by the library division under the rules and regulations established by the Minnesota Board of Education.

In the last few months, eight meetings have been held, scattered over the State, which were attended by a total of over 400 people interested in local library development. As a result of these meetings, tentative plans are being prepared for further discussion with local library leaders and public officials for the following developments:

1. A library system in the northwestern section which would serve Kittson, Roseau, Marshall, Pennington, Red Lake, and Polk. Except for the cities of Thief River Falls and Crookston, the library service in the area is extremely limited, and most of the population has no library service at all.

2. The extension of the Clay County library service to one or more neighboring counties, now having no rural library service at all.

3. A library system serving 5 or 6 counties in the west central area where there are only a few small city libraries, a very small amount of rural service, and an unserved population of over 50,000 people.

4. The development of the two rural systems of library service in the southern part of the State, basing the initial strength on existing county library organizations and serving from two to four presently unserved counties in each system.

5. The development of a library system in the metropolitan fringe area where the present rural services are inadequate in both organization and support to cope with the rapid increase in rural population. A considerable percentage of Minnesota's unserved population resides in this area.

6. The development of an eight county library system in the northeastern area.

We realize that the sums involved in the full appropriation are not sufficient to establish adequate service in all of the above areas in any one year, but we are confident that the development of local organization and support will be sufficient in enough of them to require the full appropriation to make an adequate beginning in at least three areas.

It is our intention to concentrate on adequate development in a few large areas rather than scatter the aid in small inadequate sums in many small areas, in order that really satisfactory long-term benefits to rural development may take place. We feel that this coincides with the intent of the Congress in passing the act.

Dark Domestic Conspiracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a significant editorial which appeared on March 2, 1957, in the Northern Virginia Daily, of Strasburg, Va.

The editorial follows:

DARK DOMESTIC CONSPIRACY

In its February 25 issue, the one with the nightmare mask on the cover, Life magazine presents an article on "A Dark International Conspiracy." The conspiracy concerns the Dominican Republic and its director, Generalissimo Trujillo. Life magazine infers that the American pilot who flew the kidnapped Columbia University professor into the Dominican Republic has, with the professor, been murdered by the Trujillo regime.

Jesus de Galindez disappeared from New York City on March 12 and has not been heard from since. Professor Galindez was a political foe of Trujillo. As we pointed out in an editorial on June 5 of last year, it is thought that Trujillo had him done away with.

However, what most impressed us about the article was its matter-of-fact first sentence which read: "Every year 10,000 persons disappear from the streets of New York, raising no hue and cry and leaving little trace."

New York is a vast city, but one would think that at least a slight hue and cry would be mustered for the annual 10,000 who mysteriously disappear. We wonder, too, what happened to the civil rights of these poor people.

At present the New York Congressmen and Senators are leading the chant for protection of civil rights of Negroes in the South. Perhaps the southerners should start a counter chant demanding the protection of the lives of the lost 10,000 of future years.

And Mr. Brownell certainly should direct his energies toward this more severe wrong.

Southerners, perhaps, should suggest that the annual loss of 10,000 citizens would indicate that the New York police department is inefficient and should be bolstered by the forces of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and that a special division should be established in the Federal Department of Justice to oversee police protection in New York City.

Of course, those New Yorkers still lucky enough to be walking the dangerous streets would feel offended. They would oppose the intrusion of the FBI. They would state that this would all be an invasion of States' rights and the local municipal government.

Yet, New York representatives lead the drive to create a Federal gestapo to oversee the South. They want the FBI and a special division in the Federal Department of Justice to snoop around the South and to punish those folks "about" to violate a Negro's civil rights.

This is a conspiracy between unprincipled politicians and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This is an even more dangerous conspiracy than any international conspiracy which this Nation may face. This is a sinister conspiracy that comes from within. This is a dark domestic conspiracy.

Tribute to New York State Senate Leader Joseph Zaretzki

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, it is my happy privilege to call to the attention of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle the fine tribute paid by the New York Times today to my very good friend and minority leader of the New York State Senate, the Honorable Joseph Zaretzki.

Senator Zaretzki is a learned lawyer and a great student of government. Above all, he has an innate sense of justice.

In these days, when the United States has to carry the expense and the burden of international leadership in order that the free world may survive, it is reassuring to know that our most populated State and the greatest contributor to the Nation's economy should have the benefit of the astute leadership of a man like Senator Zaretzki.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the article on Senator Zaretzki published in the New York Times today, Friday, March 29, 1957, and which reads as follows:

VOCAL MINORITY LEADER: JOSEPH ZARETZKI

ALBANY, March 28.—When Joseph Zaretzki first ran for the State senate in 1947, he viewed the upper house of the legislature as a chamber remote, austere, and at all costs dignified.

"You would have thought he was trying to be elevated to the House of Lords," a friend of the Washington Heights senator recalled. "In the first place he would make the grade; in the second place he could get into the chamber without stepping on his own toga."

Any resemblance between this shy and uncertain legislator of 10 years ago and the small, round, intense lawyer who was chosen Democratic leader of the Senate this year is accidental.

So complete has been Mr. Zaretzki's transformation into a fist-shaking, desk-thumping, free-wheeling orator that some of his fellows have privately chided him for threatening the dignity of the upper house.

He was projected into the leadership this year by the insistent hand of Carmine G. De Sapio. This made him party to behind-the-scenes negotiations, such as those today scuttling a day-old agreement on civil-rights legislation with the Republicans.

A POSE FOR POLITICS

One of Mr. Zaretzki's favorite poses as a debater has been that of the naive, untutored lawmaker unfamiliar with the complexities of politics. It has stood him in good stead, in getting laughs on the floor and in cutting to the essence of an issue under debate.

Therer was a time when this was not merely a pose. In the depression days a member of Mr. Zaretzki's local Democratic club approached him with news that the Port of New York Authority was thinking of disposing of the George Washington Bridge to private investors.

Mr. Zaretzki, who did not know his fellow club member was under investigation by the district attorney, contributed money to help organize a corporation that was to buy the bridge and wax rich on its tolls.

Before this year, his best-remembered contribution to the senate debate took place in 1954, hard upon revelations that a number of major political figures had reaped rich rewards from the State's harness-racing industry.

Weekly, sometimes daily, Senator Zaretzki would bounce from his seat and in his high, shrill voice remind the lawmakers of the sins he declared the Republicans had committed. As his charges grew louder, he was challenged to repeat them outside the chamber, where he would enjoy no immunity from slander actions.

After a few false starts, Mr. Zaretzki named a time and place at which he would emerge from his senatorial cloak. When reporters kept the date, all he did was read them a magazine article on the harness scandals.

Mr. Zaretzki has practiced law in New York City for 22 years. He is a veteran of World War I and a graduate of Columbia College and the Columbia Law School. He lives with his wife, the former Helen Case, and their daughter, Meredith, at 160 Cabrini Boulevard, Manhattan.

Will the Budget Be Cut?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the March 26, 1957, edition of the Malden Evening News and Medford Daily Mercury, both prominent daily newspapers published in my Eighth Congressional District. The editorial, entitled "Will the Budget Be Cut?" was written by Dave Brickman, publisher and editor of the Malden Evening News, who presents one of the most penetrating analysis I have seen of this entire problem.

The whole matter of Federal spending has been a subject of great concern to the country and at the present time a large part of my mail relates to it. I know that my colleagues are also being deluged with letters from their constituents on this important problem. Almost everyone in concerned and wor-

ried. Mr. Brickman sets forth clearly what some of these problems are and the possible solution. The editorial is very timely and I hope the membership of the House will read it.

The editorial is as follows:

WILL THE BUDGET BE CUT?

The biggest budget in the country's peacetime history, calling for Government expenditures of a whopping $72 billion in the fiscal year starting July 1, has stirred up a storm of protest. With demands for steep cuts in Government outlays pouring in from constituents, Members of Congress seem more determined than in years to do something effective to hold down Federal spending. Congressman MACDONALD, Democrat of this district, reports that he, like so many of his colleagues, receives letters from constituents asking budget cuts.

Senators and Representatives, chambers of commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers, among others, are talking of overall budget cuts ranging from $2 billion to $8 billion. Proposals to put mandatory ceilings on spending or on tax rates are being revived. Revision of budgeting and appropriating procedures is receiving more than usual attention.

Meanwhile, the legislative and executive branches—the one controlled by the Democrats and the other by the Republicans—have been jockeying over whose job it is to take the lead in budget cutting. The House of Representatives adopted a resolution by a party-line vote in mid-March, asking the President to indicate where substantial reductions might be made. But the President fired back that any big cuts would require slowing down or eliminating important Federal programs, and it was up to Congress to say which ones.

The House proceeded to vote a 23-percent cut in the White House offices budget and went on to approve a half-billion dollar (9 percent) cut in the big independent offices money bill. Foreign aid, however, was expected to take the heaviest rap.

Congress will have to cut at least $3 billion from proposed expenditures for fiscal 1958 merely to hold spending at present levels. Whether it can do that, or better, is problematical. It is easier to talk in general terms of making a $5 billion cut than it is to follow through and reduce or eliminate the individual items that add up to that sum. Budget cuts made by the House often generate pressure among affected interests that leads to restoration of the slashed items by the Senate.

Other factors, however, tend to limit the power of Congress to keep spending under control. For one thing, the Federal Government has assumed ever-increasing responsibilities entailing large financial commitments. For another, rising prices have increased the cost of all Government services. Finally, the increasing complexity of Federal activities has outrun in some measure the capacity of Congress for detailed supervision of spending.

Various statutory expenditure commitments are actually or virtually beyond the power of Congress to control. Interest on the public debt cannot be touched, and it will amount next year to $7.3 billion. Veterans' payments, amounting to around $5 billion, are susceptible in practice to only relatively minor reduction. National defense expenditures, with which Congress is loath to tamper, now account for well over half of total spending.

Congress has been handicapped by a lack of machinery for keeping total expenditures within the limits of total revenues. Appropriations are included in a dozen or more bills which are taken up separately. Experiments after the war with a legislative budget and appropriation ceilings failed to hold actual appropriations under the ceilings. When an omnibus appropriation bill was tried in 1950, budget estimates were cut substantially, but the new method was abandoned after only a year's trial.

An accrued expenditures budget, recommended by the Hoover Commission, won Senate but not House approval last year. This year it got the cold shoulder from a House Appropriations Subcommittee as a snare and a delusion in effecting budget savings. So there is also a possibility— politics being what it is—that the whole economy drive may collapse, except for picayune and token savings.

Blaming the Public

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, at the request of my very good friend and former colleague, the Honorable Edward L. Stokes, of Pennsylvania, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article written by Mr. Henry Hazlitt for the February 25 issue of Newsweek:

BLAMING THE PUBLIC

(By Henry Hazlitt)

To all those who are so justifiably concerned about the dangers of further inflation, the most dismaying development of recent weeks was an announcement by Mr. Eisenhower (in his press conference of February 6) that unless business and labor imposed on themselves certain unspecified self-restraints, the Government would have to move in more firmly with so-called controls of some kind, and when we begin to control prices and allocations and wages, and all the rest, then it is not the America we know.

This statement, unfortunately, cannot be dismissed as a mere slip of the tongue. It was preceded by a distinct hint in the President's state of the Union message that unless business and labor exercised self-discipline the Government might be forced to return to price and wage controls.

FALSE REMEDY

It should not be necessary to point out at this date that price and wage controls are a completely spurious cure for inflation. We need merely recall the words of Mr. Eisenhower himself, in his first state of the Union message on February 2, 1953: "Direct controls, except those on credit, deal not with the real causes of inflation but only with its symptoms. * * * They have proved largely unsatisfactory or unworkable. They have not prevented inflation; they have not kept down the cost of living. * * * I am convinced that now—as well as in the long run—free and competitive prices will best serve the interests of all the people."

The truth is that government policy alone—particularly fiscal and monetary policy—must bear practically the full responsibility for inflation. For the actions of private bankers, businessmen, and labor leaders that increase inflation are themselves encouraged by monetary policy.

The Eisenhower administration is spending more welfare funds in more directions than any of its predecessors. It supports laws that continue to undermine the ability of private employers to resist union demands for excessive wage rates. It is artificially supporting farm prices. It is artificially stimulating an unprecedented housing boom. It has encouraged or permitted the country's money and credit supply to increase by $23 billion since it came into office. For an administration with this record to turn around and blame private business and labor for the inflationary result, and to start disrupting production with price and wage controls, would be the height of irony.

The remedy for inflation lies wholly in a changes of governmental policy. And it lies not in giving still more discretionary, arbitrary, or dictatorial powers to government bureaucrats, or still more discretionary powers (more techniques, tools, or weapons) to our monetary managers but, on the contrary, in taking away some of their present discretionary powers and obliging them to abide by fixed and predictable rules.

It must be pointed out once more that a free competitive enterprise system cannot function effectively in the face of constant uncertainty concerning what the monetary managers are going to do—particularly when those managers may not even know themselves. The country is especially fortunate today to have at the head of the Federal Reserve Board a man who combines the rare understanding, integrity, and courage of Chairman William McC. Martin Jr. But the political pressures put upon him are excessive. They could be substantially lessened, and the dangers of inflation similarly lessened, by changes in our monetary rules or laws.

RULES VERSUS DISCRETION

I suggest two:

1. Congress or the Federal Reserve Board could adopt a rule similar to that put into effect by the Bank of Canada last November, under which the discount rate is changed weekly so as to maintain a fixed margin of one-fourth percent above the latest average tender rate for Treasury bills.

2. The legally required gold certificate reserves of the Federal Reserve banks could be restored approximately to the former requirement of 35 to 40 percent instead of the present war emergency requirement of only 25 percent adopted in 1945. Our controllers will not control inflation until they accept controls on themselves. Meanwhile they should stop scolding the American people.

Permit Our Farmers To Feed Own Wheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER M. MUMMA
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, I noticed a news article in the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot of March 28, 1957, with reference to pending legislation which would exempt poultry and livestock raisers from wheat allotment penalties where the grain is fed to stock on their own farms. This is of much interest in my part of Pennsylvania.

Six bills have been introduced in the House in this regard, I understand. I sincerely hope this much-needed legislation is enacted during the present session.

Over a year ago, when Secretary Benson met with Republican Members of

the House from Pennsylvania, this matter was brought up by several of those present, including myself, and was discussed very thoroughly. At that time the Secretary said he was in favor of the exemption mentioned above. It came up for consideration in the last Congress, along with other proposed amendments to the Agricultural Adjustment Act, but it was defeated. To my mind it was defeated through a coalition of those interested in certain other subsidized products.

In Pennsylvania we have had several cases of prosecution for violation of this provision of the law, which have attracted nationwide attention and support. However, the Supreme Court has sustained the law in each instance, so again I hope this legislation in behalf of the Home Farmer will be adopted. If this is done, it may in some degree keep more people on our farms and encourage others to return.

In accordance with the privilege granted me, I include the article from the Harrisburg Patriot, which is as follows:

BILL IN CONGRESS WOULD PERMIT FARMERS TO FEED OWN WHEAT

Pennsylvania poultry farmers may be able to feed homegrown wheat to their chicks without running afoul of the Government's wheat-allotment program.

The turning point in this longstanding battle between poultry interests and the Federal program rests in the legislation tossed into the House of Representatives hopper by KENNETH B. KEATING, Republican, New York, it was revealed yesterday by Larry Kegerreis, Palmyra poultryman.

The Pennsylvania poultryman is an official of the Northeastern Poultry Producers Council (NEPPCO), a regional poultry-producer organization that has spearheaded the running battle to free growers from current restrictions.

BILL PROPOSED

"I believe it's fundamentally wrong and contrary to the American system of free enterprise to prevent poultry farmers, through Federal regulation, from free utilization of land for the production of grain for feeding their own flocks," Kegerreis declared.

The proposed bill, H. R. 271, would amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to exempt poultry and livestock raisers from wheat-allotment penalties where the grain is fed to stock on their own farms.

So far the Government has won a hands-down victory in test cases in New York, Pennsylvania, and other States involving violations of wheat-allotment agreements, where the grain was fed to livestock on the farm where it was raised.

FEED USE LIMITED

Current regulations forbid, under penalty, the raising of any wheat in excess of acreage allotments, even though the grain is fed right on the farm and does not reach market channels.

"It's high time that this type of autocratic legislation be wiped from the record books," said the council official. "It clearly abrogates a fundamental right of American farmers, that of freedom of choice.

"The council has vigorously campaigned to ease these harsh regulations, and has defended earlier test cases," he continued. "It will continue to do so until the job is accomplished."

NEPPCO has been a leader in a nationwide drive by farm organizations to amend the original legislation. Although previous efforts have been unsuccessful, council leaders are pinning their hopes on a renewed nonelection-year campaign.

John P. McGrath

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, John P. McGrath, of New York City, former corporation counsel of the city of New York, was appointed to the bistate waterfront commission by Governor Harriman about 1 year ago. Considerable erroneous opinions were expressed as to the motives which prompted Governor Harriman's original appointment. Those of us, however, who knew Mr. McGrath knew then that he would discharge the duties of that important assignment in a most creditable manner as he has in all assignments which he has undertaken. He recently submitted his resignation effective on the designation of his successor. That has been done. I think that it is proper that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD include the comments that were made at the time of his resignation, all of which justifies the confidence which Governor Harriman reposed in Mr. McGrath and completely answers all of the critics. I, therefore, include the following editorials, the first of which appeared in the New York Times of Tuesday, January 1, 1957; the second in the New York Journal-American of January 4, 1957, together with an article which appeared in the New York Times of December 29, 1956. It should also be noted that the Joint Legislative Committee on Government Operations on the Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor commended the operations of the waterfront commission during the past year. I should like also to include the following text of the minority report of the joint legislative committee:

[From the New York Times of January 1, 1957]

MR. MCGRATH STEPS OUT

John P. McGrath, whom Governor Harriman appointed to the waterfront commission, has resigned after little over a year as 1 of the agency's 2 commissioners. His selection, coming on the heels of the resignation of Lieutenant General Hays, an appointee of Governor Dewey, brought charges that Governor Harriman was attempting to weaken the commission. Mr. McGrath's service has dispelled these fears. He deserves the appreciation of the public in both New Jersey and New York.

The bi-State compact has set up two objectives for the waterfront commission, one negative and the other positive. Its first duty, of course, is the abolition of the racketeering and corruption which the crime commission so startlingly revealed. But it also is charged with improving labor conditions on the docks—"not by force," as the commission itself stated in its second annual report, "but by inspiring management and labor to raise their own standards and do their own policing." And the compact also makes it clear that the commission, with its extraordinary police powers, is a temporary agency justified by conditions which jeopardized the public welfare, but whose ultimate aim should be the elimination of the need for its own existence.

In view of all this it is encouraging that Mr. McGrath has told Governor Harriman that "much has been accomplished of a constructive nature" by the commission in the past year, that "the rank-and-file dockworker * * * has now stable and larger earnings than at any time in the past" and that because "there is no longer any reason for a kickback to the hiring boss * * * this practice has virtually disappeared." New York Shipping Association payroll figures bear this out. In the last ILA contract year the average annual wage of longshoremen was $4,072, with over half of them getting $5,000 or more—largely due to the limitation of casual dockworkers by the waterfront commission and to seniority systems instituted by ILA locals themselves.

Governor Harriman has the opportunity—and the duty—to fill Mr. McGrath's place with someone especially qualified to further the constructive aims of the waterfront commission—a person wholly free of political entanglements and thoroughly experienced in the fine art of modern American human and industrial relations, yet beholden to neither management nor labor.

[From the New York Journal-American of January 4, 1957]

MERITORIOUS JOB

We regret that the press of personal business has led John P. McGrath to resign as a member of the Bi-State Waterfront Commission. Mr. McGrath's services during the year he served on the commission merit the appreciation of the public in New York and New Jersey. Today, rank-and-file dock workers find it no longer necessary to kick back to hiring bosses and wages have become stable. Mr. McGrath's place on the commission should be filled by a man of equal stature and qualification to implement the campaign to stabilize waterfront conditions and eliminate criminal elements.

[From the New York Times of December 29, 1956]

MCGRATH RESIGNS WATERFRONT POST—HIS APPIONTMENT TO BI-STATE AGENCY LAST YEAR STIRRED A POLITICAL TEMPEST

(By Jacques Nevard)

John P. McGrath, whose appointment a year ago as this State's member of the New York-New Jersey Waterfront Commission stirred a major political storm, resigned yesterday from that position.

Governor Harriman announced in Albany that he was accepting the resignation "with genuine reluctance." The Governor said the resignation was to become effective next Monday, but he added that Mr. McGrath had agreed to stay on until a successor could be named.

Mr. McGrath, a former New York City corporation counsel and manager of Mr. Harriman's Democratic campaign for Governor in 1954, said he was leaving the $17,500-a-year position because of the pressure of private business.

Governor Harriman appointed him to the bi-State agency on November 1, 1955, after forcing the resignation of Lt. Gen. George P. Hays, who had been named to the post by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, a Republican.

WEAKENING WAS CHARGED

The action brought charges that Governor Harriman was attempting to weaken the commission. The agency was established by the two States in 1953 to curb the power of the racket-ridden International Longshoremen's Association and to bring law and order to New York Harbor.

The sharpest criticism of Mr. McGrath's appointment came from New York Republican legislative leaders, but even Democratic Gov. Robert B. Meyner, of New Jersey, said he was "surprised" by the move.

It was generally agreed yesterday, however, that Mr. McGrath's service did not weaken the commission in any respect.

In fact, by a twist of circumstances, when the Republican-controlled New York State Legislature meets January 9 it will have to

consider proposals drafted under the aegis of Mr. McGrath and his New Jersey counterpart to expand greatly the powers of the commission.

The situation will be doubly ironic because, possibly before it tackles the new proposals, the legislature will hear a report from its Government Operations (watchdog) Committee dealing with the Hays dismissal and the McGrath appointment. The committee began its investigation last January.

MEYNER SIGNS BILL

The changes sought in the New York law were signed into New Jersey law yesterday by Governor Meyner. They will not become effective for the bistate agency until New York State acts.

Before he signed the bill Governor Meyner turned down a last-minute appeal for a delay from Capt. William V. Bradley, president of the unaffiliated longshore union.

If the new law is adopted by New York State, the commission will have the power to register waterfront carpenters, coopers, sweepers, and maintenance men, as well as longshoremen.

In addition the changes would:

Set higher standards for registration of checkers, timekeepers, and clerks.

Authorize the fining of stevedores in amounts up to $5,000.

Give commission witnesses immunity from prosecution.

Give commission investigators the power of arrest.

Bar loitering within 500 feet of the waterfront.

Both Governor Meyner and Harold Kolovsky, the New Jersey member of the commission, expressed regret at Mr. McGrath's resignation.

Governor Meyner said "Mr. McGrath had done a fine job."

In announcing the resignation, Governor Harriman thanked Mr. McGrath for his capable and effective service.

Governor Harriman's office released the letter of resignation, in which Mr. McGrath said, "that the recent death of Edward A. Richards, president of the East New York Savings Bank, Brooklyn, will require me to take a more active part in the bank's affairs as chairman of its executive committee." He said he had agreed to assume that position effective next Tuesday.

Mr. McGrath wrote that be felt much has been accomplished of a constructive nature during the last year on the New York waterfront.

"Certainly," he declared, "the rank-and-file dockworker has had greater employment opportunities and more stable and larger earnings than at any time in the past. There is no longer any reason for a kickback to a hiring boss, and this practice has virtually disappeared."

He added, however, that "it would be naive to assert that force and fear are not still potent factors governing the worker on the docks."

STATE OF NEW YORK—MINORITY REPORT OF THE JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS ON THE WATERFRONT COMMISSION OF NEW YORK HARBOR

In the hearings conducted by this committee more than a year ago in the manner of the Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor and the so-called dismissal of General Hays, only one side of the story was heard. We, the Democratic members of this committee, desire to give the other side of the story as gleaned from matters of public record and public statements made in relation to this subject.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from all the facts is that Governor Harriman has at all times supported the authority of the waterfront commission, and that the authority and effectiveness of the commission have in fact been materially strengthened by the Governor's actions. That this is true is now generally recognized, and this is reflected in the report of the committee majority.

The record shows that at his first meeting with General Hays and Sam Lane in Albany on January 13, 1955, Governor Harriman expressed his views that the law did not give the commission sufficient power, and invited suggestions for legislation to increase the effectiveness of the commission in carrying out the purposes of the law.

We have learned that at this meeting the Governor was requested to make a statement of confidence in the commission. The Governor replied that he was not prepared to give the commission as it then existed a blank check by a blanket endorsement of all of its past and future actions, but that he had no hesitancy in supporting the authority of the commission in carrying out the purposes of the bi-State compact. This authority Governor Harriman has consistently and strongly supported throughout his term as Governor.

The majority report attempts to make much of what it calls the attempt to create a buffer committee. The fact concerning the suggestion that a citizens' advisory committee be established, which appears to have originated with a representative of the shippers, have been publicly stated by Judge Daniel Gutman, the Governor's counsel. They show that Judge Gutman discussed the idea with representatives of the shippers, the union, and the waterfront commission, but made it clear that such a committee would be set up only if the commission approved.

Governor Harriman's position was clearly stated by him on August 26, 1955, the day when the suggestion first received public notice. The Governor's statement said:

"It is clear that some way should be found to relieve the tensions on the New York waterfront, and that this cannot involve any impairment of the authority of the waterfront commission.

"Several times in the past my counsel, Judge Gutman, has been able to bring the parties together in informal talks which have led to clarifying the misunderstandings that existed. However, both Judge Gutman and I feel that methods should be found to deal with grievances without resort to the Governor's office.

"Among the ideas suggested to assist the commission and the union in dealing with grievances and misunderstandings was the creation of an informal advisory committee. I authorized Judge Gutman to discuss this or any other ideas that might be proposed with the parties concerned. I have not, however, given my approval to any specific proposal.

"After all, the adoption of any plan would, in the last analysis, be a matter for the commission to determine."

It is clear that when Sam Lane resigned as executive director, Governor Harriman recognized the opportunity that was offered to increase the effectiveness of the commission's operations, by separating the offices of executive director and general counsel to the commission, both of which titles Lane held, and obtaining the services of a man of outstanding and recognized qualifications as executive officer of the commission. The Governor's insistence on this point led to the resignation of General Hays and eventually to the selection of Inspector Michael J. Murphy of the New York City Police Department, a lawyer and administrator as well as a trained law enforcement officer, as executive director of the commission.

The selection of Inspector Murphy, for which Governor Harriman was principally responsible, was widely acclaimed at the time. The New York Herald-Tribune, a Republican newspaper, said editorially:

"The impasse in the waterfront commission over the selection of a new executive director has been well resolved. Inspector Michael J. Murphy, commanding officer of the New York Police Academy, is an excellent choice. He is thoroughly qualified and his record is of a high professional order. He is regarded as a first-class administrator with an expert knowledge of all the problems of personnel, selection, and training. Mr. Murphy has a trained legal mind; he is a summa cum laude graduate of Brooklyn Law School. For good scholastic measure, he also holds a business administration degree from City College.

"On top of that, the new waterfront director is a fearless law-enforcement official who clearly owes nothing to politics or special influence. He can be counted upon to press ahead with the port cleanup with the same vigor as that of his predecessor, Samuel M. Lane. It is most encouraging that Governors Harriman and Meyner, as well as Commissioner Weintraub and Commissioner-designate McGrath, are uniformly enthusiastic. They could not agree among themselves, but these differences were happily eliminated in the Murphy nomination by Austin J. Tobin of the port authority. For these good offices the entire community owes thanks.

"The integrity and independence of the waterfront commission have been upheld. Now the port of New York can continue to move forward."

Other newspapers similarly praised the appointment, and events have amply justified the confidence which Governor Harriman and the public placed in this fine public officer.

As successor to General Hays, Governor Harriman appointed John P. McGrath, a former corporation counsel of New York City and a leading member of the New York bar. After more than a year's service as a member of the commission, Mr. McGrath announced on December 29, 1956, his desire to leave the commission in order to devote more time to his law practice and business interests. The newspapers, reflecting the popular judgment, unanimously praised Mr. McGrath's contribution to bringing about a more effective operation of the commission and a more stable situation on the waterfront. We cite two editorials from the many which appeared at that time.

The New York Journal-American said: "We regret that the press of personal business has led John P. McGrath to resign as a member of the Bi-State Waterfront Commission. Mr. McGrath's services during the year he served on the commission merit the appreciation of the public in New York and New Jersey. Today, rank-and-file dockworkers find it no longer necessary to kick back to hiring bosses and wages have become stable. Mr. McGrath's place on the commission should be filled by a man of equal stature and qualification to implement the campaign to stabilize waterfront conditions and eliminate criminal elements."

The New York Times said editorially: "John P. McGrath, whom Governor Harriman appointed to the waterfront commission, has resigned after little over a year as one of the agency's two commissioners. His selection, coming on the heels of the resignation of Lieutenant General Hays, an appointee of Governor Dewey, brought charges that Governor Harriman was attempting to weaken the commission. Mr. McGrath's service has dispelled these fears. He deserves the appreciation of the public in both New Jersey and New York."

Governor Harriman's support of the authority of the waterfront commission, of which he assured General Hays and Mr. Lane in January 1955, has been given firmly and consistently. The Governor's actions during the longshoremen's strike, which began September 7, 1955, show this support.

On September 8, Governor Harriman issued a public statement in which he said: "Lawful authority cannot be defied. Our laws

provide for the manner in which appeals can be taken from the decisions of the commission. The way to appeal is not by strike."

On September 11, in response to a telegram from Captain Bradley requesting his intervention, Governor Harriman telegraphed the ILA leader, calling on him to order "an immediate end of the work stoppage," and to "submit your grievances to the commission."

On September 12 the governor again telegraphed Captain Bradley: "As I have repeatedly made clear, the solution of your problems rests with the waterfront commission that has been established by law. I have already announced that the commissioners have assured me that they would grant a fair hearing if grievances were properly submitted."

On September 14 the ILA called an end to the work stoppage.

Governor Harriman has not only supported the authority of the commission, but throughout has favored giving the commission any additional legal powers needed to increase its effectiveness in carrying out the purposes of the law.

It will be recalled that in the January 1955 meeting with General Hays and Sam Lane he invited suggestions for such additional legislation. According to the majority report, "both General Hays and Lane stated that they had been able to accomplish a great deal under their present powers and were not prepared to ask for additional powers."

It was only after Commissioner McGrath and Inspector Murphy had assumed their new duties that the commission formulated a comprehensive program of needed new legislation. These proposals were submitted to Governor Harriman and to Governor Meyner in the annual report of the commission on July 30, 1956. On the same day Governor Harriman issued a public statement endorsing these legislative proposals and stating that if adopted they would enable the commission to "tighten controls over waterfront activities," and "make possible a more effective and vigorous program for ridding the Port of New York of unwholesome influences."

Later, copies of the bills were received from the commission, and on September 15, 1956, Governor Harriman stated his specific approval of this proposed legislation.

On January 22, 1957, the Governor sent a special message to the legislature noting that the bills had already been approved by New Jersey, and that "passage by your bodies is now required to make them operative. Prompt action is therefore essential."

We are pleased that the majority members of this committee are gratified that the affairs of the waterfront commission during the past year have continued to be conducted in accordance with the principles upon which the creation of the waterfront commission was based. We are further pleased that the majority members of this committee have given their support to this much-needed legislation.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH R. CORSO,
Secretary.

SAMUEL L. GREENBERG.

Stockpiling and Wasting Assets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly, of March 4, 1957, entitled "Wasting Assets—Stockpiling Is Making the United States Weaker, Not Stronger."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASTING ASSETS—STOCKPILING IS MAKING THE UNITED STATES WEAKER, NOT STRONGER

Philip M. McKenna, founder and president of Kennametal, Inc., Latrobe, Pa., is a man of extraordinary ability and strong views. Sales of his company, which mines tungsten and manufactures alloys used in metalworking tools, have increased some 400 percent during the past decade; profits have risen better than tenfold. His achievements in the realm of technology are no less impressive. Mr. McKenna years ago invented the first hard carbide to cut steel. These days, among other activities, he is busy carving out new metallurgical frontiers in columbium, tantalum, and titanium. Perhaps most noteworthy of all have been his ceaseless efforts in behalf of a sounder United States minerals policy. Specifically, Mr. McKenna vigorously has opposed Federal subsidies to domestic tungsten producers, of which Kennametal happens to be one. Financial aid of this kind, he said the other day in a sharply worded letter to his Congressman, is neither necessary nor desirable.

Such candor has endeared the industrialist not a whit to those lawmakers, especially from Western districts, who are seeking new bounty for the industry. Mr. McKenna, cried Representative CLAIR ENGLE, Democrat, California, no more represents the tungsten miner than the wolf does the sheep. The same solon, outraged by revelations that the United States has built up a huge tungsten supply, last week charged the head of Kennametal with a breach of security. While his popularity may have suffered in a few mining areas, the forthright gentleman from Latrobe plainly has earned the gratitude of the citizenry at large. The fact is that through some mischievous Washington alchemy, United States purchases of tungsten and other base metals, once undertaken in the name of defense, have been transmuted instead into a vast, costly boondoggle. What is perhaps worse, they are thrusting the Federal Government ever deeper into the minerals industry. To the Nation, in short, stockpiling has become a growing source of weakness, not of strength.

The United States has been squirreling away so-called strategic raw materials since World War II. Over the years, in an effort to reach the minimum stockpile deemed essential to the national security, it has invested $6.5 billion in some 75 commodities, including such items as waterfowl feathers and castor oil. Outlays of this kind, notably for cobalt and copper, are slated to continue and, indeed, to rise. Beyond the immediate objective, the defense planners have set their sights on an ambitious long-range target as well. While the new program, launched in 1954, remains obscure in many respects, one thing about it is perfectly plain; its cost is mounting. First estimated at $2 billion, projected spending under it by last year had ballooned to twice the original size. The budget for fiscal 1958 would raise the ante for both programs another $600 million, including $40 million for fluorspar, columbium-tantalum, and tungsten.

While admittedly heavy, the price would not be too much to pay for an added measure of national security. On this score, however, as Barron's has noted before, the Nation is getting short weight for its stockpiling dollars. Tungsten is a glaring case in point. Western legislators, as noted, are pressing for continued Federal purchases. Yet, according to official estimates, the United States at latest reckoning had enough metal above ground to last for 6 years at the peak wartime rate of consumption. As for lead and zinc, which already have cost the taxpayer some $200 million since 1954 alone, the administration long ago abandoned any tattered appeal to the flag. Instead, under the vague and ill-defined mandate of the long-range program, it continues to pursue what has become nothing more than a handout to industry.

Thus, the evidence indicates, the strategic value of stockpiling is largely illusory. The economic drawbacks, however, are painfully real. For one thing, like some malignant lodestone, the lure of its subsidy inevitably has attracted other mineral producers. A few weeks ago, to illustrate, the head of American Smelting & Refining Co., pointing out that the United States hoard of copper was too low in relation to those of other nonferrous metals, suggested that greater United States purchases would be logical. By the same token, a leading oil company executive recently threw out a similar guarded hint concerning storage of petroleum products.

Wherever it ultimately may lead, the program already has had serious repercussions in the metal markets. Three years ago, merely by announcing its decision to acquire more lead and zinc, Washington effectively raised their prices several cents per pound. Today, the trade agrees, its buying both here and abroad keeps them at prevailing levels. Sooner or later, in view of its long-term contracts with several producers, the Government is apt to become a ponderable factor in copper as well. Indeed, some observers feel that such purchases may put a floor under the red metal not far from current quotations.

The stockpilers, finally, have been guilty of far worse than meddling with the workings of supply and demand. By lessening or destroying incentives to risk and experiment, their activities, in effect, have thrown a monkey wrench into the wheels of technological progress. According to Mr. McKenna, who has been dealing with the stuff for decades, this is true of tungsten. The same obviously may be said of manganese, so essential to steelmaking. To utilize lean grades of this vital ore a new smelting process has been developed, not in the United States, which subsidizes producers, but in Canada, which does not.

Far from advancing the Nation's interest, in sum, stockpiling plainly works against it. Happily, after years of easy assent, some lawmakers have begun to perceive this fact. As a consequence, the tungsten subsidy, once considered certain of passage, has come under heavy attack in the House of Representatives; its ultimate fate is now in doubt. The wave of protests against excessive buying of the metal is surely to be welcomed. However, it is, or should be, just the beginning. What is needed most is a hard and critical reappraisal of the whole stockpiling program. For a nation grows strong, not by wasting its assets in futile hoarding, but by using them wisely.

Inadequate Allowances for Career Diplomats: An Inequity Which Is Harming United States Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, it becomes increasingly evident that career employees have need for allowances sufficient to enable their appointment to

high spots. I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article by Joseph Alsop, published in the March 22, 1957, edition of the Washington Post, which delves into the matter of diplomatic appointments. I sincerely believe there is a necessity to persuade this administration of the importance of having competent representatives abroad, and, indeed, is great harm done to the United States of America by unqualified political appointees in diplomatic posts.

I intend to introduce legislation similar to that introduced in the Senate so that career employees will have allowances sufficient to enable their appointment to the top spots. However, I realize that the real problem is to persuade this administration of the importance of having competent representatives abroad and, indeed, great harm is done to the United States by unqualified political appointees in diplomatic posts.

In connection with this, I would like to call your attention to the following article by Joseph Alsop which was published in the March 22, 1957, edition of the Washington Post:

DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENTS RECORD CALLED SQUALID

(By Joseph Alsop)

PARIS.—The Eisenhower administration's traffic in diplomatic appointments has now reached a stage that calls for public comment.

The latest news is that Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY'S deputy in the State Department, Scott McLeod, is to receive the Embassy in Dublin as his just reward for having done more harm to the American Foreign Service than any one else in recent memory. Perhaps McLeod will not do a great deal more harm in Ireland, but why on earth should he be sent there at all at the expense of the American taxpayer?

But this is a relatively minor incident in a long and squalid story. This year most of the diplomatic posts in Europe have been crudely placed on the auction block and sold for cash on the barrelhead.

By sheer accident, some of the very rich men who have thus been named to represent the United States abroad ought to make excellent Ambassadors. John Hay Whitney in London, for instance, is the sort of man who ought to receive a political apointment to a major embassy quite without regard to his Republican contributions. Then, too, the administration must be credited with at least two really admirable nonpolitical appointments, those of David K. E. Bruce in Germany and Ellsworth Bunker in India.

All the same, the overall record is really pretty unappetizing. Some recent incidents suggest, on the one hand, that the price of diplomatic appointments has now reached a level that is downright scandalous. There is the case, for example, of the present Ambassador to Denmark, the experienced, ex-Foreign Service officer, Robert Coe.

It is an open secret that Coe's original appointment was recognition not of his Foreign Service training but of his family's enormous contributions to the 1952 campaign fund. In the last campaign he was again approached by an old friend, who was one of the Republican comittee's money collectors, with the delicate intimation that it was once more time to cough up.

"It's going to have to be a deep bronchial cough, too," added the friend.

In total, Coe's cough reached the sum of $7,000—surely a respectable extra cough from a man who has always been a generous Republican contributor in his adopted State of Wyoming. But it was not enough, and Coe was summarily informed that his services would be dispensed with this spring. He is to be replaced by a professional diplomat, Miss Frances Willis, Minister to Switzerland, who is being moved to make room for a political appointment.

On the other hand, a really disdainful disregard for the feelings of our allies (and therefore of the interests of United States) is frequently shown. Belgium, for instance, may be a small country, but it is an important country in NATO. Four years ago the Belgians were not too pleased to be handed over to a large Republican contributor.

But now this first Republican contributor, Fred Alger, of Michigan, has presumably failed to give a sufficiently deep bronchial cough. (His cough was only $1,500 deep.) So he is being replaced by another contributor, John Clifford Folger, of Washington, who has no known qualifications for the post except his service as Republican committee treasurer and his check book. (Together with his wife, Folger coughed to a depth of $11,500). In neighboring Holland, an able professional, Ambassador H. Freeman Matthews, is being replaced by loyal Republican Civil Service Commission Chairman, Philip Young.

In still other cases, public untruth has been freely indulged in. The present American Ambassador to Moscow, Charles E. Bohlen, is the leading Russian expert remaining in the American Government's western community there. Perhaps in tribute to Bohlen's suitability for Moscow, it has been officially given out that he is being transferred by his own request.

This is plainly not true. Bohlen was entirely willing and even eager to carry on in Moscow. In fact he is being sent to Manila to make room in Moscow for our present Ambassador to Vienna, Llewellyn Thompson. The shift of Thompson from Vienna is another move in the game of diplomatic musical chairs. Thompson, as it happens, is an exceedingly capable diplomatic professional. But the United States would have been far better served by leaving both Thompson and Bohlen where they were.

There is no use continuing the sorry tale. Its point is all too simple. We are not living any longer in the 19th century, when the traffic in ambassadorships did no great harm. America now has incalculably great interests abroad, and America's Ambassadors are the necessary guardians of those interests. It does not matter whether they are rich or poor, Foreign Service officers or outside recruits. What matters is whether they are well qualified.

The expense of embassies is a phony excuse. Surely the United States can afford the few extra hundreds of thousands of dollars by the sole test of knowledge and ability. And surely the cheaply political traffic in ambassadorships, with its sordid checkbook side, has become a really shocking business.

Our American Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to know that the Jamestown (N. Y.) Post-Journal, published in my congressional district, is conducting a crusade to bring home to the people the great heritage of liberty which is theirs, to be defended and preserved not only by them, but by their elected representatives.

Under leave to extend, I am inserting an editorial which appeared in the March 16, 1957, issue of the Post-Journal:

"THE CONDITION UPON WHICH GOD HATH GIVEN LIBERTY TO MAN IS ETERNAL VIGILANCE" (JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN, 1790)

Perhaps in this year of 1957 our ruling generation is bungling. Men debate the issues, arguing the merits of high wages, short hours, dishwashing machines, fancy cars rushing over superhighways, mass millions with TV sets and the highest standard of material living in world history.

Perhaps this generation is just a facsimile of those which suffered the hectic prosperity of the twenties, the shock of the depression thirties, or tribulations of two wars in the forties and emerged into the cold war days of the fifties. Perhaps this ruling generation is a bit more apathetic, a bit more calloused, a bit more willing to live in the clouds of a boughten sense of security, without considering the cost. Many years of accepting something for nothing, of cradle-to-the-grave security propaganda, can becloud the thinking.

You can look over your shoulder to the thirties when a Nation pyramided experiment upon experiment, debt upon debt, to pull out of a depression, and see the beginning of the wearing away of the individual honesty in national thinking. We swept shadows off the sidewalks, we learned through WPA and PWA how public works can be paid from the other pocket. Federal and State aid to communities at the city and county level in larger and larger doses was an inevitable step. We learned how to grab without a pang of conscience. (Somebody is going to get it, why not us?) So tighter and tighter draws the web, higher and higher go the taxes, higher and higher the national debt.

Do we as individuals have a national conscience left? Do we know or understand why the Founding Fathers gave us our Constitution and its Bill of Rights and what they were guarding against? What is freedom? Do we still have it if we become mere pawns of a Federal or State bureaucracy? Is a stalemate with Russia of any value if we plunge recklessly on to threaten our own economy?

Back in 1790 John Philpot Curran in a speech of the right of election, uttered some prophetic words. He said:

"It is the common fate of the indolent to see their rights become a prey to the active. The condition upon which God hath given liberty to men is eternal vigilance."

Perhaps this generation and the ones who have immediately preceded it have bungled at home and abroad. But the greatest Nation in the world has moved steadily ahead. However, we cannot forever play tag with the shoals.

We must now place our hopes with the next generation which should be better educated and better equipped materially to steer our national course. But can this generation grasp and hold the fundamental truths our Founding Fathers gave us in the Constitution, that the Bill of Rights sought to safeguard—the supreme stature and freedom of the individual—the American able and willing to make his own way on his own merits, unshackled by a Federal Government that should be his servant, not his jailer? There were generations of Americans who believed supremely in the birthright of freedom. These generations have gave their lives, their property. They carved out the wilderness, moved across the plains, built railroads, and made possible the massive economy that can withstand today's squandering. But they left a heritage far more valuable than the material strength, great as that is. They left the torch of indi-

vidual freedom, the supreme glory of the individual who can walk proudly and enjoy the freedoms of speech, worship, and the other human dignities with his fellows.

Our national birthright must not be sacrificed on the altar of apathy or the myth of security by beneficient "handout" government. That is why the Post-Journal today is publishing in full-page form on page 16 the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights. We would like to see it reread and restudied by the thousands of you who may have forgotten the sovereign individual you are. As a public service we shall be pleased to furnish reprints on glossy paper of this full page in any quantities desired, free of charge, to individuals, schools, patriotic groups, or anyone else interested, as we are, in reemphasizing the fundamental facts of the American way of life.

For eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

Condemnation "Fixture" Damage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. POTTER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, the enactment of the vast new highway program will produce a host of problems in many areas of Government activity. One such problem area may include condemnation procedures for acquisition of land. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Jeremiah J. Kenney, condemnation clerk of Detroit's recorders court on fixture damage in condemnation, published in the Detroit Lawyer for March 1957. This article, by a recognized authority in the field, illuminates one important aspect of land acquisition by Government agencies.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONDEMNATION "FIXTURE" DAMAGE—PROCEDURE OUTLINED FOR ESTABLISHING "FIXTURE" REMOVAL DAMAGE CLAIMS IN RECORDER'S COURT CONDEMNATION CASES

(Urban redevelopment and other projected municipal improvements involve the relocation of hundreds of businesses of all types, with resultant calls upon attorneys for counsel in the majority of cases. A shortage of textbook material in this field suggested the invitation by the Detroit Lawyer to Jeremiah J. Kenney, condemnation supervisor of the Recorder's Court to discuss procedure for establishing claims in recorder's court condemnation cases. Mr. Kenney has served the court for many years in this capacity, directing the hearings in the Gratiot redevelopment area, East Side slum clearance, civic center, and many others in which such claims have been presented.)

(By Jeremiah J. Kenney)

To begin with, "fixtures" as the term is used in condemnation cases, is a misnomer.

Bert R. Sogge, assistant corporation counsel of the city of Detroit, is probably right (he has that habit) when he says they aren't fixtures at all. Fixtures are valued with the land. What we talk of, he says, are chattels annexed to real property. The courts often contain the term in quotation marks as though recognizing its hybrid character.

A lawyer for a laundry in Des Moines used it, the Gratiot Avenue case took it from there and since it is accepted if not accurate, trade fixtures or fixture damage will be used here. In this discussion, at least, the term shall mean the reasonable cost of detaching trade fixtures and reattaching them elsewhere.

A motion for a new trial in this court criticized the use of the term fixture removal damage in the charge to the jury as implying that only the cost of removal could be considered.

The history of fixture removal claims in Michigan where the condemnor takes the entire interest is brief.

There are only four cases, starting in 1940, with the city of Detroit's appeal from Judge W. McKay Skillman's ruling in the Gratiot Avenue widening case reported in 294 Michigan 569.

In that case (p. 573) the court said: "The sole question on this appeal is whether it was proper for the jury to award damages for removal costs of trade fixtures." The court then concluded (syllabus): "Trade fixtures used in conduct of drugstore, jewelry store, and gear manufacturing business were not stocks of goods nor, usually considered, purely personal property, and while considered personal property as between landlord and tenant, in condemnation proceedings they were properly considered as realty and damages were allowable for removal costs" (Const. 1908, art. 13, p. 1).

The above quotations from the Gratiot Avenue case are taken from *In re Slum Clearance* (332 Mich. 485, at 491). In the latter case the Supreme Court states the question (p. 489):

"When a condemnation jury is to reflect in its award the cost of the removal of trade fixtures, should the jury consider the cost of removing chemical solutions in the tanks of a plating company, and the cost of removing the molten metal in its furnaces?"

CONSTRUCTIVELY ANNEXED

Judge Paul E. Krause, in the recorder's court—admitting all other removal damage testimony, refused to allow that regarding the solutions and molten metal. The Supreme Court, conceding the impossibility of actually affixing or annexing these items to the real estate so as to become part of it, held them, under the circumstances of this case, to be constructively annexed. The case includes a discussion of fixtures.

The question appears again *In re Civic Center D. & C. Navigation Co.* (335 Mich. 537). The navigation company asked at least $59,300 for the expense of moving four passenger vessels from docks which were taken. Here, the court said, the vessels failed to meet the test, namely, the intention to make the vessels a permanent accession to the freehold and held it was not error to refuse to allow the jury to consider evidence of the cost of moving the vessels. Just as an historical note: These were the same vessels which recently had their final blaze of glory in Lake St. Clair.

The latest decision *In re John C. Lodge Highway* (340 Mich. 254) involved the right of tenants to fixture damage, and the effect of condemnation clauses on that right. Apparently, because Act P. A. 1911 (No. 149, sec. 5, cl. 1948, sec. 213.25, Stat. Ann. 8, 15) did not specifically include "those in possession" the Wayne County Road Commission had rejected the claims of certain tenants. Meanwhile, the city, under the charter (title 8, ch. 1, sec. 3) which contains that language, had been paying.

"Fixture removal damage" claims in recorder's court are settled in most cases. Trials of the main issues of necessity and value of the fee are often protracted as a wide area of disagreement is possible, but costs of trade fixture removal can with reasonable accuracy be determined. The present practice, which has arisen by consent, results in a stipulated figure which is submitted to the jury with the request that they return that sum in the verdict roll.

Counsel who desire to settle are advised that upon receipt of a trial notice estimates of the cost of removal of trade fixtures may be submitted to the office of the corporation counsel. It is suggested that estimates be made by competent, responsible persons with experience in the field, i. e., refrigeration firms for refrigerators and electricians for wiring. The Jack-of-all-trades is not highly regarded in this age of specialization and may be vulnerable under cross-examination.

ALL SUCH CLAIMS CHECKED

Estimates are checked by E. A. Walinske of the real estate bureau of the corporation counsel's office. He and his staff have checked all such claims since their recognition by the courts, either for settlement or for rebuttal and he is conversant with most of the problems. His experience extends from abattoirs through wineries. When difficulties have prevented claimants from obtaining estimates he has been known to make his own to the satisfaction of counsel and client. No one does much better than that.

All but a few of the businesses and industries in the wholesale district were settled without contest. The west side of Woodward, including Richmond & Backus' extensive printing equipment, Stouffer's restaurant, Whalings, and others were stipulated figures.

When differences occur between the estimate submitted and those of Mr. Walinske, counsel is asked to discuss them. This negotiation between "eminent counsel and trusted public officials" (343 Mich. 629) usually results in a stipulated figure.

Of course, not all cases are settled. An honest difference of opinion may require a trial. The nature of certain trade fixtures, e. g. chemical solutions and molten metal, passenger vessels, etc. makes it difficult to agree that certain installations fall within the category.

The status of murals which furnished atmosphere in a bistro was left for the jury to decide. The testimony having shown that atmosphere was the essence of a bistro, the jury found for the claimant with a substantial, perhaps liberal, award.

When negotiations do fail, it is necessary to present the claimants case. This is done in turn, by parcel number, at the conclusion of the testimony relating to the real property.

According to Assistant Corporation Counsel Sogge, a walking compendium of condemnation law and lore, the Gratiot Avenue case established the pattern of procedure which prevails today. In the first trial to follow that case, counsel submitted to the jury fixture removal costs which included the cost of detaching the fixtures and removal to a truck outside the building—their removal from the truck at a new location and attachment in the new location. Forget about them while they are on the truck because "the cost of transporting severed trade fixtures could not be awarded because it is too speculative."

The Michigan Supreme Court in this connection cited *City of St. Louis* v. *Railroad Co.* (226 Mo. 694) and the language of that case is pertinent here.

"At first glance it is to be concluded that there exists a difficulty in finding a reason for not compensating the owner of personal chattels who is compelled to remove them for his expense in so removing them to a point at least beyond the edge of the right-of-way. It is equally clear, on the other hand, that no logical reason can be found for compensating him for the expense of re-

moval beyond such point. This is so, for the reason that A might desire to move his chattels only into the next adjoining house, while B might desire to have his taken several blocks or even several miles and C on the other hand, his business broken up, might desire to remove his goods to some other place or city. No reason in logic, therefore, can be found for the condemnors paying more than is sufficient to move the personal property off the right-of-way. A rule which would require the condemnor to do more than this would be variant and indefinite, and, therefore, speculative."

BURDEN OF PROOF ON CLAIMANT

The city takes the position, which has not been challenged, that the burden of proof in fixture cases is upon the claimant, and that the minimum and maximum rule (which applies to real property) does not hold in fixture cases.

The authority cited is *In re Widening of Harper Avenue* (237 Mich. 687).

"On the item of business damage * * * no testimony was offered by the city of this item of damages on any of the parcels, but considering its necessarily speculative character, counsel had a right to rest content with the cross-examination of the owner's witnesses.

"But the jury was not necessarily required to accept the conclusions of the owners in this regard, even though there was no direct evidence to the contrary." That the court said *In re widening of Woodward Avenue—Appeal of Demery* (264 Mich. 326): "Damage to fixtures was capable of quite accurate estimate and computation" has not affected the practice. The Demery appeal had a most unfortunate history. As a result of this decision the case was tried again in recorder's court with the same result. Following a second appeal (304 Mich. 417), it was tried again. This jury was advised of the previous actions and strongly urged (the judge cannot give binding instructions (244 Mich. 377)) to follow the supreme court ruling and return a verdict. The jury, exercising their prerogative as judges, chose instead to follow the precedent of their constitutional predecessors and once more gave nothing.

Demery had made a fatal move. Anticipating the widening, the store was revamped previous to the trial and the fixtures moved. This precluded a view, in place, by the jury. The jurors might reasonably be reluctant to pay for that which they were never able to see. The safer practice, in view of this, would be to await the settlement or the jury's view.

Reasonable time for moving and relocation can usually be obtained. Many remain in possession until a writ of assistance is issued. However circumstances differ in each and "possession of private property condemned for public use may be obtained immediately, where there has been a judicial determination of the necessity for the taking and of the compensation to be paid therefore by paying such compensation and obtaining immediate surrender of the premises." *State Highway Commissioner* v. *Ottowa Circuit Judge* (339 Mich. 390 (Syllabus)).

There is confusion regarding business damage claims. The Harper Avenue and Woodward Avenue cases (and there are others), speak of business damage claims. In these cases, only part of a building was taken. When there is a partial taking respondents are "permitted to recover for such loss occasioned by the interruption of their business as they were able to show, with reasonable certainty, will occur during the time it will necessarily be interrupted." *Commissioner of Parks* v. *Moesta* (91 Mich. 155).

Grade separation cases, by statute also permit recovery for interruption of business and moving costs.

NOT PROPER ITEMS

Counsel have cited *Detroit* v. *C. H. Little Co.* (146 Mich. 373) and *Grand Rapids, etc.* v. *Weiden* (70 Mich. 390) to support claims of business loss. The text of the Little case shows it to be a grade separation. The Weiden does not, but the rule as it applies when the entire interest is taken is repeated ((1954) 341 Mich. 420). "Loss of profits due to interruption of business necessitated by moving and the expense of removal of personal property are not proper items to be considered in making the awards."

The factors which lead to settlement in other types of cases are found here. Proving a fixture claim is tedious at best—each detail is an item on the cost sheet and proof is time consuming. A review of the verdicts presents an uncertain picture for the claimants. In the Gratiot case as reported the drugstore claimed $500, the verdict was $150; the jeweler asked $1,584.50, the verdict $600; the Gear Co. asked $5,255.75, the verdict was $4,000. A recent recorder's court case showed a claim for $26,500 and a verdict for $6,000. This was appealed and later settled by the city at a higher figure.

The present procedure results in settling all but the hardest cases.

And the owner of an old established business property, dislocated by the slum clearance, says emphatically "It's the best thing that ever happened to us." Incidentally, he settled his fixture claim.

When the verdict is confirmed, counsel is notified. The client is also notified that his award is ready for payment. Harold Repp, of the city treasurer's office, advises that a lien officially filed will place counsel's name upon the check which issues thus providing a timely reminder of services rendered.

Post Office's Job Is To Serve the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article written by Mr. William C. Doherty, president, National Association of Letter Carriers, which appeared in the April 1957 issue of the AFL–CIO American Federationist, the official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The article, entitled "The Post Office's Job Is To Serve the People," follows:

THE POST OFFICE'S JOB IS TO SERVE THE PEOPLE

(By William C. Doherty)

History will verify that our postal system is older than the Nation itself. A year before the Declaration of Independence was framed, the Continental Congress appointed Ben Franklin as the first postmaster general of the new United States Postal system.

In addition to its longevity among Federal departments, the postal establishment has another claim to fame—albeit of somewhat dubious character. In the years since Ben Franklin's era, there has seldom been a letup in the controversy about the role our postal system should play.

Arguments can be advanced by both proponents and opponents on the question: "What is the role of the postal establishment?"

Is it primarily a public service which, like other Federal departments and agencies, is adjudged worth what it costs? Or is it primarily a business venture operating within the framework of accepted business concepts? In brief, should our postal system break even or, indeed, make a profit, or should it not?

Not only has this controversy generated a considerable amount of heat but—unlike many other arguments—it has also produced a great deal of light. Unfortunately, no solution has been reached on the main issue.

In the early days of the Nation, the role intended for the postal system was clearly degned. The Founding Fathers made abundantly clear what they had in mind when they instructed the first postmaster general:

"If the necessary expense shall exceed the produce, the deficiency shall be made good by the united colonists."

President George Washington, in an early message to Congress, advocated transmission of publications free of charge through the mails as a means of unifying the new Nation. The lawmakers agreed with him. In reply to Washington's message, Congress said:

"The circulation of political intelligence through these vehicles is justly reckoned as the surest means of preventing the degeneracy of a free government."

Proponents of the service first concept can take comfort in these and subsequent pronouncements. In 1814 Congress returned to this policy after a brief experiment in authorizing new post roads only when they could show that a profit would be realized. In 1844 the self-sustaining theory was again rejected after a careful study by a postal commission appointed by Congress. In 1851 Congress stated firmly:

"The Post Office is primarily a service organization."

Many postmasters general have associated themselves with this service concept, although the thesis that the Nation's postal system should be self-sustaining is not without its vigorous supporters.

Postmaster General Creswell, in 1869, was of the strong conviction that a pay-as-you-go policy was the only sane way in which to operate. However, he made a complete about-face 2 years later and, in his report to Congress, argued against the profit motive. He thought it was necessary for private enterprise but stated that "a government system, managed in the interests of the people, pursues exactly the opposite course."

In 1920 Postmaster General Will Hays said: "The Post Office is not for profit nor for politics, but for service."

Congress, the executive branch, and mail users still demand good postal service, but sometimes their enthusiasm for resolving what is popularly referred to as a postal deficit defeats these demands.

It would be neither accurate nor fair to say that anyone has publicly suggested the complete abandonment of the service concept to embrace an all-out drive for a self-supporting postal service. They have not reached for the profit goal as yet, but in their zeal to prove that a postal deficit exists they are willing not only to refuse to underwrite the necessary cost of a mail service in an ever-expanding and dynamic national economy, but they also willingly forfeit existing services.

This happened in 1950, when several vital postal functions were either curtailed or eliminated. These cuts were made under the pious guise of balancing the budget. Currently there is thinking along the same lines.

Perhaps our generation has developed a blasé attitude toward the contributions made by the postal service to the growth and development of our Nation. The mails have aided our commerce, diffused knowledge among our people, and served to unify the Nation. Given the proper tools, the postal establishment will continue to make and enlarge upon these contributions.

Proper tools are not exclusively fair and reasonable postal rates, as some would believe, but must include a modern wage structure, labor-management policies, supplies, and equipment.

The motives of those who believe increased postage rates will cure all the ills of the postal establishment are not questioned. Their arguments are sincerely presented and well intentioned. However, it does seem that more emphasis, more information, more public enlightenment should be directed toward the positive features of the postal service. This suggestion would hold true in the field of costs to the taxpayers, as well as statistics pointing up the multiplicity of services performed—both postal and nonpostal.

It is one thing to say that service is provided to 70 million citizens from 37,000 local offices, spread out over more than 3,600,000 square miles of American territory. The magnitude and complexity of the postal system require more than 520,000 employees. They work in terminals, on trains, in small and large post offices.

Each year rural carriers cover 1,500,000 miles of good roads and some not so good, 135 horseback routes are still in existence, 96 carriers deliver mail by boat, 32 routes call for delivery by private airplane, and more than 100,000 city letter carriers whom I have the honor to represent trudge the streets collecting and delivering more than 50 billion pieces of mail a year.

These statistics will prove that the American postal establishment is an enormous undertaking in an era of giant commercial enterprises and huge corporations. But these Bunyanese characteristics standing alone neither prove nor disprove that postal operating expenses are as costly as some would have us believe. An examination of the facts discloses that these operating costs are not the major contributing factor to the national budget problem we hear so much about these days.

It is true that postal revenue seldom has exceeded expenditures. All agree on that. No one has asserted or attempted to prove that it is not so.

What constitutes the principal unresolved area of disagreement is whether the disparity between operating costs and revenues is to be treated differently in the Post Office Department from the way it is treated in other departments and agencies of Government. It is because of the absence of a clear-cut policy on the subject that the postal system has become the whipping boy in any discussion of Federal spending.

The facts do not support this unenviable role of spendthrift of the Nation. A look at the figures reported in the President's budget for fiscal 1955 discloses a gross postal budget expenditure of $2,714 million. Applicable receipts of public enterprise for the same period are listed at $2,390 million. This indicates that approximately 88 percent of its costs were recaptured in the form of postal charges and other revenue.

Compare this 88 percent figure with some of the other Federal Departments for the same fiscal year. The following table shows that the postal system comes closer to paying its way than any other agency:

	Gross budget expenditures	Applicable receipts
	Millions	*Millions*
Agriculture	$6,018	$2,974
Commerce	1,142	18
Health, Education, and Welfare	1,994	2
Interior	546	34
Justice	179	(1)
Labor	401	1
State	142	(1)
Treasury	1,153	644

[1] Less than $1 million.

These figures reflect the expenses and revenue from measurable services performed. The Post Office, in addition, provides many immeasurable services, some of which are nonpostal in nature. In this category is included the unmistakable contributions a good postal system makes in the unending effort to think together and work together toward building a world community of free peoples through communication.

There are also many measurable nonpostal services performed by the Post Office which are reflected in its operating costs. Among those in this category are the handling of documentary stamps and the collection of duty for the Collector of Customs.

Everyone these days is conscious of Federal spending. Well they might be, in view of the taxes levied against all of us. In this connection, the interest of postal employees is no less lively than that of other citizens. But in one area they have a particular stake because invariably their legitimate economic interests are involved.

This particular phase of public spending is the cost of operating the postal service. As long as no policy exists to identify the proper role of the service, it is unlikely that the controversy over the alleged postal deficit will subside. And until it does or until it is clearly understood what constitutes the deficit, postal employees are going to be squarely in the middle. Every time in recent years they have gone before Congress for a wage increase, they have been confronted with the bugaboo of a postal deficit.

Once again the employees are about to be put through the wringer in their quest for a fair and adequate wage scale. Before a congressional hearing 2 years ago, I presented a statement bearing directly on this point. I said:

"It has always been difficult for postal employees to rationalize the fish-on-the-one-hand-fowl-on-the-other thinking when their wages are concerned. No one suggests paying a forest ranger on the basis of admittance charges to any of our national parks. Army personnel are not paid according to PX receipts.

"'Why, then,' asks the postal employee, 'must my salary always be tied in with postal revenues and postage rates? Why not determine it on the basis of the very human need for adequate wages to enable me to purchase food, warmth, shelter, to say nothing of recreation and health and education of my children?'

"It is a justifiable inquiry."

A recent report submitted to the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee by a Citizens Advisory Council, created in the 84th Congress, commented as follows:

"We fail to see why there should be any connection between postal rates and postal pay. The laborer should be worthy of his hire, and the fact that it costs money to operate the postal service should not influence the level of postal pay."

In private enterprise no reasonable person would maintain that a company would be justified to remain in business only because inadequate wages make it possible to continue to meet competition. This is the position which some would have the Government adopt in relation to postal wages. The Government has no more right to use poor wages as an excuse for staying in the postal business than General Motors has to deny fair wage treatment on the grounds that it must follow that course to compete in the automotive industry.

The time-honored procedure for effectively burying a wage request from employees is to establish a study group or a committee whose charter can be indefinitely continued. In recent weeks this method was given a severe jolt.

Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson appointed a committee headed by Ralph J. Cordiner of General Electric. The complement of the Cordiner committee listed other equally distinguished leaders from the industrial world. The group was known formally as the Defense Advisory Committee on Professional and Technical Compensation. Its study was confined to positions in professional and technical categories of the Defense Department.

However, its findings and recommendations have equal application in many areas to all Federal employees, including postal workers. Stripped to its essentials, the Cordiner committee's report simply states that the wages of Government workers have not kept pace with the compensation paid to workers in private industry.

At this writing, the report has not been official released. Newspaper stories suggest the White House is reluctant to allow the report to be released. On the basis of excerpts from the report appearing in news stories, one might readily say that White House reluctance is understandable.

The report is said to be critical of the unconcern at the "progressive lowering of the level of the department's civilian work force" resulting from inadequate Government pay. That criticism would have application in any agency of the Federal Government.

At another point the Cordiner committee's report is said to puncture one of the most prevalent misunderstandings about Federal employment. It is the area of so-called fringe benefits. Newspapers have published the following excerpt:

"Furthermore, the Federal Government has lost the advantage it once enjoyed in the area of fringe benefits. In brief, the magnet of interesting work and public service is no longer strong enough to overcome the pull of higher salaries in non-Federal employment."

The report also is said to comment on recruitment problems within the Defense Department. This is not a problem exclusive to that agency. The Post Office Department also finds this a headache, and a costly headache.

In Minneapolis, for example, 53 civil-service examinations were conducted in an effort to recruit needed postal personnel. One a year or two at most would normally suffice. From the 53 examinations, 1,343 men were given followup assignments to report to work. Of this small number only 526 accepted. The others apparently had been disenchanted by the meager pay offered.

"Pay is the most tangible condition of work to a newcomer to the labor market," the Cordiner report says.

It is interesting to note that of the 526 men who did accept postal employment in Minneapolis, 320 quit for greener financial pastures within a year.

When it is considered that cost estimates range from $100 to $300 simply to recruit and put a man on the job in the postal service, it will be readily seen that a high-quit rate is a tremendous drain on the National Treasury.

Although most of the Cordiner committee's conclusions have specific reference to limited segments of employment in the Defense Department, one conclusion is applicable to every person who works for a living, in or out of government. The report says:

"Employees must receive sufficient compensation to enable them to establish and maintain a standard of living which will allow them to discharge their responsibilities to their families and to their employers."

It is to be hoped that, when the question of wages for postal workers comes before Congress at this session, the matter will be considered on its merits and in the light of the philosophy that every man is worthy of his hire. It is to be hoped, further, that it will be remembered that the postal worker is not merely a statistic in the Federal or postal budget, that the presence or absence of proper postage rates is not involved, that

a bookkeeping difference between revenues and expenditures should be balanced in the light of numerous immeasurable services.

A fiscal policy for the Post Office Department should embrace proper rates in relation to operating expenses, fair treatment to mail users and such intangible factors as the role the service is to play in our lives. A wage policy for the department should be separate and distinct, based on traditional American concepts of living costs, productivity and the right every man has to discharge his responsibilities to his family, his employer and his community.

There must not be a double standard of morality, one standard for employers in private industry and another standard for the Government. And low wages, inadequate wages—anything less than a saving wage—cannot be morally justified. Unfortunately, this is precisely the position in which the Federal Government now finds itself.

Postal employees will continue to look to their colleagues in the American labor movement for moral support in the fight to bring Government wages into line with reality. When the time comes and the shouting begins about "postal deficits" and "raiding the Treasury"—cries that were heard in 1955—it might be a good idea for all of us to recall that our postal system costs us 12 percent of the amount appropriated by Congress.

As the well known commercial slogan might be paraphrased, no other Federal agency can make that claim.

Unionism: A Crusade, Not a Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations executive council at its January meeting established a new cardinal principle for organized labor. No union officer, the council declared, should continue in the labor movement if he finds it necessary to hide behind the fifth amendment in refusing to report to a proper governmental body on his handling of union funds.

This new policy reflects the progressive and aggressive leadership of President George Meany, as well as the spirit of the united labor movement.

In its decision at Miami Beach, the labor movement proclaimed that the sense of responsibility is an indispensable requirement for trade union leadership.

The AFL–CIO executive council is meeting in Washington today in special session to consider the situation. I am certain the council will fulfill its responsibility and act to restore the confidence of the public in the labor movement.

I include here as a part of my remarks an editorial by the distinguished president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, David Dubinsky, on this very subject. Mr. Dubinsky is a vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations and a member of its five-man ethical practices committee. The ILGWU is, without question, one of the greatest unions in our country and the entire world.

The editorial follows:

UNIONISM: A CRUSADE, NOT A BUSINESS

Dave Beck, teamsters' chief, was careful not to incriminate himself during his appearance before the special Senate committee last week. But he didn't mind incriminating the labor movement with conduct which President Dubinsky characterized as a tragic spectacle.

The vast majority of those who serve the labor movement look upon their calling as a crusade. They understand the great responsibility which rests on them as officers entrusted with safeguarding the security and welfare of millions of individual union members. They realize that the funds they administer have been accumulated not to generate profits, but rather to provide protection for working men and women on the job, in sickness, in old age.

But if Beck is guilty of the terrible charges made against him, it is only because he has brought with him into the labor movement the concept that trade unions are not a cause, but just another business to be considered the personal property of union officials. But unions must not, cannot be so considered. They are not the property of any official, no matter what his title. They belong only to their members. And legislation alone, whether punitive or not, cannot provide the complete remedy for the cash-value approach to unionism.

The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations executive council, at its Miami Beach meeting last January, established a new cardinal principle for organized labor. No union officer, the council declared, should continue in the labor movement if he finds it necessary to hide behind the fifth amendment in refusing to report to a proper governmental body on his handling of union funds.

It is to the credit of the organized-labor movement that this policy, as proposed by AFL–CIO President George Meany, was adopted by the council in a sweeping vote of 24 to 1—with the sole dissenting vote being Beck's.

This new policy reflects to progressive and aggressive leadership of President Meany, as well as the spirit of the united labor movement. It threatens only such stragglers from the field of big business who, like Beck and Brewster, invoke union autonomy and the fifth amendment in order to cover up their free-wheeling administration of union funds and who refuse to recognize that the time of irresponsibility and of autonomy alibis is a thing of the past.

In its decision at Miami Beach, the labor movement proclaimed that the sense of responsibility is an indispensable requirement for trade-union leadership. Those who lack it don't belong in the labor movement.

As this is written, the executive council is scheduled to meet in special session to consider the situation. We are certain the council will fulfill its responsibility and act to restore the confidence of the public in the labor movement, shaken by Beck's conduct, by effectuating the policy it adopted at its last meeting in Miami Beach.

With Malice Toward None

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, the income-tax season is at hand. Of this there can be no doubt for as my constituents take receipts in hand and struggle with the multiple internal revenue forms many have communicated to me their feelings on the subject. To put it mildly, they are somewhat less than overjoyed at both the arduous sessions of completing their return and the payments which Uncle Sam is exacting from them.

For the edification of my colleagues I am submitting herewith a letter to the editor of the Bakersfield Californian, located in Bakersfield, Calif., within the 14th Congressional District which I am privileged to represent. The letter was submitted to me by one of my irate taxpayer correspondents. While it is penned in the unmistakable form of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, it might also be termed a modern day taxpayer's declaration of independence.

The letter follows:

WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE

EDITOR, THE CALIFORNIAN:

Two score and four years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new misery, conceived in desperation and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created taxable. Now we are engaged in a great long form, testing whether that taxpayer, or any other taxpayer so confused and so frustrated, can long endure.

We are met on a great battlefield of that struggle. We have come to dedicate a portion of our income to the great causes, useless and foolish, which have taken our money that this Nation might continue to support other nations.

And yet, in a larger sense, we cannot afford, we have not got, we will not have, this hallowed money. For the brave taxpayers, broke and penniless, who have paid here, have dedicated it far above our poor power to add, subtract, multiply, divide, refer to separate schedule Z, etc.

The world will little note nor long remember what we pay here, but the Bureau of Internal Revenue will never forget if we don't. It is for us the living rather to be here dedicated to the unfinished payments which they made here have thus far so reluctantly advanced.

It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the tremendous payments still remaining before us—that from the examples of these financially bankrupt we take increased deductions for the cause for which they gave the last full measure of their money—that we here highly resolve that these paupers shall not have forked over in vain—that this taxpayer, underpaid, shall have a new birth of lower taxes and higher wages, and that government of the taxpayer, by the taxpayers, for the taxpayer, shall not perish from the earth.

A TAXPAYER.

Tax Consideration for Our Teachers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, so much talk in recent months about Federal aid to education reminds us that the basic factor in all education, the teacher, has been too long overlooked. The best material facilities in our Nation's schools will avail little if the human quest for learning is not properly guided by dedicated directors.

That very fundamental principle is pointed up in a most timely editorial entitled "Teachers Deserve a Tax Break," which appeared in the March 12, 1957, issue of the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram.

In these days of ever higher living cost, one of the best practical inspirations that could be granted to those engaged in the teaching profession is a little sympathetic consideration of their financial problems through tax adjustment and allowance on the money that they must spend in the pursuit of postgraduate studies.

It appears that this could be accomplished by administrative action of the executive department, but, if not, let us here join together at the proper time to legislatively give the teachers a tax break they need and deserve in this matter.

The editorial follows:

TEACHERS DESERVE A TAX BREAK

Congress is flooded each year with proposals for tax relief which would benefit certain industries, certain professions and certain groups. The Treasury Department cannot be blamed for opposing most of these requests. But the Nation's schoolteachers have entered a plea that certainly deserves some careful consideration.

The public has long since adopted the idea that teachers, in order to keep up with modern developments in education and in order to make themselves professionally more competent, should use some of their spare time to work for additional academic credits and university degrees.

Some public school systems require this. Most systems encourage it by setting pay scales to reward postgraduate study. But the Internal Revenue Service doesn't seem to be cooperating. Teachers need quite a bit of money to take these extra courses—especially when they have to forego summer jobs in order to go back to the classroom. Yet the Government will not allow the tuition expenses to be deducted as business or professional expenses if the teachers pass the courses and get better jobs as a result.

The teachers point out, with rather good justification, that businessmen can deduct the costs of entertaining clients, a practice which is certainly intended to increase the taxpayer's earnings. If night club costs can thus be deducted, why shouldn't the cost of sitting in classrooms and listening to lectures on educational methodology?

If the Federal Government has reached the point where it is willing to spend billions to improve the quality of public education, the concession asked by the teachers makes a good deal of sense. It would be one way the Federal Government could encourage improvement. And it would be a fair and logical concession to the people who have dedicated their lives to the important business of education.

Put the Intelligence Estimates on Airpower in Focus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the April issue of Air Force magazine, the official publication of the Department of the Air Force.

The editorial, entitled "Put the Intellicence Estimates in Focus," follows:

PUT THE INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES IN FOCUS

At press time the national budget had become the "bird" in a gigantic game of badminton between the Congress and the executive department. From the standpoint of national defense the prognosis was not good. Pressure for cutting the budget was mounting and, unfortunately, the most tempting area where cuts could be made was in the defense portion.

The sequence went something like this. A short time after presenting the largest peacetime budget in the Nation's history, President Eisenhower voiced hope that the Congress would be able to cut it. This expression was accompanied by a drumbeat of statements by administration figures on the dangers of inflation, talk of a depression "that would curl your hair," "spending ourselves into bankruptcy," and other phrases calculated to stimulate budget-cutting pressures.

A Democratic-led Congress neatly batted the bird back into the White House court by requesting Presidential guidance as to where cuts could be made safely. But the President volleyed with a rejoinder that the executive department had done all it could, that the next move was up to the Congress. Everyone wanted the budget to be cut but no one wanted to take the responsibility for it, or to make the first move.

Quite conveniently, in the midst of all this, there appeared some information that might serve as an excuse, if not a valid reason, for making cuts in the Air Force portion of the budget. The information was made known to the press, and subsequently confirmed before the Congress, that national intelligence estimates of production rates of Russian modern heavy bombers had been revised. The estimates reflected some slippage in production of the Bison, the big Red jet bomber, and a slight falling off of production of the turboprop Bear. Instead of falling behind the U. S. S. R. in operational numbers of long-range modern bombers, we apparently were ahead, and would be so for about 2 more years.

This was welcome news to all would-be budget-slicers. It was trumpeted in the press that last year's supplemental Air Force appropriation, voted by the Congress against administration protests, was a "$900 million bobble." The intelligence estimate revision was termed "an extraordinary turnabout in estimates of Soviet airpower during the year." Previous intelligence reports were described as badly in error. The Russian bogeyman was being cut down to size, went the stories, paving the way for defense budget cuts without jeopardizing national security.

It is difficult to square such sweeping conclusions with the fact. True, the national intelligence estimates of Red production of modern heavy bombers have been revised, but only for the next 2 years. And there was no proof, as some asserted, that the estimates had been tampered with for political purposes, although the timing on the release of the information certainly served a political end. What was damaging was the many things which were being left unsaid. The picture was badly out of focus. To paraphrase Mr. Wilson's famous statement, the new estimates meant that we perhaps have discovered that the Russians are not 8 feet tall, only 7 feet, 9 inches.

In the first place, it should surprise no one that national intelligence estimates are subject to revision. They are based on the best information available at any given time and quite properly they change as the situation changes and as new information becomes available. It would be much more disturbing if they were static tables, unchanging from year to year, instead of the fluid, viable documents they actually are.

What makes this latest revision unusual is the fact that it is downward. For in the past our tendency has been to underestimate, rather than the reverse. The list of such underestimates is far too long to document extensively here. It should suffice to remember how we underestimated Red capabilities in the matters of copying our B–29, jet engine production, the atomic bomb, the hydrogen bomb, MIG production before Korea, submarine production, all-weather fighters production, and so on. Our batting average in this field is none too good.

We must remember, likewise, that long-range bomber production is but one element of Soviet strength. Let's take a look at the long roster of other factors in which there has been no announced change for the better. These include:

The expanding Soviet base complex, both in the U. S. S. R. and in Red China, a big factor in determining what our own attack capability must be.

The fast-growing Russian air-defense capability, one of General LeMay's biggest headaches.

Numbers of Red light bombers—Beagles and Blowlamps.

Numbers of Red jet fighters, including supersonic MIGs and all-weather Flashlights.

Numbers of intermediate-range Badger bombers, roughly equivalent in performance to our B–47.

The Red guided missile effort, in intercontinental and intermediate-range ballistic missiles, and defensive missiles as well.

Red production of scientists and technicians.

The rapidly closing gap between the United States and the U. S. S. R. in science and technology.

To the best of our knowledge and belief, the intelligence estimates in none of these fields has been revised in any direction except upward.

Nor can we take comfort in the fact that the revision of the estimates on Soviet modern long-range bombers applies only during the next 2 years, probably through 1959. In discussing this point before the Congress, General Twining emphasized that "there is no change in the level of strength in modern bombers that we estimate the Soviets could and probably will provide for their long-range force in the time period beyond the next 2 years."

In effect, this means that, while the Russians may not be even with us today in this one category of bomber production, by 1959–60 they will have caught up with us and passed us. And this is precisely the period, from 1959 to 1960 on, which the Air Force is worried about, as General Twining has reiterated time and again.

Further, the aircraft procurement money in the fiscal year 1958 budget, by and large, will not be spent within the next 2 years, in any case.

Nor do the new estimates add one airplane or a single missile to our own Air Force capability, now or in the future. As we have previously pointed out, that trend is steadily downward, with no force goal left at which to shoot. The Reds still know where they are going. Our Air Force does not. In fact, it is probably safe to say that we have a firmer grasp on where the Red air force is heading than where our own will eventually wind up.

This brings up an interesting sidelight on the matter of intelligence revisions. One would like to know how many times the Russian estimates of our own B–52 production have been revised during the past 2 years. The Symington subcommittee testimony brought out that we intended to produce, in round figures, a total of 600 B–52's. A year ago the production rate was projected at an eventual 20 per month. Yet the production

figures for early 1956 went something like this: 4 in January, 2 in February, none in March, none in April, 2 in May, and so on. The production forecast was obviously much higher. It is too much to expect that Red estimates of our B–52 production underwent some radical downward revisions last year? The point is that the kind of revision being touted as a complete turnabout might well have arisen from something as simple as that alternator trouble that was slowing our B–52 deliveries. Or it might reflect something as serious as a major breakthrough in the missile field that would allow cutbacks in Red bomber production.

There is still another item to consider. The new estimates, while only recently made public, did not burst suddenly on our defense planners. They were known at the time the final budget was being prepared; they were known when Mr. Quarles made a last plea for $21 billion for the Air Force; they were known at the time the budget was submitted to Congress. One can only assume that the budget, as presented, already reflected these new estimates. Hence, it is difficult to see how they can now be put forth as justification for congressional cuts. If they are, it will be a case of using the same intelligence estimates to cut the budget twice, in effect—once in the executive department and again on Capitol Hill.

Or take the case of the Symington subcommittee report, issued last February. During its investigation, the subcommittee received some testimony which could not be made public for security reasons, including intelligence information from the Central Intelligence Agency and other sources. In addition, much supplemental intelligence material was requested, obtained, and inserted in the subcommittee record. The latest such material was received by the committee in November, and presumably it reflected the latest estimates.

Yet, in response to our query, a subcommittee staff member told us: "None of the unpublished testimony and none of the other material supplied during or after the hearings was such as to merit any change in the report."

In other words, although the newest intelligence revisions had been made available to the subcommittee, the majority found nothing in them to cause it to revise its gloomy picture of the relative airpower strengths of the United States and the Soviet Union.

In summary then, one must place the revised estimates in balance by remembering that:

They are temporary in nature, and apply only over the next 2 years.

They represent only a fraction of overall Soviet strength.

They have already been reflected in the present budget.

We trust that the Congress will weigh these factors carefully in their current examination of the Air Force budget.

National Press Club Banquet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, well, I attended another evening affair. Just did not want to miss it as the occasion was the annual meeting and banquet given by the National Press Association for the members and a few of their friends. Each member had the privilege of selecting one Member of Congress, and being that I was a close friend of John Baer, former Member of Congress, a cartoonist, and member of the Press Club, I was invited. The result was that the meeting was overstocked with Congressmen, and I guess the Press Club soon saw the mistake of allowing its members to select the company.

There was, of course, the usual get-acquainted hour from 7 to 8, and there seemed to be plenty of refreshments. I think this was the first big affair I have attended in Washington where hard liquor was not served, but the facts are that I did not try to find any. I heard no loud arguments, or any argument other than a friendly conversation in progress, so I concluded that the foundation of loud arguments was not present. My conclusion may have been in error, as I am sometimes wrong, but I want to faithfully describe the situation, and I saw no evidence of the work of John Barleycorn at this great banquet.

From this slant I was greatly surprised, as I had always thought that newspaper writers, columnists, cartoonists, and newspaper owners would, on occasions like this, forget their decorous attitude and relax and enjoy themselves, and that a reasonable amount of spirits fermenti would greatly assist in limbering up the stiffness so noticeable among a gathering of the Nation's great writers. But no, this feature was evidently not necessary, and everybody had a natural and enjoyable time.

The dinner itself was plain, but most excellent food, with as little of adulterated products as it is possible for any catering organization to obtain. None of the nationally advertised soft drinks were in evidence, and I do not think the press association will procure any until we determine that they contain no harmful chemicals.

The outstanding feature of the occasion—one that was received with uproarious applause—was that there would be no speeches. I can imagine a great dinner without liquor, but a great dinner without speeches is an innovation that can hardly be imagined, especially where so many trigger-happy orators were in attendance. I looked around at the battery of oratorical giants and noted Vice President NIXON, Majority Leader JOHNSON, Minority Leader KNOWLAND, Speaker SAM RAYBURN, Minority Leader JOE MARTIN. The audience seemed to feel perfectly at ease, but I could notice a few sligns of disappointment on the faces of these usual speakers. SAM RAYBURN scowled noticeably. He was probably loaded for bear and had to withhold his fire. Vice President NIXON probably wanted to tell about his setting up a brandnew nation in the jungles of Africa, and took the no speeches announcement with a faint hospital-bed-like smile. JOHNSON and KNOWLAND were both more at ease, as both are candidates for the Presidency, and I presume preferred to be seen and not heard. JOE MARTIN seemed absolutely pleased that he would not have to talk—and so were many others.

I congratulate the National Press Club members for putting on such a nice dinner and in breaking my social precedents. If brother REES of Kansas, a great temperance advocate, had known that this gathering was going to be one that Carrie Nation could approve, he would have contrived in some way to be there. I know I left with a new feeling concerning newspapermen. I know how diligent they are and greatly admire them, but to know that this organization is made up of hard working, intelligent and sober men who can set the brakes on the conventions of society as easily as they can put a Congressman in his place by writing him up, truthfully or otherwise, in the public interest, was an innovation to me.

"Kilroy Was Here!"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times which brings up to date the actions and achievements of a character of World War II fame, the one and only "Kilroy":

KILROY THE IMMORTAL

When the tugboat *Edgar Bonnet* was lifted out of the bottom of the Suez Canal on Monday, thus clearing that waterway for the passage of ships up to 20,000 tons, her bridge bore the strange devise "Kilroy Was Here." As nearly as one can figure Kilroy must have gone down to the bottom of the canal in a diver's suit ot paint this inscription. But there it was. Kilroy had been there.

Perhaps the second World War is now so far back that some young persons don't know who Kilroy was. They need not feel ashamed. Nobody knew who Kilroy was. All that was certain about Kilroy was that wherever anything needed to be done during the second World War Kilroy went there and did it. Technically speaking, Kilroy was not a fighting man. He would take on one or more members of any army, including his own, if they annoyed him, but mainly Kilroy was a man who built things. He also had fun on his days or hours off, but we had better not go into that.

Kilroy was, among other things, a Seabee, a member of an organization called a construction battalion or something similar. But Kilroy did what interested him. Sometimes he was absent without leave, but in such a case this regrettable circumstance may have been due to the fact that he had finished a road leading up to the edge of Bougainville Perimeter or over the Hump into China, had lost interest and had gone on to fix up Okinawa or, like Caesar, build a bridge across the Rhine.

Kilroy went where he wanted to go, leaving behind him on walls and rocks and the sides of ships and billboards his mysterious motto "Kilroy Was Here." But where he wanted to go was where he was needed. Lately he has been needed in the Suez Canal and so

there he was, over his head in the salt water getting the *Bonnet* ready to lift and maybe working also on the *Abukir*, a slightly bigger job. Kilroy sought no public acclaim. He never rode up Broadway under a shower of ticker tape. He was never mentioned for the Vice-Presidency. He never appeared on television. He never got rich. People didn't recognize his face, but he did like them to know he had been there, and this he still does.

We need Kilroy. It is good to know that after his long vacation, which possibly he spent in the Antarctic, he is with us again. Kilroy is Point 4. Kilroy is friendly aid to all the peoples of the world who feel friendly toward us and will work with us. If a new canal is needed Kilrow will be there digging it. If anybody wants help in fixing up a harbor or running a road through rough country or setting up new houses for people who haven't any houses or draining a malarial swamp, they can call on Kilroy. He will be there. He will be there in a spirit of joviality, not of condescending kindness. He may be there sometimes with a swagger in his walk and his hat tipped over one eye. Kilroy is gay and good and wonderful and now that he has come back let us hope he will never go away again.

We lift a glass to Kilroy and all his comrades in all countries and in all peaceful avocations. We drink to the gusto, the strength and the handiness of good old Kilroy. The world needs him even more than it needs men of battle and men of programs and politics. Maybe the future lies in Kilroy, that jovial, shouting, laughing, confident son of the democratic world.

American Motors Workers Concerned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, thousands of workers in my district and in the entire metropolitan area of Milwaukee are deeply concerned lest the automobile manufacturing operations of the American Motors Corp. be terminated or taken over by one of the three giant auto manufacturers. Such a change, if it were allowed to occur, would have a profound impact not only on the wellbeing of our people but also on the competitive situation in the automobile industry and on the welfare of all automobile buyers in the United States.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article on this subject written by Mr. George E. Sokolsky which appeared in the March 19 issue of the Milwaukee Sentinel and which was called to my attention by Mr. Herman Steffes, the recording secretary of local 75, United Automobile, Aircraft, Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW–AFL–CIO).

The article is as follows:

IF AMC QUITS MAKING CARS, MONOPOLY PROBE TO FOLLOW

(By George E. Sokolsky)

Two problems are raised by the reported plan of Louis Wolfson to purchase the American Motors Corp.:

1. It will further reduce the number of automobile manufacturers in the United States, leaving practically only the three giants, General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler, in the field.

It is questionable whether, from a national standpoint, it is sound for any industry to become so concentrated. On the other hand, AMC has been losing money in the automobile business and it is impossible to require any company to continue to manufacture a product at a loss. As soon as an automobile company stops manufacturing automobiles and goes in for kitchen hardware, the demand in Congress grows for a monopoly investigation in this field. Certainly, if Wolfson becomes dominant in AMC and if he gives up the automobile line and limits himself to iceboxes and other kitchen goods, a monopoly investigation of the automobile industry must ensue. Such an investigation will lead to a side-line study of advertising.

2. In the case of Wolfson, it will raise again the question of raiding and of the secret purchase of controlling interests in various companies. At present, two congressional committees and the SEC are delving deeply into the problem.

Concerning this, many errors of fact and judgment have crept into the public print. First of all, most raids or takeovers are legal. If the stock of a company is for sale, anyone can buy and outsiders can manipulate the market to their advantage.

The essential question is not that. It is where the buyers get their money. It is not illegal to get money wherever one can get it, so long as no tax deception is involved. But there is a tremendous amount of money loose in the world, some of which is hot money going through a process of legitimization.

Anonymous money may be innocent, but the anonymity of the ownership, the fact that the banks managing the money will not disclose the ownership, engenders a suspicion that the ownership is improper.

Dr. James McGregor Burns on the 22d Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am appending to these remarks another response to my cross-section survey among historians and political scientists on the wisdom of the 22d amendment.

I present today the reply of Dr. James McGregor Burns, of Williams College, in Massachusetts. In my opinion, Dr. Burns is one of the best of our young political scientists. Some years ago he worked for a time on Capitol Hill, and in 1949 his book Congress on Trial, was published. He is the author of the recent work on contemporary history, Roosevelt: the Lion and the Fox.

Dr. Burns' reply follows:

WILLIAMS COLLEGE,
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
Williamstown, Mass., March 21, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. UDALL: I favor repeal of the 22d amendment for two main reasons. In the first place, repeal is a matter of simple governmental efficiency and effectiveness. Why compel ourselves to dismiss a President who is still going strong and has had the experience of being President, who has, in effect, spent several years educating himself in the toughest job on earth? No sensible corporation or university, few governments of any importance, artificially require the banishing of talent and judgment that continue to have the confidence of the people.

Secondly, and more important, the 22d amendment is an artificial and dangerous interference with the basic principles of our constitutional system. That system assumes, on the national level, that Congress will reflect the great diversity of interests and attitudes among the people, even if it means risk of delay and even inaction. It assumes that the President, acting on some consensus, will serve as the integrating and energizing force in Government. This was the plan of the framers of the Constitution and the system has worked well. Virtually all political scientists and students of American political history agree that any attempt artificially to limit Presidential tenure is bound to weaken the great role that the framers planned for the President, and will undermine the system of mutual powers and checks on powers that is the genius of our system.

Although a Democrat, I hope that any attempt to repeal the 22d amendment will not exclude the incumbent, President Eisenhower. If his health and energy permit, there is no reason that he should not be eligible for a third term in 1960, or at any rate to place his selection before the American people.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES M. BURNS.

Today Marks 75th Anniversary of the Knights of Columbus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, today marks a great milestone in the outstanding history of the Knights of Columbus. Today, March 29, 1957, is the 75th anniversary of the granting of a charter by the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut officially starting the Knights of Columbus along the road to formidable accomplishments and a position of the highest respect and admiration based on its humanitarian philosophy and teachings.

I, personally, have been closely associated with the Knights of Columbus for a number of years in my capacity as a former district deputy of the 14th Pennsylvania district as well as master of the fourth degree Calvert province.

I, therefore, Mr. Speaker, speak from a position of experience when I state that the outstanding programs undertaken by the Knights of Columbus stem from a love of God and the love for the human being. At this point, Mr. Speaker, I would like to review the past history of the Knights of Columbus, which I am sure you will agree is an impressive one.

Throughout the 3,900 councils located in the United States, Canada, Cuba, Mexico, Panama, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, the more than 1 million members of the Knights of Columbus are

now engagd in special programs in commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the Knights of Columbus.

On March 29, 1882, the general assembly of the State of Connecticut granted a charter to a new organization—the Knights of Columbus. This charter represented the results of efforts initiated by the Rev. Michael J. McGivney, a young curate at St. Mary's Church in New Haven, Conn., and a small group of men associated with him who were concerned with the plight of the families of Catholic men who had died in the communuity leaving little or no protection for their widows or children. Thus, came into being a fraternal benefit society for Catholic men which from that small beginning soon spread throughout the State of Connecticut and then into Rhode Island, New York, Massachusetts and shortly thereafter into all of the Eastern States. The growth continued until the organization reached its record membership of over 1 million members during the past year. Today, the Knights of Columbus has in force $650 million insurance, has paid insurance benefits of $120 million, and during the calendar year 1956 showed a net increase of insurance in force of $88 million, a new annual record.

Shortly after the institution of the organization its primary purpose of providing insurance protection for Catholic families was expanded by activities sponsored by local, State and supreme councils in the fields of social welfare, aid to religion, patriotic endeavor, civic activities, aid to education and similar projects.

While the original founders did not envision or contemplate the tremendous expansion of the program of the order, it is interesting to note that in the charter granted by the State of Connecticut that after the first principle of "rendering pecuniary aid to its members and beneficiaries of members" there was included the provision of promoting social and intellectual intercourse among its members and of promoting and conducting educational, charitable, religious, social welfare, war relief and welfare and public relief work.

As a result of those provisions the Knights of Columbus has been able over the years to conduct such major projects as the establishment of graduate scholarships at the Catholic University of America, led the fight in the various Oregon and Michigan school cases resulting in Supreme Court decisions protecting the right of Catholic parents to educate their children in parochial schools, its outstanding work for the allied soldiers in World War I, the establishment of graduate courses for the training of professional boys' workers at the University of Notre Dame, the organization of youth-activity programs including a leisure-time program for Catholic boys of high-school age known as the Columbian Squires. These and hundreds of similar projects at the supreme-council level were supplemented by outstanding program work by State councils.

In more recent years the order established in 1944 a $1 million trust fund to provide a Catholic college education for sons and daughters of Knights of Columbus killed or permanently disabled in World War II. The benefits of this fund were further extended to the children of veterans killed or permanently disabled in the Korean war. It is interesting to note that long before the GI bill was ever dreamed of that the Knights of Columbus, following World War I, made available college scholarships to veterans of that war regardless of creed. Probably no single activity has attracted so much attention as has the Catholic advertising program organized on an orderwide level in 1948. Over 2,500,000 persons have written to the Knights of Columbus Religious Information Bureau asking for pamphlets explaining various points of Catholic teachings and over 250,000 persons have enrolled in religious instructions as a result of the advertisements published by the Knights of Columbus in magazines with a circulation of over 56 million persons and in hundreds of local newspapers where the advertisements have been sponsored by State and local councils. This program has drawn enthusiastic endorsement from members of the hierarchy, clergy, and from interested persons of many beliefs. In 1954 the basic program of the order was expanded to provide for youth-activity committees at the State and local council level. Presently, there are over 3,300 such committees in operation providing leadership, facilities, and services to youth on a positive basis, emphasizing the promotion of juvenile decency rather than the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

For centuries the scholars of Europe have great depositories of manuscripts relatively close at hand but such facilities were not readily available to American researchers and scholars. The Knights of Columbus in 1951 established the Knights of Columbus Foundation for the preservation of historic documents at the Vatican Library and the Pius XII Memorial Library is being erected at St. Louis University to house the microfilms of these documents. Already some 800,000 feet of film containing nearly 10 million handwritten pages of these historic documents have been prepared and are available to American scholars through the depository at St. Louis. The printed books at the Vatican Library are also being microfilmed.

At the request of Pope Benedict XV and extended under Pope Pius XI and Pope Pius XII the Knights of Columbus have provided and operated playgrounds in Rome serving the youth of that city for more than 30 years.

The tremendous accomplishments for country, church, community, and fellowman throughout these 75 years is due to the unselfish service of the volunteer leaders, committee workers, and members in the 3,900 councils of the order. Such service goes on year in and year out, in unspectacular fashion, and the total of the benefits rendered is beyond computation.

Demonstrations of the order's devotion to the welfare of the country are reflected in such projects as the sponsorship of the adding of the words "under God" to the pledge of allegiance, its record of militant opposition to atheistic communism long before such opposition was popular, its present organized campaign on behalf of the Hungarian refugees and against the invitation to Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia to vist the United States.

Operating under the principles of charity, unity, fraternity, and patriotism, the Knights of Columbus has achieved a most commendable record during the 75 years of its existence. Every Knight of Columbus everywhere is dedicated to the objective that these accomplishments will be but the cornerstone of a much expanded program for the future. Pleasant as it may be to reflect on the record of these 75 years the leaders and members of the Knights of Columbus are working forward and upward to new peaks of achievement.

How To Cut Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Henry Hazlitt is an outstanding economist. His weekly column that appears in Newsweek magazine entitled "Business Tides" is always interesting. His recent article entitled "How To Cut Spending" indicates his grasp of the present situation in which the country finds itself today. The article which appeared in the March 25 issue of Newsweek follows:

BUSINESS TIDES

(By Henry Hazlitt)

HOW TO CUT SPENDING

Nearly everyone, including the President, who proposed it, seems to agree that the $72 billion budget for the fiscal year 1958 should be drastically slashed. But when it comes to any specific spending program, some special interest is sure to cry out that it cannot be touched. The President himself gave an amusing illustration of this in his press conference of March 7. A friend out West had written to say he "was very much upset about the size of the budget," but in his last paragraph expressed the hope that there would be no cut in drought relief. Yet in this very conference Mr. Eisenhower, while he told how he was asking every Government agency and department to suggest cuts in its own spending, expressed grave concern about proposals to make any substantial cut in foreign aid.

The situation suggests that there is only one feasible political device to get substantial cuts in the 1958 budget. This is for Congress to tie every cut it makes in expenditures to a specific tax cut. Only in this way can Congress dramatize the connection between expenditures and taxes, and offset the special political interest in favor of an expenditure by the interest of taxpayers in favor of tax relief.

CUT FOREIGN AID

Let us take, as an example, the foreign-aid program. The public and Congress now express mounting doubts about the need or wisdom of that program. The recent Fairless report, certainly, does nothing to dispel

these doubts. It merely reiterates all the question-begging generalities that have passed for argument in the last 10 years. It mentions once in passing that about 2,000 separate foreign-aid projects are annually authorized in Washington, but makes no "detailed program examination" whatever. It does not even list the countries that are still receiving aid from us. (There are 54 of them, not including our dependencies.) Yet the program involves not merely appalling waste, but positive mischief.

Senator MIKE MANSFIELD has estimated that a $3 billion annual cut could be safely made in the sums that our Government has been spending abroad. It would seem advantageous to cut at least $3 billion out of the $4.4 billion that the President proposes to spend in the fiscal year 1958 for foreign military and economic aid. Out of appropriations left over from past years, the Government will have at least $3 billion to spend for foreign aid in 1958 even if Congress does not appropriate an extra penny. Congress, therefore, need make no appropriation at all for foreign aid for 1958. It can simply recommend that spending for this purpose be limited to $1.2 billion in 1958, and tie this recommendation up with a tax cut of $3.2 billion.

FIFTY PERCENT TAX CEILING

There are any number of places, of course, where such a tax cut could advantageously be made. I suggest, by way of illustration, a cut in the normal personal income tax from 20 to 18 percent, and a cut of all personal income-tax rates above 50 percent down to a 50 percent ceiling.

Roswell Magill, president of the Tax Foundation and a former Under Secretary of the Treasury, has declared: "If we could afford just one modest tax accomplishment in 1957, this 50 percent rate ceiling is the one which I should choose." He estimates that the revenue loss would be about $734 million, even without taking into account the probable increases in reported income as a result of the rate reduction itself. (The confiscatory tax rates up to 91 percent produce little revenue. The basic rate of 20 percent accounts for 85 percent of the total yield of the income tax.) Cutting income-tax rates to a maximum of 50 percent would bring a sharp increase in American production, investment, and the availability of risk capital for new enterprises.

A cut in the normal tax from a 20 percent to an 18 percent would mean an additional loss in revenue of about $2.4 billion; but it would also mean income-tax relief and increased incentives for everyone.

Any attempt to oppose or veto such a tax cut in order to maintain foreign-aid expenditures at their present level would bring home to the American people what foreign aid is really costing them. Other tax cuts could be tied to other spending cuts, with similar educational results.

"If I Were Ike" Contest Winners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. BROWNSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. BROWNSON. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I am having printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Indianapolis Times of Wednesday, March 27, in which the winners of that newspaper's "If I Were Ike" contest are announced and the winning letter printed. Elsewhere in the RECORD I intend to extend my remarks congratulating the editors and the winner for their direct and fearless approach to cutting the budget.

The article follows:

"IF I WERE IKE" CONTEST WINNERS

First prize, $50: Donald J. Bugbee, 6449 West Jackson, Indianapolis.

Second prize, $25: Fred C. McClurg, 215 East 9th, Rochester, Ind.

Third prize, $10: Mrs. Joan Bentz, box 162, Vernon, Ind.

WINNING LETTER

Donald J. Bugbee, winner of the Indianapolis Times' "If I Were Ike" contest, said the Government should get out of competition with private business.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *March 11, 1957.*

"IF I WERE IKE,"
Care of the Indianapolis Times,
Indianapolis, Ind.

To reduce the Federal budget, I would:

1. Recommend appropriations for only essential governmental functions which cannot be performed by the individual States.
2. Eliminate the unsound, costly matching-aid program.
3. Eliminate Federal participation in school and housing programs.
4. Curtail Federal health and welfare programs to essential aid to States in case of emergency.
5. Curtail foreign aid to that necessary for humanitarian reasons.
6. Consolidate Government department and bureau functions to avoid duplication and waste.
7. Sell Government installations that are in direct competition with private business.

DONALD J. BUGBEE.

WRITERS AGREE ON MANY POINTS

Entrants in the "If I Were Ike" contest sponsored by the Indianapolis Times to get ideas from Hoosiers as to how the current Federal budget could be trimmed, agreed on many points as to how it could be done.

Their major suggestions were:

1. Follow the recommendations of the Hoover Commission.
2. Cut foreign aid.
3. Get Government out of private enterprise.
4. Eliminate Federal grants to States.
5. Raise postal rates.

Other suggestions ranged from a national lottery to return of the 18th amendment.

And, interestingly, 50 percent of the hundreds of entries came from readers of the Times in the smaller communities outside Indianapolis.

Whether this indicates that the small town taxpayer is closer to the Federal problem, or at least more interested in it, or whether his big town neighbor in Indianapolis is too busy with local tax problems to worry about the national picture, is not known.

The editorial board which chose the winners found most of the entries to be thoughtfully composed and written with considerable attention to the necessity of impressing the Congress as well as the Eisenhower administration with the grassroots movement to stop wastage, plug leaks and demand improved performance of Federal employees.

Besides the items mentioned above, other suggestions included: Removal of the farm subsidy, eliminate social security, make a percentage cut across the boards in all agencies, sell the Tennessee Valley Authority, and freeze wages and taxes.

There also were many unusual suggestions. Among them:

Foreign aid: "Send help to help themselves. A plow and a horse with a cow, sow, two dozen hens, grain and seed would be the kind of start many Americans would appreciate" • • • "Send the missionaries to preach the gospel" • • • "Send arms to both Israel and Egypt and let them fight it out" • • • "Stop foreign aid now, let churches attend to charity abroad."

National lottery: "Declare horse racing a national sport with betting legal • • • Sell tickets through the post office, $1 each, give $200,000 in prizes, tax free, every month."

Also:

"Get rid of the deadheads • • • put them on direct relief until they muster sufficient decency to start earning an honest living • • • Cut my (Ike's) salary half or at least one-third and go from there to Congress and the Senate and cut their's about the same."

"Cut atomic research on explosives. World peace should be stressed before we blow up the world."

Others had personal advice for President Eisenhower, including elimination of the helicopter he uses at times and also his airplane • • • "A 'for rent' sign on the White House," "Keep Nixon and Dulles at home." "Go fishing for 2 or 3 weeks and let the Congressmen settle it." "Resign."

One writer concluded: "I certainly thank God that I am not Ike," and another remarked, "I feel better now since I got it off my chest, to tell someone else instead of my friends."

Still another exceeded the 100-word limit and then added, "Whoever heard of solving anything as big as the United States Government in 100 words or less?"

In any event, most who entered the contest apparently enjoyed "getting it off their chest." And they'll be glad to know that the summary of their recommendations is going to the White House secretariat as a "grassroots" indication of what Midwesterners, particularly Hoosiers, are thinking about budget trimming and the administration in general.

Needs of Schools of Public Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, recently Congressman NEAL and I had an opportunity to participate on behalf of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in the annual meeting of the Association of Schools of Public Health held in San Juan, Puerto Rico. At this meeting were represented the deans of all of the schools of public health in the United States. As a result of the discussions which Congressman NEAL and I had during this meeting, we told the deans of the schools of public health that we would be glad to give sympathetic consideration to sponsoring legislation to support the operations of the schools of public health if the schools will submit an appropriate plan for operational assistance.

Congressman NEAL and I have summarized our views in the following letter to Congressman OREN HARRIS, chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, and also to Congressman JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, chairman of the Subcommittee on Health and Science of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce:

MARCH 6, 1957.

Hon. OREN HARRIS,
Chairman, Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Congressman NEAL and I greatly appreciated the opportunity to participate, on behalf of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, in the meeting of the Association of Schools of Public Health in San Juan, P. R., on February 20 and 21. At this meeting were represented the deans or directors of all of the schools of public health in the United States, including Puerto Rico. There were also present representatives of schools of public health from several South American countries.

We would like to report to you briefly on our meeting with the deans of the 11 schools of public health.

Of the 11 schools, 5 are publicly owned and supported (University of California, Berkeley; University of Michigan; University of Minnesota; University of North Carolina; and University of Puerto Rico). Six of the schools are private nonprofit institutions (Columbia, Harvard, Johns-Hopkins, Pittsburgh, Tulane, and Yale Universities).

Together, they have this year 1,152 graduate students and 536 undergraduate students. The largest single group among the graduate group consists of physicians. The undergraduate students are mostly public-health nurses.

It should be noted that of the 1,152 graduate students, almost 300 came from 65 foreign countries. It should further be noted that in the State-supported schools of public health, more than two-thirds of the graduate students attending these schools came from other States or from foreign countries.

The fact that a large percentage of the student body of schools of public health consists of out-of-State and foreign students makes it difficult for the publicly owned schools of public health to secure larger operating funds from their State legislatures. There is a natural resistance to spending tax money for the benefit of students coming from other States or from foreign countries.

Another factor which plays an important part in the financial structure of public-health schools is the fact that almost the entire student body upon graduation finds employment in public service, and for that reason schools of public health can count only on relatively slim financial support from alumni.

In discharging its responsibilities in the field of public health, the Federal Government relies to a considerable extent on the teaching and research activities of the schools of public health, and it, therefore, has a direct interest in the adequate functioning of these schools. Finally, the large numbers of foreign students who attend schools of public health in the United States make these schools important centers for our international health programs which are an integral part of our foreign policy.

The legislation which was pending before this committee during the 84th Congress provided for matching grants for the construction of facilities for medical and dental schools and schools of public health. The schools of public health have pointed out that beyond their needs for additional facilities, they are also in need of funds for the operation of their schools.

Congressman NEAL and I told the deans of the schools of public health that we would be glad to give sympathetic consideration to sponsoring legislation to support the operation of schools of public health if the schools will submit an appropriate plan for operational assistance.

May I express again on behalf of Congressman NEAL and myself our appreciation for the opportunity to learn at first hand about the problems of schools of public health. We believe these schools are playing an important role in promoting the health and welfare of our people and of foreign nations, and that, therefore, their problems are worthy of careful study by this committee and its Subcommittee on Health and Science.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE M. RHODES,
Member of Congress.

Let's Hear About His Own Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD a splendid editorial from the Progress-Index, of Petersburg, Va., which appeared on Wednesday of this week, in connection with the current discussion regarding our schools.

I wish to congratulate the editor of this paper, Mr. Edward A. Wyatt IV, for his pertinent comments on what I believe to be one of the most important matters ever to face our people. His editorial speaks for itself in calling attention to the questions which have been raised in recent days relative to the approach which Virginia should take with regard to the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954.

Ever since the Supreme Court decision was issued in 1954, Mr. Wyatt has dealt with the various aspects of this as intelligently and forthrightly as anyone I know, and for this reason I commend the reading of his editorial to the Members of the House.

The editorial follows:

LET'S HEAR ABOUT HIS OWN PROGRAM

As an individual and as a political leader, State Senator Ted Dalton has every right to oppose Virginia's plan of massive resistance to the Supreme Court's ruling striking down segregation in the public schools. He has a right to criticize Senator Byrd, Governor Stanley, and the many others who have helped to bring into being the program which is described as massive resistance. Furthermore, if he chooses to spell out his own views on the situation and to become the Republican candidate for the governorship, he can erect a standard to which those who agree with him may repair.

His recent comments, however, do not meet the requirements of either disinterested criticism or a program offered for the sake of political leadership.

Senator Dalton sees no good in the legislation which has been enacted, for he does not regard it as an intelligent or effective approach to the problem. He predicts that it will not succeed in accomplishing its purpose, although we are only now on the verge of the testing. While he criticizes the Supreme Court decision and expresses hope that the white schools will be kept white, he reserves his greatest concern for the danger of schools being closed. We infer from his observations that, although he prefers segregated schools, he would accept integrated schools rather than see any schools closed.

He is entitled to these views and to his belief that the majority of Virginians agree with him. We doubt the accuracy of his appraisal, although no one knows how Virginians would react in a showdown. Even a critic of the Virginia plan should concede that, with its complex provisions, it is designed to delay as long as possible a choice between integrated schools and no schools.

The weakness in Senator Dalton's criticism is that he does not disclose his own program. His legislative record indicates that he would rely solely upon the pupil-assignment plan, although it would permit some of the desegregation to which he says he objects.

He has an obligation to make both his criticism and his own plan more specific. General criticism has been commonplace, for the tendency of many has been to point out the weaknesses in measures under consideration, without setting forth alternatives.

Senator Dalton is too able a man, and the hour is too late, for this sort of thing.

Breakdown of the Postal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I have been receiving a great number of letters and complaints from postal patrons in the Calumet industrial area of Indiana, protesting the breakdown of the postal service.

This morning I received a letter from Allan F. O'Rourke of the O'Rourke Insurance Agency, Hammond, Ind., and I quote from his letter:

The postal service in Hammond has reached an alltime low.

He further stated that American Legion Post, No. 16, of which he is adjutant, passed a resolution protesting the failure of mail to reach its members. Sometimes the delay extends over several days and in some instances, several weeks.

Inadequate postal salaries is the prime cause for lack of qualified postal workers. The cost of living in the Chicago area has gone up 7 times in the last 12 months, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

I wish to incorporate with my remarks an article from the Hammond Times of March 24, 1957, setting out the postal situation in the Hammond, Ind., area:

LURE OF INDUSTRY ATTRACTS MAILMEN—REGION POST OFFICES HAVE BIG TURNOVERS

(By Ben Weiss)

The lure of wages in industry has created a 10 to 20 percent employee turnover in Calumet region post offices.

Postmasters in six area communities concur that differences between the wages of post-office clerks and carriers and their equals in factories are causing many to forsake their postal jobs for factory work and are deterring many others from seeking the civil-service positions.

The last general wage increase for postal employees was a 6 percent hike on March 1, 1955. This meant $244 a year more for top men. In December of that year an adjustment brought another raise—ranging from $1 to $100 a year—for the workers.

"We have a turnover of 10 percent a month and everything comes right back to money," commented Donald Clark, Hammond postmaster.

"Most of the men we have also have outside jobs or else their wives working. This business has given us substandard help and the service is not up to par."

The beginning wage for a postal clerk or carrier is $1.82 an hour with a 6-cent raise to $1.88 after 1 year of service.

In comparison the starting wage for a laborer at Standard Oil Co. Whiting refinery is $2.16 an hour with a 14-cent raise to $2.30 after 6 months.

After 25 years of service, with longevity increments, a postal worker makes $2.26 an hour, 4 cents an hour less than the 6-month refinery worker.

"We've had quite a turnover the last 2 or 3 years," noted Levern Fortin, Whiting postmaster. "We have a lot of trouble breaking in new help all the time. Several of our employees—even regulars—have gone to Standard Oil. The work there isn't near as trying."

Assistant Postmaster M. J. Stankovich of East Chicago added, "We had about 20 percent turnover for 1956. The largest reason is industry. The men don't look for the retirement system and fringe benefits. They look for what they can get their fingers on today.

"As far as a full complement, we're about five clerks and carriers short all together right now. We have a couple of retirements coming up at the end of March and that's going to hurt.

"We have four career employees on civil service and the rest are all temporary. The regular employees get no overtime except in an emergency or at Christmas. And there are not very many emergencies."

After 15 years service, a postal employee receives $2.12 an hour. In comparison, the average pay at Lever Bros., after a recent wage increase, is $2.33 an hour.

Calumet City Postmaster Charles Smith reported: "We have trouble both getting and keeping help. For the size of the office, the turnover is big. I know it's too many.

"We have to combat with the situation if higher wages paid for shorter periods of time like in the construction industry.

"A good number of applicants don't all prove out. Then some get other jobs before their applications are considered.

"We pay overtime only in an emergency. Other times the regular, career men can work only 40 hours a week. A substitute employee can work more hours but only at straight time pay, not time and one-half.

"It's definitely true some of the men aren't taking the civil-service exams because they can make more as temporary employees. We've had regular career men who wanted to get off of civil service because they could make more money as temporaries."

Lansing Postmaster William Erfert said, "We've had men with 14 and 15 years of experience quit. Something's wrong. Industry's after them because a good worker can get a job anywhere.

"On several routes we use some men as substitutes on their days off in industry. If we expand, then we'll have trouble finding help.

"We're in for a big building project with a new disposal plant and more sewage being built."

"We're always having trouble getting carriers," added Mrs. July Disks, assistant postmaster at Griffith. "We're breaking in a new one right now. We just put on a new route and changed some around.

"Most of the time we get kids fresh out of high school and they're not too dependable because they don't realize responsibility like an older man does. Our men always have to have some other income to make ends meet."

"The Hammond postmaster explained, "When we talk of fringe benefits they really aren't because they are deducted from our pay. We pay 6½ percent of our wages for benefits."

He added that the earned vacation and sick-leave pay for postal workers is 15 and 13 days per year respectively. Workers also get $100 per year longevity pay after 13 years; another $100 for 18 years and a third and final $100 for 25 years.

In comparison, a recent agreement at American Maize-Products Co. included 104 hours vacation pay a year after 5 years; 124 hours after 10 years; 140 hours after 15 years; and 176 hours after 25 years.

The agreement also includes an average hourly wage of $2.17, accident and sickness payment increases, a choice of two life-insurance plans, and a new pension with a minimum pension of $120 a month after 15 to 25 years of service.

Clark noted that the civil service examination, with applications now being accepted until April 29, has been declared an "open exam."

Previously, he explained, only residents of Hammond could apply for the exam for jobs in Hammond. Now, he continued, anyone in the area can apply.

Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield last week appealed to Congress for a raise in postal rates and elimination of what he termed a "staggering" postal deficit.

He noted the Department's deficit since 1945 has totaled $5 billion and added that such a sum could provide anti-polio vaccine for every man, woman, and child on the face of the earth.

Summerfield urged prompt passage of an administration measure to bring in an extra $527 million a year by hiking regular letter mail from 3 to 4 cents and making other rate changes.

Erfert said that post office employees are now "two raises behind" since 1947 and estimated the salaries should have been hiked by $800 or $900 a year since that time.

The postmasters voiced little hope that their problems could be eased with hiring of women to carry the mails.

Clark, whose office has the only woman carrier in the area—Mrs. Gladys Herberg, of Sheffield Trailer Court, who handles the Sheffield Avenue route—said he had five women come in prior to their making applications for the posts recently and only one of them showed possibilities of standing up under the load.

That one, he noted, was given a trial with Mrs. Herberg and gave up because "her feet couldn't take it" after 2 days, even using a mail cart.

The Hammond postmaster hastily added, however, that there is no prejudice against women in the civil service applications and exams for the jobs and any woman who wants to try is eligible to become a route carrier.

Mrs. Herberg, he explained, has handled her route, with a home-made two-wheel carrier, since 1951 after taking on the delivery job during World War II when there were a few other woman carriers in the area.

Dolefully fingering a desk plaque saying "Ulcer department," Clark concluded, "We could have more regulars if they'd stay around long enough.

"Too many don't want to become regulars because it actually means a cut in pay for them."

What's Wrong With Economy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared as the lead editorial in the Cleveland Press, and I should like to call it to the attention of my colleagues:

WHAT'S WRONG WITH ECONOMY?

President Eisenhower was unnecessarily defensive about the budget at his press conference yesterday.

No one, he said, has urged cutting the Armed Forces by "20 percent or 10 percent or any other thing that would give us a significant saving in the budget."

That's right. No one has. But national security, including foreign aid, adds up to $45 billion in the budget and less than a fourth of that is payroll for the Armed Forces.

The President strongly defended expenditures for foreign aid, but admitted some savings might be made. He referred to services—such as carrying the mail—which the Government renders at less than cost.

"If we could get these things on a business basis," he said, "and tackle the problem where the money is going out, we would save a whole lot."

But there was an apparent touch of irony when it said that "it is a great satisfaction to me to find out there are so many economy-minded people in Washington. They didn't used to be here."

This shift in sentiment should be welcomed by an administration elected on an economy platform—an administration which cut $10 billion out of a budget prepared by its predecessor.

The President admitted that "you can save some money here and there and I am all for it to the last dollar." That sounds more like Ike and that's the main thing that most people ask. Some money here and some money there could amount to a large saving in a $71,800,000,000 budget.

National Mutual Savings Banks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the Journal of Commerce of March 15, 1957, written by its editor, Ed Tyng:

MUTUAL SAVINGS BANKS FAVOR UNITED STATES CHARTER MOVE

(By Ed Tyng)

The Nation's mutual savings banks are displaying increasing interest and approval of proposals in Congress aimed at granting Federal charters to mutual savings banks. They favor the idea, not because they intend to shift immediately to a national form of incorporation, but because they want to have available a Federal umbrella.

Should the savings banks, in their current drive for wider branch powers in New York, meet again with failure to achieve what they are seeking, it is probable that much more support will be gained for Federal charters. Should there be at some later date a rush to nationalize, there would be a corresponding loss to State banking jurisdiction.

BILL NOW PENDING IN CONGRESS

Pending in Congress now is a bill introduced by Representative ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of Brooklyn, a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, called the National Mutual Savings Bank Act of 1957. This would give the Comptroller of the Currency power to provide for the organization, incorporation, examination, operation, and

regulation of mutual savings banks, and to charter them.

Important in the Multer bill is a clause which says that any such nationally chartered savings bank may operate one or more branches as the Comptroller may prescribe, subject to State limits.

UMBRELLA IDEA IMPORTANT

But there is a proviso that State restrictions shall not be applied in such a manner as to give savings banks lesser rights and privileges than other State financial institutions enjoy. In New York State savings banks do not enjoy the branching powers of State chartered commercial banks.

Leading savings bankers questioned by the Journal of Commerce point out that the "umbrella" idea is important. Commercial banks can shift to national bank charters; savings and loan associations can move from State to Federal charter status and even credit unions can federalize.

Unlike these other segments of the banking business, savings banks have no Federal shelter, no possible national status and therefore enjoy none of the benefits of bargaining that are inherent in optional Federal incorporation.

They feel that an alternative of Federal incorporation would make their voice more powerful in asking for changes in State restrictions.

They are marshalling in their support some important realty interests who look upon savings banks as a source of mortgage money.

Last week, for instance, the Real Estate Industry Committee for the Savings Banks, which has been giving "friend-of-court" services to the savings banks in their branch fight, came out with a statement that if the New York savings banks didn't get at least part of what they are asking in the way of equal rights on branches, they would apply for Federal charters under proposed legislation.

The real estate group also noted that, if savings banks got Federal charters, more savings bank money would be invested out-of-State and real estate interests in New York would lose some of the potential funds now available to them.

PROVISION FOR CONVERSION

Also contained in the Multer bill is a provision for conversion of savings and loan associations into savings banks. Such a switch would result in the conversion of large numbers of persons who own proprietary rights in savings and loan associations into creditor positions in savings banks.

Both savings bankers and savings and loan executives feel that not much would come from this section of Mr. MULTER'S bill. A leading savings and loan executive said the boot should be on the other foot: savings banks should be converted into savings and loan associations. The savings bankers are cool to any such idea.

Mutual savings banks, with their $32½ billion of assets and over $29 billion of deposits, exist only in 17 States and there are only 527 such banks in the Nation. This lack of full national distribution at times in the past has given savings bankers a slight inferiority complex and any national legislation that would provide for the spread of their business into the non-mutual savings bank States would give them satisfaction, whether the spread came through branching by older institutions or through formation of new savings banks.

SPECIAL INDUCEMENT NEEDED

The fact is that the provisions for brand-new savings banks contained in the Multer bill are apparently unworkable in this age of high taxes which discourage the activities of philanthropic angels who were the founders of most of the mutual savings banks existing today.

To get somebody or some group to put up the required surplus fund for a new mutual savings bank would require some special inducement or some exemption from existing law, particularly some exemption from taxes for a period of years. Mr. MULTER has been giving thought to that aspect too, but as yet has not come up with any new ideas. He says he will welcome any suggestions.

Support of Secretary of Labor Mitchell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, while I most certainly agree that economy in Government is an important responsibility facing this Congress—particularly in view of our vast and vital commitments around the world and the need for maintaining a strong national security—I strongly believe that some of the appropriations cuts voted for this week in the Department of Labor budget have been, as President Eisenhower stated, "fatuous and foolish."

I have the greatest respect for our Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell. I believe he is one of the greatest Secretaries of Labor our Nation has ever had, and I think it is important to recall that both labor and management, recognizing his outstanding abilities, were overjoyed this year when he agreed to stay in his job rather than accept an important post in industry.

During his years in office, Secretary Mitchell has done much to bring about a sounder relationship between labor and management; he has shown a sincere concern for, and understanding of, the problems of both important segments of our national life. He has administered his department with high efficiency and integrity.

I am proud to claim Secretary Mitchell as a resident of my Sixth Congressional District of New Jersey; I am proud to be able to say here that I have, during these past few days, firmly sustained his recommendations against certain budget cuts.

I did so—even when a coalition of Republicans and Democrats took an opposite stand—because I was convinced these recommendations were sound. I did so because I shared with Secretary Mitchell a conviction that certain of these appropriations cuts would seriously cripple essential services and programs. I did so in the knowledge that the Department of Labor was created to safeguard the welfare of the working men and women of America; that it serves more of our people than any other governmental department.

I regret that more Members of the House did not share these convictions, for I believe we have, in some instances, been guilty of unwise and unjust acts in the name of false economy; that we have effected certain cuts which can only impair and cripple essential services to our people.

Sertoma Club of Washington, D. C., Presents Significant Service to Mankind Award to Maj. Gen. U. S. Grant III, United States Army, Retired—Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Presents Another Significant Award by the Club to Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present the brief text relating to a very significant presentation by the Sertoma Club of Washington, D. C., to a distinguished United States citizen; to wit, Maj. Gen. U. S. Grant III, United States Army, retired.

Every Member of this great legislative body will be pleased and interested to know that our distinguished Member—to wit, Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, of Massachusetts—is an honorary member of the Sertoma Club of Washington, D. C., and was personally present on the occasion. Also our distinguished colleague played a very important part on that significant occasion by presenting to Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker the American way award on behalf of the Sertoma Club of Washington. And upon receiving said distinction, the Honorable Secretary of the Army, and former Governor of Michigan, made a very inspiring and informative address to the members and their ladies present.

It is my pleasure, Mr. Speaker, to be a member of the Sertoma Club, of Compton, Calif., in the great 23d Congressional District, which I represent this my 11th year in this great legislative body:

SERTOMA CLUB OF WASHINGTON PRESENTATION OF SERVICE TO MANKIND AWARD TO MAJ. GEN. U. S. GRANT III, UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED, AT THIRD ANNIVERSARY BANQUET, JANUARY 25, 1957, AT NATIONAL PRESS CLUB BALLROOM

(Remarks by Edward R. Place, Sertoma Club charter president)

Sertoma derives its name from its motto, "Service to mankind," which motivates Sertomans everywhere in the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

Sertoma clubs traditionally recognize outstanding and unselfish achievements and acts by public officials and ordinary citizens in all walks of life that benefit their fellowmen. The service to mankind plaque is a symbol of this recognition.

Our club in its lifetime has presented five such trophies.

Our first presentation took place in 1954 in a Christmas setting at the Pageant of Peace. District Commissioner and Sertoman Renah Camalier made the presentation to Police Chief Murray and Deputy Police Chief Covell for effective police work reducing crime in the District of Columbia.

In this ballroom at our 1955 banquet, Sertoma's international president, Dr. John M. Fernald, of Los Angeles, presented a similar trophy to our Children's Hospital for notable

success in combatting polio. Renah Camalier received the same award at a testimonial dinner at the Mayflower Hotel in June 1955, following his retirement as District of Columbia Commissioner. He made the presentation to the Salvation Army at our 1956 banquet at Kenwood Country Club.

Our fourth service to mankind presentation took place last March amidst military pomp and ceremony on the Fort George G. Meade parade grounds. Our club president, Comdr. Raymond Leavitt, bestowed the plaque "for assistance to victims of the Pennsylvania train wreck at Odenton, Md., on February 23, 1956." Col. Julian Lindsey, post commander, accepted the award on behalf of Fort Meade personunel.

This year the Sertoma Club has selected a distinguished Sertoman who has devoted his life to military and public service, Maj. Gen. U. S. Grant III, United States Army, Retired. General Grant was inducted into Sertoma membership on April 6, 1954, at the University Club. It was my privilege to sponsor him and to conduct the induction ceremony.

At the time, Sertomans were proudly aware of his leadership in many enterprises—president of the American Planning and Civic Association, president of the Columbia Historical Society, president of Government Services, Inc., and commander of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States.

General Grant had had a leading role in the annual Lincoln Day observance at Lincoln Memorial and in rites honoring L'Enfant. Our club has had an active part in these events.

More recently, General Grant has been engaged in a great crusade to strengthen national unity through creation of a great national shrine of American ancestry at the base of the Statue of Liberty.

This shrine is the American Museum of Immigration.

General Grant is the president and chairman of the board of trustees of the American Museum of Immigration.

In the words of President Dwight D. Eisenhower: "The establishment of the American Museum of Immigration at the foot of the Statue of Liberty is an event of genuine significance. This is a nation of nations. Our forefathers came here from all the countries of the world, and from our variety of ancestries has grown an unimagined national vigor. United as one people, we have created new freedom and new opportunity for all. There is no story like it in history, and the idea of telling it at the foot of the Statue of Liberty is a spendid one. I know that millions of Americans will join with me in commending the establishment of this great national shrine."

The museum will be a freewill offering of the American people, giving individually as free and patriotic citizens.

To the world, the museum will tell the story of how in America, people of different national backgrounds can and do live together in peace and accord.

Mobilization of the American people for this project will create an operation unity, which will inspire us here at home and enhance our prestige abroad.

The American Museum of Immigration dramatizes the building of America by people of all countries, creeds, colors, and cultures. It will stand in the years to come as a monument to General Grant's dedication of himself to public service for the betterment of all our citizens and the enrichment of our national heritage.

It is therefore my high privilege and pleasure on behalf of the Sertoma Club of Washington and its awards committee, under the chairmanship of Henry T. Parrett, to present our esteemed Sertoman, General Grant, with this Service to Mankind plaque, fittingly inscribed: "For civic and patriotic devotion."

Address of His Excellency, Señor Dr. Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Nicaragua, at the Banquet in Memphis, Tenn., in Honor of the Latin American Ambassadors, February 28, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following:

ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY, SEÑOR DR. GUILLERMO SEVILLA-SACASA, AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA, AT THE BANQUET IN MEMPHIS, TENN., IN HONOR OF THE LATIN AMERICAN AMBASSADORS, FEBRUARY 28, 1957

Mr. Governor of the State of Tennessee, Mr. Mayor of the city of Memphis, members of the Cordell Hull Foundation, members of the entertainment committee, ladies and gentlemen, when I arrived this morning at the Memphis airport, I had the welcome opportunity to say that my colleagues from Latin America, their wives, and I were greatly pleased at being able to visit the flourishing State of Tennessee, thanks to the kind invitation extended to us by your illustrious Governor, the Honorable Frank C. Clement, to attend the ceremonies sponsored by the Cordell Hull Foundation in honor of the memory of the outstanding statesman who is the pride of Tennessee and the genuine archetype of continental citizen.

We are absolutely sure that in Tennessee we would be received with open arms, with the kindness and courtesy that are characteristics of the sons of this privileged region of the United States of America, in which the Almighty arranged to install a great laboratory with the resources that well out of this fertile soil; where sparks flash in the eyes of its enchanting women; and where the talent of its men bursts out in wit.

Everything in Tennessee awakens wonder: the culture of its generous and hospitable people; the treasure locked in its majestic rivers; its superb mountains, and its magnificent fields and meadows; the work that its leaders have done to make these cities true emporia of wealth; and, above all, the climate of concord and spiritual peace that Tennessee offers to visitors.

We have come from different but friendly sister nations, good neighbors and good partners, whose peoples cherish sentiments of sincere admiration for the great Nation of North America; peoples devotedly loyal to the cause that the democracies are upholding; peoples that enjoy giving more than asking; peoples that are upright and honorable and have the courage that gives its men the imprint of their noble forefathers; decided peoples, resolved to join their common destinies, who do not create dangerous international problems for the United States; peoples whose economic potentiality is simply immense, who produce many things that the United States consumes, and who consume many things that the United States produces; and who have set up with this great Nation of Washington and Jefferson a juridical system for peace that is a model for the world.

We who are now your grateful guests represent those sister nations and bring an affectionate message from our republics, which finds expression in sympathy toward your glorious Nation, your State, and your beloved city of Memphis, as immaculate as its skies, whose name alone transports us to that famous Egyptian city that shone in past centuries, but that did not have your mountain, or your rivers, or your valley, which is a sea of wealth, and much less your beautiful women. It has been said, and truly said, that here in Memphis "all the women are ladies, and all the ladies are beautiful."

In every Latin heart, above the inconfessable struggles of egoism, there is an unconscious aspiration for unity; unity of our destinies; unity of our ideals; unity of our laws.

There is a sentiment that grows and grows and takes on added stature with experience and catastrophies.

It is the sentiment of cohesion; it is the esprit de corps of Latin American brotherhood; it is the awareness of the soul of our race, which is our ultimate bulwark, as it is our greatest hope.

For that reason, when we are brought together as we have been today, it is for us not just a ceremony, but a great moment of delightful cordiality.

Good-will visits like the one we are making to Tennessee are in themselves important, for they offer the opportunity for us, men of Latin America, to know you better, and for you, as we talk together, to become aware that your true friends are scattered throughout the Americas that stretch south from the Rio Grande, that we are men who know how to be loyal to the friendship that is offered to us and who never ask for recompense, except perhaps that which takes the form of the consideration and the respect that those who are friends merit from one another.

It is obviously urgent that we know one another better. Unfortunately, the news that is sent from there and published here mentions, as a general thing, only the less agreeable things about our countries, to the extremes that many think, and with reason, that we live from revolution to revolution, expecting political cataclysms, concerned over the stability of our governments, as if the cultured people of the United States were interested only in such matters.

Very seldom does the press comment favorably on the economic possibilities of our countries, which are truly extraordinary; the advantageous geographic location of our republics, bathed as they are by two mighty oceans; the natural wealth of their vast lands; the very propitious opportunities that our countries offer for United States trade and industry.

They never comment on the guaranties that insure a favorable climate for the capitalists of this country to make investments; nor the growing interest that is evident in Latin America in knowing this Nation better; nor the desire that has become an obsession, that our young people and professional men and women be enabled to study in your excellent universities; nor the aspiration that you too will travel south of the United States so that you may realize that we are friendly and cultured nations, with a fascinating history, emblazoned with glorious epics; nations of heroes, as you are, that pray to the same God who directs the destinies of the universe.

In America, nature has happily outlined our geographical proximity; human understanding made us friends; and our common destiny has encouraged us to foster a most promising brotherhood, because we have faith in the future of our hemisphere and we cherish in any and all circumstances our unfailing devotion to the ideals of the men of America.

When the tribunal of the future makes a conscientious analysis of the still unwritten annals of our productive America, it will find that unfailingly, in every generation, the greatest efforts have been made to increase our mutual understanding; that we have eagerly sought means of reducing inter-

national tension; that we have been united in the face of threats and dangers; and that we have persisted without flagging in the search for legitimate solutions that were inspired in the noble sentiments of our forefathers, in order to make America a living example of what mankind can be.

Many decades of untiring labor went into the building of the regional system which today is recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, thanks to the able participation of the Plenipotentiaries of America at the San Francisco Conference.

Before pan-Americanism had a written constitution, we had achieved the acceptance of transcendental postulates that marked the rhythm of international relations in our America. Many of those postulates are inseparably connected with the activities of a beloved son of Tennessee, an eminent citizen of this great Nation, to which he rendered outstanding services not only in arms, as captain of the 45th Regiment of Tennessee, in the Spanish-American War, but in the fields of law, politics, and diplomacy.

I refer, of course, to Cordell Hull, the noble inspiration of the good neighbor policy; the leader of the principles of nonintervention, proclaimed at the Montevideo Conference; the Father of the United Nations, not only because he was the principal mentor of the Declaration of January 1, 1942, in which 26 nations agreed to use all their resources against Nazi-Fascism and reiterated their adherence to the principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter, but because he succeeded in getting the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of China, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union to accept and recognize, in the Declaration of Moscow on October 30, 1943, the necessity of creating, as essential for the preservation of international peace and security, an organization based on the principles of the sovereign equality of states.

With his death, the United States lost one of its finest sons, and Latin America a noble friend.

For that reason, when we find ourselves in Tennessee, not very far from the place where he was born, we are naturally swept by emotion.

On this pleasant occasion we congratulate the distinguished gentleman, headed by Governor Clement, maintain and encourage the Cordell Hull Foundation, whose principal purpose is to have students from Latin America come to be educated and learn in the renowned cultural centers of this country.

We applaud also International House, in New Orleans, which is administering in so exemplary a manner the Cordell Hull Foundation.

Those of us who had the honor of attending the commemorative ceremonies that took place in Panama City in July 1956, in tribute to the Liberator Simón Bolivar and the Amphictyonic Congress of 1826—a memorable year for all Americans and especially for Memphis—were greatly pleased to hear the President of the United States of America, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, put forward officially the idea that the Presidents of the American Republics should designate a special representative to "join in preparing for us concrete recommendations for making our Organization of American States a more effective instrument in those fields of cooperative effort that affect the welfare of our peoples."

The Inter-American Committee of Presidential Representatives have already held two important meetings in Washington, and they will hold a third and final meeting beginning on April 29 next, under the able chairmanship of the distinguished statesman Dr. Milton Eisenhower.

Our Chief Executive, our peoples, and we their representatives sincerely believe that this Committee, created at the noble suggestion of President Eisenhower, will bring forth results that will benefit our sister republics.

And just as at the recent Caracas Conference—where we adopted concrete measures to combat the infiltration of international communism in America—we came away convinced of the solidarity of our peoples, a solidarity based on the most fraternal relations and on interdependence and mutual respect, which are genuine contributions of the thinking of the men of America, we believe that the Committee of Presidential Representatives has opened a chapter of well-founded hopes in the annals of our America.

Full of those hopes, we have come to Tennessee, to enjoy your traditional hospitality, to admire your countryside and the various expressions of your extraordinary progress, to lay before you the affectionate message from our Republics, and to tell you that we want to return soon to this flourishing port of Memphis, for our hearts will surely show us the road leading to this paradise of marvels, whose destiny lies in the hands of your able Governor Frank C. Clement.

We thank you especially for the presence of so many distinguished ladies of Tennessee, with whom our wives have spent such pleasant hours. To all of them we pay the tribute of our respectful admiration, and to you, our dear friends of Tennessee, we offer our hands under the welcoming sight of our unfurled flags. Many thanks.

Resolution Favoring Holding Pan-American Games in Cleveland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution urging the Senators from Ohio and the Members of the House of Representatives representing the Greater Cleveland area to give their utmost support and effort to make possible the holding of the pan-American games in the city of Cleveland:

RESOLUTION NO. 648–57

Whereas the people of Cleveland have manifested their complete support for the pan-American games which have been scheduled to be held in this community in 1958; and

Whereas it has been said that the pan-American games would afford a singular opportunity for the United States to further cement the deep bonds of friendship with our sister nations in South America and Latin America; and

Whereas only the concerted effort of the United States Government, the State of Ohio, and the city of Cleveland can assure the success of this vital sports conference which will bring together the youth of the various nations representing the pan-American conference; and

Whereas this resolution constitutes an emergency measure in that the same provides for the usual daily operation of a municipal department: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Council of the City of Cleveland:

SECTION 1. That the Senators from Ohio and the Members of the House of Representatives representing the Greater Cleveland area be, and the same hereby are, urged to give their utmost support and efforts to make possible the holding of the pan-American games in the city of Cleveland.

SEC. 2. That the clerk of council be, and he hereby is, requested to transmit copies of this resolution to Senators JOHN J. BRICKER, FRANK J. LAUSCHE, and Congressman FRANCES P. BOLTON, MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, WILLIAM E. MINSHALL, and CHARLES A. VANIK.

SEC. 3. That this resolution is hereby declared to be an emergency measure, and, provided it receives the affirmative vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to council, it shall take effect and be in force immediately upon its adoption and approval by the mayor; otherwise it shall take effect and be in force from and after the earliest period allowed by law.

Adopted March 11, 1957.

JACK P. RUSSELL,
President of Council.
THAD FUSCO,
Clerk of Council.

Approved by mayor:

ANTHONY J. CELEBREZZE.

MARCH 13, 1957.

Resolutions of the New York Board of Rabbis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following resolutions which were adopted at the annual meeting of the New York Board of Rabbis, held on January 30, 1957.

These resolutions are of special significance because the board is one of the oldest rabbinical associations in the United States and is composed of orthodox, conservative, and reform rabbis:

ANNUAL MEETING RESOLUTIONS

(The following resolutions were adopted January 30, 1957, at the annual meeting of the New York Board of Rabbis:)

Inspired by the ideal of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and moved to apply the great teachings of our Torah concretely to the social problems of our day, the New York Board of Rabbis prayerfully offers the following resolutions:

I. WORLD AFFAIRS

1. Hungarian resistance

The New York Board of Rabbis, seeing in communism the antithesis of the Jewish ideal of freedom and man's inviolable dignity, solemnly invokes the blessing of God upon those who in Hungary are resisting Soviet tyranny. We find in their heroic existence proof that tyranny cannot long endure and that the Soviet system is not invincible. We, therefore, respectfully urge that, in the light of these developments, the foreign policy of our Government be infused with renewed faith in the vitality of the democratic ideal and its ability to commend itself to the minds and hearts of all peoples in the war of ideas. We respectfully urge that our Government continue to assist the underprivileged and underdeveloped countries of the world that their democratic leaders be successful in resisting the blandishments of world communism. We ask that our Government wage an unceasing campaign in the United Nations and through diplomatic

channels to acquaint the nations of the world with the truth about Hungary.

2. Refugees

The New York Board of Rabbis applauds the hospitality extended to Hungarian refugees under the parolee system, and urges that all refugees from tyranny everywhere, including Egyptian Jews disenfranchised and terrorized by the Nasser regime, be welcomed into the United States under the same arrangements. The refugee situation dramatically indicates the inadequacy and injustice of the McCarran-Walter Act with its selective immigration categories. We, therefore, call upon the new Congress to repeal it as a violation of the American spirit of brotherhood which has welcomed to these shores immigrants of all faiths, races, and nations.

3. Freedom of press

The New York Board of Rabbis regards the principle of freedom of the press as an indispensable element in the securing and extension of democracy through enlightenment to understanding. Such actions as the barrier of American newsmen from visiting Red China are therefore to be deplored. We are horrified by the persecution of innocent prisoners by totalitarian governments, but feel that curtailing the right of journalists to visit such countries is not the answer to the problem. On the contrary, if the American press has the opportunity to carefully scrutinize the practices of totalitarian countries, the world may be better informed of the horrors of communism.

4. Middle East

The New York Board of Rabbis shares with other faiths deep concern over the conflict in the Middle East and joins with all men of good will in prayers for peace in the land which cradles the faiths of the Western World. We endorse the United Nations' action in sending a police force to Egypt and the Suez Peninsula to promote the conditions of peace, and strongly urge that the U. N. police force remain there until the Suez question is satisfactorily resolved and permanent peace is established between Egypt and Israel. Our Government cannot in conscience lend its support to any decisions which do not include access to the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba by all nations including Israel, the securing of Israel's borders against future lawless attacks and safeguarding the rights of Jews now being violated in Egypt and other Arab States. We urge that the resettlement of Arab refugees be discussed as soon as possible with the understanding that the Arab States as well as Israel assume fair shares of responsibility for their resettlement. Realizing that the complex Middle Eastern problems cannot be settled without the establishment of peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors, we respectfully urge the President to initiate a direct meeting between Israeli and Arab leaders for a discussion of the problem. It is to be noted that Prime Minister Ben Gurion has indicated his willingness to meet Arab representatives anywhere at any time for the building of a just and lasting peace.

5. King Saud

The New York Board of Rabbis views with dismay the visit of King Saud of Saudi Arabia to the White House. Cited last year by the United Nations for his sanction of human slavery, displaying deep-rooted prejudice against other faiths in his objection to American military chaplains wearing the insignia of their traditions, and barring American Jewish Army personnel from his kingdom, he is the antithesis of the high ideals and democratic principles for which America stands. We applaud the courageous stand of Mayor Wagner in refusing to accord King Saud an official reception in New York City.

II. NATIONAL SCENE

1. The President

The New York Board of Rabbis respectfully felicitates President Eisenhower on the beginning of his second term in office. We invoke God's blessing of strength and health upon him and all who counsel and advise him.

2. Integration

The New York Board of Rabbis continues to deplore efforts to circumvent the Supreme Court ruling outlawing segregation in the schools and public conveyances, and the wave of violence and economic reprisal directed against Negro and white citizens who courageously pursue their rights of franchise and integration. We hail the nonviolent resistance by Negro leaders in the South as an inspiring example of dispassionate social action in the highest traditions of the Judaeo-Christian ideal. We urge the President to make a personal tour of the more troublesome areas to plead for the peaceful acceptance of the Supreme Court decision on desegregation.

III. THE LOCAL SCENE

1. The mayor

The New York Board of Rabbis congratulates Mayor Robert Wagner on his forward-looking program of slum clearance and urban renewal. We express the hope, however, that relocation of residents in blighted areas be effected with a minimum of hardship and that priority in new housing be granted to those living in the area. We strongly urge that all housing developments be so conducted that the residents be thoroughly integrated economically and racially within all neighborhoods, resulting in complete integration in the public schools.

2. Public housing

The New York Board of Rabbis strongly favors the stand taken by the State Commission Against Discrimination in support of integration in private housing as in public housing. Discrimination and prejudice will not disappear as long as we are not permitted to live together as brothers.

We take this opportunity to express pride in the religious, racial, and ethnic heterogeneity of our city and commend it as an example of the one-world ideal. We extend the hand of brotherhood to all newcomers to our city and pledge ourselves to assist them in every way possible to establish a satisfying life in our great metropolis.

3. Religion in the schools

The New York Board of Rabbis reiterates its fervent belief in the separation of church and state which redounds to the advantage both of democracy and religion. We feel that sectarian religious instruction in the public schools is an invasion of this separation. While the statement of the board of superintendents of the New York city schools is a vast improvement over its prior statement, the New York Board of Rabbis pledges itself and the members of our congregations to be vigilant lest it be used to intrude sectarianism into the classrooms.

4. Censorship

The New York Board of Rabbis reiterates its belief in the ability of the true and the right to triumph in the free market of ideas. We express our complete faith in the citizens of our community, State and Nation to eschew the evil and reject that which is untrue. We feel that censorship whether of the press, radio, television, the stage, or the cinema, is an invasion of America's traditional freedoms. We affirm the right of artists, writers, publicists, dramatists, etc., to portray problems as they see them, providing their work is not obscene, the right of the public to view or read or hear their portrayal, and the duty of religious institutions not to oppose such portrayal but to supply the answers to the problems so portrayed.

5. Sunday law

The New York Board of Rabbis respectfully requests the city council to seek permission from the State of New York for enabling local legislation to right an inequity imposed upon those citizens who observe Saturday as their day of rest. Those, who by reason of religious conviction are constrained to keep their places of business closed on Saturday, should be given the right to conduct their business activities on Sunday. We deem it most inappropriate to preserve, under prevailing legislation, a discriminatory handicap for those who are faithful to their religion.

6. Bingo

The New York Board of Rabbis calls upon the legislature of the State of New York to vote against the forthcoming bill for the legalization of the use of Bingo for the financial support of religious institutions. The raising of funds through Bingo games, even for worthwhile causes, is not consonant with the high standards of morality and dignity which the synagogue sets for the general community. To use questionable means for spiritual ends would seem to negate the ideals which move our people to establish a house of God, and taint the moral climate of congregational life.

7. Divorce problem

The New York Board of Rabbis recognizes the integrity of the family as the keystone of our society. While hopeful that the divorce laws of our State will eventually be reviewed with a view to their liberalization, the board urges upon its members and their congregations the support of new efforts in the Legislature of the State of New York which will study marriage problems, with a view to establishing machinery for the settlement of marital disputes before they reach the courts, and for the maintenance of family stability.

Jet Age Deficiency of the Nation's Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Star which comments on the lack of facilities in Washington for handling jet airliners:

OUR JET-AGE DEFICIENCY

The dramatic transcontinental flight of Boeing's huge 707 jet airliner again has brought forcefully to public attention Washington's lack of preparedness for the jet age. Not only does the Nation's Capital have no facilities for handling the fast jet civil aircraft now being demonstrated at other airports, but we are making no progress toward correcting the deficiency. And, at the present rate of production, the big jet passenger aircraft will be in general airline use before a new airport could be built—even if work were started today.

Because the present Washington National Airport could not accommodate the Boeing airliner on its flight from Seattle to this part of the country, it was forced to land at Baltimore's Friendship Airport. It made the trip in the record time of 3 hours and

48 minutes. And it is interesting to note that if Friendship were the regular eastern terminal for such flights from the west coast it would take the passengers destined for Washington 45 to 70 minutes additional to arrive here, via ground transportation.

Boeing is not the only American manufacturer in the jet airliner race. Douglas has just announced contracts for the sale of its DC-8 stratosphere ship to a number of foreign and American airlines—with a prediction that the giant jet transports will be in regular operation one day soon. In fact, according to CAA Administrator Pyle, we are in a period of rapid transition from propeller civil aircraft to the jet-propelled types. He foresees general commercial jet operations within about 2 years. If that forecast is accurate, Washington will have to be bypassed by the airlines of tomorrow until a new airport, designed for the jet age, has been provided here. Are Congress and the nearby Virginia community going to delay action on a second local airport so interminably that Washington's jet air traffic will go to Friendship Airport by default?

Partnership Best for Trinity River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith the following editorial from the San Jose Mercury for March 12, 1957, with respect to Trinity River partnership proposal:

PARTNERSHIP BEST FOR TRINITY PLAN

The Halls of Congress will shortly echo to the thump and rumble of oratory designed to prove conclusively that:

1. Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton has entered into an unholy alliance with a monopolistic utility octopus, the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., to strip California of the benefit of publicly generated hydroelectric power, or

2. The P. G. & E., in partnership with the Federal Government, has offered to perform a needed and valuable public service from which every American will benefit.

Critical examination of the facts substantiates the latter view.

In offering to build the power generating and distribution facilities of the Trinity River period, the P. G. & E. will be saving taxpayers in California and elsewhere many millions of dollars. The utility will, in addition,, be helping California to solve one of its greatest problems—development of adequate supplies of agricultural and domestic water.

The partnership proposal submitted to Congress by Seaton is easy to grasp and makes eminent sense.

Overall cost of the Trinity project is $225,213,000. Generating and distribution facilities to be built by P. G. & E., would reduce this amount by $56,730,000.

Additionally, P. G. & E. offers to pay the Federal Government another $165 million over the 50-year life of its contract for the use of the falling water which will generate the electricity. On top of that, P. G. & E. during the 50 years of the contract will pay another $83 million to the Federal Government in taxes and some $62 million in taxes to State and local governments.

The public power advocates will complain that these millions must be paid ultimately by P. G. & E.'s customers. This is, of course, true, but the customers' interests should be protected adequately by the rate-setting powers of the California Public Utilities Commission.

Last but not lease, full development of the Trinity River project will make an additional 2,752,630 acre-feet of water available to thirsty California acres.

On balance, the partnership advocates have an overwhelmingly better case in this instance.

Trinity River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to note that one of California's important local unions has endorsed Secretary Seaton's partnership proposal of the Trinity River project.

I submit herewith a statement by Local No. 1245, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO:

TRINITY RIVER PROJECT

Our union, Local No. 1245, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, represents some 14,500 employees of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

We wish to bring to your attention our views on the partnership plan as recommended by Interior Secretary Seaton for consideration by the Congress in the matter of the Trinity River project.

Our members, who make their living by serving the public, work for the P. G. & E., which is a regulated private industrial enterprise. The employees work under collective bargaining agreements covering wages, working conditions, and other employee benefits.

This union was chosen by the employees to represent them as a result of procedures afforded by Federal law and a peaceful and harmonious relationship has been developed over a number of years.

The employee, the employer, and the general public have benefited by a legal and responsible application of the principles of sound industrial relations.

We are seriously concerned over the possibility of the Federal Government building and operating the power facilities involved in the Trinity River project. Should the Government build the generating plants, transmit and market the power developed on the Trinity, our members will be adversely affected.

Public power advocates seem to ignore the fact that the economic welfare of thousands of utility workers is affected each time governmental agencies invade the private power industry.

Public agencies generally do not allow and usually prohibit the right of free organization for collective bargaining and the right of contract. We have seen group after group of utility workers shunted into publicly operated power districts without any consideration given to decent wages, working conditions, and safety regulations.

Private development of the power facilities of the Trinity project will provide additional employment for our members and will serve to maintain adequate wages and conditions through collective bargaining. Federal development and power marketing will, our experience shows, lead to expansion of the unfair treatment of utility workers through loss of rights enjoyed by the rest of labor.

We share in the desire to safeguard the welfare of the general public through flood control, wildlife protection, irrigation water, reasonable power rates, and reasonable taxation. We also believe that these safeguards are present in the partnership proposal as recommended to the Congress.

We urge that you give consideration to our views and that you may act favorably on the partnership recommendation when the issue is considered by the Congress.

RONALD T. WEAKLEY,
Business Manager, Local Union, No. 1245, IBEW, AFL-CIO, Oakland, Calif.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

The Trials of a Congressman's Wife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, Senators and Representatives in considerable numbers demonstrate by their wide use of newsletters, tape recordings, and columns in newspapers the importance they place on a well-informed electorate. In this highly vocal era, no opportunity is overlooked to reach the public eye and ear. All this, we know, means we are living in the heyday of the public-relations counsel. Although we may criticize sharply the way he at times employs his arts, he is, after all, only making use of the very new and very old techniques placed at his disposal.

I am sure these counselors would applaud enthusiastically the use of one of the oldest methods of communication, the letter, as used by Anita Ullman, the charming wife of the new Representative from the Second District of my home State of Oregon, ALBERT C. ULLMAN. During the last campaign thousands of people in this vast district came to know and like the lady who was always at her husband's side as he drove through the valleys, mountains, and high desert plateaus which separate the centers of population in eastern Oregon.

Mrs. Ullman was at all times alert and responsive to the interests and thinking of the wives and mothers in her husband's district. That is illustrated by the exceedingly interesting letter she has written to her friends. In it she describes frankly and sincerely the details—that only a wife and mother can fully appreciate—of transplanting a family.

Mr. President, the editor of the Wallowa County Chieftain, Gwen T. Coffin, of Enterprise, Oreg., published this letter in the issue of Thursday, March 21. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRIALS OF CONGRESSMAN'S WIFE REVEALED BY MRS. AL ULLMAN

The Chieftain believes that many friends of Congressman AL ULLMAN and Mrs. Ullman will find the observations of a Congressman's wife on activities at Washington, D. C. interesting. The following letter from Mrs. Ullman tells of her busy schedule:

MARCH 5, 1957.

DEAR FRIENDS: AL and I finally arrived in Washington after a long hard trip across the United States with the children. We drove along a southern route. The children became very weary and were happy to finally arrive here.

The first week in Washington we stayed at the Francis Scott Key Hotel. Finding a house was a big problem, but we finally rented a furnished house in Arlington, Va., just across the Potomac River from Washington. It is very conveniently located and it is easy for AL to drive to the Capitol. Kenneth has only 2 blocks to walk to Taylor Elementary School and Anita Jo has only 6 blocks to go to get to Stratford Junior High.

There are several nice children in the neighborhood about the same age as Wayne, so he has plenty of playmates. When we have snow, the children have fun sledding on the rolling hills in the area.

This is a very friendly neighborhood and we feel lucky to have found such a homey atmosphere so far away from home. The children miss their dog, Lassie, and Poncho, our burro. Both are in good hands though. Lassie is with the children's grandparents, the E. R. Curfmans, of Baker, and Poncho is with the Joe Updegraffs at their lovely little ranch at the edge of Baker Valley.

Kenneth loudly protests being away from his friends and teachers in Baker. He was thrilled to get letters from his friends there. He is corresponding with them and has also written a 10-page letter to his teachers in Baker. Kenneth was devoted to all of them and it will take some time for him to get adjusted to living without them.

Anita Jo misses her friends but adjusts more easily than Kenneth—but then she is older and more understanding. She corresponds with her friends back home and has received newsy letters from them.

We have rented a spinet piano and the children are taking piano lessons. Anita Jo is continuing her band work with the clarinet and will be taking a trip with the band soon to the historic town of Williamsburg, Va.

MANY ATTRACTIONS

The children and I are going to make a special effort to take advantage of all the music recitals and symphonies available here in Washington. I was pleasantly surprised to learn that so many good recitals and symphonies are free. Many of these recitals are held in the Library of Congress and the National Gallery of Art. During the summer months, the United States military bands perform on the steps of the Capitol. When AL is unable to take us to these functions, the children and I plan to just get on a bus and go anyway.

It is a big treat when the children get their daddy to take them to the National Airport to watch the planes land and take off. However, this treat is limited to Sunday afternons as that is the only free time AL seems to have.

The city of Arlington has an official welcome wagon to greet newcomers to their town. The wagon lady visited me and gave me four tickets to the National Symphony to be conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham, the British conductor.

One of our neighbors invited me to lunch the other day and served a typical southern lunch—black-eyed peas. They were quite delicious and she was kind enough to give me her recipe. It is easy to prepare—just boil the black-eyed peas with a piece of ham bone for about 3 hours. Just before they are done, put in a pod of hot green pepper and a finely chopped onion. When ready to serve pour a little vinegar on the top. This dish should be served with either cracklin' bread or cornbread and always with buttermilk. This makes a perfect southern meal and is certainly different from anything I have eaten out West.

A quaint custom here is the big George Washington Day sales in the downtown stores. It is really fantastic and hard to believe. People wait in line all night sometimes in order to be first in line for some big bargain such as a 99 cent typewriter, a $1.98 washing machine, a 39 cent radio, etc. Some pack a lunch pail, bring coffee in thermos jugs, wrap themselves in woolen blankets and settle down for the night at the front door of the store of their choice.

I miss so many of the conveniences I had at home in Baker. I especially miss my clothes dryer and my clothesline. AL just hasn't had time to put up a line for me yet. I miss my refrigerator there too. The one I have here won't keep ice cream and the children love it so.

BUSY SCHEDULE

AL's average lunch while at work is a corned beef on rye sandwich with a glass of buttermilk. He sometimes is unable to get lunch until 2 p. m. However, he does eat a good breakfast before leaving for the office at 7:30 a. m., but sometimes he has dinner meetings and does not get home until around 10:30 or 11 p. m.

AL and I knew there would be "black tie" affairs here in Washington that we would be required to attend, but little did we think we would be confronted with one the first week here. The Board of Trade gave a dinner to welcome the incoming Senators and Congressmen and their wives. Neither AL nor I had formal clothes with us and had to rush downtown to get them. AL ordered a tuxedo and asked the salesman to have it delivered to the hotel. He stressed to the salesman that he wanted a complete outfit so that he would have everything he needed. The salesman was very efficient and sent along the tux, shirt, socks, studs, handkerchief and cumberbund. Everything was fine until AL started dressing, then he discovered the salesman had failed to send along suspenders. AL had none with him and had to send out a frantic call for a last minute accessory. I had to buy a formal dress and evening slippers for the occasion.

Our first week in Washington was a merry-go-round. I had visited Washington before but it wasn't quite like this. I gained a lifetime of experience the first few days in how to read maps, shop for clothes on a minute's notice, look for and move into a house, enroll the children in school, buy groceries, etc.—all of this was sandwiched in between a round of official functions that kept us stepping lively.

One day in particular was a busy one. At 8 a. m we attended a special service at the National Presbyterian Church to observe the opening of the 85th Congress. When we arrived at the church, we were surprised to find the area overflowing with policemen and row after row of Cadillacs. The place was alive with Cabinet members, Senators, Ambassadors, and VIPs. President Eisenhower sat about six rows in front of us. It was a very inspiring service and an experience that I will never forget. After the service, the audience stood until the President had left the church.

Al took us to the hotel and rushed away to the Capitol in preparation for the swearing-in ceremony. Al's administrative assistant, Charles Serns, picked us up and took us to the Capitol for the occasion.

Kenneth had left earlier as he had been chosen as an honorary page for the day. Congresswoman EDITH GREEN's son, having been so honored when his mother was sworn in, graciously offered to show Kenneth the ropes. Capitol police checked our credentials about a dozen times before we reached the gallery. The room was brightly lit for the television, radio, and press. Anita Jo, Wayne and I sat in the gallery and looked down to the floor watching Al and Kenneth. I was so proud of Kenneth as a page and feel it was a great honor for him. I was especially proud of my husband because I know better than anyone just how deeply he feels about being a Member of Congress. We were all so proud of our daddy.

After the swearing in was over, AL drove us back to the hotel, we packed our belongings, and drove to our new house. We had exactly 30 minutes to spare before leaving for the National Women's Press Club dinner. We spent the first 15 minutes resting and the next 15 minutes finding a grocery store and buying food so the children could have their supper. However, one of the neighbors, being a Navy family and globetrotters, so to speak, understood our predicament and graciously offered to feed the children.

The dinner was attended by Ambassadors, Senators, Congressmen, television artists, radio commentators, and press correspondents.

Next, on January 5, was the special joint session of the Congress. Tickets were at a premium and each Member of Congress was allowed only one ticket. Consequently, I had to leave Kenneth and Anita Jo at the Smithsonian Institution to browse around for 2 hours while I attended the joint session. I did take Wayne with me and held him on my lap. He had been having trouble with a tooth and wasn't feeling too well so slept most of the time. (Oh, yes, during all the rushing around, we had to find a good dentist for Wayne and have his tooth pulled.) I had a good seat (No. 40 in row 2), just five seats over from Mrs. Eisenhower and Mrs. Nixon. I had just been seated when I noticed the Members on the floor looking up to the gallery and applauding. I turned around just in time to see Mrs. Eisenhower come in and be seated. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt sat immediately in front of me. Seeing Wayne asleep in my arms, she said maybe he didn't agree with the proceedings. I shook hands with her and thanked her for coming to Oregon during the campaign. Mrs. Roosevelt is very gracious.

The ceremony was very impressive. Speaker SAM RAYBURN came in first, then the Vice President, then the Senators came in by pairs, as did the foreign diplomats, Supreme Court Judges in their robes, and the Cabinet members. Each group was announced loudly by the Doorkeeper of the House as they came through the door. Then the President of the United States came in and was given a standing ovation.

My sister, Evelyn, came to visit us from Detroit and attended several of the inauguration affairs with us. It was certainly nice seeing her again.

We attended a brunch given by Senator and Mrs. Neuberger in honor of Governor and Mrs. Robert Holmes. We were pleased to be able to attend this particular function because we are very fond of both Governor and Mrs. Holmes.

King Saud's visit to the United States caused quite a flurry here in the Capital. Newspapers carried full details of the official functions in connection with his visit. However, I witnessed an unofficial scene that was quite amusing. I happened to be passing a lingerie counter in one of the big department stores downtown when I noticed two of the King's aides buying lingerie. They were interested in only the bright colors, buying a bright red filmy gown and matching negligee. I didn't wait to find out what else they bought—I didn't quite dare.

We have had the pleasure of being entertained at the homes of Senators KEFAUVER, NEUBERGER, and MORSE. They are our very best friends here and we enjoyed visiting with them. They informed us that all the new Members and their wives are given a big rush the first month or so to welcome them to Washington and after that things settle down to normal.

We have attended several different churches here, but of course will keep our membership at the Baker Presbyterian Church. That is home. We attended a service conducted by Episcopal Bishop Angus Dun at the Washington Cathedral. When completed, this will be the sixth largest cathedral in the world and the second largest in the United States. Next Sunday we plan to visit the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church. This is an old historic landmark in Washington and the illustrious Peter Marshall was once pastor of this church. You may recall the movie of his life based on the book A Man Called Peter written by Mrs. Peter Marshall.

I hope I haven't bored you to death with all the details of the Ullman family. I am looking forward to hearing from you often and will have to depend on you to keep me informed of what you and your family are doing and the local happenings there.

With best regards from the entire family,

Sincerely,

ANITA ULLMAN.

ARLINGTON, VA.

Rapid Recovery of Western Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one of the most startling aspects of the past decade has been the rapid recovery of Western Germany following the destruction of World War II.

This recovery was well summarized by Charles Lucey, distinguished commentator for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, in an article which appeared last Saturday. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WEST GERMAN MIRACLE

(By Charles Lucey)

(Most talked about of the postwar economic miracles is the comeback of Western Germany. It's a phenomenon that has furrowed the brows of world statesmen and trade experts. In the following dispatch, Charles Lucey examines at close hand the strides which have marked German achievement—after a second disastrous war defeat in a generation.)

BONN, March 28.—West Germany's recovery is aptly called the miracle of postwar Europe.

Twelve years after this whipped country crawled out from under the bomb ruins, its economic forward march is so rapid it is getting out of step with most of the world except the United States. Only Japan offers a parallel.

West Germany is reclaiming markets all over the globe.

Its export earnings so much exceeds payment for what it buys abroad, it is draining its neighbors' gold and dollar reserves.

It is directing its home economy with discipline and skill.

Its currency has held more stable in terms of purchasing power than that of any major nation.

In February, West German exports totaled more than $650 million, a one-third gain in a year. Surplus of exports over imports for that 1 month was almost $75 million. In 1956, West German exports were valued at almost $8 billion, a margin over imports of $750 million.

The symbol of the German comeback is the little Volkswagen, competitive now wherever autos roll. A half million or so will be made this year, half of them for export. Germans here at home may wait 6 months to get one. Last year German auto exports totaled about $750 million.

Germany's machinery exports were running at twice the rate of auto sales abroad. Electrical equipment, chemical products, textiles, optical and precision goods were increasing overseas money earners.

From bitter experience Germany knows the horrors of runaway inflation, so the pressure has been constant and relentless to hold prices and wages at home in check.

Living standards still are substantially below those of the United States worker. In many cases the German makes only as many deutschemarks as an American makes dollars—and it takes 4 marks to make $1. Aside from sausage he may have meat on his table only three times a week.

But the living standard is rising. Most Germans dress well, many even expensively in the larger cities. Auto ownership is increasing.

The contrast with Communist East Germany is striking. East Germans have made a comeback, also, but not to match West Germany. Thousands of them continue to thwart Communist border controls and escape into the West.

What factors are behind the West German miracle?

United States aid was important—about $3,500,000,000 was pumped in here. Calling in the first postwar mark and establishing a stable currency were vital.

Germany's own belt-tightening shows in the fact it has poured back into plant investment more than $1 of each $5 of profits.

Letting the intensely competitive German have his head in a largely free economy has been a factor. There is state pressure against inflation and tax inducement to plow profits back into plant, but tight rationing and price controls were given up long ago.

Germany's rebuilt modern industrial plant permits high productivity.

The average industrial workweek is more than 48 hours, compared with about 40 in the United States and other industrial nations.

Here is a testimony to West German stability:

Since 1949 West German mark has lost only 5.3 percent of its purchasing power. The American dollar has lost 13.2 percent; the British pound 29 percent; the franc nearly 32 percent; the Italian lire 22 percent; the Swiss franc 7.3 percent.

Federal Security Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRESCOTT BUSH

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, several weeks ago I referred to the work which

the Securities and Exchange Commission is doing to carry out the provisions of the Federal securities laws for the protection of the investing public in the securities markets of this country—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, February 21, 1957, pages 2113–2117.

The proper functioning of our Nation's securities markets is vital to the success of our free-enterprise system.

I mentioned the great activity in the capital markets, and the problems the Securities and Exchange Commission is coping with, in policing those markets. I called the attention of the Senate to the address which the Chairman of the Commission, J. Sinclair Armstrong, had delivered on February 20, 1957, before the New York Society of Security Analysts.

Recently the Commission and its key staff members have participated in a 2-day briefing conference on securities laws and regulations under the auspices of the Federal Bar Association, in cooperation with the Bureau of National Affairs. This is the third such briefing conference in recent years. At the first such conference, in the summer of 1954, the distinguished senior Senator from Indiana, Senator HOMER E. CAPEHART, who at the time was chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, and who is now the ranking minority member of that committee, was the principal guest speaker.

These briefing conferences have attracted hundreds of lawyers, accountants, representatives of business organizations, and brokers and dealers, and members of the public, and provide an important medium for the dissemination to those who are subject to regulation of information from the Commission about the requirements of the laws and regulations, and the work of the Commission in carrying out the policies of the Congress expressed in the Federal securities laws. The members of the Commission and its staff are to be commended for their participation in these briefing conferences, and the Federal Bar Association is to be commended for sponsoring them in cooperation with the Bureau of National Affairs.

In opening the conferences, Chairman Armstrong, of the Commission, delivered an address which summarizes many of the present-day accomplishments of the capital markets in providing for industry, from the savings of our people, enormous amounts of money needed for investment capital purposes, and also many of the accomplishments of and problems faced by the Commission, which is entrusted by the Congress with the administration of the Federal securities laws in providing to investors and the public the protection intended by the Congress in those laws.

The Subcommittee on Securities, of which I am a member and of which the distinguished junior Senator from Ohio, Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE, is chairman, has recently inquired into the subject of ownership of shares of American corporations by foreign financial institutions to see to what extent problems are posed to the Commission in administering the Federal securities laws. In my opinion, a great deal more study is needed of this difficult subject, and the Subcommittee on Securities will require the continued cooperation of the Commission in our efforts to determine whether new legislation may be needed.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the address delivered by Mr. J. Sinclair Armstrong on this occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I advise the Senate I have received from the Public Printer an estimate that there would be involved a cost of $179.67. I nevertheless ask unanimous consent that it be printed.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CURRENT OBJECTIVES AND PROGRAMS OF THE SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

(Address by J. Sinclair Armstrong, Chairman, Securities and Exchange Commission, before the briefing conference on securities laws and regulations sponsored by the Federal Bar Association in cooperation with the Bureau of National Affairs, New York, N. Y., March 28, 1957)

I am particularly pleased that the Securities and Exchange Commission and key members of our staff have been invited to participate again here today in the briefing conference on securities laws and regulations sponsored by the Federal Bar Association in cooperation with the Bureau of National Affairs. It is always most helpful to us to discuss our objectives and problems with practitioners in the legal and accounting professions, representatives of industry and others whose day-to-day business brings them into close contact with the statutes we administer. These conferences provide an excellent forum for the interchange of ideas which enables all of us to do our jobs more effectively.

In tackling our problems it is only natural that there will be differences of opinion or of approach between the Commission, its staff, and yourselves as representatives of the securities industry and the business community as to the administrative methods and procedures and business practices or conduct with which we all are concerned. But we all share one common interest—the investor. If you or we fail to serve the investor, or serve him badly, our country is the loser.

Our fluid capital markets and our well-organized machinery for accumulating vast sums of the savings of our citizens have no equal anywhere in the world. At no time in the Commisison's experience, have capital market flotations and market trading activity reached as high levels as those witnessed in recent years. This tremendous upsurge has taken place in a relatively short period of time. For example, the dollar amount of securities registered under the Securities Act of 1933 increased by 75 percent from $7.5 billion in the comparatively recent fiscal year 1953 to $13.1 billion in the fiscal year 1956. During the 1930's the average dollar amount of securities registered fell below $1 billion in some years and from 1945 to 1950 the amount averaged $4.5 billion a year.

The aggregate market value of all stocks traded on all national securities exchanges, which never exceeded $100 billion before 1946, except briefly in 1929, increased from $111 billion on December 31, 1950, to $265 billion on December 31, 1956. The dollar value of securities that changed hands on all securities exchanges in the calendar year 1956 totalled $35.1 billion, more than double the total of $16.7 billion reported for 1953. It is believed that similar increases occurred in the over-the-counter market, although unfortunately no statistics are available.

The value of the gross national product totaled $412 billion in 1956 as compared with $345 billion in 1952 and $104 billion in 1929.

The latest survey of investment intentions conducted jointly by our Division of Trading and Exchanges and the Department of Commerce indicates that businessmen plan to spend $37.5 billion on new plans and equipment in 1957, an increase of 6.5 percent above the previous all-time high reached in 1956, and 30 percent above the total of $28.7 billion for 1955.

Where will business get all of the money it needs to finance this expansion? New securities offered for cash in the United States in 1956 totalled $11 billion, another new all-time high. A survey conducted by our Division of Trading and Exchange indicates that businessmen presently intend to sell 6 percent more corporate securities in 1957 than they did in 1956.

But not all of the proceeds of these securities goes into plant and equipment, because securities previously issued are constantly being retired through sinking funds and serial maturities and for other reasons. As a result, the net additions to capital from sales of new securities in 1956 reached another alltime high of $8.5 billion, or approximately 25 percent of the total requirement for the year. The balance of the money needed to pay for these expenditures and to finance a small increase in working capital during the year came from retained earnings, depreciation accruals and temporary bank borrowing.

We are so accustomed to reading about figures in the billions, that the full magnitude of the capital formation process that goes on in this country year after year may pass unappreciated or unnoticed. Up to the outbreak of World War II an offering of as much as $100 million in new securities in one operation was a rare instance. Today, a $100 million bond or stock offering is rather commonplace. In the past 5 years our business corporations made 29 separate bond offerings, each one of which amounted to more than $90 million with aggregate proceeds of $5.9 billion. Eleven were in amounts ranging from $200 million to more than $600 million and they produced $3.7 billion of capital. American Telephone successfully sold at competitive bidding another $250 million of debentures just the day before yesterday.

If we look over the record of stock offerings in the last 2 years, we find 4 offerings ranging in amounts of $131 million to $657 million. Two of these were nonunderwritten rights offerings to shareholders—the other two had conventional underwriting.

Recently our Commission had occasion to ascertain the total amount of stocks and bonds issued and sold by private business organizations in several of the larger countries of Western Europe. We found that the aggregate sales of these securities in the United Kingdom, West Germany, Holland, France, Belgium, Sweden, and Switzerland in 1956 amounted to somewhere in the neighborhood of $2.5 billion—a rather striking comparison with the $11 billion of corporate securities sold for cash in this country in that year.

Capital formation is tremendously important to the economy of our country. You cannot have capital formation without willing investors. Capital is formed only by the voluntary cooperation of the public, and the work of the Commission in administering the Federal securities laws is one of the essential factors giving the public confidence in the integrity of the capital markets. There is nothing in these laws which is designed to impede the raising of capital. If well administered, they will help, and not hurt the capital formation process.

As a matter of orientation at this point, let me first state briefly the objectives of the

Congress expressed in the statutes which we administer. Collectively and colloquially, we speak of them as the Federal securities laws. They were enacted in the years 1933 through 1940 and were intended to provide to public investors in new issues of corporate securities offered and sold in interstate commerce and in the issues listed and traded on national securities exchanges certain basic business and financial information about the corporations issuing them. These laws were also designed to provide regulation of the exchange markets so as to insure free, fair, and open orderly markets; to provide a limited degree of regulation in the over-the-counter markets; to provide corporate simplification and physical integration and continued regulation of the financial structure of public utility holding company systems; to provide regulation of investment companies to assure adherence to standards protective of public investors; and to provide against manipulation, pools, rigging of prices, insider advantages, and misrepresentation and fraud in the purchase and sale of securities.

The Commission's responsibility in administering these laws is both positive and negative in character. Affirmatively, it is our job to see to it that the responsibilities of persons subject to our jurisdiction are assumed by them; in other words, that the securities laws are complied with. It is the responsibility of the corporation registering securities to state the required information in its registration statement and periodic reports. It is the responsibility of the person soliciting proxies in listed companies to state the facts required by our rules. The registration statement, the proxy statement, and other filings are the statements of the persons filing them, not of the Commission, and our job is only to see that the informational requirements of the statutes and our rules are met.

It is the public investor that these statutes and rules seek to protect, but the protection afforded is to put the investor in an informed position to make his own investment devisions, to assure him free and fair markets, but not to prevent him from making his own investment decisions and certainly not have a Federal agency to make his decisions for him. It is not our responsibility to tell an investor what security to buy or sell or which side to vote for in a proxy contest. It is not our responsibility under the acts we administer to prohibit or prevent the purchase of securities, though many who charge that we should do something to prevent raiding seem glibly to assume that the Congress gave us, or should give us, some such power.

The Congress made an extremely important legislative decision in enacting the Federal securities laws which should always be remembered in considering the respective responsibilities of the Commission, of the securities industry, and of the investing public and corporations and others subject to these statutes. This decision gives emphasis to the word "free," when we use free in describing the securities markets and in speaking of the free enterprise system.

The Federal securities laws do not, and I hope never will, give the Commission power to pass on the investment merits of securities.

The Commission's basic approach and philosophy in administering the Federal securities laws and in dealing with the problems which are presented to us, was well stated in 1953 by Ralph H. Demmler, a distinguished member of the bar who was then Chairman of the Commission, and whom we are most pleased to have as a participant on our program this morning. To use his words, "The Government should not interpose unnecessary obstacles to the raising of capital." He also emphasized that we should not sacrifice any of the essential safeguards for the protection of the investing public which had been built up over the years. Rather we were then seeking, and we still seek to make these programs conform to the statutes and be more effective.

Since the capital markets are not static but on the contrary are ever changing, it is necessary for us at the Commission to be constantly on the alert to adapt our procedures and our policies so as to accomplish the objectives of the statutes under the conditions which we find in the securities markets. For the past several years activity and prices in the securities markets have reached highs unprecedented in the experience of the Commission. This, of course, is all to the good and the achievements in capital formations over this period reflect great credit upon the securities industry and all who are connected with it.

At the same time, administration of the Federal securities laws under these conditions involves certain problems not present in the depressed markets of the thirties or under the conditions of war. We have many new investors in the securities market. According to a study made by the New York Stock Exchange, the number of people owning shares in publicly held corporations at the end of 1955 was 8,630,000—an increase of 33 percent since early 1952, with about half of this increase occurring in 1955 alone. Clearly, many of these new investors are inexperienced and in particular need of the protection of the statutes.

There has been a marked increase also in the number of registered broker-dealers, which now exceeds 4,700 as compared with 3,994 on June 30, 1952. Many of these new broker-dealers are likewise inexperienced, and some of them have been drawn into the business in the hope of making a quick profit in the existing market rather than with the expectation of establishing a sound business based on just and equitable dealings. The securities industry organizations, such as the registered exchanges and dealers associations, have made a valiant effort to audit and inspect their members, and industry cooperation is a vital part of the regulatory scheme to protect the public investor. Unfortunately, violations have been found in increasing numbers and increasing magnitude.

We have accordingly found it necessary to step up our enforcement efforts with respect to brokers and dealers and to expand our inspection program. In the current fiscal year we will make more broker-dealer inspections than ever before in Commission history. We have in recent years tightened our net capital requirements for registered broker-dealers primarily by increasing from 10 to 30 percent the so-called haircut—that is, the deduction from the market price of stocks in inventory which is required to be made in computing the net capital of brokers and dealers. We are insisting upon compliance with this rule by registered brokers and dealers, particularly in connection with underwriting commitments, and we do not hesitate to go into Federal district court and seek an injunction when we find a broker-dealer operating with insufficient capital.

Generally, rising markets have created conditions favorable to the marketing of speculative securities and would appear, unfortunately, to have diminished to some degree the caution and prudence of many investors. We have found that there are people who are willing to purchase as unknown speculative security upon the basis of a telephone call from a stranger. These conditions have produced a resurgence of old-fashioned boilerrooms. A boilerroom, as I am sure you know, consists of a group of fast-talking salesmen assembled in a back room somewhere, selling securities by fraudulent high-pressure methods over the long-distance telephone. We are making every effort to stamp out these activities and despite the obstacles which we encounter I am optimistic concerning our progress.

There is another phase of what may be a related problem which gives us cause for concern. I refer to what appears to be an increasing effort to avoid compliance with the registration requirements of the Securities Act of 1933 in the distribution of securities by attempted resort to some of the exemptions provided in the statute. The problem is related in the sense that a boilerroom must have securities to sell and it obviously does not sell them in compliance with the prospectus requirements of the Securities Act, and in practically every case some exemption from registration is claimed for the securities being distributed, but the possibility of abuse of the exemptions from registration is by no means limited to boilerrooms.

We must make every effort to see that investors receive the protection of the registration and prospectus requirements of the Securities Act in those cases where under the law they are entitled to this protection and that exemptions are confined to the area in which Congress intended them to operate.

There is, for example, an exemption for transactions by an issuer not involving any public offering. The Supreme Court has indicated that this exemption was intended for situations where the offerees had access to all material information about the security, and accordingly do not need the protections of registration. Other relevant factors must be considered, including the number of offerees, which the Commission in past years and at least one congressional committee recently felt by "rule of thumb" should not exceed 25. We have encountered a number of situations where securities issued ostensibly in reliance on this exemption have in fact entered channels of public distribution without any reliable information concerning the issuer being available—a result which seems contrary to the statutory intent. Similarly, there is an exemption for securities which are part of an issue offered and sold only to persons resident within a State where the issuer is organized and doing business. This exemption is clearly designed for purely local financing which is subject to the effective control of the State concerned. Again we find securities issued in reliance upon this exemption finding their way into the interstate securities markets without the information called for under the Securities Act being supplied.

A Commission interpretation of long standing has provided that no sale, for the purposes of the registration provisions of the Securities Act, is deemed to occur insofar as shareholders of a corporation are involved where, pursuant to State statute, there is submitted to the vote of such stockholders a plan for merger, consolidation, reclassification of securities, or the transfer of assets of such corporation in consideration for voting stock of the transferor. The underlying rationale of this interpretation, expressed in Commission Rule 133 under the Securities Act, presumably is that in such a case the element of individual contract or volition which is part of the ordinary concept of a sale is not present, as such stockholders receive new securities in lieu of the old ones by operation of corporation law rather than by individual agreement. Recently the Commission has had occasion to reexamine the soundness of this proposition and that question is still under study. This reconsideration has brought forcibly to our attention the fact that widespread misunderstanding exists as to the scope of the rule. There seems to be an impression abroad that the use of a stockholder's vote in such a transaction operates to free the securities from the registration requirements of the Securities Act so that they can immediately be redistributed to the investing public without

registration. Such an assumption reads into the rule something that the Commission did not intend. The rule expressly provides that no sale is deemed to be involved "so far as the stockholders of a corporation are concerned." It does not afford any exemption for resale of a security to others. The Commission has no power under the act to grant an exemption from registration which the act itself does not expressly provide. To the extent that the rule may in effect do this, its validity in my opinion is open to serious question.

Another recent development in the administration of the Federal securities laws has been the increasing frequency and intensity of proxy contests for the control of major corporations. Under section 14 (a) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 the Commission is granted jurisdiction to prescribe rules governing the solicitation of proxies in respect of securities registered on national securities exchange. A basic purpose of the Commission's rules under this section is to obtain for investors and stockholders the fair disclosure of material facts and to prevent, by seeking relief in the Federal courts where necessary, as the statute provides, the dissemination of false and misleading information. After 2 years of intensive study the Commission in aJnuary 1956 adopted a revision of its proxy rules designed to clarify and make more specific the intent of the rules as they relate to contests for control. Among the more important changes made by this revision were to establish for the first time uniform ground rules governing solicitation prior to the furnishing of a formal proxy statement and to provide specifically for the furnishing of detailed factual information as to participants in contests, both the nominees for election as directors and those actively participating in their election campaign. This includes information about the identity and background of such persons, their interest in securities of the corporation, and certain other important information, particularly with reference to arrangements or understandings with respect to the acquisition of securities and the financing of the contest. The revised rules also contain examples of statements which may be made in the heat of proxy fights and which, depending upon the particular facts, may be misleading. The new rules have generally worked well and have been of marked assistance to the Commission in the discharge of its statutory duties under the conditions created by hotly contested proxy contests. However, in recent proxy contests the Commission has had to use its investigative powers to the utmost to obtain and then require participants to disclose in their proxy statements basic material facts necessary for full and fair disclosure to the stockholders. This has often had to be done in an atmosphere of apparent hostility among various participants, and under circumstances that make our traditional impartiality in proxy contests difficult but vitally important. Also, committees and Members of the Congress have for the first time in our administration of the rules required us to report to them our enforcement activity on a day-to-day basis during particularly proxy fight, and Members of the Congress have commented both favorably and unfavorably on various participants and on the Commission. I believe it is something of a new development for administration of the law hitherto left to the Commission and the courts to have been the object of such close surveillance by the Congress during a particular proxy fight.

These, and other problems, will be discussed in greater detail today and tomorrow. We are most happy to have the opportunity to meet with you and to sit down together for a discussion of our mutual problems, and I wish again to express our appreciation to the Federal Bar Association and the Bureau of National Affairs for making this possible.

Statement by Hon. John Marshall Butler, of Maryland, on 12th Anniversary of Soviet Enslavement of Rumania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, on March 6 last, 12 years had elapsed since the Soviet enslavement of the Rumanian Nation in 1945. Through overwhelming Soviet military and political pressure, Rumania is still occupied by Russian troops and is subjected to the suppression of all political and human rights, as well as to savage economic exploitation. In honor of the courageous people of Rumania, I ask unanimous consent to have a statement I have prepared printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BUTLER

This sad day for 20 million souls, the 12th anniversary of Romania's enslavement by the Soviets on the 6th of March 1945, should bring to our minds more vividly the tragedy of modern slavery.

Victim's of Moscow's aggressive expansionism and of international failures which abandoned the eastern part of Europe to the absolute rule of the Soviets, the Rumanians have proceeded far on the road to calvary.

The starting point for this Rumanian drama was one of the most flagrant and brutal examples of interference and seizure of a free nation by the Soviets. The two important witnesses reporting the circumstances of the seizure, presented in the first documents forwarded by the Rumanian leaders to the United States authorities—the late General Radescu, former Prime Minister at the time of the seizure, and Mihail Farcasanu, head of the anti-Communist movement of the national liberal youth of Rumania—give us a clear picture of what happened. In their declarations delivered respectively in Lisbon, August 26, 1947, and in Rome, August 19, 1947, they record the series of Soviet overt acts, ranging from press-censorship to terror and assassination, aimed at bringing the country under the heel of their Communist agents.

"During the extremely trying period in which I held the premiership," noted General Radescu, "Soviet troops have been indulging in looting and were killing people at random. Every morning I used to receive reports showing the robberies and assassinations perpetrated during the preceding 24 hours."

Together with such conditions a Communist armed force was built up, while massive reductions in the Rumanian Army and police were arbitrarily imposed. According to the order received by the Communist leader Gheorghiu-Dej in Moscow in January 1945, a direct action for seizing the government was undertaken by the Communists on February 24. They tried to assassinate the Prime Minister and take over the administration. This Communist coup not succeeding Moscow sent Vishinsky with full powers to forcibly install a Soviet stooge government. So, 2 weeks after the Yalta Declaration 1 of the signatories, Soviet Russia, was ruthlessly crushing the independence of a country with a brazen display of brute force. This is in fact what happened on February 27, when Vishinsky delivered his ultimatum to King Michael.

It is to the honor of the Rumanian people that, after 12 years of Communist terrorism, deportations, slave labor camps, religious persecution, and economic bleeding, their spirit of resistance is still strongly alive. I think it is proper for the Congress to salute the fight for freedom of a friendly nation and not forget her people's ordeal.

Report of Grand Jury of Hinds County, Miss., Relating to Beatrice Young

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN STENNIS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from a report of the grand jury of the first judicial district of Hinds County, Miss. Some weeks ago a witness from Jackson, Miss., Beatrice Young, testified before a subcommittee of the Senate. Her testimony seemed to reflect upon the administration of justice and the conduct of certain officials connected with the State of Mississippi.

There was not time, before the record was closed, to investigate the facts in that case. But since then an investigation has been made by the authorities in Mississippi and also by the FBI. The result of that investigation is reflected in the pertinent parts of the grand jury report. I ask unanimous consent that those parts only be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT OF THE GRAND JURY OF THE FIRST JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF HINDS COUNTY, MISS., MARCH 1957 TERM

To the Honorable LEON F. HENDRICK, CIRCUIT JUDGE:

In response to the excellent and informative charge of Your Honor, we have sat as the grand jury for the first judicial district of Hinds County, Miss., for 3 days during the week of the first Monday of March 1957, on March 12, 1957, and on March 26, 1957.

* * * * *

We have given particular attention to that portion of Your Honor's charge relative to reports that there have been abuses of prisoners and enforced confessions in the Hinds County jail. Such practices, where they prevail, strike at the very heart of justice, and we condemn them unreservedly as crippling the operation of courts and the fair administration of the law. Although we are laymen and unversed in the processes of the courts, we are advised and verily believe that our entire judicial machinery, from the the Supreme Court of Mississippi down through the trial courts, jealously seeks out and voids convictions whenever there is even any reasonable probability of coercion.

Wide publicity in the press of the Nation has been given to certain events said to have occurred in our county jail in which it is alleged prisoners were beaten or abused. Witnesses and parties said to have been so abused have gone or been transported to the Nation's Capital and have appeared before congressional committees with great fanfare of publicity. During the weeks we have been in session, we have made a search

investigation of these matters and have exhausted every means or facility at our disposal to get at the real truth of the matter. We feel that a detailed report is in order concerning at least two of these charges.

First is the case of one Beatrice Young. This witness was transported to Washington and caused to testify before a committee of the Senate of the United States, and her testimony was heralded over the Nation. She was carried there to testify in aid of pending civil-rights legislation. She told a story of being abused in our jail.

Our painstaking examination shows, very briefly, the following to be the facts: The sister of Beatrice Young, Etta Jackson, a worthy and respected Negro woman, appeared at the sheriff's office and informed the officers that her 16-year-old daughter, Mildred Magee, was being led astray and into the path of moral delinquency by her sister, Beatrice Young. Seeking to settle the matter over the telephone, the officer testified he was met by a torrent of cursing, abuse, and threats from Beatrice Young. He then advised Etta Jackson he could go no further without a warrant. The Jackson woman, as the record shows before us, went to a justice of the peace and made a charge of contributing to the delinquency of a minor against Beatrice Young. The sheriff and this officer went to the home of Beatrice Young, stated the purpose of their visit and the nature of their warrant, and returned her to the county jail. They deny any mistreatment, and we find nothing to support the charge made by her of any beating. They do say that at one time they were compelled to seize her to prevent her doing bodily harm to herself. A fine was paid by Beatrice Young, we understand and our evidence shows, not by her but by her husband and she was released from jail. She was at the time, however, being advised by counsel highly competent to advise her.

Contributing to the delinquency of a minor is defined in section 7185–02, Mississippi Code of 1942, volume V, recompiled, as, among other things, inciting and encouraging a child to such conduct as "to injure or endanger the morals or health of himself or any other person." It can cover a variety of things.

Our studied judgment, after careful consideration of the evidence, is that Beatrice Young was contributing to the delinquency of Mildred Magee, the minor child of only 16 years. She was according to the proof before us, keeping this child away from her home; keeping her away from school; carrying her to taverns and places where drinking was going on, and subjecting her to the association of mature men who habituate such places. The proof shows that a strange Negro man carried her to her home for her clothes while her mother was away, and lurked in the distance while she went in the house for them.

When our officer went out to summon Beatrice Young before our body, he reported to us that he found her at Massie Hawkins' place. Massie Hawkins is a notorious criminal character who for more than 35 years has carried on bootlegging and gambling establishments and bawdy houses in this county and city. She was convicted more than 10 years ago for conducting a house of prostitution in which both white soldiers and Negro women were accommodated. That was during the late war when many soldiers were quartered in this city. Her character is so infamous as to contaminate any person found associating with her.

The proof shows that the officers did not drop the matter of looking after the Jackson child after Beatrice Young was in jail. The next day, Etta Jackson called and said she had not yet located the child. The deputies went on a search for the child and found her at the home of one of Beatrice Young's friends. They took the Jackson girl to the courthouse and contacted the youth court judge and placed her under his care.

We called before us the Honorable William T. Horton, our most respected and competent county judge and judge of the youth court of this county. He handled the case of the Jackson girl in his official capacity. The judge, noted for his most conscientious attention to all youth court matters, pictured to us the young Jackson girl as a girl of unusual talent and promise. It is not difficult to gather from the judge's testimony, though always dignified and restrained, that it is his opinion that unless rescued, the young Jackson girl would have been led into an immoral and dissolute life by the association of Beatrice Young.

We summoned before us two Government agents who were busily conducting an investigation under the direction of the Justice Department in Washington, at the very time we were attempting to carry out your honor's mandate to us to investigate these charges. This apparently caused great consternation in the Justice Department. Our district attorney, who himself testified before us, stated that the Justice Department representatives hurriedly informed him that the Federal Bureau of Investigation agents could not testify before a State grand jury. They were prevented by an Executive order.

The Justice Department advised the district attorney that their investigation showed that there was no foundation for the charges of Beatrice Young. The district attorney demanded a letter setting out just these facts. So far the letter has not been forthcoming.

* * * * *

And now, having rendered this report, the undersigned members of this grand jury pray that they be discharged, subject to the call of the court during the present term.

Soviet Threats Against Scandinavian Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the most striking development of recent weeks has been the aggressive campaign of the Soviet Union to intimidate some of the smaller countries of Western Europe. This campaign has been directed with great force against the Scandinavian nations.

The Scandinavians are not strangers to pressure from the East. They have resisted it before—and resisted it most effectively. There is heartening evidence that they do not intend to be intimidated.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial which summarizes the question very well, and which was carried in last Saturday's Washington Daily News, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THEY DON'T SCARE

There is heartening evidence that the Scandinavian countries are not going to be scared out of their boots by the latest Soviet threats.

Norway has indicated she will declare for herself whether to permit guided-missile bases to be stationed there under NATO—despite warnings by Soviet Premier Bulganin she would pay dearly for it if war came.

The Swedish press, and public officials, are properly indignant at such an obvious Moscow effort to frighten public opinion in the northern countries. Sweden herself previously had been accused of a linkup with alleged American espionage in the Baltic area. And Finland has been cautioned against a revival of the military spirit—meaning a readiness to talk up to Russia.

They are in good company—the growing list of free-world nations which in the past year have received blustering Bulganin letters or Pravda prophecies of doom. Recipients include Turkey, Iran, and the other Baghdad Pact members, Japan, France, England, and Israel—the last three in connection with the Middle East crisis.

The nervousness that Moscow betrays in these crude blackmail efforts is not likely to be overlooked on this vital northern flank of NATO. It can even help convince the Scandinavians of the very necessity of good defenses.

The Late Ramon Magsaysay, President of the Republic of the Philippines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, every week our beloved Chaplain, Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, writes a column which appears in the Washington Sunday Star under the heading "Spires of the Spirit."

In yesterday's Washington Sunday Star, Dr. Harris wrote an article entitled "To His Dying Day," in which he wrote of his visit with a great friend of the United States and a great friend of Dr. Harris, the late President of the Philippine Islands, Ramon Maysaysay.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPIRES OF THE SPIRIT

(By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U. S. Senate)

TO HIS DYING DAY

"I shall remember this hour to my dying day." So spake Ramon Magsaysay, intrepid leader of the Philippines last September in the palace at Manila. In the presence of a distinguished company of Americans and Filipinos, the Chaplain of the United States Senate, on behalf of Freedom's Foundation, had just presented to the President of the Philippine Republic a distinguished achievement award. On the plaque which the President took in his hands with evident appreciation and satisfaction were engraved these words: "Ramon Magsaysay has given accent to the fundamental belief in God underlying free life and has rendered unending, stern, effective opposition to cynical atheistic world socialism commonly known as communism." These words were read as the herald of Freedom's Foundation and the President of the Philippine Republic stood face-to-face in that impressive setting. In its dignified and ornate beauty the palace seemed vocal of the old Spanish days and

of the dawn of democracy when Admiral Dewey sent the Spanish squadron to the bottom of the bay.

Those privileged to be present will never forget the stirring reply made by President Magsaysay as perhaps as never before in a public address he vividly relived his valiant fight to rid the islands of the Huk menace backed by the Communists like vultures feeding on the misery of the Philippine people. There he stood that September day dressed in spotless white with his cabinet about him similarly attired. In that high hour Ramon Magsaysay looked the part he had conspicuously played over the turbulent years in the ceaseless fight to make men free. In his stalwart rugged form he was democracy incarnate. In his presence one became conscious of a word made flesh. From the common people he had come—to all the people he belonged. There was no man in Asia who loathed communism more. At first hand he knew its spurious promises and its venomous fangs. Yet the passion of his dynamic life was not to be against evil but to be for the good. With all his ardent nature he believed that the most deadly foe of communism is democracy practiced. The career of this Lincoln-like leader from auto machinist raised in the home of an obscure blacksmith, showed once again that when the Almighty seeks a man to carry out His purposes the path that took Honest Abe from pioneer railsplitter to the White House and to the ages is still open.

Magsaysay knew that every inch of appeasement costs a yard of aggression. He detested and repudiated anything which savored of a safe and straddling neutralism in that which he clearly saw was a global fight to the death against malignant forces. During his last 24 hours—literally on his dying day—in an address which to make cost him his life he declared, "Neutralism is un-Filipino." By that he meant that anywhere to shake hands with the devil of totalitarianism is treason to the free world. As was said eloquently in the chorus of lamentation on the floor of the United States Senate, "His death leaves the image of a man who saw that freedom was little more than a word unless it touched the weak as well as the strong, unless it reached down to the last rice farmer in the smallest barrio in the islands. The life and presidency of Ramon Magsaysay was dedicated to giving meaning to freedom." It was his proudest boast, "I gave the people what communism only promises." That was the telling blow that broke the back of the Huk gangster movement.

On that day in the palace with deep feeling he narrated the story of the smashing of that rebellion against law and order and of the ferreting out of communistic agents. He affirmed his belief in spiritual forces, for he was a devout Christian. He poured out his credo—his I believe—that day as America through the Freedom's Foundation said, "Well done."

Even as I write, open before me on the desk in the United States Capitol, with the white pillared loveliness of the Supreme Court framed by the nearby window, is a letter in which the sender speaks of the power of prayer in the world. There are very personal things in the message which it would not be fitting to quote, but here is a sentence: "I am thinking of your visit to the Philippines and the presentation of the plaque. That was a very memorable event for me and has encouraged me further to take every opportunity of forging closer the ties between the Philippines and the United States—two nations dedicated to the cause of freedom and democracy in the world." The letter is signed, "Cordially, Ramon Magsaysay."

Always to me our countries will seem closely linked and leagued and always will there be a wistful memory of a great occasion and a great personality as I carry an exquisitely fashioned inlaid walking cane with the Philippine coat of arms upon it and around it a silver band with the inscription, "To the Reverend F. B. Harris from President Magsaysay." The one from whose hands that gift was put into mine would have gladly adopted as his own lines which were written by another servant of humanity on the very day his life was snuffed out in a collision of trains. These verses might well be called "To My Dying Day."

"Let me die working.
Still tackling plans unfinished, tasks undone,
Clean to its end, swift may my race be run,
No lagging steps, no faltering, no shirking.
Let me die working.

"Let me die thinking.
Let me fare forth still with open mind,
Fresh secrets to unfold, new truths to find,
My soul undimmed, alert, no question blinking.
Let me die thinking."

And the verses not finished when the sudden summons came had been indicated thus, "Let me die giving, let me die aspiring." What a swan song to pen on life's last morning. Like President Magsaysay, the one who wrote those verses as the train rushed on to disaster, never reached his destination. And like him he fared forth as all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side. For Ramon Magsaysay's dying day was a coronation day—here and there.

"The Reasoning of the Rockhound"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a poem written by Mrs. Bea Thomas, entitled "The Reasoning of the Rockhound" and published in the January 1957 issue of the Western Associated Mining News.

In this effective bit of writing Mrs. Thomas has captured the essential spirit and motivation of the prospectors and other treasure hunters in our vast Western States, who roam the lonely hills and uplands in quest of precious metals.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE REASONING OF THE ROCKHOUND

(By Bea Thomas, penname, Sagebrush Sally)

Some folks say Rockhounds are crazy, perhaps they believe it too.
For to them the picture's hazy of the things we think and do.
They say do something useful, settle down and farm some land.
It's always easy to condemn what we do not understand.

Now the gold and the silver that backs the Nation's tills,
Represents years of patient searching over deserts, streams, and hills.
And the phosphate and the nitrate so essential to farm soil,
Are a tribute to the miner's careful study, search, and toil.

It's a pleasure to go walking in the morning after rain,
And find a lovely agate with a pattern clear and plain.
In those patterns is God's writing, everlasting on the rocks
And a lesson for our learning like a baby's painted blocks.

It matters little where I am, I'll be a Rockhound still,
Always hoping that I'll strike it, just beyond that next high hill.
I find peace and solace watching sunset colors change and blend,
And I'll follow dim old winding trails right to the journey's end.

Reduction of the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the people in this country are more concerned than at any time in my memory about economy in government.

I believe the people are opposed to extravagance in government at any level, and particularly in the Federal Government. The mail which comes to my office indicates that they are aroused and intend to seek and bring about greater economy in the Federal Government.

The senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] has been a stalwart figure in the Senate for 24 years, and has fought and earned the name of being the chief advocate of economy in government.

This year he has offered budget reduction suggestions amounting to a total of $6½ billion. These reductions would include $1½ billion for national-security activities, $2 billion for foreign aid and international affairs, and $3 billion for domestic civilian activities.

The Camden Chronicle, a newspaper in South Carolina, pointed out in a recent editorial that Senator BYRD "has a habit of going to the heart of matters in his public statements. He has done this in his analysis of the proposed $71.8 billion Federal budget."

Mr. President, I agree with this editorial and I agree with Senator BYRD. He is a great American, and his recommendations on the budget should be followed.

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent to have the editorial to which I referred printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEVER GETS OUT

Senator BYRD has a habit of going to the heart of matters in his public statements. He has done this in his analysis of the proposed $71.8 billion Federal budget.

Much of the increase, he says, is accounted for by an increase in civilian domestic spending. The budget would provide for Federal grants to States in 13 new fields

(bringing to 67 the number of such activities in which the Federal Government is involved). Total contributions would be $4 billion.

This has much more significance than its inflationary influence on 1 year's budget. For, as Senator BYRD states, "Once the Federal Government gets into a field it never gets out and it inevitably increases its contributions from year to year." So, if these budget proposals are approved, we will have established a precedent leading to ever-increasing spending in the years ahead.

How Secure Is Right of Jury Trial?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial from the Greenville (S. C.) News of March 29, 1957, entitled "How Secure Is Right of Jury Trial?" Former United States Senator Roger C. Peace is publisher of the Greenville News, and it is edited by Mr. Wayne M. Freeman, one of our able newspaper editors in South Carolina.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW SECURE IS RIGHT OF JURY TRIAL?

Rather smugly, perhaps, we Americans have taken for granted our right to a trial before a jury when we stand accused of violating the law.

So fixed in our system of jurisprudence and our common concepts of justice is the jury trial that few of us ever have stopped to consider the difference between having our guilt or innocence determined by a group of ordinary citizens and having a judge, a creature of the government, mete out justice single-handedly, as he alone sees fit.

Article III, section 2 of the United States Constitution, says that "The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury."

The 6th amendment, article VI of the Bill of Rights, spells out further the right to the accused in criminal proceedings "to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed. * * *"

It goes on to guarantee the accused the right to be informed specifically of the charges against him to confront the witnesses against him, to subpena witnesses in his favor and to be represented by counsel.

The 7th amendment, article VII of the Bill of Rights, provides that in suits at common law the right of trial by jury shall be preserved.

One would think that, with all these references in the Constitution, the right to a jury trial would be secure. But liberal elements, including our own Department of Justice, advocating passage of proposed "civil rights" legislation are teaching us that this basic right is not so secure as we might have thought.

For the bills now before the Congress would, in fact, deny persons accused of violating the civil rights of others the right of a trial by a jury of citizens of their State and district. And the NAACP and Attorney General Brownell are insisting on this provision of the bill. Attempts of southern Senators and Congressmen to write into it a guaranty of that right have thus far been beaten down.

If the bill is enacted, the Government would be empowered to bring civil, rather than criminal charges, against an individual accused of violating someone else's rights. He would be prosecuted by a Government attorney before a Federal judge, who might be sent in from outside his State, who would pass on the facts as well as the law and would pass sentence.

The accused would be just as apt to go to jail on the civil charge as he would if he were charged with a criminal offense in which the jury trial would be guaranteed. Indeed, the chances of his going to jail might be even greater.

But that is only part of it.

The bill would create a new division in the Justice Department with an unlimited number of lawyers employed to investigate and bring civil-rights suits. This division could bring suit in behalf of a named plaintiff, even though that individual had never raised a complaint. If the individual did complain, the Government would bear the whole cost of prosecuting his case.

The defendant, on the other hand, would find himself faced with the necessity of hiring a lawyer and, perhaps, of going through a long series of court proceedings that could very well break him financially.

This could become vicious persecution instead of reasonable prosecution.

This threat of persecution is no less real in another phase of the proposed civil-rights legislation relating to the creation of a commission empowered to investigate alleged incidents of discrimination, economic boycotts and the like.

If this plan became a reality, a citizen accused of discriminating against a member of a minority, or of applying economic pressure against him, could be ordered to report to a place in Washington at a given time and be subjected to an investigation. His need for counsel and, hence, the expense of defending himself, could be just as great as it would be if he were accused of some crime.

All of this is being proposed in the name of civil rights by persons calling themselves liberals.

How can we create rights by destroying rights? And how liberal is it?

Humane Slaughter of Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the Washington Star of March 31, 1957, published an article entitled "Congress Shows Interest in Humane Slaughter," written by Ann Cottrell Free. My colleagues well know of my own long-time interest in humane slaughter legislation and of my earnest hope that a meaningful humane slaughter bill will pass Congress during this session.

Tomorrow the House Agriculture Subcommittee will begin hearings on the humane slaughter bills now pending in the House. For that reason Mrs. Free's article is of considerable interest today, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS SHOWS INTEREST IN HUMANE SLAUGHTER

(By Ann Cottrell Free)

Growing political concern over an issue not often discussed by lawmakers, though it involves both heart and purse, is shaping up in Congress.

The issue is the extent to which the Federal Government should spread its mantle of protection over animals. Specifically, should there be a law providing a more merciful death for the millions of animals and fowl sold in interstate commerce each year?

On Tuesday, a House Agriculture Subcommittee will hear witnesses and examine five bills asking for compulsory human slaughter. Later, a Senate committee will study four bills.

The compulsory bills all ask that effective methods be used to make animals insensible to the thrust of the knife. They provide for a 2-year compliance period and exempt slaughter practices of religious groups, such as Orthodox Jews.

This 1957 congressional drive for humane slaughter is bipartisan. The Department of Agriculture, however, takes the view of the meat packers and opposes the proposed law.

AVOID EMOTIONAL APPEAL

Supporters of compulsory legislation avoid emotion and stick, instead, to facts and figures. The chief battleground is economics. The issue turns of packers' willingness to retool to modern ways. Packers freely admit their prime worry is the expense of installing anesthetizing equipment. But humane groups maintain that such equipment pays for initial expenditures in the long run.

While that dispute continues, these facts emerge:

Practical methods for humane dispatch are available.

Fifteen countries, all or in part, require humane methods.

Meat packing accident rate nearly doubles that of general manufacturing.

Meat packers lose millions annually from meat bruised or otherwise damaged during slaughter.

Economic loss in slaughter houses due to injury of man and beast is unusually high in this country. The struggle of excited animals often injures workmen. The Labor Department says that there are 21.3 accidents per million manhours in the meat packing industry compared to 12.1 in general manufacturing.

Injuries to animals are measured by losses suffered when bruised meat is turned down by inspectors. Such losses cost packers $16 million in 1955.

Few persons dispute that injury to man and beast can be eliminated if animals are anesthetized before being killed. The George A. Hormel Co., the first to develop the carbon dioxide tunnel, reports a saving of $50,000 on bruised hams the first year. Also the accident rate among workers dropped.

During Senate Agriculture Subcommittee hearings last spring conducted by Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, Democrat of Minnesota, on his bill, R. W. Regensburger, of Swift & Co., representing the American Meat Institute, went to the heart of the packers of the packer's objection:

"The cost of installing facilities * * * is exceedingly high by reason of building alterations and new enclosures to accommodate the unit."

The equipment runs in price from $3,500 for small units to $39,000 for the largest.

Somewhat less opposition is voiced over the adoption of substitutes for the traditional poleaxe used to knock out beef cattle. Already about a dozen companies are using more efficient weapons, such as the captive bolt pistol or a special stunning gun developed by Remington Arms. Packers' chief economic worry along this line has not been cost of weapon (prices range from $100 to $200) but damage to marketable beef brains.

UTAH SIDELIGHT

A dramatic political sidelight to the slaughter issue is being enacted by three Republican Mormons from Utah. In one corner Representative WILLIAM A. DAWSON. In the other, Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson and Senator ARTHUR V. WATKINS.

Mr. DAWSON introduced a compulsory slaughter bill after several letters to Secretary Benson. He was convinced that maintenance of the status quo was the objective of both the Department and the packers.

Mr. DAWSON'S bill, along with the other six introduced this session, apparently prompted the introduction of Senator WATKINS' bill. As pressure for legislation mounted, Agriculture and the packers realized that their view should be embodied in legislation, too. That view, as presented in S. 1213 by Senator WATKINS, provides for Agriculture Department-financed study and development of improved methods. Senator WATKINS does not ask for compulsory adoption of humane methods, but encourages their acceptance.

Milwaukee Welcomes the Industries of the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was pleased to note in the Friday, March 29, issue of the Milwaukee Journal an article concerning the appointment of an industrial task force of 20 leading Milwaukeeans, to serve as a clearing house for inquiries from businesses throughout the Nation which might be interested in locating in the Milwaukee area for industrial expansion purposes.

I commend the enterprising Milwaukee Association of Commerce for this fine effort, for this evidences more than the spirited activity of a city determined to move ahead in orderly progress; it demonstrates a grassroots self-reliance in looking after the needs of a community and of its population.

Mr. President, it may be recalled that on February 20 of this year I pointed out how the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago had issued a glowing report on Milwaukee's great future. The bank showed the Milwaukee had all of the necessary ingredients with which to be an outstanding attraction for American business.

It has a well-deserved nationwide reputation of civic pride. It is a clean city, in every definition of that term. It has a dynamic capital-goods iddustry, a skilled labor force, and port facilities that are generally regarded as the finest and most modern on the lakes system. It has diversified industry, with a tremendous variety of goods and services.

I send to the desk now this Milwaukee Journal article describing this splendid grassroots effort to further acquaint the Nation and the Nation's industries with Milwaukee's assets. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TASK FORCE TO AID IN BID FOR INDUSTRY—ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE APPOINTS 20 BUSINESS EXPERTS TO ASSIST FIRMS CONSIDERING SITES HERE

The Milwaukee Association of Commerce has organized an industrial task force of 20 Milwaukee business executives to act as a clearinghouse for inquiries from companies interested in the Milwaukee area as a potential industrial site.

Lester S. Olsen, association president, said Friday that the 20 fields represented on the task force were chosen as most likely to be of interest to a firm considering locating here. The executives chosen are considered to be experts in these fields.

CRABB IS COORDINATOR

Charles G. Crabb, manager of the association's industries division, who will act as coordinator of the task force, explained that its members would be called for consultation and advice.

"Depending upon the needs of an inquiring company," Crabb said, "only the task force members whose talents will be of help in solving specific poblems will be called on for guidance."

The task force members and their fields of representations are:

County coordination: William R. McGovern, former president of the Wisconsin Telephone Co. and a member of the Milwaukee County Park Commission. Investment and finance: Joseph T. Johnson, president of the Milwaukee Co., investment banking firm. Industrial communications: A. Walter Seiler, president of the Cramer-Krasselt Co., advertising agency. Vocational training: Ebner F. Luetzow, president of the South Side Laundry & Dry Cleaners and a director and secretary of the Milwaukee Vocation School.

TAX, POWER INCLUDED

Harbor and port operations: William D. Vogel, president of the P. & V. Atlas Industrial Center, Inc., and a director of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway Committee. Tax data and administration: Clarence H. Benton, parner of Reilly, Penner & Benton, certified public accountants. Electric power: Almer Skretting, general sales manager of the Wisconsin Electric Power Co. Water supply and resources: Samuel J. Gates, partner in Gates, Wiess & Kramer, water engineering consultants.

Industrial and labor relations: Robert G. MacDonald, vice president and industrial relations director for the Heil Co. Cultural facilities: Ben Barkin, partner in Barkin, Herman & Associates, public relations consultants.

Wage rates: Gerald H. Machesky, assistant manager in charge of special services, Wisconsin State employment service. Recruitment of labor force: Willet S. Main, Milwaukee district manager for the Wisconsin State employment service. Industrial sites: Frank L. Heilbronner of the Frank L. Heilbonner Co., industrial and commercial real estate specialists. City coordination: Roland D. Berger, city of Milwaukee industrial development coordinator.

Natural gas: Jack H. Mikula, sales manager for the Milwaukee Gas Light Co. Business research: James A. Swoboda, general partner, Paine, Webber, Jackson & Curtis, investment banking firm. Traffic and transportation: Frank L. DeGroat, general traffic manager, Jos. Schlitz Brewing Co. Metropolitan sewers: Raymond D. Leary, chief engineer and general manager, Milwaukee metropolitan Sewerage Commission. Construction costs: Louis J. Selzer, president of Selzer-Ornst Co., general contractors.

The task force was organized, Crabb explained, to supplement the industrial promotion campaign being conducted by the association's industries division since last November.

Three promotional mailings have been sent to manufacturers around the country so far and more are planned, Crabb said.

Dilemma Facing Pee Dee Tobacco Growers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Florence (S. C.) Morning News of March 29, 1957, which I believe expresses the feelings of most of our tobacco growers in South Carolina regarding our current tobacco problems. This excellent editorial is entitled "Leaf Hearings Reflect Dilemma Facing Pee Dee Tobacco Growers." The Florence Morning News is published by Mr. John M. O'Dowd, and it is edited by Mr. James A. Rogers, both of whom are able and experienced South Carolina newsmen.

The article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LEAF HEARINGS REFLECT DILEMMA FACING PEE DEE TOBACCO GROWERS

Two facts emerged clearly from the hearings here Wednesday on the tobacco acreage-poundage measure of Senator KERR SCOTT, of North Carolina: First, that Pee Dee farmers don't want it; and second, they aren't happy about the whole tobacco situation in general.

If Scott's measure should be enacted, it will be because of the preponderant influence of North Carolina growers. But even in North Carolina, sentiment on the measure is sharply divided. Certainly, Georgia and Florida gave the Senate subcommittee, even before they reached South Carolina, every reason to believe growers of those two States are opposed to it.

At the Florence meeting, Pee Dee growers took occasion to voice their disapproval of company buying and manufacturing practices. Specifically, they charged that the companies are not playing fair with the grower by failing to make it clear what kind of tobacco they want, that they are now using stems and trash, hitherto considered waste, and refuse to label the content of their cigarettes. What the farmer once considered quality tobacco is no longer quality tobacco but what quality tobacco is he doesn't know. He suspects, too, as suggested at the Wednesday meeting, that the tobacco companies are using the Stabilization Corporation as a storing agency and that this helps to account for the burdensome surplus now hanging over the heads of tobacco growers.

The farmer finds himself enmeshed in a tangle of conditions created by surplus supply, high yields, a revolution in consumption habits, acreage control, and stringent Govenment growing and marketing regulations. The Government has told him how many acres he can grow and now proposes legislation that would tell him how many pounds he can produce on these acres without penalty. To add to the difficulty, he examines a filter cigarette and finds a homogenized tobacco that includes stems, trash and floor scrapings that once had no value. He wonders whether there's any premium to

be obtained from growing now what he once thought was good tobacco. It is a many-faced dilemma.

What will be the outcome is anybody's guess at the moment. Nobody seems to be sure that any of the steps being taken or proposed are the answer to the problems. Another growing and marketing season may see the situation improved, or even worsened. But it is important to remember that the tobacco program under which the farmer has successfully operated stands in danger. It is a program that has cost the Government nothing. It has been self-supporting. At the same time it has permitted the tobacco farmer to have a 90 percent of parity guaranty when other crops were under lower price protection. It is important to protect that program. It would be a pity if the present difficult situation resulted in its loss.

Federal Tax Burden on States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include an editorial from the Livingston County Press, published at Howell, Mich., discussing the Federal tax burden as it falls on the people of the various States.

This editorial, like so much of my mail recently, reveals a growing awareness by the people that the cost of each Federal appropriation has a price tag which must be paid in Federal taxes. I assuredly agree with the main point of the editorial that the cost of every appropriation, however worthy, comes back in some degree to each and every taxpayer in the United States. People this year are demanding that Congress consider not only the merit of each expenditure but the tax burden it would impose. This editorial and the breakdown by States of the Federal tax burden can continually remind us just how appropriation bills will affect the taxpayers of our States.

THOSE FEDERAL TAXES

From a dozen sources comes news that lawmakers in Washington are being swamped with letters demanding they give careful thought to Federal spending—and specifically to the reduction thereof. Business interests, wage earners, and people in most every classification want those income taxes reduced.

Congressmen have always been impressed by the voice of the people raised in spontaneous concert, but will the result be a large reduction in the pending budget? Probably not, but if it will discourage the upward trend in spending perhaps we can hope for a little relief in another year. Postponed hope and continued high taxes can't keep receiving the congressional brushoff without rousing rebellion back home.

Publication of the staggering figures contained in the President's record-breaking, peacetime budget recommendations coinciding with the admission from all quarters that there could be no general tax reductions, apparently touched off this avalanche of spontaneous public interest.

Only five States pay more into the United States Treasury through Federal taxes than does Michigan. In view of the undoubted interest of our readers in the tax-and-tax, spend-and-spend routine, we print the following recent tabulation by the Council of State Chambers of Commerce in reference to the new Federal budget proposal:

	Percent of Federal tax burden borne by States	Cost of proposed budget to the States
Alabama	1.02	$732,360,000
Arizona	.47	337,460,000
Arkansas	.49	351,820,000
California	9.81	7,043,580,000
Colorado	.89	639,020,000
Connecticut	1.97	1,414,460,000
Delaware	.40	287,200,000
Florida	1.80	1,292,400,000
Georgia	1.34	962,120,000
Idaho	.25	179,500,000
Illinois	7.46	5,356,280,000
Indiana	2.62	1,881,160,000
Iowa	1.26	904,680,000
Kansas	1.06	761,080,000
Kentucky	1.09	782,620,000
Louisiana	1.16	832,880,000
Maine	.43	308,740,000
Maryland	1.93	1,385,740,000
Massachusetts	3.37	2,419,660,000
Michigan	5.63	4,042,340,000
Minnesota	1.68	1,206,240,000
Mississippi	.48	344,640,000
Missouri	2.50	1,795,000,000
Montana	.35	251,300,000
Nebraska	.66	473,880,000
Nevada	.20	143,600,000
New Hampshire	.31	222,580,000
New Jersey	4.22	3,029,960,000
New Mexico	.34	244,120,000
New York	12.65	9,082,700,000
North Carolina	1.42	1,019,560,000
North Dakota	.23	165,140,000
Ohio	6.48	4,652,640,000
Oklahoma	1.00	718,000,000
Oregon	.99	710,820,000
Pennsylvania	6.98	5,011,640,000
Rhode Island	.52	373,360,000
South Carolina	.66	473,880,000
South Dakota	.22	157,960,000
Tennessee	1.24	890,320,000
Texas	4.39	3,152,020,000
Utah	.37	265,660,000
Vermont	.16	114,880,000
Virginia	1.62	1,163,160,000
Washington	1.69	1,213,420,000
West Virginia	.75	538,500,000
Wisconsin	2.13	1,529,340,000
Wyoming	.17	122,060,000
District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico	1.14	818,520,000
United States total	100.00	71,800,000,000

The next time you want some Federal money as a pension for a veteran, aid for a worthy cause, a new building not entirely necessary, or a service we could perhaps do without—just remember it is the total of these things that increase taxes. If we are to have economy we will have to begin where it hurts—at home.

Speech of Hon. Winfield K. Denton, of Indiana, United States Representative, Eighth District, at the Thomas Riley Marshall Democratic Dinner, Honeywell Memorial Building, Wabash, Ind., Fifth Indiana Congressional District, Thursday, March 21, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to place in the RECORD a speech by our distinguished colleague from Indiana, the Honorable WINFIELD K. DENTON, which was delivered at the Thomas Riley Marshall Democratic dinner at Wabash, Ind., on March 21, 1957.

This highly interesting speech was called to my attention by the Honorable Paul Hillsamer, a good friend in Marion, Ind., who shares my high regard for the splendid service in this House by WINFIELD DENTON.

The address is an eloquent tribute to a former Vice President, who fought hard for the principles which made America great—the same principles for which WINFIELD DENTON is today fighting. His speech follows:

We meet tonight to honor a great American and a great Democrat: Thomas Riley Marshall.

Tom Marshall was truly a distinguished son of Indiana—the governor of our State for a very memorable 4 years, and for 2 terms Vice President of the United States. He was a typical Hoosier, and Wabash County can feel highly honored that he was born here, 103 years ago this month.

He was the son of Dr. Daniel Marshall, who was practicing in North Manchester during the 1850's, and whose family had settled in Indiana the year after statehood. His mother was a descendant of the famous Charles Carroll, of Maryland, who was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a leader in the American Revolution. His paternal ancestors came from Virginia, and he is reputed to have been related to the great Chief Justice, John Marshall. But it was in true Tom Marshall style that he said, "So far as I know I am the only man of my name who does not trace his origin * * * to the great Chief Justice * * * with the utter recklessness of a Hoosier, I do not care."

Because of the delicate health of his mother, Marshall's family left Indiana when he was 2 years old and traveled and lived in the West for a time, but they returned to the State when he was 6 years of age. Tom Marshall was educated in the Indiana schools, and graduated from Wabash College. He began the practice of law as a typical country lawyer at Columbia City, in neighboring Whitley County, where he became a leader in the community, in his church, and in his fraternal order.

Tom Marshall was an active Democrat at the age of 18; after more than 20 years' faithful work in our party, he became 12th district chairman, and thus a member of the Democratic State central committee, in 1896. But he was a candidate for public office on only one occasion before he ran for governor in 1908; he was defeated in an election for county prosecutor in 1880.

When he was elected Governor of Indiana in 1908, our party had been out of power in the State for 12 years. Not only did he bring new life to the party, but his administration was refreshing to the whole State. Tom Marshall brought to the statehouse a rugged honesty, a lively sense of humor, a thorough fairness, and discretion, a strong spirit of economy—and he was a liberal, as he said, "a liberal with the brakes on."

Marshall did not place much importance on family history; but he did have good reason in his family for being a Democrat. His father and grandfather were staunch supporters of the Union cause during the Civil War, but they were also partisan Democrats, and remained so, when, with the Union Army in the field and soldiers dying, feeling ran strong against the Democrats.

At that time, the two elder Marshalls were notified by the minister of their church that he would have to strike their names off the

church roll if they continued to vote the Democratic ticket. Marshall's grandfather announced that he was willing to take his chances on hell, but never on the Republican Party. His father withdrew from that church and joined a church of another denomination. You wouldn't think such prejudice as the Marshalls suffered then would show up at the present day; but I must mention that the man who now holds the second highest office in the land has accused all Democrats in effect of being traitors and disloyal to their country.

We Democrats can take pride in what Tom Marshall did as our Governor nearly 50 years ago. During his term in the State house, he advocated the direct election of United States Senators; a uniform primary election law; laws to prevent the watering of stock in corporations; better regulation of insurance companies; the creation of a State board of accounts; and labor legislation that included the employers' liability law (which paved the way for workmen's compensation), a mine-safety program, railroad-labor safety, a weekly wage law, and a child-labor law.

Marshall asked for a new State constitution; a State inheritance tax; a corrupt practices act; a voters' registration law; protection for bank depositors; and the power to break up business trusts and monopolies.

Such a program as that seems commonplace to us today (for most of it is now an accepted fact), but in Tom Marshall's time it was considered a very progressive program—some of it so progressive that he was unable to get it all enacted. In those days, Indiana ranked as one of the most progressive States of the Union.

What a far cry that is from what we have today—a State that now has enacted a misnamed right-to-work law.

Maybe those who pushed the right-to-work law get a kind of savage satisfaction out of punishing other people; but the passing of a law which would tend to destroy labor unions and deprive a working man of his hard-won right to organize and bargain collectively is not a laughing matter. It was a deadly serious business.

But doesn't it reflect the real spirit of the Republican Party in Indiana—clear to the highest office in the State? The new governor, who was elected last fall with certain labor support, did not lift even a finger to prevent the passing of this nefarious bill, but permitted it to be come a law without his signature. (I understand he has already had more visitors at the State house since he took office than any other Governor has had in the history of Indiana.) Why didn't he either sign or veto the so-called right-to-work bill?

There has been another change at the State house since Tom Marshall served there. When Marshall was governor, the State's expenditures were reduced, the sinking fund to pay the State debt was built up, and State taxes were lowered. Oh, if we could only have another State administration like that, after these years of Republican spending and waste in Indiana.

First, we had Governor Craig, who by his extravagance depleted the $75 million surplus which Governor Schricker had left in the State treasury when he retired from office. And now there is Governor Handley, whose regime in just 9 weeks has handed us an amazing list of tax increases and a State budget he has himself called fantastic.

This Republican budget ended up totaling nearly $800 million, even larger than the 1955 Craig budget, and it is the highest budget in the history of the State.

In spite of an early delay with some faulty arithmetic on tax rates, the Governor finally obtained a 50 percent increase in the gross-income tax. Also, he got a 50 percent increase in the gasoline tax. He got a payroll withholding tax on gross income. He got the taxes or fees raised on barbershop licenses, beautyshop licenses, birth certificates, marriage licenses, and death certificates. And he got the fees increased for fishing licenses and hunting licenses.

All of us have worried a lot about the cost if living. But, under Governor Handley, it is going to cost you more to be born, or to get married, or to die. Don't think you can get away from these taxes. You can't even relax and forget about them by going fishing or taking time out for a haircut.

With these new taxes popping up all around, one of my Republican colleagues in Washington received a letter the other day from a very angry Hoosier. He said, "If an election were held in Indiana today, the Republican ticket would draw only 3 votes; those 3 votes would be from Senator Jenner, Governor Handley, and Congressman Halleck."

I am going to let you in on a good one: Our Governor had been planning to make a trip to Washington last Thursday and give a talk to the United States Chamber of Commerce. Now the subject of his lecture to them was going to be, of all things, Economy in Government. (I heard he wanted to ask the Federal Government to move over a little and leave open more things on which he could levy taxes.)

But, as it happened, the Governor had to cancel the trip and remain in Indianapolis, because the legislature stayed in session 50 hours longer than he had thought they would. And, so long as that was the case, he might just possibly have a chance to put through a few more taxes here.

But let me get back to a more pleasing subject: Tom Marshall. After serving a very successful term as Indiana's Governor, he was nominated for Vice President on the ticket with Woodrow Wilson and was elected in the year 1912. He was reelected in 1916 and served in that office for a total of 8 years.

He raised quite a stir among the financiers when he got back East. Marshall was afraid of the power of great wealth, for he had already seen its manipulations here in Indiana. He feared that, unless the growth of wealthy interests were somehow controlled, free enterprise and democracy would be destroyed.

So, when Marshall became Vice President, he made a number of speeches dwelling on this danger in very plain-spoken terms. The eastern Republicans thought he was a reckless radical trying to pull down their temples. And the New York newspapers for years were incensed that Indiana had sent such a man to Washington. By 1920, these papers admitted he was a highly sensible Vice President.

That was no temporary problems about which Marshall gave warning. It is still with us. When we see a national administration today controlled by a Cabinet of 10 millionaires, and where the real power of Government is not in Washington but in Wall Street, we can realize all over again how sound was the advice he gave us then.

Woodrow Wilson's administration was a very progressive era, which saw the enactment of many long-needed reforms, and, while Marshall's private views differed with these in some respects, he gave them his loyal support as Vice President. Probably his greatest contribution to Wilson, however, was his patient and long-continued effort to obtain ratification of the League of Nations Covenant by the Senate, at the close of World War I.

Having worked so long and hard to build the idea of the League, only to fall critically ill at the peak of the struggle, Wilson saw his cherished plan at the mercy of the Republican Senate. Marshall, as the Presiding Officer there, sought by every possible means to steer the League Covenant through. Confronted on the one hand by Wilson's desperation, and thwarted at every turn by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and his band of Republican followers, Marshall cast about in every direction to find agreement on joining the League, but at last it was defeated after seven votes that were needed could not be found. There, the United States lost a great chance to take world leadership which might have avoided the tragedy of World War II.

In that fateful struggle in the Senate, Tom Marshall saw before his eyes the costly result of bitter Republican partisanship on a grave question of foreign policy. Before Wilson had negotiated in Paris to form the League of Nations, Senator Lodge and other leading Republicans had endorsed the idea. But when Wilson came back to get their formal approval, this cynical group took the opportunity to humiliate and discredit him as a public figure in order to better the political chances for the Republican Party.

For the moment, the Republicans won a victory; but no one can guess how great was the cost to America in the long run. Possibly we as a people did not fully realize our strength at that time. But we had world leadership thrust at us, and for 12 years under the Republican rule that followed we failed to grasp hold of it.

The United States has gone a long way since that time. Even our Republican Secretary of State today believes we should play a great part in world affairs—although he can never quite decide just what part it should be.

John Foster Dulles is a great world traveler, but it seems that every place he goes he stirs up discord and strife. Someone said Secretary Dulles has been to every place but the moon, and it is only with the moon that we are still enjoying friendly relations.

And, now, Dulles' zeal for travel seems to have spread to the rest of the team. A few days ago, Dulles was in Australia; NIXON was in Africa; and the President was cruising on the high seas. It seems that the whole Eisenhower team was on the road last week. But all our foreign policy seems to be is travel and conference, without aim or direction.

Why our foreign policy is so poor that other countries are practically forcing us back into isolationism. The other nations won't even have anything to do with us and we may be reaching the point soon where they won't even take our money.

We have no foreign policy today. What we need now is a foreign policy like we had under Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Harry Truman.

That Senate struggle in Tom Marshall's day when the League of Nations was beaten was not by any means the last time the Republicans have played politics with our foreign policy. We have seen plenty of that in recent years, no matter how much the Republicans like to make a show of bipartisanship. The Middle East situation is a prime example.

As all of us here remember very well, the Republicans unfortunately sought to make "war versus peace" an issue in the election campaign last year. They told the American people that our party was the party of war, but that the Republican Party was the party of peace. With good reason, the public was anxious about the possibility of a crisis developing around the Suez Canal. But the President and the Secretary of State went on playing the peace theme heavily and kept assuring everyone there was no danger of the United States' becoming involved in the Middle East.

The fact is, though, that the United States has a very important interest in the Middle East—to keep the great oil resources there available to ourselves and our allies in case of war and to keep this oil away from the control of our enemies. And, too, this Republican administration is very sensitive to what happens in the Middle East, because of the holdings of some large American oil companies in that area.

But, with the Republican peace cry being repeated day after day, apparently both our enemies and our allies took the Eisenhower administration at its word and felt they had a free hand to make their moves in the Middle East. Then the Suez Canal situation exploded and fighting broke out in late October.

Having pressed the peace issue so widely here at home, the Eisenhower administration found itself almost totally without influence among the troublemakers in the Arab world. As soon as the election was over, the administration began to try to shake off the peace label; but the Republican officials felt they had to get something besides their own word to back them in dealing with the Middle East situation.

So, the President and Secretary Dulles hurried to Capitol Hill early this year to ask that Congress reassure them of power already granted in the Constitution for the President to use American troops to protect our interests in the Middle East. The President also asked much greater freedom in spending $200 million of foreign-aid funds in that area. But the administration had first drawn up the proposal without consulting any Democrats in Congress, and got it publicized all over the world as American policy. Then they dropped it in the lap of Congress and staged a great plea for bipartisanship.

At that point, a refusal to support the Middle East proposal might have given the impression to the world that there was a division between the Republican President and the Democratic Congress on a matter so vital as preventing Communist aggression. Congress had no sensible alternative then but to approve the measure in some form, but we did modify the Middle East resolution, to make it clear that President still has the constitutional duty of carrying out foreign policy, and also to make sure Congress keeps some control over spending for foreign aid.

Here we saw a Republican administration in severe difficulty, because of their reckless campaign statements, now calling upon a Democratic Congress to save them from the predicament in which their folly had placed them. The Democrats in Congress had a tempting opportunity to take partisan advantage of this Republican administration, who had blundered into this Middle East crisis and then reaped political profit from it last November.

Instead, the Democrats in Congress rose above party and showed once again their refusal to play politics with the national interest in the face of danger. How different things might have been if the Republican Party had shown such bipartisanship with the League of Nations when Tom Marshall was Vice President.

The Republican Party did not have much of a program in Tom Marshall's day. Mainly, it consisted of blind, bitter opposition to every move of the Democrats, such as we saw in the League of Nations debate. And the Republicans have never developed any program since then.

Oh, for 20 years they cried and yelled about Government spending and financial insolvency. They said that Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman were taking the Government to wrack and ruin. I wonder how the Republicans feel about that today?

When their General was a candidate in 1952, he went up and down the country making pious statements about economy, and ridiculing the Democrats for what he called crazy spending. General Eisenhower promised he would cut the budget down to $60 billion, reduce the national debt, and cut taxes. But, even with an administration loaded with the tycoons of industry and business, what has happened?

The Eisenhower budget this year is $73.6 billion—the highest in peacetime history. Whereas the Truman administration showed a net surplus of $4 billion in the 6 fiscal years after World War II, under Eisenhower the Government has gone in the red nearly $6 billion.

In 4 years with Eisenhower the national debt has gone up $9 billion, while the Truman administration had reduced the debt $12 billion below its World War II peak. By the end of June, the Eisenhower administration will have spent $61 billion more than the expenditures under Harry Truman in a comparable 4½ years. I wonder if the economy General Eisenhower promised is still somewhere just around the corner?

As to the tax cut he promised, that came to pass—not for you and me, of course, but for the corporations, who got 73 cents out of every dollar of benefit.

So long as we have known our party, the Democrats have always moved forward with a positive program. We have seen such programs as the new freedom in Tom Marshall's time, and, in more recent times, the New Deal and the Fair Deal.

Now when President Eisenhower looked over the election returns last fall, and saw the Republicans were unable to elect a Congress, no matter how popular their candidate for President was, he decided maybe they had better bring out something new.

So, the President announced he was going to remake the Republican Party (and for that statement he deserves a medal for bravery)—he was going to remake it along the lines of a new Republicanism. Now let's see what this new Republicanism is, if we can.

From the President or various officials in his administration have come statements saying we should repeal the union-busting provisions of the Taft-Hartley law; that we should extend the minimum-wage law to more people; that we should enact a law giving women equal pay for equal work; that we should extend the public-housing program; and that we should provide Federal aid for school construction.

Also, they are urging that the States improve their workmen's-compensation and unemployment-insurance laws; that employers give more job opportunities to people over 45; and that Congress provide increased appropriations for medical and educational research, reduction of juvenile delinquency, and assistance for retarded children.

All of this sounds very much like New Deal and Fair Deal programs, which the old-line Republicans denounced so bitterly for 20 years. I am afraid it is going to be a bitter pill for them to swallow such proposals now, and I predict they won't.

But the real test of whether the Eisenhower administration is sincere about this new Republicanism and liberal welfare programs is going to come when we see if the administration asserts itself and exercises the leadership necessary for these programs to get the support of Republicans in Congress.

There have been a few occasions when the President did exert leadership to get certain bills through Congress. He used White House pressure to get the tidelands oil bill passed without amendment; to kill a bill to preserve the waterpower resources in Hells Canyon for the benefit of all the people; and to prevent any change in Ezra Taft Benson's program of sliding-scale farm prices.

Do any of us really think the President will use the same influence of his office, to put across the New-Deal-type measures he claims to favor, as he did when the interests of the big oil companies and utilities syndicates were at stake? I have my doubts.

When President Eisenhower submitted this year's budget that broke all peacetime records, his closest friend in the Cabinet, Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey, immediately called a press conference—obviously with the approval of the administration. At this press conference, Humphrey said the budget should be cut, and that, if it were not cut, there would be a depression that will curl your hair.

We called Secretary Humphrey before the House Appropriations Committee, and asked him for suggestions about where the budget could be cut. But he was unable to give any particulars. Since then, other administration officials have kept the publicity going about wanting a budget cut, but they never name any items they want cut.

Thus, we find the administration trying to play both sides of the street. They propose liberal programs to please the liberals, and are willing to let the reactionary Republicans kill the legislation in Congress. They propose a recordbreaking budget, with large expenditures for all liberal programs; and then they have Secretary Humphrey, the darling of the conservatives, proclaim that the administration wants Congress to cut the budget.

There you have the new Republicanism. This plan of talking out of both sides of the mouth has worked very well under General Eisenhower, who is regarded by many people more as a constitutional monarch than as a President. But when the Republicans have to select another candidate for President, from among less popular men, I don't believe they will find a man who will have such a chameleonlike disposition that he can be all things to all people.

Signs are on the horizon that a bitter storm is brewing in the Republican Party over the question of how far to push the new Republicanism. But, in the meantime, if anyone asks you what a new Republican is, you can tell him: A new Republican is one who talks like Franklin Delano Roosevelt—and then votes like Herbert Hoover.

When Tom Marshall was nominated and elected Governor of Indiana, the Democratic Party had been out of power for 12 years. The party here in the State was disorganized, and it was broke.

I have heard the elder Judge Spencer, a former State supreme court justice who lived in my home county of Vanderburgh, tell of the condition of the party's finances when he served with Tom Marshall on the Democratic State Central Committee. There was no money in the party treasury; there was not even money for postage. So, each of the 13 members of the State committee contributed $5 to buy stamps. That made $65, and it was all the money the Democratic State Central Committee had.

In 1908, the Indiana Republicans were split, as they are now. But there was also bitter dissension in the Democratic Party. There were six candidates for Governor in the Democratic convention of 1908. There were the organization candidate, and the antiorganization candidates; then there were Tom Marshall and three other candidates.

Marshall was nominated on the fifth ballot, as a dark horse. His own District, the 12th, supported him solidly, but he was largely unknown over the State of Indiana.

When he made his acceptance speech, he stated, in effect, that when a new emperor was crowned in ancient Rome, the soldier legions marched in review before him. The head of each legion lifted his hand to heaven and swore to be loyal to the emperor and to Rome, and then every common soldier, raising his right hand, cried out, "This for me."

Marshall noted there were then a number of hyphenated Democrats in Indiana, of one faction or another, but that, like the Apostle Paul who had determined to know none among the Corinthians save Jesus Christ, he was determined to know none among his party save just plain Democrats.

Tom Marshall concluded that speech by saying that he would not accept the nomination unless every man in the convention rose to his feet, lifted his hand to heaven,

and pledged that from that time forward he would be a Democrat and nothing else.

He immediately undertook the task of solidifying the Democratic Party in the State. Marshall was elected in 1908, in spite of the fact that the Republican candidate for President carried Indiana that year, and that all the State offices went Republican but two.

Marshall was so successful in unifying the party that a Democratic Senator was nominated and elected 2 years later without serious opposition. And, 4 years later, Samuel Ralston was nominated for Governor unanimously and the Democrats of Indian rallied behind Tom Marshall in a solid body when he was nominated for Vice President.

Today, we have a Democratic majority in both Houses of Congress, in spite of the fact there is a Republican President. There are 29 Democratic governors to the Republicans' 19.

Here in Indiana, we have our share of county and township offices over the State. Today, 73 out of Indiana's 106 mayors are Democrats—the highest percentage in the history of the State. Why, I have heard it said that the Republican Party was founded here in Wabash County, but the city of Wabash now has a Democratic mayor.

But there are two Republican Senators from Indiana, a Republican Governor, and a Republican in every office in the statehouse. It is true we have discord and dissension in our party. But conditions are too serious in the State and the Nation, and Republican mismanagement is too great, for us to enjoy the luxury of party strife.

Let us follow the example of Tom Marshall and serve notice that there will be no hyphenated Democrats, and that we are determined to know just plain Democrats.

In Tom Marshall's figure of speech, let each Democrat lift his hand to heaven and pledge to be just a plain Democrat and nothing else.

If we can but go forward as a united party, the Democrats will be returned to power in the State of Indiana. Indiana is ripe for a Democratic victory.

A New Way to Handle Gifted Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, we of Oregon are justifiably proud of the enlightened program put into effect by the Portland school system for the selection of so-called gifted children, and for the full development of the skills and potentialities of these special students.

An excellent article about this program appeared in the March 31 issue of Parade magazine, under the title, "A New Way to Handle Gifted Children."

The article pays tribute to the leadership of Clifford W. Williams in heading this program, and of a capable and idealistic Portland teacher, Mrs. Idella Watson, in originating it. The undertaking is of particular interest to Mrs. Neuberger and to me, because Mrs. Neuberger herself is a former Portland schoolteacher of physical education and English. Furthermore as chairman of the House education committee in Oregon's State Legislature, she helped to sponsor and put through a pilot program for training teachers to assist so-called exceptional children, who often are children at the other end of the spectrum—that is, children who, through no fault of their own, are mentally or physically retarded.

I ask that the fine article from the March 31 issue of Parade, which appeared in this city with the Washington Post and Times Herald, be printed in full in the appendix of the RECORD, so that other members of Congress may become familiar with the splendid leadership of Portland's school district No. 1 in this vital field.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A NEW WAY TO HANDLE GIFTED CHILDREN

PORTLAND, OREG.—At Alameda School here recently, a group of sixth-graders put their heads together to build a Geiger counter. "I don't know what they'll do with it," their teacher commented. "Probably make the greatest uranium strike in history. With these kids, nothing would surprise me."

Portland parents know what she meant. They feel "these kids" are teeming with surprises—and have been for 5 years, ever since this city launched an experiment that may rescue the forgotten children of United States education: the student with real brainpower.

Today in Portland, high-IQ students—from 5th grade through 12th—receive special direction in all classes and meet once daily for special classes. For the first time, bright students are being given their heads.

One high-school class is receiving instruction from a Reed College professor in projective geometry, the binary system of numbers and other mathematics beyond the ken of most adults. A group of sixth-graders is digging simultaneously into physics, optics, and astronomy. One seventh-grade girl read 60 books—more than 3 a week—on top of her regular work.

Despite such feats, the students keep asking for more—and more yet. "It's impossible" wailed a 14-year-old recently. "I won't live long enough to learn all I want to know."

Yet too often the very thing that distinguishes a gifted child is his distaste for school. The schools have to educate everyone, and the pace is that of the slowest learner. For a bright student's far-ranging mind, school is a prison.

WHY BRIGHTIES GO WRONG

So he is bored. Often he is lazy. Or he thinks up pranks to keep himself occupied. Some years ago, a student here was picked up by police. To his teachers' surprise, he was found to have an extremely high IQ.

That was Portland then, and it is much of the United States now. True, many bright students emerge from school brimful of knowledge and eager for more. But educators admit that this often is in spite of the schools, not because of them.

In isolated cases, things are changing. The science-engineering shortage has turned the spotlight on brains, and schools in a number of cities have realized they were doing little to produce them. In Portland, the program actually dates back to 1947, the year an extraordinary number of bright boys turned up in Mrs. Idella Watson's Grant High School mathematics class. They whizzed through their regular work, demanded more.

ELECTRONICS AND CALCULUS

Mrs. Watson, a teacher with a flair for experiment, decided to give it to them. She went to a Reed professor and asked for help. Soon Mrs. Watson's bright boys were getting lessons in electronics, radar, and calculus—all well outside the usual high-school diet. They loved it.

More Reed professors got into the act with other subjects. By the end of the year, 50 boys and girls were voluntarily attending these high-level discussion groups. Portland authorities looked at the results and decided to put the program on a regular footing. They went to the Fund for the Advancement of Education, an arm of the Ford Foundation, and got $400,000 for a 5-year start.

Looking back, even the program's cautious director, Clifford W. Williams, admits the $400,000 has been well spent. Portland set up its experiment on a control group basis. In 14 of 72 elementary schools and 8 of 12 high schools, bright kids were given special classes and extra work; in the others, they pegged along at the old pace.

All of the results indicate students in special classes got more—a lot more—out of school. Williams has recommended that the board of education end the experiment and extend the program citywide next fall.

Then as now the goal will be not geniuses but all children with special talent, whether in specific subjects or such attributes as leadership. Tests for these things (IQ's, personality tests and such) start early here. Unlike other cities, however, Portland backs them up with close observation, interviews, and intricate records that note all signs of real brainpower.

After 5 years, the students have been studied and compared and reexamined for special gifts. What amounts to the top 10 percent has been identified. And the special classes begin.

The child gets a choice. For 1 hour a day, he can take a stepped-up course in social science and English, or in foreign languages, or in science and mathematics. The group works together, at a fast pace, but there is plenty of room for individual projects.

The students dive into these with enthusiasm. One seventh-grader, in a literature course, recorded his book reports on tape; the finished version included background music, voices of neighborhood children acting out parts, street noises and other sound effects.

The projects get more and more elaborate as the students move through school. By high school, a student may be taking 2 or 3 special classes and working up projects for each. One recent senior coupled work on a home-made electronic brain with a tremendous volume of reading in literature.

Nor are the classes always in allied fields. A student sometimes spends a year in a high-powered math course and the next year switches to literature. The whole approach has been kept flexible. Neither Williams nor the school board wants to be accused of running a crash program to grind out scientists, as some other classes for the gifted have done.

STUDIES PLUS

Special classes require only an hour a day; the rest of the time the students spend with their classmates. But while they study the same American history course as the boy at the next desk, they are loaded with special projects, outside reading, more detailed questions—all of which give them vastly more knowledge of the same ground. Teachers, particularly those handling special classes, have lightened loads so that they can be better prepared to channel the bright students.

Results now are appearing in the colleges. Reed and Oregon State Colleges have instituted special courses for alumni of the project and projects like it. Several of last spring's graduates won scholarships handily.

This might indicate that the project has succeeded in its long-range goal—training brains for the years beyond school—but Williams hesitates to say so. Not for 10 or 15

years, he feels, will Portland know the full results of the project.

THEY'RE REALLY SPECIAL

Currently Portland's children are riding high; but their classmates do not seem to mind. One of the reasons for keeping the brighties with average groups was the fear that they might be regarded as odd. Actually, the reverse has happened; some of those passed over for special classes have been cramming frantically, trying to get in.

Nor has Portland found any evidence that its bright kids fit the stereotype of the sickly, bespectacled little genius. One of the best students to come out of the program recently was a 6-foot 8-inch basketball star. Another was president of the student body for 2 years. The special students participate in all school activities and furnish the leadership for many of them.

At the same time, those few who aren't born leaders, athletes or glad handers have found a new source of strength. One mother reports her boy wanted much to be admired; he had tried football, basketball, track, but wasn't quite good enough. After work on his special project—his own radio network—he became the idol of a radio-minded clique of classmates. And he's happy.

In Portland, and schools across the United States should take notice, it's smart to be smart.

Joker in Federal Grants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Camden (S. C.) Chronicle of March 27, 1957:

JOKER IN FEDERAL GRANTS

Federal grants-in-aid to the States and to local government—which are now made for all manner of purposes, running the gamut from airports to traveling libraries—are the biggest con game in politics. And it is an ever-expanding con game, which is currently adding $5 billion a year to our Federal tax bill.

That is the opinion of a man who has had considerable experience with these grants-in-aid—Alfred E. Driscoll, former Governor of New Jersey. His account, written in collaboration with Charles Stevenson, appeared in a recent issue of the Reader's Digest.

Governor Driscoll defines grants-in-aid as "nothing more than our own taxes which Federal bureaus distribute to States and localities for specified services, usually with the requirement that the recipients put up some matching cash." In an earlier era, the grants involved comparatively small sums of money, and most of that was earmarked for roads. Today, by contrast, they have become, in his words, "the fastest-growing gimmick in politics" and they embrace some 50 different programs.

The grants have come in for heavy attack from authoritative quarters. The Governors' conferences have demanded their curtailment time and time again. The Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, created at President Eisenhower's request early in his first administration, came up with all kinds of evidence of waste. "Yet," says Governor Driscoll, "pressure groups and politicians, lacking the ability or courage to sell their projects to their own hometown or home State constituents for financing at home, prevail upon Congress to hand out more and more Federal tax money."

There is, as the article makes clear, nothing free about this money. In the first place, Government rules concerning wages and other matters tend to run the costs up. Payments to contractors may be long delayed, so bids are frequently increased to compensate for this. According to a Missouri official, "In most cases a community could build an adequate facility for less than its half-share of the Federal aid project." Then there are so-called concealed costs, such as Federal administrative overhead. No one knows how big this total comes to, but an investigatory commission found that for every dollar granted for slum clearance, about 22½ cents went for Federal overhead and the figure for low-cost housing is estimated at 39.9 cents.

Governor Driscoll disputes the claim that the grant money goes to areas so poor they can't supply their own essential services. He says, "Since qualifying for a grant usually means putting up matching funds, the biggest returns go to those States which repudiate economy and, at the sacrifice of real requirements, put the bulk of their cash into Washington-blessed programs designed to produce handouts at the expense of somebody else."

The root-trouble of the grants-in-aid concept seems to have been well summed up by our own James F. Byrnes in these words: "Whenever a State or county receives a grant which officials can spend without the responsibility of collecting the money by taxes, you are certain to have extravagance." Governor Driscoll quotes that and concludes, "Let us destroy this free-money myth before it destroys us."

Reply to Drew Pearson's Washington Merry-Go-Round Published Friday, March 29, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MILLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. MILLER of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted I wish to call to the attention of the Congress, particularly the House of Representatives, my reply to the column entitled "The Washington Merry-Go-Round" written by Drew Pearson as it appeared in many newspapers Friday, March 29, 1957.

My reply follows:

I have read with some interest and great astonishment today's column entitled "The Washington Merry-Go-Round" written by Drew Pearson, in which he once again by inference, innuendo, and distortion attempts to prove that my motives, in attempting to correct what I deem to be objectionable features in the civil-rights bills introduced this year in the House of Representatives and recently considered by the House Committee on the Judiciary, are prompted by an unholy alliance which I have with Representatives SMITH and COLMER, of the House Committee on Rules. According to Mr. Pearson, the alleged purpose of this alliance is mutual help in defeating civil-rights legislation and promoting the redevelopment of the Niagara hydroelectric project by private enterprise.

The fact and indisputable truth of the matter is that on the 9th day of July 1953 Congressman SMITH, of Virginia, and Congressman COLMER, of Mississippi, voted in favor of the bill which I had introduced providing for the development of the additional hydroelectric power in the Niagara River by private enterprise. I think that vote is consistent with their entire public record in the House of Representatives and occurred long before I had met either of the gentlemen personally and years before there was any civil-rights legislation before the House of Representatives for consideration. All who are familiar with the governmental philosophy of Messrs. SMITH and COLMER would know that I did not have to compromise a single principle in which I believe in order to enlist theid aid in support of my position concerning the Niagara redevelopment project. However, the Pearson story becomes more rdiculous when, because of the Schoellkopf disaster of last year and because of the critical emergency of the present power situation in the Niagara frontier, I am no longer promoting my private enterprise position but have this year introduced a compromise measure providing for the development to be made by the Power Authority of the State of New York and I could almost state, without fear of opposition, that neither Mr. SMITH nor Mr. COLMER are aware of this change of circumstances and of the introduction by me of an entirely new bill incorporating an entirely new concept for the development of the Niagara project. As a matter of fact, with but very slight differences there is no longer any conflict existing concerning the Niagara power project which has to be resolved by the House of Representatives.

It is true that I introduced and originally supported a year ago a civil-rights bill. It is also true that after further study and further examination of the Constitution and laws pertaining thereto and a further probing of my conscience, I moved to recommit the bill when it was up for consideration before the House of Representatives. But contrary to Mr. Pearson's statement, I did not succeed in blocking the bill. I made that motion on July 19, 1956, and my reasons therefore were fully set forth by me and are still fully set forth in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that day. I based my objections on the Constitution and statutory laws as I know and understand them. What has been the history of this legislation since my remarks of July 19, 1956?

1. My first objection was that the legislation created a commission with the authority to subpena anyone in this country to any place within the country no matter how far distant from their home and hold them interminably at their own expense.

The Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary by unanimous action, including the votes of the present authors of the civil-rights legislation, Representatives CELLER and KEATING, of New York, voted to amend the bill to provide that a person could be subpenaed to a place only within the judicial district in which he resides and that he must be paid a witness fee and a mileage allowance at the time he is served with a subpena.

2. I charged that a person could be subpenaed for interrogation on some loose allegation that he was exerting unwarranted economic pressure on somebody.

The subcommittee again by unanimous action amended the bill to provide that all allegations against someone must now be in writing and sworn to and the provision of the bill relating to unwarranted economic pressure and social and economic problems were stricken from the bill upon an amendment offered by me in full committee on the grounds that this was an authorization to a presidential commission to make investigations into the fair-employment practices field which the Congress has repeatedly refused to authorize and because it was an encroach-

ment into a field in which the Federal Government has no constitutional jurisdiction.

3. I charged again on July 19, 1956, that the bill permitted the utilization of the services of an unlimited number of volunteers to work for this commission and to be paid a per diem allowance. I charged that this was a highly emotional issue and that no one would volunteer for work in this field who was not biased and prejudiced on one side or the other of the issue and that there were already at work in this country many volunteer organizations crusading on both sides of the issue.

As a result of this charge, the full committee unanimously, including the authors of the legislation, accepted the amendment restricting the number of volunteers assisting in the work of the Commission to 15 and the report will include a statement that no more than 8 shall be from any 1 particular organization.

4. On July 19, 1956, I charged that the provision of the bill authorizing the Attorney General to institute an action in the name of an individual against an individual defendant without the Attorney General even having the permission of the person in whose name the action was to be instituted constituted barratry in its worse form and was something if done by any other lawyer would subject him to disbarment proceedings.

As a result of this charge, the committee considering the bill, not upon my motion, voted to provide that the Attorney General could institute an action for protection of civil rights for the United States or in the name of the United States, but could not act as an attorney for one individual in a litigation involving another individual.

On July 19, 1956, I set forth two other objections to the bill in its then present form. I attempted to correct one of these objections by an amendment which Mr. Pearson referred to as a "hamstringing" civil-rights amendment and which did lose by a vote of 15 to 17 in the full Committee on the Judiciary and not in the Rules Committee as reported by Mr. Pearson. It is highly significant to me and I think it should be to the reading public of America that although Mr. Pearson professes to know the full details of all that occurred in this executive session of the Judiciary Committee, he does not attempt to describe or explain the amendment which I offered and which lost by a close vote, but simply prefers to refer to it as a "hamstringing" civil-rights amendment.

The amendment which I offered reads as follows:

"Notwithstanding any other provision of law or of the rules of procedure of the United States district courts, in all cases of contempt arising in any proceeding under this act, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the contempt shall have been committed.

"This section shall not apply to contempts committed in the presence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere directly with the administration of justice."

Under title 18 of the United States Code, all persons tried in criminal contempt cases are entitled to a jury trial except where the United States is a party to the action. This civil-rights legislation provides for actions to be brought by the Attorney General against individuals in the name of the United States, so without the amendment which I offered, people would not be entitled to a jury trial. It is most noteworthy that when the Congress has passed labor legislation such as the Norris-LaGuardia Act, it always contained provisions that even though the United States was a party to an action, the defendant in a labor dispute would be entitled to a jury trial. Should we not extend the same protection of the law to local police officers, school board members, and others as we extend to leaders and members of labor unions? I am in favor of the protection accorded to leaders and members of labor unions and so I am in favor of the same treatment being accorded to all segments of our people. What Mr. Pearson fails to report is that this identical amendment, when offered in the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, was supported by Senator JOSEPH O'MAHONEY, Democrat of Wyoming, who has and is proud of his record as a liberal and is reputed to be as his record would indicate, a staunch supporter of public power and an arch foe of the public utilities industry from whom I am accused by Mr. Pearson of having an abnormal loyalty.

In my House floor speech of July 19, 1956, I also objected to the provisions of the bill which authorizes the Attorney General in instituting civil-rights actions to circumvent the State courts and State administrative machinery which I believed then and now believe to be a fundamental rock upon which our system of States rights rests.

An attempt was made in the full Committee on the Judiciary to correct that section which effort I supported, although I did not inaugurate it. But that effort was defeated in committee. What Mr. Pearson fails to disclose concerning the executive session of the Judiciary Committee on which he reports is that I voted against several amendments offered by the so-called southern bloc which were aimed at crippling or defeating the legislation. I am not now in the position nor have I ever been in the position of opposing a civil-rights bill in any form and under any circumstances.

In closing, I wish to repeat what I stated on July 19, 1956. I believe now and have believed all my life in the fundamental proposition of civil rights. It is a fundamental precept of the creed and religion in which I believe. In the emotion and hysteria surrounding this legislation, it must be remembered that in this country, thank God, we still have a Government of laws and not of men. It is generally believed that this bill is designed and has for its purpose the promotion of the interests and equality of the colored race. But no where in this bill does the word "colored" appear. It refers only to minorities and all of us whether because of our race, our color, our creed, our religion or our national origin, are—standing alone—a minority. This legislation, in the hands of the wrong type of commissioners or law-enforcement officers, could be a vehicle for the persecution of any or of all of us, unless the bill includes proper constitutional safeguards. If the day ever comes when it is felt expediency is more important than constitutional law, we will come very close to the total destruction of the principles which have made our country the greatest and strongest in all the world. Since the beginning of our country, all minorities, within and because of our constitutional framework, have risen to the highest standards of living of any groups anywhere in the world. This is and will be increasingly true of the colored race, but if we disregard our constitutions and our laws in an effort to help them now, someone else at another time may also disregard the constitution and laws of the land to destroy them.

So that there will be no misunderstanding, may I therefore repeat that if the objectionable provisions of the former bill which have been deleted by committee action are not restored by floor action, and if the amendments which I have referred to relating to jury trials and States rights are enacted, I will gladly and enthusiastically speak for, support and vote for the legislation. Otherwise, I would once again vote against the measure not because of any alleged unholy alliance but because of my profound devotion to the constitutional system of government which I have taken an oath to protect and preserve.

Six Billionth Ton of West Virginia Coal Will Be Mined During April 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, the sixth billionth ton of West Virginia coal will be mined during this month of April 1957, a significant moment in the economic progress of the beautiful State of West Virginia.

Coal is one of America's most versatile and precious minerals. It made possible the tremendous industrial revolution of our country in the past half century. Without this most basic fuel—the United States would still be the agrarian Nation of Thomas Jefferson's time—a nation of small farmers and a limited national economy. Our tremendous production and consumption of electric power—the network of rails transversing the country from ocean to ocean—the development of our great manufacturing centers—our industrial might—came about because of the availability and production of coal. Without this miracle mineral America could not have successfully defended our way of life through our recent World Wars.

Coal is West Virginia's principal industry and the keystone of our State's economy.

Especially is the mining of the sixth billionth ton of West Virginia coal significant when we realize that West Virginia still has recoverable deposits of over 52 billion tons.

Coal was first found in the West Virginia section of the Appalachian Basin in 1750. Just 50 years later, in 1800, a few commercial mines commenced production in Brooke and Monongalia Counties in northern West Virginia.

In 1863, the historic year in which West Virginia became the 35th State of the Union, West Virginia for the first time produced one-quarter million tons of bituminous coal annually. With the closing of the Civil War, West Virginia's coal production rose rapidly, and by 1869 our annual production first exceeded 1 million tons. Following World War I, in the year 1923, West Virginia's annual production exceeded 100 million tons.

There are workable seams of coal found in 49 of West Virginia's 55 counties which include 37 counties with mines that are currently in production. In 1931, West Virginia became the Nation's chief producer of bituminous coal and has retained this distinction ever since. With our remaining recoverable deposits exceeding 52 billion tons—West Virginia will retain this leadership.

It is interesting to note that West Virginia will produce approximately 30 percent of the 516 million tons estimated to be produced in United States coal mines this year.

It is with a feeling of pardonable pride that I have the honor to represent the

Fifth District of West Virginia, the Nation's second largest coal-producing congressional district, which is currently mining nearly one-third of West Virginia's total annual output.

Mr. Speaker, I feel it is entirely fitting to pause these few moments—to pay tribute and give justly due credit to the coal operator and the coal miner, who join together—each dependent upon the other—to accomplish this remarkable feat. Appropriate recognition goes also to the investor, the railroads, railroad labor, and our shipping industry, who make it possible to deliver this miracle mineral to its worldwide markets. I am proud, too, to recognize the manufacturers and distributors of modern mining machinery who are bringing this important medium of automation to the mining communities. It is a source of gratification that so many in this important industry are centering their activities in my home city of Bluefield.

I am pleased also to have this opportunity to salute the electric utilities, coking coal, steel and rolling mills, railroads, cement mills, and other industrial consumers of coal.

In this atomic age our Nation's demands will be for more and more electric power, more steel, aluminum, chemical products, and cement. This can only mean a demand for more and more coal. In addition, more and more people daily demand greater quantities of coal's essential byproducts such as: aspirin, vitamins, ammonia, sulphur drugs, baking powder, perfume, lipstick, nylons, dye, detergents, phonograph records, film, plastics of all kinds, linoleum, synthetic rubber, synthetic gasoline, TNT, and many others. Those responsible for these byproducts are to be justly recognized.

I feel it my duty to highly commend the members and the staff of the Coal Research Committee of the House of Representatives for the dedicated manner in which they have been engaged in their extremely important work. I have full confidence that the final result of their labor will be of substantial benefit to the coal industry, as well as to every American citizen. Every American every day is dependent upon coal.

I am grateful for the opportunity to work with all of those engaged in this basic industry.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, April 1957 is an important month in the life of every American citizen as we look to the future with full confidence.

We Can't Give Freedom to Anyone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Rock Hill (S. C.) Evening Herald of March 26, 1957:

WE CAN'T GIVE FREEDOM TO ANYONE

One of the weaknesses of Americans is that we're so sold on democracy, independence, and the "American way of life" that we want everyone else to have these things in exactly the form we have them.

We fail to realize that our Western ideas may be meaningless to people who have lived a completely different way of life for centuries.

We fail to realize how many things are necessary to make independent democratic statehood work.

Before people can handle independence and a democratic form of government, they must have unity. They must have a reasonably high level of education. They must have understanding of the meaning and responsibility of freedom. Before people can develop a stable, democratic form of government they must have a sound, prosperous economy that will produce the national wealth a nation must have to pay its operating costs.

Freedom, democracy, and a sound economy cannot be given to any group of people. These things must be achieved.

Libya, in northern Africa, is a prize example of a country given independent statehood and a democratic form of government without the tools to make statehood and democracy work. The former Italian colony was set up as a free nation under the guidance of the United Nations. The United States was one of the main backers of the move.

Libya's constitution and government is supposed to serve an Arab nation of traditional wanderers. Most of these people cannot read or write. For centuries these people have been governed by simple community processes. There is little feeling of national unity. There is no sound economy to provide the national income and the tax revenue needed to support the government.

How long Libya can keep its independence without the tools a free nation must use remains to be seen.

These are things to think about as we try to bestow freedom and democracy upon undeveloped countries in other parts of the world. There is such a thing as trying to go too fast.

Imports of Foreign Shovels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, the upper strata of the export-import interests go the limit to justify further reduction of tariffs on hundreds of commodities produced by well-established manufacturers who, for the most part, employ especially skilled labor.

The following letter is typical of complaints from my district from those who are gradually being destroyed by competitive low-labor-cost finished products imported under low-tariff provisions:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN NEAL: I am writing in regard to the importation of foreign shovels, particularly from West Germany and Japan. These shovels are being laid down in the United States at prices approximately two-thirds of the lowest price shovel which American manufacturers can offer. The trend is definitely increasing and is affecting our employment here in Parkersburg. We employ approximately 850 persons, and I am positive that this employment will be reduced if the importation of foreign shovels is not reduced.

As you may know, the import duty on foreign shovels was 30 percent just a few years ago but has gradually been reduced to only 7½ percent. If the duty were restored somewhere near its former level, these foreign shovels made with cheap labor and inferior materials could not so successfully compete with the American product.

Both management and labor in our company are extremely worried about this prospect as we have definite proof here in Parkersburg of what foreign competition did to the glass marble business.

The Dutch Side of the Airline Expansion Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAT McNAMARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in the magazine Knickerbocker, which states the Dutch side of the controversy which has arisen because of the request of the KLM Airline for an extension of their services in the United States.

Without taking sides in the issue, I should like to state that I have in my State many proud descendants of the people of the Netherlands, and therefore I ask that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DUTCH SIDE OF THE AIRLINE EXPANSION PROGRAM HAS NOT BEEN HEARD

Netherlands purchases in the United States exceed American purchases in the Netherlands by about $300 million a year. Unless KLM is granted some expansion of its routes in the dollar area, the strain on Holland's economy will be too severe to enable it to perform as a customer of American goods and as a close partner of the United States in international obligations, to the extent American businessmen and Washington anticipate. This is a matter of simple arithmetic instead of emotion.

The Netherland Government is at present attempting to obtain landing facilities and commercial rights for KLM in Houston and Los Angeles. During the postwar years few issues between the United States and the Netherlands have given more reason for concern to Dutch public opinion. Since the days of empires have passed, international trade has become more than ever before the lifeblood of countries like the Netherlands. The United States has encouraged and even pressed for this development.

American circles concede that granting KLM landing rights in Houston and Los Angles would not hurt American airline interests to any significant degree. But for Holland such landing rights—already granted to other countries here—have an immediate bearing on Holland's future as a commercial nation.

Americans are quite unaware of the deep concern this issue has caused among the Dutch people.

Here are the key points of the Netherland's case:

1. For the Netherlands, international aviation is a matter of far greater consequence than merely the successful operation of the national airline KLM. To Holland's economy, its main airport, Schiphol, is on a par with the nation's great harbors of Rotterdam and Amsterdam. It is quite unthinkable that the United States Government would, for instance, prevent seagoing vessels carrying the Netherlands flag from entering the port of San Francisco. Can landing rights for the Dutch flag carrier KLM in Los Angeles then be refused?

2. Despite the considerable increase in productivity and the resulting rise of Netherlands exports, the nation's trade balance (the difference between its imports and exports) reflects a great deficit. On the payments balance, this deficit is largely offset by Holland's so-called invisible exports, which include all such services as sea and air transportation and tourism. Thus, the refusal to let the Netherlands flag carrier do what comes naturally, that is, spread its wings and develop according to the traditional Dutch thesis of navigare necesse est, would constitute a direct threat against the economic condition of the Netherlands.

3. The thesis that New York should be the terminal point of westbound transatlantic flights is rapidly proving outdated. Air France, Lufthansa, Scandinavian Airlines, British Overseas Airways, Italian Airlines, and other companies have already received the right to establish transatlantic terminals at Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles. The introduction of jet aircraft will confirm and accelerate that trend. Direct flights to Western Europe from the west coast or the Southwest will be demanded by the public. Some foreign airlines have already been granted commercial rights in these areas.

On the other hand, Schiphol is an obvious terminal for long-range flights in the approaching jet age. KLM's equipment policy clearly reflects this awareness. The company is the first in Europe to receive deliveries of Lockheed's prop-jet Electra, which in the decade to come is to be operated on the inter-European feeder routes connecting with long-range all-jet services.

The trend toward use of western airports is intercepting traffic which historically has moved through New York. The major foreign carriers have established traffic rights in the big population centers of the West and Midwest. In denying KLM landing rights outside of New York, the United States would in effect prevent the airline from maintaining its position in international air traffic.

4. Projections as to actual volume of passengers to be carried between these points and Amsterdam leave no doubt that these air links will be economically profitable.

5. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Netherlands airline, traditionally, is playing a larger role among its competitors than the size of its national territory would indicate. This is accurately reflected, for instance, in typical figures for transatlantic flights based on this past summer.

Official figures for a typical week of the past summer, the week ending June 21, for instance, show a total of 488 transatlantic flights completed in either direction. In this "average week" the traffic was divided as follows:

Pan American: 160 flights or about 33.5 percent.
TWA: 100 flights, or about 21 percent.
KLM: 45 flights, or about 9.5 percent.
SAS: 40 flights, or about 8.5 percent.
BOAC: 35 flights, or about 7.3 percent.
Air France: 32 flights, or about 6.8 percent.
Lufthansa: 22 flights, or about 4.7 percent.
Sabena: 18 flights, or about 3.7 percent.
Swissair: 16 flights, or about 3.3 percent.

The two American carriers accounted for a little more-than 54 percent of all flights. The European carriers divided the rest of the traffic, but KLM originated more flights on this route than any of the other European carriers.

6. This greater efficiency (and consequently higher profit) helps explain why KLM remains in business without direct Netherlands Government subsidy or indirect subsidies in the form of mail contracts.

Also KLM has been able to pay its stockholders an annual dividend since 1953. Against this, the American taxpayer has been supporting Pan American Airways' operations to the tune of $248 million in the period 1951–56.

AND A GOOD CUSTOMER, TOO

7. KLM is the biggest foreign customer of the American aircraft industry, having placed some $230 million worth of orders in the postwar period, including the order for the delivery of eight Douglas DC–8 jets, and an equal number of Lockheed Electra turboprop planes. These facts speak for themselves. However, KLM would not have purchased this equipment if its management was not certain of getting a maximum return on their capital by placing these purchases in the United States.

Such facts, rarely published in the United States, materialily contribute to reducing the reciprocity issue to its proper place in the scheme of things. True, none of the overseas airports on which landing facilities can be granted by the Netherlands equals Schiphol in commercial importance. But some of them offer, and may increasingly develop, major strategic or touristic advantages.

Many people in the United States as well as in Holland hope that the Netherlands, with its spotless war and peace record as an American ally, will not be totally denied what, in the face of much less impressive records, others have already received.

Passing the Budget-Cutting Buck

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Winnsboro (S. C.) News and Herald of March 28, 1957:

PASSING THE BUDGET-CUTTING BUCK

Congress has attempted to pass the buck—in the budget-cutting field—to President Eisenhower, but the President has handed it back to Congress. It all started, of course, when President Eisenhower proposed a $71-billion budget for the 12 months starting July 1.

This total was so high that even the President's Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey, could hardly swallow the pill and criticized the budget even though he was a top member of the administration proposing it.

Humphrey was pulled into line, so to speak, in the next few days, and he has since refused to say where the budget could be cut. Congress is convinced that it should be cut, although hesitant to do the whacking. But Congress will have to do it if it is done.

In order to put the President on the spot, the House recently passed a resolution calling on the President to tell it where the budget should be trimmed. This was ridiculous, in more ways than one, because the President had already proposed the budget, and he couldn't be expected to criticize it.

As expected, Mr. Eisenhower said that it was up to Congress to reduce the total, and he was ready for them to go ahead and cut it, if they could. He even said he would be just as helpful as he could.

This leaves Congress where it was in January, after the budget had been presented. The intervening resolutions and statements have been mostly political byplay, which is accomplishing nothing, but which is producing headlines and little else. It is the business of Congress to appropriate money and to levy taxes to acquire that money. It is also up to Congress to cut the budget, if it needs to be reduced. Therefore, Congress should go ahead and curtail and stop asking the President to do its job.

Meantime, taxes remain at a record high and April 15 is approaching apace. Where will it all end?

Address by Hon. Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, to New Jersey Gasoline Dealers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an address which I delivered before a group of New Jersey gasoline dealers on December 13, 1956, at Haddon Heights, N. J., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN ADDRESS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY BEFORE A GROUP OF NEW JERSEY GASOLINE DEALERS, HADDON HEIGHTS, N. J., DECEMBER 13, 1956

It is certainly a pleasure to be here with you tonight in the famous Cherry Hill Inn, enjoying your hospitality and being warmed by your kind words of friendship. While speaking with many of you individually this evening, it occurred to me that as a group you seem more relaxed and happier than when we last met. Perhaps one reason for this change is because most, if not all, of you are aware of the progress you have made as businessmen in the past year. And that real progress has been made, no one can deny.

Because the past often illuminates the present, please bear with me if I stir some unpleasant memories by saying that I found gasoline retailers during the war to be generally dispirited and quite apprehensive of their future. It seemed as though an atmosphere of gloom and doom had pervaded their ranks. And small reason why. I remember dealer witnesses testifying how they had been drawn unwillingly into the horrors of the price conflict and how, once involved, they were powerless to free themselves. I recall their describing how the war was denying them a livelihood, was draining away their savings, and, in too many instances, was costing them their businesses. I remember, too, the moving testimony of dealers' wives, like Mrs. Helen Beehler and Mrs. Marie Hoffman, who told of the hardship and privation that the war had brought to their families.

In looking back to the price war period, I am coninced that it was the unhappiness so

prevalent among dealers that most influenced my determination to search out a solution. I know that only a situation of near-catastrophic proportions could reduce the usually effervescent small-business man to such a depressed state. All of my life, I have known and associated with small-business men. As you know, my father was a druggist in a small South Dakota town and I worked closely with him for many years. I have learned that the key to the success of the small-business man everywhere is his indomitable will, his hope and confidence in himself, and his rare talent for finding happiness under even the most trying of circumstances. When these qualities cannot be found in small-business men, help is needed in the worst way. And I am the kind of fellow who will see that help is given, even if it means investigating a gasoline price war.

While the investigation of the New Jersey gasoline price war was designed primarily to relieve your particular competitive problems, it also had a secondary purpose which must not be overlooked. This was that the principles by which competitive problems were to be resolved in New Jersey should serve as well to relieve distress among dealers in other marketing areas. After all, it was argued, only a variance in degree distinguished the severity of problems confronting New Jersey dealers from those experienced by your fellow workers in other parts of the country. Surely, a study of a market where dealers' problems were most pronounced would produce salutary effects in other areas as well.

The extensive public hearings which were held demonstrated to my satisfication that the major oil companies operating in New Jersey could bring the predatory and ruinous price war to an abrupt halt if they wanted to hard enough. Shortly after the close of the hearings, the price war was ended, seemingly because the major suppliers wanted to hard enough. Whatever the reason, with the advent of fair trade competition, the ruthless and irresponsible price war that had prevailed in the market waned and soon was no more than a dreadful memory for those thousands of dealers who had endured its hardships.

As you know, my keen interest in the well-being of gasoline dealers in New Jersey has not faded away with the adoption of fair trade competition. It has become my habit, to keep abreast of developments in this market by reading your letters and by occasionally talking with some of you by long-distance telephone. Only a month ago, I sent the counsel of my subcommittee up here to conduct an on-the-spot survey of post-price-war conditions.

At the present time, my information is that fair trade competition is working successfully in your State. It appears that dealers are working hard and making modest profits, that unethical practices have largely been eliminated, and that the motoring public is generally pleased with the rare combination which it is receiving of quality products, excellent service, and reasonable prices. Incidentally, gasoline prices in New Jersey are the lowest on the eastern seaboard.

I have also learned that fair trade is being practiced in a number of other Eastern States. The system is now found in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania. Except for one major supplier fair trading in California, the system is not being used in any other part of the United States, although in several Midwestern States, another form of resale price maintenance called suggested pricing has been adopted. It should be mentioned that suggested pricing is not expressly protected by Federal legislation and, therefore, involves serious antitrust problems, including price-fixing. In the spread of fair trade competition and even in the use of suggested pricing, there is a strong suggestion that at long last the major suppliers are definitely concerned over dealers' problems and are trying to resolve them in their fashion.

Now that fair trade is well-established in New Jersey, it may be that you would like to hear my views on the system. In my judgment, fair trade is a specialized competitive system offering great practical benefits to qualified manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers, and the consuming public alike. The system assures the manufacturer of a stable market for his product. But it does not give him an unfair advantage or a monopoly because, even with the protection of fair trade legislation, he is obliged to compete successfully with other manufacturers of the same or similar products. Should he fail to maintain the quality of his product or if he sets the price too high, he loses out to competitors, fair trade notwithstanding. However, fair trade does protect his product from possible destruction as a result of loss-leader selling and irresponsible price-cutting.

Fair trade benefits the retailer by placing him on an equal footing with all other retailers of the same branded or trade-marked products, whether such competitors are large or small. Most importantly, his margin of profit is fixed to yield him a fair return and he is protected against destructive competition from others who might be disposed toward the vice of predatory price cutting

The benefits of fair trade to wholesalers are remarkably similar to those received by retailers.

The consumer, too, benefits from fair trade in a number of ways. He knows that the fair traded product may be purchased at a standard price wherever he goes to buy it. Fair trade eliminates the necessity for shopping around. He knows that the price is reasonable. By the very nature of fair trade laws, a price-fixed product cannot survive in the market place unless it competes successfully with similar items produced by other manufacturers. Fair trade also assures a consumer that an outstanding product will remain on the market. It will not be lost to the consumer through destructive price tactics.

That fair trade competition is basically sound in policy and purpose is evidenced by its 25 years of successful operation in the Nation's market places. In this, the Silver Jubilee Anniversary year of fair trade, the system remains strong and vigorous despite the disquieting setbacks it has received recently in a few State courts. The important fact is that the majority of State courts have consistently upheld the legal basis of fair trade. Moreover, it is heartening to note the record of the Supreme Court and the lower Federal courts in generally striking down attempts to destroy fair trade. And certainly not to be disregarded in this connection is the high favor in which fair trade is held in both Houses of Congress. As a matter of fact, so respected is this attitude of Congress that no move has been made to repeal the so-called Federal fair trade laws in the year and a half which has elapsed since such action was recommended by the Attorney General's National Committee To Study the Antitrust Laws. Nor do I see any likelihood that Congress would ever take such ill-advised action.

As you may be aware, it has become fashionable in certain circles nowadays to disparage fair-trade competition. I do not refer to those opponents of fair trade who are honestly and sincerely motivated by their own estimates of the system. Though disagreeing with such critics, I still respect their opinions and feel that debate with them can be constructive. My targets here are the professional critics of fair trade and those who think fair-trade criticism is some sort of parlor game. I am outraged by the actions of the former group and amused by those of the latter.

It is my opinion that the arguments of a person who is paid to hold a certain position are worthless. That person says what he does because it is financially remunerative for him to do so and not because he has studied the problem and arrived at a judgment on the merits. As a practical matter, such a person probably does more of a disservice to himself than to the cause of fair trade. At any rate, he is a man of slight influence on the future of fair trade, despite his noise and windmilling tactics.

For those who think that ridicule of fair trade is a parlor game, I have a suggestion or two to make. First, they could set up a small business and get first hand experience of the injurious effects of loss-leader selling and other predatory pricing practices. Another suggestion would be for them to seek out the views of small-business men on the advantages of fair-trade competition. They will find that the small-business men who are in the best position to know the merits of fair trade and the hazards of unrestricted price competition enthusiastically endorse fair trade. But even if the parlor game crowd remains unconvinced after following such suggestions, their voices like those of the professional opponents, will not constitute a threat to the continuation of fair trade.

This is not to suggest, however, that the future of fair-trade competition in gasoline marketing will be uneventful. As a matter of fact, there are unmistakeable signs that such will not be the case. You have heard or read of what is happening to fair trade in the Boston Federal courts. There, 2 antitrust suits are involved, 1 a criminal proceeding by the Department of Justice against Socony-Mobil, the other a suit by Esso Standard seeking injunctive relief against a price-cutting marketer named Secatore's Inc. Both cases raise substantial fair trade questions. Briefly, I will examine what I feel are the significant aspects of each case.

In the Socony Mobil case, it was alleged by the Department of Justice that the major supplier had fixed the gasoline prices charged by some of its dealers. At first blush, therefore, the case would seem to be a routine action under the Sherman Act. What distinguishes the case, however, is the defense raised by Socony Mobil to the indictment. On a motion to dismiss, the oil company argued that its price-fixing agreements with dealers were, in effect, fair-trade contracts and, therefore, immune from Sherman Act prosecution. Most interesting in this respect is that the Socony-Mobil Co. apparently had no written fair-trade contract with any of its dealers at the time the alleged offense was committed, nor had it made any public announcement of its adoption of fair trade. Thus, it would appear that Socony Mobil is advancing a most novel theory—that a fair-trade contract may be oral in character and need not be publicly announced or in fact even made known to the dealers who would be bound by it.

As this case is now pending in Court, I feel obliged to limit my remarks on its issues. All I will say is that a fair-trading seller should be proud to have the fact publicized and should be prepared to show documentary evidence of his fair-trade program.

Another important feature of this case is that the fair-trade argument of Socony-Mobile has afforded the Department of Justice an opportunity to reveal its traditional bias toward fair-trade competition in the brief which it filed with the Court. Not only has the Department in its brief joined issue with Socony Mobil on the subject of oral fair-trade contracts but it has also availed itself of a chance to argue that gasoline is not a product which can be lawfully fair traded.

Whether or not these fundamental issues concerning fair trade will be fully resolved in the Socony Mobil case remains to be seen. But since they have been raised, it is to be hoped that Socony-Mobil's defense of fair-trade principles will be spirited and vigorous. Regarding the price-fixing charges, however, the oil company is on its own.

The injunctive proceeding by Esso Standard against Secatore's is equally of interest to gasoline dealers. In that case, Secatore's a large Boston gasoline retailer, successfully defended against Esso's enforcement action by arguing that Esso could not lawfully fair trade its products so long as it was competing directly with its dealers. The theory underlying this defense is that the fair-trade law of Massachusetts prohibits the use of fair-trade contracts between competing sellers. In its decisions, the Court held that Esso was competing directly with Secatore's for consumer accounts and, therefore, could not lawfully make or enforce fair-trade contracts in Massachusetts. Accordingly, the Court dismissed Esso's application for injunction.

This case should not be especially disturbing to you dealers dependent upon fair trade. After all, the rule in the case merely follows the precedent established by the Supreme Court in the McKesson and Robbins case. There, the court held that, where direct competition exists between 2 sellers, even though 1 may also be a customer of the other, it is unlawful for them to enter into a fair-trade contract. In other words, the Supreme Court said that you cannot run with the hare and hold with the hounds. Either fair trade properly or abandon it! Surely no one can reasonably disagree with the soundness of such a position.

Henceforth in the case of every fair trading major oil company, there will be an important issue of fact presented: Is or is not the seller competing directly at any marketing level with his dealers? Should it be found that he is, the supplier must then address himself to choosing between fair trade and competition with his dealers. In his answer to that question will be considerable evidence concerning the major supplier's true feeling toward his dealers.

At this point, I feel it appropriate to remind you that the Senate Small Business Committee cautioned in its report on the New Jersey price war that fair trade was not a panacea for all of the competitive problems besetting gasoline dealers. "Fair trade competition in New Jersey it was emphasized, is ending only the price war; it is not eliminating the competitive conditions which produced it nor the marketing practices which prolonged it. Basic competitive problems stemming from the tremendous disparity in economic power existing between the major suppliers and gasoline retailers remain unresolved and are as threatening now as before the introduction of fair-trade competition."

In the light of these considerations, I strongly urge you to support the resolution which I have introduced in the Senate calling for a comprehensive investigation of competitive conditions in the oil industry. It seems to me that only through such an intensive study will Congress ever gain the information necessary for an informed judgment concerning the desirability of divorcement legislation. You may be assured that I intend to press in the next session of Congress for early action on this resolution. Already, strong backing for the measure has been received from many dealers' associations. To insure success, however, the united support of dealers' organizations throughout the country is needed.

Another legislative matter that warrants speedy action next year is the "Equality of Opportunity" bill. That measure, as you know, is designed to prevent the use of discriminatory pricing practices that tend to create monopoly. Enactment of the bill will be of especial help to gasoline retailers who are so often the victim of serious price discriminations. In view of the opposition which is now being organized against this measure by the major suppliers, your support of it is indeed vital.

Now for a few words of advice in conclusion. Be sure to ask your supplier for a fair-trade contract if you have not already signed one. Active participants in and not passive supporters of fair trade are needed to make the system truly effective. Then, become informed and articulate spokesmen for the advantages of fair-trade competition. Discuss these benefits with your fellow dealers and with your friends whenever an opportunity is presented. In particular, talk to your labor-union friends about how fair trade means quality products at reasonable prices, enabling manufacturer and marketer to pay fair wages. And, do not forget to let yours views on fair trade be made known to your elected representatives at local, State, and Federal levels.

Remember always that you have great responsibilities under fair-trade competition. You must insure that the consumer patronizing your service station receives full value for every dollar spent. Service and courtesy must not be neglected. Most importantly, your business must be operated efficiently and with integrity.

Live up to your responsibilities and fair trade will long serve you well. I can assure you that Congress and the antitrust agencies will not allow the major oil companies to use the system selfishly. We must, however, be on guard against unwarranted price increases by the major oil companies, under the guise of pressures from the international situation. The Suez Canal crisis must not be used to justify profiteering or price gouging. A fair price and fair profit are always, in the long run, jeopardized by selfish exploitation in times of crisis.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Camden, S. C., News of March 28, 1957:

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Congress is now being urged to provide Federal aid for public schools—both elementary and secondary schools. Tomorrow it will be Federal aid for colleges and universities; in fact, the movement has already started.

We wonder if the people who are urging this aid realize that the only money the Federal Government has is that which it must first take away from the citizens of the States on taxation. The Federal Government has not one cent of its own.

There is not a State in the Union but which can support its schools. The Intergovernmental Commission on Education said in a report:

"We have been unable to find a State that is economically unable to support an adequate school system."

To those who are urging Federal aid we would suggest that they read this statement from Dean Clarence Manion:

"In the Communist manifesto Karl Marx made control of public education 1 of the 10 commandments of communism. Crypto-Communists, fellow travelers, and left wing progressives in the field of education have kept their sights fixed upon this objective ever since. Twenty-five years ago a group of the American Historical Society, and financed with more than a quarter of a million dollars from the Carnegie and other foundations, went into a long learned huddle and finally came out with a 15-volume report. In their findings they declared that our form of Government was a failure and should give way to a collectivized society, wherein the individual should be made to surrender his liberty in the interest of group welfare. They determined that only the schools of the country could bring about this revolutionary change in our American system, and that it was the duty of every educator to see that the schools did so."

Woodlawn Finds a Way To Make Democracy Work at Grassroots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Woodlawn is a community in the heart of the district that I have the honor to represent. It is an old and a beautiful community in the south shore region of Chicago, with 63d Street the principal east-west highway. Until recent years it was an all-white community, or nearly so. Today perhaps a majority of its residents are of the Negro race and its representative in the city council of Chicago is of that race, a very able and highly respected alderman, the Honorable Sidney Jones, Jr.

The story of how Woodlawn is meeting and conquering its problems should be an inspiration to the other urban communities. It also should prove interesting and illuminating to my colleagues from other sections of the country, especially those from the rural districts. I am sure that if the Members from other districts better understood the problems of the urban north, east and west we would receive a larger measure of cooperation.

The story of Woodlawn is one of democracy working at grassroots. It furnishes proof that when neighbors are encouraged and given the facilities to join together in the attainment of that which is of common interest, the betterment of the neighborhood in which they live, they will find the right answers to all the problems, big and little, of community living together. In Woodlawn it is being brought home to the people, not by preachement but by practice and example, that the test of being a desirable neighbor is in doing those things that contribute to neighborhood welfare and in refraining from doing those things that are outright harmful or are annoying and irritating to other neighbors.

WORK THROUGH BLOCK CLUBS

Functioning through the United Woodlawn Conference, in every block in Wood-

lawn is a block club. Residents of the block are all encouraged to attend meetings of the block club. They sit down as members of a family discussing family matters. Some neighbor has been tooting a horn at late hours, when especially the children in the block are asleep. Some of his neighbors volunteer to invite him to the next block meeting. No scolding, just an invitation to join with the team in the race with other block teams for the distinction of having the best block. Some neighbor, carelessly and perhaps inadvertently, has been throwing waste on the street or in the yard. Again no scolding, no striking a pose and telling someone else what you think he should do, just a friendly invitation to join the team to make his block the cleanest and best block in the city. On matters that affect the block, the block club keeps in constant touch with the police and fire captains, the ward superintendent, the alderman, and city officials charged with enforcement of ordinance requirements. If he has a grievance or a suggestion, the resident of the block has only to present it at a meeting of the block club and if in the judgment of his neighbors it has merit he is assured of block support and action.

MANY SHARE IN THE CREDIT

Woodlawn is making giant strides as a successful integrated community, an accomplishment in which many share. The Woodlawn Booster, an excellent community newspaper, has been of great help. Clarence Beutel, president of the largest bank, has pursued a far-visioned policy of keeping open the credit lines for all legitimate needs in a changing community, facing and conquering many problems and with a future bursting with promise with the development of the Cal-Sag Waterway. The businessmen, the Boys' Club, the YMCA, the churches, and the schools all are doing their tremendous share. The Sixth Ward Regular Democratic organization, of which Committeeman Robert Miller is the head, maintains large headquarters, open the year around for the accommodation of residents of the ward who have problems they wish to take up with their alderman, State representatives, or Congressman. When I am in Washington, which is as in the case of my colleagues necessarily pretty constant, my able Chicago congressional aid, Russell De Bow, most efficiently fills in for me. I should add that this service of the sixth ward organization in bringing the people in close touch with their representatives in city, State, and National Governments is strictly nonpolitical except by the rule that good service is good politics.

DEMOCRACY AT GRASSROOTS

I cannot give too much credit to the United Woodlawn Conference and the block clubs. I am never so thrilled as when I drop in at one of the block meetings, a witness at the ringside to democracy functioning at grassroots. I leave heartened and confident that here, where neighbors gather as family members at the fireside to plan for family welfare, has been founded at grassroots level an institution that assures the permanency of our democracy and the attainment of our goal of a real brotherhood.

Esther Davis is president of the United Woodlawn Conference. The first vice president is Theodore F. Crawley; the second vice president, Moses M. Shaw; the secretary, Mrs. Paul Rasmussen; the treasurer, Joseph Wahala; and the executive director, Mrs. Ruth C. Porter. They and the devoted block captains have the deep appreciation of the entire Woodlawn community. I am humbly proud to be their Congressman.

Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the memorandum that the United Woodlawn Conference presented to Mayor Richard J. Daley at its conference with the chief executive of Chicago on March 6, 1957. This illustrates the way the block-club concept carries through from the discussions of neighbors at block meetings to presentation of their suggestions to the highest local authority. I am sure that this will prove of interest and of value to other communities.

The memorandum was given Mayor Daley by a delegation of 12. The mayor called Building Commissioner Ramsey into the meeting, which lasted over an hour, with immediate results in the extention of inspection of housing-code violations and progress in other areas requiring study and planning. Press, radio, and TV gave coverage.

MEMORANDUM TO THE MAYOR

The memorandum follows:

MARCH 6, 1957.

MEMORANDUM

To: His Honor, The Mayor of Chicago.
From: United Woodlawn Conference.

We submit this memorandum for the mayor's convenience as a summary of the thinking of our organization on ways in which his good office can help us, and, we hope, other communities like Woodlawn in our city, to cope with the mounting problems of inadequate and unsafe housing.

ON ENFORCEMENT OF THE NEW HOUSING CODE

We commend the Mayor's most recent action in setting up inspection teams to secure more rapid compliance with the new housing code. We strongly urge that the primary attention of these teams be focussed on the owners and operators of large buildings. The recent fire tragedies in Woodlawn emphasize the fact that it is these larger buildings which constitute the greatest hazard to the greatest number of people. To protect the greatest number of lives most quickly, we ask that these buildings be given priority by the inspection teams.

ON A DEMONSTRATION GRANT FOR WOODLAWN

We request the mayor's support for Woodlawn's bid for a 314 demonstration grant, to make possible a study which could provide us with urgently needed data and techniques to halt community deterioration and help us achieve a stable interracial community of high standards.

Woodlawn is faced with the serious problem of overcrowding and inadequate community facilities, complicated by the pressure of a large-scale clearance program now under way in the contiguous area of Hyde Park. While the citizens of Woodlawn have been aware of these problems for several years and have continuously sought assistance from public and private agencies, only token help has been given.

The people of this area are aware that improvements can be made only through a substantial program which combines the resources of various governmental agencies with their own efforts. It was with this in mind that the services of our two aldermen and technically qualified housing and planning experts were enlisted in the preparation of the above-mentioned proposal for a 314 demonstration grant. The study it would make possible would not only mitigate existing conditions in Woodlawn, but could serve also as a guide in helping other areas confronted with our problems.

ON ENLARGING CHICAGO'S SUPPLY OF LOW- AND MIDDLE-INCOME HOUSING

Even with the most thorough and rigid enforcement of the housing code, the basic problem of overcrowding and its dangerous byproducts will continue to plague Woodlawn and similar communities throughout Chicago. The population growth envisaged with the development of the Cal-Sag project lends further urgency to this problem.

It is generally acknowledged that resistance to nonwhite occupancy in many parts of our city is mainly responsible for the lag in construction of multiple-dwelling units for low- and middle-income families. Segregation has made the operation of slum neighborhoods more profitable for many private investors than the construction of new housing. It has also been encouraged by the placement of low-income public housing projects in the already overcrowded, segregated areas of our city.

(a) Low-income housing:

The United Woodlawn Conference is in full accord with the recent recommendation, in the December 1956 report by the advisory committee to the Chicago Housing Authority of the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, that the mayor, or a committee designated by him, rather than the city council, be given final authority in the approval of sites for future public-housing projects. We are confident that the mayor, in line with his own past statements in support of a democratic public-housing policy, would exercise such a policy in the placement of these projects, assuring their equitable distribution without regard to local prejudices—a practice which the city council has demonstrated its inability, or unwillingness, to accept.

We therefore ask the mayor to call publicly on the current session of the Illinois General Assembly to amend the State law so that the city council's power of site approval for public-housing projects could be transferred to himself or to a committee of his designation.

(b) Middle-income housing:

We strongly urge the mayor's public endorsement of the resolution sponsored by Aldermen Despres and Jones now before the city council which calls upon the general assembly to authorize government subsidization of private builders for the construction of middle-income housing. Our middle-income families are most sorely pressed by the unavailability of rental units or purchaseable dwellings within their means. There is virtually no construction in progress for other than high or low-income families. The majority of our citizens fall into neither of these categories. They need governmental recognition of their housing plight, and immediate help.

(c) Nondiscriminatory housing for all: As we have indicated above, discriminatory housing practices constitute the major brake on expansion of Chicago's housing supply. To permit this situation to continue is to doom Woodlawn and increasing numbers of other communities to perpetual overcrowding, upheaval, deterioration, and decay. We ask the mayor to initiate action for a city and State law similar to laws now in effect in the city and State of New York[1] which would ban discriminatory practices in any housing program, public or private, which is aided or insured by Government funds.

[1] Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs ordinance in New York City, Metcalfe-Baker bill, New York State.

(d) Emergency Federal aid for Cal-Sag housing needs: We ask the mayor to explore the possibility of securing an emergency Federal appropriation to provide housing for the Cal-Sag labor force entering Chicago by the thousands. We believe that a Congress which saw the merit of our seaway project and made it possible will also be open to persuasion on the merit of its aid to enable the workers needed by that project to live in decent housing. We believe further that the responsibility for initiating this request rests in the first instance with the chief executive of our city. We pledge to rally the support of our people on behalf of such a request of Congress by the mayor.

Submitted by:

MRS. RUTH C. PORTER,
Vice President on Housing and Community Conservation.
MISS ESTHER DAVIS,
President, United Woodlawn Conference.

American Taxpayers Contribute Staggering Sum for Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Economics Division of the Library of Congress has again prepared an invaluable and detailed report on the extent of United States expenditures in support of the foreign-aid program.

Mr. Hermann Ficker, analyst in international finance and trade has brought his previous study on this subject up through June 30, 1956. He is to be commended for a job well done. It will be of great value to Members of Congress and to the public.

Mr. Speaker, we are soon to consider another request for foreign aid at a time when the people of this country are demanding economy in government.

The report which I shall submit indicates that as of July 1, 1956, the money available from prior authorizations was $9.3 billion. In the last session Congress added another $4.5 billion, which when added to the $9.3 billion made available for fiscal 1957 a total of $13.8 billion.

Mr. Speaker, while the information is not available at this time as to what was expended in this fiscal year, it is safe to assume that a considerable balance will be available for the next fiscal year. Obviously there is no need to appropriate new money this year.

The information that follows, Mr. Speaker, indicates that since 1940 through June of 1956, the American taxpayer has contributed the staggering sum of $130,350,032,000 in foreign assistance. The detailed report follows:

UNITED STATES FOREIGN AID DURING PERIOD JULY 1, 1945, THROUGH JUNE 30, 1956

Foreign aid disbursed by the United States to all countries and international organizations for the postwar period ending June 30, 1956, amounted to—

Grants	$49,095,405,000
Utilized loans	14,845,330,000
Total	63,940,735,000

This total does not include United States capital investments in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development ($635 million) and the International Monetary Fund ($2,750 million) although these add to the foreign aid underwritten (reclaimable) by the United States Government.

In general no repayment for grants in aid is requested. The only condition stipulated in all grant agreements is that the United States may request a return of a percentage (usually 10 percent) of counterpart funds (local money deposited by the recipient government in a central bank and roughly equaling the aid rendered) in national currencies or in strategic raw materials from the recipients of aid.

Credits are loans or other agreements which give rise to specific obligations for repayment.

Total aid received since July 1, 1940, through June 30, 1956, can be recapitulated as follows:

1. War period (July 1, 1940 to June 30, 1945):	
Lend-lease	$46,728,287,000
Grants-in-aid	1,400,010,000
Credits	1,096,000,000
Total	49,224,297,000
2. Postwar period (July 1, 1945–June 30, 1945):	
Grants in aid	$49,095,405,000
Credits	14,845,330,000
Total	63,940,735,000
3. International Bank and fund	3,385,000,000
Total	116,550,032,000

On July 1, 1956, estimated funds available from prior authorizations amounted to $9.3 billion. To this total should be added another $4.5 billion in new funds comprising $3.8 billion provided for Mutual Security under Public Law 853; $.2 billion available for famine and other extraordinary relief under Public Law 540; $.5 billion as estimated proceeds under extension of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act or Public Law 962.

Thus an additional $13.8 billion available during fiscal year 1957 should be added to the 3 totals mentioned above and bringing total United States aid until June 30, 1957, to the grand sum of $130,350,032,000.

SOURCES

1. Foreign Aid, 1940–51, United States Department of Commerce, 1952.
2. Foreign Grants and Credits, United States Department of Commerce, October 1956.
3. Survey of Current Business, United States Department of Commerce, October 1956.

TABLE I.—*Foreign grants, by program, postwar period, July 1, 1945, to June 30, 1956, and fiscal years 1955–56*

[In thousands of dollars]

Program	Postwar period	Fiscal 1955	Fiscal 1956
Total	$49,095,405	$4,591,443	$4,763,616
Mutual security:			
Military aid:			
Defense Department	15,843,825	2,390,367	2,934,871
Other agencies	54,093	8,536	9,157
Construction programs	361,616	83,189	75,501
Other aid:			
Economic and technical	18,008,384	1,602,984	1,372,481
Wheat for Pakistan	67,403		
Famine relief	9,375	2,637	
Public Law 480, agricultural commodities	173,987	86,716	87,272
Chinese-Korean students	7,430	137	6
International refugees	40,346	10,271	10,586
Multilateral technical aid	75,482	17,373	14,972
Palestine relief	149,450	23,500	19,000
U. N. Korean Reconstruction Agency	92,876	27,126	
Civilian supplies:			
Civilian relief in Korea	438,985	16,976	4,618
From lend-lease funds	134,444		
Government and relief in occupied areas, Defense Department	5,105,762	1,779	1,559
ICA	172,533		
International agencies:			
UNRRA	2,588,659		
Refugees	240,766		
Children's Fund	115,942	10,348	8,363
Post-UNRRA	$298,748		
Interim aid	555,684		
Lend-lease:			
Military aid to China	679,073		
Postwar pipelines	1,226,516		
Greek-Turkish aid:			
Military	530,203		
Other	122,484		
Philippine rehabilitation:			
Private claims	397,540		
Surplus property	100,000		
Reconstruction	137,035	$49	
Donations of agricultural surpluses	429,062	128,214	$179,099
Military-equipment loans	320,735	83,462	36,178
Chinese naval aid	141,394		
Chinese military aid	119,732		
Chinese stabilization aid	119,594		
Foot and mouth disease aid	93,891	925	
Other technical aid, IIAA	51,378		
Inter-American highways	30,076	2,863	5,953
Yugoslav aid	37,560		
Berlin investment fund	12,857		
American Red Cross	10,435		
Libyan special purpose funds	9,000	4,000	4,000
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	53		

TABLE II.—*Foreign grants, by country and program, postwar period, July 1, 1945–June 30, 1956, and fiscal years 1955, 1956*

[In thousands of dollars]

Country and program	Postwar period	Fiscal 1955	Fiscal 1956
Total	49,095,405	4,591,443	4,763,616
American Republics	673,141	96,317	111,224
Military supplies and services	315,744	42,799	38,040
Economic and technical aid	130,012	29,066	47,252
Urgent relief	31,693	15,088	11,201
Lend-lease	5,770		
Agricultural commodities	14,899	5,577	8,778
Foot-and-mouth disease	93,891	925	
Technical assistance	51,003		
Inter-American highways	30,076	2,862	5,953
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	53		
Argentina	198		
Technical assistance	193		
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	5		
Bolivia	49,576	15,857	17,884
Economic and technical aid	21,222	4,099	9,691
Urgent relief	22,715	10,857	6,453
Agricultural commodities	2,889	901	1,739
Technical assistance	2,645		
Inter-American highways	80		1
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	25		
Brazil	26,914	4,739	5,856
Economic and technical aid	12,165	2,601	3,250
Urgent relief	474	474	
Lend-lease	3,616		
Agricultural commodities	4,267	1,664	2,602
Technical assistance	6,050		
Inter-American highways	13		4
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	329		
Chile	11,644	1,993	2,145
Economic and technical aid	6,486	1,674	2,003
Urgent relief	194	194	
Agricultural commodities	267	125	142
Technical assistance	4,697		
Colombia	9,496	2,215	3,368
Economic and technical aid	4,387	1,192	1,185
Urgent relief	68	68	
Agricultural commodities	3,133	955	2,178
Technical assistance	1,879		
Inter-American highways	18		5
Lend-lease	11		
Costa Rica	14,972	2,316	2,377
Economic and technical aid	4,742	1,044	1,033
Urgent relief	267	55	212
Agricultural commodities	16		16
Technical assistance	2,190		
Inter-American highways	7,757	1,217	1,116
Cuba	1,705	357	457
Economic and technical aid	1,259	357	457
Technical assistance	446		
Dominican Republic	2,223	362	538
Economic and technical aid	1,717	362	538
Technical assistance	496		
Inter-American highways	7		
Lend-lease	3		
Ecuador	9,710	1,591	2,035
Economic and technical aid	6,318	1,363	1,892
Urgent relief	96	96	
Agricultural commodities	228	103	125
Technical assistance	2,924		
Inter-American highways	144	29	18
El Salvador	5,675	1,012	1,348
Economic and technical aid	3,402	838	977
Urgent relief	41	41	
Agricultural commodities	131		131
Technical assistance	1,242		
Inter-American highways	859	133	240
Guatemala	31,770	4,088	16,389
Economic and technical assistance	15,337	3,419	11,216
Urgent relief	3,343	438	2,910
Lend-lease	1,347		
Agricultural commodities	170	163	
Technical assistance	2,734		
Inter-American highways	8,839	73	2,263
Haiti	15,460	4,017	6,140
Economic and technical assistance	8,675	2,161	4,464
Urgent relief	2,822	1,542	1,261
Agricultural commodities	785	312	393
Technical assistance	3,145		
Inter-American highways	33	2	2
Honduras	6,734	1,804	1,232
Economic and technical aid	4,132	915	1,145
Urgent relief	533	533	
Agricultural commodities	407	352	55
Technical assistance	722		
Inter-American highways	940	4	32
Mexico	105,685	1,943	1,027
Economic and technical aid	3,766	1,018	830
Lend-lease	533		
Agricultural commodities	197		197
Foot-and-mouth disease	93,891	925	
Technical assistance	7,277		
Inter-American highways	1		
Nicaragua	11,701	1,411	2,326
Economic and technical aid	3,317	671	857
Urgent relief	41	41	
Technical relief	395		
Inter-American highways	7,948	699	1,469
Panama	10,802	2,424	3,007
Economic and technical aid	5,756	1,391	1,474
Urgent relief	68	68	
Agricultural commodities	1,040	260	734
Technical assistance	559		
Inter-American highways	3,379	705	799
Paraguay	9,102	1,619	1,858
Economic and technical assistance	6,298	1,460	1,786
Urgent relief	30	30	
Lend-lease	2		
Agricultural commodities	199	129	70
Technical assistance	2,571		
Inter-American highways	2		2
Peru	17,437	3,492	3,977
Economic and technical aid	10,360	2,224	3,234
Urgent relief	1,000	655	345
Lend-lease	237		
Agricultural commodities	1,170	613	396
Technical assistance	4,005		
Inter-American highways	56		2
Uruguay	2,183	288	292
Economic and technical aid	1,269	287	292
Urgent relief	1	1	
Technical assistance	903		
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	10		
Venezuela	4,207	172	138
Economic and technical aid	714	172	138
Technical assistance	1,493		
Unspecified	327,945	44,617	38,830
Military supplies and services	315,744	42,799	38,040
Economic and technical aid	8,681	1,818	790
Technical assistance	3,836		
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	Cr 316		
Afghanistan	4,254	1,523	1,561
Economic and technical aid	4,209	1,523	1,534
Agricultural commodities	27		27
Technical assistance	18		
Albania: UNRRA	20,444		
Australia	12,539		
UNRRA	239		
Lend-lease	12,300		
Austria	1,061,196	13,548	7,708
Economic and technical aid	729,316	8,000	1,257
Urgent relief	3,020	3,019	
GARIOA	89,318		
UNRRA	72,696		
Post-UNRRA	86,055		
Interim aid	68,281		
Agricultural commodities	12,499	2,529	6,451
Belgium-Luxembourg and possessions	582,790	3,833	1,447
Belgium-Luxembourg	582,773	3,833	1,432
Economic and technical aid	522,024	3,796	1378
Urgent relief	10	10	
UNRRA	1,137		
Lend-lease	59,480		
Agricultural commodities	105	27	54
American Red Cross	17		

TABLE II.—*Foreign grants, by country and program, postwar period, July 1, 1945–June 30, 1956, and fiscal years 1955, 1956*—Continued

[In thousands of dollars]

Country and program	Postwar period	Fiscal 1955	Fiscal 1956
Belgium-Luxembourg and Possessions-Con.			
Belgian Congo	17		15
Economic and technical aid	15		15
Agricultural commodities	2		
Burma	20, 956	1, 042	438
Economic and technical aid	20, 700	983	245
Agricultural commodities	252	59	193
Technical assistance	4		
Canada: Military equipment loans	3, 964		
Ceylon	238	53	130
Economic and technical aid	113		63
Agricultural commodities	120	53	67
Technical assistance	5		
China—Taiwan (Formosa)	2, 200, 208	93, 339	94, 548
Economic and technical aid	626, 089	79, 108	81, 038
Urgent relief	504	503	
Chinese-Korean student aid	7, 364	132	6
UNRRA	362, 897		
Post-UNRRA	43, 919		
Lend-lease	720, 418		
Agricultural commodities	10, 350	2, 230	7, 432
Military equipment loans	37, 058	11, 366	6, 072
Chinese naval aid	141, 394		
Chinese military aid	119, 732		
Chinese stabilization	119, 594		
American Red Cross	1, 889		
Czechoslovakia	185, 827	2, 374	
Economic and technical aid	379	379	
Urgent relief	1, 995	1, 995	
UNRRA	183, 374		
Lend-lease	2		
Agricultural commodities	2		
American Red Cross	75		
Denmark	247, 634	586	94
Economic and technical aid	247, 630	586	94
UNRRA	4		
Egypt	50, 363	17, 368	27, 922
Economic and technical aid	26, 025	5, 965	16, 171
Urgent relief	1, 049	1, 049	
UNRRA	342		
Agricultural commodities	22, 947	10, 354	11, 751
Ethiopia	9, 872	2, 849	3, 077
Economic and technical aid	9, 407	2, 849	3, 054
UNRRA	439		
Agricultural commodities	26		23
Finland	3, 522	491	979
Economic and technical aid	27	10	
Urgent relief	36	36	
UNRRA	1, 840		
Agricultural commodities	1, 456	445	979
American Red Cross	163		
French Union	4, 334, 143	512, 366	215, 454
France	4, 333, 707	512, 366	215, 125
Economic and technical aid	3, 613, 116	509, 971	212, 633
Urgent relief	538	538	
UNRRA	3, 061		
Post-UNRRA	60		
Interim aid	311, 388		
Lend-lease	372, 441		
Agricultural commodities	5, 612	1, 857	2, 492
Military equipment loans	25, 345		
American Red Cross	2, 146		
Algeria	107		
UNRRA	97		
American Red Cross	9		
French West Africa: Agricultural commodities	13		13
French West Indies: Agricultural commodities	17		17
Unspecified French Africa: Economic and technical aid	299		299
Germany:			
East Germany	17, 318	3, 700	Cr. 44
Economic and technical aid	16, 561	2, 943	Cr. 44
Urgent relief	757	757	
Germany—Continued			
Federal Republic	3, 793, 559	44, 240	39, 990
Economic and technical aid	1, 502, 592	27, 998	20, 972
Urgent relief	3, 490	3, 167	353
GARIOA (Defense Department)	2, 033, 248		
GARIOA (ICA)	172, 533		
UNRRA	3, 616		
Post-UNRRA	2, 086		
Agricultural commodities	63, 137	13, 075	18, 695
Berlin investment fund	12, 857		
Greece	1, 677, 991	51, 500	42, 252
Economic and technical aid	835, 790	42, 027	28, 203
Urgent relief	997	997	
UNRRA	279, 755		
Post-UNRRA	37, 255		
Lend-lease	5, 956		
Greek-Turkish aid:			
Military	371, 146		
Other	122, 484		
Agricultural commodities	24, 573	8, 476	14, 049
American Red Cross	35		
Hungary	5, 855	3, 496	
Economic and technical aid	538	538	
Urgent relief	2, 958	2, 958	
UNRRA	2, 359		
Iceland: Economic and technical aid	29, 758	752	210
India	216, 334	70, 681	78, 553
Economic and technical aid	169, 335	52, 049	53, 710
Urgent relief	3, 500		3, 500
Lend-lease	3, 000		
Agricultural commodities	40, 479	18, 632	19, 343
Technical assistance	20		
Indochina	532, 971	219, 187	223, 330
Cambodia	39, 837	14, 516	25, 312
Economic and technical aid	37, 484	14, 516	22, 969
Urgent relief	2, 343		2, 343
Laos: Economic and technical aid	65, 502	28, 445	37, 057
Vietnam	316, 325	157, 979	158, 347
Economic and technical aid	305, 454	156, 207	149, 248
Urgent relief	1, 109	682	427
Agricultural commodities	9, 762	1, 090	8, 672
Unspecified	111, 317	18, 247	2, 614
Economic and technical aid	110, 689	17, 708	2, 614
Urgent relief	446	446	
Agricultural commodities	182	93	
Indonesia	118, 476	6, 865	7, 734
Economic and technical aid	113, 642	6, 666	7, 280
GARIOA (Defense Department)	4, 106		
Agricultural commodities	708	199	454
Technical assistance	20		
Iran	187, 839	56, 608	28, 876
Economic and technical aid	185, 574	55, 879	28, 263
Lend-lease	750		
Agricultural commodities	1, 475	729	613
Technical assistance	40		
Iraq	8, 902	2, 284	3, 079
Economic and technical aid	8, 460	2, 263	2, 660
Agricultural commodities	442	21	419
Ireland	18, 346		
Economic and technical aid	18, 324		
American Red Cross	22		
Israel	251, 151	28, 444	21, 668
Economic and technical aid	213, 551	29, 338	21, 262
Urgent relief	32	32	
Agricultural commodities	37, 568	Cr 926	406
Italy-Trieste and Trust Territory	2, 022, 861	88, 463	60, 652
Italy	2, 574, 663	87, 915	59, 963
Economic and technical aid	1, 523, 392	46, 345	13, 236
Urgent relief	21, 294	3, 454	17, 841
GARIOA (Defense Department)	109, 947		
Lend-lease	134, 444		
UNRRA	409, 754		
Post-UNRRA	117, 414		
Interim aid	176, 006		
Agricultural commodities	67, 526	23, 421	28, 886
Military equipment loans	14, 695	14, 695	
American Red Cross	191		

TABLE II.—*Foreign grants, by country and program, postwar period, July 1, 1945–June 30, 1956, and fiscal years 1955, 1956*—Continued

[In thousands of dollars]

Country and program	Postwar period	Fiscal 1955	Fiscal 1956
Italy-Trieste and Trust Territory—Con: Trieste	48,155	548	646
Economic and technical aid	32,092	83	
GARIOA (Defense Department)	3,008		
Post-UNRRA	11,047		
Agricultural commodities	2,008	465	646
Italian Somaliland: Economic and technical aid	43		43
Japan and possessions	2,581,666	30,216	17,192
Japan	2,360,520	28,174	15,299
Economic and technical aid	10,785	3,112	7,672
Urgent relief	647	647	
GARIOA (Defense Department)	2,184,569		
Post-UNRRA	178		
Agricultural commodities	4,767	1,125	2,169
Military equipment	159,574	23,290	5,458
Ryukyu Islands	221,133	2,042	1,893
GARIOA (Defense Department)	220,446	1,778	1,559
Post-UNRRA	12		
Agricultural commodities	662	264	334
American Red Cross	13		
Miscellaneous Islands: GARIOA (Defense Department)	13		
Jordan	28,988	15,098	5,472
Economic and technical aid	25,425	14,177	5,112
Urgent relief	1,089	5	
Agricultural commodities	2,474	916	360
Korea	1,497,449	244,026	292,778
Economic and technical aid	616,377	179,036	264,073
Urgent relief	791	791	
Chinese-Korean student aid	67	5	
U. N. Korean Reconstruction Agency relief	92,876	27,126	
Civilian relief (Defense Department)	438,965	16,976	4,618
Government (Defense Department)	292,090		
UNRRA	546		
Post-UNRRA	72		
Agricultural commodities	18,226	7,319	9,439
Military equipment	37,419	12,771	24,648
Lebanon	17,208	6,845	3,682
Economic and technical aid	15,196	6,418	3,682
Urgent relief	311	311	
Agricultural commodities	1,700	116	
Technical assistance	1		
Liberia	6,981	1,441	1,527
Economic and technical aid	6,795	1,429	1,510
Agricultural commodities	53	12	17
Technical aid	133		
Libya	27,931	9,634	12,773
Economic and technical aid	12,003	2,209	5,444
Urgent relief	6,687	3,272	3,167
Agricultural commodities	241	63	162
Special purpose funds	9,000	4,000	4,000
Morocco	780	152	213
Economic and technical aid	20	17	
Agricultural commodities	760	135	213
Nepal	3,540	2,053	872
Economic and technical aid	3,340	1,844	872
Urgent relief	209	209	
Netherlands Union	911,788	454	1,120
Netherlands	911,230	176	874
Economic and technical aid	823,542	176	894
UNRRA	1,899		
Lend-lease	64,334		
Agricultural commodities	2		
Military equipment loans	21,340		
American Red Cross	122		
Netherlands New Guinea: Agricultural commodities	23		23
Surinam: Economic and technical aid	526	278	223
New Zealand: Lend-lease	2,300		
Norway	236,482	4,836	1,938
Economic and technical aid	235,486	4,802	1,938
Urgent relief	24	24	
UNRRA	771		
Agricultural commodities	30		
American Red Cross	171		

Country and program	Postwar period	Fiscal 1955	Fiscal 1956
Pakistan	223,552	32,688	101,725
Economic and technical aid	103,518	25,271	57,481
Urgent relief	108,328	3,304	37,621
Agricultural commodities	11,695	4,113	6,623
Technical assistance	11		
Palestine Agricultural commodities	175		
Philippines	763,531	17,139	17,439
Economic and technical aid	91,082	16,131	16,753
Urgent relief	484	484	
GARIOA	28,345		
UNRRA	7,700		
Philippine rehabilitation	634,575	49	
Agricultural commodities	1,279	475	686
Technical assistance	55		
American Red Cross	11		
Poland	364,978		
UNRRA	364,031		
Lend-lease	92		
American Red Cross	855		
Portugal and possession	18,627	3,451	2,919
Portugal	18,217	3,229	2,731
Economic and technical aid	15,757	3,161	340
Urgent relief	68	68	
Agricultural commodities	2,392		2,391
Portuguese India: Agricultural commodities	349	222	127
Unspecified Portuguese Africa: Economic and technical aid	61		61
Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Technical assistance	1		
Saudi Arabia	4,255	527	69
Economic and technical aid	2,642	527	69
Lend-lease	1,591		
Technical assistance	22		
Spain and posessions	116,654	35,733	79,106
Spain	116,638	35,733	79,090
Economic and technical aid	86,345	22,487	62,086
Urgent relief	795	795	
Agricultural commodities	29,498	12,451	17,004
Canary Islands: Agricultural commodities	16		16
Sudan: Agricultural commodities	6		6
Sweden	87,143	9	
Economic and technical aid	86,539	3	
Urgent relief	6	6	
UNRRA	549		
American Red Cross	49		
Switzerland: UNRRA	1,803		
Syria	1,026	290	77
Economic and technical aid	134	46	
Urgent relief	179	179	
Agricultural commodities	713	65	77
Tangier	17	17	
Economic and technical aid	3	3	
Urgent relief	14	14	
Thailand	52,511	6,341	25,971
Economic and technical aid	52,452	6,341	25,937
Agricultural commodities	35		34
Technical assistance	24		
Tunisia	339	109	56
Economic and technical aid	22	10	
Agricultural commodities	317	99	56
Turkey	495,068	76,982	72,979
Economic and technical aid	307,530	55,484	65,525
Urgent relief	7,248	6	7,242
Greek-Turkish military aid	158,575		
Agricultural commodities	375	152	212
Military equipment loans	21,340	21,340	
U. S. S. R.	465,434		
UNRRA	186,380		
Lend-lease	277,254		
American Red Cross	1,800		

TABLE II.—*Foreign grants, by country and program, postwar period, July 1, 1945–June 30, 1956, and fiscal years 1955, 1956*—Continued

[In thousands of dollars]

Country and program	Postwar period	Fiscal 1955	Fiscal 1956
United Kingdom and dependencies	3,771,691	170,233	31,246
United Kingdom	3,762,332	167,525	25,906
Economic and technical aid	3,413,085	167,290	25,869
Urgent relief	203	203	
UNRRA	8,369		
Lend-lease	341,462		
Agricultural commodities	165	32	37
American Red Cross	49		
Bahamas: Agricultural commodities	68		68
British Borneo: Agricultural commodities	216	43	173
British East Africa: Agricultural commodities	90		90
British Guiana	170	70	95
Economic and technical aid	148	70	78
Agricultural commodities	22		17
British Honduras	439	17	360
Economic and technical aid	3		3
Urgent relief	260		260
Agricultural commodities	176	17	97
British Leeward and Windward Islands: Agricultural commodities	163	101	62
Gambia: Agricultural commodities	34		34
Gold Coast: Agricultural commodities	174	6	164
Hong Kong	4,043	1,973	2,053
Economic and technical aid	393	387	6
Urgent relief	1,031	1,031	
Agricultural commodities	2,619	555	2,047
Jamaica	807		804
Economic and technical aid	58		58
Agricultural commodities	746		746
American Red Cross	3		
Malaya	695	326	326
Economic and technical aid	81	15	65
Agricultural commodities	605	311	261
Technical assistance	9		
Malta	1,333	157	1,002
Economic and technical aid	2	2	
Urgent relief	26	26	
Agricultural commodities	1,305	129	1,002
Nigeria	50	6	42
Agricultural commodities	49	6	42
Technical assistance	1		
Sierra Leone: Agricultural commodities	7		6
Singapore: Agricultural commodities	55	9	46
Unspecified British Africa: Economic and technical aid	15		15
Yugoslavia	734,304	76,016	42,589
Economic and technical aid	320,774	21,764	35,444
Urgent relief	46,531	43,183	3,347
UNRRA	298,054		
Lend-lease	76		
Agricultural commodities	30,560	11,069	3,798
Yugoslav aid	37,560		
American Red Cross	719		
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands: Government and relief (Defense Department)	4,444		
International organizations:			
European Payments Union: Economic and technical aid	238,084		
European Productivity Agency: Economic and technical aid	1,750	250	1,000
Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration: Economic aid	39,146	10,271	9,386
Intergovernmental Committee On Refugees	3,650		
International Refugee Organization	237,116		
Organization of American States: Economic and technical aid	4,995	915	1,022
United Nations	212,136	39,958	34,150
For refugees	1,200		1,200
For multilateral aid	70,486	16,458	13,950
For Palestine relief	140,450	23,500	19,000
United Nations: Children's Fund	115,942	10,348	8,363
UNRRA	273,505		
Unspecified areas:			
Asia and Pacific	3,113,623	556,100	708,516
Military supplies and services	3,080,426	554,261	706,075
South Asia economic and technical aid	15,654	1,140	
Other Asia and Pacific	17,543	699	2,441
Europe	11,393,213	1,604,894	1,867,612
Military supplies and services: Defense Department	10,586,770	1,512,126	1,787,979
Other departments and agencies	3,284	748	1,644
Multilateral-construction programs	361,616	83,180	75,501
Economic and technical aid	305,313	8,839	2,488
GAROIA	136,230		
Near East and Africa	1,746,502	270,525	388,402
Military supplies and services: Defense Department	1,737,001	268,793	386,828
Other departments and agencies	386		
Economic and technical aid	8,634	1,732	1,574
Greek-Turkish aid	481		
Other	402,612	41,997	62,534
Military supplies and services: Defense Department	123,884	12,389	15,949
Other departments and agencies	50,423	7,788	7,513
Economic and technical aid	93,124	21,757	39,072
Urgent relief	63	63	
UNRRA	102,997		
Post-UNRRA	651		
Lend-lease	29,364		
Technical aid	11		
American Red Cross	2,095		

TABLE III.—*Foreign credits utilized, by program, postwar period, July 1, 1945, to June 30, 1956, and fiscal years 1955–56*

[In thousands of dollars]

Program	Postwar period	Fiscal 1955	Fiscal 1956
Total	$14,845,330	$444,200	$471,536
Export-Import Bank	4,672,950	273,459	197,013
British loan	3,750,000		
Mutual security:			
Loans (Export-Import Bank)	1,874,972	143,261	171,581
Public Law 480 credits	84,615		84,615
Basic materials development	146,609	15,314	4,480
Surplus property sales	1,485,315		
Prior grants converted to credits	2,256,266		
Lend-lease	70,572		
Strategic and defense materials development	48,241	12,166	13,847
U. N. headquarters loan	65,000		
Philippine funding	37,498		
Institute of Inter-American Affairs	32		
RFC loans	70,102		
Occupied areas commodity programs	229,113		
Natural fibers (revolving fund)	54,043		
American Republics	$1,334,959	$157,826	$86,579
Export-Import Banks:			
Direct	1,241,210	139,784	66,776
By banks	42,120	13,346	4,383
Mutual-security program	6,756		6,756
Agricultural trade development	2,733		2,733
Sales of overseas surpluses	13,153		
Sales of domestic surpluses	151		
Merchant ship sales	11,499		
Prior grants converted into credits	2,144		
Defense mobilization development	14,995	4,696	5,931
Strategic materials development	78		
Institute of Inter-American Affairs	32		
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	89		

TABLE III.—*Foreign credits utilized, by program, postwar period, July 1, 1945, to June 30, 1956, and fiscal years 1955–56*—Continued

[In thousands of dollars]

Program	Postwar period	Fiscal 1955	Fiscal 1956
Argentina: Export-Import Bank (direct)	101,675	580	
Bolivia	41,465	1,110	3,800
Export-Import Bank (direct)	41,443	1,110	3,800
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	22		
Brazil	613,917	106,168	38,741
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	580,764	89,265	31,909
Through banks	2,863	12,207	901
Sales of overseas surpluses	10,020		
Merchant ship sales	6,242		
Defense mobilization development	14,597	4,696	5,931
Strategic materials development	78		
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	33		
Chile	121,746	1,500	200
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	116,758	1,500	200
Through agent	4,988		
Columbia	61,333	207	341
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	53,864	207	95
Through agent	6,644		246
Sales or overseas surpluses	796		
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	28		
Costa Rica	4,662	617	3,961
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	3,853		2,768
Through agent	809	617	1,193
Cuba	26,490	4,000	
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	17,190	4,000	
Through agent	9,300		
Ecuador	20,692	5,672	5,988
Export-Import Bank (direct)	20,100	5,672	5,885
Agricultural Trade Development	103		103
Sales of surpluses	484		
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	5		
El Salvador: Export-Import Bank (direct)	576		
Guatemala: Export-Import Bank (direct)	572	132	140
Haiti	23,095	9,099	8,004
Export-Import Bank (direct)	22,884	9,099	8,004
Sales of domestic surpluses	151		
Defense mobilization development	61		
Honduras	223		
Export-Import Bank (through agent)	105		
Sales of overseas surpluses	118		
Mexico	236,889	28,207	10,220
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	231,395	28,174	10,039
Through agent	5,154	33	181
Defense mobilization development	338		
Institute of Inter-American Affairs	2		
Nicaragua	660		60
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	604		4
Through agent	57		57
Panama: Export-Import Bank (direct)	4,000		
Paraguay: Export-Import Bank (direct)	952		158
Peru	31,785	44	10,188
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	16,842	44	749
Through agent	54		54
Mutual Security Agency	6,756		6,756
Agricultural trade development	2,630		2,630
Sales of overseas surpluses	1,404		
Merchant ship sales	4,100		
Uruguay	11,554		
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	5,414		2,667
Through agent	4,621		cr 2,667
Sales of surpluses	332		
Merchant ship sales	1,157		
Institute of Inter-American Affairs	30		
Venezuela	17,577		4,276
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	13,301		
Through agent	4,276		4,276
Unspecified	6,094	489	143
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	702		
Through agent	3,248	489	143
Prior grants converted into credits	2,144		
Afghanistan	29,834	2,400	6,100
Export-Import Bank (direct)	28,400	2,400	6,100
Mutual Security Agency	1,434		
Australia	14,188	4,202	
Export-Import Bank (direct)	5,938	4,202	
Sales of overseas surpluses	7,750		
Prior grants converted into credits	500		
Austria	31,635		1,527
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct loans	19,457		1,106
Through agent	421		421
Sales of surpluses	8,837		
Sales of domestic surpluses	2,919		
Belgium-Luxembourg and possessions	239,522		
Belgium	234,972		
Export-Import Bank (direct loans)	138,800		
Mutual Security Agency	65,000		
Sales of overseas surpluses	30,985		
Lend-lease silver	186		
Luxembourg: Mutual Security Agency program	3,000		
Belgian Congo: Security and materials development	1,550		
Burma: Sales of overseas surpluses	5,043		
Canada	163,218	3,927	2
Export-Import Bank (direct loans)	145,700		
Defense mobilization development	6,040	1,325	
Strategic materials development	11,478	2,602	2
China—Taiwan (Formosa)	247,198		17,842
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	73,224		
Through agent	10,319		
Mutual Security Agency	17,842		17,842
Sales of overseas surpluses	79,082		
Merchant ship sales	16,387		
Prior grants converted into credits	50,343		
Czechoslovakia	29,563		
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	5,385		
Through agent	16,509		
Sales of overseas surpluses	7,599		
Denmark	56,657		2,316
Export-Import Bank (direct)	20,000		
Mutual Security Agency	35,616		2,316
Sales of overseas surpluses	1,041		
Egypt	17,934		
Export-Import Bank (direct)	7,250		
Sales of overseas surpluses	10,684		
Ethiopia-Eritrea	3,399		
Ethiopia	3,349		
Export-Import Bank (direct)	2,722		
Sales of overseas surpluses	427		
Prior grants converted into credits	200		
Eritrea: Strategic materials for development	50		
Finland	126,102		
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	84,373		
Through agent	16,953		
Sales of overseas surpluses	18,672		
Sales of domestic surpluses	4,937		
Merchant ship sales	1,168		
French Union	2,469,954		1,429
France	2,463,405		1,429
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	1,480,839		
Through agent	187		
Mutual Security Agency	225,600		
Basic materials development	8,964		1,429
Sales of overseas surpluses	332,439		
Sales of domestic surpluses	6,040		
Merchant ship sales	56,036		
Prior grants converted into credits	353,300		

TABLE III.—*Foreign credits utilized, by program, postwar period, July 1, 1945, to June 30, 1956, and fiscal years 1955–56*—Continued

[In thousands of dollars]

Program	Postwar period	Fiscal 1955	Fiscal 1956
French Union—Continued			
Algeria: Basic materials development	680		
French West Equatorial Africa: Mutual Security Agency	4,368		
New Caledonia: Basic materials development	1,501		
Germany	1,345,668		90
Export-Import Bank (direct)	64,112		90
Mutual Security Agency	16,900		
Basic materials development	10,869		
Sales of overseas surpluses	216,926		
Prior grants converted to credit	1,000,000		
Occupied-areas commodity programs	36,862		
Greece	137,652	152	22,992
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct loans	14,563		
Through agent	625		625
Mutual Security Agency	22,367		22,367
Basic materials development	3,520	129	
Sales of overseas surpluses	55,256		
Merchant ship sales	41,298		
Strategic materials development	22	22	
Hungary: Sales of overseas surpluses	15,917		
Iceland	5,659		
Mutual Security Agency	5,300		
Sales of overseas surpluses	359		
India	254,680		22,289
Mutual Security Agency	211,946		22,289
Sales of overseas surpluses	11,242		
Prior grants converted into credits	2,336		
Lend-lease silver	29,156		
Indochina-Vietnam: Mutual Security Agency	25,000		25,000
Indonesia	153,802	11,250	8,782
Export-Import Bank (direct)	73,032	11,250	8,782
Mutual Security Agency	17,200		
Sales of overseas surpluses	63,570		
Iran	76,743	30,000	12,359
Export-Import Bank (direct)	359		359
Mutual Security Agency	42,000	30,000	12,000
Sales of overseas surpluses	25,843		
Prior grants converted into credits	8,541		
Iraq: Sales of overseas surpluses	889		
Ireland: Mutual Security Agency	128,220		
Israel	167,777	6,164	27,337
Export-Import Bank (direct)	134,908	722	
Mutual Security Agency	17,422	5,442	11,980
Agricultural Trade Development Act	15,357		15,357
Italy	442,118		641
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	106,370		641
Through agent	27,576		
Mutual Security Agency	95,600		
Basic materials development	3,278		
Sales of overseas surpluses	144,072		
Merchant ship sales	65,222		
Japan	615,453	58,714	117,402
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	140,704		53,519
Through agent	156,880	58,714	6,344
Agricultural Trade Development Act	57,540		57,540
Sales of overseas surpluses	14,035		
Occupied-areas commodity programs	192,251		
Natural fibers revolving fund	54,043		
Korea: Sales of overseas surpluses	24,928		
Lebanon: Sales of overseas surpluses	1,550		
Liberia	24,587	350	1,300
Export-Import Bank (direct)	7,800	350	1,300
Merchant ship sales	698		
Lend-lease current credits	16,088		
Morocco	18,369		31
Export-Import Bank (direct)	31		31
Mutual Security Agency	18,338		
Netherlands	436,035		
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	204,498		
Through agent	786		
Mutual Security Agency	149,500		
Sales of overseas surpluses	19,700		
Sales of domestic surpluses	621		
Merchant ship sales	9,560		
Prior grants converted into credits	47,160		
Lend-lease silver	4,209		
New Zealand	17,395		13,063
Export-Import bank:			
Direct	13,000		13,000
Through agent	63		63
Sales of overseas surpluses	4,333		
Norway	140,604	310	
Export-Import Bank (direct)	50,221		
Mutual Security Agency	39,200		
Basic materials development	21,129	310	
Sales of overseas surpluses	4,591		
Sales of domestic surpluses	600		
Merchant ship sales	18,963		
Prior grants converted into credits	5,900		
Pakistan	22,879	669	7,074
Mutual Security Agency	22,743	669	7,074
Sales of domestic surpluses	136		
Philippines	138,095	6,416	4,766
Export-Import Bank (direct)	21,458	6,416	4,766
Sales of overseas surpluses	5,983		
Sales of domestic surpluses	1,074		
Merchant ship sales	2,081		
Funding	37,498		
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	70,000		
Poland	77,720		
Export-Import Bank (direct)	40,000		
Sales of overseas surpluses	37,720		
Portugal	53,646	4,614	2,547
Export-Import Bank (direct)	14,383	4,614	2,547
Mutual Security Agency	36,051		
Basic materials development	3,212		
Rhodesia	53,708	18,237	10,965
Basic materials development	38,286	14,762	3,052
Defense mobilization development	15,422	3,475	7,913
Saudi Arabia	19,112		
Export-Import Bank (direct)	14,768		
Sales of overseas surpluses	1,900		
Lend-lease silver	2,444		
Spain	111,460	6,426	32,398
Export-Import Bank:			
Direct	23,654		
Through agent	90		
Mutual Security Agency	78,729	6,426	23,322
Agricultural Trade Development Act	8,986		8,986
Sweden	24,200		
Export-Import Bank (direct)	2,155		
Mutual Security Agency	20,400		
Sales of overseas surpluses	1,645		
Syria: Export-Import Bank (direct)	102		102
Thailand	7,759		504
Export-Import Bank (direct)	1,503		463
Mutual Security Agency	41		41
Sales of overseas surpluses	6,215		
Turkey	153,398	755	24,574
Export-Import Bank (direct)	34,681	31	3,980
Mutual Security Agency	106,325	724	20,594
Basic materials development	193		
Sales of overseas surpluses	6,111		
Merchant ship sales	6,088		
Union of South Africa	131,037	31,631	21,526
Export-Import Bank (direct)	129,640	31,631	21,526
Basic materials development	140		
Sales of overseas surpluses	1,257		
U. S. S. R.: Prior grants converted into credits	222,493		
United Kingdom and dependencies	6,806,567	157	
United Kingdom	4,782,428		
British loan	3,750,000		
Mutual security program	384,800		
Basic materials development	6,692		
Sales of overseas surpluses	60,000		
Prior grants converted into credits	562,447		
Lend-lease silver	18,489		
British East Africa	2,394	112	
Basic materials development	2,312	112	
Sales of overseas surpluses	82		
British Guiana: Basic materials development	128		

TABLE III.—*Foreign credits utilized, by program, postwar period, July 1, 1945, to June 30, 1956, and fiscal years 1955–56*—Continued

[In thousands of dollars]

Program	Postwar period	Fiscal 1955	Fiscal 1956
United Kingdom and dependencies—Con.			
British Honduras: Reconstruction Finance Corporation	13		
Jamaica: Basic materials development	20,930		
Nigeria	674	45	
Basic materials development	519		
Strategic materials development	155	45	
United Kingdom and dependencies—Con.			
Yugoslavia	55,000		
Export-Import Bank (direct)	55,000		
Prior grants converted into credits	900		
International organizations:			
European Coal and Steel Community: Mutual Security Agency	100,000	100,000	
United Nations: Headquarters loan	65,000		

Who Will Liberate Us?—It's Not Funny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an article by Mr. Eugene Lyons that appeared in the January 1957 issue of National Review. Mr. Lyons raises the question as to "Who Is Going To Liberate Us?" and, as I have suggested, this is not a question which will amuse our people nor Members of this body. The article follows:

WHO WILL LIBERATE US?—IT'S NOT FUNNY

(By Eugene Lyons)

In the last or cold-war decade we have heard a lot of talk about saving and liberating the peoples under the Kremlin yoke. But when the great tests came—first in East Germany and then, even more challengingly, in Hungary—the talk was exposed as hollow and largely hypocritical. If anything is clear today it is that the so-called free world, suffering paralysis of the will, itself needs saving and liberating.

The decades—nearly four—since the advent of Soviet communism, have witnessed magnificent courage and readiness to stake life for liberty. Millions of ordinary people have traded their blood for honor and conviction. But this glory and this nobility has been manifest only on the dark side of the Iron Curtain.

East Berlin in 1953; Tiflis and Poznan and Budapest in 1956; the slave revolts in Vorkuta; the heroic escapes from Communist prison lands; the stubborn peasant resistance to state feudalization in Soviet Russia and all the other captive countries—these have been historic assertions of the human spirit. Where in the free world are the episodes of individual or national valor to compare with them?

A journalist in West Berlin, assessing the mood in East Germany today, is able to write: "Ideas are the weapons most likely to be Ulbricht's undoing, genuine European ideas, nourished behind the Iron Curtain, that are storming in from the East across the long Polish frontier."

The ideas flowing from the East, the very sovietized East that had been written off by most of our experts as lost to our civilization, are no different from those offered by the West. They are, in truth, merely reaffirmations of the basic values of freedom, justice, and human dignity by which Western man has lived for centuries. Why, then, do they have such a powerful impact upon East German minds which are little if at all affected by freedom propaganda from the West?

Because behind the Iron Curtain these elementary ideas are being given spiritual vigor by ultimate dedication and ultimate risk. Because there the tired platitudes of the Judaeo-Christian world are being revitalized through self-sacrifice so spontaneous and uncalculating that heroism seems the inappropriate word for it.

Heroism implies a conscious choice, whereas the victims of communism protest, demand, and fight in response to imperious inner compulsions. A correspondent of the Commonweal who witnessed the struggle in Budapest reports that the people "fought with a superhuman spirit without hope from the beginning." It was "as if they fulfilled a function, the meaning of which was still obscure, but which had to be fulfilled."

The free world needs saving precisely because, in the face of a challenge to all its professed beliefs and ideals, it feels no such inner compulsions to act. Our best hope today is that the oppressed men, women, and children in the Soviet world may liberate us. Their suffering and sacrifice in defiance of physical force may yet drive us to put duty and honor above comfort and security.

The proof that there is still a flicker of life in the anemic ideals we think we cherish is that we are deeply ashamed of our failure to answer the calls for help that reached us from Hungary, and are trying to smother the shame with angry rhetoric, ritual resolutions, and, above all, mumblings about "moral force."

American organizations raising funds for Hungarian relief report a remarkably generous response. In other non-Soviet countries, too, the response has been impressive. Governments which have been scandalously indifferent to the fate of fugitives from communism are suddenly opening their doors wide to Hungarian refugees. We are today like men who, having watched the obscene murder of a neighbor without daring to interfere, rush to help his widow and orphans.

Certainly there is ample reason for our feeling of guilt. The gallantry of Poles and Hungarians, increasingly in evidence also among students and workers in Soviet Russia itself, has been matched among free men only by a sullen determination to play it safe.

Even the toothless League of Nations in Geneva found the courage to expel Russia after its invasion of Finland, but not its successor in New York after the Hungarian massacres. History must record that while Soviet tanks and guns were slaughtering tens of thousands of freedom fighters, the pettifogging lawyers of the so-called civilized world were bargaining over the wording of "rebukes" to the butchers. The presumptive leader of the freedom forces among the nations, though it acted promptly and firmly against its friends in Suez, could find only wrathful adjectives against the sworn enemy of human-kind engaged in crushing a brave people.

The peoples under Red puppet regimes and in Soviet Russia itself now know that should they, too, revolt against despotism, the free world stands ready to applaud them, to pass resolutions, to ring church bells, and provide relief handouts for survivors—in short, to do anything except risk its own precious skin.

Free peoples are no less culpable than their governments. Where are the volunteers against communism to match those raised by the Communist during the Spanish civil war? Where are the fund drives for arms and planes to match those raised for Israel in its fight against the British and the Arabs? Where is the current equivalent of the Flying Tigers in China?

I for one am convinced that while the inertia and cowardice of the free world may slow up self-liberation in the Communist world, they cannot prevent it. Despite official warnings by Washington and Bonn and NATO that rebellion against Red tyranny and terror cannot count on outside support, despite the eagerness of free-world statesmen to help Moscow stabilize its slave empire, the collapse of Communist power is inevitable.

And in the process we, too, may be saved and liberated.

Nasser and the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Gaffney (S. C.) Ledger of March 28, 1957:

NASSER AND THE UNITED STATES

It seems probable that the recent moves of President Nasser in Egypt are to seriously affect the appraisal of President Eisenhower's foreign policy in the Middle East. It might even be said that President Nasser holds in his hand the key to success or failure of the Eisenhower policy of recent months.

The President put enough pressure on Israel to force that country to withdraw its troops from the Gaza strip. As soon as Israeli troops were removed, the Egyptian dictator sent an Egyptian general into the area, which was occupied by United Nations troops at the time, amid bitter protests from Israel.

The United States had hoped Egypt would refrain from taking any inflamatory move until tension had relaxed in the area. And even though it was the United States which forced Israel to withdraw, Nasser did not appreciate this effort.

As this is written, the situation stills hangs by a thread, although it appears Nasser has succeeded in restoring administrative control over the area.

If the British press is right, then the United States and President Eisenhower hold the direct responsibility for Nasser's subsequent action. It was this country which prevented Great Britain, France, and Israel from running Nasser out of Egypt.

It was this country which forced Israel to finally withdraw from the Gaza Strip and other territory. Now, it is squarely up to President Eisenhower to use similar pressure on Egypt to see to it that all of his efforts in the past are not translated into failure by the policies of Nasser.

Timely Observations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. R. HULL, JR.
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, the March 24 edition of the Sunday News Press, St. Joseph, Mo., has a most enlightening and factual editorial entitled "Timely Observations." These timely observations by my good friend and venerable journalist, Arthur V. Burrows, very aptly elucidate a serious situation confronting our Air Force in its endeavor to secure and retain qualified personnel for the defense of these United States.

One man who has repeatedly warned the Congress, this administration, and the Nation of the folly of not maintaining our air defense at its peak; who has consistently argued that the Air Force must be administered in a manner and at a level that our young men would be proud to be a part of it; and who has had years of experience that qualifies him to speak authoritatively on the subject is, as Editor Burrows points out and I am proud to state, the distinguished Senator and fellow Missourian, the Honorable STUART SYMINGTON.

Under unanimous consent, I ask that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD in its entirety, as follows:

TIMELY OBSERVATIONS

The Air Force must not be our stepchild. We agree completely with Missouri's junior United States Senator in his analysis of the importance of American defense in this age of atomic energy. We have applauded each time this distinguished Missourian has come to the Senate with arguments for the United States Army Air Force. We hold that there are two mighty nations in the world today. One is the United States of America. The other is the United States of Soviet Republics.

America can keep this world from going Communist. Yes, but not by crippling air defense. Our first line of defense is the Air Force. Make no mistake about that. We have come eons in practical reality, though only 16 decades since Washington's day when the Atlantic Ocean was our great first line of defense against an Old World with its centuries of hates and wars. We have come ages, too, in reality though only 2 decades since the great Franklin Delano Roosevelt said that our front line defense was the Rhine.

America's front line defense today is the United States Army Air Force. We are cognizant that Federal spending often is uncontrolled and often is wasteful. Not on defens. We have strong views on the Air Force. There are times when saving is no saving but the most expensive and wholly false economy. We believe that is true in our stingy attitude toward the monumental task of getting and keeping the very best men of America in our Army, in our Air Force.

What incentive is there for a young man, airminded, to give his life to the Regular Army, when he can go into aviation in private industry. None, really none, unless that man cares for neither home nor family and can afford to dedicate himself to a cause few can. We live in days where the butcher, the grocer, and the baker must be met and paid. We live in an age when the male American, be he in Air Force or in private plant, wonders how he can set aside for that security of old age.

Here is a practical illustration. Let us take the highest rating of a noncommissioned man. Let's assume he has 16 years in the service. Let's assume he is master sergeant. His base pay is $288.60. If he flies he gets $105 additional. True, he gets quarters allowance, plus separate rations, be he married and with the family. The total, all enumerated, would be $500 a month.

Here is the highest skilled man Uncle Sam has with all that experience. Now what? Mark this. A private company manufacturing aircraft pays a flying engineer as a starting salary $650 a month. Mark this, too. The flier working for this private aircraft company is raised to $750 a month when he meets the company's qualified standards.

Many men are leaving the service of Uncle Sam. Why? Because they can better themselves by getting work with aircraft companies at much more inviting, at much higher remuneration. What is our weak reasoning that we penalize American men by urging them, just for patriotic reasons, to accept positions in the Air Force, when we know they can start out better with a private company than they can attain after a decade and a half with the United States Army, our Department of Defense.

True; yes; we are living in new and strange times. You may be one of those who look at that master sergeant's pay, even with his 16 years seniority, and say "I'll trade jobs with him." Every man is worthy of his hire. The national economy has changed. We are in an era of high living costs. We personally cannot understand why we want to spend billions on Federal aid to education, yet keep the pay of Air Force men unjustly lower than that of his fellow workers, same skill, same background, in private aircraft.

We are as a rule a generous people. We spend millions and billions to win the friendship of free peoples, ideologically, as are we, opposed to the taint that is Red communism that had its birth in Russia. Recently, as Newsweek pointed out in its current issue, an expert on public expenditures was insulted when he dared appear before a House subcommittee to argue that schools are a State and local problem, not a Federal one. These men seem itching to make the States accept money for schools. Do they rise to demand equal pay for men in America's defense?

Men of the House and of the Senate: If our Air Force fails, by depleted manpower—trailing away to private industry—we face national disgrace. Why cannot we see that all the so-called Federal aid to education will not amount to a tinker's dam if Red Russia, highly airminded, ever gets the ascendancy over us. Gone forever is our isolation of George Washington's day. Gone is the era of the safety in battleships when Britain was world leader. We must now think of air defense first and foremost.

Two employers want Bill for a certain job. Bill may like the one employer personally better than the other. But in the final analysis Bill will, if he is bright, go to that employer who pays him best. He will go to him most likely to provide best for wife and children, to lay away for that day when he can no longer work.

Report of President and Secretary of American Group of the Interparliamentary Union for 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, as president of the American group of the Interparliamentary Union, I respectfully submit to the Congress of the United States my annual report for 1957, together with the report of Hon. HENRY O. TALLE, secretary of the American group of the Interparliamentary Union:

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN GROUP, INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION, 1957

Although no formal meeting of the election of officers has been held since 1955, the group met informally on many occasions since March of that year. In 1952, the bylaws were amended to elect officers to serve for each Congress rather on a yearly basis and this meeting today is to review the work of the past 2 years, as well as to elect officers for the duration of the 85th Congress.

There have been four formal meetings of the Interparliamentary Union since our last official meeting. First, the council meeting in Rome; second, the 44th conference in Helsinki; third, the council meeting in Dubrovnik; and last the conference—the 45th for the Interparliamentary Union in Bangkok.

We have had briefings at the Department of State or here on the Hill before each council meeting and conference. Because of the campaign in 1956, these briefings were only with those who could be in Washington but we provided for it by a special report of the executive secretary, who for 2 weeks previous to leaving for Bangkok represented us in meetings abroad with the British, French, Swiss, and Italian groups, as well as a meeting with DeBionay at bureau headquarters in Geneva.

We have been represented, as well, by Congressman COOLEY, serving on the Union Executive Committee, for these last 4 years but since his term has now expired, we can have no representative on that committee elected until 1958. The place on that committee is an extremely important one in relation to our position in the union and though the 1958 conference will not be obliged to elect a United States delegate, it is a position we have held almost continuously in the union since its inception.

The theme of the conferences in 1955 and 1956, as well of course of the council meetings, has veered from peaceful coexistence to the major subject of disarmament. We are required to report the actions of our congress on the resolutions made at these conferences and I am happy to say that over the 2 years and over the 9 years preceding

them since we met in Cairo after World War II, we have always been able to report that we either already had the recommendations of the conference in force in our country before they were passed or that action was taken during the ensuing year to bring them into being.

Unfortunately, I was not able to lead the delegation at Helsinki or Bangkok, but I have followed with intense interest the work of each conference as well as the Dubrovnik council meeting at which we were ably represented by Senator ROBERTSON and our beloved former president, Senator Alben Barkley. I should like to express here also my grateful thanks to Congressman TALLE, who took over the burden of acting as chairman at Helsinki and Bangkok. I should like to express my thanks, too, to Senator PURTELL, who acted for Congressman COOLEY at the postconference session of the executive committee in Helsinki, where a further attempt was made to violate the expressed wishes of the council and the conference in the proposed admission of Communist China to the Union.

The action of the executive committee meeting in Delhi in 1955, taking advantage of a bare quorum in which the presiding officer, Lord Stansgate, cast a vote for such recommendation, is a symptom in my opinion, of a far greater problem and conspiracy, in fact, to take over the Interparliamentary Union by Communist forces, representing the Soviet and her satellites.

It was significant that at the Praesidium of the Soviet Republics in February 1955, that the word "Parliament" was first applied to the single-party assemblies of the Soviet and that shortly before and during that time, the offending ex-members of the Union, once independent governments, returned one by one to the fold of the Union, preparatory to the admission of the Soviet as a member at Helsinki in 1955. It is true that Spain and Liberia were admitted at the same time but the Soviet and its satellite, Albania, came in to complete the Soviet bloc, already returned to membership.

The union now stands at 51 member nations. It must include over 30 more nations to, in any way, balance the membership of the U. N., of which it is a part. In the admission of Brazil and now Peru to the small Latin American group, we have a greater world representation as well, as in the admission of Australia, New Zealand, and little countries like Laos and Cambodia and our neighbor, Canada, which has already taken steps to resume membership after almost 20 years of absence from our conferences. In the words of our secretary general, membership has become more realistic but realism buys with it many new problems.

My own view is that the union, even with the menacing force of the Soviet bloc, is becoming a more powerful voice in world affairs and so long as it remains a free body, presents many opportunities for the free world. It is an excellent place to make tests of world opinion and an excellent meeting ground for representative members of our Congress to gain an intimate knowledge of other points of view and to resolutely state our own positions clearly and unequivocably to members of other parliaments.

For these reasons, I believe that the upcoming council meeting in Nice and the London conference in September are particularly important to us. Our Department of State was deeply concerned with the outcome of the conference at Bangkok and will be equally concerned with that of London, where an opportunity will be provided to not only adjust our differences with European powers but also to strengthen our relations with our friends in the Near and Middle East. The subject of colonialism has been debated for over 50 years in the interparliamentary union and steady growth has been obtained in a much more enlightened attitude on the part of the governing and nonself-governing powers in that time.

It is imperative that right leadership be provided the Union in the election of the new President of the Council who is actually the guiding spirit of the Union this year, and it is imperative that every advantage be taken of the 1958 conference in Rio de Janeiro to get our Latin American neighbors into the Union, with a subsequent meeting of the new executive committee, 1958, which is proposed to occur in Washington, following the conference.

In 1957 Thai and Swiss representatives leave the executive committee, 1 voting with us, 1 against us on the Communist China matter. It is likely that a new Far Eastern representative will be elected and another European representative. It is in the interest of the future democratic development of the Union that these new members both represent the free world.

These few matters I have discussed with you in this report which bear upon our continued influence in the Union. Another abortive attempt will be made at Nice to recommend Communist China, still unrepentant and still unrecognized by the U. N., to membership, in contradiction to the past vote of the Council. We should see that this action, antagonistic to world peace, based on justice, shall not take place.

DANIEL A. REED,
President of the American Group, Interparliamentary Union.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION, 1955

The regular anual meeting of the American group, Interparliamentary Union, recessed from the third Monday in January, was opened at 10:15 a. m., March 15, 1955, in the old Supreme Court chambers at the Capitol. There were approximately 30 Members of the House and Senate present. Congressman DANIEL A. REED, vice president of the group, presided.

The short minutes of the meeting of January 17, 1955, were unanimously approved.

The minutes of the annual meeting of the group held on January 18, 1954, were distributed and, reading being dispensed with, were unanimously approved.

The report of the executive secretary was read and approved. The former president, Senator Homer Ferguson, being now United States Ambassador to the Philippines, sent greetings from Manila and allowed his previous report covering the Washington Conference of the Interparliamentary Union to speak for his administration of group affairs.

It was moved by Senator ROBERTSON and seconded by Senator Wiley and Senator SPARKMAN that Congressman DANIEL A. REED, of New York, be elected to the office of president of the American group to serve for the period of the 84th Congress. The vote being unanimous, Congressman REED took the chair and called for resumption of the regular business of the meeting.

Nominations and elections of other officers for this period of the 84th Congress were then in order. Congressman COOLEY nominated HENRY O. TALLE, of Lowa, for the office of secretary. Being duly seconded, Congressman TALLE was declared elected. Congressman POAGE nominated for the three offices of vice president, Congressman COOLEY, of North Carolina; Senator ROBERTSON, of Virginia; and Senator WILEY, of Wisconsin. Being duly seconded, the vice presidents were declared elected. Congressman KEATING nominated Congressman POAGE, of TEXAS, for the office of treasurer. Being duly seconded, Congressman POAGE was declared elected.

The following Members of Congress were elected to serve on the executive committee: Senator Albert Gore, of Tennessee; Congressman Clifford R. Hope, of Kansas; Congressman John M. Vorys, of Ohio; Congressman Antoni A. Sadlak, of Connecticut; Sentor Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., of Missouri; Senator John J. Sparkman, of Alabama; Senator Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois; and Congressman W. Robert Poage, of TEXAS. Dr. Franklin Dunham was continued as permanent executive secretary. Congressman HAROLD D. COOLEY, of North Carolina, and Congressman DANIEL A. REED, of New York, were elected as members of the Interparliamentary Council, Congressman COOLEY being already a member of the executive committee of the Interparliamentary Union.

On nomination by Congressman Poage, seconded by Congressman Hope, Ambassador Ferguson and former Congressman Lucas, of TEXAS, were elected as honorary members of the American group.

A discussion was then entered into as to the size of the delegation to be appointed to the 44th conference to be held in Helsinki in September 1955.

Senator ROBERTSON spoke to the point, advising that the group be of sufficient size to adequately present the United States in relation to the size of other delegations of leading world powers. On motion by Congressman COOLEY, seconded by Congressman POAGE, the president was authorized to appoint the delegation, not to exceed 15 Members of Congress.

Senator HENNINGS spoke of the necessity of assembling the members of the delegation at a time well in advance of the conference, so that the delegation could properly organize to discuss its position on questions offered for debate and resolution.

President REED spoke from the chair, advising that the British were always well organized for the conferences, having a permanent secretariat located in the House of Commons, with a full-time secretary, secretarial help and budget to cover adequately many meetings and the reception of foreign visitors during the year. Congressman COOLEY also spoke of the regular IPU committee assignments which should be made early in order to make the delegates chosen familiar with their respective roles in the conference. Senator SPARKMAN noted that the conference agenda is set up after the April council meeting and that such assignments could be made after that meeting.

The original motion, regarding the delegation was thereupon amended to include as well 15 alternates who could be used as a priority list from which to draw names of delegates in case of vacancies occurring in original designations.

Congressman COOLEY introduced the question of raising the prescribed contribution of the United States to the Interparliamentary Bureau to the newly assessed charge of $18,000.

On motion, it was agreed that Senator ROBERTSON in the Senate and Congressman REED in the House would handle the matter of such increase which is, at present, $3,000 above the usual amount recommended in the Department of State budget.

Senator ROBERTSON was also asked by the group to handle the matter of air transportation facilities to and from Helsinki, in late August.

There being no further matters for immediate discussion, the meeting was declared adjourned at 11 a. m.

Respectfully submitted,
HENRY O. TALLE,
Parliamentary Secretary.

Countersigned:
FRANKLIN DUNHAM,
Permanent Executive Secretary.

Read and approved by United States group, IPU, at business meeting, February 19, 1957.

MINUTES OF INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION LUNCHEON MEETING, APRIL 23, 1956

The officers of the United States group held a luncheon meeting in the Vandenberg room of the Capitol on April 23 for the purpose of hearing reports on the meetings of the IPU Council held in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, from April 3 through April 8. The United States group was represented at the meeting by Senators Alben W. Barkley and A. WILLIS ROBERTSON.

Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON provided those attending this meeting with copies of a mimeographed report.

Senator Alben W. Barkley gave an oral account. In his report Senator Barkley emphasized that the most difficult problem dealt with at the meeting was the persistent demand by Russian delegates that Red China be admitted to membership in the IPU.

It was made clear that, although the attempt to seat Red China failed at this meeting of the Council, another attempt would undoubtedly be made at the forthcoming conference scheduled to be held in Bangkok, Thailand, in November.

Following a period of discussion in which members reviewed earlier attempts by the Russian delegates to get Red China seated in the IPU, and after considering steps that might be taken to defeat this purpose, the meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted.

HENRY O. TALLE,
Secretary, United States Group,
Interparliamentary Union.

Read and approved by United States group, IPU, at business meeting, February 19, 1957.

MINUTES OF INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION LUNCHEON MEETING, JULY 27, 1956

A luncheon meeting of the delegates appointed to attend the Interparliamentary Union Conference in Bangkok, Thailand, November 15 through November 22, was held in the Vandenberg room, Senate wing of the Capitol, on Friday, July 27, at 12:30 p. m.

In addition to the delegates the following persons from the State Department attended the luncheon meeting:

Mr. Walter S. Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Far Eastern Affairs,

Mr. Robert Hill, Assistant Secretary of State in charge of congressional liaison,

Mr. Jack Leahy, Department of State, congressional liaison staff member.

President DANIEL A. REED introduced the guests from the Department of State and after briefly explaining the importance of the Bangkok Conference, he asked Mr. Robertson, of the Department, to brief the delegates on the Department's point of view relative to the matter of Red China being admitted to membership in the union. He was also invited to suggest what he believed should be done by the United States group to prevent such action.

Mr. Walter S. Robertson gave a good explanation which, concisely stated, was that the IPU is yearly becoming increasingly important as an international organization; that the Soviet are most anxious to control it by adding as many satellites as possible and that the United States group must be a strong leader of the free-nation members to prevent the seating of Red China.

At the conclusion of Mr. Walter S. Robertson's briefing a general discussion took place relative to the action of the United States group in preventing the seating of Red China.

The meeting adjourned at approximately 2 p. m.

Respectfully submitted.

HENRY O. TALLE,
Secretary, United States Group,
Interparliamentary Union.

Read and approved by United States group, IPU, at business meeting, February 19, 1957.

A Basis for Settlement of Arab-Israeli Dispute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday March 28, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, a most interesting suggestion has been made as to the basis for final settlement of the highly volatile situation in the Middle East. This subject was contained in the Jewish Newsletter of February 4 and I am sure that Members of this House will be interested in reading it.

VIEWS OF SECRETARY HAMMARSKJOLD'S REPORT

There is extensive belief here that Mr. Hammarskjold's report to the United Nations, on the 25th, has an importance transcending its rather pedestrian, legalistic treatment of the precise situations in Gaza and the Sharm el Sheikh territories. Topical commentators and observers may debate the immediate efficacy of the report as a contribution toward resolution of these two, specific issues. But those grappling with the totality of American interests in the Middle East and who are more than propagandists are encouraged by the fact that this report, together with the Secretary General's comprehensive report of his trip to the Middle East last spring, is building an integrated, consistent and orderely record of first principles upon the basis of which alone any final settlement of the Palestine problem can be predicated.

The contrast to, and conflict with, the Israeli position over the two territories now at issue is more profound than the obvious question of unconditional withdrawal. Or, it might be said that if Israel is prepared to accept the working thesis of the Secretary General's report, there would remain little disagreement with the Secretary General over the conditions Israel is attempting to secure before withdrawal: reduction of border incursions and recognition of transit rights in Suez and the Aqaba Gulf. The bold differences in approach to these objectives—not the objectives themselves—will, and should, be the nub of debate.

The Israeli case is predicated upon an appeal for recognition of the justice of its case against border raids and obstruction of its transport in the canal and the Aqaba Gulf. The Secretary General does not deny the justice of Israel's claims. But—he says in legal language and documented citations—justice is compounded of an intricate and, in many situations, an interlocking series of fundamental provisions reaching back to the cease-fire and armistice agreements of 1948–49.

Above all, he asserts that justice cannot be achieved by unilateral definitions and actions. "The United Nations cannot condone a change of the status juris resulting from military action contrary to the provisions of the charter," he says. And he continues, "The organization must, therefore, maintain that the status juris existing prior to such military action be reestablished by a withdrawal of troops, and by the relinquishment or nullification of rights asserted in territories covered by the military action and depending upon it." This is the nub of Mr. Hammarskjold's report, because it is a fundamental principle of world order and a prerequisite to any peaceful settlement of any international disputes. It is therefore the application of the central purpose of the United Nations to the problem to which the Secretary General was addressing himself.

Mr. Hammarskjold's report offers legal and orderly ways by means of which all parties of good faith might achieve objectives which most of the world has agreed it wants. The strategy proposed by Mr. Hammarskjold might restore the armistice agreements to some semblance of the authority it was hoped they would have nearly a decade ago. This, according to the Secretary General, would bring about the state of nonbelligerency which Israel now is attempting to impose as a price for its withdrawal. The Secretary General suggests that after the authority of the armistice agreement is reestablished, recognition of the international rights of shipping through the canal and the Gulf of Aqaba—including Israel's rights—might be expected from Egypt.

A phrase which recurs constantly in the Secretary General's report is that full compliance with the armistice agreements—on many points—would have an important positive bearing on other problems in the area. This is essentially the same theme Mr. Hammarskjold hit last spring. The feeling here is that the Secretary General is building, brick upon brick, a way out of the Palestine dilemma. And, for the same reason, the feeling here is that Mr. Eisenhower's policy of attempting to work out this part of the Middle East problem through the United Nations is justified.

WASHINGTON, *January 28.*

Old Argument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under the heading of an Old Argument the Jacksonville (Fla.) Journal for March 22 makes the point that senatorial representation from the States having smaller populations than others is a system which in our Government has worked well and may be expected to when Alaska becomes a State. I take pleasure in presenting that editorial here:

OLD ARGUMENT

One of the points of argument in debate on the question of statehood for Alaska has been the contention that, as a State, it would have a voice in Congress greater than its population justifies. This point of view was expressed before a House subcommittee when Representative JOHN R. PILLION, of New York, said that permitting Alaska to elect 2 Senators would be a "disservice to the people of the 48 States."

PILLION'S expression of this viewpoint had in it echoes that go back to the founding days of the Republic. This question of giving the smaller States equal voting power in the Senate was one of the main points of difference among delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. It was only by the narrowest possible margin that they reached the so-called great compromise giving the States proportional representation in the House but equal power in the Senate.

Experience since then has shown that, on the whole, this is an effective system for representing the best interests of the people. There is no reason to think that giving

Alaska two Senators would be harmful, or a "disservice to the people."

It is true that Alaska's population is very small when compared to that of most States. But it must be remembered that there are several States whose people are outnumbered by hundreds of thousands rather than by millions. Among these are Nevada, Wyoming, Delaware, Vermont.

That, however, is not the main point. The main point is that throughout our history the best Senators have not only served their home States well but have been conscious of their broader responsibility to the Nation as a whole. Why should we suppose that Senators from Alaska, if that Territory should be granted statehood, would do otherwise?

Egyptian Violations of International Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, we have heard and read a great deal about violations of international law by Egypt. The following, however, is an itemized bill of particulars and documentation establishing these charges:

EGYPTIAN VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

Belligerency

Egypt's exercise of alleged rights of war under her oft-proclaimed doctrine of unilateral belligerency; her continued armed attacks against Israel; her naval blockade and economic boycott; the repeated threats of her leaders to annihilate Israel and their consistent refusal to arrive at a peaceful settlement with Israel are in clear and open violation of the following provisions of the United Nations Charter:

The Charter

"We the peoples of the United Nations, determined * * * to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained * * * and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors * * * and to insure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims."—(Preamble.)

"The purposes of the United Nations are * * * to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples"—(art. 1 (2)).

"All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered"—(art. 2 (2)).

"The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration"—(art. 33 (1)).

"All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations"—(art. 2 (4)).

The Violations

From the signing of the Israel-Arab Armistice Agreements in February 1949 to the end of 1956, Arab attackers, including Egyptian-trained Fedayeen, carried out 3,367 raids into Israel territory, killing 443 Israelis and wounding 963.

"They tried to force us to negotiate with Israel, but we refused. I informed them * * * that we will never negotiate with Israel." (Abdul Nasser, July 6, 1955.)

"There is no sense in talking about peace with Israel. There is not even the smallest place for negotiations between the Arabs and Israel." (Abdul Nasser, October 14, 1955.)

"Egypt will be glad when her army and that of Syria will meet on the ruins of this treacherous people, these Zionist gangs." (Abdul Nasser, December 18, 1955.)

Economic warfare

Egypt's economic warfare against Israel, including the blockade against Israel-bound vessels at the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba, the air blockade and the general anti-Israel economic boycott, is in violation of the following provisions of the charter (in addition to the provisions of the preamble quoted above):

The Charter

"The purposes of the United Nations are * * * to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic character" (art. 1 (3)).

"The members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter" (art. 25).

"With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations * * * the United Nations shall promote * * * solutions of international economic * * * problems" (art. 55 (b)).

"All members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in article 55" (art. 56).

The Violations

"No person, or other legal entity, is permitted to conclude an agreement, directly or indirectly, with institutions or persons in Israel, or persons acting on her behalf in another country. This covers any commercial, financial, or other transactions." (Art. 1, boycott regulations adopted by the Arab League Council in Cairo on December 14, 1954, and published in the Egyptian Official Journal on October 23, 1955.)

In 1949 and 1950 Egypt established a series of gun emplacements in the Sharm el Sheikh area in order to prevent ships from sailing freely in the Gulf of Aqaba to and from the port of Eilat. These guns have blockaded the Gulf of Aqaba for the past 6 years.

"In accordance with the orders dated July 7, 1955, issued by the Minister of War and the commander in chief of the armed forces, the regional boycott office for Israel is appointed to be the only authority for issuing permission to vessels to pass through the Egyptian territorial waters in the Gulf of Aqaba." (Egyptian orders for maritime traffic in the Gulf of Aqaba, 1955.)

In defiance of the Security Council resolution of September 1, 1951, which called on Egypt "to terminate the restrictions on the passage of international commercial shipping and goods through the Suez Canal wherever bound," the Egyptian authorities persisted in acts of confiscation, detention, and sheer molestation of ships proceeding to and from Israel even in respect of goods which were not included in the contraband list.

"There can hardly be any doubt that all seafaring nations, and for that matter all nations, must, as a matter of principle, be very greatly concerned in the maintenance of the freedom of international shipping—not least through the Suez Canal. * * * In the view of my Government, the measures decided upon by the Egyptian Government and the practices applied by it cannot be reconciled with the charter." (Mr. Borberg, representative of Denmark, at meeting 663 of the Security Council, March 25, 1954.)

(See also violations listed under United Nations resolutions.)

Persecution of minorities

Egypt's acts of persecution, expropriation, and deportation perpetrated against foreign nationals in Egypt—and the Jewish community in particular (including Egyptian nationals of the Jewish faith as well as non-Egyptian Jews) constitute a grave violation of the following provisions of the charter:

The Charter

"The purpose of the United Nations are * * * to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion" (art. 1 (3)).

"The United Nations shall promote * * * universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental fredoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion" (art. 55c).

"All members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action * * * in cooperation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in article 55" (art. 56).

The Violations

The Egyptian Government, in line with its policy of deporting all Jews not in possession of Egyptian nationality—and depriving of their citizenship and deporting those who acquired Egyptian nationality after January 1, 1900—has, since early November 1956, ordered some 21,000 Egyptian Jews to leave the country (4,000 of them within 7 days). The deportees are compelled to leave virtually all their property behind them.

Jewish hospitals in Cairo and Alexandria have been sequestrated, the sick ejected, and the medical staff arrested. There has been interference with the supply of food to Jewish humanitarian institutions.

About 1,000 Jews of foreign nationality have been imprisoned under wretched physical conditions in the Prison des Barages in Cairo. Special detention centers are operating in various public buildings, where detainees are herded together in crowded and unsanitary conditions. Altogether, between 2,000 and 3,000 Jews have been arrested.

Bank accounts have been frozen, property sequestrated, hundreds of industrial and commercial concerns taken over by the Government (among these the department stores of Cicurel, Chemla, Hanau, and Chalos, the banking houses of Zilka and Mosseri, and the Pinto cotton firm) and Jewish employees generally dismissed. (Based on official lists of sequestration under Egyptian Military Proclamation No. 4, published in the Extraordinary Egyptian Official Journal of November 8, 1956.)

The assets sequestrated or frozen by the Egyptian Government up to the end of November 1956 are estimated at well over $220 million.

UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS

Invasion of 1948

The invasion of Israel by the Arab States, headed by Egypt, in 1948, was in open defiance of the following General Assembly and Security Council resolutions:

U. N. Action

"The General Assembly * * * appeals to all governments and all peoples to refrain from taking any action which might hamper or delay the carrying out of these recommendations." (Concerning the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish and an Arab state). (General Assembly, Resolution 181 (II), November 29, 1947.)

"The Security Council * * * appeals to all governments and peoples, particularly in and around Palestine, to take all possible action to prevent or reduce such disorders as are now occurring in Palestine." (Security Council, 691, March 5, 1948.)

"The Security Council calls upon all * * * to take immediately * * * the following measures: (a) cease all activities of a military on para-military nature, as well as acts of violence, terrorism or sabotage; (b) refrain from bringing and from assisting and encouraging the entry into Palestine of armed bands and fighting personnel, goods, individuals, whatever their origin." (Security Council, 723, April 17, 1948.)

"The Security Council * * * calls upon all governments and authorities, without prejudice to the rights, claims or position of the parties concerned, to abstain from any hostile military action in Palestine, and to that end to issue a cease-fire order to their military and para-military forces to become effective within 36 hours after midnight, New York Standard Time, May 22, 1948. (Security Council, 733 May 22, 1948.)

"The Security Council * * * addresses an urgent appeal to the interested parties to accept in principle the prolongation of the truce for such a period as may be decided upon in consultation with the Mediator." (Security Council, 875, July 7, 1948.)

The Violations

"The Charter and the United Nations will not crumble, will not fall apart, if one more of the General Assembly's resolutions is not put into effect. We do not choose to comply with the General Assembly's resolution on Palestine." (Mahmoud Fawzi, Egyptian representative in the Security Council, February 25, 1948 (Doc. S/PV 255).)

"The Royal Egyptian Government declare, now that the British Mandate in Palestine has ended, that the Egyptian armed forces have started to enter Palestine." (Cable from the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Security Council, May 15, 1948 (S/743).)

"On the termination of the British Mandate in Palestine, instructions were given to forces of the Egyptian Army to enter Palestine. * * *

The Egyptian regular forces are proceeding with their operations." (Official communication delivered by the Egyptian Government to the Security Council May 22, 1948 (S/767).)

"The Egyptian Government regrets that it cannot abide by the recommendation of the Security Council to cease fire in Palestine." (Reply of the Egyptian Government, May 26, 1948.)

"The Arabs are not prepared to accept prolongation of the truce." (From the Mediator's Report to the Security Council, July 8, 1948 (S/873).)

"The Security Council, taking into consideration that the Provisional Government of Israel has indicated its acceptance in principle of a prolongation of the truce in Palestine; that the States members of the Arab League have rejected successive appeals of the United Nations Mediator and of the Security Council in its resolution of July 7, 1948, for the prolongation of the truce in Palestine, and that there has consequently developed a renewal of hostilities in Palestine; determines that the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace within the meaning of article 39 of the Charter." (Security Council, 902, July 15, 1948.)

Raids across the border

In continuing, to this day, the incursions into Israel of the fedayeen, the Egyptians have been violating that portion of the General Assembly's resolution of November 2, 1956 which—

U. N. Action

"* * * urges the parties * * * to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighboring territory." (General Assembly 997 (ES–I), November 2, 1956.)

The Violations

The following Israeli casualties were incurred, as a result of illegal incursions across the border, during the months of November and December 1956 and January 1957: November—8 killed, 16 wounded; December—1 killed, 4 wounded; January—4 wounded.

Suez and Aqaba blockade

The economic war being waged by Egypt against Israel—in particular, the blockade of the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba—violates the following United Nations resolutions:

U. N. Action

"The Security Council—

"Further noting * * * that the Egyptian Government has not complied with the earnest plea of the Chief of Staff, made to the Egyptian delegate on June 12, 1951, that it desist from the present practice of interfering with the passage through the Suez Canal of goods destined for Israel. * * *

"Finds that the maintenance of the practice mentioned in paragraph 4 above is inconsistent with the objectives of a peaceful settlement between the parties and the establishment of a permanent peace in Palestine set forth in the armistice agreement;

"Finds further that such practice is an abuse of the exercise of the right of visit, search, and seizure;

"Further finds that such practice cannot in the prevailing circumstances be justified on the ground that it is necessary for self-defense;

"And further noting that the restrictions on the passage of goods through the Suez Canal to Israel ports are denying to nations at no time connected with the conflict in Palestine valuable supplies required for their economic reconstruction, and that these restrictions, together with sanctions applied by Egypt to certain ships which have visited Israel ports, represent unjustified interference with the rights of nations to navigate the seas and to trade freely with one another, including the Arab States and Israel;

"Calls upon Egypt to terminate the restrictions on the passage of international commercial shipping and goods through the Suez Canal, wherever bound, and to cease all interference with such shipping beyond that essential to the safety of shipping in the canal itself and to the observance of the international conventions in force." (Security Council, 2322, September 1, 1951.)

"The Security Council * * * agrees that any settlement of the Suez question should meet the following requirements:

"There should be free and open transit through the canal without discrimination, overt or covert—this covers both political and technical aspects * * *.

"The operation of the canal should be insulated from the politics of any country." (Security Council, 3675, October 13, 1956.)

"This occupation being in no sense intended to interfere in any way whatever with innocent traffic through the stretch of sea separating these two islands from the Sinai coast of Egypt, it goes without saying that this passage, the only practical one, will remain free, as in the past; which is in conformity with international practice and with the recognised principles of international law." (Aide-Mémoire on the Egyptian occupation of the islands of Tiran and Sanafir, handed by the Egyptian Foreign Minister to United States Ambassador Caffery, January 28, 1950.)

"The General Assembly * * * urges that upon the cease-fire being effective, steps be taken to reopen the Suez Canal and restore secure freedom of navigation." (General Assembly, 997 (ES–I), November 2, 1956.)

The Violations

Some of the cases of interference with shipping through the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba:

On October 31, 1952, the Norwegian ship *Rimfrost*, en route from Eritrea to Israel, was detained at Port Said and its cargo of frozen meat confiscated.

On September 2, 1953, a cargo of Israel-assembled motorcars consigned to Kenya was confiscated aboard the Greek freighter *Parnon*.

On December 14, 1953, a cargo of meat was confiscated at Port Said aboard the Italian steamship *Franca Mari* on her way to Haifa.

On December 22, 1953, a shipment of motorcycles and personal effects consigned to Israel was confiscated from the Norwegian freighter *Triton*, en route from Melbourne to Genoa.

On July 8, 1955, a similar consignment was taken off the Dutch vessel *Fedala*.

On September 28, 1954, the Israel freighter *Bat Galim*, en route from Eritrea to Haifa with a cargo of food and hides, was stopped by the Egyptian authorities at the entrance to the Suez Canal. The ship was seized, the cargo confiscated, and the crew imprisoned. Not until January 1, 1955, was the crew liberated, but the vessel itself was not released.

On December 3, 1953, Egyptian guns fired at the United States vessel *Albion* at the entry to the Gulf of Aqaba, in belief (as the Egyptian authorities later explained) that the ship's destination was Eilat. (Actually, the *Albion* was carrying a cargo of wheat to the Jordanian port of Aqaba.)

On January 1, 1954, Egyptian gunfire was directed, at the entry to the Gulf of Aqaba, against the Italian ship *Maria Antonia* on her way from Massawa to Eilat. The ship was forcibly compelled to return to its port of origin.

On July 3, 1955, the British ship *Anshun* was fired upon by Egyptian batteries at the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba because she failed to stop and identify herself.

"The anti-Israel boycott committee asked for the passing of legislation designed to tighten the siege against Israel, both by confiscating all Israeli goods of all kinds and by seizing all ships carrying goods to or from Israel, as is being practiced in all other Arab countries. The Arab Government also asked Egypt to take appropriate measures in order to confiscate food shipments going to Israel through Egyptian territorial waters in a manner similar to the measures undertaken by the Governments of Iraq, Syria, and Jordan. * * * In conclusion, the Director (of the Coastal Guard Department) asked that the decree of February 10, 1950, be amended in such a manner as to allow confiscation of food and other commodities." (Egyptian Government memorandum, September 1955.)

"Egypt will not permit the passage of Israeli vessels through the canal." (Kamal e-Din Hussein, Egyptian Minister of Education, November 16, 1956.)

"Israeli vessels shall never pass through the canal." (Mahmoud Fawzi, Egyptian Foreign Minister, as reported on Radio Cairo, December 3, 1956.)

Refusal to make peace

Egypt's refusal to reach a peaceful settlement with Israel is contrary to the following United Nations resolutions:

U. N. Action

"The Security Council * * * decides that, in order to eliminate that threat to the peace

in Palestine and to facilitate the transition from the present truce to permanent peace in Palestine, an armistice shall be established." (Security Council, 1080, November 16, 1948.)

"The Security Council * * * expresses the hope that the Government and authorities concerned, having undertaken * * * to extend the scope of the armistice negotiations and to seek agreement by negotiations conducted either with the Conciliation Commission or directly, will at an early date achieve agreement on the final settlement of all questions outstanding between them." (Security Council, 1376, August 11, 1949.)

"The General Assembly * * * calls upon every nation * * * to settle international disputes by peaceful means and to cooperate in supporting United Nations efforts to resolve outstanding problems." (General Assembly 290 (IV), December 1, 1949.)

"The Security Council * * * reminds Egypt, Israel, and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan that the armistice agreements to which they are parties contemplate the return of permanent peace in Palestine, and therefore urges them and the other States in the area to take all such steps as will lead to the settlement of the issues between them." (Security Council, 1907, November 17, 1950.)

"Under the Charter of the United Nations, all states are bound to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered." (General Assembly, 704 (VIII), April 8, 1953.)

"The General Assembly * * * reaffirms its resolutions 110 (II) and 290 (IV) * * * which condemn all propaganda against peace." (General Assembly, 381 (V), November 17, 1950.)

"Under the Charter of the United Nations, all States are bound * * * to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations." (General Assembly, 704 (VII), April 8, 1953.)

The Violations

"Egypt has rejected a suggestion that an Egyptian officer should meet an Israeli in no-man's land to discuss the situation on the Israel-Egyptian border. Egypt will have no direct talks with Israel." (Col. Salah Gohar, Director of Palestine Affairs in the Egyptian War Ministry, December 1, 1954.)

"Today I see how the U. N. acts in fulfilling Israel's aspirations. They tried to force us to negotiate with Israel, but we refused. I informed them that we will answer aggression with aggression and that we will never negotiate with Israel." (Gamal Abdul Nasser, July 6, 1955.)

"The hatred of the Arabs against the Zionists is very strong, and there is no sense in talking about peace with Israel. There is not even the smallest place for negotiations between the Arabs and Israel." (Gamal Abdul Nasser, October 14, 1955.)

"No one can force the Arab States to make peace with Israel; this question has not even occurred to the leaders of the Arab States. There has been no change whatsoever in the policy of the Arab States with regard to Israel." (Saif Abu el-Lama, Deputy Secretary General of the Arab League, October 28, 1956.)

"There is no thought of signing a peace with the Jews, or even recognizing them." (Muhammed Salah E-Din, Egyptian Foreign Minister, June 24, 1951.)

War propaganda and threats

The countless threats uttered against the State of Israel by Egyptian leaders, both in personal statements and through Government organs, in the press, and over the radio have violated the following United Nations resolutions:

U. N. Action

"The General Assembly * * * condemns all forms of propaganda, in whatsoever country conducted, which is either designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or acts of aggression." (General Assembly, 110 (II), November 3, 1947.)

"The General Assembly * * * calls upon every nation: To refrain from threatening or using force contrary to the Charter; to refrain from any threats or acts, direct or indirect, aimed at impairing the freedom, independence, or integrity of any state." (General Assembly, 290 (IV), December 1, 1949.)

The Violations

"Egypt irrevocably opposes the recognition of the so-called state of Israel." Mahmoud Fawzi, Egyptian Foreign Minister, July 14, 1955.)

"Israel will not be saved from the Arabs. The day will soon come when Israel will be destroyed under the feet of Arab fighters and the flag of freedom will be unfurled over Palestine." (Ibrahim Tahawi, Deputy Secretary of the Liberation Rally and member of the Egyptian Cabinet, as reported in Al Ahram, October 29, 1955.)

"Disperse your enemies with the sword. * * * I assure you that the present truce is only a pause between war and war." (Sheikh Abdul Latif, in sermon delivered at El Azhar Mosque, Cairo, as reported by United Press, November 12, 1955.)

"Egypt will be glad when her army and that of Syria will meet on the ruins of this treacherous people, these Zionist gangs, so that our dead may rest in peace in the knowledge that our countries have been liberated of all foreign encroachment." (Gamal Abdul Nasser, as reported by Near East Broadcasting Service, December 18, 1955.)

"We have finally resolved to defend the Arab cause. Our army stands at the frontier read to teach the Zionists a lesson they will never forget, when the time is ripe." (General Abdul Hakim Amer, Egyptian Minister of War, January 22, 1956.)

"Wait and see, Ben-Gurion Soon will be proved to you the Arabs' prowess and strength of will. Egypt and the Arab nation will teach you a lesson and quieten you forever. Egypt will grind you to the dust." (Anwar el-Sadat, Egyptian Minister of State, April 8, 1956.)

"The Israel danger no longer exists. The Egyptian Army is strong enough to wide Israel from the map of the world." (Abdul Hakim Amer, June 11, 1956.)

"We must be strong in order to gain forcibly the rights of the Palestinian people." (Gamal Abdul Nasser, June 19, 1956.)

"The United States and others talk of borders and their preservation. Yet they know very well that Israel has no borders and that she is not a state in the legal sense. She presently finds herself behind a string of armistice lines—lines that cannot serve as borders, even if there should be carried on, in the Middle East, a series of long drawnout battles for many generations." (Al Akhbar, Egyptian daily, as quoted by Radio Cairo, January 15, 1957.)

Israel-Egyptian Armistice Agreement

The exercise by Egypt of the "rights of war" to which she has laid claim throughout the period of the armistice with Israel has been in flagrant violation of the following provisions of the Israel-Egyptian General Armistice Agreement:

The obligations

"With a view to promoting the return of permanent peace in Palestine * * * the following principles, which shall be fully observed by both parties during the armistice, are hereby affirmed:

"(1) The injunction of the Security Council against resort to military force in the settlement of the Palestine question shall henceforth be scrupulously respected by both parties.

"(2) No aggressive action by the armed forces—land, sea, or air—of either party shall be undertaken, planned, or threatened against the people or the armed forces of the other.

"(3) The right of each party to its security and freedom from fear of attack by the armed forces of the other shall be fully respected.

"(4) The establishment of an armistice between the armed forces of the two parties is accepted as an indispensable step toward the liquidation of armed conflict and the restoration of peace in Palestine (art. 1).

"No element of the land, sea, or air military or paramilitary forces of either party, including nonregular forces, shall commit any warlike or hostile act against the military or paramilitary forces of the other party, or against civilians in territory under the control of that party" (art. 2 (2).

"The basic purpose of the armistice demarcation line is to delineate the line beyond which the armed forces of the respective parties shall not move except as provided in article 3 of this agreement" (relating to the withdrawal of the armed forces of the two parties on the day following the signature of the General Armistice Agreement (art. 5 (3)).

"Rules and regulations of the armed forces of the parties, which prohibit civilians from crossing the fighting lines or entering the area between the lines, shall remain in effect after the signing of this agreement with application of the armistice demarcation line defined in article 6" (art. 5 (4)).

"In the area of the western front under Egyptian control, Egyptian defensive forces only may be maintained. All other European forces shall be withdrawn from this area to a point or points no further east than El Arish—About Aoueigila" (art. 7 (3)).

"On the Egyptian side of the frontier, facing the El Auja area, no Egyptian defensive positions shall be closer to El Auja than El Qouseima and Abou Aoueigila" (art. 8 (3)).

The Violations

"We are still legally at war with Israel. An armistice does not put an end to a state of war. It does not prohibit a country from exercising certain rights of war." (Egyptian representative on the Israel-Egyptian special committee, June 12, 1951.)

"These volunteers were recruited for service in the national guard, and not in the regular forces, by the chief of intelligence in Palestine, and most of them have a criminal past and they have but one desire: to wreak vengeance on Israel and to steal there. The action of the volunteers was taken in accordance with the proposal of the abovementioned chief of intelligence to the commanding general of the armed forces, who approved it on condition that the volunteers constitute a part of the Egyptian national guard." (From a memorandum by Lt. Col. Ahmed Salem, commander of the Egyptian military force in Sinai, July 10, 1955.)

"The basic purpose of training this year is the transition from a defensive to an offensive position. The administrative units must work together with the other units and must prepare their men for these operations." (From the training instructions for 1956–57, to the administrative units of the 3d Egyptian Infantry Division.)

"Every commander must prepare himself and his soldiers for the important battle with Israel in which we are fully immersed, with the aim of realizing our lofty tradition, that is to overpower and destroy Israel in the shortest possible time and with the greatest brutality and bestiality in battle." (From the directives of the commander of the 3d Egyptian Infantry Division, dated February 15, 1956.)

From the signing of the Israel-Arab armistice agreements in February 1949 to the end of 1956, Arab marauders, including Egyptain-trained fedayeen, carried out 3,367 raids into Israel territory, killing 443 Israelis and wounding 963.

In August 1955, an Egyptian Army unit crossed the international frontier into the El Auja area. These forces dug themselves in along several kilometers and set up artillery positions. They refused to heed U. N. appeals to withdraw and had to be dislodged by the Israel Army in November 1955.

The Egyptians established a strong offensive deployment, including artillery, in the area between El Auja and Abou Aoueigila.

(See also violations listed under United Nations resolutions—Suez and Aqaba blockade.)

International aviation agreements

Egypt's air blockade against Israel and the extensive restrictions she has placed on international air traffic are incompatible with the aims of the International Civil Aviation Organization and are in contravention of the Convention on International Civil Aviation as well as of the International Air Services Transit Agreement. The following provisions of these two treaties have been violated:

The Obligations

"Each contracting state grants to the other contracting states the following freedoms of the air in respect of scheduled international air services:

"(1) The privilege to fly across its territory without landing;

"(2) The privilege to land for nontraffic purposes." (International Air Services Transit Agreement, art. 1 (1).)

"Each contracting state agrees that all aircraft of the other contracting states, being aircraft not engaged in scheduled international air services, shall have the right, subject to the observance of the terms of this convention, to make flights into or in transit nonstop across its territory and to make stops for nontraffic purposes without the necessity of obtaining prior permission, and subject to the right of the state flown over to require landing." (Convention on International Civil Aviation, art. 5.)

"Prohibited areas shall be of reasonable extent and location so as not to interfere unnecessarily with air navigation." (Convention on International Civil Aviation, art. 9.)

The Violations

Under Egyption regulations governing her air boycott, no aircraft may overfly Egypt, if in the course of its journey it has made or is going to make a landing in Israel.

Flight information is withheld from such planes even in cases of serious danger. Aircraft flying to and from Israel cannot fly upon search and rescue services in accordance with annex 12 of the convention on International Civil Aviation. Radio messages exchanged between Israel airports and aircraft flying to and from Israel are frequently jammed. Furthermore, Egypt and the other Arab states have consistently refused to cooperate in the establishment of a single Flight Information Center for the region, thereby undermining centralized control over aircraft movements in the area and endangering air safety.

Egypt has declared the area of the Straits of Tiran (Sharm el Sheikh), the sole space through which aircraft may reach Israel from the south without overflying Arab territory, to be a prohibit zone, and an Egyption regulation establishes that "fire will be opened at or into the contravening aircraft without any previous warning" (October 1955).

Geneva Convention relating to civilians

Egypt's acts of persecution, deportation, and hatemongering against foreign nationals in Egypt, as well as against Egyptian nationals of the Jewish faith, constitute also a breach of the following provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war and the universal declaration of human rights:

The Obligations

"Persons protected by the Convention are those who, at a given moment and in any manner whatsoever, find themselves, in case of conflict or occupation, in the hands of a party to the conflict or occupying power of which they are not national." (Geneva Convention, art. 4.)

"Protected persons are entitled, in all circumstances, to respect for their persons, their honor, their family rights, their religious convictions and practices, and their manners and customs. They shall at all times be humanely treated, and shall be protected especially against all acts of violence or threats thereof and against insults and public curiosity.

Without prejudice to the provision relating to their state of health, age, and sex, all protected persons shall be treated with the same consideration by the party to the conflict in whose power they are, without any adverse distinction based, in particular, on race, religion or political opinion." (Geneva Convention, art. 27.)

"The taking of hostages is prohibited." (Geneva Convention, art. 34.)

The Violations

Since early November, some 21,000 Egyptian Jews have been arbitrarily expelled from Egypt. About 1,000 Jews of foreign nationality have been imprisoned under wretched physical conditions in the Prison des Barages in Cairo.

On November 23, the preachers in Egyptian mosques throughout the country read a proclamation by the Egyptian Minister of Religious Affairs, telling the Egyptian people that all Jews were Zionists and enemies and that Egyptians should not collaborate with them.

Some 900 persons—for the most part members of deported families—are being held as hostages to insure the silence of these families after they leave the country.

Universal declaration of human rights

The Obligation

"No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality." (Universal Declaration of Human Rights (art. 15,2), adopted and proclaimed by the U. N. General Assembly, December 10, 1948.)

The Violation

Egyptian Jews who acquired Egyptian nationality after January 1, 1900, are being stripped of their nationality and being expelled, in their thousands, from Egypt.

Geneva Convention relating to prisoners of war

The ill treatment of Israel prisoners of war in Egyptian hands, and the inhuman methods employed by the Egptian authorities to extract military information from them, contravened the following provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war:

The Obligations

"Prisoners of war must at all times be humanly treated. Any unlawful act or omission by the detaining power * * * seriously endangering the health of prisoners of war in its custody is prohibited and will be regarded as a serious breach of the present convention" (art. 13).

"No physical or mental torture, nor any other form of coercion may be inflicted on prisoners of war to secure from them information of any kind whatever. Prisoners of war who refuse to answer * * * may not be threatened, insulted, or exposed to unpleasant or disadvantageous treatment of any kind" (art. 17).

"All effects and articles of personal use * * * shall remain in the possession of prisoners of war" (art. 18).

"The evacuation of prisoners of war shall always be effected humanely. * * * The detaining power shall supply prisoners of war who are being evacuated with sufficient food and potable water, and with the necessary clothing and medical attention" (art. 20).

"Prisoners of war may not be held in close confinement except where necessary to safeguard their health and then only during the continuation of the circumstances which make such confiment necessary" (art. 21).

"Prisoners of war shall be quartered under conditions as favorable as those for the forces of the detaining power. * * * The said conditions shall make allowance for the habits and customs of the prisoners and shall in no case be prejudicial to their health.

"The foregoing provisions shall apply in particular to the dormitories for prisoners of war as regards both total surface and minimum space and the general installations, bedding, and blankets" (art. 25).

"The basic daily food rations shall be sufficient in quantity, quality, and variety to keep prisoners of war in good health and to prevent loss of weight or the development of nutritional deficiencies. Account shall also be taken of the habitual diet of the prisoner" (art. 26).

"Prisoners of war shall have the right to make known to the military authorities in whose power they are, their requests regarding the conditions of captivity to which they are subjected.

"They shall also have the unrestricted right to apply to the representatives of the protecting powers * * * if they consider it necessary * * * in order to draw their attention to any points on which they may have complaints to make regarding their conditions of captivity.

"These requests and complaints shall not be limited. * * * They must be transmitted immediately. Even if they are recognized to be unfounded, they may not give rise to any punishment" (art. 78).

The Violations

"Instead of receiving medical aid, he was subjected to renewed maltreatment and interrogation by more modern methods. He was subjected by his interrogators to powerful electric shocks by means of electrodes attached to his head and also to his genitals. * * * This went on in the presence of a medical officer who certified now and then that the 'treatment' could go on. (From summary of statement by Lt. J. Etkes before Israel medical board, in presence of Maj. J. Austin of UNEF, January 27, 1957.)

"On January 17, 10 soldiers entered our cell and started beating us cruelly. * * * They threw me to the floor and started jumping on my body. I was hit flush on my right eye by a nailed jackboot. The effect of the blow is still clearly discernible." (From Lieutenant Etkes' statement.)

"The next morning a group of officers arrived and started interrogating him, first threatening him with physical violence, and then beating him and thrusting lighted cigarettes into his nostrils and ears and throwing burning matches at his face in order to extract information from him. * * * The same maltreatment and interrogation went on after lunch and in the evening. The prisoner was given multiple infections all over his body, which caused, in his words, 'frantic hardening of the muscles.' Then one of the officers put a loaded pistol to Etkes' head and threatened to shoot him, explaining that 'bullets are very cheap in Egypt.' On a number of occasions he was put on the 'operating table,' pushed off it, and dragged about the room." (From Lieutenant Eitkes' statement.)

"He was found by an Egyptian patrol, which tried to find out by pricking him with

a bayonet whether he was still alive. (He had collapsed from loss of blood 5 hours earlier.) They stripped him of his outer clothes, documents, and wristwatch. His wound was left unattended * * *. After a delay of an hour or so, he was taken on his way to Cairo * * * a journey which lasted 3½ days. No medical treatment was offered during this time, and he received practically no food or drink." (From Lieutenant Etkes' statement.)

"On the left upper third of his thigh there is an irregular retracted flesh wound, still discharging, of approximately 1 inch length, which apparently was not sutured because of infection and probably inadequate wound excision." (From Lieutenant Etkes' statement.)

"His prison room was small and very dark and got hardly any light from a small window near the ceiling. He was not taken for a walk until the visit of the representative of the Red Cross on December 17, 1956, 6 weeks after his capture." (From Lieutenant Etkes' statement.)

"For a long time he was kept in his tiny cell, the size of which was no more than 3 by 3.5 meters. It was only after he started a hunger strike lasting 2 days that he was allowed into the prison court for a few hours every day." (From Sgt. J. Anixter's statement, January 27, 1957.)

"The prisoner suffered severely from acute diarrhea. His food consisted of some tea and bread in the morning, beans for lunch and sometimes a small piece of meat in the evening, which he was not always able to eat." (From Lieutenant Etkes' statement.)

"On the 12th of November the Red Cross representative was due to visit them again. Before his arrival an Egyptian officer threatened that they would be decapitated if they dared complain." (From Sergeant Anixter's statement.)

Constantinople Convention of 1888

Egypt's blockade of the Suez Canal violates the following provisions of the Constantinople Convention:

The Covenants

"The Suez Maritime Canal shall always be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war, without distinction of flag.

"Consequently, the high contracting parties agree not in any way to interfere with the free use of the canal, in time of war as in time of peace.

"The canal shall never be subjected to the exercise of the right of blockade" (art. 1).

"The Maritime Canal remaining open in time of war as a free passage, even to the ships of war of belligerents, according to the terms of article 1 of the present treaty, the high contracting parties agree that no right of war, no act of hostility, nor any act having for its object to obstruct the free navigation of the canal, shall be committed in the canal and its ports of access, as well as within a radius of 3 marine miles from these ports, even though the Ottoman Empire should be one of the belligerent powers" (art. 4).

"The measures which shall be taken in the cases provided for by articles 9 and 10 of the present treaty shall not interfere with the free use of the canal" (art. 11).

(Article 9 states: "The Egyptian Government shall, within the limits of its powers resulting from the Firmans, and under the conditions provided for in the present treaty, take the necessary measures for insuring the execution of the said treaty.")

(Article 10 states: "Similarly, the provisions of articles 4, 5, 7 and 8 shall not interfere with the measures which His Majesty the Sultan and his Highness the Khedive, in the name of his Imperial Majesty, and within the limits of the Firmans granted, might find it necessary to take for securing by their own forces the defense of Egypt and the maintenance of public order.")

The Violations

"We are still legally at war with Israel. An armistice does not put an end to a state of war. It does not prohibit a country from exercising certain rights of war." (Egyptian representative on the Israel-Egyptian special committee during discussion on Suez blockade, June 12, 1951.)

"Egypt prevents any ship flying the Israeli flag from passing through Suez, regardless of what cargo it carries. Moreover, the Egyptian authorities confiscate both the ship and the cargo together. Regarding non-Israeli ships which are passing through the canal with cargoes bound for that country, their papers, cargoes, and transactions are examined, and if any merchandise suspected of being war material is found, this is instantly confiscated. The Arab League is at present discussing the possibility of including foodstuffs for Israel in the category war material with the view of immediate confiscation." (Izadin Abdul Haziz, Egyptian chargé d'affaires in Amman, August 28, 1956.)

Urban Renewal Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the urban renewal programs of many of our cities are threatened by a financial crisis. Local public agencies are finding it difficult if not impossible to obtain the money to pay their share of the costs of these programs. In today's tight money market, funds, if available at all, can be borrowed only at prohibitively high interest rates. At the same time, we are accumulating billions of dollars of reserves in our social-security trust funds. These reserves should be put to work for the benefit of our people.

To make this possible, I have introduced a bill to authorize the managing trustee of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund and the Federal disability insurance trust fund to invest up to $1 billion in bonds or other obligations issued by local public agencies for urban renewal projects. Not only bonds issued for projects being assisted by the Federal Government, or for local grants-in-aid for such projects, but also for any project found by the Housing and Home Finance Administration to be substantially within the definition of urban renewal projects in the Federal law would be eligible for investment of social-security funds. Such bonds would be guaranteed by the Housing and Home Finance Administrator as to both principal and interest. Local agencies would pay premiums for this insurance which would be deposited in a guaranty fund to be used as a revolving fund for paying defaulted obligations. An appropriation of $20 million would be authorized for the establishment of the guaranty fund.

Thus insured, these obligations would be gilt-edged investments for the social-security trust funds. In addition to the interest earned for the trust funds, they would yield large social dividends in the rebuilding of blighted areas in our cities. I shall press for enactment of this bill as a measure of constructive financial management.

Hon. Stuart Symington, of Missouri, Addresses Missouri Cotton Producers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL C. JONES
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege and pleasure to attend the annual meeting of the Missouri Cotton Producers Association, held at Sikeston, Mo., on Thursday of last week. As usual, an outstanding program had been prepared. Participating on this program was one of my colleagues on the House Committee on Agriculture, the Honorable WILLIAM S. HILL, Representative from the Second Colorado District, who was visiting southeast Missouri for the first time. Since he was speaking extemporaneously, I am unable to report in detail the text of his address which was well received by my constituents.

At the banquet held on Thursday night, the principal speaker was the Honorable STUART SYMINGTON, the junior Senator from Missouri. Since his address does include much information in which I believe most of my colleagues are interested, particularly those who are interested in the agricultural problem, under permission to extend by remarks I include the text of Senator SYMINGTON'S address, which follows:

As always, it is a privilege to be in Sikeston, one of the great towns of our State; and it is also a special privilege to be honored as a guest of this great association of cotton growers.

During the last year I have worked with one of the leading citizens of Missouri, who, as you know, is president of the American Cotton Producers Association, one who has been working hard in Washington in the interest of both the cotton producers of Missouri and of the Nation—A. L. Story.

I could not let the opportunity pass to express my appreciation to Abby for all the help he has given me in learning about cotton as a relatively new member of the Senate Agriculture Committee; and I also thank the executive vice president of the Missouri Cotton Producers Association, Hilton Bracey, for his guidance.

I also want to thank my senior agriculture colleague, your great Congressman, PAUL JONES, for his consistent aid, not only on the problems of cotton but also on all problems of Missouri.

As a member of the House Agriculture Committee, Congressman JONES has done at least as much as any other Missourian in his efforts to promote the welfare of the farmer.

Now let's talk about the primary reason we are all here.

Cotton is, by far, the world's leading textile fiber.

It is our principal source of clothing.

It is a major fiber in the furnishing of our homes.

It is the outstanding material used wherever yarn or cloth is needed in our industrial civilization.

Approximately 1 million farmers in the United States grow cotton. It is the principal source of income for these producers in States across the country, reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Mexican border north to this great cotton country I have the honor of visiting today.

But cotton is also important to many other segments of our economy. For every 100 citizens who work in manufacturing industries in the United States, 15 work in textiles and apparel, where cotton is predominant.

The United States has the largest area of land adaptable to the production of cotton of any nation in the world, and the productivity of cotton in the United States is about 50 percent higher than the average productivity of all the rest of the world combined. Historically, American cotton farmers have shown a willingness, desire, and ability to engage in successful cotton production.

In the past 5 years, cotton production has averaged approximately 14 million bales, but production efficiency has increased almost 100 percent in 20 years, from slightly over 200 pounds per acre to an average in 1956 of over 403 pounds per acre.

It was only natural that continually increasing efficiency brought on an ever larger production of cotton.

Surpluses began to appear. Prices fell. Farm income declined.

Cotton farmers, along with most other farmers, then realized that production should be reduced. They agreed to acreage control.

Restrictions have become severe, however, and price supports lowered. As Mr. Hilton Bracey stated before the Cotton Subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee:

"We feel, gentlemen, that we are being 'nibbled.' Acreage cuts, price reduction, the soil bank, one thing after another tightens the squeeze on the cotton farmer and the cotton economy. We canot long survive the application of a policy which takes away, in turn, our acreage and our prices."

This statement about cotton applies generally to the rest of the agriculture economy.

In 1952 net farm income was $15.1 billion.

Then came Mr. Benson, with his new experts, to express his own incredibly theoretical ideas.

Farm income has declined ever since.

In 1956, even after some extraordinary efforts to put money out where it would get votes, farm income declined another $100 million, to $11.6 billion; a drop of some $3.5 billion in 4 years.

This is the lowest figure for any peacetime year since 1940.

Was the farmer, under the extraordinary theories of Mr. Benson taking his licking along with the rest of the economy?

He was not. Let's look at the record.

In 1956 as against 1952, wages increased 22 percent.

During the same period, corporate profits after taxes increased 33 percent.

And the average increase of common stocks was 77 percent.

At the same time farm income declined 30 percent, with the parity ratio down in these 4 years from 100 in 1952 to 83 in 1956.

What right has this administration to force the farmers of America to undergo such economic pressures, when at the same time it establishes policies which bring unprecedented prosperity to the other segments of our economy?

This question is vital to our State, because agriculture is Missouri's most important industry. Cash receipts from farming in Missouri last year were slightly over $1 billion—9th highest State in the United States.

On January 29 last, Secretary Benson testified before the Senate Agriculture Committee. Despite the fact that net farm income had reached lowest level in 14 years, with the index of prices down from 288 in 1952 to 236 in 1956; despite all these indications that the American farmer was and is in trouble, the man in this administration who is supposed to represent the farmers, the Secretary of Agriculture, had this to say to our committee:

"Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, this is the first time in many years that a Secretary of Agriculture has been able to come before your committee and report such favorable developments as these."

The first of these favorable developments he said was that "prices received by farmers have been running 7 percent above a year ago."

It is true prices in December 1956 were 7 percent higher than in December 1955. But why did not Mr. Benson give the complete picture?

That is his duty as a public servant. If he had, he would have said that prices for the year 1956 averaged exactly the same as in 1955, according to figures from his own Department. These figures show the index of prices received was 236 in 1955 and 236 in 1956.

Another favorable development Mr. Benson reported was that "realized net farm income in 1956 was 5 percent above 1955."

What he failed to mention was that the 5 percent increase applied to net farm income before inventory adjustments. After adjustments for inventories, that income was less in 1956 than in 1955.

Anyone with any banking or business experience knows that under the sound accounting principles of good business practice, no businessman would dare to submit to his stockholders a balance sheet and earning statement without giving a true picture of the inventory expressed as part of his current assets.

If he did on a listed stock, he would be in trouble with the SEC.

And while the Secretary of Agriculture has been touring the country recently, continuing to talk about this favorable overall agriculture picture, the situation has become worse.

The index of prices received dropped 4 points in February as against January—and the parity index shows that during the same period prices paid by farmers went up 2 points, from 292 to 294.

And listen to this: The parity ratio as of February 15 is now 80, 2 points lower than the previous month, and lower than any annual average since 1939.

Yes, my friends, Mr. Benson's own figures disprove Mr. Benson's own statements.

But there is a bright light in an otherwise gloomy picture.

That is the cotton export program.

As many of you know, exports of cotton from the United States in 1955–56 were the lowest for any peacetime year in 85 years, since 1872, with the exception of 1947–48.

For the year ending July 31, 1956, we exported only 2,321,000 bales of cotton. The August 1, 1956, carryover was 14,540,000 bales—the largest on record.

But, because of advice from organizations such as yours, the Congress handed Mr. Benson a mandate which required his Department to take positive steps to regain our historic export market by means of the competitive pricing of our own cotton in the world market.

This was done despite objections, and predictions of failure, from high officials in the Department of Agriculture.

The result has been remarkable. Latest figures show that 1956–57 exports are expected to be about 6.5 million bales, the largest annual export since 1934.

These favorable results have been brought about under the various export financing programs that Congress insisted Mr. Benson use. They included Public Law 480, International Cooperation Administration programs, and Export-Import Bank loans.

In the February 5 issue of the Cotton Situation, the Department of Agriculture estimates that cotton disappearance will be about 15.5 million bales this year; and as a result of this outstanding success of the export programs, the carryover at the end of the season will probably be about 2.2 million bales smaller than the record high of 14.5 last August 1.

Althouhg the success of the present program exceeded our hopes, Secretary Benson announced to the Senate Agriculture Committee on January 29 that the administration was considering converting the new cotton export program into a program of direct subsidies. He said that, although some of the major farm organizations are against such a change—I might add that the Missouri Cotton Producers Association, and your very able A. B. Story, were part of the opposition—the cotton exchanges were for a plan whereby they would handle the sales and get a direct subsidy from the Government.

We were glad to see the announcement that the present cotton export program would be continued in the 1957–58 marketing year.

Such gains do not come easily. A subcommittee of the Senate Agriculture Committee held exhaustive hearings in the spring of 1955. These hearings disclosed that cotton was being treated like a political football in our international relations.

Let me give you an example.

It was the consensus of the cotton trade that because of our various aid-to-other countries programs, the United States might, in 1953, export up to 6½ billion bales of cotton.

In 1951 Brazil had an unrealistic support-price program. It fixed the support price at 50 cents per pound. This price was above the world price and the entire Brazilian crop was taken over under loan.

In 1952 Brazil's support price was 40 cents a pound. The entire crop was again placed under loan.

The National Bank of Brazil financed the cotton support-price program. It took over both these crops; and thereupon these two cotton operations rendered the bank insolvent.

In 1953 Brazil fixed her cotton-export price first at $10 per bale under the American price; then at $20 per bale under that price.

We of course advocated that the Commodity Credit Corporation meet this price, on a competitive basis, from our own cotton stock.

But the State Department refused; and as a result our exports fell to 3¼ billion bales.

Three hundred million bales were added to our surplus.

This administration thereupon listened to the pleas of the Brazilian bank that had gone broke because of supporting these two cotton crops. It bailed the bank out; and as a result, in 1953, it permitted Brazil to take over most of the export market of the American cotton farmers.

The final result was that the additional surplus caused reduced acreage allotments for United States cotton farmers.

Time does not permit my presenting you with other illustrations of how, in this agriculture field, one Department works against the other.

If recent gains through our export program are to continue, however, world consumption of cotton must increase. The greatest opportunity to that end lies in expanding per capita consumption.

At present average per capita world consumption is about 6.8 pounds—about one-fourth the United States average.

If the world average could be raised to only half of the current United States level, cotton would be in deficit supply unless production was greatly expanded.

For some 20 years Congress has encouraged direct farmer participation in administration

of the farm program, through democratically elected community and county farmer committees.

During the depression years of the thirties and the war years of the forties, these farmer committees proved their effectiveness, as they placed national policies into action in rural America.

In recent years, however, some of us have been disturbed by what appears to be unjustified interference with the work of these duly elected committees.

As example, in many of our Midwestern States the county committee has been relegated to the position of an advisory group.

The steadily declining participation of farmers in governmental farm programs may be a direct result of this single action, because one of the outstanding features of the committee system, prior to this administrative change, was the direct personal contact between farmers and their elected committeemen.

In the past 4 years many Missouri farmers have written, complaining about this and other changes in the administration of the Missouri agricultural stabilization and conservation program.

These complaints were called to the attention of the Department of Agriculture, by letter, by telegram, by speeches on the floor, and in complaints to committees in both Houses of Congress.

No satisfactory action was taken.

On July 29, 1955, therefore, we asked that a Senate committee conduct an investigation of this matter.

This request was necessary, because, in our State, at least, many county committeemen elected by their farmer neighbors were being removed from office, often as the result of improper and unsubstantiated charges.

During a 3-year period some 55 committeemen were removed from office in Missouri—at one time 29 percent of all such removals in the entire country.

As a result of our request, a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry held extensive hearings and thereupon made a report on the operation and administration of the farmer committee system.

Last month Senator HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, chairman of the subcommittee, introduced a bill which was the outgrowth of those hearings. A few days later your able Congressman, PAUL JONES, introduced a companion bill in the House.

I was pleased to cosponsor the Senate bill because it is an honest and able attempt to provide safeguards which will insure the continued operation of our farmer committee system—the backbone of our entire farm program.

Some of the important provisions of the bill are as follows:

1. The right of county committees to decide by States whether they wish to follow an office manager system.

2. Clear-cut establishment of the authority of the county committee to hire, discharge, and supervise the work of their employees.

3. The right of county committees to elect one member of the State committee.

4. A limitation on the authority of the State committee in removal proceedings against county committeemen, by specifically requiring a fair hearing before removal action may be taken.

5. Elimination of the present regulation which requires a removed committeeman's appeal be made to the State committee.

While the Department of Agriculture has not yet sent its report on the bill, it should be noted that this measure is in no sense a reprisal for past actions. It seeks only to prevent the recurrence of such abuses in the future.

When read together with the hearings and report of the subcommittee, it is clear that this bill points the way toward a better and more representative farm program.

Therefore, we are hopeful of its passage during this session of Congress.

The greatest problem of the free world today is the gathering cloud of the growing strength of the Communist conspiracy.

We must also recognize our domestic problems, however, because in our way of life, our defense strength can only come from our military strength.

In a totalitarian state the coin of the realm is the order of the dictator. In our system of free enterprise, however, nothing could be farther from the truth. Economic strength and military strength go hand in hand.

That is why the position of the farmer should be raised at least to a reasonable level of equality with the rest of the component parts of our economy. If history repeats itself, and farm income continues to fall, it can only drag down the rest of us.

That would be grave in its implications, because we must maintain a strong economy if in turn we are to remain a free people.

The Future Design of the Capital City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the address of Mr. Ralph T. Walker, distinguished architect and recipient of the American Institute of Architects' Centennial Medal, before the Washington Metropolitan Chapter of the American Institute of Architects on March 26, 1957:

A NEW CENTURY BECKONS: THE FUTURE DESIGN OF THE CAPITAL CITY

When this Capital of ours was first planned, it was not thought of as either a small village or as a thriving modern metropolis. The industrial age represented by the Black Country in England, and the then much more pleasant manifestations in New England were but tiny forebodings understood by Jefferson perhaps, if not by the others interested in the design. The Capital City was, however, planned on a grand scale, the scale of the 18th century. No meager little plan was left to us as a heritage, although the result, that is before the McMillan resurrection of the plan, belied the famous words supposedly said by Burnham: "they have no magic to stir men's minds"—for a truly noble plan, like so many others, gathered the all too-familiar dust. But it was not the widths and positions of streets alone that concerned our political forefathers, because they saw, if not a new Athens, at least a new Rome arising on the banks of the Potomac with buildings of distinction and of permanence, with all the beauty of a disciplined and aesthetic organization of parts. They were wise in the liberal ways of the ancients and took unto themselves the democratic ideals which men ever seek and through negligence fail to grasp. The new Capital was no new Utopia but it was inspired by one of the greatest bouquets of political minds that has ever existed. This Capital of ours represents the keen perceptions of the men who wrote the Bill of Rights and who once agreed to hang together.

There was no question in the minds of those early Americans that grandeur had its place, not only in the public buildings but also in the houses which would naturally spring up along the vista-reaching avenues and all about the wide circles and the generous squares. That early planner, L'Enfant, said in his message to the future, through General Washington himself: "As matters stand, the site assigned to the Congress House and the President's Palace exhibits a sumptuous aspect, and claims already the suffrage of crowds of visitors serving to give a grand idea to the whole—the grand avenue connecting the Palace and the Federal House will be magnificent with the water of the cascade (falling) to the canal which will extend to the Potomac; as also the several squares which are intended for judiciary courts, the national bank, the grand church, the playhouse, markets and exchange, offering a variety of situations unparalleled for beauty, suitable for every purpose, and in every point convenient (and here I blush a little) calculated to command the highest price at a sale."

The plan was excellent, the hopes were high that this Capital City now in evidence all about us would finally overcome the urgent commercial needs of a young nation, and in a faraway place develop into the magnificence desired not only by L'Enfant but also by Washington and Jefferson—no mean architects themselves.

Whatever these men foresaw as to the bigness of our present, we, I am sure, exceed it in actuality in this great city sprawling now over the land far beyond the regional boundaries of the district, and I mean sprawling, for when you consider a suburbia like Silver Spring (Md.) you appreciate the primary impulse of L'Enfant has been widely dissipated into meagerness. And as you get out of the District you realize that Virginia and Maryland have had little respect for the possible majesty of the National Capital. The creeping paralysis of commercialism, first cautiously indicated in the planning of L'Enfant, has accelerated even more than the acknowledgment of the aesthetic need.

We have had, however, a tremendous heritage of idealism because as an architectural profession, perhaps as plain architects, we have more than others respected the greatness possible within the concept of the Capital. Again and again, men, great and humble, have arisen to develop and protect the magnificence which we should continue to deliver to our successors. It is a very excellent place, perhaps, to reiterate that famous pledge of Athenian youth: "That we serve the city with our lives and that we leave it more beautiful than ever before." You know I am not quoting exactly but the meaning is clear. Each citizen, each architect, was expected to look to and recreate the great ideal. He hopes not necessarily to increase his own stature but that of the possible magnificence extolling the greatness of his country. The momentary stunt, the impermanent, shall we wish them here? No. In Washington there should be no room for anything except statesmanship in architecture. What is statesmanship in architecture? It is the understanding of how to make a great city even greater. It means that each unit added to the first produces a continuous victory for greatness. As one walks, and so often one does, along the Seine from the Isle de Cite down with the current toward the sea, the additions 1 by 1 enfold to entrance the historically minded, even aesthetically unaware, with the feeling that each generation (like the Greek) left a richer heritage for the following.

We have, as I have just said, a remarkable heritage and it should be thought precious, enriched rather than debauched. Here in America we have a strange proclivity to destroy beauty and preserve and enlarge slums. I was reminded of this the other evening when I heard that Frank Lloyd Wright's Robie House was to be torn down—

just imagine, with all the terrible background of slums in south Chicago. And this is true concerning the really fine buildings we have inherited from those early days. I personally think it is an outrage to move the east front of the Capitol, to change in any degree whatsoever the magnificent forecourt in which the traditional inaugural ceremonies have taken place.

Could anyone imagine an Englishman suggesting that the front of the British Museum should be changed? The Times would thunder, the Manchester Guardian would blast the impudence. Here in Washington is an even more noble front, and because of an inhibited desire for purity and plausibility, and merely because an iron dome overhangs a portico below, a fine facade, one of the finest in Washington, must be desecrated. We also hope the old Patent Office can be saved from this wanton destruction. It is the religious care of these things that gives the absorbing and continuing interest to other capital cities, such as Rome, Paris, London. The past is not good because it is the past, neither is the present because we exist. The Capitol should persist as a continuing symbol. I have been much interested in the rebuilding of the House of Commons in its historical symbolism, and also by the need of the Poles to reconstruct Warsaw. That symbol was considered more important than the memorial to Stalin.

A capital city is bound to have a certain bigness and its architecture should have a classical quality, and by that I mean a certain formality, a certain richness of detail, an intelligent use of ornament to add grace. I think our present-day reluctance to use sculpture, painting, and decorative ornament is a blind spot caused by the extremely stupid concepts, promulgated by a few but influential Europeans, that the machine as a tool has limitations never before associated with tools; as I have said before, an animistic lifting of these limits to philosophical absurdity. I do not mean by the word "classical" the heedless copying of the Roman, Greek, and Renaissance past, just as I do not mean the meagerness and the dry monotony of the factory style now so fashionable. Certainly classicism does not mean "We do not try to please people, we are driving to the essence of things." As architects I would ask but one question. Just why do we exist but to please; for whom actually is the city built?

I do not see why, using the climatic conditions which exist here in Washington, a truly fine architectural expression might not be achieved, one using the modern techniques of structure, but also one using originality (I mean individual expression) in the development of stone and marble, metal and glass, if you will.

In the first place, I think the skyscraper does not belong in a climate such as Washington, that is if it really belongs anywhere. Here trees and green spaces are desperately needed to add comfort to eye and body, if only for those moments when necessity makes one cross the crowded streets with the further outpouring of discomforts from the constant stream of automobiles. The character of the buildings should go hand in hand with the present open plan which still persists so largely in the city, together with sufficient green spaces to reduce, as they do, the temperature noticeably.

The scale of the buildings does not have to be so enormous to be monumental. I do not believe that everybody has to be under the same roof, but with the amount of land still available here beautiful groups of lower buildings could take care of the same population.

I was told that Herbert Hoover when he was Secretary of Commerce did not want the Commerce Building where it now is, and had made serious studies as to where the building would be better placed to avoid the motor congestion he foresaw. He picked a building site out on the fringe of the city. He had made traffic studies and the pattern of the living habits of people working in the Department, and these determined the area chosen. These studies, however, went into the wastebasket together with the idea that governmental buildings should be economically constructed. I understand that greatest Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew Mellon, defeated him and the Triangle was the result. Now, somewhere between Hoover's idea and the architecture of the Triangle is what we should aim at in a city like Washington.

I looked over carefully the report of the committee advocating a cultural center and was greatly amused at what at other times I have called below the wrist thinking, which leads naturally to World's Fair stunt-like results. Here in Washington the stunt certainly should be absent. What is needed is an architecture of simplicity in which the new columns, if any, are incorporated with purpose with the structure. Certainly useless pipe stem colonades, which never give adequate protection from the sun or rain, can be as rediculous as an overdetailed Corinthian order.

I repeat that I believe the architecture of our Capital should have a grandeur which can only be obtained by the use of permanent materials. Why I would eschew a large use of metals is because they need constant cleaning to look well. Neglected, the patina they collect has a shabby, muddy appearance. Even though these remarks might be taken to mean advertising some materials and damning others, I would still persist in thinking that here we need a different philosophy.

I have no quarrel with a so-called wall punched with holes. I believe that in a world of humid glare, windows have more reason than the continued stretch of venetian blinds which jail-like preclude vision. After all, the thermal problems attending the all-glass building, which may have its place in the greyer European world, mean added first costs equivalent to fine masonry building and lifelong high maintenance and operational costs.

I think, moreover, that monumental building should have more pleasant forms than the boxlike structures now being designed for laboratories and office buildings elsewhere in the Nation. They resemble factories, and I would question whether the engineer mind is not in control, because it is evident that work in any of these manifestations is rarely a pleasure and always a task.

There is no question that the architect and the owner, whether the Government or private enterprise, should think of buildings here in the Capital as having a tremendous amount of dignity. Our people and Nation represent true greatness and our architecture should reflect this in every way.

To be modern is to understand the nature of the problem to be resolved, and the character of an architecture which embellishes Washington should have allied with it the best of the arts of sculpture and painting; arts however which have meaning. We should not be afraid to glorify Democrats in a Republican administration, and vice versa. There are still rich personalities in the world and their virtues, if not their faults, can be passed on tenderly and beautifully to succeeding generations.

I do not think ornament is necessarily immoral or that it may not belong in our age. Quite the contrary. We all like patterns, men increasingly in sport clothes and ties, women from the skin out. This love of pattern should not be thought wicked, for if our life is drab, our architecture meager, it may mean actually that our morals need revision. To make a virtue of a negative seems crooked philosophy.

We will see more interesting forms developed from the use of concrete, but again they must be used to increase pleasure and comfort, but not as a stunt.

Perhaps we should seek for our times an expression of modernism which cannot be symbolized by direct dogma. Fortunately we do not live as a people under the depressing symbolism of the fasces, the swastika, and the sickle and hammer—all of them in brief times as potent as the cross and the crescent. Nor do we need the symbol of revolution, but in truth we need once more to gain a spiritual independence which was evident at the founding of this city.

To be modern does not necessarily say that we must glorify the cast-iron pipe, however useful, nor the endless ribbon of plate glass. What we must seek is some charm—a feeling of rich life expressed in designs which are not stark manifestations of a poverty of imagination. Moreover, the architecture of the Capitol of these United States should clearly indicate, no matter how large the bureaucracy they may house, that the individuals making up the group are not robots.

Finally I would like to suggest that the zoning height in the business areas be further restricted so that the appearance, long since held elsewhere in the city, would be that of a city dominated by nature, and that the ordinance further demand that all building in an area be constructed to the complete limitation imposed. There is nothing so distressing in a great city such as this as the raggedness of the building line. Let New York and all other points west, north, and south have sky lines that look like a broken comb. This city should try to preserve constant area heights, for the Capitol Building should always dominate the city. This is by no means absurd, for a place that has as extensive slums as Washington does not have to follow the present trend to make them larger by permitting the sweating of some properties.

We have been talking about the architecture and the plan as related to the District of Columbia but what about the sprawl that is developing in the two neighboring States—when the limits of the District were determined no one could have foreseen the impact of the railroads and the crushing force of the automobile upon city life and form. The old city form no longer exists except as a political entity without validity. Washington, then, is no longer the District but contains the great outlying suburbia in which most of the city workers either do now or will soon live. The traffic congestion within the city at peak hours, like that of every city in the world, is unbearable and a downright nuisance.

The form of the new city has never been planned—the city streets still act as the spokes without even an outer rim to the wheel. Intelligent bypassing is still in its infancy. Nevertheless the automobile is forcing out actively, so a decentralization of work, play—such as it is, and living, what planning there may be, is done mostly by use of zoning ordinances and the result of this type of planning is a chaotic community with fringes that are sorry indeed. Industry and commercial usages either are spot zones (which if intelligent is not a detriment) or permitted to group themselves into a new congested form, or further as hasty urban developments extending out from city's immediate influence and laws. Washington joins all other cities in having this chaotic amorphous growth just outside its borders.

Here the problems are further aggravated by the Federal Government seeking to gain some dispersal of its administrative services and thereby siting some activities in the region but again without much in the way of actual plannng, either of individual position or of the effect upon the community's

growth and character, which will develop about the scattered sites.

Of course there is some sophistry about these services being so important that they must be taken out of the city, leaving behind the President and the Congress. Since 1940, the value of dispersal patterns have come into serious doubt, for if Washington were to be destroyed it would involve an area saturation. The reasonableness of the military necessity for this dispersion can be questioned but the idea of decentralizing for the sake of traffic has much more validity, and if the worker pattern is important and the community life also, then the sprawl of indirection should have some forthright thought given to it immediately.

What might be then a proper regional pattern for Washington? I understood that other than museums and movies, there are few cultural qualities to be found in the city—that the inhabitants do not think of it necessarily as a cultural center and while I questioned the external character of the center proposed for Foggy Bottom I definitely believe in its need. I would place the siting of Government buildings as close in as possible to the present limits of the District developing if their siting ring was to take the traffic. I would do this because I think that the symbol of the Nation should not be permitted to ravel away in that the workers within our Government should be permitted to avoid being on general display. In bigness there is a further need for unity of purpose and this unity can be dissipated by too great a dispersion.

I do not think that all city patterns have to look alike—cities like New York or Chicago can well afford a wider dispersal than can a national capital. I would try in Washington to maintain the integrated plan as started by L'Enfant, not a continuation of Le Notre's boulevards and circuses, but a plan that appreciates a larger growth in population and an increase in the number of automotive vehicles in the United States to 100 million or more. Unless we plan now, the impact of 40 more million cars on our cities and countryside will be terrific.

We need to develop in Washington, as elsewhere in the country, regional authorities, which, under the charters establishing them, will have ample authority to deal with all regional problems. One of the blights of the democratic way of life is to be found in our unplanned communities. There is sufficient precedent for this type of authority—the Port Authority of New York being one of them.

I firmly believe the time has come when the present planning commission in the District is to be considered outmoded and that a newer and greater approach is needed.

I come back for a moment to Hoover's idea of economic building. I deplore meagerness for economy's sake. In a world where many billions are spent for wanton destruction it would still seem possible to spend a a few millions relatively on increasing the amenities of work.

The plan and architecture of this city should be not only a matter of heritage but also a symbol to all the world that we are a cultural people who encourage and enjoy the beautiful.

Federal Aid to Education Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Greenville (S. C.) News of March 29, 1957, entitled "House Urges No Federal Aid."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOUSE URGES NO FEDERAL AID

COLUMBIA, March 28.—The South Carolina House of Representatives today called upon Congress to refrain from enacting any Federal-aid-to-education legislation.

The concurrent resolution, sponsored by Representative P. Eugene Brabham, of Bamberg, noted that the people of South Carolina "are now, always have been and shall always be unequivocally, incontrovertibly and unalterably opposed to any Federal invasion, encroachment or infringement of the fundamental right, obligation, and duty of the people and their local governmental authority to provide, supervise, and control the education of the children of this State or the educational processes concomitant thereon which would directly or indirectly infringe upon the rights, duties, and obligations of local or State governments."

The resolution was referred to the education committee in the Senate.

There Must Not Be Another Munich

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, all of us in the free world share the concern of Israel for the situation in which she finds herself. A Munich started World War II. Another Munich in the Middle East can start world war III. One of the easiest ways for this to happen will be for the free world to sell out Israel in the way that Czechoslovakia was sold out. I am today inserting into the RECORD an editorial on the subject by my close personal friend, Mr. Philip Slomovitz, which appeared in the Detroit Jewish News on March 22, 1957:

THERE MUST NOT BE ANOTHER MUNICH

The world faces the danger of a repetition of the Munich betrayals which preceded the tragic Second World War.

Shocking bargaining is going on behind the scenes. First Dr. Ralph Bunche was reported to have acceded to Egypt's right to govern the Gaza strip, then came a denial from Bunche that he had issued such orders, and on the heels of his denials an Egyptian governor marched in, contrary to decisions of the United Nations that the area was to be governed by the United Nations emergency force.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the term "betrayal" is now bandied around, that there are charges of highhanded methods resorted to by U. N. officials, that the integrity of the United States is being questioned.

Is it any wonder that many news analysts speak of the new Middle East situation as packed with "double talk" and others insist that Israel was "double-crossed"?

Our Government cannot afford to have it said that it was a party to a "doublecross," and if our Secretary of State is responsible for a policy that disgraces us in the eyes of the entire world, the American people should speak up in protest against it.

While this is a matter that was primarily a U. N. responsibility, no one forgets that the Eisenhower administration exerted the main influence in forcing Britain and France, and later Israel, to leave the disputed areas. Now there are threats again that the Nasser regime will bar Israel's boats both from the Straits of Tiran and from the Suez Canal, contrary to assurances given Israel that her rights to the freedom of the seas will be protected.

It is in order, therefore, to demand that there shall not be another Munich, that there shall be complete adherence to the assurances given by President Eisenhower, in his letter to Israel Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, on March 2, "that Israel will have no cause to regret having thus conformed to the strong sentiment of the world community as expressed in the various United Nations resolutions relating to withdrawal."

The hour for a showdown has been reached. Whatever happens, we are certain that Israel will not again submit to humiliation, that she will acquire her rights to free passage through international waters, that all the combined threats of the Arab nations will not suffice in the enfofcement of her rights.

The State Department has denied having given assurance to Israel, but if it is true that the Department had seen an advance copy of Mrs. Golda Meir's address to the U. N. General Assembly on March 1 and had made some changes in it, then it must be viewed as a pledge and the State Department must be held to its assurances.

We pray that our Government should not again have to be asked to make good on its promissory notes, and not to permit the assurances and encouragement given Israel to be defaulted. A firm stand by the United States—as firm as that which was taken against her best friends, including Israel—will assure world peace. Any other stand will perpetuate chaos and lead to world warfare.

Redirecting Farm Education and Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, a speech on the farm problem has just come to my attention. It is entitled "Redirecting Farm Education and Research" and was presented by Robert K. Buck of Waukee, Iowa, at the National Farm Institute, February 16, 1957, in Des Moines, Iowa. The general subject within which this speech was made was in answer to the provocative question "Can We Shrink Production?"

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert this excellent speech with its inspiring subject and thought:

REDIRECTING FARM EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

(By Robert K. Buck, of Waukee, Iowa, at the National Farm Institute, Des Moines, Iowa, February 16, 1957)

I am grateful for the opportunity to present a farm operator's viewpoint at this National Farm Institute. Our subject this afternoon is "Can We Shrink Production?" My argument will be:

1. Farm production has been and is continuing to expand faster than market demands. Farm income is always depressed under these conditions. As farmers, our number one interest therefore, is to slow down the rate of interest in production.

2. One of the principal contributing factors to this unprecedented expansion in pro-

duction is our Government sponsored programs for increasing production efficiency on the farm—mainly through USDA and land-grant college research and education.

3. These public resources for research and education can contribute substantially to solutions of our basic farm problem by shifting emphasis away from production efficiency and concentrating more efforts on finding solutions to the current and pressing problems of agriculture.

I. OVERPRODUCTION—OUR NO. 1 PROBLEM

Nearly everywhere we look in farming today we see production outrunning markets—cotton, wheat, corn, beef, broilers, turkeys, eggs, and until recently—pork.

Several authorities see a continuation of over production for several years to come.

It has long been clear that producers, be they farmers or industrial, never prosper when production outruns markets. For farmers the reason is clear. It has to do with the nature of the demand for farm products. Economists call it inelastic. For every 1 percent increase in farm output, farm prices drop 2 or 3 percent and realized net farm income drops 6 to 9 percent.

I wish economists could think up better ways of getting across this concept of elasticity. Nevertheless, we farmers have got to become as familiar with it as we are with vitamins, fertilizers, or rotations. If Ford cars were sold at $400 each, every family would have 3 or 4. But if eggs sold for 10 cents a dozen and hogs at 10 cents a pound, American families still would not eat 3 or 4 breakfasts. Therefore, the demand for pork and eggs is less elastic than is the demand for cars.

II. WHAT IS THE SOURCE OF THIS RAPID EXPANSION OF FARM OUTPUT?

During the last 15 years farm production has increased by 40 percent, yet during this same period we held the acres of land in crops about constant, and we decreased our labor force by 25 percent.

One example of the revolution in production efficiency in the last 30 years is the 27 percent increase in pork produced with fewer sows farrowing. The increase in pigs weaned per litter was 24 percent. Live weight production of cattle and calves per cow increased 48 percent during the last 30 years.

This great increase in productivity of American agriculture is not an accident. It is largely a result of the persistent concentration on increasing farm production efficiency by the USDA, the land grant colleges, farm organizations and associations, farm magazines and by farmers themselves.[1] Moreover, there is a pressure from industry—exerted subtly and relentlessly—to keep farm production running at full tilt.

III. THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT SPONSORED RESEARCH AND EDUCATION IN EXPANDING PRODUCTION EFFICIENCY

Our USDA—land grant college—vocational agriculture system continues to develop with great vigor. Financial support has increased fairly steadily and especially so in the last few years. Research findings are reaching farm people and being applied more quickly than ever before. This is accomplished through the Extension Service programs, the teaching of students at the colleges, the vocational agricultural programs in the high schools, and through mass media such as radio, TV, farm magazines, newspapers, and bulletins, as well as commercial farm management services and private industry.

Almost from the beginning, the major emphasis in the research programs has been the development of new production technology—the increase of farming efficiency. The list of achievements is impressive—new crop varieties, hybridization, new machines, new fartilizers, improved breeding, better feeds (the vitamins, minerals, antibiotics, hormones) new insecticides and pesticides. The results are amazing. There has been a steady increase in output per unit of input—in yields per acre, pigs weaned per litter, milk per cow, and pounds of meat per pound feed consumed—only to cite a few.

Over the years the major justification for increased Government support of research and education on new production technology has been to increase net farm income. Some even argue that this approach is the fundamental solution to our present farm problems. While there are good and sufficient reasons for the large program of research on production technology (which I would like to discuss later) I don't believe we farmers should deceive ourselves in believing that such programs will increase our net income.

IV. EFFECTS ON FARM INCOME

Why is it that farmers do not generally benefit as producers from aggregate farm technological advance? This is the answer given by most authorities who have studied the question: With most new techniques (say stilbestrol) output of one commodity is increased and in many cases (say fertilizer, improved drainage, etc.) farm output is increased generally. Demand for most farm products is relatively inelastic and demand for total food in general is extremely inelastic. Here we have the basis for the classic squeeze:

1. Increased output with inelastic demand results in lower total receipts. (This is so because a 1 percent increase in output results in more than 1 percent decrease in price.)

2. The adoption of most new techniques increases total money costs on the farm.

With lower receipts and higher costs, the result is inescapable, lower net farm income. Even if costs stayed the same, net income would still fall.

Most farmers have observed, in a very personal way, the amazing effects on net farm income of a small increase or decrease in total output. A 5 percent increase in total supply of hogs usually results in a drop in hog prices of 8 to 12 percent, and a 20 to 30 percentage drop in net income of hog producers.

Why do we adopt new practices then? As individuals we do it when we are convinced that it will either lower the per unit cost of production or expand the total number of units at the same cost per unit. Moreover, we know we will be hurt even more severely if we lag behind. Where there is a substantial lag before widespread adoption the innovator increases his net income because total output has not increased enough to lower prices so he has larger volume, the same price, and lower average costs. But as soon as a majority of farmers adopt the practice total output increases significantly, price drops and the whole group is actually worse off because prices have dropped more than costs have been reduced. And with some techniques, producers are stuck with a substantial capital investment or recurring cash outlay.

As farmers, we tend to look at the situation only as one producer. We assume, correctly, that our own action will have no significant effect on price. Projecting the existing price, we make a strong case for going ahead. We generally do not consider the inevitable downward pressure on prices when a majority of other producers will have adopted the same technique. We usually underestimate how quickly the practice will become widespread. Sometimes we overemphasize the benefits from being first. Because of the high prestige and status value placed on being an innovator by farm magazines, farm organizations, and the Extension Service, we often hurry to be among the first to try the new practices regardless of income considerations.

It seems almost as if the individual farmer is on a treadmill. The faster he runs, the faster goes the treadmill, yet he gets nowhere. Even though his net income will be lower when the new practice becomes widely adopted, he must get in step because he would generally be worse off if he failed to adopt the practice.

If farmers don't benefit from improved efficiency, then why has farm income increased over the years? Actually, farm income has risen in the aggregate during the last 25 years in spite of (not because of) the great outpouring of new output-increasing, price-depressing techniques. Farm income has increased because demand has expanded through a steady population increase, higher incomes of consumers, and special war and postwar demands.

It is often assumed that farm income now would be much lower had we not made the great advances in production efficiency. Look at it this way: If farmers in 1956 had been using the 1940 labor force, land capital, and methods (production efficiency, and had 1940 level of output then how would the have fared compared with 1956 actual income?

Given the fact that net farm income rises 4 to 6 percent for each 1 percent reduction in supply, the 30 percent smaller output of 1940 produced at 1956 higher cost rates and marketed under the larger population and higher consumer income conditions of 1956, would have brought anywhere from 50 to 75 percent more net income to farm operators than they actually got in 1956. Allowing for the fact that there were 30 percent more farmers in 1940 than there are today, net income per farmer would still have been 20 to 30 percent higher than the 1956 actual.

It is obvious that such a short food supply would not be tolerated. Rationing would be necessary. I make this comparison in order to show that expanding demand, not improved production efficiency, is the significant cause of higher farm income in the past 25 years.

Only when markets are expanding faster than total farm output is farm income increased by the type of new production practices we have been adopting in recent years. This is true, because as I said earlier, increased production efficiency sponsored by our USDA and land grant college system is almost all output increasing. Instead of being a cure for the present farm problem, a stepped up program to increase production efficiency of this type merely enlarges and intensifies the farm problem.

V. THE LARGER VIEWPOINT—ECONOMIC GROWTH

Can farmers share more fully in the fruits of an expanding, prosperous industrial economy? We have achieved economic development undreamed of even 20 years ago. The revolution on our farms has been an essential part of this growth. One of the major, unanswered questions of our time is how can we prevent farmers being hurt severely by the abundance they have created? How can the one who is still needed to produce food for 19 persons in the city, buy the cars, and houses and appliances and services produced by those who are no longer needed to produce food?

VI. REDIRECTING OUR EFFORTS IN RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

As we look ahead, what can we do to make government sponsored research and education most effective in helping farm people earn incomes comparable with nonfarm people?

In the first place we could turn more of our research efforts to measuring and analyzing costs to farm people of our systematic introduction of new technology and new capital into farming through various government-sponsored programs. I'm not talking

---

[1] T. W. Schultz says: "There is a growing body of evidence which strongly indicates that new knowledge has become the most important resource in the growth of output; it accounts for most of the additional observed output of farm products." See page 72, A Look To the Future. W. K. Kellog Foundation, June 21, 1956.

about stopping progress. Let's remember, however, that science is a problem-solving tool. In order to survive as farmers, of course we must adjust to the revolution created by research.

But we must insist that research be used to help solve the problems caused by research.

Research is not directionless. These new developments are not accidental. The emphasis and direction is determined by decisions of administrators as well as the decisions of legislature bodies in appropriating funds. And basic, too, is what farm people ask for in new research projects.

The pressing need as we move into the next decade is to change the emphasis of what we farm people ask for in research and education. We should insist that work be expanded on the important and critical problems of the present and the future, not those of 25 years ago. I believe we would all agree that getting the last worm out of a hog or increasing pigs weaned per litter to 8.5 or getting corn yields up to 100 bushels per acre are not among the critical problems of today and tomorrow.

In a general sense, I suggest that we support a shift of resources to long-range, basic research projects—to fundamental and theoretical problems as contrasted with applied and more immediately practical ones. The results from such projects might not be available for many years.

Among the more specific needs that should have highest priority, I would suggest these three:

1. Agricultural adjustment: How do we bring farm production into balance with demand at a level where farmers can make a decent income? Or put it another way, how do we slow down the rate of expansion of our farm plant? This is a very difficult, but unquestionably one of the most important problems in national policy; it is a great challenge to our scientists and educators.

We need to bring our research efforts to bear on farm production and production response in the aggregate—nationwide and regionwide. We must look at farm production from a much broader viewpoint than per acre, per animal, per man, or per farm.

Part of the present squeeze on farm income stems from the upward spiraling farm costs. Research administrators in every subject-matter field, both in the USDA and the land-grant colleges, should shift some resources to those projects which show promise of reducing farm-operating costs without increasing output.

One difficult part of our adjustment problem grows out of the situation where more than half the boys and girls reared in the country must leave the farm for work in town or city. Since 1940, approximately 27 percent of the working force on farms have shifted to off-farm work. Many of those leaving the farm have been at a disadvantage because of inadequate training or lack of information on job opportunities.

Greater concern must be given to the social and economic costs borne by those families uprooted and those bypassed by the technical revolution in agriculture. Research projects should be developed to measure and analyze those costs and to develop methods for reducing the hardships of the families involved.

New research is especially needed as a basis for development and improvement of farm programs. Without it, we tend to go off half cocked. Do we have to wait until the problems explode in our face before we get the research started? What amount of participation in the soil-bank acreage reserve will different rates of payment per acre obtain? What payment per acre would lure a Corn Belt farmer to seed down land for 5 years and keep stock off? Can the researcher not devise better means of establishing individual allotments or soil-bank bases than our present clumsy reliance on history? How much will we cut total farm production if we put 10 percent, 20 percent, or 30 percent of our land in the soil bank?

2. Marketing, processing, and distribution: One farmer put the matter this way, "Where we have been concentrating on producing two where we produced one before, now we must concentrate on selling two where we sold one before."

Emphasis in this area should be put on research projects which lower the cost of marketing a specific volume of products or improve the quality of products. Actuallly many of the present marketing research projects are in the nature of production projects. Clever methods are developed to reduce spoilage and result in a larger volume of food for the human stomach. This type of marketing research merely increases the problems of overproduction: They are of benefit to consumers. But should not be justified as helpful to farmers.

Greater emphasis should be given to research on the characteristics of consumer-purchase patterns and ways and means of increasing consumption by low-income people of high-quality foods, especially red meats, poultry, and dairy products. Let's have a pilot research project where we test out the costs and benefits of a food-allotment program in a few cities.

There is wide interest in increased research to develop new crops and new uses for farm products. This has a strong appeal to everyone. Of course, we should leave no stones unturned here; however, I would argue that we should not expect much help in this area. We should take a sober look at what we have accomplished in development of new uses during the past 40 years. Often the new crop or the new use is simply a substitution for an old use. One of the major reasons for research in this area is help farm products hold their own in competition with synthetic products.

3. Community adjustment and family living: There is great need to expand research and education on the problems of community adjustment to our rapidly changing agriculture. These adjustments involve neighborhood organization, local government, taxes, schools, churches, transportation, and facilities for health, recreation, etc. Research and education can contribute much to enrich family living on the farm and shorten working hours.

When we farmers get together, we like to talk production efficiency and to exchange ideas and experiences on new practices. Let's also discuss what happens to total output and prices and to our net incomes when a majority of farmers put these new practices into operation. Let's get as familiar with supply and demand price elasticities as we are with antibiotics, hormones, and fertilizers. Let's tell our farm magazine editors that we are getting fed up with constant urgings to adopt improved practices which will increase total output at a time when most farm products are outrunning markets.

In the interest of slowing down the rate of expansion of farm output and of improving the net income and welfare of farm people, I suggest:

1. This is not the time to expand Government-sponsored research and educational programs on production efficiency. This doesn't mean necessarily that we stop what we are doing. Some of these projects are of long-run nature. And there is the general interest in a backlog of technology in case of war, but we have our staffs and facilities built up to good levels now. Maintaining these levels of support will still mean a very large program in production research.

2. This is the time to expand research and education in the areas of critical need, especially agricultural adjustment, distribution, processing, and marketing, as well as community adjustment and family living. This is an undertaking that will require all fields of science and education, the nature and the social sciences, applied and theoretical research. This is a strategic time to shift emphasis to those long-range basic research projects the results of which may not be available for a number of years.

Redirection of research and education along the lines suggested here would not alone provide a solution for our farm problem. But if we put less emphasis on production efficiency, we might slow down the rate of increase in output. If we concentrate more research and educational resources on the current and pressing problems and issues, we may find solutions more quickly, and our agricultural policies and programs will be sounder.

The Deadly Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an editorial which appeared today in the Wall Street Journal, as follows:

THE DEADLY DOCTRINE

"I don't know what the amount of taxes represent when we talk about $70 billion. Is that this room full of bills, or is it three truckloads? I don't know. But I do know this: We can't afford what we're spending and stay strong enough to lead the world to peace."

Those words were spoken by General Eisenhower at Paterson, N. J., in October 1952. The Republican candidate for the Presidency was discussing Democratic spending. The country, he said, was maintaining military strength "above our capacity to pay for it." But "frugality, efficiency, information, knowledge properly used can bring us a defense organism that will be balanced with our capacity to pay and so will keep and make us strong.

In New York City, at the closing session of the Herald Tribune Forum on October 21, 1952, Mr. Eisenhower said, "Certainly I know that we must find a substitute for the purely temporary business of bolstering the free nations through annual handouts. That gets neither permanent results nor real friends."

The same month, at Peoria, Ill., General Eisenhower said that, if elected: "My goal, assuming that the cold war gets no worse, is to cut Federal spending to something like $60 billion within 4 years."

And in Kansas City, he told of one way to do it by likening Government to the family. "If in your family affairs you find that your plan to build an addition on the house is going to cost a lot more than you figured on, what do you do? You don't go ahead regardless. You call up the carpenter, the painter, and the brick mason—and you call off the project."

During his first 4 years, President Eisenhower carried out his promise of a balanced budget and of a tax cut. The Government reduced spending to a low of $64.6 billion in 1955, almost $10 billion lower than was spent in 1953, a fiscal year he shared with Mr. Truman.

But in 1956 the spending was higher. In 1957 the spending was higher. And for the 1958 fiscal year the Government budget is $71.8 billion—or nearly $2 billion more than Mr. Eisenhower mentioned at Paterson, N. J.

when he talked about spending more than we could if we were to stay strong.

Now, just the other day in his press conference, President Eisenhower discussed this $71.8 billion budget. And he had this to say:

"But I tell you it is futile to talk about the United States keeping up the position it must keep up in the world and measurably sticking to the programs that have already been adopted in the United States or have been agreed to be necessary for the United States and cut that budget severely."

Among the spending he mentioned that could not be cut safely were military expenditures and foreign aid: "And of all of those (in the security field) I would say none is more important than so-called foreign aid." As for much of the rest: "Someone else will have to say that it is not important to keep up our obligations to veterans, that is not in the interests of all of us to try to keep a healthy agriculture, that it is not in the interest of all of us to get some schools built. * * * If these programs are not essential to us, why, then, of course you can save a lot of money. I happen to think they are essential, and that is the way I am operating."

The difference between what President Eisenhower said the other day and what he was saying in 1952 is obvious. Perhaps conditions have changed a great deal since then; perhaps the "temporary business of bolstering foreign nations with annual handouts" now is as right as Mr. Eisenhower believed it to be wrong in 1952. Perhaps "frugality and efficiency" have reduced the military budgets as low as national safety permits. Perhaps, also, programs such as $450 million for schoolrooms across the country are such necessary additions to our national house that it would be wrong to call up the carpenter, the painter, and the brick mason—and call off the project.

Perhaps all these things are essential and perhaps nothing can be done about reducing the budget.

If so, the attitude of the administration has become the attitude of hopelessness General Eisenhower rejected in 1952.

On October 28, 1952, he said at Pittsburgh:

"In this—as in our whole national life—we cannot be ruled by the deadly doctrine of: It can't be done."

New President of Wilkes-Barre Junior Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of March 27, 1957, which comments on the selection of Hugh A. Carr, Jr., of Dallas, Pa., as the new president of the Wilkes-Barre Junior Chamber of Commerce:

JAYCEES' NEW PRESIDENT

Election of Hugh A. Carr, Jr., Dallas, to the presidency of the Greater Wilkes-Barre Junior Chamber of Commerce is recognition that had been anticipated by individuals familiar with his activities in the organization and in other fields.

Mr. Carr, who is associated with the Commonwealth Telephone Co., has impressed associates with his leadership and enthusiasm.

A member of the board of governors, he has been identified annually with four major projects. Currently, he is cochairman of the membership drive. He has the knack of working with others and getting them to work with him.

Through the years, his interest in the Jaycees has been manifested through regular attendance at local meetings and State conferences. Fidelity to duty in his case has been matched by outstanding ability.

From all indications, he is a worthy successor to Robert Edgerton, who retired from office last night with an exceptionally fine record of service to the organization and the community.

United States Shortchanges Los Angeles in Smog Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles Examiner carried an article by Mr. Magner White on March 31, 1957, pointing up the fact that the Federal smog program is shortchanging some 5,400,000 people in Los Angeles County. The 5-year Federal program was authorized by the Congress to spend $25 million in an effort to find the answer to this menace which has struck Los Angeles and certain other cities in our country.

I intend to do everything possible to check on the allegations contained in the article which I am including as part of my remarks. If these allegations are correct, it is time the Congress and the President took positive action to see that the program is properly administered so that the citizens of Los Angeles County will receive fair and proper treatment.

The smog menace is national in scope but it has manifested itself primarily in the Los Angeles area. I suggest that the Federal Government concentrate its efforts in Los Angeles in an effort to meet this problem.

The article follows:

(By Magner White)

Twenty months ago, on July 14, 1955, Congress enacted the Air Pollution Research and Technical Assistance Act, and mighty was the national publicity thereon. Uncle Sam was going to get into the war on smog.

What happened?

We were shortchanged, smog officials here estimate, by perhaps as much as $500,000.

The act authorized a 5-year $25 million comprehensive program under the United States Public Health Service, but the first fiscal year, 1955–56, only $1,785,000 was appropriated.

This was for the whole Nation.

It was only about half as much as the smog-plagued citizens of Los Angeles County had paid for their own smog fight through the air pollution control district—they've spent nearly $10 million up to now since 1947.

How much did the Los Angeles County air pollution control district get in the way of Federal help out of this first $1,785,000?

Just about $0.00. That's no typographical error.

This fiscal year, 1956–57, with the first year of getting the Federal program organized out of the way, the appropriation was not the authorized $5 million, but only $2,740,000, and again, remember, this was for the whole Nation.

This $2,740,000 was for research, technical assistance to communities, and for training of men to help out wherever needed in the smog fight.

This year the taxpayers of Los Angeles County are spending nearly $4 million for the county's smog fight alone—and a lot of this finances smog control research and studies which Uncle Sam could draw on, but virtually ignores.

How much did Los Angeles County, the world's center of the biggest of all fights on smog, the center of pioneering research, of investments of $50 million by industry to control smog—how much of his $2,740,000 did Uncle Sam focus out here this year?

Just about $37,000. Or a fraction less than 1.4 pennies out of every $1.

It isn't that we aren't paying our Federal way out here—down to everyone who makes over $600 a year and must file an income-tax return.

Los Angeles County's current Federal income-tax payments are estimated to exceed $2 billion.

In other words, through our income tax—which hits nearly everyone—we send money to Washington, part of which finances the 5-year, $25 million Federal smog program. Then we spend our own money on smog. We—you—pay twice to fight smog.

And get back from Washington almost nothing.

We got $37,000—in salaries for 3 or 4 Federal men assigned to help survey refinery emissions. They are good men, smog officials say, but smog is a new field, and they have to be given some training when they arrive here before they can work efficiently.

Although grateful for any help, since finding engineers is difficult because of industry's fierce competition for them, Smog Control Chief Smith Griswold and our California Congressmen get pretty sore when they think of that mere $37,000.

Here have been made about all the known important discoveries relating to control of our gaseous type of smog—at the Air Pollution Control District, in Dr. J. A. Haagen-Smit's laboratory at the California Institute of Technology, and in industrial and private and university laboratories.

GRISWOLD RAPS UNITED STATES SETUP

"What we need from the Federal Government," says Griswold, "is help to add onto the knowledge we already have."

Under the Federal smog program, direct research, which is costing $823,000 this fiscal year, is done at or through the Government's Robert A. Taft Sanitary Engineering Center, Cincinnati, Ohio.

This is a long way from the resources and trained engineering corps of the Air Pollution Control District.

"It is simply ridiculous on the face of it," says Griswold, and many practical men agree, "not to have a large part of this center's smog research operations out here.

"It would save everyone money, and speed up smog research to control smog, without duplications of effort.

"It isn't a question of Federal aid so much as it is a question of Federal cooperation, and particularly coordination of money, men, and effort, with us, and between us, for the benefit of our community and others over the Nation."

What are some of these Federal direct research projects? Many will sound familiar to the smog-wise citizens of Los Angeles County:

"Investigations related to characteristics quantities and reactions of pollutants in the atmosphere."

"Research and development concerned with control devices."

THEY COULD LEARN FROM LOS ANGELES

It is believed that Federal researchers might learn something to their advantage here, where industry already has spent about $50 million on smog-control devices.

"Study of the economics of air pollution."

Whatever is found by this project will, of course, tend to indict smog as, economically, a very bad thing. You may have the impression this has already been proved.

We already know that, besides endangering health, smog has caused up to $3 million a year crop damage in southern California—amply demonstrated in the University of California Riverside campus studies of Dr. John A. Middleton and staff.

Next, here's a project which Arthur C. Stern, chief, Community Air Pollution Program, of Taft Center, in a speech called "a project which defies rigid classification": Out in the ocean, off San Francisco, on a lonely Farallon Island, is a station to sample "exotic air!"

This joint Federal-State health project is to pick up the "exotic air," if any, blowing in off the Pacific Ocean.

"Exotic air" is not defined, but a check shows that, so far, this lonely sampling station, drawing in minute puffs of air from the trillions of cubic miles of air over the Pacific Ocean, hasn't produced anything significant.

If it does pick up any "exotic air" bearing on the problem of how to stop Los Angeles' smog—say air from a passing boat filled with lotus blossoms or banana oil—the Examiner will rush the startling fact into print.

But don't wait up for this.

Pacific air currents may affect the distribution of smog in Southern California—after the smog is made in the sky. But to you, a citizen, it may seem that if smog is controlled, and none or little gets into the sky, where the winds blow would make no difference—wouldn't you say?

You may feel, from information here, the Government might save millions of dollars if it moved all or part of the division of Taft Sanitary Engineering Center devoted to smog, from Cincinnati to Los Angeles, as many are suggesting.

But, of course, there would be screams in Congress. Some Congressmen have found in the new smog research movement a mighty handy thing with which to impress the folks at home, to whom smog can be made very mysterious.

Congressmen in five southern States, for instance, have asked, and received, a project to study dust from cotton gins—one in a small South Carolina community.

A request to Federal sources for information on this brought forth a picture titled, "Sampling at a Cotton Gin."

However, Charles Merkel, head of the United States Cotton Ginning Laboratory, at Stoneville, Miss., told a fellow newspaperman down there that while samples of trash had been collected at various gins, "there has been no report written and nothing definite to report."

"Usually," this newsman says, "the gin owners are able to make small adjustments in their plants which satisfy the people in the neighborhood."

Our own California Congressmen have to put up with such projects as these, because that's the way things are in Congress; if you want something to stop the smog in your State you have to let the boys from elsewhere have their share of any research money available.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE FORMED

But because they have a growing impression that the Federal Government is overlooking a real chance to study control of smog right here, where so much already has been done, our California congressional delegation has formed a special 21-man smog committee.

Congressman JOSEPH HOLT heads this, and he and Congressmen GLENARD LIPSCOMB and JAMES ROOSEVELT and the others say they are going to make a pitch to get more Federal attention put on control of smog, especially out here.

They want the proposed 1957–58 Federal $4,100,000 smog budget upped to the authorized $5 million. And they want $1 million spent here for Federal men to work with the air pollution control district.

They have reason to insist on this: We face a foreseeable smog crisis. An auto exhaust control device is not near. We have held the smog line amazingly well for more than a year, what with new controls, stiff law enforcement, and other things. The October 1 incinerator ban will help.

But we will continue to grow and expand. This, once more, unless we find more solutions, will bring new smog beyond our means to control it.

Our Economy Is Geared to the Buying Power of the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith a very interesting article from the Progressive Farmer, published at Birmingham, Ala., entitled "Increase Buying Power of Lowest 40 Percent." It is as follows:

INCREASE BUYING POWER OF LOWEST 40 PERCENT

Of all ways to safeguard American prosperity, one of the greatest is to increase the buying power of the lowest 40 percent of our population. The latest figures in the Statiscal Abstract of the United States 1956 show that the lowest 20 percent of our population—34 million people out of 170 million—received only 4.2 percent of the Nation's money-income, the percentages by fifths being as follows:

	Percent
Lowest fifth gets	4.2
Second fifth gets	10.5
Third fifth gets	16.1
Fourth fifth gets	22.3
Highest fifth gets	46.9

It will thus be seen that of the total income received by all our people, the highest fifth of our population gets nearly 50 percent, which the lowest two-fifths receive less than 15 percent.

America might well set out to double the incomes and buying power of the lowest 40 percent of our people. And this might result, not mainly by charity and social security, but most of all, by helping these people help themselves. A threefold program to this end might well be:

1. More and better education, including adequate vocational education.

2. Better health by good health programs, adequate hospital and medical insurance and services, and better nutrition.

3. By increased social security for the aged poor, the sick, and disabled.

Our wealthier classes may well consider if America would not be safer and communism less threatening if we should provide such a threefold help for our neediest people. Such a policy would increase the sales of all kinds of manufactured products and farm products, largely reducing all food surpluses. In annual per capita consumption of milk and other dairy products, we are told, the United States ranks No. 13 among all nations; and of meat, No. 5. The food stamp plan would help poorer families receive a more adequate diet. This would, in turn, increase their health and earning capacity and be a helpful stimulant to American business. We think now of elderly widows unable to work who receive only $30 a month in social security benefits and who cannot get adequate food while surpluses of farm products pile up and depress prices.

Our poorer farmers, and especially our tenant farmers, help to make up this lowest 40 percent of our population who receive less than 15 percent of the country's money income. It is these groups on our farms, our unskilled wage earners, and our poorer "white collar workers" whose low income keeps them from providing the purchasing power needed to keep our factory wheels turning and our businesses prospering at top rates. To help them by such a threefold program as we have suggested—with especial emphasis on education, health, and nutrition—would not only be a noble form of Christian effort, but would be a statesmanlike way to safeguard the prosperity of all Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I am also a great believer in adequate care for the aged, first because I believe it is our duty to make sure that aged people are properly and adequately taken care of and that they do not suffer because of the lack of food, clothing, housing, and medical care. But I also believe that in carrying out this great duty and responsibility to our aged that it will actually help the entire country at the same time.

Much is said about the enormous increase in the number of babies born each year and about what a wonderful market there will be supplying their needs in the future. This is all well and good, and we are all for it, and we know that an expanding population will mean greater expansion of our entire country if we allow our country to progress and prosper by reason of the increased demands caused by the increase in population. At the same time, we should not overlook the fact that we have 14 million people here in the United States over 65 years of age. Many of them are in destitute circumstances, do not have adequate food, adequate clothing, adequate housing, or adequate medical care—in fact, it is no compliment to our great, rich country to permit so many of our aged citizens to suffer as they are now permitted to suffer because of a lack of attention and lack of care. If we take care of these aged people properly, it will not only help them, but it will help everybody.

I have a bill, H. R. 77, which provides for a minimum payment of $75 per month for people over 65 years of age. I will not quarrel with anyone who says that there should be limitations in certain instances in regard to payments made to people who do not need it. I would not be particular about any reasonable limitations or restrictions being placed on such payments so long as the people who actually need it, whether they are on the old-age assistance rolls or the Social Security rolls, are allowed to receive at least $75 per month.

Foremen's Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, in connection with a bill I introduced, H. R. 4766, to amend the National Labor Relations Act in order to permit supervisors to be considered as employees under the provisions of such act I would like to insert in the RECORD copies of two letters appearing in the Union and Echo which is published in Buffalo, N. Y.

The first is a letter from Joseph F. Murphy, a regional director of the Foreman's Association of America, and the second is a letter written by the Reverend William J. Smith, S. J., an outstanding churchman and student of labor law. I believe these letters show the necessity of having the amendment I propose become law at the earliest possible date.

The letters follow:

FOREMEN'S RIGHTS

DEAR EDITOR: In the struggle that the Foreman's Association of America is waging for the rights of the foremen, to have the T-H Labor Act amended so as to insure for the foremen the security they are entitled to in order to maintain their dignity as human beings, we have appealed to the leaders of the Catholic Church for the proper interpretation of the moral law as to our rights.

The enclosed copy is a reply I received from Rev. William Smith, S. J., of St. Peter's College, Jersey City, and I feel that it would be in the interest to many of the readers of your valuable paper.

Under the T-H Act we are denied the security and protection of the courts in our desire to associate with our fellow men.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH F. MURPHY.

DEAR MR. MURPHY: Your letter came to me in the midst of a very busy week and I have not had the chance to get even a few ideas on paper for you. This is a little note however which I am sending you so that you may at least have some reply from me.

Since the committee will have on its roster some of the southern members of Congress it might be a good idea to see if you could draw some kind of a parallel between foremen's right and states rights. When the Constitution was written the rights of the Federal Government were spelled out explicitly. Whatever is not down in black and white as a Federal power belongs to the States. This is the principle of self-government.

In modern industry you have a strong representation for management at the top. You have strong collective bargaining power for the rank and file worker at the bottom. In between are the foremen, often making up a large number of employees, who have no representation of any kind.

They are not seeking or asking to take over management of any industry. They are simply asking for the right, the legal right, to exercise a natural right of association.

In the old days the foremen really could be said to be in power. Today, for the most part, he merely channels the company policy to the ranks below him. He should not be in the rank and file collective bargaining unit. But as it is he is at the mercy of management and at least should have some means of self-defense. The principle of self-defense is recognized in every legal and religious circle of the world. It is as American as corn on the cob. Why should it be granted and legally protected for all types of citizens except foremen?

The United States of America was merely 13 Colonies subject to the oppression of a mother country. Not until they put into practice the natural right of association and built strong States and Commonwealths did they begin to take their proper place in the world.

Foremen are not asking for one overall nationwide association which would give them sufficient economic power to stand up to the accumulated industrial power of the corporations in the capitalistic setup. They are asking for proper representation within each of their industries. Under the present circumstances they are neither fish nor fowl. Nor do they want to be either. They just want to be human beings, as the Lord made them, to carry out the functions and responsibilities that management places upon them, but at the same time with enough unity of organization to process grievances and safeguard their working conditions just as other workingmen in America can do even though they don't carry the title of foremen or supervisor.

They are not living in the year of 1900 or even 1933. We are living in the year 1957. Our while industrial life has been changing gradually. The role of the foreman "Aint what it used to be." When the shops were small and the foremen were really looked upon and actually were men of some authority, they could talk to the boss as on a man-to-man basis. In a giant industry of today it is very difficult to find out who is the boss. The foremen are caught in the squeeze between a gigantic mechanized system, that can turn a man, and the human element, including the foreman, into a robot unless the fundamental and basic human principles, one of which is the right of association, are thoroughly respected and allowed to function.

Foremen are human beings. They need protection for their working conditions just as much as any ordinary workman. Top management can take care of itself. The labor union can take care of the rank and file worker. But neither by law nor by company policy is the proper protection afforded the foremen.

Sincerely yours,

REV. WILLIAM J. SMITH, S. J.

Veteran Plunges 17 Floors to Death

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, the following AP dispatch appeared in the Washington (D. C.) Evening Star for March 29, 1957:

VETERAN PLUNGES 17 FLOORS TO DEATH

NEW YORK, March 29.—A destitute, 61-year-old, World War I veteran plunged 17 stories to his death today before the horrified eyes of hundreds of spectators. A patrolman pleaded with him in vain for 20 minutes.

"Nobody wants to help me," said the man, tentatively identified as Julio Contino. He said that he was broke, couldn't pay his room rent, and couldn't get help from the welfare authorities or the Veterans' Administration.

He told his troubles at length to Patrolman Harold Siegel as he perched on a parapet atop the Veterans' Administration Building at 252 Seventh Avenue in Manhattan.

The patrolman sought to assure him that help could be obtained. Police raced to the 16th floor to extend nets beneath the man. Other officers sought to ease up behind the parapet in order to grab him.

Suddenly the man shouted, "Leave me alone," leaped far outward from the building, missing the nets, and plunged to the street.

A VA official said records showed Mr. Contino served as a private in the 374th Infantry during the last 6 months of 1918, but did not serve enough time in service to qualify for VA benefits.

But, Mr. Speaker, this could not happen to Chiang Kai-shek's old disabled soldiers in Formosa. Why? Because the United States has provided pensions, hospitals, convalescent camps, and old soldiers' homes for them.

The People Must Speak

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the Jackson (Mich.) Citizen Patriot of March 10, 1957:

THE PEOPLE MUST SPEAK

Not in many years has the talk of economy in the Federal Government been so prevalent as it is today.

The man in the street, Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, former President Herbert Hoover, and the perennial advocates of economy such as Senator Byrd are pointing to the need for saving taxpayers' cash and the Nation's strength.

The Washington news analysts are using reams of paper to comment on the situation and the difficulties in trimming Federal spending.

President Eisenhower has ordered a restudy of the budget and, in effect, has invited Congress to see what it can do about cutting it down.

That is more logical than it seems on the surface. In many respects, the administration's spending blueprint merely reflects mandates of Congress. Substantial reductions can be made only when and if the legislative branch agrees that certain functions need to be curtailed or eliminated.

Many of the commentators on the Washington scene, as well as Members of Congress, agree that the people hold the key to really important reductions in expenditures.

If they make themselves heard, so the story goes, Congress can and will act.

But it is obvious that the groups and interests which want more spending have a way of raising their voices.

The farm bloc in Congress, for example, is calling for higher price supports on various crops. Localities which stand to benefit by Government power or reclamation or flood control or navigation projects are putting the heat on Congress.

The demands for Federal aid to education are loud enough to penetrate the Halls of Congress and the committee meeting rooms.

All these things add up to more spending—not less.

Meanwhile, the man in the line at the internal revenue collector's office is not being heard. No one speaks for him unless he opens his own mouth.

Perhaps it is time that he did so, or at least expressed his views in writing to his Senators and Representatives.

If he remains quiet the organized forces which are seeking money for this or that purpose will hold the ears of Congress.

And another year will go by with much talk about economy, but precious little action to bring it about.

Repeal the 3-Cent-Per-Pound Processing Tax on Coconut Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, under date of March 11, I introduced a bill, H. R. 5818, the purpose of which is to eliminate the 3-cent-per-pound tax collected on the first domestic processing of coconut oil as provided in section 4511 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, leaving in effect the additional rate of 2 cents per pound provided for in section 4511 (b) and also leaving in effect the tariff duty of 1 cent per pound applicable to coconut oil in paragraph 54 of the Tariff Act of 1930. I desire at this time to submit certain statistical data relating to H. R. 5818.

Table 1 shows the United States exports and imports of oils and fats and the import or export balance as the case may be for the 9-year pre-World War II period 1930 to 1938. Table I also provides the same data for a 9-year postwar period beginning with the year 1948.

The 3-cents and 2-cents-per-pound processing taxes on coconut oil were levied on coconut oil on May 10, 1934. It will be noted in table 1 that during the year 1934 and the remaining years in the 9-year pre-World War II period that the United States oils and fats economy was on a deficit basis, i. e., there was an excess of imports over exports. During the 9-year postwar period shown in table 1 the United States has enjoyed a surplus of exports over imports of oils and fats. In the year 1956 it will be noted that the surplus of exports over imports reached the amazing total of 3,890 million pounds.

The purpose of these comparisons is to show that the entire fats and oils economy of the United States changed during World War II and subsequently thereto. From a net importer we have become the world's greatest exporter of fats and oils. Under these circumstances the price level of fats and oils is no longer the world market price plus import duties and processing taxes as was the case in 1934. The domestic price level is the world market price less freight and insurance costs in moving American oils and fats into the world market. Hence it cannot be argued that the removal of the 3-cent-per-pound processing tax on coconut oil will result in the depreciation of the market price of our American oils and fats in the domestic market. The price level of our domestic oils and fats is established in world markets rather than the American market.

TABLE 1.—*United States imports and exports of fats and oils*

[In million pounds]

Year	Exports	Imports	Excess exports over imports
1930	923	1,660	−737
1931	831	1,506	−675
1932	798	1,201	−403
1933	816	1,678	−862
1934	614	1,362	−748
1935	191	2,135	−1,944
1936	217	2,009	−1,792
1937	223	2,599	−2,376
1938	297	1,756	−1,459
1948	924	1,175	−251
1949	2,257	1,031	1,226
1950	2,036	1,237	799
1951	2,435	1,094	1,341
1952	2,274	869	1,405
1953	2,595	913	1,682
1954	3,874	914	2,960
1955	4,514	512	4,002
1956	4,909	1,019	3,890

Source: Agricultural Marketing Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Table No. 2 shows the world exports of fats and oils and the United States exports as percent of world exports. It will be noted from table 2 that beginning with the year 1954 the United States exports of fats and oils represented more than one-fourth of the total world exports. In 1956 the proportion of exports originating in the United States was one-third of the total.

The purpose of table 2 is to further establish that the prices of domestic fats and oils are established in world markets. It also shows that the hindrance of the entry of coconut oil into the domestic market by means of the 3-cent processing tax does not mean that domestic oils and fats avoid competitive impact with coconut oil. If coconut oil has the ability to compete with American oils and fats such competition is all the more pronounced in world markets because of the tendency of the processing tax on coconut oil to depreciate the price of Philippine coconut oil in world markets, a circumstance which is discussed in more detail below:

TABLE 2.—*United States exports as percent of world fats and oils exports* [1]

Calendar year	World exports (billion pounds)	United States as percent of world
1935–39 average	13.1	2.2
1945–49 average	8.1	14.8
1950	12.3	15.5
1951	12.8	18.0
1952	11.7	17.9
1953	12.7	19.3
1954	14.5	26.2
1955	14.5	27.6
1956 [2]	15.5	33.5

[1] Includes the oil equivalent of oilseeds exported.
[2] Partly estimated.

Source: Agricultural Marketing Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Table 3 lists the principal oils and fats exported from the United States in the calendar year 1956. Domestic production, exports and percent of production represented by exports are shown. Table 3 shows that while inedible tallow and grease is the largest single item of export, viz 1,486,000,000 pounds, the aggregate of lard, cottonseed oil and soybean oil exports is 1,963,300,000 pounds which exceeds by almost 500 million pounds the volume of inedible tallow and grease exports. Since the total export of all oils and fats from the United States in 1956 was 4,909,000,000 pounds, exports of these 2 edible oils and lard constituted 40 percent of the total.

Coconut oil is used principally in Europe in edible products. Bureau of the Census records show that its principal usage in the United States is by industries which produce inedible products such as the soap, fatty acid, and protective-coatings industries. The confectionery and baking industries account for the only important edible usage of coconut oil in the United States. It is used in these industries for purposes where it cannot be replaced by domestic oils and fats as evidenced by the fact that prices paid for coconut oil exceed by several cents per pound the prices of domestic fats and oils. Coconut oil imparts far longer shelf life, that is, resistance to rancidity, to confections and crackers than can be secured without its use.

In Europe coconut oil is a major ingredient of margarine whereas the Bureau of the Census records show that it has not been so employed in the United States since the year 1950. Lack of mechanical refrigeration in private homes accounts for much of the preference of European margarine manufacturers for coconut oil as a margarine ingredient.

Table 3 shows that the American lard and soybean oil producers must encounter the competition of Philippine coconut oil in edible products in world markets on approximately one-fourth of their production. Cottonseed oil producers must encounter its competition, in world markets, on approximately one-third of their production. It would seem to be to the advantage of these producers to permit the consumption of larger quantities of Philippine coconut oil through repeal of the 3-cent processing tax in the United States in noncompetitive outlets, for example, inedible products such as soap and fatty acids and the types of edible usage in specialty products wherein our confectioners and bakers employ it solely for purposes for which domestic oils and fats are not suitable. Under present conditions our exports of lard, cottonseed and soybean oils encounter the competition of Philippine coconut oil in world markets at price levels depreciated by the 3-cent processing tax which the United States, the largest single consumer of Philippine coconut oil levies upon that product. H. R. 5818 seeks to rectify that situation.

TABLE 3.—*United States production and exports of principal fats and oils, year 1956*

[In million pounds]

Commodity	Production	Exports	Percent exported
Lard	2,565	611	23.8
Tallow and grease, inedible	3,118	1,486	47.7
Cottonseed oil	1,826	[1] 628	34.4
Soybean oil	3,200	[1] 724	22.6
Fish oils	197	141	71.5

[1] Crude basis.

Source: Bureau of the Census.

I now wish to show that passage of H. R. 5818 would be to the best interests of the domestic producers of inedible tallow and grease. Table 4 shows that the domestic factory consumption of inedible tallow and grease is principally accounted for by its consumption in soap manufacture. However table 4 shows that this domestic outlet for inedible tallow and grease has been steadily declining since 1948, the first year in which synthetic detergents reached important proportions in the United States. Synthetic substitutes for soap obtained a distribution of 1 pound per capita in World War II years when the supplies of coconut oil were limited. In 1946 the consumption reached 2 pounds per capita and in 1948 the consumption was at the rate of 4 pounds per capita. Table 4 shows that in 1948 the consumption of inedible tallow and grease in soap accounted for 81.5 percent of the United States factory consumption of these products. Table 4 registers from 1948 to 1956 a steady decline in the percentage of inedible tallow and grease in soap as relates to total factory consumption of these two items. A decline of 30 percent use in domestic soap making is registered in the 9-year period shown.

During the 9-year period covered by table 4 the domestic tallow rendering industry has been confronted, due to competition of synthetic detergents, with the necessity of exporting an increasingly larger proportion of its production. It is obvious that it would be desirable to sell a larger proportion of this tallow for domestic consumption as the exports must bear the costs of transportation, insurance, and other incidental costs encountered in reaching the foreign market. The passage of H. R. 5818 will help the tallow renderers regain a substantial part of the domestic market which they have lost.

Domestic soap is made from tallow and coconut oil. Tallow which is the main increment supplies the body or the lasting quality of the soap and the coconut oil furnishes the lathering quality. The two products obviously supplement one another in the making of a satisfactory soap as despite the fact that the price of coconut oil plus the 3-cent per pound processing tax is commonly twice the domestic price of tallow the soapmaker must include coconut oil in his formula. No domestic oil or fat will supply the free-lathering qualities resident in coconut oil. This is due to the low molecular weight of its component fatty acids—chiefly lauric acid—and their high saponification value.

The current price of "extra" tallow is 7⅜ cents per pound delivered, New York. The cost of coconut oil, excise tax paid, in the New York area is in the vicinity of 15 cents per pound. The ratio of tallow to coconut oil in good free lathering soap should be at least 4 parts of tallow to 1 of coconut oil. Synthetic detergents are made chiefly from benzene—largely a product of the coke oven—and sulfuric acid. Both of these chemicals are cheaper than tallow and coconut oil but some headway could be made by the soap maker in competing with synthetics if he was relieved of the burden of processing tax.

Processing tax-free coconut oil is the best antidote for the surplus of tallow and grease position. Wash water in most areas of the United States possesses a considerable degree of hardness. It is the opinion of the Western States Meat Packers Association and the Pacific Coast Renderers Association that if soap makers have the opportunity to make a freer lathering soap through employing more coconut oil, as a result of the elimination of the 3-cent processing tax, more inedible tallow and grease will be carried into domestic consumption in the soap kettle.

In a press release issued on March 30, 1953, the Department of Agriculture stated that the new role of inedible tallow and greases in the export market, as a result of the development of synthetic detergents, must be taken into account in appraising export demand for edible vegetable oils. The release pointed out that tallow and grease exports from the United States have released other materials from soap-making in Europe. These materials such as palm oil are therefore more freely available for the manufacturers of margarine and cooking fats. In the light of this observation by the Department of Agriculture it seems evident that a larger consumption of inedible tallow and grease in soap making in the United States would be of assistance in enlarging the European export market for lard and edible vegetable oils for United States producers.

TABLE 4.—*Factory consumption of inedible tallow and grease in soap*

[In thousand pounds]

Year	Total factory consumption	Used in soap	Percent of total used in soap
1948	1,781,942	1,451,454	81.5
1949	1,706,634	1,345,597	78.8
1950	1,830,953	1,374,845	75.1
1951	1,719,372	1,194,815	69.5
1952	1,566,970	1,084,225	69.2
1953	1,595,289	1,025,845	64.3
1954	1,576,389	907,143	57.5
1955	1,592,493	864,821	54.3
1956	1,580,693	812,720	51.4

Source: Bureau of the Census, facts for industry.

Table 5 shows the consumption of oils and fats in margarine from 1930 to 1934. It will be noted that the percentage of coconut oil used in margarine manufacture in this period varied from 62 to 75 percent of total oils used. This circumstance was the principal reason for the levying of the 3-cent processing tax on coconut oil on May 10, 1934. Margarine manufacturers continued to use coconut oil until World War II when the War Food Administration prohibited the use of coconut oil in the manufacture of margarine in order to conserve the available supply for strategic uses similar to those for which coconut oil is currently stockpiled by the Office of Defense Mobilization. During this period margarine manufacturers in the United States developed new manufacturing techniques whereby the use of coconut oil could be dispensed with in favor of cottonseed and soybean oils. The latter half of table 5 shows that since the year 1950 no coconut oil has been employed in the manufacture of margarine. Coconut oil is therefore entirely eliminated from the only field of usage in which it offered any material competition to oils and fats produced from American crops.

TABLE 5.—*Fats and oils used in manufacture of margarine, 1930–34 and 1950–56*

[In thousand pounds]

Year	Total oils and fats used in margarine	Coconut oil used	Percent of total oils used
1930	297,809	185,066	62
1931	234,366	155,954	67
1932	178,116	127,967	72
1933	178,755	134,430	75
1934	199,028	140,083	70
1950	765,177	None	None
1951	850,750	None	None
1952	1,046,010	None	None
1953	1,048,617	None	None
1954	1,105,915	None	None
1955	1,074,408	None	None
1956	1,107,866	None	None

Source: Bureau of the Census, Facts for Industry.

COMMERCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PHILIPPINES

In the year 1955 the Philippines imported from the United States merchandise valued at 703,853,000 pesos—$351,926,500. Of this total 221,344,000 pesos—$110,672,000—represented items of agricultural origin or products thereof as follows: Cotton and manufactures, 119,981,000 pesos—$59,990,500—grains and preparations, 24,986,000 pesos—$12,493,000—dairy products, 37,231,000 pesos—$18,615,000—tobacco and manufactures, 28,646,000 pesos—$14,323,000—inedible animal products, tallow, et cetera, 10,500,000 pesos—$5,250,000.

The Philippines exported to the United States in the year 1955 merchandise valued at 506,490,000 pesos—$253,245,000. Thus the balance of trade favored the United States to the extent of about $99 million.

Copra imports into the United States from the Philippines in 1955 amounted to 297,000 long tons, valued at $45,167,555. Coconut oil imports amounted to 145 million pounds, valued at $16,296,878. Copra is the chief cash crop which the Philippines must sell to the United States to acquire dollars with which to pay for imports purchased from this country. The Philippines are the most important export customer of the United States in southeast Asia. This important market can be enlarged if the adverse trade balance with the United States can be reduced.

The processing tax of 3 cents per pound collected on the first domestic processing of coconut oil when expressed in terms of a long ton of copra amounts

to a tariff duty of $42, which is equivalent to over 30 percent ad valorem. Such a duty would, under ordinary circumstances, be considered cruelly unjust to a friendly country, particularly on a commodity not produced in the United States. The long overdue rectification of this injustice can be accomplished by the passage of H. R. 5818.

Exports of copra and coconut oil, expressed in terms of copra, from the Philippines in the 5-year period ending with 1956 averaged 878,180 long tons per annum. In the 5-year period average importations by the United States, in terms of copra, were 403,927 long tons, or 46 percent of the total. The balance was sold in world markets, chiefly Europe.

The total factory consumption of all oils and fats in the United States in 1955, according to the Bureau of the Census, was 17.3 billion pounds. Factory consumption of coconut oil was 557 million pounds, or 3.2 percent of the total.

Trial by Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I call attention to an editorial appearing in the Nashville, Tenn., Banner of March 26, 1957. It is related to the basic right of trial by jury.

It refers to the fact that the most infamous criminals in the land—from murderers to kidnapers, running the gamut of the whole underworld—are entitled to trial by jury.

Our own distinguished representative from the fair State of Georgia, the Honorable JOHN J. FLYNT, JR., has introduced H. R. 3768, dealing with the right of trial by jury in certain contempt cases in United States courts.

The editorial is timely, and I commend its reading to my colleagues in the House. It follows:

WHAT MORE BASIC RIGHT THAN TRIAL BY JURY?

Sections 3691 and 3692 of title 18 of the United States Code are those cited as abridging the right to trial by jury. They relate to contempt cases, and have been brought to the fore by realistic study of the so-called civil-rights legislation. For it is under this formula that a jurist may constitute himself judge, prosecutor, and jury.

Far more than a mere legalistic anomaly, there is a glaring contradiction in the view that 1 set of civil rights justifies abrogation of a basic right 3 times spelled out in the Constitution. Advocates of the proposed new law—from the NAACP to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, and miscellaneous liberals in between—have yet to explain just why their injunctive process should sidestep the Constitution on this point. Why do they oppose a jury trial?

The Federal Code, incidentally, says that in contempt cases the defendant, on demand, shall be entitled to trial by jury, but "this section shall not apply in any suit or action brought in the name of, or in behalf of, the United States." Further, the proposed civil-rights law says that injunction proceedings shall be instituted, not in the name of the real plaintiff who thinks he has been prevented from voting or exercising some other right, but in the name of the United States.

Georgia Senator HERMAN E. TALMADGE has introduced a bill to clarify the right to trial by jury. It provides that all persons cited for contempt of a Federal court for any acts other than ones committed in the presence of the court "shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the contempt shall have been committed." Further it would provide that no person can be bound by an injunction unless he is a party to the proceeding; is named in and served with a true copy of the injunction; or has read and had explained in his presence by a judge in open court the provisions of the injunction.

This is, of course, a Government of laws—not a Government arbitrarily of men or of injunctions. It rests upon the Constitution—in pursuance of which (and not otherwise) laws are enacted and enforced.

The most infamous criminals in the land—from murders to kidnapers, running the gamut of the whole underworld—are entitled to trial by jury. Is not a citizen so entitled who might happen, quite circumstantially even—to be caught under a blanket injunction?

The United States Constitution is recommended reading just now for every citizen, and particularly those in Washington charged with enacting and interpreting and enforcing the law.

Michigan Legislators Support H. R. 5460, Giving States and Local Government Agencies Right To Purchase Federal Surplus Property

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to present a petition, signed by 29 members of the Michigan House of Representatives, urging enactment of a bill I have introduced, H. R. 5460, which would give States and political subdivisions thereof the privilege of purchasing Federal surplus property not used in the donable program before such property is released for general public sale.

This petition, signed by representatives from various sections of Michigan, indicates strong and widespread support for this proposal. The local communities are not asking the Federal Government to give them surplus property. They are ready to pay for it. But they would like the opportunity to purchase materials they need at a reasonable price without heavy additional payments to middlemen. I believe a system could be effected to this end which would still permit expeditious and economical movement of surplus property to local government agencies where it is needed. I might add that this is only one of many communications supporting H. R. 5460 which I have received not only from Michigan, but also from city officials in distant sections of the country.

The petition and signers follow:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Lansing, Mich., March 7, 1957.

We, the undersigned, urge that H. R. 5460 of the 85th Congress be adopted to amend section 203 (j) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to provide that surplus property which is not used in the donable program shall be offered for sale to States and political subdivisions thereof.

Representative George A. Gillespie, Gaines, Mich.; Representative Clayton T. Morrison, Pickford, Mich.; Representative Allison Green, Kingston, Mich.; Representative Edson V. Root, Jr., Bangor, Mich.; Representative Fred O. Olsen, Sheridan, Mich.; Representative Louis C. Crampton, Lapeer, Mich.; Representative Hans C. Rasmussen, Ludington, Mich.; Representative Homer Arnett, Kalamazoo, Mich.; Representative George Wahr Sallade, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Representative Holly Hubbell, route 5, Saginaw, Mich.; Representative John W. Fletcher, Centreville, Mich.; Representative Russell H. Strange, Jr., route 1, Clare, Mich.; Representative Raymond C. Wurzel, North Street, Mich.; Representative Harry T. Emmons, Byron Center, Mich.; Representative James N. Folks, Horton, Mich.; Representative Andrew W. Cobb, Elsie, Mich.; Representative Sterling Eaton, Kalamazoo, Mich.; Representative Adolph Blanchard, Bay City, Mich.; Representative James F. Warner, Ypsilanti, Mich.; Representative Walter G. Nakkula, Gladwin, Mich.; Representative Frederic Marshall, Hillsdale, Mich.; Representative Lloyd Gibbs, Portland, Mich.; Representative Thomas Whinery, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Representative Emil A. Peitz, Rogers City, Mich.; Representative Cyril H. Root, Kalamazoo, Mich.; Representative Lester J. Allen, Ithaca, Mich.; Representative Ben E. Lohman, Hamilton, Mich.; Representative Roy H. Brigham, Battle Creek, Mich.; Representative James P. Mielock, Whittemore, Mich.

Job Well Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. L. Richard Guylay retired as public-relations director for the Republican National Committee. He has rendered outstanding service to the President and the Republican Party and I join with my many colleagues in congratulating him on a job well done and extending best wishes for continued success.

I am enclosing an editorial from the Los Angeles Times dated February 26, 1957, which points up Mr. Guylay's fine work:

A Job Well Done

A public-relations director of a major political party organization may easily find his problems too great for him, or by a degree of self-promotion he may gain credit for accomplishments to which he is not entitled. But L. Richard Guylay, retiring public-relations director for the Republican National Committee, fits into neither category.

Guylay, who took on the job 2 years ago, leaves an outstanding record. He demonstrated unusual qualities as an administrator and won warm appreciation from the press, radio and television for his efficient handling of news and his impartial treatment of all concerned.

He leaves his post with the GOP National Committee to head a public-relations firm in Washington, but will remain available as a consultant when needed by the Republican leadership.

In the chorus of praise given his work the common note sounded by former National Chairman Hall, the current National Chairman Alcorn, Vice President Nixon and others emphasizes Guylay's tact, resourcefulness, perceptive qualities and political know-how.

In a profession where the demands are great and where only the most accomplished attain distinction, L. Richard Guylay has earned recognition as one of the best.

Highway Trust Fund Raid Bared

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURR P. HARRISON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, it will be recalled that, when we were considering legislation to carry forward the huge Federal highway program, extensive attention was given to the problem of insuring that money collected from highway users for the purpose of building roads actually would be used for building roads.

A tremendous amount of money is involved, so it was to be expected, perhaps, that the bureaucrats would set about trying to find means of circumventing the trust-fund aspect of the Federal highway program.

It now appears that the Department of Labor, which does not build any roads, is trying to put its hand in the highway trust-fund till for a $365,000 grab. Naturally, the Department of Labor wants to hire some more bureaucrats, and it sees in the highway trust fund a chance to get $365,000 without justifying it in the regular budget. As you know, Mr. Speaker, the highway trust fund is set up outside the Federal budget, so any money another bureau can siphon out of this fund will not show up as an increase in the budget totals.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include a news report by Jack Steele of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, and an editorial, both of which appear today in the Washington Daily News. They refer to the disclosure of this maneuver made to the House by the distinguished and alert gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS].

The news article and editorial follow:

LABOR WOULD DIVERT $365,000 TO OWN USE—HIGHWAY TRUST FUND RAID BARED

(By Jack Steele)

A brazen raid on the trust fund of the interstate highway system has been uncovered by Congress.

Unless the raid is stopped, it will open the way to divert many millions of dollars from the highway trust fund to pay for the ordinary expenses of the Government. The fund is not counted as part of the Federal budget.

The attempt to divert these highway funds has been brought to light by Representative HALE BOGGS, Democrat, of Louisiana, who authored the tax section of last year's highway bill which set up the trust fund.

PURPOSE

One purpose of the fund was to insure that highway user taxes paid by motorists and truckers would not be diverted for purposes other than building roads.

The Labor Department is responsible for the current raid on the trust fund—under the guise of using the money to enforce wage standards for labor employed in building the road network.

The Department's 1958 appropriation bill, now pending in the House, includes $365,000 for its solicitor's office to be diverted from the highway trust fund.

The money ostensibly is to be used to determine prevailing wage rates which must be paid by road contractors under the so-called Davis-Bacon provision of the highway act.

APPLICABLE TO MANY

This Davis-Bacon Act, since it was first passed by Congress back in the mid-1930's, has been made applicable to most Federal public works projects.

But never before has the money for administering the act been charged to the funds for such projects. The Labor Department has made the wage determinations necessary under the act as part of its job of protecting labor standards.

Representative BOGGS called the attention of the House last Friday to the Labor Department's departure from this practice to raid the highway fund.

He charged that the move completely and totally violates every concept of the highway trust fund. He noted that the highway act provides that the trust fund may be used only for actual road building and for the administrative expenses of the Bureau of Public Roads.

SOLICITOR'S RULING

Yet the Labor Department's solicitor has ruled that by implication the highway funds also may be used for his office, he said.

By the same reasoning, Representative BOGGS warned, the Treasury Department might charge the highway trust fund for the cost of collecting taxes and the Justice and Defense Departments for any expenses they incur, however vaguely connected with the road program.

"We have here a precedent which, if we are not careful, will open the highway trust fund to every agency of the Government which can conceivably make the assertion that it has some function to perform incidental to the construction of roads," he said.

"If we are not careful we will place ourselves in a position where the bulk of the trust fund will be utilized for other purposes than the construction of roads."

STOP THE SNITCHING

When Congress last year voted to impose a series of special taxes—on motor vehicles, tires and fuels—it was made clear that all the revenue from these taxes would go for one purpose—to build highways.

Now, it turns out, the Labor Department is out to grab $365,000 out of this trust fund to pay for some incidental work it is supposed to do in connection with the program.

Once this type of business gets started, every department will be trying to tap this fund for real or fancied expenses it claims because it has an indirect hand in the program. It is one way to get spending money without having it toted up in the budget.

Representative HALE BOGGS, of Louisiana, who uncovered this scheme, tried to knock it out in the House, but was blocked. He says he will take his fight to the Senate. Good boy.

And he says, let this thing get started and we'll wind up with more of the money going for bureaucracy than for roads. It's tricky budgeting and a violation of the whole pay-as-we-go theme of the Federal highway program. Mr. BOGGS deserves a lot of help from the Senate.

Bureaucrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMMET F. BYRNE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been directed to a splendid editorial I read today in the Fact Finder. It is most timely, and I would like permission to insert it in the RECORD:

"The lessons of paternalism ought to be unlearned and the better lesson taught, that while the people should patriotically and cheerfully support their Government, its functions do not include the support of the people."

Did you ever see a dog covered with ticks? These parasites dig their heads beneath his skin and draw his lifeblood out to swell themselves up. If allowed to remain, they multiply until the poor dog is covered with them. Then, if nothing is done, it is only a matter of time before the ticks bleed the dog to death. That is what is happening to us Americans today. The bloodsuckers are the bureaucrats who bleed us of our earnings by unreasonable taxation so that they can swell with power through their inflationary spending.

These bureaucrats were not elected by the people. Years ago, politicians appointed them to office in the Federal bureaus. Today they are protected in their jobs by civil-service laws. Administration after administration, they live on our earnings that are taxed away to support their Socialist schemes—programs they claim are for our welfare but which are actually destroying our financial independence and security. These social planners employed in the Government bureaus are the bloodsuckers of American progress.

They destroy, they rob, they take away, they kill our chances to better ourselves, our hopes for financial independence, our plans for our own business, our dreams of a college education for our children, our goal of happiness and travel in later years. Who?—the bureaucrats.

How is it they can rob us of our hopes and ambitions for the future? By the huge Federal budgets they plan, they drain us of our economic independence. They tax us beyond our ability to pay and still take care of ourselves.

But, you say, taxes are necessary to support the Government.

Yes, but who determines how much of the Government's spending is necessary? Nonelected people in the executive departments of our Government—like Health, Education, and Welfare—the bureaucrats.

Who plans the budget of the Government's colossal spending program that calls for such high taxes? Our representatives in Congress? No; they merely vote for or against the tax bills to cover the budget prepared by these planners in the Federal bureaus The budget is so involved that our Congressmen know little or nothing about it. So the social planners hold the upper hand. They have gained power for themselves by spending billions through their bureaus year after year. They tax away our earnings to spend them on our so-called welfare. (As if these bigots know more than we do about our own welfare.) They return very little of our money after their costs and giveaways, their salaries, and other waste. These people who call themselves "liberals."

Let's tell our Congressmen that we've had enough. The Constitution plainly states that only Congress has the power to tax. Congress, the representatives of the people, must regain control of our Government. They must starve out these social welfare state bureaucrats before they bleed us to death. Where must Congress start?

If Congress will cut the Federal aid programs in the budget, they can cut our taxes greatly.

But shifty politicians tell us that in voting for Federal aid they are only doing what the people demand. What people? Do the people themselves demand these give-away programs, or is it the leaders of the pressure groups who demand them? And do they speak for the American people?

Many people are led to believe that our record peacetime Federal budget is all necessary to defense. This is not true. U. S. News & World Report points out that $14 billion a year in the current budget is for welfare, as against just a little over $3 billion 10 years ago. And that doesn't include programs for farmers and ailing veterans, which come to $10½ billion without hurting anyone but the Socialists and the Communists. (You remember that both Lenin and Stalin said they would cause us to spend ourselves into bankruptcy.)

It was the scheme of Karl Marx to use the graduated income tax "to soak the rich and share the wealth." Just how does that tax work in America today? Who pays the bulk of our taxes now? We do, the great American middle class. The people who work for a living and should be saving for our old age.

Congressman LAWRENCE SMITH, of Wisconsin, shows that of the $29.4 billion collected by the individual income tax, only 16 percent comes from the surtax, which starts after the first $2,000 of taxable income. Over 84 percent of the total individual income tax revenue comes from the basic 20 percent tax rate which we all pay. The income tax today not only soaks the rich, it soaks everyone. And the more service you render the higher is your tax. This discourages ambition as it kills incentive. That means another loss to us because it limits the amount of goods and services produced. And a further loss, as it results in higher costs and higher prices. You can see how, slowly but surely, the Communist tax system of Karl Marx is destroying American free enterprise, prosperity, and progress as it kills individual incentive and initiative.

This means we are not only losing our American opportunity system, but we're also being robbed of our savings for our children's education, for independence in our own business, for our old age retirement and for our peace of mind and pleasure in future years. We are being robbed of all this today by socialist planners in our Federal Government who don't believe in private education, personal savings, individual investment or free enterprise. They think they know what's best for everyone—and that they have the right to take our money, making us go to them in the future for the things we want and need and deserve because we earned them throughout our working years.

These socialists in the Federal bureaus will become our masters, even though we never elected them as our representatives, unless we act now to get them out of power. We can do this only through our Representatives in Congress. We must write our Congressmen now, if we value our independence, and demand a tax reduction that will cut the Federal spenders' power to spend our money. Then with our own money, we can fulfill our own responsibilities, as God intended we should, about our future years, our children's education, our charity, our investments, and our service to mankind. If we don't stand up now and demand our rights, we'll deserve what we get.

Fuming at Budget Cuts, Ike Forgets a Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. CARLTON LOSER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to call to the attention of the House a most timely editorial appearing in the Nashville (Tenn.) Tennessean, of March 29, 1957. It is particularly impressive just at this time when we are considering the President's budget.

The editorial follows:

FUMING AT BUDGET CUTS, IKE FORGETS A CHALLENGE

Seldom, if ever, has President Eisenhower been less logical or convincing than when he sought to defend his record-breaking peacetime budget from the cuts being effected by an economy-minded Congress.

Though the Chief Executive passed the buck to Congress on this issue, he has at the same time delineated the fields in which reduction would, in his opinion, be dangerous to the national economy. The assumption was that he would welcome other slashes which were, in the lawmakers' opinion, appropriate.

Yet now he parrots the poet who wrote, "Woodman, spare that tree! Touch not a single bough!"

More than anything else, he appears to be incensed because Congress has accepted his challenge and proceeded to pare down the budget on a piecemeal basis. There have even been cuts in funds sought for operation of the White House.

This is not what the President bargained for, and it frustrates him no end.

Neither Republicans nor Democrats in Congress are impressed with his argument that if massive budget reductions cannot be made it is "fatuous" to make small ones, even though they will add up to a considerable sum in the end. Mr. Eisenhower simply cannot have it both ways.

In this connection, a significant comment has been made by Representative JOHN TABER, Republican, of New York, leader of the GOP fiscal conservatives in the House. "Piecemeal cuts might be called fatuous," he said.

"But," he continued, "when you don't have any other kind available to you, you have to take what you can get."

In their present mood, the lawmakers will continue to lop off the boughs so dear to the President's heart, and in doing so will show far more understanding of the public mood than the Chief Executive who overlooked the growing opposition to lavish spending in a time of high prosperity.

"Spend and spend, and tax and tax," was a phrase coined when the New Deal was acting to pull the Nation out of a depression. But those who thought the principle involved might be useful in selling the so-called New Republicanism were guilty of a colossal mistake.

Mr. Eisenhower was wrong when, in submitting his $71.8 billion budget, he asserted that this was what the people demanded. Treasury Secretary Humphrey did not concur in this viewpoint and had the courage to break with his Chief on the policy of deficit spending. Because he knows a good deal more about budgetary matters than the President, Mr. Humphrey's declaration that the totals could be cut has been taken at face value.

And now that official Washington, at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, has heard from those who pay the bills, it is shown that Mr. Humphrey was far cannier than his boss.

There has indeed been some frivolous criticism of the budget, but that does not affect the general feeling that it should be dealt with in consideration of the public's ability to pay, and with the thought of easing the taxload instead of increasing it. There is no mood for supporting the New Republicanism in the manner its founders believe to be helpful. And it is on this basis that many Members of Mr. Eisenhower's own party in Congress have turned against him.

We do not wonder, in such circumstances, that the President's confidence has been badly shaken, but his present dilemma is something which might have been anticipated when he sought to wash his hands of the whole matter while challenging Congress to do its best, or worst.

While slashing the estimates, Congress can be heartened by the evidence that any favors along this line—even the smallest ones—will be gratefully received by the taxpayers.

Mideast Payoff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, if democracy is to survive, we must keep faith with all democracies of the world. The present administration is now wrestling with the problem of whether it should let one of them down. In this connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Journal-American of March 22, 1957:

MIDEAST PAYOFF

These are showdown days in the Middle East.

Between truce and war, the answer lies in places thousands of miles apart.

It lies in the meetings of Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary General of the United Nations, with President Nasser of Egypt and Premier Ben-Gurion of Israel; in the talks between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan in Bermuda.

Chiefly the answer rests with the determination of the Eisenhower administration to keep its moral commitments.

They are moral commitments, no matter in what words they were clothed, to use the influence of this Nation to prevent resumption of border raids from the Gaza strip; to assure Israel freedom of passage in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal.

These are the payoff chips. Let us hope the administration is prepared to back its hand.

A Plan for German Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article in the current issue of the New Leader, by Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the British Labor Party, entitled "A Plan for German Unity":

Reunification is a subject upon which most Germans feel very deeply. But this desire for reunification is not shared to the same extent by the peoples of other European countries, particularly those who have suffered in the past from German invasion. Some of them feel that perhaps it is as well that Germany should remain weak and divided.

Nevertheless, nobody can really say that the German problem is in a satisfactory condition at present. Despite the decisions on rearmament and her membership in NATO, Germany is even now not really fully integrated into the West. She has a natural reluctance to involve herself in the burden of rearmament, which to some people may even seem praiseworthy in view of her past history. She sees that membership in NATO and the decision to rearm have not apparently brought reunification any nearer, although this was the claim always made by the German Chancellor. She sees that NATO itself is not so powerful as at one time was expected. She knows well that the NATO contingents, even with her limited forces, will be little more than a trip-wire. She is not convinced that German soil is going to be defended to the end. She feels, on the contrary, that, as things are, it is likely to be abandoned in the early stages of any conflict with Russia. It is hardly surprising, in these circumstances, that the German people from time to time turn to the possibility of some agreement which Germany might make on her own with Russia.

Happily, however, if the West has its problems and troubles, so also has the Soviet Union. We have to thank the incredible heroism of the Hungarians, and the firm courage of the Poles, for bringing this home to us in the last few months. They have thrown a most vivid light, now apparent to the rest of the world, upon the real feelings of the peoples of the satellite countries, and have shown that the rule of the Communist puppet governments is only kept in being by the tanks and artillery of the Soviet Army. And how exhilarating to find that in the very section of the community most completely exposed to the Communist monopoly of education and propaganda—the younger generation—opposition to the regime and to Communist values is strongest.

The plain fact is that, in our defense planning and its political framework, we did not envisage such a situation. Our flash points were such events as the blockade of Berlin, the threat to Yugoslavia, and always the possibility of Russian troops advancing directly into West Germany. But for us to take the initiative in breaking through the Iron Curtain to help people on the other side of it was a prospect for which we had never really provided.

On the whole, I think it most likely that the movement of opinion within both the satellite states and Russia will continue to create an unstable and fluid situation. On that assumption, what kind of policy should we try to follow in Europe?

First of all, as regards Germany, it is surely clear that the present situation cannot be allowed to continue indefinitely. In West Germany, there is every prospect that after the next election there will be a change of government in some form and that the new government will be expected either to persuade its Western allies to put forward new initiatives or itself to instigate direct talks with Russia on the problem of reunification.

But, secondly, as has recently been pointed out by the German Foreign Minister, there is the question of what will happen if a rising takes place in East Germany. In 1953, West Germany had no armed forces. But it will soon have some. It will not be easy to prevent their going to the help of their compatriots in East Germany if anything like a Hungarian rising occurs there. Yet if this were to happen, all Europe might be faced with a highly dangerous situation; for it is most unlikely that the Russians would be prepared to stand aside. If they intervened, then exactly what would be the attitude of Germany's allies in NATO?

The aims of the West in this situation are obvious: We wish to see the satellite states regain their freedom without war or any serious consequential risk of a future war.

But what of the Russian outlook? A peaceful solution must ultimately depend on the willingness of Russia to make terms with us. There is little doubt that Russia would be glad to avoid the dangerous position created by a rising in East Germany and that it will try to prevent this by keeping a very tight hand on the Communist Party and the puppet government there. But the Russians may not find it so easy. In general, they face a very grave dilemma in their policy toward the satellite states. If they insist on rigid control over the local Communist Parties, they may create exactly the situations which have already developed in Poland and Hungary. If, on the other hand, they are content to give up their control, then they have no reliable instrument with which to assert themselves except the Soviet Army. Therefore, for them as well as for the West a continuation of the present situation is not going to be at all easy.

What change would they be prepared to contemplate, and at what price? The key surely is security. They are probably not so worried about this as they were a few years ago. The development of nuclear weapons must have given them a great deal of confidence about any possible land attack from the West. For we may fairly assume that they will be much less inhibited in the use of such weapons in defense than the West would be.

If, then, they face the prospect of grave political trouble in the satellite states, if in any event they have to yield many of the economic advantages they have gained from exploitation in recent years, if the strategic value of these territories has declined, if in addition they could obtain some further concessions on security, is it not just conceivable that the Russians might be willing on their side to withdraw their forces from the satellite states?

It seems to me that the prospect is at least worth exploring. The path to be followed seems to me an extension of the Eden plan put forward in 1955. It was at that time proposed that there should be a withdrawal of forces from the frontiers between East and West Germany, leaving within Germany itself a zone in which there were no foreign troops. Would it not be possible to extend the area of such a zone until it covered, say, the whole of Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary—and, if possible, Rumania and Bulgaria?

The withdrawal could be a gradual one, taking place over a period of time. It would have to be subject to control, as would also the size and character of whatever national forces it was agreed that the countries in question should possess. But here the latest proposals of the Russians themselves for a zone in which there would be both aerial and ground controls might be appropriately introduced. Indeed, one could envisage the whole plan as forming part of a wider move toward a comprehensive disarmament agreement between the great powers.

In the early stages it might be advisable to leave the alliances unchanged. To begin with, both NATO and the Warsaw Pact might continue. But if foreign troops withdrew, it is doubtful whether this situation could last long. Indeed, the Russians might refuse to contemplate the plan without neutralization on both sides from the start. They would assume, no doubt, that the satellite countries would prefer to be neutral, and they would therefore wish to insure that Germany was neutral as well. I believe that this is a risk which we ought to take.

I was myself never favorable to the idea of a neutralized Germany as the sole condition for reunification. I believed that if a reunified Germany were neutralized and outside NATO, there was a real danger that in time the Russians would come to dominate her. One envisaged the Russian tanks suddenly moving across the frontiers, and before long the whole of the territory under Soviet control. And there was the other danger of the Communists staging a coup d'etat internally while the West looked on impotent. I had little faith that the democracies would move quickly enough to prevent this. There was also the different, but equally sinister, possibility—that Russia would make a deal with Germany at the expense of Poland.

But none of these dangers would be serious in a plan involving a much wider neutral bloc and the withdrawal of the Red army to Russia. The weakening of the Communist Party in eastern and central Europe would greatly reduce any risks of this kind. And, together with the permanent controls on arms in these territories, there should be a multilateral European security plan, in which the various states in the neutral zone would have their territories guaranteed by the great powers as well as by each other.

One other matter would have to be cleared up, the settlement of the frontiers of Germany and Poland. It seems most unlikely that any substantial change can be made in the existing frontiers. The populations have moved and settled down, and I do not believe that either the Poles or the Russians would agree to drastic revision. Both Dr. Carlo Schmid and Heinrich von Brentano deserve much credit for their courage in facing this issue in recent speeches. I hope that the Germans themselves would feel that the renunciation of claims to the pre-1945 territories would be a worthwhile price for reunification and the freedom of the satellite countries.

Finally, I must underline that in any plan of this kind American troops should stay in Europe—in the Low Countries, France, and Britain. In short, NATO should not retreat farther back than the frontiers of Germany.

I should be the first to recognize that any such plan could only be brought about as a result of very long negotiations and subject

to a great deal of modification. The first stage would be for the Western Powers to try to reach agreement on it themselves. But it seems to me, apart from anything else, that we owe it to the peoples of the satellite countries, at least, to examine what can be done to win freedom for them by diplomatic means.

By Helicopter to Burning Tree?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 19, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to the following editorial that appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of March 29. I believe that these remarks are most pertinent and present a side of this issue that we should all bear in mind.

The editorial follows:

BY HELICOPTER TO BURNING TREE

President Eisenhower was visibly annoyed when a reporter asked him at his news conference Wednesday whether he would consider, as an economy measure, doing without "that pair of helicopters that have been proposed for getting you out to the golf course a little faster than you can make it in a car."

It was a smart-aleck question, not designed to elicit information but to put the President on the spot, and we don't blame Mr. Eisenhower for being burned up. As a matter of fact, though, the President exercised considerable restraint when he merely said: "Well, I don't think much of the question, because no helicopters have been procured for me to go to the golf course—thank you, that is all."

This incident raises an issue, however, which is simply this: What's wrong with the President using a helicopter to go anywhere he pleases, including the Burning Tree golf course, if it will save him time and if weather permits?

Two helicopters are being obtained for the President's use between the National Airport and the White House grounds to avoid traffic delays, one for the President and his aids and the other for Secret Service men. When the question was asked whether they might also be used for trips to the Burning Tree Club, Presidential Secretary Jim Hagerty said he could not rule out that possibility but that there were no present plans for such trips.

We think there is no reason why they shouldn't be used for this purpose. The helicopters were proposed, not so much for the convenience of the President, whose motorcade gets the green light wherever it goes, but to prevent traffic tieups in Washington caused by the blocking of streets and the gathering of sightseers wherever the President goes.

Presumably traffic jams have occurred just as often when the President is motoring to and from the Burning Tree Club as they have when he is motoring to and from the airport.

Other Presidents have played golf and have engaged in other forms of recreation and have used the most up-to-date transportation available. Why shouldn't President Eisenhower travel by helicopter if he wants to? Or should he be required to walk to the Burning Tree Club when he feels the need to play a round of golf?

The United Nations and Public Understanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOS. E. MARTIN
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Hon. Francis O. Wilcox, Assistant Secretary of State, before the National Council of Jewish Women on March 19 on the subject The United Nations and Public Understanding.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the article will make 2½ pages of the RECORD, at a cost of $192.50.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNITED NATIONS AND PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING

(Address by the Honorable Francis O. Wilcox, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, Before the National Council of Jewish Women at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., Tuesday, March 19, 1957)

I am happy to take part in your public affairs panel this morning. The National Council of Jewish Women has a long and distinguished record of fostering enlightened understanding of national and international problems.

Your organization reflects an important segment of American opinion. Your help and your understanding will continue to be needed very much as we seek to establish through the United Nations the basis for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

I am glad to have the opportunity to be here to discuss some aspects of critical issues before the United Nations. The intense glare of publicity that has attended every step of the negotiations on Hungary and on the Middle East has not always been illuminating. It has at times perhaps highlighted the unessential, even the nonexistent, and at other times cast into deep shadow the main lines of policy and action. I should like to try to set in focus the role of the United States in the United Nations and the role of the United Nations in dealing with world problems, especially aggression and threats to the peace.

Set in its simplest terms it is United States policy to support the United Nations and to work through it to establish and maintain peace and well-being among nations. We believe it holds the best hope for the security and well-being of the American people.

We attempt to conduct our relations with other nations in conformity with the purposes and the principles of the United Nations Charter. We avoid the use of force as a means of settling disputes between ourselves and other states. If a problem arises which properly belongs in the United Nations, we use our influence to bring it there. If, in our opinion, it is not a United Nations matter, we urge its settlement by other means.

The United Nations is a political organization which has its proper uses and its limitations. It is not a remedy for all the world's ills. Misunderstanding on this score is, I think, the basis of most criticism of both the United States role in the United Nations and the role of the United Nations when attempting to deal with world crises.

LIMITATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

This past year has been a year of grave tests for the United Nations and a time of peril for world peace. The situations that arose in Egypt and in Hungary provided both the peril to mankind and the tests for the efficacy of the United Nations. These issues have in common the fact that military force was used by one nation against another. This is the ultimate issue the United Nations was designed to meet and solve. The degree of success achieved by the United Nations to date in restoring peace with justice is a gage of its capabilities and its limitations as a peace-enforcing institution. Even more important, in my opinion, it is a measure of the extent to which member states will permit it to perform its peace-making functions.

The criticism has been leveled at the United Nations that it has proved weak and ineffective. This was charged not only in the case of Hungary because of the Assembly's inability to get the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces, but also in the Middle East when compliance with the recommendations of the General Assembly lagged.

We must face the fact that with great power disunity reflected in the Security Council, the United Nations, for the time being, is handicapped in preventing breaches of the peace and bringing about restoration of peace. The role of the General Assembly is largely one of discussion and recommendation.

This does not mean, however, that the United Nations is without power to influence the conduct of nations. In some ways it may be likened to the role of the policeman in a community. In a well ordered community he is a symbol of law and order, an arbiter, created by the community for its own protection. Called in on a dispute, he is not set upon by the mob. He is permitted to exercise a power which he does not in himself posses. But this means that the community must be back of him.

The world, unfortunately, is not yet wholly made up of such communities. The General Assembly must still play a limited role based largely on the constructive power of world public opinion.

This state of affairs has not been fully appreciated in the two great issues with which the United Nations is still seized.

The United States, because of the leading role it has played in this historical session of the General Assembly, has shared to a considerable degree both the public approval of the United Nations successes and the criticisms of its failures.

In this connection, may I remind you that the United Nations can only do what its members want and permit it to do. We should not make the mistake, therefore, of blaming the organization for the doubts, the uncertainties, and shortcomings displayed by its members.

THE CRISIS IN EGYPT AND HUNGARY

The problems presented to the United Nations by the crises in Egypt and Hungary are well known. There was a fundamental difference in the nature of these problems, however. In Hungary Soviet troops, ostensibly there to protect Hungarian territory from outside aggression, turned their guns inward against the defenseless Hungarian people whose only crime was to seek peaceably a government of their choice. In Egypt, on the other hand, the clash was between the armed forces of the states involved.

Moreover, the Israeli attack occurred as a result of a long series of serious provocations and violations of the Armistice Agreement. There was no such conceivable excuse in the case of the Soviet use of armed force against Hungary.

Events so turned out that the United States found itself taking the lead in United Nations action in the case of both Egypt and

Hungary. In neither instance did we really have any choice of the role we were to play. Both were instances of the use of force against the territorial integrity of another state.

In the former case, it was our grievous task to bring the charge of violation of the United Nations Charter against our friends and allies; in the latter, against a government and a system which is the implacable foe of freedom.

We pride ourselves on being a nation of laws, not of men. The U. N. Charter likewise provides that nations conduct their relations on the basis of international law and justice.

We had to say to ourselves that if we ever hope to get anywhere with the peaceful settlement of disputes we must constantly take a stand against recourse to military force, as a matter of principle, and in the interest of our own nation as well as world peace. Speaking to the Nation on the Middle East situation on February 20, President Eisenhower said: "It is an issue which can be solved if only we will apply the principles of the United Nations."

Our reason for going to the United Nations, then, was to defend this fundamental principle—not because we were pro-Arab or pro-Israel or anti-Russian, or because we were for or against any state or group of states.

I think there was no lack of public understanding and support in this country for the decisions taken by the United Nations on both areas of conflict. Certainly there was wide and strong backing from the membership of the United Nations. There was, however great public impatience with the delay in the Middle East and the flat refusal in Hungary to comply with the terms of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly aimed at restoring peace. It was quickly forgotten that in both cases what the United Nations was doing, or trying to do, was dependent on the voluntary cooperation of the offending states and the states offended against. The reason for this, of course, is that only the Security Council may make decisions of a compulsory character in such instances. With the power of the Security Council weakened by the veto, the United Nations has had to fall back on the General Assembly which has only the power to recommend.

Given these circumstances, I believe we should be encouraged by what the United Nations has so far accomplished in the Middle East. It has shown that the conscience and the moral consensus of the vast majority of United Nations members, when the chips are down, favors peaceful settlement of disputes and adherence to commitments assumed under the charter, even when such course seems to run counter to individual national interests.

In the case of Hungary, the United Nations inability to secure compliance with its urgent and repeated recommendations has caused deep concern not only to the American people and Government, but to free peoples throughout the world. In the circumstances, it has been, perhaps, only natural for segments of public opinion to oversimplify the problem in seeking to place the blame. It has been charged that the United Nations is weak and futile; it has been urged that Hungary and the Soviet Union be thrown out of the United Nations for their defiance; it has been argued that the United Nations and the United States have applied a double standard, one for the weak and one for the strong.

I would like to attempt some clarification of this latter point. In his broadcast to the American people the night of October 31 on the critical situations in Hungary and the Middle East, President Eisenhower said: "There can be no peace without law. And there can be no law—if we were to invoke one code of international conduct for those who oppose us—and another for our friends."

Though he was speaking about the attack on Egypt at the time, the record shows that the United States and the United Nations consistently adhered to this principle. The standard applied to the use of force in Egypt was likewise applied to the use of force in Hungary. The essential difference was that the countries directly concerned in the Middle East crisis responded to offers of United Nations assistance to bring about a peaceful settlement. In Hungary, such assistance was flatly refused. Had the response been the reverse there would now be no United Nations emergency force in the Middle East with a deterioration of the situation there which I leave to your imagination.

THE HUNGARIAN SITUATION

The crux of the problem of Hungary was what can the United Nations do when one of the major powers refuses to cooperate with the peacemaking efforts of the General Assembly?

The answers are fairly simple but not very satisfactory. We could attempt to terminate its United Nations membership. This is obviously not a very practical solution since the concurrence of the permanent members of the Security Council is required.

The General Assembly could recommend certain political measures such as breaking diplomatic relations. Unless it could persuade a large proportion of United Nations members to do likewise, this would not be a very effective sanction and in the case of the United States, would cut us off from a useful diplomatic contact.

The General Assembly could also recommend economic sanctions. Again, unless a large number of nations could be persuaded to join in such sanctions, the pressure thus exerted would be relatively slight. This is especially the case with the U. S. S. R. and its satellites whose total resources are great and where trade and economic relations with the West are already on a very small scale.

There is, of course, the possibility of attempting to introduce United Nations observer personnel, but their entrance would require the consent of the state concerned.

The final recourse would be to recommend the use of military forces. There is not the remotest likelihood, with the dangers involved in the atomic age, that the United Nations would vote for the latter action.

Depressing as this picture may be, it reflects the situation in which the world finds itself at the present time. This does not mean, however, that because outlaws exist in the world community, that the rule of law should not be applied wherever possible.

May I add just a word here about the so-called double standard? This is nothing new. In effect, the double standard was built into the United Nations Charter when the veto provision was inserted at San Francisco. This gave the great powers a privileged position in the organization.

But I think that we seriously misread recent history if we believe United Nations resolutions on Hungary failed to have an impact on the Soviet Union and its satellite system. These resolutions put the Soviet Union's barbarous misdeeds squarely under the white light of world opinion. They did more to expose the implacable and diabolical nature of international communism than anything that has happened since World War II. Perhaps more important, the inherent weakness of a system that has to rely on force alone to impose its will on the majority was shockingly revealed.

The Secretary of State at Canberra last week said, "Throughout the satellite area, there is a revulsion against the brutal colonialism and exploitation of Soviet imperialism." It is my opinion that this revulsion, as a result of the facts revealed in General Assembly debate, has extended to the corners of the free world.

THE MIDDLE EAST

There was a great deal of public controversy over the possibility of the United Nations imposing sanctions against Israel. Now it is true that at one time it appeared that a majority of United Nations members might have felt themselves compelled to impose sanctions if other methods had failed to bring about Israel troop withdrawal from Egypt and the Gaza strip. As a member of the United Nations, the United States would have had to take its stand on such an issue should it have arisen.

We believed it essential that Israel should withdraw in its own best interests. This we felt was a necessary prelude to a solution of other problems in the Middle East.

I think it significant that the use of traditional bilateral diplomacy to supplement United Nations action with regard to the Middle East problem was of major importance in preventing the matter of sanctions becoming a divisive issue in the United Nations. In this connection, I would like to quote a statement of the delegate of Ceylon to the General Assembly after Israel had announced its intention to withdraw: "I, as a humble representative of a small nation, would like to pay my tribute to the Government of the United States of America for creating a set of circumstances which enabled the withdrawal of Israel troops. It is, in my opinion, a very useful act in the solution of the troubles before us."

UNITED STATES POSITION ON GAZA AND SHARM-EL-SHEIKH

The United States position on the Middle East problem has been made clear in various public documents beginning with the February 11 aide-memoire. During the long weeks in which the General Assembly has been occupied with the grave situation in the Middle East, the United States has sought a solution which would be based on justice and which would take account of the legitimate interests of all parties. On March 1 Israel announced in the General Assembly that it had decided to make full and prompt withdrawal behind the armistice lines in accordance with the General Assembly's resolution of February 2, 1957.

In the course of this announcement, the Foreign Minister of Israel made certain declarations which, for the most part, constituted restatements of what had been said in the General Assembly or by the Secretary General in his reports, or hopes and expectations which seemed to the United States not unreasonable in the light of prior actions of the Assembly.

On March 1, Ambassador Lodge, speaking for the United States in the General Assembly, took note of the statement of the Secretary General of February 22 in which he reported Egypt's readiness and willingness to make special and helpful arrangements in Gaza with the United Nations and some of its auxiliary bodies. In this connection, Ambassador Lodge said: "Obviously these matters are not for the United States alone to decide, but the United States can, I think, properly entertain the hope that such a useful role for the United Nations and its appropriate subsidiary bodies as the Secretary General has described could usefully continue until there is a definitive settlement respecting the Gaza strip or some final general agreement between the parties."

With respect to the situation in the area along the Gulf of Aqaba and the Strait of Tiran the United States position remains as stated in Ambassador Lodge's General Assembly speech of March 1: "It is essential that units of the United Nations Emergency Force be stationed at the Strait of Tiran in order to achieve there the separation of Egyptian and Israeli land and sea forces. This separation is essential until it is clear that the nonexercise of any claimed belligerent rights has established in practice the peaceful conditions which must govern navigation in waters having such an international interest. All of this would, of course, be without prejudice to any ultimate determination which may be made of any legal question concerning the Gulf of Aqaba."

Since then developments in Gaza have moved rapidly. We have kept in close touch with U. N. Secretary General Hammarskjold and with various members of the United Nations. Just yesterday Mrs. Meir, Foreign Minister of Israel, called at the Department of State to "express her deep concern at the return of Egypt to Gaza, the reestablishment of its control therein and the reduction of responsibilities of the United Nations in the Gaza area." Mrs. Meir pointed out that Israel viewed this situation as contrary to the assumptions and expectations expressed by her and others in the United Nations on March 1 and subsequently. She also expressed her anxiety at reports and statements envisaging restrictions against Israeli shipping in the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba, and the maintenance of belligerency by Egypt.

Secretary Dulles reaffirmed that the United States policy continued to be as publicly expressed in the speech of Ambassador Lodge in the United Nations General Assembly on March 1 and in the President's letter of March 2 to Prime Minister Ben-Gurion. This Secretary reaffirmed "that the United States would continue to use its influence in seeking the objectives of peace and tranquility and the avoidance of any situation which would negate the great efforts which had been made by the world community to settle the current disputes in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter." The United States stands firmly by the hopes and expectations it had expressed with regard to the situation which should prevail in the area with respect to the exercise of the responsibility of the United Nations in Gaza, the free and innocent passage of the Straits of Tiran by the ships of all nations in accordance with international law, and the settlement of the Suez Canal problem in accordance with the six principles adopted by the Security Council and accepted by Egypt.

This Government will use its influence in every appropriate way to assist the Secretary General and the parties concerned to carry out the recommendations of the General Assembly and to create peaceful conditions in the area.

Very critical times remain with us. We have made progress along the road toward our objectives in the Middle East but the road ahead is long and difficult.

Our objectives have not changed. Through the United Nations there has been accomplished a cease-fire, the withdrawal of forces and the clearance of the Suez Canal has almost been completed. Immediately before us is the necessity for agreeing on interim arrangements for use of the Canal and moving on to solution of the basic problems which gave rise to the present crisis. It is not sufficient to put out the fire, we must prevent it from breaking out again.

Getting at and removing the root causes is a formidable task. It is more than enough to challenge the patience of a job and the wisdom of a Solomon. But can anyone seriously believe that a lasting peace will be possible so long as the boundaries between Israel and her neighbors remain unsettled and a feeling of insecurity pervades the entire area? Can we hope to avoid serious difficulties in the future unless real progress is made toward the solution of the refugee problem and the development of the area's natural resources?

The solutions to these problems are as difficult as they are necessary. To find them, the United States is determined to continue to use every appropriate means both within and without the United Nations. In the process, we shall be serving the cause of peace with justice everywhere.

ENLARGED UNITED NATIONS MEMBERSHIP

I would like now to turn briefly to a development in the United Nations of great importance and, of late, of great public interest. That is the recent rapid increase in the size of United Nations membership—especially from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. This reflects 1 of the great phenomena of the postwar period. In 12 years some 600 million people from this area have gained self-government or independence.

The United Nations is open for membership to all peace-loving countries able and willing to carry out the obligations of the charter. The United States favors, within this definition, a United Nations as broadly representative as possible.

A United Nations that has grown in less than 2 years from 60 to 81 members and in which the Afro-Asian States now constitute more than a third of the total presents new problems and, I think, new opportunities. I do not think that it is necessarily cause for alarm.

Those who are concerned point to the fact that the General Assembly, rather than the Security Council, has become the voice of the United Nations and its most influential body. The relative strength of the Latin American States has been reduced. The conflict over so-called colonial problems has been sharpened. With the recent increase in membership the Afro-Asian nations alone, if they stood together, could, no doubt, prevent the passage of any important resolution.

This situation requires careful consideration. In actuality, aside from the U. S. S. R. and its satellites, these blocs do not often vote as an entity. We think of Afro-Asian as a unit. In fact, it is extremely diverse and contains subblocs of an ethnic, religious, or political nature.

On certain fundamental issues the Afro-Asian nations do stand very solidly together. I refer particularly to colonialism and economic development. On these they are often joined by the so-called Latin American bloc.

The fact is that the people of the world, regardless of their military or economic strength, want an increasing voice in world affairs. In the United Nations, and especially in the General Assembly, they find this voice. The traditionally great powers of the West whose greater economic and military strength give them a preponderance of authority and responsibility must heed this voice if they desire wide support for their policies and actions. They do not have to heed it, of course, and the General Assembly cannot enforce its recommendations on other members.

In my opinion, what is required of United Nations members in the enlarged General Assembly, where each state has one vote, is a special sense of responsibility. The smaller and undeveloped countries do have a collective power far out of proportion to their economic, military, and political strength. If they abuse this power, the General Assembly can become a center of contention and deadlock. On the other hand, the great powers, if their cause is just, should not lack the support of the majority of the General Assembly on important issues.

I believe, if we examine the record, that the performance of the 11th General Assembly reflected in general this sense of responsibility of which I speak.

On the Algerian question, for example, two Asian states, Japan and Thailand, played a leading role in developing a procedural-type resolution which avoided exacerbating the situation. This was an excellent example of Assembly moderation and restraint. On the Cyprus question, the General Assembly similarly avoided prejudging any substantive solution by adopting a simple resolution which has helped maintain an atmosphere reasonably conducive to future negotiations. Here, too, an Asian state, India, was able to work out a compromise resolution generally acceptable to those principally concerned.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I should like to quote from an editorial in a recent issue of your magazine, Council Woman: "One thing is certain. The United Nations is the one solid hope of humanity for a peaceful and better world; and the United States can and must be its strongest supporter."

If the nations of the world had been compelled to live the past 12 years without a common meeting place; without basic rules by which they should conduct themselves; without machinery for the peaceful settlement of international differences; without a place to air disputes and seek agreements; then it is my opinion that the world might not have survived those 12 years. The stresses and strains have been so great; the ideological conflict so sharp, and the destructive power of the weapons available so immense, that without the unifying power of the United Nations we could have by this time, destroyed ourselves.

If the United Nations is indeed the one best hope we have for peace with justice, it is only common sense to use it as the cornerstone for a sound, creative foreign policy. This does not mean that the United Nations dictates foreign policy to us or any other country. But enlightened self-interest dictates that we bend every effort to make the United Nations serve with increasing effectiveness the common and fundamental desires of mankind for a world in which "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are not only possible but attainable.

Our National Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, as today marks the opening of the Jamestown festival marking the 350th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown, it is my pleasure to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a talk given by Dr. Ernest S. Griffith, Director of our Legislative Reference Service in the Library of Congress, entitled "Our National Heritage." This talk was given in February before our prayer breakfast group and has been since delivered on other occasions. it is one of the finest statements of our national heritage that I have had the privilege to hear, and I am placing it in the RECORD that others may take advantage of the same privilege:

OUR NATIONAL HERITAGE

This year marks the 350th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown. All over these United States the thoughts of men are devoted to the memory of our heritage, and the prayers of men are lifted that we may be faithful to this heritage. It is therefore fitting in this month of February, the month which is marked by the anniversaries of so many of the great men who have cherished this heritage, that in this Nation's Capital and in this group which acknowledges the God of our fathers, we should pause a while and examine the heritage itself.

There are so many things that might be said. We could talk about our language and literature. We could extol the great common law. We could dwell upon the theory of natural law which acknowledges the primacy of God in the laws of man. All of these themes would be appropriate.

Out of the many, many elements in our heritage which deserve honor, I would today single out 3 or 4 strands which are pecu-

larly appropriate to this prayer group. I regard them as peculiarly appropriate because it seems to me that each of the first three I shall mention has been greatly influenced by the fourth—which is our religious tradition. These three are constitutionalism, private enterprise, and the value we place on activity. May we consider each in turn?

For lawmakers the first and most obvious element in our national heritage is its tradition of constitutionalism. This tradition is not necessarily a tradition of democracy. That which came down to us from Magna Carta and from England was rather a belief that the sovereign was responsible under the law, that there were limitations to power—not that power must be widely shared. The earlier charters of Virginia, aristocratic as they were in their provisions, were miniature constitutions describing powers and duties of the governors and the governed. The Tudors of England were obligarchs, but they were oligarchs who acknowledged responsibility under the law to the welfare of England. It cost their successors, the Stuarts, a head and a throne for the English to prove to them that the divine right of kings had no place under English law.

A long history lay between the earlier aristocracies and oligarchies of most of the American Colonies and our democratic Republic of the present day. The strand that binds the old and the new together is not a broadly based popular suffrage—this came later—but a sense that governor and governed alike should be moral beings operating constitutionally. The frontier in due time was to hasten the spread of popular government. The fourth tradition, of which I spoke, itself played a part in setting the course of our government. Its religious expression took the form of the dignity and sacredness of the individual—that the individual had a soul, that he was a child of God. This is the authentic voice of the Declaration of Independence: That man is endowed by his Creator with certain unalienable rights. The American Revolution was based upon the twin ideas of the dignity of man and constitutionality in government. This tradition of constitutionalism declares war equally upon the tyranny of the dictator and the irresponsible tyranny of a majority rule which would violate the basic rights of man.

A second great element in this heritage of ours is the tradition of private enterprise, of the capitalist system. The people who came to Jamestown and those who sent them for the most part wanted to make money. There were exceptions among the early settlers of the United States of which the Pilgrims were perhaps the chief, but with varying degrees most of these early settlers came to better their economic conditions. They were enterprisers or they came as the result of enterprisers, individual and corporate. They were businessmen, and workers, and farmers looking for a living, not ashamed of the profit system. Britain, and for that matter all of western Europe, had broken loose from the shackles of feudalism. Left behind were the quietness and the dignity of the Middle Ages. Humanity was on the march, a march partly driven by greed, partly by adventure, but always in search of new ways of making a living. This capitalist, profit-seeking motive was and is part of our heritage, and of this we, too, need not be ashamed.

The tradition of our faith played its role in determining the course of this tradition of private enterprise. It would have been easy for capitalism to have become completely exploitive and ruthless. We did go through our era of "the public be damned." British capitalism in particular had its period of child labor and the long hours of women working in the mines, of degredation and poverty. It was in this period of capitalism in Britain that Karl Marx framed that philosophy out of his experience which time was to prove the great and terrible alternative to our own faith and way of life.

Why are we proud of capitalism today? Chiefly, it is because basically our religious faith added the dimension of conscience to the making of money. We in the United States have shown how the creative dynamic of business can unite with the basically religious sense of obligation to the community. Not that business is less successful thereby, but that business at its best becomes an instrument for raising the standard of living of people to a height that humanity has never before known. In the light of this tradition we have declared war on poverty and on the class struggle. Steadily, consistently, the tradition of our religious faith focused the spotlight of its principles upon one flaw after another in the capitalist system. It focused on slavery and slavery wilted under it. It focused on child labor and long hours of work in the mines, and they disappeared under it. It focused on the predatory practices of the capitalism of the 19th century and they too have been thrown back and disciplined in the common good. Today still there are, and probably always will be, frontiers for the fusion of these two traditions, the tradition of business and the tradition of conscience. In this meeting of the two, the tradition of conscience must win, not by the crushing of business but by its consecration, by making business into a profession, so that it may best make its contribution to our national welfare.

A third element in our great history is the tradition of restless activity, the tradition of energy and adventure. This is the tradition of those from Europe who could not bear the conventionalities of their day and age, who wanted nothing of a stratified, dormant society, who had within them that which sent them ever westward. We in the United States have drawn more than our share of the restless, active peoples of the world. Activity, often for its own sake, has marked our national career. Lest we fool ourselves into thinking that this tradition is necessarily a good one, we have only to think of the Germany of Hitler in which, under his leadership, action was made an end in itself, acknowledging no obligations outside the obligation to the greatness of Germany as defined by a madman.

Here too our religious tradition has determined the channels into which this tradition of activity has largely run. It is in this connection that the Puritan element in our heritage has been decisive. It has become fashionable to scoff at the Puritan, and the adjective "puritanical" is today a term of reproach. What a travesty on our national history. It is true that the Puritans went to certain extremes. We know that it was said of them that they were against bearbaiting, not because it gave pain to the bear but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. The pleasures of their day and age were for the most part debilitating and sensual. There are enough such pleasures abroad in our land today for us to understand something even of this point of view. It is not, however, of this which I would speak, nor is this at the heart of the Puritan creed. The Puritan tradition was first of all a tradition of individual responsibility, a responsibility which expressed itself in self-discipline. It was also a tradition of truth. It was a tradition of progress. It fused with the tradition of action and this fusion basically accounts for the great value which we in America today put upon constructive achievement. In this setting, it made its contribution to the stern strand of an individual's responsibility before his God for his conduct—a strand which has not yet, thank God, wholly left us.

Finally, I would speak of the Hebrew-christian religious tradition itself. We have seen how it fused with the other three already mentioned: how it fused with constitutionalism and aided it on its march to popular sovereignty; how it fused with the profit motive and consecrated it; how it fused with action and gave it moral content. These great faiths were of a God altogether righteous. These were faiths that called for belief to translate itself into conduct. We are accustomed to thinking of this heritage as somehow or other peculiarly associated with the Puritans and Pilgrims. But consider John Smith of Virginia. Among the things to which he was commissioned, was to preach to the Indians and save their souls. Whether we talk about the Catholic Calvert in Maryland or Roger Williams in Rhode Island, or the Dutch Calvinists of New Amsterdam, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the Pilgrims of Plymouth, or the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, the Presbyterians of the Great Valley, and many another group, here is the element in our tradition which has been the saving grace of our country. This it is which has taken these other traditions and made them into ideas and ideals at the very forefront of the governing principles of our everyday life.

How then shall we honor this heritage of ours? Our traditions are threatened from many sides. They are threatened by materialism; they are threatened by sensuality—and that was what I was thinking of when I stressed the importance of the Puritan element and the importance of fighting to the limit those forces that are threatening it. I am thinking also of threats more subtle than sensualism or materialism. There is the threat of communism. I know that the capitalism which Karl Marx experienced was worthy of much of the censure that he vented on it. But Karl Marx missed this fourth, the religious element in the tradition to which has belonged the victory. And this it is which we oppose to a Communist world, which does not have such faith in the sacredness of the individual. We are threatened also by an existentialism which centers the individual in himself and is doubtful about all else; and which in the end is doubtful about the individual, too. Man is more than a stream of consciousness. We are even threatened by too much exclusive reliance upon knowledge. Did it ever occur to you that millions, hundreds of millions of people today are being taught to read? Did it ever occur to you to question the wisdom of such instruction, if all they then read are Communist tracts or tabloids from the garbage? Education and knowedge are not enough. Ethics to stir the imperative of conscience are still needed.

But how do we best honor our heritage? Not merely by fighting its enemies; but by a great and affirmative dedication. Our tradition is a positive tradition, going forward, not as the Communists go forward, crushing the things that are in their path. Ours is an affirmative tradition, one which says to each and every individual of the world without reference to creed or color, stand on your feet as a man with the dignity of a Child of God.

"Oh beautiful for patriot dream that sees, beyond the years,
Thine alabaster cities gleam, undimmed by human tears!
America! America! God mend thine every flaw.
Confirm thy soul in self-control, thy liberty in law."

Alaska Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Affairs of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is now holding hearings on the question of Alaskan statehood. Statehood for Alaska has the endorsement both of the party to which the distinguished Presiding Officer [Mr. DOUGLAS] belongs, and of the Republican Party.

I ask unanimous consent that an excellent statement by the Secretary of the Interior in favor of Alaskan statehood be made a part of the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is indeed a pleasure to appear here today to present this statement, which Secretary Seaton has approved, on the subject of statehood for Alaska. As many of you know, Secretary Seaton has for a number of years been a staunch advocate of immediate statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

Secretary Seaton is still confined to Walter Reed Hospital for treatment for a back injury which flared up during his recent inspecial trip to Hawaii. He asked me to inform you that he volunteers to meet, if you should so wish, with your committee or representatives of it, at Walter Reed to discuss further at your convenience the statement I am presenting here today for him.

Before we proceed any further, let me make this clear: The administration's position is that all of the Territory of Alaska should become the State of Alaska. Because of the unique position of Alaska, however, we ask the Congress and the people of Alaska to grant to the President, the Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, special powers with respect to defense in this area.

Alaska became a part of this country 90 years ago. Its institutions and its economy are characteristically American. The people of Alaska have a vigor and self-reliance such as we ascribe to the men and women of our western frontier a few decades back.

Alaskans have courageously attacked the natural obstacles of their Territory's climate and terrain; they have built houses with modern conveniences, cities with modern facilities. To many thousands of Americans Alaska is home. It is for them a place to live, not a place to exploit and leave.

In 1867, when the United States purchased this vast area for $7,200,000, some called the purchase Seward's folly. The wisdom of this acquisition has now become clear to everybody. For evidence, one needs only to consider Alaska's strategic value to the people of the free world.

For a prolonged period Alaska developed slowly but steadily. In recent years its population and economy have grown rapidly. From 1950 to 1956 Alaska's civilian population increased from 108,000 to 161,000—48.6 percent. This Territory, with an area more than twice the size of Texas, is now reported by C. W. Snedden, publisher of America's farthest north newspaper, to be inhabited by about 212,500 people, including approximately 50,000 military personnel.

For many years fishing has been by far the Territory's greatest industry. Even in 1955, a relatively poor year, the aggregate wholesale value of this industry's output amounted to almost $70 million; 24,619 persons were at work in the Territory's commercial fisheries; of these, 6,745 were Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts. In 1955 employment in these commercial fisheries increased by 1,540 persons over 1954, an increase of 7 percent. The 1956 preliminary figures indicate that the salmon catch has increased about 25 percent.

Even more significant is the fact that new industries, based on such Alaskan products as pulp and timber, are being established. In all of these new operations, Alaska's timber will be managed on a sustained yield basis, with adequate provision for replenishment of the forest reserve during the cutting cycle. The first major pulp plant in Alaska, the Ketchikan Pulp Co., which began operations in 1954, is one of the most modern in the United States.

Representing an investment of more than $56 million, the plant was built as a joint enterprise of the American Viscose Corp. and the Pudget Sound Pulp & Timber Co. The plant uses modern methods which provide efficient production of pulp and, incidentally, do not cause pollution damage.

Other significant pulp and timber developments are expected at Sitka and Juneau. At Sitka the Forest Service of the United States Department of Agriculture has contracted with the Alaska Lumber & Pulp Co. for the sale of 5.25 billion board-feet of timber. This company proposes the construction of a pulp plant with a capacity of approximately 300 tons per day.

In the Juneau area the Georgia-Pacific-Alaska Co. proposes another large pulp plant based on 7.5 billion board-feet of timber from the Tongass National Forest. At Wrangell a preliminary award of 3 billion board-feet has also been made to the Pacific Northern Timber Co.

These developments are being made by large, substantial investors. The facilities will be permanent. They represent faith in the future of Alaska, its resources, and the American way of life. Such economic development will, I am confident, be accelerated at even a greater pace when Alaska becomes a State.

The outlook is similarly encouraging when we consider Alaskan mining.

Although most of it is now being done for gold, coal and sand and gravel, other minerals are receiving attention.

Investigations of the Klukwan iron-ore deposits in the vicinity of Haines in southeastern Alaska are being made. The Klukwan site contains several billion tons of rock with about 13 percent magnetite iron.

Other iron deposits in southeastern Alaska have been studied by Government agencies and private concerns. The Utah Company of America is leasing deposits on Prince of Wales Island.

The past few years have witnessed renewed interest in copper deposits in the Cordova and Valdez areas on the Gulf of Alaska. Another promising copper prospect is located on the Kobuk River in the second judicial division.

Work is also being done on nickel deposits. The mercury occurrences in the Kuskokwim-Bristol Bay area are described as among the most promising in the country.

The widespread interest in oil and gas is well known. About 5 million acres of Alaska are now under oil and gas leases.

These facts, and many others, are evidence that, as America's last frontier, Alaska is a land of opportunity. Her great forests, her tremendous and as yet barely tapped natural resources will, I believe, continue to assure her economic growth for generations to come.

Alaska, as Hawaii, bears its full share of the burden of Federal taxation. In fiscal 1955 Federal internal revenue collections from Hawaii amounted to $126 million; from Alaska, they were $44.5 million. The per capita income-tax collections in Alaska for 1955 were higher than the per capita collections in 6 States. Tax collections do not, however, adequately reflect Alaska's current industrial activity; many large taxpayers doing business in Alaska file their Federal tax returns elsewhere.

In January of this year, I visited the major population centers of Alaska, discussing statehood with many people. Although some sincerely opposed Alaska's admission as a State, I became firmly convinced that the majority of Alaskan residents favor statehood. This was demonstrated in 1946, when by referendum the residents of Alaska favored statehood by a vote of 9,630 to 6,822, approximately 3 to 2.

The arguments against admitting Alaska are not new. When statehood was sought for my home State of Nebraska in 1867, the same year that Alaska became a Territory, objections were made that the population was not sufficient and that the burden of State government was being forced upon the residents of the Territory against their will. The great Daniel Webster thought even California should not be let into the Union. Objections such as we hear today about Alaska have been heard many times before in our history—objections to the admission of States that now hold up their share of the national effort and contribute actively to the well-being and strength of the entire Union.

These objections have brought forth forceful and cogent replies. One of the most forceful and cogent was made by Senator William H. Seward, of New York (who later, as Secretary of State, arranged for the purchase of Alaska), when he urged, in 1858, the admission of Oregon as a State. While a Member of the United States Senate, speaking in favor of statehood for Alaska, I quoted from one of Senator Seward's speeches in support of the admission of Oregon. Senator Seward's words, pertinent today, are these:

"In coming to this conclusion (to support the admission of Oregon as a State), I am determined by the fact that, geographically and politically, the region of country which is occupied by the present Territory of Oregon is indispensable to the completion and rounding off of this Republic. Every man sees it, and every man knows it. * * * There is no Member of the Senate or of the House of Representatives, and, probably, no man in the United States who would be willing to see it lopped off, fall into the Pacific or into the possession of Russia or under the control of any other power; but every man, woman, and child knows that it is just as essential to the completion of this Republic as is the State of New York, or is the State of Louisiana, on the Mississippi. It cost us too much to get it, we have nursed and cherished it too long, not to know and feel that it is an essential part. * * *

"Well, then, she is to be admitted at some time, and inasmuch as she is to be admitted at all events, and is to be admitted at some time, it is only a question of time whether you will admit her today, or admit her 6 months hence, or admit her a year or 7 years hence. What objection is there to her being admitted now? You say she has not 100,000 people. What of that? She will have 100,000 people in a very short time. * * *

"For one, sir, I think that the sooner a Territory emerges from its provincial condition the better; the sooner the people are left to manage their own affairs, and are admitted to participation in the responsibilities of this Government, the stronger and

the more vigorous the States which those people form will be."

With this background in mind, I should like to consider the legislation now before you. As you remember, the President, in his budget message of 1957, said:

"I also recommend the enactment of legislation admitting Hawaii into the Union as a State, and that, subject to area limitations and other safeguards for the conduct of defense activities so vitally necessary to our national security, statehood also be conferred upon Alaska."

Our report to this committee contains amendments which have been prepared to implement the President's statement. These amendments will permit the President to create special national-defense withdrawals over which the Federal Government may exercise exclusive jurisdiction in the area north and west of the geographic line described in our proposed section. However, even within these areas, when withdrawals are established, residents will continue to have the right to vote in all Federal, State, and local elections; the functions of the few municipalities and school districts will continue to be performed by those subdivisions. The right to serve civil or criminal processes within such areas will also be reserved to the State.

Upon the issuance of an Executive order or proclamation exclusive jurisdiction will be establishde in the United States. This will vest in the Federal Government all legislative, executive ,and judicial powers over the area within the special national-defense withdrawal. The laws of the State of Alaska would be adopted and enforced as Federal laws. The State would retain all powers necessary to prescribe voting requirements and procedures and the right to enforce its voting laws within the special withdrawals. Our intent in this regard is to assure that the State and local elections be entirely free from any Federal interference.

The exclusive Federal jurisdiction, until Congress provides otherwise, will be exercised in accordance with the provisions of our proposed section 10 (d). Briefly, this section is intended to accomplish the following: (1) General laws applicable in the area when a special withdrawal is made will be adopted as Federal laws, and during the period of special withdrawal the President will designate who will administer these laws; (2) laws pertaining to local political subdivisions will remain in effect and, by virtue of our amendments, the municipalities and school districts will continue to be administered by local authorities. Again our intent is to make certain that local political subdivisions will function under local laws despite any withdrawal that may be made, subject only to the requirement that any law or ordinance of, or pertaining to, such local political subdivision which is inconsistent with the full use and operation of any special national-defense withdrawal shall be inoperative during the period of such withdrawal.

The Federal district court for Alaska will be given exclusive jurisdiction over all civil and criminal actions arising within any wthdrawal made pursuant to section 10.

We think it is significant that the chamber of commerce of the city of Nome, the largest city north of the section 10 line, has publicly announced that the proposal outlined here today is endorsed by Nome residents.

With the consent of the people of Alaska, as provided in section 8 of the bills before you, these amendments will give to the President authority similar to that now available to the Federal Government in 25 States, pursuant to either the Constitutions or statutes of those States. In effect, the people of the new State will agree to exclusive Federal jurisdiction over the designated areas, if such withdrawals are made. Renumbered section 11 provides protection for defense areas established heretofore.

One of the questions I have often been asked concerning our suggested amendments is: What will be the status of Alaska's natural resources, including commercial fisheries, if this proposal is adopted by Congress? Alaska's jurisdiction, prior to any withdrawal, will extend not only to the whole of Alaska, but also to the three-mile limit in the tidal areas. If a withdrawal encompassing tidal areas is made, the laws of the State applicable thereto will be adopted and enforced as Federal laws.

We assume that these amendments will, therefore, give Alaska full opportunity to assert such State control as Alaskans deem necessary over this segment of their economy. Should a withdrawal be made prior to formal admission of Alaska as a State, Congress will have the power to adjust existing laws within such withdrawal to those of the State, if such action is necessary. In any event, after statehood Alaskan laws will govern. Only the enforcement of such laws will be the responsibility of the Federal Government in areas within a special national defense withdrawal when made.

The portion of Alaska subject to possible future Federal withdrawals contains approximately 276,000 square miles. It has a present population of about 24,000 people. About 5,000 of these are in military service, or are in the civilian employ of the Department of Defense; approximately 15,000 are Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts. The Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior will continue its trusteeship for these natives after statehood. Because of the relative isolation of this part of Alaska, we feel that this remote area may be dependent upon the Federal Government for many services for some time to come. For instance, two-thirds of the schools in this area are now maintained by the Alaska Native Service. Even in the Territorial schools there, the ANS supports over 1,100 native schoolchildren—almost one-third of the total enrollment.

There are vast mineral resources in this area which are necessary for the full development of the population centers already established in Alaska. The Gubic gas field, located east of Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4, and within Public Land Order 82, is a good example. Estimated to contain 300 billion cubic feet of gas, the portion of this structure outside Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4 covers about 20,000 acres. The Department of the Interior has been informed that plans are being considered which would provide private financing (about $45 million) to develop this field and transport the gas by pipeline to the nearest market center in the rail belt area, encompassing the major cities of Fairbanks and Anchorage as well as four major military installations.

Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives deserve unqualified commendation for the long hours, the energy, and the careful thought which they devote to the problems of the Nation's Territories and island possessions. I have been particularly impressed by the attention given legislation affecting these areas, because I recognize that the peculiar problems of the Territories are somewhat remote from the everyday interests of most Senators and Congressmen and of their constituents.

To confirm my own impression of that point, I had a check made as to the volume of Territorial legislation considered by Congress recently. No less than 59 separate bills handled by this Territories Subcommittee were enacted into law during the last Congress; 30 of those laws (just over half) related solely to Alaska. Among them were very important legislative items. For example, the Alaska Mental Health Act, a long-overdue reform which enables Alaska to care for her mentally ill in the Territory, was enacted in the face of widespread public misunderstanding of its purposes.

Other legislation permitted Alaska to incur bonded indebtedness, dealt with the Alaska constitutional convention, provided for a system of public recreation facilities in Alaska, authorized a survey program on water resources, gave Alaska the same share of receipts from her national forests that States receive, permitted advances to the Territory under the Federal Unemployment Act, and cleared up several troublesome land problems. Each and all of these bills had the approval of the Department of the Interior. The record of action on Alaskan matters in recent years has been fruitful.

We believe, however, that statehood will for the first time not only give Alaskans a full opportunity to their rightful heritage as full-fledged citizens of the United States but also will enable them to develop Alaska's natural riches and thereby enlarge their contribution to the economic good of all America. The transition period and the early years of statehood may, of course, pose serious problems for the new State. For that reason we have recommended adoption of the relatively generous provisions of recent statehood bills for land grants and financial assistance.

The Bureau of the Budget has cleared S. 49, provided that the safeguards discussed in the budget message are included; and the Bureau has added the following recommendations:

"Alaska was recently brought under the Federal-Aid Road Act by section 107 of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 (Public Law 627, 84th Cong.). It is recommended, therefore, that section 20 of S. 49 be eliminated, and that any special provisions needed for Alaska to participate as a State in highway apportionments be determined when the Congress considers future highway acts."

The Department of the Interior will expedite the presentation of an appropriate highway program for Alaska in order that Congress may consider whether the formula for Alaskan participation in the highway program should be revised. This program will include recommendations concerning transfer of title to public roads and trails to Alaska, and concerning financial assistance to Alaska for road maintenance during the transition period. Of course, this proposal will have to be cleared with the Bureau of the Budget.

My statement does not attempt to analyze in detail every individual item in the various statehood bills before you. As this committee well knows, final drafting of statehood legislation requires careful study of a multitude of details relating to land, to financial relationships, to procedures required for the change of status, and the like.

The officials of the Department of the Interior are, of course, at the disposal of this committee for any information you may desire or any other service you may want.

The Moral Issue That Confronts Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, this is a time of trouble for organized labor in our country. Recent disclosures have raised a cloud of suspicion over some elements in labor.

Last Wednesday I expressed the opinion that teamster officials Beck and

Brewster were morally unfit to serve as officers of any union, and I urged teamster locals in Arizona to lead the way in ousting these men. Two days later the executive council of the AFL–CIO suspended Beck as vice president and council member because his actions had brought the labor movement into disrepute.

The swiftness with which the executive council moved was an encouraging sign. The labor movement faces a moral crisis, and its responsible leaders have good reason to fear that the cause of unionism will be seriously undermined unless wrongdoers are dealt with summarily.

Yesterday the Sunday magazine of the New York Times carried a timely and forceful article on the present labor crisis. It is written by A. H. Raskin who for more than 25 years has specialized in labor reporting for the Times. I present this article herewith:

THE MORAL ISSUE THAT CONFRONTS LABOR

(By A. H. Raskin)

They came to tell Andrew Furuseth, the tall, gaunt Norseman who founded the Sailors Union of the Pacific, that he might have to go to jail for violating a no-strike injunction. He looked around the roach-ridden hall bedroom that was his home.

"You can put me in jail," he said. "But you cannot give me narrower quarters than as a seaman I have always had. You cannot give me coarser food than I have always eaten. You cannot make me lonelier than I have always been."

Now the Lincoln of the sea is 19 years dead, and the headlines reek with the exploits of a new generation of labor leaders to whom austerity is a long-discarded companion. Each day of the Senate inquiry into the high command of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters adds a twisted chapter to the American dream—mansions, hand-tailored suits, costly automobiles, racing stables, and a host of other luxuries arrogated to themselves by officials who saw no real line between the union's money and their own.

The recital of financial manipulations by the heads of the country's biggest and strongest labor organization that make Charles Ponzi sound like a candidate for the Securities and Exchange Commission presents a moral challenge as fundamental as that raised by robber barons of industry a half century ago.

While the rest of the labor movement has pledged itself to live by a rigorous code of ethical practices, leaders in a few strategic sections have absorbed the ethics of the market place at the lowest level. Men whose estimate of humanity is summed up in the phrase, "there is nothing and nobody you can't buy," have turned their unions into caricatures of business.

This immolation of ideals is not new in labor any more than it is new in industry or politics. As long ago as 1900 Samuel Gompers felt it necessary to warn the infant American Federation of Labor that "self-seekers, political hucksters, and financial charlatans" were seeking to fasten their fangs in unions. Thirty years later Al Capone took command of Chicago labor and Louis (Lepke) Buchalter and Jacob (Gurrah) Shapiro established dominion over New York. Both gangs hired out impartially to management or labor, and their take ran into the millions each year.

What makes the problem more urgent now is not that there are more crooks wearing union buttons but that the vast growth of union treasuries and welfare funds has made the stakes much bigger. Concentrations of union power on regional and national lines have brought a matching federation of the underworld forces preying on labor. For the first time there are signs of an interlocking directorate of crime operating in a variety of unions, with the teamsters as the hub of racket penetration.

Even this evades the heart of the problem. The real question transcends the crooks and transcends the teamsters. It is whether in our full-employment, high-wage economy, the single word "more" is an adequate ideological basis for organized labor or any other group. The confidence of Dave Beck and his associates that their 1,400,000 members will forgive anything so long as their pay envelopes keep getting fatter and their working conditions less burdensome in the external expression of a basic ethical problem.

The speed with which unions have raced from penury to power has aggravated for them a problem industry had a much longer time to get used to. A short quarter century ago 13 million workers were jobless not because of strikes but because there was no work. Unions that today have tens of millions of dollars in their custody had to withhold stenographers' pay and wheedle a few dollars from loan sharks to get their lights turned back on.

In those days "more" had a meaning that could quicken men's spirits as well as fill their bellies. Philip Murray translated it best in the early days of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

"Organization fundamentally means but one thing," he said, "and that is clothing and bread and butter and pictures on the wall and carpets on the floor and music in the home and enlarged opportunities for children to receive the benefits of better education. The work of organizing rises so far above men and so far above triviality that men who are interested in kids, men whose souls and hearts and minds beat in unison with the aspirations of little children and toiling men and women will loan their bodies and their souls and their brains and everything that God has given them in this work of organizing."

It was not unusual in that turbulent period for union constitutions to specify that the president was to earn no more than the highest-paid mechanic. The pay ceiling had the double purpose of enabling him to understand first hand what his members needed and to remind him that he might one day find himself having to earn his livelihood at a machine again.

But as unions became big business the popularity of the hairshirt receded. The emergence of national bargaining and the increasing complexity of union affairs inevitably carried even the most zealous leader away from intimate contact with his rank and file. He became a manager of labor in the same way that the executives who sat opposite him at the bargaining table were managers of industry.

He tended more and more to make himself over in their image—his salary went up, he pressed for an opulent union headquarters, he stayed at the best hotels and complained if his suite was not pretentious enough, he rode in a Cadillac, he joined a country club. And every time he took another step toward the scale of living that is common in the upper echelons of industry, he made it that much harder ever to contemplate going back to the shop as a rank and filer.

He took good care of his members. He saw to it that they got substantial wage increases and benefits that compared favorably with those anyone else was getting. He had no new worlds to conquer on the organizational front; strikes were increasingly infrequent; long-term contracts eased the bargaining task. The management of money—his own and the union's—became his ruling interest.

Obviously, this is not a picture of all labor leaders or even of most labor leaders. But it is true enough of them to make a Walter Reuther exceptional when he insists on keeping his salary within hailing distance of his members' income, on taking his family to the AFL–CIO midwinter meeting at Miami Beach in a coach plane, and on squeezing his morning orange juice in his hotel room to save the price of breakfast. And to cause a general coolness when leaders in such lightly unionized fields as textiles or agriculture press too energetically for organizational assistance from their more affluent brothers.

One union leader devotes his entire morning to reading the stock exchange prices and the racing form and to placing his investments in both areas. Another draws on union funds to dabble in securities for his personal account. He splits his profits with the union, 50–50. No one is quite sure what happens when his stocks go down. Still another leader, now dead, used to deposit the union's dues receipts a week late. In the interim he would speculate in grains. "The union never lost a penny," was his boast.

One union held its executive board meeting in Las Vegas with the explicit understanding that any member would be sent home if he brought his wife. The teamsters were more considerate of the distaff side. When they held a 2-day board meeting in Honolulu last year Beck instructed all the vice presidents and functionaries to bring their wives at the union's expense. Most of the group traveled both ways by ship and took a leisurely tour of the islands to round out their journey. Portal to portal, the union heads were away from their offices a solid month.

One may accept Jimmy Hoffa's assertion that a union leader doesn't have to wear baggy pants or drive a beat-up jalopy to prove his devotion to the rank and file, and still feel that mammon has pushed idealism out the window in many unions. This is said with full recognition that unionists have a long way to go before they catch up to the top level of industrial salaries, and that there is no real likelihood they will even try.

The highest pay any unionist gets is $60,000 a year—a bush-league salary by corporate standards, and there are no stock options or deferred wages to swell the total. And, even with all the ingenuity some unionists have been exhibiting in organizing world tours at union expense, those who operate legitimately have yet to achieve the kind of expense accounts, yachts, planes, and other perquisites the Government approves for business executives.

But the labor movement is not a business organized for profit. It is a vehicle for the advancement of human dignity, and one might expect those who embark on careers of union responsibility to embrace a concept somewhat divorced from the measuring rods of the market place.

When union salaries started going up, one justification was that leaders would be less susceptible to bribes and other forms of corruption if their paychecks were big enough to keep them and their families in comfort. However, the greed displayed by some teamster executives in helping themselves to unrecorded, interest-free "loans" from the union treasury and in billing the organization for everything from toothpaste to wall-to-wall carpeting indicates that a faithless leader will not be made less so by a high basic salary or a generous expense allowance.

The miscarriages of the entrepreneurial spirit uncovered in the Senate investigation make it clear that the heads of this key union are as intent on diversification as any corporation seeking a larger yield through the development of new product lines. Any

investment from gambling to real estate is all right if it promises a profit.

George Meany, president of the united labor movement, has left no doubt of his own indignation at the blithe manner in which the teamster chiefs dipped into the funds they were supposedly holding in trust for their members. There is in this big, blunt man, brought up in the mare's nest of the New York building trades of 30 or 40 years ago, a basic incorruptibility that is even more impressive than the moral fervor of the crusaders who learned unionism in the crucible of the mass production industries in the great depression.

It was no accident that he reminded the country a few days ago that Gompers was not thinking only of dollars and cents when he made his classic statement that what labor wanted was more. This was Gompers' testament, as Meany chose to recall it:

"I do not value the labor movement only for its ability to give better wages, better clothes, and better homes. Its ultimate goal is to be found in the progressively evolving life possibilities in the life of each man and woman. My inspiration comes in opening opportunities that all alike may be free to live life to the fullest."

All this may sound a little amorphous as an antidote to the crass realities of the teamster situation. Meany is not counting on it to bring religon to the Becks, the Brewsters, and the Hoffas. For their benefit the federation has drawn up an exhaustive list of don'ts intended to outlaw every form of chicanery and conflict of interest.

Three smaller unions already have been put on notice of expulsion from the mainstream of labor if they fail to clean house in conformity with this ethical code. (When the ultimatum was handed to leaders of the three unions in Miami Beach last month, all three headed for Hoffa with the directness of homing pigeons.)

The teamsters will get no tenderer treatment unless they show a greater readiness to reform than they have exhibited up to now. Indeed, some AFL–CIO executive council members predict that Beck will wish he were back before Senator McCLELLAN by the time Meany finishes with him at the next council meeting.

It is already plain that the labor merger of 16 months ago vastly strengthened the clean-union forces and checked the spread of pollution from the teamsters into the rest of labor. But whether the infection count can be kept down and, more important, whether the teamsters' own stable can be cleansed depends on the vigor of the allies the AFL–CIO high command can find outside its own ranks.

The federation recognizes that no lasting social good would be accomplished by cutting the 1,400,000 teamsters adrift under their present leadership. It tried that course 4 years ago with the crime-steeped International Longshoremen's Association, but the combined onslaught of all the forces of labor and of Federal, State, and local government failed to break the ILA stranglehold on the port of New York or to dislodge its corrupt rulers.

The federation's hope in the teamster mess is that the McClellan committee's revelations, coupled with the moral force labor intends to generate against the Beck-Brewster-Hoffa clique, will bring forth a new leadership with enough appeal to the rank and file to allow a housecleaning from within. If any of the present chiefs go to jail, that will simplify the task. But the results will be nil if a shadow administration to take their places is elected at the union's convention in Miami Beach this September.

To prepare the ground for a genuine cleanup will require a new willingness on the part of employers in the trucking industry to stand for decency. When the Senate committee turns its attention to New York in the next few weeks, it will add to the abundant record of collusion between employers and union leaders. In some branches of trucking, as on the waterfront, piratical elements on both sides have entered into mutually advantageous deals, with the public paying the freight.

On the national scene, the picture is one of utmost cordiality between the biggest of the trucking bosses and the biggest of the union bosses. The employers swear by all of the big three on the union side as men who know the trucking business and never renege on their word. Their testimony would be more impressive if the record of other inquiries were not full of similar testimonials to the Joe Fays and Joe Ryans.

The rank and file, long used to docility, will have to find its voice. It is doubtless true that many workers are held back by fear of physical violence or of blacklisting for jobs. The same goes for many subordinate leaders and local officials of faultless integrity. But often the membership is not even inclined to rebel. They are content with good wages and steady work.

"So long as we get ours, let them get theirs," is the philosophy of many teamsters. And it is precisely that philosophy that the men in the driver's cab count on to carry them through the present unpleasantness.

Here again the history of rackets in other industries in other years offers little solace to those who hope for a great avenging wave from below. Betrayers like Sam Parks, "Tootsie" Herbert and "Socks" Lanza retained the support of their followers long after their sellouts had resulted in court convictions and jail sentences for themselves.

If the teamsters are cynical, the fault lies not alone with them. They are convinced that rackets are everywhere from the cop on the beat to the legislators in Congress, the State legislature and city hall. They think industry gets away with murder while labor always gets it in the neck. These are atavistic notions perhaps, but they help explain why a man like Jimmy Hoffa, who comes closer to the hank-and-file teamster than any of his colleagues, might feel he needed his own FBI to counter the FBI the Government sent after him.

Undoubtedly, part of the remedy for the conditions shown in the McClellan investigation lies in tighter enforcement of present laws and in the development of new legislative safeguards. There is an obvious need, for example, for additional controls over union funds, even to the point of imposing the legal obligations of trustees on the custodians of union money. But care must be taken not to handcuff unions in the financing of strikes or organizing campaigns.

Basically, however, what we suffer from seems to be not a shortage of laws but a shortage of dedicated men in positions of authority in every field that impinges on our industrial system. If there are men who want to cut corners on union obligations or to make under-the-table profits for themselves or loot their union treasuries, they will find their way around any law.

There are books full of statutes about prostitution and gambling, but it is doubtful that any significant part of the Portland vice story would have come out if one of the chief architects of the racket empire had not felt he was being doublecrossed. For every abuse the Senators find in the whole field of labor-management relations, they will almost certainly leave a dozen unexplored or unknown. And even those they bring under their searchlight may go right on flourishing with the willing cooperation of both sides, once the heat is off.

The only hope for a real reformation lies in the painfully slow process of winning a basic acceptance among employers and unionists that there is something more important than a fast buck or a peace bought at the expense of the worker, the stability of the industry or the welfare of the community.

The merged labor federation is making a heroic and intelligent effort to infuse a healthier moral climate into the union side of industrial relations. It is going to the membership of all its unions with the message that the best protection against corruption in health and welfare or any other union activity lies in a "vigilant, informed and active membership, jealous of their rights and interests." It already has kicked out the chief of one directly affiliated local that had held no membership meeting in 5 years.

It intends to make democracy in unions something more than a mumbo-jumbo of constitutional forms. The huge United Automobile Workers Union is about to follow the lead of the tiny Upholsterers International Union in establishing an outside appeals court of distinguished citizens to pass on complaints by members who feel they have not had fair treatment from the union's own disciplinary machinery. There is room in between for other unions interested in convincing the rank and file that they can challenge the men at the top without being railroaded out of the union by a packed court.

Labor has no delusions about its ability to do the whole job alone. It recognizes the debt the cause of clean unionism owes to such anti-racket campaigns as those run by Thomas E. Dewey in his days as special prosecutor in this city, the State crime commission and Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS' subcommittee on welfare funds. It hopes for similarly constructive results from the present inquiry.

But its task will not be made easier if those who have always hated unions try to capitalize on the teamsters' troubles to undermine labor's bargaining and organizing strength. The only result of such an effort would be to force the honest men to make common cause with the crooks against the forces in industry and the Government who should be their stanchest friends.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

The Allegheny River Reservoir Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that I have had many inquiries relative to the Allegheny River Reservoir project, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a speech by Col. H. E. Sprague, Corps of Engineers, district engineer, Pittsburgh, Pa., before the board of trade of Salamanca, N. Y., at their annual dinner meeting held Monday evening, April 1. Also, to include a statement by Colonel Sprague on the relationship between the Allegheny River Reservoir project and the Allegheny-Seneca Reservations:

THE ALLEGHENY RESERVOIR

(Remarks by Col. H. E. Sprague, district engineer, Pittsburgh district, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, at annual dinner, board of trade, Salamanca, N. Y., April 1, 1957)

From reading news releases, editorials, and letters to the editor, I have the distinct impression that you people have been subjected to considerable propaganda, some true and some untrue concerning the Allegheny River Reservoir. This may be due in part to lack of factual information, but some of the statements made are undoubtedly the result of freewheeling imagination.

A project such as the Allegheny Reservoir would not come into being solely by recommendation of the Corps of Engineers. Such projects are initiated by the people in affected areas. Under our democratic procedures the Corps of Engineers by congressional directive investigates and reports. Favorable reports may result in authorization of the project by Congress. The Allegheny Reservoir project was authorized by the Flood Control Acts of June 22, 1936, June 28, 1938, and August 18, 1941. Perhaps at this time some pertinent data on the reservoir would be helpful.

ALLEGHENY RESERVOIR

Cost estimate, $101 million.
Drainage area, 2,190 square miles.
Maximum storage, 1,125,000 acre-feet.
Elevation crest, flood spillway, 1,365 feet.
Elevation, stream bed, 1,200 feet.
Elevation, winter pool, 1,292 feet (January 1).
Winter conservation storage, 215,000 acre-feet.
Winter flood storage, 910,000 acre-feet (7.8 inches runoff).
Elevation, summer pool, 1,328 feet (June 1).
Summer conservation storage 540,000 acre-feet.
Summer flood storage, 585,000 acre-feet (5.0 inches runoff).
Elevation reached annually, 1,330 feet.
Elevation reached 2-year frequency, 1,335 feet.
Elevation reached 5-year frequency, 1,340 feet.
Elevation reached 10-year frequency, 1,344 feet.
Elevation reached 25-year frequency, 1,350 feet.
Minimum flow recorded at Kinzua gaging station, September 15, 1936, 123 cubic feet per second (1935-date), September 23, 1955, 188 cubic feet per second.

Such low flows would be augmented by reservoir releases of at least 2,000 cubic feet per second. During periods of higher natural streamflow reservoir releases would be reduced but not to less than 500 cubic feet per second. Warren would thus be assured of a minimum flow in the Allegheny River of the latter volume.

Design flood (spillway), 222,000 cubic feet per second.

Flood stage, Warren, Pa., 14 feet (45,000 c. f. s.). Damages begin at 12 feet equals 36,000 cubic feet per second (March 1956; 18.4 feet equals 75,000 c. f. s.; $4,500,000 damage).

SMALL DAMS VERSUS LARGE DAMS

Some conservationists will claim that a panacea can be found in soil-conservation measures and the construction of myriads of very small dams located up to the highest reaches of the headwaters. Now do not misinterpret what I am saying, the Corps of Engineers is wholeheartedly in favor of soil-erosion control and all sound means of accomplishing it, but has its limitations for flood control as was recognized by the Soil Conservation Service when it wisely sponsored a program of small dam construction to supplement soil-conservation practices. These small dams have little, if any, effect upon soil conservation, which generally must be accomplished upstream of the dams, but they may have flood control and water-storage benefits. The Corps of Engineers recognizes the merits in small dams, as well as medium and large dams, and believes that in studying a basin the combination of dams of all sizes, along with other measures which will best accomplish the development sought is the solution that should be adopted. We realize, of course, that small dams, by their very nature, flood more land than large dams of the same aggregate capacity. For instance, a reservoir with an average depth of 80 feet will flood out only one-eighth the land that will be flooded by a number of smaller reservoirs with an average depth of 10 feet. Another important factor is that a large dam intercepting runoff from a large area need be designed to accommodate only a few inches of rainfall, for even in the greatest storms the average precipitation over the whole watershed will not be extreme. On the other hand, in order to provide an equal degree of safety and flood protection, each small dam must be designed to handle the heavy downpour of the heart of a storm, all of which may be dumped in its small watershed. A third factor, also requiring greater aggregate storage in small dams than in large ones, is the fact that small dams generally do not have controlled outlets whereas large ones do, and thus can safely release water in controlled amounts so as to more effectively utilize the capacity available. Small dams also waste vast quantities of water by exposing it to evaporation in many shallow sheets. Nevertheless, small dams are the proper engineering and economic solution to the flood-control problem in some areas, and we favor their construction where such is the case. In fact, we urge your support of the upper watershed-treatment program sponsored by the Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture.

The broad valleys of the upper Allegheny River system are favorable physically in many reaches for the development of storage reservoirs. However, the preemption of the valleys by railroad and highways, other extensive developments, and length of dams required, would result in high cost of storage capacity. Storage, if provided, in the least developed valleys would have small tributary drainage only which if controlled would have little effect on stages at Warren and downstream areas.

The area which would be occupied by the proposed Allegheny Reservoir between the dam site and Salamanca is relatively undeveloped in comparison to the area above Salamanca.

The principal tributaries of the Allegheny Reservoir above the dam site together with their drainage areas follow:

Creek:	*Drainage area, square miles*
Kinzua	182
Great Valley	142
Tunungwant	169
Olean	208
Oswayo	248
Potato-Marvin	221
Total of principal tributaries	1,170

The total drainage area which would be controlled by the Allegheny Reservoir is 2,190 square miles, or almost twice that which could be controlled by reservoirs on all of the principal tributaries even if it were practicable to control the entire drainage areas of all of them by means of dams constructed at their mouths. To anyone familiar with the topography and development within the principal tributaries it is obvious that any such system of reservoirs is not feasible. Kinzua Creek Valley offers the only favorable opportunity for reservoir development. The drainage area of Kinzua Creek is, however, only 182 square miles at its mouth.

The principal tributaries entering the Allegheny in the reach between Salamanca and Olean are Great Valley and Tunungwant Creeks, the former at Salamanca and the latter a few miles upstream. Neither tributary lends itself to economic and effective reservoir development. Great Valley Creek is extensively developed. Tunungwant Creek is subject to backwater flooding from the Allegheny River to approximately the New York-Pennsylvania line. Reservoir storage in the lower Tunungwant Valley would result in flooding the city of Bradford, where local flood protection by means of channel improvement to relieve a serious existing flood problem is now in progress. Protection of Bradford by channel improvement was undertaken after extensive studies of the various means for providing flood protection disclosed that there was no reasonable possibility of obtaining the required protection by reservoirs above the city.

The next major tributary of the Allegheny is Olean Creek, which enters the Allegheny River at Olean, N. Y. Extensive flood-protection works have been constructed by the Corps of Engineers at Olean and at Portville upstream therefrom and are authorized for Allegany, N. Y., all as a consequence of congressional authorization and appropriation following study and report. The tributary

area above Olean is 1,164 square miles, including Olean Creek, which enters the Allegheny River at Olean and Oswayo Creek, which enters at Portville. Our studies at these communities did not disclose any reasonable opportunity for economic development of significant reservoir storage.

This office also made detailed investigations of the flood problem at Coudersport near the head of the Allegheny River, resulting in a plan of channel improvement similar to that which was later constructed by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The drainage area at the junction of the Allegheny River and Mill Creek in Coudersport is 80 square miles, of which 48 square miles are in the Allegheny River and 32 in Mill Creek. The possibility of reservoir protection as a solution to the flood problem at Coudersport was investigated and discarded as impracticable.

From the foregoing it should be evident that in the studies that led to the authorization of the Allegheny Reservoir and again in various studies of the flood problem at localities lying upstream from the reservoir this office has investigated the reservoir possibilities of the tributaries in the basin in sufficient detail to indicate clearly that the purposes of the Allegheny Reservoir cannot be served in any significant degree by substitution of a system of small reservoirs on tributary streams.

DIVERSION

A study was made in 1928 by the Corps of Engineers for diversion of flood flows from the Allegheny to Lake Erie. This diversion would begin at Cold Springs and pass through the divide to the Conewango Valley. The Conewango Valley would have a dam at the lower end of the valley and provide storage for hydropower generation on the discharge slope north into Lake Erie. This storage and diversion plan would not be economically feasible for flood protection and was a borderline economic proposition for power generation.

During the public hearing held at Warren in 1946 in connection with the canalization of the Allegheny River to Olean, N. Y., an advocate of diversion presented a variation of the Corps of Engineers' plan for consideration. He proposed a diversion from the Allegheny to the Conewango and then by a dug canal up the Conewango through the divide into the Cattaraugus and down to Lake Erie. This plan was recently revived in newspaper articles. According to the newspapers the diversion canal would be approximately 30 miles long, 10 feet deep, 273 feet wide at the top, 240 feet wide at the bottom, and have a capacity of 10,000 cubic feet per second. According to the newspaper report it would involve the excavation of approximately 80 million cubic yards of glacial deposits. My analysis indicated that the cut from the Allegheny through to the Conewango would be 110 feet deep and 680 feet wide at the top. The depth of cut up the Conewango Valley would vary from 15 feet to 40 feet deep. The cut from the Conewango to the Cattaraugus would be approximately 100 feet deep.

A project whether for flood control, water supply, or any other purpose, must justify itself in the sense that its benefits must outweigh its costs. Keeping this in mind, let us examine the proposed diversion plan to determine economic justification. To make it simple and conclusive, we will exclude the costs of dams, control facilities, real estate, relocation of utilities, railroads, highways, and bridges, and consider only the cost of excavating the channel up the Conewango Valley.

The unit cost for excavation of this type of material under the ground-water conditions which would be encountered is estimated at 75 cents per cubic yard. Eighty million cubic yards would cost $60 million. Now I want to emphasize, this is only the cost of excavation.

When we consider the flood flows of record compared to the amount of diversion, it becomes apparent that the flood-control benefits of the proposed diversion are insignificant. The maximum discharge of the Allegheny in Pittsburgh in March of 1936 was 557,000 cubic feet per second. The proposed diversion would have reduced this by 10,000 cubic feet per second, or less than 2 percent of the total flow.

At Warren the discharge in the Allegheny in March of 1956 reached a stage of 18.4 feet, or 75,000 cubic feet per second; 10,000 cubic feet per second diversion would still have permitted 65,000 cubic feet per second to flow through Warren and 45,000 cubic feet per second at 14 feet on the staff gage is considered flood stage. The damage from the flood was estimated at $4½ million. The Allegheny Reservoir would have reduced the flood stage in the Allegheny River at Warren by 9½ feet to a stage of 8.9 feet. The Allegheny River would have reduced the stage of the flood of March 1956 at other cities as follows: Oil City, 4.6 feet; Franklin, 4.6 feet; Kittanning, 2.8 feet; Pittsburgh, 2.5 feet. At Wheeling, W. Va., where the range in flood stage is greater than at Pittsburgh a reduction of 3 feet would have been effective.

This reservoir, as I previously have stated, would control 2,190 square miles or 18.6 percent of the total drainage area of the Allegheny River above the point in Pittsburgh.

When we consider the relatively insignificant flood-control benefits that would accrue from the diversion project as compared to the benefits from the Allgeheny Reservoir and the comparative costs of the two, it is obvious that economic justification for the diversion does not exist.

The findings of our 1928 report and subsequent studies can be stated as follows:

1. Diversion for flood-control purposes is not economically justified.

2. Diversion for waterpower development would be a borderline proposition economically.

3. The Alleghany Reservoir would be superior economically to any plan of diversion.

4. A major reservoir on the Allegheny River would be required in connection with any effective plan of diversion for flood control or power generation.

5. The Allegheny Reservoir would not preclude the construction of any diversion found to be economically justified at a later date.

SILTATION

There have been articles written that would lead you to believe that our reservoirs are being filled with silt at the alarming rate of 3 or 4 feet per year. The Corps of Engineers has made siltation surveys on 8 of 10 existing reservoirs in the Pittsburgh district.

Two of the reservoirs are located in Ohio, one in West Virginia, four in Pennsylvania, and one partly in Pennsylvania and partly in Maryland. The siltation surveys to date cover an average period of 7 years and 9 months since the reservoirs were completed and put into operation. The life of the reservoirs based on measured siltation to date range from a minimum of 250 years up to 5,000 years with an average life of 1,698 years.

At Tionesta Reservoir, a few miles below the Allegheny Reservoir, siltation tests indicate a minimum life of 1,320 years. It is my opinion that the rate of siltation will be shown to be even less in future surveys.

I think we can safely conclude that in this area siltation in reservoirs is not a serious problem, especially when you consider that the economic justification of the structure is based on an economic life of only 50 years.

I suggest that some of you sportsmen visit nearby Tionesta and East Branch Reservoirs in Pennsylvania to observe conditions of these areas to convince yourselves as to their suitability for reproduction of fish and other wildlife.

TREATY RIGHTS

As I mentioned previously the Allegheny River Reservoir was authorized by the Flood Control Acts of 1936, 1938, and 1941. It was authorized after studies were made by the Corps of Engineers, and were reviewed by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, and after Congress gave due consideration to the matter.

The 1936 Flood Control Act contained a declaration of the policy of Congress that destructive floods causing loss of life and property and obstruction of commerce constitute a menace to national welfare and that improvements of waterways for flood-control purposes are in the interest of the general welfare.

When the question of the treaty rights of the Seneca Nation is examined in the light of the Constitution and judicial and legislative precedent, it is evident that the national policy which I have just stated can be satisfied consistent with good faith to the Senecas.

Congress in the exercise of its constitutional powers to regulate commerce has the authority to regulate navigation and to provide flood protection and watershed development. If the United States has determined its need for certain land for a public use that is within the sovereign powers, it must have the right to appropriate that land, for otherwise an owner who refused to sell at all or only at an unreasonable price could subordinate the constitutional powers of Congress to his own will. Accordingly, the courts have held that lands, whether owned by private parties, States, municipalities, or Indians, can be appropriated by the Federal Government for public use within its delegated powers. In the appropriation of lands the United States is liable under the fifth amendment to make just compensation. Since the United States cannot be sued without its consent, the "moral" obligation of Congress is to assure that the courts are open for recovery of just compensation if agreement cannot be reached.

Congress no longer makes treaties with Indians (act of March 3, 1871). Coexistence of separate sovereignties within the same geographical boundaries is considered basically untenable. Congress has long regulated Indian affairs by exercise of its legislative power. The effect of the 1794 treaty with the Seneca Nation is the recognition by the United States that the Nation has a vested property right. But this property right, like property rights held by any other party, is subject to the inherent right of the Government to appropriate property for public use in the exercise of the powers granted Congress by the Constitution.

The integration of Indians into our civilization has been and is the policy of Congress. The Citizenship Act of June 2, 1924, declared all noncitizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States to be citizens. Prior to the act about two-thirds of the Indians of the United States had already acquired citizenship. The Indians of New York are among the most advanced in the country as evidenced by recent legislation and legislative history pertaining thereto. The legislation to which I refer is Public Law 785, approved September 13, 1950, which conferred juridiction on the courts of the State of New York with respect to civil actions between Indians or to which Indians are parties, and Public Law 690, approved August 14, 1950, which authorized the Seneca Nation to lease lands within the Cattaraugus, Allegany and Oil Springs Reservations (outside the limits of certain villages, where the Seneca Nation already had leasing power) and to collect and disburse moneys realized from leases. The legislative history for Public Law 785 (U. S. Code

Congressional Service, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 1950, vol. 2, pp. 3731, 3732) states:

"The Indians of New York have been classified by the Indian Bureau as among the most advanced in the Nation, and the Bureau has stated that they are in no further need of governmental supervision or control. * * * The enactment of this legislation into law would certainly be in line with the established policy of the Public Lands Committee in its dealings with the Indians; i. e., this committee is especially interested in passing legislation which will lead to the gradual assimilation of the Indian population into the American way of life, and the gradual but final complete removal of governmental supervision and control." And the legislative history for Public Law 690 (U. S. Code Congressional Service, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 1950, vol. 2, pp. 2978, 2982) states:

"It is the judgment of your committee that these Indians (i. e. members of the Seneca Nation) are competent to manage their own affairs and to assume the responsibilities which will be placed upon them by the provisions of this bill, as proposed to be amended. The enactment of this bill will make it possible for the United States to withdraw from certain operations which it is now carrying on in respect to these New York Indians, and will enable the Bureau of Indian Affairs to close its Salamanca Agency."

It is proposed to acquire a flowage easement on the Allegany Reservation. The reservoir would have a summer storage pool of 3,667 acres in this reservation. The other required 5,347 acres of this reservation would be used only occasionally for temporary impoundment of floods. The Alleghany Reservation contains 30,469 acres. Only about 12 percent of this will be subject to protracted flooding.

The Indians would receive just compensation for such acquisition as would be made by the United States, and reasonable costs of resettlement of persons and effects. The Allegany Reservation would continue to remain in possession of the Seneca Nation. The taking for the reservoir would thus be in the nature of a flowage easement only. Except for habitation, the Indians would still have the use of the area involved by the reservoir for fishing, hunting, and some types of agriculture. In this respect, the Seneca Nation has already granted rights in their lands, to Salamanca, N. Y., as a site for the city; to the Pennsylvania and Erie Railroad Cos. for rail lines; to public agencies for highways and roads; to public utilities for electric and telephone lines; to industries for pipelines; to private interests for farms and buildings, and to oil and gas interests for leaseholds.

The Pittsburgh district, Corps of Engineers, has constructed 10 flood-control reservoirs. Four thousand five hundred people have been displaced by these flood-control facilities; all received just compensation.

The Corps of Engineers in doing its job has had several contacts with the Seneca Nation. It is our sincere desire to continue negotiations with the nation on an amicable basis to the end that a fair and equitable settlement of all problems may be attained.

RECREATION

I have seen letters that stated that the recession of flood impoundments would leave a swamp filled with mud, sewage, industrial waste, vermin, and disease-breeding germs; land unfit for use by wildlife, fish, or human beings. The irresponsibility of this statement should be apparent, and ample evidence to that effect is available to those interested by means of visitation to any or all of the existing 10 reservoirs. Over 3 million people availed themselves of the opportunity to participate in recreational activities in those 10 reservoirs last year. The statement in respect to fish is not supported by experience in the existing reservoirs. Over 136,000 pounds of fish were caught by sport fishermen last year in these 10 reservoirs. There are 26,772 acres of managed public hunting grounds and 2,585 acres of managed refuge areas in these 10 reservoirs. As to waterfowl, it is to be noted that as a consequence of work by game management agencies of the various States involved for game management of the reservoir areas under license with this office, substantial strides have been made in the development of waterfowl nesting areas where none existed prior to the reservoir.

These recreational benefits are not accidental; they were planned in cooperation with State and Federal agencies. The Corps of Engineers advocates reforestation, improved land use, and any other good conservation practices which benefit our economy and protect our natural resources.

We are currently cooperating with Mr. Bacon, of the Allegheny National Forest in Pennsylvania, and with Mr. Batterson, of the Allegany State Park in New York State, and with the respective State highway officials to insure access for maximum participation by the public in the recreational activities to be created by the Allegheny Reservoir.

CONCLUSIONS

Many of the statements that have appeared in publication pertaining to the Allegheny Reservoir reflect upon the integrity and professional competence of the sources of such information.

I am sure that if you were in need of medical advice you would consult with a physician; if you were in need of legal assistance, you would consult with a lawyer. If your problem is engineering, then you should seek the advice of a professional engineer.

Prior to the Flood Control Acts of June 22, 1936, June 28, 1938, and August 18, 1941, which authorized the Allegheny Reservoir, the Corps of Engineers gave comprehensive consideration to all reasonable alternate means for achieving the desired objective—flood protection and associated water resources development for the upper Ohio River Basin—and concluded that the Allegheny Reservoir provided the best and most economically favorable means for controlling and utilizing the water resources of the upper Allegheny River.

STATEMENT ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ALLEGHENY RESERVOIR PROJECT AND THE ALLEGANY INDIAN RESERVATION

The Allegheny Reservoir project will affect a portion of the Allegany Indian Reservation of the Seneca Nation of Indians. Consideration has been given to the viewpoint of some persons that the project should not be prosecuted because of the rights of the Seneca Nation under a treaty with the United States (treaty of November 11, 1794, 7 U. S. Statutes at Large 44).

The Allegheny Reservoir project was authorized by the Flood Control Acts of 1936, 1938, and 1941. It was authorized after studies were made by the Corps of Engineers and were reviewed by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, and after Congress gave due consideration to the matter.

The 1936 Flood Control Act contained a declaration of the policy of Congress that destructive floods causing loss of life and property and obstruction of commerce constitute a menace to national welfare and that improvements of waterways for flood control purposes are in the interest of the general welfare. The Allegheny Reservoir project is one of such improvements, and has been determined to be economically sound. The location of projects is necessarily based on physical conditions and engineering determinations. Based on many years of exhaustive studies, it has been determined that physical and economic factors make it impracticable to have this project in a location other than that selected. Various alternate plans including a system of small dams and diversion schemes have been investigated and found to be entirely lacking in economic justification and ineffective in accomplishing the flood control and flow regulation purposes for which the Allegheny Reservoir is designed.

When the question of the treaty rights of the Seneca Nation is examined in the light of the Constitution and judicial and legislative precedent, it is evident that the above mentioned national policy can be satisfied consistently with good faith to the Indians. In fact, this has been the case in recent reservoir projects prosecuted in the western part of the country where tribal lands were involved.

Congress in the exercise of its constitutional powers to regulate commerce has the authority to regulate navigation and to provide flood protection and watershed development. If the United States has determined its need for certain land for a public use that is within its sovereign powers, it must have the right to appropriate that land, for otherwise an owner who refused to sell at all or only at an unreasonable price could subordinate the constitutional powers of Congress to his own will. Accordingly, the courts have held that lands, whether owned by private parties, States, municipalities, or Indians, can be appropriated by the Federal Government for public use within its delegated powers. In the appropriation of lands the United States is liable under the fifth amendment to make just compensation. Since the United States cannot be sued without its consent, the moral obligation of Congress is to assure that the courts are open for recovery of just compensation if agreement cannot be reached.

Congress no longer makes treaties with Indians (act of March 3, 1871). Coexistence of separate sovereignties within the same geographical boundaries is considered basically untenable. Congress has long regulated Indian affairs by exercise of its legislative power. The effect of the 1794 treaty with the Seneca Nation is the recognition by the United States that the nation has a vested property right. But this property right, like property rights held by any other party, is as mentioned above, subject to the inherent right of the Government to appropriate property for public use in the exercise of the powers granted Congress by the Constitution.

The integration of Indians into our civilization has been and is the policy of Congress. The Citizenship Act of June 2, 1924, declared all noncitizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States to be citizens. Prior to the act about two-thirds of the Indians of the United States had already acquired citizenship. The Indians of New York are among the most advanced in the country as evidenced by recent legislation and legislative history pertaining thereto. The legislation is Public Law 785, approved September 13, 1950, which conferred jurisdiction on the courts of the State of New York with respect to civil actions between Indians or to which Indians are parties, and Public Law 690, approved August 14, 1950, which authorized the Seneca Nation to lease lands within the Cattaraugus, Allegany and Oil Springs Reservations (outside the limits of certain villages, where the Seneca Nation already had leasing power) and to collect and disburse moneys realized from leases. The legislative history for Public Law 785 (U. S. Code Congressional Service, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 1950, vol. 2, pp. 3731, 3732) states: "The Indians of New York have been classified by the Indian Bureau as among the most advanced in the Nation, and the Bureau has stated that they are in no further need of governmental supervision or control. * * * The enactment of this legislation into law would certainly be in line with the established policy of the Public Lands Committee in its dealings with the Indians; i. e., this committee

is especially interested in passing legislation which will lead to the gradual assimilation of the Indian population into the American way of life, and the gradual but final complete removal of governmental supervision and control." The legislative history for Public Law 690 (U. S. Code Congressional Service, 81st Cong., 2d sess., 1950, vol. 2, pp. 2978, 2982) states: "It is the judgment of your committee that these Indians (i. e., members of the Seneca Nation) are competent to manage their own affairs and to assume the responsibilities which will be placed upon them by the provisions of this bill, as proposed to be amended. The enactment of this bill will make it possible for the United States to withdraw from certain operations which it is now carrying on in respect to these New York Indians, and will enable the Bureau of Indian Affairs to close its Salamanca Agency."

It should be understood that this project does not mean the end of the Allegany Indian Reservation. The effect of the project on the Indian reservation is indicated in the following table:

Allegany Indian Reservation, Cattaraugus County, N. Y.

This reservation may be generally described as a strip of land about 1.6 miles in width, bordering on each side of the Allegheny River, upstream from the New York-Pennsylvania State line for a distance of about 29 miles and containing 30,469 acres.

	Acres
Total area of reservation	30,469
Area below reservoir-full, elevation 1,365	9,014
Area below maximum summer pool, elevation 1,328	3,667
Area between elevations 1,365 and 1,328	[1] 5,347
Residual area	21,455

[1] This area, being subject to intermittent flooding only, would be utilizable for crops, grazing, hunting, trapping, and access to water areas. No habitations or floatable structures would be permitted.

The population of the Allegany Indian Reservation in 1950 was 1,131. The number of Seneca Indians in the portion of the Indian reservation affected by the project has not yet been determined but is estimated from 250 to 500.

In the prosecution of the project, highways which service the Indian reservation will be adjusted to furnish equivalent service, and cemeteries will be relocated in a suitable location in the vicinity not subject to flooding and to which convenient access would be afforded. The views of the Seneca Nation on the relocations of highways and cemeteries would, of course, be solicited, and earnest endeavor would be made to reach a mutually agreeable solution.

This office considers feasible a plan whereby the Government would acquire only easements over the affected portion of the Indian reservation for flooding and clearing on account of the operation of the Allegheny Reservoir project. By acquisition of easements only the reservation would remain intact and in Indian ownership, so that the nation would have for enjoyment not only the area of its reservation not affected by the project but also the affected area to the extent compatible with the operation of the project. Further, this project has a significant recreational potential worthy of consideration by the Seneca Nation.

This office will make every effort to reach an agreement with the Seneca Nation which will provide just compensation for the interests in the portion of the Indian lands required for the Allegheny Reservoir project. If agreement cannot be reached and acquisition must be by other means, just compensation will in any event be provided.

This office has gone to some detail in this statement in an effort to make clear that the rights of the Seneca Nation have been considered and that good faith will be observed not only in the matter of just compensation but also in that thorough consideration has been and continues to be given to a plan which will, to the extent possible, make the Indian reservation and the reservoir project compatible.

The Retirement of Edgar A. Plummer, of Wilkes-Barre, After 50 Years in the Publishing Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsstory which appeared in the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of March 29, 1957, calling attention to the retirement of Edgar A. Plummer after a career spanning 50 years in the newspaper field in the capacity of printer:

A veteran Wilkes-Barre Publishing Co. printer today wrote "30-all" to a newspaper career extending over nearly half a century.

"I am looking forward to my retirement with mixed emotion," said Edgar A. Plummer as he completed his last shift in the Publishing Company composing room this afternoon. "It will be hard severing a lot of friendships, some of which began close to 50 year ago. On the other hand I will be thankful for the leisure especially since my future is well provided for," referring to Wilkes-Barre Publishing Co. and Typographical Union pensions and social-security benefits he will receive.

Mr. Plummer, who resides at 350 North Main Street, prominent in church and Boy Scout activities, has been a composing room employee since becoming an apprentice at the old Times-Leader plant in 1908. He became a printer 5 years later and then transferred to the Wilkes-Barre Record composing room. He returned to the Times-Leader in 1920 where he remained until formation of the Wilkes-Barre Publishing Co., when he also moved to the North Main Street plant where his duties lately were those of a proofreader as well as linotype operator.

BORN IN ENGLAND

Mr. Plummer was born in Nottingham, England, April 10, 1891, a son of the late Edward and Mary Plummer. After the death of his mother, Mr. Plummer's father, a lace worker, came to this city and secured employment at the old Wilkes-Barre Lace plant on Courtright Avenue. The son, Edgar, did not come to this country until the age of 14. Incidentally, the compositor has never revisited the land of his birth but plans to do so in May when he will look up old friends and see if any relatives are still to be found there.

His Boy Scout activities began many years ago when a friend, Robert Williams, began a troop at Calvary Episcopal Church, North Main Street. Mr. Plummer helped out with the boys and relates that "when the time came for one of us to be scoutmaster, Mr. Williams tossed a coin and I won the toss to become head of the troop." He held the scoutmastership for more than 17 years, was field director for 9 years and activities chairman of north district, Wyoming Valley Council, for about 5 years. He is a vigil member of the Order of the Arrow, a select scouting fraternity and is the recipient of one of scouting's highest awards, a Silver Beaver, for outstanding work in the field of Boy Scout work. He is still a member of the committee of Calvary Troop. He has been active in the affairs of Calvary Episcopal Church where he is a member of the vestry group and participated in the activities of various church organizations.

GOES OVERSEAS IN MAY

Mr. Plummer is a member of local 187, International Typographical Union, and the 40-Plus Club of Wilkes-Barre Publishing Co., having been made a member of the latter organization in December 1951.

"My garden will keep me busy in the spring and summer but I am a little at loss as to what to do in the winter," he confessed. "I will be willing to serve the Red Cross or other agencies on a day-a-week basis and of course hope to continue my interest in scouting," he added. He expects to leave on his overseas jaunt on May 6 and return about the middle of July. He is eagerly looking forward to meeting up with his old scouting associate, Mr. Williams, who has been living in Wales for the past several years. A visit to Paris, France, is also included in his itinerary.

Mr. Plummer's wife, now deceased, was the former Anna M. Hughes. He has 2 sons, Edgar C., with the Arlington Hotel, Binghamton, N. Y., and William, with Corning Glass Works, Corning, N. Y., who is to be married on April 20. A daughter, Elsie H. Plummer, who resides at home, is employed at Hotel Sterling. He has 2 granddaughters, Karen and Barbara Plummer, Binghamton, N. Y.

Midstate District Needs Second Federal Judge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, the judicial responsibility and the need for an additional United States district judge in the middle district of Tennessee were never greater than today. The regrettable incapacity of Federal Judge William E. Miller and the passing of the late Federal Judge Elmer D. Davies, Sr., earlier in the year, and the volume of urgent matters before the district court, emphasizes the immediate need of congressional authorization for an additional judgeship in the middle district of Tennessee. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including in the RECORD the following timely editorial from the Nashville Banner of April 1, 1957:

BURDEN TOO GREAT FOR ONE—MIDSTATE DISTRICT NEEDS SECOND FEDERAL JUDGE

The absolute need of a second permanent Federal judge for the middle district of Tennessee has been evident now for a long time. The unfortunate illness of Judge William E. Miller underscores that matter today. Vital business is before the court; and orderly provision for this heavy judicial assignment is the immediate responsibility of Congress.

The United States Judicial Conference deciding against this step of relief was far off

base. It was a glaring discrimination which recommended an extra judge each for east Tennessee and west Tennessee, but none for the midstate district.

It long has been obvious that the judicial burden of a great Federal district is more than one man can bear alone. Middle Tennessee well remembers that it contributed to the heart condition befalling the late Judge Elmer Davies long before the step of needed relief was taken, finally, in the appointment of Judge Miller to share that load. How many times must such occur before the facts of the case, and for justice to all concerned, register on official minds?

With Judge Davies' death the whole burden again passed into a single pair of hands—Judge Miller's. Isn't it time to act as reason decrees?

The decision is up to Congress, vested with powers to create these tribunals as circumstances warrant. The Judicial Conference is advisory only—and as the middle Tennessee delegation repeatedly has emphasized, circumstances do warrant this decision now.

Constituents look to the Federal Government to provide adequately for the judicial business increasingly before it.

Judge Miller's illness occasions deep regret. It does demonstrate again, beyond argument, the validity of middle Tennessee's appeal for facilities to keep the judicial processes in operation whatever emergencies might ensue.

Let Congress look immediately to this matter of imperative need.

United States Shortchanges Los Angeles in Smog Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of the House the second in a series of articles by Mr. Magner White which appeared in the Los Angeles Examiner of April 1, 1957. The article follows:

UNITED STATES SHORTCHANGES LOS ANGELES IN SMOG FIGHT

(By Magner White)

To smog-wise Los Angeles County citizens it may seem that many Federal smog projects, which will cost $4,100,000 in 1957–58 if the budget stands, either duplicate or overlap research already done here.

Others of these projects may seem unimportant anyway so far as doing anything for smog control is concerned.

It is undoubtedly of scientific interest, and of importance too, to study "effects of air pollution on the pathology (broadly meaning health effects) of small animals." Presumably this includes domestic cats and dogs—information requested on projects did not specify.

The United States Public Health Service has assigned an expert to do this small-animal study in the California Health Department's bureau of chronic diseases.

Along with the Federal smog projects program, one finds the philosophy, once very familiar in these parts, that "before we can do anything about smog we need to know what it is, and what it does to people."

When these facts are learned, it seems indicated that more emphasis can be put on smog control, which is the thing Smog-Control Chief Smith Griswold, our California Congressmen, and experts in private industry feel should be done now.

And they want it done without waiting for the outcome of long-range medical research, however valuable that undoubtedly will prove to be.

In other words, there seems to be a waiting for results of some of this medical research, financed by the Federal smog program.

Well, if any further indictment of smog is needed to emphasize the need for fast developments in smog controls, we've had it right here in Los Angeles, from a scientist whose smog research is one of these Federal projects.

On March 11, Dr. Paul Kotin, University of Southern California pathologist, told a Yale Medical School group that smog can cause 2½ times as many lung cancers in mice breathing polluted air as compared with other mice living in washed air in a laboratory.

This is of mice; how about of men?

Dr. Kotin said highly complex mixtures of irritants in the atmosphere produced lung cancers in experimental animals, but that by and large it is unlikely any single agent produces lung cancer in men.

SIGNIFICANT

But then he added this—and after you read it you will understand why our California Congressmen and Griswold are insisting the Federal Government also do something to rush control of smog. Dr. Kotin said:

"Thus we feel that our laboratory experimental data is applicable to man to a remarkable degree. When laboratory findings parallel human epidemic figures, greater significance can be given to both. Medical history is filled with examples in which laboratory findings have proved ultimately to have their counterpart in human experience.

"There have been few exceptions."

In one study, results of 100 human autopsies bore out the effects of smog on human lungs.

Besides medical research, the Federal program includes work by other agencies than the Public Health Service. These are the Bureau of Mines, Bureau of Standards, Weather Bureau, Library of Congress, and Department of Agriculture.

They have an allocation of $502,000 for their research.

The Bureau of Mines' list includes—and these will sound familiar to you southern Californians:

"Incineration of combustible wastes."

"Automobile exhausts evaluation."

(You know, of course, that studies here have caused the banning as of next October 1 of 1,500,000 single-chamber backyard incinerators—we know they're smogmakers, so why any more research?—and that the APCD and the Detroit automotive industry have been evaluating motor vehicle exhausts for 2 years.)

The Bureau of Standards has:

"Study of reactions among atmospheric pollutants."

"Rapid field methods of sampling and analysis for determination of individual substances * * *."

The Weather Bureau has meteorological studies of dispersal of community air pollution."

A nationwide air-sampling program is underway, with sampling stations in every State in the Union, and including nearly all major cities.

Besides the practical values, one purpose of this survey was said to be to educate the people to the need for research on air pollution, as well as to ascertain the variety of air pollutions in the United States, and to check on radioactivity.

The Library of Congress is keeping up lists of things being done in smog research—abstracts of technical papers, and so on. It mails out 3- by 5-inch cards with summaries of these papers, and this is solemnly listed as a smog project.

Many of these papers are by staff men of the air pollution control district.

The Department of Agriculture, among others things, is working on studies "related to use of plants as air pollution indicators"—and this has proved a useful project; plants don't lie when they show effects of smog.

PROJECTS' ORIGIN

How are the Federal smog medical research projects originated?

If you are qualified, you can apply for a research grant.

Dr. Kotin, University of Southern California, and James Quinnigan, Jr., got $20,579 in 1956, are scheduled for $16,184 this year, and $14,950 next year for their studies on effect of air pollutants on living virus-free tissue as compared with infected tissue.

At the University of California, Berkeley, Dr. Fred A. Bryan and Charles M. Carpenter got $30,000 in 1956, and $25,000 this year to study whether exposure to smog causes the lungs to become more susceptible to infections.

Dr. Hurley Motley, University of Southern California, was granted $36,784 in 1956, $20,470 in 1957, and $20,497 for next year.

These are typical of 58 community air pollution grant research projects over the United States, totaling $530,000 of the current $2,740,000 Federal smog program.

OBJECTIVE

Eleven grants, totaling $170,613, are in California.

Contrast this $170,613 for long-range research with the sum of only $37,000 allocated by the Federal Government toward our most immediate and pressing problem—which is trying to stop as fast as possible the smog at its sources.

The Government's objective, it is said, is to promote the highest quality of research without interference.

What happens when a project is completed?

The results are formally reported to the National Health Institutes, and the researchers publish their findings in scientific journals or report them in speeches before scientific groups.

You hear about them usually when a researcher makes one of these speeches and the newspapers report it.

Smog officials do not quarrel with this medical research.

But they do say they want more aid in finding controls for smog. With these, they say, it might be possible to shut off the effects of smog on humans which makes so much medical research necessary.

That's why they want $1 million out of the Federal smog budget proposed for next year, for application to the job of stopping smog right here in Los Angeles County.

Next article: Where the Federal Government Can Help on the Southern California Smog Problem—What Local Smog Officials Are Asking of Congress.

Hammarskjold's Frustrations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include the following interesting and interpretative article written by Con-

stantine Brown and appearing in the Washington Star of April 1, 1957:

HAMMARSKJOLD'S FRUSTRATIONS—U. N. LEADER DIDN'T SUCCEED IN CHINA, NOR HAS HE TRIUMPHED OVER NASSER

Two major tremors—the rebellion of the Hungarian people and the Suez Canal affair—which could have brought the Communist world and its camp followers into a hopeless situation vis-a-vis the free world—have been settled in favor of the Reds.

The terror which the U. S. S. R. inflicted on the Hungarians last fall aroused the indignation of people around the world. There was a clamor for action against the Red legions which used tanks and artillery against men, women, and children who wanted to lead a free life.

In keeping with the free world's new diplomatic concept, the matter was handed over to the United Nations—that supreme international tribunal which we now consider the only arbiter of the wrongs of its members. But after a number of meaningless resolutions, which had no more effect than a flea biting an elephant, the U. N. did nothing.

The U. N.'s investigative mission, sent to Vienna long after the shooting had ended in the streets of Budapest, closed shop last week. It will present a report on its findings in due course of time. The report will be carefully filed away.

In the meantime the Kadar puppet government has been given the Soviet accolade at much-publicized receptions and festivities in Moscow and Leningrad. Small nations were strongly warned at the same time by the men in the Kremlin not to try anything which might offend the goals of Communist imperialism lest they suffer the same fate as the Hungarians.

The same weak United Nations was given the responsibility of settling the conflict between the Soviet and Indian dominated Egypt and the western powers. The invasion of Egypt by the British-French-Israeli forces had already been settled by the strong hand of the United States.

The job entrusted to Dag Hammarskjold, the Secretary General of the U. N., was to establish a just settlement, in keeping with international law, of the Suez Canal dispute which originated last June when President Nasser arbitrarily took over the Suez Canal Co. and decided that he alone will collect the tolls.

Mr. Hammarskjold is an unlucky negotiator. When the principal U. N. official was entrusted by Washington with the mission of freeing the American soldiers officially known to be in Chinese Communist jails he went to Peiping where he was lavishly wined and dined. But he returned empty handed.

On his return from Peiping, he told our Government the prisoners would be liberated if America withdrew its opposition to admission of Communist China into the U. N. But Washington refused to pay ransom for the captives. They are still languishing in jail almost forgotten by those who sent them to fight in Korea under the flags of the United States and the U. N.

In his handling of the Egyptian situation, Mr. Hammarskjold was able to get positive results—more positive for the Egyptian dictator than for the free nations. In fact the few responsible diplomats who happened to be in possession of all the terms—those given to the public and those still kept under wraps—say that the settlement negotiated by the international diplomat means a complete victory for the Egyptian dictator.

All the fair proposals and suggestions, including the users' association, made by Secretary of State Dulles last summer when he intervened in London, backed by the full power of the United States, have been discarded in the Hammarskjold-Nasser agreement.

The Egyptian dictator's gentlemen's agreement for a standstill in the Gulf of Aqaba and in the Gaza strip means little. So long as Israel has a military strength superior to that of the modern Pharaoh that standstill will continue.

Impartial American and western observers who believe that the West will swallow the settlement as it has swallowed so many other humiliations in the past at the hands of the Communists and neutralists are an unhappy lot about the results of the intervention by the U. N.'s top official. They are convinced that it is not Nasser who is emerging as the victor in the eyes of the Afro-Asian leaders but the Nehru-Krishna Menon team.

These observers note that Krishna Menon was closeted with Nasser for 6 hours the day before Mr. Hammarskjold arrived in Cairo. They say that judging from previous statement by Mr. Nehru's troubleshooter, the settlement reached in Cairo represents exactly the views of Mr. Menon.

What many observers in Washington regard as another U. N. surrender to the Communist objectives will work in favor of the Indian leaders at the free world's expense.

Modern Republicanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Fairmont Daily Sentinel, of Fairmont, Minn., of Saturday, March 30, 1957, entitled "Modern Republicanism":

MODERN REPUBLICANISM

The term "modern Republicanism" is probably new; but the place it has carved out for itself in modern politics is anything but new. And so the term "modern Republicanism" is a misnomer, on two counts. It is not modern, and it cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be regarded as Republicanism.

Modern Republicanism dates back to the New Deal, when opportunists and professional politicians in the Republican Party saw the way to get elected was to adopt the tactics of the internationalists and the give-away artists; the do-gooders. It dates back to the shameful period in our history when the intellectuals in the New and Fair Deal looked down their noses at anyone so old hat and crass that he dared champion the cause of the United States of America first, last, and always.

Modern Republicanism dates back to the day when party stalwarts in the Republican Party were, one by one, taken to the mountain top of political expediency; away from their sphere of influence, and stuck away in nice, fat, Federal jobs, good for a lifetime.

Modern Republicanism is that indefinable something which countenances the practice of the Truman administration to heap billions of dollars on foreign lands while we do nothing—that is visible to the naked eye—toward getting American citizens out of the clutches of Communist brigands in Asian concentration camps.

Modern Republicanism continues the headlong lunge toward again crashing through our national debt ceiling. It nurtures and coddles the idea that success must be penalized, that individual initiative must be stifled; that bureaucrats and their directives must chart our course.

It contemplates now to add another 40,000 persons to the Federal payroll; to create still more alphabetical agencies, bureaus, and bureaucrats, to still further increase our tax burden instead of easing it; to still further deflate the value of the American dollar.

Modern Republicanism continues the practice inaugurated under the New Deal, perpetuated and accelerated under Harry Truman, of sending striped-pantsed diplomats flitting hither and yon to the four corners of the earth, while our forgotten men rot in Communist prison camps.

Analysis of the aims, principles, and purposes of our two major political parties points, unmistakably, that neither is Republican or Democrat; that both are committed and headed, irrevocably and unalterably to achieving the welfare state. And the sad part of it is that neither party appears to have a substantial candidate who has not been saturated to a greater or lesser degree with the doctrine that has plunged us into debt, jeopardized our security, alienated our friends, and burdened us with taxes.

The picture looks dark, but there is hope. It lies in the 22 million men who have worn the uniform of our country in the past futile wars. They, and the members of their families who know the sacrifices, the heartbreaks, the suffering incident to war could, were they to unite, provide the leadership that will restore and rejuvenate the spirit of true Americanism.

Mr. and Mrs. Reuben Levy, of Kingston, Pa., Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of March 29, 1957, commenting on the new honor bestowed upon Mr. and Mrs. Reuben Levy, of Kingston, Pa.:

NEW HONOR FOR LEVYS

Many distinctions have been conferred on Mr. and Mrs. Reuben Levy, of Kingston, during the past quarter century, but none perhaps more gratifying than the one to be accorded them tonight when the chapel of Temple Israel will be dedicated to them. This is indeed a signal honor as well as recognition of their service.

Mr. Levy, who has received awards from many organizations, is a past president and vice president of Temple Israel as well as one of the most active members of the Jewish community, having headed various campaigns and humanitarian movements.

Mrs. Levy, in addition to sharing her husband's interests, has carved out an impressive record of service on her own initiative. She has been identified with the Sisterhood of Temple Israel, Hadassah, Jewish Community Center, and the United Jewish Appeal, to mention a few of her activities. In 1955, Hadassah proclaimed her its "Woman of the Year."

Mr. and Mrs. Levy constitute an unusual team. Unquestionably, the reason they have received so much from life is that they put so much into it.

The Tariff Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENDERSON LANHAM
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, increasing concern is being expressed in many quarters over the President's treatment of the Tariff Commission. In recent months the President has turned down every recommendation forwarded to him by the Commission. Among these were unanimous recommendations.

The Tariff Commission is a bipartisan body composed of three members from each party. The President himself has appointed 5 of the 6 members. It seems odd, to say the least, that he should exhibit so little confidence in an agency of Congress whose members are selected for their competence in the field of tariffs and trade. All members were confirmed by the Senate.

The accompanying statement offers an explanation of the manner in which the Tariff Commission is being disregarded in its field of expert knowledge. Only the past weekend the President administered three rebuffs to the Commission. This is a new record.

I suggest that the Congress look into this situation especially in view of the forthcoming request of the President that Congress approve United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation—OTC. The President in side tracking the Tariff Commission may be revealing what would happen under the OTC. It is far from reassuring.

PRESIDENT HUMBLES TARIFF COMMISSION

(Statement of O. R. Strackbein, chairman, the Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor, on Import-Export Policy)

The President has again overruled the Tariff Commission, this time in two separate cases, and has again in a third case shown a lack of confidence in the Tariff Commission. Five of the six Commissioners are Eisenhower appointees.

In overruling the Tariff Commission in the Straight Pins case the President set aside the 4-2 finding that imports threaten serious injury to the domestic industry. In so doing the President ostensibly substituted his judgment for that of the Tariff Commission. Actually, he accepted the judgment of executive department personnel over that of the Tariff Commission which is an expert agency, set up by the Congress to help it regulate the foreign commerce of this country.

Here we have one more case in the long list in which the President has upset the Tariff Commission findings to make room for the higher judgment of executive underlings who do the bidding of the State Department or who are steeped in the same international brew. With these high priests of the internationalist cult domestic industry has no standing, just as the voice of Congress as expressed through the Tariff Commission finds no echo in them.

In the second case the President rejected a 3 to 2 recommendation of the Tariff Commission involving violins and violas. He expressed sympathy with the problems of the lone domestic manufacturer left in the field who is hard pressed by imports.

Again the President slaps the Tariff Commission in the face, saying he is not persuaded the case satisfies the statutory test. Then he introduced considerations extraneous to the law by speculating that an increase in the tariff, as recommended by the Commission, would raise the cost of music instruction for young people throughout the country.

Obviously the President has lost track of the distinction between policy determination, a congressional function in escape clause cases, and administrative discretion. In these cases the President acts solely on delegated authority. This fact could never be concluded from a reading of his letters to the Finance Committee of the Senate and the Committee on Ways and Means of the House. He has set himself up as the overlord, not as a delegate, in carrying out State Department as distinguished from congressional policy.

In the third case, namely, safety pins, the President sent the case back to the Tariff Commission for further data. This action again reflects a lack of confidence in the Commission. Yet these are the same Commissioners of whom the President appointed five and who were duly confirmed by the Senate.

The whole executive attitude in these cases as in numerous others reflects a determination to push Congress and its agency, the Tariff Commission, aside and to bring the regulation of our foreign commerce under the firm control of the executive.

In a nutshell it represents the vesting of veto powers in the hands of the State Department over questions of the domestic economy.

The President has 60 days in which to accept or reject the Commission's recommendations. During the first 30 days of this period comments of foreign governments are received. Obviously the voices from these sources easily carry the day at the White House.

In this roundabout way foreign governments are in effect rewriting our administrative tariff laws. The President follows up by tweaking the nose of Congress. This cannot go on much longer.

Gripes About Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include an editorial by Verl Manwarren, a student in the Sterling High School and sports editor of the Sterling High School Sun Dial, on the subject of taxes. This editorial appeared in the Hutchinson Herald dated March 29, 1957:

"Taxes! Taxes! Taxes! It seems like that's where all of my money goes." Are you one of those people, too? How many people gripe about taxes every day.

Yet, just what would happen if we didn't have taxes? For example, if we had no taxes there would be no schools, no teachers if we did have schools, no roads, no repairs for them if we did have roads, no post offices or public buildings, no Government officials, no President, nor even any Government. If we lose all or any of these things we lose all of the advantages of democracy in the land.

Taxes build the schools and pay the teachers' salaries. Therefore, if there were no taxes only the rich people would have an education. The poor would have absolutely no chance for an education.

Taxes build the roads that we drive on and keep them in repair. These same taxes put our Congress in office, provide for the President and his Cabinet and all of the other Government officials.

Taxes have just built a new postoffice for us here in Sterling, and many other public buildings are built in other places by taxes.

Of course no one likes to pay taxes, but when you do pay them, instead of griping just remember these things—schools, post offices, public officials, and the total of all democracy are provided by these taxes.

Ill-Advised Budget Cuts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a letter from the Sacramento, Calif., office of the National Postal Transport Association which is illustrative of the lack of wisdom in approaching the problem of Government economy.

Many Members of Congress have been voting for wholesale cuts in Government services under the cloak of fear of inflation. It is argued that private spending is preferable to Government spending because it leads to greater productivity. But it is evident that certain types of Government spending, such as for needed services in health, education, and postal services also increase production, perhaps even in greater measure. I want to emphasize that there are many ways to combat inflation—a cut in Government spending is only one approach and often not the wisest one.

When a cut in Government spending is effected at the expense of already underpaid employees and reduces postal service to individuals and businesses alike, then it is time that we consider specific needs rather than fall prey to the general slogan of "cut Government spending and stop inflation."

Mr. Speaker, it is my hope that some of these ill-advised cuts will be restored by the House so that services can be kept up, particularly in the Far West where our economy is expanding rapidly and, therefore, where there are increasing needs for Government services in many fields.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a part of the letter from the western division of the National Postal Transport Association:

NATIONAL POSTAL TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION,
Sacramento, Calif., March 25, 1957.
Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ROOSEVELT: With reference to the current action of the Congress relative to the proposed budget of the United States for the next fiscal year and the steps now being taken to reduce the amount as submitted by

the President, my attention has been drawn to the action taken by the House in reducing the requested amounts for postal operations by 29 millions and for postal transportation allocations by over 9 millions.

Last week employees of the postal transportation service in the San Francisco area were recipients of policy orders which appear to have a direct relation to the above mentioned action. A copy of the order is enclosed, and I have no doubt that similar action likewise will have been taken in other areas.

Certainly economy is indeed a virtue and when waste is being eliminated it should be commended. However, when that economy is effected only at the expense of junior employees who are already underpaid, and further by rendering a poorer service to the postal patrons, then I question whether it is an economy that should be practiced. Perhaps, therefore, it would be proper to briefly analyze the steps which this order proposes will be taken.

First: Vacancies will not be filled by appointment but will be covered by substitutes. Our apprentice employees who are classified as substitutes have a starting salary rate of $3,880 per annum, payable only for service actually performed. They may progress by annual steps to step 4 at $4,630 per annum. In addition, they do not receive the benefit of time and one-half for overtime work (that in excess of an average of 40 hours per week) as do regular employees. Hence, this order will restrict these men from receiving promotions to the higher steps and from receiving the benefit of the overtime law, although they will be performing service on a regular basis exactly as other clerks who have previously been accorded appointment to similar positions.

Second, helper assignments will be blanked whenever possible, principally on week ends and holidays. This means that when a regular clerk in a helper assignment requests a trip off duty his assignment will not be filled by the assignment of a substitute, especially on week ends and holidays. It is true that on certain days of the week the work load in our mobile units (RPO's and HPO's) is somewhat lighter than on other days. However, this is generally offset by the fact that in the organization of the line, the help on those days is either reduced or the hours of advance work are curtailed. The net result of this proposal will be that the remaining members of the crew must struggle to absorb the distribution which would have been performed by the clerk dropping out. Inasmuch as the normal work duties have been quite carefully allocated to the various regular members of the crew and hours of duty have been set accordingly, this cannot but result in a physical hardship on the remaining members of the crew on many occasions.

The third paragraph indicates that it is expected that it will be impossible to perform all customary distribution on such occasions and hence the supervisor will have to designate certain distribution to be eliminated when necessary on such trips. This can only have the effect of delay to some mail.

I would make it clear that I feel the office of the District Transportation Manager has no alternative to adopting this practice. When his working budget is reduced he has to cut expenses somewhere, regardless of what it does to the employees and the mails involved. May I further add that employees should be willing to practice economies and I am sure the majority will be agreeable to doing so wherever it can be properly done.

As to the solution, my opinion is that nothing less than the amount requested in the budget as submitted should be considered. As first a clerk for 29 years, and for the last 15 years a supervisor, I have watched the budget requests for operation of the postal transportation service and I have invariably found the asking to be very moderate. In fact, if satisfactory service is to be rendered the postal patrons, the asking should frequently have been larger. My personal observation regarding the present budget is that it makes little provision for improved service; and especially in these Western States where our population and general economy is increasing so rapidly, the budget allows for no possibilities for increased service to care for the natural increasing needs.

With kindest regards, I am,

Very sincerely,

HAROLD G. MCKELLIPS,
Vice Chairman, Legislative Committee.

High Excise Taxes May Become a Habit That's Hard To Break

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "High Excise Taxes May Become a Habit That's Hard To Break," which appeared in the March 30, 1957, issue of the Courier-Journal, of Louisville, Ky.:

HIGH EXCISE TAXES MAY BECOME A HABIT THAT'S HARD TO BREAK

The wartime (Korea) high rates of Federal excise taxes, which were to expire Monday, are renewed for 15 months, just in the nick of time. A promise made more than 4 years ago is once again deferred. Everybody in Washington, including the tax cutters and the budget slashers, is wringing his hands—but voting to defer.

They agonize and protest even as they vote. They insist that there is an emergency even as they make whacking gestures at the President's $72 billion budget. They promise that it will never happen again, though they said the same thing in 1954.

What we are afraid of is that it will not only happen again but that the prolonged deferment and the ease with which it is worked means that it will be frozen into our tax system.

Each deferment seems to us to weaken resistance to the old idea that excises could be perfected and made general and become a permanent feature under their right name—a Federal sales tax.

IT'S PART OF A PICTURE

The alacrity, the sense of inevitability, with which Congress hastens to renew the war rates year after year must be judged in the framework of the whole tax picture. Nobody can have missed the new life which has gone into movements to limit the personal income tax by law or even by constitutional amendment. Nobody can help hearing the stout political assurances that there'll be cuts in the income-tax rates before next election, with a great scramble between Republicans and Democrats to get the credit.

Learned studies are springing up this season, like the jonquils, to prove with graphs and tables that the excise tax (or call it a manufacturer's sales tax) would be a fine thing to take up the slack in Federal revenue. We can't help being suspicious of the way the higher tax hangs on.

There is always the claim of emergency. It was like that in the early days of the Nation. Alexander Hamilton was strong for the excise tax and the first one was dated 1791. It was levied on whisky and gave rise to an armed rebellion. It also brought extinction to the Federalist Party and helped along the rise of Jefferson and his general ideas.

It came back in a genuine emergency, the War of 1812. Then popular feeling stopped it in 1817 and it didn't show up again until the Civil War with its great costs. It waxed and waned since then, rates rising and falling as needs or interests demanded, items going on the list and coming off.

Restive under even the low income taxes of those days, supporters of Harding and Coolidge pressed for a general Federal sales tax. Herbert Hoover in 1932 was strong for a 2.25 percent manufacturer's sales tax, which was a way of generalizing the selective excise taxes.

The present rates, born of the Korean emergency, went up sharply in 1951. Congress put into the law a commitment to bring back the major items—liquor, tobacco, transportation, luxuries—on April 1, 1954. But to do this now would mean a reduction of $3.7 billion a year for the Treasury. And as budgets had grown progressively larger, the reduction was put off, the high rates were extended, year after year. This came always in the fading hours of March, always with a plea of haste and emergency to explain why public hearings (and their pressures) were not feasible.

A FEW CONCESSIONS IN 1954

To be sure, there were a few concessions in 1954. The Government takes only 10 percent of a mink coat's sale price now, where the rate had been 20 percent. The same readjustment was made on jewelry, toilet articles, and certain clothing. Other rates stay high.

You pay the tax on an odd assortment and in a discriminatory selection of goods and services. You pay on ballpoint pens (or the manufacturers does), on club dues, dog-race admissions, refrigerators, and electric-light bulbs, just to name a few taxable items. You pay on pinball machines and playing cards.

Liquor and tobacco still bring almost half of the total of some $9.5 billion which the excises total every year. Uncle Sam gets more from every package of cigarettes than does the farmer who grows the tobacco. Liquor and tobacco, plus transportation, bring in 81 percent of total excise receipts. All this is not intended as an argument against proper taxes. It is, however, a reflection of worry lest the Federal Government's clinging to excise taxes as an institution, the practically automatic renewal of the higher rates year after year, foretell a captivation with the old idea of a general Federal sales tax or manufacturers' tax and thus a further cramping of the area which State and local services must look to.

One Hundredth Anniversary of the Stegmaier Brewing Co., of Wilkes-Barre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent of March 31, 1957, commenting on the 100th anniversary of the Stegmaier

Brewing Co. and its growth and progress over the past century:

STEGMAIER'S MARKS ITS 100TH YEAR

Just 100 years ago Charles Stegmaier, then only 35 but known as a brilliant brewmaster since he was 25, founded the Stegmaier Brewing Co.

He had a working force of 5 men and delivered his product personally, 1 barrel at a time, in an express wagon drawn by a goat.

That was, of course, in 1857.

Now, in 1957, and just when Wyoming Valley needs it so badly, the modern, internationally known Stegmaier Brewing Co. employs 500.

And, always a user of our anthracite, the firm that once used 10 tons a month now burns 200 tons a week.

No higher praise could be earned by any firm—or its product—in these days of fierce competition than by its ability merely to last 100 years.

Stegmaier's not only has done this but has been able also to show steady, continuous, and healthy growth.

We trust the second 100 years will be as good.

The Terrific Cost of Accidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "The Terrific Cost of Accidents," which appeared in the March 29, 1957, issue of the Breckinridge County Herald-News, of Irvington, Ky.:

THE TERRIFIC COST OF ACCIDENTS

It is most depressing to read that the dollar cost of accidents in this country is rising. One reliable estimate puts last year's total cost at the staggering figure of $10 billion.

This total includes damages, benefit payments, loss of pay, loss of production, doctor and hospital bills, with perhaps half of the total being chargable to highway mishaps. With the heavy travel season just now getting underway for 1957, there are those who are fearful of what this year's accident toll will be.

While some safety officials pin their hopes for reducing the motor-vehicle toll to the new national highway building program, others fear that the increase in the driver population and the number of motor vehicles on the highways will cause the accident figures to climb even higher.

Motor-vehicle fatalities in 1956 brought a record 45,000 life-insurance death claims, with payments amounting to approximately $97 million. This was 3,000 more claims and $7 million more in benefits than was paid in the preceding year.

But, however high the economic and human loss from injuries and death from motor-vehicle accidents, the loss from other types of accidents has also risen. On-the-job accidents cost industry and workers about $3,500,000,000 last year, according to figures released by the Institute for Safer Living of the American Mutual Liability Insurance Comany of Boston. Off-the-job accidents cost much more—nearly $7,500,000,000 with highway accidents being included in both categories.

Increased leisure time and higher incomes enable more people to travel these days—all too often into danger. The fact that so many workers seem to sustain more accidents causing time and production loss while away from their jobs than while at work has caused a number of companies to set up safety clauses, urging precautions at recreation, around the home, and on the road.

It is both interesting, and alarming, to note how the institute's estimate of $10 billion accident cost, which is termed "a total economic loss," compares with the outlook for Federal and State highway construction this year, which is expected to cost taxpayers $11 billion, but not a "total" cost.

Compulsory Inspection of Poultry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, many of us in the House of Representatives feel that a mandatory poultry inspection law will not adequately protect consumers and poultry workers unless it provides for some form of mandatory ante mortem or before-slaughter inspection.

We do not seek a bird-by-bird ante mortem inspection. In fact, we believe the manner, method and form of such an inspection be left to the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture. All we desire is that the ante mortem inspection be made mandatory to assure that the Secretary will put some form of it into effect.

I would suggest an observation of each flock, coop, or batch at the processing plant before slaughter to take out the suspect birds. The inspector can look at these suspects more closely at a later opportune time. But, as I have said, the manner of carrying out ante mortem inspection should be left to the discretion of the Secretary.

Ante mortem inspection will safeguard the consumer against eating poultry which suffers from a number of diseases, especially respiratory ones. These diseases are difficult to detect after slaughter. And it will cut down the human toll among poultry workers by minimizing industrial hazards which have given the poultry-processing industry the third highest industrial illness rate among American manufacturing industries.

We were gratified when every single one of the public health witnesses appearing before the Poultry and Egg Subcommittee of the Agriculture Committee recently testified in favor of mandatory ante mortem inspection. This included the Deputy Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration and the veterinarian in charge of the Department of Agriculture's voluntary poultry-inspection program.

The latter witness, Dr. Roy E. Willie, chief of the inspection branch, Poultry Division, Agricultural Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, testified after some public health groups twitted the Department at Senate Agriculture Committee hearings for not bringing its technical personnel before the committee. The public health witnesses said the technical staff, the men who knew from experience what was necessary for public protection, would testify differently than the political appointees. And so it was.

Probably the best account of these developments is contained in the leading trade paper of the poultry industry, the Poultryman. I believe Dr. Willie's testimony should leave no doubt in anyone's mind that mandatory ante mortem inspection is absolutely essential for an effective and meaningful poultry-inspection program.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of today's RECORD the news story from the Poultryman of Friday, March 15, 1957:

ANTE MORTEM INSPECTION ISSUE GETS SPOTLIGHT AT HEARING IN HOUSE; ENFORCEMENT IS SIFTED

WASHINGTON.—Dr. Roy E. Willie, Chief of United States Agriculture Department's voluntary poultry inspection program, under questioning became a star witness for a tighter law than his boss wants on compulsory poultry inspection.

It happened last week at hearings before the poultry and egg subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee.

Assistant Secretary Earl Butz had just testified that USDA wants a law which will permit, but not require, the Department to make ante mortem inspection. Butz opposed demands of public health, labor, and some consumer groups that the law make some kind of ante mortem examination mandatory, permitting the Secretary to define it.

Pressed on this controversial point by Representative JOHN C. WATTS, Democrat, of Kentucky, subcommittee chairman, Dr. Willie testified:

"I should say that under a mandatory program we should perform some kind of ante mortem inspection on all birds brought into the plant."

For an effective program, said the inspection chieftain, it's necessary to know about poultry's health condition before slaughter.

Dr. Willie emphasized that he was not recommending a live bird-by-bird inspection (nor would any pending bill require this).

The law should not spell out the extent, type, or method of ante mortem inspection, he said, but should permit the Secretary to decide these details. (The Department has plans for a research project in cooperation with veterinary schools and poultry departments in several States, to determine such questions.)

Under questioning, Dr. Willie said live inspection at the farm probably would yield the greatest advantage, but insisted an ante mortem check at the plant would be effective. He cautioned that the procedure must take into account operating conditions at the plant.

Labor and public health spokesmen—who had chided USDA for the fact that no USDA veterinarian had testified at the earlier Senate hearings—seized Dr. Willie's endorsement of ante mortem inspection for all birds as ammunition for their arsenal.

INDUSTRY WITNESSES SPEAK

Industry witnesses though, got in the next blow. They chose a direct frontal attack. In large numbers, they pressed for less stringent inspection provisions than USDA endorses.

Give us, several industry spokesmen urged Congress, a bill which will not tie the Secretary's hands. Do not spell out in law any requirement for either ante or post mortem

inspection, they said. Science may render obsolete and costly the post mortem examination of each carcass which USDA now thinks should be mandatory, they argued, and one should trust the Secretary to require whatever inspection is needed to guard wholesomeness.

Dr. Cliff Carpenter, Chicago, president of the Institute of American Poultry Industries and a veterinarian, took note of Dr. Willie's inspection statement:

"The impression may have been gained by this committee," said Dr. Carpenter, "that it would be necessary to have some form of ante mortem inspection at all times. We do not believe there is a valid basis for such a position * * * there is not even agreement on what ante mortem inspection would include."

WILLIE TESTIMONY CITED

Hermon I. Miller, director of USDA's Poultry Division, which administers the voluntary inspection program, said he thought compulsory ante mortem inspection would require an additional inspector at each plant, though research would have to decide this.

When their turn came, labor, public health, and consumer groups cited Dr. Willie's stand to support their position, and the Food and Drug Administration reiterated its belief that mandatory ante mortem inspection was essential to fully protect the consumer.

Questions of several committee members, however, indicated they were not sold on the idea of "directing the Secretary to do something we haven't even defined," as one of them put it.

The House hearings developed other points of dispute similar to those which had arisen before the Senate Agriculture Committee.

Examples:

1. Definition of inspector: Let the Secretary authorize any person as an inspector, said all but one industry witness and official USDA spokesmen.

To handle seasonal needs, etc., USDA should be authorized to make use of State employees, they argued.

No, said labor and public health groups. Require inspectors to be Federal employees to assure freedom from local pressures and prevent employment of a processing firm worker as that firm's inspector. Follow the example of the red meat inspection program, which allows only Federal workers to imprint the Federal inspection stamp, they urged.

STRONG OPPOSITION NOTED

FDA Deputy Commissioner John Harvey said he originally had planned to endorse the idea of permitting USDA to use State or local governmental employees with no financial interest in the processing firm. However, he said, he had been surprised to discover that this plan was strongly opposed by a number of State officials (who had doubts about accepting imported poultry so inspected from other States).

Representative CLIFFORD MCINTIRE, Republican, of Maine, sponsor of 1 of the 12 poultry inspection bills in the House, indicated that he wanted the law to provide for continuation of such Federal-State poultry inspection agreements as now prevail in Maine and North Dakota.

2. New York dressed poultry: A spokesman for the National Association of State Public Health Veterinarians urged Congress to prohibit the unsavory practice of permitting interstate movement of New York dressed poultry. Dr. Oscar Sussman, Trenton, N. J., said he objected to having the Federal inspection stamp on poultry "which has had fecal and other material dribble over it." Public health spokesmen said most FDA seizures of unfit poultry involved the New York dressed product.

Industry groups, however, pleaded for regulated interstate movement (between official plants) of such poultry. They said it takes large volume of poultry to pay for evisceration equipment and that it's most efficient to have a central eviscerating plant to serve several small dressing plants.

USDA testified that an outright ban on uneviscerated poultry shipments would impose an unnecessary hardship on the industry.

TERMINOLOGY CONFUSES WITNESS

One committee member listened with shock to public health attacks on the filthy condition of New York dressed poultry.

After pondering the testimony he finally spoke up.

"Now, what can we do about the awful condition of New York poultry?" he wanted to know.

Gently, his colleagues explained that "New York dressed" means uneviscerated poultry and has nothing to do with New York City or State.

3. Enforcement agency: Industry generally took the view that the Agriculture Secretary should be permitted to decide what USDA agency should enforce the program. Witnesses let it be known, though, that they hoped he would choose the Agricultural Market Service, which runs the present program. Inspection and grading should be handled by the same agency as complementary functions, many said. Labor, public health, and some consumer spokesmen urged that Congress put the inspection program in the Agricultural Research Service, which handles the present red meat inspection program.

Only one group, National Farmers Union, supported the idea of making the Poultry Inspection Branch a subordinate part of the Red Meat Inspection Division. This idea, popular with labor groups last year, has no known Senate support this year and very little House backing. Almost everyone now embraces the idea of a Poultry Inspection Division, fully equal in status to the Red Meat Inspection Division.

AT REQUEST OF LOCALITY

4. Regulation of intrastate poultry shipments: Industry generally urged that USDA be empowered to move into a major consuming center upon request of the local poultry industry.

Labor and public health spokesmen generally pleaded that local governmental authorities have the right to keep compulsory United States Department of Agriculture inspection out of their intrastate areas.

Chairman Watts said United States Department of Agriculture's designation of cities for compulsory inspection would enable small processors with intrastate shipments to receive Government-financed inspection, which they might need to compete with big processors.

5. Timing of the law: The Southeastern Poultry and Egg Association, of whose members only about one-fourth participate in the voluntary inspection program, won support from other industry witnesses in its campaign to delay the law's effective date.

The Institute of American Poultry Industries, which said nothing about the matter to the Senate committee, urged the House committee not to permit any processor to receive Government-financed inspection before January 1, 1958, a proposal advanced by southern industry witnesses.

EFFECTIVE DATE SIFTED

Many bills would instead provide immediate permissive coverage and mandatory coverage on July 1, 1958.

Southern industry witnesses argued that this would put plants without mandatory Federal inspection (either because they failed to meet sanitation standards or because the United States Department of Agriculture didn't have enough inspectors) at a serious disadvantage for too long a period, assuming the law is enacted this year.

The United States Department of Agriculture favors immediate permissive inspection and wants Congress to consider delaying mandatory coverage until July 1, 1959, a proposal that would extend the time lag between permissive and compulsory coverage even longer.

6. Punishment of violators: Industry repeated its pleas that violations be exempt from punishment unless knowingly committed. Public health, labor, FDA and the United States Department of Agriculture rejected this as making enforcement difficult—and contrary to established procedures under the Food and Drug Act.

Generally speaking, House proceedings confirmed the picture which emerged at the Senate hearings of the kind of law likely to result. (Editor's Note: See the March 8 issue of The Poultryman for detailed analysis.)

At House hearings the United States Department of Agriculture raised mild objections to granting to game birds the exemption sought by game breeders, placing this proposed exemption in more doubt than first appeared.

SOLONS AT WORK

As the Poultryman went to press this week, the Senate Agriculture Committee continued work on its draft of a poultry-inspection bill; and House committeemen planned to listen to views of other Congressmen on the subject. In addition to witnesses mentioned above, oral or written testimony was received by the House committee from many others, including:

Wallace Jerome, Wisconsin Turkey Federation, Barron; Chester Housh, National Turkey Federation, Elkton, Va.; Robert Parks, American Poultry & Hatchery Federation, Altoona, Pa.; Dr. Alfred Van Wagenen, Northeastern Poultry Producers Council, Trenton, N. J.; J. C. Kumpe, Southwestern Poultry & Egg Association, Bentonville, Ark.

Albert R. Gibson, Georgia Poultry Federation, Gainesville; Charles D. Hawks, Arkansas Poultry Federation, Little Rock; Paul G. Thomas, South Carolina Turkey Federation, Sumter; W. L. Walsh, Alabama Poultry Industries Association, Montgomery; L. R. Abbott, Kentucky Poultry Federation, Sterling; J. Paul Williams, Southeastern Poultry & Egg Association, Richmond, Va.

John A. Winfield, North Carolina Department of Agriculture, Raleigh; Clayton Osgood, department of agriculture, Augusta, Me.; Thomas J. Mullins, secretary, legislative poultry interim committee, Tallahassee, Fla.

Dr. Aaron Haskin, health officer, Newark, N. J.; Miss Ella Best, American Nurses Association, New York City; S. W. Barker, director, poultry department, Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen (AFL–CIO); Dr. Max Hibbard, conference of public health veterinarians, Richmond, Va.; Henry E. Kingman, Jr., American Veterinary Medical Association, Chicago; George D. Riley, AFL–CIO legislative representative; Mrs. J. A. Booras, Housewives United, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Genevieve Oslund, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Washington, D. C.

Matt Triggs, American Farm Bureau Federation; Reuben Johnson, National Farmers Union; Joseph O. Parker, National Grange; John J. Riggle, National Council of Farmer Cooperatives; and Martin L. Livney, American Poultry Farmers Association.

Food Surplus Will Not Be Long With Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-

ORD, I would like to include an editorial by Mr. Rolland Jacquart, publisher of the Haskell Monitor-Chief, Sublette, Kans., appearing in the March 25 issue of that paper:

Take a good look at our food surplus, because what with the soil bank, acreage reserve, subdivisions, shopping centers, military installations, it will be a long, long time before our agricultural ingenuity will overtake again our nourishment requirements. What was an economic handicap only a day or so ago has ceased to be a worry inspirer, and tomorrow might be the object of fond remembrance.

Permanent retirement of cropland alone is enough to make us wonder if technology can compensate for reduced acres. Each year an estimated 1.1 million acres of American land goes out of crop use and into suburbs, industrial sites, airports, highways, and the like. A building magazine, Architectural Forum, warns that population and food-producing land will come into delicate balance in the early 1960's at the present rate construction is dotting the countryside.

There probably will not come a time in our or the next generation when consideration will be given to increasing farmland by removing improvements, but such an opposite to our present food surplus is not a future fantasy. There is no prospect of a letup in the spreading of suburbs or of highway building. In the next few years a million presently farmed acres will be commandeered for highways.

Cities expand. Winds rake the high plains. Drought lingers. Population increases. Millions of crop-acres lie fallow. There is only one way for food surpluses to go, and that's away.

Committee on Un-American Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, April 1, 1957.

Mr. JACK A. HAYES,
Secretary, the State Bar of California,
San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR MR. HAYES: I have your letter of March 25, 1957, concerning a hearing conducted by a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities at Los Angeles.

In stating your criticism of the manner in which the hearing was conducted, you overlook the fact that the hearing was not a trial. Every witness and his counsel are familiar with the rules of the committee. These rules are the rules governing the conduct of congressional committees.

In view of the fact that you have seen fit to go into the subject of the conduct of congressional investigations, I respectfully suggest that you give consideration to the advisability of disqualifying members of the bar who are also Communists from appearing as counsel for witnesses. Frequently these Communist lawyers prevail upon witnesses, who otherwise cooperate with our committee, to invoke the fifth amendment.

Incidentally, it is difficult for me to understand how you could have made an objective study of the hearings in Los Angeles without observing the insolent, contemptuous and reprehensible conduct of counsel, both while their clients were testifying and while waiting to be called. It is unfortunate that you did not get a full picture of what occurred before making your statement criticizing the subcommittee.

Very truly yours,
FRANCIS E. WALTER, *Chairman.*

A Question Still To Be Faced: Civilian Defense in Nuclear War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial entitled "A Question Still To Be Faced: Civilian Defense in Nuclear War," which appeared in the March 31, 1957, issue of the Courier-Journal, of Louisville, Ky.:

A QUESTION STILL TO BE FACED: CIVILIAN DEFENSE IN NUCLEAR WAR

If an H-bomb warning sounded 5 minutes from now, what would you do—dive for the cellar, or dash out of town?

That simple question and the answers it evokes have plagued Washington for years. Under Democrats and Republicans alike, Washington alternately has frightened the wits out of most of us and reassured us that though the possibilities of nuclear attack are awesome, the military and a good civil defense program might save enough of us to carry on. The Eisenhower administration alone has poured some $300 million into civil defense since 1953. Last year Congress allowed $93.6 million for civil defense, and this year the administration asked for $130 million.

The House, however, whacked this budget request to only $39.3 millions. Administration critics said this was a nonconfidence vote in Val Peterson's Civil Defense Administration and its emphasis on the concept of evacuation as opposed to the bomb-shelter concept.

SHALL WE STOP TRYING?

Actually Mr. Peterson has endorsed both concepts. And certainly few can argue with his grim belief that the only sure way to survive nuclear attack is just not to be anywhere near when the bombs begin to fall. Mr. Peterson himself has been in the vanguard of those gloomily assuring us that we have made no adequate preparation for civil defense.

The House vote actually seems to endorse Peterson's own gloom and carry it one step further—to the conclusion that we might as well stop trying. This is a widespread idea among ordinary citizens who have witnessed the test proof of how impossible it is to evacuate large cities on short notice and who can't be bothered with building bomb shelters when the Atomic Energy Commission assures them that one H-bomb can bring death to an area the size of New Jersey.

But it is hardly the way for legislators to run away from a monumental problem. It is a problem confounded, as the New York Times observed 2 years ago, by confusion, lack of leadership, inadequate information, and public apathy. But none of these can obscure the fact that some day the very survival of the Nation may depend on the effectiveness of its civil-defense program.

What we do know is that evacuation will work in some areas to some degree, that well-equipped bomb shelters will save some lives, that first aid promptly rendered will save more, that special preparations can minimize all aspects of nuclear disaster save death itself, that a huge organization and billions of dollars are needed to develop these things for the Nation as long as the threat of nuclear warfare hangs over us.

The Civil Defense Act of 1950 and its amendments haven't much more than begun on this problem. For one thing, the act places primary responsibility for civil defense on States and localities and requires them to match Federal funds—and the financial burden, unlightened by adequate leadership in Washington, has given us not so much a program as one huge yawn of fatalistic apathy.

DEATH WOULD BE CHEAPER

Death would indeed be cheaper for us all. Mass shelters of the type talked about by the Eisenhower administration might cost as much as $40 billion. An H-bomb warning system alone—for civil-defense purposes—would cost some $700 million. Mass evacuation test and training, much less the real thing, could use up billions more. Meantime the bombs get bigger and better, and by 1960, our own scientists reassure us, intercontinental missiles will be whizzing across whole oceans in a matter of minutes.

That's what we know from what they tell us in Washington. But what we aren't getting from Washington is any firm answer to this question: Is the Federal Government ever going to face this problem realistically? Or is it going to shrug it off with a token program, such as the House endorses, and continue to justify the public yawn?

Somewhere between the White House and the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Security Council someone ought to have the convincing answers, one way or the other. If they're never given, few voters can blame the House for thinking that spending money on an admittedly ineffective program is hardly worth quibbling about.

The Talented Miss Annette Evans of Wilkes-Barre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following feature article written by Libby Brennan, society editor, Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent of March 31, 1957, in which she outlines the talents of Miss Annette Evans and the contributions which she has made to the cultural and educational life of the Greater Wilkes-Barre area:

The first time we saw Miss Annette Evans was in the living room of her home on West River Street in the summer of 1941. The picture of the woman was indelibly burned into our memory and to this day it is closely associated with her. It was early afternoon when we met her sitting poised and gracious on a settee. She wore a lavender dress and had a matching scarf tied around her gray hair.

My father and I had made the visit to discuss with her my college education. As a teenager, I was completely fascinated by her appearance and manner. She talked in a beautifully modulated voice and seemed

to understand all the perplexing problems that were taxing the mind of a child trying to make a monumental decision.

After she had thoroughly explained and answered the barrage of questions we put to her, she began to tell us of her background and interest.

RELATED MANY TALES

As we sat there, she explained to us that her ancestors had been among the early Connecticut citizens who settled the valley. She told us wonderful tales of how the gallant frontier women lived and struggled in this turbulent territory during the Indian seige. The tales seemed to flow and included many stories that her grandmother had told her. It was a wonderful afternoon and inculcated in us a tremendous desire to know more of the fabulous history of the community in which we live.

Now, quite a few years later, we have learned that Miss Evans will share her lifetime of research and study with many when she lectures at the last of the series of frontier history gatherings at the Wyoming Historical Society tomorrow night at 8.

Today, just as lovely and interesting as she was on that warm June afternoon a number of years ago, she still enjoys discussing local history.

"No one made any great effort to keep accounts of the part women played in local history during the 18th century," she said. "However, there are some excellent accounts of particular women who played a vital role during and prior to the days of the American Revolution.

"Tomorrow night we will talk of these pioneer women and attempt to convey their strength, courage, and stamina under the hazardous condition in which they lived," Miss Evans said.

DEVOTED TO THE ARTS

She will accomplish that aim we are certain. For Annette Evans has done more to nurture and develop historical and cultural interests in Wyoming Valley than any other woman.

Her life has been devoted to the arts. Her early education was secured at the Wilkes-Barre Institute, after which she was graduated from Byrn Mawr College. She is one of the founders of the Little Theater of Wilkes-Barre and the Wyoming Valley Philharmonic. She is a trustee of Wilkes College and the Wyoming Valley Community Concert Association. It was she who initiated the Fine Arts Festival for the Sesquicentennial and brought the Catlin Art Exhibit of Indian paintings for Wilkes College. She is currently chairman of the Wyoming Valley United Nations Committee.

In her dedication to foster culture interests, she lectures to various groups, giving the nominal lecture fee to the Wilkes College scholarship fund. She is a devoted trustee of Wilkes College and enthusiastic about every advancement and stride made by the local coeducational institution.

FITTING CLIMAX

When Richmond Williams, director of the Wyoming Historical Society, announced that Miss Evans would lecture, he said: "We feel at the society, that the appearance of Miss Evans to lecture on Frontier Women is a fitting climax for a very successful series. To date, we have had over 500 persons attend the first 5 lectures and even the response to the drive for members for the society has met with more than anticipated success. We have 37 new memberships already."

After hearing Miss Evans lecture tomorrow we are sure that number will be at least doubled.

Every youngster has one person she considers her ideal. Ours was Miss Annette Evans and we have never been disappointed in our choice.

Fair Labor Standards Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article entitled "Fair Labor Standards," written by the Right Reverend Monsignor George G. Higgins, director of the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. The article appeared in the Messenger, official publication of the Catholic diocese of Belleville, Ill., March 27, 1957.

The article follows:

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS

(By Msgr. George G. Higgins, director, social action department, National Catholic Welfare Conference)

Congress is now considering extension of the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Hearings are in progress in the Senate on S. 1267, introduced by Senators MORSE, MURRAY, NEELY, and MCNAMARA, and in the House on a similar bill, H. R. 4575, introduced by Congressman AUGUSTINE KELLEY of Pennsylvania. In addition, Secretary of Labor Mitchell has presented an administration-backed proposal. These bills and the Secretary's proposals all seek to bring the benefits of the wage-and-hour law to more employees.

The FLSA, enacted in 1938, has remained virtually unchanged except for periodic adjustments in the minimum wage to conform with the cost-of-living index. It provided a minimum wage and time and one-half for hours over 40 in a workweek. However, at that time Congress believed that conditions then present justified covering only a portion of employees who needed protection. As a result, the full powers of Congress over interstate commerce were not exercised. Furthermore, many exemptions were placed in the act, removing additional large numbers of employees from the act's protection because, it was claimed, they were employed in so-called sick industries.

The present act covers about 25 million employees. An almost equal number remains outside of its protection. Thus, the original act fell far short of the policy declared in section 2—to eliminate the existence in industry * * * of labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers. It is of significance that, for the most part, those remaining outside of the act are receiving low wages and working long hours.

The problem then is whether under today's conditions there is any longer any economical or practical need for denying minimum wage and hour standards to the several millions of employees not covered under the terms of the existing law. In our opinion, there is not. For that reason, we strongly favor the enactment of the Morse-Kelley bill.

The Morse-Kelley bill tackles the problem in two ways: (1) By amending the coverage provisions to include activities which affect commerce; (2) by limiting or entirely eliminating certain of the exemptions. It is estimated that the Morse-Kelley bill would bring wage and overtime benefits to approximately 9 million employees.

Those who oppose the Morse-Kelley bill argue that changes in the act to provide minimum wage and hour standards to any number of new employees would be inflationary, interfere with States rights, cause business to go bankrupt, curtail employment, be difficult to enforce.

In answer to this, the proponents of expanded coverage point out that all of these arguments were made at the time the law was originally enacted, but that none of the dire consequences resulted. It is suggested that if industry could conform in 1938, it could easily do so in 1956.

As a matter of fact, the major part of industry is already conforming either because of the Fair Labor Standards Act, or because they voluntarily adopted fair standards, or because they operate under collective bargaining agreements. The vast bulk of employers in the United States now pay $1 per hour and recognize the 40-hour week. So, except for some unusual circumstance, it would seem that the maintenance of such minimum standards would not constitute a crippling burden.

Finally, the argument in favor of having the States handle this type of legislation is meaningless for all practical purposes. Despite discussions of minimum wage and maximum hour legislation over the past 40 years State action has been incomplete and inadequate.

Nineteen States have no minimum wage legislation. Only eight States have minimum wages for men. Only 1 State has as much as $1 an hour as a statutory wage. It is obvious then that meaningful legislation must come at the Federal level.

A Realistic No-Strike Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, March 29, 1957, I introduced H. R. 6468, to amend the National Labor Relations Act which would remove the exemption now enjoyed by nonprofit hospitals from the provisions of the law. The following editorial and article reprinted from the American Journal of Nursing present adequate justification for this amendment. I respectfully urge the careful and sympathetic attention of my colleagues to these statements.

The editorial and article follow:

[From the American Journal of Nursing of September 1951]

A REALISTIC NO-STRIKE POLICY

The rising emergency of national defense and the unfilled needs of the country for nursing service are creating a multiplicity of problems for both the employers of nurses and the nurses themselves. In this tense situation, the American Nurses' Association receives from time to time reports of strikes among professional nurses. Needless to say, there is always great consternation among all concerned when nurses resort to such extreme action in a critical period, and fear and bitterness result.

The argument here will be neither for nor against such action except to state one inescapable fact. For the nurse, there exists when has been called by other groups the "doctrine of personal responsibility." This means that any deliberate action on her part which places the life of a patient in danger can never be condoned by placing the blame

elsewhere. This is a cardinal principle on which the welfare of the entire profession depends and on which the so-called no-strike policy of the American Nurses' Association is based.

What, then, drives nurses into threatening to use the strike weapon? This is an inviting question for study because nurses are generally considered to be a very conservative group of people. There is no mystery about it, however. In most instances the nurses are meeting an uncompromising, militant attitude on the part of the employer by adopting similar militant attitudes after all other methods available to them for solving their problems have failed.

In the emotional atmosphere which prevails there is confusion and conflict and a wide variety of opinions so that the real problems are often obscured to the casual observer. It is a matter of common knowledge, however, that these critical issues have arisen among groups of nurses where personnel administration is inadequate, where needs for security, status, and recognition are not being met, and where nurses have come to feel that their professional future is uncertain. In this present troubled world of ours, conflict in employment situations is doubtless inevitable and we cannot always hope for an ideal solution. But conflict can be constructive. It is through the clash of ideas that new understandings and new principles for action eventually emerge. The road to agreement is through the deliberation and discussion of differences in a democratic climate in which the controlling purpose is to seek the truth and to reach a solution acceptable to all concerned. In the employment situation an indispensable element in this process is the existence of sound employer-employee relationships. Such relationships are conspicuously absent in those situations in which nurses threaten to strike.

The no-strike policy of the American Nurses' Association, formally adopted by the 1950 house of delegates at the San Francisco convention, reads:

"In recognition of the fact that the nursing profession and employers of nurses share responsibility for provision of adequate nursing service to the public, the American Nurses' Association, in conducting its economic security program (1) reaffirms professional nurses voluntary relinquishment of the exercise of the right to strike and of the use of any other measures wherever they may be inconsistent with the professional nurses' responsibilities to patients; and (2) reaffirms its conviction that this voluntary relinquishment of measures ordinarily available to employees in their efforts to improve working conditions imposes on employers an increased obligation to recognize and deal justly with nurses through their authorized representatives in all matters affecting their employment conditions."

This no-strike policy was never intended to be just a fine sounding phrase existing in a vacuum. It carries a moral obligation for both State nurses associations and employers, which is frequently misunderstood or forgotten. First, this policy imposes the obligation on State nurses associations to pursue vigorously the establishment of economic security programs by which satisfactory working conditions can be gained for their members. Second, and equally important, it imposes the obligation on employers to recognize and negotiate, in good faith, with nurses through their authorized representatives regarding the terms of their employment conditions, if this is the procedure which the nurses desire. The very concept of the constructive use of conflict, as mentioned here, implies that the employers and the nurses meet on a basis of equality to insure joint consideration and settlement of the issues involved. If this condition is to be fulfilled, nurses must have available to them the necessary machinery, including personnel, financial resources, and expert counsel.

The economic-security program of the American Nurses' Association needs the ethical strength of the no-strike policy. But we must be realistic—without an active, dynamic program that policy is meaningless. Society will not automatically and without thought move ahead to provide the means which will insure adequate employment standards for nurses. Organized nursing must keep constantly at the job of working out the principles and the methods for attaining the desired goal. If we fail and if the present strike movement gains momentum, then, indeed, will all members of the nursing profession understand only too well these famous words of John Donne:

"And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." (Mrs. Elizabeth K. Porter, R. N., president, American Nurses' Association.)

[From the American Journal of Nursing of December 1956]

THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT AND THE NURSE

(By William C. Scott and Donald W. Smith)

On July 5, 1935, the President signed into law a bill which became known unofficially as the Wagner Act and officially as the National Labor Relations Act. This was the first comprehensive labor-relations act adopted by Congress, although a great deal of labor legislation had been previously placed on the statute books from time to time.[1] The precursor of the Wagner Act was section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), which had been adopted to combat the depression of the early thirties.[2]

In order to understand clearly the basis on which Federal labor legislation rests, we must refer to the Constitution. The Federal Government, at least in theory, is a government of limited powers, authority for which must be found within the four corners of the Constitution, or be reasonably implied therefrom. The power to regulate labor relations (employer-employee relations) is found in the so-called commerce clause[3] which reads:

"The Congress shall have power * * * to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes" (art. I, sec. 8).

This apparently simple clause has probably resulted in more litigation and has spawned more judicial decisions than all the rest of the Constitution put together. Suffice it to say, however, that the power of Congress over commerce which is interstate in nature has been broadened considerably since the early decisions, and a lawyer would be bold, indeed, if he attempted to be categorical. Congress has been held to have the power to regulate not only interstate commerce but matters affecting such commerce. In our complex economic society it can readily be seen to what extent the power may be expanded. However, there are limits, even to the powers conferred under the commerce clause, and there are still categories of employers and employees not touched by these congressional powers.

THE WAGNER ACT

The underlying theory of the Wagner Act was that industrial disputes were caused or prolonged (and interstate commerce adversely affected) by the refusal of employers to bargain with unions or other organizations representing their employees. The act, therefore, required employers to bargain collectively with duly constituted representatives of their employees; made a refusal to do so an unfair labor practice; and set up machinery for the conduct of elections by employees for the purpose of choosing their bargaining representative. It also created a National Labor Relations Board to investigate charges of unfair labor practices and to compel the discontinuance of such practices, as well as to conduct elections in cases concerning representation and to certify the organization which represented the majority of the employees in a bargaining unit.

One of the principal objectives behind the prohibition of unfair labor practices was to protect employees in their right to organize and to negotiate, and to assure this, discrimination by employers against employees who sought to exercise these rights was banned. This meant that employers could not wrongfully discharge or discipline such employees or otherwise prevent their activities. No exemptions were granted in the Wagner Act to nonprofit hospitals, as such, nor were profesisonal employees given any special consideration with respect to the choice of their representatives.

Various explanations can be advanced for the deficiencies of the original Wagner Act. One is that it was designed to do a particular thing only, and that it was not intended to be a complete industrial code. Some of its supporters insisted that it should stop there, whereas those who supported its amendment saw no reason why it could not be modified and expanded. Another explanation is that it was the first piece of legislation in the field, and that its faults were revealed by subsequent experience. Some critics found fault primarily with the administration of the law. Of course, there were also many who felt that the Wagner Act was perfectly satisfactory just as it was.

TAFT-HARTLEY, THE LAW TODAY

In 1947 the 80th Congress passed the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, popularly known as the Taft-Hartley Act. This act remains the law today. Prior to its enactment, extended hearings were held, and many professional organizations, including the American Nurses' Association, submitted testimony.

A large part of the Taft-Hartley Act is devoted to amending the old Wagner Act. These amendments may be divided into three categories: (1) Labor organizations as well as employers were required to bargain in good faith and were forbidden to commit unfair labor practices, thus making the act a two-way street; (2) various details of the old act or its administration which were considered inequitable were changed, such as the practice of runoff elections, which were required to be held between the two highest choices in the original election; (3) and new types of elections were authorized, such as elections to authorize union shops (later repealed) and decertification elections where unions had lost their majorities among the employees. The act also prohibited closed-shop agreements, permitted the States to outlaw union-shop agreements, removed supervisory employees from the coverage of both the Federal and State labor-relations laws, and made many other changes too numerous to mention.

The foregoing summary indicates some of the large economic and political issues involved in the enactment of the Wagner Act, its administration, and its amendments by the Taft-Hartley Act. It also indicates how easy it would be to lose in the shuffle the interests of a relatively small professional group, such as nurses, who are not industrial employees in the ordinary sense at all. Particularly under the Wagner Act, any effect upon the nursing profession must be regarded as a byproduct and not as one of the goals desired or even envisaged by the Members of Congress in 1935. In the case of the Taft-Hartley Act, the applicable language is more specific, but, even so, the impact of the act upon nurses cannot be considered one of the principal objects in the minds of those who debated or voted upon the measure in

---

Footnotes at end of speech.

1947. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Taft-Hartley Act emerged with one provision unfavorable to nurses and one provision favorable to the profession.

THE EXEMPTION OF NONPROFIT HOSPITALS

As stated earlier, Congress passed the original Wagner Act in exercising its authority over commerce between the States and within the District of Columbia. No specific exemption was given to nonprofit hospitals, and insofar as they were concerned, the important question was whether they were engaged in such commerce. In 1944, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia held that a charitable hospital in Washington, D. C., was engaged in commerce within the District.[4] The Supreme Court refused to review this decision, thus letting it stand. It can, therefore, be argued that since such a hospital is in commerce, it may, if the particular facts of a case warrant, be said to be in interstate commerce, or at least may be said to affect such commerce. The fact that Congress specifically exempted nonprofit hospitals may be regarded as some legislative recognition that such hospitals would be within the provisions of the act but for such exemption.

It is significant to note that the Taft-Hartley Act, as originally introduced into Congress, contained no reference to nonprofit hospitals. Nowhere in the extended hearings before the House and Senate committees was reference made to the subject. During debate in the Senate, however, an amendment was offered from the floor and adopted with practically no debate, which revised the definition of covered employers to exclude any corporation or association operating a hospital, if no part of the net earnings inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual. The effect of this language was to overrule the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals and to place nonprofit hospitals in a separate category from all other private employers, whether profit-making or nonprofit.[5]

It is impossible to justify this discriminatory amendment. Congress cannot have seriously believed that no disputes ever arise in nonprofit hospitals. Salaries, hours, overtime, and such are certainly as great a problem there as in industrial establishments—perhaps more so, because of outdated practices and attitudes.

If, then, such disputes exist, can Congress be deemed to have considered it unimportant that they be resolved in an orderly fashion? The necessity of continued operation of the hospitals belies any such argument. It may be urged that Congress felt that collective bargaining in nonprofit hospitals would lead to strikes, picketing, and violence. But such a conclusion would be contrary to the whole theory of the act that orderly collective bargaining reduces the number and duration of strikes. Moreover, collective bargaining and strikes do not necessarily go together, as the nursing profession has shown by endorsing the former and renouncing the latter. Besides, Congress could have forbidden the undesirable conduct, or denied rights under the act to employees who engaged in such conduct. Finally, what conceivable reason was there for singling out nonprofit hospitals from all other nonprofit employers, who presumably belong under the act?

One is reluctantly driven to attribute to Congress an uninformed unwillingness to think of hospitals in connection with labor disputes, as if a legislature were so horrified at the thought of children contracting polio that it would exclude them from a bill for the distribution of serum, instead of granting them priority under the inoculation program.

ANA EFFORTS FOR REPEAL

As soon as this exemption was placed on the statute books, the ANA began its efforts to secure its repeal. In virtually every Congress since, amendments to this end have been introduced. However, except in 1949, when a bill passed the Senate, no such amendment has reached a vote. The nurses represent only a small segment of the employees covered by the Taft-Hartley Act, and until it comes up for comprehensive amendments it is difficult to make headway.

It is interesting to note, however, that in the one serious move which Congress made to amend the act, the ANA was successful. In 1949, S. 249 was introduced by Senator THOMAS of Utah. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare reported out two bills—a majority, Democratic, bill and a minority, Republican, bill. Interestingly, the minority report was presented by Senator Taft himself. In keeping with its constant efforts to strike the discriminatory exemption from the act, the ANA presented testimony before the committee, and its representatives personally interviewed many influential Senators of both parties. This very considerable amount of time and effort spent by the ANA brought gratifying results. Both bills, as well as the bill that finally passed the Senate, would have repealed the exemption of nonprofit hospitals—they would have brought such hospitals under the National Labor Relations Act, as amended. But unfortunately the House of Representatives failed to take action, and the entire bill died with the adjournment of the 81st Congress.

Both before and after the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act—but especially since that date—the National Labor Relations Board, through its own rules, has limited the exercise of its jurisdiction by refusing to consider cases in which the impact of the industrial dispute was considered too slight to warrant the burden upon the limited funds and personnel of the Board. In recent years the Board has laid down definite criteria in terms of dollar volume of interstate purchases or sales which will subject an employer to the exercise of the Board's jurisdiction. Also, in a number of cases such as universities, the Board has refused to take jurisdiction of nonprofit organizations as such.

The question may sometimes be asked whether the statutory exemption of nonprofit hospitals is important to nurses, since the Board probably would not exercise its jurisdiction over them even if the law were amended to remove the exemption. In our opinion, the amendment of the existing law is still vitally important for the following reasons:

1. The exemption remains as a pattern for State legislation, which is often modeled on acts of Congress.

2. The exemption has been cited by State courts as a declaration of desirable public policy in interpreting State laws which did not specifically include or exclude nonprofit hospitals.

3. Hospitals have cited the exemption as an excuse for refusing to deal with their employees' representatives. Sometimes the hospitals refer to the exemption as a declaration of policy that such hospitals should not engage in collective bargaining, a theory which was expressly denied when it was stated on the floor of the Senate that the objective of the amendment was merely to relieve them from the necessity of appearing before the Labor Relations Board and from the danger of strikes. At other times hospitals seem to regard the exemption as the equivalent of an outright prohibition of collective bargaining. Of course, it is no such thing. Voluntary collective agreements between nonprofit hospitals and their employees are, and have always been, permissible and, when made, enforceable.

4. The present limitation on the exercise of the board's jurisdiction over nonprofit organizations in general is a voluntary administrative act on the part of the board. At some future time, the board may and possibly will change its policy. If and when that occurs, nurses in nonprofit hospitals should receive the benefits of the act immediately and should not have to incur a further delay until the statutory exemption can be repealed.

5. The exemption is an affront to the nursing profession and an unwarranted discrimination against them. It takes from the great majority of nurses the employees' rights that are given to practically every other employee group. It should and must be removed.

REPRESENTATION OF PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES

Although nonprofit hospitals employ a substantial majority of practicing nurses, they by no means employ all of them. Nurses who work for proprietary hospitals, in industry, or in other covered employment still receive the benefits of the National Labor Relations Act. They should, therefore, be familiar with the nature and significance of the provisions of section 9 (b) of the act relating to professional employees.

Under the original Wagner Act, the position of professional employes before the board was extremely precarious. In the first place, such employees had no statutory status; their treatment depended entirely upon the discretion of the board. In the second place, while the board sometimes placed professional employees in separate units, it frequently lumped them together with nonprofessional employees so that they were outnumbered and outvoted, with the result that they were represented by nonprofessional organizations.

The Taft-Hartley Act amended the National Labor Relations Act to correct this situation. Acting on the testimony of the American Nurses' Association and the national organizations of other professions, Congress wrote into section 9 (b) the proviso that—

"The Board shall not decide that any unit is appropriate * * * if such unit includes both professional employees and employees who are not professional employees unless a majority of such professional employees vote for inclusion in such unit."

This provision, in effect, recognized that one of the functions of a professional organization is to represent its membership in dealing with employers, and granted to such employees the right to choose their own organization as their representative. Its importance for professional employees can scarcely be exaggerated.

In 1949 the Senate was considering the proposed repeal of this provision. Senator Taft, in his minority report, urged the retention of the provision, as follows:

"An amendment securing the right of professional employees to separate representation from rank and file employees was requested at the 1947 hearings by nearly all the professional engineering societies and also by the national organization of nurses. All of them testified to having had their members included by the Board in units of production or routine officeworkers with whom they had little in common, the standards of performance and work output being completely different. They testified that, once having been included in such units, their members often found it impossible to persuade the Board to grant them separate bargaining units.

"The Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, defined professional employees and directed the Board, whenever a group of professional employees requested it, to give them a separate election and not include professional employees in a bargaining unit which included nonprofessional employees unless a majority of the professional employees affected vote to be so included. The definition generally follows one developed by the Board itself as a result of considerable controversy in this

Footnotes at end of speech.

field. It is designed to cover engineers, doctors, lawyers, draftsmen, nurses, and so forth.

"Testimony in the 1949 hearing, for the most part, was favorable to the provision. The Board's Chairman, Paul Herzog, stated that he had no objection to the provision on professional employees, although the definition was somewhat difficult to apply (p. 321). General Counsel Denham testified that there had been a fair number of cases in which professional employees had sought and obtained separate units (p. 2006).

"E. Lawrence Chandler, assistant secretary of the American Society of Civil Engineers and speaking for a panel of engineering societies and the American Chemical Society, with 160,000 members in all, strongly supported sections 2 (12) and 9 (b) (1) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which assure professional employees a chance to vote on whether they want a separate bargaining unit or not (pp. 2835–2836 and 2840–2841). He said the provision has solved a very complicated problem and has worked well. He described a case at Westinghouse in Bloomfield, N. J., where engineers were denied a separate unit by the Board in 1946 but obtained one under the Taft-Hartley Act of 1948 (pp. 2844–2845). In explanation of the need for separate representation he stated that engineers have different interest and standards than production workers, often work long and irregular hours, even work at home, with no easy way of measuring quantitatively or qualitatively their output."

The provision was retained in the bill as passed by the Senate. The danger that the provision may be repealed in any wholesale overhauling of the Taft-Hartley Act makes it imperative that the nursing profession continue to follow the progress of proposed legislation on the subject and present its views whenever it appears desirable.

The administration of the provision by the Board has left something to be desired. The Board has not always been astute to identify groups of professional employees and to place them in separate units unless the employees themselves appeared and requested such action. Moreover, it has construed the provision narrowly so as to deny decertification to professional groups once they had been included in larger groups, at least if there were no professional organization claiming to represent them.

The board seems to fail to recognize the real reason for the necessity of separate grouping: namely, the difference between professions and trades or occupations, and the need for professional autonomy if professional standards and attitudes are to be maintained.

Such considerations are far more important than the question whether the professional employees work slightly different hours or are paid monthly instead of weekly. Moreover, each profession requires its own autonomy and cannot consent to be grouped even with employees practicing other professions. An active economic security program by a professional organization is the best assurance that the separation guaranteed by the act will be carried out.

The Taft-Hartley Act, and before it the Wagner Act, were designed primarily to protect employees in their right to organize, to choose their own representatives, and to negotiate or bargain collectively. The impact of this legislation on the nursing profession has been blunted by the nonprofit hospital exemption and by self-imposed limitations on the Labor Board's jurisdiction. Nevertheless, the law remains vital and the efforts to secure its amendment and more liberal application should not be relaxed.

[1] An example would be the so-called Railway Labor Act (act of May 20, 1926, C. 347, 44 Stat. 577, 45 U. S. C. sec. 151).

[2] Act of June 16, 1933, C. 90, 48 Stat. 195, 15 U. S. C., sec. 701.

[3] To some extent, mainly with respect to wages and hours, regulation is accomplished in another way, to wit, requirements affecting persons who enter into contracts with the Federal Government (see the so-called Walsh-Healey Act of June 30, 1936, C. 881, 49 Stat. 2036, 41 U. S. C., sec. 35). However, this is not important here.

[4] *National Labor Relations Board* v. *Central D. & E. Hospital* (145 F. (2d) 852).

[5] Railroads were also excluded, but only because they are subject to similar regulation under the Railway Labor Act. Federal, State, and municipal employees are also excluded.

Incidentally

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, in the March 14, 1957, issue of the Montezuma Republican, of Montezuma, Iowa, appears an editorial entitled "Incidentally." As this editorial expresses many of the thoughts which I have expressed in the past few weeks I should like to present it here so that we will all know of the true sentiment of an Iowa editor regarding the activities of this administration and its policies.

The editorial follows:

INCIDENTALLY

Emergency tire repair. We heard A. G. Fett tell about fixing the tires on his 1904 1-cylinder Cadillac with flax seed. Wonder if that'll work on today's so-called tubeless tires.

It is hard to imagine the ill will that this man Benson has against him in this area. At most every farm meeting his name comes up in some uncomplimentary manner. Perhaps the Eisenhower administration will go down as one of the least interested in the farmer in the history of this country because of the Secretary of Agriculture's seeming indifference.

To whom belongs the blame we don't know. But a point remains very clear. In the cities, and among many in Government there is the feeling that the farmer is on a huge giveaway wagon. This is pointed out in national news magazines often. Like the last Time. In an article discussing the farm outlook they mentioned parity. In a footnote at the bottom parity was briefly described then another sentence said that this is the only segment of the economy that is so protected. And there is the example.

On the next page of the same magazine it mentioned, in another article, the minimum wage law, and ceiling on hours of work. We'd feel that one of the most important things to a solution of the farm problem might be a step in the direction of presenting the facts to the city people, legislatures and manufacturers.

Economy in Government is being talked of by the administration. Looks as if Ike could set a good example by cutting down his private air force. A news story telling about his new helicopter, to get from the White House to the airport without a traffic jam, sounds reasonable. An extra on hand sounds maybe a little too much. But, what really got us to thinking was the mention of the fact that a larger one might be purchased to haul him to his farm. Then what happens to the small two-engined plane that was bought for that purpose a few months ago?

Guess that we never fully understand how lucky we are to be citizens of rural area towns, or on the farms themselves. This union trouble on the west coast is a prime example. What a mess that must be. There is probably no dictator in the history of the world who has had the power that the head of the teamers union does. That makes us wonder what we have a Department of Labor in our Government for if this can crop up, and get as strong as it has. Maybe the Department of Labor is just to compile statistics on how many work. Talk about economy in Government, perhaps we should get some service for the tax money spent.

Less Heat and More Light on Milk-Marketing Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial by Mr. E. R. Eastman appears in the American Agriculturalist of April 6.

The article is temperate and factual and expresses the ideas and ideals of many of the dairy farmers of my district and others in the Northeast.

Conditions are improving, Mr. Speaker, but not enough, and the farmers of the Northeast have good cause to be mad and to worry.

At the close of the article Mr. Eastman states:

The point is that there is marked improvement. It can be much better if we get a good order operating again. So let's hold the line steady and look forward with more hope to the future.

This we believe, and also that we must have in this and in all our other legislative problems less heat and more light:

LESS HEAT AND MORE LIGHT ON MILK MARKETING PROBLEMS

(By E. R. Eastman)

In this statement I shall put down some facts and some opinions on the present milk marketing situation. The facts were secured from a large correspondence with dairymen and from almost a lifetime experience with and study of milk marketing, and also after much reading and many personal talks with farmers and leaders on the present situation.

The facts are as accurate as we can make them. The opinions are mine and those of Hugh Cosline and Jim Hall, the other editors of American Agriculturist. Some of you will not like either some of the facts or some of the opinions. But I ask you to be openminded about them, for I have come to the conclusion that it is high time someone got up on his hind legs and called a spade a spade. The interests of dairymen will be best served that way.

EMOTIONS VERSUS REASON

In the first place, there is altogether too much heat and too little light whenever any consideration is given to present milk marketing problems. Too many of us are thinking with our emotions instead of our reason. Many dairymen are just plain mad. They have reason to be. Some of the causes are the too low prices of milk, the failure of

cooperative leaders to agree, the never-ending milk hearings, and the long delay in doing much to raise milk prices.

I don't blame farmers for being angry, but a man cannot think straight when he is mad, and too many of us have not been thinking straight lately. Some good dairymen, because of the low milk prices and the failure to correct them, have been listening to and following unsound leaders, who were "all talky and no doey."

WHY THE STRIKE FAILED

The recent milk strike is an example of what I mean. Don't misunderstand me. Farmers have a right to strike. They also have an equal right not to strike. The strike was called—and what happened? The leader had no dairy himself, and he had little or no milk marketing experience. He had no marketing or other plan except just to strike. Threats and violence were used. Those who had struck had little bargaining power for one reason because there are now many kinds of instant milk powder available, so that no consumer has to go without if whole milk is withheld from the market.

Realizing these facts, and not trusting the strike leadership, only a relatively few dairymen withheld their milk, and many of those did so because of threats and violence, not because they were in sympathy with the strike. No strike can succeed unless supported by a large majority of dairymen.

The attempt to withhold milk from the market probably cost dairymen at least a million dollars. But it should be emphasized that if farmers lose faith in their old organizations, they of course have perfect right to form new ones. In so doing, however, care should be taken not to go out of the frying pan into the fire. Your money and your support have for many years gone into building the larger, older milk cooperatives. They have accumulated valuable marketing experience, have trained personnel, and in spite of shortcomings, of which there are plenty, across the years they have done a reasonably good job. They would have done better if many more of you had given them more support.

It seems to me, therefore, that before deserting these older, experienced cooperatives, dairymen should make more effort to correct their mistakes. Why not make your own wishes better and more emphatically known to your leaders instead of starting with something new and with untried leadership which, the chances are, will not do even as well as is now being done.

There is plenty of reason for dairymen to be mad. For many years they have had in operation in the various milk sheds milk marketing agreements or orders. On the whole these have done a good job for farmers, for they brought order out of chaos, and in spite of their faults have resulted in orderly marketing and in better prices than could possibly be secured without them.

But the New York milk marketing order does have to be amended or revised.

Realizing the need of revising the New York order, the United States Department of Agriculture started holding hearings to get yours and your leaders' opinions on how the order should be amended. These hearings have dragged on month after month, consuming 96 actual days of sessions. The stenographic report covers 14,000 pages and weighs 120 pounds. The testimony for and against a separate New Jersey order covered 12,500 of these 14,000 pages. No one can say that the proposal for a separate New Jersey order has not had a fair hearing. The fact that these costly hearings, financed with your money, have been running so long, with constant arguments among the leaders of the milk marketing organizations and, until recently, getting nowhere, is a disgrace.

TOO MUCH FIDDLING

While the arguments and the fiddling went on Rome burned. Because of the delay dairymen of the New York milkshed have lost millions of dollars.

Perhaps there is no point in emphasizing who is to blame except to make sure that the same mistakes do not occur again. The blame for the delay in amending and improving the milk marketing order must be shared by the cooperative leaders, by the USDA, and by you, the dairymen. Too much time was spent looking for unanimous agreement.

That was impossible and should have been realized. If all progress was dependent upon unanimous agreement none would ever be made. All we can ever expect in any kind of a controversy is a majority agreement. There has been a majority agreement for some time both among the cooperative leaders and particularly among the dairymen on what should be done.

FOR A SINGLE OR COMPREHENSIVE ORDER

Now we come to the most controversial subject in reaching an agreement on amending the New York milkshed order. For months a row has raged over whether there should be a comprehensive order covering the entire milkshed, including northern New Jersey, or separate orders, one for New Jersey and one for the rest of the milkshed. A majority of dairymen in New York and Pennsylvania, and I think this is now true with dairymen in northern New Jersey, are for a single comprehensive order.

We of American Agriculturist are sure that a single order covering the entire milkshed will materially increase the dairymen's income not only in New York but also in New Jersey. I realize that there are many New Jersey dairymen who don't agree with this. It could be true that some of them, with a special local market, would not profit as much, at least for a time, under a single order. But a majority of New Jersey dairymen will profit from the start, in our opinion, and in the long run a single order will be best for everybody.

YOU CANNOT BUILD MILKSHED FENCES

An argument made by some of those favoring a separate order for New Jersey is that it will keep New York milk out of New Jersey markets. Whatever may have been in the past it is true now that you can no longer build fences around any milk market. New York milk has always been sold in New Jersey. I can understand why New Jersey dairymen resent this and want to keep it out. But it will always be sold there, and it is much better to have it under control, as it is more likely to be under a single milk marketing order, than as it is at present or would be under separate orders.

There certainly should be, and I understand that agreements have been reached and compromises made, to protect New Jersey and other dairymen near the large markets by proper and fair differentials. It is pretty generally agreed that in operation a single order will bring to dairymen of the entire milkshed at least $18 million more a year, or from 18 to 25 cents more per hundredweight. These are conservative figures. There are many who believe that a single order will add from 40 to 50 cents a hundredweight. I would prefer to put the estimates lower, then any gains beyond these figures will be to the good. Dairymen have had enough unfulfilled promises in this milk business.

At long last the hearings at this writing are about to end. It is now up to Secretary Ezra Benson, of the USDA, and his associates to review the evidence and put the proposition up to vote by the dairymen of the New York milkshed. If the Secretary acts fast enough the order should be in force by July 1. It is no temporary expedient, but a long-time plan for maintaining orderly milk marketing to give the dairymen of the milkshed all the income that the market justifies. My prediction is that a single marketing order, safeguarding the rights and privileges of the dairymen in all parts of the milkshed, will be carried by an overwhelming majority.

DAIRYMEN MUST ADJUST

Those of you who read American Agriculturist know how sympathetic and concerned our staff and I are with the problems of the small farmer. It is a sad fact that it is getting increasingly difficult for him to operate. But neither the small farmer nor the large one can continue to succeed in these difficult times unless they recognize the changes that come about, and adjust their business and their lives to meet them. I have come almost to hate the word "efficiency" as it applies to farmers, for I think as a class on the whole farmers are far more efficient than most other businessmen. But it is a fact that farming is rapidly changing, and your success and happiness, whether you are a large or small farmer, depends upon the efficiency of your business, and especially on keeping your costs of production down.

So far as milk marketing is concerned, that means careful thought and judgment without emotion. It means taking part in your local meetings and letting your leaders know how you feel on these problems.

Especially and immediately your future success as a dairyman in my opinion depends to a considerable extent on a single marketing order covering the entire milkshed.

In all of these problems, whether you are a dairyman or in any other line of farming, success must come from your own work and the efforts of your cooperatives and farm organizations.

IN CONCLUSION

It is good to be able to be a little optimistic. Due to better marketing conditions, milk prices are materially improving. The pool or blend price both for December 1956 and for January 1957, was 50 cents a hundred higher than the corresponding prices the year before. The price for February was 49 cents a hundred more. The estimated price for the first 6 months for 1957 averages 39 cents a hundred pounds higher than for the first 6 months of 1956.

One thing is for sure, no order or other plan will permanently raise prices beyond what the market justifies. Too high prices will result in surpluses, plunging the market down again. Speaking at Cornell's farm and home week, economist Prof. Robert Story blamed too much milk for the drop in milk prices in the New York milkshed in recent years. Professor Story pointed to a 45-percent increase in milk deliveries in recent years contrasted with only a 6-percent increase in sales.

"Higher fluid-milk prices," he said, "will not permanently solve the problem of excess supply, and in the long run will not help New York dairymen." But he added an optimistic note: "The trend in milk supplies," he said, "has reversed in recent months so that milk prices have increased."

The economist further added that proposed changes in the present milk-marketing program "should yield lasting solutions to some very difficult and longstanding problems. Nearly all of the production area for northern New Jersey and the secondary area markets in upstate New York fall within the present production area for the New York market."

If we can get a single order into operation soon, milk prices will be much better. But, of course, they will never be high enough to please everybody.

The point is that there is marked improvement. It can be much better if we get a good order operating again. So let's hold the line steady and look forward with more hope to the future.

Editorial Protests Stand by Judge in Wheat Quota Cases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am enclosing two articles appearing in papers in Ohio which were sent to me by Mr. Elmer Cornell, who is one of the officers of the National Federation of Independent Farm Organizations. I join with my farmers, Mr. Speaker, in insisting the legislation that has been passed in this Congress certainly does not take care of the small farmer or the group that we might classify as rotation crop farmers.

I am sure all of us, Mr. Speaker, are familiar with what the "New Dealers" of this Congress did a few weeks ago in an honest attempt by some friends of the farmers to get legislation that would be benefit to the rotation or small farmers. I am certain people will remember just who are friends of the farm group.

However, forgetting what bitterness we might have as a result of the action that took place a few weeks ago, I sincerely hope the Agriculture Committee will forget partisan politics and whether or not they represent the big farmer or little farmer and present to us some legislation which will be of benefit to the majority of the farm group.

EDITORIAL PROTESTS STAND BY JUDGE IN WHEAT QUOTA CASES

A recent editorial in the Norwalk Reflector-Herald was submitted for publication by local opponents of some practices taking place in Federal wheat quota matters.

It was pointed out there are instances where farmers are denied trial by jury when accused of Federal regulation violations. The editorial in the Norwalk paper states:

THE LAW OF THE LAND

"It is the job, perhaps the most important job, of any judge to uphold jealously the Constitution of the United States. We were quite shocked to read a recent article in the Toledo Blade concerning wheat quota violations and United States District Judge Frank L. Kloeb's statements made in conjunction with a case he was hearing.

"In this particular case Walter and James Carpenter, of Defiance, Ohio, and George Miller, of Fayette, Ohio, were before Judge Kloeb on a contempt charge. The case was all too familiar to many farmers.

"The Carpenters and Miller had refused to allow Federal agents access to their lands to measure wheat planted. The story is getting to be 'old hat' as more and more farmers are finding themselves faced with similar charges. Our purpose here is not to argue the case of trespass or a farmer's right to plant what he wants. Our stand on that issue is rather well known.

"At the moment we are more concerned with statements made by Judge Kloeb while hearing the case and immediately after the session.

"He warned that he would begin handing out stiff sentences to farmers who violated the provisions of the law establishing wheat quotas. To quote a paragraph from the Blade's story, 'these hearings are preposterous,' Judge Kloeb remarked, adding he intended to uphold the law of the land and refused absolutely to go into the question of constitutionality.

"That is a very revealing paragraph. We question the advisability of any judge issuing warnings on cases not yet heard just on a matter of common sense. We thoroughly question and disagree with the contradictory remarks of Judge Kloeb about upholding the law of the land and in the same breath refusing to go into the constitutionality of the case.

"What higher law of the land is there than the Constitution? How can any judge refuse to refer to the Constitution when hearing a case? Let it be understood that these cases are not being tried by jury but by a single judge.

"It is a pretty sorry situation when a judge can make irresponsible statements, such as those attributed to Judge Kloeb, and still try other cases concerning wheat violations.

"The farmers of the Nation, especially the small farmers, have a tough fight on their hands. The only way that they can lick the problem in a practical manner is by public opinion. It will be a hard job but slowly the movement is gaining momentum. Statements like those made by Judge Kloeb give all citizens a good idea with what the farmer is faced."

SMITHVILLE POULTRYMAN SAYS SOIL BANK HURTING OHIOANS

SMITHVILLE.—The Federal Government's soil-bank program is backfiring to the detriment of Ohio poultry farmers, it was charged here this week by Loyal Hostetler, State industry leader.

Hostetler, an official for the Northeastern Poultry Producers Council, charged that Corn Belt farmers are signing up for soil-bank payments, then switching their buildings into the production of eggs and broilers.

To halt the move, which is expected to add still further to current oversupplies of eggs and chickens, Hostetler has joined with NEPPCO officials in seeking remedial action from Congress.

"Ohio poultrymen are already battling a severe economic crisis," Hostetler warned. "If midwestern and southern farmers divert their farm buildings to poultry production, it is bound to have price repercussions in our markets."

He reported that the council is urging Congress to instruct soil-bank administrators to set up cross-compliance requirements. Under this plan, when signing up acreage for soil-bank payments, farmers would be required to lease farm buildings to the Government. This would guarantee that these facilities could not be used for poultry production.

NEPPCO is already receiving reports that newspaper ads in such States at Georgia and Kansas are being used to urge farmers into poultry production, Hostetler revealed. In some cases, the soil-bank program is being used as a springboard to expand sales of poultry foods and baby chicks.

The Northeastern Poultry Producers Council, with headquarters in Trenton, N. J., represents poultrymen in a 14-State area, ranging from Maine to Virginia and as far west as Ohio.

Strings on Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Francisco Call-Bulletin of Thursday, March 28, 1957:

STRINGS ON FOREIGN AID

Congress has tied too many political and economic strings on our foreign aid program, and these restrictions "take a heavy toll of time and manpower" and deprive our administrators of flexibility of action.

Briefly, that's the theme of a report prepared for a special Senate committee studying the Eisenhower administration's $4.4 billion foreign help program.

The committee ordered the report, one of several on which it will depend to guide Senate thinking.

We hope this one does not do too much guiding.

Maybe it is true that red tape bogs down our spending abroad, but certainly it is essential that Congress should not surrender control of foreign aid entirely to the administration—any administration.

Here is an area in which some of the taxpayers' money may be saved. There are other parts of the budget about which Congress can do absolutely nothing.

For instance, interest on the national debt cannot be touched; it will amount to $7.3 billion.

Just to hold Federal spending at present levels (and thereby sidestep the peril of greater inflation) will require a $3 billion reduction in the record $71.8-billion budget.

One of the proposals of the Hoover Commission holds out hope for better spending controls by Congress.

It calls for a new type of budget based not on obligations but on accrued expenditures—"the charges incurred for goods and services received and other assets acquired. * * *"

Suppose the Navy gets authority to build a $150 million ship. At present, Congress would appropriate the entire amount in terms of obligational authority. But on an accrued expenditures basis only a fraction of the money would be appropriated in the first year, and Congress could review progress of the ship in light of actual cost experience.

An accrued expenditures budget was sponsored in the Senate last year by Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, and was passed. The House killed it. Now it's up again.

This time the House, having heard in clamorous tones from the folks back home, may not be so ready to spike a means that offers aid to the American people.

Sewage Treament Plant Construction Grants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, last year when we passed H. R. 9540, the Blatnik Water Pollution Control Act, we served notice on the States, and especially those groups—public and private—interested in the control of water pollution that the Federal Government, for the first time, recognized the seriousness of the pollution problem and was ready to assume a responsible role in the solution of the problem and the abatement of the problem.

In the few months that the program has been in operation considerable prog-

ress has already been made. Passage of the Blatnik bill stirred the States to act more than ever before in the pollution control field. A majority of the States, for instance, just in the past 6 months have expanded and improved their own pollution control programs to take advantage of Federal assistance in the form of program grants and research funds.

The great interest which has been generated in water pollution control activities since the passage of Public Law 660 gives us great hope that the joint, cooperative all-out effort against this problem will be realized. Even at that Mr. Emil C. Jensen, chief of the division of engineering in the Washington State Department of Health and currently president of the Federation of Sewage and Industrial Wastes Associations terms Public Law 660 as nothing more than a key to the door and points out that it is up to the State authorities to make it work.

Writing in the February 1957 issue of Water and Sewage Works, Mr. Jensen, who is a leading expert in the field of sanitary engineering and pollution control, reviewed the problems, developments and trends of the past year regarding sewage and industrial wastes. Regarding Federal water pollution control legislation Mr. Jensen writes as follows:

FEDERAL LEGISLATION

The passage of the permanent and strengthened Federal Water Pollution Control Act, Public Law 660, by the 84th Congress should prove to be a milestone. The Honorable JOHN A. BLATNIK, chairman of the Subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors of the Committee on Public Works of the House of Representatives, is to be accorded the highest commendation for spearheading the movement of this bill through the Congress. His thorough understanding of the problems, and his ability to make a forthright presentation of the facts brought the support necessary to passage of the bill.

In the course of the hearings on the bill there was very encouraging evidence that water-pollution control is becoming more fully recognized as a vital part of the solution of this Nation's total water resources problem. This problem was stated as being: "Providing the right quantity of the right quality at places where it is needed." And pollution was identified as a waste of water.

State and interstate agency protests over direct intervention of the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service for enforcement, as provided in this initial draft of the bill, resulted in considerable change. The law now provides that State or interstate action to abate pollution shall not be displaced by Federal enforcement except pursuant to court order. However, the Surgeon General is authorized to formally notify State agencies of certain conditions, call conferences, make recommendations, call formal hearings, and initiate court action upon request or with the consent of the States involved.

The provisions relating to grants for construction stirred up controversy in the hearings. The proponents claimed that successful pollution control depended upon research and education, enforcement, and construction, and that the latter (construction) could not be fully realized without grants. They pointed to the fact that the only time in history that cities and towns have kept pace with the demands for sewage-treatment facilities was in the era of grants-in-aid for public-works programs in the 1930's. The opponents claimed that the limitations relating to the grant could result in a deterrent to the rate of construction. The law authorized grants for construction of municipal treatment plants in the amount of $500 million during a 10-year period, with an appropriation of $50 million for the first year. Some slowdown in construction has been reported, due to the time required to set up the machinery for making the grants and the tendency for communities to wait in line for their turn on the priority list. With the intensified efforts on pollution control through strengthened State programs, there will appear more and more situations of real inability for communities to handle the financing totally on their own. In this respect the availability of Federal aid may prove to be a key factor in getting the job done.

Considerable interest has developed and action taken toward asking Congress to increase the appropriation from $50 million to $100 million for construction grants in the coming year.

The authorization of $3 million per year for 5 years for allocation to the State and interstate agencies for pollution-control activities should prove to be a key feature of the law. Maximum strength in the program at this level of government is imperative to not only assume the most effective enforcement but to determine upon research needs and to promote necessary adjustments in State legislation.

It was discouraging to note that funds were not appropriated to implement a section relating to research and training. Additional research is the key to providing the resources, especially those for tackling the increasing complexity of the problem. The stage is set to move ahead most effectively—the law is very comprehensive and has considerable latitude with respect to arrangements for research and training, and there is evidence of much interest on the part of the groups who would participate. The next move is up to Congress.

The Federal law (Public Law 660), regardless of its notable features, should not be considered as more than a key to the door. The States now have been provided with some very important tools—financial assistance to their programs, construction grants to deserving municipalities, and a potential production line for research and training of manpower. It is up to the State authorities to make it work.

Congressional Failure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, comments on the failure of the House to agree upon acceptable legislation on corn have begun to filter in from the rural communities which will be hit hardest by that failure. For quite some time in the postwar years it was considered the height of good humor to joke about farmers herding their cows with Cadillacs. Now it is time some people, including the Secretary of Agriculture, discovered what is so readily evident to the observant editor of the Spring Valley, Wis., Sun. He notes with the wisdom born of close personal contacts that farmers are in need of a long-range solution to their problems and that they are the "only segment of our national economy that has been on a downhill pull while the remainder of the Nation continues to ride the escalator of rising wages." The House may have one more opportunity to consider suitable legislation affecting corn, so I submit the following editorial for the consideration of my colleagues:

It seems likely that Congress has goofed again in their efforts to come up with a farm program before planting time.

Partisan politics that left the farmer in a back seat as far as the program is concerned seems to be the principal reason there will be no additional farm legislation this spring in time to be worth considering for the 1957 planting season.

The corn allotment will likely remain at about half of last year's when the soil bank gained at least a start in this area. Many of those that signed up this year probably did so in anticipation of an acreage increase before planting time so that a good percentage of those that have signed up for 1957 will not confirm to agreements for the simple reason that it will not be practical for them to do so on such a small corn base as provided in the present regulations.

The sad fact about the legislative picture is that both the Republicans and Democrats were agreed on the necessity of increasing the corn base but couldn't get together on the details with the farmer; as usual, the goat of their bickering.

The soil bank was a long way from a solution of the farm program but with adequate allotment it did offer local farmers a chance to participate on a small scale, at least—with the larger farms really gaining some tangible benefits.

As it is, however, both the large and small dairy farms are understandably reluctant to participate unless on the verge of retirement so that the small allotments look attractive to those that would rather not farm anyway. The average dairy farmer, however, is left out in the cold with the present allotments because it is impossible for him to feed a dairy herd and limit his corn acreage to the present corn base, let alone take any of his corn acres out of production by placing them in the soil bank.

Congress will have to take direct responsibility for their failure to remedy this situation as well as their failure to provide any substitute program that would offer an additional long-range solution to the only segment of our national economy that has been on a downhill pull while the remainder of the Nation continues to ride the escalator of rising wages and income along with rising prices that will be just that much harder for the farmer to pay in the months ahead.

Nasserism Is Hitlerism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of an address delivered by the national commander of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, William Carmen, at a special meeting of the Kings County Council of Jewish War Veterans at the St. George Hotel in

Brooklyn, on Thursday, March 28, 1957.

This is a very fine and timely address. It deals primarily with the current situation regarding the Middle East and the moral obligations which our country has in connection with this situation.

Mr. Carmen maintains that Dictator Nasser is not very much different than was Dictator Hitler. Their attitudes are the same, their contempt for democracy is the same, their deeds are outrageous, and they are never satisfied. He expresses the fear that we may have committed the foulest diplomatic blunder against our allies Britain and France.

I associate myself completely with these thoughts as expressed in this address. It is for this reason that I am inerting it into the RECORD and call it to the attention of all my colleagues.

The text of the address follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades and friends, it is particularly good to return to Brooklyn, N. Y., once again after almost a year's absence for here in the heart of New York is where so much of the important work of our organization gets its start.

I have been on many public platforms in many places in almost every State during the past few months, but when one is away from his own region of the country one necessarily is more guarded in his pronouncements.

Thus, if I may, I would like to utilize this opportunity to present some of my thinking with respect to the current situation which absorbs the attention of our organization and, indeed, the entire world.

We have heard a lot about the Middle East within the last few months. We have heard such things as moral obligations, assumptions, United Nations expeditionary forces, and other symbols that characterize an age where world opinion has become a factor heretofore never reckoned with, since previously it could never be mustered with any degree of power and effectiveness.

Today, world opinion is greater in power and intensity than even the most highly potent atomic weapons.

We have learned this lesson within the last few months. We must never forget it.

It is this lesson which I believe holds the key to world peace and world progress for it has undoubtedly been proven, to me at least, that world opinion invariably swings toward the side of morality, and if treated with the difference owed to it, I sincerely believe that it can be constantly corraled for the common good.

The real test, however, is still to come. Indeed, the eyes of the world are focused on the United States for from our country will come the decision that will either certify or cancel the real meaning behind the words "moral obligations."

There is no question in my mind that our Government either by implication or by stated purpose has indicated to the Government of Israel that it would not support a return of Egyptian civil or military rule in Gaza nor would it tolerate any obstruction of shipping in the Straits of Tiran.

There may have been some basis for our Government only to imply such obligations. If, however, this basis rested on the theory that Egypt and its strong man would fall in line, then based on recent events, I believe we were either terribly naive or badly mistaken.

There can be no such thing as an honorable dictator. This is a fundamental lesson for all of us, written in blood, notarized by pain, and filed by sacrifice.

A dictator lives only at the whim and fancy of the crowd mind, callous and inert at best, cruel and inhuman at worst.

It was a wise man who said back in the thirties that you can't do business with Hitler. The axiom of this age should be that you can't do business with Nasser.

The decision to place a civil governor in the Gaza strip is, beyond doubt, not only outrageous but a direct slap in the face of the United Nations, which bailed the Egyptian dictator out of his sinking ship in the first place. So here we find him today saved by the United Nations from the destiny which he brought directly upon his own head and still playing the old game of pitting the Communists against the Western democracies. In the Straits of Tiran the blockage is still threatened, deceit is the watchword of Dictator Nasser.

As for the Suez Canal, nothing has really changed. Let us not lose sight of the fact that nothing has really changed. It is my view that, if the Suez Canal situation continues to remain unchanged, our good friends, our allies overseas, the British and the French, will have been the victims of the foulest diplomatic blunder that the world has ever witnessed.

Remembering the lesson again—a dictator will invariably take what is not his to take. This taking eventually becomes a disease until he either has taken everything or has been destroyed. Remember Alsace-Lorraine, the Polish Corridor, Austria, Czechoslovakia. It is the same story of the generation just passed. The philosophy of Dictator Adolf Hitler is seen and heard again—promises today, broken tomorrow. And why not? Dictator Nasser's advisers are many of the very same men who advised Adolf Hitler.

The Russian arms are flowing once again—arms to support Egyptian plunder. The problem remains the same—unchanged—that of communism plus nazism plus Nasserism versus democracy.

There are measures that the United States can take if it wishes to help change the mind of Egypt. Where are the United States ships we promised to send through the Straits of Tiran? Let us talk again of sanctions, but sanctions against Egypt. There must be assurance that the fedayeen raids shall cease. The Government of Egypt should not get one single American dollar until it accedes completely to the demands and wishes of the United States and the United Nations.

If this is not enough to bring some semblance of sense into the mind of this corrupt dictator, then perhaps the United Nations might be forced to admit its failure and pull out its troops which will then be serving no useful purpose.

These may be harsh words, but these are angry times and I go along with the philosophy that you cannot let these bullies and petty potentates get away with anything.

There was an old platitude that might be appropriate at this time. Give them a hand and they will take the whole arm.

One of the principal programs of our organization is its brotherhood program. Brotherhood means the ability to live together in peace and honor. Brotherhood can best be described by actual happenings—things like the mayor of Dublin, a Jew granted his office through an electorate that is more than 95 percent Catholic. Things like Arab citizens of Israel sitting in the Israeli Parliament, the Knesset, with equal voice and equal vote with their fellow delegates.

It is my belief that once the miserable, downtrodden, poverty-stricken, and disease-ridden Arab masses are relieved of their psychotic leadership in the form of dictators and potentates, they, too, will be able to enjoy the fruits of prosperity and peace that can only come when the underlying theme of their lives is brotherhood, then, maybe then, their basic desire will be the same as ours and they, too, will wish to live in peace with their fellow man.

Consumer Study Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Sam Dawson, which appeared in the Evening Star of March 25 and other newspapers throughout the country, indicates the immediate need for a study of our economic conditions from the viewpoint of the consumer.

The article follows:

POCKETBOOK PINCH GROWS IN MIDST OF ABUNDANCE

(By Sam Dawson)

NEW YORK, March 25.—A pocketbook pinch in the midst of abundance. Consumers fretting over the rising cost of living. Whole industries worrying about rising stocks of unsold goods in spite of less than capacity production. Factory workers noting that after months of seeing average take-home pay rise faster than prices, they are now seeing the cost of goods and services mounting faster than the average paycheck.

That's the turn the economy is taking—however temporarily.

In a sense it's the typical pattern of inflation. First came the shortages in materials and labor. Industrial activity was expanding faster than the metal men, the building material firms, the machinery and tool makers, the home builders, the money lenders, the pool of skilled labor could supply the demand.

Prices of basic materials went up. Wages of labor went up. Cost of credit went up. Wholesale commodity prices in general went up.

INCREASES SLOWING

In the last 2 or 3 months these increases have largely slowed and in some cases gone into reverse.

But the delayed action explosions are now spreading through the retail prices of finished goods, and especially of services—transportation, medical care, the cost of eating out, of repairs and maintenance or installation of gadgets.

For 6 straight months the Bureau of Labor Statistics has been reporting a rise in the consumer price index. Each time, until now, it has also reported that the average take-home pay of the factory worker has advanced a little more, keeping him one jump ahead.

Its latest report for the cost of living and purchasing power of the factory worker, as sampled in mid-February, changes this. The cost of living climbed to another record, up 3.6 percent from a year ago, but the factory worker's paycheck, though up 17 cents a week, didn't keep pace.

Even so, he's better off than the increasing number of Americans who live on fixed incomes—pensions, annuities, savings, social security. Their incomes in most cases didn't increase at all.

Some economists hold out hope that the long rise in the cost of living may be coming to an end. They note that wholesale commodity prices as a whole have sloughed off since the first of the year.

CAPACITY MOUNTING

More industries are joining the list of those with more capacity to produce than current demand can keep fully busy. These include the primary ones like steel, copper, aluminum, paper, oil; and the consumer goods ones like autos, appliances, textiles.

The argument goes that this widens the field for competition and makes price rises harder to sustain and bargains more likely to come by.

Manufacturers have some counter arguments. They say that wage scales tend to rise still higher; that the cost of materials is still high; that the cost of the latest equipment and of repairs to old climbs.

It adds up to a squeeze on profits and makes price cuts on their goods hard to take.

Merchants add that their costs have risen, too, and their profit margins have been pared as far as they can stand.

It's an old debate that's made the rounds in prior inflationary years—with the consumer's willingness or ability to buy probably holding the deciding vote.

A Bill To Amend the Peanut Marketing Quota Provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as Amended, for the Purpose of Eliminating Green Peanuts Therefrom, and for Other Purposes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced into the House a bill to amend the peanut marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, for the purpose of eliminating green peanuts therefrom, and for other purposes.

This bill, if approved by this Congress, will mean the salvation of what is almost exclusively a southern agricultural occupation and a traditional food pleasure in that land. The green peanut—entirely different from the familiar roasted peanut the distinguished gentlemen all know—is considered a delicacy in the South and is boiled to be eaten between meals or is served as a vegetable with meals. This product, which does not compete with the regularly harvested and roasted peanut, is produced on small plots by individual farmers and reaped by hand. It is not a highly profitable crop and generally produced by family farm groups because of the labor involved.

In Hillsborough, Pasco, and Hernando Counties, main producers in the First District, under present regulations restricting all peanut acreage it is not possible to raise enough of the green peanuts to supply the local markets, and they suffer unjust restrictions and penalties under present law. To offer relief to this situation and to permit growing of a salable and desired product my bill would eliminate these restrictions. My constituents ask no subsidy in any way.

Since evidence has been presented to the Department of Agriculture that the operation of the present act was restrictive and unjustly placed a penalty on these farmrs producing green peanuts, my bill would also provide for return of penalties assessed against them during the years 1954, 1955, and 1956. This will amount to a return of only a small sum of money assessed as fines and wholly due to the presently recognized inequity.

I hope that the Members of Congress will agree with my efforts to offer relief to a small but important segment of the economy of my district. I further ask that this action be taken in order that we may preserve a traditional pleasure in the South. My bill is presented after full study at my request by the Department of Agriculture. It is proper and worthy legislation by which this Congress can be of service to the people of a great State.

What Labor Thinks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I ask permission to reprint two editorials from the AFL–CIO News, official weekly paper of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

These two editorials—one on disclosure of alleged crookedness by a few union officials, the second on the "not so modern" Republicans—go together well to suggest what the thinking of honest, reputable, responsible American labor is at this time. I commend the two editorials to the attention of my friends on both sides of the aisle.

The editorials follow:

UNPLEASANT STUFF

The transcript of the hearings of the McClellan committee does not make pleasant reading.

The record strongly suggests the absence of a real sense of trade-union responsibility or morality on the part of several leaders of the Teamsters Union.

From the testimony, from the repeated use of the fifth amendment against self-incrimination, from the documents and evidence introduced by the committee staff—from all of this, there emerges a strong indication that ethical, responsible practices were too often flouted.

The McClellan committee, needless to say, is not a court of law. On the other hand, it is not, on the record of the first few weeks, a witch-hunting group nor a group of irresponsibles. To date, it has performed a public service in bringing to light facts and figures which only a governmental agency could uncover.

Repeatedly the committee members and their counsel have pointed out that the practices which they have uncovered are not typical of the labor movement, and indeed that they run counter to the ethical standards developed by the AFL–CIO and the vast majority of its affiliated unions.

In other words, what has been harmful to labor during the first few weeks of the hearing has been not the committee but the practices and attitudes it has brought to light.

Perhaps, as the next few months unfold, antilabor forces will use these disclosures in an effort to hamstring the entire labor movement. Fair legislation will win support. But antilabor legislation will be resisted by the great majority of the labor movement—the multitude of honest, devoted members and leaders who have worked and sacrificed to build their unions and to make them honest, effective instruments for the public welfare.

The morality of the American labor movement has always been high—higher than those of profit-making corporations and the business community in general.

As AFL–CIO Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler has said: "I don't give a damn what a corporation does—that doesn't justify a union representative taking a 3-cent stamp."

That attitude—and only that attitude—can maintain the wonderful record of integrity of the overwhelming majority in our trade union movement.

NOT-SO-MODERN REPUBLICANISM

The Republicans are back in business at the same old stand, giving the lie once and for all the President's modern Republicanism.

In a panicky mood over the administration's budget and spurred on by the economy drive touched off by the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, the House of Representatives kicked over the traces and ran wild on money bills needed to keep the Labor and Welfare Departments operating.

The Republicans, thumbing their noses at the White House and modern Republicanism, marched down the teller-vote aisles in the House side by side with the Dixiecrats.

The modern Republicans apparently were off somewhere in their helicopters rounding up a new crop of platitudes.

No Relief in Sight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Titusville (Pa.) Herald of March 28, 1957:

NO RELIEF IN SIGHT

During the last Presidential campaign the Democrats hit hard at the Eisenhower administration for failing to provide tax relief for small-business corporations. The fact that this was a weak point in the administration record was readily apparent by the rapidity with which the Republican campaigners rushed forth with promises to ease the tax burden on small business.

With both Democrats and Republicans giving lip service to the welfare of the small corporation, it looked as if something definite would be done in the present session of Congress. Then President Eisenhower came up with his $72 billion budget and now all hope appears to be lost.

On Monday the Senate Finance Committee was unanimous in its opinion that small corporations should get some relief. However, this appears again to be only by the mouth. A proposal by Democrat Senator FULBRIGHT to cut the Federal corporation tax rate from 30 percent to 22 percent on earnings up to $25,000 and increase the rate from 22 percent to 31 percent on all earnings over that amount got only two votes in its favor—both by Democrats. This new tax rate would have definitely been an aid to small corporations. Large corporations would have been hit harder, but the $72

billion budget would not have permitted an overall loss in net tax revenue.

Yes, sentiment to give tax relief to small corporations still exists along the banks of the Potomac, but we're afraid that it is purely sentiment. And small-business men can expect more sentiment—and promises—from the Members of Congress from both parties, come the next election campaign in 1958.

Unfortunately, however, sentiment never met a payroll, expanded a plant, paid down a debt, or paid a Federal corporation income tax bill.

Mexico Wants Fair Treatment for all Foreign Investors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Subcommittee on International Operations of the House Committee on Government Operations, I am extremely interested in and concerned about the state of our relations with other nations. Although news from the Middle East has dominated our thinking and newspaper headlines of late, there recently occurred a little publicized but very significant development in Mexico—our friend and neighbor to the south of us.

Investors of capital in Mexican enterprises, as well as American tourists, have been much heartened by the recent action of a Mexican court in returning to Jerome A. Utley, of Detroit, full possession of the Hotel Riviera Pacifico at Ensenada, some 60 miles south of the border from San Diego, Calif. This once famous hotel has run through what might almost be called musical comedy vicissitudes since it was built in 1929 by Jack Dempsey, former heavyweight champion, with the financial backing of Mr. Utley.

It was not until the tangled history of the resort hotel was brought to the attention of Ruiz Cortines, President of Mexico, that seeming injustices were investigated. Franco Sodi, as Attorney General of Mexico, was instructed by President Cortines to conduct a thorough inquiry into the facts of the situation, a situation which involved fantastic juggling with property rights of American investors.

Both the President and Mr. Sodi, who since has been elevated to the Presidency of the Supreme Court of Mexico—a position comparable to that of Chief Justice of the United States—had become impatient with occasional practices of fast and loose playing with foreign investors' affairs. They evinced every determination to follow the matter through until complete justice had been done.

It will be recalled that not long ago President Cortines had a meeting with President Eisenhower in the interests of Mexican-American relations and it has been obviously to the interest of both nations to establish the business affairs of their citizens on a foundation of just dealing.

Mr. Utley is a contractor who has large real estate interests. For the purpose of constructing the hotel at Ensenada, he created a Mexican corporation and, of course, operated under Mexican law.

For 5 years, under the Dempsey management, the hotel operated successfully, attracting especially large numbers of celebrities from the California motion picture colonies. Taking advantage of intricacies of Mexican law, efforts were made to deprive the absentee American owner, Mr. Utley, of his rights. Agreements and counteragreements were signed, following a pattern that would make a movie scenario in itself.

Mr. Utley's difficulties were not brought into the open until, through the instrumentality of Cardenas & Gomez Mont, the leading law firm of Mexico City, an action was brought in the Supreme Court of Lower California.

Both President Cortines and Attorney General Franco Sodi followed the case with the utmost interest, feeling that the reputation of Mexico for fair dealing toward foreign investors was at stake. The court, after hearing all sides, ruled that "deceitful means" had been employed in the challenge to Mr. Utley's property rights and Judge Celestino Perz y Perez now has signed the order which finally restores the property to Mr. Utley.

The 200-room hotel, beautifully located on the beach plaza at Ensenada, will resume operation under the name of the Riviera Pacifico. Ensenada was selected as one of the especially desirable sites on the Lower California coast about 400 years ago when a mission was established there. This was part of the chain of missions extending from San Jose del Cabo at the very toe of the long peninsula of Lower California all the way northward along El Camino Rial. San Diego, San Bernardino, San Capistrano and other long famous missions were part of the chain, the northernmost being San Francisco.

For the property of an American citizen at so desirable and famous a place to become involved in what appeared to be unfair legalistic practices, was displeasing to President Cortines and the Mexican administration. The outcome is regarded as a guaranty of continuing fair treatment of all foreign investors.

Postal Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, my statement today before the Subcommittee on Postal Policy of the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, which is presently conducting hearings on postal policy, is as follows:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE ABRAHAM J. MULTER, DEMOCRAT, NEW YORK, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON POSTAL POLICY OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, TUESDAY, APRIL 2, 1957

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee, I appreciate this opportunity you have given me to present my views to you.

I am strongly opposed to increasing postal rates. The Post Office is a public service. It is not a business enterprise.

In the early days of our history the post office was operated by private enterprise for private profit. It was taken away from private business and made a Government monopoly solely on the theory that it was a governmental function to guarantee to our citizens a speedy and efficient means of communication.

If every department of Government, legislative, judicial, and executive, were charged for the cost of carrying their mail and the Post Office Department credited with that cost (solely as a bookkeeping item) the Post Office Department's deficit would disappear, in large part if not completely.

The postal system has contributed to the public welfare immeasurably, far beyond the aggregate total deficit of the Department.

The postal service must be continuously improved and the postal workers employed and promoted on a basis of merit, and their compensation fixed in accordance with the value of their services and prevailing economic conditions. At no time should wage scales be tied to revenues in the post office.

The only possible exception to what I have said is that portion of the Post Office Department which renders a business service to private enterprise. In that area we might properly consider increasing the postal rate, but not otherwise.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Cordiner Committee: Military Personnel and Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, the Defense Advisory Committee on Professional and Technical Compensation which was organized by the Secretary of Defense and of which Mr. Ralph J. Cordiner, president of the General Electric Co., was appointed Chairman on May 10, 1956, with Carter L. Burgess, Assistant Secretary of Defense as Vice Chairman, has submitted its report.

The work of the Committee was divided into three major study areas: Dr. John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State University and former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel, directed the study of officer personnel; Mr. Charles R. Hook, chairman of the board, Armco Steel Corp., and formerly Chairman of the Committee on Business Organization of the Department of Defense, directed the study of civilian personnel; and Mr. H. Lee White, a member of the law firm of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft, of New York, and former Assistant Secretary of the Air Force Per-

sonnel, directed the study of enlisted personnel.

The Department of Defense has made available to the Members of Congress the highlights of the report. In addition thereto, the Chairman, Mr. Cordiner, issued a statement under date of March 26, 1957. I deem that statement of such importance to insert it in the RECORD so that the record of the objective work of the Committee may be complete. In addition thereto, I am inserting an editorial which appeared in the New York World Telegram on March 29, 1957. The statement and editorial are as follows:

STATEMENT BY RALPH J. CORDINER, CHAIRMAN OF THE DEFENSE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL COMPENSATION, MARCH 26, 1957

This country has a major opportunity to begin cutting the cost of defense, the largest single item in the Federal budget, by instituting a modern system of manpower management and compensation in the Armed Forces.

It is the opinion of this committee, based on both industrial experience and on studies prepared by the Department of Defense, that savings and gains up to $5 billion a year can be achieved within 5 years or less. The same measures which can produce these savings for taxpayers could also increase the combat effectiveness of the Armed Forces by about 15 percent at present costs.

These are the conclusions which have been reached by the Defense Advisory Committee on Professional and Technical Compensation, on which I have had the honor of serving as chairman.

Reports on the work of the Committee have already appeared in the press, and most of these reports were reasonably accurate as of the date that they were published. However, these reports were published before the Committee had completed its studies of the cost-and-gains effect on its recommendations. Therefore, because of inadequate information, many people have been led to believe that the Committee's recommendations are nothing more than a general pay raise for military personnel, adding still more to the oppressive costs of national defense and to the current forces of inflation. Nothing could be further from the truth, and nothing could be further from the objectives of the Committee. Our recommendation contemplates savings and deflationary influence.

If our recommendations are accepted, some of the men and women in the armed services would receive immediate pay increases, to correct obvious inequities. Moreover, the general levels of compensation in the armed services would rise in the coming years, as people qualify for the new and higher pay that will be available for outstanding performance. But these increases for deserving people would be more than offset by the resultant savings in material, operating and training costs, and personnel required to achieve a given level of national security.

Very early in our study, which began last May, we became aware that modern management of the manpower in the armed services could simultaneously reduce the cost and increase the effectiveness of the national defense. To achieve such results, however, the committee warned the Secretary of Defense that it could not content itself with simply applying a few patches to an antiquated structure of military compensation which has been inflated but not substantially changed since it was originally adapted from the British Navy in the year 1812. The committee indicated that a fundamental modernization would be required to solve the military manpower problem and make real savings and gains. The effects of such a deep structural change would not be a temporary flash in the pan, nor could results be achieved overnight. But the improvements would be far reaching and long lasting, and they would bring in greater savings and gains with each passing year as the new system took hold.

Secretary of Defense Wilson's business background enabled him to recognize the values of this long-term investment approach. The Secretary of Defense has backed the committee all the way, demonstrating the same courageous objectivity that has enabled him to reduce the defense budget from $47 billion in fiscal 1953, when he became Secretary of Defense, to $38 billion in fiscal 1958. It is worth noting that Mr. Wilson has achieved these reductions in a period when military equipment has been becoming increasingly complex and expensive, and when our commitments overseas have necessarily increased. If other departments of the Government exhibited the same realistic concern for economy, as well as improved service, the burden on the taxpayer would not be nearly as heavy as it is.

The main outlines of our proposals for military personnel have already been published in the press, and Commander Carrison has brought you up to date with a presentation on our findings and recommendations for the uniformed services. Essentially, you will recall, the committee recommends a two-part program: A modern pay plan and a manpower management plan. The pay plan won't work without the manpower management plan, and the manpower management plan won't work without the pay plan.

The pay plan proposes to pay people what their services are actually worth, instead of paying people on the basis of longevity of service. In this way, the pay system will encourage and reward outstanding performance and advanced skills, with greater incentives to work for promotion and to develop the difficult skills needed for a technologically advanced system of defense. It will enable the armed services to keep their best men and build up the experienced, professional force that can produce the highest combat effectiveness at the least cost in money and lives.

Such a pay plan will only reach full effectiveness if it is properly administered, and this is the second part of the plan. The manpower management plan is designed to give the Armed Forces greater flexibility and control over the distribution of skills and experience in the services. With this plan, the services can build up their supply of those skills that are critically short, and reduce their supply of those skills that are in excess of requirements. They can give greater emphasis to quality rather than quantity in their manpower considerations. They can also assure greater justice for each individual, so that he has the maximum incentive to stay in the Armed Forces and advance to positions of higher responsibility.

I will not take your time here to repeat the details of the plan, but would like to give you the new information—namely, the results of our studies as to the effects of our recommendations on the cost and effectiveness of the national defense.

Here, in brief, are the five major results that can be achieved by means of the committee's proposals:

1. About a 15-percent improvement in the combat capability of the United States Armed Forces, without a significant change in the budget. Or,

2. Savings and gains up to $5 billion a year by 1962, or sooner, in the cost of national defense.

3. Sharp reductions in training accidents now, and in military and civilian losses in the event of war.

4. Reduction in the number of military personnel required to produce a given level of national security.

5. A long-term solution to the basic manpower problems of the armed services.

Now, let me comment on each of the desired results.

First, as to the potential 15 percent improvement in the combat capability of the United States Armed Forces, without a significant change in the budget. Here we assume that the armed services will maintain their present levels of manpower, materiel, and maintenance. They would have about the same number of people and hardware, but because of the increased levels of skill achieved by the recommended system of manpower management and compensation, the manpower would make much better use of their equipment and take better care of it. Fewer people would be tied up in training activities. This would increase the combat capability of the Armed Forces by about 15 percent, based on calculations by each of the services.

Combat readiness is a qualitative thing, difficult to measure statistically. Nevertheless, there are some figures that give us a measure of the possibilities.

For example, the Navy, for testing purposes, selectively staffed one carrier antisubmarine squadron with experienced personnel. Compared with similar squadrons, which had the normal mixture of men at various levels of training and efficiency, the fully trained squadron turned in a performance that was rated 30 percent better. The level of aircraft availability, utilization, and air-crew efficiency was outstanding. This squadron had no aircraft accidents during its deployment to the Mediterranean as contrasted to nine accidents resulting in complete losses suffered by other squadrons of this type during the same period.

In the Strategic Air Command, the retention of skilled manpower now being lost would increase aircraft in-commission rates to produce an increased capability equivalent to 6½ combat-ready B–47 wings—an increase in effectiveness of 20 percent.

Statistics such as these are behind the estimates of the various services as to the improvements they could achieve if they were able to retain and develop the men they need in the critical leadership and technical positions.

Now, how much would such improvements cost? The surprising thing is that this remarkable improvement would require an investment of only about $300 million a year for 2 years, and then the net gains would begin to offset the costs, and by fiscal 1962 the savings would amount to $367 million. As to the costs for fiscal year 1958, I have been advised that the Secretary of Defense has the agreement of the Secretaries for Air, Army, and Navy that these costs can and will be absorbed in their presently requested budgets. They do not require an increase in the budgets in order to put the committee's recommendations into effect. If implementing legislation were enacted by the Congress, it would become effective in the latter half of fiscal 1958—that is, beginning in January 1958.

Here is a chart summarizing these budget costs and gains. It appears that the program would have a net cost of $249 million in fiscal 1958 and $316 million in fiscal 1959. This, I emphasize, could be accommodated without any increase in the presently requested budgets. In fiscal 1960, the gains would overtake the costs, for a net gain of $132 million, and in fiscal 1962 the gains would rise to $367 million.

Now, these hard-dollar costs and gains would require no changes in the present levels of manpower and hardware; they would simply make the present manpower and materiel 15 percent more effective.

But suppose the responsible authorities felt that it would be possible to maintain the national security with the present level of combat capability, or with something less than a 15-percent increase in combat capabil-

ity. This is a policy question which is beyond the purview of our Advisory Committee on Compensation. But as the recommended system of manpower management takes hold, it would be possible for the policymakers to decide whether they want to take the gains in the form of increased combat capability or in the form of savings for the taxpayer.

These potential savings have been calculated, and they rise from a level of $313 million in 1958 to $5 billon in fiscal 1962—that is, beginning July 1961.

Such savings are, of course, extremely difficult to calculate with any precision, and only represent those improvements to which a dollar value can be assigned. For example, the calculations include the reduction in losses due to aircraft and ship accidents, the increased availability and use of equipment when it is properly maintained, the reduction in fuel and operating costs when fewer training missions are required, and other measurable items—but do not include the increased number of on-target bomb-strikes or artillery hits achieved by experienced people for which it is impossible to produce a dollar savings estimate. The calculations show the following potential savings or gains:

Fiscal year:	
1958	$313,000,000
1959	1,591,000,000
1960	2,817,000,000
1961	4,146,000,000
1962	5,082,000,000

There are many who feel that the potential savings or gains will actually be greater than this, when you consider such intangibles as teamwork and morale, but there is no way to assign a dollar value to them. Personally, I believe that the $5 billion savings can be achieved well before fiscal 1962, if the program is vigorously carried out. It should be pointed out that while these savings were calculated on a realistic basis, they can only be achieved by intelligent administration of the new system of manpower management and compensation.

Nevertheless, savings of this magnitude in the national defense—the largest and most intractable element of the Federal budget—present a target worth going after. Practically every other item in the Federal budget seems to be part of a program in which costs are forecast to rise in the coming years. We must begin somewhere to halt and reverse the inflationary trend toward ever higher costs of Government, and here, for a small initial investment, is a very promising place to start.

The next result of the committee's proposals would be a sharp reduction in training accidents now and in military and civilian losses in the event of war.

There are many skills which are not only difficult but dangerous to learn. Flying a jet airplane is one example that everyone will understand. Accidents in training are inevitable, yet they cause a tragic loss of life as well as the loss of expensive equipment. The Air Force and Navy have calculated that accidents cost them nearly $2 million a day in fiscal 1956 in material alone.

These are the accidental losses in life and money that can be attributed to lack of experience in peacetime. In combat, when the margin of safety is sharply reduced, this inexperience could mean much greater destruction of life and property, not only in the military ranks but among the civilian population who look to the Armed Forces for a competent defense.

One of the main purposes of the recommendations of our committee is to keep experienced men with difficult skills, such as pilots, in the Armed Forces so that we can reduce the number of persons who must go through the dangerous and expensive work of learning these skills. Likewise, we are trying to help the armed services retain and develop the skilled technicians who can keep the airplanes and ordnance and other equipment in good condition so that it will not fail and cause these accidents.

Next, I indicated that the committee's recommendations would reduce the number of military personnel required to produce a given level of national security.

Roughly, 500,000 members of the Armed Forces are now involved in formal training activities, not to mention the very extensive on-the-job training which absorbs so much of the Armed Forces manpower in the operating units. The effective military defense of the United States is being supplied by the other 2,350,000 members of the Armed Forces who have achieved their basic competence.

The point is that with the destructively high turnover rates, particularly in the critical professional and technical skills, it is taking 500,000 trainees just to maintain an effective combat force and support service of 2.3 million. The more of those 2.3 million trained people we can induce to reenlist and develop toward even higher skills and responsibilities the fewer trainees we will need to maintain an effective force.

The recommendations of our committee are aimed squarely at building up the reenlistment rates of the men who have the skills that are most needed, or who have the aptitude to develop such skills. I must emphasize that these high-quality people cannot be retained without offering the genuine incentives to officers and enlisted personnel that the committee is recommending.

At present much of the manpower in the Armed Forces is either drafted or decisively influenced by the draft. If we can provide the right system of incentives, the Armed Forces will become so attractive as a career that most of its members will be there because they want to be. In my personal opinion, this will not only reduce the draft calls, but may someday make the draft unnecessary.

And, finally, I suggested that the committee's recommendations provide a long-term solution to the basic manpower problems of the Armed Forces. These are:

1. Excessive turnover and loss of key military personnel, particularly among officers and technicians.

2. Low incentives for outstanding performance and self-improvement.

3. Excessive amount of personnel, equipment, and money tied up in training at the expense of combat readiness.

4. Uncontrollable unbalance of skills, with too high a proportion of easy-to-learn skills and a perennial shortage of the more difficult leadership and technical skills.

5. Lowered morale in times of peace, or even in today's time of armed truce.

6. Inequities and pay inversions, where men get the same pay for easy or difficult work, and where thousands of officers and noncoms are getting less pay than the people who work under their supervision.

There are a number of other important problems related to the manpower problem, as the committee learned in its conversations with hundreds of soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines—both officer and enlisted personnel. In its final report, the committee will include recommendations as to the problem of inadequate housing, the need for greater educational opportunities, the difficulties of prolonged absence from home, and other items not covered in this highlight report. The recommendations on the civilian members of the defense team will also be made later, as that portion of the report is completed. But the recommendations that we are discussing today, pertaining to the system of compensation and manpower management for military personnel, are of first importance and will yield the most significant savings and gains in the national defense.

There is no automatic solution to the military manpower problem, but the instruments and approaches that will make solutions possible are those that are being recommended by the Defense Advisory Committee. We urge that they receive earnest consideration by the public, the Congress, and the administration, because they represent an important opportunity to improve the national security, and at the same time to begin cutting down the cost of defense, the largest single item in the Federal budget.

[From the New York World Telegram of March 29, 1957]

THE $5 BILLION PROMISE

Under the chairmanship of Ralph J. Cordiner, president of the General Electric Co., a committee named by Defense Secretary Wilson has come up with a new pay-for-merit plan for the Armed Forces.

It is a complicated report, but the gist is that men in the services would get paid primarily on the basis of skills rather than how long they have been in uniform. It is designed to keep experienced men, avoiding constant, expensive turnover.

Mr. Cordiner says there would be a big savings in materials, operating and training costs. The plan would cut the rate of accidents, now estimated by the Air Force and Navy alone at $2 million a day. Eventually it would let the Armed Forces cut personnel by as much as 200,000 men without loss of combat effectiveness.

By 1962—5 years hence—he estimates this program could save as much as $5 billion a year in the cost of military operations.

We long since have grown suspicious of Government proposals to spend more now to save later. They usually work out in an opposite way.

But the Cordiner report, compiled by non-Government citizens, is so promising it deserves much more than the old pigeonhole treatment. We hope Secretary Wilson and Congress will give it the most thoughtful analysis.

Anything that offers a solid prospect of saving $5 billion—or even $1 billion—a year is worth a top priority in anybody's book. And we are thinking mainly of the taxpayer's pocketbook.

Monetary Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Sylvia Porter appeared in her syndicated column in many newspapers throughout the country on March 25, 1957. It indicates most strongly that only a congressional study of monetary policy can come up with any recommendations for action, if such action is called for. The study she refers to, like many others made by the Federal Reserve Board, is a good factual study. There are many others like that done by Government agencies and independent groups. A monetary commission such as suggested by the President would, in large part, re-do the same work. When the Commission got through, a congressional committee of the House and another of the Senate would then have to weigh all of those reports and make the legislative recommendations.

The only sensible thing to do is for the congressional committees to immediately

proceed with this work, giving due credit and weight to all of these studies. At the conclusion of the congressional committees' work, those committees will report to the Congress, with appropriate recommendations for the improvement and strengthening of applicable law.

I put my statement affirmatively because it is hard to believe that a law or body of law that has been on the statute books for any length of time cannot be improved as a result of our experience under it. On the other hand, I am sure that our congressional committees, if they find that the law needs no change, would so report. Either type of report will be good, psychologically, in continuing the respect and confidence the general public should have in our financial institutions.

Miss Porter's article is as follows:

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH

(By Sylvia Porter)

BUYING ON THE CUFF STUDIED

Last week to my desk in New York came a cardboard box from the Federal Reserve Board in Washington. When I opened it, I found 5 paper-bound volumes standing 4 inches high, weighing about 4 pounds and running to 1,619 pages.

And each one of those pages was about you and me.

For this is the monumental study of installment buying which President Eisenhower directed his Economic Council to request from the Federal Reserve Board on February 15, 1956. On the basis of this report, the President figured he could decide whether or not his administration should sponsor a return to direct controls over our buying on the cuff.

So what recommendations has the Federal Reserve Board's research staff come up with as a result of its staggeringly detailed study?

It hasn't come up with any.

All arguments presented

If you want to read all the arguments against direct controls over the down payment and repayment terms of our installment buying—a peacetime equivalent of wartime's "regulation W"— you'll find every one of them, big, small, and indifferent (vol. 5).

If you want to read every conceivable reason for standby controls on installment buying, you'll find these too (vol. 4).

If you're curious about the history of installment buying from Civil War days on—you can more than satisfy your curiosity here (vol. 1).

If you would like to know how many of us, at what income levels, owe how much, you need look no further (vol. 2).

But I doubt if many of you, if any, will ever attempt to wade through anything as massive as this, and incidentally, volume 6 is still to come.

Rather, if you were staring at these books as I am now, you probably would echo the cry of anguish of the Washington newspapermen when they learned there wasn't even a summary of the report available.

Of course, the Reserve Board's research division, headed by Ralph A. Young, would emphasize that even if the staff wanted to make recommendations, it shouldn't.

Comprehensive study

But I have a strong suspicion that just by presenting so comprehensive and searching a study, Mr. Young and his staff have done much to squelch any case for a return to installment-buying controls at any time in the foreseeable future.

The report, for instance, includes so dizzying an array of arguments against direct curbs over installment credit that many Congressmen surely would hesitate to approve the move barring an emergency.

And the staff carefully points out that the only experience this country has had with installment-credit controls, has been under war emergency or unusual postwar conditions; there has been no experience with such regulation under what might be called normal peacetime conditions.

The report concludes that the increase in installment credit in the future is likely to be at a slower pace than in past years and an increase of 5 to 6 percent a year is a logical projection.

From this, it is not hard to reach a decision that if the pace of the rise is moderating by itself, we need not slap on any detested Government regulations to force moderation.

Delays May Prove Costly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, in our struggle with international communism, we have repeatedly pledged our friendship and cooperation to the peoples of central and eastern Europe in their efforts to shed the bonds of Communist domination, and to regain national independence.

We made those pledges knowing that by increasing the ranks of the free nations we would simultaneously reduce the comparative strength of the Communist block, and enhance the security of our own Nation and of the free world.

I am certain that I need not recall the emotional pitch which these promises reached during the Republican campaign of 1952. GOP candidates for national and local offices extravagantly pledged to liberate the nations of Eastern Europe—to free them from Communist chains, and to bring them back into the family of free nations. While many persons realized that some of these promises were only empty gestures, intended solely to assure political gains, others took them more seriously. I am certain that the promises of liberation, as well as the less extravagant pledges of assistance, have encouraged the people of eastern and central Europe to hope for United States assistance at the time when they would make their break from the Communists.

Several months ago, the Polish nation made a courageous and daring attempt to shed the shackles of Soviet bondage. They have gambled much in the hope that, with Western help, they would succeed in enlarging the area of their independence, and cut off many of their ties with the Kremlin. They have, it seems to me, counted on us to live up to our words.

Now there are two facts that we must consider at this point: The one is the fact that Poland today faces a desperate economic situation as a result of the war and of a decade of Soviet exploitation and colonial rule. The Polish nation needs assistance to get on its own feet. If it does not secure such aid from the West, it will have but one place to turn to: Gomulka's regime will probably fall, the new experiment in national limited independence will fail, and Poland will probably return—much against the wishes of her people, and possibly not without great bloodshed—into the closed orbit of Soviet domination.

The second fact which we should consider is this: In spite of the fine-sounding pledges to assist those who try to assert their national independence, the present administration has made no apparent move to date to aid the Polish nation in its grave predicament. Representatives of the Gomulka regime have been seeking help for a number of weeks, but apparently without much success.

Now, I am not suggesting that we grant the request for assistance submitted by the Polish Government. That request is quite considerable, and a decision on this matter should be arrived at carefully. The issues as to how much aid—and as to what kind of aid we should extend to Poland or to any other nation, should be decided, first, on the basis of our ability to aid others; and, second, on the basis of the relationship of such assistance to our own security and our best interests.

The fact remains that while the executive branch probably has good reasons for not granting the request of the Polish Government in its entirety, our executive officials should quit stalling and indicate to the people of Poland, and to the peoples of other nations, whether or not we intend to abide by our pledges: Whether or not we aim to assist them in extending and strengthening their independence from Soviet Russia.

Such a decision, and such an announcement, are long overdue. The details can be worked out gradually, with much care. But the decision to live up to our word—or to go back on our promise—should be made now.

Mr. Speaker, I am skeptical about the Gomulka regime, because I realize that, in spite of the recent election, it is a Communist regime. In that respect, it does not fulfill the hopes of the free world or, for that matter, the hopes of the Polish nation. We must recognize it for what it is, however, it is a national Communist regime which is trying to sever its ties with international, militant, totalitarian communism of Soviet Russia.

To the extent that the Gomulka regime will succeed in severing its relations with the Kremlin, and its dependence upon Soviet Russia, to that extent—it seems to me—its success will detract from the strength of the Soviet Union and from the threat which faces our Nation and the free world.

In other words, by strengthening the independence of Poland—and eventually, we hope, the independence of the other Communist-dominated nations—we are in effect strengthening our own cause. For whatever detracts from the strength of the Soviet Union, simultaneously adds to the relative strength of the free world. This, then, is one of the ways in which we can try to advance our cause; not by bearing arms, not by sending liberating armies to penetrate the Iron Curtain, but

by aiding those nations which have gained some measure of independence from the Kremlin in their own ways, and are now trying to extend that area of freedom with our help.

Mr. Speaker, I, for one, feel that the administration has delayed long enough on this issue. I earnestly hope that they will reach a decision in our national interest without further delay.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to call to the attention of the membership of this body an article by Columnist Joseph Alsop, entitled "Gomulka Catches It on All Sides," which appeared in the March 31 edition of the Washington Post and Times-Herald, as well as a copy of a telegram sent by the American Order of General Pulaski, Inc., to the President and to the Secretary of State:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 31, 1957]

GOMULKA CATCHES IT ON ALL SIDES

(By Joseph Alsop)

PARIS.—Reliable reports from Warsaw suggest that American policymakers will be most unwise to take the new anti-Stalinist Polish Government too much for granted as a permanent feature of the central European scene.

From the very beginning of the Polish uprising against Soviet colonial rule, the task of the Polish National Communist leader, Wladyslaw Gomulka, has been very like the task of Elisa crossing the ice.

For example, it can now be revealed that when Nikita Khrushchev and his party made their famous surprise visit to Warsaw last November, their minds were nine-tenths made up to crush the Poles like flies—as Marshal Zhukov subsequently said in a tone of evident regret. The price that had to be paid to avert a Hungarian tragedy was Gomulka's promise of continuing Polish adherence to the Warsaw Pact, which meant continued stationing of Red army troops in Poland.

Gomulka's situation today is less immediately critical, but it is almost equally precarious for the long run. He would probably be in very deep trouble at this moment if he had not done so well in Poland's recent, curious, semifree election. The so-called Natolin group, the far from unimportant Stalinist faction in the Polish Communist Party, actually hoped the election would show a strongly anti-Communist result.

The Polish Stalinists correctly thought that such a result would eventually lead to the forcible reestablishment of full Soviet colonial rule in Poland. But Poland's wise and farsighted Cardinal Wyszynski understood the danger. He quietly threw the immense power of the Polish Catholic Church into the balance on Gomulka's side. And thus the Polish Nationalist leader won a triumph at the polls.

All the same, Gomulka's present problem looks very grim indeed. To the right of him, he has the restive Polish anti-Communists, which means the vast majority of the Polish people, who admire Gomulka but hate his party. To the left of him, he has the Stalinist faction in the Polish Communist Party, whose designs are strongly supported by the masters of the Kremlin.

Finally, squarely in front of him, Gomulka has the desperate economic situation to which Poland has been reduced by long years of Soviet colonial rule. Here lies his great chance and his great period. According to one highly authoritative estimate, Gomulka has no more than a year to give his people a sense of greatly increased well-being.

If he fails, he will go down to defeat in a conflict between the Stalinists and the anti-Communists. But this will mean, in fact, that Soviet colonial rule will be reestablished in Poland. For the Kremlin will surely seize the opportunity of a Polish time of trouble to help its Warsaw friends with the naked force of the Red army.

On the other hand, if Gomulka succeeds on the economic front, his leadership will cease to be challenged, either from right or left. He will at last gain the elbow room to deal with the Polish Stalinists. And the evolution of Poland can then proceed peacefully, not toward our kind of democracy, but at least in a direction that will be bearable for the Polish people and highly distasteful to the Kremlin.

At present, Gomulka is both being kept on leading strings and openly threatened by the Kremlin. With the economic problem overriding all other, the Soviet economic aid promised to Poland is being given in trickles, on a day-to-day basis. For instance, wheat deliveries, according to the same authority quoted above, have to be rushed to the flour mills and the flour has to be rushed to the bakeries, to prevent a bread shortage.

By pulling on the leading strings in this manner, the Kremlin has encouraged Gomulka's recent concessions to the Polish Stalinists, which alarmed the West. Washington, of course, has the opportunity to cut the Kremlin's leading strings. But judging from this distance, Washington seems to be disinclined to grant Gomulka the generous American economic aid he so badly needs.

Yet surely, a government that is good enough for Cardinal Wyzsynski ought to be good enough for Senator KNOWLAND. And surely, after all the grandiose talk about liberation, it is a bit odd to throw away the remaining chance offered by the deep unrest in Central Europe. For if Gomulka really succeeds in Poland, the position of the Stalinist regime in Czechoslovakia must finally become untenable. And even in the other Central European countries where Red army troops are stationed, Gomulka's success will create a permanently and explosively unstable situation.

The question, really, is whether Senator KNOWLAND and the administration policymakers he so often intimidates prefer making cheap and empty anti-Communist gestures against Gomulka or gaining a major point in the world struggle against the Kremlin's power.

MARCH 16, 1957.

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.:

May we suggest a loan in the form of food, raw material, and machinery for the textile and building industries to the Poles our gallant but almost forgotten allies whose friendship for the United States dates back to the birth of our Nation. This aid should be distributed under strict control and supervision of an American governmental agency similar to the post-World War I Hoover Commisison, partially manned by Americans of Polish origin to facilitate language barriers and to acquaint the Polish populace with our own American ways of life and our free American institutions. At heart the Poles abhor the evil and godless forces of the Red Kremlin.

In weighing a decision in this vital manner, let us be mindful of Poland's tragedy partly brought about by our own neglect and lack of understanding and foresight at Yalta 12 years ago when we allowed Stalin to have his diabolical way, and when the Polish people were, without their consent, turned over to communism which meant death, famine, rape, and slavery to a freedom-loving nation.

May we respectfully add that according to newspaper reports Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, primate of Poland, is expected to be in Rome at Easter. This humble servant of God, a martyr of communism, would be in a position to enlighten us as to the practicability and necessity of aid to the Polish people.

Respectfully,

AMERICAN ORDER OF GENERAL PULASKI,
K. STEFAN POMIERSKI,
President Emeritus.
GLEN COVE, N. Y.
CORNELIUS H. TUSZYNSKI,
President.
JOSEPH P. POLONSKI,
Counsel and General Secretary.

Moscow Steals United States Defense Secrets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I am offering at this point an important article indicating the extent of Soviet penetration into American industry. Mr. Lawrence Sullivan, Coordinator of Information, United States House of Representatives, has prepared an article for the March 1957 issue of National Republic. I commend it to those who are interested in this subject matter:

MOSCOW STEALS UNITED STATES DEFENSE SECRETS

(By Lawrence Sullivan)

America has no trade secrets any more. When Moscow hears of a new industrial process or production method, two gigantic engines of international communism—the Russian diplomatic apparatus, and the Kremlin's terroristic secret police—are mobilized for intensive in-plant espionage, until the blueprints and specifications of the latest discovery are delivered safely to Russian hands.

No American industrial concern, however large or small, is beyond the range of Communist espionage. The FBI disclosed recently that the innermost secrets of the atom bomb—the pivotal trigger mechanism—had been delivered to Moscow in complete blueprint detail a full month before our own first test explosion at Alamogordo, N. Mex., July 16, 1945. And testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, published in November 1956, discloses that during and after World War II, every major technical advance in United States industry was filched quickly by Moscow's espionage network. Processes known to have been stolen in the years 1934–49, included such giants as Kodachrome, nylon, dry ice, magnesium flares, aerosol sprays, and buna-S synthetic rubber, to name but a few, now officially documented in the Senate hearings.

Only a few industries in the United States today are cognizant of Communist espionage methods. The real work of collecting vital military and industrial secrets always is handled in the plant by American citizens, never by Russians.

Harry Gold, now serving a sentence of 30 years in the Federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa., for his part in the historic Rosenberg spy ring which delivered the atom-bomb secrets to Moscow in 1943–45, has re-

vealed the complete operational method of Communist industrial espionage in America. Under heavy armed guard on temporary leave from the penitentiary, Gold told his story in breath-taking intimacy and detail before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on April 26, 1956. The hearings were published last November. Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, Democrat, of Mississippi, chairman of the subcommittee, observed in publishing this testimony that it offered a "good example of the subtle psychological recruiting employed by Communists to induce citizens of the United States to betray their country."

Born in Bern, Switzerland, December 12, 1912, Harry Gold came to America with his parents in 1914, became a citizen in 1922, attended public schools in Philadelphia, and completed 2 years in chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania in 1932. After working for a time, he studied chemistry for 2 more years at the Drexel Institute of Technology in Philadelphia, and later obtained his bachelor of science degree in chemistry at the University of Cincinnati in 1940.

Seeking employment in January 1933, Gold fell in with Thomas L. Black, who worked for Holbrook Manufacturing Co., Jersey City, N. J., a long-established and thriving soapmaker. Black offered to help Gold get a job. At their first meeting, Black told Gold, "You are a Socialist. I am a Communist, and I am going to make a Communist out of you."

Through Black's help, Gold obtained employment at Holbrook, and Black moved on to National Oil Products Co. at Harrison, N. J., at better pay. Gold began at $30 a week with Holbrook.

Outlining his relations with Black, Gold continued his story before the Senate committee: "He tried for several months, from January to September 1933, to get me to join the Communist Party. I attended several meetings of the party in Jersey City. He tried to propagandize me in a variety of ways, but I just kept stalling him. I had no interest in the matter whatsoever."

Returning to Philadelphia in September 1933, Gold took a new job with Pennsylvania Sugar Co., where he had formerly worked part time during college days.

"I was glad to get away from Black and his constant importuning that I join the Communist Party."

But he could not get away from Black. The two men met periodically in Jersey City, Philadelphia, and New York. Black soon introduced Gold to Vera Kane, an alleged pro-Communist lawyer with a good firm in Wall Street.

In April 1934 Black visited Gold in Philadelphia to tell him: "There is something you can do. There is something that would be very helpful to the Soviet Union, and something in which you can take pride. The Pennsylvania Sugar Co. has processes on industrial solvents. * * * The people of the Soviet Union need these processes. If you will obtain as many of them as you can in complete detail and give them to me, I will see that those processes are turned over to the Soviet Union, and that they will be utilized."

Gold related that for the in-plant espionage operative, Communist penetration throughout America develops in three successive steps—(1) industrial secrets, (2) military secrets, and (3) political operations. In the third phase of his own espionage career, extending over a period of 17 years, Gold was assigned to some work in connection with Leon Trotsky or followers of Leon Trotsky. He was emphatic that once a person allows himself to be caught up in the Communist espionage web, there can be no retreat—ever.

As operations of the Pennsylvania Sugar Co., expanded, Gold faced the problem of getting his filched materials back into the company files the next morning. The stolen papers and blueprints became increasingly voluminous—finally, more than he could transcribe in one night at home. Gold refused compensation for his espionage work.

"I was looting the files of the Pennsylvania Sugar Co., and the material had to be replaced, usually overnight * * *. I continued to do this for a period well over a year, up to about November 1935 * * *. Every couple of months I turned some material over to Tom Black."

When at length the volume of material became too heavy for overnight transcription, Black and Gold turned to Vera Kane for advice. Soon Black reported that all the photostating would be done at Hudson Blueprint Co., in the Wall Street area. Gold later was informed the bill would be picked up by Amtorg, the Soviet trading agency in New York.

During November 1935 Black reported jubilantly to Gold: "Harry, all our troubles are over. Now we can get all the information we want copied. I've got a wonderful setup. Furthermore, we've got some very good news about some of the processes you sent to the Soviet Union. * * * They've got them in operation. They are pleased with them. And there is a Russian who works for Amtorg who is very anxious to meet you. He is also the person who is going to arrange for photocopying any amount of material you want."

Pausing an instant for reflection upon his own bold narrative, Gold added: "And so I met my first Russian, Paul Smith."

But of course that was not the Russian's real name. Gold never learned Paul Smith's honest name, although he did learn later from frequent contacts that Paul Smith was the Amtorg man who set up the entire industrial espionage system in the United States of America (hearings, p. 1016).

At about this point Gold began to have occasional qualms of conscience. But he could not turn back. He was too deeply snared in the Communist network.

"I couldn't kid myself," he told the Senators. "I was stealing. And add to that, I was stealing from Dr. Gustav T. Reich, who was research director for the Pennsylvania Sugar Co.; and Doc Reich, so to speak, sort of raised me from a pup. I started to work in the lab, cleaning spitoons, and when I finally left Pennsylvania Sugar Co., I think I was a capable chemist. Reich taught me a lot, and made a lot available to me. He raised me from the very beginning. I was violating that man's confidence. I was going into his files. I had keys made so I could get into his files, and I especially requested night shift so that I could get into those files. I was stealing from a man who trusted me. And, believe me, I had qualms. I wasn't happy about it. But it seemed to me that the greater overall good of the objective justified the means I was using."

Gold delivered secrets to Paul Smith from November 1935 through August 1936, transmitting in that period every industrial process ever perfected and applied by Pennsylvania Sugar Co.

Gold next was turned over to Steve Schwartz—very well built, very handsome, and a bit of a dude; he even wore spats, but he was too big for anyone to tell him about it.

"But after a while we began to run out of information," Gold continued. "Pennsylvania Sugar had only so much, and I had been very diligent, as I said, and we looted them pretty completely. Steve Schwartz then began to suggest that possibly I find other work."

Early in 1938 Gold was turned over by Schwartz to another Amtorg agent whom he knew only as Fred.

"I have never been able to identify this man."

Fred insisted Gold get another job.

"He wanted the Philadelphia Navy Yard, or the Baldwin Locomotive Works, or any firm or organization that manufactured military materials."

As a stop-gap after leaving Pennsylvania Sugar, Gold took the assignment of "keeping tabs on certain people who were supposed to be adherents of Leon Trotsky."

"It was pretty obvious from what Black told me, that they were going to kill Trotsky, and they were trying to get set up to do it." (Hearings, page 1021.)

Fred next assigned Gold to the University of Cincinnati to get his degree in chemistry. In Ohio he was to cultivate Benjamin Smilg, then employed in the Wright Air Force Development Center, at Dayton. Smilg had been scholarshipped through MIT by Amtorg, and then assigned to Wright Air Force Base. But he had been found slow in coming through with military secrets from Dayton. Gold was ordered to hasten Smilg's secrets along (hearings, p. 1023).

Unsuccessful over a period of 2 years in Ohio, Gold was ordered back to Philadelphia and remained there on various in-and-out tasks until December 1943, when he was assigned to work with Klaus Fuchs, the German Communist then sent over by Britain to work with American, Italian, and Scandinavian scientists at Columbia University in development of the atom bomb—the historic Manhattan project. Amtorg knew all about it. Gold was assigned to Fuchs by Seman Markovich Semenov, also attached to Amtorg, New York.

"I remember at one time he told me of meeting" (a late oil magnet) "I believe, in Philadelphia, in connection with signing a contract for cracking equipment (oil refinery process) to be sent to the Soviet Union. That was in 1943 * * * Semenov was the one with whom I got along best, and the one whom I knew most intimately, and the one who eventually led to my introduction to Klaus Fuchs." (hearings, page 1024).

To pick up the Fuchs assignment, Gold abandoned his then embryonic plans to penetrate the Holtland Ordnance Works, Kingsport, Tenn., a highly secret wartime production subsidiary of Eastman Kodak Co.

"Forget them," Semenov told him. "Forget everything you ever knew about them. You are never to see them, or meet them, or have anything to do with them again."

Semenov told him the Fuchs assignment related "to a completely new and devastating type of weapon." Gold added: "It was when I met Klaus Fuchs that he explained to me just what the weapon was."

Gold's first meeting with Fuchs came late of an afternoon in mid-January, 1944, in the vicinity of the Henry Street Settlement on the East side of Manhattan.

"I was to carry an extra pair of gloves and a book," Gold recalled. "The man I was to meet was to carry a tennis ball."

After routine signals of mutual recognition the two men met, took dinner at Manny Wolff's, on 49th Street and Third Avenue, and arranged elaborately for their next secret meeting.

"After speaking with him, I realized that this man had been involved in espionage before * * *. He knew his way around. He could pick out flaws in my own technique * * *. He gave me the names of some of the people he was working with, prominent people * * *. I think he told me it went by the name of the Manhattan project.

"He gave me the general overall picture of the set-up, and told me that when he next met me he would give me a complete written account of the project, the general physical make-up, just how far it had progressed. As much as he could possibly obtain, he was going to put on paper * * *. And at this next meeting with him in New York City I did obtain this information." (Hearings, p. 1027.)

That is how the basic, essential secrets of the atom bomb, passed to Moscow, in January 1944—19 months before our own test explosion in New Mexico.

Gold worked exclusively on the A-bomb project from December 1943, through 1949.

"I turned that information over to a man whom I knew as John, a man I have since identified as Anatoli Antomovich Yakovlev, Soviet vice counsel in New York."

In July 1944 Fuchs was transferred from Columbia University to Los Alamos, N. Mex., where the A-bomb test site was being prepared. Gold did not see him again until December, when Fuchs visited his married sister, Mrs. Crystal Heinemann, at Cambridge, Mass., for the holidays.

"I received a huge bundle of information," Gold recalled of this meeting.

They met again in Santa Fe, N. Mex., in June 1945, about a month before the first test explosion. On this occasion Fuch gave Gold some 100 typewritten pages of material—"and it just covered everything, from what I could see by looking at it. It not only contained a tremendous amount of theoretical mathematics but it contained the practical setup * * *. I think Fuchs knew as much as any one man about the progress of the atom bomb, except possibly those at the very top of the project. Fuchs knew and was in position to give. Possibly he knew more than even those at the top, because he was in intimate contact with it—daily contact."

A second trip to Santa Fe in September 1945, brought forth from Fuchs the final cleanup material on the A-bomb—the scientific evaluation of the July test explosion, and the several critical steps in perfection of the Hiroshima warhead of August 6. All of this vital material was back in the hands of Amtorg and Soviet Consulate officials in New York by September 24, 1945. (Hearings, p. 1306.)

"That was my last act of espionage, in which I actually transmitted information," Gold said in concluding the Fuchs episode.

"He told me that relations between the British and Americans were becoming rather strained * * * and it was very apparent that sooner or later they would each go their own way on atomic energy."

Summoned before the Federal grand jury in New York during the summer of 1947, Gold proved himself a loyal servant of the Kremlin.

"Did you answer the questions" he was asked by the Senate Committee counsel, Robert Morris.

"Yes, I did," Gold responded.

"Did you tell the truth at that time?" Morris persisted.

"I lied, every bit of it," Gold replied blandly.

Meanwhile Fuchs had returned to England. He continued to supply secrets to the Kremlin until early 1949. Gold continued his operations in Philadelphia and New York, now under the supervision of Vladimir Sarytchev, attached to the Soviet delegation to the United Nations. But he came upon no more industrial secrets of any importance.

In May 1950, the FBI moved in on Gold in America, and Scotland Yard took charge of Fuchs in England. During the next 2 years, the international A-bomb ring was smashed to smithereens.

But the brutal methods and lawless routines of systematic industrial espionage perfected by Gold and his Russian mentors in the years 1935–50 still are with us.

Communist industrial espionage is worldwide, determined, rich in gold and local exchanges, far beyond all appeal to conscience or morality—an ever-present challenge to alert management everywhere. Witness Gold's testimony epitomizes the guiding industrial slogan of the Kremlin—"Never buy anything you can steal."

National Boys' Club Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from the Greenwich Time, of March 29, and also a proclamation issued by Walter A. Hayes, first selectman of the town of Greenwich, contained in a story printed in the Greenwich Life, of March 28, proclaiming this week as Boys' Club Week in Greenwich.

As an alumnus of the Greenwich Boys' Club, I wish to join in saluting an organization which has played a big part in my own personal development as it has for thousands and thousands of others throughout the Nation.

I am happy that the following editorial has accorded due credit to the outstanding work of several Greenwich citizens who are prime movers in the Boys' Club organization—Jack Gleason, national director, and former Greenwich police chief and administrator, who was a contemporary of mine in the old Greenwich Boys' Club; William S. Wilson, president of the Greenwich club for 25 years; the indefatiguable local executive director, Anthony Schinto, and Albert L. Cole, the national president of Boys' Clubs of America:

[From the Greenwich Times of March 29, 1957]

BOYS' CLUB WEEK

Clergymen, sociologists, teachers, police, and parents have no more pressing problem before them today than that of channeling the Nation's youth into wholesome activity and thus reduce the swelling list of those who have strayed from the majority who adhere to the rules of decency.

Juvenile delinquency is something that can be checked. But its tide is not going to be stemmed by half-hearted measures nor by attempts at strict discipline. It must be approached from a viewpoint of understanding, of appreciation of the difficulties faced by today's teenagers with which they are unable to cope, and with a sensible program for providing them with the help they need.

America's boys and girls cannot be modeled into automatons as the youth of totalitarian countries are. They are imbued, just as every other American of every age, with the spirit of freedom. But they must be taught the difference between liberty and license, that liberty is attained only through respect for law and order, through sincere consideration of the rights of others.

To such a task the Boys' Clubs of America are dedicated. These organizations, operating under a central headquarters, but entirely autonomous in their individual functions, are looming as a major influence in keeping teenagers from departing from the paths of decency and in showing them the rewards of following a wholesome life. Already they have developed interests and methods that have won many otherwise fractious youngsters from potential mischief by providing programs that permit them to engage their energies in constructive activity.

The clubs will participate in a countrywide observance of National Boys' Club Week from April 1 to April 7, during which time the full details of the organization's progress will be carried to the people. Impetus should be given during that week to carry it forward until the present number of 460 clubs throughout the Nation reach a point where there is one in every town and hamlet.

[From the Greenwich Times of March 29, 1957]

A WAY OF LIFE

As John M. Gleason, the national director, said in Greenwich recently, this is not a complete solution but it is an applied movement for good. Mr. Gleason, before his appointment to the post, served Greenwich as police chief and administrator. And he is not the only Greenwich resident vitally concerned with the boys clubs. Albert L. Cole, publisher, is national president, and the Greenwich Boys' Club is one of the outstanding of the organization's units. The devotion of William S. Wilson, who served as president here for 25 years, Anthony Schinto, the executive director, and others has borne good fruit.

The clubs, nonsectarian in nature, nevertheless do not overlook the need for spiritual values. They help to provide a check on the explosive energies of their youthful members and they provide understanding and, in some cases, individual service on conformity with their purpose. They have become, as Mr. Gleason put it, "a way of life."

These clubs represent no small factor. They own more than $100 million in plant and equipment. Their national budget for last year exceeded $14 million. They maintain 100 camps and are directed by a staff of 5,000 trained, dedicated staff members in addition to the 460 executive directors of each of the individual clubs.

The observance of National Boys' Club Week is aimed at inaugurating an expansion program that will extend the service, especially among the underprivileged, to give them an opportunity to experience for themselves the difference between the current materialist philosophy and a spiritual outlook in which everyone becomes his brother's keeper. They expect to concentrate on activities during what has become known as the danger hours, between the time the teenagers leave school and go home for their dinners. It has been established that it is during these hours that much of the mischief takes place.

The Boys' Club program is one that should appeal to every citizen, whether a parent or not, because upon the shaping of the characters of these youths of today will depend their steadfastness when they become citizens of tomorrow.

[From Greenwich Life of March 28, 1957]

BOYS' CLUB WEEK PROCLAIMED

Next week is National Boys' Club Week across the country. On the local level, the period from April 1 to 7 will be a busy one at the Horseneck Lane clubhouse, with special activities scheduled for each day.

This week, official recognition came from town hall in the form of the following proclamation by First Selectman Walter A. Hayes:

"All over the United States this coming week communities are pausing to pay tribute to the work of the Boys' Clubs. Beginning Monday, National Boys' Club Week is being observed throughout the country, with over 450,000 boys participating in programs of every type to demonstrate the vital part boys' clubs play in American life. Boys' club members carry on the activities they learn at the club, offering an admirable example of democracy in action, representing many nationalities, races, and creeds, proving that boys can work and play together in peace and harmony, regardless of race, creed, or nationality. The character building, constructive work of the boys' club in this town is training

them well for tomorrow. It makes me proud to know that our town is participating in National Boys' Club Week.

Therefore, I, Walter A. Hayes, first selectman of the town of Greenwich, proclaim April 1 to 7, 1957, as Boys' Club Week.

WALTER A. HAYES,
First Selectman.

Lives or Dollars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, are we building our new highways for the safety and enjoyment of the public or for exploitation by private greed? Shall we make them safe and give the people an opportunity to see America first? Or shall we erect billboard canyons and ribbon slums, hemmed in with blatant advertisements of pink pills for pale people and 57 kinds of beer, interspersed with pinboard carnivals and hotdog stands?

The question involves not only the safety of the individual but the safety of the Nation. Rear Adm. Neill Phillips testified before a congressional committee that the restriction of billboards along our superhighways is necessary for national defense. He testified that—

I just don't believe that the voters of America can be made to believe that it is good for the national economy to squander millions of dollars to deface our wonderful country with a hideous rash of billboards along the great network of our new superhighways.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch said editorially in its issue of March 29, 1957:

BEAUTY, NOT SAFETY, THE ISSUE

A great many people must respond favorably to the idea that the new interstate highways should be protected against the commercial exploitation that has turned many existing highways into rural slums.

We reach that conclusion because the outdoor advertising industry has begun to fight back. It sponsored a study at Iowa State College which concluded that billboards along highways have some slightly beneficial effects in that they keep drivers from succumbing to "highway hypnosis." Another paper based on research in Iowa and Michigan concludes that there is no significant relationship between outdoor advertising signs and highway accidents, and that the evidence, if any, is slightly in favor of signs as a safety measure.

These conclusions are tenuous enough to warrant being ignored, but we do not expect the billboard people to ignore them.

Actually the safety issue is not the basic one. The new highways should be protected from commercial exploitation because the motorist is entitled to see some natural beauty just for the fun of it—or the good of his soul. And there are other ways of combating "highway hypnosis" than obscuring the view with signs.

And the Washington Star on March 30, 1957, said:

ROADSIDE EYESORES

The movement to safeguard the proposed 41,000-mile interstate highway system from roadside eyesores of the type so familiar to travelers on United States Route 1 is worthy of public support—although the movement is a bit belated. It would have been better if some statement of policy, at the least, had been included in the 1956 Federal Highway Act which authorized the network. For it is evident that a strong fight will be waged by commercial signboard and other interests to make the most of the new roadside locations opened up by the huge highway program.

The law's deficiency was brought to public attention last December by Robert Moses, New York's park chief, in a Harper's article. He wrote that the new expressways would be "all left exposed to an indiscriminate mushroom growth of ugly filling stations, hotdog stands and all the other familiar roadside eyesores." He warned that "if the billions of public investment * * * are to be protected and the value of our scenery and natural assets is to be preserved, steps to prevent the onslaught of commercial advertising must be taken before construction gets underway." Since then several bills have been introduced calling for varying degress of Federal control of roadside defacement—either by the setting of standards voluntarily to be enforced by the States or by the withholding of Federal funds for noncompliance with the standards. Hearings on some of these proposals are being held this week.

We hope that some reasonable method of control can be worked out, so that the new vistas of natural scenery through which the new highways will run will not be desecrated as some of our older highways have been.

We have at the gates of Washington one of the most convincing demonstrations that could be made. Driving out of the city on Highway No. 1 we find an arterial highway so blinded by obscuring billboards—although it has not yet reached its ultimate nuisance potential—such a discordant riot of gaudy billboard excesses as to completely hide one of the most beautiful countrysides to be found in classic Virginia. On the other hand, entering the city from the same direction is the famed Shirley Highway from which the reckless dollar-crazed exploiters have been excluded and which is a delight to the eye of the tired city dweller who enjoys a Virginia landscape of surpassing beauty and uncontaminated and unspoiled by the blare and glare of vandal billboards.

Drive over these two highways and take your choice.

At Least There Is Some Hope in the Cyprus Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the text of a statement which I issued on March 29 upon learning of arrangements for the release of Archbishop Makarios who had been imprisoned in the Seychelles Islands:

MARCH 29, 1957.—It is very gratifying to note that arrangements have been made for the release of Archbishop Makarios from his confinement in the Seychelles Islands and that the Government of the United Kingdom is prepared to adopt a more liberal and conciliatory policy toward the unfortunate people of Cyprus.

More than 2 years ago I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 26 in the House of Representatives which called for vigorous and expeditious action to insure the applicability of the policy of self-determination of peoples in the case of the Island of Cyprus and urged that the United Nations take the lead in dealing with the Cyprus problem. Had action along the lines called for by this resolution been taken by the United Nations at that time, I am sure that much bloodshed and suffering might have been avoided.

I am well aware that the release of Archbishop Makarios from confinement does not solve the Cyprus problem. The hatreds and bitterness which have been engendered during recent years will make any satisfactory solution difficult. Nevertheless, I am hopeful that a turning point has been reached, and I am sure that the United States stands ready to use its good offices and render assistance whenever an opportunity arises.

Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the resolutions which were unanimously passed by the 21st National Convention of the Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., held in Auburn, N. Y., on August 31–September 3, 1956, which resolutions mandated the national legislative chairman, Anthony V. Popolo, to pursue the objectives in said resolutions on a national scale:

Whereas the payment of death pension to otherwise eligible World War II widows on the same basis as this benefit is paid to World War I widows is a legislative issue which has not, as yet, been sanctioned by the Congress; and

Whereas the inequitable and discriminatory restrictive provisions which characterize existing laws pertaining to the eligibility requirements for this benefit are working an undue hardship upon the majority of World War II widows by excluding them entirely: Therefore be it

Resolved That the Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., during its 21st annual national convention in Auburn, N. Y., on August 31–September 3, 1956, do urge the Congress of the United States to enact legislation which would equalize the payment of death pension to widows of World War II veterans; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Honorable OLIN TEAGUE, chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee; the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, majority leader of the House; the Honorable LYNDON JOHNSON, majority leader of the Senate; and to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

ALBERT P. RUSSO,
National Rehabilitation Officer.

Attest:

JOHN LUPARIA,
National Commander.

Whereas a discrepancy exists in the benefits of widows of World War II and the Korean conflict and the benefits of World War I widows; and

Whereas a World War I widow is entitled to greater and more liberal benefits upon the death of her veteran-husband who died with at least 10 percent disability than a widow of World War II and the Korean conflict: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the delegates of the Department of Massachusetts, Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., assembled at a convention in Springfield, Mass., on July 21 and 22, 1956, That this department go on record as being in favor of equalizing all widows' benefits of widows of World War I, World War II, and Korean conflict veterans, and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to appropriate officials of the Federal Government, to the National Congress, and to the national convention of the Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., at its annual convention for consideration and adoption.

Adopted the 22d day of July 1956, by the 21st annual convention of the Department of Massachusetts, Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., assembled in Springfield, Mass.

Whereas the provisions of Public Law 16 which makes possible vocational rehabilitation training for World War II veterans is, perhaps, the most vital benefit enacted by the Congress of the United States for the disabled veterans of World War II; and

Whereas one of the most unfortunate developments which has occurred with regard to the broad benefit program extended to World War II veterans is the failure of vast numbers of eligible World War II disabled veterans to take advantage of vocational rehabilitation training as provided for under Public Law 16; and

Whereas Public Law 16, a law which is so vital and crucial to the permanent rehabilitation of our disabled veterans of World War II shall expire on July 27, 1956; and

Whereas in the interest of the economy and the future well-being of our Nation and the large numbers of disabled veterans of World War II who for reasons many and varied have not, as yet, achieved final and total rehabilitation, it is both desirable and necessary that the provisions of Public Law 16 be continued: Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That the Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., Department of Rhode Island, during its seventh annual department convention, in the city of Providence, R. I., do again unanimously endorse the proposal that legislation be introduced and vigorously pressed by the national legislation director of the ITAM Vets leading to the general extension of Public Law 16 for a period of 3 years beyond its expiration date; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the national adjutant with the request that it be introduced at the ITAM Vets national convention so that, if adopted during the 1956 national convention, the intent embodied herein shall become a convention mandate in the ITAM Vets national legislative program during 1956–57.

FRANK J. CENTAZZO,
Sergeant Anthony M. Cappucci Post, No. 1, ITAM Vets, Bristol, R. I.

Unanimously adopted by department on June 17, 1956.

Passed national convention 1956.

JOSEPH LEONETH,
Commander.

Whereas the soaring rise in standard of living costs has worked a considerable financial handicap upon our Nation's disabled veterans primarily because compensation benefits for their service-connected disabilities at the current rates have not been commensurately increased for some time; and

Whereas the American people, through the Congress of the United States, have, in endorsing the payment of compensation to disabled veterans for injuries, diseases, or wounds sustained in the service, recognized and acknowledged the fact that compensation benefits awarded to disabled veterans and to their widows constitute an obligation which shall be discharged in honor and without restraint as a continuing cost of war; and

Whereas the introduction in the House of Representatives by Representative OLIN TEAGUE, of Texas, of H. R. 11310 would, if enacted, result in an equitable increase in existing compensation rates governing the payment of compensation for service-connected disabilities: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., Department of Rhode Island, during its seventh annual department convention held in Providence, R. I., on June 15, 16, 17, 1956, do hereby unanimously endorse the passage of H. R. 11310 and, in so doing, do urge the Rhode Island delegation in the Congress to support this measure; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the members of the Rhode Island delegation in the Congress; to the chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee; and to the national adjutant for introduction in the 1956 national convention of the Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc.

Resolution committee adopted by acclamation.

FRANK J. CENTAZZO,
Sergeant Anthony M. Cappucci Post, No. 1, ITAM Vets, Bristol, R. I.

Whereas the Veterans' Employment Service and the State employment service have the coordinated responsibility for providing an effective job counseling and employment placement service for veterans of all wars; and

Whereas special services are provided for disabled veterans in selective placement and job development in all local offices of the State employment service; and

Whereas any curtailment in these basic services in employment activities for veterans and disabled veterans will seriously affect their chances of obtaining job opportunities in gainful employment: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the ITAM Vets, Department of Rhode Island, in convention assembled in Providence, R. I., on June 15, 16, and 17, 1956, do hereby request and urge their national legislative committee to take such action in their appearance before the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives and the Senate as will develop an awareness of the practicability of appropriating sufficient funds to enable the Veterans' Employment Service and the State employment service to render to the fullest extent the essential services of job development, employment counseling, and selective placement for all veterans in their respective States and communities; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the United States Senators GREEN and PASTORE, and to Congressmen FORAND and FOGARTY, and the chairman of the national legislative committee of the ITAM Vets.

ITAM VETS,
DEPARTMENT OF RHODE ISLAND.

Whereas the Congress of the United States has received the report and attendant recommendations of the President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, more commonly known as the Bradley Commission; and

Whereas a searching study of the Bradley Commission's report and recommendations leaves little doubt in the minds of the Nation's enlightened veterans that serious consideration by the Congress of the recommendations inserted in this report would lead inevitably to economic and moral catastrophe among the veterans of our land because of the callous, cruel, and indifferent philosophy manifested by this Commission in evaluating and studying our Nation's obligations to its wartime veterans in terms of compensation, pension, and insurance benefits: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Department of Rhode Island, during its seventh annual department convention held in Providence, R. I., on June 15, 16, 17, 1956, do hereby urge the Congress of the United States to view with disfavor any legislation which may be introduced and which is designed to achieve the enactment into law of any of the Bradley Commission recommendations which would in any way sever, reduce, or endanger eixsting statutes pertaining to veterans' compensation, pension, or insurance benefits; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Rhode Island delegation in the United States Congress, to the Speaker of the House, to the majority leader of the House, to the President of the Senate, to the majority leader of the Senate, to the President of the United States, to the chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, and to the national adjutant of the Italian-American World War Veterans for introduction of same into the 1956 National Convention of the Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States.

The resolutions committee recommends adoption.

Adopted by acclamation.

ALBERT P. RUSSO,
National Rehabilitation Officer, Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States.

Whereas the introduction in the Senate of the United States of Senate bill 3067 by Senator RUSSELL E. LONG, of Louisiana, will permit World War II veterans to reinstate their lapsed national service life insurance policies within a period of 1 year from the date of the enactment of such bill into law; and

Whereas the Italian-American World War Veterans, Department of Rhode Island, during three consecutive department conventions has endorsed the proposal that World War II veterans who have been denied the right to reinstate their lapsed NSLI policies be restored that privilege by the Congress: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Italian-American World War Veterans, Department of Rhode Island, during its seventh annual department convention held in Providence, R. I., on June 15, 16, 17, 1956, do hereby endorse S. 3067 and, in so doing, urge the Senate of the United States, and particularly the Senate Finance Committee, to act favorably upon this legislation; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Rhode Island delegation in the Congress; to the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee; and to the national adjutant for introduction of same in the 1956 national convention of ITAM Vets.

Resolution committee recommends adoption.

Adopted by acclamation.

L. J. CENTAZZO,
Commander, Sergeant Anthony M. Cappucci Post, No. 1, ITAM Vets, Bristol, R. I.

Whereas as the result of the experience derived from the national recognition bill, S. 7024, introduced by Senator JOHN O. PASTORE, of Rhode Island, it appears that the most effective procedure to be pursued in accomplishing this objective is the introduc-

tion in the Congress of the United States of legislation leading to the issuance of a congressional charter to the Italian-American Veterans of the United States, Inc.: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the incoming national commander be mandated to take steps leading to the introduction of such legislation by the national legislative officer during the ensuing session of Congress.

Unanimously adopted, 21st national convention, August 31, September 1, 2, 3, 1956.

Submitted by Department of Rhode Island and Department of New York.

Whereas Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia has embraced and accepted the doctrine, ideology, and philosophy of communistic Russia; and

Whereas the United States is unalterably opposed to this anti-God dogma form of government; and

Whereas the United States has furnished millions and millions of American dollars to Marshal Tito and present plan of the Government is to continue to furnish Marshal Tito with additional millions in foreign aid despite the public pronouncement of Marshal Tito's attachment and allegiance to Soviet Russia; and

Whereas according to press release from Washintgon, D. C., the United States proposes to release and deliver 300 F-86 Sabrejets to Marshal Tito and his government: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the delegates of the Department of Massachusetts, Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., in convention assembled at Springfield, Mass., on July 21, 1956, That this Department of Massachusetts, Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., as being against and unalterably opposed to the granting of any further foreign aid in any form and to further rescind the order for the delivery of Sabrejets to Marshal Tito and his government, and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to appropriate officials of the Federal Government, through the National Congress and to the national convention of the Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., at its annual convention, for adoption and consideration.

Adopted the 22d day of July 1956, by the Department of Massachusetts, Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., at their 21st annual convention, assembled in Springfield, Mass.

Whereas the McCarran-Walter Act is still in effect and is still the law of the United States; and

Wheras the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act has proved by service and experience to be unfair to many countries and particularly to Italy; and

Whereas the quota system as set forth in the McCarran-Walter Act is inadequate, antiquated, and discriminatory against certain races and peoples; and

Whereas the President of the United States has often indicated and recommended to the Congress of the United States that this act be revised and rewritten so as to eliminate such discrimination; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States is now considering the so-called Lehman bill, which will amend the present law and eliminate the discriminatory provisions; and

Whereas the said Lehman bill is now in, and for many months has been in, the Senate Judiciary subcommittee under the chairmanship of Senator EASTLAND, of Mississippi; and

Whereas Senator EASTLAND has apparently made no effort to report this bill either unfavorable or favorable, out of his subcommittee so that it might be discussed and voted on by the United States Senate: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., go on record as favoring the adoption of the Lehman bill; and

Resolved by the delegates of the Department of Massachusetts, Italian-American World War Veterans, in convention assembled at Springfield, Mass., on July 21, 1956, That this department of Massachusetts as being in favor, and it is the fervent hope of the delegates present, that the McCarran-Walter Act will be modified, revamped, and become more liberal so that the many inequities now contained in the act be removed; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each member of the Senate Judicial Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization with the recommendation that the said Lehman bill be voted out of the committee so that it may be discussed on the Senate floor and some action be taken on this bill.

Adopted the 22d day of July 1956 by the 21st annual convention of the Italian-American World War Veterans of the United States, Inc., assembled at Springfield, Mass.

NACA Statistics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, recently Congressman Moss and I introduced H. R. 2803 and 2804. The purpose of these two bills is to assist many Government agencies in solving their most serious problem; namely, the retention of qualified scientific and engineering personnel.

In the March 4, 1957 issue of Aviation Week a letter was printed from an ex-National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics Employee which clearly points up the need for either H. R. 2803 or 2804.

I invite the attention of my colleagues to this letter which I submit herewith:

NACA STATISTICS

As a statistic in some of the figures accompanying the article "NACA Says Loss of Scientists Threatens United States Lead" (Aviation Week February 11, pp. 86–87). I feel compelled to comment.

I am sure that many of us who have left the NACA have a recurrent sense of guilt about leaving one of the finest research organizations in the United States when we know that it desperately needs its personnel.

However, every man must determine to what extent he should ask his family to sacrifice the so-called niceties of life so that he may enjoy a more idealistic and technically rewarding career. Although the NACA supplements a man's income with increased technical advancement and a large measure of personal satisfaction, these abstract qualities unfortunately only provide a means of increasing the family living standard by the man leaving to work in industry.

I hope that the statistics continue to stimulate concern over the NACA personnel problems and illustrate the monetary sacrifice that is being made by those who have remained there.

Further, I hope that the statistics provide a tool to unsaddle the NACA from its present salary structure burden and allow it to compete with industry for outstanding college graduates and improve the economic status of those presently there. Those who have remained there certainly deserve more than a pat on the back.

EX-NACA EMPLOYEE.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers; but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

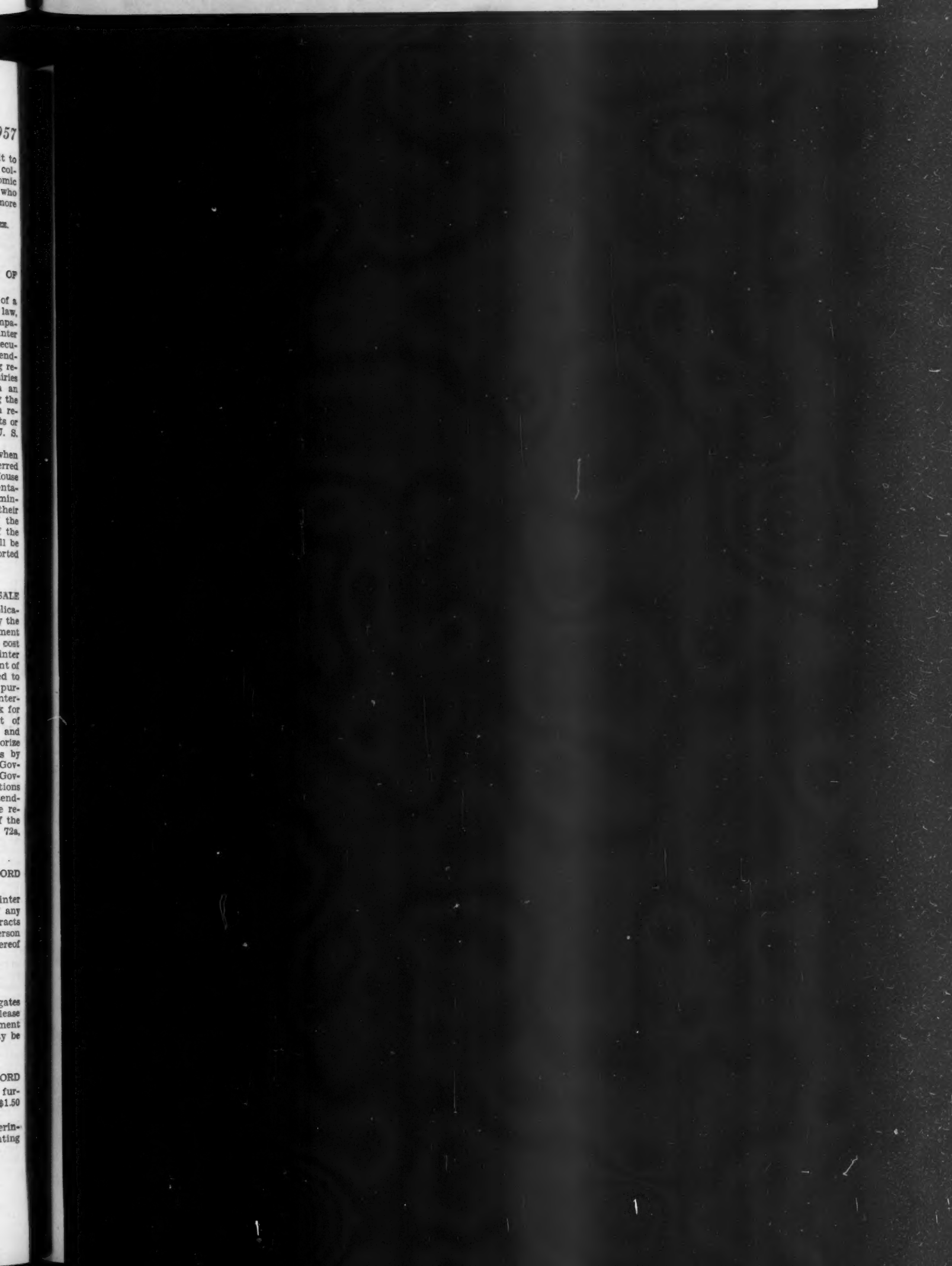

Appendix

Statesmanship of President Carlos P. Garcia, of the Philippines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, it is welcome news to us in the United States that the successor of the late President Magsaysay, His Excellency President Carlos P. Garcia, has come out openly rejecting the racist slogan: "Asia for the Asians." This is a mark of statesmanship on his part that commends itself to the attention of the American people.

In the Scond World War, the issue of Asia for Asians was raised. The racist implications of such a slogan contained the seeds for its own destruction and the peoples of Asia wisely rejected it. There was an attempt in the Philippines at the inception of the late President Magsaysay's administration to make such a slogan a factor in Philippine foreign policy. President Magsaysay vigorously opposed it and condemned it as unpatriotic and against the best interests of the Filipino people.

It is fortunate that we have in his successor, President Garcia, a man who has the courage to come out at the beginning of his administration openly and vigorously against such a pernicious doctrine. It is also gratifying to note that President Garcia has announced that he is against neutralism and that he will fight communism with the same determination that President Magsaysay did. President Garcia is certainly showing courage and statesmanship and it is my hope that he will continue to show undiminished strength in his avowed campaign against a godless ideology that is threatening to conquer the world.

The New York Times of March 30 published the following dispatch:

GARCIA REJECTS ASIA FOR ASIANS—STRESSES PHILIPPINE TIES TO UNITED STATES AND CLOSER RELATION WITH NEIGHBOR NATIONS

MANILA, March 29.—President Carlos P. Garcia rejected today the Japanese wartime slogan "Asia for the Asians" as an element of Philippine foreign policy.

Reiterating in his second weekly press conference that the Philippine attitude toward Asia would be a continuation of policies laid down by the late President Gamon Magsaysay, Mr. Garcia said they could not be expressed in any single slogan.

Previously he was reported in the press to be intending to revive "Asia for the Asians," which caused a furor here back in the early days of the Magsaysay administration. President Magsaysay was against it because he thought it would alienate United States friendship.

In response to a question concerning India, Mr. Garcia said he was against neutralism but that did not mean quarreling with neutralist countries. The Philippines would tolerate their view as they tolerated those of his country he said.

KEEPS ANTI-RED STAND

The President said the Philippines would continue her strong and definite stand against communism and he hoped this stand might eventually "win others among our neighbors in Asia over to our side."

The President spelled out what Philippine foreign policy stood for: First, friendly relations with the United States and, second, closer ties with the Asian nations.

In implementing the second branch of the policy he acknowledged it might follow something like an Asia-for-the Asians pattern but said that was the wrong phrase for it. He said it had been renamed the Philippine Asian policy. He said Asia for the Asians was understood as exclusivistic in nature against the west and the Philippines did not mean it that way. To clarify matters he issued a statement. It follows:

"Last October our late President said it was one of the objectives of our foreign policy to develop 'our political and cultural relations with the countries of the free world with particular emphasis on our relations with our Asian neighbors.' He mentioned this objective together with the paramount purpose of national security that we have achieved by collective defense arrangement with other free countries, particularly the United States of America."

WOULD SHARE FREEDOM EFFORTS

"Taken together, these two objectives mean that we seek the strengthening of freedom in Asia for two reasons: First, so that our fellow Asians may enjoy the fruits of real independence and, second, so that we may by being surrounded with communities of free Asia be all the more secure from subversion and attack.

"To this end it is our purpose within the limits of our capacities to share in efforts of giving substance to the freedom of Asians. This is our purpose in intensifying technical and cultural exchanges with such countries as Indonesia, Vietnam, Nationalist China, Malaya, and others of free Asia. This is why we recognized Vietnam and why we want to open diplomatic missions in more Asian capitals such as Rangoon. This is our policy in Asia. It can't be expressed in any single slogan."

The President in his conference said there would be no immediate changes in foreign service posts including the incumbency of Brig. Gen. Carlos P. Romulo in the Washington Embassy.

Mr. Speaker, in a dispatch of the New York Herald Tribune dated March 26, President Garcia praised the United States maneuvers taking place in the Philippines as showing the ability of the United States to help defend the Philippines against outside aggression and he also showed his determination to continue implementing the policies of the late President Magsaysay. The dispatch follows:

GARCIA IN MAGSAYSAY FOOTSTEPS—HE MINGLES WITH PEOPLE ON TRIP

MANILA, March 26.—President Carlos P. Garcia, who has pledged himself to carry on in the tradition of the late President Ramon Magsaysay, is losing no time in keeping his word.

A couple of hours after United States Marines began to storm ashore yesterday in the biggest amphibious operation in the Pacific since the Korean war, Mr. Garcia landed from the American cruiser *St. Paul*, on a northeastern Luzon beachhead facing the village of Dingalan. Temporarily ignoring the operations and his host, Vice Adm. Wallace M. Beakley, commander of the United States 7th Fleet, Mr. Garcia made straight across the sand and pebbles to a couple dozen of barefoot constituents arrayed in front of their thatch-roofed huts.

SHAKES HANDS WITH ALL

In the manner of Mr. Magsaysay, who died in a plane crash a week ago, President Garcia shook hands with every man and woman and patted the heads of delighted children. Such a performance was not entirely in character for Mr. Garcia, his confidants said—he generally is regarded as rather reserved.

Clad in an open-necked "barong Tagalog" of the kind that has become national costume, President Garcia then proceeded to watch naval landing craft disgorge men and machines for an attack inland against a hypothetical aggressor.

"Impressive, very impressive," he said. "Precision and timing, it is reassuring for the safety of our country."

Before a lunch at the nearby bungalow of a local lumber baron Mr. Garcia continued politicking. Again in the Magsaysay style he informally received a delegation of local officials and heard their pleas and complaints. An aid standing at his shoulder noted down requests for a buffalo of superior strain to improve the local breed, for a new artesian well, and for a post and telegraph office. "I'll do what I can for you," he promised.

The 60-year-old chief executive chatted with correspondents. Praising the mutual security treaty with the United States, he affirmed: "We want to continue to make relations between the Philippines and the United States as close as possible."

On the question of a treaty concerning use by the United States of military bases in this country, he said he anticipates that "we will be able to solve our differences."

He said he welcomes Charles E. Bohlen as the new American Ambassador to this country because "he will understand our view toward communism." President Garcia stated that he is steadfastly against admission of Communist China to the United Nations and against relaxation of curbs on trade with Red China.

About 60,000 American troops are involved in Operation Beacon Hill, which is to continue until April 8. There is generous use of helicopters to lift troops over rugged terrain. The exercise appears to be tailored to atomic warfare tactics, but this being a subject of great political sensitivity in Asia, the admirals and general have not said as much.

The Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, in Iowa where the economy of the State is

largely dependent on the prosperity of agriculture we are increasingly concerned for the farm problem. The farmer's income has failed to keep pace with the high cost of living and every proposal looking toward an improvement in agricultural prospects deserves careful attention. With this in mind, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include several ideas expressed by Mr. Sydney L. Gross, a prominent farmer of Osceola, Iowa, and a brother of our distinguished colleague, Hon. H. R. GROSS, Representative in Congress from the Third District of Iowa.

The statement follows:

This is not intended to be a revolutionary, cure-all program, but is an attempt to put together the best of several approaches to, and eliminate some of the features that have caused the failure of farm programs in the past.

BASIC FACTS

1. We must base our program on the thesis that the farmers' present economic troubles are based on overproduction. Of course, this is debatable, but as far as the farmer is concerned, it is too much of everything for the market.

2. Parity: The farmer is entitled to a parity price for the products of his labor. When he receives less than parity price, he must either mine his soil, himself, or his family. Agriculture will remain a sick and festering sore on the whole economy until its income is on a par with labor and industry.

3. Government's part: The farmer and the public as a whole want the Government as far out of any farm program as possible. Unfortunately a program that will do the farmer any good will not succeed without some regulatory force. The farmers by their very nature and numbers have never been able to organize themselves strongly enough to formulate and enforce an effective farm program. We have Federal laws designed to help and regulate both business and labor; therefore the Federal Government can do no less for agriculture. But let's keep direct help at a minimum and use the power of the Government more to formulate and enforce the rules of such a program.

EVEN NORMAL GRANARY

This is the terrible surplus the public hears so much about. Let us thank the Maker of all things that we have these terrible surpluses; for they are insurance that Americans will continue to be the best fed people on earth as far as the producers of the food are concerned. Instead of condemning and wanting to get rid of them, let us maintain and learn how to rotate and use them as a reserve against the calamities of both man and nature. These reserves are vital if we are to try and hold yearly feed-grain production in line with yearly needs.

STRICT ACREAGE CONTROLS

Feed-grain controls are the nub and necessity of any successful farm program. It is from the overproduction of these feed grains that the overproduction of our unstorable meat products comes. In the long run I think a bushel and pound basis according to the capabilities of the land is more desirable and fair than acreage control, but in the beginning it would be easier to institute controls based on past acreage history. The Secretary of Agriculture would be required to estimate the amount of feed grains required to maintain the above reserves and produce the amount of meat animals necessary to meet the requirements of the Nation. This shall be apportioned to the various States, counties, and farms in relation to its past history. The ceiling, or support, price of feed grains shall be at parity.

CROSS COMPLIANCE

This is also an absolute necessity if we are to control overproduction of feed grains. There is no reason to allow the taking of land out of one basic crop and putting it in another, thereby defeating the purpose of helping bring production of the first into line. All agriculture must prosper together, and not play one segment against the other, sinking both in the process. Past programs without strict acreage controls and cross compliance have raised the farmers' income slightly but have worked much more in the consumer's favor by giving him relatively cheap foods. Therefore I hold that past programs have in reality been consumers' programs.

PRODUCTION PAYMENTS

Production payments at 100 percent of parity on top grade and quality perishables is another must of a successful program. Production payments on perishables and meat animals would insure the conversion of feed grains into edible products, since a fair margin of profit is assured. The check on the overproduction of meat animals, with consequent high production payments, is the limit on the amount of feed grains grown.

SOIL BANK

The soil bank works very nicely into the above program for that is where the excess acres should go. This would help maintain the land by putting those acres in soil-building legumes and grasses. I do not hold with the theory that these acres must be put into grasses and left there for long periods of time with nothing harvested off them. The middle western farmer can take 1 acre of 80-bushel corn and with a little supplement, at a 12-to-1 ratio in the form of pork, produce about 700 pounds of edible meat products. Using the same kind of soil, it would take at least 3 acres of hay and pasture to produce a 450-pound calf. It is total perishable food units that must be taken into account. I do not have figures or statistics to prove the above theory but I would like very much and I feel it might be quite enlightening to see some figures worked out along the above lines. I believe that after the first few years that the soil-bank acres could be worked into a general rotation system of farming. There would be no soil-bank payments as now.

REFERENDUM

The above, or any other farm program, must be predicated on the wishes of the farmer. It must provide strict controls and therefore should be based on the wishes of the farmer to find if he is willing to accept such regulation in return for a price for his labors. Therefore a referendum should be held to determine if the majority of the farmers are willing to enter into such a program. If the vote is favorable, then it would be mandatory that all farmers would participate. If the vote is unfavorable, then all controls and help should be eliminated; for these halfway, part-in and part-out programs are what have put us where we are today. I cannot emphasize this point too strongly—it is time the rank-and-file farmer has the opportunity to say what he wants—not what is good for him by the so-called experts.

TWO-PRICE SYSTEM

This may be the answer to certain food crops such as wheat and rice. I think they have much merit along those lines, but I will leave that to someone more familiar with its workings. But if it is practical and can be incorporated into a general program for the benefit of the farming industry as a whole then by all means use it.

ADVERTISING

It seems to me that this scheme will benefit the advertising industry more than the farmer.

FOOD STAMP PLAN, EXPORTS, SCHOOL LUNCH, ETC.

These various channels should be worked at and pushed to help consume as much food products as possible. However, the amounts this can be increased is so small that without the above major plans we shall continue to produce more food fiber than the public will consume at a price that puts agriculture on a parity with the rest of the economy.

EDUCATION

Obviously, this is just an outline of the general course that to me should be incorporated into a farm bill. We need to do some educational work among the farmers themselves. The day of working 14 to 16 hours a day, weekdays and Sundays, to produce more unwanted food, is past. It is time the farmer learned the lesson that labor and industry learned long ago. By producing approximately 10 percent less food and fiber the farmer can have an income comparable to the rest of the economy. He would have both the time and the money to create a new look in agriculture.

There are many details to be worked out. However, it seems to me, when the desire to do something to lift agriculture out of the old rut, really enters into the minds and hearts of men; they will lay all petty theories and jealousies aside and incorporate all the good ideas into a program that will benefit agriculture and the Nation as a whole. No one of the above items will work alone. Let's put everything we have into a workable program, then as time tests it, discard that part that proves unworkable and add any new thinking that has merit. Let's go to work before it is too late and we have something far more drastic.

Nearly 40,000 Will Train at Gap Camp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER M. MUMMA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, the attached item from the March 28 issue of the Lebanon Daily News of Lebanon, Pa., is news that is especially well received in my congressional district. Indiantown Gap Military Reservation is again selected by Second Army as the training grounds for the National Guard units from surrounding States. The function too now includes the current enlisted Army Reserves. This is welcome news, as the people in the district are continually thinking that Indiantown should be permanently used in connection with the Reserve program. Now this is going to be done currently and we hope a year round use in the future.

These soldiers who are assigned to this camp are indeed lucky. The site is beautiful, along the foothills of our North Mountain Range, with thousands of acres for training and maneuvers. The quarters are excellent, and above all, we have here a traditionally "Pennsylvania Dutch" community which welcomes those who train here and makes them feel at home away from home.

The following news item is quite informative and shows the extensive program at the Gap for this summer:

NEARLY 40,000 WILL TRAIN AT GAP CAMP

Indiantown Gap Military Reservation will again assume its annual role as a training

site for Army reservists and National Guard men this spring and summer. Nearly 40,000 troops will train there according to the camp dates released today.

The post has been selected by Headquarters Second United States Army, Fort George G. Meade, Md., as one of the major training sites of the Second Army area for the 1957 field encampments.

Headquarters, United States Army Military District, Pennsylvania, commanded by Brig. Gen. A. W. Stuart, will provide training support facilities for the troops during their 2-week encampment periods, between May 19 and September 8.

The summer training program will open May 19 with the encampment of the 706th Army Reserve Transportation Group and attached units from Philadelphia.

MAJOR UNITS

Major units scheduled to train are: the 176th Regimental Combat Team of the Virginia National Guard, June 8–June 22; Pennsylvania's 79th Infantry Division (Army Reserve), June 15–June 29; 479th Field Artillery Group and attached units (Army Reserve) from Philadelphia, June 23–July 7; 80th Infantry Division (Army Reserve) from Virginia, District of Columbia and Maryland, July 1–July 21; 111th Regimental Combat Team, Pennsylvania National Guard, July 13–July 27; District of Columbia National Guard units, July 21–August 4; 29th Infantry Division (National Guard) from Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia, August 17–August 31; Pennsylvania National Guard 28th Infantry Division, August 3–August 17.

Closing the 1957 program will be reservists from various States comprising the civil affairs and military government school unit, August 25 to September 8.

Summer training is the high point of Reserve component training. It involves practical work in the field in the particular unit's Army speciality. In addition the training includes 2-hour training sessions each week in hometown Reserve centers and armories during the remainder of the year.

Emphasis of the summer program will be on developing combat skills in men who have not had active Army service, on sharpening techniques of those who have, and on developing unit effectiveness.

It is expected that this year's encampment will provide much of the hardcore training that will bolster the Reserve program throughout the remainder of the year.

Why Tax Us for England?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAGE BELCHER
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted I wish to insert in the RECORD the following article from the Tulsa Tribune of March 16, 1957:

WHY TAX US FOR ENGLAND?
(By Richard Lloyd Jones)

After all, America still belongs to the people. We can neglect her and let our freedoms die. Or we can still rise to save our country. And it begins to look as though the people are waking up. A lot of us realize the terrific loss we will sustain if we allow these unrestrained tax raids on the people to continue.

When the people speak, the plundering politicians listen. The people are becoming articulate. The mail that is pouring into Washington has increased 37 percent since President Eisenhower delivered his second inaugural address.

The debt of our Federal Government is greater than the combined indebtedness of all other governments on earth, including all local and State governments in the United States. The Federal Government today pays more in interest on its national debt than it paid for all governmental expenditures in fiscal 1938—just 19 years ago.

The Federal Government has no wealth except that which it takes from the people. The people create the wealth, the Government seizes it. And every time the Federal Government gives aid to other countries it takes the wealth from the American people. An average American worker in the lower income tax brackets pays $3.75 in Federal taxes out of every $12 he earns. It is a political shell game and the people are getting mad about it. They should be.

Unlimited money means unlimited power. And unlimited power produces tyranny. It is the inescapable result of confiscating the people's earning power.

The defenders of this un-American raid scoff at those who protest it as being reactionary. What can they mean by reactionary? They are the extreme reactionaries.

The most progressive people in the history of the world were the American colonists who refuted the right of a tyrannical king to confiscate their wealth. George Washington was the leader of the progressives in his time and in ours. And we become progressive only so long as we invest our own earning powers in the improvement of our lives.

He makes a false use of words who calls confication through taxation a progressive action. It is so reactionary it is repudiation of America itself. The New Deals and the new republicanism are exactly alike in their repudiation of American principles. They both seek to establish a welfare state. They both seek to establish an unlimited power of a central dictatorship. Now, at last, the people are determined to stop this shell game before it becomes established as a substitute for the freedoms that have been our American way of life.

What did President Eisenhower mean when in his inaugural address he said, "We accept our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere"? This is what Mr. Walter Lippmann calls, "the President's unlimitedness." The philosophy and purpose of our President today is to make the American people the Atlas that suports the world. And that is not America's mission. America's mission is to give every American the right to work. Give every man the right to possess the product of his labor. To give every community its right to build and maintain its own schools. To establish representative government in town hall, country courthouse and State capitol. It is the mission of America to show other countries what liberty and freemen can do to establish the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The War Cry is the militant, spiritual paper of the Salvation Army. It defines the American when it causes him to say:

"I do not choose to be a common man. It is my right to be uncommon if I can. I seek opportunity—not security. I do not wish to be a citizen, humbled and dulled by having the state look after me. I want to take the calculated risk, to dream and to build, to fail and to succeed.

"I prefer the challenge of life to the guaranteed existence; the thrill of fulfillment to the stale calm of utopia.

"I refuse to barter incentive for a dole. I will not trade freedom for beneficence nor my dignity for a handout.

"I will never cower before any master nor bend to any threat. It is my heritage to stand erect, proud and unafraid; to think and act for myself, to enjoy the benefit of my creations and to face the world boldly and say, 'This I have done.'"

That is the spirit of America. That is the robust soul that refused taxation without representation. That's the American at the Boston Tea Party, and who, at the rude bridge that arched the flood, fired the shot heard around the world.

That is the spirit that has been slumbering and which is now waking up to assert itself.

Other peoples can acquire the American way of life by emulating our freedoms, not by being beggars, forever holding out the tin cup and expecting some self-styled progressives to take the earning power of the American people and throw it recklessly around the world.

In the beginning of our country, England looked upon us as the wealth-producing people who labored for her benefit. But we showed England that we Americans were determined to live for America's benefit. Now, after almost two centuries, our progressive politicians have returned us to the status of taxing the American people to support England. That is reactionary. Way back reactionary. It is repudiating and reversing all the political operations made by self-reliant America.

Let the people speak again as they did when the people were the makers of this Republic. Then again we will come to the rational behavior that knows that there are limits to the family purse and budget, there are limits to what the town and State can do and what the Nation can do. The time has come when the much heralded business talent in the President's Cabinet assert the heritage of the American people and restore the republics of the sovereign States. Why should we Americans go backward 180 years and work again for England? The progressives have put us back where the American Revolution began.

Associated Industries of Massachusetts Opposed to Overall Increase in Freight Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the verified statement of Mr. Kurtz M. Hanson, president of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts, Boston, Mass., which was given before the Interstate Commerce Commission in connection with proposed increase in freight rates.

The statement follows:

ASSOCIATED INDUSTRIES OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Boston, Mass., March 29, 1957.

To All Senators and Representatives:

The position of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts regarding the 22 percent overall increase in freight rates which the eastern and western railroads have proposed in Ex Parte 206 now before the Interstate Commerce Commission, is presented in the attached verified statement submitted by the Associated Industries of Massachusetts to the Commission.

You will note that AIM has asked that a regional hearing be held in Boston in order that an adequate opportunity be given for our industries to present their case against further increases of the flat, percentage type.

To obtain such a hearing is most difficult as the ICC does not generally look with favor upon such requests.

The flat percentage method of increasing transportation freight rates destroys the competitive relationships of our Massachusetts industries to those in other sections of the country by widening the differentials in freight rates. I am advised that percentage increases have totaled 168 percent since 1947. For example, in 1952, New England industries could ship 100 miles at the first-class rate for $1.14; today $1.14 will buy only 40 miles of rail transportation. Such increases in transportation costs push our industries further and further away from their markets.

Surveys conducted by the AIM transportation committee show the result of per-age increases is detrimental to Massachusetts industry. It is for the purpose of presenting this evidence to the ICC that a regional hearing has been requested.

Your assistance in this matter will be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

KURTZ M. HANSON, *President.*

VERIFIED STATEMENT OF KURTZ M. HANSON, PRESIDENT, ASSOCIATED INDUSTRIES OF MASSACHUSETTS, BEFORE THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION, EX PARTE 206, INCREASED FREIGHT RATES, 1957

The verified statement is prepared and filed on behalf of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts, a voluntary association, representing more than 80 percent of the industrial payroll in Massachusetts. The Associated Industries of Massachusetts is vitally concerned with the continued economic development of Massachusetts industry, and in the preservation of a financially sound system of transportation. The responsibility for the development of AIM policies in the transportation field rests with the AIM transportation committee comprised of 9 industrial traffic managers and 9 industrial management executives.

Upon recommendation of its transportation committee the AIM takes the following position in the matter of *Ex parte 206:*

1. The Associated Industries of Massachusetts is opposed to the percentage method proposed in *Ex parte 206* for the implementation of railroad freight-rate increases therein proposed; and

2. Seeks the opportunity to bring important and valuable testimony before the Interstate Commerce Commission at a regional hearing which is hereby requested.

The above position is based on recent surveys conducted by the AIM through its transportation committee. Written replies to the questionnaires employed in this study of the effects of increased transportation cost on our Massachusetts industry indicate that a substantial number of well-established industrial concerns plan or contemplate the relocation of all or part of their production facilities outside of New England because of the burden of increased transportation costs to and from this area. This exodus of industry, illustrated by this substantial number of specific cases, is due primarily to the percentage increases in transportation costs which have widened the differentials in transportation costs and have thereby weakened the competitive position of industry located in this area.

Loss of industry means loss of employment opportunities as well as a substantial reduction in the business available to the New England railroads. We believe the proceeding in *Ex parte 206* is past the emergency stage, since the Commission has already allowed the 7-percent emergency increase to become effective. Now is the time, therefore, to give further study and serious consideration to the disastrous effects of percentage increases upon business in New England and upon the business of the carriers. Percentage increases in *Ex parte 162, 166, 168, 175, 196,* and *206* since January 1, 1947, total 168 percent. The carriers themselves in different sections of the country apparently do not agree with a flat, across-the-board percentage increase in rates as indicated by the variance in the amounts of increase which their individual petitions suggest.

The A. I. M. survey shows the effects of these percentage increases to be a loss of industry to this area, and an even greater loss of industry if future increases are applied on the same flat percentage basis. Our industry has accepted reluctantly the discriminating results of percentage increases for many years. It is our united position that the continuation of the percentage method as applied to pending and future increases will benefit neither the New England carriers nor our business enterprises.

In order to give thorough consideration to these effects, it is essential that a regional hearing in *Ex parte 206* be held at Boston to give witnesses in this area an adequate opportunity to present evidence. The serious extent to which percentage increases have hurt this region and the substantial number of witnesses which may be available justify a regional hearing in this area.

Respectfully submitted.

ASSOCIATED INDUSTRIES OF MASSACHUSETTS,
By KURTZ M. HANSON, *President.*
JARVIS HUNT,
General Counsel and Registered Practitioner.

VERIFICATION

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
County of Suffolk, ss:

Kurtz M. Hanson and Jarvis Hunt, being first duly sworn, on oath depose and state that they are authorized to file this statement on behalf of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts and that the contents thereof are true except as to matters and things, if any, stated on information and belief, and that as to those matters and things, they believe them to be true.

JARVIS HUNT,
KURTZ M. HANSON,

Subscribed in my presence and sworn to before me by the affiants above named this 13th day of March 1957.

[SEAL] WALTER P. MUTHER,
Notary Public.

My commission expires September 30, 1961.

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that I have this day served this foregoing document by depositing in the United States mail copies properly addressed to each person or office, with first-class postage prepaid, as follows:

Twenty-five copies upon Edward A. Kaier, 804 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.

One copy upon Prime F. Osborn III, room 804, Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.

One copy upon each of the 13 active regional offices of the Interstate Commerce Commission named in the Commission's order of January 16, 1957.

A copy will be furnished to any interested party upon request.

JARVIS HUNT,
General Counsel.

The Prayer Room of the Capitol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. LeCOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I ask unanimous consent to include a little poem, penned by Rev. G. S. Bruland, pastor of the First Methodist Church, of Centerville, Iowa. One of the highlights of Mr. Bruland's recent trip to Washington was his visit to the Prayer Room of the Capitol. His poem beautifully expresses his thoughts and reflections on meditation in the Chapel.

The poem follows:

CONGRESS MEDITATION CHAPEL

I knelt in the prayer-chapel
Where the peers of my Nation kneel;
In the shrine where they often grapple
With problems, to men concealed.

I know there were angels present—
God's guides to the men of state;
The spirits who patiently listen
To prayers of hope and faith.

The air seemed bathed by visions—
By prayers of love and might—
Was hallowed by tall decisions
Pronounced on the windswept height.

My soul in this shrine ascended
To realms unbounded by time—
My prayers went forth, and blended
With yours in the hallowed clime.

The Need for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from a schoolteacher:

HURRICANE SCHOOL 95B,
March 27, 1957.

Hon. CARL D. PERKINS,
House of Congress.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am a schoolteacher, and I want to tell you about my school. It would be better if you could see, but I'll do my best to describe.

My school is at the mouth of Hurricane on Knox Creek, in the eastern part of Pike County. We have no school building at all but are using one end of an abandoned store. Our space is about one-third the size of a normal classroom. We are constantly fighting bugs and rats and must keep a sharp lookout for the poisonous snakes which inhabit the area.

In the middle of our "room" is a pot-bellied stove, too hot for the children crowded close to it and inadequate for those in far corners. Such windows as we have are too small and are on the side next to the steep hill, where little light ever enters. We have recently obtained electricity and are tempted to burn our lights all day. We have to be careful though; the wiring is bad and we are in danger of being electrocuted.

I am trying to teach the children to wash their hands before lunch, but this is a difficult matter with the sort of water supply we have. Actually the school has no water at all. What we use must be carried in buckets quite a distance from a neighbor's hand-dug well, and we are hoping it won't go dry before the end of the term. The water is rather warm and dust covered by the time it reaches us, but we are not asking for luxury.

Children are still children and must be excused occasionally. For years we have had no toilets at all. We have visited a neighbor's toilet in the garden below us or have

gone to the woods. Now there is a railroad and graveled highway, and we really feel the need of protection. By superhuman effort we have at last secured one tiny outdoor toilet. It won't meet any health specifications, of course, but at least a child can hide in it. The boys are glad to wait in line and let the girls use it first. We are trying hard to learn and use good manners.

The railroad is on our side of the creek and only a few steps from our door.

Several times a day we see a powerful diesel locomotive rushing by with a long train of coal cars. The noise is too deafening for study, so we just wait until the train is gone. Some of us do take time to remind ourselves that we are living in a rich and powerful country, and we are grateful. We read in our books and hear on the radio that the United States continues to send huge sums of money to many foreign lands. We are glad to live in a generous country. There is no boy or girl among us who would hesitate to share his apple or his sandwich with a classmate or a visitor. We are glad to be Americans and there is pride among us each morning as we just our tattered old flag on a short pole and solemnly pledge allegiance.

But, Mr. Congressman, couldn't we have a schoolhouse of our own? And water and toilets? And a playground? (You see, we own nothing here and are in mortal danger from the diesel locomotive every time we go outside.) Our superintendent has worked day and night, but he says we can do no better unless we get money. We are tired and won't be able to write to you again. Won't you please remember us here at the mouth of the Hurricane? If you do, we feel sure you'll work a bit harder than ever in support of the President's bill for school construction.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. MARGARETTE H. WOLFORD,
Teacher.

Still Service Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the House of Representatives to an excellent editorial which appeared in the Times Recorder, of Zanesville, Ohio, on March 27, pointing out the tremendous service which the American Legion has contributed to the Nation. On this 38th anniversary of the Legion, it is well to reflect how this organization continues to serve in peace, just as each of its members served our country in time of national peril. The editorial is as follows:

STILL SERVICE MEN

Nationwide celebration of the 38th birthday of the American Legion has doubtless reminded our readers that the largest veterans' organization in the world has become in 38 years a significant factor in the lives of all Americans. Looking back, we are impressed with the fact that what was started by a handful of doughboys (as they called them then) in muddy France in the first springtime of peace after World War I to memorialize and project the aims for which they had fought has grown to serve God and country on so many fronts.

In as many separate birthday parties in thousands of communities over the Nation our most illustrious citizens—civic, professional, business, military, and spiritual leaders—paid heart-warming tribute to the steadfastness with which Legionnaires have kept faith through the years and sustained the 1919 pledge of Paris: "For God and Country." And in addition to the great and the near-great attending the parties held variously over the March 15 weekend, congratulatory wires and letters poured in by the hundreds from notables in every walk of life—from Legionnaire Dwight D. Eisenhower, from General Alfred Gruenther, the new chief of the American Red Cross, and from Basil O'Connor, head of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis.

From the two latter gentlemen came not merely congratulations, but thanks for the millions of dollars the Nation's Legionnaires have raised for both the Red Cross and the March of Dimes. And it might be mentioned that these contributions were in addition to the $135 million the Legion has spent in its own children's aid program in the past 31 years—and the millions more required to sponsor 20,000 junior baseball teams, 4,128 scout troops, a national high-school oratorical contest, Boys' State and Boys' Nation.

This organization that originally met the challenge of protecting veterans' interests, that fought for a Federal Veterans' Administration and the GI Bill of Rights, is today a community leader—in almost every community. Its long-established and continuing campaigns for national security and Americanism provide inspired and tireless leadership in the fight against communism from without and subversion from within.

Long live the American Legion! It has made America a better nation, a stronger nation, a safer nation. And it has made itself a recognized and respected force for good in America.

Let Spain In

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an excellent article on Spain which appeared in the Boston Daily Record of March 25, 1957:

LET SPAIN IN

The House of Representatives has given its approval to a resolution expressing the sentiment of the Congress that Spain should be made a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a proper step in the direction of correcting a long-standing mistake.

If the Senate should agree, the proposition would still lack the force of law.

But it would place the United States on record as recognizing that without Spain in its ranks NATO is depriving itself of the maximum strength it desperately needs for the fulfillment of its basic purpose.

The prevention of Communist aggression, if possible, and the defeat of it, if necessary, are the objectives of the organization the North Atlantic nations have formed for their own security.

As the first nation to stand up without compromise against communism, and as the nation longest and most effectively in that great struggle, Spain has the best of all title to NATO membership.

That it has been kept out all these years has been an act of injustice to the Spanish nation.

Spain is more than a veteran in the free world's fight against communism. It has made enormous contributions to the success of that fight in the past and is capable of infinitely greater contributions in the future.

The strategic position of Spain is such that its air, land, and naval bases in an alliance with the West might eventually be the difference between victory and defeat in a future war, and in the hands of our Communist enemies would tip the scales to their cause.

Spain belongs in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and its acceptance has already been too long delayed.

National Wildlife Week and Wilderness Wildlife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the first week of spring, March 17 through 23, is celebrated again this year as National Wildlife Week. It is a time when hundreds of leaders in our conservation, sportsmen, civic, and educational organizations carry out a campaign to focus public attention on the critical need for conservation of our natural resources.

Throughout the Nation, people in our schools, churches, and civic clubs took time to appraise our progress in learning to care for our soils, waters, forests, and wildlife.

The 1957 homes-for-wildlife theme of National Wildlife Week calls our attention to the requirement of wildlife for proper living places where food, cover, and protection from weather and enemies are provided in proper combinations. Without these our birds, fish, and mammals will perish.

In many instances, but especially with the more than 40 animals in the United States that are near extinction, man's destruction of these natural living places has left our wildlife in critical straits. This is particularly true in the case of those species which require wilderness conditions for their survival—grizzly bear, whooping crane, the California condor, and many others. These cannot survive intrusions of our modern civilization. The roads, commercial developments, and ordinary uses which man makes of their wilderness environments exceeds their abilities to adjust to change. Thus, in order to preserve them, we must provide primitive and natural living areas, undisturbed by man's activities.

The wilderness preservation system, proposed for establishment through the enactment of H. R. 500 and companion measures which have been introduced by me and others in this Congress, provides for the protection of key ranges of several of the endangered species within the national forests, national wildlife refuges, national parks, and Indian reservations. By inclusion of these vital ranges of animals which are making a last desperate fight for survival in this

wilderness system, we are insuring them against further intrusions. This can be accomplished under this legislation without interfering with the present administration of these lands by the agencies who are now responsible for them. But it will give protection against pressures to open these wild areas to development that would destroy their wilderness character and thus jeopardize these endangered forms.

Wilderness wildlife must be preserved so that it can be enjoyed by the thousands of people who seek the experience of being where man has not disturbed the pattern of nature. In order to save it, we must buttress our existing wilderness areas against future encroachments. This is the only way we can be assured that a place will be made for our animals that require wilderness in order to survive.

I join President Eisenhower in extending my congratulations to the Pennsylvania Federation of Sportsmen's Clubs, the sponsors of National Wildlife Week in Pennsylvania, and the members of the National Wildlife Federation's affiliates in other States who have taken the opportunity during National Wildlife Week to show the American people of the great need for the homes of our wildlife.

Excessive Secrecy by Government Agencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, for some time there has been a growing inclination toward secrecy on the part of the Department of Defense and other Government agencies. With all this secrecy they have been trying to find a way to stop leaks of classified material. In fact, last August, Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson appointed Charles A. Coolidge, former Assistant Secretary of Defense, as head of a committee to study and draft recommendations to help protect classified material by stopping leaks to the public.

The Coolidge committee recommended penalties for persons who violate confidences and menace national security by disclosing classified information. Industry violators, they said, should be threatened with loss of their clearance and diversion of future business. For guilty members of the Defense Department, the committee urged stern disciplinary action. Also news reporters, they said, should be subject to summons before a grand jury to testify on the source of their information.

Mr. Speaker, I feel strongly that the trend toward excessive secrecy by our Government agencies should be brought to a halt. I have always felt that the inherent right of people to control their Government rests solidly on the foundation of information. The freedom of the press clause in the first amendment of our Constitution does more than grant newspapers a right to print stories. It is a specific right held by the people to find out the facts about their Government and to disseminate and discuss those facts. Therefore, I am sure that the Members of the House agree with me when I say that the Coolidge committee was in error when they recommended that a solution is to force reporters to reveal the sources of their information. It is axiomatic that a reporter is entitled to protect his sources as a part of his job and the relationship has much in common with that of lawyer-client.

The Special Government Information Subcommittee is presently studying this whole problem of executive restrictions on information. It seems to me that Congress should establish a uniform and universal rule on information practices. This rule should authorize and require full disclosure of information by Government agencies, except for specific exceptions defined by statute for security reasons.

Knowing the interest of my colleagues in this important matter, I am including in these remarks an excellent and very timely editorial entitled "Jail Is No Punishment?" This editorial appeared in the Melrose Free Press, one of the leading newspapers in my Eighth Congressional District, on March 28, 1957, and was written by the managing editor, one of the ablest women editors in our country, Dorothy M. Raymond. The editorial deserves the thoughtful attention of every Member of Congress.

The editorial follows:

JAIL IS NO PUNISHMENT?

The Pentagon, which is secrecy-happy to begin with, is trying to find a way to stop leaks of classified material. It has been unsuccessful in putting a thumb in its own censorship dike. It has been unable to discover the person or persons within its own ranks who occasionally have deliberately revealed classified information, or perhaps in advertently let it slip out in the wrong places. So now the Pentagon thinks the only way to solve the problem is make reporters reveal their sources and break their confidences.

The Coolidge committee is working on the subject but their reasoning is about as confused as it could be. In essence it goes like this: Grand jury actions to force newsmen to reveal news sources would not involve punishment for reporters except that they would face jail for contempt if they refuse. In other words, the only way in which no punishment is guaranteed is for reporters to comply.

It is correct, as Representative CLARE HOFFMAN says, that there is no law which extends privilege to a reporter's communications. But by practice and precedent it has been generally accepted that a reporter is entitled to protect his sources as a necessary part of his job. There should be laws guaranteeing this privilege.

If the Pentagon succeeds in establishing the precedent that reporters can be forced through grand jury action and the threat of penalties to tell all they know about whom they talk to in their work, then the veil of secrecy will become almost opaque over official Washington and probably in every other important news center.

Statement by the NPA Business Committee on the Need for Adequate Statistics for Appraising the Current Economic Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, it would appear that one of the casualties of the current drive to slash President Eisenhower's budget may be appropriations for more adequate economic statistics. No economy could be more clearly false economy than to economize on the statistics which furnish the basis for the economic decisions of business, labor, and agriculture as well as all levels of government.

The following statement by the business committee of the National Planning Association is signed by a number of our country's outstanding business leaders and deserves the attention of all those concerned about the economic strength of the United States:

STATEMENT BY THE NPA BUSINESS COMMITTEE ON THE NEED FOR ADEQUATE STATISTICS FOR APPRAISING THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION

The present economic situation poses problems which are a source of conflict and confusion for business and government alike. Government authorities have to decide whether action is needed to restrain economic activity and counter inflation, or whether to encourage demand and counter a slack in economic activity. In a free economy there will always be uncertainty and controversy about the economic outlook. It should be possible, however, to reduce conflict and confusion in the interpretation of the existing economic situation.

I

We do not intend to aline ourselves to one or the other of the various conflicting interpretations of current economic conditions. Rather, we intend in this statement to call to the attention of economists, businessmen, and government officials a major reason for the bewilderment regarding the economic situation. Various and in part contradictory theories are offered as plausible interpretations of the current economic conditions. However, the statistical evidence is often insufficient to validate the theoretical propositions and to determine appropriate policies.

Some economists interpret current economic developments in accord with a reference cycle derived from past experience. According to the reference cycle, the recent boom has placed a financial strain on monetary resources which, in turn, initiate a downswing in the cyclical movement. Continued credit stringency would in such a situation enhance the downturn and a policy of softening of credit terms would be indicated. Yet, the continuing upward pressure of prices generally does not appear to conform to this picture but suggests that the boom has not yet run its course. As monetary and credit policy is designed to aid in the stabilization of prices, this would not be the time to relax credit terms but rather to continue if not to intensify credit restrictions. Thus these two cyclical explanations lead to opposite policy conclusions.

Other economic observers believe that the structure of the American economy has changed so basically that conclusions derived from past cyclical experience may not be valid. They believe that current economic developments must be understood not as a cyclical but as a longer-run, secular phenomenon.

Even among those who believe that the conventional cyclical theory no longer applies, there are alternative and again to some extent conflicting long-term explanations offered for the present situation. The first suggests that the current price rise is explained by the longer-run relationship of wage and material costs to prices. The cause of the price rise is attributed by some to the ability in particular lines of business (e. g., steel or petroleum) to establish administered prices beyond what could be explained by rising costs; others attributed price increases to wage demands and wage settlements (including fringe benefits) which exceed actual or potential productivity increases and thereby force prices up. Some explain price changes as a combination of these two factors. These are different aspects of the cost-plus explanation of the price rise. If this explanation is valid, any attempt to curb such price increases by restrictive credit or fiscal policies would be either ineffective or would have to be so severe that price stability would be achieved at the cost of mass unemployment. Then the cure would be more harmful than the disease. Those who hold the cost-plus view recognize that at the moment the Government has no policy devices for curbing this kind of price rise, except by apepals to the self-discipline of business and labor, and by threats of wage and price controls.

A second long-term interpretation of the current situation is that a structural maladjustment exists in the economy. According to this view, an imbalance has developed in the relationship between the people's desire to spend their incomes currently and their willingness to finance, by their saving, technological advances and expansion. In essence, these observers maintain that the heavy demands of consumers and the continued high level of business investment put a strain on available resources. They believe that the oversaving theory of the thirties has to be replaced by an undersaving theory. The suggested solution to this problem would require adjustment in financial institutions and in the tax structure so as to increase the propensity to save—such as higher interest rates and tax incentives for investment. This theory is contested by those who claim that we still face a situation in which the increases in productive capacities may exceed, at least temporarily, the increases in actual consumer and business demand.

II

The fact that capable and sincere observers of economic developments can come to such utterly different interpretations to some extent reflects controversies which must be battled out on the plane of economic theory. However, theoretical arguments cannot be decided without recourse to facts. And the current state of confusion is in large measure attributable to the lack of factual statistical information.

For instance, any discussion about the alleged cost-raising effect of wage increases remains futile unless better statistical information becomes available about productivity gains. The most comprehensive measurement of productivity gains uses the relationship between the increase in total production expressed in constant dollars, to total man-hours worked. The price indices used for deflating current dollar estimates of total production are so deficient that this one possible source of error alone may invalidate any conclusions drawn from the productivity measurement. Business and labor do not now have the factual information needed for guiding a policy designed to provide the maximum feasible increase in purchasing power without inflationary price and cost rise.

Or, the controversy about saving is conducted entirely in a vacuum. Neither the oversaving theory of the thirties nor the undersaving theory now advocated can be validated by reference to facts. A task force, appointed by the Federal Reserve Board in response to a suggestion by the Joint Economic Committee, explored every available bit of information on saving and concluded, in June 1955 "that substantial improvements are necessary to make the statistics of saving an adequate tool of economic and business analysis." The Budget Bureau has designated the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve as the focal agency for the development of improved saving statistics. Also, private research organizations are engaged in experimental work in this field. However, no surveys on saving have been undertaken or initiated on an adequate scale.

We recognize that the rising costs of defense make it doubly urgent to economize in every field of public endeavor. However, the costs of adequate statistical information should be seen in the light of the waste which can result from an erroneous interpretation of the economic situation and from public policies moving in the wrong direction or from failure to act in time because of uncertainties in the interpretation of the economic situation. The various task forces established by the Federal Reserve Board and the reexamination of other areas of statistics initiated by the Budget Bureau and the Joint Economic Committee have identified the most grievous gaps in our statistical knowledge. The time has come to move from study to action programs.

The business committee of the National Planning Association therefore recommends that the executive agencies and the Federal Reserve System develop a long-range statistical improvement program. Such a program should determine the relative priorities for filling existing gaps in information. It should also bring obsolete statistical series up to date. Every effort should be made to assure that this program be implemented as promptly as possible by the Federal Reserve system and the executive agencies concerned. The committee notices with satisfaction that the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress in its recent 1957 Joint Economic Report again recognizes the importance of additional economic statistics and urges congressional action to improve Federal statistical programs. The present situation demonstrates the high costs of ignorance and the need to fashion better measures of performance of the American economy.

MEMBERS OF THE NPA BUSINESS COMMITTEE SIGNING THE STATEMENT

Beardsley Ruml, chairman, New York City.

Frank Altschul, chairman of the board, General American Investors Co.

Morton J. Baum, executive vice president, Hickey-Freeman Co.

D. O. Bowman, Crown Zellerbach Corp.

Arde Bulova, chairman of the board, Bulova Watch Co.

Eugene Burgess, visiting professor of industrial relations, University of California.

John S. Coleman, president, Burroughs Corp.

B. L. England, president, Atlantic City Electric Co.

Dan F. Gerber, president, Gerber's Baby Foods.

Rodney C. Gott, executive vice president, American Machine & Foundry Co.

Samuel Groves, executive vice president, United-Carr Fastener Corp.

Robert Heller, president, Robert Heller & Associates, Inc.

H. Struve Hensel, Washington, D. C.

D. M. Levitt, president, DCA-Food Industries, Inc.

T. G. MacGowan, manager, marketing research department, Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.

Charles F. Palmer, president, Palmer, Inc.

Miles Pennybacker, president, Voltarc Tubes, Inc.

Charles F. Phillips, president, Bates College.

Elmo Roper, Elmo Roper & Associates.

Joseph F. Rosenfield, chairman, Younker Brothers, Inc.

Joseph Ross, president, Daniels & Fisher.

Harry J. Rudick, Lord, Day & Lord.

Adolph W. Schmidt, vice president, T. Mellon & Sons.

James S. Schramm, executive vice president, J. S. Schramm Co.

Fred Smith, vice president, the Prudential Insurance Co. of America.

H. Christian Sonne, president, South Ridge Corp.

Charles J. Symington, chairman of the board, the Symington-Gould Corp.

Robert C. Tait, president, Stromberg-Carlson Co., division of General Dynamics Corp.

Wayne C. Taylor, Heathsville, Va.

Fletcher C. Waller, vice president, Bigelow-Sanford Carpet Co.

J. Carlton Ward, Jr., president, Vitro Corporation of America.

Ralph J. Watkins, director of research, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc.

J. L. Weller, vice president, Trans World Airlines, Inc.

G. W. Blunt White, vice president, Sonoco Products Co.

Clarence A. Wimpfheimer, chairman of the board, American Velvet Co.

James C. Worthy, vice president, Sears, Roebuck & Co.

Faith Is the Target

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a thought-provoking article which appeared in the Boston Daily Record of March 30, 1957:

FAITH IS THE TARGET

The Chinese Communists, having released another American missionary from captivity, now stand expectantly before the bar of world opinion, as if in line for credit for a praiseworthy act.

What the world remembers, however, is the unspeakable crime that has been committed against this unoffending man of God.

The Reverend Fulgence Gross, a Roman Catholic missionary from Omaha, Nebr., has survived 6 years of agony and humiliation in Communist custody. He has been subjected to the mental and physical tortures which are normal Communist practices. He has known the distress and the despair of the hopeless, sustained only by the inextinguishable faith which even Communists cannot blot out of the hearts and minds of dedicated men.

His only offense was that he sought to bring to the people of China the comfort and understanding of a way of life shaped to the moral and spiritual concepts of human brotherhood and dignity.

But this is what Communists are striving so desperately to wipe out of the world. They are afraid to have men taught and

inspired and encouraged to have faith in God.

The Communist religious persecutions are the greatest and gravest of their many crimes against humanity. They do not discriminate between religions or churches. The last churchman to walk out of Red China as a freeman before the release of Father Gross was a Lutheran clergyman, the Reverend Paul Mackensen, of Baltimore. The many who still remain behind, some of them unaccounted for and others undoubtedly dead, are of many faiths.

It is not one church or creed that the Communists fear and hate. It is the name of God, and the love of God, that they feel they must destroy.

There are worldwide and heartfelt prayers of thanksgiving for the return of Father Gross from the living hell in which he has been submerged by this Communist demonstration of man's capacity for inhumanity to other men.

The Federal Urban Redevelopment Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a resolution received by me from the Council of the City of Pittsburgh, urging the continuance of the Federal urban redevelopment program.

I am also including a letter from the Honorable George M. Leader, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, giving a list of the redevelopment authorities in our State.

I was a member of the Senate of Pennsylvania when the necessary legislation was passed by that State in setting up the redevelopment authorities, and defining the position of the State government in giving financial aid and complete State cooperation in the efforts made by the local municipalities to rebuild decaying communities.

The progress made in Pennsylvania has been outstanding.

To make America strong means that we must make our small communities a suitable place in which to live. Some of our communities are old and had very little planning when they came into existence. Now they must be made over in this age of automation in which we live.

The Federal Government cannot shirk its responsibility to help these communities. In some cases they must be virtually rebuilt. This is a moral obligation the Federal Government has to the States and local communities.

It is just as important to rebuild our old cities and towns as it is to rebuild the towns of Europe which have been destroyed by bombing.

I sincerely hope that the Members will read these inserts as I believe they explain thoroughly the position of the State of Pennsylvania as well as the city of Pittsburgh in their programs of building a new America for tomorrow:

Resolution 100

Whereas the Federal urban-renewal program can be looked upon as one of the great forces to encourage rehabilitation of communities, large and small, and to prevent slums and blight in the Nation's centers of population; and

Whereas the financial limitations contained in House bill 6047 and in Senate bill 1609 has forced the Housing and Home Finance Agency to institute a system of priorities which penalize communities which already have one urban-renewal project underway but which are financially able to, and have been actively planning to undertake more than one; and

Whereas this system of priorities will postpone indefinitely the planning of two projects in the East Liberty and North Side sections which enabled all communities to plan possibly making obsolete any of the preliminary work which has been accomplished thus far; and

Whereas the $175 million allocation contained in these 2 bills is for 1 year, thereby breaking a precedent of multiyear appropriations which enabled all communities to plan projects on an orderly schedule and with reasonable assurance that Federal funds would be available when needed; and

Whereas certain communities, including Pittsburgh, have adopted 5-year capital budgets, based on people's bond issues, with the purpose of an orderly expenditure of local sums, in the main, for public improvements in urban-renewal-project areas; and

Whereas the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania also is committed to aid urban-renewal projects as its share in the costs of local participation and, in fact, has scheduled funds for the East Liberty and North Side projects, and curtailment of the Federal funds may place State funds in an uncertain status; and

Whereas the orderly continuance of the urban-renewal program is noninflationary because it provides money to be invested in planning for projects which may be executed 3 to 6 years hence, and thus builds a backlog of neighborhood commercial and housing requirements for a time when the Federal economy may need support: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the council of the city of Pittsburgh urges that the Congress reconsider the allocations for the Federal urban-renewal program in the minimum terms of the President's original proposal of $250 million in each of the next 2 years. The urban-renewal program is a positive approach to guaranteeing the orderly growth of all of our centers of population, large and small; its benefits can be measured directly in that it provides decent housing and living conditions for all of our citizens;

Resolved, also, That copies of this resolution be forwarded by the clerk of the city of Pittsburgh to the President of the United States, to the two United States Senators from Pennsylvania, to all Representatives to Congress from Pennsylvania, and to other interested Government officials.

In council, March 25, 1957, read and adopted.

THOMAS J. GALLAGHER,
President of Council.

Attest:

GEORGE BOXHEIMER,
Clerk of Council.

Mayor's office, March 27, 1957.

Approved:

CHARLES D. MCCARTHY,
Deputy Mayor.

Attest:

STANLEY M. NOSZKA,
Mayor's Assistant Secretary.

Recorded in resolution book, volume 14, page 292, the 27th day of March 1957.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
Harrisburg, March 29, 1957.

Hon. ELMER J. HOLLAND,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I most urgently request that you lend all possible support to the authorizations for urban redevelopment and renewal as originally recommended in the President's budget. These were $250 million for the fiscal 1958 and $250 million for the fiscal year 1959.

The suggestion of the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency that the total new authorization be reduced to $175 million for 1957 would do great injury, if adopted, to the strenuous effort of Pennsylvania cities to clear their slums and blighted areas and replace them with modern developments.

A survey of Pennsylvania redevelopment authorities shows $22 million of Federal assistance is required merely to supply additional needs of present programs and applications pending in HHFA offices. (Additional Federal applications expected from Pennsylvania's 39 redevelopment authorities prior to July 1958 total $73 million.) Applications for State assistance which provides one-half of local contribution toward the matching Federal assistance now total over $28 million, indicating long-range need for Federal grants over $112 million, based on $2 Federal assistance to each $1 local.

Many worthwhile programs will bog down or die half completed if assistance is not available, thus causing tremendous loss of money already expended. Other projects will have to go forward on a piecemeal basis at increased cost.

There is no anti-inflationary effect in reducing authorizations. Actual appropriations will not follow for a number of years, at which time the American economy may badly need the investment of private capital which comprehensive urban redevelopment can produce.

The reduction in authorizations can only result in a reduction in planning. Already, the Urban Renewal Agency has revised its standards for advancing planning funds and allocating capital grants to a disastrously narrow base.

Pennsylvania, as a State, has shared in the financing of urban redevelopment programs under legislation passed in the Duff administration and in this one. We are currently proposing to our legislature a policy which will advance the planning of future projects by the assurances it provides of State assistance equal to the local contribution.

It would seem that this productive area of Federal, State, and local cooperation should be encouraged, not cut back.

I am enclosing a list of the redevelopment authorities in Pennsylvania with active planning and action programs, so that you may judge the effect in each congressional district. But, however individual districts may be affected, I think we must all agree that the conservation and rebuilding of our urban areas is a cause in which every American should take a deep and compelling interest.

Your cooperation will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE M. LEADER.

REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITIES IN PENNSYLVANIA

CITIES

Allentown, Altoona, Beaver Falls, Bethlehem, Bradford, Carbondale, Chester, Clairton, Easton, Erie, Farrell, Harrisburg, Johnstown, McKeesport, Meadville, Monessen, Nanticoke, New Kensington, Oil City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Pottsville, Reading Scranton, Shamokin, Sharon, York.

COUNTIES

Allegheny, Beaver, Centre, Cumberland, Delaware, Fayette, Franklin, Jefferson, Monroe, Northhampton, Somerset, Washington.

Postal Rate Increase Urged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CECIL M. HARDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mrs. HARDEN. Mr. Speaker, the Post Office and Civil Service Committee is currently holding hearings on a proposal to increase United States postal rates and thereby reduce the tremendous annual deficit incurred in handling our mail. Commenting on the proposal in its issue of April 2, the Indianapolis Star editorially supported a realistic rate increase. Under permission to extend my remarks, I call the attention of the membership to the Star editorial which follows:

PAYING FOR MAIL SERVICE

The proposal of the Post Office Department for increases in postage rates has brought letters from a number of readers protesting the requested boost in letter rates. The belief has been expressed that first-class mail is already paying its own way, and that if additional revenue is to be sought to eliminate the Department's deficits it should come from other classes of mail. One reader suggests that Congress should simply recognize mail handling as a service rather than a business, and let it go at that. Seeking answers to readers' questions, we have gone over the Department's arguments and some of the others which have been presented to the House Post Office Committee.

The question of first-class mail revolves around bookkeeping. Present letter rates were said to cover the costs of first-class mail on the basis of figures accepted by the Department a few years ago, and still used as a basis of budget allocation. However, the Department now says that these older figures fail to take into account all of the handling systems and operations which are maintained to give preferred handling to first-class mail. A formula has been worked out for adjustment of budget allocations on the basis of later cost studies. When this formula has been applied, the costs of handling first-class letter mail is shown as considerably higher than the postage paid. A smaller factor which also enters the picture is that previous figures did not include such items as employee retirement, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, and others not segregated by departments in the general Federal budget. The Department argues that the appropriate portion of these costs should be charged against each class of mail. If these figures are acceptable, then the requested 1-cent raises are necessary to make letter mail pay its way.

The Department's rate raise proposal also seeks to make other classes of mail pay their own way, except where a service function is specifically approved by Congress. A substantial raise would be made in the rates for third-class advertising mail. This is what is sometimes labeled junk mail. The Department agrees that there should be no free riding for this kind of mail. According to its figures, if the requested raises are granted this class of mail will be paid for in full by its users.

The pricing of second-class mail, newspapers, magazines, and such, is not so easily simplified. Here there has been in the past a policy of operating on a service basis, particularly for smaller publications. The Department's plan assumes that it is desirable to continue providing mail service at less than cost for publications of less than 5,000 circulation, and for the publications of religious and other nonprofit organizations. These would be exempted from the proposed rate raises. The Department argues that other publications can and should pay rates adequate to cover the cost of the service. For them the Department proposes essentially a 60-percent increase, applied at the rate of 15 percent each year for 4 years, in the zone weight rates. With other small raises and with budget adjustment in line with that for first class mail, the deficit for this class of mail would be brought down to about $100 million a year. That is still a big loss. Only about 3 percent of it is for the special rates on religious, charitable and classroom publications and the like.

The Department's figures are challenged by some magazine publishers. They argue that the rates per piece should be raised, rather than the weight rates. This would put more burden on small, lightweight publications and less on heavier ones. They present figures to show that their plan would be more equitable. We don't know which is right, but it is clear that both sides are arguing for the same principle. If Congress wants to provide service at less than cost for certain types of publications, it should be done clearly and specifically. All others should pay their way. We fully agree with this principle.

There is a companion bill in Congress which would identify services to be provided at less than cost. The supplementary cost figure for these would be established, and money to cover it would be appropriated from the Treasury. This would make it clear that other mail users are not paying for these services. Government mail carried without postage now is covered by a similar appropriation.

The Post Office Department's proposal for a businesslike rate schedule is sound and sensible. If anyone can convince Congress that other sets of figures are more accurate with respect to specific types of mail, well and good. But legislation which follows the Department plan in principle ought to be enacted. Those segments of the operation which are intended to be a public service should be paid for with tax funds. As for the rest, each user of the mails should pay for the service he gets.

Murder of American Citizens in Iran

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the tragic murder of three fine American citizens in Iran should call for a restudy of our whole foreign-aid policy by the State Department and by the Congress. For many years I have questioned the advisability of sending technical assistance and point 4 aid into areas where the first need is for law and order. We must still crawl before we can walk. I am afraid we are trying to start at the top rather than to first build the foundation.

In some areas, civilization is the basic fundamental need. Savage peoples first must abandon cannibalism and start adopting some of the aspects of a civilized society such as wearing clothes, living in houses, and eating cooked food. Into such areas some of our idealists apparently think that technical assistance in the form of vast projects, television, and Cadillac automobiles is the first need of uncivilized peoples. Civilization is an evolutionary process that takes generations. It seems fallacious to me to try to impose technical assistance on countries where 80 or 90 percent of the people cannot read or write and where vast segments of the population are no more civilized than the American Indian before the coming of Columbus.

A realistic and practical approach to the problems of the world is now in order—a reappraisal based on the situation as it is and not as it ought to be.

This deplorable incident in Iran has caused a shakeup in the government of this key country. The resignation of the Prime Minister is a loss to the free world, as he is a friend of America. Iran is the key to the Middle East situation. It is the road to oil and to the untapped resources of the Near East and Africa. Commonsense is needed instead of theory and textbook blueprints. Civilization, law, and order must come before education, culture, and democratic principles. Iron points on their wooden plows are needed before libraries in the jungle. Improved seed and fertilizer should come before art displays and Hollywood movies.

The world is getting a bad impression of America from some of our theoretical representatives. Reports come to me from foreigners that they cannot possibly have railroads, highways, and dams like America for another 100 or 500 years. The real needs are for the basic fundamentals.

Hold the Fort

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial with a great deal of commonsense which appeared in the West Lynn Works News, Lynn, Mass., on March 29, 1957:

HOLD THE FORT—PART OF THE COMMUNIST DOCTRINE: TO INVEIGLE AMERICA INTO SPENDING HERSELF POOR

President Eisenhower has said that the big reason for the $3 billion Federal spending increase contemplated in the record peacetime budget of $71.8 billion is that the people want this spending—and that "people seem to think the Federal Treasury is a bottomless well."

Many of the proposed spending increases are due to demands for domestic welfare programs and local community projects. The

Government is only too ready to step in because as people delegate their obligations the Federal power is increased. Eventually, there will be a point of no return. Individual liberty and responsibility, State sovereignty, and freedom of enterprise will have been surrendered.

The logical and direct way to curb the growth of Federal power is to cut the budget. Various suggestions have been made for cuts ranging from one to eight billions of dollars. In domestic spending alone, it has been estimated that $4.1 billion could be saved by holding certain programs down to 1956 or 1957 spending, and by eliminating new programs set up in the 1958 budget.

Thus far only $660 million in cuts have been recommended to the House on appropriation bills totaling more than $10 billion. These have yet to be considered by the Senate.

It requires courage and initiative to work out our local problems for ourselves. But unless we do so—instead of looking to Washington for solutions of local problems—Federal power will continue to increase.

As individual citizens we must never lose sight of the fact that—here in America, at least—government is of the people, by the people, and for the people. It is our money, the taxpayers' money, which is used by the Federal Government to pay for the many projects which the people, and that means us, are supposedly demanding.

As individual citizens we know that our earnings, from which we pay our taxes, are not bottomless wells and that, with less taxes to pay we would have more money available to buy more comforts for our families, to provide additional education for our children, or to invest more for our later retirement.

One of the justifiable complaints which all legislators make, whether Federal, State, city, or town, is that they rarely, if ever, get verbal or written comments regarding pending legislation from the citizens whom they represent.

Thus, we have no one to blame for unnecessary Government expenditures but ourselves.

The cure? Simple. Write to our elected representatives and let them know how we feel, as individuals, about excessive Federal spending.

"Just Give the Facts," Larson Tells the USIA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Sunday Star on March 31, 1957:

"JUST GIVE THE FACTS," LARSON TELLS THE USIA

(By Fred Theroux)

Arthur Larson, apostle of the Eisenhower new Republicanism, has just about completed his shakedown as head of the United States Information Agency. And he has ideas.

Soon after his appointment to his responsible post, Mr. Larson set out on a personal inspection of USIA posts throughout the world. Since his return last month he has been applying the fruits of his journey.

The USIA, including the Voice of America radio facilities, operates 200 posts in 80 countries, all of them outside the Iron Curtain. Seventy-eight radio transmitters and boosters put Voice broadcasts on the air in more than 45 languages. At overseas posts some 1,450 American personnel and 7,500 foreign nationals are working for the USIA program. And in the United States another 2,500 people gather, prepare, and transmit the materials for dissemination overseas.

NO SHAKEUP PLANNED

There will be no shakeup in USIA, Mr. Larson stresses. But there will be some shifts in emphasis. To start, this Rhodes scholar and former University of Pittsburgh Law School dean is bearing down hard on veracity and reputation—as opposed to spur-of-the-moment responses to Communist propaganda onslaughts.

"Propaganda," says Mr. Larson, "is not the mission of USIA. Our job is to inform the world with facts. If we do that consistently and clearly the agency will deserve and get the respect and attention of peoples everywhere."

It is the long haul, not the short, that appeals to Mr. Larson in American efforts to inform the world on the aims and intentions behind American policy. He leans to the documentary approach whenever developments, such as the Hungarian people's revolt last fall, put the Communist bloc in embarrassing positions. Exploit the situation, but do it with an avalanche of facts.

The Iron Curtain peoples, Mr. Larson is convinced, are already deeply suspicious of the crudities of the Communist propaganda machine. Tales of germ warfare in Korea, of capitalist barbarisms in colonial countries, of widespread unemployment and suffering in the West, make no more than transitory impressions, he contends.

In any nation, he reasons, leadership comes almost inevitably from the alert, thinking people in the population. With that group, he insists, facts fairly and fully presented will count in the long run.

CAUTION WITH NEUTRALS

Toward the so-called neutralist world, those nations holding aloof from close identification with either the East or the West, USIA under Mr. Larson will tread with caution, "We are guests in those nations," he points out, "and any attempts at undue pressure or improper activities violates our obligation to our hosts. The worst thing USIA could do would be to interfere, or even to appear to interfere, in the internal affairs of these or any nation."

Political activity in the field of foreign policy is a matter for the State Department, Mr. Larson points out. His own agency has only one job—to inform and interpret. Reading rooms, film strips, television, books, and pamphlets, radio broadcasts over the Voice of America and local outlets—these are the weapons of USIA. As Mr. Larson sees it, they are immensely effective.

Within the general policy laid down in the USIA headquarters building at 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, Mr. Larson expects agency personnel abroad to use a wide measure of discretion in their daily work. It would be impossible, he declares, to attempt to dictate details from here.

Because events over the past few years have focused world attention more and more on the Middle East and the Far East, Mr. Larson is working now on a sizable increase in the USIA programs in those areas. The most effective personnel are being sought for key posts in the areas, physical facilities are being improved, more powerful radio transmitters are being built.

He is particularly interested in furthering the success of the People to People program—a recently organized private-citizen effort to build new roads of communication between the United States and foreign peoples.

Launched by President Eisenhower himself last September, People to People consists of 41 citizens' committees, representing almost every aspect of American cultural, social, economic, and professional life. These groups sponsor visits and tours, exchange speakers, concerts, and drama festivals—any possible means for the strengthening of truly personal contacts between the world's peoples.

THE RELAXED APPROACH

Mr. Larson is a tall, relaxed looking man with the fair complexion of his Scandinavian forebears. He talks easily and directly, with none of the traditional flamboyance of the politician.

His tour of duty as head of the USIA, in view of many, is a grooming assignment, perhaps in preparation for the 1960 elections or for Cabinet rank. Mr. Larson himself deprecates such suggestions. He has, right now, an immensely important task to perform, he says, and all his interests and efforts are geared to that task.

Mr. Larson joined the Eisenhower administration in 1954 as Under Secretary of Labor. During the 1956 campaign he published A Republican Looks at His Party, a scholarly analysis of what Mr. Eisenhower has called progressive conservatism. In broad outline, the books seek to reconcile conservative, traditional Republicanism, and the modern, social-minded, government-in-partnership approach espoused by President Eisenhower. As such, it is a sort of charter for the Eisenhower Republicans who seek to reshape their party.

Better To Pay Our Debts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting editorial published in the Humboldt Standard of Eureka, Calif., under date of Thursday, March 28, 1957, has just come to my attention. It is entitled "Better To Pay Our Debts" and I believe that it is good at this time when we are considering the budget bills to call it to the attention of the Members of Congress.

It is time for the Federal Government to curtail its activities. In trying to take the lead in every phase of our body politic, many of the programs the Federal Government has assumed in the past several years should be carried out by the responsible governmental agencies on the local level. Federal money is general taxpayers' money, but it is deemed easier to extract money from the public if the source of collection and expenditure is further away from the taxpayer.

For the past week we have been considering an appropriation bill to extend more and more assistance to various programs that should be carried on on the local level. The present pending pollution appropriation of $50 million to be carried on for 10 years and amounting to one-half billion dollars started out to be a bill to force the upstream polluters to clean up their waste created by the various cities and industries along our waterways. It is not fair or equitable for cities that provide for the disposal of their own waste to be compelled to contribute to those cities that have no regard for their neighbors downstream. This

program will cost $500 million and should be stopped if we are interested in reducing taxes.

I believe our responsibility should be to keep expenditures down and in the present drive by those who believe in economy, we are only trying to hold this year's expenditures in line with the expenditures of last year. We should be thinking more of paying something on the national debt with the idea in mind that just as soon as possible we can work for a reduction in Federal taxes. Anyone who thinks just a little must realize that the only possibility of reducing taxes is to cut down in expenditures.

As an extension of my remarks, I desire to include the following editorial:

BETTER TO PAY OUR DEBTS

"Tax increases from now on will center in local and State governments." Thus States a big national-economics magazine. What they say ties in well with Humboldt County, whose budget has increased 100 percent in 2 years. It's happening all over the Nation.

Among other items, they note that relief for indigent people, in the local picture, has climbed steadily during the greatest boom in history. Isn't that like the old adage of giving them an inch, and they will take a mile? Has a class of professionals been created?

Turning to the national budget—$14 billion has been allocated for welfare alone. Back in 1934, when we had a depression, the whole national budget—including welfare and relief—was $7 billion only. Apparently people hadn't been educated to welfare, then.

All right—suppose another grave economic setback should occur? Think of the reliefers there would be then—and plenty of them real. How could the taxpayers then support the tremendous burden of local, State, and national governments. And what about Government debt?

From your newspaper office, it looks as if Government should be trying to pay down its indebtedness while times over the Nation are good, instead of passing out billions in questionable handouts.

Take yourself. If you are doing all right, but still owe money to your bank, would you buy an extra automobile, or pay off? In the same sense, our country—locally and nationally—should bolster its financial structure. Time may come when we'll need it.

It amazed us recently to learn that Canada actually has a surplus. The account we read said that that nation is cutting taxes here and there to keep its surplus from becoming unwieldy. How do they do it?

Here in the United States, they are checking up on Dave Beck and his bully boys, which is good. They asked for it. Perhaps some checking up on others, in higher places, might be good, too.

Stronger, Not Weaker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting article which appeared in the Boston Daily Record of March 28, 1957:

STRONGER, NOT WEAKER

Nationalist China's Foreign Minister, George K. C. Yeh, said the other day that if the Free World expects to win the cold war against communism it will have to change its thinking about the prospects of profitable trade with the Communist nations.

Speaking of his own particular part of the world, Yeh said the quickest and surest way to turn the rest of Asia over to the Communists would be to remove all trade restrictions, especially those now in force against Red China.

Given free access to the natural and industrial resources of the free world, the Peiping regime would win Southeast Asia over to communism virtually by default.

Moral considerations alone should deter the free nations from the pursuit of profit in trade with Red China.

The slaughter of 20 million human beings already stands to the bloody shame of the Communist masters of the Chinese mainland, a career of wanton murder that makes the Soviet Russian massacres in Hungary appear almost merciful.

But even if morality means nothing, the sheer necessities for survival should persuade against association with the most vicious force that has come into the world since the beginning of civilization.

Trade with the Communists arms and strengthens them for their evil purpose.

It only prepares the way for them and makes it easy. Their intended victims only fool themselves when they see a profit in such suicidal commerce.

United States Steel Attempts To Make Employees Scapegoat for Price Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article written by David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America, which appeared in the April 1957 issue of Steel Labor, official publication of United Steelworkers of America.

In this article, President David J. McDonald has attacked the effort of United States Steel's corporate head to blame union wage increases for inflation as a coverup to switch attention from highly profitable price advances. Mr. McDonald, with facts and figures discusses some of the real reasons for inflation. His reply is in answer to a number of similar attacks made by Chairman Roger Blough of United States Steel in last year's report to stockholders, in public meetings since, and again in the current report:

(By David J. McDonald)

Once again, Mr. Roger Blough, chairman of the board of United States Steel Corp., has seen fit, through his annual report, to blast the steelworker employees and their union. This comes at a time when the 1956 annual report of United States Steel shows the highest sales ever, the second highest profits on record, the largest dividends to its stockholders.

Yet, Mr. Blough would have the public believe that the union is the cause for the recent increases in the cost of living and inflation, which he says threatens to become a permanent feature of American life. Mr. Blough alleges that industrywide unions (such as the United Steelworkers, presumably) have compelled annual increases in employment costs far beyond the increases in productivity, and this automatically has caused inflation.

To put it bluntly, Mr. Blough is making false charges.

They are a deliberate "cover up" to turn attention away fom the corporation's rapidly increasing profits and its steel price increases.

The facts are that productivity—output of steel per man-hour—has more than offset the "cost" of the steelworker wage increases in recent years. Mr. Blough knows this is to be true.

But even if the workmen were not producing more steel each hour than ever before and the wage increases had actually raised unit costs, the fact remains that the steel price increases have far exceded any such additional "costs."

Let us see if we can prove this statement to be true. In mid-1956, steel prices were raised by $8.50 a ton. Employment costs were increased 20 cents an hour. The corporation, based on its own production figures, will receive $230 million annually from its price increases.

But the increased labor "costs" will have been only $82 million.

In simple language, the corporation got $3 price increases for each $1 of wage increases.

Even if labor "cost" increase had not been offset by increased output per man-hour, the corporation still received this price increase. Mr. Blough knows that unit labor costs increased not at all.

The net profit to the corporation from the price-raising operation is obvious and in recent months it has increased its prices by another $5-$5.50 per ton by a series of carefully spaced and little-publicized increases.

No amount of talk can hide the corporation's efforts to shift the blame for its inflationary actions from its own shoulders.

No amount of talk can hide the fact that the corporation's price actions are part of an effort to increase its already high profits. In fact, steel industry publications are already talking about another price increase next July.

The corporation, in its 1956 annual report, carefully selects 1940 as a base year. It does not tell the public that during 1940 net profits were two and one-half times the profits of the previous year. But let us take 1940 and compare it with 1956—none of which is pointed out in Mr. Blough's report.

Profits before taxes in 1940 were $128,500,000. In 1956 they had climbed to $679,100,000—a 428 percent increase.

Net profits climbed from $102,200,000 in 1940 to $348,100,000 in 1956—a 240 percent increase.

Common stock dividends increased from $34,800,000 in 1940 to $144,900,000 in 1956—a 316 percent increase.

The corporation in 1940 set aside for depreciation $72,600,000 and in 1956, $277,600,000—a 232 percent increase.

Now let us look at how much profit the corporation made on each hour worked by each employee. In 1940 the corporation profit per employee was 26.3 cents per hour. In 1956 it was $1.34 per hour—a 411 percent increase. This profit is before taxes.

Net profit per employee for each man-hour in 1940 was 20.9 cents. In 1956 it had climbed to 68.9 cents—a 230 percent increase. And remember, from 1940 to 1956 the union won many wage increases, but the net profit per employee to the corporation more than tripled.

And what about steel prices? Since 1940 they have risen by 154 percent, despite the increases in output per man-hour.

Mr. Blough's charge that its employees' wage demands and Government tax laws

have left too little for replacement of equipment is denied by the fact that net profits retained have increased the corporation's net worth by over 100 percent since 1940, despite an increase in annual common stock dividends of more than 316 percent.

Let's look at those dividends.

The average steelworker employed by the corporation in 1940 earned $1,600 for that year. At the dividend rate paid in 1940, the dividends on 400 shares equaled the steelworker's annual earnings. In 1957, the average steelworker's earnings for a full year will approximate $5,600. By virtue of stock splits since 1940, 400 shares have become 2,400. The dividends on 2,400 shares of United States Steel stock, at the current rate, will yield $7,200, or about 28 percent more than the average steelworker's 1957 earnings. In addition, the current market price of these same shares of common stock is $115,000 more than the market price in the beginning of 1940.

The union cites these facts not in opposition to dividends but as concrete evidence that steelworker wage increases have not been at the expense of the stockholder or the corporation, but rather have been earned through increased productivity. Furthermore, this increased productivity through the years can continue to be the basis for benefits to all—steelworkers, stockholders, the public.

The union is, and has always been, strongly opposed to inflation—no matter what its source. We will oppose inflation wherever it rears its head. We only wish that Mr. Blough were really solicitous about inflation.

Ill-Advised Reduction in Appropriations for Department of Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to just for a few moments direct the attention of the Members to what has been done by action of the committee to the Office of the Solicitor in the Department of Labor. And I would like to point out to the Members that this Office has been assigned a program for 1958 of a 15-percent increase in responsibility and that this report of the Appropriations Committee proposes a 4-percent increase in appropriations. The action of this committee has been to cut the appropriation another $204,000. If the action on the floor last week stands, the Office of the Solicitor would suffer a loss of $184,000. This cut will have to be absorbed, to the serious detriment of its law-enforcement activities and other programs.

The amount approved by the actions of the past days is approximately the same amount as that appropriated for fiscal 1957. But, in fiscal 1958, I think it is important to remember, the Solicitor's Office must meet $184,000 in mandatory charges which it does not have to meet during the current fiscal year.

The largest of these mandatory charges is the sum of $131,000, the contribution which the Solicitor must make to the civil-service retirement fund pursuant to laws passed by the 84th Congress. By our failing to recognize this mandatory obligation of the Solicitor's Office to contribute its share to the retirement system, the committee action would force it to meet this payment through a substantial curtailment in the activities of the Office which in turn will mean a substantial loss in services provided by this Office not only to employee groups and individuals but also to management and industry.

Another item eliminated here was the sum of $27,500 for legal services in connection with the Mexican farm labor program. The committee has eliminated all funds for legal services in connection with this program at a time when the need for such services is most urgent.

Let us remember that over 428,000 Mexican nationals came into the country last year under the Mexican farm labor program. This number does not necessarily reflect the workload, but legal problems created by the Mexican farm labor programs are increasing. Since many of these compliance cases under this program may result in liability for the United States, it is highly important that these cases receive careful legal review. In addition, there is need for discussion with Mexican consuls, employers, representatives of labor unions, and others.

The third item eliminated by the action here is $14,600, which represents a comparative transfer from funds available in the past to the Office of the Secretary for the operation of various central services for the entire department. This bill provided for the creation of a departmental working capital fund which will be reimbursed by the various bureaus and offices for which services are performed. This is an item which was formerly included in funds made available to the Office of the Secretary. Now it will have to be paid by the Solicitor. This is also true of an item of $10,900 which represents the Solicitor's Office's proportionate share of the increase requested for the working capital fund to pay for increased services due to expanded activities of the entire Department.

The volume of work of the Solicitor's Office has increased in each of the last 4 years. If the reductions as approved by the committee stand, efficiency of operation of the Office of the Solicitor will be impaired, at the expense of the wage earners and the employees who benefit by proper enforcement of our labor laws.

Three-Headed Monster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith the following editorial from the News and Courier, Charleston, S. C., dated March 14, 1957. Hon. O. Frank Thornton is the distinguished secretary of state of South Carolina and his remarks I consider most worthy of appearing in the RECORD:

THREE-HEADED MONSTER

In a speech to the Traffic and Transportation Club at Columbia, Mr. O. Frank Thornton spoke some plain truths that the people of other States of the Union will do well to heed.

Mr. Thornton is secretary of state of the State of South Carolina, one of the constitutional officers who is elected by the people. His subject was the triple-headed monster of communism, Federal spending, and destruction of States rights. The three indeed are of a package. Mr. Thornton has performed a public service in thus calling public attention to them.

South Carolina, Mr. Thornton said in conclusion, may have its financial troubles, but thanks to a requirement that an appropriation bill may not be introduced without certification that it is within anticipated revenue, the State operates under a balanced budget. South Carolina survived reconstruction without economic aid from the Federal Government, Mr. Thornton reminded his audience. It is a proper source of pride.

Southerners May Have To Stand Alone in Defense of Constitutional Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith the following editorial from the Charleston, S. C., News and Courier, dated April 2, 1957:

SOUTHERNERS MAY HAVE TO STAND ALONE IN DEFENSE OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

The Associated Press reported this week that the Eisenhower administration's civil-rights bill is chugging along in Congress and getting somewhere.

Thoughtful men are profoundly disturbed as a result of the progress of the civil-rights bill. They see the threat to American liberties and the widening breach in our constitutional system. The ordinary citizen has only a limited opportunity at this time to resist this force bill. In the Congress, however, southern Representatives and Senators are doing yeoman work. As the Associated Press said in a recent report: "Wholly aside from any attempts to smother the bill in parliamentary redtape, southeners have been waging a vigorous fight against the administration measure this year on its content."

It is true that some Congressmen from Northern and Western States understand the threat embodied in the civil-rights bill. It is doubtful, however, whether a sufficient number of Congressmen understand or are prepared to act on their understanding.

The South does not have a monopoly on faith in the Constitution, though this sometimes appears to be the case. In the North and West are patriotic men and women who haven't been informed on what the civil-rights bill would do, how it would clothe the Government with the powers of an inquisition and deny citizens a jury trial. Were the northern press to inform them, we could count them on our side.

It would be great if there were a nationwide rallying of constitutionalists against the civil-rights bill. But this does not appear likely. The bill may pass and the South may have to go it alone in leading the resistance.

The South hasn't been afraid in former times to take bold steps to defend what it believes is right. The South, we are confident, has not changed in this respect. No

Southerner wants to be a martyr. If however, Americans are to be denied jury trial, and leading men in our communities and States be haled before a biased investigative commission in Washington, there will be resistance in the South. Liberty is a 180-year-old possession of American citizens. Here, in the South, citizens won't allow themselves to be the first to have it torn from them without a struggle.

If the civil-rights bill passes, interposition could take a hundred forms. We have mentioned some of them before: the denial of local and State facilities to the Federal Government, the clogging of the Federal courts with nuisance suits that would obstruct the use of these courts by a political Justice Department, the establishment of State investigative commissions with subpena powers. The range of possible action is tremendous.

We earnestly hope that Southerners may continue to enjoy their liberties and not have to defend them with all their mental skill and a spirit of noncompliance. If the times require an all-out effort, however, we are sure that southerners will be equal to their traditions.

King Cotton Goes International

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article from the February 9, 1957, issue of the Cotton Gin and Oil Mill Press:

KING COTTON GOES INTERNATIONAL

King Cotton is becoming an international celebrity.

In Medellin, Colombia, where the air is coffee-scented and even factories are painted in pastels, fashionable ladies go to see "modelos de algodon."

In Ghent, Belgium, a banner reading, "National Katoenweek" floats over a street first cobbled when Roman legions camped there.

In Toyko, across the moat from the Imperial Palace, 60 pretty girls, finalists chosen from 670 entries, compete for the title of "Menka no Joosama"—Miss Cotton.

UNITED STATES SETS PATTERN

Promotional patterns developed since 1939 by the National Cotton Council of America are now being applied by cotton organizations of 14 other countries. Four more are developing or considering cotton promotion campaigns.

Five years ago, the only significant promotion for cotton was that of the council in the United States. As late as 18 months ago only 2 other countries had programs of real size.

Two factors are behind this market development expansion. One is the help that the council has been able, because of its experience, to give foreign cotton organizations. The second is the financial support generated through Public Law 480.

Under Public Law 480, surplus United States agricultural commodities are sold abroad for foreign currencies. Part of the money is allocated to developing additional markets for United States agricultural products. The council contracted with the United States Department of Agriculture in 1955 to develop and supervise programs in behalf of cotton. The programs are financed 50-50 by local industry and Public Law 480. They are operated by the local industry organizations and are aimed only at increasing domestic consumption.

IT STARTED AT BUXTON

Most foreign cotton promotion dates from 1952 when the council program was described by Ed Lipscomb, director of sales promotion, before an international textile meeting in Buxton, England. The delegates, seeking an answer to the problem of declining world textile markets, had given little, if any, consideration to the concept of expanding markets for the benefit of all. This approach of the American representatives, the achievements of the council, and the suggestion of a policy "which contemplated help and cooperation for all," to use some recent words of Gerald L. Dearing, cotton editor of the Memphis Commercial Appeal, was "greeted with much greater enthusiasm than expected."

By 1954, cotton industries of five countries had activities going, the council offering all the help, advice, samples, and inspiration it could.

In the fall of 1955, the council's foreign trade division opened a two-man office in Paris. Early in 1956 a cooperative agreement was signed with France to improve and expand their existing program. Japan signed about the same time and Germany 5 months later.

The agreements with France, Japan, and Germany were re-signed last month and new contracts signed with Spain and Italy. Agreements for Austria, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland are in final stages of negotiation. Close cooperation is being informally extended to entirely self-financed programs in England, Colombia, and Mexico. Canada, Greece, Pakistan, and Syria are planning programs based on materials and suggestions from the council. Egypt and the Sudan are financing cotton promotions in Europe and are now considering programs in their domestic markets.

SPENDING $3 MILLION YEARLY

Total budgets for cotton promotion outside the United States this year are more than $3 million—roughly 10 times the total 2 years ago. About one-third of this is Public Law 480 money. Foreign industry raises the rest.

Some of the countries and their promotion budgets are small by United States standards—yet, seven of them are putting their own money into promotion in sums which represent higher per capita expenditure than that of the United States raw cotton industry in this country.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL SET UP

An odd touch is that the National Cotton Council, which began it all, will henceforth play a supporting role. Complications in receiving money from outside the raw-cotton industry and in operating abroad made it desirable to organize a special corporation, Cotton Council International. Council experience, materials, and staff will be available to CCI. Everett R. Cook, Memphis cottonman, is president of CCI. Read P. Dunn, Jr., NCC's director of foreign trade, is CCI's executive director.

The council and CCI operate in four basic areas in order to transmit their experience and techniques to foreign cotton promotion.

1. CCI participates directly in countries with or seeking cooperative agreements. Under this program, CCI works with local industry to develop market research, public relations, and sales promotion projects and then supervises them after operation begins.

2. The program also includes orientation in market research and sales promotion for foreign personnel. Eleven specialists from five countries have been given short courses in the United States offices of the council. The European office has briefed others.

3. Translation and adaptation of council materials is a continuing process. Nine council publications were distributed in six foreign languages last year. A prime example is a sales-training booklet, Why Cotton, which the council began distributing this month, but which has already been adapted and distributed in Germany, Japan, and Spain.

4. The borrowing is not limited to booklet translation. One or more of such standard council techniques as Cotton Week, Maid of Cotton, press sheets, photo services, industry newsletters, fashion publicity, retail-sales training, and educational campaigns are now operating successfully in almost every sector of the globe. Council market research methods help guide promotion abroad just as in this country.

All programs follow a basic principle: Use the techniques and media of mass communication to convince people that cotton clothing helps them feel better and look better and that cotton household products give them more comfortable and more attractive homes. The goal is, of course, to get a larger share of the textile markets and of the consumer dollar (franc, yen, or mark) for cotton throughout the world.

HERE'S WHAT'S HAPPENING

Here is a country-by-country sampling of what is going on. First, the original three:

France: During 1956, the French Cotton Syndicate reorganized and enlarged its staff; completed an educational film and companion booklet; established a fashion-photo service; arranged a mill tour for the press; completed two full-scale market research projects and part of a third. An expanded program, featuring the first fashion advertising campaign for cotton in Europe, has been prepared for 1957. Previously existing press services, children's wear, work clothes, and fashion campaigns are being intensified.

Japan: The Japan Cotton Promotion Institute last year operated an ambitious program, including a monthly newssheet to inform and stimulate the industry in the field of promotion, translation, of three council sales training booklets, spring and fall wholesale promotions for cotton fabrics, a Cotton Week in 14 cities, selection of Miss Cotton to star in cotton fashion shows and other events, school lectures, and publication of an education booklet on the cotton industry. An expanded 1957 program is under way.

Germany: With signing of the cooperative agreement in mid-1956, the German Cotton Institute developed a bimonthly press and photo service which now reaches some 3,000 outlets; adapted Council sales training material; made some 20 market research reports; and arranged the most extensive Maid of Cotton tour ever held overseas—32 fashion shows or public appearances in 15 cities in 14 days, of which 2 were Sundays. By the end of the year they had located a more complete staff and were shaping a broader program for 1957, including a home sewing project, a touring fashion show, and several product campaigns.

The influence of these cooperative programs often extends into areas where Public Law 480 funds are not yet available by inspiring local industry to begin programs and staffs in expectation of a joint program which would multiply the effectiveness of local funds. This effect has been notable in most of the countries who have recently signed, or who are negotiating cooperative agreements.

Spain's cotton industry staged a Cotton Week around the visit of the 1956 Maid of Cotton to the Barcelona area. It was so successful that a larger program is being planned for both Barcelona and Madrid this year. Other projects are being developed for 1957.

Italy's Cotton Association has translated council materials, done markets surveys, and

is planning a Cotton Week in five cities in April, in cooperation with the council. The 1956 Maid of Cotton will be featured in fashion shows in the five cities. The Italian Cotton Institute has just signed a regular cooperative agreement with CCI and is readying a general market-development campaign.

Belgium's National Cotton Institute has created one of the outstanding programs on the Continent. Some 9,000 retail units took took part in their third annual Cotton Week last year. They built excellent promotions around the Maid of Cotton, and now have a very effective press service and well-organized schools and work-clothes programs. An enlarged program is planned for 1957 in cooperation with CCI.

Switzerland organized its Cotton Commission in June, and, by the end of the year has established a press service; held a mills tour for journalists; staged an impressive fashion show and a Christmas campaign. For 1957, in cooperation with CCI, the Swiss are planning a Cotton Week, fair exhibits, fashion shows, schools, and retail training campaigns, and market research.

Holland organized its Cotton Propaganda Committee last year, engaged a basic staff and began a schools program. This year, with CCI help, they are considering adding fashion publicity, a women's club campaign, a Cotton Week, and market research.

Austria recently took final steps toward a cooperative program with CCI, has begun assembling a staff and is planning press, fashion, market research, and retail-training campaigns for 1957.

The council and CCI also collaborate closely with promotional efforts of cotton industry organizations in many other countries, several of which have outstanding programs.

England's Cotton Board has held three successful Cotton Weeks in Australia; established a Cotton Color and Design Center which has won wide acclaim in its field; created a press and photo service; begun a manufacturer-retailer campaign; a retail promotion; a national advertising campaign stressing cotton's qualities, and a schools program. All are expected to grow in 1957. The council has supplied materials and service to the Cotton Board and their representatives have studied council methods in the United States. A cooperative agreement is being considered in the event funds become available.

Colombia's Cotton Promotion Institute has translated many council publications; last year built a "Maid of Cotton" promotion around Miss Colombia, outfitting her with high fashion cottons for shows in leading cities; based an advertising campaign on the "Queen of Beauty and the King of Fibers," and conducted general advertising and publicity. A cooperative agreement is being discussed.

Mexico has adapted several council publications and arranged small, but successful, retail promotions. The Mexican Cotton Associations have distributed 30,000 copies of a council sales-training booklet, 10,000 retail posters, and 2,000 copies of a council publication urging more research and promotion in an attempt to stimulate industry support for additional activities.

Mexico is a net exporting country, therefore a cooperative agreement is not being considered, only technical assistance. The same general situation applies to Egypt, the Sudan, Greece, Syria, and Pakistan.

Importance of these programs to the United States cotton industry is simple and clear. As Everett Cook, CCI president, puts it: "The free foreign world consumes cotton at a per capita rate of about one-fourth this country's. If these programs can, for example, raise foreign per capita consumption by just two pounds, we would need 6,600,000 bales more cotton per year. An increase of that order is quite within reason—2 pounds of raw cotton represent just 1 ordinary pair of overalls or 1 plain bedsheet."

CLUES INDICATE FUTURE VALUE

Measurement of results from these programs will require several years. They are not quick cure-alls. Some clues are, however, available. Paris high fashion collections for spring and summer used to run about five percent cotton. Now they run up toward 60 percent. Japanese per capita consumption of cotton for the first three-quarters of 1956 was calculated at 7.06 pounds, compared with 6.5 for the same period of 1955, halting and reversing cotton's downward trend of the past several years. And Belgium reports a 28 percent increase in cotton consumption in the past 3 years.

Despite the progress in number, size and financial support of cotton promotion programs in the world, there is still a fearful gap between existing programs and actual need. Synthetics, for example, spend 24 times as much as cotton does for promotion in the United States and the disparity is even greater in the rest of the world.

What the National Cotton Council, Cotton Council International, cooperating foreign organizations—and Public Law 480—have done is to get cotton started in the race for world fiber markets which cotton can and ought to win * * * if it really runs.

Tax Limit Contretemps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to present an editorial which appeared in the New Orleans (La.) Item, Sunday, March 31, 1957:

TAX LIMIT CONTRETEMPS

A rousing good fight may be in the offing between Congress and the Supreme Court.

Potential cause of the fight is a proposed amendment which would limit the Government's top take of an individual's pay to 25 to 35 percent in peacetime.

Backers of the amendment claim they are only one State away from success. The legislatures of 31 States (including Louisiana) have at one time or another passed resolutions backing the proposal.

Article V of the Constitution states that "the Congress * * * on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds [now 32] of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments which * * * shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of the several States or by conventions in three-fourths thereof."

What may cause the fight is that this part of the Constitution has never been tried out.

No such Constitutional Convention has ever been held, and no one knows exactly how it would be assembled or conducted.

However, proponents of the amendment say they will ask the Supreme Court to force Congress to act if they get their 32d State.

So we have a possible situation of the Supreme Court pitted against Congress.

Spokesmen for organized labor have denounced the amendment as the rich man's amendment.

The Secretary of the Treasury has warned that it would cost the Government more than $13 billion in annual revenues, and President Eisenhower has let it be known that he opposes it.

One of two results could come of this revenue-cutting amendment:

It could wreck our expensive defense program.

On the other hand, it could force the Government to prune out the nonessential, ridiculous, and luxury items in its multi-billion-dollar budget.

And if the backers get their last State, the ensuing legal and political storm will teach the country a lot about the amendment provisions of the Constitution.

It might even lead to an amendment of the amendment clause.

Science, Technology, and Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. DURHAM
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, last year the Subcommittee on Research and Development of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy conducted extensive hearings on the shortage of scientific and engineering manpower. We received testimony from many educators and scientists.

Since these hearings I have been interested in seeing the many articles and statements by scientists and educators on this problem. They showed that our hearings were worthwhile.

Dr. L. R. Hafstad is one of our great scientists. He is presently vice president in charge of the research staff of the General Motors Corp. in Detroit. His scientific work has included the development of the proximity fuse, which played such an important part in World War II. He was also the first director of the Reactor Development Division of the Atomic Energy Commission, a post he held until 1955. Dr. Hafstad's greatest achievement in the field of atomic energy came in 1939. With R. B. Roberts and R. C. Myer he bombarded uranium with atomic particles to verify reports from Europe that vast energy could be released in this way. This was the first demonstration of atomic fission in this country, and their results lead directly to the full development of the atomic bomb.

At the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Dr. Hafstad addressed the honorary scientific fraternity of Sigma Xi and the Scientific Research Society of America on the subject of Science, Technology, and Society.

His address once again highlights the necessity of modernizing our secondary school education, so that more of our citizens will be in a position to participate in the scientific age in which we live.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include Dr. Hafstad's address as an extension of my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND SOCIETY

(By Dr. L. R. Hafstad)

"When one reads the history of science one has the exhilarating feeling of climbing a big mountain. The history of art gives one an altogether different impression. It is not at all like the ascension of a mountain, always upward whichever the direction of one's path; it is rather like a leisurely journey across hilly country. One climbs up to the top of this hill or that, then down into another valley, perhaps a deeper one than any other, then up the next hill, and so forth and so on. An erratic succession of climaxes and anticlimaxes the amplitude of which cannot be predicted."

Many in this audience will recognize the above as a quotation from George Sarton, the eminent historian, and will concur in the idea that in working in science one has indeed the "exhilarating feeling of climbing a mountain." As working scientists and fully recognizing that we may be naive, we still cling stubbornly to the faith that we are somehow contributing to human comfort and human happiness, and that however stumbling our progress, this progress is upward.

The great acceleration of both science and technology on a worldwide scale since the war seems to confirm this impression. So does the great increase in suggestions in books, and in articles in journals and periodicals, to the effect that we are on the threshold of a second industrial revolution. Many predictions are extant as to the high standard of living which will be obtainable in a matter of a few decades. The problem of the shortage of raw materials has been emphasized by various writers, but technological ingenuity in the development of substitution is such that so far as material prosperity is concerned the possibilities do indeed seem limitless.

Much has been written in recent months about the shortage of scientitsts and engineers. This seems to be a worldwide problem and, as might be expected, it most acute where the development of technology is the most intense. It would seem to be axiomatic that the brave new world of plenty so earnestly desired cannot be attained without an adequate supply of scientists and engineers. To me, and I am sure to many of you, it seems somewhat surprising that so much campaigning and propaganda should be necessary to correct a shortage so obvious. In this area, however disappointing and annoying delays may have been, forces are now beginning to act in the direction to correct the dislocation. This at least is reassuring.

Following not more than a decade or two behind the Russians, in this country and in fact in the free world at large, we are now belatedly beginning to use a very potent force—the incentive system—to correct the shortage. Once the forces acting can be identified, we can isolate trends and begin to foresee at least the immediate future. Accordingly, since this Nation chose not to act on this problem until the shortage was upon us, I will now venture to predict the following sequence of events:

(1) A continuation of the current hectic recruiting campaign with increasing salary scales for anyone with a semblance of training in science or technology, and particularly for people with advanced degrees.

(2) A marked decrease in emphasis on quality in our schools to meet the increasing popular demand for quantity.

(3) A period of progressively diminishing returns to industry and society from the attempt to substitute standardization and quantity for quality in an essentially creative activity.

(4) A period of disenchantment with paper credentials as a substitute for education, and finally a renewed appreciation of scholarship and achievement.

There is nothing either profound or new in this cycle. It is an example of the "hunting" process under the action of central forces, which is familiar to all of us. It is interesting, however, to speculate upon the time scale involved.

There is now public recognition of the problem created by the shortage of trained personnel of all kinds. It happens to be, however, just about 10 years since this problem with regard to scientists and engineers had already reached the table-pounding stage on the part of a few forward-looking individuals in Washington such as Vannevar Bush, Merriam Trytten, and Allen Waterman. We must conclude, then, that in matters of this kind our particular type of society seems to have a time constant—an RC, or response time, if you please—of roughly 10 years. Successive responses to the 4 impulses listed above can, therefore, be predicted to require about 40 years. Now it is true that in the historical sense 40 years is not long in the life of a civilization, but one begins to wonder what the time constants are in competitive societies and how such societies are likely to react under similar impulses. Above all, one wonders why, with our highly developed communications facilities, our response times should be so surprisingly long.

Perhaps no small part of the explanation lies in the fact that scientists and engineers, who have long been aware of this situation, are, after all, a numerically very small fraction of our population. Added to this is the fact that the effects on a society of the activies of this group are invariably long delayed. A complete work stoppage on the part of the creative scientists would not, for example, be felt by our society as a whole for a decade or more. Thus it is difficult for the majority of our population to appreciate fully the function or significance of this relatively inconspicuous group. After all, the larger affairs of our society are, and no doubt always will be (and quite properly), handled by nontechnical people.

It is interesting to speculate about the somewhat anomalous situation into which we have gotten ourselves. There seems to be a tacit, but not clearly expressed, assumption that the purpose of the kind of society we favor is one which gives the greatest good to the greatest number. Our society has seized upon technology as a clearly applicable means to this end, so far as gratifying material wants is concerned. One would then assume that society, or more accurately the nontechnical controllers of that society, would as a matter of enlightened self-interest pay particular attention to the education and training of an adequate supply of what they refer to as "technicians." Instead, it is the technicians, the scientists and engineers, who have been calling for an increase in the supply of talent even though it would be to their own self-interest to restrict this supply of skills and thus improve their bargaining position. As scientists and engineers we ask the question from time to time, "for what and for whom are we working?" The sociologists from whom we assume we should expect a reply seem bewildered that the question should even be asked. By them technology seems to be considered as some extraneous activity apparently introduced or perpetrated by the scientists.

It is this deeper conflict in outlook and attitude between the humanist or sociologist and the scientist or engineer which gives me the greatest concern. The shortage of scientists is serious, but here the incentive forces are being brought in to play in a direction to correct the anomaly in due course. However, in the philosophical conflict, with our technology tending to become ever more complex, and with increasing specialization, unless current educational trends are reversed, the technical and nontechnical components of our society will continue to travel diverging paths, with hunting oscillations not of decreasing but of increasing amplitude.

As Sarton has pointed out, "The ominous conflict of our time is the difference of opinion, of outlook, between men of letters, historians, philosophers, the so-called humanists, on the one side, and scientists on the other." Similarly, Mees has stated:

"While the relation between the progress of scientific discovery and the structure of society is of the utmost interest and importance to those who desire to understand it or, still more, to control the changes that are occurring, there is a cleavage between those who follow the discipline of history and of the humanities and those who are eagerly pursuing the quest for scientific knowledge. Humanistic learning is the learning of the ancients; it is a study of the accumulated thought of mankind so far as it has been transmitted to us. Scientific knowledge, on the other hand, is a development arising from the observation of facts and their classification into patterns. The separation of these two types of learning has always been unfortunate; at present it is serious, and it may, indeed, be disastrous."

Many of you in this audience will recall that there is a principle in physics which says that in order for energy to be transmitted efficiently from one electrical network to another, it is necessary that there be an impedance match between the two circuits. Very similarly it has been my experience that for the transmission of information, or more accurately human understanding, between two individuals it is necessary that there be a matching of backgrounds. Historically such a matching has not existed between devotees of the humanities and of the sciences. So far as the development and enjoyment of the sciences by and for scientists are concerned, no matching is really necessary. Similarly, the humanities as a discipline are completely self-sufficient. If, however, the humanist chooses to use science as the basis for a technology designed to advance the standard of living of mankind, then it becomes incumbent on the humanist to so fashion an educational system that he can communicate with scientists and engineers. This he has failed and is failing to do. Teaching less science and mathematics and more art and music to scientists may enrich the life of the scientist, but it will not help solve the basic problem of the humanist, which is to create what he has concluded to be the good society. If there is to be a sizeable component of technology in his good society, he must at some point face up to the problem of matching impedances with the scientist.

Let us take a look at some of the facets of this problem which might have to be considered. Very early in my career as a student I became aware of the definition "life is struggle," and in my day we were so reactionary that we even came to accept it. It also became clear to me that the struggle was for an intangible something called progress. This was a much more elusive concept and one which I have found intriguing even up to this day. Somewhat surprisingly, I learned that the idea of progress was itself a relatively recent concept in human affairs. Still more significantly, it was not accepted without considerable opposition and conflict. People were burned at the stake. All this, of course, is spelled out in the literature and is particularly well summarized in the too little known book by Professor Bury. The important fact which emerges, however, is that the idea of progress, and the development of technology, are inextricably interlinked. As stated by Mees: "Technology is at once the source and the justification for the idea of progress." That this is true seems to be accepted by scholars throughout the world as is evidenced, for example, by the determination

of the underdeveloped countries to industrialize. The fact seems to be accepted everywhere except where it should be most obviously true and that is here in our own United States. Here is our society we demand progress—in fact we seem to take it for granted as a law of nature—but there are influential people who seem to be doing their best in our education process to escape or circumvent science and technology, which alone can make progress possible.

Perhaps I have overstated my case. Let us hope so—but a review of some recent evidence may give us a perspective in which to view the problem. In a recent study reported from Purdue, it was found that 14 percent of the students think there is something evil about scientists; 30 percent believe that one cannot raise a normal family and become a scientist; 45 percent think their school background is too poor to permit them to choose science as a career; 9 percent believe that one cannot be a scientist and be honest; 25 percent think scientists as a group are more than a little bit "odd"; 28 percent do not believe scientists have time to enjoy life; 35 percent believe that it is necessary to be a genius to become a good scientist; 27 percent think that scientists are willing to sacrifice the welfare of others to further their own interests.

This is indeed a devastating comment—either on scientists, or on our eduactional process, or both. With this the attitude among students, can there be any mystery as to why there is currently a shortage of scientists and engineers? Since the world managed to survive for some centuries before the advent of scientists or engineers, the attitudes expressed would be quite understandable if the students were or proposed to become mystics and lead the contemplative life, which certainly has its advantages. But these were normal American boys and girls demanding and getting 100 horsepower cars for transportation, radios, television, movies, jukeboxes, and all the other paraphernalia of our modern civilization. How could they have grown to college age without learning the simple facts of cause and effect with respect to the technological civilization in which they are clearly planning to live?

In this respect our school system is quite inadequate, in my opinion. The shortage of scientists and engineers is bad enough, but with some effort these immediate shortages can be corrected since the total numbers needed are not really large in proportion to the population. What is more serious (and more dangerous in the long run) is that the mass of our population who, in a society dedicated to the greatest good for the greater number, must in the end control it, remains in ignorance of the foundations on which that society is based.

The contrast between the studied complacency of the educators and the concern of scientists and engineers with regard to this situation can perhaps be emphasized or dramatized by Koestler's device of using a staircase to show the effects of different points of view bearing on the same problem. The humanist or so-called progressive educator looking from above sees a series of plateaus or tableaus (since they are flat to him) and notes with amazement and delight that each successive tableau shows a successively higher standard of living. With only a limited imagination he can make the slight extrapolation to the point where no one has to work. Being foresighted he places great emphasis on training for leisure. Being also sufficiently observant to note an increase of population with time, and being aware of the frictions and struggles brought about by individual differences, great emphasis is also placed on standardization. For the convenience of all concerned, why shouldn't the lowest common denominator solution be picked? From his point of view it makes sense.

Now look at the same staircase from the point of view of the scientist. He sees each plateau merely as a hesitation point between struggles to attain a higher level. To him progress represents work, and he is convinced that further progress cannot be made without struggle. To him there is nothing automatic or guaranteed in the comfortable and continuous progress which the humanist and progressive educator seem to take for granted.

Since our society has chosen for itself a kind of civilization which is so overwhelmingly dependent on advances in science and technology, it is only prudent to ask how we can expedite our progress in these fields. Here is where the shortage of scientists and engineers comes in. I will not attempt to review but merely cite some of the many excellent and realistic articles on this subject. Significant, in my opinion, are recent articles by Stratton, Rassweiler, Rickover, Bestor, and Beckman.

These articles, by unquestioned authorities in their fields, point out inadequacies in our present educational system, insofar as the production of technical personnel is concerned. I agree heartily, but I wish to make a deeper criticism. Even if an entirely separate educational channel were provided which more than supplied our foreseeable needs for engineers, I contend that the education of the rest of the citizenry should include a basic understanding and appreciation of our technological society, both its strengths and its limitations. Above all, at some point in the education process it should perhaps be brought to the attention of the students—very delicately, to be sure, to avoid psychological trauma—that progress cannot be made without struggle, nor freedom enjoyed without personal responsibility.

It has long been by contention that those who have done should teach, and, accordingly, that those who have taken an active part in creating our technological society should be best able to interpret it for others. Unfortunately, the very shortage of technical talent exerts great pressures on individuals skilled in these fields to concentrate on technical problems. Scientists and engineers are notoriously inarticulate, so a suitable education should include a heavy concentration on the arts of communication. This might be acquired in our elementary or secondary schools, but in our present predominantly superkindergarten system of education it is postponed until college. Here it is in conflict with the needs of ever more highly specialized professional training. The engineer remains inarticulate and the general public uninformed, thus the impedance mismatch is continuously increased, not decreased, and must eventually approach instability.

Dr. Glenn Frank has stated this problem with fine understanding. He says, "The practical value of every social invention or material discovery depends upon its being adequately interpreted to the masses. The future of scientific progress depends as much on the interpretative mind as it does upon the creative mind. * * * The interpreter stands between the layman, whose knowledge of all things is indefinite—and the scientist, whose knowledge of one thing is authoritative. * * * The scientist advances knowledge. * * * The interpreter advances progress. * * * History affords abundant evidence that civilization has advanced in direct ratio to the efficiency with which the thought of the thinkers has been translated into the language of the masses."

In contacts with students and even with reasonably informed grownups, I have found that such simple and basic things as the relation between research and engineering, between technology and the standard of living, or between progress and incentive, not only are not understood but that the discussion of these concepts is itself a fascinating new experience. An operations research approach to some of these problems might prove quite rewarding.

The scientist's work as a scientist is completed when a new item of information is established and recorded. It is no concern of the scientist, as a scientist, whether the information is useful or not. It is for this reason that we can say with conviction that it is not scientists who create technology. It is society itself which chooses to create a technology based on the information which the scientist has uncovered. This problem of application is the function of the engineer. At the beginning of the scientific era, science and engineering were widely separated in time. With the development of our current technological civilization, applications have followed more and more closely on the heels of discovery, with the result that in many fields the search for new information and understanding is carried out simultaneously with the application, that is, the effort to solve some practical problem. Though activities may overlap, the distinction in function remains. The same man who makes a discovery may choose, or be persuaded, to attempt to apply it to a practical problem. In this case he ceases to be a scientist and works essentially as an engineer, and is motivated not internally as a scientist but externally by society. I dwell on this point to counter the argument often advanced that it is the scientist who has created the complexities of our modern industrial civilization. I maintain it is not. It is society itself, and particularly the nontechnical part of society, which creates the demands which are the motive force behind our technology.

Let us turn to another basic question, the relations between standards of living, education, and technology. Much of the energy in our educational system these days is focused on new theories of teaching which will avoid grading and thus any semblance of conflict and competition. This is no doubt desirable sociologically, but apparently so is a rising standard of living. This presents a painful choice. In technology if incentive is removed, so is struggle, and if struggle is stopped, so is progress. This leveling process could, of course, be carried out at any point in the history of a civilization.

Who made the greatest real contribution to the goal of the humanist, the engineers or the self-appointed Robin Hoods of 1909, those people who thought all our social problems could be solved by a redistribution of the wealth at that time?

In summary, there is a continuing divergence in point of view between the sciences and the humanities. With the sciences, through the mechanism of technology, being called upon to make an ever-increasing contribution to a society as specified by the humanists, there is serious cause for concern in the fact that the educational system at the elementary and secondary levels seems to be out of step from a systems-engineering point of view with the foreseeable needs of such a society. The desire for progress cannot be reconciled with the lack of attention to, and an incentive for, students of exceptional ability. Similarly the desire for progress is inconsistent with the trend toward effortless education, and the substitution of pastimes for disciplines. Finally, the assumption that a larger and larger population can be supported on and by the work of a smaller and smaller fraction of highly trained creative specialists leads to a social structure like that of an inverted pyramid. Even more acute than the current shortage of scientists and engineers is the shortage of people who both can and will carry responsibility.

With increasing complexity and specialization in the technical fields, the gap between the sciences and the humanities becomes an ever-widening one. This adverse tendency could be reduced by insuring that

students of science were given a better grounding in the humanities, while students in the humanities were given a better background in science. This, however, would require more rather than less disciplined study in both fields, and runs counter to the current educational trends.

Republicans for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. VORYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday April 3, 1957

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert in the RECORD a speech I made yesterday, Tuesday afternoon, April 2, 1957, before the Fifth Annual Republican Women's Conference at the Hotel Statler, Washington.

The speech follows:

REPUBLICANS FOR PEACE

Republican foreign policy has one simple objective: What is best for the Republic, regardless of party.

We have a bipartisan foreign policy on fundamentals and general principles, set forth in the platforms of both political parties and generally supported in Congress. We believe that politics should end at the water's edge. Many people grumble about this. They want the other party to let them have all the good, sound principles, and take all the ideas they disagree with. But free Americans refuse to accommodate such people. Both parties want the sound, patriotic ideas. Personally, I rejoice in this demonstration of the essential unity of our people in their free and voluntary choice of parties and principles. This unity in liberty brings power to our policies, hope to a divided world, despair to the despots.

Nevertheless, there are differences between our two parties that show up in methods, in means, in performance, in results. Under our Constitution, the President has primary and paramount responsibility for conducting foreign policy. Because of his great power and responsibility, and the support he has received from his party in Congress, the people—and the daily papers nowadays talk about the "Eisenhower foreign policy" and "Republican foreign policy," and the history books will say it that way.

We are in the fifth year of Republican foreign policy under President Eisenhower, a troubled, turbulent, complicated, critical period of continuing tension, controversy, and change throughout the world, involving courses of action on our part going on day and night, here and all over the world, some secret, many unnoticed, some exciting and dramatic. A day by day, play by play review now would be impossible and is unnecessary. You Republican women have an instinct, a genius, for going to the heart of things. Regardless of the ups and downs and zigzags of each day's headlines, you want the moving spirit behind the details—and the overall, practical results. On that basis, the heart of Republican foreign policy under President Eisenhower is simple, noble, practical; we work for peace.

President Eisenhower's first administration started with action for peace.

He had promised to end the war in Korea, and he did it.

He made his historic atoms-for-peace proposal in the United Nations, and the only nation that had ever dropped an A-bomb in war became known as the leader in devoting atomic energy to peace.

He electrified the world with his open skies inspection proposal at the Geneva Summit meeting, as a practical, workable step toward disarmament.

He asked for and obtained authority to use our Armed Forces in the area of Formosa; and peace has been maintained in Asia where war threatened 2 years ago.

He and our great Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, with courage and skill, have prevented war by Soviet miscalculation by letting the Reds understand clearly that we would fight if they launched aggression, and never letting them know where we would not fight. If this policy had been followed in earlier years, we might have avoided the last three wars under Democrat Presidents. If the Kaiser had known beforehand that we would come in, World War I might never have started. If Hitler had not heard "again and again" that we would not send our boys to foreign soil, World War II might have been avoided. If the Chinese Reds had not heard that Korea was beyond our defense perimeter, they might have held off. To prevent war by miscalculation, our leaders must be courageous, but careful.

But peace to us means more than mere absence of war. We seek peace with justice, the peaceful settlement of disputes.

When the Suez Canal was nationalized, we immediately sought peaceful settlement. Then, right in the heat of our election campaign, Britain, France, and Israel, our old friends, launched aggression. We were put to the test and the President said: "There cannot be one law for our friends, another for our foes," and joined in pressures in the U. N. for withdrawal. But he said: "There will be no involvement of our forces in this situation." And, although his opponent criticized him and his acts day and night during that last week of the campaign, the people reelected him with a landslide. The people were for peace with justice. And today Britain, France, and Israel have withdrawn and our forces, as he promised, have not been involved.

At the beginning of his second term, President Eisenhower, in his great second inaugural address, said: "We live in a land of plenty, but rarely has this earth known such peril as today. * * * In too much of the earth there is want, discord, danger." He spoke of new forces and new nations striving across the earth, of old and great nations in this tempest of change and turmoil; of the designs of international communism, dark in purpose, clear in practice.

Then he said: "We look upon this shaken earth, and we declare our firm and fixed purpose: the building of a peace with justice in a world where moral law prevails. The building of such a peace is a bold and solemn purpose. To proclaim it is easy. To serve it will be hard. And to attain it, we must be aware of its full meaning—and ready to pay its full price."

The price of peace is high. Sixty-three percent of our budget is for our protection, to deter or combat Soviet aggression and subversion. But the price of war is higher, not only in budgets, but in blood and tears. In past wars we paid with the priceless lives of the young, our bravest and best. In future wars all of us risk suffering and death.

While the price of peace is great, the rewards are great, even during this uneasy, costly peace. We have had 4 years of the greatest prosperity, the highest standard of living, of any nation on earth in all human history. Our foreign affairs are profitable to our people. Last year our people received nearly $24 billion from foreign affairs from exports, foreign investments, foreign investors, and travelers, while our Government was spending $4.2 billion on foreign military and economic aid. Last year our exports, our sales abroad, amounting to $19 billion, were $5 billion more than our imports, our purchases abroad. We had 20 percent of the international trade of the whole world. That is, one-fifth of all commerce crossing international borders was sold by the United States, while in the last 4 years the cost of our own defense and our share in collective security, has been an ever-dwindling fraction of our ever-rising national income. Peace is not only, as our President so eloquently said, "our duty and our destiny." Peace is profitable to the United States of America.

We have in this country people who want the profits of peace without paying the price. They say, "if we cut out our military spending and our foreign aid, we would have even more profitable peace." Now I believe that the President and Congress should, and will, cut our military and collective security costs as low as possible, but I can assure you that, if we cut it all out, we would not have profitable peace. We would soon have war, or a peace dictated from the Kremlin, and it would not be profitable to us.

Most of us understand the need, the economy, of our own vast military machine, for maintaining peace, deterring more costly war. Let's look for a moment at the economics of our collective security, our mutual security program, our so-called foreign aid.

It costs about one-tenth as much as our military expenditures on our own forces. Foreign-aid appropriations in the past 4 years have been just about one-half what they were in the 4 preceding years of Democrat administration.

Let's look at the military equation in the cold war: We have about 19 divisions in our Army; Russia has 175. We have the best Navy in the world; Russia has 400 submarines to sink our Navy; Russia has the largest air force; we feel ours is the best. Both countries have A and H bombs, guided missiles. We have one thing Russia hasn't got. We have a string of air and naval bases all around Russia; Russia has no such bases around us. We have forces on those bases, and mobile air and naval forces ready to get to these bases quickly, but we depend largely on the forces of the countries near where those bases are located, to defend them against sudden attacks. When we help those countries to defend their own soil and these bases, we contribute to our mutual security. That system, as Admiral Radford says, is "part and parcel of our own defense."

It cost us last year $6,600 to maintain an American serviceman abroad, without counting his weapons. It cost us last year $789 per man in mutual security funds to help maintain an allied serviceman abroad, armed and equipped, ready for action, according to jointly made defense plans. Our so-called foreign aid helps to maintain 200 allied divisions in 44 nations, a naval force with as many vessels as our own, although not as powerful; 300 air squadrons, as many as we have, but not as well equipped. It is not our forces alone that deter Russia; it is the combination of our forces with those that surround her, that maintains peace, and give us and the free world mutual security, collective security.

I am opposed to giveaways; we cannot buy friends, but if we can help arm and strengthen nations that want to stay free and are willing to raise forces larger than they can support, and thus deter Soviet aggression, at one-tenth the cost of our own forces, we are getting a bargain in our mutual security program.

Some people say we should bring our forces home, arm to the teeth, and wait for the Soviets to come here. If we did that, it would cost more, and I think the Soviets would come here, after taking over the rest of the world and cutting us off from the strategic materials we need to import. I have seen war-devastated countries, where they fought at home. I prefer our policy of planning to fight our wars away from home, on friendly soil, if we have to fight, and not

doing all the fighting ourselves. In this way we give other free nations a chance to defend their soils. This policy of collective security, mutual security, has given us peace for 4 years.

I have told you that foreign aid amounts to one-tenth of our own military spending. Well, about one-tenth of that one-tenth is spent on nonmilitary technical assistance and development assistance, 80 percent in loans which goes also to nations with which we have no military mutual security agreements. This includes some neutralist nations. We wish they would join us in mutual defense, but in any case, we don't want them to go Communist, or be taken over by Communists, through relying on the Reds for development assistance. So we help them fight hunger, disease, and ignorance. We help them develop their economic and political independence, for that adds to our security in war, and in peace we do more business with more developed countries.

You have heard about our agricultural surplus problem. We use farm surplus in the mutual security program whenever we can. Since World War II just about 30 percent of our foreign aid, $16 billion of it, has been surplus agricultural products. Thus, foreign aid has been our biggest single farm aid program, while helping to maintain peace.

The legislation for these policies, involving the cost of peace, and the rewards of peace, has generally had bipartisan support. A majority of both parties in both Houses have voted for them, although, of course, the leadership and the execution came from the Republican administration. I believe in giving credit where credit is due. I must also report that there has been more Democrat partisanship in foreign policy in Congress in the last 3 months that I have seen in my 18 years in Congress, and it has not been good for our country. I believe in placing blame where it belongs.

You are all familiar with the President's Middle East doctrine. The law was signed March 9. It applied in the Middle East methods that had been tested and found successful in earlier acts. The aid provisions were similar to the Greek-Turkish aid law, passed by the Republican 80th Congress at the request of a Democrat President. The authority to use our Armed Forces was similar to that granted in the Formosa Resolution passed in 1955 by a Democrat controlled Congress at the request of a Republican President with but 3 no votes in the House and 3 in the Senate. No new appropriations were included. Emergency use of old appropriations winds up June 30, 1957.

You would have thought that, in view of the ominous and obvious tension and instability in the Middle East this law would have been rushed through.

Instead, a partisan hue and cry started, saying the proposal was unprecedented, unconstitutional, a declaration of war, a blank check—and that Congress had not been consulted; this went on for over 2 months. The House acted in 25 days, in commenable bipartisan spirit, for the most part, and made no crippling amendments. Now a House Member is not supposed to criticize or even mention the Senate, but somewhere, some amendments got in that I feel were unnecessary, unintelligible, or undesirable. The executive, however, considered them as merely harassing, rather than hamstringing, and the House accepted them rather than risk delay by a second filibuster—you know where.

One of these amendments involved the President's authority to use armed forces. A straight Democrat party vote struck out the words which were copied from the Formosa Resolution, "he is authorized" and inserted instead "the United States is prepared to use Armed Forces." It was amusing that the Democrats decided to repeal by law the charges made all through last year's campaign that the United States is unprepared to use its Armed Forces.

On this issue of bipartisan consultation, here are some facts: The President had a bipartisan congressional meeting at the White House for 4 hours on New Year's Day. Secretary Dulles went over the provisions of the bill, inviting comments and suggestions, with both House and Senate committees before the Presidential message on Saturday, January 5 stated his public position. The text of the bill when introduced later reflected the results of congressional consultation and suggestions.

Nevertheless some of the Democrats kept saying "there ought to be consultation and approval before any public position is taken by the President on such matters."

Last month the question of whether the United States should support sanctions against Israel in the United Nations was being publicly discussed by nearly everyone—except the President. He called a bipartisan meeting at the White House on March 21 to discuss the Israeli situation. Now those meetings are supposed to be off the record, but if any definite action is taken, it is announced in writing to the press immediately after the meeting in a White House press release. It is significant that no action was announced after that meeting except that the President was going on the air that night. The President then proposed a course for Israel, which I approved and which Israel followed, which kept the issue of sanctions from coming to a vote in the U. N., but there is no record that this course had the approval, or disapproval, of the Democrat congressional leaders. Nevertheless, the President called a bipartisan meeting to report on the Bermuda Conference the day after he returned.

When you start to play politics on this business of bipartisan consultation, you can work it two ways. You can say, "The President put us on the spot by taking a public position, committing himself without consulting us," or you can say "He tried to put us on the spot by consulting us in advance, before committing himself."

Playing politics either way on foreign-policy problems is bad for the country. We will have a Republican President conducting foreign policy for nearly 4 more years. We will have a Democratic Congress now and next year. You Republican women can help enormously by understanding our foreign policy, attacking unmercifully those who play politics with it unmercifully, working for the election next year of those who are committed to work for peace with our President—Republican Congressmen and Senators.

There is room for honest difference of opinion, for intelligent, sincere debate on the perplexing, complicated, controversial problems of foreign policy. There is no room for partisan politics. We Republicans must try to keep it out. If Democrats bring it in, then we must point it out, show it up, and knock it down.

For our cause, working for peace, is a noble one. It ought not to be above party. It ought to be the cause of both parties. Let us be sure it is ours.

I have dwelt, perhaps overmuch, on the practical, political aspects of working for peace, the cost and the rewards. But there are higher rewards. "Blessed are the peacemakers." I will conclude with these moving words from our old soldier, peacemaker President, in his second inaugural address:

"Before all else we seek, upon our common labor as a nation, the favor of Almighty God. And the hopes in our hearts fashion the deepest prayers of our people.

"May we pursue the right—without self-righteousness.

"May we know unity—without conformity.

"May we grow in strength—without pride of self.

"May we, in our dealings with all peoples of the earth, ever speak truth and service justice."

Hon. Harry Flood Byrd, of Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, the people of America are fortunate indeed to have in the United States Senate, during these trying times, a man who is dedicated to the preservation of the American way of life; a man who is fearless, courageous, and willing to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to try to steer our Ship of State back on the course chartered for it by our Founding Fathers. This man is the Honorable HARRY FLOOD BYRD, senior United States Senator from Virginia. He has the confidence and loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the people of the Commonwealth of Virginia. They have known him and followed his leadership for approximately one-third of a century. His wise counsel, his courage, his leadership, and his great judgment has kept Virginia on a sound fiscal basis while progressing along with the rest of the Nation at one and the same time.

Senator BYRD is one of the outstanding Americans of today. He is a leader in fiscal affairs in our Nation. As chairman of the Finance Committee of the United States Senate and due to the great prestige that he has, he is the one great hope hope in America for continuing sound constitutional government for all of our people.

Senator BYRD understands so well the dire necessity of preserving the rights of the people and the sovereignty of our States that he is unwilling to submit to the tyrannical dictates of a political judiciary which is determined, by usurpation of power never conferred upon it by the people or the States, to ravish our Constitution and to deprive our people of their liberties as well as our States of their sovereignty. Neither is Senator BYRD willing to sit supinely by and see Virginia brought to her knees by the unholy alliance between Brownell, the present administration and the NAACP which alliance is determined to wreck the public school system of Virginia. Senator BYRD is not willing for us to be compelled against our will to take orders from Brownell and the NAACP. I stand wholeheartedly with Senator BYRD in his massive resistance campaign. It is the only hope that we have of preserving our public school system, the integrity and identity of the races and constitutional government in our great country.

On March 18, 1957, Senator BYRD delivered an address before the Richmond Kiwanis Club in Richmond, Va. The address pointed out some of the basic philosophies of our great statesman as well as the necessity of fighting to preserve our way of life. I commend him for the great work he has done, for the determined

fight he is now making for our people and I am proud of my association with him.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Senator BYRD's splendid address delivered to the Kiwanis Club in Richmond on March 18.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE HARRY FLOOD BYRD, SENIOR UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA, BEFORE THE RICHMOND KIWANIS CLUB, RICHMOND, VA., MARCH 18, 1957, BROADCAST OVER WRVA RADIO, RICHMOND

Mr. Chairman, His Excellency the Governor of Virginia, distinguished guests, and members of the Richmond Kiwanis Club, I have spent so many happy days in Richmond it is always a great pleasure for me to come back, and I am delighted to be with you today. I want first to express my deep appreciation to my beloved friend, Edmond Massie, for his all too gracious introduction.

I assume you expect a Member of Congress to speak on matters uppermost in the minds of the Nation, so today I will comment on the Federal budget, which is creating a great deal of interest for the first time since I have been in the Senate, and then make some reference to civil-rights legislation which is pending there.

A phenomenon has occurred. For the first time in my 24 years in the Senate the people back home are demanding in no uncertain terms a return to fiscal solvency and elimination of waste and extravagance in the monstrous Federal budget which is now before Congress.

Our goal should be to reduce this budget by at least $6½ billion. Personally I think it should be reduced by more, but certainly it should be reduced by $6½ billion in order to avoid some of the perils I shall discuss.

The way ahead is difficult and the only hope is the voice of the people back home. I know from experience that to break down entrenched Federal spending is one of the most difficult things to do on earth.

When a person receives a check more than once from the Federal Government he believes he has a vested right to receive these checks all the rest of his life. Now there are 37 million people receiving Federal checks. If you add dependents to this number of check receivers, nearly a majority of the population are interested in receipt of Federal checks.

There is one principle we must preserve if we are not to destroy this great constitutional democracy of ours. That is: people must support the Government, not Government the people. Upon that principle rests the future of our form of government.

I am keenly aware of the current change in sentiment with respect to Federal spending because I have done my utmost for nearly a quarter of a century in the Senate to prevent wasteful spending, or at least reduce it.

I have been condemned at times for my votes, especially in the early days of the New Deal.

I recall that I cast in 1939 the sole vote against prolonging the continuance of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Ten years later I was patron of the bill which finally abolished RFC. Now at this much later date, I looked over the budget the other day and found there are still 300 employees engaged in closing up the affairs of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

I mention this to show that once a Federal agency gets going in Washington it is extremely difficult to end it. And this goes for programs and functions as well as agencies.

Now thousands and thousands of letters are coming in to us at Washington. They are letters from people back home—housewives and others—who think that high Federal spending is increasing the cost of living, adding to inflation, and impairing the solvency of our Government. This is democracy at work.

Friday night I had the honor to address 500 businessmen called from all over the country in an emergency meeting by the president and directors of the United States Chamber of Commerce. They met in Washington to devise ways and means of arousing public sentiment against the luxury in the present budget and reduce it.

The spending spree began in the middle of 1933, when Mr. Roosevelt abandoned his campaign promises for economical Government. The first bill I voted for when I went to the Senate in 1933—I took my oath of office on the same day Mr. Roosevelt took his—was a bill entitled "To Preserve the Credit of the United States Government."

At that time we owed $16 billion. Mr. Roosevelt's bill provided for a cut across the board of 15 percent in all expenditures by Federal agencies. He had promised a 25-percent cut, but I thought a 15-percent cut was good performance, as political promises go.

Unfortunately, this attitude lasted only 6 months. Then we started this orgy of Federal spending which to date has increased our Federal debt in a brief space of twenty-odd years from $16 billion to $280 billion. Our contingent liability—those things we are guaranteeing, such as housing loans, etc.—has increased from nothing to $280 billion. Federal appropriations have increased from $4 billion to $80 billion. Federal direct taxes have increased from $3 billion to $75 billion.

We engaged in foreign economic-aid programs which have cost to date nearly $50 billion, all of which had been added to the public debt.

Prior to the Roosevelt administration, the Federal Government was operated practically on a pay-as-you-go basis. We had our wars, but we buckled down when they were over and paid for them. We practiced frugality and thrift and accumulated the great assets which we are now exploiting.

Andrew Jackson, great man that he was, was the only President of the United States to pay off the Federal debt in toto. It was not large, but he paid it off and bragged about it, and when I am asked what kind of a Democrat I am, I say I am an Andrew Jackson Democrat. He was a liberal who believed in fiscal conservatism. These two can work together, although liberalism in Washington often is determined by how liberal you are with taxpayers' money.

At this time I think it is important to remember that when Mr. Eisenhower came to office in 1953 he was confronted with the 1954 budget prepared by Mr. Truman. It called for $78 billion in expenditures. Mr. Eisenhower reduced that budget by $9 billion. And in the following year he further reduced it to $64 billion.

But in 1956 there was a $2 billion increase. In the current fiscal year 1957 another $2½ billion was added. The new budget for the coming year is up $5 billion, and this is exclusive of expenditures for public roads which has been transferred to a trust fund outside the budget. We are now confronted with the largest peacetime expenditure in history.

What disturbs me so greatly in this budget are the dangerous implications to the future welfare of this country. First is its bigness. It is not necessary for it to be so big. Second is the fact that it moves us into vast new fields of Federal spending. We must recognize that once the Federal Government embraces new programs and functions they become entrenched usually at continually rising cost.

In his new budget Mr. Eisenhower has embraced 14 new grants-to-States programs. There are already 53. Among others, he recommended a new program for construction of public school buildings. You couldn't open up a greater Pandora box. When Washington starts building school buildings in every locality, there will be no end for increases in expenditures for this program.

A third danger in this budget is that it is based upon two unpredictable things. First it depends upon an increase in postage rates to bring in between $600 million and $700 million. I would reluctantly vote for an increase in postage rates. I do not say I would support the bill as proposed; but if an increase in rates were based on equality in all classes, I would consider it because I think the Post Office Department should be self-sustaining. But, this is not yet enacted by Congress—yet it is required if the budget is to be balanced as the administration estimates.

Further, the new Eisenhower budget depends upon a 6-percent increase in prosperity during the year 1957 as compared with 1956. This is a doubtful premise. I think there is a leveling off. I have no idea whatsoever that a depression of serious moment is in sight; but to predicate a budget upon continuing prosperity at higher level is a dangerous thing to do. If we should go back to the national income of 1954, for example, there would be a Federal deficit of about $2 billion.

I mentioned new Federal grants-to-States programs a moment ago. I regard this as one of the most dangerous trends. It invites States, counties and cities to look to the Federal Government to do things they should be doing for themselves. This removes government from the people, and when you move these functions to Washington you increase the cost, and lose control.

There is no such thing as a Federal grant. The Federal Government has no funds except those collected from the people in the States. These Federal tax collections go through Federal agencies and red tape which take up to 20 percent before they are ready to go back through grants programs with strings attached. The Federal bureaucrats take control away from the people where the money is spent.

Don't ever forget the control which the Federal Government will exercise if it starts this school-construction program. It is supposed to run for about 4 years, and about $2 billion expenditure is already planned. This will be only the beginning of the cost, and it will be only the beginning of Federal control to be exercised over local public schools.

Foreign aid is an example of how Federal programs go on and on. It was first enacted with absolute assurance to Congress that it would last 4 years and cost $15 billion. That was the Marshall plan. It has been going on for 10 years at a cost of $50 billion; and Congress has just passed another bill to open up a new Middle East economic aid program—the extent of which no one can foretell.

These are some of the reasons it is so necessary for people all over the country to communicate with their Representatives in Congress to impress upon them the urgency of reducing the Federal budget.

We must cut Federal expenditures all down the line. They are padded all the way through. It is a luxury budget. There isn't a single agency that can't reduce its expenditures 5 to 10 percent.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Now I am going to speak about civil rights, and especially about civil-rights bills pending in Congress. This is a matter of tremendous consequence to all of us.

There are 15 or 20 of these civil-rights bills, and while I regret to say so, this is punitive legislation to punish the South. That's all it is. Their purpose is to punish us because we will not submit to the Federal Government in Washington—or may I say the Supreme Court—when we believe what we are doing is eminently constitutional, and to follow their bidding would destroy our public-school system.

One of these bills is especially offensive, and I shall limit my discussion to that one. It would establish in Washington a special bureau which would send its agents into the South and originate suits against southerners. They could go anywhere, of course. They could go to the North, the East, and the West. There have been riots and hangings outside the South. But this is an anti-South bureau.

When its agents originate cases against southern people, they would be tried in Federal courts without jury; subjected to contempt of court proceedings, and so forth.

I often think of those great Virginians who established our form of government, Jefferson, Madison, Mason, and so forth, on the basis that States were sovereign, and that the Federal Government should have no power except that delegated to it by the States, and it could be withdrawn by constitutional amendment.

I wonder what those great men would think of a Federal bureau established to go into Southern States originating suits against their citizens as punishment for conforming with State constitutions and laws.

What have we done to deserve this treatment? We have fought for constitutional democracy. We fought for it in 1860. We fought to the last ditch with the most conspicuous bravery in human history. Finally, in defeat by sheer numbers, we won everlasting world esteem.

We took our defeat with fortitude as we went through the terrible days of reconstruction. As I watch us handing out billions to defeated nations of World War II, I think of the kind of Marshall plan the carpetbaggers brought into the South to aid our reconstruction.

Since the War Between the States, as before, no section of the country has contributed more, in any respect, to the defense of the United States than the South. Yet we are to be punished because we disagree with Federal decree singularly designed to destroy the oldest way of life in the Nation.

Let me be frank; we southerners are fighting this thing with our backs to the wall, but what we lack in numbers we make up in our determination and will to protect our Southern States and the welfare of our people. We know that our form of government cannot exist over the years if States are to be mere provinces of a Central Government.

This is the greatest democracy in the history of the world. It has grown to this position in the brief span of 160 years, and with only 6 percent of the world's population. This could not have been achieved without the form of government bequeathed us as a sacred heritage by our forefathers.

Strike down the power of States to control their own affairs, and concentrate all power in Washington, and you strike at the heart of what makes this Nation great.

To me the decision of the Supreme Court abolishing segregation and compelling integration in State and local public-school systems was a vicious and destructive invasion of States rights.

It set aside all previous decisions by the Supreme Court on the subject, including the 1928 decision by Chief Justice Taft, a great and learned man and a former President of the United States, who held segregation was constitutional if separate equal facilities were provided. I don't want to say anything personal about the present Supreme Court, which repealed the Taft decision, but if I must choose between a decision rendered by the late Chief Justice Taft or by Chief Justice Warren, it doesn't take me long to make the decision.

This vicious recent decision did violence to State constitutions and laws, and even to Federal laws which provided segregation in the District of Columbia schools. It influenced 101 members of the United States Congress to take the unprecedented action of signing a solemn manifesto holding that the decision was an illegal usurpation of power.

It would strike down a way of life in the United States which has been developed over a period of 160 years and, if enforced, it will destroy our great public-school system.

I have had the great privilege of representing Virginians in various capacities for 40 years. I think I know something about conditions in Virginia. In my judgment, integration cannot be enforced in a majority of Virginia communities. I do not believe it is favored in any of them. How can we operate a public-school system in Virginia when a majority of the communities have withdrawn? A little deeper in the South, no communities will participate in an integrated system.

I congratulate Governor Stanley and members of the general assembly for their action in an effort to preserve the school system and the welfare of our citizens and their children. I congratulate also the Honorable Lindsay Almond for the great work he has done in this crisis as attorney general, and I know he will continue the fight he has made in any future office he may hold.

Let's be sure we understand the situation. Virginia has been selected by the NAACP and the Federal Government for their first onslaught. There are several reasons for this choice. In Virginia we have some communities where integration offers no problem. They believe if Virginia can be forced to surrender, it would have great effect on the fighting spirit in the rest of the South.

As in the War Between the States, Virginia will be the first battleground. It should be noted that these school suits have already been started in Virginia. They have chosen to wage war on Virginia because they think our communities are divided. I think they will learn their mistake.

But there is an ordeal ahead. In my judgment we have the courage and the fortitude to meet the challenge. We are already fighting, and we shall continue to fight to preserve our public school system, and that is precisely the objective of the laws recently passed by the Virginia General Assembly.

We are fighting, too, to preserve States rights which the vicious Supreme Court decision would destroy. We are facing a situation which is not only more serious than anything we have known in our day, but more serious than anything since the War Between the States. Our cause is right, and I pray we will meet our great responsibilities with calm but strong determination—but we must not let one act of personal violence mar our record for law and order.

I wish to make one more observation. We hear it said that a Supreme Court decision, illegal and vicious or not, should be obeyed without question. I have studied Thomas Jefferson's views on this subject, and I suggest that those who hold this view should do the same. Meanwhile I refer them to Andrew Jackson who defied the Court and told it to go and enforce its own decision; to Abraham Lincoln who had some unkind things to say about the Court in connection with the Dred Scott decision; and to Franklin D. Roosevelt who called the Court nine old men in their dotage, living in the "horse and buggy" days.

We are not demanding that the Justices be thrown out and the Court packed, as Mr. Roosevelt did. We are simply asking the Court to consider the damage it has done, reverse itself, and go back to the Taft decision of 1928.

Meanwhile we reserve the right to criticise the Supreme Court, just as we do the President of the United States, and Members of Congress. In fact, we reserve the right to defy the Supreme Court, so long as we do so without violence or attempt to overthrow the Government. That is inherent in our Constitution.

The Taft decision was as much of a Supreme Court decision as the Warren decision. I choose to follow the Taft decision. The Court has reversed itself before. I trust that, in view of the massive resistance throughout the South where its decision does most violence, this Court may see the error of its ways, and reverse itself again. This would be in keeping with freedoms of our great Constitutional Democracy.

I deeply appreciate this opportunity to meet with you. I have wanted to get here before, but something always prevented. I want to thank you for the partiality you have shown me throughout my public career.

Hopkinton-Everett Project

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I have in my hand a letter from General Fleming, of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army, Office of the Division of Engineers, New England. He says:

CORPS OF ENGINEERS,
UNITED STATES ARMY,
OFFICE OF THE DIVISION ENGINEER,
Boston, Mass., March 29, 1957.

Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. ROGERS: In accordance with our telephone conversation, I am pleased to furnish you with information concerning the Hopkinton-Everett project.

The Merrimack River problem is the greatest unsolved flood control puzzle in New England. Fortunately, the construction of the Hopkinton-Everett project is the key to its solution. If the 1936 and 1938 floods were to recur today the flood damages would exceed $74 million in New Hampshire and $140 million in Massachusetts. The operation of Hopkinton-Everett Reservoir together with the flood-control reservoirs already built would prevent 85 percent of the damage in New Hampshire and 70 percent in Massachusetts.

Although $50,000 in planning funds was provided this fiscal year for Hopkinton-Everett no money could be used until concurrence in the project had been given by the State of New Hampshire. Due to this lack of concurrence at the time our budget requests were submitted it was impossible to request funds for this project for fiscal year 1958.

As you know, recent favorable action by the New Hampshire Legislature gave Governor Dwinell necessary authority to commit the State of New Hampshire to the project. Immediately upon the removal of the legal roadblock Governor Dwinell wrote to me giving the formal concurrence of the State of New Hampshire. This cleared the way for initiation of planning which is now getting underway.

When a project is authorized we develop a tentative schedule for surveys, planning, and construction, which is revised from year to year. This schedule is made up without any reference to other projects in the division, the total civil works program, or other program needs of the Government, or the availability of men or equipment generally

in any 1 year. It, therefore, is a figure for internal planning purposes only. That figure for this project is $600,000 for fiscal year 1958 and would include planning and some funds for limited real estate acquisition. For your further information the President has directed that our fiscal year 1958 expenditures as estimated in his budget presented to the Congress, be considered as the maximum that can be made within the overall fiscal policies of the administration for that year. Since no funds are included in the budget for the Hopkinton-Everett project, no funds can be utilized for this project and meet the administration's objectives.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT J. FLEMING, Jr.,
Brigadier General, United States Army,
Division Engineer.

Mr. Speaker, there are $50,000 in planning funds that the engineers can already use in 1957 but they need, according to General Fleming, $600,000 for plans and certain land purchases for the fiscal year 1958. There is nothing in the budget for 1958 because at the time the budget was made up the compact between New Hampshire and Massachusetts had not been signed which would approve of the plan. The authorization already exists for the flood-control map and the compact already signed by them does not have to be approved by the Congress, although that formality will be prolonged by cost hazards; the authorization to go ahead with the projects already exists.

I understand that a committee of the Senate today approved the compact between New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LANE] has a compact to be approved by the Public Works Committee of the House. The gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. MERROW] and I introduced companion bills, H. R. 6437 and H. R. 6438, and the chairman of the Appropriations Committee has promised us a hearing on those bills which provide for an appropriation of $800,000 for Merrimack River projects.

Social Security Abuse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting in the RECORD a copy of the resolution sent to me by Mr. Harry Southwell, president of Local No. 174, United Automobile Workers, AFL–CIO. In the following, Mr. Southwell and his local forcefully state their opposition to the manner in which protective provisions of the Social Security Act are being bypassed:

Whereas the Congress of the United States enacted legislation designed to safeguard the social-security benefits of workers during a prolonged period of disability by freezing such benefits; and

Whereas preliminary public hearings and debate established the intent of Congress to establish such protection entirely upon the basis of the covered members' inability to continue to be gainfully employed; and

Whereas many cases have recently come to our attention in which members are being deprived of such protection because of the administrative restrictions being applied to a degree which nullifies the relief which Congress intended to provide; and

Whereas the result of this administrative restriction if continued will permit established social-security benefits to dissolve during that the intent of this act be recognized; be it

Resolved, That local No. 174 go on record condemning this interpretation by the Social Security Administration, and demanding that the intent of this act be recognized; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the convention resolution committee and to each of the Michigan Representatives and Senators.

HARRY SOUTHWELL,
President, Local No. 114, UAW, AFL–CIO.

Pro and Con on the 22d Amendment: Three Views

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am appending to these remarks three responses to my cross section survey among historians and political scientists on the wisdom of the 22d amendment. I present today the opinions of two political scientists: Dr. Thomas H. Eliot, of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.; and Dr. Manning J. Dauer, of the University Florida. Both are advocates of repeal.

I also present the views of Dr. Arthur S. Link, professor at Northwestern University, who looks with favor on the 22d amendment.

These are thought-provoking letters, and I commend them to our colleagues:

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY,
St. Louis, Mo., March 19, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN UDALL: I am glad that you have introduced a Joint Resolution for the repeal of the 22d amendment.

The argument in favor of your resolution, that a President loses influence in his second term because he cannot run for re-election, seems to me to be a minor one. Long before the 22d amendment, that loss of influence was customary. The two-term tradition was so firmly established, from 1796 to 1940, that, I think, most people assumed that a second-term President would not be nominated for a third term. Even so, as we know, there was a strong third-term movement for President Grant, and in 1919, before the extent of President Wilson's illness became known, there may have been some expectation that he would seek a third term. To some extent, therefore, the President, before the 22d amendment, was less likely to have his views ignored than he is today.

Far more important, it seems to me, is a foundamental principle: namely, that the American people should be free to choose the man that they want to be President. This seems to me to be basic to a democratic system. There must be some minimum qualifications, of course, and these the Constitution states; but while it is reasonable to disqualify a man because he is an alien, or because he is very young, it seems to me unreasonable to disqualify him because he had had 8 years of experience in the Presidency. The burden of the office is so great that, normally, a President would be well-advised to observe the two-term tradition; but a crisis may arise which makes the people want him to continue, and if he is physically able to do the job, they should be allowed to elect him.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS H. ELIOT.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA,
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES,
Gainesville, March 20, 1957.

Representative STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives,
United States Congress,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR REPRESENTATIVE UDALL: I have never been in favor of the 22d amendment. It seems to me that the people and the political parties should be able to decide as to the eligibility of a President for more than two terms. My own feeling is that one of the great merits of the Constitution of the United States is its flexibility in many regards. This flexibility has been impaired by the 22d amendment. Consequently, I would favor House Joint Resolution 182, 85th Congress, 1st session, which provides for its repeal.

It has always seemed to me that the amendment was adopted with inadequate consideration and debate in Congress. Nor were there adequate hearings before it was reported on the floor. Finally, there was little consideration and little discussion before election of the members of the State legislatures when the amendment was ratified.

Among the considerations against the amendment is the lessened effectiveness of the President once he may be elected for his second term. Especially in a period when international and national problems are acute. It seems to me that we need governmental institutions which will permit adequate representation of the United States in all respects.

Sincerely yours,

MANNING J. DAUER,
Professor of Political Science.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY,
Evanston, Ill., March 20, 1957.

Representative STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. UDALL: Thank you very much for your interesting letter of March 13 concerning the repeal of the 22d amendment. I must say that I have very mixed feelings about this matter. I think it was obvious at the time, and most scholars now agree, that the 22d amendment was adopted largely as a partisan and southern Democratic maneuver against the dead Franklin D. Roosevelt. If this is true, certainly it is poor reason for amending the Constitution of the United States. Moreover, I am inclined to think that the matter of presidential succession is something that the people themselves ought to be permitted to determine. Certainly the tradition against a third term will usually prevail, but there are undoubtedly times and places when the election of a President to a third term might be absolutely vital to the safety of the American people. These are some of the reasons for the repeal of the 22d amendment.

On the other hand, I think that a scholar must recognize the fact that there are good and sound reasons for the maintenance of the 22d amendment. The power of the Presidency, it seems to me, has certainly increased rather than diminished and is likely

to increase even further during the coming century. Indeed, I do not think it altogether fantastic to say that perhaps a century hence the executive department will exercise mainly a supervisory and limiting function. If this is true then certainly it might be well to establish the very clear constitutional principle that a President shall not serve more than two terms.

On the whole I must say that I favor the retention of the 22d amendment. We will be a very poor democracy, indeed, if we ever reach the stage where any single man is indispensable beyond two terms of the Presidency. This being true I do not suppose that I could be of much support for your point of view.

With all best regards,

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR S. LINK,
Professor of History.

Statehood and Discrimination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I understand the hearings on legislation to grant statehood to Alaska have just been concluded. Last Friday, on March 29, I testified before the subcommittee of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in order to point up some of the important issues involved in statehood.

As one who supports the right of Alaskans to self-government and as one who supported statehood in 1954 by opposing the recommitting of such a measure by the House of Representatives to the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, I have warned, nevertheless, that from a practical standpoint Alaska would fare much better under commonwealth status under which Alaskans would not have to pay Federal income taxes. This would allow incentives to the pulp and paper industry and mining operators to invest in the northland and develop her resources. As it is, due to high costs of transportation and other factors industry in Alaska is not able to compete with other areas of the country. Statehood, I fear, will increase taxation and delay the industrialization of Alaska.

Another important aspect of the statehood issue is the very obvious program of a certain group of Alaskans to eliminate nonresidents from employment in the fishing industry by discriminatory taxation. Such a tax which would levy a graduated tax on salmon after passing in the House died in the Alaska Territorial Senate on March 27, 1957 on an 8 to 8 vote. This proposal would have imposed a tax on the value of catches of salmon exceeding $20,000. Local independent fishermen would thereby have been exempt from the tax while employee type of operations such as employing Washington, Oregon, and other State residents would be eliminated by such a confiscatory tax. Statehood could increase the threat of such discriminatory methods of keeping nonresidents out of Alaska.

So I have strongly urged that any enabling act spell out and insist that protection be afforded to those who are not able, because fishing is seasonal, to live in the northland all the year round.

There is another matter to be considered. The Fish and Wildlife Service has just announced plans to allocate $786,500 for research on Alaska fisheries. Of this amount $572,600 is for salmon research, $130,000 for king crab research, and $83,900 for herring studies. As I stated in my testimony on statehood, I fear Alaska will not be able as a State to properly conserve and exploit her own resources. Where would she find the funds to spend $786,500 for fisheries research?

To meet this situation, I would hope an arrangement would be legally effected so the fishery resources could be retained for at least 10 years to enable the new State to have the benefit of Federal assistance. This is important, too, because so many problems of the salmon industry are international in scope.

Let us remember, as I have repeated before, the resources of Alaska belong to all American citizens. In granting statehood and self-government to the people of the Territory, who I repeat are entitled to full self-government, the American people are entitled to retain their rights as against residents. Emotionalism can be dangerous to the national interest, so let us consider carefully all aspects of statehood before it is too late.

Alaskan Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, on March 30, 1867, a farsighted Republican Secretary of State concluded negotiations for the purchase of a territory one-fifth the size of the United States. The price was $7,200,000, a fantastically low price in terms of the actual value of lands and resources acquired.

During the past 90 years Alaska has returned to the economy of the United States more than $1 billion worth of fish, minerals, furs, and other products. This production is but a fraction of Alaska's potential. Recent years have witnessed a phenomenal growth in the Territory's population, renewed interest in its natural resources, and a realization of its strategic value.

Writing to Secretary of State Seward in April 1867, the famed Gen. M. C. Meigs stated:

> I trust that no effort needed to secure this great acquisition will be omitted. The execution of the treaty will crown our generation with the praises and thanks of future ages.

The passage of time has confirmed the views of General Meigs. Although virtually forgotten until the gold discoveries around the turn of the century, Alaska occupies an important place in our Nation. At long last the development of her vast timber resources has begun. Work is being done on her basic mineral resources. Agriculture is expanding. Production from Alaska's natural resources during the last year totaled $130 million, almost 20 times in 1 year the price of Alaska's purchase. Her civilian population in the past 6 years has increased 48.6 percent.

Alaska is peopled by Americans from every walk of life from all of the United States. They have brought with them our characteristic energy and institutions. Alaska is thoroughly American. Her cities and towns are the counterpart of almost any town in the United States. Her citizens demonstrate the same interest in Government and politics as Americans throughout the length and breadth of the continent.

Alaskan's today are petitioning the Congress to admit this vast and great Territory to the Union as a State. If we take this step and make of Alaska the 49th State, we shall, in the words of General Meigs, "crown our generation with the praises and thanks of future ages."

United States Shortcharges Los Angeles in Smog Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of the House the concluding article in a series by Mr. Magner White which appeared in the Los Angeles Examiner of April 2, 1957. The article follows:

UNITED STATES SHORTCHANGES LOS ANGELES IN SMOG FIGHT

(By Magner White)

For 14 months, so far as smog is concerned, we've had it pretty good here, a few incidents excepted, compared with the situation as it was in previous years.

Weather conditions which previously produced smog have failed many times to do so recently, and fair weather this year has helped too.

Strict smog law enforcement, abandonment of probably 600,000 backyard incinerators out of the county's 1,500,000—all of which will be outlawed as of next October 1, and industries' heavy investments, now around $50 million in smog controls, all have helped hold the line.

But, for the present at least, while we await solution of the motor vehicle exhaust and other problems, the county air pollution control district is rapidly running out of things that can be done immediately to control smog.

Meanwhile, we grow—more people, automobiles, and industries; and more smog which threatens to overtake us again.

No automobile-exhaust device is in sight yet, except for some very large vehicles. Solvents, full of fumes, from industrial and processing operations, are under attack as smog contributors, but adequate controls for many are yet to be developed.

Public and private steam powerplant operators are spending $3 million to control emissions from their fuel-oil-burning plants in a joint campaign. Southern California Edison Co. alone is spending $1 million at its El Segundo plant.

When all these remaining things are accomplished, then what?

More people, more cars, more industries bring in more new smog.

MORE HELP

"That's why we feel the Federal Government should provide more help on our problem here, because what can be done here and what already has been done can help solve similar problems all over the Nation," says Smog-Control Chief Smith Griswold.

This is why, with the help of Griswold and Supervisors' Smog Chairman Warren Dorn, our California Congressmen are asking the Federal Government to spend some of its 5-year $25-million smog-research-program money here—where, so far, we've had less than $40,000 of this money in 2 years.

Dorn, Griswold, and Congressman Joseph Holt, who heads the California delegation's 21-man smog committee in Congress, have asked for a conference soon of Federal, State, and local air pollutions. The purpose is to divide the big smog-research-attack job—and to see where the Government can help on smog control here.

HOLT'S committee has a list of things the Government can do here which will not only help locally but help fight smog throughout the United States. The plan calls for Federal men to work here, at the APCD, with the Government paying their salaries.

SEVEN PROJECTS

Seven projects nearly $1 million.

The automobile exhaust problem gets the biggest attention, since exhausts, accounting for probably 60 percent of our smog now constitute the largest remaining uncontrolled smog source—and the percentage leaps upward as more cars arrive.

A $400,000 Federal project is proposed for research on a catalytic exhaust smog control device; $50,000 to develop methods of appraising such emissions so experts on the problem will be speaking the same scientific language, and $30,000 to find out what effect fuel composition has on exhaust emissions.

The district says its own research indicates promising possibilites for further study of fuel compositions, despite long-held theories that no matter what the fuel is, it will make smog from a motor vehicle engine.

POSSIBILITY

The hope, of course, is for a smogless gasoline, a possibility some experts view skeptically.

Such a product, however, would save the 2,700,000 motor-vehicle owners here from the awful prospect of having to install devices, costing up to $100, on their vehicles. The APCD and law-enforcement officers would be saved from the job of endless inspections of the gadgets.

The touring motorists coming here yearly, numbering over 1 million, would constitute no smog problem, as they would if an exhaust device were the only remedy.

A $40,000 project would seek a way to measure eye irritation from smog. This is not another medical project, Griswold says. The information is needed to help experts working on controls for exhausts and other sources.

PILOT STUDY

Next is a $150,000 full-scale pilot study here of industrial zoning—how to place industrial plants so they will not add to smog. The APCD has more than 3 years' accumulation of wind-movement data to be analyzed for this study.

Another $75,000 is sought to develop controls for solvents—dilutents, paints, thinners, inks, detergents, and so on, used in industries and in processing. Fumes from these have been found to be important in smog, the district says.

Research on control of smog formers from industrial use of fuel oils will require $60,000.

A like sum is asked to track down whatever it is in smog from vehicles that irritates eyes, damages vegetation, cuts visibility, and produces something which we have in more abundance than any other spot on earth: ozone.

It is proposed $60,000 be spent to determine how much ozone and oxides of sulfur and nitrogen a human being can take without becoming a serious, even fatal, health statistic. This information is important, it is said, to functioning of the public smog alert warning system.

Our Congressmen and Griswold and his staff believe these projects, undertaken with help of Federal men here, where so much already is known about smog, will add importance and more nationwide effectiveness to Uncle Sam's own smog program.

From now on you will read of developments in Washington on these matters, outlined in this examiner report to you on smog.

Stock Ownership in National Banks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on March 19, 1957, I introduced my bill, H. R. 6154, to protect the integrity and independence of national banks. In this connection, I received the following letter, dated March 26, 1957, from Mr. E. E. Placek, president, county bank division of the Independent Bankers Association:

THE INDEPENDENT BANKERS ASSOCIATION,
Wahoo, Nebr., March 26, 1957.

Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MULTER: I was indeed glad to receive your letter, together with enclosure of tear sheet from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I am exceedingly well pleased to know that you have introduced a bill which goes further than the Burdick bill.

I hope and trust that your efforts and those of Congressman BURDICK, and others who are interested in preserving the integrity of the independent unit banks of this country, and especially the small banks which are being absorbed and gobbled up with such speed that it is difficult indeed to keep track of them.

It is also disheartening to see how many banks have been issued the privilege of opening branch banks not only in your State of New York, but throughout the whole country, and if this trend continues no doubt an effort will be made to nationalize the banks.

While sojourning behind the Iron Curtain in Czechoslovakia, a prominent Communist said to me: "The more concentration you have in industry and finance, so much easier it will be for us to take you over," and Mr. MULTER that is not an idle boast.

I hope that you will keep me posted on the progress of your bill, and if there is any help and information I can give you I will gladly do so.

Very sincerely yours,
E. E. PLACEK,
President, Country Bank Division.

State and Locally Financed Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. BROWNSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. BROWNSON. Mr. Speaker, as I listen to the debate on the appropriation bill for the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, I wonder at the lack of information available concerning the extent of State and locally financed programs already in existence in areas where the Federal Government intends to expand its activities.

For instance, the question is not a single one of "Who shall inspect food and drugs?" It is rather a series of questions, "How much are the States and localities already doing in this field? What must the Federal Government then undertake which the people cannot as effectively do or be helped to do for themselves? What programs must be undertaken on the Federal level because they cannot as effectively be carried through on the State or local level?"

We have debated long on this bill—but are we asking enough questions as these authorization and appropriation bills come before us? Do we actually have the information we need to guarantee that we are not unnecessarily duplicating existing State, local, and private-enterprise programs?

As I listen to this debate, I sense an attempt to overemotionalize the issue in many cases. Too often the question is posed in terms, such as, "Are you in favor of education for our youth, or are you against it?" Calm deliberation seems to indicate that the question might more fairly be phrased, "Granted that all of us want the very best possible education for every child in the United States, what echelon of Government or what agency outside Government is best fitted to finance, plan, develop, and control such a program, Federal, State, county, or local? It would help if the defenders of increased spending would talk to the issue once in a while, at least to mention the pending amendment.

So that my colleagues may know what Indiana is doing to solve her own school problems, I am asking unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a legislative bulletin of the Indiana State Chamber of Commerce detailing distribution of 1957–59 State-collected tax funds to local schools with a discussion of how these funds, amounting to $197,556,433, may be used by local school units. This is information we need for every State before we vote to superimpose Federal aid to school construction or Federal aid to education on State educational systems which are doing a sound job today:

DISTRIBUTION OF 1957–59 STATE-COLLECTED TAX FUNDS TO LOCAL SCHOOLS AND HOW THESE FUNDS MAY BE USED BY LOCAL SCHOOL CORPORATIONS

Every community in the State will be affected by the recent legislation on school

finance, making State funds totaling $197,556,433 available to local school units.

This memorandum outlines some of the major features of the 1957–59 State appropriations for schools. You may want to analyze these figures and comments to determine how your own local schools will be affected financially.

Here are the basic statewide figures in the 1957–59 appropriations:

	1957–59	1955–57
(A) For teachers' salaries "and other lawful purposes"	[1] $161,726,833	$143,003,400
(B) For current operating expenses (approximately)	1,900,000	1,586,000
(C) For supplemental transfer tuition (up to)	300,000	775,000
(D) For transportation (at least)	14,802,000	10,790,000
(E) "Educational contingency fund" for supplemental transportation, equalization, and tuition support in "distressed" school corporations	3,000,000	
Total for purposes other than school construction	181,728,833	156,154,400
(F) "Local property tax relief fund" for school construction, repairs, debt service, and lease rentals (outright grants based on same percentage which each local corporation receives of regular tuition support distributions)	[2] 7,000,000	
Total outright grants for all school purposes	188,728,833	156,154,400
(G) Appropriation to Veterans Memorial School Construction Fund—available in 1957–59 biennium	4,000,000	
(H) Transfer from World War II bonus fund to Veterans Memorial School Construction Fund—available immediately	4,827,600	5,000,000
(Items (G) and (H) are for loan purposes only to eligible units.)		
Total funds for school construction loans $8,827,600		
Outright grants for construction (item (F)) 7,000,000		
Total made available for construction 15,827,600		
(I) Total State funds available for schools	197,556,433	161,154,400

[1] If a local school corporation's share of this amount is in excess of the amount required to meet the State's share of minimum salaries for teachers, after the local school corporation levies a 25-cent qualifying tax rate, the "excess" of State funds can be used for any lawful school purpose, except transportation.

[2] School units which do not need funds for construction, etc., may transfer their portions of the construction grants to other funds and use the money for other purposes. But transfer of these sums must be specifically shown in the published budgets of the school corporations.

It is important to note that while the total amount constitutes by far the largest Indiana State school aid appropriation in history, the great bulk of the increase is based upon the larger number of teachers and pupils which local schools will have in the next 2 years as compared to the past 2 years. In other words, since most local school units are going to have greater expenses on account of increased enrollment alone, the State's percentage share of total local school costs will by no means follow the degree of rise in total State appropriations for schools.

It is estimated that the total of $188,728,833 of outright grants to local schools for the 1957–58 and 1958–59 fiscal years is equal, on a statewide basis, to approximately $116 per pupil per year in average daily attendance. This is an increase of $13 per pupil over the $103 average appropriated in 1955 for the 1955–56 and 1956–57 fiscal years. The actual amounts to be received per pupil will vary in the different local school units.

SUMMARY OF LEGISLATIVE ACTION

Actions of the general assembly with respect to school finance may be summarized in the following manner:

1. An unprecedented total amount of money in outright grants was provided for State support of local schools. The amount was $188,728,833. The loan funds of $8,827,600 bring the total amount made available to $197,556,433.

2. The appropriation of outright grants was $32,574,433 higher than the $156,154,400 appropriated in 1955. This is the largest increase ever made by a session of the Indiana General Assembly.

3. Largely as a result of action of the House-Senate budget conferees, local schools for the first time in recent years will have substantial amounts of State funds for expenditure at the discretion of local school officials.

4. The local qualifying tax rate for participating in the program of State support for teachers' salaries cannot be less than 25 cents per $100 of adjusted assessed valuation during the next 2 school years. This rate has been permitted to vary in past years depending on the level of the minimum salary schedule for teachers and the amount of the appropriation for tuition support.

5. Inaugurated by the general assembly was a $7-million program of State grants for school construction, building repairs, lease rentals, and debt service. (But any portion of these funds may be used for other school purposes, as explained in the second footnote to the above table.)

6. The money in the veterans memorial school construction fund was increased from $5 million to $13,827,600. This was accomplished by transferring $4,827,600 from the World War II bonus fund and by an additional appropriation of $4 million from the State general fund.

7. The State support of school transportation systems was increased from $10,800,000 during the 1955–57 biennium to at least $14,802,000 for the 1957–59 biennium.

8. The maximum permissible property tax levy for school purposes (excluding school construction) was increased from $3.30 to $3.65, and the base was changed from actual assessed valuation to adjusted assessed valuation.

9. The maximum permissible interest rate on bonds issued by private nonprofit school building corporations (holding companies) was increased from 4 percent to 5 percent.

10. Private corporations were authorized to finance, construct, and lease school buildings to school corporations.

11. Securities in the common school fund were authorized to be exchanged for bonds of school-building corporations.

12. The assembly declined to raise the State-fixed legal minimum salary schedule for teachers, thus leaving the question of pay increases in the hands of local school officials.

Flood Control for Great Lakes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, today I have again introduced legislation which I hope will clear up—once and for all—the question of whether the Great Lakes were meant to be included in the Flood Control Act of 1936. At present, because of the totally illogical manner in which this Flood Control Act has been construed, no Federal funds whatever are available for construction of desperately needed flood-control projects.

Briefly, the background is this: In 1936, the Congress adopted a national program for flood control. In the declaration of policy written into the historic Flood Control Act adopted in that year, it is stated that flood control on "rivers, navigable waters, and other waterways" is a proper activity of the Federal Government. No specific reference is made to the Great Lakes area—nor to any particular river or other waterway—nor were the Great Lakes specifically included or excluded in the flood-control laws enacted in 1939, 1940, 1941, or 1942. However, the Flood Control Acts of 1944 and 1946 did authorize certain flood-control projects in the Great Lakes Basin, and the statutory authority for these projects, of course, was the Flood Control Act of 1936.

Despite this clear manifestation of congressional intent, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget declared during the 80th Congress that it was not the intent of Congress—in the 1936 Act or subsequently—to include lake and tidal floods within the national program for flood control. The then Secretary of War rejected this position, pointing out that amending acts had included the words, "floods aggravated by or due to wind or tidal effects," and that congressional authority for one Lake Erie project included such language. Later, in 1948 and in 1950, Congress again manifested its intent by authorizing flood protection projects on Lake Michigan, Lake Erie, and Lake Ontario. The Bureau of the Budget, however, steadfastly maintained that the 1936 act does not contain legislative authority for these Great Lakes projects. It has stated repeatedly that until Congress takes affirmative action to expand the policy enunciated in the Flood Control Act of 1936, it will not consider any projects authorized by Congress for flood control on the Great Lakes to be in accord with the national program for flood control.

It thus becomes clear that a demonstration of congressional intent satisfactory to the Bureau of the Budget will require specific legislation similar to that which I introduced during the last session and again today.

I think that it is both interesting and significant, Mr. Speaker, that the Department of the Army had always considered—until the preemptory position taken by the Budget Bureau—that congressional authority existed for flood-control projects on the Great Lakes. Commenting on my bill to specifically include the Great Lakes within the declaration of policy in the 1936 act, the Army stated that—

Legislation may be advisable in order to eliminate all possible doubt on this point if construction of improvements for prevention of this type of flood damages on the

Great Lakes * * * is to be accomplished as a Federal responsibility.

Mr. Speaker, it is high time that the Great Lakes area be treated on a parity with other sections of the country. The taxpayers of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota gladly contribute far more than their proportionate share of tax dollars for programs directly benefiting less prosperous and developed sections of the country. Is it asking too much, Mr. Speaker, that the Great Lakes area receive the same consideration that it has accorded other areas for so many years? The bill which I have introduced today does not call for the appropriation of any Federal funds—it merely provides that home owners on Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, and Lake Superior shall have the same opportunity to receive protection from floods as their fellow citizens whose property borders on rivers or other waterways.

Statement of Kaiser Industries Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the industrial progress being made by our Latin American neighbors to the south. However, we sometimes overlook the contribution to their rapidly expanding economy that is being made by some outstanding industrial ambassadors of the United States. One of these men is Edgar F. Kaiser, president of Kaiser Industries Corp., parent company of the worldwide Kaiser organization.

Within the last 3 years, the Kaiser organization has made a considerable contribution to the economy of both Argentina and Brazil in the automotive manufacturing field. Under the direction of this young industrial statesman, Kaiser has built a new automotive manufacturing plant in Argentina and is substantially enlarging an existing plant in Brazil.

Transportation, as we all know, is one of the biggest problems encountered in improving and expanding the economy of many of the Latin American countries. The Kaiser contribution to improve transportation in Argentina and, indirectly, to bolster that country's economy is being made through Industrias Kaiser Argentina, an affiliate of Willys Motors, Inc., which in turn is a subsidiary of Kaiser Industries Corp.

The IKA plant in Argentina is located in Cordoba, and at the present time is producing a Jeep vehicle every 15 minutes. Under the watchful eye of Edgar Kaiser, the big automotive manufacturing plant was built and in operation in 13 months' time. It has a 1-shift capacity of 40,000 vehicles annually.

In Brazil, this young industrialist is moving to meet the pent-up demand for new automotive vehicles by spending close to $5 million to expand the automotive manufacturing facilities of another Willys affiliate, Willys Overland do Brasil.

An ardent spokesman for the American competitive enterprise system, Edgar Kaiser has packed more industrial experience into 47 years than most men in the field acquire in a lifetime. His integrity, resourcefulness, and broad understanding of basic economic problems qualifies him as one of this country's leading goodwill ambassadors to Latin America.

A constant traveler in Latin America, where his organization's engineering division, Kaiser Engineers, also is engaged in several projects, Edgar Kaiser has won hundreds of friends with his sincere, natural approach to people. He also has come to understand many of the problems of these people and their governments. Consequently, it is not unusual for him to receive requests for his opinions of these countries.

Recently the editors of the magazine, Latin American Report, asked his opinion of the current status of Argentina's national economy and its prospects for 1957. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include excerpts from Edgar F. Kaiser's reply to this question in the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF EDGAR F. KAISER

The achievements in relation to Argentina's economy in the last 15 months have been very impressive. The creation of a free market for financial transactions has greatly facilitated international transfers on a realistic basis. The ability of private companies to remit dividends and royalty payments should encourage private investment. Similarly the payments arrangements with the countries of Western Europe should do much to restore Argentina's traditional pattern of multilateral commerce. The present Government is working diligently on increasing exports both to Europe and the United States.

One of the most urgent problems confronting Argentina today is that of transportation and the Government is taking measures to improve this situation. The negotiation of a loan of $100 million from the Export-Import Bank for transportation should not only help greatly in the solution of this problem but would demonstrate confidence in Argentina just as the extension of a substantial private credit from British banks indicates faith in the Argentine economy and in the present administration's program.

From the standpoint of our own company, Industrias Kaiser Argentina, S. A., I can say that we have received full cooperation in connection with our own problems and that we enjoy a relationship of confidence and mutual trust.

I have been asked what steps Argentina should take to accelerate the economic progress of the country, and I hesitate to answer because it is not my province to give advice as to what an independent government should do. In addition, it is easier for someone on the outside to reply than it is for those who have the responsibility. However, I believe there are certain steps that could be taken and which would have a beneficial impact.

Argentina has a dollar deficit in its international trading position of about $200 million a year. This deficit can only be eliminated by further measures to increase exports and by increasing national production of those products which are now imported at a heavy cost in foreign exchange. Strenuous measures must be taken to improve the internal transportation and power systems in order to stimulate the production of goods for export and local consumption.

Measures are also necessary to encourage additional capital investment from abroad, particularly to increase the national production of essential items which the country must now import. Fortunately, the Government has shown a keen awareness of these problems and is moving in the right direction.

In our own operations, we have encountered two types of problems which must be resolved if national production of essential goods is to be increased. First, despite the recent liberalization of investment regulations, there are still considerable difficulties in the way of Argentine firms who need machinery and equipment from abroad to expand their opertaions, either by purchase or as a foreign investment.

Second, under present regulations in Argentina, it is extremely difficult for retail buyers of trucks and jeeps and consumer hard goods to obtain retail credit, even to purchase items which are produced in the country. In virtually all countries where such items are manufactured credit is available on reasonable terms to those who buy the industry's products, and the availability of this consumer credit is a major factor in supporting the mass production volume necessary to achieve low unit costs.

The limited extent of such credit in Argentina tends to limit the national production of capital and consumer goods, and thus to reduce the potential contribution of new manufacturing industries to the economic development of Argentina. I hope that these problems can be resolved in the near future.

We have generally enjoyed excellent labor relations in Cordoba. Although I realize that there have been labor difficulties in other sections of the country, we have had no such problems at Cordoba. We have found that labor productivity at Cordoba is excellent and so far as our operation is concerned is competitive with that in the United States.

So far as investment opportunities in Argentina are concerned, I think that historically Europe has had a greater need than the United States to seek foreign markets and that, consequently, European bankers and businessmen in the past have been more aggressive in Argentina in this regard. Consequently, European firms in the past have pursued more liberal credit policies on exports and they have also moved boldly to develop their markets in Latin America by manufacturing programs in those countries where foreign exchange shortages have reduced imports of manufactured goods.

However, I believe that American bankers and businessmen today are becoming much more foreign development minded than in the past. As a result of World War II, our international position has changed and we are much more familiar with the outside world. Foreign trade and investment has also become more important to our national economy and increasing numbers of young Americans are willing to live abroad.

Today I would say that American bankers and businessmen are just as alert as the Europeans, and I believe that the kind of healthy competition that will result will be of great benefit to Argentina and the rest of the countries of Latin America. However, it is a fact that European governments give much greater assistance to their bankers and businessmen than our own Government does in extending favorable credit terms to purchasing nations, and the competitive disadvantage which this creates for the United States industry and investors requires careful study by our Government.

So far as the year 1957 is concerned, I think it will be the biggest ever in Latin

America. Productivity is increasing throughout the area as well as gross income and living standards.

In my opinion, the big danger is that internal credit facilities in Latin America will not keep pace with the expansion of local manufacturing which all Latin American governments desire, with the result that the new manufacturing enterprises in these countries may fail to achieve the high levels of production necessary to obtain the economies of mass production.

While Latin American governments must be on constant guard against the danger of inflation, they must recognize that the increased national production they all desire requires increased internal credit, and that the resulting increase in credit is not inflationary in character because it is accompanied by a corresponding increase in real production.

Latin America cannot industrialize every segment of its economy at the same time and with the same speed, and it is always necessary to channel the expansion of local manufacturing activities into the more urgent economic areas. But once the high-priority projects have been selected and approved, adequate internal credit must be provided for each manufacturing project and for the customers who buy its products.

Anyone who considers the actual and potential resources of the hemisphere, and the rate of growth that has already been achieved, cannot fail to have confidence in the future. If Argentina can provide sufficient internal credit for its manufacturing and agricultural activities, and at the same time avoid inflation, 1957 should be a better year than 1956.

Can We Muddle Through?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Walter Lippmann, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 28, 1957:

CAN WE MUDDLE THROUGH?

(By Walter Lippmann)

Mr. Dulles, having returned to Washington from Bermuda, was at pains to dispel any notion that there exists a British-American agreement on the line we shall take in the Middle East. As a matter of fact, nobody had any reason to suppose that there had been such an agreement. But the very fact that the President and the Prime Minister chose to meet at all in such a conspicuous way was bound to cause speculation, and in Egypt at least to arouse the suspicion that the two great powers, separated since last November, were now going to act together.

If, as we know from Mr. Dulles, there were no firm agreements, were there real disagreements? There were not, so it would seem, though there are undoubtedly wide differences of opinion as to what Nasser intends to do and how he should be dealt with. Almost certainly what happened in Bermuda was that the British accepted American leadership in the making and in the conduct of policy in the Middle East. There was no agreement as to what the policy would be, though no doubt various possibilities must have been canvassed. But there was an assent by the British, never formalized in any agreement, that the President, and more specifically that Mr. Dulles, should manage the Middle Eastern business. It was in that role that Mr. Dulles spoke with such personal authority at his press conference on Tuesday.

As the President and Mr. Dulles appeared to see it, the American role in the Middle East is to be its protector as against the Soviet Union from the outside, and within the region itself to be the impartial mediator and the friend of everybody. In practice, they have little or no hope of reaching genuine settlements within the area, be it about the canal, about the future of Jordan, or about the Egyptian-Israeli conflict. Our real policy in the Middle East is to speak boldly and loudly about what is unlikely to happen—namely, an overt Soviet military aggression—and on the real issues to zig and to zag and somehow to muddle through without any more shooting.

When Mr. Dulles spoke of feeling a "cautious optimism," he means presumably that there is a fair chance that for a while, at least, there will be tacit arrangements to keep the hot issues below the boiling point. We might guess that Nasser will have his way about the canal but that, except as to Israel, he will not actually molest or discriminate against other ships. We might guess that he will not build up serious military forces in the Sinai Peninsula which could threaten Israel, and that the raiding from the Gaza strip will not be organized on a big scale. And there would seem to be a fair chance that neither Nasser nor King Saud will in fact interfere with the passage through the Gulf of Aqaba.

This is, conceivably, how a new crisis may be stalled off—by saving Nasser's face and by adding to his prestige without provoking Israel enough for her to use force.

It can be argued that this is the best that can be made of a bad job. It can be said that the revolutionary movement among the Afro-Asian peoples which Nasser leads cannot be stopped by force or bought off by economic concessions; it can be said that the local conflict in Palestine is insoluble in this generation.

But it can be argued also that the best way to deal with the situation is not to muddle through, not to carry water on both shoulders, not to finagle and to finesse, with the object of provoking no one and of placating everyone. For if, as is now contemplated, we in fact appease Nasser both on the canal and on his claim to belligerent rights against Israel, we shall find ourselves much weaker when we come to the next phase of Nasser's revolution against the Western World.

Hon. Samuel A. Carlson, Mayor Emeritus of Jamestown, N. Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 26, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to pay tribute to a great American, Hon. Samuel A. Carlson, who is still living a vigorous and useful public life in the city of Jamestown, N. Y., and who served his city as mayor with great distinction for a period of 26 years.

As a part of my remarks, I am inserting the following published account of the record of this outstanding civic leader:

MAYOR EMERITUS SAMUEL A. CARLSON OBSERVES 87TH ANNIVERSARY TODAY

[From the Jamestown (N. Y.) Sun of October 26, 1955]

Happy birthday greetings are in order today for Jamestown's first citizen—Mayor Emeritus Samuel A. Carlson.

This Wednesday, October 26, is the 87th birthday of the man who served 26 years as mayor of Jamestown and 24 years as member of various municipal boards.

Still active physically beyond the average of men of his years, and mentally the equal of most men many years his junior, Mayor Carlson retains a keen interest in public affairs.

One of the outstanding tributes paid to Mayor Carlson was delivered by the late Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson, then Attorney General, at a testimonial banquet marking the 50th anniversary of the mayor's entry into public life. Justice Jackson spoke as follows:

"When I was asked to make another speech of farewell to Mayor Carlson I told the committee it would be very easy—all I would have to do would be to get out one of the old ones. We know just how to conduct ourselves at a farewell to Sam Carlson, because we have so many dress rehearsals.

"Seriously, however, I am glad to make this trip here tonight publicly to acknowledge the debt that I owe to Samuel A. Carlson. He, a Republican, appointed me to my first public office, although I was a Democrat and had resided in the city but a short time. A Republican council voted my confirmation. That, in a sense, is something of a symbol of Sam Carlson's administration. Among neighbors, his friendship did not stop at party lines, nor shy at party labels. It was in a very real sense at the elbow of Mayor Carlson that I took my initiation in public office, but I don't expect to last as long as he has.

"The career of Mayor Carlson has been a peculiarly individual career. For more than a third of a century he has been successful in nearly every election. Always the political organizations had other candidates, and the newspapers often had other candidates. Every election it seemed that nobody wanted Sam except the voters.

"The mayor has been very broadminded however. He has no prejudice against any political party. He would take any old nomination from any of them. Sometimes he has even nominated himself. But the interesting thing about it is that he was usually able to win any nomination, or without any nomination. And he has had no prejudice against any race, class, or nationality. He would accept any man's vote.

"The result has been that Mayor Carlson has never been a chattel of any political party—he has never been the property of any organization, and has never been the tool of any group. He has therefore kept his own career from being submerged in the temporary "ups" and "downs" of the many movements that have come and gone.

"This man whom we honor tonight has completed a public service which spans more than a third of a century. The citizenship which gave him his last victory is an entirely different generation from that which gave him his first commission. I was in high school when I learned of his first election as mayor. My son was in high school when he learned of Carlson's first defeat.

"This is an appropriate place for reminiscence. The period when I saw Sam Carlson at closest range was the period of the World War, and those were days that tested the courage and the faith of men. And it was in those days that I saw, in this seemingly gentle Sam Carlson, the stern kind of stuff of which martyrs are made.

"The Mayor joined with a small group of us in opposing the entry of the United States into the World War. Once in the war, we

favored backing the Allies with our economic resources rather than by sending an army to Europe. It has taken a long time to vindicate that position. I think it has become apparent today that the American Expeditionary Forces fought for ideals that even our allies in Europe did not share; that our participation in a 'war to end war' was futile; and our hope to make the world 'safe for democracy' was disappointed. But war was on, was uncomfortable, and it seemed, at the time, certain to end the careers of all who participated in the hope for peace.

"Throughout the war Samuel A. Carlson stood as the official head of this community, for free speech—not as a theory but as a fact. He always respected the civil rights of the people of this city.

"Mayor Carlson consistently stood up against the wave of intolerance that followed the war. The result is a city where anyone is free to speak in support of any 'ism' that one likes. And for that very reason there is no community where it is harder to sell an 'ism' to the people. Mayor Carlson always favored free, and open, and frank discussion of local and national problems, and was one of the leading spirits in the old Saturday Night Club, where 20 years ago a group of us were debating and studying labor relations, and concentration of wealth, and the problem of old-age benefits, and problems of unemployment, and all the rest of the problems—that have since become issues in our country.

"The thing that I see in Mayor Carlson that has enabled him to keep his leadership during this long period is not integrity alone—most men have that. It was not a good mind alone—many men have that. The distinguishing thing about Sam Carlson has been a certain vision and basic understanding of people.

"He has been able to sit in a conference in his office and yet see through the walls of men's homes and know how the problem of that conference was affecting their firesides.

"He could sense what was beyond the newspapers, and hear the word that was going from mouth to mouth at the workbenches and in the markets of the city. He looked beyond the false fronts which organizations put on and saw people back of organizations.

"The result of this vision was that no group was ever able to surround Sam Carlson. No little coterie ever could overwhelm him. He could think his way through and around them.

"Sam has been called a demagogue, a rabble-rouser, a Socialist, a Communist, and a crackpot. But the fact was that he just naturally and simply had a great belief in Lincoln's common people, whom Lincoln said God must have loved because he made so many of them. Those people through a third of a century have answered Sam's faith in them with an abiding faith in him.

"And he has kept that faith. Whatever may have been said about the wisdom of his financial policies, or the merits of particular projects, this community has never stood for 1 moment in doubt that Sam Carlson was striving for a good life in this city, for an abundant life—if you will, for a wholesome life, and for free life where men and women might develop without political or economic, or social suppression or opposition.

"He had a vision of democracy of substance, not merely a democracy of form. He has watched as have all intelligent Americans, and been instructed, by that sane, and just, and well ordered life which his own Scandinavian people have achieved to a greater degree than most others.

"So tonight I leave it to others to praise the material things which Sam Carlson has done for our city. Others may talk about the bridges, the pavements, the light plant and water system—all worthy in their way.

"My tribute to Sam Carlson is that his public life has been good for the soul of this city. For 30 years he has shown us how to take victory without arrogance, and how to take defeat without hatefulness. He has taught us how to follow ways of peace—peace for the nations of the world, and peace for the groups within the city. He has taught us how to go through the petty irritations that are inseparable from political life, without becoming a petty man. He has consistently encouraged and aided young men and young women, inspired them to the better things, without regard to political party, or to racial inheritance, or to the riches they might possess.

"I have never known him to fawn upon any man because he never imagined himself above the ways, or problems of humble people. He has led a simple life devoted to trying to make simple lives and humble lives better ones.

"It is these things—these spiritual qualities that will live in the citizenship of this city after the material things pass away.

"Mayor Carlson, after a third of a century of public office, you retire a poor man, measured by the goods of the world. But you have laid up riches in the hearts of men. And from those hearts tonight, from the proud and humble, from the rich and poor, from the young and old, there comes the wish that you may long outlive the Psalmist's allotment of three score years and ten, and that you may be happy amidst the fruits of your good work, and the affections of your fellow citizens."

A 60-Year Public Career

The following is a brief sketch of the public career of Samuel A. Carlson. Mr. Carlson was born in Jamestown, N. Y., October 26, 1868; he was educated in our public schools. In 1890 he assumed management of a furniture plant which he continued until 1895, when he became manager of a Swedish newspaper, the Vart Land (Our Country), which was subsequently published in both the English and Swedish languages, until the Scandinavian immigration diminished after the First World War. Mr. Carlson has a son, Wendell L. Carlson, a research engineer at Princeton, N. J. In 1893, Mr. Carlson was elected as councilman on a platform calling for the expansion of municipal electric service production and for a municipal water plant, paving, and sanitary sewer construction. In 1895 he was reelected, receiving the endorsement of three political parties, Republican, Democratic, and People's. And in the same year 1895, Mr. Carlson was appointed by Mayor Green and subsequently reappointed by Mayors Cooper and Johnson, as a member of the then board of public works. In 1908, Mr. Carlson was first elected as mayor.

Here is what the Jamestown Journal said February 21, 1894, concerning Mr. Carlson when most of our public improvements were in the controversial stage:

"The man who worked in and out of season, to whom a large share of the credit is due, is Samuel A. Carlson. His sledge-hammer arguments fell in all places at the right time and no one seemed to be able to stand against them. He was armed with an array of facts and figures and so well grounded in his position that it was impossible to shake him."

In reference to Mr. Carlson's connection with the early development of the electric plant, the following editorial appeared in the Morning News of April 16, 1895:

"The people remember that it was through the efforts of Mr. Carlson as chairman of the lighting committee, that the work of extending the municipal lighting plant, was brought about against powerful opposition."

As a further explanation in reference to the above comments, it should be stated that the municipal utility movement had its beginning immediately after the village of Jamestown had been incorporated as a city.

The first steps were taken at a meeting of the Ethical Society, which held public meetings Sunday afternoons, at which a motion was introduced by Mr. Carlson and carried, to petition the city council to authorize the construction of a plant to light the business streets of the city. This resolution, however, was pigeonholed by the council at that time.

Mr. M. George Martyn, a manufacturer and a frequent contributor to the press on local topics, gave vigorous support to this proposal. The board of aldermen, however, finally built the street lighting plant at a cost of $30,000. After this project had been successfully tried out Mr. Carlson, as stated above, was prevailed upon to become a candidate for alderman on a platform calling for the expansion of the lighting plant at a cost of $32,000, for the purpose of selling electricity to the citizens, which was not authorized under the street lighting system, and also erecting a new municipal water plant and other improvements such as paving and sewers. Jamestown was the first city in the United States of America to supply electric service to the people.

The conservative citizens were up in arms against Mr. Carlson. They said he was a "youthful inexperienced dreamer.". They called him a radical with visionary notions about the functions of government. They wrote letters to the newspapers denouncing his theories and asserted that he would lead the city government into financial bankruptcy by launching an intricate and complicated mechanism of electrical production as part of the city municipal administration.

According to the city statistical reports of 1955 during the past 42 years the total electric current sold to consumers by the local electric powerplant brought in about $38 million. Local consumers have paid about one-half the rate paid by consumers in cities supplied by privately owned plants, and this can be considered a saving to local consumers of $38 million during these 42 years—nearly a million dollars a year average. In addition, the city power plant has been expanded and paid for out of revenues and without taxing the citizens of Jamestown, its value at the present time representing many millions of dollars. Also, the board of public utilities has voluntarily contributed tax moneys to the city in excess of the amount which a private electric power company would have contributed, although the courts of this State have held that any municipal plant supplying utility service at low rates thereby makes the equivalent of tax contributions, and in some years the board has paid dividends to consumers ranging from 10 to 20 percent. Allowance for depreciation is made each year.

Many people talk about "creeping socialism" overlook the fact that any public utility system must be a monopoly whether publicly or privately owned. In Jamestown the average home owner gets electric service for all household purposes for less than 15 cents a day, even after the 18-percent increase fixed by the public service commission a few years ago. We have free enterprise in all privately conducted business undertakings, but there can be no free enterprise in the field of public utilities.

At Mr. Carlson's first election as mayor he had three prominent opponents, ex-Mayor O. F. Price, Prof. H. E. V. Porter, then president of the board of aldermen, and ex-Alderman John C. Swanson, a contractor. In order to give the voters of three minority groups official representation in the city administration, he appointed ex-Mayor Price to the office of city treasurer, Prof. Porter of the office of chairman of civil service commission, and ex-Alderman Swanson to the office of inspector of paving and sewer construction. The politicians told him that he would never get anywhere by that kind of a

policy, but he continued to give minority representation on all appointive boards.

Mr. Carlson has always favored control by the majority and fair representation to minorities in all legislative bodies. All voters pay their share of taxes either directly or indirectly and minority groups are often more progressive in opinions than the majority.

The leaders of the recent two presidential conventions praised independent voters. Why should they not be officially represented in our Government branches?

Mr. Carlson continued to be elected mayor for eleven 2-year terms and one 4-year term, the 4-year term being in compliance with a constitutional provision which was required when the amended constitution went into effect providing that all mayors should be elected in the odd-numbered years, and which was intended to eliminate State and national politics from city elections which had previously been held in the even-numbered years. This makes his mayoralty service 26 years. Later he was appointed by Mayor Leon F. Roberts as a member of the board of public utilities and reappointed to two additional terms by Mayor Stroth. In this connection it may be of interest to mention the fact that he also carried his city four times as candidate for Congress.

Mr. Carlson was a candidate for mayor in 14 elections. He was elected in 12 elections and defeated in 2 elections. His first defeat was in 1927 when he was opposed by Alderman Lars A. Larson but he was reelected at the end of Mr. Larson's two-year term.

Mr. Carlson's second defeat was in 1933 when he was opposed by Leon A. Roberts, a reporter for the Jamestown Evening Journal. His supporters criticized Mr. Carlson because his appointees on the public utility board had accumulated about $1 million from the profits of the electric plant to provide for expansion of the plant. Mr. Roberts and his supporters held that the surplus money should be used to reduce taxes, while Mr. Carlson held that the board was already contributing large sums of money to the city and the board needed the surplus funds to expand the electric plant in order to give more people lower electric rates. However at the next election Mayor Roberts was defeated and Mr. Carlson was reelected.

One of the most important official actions ever taken by the board of public utilities was the purchase of the Niagra electric distribution system in 1931. For a number of years there was litigation, confusion and a kind of rivalry that was costly and with no gain or benefit to either the city of the private company. Power lines were often tapped by alleged mistake. Both of the electric authorities accused each other of taking power unlawfully from the other's lines. But it was not until Mr. Carlson had returned to office to continue his policies of complete municipal control after his first defeat in 1927 that the private company seemed inclined to negotiate regarding the sale of their distribution system in the community. The company held out for a million dollar price for the transfer of its system in the Jamestown district. The company finally consented to sell the entire system within the Jamestown territory for the sum of $750,000 as proposed by Karl Peterson. The expansion of the plant from 1908 to 1933 was engineered by the Klauder Engineering Co. and Melvin O. Swanson. Robert H. Jackson, attorney for the company, advised the acceptance of the board's offer, (he was not then Supreme Court Justice). Attorney J. Russell Rogerson was then counsel for the board of public utilities.

It should be stated that it was Frank O. Anderson, an industrialist, who played a leading part in first making the municipal electric plant a formidable competitor of the private electric system. In 1933 under Leon Roberts' mayoralty administration, Clayton O. Johnson was appointed superintendent of public utilities, succeeding Melvin Swanson, and at the close of 1956 Merle W. Smedberg was appointed to succeed Mr. Johnson who had retired. The first superintendent of the plant was the late Charles Sundquist; it was Ernest Cawcroft who drew the charter that gave the board the necessary expansion powers.

The Jamestown Welfare Department, under the direction of Carroll M. Hall, has come to be recognized as the most efficiently conducted in the State of New York.

It should be stated in this connection that when the electric plant was in complete control of the board of aldermen elected by partisan methods in the early days of the electric-plant operations there were only about 200 consumers and less than $50,000 annual revenues, while during the period of nonpartisan administration the plant's list of consumers has reached 18,000, with an annual revenue of nearly $2½ million up to the time of this writing. Artesian well water is supplied by the city at a rate of less than 2 cents for each 50-gallon barrel and at this writing the city is practically free from any tax-payable bonded debt.

MR. CARLSON'S RELIGIOUS VIEWS

Mr. Carlson's religious viewpoints are based on the following passages from Holy Writ: Micah the prophet, said, "What does God require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy and walk humbly with thy God?" The Great Master preached a doctrine of love, not hatred. He said, "Blessed are the peacemakers." He said love your enemies, not hate them. He never blessed the warmakers yet we continue to conscript our sons for foreign battlefields.

NEWSPAPER COMMENTS

Post-Journal editorial, May 1, 1943: "Down through this long span of years, Sam Carlson has made a contribution to the life of Jamestown which entitles him to the deep respect of all our people, regardless of differences in community politics and policies. No one can question the fact that at all times he has sought with intense sincerity and downright honesty of purpose to serve his native town to the utmost of his ability, and that he has succeeded in accomplishing a great deal of lasting value is true beyond the shadow of doubt. In certain phases of city government he has pioneered movements which have eventually become recognized as of vital significance in local history. Especially is everlasting credit due him for his part in the establishment and the development of the electric light and water systems, which will always remain a monument to his civic leadership."

The Buffalo News said: "Samuel A. Carlson becomes a symbol of good government, the most reelected mayor in America."

Charles A. Beard wrote Mayor Carlson: "Your autobiography is a living document for the history of popular government."

On January 1, 1938 when Mayor Carlson retired from the mayoralty, the city council conferred upon him the unique title of mayor emeritus in recognition of his long service to the city of Jamestown.

Referring to the purchase of the local Niagara power system by the city, the New York Times in commenting August 16, 1931, said, "The name of Samuel A. Carlson becomes closely identified from the beginning with the developments of municipal electricity in Jamestown, and he is the man who gives the personal human interest to most of the governmental history of that city for a longer period than is covered by the average memory of the present generation."

Mr. Edward J. Meeman, noted editor of the Memphis Press-Scimitar published at Memphis, Tenn., sent Mr. Carlson the following letter October 22, 1956:

"DEAR MR. CARLSON: I am very happy to have 'Sam Carlson's Own Story.'

"It is a great story—one of America's best stories, one of the world's best stories.

"It is inspiring.

"All good to you."

Those who wish further information regarding Mr. Carlson's public record can secure this at the James Prendergast Free Library where his numerous scrapbooks have been filed.

If We Cut Arms Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, faced as we are with the largest budget in history, the following article by Sylvia F. Porter, which appeared in the New York Post of April 1, 1957, will be of interest to our colleagues:

IF WE CUT ARMS BUDGET
(By Sylvia F. Porter)

Now that budget cutting is becoming almost as popular a pastime in Washington as throat cutting, let's really dream a moment.

Let's imagine that we found it possible and feasible to slash defense spending across the board by a full 50 percent—to reduce the arms budget from today's $44 billion a year level to $22 billion.

What could this mean to us, as individuals and a nation?

Either it could mean a shuddering depression, bringing financial disaster to millions and fanning out all over the free world;

Or after a carefully managed transition from a cold war to a peactime economy, it could mean the beginning of a golden era in which living standards would rise to the highest levels ever.

Whether it would mean the first or second would depend on how skillfully we prepared in advance for the arms cut, what positive actions the Government took at once to ease the transition, how much the depression fear itself was kept under control.

Actually, I'm not dreaming nearly as much as you might think.

A Senate subcommittee this month has been holding hearings on precisely this—the possible impact of an across-the-board cut in arms spending—and some of the Nation's top authorities, including Reserve Board Chairman Martin, have testified in utmost seriousness on the necessity for major Government action to avert a slump following an arms slash.

In highly informed quarters in Washington and abroad, the belief is growing that the Middle East and East Europe crises may speed progress on disarmament just because they have pointed up so sharply the reluctance of powerful nations to risk general war.

Assume it then. Assume a defense spending cut totaling 50 percent starting against today's not too exuberant business background. Assume that the cuts are spread over the next 4 years.

What if we aren't prepared to cushion the impact?

Some of our key industries deeply involved in military work would be brutally hit. Joblessness would skyrocket. In the words of the Reserve Board, "Uncertainty throughout our economy could lead to cumulative repercussions beyond the industries directly affected by the military cutbacks." What's more, while the economy came through the 1947 and 1954 arms spending cuts pretty well,

forces were helping then that aren't helping now.

To quote another authority, Columbia University's Dr. Emile Benoit, writing in this month's Michigan Business Review, "Any defense cuts from here on out will have immediate deflationary effects, unless offset immediately by rising expenditure of some other type."

Bluntly, then, arms cuts could bring on a sharp slump—unless we plan now to fill the gap immediately and completely.

What should we be planning then? Here are some key proposals from highest sources:

(1) Immediate moves to channel every dollar saved on arms spending into the hands of other spenders—and that means moves at once.

Tax cuts for individuals and corporations would be in order to provide a basis for rising spending by private sources on goods and services—and there should be no payments on the public debt during the period of economic recovery from the shock of the budget surgery.

Much greater spending on highways, schools, water systems, urban redevelopment, public works in general would be justified.

(2) Strengthened and broadened systems of jobless insurance and veterans' benefits and new programs to retrain and relocate workers laid off from armaments jobs.

(3) Bold policies to give special assistance to specific areas and industries—for instance, special loans for reconversion of plants.

(4) Broad plans to develop and promote for civilian use inventions and products discovered through military research.

The fundamental point is we can't rely on the economy to make up for the arms cuts spontaneously. We can get through the transition and into the new era but the Reserve Board's words must be heeded:

"It is of the utmost importance that the Government be prepared to act quickly to meet any developments and that this determination be generally understood. It will be perilous if we ignore this warning.

The Importance of Action by the 85th Congress To Assist Small and Independent Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, there has been much said about relief to small business during the past few months and many efforts by various executive branches of Government have been made to assist this vitally important segment of the American economy. Perhaps the major move to bring real aid and not just conversation is the introduction of several bills, including my own (H. R. 5986), which would bring about methods of tax relief to small businesses with taxable incomes under $150,000 a year by amendment of the Internal Revenue Code.

Small-business concerns today, and there are over 4 million in the United States, face a future that is neither bright nor conducive to the expansion of this traditionally independent and important part of the Nation's great backbone of manufacturing and service trades. It is imperative that such conditions should be improved through the efforts of the 85th Congress.

In the bill that I have introduced revision of existing laws would be made to provide for the growth, expansion, and modernization of independent business enterprises engaged in trade or commerce. This would be achieved by methods of tax computation that would bring them nearer to a par with larger corporations when endeavoring to utilize capital assets to finance operational and expansion borrowings. Participation of family-sized farms and agricultural interests is also provided in the proposals of my bill.

The most logical and practical method of immediate relief for the widest segment of small business is through tax relief. In only this way can we strike at the heart of the problem of the many small-business men of the Nation. They must have direct tax relief that will overcome the fluctuations of income and resultant onerous burdens imposed by present Federal taxes.

The table of exemptions proposed in my bill allows for certain expenditures to be treated as not chargeable to the capital account within certain limits. Allowable expenditures would include construction, erection, installation, improvement, or aquisition of any facility, land, building, machinery, or equipment used in the business.

The following table explains limitations of these deductions:

If taxable income is:	The limit is:
Not over $10,000	50 percent of taxable income.
Over $10,000 but not over $25,000.	$5,000, plus 40 percent of excess of taxable income over $10,000.
Over $25,000 but not over $50,000.	$11,000, plus 30 percent of excess of taxable income over $25,000.
Over $50,000 but not over $100,000.	$18,500, plus 20 percent of excess over $50,000.
Over $100,000 but not over $150,000.	$28,500, plus 10 percent of excess over $100,000.

The expenditures so treated shall be allowed as a deduction.

Other sections of the bill would allow for further election on the part of the taxpayer in filing returns and provide incentive for the investment of private capital in small business.

It is most demanding on this 85th Congress that concrete action to relieve the distress of the small-business man be taken. I urge such action both in the committee and on the floor of the House.

An Overstuffed Mattress Proves Budget Cuts Not Futile

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I have asked that two editorials appearing recently in newspapers of the First District of Florida be included in the RECORD because of the good thinking and constructive approach they have taken to the problem we face in reducing the national budget and also because of the appropriate suggestion made by the combination of their titles. The Tampa Morning Tribune has headlined its editorial "An Overstuffed Mattress" and the St. Petersburg Independent title is "Budget Cuts Not Futile." Their combination as "An Overstuffed Mattress Proves Budget Cuts Not Futile" carries out what I believe to be the attitude of the American public. I ask inclusion of these two editorials that such a point may be brought to the attention of the Members of the House and to indicate the general opinion of the majority of people in the first district whom it is my honor to represent.

The editorials follow:

[From the Tampa Morning Tribune of Friday, March 29, 1957]

AN OVERSTUFFED MATTRESS

We can't blame President Eisenhower for losing his press conference poise when a reporter asked whether, to help cut the national budget, he'd be willing to "do without that pair of helicopters that have been proposed for getting you to the golf course a little faster than you can do it in a car."

The question carried an unfair implication, since Mr. Eisenhower's political critics have made so much of his golf playing. And the fact is that the announced purpose of the helicopters is to enable the President to save time in getting from the White House to the airport. From the airport he may head for Augusta and golf, or he may fly somewhere else on important official business.

Few Americans, we think, would object to the expenditure of $120,000, plus upkeep, for helicopters which would save the President both time and nerve strain.

But the fact that the question was asked at all indicates the new national emphasis on economy in government.

Public outcries against excessive Federal spending began to be heard after President Eisenhower submitted to Congress the 1958 fiscal budget calling for an expenditure of $71.8 billion, or about $3 billion more than for the current year.

Senators and Representatives reported a surprising volume of cut-that-budget letters from the home folks. Almost overnight, the wallflower economy became the Perle Mesta, of Washington. Everybody wanted to go to her party. The House fell under her spell and began flailing away at departmental appropriations, knocking off $5 million here, $80 million there, $115 million somewhere else—enough, all told, to mount up toward a billion.

For the first time in years, we suspect, newsmen actually sat down with the 1,249-page budget and began peering at details of its proposed expenditures. Virginia's Senator BYRD, whose yearly call for a reduced budget made about as much impression as Groundhog Day, found himself speaking now to an attentive Nation.

The average citizen finds it almost impossible to come to grips with a $71.8-billion budget. It's like trying to carry a feather mattress: the thing is too big and formless to get a firm handhold on.

But when that tremendous total is broken down into its component parts, a man begins to understand why Government spending is so high. And to get mad about it.

He learns, for example, that 3 out of every 4 existing Federal agencies propose to spend more money next year—that their demands, altogether, are up 36 percent over 1954.

He reads (in an analysis by the Knight newspapers) that his tax money is going for such items as $300,000 to buy ammunition

and trophies for civilian rifle clubs; $105,000 for a Department of Commerce agency to decide what official information ought to be withheld from the public; $2,683,000 to bring in and supervise Mexican farmworkers for the benefit of commercial farmers; $42 million to cover losses on strategic minerals the Government buys high and sells low; $1 million (double the present figure) to pay travel costs for Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrators; $41,850,000 for air conditioning Federal buildings.

It is an axiom in Government that old bureaus never die—they grow on and on. Senator BYRD pointed out to the Senate a classic example of this the other day. The current budget carried an item of $150,000 for something called the President's Committee on Education Beyond High School, which was supposed to turn in a report and (presumably) bow out this year. But, lo and behold, the new budget proposes an additional $300,000 for the Committee to complete its report, another $650,000 for grants and subsidies, and a further appropriation of $2½ million "to implement recommendations of the Committee." All this from a $150,000 survey, still uncompleted.

These are some of the feathers that go into the budget mattress. It makes a cozy bed for an army of bureaucrats and assorted special interests, but it is gradually breaking the taxpayers' back.

We don't begrudge President Eisenhower his helicopters. But we think the Nation has a right to expect him to show greater concern than he has to date about the many Federal expenditures in the new budget which have far less justification.

BUDGET CUTS NOT FUTILE

President Eisenhower's rather testy attack on congressional efforts to cut his record $71.8 billion peacetime budget would be more understandable if both he and Treasury Secretary Humphrey had not invited Congress to take such action.

In his press conference this week, the President said it is futile to talk about major cuts in the budget if the United States is to maintain its position in the world and provide its citizens with programs agreed to be necessary.

In the past both the President and Secretary Humphrey have agreed that the present level of Government spending is too high; that it should be reduced. Further, the President has said that if Congress can find places where the budget can be cut without harming essential services it should proceed to do so. Indeed, even this week he agreed that it would be possible to "save money here and there, and I am all for it to the last dollar bill."

What he seemed to fear, however, is that Congress might cut his budget by billions instead of millions. He insisted that such items as defense, atomic energy, foreign aid couldn't be slashed without disastrous results, and that substantial cuts in domestic programs would cripple such activities as veterans benefits, farm aid, and school construction.

Indeed, he said, no major reductions could be achieved unless Congressmen who are talking economy want to eliminate the great number of public works projects they have authorized for political purposes.

However, it might occur to many Americans that public works programs—political or nonpolitical—are as essential to the welfare of this country as those achieved in foreign countries with the help of American aid.

We are not convinced that the sacrifice of all public works programs is the only means of reducing the present staggering budget.

We are not convinced that there is not a lot of nonessential spending in every department and agency of the Federal Government—including such sacred cows as defense, foreign aid, atomic energy, as well as our vast domestic program.

We don't believe that the answer lies in making crippling reductions in any single Government service, but in the elimination of nonessential spending in every department from the top to the bottom. If Congress in its drive toward economy can achieve that end, major reduction in the budget will be achieved without disaster to anyone.

The Inter-American Highway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, in the prominent Latin American newspaper, Diario Las Americas, published in the State of Florida, appeared a report I have prepared on the Inter-American Highway. This important link between the Nations of Central America and the United States is of vital interest to this Congress and the Nation. For this reason I ask inclusion of the article at this time and urge greater understanding between our nations through such great cooperative projects as this highway that is now nearing completion.

[From the Miami Springs, Fla., Diario Las Americas of March 10, 1957]

THE INTER-AMERICAN HIGHWAY

(By Congressman WILLIAM C. CRAMER)

More than any shouted platitude quiet strokes of a few pens on final construction contracts will demonstrate to the world the ability of neighboring nations to achieve a common goal—peacefully and with complete respect of each other.

What is, perhaps, the world's greatest project to be conceived and jointly programed by several nations, the Inter-American Highway, will by next April reach final stages. By the pen, final contracts for the few remaining miles of work will be signed. This 3,200-mile link from the southern border of the United States through Central America to the Panama Canal soon will be as great a bond of friendship and commerce as the world has ever seen.

As a member of the Public Works Committee of the House of Representatives, it has been my privilege to play a part in this work that was originally conceived in 1924. I have inspected the entire route of the highway and was impressed with the great engineering skill that has been demonstrated in overcoming what would seem to be impossible terrain. I have talked to the people responsible for the program in each of the nations of Central America and know the sincere desire to provide a pathway of commerce and friendship. Above all, I have been impressed that the program has been one of complete cooperation and united effort in providing the manpower, brains, and funds to do the job at hand. The people of Central America showed unusual skill and determination in this effort.

The highway today has reached the final stages.

Mexico has completed all portions of the road and is busy paving an additional 548 miles.

Guatemala will open to controlled traffic by July of this year the 25 mile strip, previously impassable, to add another link in the chain.

Honduras continues to improve its portion of the highway.

Of the 140 miles of incomplete road in Costa Rica, 100 miles of construction is now underway, and the remaining 40 will be contracted for in 30 days.

On March 15, Panama will open bids on the final 15-mile strip that will complete construction programing.

These are the up-to-date facts of the Inter-American Highway—a project exclusive of Mexico's contribution, nearly one-half of the route, costing approximately $191 million.

There is much more to the highway than just the dollars and cents of construction and a hard-working team of engineers and workers. This primary means of travel will make each of our countries a little stronger—will strengthen the bonds that have held us together over the years as friendly nations. It is the means by which each nation can and will encourage the neighborly contacts and mutual understanding that brings true friendship.

Those of us who have made exhaustive study of the highway know it will establish a greater and stronger economy in the nations that it traverses. Mutual accessibility of marked areas beyond the borders of each nation will expand trade relations and enlarge opportunities for free trade in new areas. Strong cultural and spiritual ties will extend from one end of the road to the other. The North American tourist now spends annually a billion dollars in the Caribbean area, and with the completion of the highway I confidently predict this expenditure will be far surpassed and this gateway to the Latin Americas will be a most popular destination of hundreds of thousands of my fellow citizens.

The Congress of the United States, representing the people of this Nation, is proud of the part it is taking in completion of this great project. We are even more proud of the fact that this international effort has been a friendly cooperative program of accomplishment between peaceful nations and that today we are near our goal.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

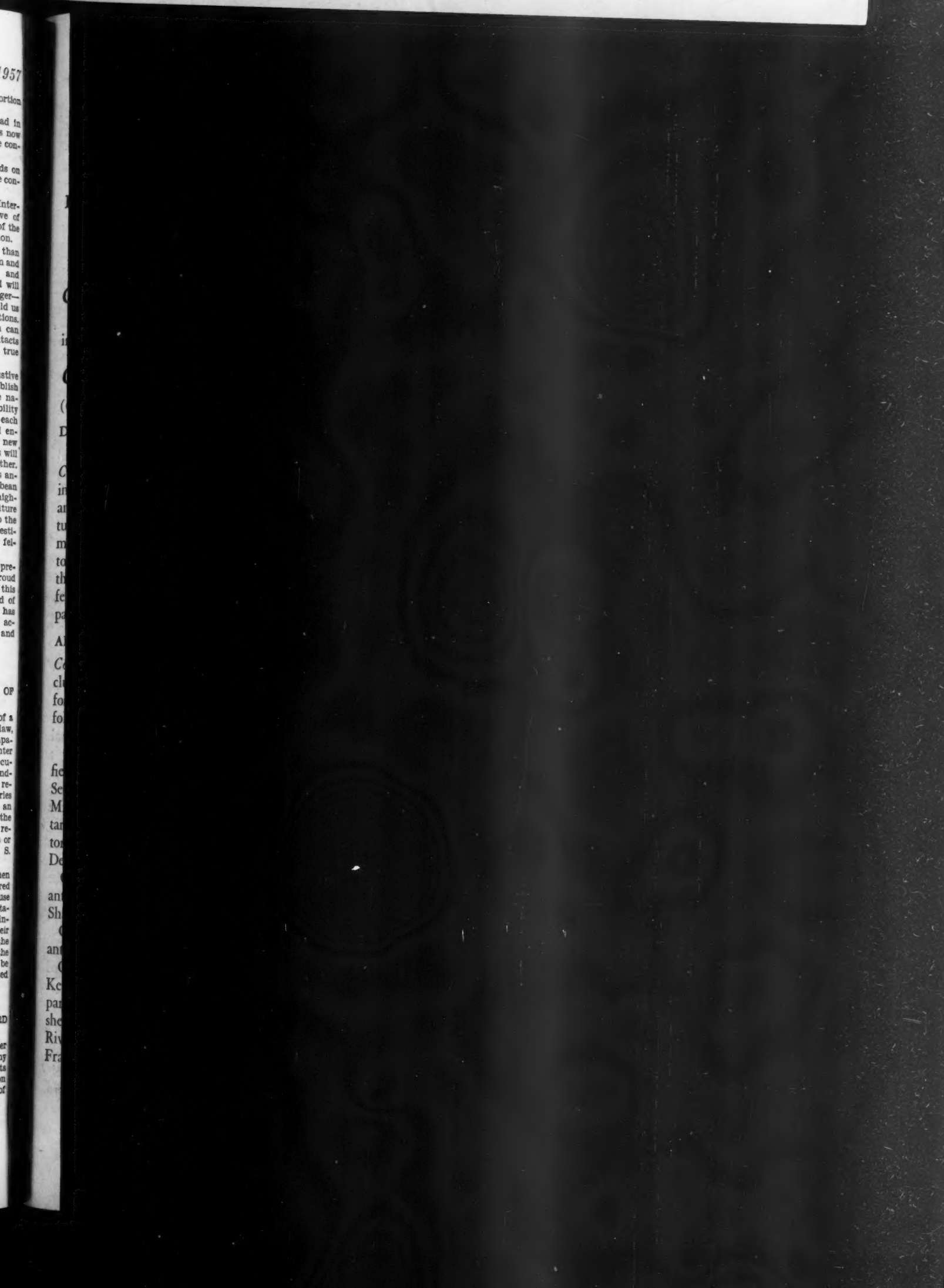

Appendix

The Overall Housing Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very thoughtful statement on the overall housing program which was made before the Banking and Currency Committee on Wednesday, March 27, by Jerry Bialac, president of Rental Development Corporation of America. Mr. Bialac is a highly capable young man who has had an active and successful participation in housing projects and programs of various kinds. I feel that his views would be of interest to all Members of Congress and to the public.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF JERRY BIALAC, PRESIDENT, RENTAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION OF AMERICA, MARCH 27, 1957

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, again I am indebted to this committee for the opportunity of expressing my ideas and recommendations on this important legislation. Today marks my third appearance before you as a private citizen, and I know that although I represent no group or pressure lobby, my testimony will be as carefully considered as any that has been presented before you, for on each of my past appearances you have seen fit to incorporate a number of my recommendations into legislation.

To review my background briefly, my father, Samuel G. Bialac, and I are engaged in the planning, development, building, and operation of low-medium cost apartments. My father has been in the building business for some 17 years and I joined him after leaving the Air Corps in 1945. During this time we have built thousands of FHA homes and apartments in the southwest United States. At the present time we have completed and are operating a 608 project in Los Angeles of 795 1- and 2-bedroom apartments; a 207 project in Phoenix, Ariz., consisting of 523 1- and 2-bedroom apartments, a park swimming pool and shopping center; and we are starting a 207 project in San Diego, Calif., of 735 badly needed apartments with shopping facilities.

San Diego is the most critical housing shortage area in the United States today. Our project will be approximately 3 minutes from the new Atlas missile plant which is now under construction, and which I understand will employ some 17,000 persons. The FHA in San Diego, under the able Mrs. Fay Hartman, has cooperated with us 100 percent to get this needed housing started. We also have in the planning stage section 207 projects for the Los Angeles and Denver, Colorado areas.

We have recently attempted to secure contracts for various Capehart military-housing construction and with Senator CAPEHART's help I have had conferences with the heads of military housing in the Pentagon for the purpose of discussing certain inadequacies of the law. It is with this experience that I offer the following comments and suggestions.

Section 207 of the National Housing Act provides the only low-rental housing program to the general public. Its provisions for rental control are in line with the present effort to stave off inflation, and is the only way permanent and pleasant surroundings may be rented at a reasonable rate in such rental-starved areas as, for example, San Diego. The inability to acquire such rentals will keep many engineers, scientists, and workers from jobs in plants like the CONVAIR Atlas missile plant—and seriously hamper the Nation's defense as well as the economy of our country. In the past, the rate of production of rental units under this act has ridden on the roller-coaster cycle of the whimsical mortgage market and the incentives—or lack of them—in the various housing bills; Therefore:

1. To even out the mortgage market and level production rate of apartments so there will not be too many or too few apartments available, but the right amount to keep a small, even vacancy factor which will make competition and keep the services and maintenance top quality, as well as force conventional apartments to a more realistic rental ceiling, it is recommended—

(a) That the Federal Reserve System require member banks to keep a minimum and maximum portion of their portfolios in Government-insured housing.

(b) FNMA, which has recently announced that it will take prior commitments on section 207's, has taken a step in the right direction, but teeth must be inserted. They must put their prices more realistically in line and keep them on a permanent basis to balance the market in times of need. A warehousing provision will keep the mortgages until a better market is available and FNMA will have to pick up only a small fraction of them.

(c) No more raises in interest rates. This is inflationary and in the long run will help no one. Builders will argue that it will loosen the market. It is not so; if the money is available for construction it will come forth. The builders do not pay this increase; it is tacked onto the price of the house or the rental of the apartments. Many builders presently building under the old rate will find themselves with absolutely no market for their mortgage paper at the lower rate, and those competing for the money who are not in the housing business will have to raise their offer rates, and consequently their prices; and the builders will have to pay more for materials, hence the vicious circle.

In the long run it will not help the banks; all the paper they hold at lower interest rates would depreciate greatly, should they have to cash in some of that paper.

2. Many builders are shying away from 207's because of the cost certification. This in effect says the FHA estimates the cost of the building will be X dollars; if you are an average builder you will come out with a 90-percent loan but if you are an efficient and experienced builder you must give back your savings. This destroys initiative and discourages enterprise. I do not recommend the abolishment of cost certification but I do recommend that it be modified to read 100 percent of costs instead of 90 percent of costs. In this way no windfall could be realized but it would encourage the good and efficient builders to participate in this program.

Title 8 of the National Housing Act, commonly referred to as the Capehart Act, is an act which basically is the right answer to military housing, but in its present form, and with its administration depending upon so many branches, subbranches, military arms, area engineer branches, and base commanders, that by the time the finished plan is back and ready to bid it is so elaborate, expensive, nonfunctional, expensive to maintain, and expensive to live in, that it has lost its identity as its original purpose, to have pleasant, inexpensive, and convenient quarters for families of the armed services personnel.

The reason and cure for these charges will be explained in the following recommendations:

1. As a result of the overplanning of these units builders have been afraid to bid freely, as the cost of construction is so close to the legal limit allowed by the law and, in some cases more, and the elaborate plans and specifications make biding too much of a risk. Also, the huge loans and financing costs cut further into their profits.

Recommended:

(A) Plans should be standardized for all branches of the service and it should then be the duty of the architects who are chosen to adapt these plans to local climatic and architectural styles from the same standard floor plan; and engineer these plans to the local terrain.

(a) Base commanders who are now allowed too much leeway in the planning of the projects would then only specify the number and types of units needed by the base, and approved by higher authority. This would eliminate much of the extravagance and waste now showing up in the plans. In their natural effort to get the best for their men and the finest for their post, the taxpayer is often forgotten, and, of all times, now is the time to cut.

(b) The greatest problem faced by military families moving from post to post is that drapes and curtains practically never fit the new windows, and they have to either throw them away and get new ones or leave the windows bare or ill-fitted. The furniture too often doesn't fit because of different size rooms and varied wall space caused by different placement of windows and doors. In these cases, unless the military family is ready to go to great expense, no matter how elaborate the quarters are, the living is sublevel. Duplication and monotony of design can be overcome by the correct use of colors, exterior design, and site planning.

(c) Standardization of plans could achieve many savings in construction and future maintenance. Bearing walls could be so placed that standard sizes of lumber could be utilized with no waste, cabinets and doors of standard sizes and in available quantities could be specified. Too often custom-made cabinets and items in short production are required.

(d) Architects should be chosen for their experience and ability in this field. Many architects are more eager to achieve an artistic monument than a costwise, pleasant functional project.

2. Another of the shortcomings of military housing is the maintenance which is going to be way out of proportion in the plans that I have seen. Standardization of certain features will cure much of that, but it is recommended that:

(a) More multifamily units be built.

1. Because of their concentration, common walls, centralization of utilities, switchboxes and meters, hallways, sidewalks, garages, etc., multifamily units are easier to maintain. They are far cheaper per unit to build and their land cost is far less per unit. Multifamily units properly planned with parks, playground, and swimming pool, can be far easier and pleasanter living for the military family that moves frequently. Many items of maintenance that must be done by families themselves in their limited time—mowing the lawn in single-family houses could be eliminated because of the concentration and land coverage in multifamily units. Too often the wife must do these manual chores because of duty by the husband.

3. There are other items which can be corrected which will make this act as workable and as beneficial as it can be.

Recommended:

(A) That all Capehart projects be halted temporarily and a committee formed of builders, architects, land planners, engineers, military to study the problems and recommend a procedure to regulate further construction.

In these times of high Government spending there is one obvious duplication of effort which, if corrected, would not only cut costs but would make more efficient the job both agencies are striving to do. I speak of the VA Appraisal and Examination Departments. It would be highly advisable to—

1. Dissolve the VA Appraisal and Examination Departments and transfer such personnel as architectural building inspectors, underwriters, planners, etc., to the various FHA offices.

2. Provide a new program under FHA to include all the benefits that the GI would get under the present VA regulations. This would not interfere with other VA activities and the GI would still get his certificate of eligibility from the VA.

3. The increase in trained personnel in FHA would enable that agency to take on the added traffic and even to process their regular cases better—because there would be no cross-purposes. This too would eliminate competition with each other in the mortgage market and standardize such things as interest rates, regulations, and building standards.

When I appeared before this committee in 1954 I suggested that, because of the huge growth of the construction industry—which is the Nation's largest industry—and I included home building, school, and defense plant construction, road building, commercial construction, and many other phases, a Department of Housing and Construction be created, and that this department be headed at a Cabinet level by a Secretary of Housing and Construction.

I suggested further that the Housing and Home Administrator, Mr. Albert Cole, should be that man. The events of the past few years: the multi-billion-dollar-road bill, ever-expanding school, home, and factory construction have increased that need a thousandfold. The capable and efficient way in which Mr. Cole has administered his complex Agency prove beyond any doubt his ability and specialized knowledge, needed to handle this post.

I urge this committee to use its great influence for this purpose; to fill a gap in our governmental administration which is so important to our economy, defense, education, and welfare.

Thank you.

Cutting High Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article of mine which was published in the Farm Journal of April 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HELP US CUT THESE HIGH TAXES

(By Senator HARRY F. BYRD)

I've been in the United States Senate 24 years. I've survived the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and the present deal. But the budget that this administration has just sent to Congress is by far the most dangerous that I've ever seen.

I have three good reasons for saying that:

1. This country is mortgaged to the hilt at this moment.

The $275 billion Federal debt—that you and I owe—equals the full assessed value of all the land, all the buildings, all the mines, all the machinery, all the factories, all the livestock, everything of tangible value—in the United States.

In addition we have another $250 billion of contingent liabilities. These are obligations which you and I have guaranteed in case they materialize such as $40 billion worth of possible losses on Federal housing.

Local taxes—the kind levied by 48 States, 3,000 counties, 16,000 towns and cities, 17,000 townships and 79,000 school districts—come to $25 billion, and are headed higher. (Local taxes are about 25 percent of the total.)

Thirty-three cents out of every dollar that the people of the United States earn now goes for taxes of some kind.

We owe so much money that it takes 10 percent of our taxes just to pay the interest.

There's a limit beyond which even a country as great and rich as ours cannot go. I think we've reached it.

2. In the face of all this, the President has sent Congress the biggest peacetime budget in history.

The budget is $3 billion bigger than last year, which in itself was a record-breaker. And this $3 billion doesn't include another $2 billion set aside as a special fund for the new national highway program.

Many people assume that the size of this budget is accounted for largely by military needs. Actually it calls for spending $2 billion less than in fiscal 1954 on the military, but asks for about $7 billion more in domestic, civilian expenditures.

This 1958 budget asks for 13 new State aid programs. That would make 73 in all.

This represents a change in policy—a change from a policy of frugality in Government on the part of this administration to a policy of big Government with power concentrated in Washington.

If continued, it means that both political parties are pledged to big Government and big spending. Whom does that leave to be the watchdog for the people?

3. I believe that taxes are so burdensome that if continued at present and proposed levels they will lead to serious consequences:

They will take the money this Nation's economy needs for growth to provide jobs and markets for farm goods.

They will cause a downturn in business and in personal incomes, which in turn will reduce the tax intake.

They will unleash a tremendous inflationary force.

Look what has happened since 1940. By 1952 your dollar, yes, your dollar, had lost 48 cents of its value. When President Eisenhower—newly elected on economy promises—cut $9 billion from the proposed Truman budget, this stabilized the dollar. But under last year's record budget, another two cents of the dollar's value was lost. The new budget would chip off more.

The loss of half the purchasing power of its money should be a serious warning to any nation.

It is no exaggeration to say that there is nothing on earth more important than to preserve the fiscal integrity of the United States of America and the freedoms upon which our Republic is founded.

Public debt is not like private debt. If private debt is not paid off, it can be ended by bankruptcy proceedings, and maybe not too many people are hurt. But if public debt is not paid off—and paid off with taxes—the end can only be disastrous inflation or repudiation. Either would destroy our form of government.

If we become insolvent, we cannot even defend ourselves militarily, nor can we preserve our freedom.

"But we have an emergency need for schools and roads and more health services," some argue.

I admit that it seems so. Some may think that a good case can be made for the 13 new State aid programs asked for in this budget. They come to only $400 million the first year—but like foreign aid expenditures, these would grow and grow.

The original Marshall plan was set up for $15 billion and had a time limit of 4 years. Since then we have spent $40 billion more in foreign aid. And today Congress has been asked to open up vast new spending in the Middle East.

It is an interesting fact, I think, that the debt of the United States is 2½ times as great as the combined debt of 12 European nations that we have been helping. They have a smaller per-person debt than we have, but we're still contributing to them.

We need to drive home the point that the Federal Government does not have a magic, ever-flowing spring from which gushes "Federal aid for States." This money must first come from the States and communities themselves in taxes.

And only some of it ever gets back. Washington takes out a slice for administration—and then tells you how to use the part it sends back. This weakens the ability and freedom of States and communities to help themselves.

Certainly, it is difficult to oppose specific money-spending proposals. But the point is—we must stop somewhere. We must deal in principles. As an individual family, you can't do all the things you want, or need to do, and still stay out of court or the poorhouse.

Naturally, I favor spending whatever it takes for an adequate Military Establishment.

But I maintain that we can cut $5 billion off our Federal budget without any real harm.

I personally will advocate that the President send a special message to Congress asking that the tax-saving Hoover Commission recommendations be adopted.

I will urge that President Eisenhower suggest cuts in this budget, just as he did when he cut $9 billion from the Truman budget when he came into office, and not just pass the buck to Congress with a pious hope that it can do something.

I will urge that we eliminate some of these new expenses, such as the 13 new aids to the States.

It might be necessary to end up cutting the budget by a flat percentage across the board. It is an almost impossible task to cut item by item in the 1,165-page budget.

Actually, we should be reducing the public debt at this time, not increasing it. If we can't balance the Federal budget and reduce the debt in peacetime and with better than normal prosperity, when can it be done?

There is one principle that we must always preserve if our democracy is to survive: "It is the duty of the people to support the Government and not the Government to support the people."

Say what you will, we can't afford to pay out a third of our income for taxes.

Welfare of Farmers and Ranchers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of a statement made before the Subcommittee on Agricultural Production, Marketing, and Stabilization of Prices, of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, by one of America's great farm-machinery producers, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Senators will find that this statement strongly reinforces the position of the junior Senator from Minnesota that agricultural credit in the great farming areas in the West, particularly those areas which have been stricken by years of drought, has become almost nonexistent.

This statement is made by a distinguished representative of the Minneapolis-Moline Co., one of the largest farm-implement manufacturers in the Nation.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY WILLIAM W. LUNDELL, DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS, MINNEAPOLIS-MOLINE CO., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

To the Honorable Members of the Subcommittee on Agricultural Production, Marketing, and Stabilization of Prices, the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the United States Senate:

Mr. Chairman, may I first thank you and the members of this committee for giving us this opportunity to indicate our deep interest in the welfare of our farmers and ranchers.

I have been asked by Mr. Henry S. Reddig, the president of our company, Minneapolis-Moline, to bring you his warm greetings. He has asked me to communicate to you our company's interest in and support of the legislation you are considering.

In an age when America concerns itself with the salvation of over half the world, we contend it is about time for the American farmer to be reestablished in his rightful role as a first class American. The first responsibility of our Government must be to our citizens. And when one group or segment of Americans has fallen into a period of depression, our Government should help them find the means to help themselves.

We of Minneapolis-Moline commend the Senators who have introduced this legislation for their foresight, for their understanding of the needs of the farmers and ranchers and for their willingness to rise above the cold and abstract limitations of some theoretical economic philosophy to deal with the concrete human needs of our day.

I believe, gentlemen, that we all agree there is no more sound investment we can make than the investment we make in our farmers and ranchers as individuals.

The need to discuss funds for such investment arises from the fact, all too evident in the past months, that there is both a tight-money situation and that some local country bankers have extended credit—in the disaster areas in particular—to the limit of their resources.

Now it is obvious that one of the greatest needs in the drought-stricken areas is the availability of quick and reasonable financing plans. In most of these areas, one matter requiring action is this: Funds are needed immediately for sinking irrigation wells and for installing irrigation equipment. These projects are soundly conceived and properly planned in the different States.

The company I represent—Minneapolis-Moline—has a deep interest in our farmers. Our research facilities are devoted to designing machines to help the farmer and the rancher make his crop with the least labor and at the lowest cost. But to make his crop he must have machinery. And to have machinery, he must have funds.

If the Congress can expedite the furnishing of adequate funds at a reasonable rate quickly to those having good credit before another crop season passes, it will warrant the thanks of all the people of America.

With action such as we of Minneapolis-Moline hope you will take with the greatest of dispatch, our ranchers and farmers in the drought-stricken disaster areas can once again become self-supporting—as they have been for a hundred years—except for the past half dozen drought years.

There is much talk about fickle weather, gentlemen, but the weather has been anything but fickle in the disaster area. The weather has been enormously consistent—consistently dry for years and years. We think the time has come for our policy to be just as consistent, and we believe that it must be our policy to provide funds for our good farmers. Let us never forget that in time of stress and national emergency, these farmers have—consistently—met and supplied the needs of the Nation.

To get down to cases, we believe that loans for irrigation equipment will largely take chance and hazard out of the picture. With irrigation equipment the farmer can himself make his own weather—choosing when and where and how much water his crops need at the best times for growing.

We realize that in certain areas the water table is being lowered dangerously. But in most States local State laws and surveys of the soil conservation districts are protecting our basic water resources. With the emerging watershed programs the future of our water resources can be viewed with optimism.

The major value of irrigation, however, is the complete control it gives the farmer in applying water in the specific areas and at the exact period of growth when a little water will do much. Irrigation does not mean indiscriminate flooding of land and consequent waste of water. Irrigation permits the wise husbanding of water. In short, irrigation is water economy.

With proper mechanical aids to implement the careful research as to available water in all of the States, American farmers and ranchers will once again become self-supporting—not dependent on odd jobs or charity. Our ranchers do not want a dole. Our farmers do not want a dole. But with private banking resources expanded almost to their limits, it appears necessary that the Government step in to make reasonable funds quickly available.

It is difficult today for a farmer businessman in many of the disaster areas to get any more funds from his good friend, the local banker, because that local banker just hasn't got any more money available under the rules and regulations within which he, the banker, must operate.

A great man, of half American descent, Winston Churchill, said in another time of crisis, "Give us the tools and we shall finish the job." The American farmer asks no more.

In conclusion, may I again express the appreciation of the company I represent, Minneapolis-Moline, for the courtesy of your invitation to appear here in Washington to lend our voices in support of this legislation for the benefit of our American farmers and ranchers—most particularly for those in the drought disaster areas.

Thank you.

Plants for Depressed Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, near the end of the last session of the 84th Congress a bill appeared on the floor of the Senate that would purportedly have given relief to so-called depressed areas. This measure was acted upon hurriedly, and many questions that touch upon the future security of our economic system were left unanswered. Knowing that legislation of this nature is again headed toward the floor of the Senate, I urge that all Senators give serious consideration to the full implication of these proposals.

One of Arizona's most outstanding editors, Mr. William Stuart, has expressed much of this concern in an editorial appearing in the Prescott Courier of March 27, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PLANTS FOR DEPRESSED AREAS URGED

The Senate is moving toward passage of depressed-area legislation which could plague industry for years. The objective is to use the money and power of the Federal Government to locate factories in areas having heavy unemployment.

This involves many things, such as initial Federal financing up to $324 million, loans up to 75 percent to provide factories, $50 million for access roads and community facilities, Federal technical aid and the like. Some sponsors of the legislation say this is just a start, a minimum. They expect the Federal Administration of Depressed Areas—if established—to be given power to divert Government procurement contracts to these areas. They want the Federal Government to deal directly with local communities, thus bypassing States.

The Senate Banking Committee, which is considering the legislation, has been told that factories must be located in some depressed areas because unemployed men do

not want to move. A rather drastic program is embodied in a bill introduced by Senator DOUGLAS (Democrat, Illinois). It is pending in the Senate Banking Committee. More moderate bills, supported by the Eisenhower administration, have been introduced by Senator DIRKSEN (Republican, Illinois), and Senator MARTIN (Republican, Pennsylvania).

At the hearing Senator CAPEHART (Republican, Indiana) raised vital questions which were unanswered, asking: "How are you going to get industry into these towns? Must we require the Federal Government to decentralize defense factories? Must we tell corporations to diversify?" In the past, legislation of this character has been strongly opposed by Members of Congress from the South and West.

European Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I commend to the attention of the Senate a very thoughtful and very excellent summary of the problems that must be solved before European unity can become a reality. It appeared Monday in the Louisville Times.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STEP TOWARD EUROPEAN UNITY

Six nations of Western Europe took an important step toward the goal of European integration last week with the signing in Rome of treaties setting up a common market and a plan for common development of atomic power.

The taking of one step does not necessarily mean, of course, successful completion of the journey. Nor does the mere signing of treaties make it certain that the provisions of the pacts will be carried out. There is still a difficult road ahead.

The next step will be ratification of the treaties by the Parliaments of the six countries: West Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. At the moment, prospects for ratification seem good.

However, assuming the treaties are ratified, there will remain the problem of putting them into effect. Inevitably, difficulties will arise. The common market plan, for example, calls for gradual elimination of tariff and other economic barriers among the six nations. This is obviously desirable, but, equally obvious, it will run into strong resistance from various vested national interests, just as in our own country special interests resist efforts to lower or abolish our economic barriers.

The basic idea of the common market plan is to allow the six nations gradually over a long period—perhaps 12 to 15 years—to coordinate their national economies into a single entity that could compete on something like even terms with such giants as the United States and Russia. Eventually the six countries would have a single tariff on goods from outside, capital and labor would circulate freely within the area, and the national economic policies would be meshed into a common economic policy.

None of this would be accomplished or even attempted overnight. During the transition years, individual members would retain certain rights. France, for example, would be permitted to keep special taxes on imports and to continue its export subsidy. Eventually, these would be surrendered in the common interest.

European unity or integration has been an age-old dream. The shattering of Europe by World War II and the cold war has made the dream doubly desirable, for, as Walter Lippmann wrote a few weeks ago: "This divided and subdivided Europe is unable, either by diplomacy or by force, to affirm and defend its vital interests in the outer world."

Since the war Europe has been driven by necessity to take several actions leading toward a more integrated economy. Probably the most important of these was the establishment of the Coal and Steel Community. This latest action could be even more important, and it will be if the mutual jealousies and suspicions can be submerged by the common need.

Thirty-ninth Anniversary of the Estonian Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a declaration approved by the concert rally under the sponsorship of the Joint Committee of Estonian Organizations in Baltimore, Md., celebrating the 39th anniversary of the Estonian Republic on February 24, 1957.

There being no objection, the declaration was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The U. S. S. R. has committed multiple crimes against the rights of the Estonian nation and against the liberties, properties, and lives of Estonians. The perpetration of these crimes continues in violation of precepts of international law and solemn commitments of the U. S. S. R.

The same pattern of crimes is being practiced over other Soviet dominated countries, and preparation for new aggressions and other crimes, is underway on worldwide scale. Millions are suffering under Soviet imposed terror and misery. No people in the world have accepted voluntarily the Soviet system. All are longing for the opportunity to overthrow the Communist regime.

Throughout history Estonians have been fighting against the foreign invaders until they regained their independence after the liberation war against the Soviet Union. The same spirit prevails at present. Only overwhelming Soviet forces stationed in Estonia prevent the people from driving out the enemy.

In their tragic situation they are looking for support from the free world. Sporadic declaration about law, liberty, and rights of subjugated nations are not sufficient if they are not implemented.

We declare that for achievement of international peace and justice it is necessary that the free world condemn Soviet acts of aggression as international crimes, exercise pressures for the termination of these crimes, and as a first step demand the withdrawal of all Soviet forces and administration from Estonia and the other occupied countries. This should be the primary condition in any dealing with the U. S. S. R.

The Mideastern Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the American Jewish World, published in Minneapolis, Minn. This editorial has been written by Mr. L. H. Frisch, editor and publisher.

Mr. Frisch is one of the outstanding citizens of the State of Minnesota, and one of the most brilliant and learned editors in American journalism. His comments on the Mideastern crisis are worthy of the thoughtful attention of every Member of Congress, and particularly of those persons in Government responsible for our foreign policy. I commend the editorial of March 22, entitled "As the Crisis Unfolds," to the attention of my colleagues.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AS THE CRISIS UNFOLDS

As the situation develops day by day, Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza strip and from the strategic points guarding the Gulf of Aqaba, as an act of faith in the United Nations and the United States, has not eased the possibility of an explosion in the Middle East—an explosion, if not prevented by immediate and energetic steps on the part of our Government in and out of the United Nations, may lead to a global war.

Driven by his ruthless and reckless ambition, encouraged by the Kremlin and by the vagueness of declarations and procrastinating tactics of our State Department, the impudence and aggressiveness of Nasser grow from day to day, and he is acting—to quote the New York Times—"as though he had won a great personal victory," instead of having been given a severe beating, as was long due to him, by little Israel.

He insists that the Gaza strip be returned to the status quo before Israel stepped in to clean up the Fedayeen nests where the nightly assassins of Israel's peaceful population were receiving official training by the Egyptian Government. The United Nations' scanty troops are being pushed and restricted to the Gaza-Israel armistice lines.

In this connection something very sinister is afoot. It is revealed, unconsciously perhaps, in a New York Times editorial of March 16, which states that under "these circumstances the immediate means of checking Nasser are limited." This means that the Fedayeen attacks on Israel will continue, and Israel is urged to "maintain its self-restraint and not permit itself to fall for provocations aimed at its destruction."

What strange advice, in view of all that has happened before and since Israel's march into Sinai. It means a return to the policy of the present administration since Dulles took over. Israel must be patient. Israel must not retaliate no matter what the provocation.

Another suggestion in the Times editorial that "it would greatly improve Israel's international position if it should admit United Nations patrols on its side of the border in line with United Nations resolutions," is both a trap and a threat.

It is a trap because the small U. N. force spread out thinly on the long and exposed border, cannot effectively stop the Fedayeen invaders. Moreover they can easily come in through Jordan. The only protection is that the U. N. patrol the whole Gaza area where the murderers are trained and where they find sanctuary after a raid.

U. N. patrols on the Israel side of the border cannot be accepted by Israel for three reasons: First, it will create the impression that both sides are equally guilty of aggressive raids, whereas it has been conclusively established that Israel never took any but retaliatory action; second, it would not prevent Fedayeen attacks; third, it would only prevent Israel's retaliation and expose its peaceful citizens to a continuous reign of terror and murder.

What is even more sinister is the threat against Israel and the pressure exerted to accept this unrealistic suggestion. Unless Israel admits U. N. patrols on its side of the border, which definitely cannot be sufficient in stopping the rightly invaders from the Gaza strip, Israel will be subjected to continued sanctions.

Let us not forget that during the Sinai crisis, the United States administration has more than demanded the U. N. sanctions against Israel. It has unilaterally imposed sanctions. It suspended American relief; it stopped the negotiations for an international loan requested by Israel; it stopped issuing passports for tourists to Israel.

One would reasonable expect that with Israel's withdrawal as asked by the U. N., these State Department sanctions would automatically be withdrawn. This is not the case. All we hear is talk about talks for the resumption of relief. No passports are being issued. When a newspaper, like the New York Times, can say editorially that if Israel "should admit United Nations patrols on each side, it can be assured of a quick resumption of American aid," it doubtless reflects smoke signals of the prevailing State Department policy.

It is all too obvious that the State Department has learned nothing in the last tragic months. The Senate cannot be too forceful in its demand for a clear-cut policy which would reflect the conscience of the American people, the will of Congress and the hope of the free world.

The issue of the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal is fortunately obvious. Either Israel shipping will have free access or it will not. In regard to Aqaba, Israel has made it clear that it will fight for its rights and for its lifeline.

Nasser very shrewdly is hinting now that it will not be Egypt that will stop Israel at Aqaba. It will be Saudi Arabia. The Arab dictators depend on the American oil trust with its great influence on our Middle East policy to check Israel from asserting its right. This is a situation which Congress must face squarely. One fact is certain, Israel does not consider itself expendable, and will fight for its life.

As far as the Suez Canal is concerned, the issue involves many nations. "Egypt," President Eisenhower assured the American people in his address on February 21, "by accepting the six principles adopted by the Security Council last October in relation to the Suez Canal, bound itself to free and open transit through the canal without discrimination, and to the principle that the operation of the canal should be insulated from the politics of any country."

It is no secret now that Egypt is repudiating the six-point principle of the Security Council. Will the President and the State Department now take as energetic a lead—at the U. N. and unilaterally—to bring Egypt or Saudi Arabia to law and order as it has done when Israel was involved.

The Minneapolis Morning Tribune on March 18 stated editorially that "unless our Government takes the leadership in answering these questions raised by Nasser's violations, its good faith will be suspected by Israel and the free world."

We may add that the consequences will be far more serious. Israel and the free nations will more than suspect the good faith of our Government. Our administration in Washington will be branded as a conscienceless betrayer. We trust that the American people and Congress will not permit our Government to play such a role.

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials from the Washington Evening Star, one entitled "Juvenile Gangs," published in the Washington Evening Star of March 20, 1957, and the other entitled "Curbing Delinquency," published in the March 30, 1957, issue of the same newspaper.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star of March 20, 1957]

JUVENILE GANGS

The juvenile riot, or mob scene, or whatever one may wish to call it which occurred outside Douglas Junior High School last week has stirred up a community debate over ways and means of dealing with the problem of juvenile gangs.

It has been suggested that the trouble-making youngsters feel they are too tightly controlled, that the real problem lies with a hard core of young hoodlums, or that the community, somehow, has failed to measure up to its responsibilities. Perhaps there is something to all these points of view. But the real difficulty, we think, stems from an abiding belief on the part of too many of these young delinquents that they can rough up a policeman or manhandle a motorist and get away with it. Consequently, we hope that Inspector John E. Winters, head of the police department's youth aid division, means what he says. What he says, in substance, is that he is tired of temporizing with these teen-age mobsters, that when they "pull this sort of thing" they are going to be arrested and brought in, and that if they get violent they are going to be subdued.

Some people will think that this attitude represents a turning back of the clock. But the way things are going in this city, it is time to turn it back—at least to this extent.

[From the Washington Evening Star of March 30, 1957]

CURBING DELINQUENCY

For the past 3 years I have served as associate counsel of the United States Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, and I am now counsel for the minority of the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Senate. However, I write as a resident of the greater Washington area.

I read with interest your editorial of March 20 dealing with juvenile gangs. It is most disturbing in this age of the greatest prosperity in the history of the United States, with great advancements in all fields, that we still have to concern ourselves with problems of juvenile delinquency and specifically juvenile gangs. The position taken in your editorial is one shared by many people interested in the juvenile delinquency problem.

At one of our hearings on July 14, 1955, in Chicago, in which Senators KEFAUVER, LANGER, and WILEY participated, a witness who appeared before the subcommittee was Dr. Bernard Schulman, who specializes in psychiatry and is the assistant director for professional services of the Community Guidance Interest of Chicago. Part of his testimony which is applicable to your editorial was as follows:

"What we have is a completely different relationship between parent and child than we had 50 years ago. We cannot go back any more than we can give up electricity and internal combustion engines; any more than we can blind our eyes to the existence of atomic energy. We cannot at this stage establish the authoritarian relationship that existed between parent and child years ago. First of all, the community won't stand for it. There was a time when, if a father beat his child, the neighbors thought it served the kid right or, at the most, a father who beats his child too much, but nobody ever thought of dragging the father to court for beating his child, or ostracizing him because he beat his child. That was considered a father's right. Do we want to go back to this? Maybe some of us do, but we can't. The community won't stand for it. We have come too long and too far away from that position.

"The chief difference between the child of years ago and the child today is not the fact that the child is more rebellious. There was just as much of a war between adults and children then as there is now, but then the child did not dare to rebel openly because the community did not support it. Today, defiance is the order of the day, and this is the chief difference: That the child today can be openly defiant and can get away with it. Why? Do we train our children to be nondefiant? No, we encourage them to be defiant. We encourage them to fight. We encourage them to get rich quick, to look for the easy way out—to want prestige. In every way in which we train our children, we are also training them partly to be juvenile delinquents. Why, in this Michigan boulevard housing project, the Rosenwald project, was there a decrease in juvenile delinquency? Because a community was formed in which there was enough social pressure to keep the children from going astray into unconstructive ways of behavior * * *."

Mr. Chumbris: "Well, as to this particular problem, you say that the community attitude guides. Now do you think it would be wise for the community's attitude to change back toward, not quite all the way back to where it was 50 years ago, but to turn back maybe 10 or 15 years?"

Dr. Schulman: "We are pretty safe in assuming that we are all moving toward a more democratic way of life, in spite of the fact that our democratic way of life is threatened by outside forces, and part of the cost of changing seems to be this growing defiance on the part of the child, just as one of the other costs of changing seems to be the rising of divorce rate, the inability of so many people to find happiness in their marriages. People will have to learn new ways of getting along with each other, and the training that will be necessary is tremendous. We will have to train everybody. First we all have to train ourselves to be able

to train people, because we have to know better what is going on—parents, teachers, children, everybody is going to have to get into this. No one group will be able to carry it through."

Mr. Chumbris: "First of all we have to crystalize the idea of where that place should be, I mean so far as parental authority, what the community's attitude should be toward parental authority. We have to establish that first, don't we?"

Dr. Schulman: "What would you like the community attitude to be?"

That is a good question. What do we, as a community, desire as our attitude not only as to parents' attitudes toward children, but also the community, the police, the juvenile courts, etc., toward the youth?

Without going into a long dissertation as to what an excellent program to combat juvenile delinquency should consist of, I would like to briefly state that most experts agree that four requisites are necessary: (1) Research, (2) trained technicians, such as psychiatrists, probation officers, social workers, correctional institutions staff, etc.; (3) public information and public relations, (4) social action. The first 2 require expenditures of considerable sums, however, the last 2 items could be maintained with the minimum of expenditures. In many communities such as the metropolitan area of the District of Columbia the newspapers, radio and television stations donate much time to matters of youth and problems of juvenile delinquency. By social action it would require the coordination of all organizations both public and private for the betterment of our youth.

PETER N. CHUMBRIS.

The Nature of Friendship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one of the outstanding newspaper editors of Texas is a scholar and philosopher named H. M. Baggarly. Mr. Baggarly is editor and publisher of the Tulia Herald, a weekly newspaper that serves an important area of the Texas Panhandle.

The Tulia Herald is published every Thursday, and its editorial page regularly carries a column by the editor under the title "Thoughts for Thursday." On a recent Thursday, Mr. Baggarly addressed himself to the nature of friendship. I ask unanimous consent that his editorial on this subject be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THOUGHTS FOR THURSDAY
(By H. M. Baggarly)

During the 5 years that this column has appeared in this paper, many comments have come from its readers. Some topics considered seem to provoke more comment than others. They seem to strike closer home. Some of the more popular topics have been those on friendship, old age, sympathy, and others closely associated to these.

It seems that so many people are hungry for friendship, want reassurance as they approach old age, are lonesome, and long for attention from their children. Our correspondence indicates that so many oldsters feel forgotten and in the way. They feel that they are neglected by their children and the younger generation. There are many, too, who feel friendless and forsaken.

This week we have selected a quotation which is along the line of those we have used in the past which proved unusually helpful and popular.

This selection concerns true friendship:

"He likes you just as you are. He does not want to alter you.

"He likes your moods and enjoys your pessimism as much as your optimism.

"He likes your success. And your failure endears you to him the more.

"He is better than a lover because he is never jealous.

"He wants nothing from you except that you be yourself.

"He is the one being with whom you can feel safe. With him you can utter your heart, its badness and its goodness.

"There are many faithful wives and husbands; there are few faithful friends.

"Friendship is the most admirable, amazing, and rare article among human beings. Anyone can stand by you when you are right. A friend stands by you even when you are wrong.

"Like the shade of a great tree in the noonday heat, is a friend.

"Like the home port, with your country's flag flying, after a long journey, is a friend.

"A friend is an impregnable citadel of refuge in the strife of existence.

"It is he who keeps your faith in human nature that makes you believe it is a good universe.

"He is an antidote for despair, the elixir of hope, the tonic for depression.

"When you are vigorous and spirited, you like to take your pleasures with him; when you are in trouble you want to tell him; when you are dying you want him near.

"You give to him without reluctance and borrow from him without embarrassment.

"If you live 50 years and find 1 absolute friend, you are fortunate."

Here are some original definitions of a "friend" which a London newspaper came into possession of as the result of offering a prize for the best definition: "The first person who comes in when the whole world has gone out." "The sunshine of calamity." "One truer to me than I am to myself." "The essence of pure devotion." "Friendship, 1 soul in 2 bodies." "The triple alliance of the three great powers, love, sympathy, and help."

While we are not a fan of Oscar Wilde, we do appreciate many things that he has written. He penned a bit of prose which expresses a noble thought.

Here it is:

If a friend of mine gave a feast, and did not invite me to go to it, I should not mind a bit. But if a friend of mine had sorrow and refused to allow me to share it, I should feel it most bitterly. If he closed the doors of the house of mourning against me, I would move back again and again and beg to be admitted, so that I might share what I was entitled to share. If he thought me unworthy, unfit to weep with him, I would feel it as the most poignant humiliation, as the most terrible mode for which disgrace could be inflicted on me—he who can look on the loveliness of the world and share its sorrow, and realize something of the wonder of both, is in immediate contact with divine things, and has got as near to God's secret as anyone can get.

Dr. Archie D. McMurdo, Candidate for Oregon's Doctor of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in the East Oregonian, published at Pendleton, Oreg., there appeared in the March 29, 1957, issue, an interesting account about Dr. Archie D. McMurdo, who has been selected as the Umatilla-Morrow county candidate for Oregon's Doctor of the Year. Written by Mrs. Tom Wilson, of Heppner, county seat of Morrow County, this biographical sketch of Dr. McMurdo's more-than-45-years as a country doctor touches briefly on the drama, courage, resourcefulness, and civic spirit which give an epic quality to his career. The epic quality is unfolded, too, in the years spanned by Dr. McMurdo's career. When he began practice, the common means of transportation was still the horse and buggy. His calls might take him north to the banks of the Columbia River or south into the Blue Mountains. Today, a plane can span the continent in the time it took the doctor to reach his more distant patients. While he took care of the physical troubles of the individuals in the community, he immersed himself in their civic and group activities and shared the responsibilities imposed on the few who willingly shoulder the obligations and duties of our society.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this inspiring story by Mrs. Tom Wilson printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PIONEER HEPPNER PHYSICIAN TACKLES ILLNESS WITH A SMILE
(By Mrs. Tom Wilson)

HEPPNER.—Dr. Archie D. McMurdo, who is entering his 47th year of medical practice, has been selected as the Umatilla-Morrow county candidate for Oregon's Doctor of the Year.

A keen sense of humor and enjoyment of life has marked Dr. McMurdo's 45 years as a country doctor in Heppner since coming here in October, 1912.

Traveling by livery stable team over cow trials to treat patients in the country, delivering as many as 4 babies in 1 day in widely separated areas and operating at country homes with members of the patient's family as assistants were all in a day's (and night's) work.

"If I had the chance, I'd do it all over again," Dr. McMurdo said.

PURCHASED RCH CAR

When Dr. McMurdo arrived there was only one car in Heppner. The following year he bought an assembled RCH car and later drove a Model T. Before that he walked or rode a bike on town calls and hired a team from one of the two livery stables here for country calls.

"The Ford was a great boon to the doctor's practice," Dr. McMurdo said. "But broken wrists dropped off 90 percent after the self starter was invented."

A call to Hardman, in the foothills 20 miles above Heppner, was an all day trip in winter. Usually it was an overnight trip too as patients flocked in when they heard the doctor was in town, Dr. McMurdo recalled. Sometimes it was necessary to travel as far as Monument as there was no doctor there or in Hamilton. In the winter, when the snow was deep, it was a long, rough trip over the mountains. The doctor could go as far as Parkers Mill in a car where Monument people would meet him with horses to continue the trip by horseback.

ACTED AS DENTIST TOO

"I always carried forceps for extracting teeth as there was no dentist in the interior and usually someone wanted an aching tooth pulled. On one occasion when in Monument a Portuguese sheepherder was in agony with the toothache and wanted it out right now," Dr. McMurdo remembered. "I got the forceps, sat him down on the curb and removed the evil spirit. He was so pleased he reached in his pocket and gave me a $5 bill. That was a lot of money in those days."

The doctor was at a loss to remember the number of babies he has brought into the world. Whenever there was a storm it seemed a baby would be born in some out of the way place, but maybe if it happened on a nice day it would not be so well remembered, Dr. McMurdo said. One time he spent 2 days at a farm in Blackhorse waiting for the arrival of twins.

RECALLS FLU EPIDEMIC

"The most hectic period of my practice was during the flu epidemic of 1918," Dr. McMurdo observed. "Everyone in town was sick, including the members of my own family. For awhile I was going night and day until it caught up with me and I fell into bed exhausted with a temperature of 103 degrees. After 3 days in bed I got up to operate on a ruptured appendix and immediately afterwards nearly died of pneumonia."

The hospital and churches were full of patients and little help was available. In desperation Dr. McMurdo called his brother, Dr. P. F. McMurdo, who was stationed with the Navy in Portland. His brother, fearing the Navy would not give him leave, came without permission and stayed over a month to help with the emergency.

JOINED HOSPITAL CORPS

Dr. McMurdo, who was born in Shadwell, Va., learned his first elements of nursing when he joined the hospital corps of the Army on June 24, 1901, in Washington, D. C. He had just graduated from high school in Charlottesville, Va.

The Fourth of July after his induction one of the Army boys tried to swim the Potomac, got halfway across the wide river and cried for help. Without taking off his clothes, Dr. McMurdo swam to the struggling swimmer and brought him back to safety. For this he has a certificate of merit signed by President Theodore Roosevelt.

In January 1902, Dr. McMurdo was ordered to the Phillipines, where he was stationed 26 months. On the trip over, terrible storms washed the rudder off the transport *Buford*. She drifted 250 miles off course and finally landed at Gibraltar after 15 days. The entire trip took 2 months.

CHOLERA BREAKS OUT

Cholera broke out in the Philippines the day the ship arrived and the men were kept in quarantine on the boat 48 hours before landing. While in Manila Dr. McMurdo was stricken with pneumonia and was delirious about a week with a temperature of 106. Then he was stationed as a nurse in the Hospital Corps on Mindinao at Camp Vickers where Gen. John J. Pershing, then a captain, was in charge. While there he was in many battles and skirmishes with the fanatical Moros who gathered credits for killing Christians. Dr. McMurdo still has his discharge papers, listing the many battles in which he participated.

After 3 years in the service Dr. McMurdo entered the University of Virginia as a medical student. At the university he played fullback on the football team and was the lightest fullback in the history of the university, weighing 142 pounds stripped. Later he had to have bone removed from a muscle of his leg, injured in blocking a kick.

PRACTICES IN PORTLAND

After 1 year internship at Marth Jefferson Hospital in Charlottsville and 15 months at Polyclinic in Philadelphia, Dr. McMurdo came to Portland to practice in 1911. For a year he stood the clouds, fog, and rain and finally asked a druggist, John Leach, former Morrow County resident: "Isn't there any place in Oregon where the sun ever shines?" Leach told him it never rained in eastern Oregon. The doctor believed him when he stepped into dust 6 inches deep at the depot in Heppner.

Dr. McMurdo started in partnership with Dr. N. E. Winnard and later went into practice by himself. However, both worked together in the Heppner sanitarium, located at the present site of Piper's Hotel. Times were tough and we shared deficits, Dr. McMurdo smiled.

Later Dr. Winnard left; the owner of the sanitarium building took it over and Dr. McMurdo operated a hospital in several different homes.

Finally he bought the old Sigsbee place, furnished and equipped it on his own, and operated it up to World War II when he could no longer get help to run it.

Large credit for running the Heppner hospital was given by Dr. McMurdo to Miss Mildred Clowry, whom he rates as "the greatest nurse of modern times." She was an efficient manager of the hospital, prepared the surgery for operations, gave the anesthetic if there was no doctor to assist, did the buying, cooked meals, and cared for patients. All this with usually just one helper. One time when Dr. McMurdo was in Seattle at a medical meeting, he recalled, she had 4 maternity cases in 1 day.

Early day traveling had its tribulations, too. Once in a storm on a dark night on a call to Butter Creek the doctor stopped to get a better view of his route. Luckily, he had stopped just short of a 10-foot dropoff into Butter Creek where the bridge had been washed out. Many times he walked miles to get an ax or other tools to make repairs on his auto.

USED TWO-HORSE TEAM

"On one occasion on a call to the country west of Heppner with a two-horse team I got out of the buggy to open the gate, led the horses through, and went back to close the gate. The horse on the left looked around, and when he saw I wasn't near, started both in a circle on a run in the direction of town. They overturned the buggy, ran through the barbed wire fence, broke loose from the buggy, and finally came to a stop against the second fence on the east side of the lane.

"I uprighted the buggy, patched the harness, hitched up the horses, and made the call without further incident—except a bill from the livery stable for further repairs of the broken harness. As no one knew this except the horses and myself, it did not get to the local press."

One winter, in deep snow, on a call in the night from Harvey McRoberts, about 7 miles east of Lexington, the doctor's auto stopped in a deep drift within 2 miles of the house. Walking to the house of a near neighbor, Mr. Miller, Dr. McMurdo got him out of bed and was kindly provided with a saddle horse on which the call was made and a fine son delivered.

In the morning, on his return Miller harnessed a two-mule team to pull the car from the drift. The car wouldn't budge. Miller returned for two more mules and the car was finally pulled free.

"All the people at all times gladly and willingly gave freely of their help any time you were in trouble. That is what made me love the people and the country," Mr. McMurdo explained.

In 1908 the fire which destroyed the Palace Hotel burned all the buildings except McMurdo's home on the block south of it. A change in the wind saved the house from only scorching and cracked windows. "Later," said Dr. McMurdo, "I heard some people thought I had fireproof paint on it and some thought I paid the men on the fire department $20 apiece for keeping a hose on my house. It just happened I was in the mountains up Willow Creek during the fire."

Dr. McMurdo was married to Miss Ruth Hager October 15, 1913. Four sons were born to this marriage. Three now living are Ted, a chemist at Portland who has 3 children; Bernard, a dentist in San Mateo, Calif., with 3 children; and Scott, who has a medical laboratory in Corvallis.

ENTERS PUBLIC AFFAIRS

In spite of a busy practice, Dr. McMurdo has found time to enter in public affairs and keep up with his hobbies which include hunting, fishing, farming, raising honey from his own beehives, and horticulture. He still offers stiff competition on the tennis court.

In the winter when the ponds are frozen he may be seen cutting fancy figure 8's on his skates. In addition he is an expert at trapshooting and always keeps a bird dog.

In 1931, Dr. McMurdo won the State handicap championship at the Oregon State shoot and for this a trip to Del Monte, Calif.

Two ranches totaling about 3,00 acres were owned on Rhea Creek and Clarks Canyon by Dr. McMurdo for about 15 years. When he sold them in 1946 and 1947 he reserved 7 acres on the Clarks Canyon property for a garden and all kinds of fruit trees. "I call it my health resort," says Dr. McMurdo, who believes most people nowadays don't get enough fresh air and sunshine.

A sprinkle of Dr. McMurdo's humor was found in the classified ads of the local paper one fall recently when he advertised: "Beware! To the persons who picked my plums in Clarks Canyon, they were sprayed with a deadly poison."

Before the arrival of a regular veterinarian in Heppner Dr. McMurdo used to take care of the casualties of dogs, cats, horses, cows, and other dumb animals with never a charge.

In community activities Dr. McMurdo served on the city council from 1933 to 1937, was a member of the school board from 1926 to 1930 and from 1934 to 1938 served as a member of the Boy Scouts advisory board for several years, was first chairman of the President's birthday ball and held the post for several years following, is a senior warden in the Episcopal Church of which he is a lifelong member, recently receiving his 40-year pin in the Elks lodge, is a member of the Masonic Blue lodge and the Royal Arch Masons.

OLDEST COUNTY OFFICIAL

The oldest county official in point of service, Dr. McMurdo has been county health officer for 44 years since 1913 and was county coroner from 1933-53. He was president of the staff of the Pioneer Memorial Hospital from 1950-54 and suggested the name of the hospital which was adopted by Judge Garnet Barratt and the county court. He worked with other members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars to collect funds for the county ambulance and suggested its name of "White

Angel." He is a member of the chamber of commerce, was president of the Lion's Club in 1935 and belonged to all similar clubs which existed here.

In his own profession Dr. McMurdo is a member of the Eastern Oregon District Medical Society and served as its president in 1931, is a member of the Oregon State Medical Society, the Umatilla County Medical Society, of which he was president in 1948, the American Medical Association, the American Academy of General Practice, the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, the Western Association of Railroad Surgeons, the American Association of Railroad Surgeons, and was district surgeon for the Union Pacific Railroad in Heppner for 31 years.

Dr. McMurdo served on the medical examining board during World Wars I and II and has been selective service examiner from World War II to the present time. In 1927 he entered the medical Reserves as captain and was recommissioned in 1932.

"The practice of medicine has changed over the years," Dr. McMurdo observed. "Patients used to come in and ask for your advice. Now they tell you what is wrong and prescribe the treatment."

Tennessee Valley Authority Purchases, 1934–56

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a tabulation of purchases by the Tennessee Valley Authority of materials and supplies during its first 22 years. The TVA purchased more than $1 billion in materials and supplies from States outside those of the Tennessee Valley. The Tennessee Valley has become one of the greatest markets in the United States for electric equipment of all kinds, none of which is produced in the valley, but all of which is bought in other parts of the United States. These figures show how the entire Nation benefits from the Tennesese Valley, in addition to the flood control and soil conservation it provides for the States of the Tennessee Valley, for that which benefits and builds up economically and socially one section of the Nation is of corresponding benefit to the total productive capacity of the entire Nation.

There being no objection, the tabulation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TVA procurement sources

	1956	Total (1934–56)
Alabama	$3,780,304	$117,229,660
Georgia	941,379	28,224,719
Kentucky	26,244,495	158,776,227
Mississippi	241,303	6,660,606
North Carolina	194,129	13,867,812
Tennessee	23,180,305	389,034,197
Virginia	8,367,512	19,252,848
Total valley States	62,949,427	735,046,068

TVA procurement sources—Continued

	1956	Total (1934–56)
Arizona	$1,835	$122,059
Arkansas	19,246	1,210,555
California	888,840	10,238,534
Colorado	18,486	1,115,823
Connecticut	309,306	7,476,380
Delaware	824,323	19,259,048
District of Columbia	25,493	2,485,289
Florida	91,771	7,513,710
Idaho		2,302,188
Illinois	9,008,984	112,465,966
Indiana	2,200,078	22,404,807
Iowa	24,301	1,527,154
Kansas	21,109	595,610
Louisiana	752,699	10,357,442
Maine	102,574	594,348
Maryland	182,581	6,393,316
Massachusetts	767,309	39,791,891
Michigan	792,411	19,206,906
Minnesota	332,325	8,100,887
Missouri	625,063	26,501,513
Montana		165,818
Nebraska	8,668	504,901
Nevada	203	138,813
New Hampshire	40,400	1,675,745
New Jersey	1,892,339	41,478,645
New Mexico	4,475	52,176
New York	14,700,264	156,683,896
North Dakota		54,000
Ohio	4,024,290	126,906,299
Oklahoma	153,806	3,041,656
Oregon	43,709	1,616,959
Pennsylvania	17,429,592	311,442,478
Rhode Island	90,920	2,208,898
South Carolina	19,147	1,883,180
South Dakota	356	708,656
Texas	741,416	6,937,160
Utah	2,782	2,809,168
Vermont	5,586	195,136
Washington	140,061	1,367,465
West Virginia	158,538	3,909,841
Wisconsin	843,672	60,274,448
Wyoming	89	29,056
Total other States	56,999,291	1,023,777,921
Foreign	1,591,479	2,127,294
Total	121,530,197	1,760,951,283

The Life and Character of Henry B. Daems, of Montana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Oldest Montana Native Son Hopes To Make Gold Strike," published in the Billings (Mont.) Gazette of March 31, 1957. It is a story relating to Montana's oldest native son, Henry B. Daems, of Varney, Mont.

Mr. Daems is a colorful and outstanding personality, who has, in his early late years, turned to uranium prospecting at the age of 92. We are proud of this pioneer and we appreciate his philosophy, his character, and his contributions to our State.

Now president of the Montana Society of Pioneers, we wish him many years of health, happiness, and good luck.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OLDEST MONTANA NATIVE SON HOPES TO MAKE GOLD STRIKE

BUTTE.—At 92, he's Montana's oldest living native son. But for Henry B. Daems, president of the Montana Society of Pioneers, there is no stop for the spark of youth.

The native of Virginia City celebrated his latest birthday with a party Friday and announced to newsmen he's going to satisfy a childhood desire—to make a gold strike, preferably the Alder Gulch mother lode, which many claim exists but which never has been uncovered.

Colorful and philosophical, Daems objected vigorously when referred to as retired. "Retired? I'm not retired. I'm a prospector now," he said. He plans to move to Whitehall soon—with his equipment for uranium prospecting, a Geiger counter and other modern-day prospecting utensils.

"While I'm looking around for uranium with this new-fangled stuff everyone is making a fuss about, I'll be keeping an eye out for that mother lode.

"I know every nook and corner of Madison County, and a few others around here," he said, "and if there is uranium around and the good Lord spares me long enough, I hope to make a strike."

Daems spent most of his life on his ranch at Varney, 9 miles south of Ennis. He sold the ranch about a year ago and for the past several months has been making his home at Butte with his granddaughter, Mrs. Berta Mitzner and her husband.

How has life been for a man who has seen 92 years of it?

Daems isn't apologetic.

"Life isn't difficult, it's just what you make it," he says. "Sure we have troubles, who doesn't? But the longer you live the more you find that the law of averages works out. Troubles often come in bunches. That's when it's tough. But there's always better days, and I've found it is just about a tossup—the good and the bad.

"I've learned to let things rest in the hands of God. He'll take care of most difficulties if we'll just put our trust in Him, and help ourselves along with a little prayer.

"Most things in life," he continued, "are worth praying for, and I've found when the going gets rough it's a good bet to call on the Lord to lend a helping hand."

Daems has 29 grandchildren, 52 great grandchildren, 18 great-great grandchildren, and 7 living children. Five children and 12 grandchildren are deceased.

Daems' parents were among the first settlers in Virginia City. His father, a doctor, operated the first drugstore there. He says the backroom of the store was where the Vigilantes held their initial meetings.

Montana Society of Pioneers' record show Daems was the second child born in Virginia City.

He is awaiting publication of a book he has written titled "Through the Eyes of a Pioneer."

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I have just received a letter from the president of the Minneapolis school board, Mr. Frank E. Adams, who reports on the special committee of Minneapolis citizens appointed by the Minneapolis board to study the question of Federal aid to education. The report itself is of special interest to Members of Congress,

as we study the proposed school legislation soon to be considered. I ask unanimous consent that the letter and the report just referred to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and report were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HENNEPIN COUNTY VETERANS' SERVICE OFFICER,
Minneapolis, Minn., March 29, 1957.

Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR HUBERT: As president of the Minneapolis School Board, and by action of the school directors, I appointed a special committee of Minneapolis citizens to study the entire question of Federal aid to education. I am enclosing herewith a copy of this report and the committee members.

Our board met on March 26, 1957, and unanimously endorsed this committee's report. It was voted to send copies to our Senators and Congressmen for their consideration.

It has been my feeling that some form of Federal aid to education is not only inevitable but necessary. It was my concern as to what type of aid and who will be the recipients.

We hope that our conclusions will serve for some sort of action in the right direction.

To my knowledge this is the first time any large school board has undertaken such a project.

Very truly yours,
FRANK E. ADAMS,
President, Minneapolis School Board.

A REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO STUDY FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

MARCH 25, 1957.

To the Members of the Board of Education:

The members of your committee, appointed in accordance with your resolution of January 15, 1957, have considered the many facets of the problem of Federal support for the public schools.

This committee realizes and believes in the necessity and inevitability of Federal aid for publicly controlled and tax-supported schools, and recommends:

1. Federal support for the public schools should be distributed solely on the basis of the number of children of school age within each State.

2. Control of the public schools should remain the complete responsibility of the States and local school districts; and any funds derived from Federal sources should be channeled to the several States through the United States Office of Education and the respective State departments of education.

3. The basic responsibility for the financial support of the public schools should remain with the States and local communities; but it is in the national interest and entirely appropriate for the Federal Government to give continuing and extended partial support.

4. In addition to providing partial current support of education, and filling other educational needs, Federal funds should be used to construct and equip public-school buildings.

5. The offshore oil and gas resources beyond the limits of State jurisdictions belong to all the people; and the proceeds from such resources should be dedicated to the use of publicly controlled and tax-supported schools.

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES B. LUND,
Chairman.
Mrs. HOWARD S. KAHN,
Secretary.

The recommendations of this committee have been established upon certain basic considerations which may be summarized as follows:

Proposals for Federal aid to schools now being considered by the Congress generally emphasize aid for school construction. These proposals are based on the premise that many school districts are unable to meet the classroom shortage through their own resources; consequently, these districts should be helped through Federal grants. Even though some of the proposals would distribute Federal funds among the States on the basis of the number of schoolchildren, each State would determine how the funds would be apportioned among the school districts. In most States, need and the ability to pay would be a major factor in determining the amount allotted to each district.

Because Minneapolis has more taxable wealth per pupil than the average community in Minnesota or in the Nation, the Minneapolis schools would probably not benefit directly from any plan of Federal aid which was based upon equalization of needs. The proposals now before Congress would be of indirect benefit, by providing some aid to other Minnesota communities whose needs might otherwise have to be financed from State taxes, a substantial part of which are paid by Minneapolis citizens.

In America, schools have been kept close to the people and there is general agreement that it is in the interest of democracy to keep them thus. Financial support is closely related to control over expenditures. There is general concern that Federal support should not be synonymous with Federal control. In a Federal program based on need, or equalization, there is a danger of Federal control. In order to preserve the fundamental principle of local control of public schools, therefore, any program of Federal support should be distributed on a purely objective, pupil population basis.

The Federal Government creates no wealth. It has no resources which are not available to States and local communities. However, with the growth of nationwide industries whose wealth-generating powers stretch across State lines, and with the corresponding growth of tax collecting powers and the increasing concentration of tax collections at the Federal level, greater equity is secured by assessing a part of the cost of education through taxing powers at the Federal level. There is also real justification for using the income from certain natural resources which belong to all the people, such as the offshore oil lands, for the benefit of all the people by using such income to improve the quality of schools throughout the Nation.

Because in a democracy all have equal votes in determining the affairs of government; because education is the foundation of high living standards; and because of the mobility of population within and between the States, it is in the interest of all communities and of all citizens that there should be no educational slums. Because good education for children in all parts of the country is a national concern, the Federal Government may properly be called upon to provide some support for the educational program. Because local control of schools is also important, the control and expenditure of such funds should be determined by the local district.

MEMBERSHIP, SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO STUDY FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Lund, James B., chairman; Kahn, Mrs. Howard S., secretary; Adams, Frank; Drake, Benjamin; Dunshee, Mrs. Donald; Granger, Shelton; Heggerston, A. I.; Hill, Dr. Frederick W.; Huebner, John; Langton, York; McNulty, Kenneth F.; Mansfield, Mrs. M. L.; Smaby, Mrs. A. J.; Watson, Dr. Wm. E.; Wishart, Robert.

The Equality of Opportunity Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, a statement by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, made before the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Senate Judiciary Committee. I think that this thoughtful statement in support of S. 11, the equality of opportunity bill, which would plug a loophole in the Robinson-Patman Act, is worthy of the most careful consideration by all Members of the Senate. Mr. PATMAN's record in support of small business is well known. As coauthor of the Robinson-Patman Act, his is an authoritative voice in this field of legislation.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. WRIGHT PATMAN, OF TEXAS, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, UNITED STATES SENATE, IN SUPPORT OF S. 11, THE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY BILL

Mr. Chairman, I am highly honored that this distinguished committee should wish to hear my views on the subject of this hearing, namely, S. 11, the equality of opportunity bill. You have received during the course of your hearings a great deal of testimony. Your witnesses have included the distinguished chairman of the Select Committee on Small Business of the United States Senate, who appeared and gave testimony in support of S. 11.

WHY S. 11 AND H. R. 11 ARE NEEDED

The pending bills would amend the Robinson-Patman Act to close a gaping loophole which the Supreme Court has driven into that act. That loophole was created when the Supreme Court decided a case in favor of Standard Oil Company of Indiana. It held that a giant concern, such as the Standard Oil Co., is now privileged to discriminate in price with the effect of destroying its competitors, destroying its customers, substantially lessening competition, and tending to create a monopoly so long as the giant concern shows that it has accomplished all of those things in "good faith." (*Standard Oil Company of Indiana* v. *FTC* (340 U. S. 231).)

S. 11 goes to the very vitals of small business. It involves a direct question of whether small business shall continue to exist. I need not tell the members of this distinguished committee what the Robinson-Patman Act and other Federal legislation against price discrimination mean to small business. It has been hailed as the magna carta of small business. Next to the tax law, this act is probably better known by small-business men over the United States than any other law passed by Congress.

The record is clear on the point that prior to the passage of the Robinson-Patman Act, wholesale destruction of small business took place during the twenties and early thirties as a result of price discriminations. When we put that law on the books, it resulted in a sharp check on that destruction and redirected the course of business by giving small business a new lease on life.

At this point, I would like to read a paragraph from a letter which a small-business man in Charlotte, N. C., wrote me under date of March 20, 1957. It is as follows:

"From the time of the enactment of the Robinson-Patman Act to the Supreme Court decision there had not been any price wars in my area or anywhere in our State. Immediately after the above decision major oil companies started instigating price wars by setting up a competitive situation and then asking their dealers to meet that competition. Any competition that they did not create themselves was considered by them as not being legitimate. Statements to this effect have been made to me by oil companies and their district managers."

In the years prior to the passage of the Robinson-Patman Act, small, independent businesses disappeared by the tens of thousands. Giant corporations led by a few giant chain organizations utilized the destructive monopolistic practice of price descrimination to sweep away small businesses. We were rapidly headed for a complete monopolization of the distribution business in this country.

As is indicated in the letter of the small-business man I have just quoted, the Robinson-Patman Act slowed down, if it did not stop that disastrous march. I believe it to be no exaggeration to say that without this law we would very probably have no small businesses left in the United States today.

Now we are faced with a problem of making that law effective again. Our problem is to close the loophole which was made in that law by the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Standard Oil of Indiana. S. 11 and H. R. 11 are modest proposals. They would operate to make unlawful destructive price discriminations even though done in good faith where the effect would be to substantially lessen competition and tend to create a monopoly.

The issue before you is clear. It is a question of whether we will do what representatives of big business are asking us to do, namely, leave the law so that they may continue to discriminate in price with the effect of substantially lessening competition or tending to create a monopoly. That issue is on the table before us. Those of us who are suporting S. 11 and H. R. 11 are asking that the law be strengthened so that these giant corporations will no longer be able to destroy their competitors and customers through the practice of price discrimination with the effect of substantially lessening competition and tending to create a monopoly.

I have always understood that our national public policy is a policy to prevent monopoly and monopolistic practices, whether accomplished in good faith, bad faith, or through indifference. If I am correct on that point, then S. 11 and H. R. 11 are clearly in accord with our national public policy against monopoly. This pending legislation would not provide any penalty. It is not an amendment to a criminal law; it merely provides a means for stopping practices which in fact substantially lessen competition and tend to create a monopoly.

Therefore, in those few words I have attempted to explain what H. R. 11 and S. 11 are intended to do. From what I have said, you can see that they are intended to guarantee, for instance, the hometown merchant the right to buy his goods, wares, and merchandise from General Motors, General Mills, General Electric, or General Foods, under the same terms and conditions that the chain store across the street is permitted to buy its goods, wares, and merchandise from the same seller. The pending bills would make it a violation of law for the seller to discriminate against the hometown merchant, whether he is in the dry-goods business, the grocery business, the drug business, the service-station business, or any other kind of locally owned business.

What could be fairer than that? Why should the big concerns continue to have the right to discriminate against hometown merchants? If something is not done within the next two decades, and discriminations are permitted to continue, the giant corporations with assets of over $100 million will own all of the manufacturing, processing, and distributing business in the United States.

We all know and we profess to subscribe to the fact that small business is the backbone of our country, and certainly should be encouraged to the extent that Congress will not permit the big concerns to unduly and unfairly destroy them. Congress must act to prevent such result.

Among the big people of America, most of them are big hearted, generous, charitable, and believe in the Golden Rule, and actually practice the Golden Rule in their business, but there are some Captain Kidds in business and industry—some racketeers—who have no regard for the rights of the other man. It is the latter group that we are trying to deal with through S. 11 and H. R. 11 to restrain them in their greed and selfishness.

WHO ARE THOSE SUPPORTING S. 11—THE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY BILL?

We know that small business and many of the friends of small business are asking for relief from destructive price discriminations. They have appeared before a number of congressional committees and testified in support of legislation such as is proposed by S. 11. In some of their appearances, they have stated that among the many things that small businesses wish from the Congress, and particularly in the field of anti-monopoly legislation, is legislation to strengthen the law against price discrimination. They have said that there are many things that small business needs and wants, and that there are several pieces of legislation which they strongly recommend, including tax relief. But they have said that just to make things simple they want the Congress to pass promptly the legislation provided for in S. 11. Included among those who have taken that position are the representatives of a large segment of the small-business firms of the country. They include the following:

National Association of Retail Druggists, representating 40,000 independent druggists.

National Association of Retail Grocers, representing 65,000 grocers.

United States Wholesale Grocers Association, representing about 2,000 wholesale grocery firms.

National Food Brokers Association, representing more than 1,700 food brokers.

National Congress of Petroleum Retailers, representing approximately 35,000 retail gasoline dealers.

National Association of Independent Tire Dealers, representing 8,000 retail tire dealers and tire retreaders.

United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association, representing 2,800 wholesale distributors of fresh fruits and vegetables.

National Federation of Independent Business with a membership of more than 100,000 small and independent business firms.

National Council of Agricultural Co-ops, which is composed of approximately 5,000 agricultural cooperatives carrying on cooperatively the affairs of almost 3 million farm families.

National Farmers Union with more than 700,000 members.

The International Association of Machinists with approximately 700,000 members.

The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, representing the bulk of organized labor in the United States.

SMALL AND INDEPENDENT MANUFACTURERS WANT AND NEED S. 11

About 18 months ago, a notorius lawyer-lobbyist, who has for several years specialized in propagandizing against the Robinson-Patman Act, appeared and testified before a hearing conducted by the House Small Business Committee over which I presided. Recently he testified before your distinguished committee in opposition to S. 11. On the occasion when he appeared before the House Small Business Committee, he berated the Robinson-Patman Act. On other occasions, he has contended that small manufacturers would be harmed by the passage of S. 11 and H. R. 11. In view of some of the charges and contentions he made when he appeared before the House Small Business Committee, I sent a form letter to many hundreds of the food canners and food processors inviting them to comment and tell me frankly, what they thought about the Robinson-Patman Act. The replies were overwhelmingly favorable to the Robinson-Patman Act by a margin of better than 15 to 1. On March 15, 1956, at pages 4247–4254, I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD excerpts from quite a number of those letters. Now those food processors and canners operate factories. They are in a sense, small and independent manufacturing concerns.

On February 4, 1957, I placed in the RECORD, at page A724, a copy of a letter a food processor and canner had written me under date of January 23, 1957. In that letter the president of the small and independent manufacturing firm pointed out that in 1954 there were 1,911 canning firms listed in the directory of the National Canners Association. By 1955, 581 of those, or 30 percent, had gone out of business. They represented not merely canning plants, but canning firms. That high rate of mortality of small business firms was attributed to the practices and conditions we are attempting to remedy by the passage of S. 11 and H. R. 11.

Recently opponents of S. 11 and H. R. 11 thought up the gimmick of arranging for a number of small and independent manufacturers to write to members of your distinguished committee and to other Members of the Senate and to Members of the House, and in so doing expressed opposition to S. 11 and H. R. 11.

A few days ago a small and independent fountain-pen manufacturer sent me a copy of a letter in which it was stated:

"I wish to submit the following statement for the consideration of your committee in regard to Senate bill No. 11, which is designed (I understand) to eliminate the good-faith defense under the Robinson-Patman Anti-Price Discrimination Act.

"I have received several bulletins from our association, Fountain Pen & Mechanical Pencil Manufacturers Association, Inc., which have presented several arguments against Senate bill No. 11.

"I have also received a memo prepared by the NAM law department arguing against this legislation."

Incidentally, since I have made reference to the canning industry, I would like to call attention to a statement which was made in a letter addressed to one of the Members of the House of Representatives on March 15, 1957, by one of his small-business constituents. In that series of correspondence the Member had stated that he was confused because of the arguments which were being made by representatives of giant corporations that H. R. 11 would not help small manufacturers. In the letter of March 15, 1957, the constituent wrote:

"I can well understand that you and other Congressmen are confused. I lived with the Robinson-Patman Act for 7 years. I played a role in litigation involving this act. I went to work for a citrus canner in Florida in 1936, starting out as a bookkeeper at $20 per week. In 3 years, by virtue of endless hours of work and wholehearted application to my work, I wound up second high man in the company, who at that time was the four largest canners of citrus juices in Florida. I had a brilliant future in front of me. Then we were

discriminated against by American Can Co. We fought them tooth and nail, and litigation involving the Robinson-Patman Act went to the Supreme Court of the United States twice, the first time getting one of those famous 4-to-4 decisions. My company won their suit against American Can, and I believe that I am right when I say it is the only time that damages have been awarded under this act. However, that company is now bankrupt, going to the wall in 1952, and with it went the future I had worked so hard to carve out for myself. The cost of fighting American Can Co. was too much and contributed in a large measure to destruction of this company.

"Now I am in business for myself and I am faced with the same danger of having the ground cut out from under me. Believe me, sir, I know what these big companies can do if they have a mind to. I do not contend that all big companies do act that way or that bigness in itself is an evil."

Under date of March 8, 1957, the Armstrong Creamery Co. of Wichita, Kans., wrote a letter to Members of the House and to Members of the Senate in which price discrimination practices of the National Dairy Products Corp. were outlined. That, up to date, instance of price discrimination was described by the Armstrong Creamery Co. as follows:

"Recently the National Dairies Division (Sealtest) at Kansas City lowered the price of ice cream 25 cents per gallon throughout this area. Discounts and all other factors considered, this new price is lower than 97 percent of the sales volume in the area before Sealtest lowered the price. This low price makes it impossible for any dairy to sell ice cream at a profit, and if continued very long will force a number of independent plants out of business. At the same time Sealtest has been raising prices in other areas where competitive situations are as bad, or worse, than they are here.

"The plain fact is that through ineptness and mismanagement, Sealtest has lost a lot of volume in the past few years and has taken this method of regaining their position. Right now they can use the excuse that they are meeting the price of the 3 percent of the volume which was sold at a cut-throat figure (and which will always be sold that way.)

"Of course Sealtest's profits in other areas will more than carry the losses they will take in this one."

The letter of the Armstrong Creamery Co. concluded as have many others I have received from small and independent business concerns in a plea for the passage of H. R. 11. The closing words of that letter were: "It is the only salvation for a great number of independent businesses."

FARMERS, CONSUMERS, AND WHOLESALERS WANT AND NEED S. 11 AND H. R. 11

Representatives of farmers have testified before this distinguished committee, and before other committees strongly supporting S. 11 and H. R. 11. You have heard the testimony on behalf of the National Farmers Union, which has a membership representing almost 1 million voters. That testimony strongly supports the proposed legislation you have under consideration. In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for March 21, 1956, at page 4712, is a showing that representatives of consumer groups are in support of S. 11 and H. R. 11. Also the RECORD for March 27, 1956, page 5167, shows that wholesalers and retailers in large numbers have made strong pleas for the passage of this legislation.

I have noted that on the afternoon of March 14, 1957, representatives of several hundred small-business men, who are retailers of petroleum products, appeared before your committee and testified (transcript pp. 513–520) to the effect that the major oil companies are discriminating in price to the damage and destruction of small business. They urged passage of S. 11 and H. R. 11.

FTC, AN EXPERT AGENCY ON PRICE DISCRIMINATION, SUPPORTS S. 11 AND H. R. 11

The Federal Trade Commission is the agency of Government charged with the primary responsibility of the enforcement of Federal legislation dealing with price discrimination. That agency has dealt with the problem of price discrimination since it was created in the Wilson administration in 1914. Prior to that time, the Bureau of Corporations, its predecessor, studied and reported upon the problem of price discrimination during the period of 1903–14. It is the only agency of Government with any substantial experience in dealing with the problem of price discrimination. In view of that fact, it is believed that its position respecting the pending legislation should be regarded as important. After careful study of S. 11 and H. R. 11, the Federal Trade Commission has announced that it supports those bills. In its official formal report to the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, on March 12, 1957, the Commission stated:

"The Commission is of the opinion that the objectives of H. R. 11 and H. R. 398 are of sufficient importance to the effective operation of the Clayton Act that such legislation should be enacted without awaiting further case-by-case development under section 2 (b) as presently worded." (H. R. 398 was introduced by Hon. BYRON G. ROGERS, of Colorado. It is an identical companion bill to H. R. 11.)

On March 26, 1957, all members of the Federal Trade Commission appeared before this distinguished committee and explained why the Commission is supporting S. 11 and H. R. 11.

WHO ARE THOSE OPPOSING S. 11 AND H. R. 11?

You received testimony in your hearings on March 12 and 13, 1957, which established beyond question that the major oil companies met secretly in October 1956 and planned a campaign to oppose this proposed legislation. The testimony you have adduced shows that the representatives of the major oil companies, with the cooperation of the American Petroleum Institute, arranged for each of a number of the major oil companies to distribute, to their high officials, copies of a master brief containing a number of arguments against S. 11 and H. R. 11. Those arguments were reproduced and dressed up to give them the greatest possible force for persuading the unwary that S. 11 and H. R. 11 would be harmful to small business and should not be passed. Also the representatives of other big business concerns and the Washington representatives of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers have sought to persuade small and independent businesses that S. 11 would prove harmful. In my statement today, I have made reference to an instance of the law department of the National Association of Manufacturers preparing and distributing to small manufacturers a brief arguing against the passage of S. 11.

Therefore, you have before you clear and unmistakable evidence that Standard Oil Company of Indiana, Standard Oil Company of California, Gulf Oil Corp., Shell Oil Co., Pure Oil Co., and a great number of other big business firms, which, according to other testimony before you, are currently practicing price discriminations destructive of small business, are campaigning against S. 11 and H. R. 11, and are urging you to prevent the passage of such proposed legislation which would curb their practice of destructive price discrimination.

In addition, a number of small and independent business concerns have written or wired that they are opposing S. 11 and H. R. 11. Some of those who have so expressed their opposition, have done so by presenting the same arguments which have been included in the master brief against S. 11 and H. R. 11 as distributed by the American Petroleum Institute and its members and representatives. In fact some small and independent businessmen who have voiced opposition to S. 11 and H. R. 11 have frankly stated that they were pressured into doing so by the representatives of the major oil companies.

Not all of the opposition to S. 11 and H. R. 11 has come directly from the offices of giant corporations. Some attorneys who have represented such corporations in price discrimination cases have appeared and testified against this legislation. For example, Mr. Hammond Chaffetz and Mr. William Simon who have argued in court in defense of price discrimination practices of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, have appeared before your distinguished Committee and opposed this legislation. They have held prominent positions on committees dealing with this subject in the antitrust sections of the New York State and the American Bar Associations. And those who served with them on those committees have been persuaded to voice opposition to S. 11 and H. R. 11. Also those representatives of major oil companies served as members of the Attorney General's National Committee to Study the Antitrust Laws, and during March 1955, that Committee, with the help of the gentlemen I have named, issued a report which took a position contrary to what is provided for in S. 11 and H. R. 11. It is notable that at page 181 of the Report of the Attorney General's National Committee to Study the Antitrust Laws, the following statement appears:

"This committee approves the result of the Standard Oil decision."

It has been established that other members of the Attorney General's committee had been representing big business concerns charged with violations of our antitrust laws.

Incidentally, Hon. Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce, was a member of the Attorney General's committee. He has reported to the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, in stating the official position of the Department of Commerce, that he is opposed to the passage of S. 11 and H. R. 11. In that connection he made it clear that he is for the practice of price discrimination when done in good faith even though the effect "may have been to substantially lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly." (See the letter of Mr. Weeks to the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, dated March 6, 1956).

Of course, the Department of Justice, which is under the jurisdiction of the Attorney General, has voiced its opposition to S. 11 and H. R. 11. It did so in a report to the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, March 28, 1957. Before I complete my statement I shall make further comment regarding that report from the Department of Justice.

MISCONCEPTIONS AND MISSTATEMENTS ABOUT S. 11 AND H. R. 11

The propaganda which has been prepared and distributed by representatives of the American Petroleum Institute and their members, and by some of those who were members of the Attorney General's National Committee to Study the Antitrust Laws is loaded with misstatements. Those misstatements have created misconceptions about the Robinson-Patman Act and what S. 11 and H. R. 11 would provide.

The master brief of the API, a copy of which has been placed in the record of the proceedings before your distinguished committee, contains many misstatements. For example, it contains a statement that Pres-

ident Truman vetoed legislation similar to what is provided for in S. 11 and H. R. 11. What President Truman vetoed in 1950 was S. 1008. That bill, in effect, provided for the opposite of what S. 11 and H. R. 11 would provide. Attorneys who have represented major oil companies have appeared before you and testified and added to the confusion created by such misstatement because they adopted and made such misstatements a part of their testimony.

Mr. William Simon who testified before this committee on March 26, 1957, at transcript page 1406, stated that the bill which went to President Truman contained the Carroll-Kefauver amendments. I have understood that Mr. Simon has been dabbling around with this matter for a number of years. Therefore, he should know that the fact is the Carroll-Kefauver amendments to S. 1008 were knocked out in conference and did not appear in the bill as it was presented to President Truman. The bill which was vetoed would have weakened the law. The Carroll-Kefauver amendments would have strengthened the law.

Likewise, on March 14, 1957, Mr. Hammond Chaffetz, one of the legal representatives of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, at transcript page 459, testified that "President Truman did veto a bill which did have the Carroll-Kefauver amendment in it. The Carroll-Kefauver amendment was very similar to the amendment which is proposed here." Although those gentlemen have been dabbling in this matter for a number of years, it does not appear that they studied that bill or the action of the conferees in deleting from that bill the Carroll-Kefauver amendments.

The fallacious argument has been made by representatives of major oil companies that if S. 11 and H. R. 11 were to be enacted, then any seller who wanted to lower his price to one customer would find it necessary to lower his price to all customers throughout the country. It appears that the argument which was thus prepared by representatives of the major oil companies was artfully worded, widely distributed, and has had its calculated effect on a number of small- and independent-business men who are engaged in the sale and distribution of petroleum products. It has stirred a number of them to oppose the pending legislation.

Now, the representatives and members of the API, in distributing such fallacious arguments, pointed to proceedings currently in litigation at the Federal Trade Commission as a basis for their statements. Those proceedings involve the Pure Oil Co. because it was discriminating in price with respect to sales it was making in Birmingham, Ala.

With reckless abandon, reference was made to a sentence or two which appeared in the complaint of the Federal Trade Commission in that case. No effort was made by them to explain to the small and independent businessmen, or to the members of your distinguished committee, that if the facts alleged in the complaint in that case should be proven, there will be no good-faith defense available in that case. Therefore what is provided for in S. 11 and H. R. 11 would have no application to situations such as are involved in the case of *FTC* v. *Pure Oil Company* regarding the Birmingham, Ala., situation.

What I have just said about the Federal Trade Commission's Pure Oil Co. case (sometimes referred to as the Birmingham, Ala., case) was made perfectly clear in the testimony given by representatives of the Federal Trade Commission when they appeared before your distinguished committee on Friday, March 15, 1957. On that occasion the FTC official who is in charge of the litigation on that case testified to the following effect:

"Senator DIRKSEN. Would these cases be affected by the pending bill?

"Mr. MCIVER. No, sir; I do not believe that the pending bill would have any effect on the result in these particular cases (transcript, pp. 785–786).

* * * * *

"Mr. DIXON. Now, if your theory is correct, good faith there will not be a defense to what you have charged?

"Mr. MCIVER. That is our contention. Yes, sir (transcript, p. 789)."

The confusion which was created by the contention made in the API master brief and by representatives of the major oil companies in the opposition they have voiced to S. 11 and H. R. 11 to the effect that if a seller should decide to lower his price to one of his customers, then if these bills passed, he would be compelled to lower his price to all of his customers, seems to have enveloped the Attorney General of the United States and the Department of Justice. In the report from the Department of Justice to the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, March 28, 1957, on H. R. 11, it is made clear that one of the reasons why the Department is opposed to S. 11 and H. R. 11 is because it believed "that a seller constrained by law to reduce prices to some only at the cost of reducing prices to all might well decide to reduce them to none."

In that report the Department of Justice did not cite any case wherein the law had been construed to provide that requirement.

Furthermore, in the report from the Department of Justice a number of recent cases were cited in which the "good faith" defense had been rejected. And the observation was made that for that reason S. 11 and H. R. 11 are not needed. What the Department of Justice appeared to overlook is the fact that in each of the cases it cited, a discriminatory pricing system was in question. As early as 1945, the Supreme Court of the United States had ruled in the case of *Federal Trade Commission* v. *A. E. Staley* (324 U. S. 746) that under the Robinson-Patman Act, a seller who adopts discriminatory pricing systems of his competitors will not have available to him the good-faith defense provided for in the act. And the Court said:

"The act thus places emphasis on individual competitive situations."

Therefore it would appear that the Department of Justice not only missed the point in its citation of the various cases refered to in its report opposing S. 11 and H. R. 11, but in doing so actually highlighted its own confusion over what is provided for in the Robinson-Patman Act on the point it made about a seller being required to reduce his prices to all, if he reduces prices to one. It had simply overlooked what the Supreme Court had ruled in the Staley case 12 years ago regarding the application of the Robinson-Patman Act to individual competitive situations.

Since it is clear that the Robinson-Patman Act, as amended by S. 11 and H. R. 11, would not permit the good-faith defense except and only for the purpose of meeting competition in individual competitive situations, the contrary cannot be true. In other words, when you lower your price in good faith to meet competition in an individual competitive situation, you are not doing so all the way across the country in all competitive situations. The Supreme Court held that the A. E. Staley Co. not only was not required to change its prices in all competitive situations in order to avail itself of the good-faith defense, but the Court also went further and held that Staley did not act in good faith because it, in claiming to meet competition at one place, had changed its prices to all of its customers everywhere. What more is needed to refute the fallacious arguments which have been made by representatives of the major oil companies and the API in its master brief, that under the Robinson-Patman Act, as amended by S. 11 and H. R. 11, a seller would be required to lower his price to all of his customers if he should lower to one?

Equally fallacious is the argument made in the API master brief and in statements made by others opposing S. 11 and H. R. 11 to the effect that those bills would prevent freight absorption. In the RECORD of March 18, 1957, at page A2145, I inserted a statement outlining why it is considered that S. 11 and H. R. 11 will not prevent freight absorption. I refer to that statement now for the benefit of those who wish to review more material dealing with that point. Furthermore, the API master brief and the statements of others who are opposing the pending bills, disregard and ignore the fact that S. 11 contains the provision to the effect that nothing contained therein shall be construed to alter the law applicable to freight absorption.

On page 4 of the API master brief there appears the following statement:

"Furthermore, it is important to note that the Robinson-Patman Act marked a departure from the traditional ideal of American justice by putting the burden of proof upon the person charged with violating the law * * * unless he could prove that his price decision had no effect on competition, he would probably be in violation of the law if this legislation should pass."

Now what are the facts?

The general common-law rule regarding the burden of proof in a case in litigation applies in price discrimination cases arising under the Robinson-Patman Act. In general that rule is to the following effect: The burden of proof in any proceeding lies at first on that party against whom the judgment of the court would be given if no evidence at all were produced on either side—regard, of course, being had to any presumption which may appear upon the pleadings.

Let us analyze how that rule applies in a price discrimination case arising under the Robinson-Patman Act. First of all, pleadings by the plaintiff or the Government in order to state a cause of action in a price discrimination case under the Robinson-Patman Act must among other things allege that—

(1) The party charged with a violation of the law is engaged in commerce (meaning, of course, interstate commerce).

(2) In the course of such commerce the party charged has discriminated in price between different purchasers of commodities of like grade and quality, and that some of those purchases involved in such discrimination were in interstate commerce.

(3) The sale of the commodities involved in the discrimination were sold for use, consumption, or resale within the United States or some other place under the jurisdiction of the United States.

(4) The effect of such discrimination may be to substantially lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly in any line of commerce or to injure, destroy, or prevent competition with any person who either grants or knowingly receives the benefit of such discrimination, or with the customers of either of them.

Pleadings by the plaintiff or the Government in such litigation not containing allegations to the effect indicated above would fail as not having stated a cause of action.

What about the burden of proof in such proceedings? First, let us assume that a simple answer had been filed by the defendant who merely denied the allegations made by the plaintiff. Assume further that no evidence was offered by either party. Then under the general rule regarding the burden of proof the plaintiff would fail. He had alleged a good cause of action but he had failed to prove his case. The burden of proving the case is upon the plaintiff and that means proving each of the necessary allegations as above indicated. The defendant need not prove any of those allegations. In his pleadings it is sufficient for him merely to deny them.

Momentarily, when they have lapsed into unguarded pose and permitted their better selves to express their inner thoughts, arch opponents of S. 11 and H. R. 11 have acknowledged that what is contended in the API master brief is not true. They admit that the person charged does not have the burden of proving "that his price decision had no effect on the competition." For example, see the testimony of Mr. William Simon before your distinguished committee Tuesday, March 26, 1957, at transcript page 1392.

In view of these circumstances, it is difficult to understand why some lawyers who oppose S. 11 and H. R. 11 are so reckless as to charge that the effect of the passage of S. 11 and H. R. 11 would be to require the defendant in a price discrimination case, under the Robinson-Patman Act, to prove his innocence. That is utter nonsense. I am disappointed that lawyers with ability have argued such nonsense. I cannot but believe that they know their argument is nonsense.

Of course no one supporting S. 11 and H. R. 11, to my knowledge, has taken the position that the burden of proof, under the Robinson-Patman Act, departs from the common-law rule in any respect. Therefore, all of us acknowledge that when a defendant asserts the "good faith" defense, it is his burden to prove that he acted in good faith. Likewise, in criminal cases when one is charged with murder and asserts that he acted in self-defense, it is not the burden of the State to prove that he did not act in self-defense. The burden is on the defendant to make out that defense.

At page 7 of the API "master brief," the statement is made:

"If all manufacturers in an industry complied with this law, they would be in danger of being charged with a conspiracy to fix prices."

That, like the API argument about the burden of proof, is utter nonsense. Nothing in the Robinson-Patman Act requires any two or more sellers of any commodity to charge the same or different prices. Nothing in that law requires any seller to act in any particular way regarding his relationship with another seller. The act applies only against a single seller's action in discriminating in price. It is significant that the API "master brief" failed to cite any decision in a case supporting its nonsensical arguments.

On page 8 of the API "master brief" are statements that both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations have opposed legislation such as is provided for in S. 11 and H. R. 11. I have pointed out that those statements are false insofar as they relate to the bill which was vetoed by President Truman in 1950.

It is believed that statements in the API master brief respecting the position of the Eisenhower administration on legislation such as is provided in S. 11 and H. R. 11, should be scrutinized as carefully as the statements contained therein regarding the position of the Truman administration. The API master brief takes the position that the Eisenhower administration opposes legislation such as is provided for in S. 11 and H. R. 11. Now, what about President Eisenhower? Where does he stand on S. 11 and H. R. 11? Certainly, small business would like to know. To my knowledge he has issued no statement in opposition to S. 11 and H. R. 11. On the contrary, my mind goes back to a statement he did issue to representatives of small business on October 16, 1952. The following are quotations from that statement:

OFFICES OF DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
New York, N. Y., October 16, 1952.

Mr. WATSON ROGERS,
National Food Brokers Association, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ROGERS: At my conference today with you and representatives of other national associations of American industry and business, you asked for my views concerning the protection of small business from monopoly, and particularly concerning the provisions of our antitrust laws against unfair and discriminatory pricing practices that are destructive of competition and free enterprise.

* * * * *

Our laws against unfair and destructive pricing practices, as well as other practices leading to monopoly, must be fearlessly, impartially, and energetically maintained and enforced.

I am for such necessary rules of fair play because they preserve and strengthen free and fair competition, as opposed to monopolies which mean the end of competition. * * *

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

CONCLUSION: CONGRESS SHOULD ACT NOW TO HELP SMALL BUSINESS

Small business is pleading for protection from the practice of destructive price discrimination. Each time the Congress has investigated and studied the practice of price discrimination, it has concluded that such practice is monopolistic, anticompetitive, and therefore contrary to our national public policy for a free and competitive enterprise system. Opponents of S. 11 and H. R. 11 are arguing for allowing a continuation of destructive price discriminations. They argue that legislation should not be passed that would assure a halting of price discrimination. In effect, they are telling the Congress to legislate so that price discrimination, at the same time, should be permitted as well as prohibited. I am of the opinion that any effort to thus serve big business will fail to serve small business and our free and competitive enterprise system.

If Congress should conclude that the representatives of big business are correct in their arguments that price discrimination is a good thing, then it would be logical for Congress to repeal all of our laws which prohibit price discrimination. We should have more of what is good. However, if our experience in investigating and studying price discrimination since 1875 and the conclusions we have reached on the basis of such experience are sound, then we must conclude anew that price discriminations are bad. We should have less of what is bad. On that issue we should not compromise simply to satisfy the whims of big business. We should not legalize the use of a tool which will destroy small business.

Promises to small business during an election year will not do the job. Action is needed to save small business from destruction. Enactment of S. 11 and H. R. 11 will help to do that job.

Politics With People's Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Playing Politics With Your Money," published in the Rome, Ga., News-Tribune of March 14, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PLAYING POLITICS WITH YOUR MONEY

President Eisenhower and Members of Congress who are staging a waiting game, trying to pass the buck on responsibility for cutting the Federal budget, may think they are playing smart politics.

But they had better get out in the hinterlands and learn what the rank and file citizens are saying about the budget. The refusal of Eisenhower and Treasury Secretary Humphrey to make suggestions for trimming the record peacetime outlay and the refusal of the House leaders to take over their responsibility is disgusting to a lot of grassroots citizens.

It is high time for the Government—the President and Congress—to make an "agonizing reappraisal" of the plight of the taxpayer.

While the outlook for business and industry is still good, there are many pockets of unemployment and curtailment in the job market. The cost of living is still going up. Many citizens are caught in a tight squeeze and are having to borrow money to meet their tax payments.

This is not a healthy situation—for the taxpayers or the politicians.

Georgia's congressional delegation, including Senators RUSSELL and TALMADGE, realize that the time has come when the United States taxpayers can no longer continue such a heavy load of economic assistance to foreign countries, regardless of the motive.

Unless something is done to reduce Government spending, balance the budget and give the taxpayers some relief, the Nation will be headed toward bankruptcy and an economy that wouldn't make it worth the while for the Communists to try to take over.

The public is going to place responsibility on both the Congress and the President for shirking their duty. The huge budget should be trimmed.

Congressmen who fail to do their duty and go back home to face the voters next year will find that the citizens feel a cut in spending and taxes is possible. And they are not interested in who gets the credit if it is done.

But they will know who to blame if this action is not taken—and soon.

How a Texan Came Up From the Salt Mines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Lone Star Steel Co., of Texas, has made important industrial history during the last decade. The man who directs the destinies of this great industrial enterprise is Eugene B. Germany, of Dallas. Mr. Germany's story, as told briefly in a recent issue of the Dallas Times Herald, is an inspiring chronicle of success and service.

I ask unanimous consent that the article from the Times Herald be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"GENE" GERMANY: SALT MINE START

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is another in a series of articles on Dallasites who have attained success in their chosen fields.)

E. B. (Gene) Germany, who actually worked in the salt mines during his early married life, heads a firm that sold almost $90 million worth of products last year.

As president of Lone Star Steel Co., he's often described by friends and associates as "the wildcatter on a hot tin roof." Others insist that his "know when" has meant as much in his success as "know how."

A native of Sweetwater, Mr. Germany spent most of his life to young manhood around Grand Saline helping work his father's 40-acre farm. He finished high school there and worked his way through Southwestern University at Georgetown.

GETS TEACHING JOB

With his college diploma in one hand, he took a marriage license in the other and married Maggie Lee Wilson. When Mr. Germany was tendered a job teaching in the Grand Saline schools, he jumped at it.

The pay was scant, and to supplement their income the newlyweds worked in the salt mine near Grand Saline. Mr. Germany sewed salt sacks and his wife filled them.

Figuring that teaching school really wasn't up his alley, Mr. Germany started to study geology. Within a few years he had staked a wildcat location near Bastrop and drilled his first well, a producer.

There were more and more producers, and when in 1947 he accepted the presidency of Lone Star Steel, there was little economic basis for his taking the job. But there was a moral responsibility, mainly for hundreds of his friends who had invested their money in the firm.

FUTURE WAS DOUBTFUL

Ten years ago, the future of Lone Star was mostly speculative. Many experts said the venture was economically unsound because the ores being considered for tapping had a low iron content.

But on October 26, 1947, the company's blast furnace was tapped for the first time and real iron flowed. Gene Germany had brought in another wildcat.

In the ensuing years, there have been rough spots—certainly. But Lone Star earned $3.84 per share in 1956, and this year's prospects are equally good.

Throughout the rapid growth of Lone Star, Mr. Germany's stanch belief in the goodness of mankind has stood out. And smooth labor relations bear out his insistence that employees be treated fairly.

SONS HANDLE OIL

The industrialist's oil business continues to prosper under direction of his sons, Wilson and Norman. A daughter, Annette, is married to Rev. Jack Wilkes, a Methodist minister in Oklahoma City.

As though running Lone Star Steel and lending a hand when needed to two sons in the oil business are not enough, Mr. Germany has taken on dozens of extra-curricular activities.

He is a board member of the American Iron and Steel Institute, of the Scottish Rite Crippled Children's Hospital, Methodist Hospital of Dallas, and the Dallas YMCA. He is State director for the National Association of Manufacturers; executive vice president, Texas division, Red River Valley Association; chairman of the State payroll savings bond committee; chairman, Texas State Park Development Association, and director of the Texas Law Enforcement Foundation.

In his spare time, Mr. Germany makes solar batteries to run small motors and radios. Sometimes, he experiments with such intricate problems as removing salt from water.

His weekend relaxation includes driving to his farm near Grand Saline or to wet a hook in his private pool where he raises rainbow trout.

Mr. and Mrs. Germany reside at 3301 Beverly Drive in Dallas.

Jury Trial Is Basic Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Basic Right Usurped If Jury Trial Is Denied," published in the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner of March 19, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A BASIC RIGHT USURPED IF JURY TRIAL IS DENIED

Like Pandora's box, that misnamed civil-rights package has been jockeyed around by reckless hands to where, unless restrained, other reckless hands can pry the lid off. What then is to protect against these plagues?

What recourse to law for offenses loosely defined in cases of prosecution before the fact or in judicial hearings in which the right to trial by jury is blanked out?

The Constitution has not been repealed; it has not been amended on these protective points. The authors of this force bill propose simply to sidestep it.

Southern members of the House Judiciary Committee, with some conservative Republican help, battled valiantly to preserve the constitutional principle. They were fighting for a fundamental right which, once destroyed, will be lost for all citizens, North, South, East, and West, and in such event may never be regained.

In that committee the cards were stacked, numerically. But on the floor of Congress, and particularly in the Senate with rules of unlimited debate, the whole case can be assessed in the spotlight of national attention. There the right hand of the body politic—a constituency as broad as the 48 States—can more clearly see what its left hand is doing.

One of the facts underscored beyond concealment is that a basic right abridged for one—for punitive purposes, or otherwise—is abridged for all. The instant breach in such an event is prophetic; the precedent immeasurably far-reaching in damaging consequences. Once an extraordinary power is bestowed, such as discretionary treatment of a fixed point of law, it leads invariably to abuse and extension of power-hungry, pressure hands; and never to recovery of that power by the hands in which, under the Constitution, it belongs.

President Eisenhower, as he said in his frank admission to a press conference, may not be qualified to pass legal judgment on this express proposition. Hardly can he fail to grasp the fact, however, that it challenges the basic premise of a government of law.

He cannot be so ignorant of the law generally as to sanction a glaring trespass, or be willing to sit by and see his Republican cohorts in Congress and leftwing Democrats team up to force down the throats of the American people this damnable piece of legislation masterminded by his Attorney General, Herbert Brownell.

A concerned Nation is looking to the President as well as to the responsible, Constitution-minded Members of Congress, to prevent this outrageous assault upon fundamental rights of every American citizen.

For once the Chief Executive and Congress can forget the politics involved in the question of segregation, whether applied to the public schools or whatnot. The dimensions of this threat are greater than that issue. Every citizen is vitally concerned, and must not be subjected to the jeopardy inherent in such a proposal—particularly in view of the liberal-mindedness of the present Supreme Court.

The Executive as the congressional branch has one safe and adequate yardstick by which to measure authority and duty—it is the Constitution, to whose support they took oath.

It was in awareness of human fallacy and eccentricity under pressure that the Founding Fathers left principles neither to mischance, administrative discretion, nor whim. They fixed them, rather, in a government of law. The winds of caprice must not be allowed to overturn that.

Twentieth Anniversary of the Divini Redemptoris

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, 20 years ago Pope Pius XI issued one of the most profound documents of our time, his encyclical on atheistic communism. Freeman of all faiths have hailed this work, as they have hailed the Roman Catholic Church's relentless fight against atheistic communism, and I think it would be especially timely and fitting at this time for us to review the ideas offered to the world by Pope Pius XI just two decades ago in his Divini Redemptoris. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that a newsletter of the Maryland Action Guild commemorating the 20th anniversary of this encyclical be printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD. The newsletter was sent to me by Mr. George D. O'Neill, chairman of the Maryland Action Guild.

There being no objection, the newsletter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEWSLETTER COMMEMORATING 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF DIVINI REDEMPTORIS

On the feast of St. Joseph in the year of our Lord 1937, our glorious holy father Pius XI renewed and reviewed the authoritative position of holy mother church on atheistic communism. In his great encyclical Divini Redemptoris he said, speaking of the need for a spiritual power for good, which he described as the Catholic Church—to contest vigorously the spiritual evil of the day, communism—that he placed the "vast campaign of the church against world communism under the standard of St. Joseph, her mighty protector."

His eloquent restatement of the need for this campaign needs no further explanation or paraphrase. On this 20th anniversary of that encyclical, commemorated with humility and confidence by the Maryland Action Guild, we feel it in order to quote a few key passages from Divini Redemptoris for the continued guidance of an informed laity and for the purpose of a call to greater zeal directed toward all members of the faith who might read these words and thus be encouraged to go further in this campaign.

The holy father, speaking of the necessity of complete distrust for communism tactics, said:

"In the beginning communism showed itself for what it was in all its perversity; but very soon it realized that it was thus alienating the people. It has, therefore, changed its tactics, and strives to entice the multitudes by trickery of various forms, hiding its real designs behind ideas that in themselves are good and attractive. Thus, aware of the universal desire for peace, the leaders of communism pretend to be the most zealous promoters and propagandists in the movement for world amity. Yet at the same time they stir up a class warfare which causes rivers of blood to flow, and, realizing that that system offers no internal guaranty of peace, they have recourse to unlimited armaments. Under various names which do not suggest communism, they establish organizations and periodicals with the sole purpose of carrying their ideas into quarters otherwise inaccessible. They try perfidiously to worm their way even into professedly Catholic and religious organizations. Again, without receding an inch from their subversive principles, they invite Catholics to collaborate with them in the realm of so-called humanitarianism and charity; and at times even make proposals that are in perfect harmony with the Christian spirit and the doctrine of the church. Elsewhere they carry their hypocrisy so far as to encourage the belief that communism, in countries where faith and culture are more strongly entrenched, will assume another and much milder form. It will not interfere with the practice of religion. It will respect liberty of conscience. There are some even who refer to certain changes recently introduced into Soviet legislation as a proof that communism is about to abandon its program of war against God.

"See to it, venerable brethren, that the faithful do not allow themselves to be deceived. Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever. Those who permit themselves to be deceived into lending their aid toward the triumph of communism in their own country will be the first to fall victims of their error. And the greater the antiquity and grandeur of the Christian civilization in the regions where communism successfully penetrates, so much more devastating will be the hatred displayed by the godless."

Then His Holiness, speaking directly to laymen, called for Catholic action:

"We extend our paternal invitation to our beloved sons among the laity who are doing battle in the ranks of Catholic action. On another occasion we have called this movement so dear to our heart 'a particularly providential assistance' in the work of the church during these troublous times. Catholic action is in effect a social apostolate also, inasmuch as its object is to spread the Kingdom of Jesus Christ not only among individuals, but also in families and in society. It must, therefore, make it a chief aim to train its members with special care and to prepare them to fight the battles of the Lord. This task of formation, now more urgent and indispensable than ever, which must always precede direct action in the field, will assuredly be served by study circles, conferences, lecture courses, and the various other activities undertaken with a view to making known the Christian solution of the social problem."

Turning to the duties of the Christian state, the holy father stated:

"It is the duty of the Christian state to concur actively in this spiritual enterprise of the church, aiding her with the means at its command, which although they be exercised by states to prevent within their prirve object the good of souls.

"This means that all diligence should be exercised by states to prevent within their territories the ravages of an anti-God campaign which shakes society to its very foundations. For there can be no authority on earth unless the authority of the divine majesty be recognized; no oath will bind which is not sworn in the name of the living God. We repeat that we have said with frequent insistence in the past, especially in our encyclical Caritate Christi: 'How can any contract be maintained, and what value can any treaty have, in which every guaranty of conscience is lacking? And how can there be talk of guaranties of conscience when all faith in God and all fear of God have vanished? Take away this basis, and with it all moral law falls, and there is no remedy left to stop the gradual but inevitable destruction of peoples, families, the state, civilization itself.'"

Pius XI concluded this great state paper on the most pressing of all problems of 1937—and of today since the message is timeless—by pointing to the eternal destiny of the church, and thus by predicting the ultimate conquest of the Church of Christ, with the following reminder to all of the faithful:

"With eyes lifted on high, our faith sees the new heavens and the new earth described by our first predecessor, St. Peter. While the promises of the false prophets of this earth melt away in blood and tears, the great apocalyptic prophecy of the Redeemer shines forth in heavenly splendor: 'Behold, I make all things new.'"

It would be presumptuous for us to say more. We count ourselves as fortunate to be able to participate in this anniversary.

Hon. Karl E. Mundt, of South Dakota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOS. E. MARTIN
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] and I came to Congress together in 1939. During our long association I have found him to be an exceptionally capable and devoted Senator. I noted with interest a feature article concerning the senior Senator from South Dakota, written by Melva G. Chernoff, and appearing in the March 25 issue of the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader.

I share the author's high regard for the services contributed by the senior Senator from South Dakota, and I request unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR MUNDT PROVIDES FARM STATE SHREWDNESS IN UNION PROBE

(By Melva G. Chernoff)

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 25.—A neatly dressed man in a gray sharkskin suit, with a frank face and a disarming smile, is playing a large part in helping bring to light facts that may result in more enlightened legislation to regulation union pension and welfare funds.

He is KARL E. MUNDT, South Dakota's senior Senator, a member of the Senate's select committee to investigate improper activities in the labor or management field.

It's a paradox that this ever-smiling South Dakotan should be sitting on this particular committee since he is from a farm State where unions are not a prime factor in the economy. But it may be for that very reason that Senator MUNDT is a good man for the job.

MIGHT AFFECT FARMER

First, he brings no preconceived notions into the hearings and, second, he is making a determined effort to help protect the funds paid into union treasuries by workingmen. Senator MUNDT also believes that any misuse of such funds can also result in higher prices for heavy equipment and that, of course, includes farm machinery.

As Senator MUNDT sits near the end of the long mahogany table in the crowded committee room, taking notes to remind him of questions to ask, he pulls at the pipe that is his trademark.

The bright lights of the newsreel and television cameras do not bother him. He has been before them many times and he certainly became a veteran during the Army-McCarthy hearings.

So South Dakota's senior Senator sits there listening to Chairman JOHN MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas, and Committee Counsel Robert Kennedy grill the various witnesses. He makes his notes and then, just as you think things have come to a lull, Senator MUNDT indicates to the chairman that he would like to ask a question. This is done in a soft voice. An antagonistic witness begins to relax.

Coming after a barrage of questions from eager, boyish Counsel Kennedy and Senator MCCLELLAN, an ex-prosecutor of the old school, the witness wonders what this farm State Senator can pitch to him that can't be hit into the outfield. But the witness who underestimates MUNDT is quickly disillusioned. The Senator is no mean prosecutor himself. Read a few excerpts from the testimony and you'll see what I mean:

"Senator MUNDT (to teamster official Brewster.) If you will accept a friendly suggestion, Mr. Brewster, from a country boy out in South Dakota, where we do not have many teamsters or many unions, I would think that all of this big treasury that you have charge of, it would be wise to hire a little more storage room. This is the third time now that we have found you did not have enough room to keep the records and they have been lost.

* * * * *

WHO PLAYS SANTA CLAUS?

"Senator MUNDT. Do you believe it is a sound concept of basic Americanism to make it necessary for a man, in order to earn a living for his family, to contribute under compulsion to the election of a candidate whom he personally prefers to defeat? * * * I am trying to find out who plays Santa Claus. Out in my country the fellow who plays Santa Clause does not always keep all the gifts himself. He gives them away. But it seems to me that the fellows who are playing Santa Clause here get in on the dispensation of the largess. Right?

* * * * *

"Senator MUNDT. I understand. You are a sheep man and I come from sheep country and sheep men are not racketeers. You would not know too much about that.

* * * * *

"Senator MUNDT. They were simply using the union as a club to put Acme, their own outfit, into the pinball business.

"Mr. ELKINS. That is correct.

"Senator MUNDT. You have had some experience in that business. Had the plan (to make it a statewide operation) succeeded, what do you think would have been the annual take?

"Mr. ELKINS. Oh, Lord, it would have been terrific. The amount would have been fantastic."

"Senator MUNDT. Fantastic out in Portland is one thing and back in South Dakota

it would be something else. Ten dollars is a lot of money back home.

* * * * *

"Mr. SCHRUNK. During the last 2 months, we have had information that the Bellevue had ceased operations as a walk-in joint, but had been sneaking a few old customers and men sent from contact places.

"Senator MUNDT. That is point 1 for the investigating staff. They got that one. It is still open. Go ahead.

"Mr. SCHRUNK. No, sir; not open, as such.

"Senator MUNDT. Well, I did not mean they had neon signs up saying, 'Come on in,' but if they can sneak in, I would call it open. We are talking about the sneak-in places.

* * * * *

"Mr. LANGLEY. In this setting, the answer might tend to incriminate me.

"The CHAIRMAN. You mean to reflect upon this setting?

"Mr. LANGLEY. Not upon the committee, your honor.

"Senator MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, let us get a little more information about this setting. Will you dilate on that a little bit? What are you complaining about?

"Mr. LANGLEY. I am only using the language of the United States Supreme Court, Senator.

"Senator MUNDT. Will you apply the language of the United States Supreme Court to the Senate caucus room of the United States Senate so I can understand it?"

BECK AWAITED

Well, it's pretty hard to appreciate the great job the Senator is doing unless you either hear or read all of the testimony. But I think you get the general idea.

The Capitol is all agog now because Tuesday the committee reconvenes to question Dave Beck, the teamsters' head man. If he does testify, he has a new and different kind of adversary awaiting him.

Senator MUNDT is ready.

I Speak for Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, too often headlines, through their sensational quality, grant a misleading publicity advantage to the cohorts of Elvis Presley and the state of juvenile delinquency.

As an antidote to these temporary lapses of youth, I offer a speech entitled "I Speak for Democracy," written by Miss Eunice Schartow, a senior in the Saginaw High School, Saginaw, Mich. I ask unanimous consent that this speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Miss Schartow, a young lady of outstanding ability and character, is living proof that the youth of America are worthy to lead the world of tomorrow. Her speech won a coveted trip to Washington, in a contest sponsored by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, and the Radio-Electronics-Television Manufacturers Association.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

(By Eunice Schartow)

All Americans know something of the blessings of a democracy. You know and I know. How can we tell the others in the world. I should like to pack a box, a CARE package you might say, to tell people all over the world about democracy. This is no ordinary CARE package. This box does not contain sugar, rice, dried eggs, powdered milk. It is not sent to satisfy the physical hunger of some war-weary people. This is a very special box—a box of democracy, being sent to nourish the souls and spirits, the hopes and dreams of persecuted peoples.

What should we include? First, one American citizen, always looking quite well fed and well clothed, even in hard times; the smell of good, wholesome, plentiful and inexpensive food from a family table, or from a school cafeteria.

Let's add a group of highschool students, earnestly planning their club activities: taking advice, but doing most of the work themselves. The school PTA changing their name to PTSA, including the students in all the plans; the voice of one teacher: "Take whatever mark you want to earn." This we must show to the rule-laden teenagers of other lands.

Let's include Mr. America on voting day. He gets in a voting booth and closes the curtain, so no one may see how he votes. What an array of levers. Two political parties? This looks more live five. Mr. America knows who he votes for, and he's the only one who knows.

Put into the box the different pamphlets and books, giving the facts about various occupations; show a student, poring over them, and taking an endless number of tests, to find out for himself what career he wants.

We must include the strains of a hymn, sung by worshiping congregations; the prayers of a small child; the voice of schoolchildren as they join in "One Nation, under God indivisible."

We must not forget a scene at a political party convention; everything had been cut and dried; there was only one candidate for Vice President, and the States were going through the formality of nominating him. Then, a single man spoke up. "I nominate Joe Smith." Joe Smith was not elected, he was not real; but he remains a small symbol of democracy.

We should include the cry of a new baby, and the smile on his mother's face as she looks at her new son, hoping his life will be a success. The success story of a young man, almost penniless, but ambitious, winding up his career at the head of his own business.

Let's add a soft, silk-like cashmere sweater, bought by a 16-year-old girl with money earned from her part-time job; the voice of Elvis Presley singing Don't Be Cruel, while many swoon and many scoff. All of these are a part of a democracy. A wonderful demorcracy.

Where else in the wold do the people come before the Government because they are the Government. Where else are teenagers given so much freedom and urged daily to think for themselves? Where else may people vote a really secret ballot? Where else do we have real religious freedom, real opportunity? Where else would a citizen dare disrupt political proceedings? Only in a demorcracy are the people really free. Free to think and live as they please.

I close this box and send it on its way with the prayer that it will carry its message to all people, and show them the way to live. In this way, I speak for democracy.

Senate Committee Investigation of Labor and Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, the current investigations into improper activities in the fields of labor and management have caused widespread interest and comment across our Nation. I was pleased to discover the intelligent reaction to the problems created by the disclosures thus far in this series of investigations when I visited my home State this past weekend. One of the reasons why the people of our country are so well posted on current happenings and are able to intelligently appraise and analyze them is the newspapers of America. Two editors of outstanding newspapers in the southern part of Arizona, the Nogales Daily Herald and the Douglas Dispatch, editorialized on this subject in a manner to be expected of good journalism. I ask unanimous consent that both these editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Douglas (Ariz.) Dispatch]

DANGER AT THE TOP

The current investigation into the teamsters union has gone far enough to justify the time and effort of the congressional committee. If there have been charges it has been punitive in intent; these have been upset by the revelations of practices which none can justify.

For a long time, there have been suspicions the leadership of some big unions have strayed from their responsibilities to the membership. Now we learn that some of the actions of top leaders have been for personal benefit at the expense of the members.

Outside of large salaries, which in themselves are justified, some officials have claimed benefits more than questionable. Gifts of luxurious homes and other benefits, including retirement endowments, may not be out of line. But loans without interest and without security demand explanations. And use of union funds for personal gain and personal pleasure, apparently outside of loan or gift classification, arouse concern of the membership. Likewise, loose handling of pension funds, possibly diversion to other causes, demand correction and punishment.

Unions are now big business, ranking with some of the largest concerns in the country. They have come a long way and benefits to members in high-wage scales, in hospital and other benefits, and in pensions are such as to justify the strong central organizations. But the dangers in centralization of vast powers are now apparent.

Through the years attacks on union leadership have been shrugged off as originating with opposition to the union movement, and having no more basis of fact than a desire of enemies to weaken the union. But now the union memerbship has cause to worry and to feel that all is not well.

We cannot discredit a union leadership or a union organization because of a few scattered or isolated revelations of mishandling of

authority. But neither can the membership at large ignore multiple signs of trouble. A union's strength is built largely of faith and performance. When one or the other is lacking, it is time for corrective steps.

Time and again dissatisfaction within the ranks is squelched, and there are indications that the setup within the organizations does not permit correction. Before the congressional hearings are concluded, it appears that legislation will be enacted to make it possible for the rank and file to exact an accounting from their officers, even at the national and international level. Certainly there is ample evidence on which to make changes so that abuses may be curbed and wrongdoers may be punished.

[From the Nogales (Ariz.) Herald of March 25, 1957]

GET TO THE BOTTOM OF IT

Dave Beck, president of the huge teamsters union, seems to think it is perfectly proper that he should use his union's fat treasury as a kind of combination bank, RFC, and FHA to enhance his own personal position in life.

Already well known is the fact that he sold his lavish Seattle home to the teamsters for $163,000 and they thereafter allowed him to live in it rent and tax free.

Now he tells the Nation that he has borrowed between $300,000 and $400,000 from the union's so-called western conference over the past 10 years—without paying 1 cent of interest and without informing the union rank and file how its funds were being employed.

Beck believes everything is in order because he paid back these loans to the last penny. Evidently he satisfied other union executives that he was supporting the loans with plenty of collateral, so they couldn't lose if anything happened to him before he got a chance to pay the money back.

This friendly sort of private banking system, conducted with workers' funds but without their knowledge, hardly classifies as the responsible way to operate a union's finances.

Beck's astonishing disclosures provide the conclusive answer to those who question whether union finances require careful public control, including full and regular announcements of operations.

Obviously they do.

In the light of Beck's cavalier use of union money, in the light, too, of evidence that he paid more than $308,000 in United States income taxes from 1949 through 1956 while earning a union salary that calls for far less tax, President Eisenhower's decision to let the Senate Labor Rackets Committee review Beck's tax files appears entirely warranted.

The special Senate group clearly cannot rest now until it has examined every detail of Beck's personal finances as well as those of his lieutenants and the teamsters in general.

A union of such size is vested with a public interest.

It cannot be run as if it were a private financial empire to be manipulated at the whim of self-seeking men.

Tributes to Pierce Butler, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, Minnesota lost a distinguished citizen in the death of Pierce Butler, Jr. He was the son of the late Pierce Butler, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. President, on March 26 there was published in the St. Paul Dispatch an article entitled "Attorney Pierce Butler Dies Here." On March 27 there appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune an article on the same subject; and on March 28 a similar article appeared in the Twin Cities Observer. I ask unanimous consent that these three articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Paul Dispatch of March 26, 1957]

ATTORNEY PIERCE BUTLER DIES HERE

Pierce Butler, Jr., 64, St. Paul attorney and civic leader, died at 6:30 a. m. today of leukemia.

His death came suddenly at Miller Hospital where he had been a patient since Wednesday.

A native of St. Paul, he was the son of the late Pierce Butler I, the only Minnesotan ever to serve on the United States Supreme Court, and Anna Butler.

He was a member of the law firm of Doherty, Rumble & Butler.

Mr. Butler was best known to the average St. Paulite for his efforts in connection with the $39 million bond issue for civic improvements.

He served as chairman of the Second United Improvement Council which organized the bond issue and spearheaded its adoption. Following its passage in 1953, he was named chairman of the council's advisory commitee on the bond issue to see that projects undertaken were carried out in accordance with the bond issue.

The family home is at 1600 Edgcumbe Road.

Mr. Butler was born in St. Paul March 17, 1893. He was educated in the St. Paul public schools and was graduated from Princeton University in 1914 and Harvard Law School in 1917. He was a Phi Beta Kappa.

In 1917 he entered the United States Army from the Plattsburg training camp and served as a first lieutenant in the infantry until 1919.

He was admitted to the bar in Minnesota in 1920 and had practiced here since that time. He had a reputation of being an outstanding trial lawyer.

He was also consul here for the Mexican Government.

In 1928 and 1932, he was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention.

For several years he was an instructor at the St. Thomas College of Law and the St. Paul College of Law.

Mr. Butler was also a member of the executive committee and board of directors of American Hoist & Derrick Co., a director of the Minnesota Tribune Co., a member of the American, Minnesota, and Ramsey County Bar Associations, and a past president of the county bar group. He was also a member of the executive council of the United World Federalists and belonged to the St. Paul Athletic Club, the Minnesota Club, and the Minneapolis Club.

He was also a member of the Knights of Columbus and the American Legion.

Surviving are his wife, the former Hilda Vallandigham; 2 sons, Pierce III, of St. Paul, and Michael V., of Watertown, Mass.; 2 daughters, Mrs. Robert H. Beck, of Minneapolis, and Mrs. Jean A. M. Pellotier, of Paris, France; his mother, Mrs. Pierce Butler, of Baltimore, Md.; 1 sister, Mrs. E. K. Dunn, of Baltimore; and 3 brothers, William J., of Waunakee, Wis., Francis D., of St. Paul, and Leo, of Brookeville, Md. There are five grandchildren.

Funeral services will be held at 10 a. m., Thursday, at the Cathedral, Dayton and Summit, with burial in Calvary Cemetery.

[From the Minneapolis Tribune of March 27, 1957]

PIERCE BUTLER, JR.

Pierce Butler, Jr., of St. Paul, who died Tuesday, was one of Minnesota's most distinguished native sons. A son of the late Pierce Butler I, who was the only Minnesotan ever to serve as an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, he won distinction in his own right in the private practice of law.

But he also was interested in a variety of other pursuits, including civic affairs, business, and international relations. Extremely well-read and well-informed, he could quote the classics or the Bible as the occasion demanded. He was an effective trial lawyer, an entertaining conversationalist, a warm friend. Many Minnesotans will miss him.

[From the Twin Cities Observer of March 28, 1957]

The death this week of Pierce Butler, Jr., St. Paul attorney and civic leader, marks the passing of one who truly could be called a personage, not merely a person.

Mr. Butler was renowned not only as a brilliant lawyer but for a wide range of interests in the industrial, political, and civic life of his city and the State. He was a founder and for many years chairman of the national executive council of the United World Federalists; he was chairman of St. Paul's United Improvement Council; he served since 1950 as Mexican consul in St. Paul because of his fluency in the Spanish language (he was equally familiar with Latin and French, and knew a bit of German as well).

He was widely respected, and he merited all the respect accorded him.

Grave Matter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Grave Matter," published in the Augusta Chronicle of March 6, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GRAVE MATTER

(By Mary Carter Winter)

David Lawrence, one of the Nation's soundest news commentators, has drawn attention to unprecedented, inexcusable and frightening conduct on the part of the United States Department of Justice.

In a devious move, of which the public was entirely ignorant until Mr. Lawrence exposed it in his column, published in the Chronicle and elsewhere in the United States, the Department of Justice has substituted for the names of a local school board, in a law suit in Federal court, the words "The United States" as party to the suit.

This occurred in the Clinton, Tenn., segregation suit in which 18 citizens were arrested on a charge of hindering the Federal injunction issued in connection with disturbances that arose during the effort to integrate the Clinton High School.

That injunction brought storms of protests because of its no limits application to any and all persons, whether or not they were directly involved in the case. At that time, Mr. Lawrence pointed out the grave implications of such a no-limits injunction by the court. Now he has drawn attention to a graver matter.

The subsequent action of the Department of Justice in making the United States party to the Clinton case eliminated the possibility of a jury trial for the 18 defendants because—Mr. Lawrence pointed out—Federal law eliminates trial by jury when the United States itself is party to a suit involving contempt of court.

That in itself is bad enough. Worse still is the fact that the Department of Justice should resort to a stratagem of that kind—action that must be condemned by all honest citizens.

Mr. Lawrence declared that the 18 defendants in the Clinton case can be deprived of a trial by jury and put in jail as unfairly as if they were living in a totalitarian state. They are, in other words, being deprived of their civil rights in an outrageous manner by the Federal Government itself, which is crying aloud hypocritically for the enactment of a civil-rights program in Washington to protect certain classes of people in this country.

One wonders if the 18 defendants in the Clinton case were even informed, in person or through their attorney, that the original petition was to be amended so as to make the United States a party to the suit.

"If," declared Mr. Lawrence, "the Federal judge in Knoxville, Tenn., approves this request and it is sustained on appeal by the courts it will not be necessary for the Congress to legislate on civil rights. All that will be needed is for the Department of Justice to write out the order and the courts will uphold them."

This is indeed a flagrant abuse of power, which if it be allowed to stand, will eventually strip from the American people the protection of law and justice.

The question now is not whether 18 persons in Clinton, Tenn., are guilty of contempt of a Federal court injunction but rather it is: Are the citizens of the United States entitled to a fair trial by a jury of their peers on any and all charges of law violation?

If that right no longer exists the American people have become subjects instead of citizens—mere pawns upon the political chessboard, to be moved here and yon according to the dictates of those in power in Washington.

What the Department of Justice has done in the Clinton case calls for an investigation by Congress and for action to protect the rights of the masses of the people.

International Rescue Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, an organization that is doing outstanding work in the field of creating better understanding of the Hungarian situation, and I am sure ultimately with the entire satellite situation, is the International Rescue Committee. This group of Americans have with diligence and hard work seen to the needs of many of the Hungarian refugees who have come to our shores in the past several months. Being close to the situation, their words carry authority, as they are quoted by Bob Considine in an International News Service column entitled "Blazing Way to Freedom." Because I feel our colleagues should be better acquainted with this organization, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Considine's column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BLAZING WAY TO FREEDOM

(By Bob Considine)

Look for more outbreaks in Hungary, say Leo Cherne and Angier Biddle Duke, chairman of the board and president respectively of the International Rescue Committee.

The two leading anti-Communists, both of whom assisted actively in caring for some of the nearly 20,000 Hungarians who streamed into Austria and Yugoslavia in the wake of last fall's rebellion, believe that two impending events will fan the smouldering embers into a fresh blaze.

One is the 109th anniversary of Hungarian patriot Louis Kossuth's rebellion against Russian rule. The other is the coming of spring, and with it the melting of the telltale snow which retained the footsteps of escapees and made more difficult their flight to freedom.

MUST BE READY TO HELP

The two leaders of a nonprofit organization which has raised more than $500,000 to make asylum easier to obtain and more bearable once realized do not confine their predictions to Hungary. They believe that Poland and East Germany could easily join in the fight against Soviet oppression. When and if they do, and if Hungary rises again, the IRC and every other humanitarian agency must be ready to move in a hurry.

Cherne says, "Intelligence reports that can be trusted put the strength of organized, armed Hungarian resistance at from 12,000 to 14,000. They are well-drilled, coordinated former Hungarian army men, mainly. When ready, they'll strike."

Duke, a member of the Knights of Malta, an organization which dates from the Crusades and which performed notably in spiriting hundreds of Hungarians out of the clutches of frontier guards, told us of some of the endless work of the IRC. He has just returned from Vienna.

The organization runs a children's home in Vienna, vocational schools in several countries, language schools in more countries, is setting up its own refugee high school in Vienna, makes arrangements with foreign and United States schools and colleges to accept freedom fighters, and arranged (for example) with the French Ministry of Labor to conduct 10-month vocational courses after which a job in French industry is provided. And it has put desperately needed spending and travel money in the pockets of thousands of escaped students.

TOUCHED HEARTS OF PEOPLE

The United States has taken in more than 20,000 Hungarians and relocated most of them, through religious and charitable organizations. Switzerland, with a population of 4 million, has taken 10,000; Canada, 18,000; West Germany, 12,000; England, 14,000; France, 14,000; Belgium, 4,000; Denmark a thousand, and so forth. Tens of thousands still remain in Austria, awaiting for a break. The United States Congress has before it a motion to admit another 50,000.

The work of the IRC has touched the hearts of people as separated in space and way of life as Vietnamese escapees who reached Saigon from the Red-held north (they raised $70,000 for IRC's Hungarian relief work) and Perle Mesta (who turned over the receipts of a $50-a-head party she threw at Philadelphia's new Sheraton Hotel Monday night).

IRC operates without Federal aid. Its top people, Cherne, Duke, Adm. Richard E. Byrd, Eric M. Warburg, Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt, Gen. William J. Donovan, and others, work hard and well, for no remuneration except the knowledge that they are easing what the gifted Duke calls, "a burden on the conscience of the western community."

Old-Age Assistance Grants and Living Costs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the introduction of the Humanitarian and Old-Age Rights Act today, a bill which would require the public assistance laws of the 48 States to be more uniform by having Congress establish a single standard of qualifications for the applicants, I include a table showing the amounts of public-assistance grants in the various States. For purposes of comparison, my colleagues may be interested in seeing a Bureau of Labor Statistics table on living costs in various areas of the United States. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include both these tables:

Old-age-assistance grants in all States as of June 1956 [1]

State	Number receiving aid	Average monthly payment
Alabama	100,236	$32.55
Arizona	14,058	55.68
Arkansas	55,127	33.11
California	267,320	71.44
Colorado	52,628	81.95
Connecticut	16,405	90.18
Delaware	1,573	44.79
District of Columbia	3,058	53.85
Florida	69,001	46.99
Georgia	98,100	38.34
Idaho	8,367	55.53
Illinois	90,831	60.88
Indiana	34,325	51.56
Iowa	39,613	60.99
Kansas	33,345	67.19
Kentucky	55,499	35.56
Louisiana	121,339	54.63
Maine	11,847	50.04
Maryland	10,204	46.52
Massachusetts	85,525	82.17
Michigan	71,006	57.47
Minnesota	50,871	70.81
Mississippi	70,865	28.80
Missouri	129,248	49.79
Montana	8,537	58.18
Nebraska	17,416	52.79
Nevada	2,587	61.74
New Hampshire	5,907	62.33
New Jersey	19,664	74.08
New Mexico	9,025	49.46
New York	95,982	83.10
North Carolina	51,750	32.71

[1] From September 1956 Social Security Bulletin.

Old-age-assistance grants in all States as of June 1956—Continued

State	Number receiving aid	Average monthly payment
North Dakota	8,056	$71.73
Ohio	95,210	59.45
Oklahoma	94,959	64.30
Oregon	18,571	66.54
Pennsylvania	52,678	46.48
Rhode Island	7,910	62.91
South Carolina	42,400	32.74
South Dakota	10,273	45.05
Tennessee	61,115	34.07
Texas	222,993	41.77
Utah	9,243	60.69
Vermont	6,682	49.53
Virginia	16,567	31.13
Washington	56,832	82.37
West Virginia	23,077	28.45
Wisconsin	41,400	66.95
Wyoming	3,887	58.85
Alaska	1,667	58.67
Hawaii	1,635	47.24
Puerto Rico	43,633	7.93
Virgin Islands	609	18.54
Total number of recipients	2,523,716	54.29

Living costs in different cities

City	Population	Budget cost December 1956	Increase since 1951	Relative cost [1]
			Percent	
Atlanta	470,000	$4,462	3.4	106
Baltimore	790,000	4,530	7.9	------
Boston	805,000	4,516	7.1	------
Chicago	3,760,000	4,457	6.5	105
Cincinnati	525,000	4,494	6.8	------
Cleveland	935,000	4,370	6.5	------
Detroit	2,025,000	4,476	6.7	105
Houston, Tex	690,000	4,489	4.3	------
Kansas City, Mo	490,000	4,206	6.2	------
Los Angeles	2,175,000	4,578	6.2	107
Milwaukee	690,000	4,576	4.3	108
Minneapolis	540,000	4,415	6.1	106
New York City	8,050,000	4,263	4.4	100
Philadelphia	2,140,000	4,310	5.7	101
Pittsburgh	680,000	4,417	5.1	------
Portland, Oreg	400,000	4,394	5.8	103
St. Louis	870,000	4,388	6.7	103
San Francisco	790,000	4,702	10.3	108
Scranton, Pa	120,000	4,122	3.0	------
Seattle	555,000	4,515	5.5	------
Washington, D. C	860,000	4,588	3.0	------

[1] New York City equals 100.

History of Hazleton, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article on the history of Hazleton which appeared in the Hazleton Plain Speaker of April 2, 1957:

HISTORY OF HAZLETON BOROUGH, QUOTED FROM 1889 NEWSPAPER, SOUVENIR EDITION

The Hazleton Sentinel of November 28, 1889, in a souvenir Thanksgiving Day edition, printed a short history of the Borough of Hazleton.

Reference to the story is being made at this time in connection with the plans for the observance of the 100th anniversary of the date that Hazleton became a borough.

Here is the text of the 1889 story:

"It is not the purpose of the Sentinel to print a long and glowing history of our town. This sketch, therefore, will lack the charm of the average town history written by boomers and real-estate agents. Its history has not yet been written, but to do full credit it would require many months' time.

"The following articles will aim to give the salient points in the town's history. It is not a textbook. It is simply for the purpose of showing how from a very humble beginning the town has grown to its present size. We have not the skill of the colonization agent. We take things as we find them, and we find that to write up the history of such a town as ours would take more time and patience than can fall to the lot of the best newspaper writers whose work fill up the Sentinel, daily and weekly.

"The first house in Hazleton stood very near the site of David Clark's residence on East Broad Street. Back in the old stage-coaching days Jacob Drumheller kept a tavern at that place. In fact, he was known to have lived there in 1809.

"The Old State House was another landmark. It stood on the site of the Dryfoos mansion, on the old stage road running from Wilkes-Barre to McKeansburg. In the year 1817 those were the only houses standing. In 1834 there were seven houses. In 1833 Lewis Davenport built a hotel on the site of what is now the Hazleton House. It was once destroyed by fire but was rebuilt.

"The first store in Hazleton was built on the site of the A. Pardee & Co.'s present store on the southwest corner of Broad and Wyoming Streets. It was built by Ingham Brothers, who sold it to Mr. Cooper, and from his hands it passed into the possession of Pardee, Miner, and Hunt. The last named was the operator of the mines.

"From this humble beginning grew the present town of Hazleton. From a point of view it is as large a city as Easton. It has a population that is above the average mining town. It's businessmen are known throughout the State for their enterprise and probity. And although Hazleton has no self-adopted name, though it does not pose as a progressive city and makes no boasts, yet its influence is felt throughout the country and in the near future it will be a county seat that for vigor and push will lead the block of counties comprising the anthracite coalfields.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The historical sketch as printed in the Hazleton Sentinel of 1889, after the above introduction, went into a following sketch of the borough days of Hazleton. It then concluded with the early Indian history of the region and the construction of the first road through this section. To keep the sequence of the history, the Indian chapter and the roadbuilding sketch were given in the two series of articles we published last week.)

The sketch of 1889 continued with the following about the borough:

"The Borough of Hazelton was incorporated in accordance with an act approved April 3, 1851, and a supplementary act of April 22, 1856.

"In the old hotel which stood where the Hazleton House now stands the first election of the borough was held. Thomas Lawall kept the hotel. That was on March 27, 1857, and Abraham Jones was elected burgess and John Kahler high constable. The council was made up of Joseph Hamberger, George Brown, John Schreck, Andrew Ringlaben, George B. Markle, and William Ulrich.

"The president of the first council was George B. Markle; secretary F. A. Whitaker; treasurer, Charles H. Meyers.

"In December 1869 the boundaries of the borough were so enlarged as to take in the lands of William Kortz and 40 other properties lying between the lands of the Lehigh Valley Railroad Co., and the Diamond Coal Co., northwest of the former boundary line.

"In 1873 the police force was changed from the old volunteer system to the present efficient paid force.

"The fire department was authorized by the borough council March 15, 1869, and the following composed the Pioneer Engine and Hose Company: Thomas S. McNair, J. Sharon McNair, Thomas Monroe, T. Hall, Alexander McAllester, John A. Barton, C. F. Barton, John Lee, J. C. Tomlinson, S. B. McQuade, P. B. Conner, C. S. Longshore, S. D. Engel, Col. James Fitzpatrick, and Calvin Pardee.

"There had been an organization prior to that but it was an independent affair.

"In 1868, the council built the present engine house. The Diamond Hose, Hook and Ladder Company No. 2 was organized on September 6, 1889."

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The foregoing reference that the Borough of Hazleton was incorporated in accordance with an act approved April 3, 1851, and a supplementary act of April 22, 1856, were the dates used in early accounts which carried the date of April 1856 as the day the borough was incorporated.

(Recent research, however, shows that these dates were the dates when the State legislature passed laws to govern the creation of boroughs. These laws cited how much land and population were needed before a new borough could be formed.

(It was in 1856 that 48 citizens of Hazleton, acting in accordance with these laws, presented a signed petition to the court of Luzerne County, asking that Hazleton be incorporated as a borough.

(The court granted the prayer of the petition and it became effective on November 1, 1856. This is the date that Hazleton became a borough, which franchise gave the borough the right to elect borough officers to conduct the borough government. It was several months before all details were completed for the first election. This was held on March 27, 1857.

(Thus the date 1857 is as significant as 1856 in establishing the birthday of the borough.

(The Hazleton Centennial Association is planning for a big celebration to start this month and conclude in a concentrated program covering 10 days in July.)

Speech of Ogden R. Reid, President and Editor of New York Herald Tribune

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, for many years I have made it a practice to study the opinions of competent newspapermen concerning the vital issues of our times. I have found, as have millions of others, that I can usually gain added insight into the true values of a question when I read the views expressed on it by the men and women whose lives force them into close daily contact with matters pertaining to all races, colors, and creeds; the rich and the poor; the young and the old.

Therefore I considered it a very special privilege to hear the words last Sunday of Ogden R. Reid, president and editor of the New York Herald Tribune, as he spoke at the banquet during which he was presented the eternal light award of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Mr. Reid's remarks were inspired by the highest traditions of patriotism,

journalism, and service, and although he spoke pointedly of the many problems facing our Nation, he nevertheless concluded his address on a high note of hope.

"This Nation has a very great opportunity," said Mr. Reid. And he added that we can do much "if we can help develop a consensus representing the common hopes and aspirations of mankind."

He then made a statement which, in my opinion, should be read and reread frequently by every Member of Congress. It was this:

Ultimately any government, including the Soviets, must be responsive to the pressures generated by a belief in the dignity of the individual, his inherent right to civil liberties, and a nation's right to self-determination and independence.

Mr. President, in view of the importance of these thoughts and the others expressed by Mr. Reid in his address, I ask unanimous consent that the entire speech be printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY OGDEN R. REID, PRESIDENT AND EDITOR, NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, DELIVERED AT THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY'S SECOND ANNUAL ETERNAL LIGHT AWARD DINNER, WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, MARCH 31, 1957

For the last decade, there has been increasing concern with the analysis of an old concept—the balance of power. To be precise, is the balance of power shifting away from the free world?

This is, of course, not entirely a black-and-white matter. Obviously, the recent events in Poland and Hungary have weakened the Soviet position before the world. Further, Vice President NIXON reports, following his trip, that the position of the United States and the respect for its principles is on the ascendancy in Africa.

It is also clear that communism in recent years was turned back in Guatemala and Iran; that the thorny issue of Trieste was equitably settled; that the free Western Republic of Germany is making important strides in spite of the pressing problems of reunification; that on the other side of the world, Japan is making an economic comeback and that she is resolving the situation brought on by the late war with fairness and dispatch.

Further, in spite of the tragic loss of President Magsaysay, author of the Pacific Charter, the Philippines are emerging as one of the leading powers of free Asia.

Certainly, progress has been made in terms of regional, economic, and military groupings. The Coal-Steel Community, OEEC, European payments Union, the Saar Agreement, Euratom, and more recently the agreement on the Common European Market, are important and productive steps that bode extremely well for the future of Europe.

Clearly, the Colombo plan and our point 4, economic and military aid programs are making important contributions in many countries.

Militarily, the Eisenhower doctrine in the Middle East—later supplemented at the Bermuda meeting by United States agreement to join, if asked, the Military Committee of the Baghdad Pact—will certainly bolster the political position of certain individuals and nations in the Middle East. The recent SEATO meeting reported agreement on plans to consolidate and enhance the progress made in preserving the freedom of all countries in southeast Asia. In Europe, there is a growing awareness of the need for a rather basic revision and evaluation of NATO. The regrouping of these forces along tactical atomic lines, with the future addition of the IRBM (or Intermediate Missile) to the British defensive arsenal, are all positive steps.

The meeting in Panama of the Presidents of American Republics speaks well for increased cooperation in the common interest of the several states in North and Latin America.

The visit last December of Prime Minister Nehru no doubt helped to clarify the anti-colonial and moral heritage of the United States.

King Saud's trip in February of this year can be another milestone in our relations with the Middle East—provided United States power and influence in concert with the United Nations when attainable—are actively brought to bear on an equitable and permanent settlement of the Israeli and Suez questions, not a return to the status quo ante. The United States must concern itself quite as much, if not more, with the positive steps needed to implement a principled course, as with the initial statement of that principle. Finally, in important matters of war and peace, we must be careful first to agree or agree to disagree on common objectives with, for example, Great Britain, France, and Israel. Only then should we find the words to so state. We must not be satisfied with words apparently bridging what are actually substantive differences.

It is also only accurate to point out that the development of the Emergency Force of the United Nations, now stationed in the Middle East, and the upholding of the policy that aggression cannot be condoned, may be more significant developments than we can now appreciate.

One may well ask, Does all this add up to real progress? The answer is certainly yes, but it must be measured against gains made by the Soviet Union, and the two must be plotted over a certain period of time and projected into the future.

In a word, is the Soviet curve starting to cross ours and that of the free world and where will the two curves be 10, 20, and 30 years from now.

Before, in all humility, attempting to evaluate this question, one fundamental statement of principle is indicated.

Put in its simplest terms, the United States and the free world must do those things that will result in the survival of our way of life.

It is not a question of how much we can afford, but more that we cannot afford to have the Soviets the master and tyrant of this planet.

Curiously, it is difficult to make this point. Freedom can be, and frequently is, lost by default. We could lose the peace without fighting for it. The Soviets could wrest the diplomatic initiative wholly from the United States and impose an atmosphere of fear and subservience on a large portion of the world.

To try and take stock, let us first look at a certain complex of so-called power factors which are the product of our educational system, scientific research and development, military weaponry, production programs, and economic resources.

These factors, I believe, should be measured against President Eisenhower's criteria:

1. That the United States must be able to sustain a surprise attack;

2. That our combined forces must be capable of an effective or devastating counter-attack; and

3. That the Soviets must be aware of our capabilities.

To put it another way, the administration believes that if two individuals are in the same room, individual A will not shoot individual B if he knows he will be hanged for his crime before he leaves the room.

In a sense, this argument needs to be carried several steps further. First, there is the question of what constitutes enough to sustain a surprise Soviet attack and mount an effective retaliation.

Second, there is the question of if we have enough now, will we have enough 5 or 10 years from now, given the long lead time of over 11 years from blueprint to production line inherent in some of our weapons systems.

Finally, there is the question as to whether at a certain point in time, if we may have enough, the Soviets may have more.

The point here is that the psychological implications of the Soviets having more could be of sufficient importance to mean that we should maintain more than what otherwise would perhaps be considered enough.

Dr. Edward Teller, who certainly had much to do with the development of our H-bomb, stated quite categorically that the Soviets are now roughly on a par with the United States scientifically. He adds that in 10 years the United States will be a second-rate scientific power; that there is nothing we can now do about it, and that our only hope is to recapture our lost lead 20 to 30 years from now.

Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of AEC; Allan W. Dulles, Director of CIA; and William Benton have all reported that the current output of the U. S. S. R. in engineers and technological specialists may exceed that of the United States by as much as 50 percent.

On July 19, 1956, Lt. Gen. Donald L. Putt, Air Force Deputy Chief of Staff for Development, had this to say before the Symington committee, following his visit to the U. S. S. R.: "I was astounded at the foundation they (the Soviets) are laying in science and technology and the training of the people in those fields."

Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said before the same committee: "First, I am convinced that our national security can be jeopardized, and even lost, by the mismanagement of our resources—both proved and potential—of creative intelligence.

"This conviction is made firmer for me by the evidence we have—from the DeWitt study and others—that the Soviets are now educating more scientists and engineers than the United States."

The philosophy of education in the U. S. S. R. should also engage our attention. The Soviets believe that there can be no separation in training or in real life between the military and the political, that the two are everlastingly related.

To be specific, the Soviet military authority, Shaposhnikov, has written: "If war is a continuation of politics only by other means, so also peace is a continuation of struggle by other means."

Another major balance of power factor, and largely the byproduct of scientific and educational technology, is the field of military weaponry, including the necessary personnel.

Gen. Curtis E. LeMay testified before the Symington committee: "I have already brought out that the Soviets will have a numerical advantage in long-range bombers during the time period, and again assuming they will provide bases, weapons, maintenance capability, refueling capacity, and training to support this numerical advantage, then we will be inferior in striking power to the Soviet long-range air force by 1958–60."

To sum up the Air Force picture, Gen. Nathan F. Twining, newly nominated for chairmanship of the JCS, said in New York on October 11, 1955, and confirmed his previous statement again on July 19, 1956: "If being ahead is related to aircraft production, we are again only second best. The Communists are producing far more combat airplanes than we are.

"Even more important, if being ahead is related to rate of progress, we have fallen far behind."

In the guided-missile field, we have made impressive progress. However, some of the facts are not encouraging. We have 5 programs: 2 in the ICBM range—Convair's Atlas and Glenn L. Martin's Titan—and 3 in the IRBM range—Douglas' Thor, Redstone Arsenal's Jupiter, and Lockheed's Polaris.

Some competent opinion in this field feels that we are operating 5 programs when we have only sufficient scientific, technological, and productive capacity for 2 or 3. However this may be, the Soviets have had an IRBM flying for over 2 years with a 1,000-plus mile range. We have yet to fire an IRBM, of a regular test or production model, over 200 miles. It is true the Army fired an experimental missile over 3,000 miles, but it was not a standardized production or test missile.

It is a fair assumption to consider that the Soviets are ahead of us in both the intermediate and ICBM missiles. This lead is not an irrevocable one, but it may well increase if we do not do more. Certain current cuts, both with regard to the testing of missiles and in connection with the construction of related facilities, may not presage well for the future.

On this very point of estimating the Soviets, I think a word can perhaps be said. In the past, in several quarters we have tended to underestimate Soviet production of jet engines, the development of the A-bomb, and the production of the H-bomb; the latter being developed in roughly one-half the time of the United States bomb. As in a business operation, it would seem prudent to provide for a margin of overestimation of the Soviets, not repeated underestimation.

With regard to early warning, our radar screen—while it is improving for the detection of piloted aircraft—is still inadequate. We are vulnerable to some extent in the north. Further, the radar approaches to this country from the south and gulf coast are thin. If we are seriously concerned with civil defense, so that no aggressor could safely assume our human resources could be easily knocked out, it might well be prudent to produce and develop more rapidly new types of long-range radars that can reach farther toward a potential takeoff than the layman ever dreamed. These radars might provide enough time for many people to get into necessary shelters, which for the most part have yet to be built.

In this connection, the Soviets have in operation over 400 submarines, some of which are believed to be equipped for rocket and guided-missile launching. If we combine this means of delivery with the IRBM, we have a new element with which to contend.

Our Army of 19 divisions (992,290 men), plus 7 regiments and 2 regimental combat teams, can barely call on the airlift to move 1 5,000-ton division. Greater mobility, and the strategic implications thereof for localized defensive actions could be reevaluated.

In dealing with the purely political question of balance of power, certain questions can perhaps be formulated:

1. While the summit meeting at Geneva, and the magnificent leadership given to this conference by President Eisenhower, convinced the peoples of the world that this Nation was truly dedicated to peace—it also produced one other impression. There is the danger that we convinced the Soviets that we are so dedicated to peace that there are many situations they can exploit without the danger of United States action. The President's courageous action, with regard to volunteers in the Middle East arena, should have diluted this impression. However, the people of the United States, in a sense, are still not fully aware of the implicit seriousness of the Middle East situation nor that the Nation was put on a partial war alert basis on or about last November 6.

2. Are more nations gaining or losing their independence? On the positive side, we have seen Austria gain her independence with a measure of military neutrality as the price; a German peace treaty at the expense of reunification; and a Japanese peace treaty at the expense of certain territorial rights.

The Communist heel, on the other hand, has descended on North Vietnam, Tibet, and, more firmly than ever, on North Korea and Hungary. Soviet influence is on the apparent increase in the state of Kerala in India, in Indonesia, and in Syria.

3. This political question can be phrased still another way. Is the Soviet empire being kept off balance or is it being consolidated? Are we doing those things that would tend to separate Red China from the all-pervasive influence of the Kremlin?

Increasingly, also, there is another element in the Soviet picture. In developing a first-rate scientific and technological society, they have taught Soviet citizens to think. Many of these individuals, no doubt, sense that they do not have freedom, even though they do not know the real meaning of freedom. Certainly the likelihood here is that the Soviets will have to relax, as they indeed have to some extent, a portion of their state control.

Another major factor in this balance of power equation is the economic. Does, for example, the United States now have a long-range foreign economic policy or program? Is the country or the Congress prepared for, or aware of the necessity for, such a program in the national interest?

Quite obviously, the United States free enterprise system must remain solvent; inflation must be tackled not only through tight money, but also by keeping productivity ahead of rising costs. One of the long-term hopes of the Soviet conspiracy is to see this country's free enterprise system collapse and, therefore, the economy of the free world. Nonetheless, a long-range program of economic partnership with the underdeveloped nations is essential if they are to strengthen and maintain their independence.

What of the Soviet economy? Is their heavy industry expanding more rapidly than ours? Is the Soviet trade program making headway? Are nations being brought within the Soviet economic orbit? Does this suggest that the Soviets may, in turn, from this be able to gain a measure of political control whenever and wherever nations become dependent on the Soviet economy?

A further, and most important, area in this equation are the moral, spiritual, and psychological factors that pertain to the balance of power. In a sense, the great religions of the world and their ethics are implicit in the strength of the free world. What is not clear is whether these forces have been mobilized by the religious and lay leaders of the world in clear contrast to the Soviet system and dialectic.

It may well be that the Jewish Theological Seminary, under the leadership of Rabbi Finkelstein, can do much to contribute to the development of such a worldwide ethic; to the end that the peoples of the world will become increasingly aware of their overall responsibility to see such an ethic implemented.

Psychologically, are we winning the battle for men's minds? Are we doing those things in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia that are well calculated to put freedom, free enterprise, and our spiritual values in an inspiring light?

These, then, are only some of the considerations that enter into an analysis of the balance of power. There are, no doubt, many others—some of which perhaps you would feel more important. In essence, however, I submit that some such reckoning of the balance of power must be made, and out of this must come an overall long-range policy for the United States.

Specifically, do we indeed have an appropriate structure for analyzing and developing this kind of long-range objectives? Further, is there any group in Washington that is not only adding all these factors together but seeing to it that any such policy is coordinated and implemented with dispatch?

The National Security Act established the National Security Council as part of the President's staff, and it can only advise the President in the formulation of policy. President Eisenhower created the Operations Coordinating Board to coordinate—as the name implies—the operations of the several departments thereby implementing the President's decisions, based on the position papers of the NSC.

There is no question but what the NSC is working more effectively than before. Clearly, Vice President NIXON has brought much to the thinking and functioning of this group.

However, in a sense, the same comment that was made in 1949, by the first Hoover Commission, about the NSC can be made again tonight.

Specifically, the Task Force Report of the National Security Organization Committee, published in January 1949, stated:

"The National Security Council is probably the most vital element in the entire security structure. On its proper and effective operation the success of the whole system depends. While it has made considerable progress, especially in recent months, it does not yet measure up fully to the needs of the times.

"In general, the Council has proved equal to dealing promptly with matters of immediate urgency; it has not yet, however, produced a comprehensive statement of current and long-range policies."

The report then mentions certain examples and concludes with the following paragraph:

"For these deficiencies in the Council, the principal remedy must lie in a better realization, by the members of the Council itself, of the agency's true responsibilities and potentialities. The National Security Act has established it; but its own members will have to make it work as it was designed to do."

The Cabinet officers represented on the NSC frequently are too busy to give sufficient time to the development of long-range policy. In turn, the Planning Board of the NSC has not always developed coordinated long-range policy. The often excellent staff papers made down the line sometimes do not reach, and are not reflected in, the Planning Board's work. When the Planning Board reports or recommendations are rendered to the NSC, they in turn, upon occasion, suffer the fate of the lowest common denominator.

The final agreed NSC papers do not always represent the bold program and thinking of high vision that is increasingly called for in the world situation.

For example, the National Security Council did not come up with a clear, consistent, and coordinated policy on the Middle East. The ball—as is sometimes the case—fell somewhere between the State, Defense, and Treasury Departments. Inaction and delay were permitted, through stalemates, to operate in a situation that was sensitive and critical.

Traditionally, the State—and to some extent the Treasury—Departments have attempted to strongly influence, if not dominate, the NSC.

In any event, it seems increasingly obvious that we need a strengthened National Security Council and Operations Coordinating Board. Top cabinet officials and department heads could well consider delegating more authority to their Under Secretaries, thus

freeing themselves for greater concentration on and formulation of important national policy. Where necessary, additional men of stature could be brought in to the departments concerned to concentrate largely on operations. This again could help free the top officers of the Government to deal with the highest policy.

Also, as another possibility, it might be useful to consider appointing an independent chairman to the Operations Coordinating Board: A chairman who is not a representative of one of the agencies of the Government competing for authority. Here, I am thinking of the system, not an individual; the Nation is most fortunate to have Christian Herter as Under Secretary of State.

Finally, in assessing the NSC and OCB, it is only fair to state that it may be necessary to seek more drastic solutions to this problem.

Certainly, this is a question that only the President can decide in the light of his experience and responsibility.

To sum up then, and on the basis of available information, it seems fair to conclude that the Soviet Union is closing the gap in the relative balance of power. Nonetheless, we have time to act. The United States and the free world still have the resources to deal with the problem.

Viewed in another light, this Nation has a very great opportunity. If we can help develop a concensus representing the common hopes and aspirations of mankind, we can do much. Ultimately, any government—including the Soviets—must be responsive to the pressures generated by a belief in the dignity of the individual, his inherent right to civil liberties, and a nation's right to self-determination and independence.

The United States has a call to leadership never before given in such magnitude to a sovereign republic. We must be worthy of this responsibility. The lives and destinies of many are in all our hands.

Invocation by Hon. Cecil M. Harden at Banquet Meeting of Conference of Republican Women

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following invocation offered by Hon. CECIL M. HARDEN at the banquet meeting of the Conference of Republican Women, Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C., on April 2, 1957:

Almighty God, we thank Thee for the privilege of meeting here again in our Nation's Capital.

We ask Thy blessing upon us and upon the party which we represent.

Uphold our President of these United States, strengthen him, direct and guide him in his decisions.

Be with all those who are in our Government and be with our speaker tonight.

Give us, we pray, the power to discern clearly right from wrong and give us the power to understand Thy truth and permit all our thoughts and actions to be governed thereby.

Direct us, so that we may be united in our desire and efforts to give our Nation sound and honest government.

The Polish Eliza

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following column written by Joseph Alsop in which Mr. Alsop discusses the present Polish Government and its leader, Wladyslaw Gomulka:

THE POLISH ELIZA
(By Joseph Alsop)

PARIS.—Reliable reports from Warsaw suggest that American policymakers will be most unwise to take the new anti-Stalinist Polish Government too much for granted as a permanent feature of the central Europe scene.

From the very beginning of the Polish uprising against Soviet colonial rule, the task of the Polish national Communist leader, Wladyslaw Gomulka, has been very like the task of Eliza crossing the ice.

For example, it can now be revealed that when Nikita Khrushchev and his party made their famous visit to Warsaw last November, their minds were nine-tenths made up to crush the Poles like flies—as Marshal Zukov subsequently said in a tone of evident regret. The price that had to be paid to avert a Hungarian tragedy was Gomulka's promise of continuing Polish adherence to the Warsaw Pact, which meant continued stationing of Red Army troops in Poland.

Gomulka's situation today is less immediately critical, but it is almost equally precarious for the long run. He would probably be in very deep trouble at this moment if he had not done so well in Poland's recent, curious, semifree election. The so-called Natolin group, the far from unimportant Stalinist faction in the Polish Communist Party, actually hoped the election would show a strongly anti-Communist result.

The Polish Stalinists correctly thought that such a result would eventually lead to the forcible reestablishment of full Soviet colonial rule in Poland. But Poland's wise and far-sighted Cardinal Wyszynski understood the danger. He quietly threw the immense power of the Polish Catholic Church into the balance on Gomulka's side. And thus the Polish Nationalist leader won a triumph at the polls.

All the same, Gomulka's present problems looks very grim indeed. To the right of him, he has the restive Polish anti-Communists, which means the vast majority of the Polish people, who admire Gomulka but hate his party. To the left of him, he has the Stalinist faction in the Polish Communist Party, whose designs are strongly supported by the masters of the Kremlin.

Finally, squarely in front of him Gomulka has the desperate economic situation to which Poland has been reduced by long years of Soviet colonial rule. Here lies his great chance and his great peril. According to one highly authoritative estimate, Gomulka has no more than a year to give his people a sense of greatly increased well being.

If he fails, he will go down to defeat in a conflict between the Stalinsts and the anti-Communists. But this will mean, in fact, that Soviet colonial rule will be reestablished in Poland. For the Kremlin will surely seize the opportunity of a Polish time of trouble to help its Warsaw friends with the naked force of the Red Army.

On the other hand, if Gomulka succeeds on the economic front, his leadership will cease to be challenged, either from right or left. He will at last gain the elbow room to deal with the Polish Stalinists. And the evolution of Poland can then proceed peacefully, not toward our kind of democracy, but at least in a direction that will be bearable for the Polish people and highly distasteful to the Kremlin.

At present, Gomulka is both being kept on leading strings and openly threatened by the Kremlin. With the economic problem overriding all others, the Soviet economic aid promised to Poland is being given in trickles, on a day-to-day basis. For instance wheat deliveries, according to the same authority quoted above, "have to be rushed to the flour mills, and the flour has to be rushed to the bakeries, to prevent a bread shortage."

By pulling on the leading strings in this manner, the Kremlin has encouraged Gomulka's recent concessions to the Polish Stalinists, which alarmed the West. Washington, of course, has the opportunity to cut the Kremlin's leading strings. But judging from this distance, Washington seems to be disinclined to grant Gomulka the generous American economic aid he so badly needs.

Yet surely, a government that is good enough for Cardinal Wyszynski ought to be good enough for Senator KNOWLAND. And surely, after all the grandiose talk about liberation, it is a bit odd to throw away the remaining chance offered by the deep unrest in Central Europe. For if Gomulka really succeeds in Poland, the position of the Stalinist regime in Czechoslovakia must finally become untenable. And even in the other Central European countries where Red army troops are stationed, Gomulka's success will create a permanently and explosively unstable situation.

The question, really, is whether Senator KNOWLAND and the administration policymakers he so often intimidates, prefer making cheap and empty anti-Communist gestures against Gomulka or gaining a major point in the world struggle against the Kremlin's power.

Repeal Federal Excise Tax on Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include Senate Joint Resolution 63, adopted by the 80th General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, urging repeal of Federal excise tax on the cost of transportation of property by common carrier:

Senate Joint Resolution 63

Resolution to memorialize Congress to repeal the Federal excise tax on the cost of transportation of property by common carrier

Whereas the Federal excise tax on the cost of transportation of property by common carrier was levied as a temporary measure for the duration of World War II, and the excise tax on the cost of transportation of persons by common carrier was levied for the express purpose of discouraging travel by common carrier during the wartime shortage of facilities therefor due to heavy troop movements; and

Whereas the purposes for which said taxes were levied no longer exist, and said taxes are discriminatory in nature: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the 80th General Assembly of the State of Tennessee (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of the members of the 80th General Assembly of the State of Tennessee that justice and fair play require that said levies be repealed; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread on the journal of the respective houses of the general assembly, and that the chief clerk of the Senate be authorized, empowered, and directed to send a certified copy thereof to the President of the United States of America and to each member of the Tennessee delegation in the Congress of the United States of America.

Adopted March 19, 1957.

JARED MADDUX,
Speaker of the Senate.
JAMES L. BOMAR,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Adopted, April 1, 1957.

FRANK G. CLEMENT,
Governor.

Grants for Administration of Public Assistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mrs. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I have two communications from officials of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the Honorable George Leader, our Governor, and Mrs. Ruth Grigg Horting, secretary of public assistance, bearing on this matter of public-assistance grants for administration.

As a former public-assistance official myself prior to my marriage, I know the problems which beset a State of the size of Pennsylvania in connection with the administration of public assistance. There is, on the one hand, a steady drumbeat of criticism that people on assistance are not properly investigated to make sure they are deserving; there is loud criticism on the other hand that deserving cases have to wait too long and are not accorded sufficient consideration.

This is always a problem for a Solomon—it taxes the wisdom of any conscientious State public-assistance official. It is certain, however, that without adequate funds for administration of the program, the care which should be taken cannot always be shown. The sufferer, in many cases, is the deserving individual or family which has not been able to obtain prompt review of an application or which cannot get the help it needs, solely because of the lack of personnel for administering the caseload.

I submit for inclusion in the RECORD the communications I have received on this from our Governor and secretary of public assistance, and urge favorable consideration of the request they make for fair treatment:

HARRISBURG, PA., *March 29, 1957.*

KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Commonwealth is intensely interested in restoring $12 million cut in grants to State employment services made on House floor March 27. There are 140,000 Pennsylvanians over 40 who are unemployed. The $12 million in H. R. 6287 was earmarked for special employment counseling services for that age group. This service a real need to many in your district. Urge your help in replacing this amount.

GEORGE M. LEADER.

HARRISBURG, PA., *March 23, 1957.*

The Honorable KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN,
House of Representatives, Congress of the United States, Washington, D.C.:

Understand Appropriations Committee has reported H. R. 6287 with provisions for closed-end appropriation for Federal matching of State local funds for administration of public assistance programs.

Urge elimination of this limitation as contrary to basic principle of 50–50 sharing as provided in Social Security Act. Any arbitrary limit on administrative costs may result in inadequate determination of eligibility for assistance grants and result in waste of funds for grants much in excess of savings in administrative costs. Impractical to plan assistance programs based on arbitrary limits since need for financial help by needy persons depends primarily on economic conditions.

The further limitation proposed by committee that none of the funds can be used to pay for fiscal 1957 expenditures would be a default by Federal Government on its share of commitments made during current fiscal period for such items as equipment and supplies to be paid for upon delivery which may be in next fiscal period.

Also urge concurrence of House in Senate deletion of amendments to deficiency appropriation, H. R. 4249, which would have imposed arbitrary limit on administrative costs for current fiscal period.

Mrs. RUTH GRIGG HORTING,
Secretary of Public Assistance, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Humane Slaughter Bill Approved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Humane Slaughter bill is working its way through our committee system and we hope will be before us for vote in the near future. The need for such legislation recently was pointed out editorially in the Long Beach Press Telegram newspaper in the following words:

IF YOU SAW IT HAPPEN TO A DOG

The Humane Society of the United States makes an irrefutable case in behalf of proposed legislation requiring packingplants to use humane methods of killing animals.

The society points out, for example, that 90 million hogs are killed annually in the United States in a terribly cruel manner. A chain is slipped around one of the hog's hind legs. The animal is pulled aloft with a bone-breaking jerk. He is stabbed. It takes several minutes for him to lose consciousness and bleed to death.

If it happened to a dog, almost any witness would call the police. But the process is fully as terrifying and painful to a hog as it would be to a dog.

Slaughterhouse methods that cause animals to suffer are unnecessary. Economical, practical, and humane ways of killing animals are available and are in use by a few plants.

Legislation requiring universal application of these methods in packingplants engaged in interestate commerce has been offered by Senators HUBERT HUMPHREY, RICHARD NEUBERGER, and WILLIAM A. PURTELL. It should be approved.

Economy Must Begin at Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of the Members of Congress the very splendid editorial entitled "Economy Must Begin at Home" which appeared in the Shelby Daily Star, Shelby, N. C., on Wednesday, April 3, 1957.

This editorial is heartening to those of us who have within the past few days consistently voted to reduce the tremendous Federal budget which the President has presented to the Congress. It is encouraging particularly because it indicates that the folks back home are conscious of their responsibility in this matter of budget reduction.

The editorial follows:

ECONOMY MUST BEGIN AT HOME

With the intense national interest in cutting the giant-sized Federal budget, everyone is getting into the news with authoritative statements on the best way to go about slicing the money pie.

The latest to make a public statement was Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, Texas Democrat, who calls for a cost consciousness campaign on the part of the administration.

What JOHNSON says makes a lot of sense. There is a danger in Congress sniping at the Federal budget from a generally uninformed position. As JOHNSON points out, department heads should know where they can cut expenses best; and he urges the administration to initiate a cost-consciousness campaign to spur the departments toward greater economies.

JOHNSON took a look at the new high in Federal payrolls which was hit in January. Nonmilitary employees of the Federal Government at home and abroad during that month were paid over $1 billion.

It is obvious that Congress cannot intelligently cut such a vast Federal establishment. It can urge that the administration start a program toward trimming the mammoth payrolls; but the job must be done at a level where efficient economy can be achieved.

Another important thing to remember is that Federal expenditures will not be cut as long as the voters at home demand more and more Government service.

We in Cleveland County cannot deny that we are receiving Federal funds. Our airport project will draw over a quarter of a million dollars from the Federal Government. We have heard no one decry this expenditure.

Recently, when the Veterans' Administration announced the closing of its hospital at Swannanoa, a howl went up all over western North Carolina. Congressman BASIL WHITENER, reacting to opinion from home, energetically petitioned the VA to reconsider.

Also recently, the Army announced a personnel cutback of some 234 civilian employees at Fort Jackson, S. C., and the yell from our South Carolina neighbors was heard all the way to Washington when Senator OLIN JOHNSTON collared the Army and stopped the economy move.

Again in Cleveland County, our welfare department receives a great deal of its funds from the Federal Government. Where is the cry for this to stop?

When the 4-laning of U. S. 74 to Kings Mountain is completed, 50 percent of the cost will have been borne with Federal funds. Yet, local citizens for the most part are ready to welcome the new addition.

The purpose in mentioning these various local and area projects sponsored or partially sponsored with Federal funds is not to condemn. Rather, it should be pointed out that this situation multiplied in communities all over the Nation is the cause of the $72 billion Federal budget.

When citizens decide to stand and refuse Federal funds, and actively campaign to eliminate Federal participation in local projects, the budget may be lessened.

The trouble lies in finding citizens willing to begin the attack at home.

Around the World in 80 Days

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID S. DENNISON, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. DENNISON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the Members of Congress a notable event which will take place Monday evening in Washington, the Washington premiere of the movie Around the World in 80 Days. The performance is being staged here for the benefit of the American Field Service scholarship fund, a most worthy project, deserving of our support.

It was my great privilege during World War II to serve with the American Field Service in Africa and to be a part of the great work the organization performs in time of war. Since its inception in World War I as an ambulance unit, the American Field Service has seen action in all parts of the world, and it is fitting that the premiere of a movie whose theme is worldwide be dedicated to the peacetime work of the American Field Service. This project brings foreign-born students to America for their final year of high-school study. Hundreds of young people have thus had an opportunity to see our country at firsthand, to live with our people, to attend our schools, and to return to their own countries with greater understanding of America and Americans. I am a firm believer in the people-to-people approach to foreign relations. There is no greater guaranty of peace than understanding of one for another. In this work the American Field Service thus makes a notable contribution to peace now and for future generations.

I hope that many of you will support this cause on Monday and, at the same time, afford yourself the pleasure of seeing what has been described as one of the great moving pictures of all time by attending the premiere of Around the World in 80 Days at the Uptown Theater.

Pennsylvania's Cherry Blossom Festival Princess

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by John M. Cummings of the Philadelphia Inquirer, April 3, 1957, which features Miss Mary Ann Strilka, Pennsylvania's cherry blossom princess:

CHERRY BLOSSOM TIARA OLYPHANT GIRL'S GOAL

(By John M. Cummings)

HARRISBURG, April 2.—Rain and fog grounded Governor Leader at Waynesburg, in Greene County, whither he had gone with Lieutenant Governor Furman to help coal miners out there observe John Mitchell Day. Mitchell it was who as president of the United Mine Workers led the prolonged strike which brought the 8-hour day to the coal fields, anthracite and bituminous.

With the No. 1 and the No. 2 men away from Harrisburg, it devolved on Col. Jim Finnegan, secretary of the Commonwealth, to extend official greetings to a gal from our old home town of Olyphant who was en route to Washington to represent Pennsylvania as Cherry Blossom Festival princess. She could come out of the competition—and in our opinion should— with the title Cherry Blossom Queen. This would entitle her to wear a pearl-encrusted gold crown, gift of Japan's pearl tycoon, and another crown, with anthracite coal settings, fashioned by New York's Norman Le Beau.

Miss Mary Ann Strilka is 19 and a blond. She has all that it takes in the way of looks to wear the crown of a queen. On form, too, and how, she should experience little difficulty captivating the experts who will judge the contest. These judges will not select the queen, exactly. They'll pick a number of finalists and from this group one will be chosen by lot. For this part of the ceremony the wheel will be spun by Mamie Eisenhower, wife of the President.

Mary Ann is "Miss Anthracite," a title she won last year. On Labor Day she was chosen from among 12 competitors to represent the State in the Cherry Blossom Festival.

We met Mary Ann and her sister, Romaine, while they were looking forward to a rendezvous with the Governor. He was to extend the greetings of the Commonwealth.

These girls are true representatives of the melting pot that is Olyphant. Their father is a Pole, their mother an Austrian. Their parents have been in the town of Olyphant for some 25 years. Perhaps it could be said that the blonde hair of Mary Ann represents the Polish influence of their father, while the coal black tresses of Romaine are traceable to Austrian blood of their mother.

Anyway, we discovered their home is directly across the street from the Delaware Avenue house where our own father, a stern disciplinarian, on more than one occasion forcibly impressed upon us that there is no dividend in even minor infractions of the moral code.

The gals came to Harrisburg in tow of one Edward H. Ring, a member of Washington's Metropolitan Police Force, and president of the Pennsylvania Society at the Nation's Capital. With them too, was Ed Williams, of Glenside, representative of the Anthracite Information Bureau.

Mary Ann and Romaine Strilka are accomplished ballet dancers. They teach this art at a studio in Scranton. Last summer they were members of a Government team of entertainers which went to the Azores to give our troops there a lift. This summer they return to the Azores and, in addition, will dance at Army installations in Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Scotland and Bermuda.

Three hundred Pennsylvanians are in Washington's Metropolitan Police Force, according to Ring.

It was because he is a native of the State as well as president of the Pennsylvania Society of Washington, that Ring was selected to escort "Miss Anthracite" to the scene of her anticipated triumph.

At Washington Monday evening Mary Ann was greeted by the Pennsylvania delegation in Congress. Unfortunately for us, neither Mary Ann nor Romaine was born when we shook the coal dust of Olyphant from our dogs many years ago and lit out for Philadelphia. In consequence we had nothing in common in the way of recollections of a day long gone when no one in the town would have known a ballet dancer from a kangaroo.

But we promised Mary Ann that if she comes away from Washington as queen, we shall urge on the folks in Olyphant the same sort of celebration in her honor that Archbald gave Dave Berger when he became city solicitor of Philadelphia.

Civil Aeronautics Act Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN HARRIS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, I have today introduced a bill to amend the Civil Aeronautics Act to authorize the Civil Aeronautics Board to include in certificates of public convenience and necessity limitations on the type and extent of service authorized.

In connection with the request that the bill be introduced, Chairman Durfee submitted the following statement of the purpose and need for the proposed legislation:

The fourth sentence of section 401 (f) of the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 provides that "No term, condition, or limitation of a certificate shall restrict the right of an air carrier to add to or change schedules, equipment, accommodations, and facilities for performing the authorized transportation and service as the development of the business and the demands of the public shall require."

Under this provision it is not entirely clear as to the extent to which the Board may im-

pose on certificates of public convenience and necessity effective limitations or restrictions with respect to schedules, equipment, accommodations, or facilities. Without some clarification this provision may result in preventing the Board from issuing certificates to carriers which request authority to perform air carrier operations on a limited scale. The purpose of the proposed legislation is to make it clear that a carrier may request and be authorized to perform limited services.

Speech of Hon. W. R. Poage Before Atlantic Cotton Association, Augusta, Ga.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE M. KILGORE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following address:

SPEECH OF HON. W. R. POAGE BEFORE ATLANTIC COTTON ASSOCIATION, AUGUSTA, GA.

Mr. Chairman, my friends of the cotton industry, you have been most generous in asking me to speak to you on the problem of cotton. You are all experts—especially on price—I am a rank amateur. I do not claim to have any patent medicine intended to solve the serious illness of ailing King Cotton.

But I do know the king is sick unto death—and with him the whole economy of Dixieland. I recognize that those of you who have made the merchandising of cotton your life's work have lived through other periods of crises. You have, indeed, seen the cotton industry move from one crisis to another for half a century, but few indeed will suggest that apart from the years of war and depression, which even at the time we all recognized as being but temporary situations, there were so many problems, so many dislocations, so many hardships, and discouragements, associated with the production and marketing of the South's great money crop.

During the early forties, the cruel hand of war made both production and marketing physically difficult, but there were still attractive financial rewards for those who could overcome these difficulties. Even the harsh economic pressure of the great depression did not force families to flee from cotton farms to the cities as they are being forced to do today. Indeed, I recall that the farm became a kind of refuge of subsistence during the thirties—nor did we then see our system of cotton marketing seriously threatened with complete destruction. Of course, many growers blamed the buyer for low prices then—just as sellers always will.

It would be an unreasonable imposition on your time for me to try to review the long history of all the events which have brought us to our present difficulties, but I think that we can all agree that at least high on the list stands our failure to evolve a price system for American cotton which could meet the needs of producers, merchants, exporters, and consumers. Maybe, no such price structure can be devised, but unless it is—or unless some reasonable substitute achieving substantially the same results is developed we may as well reconcile ourselves to a continuation of the present disintegration of the entire cotton industry.

Now, just what do we want in the way of a long-time price program for cotton? Doubtless there will at first be a multitude of answers. The farmer will say, "I want a high price for unlimited production." The mills will say, "We want the lowest possible price." Your own members as middlemen might very well say, "We care very little whether the price is high or low. We just want a chance to handle as much cotton as possible."

With a little thought, however, we must realize that each answer is both correct and wrong. The price of cotton must, indeed, be high enough to give the farmer a fair return or he must receive it in some other form. The price must be low enough to enable the mills to use cotton or they must be given some other inducement to use cotton. The trade must be able to handle enough cotton to keep the unit cost of selling down. All of these factors are important and no one can be considered to be a satisfactory answer in itself.

Let us see if we can list a minimum number of recipes for a sound pricing program for cotton.

Surely a fair price must be:

1. High enough to return to the farmer an income somewhat comparable to other groups in our society.

2. Low enough to enable the mills to use American cotton, rather than synthetics, and to meet the competition of foreign growth in the world market.

3. Stable enough to encourage purchases of fiber both at home and abroad to make long-time investments.

4. Free enough to keep the trade in private hands and to take the Government out of the cotton selling business.

5. Effective enough to move cotton directly into the world market with a minimum of stoppages in Government warehouses.

There are a great many other desirable adjustments which would be achieved by a proper price for cotton. Undoubtedly, high among these anticipated benefits would be a gradual increase in the volume of American cotton which could be produced and sold at a profit, but I believe that most of us would be willing to settle for these five basic objectives and rely on them to bring about the adjustments. But you have, doubtless, already concluded even these five objectives seem to be contradictory and even self-defeating.

We know that in an effort to increase consumption Secretary Benson has slashed the support price from 90 percent to 77 percent of parity—but cotton consumption by United States mills the first month of this year was at the lowest average weekly rate for any January since 1949. Apparently, he has not created the other factors necessary to encourage the use of cotton, and most assuredly he has violated, without so much as a kind word, the first of our basic objectives—"the establishment of a price high enough to assure the farmer a fair return." I think this first prerequisite is fundamental and that no program which overlooks it can ever succeed. On the other hand, I recognize that it is not of itself enough. The 20 years of Democratic administration of our farm program did at least try to meet this need—and was successful to a remarkable degree, if one considers only the narrow objective of cash returns to producers per bale of cotton. The Democrats did hold up producers' prices. With the help of a long period of generally rising prices, they did it with a net profit to CCC of better than a quarter of a billion dollars, and with a very small inventory on January 1, 1953, when they turned control over to Mr. Benson. They had not, however, set this record without violence to other vital objectives of any cotton-pricing program.

One does not have to agree that 90 percent of parity is a high price (and I do not) to realize that it does very seriously impede the movement of American cotton into the markets of the world. Undoubtedly, our 90-percent supports did encourage the placing of additional millions of acres in cotton in lands around the world—and possibly even more serious—it did encourage the investment of multiplied millions in synthetic plants both at home and abroad. Definitely, the price was high enough to seriously increase the supply of fibers, which are competitive with American cotton.

Nor are these foreign cotton growers, or American, or foreign rayon mills, going to disappear like the morning mist just because we say some pretty words, or even because we momentarily reduce our price on cotton. There are vast sums invested in these productive facilities. The only way these investments can ever pay out is to produce fiber. I think that with lower prices on American cotton, we can discourage others from making similar investments, either in rayon mills, or in clearing jungles, or supplying irrigation for desert lands—either one is a rather expensive way of getting into the cotton business. But as for those who are already producing—they will continue to produce probably even to a point where production is at a definite loss. This means to me that it is outright folly to try to sell American cotton lower than foreign growth. No matter how low we cut our prices, foreign producers will, in my opinion, sell a penny or two lower.

Now, I am not saying that we should not try to remain competitive on the world market. We certainly should and must keep our cotton price in line with that of other producers, but that is a far cry from simply offering to undersell the world market no matter how low it goes. The difference is the same difference which exists between the immensely profitable price policies of the major oil companies and the ineffective price policies of some of their successful price-cutting competitors. And, yet, there are many influencial Members of Congress who have long insisted that we should underprice every bale of this world's cotton. I think it is essential to remain competitive, but I also think that this extreme policy could bankrupt not only all our competitors, but ourselves as well.

The farmer is not getting his fair return from the present downward flexing program. On the contrary, his prices are down 20 percent in the past 4 years—years during which almost everybody else has enjoyed very substantial increases in income. Therefore, the farmers' relative position is far worse than these figures indicate. In fact, it is so low that I do not believe that farmers will endure it much longer. Many have already moved away to the city. Others are trying to hold on though part-time farming with either the husband or wife working in town.

I will not argue the point here, but before you say that it would be better if all those so-called inefficient farmers moved to town, let me call your attention to the fact that what Mr. Benson calls inefficient farmers are the same farmers we have heretofore simply called small farmers. Of course, in this age of mechanism, it is true that the farmer on a small farm cannot produce as efficiently as that same farmer could on a large farm. And we are spending your tax dollars all over the world to bring about what we call land reform, which simply means that we have looked at Russia and have observed that the only group which has consistently held out for private property for 40 years has been the small farmer. Our planners decided that the best bulwark against communism in Japan, in India, in the Middle East, is the small operating farm family—living on the farm—preferably one they owned. I think this is true, and I wonder if it is true throughout the rest of the world why we should assume that it was not true at home. If it is true here, why should we not make some serious effort to keep our own small farmers on the farm? I believe that these small farmers can be just as valuable to the

United States of America as they can be to Turkey, Iran, or Cambodia. I feel that if we would retain our present political democracy in a competitive profit system economy we will be well advised to protect our small farmers.

Our present efforts to aid our farmers are not only a dismal failure—they have brought some of our other valued institutions close to ruin. In our laudable efforts to balance production and demand at an attractive price we have so reduced the volume of production that we have made the unit price of the product much less meaningful to the cotton grower than the size of his allotment. But the cotton grower does still get the advantage of the higher price. The remainder of the South and of the Nation gets it only very indirectly. The chief effect of our acreage-control program on nonfarmers has been to reduce the volume of business done. The gins, the oilmills, the compresses, the railroads, the banks, the machinery salesmen—all find their business restricted, and now the so-called soil bank (particularly the acreage reserve) is being managed in such a way that in the course of 3 years many historic cotton-producing areas will no longer be producing any appreciable amount of staple. Even though we might assume that the net income of the individual farmer might remain about intact, the community would lose approximately 50 percent of its normal circulation of cash. All too often we overlook the fact that while the farmer is personally interested only in his net income, his entire gross income contributes to the business of the community.

Surely, I need not recount the hardship imposed by our present cotton-pricing program on you cotton merchants. You know them so much better than I do. The loan program has become the market to which the average farmer looks. The Government warehouse has become the source of stocks for both domestic and export use to which the merchant looks. The Commodity Credit Corporation has practically become the sole supplier of cotton for industry. The Government loan, not the future market, fixes prices and, as I see it, it will be but a matter of years (possibly of months) before the future exchanges must close.

I was as a boy taught to fear these future markets, but as a man I know that the day they close that a large part of you merchants are going to have to close. You won't be able to hedge or insure the price of the cotton you buy. That is going to make credit far more difficult, and for some of you, it is going to mean that you won't get credit. I know that the fewer the buyers who bid for the cotton at Waco, Tex., the less that cotton is going to bring should we ever return to the days of free competitive buying, and I believe that friend and foe alike look on the CCC as only a temporary instrumentality.

We all know that in the past it has been and possibly still is politically popular to berate cotton traders in general and to compare the New York and New Orleans Cotton Exchanges to dens of theieves. But, in the long run, we all know that we cannot have a successful cotton economy without the price insurance functions of the exchanges and the maximum competition among buyers for the cotton our farmers produce.

But, maybe the advocates of the present program will want to defend it on the grounds of economy. We must do without a good many things these days we would like to have in order to try to reduce the largest peacetime budget ever submitted. If Mr. Benson's cotton-price program is saving money, possibly that is justification for its shortcomings.

Unfortunately, the figures do not seem to justify this construction. A couple of weeks ago, our cotton subcommittee at Washington heard some very interesting witnesses on this phase of the question. Your own Mr. W. D. Lawson was present. He spoke in behalf of this organization. He pointed out the fantastic costs to our economy of the soil bank. He did a good job and we hope he gets back in April when we are going to go into the price problem more directly. The next day, we heard from a group of small farmers from Alabama—we had also heard about 20 similar small farmers from North Carolina. We closed the hearing by listening to three leaders in the cotton trade—Mr. J. P. Henican, president of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, Mr. M. J. Rogers, president of the New York Exchange and Mr. Lamar Fleming, president of Anderson-Clayton & Co. We were told that the Government had suffered a loss of $379,993,000 in the first 7 months of the operation of our competitive sale of cotton for export. Each bale is being sold at about $50 less than the Government paid for it. Of course, the Department of Agriculture carefully explains that this is not a subsidy to the foreign buyer. It is just a loss to the Government. With the addition of storage, carrying charges, adjustments of grade and other expenses, the men who I think know told us that the Government was out about $70 for each bale exported.

But this is only half or rather one-third the story. While we exported nearly 6,500,000 bales of old cotton during the 7-month period, we took into the CCC, over 4 million bales of new cotton during the same period. This means that our net reduction of surplus was only a little more than 2 million bales, and that instead of costing us only $70 per bale, this export program has actually cost us three times that amount, or about $210 for every bale of actual reduction in our surplus stock. Of course, that is more money than the cotton is worth, so we must admit that our present program finds scant justification on grounds of economy.

But so much for the problem and the shortcomings of the present program. You have listened patiently, but you knew all of these facts I have recited. What can we do to improve the situation?

There have been many plans suggested. Many have merit, some have none. I want to submit one which I hope has merit.

This plan is not original with me, although I have introduced legislation to implement it. It is the plan of many individuals who have tried to reconcile the contradictory requirements of a sound system of cotton pricing.

This plan frankly recognizes these contradictions. It recognizes that with the great differences which exist in living standards in the United States, where all American cotton is produced, and in foreign countries where much of our crop must be sold, that it is very unlikely that we can ever price cotton high enough to give the American farmer a fair return and at the same time price it low enough to make it attractive in foreign markets, or for that matter, to make it really competitive with synthetics at home.

Of course, the classic answer for such a situation has been the imposition of a tariff. But a tariff always raises the cost of the commodity to domestic consumers and it reduces our market for American goods abroad. These basic facts have always made me question the tariff system. In the cast of cotton, there is the further serious defect growing out of such a system's inability to meet the competition of synthetics. In fact, we already have a practical embargo on the importation of raw cotton and no matter how high we made our tariff on cotton goods, we would surely find it self-defeating, both because it would force more and more synthetics into the American market and because it would still further reduce the sale of American cotton abroad.

I have, therefore, felt that we had better look to the use of a direct payment to the producer of cotton to keep his income at a fair level while we let the price drop low enough to move our crop in the normal channels of trade.

I full well realize that Secretary Benson has, in his avowed opposition to any compensatory payment plan for cotton, confused the issue by raising the claim that such a plan was but a restatement of the Brannon plan. This charge is neither true nor fair. The Brannon plan was a very far-reaching and very complex proposal involving not only payments to producers, but it was a complete program of farm-income support which established priorities for all farm commodities. It was estimated to involve costs between five and ten billion per year. Cotton income was but a very small factor in the Brannon plan, and compensatory payment was but one of several tools proposed to be used.

Actually, embarrassing as it is to both of us to admit it, the proposal I am making for cotton is far more closely related to Secretary Benson's own compensatory payment plan for wool, and the only relationship that it bears to the old Brannon plan is through those features which Secretary Benson embraced and adopted for his wool program.

The truth is, however, that the compensatory payment plan is far older than either of Mr. Brannon or Mr. Benson. And again, I must confess to political embarrassment since it seems to have been first seriously advocated by the founder of what has become the Republican Party—Alexander Hamilton. It was Hamilton who urged a protective tariff for American industry and it was Hamilton who frankly stated that, "Of course, if we are to have a tariff for industry, we must pay the farmer a bounty." That bounty, Hamilton recognized, was necessary if the farmer was to continue to sell in a free market and was to buy, as Hamilton proposed, in a protected market. Basically, the recognition of the justice of this equalization of opportunity is all there is to the compensatory payment plan or the bounty as Alexander Hamilton called it.

As for details: Each one of us can work out a set of details which we feel would best meet the need of modern-day conditions. Those details can be modified, and, undoubtedly, in the process of legislation, anyone set of details can be improved upon. I claim no special virtue for the details of the bill I have introduced. I have tried to keep it short and understandable. I do want to make public acknowledgment of the very helpful suggestions of the editors and publishers of Progressive Farmer. Both Dr. Clarance Poe and Mr. Eugene Butler did much to shape my views. I feel they have been most helpful.

The bill itself is but a 1-page document. It does three major things:

1. It would lower the loan support level for cotton to 75 percent of parity, with the cotton market finding its own price position at any point above 75 percent. Possibly this should be dropped to 70 percent, but with the present state of the market, it seems that cotton can move at 75 percent and surely we should not encourage an unnecessary drop by any further lowering of the loan support level when it is not necessary.

2. It would make direct payments to cotton producers of the difference between the average market price for cotton and a fair price predetermined to be 90 percent of parity. This is Alexander Hamilton's bounty. I had had in mind paying it at the end of the year just as is now done in the case of wool, but some outstanding cotton men have suggested that the payments could very well be made in the form of a negotiable certificate issued at the moment of sale such as was done on a small scale more than 20 years ago.

3. It would continue acreage controls on cotton until surpluses have been reduced to a normal carryover. Although this plan would stop the movement of cotton into the CCC warehouses, it would not automatically move the present surpluses out. I think we all realize that we must retain controls until this surplus is worked down. I think this plan would bring these surpluses down in the course of 2 or 3 years.

There are also less fundamental and, possibly, more controversial provisions which can be included or omitted. First of these is a limit on the amount of the payment which is to be made to any one producer. I realize that this is a matter of much controversary, and I recognize that it is not fundamental to the basic objectives of the bill. I included in the draft of the bill the same type of limitation which we have long had in the ASC program, but increased the figure from $5,000 to $10,000—I did so both because I, personally, think that a limitation is justified, and also because I felt that its inclusion would bring support to the bill, both from those who feel strongly that such a limitation is right and from those who realize that it would substantially reduce the cost of the program. I repeat, this is no essential part of a Compensatory Payment Plan, and no difference of opinion on this subject should be allowed to influence our support of the principle of compensatory payments one way or the other.

A somewhat similar situation exists as to the financing of the program. As H. R. 877 is written, payments would be made through the Commodity Credit Corporation, ultimately from general revenue. There is considerable feeling that the program should be financed out of a special tax on textiles. This could be done or not—just as the present program could be financed out of general or special taxes. But this decision is not vital to the success or failure of the program.

I hope that we can agree to let these ancillary programs be decided each on its own merit without trying to make of them vital features of the compensatory program.

The compensatory program is, so far as I can now see, the only one which gives us a practical way of achieving all of the five requirements of a sound pricing program, as earlier enumerated. It would assure the farmer a fair return (90 percent of parity). The larger part of the return would be received in the market from the buyer. The smaller part would be received in the price adjustment.

It would expand the markets for American cotton, both at home and abroad, because American cotton would be selling competitively along with synthetics and with foreign growths. It would provide cotton to the mills at a substantially lower price; it would improve their export position; it would reduce the threat of foreign textiles on the American market; and it would vastly improve the competitive position of the mill which is using cotton as compared with the mill which is using synthetic fibers. It is possible that at times this would require a slighly lower loan support level but the opinion of the best cotton brains seems to be that under present circumstances we would not need to drop that floor below 75 percent of parity. Admittedly, the very existence of such a floor tends to keep the world price slightly higher.

This program would encourage both mills and exporters to depend on American cotton, since they would know that they would be able to buy competitively. I believe that most processors of cotton will be willing to back their judgment against the normal market variations. It is the influence of a government fixed market which they dare not risk.

It would put the trade back in private hands. The Government would cease to offer a loan in excess of the market. Farmers would again sell their cotton to cotton buyers for use or for export. The cotton exchanges would again perform their proper function of insuring price.

And this plan would automatically stop the flow of cotton into Government warehouses. Cotton now moves into the hands of the CCC because farmers can get more there than they can in the market. When we reverse this situation cotton will move into the market. We will stop the accumulation of surpluses and with a continuation of acreage controls we will surely eliminate our existing surplus in a few years. Then we can confidently look forward to an expanded production of American cotton. We all want that expansion, but I know of no other way of getting it without destroying some segment of the cotton industry. Too often, it is proposed that we sacrifice the farmer in an effort to expand production.

Now what of the cost? No matter how helpful a program may be, we should and must realistically appraise the cost and compare it with existing costs. When so compared, I believe that the compensatory payment program looks especially good.

We can very quickly and very accurately calculate the maximum possible costs. I believe that Mr. Lawson of this association has done a very fair and objective job. He assumes that the difference between the market price and the 90-percent return to the farmer will require 6 cents per pound or $30 per bale. He takes the existing allotment of 17,500,000 acres which will give about 17 million for harvest and applies the highest yield on record. This gives 13,300,000 bales of cotton. He then multiplies 13,300,000 by $30 (the cost on each bale) and gets a maximum cost of $399 million. I believe that everyone will be forced to agree that this is a liberal estimate.

Now this is the total maximum gross cost to the Government. There are no storage costs. There are no hauling charges. There are no adjustments to be made as to grade—and this covers every bale of the crop. The entire crop can move for this figure and there will be no replacement of two-thirds of the number of bales removed.

Remember that in 7 months' time we have spent almost this amount—$379,993,000 to be exact—on an export program which subsidized the foreign consumer and which only reduced our surplus a little more than 2 million bales and which only moved a gross of 6,500,000 bales.

Then remember that as of March 20, we had committed ourselves to pay $153,342,549 to cotton farmers for reducing their acreage under the soil bank and this figure is still incomplete. If we use maximum figures as we have for the compensatory payment plan the soil-bank costs will be the full $250 million which is authorized for soil-bank payments to cotton farmers.

Mr. Lawson estimates that the cost of the raw cotton export program for next year will only be $218,400,000. He assumes that we will only export a normal 4,200,000 bales which I think is a fair assumption. He only figures a loss of $52 per bale, although such authorities as Mr. Fleming, Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Henican agreed that the cost would be approximately $70 per bale.

Let us split the difference and say we will lose $61 per bale. That would give us a cost of the present export program of $256,200,000, and would leave 9,100,000 bales to be sold domestically. Surely no one believes that we can sell that much cotton at a fair price to farmers. This means that the Government is going to have to continue to take cotton into the CCC at an unknown, but very substantial loss to the Government.

To all of these present costs we must add the $30 million which represents the cost of the present textile export program. This adds up to a whopping $536,200,000, and it does not include any CCC losses on domestic cotton.

When we take into consideration, as we must, the fact that the compensatory payment plan would result in a savings of at least $100 million in costs to the consumers of cotton goods, we see that the proposed plan will cost the American people only about one-half of what the present plan is costing and that it will give them and all of them far, far more of the things we all want in any price program. It seems to me that we have the chance to buy a real bargain. I think that we had better put our heads together, try to work out any details and pass the basic ideas of this program as soon as we can.

I appreciate the constructive help which those of us in Congress have received from the cotton industry, and, especially, from the Atlantic Cotton Association. I apologize for the imposition on your time. I can only plead that I believe this matter of price to be vital to all of us. I thank you for your hospitality.

Explanation Due From USDA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks I have joined with other Members of Congress from the cotton-producing areas in a fight for an equitable cotton acreage allotment program. We are very much concerned about the future of the legislation which we have proposed on this subject.

As indicative of the concern of the citizens of my district, I desire to call to the attention of the Members of Congress and the officials at the United States Department of Agriculture an editorial which appeared in the Shelby Daily Star, Shelby, N. C., on April 3, 1957.

It is my hope that the Members reading this editorial will subscribe to the thought which it has expressed and will be impelled to assist us in bringing about a more equitable treatment of the cotton farmers in my district.

The editorial follows:

EXPLANATION DUE FROM USDA

The United States Department of Agriculture owes the cotton farmers of the southeast a hasty explanation.

This week the Department, in a report signed by True D. Morse, Assistant Secretary of the Department, opposed enactment of a bill which would allot the Nation 154,321 acres of cotton.

The bill is familiar to Cleveland. It was here that the move to secure additional acreage was started, and the bill is a direct outgrowth of the February 26 appearance of a Cleveland committee in Washington.

The measure has already traveled a rocky road. And in 5 weeks it has moved only out of a House subcommittee to the full House Agriculture Committee. It must still travel through the House, Senate committees and the Senate itself.

The Department's pronouncement may kill the bill's chances of success.

The Department's opposition was made without explanation, and without a counterproposal.

Meantime, the pressures against the southeast cotton farmers continue. If they were

natural restrictions, the Government would launch quickly into means of giving emergency relief, as it has done repeatedly in the drought-stricken southwest.

But the restrictions placed on this region's small cotton farmers are man-made. They are based on laws which are designed to reduce the over production of cotton.

But these same laws are depriving southeastern cotton farmers of the right to make a living on their land.

So entangled is the administration of the cotton law that the subcommittee which originated the legislation did not know its intentions had been altered until it heard the Cleveland delegation.

It is in the attempt to administer the law equitably that the subcommittee approved the bill for additional cotton acreage.

The Department of Agriculture, which drew up the bill, has decided to oppose its passage.

The Department is under obligation to answer two questions: Why does it oppose the measure, and what better program does it offer southeastern cotton farmers who are being treated unfairly?

"The Earth Is the Lord's and the Fullness Thereof"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I hold in my hand a most impressive booklet published by the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts in cooperation with national church leaders of many denominations to commemorate Soil Stewardship Week, May 6 to June 2, 1957.

The words written therein are amplified by appropriate pictures which, of course, cannot be reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Under unanimous consent I am having the words in this wonderful booklet printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

"THE EARTH IS THE LORD'S AND THE FULLNESS THEREOF"

(Foreword)

Sometimes when I am riding in a plane—often at altitudes of 3 or 4 miles—I look down upon the crops and grazing lands far below.

I see broad areas scarred by gullies and the white or gray patches of sterile subsoil where no good topsoil is left.

This thought usually comes to me: This must be the way that God looks upon what we have done with His gift of soil.

The sight can only bring sadness to Him.

And I think of the many more millions of people who year by year will move into our Nation and our world. Statisticians say the population in this country has passed the 170 million mark—a gain of 18 million in 6 years. Three million a year.

If we fail in our stewardship, the time may not be too far distant when our blessed abundance which has been our strength may give way to scarcity. Then there may come years when good crops will not be enough to meet our needs.

Looking at our farms and ranchlands from high above makes me more certain than ever that there is a divinely conceived charge to mankind to use God's land wisely, and to pass it on in better condition to the next generation.

Can a nation be neglectful of its stewardship of the land and still be a truly religious nation? Can a farmer or a rancher neglect his stewardship of the soil and still be a religious person?

This is God's earth. We ought to try seeing it as He sees it—and each of us may better realize our stewardship in the use of His land.

NOLEN J. FUQUA,
President, National Association of Soil Conservation Districts.

INTRODUCTION

In the creation of His earth, God provided a thin veneer of living soil to sustain mankind.

The soil averages only 9 inches in depth. It is principally a zone of microscopic life which converts minerals into plant food.

Without this zone most plant life would vanish. Animal life would go, too. Within the time of a few generations, we in this Nation, because of the way we have used this resource, have lost about a third of this important 9 inches of soil. The rest of it is going much too fast.

The Bible repeatedly emphasizes the importance of this gift of soil. It cautions man against the abuse and the neglect of the soil.

Yet, the land of Palestine referred to in Biblical times as the land of "milk and honey," in spite of God's warning, became a sterile desert. Parts of Africa and the Orient have gone the same way.

Heedlessness of laws of both church and state, ignorance and depravity are products of hunger. Illiteracy fastens itself upon areas of poor soil and malnutrition.

The use of the soil in accordance with God's directions is the concern of the church as it is of the state and the nation. In fact, studies show a direct relationship between the productive power of the land and the strength of the church serving the people who work the land.

The National Association of Soil Conservation Districts publishes this booklet in the hope that it will be an influence in awakening man to his responsibility as steward of the soil. May churches of all faiths find this booklet helpful in reminding all people of man's sacred obligation in his ownership and use of land.

Beginning on the fifth Sunday after Easter and continuing through the following Sunday, the 2,700 soil conservation districts will observe Soil Stewardship Week. It is hoped that the entire Nation will join in this effort.

In preparing this material, the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts has had the counsel and guidance of national church organizations and their leaders in town and country work. For this assistance the district association is grateful.

A MAJESTIC CREATION

The handiwork of God is on all sides. The psalmist standing under the starlit heavens sings: "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork."

The vacationer retreating to the mountains for quiet and rest is overawed by the majesty of the rugged mountain walls and their lofty peaks. He is inspired to turn to the Creator and say in the words of the song writer of old: "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help." Man readily sees the hand of God in the spectacular, but he may fail to see it in the ordinary. He walks across the green grass in the valley without reflecting that the soil which gives nourishment to plant life is also wonderfully made.

The mountains and the rivers, the clouds, and the heavenly bodies find purpose for being as they work together in obedience to the laws of the Creator to give to man a fertile soil for him to use and to keep.

To do justice to this high calling from his Creator, the man on the land must understand that a productive soil is a major wonder of God's creation.

THE SOURCE OF THE SOIL

Fertile, productive soil is indeed wonderfully made. It ties up in one package a series of minute constructions and life-giving processes. It is the product of many forces of nature. The clouds sailing in the blue sky, the winds sweeping across the plains, the waters rushing down the mountainsides, the forces of heat and cold, the chemical processes, and the mystery of growth and decay, all join in obedience to God to bring soil into being.

The building of soil begins with rock. Mighty forces of nature crumble mountainsides of solid stone. Physical weathering shatters the rock by external pressures. Glacial and volcanic action play a role, but the steady process of making rock into soil is carried on mainly by nature's alternate use of heat and cold.

Uneven expansion of rock sets up stresses and strains which cause the rock to chip and to crack. Water accumulates in the crevices and pores of the stone. Pressures are created by the freezing water.

The disintegration of rock is aided, too, by chemical weathering. God in his wisdom has created simple forms of organic life that can live on barren rock. As these low forms of organic life live and die, they create acids which play an important part in the making of soil.

And here we encounter one of the wonders of nature—the miracle of the leaf, or photosynthesis. It is the process by which chlorophyll, the green pigment in the leaves of the plant, captures the energy of the sunlight and stores it in the form of grain and fruit for the sustenance of men and animals.

THE MIRACLE OF THE SOIL

The topsoil from which man and beast draw their sustenance abounds in living creatures.

These organisms are engaged in two forms of activity—vegetation and decomposition. They build and they cause decay. Through vegetation they are combined with minerals and with energy from the sun to build organic compounds. Through decomposition the microscopic organisms swarming in the soil decay organic matter.

While these two processes seem to be in opposition to each other, they actually are in complete harmony. They are engaged in a collaboration so harmonious and so intricate that it should cause the child of God to stand in awe at the wisdom of his Creator. It transcends human understanding.

This natural cycle that involves rain and sunshine, air and mineral, and life and decay is employed by God to build a productive soil. It has been estimated that it takes 400 to 1,000 years to build 1 inch of topsoil.

Man, to be a steward of God's earth, must have the utmost respect for the laws of nature and the processes that God has set up in building fertile soil. Man must seek to understand all the intricacies in soil production and lend a hand to nature in building a rich topsoil.

This living topsoil, so wonderfully made, God has entrusted to man. It is his to use so that he and his generation may have their physical needs adequately met. It is his to keep so that the generations coming after him may live free from hunger and want.

THE PENALTY OF POOR STEWARDSHIP

Good soil can be destroyed if man is a poor husbandman in his use of land and water. Many acres of good soil have been made useless because of poor stewardship.

Water may become an enemy instead of a friend. Black blizzards in winter months roar across the Plains, devastating crops and making life a gritty nightmare. Sand dunes at such times begin to march, often covering landmarks and dwellings. Some of the people, unable to withstand this onslaught of nature, leave homes and become wanderers and a social problem. The cause of these dark clouds of distress and despair is a man's heedlessness of the laws of God. Sometimes rivers go on a rampage, bringing destruction and death to many acres. This is a different kind of disaster, but nonetheless it is a result of man's sin against the laws of God. With the earth robbed of its natural coverage of timber, vegetation, and topsoil, the raindrops sent by God to be a blessing find no hold on barren slopes. They tumble rapidly toward the ocean in a terrible torrent that has no respect for life or for property.

The destruction of soil does not decrease the needs of man. God's burden of feeding billions remains the same. If people go hungry, it is not because God is unable to feed His children. It is because God has condescended to use man as His instrument in feeding them.

To the degree that man is a faithful steward and cooperates with God's laws of nature, he is able to satisfy the desires of every living thing. To the degree that man increases the usefulness of a single acre of ground, he extends the hand of God to feed the hungry. To the degree that man decreases the productive power of a single acre of ground, he shortens the hand of God in feeding His children. This places a great responsibility upon the users of the soil.

GOOD SOIL AND GOOD HEALTH

Our health is influenced as much by what the farmer does with his fields as by what the doctor does in his clinic.

Doctors more and more spend their time treating patients for deficiency diseases. Poor nutrition is one of the most important factors in making people susceptible to disease attack, and medical science is finding that prevention in many diseases offers more hope than cure.

Human health begins in the soil. The aim of soil conservation in a major respect is to keep mankind in good health. Health is impossible unless the food mankind eats contains the elements upon which health largely depends. Such food must come from healthy, vigorous, fertile soil.

Soil fertility on any farm can be depleted in a few seasons through failure to return manure, crop residues and other fertility forms. When that happens, it will have changed from a place of health to a place where disease may enter frequently and with persistence.

A human body deficient in iron will likely develop liver disorders, with skin and even the blood becoming pale, and the body becoming gradually emaciated.

A lack of zinc leads to thyroid troubles, and a lack of iodine for any extended period may mean goiter. A deficiency in copper may result in anemia, and a phosphorus deficiency could result in a wasting of body tissues.

Food cannot contain these elements unless they are in the soil to begin with. And the soil must be in a vigorous condition so that the growing plants may make use of the elements the body needs.

The people of this Nation spend many millions of dollars each year in trying to regain health. Much of this goes for vitamins and minerals bought in pills and capsules at the drugstores. Diet should have provided these needs in ample quantity.

Even the foods eaten in a health diet may not be health giving if they are produced on soils which do not contain the elements the human body must have.

Men and animals alike must suffer when the soil suffers through abuse and neglect.

PARTNERS WITH GOD

For too long we have said, "Anyone can farm."

Many are beginning to realize that our economic well-being as a Nation is dependent upon the fertility of the land, but few realize that our physical well-being is also related to the soil.

The farmer or rancher should see himself as a coworker with God. There is more to good farming than scratching the seed into the ground and harvesting whatever grows. There is more to ranching than simply harvesting grass with cattle and sheep. Good farming and ranching mean producing abundantly for the needs of man and at the same time providing for the increasing and continuing productivity of the soil.

A man must have more than the knowledge of new techniques and methods. In him must dwell the right spirit. He must have a deep sense of his responsibility to God and fellow man. He must have a love for the land. He must find pleasure in growing things and feel a hurt when a field is wounded by abuse or wrong judgment.

When men with this spirit live on the land, God's countryside flourishes with prosperity, contentment, and good will. Farm families find pleasure in the sight of well-kept fields and farmyards.

The products of the field are not considered as ends in themselves, but rather the means for sustaining happy family life. Schools and churches that adequately meet the need of the community are written large in people's minds. There is a healthy flow of farm produce to the market place. The entire country flourishes as farmer, businessman, professional men, craftsmen, and laborers exchange services with a sincere desire that each be adequately rewarded for his contribution to the well-being of the community.

Soil is the backbone of the Nation. Cities may be destroyed, but they will be rebuilt if the people's spirit is strong and natural resources are available. But no city has been built in a desert.

TOMORROW'S STEWARDSHIP

In any area of living it is a bad situation if the older generation does not bequeath to its children something richer and something better. However, some things can be corrected in a very short time. This is not so with soil and water. The mistakes and wrongs committed today against these precious natural resources in many instances will take hundreds of years to correct, and in others, restoration will never be possible.

The richness of America's soil and the plentitude of water will be reflected in the prosperity, the wealth, and the spirit of tomorrow's people far more than is generally believed. It has truly been said that "the soil is God's greatest material gift to mankind." This generation's greatest material gifts to tomorrow's world will be a productive soil and adequate water resources. Stewardship demands that we prepare, conserve, replenish, and protect these resources.

Urban and country youth should be conscious of the importance of soil and water in their everyday living and in their future. Soil and water play a vital role in the physical, economic, social, and religious life of the individual, the community, the Nation, and the world. This fact needs to be stressed so that the importance of soil and water is integrated into every phase of education—school, church, and youth organizations—both rural and urban.

Youth has a great stake in this effort. The time and energy that the young people spend in putting soil and water conservation programs into practice can be their best investment in their future.

RESPONSIBILITY OF LANDOWNERSHIP

The man-land relationship is a necessary part of God's universal scheme. In the Garden of Eden, God made man a steward of the land and responsible to Him for its care and use.

The Biblical message is clear and emphatic on land us and distribution. A man's inheritance of land was to be held, as nearly as possible, inviolate. Hear Elijah's judgment against Ahab when he would take Naboth's vineyard: "Have you killed and also taken possession?" (I Kings 21: 19.) Micah sets forth the prophetic ideal, "They shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree, and none shall make them afraid." (Micah 4: 4.)

God's greatest material gift to man is a very special kind of property, containing the basic sources of food, fiber, and fuel for man's use. Ownership of whatever sort, owner-operator, landlord or tenant, involves utilization of one's property to serve the highest purpose of human development and welfare. In many instances, absentee-owners fail to accept their responsibility as stewards of the soil. A special effort must be put forth to remind the absentee-owner of his moral responsibility. Profits made at the expense of soil jeopardize the local community and are made at the expense of the Nation.

In the exercise of his ownership of the land, a good owner develops a just pride in his acres, and is actively involved in the improvement of the attractiveness and the productivity of his acres. He comes to feel himself a part of the continuing creative process working cooperatively with God, "maintaining the yield," contributing to human welfare. Land ownership consciousness results in the conservation and the improvement of the God-given soil, and at the same time yields social satisfactions to the farmer, his family, his neighbors, and the world at large.

Such ownership eventuates in responsible citizenry and Christian stewards of the land. This kind of ownership should be transmitted from generation to generation. Farm families have a significant opportunity in father-son agreements. The son inherits the land and the soil stewardship practices of his father. The land of such a farm is conserved and enriched for future generations.

GIVE THANKS TO GOD

Through the ages man has been conscious of the need to give thanks to Almighty God for His bountiful blessings.

The word "rogation" comes from the Latin word "rogare" meaning "to ask." The 3 Rogations Days are over 1,500 years old. They began in the fifth century at Vienne, France, when in the year 470 there had been crop failures—due to earthquakes and bad weather—with resulting famine. St. Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, ordered prayer and penance on the 3 days preceding the Ascension. The clergy and the people made penitential processions calling upon God to help and asking His intercession.

Other communities took up the custom, and from France it soon spread throughout the world. At the end of the eighth century it was formally accepted by the church. Thus, it has become the practice to hold each year before Ascension Thursday a special Rogation service.

The purpose of the Rogation Day is to implore the mercy of God that He may keep us from all evils of soul and body, and give to the plants of the field an increase. In the spring, when the fields are becoming green and there is promise of a good harvest—but also the possibility of destruction through frost, hail, or rainstorms—the prayers and processions are a reminder to feeble man to turn with humility and confi-

dence to the Giver of all good. For, it is not the earth alone which brings forth fruit, and not alone the busy hand of man on which the increase depends; but it is God who gives the increase.

Each year thousands of people participate in soil-stewardship services and Rogation Day prayers in city, village, and open country churches. This is a tremendous demonstration of man's desire to give thanks to God and to ask for continued blessings.

Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1958

SPEECH
OF
HON. HAMER H. BUDGE
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6287) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Rhode Island and I have disagreed at various points throughout this bill but I hope that he will be in agreement with me on this amendment which relates to additional salaries to carry out the program on which the Committee of the Whole House just voted. As near as I can determine, there are about $100,000 in salaries carried for the Bureau of Public Assistance to carry out this program of training welfare personnel. That program was just defeated on a division vote. I would hope that the gentleman from Rhode Island will accept this amendment. It certainly should be adopted in view of the fact that the program for which the expenditure was to be made and for which the salaries were to be paid is not carried in the appropriation bill.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUDGE. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. COOLEY. It is my understanding only $99 million have been made available and that they need $105 million. Unless we provide the money we will not be keeping faith with the several States; is that not true?

Mr. BUDGE. That, of course, would not apply to the amendment which I have offered, I may say to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. COOLEY. I thought the gentleman's amendment was to put in this bill the amount that is short in the other bill?

Mr. BUDGE. No, that is not correct. The amendment offered by the gentleman from North Carolina would have restored $2½ million for the training of personnel.

Mr. COOLEY. I know that.

Mr. BUDGE. There is now in the amendment which I have offered $100,000 which is carried in the bill and should not be in the bill because it is to pay the salaries of the people who were to set up this training program to which the gentleman referred.

Mr. COOLEY. One hundred thousand dollars?

Mr. BUDGE. One hundred thousand dollars and the bill should be reduced by that amount because the purpose for which the $100,000 is in there was eliminated by the Appropriations Committee and that action has been sustained by the vote just a few minutes ago.

Mr. COOLEY. May I say for the benefit of the gentleman who made the inquiry that I have been advised by a member of the Committee on Ways and Means that the item I just introduced and which my amendment relates to did originate in the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. BUDGE. Be that as it may, in view of the fact that the $2½ million for this purpose is not carried in the bill, then $100,000 should not be carried to pay the salaries of the people who were to set the program in operation.

Mr. COOLEY. I thought that the whole $2½ million was to pay the salaries or scholarships or provide a program for the training of personnel?

Mr. BUDGE. I may say to the gentleman that the amendment which he offered would have done that, but since the amendment was not adopted and since there are no funds in the bill for that program, we should eliminate $100,000 to pay the Federal salaries to put the program in operation.

Mr. COOLEY. The gentleman is probably right.

Administrative Costs for Public Assistance in New York State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, an erroneous impression has been created in this House, possibly inadvertently, as to the cost of administration of public assistance in the State of New York. The statement has been made here that these costs run as high as 27 percent of expenditures.

In fairness to the administrators of my State, and for the sake of accuracy, I ask leave to include in the RECORD the following facts and figures.

First, it should be borne in mind that there are many service costs blanketed under the heading of administrative costs in New York State—services which are not made available to welfare clients in some other States. Among these are casework service, medical service to restore people to physical health, guidance to children, homemaker service, and so on. In other words, the department of social welfare is not merely a fund-dispensing agency, but renders many services which are designed to curb and lighten the burden of indigency both on the clients and on the public. It might be desirable to separate these service costs from administrative costs so that a clearer public accounting could be rendered as to the use of these funds. In the absence of such separation, the public and the Congress may be misled.

Even taking these added services and activities into account, New York State's administrative costs do not, in fact, approach 27 percent of expenditures, as charged.

In fiscal 1956, the latest year for which full figures are available, New York State spent $273,505,014 on federally aided assistance programs. Of this sum, $236,197,416 was for assistance, and $37,307,598 went to administrative costs. Thus the percentage of the total sum expended for what are presently labeled as administrative costs was 13.6 percent. Broken down as between New York City and upstate, here are the figures: New York City expended a total of $182,533,685, of which $155,478,753 went for assistance and $27,054,932 was expended for administration. This amounts to 14.8 percent for administration. In the upstate counties and cities, the expenditures for assistance amounted to $90,971,329, of which $80,718,663 went for assistance and $10,252,666 was allotted to administration—amounting to 11.3 percent for administration. The reason for the higher percentage of administrative costs in New York City is that there is a higher rate of turnover and a much higher rate of applications than exists in the upstate areas.

Soil-Bank Payments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include an editorial written by Mr. Albert M. James, editor of the Syracuse Journal, of Syracuse, Kans. This editorial appeared in the Syracuse Journal for March 21, 1957:

SOIL-BANK PAYMENTS

Properly administered, and working as it was intended, the soil-bank program is as near ideal for drought-damaged Hamilton County as any plan that can be devised. It provides a substantial income for both landowner and tenant, without the senseless expense of planting a wheat crop under conditions that prohibit it making a crop, which was the biggest objection to the former acreage allotment plan.

But this plan is now in grave danger of causing great harm to the community through a squabble about who gets the Federal payments. There is no rebuttal to the argument that if tenant farmers are dispossessed from land, there will be great loss of population here, a loss which will be reflected immediately in business activity, and continue for several years of adjustment after conditions permit wheat raising again.

Actually there have been few attempts reported on the part of landlords to dispossess or raise the rent on tenants in order to get a larger share of the soil-bank payments. Most of them are going along with the program as it was intended, but the few instances already known point out the danger. If a few are successful in their efforts, they may be followed by many, and in a county so largely nonresident owned as is Hamilton, this would be disastrous.

What the outcome will be cannot be foretold at this time. It will not be known until after the applications are presented for the 1958 soil-bank program. The local ASC committee has a hard job ahead of it.

Here clearly is a conflict of human rights against property rights. When he is not farming, the landlord has little need for a tenant, and the tenant's share of the soil-bank payments is a tempting morsel. But the tenant who has fought dust and dry weather for the past several years, and lost money doing it, also has rights. He cannot remain idle like the land. He has spent years of hard work on the land, believing it was his to farm as long as he did a good job. He should not be deprived of this interest.

In such conflicts, we believe the human rights should have precedence over the property rights. The soil-bank program is for farm relief, not landlord relief.

Humanitarian and Old-Age Rights Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, today I have joined nearly 50 Democratic Members of the House of Representatives and Senate in sponsoring the Humanitarian and Old-Age Rights Act, a measure which will be welcomed by millions of our Nation's less-fortunate citizens.

Since enactment of the public assistance section of the Social Security Act, there has been reason to question the degree of humanity and justice with which the provisions of this act have been administered. The responsibility of Congress, Mr. Speaker, goes beyond the adequacy of financial assistance to needy Americans. We must also safeguard those receiving assistance from undue harassment and intimidation and restore to them their right to human dignity.

The Humanitarian and Old-Age Rights Act is a step in this direction. By establishing a single standard of qualifications for the applicants and recipients of public assistance—below which no State shall go—a degree of uniformity would be achieved among the widely varying laws of the 48 States.

For the first time a legislative intent would be established by Congress "that public assistance shall be administered promptly and humanely, with due regard for the preservation of family life, and without discrimination on account of race, sex, religion, or political affiliation; and the assistance laws shall be liberally construed."

Among the outstanding provisions of this bill are the following:

The age requirement for recipients of old-age assistance would be the same as that of retired workers receiving social-security benefits.

The aged and handicapped on public assistance would be allowed to earn up to $50 a month; the parents of needy children up to $30 per month, and the needy children themselves, up to $30 per month to supplement their assistance checks. The blind are already permitted to earn $50 without penalty of reduction in aid.

Recipients may own a home of an assessed value—less all encumbrances—up to $5,000 free from the imposition of a lien. The floor of $1,200 is established under the amount of personal property which a single recipient is allowed to have, and household furnishings are exempt, as are insurance policies or burial agreements up to $500 in value.

The practice of enforcing collections from the relatives of recipients and the publishing of the names of recipients is prohibited, and no person receiving public aid shall be deemed a pauper or referred to as being indigent.

The State-imposed residence requirement now allowed by the Federal Government would be reduced from 5 years to 1 year, and persons otherwise qualified who do not meet State residence requirements shall receive partial payments directly from the Federal Government until the State residence requirement has been met.

Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1958

SPEECH
OF
HON. HAMER H. BUDGE
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6287) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I wonder, since the gentleman from Rhode Island has referred to rollcalls either tonight or tomorrow, if he would indicate to us just what amendments he intends to demand rollcalls on. Now, I have offered 5 amendments to this bill, all of which have been adopted, and I would like to know which ones the gentleman intends to call the roll on.

Mr. FOGARTY. I think the first one would be the Smith amendment cutting the solicitor's office.

The second one would be the one bearing the gentleman's name, called the Budge amendment, which cuts the veterans. The third would be the Smith amendment cutting the Bureau of Employment Security. The fourth, the Murray amendment, is a cut dealing with the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Fifth, the Anderson amendment cutting the Women's Bureau. The sixth would be the Hébert amendment cutting the Wage and Hour Division. The seventh would be the Jonas amendment cutting the Food and Drug Administration. The eighth would be the Dorn amendment cutting the Department of Education. Ninth is the Fisher amendment deleting $50 million for grants for waste treatment works construction.

We will have to wait until the end of the bill to see if we have any others. I have the gentleman down for one.

Mr. BUDGE. Well, that is the reason I asked the question. It places the authors of the amendments in rather a peculiar position when you want to call the roll on some of the amendments, and when they are all on the same theory. Would it not be proper to assume, from a reading of the amendments that the gentleman is seeking a rollcall on, that he favors the other amendments?

Mr. FOGARTY. Oh, no. I was just trying to save the time of the House. But I have all this week and next week, and if you desire to have a rollcall on some of these smaller amendments, I will be very happy to cooperate with you.

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Chairman, I should like to say to the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] that I certainly do not want to drag this matter out any longer than is necessary, but when five amendments are adopted, all of which propose the same thing, I cannot quite understand why the gentleman is so selective as to pick out only one bearing my name and leaving out the others. Is there some difference in the others?

Mr. FOGARTY. What are some of the others? Will the gentleman refresh my recollection? Maybe I have forgotten one or two.

Mr. BUDGE. Of course, it may work out that we would be constrained as the authors of the amendments to ask for a rollcall on all of them rather than just permit the gentleman from Rhode Island to pick out the ones he feels most sympathetic to.

Mr. FOGARTY. That is the gentleman's prerogative. I have given the House notice of what I intend to do as chairman of this subcommittee in the matter of asking for rollcalls on amendments. I hope that there will be a sufficient number of Members on this side and on the gentleman's side to get a rollcall. If the gentleman has any other amendments in mind on which he wants to get a rollcall, I shall be happy to cooperate with him in that regard.

Mr. BUDGE. I should like the gentleman, if he is going to ask for a rollcall on any other amendments that I have offered, all of which were intended to retain personnel at the present level, to ask for a rollcall on each of them instead of picking out one that happens to bear my name, toward which he seems to be sympathetic.

Mr. FOGARTY. I would suggest to the gentleman that he ask for a rollcall on any amendment he has in mind. I

have mentioned the ones that I think are important and that I think the membership would want to vote on. I have made my selection. If the gentleman wants to add any to those, I shall cooperate with him.

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate having had this colloquy with the gentleman from Rhode Island because it would help explain an action which we, as authors of these amendments, may feel constrained to take if the gentleman proceeds in the manner which he has outlined.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, in answer to the gentleman, I am going to proceed in exactly the manner I have just outlined.

Mr. BUDGE. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUDGE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, can we learn what time this day of judgment begins tomorrow and what the schedule of voting will be?

The CHAIRMAN. That announcement will come from the leadership.

Spanish War Widows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as is well-known to the veterans of all wars among whom the National Tribune is regarded as an outstanding spokesman for the veterans of the country, the eighth page of this fine newspaper is devoted to news of interest to the United Spanish War Veterans. On this page of the issue of April 4, 1957, appears the following plea for prompt action on the Spanish War widows pension bill, just approved unanimously by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs:

Good news has come from the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs. H. R. 358, the O'Hara bill to grant increased pension for widows of Spanish-American War veterans, has been approved by the committee and now goes before the House of Representatives for a vote.

The fact that the House committee has approved it is a good sign and promises favorable consideration by the House as a whole. However, this is no time to loaf on the job. Every Spanish-American War veteran—in fact every war veteran—should express to his Representative in Congress the need for its prompt passage.

Early approval by the House should insure its consideration by the Senate at an early date and not die in a Senate pigeonhole as has happened in previous Congresses.

While there is surely a need for economy in Government spending such economy should not be made in the case of the needy widows of Spanish-American War veterans who have been compelled to exist on the pittance they are now receiving.

To use the slogan of politicians: "Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their party?" The party is the group of widows of the veterans of 1898–1902 and the time is now. A call for action should meet a prompt and favorable response. Let's go.

Proctor Band Wins Cherry Blossom Festival Band Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, it is with considerable pride and great pleasure that I am able to announce that the winner of the Cherry Blossom Festival national high-school band competition held yesterday was the Proctor High School Band of Proctor, Minn.

These 72 young musicians, under the leadership of Band Director J. P. Moody and Assistant Director R. J. Melde, took first place in the playing-band category, second place in the marching-band category, and were named "best all-around band."

This is not the first long trip experienced by the now nationally known Proctor High School Band. In 1948 the band played at the Little Rose Bowl game in Pasadena, Calif. In 1948 it played in Winnipeg, Canada, and in 1950 the band traveled to the Portland, Oreg., Festival of Roses. Recently the band has performed in New Orleans' Mardi Gras parade and just recently made a fine appearance during the intermission in the Orange Bowl game in Miami Beach, Fla. I am sure the 1957 Proctor band can take its place with fine Proctor bands of the past and can add now, to its many honors already won, the title of best band at the Washington, D. C., Cherry Blossom Festival for 1957.

Proctor High School is one of the finest schools in northern Minnesota which is known for its many fine schools. Congratulations should be extended to the band director, Mr. Moody, and his assistant, Mr. Melde, as well as the very able educator, Superintendent A. J. Jedlicka, who accompanied the band, and Mr. W. R. Salmi, assistant superintendent.

A list of the band members includes: Sharyn Torba, Joan Moran, Diane Davis, Bertha Fransk, Jane Perrill, Annette Wiggins, Carol Malley, Louann Frolen, Nancy Burlovich, Joyce Pelletier, Sandra Soderberg, Nancy Stickney, Joan Haugen, JoAnn Traplay, Rosemary Timmerman, Wendy Lambert, Marilyn Sheehan, Deanne Oppel, Carolyn Carlson, Sharon Hoffman, Pat Norlund, Sharon Parsons, Doris Moen, Charlene Sedor, Clarice Anderson, Dorothy Larson, Charlene Brockway, Sandra Hoffman, Mary Jo Bijold, Carol Chapman, Donna Renaud, Jeanine Johnson, Marion Sauter, Margaret Norstrom, Judy Stickney, Donna Lee, Karen Breimon, Carol Stack, Roberta Mehling, Sharon Carlson, Judy Wolff, Kay Johnson, Sandy Lambert, Julia Denzler, Jane Johnson, Marilyn Gulbranson, Karen Nelson, Mary Lynn Johnson, Joan Wagner, Nancy Stewart, Barbara Mehling, Margaret Skog, Barbara Jugasek, Diane Beatty, Susan Granmoe, Corinne Robertz, Janice Wedlund, Sharon Barlow, Jean Sowa, John Breigenzer, Ronald Barlow, Joe Spencer, Victor Breemeersch, Jim Parmeter, Jon Parmeter, Duan Benoit, Dale Hoffman, Dan Quaderer, Roger Dahl, Duane Sedor, Harvey Burski, Butch Traplay.

The Financial Institutions Act—S. 1451

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct to the attention of our colleagues the following unsolicited letter, dated March 30, 1957, and written by John A. Schoonover, president of the Idaho First National Bank, Boise, Idaho:

THE IDAHO FIRST NATIONAL BANK,
Boise, Idaho, March 30, 1957.

The Honorable ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
Member, Banking and Currency Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MULTER: The Financial Institutions Act, S. 1451, which is now being considered by your committee, deserves close attention. Generally speaking, this is a desired codification of a mass of Federal laws pertaining to banks and other financial institutions.

I do, however, wish to point out that chapter 4 of the Federal Reserve Act portion of the law includes a provision which would alter the procedures pertaining to the election of directors of the separate 12 Federal Reserve banks. The new law would limit such directors to two 3-year terms, and would, in effect, deprive the member banks of their right and privilege to elect their chosen representatives as class A and B directors of the various district Federal Reserve banks.

It is felt that this statutory limitation is inimical to the best interests of the member banks, and we find our position in this respect has been supported by a number of respected authorities. In a letter dated November 5, 1956, the Federal Advisory Council of the Federal Reserve System indicated opposition to such a restriction. The Association of Reserve City Bankers has evidenced its opposition, as has the special American Bankers Association's committee set up to assist in the preparation and study of the entire Financial Institutions Act.

The existing law and regulations provide for secret voting for directors of the classes A and B, which in itself should obviate the necessity of any new statutory limitation. It appears unwise to eliminate Federal Reserve bank directors who are recognized and experienced authorities, and who, at the same time, are capably and suitably representing the banks which elected them.

As this bill moves through your committee and onto the floor of the House, it would be sincerely appreciated if you would give this particular aspect your careful attention.

Yours very truly,

JOHN A. SCHOONOVER,
President.

Social Security Benefits for the Blind

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, in the last Congress I had introduced a bill, which I had entitled "Insurance Against Blindness Act," to amend title II of the Social Security Act to aid the blind. There was considerable interest throughout the country for this measure, particularly among the blind and organizations seeking to help the blind. Consequently, at the request of many of these groups and individuals, I am reintroducing my bill now.

My bill provides that any person who, at the onset of blindness, is employed in an industry which is covered by old-age, survivors and disability insurance shall be eligible for disability insurance benefits if he has four quarters of coverage. This insurance provision in the Social Security Act would not be based on the nature of the work in which the person was engaged at the time when blindness set in.

In other words, a person losing his sight from any cause and in any way while he is employed in a covered occupation shall be entitled to full social security benefits and be eligible to receive monthly payments from the time blindness has occurred. Actually, the bill calls for only four quarters of coverage under the Social Security Act for entitlement of insurance against blindness, which may be regarded as a reasonable minimum. The four quarters, however, need not necessarily be of continuous service in one year, but may be acquired over a period of years.

In instances where an individual ceases to be blind and becomes rehabilitated, no benefits shall be paid until he reaches the regular retirement age.

Experts working in the field of welfare for the blind estimate that approximately 22,000 persons in the United States lose their sight every year, but only about half of these would stand to benefit under this provision since the remainder are over the age of 65. This means that under my bill approximately 10,000 to 12,000 persons would be eligible to receive insurance against blindness benefits each year.

It must be emphasized, however, that these payments are not to be regarded in the nature of a grant, but rather as an annuity which the person concerned bought and which is to be payable to him without any restrictions in the event of blindness. It should be regarded in the nature of an insurance against blindness, similar in certain respects to the insurance purchased by an individual who is paying premiums toward a paid-up policy.

Mr. Speaker, it is my view that the blind, especially the newly blinded person, should be extended every bit of encouragement to become employed and to attempt to become self-sufficient to the best of their ability. In order to make possible this encouragement, my bill provides that the blinded person would not lose any benefits under the social-security system due to the earning capacity which he might develop in the course of time.

The proposals contained in my bill have the endorsement of the American Foundation for the Blind and the American Association of Workers for the Blind, which are nationally known for their activities and services in this field. I urge the Congress to give early and favorable consideration to this bill in order to provide a measure of insurance against blindness for those who will be needing it in the future.

Mr. Speaker, at my request, Mr. George E. Keane, vice chairman of the legislative committee of the American Association of Workers for the Blind, prepared an excellent résumé of the efforts to establish disability insurance for the blind. I am pleased to insert his statement at this time. It follows:

RÉSUMÉ OF EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH DISABILITY INSURANCE FOR PERSONS WHO LOSE THEIR SIGHT WHILE EMPLOYED

(By George E. Keane, vice chairman, legislative committee, American Association of Workers for the Blind)

From earliest days thoughtful citizens have been interested in and have tried to promote conditions under which persons who lose their sight may have relative economic security. Alms, of course, was the earliest answer to the problem and, as you know, dependency and mendicancy was the lot of the blind for most of the earlier centuries of civilization. In fact, until the turn of this century, there was no real organized effort on a national basis to find broader means of support for dependent blind persons than that of the alms-giver. There were some isolated developments prior to 1900; schools for the blind had been established, 3 or 4 agencies for the blind had been incorporated and the American Association of Workers for the Blind was still in its infancy. After 1900, many agencies and schools were established, and the American Association of Workers for the Blind realized that it was necessary to form a research and program development service, which is the American Foundation for the Blind. Not enough can be said for the courage shown by these early pioneers working with great faith but very little funds, to bring a better life to the blind of the Nation and to remove them from the rolls of the dependents and the mendicants.

With the development of the American Association of Workers for the Blind and of agencies and services for the blind throughout the United States, more coherent thinking was brought to bear on the problem, and several of the States introduced relief or dole programs, most of them of a very meager sort, to meet the problem. It can be said that there was no broad step forward until the writing of the Social Security Act in the early thirties. Every one who was close to the development of this act, including those of us who were active in the American Association for the Blind and the American Foundation for the Blind, brought all of our best thinking to bear on proposals to include services and assistance to the blind in this new act and, as you know with some success, title X of the Social Security Act, taken in conjunction with the earlier adoption of Public Law 732 and the later adoption of Public Law 113 affecting the rehabilitation and employment of blind persons might be said jointly to stand as the Magna Charta for the blind of the United States. When the Social Security Act was first under consideration, the best thinking of the country believed that title II might one day serve to make both title I and title X almost unnecessary, and at the time we, in work for the blind, urged that title II be expanded to include broad disability provisions and in particular broad disability provisions for the blind.

In the past, even the commercial life insurance available to those who could afford it, contained such disability provisions upon the onset of blindness as were proposed by us in the original Social Security Act. Later in 1950, when the first major efforts toward broad revision of the Social Security Act were embodied in H. R. 6000, which was later passed into law, we of the AAWB and AFB again came to Congress with similar proposals revised only to the extent that our increased knowledge of the problem and statistical information then available seemed to warrant. Several provisions which we proposed were written into the law at that time, particularly in amendments to title X and the propsal for an amendment to title II creating a disability allowance for blind persons was passed by the House, rejected by the Senate and omitted in the final draft of the bill which came out of the joint committee in the Senate and House. We were deeply disappointed for, as you know, no disability provisions were written into title II at that time.

We believe that now all social welfare experience, as well as a more accurate knowledge of the subject available to the Senate and House, has made the possibility of the inclusion of disability insurance more feasible and more probable this year than at any time in the past. What we are asking is stability for those of our citizenry who are employed in covered industries and who are unfortunate enough to lose their sight. We believe sincerely that such insurance provision should not be based on the number of periods of coverage, nor the nature of the work engaged in, nor the level of pay which such worker receives at the time of onset of blindness, but that instead, it shall be assumed that the maximum payments possible under OASI should immediately become payable at the moment any person employed in covered industry shall lose his sight. The number of those affected cannot be very great in any given year, and cannot in any case ever accumulate to a very large number. As you undoubtedly know, there are only 317,000 blind persons in the United States. It is estimated that 50 percent of this number are over the age of 60 and could not be affected by the provisions proposed, unless they are still employed in covered industry. This would mean that approximately 159,000 persons would have to be considered if a bill were to be passed. It has also been estimated that 22,000 persons lose their sight each year. Here again, more than 50 percent are over the age of 60, which means that a maximum of only 11,000 persons would have to be considered as affected by the provision. Again, it is apparent that not all of these can possibly be employed in covered industry and would still have to be taken care of through other provisions of the law than OASI.

The number of those who are already blind and who may become affected by the law because they are now employed in covered industry is even a more negligible figure, probably not exceeding 10,000 persons in the United States.

In conclusion, may we say that we believe that the proposed inclusion of such a disability clause, the old age and survivors insurance provisions of the law, will do more than any other act which Congress might perform, to restore dignity and stability to those blind persons who now must look to public assistance for their very existence.

We feel that it is a commentary on how far we have come in the United States in humanity toward our fellow men, that we can now seek with confidence a stable and dignified way of life for blind persons as a matter of right, rather than as a matter of dole or relief.

We cannot help but feel that in the long run this will be a less expensive way of giving security to those of our citizens who lose their sight and can no longer work.

May we, therefore, again ask Congress to consider a bill which will amend title II, providing that any person who is employed in a covered industry shall upon onset of blindness be deemed to be fully covered and to have reached retirement age. Such an act will earn the deep gratitude not only of the blind persons who will benefit from it, but all of those who have been working in the interest of and for the welfare of our blind citizens. Beyond this, we believe that all citizens will recognize this as adding to the security of every American—and will welcome it.

Not Charity but Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an editorial from the National Tribune of April 4, 1957, as follows:

NOT CHARITY BUT JUSTICE

The House Committee on Veterans' Affairs has approved H. R. 358, sponsored by Representative BARRATT O'HARA of Illinois, which would grant a pension of $75 a month to widows of Spanish-American War veterans who qualify under existing law.

The National Tribune has sought for years to have the present meager pensions being paid to the widows of the men who served from 1898 to 1902 increased because it has realized that this group, now in its seventies, is unable to meet the demands of modern day living on the $54.18 which the Government pays them.

Handicapped by age and infirmities, these widows are even unable to eke out a living by babysitting (the last refuge of the old). Only last week the Department of Labor reported that the cost of food and shelter had reached a new record.

Most of our people are able to meet these rising costs with a little privation, but the widow of a Spanish-American War veteran, on $54.18 a month, has been unable to meet these costs for many years and, if no succor is given her by the present Congress she will be forced into abject poverty.

What a prospect for the women who lived faithfully with their veteran husbands and who cared for them in illness and death.

We feel sure that if the people of our country were properly acquainted with the facts they would demand an adequate pension to care for these splendid women who have shared the vicissitudes of life with those who fought to defend our Nation, and we feel certain also, that a generous Congress would not refuse the boon they seek.

The daily papers are full of stories about granting so many hundreds of millions to this country or to that country in order to relieve their economic distress—some of them former enemies—but when it comes to consider the dependents of our country's fighting men all we hear is the cry of "bankruptcy of the Nation," if so much as a meager increase is granted to the women who might profit by H. R. 358.

At last report there were approximately 82,000 Spanish War widows drawing persion. Some of them have since passed away. The increase proposed by H. R. 358 would amount to a little more than $20 million a year. It might be said that as fast as a Spanish-American War veteran dies his widow goes on the pension rolls if she qualifies under the law.

This is not a true statement of fact as many of the veterans have no dependents and even if it were true, every time a widow of a Spanish-American War veteran qualifies for a pension the Government saves $25 a month—the difference between the pension the average Spanish-American War veteran now receives and the amount asked for in H. R. 358 for a widow.

Considerihg the cost, as outlined above, of the O'Hara bill compared with other budget estimates, it is such a small drop in the bucket as to be infinitesimal. We hear talk of granting economic aid to Poland—a Communist country, and to others who have opposed us in more than one war—but when it comes to caring for our own the cry goes up that we cannot afford it. It may be all very well to seek economy in many departments of the Government—and we believe that many such economies are proper, but to seek economy at the expense of these few surviving relatives of our fighting men is going too far when it comes to cutting the enormous budget presented to us by the administration.

Let there be a little less foreign aid and a little more aid for our own. The people of the United States are, in the main, a long-suffering people, but surely they must look with disfavor on grants to outsiders when their own folks are not cared for properly.

It is noted that the Senate last week voted funds for the rivers and harbors bill (known better to the public as the pork-barrel or vote-getting bill) to the tune of some $1,500,000,000. That isn't hay, even to the farmers. "Millions for defense," said Pinckney, "but not 1 cent for tribute." Times have apparently changed, millions and billions for everyone but veterans and their dependents.

It must be remembered that the men who fought for their country during the 4 years of the Spanish-American War, the Boxer Rebellion, and the Philippine Insurrection were all volunteers who believed in the ideals of the Nation for which they fought. It must be remembered, also, that good women, true women devoted their lives to our country's defenders.

"To care for him who has borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan" has become a tradition in the United States. Never should we lose sight of this tradition and never be it said that a forgetful people and a preoccupied Congress should ignore the needs of this worthy group. We ask that in considering H. R. 358 a kindly minded Congress bear this tradition in mind and grant not charity but justice to these deserving women.

Experts Are Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial from the Greenville (S. C.) News:

EXPERTS ARE NEEDED

A study of the 1958 Federal budget shows that there is left over from the 1957 budget some $335,000 of a $400,000 item that was appropriated to pay experts $75 a day to advise the President on the establishment of more efficient business methods in Government operations.

From the looks of the budget this money should have been spent, if there were any efficiency experts for hire at $75 per day.

The rivers and harbors and flood-control division of the Army engineers, for instance, is asking for 13 percent more money, or $196,385,000. But it wants to increase personnel from 16,507 to 20,257 or 23 percent.

Could be these employees are needed to build Hartwell Dam, or, maybe, to justify it, but $25 million in 1 year is quite a jump.

Likewise, the Public Housing Authority wants to increase by $6 million, or from $93 million to $99 million, its annual contributions to public housing agencies. To give away this additional money the agency will need an increase in its administrative budget—from $10,700,000 to $13,300,000.

And still some people say the budget can't be cut.

National Paraplegia Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to touch on another area in which I am convinced that the Federal Government could be of more assistance and that is in the field of paraplegia. Excellent work is being done on that problem by the Paralyzed Veterans of America through their National Paraplegia Foundation. For those of you who are not aware of the work this organization is doing, I include the following background analysis which has been prepared by the foundation:

NATIONAL PARAPLEGIA FOUNDATION

Paraplegia is not a new problem. Plutarch noted it. It was mentioned in the first and second century A. D. by Celsus and Aretaeus. Galen experimented in lesions of the spinal cord. Operations of the spine were advocated by Paulus Aegineta in the seventh century A. D. and were again recommended by Fabricius Hildanus in 1545 and were first performed by Louis in 1744.

There was an incidence of spinal cord wounds in every American war since the Revolution. In World War I, only 20 percent of soldiers incurring spinal cord injuries reached the United States, and only 10 percent survived for more than a year and as of this date not more than one or two are alive from that war.

During and subsequent to World War II with the advent of sulfa drugs and antibiotics, it became easier to control the complex factors of the injuries so that the injured could be kept alive, and as far as the majority of the new civilian paraplegic population was concerned it was possible to live a nearly normal life and to find employment and a place in the community. The Paralyzed Veterans of America was organized just after World War II and were able to do much to solve their problems and readjustment to civilian life.

All these men lost the normal use of their legs. The quadriplegics whose spinal dam-

age occurred near the neck, have lost much of the function of their arms and hands as well. Bladder and bowel control is a problem requiring retraining.

Aside from a few excellent pioneering institutions, civilian paraplegics have nothing like the services developed by the Veterans' Administration. Expansion of facilities is needed. Enough highway and industrial accidents occur to make wider dissemination of information necessary, especially on preventive factors.

It become evident almost at once that the civilian paraplegic was having a more difficult time because information on rehabilitation techniques was unavailable and few rehabilitation centers existed. The Institute for Rehabilitation at New York University—Bellevue Medical Center, is under the direction of Dr. Howard A. Rusk; the Kessler Institute for Rehabilitation in West Orange, N. J., under the direction of Dr. Henry Kessler; the Kieser Kabat Institute for Rehabilitation in Vallejo, Calif., are the only major facilities available to civilians. It was also evident that if solutions to the medical problems of paraplegia were to be found much medical research would have to be done. To educate the civilian paraplegic and the public on paraplegia and to promote research, the National Paraplegia Foundation was founded by the Paralyzed Veterans of America. Several civilian chapters have been organized and more are expected. Fellowships have been given out and a national newspaper, the "Parapiegia News," is published monthly.

Estimates as to the number of civilian paraplegics range to 100,000 and at present we are in the process of making a survey of the 48 States in an effort to determine the more accurate number of paraplegics. It is obvious from surveys received from various parts of the country that our estimate of 100,000 may be too low.

Our problem has been complicated by the very fact that up until recently, people such as us did not live or were classed as "shutins." As a group, the paralyzed veterans have proved that they are capable of living outside the hospital, driving their own cars, working full time, and for the most part in being successful citizens. However, until the large portion of paraplegics who have not had the advantage of adequate care are brought up to the minimum VA standards, we have work to do.

More than 70 percent of the men successfully treated during and after the Second World War are working a full or part-time basis. They are the nucleus of the Paralyzed Veterans of America (PVA), which works to aid those who still need basic help to bring the advantages they have had to civilian paraplegics, to spur research on the spinal cord, and to promote professional knowledge of rehabilitation techniques.

A survey made in 1953 by the present PVA president, Robert Frost, of a sampling of 318 paraplegic and quadriplegic veterans showed 82.9 percent were employed at 75 different kinds of jobs in electronics, watchmaking, industrial assembly, bookkeeping, clerical positions, aircraft, drafting, photography, insurance, journalism, the law, and a variety of other occupations extending from micropaleontology to operating garages.

As an organization, the PVA has performed and continues to discharge a number of valuable functions. These include:

(a) Opposing deterioration of VA treatment for paraplegics and quadriplegics, assisted by good cooperation from officials beset by budget cuts.

(b) Helping individual paraplegic veterans get through the redtape paper mill on questions of pensions, eligibility for housing and care, obtaining wheelchairs, prosthetic applicances and repairs.

(c) Advising Korean and World War II paraplegic veterans on-job training for their special abilities, needs, and interests, job placement, finding the right place to live, etc.

(d) Organizing an excellent recreation program starring a wheelchair basketball league and an array of ticket resources for such spectator attractions as theater, baseball, football, basketball, boxing, concerts, ballet, outings, and picnics.

(e) Other services which range all the way from getting license plates to legal advice and life insurance.

All National Paraplegia Foundation research projects and fellowship grants are administered by the Medical Advisory Committee of the Paraplegia Foundation organized by the PVA. Its membership is as follows: Dr. Leslie W. Freeman, chairman, director of surgical research, Indiana University School of Medicine; Dr. Percival Bailey, professor of neurology and neurological surgery, University of Illinois School of Medicine; Dr. Paul Bucy, professor of neurology and neurological surgery, Northwestern University School of Medicine; Dr. James Barrett Brown, professor of clinical surgery, Washington University School of Medicine; Dr. Louis B. Flexner, professor of anatomy and chairman of department, University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine; Dr. Andrew C. Ivy, professor of clinical science and chairman of department, University of Illinois School of Medicine; Dr. John F. Fulton, Sterling professor of the history of medicine and chairman of department, Yale University School of Medicine; Dr. Donald C. Malcolm, associate clinical professor of surgery, University of Southern California School of Medicine; Dr. R. Glen Spurling, clinical professor of neurosurgery, University of Louisville School of Medicine; Dr. James C. White, associate professor of surgery, Harvard Medical School; Dr. Winthrop M. Phelps, medical director, Children's Rehabilitation Institute, Cockeysville, Md.; Dr. Raymond W. Waggoner, professor of psychiatry and chairman of department, University of Michigan School of Medicine.

To date there has never been more than a few thousand dollars available in any 1 year to carry forward the work projected for the foundation. Its principal aims are:

(a) To establish a program of fellowships in medicine and the sciences requiring between $3,000 and $6,000 each annually for 3 years' duration.

(b) To provide grants-in-aid for specific research projects at schools of medicine and medical centers.

(c) To make possible collection of data on paraplegia for increased use in treatment and research.

(d) To prepare and disseminate material for interest and instruction of physicians, medical societies, industry, and the lay public.

When we consider the personal disasters which attend a serious fall with resulting paraplegia or quadriplegia, and the short survival of those who do not receive proper treatment, we can realize what a great contribution we may make if research and wider education succeed in preventing sports, industrial, and auto accidents from having tragic consequences.

Civil Defense Preparedness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted unanimously at the steering committee meeting of the Berks County, Pa., Civil Defense Council on March 29, 1957:

Whereas the security of the United States depends to the same degree upon the preparedness of the certain population through civil defense measures as it does upon the readiness of the Armed Forces; and

Whereas the danger to the security of the United States is as potent today as at any previous time in our history; and

Whereas it is obvious that the United States must live within its expected income, and, accordingly, must eliminate such expenditures which are not absolutely essential to the public welfare: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Berks County Civil Defense Council go on record this day as expressing concern that the proposed cut in the civil defense budget will seriously impair the effectiveness of the already limited civil defense activities; and be it further

Resolved, That priority be given to measures promoting a more vigorous and practical program by the Federal Government implementing civil defense preparedness, and that necessary economies in Government spending be instituted in areas that are not vitally necessary to the public good.

CHARLES S. ADAMS,
Director, Berks County Civil Defense.
WARREN K. HESS,
Deputy Director, Berks County Civil Defense.
MARGUERITE VOSS OSMAN,
Executive Director.

Dated March 29, 1957.

New York Polish Newspaper on Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert an article written by my very dear friend, Peter Yolles, in the Polish daily newspaper, Nowy Swiat, published in New York. I understand that this is the only progressive Polish newspaper with a record of 50 years of civic service. The article by Mr. Yolles was originally written in the Polish language and translated into English. It was published in the issue of March 27, 1957.

Mr. Yolles is one of the ablest writers and lecturers. I have known him for many years. At the beginning of World War II, before I went on active duty overseas, I had the pleasure of serving with him on a selective service appeal board. He carried out his duties with humane understanding and, at the same time, in full recognition of his patriotic obligations. He was fair, just, and openminded. Men of his caliber are always a great asset to any community. I am proud to number him among my friends in all these years.

The translation of his article reads as follows:

OLD AGE IS NO JOY—A TALK WITH CONGRESSMAN VICTOR L. ANFUSO ON SOCIAL SECURITY

(By Peter P. Yolles)

My good friend, Congressman VICTOR L. ANFUSO, is an old and true friend of Poland and the Polish people. He represents a large

number of Americans of Polish descent who live in his congressional district in Brooklyn, and he has a laudable habit of maintaining a close contact with his constituents with whom he shares his experiences and his observations in Congress.

Congressman ANFUSO recently introduced a bill containing important amendments to the Social Security Act. He did it after studying the problems of his constituents and hearing from them directly as to how it strikes them most.

During a pleasant conversation with him after dinner in the restaurant of the Polish National Hall in New York, Congressman ANFUSO called attention to the fact that America is growing older—which is a new phenomenon in the life of our country (just as it is in our personal life and of which we are not always conscious until visible signs of that fact begin to appear). America was until now historically very young as a nation. It was also young from the standpoint of the average age of the population. It was certainly very young compared with the history of a nation like Poland, which is a thousand years old. The young American Nation has all the virtues of youth, but also all the faults of youth.

The American people, however, is growing old—even as you and I—which causes far-reaching and deep changes of a psychological, political, social, and above all economic nature in the life of the country. Our Congress is aware of it and has adopted a system of social security to aid the aged. But life writes its own amendments to all laws. Time exposes faults, shortcomings, and outright injustices which, in a true democracy, results in changes, improvements, and corrections in order to adjust the law to the conditions of life.

Congressman ANFUSO explained to me the gist of his proposed amendments to the provisions of the social security system. It is his endeavor to adjust the law on paper to the laws of life. Here is one instance:

"Under the social-security system as presently constituted, the minimum monthly benefit is $30. How it is possible for an elderly person to subsist on this niggardly sum for a whole month is something which I cannot comprehend. It is hardly enough for rent, let alone food, clothing, and other essentials. This is not only inadequate, but in many instances almost heartrending, since most of these people are physically no longer able to earn even the limited outside income permissible under the law. No wonder many of these older citizens receiving the bare minimum benefit are bitter and resentful and feel that they are the forgotten people of today.

"I propose to increase the minimum monthly payments to $40, an increase of only $10 per month. Even at the rate of $40 a month, the daily average comes to only about $1.30, which is hardly enough to take care of the most elementary needs. Yet, small as this increase is, it would be most welcome to many elderly people and give them a greater feeling of security and dignity. I believe it is fair. I believe it is urgent."

In order to be entitled to the benefits of social security, men must attain the age of 65 and woman 62. Here is what Congressman ANFUSO suggests:

"I am proposing in my bill to lower the retirement age from 65 to 60 years, and it is to be applicable alike to both men and women. The claim that this will cost us a substantial sum of money is undoubtedly true, but social security has paid for itself from the very first."

Then, there is another provision in the Social Security Act that is difficult and unreasonable. For example, I have attained the age where I am entitled to derive social-security benefits. I have from the very beginning been paying the highest rate and am now entitled to receive 108 dollars monthly. But this sum is inadequate for a whole month. The law allows me to earn another $1,200 during the year, or $100 a month. Even so, my total income would be limited to about $50 weekly, which is far below the standard of living and needs today, especially considering my status in the community.

Does that mean that I have to be degraded and pushed down the scale of life, in fact almost punished? Why should I not be allowed to earn more by writing, lecturing, etc., as long as I am able? Must I forfeit the benefits to which I am entitled and which are to a great extent my compulsory insurance? Why? I believe that is neither the intention of the law nor its aim.

Congressman ANFUSO understood my problem, which is not only my personal problem but of many others. One of his amendments, therefore, provides to increase the allowance of earnings up to $1,500 yearly. This is a considerable allowance, though still unsatisfactory.

I specifically mentioned my case because Congressman ANFUSO, who is a lawyer by profession, emphasized that the law is not supposed to be inflexible, meaningless, and heartless. It is supposed to contribute toward the welfare of the aged people and it must also allow for adjustment to changing conditions and needs in order to properly fulfill its purposes.

Thus, by direct contact with his constituents, Congressman ANFUSO gains a deep insight into the heart of many problems confronting him. His proposed amendments do justice to these needs toward a gradual improvement in the realization of the idea behind social security. I wished him good luck in his efforts to obtain passage of his bill.

Power Vacuum at Suez

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 31, 1957:

POWER VACUUM AT SUEZ

The first convoy has passed through the Suez Canal. The physical rehabilitation of the waterway is virtually completed; the economic and political structure within which the canal can function as an international medium of transit has not even been sketched. President Nasser of Egypt has produced a plan in which virtually all the guaranties are provided by a unilateral Egyptian declaration, which makes no attempt to insulate the waterway from the politics of any one country, as the Security Council called for, which does not even suggest an international advisory body to work with the canal authority and which appears to reject the transit of Israeli ships. Yet the only overt step which the United States has taken is to caution American shipowners against using the canal at this time.

If the matter ends here it will be a virtual renunciation of the responsibility which the United States assumed when it took the leadership in forcing Britain and France to withdraw their troops from Port Said. It will be a surrender to Nasser, a payment to him for his inability to defend his own country against the violence he had provoked. It will be an admission that there is a power vacuum in the Middle East, so that the international community is unable to protect its rights against rabid nationalism.

Nasser's plan for controlling the canal was consistent with all his actions to date. He offers no concessions whatever—just as he has offered none in Gaza and the Gulf of Aqaba. The idea that he would make an internationally acceptable agreement because it would be right and reasonable and make the long-term path of his people easier was, of course, wholly naive. His position as Egypt's dictator (or at least as titular head of the various forces which make up the Egyptian dictatorship) depends on present success, not on reason or future prospects. To obtain an agreement that would meet the needs of the maritime nations and offer security and equality on the Suez route requires pressure, the presentation of alternatives that would be more onerous to Egypt than a fair adjustment of the canal problem.

Once the United States took the position that direct pressure of the kind that Israel, Britain, and France were applying was inadmissible, the search of alternatives admittedly became very difficult. Shipping companies do not want to bear the present expense of national policies that may bear only future dividends—such as going around the Cape of Good Hope in small- or medium-sized tankers. Western Europe, starved for oil during the winter, is not anxious to prolong the experience. Pipelines and big tankers that could bypass the canal are not to be constructed in a day.

Yet the alternatives must be found; the United States and its maritime associates among the nations of the free world cannot become vassals of Nasser; unbridled nationalism and general disregard for international contract cannot be allowed free play in the vital Middle East. It is up to the United States, now that Nasser has so clearly shown his hand, to assume the leadership in building up a whole system of pressures, in and out of the United Nations, moral pressures and economic, that will promote an enforceable system of law in this troubled region. This country cannot rely on broad statements of principle, however, high-minded, to introduce stability into the Middle East. It must act—and now—or see its leadership rejected, its influence wane, and its allies fall away.

Dixon-Yates Aftermath in Costs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the experience of the people of Memphis, as described in the following article from the Los Angeles Times, should help destroy the myth that public power is cheap:

DIXON-YATES AFTERMATH IN COSTS

The storm which Tennessee Valley politicians raised in 1954 over the so-called Dixon-Yates contract is now pelting the taxpayers of the city of Memphis.

It will be recalled that in that year the Atomic Energy Commission, needing more power than the Tennessee Valley Authority was able to produce, and supply Memphis, too, contracted with the Mississippi Valley Generating Co. to supply the city of Memphis the electrical current it was buying from TVA. The howl from the public power lobby

wrecked the deal, the city of Memphis finally deciding to erect a municipal plant and scorn the power to be furnished by Dixon-Yates. Thereupon, President Eisenhower canceled the AEC contract.

It now turns out that Memphis is finding its public power far from cheap. A few months ago the city sold revenue bonds in New York and had to pay a coupon rate of 4.4 percent on them, for a net cost to the city of 4.47 percent; whereas the MVGC bonds in 1954 could have been sold for 3.5 percent. Further, the experts now figure the Memphis plant will cost $200 a kilowatt; the comparable Dixon-Yates figure was $165.

Memphis was to have bought power from the Dixon-Yates company for 3.98 mills a kilowatt-hour, a rate which the company was willing to guarantee would not be raised for 25 years. Now the municipal juice will cost 4.48 mills a kilowatt-hour and if additions to the plant are necessary the rate will be increased.

The Dixon-Yates plant would have paid regular Federal, municipal, and State taxes, while the Memphis plant will pay none. This may make little difference to Memphis, since the private plant was to be located in Arkansas; but Federal taxes are paid by all private plants and no municipal ones, so taxpayers elsewhere are subsidizing Memphis.

Germany: A Good Risk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, because I believe that at this point in the swiftly changing currents of the United States relations with the other nations of the world a fresh study is required, I have undertaken the task of trying to look at each country anew in the light of existing facts and conditions. No mature evaluation of our foreign policy can be made unless we are aware of, and have an understanding of, the condition of each country not only as a political unit in and of itself but in its interrelationships with the other countries of the world.

We have lived through a period in the last decade of witnessing former enemies alining themselves currently with us. We have seen former friendly countries retreat to neutrality, and we are witnessing today the emergence of nationalism in Asia and Africa and the Middle East which shatters former patterns of the dealings we once had with them.

Unfortunately our reactions to political units or nations have been, in the main, visceral, based on emotions which have been generated by conditions which no longer hold true.

I have chosen to begin with Germany since, as former enemy and present friend, it most readily lends itself to fresh examination. We cannot doubt that much of the individual's evaluation of present-day Germany still rests on the image of a Germany first conquered and defeated by itself alone, and then conquered, in turn, by the world it sought to destroy. Hence we must begin by asking ourselves, "What is Germany today? How did she measure her own guilt, and how did she, out of the rubble and the fire, arise to take her place with the nations of the West? Where is she heading? What are her problems peculiar to herself which make her a pivotal point in the operation of American foreign policy?"

I begin with a quotation from the German economist, Hans Otto Wesemann:

In January 1947, nearly 2 years after the end of hostilities, German production was still in such a state of devastation and collapse that it was estimated that each inhabitant in the British Zone would get only 1 new suit of clothes every 40 years, 1 shirt every 10 years, 1 pair of socks every 4 years, and a pair of shoes every 3 years. At the same period the average food ration consisted of less than 1,000 calories—40 percent of the physiological minimum requirement.

That was 1947, 1 year before the currency reform, less than a decade ago. The German economy presented a picture of total chaos. The currency was unstable, the cities more or less in ruins, 500 million cubic yards of rubble had to be removed, railroad and motor traffic had shrunk to fractions of their former volume, the German merchant marine no longer existed, and every day thousands of refugees poured into Western Germany from pre-Hitler German territories in the east—in the end they totaled 10.9 millions. These people crowded into an area embracing only 52 percent of the former territory of the Reich. Dismantling of the industrial plants for reparations reduced the already wretched productive capacity of the country still further. Worst of all was the breakdown of all moral standards in business life and all confidence in the economic policies of the government.

Yet from this point on, the Germans went forward to meet the challenges of defeat, poverty, and despair, until today it is commonplace to read of the miracle of German recovery. In appraising this miracle, we remember that before Hitler let loose his holocaust, Germany's population was roughly 70 million in an area of some 182,000 square miles. Today, the bitter fact of separation leaves the Federal Republic of Germany with some 50 million in an area of some 95,000 square miles. Berlin itself has a population of 3½ million, of whom over 2 million live in the western sector and the rest in the Soviet-controlled eastern sector. The total population of the Soviet zone of occupation is almost 17 million in an area of 41,382 square miles.

The territories east of the Oder and Neisse Rivers, including Pomerania, Silesia, and East Prussia, with some 8½ million people, are now principally under Polish control and partly under the domination of the Soviet Union.

While it cannot be denied that at first the people of Germany—and I have reference here to the Federal Republic of Germany—cloaked themselves in resentment and bitterness, neither can we deny that the German people threw off this cloak in a surge of energy unequaled by any other period in its history.

Perhaps the most significant fact to note in the story of Germany's recovery is its development through its adherence to a basically free-enterprise economy. An appreciation of antitrust laws—an appreciation which is so tragically lacking in other European countries—enabled Germany to move forward so that competition could, in the main, be free and vigorous. I will come back again in future studies to the damage done to other European economies by the very absence of restraints against monopolies and monopolistic practices. Hence, in Germany we find in its economy three principles established: Freedom of commerce, principles of free trade, and the fight for free convertibility of currencies.

The economy of Germany does, however, have its "soft spots." One of them, as in the United States, is that of agriculture. Another is that of the dwindling of population, a consequence of the drop in birth rate during the war years. Another is the heroic absorption of some 10 million refugees, about half of whom have yet to be rehabilitated and trained for their place in the German economy.

While it is true that some industry and housing was subsidized by the German Government, we find that the need for these subsidies, taking various forms, of course, has diminished or withdrawn. We see this particularly in the tremendous housing program undertaken by the Federal Republic. Its achievement in construction is particularly staggering. We note that between 1949 and 1955 a new house is built for every fifth inhabitant of the Federal Republic.

The Germans themselves feel free to acknowledge the basic contribution of Marshall aid to their spectacular rise in productivity, distribution, and consumption of goods, durable and soft.

Today, full employment exists.

At this point, Germany seems to have discarded to a degree never known before any policy that would tend to draw her into isolation. She has joined with the West in the organization of NATO. She has moved closer and closer in the imaginative proposals of furthering integration of Europe through its membership in GATT. She has moved forward to help in the establishment of a European common market and on the Euratom project. The question of the Saar has been settled between France and Germany with the signing of the Saar Treaty.

Without the gift of prophecy, we cannot say in what direction Germany will ultimately turn. We in the United States must admit freely that we can only be masters of our own fate. We cannot captain the soul of another country.

We have heard the apologists for Germany. We have heard the barren excuses of a number of Germans of "the other fellow did it, not me"; and "I did not know of the mass murders." We have heard how they were misled by Hitler; we have heard you cannot condemn a whole nation; we have heard it all, and doubtless we shall continue to hear it.

But we today are concerned with whither Germany now, and the direction can only be given us by the signposts along the way. We know that the Federal Republic has moved with the West; that it is moving with rapidity and vision toward closer cooperation with the free countries of Europe. We know that it has embraced political as well as economic freedom. We know that the cultural expression of Germany, blacked out during the years of the Hitler terror, has slowly begun to emerge. Here I might say parenthetically and at this writing that the development of the arts has

lagged behind the economic resurgence, although we already see the emergence of art and art forms which were once an integral part of German culture. The German people do not and cannot "live by bread alone."

We know that the main political parties of Germany are moving toward the center, wary of the extremes of the right and the left. These are healthy signposts and they presage for the good.

There is, however, within Germany today one area of emotional content which can swing Germany in another direction—I say it can, I do not say it will—and that area is the unification of Germany.

It is not necessary for me at this point to contrast the conditions in Free Germany with those prevailing in East Germany. West Germany does not—and, I shall add, cannot—subdue its restlessness, its understandable passion for reunification. Just so long as Germany is split, just so long will the seeds of discord remain, not only in Germany but across the territories of Europe and the United States as well. The basic question, of course, is what price will Germany pay for reunification. Will she, as many of the advocates would enjoin, bargain away her western orientation—in other words, retreat to neutralism—as a price of unification?

We have seen lately signs of distress within Germany lest East Berlin rise, as did Hungary, and provoke Soviet terror which could easily spill into West Germany. Neither they nor we have forgotten the uprising of June 1953 in East Berlin which preceded the revolts of Warsaw and Budapest. How often is the question being asked, shall we make our peace with the Soviet Union and, by withdrawal from NATO, permit a bargain to be struck? Or will Germany, moving forward with the energy so far displayed to aline herself unequivocally with the free countries of the world, continue to do so stanchly, awaiting a general settlement in the cold war which would, and must, bring with it reunification? On this all the free nations of the world stand together. There can be no general settlement without the inclusion of a unified and a free Germany.

We must point to Conrad Adenauer's statement of 1 year ago:

> Everything that has been accomplished in the Federal Republic in the past few years is of importance to the whole free world. We believe that the ways and means by which these achievements were effected are essentially the same as those followed in America and other western countries—namely, setting free individual initiative and promoting a sense of responsibility of each toward all. It is encouraging to note that no longer does "all" refer solely to one's own country but to the entire community of free nations.

Fortunately, this is today still the overriding sentiment of Germany. It is her task, and in some measure our own, that in 1 year, 10 years, 20 years, this sentiment be one of the cornerstones upon which to rest the peace and security of the world. May it be saved. I believe, notwithstanding the difficulties and dilemmas facing her, Germany—Western Germany—is a good risk.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

1957

Appendix

President Spurs School-Aid Drive as Defense Need

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARRY G. HASKELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. HASKELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of President Eisenhower's address last night at the centennial banquet of the National Education Association:

It is a privilege to take part in this centennial anniversary of the National Education Association.

Like all citizens, I am proud of the progress American education has made over the past 100 years. Like all citizens, I am indebted to the generations who built our schools, and I am glad to pay tribute to the schoolteachers of America who give their lives in the service of our children.

And for the work the National Education Association has done to promote the goals of popular education, I am happy to express on behalf of the citizens of the United States the appreciation of all.

Not always did the provisions of educational opportunity for all seem vitally important to most Americans. A hundred years ago, when Abraham Lincoln spoke of his boyhood, he said, "There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education."

At one time Lincoln even decided to give up trying to study for a public career in the law because he felt that his preparatory education was so woefully inadequate.

What a tragic loss it would have been if Lincoln's lack of early education had prevented him from the full realization of the great powers of his mind and heart. One wonders how many young Americans have been handicapped by a similar lack of education. How many potential Lincolns have been lost to us because there were no schools for them to attend—no teachers to excite their ambitions.

A LESSON FOR THE FUTURE

Here is another question that we might ponder. I know there is no answer to past mistakes, but perhaps in this question there is a lesson for the future. It is this: Might this country not have been spared the senseless grief of the War Between the States and a just and peaceable solution to its causes reached, if there had been more men of education, more men of wisdom, in positions of leadership and among our people a hundred years ago?

The hope of the world is that wisdom can arrest conflict between brothers. I believe that war is the deadly harvest of arrogant and unreasoning minds. And I find grounds for this belief in the wisdom literature of Proverbs, which says in effect that—panic strikes like a storm and calamity comes like a whirlwind to those who hate knowledge and ignore their God.

Because Lincoln had such a hunger for education, and because he saw our country endure such a tragic experience with the deadly fruits of ignorance and prejudice, he exalted the ideals of education.

In the very beginning of his political career, Lincoln made clear to his constituents how he stood on this important subject. He said: "Upon the subject of education, I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we, as a people, can be engaged in * * *. For my part, I desire to see the time when education, and by its means, morality, sobriety, enterprise, and industry, shall become much more general than at present, and I should be gratified to have it in my power to contribute something to the advancement of any measure which might have a tendency to accelerate"—the wider education of our people.

In the year the National Education Association was formed there was introduced in the Congress the first college land-grant bill, a bill donating certain Federal lands to the States and Territories to provide a perpetual fund for the purpose of increasing the facilities for higher education across the country. The bill did not pass in 1857, but when Mr. Lincoln became President, he was pledged to support it, and during his administration it was passed.

Lincoln signed this bill at a critical moment in the Nation's history—at a time when hopes for an early end of the War Between the States were broken by the costly and indecisive battles of the peninsular campaign. It is significant that at the moment when Lincoln's military hopes were at their lowest ebb, he signed a bill providing for the rapid increase in our educational resources.

The two events can be closely related. The strength of our arms is always related to the strength of our minds. Our schools are strong points in our national defense.

Our schools are more important our Nike batteries, more necessary than our radar warning nets, and more powerful even than the energy from the atom. This is true, if for no other reason than that modern weapons must be manned by highly educated personnel if they are to be effective, and the energy of the atom can only be understood and developed by the most highly trained minds in the country.

OF PRIME IMPORTANCE TO ALL

But far more important than this our defense must always rest on clear comprehension of the basic values we seek to protect—the true nature of the contest between human dignity and regimentation.

Thus, the education of our children is of prime importance to us all. Moreover, to maintain the common defense and to guarantee the progress of our Nation, each of us must discharge his rightful and proper role in developing the intellectual capacities of all children living in every corner of our land. Each individual, each community has a vital function to perform.

For I remind you that the great colleges and universities that sprang up from Lincoln's college land-grant bill were not Federal projects. By no means. Most of the capital and organization for these institutions were provided by the States themselves.

In this, as in all other things, Lincoln believed that Government should do for people only what they could not well do for themselves. The land-grant bill furnished the stimulus for greater local effort.

At the present time, the land-grant colleges and universities receive most of their support and all of their direction from local citizens. Also, a healthy proportion of support comes from the students themselves. I add this because it is unwise to make education too cheap. If everything is provided freely, there is a tendency to put no value on anything.

Education must always have a certain price on it; even as the very process of learning itself must always require individual effort and initiative. Education is a matter of discipline and more, a matter of self-discipline.

Lincoln's faith in education is part of America's faith in the ability of the people to govern themselves. When men and women know the facts and are concerned about them, we believe they will make the right decisions. Prejudice and unreasoning opposition will more and more give away before the clean flood of knowledge.

This has always been my faith of democracy. Lincoln and education are closely associated in the memories of my boyhood. Indeed, the first school I attended 60 years ago was called the Lincoln Grade School. It was located across the street from our house in Abilene. Nowadays, they refer to it as the old Lincoln school, because, old and dilapidated, it happily was replaced some years ago by a larger and stronger school.

A GREATER BURDEN

Each generation must build better schools for its children. Especially in today's complex and challenging world we need stronger and bigger schools in which to train our children to accept their magnificent opportunities and grave responsibilities, opportunities for life even richer than ours, responsibilities for the defense of their homeland and strengthening the free world.

This puts a greater burden on education than ever before, a greater burden on our teachers, classrooms, and curriculum.

The school-building program of America suffered three grievous setbacks in this generation—the depression of the thirties, the war of the forties, and the Korean crisis of the fifties. These three periods caused a drying up of normal schoolroom replacement and expansion, almost like three successive droughts.

During the depression we were unable to build schools for lack of money; during the wars we were unable to build schools for lack of men and materials, because most of these resources was diverted into the war effort.

So now our educational plant is not ample to cope with the enormous burden of present and future enrollments. Therefore, it is my firm belief that there should be Federal help to provide stimulus to correct an emergency situation; that help should not imply a permanent acceptance of responsibility which belongs, not to Washington, but to the local governments and to the local communities and to the people themselves.

NO FEDERAL CONTROL

Federal help in building schools will not mean Federal control. After these new school are built, after the bricks are laid, and the mortar is dry, the Federal mission will be completed. All control and use of the schools will be in the hands of the States and localities.

Every phase of the educational process, especially in our system of public schools, is important to all of us.

Teachers need our active support and encouragement. They are doing one of the most necessary and exacting jobs in the land. They are developing our most precious national resource: Our children, our future citizens.

They can do their best only as we show them our appreciation and offer them our help. We hear a lot about the deficiencies and woeful conditions of education in America, a criticism that suggests a few questions.

How many parents have visited their children's schools? How many parents have offered to relieve some of the routine burdens of the teachers, or invited them to a friendly supper at home? How many parents have tried to make the teacher a real partner in the responsibility—and priceless privilege—of educating our children.

Lincoln had great respect for his teachers, that is, for the few he was able to find on the American frontier. But these few pioneer teachers must have had a great influence upon him, because in later life Lincoln was always able to recall each by name.

Just before he came to Washington as President-elect, Lincoln wrote a short account of his life. In this autobiography, directly following a description of his immediate family, Lincoln wrote about his schoolteachers. He was still able to recall their full names, with gratitude and affection, 30 years after he left school.

With this example before me, I was proud to take part in the first White House Conference on Education 2 years ago. This was a nationwide conference of educators, school administrators, and citizens concerned with the school problems of our day and devoted to the avancement of education across the land.

From these White House conferences—held in Washington, and more, appropriately, in 4,000 local communities in every State from coast to coast—from these White House conferences came some new ideas for strengthening the educational system of America. I trust those ideas will be useful to you of the National Education Association.

Using the words of Lincoln, I believe education is "the most important subject which we as a people can be engaged in," and I join you in the hope that we in our generation may continue to accelerate the wider education of our people.

Joint Committee on the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am submitting an article by Mr. David Lawrence from the New York Herald Tribune, of April 5, 1957, because of its very real interest to all Members of Congress:

HARMONIZE BUDGET VIEWS SEEN IN SENATE-VOTED BILL

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, April 4.—By a virtually unanimous vote, the Senate has just passed a bill which, if the House of Representatives approves, may do more to harmonize the views of the executive and legislative branches of the Government in the making of the Federal budget than anything which has been suggested before.

For the bill would create a joint committee of 14 members—7 from each House—who would have an adequate staff to study and evaluate all the items in the budget. It would save the time of everybody involved, because it would mean one set of hearings. It would furnish the viewpoint of all groups, including those which want to see economy practiced.

The same kind of bill has passed the Senate on different occasions in recent years only to be defeated in the House of Representatives, many of whose Members traditionally feel that, since all the money bills must originate in the House, they must be given attention exclusively by its committees.

SPONSORED BY M'CLELLAN

Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas, who is chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, has sponsored the new bill. In his report he gives many persuasive reasons for the adoption of the measure. He particularly takes cognizance of the action of the House on March 12 last in adopting a resolution requesting the President to indicate the places and the amounts in his budget where he thinks substantial reductions may best be made. This, he says, is "a clear indication that the Congress does not have adequate information upon which to act in carrying out its constitutional responsibilities for maintaining adequate controls over Government expenditures."

Mr. MCCLELLAN reminded the Senate that Members of Congress "have learned from contacts with the people back home that there is a tremendous ground swell of public sentiment for economy in Government, and demands for action in eliminating unnecessary expenditures in the operations of the Government."

But, under the existing procedures, with different appropriation committees and small staffs, it is not possible to do more than listen to witnesses from the executive branch who are morally bound to support the budget as submitted. Members of Congress have to depend on what they can pick up from the outside as to what items might really be cut.

Taking a leaf out of the splendid record of the Joint Committee of Internal Revenue Taxation, Mr. MCCLELLAN and the 71 cosponsors of the new bill believe a great service can be rendered by the joint committee type of operation in the field of governmental economy.

Just now, of course, with the Congress in control of the Democrats and the executive branch in control of the Republicans, there is a natural antagonism between the two branches. But the division of the Government on this basis is not usual and the reform will be as useful, if not more so, when both Congress and the Presidency are in the hands of the same party.

The new committee would, to be sure, be made up always of 7 members of the Senate Appropriations Committee, which now numbers 23, and 7 from the House Committee on Appropriations, which now numbers 50 members. But in such a large membership of the appropriations committees today, there are various subcommittees appointed and it is virtually impossible for the entire committee to know as much about the items as the other subcommittees which have special fields to cover.

The theory back of the joint committee idea is that a large staff of experts, who serve continuously from one session through the next and so on, will build up a knowledge of the budget operations that will be invaluable to Congress.

Detailed analysis of the budget by congressional committees is not possible under the present system, and only a superficial examination is given to what is recommended by the executive. Conversely, the Budget Bureau has to accept programs created out of previous legislation by Congress and has no means of passing judgment on whether existing laws should be repealed. The Budget Bureau in those instances merely estimates the cost of operation and assumes a continuance of the laws. A joint committee could look constantly into the question of whether the laws that require appropriations from year to year might be modified, if not repealed.

The move just made by the Senate is in the direction of efficiency and could be the basis of some real economizing. Will the House pass the new bill or insist on the same haphazard ways that have prevailed in the past? The American people will be deeply interested in what happens to this bill in the House of Representatives.

The American Bar Association and Civil Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, along with many other clear-thinking constitutional lawyers, Mr. J. Y. Sanders, Jr., of my State and a former Member of this body, raised the very pertinent question of why the American Bar Association has not taken a position on civil rights and in particular on the many fundamental constitutional questions posed by this legislation.

Correspondence between Mr. Sanders and the senior Senator from Louisiana, the Honorable ALLEN J. ELLENDER, was made available to me. I insert it in the RECORD, as well as a copy of my personal reply.

The correspondence follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE
AND FORESTRY,
April 2, 1957.

Hon. EDWIN E. WILLIS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR ED: I am enclosing some self-explanatory correspondence that I have received from Mr. J. Y. Sanders, Jr., an attorney of Baton Rouge, La., concerning the American Bar Association's stand in connection with the so-called civil rights legislation.

I am forwarding this to you for your information since you are a member of the House Judiciary Committee which is handling the civil rights legislation.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
United States Senator.

BATON ROUGE, LA., *March 19, 1957.*

Mr. CHARLES S. RHYNE,
Chairman, Committee To Commemorate Magna Carta, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. RHYNE: In answer to yours of March 15, I wish to say that I am very much interested in putting a monument commemorating the granting of Magna Carta at Runnymede. I enclose check for $5 as my contribution to this worthwhile event.

While the American Bar is building a monument to the granting of Magna Carta at Runnymede which guarantees our trial by jury which is one of the cornerstones of American freedom, as well as the freedom in other English-speaking countries, I have heard no voice raised by the American Bar Association against the blatant and outrageous attempt to circumvent the constitu-

tional guaranties of trial by jury in the so-called civil rights legislation now pending in Congress.

It might be well to look to our freedoms at home.

Very truly yours,

J. Y. SANDERS, Jr.

BATON ROUGE, LA., *March 26, 1957.*

Hon ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR ALLEN: The other day I received a letter from Mr. Charles S. Rhyne, chairman of the Committee to Commemorate Magna Carta, being a committee of the American Bar Association. The letter requested a contribution for the purpose of erecting a monument to Magna Carta at Runnymede.

It seemed to me ironic that the American Bar Association should go to England and build a monument to Magna Carta at Runnymede the very year that the United States Congress is apparently planning to pass this so-called civil rights legislation which would destroy the right of trial by jury to a certain class of accused.

I wrote Mr. Rhyne accordingly expressing my feelings in the matter and enclose a copy of my letter to Mr. Rhyne to you. I also wrote to Mr. David F. Maxwell, president of the American Bar Association sending him a copy of my letter to Mr. Rhyne.

It occurred to me that you and other Members of Congress that are members of the American Bar Association might see fit likewise to voice their protest to the American Bar Association erecting this monument to Magna Carta while at the same time remaining silent while the United States Congress prepares to violate one of the fundamental tenets of this same Magna Carta.

Anyway, I am sending a copy of my letter to you for such action as you might see fit to take.

I read your address as published in the New Orleans Times Picayune yesterday on this same question. I think it is fine.

With all good wishes, as always,

Cordially yours,

J. Y. SANDERS, Jr.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., April 5, 1957.

Hon. J. Y. SANDERS, Jr.,
Baton Rouge, La.

DEAR MR. SANDERS: In view of my membership on the House Committee on the Judiciary, which is charged with the responsibility of handling civil-rights legislation, our mutual friend, Senator ELLENDER, sent me a copy of your letter to him dated March 26.

The local and State bar associations throughout the country and the American Bar Association in particular are usually sources of valuable and constructive information to our committee on general legislation, and you would be surprised how often we hear from them on a wide range of bills affecting our fundamental judicial and constitutional processes.

I have not received a single letter from the American Bar Association, however, on pending civil-rights legislation, and I heartily agree with you that it is ironic that the voice of the association has not been raised, in light of the fact that the bill as reported by a majority of the House Committee on the Judiciary contains deliberately planned devices to deny the right of trial by jury in all contempt proceedings that will inevitably arise under the proposed legislation; to bypass State laws, State remedies, State courts, State judges, and State agencies, and to concentrate practically unrestrained powers in the Federal Government. I should point out that the amendments offered before the full committee to remove these provisions were defeated by the close vote of 17 to 15, and that, in fact, the use of proxy votes overcame the majority present and voting in favor of the amendments. Similar amendments will, of course, be offered on the floor of the House.

I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of the report on the so-called civil-rights legislation, H. R. 6127. I call your particular attention to the closing paragraphs in the additional minority views, which I played a part in preparing:

"Only by bringing together the various parts of the bill under consideration can we realize the dangers involved and the deadly threats to constitutional liberties.

"For example, part II would create a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice, headed by an additional Assistant Attorney General and manned with an unlimited number of lawyers. The creation of a new division might in itself appear harmless, but—make no mistake about it—the lawyers in that division will displace local United States attorneys in the prosecution of all actions authorized to be filed. It can be expected, therefore, that United States attorneys who are familiar with local laws and customs will be relegated to the background and the cases will be presented by strange lawyers from Washington headquarters.

"Parts III and IV of the bill provide a device to bypass State laws, State remedies, State courts, State judges, and State agencies. Here is the second step deliberately planned to strike down States rights. Finally, under the calculated scheme of the bill all actions instituted would be filed in the name of or on behalf of the United States and tried before the Federal courts and in the enforcement of Federal court orders and decrees through contempt proceedings the defendants would be deprived of trial by jury.

"When we bring these provisions which appear here and there in the bill in close context, we see the totality of the powers vested in the Central Government wrapped up in one package: Unlimited grant of power to Federal authorities, abandonment of the concept of State's sovereignty, and eradication of trial by jury.

"Armed with the powers that this bill would expressly confer, a political-minded Attorney General, in combination with an unreasonable Federal district judge, could terrorize the people in any community. No Attorney General should ever seek such powers and Congress ought never to grant them."

It is my considered judgment that rather than protecting so-called civil rights this legislation would promote grievous civil wrongs, and I think the American Bar Association should take a position one way or another at least on these fundamental constitutional questions as they so frequently do on other legislation of comparatively minor import.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I beg to remain,

Very sincerely yours,

EDWIN E. WILLIS,
Member of Congress.

The Passing of Paul P. Biely, Outstanding Musician

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of April 3, 1957, commenting on the passing of Mr. Paul P. Biely, of Swoyersville, Pa., who had a long and exceptional career in the field of music:

Organist of Holy Trinity Church at Swoyersville for 39 years of a music career that spanned a half century, John P. Biely was not only a highly respected citizen, but a beloved figure in the West Side borough.

A man of exceptional talent, he brought beauty, inspiration, and comfort into the lives of many as he presided at his organ during regular Sunday services and on such special occasions as weddings and funerals. His fidelity to duty was as stimulating as the music he played. In his person, artistry and devotion were combined with happy results.

Like so many products of the old country, Mr. Biely found in this community an outlet for the genius with which he was endowed. Here he was in friendly surroundings, with audiences that repeatedly demonstrated their appreciation of his skill and service.

Men like Mr. Biely give to life a flavor that otherwise would be lacking. It truly can be said that Wyoming Valley is a better place because this maker of music passed through on the journey from the cradle to the grave.

Conditions in the Henryetta Coalfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert the following resolution passed by the members of Local 3061 and Local 2442 of the United Mine Workers of America, District 21. This resolution was passed in connection with the very serious condition of the coal industry in Oklahoma. This is a matter on which the Special Subcommittee on Coal Research of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs expects to submit a full report in the next few weeks, and a matter on which early congressional action is urgently needed.

The resolution follows:

Whereas the members of Local 3061 and Local 2442 of the United Mine Workers of America, District 21, are faced with what is probably the most serious economic condition the Henryetta coalfield has ever experienced, wherein the activities in coal production has dwindled from some 35 producing mines some few years back, to 1 remaining mine, and wherein the remaining miners who look to that mine for employment, are only able to work a very few days out of the year; and

Whereas we have recently noted that the Congress of the United States has recognized our plight, along with other areas in the coalfields, and have sent an investigating committee, headed by our own Congressman, Hon. ED EDMONDSON, to Henryetta, to see what the Federal Government can do to assist us. We believe that the time has come for united action of our members, through our district and national officers, to follow up the results of this investigation, to the end that something be done to give us an opportunity to work and earn our living; and

Whereas there has recently been reorganized within the Henryette area, an organization known as the Henryetta Coal Research Foundation, which organization is dedicated to improve the economic circumstances of a depressed industry and to help all of the miners dependent on coal mining for their living. We believe this organization should receive our wholehearted support, and we do not overlook at this time our good State senators and representatives, who have recently authored a resolution, through the house and senate of our State legislature, asking the Federal Government to come to the aid of a dying coal industry within the State of Oklahoma: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That our district president, Brother Dave Fowler, who so ably represented us in his testimony before the Edmondson investigating committee hearings, held in Henryetta on March 9, be encouraged to bring our problem to the attention of our national president, Brother John L. Lewis, so that he may be properly advised of our situation, and be able to use his good and effective efforts to assist us in our time of great need and that we may have his help and guidance; be it further

Resolved, That the brothers of Local 3061 and Local 2442 of the United Mine Workers of America, District 21, go on record now as pledging their support to the Federal and State legislators, the Henryetta Coal Research Foundation, and all other groups or individuals who are trying to help our cause, and that we will do all within our power to cooperate with their efforts, and merit their aid and assistance.

BURKE B. PERRY,
President, Local Union 3061, UMWA.
JAMES BELL,
President, Local Union 2442, UMWA.
JOHN VANMETER,
Secretary, 3061.
W. M. SMITH.
Secretary, 2442.

The Suez Canal Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, the Minneapolis Tribune recently published a letter written by Mr. and Mrs. Ronald C. McLaughlin, 9400 Cedar Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn., expressing their deep convictions on the Suez Canal situation, world peace, and order. I think the Members of Congress and readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will find it interesting.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask permission to have the letter inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The letter follows:

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 3, 1957.*
Hon. ROY WIER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WIER: Yesterday the Minneapolis Tribune published my letter on the subject of Suez. Because this is a matter on which my wife and I have deep convictions, as affecting our whole struggle toward world peace and order, we would like you to see this letter:

"Your lead editorial on Saturday, March 23, proposed in our bargaining with President Nasser, of Egypt, a greater emphasis on the "weapon" of bypassing the Suez Canal with pipelines and supertankers. The logical assumption is, of course, that the threatened economic squeeze would bring Nasser to terms.

"Inherent in this suggestion, however, is a tacit recognition of Egypt's claim that the Suez Canal, being solely within Egyptian territory, is also solely within Egypt's sovereign authority to control or bargain as she sees fit.

"I do not believe that we should aid and abet Egypt in this claim. I believe that the world has progressed too far to return to such a limited concept. Because it was man made does not detract from the fact that the Suez Canal has become as much a part of the commerce of the world and the fabric of society as the Strait of Gibraltar or the South China Sea. It should be our claim that mankind should be as free to sail between Africa and Asia as between any other two continents. It should be our claim that, while Egypt is entitled to the productivity of the Suez Canal to help feed and clothe her people, the right to grant or deny passage is not hers, but belongs to mankind.

"Perhaps it is for this very purpose that you would forge the aforementioned weapon. Yet I have doubts about the strategy. Under military pressure, President Nasser became desperate and blocked the canal for months. What reason is there to believe that economic pressure would make him any less desperate? We have the power, and perhaps the legal right, to contribute to an even lower standard of living for Egypt's millions by drying up this source of revenue. We can even say to them, 'It is not our fault, but that of your intransigent President Nasser.' Yet in the view of the Almighty and in the eyes of mankind, where is our moral right to such action? And what would be our gain? With every man who becomes desperate anywhere in the world the future security of America (of any nation) becomes ever so slightly more precarious.

"What then is the alternative? I suggest the promulgation of a great principle—that the use of all international waterways should be controlled, not by nations, but by mankind. I suggest the establishment of some kind of International Waterways Authority, in or under the United Nations. It should have power to guarantee free passage to any vessel bent on peaceful purposes. It, with perhaps the review authority of the International Court of Justice, should have the right to determine what waterways are international, and hence under its jurisdiction. It should provide for the maintenance of manmade and/or man-maintained waterways, and determine a just distribution of the proceeds, with full consideration of the rights of the owner nations.

"I doubt whether President Nasser could reject such a principle, provided it applied, as it must, to be a principle, to all alike: To Suez, to Panama, to Gibraltar, to Malacca, to the Dardanelles, and to Kattegat, to the Kiel, the Rhine, and the Danube, and the rest.

"There may be some who would have misgivings about the wisdom of relinquishing control of the Panama Canal, fearing that we might be losing too many American assets and rights. If we believe, as I do, that no nation is any longer sufficient unto itself, then we must measure assets in relation to how we are building world community. And as for rights, the very thought of bypassing the Suez Canal is an admission that we could be forced to relinquish the right of passage through any nationally controlled waterway. I believe it is high time we start living up to our responsibilities, as well as asserting our rights. Instead of feeding men's desperation, we can start feeding their hopes. It is just possible that thereby we might create a world in which our own and our children's lives and aspirations might find fulfillment."

Sincerely yours,
RONALD C. MCLAUGHLIN.

Indispensable Item in the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert the following editorial which appeared in the April 4 issue of the Los Angeles Times. In view of my introduction of H. R. 6575, which proposes the repeal of the upper Colorado River project, I desire to give an opportunity to all the Members of this body to read this editorial by Mr. Raymond Moley:

INDISPENSABLE ITEM IN THE BUDGET
(By Raymond Moley)

In the President's sharp criticism of the efforts of Congress to cut his budget, he seemed to say that programs once established are untouchable.

This ignores the fact that under his administration a number of commissions and committees have been appointed to review such programs. The most notable of these was the second Hoover Commission, which submitted its report in June 1955.

A major item in that report was its analysis and recommendations concerning water resources and power. The engineer who was employed by the Hoover task force on that subject was Charles D. Curran. Last month, in a comprehensive review of the Federal programs on water resources, Curran pointed out that after 19 months not a single recommendation of the Commission or the task force in the field had been adopted, either by the administration or by Congress.

Meanwhile, the President's own Cabinet advisory committee on water resources policy, established for the express purpose of reviewing the recommendations of the Hoover report, has made several very constructive recommendations. That committee, too, has been ignored.

Are we still to regard as fatuous all those who suggest that occasionally the administration should stop, look, and listen?

Even the specifications of some of the authorizations of programs have been ignored, and despite that, the President's budget calls for full steam ahead.

Consider, for example, the gigantic upper Colorado River storage project which was jammed through last year by the White House.

The bill that was passed was obviously a half-baked affair, because many of the items in the project had not been investigated. The bill provided that a thorough financial analysis should be made before work should start. No such analysis has been made, although the increased cost of interest and of materials obviously would now knock the roof off any past estimate.

The largest single item in the upper Colorado project is the proposed Glen Canyon Dam. The argument for this was that it is essential for the storage of water. However, the conditions in the Colorado River indicate quite clearly that storage capacity is not needed at all. It should be noted that the Glen Canyon Dam would be largely a duplication of the Hoover Dam and reservoir downstream. But Lake Mead, the storage reservoir above Hoover Dam, is now about one-third full. In fact, it offers unused storage capacity for all time to come. And if Glen Canyon is built, Lake Mead will never have a full supply of water.

There have always been engineering doubts about the Glen Canyon Dam project. For a long time the walls of the canyon were of questionable strength to hold a 700-foot

dam. Apparently the Bureau of Reclamation satisfied itself that it would be safe. But the present plans call for a dam of much less massive proportions than the Hoover Dam, which raises serious question whether it could hold a full load of water.

But the real purpose of the Glen Canyon Dam was to be the development of hydroelectric power. This in turn, was to provide revenues with which to pay for several irrigation projects. The cost of irrigating the land in question would be vastly more than the production of the land would justify. The cost of irrigating this land has been variously estimated, but the conservative figure placed upon it by Curran is $1,500 per acre.

Meanwhile, the valley of the Colorado is producing enough uranium to provide ultimately many times the amount of energy that is needed in the region. This suggests that Glen Canyon may be a $500 million monument to the foibles and fallacies of politics.

But an "indispensable" item in the 1958 budget is $25 million for construction on the upper Colorado project.

Coverage of Nixon Trip

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following from the Washington, D. C., Evening Star of April 4, 1957:

COVERAGE OF NIXON TRIP—JOURNEY STAMPED AS UNITED STATES PROJECT, PRESS TRAVELED AT FIRE-SALE PRICE

(By Doris Fleeson)

The story of how the State Department achieved full coverage for Vice President NIXON'S long African journey with special attention to the American Negro press has now begun to appear. Like so much else, it all boils down to the economic factor.

What the Department did was to order the journey, press included, stamped an intergovernmental agency project. It could then offer it via the tax-supported Military Air Transport Service at fire-sale prices which were less than one-half the estimates furnished State by the commercial airlines.

State helped out in other ways. It cut the per person cost by assigning six members of the United States Information Agency to the press plane and a departmental press officer. This officer was in addition to NIXON'S personal press spokesman, Bill Henry, who took leave from his Los Angeles Times column and radio work to make the trip. State allowed two Negro publishers to include their wives at the bargain rate.

In its own announcement that the trip would be by MATS, State asserted that no commercial airline could enter part of the area NIXON proposed to cover. This is flatly contradicted by Trans World Airlines which wanted to charter the press plane and gave State estimates on it.

In the end 32 passengers and at times 34 occupied the press plane. For their 18,000-mile, 22-day trip they have State's promise that they will be billed not more than $1,000 each.

The party included, besides Government employees, 9 Negroes accredited to Negro publications and 17 reporters and photographers from the press associations, major broadcasting and news chains, and news magazines.

This 17 was a typical national news story group, and most of them, if not all, would have made the trip without regard to cost. Indeed, NIXON was a special news responsibility at the time because the President was ailing with his cough and cold.

In discussions of how the party was put together, the State Department officials who did the actual work differ. One says they had trouble up to the last minute getting people to go even at the cut rate. Another says the plane filled rapidly and had to be limited on a first-come, first-served basis.

State denies it solicited the Negro press, insisting that the large proportion resulted from the fact that the Vice President would visit the newly created free Negro State of Ghana. Most of this group came from out of town, and State officials admit they did some long-distance telephoning to reach them.

At the same time, no general word reached the press corps here or its prominent members that State had arranged such an attractive travel bargain. For so long a journey the cost is an important factor for many correspondents who would otherwise be tempted.

The Defense Department's ready cooperation in the Nixon enterprise represents a reversal of the rules laid down by Secretary Charles E. Wilson when he first took office. Neither MATS nor the services, he ordered, could take reporters overseas on routes covered by commercial airlines.

The intergovernmental agency gimmick last got general attention a few years ago when the late Harold Talbott, then Secretary of the Air Force, put that imprimateur on a long journey by a moral rearmament group. It was, like the Nixon press, then enabled to travel MATS at greatly reduced cost. The fact became public, as most things do here, and Talbott was much criticized for special favoritism to one religious group.

The political dividends to the Vice President from the full coverage of his African trip, especially by the Negro press, are obvious. Nixon expects to be the GOP candidate in 1960, and he has been for some time shooting for the crucial minorities in the pivotal States where elections are won and lost.

He has yet, however, as has the President, to make a similar handshaking tour of the American South where the Negro segregation issue is boiling.

Instead he met and charmed the Reverend Martin Luther King, hero of the Birmingham, Ala., bus boycott, in Ghana, where King was an honored guest. King complained in advance of meeting the Vice President that he had repeatedly written him but had had no reply. Afterward King expressed himself as pleased with NIXON'S attitudes.

Members of Congress have long since ceased to be surprised by anything Secretary of State John Foster Dulles chooses to do. They will put down State's helpful activities in the Nixon trip to just one more political act by an intensely political Secretary of State.

New President of Wilkes-Barre Rotary Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of April 3, 1957, commenting on the election of Donald E. Davis to be the next president of the Rotary Club of Wilkes-Barre:

The new president of Wilkes-Barre Rotary Club, Donald E. Davis, who was formally elected yesterday and takes office in July, is one of Greater Wilkes-Barre's up and coming young businessmen.

In the 14 years since his graduation from Lafayette, he has become a familiar figure for his civic activities as well as his executive post with the R. A. Davis Coal Co.

Willing and able, he has served his apprenticeship with the junior chamber of commerce and recently has been branching out into such important spheres as the United Fund and the YMCA. His church, Shavertown Methodist, has paid him the compliment of electing him a trustee and member of the official board.

It is reassuring to see the generation Mr. Davis represents take on added responsibility in the community. The presidency of Rotary is impressive recognition.

Soviet Submarine Fleet Is Watched

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, International News Service on March 23 carried an article which should hold keen interest to all of us concerned with our military security. Accordingly, I should like to insert in the RECORD this news story as it appeared in the Daily Oklahoman for Friday, March 29, 1957:

SOVIET SUBMARINE FLEET IS WATCHED

PARIS, March 28.—NATO military leaders consider the Soviet submarine fleet more ominous than any other single aspect of the massive Russian buildup of arms.

Gen. Lauris Norstad's European Command headquarters estimates that the Soviets already have 500 submarines in commission and are building more at a rapid rate.

In addition, the Soviets now are turning out mother ships that could enable the submarines to stay out in the open seas for indefinite periods by resupplying them far from home ports.

The big question in the minds of SHAPE leaders is, Why does Russia or any other nation need so many submarines, if it is devoting its main effort toward defense? The submarine is primarily an offensive, not defensive, weapon.

An important SHAPE officer said he hopes the western diplomats now talking about disarmament with the Russians in London will ask some pertinent questions about the submarines. He said:

"I hope the Russians are asked a whole series of questions. Three that I would suggest are:

"1. Why do you need 500 submarines?

"2. Why are you still building more at a rapid rate?

"3. What do you intend to do with them?"

He said he thought the questions urgent because, "to my mind, the submarine situation is the most frightening aspect of the overall problem."

The free-world alliance which spans both the Atlantic and Pacific is vulnerable to terribly damaging blows on the open seas, while Russia, China, and the Communist satellites are cozy inside the great Eurasian heartland.

Vice Adm. Charles R. Brown, of the United States Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, emphasized the threat of the Soviet submarine fleet to the free world when he said:

"If the lifelines of the Atlantic are cut, it is not a question of how long the Sixth Fleet can stay in the Mediterranean; it is a question of how long this oceanic confederation we call the free world can survive."

He also pointed out that Germany started World War II with 57 submarines, far less than the Soviets have today, and almost knocked us out.

Separate but Equal School Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, on May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision setting aside many prior decisions and declared, in effect, that the States no longer would be permitted, as guaranteed to them under the Constitution, to conduct their own internal affairs. They outlawed the separate but equal school doctrine. This decision has done much to cause strife, animosities, and disrupt racial relations throughout the Southland and indeed in many other sections of our Nation.

In an endeavor to acquaint the people with what was happening to them and to bring forcefully home to the people the fact that the Federal judiciary was usurping powers and authority never delegated or conferred upon them by the people or the States, there was formed in Virginia an association known as the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. The association was created to defend the principles of the Constitution of the United States in the spirit in which it was written and to protect the rights of the several States from the encroaching powers of the Federal Government.

This organization was chartered in Virginia on October 26, 1954. In forming this organization, a statement of purpose was adopted, which reads:

We believe—

That the Constitution establishing a Republic of the several States of America gave certain enumerated powers to the Federal Government and expressly reserved the remainder of the powers to the several States;

That the clauses delegating authority to the Federal Government should be strictly construed, and always against the extension of Federal powers, and in favor of the States which compose this Union;

That each State can best protect the rights and provide for the well-being of the citizens within its jurisdiction;

That government of one or several of the individual States by the whole is contra to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States of America;

That private enterprise by free individuals is the cornerstone of our Republic;

That concentration of power is one of the greatest internal dangers facing this Nation today;

That the powers and authority of the Federal Government should be strictly separated, and that domestic legislation by decree, judicial decision, treaty, executive fiat, or administrative order is foreign to the Constitution and an encroachment on the inalienable powers and authority of the several States and the Congress of the United States of America;

That attempts to change the lawful manner, mores, and traditions of any State of these United States of America by any branch of the Federal Governemnt is an infringement of the sovereignty of the States composing this Union;

That the right to determine segregation of the races is a power reserved to the States;

That those citizens, composing this Nation, who believe in the principles cited above, are duty bound in good conscience to employ every lawful means to defend and perpetuate them, to the end that this Republic may continue and prosper.

It is one thing to have a statement of purpose and another to follow it. In the intervening almost 3 years, this organization has not deviated from its statement of principles. Its program has not pitted race against race, nor has there been any action by its officers or its members to antagonize other races. Racial integration of public schools has been the burning issue. The Defenders of State Sovereignty maintains that "the right to determine segregation of races is a power reserved to the States."

The purpose nor the record of this organization have not deviated from the desire, intent, and determination to work for the advancement of all people. Nowhere have we read or in public addresses by members of this organization have we heard inflammatory remarks about any race. On the contrary, speakers have been kind in remarks about other races, and urged them to cooperate with the defenders' program to save the Republic, by defending the sovereignty of the States and the liberties of the individuals.

On March 22 and 23, 1957, the Defenders, in a statewide convention at Richmond, Va., adopted a declaration of convictions. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to include therewith a copy of the declaration of convictions as adopted at the aforesaid convention:

DECLARATION OF CONVICTIONS

The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties in convention assembled at Richmond, Va., this the 23d day of March deem it appropriate that we should declare and affirm our convictions.

We first affirm our deep and abiding loyalty and devotion to our country and its institutions. We acknowledge the Constitution to be the bulwark of our liberties, every subject to the sovereign powers reserved by it to the States and to the people. We know that the liberties of all Americans of all races rests upon the Constitution and the division of powers ordained therein. We deem it the obligation of freemen to preserve the powers reserved under the Constitution to the States and to the people and to preserve the constitutional separation of the powers of government in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches separately.

We believe that a policy which undertakes to force the association of one race with the other against the will of either, by court decree under threat of fine or imprisonment, is destructive of mutual good will and respect, breeds resentment and animosities, and is injurious to the true interests of all the people. We believe that the molding of the minds and characters of our children is the sacred duty and the priceless natural right and obligation of parents.

Freedom of decision with respect to these considerations touching as they do the most intimate relations of the people and the most cherished natural rights and duties of parenthood is absolutely essential to the maintenance, operation, management, and control of our public schools. We conceive this freedom to be among the sacred rights retained by the people under the ninth amendment of the Federal Constitution.

Among the reserved rights and powers of the States, guaranteed to the State of Virginia under the 10th amendment, is the power to maintain racially separate public schools. We do not perceive that the exercise of this power has ever been prohibited to the States by any provision of the Federal Constitution. We believe that this power can be prohibited to the States only by the States themselves. To concede the right of a Federal court to withdraw this power from the individual States is to concede that all the rights and powers of the States and of the people are enjoyed at the sufferance of the judiciary and that the guarantees of the liberties of the people are no longer fixed in the Constitution itself. Therefore, Federal courts having refused to recognize these most fundamental, intimate, and sacred rights and the profound necessity that they be respected, Virginia has been compelled to fix its course in defense of these rights of her people. We do most solemnly commend his Excellency Gov. Thomas B. Stanley and the members of the legislature of Virginia for their patriotic devotion to the liberties of their people and for the leadership they have given the people of Virginia in this crucial time. We pledge our support of the policy implicit in the measures adopted by the General Assembly of Virginia in its special session of 1956. We declare our conviction that these policies founded as they are upon that first American tenet of liberty—that free men should not be taxed against their will and without their consent for a purpose to which they are deeply opposed—to be both sound and in the finest patriotic tradition of the Commonwealth.

We do most solemnly commend our great senior Senator from Virginia, HARRY FLOOD BYRD, for his recent clarion call for all Virginians to stand stanch and firm where Virginia has always stood in ages past in opposition to tyranny from whatever quarter it may come. We do likewise salute the entire Virginia delegation to the United States Congress and Senate, both Democratic and Republican, for the stalwart fight which even now they wage against the vicious assault upon the liberties of all Americans being made in the United States Congress through the proposed pernicious force bills, sometimes called civil rights bills, now pending before that body.

The threat to the liberties of our people is mortal. The course of Virginia has been set. The contest is for eternal values. We call upon all local legislative bodies of the counties and cities of Virginia in the sacred name of the liberties of our people to stand firm and united in support of the policy and the course which has been fixed for Virginia in this crucial hour.

We likewise call upon all people of America everywhere to unite in this time of crisis that we, in our day, may be worthy of our heritage and pass it on to future generations pure and unsullied.

We believe in the absolute and utter necessity of preserving unimpaired for all Americans the priceless right of freedom of speech and peaceful assembly, the right of an ac-

sumed to be confronted by his accusers, to presentment by grand jury and a trial by a jury of his peers presided over by a fair and impartial judge. We decry the use by the Federal judiciary of coercion, intimidation and threats of punishment to be visited upon local school boards and officers unless they refuse to recognize the lawful authority of the Virginia Pupil Placement Board and usurp and exercise pupil assignment powers which have been denied to said school boards and local officers by the duly enacted laws of the State of Virginia. We direct the attention of the entire nation to the dangers inherent in the wholesale resort to injunctive and summary contempt procedure designed to subvert and thwart the traditional constitutional and common-law methods of criminal procedure.

These measures conceived and nurtured in the cynical greed of politicians for power, are directed against the people of the South, but they hold within themselves a deadly and mortal threat to the most sacred and essential constitutional safeguards to the liberties of all Americans of all generations. We appeal to Americans everywhere to arouse themselves from their lethargy and unite with us in the condemnation of these iniquitous measures.

While the immediate issue in the great contest that is presently being waged is brought into focus for Virginia and the people of the South in the unconstitutional usurpation of power exemplified in the school segregation decision by the United States Supreme Court and the threat of fine or imprisonment of our school and State officials, and through the denial of freedom of speech and trial by jury by Federal injunctive decree, nonetheless we are deeply convinced that the sinister attack upon the fundamental liberties of Americans and upon the basic constitutional system itself, manifests itself in many other facets of our American life.

Therefore we do further declare:

(1) It is essential that those responsible for the administration of our schools should be alert, that the fundamentals of a sound education are taught to our Virginia children, including an understanding of the fundamental constitutional system under which we live, the blessings of liberty which it alone bestows, the part played by great Virginians of the past in the struggle for the establishment and preservation of these liberties.

(2) It is essential that the molding of the minds, characters, and spiritual lives of our children should remain under the control of Virginia parents. We do, therefore, urge our representatives in the Congress and the United States Senate to oppose all legislation designed directly or indirectly to repose control of our educational system in the Federal Government. We specifically condemn the wholesale expenditure of Federal funds in support of the public schools of Virginia, knowing full well that the acceptance of such support requires the submission of our schools progressively to ideologies and influences alien to our people.

(3) We oppose any effort to weaken further the immigration laws of America and the further depletion of our economic resources in the continuation of so-called aid to foreign nations. Loyalty and friendship in foreign affairs is controlled by self-interest and cannot be purchased however vast may be the outpouring of our tax revenue.

(4) We recognize that the real source of Federal power and centralization rests in the control of the Federal Government of the income and economic resources of the American people. We deplore the continued and ever-increasing burden of Federal taxation, the return of such revenue to our people being always conditioned upon a further loss of their liberties. We do, therefore, urge the people of America to demand the immediate reduction in Federal expenditures with the resulting reduction of the ever-mounting Federal revenues exacted from our people.

(5) We declare our unalterable opposition to the submission of any portion of the sovereignty of the United States of America to the control of the United Nations or the submission of the domestic affairs of the States or the rights of any citizens of the United States to the control to any extent or by any means to the United Nations or any of its agencies or to the authority of any foreign power, government, or agency whatsoever.

Wherefore, since Virginia, as so often in the past, is again in this generation the battleground upon which the struggle for the eternal liberties of America must be waged, let us not falter. Let us conduct ourselves with dignity, with self-restraint, without violence and without hatred or ill will toward any man or group of men. But withal let us conduct ourselves as worthy heirs of those who have gone before.

Alexander Wilson, American Legion Essay Contest Winner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. POLK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, a young constituent of mine, Alexander Wilson, of Chillicothe, Ohio, an 11th grade student, has written a very commendable essay entitled "Patriotism in Modern America."

Alexander is one of the winners of this year's American Legion essay contest. Under leave to extend my remarks, I herewith include this essay in the RECORD and commend it to my colleagues:

PATRIOTISM IN MODERN AMERICA

(By Alexander Wilson, of Chillicothe, Ohio)

What are the thoughts that come to men's minds as they consider patriotism? The natural sentiments are love of country, love of government, and surely love of and thankfulness for the freedom which is theirs.

Love of country denotes a strong character. If a man truly loves his country, he will pray and fight for its perpetuity with a holy fierceness that startles his oppressor. His country is something dear to him. He realizes that if he becomes lax and uninterested, he is doing his country a grave injustice. He is obligated to love and defend his country because the connection between his love for his country and its freedom are so closely related as to be almost dependent upon each other. He is dependent upon that freedom himself. Whether he realizes it or not, he depends on his fellow Americans to love and defend their Nation.

The patriotic man next considers his Government. He recognizes the importance of this strong functions unit—a unit which is a vital part of his life. He takes time to study its great governing documents, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. He familiarizes himself with its doctrines and foreign policies. By taking a keen interest, he does, in a certain sense, strengthen his Government. He is better able to defend his country, for he now understands its vital principles. He selects carefully his candidates for public and national offices, looking for traits of good leadership, honesty, and wisdom in each of his choices. In general, his Government is just as important to him as his family and friends, since it is the institution which assures protection for his loved ones.

Lastly, we come to freedom, the most important inheritance which the patriot may possess. If love of country and Government are virtues, then freedom is a man's best reward. His love of freedom is an instinct; no man wants to be dominated by a dictator, nor be forced to conform with the unscrupulous desires of greedy men. Realizing this, the patriot is determined to insure freedom for himself, his family, and his children's children. He accepts willingly and unquestioningly the perpetual fight for freedom against aggression, not only in wartime but in time of peace, by living up to the principles which make freedom possible. If we consider freedom as a reward, it will only come to us after we have done something to earn it, be that fighting a war or living as a patriotic citizen. Such is patriotism in modern America.

Industrial Uses of Agricultural Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the suggestion of Dr. John W. Headley, president of South Dakota State College, at Brookings, S. Dak., with his suggestions for achieving productive research toward increasing the industrial uses and purposes of agricultural products. Dr. Headley has a very worthwhile suggestion and I feel it merits your careful consideration. His statement follows:

To accomplish the purpose stated by the Commission on Increased Industrial Uses of Agricultural Products, expanded research, experimental, and developmental programs are needed. The objective must be to expand markets for farm products by increased uses of present production, or by creation of new products from which farmers can obtain income. How to obtain a relatively stable farm enterprise is a problem that has persisted in one form or another since colonial days. Means are being sought to place the farm enterprise on an equal footing with industrial and business activities. It appears natural to promote research, experimental, and developmental activities to solve a problem. It is customary to look to the scientific and specialized manpower to help provide answers to problems. Before advocating a special and separate program to meet the current situation, the availability of trained personnel should be considered.

The work of the Nation is being handicapped and retarded now by a shortage of scientific and specialized manpower. The shortage exists for people to serve in government, in industry, and in private and public education. The Commission faces two choices: (1) Attract into research, experimental, and developmental activities large numbers of scientists to engage in a new program, or (2) institute a plan that would utilize existing available manpower to the maximum. The first choice would eliminate or severely reduce much of the research and education now in process. An attractive new and separate program could aggravate the present shortage of manpower to the extent that research activities and educational functions would have to be abandoned or reduced to the point of very low return and service. Colleges and universities could not continue

at their present level. The second choice, if adopted, would give recognition to the crucial scientific manpower shortage. It could recognize the strengths now inherent in the present system of research and education and prevent abandonment or reduction of their services. A program could be developed that would serve as an incentive to greater numbers of people to enter careers in research and education. It is apparent that the numbers of young people prepared for research, administration, and teaching should be increased. No shortcut to increase availability of high quality personnel is known. Preparation is a long and exacting process. The immediate need for action on farm problems should not be allowed to destroy the system of education and research at its base, the college and university campus.

Various commodity groups have attempted to solve their surplus problems by encouraging increased uses for their particular commodities. Since the capacity of the individual to consume food is limited, the results have most often been detrimental to the demand for some other food commodity. When more of one commodity is consumed, the tendency is to use less of another, creating another surplus. Low income consumers could use more of some products if purchasing power were available. Even this source for increased consumption has its limits and could not offer a permanent solution to the farm surplus problem.

Because of the gravity of the farm situation and the importance of agriculture to the American economy, a nationwide approach to the problems is warranted. The shortage of scientific manpower would prove undoubtedly to be a limiting factor in the success of any new program. A system should be devised that would expand the activities of qualified workers over their present level of production and encourage large numbers to remain in their present occupations. One way to accomplish this end would be to stimulate additional work by the adoption of a recognition and monetary award system to employed workers. Some persons who have been retired might be attracted into such a program. This could be a "crash" program of research and development. It could be instituted without severely disturbing the existing necessary functions of research and education in colleges and universities.

Incentives to more pointed and greater effort are common. The American professional worker responds to a stimulus of this kind. Hope for reward through special recognition and monetary inducements are usually productive of greater effort and acceptable results. Some might consider acceptance of an incentive system as unbecoming to a professional employee. Actually, few ever work so hard that they could not increase their efforts under appropriate stimulation. Few ever reach their capacities for creative effort until they are faced with an impelling reason for doing so. This country has seldom engaged in programs of research which have been carried at a level that utilized the full potential of scientists. An incentive system, properly conceived, might accomplish that objective.

Simply because too much wheat and too much corn are grown are not reasons for believing that this is necessary. Finding new sources of income for farmers to substitute for these commodities is worth trying. Products exist, and others might be created through research, that could serve as substantial contributors to farm income. New uses for depressing byproducts of production can be discovered. This reasoning could be applied to all products now in surplus.

The program proposal below is based on recognition of an existing and continuing future shortage of personnel for scientific pursuits. The steps can be worked out and varied for differing situations. An outline of the proposal follows:

1. Organize a nationwide research program around the existing land-grant college experiment station framework. Land-grant colleges could serve as area centers to institute research programs in which professional staff, graduate students, retired workers, and the facilities of the institution would be used. Further, the land-grant college would be charged with the responsibility for stimulating programs of research and development among businesses, industries, and competent individuals living within the area.

(c) Grants could be made to these institutions for the special activities that promise to provide solutions. The grants could include provisions for equipment, incentive pay, recognition awards, and employment of personnel.

(b) Provision could be made to obtain coordination among the experiment stations. Teams of workers for specific problems could be established in this manner.

2. Initiate a special incentive system that would be applied nationwide. This could include special recognitions and substantial monetary rewards, in addition to regular salaries, to successful and deserving workers at all levels. The intent would be to encourage special concentrated effort.

3. The administration of such a program could be worked out with special adaptations for the emergency nature of the program as an adjunct to the present experiment-station program at both the State and National levels. Considerable flexibility should be provided, and even encouraged, to make the most of all resources.

4. The engineering staffs and the engineering experiment stations could be integrated into the broad program of research and development proposed above. These would be added resources to the present agricultural experiment station activities.

5. Industrial firms with competent personnel in each State area could be drawn into the setup.

6. Some additional special personnel for supervision, development, and administration would be required, but the numbers would be fewer than demanded by a separate new organization, since some existing personnel would serve in more than one capacity.

7. The program could be established on an experimental basis for a limited period. The amount of money required would be relatively small compared to the amounts now expended in futile efforts to solve the problems of agriculture.

It must be remembered that experiment stations have never had enough money to realize their full potential. A program such as one described above should promise results. This would alleviate the dangers of loss to basic research and education, almost certain to occur with a special, separate agency. Coordination of the efforts of everyone interested should result in efficiency of operation and utilization of both human and physical resources.

The problem of how to stabilize the agricultural industry at a level that will make farming profitable in relation to the total economy is considered one of the most important problems of our time. We believe that an attack organized in the manner proposed above is promising. We would be pleased to supply additional detail describing proposed operations.

Tax Relief to Small-Business Enterprises Seems Imperative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a letter from Link Manufacturing Co., of Fargo, N. Dak., that, to me, sets forth a case where relief in taxes to small-business enterprises will do more than can be done in any other way to resuscitate the life of small independent concerns, not only in North Dakota, but all over the country.

Here follows the letter:

LINK MANUFACTURING CO., INC.,
Fargo, N. Dak., March 27, 1957.

Congressman USHER BURDICK,
United States Congress,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: We feel obliged to write you on our considerable concern with respect to two features of legislation on which we would like to express our views.

We operate a small manufacturing business dealing exclusively in products for grain handling purchased by the farmers of the United States and some foreign countries. The continuing spiral of increasing prices for those materials necessary to our operation and the subsequent decreasing of the revenue of those who buy our products has become a serious problem. We are obliged to advance prices from time to time with increasing freight rates and raw material costs, most of which is created by the demands of organized labor for a continuing increase for their share of the gross national product. With each increase demanded, we find a resistance developing within our trade.

It would appear to us that there is no attempt being made in the major industries nor in Government to create efficiencies and institute economies by which this price spiral can be stopped.

We, therefore, present to you our feeling and express the hope that you will lend every consideration to the implementation of legislation that can in some manner bring into being a greater stability and a reduction in the continuing spiral of raw material increases. To this end we are gravely concerned over the expenditures of the Federal Government. We will not need to recite the myriad incidences of governmental incursion into more and more control and activity that is more properly the field of local government. We are not prepared to take your time to recite any personal observations of governmental efficiency and economy. We do feel that if economy is to be started under a budget system that those in Congress could very well demand an overall minimum reduction in the expenditures of every department of 5 percent with reduction in many far greater than this demanded minimum. It is time that public-spending bodies were made conscious of the need for greater economy and reduced distribution of public money.

As our business is dependent on the purchasing power of the farm trade, and the vagaries of agricultural revenue, we have never been sufficiently strong to demand prices allowing us to create reserves to do many of the things that we would like to do by which

we could serve agriculture better. We need new plant facilities, but every dollar of profit that we are able to create is taxed so heavily that it takes the net profit each year to care for the inflated value of the inventory that we must carry. We feel that Congress has, for many years, made a pronouncement of its desire to help small business, but very little effective legislation seems to be forthcoming.

The large businesses which have been established in this country were mostly built in the days before the excessive taxation that is now effective. They were able to accumulate reserves permitting expansion and development that is not possible for a small business today. In other words, the rules have been changed, and we who aspire and have products to serve agriculture must spend a lifetime in building sufficient to consider the expansion that we should be allowed to have during the more active days of our life.

We advocate, through you, that if the taxation base was changed for all business so that the first $10,000 of profit would be nontaxable, and the next $15,000 taxable at 10 percent, and the next $25,000 taxable at the, say, 32 percent, that the same revenue as now obtained from business profits would result, but it would give a tremendous lift of energy to small business. Under such a plan there would be no distinction between small and large business as to taxation, as large business would obtain the same benefits in the first brackets as would small business. We think that such legislation would strengthen the industrial structure of this Nation and reduce difficulties and problems that now plague smaller business institutions.

There might, of course, be some restrictions as to a minimum of invested capital of, say, $50,000, to classify for such taxation exemptions. The details we would not propose to advise, but the general principle of allowing small business a little more space in which to operate for greater security and expansion would, we feel, do more to stabilize the economy than any other factor a government might legislate.

We cannot express to you too emphatically our dissatisfaction with the excessive budget now before Congress and the lack of any concrete substantial consideration to the stringent and serious difficulties faced in continued operation by small-business enterprise.

We present these thoughts to you and trust that you will give some consideration to them in the disposition of decisions that may later be yours to make.

Yours very truly,

C. H. PUCKERING,
President.

Federal-Aid Payments and Internal-Revenue Collections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I place in the RECORD a tabulation of Federal-aid payments and internal-revenue collections for the fiscal year 1956. The percentage relationship between the two columns, State by State, may throw light on reasons behind some of the votes cast in the rollcalls relating to H. R. 6287 on Thursday, April 4.

FEDERAL-AID PAYMENTS ABOVE $5 BILLION MARK

The annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury discloses that during fiscal year 1956 Federal grants to State and local units under 54 programs totaled $3.46 billion. An additional $1.69 billion went for Federal-aid payments under 41 programs to individuals, institutions, etc., within the States.

Large as these payments total, they constitute only a small percentage of the huge amounts of internal-revenue collections in most States. Here is a comparison, broken down by States, for fiscal year 1956, in millions of dollars:

	Aid payments	Internal revenue collections
Arizona	$43	$185
California	432	6,008
Colorado	80	782
Connecticut	47	1,290
Delaware	12	838
Florida	111	891
Idaho	36	120
Illinois	213	6,098
Indiana	88	1,675
Iowa	88	572
Kansas	77	520
Kentucky	100	1,440
Maine	31	180
Maryland	60	1,859
Massachusetts	136	1,973
Michigan	157	7,156
Minnesota	102	1,182
Missouri	175	1,818
Nebraska	56	423
New Hampshire	19	136
New Jersey	86	2,191
New York	349	14,316
North Carolina	126	1,663
North Dakota	33	69
Ohio	170	4,759
Oklahoma	128	703
Oregon	71	498
Pennsylvania	231	5,464
South Dakota	36	79
Tennessee	116	566
Texas	291	2,407
Utah	44	176
Vermont	17	73
Virginia	88	1,182
Washington	99	848
West Virginia	63	312
Wisconsin	90	1,350
Wyoming	32	59

The Hoover Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. POLK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, under permission heretofore granted, I insert in the RECORD a resolution I received from Mr. Albert G. Schmerge, president of the Owensville Kiwanis Club, of Owensville, Ohio, in support of the Hoover Report.

I commend this resolution to the attention of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle:

RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE HOOVER REPORT

Whereas the Owensville Kiwanis Club believes it to be the civic duty of all citizens and organizations like this to take an active interest in the conduct of government and to make known their views on matters of government to responsible officials so their representative government may more truly represent them; and

Whereas having heard the reports of the bipartisan second Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch (the Hoover Commission reports) discussed, we do feel that these reports offer a blueprint for reducing the cost of our Federal Government without impairing its necessary functions and services and strengthening the basic structure of our way of life and preserving its benefits for future generations; and

Whereas, with bipartisan support, action has already been taken on some of the recommendations of the Commission by the administration and the Congress, but many of the most important recommendations still await action: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Owensville Kiwanis Club commends the Administration and the Congress for the action already taken on the Hoover Report; and be it

Resolved, That we urge them to continue and accelerate, on a bipartisan basis, attention to the recommendations still awaiting action; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States; United States Senators JOHN W. BRICKER and FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Congressman JAMES G. POLK; the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report (777 14th Street NW., Washington, D. C.); and members of the press serving this area; and, be it further

Resolved, That Congressman POLK be requested to call the attention of his colleagues in Congress to this resolution by inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and that editors of the press in this area be asked to call it to the attention of our fellow citizens through the pages of their newspapers.

Passed this 1st day of April 1957 at Owensville, Ohio.

ALBERT G. SCHMERGE,
President.
TOM M. DAVIS,
Secretary.

More Aid, Not Less, Is to Our Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Louisville Courier-Journal dated March 10, 1957, on our foreign-aid problem.

The editorial follows:

MORE AID, NOT LESS, IS TO OUR INTEREST—BUT WE NEED A BOLD NEW PROGRAM TO GIVE OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE ITS FULL EFFECT HERE AND ABROAD

We have been deluged of late with reports on foreign aid by committees of competent and respected men. There was one authorized by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, one by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, and a third by a committee appointed directly by President Eisenhower and headed by steel magnate Benjamin Fairless and labor magnate John L. Lewis.

All have considered the state of the world and of the United States Treasury. All have arrived at the same conclusion that this country must continue a program of foreign aid for an indefinite number of years.

All have shared a quality this newspaper deplores—a tone of apology and defense in talking of future spending abroad. Not one has hit the dynamic note of a program that would stimulate the American economy and

strengthen the American position in the cold war that sweeps the world.

The trouble is that foreign aid has become the favorite target of the political budget cutters. They gaze upon it with beady eyes, not because it has failed, but because it is not supported by a large group of people who benefit directly from its bounty and who also vote in American elections. Any program in our domestic budget has such determined and vocal friends. Not so foreign aid, despite what it has meant to American farmers and manufacturers since the war.

A BLUEPRINT AVAILABLE

The United States Chamber of Commerce made a recent survey of businessmen's attitudes on foreign aid. Not surprisingly, a large majority of them thought it ought to be cut. But when asked to guess the present cost of the program, about three-fourths of them chose much too high a figure. The favorite guess was $10 billion a year. That is twice the actual amount for military and economic aid.

This paper believes the United States should spend somewhat more money for foreign economic aid in the next few years, not less. But we believe it should only be spent according to a new and bold pattern. There is too much waste in the present grudging, frittering, year-by-year spending into which we have fallen since the end of the Marshall plan.

What we need is an entirely new Marshall plan, designated for the conditions of today, not of 1947.

A blueprint of such a program is to be found in a little book by two professors at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Max F. Millikan and W. W. Rostow. It is called A Proposal—Key to an Effective Foreign Policy, and Harper publishes it. It should be required reading for anybody who wants to think or talk intelligently about foreign aid.

Millikan and Rostow go on the sound assumption that the underdeveloped areas of the world are going to be developed in the next decade or two, by some agency and in some direction. We are in the midst of a revolution of rising expectation. The only question is whether these countries, mainly in Asia and Africa, will develop along lines hostile to the West and Western tradition. Such a result would present our country with a very grave set of problems. More than half of the world's people, and a heavy proportion of its strategic materials, lie in this area.

They state the simple truth that "the goals, aspirations, and values of the American people are in large part the same as those of people in other countries." Our ultimate national interest is a world made up of free democratic societies.

A STRICTLY NEGATIVE APPROACH

We have never succeeded in getting this thought across to millions of the uncommitted peoples. One reason is that we have talked almost exclusively in terms of combatting communism. This approach has two big faults, especially in Asia and Africa. One is that it is purely negative, a crusade against something rather than for something. The other is that people who live on the thin rim of starvation feel much less interest in political theory than in the question of food and shelter for themselves and their children. The Communists have too often succeeded in identifying themselves with these burning belly issues. We have passed along in the guise of a rather disdainful Lady Bountiful, willing to give help but wanting to exact a promise that those who take it will be good little boys according to our American standards.

The MIT professors have spent 5 years working up their plan. Here are its main elements, boiled down to the simplest essence:

A new worldwide program of aid to underdeveloped nations; a program based entirely on economic needs, without military or political considerations; a budget of three and a half billions a year (about two billions from American Government sources) over a period of at least 5 years; the establishment of a board of international experts capable of judging the projects submitted by the various nations seeking aid; the granting of loans only where the money "could be effectively used and the loans repaid within a reasonable time"; a provision for direct grants, but only where the economy of the nation aided could not sustain payment of a loan, and where the project would build a stronger future economy; a total absence of any political strings—"such strings yield satellites, not partners."

A group of expert technicians would have to help in both the planning and administration of projects in the most backward states, which lack technical resources of all kinds. States such as India, with some technical competence but a howling need for capital, could mainly administer their own projects.

There would of course be difficulty in getting such a program launched, even with enthusiastic American leadership. The fact that a quarter of a billion dollars a year of the program's cost could be covered by surplus farm commodities would help to sweeten the political kitty. All the same, there would be arguments as to whether the program should be administered by the United Nations, by the World Bank, or by some new agency set up for the purpose.

As to our ability to finance our portion of such a scheme, there can be no serious question. We are now spending about two billions a year on nonmilitary foreign aid, but a billion and a half of this is going to such weak countries as Formosa, South Korea, and Vietnam as an addition to our military support.

The new program could combine the best features of point 4, of the Colombo plan, and of the Marshall plan. It would require two new and important elements: An act of broad and bold imagination and a determination to commit some $10 billion to be spent over a period of 5 years (the Marshall plan was laid out as a 4-year program, and it ended that way). The MIT authors say it will need "the same kind of concentration of first-class minds on a specific problem that has produced one breakthrough after another in military technology."

TO MAKE SPENDING EFFECTIVE

We might as well face facts. The United States is going to go on buying straight military support for the anti-Communist cause. It is also going to spend some money to bolster the economy of nations outside the Iron Curtain. The question is not really how much we are going to spend, within reasonable limits, but how effectively we are going to spend it.

A new look program would not cost us much more than we are now spending in a piecemeal and grudging way. It would help us to develop new markets abroad, to grow as the future grows. It would strengthen our position as the enemies of human want and suffering, not simply the enemies of a Communist philosophy that means nothing to many millions of people. It would give us back our historic role of the defenders of freedom instead of our seeming to be, as we are now, the defenders of the status quo.

And as a final touch, in the words of the MIT economists, "we need the challenge of world development to keep us from the stagnation of smug prosperity."

The committees already exist who have made a study of our past and present aid programs. Why not put them to work at once to develop a future aid program of a new order that will help us as well as the people we are trying to aid?

Two Choices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith portions of an editorial which appeared in the San Juan Mission News, on Friday, March 15, 1957, regarding the proposed partnership plan for the development of the Trinity River.

After referring to a previous editorial endorsing the partnership proposal, the editor of the San Juan Mission News continues:

TWO CHOICES

This newspaper wasn't the only one in California to come out emphatically in favor of the P. G. & E.'s partnership plan. We know of 17 newspapers thus far that have favored private enterprise's plan versus Government ownership. The 17 include the Call-Bulletin, the Manteca Bulletin, Oakland Tribune, Los Angeles Times, Petaluma Argus-Courier, Chico Enterprise Record, San Francisco Chronicle, Sacrament Union, San Rafael Independent-Journal, Oroville Mercury, Bakersfield Californian, Grass Valley Union, Redwood City Tribune, Marysville Appeal-Democrat, and the Redwood City Star-Advertiser.

To this newspaper, the issue is very clear and simple.

It is a case of two choices:

No. 1: The United States Government could build the power facilities and sell the electricity, to a few favored customers at tax-subsidized rates. All other taxpayers would pay for what the privileged few would save by getting Federal power at the subsidized rates.

No. 2: The cooperative offer by P. G. & E. would be to have the company pay full value for the falling water; to build and pay for the power facilities; to pay taxes on them and their operation, and to market the power at State-regulated rates over the company's system which now serves 6 million Californians.

To us, the No. 2 plan, already approved by Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton, makes complete sense.

Remember this: There is no magic or secret way by which Government can furnish goods or services at cheaper rates than private enterprise.

The magic touch can only be provided by Government using its powers to subsidize the few who directly benefit by shifting the costs to all the taxpayers.

This is socialism and nationalization. No private business can compete successfully against a Government agency which has tax exemption and access to the purse and police powers of Government.

And besides this important issue, look at the money angle: The P. G. & E.'s offer would provide $310 million in benefits to the public which would be lost otherwise.

Isn't that important?

Here's how it would be saved:

During the repayment period, there would be a net gain of $165 million from revenue of the project, plus $145 million paid by the company in Federal, State, and local taxes, a total of $310 million.

Also, if the company built the power facilities, the Government would save $56 million immediately, because company money would be used, not taxpayers' money.

Out of the $145 million in taxes during the repayment period of the Trinity project, the United States Government would receive $83

million in taxes from the company. The State and local governments would receive $93 million.

Thus, instead of being a tax burden, the project would be a taxpaying enterprise.

United States Budget Aid Endorses Joint San Luis Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to congratulate our colleague from the 12th District of California, Mr. SISK, on his bill, H. R. 6035, which would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct the San Luis unit of the Central Valley project, and to enter into an agreement with the State of California with respect to its construction, operation, and maintenance.

Mr. SISK's bill was prepared after a series of conferences with the State engineer of California, officials of the United States Bureau of Reclamation, and the local interests. It provides for a Federal-State partnership in the utilization of a portion of some 7,500,000 acre-feet of fresh water which now waste to the ocean in California every year.

This water could be used to irrigate urgently needed 500,000 acres of highly productive lands in California's rich San Joaquin Valley, and to enable the State to serve areas of deficiency outside the San Luis unit service area. To transport this water to the San Luis Reservoir, Mr. SISK's bill contemplates the use of the existing Tracy pumping plant, the Delta-Mendota Canal, and other Central Valley project facilities.

The San Luis project is needed urgently now if a most important agricultural region on the west side of California's vast Central Valley is to survive and if the critical needs of other water-deficient areas in the State are to be alleviated.

The Bureau of Reclamation recently reported that the ground-water bank account in the San Luis unit area is being drawn upon at the rate of over 1 million acre-feet per year and is only being recharged at a rate of 210,000 annually. It is, therefore, not surprising that the ground-water table is dropping at the alarming rate of over 25 feet per year.

Mr. SISK's proposal embodies a most efficient use of the San Luis project for service to these lands and for its joint use by California in connection with the State's admirable efforts to do all it can in the solution of its critical water problems.

I was happy to note in an article in the Fresno Bee for March 22, 1957, that Robert Merriam, Assistant Director of the Bureau of the Budget, endorsed Mr. SISK's general approach to the authorization of the San Luis project in California. The article follows:

UNITED STATES BUDGET AID ENDORSES JOINT SAN LUIS PROJECT

(By Charles S. Hurley)

SACRAMENTO.—A sympathetic attitude toward the proposed joint Federal-State development of the San Luis project was expressed by Robert Merriam, the Assistant Director of the Federal Budget Bureau, in an interview here.

Merriam also emphasized the Budget Bureau, which has a strong hold on the Government purse strings, is not opposed to Federal appropriations for flood-control features of the Oroville Dam. The dam is a key feature of the Feather River project, which the State plans to integrate with the San Luis project.

Merriam said he has not seen the bill recently introduced by Congressman B. F. SISK, Democrat, of the 12th, Fresno, District, authorizing the San Luis development on the San Joaquin Valley's west side.

ANTICIPATES APPROVAL

"The general picture I have of the plan, however, indicates it is the sort of thing the administration would look on favorably," he commented.

Merriam was to fly over the valley today with officials of the Army Corps of Engineers to view flood-control and reclamation accomplishments and needs. The plane tour was to go down the east side of the valley as far as Isabella Dam on the Kern River and return along the west side, flying over the San Luis Reservoir site in southwestern Merced County.

Merriam strongly commended California officials for the overall State water plan and the State's willingness to participate with the Federal Government in project building.

"I don't think that in any part of the country can we accomplish the things we need to do through the Federal Government alone," he said.

"I am encouraged after getting a firsthand report on the State's water plans. I only wish some of the other States would get into the same detail as here."

Merriam volunteered a statement of the Bureau's open mindedness on the Feather River project to counteract what he said were false reports of opposition to it.

"We merely raised a question of whether Congress wanted to appropriate the money before a survey is made by the engineers," he said. "I understand the omnibus bill will provide for such a review. In that case we would have no objection."

Merriam declined to comment specifically on the proposal of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. to develop the power features of the Trinity River project now being constructed by the Federal Reclamation Bureau. However, he remarked:

"I think something the people have to understand is that problems of water resource development are too big for the Federal Government alone. Even in the power area, where money is repaid over a period of years, the Government has to make the money available originally and the appropriations have to be considered in the light of overall budget problems."

HOPES FOR INCREASE

State Water Director Harvey O. Banks told Merriam he hopes there will be continued "and even enlarged" Federal participation in California Water Department.

Banks also said he believes the State should put itself in the position of cooperating financially with the planning and building of future Federal projects.

"We would not frown on that," Merriam remarked.

Banks said he expects to ask the State legislature next week for a $1 million advance of State funds toward the Federal San Luis project so it can be hurried along.

We Need Federal School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Bridgeport Sunday Herald of March 10, 1957:

WE NEED FEDERAL SCHOOL AID

It is probably because Federal aid to school construction has a good chance of passage in this session of Congress that the opposition is opening fire with the biggest guns. In Connecticut and elsewhere the battle has been joined.

The current antiaid propaganda message is that congressional mail is running 5 to 1 against aid.

This is correct. But it is also correct that the last Gallup poll on the subject came out 4 to 1 in favor of Federal aid.

The reason for this discrepancy is clear: congressional mail is inspired by the antipressure groups. The poll registers the people's view.

Add to this the fact that the White House conference voted better than 2 to 1 for Federal aid, and the will of the country should be plain—without the shadow of a doubt.

The Herald believes Federal aid to be essential. We urge all those who agree or disagree with us to write both to this newspaper and to their representatives in Washington.

But because we respect the honest convictions of the opposition we want to present the case for Federal aid fully.

We do not like Federal aid as such. We do not like such aid for anything—whether it be roads or airlines subsidy. We do not like income tax as such.

But we acknowledge that—for better or for worse—we live in an interdependent, complicated, costly world. Ignorance or poverty in one part of the country hurts Americans everywhere.

The inequalities—especially in the educational opportunities for our children—are a denial of basic democratic rights and a shortchanging of the American dream.

The opposition in Connecticut points out that this State would not get back as much in Federal aid as it would contribute. There are several replies to this:

We are all Americans first, and it is shortsighted for any of us to isolate ourselves from the general welfare of the Nation.

We cannot, just because of our good fortune of greater wealth, build a roadblock against national emergency measures.

But most important, it is unrealistic to talk of paying in and getting money back. We will be paying into the Federal Treasury anyway. The question is whether Connecticut is to get something or nothing, not whether we get more or less than others.

It is amazing that the antipropaganda accepts the United States Office of Education statistics when it announces that 67,000 classrooms were built last year but refuses to accept from the same source the fact that the country is now short at least 160,000 classrooms.

In Connecticut the average yearly addition of classrooms since 1953 has been about 800. As of this moment (unless we are willing to condone unsafe, overcrowded, and part-time schools) Connecticut is 2,500 classrooms short of what it ought to have.

Or forget about buildings. Just keep in mind that 12,572 elementary-school children and 12,778 high-school pupils in Connecticut, right at this time, are getting only part-time education.

We do not believe Federal aid will solve all school problems. We urge strongly that Federal-aid legislation include safeguards, both against Federal interference and against relaxed local and State efforts to provide maximum support for the schools.

But we hold the need for Federal aid to be immediate and indisputable.

The Birth of an Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following column by Raymond Moley in the March 18, 1957, issue of Newsweek entitled "The Birth of an Industry." Mr. Moley's column of that date under his usual head of Perspective concerned itself with the growing industry of atomic energy for peaceful uses:

THE BIRTH OF AN INDUSTRY

Back in the dark years of the 1930's, when people talked of means by which we might pull ourselves out of depression, there inevitably came the comment: "If only a new industry might arise." The so-called liberals of that day deprecated any solution, and F. D. R. himself was induced to say that "the industrial plant is built."

But every long step toward economic growth and higher standards of living in this country has come by the birth of vast new industries such as railroads, electric power and light, automobiles, airplanes, and other applications of internal-combustion power. In these cases the creative imagination and drive came from private individuals. The only great industry that can be attributed to Government has been war or preparation for war.

But modern liberals have not learned this plain fact. They propose now that the brightest prospect for a new industry—the various developments of atomic energy for civilian purposes—shall be a Government monopoly of a size and consequence that defy imagination. Such a belief in Government omnipotence is always supported by the deprecation and denial of the value of private enterprise.

THE GORE BILL

The Gore bill, which died in the 84th Congress but which has reappeared in the 85th, and many of the speeches of candidates Stevenson and Kefauver in 1956 propose the building by the Government, with taxpayers' money, of a series of atomic-power plants over the country which will produce, under the collectivist preferential clause, electricity in competition with the private power industry. The cost, according to the Gore bill, would be $400 million, and the Government plants would be of various types and in various places.

This proposal for a Government superstructure runs directly counter to the present provision in the law, that the Atomic Energy Commission should seek to strengthen free competition in private enterprise. It also runs counter to the express policy of the AEC since 1948, that its purpose is to move away from Government monopoly as fast as possible.

The very premise from which the Gore proposal proceeds—i. e., that private industry has been lagging—is denied by the facts.

In a comprehensive statement by Chairman Lewis L. Strauss last month before the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, there is a specific description of a new and rapidly growing "atomic-energy industry free of Government monopoly." Strauss said: "The forces of traditional American free enterprise are moving forward on a broad front."

In the 2 years since the AEC's access program opened certain facts and methods to private industry there has been active development in several directions.

RAPID GROWTH

At least 21 American firms are building or have orders to build 59 reactors for civilian purposes. These will be for private United States buyers, for the Federal Government, and for export.

American firms have signed contracts or announced plans for 9 uranium-ore-processing mills, a feed-materials plant, 5 nuclear-fuel element-manufacturing plants, 7 critical facilities, and 3 zirconium and 2 beryllium production facilities. The total cost of these will run far beyond the mark set by the Gore bill, and a great part of this will be paid by private investors' money.

One of the great contributions to medical care, agriculture, and industry by the AEC has been the making of isotopes. Forty different firms in private industry are already making use of these.

There is also the rise of a uranium-mining industry. The United States is already the leading uranium-producing nation of the world. Only 9 years ago 90 percent of our uranium supply came from overseas. Today 60 percent originates in North America, and by 1958 we shall be producing 80 percent. All of our mines and all but one of the processing mills are privately financed and operated.

With this bright prospect of a new industry, competitive and privately operated, with hundreds of millions of investment and countless jobs, it is a poor time to impose the paralyzing grip of Government monopoly.

Mutual Security in Iran

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, in view of the talk about our suspending aid to Iran because of the tragic killing of three of our own employees and their Iranian companions in a dangerous area, I feel that it is appropriate to call attention to the fact that the continuance of this program is vital to the security of the United States. I am pleased to insert in the RECORD a letter I recently received on this subject from Mr. Frank C. Laubach, great humanitarian and religious leader, as follows:

NEW YORK, N. Y., *April 2, 1957.*

The Honorable BROOKS HAYS,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR BROTHER: I was pleased that you agreed so heartily with the view I expressed to you over the telephone, that the killing of these three representatives of ICA in southern Iran should be made an opportunity to cement our friendship with Iran and the Middle East. They were working in a dangerous area, infested by outlaws, and are really martyrs to a cause. It is highly important for us to look upon this incident as a time to pray, and to love, and to carry on the cause for which they died.

There has been some talk of withdrawing our aid to that part of Iran, but if we did so we would be deserting the cause for which they died, providing we can continue working in that area. It is a cause for rejoicing that the Shah of Iran and his government are doing all they can to show their affection for those who died, and to punish the guilty bandits.

I hope that writers in this country with a Christian viewpoint will see that our press takes the right position and gives the right interpretation to this. If they do so, this tragedy can be turned into a blessing.

God bless you in your magnificent work.

FRANK C. LAUBACH.

Why Federal Aid Not Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the March 21, 1957, issue of the Clarksdale (Miss.) Press Register:

WHY FEDERAL AID NOT NEEDED

On the surface, Federal-aid proposals for education now pending in Congress appear to be a juicy plum for Mississippi. Truly, it would be a case of getting a big slice of that mystic something for nothing, since the State would receive much more than it would pay in.

For instance, under Senate bill 889 now pending, Mississippi would receive $7,772,000 for public schools while paying in only $1,312,000—or a 6-to-1 grant. Other bills now pending would give the State similar percentages.

Why turn this down, you may ask? There are many reasons. In the first place, Federal aid will inevitably bring with it Federal controls. These controls will be either direct or indirect, but the effect will be the same.

Also, it will be another usurpation of States rights by the Federal Government. Education was one of the fields left by our Founding Fathers to the States.

One of the bills now pending specifies that States, in order to qualify, "will comply with orders of the courts of the United States to insure that * * * the school facilities will be open to all children without regard to race."

Despite the fact Mississippi might receive more than she pays in, at first, it means additional increases in Federal taxes—already near the breaking point. Federal taxes took only 7 percent of the national income in the 1930's, but by 1954 Federal taxes took more than 20 percent of total income, and it continues to rise.

The measure would add additional numbers to the growing Federal payroll, calling for more bureaucracy and redtape. Most taxpayers now agree we are supporting enough Government employees, and already

have plenty of Federal forms to fill out. You can think of other reasons.

A number of State groups, including the Mississippi Economic Council, are opposed to further extension of Federal aid to education. They believe State taxpayers are able to finance our own school system, and to operate them to the best interest of citizens. Calling for a halt toward federalization, the MEC says that it believes that Mississippi, "a State law in the scale of economic ability and one which on a short-range view stands to gain most in immediate material benefits from a federally aided school system, will inspire other States to make similar action," if it does not request Federal aid.

Washington State Fishermen Have an Interest in Alaska Fisheries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, I have received a copy of a letter written by Mr. George Johansen, secretary-treasurer of the Alaska Fishermen's Union, in which he points out the very definite interest which fishermen from the State of Washington have in Alaska fisheries. Inasmuch as Congress may soon consider legislation granting statehood to the Territory of Alaska, it might be well for Members of Congress to determine what protection must be given to fishermen from the States who operate in Alaskan waters. I recommend that they read Mr. Johansen's letter which follows:

MARCH 25, 1957.

DEAR SIR: In conformity with our conversation in Washington, I am writing you a few thoughts on the statehood of Alaska bill and also on the fish-traps issue, which has been somewhat controversial at times. Because of your position on the committee which will consider these matters, I feel you should know our thinking on them, and I am also going to send a copy of this letter to Senator MAGNUSON so that the two of you can discuss it informally and advise me relative your opinion.

We are keeping an open mind on statehood for Alaska, and, while we are not opposing statehood, we do believe in many respects that there are fundamental issues which must be taken into consideration and that unless proper legislation affecting these issues is enacted, statehood would be to our complete disadvantage.

Speaking of statehood, our thoughts are related to the fisheries, and I have recently sent a letter to the Washington congressional delegation and copies to the Senators of Oregon and California, and some of the Congressmen in those States. That letter shows what discriminatory legislation has been enacted and is in the process of being enacted by the Territorial legislature, and there are other bills which I did not mention that are just as discriminatory, as far as the taxing on fish is concerned. I believe that the representatives of the west coast States cannot ignore these warnings. I particularly feel that our own delegation from the State of Washington should, as far as it is possible for them to do so, follow up and introduce legislation which would render discriminatory laws against United States citizens illegal in the future.

There is absolutely no reason to think that if Alaska is granted statehood, the Legislature of Alaska will in any way change its thinking and cease enacting discriminatory legislation.

It can, of course, be said that one cannot impose legislation in an enabling act for Alaska which was not imposed on other States at the time of their entry into the Union. On the other hand, I know of no other States that, as Territories, had enacted and introduced discriminatory legislation of the kind about which we are writing here. I want to repeat what I said to one of our Congressmen—that as secretary-treasurer of the Alaska Fishermen's Union, I am responsible for the welfare of the members of our organization. It follows then that as representatives of the people of the United States, our duly elected Senators and Congressmen are responsible for legislation that will effectively safeguard the legitimate interests of the United States citizens.

We have no ways or means other than to write to our delegation, pointing out these abuses. If Alaska is not contemplating any further discriminatory legislation, the delegates and representatives of the Territory could not, in all good conscience, oppose legislation that would safeguard rights of United States citizens.

With these comments I would like to go into the question of the fisheries if Alaska becomes a State. The fisheries of Alaska are of an extensive nature and are probably one of the most valuably fishery resources in the entire world. This is particularly true as far as the salmon is concerned. It is also the most important protein food resource in the United States in the fishery field.

The coast of Alaska consists of thousands of miles, and the fisheries are scattered from one end to the other. This means that regulations must be based on the difference in conditions which exist in the various districts. In other words, one cannot sit down and write one regulation for the entire coast and, consequently, it takes a thorough, detailed study by many teams of fisheries people to properly write regulations which will be effective and beneficial for each district. We also have the same problem as far as enforcement of regulations is concerned.

We have an enormous fishery research program that must be carried out if we intend to keep this resource at the sustained-yield basis. Our national interests with regard to maintaining food resources demand that the job of properly regulating and maintaining these fisheries is carried out with competence and in such a manner that this great natural resource is not depleted. We certainly do not believe that Alaska would be in a position at this time to take over the fisheries as, to the best of our knowledge, they have neither the technical staff nor the money available to carry out the manifold duties involved in a complex fishery of this kind. I wish to point out that technical men in the fishery field are not easy to obtain.

We could not recommend that Alaska should be given full control over the fisheries because the necessary assurance which our national interest demands is lacking. While in the past there has been some criticism that the Fish and Wildlife Service has not properly discharged its duties, some of the criticism has come from persons who would like to take over these fisheries by offering severe criticism, but failing to offer constructive proposals which might have had some influence on changing the picture. We certainly have criticized the Fish and Wildlife Service on many occasions when we thought such criticism was necessary. However, our criticism was on a constructive basis for the purpose of changing conditions which we deemed incompatible with good research and management.

We are happy to note that the present management of the Fish and Wildlife Service in Alaska is probably the ablest we have ever had. It is our sincere opinion that these people must be given a chance to rebuild the salmon runs to their former levels. It is our further opinion that they are in a better position to do the job than anyone we know.

In line with these thoughts I would like to say that, if Alaska is granted statehood, there should be a transfer of control of the fisheries extending over a period of years, so that Alaska would have the opportunity of gradually gaining the experience necessary for a competent management of these fisheries. During the transition period the United States Government should, as in the past appropriate the necessary money to carry out the fishery research necessary, and all the other duties connected with the fisheries. Due to the national interest involved in this natural resource, to proceed on any other basis would lead to a disruption of these fisheries, which would be exceedingly harmful to everyone concerned.

I cannot buy the argument that, because other States have gained immediate full control of all their resources, we must of a necessity follow this out in the fisheries field in Alaska. I think it is that type of argument which continuously gets us into trouble—where we follow tradition instead of doing what necessity and commonsense demand being done.

Only those who have spent time in Alaska actually working in the industry can fully realize the complexities and the difficulties of properly managing this resource which is spread out over so many thousands of miles. While theories can be evolved that will look good on paper, those of us who depend upon this fishery for our bread and butter and our business know that it is going to take any new management several years to fully grasp the problems and be able to properly solve them.

With regard to the fish traps, we have heard a lot of statements on the evils of the fish traps in Alaska and many allegations that these traps are exceedingly destructive to the fishery resource. I am not in a position to argue about the conditions which existed years ago but I can truthfully explain the conditions as they exist today. The traps have steadily decreased in number. Today, we have approximately 239 traps operating in Alaska; out of this number, there are 40 or more hand traps which are operated by independent residents of Alaska. When one considers the total number of traps and the size of the Territory, there is no big concentration in any of the districts. In the Port Moller and Bristol Bay districts, there are no traps at all. If the claims made as to the destructiveness of the traps are true, there should be no fisheries problem in existence in the Bristol Bay area. However, the record will show that the conservation problem is just as acute, and perhaps more so, in Bristol Bay, as in other districts of Alaska. I could also point out that in the Cook Inlet district, the traps have steadily decreased in number and more mobile gear has come in. It appears to me that the resource in that particular district is under as much strain, and perhaps more so, due to mobile gear, than it ever was with trap fishing. The record certainly does not show that the traps decreased the run, when they were in the majority.

Further, we cannot find a single responsible fishery research or management man who will say that the traps are destructive to the fisheries. It is easier for the Service to regulate and control the traps, than other types of gear. There are, of course, persons in Alaska who claim that the traps are the major cause of the depletion of the fisheries, but they cannot prove that with any scientific evidence.

The Alaska Fishermen's Union has always taken the position that regardless of curtailment in fishery efforts, if such curtailment is beneficial to conservation, we have been agreeable to go along. We recognize and realize that in order for us to be able to go to Alaska year after year, we must have a resource that is maintained on a sustained-yield basis. In order to have such a resource, it is necessary to accept curtailments and other limitations. We would cheerfully accept the elimination of the traps, if the traps could be classified as hard to regulate and, therefore, destructive, but we cannot necessarily agree with persons, who in order to further their political ambitions, will make any number of misstatements which have no rhyme or reason when they are examined in the light of the facts.

It is debatable whether the elimination of the traps would even prove beneficial as far as the Alaska resident fishermen are concerned. To our knowledge, those who wish to fish are fishing in the Territory today, and the elimination of the traps would create an empty space which would be filled by other fishermen. This, again, would create a problem of added enforcement as there would be a much increased mobile-gear fleet.

The creek-robbing and fishing in waters prohibited by regulation have been causes of the depletion of the fisheries, and certainly the elimination of traps would do nothing to solve them. Another point is that at present in southeast Alaska, there is a very small gill-net fleet in operation. It is reasonable to assume that the gill netters would demand a wider scope for their fishing, and the fight which we now have between purse seiners and traps would continue, only this time it would be between purse seiners and gill netters.

We also have to consider the elimination of jobs of persons who have worked in Alaska all of their adult lives and who would be completely thrown out of employment, if the traps were abolished. These men and women are not necessarily all from the Pacific Coast States, but include many residents of Alaska as well. When the traps were reduced 50 percent under the Farley plan, several canneries shut down their operations and consolidated for the purpose of effecting necessary economies. If all the traps should go out of existence, further consolidations would again take place. Local people residing in the vicinity of these canneries have always been given preference of jobs, working in various capacities. In many instances, it has been exceedingly helpful for a resident fisherman's wife to be able to earn this extra money. Several of these people lost their jobs during the last consolidation and many more will lose their jobs if the traps finally go out.

Taking these things in consideration, and forgetting for the moment the political aspect, I cannot see any specific gains that could be made for anyone, if the traps were eliminated. I realize, of course, that this may happen sooner or later, but I certainly do not believe that Congress should pass any legislation to destroy employment, because it may be politically expedient. I could, of course, point out that the fish caught in the traps are of the best quality, as these fish have not been subject to very much handling and are delivered in the freshest condition to the canneries. It can be said that I have a selfish interest in the protection of the jobs for our membership. On the other hand, I am willing to submit my arguments to the judgment of any responsible fishery research man.

The paramount duty resting upon all of us is to protect and maintain our fishery resource, because it is only through such protection and maintenance that we will have a fishing industry that will provide employment for residents and nonresidents of Alaska. This resource belongs to all of the American people—not just a few—and it should be protected on a national, rather than on a regional basis. We will render our best efforts to fight for our rights as United States citizens and for a conservation program that will accomplish a sustained-yield fishery.

This letter was unanimously adopted by our biggest meeting of the year, held in Seattle on March 22, 1957, and the membership joins me in asking for a your wholehearted support in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE JOHANSEN,
Secretary-Treasurer, Alaska Fishermen's Union, LIU 1821, AFL-CIO.

Mexico Sets an Example

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, our country is blessed with a good neighbor to the north and good neighbors to the south. I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of April 1, 1957:

MEXICO SETS AN EXAMPLE

Latin Americans have a customary and on the whole justified criticism of the press in the United States. American newspapers, they say, never print any news about a Latin-American country until something bad happens—a revolution, an assassination, an earthquake, a political crisis.

Conversely, it would follow that no news is good news. This rule can be applied to Mexico today. How unfair it is, journalistically speaking, to forget about Mexico just because everything is so peaceful there. The Government of Ruiz Cortines goes quietly and efficiently toward its end of term, which comes next year. The economy progresses steadily. The army has been relegated to its proper place as defender of the nation and custodian of order.

The Communists have lost control of all the big unions and are now a very minor factor in national affairs. There isn't a single political prisoner in jail. Internal peace is complete and it is not imposed by the army and police, as in the dictatorships; it is a civic development. No Mexicans have had to go into exile.

Best of all, Mexico is a democracy. Her detractors argue that since there is only one political party, elections provide no choice. Mexicans say this is not very different from the system of electing a governor in a Southern State like Georgia. Such a governor is going to be a Democrat. In Mexico the next President is sure to belong to the Party of Revolutionary Institutions—the PRI. But, as Paul P. Kennedy reported to this newspaper yesterday, President Ruiz Cortines and former Presidents Cardenas and Aleman are already in a brisk contest to name the candidate. The result is not a sure thing.

In most other respects Mexicans have the same civic freedoms we have, and they do not have segregation. Weaknesses in Mexico's democracy lie in the high degree of illiteracy and the low living standards of millions of peasants. The judicial system is not on a high democratic standard. However, the picture as a whole is of a mature, settled society living in an atmosphere of freedom.

When Americans think of the nations below the Rio Grande as hotbeds of revolution, dictatorship, and discontent, they would do well these days to think of Mexico, their nearest neighbor, with whom they live as peacefully as they do with Canada. And Mexico is not the only country in Latin America of which things like this can be said.

Central America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to call attention to possible ill effects of recent criticism in the House of Representatives of some of our friends in Central America.

The countries of Central America and the Caribbean area, namely, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico, have been historically friendly to our own Nation, and although in recent years the continuation of anti-Communist programs within their borders has become steadily more difficult for their governments, these steadfast nations have not relaxed their vigilance.

It might be well to keep in mind the importance the continued friendship of these nations occupies in the total security picture for our country. Not only have we assurances our Latin American friends will lend us moral support, but agreements such as the pact recently signed with the Dominican Republic whereby the United States gains the privilege of operating a loran, or long-range aid to navigation, station on the northern coast of that country, are an an aid to the security of the United States which should not be underrated.

Referring particularly to the Dominican Republic, I speak from personal experience when I say that accounts of terrorism and so-called brutal dictatorship in the Dominican Republic are best described as gross fabrications. Criticism of this type coming from official sources can be made by the Communists to fit in with the picture they like to paint of the United States as the meddling, imperialistic menace to to the north bent on destroying independence and freedom in Latin America.

Certainly as the situation stands today, none of these nations may be considered a threat to our national safety. Instead, they are outposts of resistance to attempts by world communism to establish a foothold on this hemisphere.

It seems to me self-evident that rather than contribute to the revival of the old myth of a North American power-mad colossus which our diplomacy in South America in past years has been diligently directed toward debunking, we should make positive efforts to encourage peaceful people-to-people cultural inter-

change and attempt to establish the kind of understanding between the peoples of these nations and our own which is the only solid basis for American foreign policy.

Texas Election Analyzed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the $64 question today is, Who was the Republican high command really backing in the Texas Senate race? Could it be that the modern exponents of Republicanism are secretly trying to destroy the States rights, southern, Jeffersonian wing of the Democratic Party? The following article by David Lawrence in the Washington Evening Star of April 4 might help us answer these questions.

The article follows:

TEXAS ELECTION ANALYZED—BULK OF REPUBLICAN VOTES WERE CAST BY CONSERVATIVES IN LONE STAR STATE

(By David Lawrence)

The story of the Texas election is the story of what happens when conservatives split—a so-called "liberal" wins out.

It wasn't a clear-cut battle between Republicans and Democrats as such in the election for United States Senator just held in the Lone Star State. The conservatives gave Representative MARTIN DIES, Democrat, more than 276,000 votes, and they gave Thad Hutcheson, Republican, more than 214,000 votes. This combined total of 489,000 conservatives was far in excess of the 340,000 votes cast for RALPH YARBOROUGH, the winner. Searcy Bracewell, Democrat, who supported Ike in the 1956 election, got 31,000 votes that would not have gone to YARBOROUGH.

If it be assumed that some of the Republican votes might have been spread among the other 17 Democratic candidates, it still is true that the bulk of the Republican votes cast were from the ranks of conservatives.

Had there been a runoff election permitted so that MARTIN DIES, on the one hand, and RALPH YARBOROUGH on the other, could have fought for the Democratic nomination, it seems likely that YARBOROUGH would have lost out.

There was considerable agitation for a runoff, in which only the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes in the first election among several candidates are pitted against one another in the second contest.

Texas voters are accustomed to runoff elections to determine the top two who fight it out for the nomination, and it is most unfortunate that the Democratic Party didn't put through the State legislature the bills introduced which sought to bring about that kind of election first, before challenging the Republican Party at the polls in the final contest. But one reason, of course, was that many of the supporters of Senator-elect YARBOROUGH thought he had a better chance in an election that split up the Democratic votes, and isolated the Republican conservatives behind their own candidate.

Mr. YARBOROUGH has been up for elective office in Texas on a statewide basis 5 times and has lost 4 times. He ran once for attorney general and three times for governor. He is the standard bearer of the so-called loyalist faction in Texas politics which is made up largely of the Truman-Stevenson wing of the party.

The Democrats in the North are, of course, crowing over the great victory of the Democrats over the Republicans in Texas. Also, the Republicans in the north are arguing that this election was an encouraging step toward a two-party lineup in the South. A few more episodes of this kind and the Republican Party will have succeeded in sending to the Senate and the House many exponents of radical philosophy, and in the end, the coalition in Congress of northern Republicans of the conservative school and conservative Democrats from the South will be broken down, if indeed it isn't largely wiped out.

Partisans naturally want to see their respective parties built up, but in the struggle over conflicting ideologies nowadays it is far more important to the future economic welfare of the country for the conservatives to avoid schemes that break down the conservative representation in Congress from the South.

Presidential elections can be fought on a two-party basis in the South, but until there is a clearer definition between the Republican and Democratic Parties on State issues it is sheer folly for the national Republican organization to stimulate the selection of Republican nominees for the Senate and the House in the deep South.

There are a few districts in the South where the preponderance of conservatives is such that putting up a Republican nominee for the House of Representatives becomes a logical means of defeating a Democrat from the radical side. This could happen also in some Senate races in the South, but unless there is a runoff primary to eliminate the many candidates who usually enter these contests, the risks to the conservatives of such an election as Texas had this week are obvious. It was the conservatives who defeated themselves this time.

Logical Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith an editorial from the Oakland Tribune of February 14, 1957, which clearly points out the advantages of the proposed partnership between the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. and the Bureau of Reclamation for development of the Trinity River.

The editorial follows:

LOGICAL DECISION

Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton has recommended to Congress that it approve the proposal of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. to build and operate the powerplant phases of the Government's Trinity River project.

In so doing he is carrying out one of the cardinal principles of President Eisenhower's domestic policies. That is the principle of partnership between Government and private enterprise when that partnership is the most feasible approach.

The recommendation by Mr. Seaton was in response action initiated in Congress. About 18 months ago, the P. G. & E. submitted the proposal that it be allowed to construct and operate the hydroelectric phases of the Trinity River project. It proposed to make the initial outlay of $56,700,000 and to pay the Government for falling water uses in producing power. It also did not ask for any tax concessions.

A subcommittee of the House Interior Committee conducted hearings on the proposal. It asked the Secretary of the Interior to report back to Congress by February 12 on its findings, and to recommend which would be the more feasible; the Federal Government assuming the entire cost of the project, or accepting the offer of the P. G. & E. Mr. Seaton recommended in favor of the partnership.

His recommendation now is in the hands of the House Interior Committee. Congressional action is necessary in order to make the Government's share of the partnership available.

It is to be hoped the recommendation becomes actuality. The P. G. & E. proposal means private enterprise providing the initial capital outlay, private capital paying the Government for the water it uses, and private enterprise paying taxes on its investment, with the efficiency of private business making it a paying proposition.

Statement of 39 Organizations Endorsing President Eisenhower's Immigration Recommendations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the honor to address a distinguished meeting in New York City of the American Immigration Conference. This organization is composed of numerous fine groups dedicated to the revision of this Nation's immigration laws. Their efforts are a powerful force in this important cause.

As House sponsor of President Eisenhower's recommendations for amending our immigration statutes, I was particularly pleased to receive yesterday a copy of a statement signed by 39 organizations—most of them members of the American Immigration Conference—endorsing the President's proposals. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am happy to insert the statement at this point in the RECORD:

STATEMENT ON IMMIGRATION POLICY

President Eisenhower is to be commended on his message to Congress calling for prompt action for revision and improvement of American immigration policy. Adoption of the President's recommendations would be in accord with a humane immigration policy consistent with our national tradition.

We believe action without delay is imperative.

The President proposes a reasonable increase in immigration quotas, a practical approach to the utilization of unused quotas and the elimination of mortgages on future quotas. These proposals are, in our judgment, wise and represent an important step toward the elimination of discrimination from our immigration law.

We commend the President's proposal for a permanent plan for admitting escapees from communism. We hold that this, however, should be expanded to include any victims of religious or political persecution.

We urge cooperation of both parties in Congress to bring about prompt action.

LIST OF SIGNERS

American Baptist Home Mission Boards.
American Branch International Social Service.
American Civil Liberties Union.
American Committee on Italian Migration.
American Federation of International Institutes.
American Friends Service Committee.
American Fund for Czecholsovak Refugees, Inc.
American Service Institute of Allegheny County.
Americanization School Association of the District of Columbia.
Brethren Service Commission.
Church World Service, Department of; National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.
Commission on World Service, Evangelical and Reformed Church.
Common Council for American Unity.
Congregational Christian Churches, Council for Social Action.
Congregational Christian Service Committee, Inc.
Czechoslovak National Council.
Governor's Commission on Refugees (Massachusetts).
International Rescue Committee.
Italian Welfare League, Inc.
Iuliu Maniu-American Romanian Relief Foundataion, Inc.
Los Angeles Conference on Immigration and Citizenship.
Lutheran Refugee Service.
Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief.
Michigan Committee on Immigration.
National Board of the YWCA.
National Catholic Rural Life Conference.
National Catholic Welfare Conference.
National Conference of Catholic Charities.
New York Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.
Polish Immigration Committee in New York.
Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Committee on Resettlement Services.
Selfhelp of Emigres from Central Europe, Inc.
Synagogue Council of America.
Tolstoy Foundation, Inc.
Ukrainian Workingmen's Association.
United Automobile Workers.
United Friends of Needy and Displaced People of Yugoslavia.
United HIAS Service.
United Steelworkers of America.

The Southern Viewpoint

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial by the Honorable J. Oliver Emmerich, editor of the McComb, Miss., Enterprise-Journal:

THE SOUTHERN VIEWPOINT

There are six of us on this panel today—the pastor of an integrated Chicago Methodist Church, the pastor of an Alabama church upon whose lawn was burned a fiery cross, the pastor of another Chicago integrated church which has been disturbed by aerial bombs, the executive secretary of the NAACP, a North Carolina attorney, and myself, the publisher of a Mississippi newspaper. I assure you that any similarity between my situation now and that of Daniel in the lions' den is purely coincidental.

The moderator announced that notwithstanding that this is a Methodist chapel that applause is permissible. I fear my address will end with your resounding silence. However, to give you an opportunity to applaud my remarks permit me to say that I have never before stood before such a fine lot of white and Negro Methodist ministers seated together.

Thank you for your generosity. And now in the spirit of Christian fellowship may we get down to cases.

Democratic-minded people endorse that concept which upholds the dignity of the individual.

Enlightened people everywhere reject the master-servant relationship as applied to an entire race of people.

Civilization must frown upon injustices of all kinds or civilization will revert to savagery.

Opportunity for self-improvement must be an open door through which people of all nationalities can walk with confidence.

The status quo must yield to man's progressive march upward in search of a better life.

Men of good will everywhere embrace these concepts and cherish this idealism.

The purposes are clear. The problem, particularly in the realm of racial matters, lies in the acceptance of a plan for the successful attainment of these coveted purposes.

Racial problems throughout history have been characterized by low volatility. History has made them so. The explosiveness of these problems is part of the problems themselves—and an obstacle to their solution. To ignore this volatility is to invite defeat—even disaster.

In matters of racial adjustment the idealistic are often too unrealistic and the realistic are often too unidealistic. Nevertheless it is a mistake to charge that the South is opposed to racial progress. Neither the North, the East, nor the West has a monopoly on idealism.

We cannot solve our race problem until we know the cause of it. To find the solution we must apply the law of cause and effect. Too many people who think they are authorities on this subject are confusing the effects of the problem with the causes of the problem.

When the ugly head of intolerance shows its face, some people say, "Shoot down that cause." The truth is that intolerance is an effect and not a cause of the problem. When passions are inflamed and violence breaks out in Chicago, New York, or the South, the naive and the inexperienced cry out in effect and say, "There is the cause. Destroy it." The truth is that violence is an effect and not a cause of racial conflict.

The root of racial conflict is historic. It is a product of the ages. It stems from a conflict in cultures. The current attempt to bring these conflicting cultures into closer contact will increase rather than diminish racial tension. And it does not follow—as it is sometimes suggested—that individuals who hold to this realistic view are lacking Christian sympathy or Christian idealism.

Now, let me reply to Mr. Wilkins, of the NAACP. He says that this is a panel, not a debate. But he applied the tactics of debate by attempting to brush aside the statistics presented by Paul Erwin, of North Carolina. Mr. Erwin has said that 79 percent of the people in his community are white and that 21 percent are colored and that during the past 11 years that 21 percent—the colored people—committed more than 80 percent of the crimes. Mr. Wilkins says, "Those statistics do not bother me at all." And you, an audience of dedicated Methodist ministers, laughed with him and applauded his statement.

I say we cannot brush these statistics aside so lightly. In my State in 1 year, out of 28,000 Negro births, 7,007 were illegitimate. The 50 percent of our Negro population were responsible for 94 percent of the cases of venereal diseases. In 1 year in Mississippi 6 Negroes were killed by white people; 8 white people were killed by Negroes; and 183 Negroes were killed by Negroes. Mr. Wilkins may toss these statistics aside and say, "These statistics do not bother me at all." But you cannot. You are all Methodist ministers. Are we to conclude from your laughing with Mr. Wilkins and your applauding his statement that you as Methodist ministers are giving endorsement to wanton murder and wholesale illegitimacy? Is this part of Methodist theology? Last year 1 Memphis hospital recorded 2,085 cases of illegitimate births out of a total of 7,401. Of these 2,085 cases, 2,061 were Negro.

I can understand your enthusiasm for a cause, but I challenge the wisdom and morality of your willingness to deemphasize these statistics.

Mr. Wilkins says that these statistics reflect the fact that the Negroes of the South are treated as wards and not as citizens. I say to you that the reverse is true. Our Negroes at times are treated as wards because the masses of the Negro race refuse to accept the responsibility for improving these conditions. Much has been said here today about the Negroes who live here in South Chicago, where we are now meeting. I say to you that there are hundreds of Negro men right here in Chicago today who have left their wives and children in my immediate community. Many of these Negro people at home are on our welfare rolls because these Negro men are unwilling to accept family responsibilities.

We cannot in good conscience deemphasize this irresponsibility as if it were of no importance.

The racial problem will cease to be a problem in direct proportion to the Negro masses' manifestation of a willingness to share the responsibilities in expanding the values of a civilized society.

Don't tell me that Methodist ministers can laughingly brush aside the demand for a greater sense of Negro acceptance of these responsibilities. Now I ask you in the spirit of Christian fellowship if you want to applaud my position in this respect? [The audience immediately responded with heavy applause.]

Now, one more thought in refutation of Mr. Wilkins' remarks. He says that the sole purpose of NAACP is to advance the citizenship rights of the Negro people. I say to you that the NAACP is not advancing the citizenship rights of the Negro people when it comes into my State, or goes into other Southern States, and openly supports convicted rapists. This is not a contribution to law and order, and Methodist ministers cannot deny this accusation. Rape is a terrible thing and the NAACP has given repeated support to rapists. There is no ethical or logical way to associate the crime of rape with the rights of citizenship to any people.

Now may I ask indulgence. I speak with a southern accent. I want you to understand how I use the term "Negro." I use the long "e" and the long "o" as Negro. A great deal of importance is placed these days on the pronunciation of this term and I do not want the things I say to be depreciated because of the way I say them. I do believe, however, that this is an example of misplaced emphasis.

America's racial problems were bequeathed to this generation. The dead, not the living, created them. This suggests Christian patience; not the will to correct in a matter of months the ills which through the centuries have been in the making.

There is a Chinese fable about a man who, in order to make his garden grow faster,

went over it and pulled his plants a little farther through the ground. He was rejoicing in his foresight only to go out into his garden the following morning to find that his plants were dead.

Racial reforms must be stimulated with the tempo of statesmanship. But reform stimulated by demagogery can only cause the gardener to go out into his garden and find his plants wilted.

America in the middle of the last century became embroiled in national hysteria which forced a civil war upon our people. More than a million men were killed or wounded. And with what result? For nearly three-quarters of a century misery and despair was heaped upon our Negro people and the white people of the South, where our Negroes were concentrated, were too economically and spiritually prostrate to help them. Had the tender plants not been pulled farther out of the soil peaceful emancipation would have been achieved just as it was achieved without war in every other Caucasion country in the world.

Today we are again pulling the plants a little farther out of the soil. Today America is evincing the same emotional turbulance, the same explosive passions, the same stubborn refusal to be realistic that characterized our country on the eve of our tragic civil conflict.

I reluctantly use the term demogagoguery. It is not a cordial word. It does not win friends and influence people. I do not want to make a volatile question more volatile.

But how can we escape the ugly truth of demagoguery as a dominant factor involved today in racial reform? Both major parties fear the Negro vote. Many political leaders publicly talk about racial idealism and in private admit the existence of influencing realities which they steadfastly refuse to mention in public. Surely Methodism does not share this political fear.

No subject yields to the art of demagogery with greater dynamic impact than does this problem. Despite the friendship which exists between the members of different races no subject can stimulate more intense hatred. Involved in politics the racial problem creates sectional difference. There are extremists in the North as well as in the South. Because of the extremists' views and the propaganda used in expressing their views, there is in progress what is tantamount to a campaign of hate against the South. In retaliation there are some people who hold the North in contempt. This is not in keeping with the pattern of Christian evangelism nor the concept of American patriotism.

The pointed question in this meeting is, How does Methodism fit into this picture? Shall Methodists adopt a policy of collaborating in campaigns of deep emotional vigor, or shall Methodists seek the Christian solution through better understanding and enlarged good will?

Methodism has the opportunity of upholding the rights of men, the dignity of the individual, the improvement of human relations, and escape from the status quo, without becoming a part of the current political confusion.

It has been said that no individual is inferior except when he neglects his resources. In this spirit no person need feel that his finer sensibilities are involved when I refer to the cultural lag in which the Negro race is emerging. This is not the fault of the Negro race. The white man once roamed the plains of Europe—as much a primitive man as was the Negro when he lived in the wilderness of Africa. The difference is historical. Neither determined his environment nor his period of history. But both races must push upward through the acceptance of self-imposed discipline. Without self-imposed discipline there can be no civilization.

This cultural lag is the essence of the realities which impregnate the racial crisis. To ignore this cultural lag is to stubbornly refuse to understand the problem. I insist that it is not an un-Christian offense but a Christian obligation to study the realism of this crisis. To ignore the realities is to further complicate the crisis and to postpone its solution. The best interests of the Negro as well as the white person is involved in an understanding of the realities while earnestly seeking to advance the related idealism.

In the South today our people are building Negro schools—excellent Negro schools. The purpose is to give every Negro child the identical educational facilities that are provided to white children.

In the communities of America where there is a large percentage of both races, two things are going to happen:

First, there will be some communities with large numbers of white and colored children where exuberant integrationist leaders, feeling the first full flush of legal victory, will demand complete integration and attain it. In such a school a monument will be erected to the success or failure of integrated schools.

Second, in some communities where the Negro and white children are nearly equally divided, where well-paid teachers and good schools will be provided for each race, separate schools will be operated. It should be borne in mind that equal but separate schools are not unlawful where both races prefer to work separately—each maintaining its own racial integrity. Again, a monument will be erected—to the success or failure of segregated schools.

It is the firm belief of many American people that voluntary segregation with the determined removal of discriminations, is superior to compulsory integration with less assurance of removing discriminations, plus a vast potential for the creation of increased racial hate and strife.

It should be pointed out here that the United States Supreme Court has not ruled that equal but separate schools are illegal where the people voluntarily accept the plan.

The South today—despite the repeated headlines given to isolated stories stemming from extremist views—a valiant effort is being made to improve the status of our Negro people. Enlightened leadership opposes the status quo. Dynamic planning calls for the enlargement of Negro education—to give the Negro boys and girls the same facilities which are given to the white boys and girls.

Despite the criticism aimed at the South where most of our Negro population is concentrated, the Negro has made greater progress—has gone faster and further than any race of people in the history of mankind. This progress has been achieved with the cooperation of millions of white people of the South during a period when the white people themselves were extremely handicapped.

In Providence, R. I., a few years ago, I was interrupted while making a talk before the National Editorial Association.

"Do you have the dual system of education?" asked a member of the audience.

"Yes," I replied.

"How do you justify it in good conscience?" asked the inquirer.

"From what State are you?" I asked.

"New Hampshire," he replied.

"How many Negro college presidents do you have in New Hampshire?" I asked.

"None," he replied.

"We have 10," I said, and added. "They are respected men holding positions of influence and prestige. But if we pursued your policy, we, too, could say that we have no Negro college presidents."

America stands to lose much if the advocates of complete integration are successful in their campaign. Unfortunately anyone who opposes the integrationists is placed in the category of the unidealistic. It is forgotten that men who favor equal but separate facilities for educating our youth can also be backed by Christian idealism. There is no finer example of idealism in history than that ideal that supports the concept of racial integrity.

Too often the suggestion of a cultural lag is greeted with denunciation and abuse. This should not be so. We can be humanitarian and academic at the same time. After all, what is wrong in suggesting that the masses of our Negro people should be brought to a higher level? And who can be so lacking in academic perception as to deny the truth of this need? This is the avenue to greater race recognition, greater race dignity, and greater race opportunity.

There is nothing wrong in suggesting that Negro people be permitted to build their own traditions. What finer example of individual dignity can be found than in the life of Dr. George Washington Carver. He built it with his own people and made the Negro race and the world richer in so doing.

Political demagoguery, capitalizing upon discontent, has sought to make a whipping boy out of the South. What the people of other areas must know is that the South is interested in seeing the Negro race improved. Race delinquency has long kept the South from achieving greater cultural and economic gain.

It was a Negro who said, "I will not let any man drag me so low as to cause me to hate him." Here is a philosophy presented by a Negro which should dominate the realm of race relations.

The church knows that conscience cannot be forced. Congress knows that it cannot legislate a better race, white or black. Experience teaches us that more intimate race relations do not create better race relations. History teaches us that race problems are not solved overnight; they are doggedly persistent, almost eternal.

The northern viewpoint wagers that the more intimate the contacts between the races the greater will be the resultant racial peace and harmony.

The southern viewpoint holds that racial justice can be attained without this intimate race contact—and that persistence in attaining intimate race relationship will inevitably lead to disaster.

History suggests that the greatest test which God gave to man was the test of race relations. When all is said and done, the answer must be found within the individual Christian heart—the Christian heart of the white man and the Christian heart of the Negro. Any program which arouses hate violates this required objective—and invites failure.

What It Means to Me To Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 25, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I had the pleasure this morning to meet a young man about whom I have heard many fine reports. He is Herbert Wabnitz, Jr., of 143 Yorkshire Road, in Irondequoit, N. Y. Last fall Herb won a get-out-the-vote contest sponsored by the Monroe County Youth for Eisenhower, by obtaining the signatures of more than 300 persons on pledges to register and vote on November 6.

By winning that contest he became eligible for the statewide essay competition on the importance of voting. His fine essay was judged winner of the State contest and as his prize he won the trip which brought him to Washington this week.

I am extremely pleased to insert, under leave previously granted, Herb Wabnitz' prize-winning essay.

The essay follows:

WHAT IT MEANS TO ME TO VOTE

(By Herbert Wabnitz, Jr.)

To vote is the privilege and duty to which I was born. It is an honor to have a voice in the great democracy for which our forefathers fought and died, which provides that no matter what my race, creed, or color, I may choose my party in freedom without coercion or force. Whether I am rich or poor, educated to the highest degree or only to a preliminary diploma, I have equal right to vote. This is what voting means to me. With the grace of God may it continue to be my privilege and duty.

Over the Brink

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I have referred to Mr. Dulles as being many things, but I have never referred to him as a gambler. Is this one title I missed?

The following editorial, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of April 2, 1957, makes most interesting reading:

OVER THE BRINK

Just when you begin to think that Mr. Dulles has moderated his brinkmanship, along comes another article or book based on conversations with the Secretary of State to prove you wrong. There are many passages in John Robinson Beal's adoring biography, John Foster Dulles, that will cause heated controversy and indignation through the free world; but the most provocative is the assertion that Mr. Dulles carefully planned the manner in which last summer he withdrew the offer to help Egypt build the Aswan Dam. As Mr. Beal describes the situation, "It was necessary to call Russia's hand in the game of economic competition. * * * Nasser combined the right timing, the right geography, and the right order of magnitude for a truly major gambit in the cold war."

This is a shocking indictment, although Mr. Beal patently did not intend it as such. Communist arms going to Egypt in large quantities, and an increasing number of antiwestern moves on the part of Colonel Nasser, made the decision to withdraw the aid offer logical enough in itself. Yet up until recently the general assumption had been that Mr. Dulles' insult to Nasser in his conversation with the Egyptian Ambassador was more or less accidental, and that the Egyptian reaction was not anticipated. The British, for example, knew of and supported the decision to cancel the offer; they understood, however, that the dam project would merely be indefinitely postponed.

But no. According to Mr. Beal, "Since the issue involved more than simply denying Nasser money for a dam, a polite and concealed rebuff would fail to make the really important point. It had to be forthright, carrying its own built-in moral for neutrals in a way that the ormolu of applied propaganda would not cheapen. As a calculated risk the decision was on a grand scale, comparable to the calculated risks of war taken in Korea and Formosa."

It is of course always possible that Mr. Beal overstates the case, if not as to the facts, at least as to motivations (no one would quarrel with the basic judgment that Nasser was intractable). Nevertheless, the account squares with a recent speech by C. D. Jackson, also of Time and Life and a former White House special assistant. It fits into the pattern of Mr. Dulles' three other brinks in Korea, Indochina, and Formosa. Mr. Beal adds a significant footnote to Formosa policy by telling of a hitherto secret letter from President Eisenhower to Chiang Kai-shek "satisfying him that the United States would help defend Quemoy and Matsu"—a tacit commitment in which Congress ought to be intensely interested.

All of this serves to paint Mr. Dulles as the most reckless sort of gambler. Always before it has been possible to regard the Aswan-Suez episode as an accident. Now Mr. Dulles is portrayed as the champion of purposeful irresponsibility, the inventor of the calculated blunder. The tale places on Mr. Dulles an additional share of the blame, not only for Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal Co., but also for the increasing desperation in Britain and France, the Suez invasion and the drastic erosion of Western interests.

It is hard to believe that Mr. Dulles could be so totally Machiavellian. But he will have a difficult time climbing out of this hole; and there will properly be increasing demands for a white paper on the whole story of relations with Nasser. If the Beal account is correct, is it any wonder that Mr. Dulles is mistrusted abroad?

Civil Rights Versus Natural Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 18, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, legislation relating to so-called civil rights will soon be considered by this body. Under leave to extend my remarks I am including an important article by Mr. Frank Chodorov entitled "Civil Rights Versus Natural Rights," which appeared in the March 30 issue of Human Events.

CIVIL RIGHTS VERSUS NATURAL RIGHTS

(By Frank Chodorov)

Congress is big with a litter of civil rights bills. Activity in the two Committees on the Judiciary indicates that both Houses will soon be in labor pains. Unless public clamor or parliamentary maneuverings result in miscarriages, some of these pups will be inflicted on the public during the present session.

There is nothing in the purposes of these rights bill that bears more than a wordy resemblance to the American doctrine of natural rights or to the constitutional Bill of Rights. Whatever comes out of Congress on this subject is likely to partake of centralism, which has long been the single greatest domestic threat to freedom.

The titles of these bills are misleading, perhaps designedly so, since they hint at some relation to the Declaration of Independence and bear a semantic reference to the Bill of Rights. But this is the old trick of using prestige words to make collectivist poison palatable. Before we take a swallow, we would do well to brush up on the indigenous American tradition of rights; it will then be seen that the words "civil" and "rights" on the labels of these bills are merely patent medicine words.

The American doctrine holds that men "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." To be sure, the idea did not originate with Jefferson, for we find traces of it in the writings of the Stoics of ancient Greece, and it is indeed the political phrasing of the Christian doctrine of individual dignity. But, though the idea is of ancient vintage, the organization of the United States was the first attempt in history to found a nation on it. Though the Declaration of Independence is not the law of the land, and "unalienable rights" does not appear in the Constitution, the deliberations of the Founding Fathers were bounded by that frame of thought, and to this day, despite twistifications, it is the context of American polity. "I have a right," is the immediate reaction of every American who comes into conflict with authority, and legislators are under constant obligation to square their official acts with this tradition. Unless the rights of the people appears or is implied in the preamble of a proposed law, it will not swallow well.

Now, we must never forget that the concept does not ascribe authority for these rights to the Government. They inhere in the individual by virtue of his existence and come with him when he is born. Government is instituted for the sole purpose of preventing a person (or a gang of persons, even a majority) from invading the rights of any person or persons coming under its protection. That is, the Government is a policeman only, having no other competence in the field of rights.

Above all—and here is the essence of Americanism—the Government is itself enjoined by this concept from using its monopoly of power to invade the God-given rights of the individual. To pin down this injunction, the Bill of Rights was put into the Constitution. As every schoolboy should know, the bill tells the Government "this is what you must not do."

What are these "unalienable rights"? The Declaration says that "among these are the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." John Locke, with whose writings the Founding Fathers were quite familiar, made it "life, liberty, and property." The Declaration is simply more extensive; unless a man is free to own and enjoy the product of his efforts, he has no liberty and his pursuit of happiness is delimited; a slave has no right to property.

Let us now consider the purport of the civil-rights bills in relation to this enumeration of natural rights.

First, nothing is said in the latter about the right to vote; it would be difficult to maintain that participation in government is a prerogative that stems from God, and the Founding Fathers certainly did not so hold. Suffrage is a human convention, the rules of which are fixed by the majority. As a preventive for majority arrogance or ruthlessness, the Founding Fathers made the business of suffrage a local matter as far as feasible; each State made its own rules. In the beginning, all the States attached property qualifications to the voting privilege, and it was not until the modern era that women were allowed to vote. Even now there is an age qualification; also, aliens residing in the country, even though they must pay taxes and obey the laws, are not included in the electorate. Conviction of a crime automatically abrogates the voting privilege. Thus, suffrage is a concession, not a natural right.

By no stretch of the imagination can it be said that social equality is a natural right. In fact, one who so maintains inferentially denies the right of the individual to pursue happiness in the way he sees fit. Companionship is undoubtedly an essential ingredinent of happiness, but only if it is congenial, and that is a matter of individual discrimination. A prudish woman would find little joy in being compelled to fraternize with a woman of light morals, a man of literary tastes would find no contentment in the company of illiterates—particularly if he had no choice in the matter. Association without discrimination is the rule of the prison, which is no place for pursuing happiness. A law which prescribes social integration, on any score, transgresses a natural right of man.

The energumens of civil rights are dead set against discriminatory practices on the grounds of race or religion in the hiring of employees. However, they find nothing wrong with laws that enable unions to exclude from employment those workers who do not wish to belong to them. One kind of discrimination is wrong, the other is right. Yet, the fact is that discrimination in the selection of business associates is a matter of conscience and convenience, a natural prerogative, and not within the scope of the law. If an employer prefers an incompetent worker to a competent one, for any reason, he may be acting foolishly, as the market will shortly inform him, but he does not violate a natural right; the worker cannot derive from his kinship to God any claim to a particular job. Likewise, the worker who refuses to work alongside another, for any reason, is pursuing happiness in his own peculiar way. Wherein in the nature of things is it writ that an atheist may demand employment in a religious publishing house?

In one respect, the civil-rights bills now pending do pay homage to natural rights; it is in a provision that some of them contain outlawing lynching. Lynching is murder, which is not only in violation of natural rights, but is also in violation of statutes now on the books. Why this new concern with lynching, a form of homicide far less prevalent than love murders? The answer to this question lies in the enforcement clause that appears in various forms in all of these bills; it puts apprehension and punishment in the hands of Federal, rather than local, authorities, not only for lynching but also for violation of any of the proposed civil-rights laws.

The title of one of these bills reveals the purpose of those pushing for their enactment. It reads: "To protect the civil rights of individuals by establishing a Commission of Civil Rights in the executive branch of Government, a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice, a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights, to strengthen the criminal laws protecting the civil rights of individuals, and for other purposes."

There we have the real motive of the agitation. The concern of the agitators is not in what is called civil rights but in the further strengthening of the Federal Government, the establishment of another powerful bureaucracy, the putting of another club in the hands of a national police. The title of another of these bills makes this point clear: "To declare certain rights of all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States." That is to say, the citizen is to be deprived of the protection of his local government, over which he has some measure of control, and placed under the jurisdiction of a government less amenable to his inclinations. If he violates any provision of the civil rights legislation—even though in pursuance of his natural rights—he will be subject to arrest by Federal police and punishment by a Federal court; local sentiment, operating through a jury of peers, will not protect him. Civil rights, therefore, becames a vehicle for that concentration of power which the Bill of Rights specifically prohibits, and for the further downgrading of the authority of the States.

Speaking on one of these bills, Representative WILLIAM E. MILLER, Republican, of New York, said: "This bill in its present form gives no right, no privilege, no benefit to a single individual in the United States that he does not already have. But what does it do? It creates a commission with authority to subpena us any place, to Washington, California, or Texas, and hold us under subpena at our own expense interminably. On what? Some allegation perhaps that I am exerting unwarranted economic pressure on somebody. Who? The corner grocer who alleges that I do not trade with him and get my friends not to trade with him because he is a Jew or a Catholic."

The bill in question, illustrative of the entire batch of bills, gives the Attorney General authority to hale into court a State official who, in performance of his duties, enforces local voting laws, whether in respect to literacy requirements, residential requirements, or whatnot. It makes it possible for the proposed Commission to drag a man away from his home to a distant court, on its own whim or on a charge made by an unnamed neighbor, for examination of the secret thoughts of his heart or of his secret opinion. Furthermore—and here we see how the proponents of civil rights think—it provides that the Commission may utilize the services of volunteers in the detection of violators of its decrees; thus it opens the door for that malicious snooping on neighbors and relatives that characterized nazism and is encountered in communistic countries. What would prevent the Commission from offering a fee for information leading to prosecution? And would not the morally deficient collectivists be the most willing volunteers?

The target for this crop of civil-rights laws is the South where the impact of the infamous reconstruction has left its mark in legal disabilities imposed on the Negro. The same racial prejudice is present in the North, but is more subtly expressed, as, for instance, the exodus of whites from Manhattan and Brooklyn to the suburbs of New York, leaving large residential districts in these two boroughs in possession of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. But in the South there are laws, and laws are more vulnerable to attack than social customs and habits of mind. The reason for selecting the anti-Negro laws of the South is purely political: the Negro vote is at stake.

If the truth were known, it would show that many of the Congressmen plugging for these laws on humanitarian grounds do not practice what they preach. In Washington, where Negroes constitute 35 percent of the adult population and 70 percent of the school population, these Congressmen move away from neighborhoods as the Negroes move in. They make sure that their children are educated either in public schools where Negroes constitute only 1 or 2 percent of the student body, or else in private schools, which, though they do not discriminate against Negroes, are financially out of their reach. Except in political clubs, neither legislators nor their wives socialize with Negroes. Their enthusiasm for civil rights is in proportion to the number of Negro voters in their respective districts.

The civil rights bills, if enacted, will not accomplish the purposes ascribed to them. More likely, the prejudice which the years have been gradually eroding will be revived and exacerbated by this attempt to make people good by law. The difficulties of enforcement will in short order give these laws nothing but a nuisance value for the purposes of professional do-gooders and determined collectivists. The politicians who are now urging these laws will lose interest in them as soon as the primary purpose, the capturing of the Negro vote, shall have been accomplished.

One more thing will remain. That is the accretion of power in the Central Government. The bureaucracy will be enlarged, and to insure itself of an improvement of its perquisites and an expansion of its prerogatives it will find reason for widening the provisions of the laws by interpretation. For instance, there is some agitation at present for the abolition of college fraternities on the ground that these voluntary associations are discriminatory; the Commission could bestir itself in that direction. It could, by interpretation, justify an investigation of discriminatory practices in the handling of unemployment funds on the local level, say, the exclusion of Communists from the largess or the preference given them. Conceivably, the Commission might look into local laws putting disabilities on prostitutes. And so on.

The issue involved is not North versus South. Basically, it is constitutional government versus government by commission. It is civil rights versus natural rights.

Let's Look at Russia Honestly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Russian problem is an important one to the people of the United States. It causes the American taxpayers to pay out about $40 billion per year for programs calculated to build and maintain an international security system to defeat the Russian imperialists. It is also important because the present-day Russian Empire is the graveyard of once free and independent nations—many of which aspired to associate their destiny with that of the United States. Finally, we seek a solution to the Russian problem in order to restore freedom and dignity to millions and millions of people enslaved and exploited by communism—the new whip of Russian despotism.

Before we can resolve the Russian problem, we must first understand it. To understand it we must strip away the many layers of Russian and Communist propaganda which have concealed the very core of this urgent problem. To look at Russia honestly—and dispassionately—we must use the eyes of competent and proven scholars and statesmen from the nations now enslaved within the Russian Empire. One such scholar is Reuben Darbinian, who served as Minister of Justice for the Independent Armenian Republic of 1918–21 and served in that capacity with distinction until the Russians, by concerted acts of subversion, infiltration, and military aggression, destroyed that independent Republic. Dr. Darbinian understands the Russian problem and takes an honest look at it in the spring 1957 issue of Armenian Review. His article entitled "The Great-Russian and the Communist Movement," is a penetrating analysis of how some Americans have been so taken in by Russian propaganda propaganda that it is impossible for them to really

understand the power behind the conspiracy of communism. Under leave obtained, I include the article on the Great-Russian and the Communist Movement:

THE GREAT-RUSSIAN AND THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

(By Reuben Darbinian)

A FUNDAMENTAL DISTINCTION

The Great-Russians, or the Velikorussians, as they call themselves, constitute less than half of the population of the Soviet Union, and yet they, as well as many westerners, have persisted in dubbing the non-Russian nationalities of the Union as minorities.

Few are not the westerners, especially the Americans, who think the population of the Soviet Union is the same kind of conglomeration as the population of the United States, and by the same logic, the so-called Republics of the Soviet Union, from the population viewpoint, present a phenomenon which is analogous to the 48 States of the United States. The presumption is, since the population of the 48 States present no radical differences nationally, and since they all speak the English language, America is comparable to the peoples of the 15 Republics of the Soviet Union. This fallacious analogy places the Soviet Republics in the same category as the American States.

In reality, however, the 15 Republics of the Soviet Union are totally unlike the 48 States of the American Union because the overwhelming majority of each of these Republics speak different languages and constitute different nationalities.

In Soviet Armenia, for instance, the overwhelming majority of the people are Armenians and the dominant language is the Armenian. The same is true of Georgia, where the dominant element and the spoken language is Georgian. In Soviet Azerbaijan the dominant element are the Tartars and the spoken language is a Turkish dialect. This is also true of Ukrainia and the rest of the so-called Soviet Republics.

As seen, every one of the so-called non-Russian minorities of the Soviet Union, within its own frontiers, is in reality a majority, therefore, it is both wrong and a rank injustice to call them minorities, especially when we consider that, in their totality, they outnumber the Great-Russians.

After establishing this basic, indisputable fact, it might correctly be observed that the Soviet Union also includes minorities in the accepted sense such as prevail in the United States and other western countries. Each of the 15 Republics of the Soviet Union has its own minorities.

In Soviet Armenia, alongside the native majority, live Turkish and Russian minorities; Georgia has Armenian and Turkish minorities; and Azerbaijan Tartars have their Armenian and Russian minorities.

These minorities exclude those masses of people who have become minorities artificially, and through administrative or political separation have been annexed to the territory of a foreign nation, such as the Armenian province of Akhalkalak, which was unjustly annexed to Georgia, or the Armenian-populated mountainous Karabagh, which was made a part of Azerbaijan.

The real minorities in the accepted sense are those which voluntarily or by forced deportations have been planted on the territory of an alien nation and have become reconciled with living alongside the native majority. These naturally cannot have any right to political independence.

What interests us here are not debatable mass segments which have been grafted on the body politic of a foreign people, but the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union which erroneously have been called minorities, notwithstanding the fact that within the frontiers of their own historical fatherlands they constitute overwhelming majorities, have merited the exalted title of Soviet Republic and, at least on paper, have even the right of seceding from the Union and forming an independent state if they so desire.

It is these nationalities which the great Russians have succeeded in branding with the derogatory name of minorities. The great Russians succeeded in this business of defamation by virtue of their armed conquest of minorities which, taken as a whole, outnumber the Russians, but taken each separately are smaller than the Russian population.

This is no reason at all, however, why this fallacious tag, outrageously forced on the non-Russian nationalities, should cause such confusion of minds as to lead men to think that these nationalities are real minorities in the commonly accepted sense, and, therefore, they have no right to aspire to political independence.

One of the most stubborn obstacles to a proper understanding of the psychology of Russia's non-Russian nationalities is the Great-Russian reluctance to reconcile themselves with the idea that these peoples who were conquered by the czars and the Soviet masters, now striving for their independence, have a perfect right to secede from mother Russia. This is most unfortunate, because any ultimate solution of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union is contingent on Great-Russian willingness, understanding, and cooperation. Secession from mother Russia the Great-Russians regard as nothing but the dismemberment of the one and indivisible Russia, an unpardonable crime.

No matter how strong the Great-Russian opposition, the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, however, is a foregone conclusion as an historical inevitability. The days of all types of imperialism are numbered and all subjugated peoples will achieve their independence sooner or later, one way or another. Already a number of peoples under English, French, and Dutch imperialism have won their independence and the rest are on the road to complete emancipation. It is only the Soviet or Russian imperialistic empire which, although having changed the form but never having denied the substance, still persists in fighting off the course of history with its huge armies. The persistence will avail the Soviet nothing. As recent events in Poland and Hungary have demonstrated, sooner or later the Soviet Empire will be forced to follow the road of all other imperialisms.

Somewhat different but partly consistent with the Great-Russian stand is the view prevalent among the anti-Communist democratic groups of Great-Russians who regard as imperialistic acquisitions only those conquests which were made after World War II—Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, and Western Germany. They never regard the forced acquisitions of Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Ukrainia, Byelorussia, and the Transcaspian countries as imperialistic conquests. They justify this preposterous stand by the absurd contention that these non-Russian republics have historically become organic and inseparable parts of Russia. Curiously enough the conquest of these peoples was no different from the conquest of the above-mentioned satellite states of Eastern Europe. The fact that the latter peoples have assimilated some elements of Russian culture in no wise changes the political situation. It does not doom the subjugated peoples to eternal servitude of the Russian state. Even accepting the oft advanced parent-and-children relationship between the Great-Russians and the subjugated non-Russian nationalities, it stands to reason that, once these children have come of age, they have a perfect right to leave the paternal hearth and seek a separate life of their own.

Another attitude peculiar to the anti-Communist segment of the Great-Russians is their keen resentment whenever anyone holds the Russian people responsible for the creation of the Communist establishment. They resentfully point out, alongside the names of Lenin, Bukharin, and Rykov, such non-Russian names as Trotsky, Zinoviev, Stalin, Miasnikian, and Mikoyan. Is it not true that representatives of all nationalities of Russia took part in the Communist revolution of 1917? Why pick out, necessarily, only the Russians and not the rest?

It is quite true that Lenin's collaborators included a large number of non-Russians who, as individuals, had a great share in the Bolshevik victory. The issue here is not the responsibility of individuals, but the responsibility of peoples insofar as they can be responsible for good or bad deeds in a given country.

Approached from this angle, it is incontestible that the introduction of Soviet tyranny was the work exclusively of the Great-Russians. The Soviet evil became entrenched in Russia proper through internal conspiracy, without external aid, and even despite foreign opposition, whereas in all the rest of the non-Russian nationalities of the Czarist empire the Soviet was implanted through the intervention of the armed forces of Russia proper, i. e., through foreign intervention.

This is an irrefutable historical fact which deserves a bit more comprehensive treatment.

AN IRREFUTABLE HISTORICAL FACT

What happened in the Russian Empire when Lenin and his confederates through internal conspiracy seized the power in Petrograd and Moscow was no mere accident. Nor was it a mere accident when they were trying to consolidate their power in Russia proper—Veliko-Russia, to be precise, when they emerged victorious over the anti-Communist opposition, that all the rest of non-Russian nationalities of the empire not only refused to recognize the Soviet Government of Moscow but they went one step farther and declared their independence.

Lastly, it was no mere accident that in all the non-Russian nationality regions the domestic Communists always proved a contemptible force despite their all-out subversive activities. They not only failed to seize the power but they did not even become a serious danger to the established anti-Soviet governments of their own new republics.

It is an irrefutable fact of history that bolshevism, or communism, became entrenched exclusively in Russia proper through internal conspiracy and without outside aid, even despite foreign opposition. And while it is quite true that the majority of Great-Russians never sympathized with bolshevism and even waged a fierce civil war against it, nevertheless, it is equally true that only in Veliko-Russia could bolshevism appeal to the masses to a sufficient degree to shatter all internal opposition.

After registering this ringing fact, it is pertinent to note that all the rest of non-Russian regions of the Russian Empire were sovietized solely by the Red armies sent from Moscow and never through the triumph of the domestic Communists, or internal conspiracy.

No one will gainsay the fact that, quite naturally, there were many non-Russians who assisted in the Bolshevik conquest of Russia proper. But who can deny also that there were many foreigners and Russians who collaborated with the domestic Communist conspirators in the non-Russian regions? And while this riffraff of Russians and non-Russians succeeded in creating a formidable force in Russia proper which enabled them to seize the power, in the non-Russian nationality regions the same kind of riffraff did

not get to first base without outside aid, namely, the Russian Red armies.

Indicative of the non-Russian peoples' disposition toward the Soviet is a characteristic incident. When Lenin seized the power in Moscow, he appointed his friend, the well-known Armenian Communist Stepan Shahoumian as "Viceroy" of Transcaucasus. Shahoumian met with such hostility in Tiflis, the capital of the Transcaucasian government consisting of the Armenians, the Azeri and the Georgians, that he was forced to flee Tiflis to avoid arrest.

Again, during the May uprising of the Communists in Armenia in 1920, the conspirators were easily defeated by the people of Armenia. Similar attempts to overthrow the governments were tried in all the non-Russian-nationality countries of the Soviet Union but everywhere the conspirators miserably failed. It was after these failures that the Soviet Government in Moscow mobilized its armies and conquered these independent countries one by one.

The fact is, the 14 non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union were conquered by Moscow precisely in the same manner as the satellite countries were conquered by the Soviet after World War II. Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, and Eastern Germany were conquered outright; Czechoslovakia was sovietized by the mere threat of the Red army in 1948; and the Baltic States of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia were annexed without any ceremonies, even though they had enjoyed an independent life over 20 years and they had shown no disposition to join the Soviet Union.

Curiously enough, even the greatest exponents of western democracy among the Great-Russians make a fine distinction between the Soviet satellites and the non-Russian nationalities which had been incorporated by the Czars and their Soviet successors. They are reluctant to accord the same right to the latter through various facetious arguments. In reality there is no basic difference either in the form of their conquests or their aspirations to a separate, independent national life.

There can be no doubt that the Great-Russian people itself is a victim of the Soviet tyranny, and we might say the first victim. On the other hand it cannot be gainsaid that, unfortunately, it has also become the tool of the same tyranny in its imperialistic ambitions and in the enslavement of countless non-Russian peoples.

Another curious aspect of Great-Russian mentality is their emphasis on what might be interpreted as Russian chauvinism. In all the republics and the satellites of the Soviet Empire it is only Russia proper, or Veliko-Russia, whose nationalistic vanity or great state ambitions have received and are receiving satisfaction from the conquests of Soviet tyranny. Only in Veliko-Russia can communism be tolerated as a means of the preservation and the extension of extreme Russian chauvinism, whereas in the satellite and subjugated countries communism not only does not serve as nationalism in disguise but it is an alien force imposed from the outside, diametrically opposed to the national sentiments of these peoples.

It is safe to say that either in the satellite countries or the 14 non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union the Soviet power will not last 24 hours once the Red armies depart from their frontiers or the Soviet tyranny in Moscow is overthrown.

In other words the governments of these countries are plain puppets, therefore it is meaningless to wage war against them without waging war against their masters who are entrenched in Moscow and are held in power mainly through the support of the Great-Russian people. The recent developments in Eastern Germany, in Poland and Hungary have clearly proved that until the Soviet power is overthrown in Moscow or Veliko-Russia, no Soviet-enslaved nation can breathe freely and recover its lost independence.

The struggles of these enslaved peoples cannot be waged successfully in isolated effort. A united effort is necessary to overthrow the Soviet tyranny.

The question is, What really is the Soviet tyranny? What sort of imperialistic power is the Soviet? Is it the Communist international which threatens the peace of the world today? Or is it another sort of power which, under the guise of communism, has been entrenched in Moscow and which, with its armies and its gangs of arsonists, threatens to engulf the whole of mankind?

COMMUNISM OR GREAT RUSSIAN NATIONALISM?

From the days Stalin exterminated Lenin's collaborators and all the old Bolsheviks who posed as a menace to his personal dictatorship, communism, as an internationally ideological social movement ceased to exist as far as the Soviet Union was concerned.

Indeed, what sort of ideological movement could linger in a land where even the Communists could not give free expression to their honest convictions, where every man, to save his skin, was forced to conform to the commands of the dictator under penalty of death, and where, lastly, no one could be sure of even a brief and barely tolerable life for himself and his family without simulating enthusiastic zeal for everything which the dictator said and did? In the world of Stalin's creation it was not honest conviction but the motive of fear, gain, personal safety, and the possibility of a career only which drove men into the lap of the reigning Communist Party.

This fact became obvious during World War II when Stalin set aside his Communist slogans which he well knew could never appeal to the human heart and promulgated patriotic slogans and aims which spoke to all hearts. Once again it was eloquently demonstrated in Hungary where the Communist Party, with a membership of 900,000, literally melted away during the first few days of the popular uprising.

Nevertheless it is noteworthy that, after the experiment of World War II, Stalin saw fit to return to his bankrupt communism which had become perfectly odious to the people and to retain it as the official religion of the Soviet Government. He did this not because he wanted to establish communism as his primary aim but because its retention was felt necessary as the only instrument for the realization of objectives which had no connection whatsoever with communism.

What were these objectives?

First and foremost, there was the matter of the preservation of the Soviet dictatorship at any price. At least for Stalin there was no higher objective than the security of his personal dictatorship for the sake of which he did not hesitate to exterminate even the foremost apostles of communism. But Stalin realized that, to be able to justify his dictatorship, he needed a far more powerful lever than communism as such. Such a lever could easily be found only in the concept of a Great-Russian nation, clearly demonstrated during World War II when he invoked not the founders of communism—Marx, Engels, and Lenin—but the historical heroes of the Great-Russian nation, such as Dmitri-Donskoy, Minin, Pojarski, Field Marshals Suvorov and Kutuzov, and others. At the conclusion of the war at the victory celebration at the Kremlin, his historic speech was an unrestrained eulogy of the Great-Russian people which merited the main honor of the victory and which he proclaimed as the big brother of all the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union.

Since the Great-Russian nation was Stalin's supreme weapon, it will be asked quite naturally why, after the war, did he not discard the hated communism and make Russian nationalism the official religion of the Soviet Union?

The answer to this question is very simple. Stalin could not have done it even if he wanted to do so. Why? Because the communism which the Bolsheviks created in Russia is such a system of political, economic, social, and spiritual enslavement that, without it, he could not have supported his total dictatorship. Besides, in the eyes of the outside world his prestige would be immeasurably enhanced through the promotion of communism rather than Russian nationalism. Only communism could have rallied around him his fifth columnists in the free west.

Needless to say, the same considerations are being utilized by Stalin's successors who are no less champions of Great-Russian nationalism both in the Soviet Union, the satellite countries, and the free world. Communism, they maintained, was ever ready for international "peaceful" cooperation. It was through this game only that Stalin's successors tried, and still try, to win over the neutrals, all the way from Tito's Yugoslavia to Nehru's India and Indonesia. The Kremlin bosses well realize that Great-Russian chauvinistic declarations would redound adversely much the same as Hitler's German chauvinism was his undoing.

Russian democratic leaders resent keenly every time Western leaders identify the Soviet imperialistic policy with czarist imperialism, interpreting it as the continuation of "Great-Russian" ambitions which basically remain unchanged, although they operate under a different name and form.

While the czars extended their empire by armed force, their successors who call themselves Communists, aside from armed force, make use of other means for the extension of their empire. Sometimes these means are even more effective than armed force, such as the economic weapon, the fifth columns, the propaganda arm, subversion, and internal penetration. And if these weapons are not wholly successful, at least they pave the way for the success of armed intervention.

Could it be that the non-Russian leaders and the journalists are wholly unjust when they consider the present Soviet imperialism as the continuation of the czarist policy? Is the Soviet imperialism of today really very different from the erstwhile Great-Russian nationalistic ambitions for expansion?

Had there been a fundamental difference between the two, after the overthrow of the czarist despotism when the non-Russian nationalities seceded from the Great-Russians and declared their independence, why then did the new government entrenched in Moscow reconquer these peoples with armed force and reanhex them to Great-Russia?

If there had been any fundamental difference between the "Great-Russia" concept and the present Soviet imperialism, why then did the Soviet Government at the close of World War II profit from the spoils of the war much the same as the czarist government assuredly would have done?

Be it remembered that the Great-Russians even lack the German excuse for their expansionist policies because few peoples on the globe command such extensive territories as Russia does. Therefore Great-Russia has no cause for casting covetous eyes on the territories of her neighbors, much less to enslave them. Even if all the non-Russian peoples who have been subjugated by the Great-Russians should secede from the empire, there will be enough territory left for Russia for her normal development. Therefore, Russia has no valid cause for holding on to the territories of the non-Russians which she has conquered by armed force,

often profiting by the use of the forces of the very nations.

CHAUVINISM IN THE GARB OF COMMUNISM

Whenever there is a question of nazism the Russian anti-Communist democrats, as well as many Western journalists, never make a sharp distinction between nazism (national socialism) and the German people as they do between bolshevism and the Russian people. They never say the German people were not responsible for the emergence of nazism. On the contrary they insist that nazism was the child of the German people, therefore the latter can never shake off the responsibility for nazism's crimes.

But when the discussion turns to bolshevism, there is a strong tendency on the part of Russians and many Westerners to absolve the Russian people of the crimes of bolshevism. It turns out that bolshevism is essentially an international phenomenon and never Russian, and this makes all the nations responsible for the crimes of communism.

This conclusion is, of course, highly superficial.

It is quite true that bolshevism under the label of communism has become an international movement with international slogans and ideology, and it is equally true that bolshevism has managed to win followers among all peoples. Nazism, on the other hand, was essentially a national movement based upon the concept of the superiority of the German race.

Nevertheless it will not be gainsaid that nazism under the name of fascism, took root in other countries as an international movement which strove to arouse in those peoples the spirit of their national excellence. Similarly bolshevism, garbed in the internationalist uniform, is essentially a chauvinistic movement which strives for the supremacy of Great Russia, with this difference that bolshevism is more cleverly disguised under the cloak of communism.

It can confidently be stated that, had communism first triumphed in any western European country, it would have been far different than the Russian bolshevism which became entrenched strictly through the means of the Russian people. In reality, the power, or the movement, which under the label of communism today threatens the peace and the freedom of entire mankind is nothing but a movement which was conceived and molded in the womb of the Russian people, and stamped with the worst characteristics of that people.

Actually bolshevism is the nazism of the Russian people, even as nazism was the bolshevism of the German people. Essentially both are the one and the same thing, differing from each other only in their ideological garb. Like nazism, bolshevism did not drop down out of a clear blue sky. As nazism took forms of varying degrees in Italy and Germany befitting the characteristics of each people, so bolshevism with its familiar attributes could have triumphed only in Russia. This circumstance in no wise detracts from the splendid qualities of the Russian people—their invaluable contributions to the arts, the sciences and literature, much the same as nazism could not obscure the contributions of the German genius in the fields of science, philosophy, music and literature.

True, communism is not a Russian concept but was born and took form as a "social science" in Western Europe. Similarly, the international Communist movement is not of Russian origin and communism took root in Russia not as a Russian movement but essentially as an international nonpatriotic, and even an antipatriotic movement.

But it is equally true that, after seizing the power the Russian leaders of communism, beginning with Lenin and especially Stalin until the present day Khrushchevs, slowly and imperceptibly became the ringleaders of Great-Russian chauvinism to whom communism is no longer an aim but a means to an end. Essentially it was this circumstance which enabled them to perpetuate their power in Russia. Essentially it was this circumstance which enabled them to emerge victorious in World War II. And it was this same circumstance which enabled them to reconquer the non-Russian nationalities which had recovered their independence on the ruins of the czarist empire.

There can be no question that, had Russian bolshevism faced the free world without a disguise and had operated as the exponent of Great-Russian imperialism, it would have made little headway in the free countries of the world in gaining followers. Unquestionably the Communist mask is a great aid in hooking countless gullibles among the non-Russians, something which German nazism was unable to accomplish because it lacked any such clever ideological masquerade.

This fact was made apparent by the inveterate hostility which Stalin and his heirs exhibited toward all national Communist movements and their leaders of the non-Russian nationalities under their control. During the last 30 years the leaders of these national Communist movements attempted to deviate from the path mapped out by Moscow in their effort to arrive at communism in their own individual ways. These attempts were made not only in the non-Russian nationality countries of the Soviet Union but in the satellite countries as well. However, they all were liquidated with the exception of Tito and his comrades and quite recently Gomulka of Poland.

If the bosses of the Kremlin were really bent on serving the interests of communism and not their Great-Russian chauvinism they would not have forced their will on the Communist governments of the non-Russians, nor would they have insisted on the teaching of the Russian language as obligatory. To men who are sincerely dedicated to the cause of communism it would have made little difference by what road or in what language the final goal is reached. The thing which would have mattered would have been loyalty to those objectives.

True, after the death of Stalin, the Khrushchevs and the Bulganins showed a more tolerant attitude toward the Titoists and even went so far as to promise to recognize the right of all nationality Communists to pursue the path of communism in their individual national way. They made substantial concessions to Gomulka in this respect. But after the uprising in Hungary, even Khrushchev who only a few months before had discredited Stalin was forced to confess that he and his comrades were firm Stalinists. As to what real Stalinism means the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China only recently gave an eloquent definition:

"Stalin in his relations with the brotherly countries showed a certain tendency to Great-Russian chauvinism. This he expressed in his denials of the independence and the equality of rank of Communist parties and Communist countries. Stalin sometimes unjustly intervened in their internal affairs—an intervention which resulted in serious consequences."

If the Communist Chinese were not vitally interested in cooperating with the present Soviet dictators they would surely have admitted that, no less than Stalin, his successors are running a Great-Russian imperialistic policy. It is highly significant that the greatest friends of Red Moscow, such as the Chinese Communists, publicly emphasize, even if indirectly, the Great-Russian chauvinism of the Soviet leaders.

It is a deplorable fact that the Russian democrats, while fiercely fighting against the Soviet dictatorship, fail to perceive the chauvinism of the Soviet leaders under their masquerade. By such an attitude they render exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, any concerted action against the common enemy, to say nothing of their indirectly encouraging chauvinism among the Russian people.

There can be no question that the Russian people itself will greatly benefit once it sheds off its imperialistic airs and retrenches itself within its ethnological frontiers; for only then will the Russian people be able to develop its innate great talents and to insure for itself a free, untroubled and autonomous national existence. Only then will Russia cease to be a menace to the freedom of neighboring nations and to the peace of the world.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

United States Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me before the Advertising Council at Washington, D. C., on Monday last.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR MORTON'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE ADVERTISING COUNCIL

Good evening. It is a pleasure for me to have the opportunity to be here with you tonight and to be able to discuss important matters relating to the foreign policy of the United States with this group which is so intimately connected with the formation, dissemination and instrumentation of ideas and policies. Beyond this, your Advertising Council has in the past year been instrumental in the expenditure of nearly $150 million in public service advertising. You have given your time, effort and money to aid neighborhood improvement, to obtain better schools for our young, to help the Red Cross and the CARE food crusade and numerous other causes as well as special efforts in the Hungarian crisis. I understand you are attempting to increase your work this year. For your efforts and achievements I salute you—as a citizen, I thank you. No group would know better that friendship and cooperation have few borders.

As you so well know, there is no longer any question as to whether or not this country has a major and permanent role in the affairs of men. In his inspiring inaugural address last January the President of the United States clearly laid down the responsibilities of this Nation to the totality of mankind. The question is rather—how can we best conduct and discharge this obligation with honor and justice in an enlightened self interest and in the interest of all the peoples of the world?

George Washington's Farewell Address has often been quoted as a warning against what have been termed "foreign entanglements." A letter from Washington to Lafayette, dated August 15, 1786, has received consideraly less attention. In this letter Washington wrote: "As a member of an infant empire * * * and as a citizen of the great republic of humanity at large, I cannot help turning my attention sometimes to this subject * * * I cannote avoid reflecting with pleasure on the probable influence that commerce may hereafter have on human manners and society in general. On these occasions I consider how mankind may be connected, like one great family, in fraternal ties. I indulge a fond, perhaps an enthusiastic, idea that * * * the period is not very remote when the benefits of a liberal and friendly commerce will pretty generally succeed to the devastations of horrors and war." I propose, ladies and gentlemen, that this time is surely now upon us.

There has been a great deal of discussion recently about the foreign policy of the United States. Some voices have been raised in the suggestion that we have no clear foreign policy or that it is a changing one without basic cohesiveness. I suggest, rather, that we have been going through a period of evolution in world affairs and that, concomitantly, our foreign policy has been evolving in response to the new world conditions and necessities.

Historically the foreign policies of nations have been based on certain aspirations and interests—many of these have been self-interests. There have been considerations as to territory, resources, strategic position. There have been particular loyalties toward certain peoples or nations, or antipathies toward others. There have been noble motives and other motives. Indeed, the list of reasons for policies may be as long as the number of policies or alliances of all history. I do not tonight condemn these reasons or considerations but merely point them out as factors which have existed and influenced the foreign policy of many nations throughout the ages.

I do tonight come before you with the firm belief that we have reached the time when the basic underlying principle of the foreign policy of the United States has evolved and can be clearly defined. It is the principle of principle. Woodrow Wilson once said, "Let us remind ourselves that we are the custodians in some degree of the principles which have made man free."

We find ourselves in a very unique position in the history of mankind. Our birth as a nation was in itself unique. Our creation was in response to a purpose based on principle. History has thrust upon us the role of leader of the free world. This is not a role that we as a people sought or even wanted. We are faced by a militant and amoral Communist force that has as its avowed intention the enslavement of the peoples of our world. Ours is a time when nationalism has reached fervent heights in all parts of the world. We see in our time the birth of new nations—all with high hopes, many with old cultures, few with any experience in self-government or the conduct of foreign affairs. For these reasons we must have a policy which goes beyond the basis of loyalty or friendship, or of cultural, racial, or religious ties. This policy can only be based on principle.

What do I mean by policy based on principle? Any definition, in full form, would be rather broad and I shall elaborate on it throughout the course of my remarks. However, I believe that this principle which must now guide us has an essence. It means that we must strive, in our relationships with the rest of the world, to work always for that harmony, understanding and accord which will epitomize the highest and noblest aspirations, not only of our own Nation, but of the entire world. And if we feel that there are, in the American way, things of universal value which could benefit all mankind we must dedicate our efforts to helping others to adapt such of these as may be beneficial to their way of life.

We must never confuse friendship, or even leadership, with paternalism or self-righteousness. We must make it abundantly clear that our motives are honest and sincere, and we must be prepared to state them clearly.

We desire a world at peace, where all men may live according to their own cultural traditions in societies of their own choice. We want all people to possess the freedom of thought, belief, and choice to which every human being is entitled and we want for all a fuller and richer daily life. And we hope that through mutual understanding, clear expression, and dedicated effort we will all come closer together.

It has become generally accepted that the task of free world leadership has fallen to the United States. It is essential that we discharge this task with the conscience of principle. Our policies must not be based on affection for or antipathy toward any nation or people. Particular loyalties must not be allowed to overshadow the tremendous burden of principled world leadership. We cannot be permitted the indulgences that biased likes or dislikes forbode.

There will be times when public opinion at home is influenced by cultural, racial, or religious loyalties to friends abroad. At such times, although our road will be even more difficult, we must be prepared to bear the additional burden.

We recently have had just such an example. I refer to the Suez crisis, when principle forced us to take a strong stand against our traditional allies in their use of force to settle the dispute in that area. I firmly believe that our stand in this instance was just and correct. It was an example of leadership by principle. Nevertheless it shows that it is more difficult to lead by principle than by loyalty, friendship, or interest.

I am understanding of those who motivated by loyalty supported the position taken by our historic friends in the Suez matter and were sharply critical of the position taken by this country. But I point out that none of these persons or nations has the unique responsibility that rests on the United States in the troubled and explosive world of today. That responsibility is constant and must be consistent. I do not mean to imply that loyalty does not have its place in our dealings with other nations. Loyalty we admire and disloyalty we deplore. In this country and elsewhere the strongest loyalty is the family loyalty. We recognize this in our own judicial processes. We do not require husband or wife to testify one against the other. Yet in the discharge of our unique responsibility there can be only loyalty to principle. This concept does not relieve us of any commitment into which we may have entered. Certainly we will be loyal and faithful to our obligations to our many allies just as we have been in the past. However, we cannot discharge our responsibility by condoning any action taken by a member of the family of nations just because that nation happens to be a member of a friendly alliance. All actions must be measured against the yardstick of principle.

Let me again quote our illustrious first President who said in his farewell address, "It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. * * * In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others, who be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave.

It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. * * * The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim." Once more the wisdom of Washington is clear.

This policy of principle which I have tried to describe and to illustrate by reference to George Washington was clearly put to the test by the tragic chain of events which has taken place during the past 8 months in the Middle East. In my judgment those responsible for the conduct of the United States' foreign affairs faithfully applied the measure of principle to the actions of other nations. Our reaction to this chain of events was in keeping with our own tradition of justice and our avowed purpose to achieve the settlement of such disputes by peaceful means.

In charting our course this country did not take the easy way. Principle demanded that we take the hard way and stand in firm opposition to our very closest traditional friends and allies. During these trying months we made it clear both within and without the United Nations that if our friends would abandon forceful intervention in Egypt we would undertake definite responsibilities. Now we cannot allow Colonel Nasser to think we will turn away from our responsibility just because he turns so readily from his own country's international responsibility. As a small nation and early in our history we stood up to powerful tyranny. Surely as a great nation we will now stand up to petty tyranny.

In the formation and execution of this policy based on principle we must avoid the influence of inveterate antipathies or prejudices of the past. We must be on guard against our natural tendencies to condemn the political and social systems of those who do not completely agree with us. We have a deep belief in our own form of government and political system. I share this belief. But the role of world leadership demands a willingness to work with others toward whom we may be unsympathetic or whose systems differ from our own.

This country has worked out a successful program of what has been termed person-to-person diplomacy. This means that as a nation we are willing to sit down face to face, as if man to man, to discuss agreements, disagreements and many matters of mutual concern. And yet recently a head of state who had travelled to this country for just such a talk was publicly insulted upon his arrival. At this very moment, other heads of state whose visits might prove of ultimate benefit to all peoples cannot participate in this new dynamic diplomacy for fear of similar acts of shortsightedness.

I do not wish to imply that we should spread the welcome mat for the architects of the international Communist conspiracy. Nor should we do so for those who illegally hold innocent American nationals imprisoned. I do maintain that we should be big enough to overcome prejudice in talking to those whose political system we may not approve or whose neutralist stand we may not favor.

I do not suggest that we abandon any of our traditional beliefs or standards. On the contrary, we should attempt to foster and strengthen these standards where we may. I do say we must be openminded and accept other peoples with their standards and traditions. However, I wish to state very plainly that this respect for tradition does not mean that we shall ever fail to acknowledge the natural and just desires of all people for freedom and personal dignity. And we shall never fail to recognise the validity of natural and just change and progress.

I contend that no nation has any cause to doubt such intentions on our part. We have never sought to conquer or to annex. We seek no ones territory or interests. We have such abundance that seeking is not necessary. Instead we must wish to give, not so much of substance as of those eternals which we have always held self evident. We will not hurt ourselves by so doing. In fact, we will greatly help ourselves, both practically and as men of good will.

We must seek greater intercourse with less restriction, greater clarity with faith in its return, and better understanding based on deeds and acts. And through all, our primary consideration must be, not race, not religion, not color, not similarity of culture, not propinquity, not community of interest, but principle, absolute and yet understanding, as right alone can be.

I would like to conclude by quoting a distinguished American writer whose words seem particularly appropriate: "American freedom has its being in principles which do not belong to America but to the world. Our whole evolution is based on the action of these principles, and our hope of future solutions rests upon our further ability to apply them. To withdraw is to undermine ourselves. And to define our defense in purely military terms is to deny ourselves the further development of our own free institutions.

In the last analysis, then * * * the formulation of a sound policy for America involves spiritual as well as military and economic considerations: * * * in the sense that we must continually rediscover within ourselves, and continually learn to implement, those universal human principles of which our version of freedom has been created. Without these principles we cannot hope to be free. Yet we cannot hope to understand them if we consider them exclusively our own. The isolationist cliche that America should serve her own ends exclusively has little meaning when viewed in this light. We must so frame our policies that we may discover in ourselves, as individuals, and learn to implement, that which we hold in common with all humanity.

There come times in the history of every people when destiny knocks on their door with an iron insistence. In the history of America, destiny has knocked thus three times; once when we faced the seemingly impossible odds of British power to gain our independence; once at Fort Sumter, when we faced the bloody task of preserving our Union; and it is knocking today.

It is true that on other grave occasions Americans have heard the knock of destiny. They heard it in 1917 when they sent their first expeditionary force to Europe. They heard it even more loudly in 1941, when they roused out of an isolationist lethargy to fight—again against odds—one of the most brilliant and important wars in history. Yet on neither of those occasions did the knocking have the iron clang that we hear today. In World War I, and even in World War II, a mold existed into which we could pour our vast energies. Our power—and in the second war our leadership also—was essential to victory. But it was not our task to make the mold. It was not our task to determine either the geographical contours or the moral content of the battle. That had already been done by the rest of the world.

But today, though we again have allies, though we have the United Nations, though we have access to resources all over the world, it is we who must shape the struggle; we must make the mold. That is the meaning of the iron clang. Our outlook is the same as it was at the time of the Revolution, and again at the time of the Civil War; the shape of things to come depends on us; our moral decision, our wisdom, our vision, and our will." Thank you.

Address by Republican National Chairman at Testimonial Dinner for Representative Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Meade Alcorn, Republican National Chairman, at a testimonial dinner honoring Representative HUGH SCOTT, of the Sixth Pennsylvania District, and others, at Philadelphia, Pa., on April 3, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY MEADE ALCORN, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, AT A TESTIMONIAL DINNER AT THE BELLEVUE STRATFORD HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, PA., APRIL 3, 1957, HONORING CONGRESSMAN HUGH SCOTT, SIXTH DISTRICT; GEORGE BLOOM, PENNSYLVANIA REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN, AND CHARLES SMITH, AUDITOR GENERAL-ELECT FOR THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

It's always a great pleasure to visit Pennsylvania. Through the years I have enjoyed the warmest of welomes here. When I was asked to speak at this testimonial for 3 outstanding Republicans—including 2 old friends—I told the planners of this dinner I would eagerly accept and for several reasons: I count HUGH SCOTT among my oldest friends. His outstanding service to the Republican Party—as a Congressman from the Sixth District, as Republican national chairman, and now as general counsel for the Republican National Committee—has made him one of the most respected personalities in Washington today.

I might point out right here that HUGH SCOTT is the only Republican to be elected to Congress from the great city of Philadelphia for almost 10 years. This is a tribute to his remarkable vote-getting ability and a tribute also to his record in Washington where he is known as a working Congressman.

Your State chairman, George Bloom, is a man I have known and worked with for many years. He has been a loyal and active supporter and advocate of the principles that now make our party great. I can pay him no higher tribute than to say: he is a real pro.

The third guest of honor, Charles Smith, I have had the privilege to meet for the first time today. It is apparent that the people of Pennsylvania have exercised splendid judgment in electing him to the high office of Auditor General, a post of great trust and responsibility, which I am sure he will discharge with distinction.

I am happy, not only to share in your tribute to these three fine Republicans here this evening, but I am also delighted to return to the home State of so distinguished a statesman as Senator MARTIN. His fine service to you and to the Nation is ably matched in the House by a fine group of Republican Representatives with all of whom it is my privilege to have frequent contact. Congressman SIMPSON, the chairman of the congressional campaign committee, is performing an especially noteworthy service for

the party and I enjoy a close-working relationship with him.

Pennsylvania is one of the States which offers great challenge to the Republican Party in 1957 and 1958. Over 56 percent of the voters in this State endorsed the Eisenhower Republican program in 1956. Notwithstanding that, we find a Democrat administration in the governor's office, one Democrat representing this State in the United States Senate, 13 of your 30 Representatives in the Lower House are Democrats, and this great city of Philadelphia is served by a Democrat administration. That picture presents a challenge to every Republican in this State.

The roots of Republican philosophy run deep in Pennsylvania. The long history of Republican achievements here should make it easier in meeting the challenge in 1957 and 1958—because instead of attempting to change the voting habits or patterns of generations you will be seeking to return to the voting habits and patterns which made this State a fortress of Republicanism.

Your State chairman has already demonstrated the kind of vigorous, inspired leadership which the campaigns of 1957 and 1958 require. His recent telegram to party officials was a stirring call to action. If the Republicans of Pennsylvania heed that call and follow that kind of leadership we are entitled to expect victory at the polls in 1957 and 1958.

The election returns of November 6, 1956, have been characterized as something less than a complete victory for the Republican Party. While President Eisenhower and Vice President NIXON carried 41 of the 43 States and amassed the staggering plurality of 9½ million votes, our party failed to elect a Republican majority in either the Senate or the House. That latter fact has at times attained such prominence in the thinking of some people as to lead them to believe that we "lost" the 1956 election.

Let's take a look at that for just a moment. It is reliably reported that the research department at Democratic National Committee headquarters recently concluded that there had been an alarming decline in their party's strength throughout the country, principally in the large cities and in the South. Their survey, it is said, disclosed that the percentage of the two-party vote polled by the Democrat Party was in fact less than they received in the congressional elections of 1954. To add further to Democrat National Chairman Butler's distress, the survey is said to have shown that the 24 States where Democrats won congressional majorities reflect a total electoral vote of only 242, which is not enough to achieve a victory in a presidential race. If these figures mean anything, they do mean a continuing marked decline in Democrat strength. But they also contain a sober lesson for us for they indicate that 51 seats in the House of Representatives were captured by Democrats by a margin of less than 5 percent of the vote cast for Congress in those districts. Those figures point up the distressing fact that we have been losing seats in the Senate and in the House which, with a little more aggressiveness a little more ingenuity and a little more work, we could have won. We can't afford to repeat those mistakes—and from what I learn about the preparations being made here it appears that you are going to put on a campaign of unprecedented intensity in 1957 and 1958.

I hope the series of regional Republican conferences which we have planned—including one in Trenton, N. J., on May 24 and 25 which Republican officials from this State will attend—will prove to be a big help in the campaigns that lie ahead.

I know that election campaigns for county offices might not be as exciting as a presidential campaign. But winning the battle of the courthouse is every bit as important as winning elections for governor or Congress. Victories this year for Republican candidates in local elections will lay the groundwork for the bigger victories which we are working for in 1958.

Pennsylvania's State government is bogged down in Democrat ineptness, inefficiency, fumbling, and foundering. Governor Leader's pitiful record presents the Republican Party with one of its biggest opportunities in 1958. The people of Pennsylvania have found through bitter trial that a Democrat governor is an expensive luxury. I know that George Bloom and the rest of Pennsylvania's Republican leadership are planning to offer the people of Pennsylvania candidates who stand for efficiency, economy, and sound Republican principles that have made this State the great State it is today.

I want to take a few minutes to explode the old hoax that there is no real difference between the two major national parties.

The Democrat Party as it is constituted today—indeed as it has been constituted since 1932—call it the New Deal or Fair Deal—is the party which stands for bureaucracy, centralization of power in Washington, big government. It is the party which has demonstrated repeatedly an inability to keep us out of war. It is the party which not only practices deficit financing but appears actually to believe in it. It is the party which coddled Communists. It is the party which provided the unhealthy climate in which corruption, five-percenters, mink coaters and all their ilk were bred and flourished. It is the party under which the dignity and prestige of the White House deteriorated to an alltime low. It is the party which talked more and did less about civil rights than any party in our history. It is the party which by its repeated acts showed either contempt or condescension for the decency and worth of the individual. I could go on and on—and so could you—identifying the Democrat Party, its New Deal or its Fair Deal, as the very antithesis of everything in which you and I believe.

But what does the Republican Party stand for? You believe, and I believe that the best government is the least government, that political power should be kept close to the people; that centralization of power in Washington with its bureaucracy and redtape are fundamentally bad; that a government, like a family, must live within its means to be truly prosperous; that prosperity can be maintained without war; that the people's affairs can be administered by a government without trampling on individual liberties and that they must be administered without impairing the dignity and worth of the individual. These are some of the things that you and I believe in. Because we believe these things we believe the Republican Party is the best instrument known to man for the government of a free people. Now, when we consider what the Democrat Party stands for, is it fair to utter such a preposterous comment as the one I received in that letter? Of course not. The chasm which separates the Democrat Party from the Republican Party is wide and impassable.

The Republican Party—indeed even the Democrat Party—is alive today with discussion about what the Republican Party stands for, where it is headed.

What does "Modern Republicanism" mean? There is a lot of talk about "Modern Republicanism." I think that is a healthy and worthwhile condition. The self-examination which we are today undergoing is one of the surest signs of the vigor and vitality of which the party is possessed. Let's not discourage it. The great progress we have made as a party is the result of reasoned compromise among conflicting opinions. I have several times said I believe it is easier to describe than it is to define. It seems to me it can be described as the belief in and adherence to all of those traditional principles which have made our party great, but with one important added ingredient—a sense of mission. "Modern Republicanism" is a crusading Republicanism. Whether we call it by that or any other name it is essentially traditional Republicanism with a sense of mission. Perhaps one can describe it by visualizing two Republicans sitting side by side on the porch. One is rocking contentedly back and forth in his chair saying to himself, "I am a Republican, and I believe in all the things that make our party great."

The other is sitting alertly on the edge of his chair and is saying to himself, "I am a Republican, and I believe in all the things that make our party great, and I am going to do something about it. I am going to put those principles and those beliefs to work. I am going to make them live and move and do things that keep our country strong and prosperous and at peace." It is the latter kind of Republican—Republicans with a sense of mission, with a sense of urgency to meet and solve the problems of today, that I visualize as the "Modern Republican" we have heard so much about. If that be so, every person here is that kind of Republican whether you call him modern, liberal, crusading, or what have you, for we are today a party of action. We are today a party alert and sensitive and responsive to the needs of the people and fully equipped to meet and solve those needs. We are solving them and can continue to solve them without surrendering or retreating from any of the fundamental political beliefs which have made the Republican Party great.

Of course there are differences of opinion within our party respecting the manner in which we should achieve the ends the people have set for us. But our points of agreement as Republicans are more numerous and more important than our points of disagreement. On the other hand, in the Democrat Party the points of disagreement are more numerous and more important than the points of agreement. The Democrat Party is torn with inner dissensions, with bitter sectional differences and with utterly irreconcilable philosophical divisions. The Democrat Party is today a loose confederation of politicians held together by no deep-rooted political philosophy but by a common, desperate desire to exercise power. They are groping to find an issue on which they can go to the voters in 1958. The Republican Party, on the other hand, is today strong, vigorous, and united under the dedicated, unselfish leadership of Dwight D. Eisenhower and RICHARD M. NIXON. The Nation is at peace. Our people are enjoying unparalleled prosperity. We are going forward in every conceivable field of activity under an administration which welcomes and nourishes individual initiative and which has a deep faith in the dignity and worth of the individual citizen.

The task we face in 1958 will require our utmost in ingenuity and vigor. President Eisenhower has stated as our major objective the election of a Republican majority in the United States Senate and House. To succeed in that we must present the best possible candidates, the best possible program, and the best possible organization. We need every single one of these elements in every district to assure a victory. The manner in which you yourselves have demonstrated your recognition of this is a source of great reassurance to me. We no longer can enjoy the luxury of offering the voters passable candidates running on mediocre programs and supported by a half-hearted organization effort.

I would like to suggest that all of us Republicans add a further ingredient in preparing our organization effort for 1958. I would like to see us develop a greater pride in partisanship. I would like to see us develop a keener sense of team spirit—a feeling that anything Republican is good because it is

Republican. I would like to see us instill as much enthusiasm into our Republican organization throughout the Nation as many of us have for our favorite football team or baseball team. We need to develop more vociferous cheerleaders within the party and fewer eloquent dissidents. Let's keep our family differences within the family and remember that the Democrat Party is our common adversary and not some other Republican. If we develop a team spirit along with good candidates, a good program and good organization, we have, I believe, the prescription for victory.

The Republican Party is today the party of action, the party of the future. Unlike the Democrat Party, we Republicans believe that worship of the past or cynical adherence to the expediency of the present is not enough to win and hold the confidence of the voters. We have won the confidence of the people because we are unwilling to be a party of inaction or a party of reaction. We shall hold the confidence of the voters so long as we keep alive our sense of mission—keep alive a keen awareness that we must always be responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people. That is the road to victory—and to continued peace, prosperity, and progress.

Lives or Dollars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, are we building our new highways for the safety and enjoyment of the public or for exploitation by private greed? Shall we make them safe and give the people an opportunity to see America first? Or shall we erect billboard canyons and ribbon slums, hemmed in with blatant advertisements of pink pills for pale people and 57 kinds of beer, interspersed with pinboard carnivals and hotdog stands?

The question involves not only the safety of the individual but the safety of the Nation. Rear Adm. Neill Phillips testified before a congressional committee that the restriction of billboards along our superhighways is necessary for national defense.

He said billboards would impede movement of troops and refugees in emergencies and interfere with directional signs vitally important in civil defense operations. He contended that billboards would distract drivers and present fire and splinter hazards to civil defense.

He insisted that the Government properly can protect aesthetic values by controlling the nuisance characteristics of billboards.

Referring to arguments that billboards would stimulate business, he said:

I just don't believe that the voters of America can be made to believe that it is good for the national economy to squander millions of dollars to deface our country with a hideous rash of billboards along the network of our new superhighways.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch said editorially in its issue of March 29, 1957:

BEAUTY, NOT SAFETY, THE ISSUE

A great many people must respond favorably to the idea that the new interstate highways should be protected against the commercial exploitation that has turned many existing highways into rural slums.

We reach that conclusion because the outdoor advertising industry has begun to fight back. It sponsored a study at Iowa State College which concluded that billboards along highways have some slightly beneficial effects in that they keep drivers from succumbing to highway hypnosis. Another paper based on research in Iowa and Michigan concludes that there is no significant relationship between outdoor advertising signs and highway accidents, and that the evidence, if any, is slightly in favor of signs as a safety measure.

These conclusions are tenuous enough to warrant being ignored, but we do not expect the billboard people to ignore them.

Actually the safety issue is not the basic one. The new highways should be protected from commercial exploitation because the motorist is entitled to see some natural beauty just for the fund of it—or the good of his soul. And there are other ways of combating highway hypnosis than obscuring the view with signs.

And the Washington Star on March 30, 1957, said:

ROADSIDE EYESORES

The movement to safeguard the proposed 41,000-mile Interstate Highway System from roadside eyesores of the type so familiar to travelers on United States Route 1 is worthy of public support—although the movement is a bit belated. It would have been better if some statement of policy, at the least, had been included in the 1956 Federal Highway Act which authorized the network. For it is evident that a strong fight will be waged by commercial signboard and other interests to make the most of the new roadside locations opened up by the huge highway program.

The law's deficiency was brought to public attention last December by Robert Moses, New York's park chief, in a Harper's article. He wrote that the new expressways would be "all left exposed to an indiscriminate mushroom growth of ugly filling stations, hotdog stands, and all the other familiar roadside eyesores." He warned that "if the billions of public investment * * * are to be protected and the value of our scenery and natural assets is to be preserved, steps to prevent the onslaught of commercial advertising must be taken before construction gets underway." Since then several bills have been introduced calling for varying degrees of Federal control of roadside defacement—either by the setting of standards voluntarily to be enforced by the States or by the withholding of Federal funds for noncompliance with the standards. Hearings on some of these proposals are being held this week.

We hope that some reasonable method of control can be worked out, so that the new vistas of natural scenery through which the new highways will run will not be desecrated as some of our older highways have been.

We have at the gates of Washington one of the most convincing demonstrations that could be made. Driving out of the city on Highway No. 1 we find an arterial highway so blinded by obscuring billboards—although it has not yet reached its ultimate nuisance potential—such a discordant riot of gaudy billboard excesses as to completely hide one of the most beautiful countrysides to be found in historic Virginia.

On the other hand, entering the city from the same direction is the famed Shirley Highway from which the reckless dollar-crazed exploiters have been excluded and which is a delight to the eye of the tired city dweller who enjoys a Virginia landscape of surpassing beauty, uncontaminated and unspoiled by the blare and glare of vandal billboards.

Drive over these two highways and take your choice.

Alexander Hamilton's Philosophy of Government, Then and Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, as chairman of the Alexander Hamilton Commission, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "Alexander Hamilton's Philosophy of Government, Then and Now," which was delivered by David F. Maxwell, of Philadelphia, to the American Bankers' Association.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALEXANDER HAMILTON'S PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT, THEN AND NOW

(Address delivered by David F. Maxwell, of Philadelphia, at American Bankers Association, Trust Division, New York City, February 6, 1957, at Waldorf-Astoria Hotel)

This year we are celebrating the 200th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. It was Alexander Hamilton, you will recall, who above all others in the Constitutional Convention of 1781, advocated a strong central government. It seems, therefore, particularly appropriate in connection with the observance of this event to review this great American's political philosophy and to superimpose upon his thinking the recent significant changes in constitutional interpretation which have resulted in the concentration of vast power in the Federal Government.

Alexander Hamilton, as you know, was born January 11, 1757, and died on July 12, 1804, at the age of 47, the victim of a duel with Aaron Burr. If he were to return to New York today in the manner of Rip Van Winkle, a short span of little more than 150 years later, he would be utterly amazed—not only at the sight of our streamlined automobiles, our jet planes, and our nuclear-powered submarines, but what is even more relevant, at the transformation which has occurred in the influence of the Federal Government since he participated in the framing of our Constitution back in 1781.

For you gentlemen, the tenets of Alexander Hamilton should be of special interest because they stemmed from his knowledge of finance and his experience in the law. It is interesting to note that he was admitted to the bar of New York after reading law for only 6 months. This is indicative of his tremendous capacity for learning.

He was dedicated to the proposition that the future of the country rested in the establishment of a strong central government with complete autonomy over the several States. In this respect he was at the op-

posite end of the pole from his contemporary, James Madison, who is given credit for formulating the ideas embodied in the Constitution. Mr. Hamilton, you will remember, urged that the Executive should be elected for life and that the power to govern should be concentrated in the hands of a few aristocrats.

Although he was the only delegate from New York whose signature appears on the final document, his disappointment with its provisions was thinly veiled. "Better than nothing," was his curt comment following the adoption of the Constitution which was later to be described by William Gladstone, the great British statesman and Prime Minister, as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

Hamilton firmly believed, as did most of his colleagues, that the Constitution had merely brought into being a loose confederation of States. If the old adage, "coming events cast their shadows" is true, then Alexander Hamilton must have been the shadow in the Constitutional Convention for it was he who predicted that the Federal Government had to be strong to be effective. Yet little did he realize that without changing a word of the Constitution, there could emerge a concentration of power in the Federal Government which would be far beyond even his most cherished dream.

Despite his dissatisfaction with the final result of the efforts of the 55 delegates at the Convention, he saw, through the medium of the Treasury, an opportunity to accomplish in some small measure by indirection what he had failed to bring about by direct action in the Convention. You will remember that it had been Hamilton who outlined for Robert Morris a comprehensive system of public credit to be founded on a foreign loan, a bank, a responsible Minister of Finance, and some taxes in hand. Behind the plan, Hamilton showed a more acute understanding of the potentialities of the capitalist system than any man in America of his time. Said he, "The only plan that can preserve the currency is one that will make it the immediate interest of the moneyed men to cooperate with the Government in its support."

Immediately upon his assuming the office of Secretary of the Treasury, he launched a program consistent with these views and designed to enhance the prestige of the Central Government. His main objective was to build for his country a union of government and business which would make possible the development of modern capitalism.

Hamilton subscribed to the belief that the word "government" means a complete sovereignty having the force of a law of nature. He was convinced that the Constitution as drafted fell far short of this concept and vested entirely too much sovereignty in the several States.

It is too bad that his life had to be snuffed out at such an early age for had he lived but 15 more years, he would have been elated to discover that the instrument which he had created—the national bank—became the medium through which the powers of the Federal Government were expanded by constitutional interpretation.

On March 6, 1819, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its historic decision in *McCulloch* v. *Maryland*. Its effect on the people was immediate and electric. Howls of protest reverberated throughout the land.

The facts in that famous case were that the Congress had authorized the incorporation of a second bank of the United States which then established a branch in Baltimore. The Legislature of Maryland had passed an act requiring all banks "established without authority from this State" to issue notes in accordance with certain regulations or in lieu thereof only upon payment of a tax. The Baltimore branch of the national bank disregarded the requirements and refused to pay the tax. As a result, the treasurer of the Western Shore of Maryland sued the cashier of the Baltimore branch to recover the penalties prescribed by the Maryland statute.

It was Chief Justice Marshall's opinion in that case which established the doctrine of implied powers and thereby overnight strengthened the powers of the Central Government. As the Chief Justice so eloquently explained, the National Government had been granted specified powers to lay and collect taxes, to borrow money, to regulate commerce, to declare and conduct war, and to raise and support armies and navies. The establishment of a bank, he reasoned, was a necessary means by which the great delegated powers could be carried into execution. "The power being given," stated the Chief Justice, "it is in the interest of the Nation to facilitate its execution." By way of illustration he pointed out that Congress has the specific power to establish post offices and post roads which would be meaningless unless there went with it the power to carry the mail from post office to post office and the right to punish those who steal from the post office or rob the mail. These were implied powers necessarily following in the wake of the specifically delegated powers.

In that opinion appeared one of the most celebrated passages ever delivered by a Justice of the Supreme Court: "Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited but consistent with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional."

We have come to regard that decision as the polestar, lighting the way for expanding Federal powers through constitutional interpretation. Yet in those days it sparked a debate which was not to be finally settled until the Civil War. The current criticism being leveled at the Supreme Court in certain sections of the country by reason of the segregation cases is comparable to the vitriolic attack against the Court in 1819 following the McCulloch decision. Leading in berating the Court was Hezekiah Niles, editor of the Weekly Register, who was a contemporary prototype of Horace Greeley. In the first issue of the Register after Marshall's opinion, Niles wrote:

"A deadly blow has been struck at the sovereignty of the States and from a quarter so far removed from the people as to be hardly accessible to public opinion."

Nevertheless the Court weathered that storm as well as it later withstood in 1937 the attempts of the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt to "pack it" and as it will undoubtedly survive the current attack.

The McCulloch decision, in its effect, was like a ripple on a lake compared to the mighty tidal wave of Federal legislation which engulfed the country in the 1930's. Coming in the wake of an unparalleled era of prosperity, a devastating depression struck with the suddenness of lightning. Out of it emerged a Federal Government with powers far transcending the intent of the Founding Fathers.

During the early 1930's, the Congress passed in rapid succession the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Gold Reserve Act, the National Recovery Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority Act, and many other laws designed to stem the tide of the depression. Considering the emergency program in its entirety it constituted a more far-reaching assertion of Federal authority over national economic life than had theretofore ever been attempted. Once again the Hamiltonian powers of nationalism were in the ascendancy. They relied upon the general welfare clause of the Constitution to enable the Federal Government to deal with the emergency situation with which the States seemed unable to cope. The passage of this flood of legislation led to a clash between those who believed that Federal bureaucratic controls over private enterprise were pernicious and those who were convinced that strong and immediate Federal intervention represented the country's only solution.

At first it seemed that those who espoused the ideals of James Madison would prevail. The first of the New Deal statutes reached the Supreme Court in January of 1935. Then within 16 months the Court decided 10 major cases. In 8 the decisions went against the New Deal. Stricken down in succession were the National Recovery Act, the farm mortgage loan, the Railroad Pension Act, the Bituminous Coal Act, and the Municipal Bankruptcy Act. Only two measures, the Emergency Monetary Standards Act of 1933 and the Tennessee Valley Authority Act were given approval in carefully circumscribed and conditional terms.

The public furor created by these decisions was reminiscent of the days of the McCulloch decision. Aggressively entering the fray, the President himself condemned the decisions, charging that the Court's reasoning took the Constitution back to the "horse and buggy days." He implied that if the Court threw down the gauntlet on the issue of constitutional reform, he would gladly accept the challenge.

There then ensued the historic court-packing fight of 1937 which the President lost. But in losing he ultimately emerged the victor because of a modified personnel, the Court immediately thereafter, in a remarkable series of decisions, executed the most abrupt change of face in its history and accepted all the major constitutional postulates underlying the New Deal.

It was a great day for the Hamiltonians for since then, there seems to be no limit upon the powers of the Federal Government. Both the commerce clause and the general welfare clause have been stretched beyond recognition.

On the basis of the commerce clause, the Court, in the case of *United States* v. *Darby*, in 1941 established the constitutionality of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Subsequently this act was held to apply to employees engaged in the maintenance and operation of buildings in which large quantities of goods for interstate commerce were produced, to the employees of a window-cleaning company which cleaned windows of people engaged in interstate commerce, to the employees of a local newspaper with a limited circulation, and to women doing embroidery work for pay in their own homes.

Similarly, the early view that the activities of foreign insurance companies engaged in writing insurance within the State did not constitute interstate commerce was exploded by the Court in 1944 in the *Southeastern Underwriters Association* case.

In the field of social legislation, the result has been even more phenomenal. When the Social Security Act was passed, many competent lawyers, in as well as out of Government, questioned the validity both of national old-age insurance and of the Federal system of unemployment compensation. In a group of sweeping decisions handed down in May of 1937, the Supreme Court sustained both. The collection provisions of the law were, it held, a valid exercise of the taxing power and the spending provisions were a valid exercise of the spending powers under the general welfare clause.

This is how the Court justified its conclusion in the *Steward Machine Company* case:

"The problem had become national in area and dimensions. There was need of help from the Nation if the people were not to starve. It is too late today for the argument to be heard with tolerance that in a crisis so extreme the use of the moneys of the Nation to relieve the unemployed and their

dependents is a use for any purpose narrower than the promotion of the general welfare."

And in the case of *Helvering* v. *Davis*, the Court used this language:

"Nor is the concept of the general welfare static. Needs that were narrow or parochial a century ago may be interwoven in our day with the well-being of the Nation. What is critical or urgent changes with the times."

It might be helpful for us to take a quick look at the so-called general welfare clause. It is contained in section 8 of article I of the Constitution which enumerates the powers of Congress. Clause 1 of this section, in defining the powers of Congress, says: "The Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the general welfare of the United States."

Hamilton, with his fervent desires for a strong central government, took the view that this clause authorized taxes for any purpose which was not purely local.

Chief Justice Marshall, a contemporary of Hamilton's, in *Gibbon* v. *Ogden* exprcssed the opinion that the power is broad but that "Congress is not empowered to tax for these purposes which are within the exclusive province of the States."

Neither one of them, I think, would have anticipated that the general welfare clause would have been used to justify the introduction of a bill in the Congress that would establish a national system of compulsory health insurance. Yet that is what happened.

In fact, if Mr. Hamilton were with us today, leafing through the pages of history, he might not be too happy with the extent to which the Federal Government has appropriated power unto itself.

It was his theory that a strong central government and the private enterprise system were inextricably interwoven—that the one followed as a corollary to the other. It is difficult to believe that he would have reconciled the objectives of the "welfare State," as it is sometimes called, with the free enterprise system. One wonders under the guise of a strong central government, Mr. Hamilton would have anticipated that the Federal Government would take control of important phases of the conduct of local and interstate business, transportation, finance, production and distribution. Such activity on the part of the central government marks a trend away from individualism and toward socialism which certainly would not have been consistent with Mr. Hamilton's views.

If the present trend continues it is not beyond the realm of possibility that one day the Federal Government will take over key industries and that the exercise of the power will be adjudged permissible within the framework of the Constitution. Mr. Truman tried it with the steel mills. That he failed was probably only because of the manner in which the attempt was made. A carefully drawn law under proper circumstances might succeed. It happened in England—it could happen here.

In the brief time allotted to me this morning, I have attempted to illustrate the extraordinary potential reposed in the Congress through the broad interpretation of our Constitution in the past two decades. You, as bankers, are interested in the preservation of the private enterprise system. This objective cannot be attained by confining your attention to the administration of your client's estates. It is important that you study and deal constructively with the problems which, unless handled effectively and promptly by the private enterprise system itself, will stimulate governmental intervention.

For instance, many of the powers vested in the Congress by the type of judicial interpretation I have described, are exercised through administrative agencies and tribunals, sometimes denominated the fourth branch of the Federal Government. There are more than 70 such agencies in which are comingled executive, legislative, and judicial functions. The activities of these agencies were the subject of investigation by a task force of the second Hoover Commission of which I had the honor of being a member. Based upon its report, the Commission itself made sweeping recommendations for reforming the practice and procedures of these tribunals.

The American Bar Association approved these recommendations in resolutions adopted in February 1956, and a special committee of the association has drafted bills embodying these reforms which are being introduced in the current session of Congress. These bills are worthy of your careful consideration and we hope, your support.

The Byrds of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the editors of the Abilene Reporter-News, a great west Texas newspaper, are not an easily discouraged crew when they think they have a story to tell, especially when that story raises the possibility that Texas can somehow connect itself with the illustrious Byrds, of Virginia, and with the distinguished senior Senator from Virginia himself. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a recent editorial from the Reporter-News confirming the fact that there were Byrds helping shape the course of Texas history as well as that of Virginia.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Abilene Reporter-News of March 26, 1957]

THE BYRDS OF TEXAS

When the late great Adm. Richard E. Byrd, famous explorer and aviation pioneer, passed to his reward a few days ago the thought occurred to us that the Byrd family had played a part in Texas' history somewhere down the line.

None of our reference works threw any direct light on the connection between the Virginia Byrds and the Texas Byrds, so we wrote the admiral's brother, Senator HARRY BYRD, for information.

Yes, said the Senator, Col. William Byrd was his grandfather, who went from Virginia to Texas, where he married Miss Jennie Rivers, and became the father of Richard Evelyn Byrd, who in turn became the father of "Dick, Tom, and myself."

Dick, of course, was the admiral, and the E. in his name stood for Evelyn, after his father. The given names of the three Byrd brothers worked out to Tom, Dick, and Harry.

Their grandfather William came to Texas in 1853 after graduation from Virginia Military Institute, settled temporarily at Webberville, and moved to Austin in July 1853, where he practiced law. He was elected city treasurer of Austin in 1856, ran for the legislature in 1857, and took a prominent part in Democratic Party organization. He and Jennie Rivers Byrd became the parents of nine children, says the Handbook of Texas. In 1860 he served as editor of the Texas Gazette in the absence of John Marshall, and many years later his grandson HARRY FLOOD BYRD at age 15 started to work for the newspaper in Winchester; his son is now publisher.

Colonel William Byrd became adjutant general of Texas in 1861 for a few months, was also ordnance officer at the outbreak of war, became lieutenant colonel of the 14th Regiment, Texas Infantry, C. S. A. While in command of Fort DeRussy, La., he was captured in March of 1864. He was exchanged in July of 1864, and in April he was stationed near Hempstead, Tex. After the war Colonel Byrd returned to Virginia to practice law at Winchester. He died in 1898.

Let's Call a Halt to Integration Programs in the Broiler Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, of real interest to all Members of Congress should be an article entitled "Let's Call a Halt," written by Jim Hall, and published in the March 2 New England edition of the American Agriculturist.

The development of integration programs in the broiler industry is regarded by many as presaging the end of the independent farmer in the Northeast. Mr. Hall has made a penetrating analysis of this form of farm operation.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S CALL A HALT—EGG PRODUCERS CAN PROFIT FROM BROILER GROWERS' EXPERIENCES

(By Jim Hall)

Is something underway that will change our whole system of farming? Will poultrymen, livestock men, and dairymen be running their farms 10 or 20 years from now? Or will they be on their own farms for a guaranteed wage?

If you consider it ridiculous to think of someone other than yourself making decisions and giving orders on your farm, you'd better take time to look at what's happening. Don't think that this new word, "integration" applies only to the broiler business. If you, in exchange for a market or income guarantee, or credit, agree to let someone else make production decisions or supply any material of his choice, then your program is integrated, no matter what you produce.

Let's take a look at what's going on. First, let's look at the broiler business in which at least 9 out of 10 farms are integrated. How did this industry get out of the hands of independent farmers?

SECURITY OFFERED

When the first processor or feed dealer offered broilers growers a straight so much per week per bird and assumed all marketing, credit, and loss risks, it seemed like the answer to many prayers. In some areas where making a living out of cows was getting

tougher and tougher, even dairymen snapped at the chance. Stanchions were ripped out, extra floors and windows installed and, presto, they were in the broiler business.

Dozens of different arrangements were made but it was not uncommon 10 years ago for a farmer to get 1 cent or event 2 cents per week per bird for his labor and the use of his buildings. The processor or feed dealer—and in some cases, the processor was a feed dealer—supplied the chicks, the feed, medication, veterinary services, and even the litter.

It seemed that everyone had struck a bonanza.

The farmer could handle 10,000 to 20,000 broilers easily with the ceiling limited, usually, only by the size of his buildings. Ten thousand meant $100 a week for his labor and buildings—without risk—and he could still use his land for whatever cash crops he could manage.

The processor who dressed and marketed the broilers didn't have to compete with others to buy the birds he needed. He could control exactly how many would be ready at his plant every day. By operating at full capacity, without shutdowns one day and overtime another, he cut his costs to the bone.

The feed dealer participating in these contract arrangements never had it so good. His feed sales were steady and assured because the farmer had nothing to say about what feed he'd use. His collections were assured because he marketed the boilers every 12 to 13 weeks himself or through a processor who was a third party to the contract. As he made more contracts, his tonnage soared and his costs dropped due to the big volume.

The buyer or broker for retail stores was happy. He had a large, dependable supply of birds grown, processed, and packaged to his specifications; delivered where and in the quantities he wanted. The buyer for big, steady outlets was so valuable to everyone along the production line that processors passed much of their cost-cutting efficiency along to him in a lower price to get his big business.

The final consumer was happy. Low price, quality meat was always available.

Utopia? No.

A perfectly natural thing happened: Everyone said, "This is good. Guess I'll expand." Farmers built new, up-to-date buildings so they could contract for more birds and handle more per man. Processors and feed companies encouraged more contracts to sew up more tonnage. In the next few years anothed natural thing happened: Too many birds.

When that happened, the buyers shopped around for the lowest price. This meant that to stay in business, costs had to be cut more and more all along the line. Growers got different contracts. These involved changes in the guarantee per bird per week—down to ½ cent and in some cases ¼ cent—and a percentage of the profit, if any, when the sale was made. Some contracts extended credit for chicks, feed, etc. until sale time and a guaranty of no cash loss if the sale was at a loss. Those supplying feed added 8 to 12 percent to their feed prices to create a fund to take care of such losses.

SURPLUS GROWS

Because it was cheap and plentiful, people ate more broiler meat than ever—but not enough to keep the selling price higher than most operators' costs. In Maine, where 35 to 40 million are produced a year, broilers were selling in January at 17 cents a pound which was a good 6 cents a pounds under producers' costs. In Georgia, where nearly 200 million are produced a year, the farm price was 16 cents a pound.

In Georgia, as in Maine, practically all of the birds are grown under contract. There, however, the guaranties to growers are dropping faster. Now most of them guarantee only 2 cents per pound, live weight, for the farmer, and all or a share of the profits. In that State, most of the financing is done by feed companies and, to protect themselves, they "mark up" price of feed an average of $15 a ton.

The trouble, of course, is due to production of about 20 percent too many broilers for a stable market. It's easy to see why there are few independent broiler growers left in the business—they have to make a profit on the birds, as they have no feed or processing profits to fall back on. It has been some time since there have been any profits to share. Actually, there have been only 8 months in the past 3 years when the price of finished broilers averaged more than costs of production.

In the Northeast, some feed companies are already stating that they will take on no new growers. Due to the guaranties to growers, some of the feed companies are losing money despite the feed markup. To meet this in Georgia (and perhaps elsewhere), another new type contract is being used by some feed dealers. It's really based on efficiency. They pay the grower so much per 1,000 birds based on the difference between the weight of the bird and that particular grower's feed-meat conversion rate. In other words, if a man uses 3 pounds of feed to produce a pound of meat, and the birds weigh 3½ pounds, he gets $50 per 1,000 birds.

LOW INCOME

With 10,000 birds reaching market in 10 weeks, the grower in the above example would be getting $50 a week for his labor, buildings, equipment, taxes, etc. and he also has to stand the cost of litter and fuel. Some dealers are now building their own huge, full-time broiler houses containing every modern cost-cutting device and operating them with hired labor.

The independent farmer, willing to take his own risks, arrange his own credit, buy whichever feed he wants in order to enjoy his right to compete for a fair share of profit, is out of the broiler business.

What appeared 10 years ago as a chance to gain security due to lack of risk, has put him in the same category as a hired man following the boss's orders. He has already lost his opportunity and the security he sought can disappear at the end of any contract period, when his wage gets too low. He'd still have his broiler houses and whatever debt he incurred to enlarge them but what will he do with them?

He wont reenter the broiler business when he knows that feed-company-operated broiler businesses are producing broilers for as low as 16 cents a pound and a few even lower. Average costs in our area are better than 20 cents.

Many feed company representatives bluntly admit that getting into the broiler and turkey business was not a matter of choice with them. Many were faced with losing all their feed tonnage for broilers or "fighting fire with fire." The answer was the usual one we'd expect of any enterprising American business, "Let's get in the fight." Now some are contracting for eggs with producers who use their feeds to keep competition from getting their customers.

At a meeting of Chautauqua County, N. Y. poultrymen in January, one feed company representative said that poultry "integration" had progressed to a point where, "Poultrymen may either become partners of private enterprise, ask the Government for aid, or quit the business." Unfortunately, in some areas, he'd have to change that first choice to "hired men" instead of "partners." The Chautaugua Poultrymen Association passed a resolution opposing integration and recommending that feed companies end their integration program as soon as possible. They know what's happening with broiler integration programs.

WHAT ABOUT LAYERS?

There are those who say that the contract production of eggs which is now spreading through the Midwest will never be accepted in the Northeast. One reason I've heard is that a northeasterner, rather than work as a hired man on his own farm, would take a job in one of the thousands of industries in our area and just make a home of his farm.

Broiler people didn't do that. Early contract arrangements looked so secure and profitable that many built huge plants to raise more and more. Could they just abandon the plant and take a job in town and still carry the mortgage? It's worth a lot of thought to egg producers who, due to current low prices, are beginning to ask questions about this minimum price guaranty.

Already some feed companies are having to dig into their feed profits to make up to egg producers the difference between what eggs are actually bringing and the guaranty. They just wouldn't be good businessmen if they kept that up. If prices continue low, there are going to be changes in contracts and, as with broilers, they may start their own "factories."

If they do, their egg factories will be huge, modern, and mechanized to the last detail. It is conceivable that they may carry the whole egg production line from breeding and hatching right through to the processing of the old hens as they are retired from the production line. One such outfit could make just a tiny profit at each stage: hatching, eggs, fowl and, of course, behind it all, feed profit.

The independent grower who bought all his services and materials would have a tough time meeting such competition through the sale of eggs alone.

WHAT ABOUT DAIRYING?

In one instance, at least, integration has happened already in the beef business. In fact the production line is even longer—extending all the way from the raising of beef under contract to the retail supermarket counter. One big food chain is now hiring farmers to raise beef of a stated quality, contracting for slaughter near the source of supply, processing such things as sausages, and selling in their hundreds of stores to Mrs. Consumer.

This was not done to make a hired man of the farmer, to lose the cattle buyer's job, or to put the meatpacker out of business. It was done to meet and beat the price of meats in other stores. All along the line their new plants are designed to turn out just a little less than their total needs. This means that at each step of the lifeline—from farm to table—this particular concern operates at full capacity, therefore, lower cost all the time.

If other chains decide to do the same thing—and most of the big ones have ample capital resources—will competition and production do the same as in the broiler business and squeeze the man raising the meat? Will they get into hogs? Lambs? Dairying? Will the whole livestock business become industrial rather than agricultural?

In spite of what has happened, I don't think so.

In the first place, the selling below cost of production that has been continuing too long in the broiler business is no secret. Egg producers and other farmers are aware of how grower contracts can change when production is stimulated beyond demand.

In the second place, corporations are not farmers. When a farm family is hit by low prices and suffers losses, "They just naturally tighten their belts and suffer through low income until the market changes," says an economist friend. "On the other hand, when red ink shows up on a corporation's balance sheet, they are quick to get out of that part of their business that causes the red ink."

As it is common talk that many feed companies are using much red ink to keep track of their broiler deal, it is hard to imagine many of them sticking their necks out too far to gamble on eggs or beef or pork.

Finally (and this is so new that few know about it), labor unions see in this whole contract business a wonderful opportunity. In the Southwest, notably Texas, they are proposing that contract growers join a union to gain a lot of strength to bargain for better contracts with the feed and process companies. It's also rumored that they plan to set limits on the number of broilers any man can raise in order to get the price up. It's pretty obvious that anyone not in the union would have a pretty tough time marketing anything because it's the butchers' and slaughters' union.

There will be much more thinking about this union proposition, too. Farmers know too well that unions, basically, want lower food prices. Others, not yet in any kind of contract deals, won't look too favorably on any plan that eventually will leave them only the choice of the frying pan or the fire.

I'm sure Northeast farmers will look further into the results of any integration program than the guaranteed minimum price for a short time.

A Self-Defeating American Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, which appeared in the New York Times on April 3.

This article, I believe, expresses clearly and simply the truth about an extremely important matter confronting this country in Asia. I hope that the administration will take note of the views of Mr. Sulzberger. As we all know Mr. Sulzberger represents a paper which has been very friendly and favorable to the administration, and therefore they should take his suggestions and criticism to heart.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—A SELF-DEFEATING AMERICAN POLICY IN ASIA

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

PARIS, April 2.—United States foreign policy as applied in South Asia displays a disturbingly schizophrenic aspect. Our aspirations are clearly both benevolent and sound. But the methods by which we seek to achieve them are almost surely self-defeating.

Our fundamental objective is to seal off the Sino-Soviet bloc and prevent communism from intruding southward. To bolster the underdeveloped countries affected we are sponsoring a dual program.

One phase is purely military. This endeavors to strengthen defensive capabilities of nations committed to the western camp. Pakistan comes specifically within this category as a member both of SEATO and the Middle Eastern Baghdad Pact. The second phase is economic. This endeavors to strengthen the social, agricultural, and industrial structure of all south Asian nations, neutral, or otherwise, enabling them to resist subversive pressures.

In this category we include not only our ally, Pakistan, but countries often irritatingly unsympathetic to our aspirations—to wit, India, Ceylon, Burma, Nepal, and Afghanistan. Of these India is overwhelmingly the most important.

Even those in Washington, most angered by Nehru's tendency to lecture us while excusing Communist transgressions and his own violation of principles he preaches, admit that the West has an immense stake in Indian democracy's success. For India is the only massive Asian nation that remains non-Communist.

INDIA VERSUS CHINA

A curious competitive coexistence exists between New Delhi and Peiping. The Russians, recognizing the importance of this contest, are pouring vast material, technical, and financial aid into China. We likewise, are investing a considerable amount in efforts to help Nehru's democratic revolution—much as we tend to dislike his personality.

If, during the coming generation, India can succeed in modernizing its antiquated plant, educating its illiterate masses and becoming self-sufficient, the cause of freedom will have achieved a triumph. Ultimate repercusions in other Asian nations, even ironbound China, might be boundless.

However, the chances of Indian success in this competition with China are being hampered by an arms race with Pakistan. Part of India's budget is supported by our economic generosity. But another part is drained off by New Delhi's determination not to lag behind Karachi militarily. Pakistan's materiel comes from us.

Both countries spend on defense infinitely more than they can afford. The amount in each case is probably over half the national income. Neither, within the foreseeable future, can become strong enough to stave off open Soviet aggression. But each is rapidly attaining a capability to cripple the other.

American policy of arming Pakistan tends indirectly to weaken disastrously the Indian economy. It has also provoked another neighboring land, Afghanistan, to make an unhealthy weapons deal with the U. S. S. R. on the assumption such equipment is required because of a frontier argument with the Pakistanis.

FRUIT OF OUR POLICY

Therefore, by our policy, we encourage indirectly a sterile military spending race. None of the south Asian countries can afford this. And India's new 5-year plan—upon which we ultimately base such hopes—is going down the drain.

Even if New Delhi continues to receive American economic aid at present rates—which Nehru's political gyrations render less likely—and even if a new World Bank loan is forthcoming, there will be a short fall in financing the second 5-year plan amounting to perhaps $750 million.

As a result the plan, upon which India's ultimate political health relies, must now be drastically cut. Projected new developments have been halted and imports restricted. Many undertakings are being stopped half finished. Equipment already purchased, therefore, lies wasting.

This situation allows Moscow two political choices. The Russians have already offered India a $125 million credit. They may suggest still larger amounts in an effort to gain controlling leverage on India's economy. Or they may withdraw proposed help in the hope of stimulating collapse and possible disintegration of Asia's largest democratic nation.

By our well-intended policy of arming Pakistan we are unwittingly helping to sabotage India's social revolution—upon which we bet so heavily. Clearly the time has come to think this through more carefully.

Pakistan, as our ally, is surely entitled to be strong. But hasn't the moment already arrived to cut down military assistance to that country and help develop its disturbingly backward economy? Should we make such a decision it is certain that India can be prevailed upon to reduce investment in unproductive weapons.

It would be short-sighted folly if, for the sake of strengthening one ally's limited fighting potential, we helped destroy Asia's most important non-Communist revolution—and, by so doing, lost Asia itself.

State Senator Andrew J. Naterlin, of Newport, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, a man who can recover his courage and spirit from the handicap of blindness is a source of inspiration and admiration to us all.

In this category are such people as Victor Riesel and others. One such individual is State Senator Andrew J. Naterlin, of Newport, Oreg., who represents the great seacoast counties of Tillamook and Lincoln in the Oregon State Senate at Salemn. I have long known Mr. Naterlin, and campaigned with him and for him throughout those counties in the election campaign of 1956.

I ask unanimous consent that an article describing Senator Naterlin's career, from the Pendleton East Oregonian of March 18, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The author of this able discussion is Mr. Gorman Hogan, correspondent for the Associated Press in Salem, Oreg.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BLIND LEGISLATOR PLUGS HARD FOR THINGS HE BELIEVES IN

(By Gorman Hogan)

SALEM.—A cheerful man with a shock of heavy dark hair, sits in the Oregon Senate today, listening intently as he fingers the spectacles that cover his two artificial eyes.

Being blind, of course, has sometimes been a bother in the past 26 years to Senator Andrew J. Naterlin, of Newport but it hasn't kept him from being mayor of his home city, a director of one of Oregon's few people's utility districts, business executive and past president of half a dozen civic and fraternal organizations.

This is the first time Naterlin, a Democrat, has been sitting inside the Senate, but he has spent many hours on the outside. For he has been lobbyist for the people's utility districts and the fishing industry for Oregon for years, buttonholing representatives and senators alike, seeking support for the things he believes in—things he is certain are good for the State and its people.

LEANS HEAVILY ON WIFE

As a senator Naterlin, who squeaked into office by a bare 121 votes, leans heavily on his

handsome wife, as he has over their 29 years of marriage.

"God never put breath in a finer woman," he says.

Serving as his secretary, she reads the legislative bills to him, reads the newspapers aloud, answers the mail and transcribes the notes he makes during sessions and committee meetings.

They have a 16-year-old daughter adopted at the age of 3.

Naterlin, born in Oregon City 56 years ago, attended the University of Oregon and the University of Idaho and traveled for a year in Europe as a youth. Summers he worked as a commercial fisherman, owning his own boat when he was only 19.

CINDER STARTED TROUBLE

He started going blind after getting a cinder in his eye at an Idaho basketball game. Glaucoma developed and the eye was removed in 1928, the same year he was married.

Four years later glaucoma had spread to his other eye and it had to be removed. This was the low spot of Naterlin's lifetime. Combined with the loss of his eyesight and the depression, he lost the cold storage business he had started at Newport.

He was named supervisor of the National Recovery Act (NRA) program in the area. But before he could get the job done, with the help of his wife, and collect his first paycheck, the NRA was ruled unconstitutional.

Naterlin couldn't learn Braille, the touch system by which the blind are able to read. His years handling ice and frozen fish had blunted the sensitivity of his fingertips.

But that didn't bother him too much since most of the things he needed to know about weren't written in Braille anyhow. Besides, he had a phenomenal memory which he had been developing since childhood.

"I guess my mother was responsible for that," he says. "She couldn't write and so I had to remember what she wanted when she sent me to the store or had me take a message to somebody else."

COUNTING STEPS HELPFUL

Another thing that turned out to be helpful was Naterlin's mania for counting steps, an almost indispensable asset for a blind man.

"A few years ago I went back to the school I had attended as a boy and I remembered exactly the number of steps that led to the schoolroom door," he says.

Sound and smell help guide him and a highly developed sense of feel is valuable too. Naterlin says he can feel when he passes a pole for example, or approaches a curb.

He recollects one occasion when he was walking along the path to his home at Newport when he felt something strange ahead of him. He backed off cautiously and waited. A friend happened along and Naterlin asked him what was ahead.

JUST AN OLD COW

"It turned out to be a gentle, old cow," Naterlin says, "and I suppose she was as puzzled by my antics as I was over her."

The Senator has traveled extensively, making trips alone by bus and train to Boston, Florida, Los Angeles, and other distant points.

While Naterlin is modest about his accomplishments, friends say he is an expert steelhead and salmon fisherman. "Maybe that's because I don't have as many distractions as the other fishermen," he explains with a quick smile.

"On top of that I've been studying the habits of fish since boyhood."

Of all the things he has done in his busy lifetime, Naterlin perhaps is proudest of the cabin he built single-handed on the Alsea River.

"I really didn't do it all myself," he explains. "I had a fellow put in the fireplace."

Now in the insurance business, Naterlin is former executive secretary of the Commercial Fisheries Association of Oregon, managed the New England Fish Co. at Newport for several years and was one of the original sponsors of the Central Lincoln PUD, serving 17 years as a director until his resignation when he became senator. In that time assets of the PUD grew from $850,000 to the present $8 million.

ACTIVE IN MANY GROUPS

He is a member of the Pacific Marine Fisheries Commission advisory board, the Bonneville Power Administraiton advisory council, and a director of the Northwest Public Power Association. He was Newport's first citizen in 1939.

Naterlin is sponsoring legislation to clarify laws affecting people's utility districts. His stand on PUD's: They have an important place and should be permitted where needed.

Naterlin is a strong booster for the Oregon coast. And daily before senate adjournment he puts in a different plug. Like this:

"The beautiful Sea Lion Caves are on highway 101. They are a notable tourist attraction well worth your time."

Petals and Pearls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I send to the desk one of the columns of our distinguished Chaplain, the Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, which appeared in the Washington Star, concerning the current beauty of Washington's cherry blossoms and the crown of pearls recently presented by Japan for our cherry blossom queens. Entitled "Petals and Pearls," Dr. Harris' column is deserving for all to read. For that reason, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Incidentally, Dr. Harris' column appears in the Anderson Independent, the daily morning newspaper of my native county in Anderson, S. C., and will appear in that newspaper in the near future.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PETALS AND PEARLS

(By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris)

In the city beautiful, which belongs to all America, now that April's here, the famous flowering trees have witnessed an international marriage. Petals and pearls have been joined in an enduring partnership. In all the treasure chest of nature there is no loveliness to surpass blossoms and pearls. Spring in lavish profusion scatters its blooms until common bushes are on fire with the eternal and ordinary trees are sacraments of the holiness of beauty.

Spring is not only miraculous, it is miracles by the wholesale. A lover of nature's wonders asked sadly as his enraptured eyes gazed on the miracle once more, "How many more springs can I hope to see—5 or 6 perhaps—the miracle of the earth reclad, the vision of splendor and loveliness which tongue has never yet described, is again set before me." That is indeed the grateful response of every normal soul, glad for the tint of the tiniest flower. Spring is the sure antidote for blighting boredom which, alas, often saps the wonder of life's dewy morning. We are apt to grow tired of some things which once captured our interest. But when spring comes with bounding, bursting, risen life, if one is tired of daffodils he is through. He is more dead than those whose names are in today's obituary list when a flower knocks upon his heart in vain. That is exactly what Teresa Hooley had in mind when she sings:

"If I should ever wax so old and weary
That, when spring comes, my heart would fail to thrill
To the first white windflower waking in the copice
Or the tossing gold of the first daffodil."

If so she pleads that her physical existence might be brought to an end with "life in my limbs and gray death in my soul."

Now truly there is one glory of the blossoms and another glory of the pearls. But pearls are not flung about in wild abandon. Their beauty must be sought. They are fashioned by a strange alchemy under fathoms of concealing waters. Across the centuries men have risked direst dangers to search out their hiding places beneath the waves, where the precious substance is held firmly within the vitals of shelly creatures. Up from the depths come the hardy divers with rounded things of exquisite beauty touched with an entrancing luster which is its own secret. But what radiancy is now on the way to grace milady's neck or arms or to adorn some royal diadem. No wonder the myriad-minded Shakespeare with his almost uncanny insights tie together flowers and pearls in his lines, "I must go seek dewdrops here and hang a pearl in every cowslip's ear."

Man has but known that in those strange laboratories on the bottom of the sea a living creature, encased in its hardened house, can take an irritation and transmute it into a gem of irridescent glory. But within recent years has come the cultured pearl industry with its center in Japan. That does not mean that man can manufacture pearls. He has only learned the secret of how to pierce the sensitive organism of the bivalve—how to manipulate the sword with which to wound. Then out of the hurt the oyster produces a pearl. The magic recipe which starts a pearl was discovered in our own lifetime by a Japanese named Mikimoto. In vain Thomas Edison labored long to find the process which would result in so rich a deposit, as in the depth of the sea a gash could be turned into a gem. But strange to say, while the Japanese finally won the quest, they can only do it with the aid of sharp shells found only in our own Mississippi River. So now it comes to pass by a gracious gesture from beauteous Nippon which gave the cherry trees more than threescore years ago is added a fabulous crown of pearls to bedeck the fair brow of the yearly queen of the blossom festival. Henceforth, for multitudes as by the quiet Potomac will be unveiled when spring trips north a picture of ineffable beauty—a vision of petals and pearls. There are the trees with rainbow ribbons caught in their hair and over spreading arms a fairy-flowered robe delicate as a bride's veil, pure as lustrous white pearls. Mirroring lake and flower-fringed river are trysting places where blue and blossoms meet and mingle and where the sky itself seems in bloom. From the gardened land whence came the trees America gratefully accepts the pearls to grace the tresses of the queen chosen by lot to ascend the throne as, surrounded by her princesses charming, she reigns as a worthy symbol of winsome young womanhood.

As the blossoms speak to us of the surging tides of returning life climbing to a soul in leaf and flower, there is felt throughout our

very beings the throbbing life of which our veins are scant. As one all atingle with the vision of a waking world exclaims, "In clapping our hands at the gliding of the daffodils and the coming of the feathered songsters we are bearing witness to the love of living. We are giving three cheers for life itself."

And does not all that April is saying and meaning and bringing lead us through the blossoming boughs to see a gentle figure who said and says, "I am come that ye might have life and have it more abundantly."

"I like to think the spring before she started
Upon her lovely quest
Knelt low at Christ's own footstool and departed
With her sweet mission blessed.

I like to think her gown in fairest order,
With bud and bloom made bright,
Brushed something of its fragrance from the border
Of His pure robe of white."

We cannot forget that that One in vestured witness in the days when in the flesh He was here among men walking in sandalled feet along the lake shore, paused to teach, and in one hand was a flower and in the other a pearl. He spoke of the blossoms' breath-taking beauty in its many-colored robes surpassing royal attire, and then in the beauty of the lilies He held before them a petalled miracle. He told of the kingdom for whose coming He has taught the ages to pray. He called it the Reign of His Father God's order of brotherhood and love and service. Then, thinking of the lure some great and famous jewel has always exercised with a subtle fascination on men's questing minds, He said, "The realm of heaven is like a trader in search of fine pearls. When he finds a single pearl of high price he is off to sell all his possessions in order to buy it."

And so, when it's cherry blossom time in Washington, we find ourselves with the entranced multitudes gazing with awed rapture at the rosy tunnels as we hear Him say, "consider the flowers"—and then as there is lifted up the gorgeous pearls, again our ears are His as He whispers, "Think of the one pearl of great price," and thus bowing in reverence at the vistas of wonder and at the reaches and ranges of splendor we listen to the parable of the petals and the pearls.

Airport at Burke, Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Burked," which appeared in the Washington Star of last Saturday evening. It relates to the proposed Burke Airport. I regret exceedingly that so much time has been lost in the final decision on this particular airport. I think the editorial is timely.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BURKED

Senator MONRONEY's impatience over the dillydallying with respect to a second national airport for Washington is shared by the airlines, their customers and the general public. He is particularly concerned over the latest hitch in the Government's plans for proceeding with the stalled Burke project, a delay occasioned by the necessity for a CAA study of Representative BROYHILL's revival of the Belmont Bay site proposal. The Oklahoman's urgent request that the CAA expedite its study is justified, for every new delay, every new stalling tactic on the airport problem raises the hopes of supporters of Friendship as a supplemental Washington airport.

The ultimate objective of the delay strategy, of course, is to burke Burke. Webster's International Dictionary defines the verb "burke" thus: "To dispose of quietly or indirectly; to suppress; to smother; to shelve; as to burke a parliamentary question." The word is of old English coinage—but its fits admirably the present parliamentary situation as to the much-kicked-around Burke airport issue.

State University in New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "New Model University," from the March 17, 1957, issue of the Chicago Tribune.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW MODEL UNIVERSITY

At this late date, the State of New York is stirring itself to create a real State university. It has never had one, as such, although the State has financed specialized branches of study at universities that are primarily supported privately, like the college of agriculture at Cornell and the forestry courses at Syracuse. After World War II the State also organized some State colleges, largely on an emergency basis in makeshift housing.

Now the New York Legislature is being asked to authorize a bond issue of a quarter of a billion dollars, subject to a statewide referendum. (Illinois has probably spent about the same sum on the University of Illinois since it opened 90 years ago. The proposed State university of New York would have branches scattered throughout the State.

One proposal deserves attention in Illinois. It is for a so-called senior university on Long Island that would take students in their junior and senior years, and also provide graduate studies. Students would get the first half of instruction toward their bachelor's degrees in three community (junior) colleges to be established in the area.

This scheme is subject to criticism, but only on the grounds that the community colleges will not get going in time to fulfill their part in the plan. No one seems to regard the basic idea as horrendous, although to our knowledge it has not been put in effect anywhere in the country.

The same plan might be adopted in the expansion of the University of Illinois' activities in our metropolitan area. The idea has gained strength from the proposals of the Chicago board of education to expand its junior college system substantially.

The junior college in the home town is cheap without being inferior. Its instructional costs are lower than those of a full fledged university. It is far cheaper for its students, because they can live at home while studying. And the record in general is that when they move on to 4-year colleges, their scholastic accomplishments average just as high as those of classmates who spent their first 2 years on a campus away from home.

If the junior college student sacrifices anything to get far less expensive training it is in the field of amenities and campus fun even though these community institutions are not necessarily dreary. The question then rises what his diploma is supposed to attest—social polish or an education?

Jury Trial in Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Right of Trial by Jury in Danger," from the March 20, 1957, issue of the Metropolitan Herald of Atlanta, Ga.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY IN DANGER

One of the most precious heritages we have, as citizens of this great Republic, is the right of a trial by jury. The Founding Fathers recognized this to be one of the foundations of any free government and wrote this guaranty into the Constitution.

Yet, this week, 17 members of the House Judiciary Committee voted to destroy this basic right, and in the name of civil rights. What sham. What hypocrisy.

Thomas Jefferson and James Madison knew what they were doing when they insisted that this right be written into the Constitution. The framers of the Constitution understood well the dangers to ordinary citizens if they were not protected by this right. Until recent years no American dared challenge this great principle.

However, alien ideologies have gained a grip in this Nation. Many segments of our population have been "brainwashed" by subtle propaganda wrapped in the cloak of such seemingly fine phrases as "civil rights" and "brotherhood." Many well-meaning citizens, who believe in civil rights and brotherhood, have been used and are being used by those who would destroy our form of free government.

In Communist Russia and other Soviet-dominated nations, citizens have no right to a trial by jury. Commissar judges, try, convict, and condemn those citizens at will. There is no appeal. There are no civil rights. There is no liberty, no freedom.

Now we are faced with a similar tragedy in this Nation. Petty politicians, fearful of the bloc vote, would destroy the fundamental civil rights of every American citizen to appease a small segment of our population.

If this measure, now before the Congress, passes in its present form, it will mean that Congress officially repudiates the Jeffersonian principle of a republican form of government and replaces it with the Marx-Lenin doctrine of the all-powerful central state which controls and dictates every facet of human life.

Surely we in the United States are not ready to replace the doctrines of Jefferson with those of Marx. Surely we are not willing to destroy our constitutional liberties for a mess of political pottage.

God have mercy on us if we do.

Patriotism in Modern America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFF CLEVENGER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. CLEVENGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following winner in the American Legion Statewide essay contest on Patriotism in Modern America:

PATRIOTISM IN MODERN AMERICA
(By Judith C. Richards, Defiance, Ohio)

The word patriotism is an honored and beloved term to all who love their country.

History has preserved for us the records of many whose lives and acts of devotion have elevated the general welfare and safety of the people of their own day, and accelerated the progress of civilized society. History proved that true patriotism preserves and improves not only the good in a given nation, but also makes that good a part of what is most to be desired by all peoples.

Is it a common fault of our thinking that we associate patriotism with times of active warfare? Patriots in history often are great military figures. We think of Washington, Lincoln, Grant, Eisenhower; we remember the unnamed heroes of Corregidor and Iwo-Jima, and we are proud to be Americans. There is a glory and color to the patriots of wartime that robs our minds of the ability to easily honor the patriots of peace.

It may be that patriotism in modern America will be made more difficult because the dedication and consecration of those who love their country will have to survive without the thrill of great deeds performed under dramatic conditions. No bands will play, no flags will fly, no crowds acclaim.

WHO IS THE PATRIOT?

Consider the scientist working quietly, and probably alone, in his laboratory. He dedicates his life in the service of his country, yet not a single band will stir the blood of those who are indebted to him; no artist will picture him at his lonely vigil. His patriotism must be great to survive the absence of public acclaim.

The patriotism of those in public life demands greatness of purpose, and perseverance under criticism, scorn, and, ofttimes, repudiation.

The educator and teacher work with little recognition, often with little honor accorded them. Yet, unless they train the minds of young people in citizenship, honor, and character, our whole social order will collapse.

There are those who devote their lives to the improvement of what we call the American way of life; the labor leaders who seek to improve the lot of the workingman; the industrialists who keep always in mind the stability of the American economy; the great body of religious leaders whose love of God, and devotion to mankind lead them into sacrificial service.

All these citizens are patriots in a very real sense in that they contribute to the greatness and safety of the American way.

There is another group which probably does more than any other to set the standards of patriotism in modern America.

I am speaking of those who have known the costs of patriotism in active warfare. They have proven their willingness to lay down their lives in battle to preserve their country; now they are finding ways to consecrate themselves in the days of peace to the general welfare of the country they love so much.

The truest patriotism in modern America is that which combines love of country with love of humanity and love of God. It is not at odds with the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man. It does not require the elevation of one nation at the cost of the exploitation or subjugation of another. It recognizes that to impose one culture on the world would be to impoverish the world.

Today the citizens of this great United States are living up to these doctrines. Patriotism in modern America is writing a thrilling chapter in the book of mankind.

Postal Pay-As-You-Go Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I send to the desk an editorial from the Bismarck Tribune, of Bismarck, N. Dak., March 30, 1957, which I believe should be brought to the attention of the Senate.

This editorial entitled "Postal Pay-As-You-Go Plan" discusses with sharp insight the problems of making the postal service self-sustaining. Especially it urges everyone concerned with this problem to study the advisory council report made by the special advisory council set up by the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD in order that it may be available to all the Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POSTAL PAY-AS-YOU-GO PLAN

Postmaster General Summerfield wants to put the post office operation on a pay-as-you-go basis, which on the surface is commendable.

Accordingly, measures have been introduced in both Houses of Congress to increase first-class rates 33⅓ percent, air mail 16⅔ percent and second class (newspapers and magazines) a total of 60 percent over 4 years.

A year ago the House passed a bill which would have increased second-class rates up to 120 percent over a 5-year period, but it died in the Senate.

Newspaper publishers generally are not opposed to a reasonable increase in second-class rates, if necessary, despite a 30 percent increase in 1954. They wonder, however, why a 60-percent increase should be proposed for second class (on top of the 30 percent) as against a mere 33⅓-percent increase for first class, which is the principal business of the post office.

That all is not as it appears on the surface is borne out by a 2-year study just completed by an advisory council appointed by the Senate.

Congress, the council's report said, "should enumerate and separate the costs to be borne by users of the mails from those to be met in the public interest by appropriation."

The report added that for the last fiscal year for which the council found complete figures the postal deficit was $363 million while public welfare costs totaled $392 million, indicating that users of the mails are paying their way.

Among public welfare costs, said the seven-man council, are nonpostal services performed by the post office ($12.4 million); free services for newspapers within county of publication, free mail for blind, and free registered mail for Government agencies ($15.9 million); and preferred rates on books and exempt publications ($60.5 million).

Other costs cited are the loss on postal cards ($35.8 million); losing special services such a registered and special delivery mail ($48 million); the loss on parcels diverted from the mail because of a size and weight limitation ($73 million); estimated loss on rural delivery ($95 million); and loss in operating third- and fourth-class post offices which do not meet expenses ($51.8 million).

The Council also declared that economies could be effected in postal operation, declaring more is being paid for transporting mail than commercial customers pay outside the mails.

History "supports the public service concept," the reports continues. It cites contributions made by the postal system through the years to American progress, stressing the role the mails have played in uniting a fast area into a cohesive nation with a common culture, common language, and democratic ideals.

Probably users of the mails should pay their own way, but should they or the public be charged for the free services?

And what effect would the sharp increase proposed have on second-class volume? Many publishers already have abandoned second-class service, particularly in the heavily populated areas, finding that they can deliver their product in better fashion at no more cost than mail rates. Many publishers now pay auxiliary hauling costs for better service on top of second-class rates.

And in line with the pay-as-you-go concept, will the Postmaster General eventually propose closing third- and fourth-class post offices? We think not.

Congressmen owe it to their constituents to study the Advisory Council's analysis.

American Economic and Technical Aid for Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following telegram sent to me by Mr. Louis Slivinski, president, Northeastern Pennsylvania Division of the Polish American Congress, on the subject of American economic and technical aid for Poland:

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
Congressman, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

On behalf of the northeastern Pennsylvania division of the Polish-American Congress representing fraternal, civic, political, and religious organizations, we urge you to support economic and technical aid for Poland. Traditionally pro-American and anti-Communist Polish people will know that the United States is helping them and not the Red regime forced on Poland by Russia. It is in the best interest of America that Poland be kept from complete Soviet enslavement.

LOUIS SLIVINSKI,
President.

EDWARDSVILLE, PA.

Need for Community Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "More Community Colleges Needed," from the February 26, 1957, issue of the Moline Daily Dispatch, of Moline, Ill.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORE COMMUNITY COLLEGES NEEDED

Senator CLIFFORD CASE, Republican of New Jersey, an able fellow, proposes an emergency program of Federal aid to provide classrooms at public community colleges for more than a half million young men and women who otherwise will have no place to go in the next 5 years.

These colleges, he says, would be designed to provide 2 years of college credit education at a low-cost college in preparation for the final 2 years at a 4-year college, and provide a terminal program of 2 years of post high school general education with opportunities for vocational training for the subprofessions and occupations of a technical nature.

"In this country we do not want only an educational elite," remarks Senator CASE. "Our goal, stated by President Eisenhower's Committee on Education Beyond the High School, is that 'every individual, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin, shall have the opportunity to develop his or her best self, to continue to appropriate education up to his or her personal point of optimum development.'"

The New Jersey Senator makes some impressive arguments in support of community colleges:

1. They offer higher education at the lowest cost because dormitories aren't needed; students live at home.

2. They increase resources for adult education, in itself a need of critical importance.

3. They serve as a screening device for the 4-year college, permitting the 4-year colleges and the professional schools to do a more effective job.

4. They reflect local patterns and are not so much the more impersonal State school.

We believe, up to a point, Senator CASE has a good program. That point is the extent to which Federal money should be used in it.

Federal aid, whether on a matching basis or a flat grant, and whether apportioned according to population or to assessed valuation, should not be used to accomplish what local and State people are able but not willing to accomplish for themselves, it is our view. Federal aid should be used only where the need and the desire exist but not the capability.

Although he isn't specific, Senator CASE sounds as if he wants to make this a 48-State project. If that is so, it is not realistic because obviously a number of States are able to support community colleges, and some are doing more and more in that direction.

Senator CASE assures that he intends that there be no "Federal control" in his program, but if the Federal Government spurs a program in areas where there has been no interest in such a program, it is entirely evident that it is, in effect, a Federal program and not one fathered by the State or local community.

But if Federal money is used as a supplementary aid and not as a means of coercion, we believe this is a fine thing. The community college holds untold promise for the future of American education.

Patriotism in Modern America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFF CLEVENGER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. CLEVENGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following essay winner in statewide contest in Ohio American Legion, subject: Patriotism in Modern America.

PATRIOTISM IN MODERN AMERICA

(By Robert Putnam, Port Clinton, Ohio)

Who can be a patriot? You? I? I believe that the answer to this question can best be found by looking at the lives of several modern American patriots.

In 1888 in Temun, Russia, a child was born to the Baline family. When the boy was 4, the family emigrated to the United States. As an adult Irving Berlin has enriched the lives of millions of his adopted countrymen with his beautiful songs, among them the stirring God Bless America. In his compositions, Mr. Berlin has expressed his love for his adopted homeland.

A poor Negro child from the slums of Philadelphia—what chance had she of displaying patriotism? Not much. But this girl grew up; she became one of America's leading goodwill ambassadors. Her name, of course, is Marian Anderson. She has used her voice to become a great patriot.

In 1955 the world learned with immense relief that an antipolio vaccine had been developed. The discoverer of this serum is still another modern American patriot. Dr. Jonas Salk, who came from New York City, is helping to defend his country also, not from other nations but from the ravages of disease.

On any Monday night one can watch and listen to another patriot. This man has come a long way from a small town in the Midwest to a national television program. He is one of the leading anti-Communists in the world today. Bishop Fulton J. Sheen is a patriot who fights ideas instead of battles.

Carl Sandburg has expressed his patriotism in a way everyone can appreciate. Son of a midwestern blacksmith, he has written flowing verses that truly describe our country. This modern patriot inspires all Americans with his poems.

Very few men have had a chance to show their patriotism in several fields. One of these men is Dwight D. Eisenhower. His career has encompassed both the defending of his country with arms and now the protecting of world freedom and peace. President Eisenhower, like George Washington, is a patriot in every sense of the world.

These, then, are the patriots of modern America. These and many others. They hold the answer to our question. A Russian immigrant, a poor Negro from the slums, a smalltown midwesterner, and all the rest are helping to keep our Nation great. No longer does the word "patriot" only mean one who defends his country with his life. Now it includes all who are fighting in the laboratory, in the opera house, in the government, for the ideals of democracy.

The answer to our question, then, is, anyone. Anyone can vote, serve on a jury, and perform the duties of citizenship. Anyone can use his own talents to the best of his ability in the furthering of freedom and democracy. A poet, a scientist, and opera singer—if all these are patriots in their own way, then anyone can be a patriot. And in our country the answer can, and must, be as it always has been—everyone—a patriot in his own way.

Neglecting Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the March 30, 1957, New York Times. I especially call attention to the statement below referring to our excessive friendliness to Latin American dictators as one of the most bitter criticisms leveled against American policy by Latin Americans. I also point out that it criticizes our diplomatic representatives who have often gone out of their way to show an unnecessary degree of friendliness and says that this is especially true today of the Dominican Republica and Cuba.

The editorial follows:

NEGLECTING LATIN AMERICA

The perennial question of whether Latin America is being neglected or not by the American Government came up again in Secretary Dulles' latest press conference. Mr. Dulles, of course, argued that the Eisenhower administration has given a great and unusual amount of attention to Latin American relations. James Minotto, who prepared a report on foreign aid for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that in the Caribbean area it is felt that the United States is neglecting our hemispheric friends. The feeling is not confined to this region.

The target is a fair one to shoot at because even before taking office in 1953 Secretary Dulles stated that he and the Eisenhower administration were not going to neglect Latin America the way Secretary Acheson and President Truman presumably did. The charge against the Truman administration was a weak one. It was based on the fact that Secretary Acheson only once went out of his way toward the end of his term to visit a Latin American country—Brazil. The Inter-American Bureau of the State Department was in the last years of the Truman administration under the able and energetic direction of Assistant Secretary Edward J. Miller, Jr., who certainly did not neglect his duties and who made many trips.

There has not even been an Assistant Secretary of State for 7 months, since Henry Holland resigned. The Department is in the hands of a competent and devoted career officer Roy R. Rubottom, but he has not the rank or authority of an Assistant Secretary and cannot leave his desk. Secretary Dulles has not made any trips to Latin America except to attend a few major conferences. The one important gesture of the Eisenhower administration was to send the President's brother, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, on a trip around South America in 1953. While generally valuable, it was marred by kowtowing to Argentine Dictator Perón.

The whole record of the present administration, in fact, has been marred by excessive friendliness to Latin American dictators.

This is one of the most bitter criticisms leveled against American policy by Latin Americans. The fault probably lies in our diplomatic representation, which is generally of a high order but which in the case of the dictators has curiously enough been characterized by envoys who have often gone out of their way to show an unnecessary degree of friendliness. This was true in Argentina under Perón, in Nicaragua under Anastasio Somoza, and in Venezuela. It is especially true today of the Dominican Republic and Cuba.

In this respect our good neighbors would like to see us be rather more neglectful of the dictatorships and more friendly and cooperative with the democracies. A good start could be made with Argentina, which has not by any means had the help it needs and deserves in this difficult post-Perón period.

Iowa General Assembly Urges Repeal of Excise Taxes on Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the 57th General Assembly of the State of Iowa has adopted a resolution urging repeal of excise taxes on transportation of persons and property. The resolution follows:

Senate Concurrent Resolution 21

Whereas during the emergency of World War II, the Congress of the United States enacted an excise-tax levy on the transporation of property and persons; and

Whereas the tax on transportation of property and persons was designed for a double motive, to supply revenue and for the principal purpose of discouraging unnecessary civilian use of common carriers when their services were needed in the war effort; and

Whereas though the hostilities have long since ceased, the tax on transportation of property and persons still continues to be an effective deterrent to such transportation and is now effective in weakening the national transportation system contrary to the best public interest; and

Whereas the national policy declared by the Congress of the United States in the Interstate Commerce Act calls for the development and preservation of a national transportation system adequate to meet the needs of commerce, postal service, and the national defense; and

Whereas the publicly regulated carriers are the collectors of the tax for the Government, the tax adds to the shipping cost paid by the shipper or receiver who uses the regulated carrier and it, therefore, places an undue and unfair advantage in the hands of those who can afford to furnish their own transportation as against the small shipper or receiver who, because of his economic station, is compelled to use the regulated carrier. It also creates an inequality between the shipper who has a long haul and one who has a short haul on the same regulated carrier because the excise tax is levied as a percentage of the cost of the transportation; and

Whereas transportation is not by any standard a luxury, and sound reasoning allows us to distinguish between the excise tax on transportation and other excise taxes on luxury items; and

Whereas it is the opinion of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa that the best interest of the citizens of the State and the Nation will best be served by the removal of the excise taxes on transportation: Therefore be it

Resolved by the senate (the house concurring), That it shall be the manifest expression of the 57th general assembly that the discriminatory and burdensome excise taxes on transportation of persons and property be removed by the Congress of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of the resolution be communicated to the Members of Congress from Iowa and that a copy of said resolution be communicated to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives and to the Committee on Finance in the Senate of the United States Congress.

W. H. TATE.

We, William H. Nicholas, Lieutenant Governor of Iowa; Richard W. Berglund, secretary of the senate; W. L. Mooty, speaker of the house of representatives; and William R. Kendrick, acting chief clerk of the house of representatives, hereby certify that the above and foregoing resolution was adopted by the Senate and House of the 57th General Assembly of Iowa.

RICHARD W. BERGLUND,
Secretary of the Senate.
WILLIAM R. KENDRICK,
Acting Chief Clerk of the House.
WILLIAM H. NICHOLAS,
Lieutenant Governor of Iowa.
W. L. MOOTY,
Speaker of the House.

Patriotism in Modern America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. VORYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, I want to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the essay entitled "Patriotism in Modern America," written by Hershal Amburn, 353 North Cassingham Road, Columbus, Ohio, a 10th-grade student.

Hershal is one of the 12 winners of the statewide essay contest sponsored by the American Legion of Ohio, in which thousands of students participated. The purpose of this contest is to promote patriotism and good citizenship. Hershal's essay effectively sets forth these principles. Here is how he describes what patriotism means to him:

PATRIOTISM IN MODERN AMERICA

(By Skip Amburn, Bexley, Ohio)

The dictionary simply states that patriotism is "love of one's country." But to me patriotism is much more than this. It is an inner, almost automatic force that makes men (and women, too) do both horic and unselfish deeds for their country. It is the ingredient on which freedom was built. It is the hope on which freedom will survive.

There are some among us who feel that modern America's brand of patriotism has grown soft; that patriotism has become more a matter of words, historical quotations, and "let Joe do the good deeds." I don't agree.

There are those who are working on secret and dangerous scientific projects so that their fellow men and country may become stronger and more capable of beating off any enemy who may attack. This is patriotism.

There are those who, of their own fee will, enlist in the foreign espionage service of our country to guard against the propaganda and intrigue which may sap away the strength of our country. This is patriotism.

There are those who work at the deadly task of developing germ warfare—without question of why they do it. This is patriotism.

There are those who test new fighters and bombers, who work with explosives, who work with guided missiles, who work for the cause of freedom—diligently, patiently, determinedly. This is patriotism.

There are scientists, technicians, and engineers who make a stronger America their life's work—freqeuntly with lower pay than could be made in commercial occupations. This is patriotism.

There are the 80,000 people at the football game who stand and sing the naional anthem as the flag is raised. This is patriotism.

There is the mother who bravely smiles as her only son, by his own wishes, enlists in the Armed Forces of his country. This is patroitism.

There is the neighbor next door who raised Old Glory on the Fourth of July and leaves the picnic early so that his flag can be lowered before sundown. This is patriotism.

There is the man who prays for his country and its people. There was the soldier in Korea who volunteered, without hesitation, to lead a patrol into enemy territory—with little hope of survival. This is patriotism.

There are the parents who deny themselves in order to educate their children so that they may become useful and good citizens. This is patriotism.

Patriotism is all around us in modern America, if we will only stop long enough to see it at work. It is not generally the same kind or same form as that practiced by our forefathers who fought for the cause of liberty and religious freedom. But it is with us and a part of us. Our country will remain strong and great so long as patriotism is taught in the home and in the schools, and so long as its power comes from the faith we have in Him above. This, to me, is patriotism in modern America.

Interoceanic Canals Commission Resolutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks, I quote the 1957 resolutions of the Panama Canal Society of Florida and the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies with respect to the Panama Canal, as follows:

RESOLUTIONS RE PANAMA CANAL BY THE PANAMA CANAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

Whereas the Panama Canal situation has been dangerously simmering for over 10 years without constructive results; and

Whereas the inadequacy of the Panama Canal to meet increasing traffic requirements has become more and more acute and the absolute need for a speedy determination of the overall subject is of the most vital importance; and

Whereas there is developing a determined movement to force the Congress into authorizing a sea-level canal and to which radical change practically all engineers familiar with

local Canal Zone conditions are unalterably opposed as a dangerous and costly experiment not warranted or supported by experience gained over 42 years of Panama Canal operation and maintenance: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Panama Canal Society of Florida at its annual reunion at St. Petersburg, January 15–16, 1957, as follows:

1. That the society respectfully and most earnestly urges the Congress of the United States to enact without further delay legislation providing for the creation of an independent Interoceanic Canals Commission to study and review all the problems involved in the matter of increased capacity for the canal, with recommendations in the premises.

2. That copies of this resolution be furnished the press and the Members of Congress.

3. That copies of this resolution also be furnished each of the 2,400 members of the original canal construction force now comprising the membership of the Panama Canal societies located throughout the United States, with the request that these members utilize every opportunity to support in the public press and through their congressional representatives the action recommended in this resolution.

TROY HAYES, *President.*
Mrs. LUCILLE S. JUDD,
Secretary.

RESOLUTIONS RE THE PANAMA CANAL BY THE AMERICAN COALITION OF PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES, 1025 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C., ADOPTED AT ITS ANNUAL CONVENTION IN THE MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 31, 1957

Whereas the Panama Canal is not adequate and many plans have been proposed to increase its capacity; and

Whereas the Soviet Government, its satellites, and certain internationalists seek to remove American ownership, operation, and control of the canal: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies (a) urges Congress to provide for an Interoceanic Canals Commission to resolve the problem of increasing the capacity of the Panama Canal and (b) is unalterably opposed to relinquishing American ownership and control.

Federal Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, in view of the current concern with the problem of economy, I am including in the RECORD two commentaries on the subject of Federal economy.

The first item is in the form of a letter to the editor of the Washington Post by Prof. John K. Galbraith under date of April 6, 1957.

I would also like to include an editorial from the Yankton (S. Dak.) Press and Dakotan of April 4, written by a thoughtful student of public issues:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of April 6, 1957]

SINCLAIR WEEKS' WORDS

On December 2, 1953, the Secretary of Commerce, Sinclair Weeks, in an address before a luncheon session of the 58th Congress of Industry of the National Association of Manufacturers, summarized the work of the administration of which he was then, as he remains, a member during the first 10 months. Following were among the "actual accomplishments" which he listed:

"Thirteen billion dollars have been slashed from requested appropriations.

"An honest dollar has been restored and is being kept.

"Inflation has been checked * * * and the cost of living is leveling off.

"Federal agencies are being reorganized for economy and efficiency and for elimination of duplication and waste * * *."

The Secretary warned that "if for any reason the bough of economic stability should break, down goes business, labor and all." But he concluded with the assurance that "sound and efficient Government was being restored."

My purpose in recalling these words is not because, on purely literary or historical grounds, I would deem them worthy of enduring fame. And I would indeed be sorry if anyone thought me motivated by any tendency to petty, carping or even remotely partisan criticism. One hears so much of this.

Rather it only seems to me that the measured judgments of the servants of our democracy should not, under all circumstances, be too quickly forgotten. Also, it occurs to me that the Secretary may wish to report on the further progress along these lines since 1953.

JOHN K. GALBRAITH,
Professor of Economics,
Harvard University.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

[From the Yankton (S. Dak.) Press and Dakotan of April 4, 1957]

ALSO IMPORTANT

The preservation of peace in the world is an objective that overrides high taxes in importance, President Eisenhower told a group of business leaders a few days ago in discussing the administration's controversial budget.

"Every other objective must bend to that," he declared. "The world must have peace or we come close to the point where we say it must perish."

There can be no disputing his contention that the preservation of world peace is all-important. Moreover, current governmental expenditures and taxes are unquestionably low compared with what they would be if this Nation were to be plunged into an atomic war.

One may go along also with the further contention that, since the preservation of world peace seems to depend on this Nation remainfng strong, expenditures for that purpose are justified, being in the nature of national insurance.

Disappointing, however, is Mr. Eisenhower's failure to recognize the fact that there is much spending by the Federal Government which contributes very little if anything to the cause of national security or world peace.

There was no apparent recognition of the fact that the spending, both for national defense and otherwise, continues to edge upward, year by year, while the threat to world peace is not reduced correspondingly, to all appearances, as it is supposed to be.

Senator BYRD, of Virginia, champion of economy, pointed out the other day that the Federal civilian payroll hit an all-time peak in January of a billion dollars a month.

That figure did not include the Military Establishment. Total civilian employment by the Federal Government reached 2,390,507 in February of this year, an increase of 3,492 over January, according to the Senator.

This indicates clearly that the trend toward increased spending and higher taxes is continuing.

Unfortunately, that trend is likely to continue as long as officials put most emphasis on the need for spending rather than on the need for economizing.

Preservation of world peace is an important objective, as Mr. Eisenhower said, but the preservation of our Government's solvency is also important.

Economic Phoenix in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat on Tuesday, April 2, 1957, entitled "Economic Phoenix in Europe":

ECONOMIC PHOENIX IN EUROPE

Few American huzzas greeted the signing of six-nation treaties linking European states in an economic union and a joint development of atomic power, called Euratom. The event last week was relegated to inside news pages. Yet this move can herald one of the most important, profoundly intelligent trends of this midcentury.

The treaties may presage the rising of new, vital economic power on the Continent, through unity of these often antagonistic states. They can foreshadow the re-creation of a strong, integrated European community, springing like a Phoenix from the tired, ancient ashes of European jealousies, wars, and political isolationism. The agreements are a long step toward the ideal of a United States of Europe.

This goal has been supported by the United States, because we seek prosperity for our European allies, have subsidized it with our billions, in the knowledge the Continent requires economic health as a cornerstone for its defenses. Europe's economic stability also is imperative to our own economic welfare.

The treaties would set up a common market among France, Italy, West Germany, and the Benelux countries—Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. This market program would provide for gradual but firm elimination of tariff barriers.

In addition, the six continental states would form an atomic pool for mutual development of peace power. Atomic power is practicable in Europe, where production of electricity now costs twice as much as in America.

The pact must be ratified by each nation's Parliament but prospects are good. Some objection exists in France, which however is a leader in European-union plans. Paris will probably sanction the program, and the Bonn government follow suit. Highly productive Germany wants to cut back tariffs. If these 2 countries approve, the other 4 nations will quickly hope on the bandwagon.

Economic, especially electric, coal and steel unity in development of Europe can give the Continent tremendous cohesion. It can pave the way for a political federation, or a union of Europe, and a great new civilized power emerging upon a centuries-old battleground.

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, it is my intention to give both sides of the foreign-aid program. On Friday, April 5, I inserted on page A2741 a Louisville Courier Journal editorial outlining their reasons for increasing foreign aid. Today I wish to insert an editorial from the same paper, dated April 3, commenting on the adventures of Secretary Dulles and his biographer's story on his foreign-aid program.

It is my conclusion that the actions of Mr. Dulles have been such as to justify a cut in certain areas of our foreign aid program. The editorial follows:

THE ADVENTURES OF MR. DULLES AND HIS ADULATORY BIOGRAPHERS

Surely the time is coming when correspondents for Time and Life will shy away from chances to become the biographers of Mr. Dulles. The first man who took advantage of his opportunity wrote for Life an absorbing, if rather chilling, account of how the Secretary consciously led us all to the brink of war on various occasions when the risk seemed worth taking. The furore arising from this Russian-roulette type of diplomacy brought forth a typical Dulles explanation, which delicately implied that he had never said any of the things the article quoted him as saying, but did not actually deny having said them.

The same thing is happening now, in response to an adulatory biography of the Secretary, by the State Department specialist of Time magazine, John Robinson Beal. Mr. Beal is obviously devoted to his subject and, equally obviously, he has benefited from many conversations and discussions with Mr. Dulles and those close to him. He has dwelt upon and expanded the "brink" theory, and indeed has produced a few additional brinks from which his hero steps back in the nick of time.

But he obviously hasn't got Mr. Dulles' signature on some of his exclusive material. The result is that even before publication, Mr. Beal's work is being repudiated piece by piece, by its principal beneficiary. Mr. Beal says flatly, in a chapter on Formosa: "It is not known, for example, that Free China's president, Chiang Kai-shek, received a personal letter from Mr. Eisenhower satisfying him that the United States would help defend Quemoy and Matsu, for that fact has not appeared in print until now."

Understandably, at least two Democratic Senators have demanded an explanation of this sentence, in view of the repeated State Department declaration that no secret commitment exists between us and Chiang. Mr. Dulles now says that we have never made any such commitment, which leaves Mr. Beal out on a long limb with his hitherto unknown "fact."

An even more provocative chapter sets forth in exhaustive detail the reasons which led Mr. Dulles to back out of an offer to finance the Aswan Dam construction in Egypt. The most charitable explanation for this action, which publicly affronted Egypt's President Nasser and led directly to his seizure of the Suez Canal a week later, was that Mr. Dulles acted impulsively and out of pique.

According to Mr. Beal, the action was coldly calculated, as "a moment of cold-war climax." We were to call Russia's hand in the gamble for Middle East support, we were to make a "grand demonstration." And, says Mr. Beal, "Nasser combined the right timing, the right geography, and the right order of magnitude for a truly major gambit in the cold war."

So Mr. Dulles made this grand demonstration in the most humiliating manner possible for the touchy Egyptians. He waited until Nasser's ambassador arrived in Washington with an acceptance of the British-American offer of financing and then told them that the offer was withdrawn. This may have been, as Mr. Beal proclaims it, a demonstration that we are not to be trifled with, but it also seems to be a demonstration that we can be as ruthless and crude as the Russians themselves when we set our minds to it.

Mr. Beal makes a very persuasive case for his view and makes it seem very unlikely that this explanation was pieced together without consultation or discussion with those most concerned. But, again, Mr. Dulles says it never happened. The refusal was given because Congress forbade the use of foreign-aid funds for the dam, he told his news conference, and because—a truly remarkable switch—"there was a strong feeling that the burden of building of the dam would react against the United States in Egypt and further that Egypt was trying to play off the United States and Russia against each other."

All of these subsidiary reasons are probably valid, but they do not explain Mr. Beal's most interesting point, which was the timing of the refusal so that it had the effect of a brutal and calculated snub. Its results are now history. Egypt seized the canal; France, Britain, and Israel took matters into their own hands and invaded Egypt and the Middle East is more of a powder key than ever. If this be diplomacy, make the most of it.

Alaska Statehood Endorsed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, the Seafarers International Union at its biennial convention held in San Francisco in late March of this year went on record in support of Alaska statehood. Under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include here the resolution adopted:

STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA

Whereas the Seafarers International Union of North America assembled in San Francisco March 25 to March 29, 1957, reaffirms its former action in support of statehood for Alaska; and

Whereas the action taken recognizes the valuable resources of the Territory of Alaska, which if developed, would result in a great State where the products of resource development in timber, mining, oil, fish, and other valuable resources would greatly add to the wealth and importance among States of the United States; and

Whereas the Organic Act now in existence prevents the proper development of the resources of this great Territory; and

Whereas through statehood and the proper development of resources will aid and add to this strategic and military important area for the protection of the United States; Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That the delegates assembled representing seamen, fishermen, fish cannery workers, and all allied maritime trades urge Congress to grant statehood to Alaska without restriction that would prevent the early, gradual and complete development of what can become one of the richest States in the Nation.

A Gambit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial from the Daily News, McKeesport, Pa., dated April 6, 1957, entitled "A Gambit."

I hope that many Members of the House shall read it as I believe this expresses very thoroughly the actions of Mr. Dulles, our present Secretary of State. Utterances one day and denials the next by the Secretary, I am sure, are confusing not only to American listeners and readers, but to those representing foreign countries.

I feel that the editorial of the McKeesport Daily News has contributed much in exposing the workings of our State Department and the "on again, off again" policy they are pursuing.

A GAMBIT

Did Mr. Dulles withdraw promises to pay the costs of the Aswan Dam in Egypt as a "gambit" to bring a showdown with the Soviet Union in the Middle East?

A new biography on Mr. Dulles says he did. Mr. Dulles says he did not.

Thus we have another dispute involving the Secretary of State as intriguing as that caused by his reputed brink of war statement which the Democrats tried to make something out of in last year's election campaign.

Mr. Dulles has more trouble with his quotations than anybody else in Washington, except Defense Secretary Wilson. There is a difference, however. Mr. Dulles denies the quotes which prove embarrassing. Mr. Wilson sticks by them.

Still the quotes, which Mr. Dulles denies, are so much like him, in the way he talks, that many will insist that, if he didn't use the exact words, he did use their synonyms.

His brink-of-war statement was thoroughly Dulles and we doubt, if the Democrats hadn't grabbed it, the Secretary would have realized that he was misquoted. In his public pronouncements, he's always speaking as though our foreign affairs were a game in which his role is to outsmart the Soviets.

Thus, the gambit quote was Dulles in character. Gambit is a chess term, meaning an intentional sacrifice to trip up an opponent. In checkers, it would be to allow an opponent to jump a checker, so you could jump two.

The facts are that Mr. Dulles did hold out several millions of our tax money to Egypt's Nasser for the Aswan Dam and that, when Nasser started to buy arms from the Soviet bloc, Mr. Dulles withdrew them.

But the gambit, or whatever Mr. Dulles wishes to call it, didn't work. Nasser gambited back by seizing the Suez and so we have had a bad crisis ever since, with no one quite knowing at the moment how it will cost us to get it settled.

In diplomacy, the move by Mr. Dulles would be spoken of as a calculated risk, but, if reduced to chess terms, it would have been

a gambit, albeit one that didn't work. Nasser's gambit worked better and, at last report, the Soviets weren't playing as Mr. Dulles suspected, but only kibitzing.

So Mr. Dulles is having trouble making his denial of a gambit stick. If he didn't use the word in his interview with the biographer, then he did use some word which put gambit in the writer's mind, because this is the way Mr. Dulles plays the diplomatic game. He moves and countermoves, checks and double-checks, and hopes that he can be more skillful than his opponents.

Because he plays this kind of diplomacy, we Americans have a tough time keeping up with him. One day we're mad at the French, the British, and the Israelis as aggressors. The next day, on cue from Mr. Dulles, we're mad at Nasser. We like Tito and then we don't like Tito. We smile at the Russians on a summit and frown on them when we find ourselves down to earth again.

The Dulles gambits have been very confusing in a nation which has a lingering memory of the time when its diplomacy wasn't a game of skill and chance engaged in by the Secretary of State, but rather something based firmly on principle and national interest. But, apparently, that old-fashioned diplomacy is gone and this, of course, is a pity because it wasn't nearly so dangerous or costly.

Star and Herald Newspaper of Panama Celebrates 108th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on February 24, 1957, the Star and Herald, the well-known bi-lingual Latin-American newspaper of Panama, Republic of Panama, celebrated its 108th anniversary of publication. Featured by wise and conservative direction, its editorial policies have long had statesmanlike qualities that have been international in their constructive influence.

These eminent traits were effectively illustrated in its campaign to prevent the liquidation of the Panama Railroad. Under the able direction of President T. Gabriel Duque and Editor Luis Bunting, its influence should continue to expand.

Not only this, researchers who have read the past issues of the Star and Herald always find that a rewarding experience. Many worthwhile books have used material available in its files.

The career of the Star and Herald, which started on February 24, 1849, was admirably summarized in its leading editorial on February 24, 1957, which should be recorded in the annals of the Congress of the United States and thus be made available to a far wider distribution.

Under leave granted to extend my remarks, I quote the indicated editorial:

STAR AND HERALD HAS BIRTHDAY

The Star and Herald, oldest English-language daily on the west coast of the three Americas and 2 years older than the "good, grey" New York Times, celebrates its 108th anniversary today.

Its long and colorful history covers a century-plus of one of the greatest stories ever told: the development of these Americas. One of its greatest triumphs is the story its yellowing pages tells of the several eras in which the Isthmus of Panama, both before and since this Nation's achievement of independence, has participated in actual world history.

Panama was visited by Columbus on his last voyage to the Americas. He thought he had hit the route to the Indies he sought, but when he learned from the native Indians that there was a far stretch of ocean on the other side of this narrow Isthmus he ceased and desisted and went home a very ill man. Vasco Nuñes de Balboa "discovered" the Pacific from a hill in Darien, also thanks to Indian lore and guidance. These events are part of Panama's age-old history.

But perhaps the greatest story, at least for Panama's future, was the discovery of gold in California. Such discoveries were old stuff to the early Spaniards who had been mining both gold and silver for generations up and down the west coast. But the California discovery brought the Grin-goes from the more populated Eastern United States. Some had attempted the trek to the west coast in covered wagons. There were then no transcontinental railroads. They had to buck hostile Indians, hardships on the plains and worse in the Rockies. Some never got there. It fell to little Panama to acquire the first Atlantic to Pacific railroad. And, when completed, this less-than-5-mile-long railroad coined money carrying the gold-seekers to the Pacific side, there to await slow and infrequent transportation to California, later carrying them back with their knapsacks laden with nuggets.

That's where the Forty-niners came in. They were fortune hunters, men of many callings. Among these were a few printers who found time hanging on their hands awaiting sea transportation. To brighten the tedium of their wait, they proceeded to do the only thing for which they were trained: get out a newspaper. They called it the Panama Star with their motto "Press onward," meaning they were pressing on their errand, let others take over their presses. Naturally it was in English. Also it was tiny as to size. It was merely a temporary pastime with perhaps the hope of realizing expenses if nothing more.

These printers, J. B. Bidleman, S. K. Henarie and J. P. Bachman produced the tiny Panama Star February 24, 1849. As each secured transportation to the goldfields he departed forthwith, leaving the others to carry on. Thus there was a succession of editors and printers, as also periodical lapses in publication as the tiny sheet changed hands.

Eventually the little Star was left an orphan but others came forward to take a shot at its publication. Some editors were experienced newsmen. Others were not. But in those early editions one can find more blood and thunder, more gossip and chit-chat, and more general color than can be found in any young newspaper in the world.

There were massacres of returning gold-diggers laden with nuggets as they traveled by riverboat along the Chagres or on mule-back over the mountains. The trail produced as many wild west stories as ever came out to the United States wild West. There were lynchings and revolutions, even conflicts between the local New Granada authorities and the Forty-niners. And holdups were mere grist to the mill.

The best that can be said was that Panama was regaining its strategic point between the Americas, the importance won centuries gone by Portobelo, its Atlantic seaport, so-named by Columbus because it was so beautiful.

The original printers of the little Star were replaced by others, more accomplished technicians. In fact the Star had to buck opposition from other sheets, among them the Herald. Compromise was reached and the two papers eventually joined as the Star and Herald. During the French Canal regime the English and Spanish editions made room for one in French.

We think it safe to say that no newspaper having such a precarious and colorful start has survived so long or served so many readers in so many areas. And we are proud of it.

Economy Does Not Mean Cutting Our Benefit Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news column entitled "Keenotes":

KEENOTES

(By Representative ELIZABETH KEE)

The place to begin effecting economies in Government spending should not start with those programs which affect the welfare of an overwhelming majority of the American people. Traditionally, however, this would seem, unwisely, to be the point where most efforts to cut the Federal budget usually begin, and for the most part end. The economy drive which is now on in Congress, and properly so, to cut the largest budget ever submitted in this country's peacetime history, is proving, unhappily, to be no exception to the rule.

So far, in this session of the Congress, the House has passed 6 appropriations bills, one, the urgent deficiency bill to help Government Departments and agencies meet their underestimated expenditures for the balance of the 1957 fiscal year; and the other 5 to provide funds for the fiscal year 1958, beginning July 1, 1957. A comparison of House action on these 6 bills will, I feel, offer a clear illustration of the point I wish to make in this issue of "Keenotes."

On February 5, the House passed the urgent deficiency appropriation bill for 1957. As approved, the bill provides (in round figures) $335 million for the United States Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Health, Education, and Welfare, the Small Business Administration, and the legislative branch for the last quarter of this fiscal year. The only floor action by the House, beyond approval of the Appropriations Committee's recommendations, was to adopt an amendment placing a limitation of $15,728,000 on the amount that may be spent for State and local administration of public assistance grants. The bill is still in conference between the House and Senate. But if this limitation is upheld, it will mean that, instead of the Federal Government providing 50 percent of the cost of administering the public assistance program in the States, only 35 percent will be paid for the balance of this year.

This could gravely affect the public assistance program in West Virginia, where grants to the needy have already had to be cut because of the increase in the number of individuals on the relief rolls. Obviously, the more needy there are to serve, the more the cost of administering the program increases.

On February 20, a bill appropriating funds for fiscal 1958 for the United States Treasury, the Post Office Department, and the Tax Court passed the House. This bill authorized appropriations totaling more than $3,-

$94,000,000 for these three agencies. This was a little over $80 million less than the President requested in his budget. But it is almost $251 million more than was appropriated for these same agencies in fiscal 1957.

On February 26, $454,395,700 was appropriated for the Interior Department, some $61 million less than the budget request, but only about $3.7 million less than was appropriated for fiscal 1957. On March 13, the House approved slightly over $16 million in appropriations to run the Office of the President, which was nearly $5 million under the budget request.

Then on March 20, the first really big cuts in the President's spending proposals were approved when the House sliced over $500 million from the appropriations requested for 19 Federal agencies comprising the so-called independent offices of the Government, such as the Federal Civil Defense Administration, the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics, and other boards, commissions and corporations. This represents a reduction of almost $600 million under what was appropriated for fiscal 1957. Veterans' Administration funds account for 82 percent of all funds appropriated for the independent offices.

Then, on April 4, after 7 days of strenous debate on the floor, the House passed the Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare appropriations bills. I think I may safely say that, with the exception of the Veterans' Administration, these two departments of the Federal Government more closely and intimately serve the well-being of a greater number of Americans than all of the other agencies an departments put together.

By this time, every newspaper reader, TV and radio listener, knows that the House Appropriations Committee approved cuts amounting to $118,774,700 from the budget requests for these two departments; and that subsequent action on the House floor increased this amount to more than $134 million, almost $19 million under the appropriations for 1957.

But what I fear has not been made clear to the American people is just how these cuts will affect the businessman, employed people, retired workers, the older age groups, and the public assistance, public health, and other essential service programs that benefit the entire community. For example, the reduction in the funds available to the Bureau of Employment Security will curtail research programs invaluable to the average businessman. West Virginia, in particular, has special interest in several of these programs—one of which keeps track of the effect of tariff policies (the lowering of tariffs) on our domestic industries. Another program provides assistance to the "one industry" surplus labor commodity by affording studies and data as to how its resources can be used to provide diversified industrial development and greater employment opportunities.

One of the most consequential restrictions written into the bill has serious implications for West Virginia. This is the ceiling of $104 million placed upon the Federal share of administering the costs of the public-assistance program—aid for the needy aged, the blind, dependent children, the physically handicapped, and the permanently and totally disabled. By law, the Federal Government pays half the administrative cost of these programs on a 50–50 matching basis with the States. If the Senate upholds the House-passed limitation, every State will automatically be compelled either to drastically curtail these programs or to carry the added cost alone.

Only the most vigorous fight I have seen waged in the House in many a long year saved a ruinous cut in the funds available to run the Food and Drug Administration in the next fiscal year. The Food and Drug Administration is literally the policeman, the sure protector of the fit-to-eat food we put on our tables, of the purity and safety of the medicines we give to our children and other loved ones. As a mother and housewife, as well as the Representative of the people in the Fifth Congressional District of West Virginia, I gave of my best efforts to prevent a cut which, to my mind, would have been calamitous for the health and welfare of every family in this country. I am happy to report that this cut, tentatively approved by a voice vote, was defeated when a rollcall or registered vote was demanded by the floor managers of the bill.

What to me would have represented another catastrophic cut was likewise saved by the demand for a rollcall vote. This was the first tentative move on the House floor to repeal the Water Pollution Control Act by denying the Public Health Service funds with which to administer its provisions. This act provides Federal aid to local communities to build sewage treatment plants and so assure uncontaminated, pollution-free water for consumption of the local citizen. It renders an absolutely vital service for thousands of our cities and towns built along the rivers and harbors of the Nation.

I am economy-minded. I believe that untold sums of money can be saved by efficient administration, by eliminating any excessive profits on the part of those who supply goods and services to the Government and by doing away with the war-essential "rapid tax-write-off" programs intended to induce industry to expand in a period of national emergency. I also believe that only that overused rubber stamp "classified" prevents Congress and the public from knowing of possible waste, extravagance, and duplication in the Department of Defense, and the foreign-aid programs.

But the service agencies and departments of the Federal Government that cope with the problems, the often-tragic needs and the health of the average citizen, the small-business man, the veteran and the aged, have no "classified" stamp to use. They are the easy prey of the indiscriminate budget-cutter who swings a meat-ax—let it fall where it may—without thought for the consequences—to all of us who willingly pay our taxes for the benefits and advantages this richest and most blessed of all lands can well afford its people.

Committee on Un-American Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, in view of my insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 29, 1957, it gives me pleasure to insert the following letter addressed to the Honorable CLYDE DOYLE, a copy of which has been sent to me.

I am sure that my colleagues will be glad to know of the attitude of the California State Bar as expressed by their president, Mr. Joseph A. Ball:

THE STATE BAR OF CALIFORNIA,
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
Long Beach, April 2, 1957.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CLYDE: The resolution of the board of governors of the State bar of California stated that "the proceedings of the committee and the committee's conduct were improper and lacking in dignity and impartiality which should govern the conduct of agencies of the United States; they resulted in grossly offensive personality directed at counsel for witnesses." This statement was not directed at any statement made by you as chairman of the Subcommittee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives. The board was particularly concerned with the questions asked by Richard Arens, who bears the title of staff director and who was acting counsel for the committee and the remarks made by committee members directed toward counsel for certain witnesses. The record does not disclose that you, as chairman, directed offensive or insulting remarks to anyone at the hearing.

Cordially,

JOSEPH A. BALL,
President.

Hells Canyon Issue Still Stirs Northwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 20, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the April 8 issue of the New Leader carried an article by Samuel Markham which I believe effectively summarizes some of the reasons why Congress should promptly authorize Federal construction of the high dam at Hells Canyon. Failure to do so will certainly mean that the Pacific Northwest will, as Mr. Markham correctly points out, "remain short of low-cost electricity and helpless to cope with the rampaging river."

I wholeheartedly recommend this article to my colleagues and under unanimous consent I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

HELLS CANYON ISSUE STILL STIRS NORTHWEST
(By Samuel Markham)

PORTLAND, OREG.—Once again, a Senate Interior Subcommittee is holding hearings on a bill to authorize Federal construction of a multipurpose dam in the great canyon of the Snake River that separates Idaho and Oregon. The fact that the Idaho Power Co. is well along in the construction of a dam on the site apparently does not bother the committee or the bill's sponsors.

In the last session of Congress, the Hells Canyon bill was defeated by a sizable majority in the Senate. It never came to a vote in the House. The Eisenhower administration used every device at its disposal to pressure Republican Senators to vote against the bill. It succeeded—but the issue didn't die. In fact, Hells Canyon became a ringing battle cry in the 1956 election, and the people heeded it: One Republican Congressman from eastern Oregon went down to defeat, a Republican Senator in Idaho was unseated, and Oregon Democratic Senator WAYNE MORSE, a sponsor of the present bill, won an overwhelming victory against Douglas McKay. The latter, while Secretary of the Interior, abandoned the Government's claim to the magnificent Hells Canyon site.

Nevertheless, almost to a man, the GOP is still against additional large Government dams in the Pacific Northwest. This is even evident in State politics. The Oregon Senate has just voted along strict party lines on a resolution urging Congress to authorize the Hells Canyon project; 15 Democrats

voted for it, 15 Republicans against it. Thus, the resolution, which had been passed by the Democratic-controlled lower house, was defeated. Even the senators from eastern Oregon, where power and flood control are badly needed, voted against the resolution.

Why this stubborn GOP refusal to look commonsense in the face? The answer is not easy to unravel; it is mixed up with political ideologies, campaign contributions and a dogged do-nothingism that has rarely been equaled in the history of this country's resource development.

The story goes back to 1948, when the Corps of Engineers published its main-control plan for the Columbia River, one of the classic documents of its kind. In proposing a series of multipurpose projects for harnessing the river's flow, the Corps found that a high-head dam at Hells Canyon—one of the deepest river canyons in the world—was the key to flood control. The dam would store almost 4 million acre-feet of water in times of rampaging floods, or about one-fifth of the 20 million needed to assure flood control in the entire Columbia-Snake Basin.

Soon afterward, the Bureau of Reclamation drafted a bill that was introduced in Congress to gain authorization for the dam. Immediately, the private-power lobby went into action. The Idaho Power Co., which had long regarded the Snake River as its private domain, applied to the Federal Power Commission for a license to build a series of dams, including one on the Hells Canyon site.

The Department of Interior, then under Oscar Chapman, intervened and succeeded in waylaying the Idaho Power Co.'s application, but it could not get the Hells Canyon bill through Congress. The struggle was fierce but undecided. When the Eisenhower administration came in, the climate in Washington changed. Former utility lawyers who favored private power were brought to the FPC, and the new Secretary of the Interior—McKay—was a private-power man. Consequently, the Government abandoned its claim to Hells Canyon, and after a year-long hearing the FPC gave the Idaho Power Co. a license for three small dams on the Snake. The company lost little time in making good on its application; dirt soon began to fly at Hells Canyon.

But the people did not give up so easily. The Hells Canyon Association, organized by the grange and members of rural electric co-ops, raised enough money to carry the fight to the courts. The United States Court of Appeals upheld the IPC license. The intervenors then appealed to the United States Supreme Court, and the four Pacific Northwest Senators—MORSE, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, HENRY M. JACKSON, and WARREN G. MAGNUSON—vowed to introduce another bill in the 85th Congress.

It is not likely that the Hells Canyon bill will ever be passed by Congress, and it is even less likely that the Supreme Court will invalidate the IPC license, though that license clearly violates the Federal Water Power Act provision calling for development of United States rivers on a comprehensive plan. The loss of some 3 million acre-feet of storage at Hells Canyon—the IPC dam will store only 1 million feet—will be keenly felt for all time in the Snake River Valley. Towns that need protection will continue to suffer, main streets will be flooded every time the rivers go berserk, fields will be washed out, and homes will be abandoned.

The people of eastern Oregon and northwestern Idaho are up in arms. But they are at the mercy of a political party that is beholden to the Idaho Power Co. and other utilities for substantial campaign contributions.

The Hells Canyon drama will roll on, and the people will continue to mutter their resentment. Meanwhile the IPC will probably have its dam and will undoubtedly sell power at a rate four or five times that of Federal power in the Pacific Northwest. Investors in the company will continue to reap large dividends, but the region will remain short of low-cost electricity and helpless to cope with the rampaging river.

Pastureland and the Soil Bank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to call attention to a statement made April 3 to the Livestock and Feed Grains Subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee by Mr. N. J. Post, director of the division of special services of the National Milk Producers Federation. His thorough study of the question at hand drew favorable comments from some of those who heard him testify. He notes that his organization has been studying a proposal to encourage slaughter of dairy-type heifer calves through premium payments to producers for marketing them for slaughter. The goal would be to reduce the total number of milk cows to a level predetermined by the Department of Agriculture as the number needed to produce sufficient milk and dairy products. His statement follows:

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, we appreciate having this opportunity to discuss with this committee, H. R. 3984, a bill introduced by Representative JOHNSON designed to expand the soil-bank program to include pastureland; and those bills, H. R. 2771 and H. R. 5857, introduced by Representative ALBERT; and H. R. 2860, introduced by Representative DIXON.

The National Milk Producers Federation is a national farm organization. The federation represents over 500,000 dairy farm families and some 800 dairy cooperatives owned and controlled by these dairy farmers. The dairy cooperatives in the federation have farmer membership in 47 of the 48 States. Many of the cooperative associations represented by the federation are manufacturing associations engaged in the processing and marketing of milk in the form of manufactured products.

The record of this committee membership has amply demonstrated its interest in and support of legislative measures designed to improve the economic position of dairy farmers. The committee should know that the federation's membership appreciates this.

Milk, butterfat, and cull cows and calves from dairy farms account for nearly 20 percent of the Nation's gross farm income, making dairying the largest single segment of our national agricultural economy. Our product is produced in practically every county in the United States.

The dairy industry is unique. Our crop—milk—must be harvested twice each day and marketed every day. Because of this, prices paid dairy farmers for milk and butterfat—unless they are stabilized—are subject to frequent and wide fluctuations. When a small surplus develops in the industry, prices tumble. When a small shortage develops, consumer prices for dairy products skyrocket. Such violent fluctuations in price benefit neither the farmer nor the consumer.

The term "price-cost squeeze" frequently mentioned is not merely a label on the situation facing us today—it is a concise description of a set of economic facts. In analyzing the present situation facing dairy producers and recognizing the wide gap between the dairy farmer level of prosperity and the overall national level of prosperity, we find that the source of our problem is the 4 percent of our total annual milk production that is not at this time being taken up through the commercial channels of trade. This 4 percent of our total annual production is the amount of milk in the form of butter, cheese, and nonfat dried milk that the Commodity Credit Corporation has bought for each of the past several years. This 4 percent has set our prices. Those prices are too low and have been too low.

The current price-support level for manufacturing milk and butterfat ($3.25 per hundredweight for manufacturing milk—58.6 cents per pound of butterfat) is far below parity. These dollars and cents support levels compare with $3.74 for manufacturing milk and 67.3 cents per pound for butterfat in 1953.

In spite of the substantial progress made by dairy producers toward improving the efficiency of dairy farming evidenced by such developments as bulk tanks, pipeline milking and herd improvement, hourly earnings of dairy farmers are far below minimum-wage rates prescribed by law for labor. For example, published statistics from the United States Department of Agriculture show that in eastern and western Wisconsin, the hourly returns to dairy farmers are 30 and 35 cents, respectively. In the central northeast, the highest of the test areas, hourly returns are only 81 cents.

The expansion of the soil bank program to include pastureland is in line with the policy of Congress and the purposes of the program "* * * to protect and increase farm income." The application of congressional policy underlying the program to dairy production would make a substantial contribution toward bringing much needed stability to the production side of our industry.

If pastureland were included in the soil bank program five significant developments could occur: (1) a betterment of dairy farmer income; (2) a reduction in the production levels for milk; (3) an improvement in soil fertility thereby providing insurance to the Nation that production capacity would always be available when needed; (4) the absence of dairy products in CCC inventories would bring genuine stability to our industry; and (5) it would be less costly to the Government to make soil bank payments rather than purchase dairy products together with the fact that such payments go into the farmer's pocket and not for warehousing and transportation.

In further support of the recommendation we stress and reiterate the fact that the "surplus" milk production that creates our problems amounts to about 4 percent of our total annual production. This small percentage is an unstabilizing force in our industry. Dairy farmers are well aware of the repressing effect this "surplus" in Government inventories has on market prices. At the same time they are faced with a real situation of meeting their financial obligations. Under present conditions with low milk prices and increasing costs, these obligations can only be met by maintaining or raising the level of gross income. We believe that substantial participation by dairy producers in the soil bank program would bring us much closer to that point at which milk availability and commercial demand would be in balance. We would at the same time be maintaining our productive resources in a condition in which they would be ready and available when needed to meet increased demands occasioned by population growth or other causes.

The extension of the conservation-reserve program of the Soil Bank Act to include graz-

ing lands and provide for the reduction of livestock numbers as authorized in H. R. 5857, as well as the proposal in H. R. 2860 to establish a grazing-lands conservation and improvement program is the type of legislation which, if made applicable to dairying, would attack the dairy-farm problems at its source. We have been developing a proposal along similar lines for dairy farmers which would expand the soil-bank program by encouraging the slaughter of dairy-type heifer calves and/or dairy-type heifers or cows. The proposal would reduce the total number of milk cows to a level predetermined by the Department of Agriculture as the number needed to produce adequate supplies of milk and dairy products, taking into account the efficiency per cow that would be steadily increasing.

This would be accomplished by paying a premium to producers for the marketing for slaughter of dairy-type heifer calves. The amount paid would be set by the Secretary of Agriculture at a level which would induce the increased marketing desired. It is contemplated, for example, that the goal for the first year might be 1½ million additional heifer calves. The goal for each year would be separately determined.

The cost of increasing the number of dairy-type heifer calves slaughtered under this program would be much less than the cost of buying the surplus milk they will produce if the problem is not attacked at the source.

The cost of the program would be limited to $75 million per year. Once the cow numbers are adjusted to demand, the cost should decrease to a very low level. The cost of purchasing surplus milk should begin to decline sharply in about 2 years and would soon be practically eliminated.

The program contemplated in this proposal would accomplish several things. First, it would bring about an immediate increase in the income to dairy farmers. Second, it would raise the level of efficiency of our milk herds. Third, it would attack the problem of surplus at the source.

Further justification for the expenditure of Government funds for this proposed program is the fact that with milk production continuing to reach record levels, the Commodity Credit Corporation will be purchasing considerable quantities of dairy products under the price-support program with a resulting substantial outlay of Government funds. It is likely under the proposal that within 3 years or less, milk production in this country could be at a level where CCC purchases of dairy products would be unnecessary. If the increased slaughter rate contemplated in the proposal were reached, milk production at a maximum of 3 years hence would be stabilized at present levels and the increased need occasioned by population growth would wipe out the present almost-5-billion-pound surplus.

We thank the committee for giving so freely of its time and attention.

How Trujillo Attempts Reprisals Against a Congressman in His Own District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Coos Bay Times, an outstanding liberal newspaper in Oregon, whose editors had reported to me previously of special news releases of a derogatory nature with respect to me. Furthermore, I am informed that a private investigator has been making inquiries about me in my home town, purporting to represent a tourist agency, and on at least one occasion, using a pseudonym, "John Reed." I won my election by more than 4,500 votes last fall but I am confident that none of the 85,000 people who voted for my opponent are likely to be swayed by anything of this sort sent to them by the Dominican Government. The people of Oregon will not be deceived by such transparently malicious tactics.

The editorial follows:

TRUJILLO BACKER IGNORING FACTS

Put another name on the list of organizations occupied with keeping Dictator Trujillo of the Dominican Republic in his position of political favor with the United States. The Pan American Anti-Communist Association sent us an airmail news release the other day, labeling Representative CHARLES O. PORTER (Democrat, of Oregon), as "a leftwing McCarthy who is conducting a one-man war against the friendly governments of Generalissimo Franco of Spain, Batista of Cuba, Generalissimo Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, and Somoza of Nicaragua."

Lest anyone think this grand organization totally indicts Senator MCCARTHY along with Representative PORTER, we'll point out that the release adds that "Senator MCCARTHY at least attacked enemies of the United States, whereas PORTER * * * attacks nations that are in the vanguard of the battle against communism."

Finally, the PAACA release says that the only newspaper in New York which has wholeheartedly supported Representative PORTER is the New York Post, which "has editorially attempted to discredit the FBI and other Government and civilian anti-Communist organizations." Unfortunately for the support of this last statement, the PAACA sent along an editorial from the Post which is supposed to prove its pro-Communist bent, but which instead shows up the PAACA statement as a falsification.

It is hard to choose a starting point to pick apart this batch of half-truths and outright lies. But in the first place, Representative PORTER's attacks have been primarily against the Trujillo regime, although he has mentioned other dictatorships by way of illustration of the evil systems of government which the United States supports.

In the second place, although he is now perhaps the most vigorous, and surely the most prominent, person attacking the Trujillo regime, he hardly has a one-man campaign. Others all over the country who are indignant over the favorable treatment the bloody Trujillo regime gets from the United States have chimed their voices with Representative PORTER's. It is true that prominent persons are not numerous in the forefront of this attack; many of those who have led such assaults on Trujillo have turned up either dead or missing, which tends to keep their numbers down. And, contrary to PAACA's statement, there is at least one other New York paper which has supported Representative PORTER—just the New York Times, one of the world's leading newspapers, which termed his speech against Trujillo, given on the floor of Congress, a public service.

As for the Dominican Republic's Government being friendly to the United States, and in the vanguard of the battle against communism * * * well we should think it would be. Trujillo has nothing to lose and all to gain by staying friendly with powerful business elements in the United States. He has nothing to gain and everything to lose by allowing any system of government, from communism up the line through socialism, democracy, and so on—to replace his total stranglehold on the people and the economy of the Dominican Republic. Naturally he'd fight communism, which doesn't make him a good guy when he'd also fight democracy.

Finally, regarding the reference to the New York Post editorial, its content carries its own answer to the implied charge that the Post coddles Communists. All it says is that we are expending too much time and energy on local Communist hunts when the Soviet Union is gaining all over the world, that our intelligence agencies should be more concerned with the threat of Russian espionage than with chasing the remnants of the Communist battalion (which) are bitterly torn among themselves and that all of the hoopla about American Communists stimulates the curiosity of our youth about communism and restores to the Communists an aura of political seriousness and significance to which they have no legitimate claim.

If that is pro-Communist, we're Karl Marx.

Now, with these points answered, we have a few questions of our own. The major one is: "Why all this smokescreen of trying to make a Communist out of anyone who speaks ill of Trujillo; why not just explain why the United States should support the regime which violates every important principle on which the United States Government is based?"

There are nagging things like the $50,000 indemnity payment to the family of Gerry Murphy, of Eugene, Oreg., from the family of a low-paid Dominican flier, who supposedly "accidentally" killed Murphy. Who really put up that bribe money to take the heat off any investigation into Murphy's disappearance in the Dominican Republic?

And then there were these Trujillo enemies: two writers shot to death in New York City and another murdered in Haiti; two labor leaders in Havana, one stabbed to death and the other disappeared; a farmer who disappeared in Haiti; and Dr. Jesus de Galindez, who disappeared from New York a year ago, on the night that young Murphy flew a mysterious "patient" from New York to the Dominican Republic.

There is the fact that Trujillo, wise investor that he is, owns and reaps the profits from the majority of big business in his country, while the standards of the people remain miserable.

But most of all, there is the wonderment that the people of the United States have not had an opportunity to know the facts of the Trujillo government, and that their elected President and his State Department have had access to these facts, but have done nothing about the situation.

A Pennsylvanian Views Georgia Race Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which I have received from Hon. William Burton Steis, of Hamilton, Ga., giving an example of the high regard and sincere concern which southern people of both races have for the welfare of the other. Mr. Steis, a native of Pennsylvania, is a respected attorney in Hamilton, and has served as a member of the Georgia State Senate.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HAMILTON, GA., *March 20, 1957.*

Hon. HERMAN E. TALMADGE,
United States Senator from Georgia,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR, TALMADGE: I have been following, as closely as possible, the information and testimony that has been presented before Congress regarding civil rights. My observation of the conditions in Georgia prompts me to send this letter.

As you know, I was born and reared in northwestern Pennsylvania. Therefore, I believe that I have a different perspective than an individual reared here. I first came to Georgia in 1942 while in the military service. I purchased my home in Pine Mountain Valley, Harris County, Ga., in 1946 while in the military service, and have lived here since that time. After my separation from the military service in 1947, I opened my law office here in Hamilton.

I have a case in my office at present which involves a Negro soldier who is stationed at Fort Benning, Ga. The facts that I wish to bring to your attention are as follows: The soldier, whom I represent, and a friend of his, also a Negro soldier stationed at Fort Benning, were returning by automobile from LaGrange, Ga., to Fort Benning. The soldier who owned the automobile became sleepy, and asked my client to drive. While driving through Harris County, it appears that the driver also became drowsy, dozed for an instant, which was sufficient to allow the automobile to run off the highway into the ditch and strike the culvert at a driveway. The automobile caught fire. This happened at approximately 3 o'clock in the morning.

The white family, in front of whose house this accident occurred, became aroused, and ran to the wrecked automobile to render assistance.

They assisted the driver in extinguishing the fire and in removing his friend from the automobile. The owner of the car was critically injured. The members of this family brought a blanket from their house and covered him, and rendered other assistance until the ambulance arrived and took him to the hospital at Fort Benning where he was pronounced dead on arrival.

The driver of the automobile remained at the scene until the highway patrolmen arrived to investigate this accident.

After the injured man was removed, this white family took the Negro soldier into their home where they gave him coffee, and painted merthiolate on the few cuts and abrasions which he sustained in the wreck. They kept him in their house where it was warm until the patrolmen arrived. They extended every possible courtesy to these men.

The highway patrolmen, in their investigation of this accident, saw fit to prefer charges against the driver of the vehicle. At a hearing before the judge of the superior court of this county, for the purpose of fixing the amount of the bail, the wife and mother of the family where the accident occurred voluntarily came to court and testified on behalf of this Negro soldier. The other members of the family were excused from testifying at the hearing in order to avoid their absence from work. I am assured that they will all be available to testify on his behalf in case he is indicted by the grand jury and brought to trial.

It is my observation that this course of conduct is customary between members of both races here in the South. Each is willing to assist the other in any time of necessity or emergency. In my opinion, the Members of Congress would be able to consider pending legislation and arrive at a more accurate conclusion if matters of this nature were brought to their attention.

I would also like to add this further information. I have been the county chairman for my political party in this county since 1949, and I know of no case when any member of the Negro race or any other race was denied the right to register and vote in any of the elections that have been held in this county during this period.

I have no reason to believe that race conditions are any different in Harris County than in any other county here in the South.

I am also sending this letter to Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL and to Hon. E. L. FORRESTER, the Representative from this district, as well as the other Representatives from Georgia.

Yours respectfully,

W. B. STEIS,
Attorney at Law.

The Gerry Murphy Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I read with interest the remarks in the April 1, 1957, RECORD by my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], with respect to the Gerry Murphy case.

With much of what my senior colleague says, I agree, but none of that has anything to do with the disappearance of my constituent, Gerry Murphy, in the Dominican Republic on December 3, 1956, or with the overpoweringly strong evidence pointing the finger of accusation at the Dominican Government itself.

My esteemed friend from Louisiana asks me to go to the Dominican Republic and investigate for myself "what goes on there." If I thought such a visit offered the slightest prospect of finding Gerry Murphy or even definite indications of what happened to him, I would leave tomorrow.

The gentleman would do well to consider the evidence outlined in my speech before this House, February 28, 1957, which evidence was largely confirmed by the State Department note to the Dominican Republic, March 23, the text of which appears in the Appendix hereof, March 25.

The circumstantial evidence that the Dominican Government itself is responsible for the disappearance of both Dr. Galindez and Gerry Murphy is formidable. The concrete evidence of Dominican guilt is also formidable and, in my opinion, conclusive. Consider, please, Mr. Speaker, that the official Dominican explanation of Gerry's disappearance turns on a "suicide note" written by one De la Maza who said in the note that he killed Murphy in a scuffle following improper proposals and insulting remarks by Murphy.

The note, our FBI experts ruled, is a forgery. Who else but the Dominican Government could have staged a fake suicide in a Dominican jail? Moreover, this sort of "suicide" is a familiar pattern in that unfortunate country.

So I must disagree with my distinguished colleague and deny that I spoke "upon facts gained only by hearsay."

Further, Mr. Speaker, I must say that my friend from Louisiana is mistaken if he believes that the Dominican Republic is not under the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo. I venture to suggest to the gentleman that he consult our own State Department in that respect.

The gentleman states that he inquired and found that "the representatives of our Government in the island Republic of Santo Domingo are completely satisfied with the cooperation which they received from the officials of that nation in the case involved." I make two observations: Our State Department is not satisfied, as witness its very stern note, an answer to which is long overdue. Secondly, our Ambassador in that country, Mr. Pheiffer, is much too friendly with the dictator and has seriously compromised the United States—this is not just my opinion but was also specifically stated in the New York Times editorial columns the other day.

My esteemed friend, the gentleman from Louisiana, carries his usual Christian charity too far by several light years when he states that Rafael and Hector Trujillo "have always been on the side of God and Christianity." I refer him to the massacre of the Haitian peasants upon order of Rafael, where more than 15,000 defenseless men and women were cruelly slaughtered by Dominican soldiers. And I refer him to the writings of any responsible, objective journalist who has had occasion to write about Trujillo.

The great State of Oregon is, I grant, Mr. Speaker, farther away from the Dominican Republic than is my colleague's great State, Louisiana, but I must say in all candor that my version of the Gerry Murphy case is closer to the facts than his is.

The simple, definite facts are these:

First. The Dominican Republic is ruled by a tyrant, Rafael Trujillo, and has been for 27 years.

Second. He spends great sums of money on public relations, much of it in the United States. His techniques for keeping control are based on the use of first, cold terror, and second, cold cash.

Third. Dr. Galindez was about to publish in English a book that would show Trujillo up for the merciless tyrant he is, so Trujillo had him kidnaped in New York.

Fourth. Gerry Murphy piloted the plane that spirited Galindez to Trujillo's domain from New York.

Fifth. Gerry talked openly in the Dominican Republic about the identity of his passenger, so he was killed and the cock-and-bull explanation based on the forged suicide note was contrived to forestall further investigation.

My concern for Gerry Murphy and for the anguish of his parents is shared, I feel sure, by my esteemed friend from Louisiana. I sincerely hope the gentleman will undertake to confront the undisputed facts about the Dominican Republic and join me in resolving that its savage policies will not again result in the death of an American boy and, further, that one day soon its citizens will once more be allowed to emerge into the warmth of Christian justice and freedom.

California Republican Senator Disagrees With the Administration's "Partnership" Policy on Water and Power Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that an article by able Columnist Thomas L. Stokes, regarding the attempt of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., a private utility in the Pacific Northwest, to "muscle in" on the great Trinity River development in California, be included in the RECORD. This proposal of a private utility corporation to have the Government to turn over power which belongs to all the people is interesting but certainly not novel. The proposal for the Trinity River takeover follows the customary pattern of the private utilities to endeavor to move in on a great public development for their own private interests and profits.

The article by Mr. Stokes shows again the pattern followed by the private utility concerns and serves as a warning to protect against those who would invade public property and the public treasury.

The article relating to the Trinity River and the Central California Valley follows:

ANOTHER RIVER POWER ISSUE—UNITED STATES SEEN PLANNING TO CUT PRIVATE FIRM INTO FEDERAL DAM PROJECT IN CALIFORNIA

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

Every now and again the social welfare, New Deal, modern Republican cockade affected by the Eisenhower administration for sweet politics' sake will slip askew and reveal the bald head of mighty business, industrial, and financial interests which contribute so heavily to Republican campaigns and call so many tunes here these days.

How powerful they are we are learning now in the case of a river in northern California—the Trinity—which has assumed an importance far beyond its size for what it tells us of administration aims.

The Trinity River is part of the great Central Valley project, a public project like TVA in the Southeast, and the folks in California are just as proud of it as the folks in the Southeast are of TVA, for each has broadened the lives of the people. The Central Valley project, built by the Federal Government, as was TVA, embraces an integrated system of dams, reservoirs, canals, and transmission lines. Its function, as described by Representative CLAIR ENGLE, Democrat, of California, is "for comprehensive development of the basin to protect the people and land from floods, to furnish a dependable water supply for agriculture, and for defense purposes, and to furnish power and energy at lowest rates possible consistent with project repayment."

The Government now is building a dam on the Trinity River which is in Representative ENGLE's district.

But these days they don't get very far along with such things before someone comes along to try to mess it up. So with the Trinity River. The scheme this time, devised by Secretary of Interior Fred Seaton, is to cut the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., the Nation's second largest electric utility, into the Central Valley project by selling it the "falling water" from this dam paid for by the public. The company would be permitted to install a powerplant there on the public domain and rake in all the profits. In 50 years it would own the plant. This is known as "partnership" in the Eisenhower book, whereby the Government builds the dam, and for its money and pains controls the flood-regulating works, from which it gets no revenue, and controls the fish ladder, where there is one, from which there is no revenue—and the company gets what is sometimes loosely and colloquially called "the gravy."

This is all too much for Republican Senator THOMAS KUCHEL, of California. He rose up, along with Representative ENGLE, to condemn this attempted disruption of the Central Valley project. In the criticism now of this latest Eisenhower "partnership" venture, you hear it compared with the attempt to undermine TVA with the Dixon-Yates deal that finally got so noxious with its behind-the-scene finagling that the Eisenhower administration abandoned it. The Seaton plan, says Senator KUCHEL, is "fraught with many perils" and he will not support it.

Both he and Representative ENGLE pointed out that it not only would disrupt a project intended throughout to be a public project, but also would violate the 51-year-old principle established by Congress in 1906, and reenacted 13 times since. This is the guaranty for preference to public agencies, municipalities, and cooperatives in the sale of electricity from such public projects.

Representative ENGLE sees it as the beginning of an attack by the Eisenhower administration on the preference principle that would be extended elsewhere. In a comprehensive analysis for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, he showed that, rather than being good business for the Government as Secretary Seaton claims, this Pacific Gas and Electric cut-in would be bad for the Government in the long run, bad for consumers, and a bonanza for P. G. & E.

To anybody who read carefully last November's election returns from the West and Northwest, in which champions of the Eisenhower "partnership policy" were mowed down right and left, it would seem foolhardy for the Eisenhower administration to try to put over this patent donation to the utilities.

But a casual peek into the big book on campaign contributions compiled recently by the Gore Senate committee offers a clue. That shows with what an authoritative voice California now speaks in the Republican Party. Contributions to the Republicans in California totaled $1,913,176, as publicly acknowledged, compared with $260,079 to various Democratic candidates, national and State, in the State.

Five officials of P. G. & E. contributed $13,950 to the Republicans. This was listed in donations from officials of the 88 corporations which participate in the Government's atomic energy program. Of the total of such, $397,342 went to the Republicans; $34,700 to the Democrats. Most of the donors were, like P. G. and E., electric utilities.

They look to the administration to be kind to them; and it can be said that their trust is well placed.

Dominican Dictatorship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the following foreign-policy resolution was adopted at the 10th Annual Convention of the Americans for Democratic Action at the Willard Hotel in March of this year:

DOMINICAN DICTATORSHIP

For more than 25 years, the Dominican dictator, Rafael Trujillo, has ruthlessly suppressed all liberties in his country and relentlessly persecuted and silenced every form of opposition. No political or moral reproofs have ever been exerted by the United States against this violations of human liberty. He has now gone beyond his own boundaries and set up a system of extraterritorial intimidation and terrorization not only against the Dominican political exiles but against everyone who protests his regime.

Under the protection of diplomatic immunity, his consular and embassadorial offices have become focal points in this organization of terrorization, the latest crimes of which, it has been charged, have been the abduction and murder of Jesus de Galindez, Columbia University professor, and the subsequent death in the Dominican Republic of an American pilot, Gerald Murphy of Oregon, involved in the abduction of Galindez.

The ADA strongly supports the proposal of Representative CHARLES O. PORTER in the House of Representatives, asking for an investigation of the disappearance of pilot Murphy in the Dominican Republic, and also of the continued and systematic harassment and intimidation of every critic of the Trujillo regime within the boundaries of the United States.

Magsaysay Will Live On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. McFALL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial by Mr. Manuel M. Insigne, editor and publisher of the Bataan News of Sacramento, Calif., concerning the late President of the Philippines, Ramon Magsaysay:

MAGSAYSAY WILL LIVE ON

In the tragic plane crash that took the life of President Ramon Magsaysay and 26 others in a thickly forested mountainside on northern Cebu Island in central Philippines early in the morning of March 17, perhaps God worked in strange ways, His wonders to perform, as the Good Book reminds us.

Sometimes, as in the case of a kind and dutiful father, or in the case of a true and loyal friend, an honest leader of a free people fighting for a universal cause—however righteous—may be taken for granted while alive. But, dead, especially in a manner so stunning and shocking as the late President Magsaysay died, he will be missed painfully and not without contrition of heart by all friends and followers: In the Philippines, in the United States, and in countries of the free world.

It was said that at the time of the tragedy, Magsaysay was aboard his 14-year old C–47 twin-engine plane which, until that fatal morning, was made airworthy only through the ingenuity and resourcefulness of Filipino mechanics, who constantly patched up the old crate with surplus or rebuilt parts.

The tragedy of Magsaysay's death may be measured in terms of his youth that was so quickly ended in its prime. He was only 49 years old.

Given a reasonable time for active leadership of the Philippines, it was hoped that he could have accomplished much more than he already had done for his country and people, for the United States as an ally, and for the free world in general—with his relentless and uncompromising fight against godless, totalitarian communism. Given a few more years in which to carry out his working program for the rehabilitation, reconstruction, and development of his country, it was hoped that Magsaysay, who fully understood the rights of his people, could have provided more and more of their needs: industrially, commercially, agriculturally, socially, and culturally.

All these were geared to his program of raising the standards of his people's social and economic living, and of safeguarding the country's security, free enterprise, and free labor.

In life, Magsaysay virtually became a part of every Filipino who had tasted of the first fruits of a strong democratic government in realistic partnership with a truly free people. We emphasize a strong Philippine Government under Magsaysay in league with the people, who had found a new birth of real freedom and democracy because history, more often than not, records only the nauseating disparity between a strong government and a cowed and repressed populace under it in any given country. In contrast, the Philippines, under Magsaysay's short-lived administration, could well be recognized as a real democracy in action, is we may use a wornout tagline.

Beyond the seas, Magsaysay, the leader of true democracy, became kindred to peoples who had recently won their freedom from centuries of colonial bondage. He had become a moving inspiration to those peoples who are still fighting for their freedom, for their fights and dignity as human beings, and for the integrity of their sovereign nations.

At least in the Philippines, Magsaysay was the infallible link that forged strongly the honest and sincere intentions of the American people in friendship and fraternal brotherhood with the freedom-loving peoples of Asia.

Magsaysay had the courage and the wisdom to proclaim his stand against the sinister tide of ultranationalism in his own country. And, had he lived longer, he would have gladly met his opponents frontally on that issue in the coming November elections. He condemned with all his being the suicidal stand of neutralists in the deadly fight against Communist conspiracy throughout the world; and, proudly and loyally, he ranged his own people on the side of the United States in the event of another world war.

And now, too early in useful life, Magsaysay has passed into history.

Being human, incapable of emotional balance at weak moments of sorrow and grief caused by the sudden loss of one so precious as a loyal friend, one so deeply revered and loved as a people's leader, one so true as the personifications of fierce honesty and untarnished integrity in public life, we may weep silently and, incredulously, ask the eternal question—to which there is no ready answer: Why did he have to die?

Then, in faith alone, we may recover our shattered emotions from the depth of an abysmal unbelief and resolve with all our soul to continue in the path of progress which the honored dead had blazed for us. That is, if we are to prove our loyalty to his memory; if we are to be deserving of the gifts of democratic ways of life which he had shared with us—regardless of race, creed, or nationality.

Today, the untimely passing of Magsaysay has left a premature void—temporarily, we hope—in the art and science of building the Philippine nation. That void would have to be filled by a leader of clear vision for the good of the young country. We have no gift of prophecy to foretell what the future may bring to the Filipino people after the death of Magsaysay. But, like any ordinary mortal, we may be allowed an honest appraisal of the unfortunate situation.

We believe that the Filipino people will not allow any backward steps from the path of progress which they had gained with their late President Magsaysay. To indulge in a somewhat florid language, we dare say that that progress is the people's nectar which they shall not allow to filter in a sieve of expediency, only to go back to the old order of things.

In the last 3½ years, the Filipino people have won for themselves a valuable prize of freedom in national life for which they and their ancestors had fought, suffered, and bled in more than 350 years of governmental derangements of sorts. That prize of freedom, to them, is their Holy Grail which they will not allow anyone to desecrate with impunity and without resistance.

The Filipinos—if we interpret them correctly—have a distinguishing characteristic as a people. They are known for their rational discipline in straight thinking. It's true they love politics and fiestas, two strong incentives for graft and corruption in public and private life when handled without scruples. But they necessarily don't love politics and feastings that they would have to burn down their nipa huts in order to roast a pig for politicians and free-loaders. Amidst nonChristian lands, their soul as a nation and as a people rests in faith and love of God. Having faith in the Almighty, they have faith in themselves and in what they can do when the chips are down.

The old order of things where the government is strong at the top and the living population is repressed below, without hope to live for, is forever gone in the Philippines and no one, we earnestly hope, dare bring it back to super-impose again upon the people.

The untimely passing of their great leader, Ramon Magsaysay, is a challenge to all Filipinos who now find themselves at the fork of a road that has no turning back. Perhaps the fates are dealing with them in a strange way, and they may yet find some hidden blessings from the tragic loss of their beloved leader.

In that light we are confident and we have faith that Magsaysay will live on.

Are Farm Subsidies Worth the Price?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, whenever anyone voices questions as to the wisdom of agricultural subsidies he is pretty sure to get his larynx in the farm bloc wringer as well as become the target for some pretty abusive letters. Since the largest agricultural project in the congressional district I have the honor to represent seems to be a 12-foot window box currently growing nonprice supported petunias, perhaps I can bring up the subject with less risk of political suicide than a majority of my colleagues. It may be, however, that I will henceforth lead a lonely and friendly existence on Capitol Hill.

However, an editorial appearing in the Long Beach Press Telegram newspaper, of April 2, 1957, seemed to express so many sound ideas on the subject I believe it should be given the publicity this RECORD can supply. At least, the many hundred thousands of prosubsidy words herein oft contained will be little diluted by these of the Press Telegram and myself. I would judge from the editorial's style that it is the work of that newspaper's brillant young staffer, Harry Karns. He could have gone one step farther and calculated just how big a personal income tax reduction could be gained from cutting the $5½ billion farm subsidy from the budget. It amounts to some $32.35 per capita for 170 million people, just about $100 for a family of three. It is just possible that the subsidies are not worth that much to the country as a whole.

The editorial follows:

THE $5½ BILLION ITEM

While Congress is doing so much talking about gargantuan national budgets, perhaps it is timely to note that $5½ billion in the proposed new budget has been earmarked for special favors to one segment of the population at the expense of all the taxpayers. Yet, Congress gives no serious consideration to cutting in that direction. It is not fashionable to antagonize the so-called farm bloc.

A government that spends $5½ billion on a single domestic program ought to take a careful second look—if it is really serious about wanting to trim the essentials.

With certain features of the agricultural program there can be no serious argument. Most persons will agree that there ought to be a Department of Agriculture and that it should offer certain advisory and educational services.

Beyond that, the farmers themselves disagree as to the extent to which the Federal Government should go in regulating the affairs of American agriculture. Most of the $5½ billion will go into subsidies, price supports, and various handout programs for farmers. The farmers will get, as they have been getting for years, gifts of money and favors which no other group in our society enjoys. Yet, many of the Nation's farmers remain discontented with the interference of Government and feel that the interest which the Government takes in them is unjustified. The American Farm Bureau Federation, to name one of their organizations, looks toward the time when Government will get out of agriculture and let the farmers find their own economic levels in our competitive society, just as do others.

Some of the Farm Belt legislators spend a great deal of overtime worrying about the problem of what the Government can do for agriculture. They talk about the welfare of submarginal farmers as though the Government has a responsibility to retain in farming all those who aren't capable of or interested in successful farming.

This solicitude, which isn't shown to the other struggling people of our society, totally ignores the cold, realistic fact that farming has become enormously more efficient. In the prewar area, for example, it took 12 weeks and 18 pounds of feed to produce a 3-pound broiler. Science has made it possible to produce the same bird in 9 weeks and with less than 10 pounds of feed. Similarly, scientific discoveries are making the tilling of the soil easier and more productive.

Thus, our farmers have long been producing more of certain things than is consumed. The Government has spent enormous sums trying to cope with this overproduction—either paying farmers for growing too much of something or paying thef or not growing it, but, in any event, paying them.

Meanwhile, many of the same legislators who are convinced the Government should

be responsible for this problem of overproduction also support the vast and often fantastic land-reclamation projects that come out of the Interior Department.

Twenty years have passed. It has not been proven that Federal interference is the answer to the farm problem. Yet we go right on pouring billions every year into Federal programs for agriculture. This outpour has become a crutch, an assurance to the farmer that if he doesn't use good sense in his planning it won't really make any difference because Uncle Sam will make it up to him.

We are not so naive as to believe that Congress is going to take the Government out of the farm business this year, next, or even the next. But surely the day must come when the "emergency" which prompted this interference in the first place will be considered ended. When it does come, Congress will be in a vastly improved position to cope with that other yearly emergency, the overweight national budget.

An Intimate Message From the Pacific Coast—"Shortsighted" Partnership Policy Condemned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that an article by Mr. Harlan Trott of the Christian Science Monitor, of recent date, be reproduced in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

SENATOR KUCHEL DISSENTS—AN INTIMATE MESSAGE FROM THE PACIFIC COAST

(By Harlan Trott)

SAN FRANCISCO.—An Eisenhower Republican from California has taken issue with the administration's "partnership" policy on water and power development so far as one project is concerned. Senator THOMAS KUCHEL has vetoed Interior Secretary Fred Seaton's recommendation to turn over the Trinity River power site in California to the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., of San Francisco.

Secretary Seaton feels it would be a good thing for the taxpayers to make this private company a partner with Uncle Sam in the project to tame the west-going Trinity and turn it south through mountain tunnels into the Central Valley. Mr. Seaton says the Government would save $55 million by letting the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. install a wheel in the dam and sell the current.

Congressman CLAIR ENGLE, Democrat, of California, quickly challenged Secretary Seaton's proposal and said Congress would never buy it. The upstate Congressman is a very vocal public-power advocate; so his views were somewhat discounted on that score.

But Senator KUCHEL has spoken right out in opposition to his own party. After studying the Interior Department ruling, this California Republican says: "I disagree with them." He feels Interior's recommendations "do not serve the interests of the people of California. I cannot and will not support them."

A spokesman for the P. G. & E. says Senator KUCHEL is being shortsighted and that if the Senator's views were applied to future California water development projects it could result in prohibitive water costs and retard water conservation.

Senator KUCHEL has finally come around to a conclusion which had much to do with Senator WAYNE MORSE jumping clear of his Republican traces and landing before long in the Democratic Party. In Oregon last fall, Mr. MORSE made a campaign issue of the "partnership" plan which the P. G. & E. and the Idaho Power & Light Co. helped to draft. The voters of Oregon sent him back to the Senate in preference to former Interior Secretary Douglas McKay, a "partnership" defender.

Making private utilities "partners" with the Federal Government is "fraught with many perils," Senator KUCHEL now concludes. "It would change, if not destroy, the basic concept of the Central Valley project which is to give priority to beneficial consumptive use of water."

Furthermore, Mr. KUCHEL believes it would wreck the power-preference provisions of Federal reclamation laws. These give cities and other public bodies priority over private utilities in the use of these public water and power resources.

Private utilities here in the West have based their "partnership" proposals on the advantages they claim as big taxpayers. But these claims have been extensively aired of late and questioned by the voters. Some people have begun to feel that private utilities could be in effect tax collectors rather than taxpayers.

Private utilities' taxpayments are said to be figured into the rates allowed them by State public regulatory commissions. Thus the consumers would seem to be paying the utilities' taxes which are computed into their monthly bills.

The crack in the administration's partnership theory of western water development is now extending into the Republican Party. Mr. KUCHEL's stand shows this.

The California Republican has swung toward a concept of water-resources policy spelled out long ago by Senator George Norris, the father of TVA.

"This is my doctrine," Norris once said. "I have no fault to find with any power man if he wants to put in a dam, sell the water to the farmers, and then sell the electricity to the rest of us. That's his right; that's his privilege; but when we build it, when we take out of the Public Treasury money to build the dam to generate electricity, I will never consent that the Government turn over the product that already belongs to the people to some private corporation to sell it back to us."

Public policy has long decreed that as between electricity and water for irrigation, water comes ahead of power. Private utilities understandably are not interested in the water; hence that part of the operation is left in any case to Government action.

Senator KUCHEL now seems to believe the Government should do all of the Trinity River job, since otherwise control of the water for power purposes might conflict with the proper functioning of the Central Valley project.

Patriotism in Modern America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. VORYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, I want to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the essay entitled "Patriotism in Modern America," written by Charles H. Hegenberger, 754 South 17th Street, Columbus, Ohio, an 11th-grade student.

Charles is 1 of the 12 winners of the statewide essay contest sponsored by the American Legion of Ohio, in which thousands of students participated. The purpose of this contest is to promote patriotism and good citizenship. Charles' essay effectively sets forth these principles. Here is how he describes what patriotism means to him:

PATRIOTISM IN MODERN AMERICA

(By Charles R. Hegenberger, of Columbus, Ohio)

America, a land of dreams come true, a land of hope, a land of freedom, and the greatest Nation in the world. What can we do to keep America great, what can we do today to be true patriots?

Patriotism is the love a man has for his country and how he uses this love to better his country so that it might gain respect from the nations of the world. Patriotism can be carried out each day of our lives by the man at his job, the housewife in her home, the children in their schools, the family in the community, and the community in the Nation.

The man on his job, who works hard to better his company and his position in an unselfish manner, is a modern patriot. His work of the improvement of his company helps to build a strong America.

The housewife in her home, who works to have a clean home, a home of love and a home with high moral standards, is a modern patriot for if every home is kept of this basis then all America is kept on this basis.

The boys and girls in the schools who strive to earn good grades, take subjects that are not always easy, but are to be used in later life, and the child who cooperates with school laws and his teachers is also a patriot, for these are the people who will replace the leaders of today.

When a community works to improve its schools, homes, business places, and people, it works to improve America and in doing so shows true modern patriotism.

We also in many special ways show patriotism. We offer aid to those of our country who have been hit by tragedy as well as to people in other nations, we obey our local, State, and national laws, we serve in the armed services, we serve in civil defense work, serve in our churches, serve when called for jury duty, salute and honor our flag, sing the national anthem and we vote for the men best qualified to carry out and make our laws. This is patriotism.

Patriotism is not dead just because there is not a war going on at this time. Patriotism today truly parallels the patriotism of Washington, Jefferson, and the formers of the Constitution. When each man strives to make America better and works with the people around him, no matter their color, creed, or religion, he and they carry on modern American patriotism.

Patriotism in Modern America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following essay by one of the 12 winners in the Ohio Legion essay contest:

PATRIOTISM IS MODERN AMERICA

(By Patricia Zammary, of Campbell, Ohio)

As I walked down the street on a cold, bleak November day, I thought about the essay Patriotism in Modern America, which my classmates and I had been asked to write in school. At the moment this title didn't seem appropriate to me as I thought about this modern day and age. Why hadn't we been asked to write on communism, lasting peace, or a variety of other subjects?

I was now walking past the local voting precinct. I wondered what all the people—millworkers, housewives, schoolteachers, college students, and other people were doing here away from their daily routine. Could exercising the privilege to vote be a form of patriotism? This seemed to me to be the most important and least appreciated duty of each and every citizen of voting age. Yes, I could very easily include this in my essay.

By now I was further along my way, my mind recalling an outstanding Independence Day parade and the brilliance of the young soldiers marching so stanchly. This in itself was a form of patriotism. I thought about how different these same boys would look in the face of war. Serving their country, they would certainly be patronizing this magnificent country, one so worthy of respect and loyalty.

I hastened my steps, as I remembered that I was to help at home tonight, so that my mother might attend a Red Cross meeting. She and many like her are doing all in their power to see that those men in war and those at home can be made as comfortable as possible. My father, along with his friends, was going to a civil defense meeting. I guess many of us never realize it, but all of these little things play so great a part in displaying patriotism in our modern America. Perhaps I am also being a patriot by helping those who are continually helping others.

I walked up the steps to my home as I decided that perhaps this title "Patriotism in Modern America," is more important than I thought. We must display patriotism in our country if we expect it to continue to prosper and be truly great. All true Americans are patriots, most without realizing it. Summed up, voting, obeying laws, holding public office, defending our country in both war and peace, and helping community and national causes are among the many ways of saying, "This is my country: land of the free."

Army Recruiting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, recently the Army recruiting program in our area of North Carolina has been reflected upon by news stories alleging misconduct in recruiting of Army personnel.

It appears that the alleged wrongdoing by the enlisted and officer personnel in our area was not really misconduct on the part of these men. It seemed to be more of a matter of innocent men being victimized by following an ill-advised program which, they state, was countenanced by high officials in the Department of the Army.

To point out the contentions of some of the enlisted personnel involved, I call to the attention of the Members of this body a news story which appeared in the Shelby Daily Star, Shelby, N. C., on April 4, 1957. I hope that this story will be read by those who have the real responsibility for the situation of alleged improper recruiting practices:

SHELBY, N. C.—A former Army recruiter charged with coaching enlistees on Army entrance tests said here today the practice was fully condoned by his Charlotte headquarters.

A. D. Greene, discharged last week, told a Shelby newsman he had a copy of the test to use in assisting enlistees, and that it was given to him by his immediate superior.

Capt. Thomas S. Nelson, Charlotte Army recruiting chief, was fined $150, reprimanded, and relieved of his command a few days ago. Nine sergeants were reduced in rank.

The officer who replaced Nelson, Capt. Charles F. Shoudy, asked for comment on Greene's charges, said in Charlotte today: "I just hope it's true, because if it isn't, the Army is going to take a dim view." He did not elaborate. Greene said he had a copy—not marked restricted—of the test young men are given when they enlist.

"All recruiters in western North Carolina, working out of Charlotte, were giving assistance," he said.

In fact, we were informed to get copies of a Sears, Roebuck & Co. catalog, and use the catalog in instructing potential enlistees to identify tools. Identification of tools is part of the test.

"I have called Charlotte many times and told headquarters there I was teaching school and would have a certain number of men shortly," Greene said. "A man could be tested only once," Greene added, "and the tests were tough."

"I believe honestly that the recruiters involved did it out of loyalty to the main station Charlotte office," Greene said. "I had nothing personal to gain. I was not worried about meeting a quota. I feel I gave the Government a good day's work for a day's pay." The recruiting scandal resulted in a big turnover in the Charlotte office last week.

Greene, a veteran of two wars, said he wants to "clear the record with people in Shelby, for the community has accepted my family and me and we would like eventually to settle here." He charged officials at Third Army Headquarters in Atlanta knew this was going on.

"The chief recruiter told us that his only regret was the he hadn't taken some action to stop it," Greene said. Greene added that his only mistake was "not reporting the practice—but who would turn against his boss?"

"Many nights," he said, "I have stayed in the recruiting office until 10 o'clock drilling men who were trying to enlist."

Though he and others had copies of the tests, Greene said he did not have the answers. He said he did not appeal the case because his enlistment was nearly up, and an appeal would have extended his tour of duty.

Ann Cook, of East Cleveland, 1 of 12 Winners of American Legion Essay Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the events which we Ohio members anticipate every spring is the trip to Washington of the winners of the year's American Legion essay contest. It is always heartening to see the intense interest of these young people for what is usually their first visit to our Nation's Capital.

I am very proud of the fact that this year one of my constituents, Ann Cook, 1352 Hampton Road, East Cleveland, Ohio, a ninth-grade student, is among the winners. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include her winning essay herewith:

PATRIOTISM IN MODERN AMERICA

(By Ann Cook)

Webster defines patriotism as "love or devotion to one's country." To me, though, it means much more.

It is a love of all that is good, a devotion to an idea or ideal.

It is the excitement which wells within when I think of the rockbound coast of New England with the rough waves of the Atlantic Ocean spilling its foam onto the shores of the best country in the universe.

It is the warm feeling which engulfs me when I picture the sun-kissed shores of California washed clean with the soft waters of the vast blue Pacific.

It is the strength which rises up as my thoughts wander to the tall straight, green pines of the great Northwest with Mount Rainier standing as a guardian over all.

It is the thrill which comes over me as a picture of our glorious South passes in review.

It is the courage I feel as I gaze down on Plymouth Rock and see again a small band of Pilgrim feet setting foot upon that rock, praising God for giving them the zeal to seek feredom of worship in a new country.

It is the weariness which comes when I think of George Washington and a small handful of faithful soldiers enduring the hardships of Valley Forge that this freedom might not be taken from them.

It is the glow of pride as I hear again the ringing words of the great patriot, Nathan Hale, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

It is the resoluteness which made Patrick Henry hurl in defiance those famous words, "Give me liberty or give me death."

It is the feeling of sadness when I read again the story of the Man Without a Country—a man who thought so little of his country he never wanted to see it again. Yet evidence at his death showed he loved it more than anyone ever dreamed.

It is the reverence which steals over me as my eyes wander over the battlefield of Gettysburg, hearing again the muffled sounds of Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, as a tall, rugged Lincoln utters, "That these men shall not have died in vain, but that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom."

It is the sorrow which dismays me as I look at the tomb of an unknown soldier, whose name is known only to God.

It is the shuddering repugnance when I think of the brutality of the Batann death march.

It is the quake of fear when there dawns upon my consciousness the necessity of having had to use an A-bomb to bring others into submission.

It is the humility which mantles me as I think of the lady with the torch standing guard and saying to those who are oppressed and downtrodden, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

It is the apprehension which comes when I think there are those who would sell this country down the river and destroy the freedom, the happiness of millions who love her, even as you and I.

It is the hope knowing that there are Eisenhowers who hold fast the faith of our fathers.

It is all these emotions and others like them which surge through me as I behold Old Glory flying in the breeze and these events and many, many more passing in a panorama.

Yes; this is what patriotism in a modern America means to me.

Freedom of Navigation and Admission to the United States of Jewish Refugees from Egypt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, on March 28 the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations of Maryland met in convention. The delegates, representing 20,000 members, gave careful study and consideration to the situation of the State of Israel as a result of its withdrawal of its troops from the Gaza strip, the plight of the Jews who were expelled from Egypt. As a result of their deliberations, the following resolution was adopted, and under permission to extend my remarks, I wish to include it in the RECORD, as a matter of interest to all Members of Congress:

Whereas the State of Israel has, at the strong urgence of the President of the United States, and out of "a decent respect for the opinion of mankind," withdrawn its troops from the Gaza strip and from the islands commanding the straits of Tiran at the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba; and

Whereas this Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations of Maryland views with deep misgivings the restoration to Egyptian administration of the Gaza area, despite Egypt's persistent declarations that it considers itself at war with Israel and will not negotiate or conclude a treaty of peace; and

Whereas, unless the United States exerts its great influence in the Council of Nations to bring conditions of justice and peace, there is grave danger of a renewal of the violence which existed before Israel moved into the area last October; be it

Resolved, That the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations of Maryland, exercising the right of petition enjoyed by citizens of the United States, respectfully urge the Government of the United States to assert its leadership in behalf of peace in the Near East, and particularly to withhold support from any plan for turning over Gaza to Egypt so long as it does not renounce its policy of belligerency; be it further

Resolved, That we ask our Government to stand behind the principle of freedom of navigation, without discrimination, so that Israel shall not have imperiled its security by reliance upon assurances that it will not have cause to regret its withdrawal from the said straits.

Believing that in these issues the security of Israel and the national interests of the United States and the cause of world peace are one, we bespeak our Government's energetic efforts to achieve the above ends; be it further

Resolved, That we heartily commend our Government for granting opportunities for admission to the United States to victims of persecution in Hungary; we further point out that the confiscation and expulsion of Jews by the Government of Egypt, in violation of all law and right, and in disregard of humane considerations, has created a swelling stream of refugees from that land; and we accordingly urge that these victims of oppression be granted similar opportunities for admission to the United States.

We deem such acts consistent with our natural welfare and in accordance with traditional American policy; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State of the United States, and to all Maryland Members of the Senate and House of Representatives.

No Mail Cut Here Till After Friday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the following article, in part, that appeared in the New York Times, Saturday April 6, 1957:

NO MAIL CUT HERE TILL AFTER FRIDAY—BUSINESS GROUPS PROTEST REDUCTIONS IN SERVICE SET FOR NEXT WEEK

(By Robert Alden)

Normal postal service will continue in New York at least through next Friday.

A sharp curtailment in postal serivces because of a shortage of funds has been ordered by Arthur E. Summerfield, Postmaster General, for Saturday, April 13.

However, New York's Postmaster, Robert H. Schaffer, said yesterday that he was heartened by word that the House Appropriations Committee would consider the Post Office Department's request for an additional $30 million in funds on Friday.

Should this additional appropriation be made no curtailment of services would be necessary.

Meanwhile, business and political groups in the city bristled at word of the curtailments.

The New York Chamber of Commerce said that reduction of the postal service "would inevitably have a costly and disruptive consequence for business and industry in New York City."

Through its executive vice president, B. Colwell Davis Jr., the chamber said that adequate mail service was vital to the conduct of business in New York. It called on Congress to appropriate the necessary additional funds to maintain full services until the end of the current fiscal year in June.

RATE INCREASE URGED

At the same time, the chamber asked Congress to increase the postal rates so that, in the future, the postal deficit would not have to be paid out of general tax revenue.

The Commerce and Industry Association said that the postal curtailment "could be particularly disastrous for many of the area's smaller firms."

In separate telegrams to Mr. Summerfield and Mr. Schaffer, the association urged the Post Office Department to defer any curtailment until its dispute with Congress over funds was resolved.

Thomas Jefferson Miley, the association's executive vice president, said that mail transactions were vital to the concentration of exporters and importers, financial houses, insurance companies, manufacturers, sales organizations and retail stores in the metropolitan area.

"The time element is of the essence," he said. "Even slight delays in mail delivery can be costly."

The Post Office Department maintains that it must receive a supplemental appropriation of $47 million ($17 million of this amount seems assured) to continue full operations through the final quarter of the current fiscal year.

DELAYS PREDICTED

Mr. Schaffer said on Thursday that the curtailment would mean delays of 1 or 2 days in both outgoing and incoming mail in the New York district.

It also will mean discontinuance of all deliveries on Saturday, the closing of post offices on Saturday, the discontinuance of money orders sales and an embargo on the acceptance of all third-class mail except for merchandise.

Patriotism in Modern America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. VORYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, I want to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the essay entitled "Patriotism in Modern America," written by Kay Chambers, 121 East Whittier Street, Columbus, Ohio, a ninth-grade student.

Kay is one of the 12 winners of the statewide essay contest sponsored by the American Legion, of Ohio, in which thousands of students participated. The purpose of this contest is to promote patriotism and good citizenship. Kay's essay effectively sets forth these principles. Here is how she describes what patriotism means to her:

PATRIOTISM IN MODERN AMERICA

(By Kay Chambers, of Columbus, Ohio)

Patriotism is that intangible compilation of attitudes and emotions which inspire one to courage, loyalty, and heroic service to his country. These ideals and emotions are not suddenly aroused; they are the result of early teaching in the home, the school, and the church.

Everyone in our democracy has many opportunities to display patriotism in its various forms. It doesn't matter what race or creed, what political party you represent, or from what foreign land you claim your roots you are all Americans, with equal rights and privileges and the same patriotic obligation to defend them.

Many times you have seen the flag of your country hanging from its staff or waving proudly in the breeze. You say that is your flag, but have you ever stopped to think what it means. Your country's flag. Do you have for it a deep devotion, which you cannot express, or do you think of it simply as a bit of colored cloth?

The flag of the United States stands for the first settlers who left their homes, and cames across the seas, to live in the wilderness. It stands for the hardships of Jamestown and Plymouth; it stands for the hardy pioneers who climbed the Alleghenies and began to conquer the boundless West; it stands for the Declaration of Independence. Altogether, the flag means the Nation which guards and protects us. It is a privilege to

live under the stars and stripes of freedom rather than be like the people of Hungary, who still live in fear and war trying to win their freedom.

The men who led our country are very important. To George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and all the rest we must give sincere thanks for the courage they showed in behalf of their country.

Does patriotism in modern America mean that you must fight, discover, or win a battle to be patriotic? No. We have no need to do this for there are things that every one of us can do. Children should go to school to secure a good education, so that they will understand our needs and problems for the years to come. Scientists, engineers, and many people give as much skill as they can for our country. But even the smallest job has the greatest importance.

Camp Fire, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, and 4–H are character-building organizations which help to make great men and women in this patriotic country of ours.

Patriotism in America today means the heart can swell with pride, that we are citizens of the red, white, and blue. That we can love God as we believe, and that freedom is our heritage.

More Opposition to the Federal Aid to Education Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Tablet deserves to be reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It calls attention to the fact that Archbishop John O'Hara, of Philadelphia, has performed a constructive task in informing people of the fraudulent character of the proposed Federal aid to education bill. The article follows:

SCHOOL AID BILL

Archbishop John O'Hara, of Philadelphia, has performed a constructive task in informing people on the fraudulent character of the proposed Federal aid to education. The figures he presents indicate clearly the exaggerated claim of those striving to pass the measures at Washington which starts with an original appropriation of $1.3 billion.

In this respect we are happy to note that the two impressive articles on Federal aid by Archbishop O'Hara—and which the Tablet carried substantially on page 1—have been reprinted in pamphlet form by our contemporary, the Catholic Standard and Times, of Philadelphia.

Representative RALPH W. GWINN, of New York, comes up with an illuminating comment on the whole subject. He gets his material from William M. Adams, who is chairman of the municipal securities committee of the Investment Bankers Association of America.

Mr. Adams dug up records of school bonds sold recently in all 48 States. He figured the average cost of 1 schoolroom for 30 pupils at $30,000, and put that alongside the bond sales. He concluded that the school financing for the 4 months beginning October 1, 1956, "projected for a full year, would mean an expenditure for school construction of approximately $2.9 billion to provide about 96,600 classrooms in addition to the 69,200 scheduled for completion."

That total of 165,300 annihilates Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, for alleging a shortage of 159,000 classrooms. Mr. Adams' data would seem to be a lot more reliable than Secretary Folsom's, considering that the latter bases his figures on a lot of questionnaires sent into various States. Some of these weren't even answered.

Here is another interesting sidelight. The United States Office of Education (in Folsom's department) says Oklahoma needs 500 new classrooms. Raymond Moley, reporting in Newsweek from Oklahoma City, says the Sooner State and various local communities already have raised the money and are planning to build 1,200 new classrooms. It is also said that a prominent Oklahoman named Steve Stahl went to Washington recently to tell these things to a congressional subcommittee. He was booed and otherwise mistreated by two of the committee members, Representative C. M. BAILEY, of West Virginia, and Representative PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR., of New Jersey.

It seems to us that they are important enough straws to warn Congress not to be too hasty about writing the Eisenhomer school aid program into law. There may be no need for it whatever. Or the need may have been greatly exaggerated by professional ducationists and tax-and-tax, spend-and-spend advocates.

Talk Not Votes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, in these days of high prices, the man with a family, the man or woman who is past 45, dependent upon a fixed income, has difficulty in getting suitable food, clothing, and shelter.

The principal reason for that situation is unnecessary, though desirable, extension of services by the Federal Government. Additional reasons are inexcusable waste and inefficiency. Also, the unjustifiable giving of billions of dollars for what is called foreign aid.

Our waste and extravagance here at home grow out of the insistent demand by the home folks that the Federal Government do for them things which they can and should do for themselves.

THE DOLLAR SHRINKS

When your tax dollar makes its trip to Washington, if and when it comes back it buys you but 70 cents worth of merchandise or service. So why insist that some Federal employee spend it for you?

Hundreds of letters come to my office, as to the office of every other Congressman, demanding economy.

Some Congressmen solemnly and repeatedly promise relief from wasteful unnecessary expenditures.

But when the chips are down, as they were, for example, yesterday, the economy votes fade away. They fade because individual Members of Congress, subject to pressure or not completely aware of the merits of each proposal, lack either the desire or the courage to vote for a reduction of the additional expenditure.

Yesterday, the House, by a yea and nay vote, went on record 14 times on the appropriation bill for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies. Each time my vote was for the cut. Next election you will find the Democrat candidate yelling about that.

Not one of the proposed amendments would have cut any item below what the Department interested received last year.

But, when the roll was called, the House voted 5 times to give the Departments more money than last year, on only 9 votes did it hold the line.

No need to write me to cut expenditures, because my vote will be cast for economy. Of course, I am very glad to hear from the home folks, but if you want economy write other Members of Congress who, classified as "liberals," vote away your money, but be sure to tell each one you write that you have already written me, that he need not refer the letter you write to me, that you are asking him for his support.

The people will never get either a reduction in the budget, a lessening of the national debt, nor a lighter tax burden, until they elect a majority in both House and Senate who will vote for instead of just talking economy.

Equalization of Retirement Benefits, the Congressional Intent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, I should like to refer again briefly to H. R. 689, a bill which I introduced on January 3, 1957, and which is entitled "A bill to clarify paragraph 4 of section 15 of the Pay Readjustment Act of 1942, 56 Statutes, page 368." On February 14, 1957, I was privileged to give the House a short résumé of the bill, and some comment on its intent and its method of achieving that intent. I shall not now repeat that explanation, but will merely emphasize a few of its major points.

First, let me emphasize that this bill neither expands nor otherwise amends the intent of Congress when it enacted this measure originally in 1942, nor its intent in its reenactment in the Career Compensation Act of 1949. My bill would serve simply to restate the plain intent of the Congress that there shall be no discrimination between regulars and reserves with comparable service. That intent has been both confirmed and denied by conflicting administrative and legal decisions, and as it remains therefore in doubt this bill appears needful to terminate this confusion.

The Congress has repeatedly said that there shall be no discrimination between regulars and reserves with comparable service. Notwithstanding this long-established policy and the clear, unam-

biguous words effectuating it, the administrative agencies have persistently applied the 1942 law and its 1949 reenactment only to Regular officers. Evidence is clear and unequivocal, and includes statements of two Senators who served on the committee of the Senate which drafted this measure in 1942, including the chairman of the subcommittee which was charged with it, that it was intended to apply without discrimination to Reserve as well as Regular officers with World War I service.

H. R. 689 reads as follows:

Paragraph 4 of section 15 of the Pay Readjustment Act of 1942 (56 Stat. 368) is clarified to read as follows: "The retired pay of any officer of the Armed Forces of the United States, including the Reserve components thereof, who served in any capacity as a member of the military or naval forces of the United States prior to November 12, 1918, heretofore or hereafter retired with pay under any provision of law, shall, unless such officer is entitled to retired pay of a higher grade, be 75 percent of the active duty pay of his rank and length of service."

The only purpose of this bill is to clarify the 1942 law and its 1949 reenactment, and to confirm the expressed will of Congress. Neither the intent of Congress nor the legal significance of the 1942 and 1949 acts is changed in the least. As confirming and emphasizing this fact, I have received only this last week a letter from a man whose word must necessarily be regarded as the highest possible authority available as to congressional intent in the original enactment of the 1942 act. That man, former Senator and former Governor of Colorado, the Honorable Edwin C. Johnson, now retired, was the Senate sponsor of the 1942 act, and also chairman of the subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee which considered the bill. It is a privilege and an honor for me, with the indulgence of the House, to be able to put into the RECORD the statement of former Senator Johnson, whose letter to me, dated March 30, 1957, reads as follows:

H. R. 689 AND S. 1085

DENVER, COLO., *March 30, 1957.*

Hon. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, Jr.
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am advised that you have introduced in the present Congress a redraft of a former bill clarifying paragraph 5, section 15, of the Pay Readjustment Act of 1942 and confirming the applicability of that bill to qualified Reserve and National Guard officers.

As the Senate sponsor and the chairman of the subcommittee handling the Pay Readjustment Act of 1942, and as a member of the Senate-House conference which wrote the very paragraph which is the subject of your bill, I say without reservation that it was clearly the understanding and intention of the Senate in 1942 that there be no discrimination between Regular, Reserve, or National Guard officers in pay for similar military service.

I think the Comptroller General and the Court of Claims were in error in holding otherwise.

However that may be, I believe the Congress should correct the matter now and remove all doubt with respect to such discrimination by the early enactment of your bill.

May I commend you for sponsoring the bill and wish you success in its passage.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

EDWIN C. JOHNSON.

Permit me to point out that, the congressional intent having been established beyond question by former Senator Johnson's statement, the only other objection raised to the enactment of this measure has been its allegedly prohibitive cost. In sober fact, there are about 7,000 Reserve component officers, otherwise qualified for retirement, who are or may become entitled to 75 percent retired pay for World War I service. By actuarial computation, they are dying off at the rate of something over one a day, and nearly all will be gone within the next 25 years. The average annual cost as to them will be approximately $6,956,400, which cost, of course, was anticipated by Congress when the law was passed in 1942 and reenacted in 1949. According to highway engineers of whom we have inquired, this sum is about enough to defray the cost of 8 miles of a normal, modern four-lane highway. It amounts to considerably less than one one-hundredth of 1 percent of the Federal budget currently under consideration by this Congress.

It is universally acknowledged that a strong, vital, enthusiastic, and experienced Reserve is absolutely essential to our national defense. Since we as a Nation are committed to the utmost use of voluntary service in that defense, we must assure its personnel that fairness will characterize their Government's treatment of them throughout their participation in their country's defense, and afterward.

The Congress has many times declared its adherence to the principle of equal treatment as to retirement for all components of the armed services. The enactment of H. R. 689 will serve to establish this principle once and for all in the organic laws of the land.

TVA Yardstick Still Serves Vital Role

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the TVA last year paid an average of more than 6 percent of its income in lieu of tax payments. The TVA also last year paid into the United States Treasury $54 million or 4 percent of the Government's interest.

The Federal Government requires and receives 56 percent of TVA's entire electric power production for defense plants, and at preferential rates, which represents additional great savings to the Government.

On flood control the TVA system, during the recent southeastern floods, saved for the people of this Nation an estimated $50 million in flood damage.

Yes; TVA continues as a tremendous asset for the entire Nation, and the TVA yardstick still serves a vital role.

In this connection, I ask unanimous consent to have reproduced in the RECORD a timely and factual editorial from the Nashville Tennessean of recent date.

The editorial follows:

TVA YARDSTICK STILL SERVES VITAL ROLE

In commenting editorially last week on the Tennessee Valley Authority, the New York Times noted that the agency has served well and urged that it not be crippled, or overexpanded. In ending it also took note of TVA as proof of good American engineering and good American farsightedness and urged that point not be forgotten, even though "the somewhat romantic dream of the late Senator George Norris as to yardsticks may dim a little with the passage of the years."

Inadvertently perhaps, there the Times struck an unfortunate note. The enemies of TVA would like nothing better than to bury the Agency with honors as an engineering triumph, but lacking that, the burial of the yardstick idea is their most pressing and dedicated desire. It is a point that these enemies argue endlessly.

Shortly after TVA announced its wholesale and retail rates in 1933, a number of the large power companies in and adjacent to the TVA area reduced their rates sharply. In later years various adjustments were made throughout the industry. There is considerable evidence to show that TVA's influence has been felt widely and there is little doubt that it will continue to be felt as long as TVA and its distributors continue to show that low electric rates are a financially sound proposition. But even lacking this evidence of influence, the biggest argument supporting the yardstick's influence is the bitterness with which private power fights that conception.

"Look what TVA doesn't pay in taxes," is often the cry. In testimony this week before a House subcommittee, Mr. G. O. Wessenauer, TVA power manager, had some figures in answer. Mr. Wessenauer noted that TVA last year paid an average of a little more than 6 percent of its income in lieu of tax payments. He said the average private utility paid about 9 percent but some paid as little as 4½.

He also noted that TVA paid to the Government $54 million or 4 percent of the Government's investment.

Federal defense plants require and get fantastic amounts of electricity—56 percent of TVA's output last year—at preferential rates, and consequently at a saving to the Government. On river navigation, TVA returns about 4 percent of the Government's navigation investment. TVA's flood-control program prevents Government allocation of funds to flooded areas as "disaster loans." So, in order to determine costs of power and TVA's returns, the cost of flood control and navigation must also be determined. Add to that the cost of other programs such as fertilizer research, basic agronomic research and forestry, TVA's return is a great deal more than its enemies will admit.

Add on the other side the billions of dollars that have been written off for tax purposes in plant expansions by private power and the various funds to private power under the atomic power program—which moved even Senator HARRY F. BYRD to cry "subsidized" and the picture that TVA's enemies would like to paint becomes blurred indeed.

As a yardstick of rates, TVA looms monumentally high. And that is what its enemies would soonest have everyone forget.

The Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK A. BARRETT
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. President, it has been a good many years since the people of this country have become so exercised about the cost of government. The world situation has made it imperative that our defense establishment be maintained in a strong fashion for security purposes, and as a result the budget has reached the highest point in the peacetime history of our country. Many people take it for granted that many savings can be effected in a budget of enormous size of the one presently under consideration by the Congress. My colleagues, the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] and the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] have documented specific cuts in the budget which would bring about substantial savings. I am hopeful that the Congress will reduce this budget by over $3 billion.

I presume that, while many Senators will agree in the main with the cuts proposed by my two colleagues, they would differ on some of the proposals. By the same token, Mr. President, I take it for granted that nearly every Member of the House and the Senate would disagree with some of the proposals made by Mr. Theron J. Rice, special coordinator of the Hoover Commission program for the United States Chamber of Commerce. I may say that his survey indicates that a thorough and exhaustive search was made of the budget, and I am sure that the suggestions made by him merit serious consideration by every Member of this body.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Rice's article on the budget be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOOVER REPORTS PINPOINT $1 BILLION BUDGET CUT—ANALYSIS REVEALS 24 PLACES WHERE APPROPRIATIONS CAN BE REDUCED

"Everybody's for cutting the budget—the question is where."

That's the complaint heard most frequently in Washington.

The purpose of this special study is to help you show your own elected representatives, executive agency heads, and economy-minded Americans everywhere exactly where and how to cut 1958 appropriations at least $1 billion by adopting and implementing promptly certain recommendations of the bipartisan Hoover Commission.

To be even more specific, this study shows you 24 places to cut a total of $1,145,014,448, without impairing a single essential project or program of the Federal Government.

In most instances, the savings estimates are taken from the budget itself. In others, they are conservative estimates based upon carefully documented information.

In a few cases, the action that is needed to achieve these savings is within the jurisdiction of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees. In most cases, however, substantive changes in existing statutes are necessary and must be initiated by one of the legislative committees.

Report and recommendation	Supporting arguments	1958 savings estimate	Committee jurisdiction
Business enterprises, No. 8 (b); to make prices in post exchanges adequate to cover all costs.	Extensive indirect use of appropriated funds (military pay) is in violation of law and intent of Congress.	$7, 400, 000	House and Senate Armed Services.
Business enterprises, No. 9; to review and, wherever possible, repeal laws permitting or requiring armed services to engage in business-type activities.	Under program begun more than 3 years ago, Department of Defense has completed review of only 1,200 of more than 2,500 business-type activities and decided to curtail or close only 525. Many statutes authorize activities that no longer can be justified.	75, 000, 000	House and Senate Armed Services or Government Operations.
Business enterprises, No. 10; to liquidate Postal Savings System.	Conditions that justified its establishment no longer exist. Competes unfairly with privately owned banks and other savings institutions. Alleged profits of system are result of bookkeeping transactions.	6, 300, 000	House and Senate Post Office and Civil Service.
Business enterprises, No. 11; increase parcel-post rates to cover indirect costs.	Subsidized Government parcel-post system is unfair competition with common carriers. Many indirect costs, such as contributions to Government retirement fund, are not now reflected in rates.	50, 000, 000	Do.
Lending agencies, No. 15; to terminate the program of loans for college housing.	Adequate financing is available from private lenders. Unprecedented postwar increase in college enrollments—which partially justified start of program—has leveled off.	146, 910, 000	House and Senate Banking.
Lending agencies, No. 19; to terminate the program of Housing and Home Finance Administration advances to municipalities for public-works planning.	Federal Government should encourage such activities and provide advice, but grants and interest-free loans for planning public improvements is an improper Federal activity and increases tax burden on all citizens.	8, 500, 000	House and Senate Banking or Appropriations.
Lending agencies, No. 32; to require the Farmers' Home Administration to pay its administrative expenses out of interest, premiums or other fees.	During the existence of FHA and its predecessors, administrative expenses have exceeded income from interest and other sources by more than $400 million. Thus, taxpayers generally are financing, without their knowledge or approval, a subsidy to a fraction of the people.	29, 914, 000	House and Senate Agriculture.
Lending agencies, No. 35; to require the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation to pay its administrative costs out of premiums, cover own losses, and provide reserves.	Current premiums are inadequate to pay administrative expenses, despite fact agency now has 16 years of actuarial experience, and law intended that it be self-supporting.	7, 300, 000	Do.
Lending agencies, No. 36; to require the Rural Electrification Administration to finance its operations out of receipts and secure its financing from private sources.	Treasury borrows money at better than 3 percent interest, advances funds to REA which, by statute, charges its borrowers only 2 percent interest; taxpayers—including 90 percent of farmers—pay the difference.	9, 620, 000	Do.
Lending agencies, No. 39 (c); to require the Small Business Administration to pay its operating expenses out of interest receipts.	Taxpayers generally—including the majority of small-business men—should not be compelled, without their knowledge or approval, to finance subsidized loans to small businesses that private lenders regard as poor risks.	6, 000, 000	House and Senate Banking.
Lending agencies, No. 40; to require that the veterans life insurance program be self-sustaining.	14 million veterans who no longer hold VA life insurance policies, plus all other taxpayers, are being forced to pay 7,000,000 policyholders a $24,500,000 subsidy. These expenses could be paid out of receipts and VA still could declare a $200,000,000 dividend in 1958.	24, 800, 000	House Veterans' Affairs; Senate Finance.
Business Organization of Department of Defense, Nos. 8, 9, 10; to integrate military supply programs by establishing a Defense Supply and Service Administration, directly under the Secretary of Defense.	The degree of integration that is necessary cannot be achieved within the framework of the present military supply organization. The Armed Forces have failed to carry out repeated congressional mandates that this goal be achieved through appropriate administrative actions.	250, 000, 000	House and Senate Armed Services or Government Operations.
Business organization of Department of Defense, Nos. 13, 14; to permit high degree of specialization in support activities and clarify proper roles of military and civilian personnel assigned to such activities.	Many management positions that are reserved for military personnel, who are rotated excessively, should be career positions for civilians. Duplicate staffing is prevalent and can only be resolved by statutory clarification of military-civilian roles.	160, 000, 000	House and Senate Armed Services or Appropriations.
Personnel and civil service, Nos. 11, 12, and 13; to require a new performance rating system; to limit the appeal rights of veterans, and to minimize the impact of reduction-in-force orders on career nonveterans.	Absolutely essential to reduce costly and wasteful 25 percent annual turnover of Federal employees. Present performance-rating system does not measure relative merits of employees. Veterans' Preference Act creates inequities and complicates dismissal procedures.	50, 000, 000	House and Senate Post Office and Civil Service; House Veterans' Affairs; Senate Finance.
Water resources and power No. 1 (c); to limit Federal participation to projects involving a specific national interest and which are beyond the means or needs of local or private enterprises.	Despite the increasing load of industrial and domestic wastes going into our rivers and streams, pollution control remains a primary local and State responsibility and the financial condition of every State is far better than that of the Federal Government.	54, 110, 000	House and Senate Public Works or Appropriations.
Water resources and power, No. 10; to require that the Tennessee Valley Authority cease the building of steam plants.	The proposed expansion of TVA's hydroelectric capacity is an unjustifiable expansion of Federal intervention into a commercial field to provide subsidized power for a select few at the expense of taxpayers generally.	30, 000, 000	House and Senate Public Works.
Water resources and power, No. 11 (b); to require that no additional transmission lines be undertaken where such service can be provided by non-Federal agencies.	Proposed expenditures for this purpose by Southwestern and Bonneville Power Administrations cannot be justified because private utilities are willing and able to provide needed services, using private instead of tax dollars.	14, 006, 000	House and Senate Public Works or Appropriations.
Transportation, No. 3; to require that if a car is desired for personal use abroad by military or civilian personnel, the owner should pay for its transportation to and from his station overseas.	Approximately 6,000 privately owned cars are shipped abroad each month—all on Government vessels—at a cost to the taxpayers of $27,000,000 annually. On occasions, entire ships have been devoted to this movement.	27, 000, 000	House and Senate Armed Services or Appropriations.

Report and recommendation	Supporting arguments	1958 savings estimate	Committee jurisdiction
Transportation, No. 13 (c); to require maximum utilization of commercial carriers and to restrict MATS activities to military necessities.	Despite policies stressing maximum reliance on commercial carriers, these carriers handled only 14.6 percent of the total military air passengers and only 2.7 percent of military cargo and mail. This substantially increased the subsidies paid to international carriers.	$10, 000, 000	House and Senate Interstate Commerce or Appropriations.
Federal medical services, Nos. 7, 8, 9; to require tighter administration of medical-care program for veterans with non-service-connected ailments, and to require verification of statements of inability to pay.	More than half of VA hospital patient load is veterans with non-service-connected ailments. No veteran who really cannot afford hospital care should seriously object to having his "inability to pay" statement verified.	100, 000, 000	House Veterans' Affairs; Senate Finance; House and Senate Appropriations.
Federal medical services, No. 5; to rescind authorizations and appropriations for general hospital construction, except those already under construction or contract.	There already are more VA "general" hospitals than are needed. Provision of additional beds to insure care for larger number of veterans with non-service-connected ailments cannot be justified.	31, 000, 000	House and Senate Appropriations.
Federal medical services, No. 15; to terminate Government-financed hospital and clinical service to American merchant seamen.	This care amounts to a subsidy to employees of one industry and not to its airline and rail competitors. Care was justified in early days, but seamen are highly paid now and many health insurance plans are open to them.	13, 945, 448	House Interstate and Foreign Commerce; Senate Labor and Public Welfare.
Real property management, Nos. 7, 8; to require that the General Services Administration consolidate Government office space in large urban centers and promote relocation from high-cost areas.	Economical and efficient management practices, plus giving GSA appropriations for all Government-owned or leased buildings, could cut in half 10-percent vacancy rate.	3, 500, 000	House and Senate Government Operations.
Real property management, No. 9 (d); to give Director of Office of Defense Mobilization authority to establish policies governing retention and disposition of industrial properties for mobilization purposes.	Task force said 100 of 288 plants in National Industrial Reserve can and should be disposed of without harm to national security. Some are obsolete or in poor condition; some compete unfairly with privately owned facilities. Their retention creates costly maintenance problem.	30, 000, 000	House and Senate Armed Services.
Total, 1958 savings estimate		1, 145, 014, 448	

Iran in the Middle East Adds TVA Concept to Plan for Economic Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, in a recent article appearing in the Nashville Tennessean, there appears an account of the plans by the Iranian Government in the Middle East to build a system of storage dams and power developments in that area, modeled along the concept of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The idea of the TVA has captured the imagination of people all over the world as it has become a symbol of progress and hope. Projects patterned after TVA have been built in several countries and planned in others.

The article concerning the plan of the Iranian Government is written by Mr. Gordon R. Clapp, former Chairman of the TVA Board, who is now a member of the firm providing planning and advice to foreign countries in resource development work.

The article follows:

IRAN ADDS TVA CONCEPT TO ECONOMIC PLAN—SYSTEM OF STORAGE DAMS ON FIVE RIVERS KEY TO NEW PROGRAM OF HOPE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(By Gordon R. Clapp)

(Editor's note.—Gordon R. Clapp, former Chairman of the TVA Board, is a member of a firm which provides planning and administrative services to foreign countries in resource development work. This is a condensation of an article he wrote for the Middle East Journal telling of the TVA idea in Iran.)

A new approach to the challenging problems of economic development is taking shape in the Khuzestan region of southwestern Iran, where five rivers flow in the broad plain north of the Persian Gulf and the vast oilfields feed the gigantic refinery at Abadan.

For this region, Iran has asked a new kind of American company to take responsibility for a program of unified development of water and land resources.

National planning is not new in Iran. Her government is now embarked on the second 7-year plan, calling for a long list of projects—new highways, dams, irrigation facilities, airports, schools, hospitals, and industries. But building a program of economic development on the interrelated natural resources of one of its great regions is a new approach in Iran. Indeed, it had not been done anywhere until the Tennessee Valley Authority was launched in the 1930's to try the idea in a sorely depressed area of the southeastern United States.

It does not seem strange to anyone familiar with the worldwide interest in TVA that Iran should covet the TVA concept for the region of her greatest river valleys. The success of TVA has brought a steady stream of visitors to the Tennessee Valley—technicians, officials, and heads of state—to see and study the approach and the methods used. In many lands, the TVA has become a symbol of progress and hope. In recent years, projects patterned after the TVA experience have been built in some countries, and planned in others. Until 1956, however, the concepts on which the TVA was established had gained no firm footing in the Middle East.

AGREEMENT SIGNED

Then in March of that year, the Iranian Government took up the TVA idea as part of its vigorous effort to raise the standard of living of its people through full utilization of the nation's resources. Iran signed an agreement with Development and Resources Corp., of New York, which was formed in 1955 by David E. Lilienthal (former chairman of TVA) and this writer, together with the investment banking house of Lazard Freres & Co. of New York. Under this agreement our company will plan and help carry out a long-range program of agricultural and industrial delevopment of the Khuzestan region, along TVA lines.

The heart of the program, as tentatively conceived, will be a system of storage dams on the five rivers of the region, to permit irrigation of vast lands in the Khuzestan Plain. Special treatment of drainage and salinity problems will have to be devised. The dams will also control floods and make possible the generation of electricity on a large scale for industrial, commercial, and residential use. Mineral resources, too, are to be developed, including large quantities of natural gas.

For Iran, as for any nation, the ultimate importance of such an undertaking can depend a great deal on the kind of planning and foresight that go into it.

In any land, it is important that the river be viewed as a whole, and that each project be conceived as part of one system. And in a land where water is the key to life itself, such foresight is imperative. In this way, Iran ultimately will achieve the best use of her rivers for irrigation, flood control, navigation, power, and other primary purposes, as dictated by the needs of present and future populations.

These principles were tested and proven successful in the Tennessee Valley; that Iran recognized the need for a careful approach to the development of the valleys of the Khuzestan region was clear a year ago when we were invited to see the area.

Development and Resources Corp. is a wholly private American enterprise. As such, it has no ties with the United States Government; it will therefore, make its own way and its own policies. On the side of public responsibility, there is the fact that Development and Resources Corp.'s chief officers and most of their associates have spent much of their careers in public service, principally with TVA.

FULL DEVELOPMENT

More important in this regard, much of the company's aims in Iran will be achieved through publicly controlled organizations. The object is development itself—dams, irrigation canals, factories—a dynamic, integrated economic growth. The Khuzestan region will be developed to the full, for the good of its people and the rest of the nation, in accord with plants, policies, and decisions made by Iranians.

This program can benefit the Khuzestan region—and all Iran—as directly as the TVA has benefited the region and nation it serves, by helping build prosperous farmlands and attracting new industry to the cities and towns.

One indirect benefit from such a program concerns the relationship between a people and a government. In the Tennessee Valley, before the days of TVA, the Federal Government was remote and generally identified with such unpleasant matters as tax collections. The TVA was held with suspicion at first, but when the people of the valley began to realize that the TVA was not there to tell them what to do or impose its will upon them, hostility gave way to a search for partnership on both sides.

State governments, local agencies, private groups, and thousands of citizens voluntarily joined with the TVA to make the valley

a land of opportunity—on the farm, in new factories, and in revitalized State and local governments able to serve their people.

In many nations of the Middle East, as in so much of the world, this sense of a bond between the people and the Government is a recent and evolving phenomenon of great significance.

The interest other nations may take in watching the development of the Khuzestan region may arise in part from the feeling that the new approach in Iran could have a significant bearing on a complex problem which is central in international relationships: How the industrialized Western countries can make their experience available to the newly awakened countries of the East, on a basis which is both acceptable and workable.

The program in the Khuzestan region may suggest some way in which this problem can be met. Its potential importance in this larger context could far outweigh its immediate aim of helping the Iranians.

Commonwealth Status Preferable for Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, a group of California businessmen, according to the Minister of Natural Resources for the Provincial Government of Saskatchewan in Canada, are to invest $40 million in a pulpwood project. These Americans have an option on 12,000 square miles of timberland, and a 300-ton-a-day woodpulp mill will be constructed soon with a further arrangement for doubling the timber rights and capacity of the mill for production of both pulp and newsprint.

Why are these American investors going to Canada as against Alaska, where vast timber resources exist which are available with ample water for such a new development?

The answer, I venture to say, lies in a carefully conducted study which shows the relative present costs and future projected conditions in both locations. Venture money goes to the area of greatest opportunity for profit.

Why would the Province of Saskatchewan and Canada offer greater returns on an investment than the Territory of Alaska?

The answer, of course, is in labor and living costs, transportation expense, and taxes. Alaska cannot compete with other areas of North America, and what is more, statehood will increase this cost of doing business and retard development for decades to come.

If certain political leaders in Alaska would sacrifice their personal ambitions to represent a new State of Alaska in Congress, this situation, it seems to me, could be changed. In other words, if Alaska would ask for commonwealth status and forego for a time the right of having voting representatives in Congress, she might be given complete self-government in all other respects and, in addition, exemption from Federal income taxes. This exemption for corporations would offset the high cost of operating industry in the northland, and Alaska's rich resources of timber and minerals would induce investors to put their millions into Alaska rather than locations such as I mentioned in Canada.

Meanwhile, Mr. Speaker, the Federal Government could continue with a program of roads and highways in Alaska, and likewise in the costly work of conservation of her fisheries which a limited treasury such as the new State would possess could not allow.

The Members of the House of Representatives, it seems to me, should study the full facts before we turn over Alaska's resources to the possible selfish control of certain politically inspired factions which exist in the Territory of Alaska, and which may seek to discriminate against nonresidents in order to benefit themselves. Let us not forget that the fish, timber, water, and minerals of the Territory belong to all the people of these United States—not just those who live there.

Should Reduced Nonessential Federal Spending Begin in Our Own Congressional Districts?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, last week I offered an amendment to an appropriation bill to cut out a new Federal program of making outright grants to local communities to help the local people pay for their sewage disposal systems. The amendment would have saved $50 million during the next fiscal year, and if continued would eventually save the taxpayers $450 million.

The amendment, initially approved by a teller vote of 162-to-140, was defeated on a record vote by a substantial majority. That was the considered action of the House, to which those of us who favored the amendment respectfully bow. Members entertain honest disagreements as to what spending is essential and what is nonessential.

This amendment has been referred to in the press as an example of legislative actions that stem from the people themselves who become aroused when Federal funds are about to be cut off from local communities.

The Washington Star commented:

> Already more than 900 applications by cities and counties had been approved, at least 1 in each of the 435 congressional districts.
>
> The news that money for these projects had been denied brought overnight a wave of protests from local organizations and officials in dozens of districts.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a letter from a Texas citizen who believes that bold action is necessary by the Congress if we are to achieve substantial reductions in nonessential spending. The letter follows:

DALLAS, TEX., *April 4, 1957.*

Hon. O. C. FISHER,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CLARK: This morning the Dallas News carried an account of your initial success in the House in an economy move, eliminating at least for the time being Federal handouts to States and cities for sewage disposal plants.

I would simply like to express my admiration for your action. I am sure that there are some cities in your district which could use some of this Federal money; but pursuing the philosophy for which you are rather widely known, you demonstrate that if we are to achieve economy, all of us have to start at home. I have always had less than no patience at all with the citizen who screams for economy and bemoans high taxes and simultaneously seeks Federal money for his own particular pet project. You are going at it in the right way.

Although I know you are motivated solely by your conscientious convictions, permit me to express the opinion that your move is the best there is in the way of practical politics. Contrary to a great deal of popular opinion, the Congressman who will oppose wasteful or unnecessary Federal expenditures in his own district adds far more to his political strength than he loses. In such a stand, he will inevitably antagonize a selfishly interested minority; but the great majority usually admires his courage, regards him as of increased stature, and forgets the details and votes for him at the next election. The average voter has come to regard him as a man of strength and character without reference to any particular local interests.

The most recent illustration of the foregoing that comes to my mind is Bruce Alger's last race here in Dallas County. Incidentally, I am firmly of Democratic persuasion, and supported Bruce's opponent in that election. Contrary to what a few of us thought was sound politics, the Democratic candidate (no doubt with the hearty approval of a majority of his advisers) tried to capitalize on some of Bruce's voting in the interest of economy, even at the expense of 1 or 2 Dallas projects, and tried to drive home the point that Bruce has gotten nothing for his district. The results speak for themselves. Dallas County actually is still strongly Democratic in formal party alinement—a point clearly enough proved in the election last Tuesday. Bruce nevertheless won his race last summer by what was for this county a heavy majority. I am sure that he was a part of your support mentioned in the attached news clip.

Best regards.
Sincerely,

TOM SUGG.

Report of a Postmaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Postmaster Floyd W. English, Corning, N. Y., which was recently sent to me as well as Senators IVES and JAVITS.

Lately, there has been considerable discussion about appropriations for the Post Office Department. Aside from the current matter, the problems of the Department and the individual post offices are matters of almost daily concern of every Member of Congress. Postmaster English's letter was of such great interest to me that I thought it should be made available to all the Members of Congress, especially those of us who sometimes forget that the Post Office Department has made considerable strides in the past 4 years:

POST OFFICE,
Corning, N. Y., April 4, 1957.

To: Senator IVES, Senator JAVITS, and Congressman COLE:

The morning papers carried a list of services that the post office would have to cut unless requested funds are appropriated so the subject was discussed at my table at Rotary Club today.

Eight people are at each table so there were seven besides myself. Five took the attitude that the discussion of the budget matter is politics, eventually some figure will be agreed upon, and the statements, speeches, and threats are not worth reading. The other two felt the Post Office Department was wasting money just the same as all departments of Government.

My opinion is that the Republican Party can be very proud of the Post Office Department and should capitalize on its accomplishments.

In 1953, Mrs. English and I attended the postmasters convention in San Francisco where out of 2,400 there were less than 50 Republicans. It was the first time in 21 years that there had been any Republican postmasters to attend a convention and as Postmaster Keller, of Niagara Falls, stated we were treated as if we had no right to be there. We traveled on a special train from Chicago which accommodated 300 and we were not made to feel welcome. We decided to be friendly—we both worked hard and the following Christmas received 63 cards.

To illustrate the difference I want to tell what occured last October at the New York convention. At the conclusion of an address by Postmaster General Summerfield, the Secretary of the National Association of Postmasters, Postmaster Puskar, announced that so much had been accomplished that he would vote to keep the Republican administration.

In this, the Corning, N. Y., post office, we have the same number of employees as in 1948. The volume in 1948, $160,880.11; 1956, $275,660.65. Most of this has been accomplished by more efficient policies which include the regional plan and elimination of much redtape by the Department.

I would like to suggest:

1. Eliminate many post offices. The Department has agreed to a policy that no post office will be closed unless the postmaster's position becomes vacant and therefore I have offered to resign when the post office at Painted Post is made a station.

2. Eliminate postal savings—with insured bank deposits this is not needed.

3. Eliminate money orders except for c. o. d. merchandize. Banks offer convenient checking accounts at a lower rate.

4. Eliminate the rule that advertising matter should have a street number. This requires many clerk hours for sorting.

5. Decide whether the post office is to be a service organization or self-supporting. If it is to be self-supporting, then increase rates.

I do not mean to be critical but the Post Office Department deserves great credit. This administration inherited an inefficient organization with obsolete equipment—they have developed new methods and machines, delivered increased volume of mail, paid a large salary increase and with less deficit than the former administration. I hope you can find a way to give credit to a Department that is doing a good job.

Sincerely yours,

FLOYD W. ENGLISH.

"Soapy" Williams Scores Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting the following article from the Washington Star of April 3, written by the well-known political analyst, Doris Fleeson. In the following story, the writer informs her readers of what we in Michigan have known for a long time, namely, "Soapy" Williams, the greatest vote getter on the American scene, is real Presidential timber. As you know, the Democrats in Michigan made a clean sweep of all contested offices in the April 1 elections, thanks to the campaigning abilities of our forceful young Governor, G. Mennen Williams:

"SOAPY" WILLIAMS SCORES AGAIN—YOUNG DEMOCRAT GOVERNOR LEADS PARTY TO ANOTHER MICHIGAN ELECTION VICTORY

(By Doris Fleeson)

Gov. G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams, a liberal young Democrat, this week displayed a remarkably impressive pair of coattails in the typical pivotal State of Michigan.

In an off-year election marked by voter apathy and with an unremarkable slate of candidates, Democrats swept the boards clean. Williams, elected last fall to his fifth term as Governor, was not on the ticket, but in a hard-hitting, statewide campaign laid his own prestige on the block for it.

Even his opponents are now saying "It was 'Soapy' who did it." The net to him is increased national stature, which will force Democrats to reassess his 1960 possibilities, plus undisputed command of his State.

The Williams rise is accompanied by a comparable collapse of the Republican State organization. Michigan observers are talking about the wreckage of the GOP and suggest that Republican Senator CHARLES E. POTTER will need a miracle to win reelection next year.

The general expectation is that Williams will not oppose POTTER but will run for his 6th term and win. Such a victory would make him easily the senior in point of service among the 48 State governors.

Of that 48, 29 are Democrats. They will head their delegations to the national convention and carry great weight in the selection of the national ticket.

The probable opposition to POTTER is Lt. Gov. Philip Hart. Like POTTER, Hart was badly wounded in World War II combat; unlike many Democrats, he has good connections with the business community of Detroit.

Williams has from the start had the constant support of labor in populous Wayne County, which includes Detroit. His ability to win reelection shows, however, that he has wide public acceptance beyond labor. He has also built an effective State organization under a talented State chairman, Neil Stabler.

Stabler's work in Michigan attracted the attention of the national committee, which made him head of a committee on organization to teach his fellow-Democrats how it's done. The Stabler committee report is now in the hands of National Chairman Paul Butler, who has said he would promote its general acceptance.

The story of the Michigan Republicans seems to be chiefly one of factional strife and uninteresting candidates. However, their ticket which just met defeat was said to be as good as that of the Democrats who won.

Blame is attached to Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield by some observers who charge him with trying to run the State from Washington, a maneuver which rarely succeeds in politics. Also, as the factional GOP quarrels multiplied, the big contributions disappeared, which is normal in the political picture.

Remove the Reckless Mr. Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that everyone concerned with the formulation and execution of United States foreign policy will be interested in the following editorial from the Milwaukee Journal of April 4, 1957:

DULLES SHOULD BE REPLACED

The new biography of John Foster Dulles is certainly not meant to label the recent unpleasantness in the Middle East as Mr. Dulles' war.

Anything but. Written by a Dulles sycophant in Henry Luce's Time-Life stable, it is dedicated to the proposition that Dulles can do no wrong. The foreword, in which Thomas E. Dewey describes the Secretary of State as "no ordinary mortal," is symbolic.

And yet, when John Robinson Beal's book is analyzed, this seems evident: That while it was Israel, England, and France that invaded Egypt last October, it was Dulles who set the stage.

It has been a general assumption that last July's withdrawal of the Aswan Dam financing offer to Egypt was honestly based on hard economic facts and that Dulles' brusque announcement was more or less accidental. Not so, according to Beal's book, written after interviews with Dulles. The rejection was deliberately rude. Dulles wanted to call Russia's economic bluff (the Reds had also talked of building the Aswan Dam) and he wanted to show neutral nations that there was a limit to American tolerance.

Writes Beal: "Nasser combined the right timing, the right geography, and the right order of magnitude for a truly major gambit in the cold war. As a calculated risk the decision was on a grand scale, comparable in the sphere of diplomacy to the calculated risk of war taken in Korea and Formosa. It risked opening a key Middle East country * * * to Communist economic and political penetration. It risked alienating other Arab nations * * *."

What the "calculated risk" decision precipitated is now history. Nasser immediately seized the Suez Canal. (He told visiting American editors in Cairo last week that his action resulted directly from Dulles'

"insult to Egypt, as an act to undermine Egypt.") Frantic attempts to reach a canal settlement failed—British and French sources have said because of Dulles' refusal to be firm with Nasser.

Then came the Israeli-British-French attack on Egypt and its death and destruction. The western alliance was disrupted, the British commonwealth perilled and Russia threatened nuclear and missile war. The Suez was blocked, the oil flow halted, and Western Europe went on rationing. The United Nations was plunged into major crisis. The United States felt forced to assume, singlehandedly, the tremendous commitment of the Eisenhower doctrine to defend the entire Middle East against Russia and communism.

Not one country, but three—Egypt, Syria, and Jordan—were opened, and apparently remain open, to "Communist economic and political penetration."

Beal credits Dulles with ending the war against Egypt by "'waging peace' with genuine skill." Many knowing observers believe that the United Nations, Canadian diplomats, Russian threats are equally responsible. Be this as it may, if the Dulles quotations in Beal's book are correct—and denials do not sound convincing—Dulles was only putting out a fire for which he laid the wood.

The vitally important thing about the Beal book, however, is that it once more proves that the destinies of the American people, internationally, are in the hands of a self-satisfied, self-righteous, boastful, and reckless diplomatic schemer—a would-be Machiavelli who gambles against war with nations and people as his dice.

This irresponsible and dangerous man must be retired from his post of power. Otherwise his next calculated risk or purposeful march to the brink of war may end in disaster.

The Proliferating Public Payroll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present and commend for careful consideration by all Members of this House the following discussions entitled "The Proliferating Public Payroll," and "Lord Beveridge's Second Thoughts," which appeared in the April 1957 monthly letter published by the First National City Bank of New York:

THE PROLIFERATING PUBLIC PAYROLL

A year or two ago the London Economist invented a "scientific" formula for figuring out future additions to government payrolls. The mathematical rule, capriciously labeled "Parkinson's Law," was based on two premises: Officials want to multiply subordinates; and these subordinates make work for each other.

The law purports to show that the number of government employees bears no relationship to the amount of work to be done; regardless of the workload, it automatically increases at an annual rate of 5.6 percent. In support of its law, the Economist noted that between 1914 and 1928 the British Navy reduced the number of its ships by two-thirds and its sailors by one-third. In the same period, however, the administrative staff increased by more than 78 percent.

A recent study by the National Bureau of Economic Research, while not at all concerned with "Parkinson's law," presents some interesting information on the growth of public payrolls in Great Britain and this country. Looking back over a 60-year span, the National Bureau finds that government in both countries "has been growing faster than any other major segment of the economy." The employment figures include members of the armed forces as well as civilian workers at the national and local level.

Between 1891 and 1950, the working population of Britain increased about 57 percent while Government employment, not including nationalized industries, went up 450 to 500 percent. Similarly, in the United States between 1900 and 1950 the total labor force rose about 125 percent while Government employment jumped almost 500 percent.

In 1891, government in Britain employed only 1 person out of 25 in the labor force. By 1950, 1 British worker in 7 was on a Government payroll; if nationalized industries are included the ratio increases to 1 out of 4.

In this country in 1900, 1 worker out of 25 was employed by Federal, State, or local governments. Fifty years later the ratio was up to 1 out of 8.

THE PATTERN OF GROWTH

The National Bureau found a number of similarities in government employment in the two countries. For instance, in 1950 total government employment in both Britain and the United States was fairly evenly divided between the Central Government and local government bodies. There was also an almost identical increase (4½ times between 1900 and 1950) in nondefense government employees—those not in the military services or working for the military in a civilian capacity. In the United States, nondefense workers numbered 1.1 million in 1900 and 5.2 million in 1950; in Britain the increase was from 500,000 to 2.1 million.

Moreover, of this increase in nondefense employees, national governments accounted for a growing share, most particularly after the 1930's. Commented the National Bureau:

"The Central Government's economic activities as regulator or producer were greatly expanded and its participation in social welfare activities augmented. In part this represented the establishment of new functions or the enlargement of old Central Government activities. In part it represented the assumption by the central government of functions previously handled by the local authorities."

Since 1950, there have been some important developments in central government employment. In Britain, the Conservatives regained power in 1951 and promptly began to abandon or relax the myriad economic controls imposed by the Labor Government. Between April 1950 and April 1955, manpower engaged in economic regulatory activities was reduced by some 37,000—a cut of about 45 percent. Although Britain's central government increased overall employment by 128,000 (7.2 percent) between 1950 and 1955, the increase was due solely to defense personnel; nondefense workers declined.

In this country, the Government's Armed Forces more than doubled between mid-1950 and mid-1955 while Federal civilian employment went up about 22 percent. In its early years the Eisenhower administration was successful in trimming the size of the civilian payroll—and taxes. From 2,555,930 on Executive branch payrolls at the end of January 1953 the number was steadily cut until by September 1954 it was down to 2,329,181—a reduction of 226,749. Since then, however, the total has been rising. At the end of January it stood at 2,375,000, an increase of nearly 46,000 over the low point achieved by the administration. And the United States Budget Bureau estimates civilian employment will increase another 73,000 by June 30, 1958.

THE YEAR 2069

The enlarged public payroll is one indicator of the big expansion that has taken place not only in the population of the country but also in the role of government—especially central government.

A "Parkinson's law," as it might be applied to this country, affords opportunity for some interesting calculations. During the past 25 years, the civilian labor force has grown at the rate of 1.2 percent a year compounded, while total Government civilian employment has expanded at the rate of 3.2 percent compounded. If these trends are projected into the future, one finds that in the year 2069 we will all be working for the Government.

LORD BEVERIDGE'S SECOND THOUGHTS

In 1945, Sir William Beveridge proposed that the government assume responsibility for seeing to it that jobs would always be abundant. In his book, Full Employment in a Free Society, he described full employment as always having more vacant jobs than unemployed workers and suggested: "The labor market should always be a seller's market rather than a buyer's market. * * * Jobs, rather than men, should wait."

The British Government has pursued his idea. Sir William has had the opportunity, out of 10 years' personal experience and observation, to check the practical workings of the theory. In his second thoughts there is a fine lesson for Americans who advocate inflating the currency to maintain more jobs than men to fill them.

The cardinal principle of Sir William's plan was that whenever the total of public and private spending fell below the level necessary to maintain a shortage of labor the Government should step in and make up the difference. To insure adequate total outlay he called for the Government to expand the scope of its activities, increase its spending, adhere to a cheap money policy, and avoid rigidly orthodox finance because it involves an impracticable route to full employment.

Lord Beveridge (he was elevated to the peerage in 1946) put forth his full employment plan for two reasons. He wanted to keep employment high so the famous Beveridge plan for cradle-to-the-grave social security would not overburden the Treasury. And, thinking back to the great depression, he wanted to relieve people of worries about finding jobs.

THE BASIC PROBLEM

However idealistic in conception, the basic difficulty with any such full employment plan is the inflation to which it gives rise. If governments spend enough, and if they fuel a boom with the high octane of easy money and credit, they can achieve conditions of full employment and labor shortage. But the worker, being human, will in these circumstances raise his wage demands. And the employer, to retain his working staff and avoid strikes, will pay more and raise the prices he charges the customer to make up the difference. Since one does not have to work hard to keep a job, the economy loses efficiency. Since savings are discouraged, funds to finance industrial progress grow scarce.

Great Britain has enjoyed—or suffered—labor shortage practically continuously during and since World War II. Official statistics show that job vacancies have far outnumbered the registered unemployed. But Lord Beveridge is witness to the fact that full employment provides no utopia. It has produced some opposite effects: insecurity for millions of people who must live on pensions or other fixed incomes or on accumulated savings. Even workers whose daily wages have kept up with the cost of living have suffered from the dwindling value of the pound. Escalator clauses do not protect

the value of funds in savings accounts, life insurance, or retirement plans.

PLANS GONE HAYWIRE

In a speech in London last October 20, Lord Beveridge noted:

"Most of my working life was spent in University service. When I left that service to become a politician in 1945, I was able to take with me for superannuation enough thousand pounds to feel fairly happy for my future. Now each of those pounds is worth about 6s. 8d. Like many other healthy people in the seventies I am in danger of living longer than I can afford to live. Our plans for useful old age are all going haywire.

"The underlying reason for that is the claim of each industry to fix its own money wages by sovereign action. Under full employment that is leading to destruction of the value of money, and is spreading widespread poverty among all who are trying to live on savings or fixed pensions."

Lord Beveridge sought prosperity on a road paved with elaborate government plans and unbalanced budgets. He purposely avoided the path that over the years has proved the surest course to real economic progress. That path is one in which governments operate under the discipline of sound finance and provide the environment that encourages private enterprise and investment to go forward to the benefit of the national product and the national strength.

Partnership Benefits All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith portions of an editorial from the San Jose News favoring the proposed partnership agreement between the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. and the Bureau of Reclamation for development of the Trinity River:

[From the San Jose (Calif.) News of March 13, 1957]

PARTNERSHIP BENEFITS ALL

* * * * *

Investigation and analysis is tipping the scale of public benefit in favor of Seaton's governmental-public utility merger.

Basis of the argument is on the question of whether the Government should tie itself to a business partnership with private utility, or whether it should act independently in the major job of developing northern California water resources to the benefit of the State as a whole.

P. G. & E.'s plan of partnership ties in neatly with the attainment of this objective—and to the financial benefit of the taxpayer.

The private utility offers initially to build and pay for the project's powerplants and related transmission facilities for the purpose of obtaining use of the falling water in development of hydroelectric power.

In addition, it proposes a schedule of payments to the Government for the falling water amounting to an estimated $4,600,000 each year.

Savings are to be realized in construction costs. It is estimated $56,700,000 would be paid out by the utility in capital outlay for the $225 million Trinity Dam.

Taxwise, the Government would receive $83 million more in taxes over the 50-year repayment period, the State $7,310,000 and local districts $53,245,000.

And all this without loss of any appreciable amount of water, the prime objective of the Trinity project and related water conservation planning in northern California.

* * * objections to penalty payments to P. G. & E. during the heavy irrigation periods when water would have to be drawn from storage faster than it could be used in power development; the increased power rates to preferred customers and the Federal-utility link diminish quickly when held up to the benefits of the proposed combination development.

Secretary Seaton and the P. G. & E. have worked out an ideal partnership for Trinity water. It should be implemented with full support of our legislators in the interests of the public's need for water and power.

How Long Can Nasser Last?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, our State Department supported first Farouk, then Naguib, and now Nasser. It will be interesting to see just how long Mr. Nasser can ride the crest of a new wave of Arab popularity, artificially created by Mr. Dulles.

In this connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article, written by Eliezer Whartman, which appeared in the March 1957 issue of the American Zionist:

HOW LONG CAN HE LAST?—EGYPT'S PLIGHT: SANDS ARE RUNNING OUT FOR NASSER

(By Eliezer Whartman)

At first blush Gamal Abdel Nasser may have appeared to be riding high following his comeback after the Suez debacle, but economists are almost unanimous in their verdict that, despite his hollow victory, the sands of time are running out for the dictator. The economic facts of life are against him. The real question today is not how Nasser can be stopped, but rather how long can he go on?

Egypt has always been a poor country. One noted sociologist called it a land of "unrelieved horror." The average annual per capita income is less than $100 (contrasted to $1,870 in the United States). Of Egypt's 4 million adults engaged in agriculture, 1½ million are completely landless, and another 2 million own less than 1 acre each, which is approximately half the number needed for subsistance. Only 3 percent of the land is cultivated. Six percent of the people own 60 percent af the arable land.

Nasser's much-touted land reforms have done almost nothing to rectify a situation which leaves most of the agricultural populace permanently hovering on the brink of starvation: Only about 4 percent of the land has been redistributed; and, even if the redistribution program were to be fully implemented, only 8 percent of the land would be affected. U. N. economic reports for 1956 show a decrease in yield per acre from previous years. When this is contrasted with the phenomenal increase in birth, the results are potentially explosive. Egypt's population is swelling at the rate of half a million people, or 2 percent per year. Her national income—before Suez—was rising only at the rate of 1 percent, and now even that low increase has dropped. It has been estimated that Egypt needs a minimum of at least $56 million each year in new capital simply to take care of her annual increase in population. Even if the Aswan Dam project, now shelved, were to be put into operation, and thus bring into production another 2 million acres, by 1970 her population per square kilometer would have shot up from 752 persons to 883. When one considers the precarious state of health of Egyptian citizenry today, one is appalled to consider what the prospects will be in another decade.

The only solution for such a potentially explosive situation is for a government to take a number of drastic measures: First, it must encourage foreign investment, open up foreign credit and step up its exports; second, it must plan a more diversified agriculture and stimulate local industry so that it can radically reduce imports; and, third, it must cut government costs to the absolute bone, reducing the size of its bureaucracy and slashing at its defense expenditures.

How has the Nasser regime reacted? Economists shake their heads and wave their hands in despair.

Instead of encouraging foreign investment, Egypt has gone out of her way to discourage it: Only recently the Government passed an ordinance calling for the nationalization (read Egyptianization) of all foreign firms within 5 years. This has had the effect of destroyingg any vestige of interest by foreign firms in investing in Egypt. Not a franc, pound, or dollar (or even rubles) are finding their way to Egypt today for investment. Foreign currency is as scarce along the Nile as tourists. As for opening foreign credit abroad, Nasser has done the reverse: almost $400 million of Egyptian hard currency is blocked in Great Britain and the United States. The Egyptian pound has fallen to less than 40 percent of its official value. Nasser today could muster no more than about 60 millions in foreign currency to shore up his badly sagging economy. It is significant that although Soviet Russia has granted unlimited credit for the purchase of arms—backed by collateral in cotton—she hasn't seen fit to grant one ruble of strictly economic credit to the hard-pressed Nasser.

Regarding exports, figures show that the value of goods exported from Egypt during the last quarter of 1956 fell off to about half what it was in the previous quarter—before the fighting began with England and France.

Ironically enough, the closing of the Suez Canal has radically reduced the export of Egyptian cotton to the Far East. Here in the Western Hemisphere Egyptian cotton, which constitutes 85 percent of her total exports, is running into new difficulties. Slowly United States and South American produced long staple cotton is crowding the more expensive Egyptian import off the market, and should, in time, displace it almost entirely.

EGYPTIAN COTTON DROP

Nasser has likewise failed to implement the second step of an economic sine qua non if he hopes to save Egyptian economy from foundering; he has neither diversified the traditional pattern of Egyptian agriculture, nor has he been able to substantially reduce imports. Cotton is still king. However, it doesn't reign supreme. Prices for Egyptian cotton have been steadily falling as the long staple product comes into production in other parts of the world. British and French markets have been cut off, and now the chief market is with the Soviet bloc—a dangerous dependency, as T]to will testify. About half of this has been bartered for already acquired Soviet arms (much now in Israeli hands) which means that Egypt will be exporting from $25 million to $30 million of cotton each year during the next 8

to 10 years for which she will receive no visible return. Having thus obligated himself to the Russians, Nasser can hardly be in a position to take an independent economic line with the Kremlin.

Because cotton is still king and the average fellah has shown no great disposition to try to raise other staple crops (largely because there hasn't been much of an urge by the Government, occupied "elsewhere," to have them do so) Egypt is obliged to import most of her wheat from abroad. This country has refused to sell on credit, so the bulk of it comes from Eastern Europe. This hardly portends a happy future for Nasser. He has managed to do some bartering, but he has only one commodity to peddle and right now there is an abundance of cotton on the world market. (The Russians are dumping Egyptian cotton for whatever it will bring.) Moreover, Egypt has just had a bad cotton crop this year and exports are off. The only alternative that Nasser has is to try to lower the standard of living for his people. This standard is already dangerously low, and while the Cairo unemployed—their number grows monthly—and the fellahin have little to sacrifice, the middle classes still have something to lose and it is from them that the grumbling about Nasserism is growing louder.

GOVERNMENT COSTS SOARS

And as to the third step—cutting government costs and reducing defense expenditures—Nasser is as remiss in this as he is in implementing the other two.

Far from decreasing government costs, he has increased them, burdening the economy with a swollen army and a fat bureaucracy. To meet their expenses he has increased taxes and has taken a sinister step: he has nationalized—actually confiscated—an estimated billion dollars' worth of assets from liberated foreign and Jewish firms in Egypt. The assets he has realized by this desperate maneuver may see him through for the next few months, but it merely postpones the inevitable. Nasser simply doesn't have the necessary trained personnel to run these businesses. Many of these depended on trade from abroad which has dried up. Others are being run into the ground by incompetents. On top of it all, he has lost an annual revenue of $17 million per year by putting the canal out of commission.

Nasser's position for the time is still secure. He has the army backing him, and, of course, the street mobs. He is still the hero to the Arab masses from Tangier to Iran, but underneath the slogans, the saber rattling, and the frenzied demonstrations, the foundations are crumbling. No one knows this better than Gamal Abdel Nasser.

The TVA as a Great Enterprise Cannot Be Run by Politics-as-Usual Any More Than a Great Corporation Could Be Run in That Fashion—A Dedicated Believer in the Principles of the TVA and a True Friend Should Be Appointed to the Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include an article by the able columnist, Marquis Childs, concerning the future of TVA in the RECORD. Mr. Childs' article is timely and it conveys the idea that one dedicated to the ideals and purposes of the TVA should serve on the Board directing the affairs of this great agency of the Government in the public interest.

I commend the reading of Mr. Childs' article:

POLITICS BREWING OVER TVA CHOICE
(By Marquis Childs)

An opportunity is coming up for the Eisenhower administration to prove that all its campaign claims to restore integrity and independence to Government were not just campaign talk.

A vacancy will occur soon on the board of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and with this second appointment the administration will, in effect, control the TVA board. The politicians have begun to maneuver for this exceptional plum paying $20,000 a year for a 9-year term.

But as originally conceived, the TVA was to be an independent agency free of politics both on the regional and national levels and able, therefore, to select those truly qualified to run what has become a $2 billion enterprise. * * *

This administration, like others in the past, has rewarded lame-duck Congressmen and the faithful who have worked in the Republican vineyard. It would seem, however, that both precedent and the administration's strong profession of integrity in Government would dictate another kind of appointment for TVA.

The choices are clear. The job can go frankly to a politician in the region, such as Representative HOWARD H. BAKER, Republican, of Tennessee. Some support had been generated for BAKER until he publicly declared he was not interested in the appointment.

Or at the other extreme the administration should be able to find a highly qualified man with independent judgment and with a sufficient background in administration, whether in public or private affairs and perhaps also with a scientific and engineering background. There are such men, and in the past it has been possible to recruit them for the kind of public service in the general welfare that TVA implies.

The first vacancy to occur on the TVA board was filled by President Eisenhower in August 1954 by the appointment of Brig. Gen. Herbert D. Vogel, who had been a district engineer of the United States Corps of Engineers. The President also made Vogel chairman of the board.

With the President publicly branding TVA as "creeping socialism," Vogel's position has been an anomalous one. Perhaps inevitably, he has been accused by TVA's intensely loyal partisans of giving less than his full support to the goal set forth in the TVA Act. That goal is no less than the rehabilitation of a whole region by development of the resources of land, water and people in the Tennessee Valley.

Vogel supported the Dixon-Yates power deal, even though many Republicans—conspicuously Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER of Kentucky—were convinced at the outset that this would backfire as it did.

He is accused by the Democrats of violating the nonpolitical precedent in the speeches he made in the last presidential campaign, boasting of what the administration had done for TVA. And, finally, it is said in the region that he already is anticipating partisan control of the board by predicting what it will do when, with another appointee, he will have a majority.

The term of Harry A. Curtis expires on May 18. At the time of his appointment he was dean of the College of Engineering at the University of Missouri. Before that, as a distinguished chemical engineer, he had had a great deal to do with developing TVA's chemical fertilizer plant.

Many claims are made for TVA by those who, over the years, have given it a dedicated loyalty. They see it as an integrated whole in which flood control, power development and agricultural improvement all have had a part in raising the level of living of a region that had suffered acutely from the ills which, to a lesser degree, plague other parts of America.

Even if the claims of partisanship are brushed aside, one outstanding fact remains. The TVA is a great enterprise. It cannot be run by politics-as-usual any more than a great private corporation could be run in that fashion.

First Governor's Kin Vacations in Arizona

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, institutions of a new country, like Arizona, many times come from States which are long established. Likewise, many of the pioneer figures of Arizona were prominent in the East before they became Arizonans.

In his regular column of March 30, Bert Fireman, of the Phoenix Gazette, deals with the life of the Honorable John Noble Goodwin, Member of the House of Representatives in the 37th Congress from the State of Maine, and first territorial Governor of Arizona. There follows Mr. Fireman's article:

FIRST GOVERNOR'S KIN VACATIONS IN ARIZONA

Detroit is only a few hours from Phoenix by air, so that's the way the Philip G. Moons came. They're staying out at Jokake Inn. Phil is from Idaho, but now is assistant vice president of the National Bank of Detroit. His wife is the former Frances M. Kendall of Augusta, Maine. So why shouldn't they vacation in sunny Arizona, winter crossroads of the Nation?

There's a strong family historical link that attracts Mrs. Moon to this land of the sun. Her great-grandfather was Arizona's first territorial governor, the Honorable John Noble Goodwin of Maine. Mrs. Moon has a passel of documents and family heirlooms that fill in chinks in the story of that dignified New Englander who launched Arizona's territorial government.

Although their vacation here is a short one, Mr. and Mrs. Moon brought along a handful of those old papers. Safe at home at 44 Oxford Road, Pleasant Ridge, Mich. (a suburb of Detroit) is the governor's original commission signed by President Abraham Lincoln and Secretary of State William H. Seward on August 21, 1863.

Goodwin was a Maine native, a lawyer, and served in the 37th Congress as a Republican Representative. He was defeated for reelection by 127 votes. Three days after his term expired on March 3, 1863, President Lincoln appointed him chief justice of the newly authorized Arizona Territory. But when John A. Gurley of Ohio, originally picked to be Governor, died before starting west, Goodwin was named chief executive. He took the oath of office and proclaimed organization of the Territory at Navajo Springs on December 29, 1863. A few weeks later he established a temporary capital at original

Fort Whipple, located at Del Rio Springs in Chino Valley. A few months later the capital was established at the new town of Prescott.

One termer: Goodwin served as Governor little more than a year. In the campaign of 1864 he was elected our second delegate to Congress, succeeding Charles D. Poston. Poston challenged the results of the voting, circulating reports in Washington that Goodwin had been elected by fraud and deceit.

The legislative assembly passed a concurrent resolution supporting the choice of Goodwin and attesting to the authenticity of the election. The Moons have a certified copy of that document and also original certificates of the official voting. Arizona gave Goodwin 707 votes, cast 376 for Joseph P. Allyn, and only 260 for Poston—the "father" of the Territory but already losing prestige because of eccentric behavior.

Among their other original papers is a deed from King S. Woolsey, pioneer farmer, soldier, and miller, conveying half of an undivided "auxiliary" tract of land along the Agua Fria River to Governor Goodwin in consideration of $100. This was located 2,000 yards south of Woolsey's ranch, which would place it approximately at the present location of the mining hamlet of Humboldt.

In their possession also are a dozen certificates of mining lode claims in the Walker district, southeast of Prescott. Goodwin failed to realize expected profits on his investments in Arizona mining and lands. Possibly that is why he never returned here after serving one term as Delegate to Congress. He resumed practice of law in New York City, but 30 years later was living in California. There he was interested in old Spanish land grants, according to papers handed down to Mrs. Moon. Goodwin died at Paraiso Springs in California in 1887 and was buried in Augusta, Me.

While here the Moons hope to drive to Prescott to see the town where great-grandpa Goodwin brought Yankee thrift and sincerity to a land as rocky and yet beautiful as his native State.

Federal Program To Aid Depressed Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, it is a well-known fact that many communities in the United States have not shared in the general economic growth and development which most of the people in the country have enjoyed. According to the United States Department of Labor there are at present 77 communities with a labor surplus. To paraphrase the polite language of the Department of Labor, this means that there are scores of cities in the United States where unemployment is a major problem and where a considerable portion of the labor force cannot secure productive jobs. Many of these communities have appeared on this Department of Labor list year after year since the Department started to keep these data in 1951.

In addition there are hundreds of rural counties in the United States which have really never enjoyed the standard of living which is supposed to be the birthright of every American. We find counties in the United States where the per capita income is a third of the average in the rest of the country, sometimes even less than a third. The United States has a responsibility to alleviate conditions in these communities. Eleven years ago, Congress recognized in the Employment Act of 1946 that it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to assure the existence of maximum production and employment in the country. This means that it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to help eliminate conditions of unemployment and underemployment.

It is with this purpose in mind that I have introduced H. R. 5302. The bill in brief provides for a comprehensive Federal program to aid depressed areas. The major provisions of the bill are as follows:

1. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The bill provides technical assistance to depressed areas, to help them to appraise their human and natural resources and their economic potential. Such service would help communities to plan their economic development realistically in terms of their resources and potentials.

2. LOANS

Communities with a labor surplus normally have difficulty raising needed capital. It is therefore imperative that the Federal Government supply the needed capital to create new activity and to stop the economic decline from snowballing. H. R. 5302 provides for a revolving fund of $200 million to be equally divided between rural and urban communities. Distressed industrial areas and low income rural areas would benefit from these funds. Business desiring to expand or to locate new businesses in these areas could get as high as 75 percent of the total funds required for the projects. The loans would be made at a reasonable rate of interest, not exceeding one-half of 1 percent above the cost of the money to the Government.

But in order to gain new business communities must have the necessary public facilities to make themselves attractive to new business. This may require the development of industrial parks or other public facilities that new business may deem essential. The Dingell bill provides for a revolving fund of $75 million which may be used to expend loans for public facilities. The interest rate on these loans is the same as for the other type of loans.

3. GRANTS

Some communities which have been subject to chronic unemployment for a long period may not be in a position to pay interest on or repay loans. The bill therefore provides that in extreme cases of community need, the Federal Government would make grants instead of loans. For this purpose the bill establishes a $50 million fund from which grants could be made to communities.

4. VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND COMPENSATION

Bricks and mortar are not sufficient to make a community attractive to new or expanding industry. An industry moving into a new location needs the necessary skills in order to start operations. In depressed economic areas this problem becomes even more acute because the new industries may not be able to use the skills that were developed by the industries which have ceased operations or moved out. The bill, therefore, provides for a vocational training program which would help the people in the community to learn new skills. It is, however, unrealistic to expect that persons who have been unemployed for a long period of time and have no resources could undergo effective training without any means of subsistence. The bill, therefore, provides also that persons undergoing training would be entitled to receive subsistence compensation for a period not exceeding 13 weeks. The amount of compensation would be equal to the average unemployment benefits in that State, and the funds would be paid by the Federal Government.

The purpose of the bill is to aid depressed areas. It provides, consequently, for strict eligibility requirements which would limit the benefits of the program to needy communities. In order to qualify for assistance under H. R. 5302 a community must have had 12 percent unemployment for a year prior to the application for benefits, or 8 percent for 15 months out of the preceding 18 months or 6 percent for 8 months during each of the preceding 2 years. In case of rural communities, the bill provides that only the poorest low-income counties would qualify for aid.

In order to ensure that the program provided in this bill would be carried out energetically the bill provides that a special agency be established to carry out the above provisions. Furthermore, the program involves business, labor, and agricultural groups as well as the welfare of the public at large. It is, therefore, deemed desirable that the administration of the program be placed in a separate agency rather than in one of the established agencies like the Departments of Commerce, Agriculture, or Labor, each one of which has special responsibilities to particular groups.

Our experience during the last decade has shown that depressed communities remain with us even in a period of prosperity and economic growth. Rapid economic change, deterioration and exhaustion of resources and changes in technology are some of the major factors which cause certain communities to decline economically. The Federal Government can help these communities from deteriorating and thus prevent overall recession. H. R. 5302 will, if adopted into law, not only help depressed communities, but will raise the economic level of activity for all of the United States.

Studying Monetary Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, opposition continue to mount against a Presi-

dential Commission in lieu of the proposal contained in House Resolution 85 for a congressional committee to study monetary policy.

The following letter, dated April 3, 1957, written to me by Clyde T. Ellis of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, is typical of the opposition to this substitution:

NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC
COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., April 3, 1957.

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MULTER: On behalf of the rural electric systems of the country who are threatened with an increase in the REA interest rate as a result of the tight credit, high interest rate policies of the Treasury and the Federal Reserve System, I wish to thank you for your vote on House resolution 85 on March 27.

We sincerely appreciate your stand on this resolution, and we hope that we can count on you to oppose any effort to substitute a Presidential Commission for a congressional investigation. Farmers have been put on notice by Mr. Burgess, Under Secretary of the Treasury, that if such a Commission is approved one of its first assignments will be to investigate agricultural lending agencies which would include the Rural Electrification Administration.

If and when the Congress wants to look into REA interest rates, it should do so through its established committees. We have no stomach for an investigation by a Commission which would doubtless be less interested in the welfare of rural people than in whitewashing the tight credit-high interest rate policies of the Treasury and Federal Reserve System, and certainly no honest investigation of REA's interest rates could be justified without a keen look at the forces behind high cost money to everybody.

Sincerely,

CLYDE T. ELLIS,
General Manager.

Water Woes: Suppliers Increase Rates To Finance New Facilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, from the beginning of our history this Nation has been blessed with an abundance of natural resources. One of these resources, water, used to be so plentiful that it was not even considered a resource or thought of in such terms. It was just there, like the air we breathe, and we took it for granted, wasting it and polluting it as if we could never possibly run out of it.

Due to the fantastic population growth during the past decade, however, the problem of supplying sufficient quantities of water of adequate quality has suddenly become very serious indeed, and in many areas critical. While our water supply remains constant the demands placed on that supply are zooming and in the not too distant future we are going to have a water supply crisis on our hands unless we begin doing something about it now. The Wall Street Journal of April 4 contained an excellent article regarding the water problem. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include this article which I call to the attention of every Member of the House:

WATER WOES: SUPPLIERS BOOST RATES TO FINANCE EXPANSION AS DEMAND GROWS PAST—MISSOURI UNIT PUTS FEE ON AIR CONDITIONERS—OHIOANS PONDER PIPELINE NETWORK—CHICAGO GLOATS OVER LAKE

(By Ray Vicker)

CHICAGO.—Water rates here will rise by one-third on May 1.

Missouri's St. Louis County is initiating a surcharge on water-consuming air conditioning equipment, also effective May 1.

The Hackensack Water Co., Weehawken, N. J., which serves 57 communities in northern New Jersey and 6 in New York, now is seeking to make permanent the 9.5 percent temporary rate increase authorized February 1, while Milwaukee is seeking a permanent 50 percent rate boost to replace a temporary 25 percent increase initiated last August.

These boosts are symptomatic of the ripples now ruffling the surface of America's water industry. Water—the Nation's most abundant mineral—is becoming costlier in hundreds of communities around the country. To finance expansion of water reservoirs or facilities, higher rates are being assessed or studied in a growing number of communities.

SPENDING WILL RISE

Expenditures for publicly owned water supply construction in 1957 will approach $675 million, up from $580 million in 1956 and $554 million in 1955, the United States Department of Commerce reports. Meanwhile, expenditures of private companies, which have been running around $100 million annually, should be stepped up about 10 percent this year, too.

Here in Chicago, local residents and suburbanites from the 54 communities on Chicago's water lines may gaze with some satisfaction across Lake Shore Drive's car-laden lanes to the cool, blue expanse of Lake Michigan.

"Our water supply is inexhaustible," boasts James W. Jardine, Chicago's commissioner of the Department of Water and Sewers.

Numerous other cities aren't as fortunate. Even Chicago plans to spend $154.5 million through 1960 in a 5-year program launched in 1955 to expand facilities for delivering lake water to the city's taps.

Harry E. Jordan, secretary of the American Water Works Association, headquartered in New York, says: "Aside from those fortunate cities on the Great Lakes and in certain spots along our major streams, adequate water service in the future is going to depend upon the development of water storage reservoirs. The day has passed when many cities of any importance can depend upon the daily flow of a stream to provide the water supply needed."

PIPELINE NETWORKS

Looking ahead, some visionaries are predicting that networks of long distance water pipelines may come into being in the next few years. Already, California cities are reaching as far as 550 miles for water. New York stretches 125 miles for its water, while Denver goes as far as 70 miles. Meanwhile, in northern Ohio plans are under consideration for a pipeline network which would bring water to eight countries from Lake Erie.

One Department of Commerce study noted that 42 percent of the 552 water systems serving communities of 25,000 population or larger had deficiencies. The Department estimated that it would require estimated expenditures of $3.2 billion to correct them.

Getting the money for such expansion is a problem which is putting upward pressure on current rates. In addition, metering of big users is being stepped up to keep charges in line with consumption. Users of air conditioning equipment face surcharges similar to those already scheduled for St. Louis County.

Expansion of facilities may be "too little and too late" in some cases. This summer, householders in perhaps 1,000 communities will watch their lawns turn brown in the hot sun, while city fathers ban sprinkling lest reservoirs run dry, or pressure in mains drops to a dangerously low level.

PROBLEM GROWS

"The matter of providing an adequate water supply is becoming more of a problem everywhere in the United States," warns D. P. Morse, executive vice president of Indianapolis Water Co.

During the past decade, expansions of water systems in many cities have not kept pace with zooming population. To further complicate the situation, the average person has boosted his use of water for baths, drinking, dishwashing, clothes washing and a variety of other appliance uses, while industry is gulping down huge draughts of the life-giving fluid.

Total water use in the United States soared from 175 billion gallons daily in 1945 to 262 billion gallons daily in 1955 and to an estimated 282 billion gallons daily today. By 1960, thirsty land, industry and people will be using 312.5 billion gallons of water daily, according to the United States Commerce Department.

Irrigation accounts for nearly half of the water used—a percentage which is being whittled down as industrial usage rises. Today, industry takes 10 gallons of water to produce each gallon of gasoline, 300 gallons of water to brew a gallon of beer, 3,600 gallons of water to manufacture a ton of coke, 65,000 gallons of water to pour and roll a ton of finished steel, and 600,000 gallons of water to produce a ton of synthetic rubber.

United States Steel's giant Gary Works, in Gary, Ind., pumps 550 million gallons of water into the plant daily from Lake Michigan—enough water to make a lake 10 feet deep measuring 15 city blocks in length and width. At Weirton, W. Va., Weirton Steel Co., a division of National Steel Corp., requires a pumping capacity of 265 million gallons a day to keep steel production going. Eastman Kodak Co., of Rochester, N. Y., reports it consumes enough water every day to satisfy a city of 300,000. During a peak period in the summer the Union Stockyards here will consume 5 million gallons a day while Armour & Co. plants will use 10 million gallons a day.

Paper mills use 250 tons of water for every ton of sulphite woodpulp, with most good-sized mills consuming more water in a day than would a city of 50,000

Industrial and steam power use now account for around 45 percent of total water use, compared with 39 percent in 1946 By 1970 the figure is expected to rise to about 51 percent.

Most big water consuming industries build their own water plants. Nevertheless, about a third of the water supplied by public water systems goes to industrial and commercial establishments.

Water supply now ranks with labor and transportation as a key factor in determining plant location. Some areas are being bypassed by industry because of water shortages, while water may play a big part in slowing the mushrooming growth of the Southwest.

NO COINCIDENCE

It is no coincidence that heavy water-consuming chemical plants have been locating along the Ohio and Mississippi River Basins or that one-third of the Nation's total plant spending in the past 5 years has been concentrated in the Great Lakes area.

Most people are concerned with public water supply, whether or not they have a stake in industry. Today, 17,000 water supply firms serve 120 million people, says the American Water Works Association. There's no doubht water demand is soaring.

The daily consumption of water at San Francisco for example, jumped from 67.9 million gallons daily in 1940 to 104.2 million gallons in 1950 and to 142.7 million gallons daily in 1956, reports G. W. Pracy, general manager of the San Francisco Water Department. Current capacity is 190 million gallons a day, with the city reaching 190 miles away to the Hetch Hetchy Water Reservoir for its supply.

Philadelphia Suburban Water Co. added 58,000 new customers in the past 10 years, a 60-percent increase. In Los Angeles, Burton S. Grant, assistant general manager of the department of water and power, reports daily consumption in 1956 totaled 394.7 million gallons, up 23 percent in a decade.

That same story of mounting demand could be related by almost every water department in the country. Users on public water lines drew off an estimated 18 billion gallons of water daily in 1956, compared with 17 billion in 1955 and with 12 billion in 1946. Per capita consumption now runs a little over 150 gallons daily, compared with 123 gallons in 1940.

HOUSEHOLD USE

Industrial users kick up that average. Nevertheless, the amount of water consumed in the typical American household would stagger a desert-bred Arab.

"An average of 137 gallons of total per capita daily consumption is devoted to domestic use," reports the Chicago-headquartered Council of State governments, in a 48-State water use report. That's enough water to fill 3 ordinary oil drums and still leave 13 gallons over.

Every time a toilet is flushed it takes 4 to 7 gallons of water. A shower runs about 25 gallons down the drain. Two gallons usually are used for washing dishes. An automatic dishwasher may take 25 gallons. Bathing the children takes an average 40 gallons each. The average person drinks a half to a gallon of water daily.

Waterworks managers reserve their darkest looks for the air-conditioning unit. Reason: These units are operated only a relatively short period of the year in most areas. Yet, when used, they boost peak demand sharply, and waterworks facilities must be built to service peak requirements rather than average daily consumption. Water is used chiefly in commercial and industrial air conditioners, most home units use a refrigerant.

"Because of the present low water rates and the short air conditioning season, the revenue derived from the sale of water for air conditioning purposes cannot begin to cover the annual fixed charges for construction of the large standby plant capacity needed to supply the high water demands," says H. H. Gerstein, assistant chief water engineer of the Chicago Water Department.

ENOUGH FOR A CITY

The Chicago Department of Water and Sewers estimates that a 1,000-ton unit in a commercial establishment uses 2,160,000 gallons of water a day, or about the amount of water which normally would supply the needs of a city of 20,000.

By installing water conservation equipment, the air conditioning user may slash water usage by 90 percent. Such equipment eventually may be mandatory in many cities. Chicago now is considering measures to boost rates to air-conditioner users who use water and don't have conservation equipment.

Chicago's general rate increase of one-third will be come effective May 1, with the rate per 1,000 gallons of water rising from 12 cents to 16 cents for metered customers. Affected will be 3.7 million consumers in the city plus another 678,000 consumers in the suburbs supplied by the city system.

The 9.5 percent increase which Hackensack is seeking to make permanent is necessitated by expansions made by the company to keep pace with rising demand, according to the company. Capital expenditures have averaged about $5 million annually.

DETROIT STUDIES BOOST

"An increase in water rates to suburbs now is under consideration," says G. Remus, general manager of the city of Detroit Board of Water Commissioners. Detroit currently has a $35 million expansion under way and due for completion in 1960.

Expansion is under way at other companies and water departments around the country.

"Work expected to be performed between now and 1960 will total approximately $10 million," says David V. Auld, director of sanitary engineering for the District of Columbia. This follows $45 million spending on expansion since 1948.

Denver now is engaged in a 15-year $100 million program aimed at doubling its water supply. It isn't expected, however, that usage restrictions on this water-pinched city will be lifted until 1962 when $60 million worth of work now underway will be completed.

The Miracle at Parris Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled, "The Miracle at Parris Island," written by G. Lincoln Rockwell, and appearing in the May 1957 issue of the American Mercury.

It is an exceedingly interesting and pertinent article, and one which I think every American should read.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MIRACLE AT PARRIS ISLAND

(By G. Lincoln Rockwell)

It's 4:30 a. m., but still just as dark as it was at midnight. A chilling movement of damp, night air rustles the blades of the palmetto trees on Parris Island, but there is no sound. The only human figure visible is a lonely sentry at his post.

The miracle of Parris Island is about to take place.

In wooden barracks surrounding the deserted parade ground sleep thousands of young men from all over the eastern United States. Some of them are the bright, eager, well-educated boys we like to think of as typical Americans. But many, many more of them are not what we like to picture as American youth. Some are juvenile-delinquent types, undisciplined, arrogant, and disrespectful of all authority. Some, including many high-school graduates, can't read well enough to pass third-grade reading tests. Some are in very bad physical shape—weak or fat, or both. A frightening proportion are almost totally unacquainted with old-fashioned patriotism. None of them know anything about defending their country.

At 5 a. m. these thousands of teen-agers will explode into feverish action, but now they are sleeping like the little children most of them still are at heart. Only the man who is charged with teaching these boys how to be marines—and men—is awake. At 4:30 a. m., half an hour before recruit reveille, the drill sergeant—the DI—is up, impeccably dressed and ready to show his new platoon of teen-agers what a marine is supposed to be like. He will help hustle them into the "head," out to exercise and to breakfast formation, acting as a combination mother, father, boss, teacher, sheepdog, psychiatrist and big brother. Everything he will ask them to do, he will be able to do much better. Most of his kids will get from their DI the permanent picture of an ideal Marine that they will carry with them the rest of their lives.

For almost 17 hours, this enlisted marine, this DI, will guide 70 kids through the most cataclysmic change in their lives. He will shout, cajole, wheedle, sneer, praise, lecture, beg, despair, pray, and maybe damn. He will be literally hoarse for the first week. Seven days a week, he gets up before the recuits, shepherds them through 17 hours of patience-wrenching training and sees them to bed at 9:30 p. m. Then he will sit up and plan activities for the next day. This goes on for 12 weeks.

At the end of that time, the 70 kids will be men. Gone will be the flabby bellies, the ignorance of the greatness of America, the automatic rejection of authority, the lack of purpose in life and the general softness. They will be more than men—they will be marines. Perhaps this alone should be considered the miracle—but it isn't.

The miracle of Parris Island exceeds even this accomplishment. Because at 5 a. m., when the bugle sounds reveille and those kids hit the deck, the DI will be faced with a much bigger problem than simply making marines out of teen-agers. DI's have been doing that for over a hundred years, and their success is attested by the glorious record of DI-trained marines at places like Belleau Wood, Tarawa and Iwo Jima. But today, as the DI steps into the barracks to hold reveille, he will not only have 70 difficult problems in front of him—he will have almost impossible pressure from behind.

Since the tragedy of the McKeon case, when five recruits were drowned, justified public outrage has been magnified and promoted by Communists and subversives into a conspiratorial campaign to "get" the Marine Corps. Every conceivable case of marine brutality has been magnified by disloyal elements in the press to build up public opinion for a major change—a softening—of Marine training. The Reds don't want a razor-sharp, highly patriotic Marine Corps to undermine their efforts to democratize and soften the other armed forces, nor do they want their brethren overseas to have to fight tough marines.

As usual, when the Communists decide on an objective, an enormous apparatus of hidden agents and sympathizers goes into brilliantly planned action. The pressures on Government officials become irresistible. Strangely, America's supposedly conservative newspapers like the New York Times, for instance, followed the same line that is printed in Red papers, which call the marines "storm troopers." The Times, for instance, termed marines "professional killers." This is, in a technical sense, possibly true, but there is a gangster-connotation to the term which is wholly inapplicable to the marines—and the Times know this. In the most recent article on the subject in the Times, a correspondent who was at Parris Island at the same time I was, and received the same courtesy

and access to all information, wrote two bald misstatements of fact which were publicly called lies by the commanding general. Swagger-sticks, pencil-thin wooden wands carried by Marine officers as part of the uniform, are referred to as "22-inch steel-tipped rods," and it is hinted that they are used for beating recruits.

The truth is that the pressure from public opinion and from his superiors has caused Marine Corps commandant, Gen. R. C. Bate, to set up the most extraordinary machinery to make even the slightest brutality impossible.

There is no chain of command to the generals in charge of recruit training. The commanders report directly to General Pate. And, in addition to this, he has set up a special corps of officers whose job it is to inspect the activities of DI's, constantly and unannounced. Severe and instantaneous disciplinary action is taken against any DI who is proved to have committed any act of maltreatment. The maltreatment has been so specified that, if my own children were marines, and I were their DI, I would have been court-martialed the first day. The use of any of the epithets which have been the treasured prerogatives of sergeants from time immemorial has been absolutely prohibited. General Greene, the commander of recruit training at Parris Island, is, understandably, almost violent on the subject of eliminating so-called brutality. His career is on the line, and too many incidents in the papers will ruin him. While he stands loyally and courageously by any of his DI's until they are proved to have violated the new code, he leaves nothing to the imagination of DI's when he tells them what will happen to those who swear or lay hands on a recruit.

The result is that the DI, facing 70 aggressive, high-spirited, undisciplined American teen-agers, must try to accomplish the age-old job of making disciplined marines out of them with his hands partially bound, and cotton stuffed in his mouth. He is constantly under the scrutiny of gimlet-eyed inspectors, and Parris Island abounds with correspondents trying to trap him into statements or admissions which could be used against the corps in the press. In addition, there is evidence that agents are planted in the platoons as recruits, with the job of provoking the DI—and then yelling for the press. One DI overheard four such vermin planning it all out: one was to be the dumb guy, another the wise guy, a third the cry baby, another the squealer. They would bounce the DI back and forth until his patience was exhausted.

In addition, Reds on the outside organize mothers' committees or any other group to take advantage of the natural tendency of homesick kids to write home to mom about how tough it is at Parris Island. There have been cases where recruits were hurt fighting with each other—and then blamed the bruises and cuts on the D. I.

Right or wrong, the report of the accusation in the press adds one more nail to the coffin they are trying to build for Marine Corps toughness.

The press eagerly prints every available story which might hurt the corps. How come they are not equally anxious to print the story of what the corps is doing for thousands of young men, as shown by stacks of letters like the following from two mothers?

"FEBRUARY 7, 1957.

"DEAR GENERAL LITZENBERG: I have just finished reading an article in the New York Mirror about the incident in platoon 399. I think it is about time that someone speaks out about the good points of our Marine Corps. My son, Pvt. Bernard J. Avitabile 1426350, platoon 374, is home now on leave from Parris Island. I am so proud of him I could bust. He came home 23 pounds heavier, tanned, and strong as a bull. When he left for Parris Island, he was a boy who did not know exactly what he wanted. He came home a man. He sits down and talks things out calmly. He told me all about his training and how he enjoyed every minute of it. He said 'sure, things sometimes seem impossible to accomplish but what a wonderful feeling when you succeed.' He also explained the Marine Corps has a reason for every ruling. He said on graduation day, he felt '10 feet tall.' And I might add that when he wears his uniform he looks it.

"Everyone that has seen him has remarked how good he looks. He has improved physically and mentally.

"My son does not know I have written this letter to you. I just had to write, after reading the article. I only hope other mothers, who have been as pleased as I, will write in and say so.

"You may quote any of my letter to Mr. Nelson R. Porter. I want him to know the other side of the story."

"A proud and grateful mother.

"MRS. JOHN AVITABILE.

"STATEN ISLAND, N. Y."

"WALLACE M. GREENE, JR.,
"Brigadier General, USMC.

"DEAR SIR: Thank you for your letted dated August 30, regarding our son.

"Probably it is not customary to reply to such letters and we know very little concerning military procedure, therefore we are not writing this along those lines, but as parents, to one who has given their son what they wanted him to have more than anything else.

"On May 31 we sent to Parris Island a 17-year-old boy who had many fine qualities and high intelligence and who also was the most unhappy, uncooperative, and bewildered individual that we ever dealt with. Not just an ordinary teenager with their growingup faults, but one who had his parents and teachers actually concerned.

"Just 3 months later you sent back to us, not only a marine, but the man we knew he was capable of being. Of course, like most any marine, he is sure that he had the best D. I.'s on Parris Island and so to them, to his chaplain, and the Marine Corps, we will be forever grateful that we can now be proud of our son, not only as a marine, but as a man."

Evidence like that, and the thousands of physically fit, mentally alert, disciplined, gentlemanly young Americans being graduated from Parris Island, should be more than enough proof for any impartial news medium to print the true story. This inspiring story is the miracle at Parris Island—the story that, in spite of unheard of pressure from above, and multiplied difficulties and agents provocateur from below, the D. I.'s are still making marines.

The typical D. I. works hours which would break a lesser breed of men. He gets no special pay. He can't usually have his wife or family with him, both because of the housing difficulty, and the impossibility of being with the family anyway. He gets panned in the press and hated by misinformed mothers as a brute. He is beleaguered by his officers to act like a perfect gentleman in dealing with the "dead end" type kids he must handle. He is meat for sly newspapermen who try to gain his confidence and who often lie about him. He is, in short, under more pressure than any other enlisted man in any service—and it would be relatively easy for him to escape. All kinds of psychiatrical screenings are continuously held to make sure the D. I.'s are fit to deal with the recruits, and it would be no trick to be relieved of this duty. But in spite of all this, the D. I.'s don't quit, and they don't allow impossible rules to scare them into ineffectiveness. This is not to make the slightest implication that the D. I.'s defy the orders of their officers, or that they are the least bit brutal. But they know with a sure instinct that if they preoccupied themselves with a 100 percent effort to avoid saying "damn it" at appropriate times, for instance, they would be unable to concentrate the necessary vital attention on making marines out of kids. Within the limits of human capabilities, they obey the spirit of their officer's regulations, for they know that even the slightest slip could cost them their stripes and careers—as it has for some.

I asked one D. I. out on the parade ground how he stood it—why he was trying so hard. I know it's considered corny in these days of super-sophistication to talk about glory, patriotism, and deep emotions, but I am not ashamed to admit that the sergeant's answer to my question brought a lump to my throat. I was filled with genuine love and fellow feeling for this shouting, ram-rod straight little man with a foreign-sounding name.

"How can you keep this up, month after month, with all the pressures on both sides of you, with small pay, long hours, no chance for family life, and the curses of ignorant people?" I asked.

"I'd rather be court-martialed and cashiered out of the corps than to make a poor Marine or hurt the Marine Corps, sir" he said.

When I asked him what reward, if any, he got out of his task, his answer was equally inspiring.

"Well," he said, reflecting a moment, "when I see these kids march off at graduation, looking sharp, lotsa pride in their faces, I remember what a sad bunch of slobs they was coming in. And they tell me. Most of 'em do. They tell me how much they hated me for makin' 'em learn to be good Marines, but how much they are grateful when they learn the score. Makes me feel good."

That is the miracle on Parris Island. You can get the same answer from most of the other D. I.'s—and it's reassuring to think that it is still possible to find four or five hundred men who feel like that. They—the D. I.'s—are saving the Marine Corps in its darkest hour.

It would be nice to end the article with that sentence—but it can't be done. There is, unfortunately, more.

Most of the officers and men in the corps, from the top brass to the privates, feel that they can weather this storm and regain public favor if only they try hard enough, if they eliminate every last case of maltreatment. This is like Cinderella trying to get popular with her stepmother by dressing prettily, smiling sweetly, and curtsying.

The Communists and phoney liberals are out to get the corps, and they are not going to be deterred just because the corps doesn't deserve to be got. The repeated evidences of lack of good faith on the part of the press are sufficient grounds for such a statement, but there is more. Those familiar with the Communist conspiracy will know the pattern right away. Unfortunately, professional marines have usually been too busy with military affairs to recognize the symptoms, but they are learning fast.

The only way the Marine Corps can preserve its toughness and its ability to win and save lives in combat is to educate the public to the fact that sadism is the extreme exception in Marine Corps training, and that most recruits and the country benefit enormously from the program at Parris Island and San Diego. You, as a member of the public must help. When you hear stories of marine brutality, check the facts, and reveal them in your community. The corps invites personal inspection of its program and hides nothing from anybody. Suggest that complaining mothers and fathers visit the training camp, and see for themselves.

Above all, remember that the Reds are out to get the elite corps which has helped win American freedom all over the earth. Only you, the public, can help the corps which has done so much for you. Don't let down the men who have made that miracle at Parris Island.

Lawyer Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Stewart Alsop, which appeared in the Herald Tribune of April 4, 1957, makes most interesting reading. I am sure most readers will agree good legal tactics do not necessarily make for good diplomacy:

LAWYER DULLES
(By Stewart Alsop)

WASHINGTON.—If you see him in action, it is easy to understand why Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was one of the world's most highly paid corporation lawyers. At his press conference the other day Secretary Dulles found his path liberally strewn with booby-traps, mostly placed by his admiring biographer, John Robinson Beal. It was a pleasure to watch Dulles dancing delicately around them, because it is always a pleasure to watch a first class mind in action.

Yet one could not help wondering, also, whether a brilliant lawyer does not suffer from certain liabilities as a Secretary of State. A lawyer is an advocate. His whole training prepares him to put the best possible face on a client's case, suiting his argument to the occasion and the audience.

This ingrained habit has been responsible for most of Dulles' troubles. Take the biggest boobytrap Dulles faced at his press conference, the report in the Beal book that Dulles had withdrawn the Aswan Dam aid offer "brutally, without (giving Nasser) a chance to save face," in order to force a Middle East showdown.

At his press conference, Dulles claimed that he had withdrawn the aid offer "in a courteous manner." What actually happened was this: Dulles received the Egyptian Ambassador, Achmed Hussein, who had been dispatched to Washington by Nasser to accept the American aid offer, on the afternoon of last July 19. He cited to Hussein various reasons why the United States wished to withdraw its offer (and no one disputes that there were excellent reasons for doing so). He then showed Hussein a press release citing Egyptian economic weakness as the main reason for withdrawing the offer, and asked Hussein to comment on it.

Since the statement was already prepared for release to the press, there was really nothing Hussein could say. Dulles was polite to Hussein, and the press release contained the usual protestations of "our friendship for the Egyptian people." In this purely formal sense, the manner of the withdrawal was courteous. But in real terms, it was a slap in the face for Nasser, as Nasser instantly realized.

There is no doubt at all about one main reason why Dulles slapped Nasser's face so publicly. The Aswan Dam project was at the time under the most violent attack from an alliance of rightwing Republicans and cotton State Democrats. A month before, under pressure from this alliance, Dulles had said that there was no likelihood of any United States funds being used for the project.

Letting Nasser down easily in such a way as to save his face—by saying that the project had to be reconsidered, for example—would have caused an explosion in the Senate. Dulles took office determined not to repeat his predecessor's mistake of alienating Congress, and his manner of turning Nasser down was certainly, in part, a gesture of appeasement to the antidam Senators.

Dulles also came to office, however, determined not to make his predessor's other mistake, of alienating the press and through the press the public. Domestic political appeasement may sometimes be wise, but it is not heroic foreign diplomacy. And Dulles undoubtedly did have another reason for his abrupt rebuff to Nasser—he wanted to expose the hollowness of Soviet economic aid offers to Egypt.

In private conversations with sympathetic reporters like Beal, Dulles, like a good lawyer, no doubt emphasized this more heroic aspect of the matter. And thus his rebuff to Nasser emerged not as a necessary gesture of domestic political appeasement, but as a truly major gambit in the cold war, comparable in the sphere of diplomacy to the calculated risks of war taken in Korea and Formosa.

When this sensational version of the episode caused the inevitable explosion, Dulles, the good lawyer again, shrugged off the withdrawal of the aid offer as a necessary act performed in a courteous manner. All this suggest why his critics at home, and especially abroad, use the word "disingenuous" and other, harsher adjectives, when they describe Dulles. But in his own eyes, Secretary Dulles is certainly not disingenuous at all.

He simply puts his client's case in the best possible light, depending on the audience, as he was trained to do. In a good lawyer, this is an admirable habit. But in a Secretary of State of the United States, it can cause a lot of trouble, as recent history very clearly suggests.

Sound Thinking on the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, as one who has voted consistently with the economy bloc thus far this session. I thought that my colleagues should have the benefit of two editorials that appeared in the Cleveland papers; the first from the Cleveland News of April 4 and the second from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of April 5. The editorial follows:

[From the Cleveland News of April 4, 1957]

WE'RE DISAPPOINTED IN IKE

We purposely have waited a week to learn if President Eisenhower would amend his derision of Congress' sincere attempt to reduce his $71.8-billion budget.

Lamentably, he does not.

At his weekly news conference yesterday, Mr. Eisenhower again displayed inexplicable irritation regarding economy cuts. He declared he sees "no chance" for what he called a substantial budget cut such as $2 billion.

He added he doesn't expect any startling results from the administration's own effort to trim the gargantuan budget. He spiked hopes for a tax reduction before the end of his second term, although Budget Director Brundage, and Treasury Under Secretary Burgess said Tuesday they believed "sizable" tax cuts will be justified next year.

In his latest remarks, the President does not help the cause for economy in Government—no more than he did last week when he derived attempts to cut the budget as "fatuous" and foolish piecemeal economy.

He penalizes the economy drive.

This is the same President Eisenhower who 4 years ago promised to exercise a prudent control over Government expenditures.

Frankly this newspaper, which has been a consistent supporter of Mr. Eisenhower, is keenly disappointed in the budget statements he made last week and yesterday.

By now, we and everybody can tell that public opinion throughout the country, as reflected by the unprecedented deluge of mail upon Washington, is overwhelmingly for substantial budget trimming.

Mr. Eisenhower gives every impression of going against this public opinion when he belittles economy moves within the Congress. We cannot understand his reasoning—particularly when he spoke of budget cuts ranging to $150 million as "foolish, piecemeal economy."

We do realize the necessity of adequate financing in the struggle for peace. But that does not rule out obvious ways to trim domestic expenditures and even foreign aid.

Newspaper publisher John S. Knight, one of the greatest Eisenhower adherents, writes in his personal column that the "Present Deal" of President Eisenhower will "go far beyond anything ever contemplated by Presidents Roosevelt and Truman." Mr. Knight also declares that "it is tragic, indeed, that a man like Eisenhower, a self-proclaimed economic conservative, has forsaken his earlier convictions for a philosophy of government that is unsound and fraught with peril."

We do not quite embrace this extreme gloom.

We do say respectfully to the President that, instead of deriding attempts to trim his budget, he should return immediately to his original role as an economy advocate and support with all the power of his executive office Congress' effort to reduce governmental costs wherever and in whatever amount it can be done without endangering national security or any vital Federal service.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer of April 5, 1957]

UNCONTROLLED SPENDING

In two moves this week Senator HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat, Virginia, has shown how Congress has lost control over annual Federal expenditures.

One was a compilation of 26 new spending programs which he found in President Eisenhower's record peacetime budget. Congress is being asked to authorize more than $3 billion for these programs, although only about $700 million would be spent in the first year. These new programs, along with the expansion of 15 others, constitute "a spending spree that will continue inflation and increase the cost of living," BYRD said.

The new programs all have their good points, in that they are aimed at achieving desirable objectives, such as building schools, preventing juvenile delinquency, planting trees, promoting medical and dental education, etc. But are they necessary? Could we get along without them? Moreover, once started, they would be likely to continue indefinitely, to expand in scope and to become ever-growing burdens on the taxpayer. And once Congress commits itself to these programs, it loses control of them, since it is virtually impossible to abolish a Federal spending project.

In his other move calling attention to Congress' loss of control over Federal spending, BYRD revealed that Federal agencies will start the next fiscal year with $70 billion of unexpended balances while the Administration is asking for $73,300,000,000 in new spending authority. Thus, the Administration has so much money to play around with, that even if Congress cuts the new requests in half, it could still spend the $71,800,000,000 it proposes to get rid of next year and have money left over.

To remedy this situation, BYRD announced the introduction of a resolution to restore congressional authority over expenditures. This would require all appropriations to be consolidated in one bill and it would also place an annual limitation on the amounts

that could be spent, both from current appropriations and the unexpended balances of previous appropriations.

These proposed reforms will have to be adopted eventually if Federal spending is ever to be controlled, if there is ever to be another tax cut, if a start is ever to be made on a reduction of the Federal debt.

President Eisenhower, we believe, is out of touch with the people when he says that the people are demanding the new services which his budget projects. What the people are demanding, in our opinion, is less Federal spending and lower taxes.

Federal Civilian Personnel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Council of State Chambers of Commerce issue a bulletin from time to time entitled "Federal Spending Facts." Statistical material therein is collected by the council's research director, Eugene P. Rinta, and is consistently reliable. The most recent bulletin describes Federal civilian personnel as "one of the fatty areas in the 1958 budget." The bulletin takes a strong stand favoring S. 1683 which would set a ceiling of 2,125,000 on the number of employees of the executive branch of the Government. Perhaps legislation of such inflexibility would not permit that branch to meet the needs of changing situations. I have in mind the futility say, of placing a ceiling on Post Office Department personnel. Two and one-half million new Americans every year simply means expansion to meet new service demands. The same is true of many other areas of government. But the bulletin does give a vivid picture of the savings possible from even a lesser number of personnel cutbacks which do not involve constriction of essential service or inhibition of necessary expansions to meet population growth. Pertinent text extracts and tables from the bulletin are as follows:

RECENT TRENDS IN FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

At the outbreak of the Korean war in June 1950 there were 1,951,579 paid civilian employees in the departments and agencies which constitute the executive branch of the Government according to current reports of the Civil Service Commission.

The fluctuation in employment since June 1950 is shown in Table I with totals broken down to civilian personnel in the Defense Department and those in other departments and agencies:

TABLE I

	Total	Defense Department [1]	Other
June 1950	1,951,579	753,149	1,198,430
June 1951	2,475,154	1,235,498	1,239,656
June 1952	2,589,477	1,337,095	1,252,382
June 1953	2,473,078	1,257,657	1,215,421
June 1954	2,381,700	1,208,900	1,172,800
June 1955	2,371,373	1,186,535	1,184,838
June 1956	2,372,001	1,179,836	1,192,165

[1] Includes some 40,000 or more employees each year engaged in Army civil functions.

The Korean war mobilization accounted for the sharp rise in civilian employment from June 1950 to June 1952. After July 1952, employment began to recede until June 1954, after which it leveled off except for seasonal changes. From June 1954 to June 1956, there was a further reduction of 29,064 in the Defense Department but this reduction was largely offset by an increase of 19,365 in other agencies. This increase brought employment in nondefense activities back to about the June 1950 level which marked the height of the Truman Fair Deal program.

HOUSE COMMITTEE SUGGESTS 2,000,000 EMPLOYEES AS ADEQUATE

During the past several Congresses the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee has been charged by the House with the responsibility of reviewing manpower utilization in the executive departments and agencies. In 1955 the committee appointed a subcommittee headed by Representative JAMES C. DAVIS of Georgia, to intensify and expand its work in this field.

This subcommittee issued an interim report July 27, 1956, in which it asserted:

"All the essential tasks of the Government can be done with 2 million or less employees. This employment level can be reached if the departments and agencies will develop and implement an effective manpower program based on the functional approach as recommended by the committee."

BUT THE 1958 BUDGET INCREASES PERSONNEL

Civilian personnel in the executive branch will reach a total of 2,418,461 by June 1957, according to present estimates and the 1958 budget calls for a further net increase to 2,447,933 by June 1958.

A comparison of positions budgeted for the end of fiscal year 1958 with the actual positions at the end of fiscal 1956 last June 30 shows that increases are planned in 57 departments and agencies while decreases appear in only 13 agencies.

There will be a net decrease of 9,601 civilian employees in military functions of the Defense Department resulting from reductions in the Army, Air Force, and the Office of the Secretary, and an increase in the Navy.

Table II shows the personnel totals at the end of fiscal 1956 and the end of fiscal 1958 for all nonmilitary departments and agencies for which an increase in personnel is budgeted. These personnel figures, which were compiled by the Bureau of the Budget, show a total increase in personnel of 85,655.

The cost of salaries and other expenses of 85,655 employees is approximately $450 million. Thus if the aggregate employment in these departments and agencies were held to the June 1956 total, there would be a personnel savings of $450 million in the 1958 budget.

SENATOR JOHNSTON PROPOSES PERSONNEL CUT THROUGH NORMAL ATTRITION

On March 21 Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, introduced a bill, S. 1683, which would produce a substantial budget reduction. The purpose of his bill is twofold. First, it provides for a reduction in personnel that is painless insofar as individual employees are concerned. Second, it sets a ceiling at 2,125,000 on the number of employees in the executive branch.

The reduction of personnel will be accomplished by a prohibition against the filling of any more than 25 percent of the job vacancies which occur. This prohibition will remain effective until the total number of employees has been reduced to the ceiling of 2,125,000.

The Director of the Bureau of the Budget is the key official charged with administering this personnel reduction program. He is given a responsibility for making continuing studies of the personnel needs of the executive departments and agencies and is also charged with deciding which vacancies should be filled within the 25-percent limitation. Under this provision of the bill, the budget director could approve the filling of more than 25 percent of the vacancies which occur in the more essential and efficient activities. But to the extent this were done, some less essential or less efficient agencies or units would have to get along with the filling of fewer than one-fourth of their vacancies.

WHAT S. 1683 WOULD MEAN IN DOLLAR SAVINGS

The reduction in employees from the June 30, 1957, level to the proposed ceiling of 2,125,000 would mean elimination of 293,461 positions. On a full-year basis this would produce a budget savings of about $1.5 billion.

Assuming that it would take 16 months beginning July 1, 1957, to bring the employment total down to the ceiling, about 218,400 positions would be eliminated by the end of fiscal year 1958. If this reduction occurred evenly through the year at about 18,200 a month, the savings in the 1958 budget would be close to $600 million.

TABLE II.—*Projected increase in executive branch personnel (excluding Department of Defense military functions)*

	Employment at end of fiscal year		Increase, 1958 over 1956
	1956 (actual)	1958 (estimated)	
Executive Office of the President:			
The White House Office	372	405	33
Bureau of the Budget	430	472	42
Office of Defense Mobilization	259	265	6
Other	132	190	58
Departments:			
Agriculture	89,398	101,530	12,132
Commerce	47,175	59,899	12,724
Defense, Army civil functions	43,140	47,044	3,904
Health, Education, and Welfare	45,058	54,666	8,608
Interior	54,145	59,066	4,921
Justice	30,876	31,316	440
Labor	5,800	6,350	541
Post Office	508,587	528,000	19,413
State	22,237	23,575	1,338
Treasury	77,791	81,241	3,450
Other agencies:			
Atomic Energy Commission	6,637	7,166	529
Civil Aeronautics Board	600	730	130
Civil Service Commission	4,254	4,840	586
Export-Import Bank of Washington	172	217	45
Federal Civil Defense Administration	1,078	2,094	1,016
Federal Communications Commission	1,116	1,232	116
Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service	346	347	1
Federal Power Commission	720	800	80
Federal Trade Commission	641	835	194
General Services Administration	26,426	30,397	3,971
Housing and Home Finance Agency	10,162	11,591	1,429

TABLE II.—*Projected increase in executive branch personnel (excluding Department of Defense military functions)*—Continued

	Employment at end of fiscal year		Increase, 1958 over 1956
	1956 (actual)	1958 (estimated)	
Other agencies—Con.			
International Cooperation Administration	10,168	10,500	332
Interstate Commerce Commission	1,907	2,371	464
National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics	7,861	8,820	959
National Capital Housing Authority	258	274	16
National Labor Relations Board	1,128	1,158	30
National Mediation Board	107	111	4
National Science Foundation	251	331	80
Railroad Retirement Board	2,222	2,440	218
St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation	36	192	156
Securities and Exchange Commission	734	974	240
Selective Service System	6,860	6,992	132
Small Business Administration	821	1,279	458
Smithsonian Institution	1,089	1,169	80
Tariff Commission	208	220	12
Tax Court of the United States	146	151	5
Tennessee Valley Authority	14,708	17,590	2,882
U. S. Information Agency	10,821	13,041	2,220
Veterans' Administration	176,653	178,270	1,617
Miscellaneous	88	121	33
Total	1,214,617	1,300,272	85,655

Mideast Showdown Must Come Quickly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, recently I placed remarks in the RECORD on the subject of American and U. N. commitments to Israel because of Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza strip and the Gulf of Aqaba. I recently found an article in the Detroit Jewish News by a distinguished journalist, my good friend, Mr. Philip Slomovitz. That article, entitled "Mideast Showdown Must Come Quickly," sets forth still further reasons why the United States and the U. N. have incurred a very real duty to guard against injury to Israel resulting from her compliance with the resolutions of the U. N. and the desires of the United States.

The article follows:

[From the Detroit (Mich.) Jewish News of March 29, 1957]

MIDEAST SHOWDOWN MUST COME QUICKLY

We are so far removed from a solution in the Middle East that it is proper to ask that our Government take firm steps to assure just approaches to the Israel-Arab issue and to insist upon strict adherence by the Eisenhower administration to certain assurances given Israel to protect her right on land and on sea.

Three editorials of the past week emphasized the urgency of the issue. The Detroit News found it necessary to challenge the complacency of the Eisenhower administration when it declared:

"Some weeks ago when Israel was ignoring United Nations' request that she give up occupied Egyptian territory, Washington hummed with tension. Today while Egypt no less flagrantly violates the spirit of the U. N. settlement, moving as rapidly as possible toward the resumption of hostilities against Israel, Washington remains remarkably calm.

"What has happened to the spirit of righteousness that rang from the President's speeches denouncing Israel's defiance?

"One change is obvious and significant. It was President Eisenhower who publicly took charge of breaking the Israel-U. N. deadlock. It was his voice that affirmed so strongly the rights and wrongs of the conflict. It was he who demanded quick action and who gave weight to the talk of possible economic sanctions. Today the President is silent. The Middle East is again in the hands of the professional diplomats."

At the same time, the New York Times reviewed the record relating to the existing situation and warned that the United States and the United Nations must act in accordance with the assurances given Israel—assurances which led to Israeli assumptions that they were pledges, but which nevertheless resulted in denials by the United States spokesmen in Washington and at the U. N. that they had made any promises to Israel. The following review of the record, in the New York Times editorial Middle East: the Record, will guide the citizens of this country in reaching their own conclusions whether promises had been made:

"The new tension arises because Egypt's President Nasser has taken over the administration of the Gaza strip; because he is moving troops equipped with new Soviet arms to the area from which Egypt launched its main guerrilla attacks against Israel; because he proclaims a continued blockade of Israeli shipping in both the Strait of Tiran and the Suez Canal on the basis of belligerent rights derived from a continued state of war; and because he asserts not only unrestricted control of the Suez Canal but also the right to use it as an instrument of Egyptian politics.

"Now, the United States and the United Nations have not only expressed hopes and expectations concerning all these issues. They have assumed definite commitments involving their good faith.

"These commitments are contained in the following pronouncements:

1

"The basic resolution of the United Nations General Assembly of November 11, 1956, which, in calling for a cease-fire and withdrawal of the invading forces, also called on all parties 'to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements' * * * to desist from raids across the armistice lines * * * 'to refrain from introducing military goods into the area' and 'to restore secure freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal.'"

2

"The General Assembly resolution of November 5, 1956, which established United Nations Emergency Force 'to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms' of the resolution of November 2."

3

"Secretary General Hammarskjold's report of November 6, endorsed by the General Assembly, that it would be the function of the United Nations force 'to help maintain quiet during and after the withdrawal of non-Egyptian forces.'"

4

"Mr. Hammarskjold's report of January 24 that in view of the armistice agreements and a Security Council decision 'the parties to the armistice agreement may be considered as not entitled to claim belligerent rights'; his report of January 16 that 'the international significance of the Gulf of Aqaba may be considered to justify the right of innocent passage through the Strait of Tiran and the gulf in accordance with recognized rules of international law'; his report of February 22, that 'the takeover of Gaza from the military and civilian control of Israel * * * in the first instance would be exclusively by the United Nations Emergency Force,' and his report of March 8 that 'until further arrangements are made, the United Nations Emergency Force has assumed responsibility for civil affairs in the Gaza Strip.'"

5

"Ambassador Lodge's statement to the General Assembly on January 28 that 'under the armistice agreement and pursuant to the Security Council decisions, neither side may assert belligerent rights, much less engage in hostile actions.'"

6

"The United States memorandum to Israel dated February 11 and 'the future of the Gaza strip is to be worked out through the efforts and good offices of the United Nations,' and that 'the United States believes that the Gulf of Aqaba comprehends international waters and that no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the gulf and through the straits giving access thereto.'"

7

"President Eisenhower's statement of February 20 that 'The United States would be glad to urge and support some participation by the United Nations, with the approval of Egypt, in the administration of the Gaza strip' * * * to assure that the strip 'could no longer be used as a source of armed infiltration and reprisals'; that 'we should not assume that * * * Egypt will prevent Israeli shipping from using the Suez Canal or the Gulf of Aqaba' * * * and that, 'if, unhappily, Egypt, does hereafter violate the armistice agreement or other international obligations, then this should be dealt with firmly by the society of nations.'"

8

"President Eisenhower's letter to Premier Ben-Gurion assuring that 'Israeli will have no cause to regret' its withdrawal * * *?

"This is the record, and these are the commitments. The United Nations and the United States will be judged by the way they live up to them."

The sentiments we have just quoted appear to represent the general consensus of opinion of the country at large. The Detroit Free Press editorially challenged "Secretary Dulles on communiques" and declared:

"Secretary of State Dulles and Mrs. Golda Meir, Israel's Foreign Minister, conferred nearly 2 hours Monday. After that, Mrs. Meir spent upward of another hour with Mr. Dulles' subordinates, and a communique was issued.

"It announced a scoreless tie.

"When reporters pointed out to Mr. Dulles that the communique left a great deal unanswered, the Secretary replied that 'we do not answer all questions in communiques.'

"Mr. Dulles would have been several country miles nearer the truth about his Department had he said that its communiques never answered any question at all, for the very simple reason that Mr. Dulles never has any answers to give.

"In this instance, nobody knows what is covered by the moral commitments Mrs. Meir was talking about.

"A great deal that is of consequence to America, its future and conceivably the affairs of its individual citizens are at stake in the Middle East. If anybody finds out what we're doing and what we stand for out there, notify Mr. Dulles at once.

"We're sure it would be news to him."

These challenges and résumés of the situation speak for themselves. The old Lincolnian warning that "you can't fool all of the people all the time" remains valid. In spite of denials, it is on the record that Israel has been given assurances of protection against assaults from the war-threatening neighbors who encircle her. These promises must be adhered to—without further shenanigans.

The President Finally Decides Small Business Is Here To Stay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, this administration has taken a number of conflicting positions on the matter of making the Small Business Administration a permanent agency.

This administration has maintained for years that the Small Business Administration should be continued on a temporary basis, apparently on the assumption that small business might go away.

It is true, of course, that the present Big Business Cabinet has done its full share in trying to help big business become even bigger and, at the same time, small business to become ever smaller.

A full 95 percent of Federal research funds goes to companies employing more than 500 workers. In the past 3 years, research contracts totaling $4.7 billion have been awarded. Of this $4.6 billion, or 98.1 percent, has gone to the 500 largest contractors.

These and other equally interesting facts were developed by the House Small Business Committee under the skilled and able leadership of Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Representative ABRAHAM J. MULTER, and others.

The first straw in the wind that this administration had decided that small business was here to stay and that the Small Business Administration should be permanent was the statement by Wendell Barnes that he favored such a course. Mr. Barnes made his earth-shaking announcement before the Multer subcommittee of the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives on March 26, 1957.

Just a few days previously he had testified before the Senate Small Business Committee to the exact opposite—that is, that the SBA should be continued on a temporary basis rather than be made a permanent agency.

Now we were to see a parade of administration big-wigs before the Multer subcommittee testifying that the Small Business Administration should be a permanent agency.

On Thursday, April 4, the administration bill to make the Small Business Administration permanent was introduced in the Senate and House.

This agency, it is now argued by the administration, should be given permanent status, it is 4 years old, and has proved its effectiveness in all respects. If made permanent, the SBA will be able to attract more competent personnel, banks will more willingly participate in loans to small business, its procurement activities in behalf of small business can be expanded, and so on.

These things are so obvious that it is utterly impossible to understand why it took this Republican administration and the President so long to arrive at this unassailable conclusion.

Well, better late than never, I always say.

Of course, I introduced a bill, H. R. 2513, on January 10, 1957, to make the Small Business Administration a permanent Government agency, so administration support is welcome for my position, even though it is almost exactly 3 months late.

I include here a statement by George Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business. This organization has been campaigning for years to make the SBA an independent permanent agency.

Also, I include an article by Drew Pearson from the Washington Post and Times Herald of April 1, 1957. Mr. Pearson reports on the matter of tax relief promised by the Republican Party.

Mr. Pearson also has some very interesting things to say about Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, who is a member of the Loan Policy Board of the Small Business Administration:

STATEMENT OF GEORGE J. BURGER, VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS, BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 2, HOUSE SMALL BUSINESS COMMITTEE, SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, MARCH 28, 1957

I am George J. Burger, vice president and Washington representative of the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc. I am appearing here solely for the membership of the federation.

We represent independent business and professional people in all vocations from all parts of the country. We have the largest directly supporting membership of any business organization in the country.

Our position on legislation is dictated directly by our membership. We poll our members on all important issues, and are committed by their majority vote.

The federation, of course, has a vital stake in seeing to it that the operation of the Small Business Administration is carried out in accordance with the will of the Congress. In view of this, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it might be well to do as the late Al Smith often said: "Let's look at the record" as it pertains to the actions of the federation since the Small Business Administration was created by the Congress, to make certain that the agency has carried out the will of the Congress in its help to small business of this Nation.

First. The record will show that in our appearances before the Banking Committees of the Congress we recommended the creation of the agency, and more important, that it be an independent agency, subject at all times to review by the Congress. This was the action we took in 1953.

In view of the statement made before your committee by the Administrator, Mr. Barnes, a day or two ago, that the administration favors the agency being made a permanent agency of the Government, if this recommendation is followed up by the Congress in making the Small Business Administration a permanent agency, with full control vested in the Administrator will result in increasing the efficiency of the operation of the agency which will act as a morale builder for small business of this Nation, and the establishment of the agency on a permanent basis will also attract more competent personnel.

Second. Shortly after the agency was created in the summer of 1953, I made my usual annual visit to the head office of the federation at Burlingame, Calif., and during the time of this visit out there I had an opportunity to visit some few regional offices of the visit to the head office of the federation at Burlingame, Calif., and during the time of this visit out there I had on opportunity to visit some few regional offices of the agency and confer with the regional directors. Mr. Chairman at the time of these visits I always make it a must to be accompanied by some one else so that whatever my findings are they can be confirmed by others present.

During our visits to the regional offices of the Small Business Administration in the West and Middle West we found a situation as to policy that was not in keeping with the intent of Congress, and as a result of our findings on my return to Washington a joint meeting was held with Treasury and Commerce officials on October 26, 1953, which resulted in a complete change of policy through which all small business could be helped through the SBA. I might say that in November 1953 the press gave full publicity to that action. Shortly thereafter Mr. Wendell Barnes became the Administrator.

Third. During the life of the agency the closest liaison has existed between the Washington office of the Federation and the top officials of the agency. Many conferences have been held with Br. Barnes and his deputies—all in keeping with the intent of being a help to the agency, and we believe the information we have been getting from our nationwide membership, commonly referred to as the grassroots has tended to advance the standing of the Small Business Administration with small business throughout the Nation. During these past 3 years we have made it our business to visit regional offices of the agency throughout the Nation for the sole purpose of finding out what was taking place at the local level.

Fourth. On July 5, 1956, speaking for the Federation, I conferred with Dr. Arthur Burns, Economic Adviser to the President, and presented to him as Chairman of the President's Cabinet Committee on Small Business, seven specific recommendations on small business to be considered by his group when they made their report to the President. Among the recommendations made by us were (1) that the agency be made a permanent agency of the Government, and (2) that the control of the agency be placed exclusively in the hands of the Administrator,

eliminating the policy board as heretofore existing in that agency. In making the above recommendations we reaffirmed the recommendations which we made from the first instance when the legislation was proposed.

Fifth. In our appearances before the platform committees of both national conventions—in Chicago and San Francisco, 1956—we urged these committees to have the same recommendations adopted in their respective platforms.

Sixth. On December 11, 1956, I had a 2-hour conference with Mr. Barnes and his deputy, at which time I gave to them our recent findings after personal visits to regional offices of SBA in certain sections of the Nation. As a result of that 2-hour-or-more conference we believe that SBA is showing a steady progress in carrying out the will of the Congress. However, there is still plenty of room for improvement. The subject matters discussed during this conference were: (1) Tight money, (2) inventory, (3) credit formula, (4) direct loans, (5) advisory groups, (6) ceiling on loans.

Seventh. On the opening of the new Congress we urged introduction of legislation to make the agency a permanent one, with full power as to the overall policy of the agency being placed in the hands of the Administrator. We are more than pleased to advise that quite a few bills have been introduced along the line of these recommendations, and we have just completed a nationwide poll of our entire membership on S. 545 introduced by Senator THYE, and H. R. 2513 introduced by the Honorable FRANK THOMPSON, JR., both of which bills provide for the establishment of the Small Business Administration as a permanent agency, and with full control vested in the Administrator. The result of the poll disclosed: 83 percent for, 14 percent against, 3 percent no vote.

It is our hope that at no time will Congress ever permit the agency to become a part of the Department of Commerce.

Of course, there are many other operations the Small Business Administration can fulfill and carry out, such as making greater and greater efforts toward securing an equal share of Government contracts for small business, even if necessary, to take the prime contract.

There is another important recommendation which should be considered, and that is that the regional and national advisory groups to the Small Business Administration should be made up exclusively of independent businessmen because through this action those groups will be able to give to the agency, both at the national and local levels the correct picture facing small business in the respective areas. We look upon this as very important for a successful administration of the agency. It is with this operation of the agency at this time that we have our most grevious complaint, and to substantiate—within the past week we have received statements from members of the advisory groups to the Small Business Administration—1 from the west coast, and 1 from the east coast.

The report from the west coast states: "I am a member of the advisory board and have been for several years. At no time has the regional director ever called a meeting of the advisory group, which was the original intent and purpose expressed to us at the time we were appointed. The area covered by this board is quite extensive and we don't know anything about the situation down there, whether small-business men need help in one category or another. All it is is a setup as an office, with a lot of bulletins, etc. But small-business men come to me week after week advising of the problems on which they need help. The whole situation, as it reflects to small business in that area is that SBA is not operating for the interest of small business in that area. There has been no meeting of the advisory board in that area in 2 years."

As it relates to the loan policy in that area, the west coast report states: "A Member of Congress from this area recently said at the time Barnes was up for extra money that he was very pleased to know banks in his area were cooperating with SBA. This does not check with my personal knowledge of the situation. A few small, independent banks are cooperating but none of the large banks or big chain banks will do business with SBA in participating in any loans."

From the east, the member of the Advisory Board is well informed in the financial world. As the loan situation applies in his area, he states: "SBA is not credited within our county, in my opinion, as being sympathetic in their approach to loan applicants or loan applications. They appear to treat the applicant, as well as an application, in the same light that the ordinary commercial bank analyzes it (there is no need for SBA unless that agency is going to take a different approach)."

I might say, Mr. Chairman, at this point, that this was the same reaction I received last summer in Chicago, San Francisco, etc.

The east coast advisory board member further states: "If SBA was really trying to get the small-business man to consider that agency as a helpful medium, they most certainly have not been successful. Disparaging remarks seem to be predominant not only among loaning officers in the commercial banks, but also the small-business man."

Mr. Chairman, he constructively criticizes the agency and, bear in mind he is a member of the advisory committee, but at the same time he goes further. He makes these recommendations:

"1. Their approach to making loans should be the same as the personal-loan companies; which is, only when they have losses do they really know and believe that they are doing a job. If they try to avoid making losses, it is because they are not making the necessary volume of loans that they were created for.

"2. Hire a couple of top-grade personal-loan men in the loanmaking division of SBA—they will show them how to get loan applications and make them."

It was very encouraging to hear members of the committee during the past day or two of hearings remark that when this agency is made permanent it will be able to attract competent personnel and this was the same opinion expressed by some members of the Senate Small Business Committee during their recent hearings on the Small Business Administration.

We have noted, and the Small Business Administration is to be commended for the action they have taken in the issuance of publications for distribution which provide information as an aid to small business. We also recommend that this action be continued and improved upon as time goes on.

As the views I have expressed come from the grassroots we trust that Congress will take early action in following through on such recommendations.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of April 1, 1957]

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

(By Drew Pearson)

TAX RELIEF KILLED BY WHITE HOUSE

One of the GOP campaign pledges pounded on prior to November 6 was aid for small business. President Eisenhower promised at Lexington, Ky., on October 1: "I shall call for further help to small business with some dozen specific recommendations for action, including special tax measures." He also said on October 22 that he planned to ask Congress to give small-business men about $600 million in tax relief.

Last week, however, Republicans lined up almost solid against an amendment to the tax bill by Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas, giving 8-percent tax relief to small business netting up to $25,000. The final vote was 52 to 33 against the amendment.

Cleveland tycoons

Cyrus Eaton of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad and the Cleveland investment firm, Otis & Co., had a recent private huddle with top Democratic leaders regarding another well-known Clevelander, Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey.

Eaton urged a full Senate investigation of Humphrey, pointed out that the Secretary of the Treasury has not sold his stock in his farflung M. A. Hanna Co., said the stock had appreciated some $800 million while Humphrey was in the Treasury, and that almost everything the Treasury handled affected Humphrey's private interests in one way or other.

Foreign business firms, he pointed out, had in some cases purchased coal from Humphrey's Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Co., largest coal company in the world, because their countries had to do important business with the Secretary of the Treasury. Humphrey is a member of the board which controls the Export-Import Bank from which many countries have to borrow money.

Later, Eaton wrote a private letter to the Senators, dated March 9, which follows:

Sixty-billion-dollar orbit

"A further illustration of the manner in which George Humphrey continually uses his high public post to buttress his private business interests is provided by the recent preemption of top offices of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland by Humphrey henchmen.

"First, Arthur VanBuskirk, a director of Humphrey's Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Co., was made chairman of the bank. This was swiftly followed by the naming of J. H. Thompson, president of Humphrey's M. A. Hanna Co., as vice chairman of the bank. With these adroit moves, another powerful financial institution boasting assets of $4,755,000,000 was added to the Humphrey orbit, to bring to the incredible total of $60,755,000,000 the combined assets of the corporations interlocked by officers and directors in the Humphrey-Hanna-Pittsburgh consol group.

"This does not tell the whole story, however, for there are other companies in which Humphrey exercises great influence without representation among officers and directors.

"Since the Secretary of the Treasury holds office by virtue of Senate approval, does not the Senate have a continuing moral obligation to take corrective action when the Secretary constantly uses his official public position to further his private business fortunes?"

Around the World in 80 Days

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, Washington is host today to the famous Hollywood producer, Mr. Mike Todd. He is here for the Washington premiere of the award-winning motion picture Around the World in 80 Days. I am sure my colleagues join with me in welcoming him to Washington on this occasion.

Around the World in 80 Days, which Mr. Todd produced, has received the academy award as the best picture of

the year, and similar awards from the New York film critics, Associated Press, Good Housekeeping magazine, Cosmopolitan magazine, Parents' Magazine, and a host of other honors. The picture also received academy awards for best film editing, best musical score, best screen play and best color cinematography.

This outstanding motion picture will bring entertainment to millions of people in our country and abroad, and is an example of the outstanding quality of pictures produced by our motion picture industry. Mr. Todd's production will not only provide entertainment, but will help to bring American good will to people all over the world.

I congratulate Mr. Todd for this splendid film which I hope all of my colleagues will have an opportunity to see.

Public School No. 11 of Jersey City, N. J., Celebrates a Century of Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is said that Public School No. 11 on Bergen Square in Jersey City stands on the oldest site continuously dedicated to education in the United States. Dutch settlers used the land almost 300 years ago to set up a school in 1662.

Since then five schools have been built on the same spot. Public School No. 11 is the fifth of these schools. A statue of Peter Stuyvesant flanks the entrance to the school.

It is thought that no site in the country has served as a seat of learning for so long a time. This in spite of the first Latin grammar school founded in New England in 1635 and Harvard College in 1636 and William and Mary in Virginia in 1693. Does not the Good Book say "the children shall lead them"?

That is why I rise at this time, Mr. Speaker, to thank Mayor Berry and the able and distinguished and the alert and the brave City Commission of Jersey City for taking the time and the initiative to help Public School No. 11 celebrate a century of education.

In a few days, on April 10 and 11, the mayor and the city commission and the people of Jersey City, its children, parents, teachers, businessmen, and all the residents of the community will take part in the 100th anniversary activities of Public School No. 11. It promises to be a magnificent manifestation of a people's love for learning and for leading their children into courageous inspired and useful lives.

The people of Jersey City will attest on April 10 and 11 their faith in the public-school system. It has formed a single people out of many races, nations, and creeds. We see the spirit of that system at work on the floor of this House. God preserve it.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, may I say that Public School No. 11 holds a dear place in my heart. I started school there at the age of 6 in 1917. I reported for military service there in 1942. In April of 1950, I campaigned for Congress in its auditorium. In March of 1951, after my election to Congress and my return from Korea, in this same auditorium, I expressed my profound appreciation to the people of Jersey City for their helpfulness in all things worthwhile. The noble, the religious, and the democratic are at work in our hearts when our educational system is at its best. Was it not Jefferson who said:

> Enlighten the people generally and tyranny and oppression of both mind and body vanish—education makes a people easy to lead but difficult to drive, easy to govern but impossible to enslave.

So be it. This salutes, too, the mayor and the City Commission of Jersey City for building 5 new schools in 6 years.

First Grapevines in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, one of the little-known facts concerning the founding of Jamestown in 1607, the 350th anniversary of which is being commemorated this year, is that numbered among Capt. John Smith's crew were two men of Croatian descent. They were the first of many thousands of people of Slav descent who came to the New World to make their homes. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by John C. Sciranka which appeared in Frankford Bulletin, published in Philadelphia. In his article Mr. Sciranka quotes Mr. Vlaho S. Vlahovic, a well-known American Yugoslav publicist and my very close personal friend. The article is as follows:

Recently I mentioned the Croatan Island in Virginia, stating that it was named in honor of the Croatians. I stated this in connection with the history of Capt. John Smith and the first two Slovaks, Juraj Mata and Jan Bogdan, who came to Jamestown on September 25, 1608, on the ship *God Speed* to help Smith build the first permanent English settlement in the New World. Now, my good friend and a well-known American Yugoslav publicist, Vlaho S. Vlahovic of New York City, congratulating me on my recent contributions to the history of the early Americans, gives me the following important historical data:

"The Republic of Dubrovnik, better known as Ragusa, in the early 15th century boasted of one of the largest merchant fleets in the world. Her navigators and seafarers were highly in demand by every power in the world. Documents here in America attest to this fact and in particular to the heavy recruiting by Russia of Yugoslav shipbuilding experts from regions of Dubrovnik and Kotor along the Dalmatian coast."

Vlahovic further continues that "the Dubrovnikians (Ragusans) sailed to America with Sir Walter Raleigh's band of colonists in 1587. All given names of crew and passengers, of course, were in English." Vlahovic explains that in those days it was a practice among Dubrovnikians to have their names translated into the language of their adopted country so that they would be considered citizens of it. This is evident from the Italianized names of many Dubrovnikian and Dalmatian nobles. For example, the Slav Gundulic became Italian Gondola; Gradic was changed to Gradi, Bunic to Bona, Pucic to Pozza, etc.

What lends credence to the belief that Yugoslavs comprised Raleigh's crew is the statement in the memoirs of Governor White of the "Lost Colony," now known as Roanoke Island is that the word "Croatoan" was found carved on a tree trunk.

On his return to America in 1590, Governor White noted: "* * * We found * * * the place strongly enclosed with high palisades of great trees, with curtains of flankers (very fort-like), and one of the chief trees * * * at the entrance had the bark taken off and 5 feet from the ground, in fair capital letters, was engraved 'Croatoan' without any cross or sign of distress."

Historians and writers have frequently misspelled Croatoan as Croatan. This English spelling of Hrvat (Croat) is the earliest historical record pointing to the presence of Yugoslavs (at least members of the Croatian branch) in the new world.

Dr. Hawk, in the History of North Carolina, observed that Indians of the State spoke of the certain tribe as Hateras Indians, or Croatoan Indians as the English knew them. Hamilton McMillan, in 1880 wrote that "these Indians had traditions of vessels wrecked in past times. Children with auburn hair and blue eyes were noticed among them, which impressed the belief they had communicated with white people."

Much of this is corroborated in the record of an exploration made by John Lawson in 1709. He noted that "Indians who lived on Roanoke Island, or much frequented this locality, tell us that several of their ancestors were white people and could talk in book as we do. The truth of this is confirmed by grey eyes being frequently found among these Indians."

There are records preserved in the archives of the city of Dubrovnik, known in history as Ragusa, in Yugoslavia, which show that about 1540, a fleet of sailing ships left the Republic of Dubrovnik bound for America.

American historian Lawson concurs that "a wreck of a ship was found there (Roanoke Island) about 20 years before the arrival of the Colonists. A previous wreck in 1558 mentioned "some of the crew were saved."

Vlahovic further states to me another factor: "The oldest known grapevine in America (still producing delicious grapes) is located on the island close to the spot where the lost colony is believed to have landed. Governor White noted that this grapevine was bearing abundant fruit in 1590 which supports my contention that those preceding the Colonists could have been Croatians." Vlahovic further states that "transplanting grapevines is a custom with Dubrovnikian and Dalmatian navigators * * * When a Dubrovnikian or Dalmatian sailor embarked on a long voyage he frequently took with him seedlings, roots, and plants, especially grapevine cuttings. These he would sow or transplant into the soil of whatever country he visited. When returning home he would bring back seeds, shrubs, and strange fruit trees."

This was a wonderful example which should be followed by our men and women of our United States defense forces.

The wirter is very happy to acknowledge with thanks and appreciation the vast contribution of Mr. Vlaho S. Vlahovic, an American of Yugoslav extraction who dedicated his life to research on the contribution of Slavs to the growth and progress of America.

President Rhee Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, President Syngman Rhee is a great statesman, a heroic patriot, and a perennial challenge to the conscience of all men who love freedom.

The President of Korea delivered an address March 1 in Seoul in commemoration of the 38 anniversary of the Republic of Korea.

Under permission to extend and revise my remarks, I include Dr. Rhee's address:

A DAY OF ACCOUNTING

My fellow citizens, March 1 is the birthday of our Republic.

On Saturday, March 1, 1919, in the Blue Moon Cafe, in Seoul, at 2 p. m., the 33 patriots whose memory we honor placed their signatures on our declaration of independence. Then they called in the Japanese police and gave themselves up.

On that day there commenced in our country a nationwide mass movement of protest against the alien domination of our homeland by the empire-building imperialists of Japan. Our people did not resort to war. But neither did they supinely accept their status as exploited colonials. They devised a dignified middle way of honorable appeal to the decency and sense of justice of the civilized world.

Theirs was the first passive revolution in this history of modern times. In all the years since then, we have never weakened in our desire to settle all disputes, national and international, through appeals to facts and reason, without passion and in the spirit of commonsense.

But there is also another spirit that has been demonstrated continuously through all the 4,300 years of our history. This is the courageous and honorable spirit of self-defense. This is also a part of our tradition and it is a part of our policy today.

A SINGLE WORD

If there is one word that strongly characterizes the long history of our Nation, that word is "justice." Never in our entire history have we attacked any other nation. In fact, we have never fought outside our own national boundaries.

No nation on earth can point an accusing finger at us. We have reason to be proud of the great tradition that has come down to us. We have always fought like tigers to defend our own fields and our own homes. But we never have tried to take from any other people one single acre of ground or piece of property that was not ours.

In 1882 a new era in our history began. At that time our Government was persuaded to enter into a series of treaties—first with the United States and then with other outside powers. Our ancient isolationism was abandoned.

Unhappily, the world community of nations had entered into an era of power politics. We tried to live according to our own national standards of morality, but we encountered conditions in which immorality was backed by ruthless power.

In 1910 we were abandoned to Japanese conquest, with the concurrence of the Western nations whose offers of friendship had persuaded us to give up the protective isolationism of the old Hermit Kingdom. In 1919 we found that although the Western powers talked of the rights of self-determination of all peoples, their policies were still dominated by what they called expedient power politics.

Then in 1945, at the conclusion of a war that had been fought under the ringing slogan of the four freedoms we found that once again power politics was the guiding policy of the dominant nations. We were promised liberation—but we found our nation divided along the 38th parallel and occupied by foreign troops.

In that time of great tribulation, we maintained both our dignity and our sense of national independence and justice. We refused to accept a plan of trusteeship, which would have fastened the grip of Communist domination upon our entire Nation. Our demand for self-government was manfully recognized by the United States, though contemptuously spurned by the Soviet Union. With the cooperative assistance of the United Nations, the Republic of Korea was established and elections were held in this part of our country. But the Soviet Union continued to hold its domination in the north.

When, in 1950, the Communist armies—recruited, equipped, led, and directed by the Russian tyrants—launched the infamous attack against us, our faith in justice seemed for a time to be justified. Under the leadership of the United States, the United Nations came to our assistance, and the Communist invaders were defeated.

NO COMPROMISE WITH JUSTICE

Then, once again in the name of expediency, and in disregard of justice, the neutralist members of the United Nations, under the leadership of Mr. Nehru of India, insisted that the beaten Communist imperialists must be allowed to "save face" by being left in control of the northern half of our country.

This was done in the name of compromise—with disregard for the fact that justice is justice, and to compromise with justice is to destroy both justice and peace. A truce was forced upon us which was wicked in itself—but which far more wickedly has been viciously and continuously violated by the Communist invaders. The faith which our people placed in international morality was violated.

During the years since that truce was imposed on us in 1953, our warnings against the perpetuation of injustice in the name of expediency have been repeatedly justified. The very nation, India, which insisted that we must bow to the demands of the United Nations is now flouting and rejecting the authority of that organization. The Communists, who were supposed to be pacified by the sacrifice we were forced to make to them, have continued their aggression, their brutality, and their subversion of freedom on an ever wider scale. Time after time the nations of the world have been taught that when they flout justice, there is a heavy price that must be paid by all who cherish freedom and try to live in honor.

The events of the past several months have involved a series of crises which may mark the beginnings of a new era in international relations.

The brave patriots of Hungary have proved that communism cannot destroy free spirits with the poison of propaganda. The savagery of the Russian tyranny in Hungary had disgusted millions of peoples who had permitted themselves to become deluded by Communist hypocrisy. The Kremlin has been forced to admit openly that its so-called anti-Stalinist movement was a shameful farce. The demagoguery of India's Nehru and Krishna Menon has begun to weaken the grip which they had fastened upon the foreign policies of several of the nations in Asia.

Meanwhile, in the Middle East Russian ambitions for world conquest have once again been emphasized, and in a manner that genuinely alarms the western nations. The United Nations has been clearly revealed as a one-sided organization that can impose restrictions upon nations that recognize the meaning of justice, but that is helpless when it confronts aggressors who are still governed by the morality of the jungle.

Japan, too, has been caught up in these rapid movements of international change. She has signed an agreement with the Communists in Moscow, and has openly begun to orient her policies toward friendship with Russia and Red China. She has encouraged a hysteria of anti-Americanism among her own people. The new Government of Japan made a few empty gestures of pretended interest in conciliation with our Nation, in an attempt to influence world opinion—but has flatly refused to join us in a constructive move to restore just relations.

As we view the world today, there is great cause for discouragement and ample reason for pessimism about the present aimless drift of international affairs.

HOPE IS AHEAD

But there are also gleams and portents of hope.

President Eisenhower spoke glowingly in his inaugural address of the absolute need for a world order based on justice. His new policy for the Middle East shows a determination to support justice, when necessary, with force. Within the United Nations, many member nations are deeply disturbed by the failure of that Organization to do anything constructive to help the people of Hungary against the open aggression of Russia.

A great testing time now confronts humanity.

All around the world the lesson has been driven home again and again that genuine peace is impossible while the Great Powers helplessly acquiesce in the flouting of justice by aggressors. There can no longer be any doubt in the minds of honest men that peace must be sought through bold justice rather than through weak concessions to aggressors. The time is ripe for the emergence of a new spirit and a new international program.

On our part, we have constructive proposals to present—just as we have always had in the past. We call for the reform of the United Nations.

1. We believe it should be converted into a body to enforce justice, not merely to be a forum in which aggressors can freely spread propaganda and foment disagreement among the democratic allies.

2. In order to make this change possible, we believe the great majority of law-abiding nations must enforce the provision of the Charter that all nations in order to be members must be peace loving, and must accept the procedures and principles of honest negotiation.

3. As an agency for enforcing justice, we call for the establishment of a genuine peace enforcement army, composed of the armed forces of small nations which are free from ambitions of empire building.

4. The basic responsibility of a United Nations genuinely pledged to the provisions of the Charter is to ensure to all peoples the right of free and fair election of their own governments.

5. As to the Korean situation, I do not want to emphasize the injustices forced upon us by the Soviet Union, Communist China, and Japan because by this time the people of all friendly nations should be fully aware of the unjust dealings of these countries toward Korea. When the world conscience has awakened to the necessity of international morality and equity the situation will be righted. Our great hope is that the United Nations will change its present attitude of helplessness and act with firm, courageous judgment.

6. Other disputes, in all parts of the world, whether in Kashmir, or the Middle East, or elsewhere, should similarly be settled within the United Nations by a moral court of justice supported by all free member nations in accordance with just rules of law.

In my judgment, the great majority of the peoples and the nations around the world are ready to accept and support such a program as this. Unless such measures of reform are adopted, the alternative is still further chaotic drift, with more and more surrenders to communism, until another world war of desperate self-defense shall be forced upon the free nations, perhaps after it is too late.

My public life has extended through 6 full decades. During that time I have witnessed 4 full-scale wars in North Asia, and 2 world wars. During all that time, statesmanship by the great powers has been characterized by a patchwork expediency that has tried to bridge crises with compromises and that has tried to avoid conflicts by a pretense of unity when the fundamental foundation for unity did not exist.

The world must face the fact that power politics as practiced by single powerful nations and by blocs of nations has failed and always will fail. War has followed war with frightening constancy, and each war has been ended with a patchwork of expedient compromises which has nurtured the injustices that lead straight on to another conflict.

THE LESSON OF MANKIND

Surely we must learn the lesson that the great enemy of mankind is the horrid spectre of aggressive sovereignty. When the free will of powerful nations is unchecked by a decent respect for the opinions of mankind, the world must always tremble upon the brink of disaster.

There is an alternative, and we should be mature enough to grasp it. If a program of justice is spelled out, nations will rally around it. Aggression will not have to be smashed down by war, if the peoples of the world are offered a mechanism and a leadership through which they can express their united will to enforce justice with united determination. Excommunication, economic sanctions, and boycotts can be effective, if they are organized on a clear basis of justice and are applied alike to all aggressors, without fear or hesitancy.

From this platform, I address my plea primarily to the United States and to all those many small nations who will gladly rally behind a constructive program to enforce justice. Let us be wise before the event and not merely desperate after it. Our destiny is in our own hands if we but have the courage and the wisdom to guide it.

Neither war nor subjection to tyranny are inevitable. They are but the price humanity too often pays for weakness and indecision. The future calls us to a new haven of human unity based on justice. This is a challenge we dare not longer deny.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

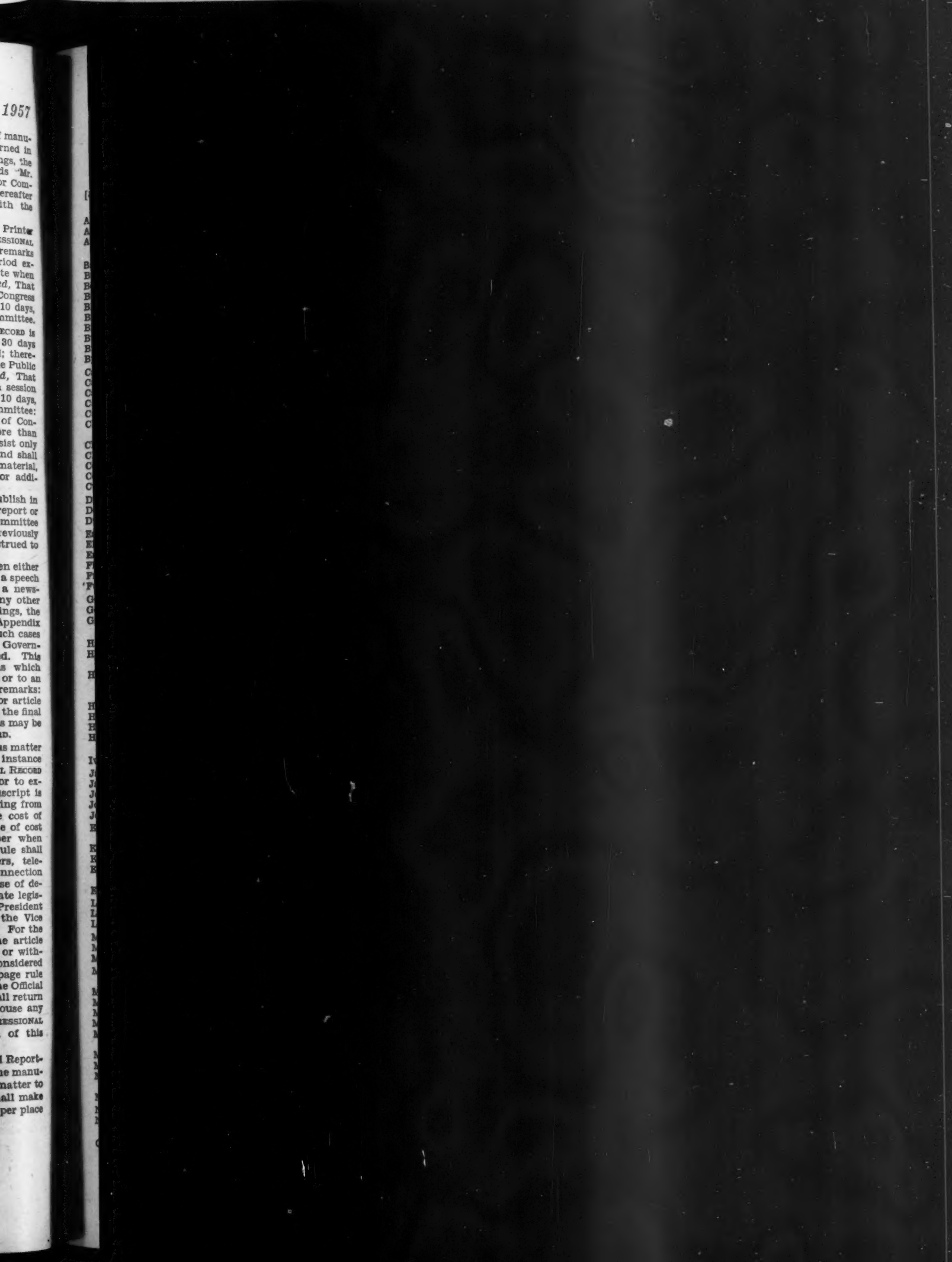

Appendix

Address by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California, to Grand Lodge of Masons of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me at the breakfast of the Grand Lodge of Masons in New York on March 31, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Most worshipful grand master, distinguished guests, Masons, and fellow Americans, this Nation of ours has grown from a weak Colony of 3 million on the Atlantic coast to a great power of 170 million people, the most productive nation the world has ever known.

The priceless ingredient for our people has been our constitutional form of government which guarantees our religious, personal, and economic freedom.

The incentives furnished have constantly opened new horizons.

In this atmosphere, Americans of each generation have sought to leave to their children a better land than they themselves found, not just better in a material way but in the educational and cultural developments that make for better family and community life.

New inventions in various industrial fields and the tremendous potentials of the peacetime developments of atomic power are bound to challenge us for many years into the future.

We must not take our constitutional form of government or our free-enterprise system for granted. Neither fall into the category of something that can be locked in a safe-deposit box and kept forever secure. Each generation must be prepared to make the necessary sacrifices to maintain them that our Founding Fathers were prepared to make in the first instance.

Other nations have been or now are larger in land area, in population, and in natural resources. Yet they have not been able to give to their people the freedom and the standard of living Americans have enjoyed.

As important as is the productive capacity of our Nation and its military strength, these are not the factors which alone could preserve our freedom or enable us to maintain a free world of freemen. The inner strength of America has not been its great cities, its huge industrial plants, its extended transportation systems, or its variety of natural resources.

The factor which made America an inspiration to the rest of the world grew out of our Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the spiritual values which the founders of our Republic recognized and by which they were guided.

We have recognized that there was a higher moral law to which governments were also accountable. We have humbly acknowledged the divine inspiration which made and preserved us as a nation.

We have read of and been inspired by the action of George Washington in kneeling in prayer during the dark days of Valley Forge and of Lincoln doing the same during his lonely vigil in the White House during the darkest days of the Civil War.

Instinctively we know that human freedom is a greater force than tyranny.

We also instinctively know, though at times our allies and our own Government may for expediency forget that these are some things in life which cannot be compromised.

We know that no international organization and no government can long survive a double standard of international morality.

The free world should heed the admonition in Second Corinthians: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship has righteousness with unrighteousness and what communion has light with darkness?"

We are constantly faced with the threat of international communism to destroy human freedom everywhere in the world. Against this external danger we must maintain strong and adequate defenses—air, sea, and land—at home and abroad as long as the menace continues. This may well be for a decade or more.

Foreign policy is too important to be left to government alone. It is of concern to all of our people. In order to have a sound foreign policy it is necessary to have an informed public.

There is also the danger that every free government around the world faces. This is internal subversion, sabotage, and espionage by the international Communist conspiracy.

We cannot buy international friendship any more than personal friendship can be purchased.

Nor should we attempt to remake the world in our economic or political image.

Our efforts should be directed toward helping others to help themselves. In this private investment should play a major role.

In the period since the close of World War II the United States has provided over $50 billion in economic, military, and technical assistance to allies, neutrals, and former enemy countries outside of the Iron Curtain.

There has been nothing comparable in the world history of civilization to this program.

It was a matter of mutual interest to help rehabilitate the war-devastated areas of the world, both Allied and enemy alike, not only as a matter of humanity but because it was in our own interest as well not to have the Soviet Union or international communism take advantage of the economic and political chaos which otherwise would have existed.

The wartime damage has been repaired. It is time for foreign aid to be reduced.

It is neither in their interests nor ours for nations abroad to be permanently dependent upon American financial grants. It is time for them to start living within their means and for us to do likewise.

Government, industry, and labor must be constantly on the alert against this termite menace which could do great damage though the outer structure might seem to be unimpaired.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in a recent article clearly outlined and documented the fact that the Communist "new look" is a study in duplicity. The domestic Communist Party, as with the Kremlin, has a fixed objective though the tactics remain fluid.

In this day and age of the airplane and atomic power we can no more return to isolation than an adult can return to childhood, regardless of how pleasant the recollection might be.

Our foreign policy seeks to preserve peace with honor. Our efforts will continue to be directed to the establishment of a system of international law and order, based on justice, that will preserve the peace for ourselves and our children. We seek no territorial gains nor to subjugate any people anywhere in the world.

We do recognize, however, that when freedom is destroyed anywhere a bit of freedom is destroyed everywhere.

Nations can die while delegates talk. Last year the General Assembly of the United Nations passed 10 resolutions in 76 days of debate. All that while freedom was being strangled to death in Hungary. With callous indifference the Soviet Union placed itself above the higher moral law of God as well as above its obligations under the United Nations Charter.

No international organization can long endure with a double standard of international morality.

Having a decent respect for the opinions of mankind, a sense of obligation to the charter and the incentives inherent in a free country having freely elected parliaments, an informed electorate and a free press, Great Britain, France, and Israel withdrew their forces from Egypt.

Having no respect for the opinions of mankind and no sense of obligation to the charter the Soviet Union ignored all 10 General Assembly passed resolutions and still have their forces in Hungary.

Are the obligations and the mandates of the United Nations to be applicable to the democratic nations but not to the totalitarian powers? To the law-abiding but not to the outlaw nations? To the small and weak countries but not to the big and strong? What kind of justice is this? Are we building on quicksand? What kind of a foundation is this for constructing a system of international law and order based on justice?

We serve no useful purpose if we hide the facts. To the contrary by ignoring them and failing to seek remedies, we may endanger the safety of this Republic and freemen everywhere.

For many decades the men in the Kremlin have preached the doctrine that the free world contains the seeds of its own destruction.

It is far more likely, I believe, that the Communist world contains the seeds of its own destruction.

Hungary was but the latest in the indications that, even under totalitarian police rule and the brainwashing of a whole generation, the spark of freedom still lived and was capable of lighting a fire that endangered the whole monolithic structure of Communist tyranny.

After the Hungarian experience how much reliance can the Soviet Union place in the armed forces of the other captive nations if freedom is ever within their reach? How can

they have faith in Communist indoctrination when young students were the leaders of the Hungarian rebellion?

Within the past 10 days, the rulers in the Kremlin have sought to intimidate both Norway and Denmark.

The Soviet Union has not changed its long-term strategic objective. The destruction of human freedom everywhere.

They will be relentless in seeking to destroy our institutions. Fortified by our faith in God, we must be determined that our way of life will be preserved.

We also confront a danger of another sort. This does not come from an armed enemy from without nor from a foreign-led conspiracy from within. This springs rather from our own people and the institutions we have created. Apathy on our part or an inclination to let the other fellow assume the responsibility that each citizen has an obligation to undertake can well lead to a chain of events that would undermine both our governmental and economic systems.

The founders of this Republic knew well the history of the world up to their time. They knew that where there was a concentration of power in a single agency of national Government that the freedom they sought to guarantee could be easily lost.

As a result, they not only created three great coequal branches of the Federal Government, the legislative, executive, and judicial, but they also made the Federal Government one of limited and of specified powers and reserved all other powers to the several States and to the people thereof.

The Congress is a coordinate and not a subordinate branch. It was made the repository of all legislative power.

If we are half as wise as the men who gave us our Republic and as those who helped to maintain it, we will see to it that no administration, Republican or Democratic, departs from the letter or the spirit of the American Constitution.

The strength of our country depends, of course, on far more than our Armed Forces alone. It rests upon a sound national economy and a solvent Federal Government.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, the budget expenditures amounted to $13,262,000,000. The 1958 proposed budget is $71,800,000,000.

The national debt has grown from $48,900,000,000 to over $270 billion. The annual $7 billion of interest alone on the debt is now greater than the total cost of all functions of the Government (including national defense) as late as the fiscal year 1938. The annual interest charge is larger than the total tax receipts of the Federal Government in any year between the founding of our Government under the Constitution in 1789 and when we entered World War II in 1941.

Now, frankly, I do not subscribe to the theory that if individuals or business organizations spend their own earnings it is inflationary whereas if the Government takes it from them and spends it that is not inflationary. Government spending is a major inflationary factor.

The challenge we face is how to meet the large defense expenditures necessary for the preservation of our way of life, to take care of our growing needs for public and private facilities and to avoid the tendency to solve the problem by concentrating more and more power in the Government at Washington.

This will take some voluntary restraint on the part of citizens generally, in requesting new and additional programs until we can digest programs now underway or complete certain of the projects before undertaking additional ones.

This is the time for prudent and responsible citizens in private industry, in labor, in agriculture, and, indeed, throughout our entire population to take a close look at the growth of the Federal Government. Constructive support is needed for the efforts which will be made to reduce nonessential spending, to apply some payments on the national debt and to lay a foundation for some further tax reductions next year.

As an American citizen and as a Senator of the United States, I am convinced that if we of this generation will only use the same faith and courage that motivated the men who sat at Philadelphia and under what I believe to have been divine guidance, gave us first our Declaration of Independence and later our Constitution, there are none of our great domestic problems which we as a free people cannot solve, and there is no foreign foe we need ever fear.

Protecting Our Free Enterprise System From the Harmful Effect of Corporate Mergers

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered before the Automobile Wholesalers Association of Tennessee at Gatlinburg on April 8. In my remarks I dealt with the merger trend which we are experiencing today, and its harmful effect upon our free enterprise system, and particularly small business.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is a great pleasure and privilege for me to attend this session of the Automotive Wholesalers Association of Tennessee.

As chairman of the antimonopoly subcommittee of the Senate, I am here to listen to some of your problems as well as to discuss some of the very real concerns that I have in the developing economic picture as it affects businessmen such as you.

I am pleased to appear on a program which includes two very fine students of the antitrust laws, Mr. J. Austin Latimer and Mr. James W. Cassedy, both of whom, as you know, are attorneys in Washington who specialize in antitrust practice.

Only last week Mr. Cassedy testified at length before our committee. His discussion of a legislative proposal pending before us, and of the Standard Oil of Indiana case, which he tried, was most helpful to the members of the subcommittee.

I know that you, like I, believe in the competive, free-enterprise economy of the United States. But I suspect that you, like I, are beginning to be disturbed by what is happening to it.

A multitude of mergers during the past 4 years has outstripped anything of the sort since the 1920's. And with them competition has been lessening. As automotive wholesalers, as parts dealers, you know that your sources are certainly becoming more restricted. The "big" in the automobile business are becoming constantly more powerful, just as the "big" in the oil businesses are becoming overriding giants.

Four years ago, I joined in a report of the antimonopoly subcommittee of which I was then a member, pointing out that we were then in the midst of the third great merger movement to sweep the United States.

In the intervening 4 years the pace has not lessened—it has instead quickened. The New York Times observed in 1954 that the "wave of mergers is now more like a floodtide, so wide and pervasive has it become." By 1955, the Wall Street Journal put it this way: "Company mergers and acquisitions are taking place at an astonishing rate."

That same year the House Judiciary Committee made a study. They observed:

"In recent years a rising tide of industrial and bank mergers has played a significant role in hastening the reduction of competition in many areas and promoting the concentration of economic power. Many superstructures in industry have been created, not through superior technology or natural internal growth, but through absorption of independent competitors."

The House committee pointed out that under these conditions "mergers are not indicative of a normally developing industry, but rather symptoms of the competitive avarice of certain giant corporate enterprises."

"Frequently the plant of the acquired company is closed in the process, which not only eliminates the competition of this unit, but throws people out of employment and reduces the economic wealth of the community in which this particular plant existed," the House report continued.

Fortune magazine, at that time, estimated that mergers of important corporations were being affected at the rate of about 45 a month and that probably a score of lesser companies are absorbed daily.

Thus through the recent years some of us in Government and in the press have been calling attention to this very disturbing trend which is occurring. Now it is 1957, and just last week we saw one of the results of the trend.

Mr. Edwin L. Covey, chief of the Federal courts' bankruptcy division, increased his present estimate of the number of bankruptcies anticipated during the year.

Mr. Covey estimates that the number of cases filed during the 12 months ending next June 30 will reach a record high. He estimates there will be 72,000 bankruptcies. Think of it. That is almost 2,000 more than the present record. And the present record was set in a year to which none of us wants to return—1932.

Furthermore, we are already beginning to get a glimpse of what might happen in the future. I read in the Wall Street Journal of March 14 the report of a speech by Mr. Roger M. Blough, chairman of United States Steel, made to the Economic Club of Chicago. Mr. Blough told his audience that "a new business concept—giant corporations joining to form large combines for spreading their risks—may be developing on the economic scene."

"The future," he said, "may, indeed, call for bigger business organizations as man seeks to unlock the secret of the atom, penetrate outer space, and harness the rays of the sun."

Nor is this "partnership of corporations" idea merely a forecast of what may be necessary to handle America's tomorrow. It is already taking place. Mr. Blough continued:

"Our biggest corporations are rapidly getting too small to do all the things that are expected of them. The development of raw materials, for instance, has become so expensive, and involves such risks, that a number of steel companies have had to band together to develop faraway iron-ore deposits and to establish plants and processes for the manufacturing of usable blast furnace materials out of low-grade ores."

Our committee is presently making a study which I think will shed more light on just what the facts in the situation are. In cooperation with the Bureau of the Census, we

are obtaining data on the size of concentration. When we are finished and are able to publish the reports, which should be within the next few weeks, we will know the extension of concentration by industry and by product.

We also are gathering material and will hold hearings on the problem of price increases in administered-price industries, which is presently having such a great effect on the cost of living. These industries are those which, because of their power, have control over prices not affected by normal competitive forces. Examples are steel, newsprint, many types of food, automobiles, and farm machinery.

We will greatly appreciate the assistance of groups such as yours in the course of these studies. We want to conduct them fairly and objectively. But we have reached the point where we have to have better information than now exists on this tide of mergers in order that we as Government officials, as businessmen, and as citizens may discharge our responsibilities.

I frankly don't like what I know of the trend. I have long believed that it is only a step from the loss of economic freedom to the loss of political freedom. Germany under Hitler and Italy under Mussolini were examples of that step. There statism followed the seizure of the economic and industrial power by the few. The Soviet is another example. Economic and political power there also is all one.

I don't think it is necessary for this to happen in the America of tomorrow in order for us to enjoy the benefits of the good things which engineering and scientific skill have made possible. Our aim is—it must be—to have these benefits, but to get them through the competitive, free-enterprise economy which has made this Nation great in the past.

In order to achieve that goal we must understand and arrest the present alarming trend.

Solution of Housing and School Problems by Indiana Towns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the April 9, 1957, issue of the Wall Street Journal, entitled "Donations, Not Taxes, Aid Indiana Town's Schools, Spur Housing."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FUND-RAISING FLAIR—DONATIONS, NOT TAXES, AID INDIANA TOWN'S SCHOOLS, SPUR HOUSING—BUSINESS LEADERS SET SWIFT CHARITY CAMPAIGN PACE, THINK UP OWN PROJECTS—"WE TAKE CARE OF OUR OWN"

(By Ray Vicker)

COLUMBUS, IND.—When the local high school needed a new gym, residents of this industrial-agricultural community on the east fork of the White River staged a charity-style fund drive that raised $1 million—60 percent of it donated by industry. The campaign made it unnecessary for the local government to issue bonds that would have saddled the city with debt and high interest charges, and which might have put pressure on tax rates.

On winter-browned land where homes give way to rolling farm country, concrete walks and drives now are being poured for the nearly completed 12-room Northside elementary school. Industry contributed $314,500 for the modernistic glass and brick structure, which will be ready for the fall term next September.

Such solving of community problems without outside help is characteristic of this city of 22,000. Its solutions may be of interest to other cities with fund-raising problems.

HELPED SCHOOLS CATCH UP

"Through contributions we have helped our outdated school system catch up," says J. Irwin Miller, chairman of Cummins Engine Co. "Now facilities have been updated to the point where taxes can handle any future expansions," adds the soft-spoken former Rhodes scholar whose taste for contemporary architecture is manifested in several newer buildings in town.

"We have adopted the philosophy of substituting contributions from industry and individuals for tax money where it might be difficult to raise the tax money," says A. D. Silva Jr., vice president of Columbus Process Co., an electronics equipment manufacturer. "When something needs to be done we don't sit and argue until the tax money is forthcoming. We start a drive for the money and we get it."

Like several hundred other local businessmen, Mr. Miller and Mr. Silva spend a lot of their spare time pushing community and charity projects. In this respect businessmen in Columbus are little different from their colleagues in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Oshkosh and hundreds of other big, medium and little cities.

Total contributions to charity in the United States in 1956 "conservatively" amounted to $6.1 billion, according to the American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel in New York City. This compares with estimates of $6 billion for 1955, $5.5 billion for 1953 and $4.1 billion for 1950.

CONTRIBUTIONS TAX DEDUCTIBLE

The Internal Revenue Service lists more than 40,000 organizations to which contributions may be made, then deducted for tax purposes. However, not more than 6,000 of these organizations are themselves engaged in philanthropic giving, says A. A. F. R. C.

In 1956, collecting for 1957 budgets, federated campaigns around the United States raised $378 million compared with $339.7 million a year earlier, says A. A. F. R. C. These campaigns are United Fund, Community Chest and similar broad scale drives.

Columbus may be no different when it comes to obtaining business support for community and charity projects, but the extent of that support is unusual.

Walking down Washington Street the town's main stem—it is hard to distinguish Columbus from dozens of other Midwestern communities that once were rooted in the soil but now have industrial plants rimming business sections dating from the 1890's. Columbus is a quiet town; after the Crump and Rio theaters darken at the end of the late show, town burghers figuratively roll up the sidewalks for the night.

TAKE CARE OF OWN

"We're just hillbillies around here," opines one local merchant, "but we do look out for our own."

The latter is an understatement. Annually Columbus contributes an average of more than $750,000 to a wide variety of causes—new schools, kids' club quarters, the Heart Fund, a college students' loan fund, and many others. In the last 6 years, industry and individuals raised $1.7 million for building new schools, in addition to providing many more thousands of dollars for educational equipment.

At Lib's Nook on Washington Street, an overalled oldster at the counter grumbles over a cup of coffee: "They're always collectin' for somethin' in this dang town."

"What you complainin' about, Ed?" rasps a companion in a bright flannel shirt. "You never give nothin' anyway."

NO COMPLAINTS FROM INDUSTRY

Notes Fred E. Daniel, vice president of Arvin Industries, which has a sprawling collection of plant buildings on the edge of town: "Most such complaints about there being too many drives come from people who don't give much anyway."

But none of the complaints comes from industrialists, even though they constantly are dunned for this or that cause. In fact, when there's a dearth of fund drives, business leaders often suggest projects and launch money raising campaigns of their own.

When the city suffered from a housing shortage, business leaders kicked in $46,000 to provide municipal facilities for vacant land on the northeast side. That stimulated a builder to erect four apartment buildings housing 52 families.

To keep children off the street, the town—via contributions—built three centers where boys and girls may take part in such activities as watching TV, playing basketball, learning to sew, and studying woodworking. Last October a fund drive for current year operations raised $76,250, exceeding the $67,252 goal.

To attract and hold top flight teachers, the Columbus School Foundation was launched with a collection drive last December. Collections totaled $6,500, surpassing the $5,000 goal. The fund will be used to help support teachers taking summer courses, to send select teachers to Europe for a summer and to help teachers and the school system in other ways.

The propensity of Columbus' citizens to give to charity is part belief in local responsibility, part tradition, and part self interest. "We in industry recognize the increasing responsibility we have toward the community in which we operate," says Mr. Miller of Cummins Engine, the community's largest employer. Robert Huthsteiner, Cummins president, adds, "If you don't have attractive schools, hospitals, housing, and parks you won't attract good people to the town. When we try to hire people those are the first things they ask us about."

Though no one says so flatly, Columbus sees extra appeal in any fund drive that also enhances local living conditions. The town must compete for workers with such industrial centers as Indianapolis to the north and Louisville to the south.

"The bulk of the contributions for various drives comes from industry," says attractive, auburn-haired Mary Bottorff, executive secretary of the local American Red Cross chapter.

That was especially true of the drive to improve and modernize the school system. The school drive also illustrates some of the city's fund-raising techniques.

Columbus currently has a birth rate nearly double the rate 10 years ago. Its busy industries also have been attracting people from elsewhere. In the past 16 years population has increased 87 percent, with a 19.8-percent increase recorded in the past 6 years.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT JUMPED

The growth, plus the zooming birth rate, put the school system in a tight squeeze. Primary and high-school enrollments, which totaled 3,375 in 1950, jumped to 4,635 in 1956, with a further rise to 5,239 forecast for 1960.

In 1950, when businessmen first became concerned about the school system's deficiencies, the city had 105 classrooms, adequate for 3,150 children on the basis of the town's estimate of an average of 30 per

room. But 3,375 children already were going to school, with a big influx due.

A committee of business and civic leaders tackled the problem. They recognized that bonds could be floated and taxes raised, but they felt that over the years, interest payments could eat up a substantial portion of funds accumulated for the school system. Moreover, the tax-bond route might have been time consuming; the need for schools was immediate and urgent.

So it was decided to use contributions to supplement the regular tax program. The first new school added to the system was the Jefferson elementary school, completed in 1951. About 90 percent of the $376,000 cost of the attractive, contemporary-style building was donated by industry. After the Jefferson school was completed, $1,006,000 was raised by contributions for a new physical education building at the high school. Industry contributed about 60 percent of this money.

WEEK'S PAY OR PROFIT

"We adopted the slogan 'a week's pay or a week's profit,'" says S. E. Lauther, president of the Irwin Union Bank, who ranks as a newcomer since he's only lived in town for 10 years.

Many communities wouldn't even attempt a fund drive with an anticipated per capita contribution equivalent to about $50 each for every man, woman, and child in town. Columbus raised the money in 15 days.

As the money rolled in, the Irwin Union Bank contributed its facilities toward putting funds to work while the gym was being built. Funds earned $18,000 while the gym was being designed and constructed.

Total contributions to the school system for building alone amount to $1,746,500 over the past 6 years. In the same time span, $2,269,000 of tax money went into school buildings. Today, Columbus has 180 classrooms, 71 percent more than at the start of the building program.

SWIFT PACE OF GIVING

Industry is helping Columbus and Bartholomew County set a charity contribution pace that probably exceeds that of any other community in the United States. The county's per capita contributions for the Tuberculosis Association lead the Nation, say association folk here. Average per capita contributions for the entire country amount to 16 cents annually; Bartholomew County's average is over 50 cents.

Mental Health Fund contributions for this county are the highest in Indiana and among the highest in the country. Bartholomew County's 21 cents per capita contribution last year compared with 5 cents for Indiana and less than 2 cents for the Nation.

Sometimes four drives are underway at one time, yet each meets or tops its goal. In January, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis staged its drive, followed by the Heart Fund in February and the Red Cross in March. Now, the Heart Fund and the Red Cross drives are being wound up; the Salvation Army is coming on the scene; the Crippled Children's drive has a painted oil drum "well" in front of the Irwin Bank and the Cancer Fund is in its April campaign.

This variety of causes is unusual. The trend in many communities is away from individual campaigns toward one United Fund drive. An estimated 600 cities have switched to United Fund, often because industry has grown tired of constant solicitation.

MULTIPLE DRIVES FAVORED

Not so Columbus. After a study, the idea of a united campaign was turned down, with industry taking the lead in favoring multiple drives.

"Our study showed that people were contributing twice as much through individual drives as they estimated they would be able to give under a united drive," says Bob Gordon, editor of the 12,000 circulation Evening Republican.

Secret of Columbus' success in raising money is its strong support from top business management.

In many fund drives elsewhere, a corporation president may take the bows for handling the drive. But behind the scenes he has delegated the work to subordinates far down the ladder—subordinates who may try hard but who may lack the organizational spark and management talent of a top executive.

"Here you go the top to get a job done," declares Lowell Engelking, husky, broad-shouldered president of Engelking Patterns, Inc. Management puts the same top-flight talent into charity drives as into sales campaigns.

The fact that many of Columbus' industries are home owned also helps. Executives don't have to seek permission from distant managements when considering donations. And being hometowners, Columbus executives undoubtedly have a more direct interest in community welfare. Finally, full employment and high income levels mean the town's intensive fund drives have more chance of exceeding goals.

NO OUTSIDE FUND RAISERS

Columbus has no use for professional fund raisers in its campaigns. Nearly every dollar collected goes for its intended purpose, with very little eaten up by expenses.

"Last year we had $148 in expenses when raising $23,700 for our fund drive," says Miss Bottorff, of the Red Cross. The current Red Cross drive has set its sights on $24,500. She explains that industry is providing the managerial talent. Company secretaries handle any correspondence on company stationary.

Many factors underpin the success of Columbus' fund raisers. Top executives who head campaigns know one another intimately, belong to the same clubs—Rotary, Kiwanis, chamber of commerce, and the like—and see one another often. When an executive accepts the chairmanship of a fund drive, he loses little time in calling on his friends to help. A fund raiser may put the bite on a fellow businessman at an informal club meeting or direct a formal fund appeal to an entire club.

The fact that many of the town's executives are their own bosses means they can put as much time as they like into charity work, without worrying about the reaction from a vice president in another city.

There's a certain element of mutual back scratching, charity style. Since most executives take turns at heading campaigns, there's an informal but effective understanding that a donation to the polio drive will be reciprocated by the campaign chairman when a colleague comes around for the Heart Fund.

SOME SOCIAL PRESSURES, TOO

There is more social pressure to contribute in a town the size of Columbus than is the case in a larger city. Everyone knows who is giving and who isn't, and campaigns use the technique of having neighbor call on neighbor. And the community's smaller size makes it easier for citizens to see the results of their giving. New schools, boys and girls clubs, and the Red Cross bloodmobile all give physical evidence of past campaigns—and increase willingness to give to future drives.

Employee contributions are stimulated through payroll deduction programs. Employees contribute a certain amount each week in deductions, and proceeds are divided among local charity drives.

Hamilton Manufacturing production workers average $15 annually in payroll deductions. "Many of our employees wanted to have $1 a week deducted from their paychecks when we launched this program," says William Hamilton, company chairman. "We talked most of them out of that for we thought it was too much for a production worker to give."

The giving spirit in Columbus spills over into other channels. Republican and Democratic politicians report that Bartholomew County citizens are so conditioned to donating that political contributions roll in with little collecting effort.

Employee Welfare and Pension Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the attention of many people has recently been directed to the question of employee welfare and pension benefit plans. Senators will know that S. 1122 is presently pending before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. That bill, sponsored by the distinguished senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], not only offers the Senate an opportunity to adopt appropriate legislation, but this bill is serving as a model for others pending on the State level. Such is the case in my own State of Minnesota, where a union welfare fund bill, modeled on S. 1122, has recently been approved by the House Labor Committee of the Minnesota State Legislature.

An editorial on this subject appeared in the March 26 issue of the St. Paul Dispatch, and I ask unanimous consent that the text of this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

In this same connection, Mr. President, I have recently written to Senator DOUGLAS expressing my own interest in S. 1122 and my hope that the Senate Labor Committee may soon proceed to its consideration. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the letter just mentioned be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DOING THE RIGHT THING

The union welfare fund bill which the House Labor Committee has approved is an adaptation of the measure which Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, has introduced on the national level. It is designed to prevent abuses in Minnesota such as those that have been exposed in the senatorial investigation and to that end sets up a system of supervision and regulation.

The responsible leaders of organized labor in Minnesota have been among the first to see the need for such legislation. In fact the Minnesota federation of labor is pushing the bill and its legal counsel had a hand in drafting the provisions.

Praising people for doing the right thing always sounds a little like saying that their virtue comes as a surprise. It does not come as a surprise that these labor leaders are seeing this situation in the right way because they have run a good labor movement in Minnesota and if the scandals coming to light at Washington should besmirch any segment of that movement here, none would deplore and oppose the abuse of trust more than they.

The present legislation would provide protection against abuse of trust in the handling of these welfare funds. The welfare plans will have to be registered and there must be annual reports and audits. It provides for investigations and criminal penalties for misuse of the funds or diversion from their rightful owners and purpose.

What is happening in the labor world is the same thing that happened earlier in the case of business. With its great and rapid growth, need for regulation has arisen in the interests of labor itself and the general public. The quicker and better this is done the better for all concerned. It is a good thing that the leadership here recognizes this.

Address by Hon. Eugene J. Keogh, of New York, Before National Conference of Bar Presidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ALLEN FREAR, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, by request, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from a speech made by Representative EUGENE J. KEOGH before the National Conference of Bar Presidents, at Chicago, Ill.

Mr. KEOGH spoke regarding the provisions of H. R. 9 and H. R. 10, which relate to the retirement and benefit plans affecting the legal profession.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman and distinguished ladies and gentlemen present here today, rather than doing you a favor, I should say that I have been accorded a great privilege to meet with you leaders of the American bar on a cause in which I have envinced some interest over the years and in which I assure you I shall never refrain from envincing interest whenever and wherever the opportunity arises. I do this out of a firm conviction that the pending bills to which I shall address myself but briefly mark, in my opinion, a long delayed injustice to be corrected; they mark a great step in the direction of solidifying the dynamic type of representative democracy and democratic government that we think we have, that some of us know we have, and all of us always want to have.

So, it is with no concern at all about any of the details, any of the varying theories of solving this problem that I come to you today to talk to you about bills H. R. 9 and H. R. 10, which have been introduced in this, the 85th Congress, by my very distinguished and able colleague from Ohio, Mr. JENKINS, and by me.

* * * * *

Lawyers generally are entitled to be interested in law and lawyers, therefore, have a distinct and justifiable interest in proposed legislation, but if there is one thought that I would like to be able to leave with you today, it is that I would like your help in dissipating, when and wherever necessary, the obviously false notion that H. R. 9 and 10 is a lawyers' bill.

It is, on the other hand, a bill to encourage the establishment of voluntary pension plans by self-employed individuals, by those who either by law cannot or by choice do not operate under the corporate form.

This would be accomplished by affording such individuals a tax deferment on a specified limited portion of their earned net income which they set aside for retirement.

Under existing law, as we all know, such deferment is afforded to employed persons whose corporate employers and noncorporate employers have established so-called employees' pensions and pension plans meeting the statutory limits and requirements. However, since self-employed individuals cannot be their own employers nor employees, they cannot qualify under existing legislation.

We need only recall that the Social Security Act, which set up the compulsory system of old-age pensions, originally applied only to employed persons but has now been extended to cover almost all self-employed persons. The bills, therefore, would give to those same self-employed persons a further measure of equality with employed persons so far as supplemental private pensions are concerned.

In order that we may all know about what we are talking, and I am sure that we all do, permit me to point out that the bill would allow self-employed persons a deduction for Federal income-tax purposes for amounts set aside for their retirement with the proviso that the annual deduction could not exceed the lesser of 10 percent of self-employment income or $5,000, with a special rule that would provide that in the cases of persons 50 years of age or over, who would have only a few years to build up their retirement funds, that they would be permitted an additional allowable deduction which would be increased one-tenth for each year of age over 50 and not over 70.

To the extent that allowable deductions were not used in any one year, they would serve to increase the allowable deductions during the following 5 years, until exhausted, except that a maximum annual ceiling of $5,000 would still apply.

A self-employed individual could not deduct over his lifetime more than 20 times the maximum annual contribution under the general rule.

Under the bills, a self-employed individual is the same as self-employment provisions of the Social Security Act, except, that it also includes those not presently covered by such act, the principal group of which is, of course, the medical profession and some clergymen.

Self-employed persons who are also employed during the year are not disqualified unless they are currently a member of or receiving payments under a governmental or private pension or profit-sharing plan or have received a distribution of their interest in such pension or profit-sharing plan.

The allowable deduction is in terms of amounts paid as so-called retirement deposits, which are defined in the pending bills as amounts paid into a restricted retirement fund or as premiums under a restricted retirement policy. The fund is defined as a trust or custodian account established under a retirement plan for self-employed individuals.

* * * * *

In lieu of the rates otherwise applicable, the lump sum distribution would be assessed at 5 times the rate applicable to one-fifth of the amount and the same treatment would be given payments on the death of the participant before withdrawal of the funds. The withdrawal of such funds prior to age 65 is permitted.

A new provision in the pending bills permits a takedown of funds prior to age 65 and short of total and permanent disability. It is permitted subject, however, only to the payment of a penalty; in such cases it is provided that the tax shall be 110 percent of the amount which would have been payable had the distribution been included in the individual's gross income rate over the taxable year and 4 taxable years immediately preceding or such lesser number of immediately preceding years in which retirement deposits are actually made.

These provisions would apply equally to distributions from a restricted retirement fund and under a policy.

Generally speaking, I have briefly covered the important provisions of the pending bills and I must tell you that the form of the bill now pending is quite distinct, quite different from its predecessors. Those changes have been made and they have been made after careful thought and study, in which thought and study your committees have been continually engaged and have been in consultation with as many of the representatives of groups that might be affected by the form of the bill as they possibly could meet with and discuss the problems with. They have been meeting, too, with representatives of the executive branch of the Government and have sought in those discussions to elicit from the representatives of that branch of the Government as much as they possibly could with respect to the desires, the aims, the hopes and the aspirations of that branch.

I think that I should tell you that this is the fourth Congress in which the bills in some form have been introduced. One who is not too familiar with legislative work might think that it is about time something was done. Well, as one of the original introducers of what now is the pending bill, I would be inclined to agree with you. But I am sure that some of the more experienced men and women in the room understand that sometimes it takes a little longer to perform that which is obviously just than it does to perform some legislative miracles.

In all of the work that we have been doing in Washington, we have always been courteously treated by the representatives of the Treasury Department. I think it is fair to say that we, the sponsors of the legislation, have always sought to keep it on a bipartisan basis. I use that word because I am one who thinks that in a legislative sense there is really nothing that can be nonpartisan. We have tried to approach it in a manner that would not mean that one political party might take advantage of the other or that one might be hurt as compared with the other.

We have sought to be completely objective in our approach in relation to the objections that have been raised to the prior forms of the bill, just as I assure you that we will seek to be objective with respect to any objections that may be raised for the form of the pending bill.

* * * * *

We welcome gladly, anxiously and with deep appreciation the interest that your distinguished president has taken in this little piece of legislation and the great work that your association and your committees have done.

I am sure that you are all conscious of the danger of specifics and I am sure, also, that you would not mind my mentioning a few names of those representatives of your organization who have been with us during the dark and dreary days and who are with us now that we see some rays of sunlight coming up over the horizon.

I refer, of course, to George Roberts and Leslie Rapp and the committee, and I am delighted to observe that you have been fortunate in obtaining the increasing interest of Laurens Williams, who has done such a great job for the Treasury Department and who I am confident will do an equally great, if not greater job, for the self-employed now.

I am delighted in Chicago, too, to pay my respects to Dr. Frank Dickinson of the AMA who has been just as stalwart as those of you who know of him know him to be and who has been a great source of encouragement to TOM JENKINS and to me and I compliment you, Mr. President, on the formation of the

newly revitalized, reactivated assembly that you have gotten together and your selection of Mr. Donohue, for this will probably succeed in keeping him in Washington a little more than he has been in the past 2 years.

• • • • •

Mr. President, I hope that before this Congress is over that you and your members and your fine organization will be pleased by the report of progress that all associated with you in this endeavor will have made. I am indeed grateful to you for this opportunity to talk to you today. [Applause.]

Address by Ambassador MacArthur Before the American-Japan Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on March 22, 1957, the United States Ambassador to Japan, the Hon. Douglas MacArthur II, delivered an address before the American-Japan Society, at Tokyo. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II, UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN, BEFORE THE AMERICA-JAPAN SOCIETY, TOKYO, MARCH 22, 1957

Mr. President, distinguished guests, and members of the America-Japan Society, 35 years ago I visited Japan for the first time. I came with my father, and we spent 3 weeks in this great and beautiful country. We landed at the port of Yokohama, and in addition to Tokyo we visited Nikko, Lake Chuzenji, Kyoto, Kamakura, and other places of remarkable interest and beauty.

I was at the impressionable age of 13 and was for the first time exposed to a culture and art which long antedated that of my own country and which in many respects has yet to be equalled anywhere in the world.

The friendliness of the Japanese people whom we met everywhere and the beauty of this country made an indelible impression on me. It gave me the desire to know more about Japan and about other countries and their peoples. In fact, it was following this visit to Japan that I decided to enter the American Foreign Service. So, if I am here today as Ambassador, only Japan is to blame, because of the imprint it made on me 35 years ago.

It is indeed a happy privilege to take my turn in observing the tradition that an American Ambassador to Japan makes his maiden speech before this society. In so doing, I would like to begin by paying respect to my distinguished predecessors, particularly Ambassador Grew, Ambassador Murphy, and Ambassador Allison. I have talked long and earnestly with them about Japan, and sought their counsel regarding my mission here. Each sent renewed and most affectionate greetings to Japan, the Japanese people, and this society. Each in his own way has contributed greatly to the cause of Japanese-American friendship.

Following in their footsteps, I am aware of a rich heritage and a high obligation. In assuming that obligation, I have a strong conviction as to what should be the first step in carrying out my responsibilities as the American Ambassador to Japan.

That first step will be to listen. For, listening is the key to knowledge and understanding, and mutual understanding is the very essence of peoples and nations living successfully together. My every effort will be directed to broadening and deepening the flow of true understanding between our two countries.

To accomplish this, I want to learn more about what the Japanese people think and feel, in all walks of life, throughout the country. The process of learning is, of course, endless, and I have much to learn. That is why in the next few months I hope to spend a large part of my time in meeting Japanese people, making friends, traveling, observing, and taking part in typically Japanese experiences. I am eager to absorb all those manifold impressions that go to make up a real understanding of another country.

As one who wants to begin by listening, I might start by discussing with you today the questions uppermost in my mind, the things about which I would most like to learn.

My first question is: What is to be the character of the period now beginning in the relations between our two countries?

That a new period is beginning is evident in many ways.

During the past few years the meaning of the peace treaty has gradually been spelled out in the fabric of daily life. At the same time, the social and spiritual convalescence of Japan from the profound shocks and strains of war and its aftermath has steadily progressed.

Politically, with her admission to the United Nations, Japan has fully returned to the world community as a respected, equal, and influential member—a development that my Government and the American people warmly welcome.

In the economic field, thanks to the great energy and skills of the Japanese people, Japan is now back on its own feet. And, while Japan has long-term economic problems, I am confident that these also can be met provided the principles of free world cooperation and interdependence are observed.

Japan is now entering the atomic age for peace along with other countries that have the requisite technology, and the development of atomic energy can contribute greatly to the economic progress and well-being of the Japanese people. With time and further development, it seems to promise electric power in abundance, as well as increased yields in agriculture and improved health.

The coming of the jet plane in commercial transportation is another great development in our changing times. The fact that now Tokyo and Copenhagen are nearly as accessible to each other as were Tokyo and Osaka 50 years ago illustrates dramatically the growing proximity of nations and their vital need of understanding and cooperation.

During these last few years, major changes have been likewise observable in the rest of the world. We have witnessed a shift of tactics—but not objectives—on the part of certain countries whose avowed purpose is to impose their totalitarian regimes first on their neighbors and then throughout the world.

With this tactical shift have come other centers of danger, but at the same time new opportunities for constructive Japanese participation in world affairs. This, Japan is already doing in the United Nations, where her clear and courageous voice has effectively made itself heard on behalf of justice and conciliation.

Thus, we are entering a new period. A period which holds not only great opportunities but also great responsibilities for Japan—indeed for us all. And the character of this coming period will, of course, be influenced by decisions Japan takes.

Accordingly, my first question leads to a second:

What will Japan choose to do with her new position and opportunities in the world? What responsibilities is she now going to assume? What others will she prepare for?

It is for answers to such questions, including the many more specific ones which they raise, that I shall be listening most attentively and sympathetically as I talk with people in Japan. For, clearly, these are questions which the Japanese people must decide for themselves, taking into account the kind of world they wish to help develop and in which they wish to live.

Only by freely exercising their own independence, with its attendant responsibilities, can they come deeply and sincerely to grips with the problems of free world interdependence, which is the reality of the world today, and on which freedom and security depend.

As I listen to Japanese points of view, I will of course speak in turn, to the best of my ability, about what Americans are feeling and thinking. Understanding is not a one-way street. It is a two-way street in every sense, and precisely in such a friendly but completely frank give-and-take relationship, based on full equality, good will, and mutual respect, lies the best hope for the future of Japanese-American friendship.

On the subject of interdependence among nations in the modern world, the convictions of my country are clear and strong. We have learned by hard experience that we cannot live alone and merely do as we please; that security is either collective or illusory; that only by joining hands and working together can free peoples remain free.

Whenever two countries which share the same fundamental interests work closely together there will, of course, be differences of opinion on specific problems. But this is not unhealthy. On the contrary, it is a normal thing, and is in fact the very hallmark of free peoples and free nations. For, where differences between countries are not permitted to appear, it means that the views of one have been suppressed.

Finding solutions to those differences which arise between our two countries will require patience and understanding, persistence and sacrifice on both sides. We must both understand that durable solutions to problems cannot give complete satisfaction to either party, and that they must be based on the principle of give-and-take.

But, I have the greatest faith that we will find solutions to our problems, because the community of interest between our two countries is so broad and so deep. This identity of interest far outweighs those differences as to method and approach which are bound to arise between us with respect to specific problems.

I would like to close with a word about my hopes and my faith.

I view the future relationship between our two countries as a full and equal partnership which serves the enlightened self-interest of each country.

I am convinced that there are immense possibilities, for both Japan and America, in the area of Japanese-American relations that is now opening before us.

I believe with all my heart that Japan and the United States share the same fundamental purposes and interests. Both countries and peoples are dedicated to the same high principle of seeing peace with justice prevail in the world.

As the American people's pledge and prayer, I leave with you this message, spoken by President Eisenhower in his second inaugural address:

"We look upon this shaken earth, and we declare our firm and fixed purpose—the

building of a peace with justice in a world where moral law prevails.

"The building of such a peace is a bold and solemn purpose. To proclaim it is easy. To serve it will be hard. And to attain it, we must be aware of its full meaning—and ready to pay its full price.

"We recognize and accept our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere. We are accordingly pledged to honor, and to strive to fortify, the authority of the United Nations. For in that body rests the best hope of our age for the assertion of that law by which all nations may live in dignity.

"May the light of freedom, coming to all darkened lands, flame brightly—until at last the darkness is no more.

"May the turbulence of our age yield to a true time of peace, when men and nations shall share a life that honors the dignity of each, the brotherhood of all."

To those sentiments, I am sure the Japanese people can also sincerely subscribe.

True understanding and cooperation between Japan and America will contribute much to make a living reality of a world truly at peace.

I thank you.

Military Programs for the Middle East and Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the decision at the Burmuda Conference for the United States to participate in the military aspects of the Baghdad Pact has opened up once more our consideration of the value of our military assistance programs in the Middle East and south Asia. I myself was surprised at the Burmuda decision, since we had so recently been assured by the Secretary of State—only a month previously—that he did not contemplate further participation in Baghdad Pact activities.

In the Minneapolis Star for March 25, 1957, there appeared an editorial entitled "We and the Baghdad Pact." The editorial discusses some of the difficulties of our new position, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the record.

Some of these same considerations were reexamined in succinct form by Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, in a dispatch from Paris which appeared in the New York Times for April 3, 1957. Mr. Sulzberger's column is entitled "A Self-Defeating American Policy in Asia," and it examines what Mr. Sulzberger calls our "sabotage of India's social revolution" by our arms aid to Pakistan. I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Sulzberger's column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Star of March 25, 1957]

WE AND THE BAGHDAD PACT

The United States, as one result of the Eisenhower-Macmillan talks in Bermuda, is to join the military committee of the Baghdad Pact. It is not yet clear precisely what Anglo-American policymakers hope will be the outcome of this move.

This country did not openly associate itself with the pact when it was signed in 1955 (by Britain, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan), but we were generally credited—or blamed—for its organization. We pushed the pact, it was said, as a means of preventing Red penetration of the Middle East.

Subsequently Russia leapfrogged the defense tier established by the pact and the Communists have penetrated in varying degrees in Syria, Jordan, and Egypt. Also subsequently, pressures from pact members have forced this country to associate itself more and more with the Baghdad organization. Last April we joined the economic and antisubversion committees of the pact, set up a permanent liaison office with the military committee, and agreed to contribute to the costs of the permanent secretariat.

Originally it had been said we did not join the pact in order not to offend Egypt, Saudi Arabia, etc. The Arab league governments, however, having espied Uncle Sam's hand behind the pact from the first, took note of such subsequent developments and have continued to be offended.

The pact members, especially Britain, have not been satisfied with our membership-in-all-but-the-name and have pressed us to stand up and be counted. Apparently it has been decided at Bermuda that we should now rise almost but not quite to such a standing position.

It is a little hard to see the exact gains that will accrue to the pact from our joining the military committee—in view of our already intimate working relationship. It is not quite clear, either, just how our closer association with the pact, which is so unpopular with other Middle Eastern governments, will facilitate carrying out the Eisenhower doctrine's design of closer relationships with all governments in the area to oppose Soviet power penetration.

It is impossible not to see, on the other hand, the propaganda uses antiwestern Arab extremists will try to make of our move.

Perhaps ensuing developments will shed more light on the intentions of the Bermuda policy planners.

[From the New York Times of April 3, 1957]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—A SELF-DEFEATING AMERICAN POLICY IN ASIA

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

PARIS, April 2.—United States foreign policy as applied in south Asia displays a disturbingly schizophrenic aspect. Our aspirations are clearly both benevolent and sound. But the methods by which we seek to achieve them are almost surely self-defeating.

Our fundamental objective is to seal off the Sino-Soviet bloc and prevent communism from intruding southward. To bolster the underdeveloped countries affected we are sponsoring a dual program.

One phase is purely military. This endeavors to strengthen defensive capabilities of nations committed to the Western camp. Pakistan comes specifically within this category as a member both of SEATO and the Middle Eastern Baghdad Pact. The second phase is economic. This endeavors to strengthen the social, agricultural, and industrial structure of all south Asian nations, neutral or otherwise, enabling them to resist subversive pressures.

In this category we include not only our ally Pakistan, but countries often irritatingly unsympathetic to our aspirations—to wit, India, Ceylon, Burma, Nepal, and Afghanistan. Of these India is overwhelmingly the most important.

Even those in Washington most angered by Nehru's tendency to lecture us while excusing Communist transgressions and his own violation of principles he preaches admit that the West has an immense stake in Indian democracy's success. For India is the only massive Asian nation that remains non-Communist.

INDIA VERSUS CHINA

A curious competitive coexistence exists between New Delhi and Peiping. The Russians, recognizing the importance of this contest, are pouring vast material, technical and financial aid into China. We, likewise, are investing a considerable amount in efforts to help Nehru's democratic revolution—much as we tend to dislike his personality.

If, during the coming generation, India can succeed in modernizing its antiquated plant, educating its illiterate masses, and becoming self-sufficient, the cause of freedom will have achieved a triumph. Ultimate repercussions in other Asian nations, even ironbound China, might be boundless.

However, the chances of Indian success in this competition with China are being hampered by an arms race with Pakistan Part of India's budget is supported by our economic generosity. But another part is drained off by New Delhi's determination not to lag behind Karachi militarily. Pakistan's materiel comes from us.

Both countries spend on defense infinitely more than they can afford. The amount in each case is probably over half the national income. Neither, within the foreseeable future, can become strong enough to stave off open Soviet aggression. But each is rapidly attaining a capability to cripple the other.

American policy of arming Pakistan tends indirectly to weaken disastrously the Indian economy. It has also provoked another neighboring land, Afghanistan, to make an unhealthy weapons deal with the U. S. S. R. on the assumption such equipment is required because of a frontier argument with the Pakistanis.

FRUIT OF OUR POLICY

Therefore, by our policy, we encourage indirectly a sterile military spending race. None of the south Asian countries can afford this. And India's new 5-year plan—upon which we ultimately base such hopes—is going down the drain.

Even if New Delhi continues to receive American economic aid at present rates—which Nehru's political gyrations render less likely—and even if a new World Bank loan is forthcoming, there will be a short fall in financing the second 5-year plan amounting to perhaps $750 million.

As a result the plan, upon which India's ultimate political health relies, must now be drastically cut. Projected new developments have been halted and imports restricted. Many undertakings are being stopped half finished. Equipment already purchased, therefore, lies wasting.

This situation allows Moscow two political choices. The Russians have already offered India a $125 million credit. They may suggest still larger amounts in an effort to gain controlling leverage on India's economy. Or they may withdraw proposed help in the hope of stimulating collapse and possible disintegration of Asia's largest democratic nation.

By our well-intended policy of arming Pakistan we are unwittingly helping to sabotage India's social revolution—upon which we bet so heavily. Clearly the time has come to think this through more carefully.

Pakistan, as our ally, is surely entitled to be strong. But hasn't the moment already arrived to cut down military assistance to that country and help develop its disturbingly backward economy? Should we make such a decision it is certain that India can be prevailed upon to reduce investment in unproductive weapons.

It would be short-sighted folly if, for the sake of strengthening one ally's limited fighting potential, we helped destroy Asia's most important non-Communist revolution—and, by so doing, lost Asia itself.

Protecting Wholesalers and Jobbers From Monopolistic Practices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address of James W. Cassedy, general counsel of the Motor and Equipment Wholesalers Association, at the annual convention of the Automotive Wholesalers Association of Tennessee at Gatlinburg, on April 8. The address of Mr. Cassedy is one of the finest statements that has come to my attention of the part each level, that is, the manufacturer, wholesaler, and jobber and retailer, should play in our economic system. Mr. Cassedy, in his address, points out the necessity of protecting the legitimate rights of each of these three groups in our free competitive enterprise system from discriminatory practices. He points out the necessity of passing H. R. 11 and S. 11, which would strengthen the Robinson-Patman Act in achieving this aim. Mr. Cassedy was one of the chief attorneys for the Federal Trade Commission for a number of years, and is now a successful private practitioner of law in Washington, D. C. His thoughts about the problem of fair competition and the remedy to prevent certain unfair practices of today are well worth considering.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROTECTING WHOLESALERS AND JOBBERS FROM MONOPOLISTIC PRACTICES

(Address by James W. Cassedy, general counsel, Motor and Equipment Wholesalers Association)

The American economic system of free competitive enterprise was conceived by the Founding Fathers of our Nation and was written into the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and laws of the United States. In the beginning this concept was largely an ideal in the minds of men who desired freedom from unreasonable restraints in the conduct of their individual lives and businesses. Subsequently, with the development and growth of this country the ideal of a really free competitive enterprise system has been the objective of our representatives in Congress and in the legislatures of the various States. At every session of Congress and of the legislatures of the States the major effort of our lawmakers is to perfect and protect this ideal, in the public interest.

A really free competitive enterprise system embraces the total of millions of day-by-day decisions—some good and some bad—but decisions that are freely made by individuals acting individually and independently in the conduct of their own businesses. The objective of the system is to provide for all American businessmen the right to be independent, to make their own decisions, and to determine their own actions in accordance with their own judgments.

Competition is a contest between two or more business rivals for the business of a customer. Webster's New International Dictionary defines competition as "seeking, or endeavoring to gain, what another is endeavoring to gain at the same time; a contest between rivals; a match or trial between contestants."

The term "enterprise" means an undertaking or hazard; an arduous attempt. "Free enterprise" means the right to conduct a legitimate business for profit, except in time of war. "Free competition" means a free and open market among both buyers and sellers for the sale and distribution of commodities.

The American economic system of free competitive enterprise includes competition between manufacturers, producers or sellers at the primary level. It includes competition between wholesalers, distributors or jobbers at the second level. It includes competition between retailers at the third level. Each level of competition is entitled to equal dignity and is of equal importance.

The importance of independent wholesale distribution and independent retail distribution in the automotive service industry, as well as by wholesalers or retailers in other industries, cannot be overemphasized for the protection and maintenance of our free competitive enterprise system, for the independence of the wholesaler and of the retailer is vital to that system.

The wholesaler is a specialist in making merchandise available. He gives time value and place value to goods. He is the bridge that connects thousands of manufacturers, producers, and other sellers at the primary level of competition with hundreds of thousands of retailers at the third level of competition. The wholesaler buys goods in large quantities, warehouses them, breaks them up into smaller quantities, and distributes them as they are needed by his retail customers. He makes delivery. He extends credit. He furnishes merchandising aid and counsel to retailers. He is the long arm of distribution reaching out and giving availability to merchandise everywhere.

Only a few manufacturers or producers at the primary level of competition can directly serve the retailer as economically and as well as they can through the wholesaler. Many thousands of manufacturers and producers and many hundreds of thousands of retailers simply could not exist if it were not for the services provided by the wholesaler. If the wholesaler were eliminated the great majority of manufacturers and retailers would also be eliminated.

The American economic system of free competitive enterprise is protected and maintained by our antitrust laws. These laws express the national public policy. We look to their enforcement to protect competition not only between manufacturers, producers, and other sellers at the primary level of competition but also competition between wholesalers, distributors or jobbers at the secondary level and competition between retailers at the third level. We look to the enforcement of these laws to protect competition at all levels from injury and destruction by price discrimination, exclusive dealing, price fixing, and other illegal practices. We look to their enforcement to provide free and open markets, equality of opportunity of all persons to compete in trade or business, and freedom of choice in the purchase and sale of all commodities.

We believe that our antitrust laws should provide free and open markets, equality of competitive opportunity, and freedom of choice in trade at all levels of competition. That is our objective and goal but since the enactment of the first antitrust law Congress has found it necessary time and again to pass additional antitrust legislation to meet some new threat to our free competitive enterprise system which the law did not cover.

The American people have never hesitated to support and the Congress has never failed to enact whatever antitrust legislation was needed to protect our free competitive enterprise system, but throughout the history of our country we have learned that protecting this system requires constant effort because there are always some who for selfish reasons adopt and use unfair and destructive methods of competition, particularly price discrimination, to gain an economic advantage which injures, destroys, or prevents competition, creates monopoly, or lessens their need to compete on the basis of fairness and efficiency. Of these illegal practices, the one that has been the most harmful and difficult to prevent throughout the years has been price discrimination. The fight waged against the evil of price discrimination has had a long legislative history.

The first Federal law prohibiting price discrimination was the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. Congress enacted this law largely as the result of public resentment against the discriminatory practices of the Standard Oil Co., and other trusts and combines, which destroyed their smaller competitors. Subsequently, this law was supplemented by the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 which made illegal "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade." This act also made it illegal to "monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons to monopolize any part of the trade." Thereafter in two cases prosecuted by the United States Government against the Standard Oil Co. and the American Tobacco Co., which were decided by the Supreme Court in 1911, the evidence dramatically demonstrated that price discrimination had played a major part in bringing about monopolies in the petroleum and tobacco industries. These monopolies were broken up and the Sherman law appeared to be adequate where known monopoly existed or where known monopoly had reached such a near state of maturity that the intent of gaining a complete monopoly was unmistakable, but this law was never interpreted as adequate to prohibit the monopoly practice of price discrimination.

Following these decisions there was great public concern over the monopoly problem. This was reflected in the presidential campaign of 1912 in the platforms of the Democrat, Republican, and Independent Parties, which called for legislation that would prohibit the specific acts and practices, such as price discrimination, which led to monopoly rather than to wait for a monopoly to grow to full flower and then attempt to break it up. The public demand was "to kill the weed in the seed."

It was in response to this public demand that Congress enacted in 1914 the Clayton Antitrust Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act. The Clayton Act made unlawful and specifically prohibited price discrimination and other harmful acts and practices that injure competition and tend to create monopoly. The Federal Trade Commission Act made unlawful and prohibited unfair methods of competition to cover any other acts or practices which had not yet been defined as leading to monopoly.

Subsequently, in the efforts to enforce the Clayton Act prohibitions against price discrimination three loopholes and weaknesses were found which practically nullified the law. The first was that while the statute sought to protect competition generally from substantial injury it was not adequate to protect an individual wholesaler or retailer competing locally in the resale of the manufacturer's goods. The second was the proviso which exempted price discrimination on account of differences in the quantities sold without reference to differences in the seller's cost savings. The third loophole was the proviso which exempted price discrimination made in good faith to meet competition. Because of these loopholes and weaknesses in the Clayton Act discriminatory practices increased and spread

to many industries and brought about an increasing public demand for corrective legislation to protect competition, not only between manufacturers, producers, and other sellers at the primary level, but also competition between wholesalers at the secondary level and between retailers at the third level. The prevalence of the price discrimination evil and its destructive effects upon small manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers at all levels of competition was set out in an overwhelming mass of evidence in some 30 volumes of factual studies submitted to the Congress by the Federal Trade Commission and by the committee hearings on the Robinson-Patman bills.

As a result the Congress enacted the Robinson-Patman Act in 1936 in an effort to strengthen the Clayton Act by closing the 3 loopholes and weaknesses previously described.

The scope of the provision prohibiting price discrimination, where the effect may be to substantially lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly in any line of commerce, was enlarged and rewritten so that price discrimination would also be prohibited where the effect may be to injure, destroy, or prevent competition with any person who either grants or receives the benefit of such discrimination, or with customers of either of them. By this amendment the law would protect competition of individual competitors as well as competition generally from the harmful effects of price discrimination. The proviso exempting price discriminations made on account of different quantities sold was eliminated and instead it was provided that price differences would be lawful where they were based upon actual savings in cost to the seller resulting from different methods or quantities in which a commodity is sold or delivered.

The proviso of the old Clayton Act exempting price discriminations made in good faith meeting of competition was considered by Congress to be one of the principal loopholes of the law and a major obstacle to its enforcement. The Robinson-Patman Act attempted to eliminate the nullifying effects of this proviso by rewriting it as a procedural provision so that whenever a manufacturer or other seller at the primary level of competition claimed that he was justified in discriminating in price because he was meeting in good faith an equally low price of a competing manufacturer, the Federal Trade Commission would be required to prove that the actual or probable effect of the price discrimination was substantially to injure competition. Where the effect of the discrimination substantially injured competition it was clearly the intent of the law to prohibit the discrimination. The legislative history of the good-faith proviso in the Robinson-Patman Act clearly shows that Congress had in mind the situation where manufacturers and other sellers at the primary level of competition found it necessary to lower their prices to some customers in order to meet in good faith equally low prices of other competing manufacturers or sellers at the primary level. Congress certainly did not have in mind that a manufacturer or other seller at the primary level of competition could arbitrarily discriminate in price between his customers who were competing at the wholesale level or who were competing at the retail level. It is unreasonable and illogical to assume that Congress intended to give to any manufacturer or seller at the primary level of competition the right to discriminate in price between competing wholesalers or between competing retailers and thereby substantially injure, destroy or prevent competition between wholesalers or between retailers.

Nevertheless in 1951 in the case of Federal Trade Commission against the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, the Supreme Court of the United States in a 5-to-3 decision held that a manufacturer or other seller at the primary level of competition may discriminate in price between competing wholesalers or between competing retailers in order to meet in good faith an equally low price of a competing manufacturer or other seller at the primary level regardless of the substantially injurious effects upon competition between wholesalers at the secondary level or upon competition between retailers at the third level. In effect, the Supreme Court held that the very loophole that practically nullified the price-discrimination section of the old Clayton Act and was an obstacle to its enforcement, that Congress clearly intended to close, and thought it did close when it enacted the Robinson-Patman Act, was still open and that the "good faith" proviso afforded just as complete a defense under the Robinson-Patman Act as it did under the old Clayton Act.

As a result of this decision the Robinson-Patman Act has been seriously weakened, the act affords no protection to competition between wholesalers, or between retailers, the public interest in protecting competition at all levels has been subordinated to the individual manufacturer's or supplier's private interest in discriminating in price, the act has become largely a declaration of the seller's right to discriminate in price, and wholesalers and retailers who are discriminated against are deprived of their right to object, regardless of the number of businesses that are injured and destroyed.

Such discriminatory pricing practices constitute a serious threat of substantial injury and destruction to competition between wholesalers and between retailers, which cannot be prevented by the Robinson-Patman Act unless the act is amended to close the loophole created by this decision.

Legislation has been introduced and is now pending before the Congress to plug this loophole. The legislation is called the equality of opportunity bill and is designated H. R. 11 in the House of Representatives and S. 11 in the Senate. This proposed legislation simply means that where the effect of the discrimination in price may be substantially to lessen competition between manufacturers or other sellers at the primary level, between wholesalers, distributors, or jobbers at the secondary level, or between retailers at the third level of competition in any section of the country, the price discrimination cannot be justified and excused on the ground that the manufacturer or other seller at the primary level was meeting an equally low price of a competing manufacturer or other seller at the primary level.

As general counsel for MEWA I appeared before the House and Senate Judiciary Committees at the last session of Congress and testified in support of this proposed legislation for the protection of automotive wholesalers. At that time the House of Representatives voted 393 to 3 in favor of the proposed legislation and it was favorably reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee but did not reach a vote on the floor of the Senate before adjournment. At the present session of Congress I appeared before the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee on March 29, 1957, and testified as general counsel for MEWA in support of the proposed legislation. Hearings will be held before the House Judiciary Committee in the near future and I intend to represent the interest of the members of MEWA in support of this legislation before that committee as soon as I have an opportunity to do so. It is my considered opinion after many years of study that this legislation, if enacted, will greatly strengthen the Robinson-Patman Act and will furnish vitally needed protection to competition at all levels from the substantially injurious effects of price discrimination.

In the automotive service industry there are approximately 1,200 manufacturers of automotive products. These are divided into three classifications. The first makes automotive products only for original equipment and sells only to the car manufacturers. The second makes automotive products in part for original equipment and in part for the replacement market and sells both the car manufacturers and the independent automotive wholesalers. The third type makes automotive products only for the replacement market and sells only to automotive wholesalers. In addition, three of the major automobile manufacturers, General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler, also manufacture and sell automotive products in the replacement market.

Automotive wholesalers buy their automotive merchandise from many of these manufacturers that make and sell automotive products for the replacement market and resell such merchandise to garages, repair shops, service stations, car dealers, fleet operators, and other miscellaneous trade outlets. In so doing automotive wholesalers compete directly with automobile manufacturers and the car dealers, the major oil companies, the rubber tire companies, chain stores, mail order houses, and other automotive wholesalers that handle automotive products.

To say the least the competition faced by the automotive wholesaler is rough and very difficult to meet. The economic power possessed and exercised by the automobile manufacturers through their car dealers in the sale of automotive products in the replacement market, together with the economic power possessed and exercised by the major oil companies through the gasoline service stations, in the sale of automotive products such as tires, batteries and accessories has practically foreclosed these markets from the independent automotive wholesaler. Price discrimination, exclusive dealing, and other illegal practices are the shackles that close the door upon these markets and prevent the independent automotive wholesaler from selling automotive products to the car dealer and the service station. These illegal practices enable the car manufacturers and major oil companies to dominate and monopolize the car dealer and service-station market.

In these circumstances the enactment of the equality of opportunity bill (S. 11 and H. R. 11) is urgently needed if independent automotive wholesalers are to survive in this industry.

The issue is sharply drawn on this proposed legislation between the manufacturers, producers and other sellers at the primary level of competition who oppose the enactment of the equality of opportunity bill and the wholesalers and retailers at the second and third levels of competition who support and advocate the passage of such legislation. You can take your choice but I submit to you that if you desire an equal opportunity to meet your competition with the car manufacturer, the oil companies, the rubber tire companies, the car dealers, the chain stores, the mail order houses and other automotive wholesalers you will support this proposed legislation and urge your Representatives and Senators in Congress to vote for it.

A Senator's Case Against Seniority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, in last Sunday's New York Times magazine appeared an interesting article written by the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr.

NEUBERGER] entitled "A Senator's Case Against Seniority."

I do not necessarily concur with all the views set forth in the article, but it is provocative and well worth reading. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A SENATOR'S CASE AGAINST SENIORITY

(By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER)

WASHINGTON.—Although I have served in the Senate only since January 1955, it has become my firm conviction during this period that seniority should not continue to be the sole determinant of congressional sovereignty and influence as reflected in committee chairmanships and committee assignments. As I see the question, seniority is wrong on three fundamental counts:

1. It attaches little or no significance to the special abilities and experience of an individual, but only to the duration of his service.

2. A committee chairman never can be removed, even if the national interest is jeopardized by his continuance in that post.

3. Seniority rewards those States with one-party systems and, conversely, penalizes States in which two robust and equally matched political parties fight it out at the ballot box.

The reasons for these objections to seniority are so obvious, it seems to me, that they can be regarded as practically self-explanatory. What can be said of a method of operating Congress that will give an ordinary layman with long political tenure a greater opportunity to serve on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy than a famous nuclear physicist who might come newly to House or Senate? A man may be a leader of the bar in his State, but will he attain the Judiciary Committee if he lacks seniority? Senator THRUSTON MORTON, of Kentucky, was President Eisenhower's Assistant Secretary of State, but the inexorable rule of seniority has given him a seat on the District of Columbia Committee rather than on the Foreign Relations Committee, where his training in the State Department could be put to practical use.

After their defeats for the Presidency, both Thomas E. Dewey and Adlai Stevenson were surrounded by rumors of senatorial ambitions. Why should men of their distinction and oratorical gifts not aspire to the Senate Chamber? Yet, it later was reported that they had decided against essaying the humble and unrewarding roles of freshmen Senators. Surely the decision of men of their caliber not to try for the Senate was a loss to the whole Nation. Under a similar system in England, Winston Churchill would have had to be content with back-bench status after he dropped out of Parliament for a time and thus relinquished his seniority.

In these days of crisis, Government must be flexible to met new situations. The earth is moving at a mad pace. Emergencies are omnipresent. Never so true was the couplet from James Russell Lowell's The Present Crisis:

"New occasions teach new duties,
Time makes ancient good uncouth."

Yet the congressional rule of seniority is the direct antithesis of this. It is rigid, inflexible, and unyielding—particularly in the vital realm of committee chairmanships. An isolationist may head the Armed Services Committee at the height of American involvement in a worldwide conflict, and in that post he stays if seniority put him there. If seniority installs a foe of conservation as chairman of the committee charged with protecting America's dwindling supply of natural resources, draft horses and wainrope cannot drag him out of his seat. And if the allies or beneficiaries of special interests become the heads of key committees responsible for regulating those same special interests—well, that is seniority.

Ought Congress to be laced into such a straitjacket? If Senators can be trusted to pass on matters as crucial as war and peace, why is it unsafe to let them pick their own committee chairmen?

This is not to claim that able men of integrity rarely rise to congressional dominance through the seniority system—far from it. For instance, Senator JAMES E. MURRAY, of Montana, an ardent conservationist at the age of 80, presides today over the Interior Committee. I have been amazed at the details concerning fiscal matters known to Senator CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona, 79, who wields the gavel in the vital Appropriations Committee.

But the point is that, even if Senator MURRAY were not so ardent a conservationist and if Senator HAYDEN possessed far less familiarity with the Federal budget, they still would head the Interior and Appropriations Committees, respectively. Their qualifications are secondary to their seniority. I wonder if this is a wise set of priorities, particularly when we consider that men critically ill have ruled strategic committees for years in absentia. As long as breath remained in their bodies, the seniority rule could not be breached. They had to retain their chairmanships.

Furthermore, under such an arrangement, seniority often becomes an end in and of itself. Electorates are told that they must keep in office a certain individual not necessarily because he is sound on the burning issues confronting America and the rest of the world, but simply because he has so much seniority on deposit in Senate vaults.

In 1954, when I ran for the Senate as a Democrat in a State which had not elected a Democratic Senator for 40 years, my opponent was an incumbent Republican who, through the inexorable workings of the seniority process, had become chairman of the Interior Committee. This is the most powerful Senate committee in dealing with problems affecting the Western States. The special advantages and benefits to Oregon of my opponent's seniority became a leading issue of the campaign. Indeed, at times it subordinated all other issues.

I shall never forget a conversation I had with an enlightened and able editor of a small-town daily newspaper whose support I was seeking. This man is an internationalist and a fervent defender of civil liberties. I cited to him my opponent's rollcall votes in the Senate against ratifying the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, against extending reciprocal trade, against point 4, against any moves toward rebuking Senator MCCARTHY, against confirming such appointees as Chester Bowles and David E. Lilienthal, against positive Federal action in the realm of civil rights.

"Everything that you charge about your opponent's voting record is undoubtedly true," said the editor, whom I long have respected and admired. "I can't defend that record. Yet I still would hate to see our State lose all that valuable seniority in the United States Senate, as well as on some of its most important committees."

And, near the climax of the campaign, this internationalist, liberal-minded editor endorsed for the Senate an isolationist and adversary of civil rights.

I am convinced that such incidents are by no means uncommon. Yet an endless and self-serving circle is thus created. A one-party State provides seniority for its Senators because they serve without serious challenge to their tenure. Then, this seniority is relied upon as an all-persuasive argument for continuing the State's one-party standing.

This constitutes my principal complaint against the seniority system. It provides an argument and shield for people who fear the real workings of democracy. Despite all our vaunted devotion to the two-party system, grassroots competition between strong political parties is virtually unknown in approximately half the States of the Union. In fact, the absence of genuine political competition in so many States may be at the root of the undue emphasis on prolonged tenure in office. Such tenure is inevitably a byproduct of one-party rule.

Occasionally some of the one-party States may be breached by a Presidential nominee of the other party who possesses overwhelming personal popularity or glamor—Franklin D. Roosevelt or Dwight Eisenhower, for example. In some distressing cases, as with the religious bigotry of 1928 directed against Alfred E. Smith, a one-party State may reverse itself.

But these exceptions seldom register any lower on the ballot. Mr. Hoover, once, and Mr. Eisenhower, twice, successfully invaded much of the deep South. Yet they brought to victory with them not a single Republican Senator from that region. Mr. Roosevelt carried Oregon decisively four times, but the State never elected a Democratic Senator on such occasions. For offices like United States Senator or the governorships, no fewer than 28 States may be regarded as nearly impregnable strongholds of 1 party or the other. These are the States which ascend most often to dominance in Congress under the seniority system.

What is a one-party State? I admit the term is susceptible to no hard and fast definition. Yet some specific standards of measurement are possible.

I have based this measurement on Senate seats because they are generally the offices fought over the hardest and national significance is most likely to attack to the results. I have gone back only to 1914, when some States first began to experiment with the direct election of Senators. Prior to that time all Senators were chosen by State legislatures, with railroads and timber companies and steamship monopolies often more influential in the choice than the will of the electorate.

With this in mind, I believe it is fair and accurate to describe as a 1-party State any in which 1 party has held, since 1914, a preponderance of senatorial election victories of 3 to 1, or more.

I find that in 28 States the nominees of 1 party have regularly won Senate seats in 3 elections out of 4, or better. This is considerably more than half the States of our Nation. Some of these 1-party States, especially in the South and Southwest, have been traditionally Democratic. Other States, particularly in New England and in the Corn and Wheat Belt of the Middle West, have been steadfastly Republican.

In only 20 of the States have Senate seats been divided somewhat evenly between the 2 parties since the direct election of Senators began to replace the appointment method. They are: Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

It is true that these States today hold 5 chairmanships among a total of 15 permanent Senate committees. But it also is true that the chairmanships belong to the 5 among the 2-party States that are the closest to being 1-party States. In this category is New Mexico, whose senior Senator serves as chairman of the Public Works Committee. New Mexico has had its senatorial seats occupied by Democrats for a 13 to 5 supremacy during the past 43 years. This is narrowly below the 3 to 1 ratio which would add New Mexico to my list of 1-party States.

Furthermore, States where the 2 parties are as closely matched politically as New York and Illinois have not held major Senate chairmanships for a considerable number of years, despite their vast populations and their importance to the national economy. I can think of no more compelling reason for modifying the seniority rule than the manner in which seniority must inevitably discriminate against great 2-party States such as these.

Fortunately, there has been some slight recent erosion of seniority. This has occurred not in the disposition of committee chairmanships, but in the place where reform ought logically to begin—in the assignment of new Senators to committee seats.

Some weeks ago, Representative STEWART L. UDALL, of Arizona, in an able defense in this magazine of the seniority rule, stressed the change in the method of committee assignments as a hopeful sign that seniority is losing its ironclad aspects. I agree with his satisfaction over this development. However, Representative UDALL neglected to point out that this curtailment of seniority has applied thus far to only 1 of the 2 major political parties.

Upon becoming Democratic leader of the Senate in 1953, Senator LYNDON JOHNSON laid down the policy that no member of the party, regardless of his seniority, would receive a second top committee seat of his choice until every Democratic Senator had been given at least one such assignment. Up to that time, senior Senators had monopolized nearly all the prized committee posts. Newcomers were relegated to minor committees, which usually meant Rules or Post Office or District of Columbia. This is still often the fate of junior Republican Senators, because the Johnson doctrine has yet to spread across the center aisle after 4 years of operation.

Immediately after their elections, Senators MIKE MANSFIELD of Montana and STUART SYMINGTON of Missouri were seated by the Democrats on the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees, respectively, because of their long backgrounds in those fields. Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon, who once taught international law, received a Senate Foreign Relations Committee place from the Democrats even while he was still an Independent. Yet no Republican seat on the committees operating in the realm of diplomacy has gone to Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER of Kentucky, even though he has come to the Senate fresh from experience as President Eisenhower's envoy to India.

Two years ago I entered the Senate as a freshman and was assigned by the Democratic leadership to the Interior and Public Works Committees, both vital to natural-resource management in my Pacific Northwest constituency. By contrast, Senator CLIFFORD CASE of New Jersey, an Eisenhower Republican who entered the Senate with me, has been given only such typically minor berths as Post Office and District of Columbia because members of his party senior to him had laid claim to all the committee chairs of his preference.

What is to be done about this whole thorny question of seniority in Congress and of the penalty it imposes upon two-party States?

Stubborn issues rarely respond to easy or pat solutions. However, I have three specific remedies to propose:

1. Relate committee assignments in Congress far more to geography and to specific State problems than to seniority.

2. Permit committee members to elect a chairman by secret ballot, rather than having this decided only by seniority.

3. Convert as many of the present 1-party States as possible into 2-party States.

Let me explain what I mean by the first proposal.

The people of the State of New York pay about 20 percent of all the taxes collected by the Federal Government. There should always be one Senator from New York on the Finance Committee, where taxation matters are decided. The Agricultural Committee should be balanced as fairly as possible among Members from the cotton States of the South, the grain States of the Middle West and the specialty-crop States on both seacoasts. This balance does not prevail today. Among the committee's 15 Members there is not 1 Senator from the immense rural area between the Great Plains and the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

It is my belief that, once assignment to committees has been removed from the realm of seniority, it soon will follow that each committee will be able to elect its chairman. In the Senate committees on which I serve, the chairman thus selected undoubtedly will be the same Senators who have occupied the head chair through seniority. But this would not be automatically the case in every committee, and the two-party States would find themselves at least participating in the choice; their total exclusion from such decisions might end.

My third suggestion may seem illusory and farfetched. How do you change a 1-party State into a 2-party State? Let me offer my own State as a prime demonstration that the feat can be accomplished.

While Franklin Roosevelt was President, only three States—Maine, Vermont, and Oregon—failed to elect Democratic Senators or third-party Senators aligned with the Democrats. The last Democratic Senator from Oregon had been elected in 1914, the last Democratic Governor in 1934, and 2 of Oregon's 4 House seats had never in history been won by Democrats. Today, Oregon has 2 Democratic Senators, a Democratic Governor, and 3 out of its 4 congressional seats are occupied by Democrats.

The significant feature of Oregon's emergence from entrenched one-party status is the circumstance that 2 out of 3 Democratic senatorial victories have occurred in 1954 and again in 1956. Oregon never elected a Democratic Senator during the 12 years that the White House was occupied by Franklin D. Roosevelt, most popular of Democratic Presidents. Paradoxically, Oregon today has 2 Democratic Senators who were elected during the 4 years that the White House has been the residence of Dwight D. Eisenhower, most popular of Republican Presidents.

What was responsible for this?

The principal ingredient in the political upheaval in Oregon has been the refusal of the Democrats to be daunted by the deeply rooted political monopoly of the Republicans. Democratic leaders in every Oregon county decided there was no valid reason why Oregon should be the exclusive property of the Republican Party. Spirit and persistence accounted for the change.

I discuss Oregon merely as a case in point. There are other one-party bastions and they, too, can be carried by a formidable political assault. Pennsylvania, with a 14-to-4 preponderance of Republican senatorial victories throughout its modern history, is succumbing to change. JOSEPH S. CLARK, JR., is the first Democratic Senator from Pennsylvania in many years. And, now that President Eisenhower himself has twice breached many of the Democratic redoubts in the South, his party is looking southward for victories at other levels on the ballot.

Any invasion of a political stronghold, be it Republican or Democratic, is to the eventual advantage of democracy and progressive government. As one-party citadels fall, seniority will lose much of its attraction and influence in Congress. And as seniority is gradually modified, there will be less temptation for a State to continue suppliantly in the clutches of one political party. Both of these changes will help the Nation—inside the Halls of Congress as well as far beyond the Capitol Dome.

Women Know How To Cut a Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Women Know How To Cut a Budget," written by the very fine columnist, Dorothy Thompson.

Mrs. Thompson expresses a viewpoint I have held for years, in saying:

No one can tell this householder that the expenditure could not be cut from 5 percent to 10 percent without giving up any major project.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WOMEN KNOW HOW TO CUT A BUDGET

(By Dorothy Thompson)

Years ago I rented a villa in Italy and employed a cook, a man named Carlo. Every day, except Sunday, he did the shopping and presented me with the bill.

His cooking was superb, but at the end of the first week I found his bills appalling. The household consisted of myself, usually a house guest, a maid, the cook, and a kitchen boy—Carlo's son whom he had introduced into the menage with the argument that a cook of his abilities, who had hitherto served only in great households, could not be expected to carry shopping bags or peel vegetables, but his son would work for only his food.

Looking over the menus of that first week, I could not imagine how 8 dozen eggs, 6 pounds of butter, and prodigious amounts of coffee, olive oil, and meat had been consumed, and I consulted an Italian friend, a famous hostess who lived in a very grand manner. She exclaimed, "This is an outrage. He's feeding his family out of your kitchen. Your food should cost you so and so many liras a day per person and no more. That is what I spend."

SO MUCH FOR FOOD

I was rather afraid of Carlo, who bore a disturbing resemblance to Mussolini, but on Monday I called him in, handed food money for a week, and said, "From now on I want no more accounting, either daily or weekly. This money must last 7 days, and I expect the meals to be exactly as good as usual."

He counted the money, and in his dark look I thought I discerned a trace of admiration.

Meals remained as exquisite as ever. We had fish a little oftener, and not quite as often a filet of beef, but Carlo could make a veal ragout that was something out of this world and do incomparable things with cheese.

This little story is apropos the national budget. In Carlo's case I had to reduce the amount of take-home pay in kind—less dishonest than customary, depending on the canniness of his employer. I am not suggesting any further analogy than that in any household, living at a high standard, one can always reduce costs without appreciably or uncomfortably reducing the standard.

The National Government is living to the tune of $71 billion a year, and no one can tell this householder that the expenditure could not be cut from 5 percent to 10 percent without giving up any major project.

The trouble with a budget that size is that no one person knows what is in it. But if every single department and agency were told, "Reduce your costs by 5 percent and

render exactly as good a service," each of them could, I am convinced, do so.

THRIFTY HOUSEKEEPING

The President agreed, in his last week's press conference, that one could pare a little here and there, but not save appreciably. If, however, one pares a little everywhere, the grand total can be quite startling.

This is something that every housekeeper is being compelled to learn as the result of taxation, which is reducing the budget of every family. "Turn off the lights when you leave the room, the electric bill is too high."

We'll use paper napkins, towels that don't need ironing, and father must wear shirts that drip dry because the laundry bill is too high. We search for delicious recipes using the cheaper cuts of meats, because the food bills are too high, and so ad infinitum.

And all these little economies under nearly every heading add up appreciably at the end of a month or year.

When the income-tax collector comes around, the householder can't argue that he's unable to pay because his living costs have consumed his income, and "Am I expected to live at an un-American standard?"

Turn off the lights on leaving the room, gentlemen.

A penny saved is a penny earned.

Great Lakes Basin Compact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, as a cosponsor of S. 1416, I continue to take a particular interest in the Great Lakes Basin compact.

A recent editorial appeared in the Duluth Herald, Duluth, Minn., concerning this project, and I ask unanimous consent that the text of this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GREAT LAKES COMPACT MAKES GOOD SENSE

Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Pennsylvania have joined a Great Lakes commission, known as the Great Lakes Basin Compact. As any bright-eyed geographer will have noticed, two of the Great Lakes States, Ohio and New York, are not yet of the company.

The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce says it sees no need for Ohio to join at all. It says that Federal agencies now exercise all the proposed functions, that the plan would mean another bureaucracy, supported by the member States.

True, almost anything a State or any other unit of government, business, or humanity may do will cost some money. And it is also true that any function which the States neglect will be performed, some day, somehow, by the Federal Government if needs become both serious and obvious and there are Federal funds available.

But for much of the country the Great Lakes means an ornamental cluster at the top of the map and some possible competition in transportation. The lakes States themselves have a great many common interests and none too many votes in Congress to insure the protection of those interests.

We have been helped by many Federal agencies and will need more help from them in the future. We will get more assistance, of the kind we need and more promptly, if we have a unified, articulate agency which can speak for all of the Great Lakes States.

Interstate compacts are one hopeful answer to the trend toward centralization. They enables States to act in concert on common problems, combining close acquaintance with problems and a large enough area to permit effective action. That an organization speaking for the business and civic interests of a large port city like Cleveland should oppose a compact with six lake States have thought worth joining will sadden many residents of lake States.

Fair Share of the National Income for Both Management and Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a column which appeared in the Indianapolis News of April 2 entitled "Business, Labor Better Take Heed," which was reprinted from the Providence Evening Bulletin.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Eisenhower is receiving strong support from at least one industrial leader for his contention that the national welfare requires industry to practice restraint in raising prices and likewise demands that labor refrain from asking wage increases which exceed productivity gains.

The industrialist is Mr. Henry Ford II. He told a New Jersey audience that he welcomes competition among labor, management, and consumers for their respective fair share of the national income. He believes that such striving, each for its rightful own, stimulates the national economy and spurs progress and prosperity for all.

But trouble appears, Mr. Ford contends, when either management or labor attempts to grab more than its fair share of the national income. If either industries or the unions undertake to get for themselves all the fruits of the increased productivity of the Nation, the inevitable result, Mr. Ford says, will be monetary inflation or a shrinkage of the total market, or perhaps both misfortunes.

Either of these results obviously would be damaging to the national welfare.

For, according to Mr. Ford's thesis, which is hard to challenge successfully, the resulting inflation or the decline in the total market would penalize all the groups concerned, whether consumers or industry or labor. The soundness of Mr. Ford's position, we believe, cannot be intelligently disputed. In making this observation publicly, he renders distinguished service, the more valuable because of its timeliness in a critical economic period for the Nation.

It would be helpful if some union leader, as highly respected in labor as Mr. Ford is in industry, now would add his public endorsement to this particularly sage comment on management-labor responsibility for the national welfare.

Lafayette Square

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, often the ladies of the United States inform us, as Members of the Congress, of their attitudes on various measures before the Congress, in which they have an abiding interest. Often, too, these matters are of a nature that the women of America see aspects involved which sometimes are overlooked by their male counterparts.

The problem of how to maintain Lafayette Square in this city as the front yard of the United States has recently beset the Government in the determination of how to provide additional space for executive offices.

The 78th Congressional Wives Club has recently written to me expressing its views on this matter. This letter very forcefully represents that we most certainly should make every effort possible to preserve all those things which we have received from our historic past, while, at the same time we prepare for the future.

I, therefore, ask unanimous consent to have this letter, dated March 30, 1957, printed with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 30, 1957.*

Hon. T. GLENN BEALL,
Senate Office Building.

DEAR MR. BEALL: On March 8 at a luncheon meeting of the 78th Congressional Club (whose members are wives of Congressmen who took their seats in January 1943) there was a discussion of the proposed plan to build a $27 million Federal office building in Lafayette Square. This discussion was lively, informed, and comprehensive. The 26 members present showed concern, lest this project damage the historic interest and the familiar charm of Lafayette Square, which is almost like a front yard of the White House.

The members talked freely of mistakes made in the past and errors that might be made in the future by the planners and builders, private and governmental, who have it in their power to keep Washington a capital to be proud of. Must they (those men) turn it into a city like any other, packed with big buildings, paved with concrete parking lots, ribbed with freeways and six-lane highways? Progress and expansion made changes necessary, it was agreed, but as one member said: "They seem to like nothing better than to tear down historic old buildings just for the sake of putting up something brandnew." Another member asked, "Is it really necessary for the Federal Government to invade Lafayette Square? Why not put these new buildings in parts of the city where worn-out, ugly structures need to be torn down?" Also it was asked, "What about the other side of the Lafayette Square? Were they going to tear those buildings down, too?" And another, "In 50 years, they'll be restoring the very buildings torn down today."

The chief criticism of the Federal project seemed to be that a massive office building

would destroy the scale and intimate charm of the square as it now is. Despite the presence there of several office buildings, there still remains in the square a certain harmony of period and style. The White House, St. John's Church, Decatur House, the Dolly Madison Home, the row of old brick and brownstone houses on Jackson Place and the other buildings across the square on Madison Place make a pleasant picture, surrounding the green park with its statues, trees, flowering shrubs and colorful pansy beds. This generation and many gone by have loved this spot. What a shame to mar it so that people coming after us will not have the same pleasures of the eye and the imagination.

As one of the members of the 78th Club said, "We congressional wives spend a lot of time taking people from our districts around Washington. Lots of them know exactly what they expect to see. They have read about Washington. It would be too bad if pretty soon all of the familiar landmarks they are looking for were gone." This remark followed the comment of a member who said: "That if the old State War and Navy Building were replaced by a modern executive office building it might seem logical and progressive to tear down the old Treasury Building on the corner of 15th and Pennsylvania and put up something more like a first-class streamlined bank."

It was agreed to commend the present position of the National Trust for Historic Preservation to go along with the Federal authorities with their plans for a Federal building in the square, hoping that the building when erected should present a facade on Jackson Place in conformity with the structures there now which are not to be torn down, such as the Decatur House, the Blair House, and Blair Lee House and perhaps others. Also it was remarked with some satisfaction that for the present the actual building may be delayed because of the inflationary trend.

However, the 78th Club decided to set up a committee for the preservation of historic Washington, and to inform the members of other congressional wives clubs about its interest in this matter. It was also agreed that this committee should send a letter about its special interest in Lafayette Square to certain selected authorities.

Yours very truly,

SEVENTY-EIGHTH CLUB COMMITTEE FOR PRESERVATION OF HISTORIC WASHINGTON.

AGNES HALE, *Chairman.*

MARGARET C. HOLMES,

JEAN J. SUNDSTROM.

Fears of Illness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the fear of prolonged and catastrophic illness is one of the aspects of contemporary American life with which, sooner or later, we are going to have to deal. Various insurance companies have attempted to meet the problem, and have made small but hopeful beginnings. Nevertheless, I think it is clear that sooner or later we are going to have to resort to Federal legislative action, if we are to have a broad-based attack on this central problem.

Sylvia Porter has recently contributed one of her excellent columns to this subject. I ask unanimous consent that the column, entitled "Fear of Illness," which appeared in the New York Post, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEAR OF ILLNESS

(By Sylvia F. Porter)

There are three great fears of economic insecurity which profoundly disturb all but an insignificant minority of us, America's tens of millions of adults.

One is the fear of being helplessly dependent in our older years on others for mere subsistence.

To some extent, this fear is being alleviated by the development since the thirties of our social-security system and the growth of major private pension plans.

Another is the fear of being out of a job for some time and as a result, losing our savings, going into debt, hitting financial bottom.

This fear also is being gradually eased by the development of jobless insurance and supplementary unemployment benefit plans.

And a third fear is that of prolonged illness—resulting not from an unusual sickness but from an everyday type of disease which can strike anytime and which always places a massive financial burden on the worker and his family.

In combating this great fear, we have made only minimum progress.

In fact, not until this day of March 29, 1957, have we had even an authoritative estimate of the extent of this form of economic insecurity, its cost to the worker, the employer, the community, the Nation.

Yet, the chances are 1 out of 25 that this year you will be hit by the disaster of prolonged illness—defined as an illness keeping you away from your job for 4 weeks or more.

The chances are 1 out of 5 that you will be struck by this catastrophe within 5 years.

The chances are that only a little more than half the cost of this illness will be covered by corporation payments to you or some insurance deal.

The chances are that if you're an average worker earning $3,485 a year, your illness will keep you absent from your job for 10.7 weeks; your wage loss will be $717; you'll be compensated for only 55 percent of this loss; your net loss will run to 9.3 percent of your annual earnings.

And the chances are that if you're in the $7,500 or over income bracket, your illness will keep you absent for 11 to 12 weeks; your average wage loss will top $2,000; your net loss in annual earnings will exceed 21 percent.

To put it brutally, you'll recover from your physical illness a lot faster than you'll recover from the financial blow.

It's hard to believe that we've never known such facts as these until today. And behind this lies a fascinating tale of research.

Back in 1951, when there was an outburst of pressure for national health programs, the Research Council of Economic Security—a privately financed, nonprofit Chicago organization—decided to get some facts about the costs of lengthy illness. "To our astonishment, we found we were probing into an absolutely unexplored field," said Leon Werch, the council's research director, when I interviewed him in New York this week. "When our union advisers and industrial sponsors urged us to go ahead and said 'This (prolonged illness) will be the next major area for bargaining,' we really dug in." The council has been working on its report for 5 years, has studied almost 194,000 employees of 145 firms for at least 1 year.

One of the most significant findings of the survey is the disclosure that while insurance plans do "a pretty good job" of covering hospital and surgical costs, they provide woefully inadequate coverage of other expenses. Werch emphasized that "the average worker stays in the hospital only 2 weeks but he's away from the job for more than 10. We should reexamine our entire insurance program to see what package can be devised to cover the nonsurgical, nonhospital costs of the average worker."

Another most significant finding is the confirmation of the vital need for better corporation planning to prevent prolonged illness of workers.

The council has given us a basis for action to fight this third great fear. Now what will be done will depend on you—as an individual businessman, a union leader, and insurance executive. Even modest progress would mean so much to so many of us.

The Plight of the Teacher in Our Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the National Education Association has recently conducted a survey on the plight of the teacher in our public schools. The results of the survey were graphically reported in the New York Times of last Sunday, April 7, in an article by their educational editor, Benjamin Fine, and also commented on in an editorial in the same issue of the New York Times entitled "The Teachers' Lot."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that both the article and the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. They indicate to me the crying need for Federal aid to education not only in the field of school construction but generally with relationship to improving the lot of the teaching profession, as provided in S. 1237, sponsored by the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] and me.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDUCATION IN REVIEW—NATION'S PUBLIC-SCHOOL TEACHERS PRESENT A CANDID REPORT ON THEIR PROFESSION

(By Benjamin Fine)

A candid look at the Nation's public-school teacher, taken last week by the National Education Association, warrants the serious attention of all who equate free public schools with democracy.

The report on teachers—the most comprehensive since 1911—was published by the National Education Association research division as the centenary celebration of the Nation's largest school group got underway. Thousands of teachers in hundreds of communities met last week to begin the celebration. In Washington, President Eisenhower led the list of distinguished citizens who paused to pay tribute to the organization that has helped teaching become a profession.

Two rather disconcerting facts emerge in the survey: 73 percent of the male teachers and 17 percent of the women have to supple-

ment their teaching salaries with other income. And nearly half of the male teachers—46 percent—are not sure that they would go into teaching if they could start all over again. Eighty percent of the women would go into the profession again.

It is discouraging to find that education is such a financially insecure profession. You don't often find doctors, dentists, engineers, or lawyers working on the side to make ends meet. Yet the teachers reported that they worked at ditch-digging, bartending, factory work, baby sitting, and many other jobs. It is an unhappy thought to realize that only about half of the men teachers would go into teaching if they could start anew. As it is, men number only 27.5 percent of the teaching force.

ON MONEY

The teachers were asked to speak their minds. And they did. This is what they said on various issues:

Married man, under 36, in big city, salary of $4,850; teaches science in high school: "Frankly, as much as I like to teach young people, I cannot afford to teach much longer. The financial struggle is becoming much more than we can bear. Other positions have been offered to me doubling my present salary to start with."

Unmarried woman, 32 years a teacher, salary $3,700, teaches high-school English in rural community: "The financial struggle is discouraging and can overhang a day that should be bright with enthusiasm. Graduates make more starting salary than I do after all my years of teaching."

Married man, no children, salary $5,200 plus $400 from outside jobs, teaches English in city high school: "Every summer is a major crisis for my household. In the past few summers I have been dishwasher, ditch-digger, truckdriver, gardener, screendoor salesman, and tutor."

Married man under 30; 2 children, salary $4,250 plus $800 in outside clerking job, teaches mathematics in junior high: "I plan to leave teaching, it has become very discouraging to have to hold down 3 jobs to make a suitable living. Since I have now obtained my master's degree I can make more money in another profession."

Woman English teacher in city high school: "If the ends of education for democracy are to be achieved, teacher, and student must know one another. Classes must be reduced to a size which makes possible each child's opportunity to be heard each day in each class at least once, in a thoughtful contribution."

Woman English teacher—154 pupils per day in 5 city high-school classes: "My work-week is a 70-hour affair, and I am sure there are some whose load is even heavier * * *. There is no doubt in my mind that the quality of instruction I am able to give is proportional to my degree of fatigue."

Third-grade teacher, 35 children: "It is indeed frustrating to try to teach * * * 35 children in a classroom designed for 25 or less, and to try to reach each child effectively."

ON SUBJECT MATTER

Woman English teacher in high school: "In our school of about 1,400 students we have gone steadily downhill in our English aims and achievements. Respect for the teacher has gone down in a parallel fashion. Our children crave entertainment in the classroom and have no work habits in which they take pride."

Woman science teacher in high school: "I deplore the trend toward mediocrity and the attitude of the general public that any scholastic achievement should be looked upon with some suspicion, if not actual scorn. I am afraid we are letting a great deal of intelligence and ability go undeveloped while we are lowering our standards to teach to the average or low average group."

Male elementary schoolteacher: "Extra duties too heavy; my job consists of hall duty, banking, street patrol teachers' meetings, take children to concerts, collect for drives, recess guard, write reports for welfare groups, take field trips and serve on four committees."

Woman fifth-grade teacher: "I find myself frustrated because of the time consumed in so many areas not directly dealing with children. By that I mean the increasing burden of reports, bookkeeping, committees for this and that, reports in duplicate and triplicate, banking, stamp selling and book rental. The most often heard remark in our faculty room is 'I wish I had time to teach.' "

VITAL STATISTICS

The majority of teachers of both sexes are married. Of the women, 54 percent are married; of the men, 83 percent. The average salary of elementary and secondary teachers is $4,055. Some 5 percent, or more than 100,000, are paid under $2,000. Yet teaching is a stable profession, at least for the women. The median age for women is 45.5 years; for men, 35.4 years. The typical male teacher has had 8 years' teaching experience; the average woman has had 15 years.

Do they like to teach? For a majority the answer is yes. Despite the faultfinding, most teachers get some pleasure and satisfactions from their job.

This is what some teachers say about their love of the profession:

Male music teacher in city high school, $4,500 salary plus $500 earned as a tour guide: "I'm doing the one job in the world I want to do, often wishing it were an easier job, frequently worn to the very quick as problems mount and classroom difficulties persist or multiply."

Women English teacher in city high school: "Teaching children of all ages is a wonderful profession. Young people are a constant source of inspiration and amazement to me."

Woman fourth-grade teacher: "Teaching is the most consistently interesting, demanding and rewarding occupation I can imagine. As I look about me, there is no other job, no matter how much less tiring or better paying, for which I would exchange my present one."

THE TEACHER'S LOT

A "distressing" picture of the life of American public-school teachers is etched by the statistics in a recent National Education Association survey conducted by Dr. Hazel Davis. The main trouble seems to be that "people who would like to give their time to teaching have to give it to something else." For example, salaries are so low that about three-quarters of the men teachers and 17 percent of the women have had to take on other jobs to make both ends meet. They double as clerks, salespeople, bill collectors, tutors, camp counselors, even farm hands. One man reported he had been a spare-time dishwasher, ditch-digger, and truck driver.

The average teaching salaries were $3,932 ($76 a week) for women and $4,374 ($84 a week) for men. About one-third of the 6,000 teachers covered receive less than $3,500 ($67 a week). In contrast, workers in manufacturing average $82 a week, while those in the printing trades receive $93 and in construction $98.

Then, too, the teachers reported that they are called on to do a lot of other things than teach as part of their regular work—10 hours a week on the average. Such chores were listed as "planning," supervising, club activities, hall monitoring, collecting money for festivals, and the like. And a constant complaint was the too heavy pupil load they had to carry.

But Dr. Davis reports an encouraging "theme" which runs "most strongly" through the questionnaire replies: in spite of the drawbacks teachers love their work. Evidence of this is the fact that their job is not the stopgap kind that it is commonly supposed to be. The median length of service of those covered by the survey was 13 years. Then, too, those who reported belied the schoolteacher stereotype. Most of them are married, live in their own homes and support dependents. And their civic and social interests are wide. At least one-third belong to four or more community organizations. All in all, public-school teachers seem to lead lives that interest and satisfy them—in spite of their many professional troubles. But they surely deserve much better than they get.

Proposed Reductions in the Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the March 28 issue of the Lancaster, S. C., News and an editorial from the same newspaper of April 1, 1957, and both relating to proposals to reduce the Federal budget. Both the editorial and the article deal with the efforts being made by the Lancaster Chamber of Commerce to have the Federal budget for fiscal year 1958 reduced so as to eliminate all unwise and unessential Government expenditures. The legislative action committee, headed by Dr. Reece Funderburk, Jr., made a very thorough and keen analysis of the budget, and in its report it made a number of recommendations for reducing expenditures and implementing various Hoover Commission recommendations designed to increase efficiency in Government. This report was adopted by the board of directors on March 27.

The Lancaster Chamber of Commerce has on many occasions manifested a deep interest in good government. This is just another example of the great work being done by this outstanding organization under the leadership of Mr. Dale W. Gordon and its other officers and directors.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Lancaster (S. C.) News of March 28, 1957]

CHAMBER DIRECTORS CALL FOR CUT IN FEDERAL EXPENDITURES—BOARD URGES CONGRESSMEN TO SEEK HALT IN SPENDING

The board of directors of the Lancaster Chamber of Commerce yesterday went on record asking that the size of the Federal budget be cut.

Acting on a recommendation of the legislative action committee, the business organization pointed out some dangers of the proposed budget. It was stated that a budget of this size would further add to the inflationary pressures which are endangering this country today. It was also pointed out that the billions in the Federal budget are depriving consumers of money to put into the economy as they see fit and are depriving business of funds needed to expand and make new jobs.

"We will always need more than we can afford and it's about time we started spend-

ing according to our ability to pay," stated Dr. Reece Funderburk, Jr., in making his report. "We also need to start paying off the national debt while there is a period of high prosperity. If we can't pay it now, what would happen if we had a recession?" he asked.

Making specific recommendations for areas where cuts can be made, the chamber urged that central purchasing and research facilities be set up for the Armed Forces. Also recommended were cuts in foreign aid and adoption of the Hoover Commission reports to increase efficiency.

The chamber opposed aid to depressed areas, Federal expenditures for school construction, and needless expansion of public power projects. It pointed out that reductions were possible in the veterans' benefits program and asked that Federal aid to local communities for such projects as water lines and sewage disposal facilities be discontinued. "This is purely a local matter that the Federal Government should not concern itself with," stated Dr. Funderburk.

Members of Congress from South Carolina will be advised of this position and chamber of commerce officials urged that all citizens who are interested in sound spending by the Government write their representatives in Congress. It was pointed out that Congressmen want to do what the public wants and will respond to efforts to achieve economy.

[From the Lancaster (S. C.) News of April 1, 1957]

THE CHAMBER AND THE BUDGET

For a grassroots reaction to the evermounting total of the Federal budget, we can offer the resolution adopted last week by the Lancaster Chamber of Commerce. Taken alone such a resolution is worth about as much as the paper on which it was written. Added to the weight of a growing protest over irresponsibility in governmental expenditures, it is an important action.

President Eisenhower is a strong personality who has, in his long public career, said or done a few things that are out of character. One of those moments came recently when he conceded the budget was out of hand by inviting Congress to slash it wherever savings could be made. Treasury Secretary Humphrey had already boggled at the $71 billion plus request in an unprecedented public repudiation of an important administration document.

While it may have been the President's intention to shift the burden of forced economy onto Congress, his attitude of helplessness in the face of rising governmental costs produced a shocked reaction in the United States. There is ample evidence that the strength of this reaction was miscalculated. President Eisenhower is now defensive of every item in the budget, but the reaction is growing.

Taxpayers, groups and organizations all over the United States are joining in a chorus of questions. They want to know why Federal expenditures can no longer be controlled; why every desire and whim of the outgrown bureaucracy must be met; why Uncle Sam's billions must be poured into foreign and often unfriendly nations in evermounting totals, and why the richest Nation on earth has a public debt which has passed all human comprehension.

When the Lancaster Chamber of Commerce says: "We will always need more than we can afford and it's about time we started spending according to our ability to pay,"—it is letting the light of reason in on a situation which, for all its magnitude, must be resolved on just such a homely basis.

The United States, buying world position on the installment plan, is no different from any homeowner who finds his monthly payments outrunning his ability to pay. Our national ability to pay is tremendous but it would appear that our present commitments have finally reached that point where the taxpayers are genuinely worried lest someone appear with claim and delivery papers.

Reductions in the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, one of our most distinguished economists, Prof. Seymour E. Harris, of Harvard University, has recently written a letter to the New York Times which appeared on April 3, on the subject of the budget cuts which are now in fashion. Mr. Harris discusses the size of the budget in relation to the growth of our gross national product, the proportional decline in our welfare services, the administration's dubious accounting practices, and the excessive burdens which have been placed on State and local governments during the past 5 years.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Professor Harris' letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUDGET CUTS QUESTIONED—DECLINE IN WELFARE OUTLAYS NOTED, WITH BURDEN ON LOCALITIES

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Is the budget too large? First, let me admit that on the basis of the experience of the last few years, actual expenditures will exceed budgeted ones (estimates of January 1957 for fiscal year 1958) by a few billion dollars. Second, let me agree also that the budget is not in as sound shape as the administration suggests.

For example, in 2 years roadbuilding in the budget is cut from $763 million to $43 million. But $1.7 billion of outlays has now been taken out of the budget and tucked away in a trust fund. But even with all that I am not worried about the size of the budget.

First, the size of the budget should be put against the size of the economy. In the last 4 years the budget has fallen from 20 percent of the gross national product to 16 percent of the GNP, or a relative decline of 20 percent. In the last 10 years the size of the national debt has declined by about one-half in relation to the GNP.

Second, the more germane criticism is that the Eisenhower administration has gone in too much for economy and not enough for needed Government services.

VIEWED AGAINST ECONOMY

Welfare outlays have dropped in a period (1952 to 1956) when gross national product rose by $65 billion and military outlays were cut by $10 billion or more and reductions of taxes, costing about $9 billion a year today, were made.

Even as our peril grew and our international position deteriorated, the Eisenhower administration increased the danger to our trillion-dollar economy and our security generally by serious cuts in our military budget and by a reduction of foreign economic aid of one-half as compared with the last Truman administration and two-thirds vis-a-vis GNP. Some estimates of cuts are much higher. At least there is now a disposition to reconsider the economy program for national security. For this we are grateful.

The budget upsets Secretary Humphrey especially because of promises made but not kept. The rise of $3 billion ($4.7 billion on a cash basis) in 1 year haunts the administration because, with the cash budget up by $23 billion above the 1952 Taft-Eisenhower commitment, they are embarrassed. They even had asked for cuts in the 1952 campaign of forty, twenty-five, and ten billion dollars.

But let us note even the $72 billion 1958 budget is more than 20 percent less in relation to gross national product than the 1953 Truman budget, which was under examination in the 1952 campaign. I say this is too great a cut considering our peril, our shortage of several hundred thousand schoolrooms, our slums, the inadequacies of our social security program, the unavailability of comprehensive health insurance, etc.

In the welfare area housing costs in the new budget are down, and outlays on labor and welfare (health, education, and public assistance especially) up by $506 million.

WELFARE PROGRAMS

Surely this is no New Deal program when allowance is made for the slashes in 1952–56 and the rise of prices and income. At the very most, the rise in welfare programs in the budget cost about 5 percent of the average annual rise of gross national product expected over the next 10 years. Is this excessive, especially in view of the history of 1952–56?

Those who are vexed by the size of the Federal budget would have much more reason to be concerned over the trends of State and local finance. The Federal Government tends to pass its responsibilities on to these governments. For example, new construction by the Federal Government declined from $4.8 billion in 1952 to $3.6 billion in 1956, or a drop of 25 percent; and by State and local rose from $6.1 billion to $9.8 billion, or a rise of more than 60 percent. Hence the latter became twice as important relative to Federal outlays in 4 years.

Total expenditures of State and local governments are up from $12 billion in 1946 to $28 billion in 1952 and $40 billion in 1956. On trends of recent years State and local governments will be spending $60 billion in 10 years. Is it fair for the Federal Government to tap the richest sources of revenues and put increased responsibilities on State and local governments?

In short, the size of the budget is not so serious as it seems to many, even if allowance is made for peculiar accounting. The adminsitration is to be criticized rather for promises not kept, for dubious accounting, for unwarranted slashes of security and welfare outlays, and for putting excessive burdens on State and local governments.

SEYMOUR E. HARRIS.
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., *March 29, 1957.*

Economic Outlook: Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Economic Outlook: Good," which appeared in Nation's Business for April 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK: GOOD

Economists, Government officials agree on that.

Profit squeeze caused some uncertainty.

Feeling's general in Capital that uncertainty is giving way now to confidence.

Here are some basic indicators:

Total goods, services being produced—now about $425 billion annual rate compared to $403.4 a year ago.

Personal income—now at $335 billion annual rate compared to $316.7 billion year ago.

New construction—work put in place so far this year's slightly higher than for same period last year.

It's $44.7 billion annual rate compared to $44.3 billion total last year.

Manufacturers' sales—month's $28.7 billion total is $2.5 billion ahead of year ago.

Congress' Joint Economic Committee evaluates future this way:

"America today is prosperous, with employment, production, purchasing power at record levels.

"Wide range of economic indicators suggests we can achieve continuing growth of the economy in the year ahead."

Military Sea Transportation Service Role

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article written for the Monday, April 1, edition of the New York Journal of Commerce by Vice Adm. John M. Will, commander of the Military Sea Transportation Service, be printed in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DESCRIBES MAKEUP: MSTS CHIEF CITES UNIT'S ROLE

(By Vice Adm. John M. Will, U. S. Navy, commander Military Sea Transportation Service)

In the more than 7 years since the establishment of the Military Sea Transportation Service, the American maritime industry has undergone a remarkable transition.

In October 1949, when MSTS was organized, shipping was in the doldrums.

Many ships were in layup or in the process of inactivation because of lack of cargoes and maritime employment was at a low ebb. New ship construction was at a virtual standstill and the outlook for the shipyards was bleak, indeed.

SITUATION CHANGED IN 1950

With the outbreak of the Korean emergency in late June 1950, conditions in the shipping industry changed radically and it responded in full measure to the heavy demands placed upon it for the movement of military material.

It was during this period that the development of relationships between MSTS and the maritime industry was initiated. In the course of this development, as might have been anticipated, mistakes were made and misunderstandings encountered.

By profiting from the lessons learned in these shortcomings, however, a fairly sound and comprehensive working basis has been established along mutually advantageous lines. For their part, it is believed the shipping industry much prefers dealing with a single agency in matters concerning ocean transportation, than with the several individual services as formerly.

The benefits derived from dealing with a single source are not confined simply to the booking of cargo or to the negotiation of charters and shipping contracts. They extend to the more expeditious settlement of invoices, the processing of claims and the many other administrative details with which transportation procedures are surrounded. From the standpoint of the Department of Defense, the centralization of its ocean transportation needs under a single head has proved to be most effective.

The welfare of the American maritime industry is a matter of direct and continuing interest to the MSTS. Considering the fact that MSTS depends upon privately operated shipping to transport approximately 70 percent of the military dry cargo movement, the reason for this interest is not difficult to understand.

The more favorable general business conditions are for the established American-flag berth lines, the more assurance MSTS has of the necessary dependability and frequency of sailings to provide capability for the military life. More and more, also, MSTS is availing itself of a share of the passenger space provided by the additional ships being placed in service on those routes on which military personnel regularly move.

Practically 100 percent of MSTS ship repairs and overhauls are performed by private yards. A healthy ship-repair industry, therefore, is of benefit to MSTS. This not only affords a wider range of competition for bidding purposes, but provides a broader base for expansion under conditions of mobilization.

In connection with the operations of MSTS, the principal target of criticism by industry, labor, and congressional groups has been the so-called nucleus fleet. Much of this criticism stems from a misunderstanding of the composition of this fleet and the purposes for which it is maintained. Many critics mistakenly assume the total number of units to represent so many oceangoing ships. Actually, of the total of 214 units now in active operations, 71 of these are small coastal craft or naval auxiliary types which have no counterpart in merchant service.

They are employed for short haul lifts in the Far East or on special missions in remote areas. Among the remainder, 64 are takers. Through activations from the reserve fleets, the number of these has been increased from 34 within the past 9 months because of the critical worldwide shortage of tanker tonnage made even more serious by the closing of the Suez Canal.

Even with these activations, MSTS is only now working out from a tremendous backlog of Department of Defense petroleum shipping requirements built up because of the unavailability of commercial tankers at any price. At no other time since the establishment of MSTS, has the value and purpose of the nucleus fleet been demonstrated more completely than in connection with the recent and continuing tanker crisis.

UNITS ARE TALLIED

Of the remaining 59 units, 34 are troop and dependent transports. Industry concedes its inability to provide accommodations for mass troop movements. On the routes where military dependents are moving, privately operated passenger liners are participating in the lift in excess of the capability of the MSTS dependent transports.

The balance of 25 units comprises 2 C–4 cargo ships converted as heavy-lift carriers with 150-ton boom capacity, 4 utility aircraft carriers, 3 C–2 refrigerated ships and 16 Victory-type cargo ships. Since there are no American-flag ships of adequate heavy-lift capacity, the only alternative would be for foreign-flag charters.

The carriers are necessary for lifting aircraft of which many of the present-day types cannot be accommodated on the decks of conventional cargo ships. Refrigerated ship capacity is in short supply at best as evidenced by the necessity for the bareboat charter of five Government-owned refrigerated ships to a commercial operator for the express purpose of moving military refrigerated requirements in the Pacific.

The victory ships are assigned to a variety of missions. Principal among these is the annual Arctic resupply operation each summer, while some participate in the Antarctic explorations. During the past several months, a number of these ships have been used on lifts for which privately-owned tramps would ordinarily be chartered. However, because of prevailing high market rates for other business, tramp owners have not been disposed to make their ships available to MSTS at rates determined by the Maritime administration to be fair and reasonable. Recently, also, on certain of the berth line routes, because of the generally good commercial market, space offerings to MSTS have been insufficient to meet military shipping requirements.

ROLE IS EXTENDED

It should be emphasized that the over-all mission of MSTS extends beyond its role as the coordinator of ocean transportation for the Department of Defense. In addition, it is responsible for providing immediate lift capability in an emergency and to provide an adequate base for necessary expansion to meet emergency or mobilization requirements. With consideration for these responsibilities, it should be recognized that the nucleus fleet which has been described represents the bare minimum essential for the implementation of the MSTS mission.

That this recognition is now generally accorded by the private shipping industry, has been demonstrated in many ways. It is believed, too, the industry has every confidence that in the event of any differences developing in its relationships with MSTS, the means are always readily available for a full and complete hearing.

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in a recent column on foreign aid, Mr. Walter Lippmann summarized the central issues which are facing the Congress this year as it considers the mutual-security requests. In recent weeks there has been a steady flow of staff studies, commission reports, articles, and other analyses of our foreign-aid situation. No one has summarized the situation better than Mr. Lippmann in his column which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on April 4, 1957. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN AID

(By Walter Lippmann)

There is, as we know, widespread and growing public opposition to the foreign-aid programs of the Government. We have just about reached the time when a continuation of these programs cannot be taken for granted. Senator GREEN, who is chairman of the Special Committee To Study Foreign Aid, points out that while there has been a gradual decrease in the sums appropriated, there has been a gradual increase, as reflected by votes in the Senate, in the opposition.

In 1948, there were only seven votes cast against the final passage of the Marshall plan. Last year, there were 30 votes, equally divided between the two parties, cast against final passage of the mutual security appropriation bill. There would have been more votes cast against it had not the administration accepted a reduced appropriation and coupled that with a promise to reappraise the entire program. There is reason to think that this year the opposition is still larger and is more determined.

The subject of foreign aid is extremely complicated, and many of the important facts are either secret and unavailable or they are masked to affect opinion abroad or opinion in Congress. Sometimes, for example, in order to make a better impression abroad, what is really military aid is presented as civilian aid. At other times, in order to impress Congress, what is predominantly civilian aid will be presented as military aid. All in all, it is not astonishing that the American people do not feel happy about an expensive program which is so hard to understand.

In this atmosphere, there has grown up a general popular misapprehension about the whole subject. It is that the Government is taking every year something like $4 billion out of the American national income, at the expense of American standard of life, and is giving away this money to raise the standard of life of all sorts of people all over the globe. The truth is that virtually all the money is spent to support and to hold together the great military coalition, of which the United States is the head, that surrounds the Soviet Union and Red China. What we call foreign aid is the annual upkeep of the system of military alliances which was inaugurated under Mr. Truman and has been extended and elaborated under Mr. Eisenhower.

The popular notion about foreign aid was true enough in the immediate postwar years. Then, great sums of money were used to raise the prostrate economy of Western Europe, of Germany, of Japan, and of other countries which had suffered from the war. During the 5 years between the end of the war and the Korean invasion only about 1½ billions out of a total of 26 billions went for direct military assistance. Most of the balance went for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. A great deal of what is now thought and felt about foreign aid in this country is based on what was done in the way of foreign aid before 1950.

Now it is different. In the 6 years after the Korean invasion, out of a total of $30 billion of aid, $17 billions or nearly 60 percent, has gone into direct military assistance, and it is fair to add that a very large proportion of the balance of economic aid has gone into indirect military assistance.

Thus for example in the current fiscal year Congress has appropriated $3.7 billion of which all but $600 millions—about 16 percent—is military in purpose either in the form of military equipment or of economic support. What is more, a large proportion of the nonmilitary aid is used for strategic and political purposes.

There are four conclusions which we might draw from the facts and they should be kept in mind when we discuss foreign aid.

The first is that foreign aid, tremendous as it has been in dollars and in effort since the end of the war, cannot be shown by the facts to have gone down the drain and to be nothing but an unending and self-perpetuating handout. The overwhelming bulk of our economic aid has gone for relief and war reconstruction. The countries we have helped—Europe and particularly our two former enemies, Germany and Japan—have made remarkable recoveries. This type of aid has now stopped completely. What we have now is military assistance, not assistance for reconstruction, rehabilitation, or even for development. By its very nature, military assistance tends to be at least partially a recurring demand.

The second conclusion is that we are not engaged on a large-scale program to promote the development of underdeveloped countries. There are some, myself included, who think we ought to have such a large-scale program, and that it is essential to the working out of a happy accommodation between east and west. But the fact is that we do not have such a program now, and it is time to stop fooling ourselves that we do have one. If we wish to undertake a genuine and effective program, it will involve larger appropriations for foreign aid—though not much larger—rather than smaller, and it will require a long-term commitment. What we have now is primarily and overwhelmingly a program to subsidize our military alliances.

This leads to the third conclusion, which is that when we debate cutting out or cutting down drastically the foreign-aid program, what we are really dealing with is the Eisenhower-Dulles foreign policy as they operate it. There is no way to separate the policy from the foreign aid, which is simply and almost solely the money needed to make the policy work.

And finally it should be clear from all this that foreign aid in its present form could not be entrusted to international administration or control. Nor could its burden on the American taxpayer be appreciably reduced by asking other nations to contribute to these programs. For they are in essence instruments of United States foreign policy and are designed to serve American national interests.

Nearly 40 percent of last year's expenditures was for military hardware, as they call it in the Pentagon, and for facilities essential to the maintenance of NATO. Another 45 percent or more went to subsidize the military efforts of such allies as Greece, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, South Vietnam, Formosa, and South Korea. Total economic and military aid for South Korea is now costing $600 million a year. For Formosa and South Vietnam, it is costing between $200 million and $300 million each.

When the Congress does begin to discuss the appropriation for foreign aid, it cannot ignore the relation of these funds to our existing alliances.

Whether the policy of these alliances is wisely conceived is a totally different question, which very few, virtually none, of the opponents of foreign aid are as yet seriously discussing.

The Governments Role in Defending Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech by Warren Olney III, the Assistant Attorney General of the United States, entitled "The Government's Role in Defending Civil Rights," delivered on April 5, 1957, before the ninth annual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearinghouse, and an editorial from the Washington Post of April 7, 1957, on a related topic.

There being no objection, the address and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN DEFENDING CIVIL RIGHTS

(Address by Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, before the ninth annual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearinghouse, Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., April 5, 1957)

This morning I should like to talk more of the future than of the past. I should like to explain to you why I believe that the administration civil rights program which is now pending before the Congress will, if enacted, give to the Government for the first time the authority necessary for effective enforcement of federally guaranteed civil rights. I should like also to warn against attempts now being made to emasculate this program by deceptive appeals for the protection of the right to jury trial.

The key civil right is the right to vote. Wholesale discrimination against substantial groups in a community cannot exist under our democratic system unless those groups are also deprived of an effective voice at the polls. Wherever, for example, Negroes have and exercise the right to vote they have the bargaining power necessary to insure reasonably equal treatment from local officials. Furthermore, they can rely on local law enforcement people to protect them against acts of violence committee by private citizens. The need for appeal to the Federal courts for protection of civil rights is at a minimum in those broad areas of the country where all citizens, regardless of race, creed, or color, are permitted to, and do, vote without discrimination.

Unhappily, there are areas in our country where by one device or another substantial segments of the population are denied an effective voice at the polls. We in the Department of Justice have been vitally concerned with this problem and have made a sincere and honest effort to do something about it. Reluctantly, however, we have come to the conclusion that with the legal tools now available to us effective action on any broad scale is impossible.

Presently the only course open to the Government is to institute criminal prosecutions against those State and local officials suspected of administering local voting regulations in a discriminatory fashion. Such prosecutions of necessity come after the harm is done. They cannot be used as a direct means of forcing local compliance with the national law. In individual situations they are often unduly harsh, resulting in acquittals based upon sympathy for the defendant rather than upon a finding that he did not violate the law.

Hence, a vital aspect of the administration program is the proposal to authorize the Attorney General to bring civil suits for preventive relief in cases of threatened violation of voting rights and of other federally guaranteed civil rights. Suits in equity for preventive relief are well adapted to the key problem of eliminating discrimination in voting situations. By means of a suit in equity a registrar of voters who has been discriminating against Negroes in the administration of a literacy test might be enjoined from such discrimination far enough in advance of an election to permit the Negroes to register and to vote. The use of

suits for preventive relief as a means of enforcing Federal law in this area would not be an innovation. The Department of Justice has used such proceedings in antitrust cases since 1890. The Government has similar powers to enforce the Atomic Energy Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the securities acts, and many others.

Vital to the effectiveness of such procedure, however, is that the Federal judges have sufficient power to enforce the decrees which they enter. If, for example, a registrar of voters should flatly refuse to obey a court order enjoining him for certain practices, prompt and vigorous action would be necessary, both to make effective the order in the particular case and to vindicate the authority of the Federal courts and the Federal law. Under present law the court, upon complaint made, could order the registrant to appear for an immediate hearing. After a full and fair hearing in which the defendant would be entitled to counsel and to bring witnesses and cross-examine opposition witnesses, the court would determine whether or not the defendant had violated the court order. If it found a deliberate violation, then the court would have the authority to impose a fine or order the registrar imprisoned for the purpose of compelling him to comply with the order. Proceedings might also be had before the court for the purpose of punishing the defendant for his defiance of the court order. In such proceedings for criminal contempt the registrar would be presumed to be innocent, his guilt would have to be proved beyond a reasonable doubt, and he could not be compelled to testify against himself.

Opponents of civil rights legislation contend that the use of these equity procedures in civil rights cases would deprive the defendants of their right to a jury trial. They have gone further and now advance a proposal (S. 1735 by Senators EASTLAND, THURMOND, and BYRD) to require jury trial whenever "a contempt charged shall consist in willful disobedience of any lawful writ, process, order, rule, decree, or command of any court of the United States by doing or omitting any act or thing in violation thereof."

Regardless of the intention of the authors, this is a dangerously deceptive proposal. Careful analysis, we believe, discloses that the proposal is not in furtherance of the constitutional right to jury trial as it has heretofore existed under our Constitution. Instead, the proposal is disclosed as a clever device to nullify the proposed civil rights legislation. If enacted with this amendment the new law would be no more effective than present laws in protecting the constitution right to vote.

Now what exactly is this proposed amendment for jury trial? It would create a right to jury trial in a wide variety of situations in which jury trial has never been known to the law. There is no constitutional right to jury trial in either civil or criminal contempt cases. As long ago as 1890 the United States Supreme Court said: "It has always been one of the attributes—one of the powers necessarily incident to a court of justice—that it should have this power of vindicating its dignity, of enforcing its orders, of protecting itself from insult, without the necessity of calling upon a jury to assist it in the exercise of this power." I am aware of neither State nor Federal legislation extending jury trial to civil contempt cases. In 1914 Congress passed a statute (now 18 U. S. C. 3691) extending the right to jury trial in criminal contempt cases where the acts constituting the contempt would also constitute criminal offenses under Federal or local law. This statute expressly excepted contempts arising out of disobedience to court orders entered in suits brought in the name of the United States. Since criminal contempt proceedings are not often sought in private litigation (the Clinton, Tenn., case is one of the few instances of its use), this statute has had little impact upon the enforcement of Federal court orders. In 1932 in the Norris-LaGuardia Act Congress, after removing almost all of the jurisdiction of the Federal courts to issue injunctions in labor dispute cases, provided for jury trial in contempt proceedings arising in cases under the act. It was only with the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 that the Government was given jurisdiction to seek injunctions in any substantial number of labor dispute cases and that act expressly provided that the jury trial requirement of the Norris-LaGuardia Act should not apply to it. Hence it is probable that the statute which appears to grant jury trial in contempt proceedings for violation of injunctions issued in labor dispute cases (18 U. S. C. 3692) has no application to injunction suits brought by the Government under Taft-Hartley, which are, for all practical purposes, the only type of injunction suits (private or governmental) in labor dispute cases over which the Federal courts have jurisdiction.

The effect of the current proposal for jury trial would be to weaken and undermine the authority of the Federal courts by making their every order, even when issued after due hearing, reviewable by a local jury. No better statement of the objections to such a proposal has been made than that of President (and later Chief Justice) Taft in his speech accepting the nomination for the Presidency in 1908. Referring to proposals similar to those now advanced, he said:

"Under such a provision a recalcitrant witness who refuses to obey a subpena may insist on a jury trial before the court can determine that he received the subpena. A citizen summoned as a juror and refusing to obey the writ, when brought into court, must be tried by another jury to determine whether he got the summons. Such a provision applies not alone to injunctions, but to every order which the court issues against persons. A suit may be tried in the court of first instance and carried to the court of appeals and thence,to the Supreme Court and a judgment and decree entered and an order issued, and then if the decree involves the defendant's doing anything or not doing anything, and he disobeys it, the plaintiff, who has pursued his remedies in lawful course for years, must, to secure his rights, undergo the uncertainties and delays of a jury trial before he can enjoy that which is his right by the decision of the highest court of the land. I say without hesitation that such a change would greatly impair the indispensable power and authority of the courts. In securing to the public the benefits of the new statutes enacted in the present administration the ultimate instrumentality to be resorted to is the courts of the United States.

* * * * *

"The administration of justice lies at the foundation of government. The maintenance of the authority of the courts is essential unless we are prepared to embrace anarchy. Never in the history of the country has there been such an insidious attack upon the judicial system as the proposal to interject a jury trial between all orders of the court made after full hearing and the enforcement of such orders."

The proposed amendment that is being advocated under the innocuous slogan of jury trial would permit practical nullification of the effectiveness of the proposed civil-rights legislation. The enforcement of any court order may require prompt and vigorous action if it is to be effective. Prompt action will often be vital in civil-rights cases, especially election cases where the registration period or the election may pass while enforcement is delayed. The injection of a jury trial between an order of a court determining, for example, that a registrar of voters is discriminating against Negroes in administering a literacy test and enjoining the continuance of the practice, and the enforcement of that order would provide numerous opportunities for delay beyond the time when the order could have practical effect.

Even more disastrous would be the completely novel power given the jury to substitute their interpretation of the Federal Constitution and laws for that made in the very case before them by the Federal courts. Suppose in the example given the registrar of voters continued his discriminatory practices after the court had determined their unconstitutionality and specifically ordered their cessation. Under present laws the court, after a hearing to determine whether in fact the registrar was disobeying the order, could itself assess that punishment necessary to secure compliance and to vindicate the authority of the court. Under the proposals made (significantly by opponents of more effective enforcement of the constitutional prohibitions against official discrimination based on race or color) the court would have to submit to the jury the question whether the registrar had violated its order. There would be no way in which the court could then prevent the jury from freeing the registrar not because they found he had not violated the court order but because they, the jury, disapproved of the policy of the 15th amendment to the Constitution and hence of the order itself and simply refused to enforce it.

I feel justified in appealing to you as representatives of the many private organizations in this country which are specially interested in problems of civil liberties and civil rights to give wholehearted support to the administration civil-rights program. This program (embodied in S. 1658 now pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee and H. R. 6127 now pending before the House Rules Committee) represents the very minimum needed to make the provisions of the United States Constitution effective in actual practice to protect minority groups now being discriminated against in certain areas on a wholesale basis. I appeal to your good judgment not to be misled by a deceptive slogan into supporting an amendment which will emasculate the law. The way to progress in this important area of civil rights is by the enactment without amendment of the administration's proposals permitting the Government to seek preventive relief in the courts enforceable by the historic processes in injunction cases.

[From the Washington Post of April 7, 1957]

QUESTION OF JURY TRIALS

Senator EASTLAND has launched a crafty flanking movement with his bill to grant jury trials to persons accused of contempt for disobeying Federal court orders or injunctions. Along with many other southern Senators, the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee is trying to defeat the administration's civil-rights bill by the pretense that it would encroach upon the "sacred right" of every accused person to a jury trial. This argument has collided with the fact that there is no right of trial by jury for persons who are accused of disobeying court orders, except in limited categories of cases. So Mr. EASTLAND, with the support of Senators BYRD and THURMOND, is seeking to overcome that deficiency by means of new legislation.

Much confusion surrounds the subject because of the popular belief that every accused person has the right of trial by jury. Actually, the Constitution guarantees trial by jury in only criminal prosecutions and civil actions at law for money damages in excess of a certain amount. In addition Congress has required jury trials in some

equity proceedings, notably some labor disputes, but these are very limited.

Sponsors of the Eastland bill seem to regard these limitations on jury trials as an oversight. Of course, they were not. The whole concept of equity in our judicial system grew up because there were many situations that could not be handled properly by criminal prosecutions or by regular lawsuits. Equity proceedings permit the issuance of court injunctions as a means of protecting the rights of the parties before the court. These injunctions are enforced through the power of the courts to inflict punishment for contempt.

Many critics of the bill buttressing the right to vote have feared that it involves an arbitrary swing away from jury trials because of the reluctance of southern juries to convict anyone of civil-rights offenses. But this ignores the general practice of not requiring juries in contempt cases. The reason for this practice is that, under a government of laws, the courts must be obeyed, unless reversed on appeal. If a person could defy the courts, relying on a friendly jury to prevent his punishment, law and order would suffer a perilous blow. And if the Federal Government, having obtained an injunction against a person threatening to make a mockery of the law, had to rely upon a jury trial to enforce such an injunction, many of its operations would be crippled in different parts of the country.

The present law does provide for jury trials in some cases where the willful disobedience of a court order also constitutes a criminal offense. But the same statute also expressly provides that jury trials shall not be required in case of contempt in disobedience to court orders in any action brought by the United States. Senator EASTLAND would sweep away this safeguard and leave the courts at the mercy of juries to enforce their orders, whether or not the action had been brought by the United States.

Enactment of this bill would not protect the right of trial by jury but would gravely impair the right of effective government. It is an ill-conceived assault on our judicial system. The right of trial by jury is indeed a sacred right wherever it is properly applicable—a right that must be upheld and protected; but it is not enhanced by projecting it into situations where it is not appropriate.

The real question at issue in the civil-rights bill is whether the Government may institute civil proceedings (as well as criminal prosecutions) to protect the right of citizens to vote. Wherever criminal prosecutions may be resorted to, trials would be by jury. But if civil proceedings should result in injunctions, those injunctions should be enforced by the established and traditional means now in use. Certainly the country cannot permit Senator EASTLAND and his colleagues to destroy these time-tested procedures in their effort to make any civil-rights legislation meaningless in the South.

Greater Lawrence, Mass., on the Way Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, again we call attention to the success story of Greater Lawrence, Mass., as a model of community courage and enterprise, in fighting back from the brink of economic disaster.

We believe this to be an epochal story that, in capsule form, illustrates the sturdy American qualities of enterprise, inventiveness, and the determination to overcome insuperable obstacles.

The Greater Lawrence story is not only a blueprint for the economic recovery of other communities that may have to face this challenge. It is also an inspiring saga of a community's faith in itself and in its people.

We are proud of the victory we have won.

As an example of our high morale, under unanimous consent I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial from the Lawrence Sunday Sun of April 7, 1957, concerning the Greater Lawrence story that was recently presented before the Advertising Club of Boston:

A GREAT DAY FOR GREATER LAWRENCE

The story of the rebirth of Greater Lawrence was told so well and completely at last Tuesday's meeting of the Advertising Club of Boston that to adequately describe the affair is difficult.

The program was conducted in the finest possible manner. Let it be said that a function of that nature can very easily be thrown off balance and develop into a round of verbal backslapping, armpumping and miscellaneous dribble. But the Greater Lawrence story was told with dignity and commendable restraint—and with a perfection of precision.

The principal address by Kurtz M. Hanson, president of the Champion International Co. and also president of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts, left nothing to be desired. His manner and delivery were excellent, as was his text, and no greater tribute could be paid to him than the fact that the large audience gave him its concentrated, undivided attention.

The Advertising Club of Boston and its president, Richard Berenson, merit the appreciation of all of us here in Greater Lawrence for presenting our community with such a matchless opportunity to get our story through to the country as a whole. A good story is always worth the telling, and ours was told memorably.

Congratulations are in order to Irving E. Rogers, publisher of the Eagle-Tribune, general chairman of the committee, and all those who assisted in any way, great or small, in the telling of the Greater Lawrence story.

Jewish War Veterans Schedule Observance of V–E Day May 8, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUDWIG TELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. TELLER. Mr. Speaker, the 1957 anniversary of V–E Day—victory in Europe—on May 8 should afford us all an opportunity for reverential pause, in memory of the more than 1 million Americans who suffered hurt and death in the holocaust of World War II. A somber lesson that terrible conflict is in its reminder that aggression, race hatred and expropriation must be combated without let or hindrance in its initial stages, before it becomes a pervasive threat to world peace and human decency.

Yet today we receive disquieting news that especially in Egypt, and elsewhere, expulsion and appropriation are again the order of the day. In Hungary the forces of liberty have been crushed and mock trials leading to execution are held to punish those who dared to stand up for freedom in daily living.

I am therefore happy to report that the Maj. Gen. Maurice D. Rose Post No. 188 of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, of which I am proud to be a member, has scheduled a V–E Day dinner and a foreign affairs symposium on May 8, 1957, at the Wall Street Synagogue dining room, 46 Beekman Street, New York City. A foreign affairs symposium will be conducted by past national commander Abraham Kraditor and the JWV foreign affairs committee members.

Post Commander Jack Padawer, who is in charge of the dinner, has issued the following statement, which deserves to be recognized as an excellent expression of the significance of V–E Day in the history of our country:

V–E Day (victory in Europe) of the year 1945, when Hitler suffered his disastrous defeat after bringing the world to the depths of degeneration, is gradually being lost in the recesses of the blackest pages of history along with the stories of the gas chambers and the fiery furnaces, of the butchering and burying of human beings alive, of the making of lampshades from the skin of people, of the piling up high of gold knocked from the teeth of living humans, and of the other acts of pillaging and plundering and ravaging—savagery that had no brutal equal even amongst the most barbaric cannibal people. V–E Day which marked the surrender of the German armed forces and the end of the fighting against Germany is no longer noted on calendars, not even on those which show a multiplicity of days to be remembered for historical reasons, although V–E Day represents the end of Hitler and of a holocaust that brought death to at least 10 million people, that caused the United States of America almost a million casualties and an expense of hundreds of billions of dollars. V–E Day which in 1945 saw the end of Axis aggression in Europe, and the end of expropriations and expulsions, now in 1957 sees a new axis formation and a new set of expropriations and expulsions. Hitler may have died on the eve of V–E Day of 1945, but the pattern of Hitlerism has again come alive in 1957.

Commensurate Pay for Lawyers in the Armed Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the enactment of legislation to provide commensurate remuneration for lawyers in the Armed Forces is long overdue. After introducing my bill, H. R. 6025, to accomplish this purpose, I requested the

views of the American Bar Association.

The following letter, dated March 28, 1957, together with the table of current pay and allowances, was forwarded to me by the bar association.

A review of this table shows why it is impossible to retain such officers in the Armed Forces. The high turnover in the Judge Advocate's branch is not only uneconomical but results in inexperienced lawyers handling cases of great import:

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION,
Chicago, Ill., March 28, 1957.

Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MULTER: I acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 25 requesting me to furnish you with any releases, statistics, and other pertinent data which we may have in connection with your bill, H. R. 6025. It is my understanding that H. R. 6025 is substantially identical with S. 1165 introduced in the Senate by Senator THURMOND.

At the meeting of the house of delegates of this association held on February 18 and 19, 1957, the following resolution was adopted:

"Unless legislation is promptly enacted by the Congress which will provide realistic, scientific pay schedule for all members of the armed services sufficient to provide the incentive to keep competent officers and technical enlisted men on a career basis, thus saving huge sums now lost by the rapid turnover of highly trained and experienced personnel in all branches of the armed services, then this association considers it essential to provide additional compensation along the lines of Senate bill No. 1165 of the 85th Congress (1st sess.) for members of the legal profession serving with the armed services commensurate with the special professional pay schedule now available to the other learned professions."

Thereafter, copies of the foregoing resolution were transmitted to the members of the congressional Committees on the Armed Services and to the Judge Advocates General of the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

Inasmuch as the resolution was offered from the floor of the house of delegates by a member thereof, there was no report or accompanying data submitted therewith. However, we have obtained on an unofficial basis a table showing the comparative compensation of doctors, dentists, and veterinarians who are in military service, a copy of which is enclosed. I also enclose a copy of the March 15 issue of the American Bar News, which goes to each of this association's 88,000 members. I direct your attention to the short article on this subject which appears on page 3 thereof.

I very much regret that your bill, H. R. 6025, was not brought to the attention of our house of delegates at the time the above-quoted resolution was adopted, and I wish to express to you the appreciation of this association for sponsoring this important legislation.

Cordially yours,

JOSEPH D. STECHER,
Secretary.

Current pay and allowances [1] for legal and medical personnel of the Armed Forces

Grade [2]	Over 2 years service for pay			Over 4 years service for pay			Over 6 years service for pay			Over 10 years service for pay		
	Judge advocates	Veterinarians [3]	Doctors [4] and dentists	Judge advocates	Veterinarians [3]	Doctors [4] and dentists	Judge advocates	Veterinarians [3]	Doctors [4] and dentists	Judge advocates	Veterinarians [3]	Doctors [4] and dentists
Major general	$963.30	$1,063.30		$1,021.80	$1,121.80	$1,121.80	$1,021.80	$1,121.80	$1,171.80	$1,021.80	$1,121.80	$1,221.80
Brigadier general	800.28	900.28		850.20	950.20	950.20	850.20	950.20	1,000.20	850.20	950.20	1,050.20
Colonel	592.80	692.80		631.80	731.80	731.80	631.80	731.80	781.80	631.80	731.80	831.80
Lieutenant colonel	474.24	574.24		507.00	607.00	607.00	507.00	607.00	657.00	507.00	607.00	707.00
Major	400.14	500.14		429.00	529.00	529.00	429.00	529.00	579.00	483.60	583.60	683.60
Captain	326.04	426.04		374.40	474.40	474.40	405.60	505.60	555.60	436.80	536.80	636.80
1st lieutenant	[6] 274.18	[6] 374.18		335.40	435.40	[6] 435.40						

Grade [2]	Over 14 years service for pay			Over 22 years service for pay			Quarters allowance		Subsistence allowance
	Judge advocates	Veterinarians [3]	Doctors [4] and dentists	Judge advocates	Veterinarians	Doctors and dentists	With dependents	Without dependents	
Major general	$1,021.80	$1,121.80	$1,271.80	$1,021.80	$1,121.80	$1,271.80	$171.00	$136.80	$47.88
Brigadier general	850.20	950.20	1,100.20	850.20	950.20	1,100.20	171.00	136.80	47.88
Colonel	631.80	731.80	881.80	748.80	848.80	998.80	149.80	119.70	47.88
Lieutenant colonel	561.60	661.60	811.60	639.60	739.60	889.60	128.80	102.60	47.88
Major	514.80	614.80	764.80				119.70	94.20	47.88
Captain							102.60	85.50	47.88
1st lieutenant							94.20	77.10	47.88

[1] The current pay and allowances for all personnel of the Armed Forces are prescribed by the Career Compensation Act of 1949, as amended (37 U. S. C. 231 et seq). Basic pay is prescribed by sec. 202 of that act (37 U. S. C. 232); subsistence allowances by sec. 301 (37 U. S. C. 251); quarters allowances by sec. 302 (37 U. S. C. 253).

[2] Officers are not appointed in the grade of 2d lieutenant as judge advocates, veterinarians, doctors, or dentists.

[3] Under sec. 5 (a) (2), act of Apr. 30, 1956, 70 Stat. 122 (37 U. S. C. 324), veterinarians commissioned as such in a Regular component of an Armed Force, and Reserve officers commissioned as veterinarians, called to extended active duty for 1 year or more, receive an additional $100 per month.

[4] Under sec. 2, act of Apr. 30, 1956, 70 Stat. 121 (37 U. S. C. 233) doctors and dentists are given 4 years' constructive service for pay purposes, and doctors who serve an internship in addition to their professional schooling before entering on active duty are given an additional year of constructive service for pay purposes. Consequently, all doctors and dentists on active duty have 4 or more years' service for pay purposes. As a result of such constructive service, doctors are not called to active duty below the grade of captain, while dentists normally serve 1 year on active duty as a 1st lieutenant.

[5] Under sec. 5 (a) (1), act of Apr. 30, 1956, 70 Stat. 122 (37 U. S. C. 324), doctors and dentists commissioned as such in a Regular component of an Armed Force, and Reserve officers commissioned as such, called to active duty for 1 year or more, receive an additional $100 per month. Under sec. 5 (a) (3) of that act, this is increased to $150 per month after 2 years' active service as such, to $200 per month after 6 years' active service as such under sec. 5 (a) (4) of that act, and to $250 per month by sec. 5 (a) (5) of that act after 10 years' active service as such. Since dentists are given only 4 years' constructive service under sec. 2 of that act, as noted in footnote 4 above, they will qualify for increased longevity pay only after 2 years' of active service. Doctors, however, who receive 5 years' constructive service under sec. 2 of that act, qualify for increased longevity pay after 1 year of active service, but for increased extra pay only after 2 years' active service.

[6] 1st lieutenants with less than 2 years' service for pay purposes receive only $259.36 base pay per month. In all higher grades pay does not increase upon completion of 2 years' service.

[7] Provisions for extra incentive pay for hazardous duty, such as flight or parachute pay, apply to medical personnel and judge advocates assigned to such units if their duties so require. Other types of hazard pay generally have no application to such personnel.

Budget Cut Could Hit $4 Billion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article written by Marshall McNeil which appeared yesterday in the Fort Worth Press and other Scripps-Howard newspapers throughout the Nation.

Mr. McNeil, an astute and experienced observer of the Washington scene, points out the reductions in the budget thus far approved in the House.

The article follows:

BIG "IF" INVOLVED IN HOUSE AND SENATE ACTIONS—BUDGET CUT COULD HIT $4 BILLION

(By Marshall McNeil)

A $3 billion to $4 billion cut in the President's $71,800,000,000 budget is now in sight—if:

The House maintains the economy rate it has already set; and

The Senate resists administration and other pressures to restore House reductions.

The House or its Appropriations Committee already have sliced slightly more than $1 billion from the President's spending proposals in 7 money bills for the coming fiscal year.

FIVE INSTANCES

In five instances, the House has approved these cuts, and the economy issues thus raised are before the Senate Appropriations Committee.

In two other instances, the House has not yet passed on its Appropriations Committee's recommendations. The record thus far has been for the House to approve its committee's proposals or even reduce them a little.

And the biggest money bills are still to come. The largest will be that for the Defense Department, for which the administration has asked about $38 billion.

TOPPED A BILLION

Budget cutting in the House, although yet to be formally approved by that body, topped a billion last week when the Appropriations Committee reduced the Commerce Department's budget by $217 million, or about 25 percent.

The committee rescinded an additional $65 million in prior-year appropriations which otherwise could have been spent in the coming year.

This hiked to roughly 7 percent the cuts in 7 bills passed by the House or recommended by the committee.

If the same rate of cut were applied to the remaining bills—other big ones will be for foreign aid, agriculture and the State Department—the savings could top $4,500,000,000.

CYNICAL GROUP

House Members have become pretty cynical about the fate of some of their thrift when made an issue in the Senate, sometimes called the upper body.

"Yeah, it's the upper body, all right," Congressmen say. "They always up our appropriations bills."

But economy pressures are on the Senate, too. Moreover, each spending bill changed by the Senate must go to a joint House-Senate conference committee where the House has ample power to stand behind its economies.

BUDGET-CUTTING RECORD

Here's the record to date of efforts by Congress to cut President Eisenhower's $71,800,000,000 budget. All actions have been in the House, the Senate having yet to act on a regular appropriations bill.

Department	Ike's budget	Cut by House committee	Total cut voted by House
Treasury and Post Office	$3,965,219,000	$80,364,000	80,364,000
Interior	515,189,000	60,794,000	60,794,000
White House	20,921,000	4,900,000	4,900,000
Independent offices	5,923,195,000	516,994,000	537,993,000
Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare	2,981,277,900	118,775,000	135,446,000
District of Columbia	25,504,000	3,000,000	(1)
Commerce	871,513,000	217,827,000	(1)
Total	14,302,818,000	1,002,654,000	819,497,000

[1] No action.

The Plight of America's Mentally Ill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, one of the most tragic problems of modern life is the plight of America's 10 million mentally ill.

For many years the number of patients in our mental hospitals has mounted at an alarming rate. In the last 2 or 3 years, however, there has been heartening evidence that number of discharges are beginning to catch up with or even exceed new admissions in many States. The National Association for Mental Health, which has long been active in this field, attributes this improvement in the situation to two main factors.

First, there has been a remarkable increase in the effectiveness of modern treatment methods. These include such developments as the use of tranquilizing drugs, psychotherapy, and electric shock treatment. The use of these new techniques has sharply changed treatment for the mentally ill, and has altered the atmosphere in mental hospitals. It is important to emphasize, however, that drugs and other new treatments are by no means a panacea. In many instances the new techniques only help make a patient accessible to other forms of treatment, or would require more funds and more personnel than are currently available.

The second major factor contributing to improvement in the mental health picture is the emphasis on treating patients with the aim of being able to return them to useful lives instead of providing a mere minimum of custodial care. There is, however, much still to be done before we can say that an optimum amount of treatment is being provided. A continued emphasis on treatment is important both in terms of human suffering and in reducing the cost of maintaining for a lifetime many patients who might have been cured and returned to normal life.

This year the slogan for Mental Health Week, which will take place April 28 to May 4, is "The Mentally Ill Can Come Back—Help Them." This appeal calls for participation by all interested Americans in the observance of Mental Health Week and in the fund-raising drive of the National Association for Mental Health.

Now that we seem to be within sight of checking the increase in mental illness I think it is particularly important that the people be made aware of the progress that is being made and of the tasks yet remaining. There is much to be done at the community level, at the State level, and at the national level.

To express the sense of the Congress concerning this serious problem with which the Nation is confronted, I have introduced, for appropriate reference, a joint resolution calling upon the President to issue a proclamation designating April 28 to May 4 as National Mental Health Week, and urging the fullest possible cooperation in the fight against mental illness.

Added Bonding Powers for the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I introduced a bill, H. R. 5729, on March 7, 1957, to clarify the general powers, increase the borrowing authority, and to authorize the deferment of interest payments on borrowings, of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation.

To support this bill, I presented the following remarks before the Public Works Committee on April 9, 1957:

Mr. Castle and General Holle, and other members of their organizations, will explain in detail the reasons for the provisions of H. R. 5729, but as the sponsor of this bill I should like to make some general observations on its content. This bill is identical with H. R. 5728, sponsored by our chairman, Mr. BLATNIK.

First of all I wish to emphasize that this bill will not impose any burden on taxpayers. The seaway project is a self-liquidating and self-supporting enterprise. The cost of building and operating this waterway will be recovered from tolls without drawing upon public funds for appropriations. All borrow-

ings authorized under the Seaway Act of May 13, 1954, and under this amending bill will be repaid to the Treasury Department with interest.

In this respect the seaway is unique as far as waterways in the United States are concerned. Other waterways built and maintained in the United States by the Federal Government are financed by appropriations from public funds.

The seaway is also unique in that the United States is a partner with Canada in this enterprise. When the project is completed it will constitute an outstanding example to the rest of the world of the ability of two free nations to work together in carrying out a great and complicated engineering project for their mutual benefit and security.

Not only is the project an unusual one from the standpoint of financing and international partnership, but it is also one of the great engineering enterprises of our times. As has been the case with all pioneering ventures of this kind, problems have arisen in the course of construction which could not have been foreseen when the original plans and estimates were prepared. It required hard experience to solve such problems, as was demonstrated in the construction of the Panama Canal, the Suez Canal, and other great engineering feats in this line.

Consequently it is not surprising that various revisions of, and additions to, original plans and estimates would become necessary in the course of the actual construction of the seaway. Then, too, the considerable increase in construction price levels since the original estimates were prepared in 1952 have made themselves felt in a very marked degree. The cost of the Canadian section of the seaway project has also increased considerably for the same reasons.

H. R. 5728 and H. R. 5729 provide amendments to the Seaway Act which are needed in the light of the experience gained since the project was commenced. On looking into the background of these amendments, I have been informed that consideration was given to having a bill introduced into Congress last year, but it was found that this would not be feasible because the placing of several major contracts and solution of some problems was still pending at the time. Consequently, it was not possible to make definite proposals for amendments until this session of Congress.

These two identical bills provide for an increase in the borrowing authority of the Seaway Corporation by 33⅓ percent to meet the requirements for additional funds for the overall construction of the United States section of the seaway. The bills also provide for a clarification of the general powers of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation to permit the performance of necessary auxiliary services such as tug services, at reasonable prices, and to permit the Corporation to engage in the toll operation of the high-level bridge which must be constructed over the seaway channel between Rooseveltown, N. Y., and Cornwall, Ontario.

This bridge is an essential element of the seaway project since it will replace an existing low-level structure under which seaway traffic would not be able to pass. Through the bridge tolls, highway traffic will contribute to the cost of this feature of the seaway project instead of placing the total cost of the bridge upon seaway shippers.

The bills will also make it clear that interest during construction may be deferred. This clarification will place the financing of this portion of the interest charges of the seaway on the same basis as other Federal self-liquidating projects. Interest during construction will be accrued as a cost but payment will be deferred and compounded until construction is completed. I am informed that the Treasury Department and the Bureau of the Budget approve of this arrangement.

In closing, might I say it isn't often that the Congress of the United States receives a chance to act on a project so large, so beneficial and of such far-reaching consequence to such a great portion of our Nation.

And it is even less seldom when we find that such an enterprise can be accomplished without taking an additional penny out of the pocket of the already overburdened taxpayer.

As a member of this committee, I urge my distinguished colleagues to support me in seeking early favorable action on this proposal.

Friends of a Free Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. GORDON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including the following resolution unanimously adopted by the Friends of a Free Poland on March 30, 1957.

I strongly recommend to the Members of the House the reading of this resolution. The resolution graphically sets forth the present situation in Poland and the degree of progress so far achieved by the Polish people in their efforts to gain national freedom. The extension of United States aid to Poland is most timely and, as the resolution sets forth, should further assist the Polish people in their struggle for national autonomy.

The freedom-loving people of Poland have been able to open the door part way. Through it they can see further possible gains. It is in our own national interest as well as that of the entire free world to do nothing that would help the Communists slam shut the door. I most earnestly hope that the present negotiations will lead to the extension of adequate economic assistance that will help the Polish people in their courageous fight for freedom.

The text of the resolution follows:

Whereas the courageous fight for freedom waged by the Polish people inside of Poland has gained for them admiration all over the free world;

Whereas the emancipation from Soviet domination achieved after the mass demonstrations in Poland in October 1956, is only of limited extent;

Whereas the changes decreed under the existing communist dominated regime of Wladyslaw Gomulka should be considered as only the first step toward democratic freedom and political independence;

Whereas Poland, under the present regime, still cannot be considered as a free country;

Whereas the Poles, both inside and outside the country, are well aware of that regrettable fact, but having no choice, and guided by a realistic appraisal of their geographic and political situation, have decided to follow the leadership of Wladyslaw Gomulka;

Whereas the above decision was made possible by the understanding reached by Gomulka with Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, Primate of Poland;

Whereas as the result of said understanding, the strongly anti-communist population of Poland gave a vote of confidence to Gomulka during the recent elections;

Whereas the reforms introduced by the Gomulka regime since his accession to power, represent, in fact, a strong deviation from the orthodox communist doctrine, as proclaimed and followed by the Kremlin;

Whereas it is in the vital interest of Moscow to defeat Gomulka and to put an end to the schism endangering the communist plan for world domination;

Whereas the Soviet Union, for reasons best known to her leaders, refrained from repeating in Poland the massacre perpetrated in Hungary, but, nevertheless, hopes either to strangle Poland economically, thus causing the downfall of Gomulka, or to bring the Poles to their knees, begging for help and ready to accept any conditions imposed on them, i. e. the return to orthodox communism;

Whereas the Poles in Poland are looking to the United States as their only hope in obtaining economic and moral assistance in their fight for liberation;

Whereas the Poles realize that any political or military assistance coming from the free world is, under the prevailing conditions, out of their reach;

Whereas extreme caution in not overstepping the limits of antagonizing Soviet Russia, must still remain the basis of Poland's present policy;

Whereas under those circumstances, Poland, surrounded by satellite nations and by Soviet Russia, with Soviet troops still stationed on her soil, is forced to compromise and, perhaps, to slow down her reforms, and even in some instances, to cede ground under Soviet pressure and threats;

Whereas in the light of the above, a rift between the Warsaw and Moscow regimes is both widening and deepening;

Whereas it is in the interest of the United States to assist any satellite nation in its fight for freedom;

Whereas the Polish bid for liberation, coming from within a satellite nation, finds no precedent and, not long ago, has been generally accepted as a practical impossibility;

Whereas the Polish attempt at liberation, if successful, would pave the way for other satellite nations in a similar direction;

Whereas such a development in Central and Eastern Europe, if peacefully achieved, would greatly diminish the responsibility assumed by the United States, and lessen the burden in the defense of Western Europe by reducing the danger of communist aggression;

Whereas there is little danger that Soviet Russia would profit directly or indirectly from economic help given Poland under her present regime, and a realistic appraisal of the situation points, rather, in an opposite direction:

Resolved, It is in the interest of the United States, as the acknowledged leader of the free world in its fight against communism, that adequate economic help be given to Poland at this particularly propitious and crucial moment.

Spirit of the Irish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I would like to insert a very fine letter I had recently from Joseph P. Furey:

Recently a story appeared in the Irish World concerning you, and your background, and I just could not permit the opportunity

to go by without offering my heartiest congratulations on your election.

I was mighty proud to read this story since I, too, came from Killybegs—emigrated in 1926.

First of all your parents must be congratulated for the part they played in the scheme of things which resulted from their pioneering in this what to them then was a strange land; if an Irishman could actually call America strange. Anyway that be as it may the fact remains that they, and myself, came here from little towns nestled midst the beauty and tranquility of the Donegal Mountains. It was not so easy in the beginning, yet they forged ahead with vigor and might always trusting in the wisdom and goodness of God. This, sir, despite the fact that in those days occasions arose where an Irish Catholic was persona non grata. They cared not for inconveniences, and surmounted the barriers which were frequently placed in their way, for the poverty of life in Donegal which was not of their making became an incentive to prove to themselves and our Almighty God, that the goods our country possesses was just as much of theirs as the other fellows. This is the true spirit of the Irish—a spirit that all of the might of the hated British Empire from the time of the cursed Oliver Cromwell who plucked the suckling babes from their mothers' breasts and cast them into boiling pitch up until the glorious days of Easter week, 1916, when the young men of Dublin led by Padraig Pearce defied the British by distributing the proclamation of independence, and then fought for the principles enunciated therein.

You, too, are to be congratulated for the road you journeyed had the same booby traps as the ones others traversed, but could not make it. You have, and may God and His Blessed Mother be ever with you and yours to guide and guard you at all times during your life let it be public or private.

The State of New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, New England is not only the regional group embracing the six Northeastern States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

New England is a state of mind, long known for its independence, its self-reliance, its God-fearing spirit, its awareness of its proud history, its reverence for the mind, and its eternal quest to discover what is beyond the horizons.

We may be small in area, but mighty in every other category.

The boundaries that presently separate our six States, are disappearing.

New England, which has given more of its sons and daughters to settle other areas, and more of its hard-earned substance in taxes to put other areas on their feet than any other comparable group, is now developing the regional spirit.

Hence the intriguing possibility of "A New State: New England," which is the theme of an editorial that appeared in the Boston Sunday Herald of April 7, 1957.

Under unanimous consent I reprint it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with the thought in mind that New England is on the threshold of new leadership as it pioneers the Atomic Age:

A NEW STATE: NEW ENGLAND

We give you the logical but (probably) the impossible—the new State of New England.

As visionary as the union of Canada and the United States is the union of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Yet how sensible such a union would be.

In area and in population New England is the smallest recognized regional area in the country. Yet it is divided into the six smallest States of the Union, with the exception of New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.

If it were made one State it would still have only 6 percent of the country's population and only 2.2 percent of the area of the country. The State of New England would still be 20th in size, only a quarter as large as Texas, and only an eighth of the size of that Territory clamoring to be a State, Alaska.

The geographic, economic, and cultural identity of the State of New England would be obvious.

This area is, in effect, a peninsula jutting off from the American mainland, as Alaska is in the other direction. It is a terminal area, where the rails end, the domestic airlines meet the foreign, and the highways reach the shoreline.

Partly as a result of our geographical position we have our own special economic problems. Because of the higher cost of fuel transportation, the cost of electricity averages 15 percent above the rest of the country. Because American oil is more expensive when it gets here, New England is especially interested in imports of foreign oil, and must, as a region, constantly oppose efforts to restrict such imports.

New Englanders stand together in a high-income range. The per capita income of the New England States ranges from $1,535 to $2,490. But the national-income range is from $946 to $2,513.

New England agriculture is of a type, neither as depressed as some in the South nor as prospering as some of the West. Income per farm varies here in the relatively narrow ranges from $1,718 to $3,592. The national range is from $886 to $11,900.

There isn't a doubt that we could do a better job of promotion, carry on a more efficient Government, exercise greater weight and prestige on the national scene (except for the admittedly heavy drop from 12 Senators to 2), if we had a single State.

Well, granted it's just a dream, what about doing the next best thing—draw the States closer together?

We now do some things together. The New England Council has found certain ways to unify promotion—we need to find more. We must strengthen the council and its work.

The New England governors have been able to work together in many fields as a unit, often under the spur of the council. We need to provide continuing interstate institutions which will expand such operations.

The Federal Reserve Bank of this district has done a superlative job in integrating research for the area, pointing out our guide posts and providing the drive for new efforts. More power to it.

Our New England delegations in Congress have, of recent years, pulled more and more together for regional rather than statewide purposes.

But until that distant day when logic will command more influence in man's affairs and a New England State arises, we must, for our own growth and prosperity, seek out more and more ways in which New England can be a match for the big States.

Mr. Nixon's Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, Vice President NIXON has made an excellent report on his recent trip to Africa on behalf of our country. The Washington Post and Times Herald in its issue of April 9, 1957, has editorialized on this outstanding report which stresses the importance of Africa to the free world.

The Vice President has once again made a major contribution to the efforts of our country and the other nations of the free world to convince all people that they should reject communism and dedicate themselves to the cause of human freedom everywhere.

The editorial follows:

MR. NIXON'S REPORT

Vice President NIXON's report on his recent visit to Africa is significant chiefly because it focuses national attention on an area too often neglected. The essence of his message is that "the United States must come to know, to understand, and to find common ground with the peoples of this great continent." Underdeveloped though it is, Africa is teeming with new activity and new aspirations for independence, freedom, and a higher standard of living. The very fact that a large continent is only beginning to come into its own, makes it the more important to encourage the building of lasting ties with the institutions of the free world.

As Mr. NIXON spent only 3 weeks visiting 9 countries, his comments are necessarily general. On the basis of his general conclusions, however, he makes a number of constructive recommendations. He suggests a new Bureau of African Affairs in the State Department to emphasize the emerging importance of this continent in the diplomatic sphere. He would improve the quality and quantity of American informational programs in Africa and step up the exchange of students and potential leaders.

Without putting his finger on any specific inadequacies, Mr. NIXON also pleads for strengthened diplomatic and consular representation in these countries. Some American offices in these lands are understaffed and lack funds for necessary travel. Economic sections of the American embassies are especially in need of strengthening if they are to afford American investors with information they will need in considering investments in the African countries. Mr. NIXON also favors American economic and technical assistance to these underdeveloped lands.

The good will of Africa is not to be won, however, with aid and information or even recognition of expanding aspirations. Human understanding and equality are essential to any lasting cooperation in international tasks. The continued existence of racial discrimination in this country, as the Vice President points out, results in irreparable damage to the causes of freedom and peace. It is not surprising that he concludes:

"We must continue to strike at the roots of this problem. We cannot talk equality to the peoples of Africa and Asia and practice inequality in the United States."

Patriotism in Modern America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, for many years, the American Legion has sponsored an essay contest among high school students. It is one of the many programs of the Legion which attempts to make Americans conscious of our great heritage and our obligation to preserve our institutions.

This year, the subject of the essay was "Patriotism in Modern America." I am tremendously pleased that one William S. Gehler, a freshman at Mariemont High School in my district, was one of the winners of this contest. His contribution to this contest is most remarkable, particularly when you consider that he is only 15 years of age.

His fine essay follows:

PATRIOTISM IN MODERN AMERICA

(By Wm. S. Gehler, Cincinnati, Ohio)

"Patriotism in Modern America," but a few words, and yet in these words may be the future of America, of the world. Behind these words the fate of our lives is being fulfilled, for in my evaluation, patriotism today is the loyal American citizen and his everyday actions.

He helps a neighbor in need, and this shows that he takes interest in others. As he performs his everyday deeds, his interests range farther afield than just in local functions, to distant localities unfamiliar to him. By gaining more knowledge of these distant neighbors and through understanding more of their problems, he is able more than ever to aid them not only materialistically, but with friendship and good will.

A patriot of today is not only one who performs a great historical deed but the common citizen and his duties and patriotism toward his fellow man. And at the head of all reigns the American way of life, with its unlimited opportunities, built upon the foundation of a most divine element, patriotism.

Today the American citizen who votes to keep his country foremost in magnitude, and takes part in civic affairs for the betterment of his community and greater enjoyment of life for himself and his family. He strives endlessly to bring his family's ties closer together, helping to build a lasting happiness for tomorrow. His home and his family, surrounded by love and well-being, play a prominent part in the stability and prosperity of his children's welfare. Whether he knows it or not, his family's happiness and contentment today may spell the difference between an obscure or a brighter America in his children's lives in the coming years.

In later years as his sons and daughters take their places in the world, he watches proudly his descendants as they carry on in the building of a better world and an even better United States.

Your own contribution to your beloved land, whether great or small, is your own sacred satisfaction which can never be taken from you. To the strong and the weak, the famous and the common, to them and to all, patriotism is synonymous. No title or strength can make one a better person, for with the patriotic heart, all men stand equal. Having the true courage of a citizen who loves his country, who supports it and its interests, and defends it against all dangers, you merit the supreme right to proclaim yourself a patriot—an American.

Tax Relief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, this being tax time, so many people writing their Representatives complaining about the Government's take, the March 24 broadcast over the Manion Forum out of South Bend, Ind., can well be read with profit:

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT COMPETITOR INSTEAD OF FRIEND

Dean MANION. Nearly everybody admits that the Federal income tax is bad and ought to be abolished. Nevertheless, a great many of these same people are honestly of the opinion that without the income tax we could not finance the necessary constitutional operation of the Federal Government.

My guest tonight has given years of intelligent study to this question. An industrial engineer and an analytical student of political economy, he organized the American Progress Foundation to resist the enenroachment of socialism upon our American way of life. For those who are interested in the Hoffman amendment, Mr. Willis E. Stone, of Los Angeles, has encouraging news. Here he is:

Mr. STONE. Thank you, Dean Manion. I appreciate this opportunity of discussing methods by which we can eliminate the income tax burden which haunts us all at this time of year.

Congressman CLARE E. HOFFMAN, of Michigan, recently explained to the nationwide Manion Forum audience that he has introduced into Congress a proposed amendment to the Constitution known as House Joint Resolution 232, which would repeal the 16th amendment and permanently abolish all Federal income taxes.

The basic needs for such a constitutional amendment are self-evident. The States in this Union cannot be sovereign if the Federal Government sustains and enlarges its power to tax the individual, and there can be no such thing as individual freedom if the Federal Government has first claim against all the productivity of each individual.

These truths have already been heatedly discussed, in great detail, by almost everyone. Although most Americans feel badly used by their government because of the income tax, and live in periodic fear and dread of it, it is to their credit that they hold our Federal Government in such affection that they approach this question of repealing income taxes with caution.

This caution, however, must be based on truth—and the truth is that income taxes have produced extremely little of value for either government or people. We should remember that, before the present income tax was imposed upon us in 1913, we had developed a barren wilderness into the greatest Nation of history.

We should also remember that the income tax is a primary tool recommended by the Communist manifesto for the destruction of America. And we might recall that the American people had two previous experiences with the income tax—both of them bad.

The income tax was first imposed during the Civil War, but was so unsatisfactory for so many reasons that Congress dropped the effort. Again, in 1894, Congress levied an income tax upon the American people, which the Supreme Court declared to be unconstitutional in 1895. Thus, on these two prior occasions, the corrupt, evil, and alien income-tax laws were abolished and both the Government and the people prospered.

We can abolish the income tax again, to the great profit of all our people and the Government. The principal product of the 16th amendment has been the development of a wild and spend-crazy bureaucracy, which has used our tax dollars in a relentless conquest of the lands and enterprises of the American people, and has created a national debt of fantastic proportions.

As we repeal the income-tax laws, we will, of course, put a stop to the fabulous bureaucratic empires our income taxes have financed. This is the purpose of a related project I have proposed, known as the proposed 23d amendment, and introduced into Congress by the Honorable RALPH W. GWINN, of New York, as House Joint Resolution 123. It has been approved by more than 6,000 organizations, formally adopted by the State of Illinois, and it is now pending before the legislatures of many other States. It provides that "the Government of the United States shall not engage in any business, professional, commercial, financial, or industrial enterprises except as specified in the Constitution."

The terms of this amendment can cut the costs of Government sufficiently to accommodate the repeal of income taxes with actual profit to the Federal Government. This is the way it will work:

FEDERAL FINGER IN 700 PIES

The American Progress Foundation, 6413 Franklin Avenue, Los Angeles, made a survey of the 1954 commercial activities of Government and discovered the identity of more than 700 Federal corporate activities which have taken over about 40 percent of the land area and 20 percent of the industrial capacity of the Nation.

House Joint Resolution 123 would force the sale of all the industrial capacity and most of the land area back to the American people from whom it was taken.

There have been various inventories of these commercial activities and the acquisition costs of the land and facilities involved. They all indicate that the sale of these properties would bring vastly more than $50 billion, which would apply to the national debt.

The combined interest and amortization charges on this volume of the national debt which taxpayers would no longer finance equals $2.5 billion. The losses of these Federal corporate activities would also be stopped, and they have accounted for an annual taxload of $10 billion since 1948.

There would be a transfer of payroll from the Federal general fund to private enterprise which would cut the cost of Government another $4 billion per year, and the services, facilities and goods which would no longer be required to make that payroll operative would add up to $12 billion per year.

Those five times—interest, amortization, losses, payroll, and facilities—add up to a potential yearly saving of $28.5 billion.

The proposed 23d, or Gwinn, amendment, House Joint Resolution 123, would also put a stop to the insane practice of taxing the American people to pay tribute to foreign socialistic and communistic nations—an item which costs us about $5 billion every year. Add this saving of foreign tribute to the savings resulting from the restoration of property rights to the American people and

the savings in governmental costs in such a year as 1954 totals $33.5 billion—which is about a billion dollars greater than all the individual income taxes paid by all the American people combined during the same year.

Now, I leave it to you. What do you think will happen when all this land and enterprise gets into private hands, to make more and better things for the American people, and the American people at the same time stop paying income taxes and have from 20 percent to 91 percent of their taxable income restored to them to spend as they choose?

The American people will then have an increase in spendable income of more than $33 billion. Your share will be exactly equal to the volume of taxes you pay on income this year. To have that amount of money added to your take-home pay without changing your rate of pay or the price of things will certainly prove to be the more abundant life we have long been promised.

The land and enterprises sold back to the American people will go on the tax rolls, yielding vast new tax sources to the Federal Government which can build the annual surplus well above the $8 billion mark, accommodating repeal of estate and gift taxes and still be able to pay off the national debt in less than 50 years.

This wonderful outlook is perfectly feasible. It looks toward the normal and natural use of our own facilities in a traditional American manner. Our trouble has been that these facilities have been taken from us and used to support the most amazing bureaucracy the world has ever seen. By abolishing that bureaucracy, we restore to every American the product of his toil and the greatness which is America.

ENORMOUS ADMINISTRATIVE SAVING

Repeal of the 16th amendment means there will be no more income tax to collect, saving the Treasury Department $200 million each year now spent to make these collections.

The cost of printing the forms, booklets, envelopes, stationery, and the rest of the items required for income-tax collections also will be saved—an item of $100 million per year.

We can also save the estimated $40 million per year deficit in the post office which results from handling the flood of mail connected with income-tax collections.

Then there is the increased volume of property that will go on the tax rolls to share our local and State tax burdens. The Federal Government now owns 48 percent of California, 87 percent of Nevada.

In such States as these, the increased volume of land and enterprise going on the tax rolls of cities, counties, and States will be enormous and will cut the burden for each individual taxpayer.

This is a glimpse of the enormous rewards available to the American people whenever we exercise our basic power of citizenship to spell out the terms of our own freedom, adding House Joint Resolution 123 to the Constitution to stop bureaucratic interest-free, rent-free, cost-free, tax-free competition with our citizens, and by adding House Joint Resolution 232, the Hoffman amendment, to the Constitution to stop the looting of our paychecks under the pretensions of an income tax.

Instead of groaning under an inhuman load of income taxes, these amendments will restore almost 20 percent to the net take-home pay of our citizens.

Instead of operating Government at enormous deficits, as we have this past quarter century, we will operate on a balanced budget and pay off the national debt.

Instead of the violent conflict between Government and people regarding which shall own and use the wealth created by the people, we will have a Government devoted to protecting our lives and properties.

Instead of our Federal Government being the greatest pauper in history, it will be returned to a solvent position, and will again earn the affection of the American people—and the affection of the citizen is the greatest asset any government can ever possess.

All of this is available to us when we attain the proposed 23d, or Gwinn amendment (H. J. Res. 123) and the Hoffman amendment (H. J. Res. 232) and make them a part of our American Constitution.

I have by no means mentioned all the advantages these two amendments can bring to us. Think of the benefits to business when the threat of interest free, rent free, cost free, tax free, cutthroat competition is removed and equal and just laws apply.

Think, too, of the wide variety of benefits which will come from a people whose genius is no longer restrained by the political straitjacket of bureaucratic control and competition and the blight of impossible tax burdens.

We know of the unlimited benefactions of operating this Nation under the basic plan set forth in the Constitution. This already has been proved by the unprecedented development of this Nation. The basic plan will work again when we revitalize the intents and purposes of the Constitution by adding these two additional amendments:

First. House Joint Resolution 123 to outlaw bureaucratic competition with the American people.

Second. House Joint Resolution 232, the Hoffman amendment, to outlaw the alien Federal income tax laws.

Dean MANION. Thank you, Mr. Willis Stone. I know that we will have thousands of requests for this interesting explanation of how our Uncle Sam can live more healthfully and happily without the Federal income tax.

Resolutions Commending Central Catholic High School, of Lawrence, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a copy of Senate bill No. 605, of 1957, offered by Senator WILLIAM X. WALL, of Lawrence, Mass., in the Massachusetts Legislature, entitled "Resolutions Commending Central Catholic High School, of Lawrence":

Whereas Central Catholic High School, of Lawrence, represented the best in Massachusets in the finals of the New England basketball championships; and

Whereas Central Catholic High achieved this honor after a brilliant record completed during a strenuous season; and

Whereas Central Catholic High was so courageous and fiercely competitive in the championship game and played as hard and as clean in losing as it had in winning, losing only to a great team representing Weaver High School, of Hartford, Conn.: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Senate extends its heartiest congratulations to the players on the Central Catholic High School basketball squad, to their athletic director and coach, and to the faculty and students of said high school for the accomplishment in fielding a team of which the people of the Commonwealth were genuinely proud, even in defeat; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the secretary of state to the headmaster of Central Catholic High School, of Lawrence.

Missile Program Dwarfs That of First Atomic Bomb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following two articles on the development of ballistic missiles in this country written by Mr. Richard Witkin which appeared in the New York Times on Sunday, April 7, and Monday, April 8, 1957:

[From the New York Times of April 7, 1957]

MISSILE PROGRAM DWARFS THAT OF FIRST ATOMIC BOMB—UNITED STATES TO SPEND MORE THAN $4 BILLION IN DEVELOPING 5 BALLISTIC WEAPONS

(This is the first of two articles on the development of ballistic missiles in this country.)

(By Richard Witkin)

A missile-development program more gigantic than the Manhattan District project that perfected the atomic bomb is just entering its flight test phase.

This is the program to create a frightful line of five thermonuclear weapons known as long-range ballistic missiles. These giant missiles—Atlas, Titan, Thor, Jupiter, and Polaris—are designed to travel 1,500 to 5,500 miles to enemy targets in a matter of minutes.

Within the last 3 months, the Thor and the Jupiter, both in the 1,500-mile class, have undergone their first test launchings from the Cape Canaveral, Fla., test range.

Also at the Florida range, being made ready for an even more ambitious leap toward space, is the first prototype of the 5,000-mile Atlas.

These are the hesitant beginnings of a long series of tests in what is by far the biggest weapon-development project in the Nation's history.

By the time the first proven weapon is delivered to a fighting unit—perhaps 2 to 4 years from now—the investment will be a good deal more than double the $2 billion spent to develop the first atomic bomb.

ONE HUNDRED AND TEN THOUSAND ENGAGED

But dollar figures do not begin to convey the magnitude of the long-range ballistic-missile effort.

More than 100,000 persons are engaged in the long-range ballistic-mission program, and the figure is growing steadily. Peak employment on the Manhattan district program was 125,000.

More significant than the lump figure is the high proportion of outstanding talent—scientific and engineering, civilian and military—the program embraces: Men responsible for World War II advances in radar, bombsights and atomic energy; others in the forefront of American ballistic-missile work since the importation of captured German V–2's; German immigrants who worked on the V–2 itself.

In cities and towns across the nation, in isolated mountain and grazing areas, workers have been throwing up acres of flat, rectangular factories with the speed of Sea-

bees performing construction miracles on newly captured islands.

Near Sacramento, Calif., land depleted by years of gold dredging has come to life in the form of a massive plant, being built for rocket-engine construction.

Twenty miles southwest of Denver, in the foothills of the Rockies, the natural ridge line has been interrupted by a plant that will turn out airframes and assemble complete, towering, finished weapons.

Symbolic of the new era is a strange array of test facilities situated as far as feasible from population centers. In recesses of the jagged Santa Susana Mountains, an hour from downtown Los Angeles, on ground where much of Hollywood's westerns have been filmed, more than 15 stands for rocket-engine tests have been anchored in rock. Hundreds of engine runups are conducted there every month.

Larger stands, for tiedown tests of complete missiles, have been built and put to work in a canyon behind San Diego and in the Muroc Desert northeast of Los Angeles.

LOOKS LIKE AN OIL DERRICK

When idle, a test stand looks a good deal like an oil derrick, only chunkier. In action, with an engine spewing flame and generating noise like the noise of 100 jet bombers taking off simultaneously, a stand resembles no earthly thing. Each costs more than $1 million.

As of February 1, a total of $470 million had been spent on facilities for the Air Force portion of the three-service program. The sum covered construction or conversion of 46 million square feet of development and manufacturing space. Outlays for the Army and Navy have been smaller but imposing.

Operational launching sites for the ballistic missiles will be ponderous installations of steel, brick, mortar, and labyrinth wiring. Construction of each site will be comparable to putting in runways for a major airfield. Initially, a single battery of missiles will be scattered over a 2,000-acre area. This will be compressed later.

At a symposium in New Orleans last summer, an Air Force general working on operational plans said each battery of ballistic missiles would be built so that a direct atomic attack could not destroy more than one-third of its power to retaliate. However, debate has revived on whether to obtain more protection by going underground or by enlarging the original criteria for disposal.

It requires no degree from the War College to deduce that perfection of the long-range ballistic missile will radically rewrite the world's military equations. Nations that now count on hours of warning in case of enemy attack will see the margin reduced abruptly to minutes. Bombers now standing ground alert will have to maintain day-and-night in-the-air alerts to make sure their power to retaliate is not neutralized by the first swift enemy blow.

BRITISH CHANGE POLICY

Only last Thursday, Britain reacted to the advance in the missile by adopting a revolutionary new defense policy. The policy emphasizes sharply increased dependence on missiles for air defense and eventually for nuclear counterattack.

There is a question, however, whether British policymakers may be outdistancing the scientists in their estimate of the pace with which missile weapons are maturing. There are many eminently qualified men in this country who strongly believe that the missile has been oversold and that the missile era is much further off than generally supposed.

For the free world, the primary aim of the long-range ballistic missile is the same as that of the nuclear bomber: To deter attack and prevent a world war.

Politically, it will equip diplomats with a new type of "big stick" with which to press short-of-war policies. Last year, the Soviet Union threatened rocket attacks on Britain and France when demanding a halt to the invasion of Egypt. There are many who believe they were phantom rockets. Still, it is only a question of time, and not much time, before the Communists will be able to make such threats with test-proved weapons to back them up. Intelligence sources credit the Russians with having tested some fifty 600-mile ballistic missiles. Other reports put the range of the Soviet missiles at 1,000 miles.

Psychologically, the ballistic missile will confront the resident of a major target with the insistent knowledge that nuclear death is only 30 minutes away. How much worse this will be than the knowledge that nuclear death is only a few hours away is still to be determined.

Economically, the ballistic missile will spawn new industries, peaceful as well as military. It will also wound, but not kill off, the conventional warplane industry, and cause sizable financial and geographical dislocations.

It has been frequently suggested that the missile might be the device that could finally level off the upward curve in defense spending and turn it downward. Certainly, a single ballistic missile will cost less, as a production item, than a single B–52 bomber. But few who have closely viewed the growing complexity of weapon design and blanched at the cost rises for computers, gyros, and other vital components confidently expect a downturn in the overall price for maintaining an adequate defense.

NEARING OUTER SPACE

Scientifically, the ballistic missile promises to vault the human race, willy-nilly, to the threshold of outer space and true three-dimensional existence.

There are many types of missiles in the Nation's arsenal—with different missions and different anatomies. They range from comparatively tiny plane-to-plane missiles such as the Falcon and Sidewinder, antiaircraft missiles such as Nike and Talos, and larger interceptors such as Bomarc, on up to nonballistic intercontinental missiles that have nothing like the speed and invulnerability of the ballistic missiles. All these missiles have important jobs. But they are dimmed in scope and striking potential by the ballistic-missile giants.

The 5,500-mile missiles—the Atlas soon to be tested and the Titan which is not as far along—are known as intercontinental ballistic missiles or ICBM's. They are designed to attain speeds of 15,000 miles an hour and more and reach their targets in about an hour. The 1,500-mile missiles, the Thor, Jupiter, and Polaris, are known as intermediate range ballistic missiles or IRBM's.

The term "ballistic" means that the missile flies the latter portion of its mission without benefit of guidance. It is guided on course only in the first phase of flight while its monstrous rocket engine is firing. When the fuel is exhausted, guidance stops, and the nose cone, with its thermonuclear charge, follows a free-flight path to its destination, like a bullet or artillery shell. ICBM's will reach a maximum altitude of well over 500 miles.

The average ballistic missile has something like 300,000 parts—pumps, gyroscopes, valves, tubes, meters, nozzles, and computers. But there are four main components: The airframe, which is largely a combination of fuel tanks; the rocket engine; the guidance system; and the nose cone containing the thermonuclear charge.

CARRIES OWN OXIDIZER

Since the missile is designed to climb far outside the earth's atmosphere, it cannot support combustion by breathing air as do piston and jet engines. It must carry its own oxidizer.

In a liquid-fueled missile, combustion is obtained by pumping a basic fuel, such as alcohol, and an oxidizer, such as liquid oxygen, into the combustion chamber at prodigous rates, and igniting them. In a solid-fueled missile, the propellants are already mixed in solid form.

Following are some of the vital facts and figures on the five ballistic missiles:

ATLAS

This ICBM is the oldest of the five. Convair, now a division of General Dynamics Corp., began working on the problem soon after World War II. The project, known as MX774, was backed by Air Force money, but funds were cut off for economy reasons in 1947, and Convair continued work on its own.

Much of the original work derived from close study of the German V–2. Sometimes the study was too close. A German who had worked on the V–2 was asked to look over some drawings. As he ran his experienced eye over the design, he burst out laughing.

"What are you laughing at?" the Convair engineer asked.

"The tail fins," he said, pointing to the rather narrow vanes designed to help stabilize the missile on its leap through the atmosphere. "Where did you get them?"

"We copied them from the V–2," he was told.

"Do you know why we designed them that way?" the German asked. "To fit through the railroad tunnels back home."

The Korean war revived Air Force interest in the Convair project, and a second contract was let. But the state of the art was so primitive that to perform the required mission the Atlas would have had to be a 3-stage vehicle as tall as a 20-story building with 7 engines developing 125,000 pounds of thrust each. Each jet on a B–52 has a thrust rating of about 12,000 pounds.

The Atlas program was kept "on the back burner." Pound for pound and dollar for dollar, the seven-engined monster did not promise significant yield in striking power compared with that provided by manned nuclear bombers.

DECISIVELY CHANGED

Then came the thermonuclear breakthrough of 1952–53, altering the problem of designing an ICBM in two decisive ways. The multiplication of blast effect from using a fusion instead of a fission reaction meant that the missile could miss its bull's-eye by several miles and still knock out the target. The enormous problem of guidance and accuracy was greatly simplified.

The scientific breakthrough also meant that the blast could be packaged in a much smaller and lighter container than previously required. This cut the monster to reasonable size.

The Atlas as it exists today is reported by the British magazine Flight to incorporate a main engine of 135,000 pounds of thrust, and 2 external booster engines of 100,000 pounds each. The main engine is said to burn about 3 minutes. The boosters burn out a good deal sooner and drop away to lighten the load. On the Atlas, as well as the Titan, the nose cone separates from the main fuselage after the propellants have run out.

Flight reports that the Atlas is about 100 feet long. The engines are all liquid-fueled designs developed by the Rocketdyne division of North American Aviation.

The first Atlas, minus a number of internal organs, was trucked to Florida from the Convair plant in San Diego on an enormous trailer. For security reasons, it was covered with a white shroud to keep the citizenry along the route from surmising that it was anything but an oversize furnace. The monster excited very little curiosity.

TITAN

About 2 years ago, the Air Force decided that perfection of an ICBM was so vital it

would be wise to back up the Atlas project with a second program approaching the problem in somewhat different fashion.

The new project was assigned to the Glenn L. Martin Co., which had gained vast experience as manufacturer of the Viking research rockets. A Viking still holds the altitude record of 158.4 miles for a single-stage rocket. Martin also is building the vehicle that will carry the first manmade satellite into space sometime during the International Geophysical Year that runs from July 1956 to December 1958.

Because of its late start, the Titan is a solid year behind the Atlas in its development. But it has been able to profit by some of the mistakes made on the Atlas, which had no ICBM predecessors from which to learn.

The Titan, in general, is a more sophisticated weapon than the Atlas, with somewhat better performance figures. Trade magazines say it is a two-stage missile—that is, the bottom stage drops away after burnout, and an engine at the breakoff point takes over to provide a second tremendous boost.

IGNITION TIMING VITAL

It is a lot easier to light an engine at the launching pad than up in space. The mechanisms for doing it will have had to withstand appalling vibrations and accelerations without effect on the efficiency and precise timing of the second ignition. Premature or delayed ignition can throw the minutely-calculated flight plan out of whack and catapult the missile to a vast area barren of useful targets.

Only dozens of test firings of both the Atlas and the Titan will supply the Air Force with the data to decide which to produce. Some think that, if both are perfected, quantities of both will be delivered to Strategic Air Command units in a sort of leapfrog sequence. The Atlas would come first, then a quantity of Titans, and after that perhaps an Atlas II that improves on the Titan I.

As one scientist expressed it:

"The Air Force is not thinking of scrapping the B–52 just because the B–58 is coming along. The Atlas and Titan are also complementary. This isn't a question of Fords and Chevvies."

There are an equal number of doubters who feel the budget will not support sizable production of both ICBM weapons.

It is for the Titan project that the Martin comany has burst the confines of its old Baltimore home and put up its excellently situated new facilities at the edge of the Rockies near Denver. The installation includes production, engineering, and administration buildings. In sound-muffling natural bowls in the mountains, four stands for tie-down tests of finished missiles have been built.

A number of scientists and engineers who had a lot to do with the Viking program have moved to Denver to work on Titan. General manager of the new Denver division is Albert L. Varrieur, a tall, personable engineer who jumped into the missile business after overseeing development of the P6M Seamaster, which Martin bills as the world's first multijet attack seaplane.

NOT OFTEN WITH FAMILY

Mr. Varrieur's family, like many aeronautic families, has had to learn to catch quick hello's with the chief because of his long hours and frequent trips associated with development work. Mrs. Varrieur greeted news of her husband's promotion to the Denver post with good-humored skepticism.

"Don't tell me there's another way to save the world," she said.

The Titan is moving along right on schedule. Its liquid-fueled engine will be made by the Aerojet-General Corp., a company organized in 1942 by Dr. Theodore von Karman, an Einstein-like figure in the aeronautics industry.

Aerojet was bought by the General Tire & Rubber Co. in 1944. Its headquarters are in Azusa, Calif., but the Titan's engines and solid-fueled engines for another of the ballistic missiles will be produced at its new plant near Sacramento.

THOR

This is a single-stage Air Force IRBM, with the airframe to be built by the Douglas Airplane Co. It is reported that its North American engine is the same powerplant that will be used for the two boosters on the Convair Atlas.

It was late in 1955 that the Pentagon decided to fill a hole in its program and develop the 1,500-mile missile, or IRBM. Apparently the decision stemmed from a combination of factors.

Information was beginning to filter out of Eastern Europe that the Russians had made good progress on IRBM's. (If figures on test firings are a valid criterion, the Russians have indeed built an imposing lead in this field.)

Soviet IRBM's, when perfected, would threaten many oversea bases of the Strategic Air Command and its fleets of B–47 medium jet bombers. They also would threaten the homelands of North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies.

Britain, for one, though hastening development of an IRBM of its own, cast glances across the Atlantic to see what its big NATO partner was doing. Undoubtedly, the desire to equip Allied Nations with a counter to the Soviet Union's impending missiles, as well as a desire to equip American forces in Europe and at sea, figured in the Pentagon decision to embark on an IRBM program.

FASTER DEVELOPMENT

An added consideration was the fact that the IRBM, with its lesser performance requirements, could doubtless be brought to combat status more quickly than the much larger companion weapon.

The Pentagon authorized not just 1 IRBM project but 2. In addition to giving the Air Force the go-ahead on the Thor, it authorized the Army and Navy to work jointly on the Jupiter. Because it split the program between services, where the ICBM program was concentrated in one, the IRBM plan was destined to produce before long an interservice struggle whose repercussions are only beginning to be felt.

Production of the Thor will be centered in expanded and remodeled Douglas facilities in Santa Monica, a Los Angeles suburb. For tie-down firings, $4 million worth of test stands, hangars, control buildings and miscellaneous facilities are under construction in the Sacramento area on land leased from Aerojet.

Getting the Thor to the firing range at Cape Canaveral, Fla., is simpler than transporting the ICBM's. The intermediate range weapon can be accommodated in an Air Force C–125 Globemaster.

JUPITER

This IRBM competitor to the Thor was assigned to the Army Ballistic Missile Agency at Huntsville, Ala. The assignment, shared with a Navy group that intended to develop a solid-fueled version of what was an Army-spawned original design, came as no surprise.

Huntsville was the workshop of the renowned German missile team headed by Wernher von Braun. He had had a lot to do with the development of the V–2. Then, after having been imported here after the war, he had directed development of the Army's Redstone, a relatively short-range (200 miles) ballistic missile soon to be delivered to combat units.

The acquisition of the Jupiter project did more than satisfy a normal scientific impulse of the Army group to move on to more challenging technical fields. It also encouraged Army strategists who felt it vital to broaden the Army mission to cope with military realities that were undergoing radical change because of the unbelievably rapid advance in technology.

But the Army's zealous reaching out for the right to operate weapons in the Jupiter class was abruptly rebuffed last fall. On November 26, the Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson, ruled that while the Army would continue research and development on the land-based version of the Jupiter, responsibility for operation use would go exclusively to the Air Force.

ARMY RANGE LIMITED

The Army was limited by the order to operation of missiles with a maximum range of 200 miles. However, the door was left open for extending this limit later by a provision that the Army could continue limited studies of weapons of longer range.

Army officers disposed to look on the brighter side of the Wilson memorandum also regard the 200-mile cutoff point not as a limitation but as an extension of the earlier 50-mile limit.

The optimists had a little tougher time when Mr. Wilson, on February 26, said that the days of the Jupiter, as such, were numbered. He said that the final IRBM, however, might be as close to the Jupiter design as to the Thor.

Three weeks later, he amended his position somewhat. He said testing of both the Thor and Jupiter would continue, and that eventually "one or the other or a combination" would be produced for combat units.

Whatever the hedging in the Wilson statements, the impression they left in the public mind was that Jupiter was a doomed duck. A rancorous public debate erupted over whether the Army was being dangerously downgraded as a fighting force.

It was not long before the debate took a sensational turn. Col. John C. Nickerson, a senior officer at the Army missile center, was accused of divulging secret defense documents and a memorandum of his own disputing the Defense Department's missile policies. He was ordered court-martialed. The trial opens May 15.

LIKENED TO BILLY MITCHELL

Some attempts have been made to compare Colonel Nickerson with Billy Mitchell, who was court-martialed in 1926 in his fight for greater recognition of air power but was vindicated in the public eye by subsequent events. It is even being suggested that Colonel Nickerson has the support of top Army men.

Those holding this view feel that he is allowing himself to be sacrificed in a patriotic attempt to convince the country of the Army's desperate requirement of a broadened military assignment.

The opposite view is that the Mitchell and Nickerson cases have little in common. It is argued that Billy Mitchell was fighting for a broad principle and that Colonel Nickerson has involved himself in an interservice fight in which the issue is not principle but the question of who uses a particular weapon.

The Thor and the Jupiter are much more alike in design than the ICBM's, the Atlas and Titan. They are both single-stage missiles. The engines on both come from the same North American development program.

A really fundamental difference has to do with the philosophy of development rather than with basic design. With the Thor, as with the ICBM's, the Air Force is following an imaginative but still-to-be-proved plan that is a sharp break with most airplane development programs.

It has drawn up a tightly compressed timetable. It has designed its missile from the start in what it confidently thinks will be close to its final overall basic anatomy. It has programmed a large number of test launchings and decided that it will not be necessary to clean up every shortcoming exposed by one test before racing on to the next.

With the Jupiter, the Army agency, under command of the dashing and able Maj. Gen. J. B. Medaris, is spacing its test launchings much farther apart. It reasons that one test may show 1,000 or more adjustments and modifications that must be made and it intends to make them before the subsequent launching. The Army says this is a much more efficient and economic way to emerge with a usable weapon.

Contractor for the Jupiter airframe and final assembly is the Chrysler Corp., which also manufactures the Army's Redstone.

POLARIS

This is where the Navy comes in. The Polaris is a solid-fueled IRBM designed to be launched from submarines, even submerged, or from surface vessels. The main contractor is the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. The engine will come from Aerojet.

When the Navy announced a few months ago that it was abandoning its connection with Jupiter and going off on its own, the move inevitably led to rumors that these two services were feuding, too. This does not appear to have been the case.

From the first, the Navy had been working on a solid-fueled version of the Jupiter. Liquid propellants, dangerous as they are to handle ashore, are virtually anathema at sea, where crew and chemicals are so close together.

The Navy finally was assigned its own project because of technological advances and because the effort to meet requirements of both services was compromising the quality of the basic weapon.

Launching a weapon at sea entails solution of several problems not encountered ashore. The most important is the question of navigation. The location of a shore installation is known precisely. The distance and direction of the target also are known within tolerable limits.

But locating a ship at sea, by celestial or other navigation, is not so precise. Since a mistake in location at the launching end is compounded at the target end, the Navy will have to refine its navigation so that a wave at sea is almost as precisely located as the corner of Broadway and 42d Street.

Curiously, firing from underwater is in some ways simpler than firing from the surface. The water is calmer down below, and there is no tremendous difficulty in stabilizing the launching platform because the water does not interfere with combustion inside the missile.

The advantages of a ship-based IRBM are obvious. It is mobile and more difficult for the enemy to keep track of. It has the capability of bringing into range of American missile power enormous areas, particularly on the Eurasian land mass, that would be out of reach of any fixed missile bases.

The polaris project is not Lockheed's first connection with the ballistic missile program. The X–17, a 3-stage test vehicle manufactured by that company, has been instrumental in solving the problem that probably has required the most fundamental research of any phase of the missile effort.

This is the problem of keeping the nose cone, with its nuclear warhead, from burning up like a meteor when in plunges back into the atmosphere toward its target.

Lockheed's X–17 is a slender, 3-stage vehicle. The bottom engine shoots it vertically into space, after which the remaining two stages topple over and head back to earth. Firing these two stages successfully on the downward plung produces speeds comparable to those to be encountered by the ballistic missiles.

With the relatively inexpensive X–17's, the Air Force has been able to test various shapes and materials for nose cones. One experimental cone is reported to have been made of fibreglass and ceramics.

The shape that has emerged is far from the shape space cartoonists have been addicted to for years. The long pointed nose is passé. The X–17 tests have shown that what is needed for the reentry job is a bluntly rounded shape that would be frowned on in space-cadet circles.

Like Martin, Lockheed has set up branch operations outside its familiar home area to produce the polaris and work on another Air Force project so secret it has not public name or number.

The new operations are deployed in three locations on the peninsula south of San Francisco. Research and development headquarters is located in attractive new buildings at Palo Alto, near the Stanford campus. The director is Dr. Louis Ridenour, who directed development of an important radar system during the war and all airborne radar devices.

Eight miles to the southwest, adjoining a military airfield at Sunnyvale, Lockheed has put up a new plant for polaris production and two other structures for administration and research. Engine-test facilities have been installed 30 miles to the south, at Santa Cruz.

FACTS AND FIGURES ON UNITED STATES MISSILES

Following is a table of the missiles under contract from the Armed Forces, as adapted from Aviation Week magazine:

Category	Name	Service branch	Prime contractor	Research	Development	Production	Use	Approximate range (statute miles)
Air to air	Ding-Dong	Air Force	Douglas	X	X			
	Falcon	do	Hughes			X	X	
	Sidewinder	Navy	Philco			X	X	
	Sparrow I	do	Sperry			X	X	
	Sparrow II	do	Douglas		X	X		
	Sparrow III	do	Raytheon	X	X			
Air to surface	Bullpup	do	Martin		X			
	Rascal	Air Force	Bell		X	X		100
Air to underwater	Petrel	Navy	Fairchild				X	
Surface to air	Bomarc	Air Force	Boeing		X	X		200
	Hawk	Army	Raytheon		X	X		
	Nike-Ajax	do	Western Electric			X	X	25
	Nike-Hercules	do	do		X	X		
	Talos	Navy	Bendix		X	X		
	Tartar	do	Convair		X	X		
	Terrier I	do	do			X	X	10
	Terrier II	do	do		X	X		20
Surface to surface	Atlas	Air Force	do	X	X			5,000
	Corporal	Army	California Tech			X	X	100
	Dart	do	Aerophysics Development Corp.			X		
	Honest John	do	Douglas			X	X	15
	Jupiter	do	Chrysler	X	X			1,500
	Lacrosse	do	Cornell	X	X			8
	Little John	do	Emerson		X	X		
	Matador	Air Force	Martin			X	X	
	Navaho	do	North American		X			5,000
	Polaris	Navy	Lockheed	X	X			1,500
	Redstone	Army	Chrysler		X	X		200
	Regulus I	Navy	Vought			X	X	
	Regulus II	do	do		X	X		
	Sergeant	Army			X	X		
	Snark	Air Force	Northrop		X	X		5,000
	Thor	do	Douglas	X	X			1,500
	Titan	do	Martin	X	X			5,000
	Triton	Navy	McDonnell		X			

[From the New York Times of April 8, 1957]

MISSILES WILL NOT SUPPLANT PLANES SOON, EXPERTS SAY

(This is the second of two articles on United States progress in the development of long-range ballistic missiles.)

(By Richard Witkin)

The guided missile is not on the verge of replacing the old gray airplane. Only a modest number of relatively short-range missiles have begun to perform missions traditionally reserved for manned planes.

It will be at least 5 years before missiles—both those doing the jobs of planes and those simply replacing guns carried by planes—are allocated even half the Air Force procurement dollar.

The foregoing is a distillation of views held by an impressive collection of men in top echelons of the Nation's missile program. For obvious reasons, they are keeping to themselves the planned dates for delivery of long-range ballistic missiles to combat units.

But the general belief is that the 1,500-mile intermediate range ballistic missile, IRBM, is 2 to 4 years from true operational status and that the 5,500-mile intercontinental ballistic missile, ICBM, is several years further away.

The cautious prognosis of those high up in the program may strike incredulous ears at this particular time. On the basis of last week's news the public could be expected to look for a much more rapid and extensive retirement of manned craft in favor of the missile.

The news from Britain was an especially compelling portent. The British, noting likely progress of ballistic rockets and missile defense, announced abandonment of work on a supersonic bomber and on fighters more advanced than their English Electric P–1. The P–1 is Britain's first production fighter capable of supersonic speeds.

In this country, Air Force officials were quoted Friday by Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Democrat of Georgia, as saying that an IRBM would be operational in a matter of months. This fed the popular impression that the missile era was bursting into full bloom. Actually, a spokesman said later, the Senator had been trying to discourage this notion. He had been seeking to counter reports that a new technical advance had been made that would bring IRBM into service within the year.

But denials generally run a poor second to original statements. And Senator RUSSELL's comments, plus the news from Britain, left an erroneous impression that the long-range ballistic missile was around the bend.

MATTER OF YEARS

By contrast, the impression given by experts in the field is that the IRBM will not become operational for a matter of years. They feel that the overall art of missilry is not much past the stage of the wire-braced biplane.

One who has sought to temper the public feeling that the missile era is here is the man

directing the Air Force's long-range ballistic-missile program, Maj. Gen. Bernard A. Schriever. In a New York speech last January, General Schriever said that widely publicized spectacular missile kills and record-breaking flights were "still the exception rather than the rule."

"We are still a long way from the push-button type of warfare," he said. "The guided missile, as a weapons category, is still in its infancy and subject to many growing pains."

Dr. Dean E. Wooldridge of the Ramo-Wooldridge Corp., the company that sits at General Schriever's right hand and is responsible for technical direction of the entire program, said in February:

"In the next 10 to 15 years, we will find guided-missile weapons systems will come to be important in our arsenal of weapons but will not be available even in limited numbers to perform many Air Force functions * * *. Much more than 10 or 15 years will elapse before manned aircraft become as unusual in our airpower as guided missiles are now."

JUST COMING OFF LINE

Dr. Wooldridge noted that "even the attainment by the manufacturer of high production rates does not mean that the Air Force then has a force in being." He said the weapons had to be installed and combat units had to be activated and trained. This process, he added, rarely take less than 2 years.

Far from having attained a high-production rate, the IRBM is just beginning to come off the line. What the services are getting are a few prototypes whose innards will have to be modified as the first test launchings reveal inevitable weak spots.

In a recent interview, a high-ranking naval officer assigned to the missile program put the issue this way:

"For a very long time, we will have to use the missile and the more conventional craft in conjunction.

"I think you will never do everything with missiles. The best guidance system in the world was produced by the little Japanese mother who spawned a son to ride in a kamikaze—pilot who makes a suicidal crash on a target. The human mind will never be equaled in our lifetime by an electromechanical combination."

The top scientist in the research division of a major manufacturer said:

"Any manned vehicle will always have the advantage of being able to select the target en route and of carrying out reconnaissance."

It is for such reasons that scientists at all major companies are making design studies for manned craft that will constitute the next weapon advance after the I. C. B. M. They are working on manned rocket ships and manned satellites. They are not dreamers. They are very accomplished, practical and serious men.

There is some industry concern that some policymakers, like a large segment of the public, have written off even conventional aircraft too soon.

It is feared that these policymakers may cause this country to neglect a generation of manned craft that should not be neglected.

PILOTS TO STAY

The vice president of a major aircraft manufacturer deep in the ballistic-missile program said:

"There is a feeling that the airplane is going to disappear from the scene. This just isn't ever going to be * * *.

"Even some people in high places have been swept off their feet. But an individual with eyes and ears and brains cannot be replaced in warfare. It is bad enough thinking the airplane will disappear. But even worse, we are cutting off airplanes before the missile is perfected."

This view was enthusiastically concurred in by a vice president of an equally important company. Yet, the director of a third company's missile program and a highly placed general did not share these fears.

The long-range ballistic missile program includes five thermonuclear weapons. There are two 5,500-mile I. C. B. M.'s, the Atlas and Titan, both under Air Force development. There are three 1,500-mile I. R. B. M.'s—the Air Force's Thor, the Army's Jupiter and the Navy's Polaris.

THE MISSILE EXPLAINED

A ballistic missile is distinguished from other guided missiles by the fact that it is guided only in the initial phase of its flight. Course and altitude corrections are made only in the first minutes, while the rocket engines are firing. After propulsion has ceased, the point of impact has become a fixed and unchangeable location. The missile follows a free-flight unguided course to its target, like a bullet or artillery shell.

The story of the American ballistic-missile project might start during World War II at Peenemuende, Germany, where the V–2 was developed. Or at Convair's San Diego plant in 1946, where a 7-engine 20-story monster was eventually designed. Or in the early 1950's at Eniwetok atoll where American scientists proved radical new theories that made feasible a missile of more manageable proportion.

But the story of the massive, accelerated program now underway might best start in an unobtrusive parochial school in the Los Angeles suburb of Inglewood. The parochial school came into the picture in the summer of 1954, after the decisive scientific breakthrough. The Pentagon had decided to pick up the old Convair venture and pursue the I. C. B. M. with the sort of singlemindedness that had been devoted to the wartime atom-bomb development.

It was at the parochial school that the small cadre of Air Force officers assigned to the project initially held their first planning sessions. The place was a decoy. So were the civilian clothes that everyone wore.

Looking perhaps most at home in his civvies—usually a tasteful sport jacket, slacks and strollers—was the 6-foot-2 44-year-old man in command, General Schriever. He had only one star then.

THREE-CORNERED ORGANIZATION

General Schriever's outfit is known as the Western Development Division of the Air Research and Development Command. It has since graduated to a row of rectangular new buildings a few blocks from Los Angeles International Airport.

General Schriever is overall director of a three-cornered organization. His Western Development Division has top jurisdiction over the program and has direct channels, bypassing eight customary echelons, to the highest Pentagon level.

On one side of Western Development Division is the Ramo-Wooldridge Corp., a phenomenon of the electronics revolution. It was formed in 1953 by two men who developed the Falcon air-to-air missile for the Hughes Aircraft Co.

Ramo-Wooldridge has charge of weapons systems engineering and technical direction of contractors. Briefly, two main activities are encompassed:

One is making arrangements. It entails devising a program covering every phase of the missile project from design and testing to training and operation. The program is drawn up in such a way that thousands of pieces are supposed to drop neatly into place in accord with a precise schedule.

COORDINATES CONTRACTORS

The second activity involves coordinating the work of 16 prime contractors working on major items in the program, plus the work of more than 200 subcontractors. It involves consultations with a contractor when a technical snag threatens to upset the delicate timetable.

Some contractors think the system works fine. Others think the Ramo-Wooldridge teams are little better than kibitzers getting in the way. Overall, there seems to be less friction between the oldtime contractors and the johnny-come-lately firm than might have been expected. The majority feels that someone has to do the coordinating in such a complex program and that Ramo-Wooldridge is well qualified for the task.

The third organization at the Schriever headquarters is the Ballistic Missile Office of the Air Force's Air Material Command. Its job is to speed contract agreements so the massive project will not stumble over legalities. Its companion job is to keep critical materials flowing to contractors as fast as they are needed.

The ballistic-missile program of all three services will have absorbed an investment of well over $4 billion by the time the first perfected weapon is delivered to a combat unit. The sum is more than twice the investment in the Manhattan District project that developed the first atom bomb.

ARMY AND NAVY PLANS

The Army equivalent of the Schriever organization, much smaller in scope and differing in philosophy, is the Army Ballistic Missile Agency at Huntsville, Ala. It is commanded by Maj. Gen. J. B. Medaris, a dynamic individual who started his military career as an elisted marine.

The Navy equivalent, also smaller than the Schriever outfit and somewhere between the Air Force and Army in philosophy, is the Special Project Office of the Secretary of the Navy, in Washington. Its commander is Rear Adm. W. F. Raborn, an energetic, red-haired Texan.

The Air Force approach is a bold one that admittedly involves a certain amount of risk. The danger is in trying to anticipate precisely the shape, the operation, and the installation of numerous components that are not due to mature for months and years. The danger is in trying to gear training, operational and maintenance programs now to a preconceived plan that is certain to require some reworking.

The purpose of such an approach is to compress the time interval between design of the weapon and its delivery to combat units.

ARMY TAKES RISK

For years, the Air Force has been allowing extensive lead time between design and use of an airplane. The B–52 was designed soon after World War II. It made its first flight in April 1952. The first B–52 was delivered to an operational unit in June 1955.

The case of the B–52 is typical. The long lead-time policy has been cited as a major reason for the Soviet Union's swift shrinkage of this Nation's lead in airpower.

In breaking with this policy on the missile program and dovetailing developments that used to follow in succession, the Air Force is taking some risk. But it is trying to hedge the gamble by conservative design of major items.

The coordination of activities is something fascinating to watch, like slow-motion movies of a razzle-dazzle football play.

One military group is planning, years ahead, how the ballistic missiles will be operated and maintained when they are finally perfected. It is headed by Col. William Large, a former B–47 wing commander.

The group is worrying about how tough to build the missile installations; what maintenance equipment will be needed; what type of fire truck should be ordered now for coping with misfires. It is even discussing whether the chaplain will have different problems because of the isolation of missile units and the switch of personnel from

glamorous flying duties to sedentary push-button activities.

AND THE GI, TOO

The group is worrying, too, whether the average GI will be able to operate the complex machines efficiently.

To get a reading, the group sent for a master sergeant who had spent years as a supervisor of aircraft crew chiefs. They showed him a full-size model of an Atlas ICBM and asked how it looked from a point of view of mantenance.

He knew nothing about the workings of a missile. But he knew about crew chiefs. He took one look at a group of electrical connections and said they wouldn't do. The male halves of the connections were identical and so were the female halves. Sure as anything, he said, some crew chief would come along and mate the wrong plugs.

The missile's innards were redesigned so that each male plug would go with only one female.

The Ramo-Wooldridge group riding herd on the Thor IRBM program is devoting a lot of attention to transport and supply since the IRBM will be able to operate from overseas bases.

It is reliably reported in Washington that the Air Force missile outfit sent Britain months ago detailed data on the type and size of real estate that would be required for installing Thor missile batteries. This was long before the formal Bermuda agreement specifying that the United States would supply such missiles to its British allies.

The Strategic Air Command has a liaison group at the Schriever headquarters planning, years ahead, how the ballistic missiles will be operated. The Air Training Command has a liaison group planning a detailed training program.

A significant departure for the missile program is the plan to have the research and development branch, represented by General Schriever's outfit, shepherd the new weapons all the way through initial operational status. The Air Force has taken over from the Army 66,000 acres of an almost inactive 86,000-acre Army base at Lompoc, Calif., about 60 miles northwest of Santa Barbara, for training crews.

READY IN WAR

The installation, Camp Cooke, will double as the Nation's first operational missile base. It will be ready to fire in case of war.

There are people in the Air Force project who feel that the Army's IRBM the Jupiter, could not reach operational status for 2 years after the Air Force's Thor. They say the Jupiter development will be handicapped by the infrequency of test firings and by failure to start all phases of development planning simultaneously.

The teams working on all three Air Force ballistic missiles are buoyed by the fact that, up to now, all milestones in development have been reached on schedule.

The Army says the Air Force will not have a missile until it runs off successful tests and that a milestone is not as good as a missile.

The Army group, with the experience of the Redstone development behind it, is confident the Jupiter will prove its superiority in the tests getting underway on the Florida coast.

NAVY NOT IN SQUABBLE

The Navy, with its Polaris, is a good distance from the tests stage and can afford to detach itself from the interservice squabbling.

The ICBM often has been referred to as the definitive weapon. But to scientists whose relentless reaching out for new clues to the order of the universe has imparted such momentum to the technological revolution, the ICBM is just another step. Unless, that is, man uses it to blow up the world.

General Schriever expressed confidence in a recent speech that weapons such as the IRBM and ICBM would greatly assist the Air Force in keeping at peak strength "a deterrent force which no aggressor in his right mind would dare challenge."

But, at the same time, he expressed doubt that "any one single weapon, no matter how powerful, can itself enforce peace in this uneasy world."

"In the long haul," he warned in another speech, "our safety as a nation may depend upon our achieving space superiority. Several decades from now, the important battles may not be sea battles or air battles, but space battles, and we should be spending a certain fraction of our national resources to insure that we do not lag in obtaining space supremacy."

ENVISIONS SPACE RESIDENTS

Dr. Simon Ramo, cofounder of the civilian firm that has technical direction of the Air Force program, looks on development of the ICBM as an enormous step toward man's extending his province into space.

"Sooner or later," he warns, "the population on earth will get beyond us." He envisages, a century from now, a sky filled with vehicles supporting permanent space residents taking all their energy requirements from the sun.

Unfortunately, this highly respected scientist points out, the energy required to vault into space will be so enormous that, put to destructive uses, it could blow up the world.

"It is impossible to imagine we can populate space without an international agreement," Dr. Ramo believes.

"We will either have chaos or we must learn to get together."

Dave Beck and His Conservative Friends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, as a friend of the laboring man, I have been shocked by the recent revelations of racketeering and fraudulent conduct on the part of Dave Beck, president of the Teamsters Union. I applaud the action of the AFL–CIO council in suspending Mr. Beck from that body and am disgusted with the small minority of labor leaders that have betrayed the Teamster membership and have placed their own personal interests above and beyond their duty to the labor movement. The damage which Mr. Beck has done to those dedicated, sincere and honest union leaders and members who have helped build modern day America through organized labor is incalculable. This is Mr. Beck's greatest crime.

I am surprised, however, that in condemning the practices of Mr. Beck, I find myself in the company of the same Republican press which over the years has featured laudatory articles concerning him.

It is important for us to recall that Mr. Beck, the only major labor leader who attempted to persuade the AFL not to endorse Governor Stevenson in the past two Presidential campaigns, is basically a businessman. Business Week of February 14, 1953, reports that Mr. Beck shows "as much interest in the success of the trucking industry as most trucking executives," and Time notes that Mr. Beck considers himself a "self-made United States big-business man"—April 12, 1954—and has addressed Harvard Business School alumni groups.

Mr. Beck himself often announced "Some of my best friends are employers"—Reader's Digest, September 1954. In fact the conservative Republican Seattle Times wrote editorially in December 1946:

Many are wishing that there could be more Dave Becks in the national labor picture.

The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, which has played down the recent investigation, has periodically killed any national syndicated columns when they were critical of Dave Beck.

A recent issue of the Reporter magazine reports, March 21, 1951:

Thinking of themselves as businessmen rather than leaders of labor, (they) have often bailed out employers with funds from the union treasury and occasionally set up innocuous unions for them at a price. Perhaps it is no wonder therefore that congressional scrutiny of their doings has come to nothing in the past. Only 4 years ago a Republican-controlled committee called off an investigation of Hoffa, allegedly in return for his support of a Republican senatorial candidate. * * * All this indicates to us that the venality of the teamster brotherhood can be neither studied in a vacuum nor viewed primarily as a problem of organized labor.

Some time ago, long before the present disclosures and at a time when the teamsters were being praised by conservative elements and when Beck was sitting on the Washington State Parole Board, the Seattle Civil Service Commission, and the Washington University board of regents, the State CIO in Minnesota published a searching series under the title "Dave Beck—Traitor to Trade Unionism."

Mr. Speaker, the trade union movement will be well rid of influences like Dave Back. But it would indeed be a sad commentary on the state of the Nation if these disclosures were used to harm the legitimate aspirations of the American workingman for dignity and economic security by the very same forces that not so long ago were Beck's best friends.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include a thoughtful discussion of these problems by Mr. Al Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists and chairman of the AFL–CIO ethical practices committee, which I commend to the attention of my colleagues:

LABOR'S WAR AGAINST CRIME AND COMMUNISM

(By Al Hayes)

In looking at the problem of ethics and unethical practices in the labor movement, it is important to realize that labor, like any other segment of our society, does not operate in a vacuum.

It is part and parcel of the larger community, being influenced by it, and, in turn, exercising some influence upon it.

Since the labor movement is still in the nature of a minority group in most commu-

nities, the influence of the community upon a union is likely to be more important than the influence of the union upon the community.

Corruption in the labor movement is generally the result of either 1 of 2 situations. Either it involves weak union officials who have succumbed to some form of bribery in their dealing with other segments of the community or it involves infiltration into the labor movement by corrupt elements in the community at large who seek to use the labor movement for their own nefarious purposes.

Basically, I consider the job of establishing and maintaining high standards of ethical practices within the labor movement as being the primary responsibility of organized labor. But we cannot do the job alone, both because corruption in the labor movement is largely a part of corruption in the general community, and, also, other segments of the community, by their expressed opinions and their activities, can either aid or impede the labor movement in the job of keeping its house clean.

The struggle against undesirable elements in the labor movement is not new. It has been going on for years. The history of the labor movement shows that many unions have expelled Communists and crooks and corrupt officials throughout most of this history.

What labor should do in the field of ethical practices is, of course, to rid itself of every vestige of persons and practices which tend to pervert a union, at any level of organization, from its fundamental reason for existence. That reason is the economic and social well-being of its members and the community at large.

What the labor movement can do in this field is circumscribed by its nature and by the limitations on its authority. In the final analysis the most severe penalty which can be imposed by a labor union at each level of organization is to expel the guilty individual or unit of organization.

I would like to point out that in trials and appeals procedure our union has no right to compel attendance at a trial of a defendant or of any witnesses. Placing witnesses under oath in a union trial or investigation is little or no help in obtaining truthful answers, since it is doubtful that a witness lying under oath in such a proceeding could be prosecuted for perjury. Participation in the trial proceedings of our own, or any other union, is strictly a voluntary matter.

It cannot be expected that the procedures of the American labor movement can substitute for our legal processes of justice in indicting and trying officers or members charged with violating local, State or Federal laws.

A labor-union official, like any other individual in our society, is entitled to his full day in court before he is judged guilty of any practice which constitutes a crime under the laws of the land.

On the other hand, a labor official need not be found guilty of legal wrongdoing in order to be judged unfit to continue in his office. The maintenance of the high ethical standards to which members of the American trade-union movement are entitled demands much more than this.

They are entitled to protection against conduct which, although completely legal, is antithetical to the purposes of the trade-union movement and to the good and welfare of its membership.

For example, there is nothing illegal about the officer of a union having a substantial business interest in an enterprise with which his union bargains collectively. But, most certainly, any such interest would be likely to compromise the ability of that official to bargain most effectively for the best interest of the union's members. Thus the holding of any such interest, while perfectly legal, is considered unethical by the AFL–CIO and has been proscribed in one of its codes of ethics.

Similarly, there is no law which prevents an officer of a union from splitting with an insurance agent or broker the commission received by the latter for writing or placing a policy underwriting the union's health and welfare plan. Yet, certainly any such arrangement would be reprehensible and it is proscribed in the AFL–CIO code covering the administration of health and welfare funds.

Let me return briefly to the matter of the punishment which may be imposed by unions for violation of their various laws, including laws relating to ethical standards.

The most severe punishment which may be applied to an offending member or union is expulsion from the labor movement. And on the other hand, an offending member or union may escape lesser penalties by the mere action of disaffiliation.

In my mind there is no injustice worked by the expulsion of an individual who has been found guilty of violating his union's laws or ethical standards.

However, when it comes to the expulsion by an international union of one of its affiliated locals, or by the AFL–CIO of one of its national or international unions, there is a factor which may result in substantial injustice. That injustice lies in the fact that the act of expulsion, usually aimed at one or a few officials of the organization, serves to deprive the union's members of the benefits of affiliation. They are the real victims of expulsion and they are innocent victims.

It may be argued that they share in the guilt of the offending officials by the mere fact that they continue to tolerate those officials in office. But that is a completely unfair judgment. Who, for example, would wish to indict and punish all of the citizens of a city because it was being run by a corrupt political machine?

The only true remedy for an organization in the grasp of vice and corruption—be it a political entity or a labor union—lies in arousing its citizens to the exercise of their rights. And this end is not furthered by depriving those citizens of the benefits of continued affiliation with the larger body politic.

I have never heard it advocated that a graft-and-vice-ridden city be cut off from the rest of the United States by depriving its citizens of their rights and their citizenship.

The expulsion of a labor union at any level of organization is not a matter to be undertaken lightly, although at times there may appear to be no other recourse.

Let me point out that democratic procedures are common to the constitutions and laws of all American labor unions. Where corruption and communism have existed in the past and exist today, it is because the membership has been lethargic in the exercise of their democratic rights.

The phenomenon is not unique to the labor movement. All of us have seen the tragic results of similar lethargy in communities and in other segments of our society. In the labor movement, as in any free, democratic organization, the solution to any form of corruption lies in an aroused and an alert citizenry.

In a very real sense, the expulsion of a wayward affiliate from the AFL–CIO does not solve the problem of unethical practices at all. It is a sort of hand-washing ritual by which the greater labor movement publicly absolves itself of any blame for the situation, a situation which continues to exist.

We need only to look at the International Longshoreman's Association, expelled several years ago by the former AFL for corruption, and at any of the unions expelled by the former CIO several years before, to realize the truth of this statement. Most of the expelled unions continue to exist in spite of vigorous efforts of the rest of the labor movement to attract their members.

It is far better that every opportunity be given a union to clean its house. Within the greater labor movement expulsion is a drastic action and must be reserved as a matter of final and regrettable recourse.

With this in mind, I invite attention to the steps the AFL–CIO has taken to clean its own house.

Patriotism in Modern America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include one of the prize-winning essays in the contest sponsored by the American Legion of Ohio on the subject of Patriotism in Modern America. This essay was written by Miss Nancy McMillen, of Shadyside, Belmont County, in my district, and I am happy to present this fine prize-winning essay to readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

PATRIOTISM IN MODERN AMERICA

(By Nancy McMillen, Shadyside, Ohio)

I am an American, and I am making a plea for a most essential cause—that of patriotism—"the love of one's country." To many of us patriotism is only a word to speak meaninglessly; to some it represents the saluting of the American Flag or singing the Star-Spangled Banner; to others it means the responsibility of answering the call to duty, but to me, a girl, young yet in years, it means a symbol of great American tradition and faith. Could this be because at home we have mementos of my father's years away at war? Could it be that I remember my mother saying often to her children that our father was helping to fight a war to end all wars, so we as well as millions of other boys and girls could grow up in a peaceful nation?

I believe these factors are underlying causes, but I firmly believe that because we young people are living in such challenging times, it is of a deeper significance. Because to me patriotism must have faith as its roots. How can we be true to our beliefs and ideals as loyal Americans if we don't have a real belief in God and one's fellowman?

This brings to mind a true story told to me recently. A young boy was convalescing in a hospital; he was trying hard to put a puzzle of the world together when his daddy visited him. "Daddy, I can't get the world together," he said. His father answered, "Son, on the other side is a picture of man; put man together first, then you'll have the world together." Let us pause to think of this. If man is united with his fellowman, then harmony will prevail, peace will be secure, and faith in our country will shine as the guiding beacon in our lives.

Let's list a few of the symbols of patriotism in this great land of ours: The Statue of Liberty with her torch of peace raised high welcoming everyone to America's freedom, the American Legion, the junior auxiliaries, the beautiful American Flag with its white stars showing unity, the countless number of churches with their doors open at all times to all races and creeds, wonderful

schools equipped with men and women striving always in their teaching of boys and girls to be fine citizens in this modern age, and on and on we could go, but the important thing is to realize that together these form the firm bulwark for patriotism with faith in God.

Patriotism is primarily spiritual; it lives in our hearts and comes first, not from the material objects mentioned previously but from our hearts. Through this spiritual love in our hearts for our Creator and for our fellowman will we find unity in the great common goal of our citizenship—patriotism—"the love of one's country."

I, an American with a prayer in my heart, a love for my fellowman, and a pride in my country, speak for all youth to loudly proclaim: God bless America.

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, we are fast approaching the time when we as representatives of the American people as well as our constituencies in our congressional districts will be asked to approve an expenditure of some $4.4 billion all over the world. I know my mail from my constituents is ever increasingly opposed to what they commonly call giveaway programs. The people find it very difficult to understand how other countries can give their citizens tax reductions and other benefits while no such relief is being passed to the American people.

Only the other day it was reported in leading newspapers throughout the country that Great Britain was going to cut taxes, reduce its draft program, and cut back its military commitments; while we, on the other hand, are asked to forgive their interest payments and to advance further financial economic and military assistance.

I sincerely trust that my colleagues will read and carefully consider the attached item by John O'Donnell which appeared in the New York News of April 9, 1957, and when the mutual security—foreign aid—program comes up for consideration give due and serious thought to the plight of the American taxpayer.

CAPITOL STUFF

(By John O'Donnell)

WASHINGTON, April 8.—We'd like some American to put down in about 1,000 words of reasonably intelligent prose just why he thinks that he—Joe Doakes, native-born American citizen—is better off today than he was just about 40 years ago this week.

American life 40 years ago was mighty pleasant. Federal income tax was insignificant. By and large, you trusted the great men in the Nation—such as Teddy Roosevelt and the wise and congenial William Howard Taft. Until the outbreak of World War I, you could travel through the countries of Europe, except Russia, without a passport or a visa. Then we got global-minded under Woodrow Wilson, who put this country into war with Germany 40 years ago this week.

Now, take the condition of the average American citizen. On Capitol Hill this morning Secretary of State Dulles pleaded with a Senate committee for more billions of taxpayer money to hand out to European nations.

Personally we didn't think Dulles made a very good argument. After making out the check for the tax on our modest income, we hope that his and Eisenhower's plans for greater giveaways to foreigners get hit over the head.

Privately we exulted that the public plea to Congress asking for more of our dough coincided with the time when voters were paying their tax bills and the lawmakers were sensitive to howls of resentment.

If Dulles could say that any of our dollars given away abroad since the end of World War II had paid off—in the fantastic idea that undying affection and eternal loyalty of foreigners could be bought by American tax money—he might have had a point.

The reverse is true. The more money we've kicked in—particularly in the last 10 years—the more the foreigners have welched on us.

As Chairman RICHARD RUSSELL (Democrat, of Georgia), of the Senate Armed Services Committee, pointed out to Dulles, the more billions we spend to strengthen our foreign allies in NATO the weaker they become. Ten years ago there were eight French divisions pledged to NATO. Five years ago these were shaved almost in half. Today there are only two divisions.

NOW COMES BRITAIN'S BIG DECISION

On the heels of the French runout powder comes the really shocking decision by Britain to save money by calling an end, so far as modern warfare is concerned, to the once proud British Navy, ending her draft, and slashing her armed forces from 700,000 to 375,000.

The reason? British taxpayers can't afford the money necessary to defend their country. Too much of their cash goes to support the Socialist welfare state. If you Americans want to defend us, just take it out of your own taxpayers April 15.

Furthermore, the Queen's navy is now starting to scrap her battleships, aircraft carriers, and end the costly production of jet bombers and fighter planes. If you Americans want to kick in and pay for our defense, well and good. The British taxpayer is not going to pay.

In the last Senate hearings on our foreign-aid program it was revealed that we Americans have actually kicked in to ungrateful foreigners the astronomical figure of $114,042,942,280.07. Along with the billions we doubt if we'll get any of the 7 cents back.

Today, Dulles had more rosy hopes of getting back some of this cash as he pressed for passage of Eisenhower's plea for more billions to give away—and give promptly.

SENATOR RECITES THE HUGE FIGURES

But, as South Carolina's Senator OLIN JOHNSTON had said earlier—and the facts haven't changed:

"Our Allies in World War I are indebted to us, and in many instances are in default, in the sum of $17,297,981,019.07.

"Our lend-lease aid cost us the sum of $42,020,779,261.

"Foreign aids in grants and loans to June 30, 1955, aggregate $51,339,142,000.

"We have advanced to the International Monetary Fund the sum of $2,750 million.

"We have advanced to the International Bank the sum of $635 million.

"These items aggregate the astounding total of over $114 billion. They alarm me. They should alarm every thinking American. They should be of great concern to the banker, the businessman—large and small—the worker, the housewife, and to every average American. These totals press everyone of us for we carry on our shoulders the back-breaking load of taxes which have made such gifts possible."

Secretary Dulles in private life is a great corporation lawyer. Perhaps it's true that a lawyer is his own worst witness. When Dulles was asked why he believed that if Great Britain strengthened its position by cutting the budget for defense why wouldn't we Americans become stronger by cutting taxes for the same purpose, the answer drifted off into the wild blue yonder.

Astounded, Senator RUSSELL pressed: "Do you really think the English are going to contribute more to the strength of the free world with these reductions than without them?"

Dulles said he wasn't going to exclude the probability that the British might even be stronger with a navy reduced to zero, modern planes eliminated, army ground strength cut in half and no draft. The natural question, of course, is why can't the same rule apply to the United States? The State Department passed that one over to the Pentagon. It was all very silly and hypocritical. It doesn't make sense. Just the same, we're happy it happened when Joe Doakes, American citizen, was figuring out his income-tax return.

How To Solve the Segregation Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial by Harry Golden, Sr., editor of the Carolina Israelite. It is entitled "How To Solve the Segregation Problem—The Golden Out-of-Order Plan."

The article follows:

[From the Carolina Israelite, Charlotte, N. C., of January-February 1957]

HOW TO SOLVE THE SEGREGATION PROBLEM—THE GOLDEN OUT-OF-ORDER PLAN

While I still have faith in the golden vertical Negro plan, which I announced last summer, I have found it difficult to get a school board to try it (take the seats out of the classrooms, and let the kids stand, since no one pays the slightest attention to a vertical Negro).

Now, however, I am on much firmer ground. This time I submitted my plan to a successful test and I am ready to formally announce—the golden out-of-order plan.

I tried my plan in a city of North Carolina where the Negroes represent 39 percent of the population.

I prevailed upon the manager of a department store to shut the water off in his "white" water fountain and put up a sign, "out of order." For the first day or two the whites were hesitant, but little by little they began to drink out of the water fountain belonging to the coloreds; and by the end of the third week everybody was drinking the "segregated" water, with not a single, solitary complaint to date.

I believe the test is of such sociological significance that the Governor should appoint a special committee of two members of the house and two senators to investigate the golden out-of-order plan. We kept daily reports on the use of the unsegregated water fountain which should be of great value to this committee. This may be the answer to the necessary uplifting of the "white" morale. It is possible that the

"whites" may accept desegregation if they were assured that the segregated facilities still exist, albeit, out of order.

As I see it now the key to my plan is to keep the out-of-order sign up for at least 2 years. We must do this thing gradually.

Mother Anna Dengel, M.D., Missionary Nun-Doctor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, in our relations with other peoples too little credit is given to those true ambassadors of good will, the dedicated men and women who serve God in the missionary field.

In the spirit of the Divine Healer, they follow the example of our Lord Jesus Christ "in healing the body while teaching the mind and fortifying the soul."

Developing good will among men.

The patience, the courage, and the pure hearts of young women who forsake all the comforts of our civiligation to labor among the poor, the ignorant, and the diseased of nations that are striving to catch up with the 20th century, command universal admiration and gratitude.

The world sometimes pauses in its busy pursuit of money, beauty, and power—pauses to see, and appreciate, and give honor to these remarkable, but self-effacing missionaries.

One of these notable occasions was the annual Laetare dinner of the Guild of St. Luke, held at the Sheraton Plaza in Boston on Sunday, March 31, 1957.

It was there that Archbishop Richard J. Cushing paid eloquent tribute to Mother Anna Dengel, M. D., founder of the medical missionaries. Mother Dengel, recipient of the Laetare award this year as an outstanding physician-surgeon, is the first woman, the first nun, and the first missionary to receive this award.

With your approval, under unanimous consent, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Archbishop Cushing's glowing account of the life and achievements of Mother Dengel, reprinted from the April 6, 1957, issue of the Pilot, published in Boston, Mass.:

FROM INDIA'S SUNNY CLIME—MISSIONARY NUN-DOCTOR AWARDED ST. LUKE'S GUILD LAETARE MEDAL

Archbishop Cushing paid tribute to "a great missionary, great foundress, skillful physician, and far-sighted leader of the medical missionary movement" when he addressed members of the Guild of St. Luke of Boston at the Sheraton Plaza Hotel, on Sunday, March 31. Occasion was the annual Laetare dinner of the physicians's guild.

Recipient of the archbishop's high praise was Mother Anna Dengel, who was present to receive the fourth annual award of the guild, archdiocesan chapter of the National Federation of Catholic Physicians' Guilds. Mother Dengel, a native Austrian who for many years served as a missionary doctor in India, was the founder in 1925 of the Medical Mission Sisters. Her organization, which today conducts houses of training for postulants in America (Philadelphia), Holland, and England, also operates mission stations in India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Africa, and South America.

The guild each year chooses an outstanding physician or surgeon upon whom to bestow the Laetare Sunday award. Mother Dengel is the first woman, the first nun, and the first missioner to receive the award. Previous recipients were Dr. Edward McCormack, former president of the American Medical Association; Adm. Bartholomew W. Hogan, Surgeon General, United States Navy; and Dr. Francis M. Foster, dean of the Georgetown University Medical School.

Following are excerpts of the archbishop's address:

"The technique of medical missions did not originate with Mother Dengel nor with the Catholic Church," the archbishop said, "except insofar as it imitated its Founder, Our Lord Jesus Christ in healing the body while teaching the mind and fortifying the soul. For nearly a century this technique was in use by Protestant sects, and in the Moslem world. Protestant missionaries, man and wife—both often medical doctors, had established and were directing some of the best hospitals in India and elsewhere in Asia. Moreover, then as now, an impressive number of dedicated young physicians, interested in Protestant missions, helped in those hospitals, knowing that while they were giving generously with the right hand, their left hand held a residency of vastly wider experience than most of them could gain at home.

NUN-DOCTORS

"The Catholic Church had no such treasury for its missions. Its lay doctors were not aware of this field for service; it had no heavy endowments earmarked for missionary activity; its missionary personnel were not in a position to staff hospitals, even when it had the money to build them. Such costly work with us must be in the hands of religious orders, with their continuity, their corporate responsibility, their relatively low cost. To make missions effective, the time had come when nuns must study and practice medicine.

"When Dr. Anna Dengel first faced this need, a seemingly insurmountable obstacle existed in the canon which forbade to nuns the performance of any but the most lowly and lay of medical service. Until this prohibition was removed, no religious institute of women doctors consecrated by solemn, public vows could become in the strict sense a religious order. Yet Dr. Dengel, successful young doctor, just turning 30 years of age, a lay woman of extraordinary vision and talents, listening to the call of Christ and the direction of the Holy Spirit, set out to assemble a medical unit of nuns, confident that the day was at hand when her little band would take its place among the illustrious orders of holy mother church.

HINDI TONGUES

"I like to think of Dr. Dengel as this confident young woman, stepping off the ship in New York on the last lap of her trip from the Orient. She knew nothing of America or of Americans, except their reputation for generosity of service as well as of money. Between her and the excellent English she had learned during 5 years of study in Ireland stood 3 years of living in the Hindi tongues. But her assets were many—the faith and high resolve of her Austrian forebears, a good education in Austria and France, a medical degree from the University of Cork, a brief medical practice in England, and 3 years of astounding medical experience in Pakistan.

"Indeed, the prowess of that young physician, thrown into the primitive conditions of the Himalayan area, is still a topic of conversation among veteran missionaries in India. In a normal day she dealt with from 50 to 150 patients afflicted with what someone summarized as 'every disease in the medical books.' She was obstetrician, internalist, surgeon, specialist in tropical diseases, and specialist, indeed, in all those categories which the layman can no longer spell nor pronounce.

"Nor was this all of her extraordinary experience. Each of her patients came accompanied by father, mother, sister, brother, husband, and in-laws, who interrogated, advised, and not infrequently threatened Dr. Dengel in languages she was only beginning to understand and to speak. Against all these odds Dr. Dengel worked, while it became clearer and clearer to her that if the church was to exercise the charity of Christ among the Moslems and other peoples of India she must do so through the instrumentality of religious orders of women trained for medical service on its every level.

"Hence it arose that Dr. Dengel should be coming down the gangplank in New York in the spring of 1925 with the following list of agenda clutched in her hand: (1) Visit the hierarchy to obtain permission to present the graduating classes in Catholic schools the vocation of medical missionary; (2) establish necessary religious order; (3) set up a house of studies in the Catholic University and a motherhouse where convenient and welcome; (4) arrange for the religious formation of the new order and for the education of its members as doctors, nurses, pharmacists, therapists, technicians, etc.; (5) build hospitals, first in Rawalpindi and then elsewhere in India and other missionary territory; (6) staff and direct these hospitals; (7) collect funds for all this construction, for the support of the order, for long expensive educations, for transportation to India, etc.; (8) interest some prelate in further appeal to Rome to change the canon law affecting medical missions. There were other items, but those were written in invisible ink and would appear as surprises to Mother Dengel as the years wore on.

"Thus did Dr. Dengel lay aside for awhile her stethoscope and her scalpel to become a director of medical education, a builder of hospitals, a programer of hospitalization, a foundress of medical sisterhood, a woman, in short, to write a new chapter of mission history on the ancient palimpsest of India. * * *

"I shall devote the few moments which remain to me to the saga of the accomplishments of Mother Dengel and the Medical Missionary Sisters during the 30 years which have elapsed since their foundation. Within 3 years from her arrival in this country, Dr. Dengel had a house of studies at the Catholic University in Washington, a motherhouse in Philadelphia, a flourishing novitiate, young nuns studying in various colleges, and her pioneer group transported to Rawalpindi. On February 2, 1928, 3 medical missionaries—1 an M. D., the other 2, registered nurses—took over the Rawalpindi Hospital of 16 beds, and with the help of 5 student nurses administered to nearly 17,000 patients that year—200 of them hospitalized for operations or extended medical care.

"In 1955, in the Rawalpindi Hospital, now grown to 300 beds, a full complement of doctors, nurses, pharmacists, technicians, therapists, and aids handled 60,000 patients, nearly 5,000 of whom were admissions. Six hundred babies were born there, and the medical missionary surgeons performed 2,212 operations. In case any surgeon present here thinks lightly of those sister surgeons, Mother Dengel has the statistics of their success and the names of Brahmins who have forsaken their own Oxford-educated, London-trained surgeons in favor of these clever, well-equipped nuns."

Bad for the Kids, but Good for the Old Folks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 27, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, the following is a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring unconstitutional the Michigan law designed to lessen the publication and dissemination of obscene, immoral, lewd, or lascivious language, prints, pictures, figures, or descriptions:

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, No. 16, OCTOBER TERM, 1956—ALFRED E. BUTLER, APPELLANT, *v.* STATE OF MICHIGAN—ON APPEAL FROM THE RECORDER'S COURT OF THE CITY OF DETROIT, MICH., FEBRUARY 25, 1957

Mr. Justice Frankfurter delivered the opinion of the Court.

This appeal from a judgment of conviction entered by the Recorder's Court of the city of Detroit, Mich., challenges the constitutionality of the following provision, section 343, of the Michigan Penal Code:

"Any person who shall import, print, publish, sell, possess with the intent to sell, design, prepare, loan, give away, distribute or offer for sale, any book, magazine, newspaper, writing, pamphlet, ballad, printed paper, print, picture, drawing, photograph, publication or other thing, including any recordings, containing obscene, immoral, lewd or lascivious language, or obscene, immoral, lewd or lascivious prints, pictures, figures or descriptions, tending to incite minors to violent or depraved or immoral acts, manifestly tending to the corruption of the morals of youth, or shall introduce into any family, school or place of education or shall buy, procure, receive, or have in his possession, any such book, pamphlet, magazine, newspaper, writing, ballad, printed paper, print, picture, drawing, photograph, publication, or other thing, either for the purpose of sale, exhibition, loan or circulation, or with intent to introduce the same into any family, school, or place of education, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."

Appellant was charged with its violation for selling to a police officer what the trial judge characterized as "a book containing obscene, immoral, lewd, lascivious language, or descriptions, tending to incite minors to violent or depraved or immoral acts, manifestly tending to the corruption of the morals of youth." Appellant moved to dismiss the proceeding on the claim that application of section 343 unduly restricted freedom of speech as protected by the due process clause of the 14th amendment in that the statute (1) prohibited distribution of a book to the general public on the basis of the undesirable influence it may have upon youth; (2) damned a book and proscribed its sale merely because of some isolated passages that appeared objectionable when divorced from the book as a whole; and (3) failed to provide a sufficiently definite standard of guilt. After hearing the evidence, the trial judge denied the motion, and, in an oral opinion, held that "* * * the defendant is guilty because he sold a book in the city of Detroit containing this language [the passages deemed offensive], and also because the court feels that even viewing the book as a whole, it [the objectionable language] was not necessary to the proper development of the theme of the book nor of the conflict expressed therein." Appellant was fined $100.

Pressing his Federal claims, appellant applied for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court of Michigan. Although the State consented to the granting of the application "because the issues involved in this case are of great public interest, and because it appears that further clarification of the language of * * * [the statute] is necessary," leave to appeal was denied. In view of this denial, the appeal is here from the recorder's court of Detroit. We noted probable jurisdiction. (350 U. S. 963.)

Appellant's argument here took a wide sweep. We need not follow him. Thus, it is unnecessary to dissect the remarks of the trial judge in order to determine whether he construed section 343 to ban the distribution of books merely because certain of their passages, when viewed in isolation, were deemed objectionable. Likewise, we are free to put aside the claim that the Michigan law falls within the doctrine whereby a New York obscenity statute was found invalid in *Winters* v. *New York* (333 U. S. 507).

It is clear on the record that appellant was convicted because Michigan, by section 343, made it an offense for him to make available for the general reading public (and he in fact sold to a police officer) a book that the trial judge found to have a potentially deleterious influence upon youth. The State insists that, by thus quarantining the general reading public against books not too rugged for grown men and women in order to shield juvenile innocence, it is exercising its power to promote the general welfare. Surely, this is to burn the house to roast the pig. Indeed, the solicitor general of Michigan has, with characteristic candor, advised the Court that Michigan has a statute specifically designed to protect its children against obscene matter "tending to the corruption of the morals of youth."[1] But the appellant was not convicted for violating this statute.

We have before us legislation not reasonably restricted to the evil with which it is said to deal. The incidence of this enactment is to reduce the adult population of Michigan to reading only what is fit for children. It thereby arbitrarily curtails one of those liberties of the individual, now enshrined in the due-process clause of the 14th amendment, that history has attested as the indispensable conditions for the maintenance and progress of a free society. We are constrained to reverse this conviction.

Reversed.

Mr. Justice Black concurs in the result.

---

[1] Section 142 of Michigan's Penal Code provides:

"Any person who shall sell, give away, or in any way furnish to any minor child any book, pamphlet, or other printed paper or other things, containing obscene language, or obscene prints, pictures, figures, or descriptions tending to the corruption of the morals of youth, or any newspapers, pamphlets, or other printed paper devoted to the publication of criminal news, police reports, or criminal deeds, and any person who shall in any manner hire, use, or employ such child to sell, give away, or in any manner distribute such books, pamphlets, or printed papers, and any person having the care, custody, or control of any such child, who shall permit him or her to engage in any such employment, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."

Section 143 provides:

"Any person who shall exhibit upon any public street or highway, or in any other place within the view of children passing on any public street or highway, any book, pamphlet, or other printed paper or thing containing obscene language or obscene prints, figures, or descriptions, tending to the corruption of the morals of youth, or any newspapers, pamphlets, or other printed paper or thing devoted to the publication of criminal news, police reports, or criminal deeds, shall, on conviction thereof, be guilty of a misdemeanor."

Operating Merchant Ships—Immediate Availability

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ALLEN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. ALLEN of California. Mr. Speaker, the immediate availability of merchant ships which are operating in contrast with the availability of ships which are in laid-up condition has a value to our Defense Department which has often been pointed out.

The ships of our subsidized merchant marine subject as they are to provisions of contracts with the Government which require them to operate on regular routes on regular schedules contribute an additional advantage. The specified trade routes take them to all parts of the world and at any one moment 1 or more of the nearly 300 ships of the subsidized fleet is likely to be found fairly close to any given port in which substantial operations are carried on.

The availability is immediate and, as one high-ranking Navy officer told the Merchant Marine Committee some months ago, can put a ship under Navy control in 90 minutes that it might take 90 days to get out of a laid-up fleet, supplied and manned and ready for sea. To illustrate the point, I quote a paragraph from an article which I will set forth in full following these remarks:

While at sea the ship's master, Capt. E. B. Ellis, received a wireless from Adm. W. F. Boone, Commander in Chief, United States Naval Forces Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean, taking over the ship and assigning it to task force 61 as a passenger carrier for evacuating Americans from Egypt.

The ship involved was the steamship *Exochorda* which operates on Trade Route No. 10, which requires the American Export Lines to operate a number of ships on regular schedules from the North Atlantic Coast of the United States to the ports that stretch the length of the Mediterranean.

I include as a part of these remarks an article taken from the March 1957 issue of Maritime Affairs, published by the Committee of American Steamship Lines, which reads as follows:

EXOCHORDA TAKES 295 CITIZENS TO SAFETY OF NAPLES

Nearly 300 American men, women and children evacuated from war-torn Egypt in October, owe their safety—perhaps their lives—to the fact that a ship of the American Merchant Marine was readily at hand and available to carry them out of the war zone.

The ship was the American Export Lines' Steamship *Exochorda*, which on October 31, operating under orders of the Commander in Chief, United States Naval Forces Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean, evacuated 295 Americans from Alexandria, Egypt.

With berths available for 124 persons, the *Exochorda* carried 352 persons—57 were regular passengers—from Alexandria to the safety of Naples. On the 2½-day voyage women and children slept in public lounges, men on decks or wherever they could find space.

On October 29, when the Middle East was aflame with war, the *Exochorda* was proceeding to Alexandria, one of its regular ports of call on American Export Lines' service over trade route 10.

While at sea the ship's master, Capt. E. B. Ellis, received a wireless from Admiral W. F. Boone, commander in chief, United States Naval Forces, Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean, taking over the ship and assigning it to Task Force 61 as a passenger carrier for evacuating Americans from Egypt.

With Alexandria on a complete war footing and amid mounting hostilities and tension, the *Exochorda* stood at dockside for a full day while American refugees from war streamed aboard.

On October 31 the ship steamed out of the harbor for Naples, omitting its regular call at Piraeus, Greece.

Upon arrival in Naples, Clare Boothe Luce, former United States Ambassador to Italy, boarded the ship to welcome the evacuees and extend congratulations to the ship's crew for a job well done.

Two other American Export Lines ships, the steamship *Exchequer* and the steamship *Exermont*, both in the area, were subject to Navy control, but were not called upon for evacuation duty.

This is one further example of the importance of having American-flag ships and shipping lines available not only in times of peace but in national emergencies as well.

American Export Lines is 1 of 14 American steamship companies which operate nearly 300 modern United States passenger and cargo ships under subsidy contracts with the Government as provided under terms of the Merchant Marine Act passed by Congress in 1936.

Polio Vaccine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MERWIN COAD

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, this week marks the passage of 2 years since the effectiveness of the Salk vaccine in preventing polio was announced. During those 2 years great strides have been made toward the achievement of final victory against that dread disease. Through the Poliomyelitis Vaccination Assistance Act, Congress made available more than $50 million to assist the States in providing the protection of the Salk vaccine to children and expectant mothers. The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis and other public and private organizations have done magnificent work in promoting widespread use of the vaccine.

But a tremendous job remains to be done before polio is conquered. Testimony last month by the Surgeon General before a Government Operations Subcommittee headed by Representative L. H. FOUNTAIN showed that only about half of our people under age 40 had received even 1 shot of vaccine, and that only about 10 percent had received the full 3-shot series.

The subcommittee hearing also disclosed that a number of States had not yet used all the Federal funds made available for polio vaccine. My own State of Iowa on March 15 stood 47th on a list of 48 States having used only 24 percent of the $875,000 available to the State.

It is unforunate that Iowa has not already used more of the available funds to provide vaccine for its children. However, I am glad to learn that Governor Loveless, who was inaugurated only a few weeks ago, has taken a personal interest in the situation and is taking steps to encourage more widespread use of vaccine in Iowa. More than $600,000 in Federal funds will be available for purchase of vaccine for Iowa only until June 30. However, the appropriate officials of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare have assured me that they expect to have no difficulty in furnishing the full quantity of vaccine by June 30 if the State is able to use it.

Mr. Speaker, I include as a part of my remarks an article from the Sioux City Journal of March 9 and a letter written by State Representative John M. Naughton, of Woodbury County, to Governor Loveless on March 16:

STATE OF IOWA,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
57TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
March 16, 1957.

The Honorable HERSCHEL C. LOVELESS,
Governor of Iowa, State Capitol, Des Moines, Iowa.

DEAR GOVERNOR LOVELESS: I should like to commend you for the interest you have shown in the Iowa polio-vaccination program. I am sure that the prompt attention you have given to this matter will do much to improve a situation that badly needs improvement.

As you know, I have also been interested in the polio-vaccine situation and have been studying the matter. I am particularly concerned by reports that more than $700,000 in Federal funds available to Iowa for Salk vaccine has been left unused, while only 1 out of every 3 Iowa high-school students has been vaccinated. These funds will no longer be available after June 30, 1957. I am also concerned because, prior to your intervention, there appears to be little evidence of any effective steps by the State health department to promote and encourage mass vaccination programs, either by the schools or by other public or private local agencies.

Furthermore, in my opinion, past handling of federally financed vaccine in Iowa has been contrary to the spirit of the Federal law. The Poliomyelitis Vaccination Assistance Act specifically provides that no discrimination based on financial ability of individuals will be imposed. Despite this clear provision, State authorities have in the past permitted to exist and fostered the impression that Federal vaccine was available only to medical hardship cases. It is my belief that this situation and the fact that Iowa authorities in the fall of 1956 reduced the amount of vaccine requested for public agencies from 100 percent to 10 percent of the Iowa allocation, are primary reasons why Federal funds are still unused and far too many Iowa children are still unvaccinated.

While I believe there is just cause for criticism of past actions, my purpose is not to criticise or to attempt to fix blame. My intention is rather to try to make a constructive contribution to the establishment of a more effective vaccination program. I should like, therefore, to propose for your consideration the following suggestions:

1. Immediate steps should be taken to obtain and utilize all vaccine available through Federal funds before the 1957 polio season. It should be made clear that the Federal vaccine is available to all persons under age 20 and to expectant mothers without charge for the vaccine. If possible, arrangements should be made for free vaccination of schoolchildren at their schools.

2. Appropriate action should be taken to promote and encourage mass vaccination programs by local public and private health agencies, business firms, etc. This type of program has been used very successfully in many areas of the country. Since the price paid by public health agencies for Salk vaccine is about 65 cents per shot, many of these programs have been conducted at a cost to the recipient of a dollar per shot or less. It is my understanding that the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis will make available $10 million throughout the country during 1957 to assist in such local vaccination programs. In the event there is a temporary shortage of vaccine it would be advisable, of course, to see that vaccine is made available first to those in the under 20-age group. However, plans for vaccination of adults could be set up on a standby basis to go into effect without delay as soon as vaccine is available.

As a pilot program, the State of Iowa might well establish a vaccination program for its own employees. If you desire information about some of the polio-vaccination programs that have already been put into effect throughout the country, I should be glad to obtain it for you.

In closing, I should like to add a personal note. As a father whose son had polio, but was spared its paralysis, I am well aware of the suffering that can be caused by this dread disease. We now have an effective means of preventing polio, developed by Dr. Salk and other dedicated scientists, and made possible through the voluntary contributions of the American people to the polio foundation. It would be a great tragedy for even one Iowa youngster to be needlessly crippled through failure to receive the protection that is available. I hope we will do everything possible to prevent such a tragedy.

Sincerely,

JOHN M. NAUGHTON,
State Representative.

[From the Sioux City (Iowa) Journal of March 9, 1957]

LOVELESS SEES POLIO AID UNUSED—ASKS WHY $133,967 ONLY OF $875,695 SPENT IN STATE

DES MOINES.—Gov. Herschel Loveless said Friday he wants to know why Iowa has used only $133,967 of the $875,695 in Federal money allocated to Iowa for purchase of Salk polio vaccine.

He said he is planning to get the details from the State health department, along with information on "how good a coverage we now have in Iowa."

The Governor said his inquiry was prompted by two things.

He has received a report from the Public Health Service which shows only three States have used less of the Federal money to purchase the vaccine than Iowa has.

He also has heard conflicting rumors about the status of the vaccine in Iowa.

When the Salk vaccine first was made available to the public and was in short supply, Congress appropriated funds to be prorated to States for use in purchasing the vaccine.

FREE SHOTS FOR POOR

Under the program, which still is in effect, Iowa has been eligible to spend up to $875,695 for the vaccine. All of the $133,967 worth it has purchased to date have been distributed free through clinics for medical indigents and hardship cases.

Loveless said the Public Health Service report indicated that only Delaware, Nevada, and Vermont have spent less Federal money than Iowa for the vaccine.

He noted that expenditures in neighboring States range from $1,687,000 in Illinois to $177,229 in Nebraska.

WANT $1 INOCULATIONS

The Polk County Labor Council last week recommended a program of mass inoculation for both children and adults with Salk vaccine for a charge of not to exceed $1 a shot.

The labor group contended that exorbitant costs have prevented the securing of the shots by some persons.

The Iowa State Medical Society has recommended that county medical societies throughout the State consider the establishment of special fees for polio shots between March 15 and April 15, with all persons under 40 urged to get the vaccine.

The medical society said that some fee should be charged in the mass inoculation programs because of medical and legal implications.

FEW FOR HIGH SCHOOLS

The State health department reported last month that more than 90 percent of Iowa's elementary school youngsters have received 1 or more shots of the vaccine, but that only about 1 out of 3 high school pupils have received any.

Dr. Edmund Zimmerer, State health commissioner, said that every county medical society polio committee has received all the vaccine it has asked for.

A Veteran's Carefully Considered Protest on Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, we are all familiar with the consequences of the tight money squeeze on housing and particularly on housing for veterans under the terms of the GI bill.

With just over a year remaining before the GI bill home loan provisions expire for veterans of World War II, I think it is important and urgent—and only fair—that we assure those veterans who have not taken advantage of their rights in this respect to buy a home under fair and reasonable terms.

Higher interest rates are self-defeating—the answer is to make GI loans effective by ending the squeeze on interest rates, not by continually raising them.

One veteran who has written me from Jeannette, Pa., suggests the direct loan approach, as we have now for veterans in rural areas. His letter is thoughtful and well-considered, and I submit it for the attention of the Members of Congress as follows:

Hon. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KELLEY: I have noted with extreme interest the recent FHA move which increased the interest rate on home building loans of that agency. Such move is, in my opinion, highly inflationary and has already resulted in greater expense to construction by both Government and private groups.

As specific example of cost increase to Government, please note that Jeannette's new high school will be affected by a substantial cost increase for the full 40 years of rental.

Having been made eligible for GI studies through military service during World War II by congressional action, I appreciated the tremendous financial relief in finishing a college education. Though eligible for some 3 years and 8 months, I used but 2 years of these available benefits. I chose not to use the additional benefits in equivalents, such as applying same to book purchase, etc., though that was also provided in the GI bill.

To me, the GI bill was a token of appreciation from the American people to that portion of the same American people who were directly exposed to the inconvenience and peril of war. I, as other veterans, felt the GI bill to be a most appropriate encouragement to veteran endeavors in improving this Nation.

The record of veterans in college and business or industry as a direct consequence of the GI bill, has, I think you will agree, overwhelmingly convinced that this Nation did benefit through the GI bill.

Now, 12 years after World War II, the gougers are back at work. With home construction markedly dropped from the 1955 level, and a housing shortage still existing, the GI bill has practically become unavailable for home purchase. I can borrow money—at 6 percent. For a $100/month payment over 20 years, I can now borrow $14,000, even though the GI bill should make possible a $15,800 loan at the same payment. I must pay $1.71 for every dollar borrowed at 6 percent over 20 years, where the GI bill would cost $1.52 for every dollar at 4½ percent over 20 years.

With building programs down, and with many veterans in my position requiring larger building quarters, it seems reasonable that our Government exercise every means to retain the effectiveness of the GI bill. With just over a year remaining before GI bill building provisions are terminated, I request that you consider affecting prompt and adequate action through Congress which will make GI building loans at 4½ percent available until such time as the bill expires.

May I further suggest that it could not be construed as inconsistent with the "intent and purpose" of such bill if Congress found it necessary to establish the Veterans' Administration as a financing agency, supported by such funds as are necessary, to preserve the purpose of the GI bill.

Please consider this letter a formal protest directed against action taken by my Government relative to its operation of the Housing Administration, a Government agency, and the effects of that action on provisions of the GI bill, in which I am vitally interested.

Hawaii on a Swivel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, while I am aware of the fact that many Members of the Congress read the editorials of the Washington newspapers, I want to draw the attention of the Members of Congress to a perceptive editorial which appeared in the Washington Post of April 3, 1957, which particularly deserves their attention:

HAWAII ON A SWIVEL

Is the Department of Justice doing a shimmy over the question of Hawaiian statehood? A letter from Deputy Attorney General Rogers to Senator JACKSON makes it appear as if the Department is considerably less than enthusiastic about statehood for Hawaii despite the President's flat endorsement. Mr. Rogers' letter is noncommittal on the substantive question, but his treatment of the issue of communism in the islands is such as to invite doubts.

Unquestionably there is a Communist problem in the International Longshoremen's Union dominated by Harry Bridges and Jack Hall. This is not a new problem, but it was given new currency by the investigation of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee last fall. There would be more reason to respect the subcommittee's investigation if the communism charge had not been employed ad nauseam to hold up statehood heretofore. Some southern members of the subcommittee, it may be suspected, find this a convenient screen for their real opposition to statehood on racial grounds.

The Hawaii Statehood Commission points out emphatically that the so-called Communist stranglehold on the ILWU was totally ineffective during the Korean war; that Communist propaganda has been devoid of practical results; that candidates associated with the ILWU have been drubbed in local and Territorial elections; and that Communist Party strength in the islands has consistently declined. It adds:

"To charge that Hawaii's 500,000 Americans are under the Red thumb of a handful of Red leaders who can use the 24,000 members of the ILWU as the leverage for whatever nefarious purposes suit the Soviet is an insult to 500,000 Americans."

It is time for the administration to state its position unequivocally and with one voice. Under Secretary of the Interior Chilson attempted to do this yesterday in a strong statement on behalf of Secretary Seaton recommending statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska. Mr. Seaton, in an eloquent letter to this newspaper 10 days ago, said that "simple justice demands that each be admitted to the Union" irrespective of any political considerations. This is an admirable criterion to present to Congress, but there would be more room for encouragement if it were certain that all parts of the administration were pulling in the same direction.

The Greater Lawrence Story Continued

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago, I brought you a preview of the Greater Lawrence story. With the promise of more details concerning the amazing economic recovery of a community that was down for the count but rallied to win an impressive victory over the disaster that threatened it.

This is a real story, built on facts. The story of a community's will to win and the successful methods it employed to replace the industries and the jobs that had vanished.

The experience of Lawrence and its courageous people, has become a guide and an inspiration for other communities that may be faced with the problems of economic readjustment.

The program for the Greater Lawrence story was arranged by a committee of local citizens under the leadership of Irving E. Rogers, publisher of the Eagle-Tribune, as general chairman; assisted

by Timothy J. Scanlon, president of the Greater Lawrence Chamber of Commerce.

The advertising club of Boston, on Tuesday, April 2, 1957, paid special tribute to Lawrence for its outstanding achievement. It was in the grand ballroom of the Hotel Statler, that the Greater Lawrence story was presented to a large and appreciative audience. In order that it may win national recognition, I have asked permission to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following coverage of that event from the Lawrence, Mass., Tribune, of Wednesday, April 3, 1957:

GREATER LAWRENCE HAILED

(By George J. Cullen)

From a rostrum provided by the Advertising Club of Boston in the splendor of the grant ballroom of the Hotel Statler. The Greater Lawrence Story was unfolded Tuesday noon to an audience of nearly 1,000 luncheon guests, several hundred of whom traveled from the honored area for the glowing tribute.

The unprecedented honor to the city and its neighboring communities of Methuen, Andover, and North Andover was marked by the largest assembly of the year at the Statler and brought a telegram of congratulations from President Dwight D. Eisenhower at the White House.

Commendation came too from Gov. Foster Furcolo, vacationing in the South, Commerce Commissioner Richard Preston and executives of the Admen's organization who hailed the successful part advertising played in the city's industrial rebirth.

The epic account of the community's transition from the woolen and worsted center of the world to a region of widely diversified industry was told in a colorful setting, backdropped with a huge outdoor advertising sign which emblazoned the day's theme: "The Greater Lawrence Story."

Seated at the head table on the stage were State and local leaders, many of whom played important roles in the stabilization of the Greater Lawrence economy.

PEOPLE NEVER LOST FAITH

Seated at hundreds of tables on the ballroom floor and in the balconies were the men and women of Greater Lawrence who never lost faith even in the face of adversity. Dining with them were the men and women of many other communities who came to learn at first hand "The Greater Lawrence Story."

This was presented in most able manner by Kurtz M. Hanson, president of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts and the Champion-International Co., of Lawrence, who outlined in detail how Lawrence and her neighboring towns joined hands in a spirited cooperative enterprise.

TRACED 7-YEAR SPAN

The narrator of the city's success story traced the 7-year span back to the period when textiles were depressed, mills were closing and moving away from the region and 20,000 were jobless. He related how the Federal Government classified the area as the most distressed in the United States, even in the midst of the nationwide prosperity.

Without pressing seriously for governmental assistance, the leaders of Greater Lawrence rolled up their sleeves and went to work. The Greater Lawrence Citizens Committee for Industrial Development was organized to assist and work with the existing Lawrence Chamber of Commerce which at that time expanded its services to the surrounding towns.

Mr. Hanson pointed out that Lawrence had plenty of first-class manufacturing space and a highly skilled labor pool. The need was for jobs and firms to provide them.

FUNDS PROVIDED

The speaker told how funds were provided by the city to advertise the community assets, and praised those who refused to be lured away from the area for employment elsewhere.

He related that the first break came when Western Electric took over the Monomac mills. This fact was featured in additional advertising and became an important means of attracting other large industries.

Mr. Hanson told of the formation of the Greater Lawrence Industrial Associates and their acquisition of the former Arlington mills to which they attracted many new industries.

Encouraging events followed swiftly, the audience learned. Western Electric built its multi-million dollar plant in North Andover, Avco moved into the Wood mill, Raytheon took over the Shawsheen mill, Congoleum-Nairn and Sylvania-Corning joined the newcomers.

"We can also point with pride to our older, established industries which stayed with us and expanded," Mr. Hanson declared.

In conclusion, he advised the Statler assembly to "keep your eyes focused on our community where every citizen is a salesman to make Greater Lawrence the greatest Lawrence ever."

WORDS OF WELCOME

The Advertising Club's pleasure at presenting the Greater Lawrence story was expressed by President Richard Berenson, who opened the program with words of welcome "to a great Massachusetts city which pulled itself up by hard work and sales promotion."

He called upon Very Rev. Vincent A. McQuade, O. S. A., Ph. D., president of Merrimack College, to give the invocation.

The audience stood as Father McQuade gave the following invocation:

"Let us pray. Almighty and Eternal God, grant us peace and contentment, in this joyful hour when we review our accomplishments and exult in our achievements, may we pause and give thanks to Thee from Whom all blessings and prosperity flow. May we always remain in Thy friendship, find courage in Thy graces and follow Thy counsels. Bless us, O Lord, and these Thy gifts which we are about to receive from Thy bounty. Through Christ our Lord. Amen."

Following the luncheon, President Berenson congratulated the hundreds of Greater Lawrencians who joined in the motorcade to Boston and presented Commerce Commissioner Preston as chairman of the day. The latter read the following message from President Eisenhower:

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT

"IRVING E. ROGERS,

"General Chairman, Greater Lawrence Day Committee, Hotel Statler, Boston, Mass.:

"Please give my congratulations to the enterprising people of Greater Lawrence on the splendid progress they have made through well-earned cooperative effort in developing new industries and in increasing employment. Their example is an inspiration to other communities which are striving to advance area development. Greetings to those attending today's celebration and best wishes for the continuing success of your endeavors.

"DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
"President of the United States."

INSPIRING STORY

The chairman said, "The Greater Lawrence Story," with emphasis on the "Greater," was the inspiring story of a New England mill city, typical of many other Massachusetts and Rhode Island communities.

"The Advertising Club selected the Greater Lawrence story as the most dramatic that could be told," Commissioner Preston advised. "Five years ago it suffered desolation. In 1957 it is an inspiration to all other communities."

He went on to praise the men and women who assessed what was wrong and proceeded with an intelligent program to bring recovery from within. So dramatic has been the recovery of Lawrence, the chairman said, that it has been told to the world on television, radio, magazines, and in countless newspapers. He recommended that the visitors view the dozens of exhibits of Lawrence products displayed in the hotel foyer as further proof of what the city has accomplished.

CHAMBER PRESIDENT SPEAKS

Timothy J. Scanlon, president of the Greater Lawrence Chamber of Commerce and coordinator for the Advertising Club program, was next introduced.

In his opening remarks, Mr. Scanlon declared: "This is indeed a proud moment for the people of Greater Lawrence. It is a happy and thrilling experience for us to be here, to share this day with you, and to have the glorious opportunity of presenting to you the Greater Lawrence story."

The chamber head then presented those seated at the head table. The group consisted of ad club president Berenson, commissioner Preston, Mr. Hanson, Fred H. Dodkin, assistant to the general manager of the Bolta Products division of the General Tire & Rubber Co.; Chester W. Woekel, chairman of the Methuen selectmen; Father McQuade, Arthur E. Rasmussen, vice president of Congoleum-Nairn, Inc., Walter V. Demers, organizer and first president of the Greater Lawrence Industrial Associates; Mayor John J. Buckley; Irving E. Rogers, publisher of the Eagle Tribune and general chairman of the Greater Lawrence Day committee; Dr. Lloyd P. Smith, president of the research and advanced development division of Avco Manufacturing Corp., Roland R. Siskind, chairman of the Greater Lawrence Citizens Committee for Industrial Development; Capt. David R. Hull, vice president and general manager of equipment operations of Raytheon Manufacturing Co.; Sidney P. White, chairman of the Andover selectmen; Harvey Mehlhouse, works manager, Merrimack Valley Works, Western Electric Co.; Attorney Ralph E. Finck, chairman of the North Andover selectmen; and Mr. Scanlon.

OTHERS PRESENTED

Also presented to the audience by Mr. Scanlon were the Greater Lawrence members of the general court; State Senator William X. Wall, Representatives Frank S. Giles, William Longworth, Arthur Williams, John C. Bresnahan, William J. Casey, John J. Cronin, and Rene J. Bernardin; members of the Lawrence city council, Aldermen John W. Fallon, Louis S. Scanlon, Nicholas J. Callahan and Gerard A. Guilmette; and Greater Lawrence selectmen Stafford A. Lindsay and Dr. William V. Emmons of Andover; Roger Ingalls and William S. Quinn of Methuen; and William A. Finneran and Philip Sutcliffe of North Andover.

Directing his remarks to members of the advertising club of Boston, Mr. Scanlon declared:

"President Berenson, officers and members of the advertising club: Please accept our heartfelt thanks for the generous hospitality you have extended to us today. In the daily lives of every one of us, we feel the tremendous impact of advertising. It is one of the most powerful forces in keeping our economy dynamic and healthy. You men, therefore, play an important role in the development of an expanding economy—the very subject that we want to discuss with you today. We thank you for the opportunity you present

us. We trust our story will be of interest and value to you."

In presenting the featured speaker of the day, Mr. Scanlon said:

"Ladies and gentlemen, now comes the real treat we have been waiting for—the principal address by one of Massachusetts' most vigorous and aggressive industrialists, better known to many of you in Boston as 'Mr. Industry.'—the president of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts.

"We in Greater Lawrence know this man first of all as an individual of the highest character. He is a kind husband and father, a successful businessman and administrator, guiding skillfully one of the great industries of Lawrence, our own Champion-International Co. His talents are devoted to the highest welfare of the country, the Commonwealth, and of our city. By an appointment at the hands of Governor Herter, he became a member of the committee which planned the Massachusetts Business Development Corp. He is a director and a member of the executive committee of that corporation, which has aided the city of Lawrence by loans to business and industry approximating $1 million. As a member of the board of directors of the Greater Lawrence Chamber of Commerce and of the Greater Lawrence Citizens' Committee for Industrial Development, he has been and is continuously aware of the city's problems and the remedies proposed and applied.

"These are the accomplishments of the man we have asked to present the Greater Lawrence Story. It is my pleasure and my honor to present to this most distinguished audience our good friend, Kurtz M. Hanson."

At the conclusion of Mr. Hanson's address, President Berenson characterized the Greater Lawrence story as an inspiration to other communities, and suggested it may have contributed in some way to the present refurbishing of Boston.

PRESENTED ENGRAVED BOWL

On behalf of the Ad Club, he then presented Mr. Hanson with an engraved Paul Revere silver bowl.

The awarding of gifts then took place. The many gifts donated by Lawrence merchants and manufacturers were donated to the Advertising Club for drawing among their own members.

In turn, the Advertising Club awarded a number of other prizes to those who came from Greater Lawrence.

The program, which began at 12:30 p. m. ended at 2:15 p. m.

A large part of the Greater Lawrence contingent at the Boston event were transported in 10 buses accompanied by a Lawrence police escort. An area in front of the hotel was reserved for the vehicles and a detail of Boston police was on hand to direct them to the curb.

Before leaving for home, the visitors had an opportunity to view the many attractive exhibits which were installed by Greater Lawrence industries.

ACTIVE COMMITTEE

The program for the Greater Lawrence Story was arranged by a large and active committee under the leadership of Irving E. Rogers, publisher of the Eagle-Tribune, as general chairman, assisted by Timothy J. Scanlon, president of the Greater Lawrence Chamber of Commerce. Serving on subcommittees were: attendance, Arthur R. Flynn, chairman; William W. Kurth, Ernest R. Withrow, Geoffrey Glendinning, Leslie N. Hutchinson and Paul J. Greeley; exhibit, John N. O'Malley, chairman; John J. Carroll and Howard A. Stockwell, Jr.; prizes, Edward B. Bruce, chairman; John J. Carroll and Charles J. McCabe; invited guests, Walter V. Demers and Roland R. Siskind; signs and decorations, Eugene A. Bernardin; brochure and club announcement, John P. S. Doherty; publicity, Fred A. Sullivan and Bernard F. Ostreicher. Others serving on the general committee are: Walter E. Billings, David J. Christensen, Dewey A. Dyer, Kurtz M. Hanson, Harry D. Hargreaves, James P. Holihan, Thomas F. Killeen, Russell W. Knight, William F. Lucey, Albert P. Manzi, Harvey G. Mehlhouse, Thomas F. O'Leary, David H. Simonds and Ivan M. Woodward.

HANSON RECOUNTS STORY OF GREATER LAWRENCE RECOVERY

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The address The Greater Lawrence Story, as delivered before the Advertising Club of Boston, Tuesday, by Kurtz M. Hanson, president of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts and the Champion-International Co. of Lawrence, follows:)

The Greater Lawrence story begins with the Greater Lawrence that was—a community with 65 percent of its factory employment centered in 1 great industry—woolen textiles—and known far and wide as the capital of the woolen worsted industry.

The exodus and liquidation of a major part of this industry 7 years ago brought unemployment to approximately 20,000 persons. It caused a pall to hang over the area which was tottering on the brink of a major depression. In the midst of a nationwide prosperity, our community had the dubious distinction of being labeled the country's No. 1 distress area by economists and Government authorities.

Out of this darkness, leadership asserted itself. Clear minds evaluated the situation and balanced the area's assets against its liabilities. A drive was spearheaded to reverse the trend and counteract the insidious pessimism that could strangle this traditionally flourishing industrial stronghold.

An easy way out, and one that I confess met with some support in those trying days, was to appeal to Washington for help and subsidies. And, indeed some feeble efforts were made in that direction. However, true to the New England tradition, we took off our coats, rolled up our sleeves and met the situation ourselves, relying on our courage, our enthusiasm and modern selling strategy to win the battle for new industries, new payrolls, and above all a diversified industrial economy.

TOWNS PLAYED PART

One of the most thrilling chapters in The Greater Lawrence Story is the account of the part played by the towns of Methuen, Andover and North Andover, the three adjoining communities which with the city comprise Greater Lawrence.

At the first warning that disaster threatened, and as preliminary plans were being hastily made to grapple with the problem, the three towns rallied in the common cause. Their contribution to the overall effort was spontaneous; it was genuine; it was unanimous, and its magnitude just cannot be measured. Town officials, civic leaders and suburban citizens in all walks of life offered their services, worked on committees and contributed money and ideas in the common effort.

The first forward step in our program was the reorganization of the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce into a revitalized Greater Lawrence Chamber of Commerce, with new leaders, a greatly expanded membership and a budget five times larger than before.

This done, the thinking of our people crystallized into a determination which led to the formation of a committee by the mayor of Lawrence to coordinate every force at our command in order to tackle the problem and to devise ways and means toward a solution. The committee was named the Greater Lawrence Citizens' Committee for Industrial Development. Its membership was carefully selected to provide a cross-section of community life. Its function was to serve as a clearinghouse—and to supplement already existing community agencies.

Our task was to find jobs for our people. What better way to do this than to put to use the advertising and merchandising techniques with which you are all so familiar.

First came an inventory of community assets. We had space—manufacturing space—12 million square feet of it—ready for immediate occupancy in well constructed buildings.

WE HAD PEOPLE

We had good local government willing to encourage and cooperate with the industries which would give to the community its life blood—payrolls.

But above all other assets—we had people—a great reservoir of skilled workers—ready and eager to work. These people were accustomed to factory work—alert, manually adept, and with an unusual ability to adapt to different work. These people who could, would and did produce at a rate second to none proved to be our greatest asset.

There were whole families of these highly skilled men and women particularly well equipped to take their places in new industries where they would be able to perform with dexterity any intricate and delicate manipulations required. Many new industries required work that was similar in many respects to the processes they had learned so well in handling textile fibers. They required a minimum of training for the new industries we wanted to attract to Lawrence.

Their natural aptitude was matched by their loyal attitude. Deeply rooted in the community in which they lived and where many of them were born, they steadfastly resisted the blandishments of outside industries. To their everlasting credit, they were determined to remain in greater Lawrence and to offer their great reservoir of skills as an incentive to new industries to move to our area. For example, the efforts of a Connecticut manufacturer to lure 200 of our people to our sister State were unsuccessful. Only six responded. This was important to us.

Other communities had manufacturing sites and vacant space—other communities had good local government but not all had a skilled labor pool. We did.

These, then, were our assets. Now, to sell the package.

ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN

The first recommendation of the newly formed committee was for the establishment of an advertising budget and the appointment of an advertising agency.

A campaign was envisioned which involved the use of sizable advertising space in major national media directed at industries which we believed we could attract.

Obviously, this meant money. And our only source of funds was the city government. You can appreciate that, under existing conditions, a request for any sum would be given very close scrutiny. However, a budget was established, and with the courageous action of our mayor there was minimum of resistance and the money was appropriated.

The theme of our campaign was to dramatize the existing plant space and our pool of skilled, experienced men and women.

We deliberately aimed at the high spots in this early copy. We tried to entice industrial firms that might be faced with the necessity for quick expansion in those post-Korean days. We also aimed our copy at those industries needing the type of workers for whom the break-in period could be held to the minimum.

For the sake of expediency, we hung our hopes on these two primary attractions—there was no time for selectivity; we needed

payrolls fast to bolster our shrinking economy.

We needed also to show the country that we were aggressive and fighting back hard. In fact, the very size and brashness of our advertising messages were part of our technique to establish that we had confidence in the merchandise we had to sell—and the courage to spend money to say so.

We were successful in inducing a number of small firms to locate in Lawrence. But this was not enough. We needed a big name corporation to dramatize our advantages to other big corporations.

As you know, industries like people, want to be with a winner. We needed that first important breakthrough to convince prospects of the advantages that we knew we had.

WESTERN ELECTRIC FIRST BIG FIRM

The first big prize was the acquisition by the Western Electric Co. of the former Monomac Cotton Spinning Mills in Lawrence. They needed space immediately to expand their eastern operations.

Western Electric had chosen Lawrence. We played this magic name for all that it was worth and other firms of similar caliber began to show interest.

We were underway. Our consistent schedule of advertising was also beginning to prove its cumulative value by turning previously perfunctory inquiries into live, active leads and real momentum developed.

Manufacturers were beginning to realize that our mill properties were better adapted to their accelerated needs than new, custom construction, with its delay and high cost.

Textile manufacturing requires more square feet of space per employee than any other industry; hence our vacant textile mills provided ideal floorspace where the streamlining of production lines could be established.

For example, the Wood Mill—formerly the largest woolen worsted mill in the world—had 135,000 square feet of floorspace on each floor of two 7-story buildings—a total of 189,000 usable square feet of space.

In addition to this advantage of space, our labor pool was found to be exactly as advertised in every detail of efficiency and craftsmanship.

Newspapers in leading metropolitan cities, and trade papers in carefully chosen fields constituted the major part of the initial advertising schedule. We operated on a budget of approximately $20,000 a year, with funds provided out of the city treasury under a special act of the Massachusetts Legislature.

LOCAL INITIATIVE

After some 3 years of this type of conditioning, we decided to diverge slightly from our original promotional course and concentrate more fully on exploring the inquiries and interest which had been created. In the meantime, other developments had taken place in Lawrence—notably the formation of the Greater Lawrence Industrial Associates, Atlantic Enterprises, and similar private endeavors.

The Associates, for example, is a dramatic instance of the initiative of private citizens, banded together for the civic good, 26 leading local business men and women invested $154,000 of their own money in a venture for the sole purpose of creating jobs in Lawrence.

They acquired the ownership of the former Arlington Mills with approximately 2 million square feet of usable plant space in more than 15 buildings.

To finance this purchase, they borrowed $325,000 from the Massachusetts Business Development Corp.

This loan was repaid within 1 year by the Greater Lawrence Industrial Associates who used direct mail and other promotional media to fill—within 6 months—two-thirds of the space that they had purchased.

This property is now almost completely occupied and its facilities form a large part of Lawrence's present diversified industrial family. This one venture has been responsible for 4,368 new jobs with an annual payroll of $16,380,000.

MASSACHUSETTS BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT CORP.

I should like to take a moment at this point to explain the part that the Massachusetts Business Development Corp. plays in the economy of the commonwealth.

Many of you will recall that the Massachusetts Business Development Corp. was authorized by special act of the legislature upon Governor Herter's request. I should like to quote from part of the enabling legislation:

"The purposes of the corporation shall be to promote, stimulate, develop, and advance the business prosperity and economic welfare of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and its citizens."

This corporation is privately owned by its stockholders and has no connection with the State or Federal Government. It is a striking example of what can be done by private enterprise in answer to the constant plea for continuing government aid, whether local, State or Federal.

The Massachusetts Business Development Corp. has an authorized capital of $4 million. This money is provided by the sale of stock, and for each dollar in stock members of the corporation may loan $8. In other words, we have leverage of 8 to 1: a possible $4 million in capital and $32 million borrowing power for a total of $36 million.

Those members who loan the corporation money do it on a sound businesslike basis whereby they receive one-fourth of 1 percent above the prime rate in Boston at the time the loan is made.

To date, this corporation has loaned a total of $11,207,000 and is responsible for having generated over $40 million in payrolls.

One of the strongest supporters of the Massachusetts Business Development Corp. has been the city of Lawrence, whose citizens—both corporate, and individual—have purchased more than 11 percent of all the stock sold by the corporation. Boston is the only other city in the Commonwealth that has purchased more stock.

Now back to the Greater Lawrence story.

NEWSPAPER SUPPORT

The methods of promotion used for this venture had taken a different direction, to be sure, but our efforts remained unabated in force and intensity.

Letters to prospects continued in steady flow. Personal calls, collateral contacts by business people, bankers, utility companies, and others—contributed to expand our advertising impression and supplement the use of scheduled advertising in our program.

One of the most important adjuncts to this continued effort has been the magnificent support we have received from our local newspapers and radio stations. As you know, success comes from within—and the influence exerted by the splendid help from the Lawrence Eagle-Tribune and other community news media aided immeasurably in creating the renewed citizen confidence and enthusiasm so vitally needed to back up the organized local action.

For the past year and a half, the mainstay in our public relations picture has been the widespread publicity which we have been able to attract because of our dynamic revitalization.

We now find that we can employ a more selective approach to our prospects. In contrast to our previous broad-coverage technique, we are currently exploiting the pinpoint method of going directly to the heads of industries for whom we believe we have superior attractions.

As a preliminary to personal correspondence and solicitation, we have compiled a desirable list of firms known to be considering relocation or expansion.

In addition, we have created what we call "The Lawrence Letter," a newsy type of fact sheet presenting capsules of events as they might relate to the individual requirements of the firms on our mailing list.

This procedure is paying off in helping us to sell the remaining plant space. It is also creating active interest in the industrial park zones of Greater Lawrence which are now receiving the major attention in our plans and projections for the future.

We can now capitalize on the selection of our area by such industrial giants as Western Electric, AVCO, Raytheon, Congoleum-Nairn, Sylvania-Corning. We can also point with pride to our older, established companies who have stayed with us and expanded such as Tyer Rubber Co., Bolta Division of General Tire & Rubber, Champion-International Paper Co., John W. Bolton & Sons, J. P. Stevens Mills, and other equally renowned but smaller firms.

DIVERSIFIED INDUSTRY

We come to the present—the Greater Lawrence this is.

It is a community of diversified industry—where we formerly had 85 percent textiles and 15 percent other industries—we now have 15 percent textiles and 85 percent other industries. Greater Lawrence is now truly diversified.

In the past 5 years bank deposits in greater Lawrence have increased 35 percent. Carloadings have gained 387 percent. United Fund contributions have almost doubled. Traffic at the Lawrence Municipal Airport has increased by a phenomenal 980 percent.

I could quote many more interesting statistics arising out of this very successful campaign of selling a community by modern advertising and merchandising techniques. However, the facts you are interested in are to be found in the folder at your table place. Take that folder with you. Read it and see at firsthand a case history of the results of area cooperation, planning, initiative, and action.

ONLY THE BEGINNING

Encouraged as we are by our progress to date, we appreciate that this is only the beginning—and we are determined that the past few years of our rebirth will serve merely as a springboard to even greater accomplishment.

There are many more chapters still to be written in the years that lie ahead. We are determined to pursue with undiminished vigor the program which has brought rich rewards in the form of new industries, diversified industries, growing industries.

We shall continue to follow the inspired leadership of press, pulpit, municipal officials, public-spirited groups and individuals.

We are particularly proud of the generous and the wholehearted support of our citizenry. They have indeed lived up to the reputation which greater Lawrence has enjoyed for many years, namely, "The friendliest community in the United States."

MODERN PIONEERS OF PROGRESS

Ladies and gentlemen—this has been a summary of the greater Lawrence story. But, of course, it is not the whole story—despite the recognition that you have given us here today and the acclaim that we are currently receiving from the Nation's press.

Don't let anyone ever tell you that the day of the pioneer has passed from the American scene. Let no one say that enthusiastic enterprise no longer prevails in New England. When the attitude of the people in the community is right and they honestly strive to help themselves, they will

be successful. Success begets success. There will never be a substitute for right attitudes and right motives.

If you really want to see community cooperation in the promotion of civic endeavors; if you want to see modern pioneers of progress blazing new trails that others may well follow; if you want to see effective advertising and modern marketing methods employed productively and profitably at the community level—from now on keep your eyes focused on our community where every citizen—is a salesman—to make greater Lawrence the greatest Lawrence ever.

Erase the Double Standard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, refugees from oppression in Egypt should be given the same opportunity for sanctuary as refugees from oppression in Hungary, but they are not. The recent announcement by Assistant Commissioner of Immigration Rudnick is indeed a strange paradox.

In this connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in Congress Weekly, the official publication of the American Jewish Congress, on April 1, 1957:

ERASE THE DOUBLE STANDARD

The Assistant Commissioner of Immigration, Edward Rudnick, has informed the American Association of Jews from Egypt that the Government does not plan to use the parolee section of the immigration law for any refugees other than those from Hungary. This blunt statement will disturb all those Americans who have been profoundly troubled by Nasser's persecution of the Egyptian Jewish community and who have urged the administration to extend sanctuary to his victims.

The generous response of our Government in acting promptly to admit the Hungarian refugees accorded with our finest traditions of hospitality and sympathy for the oppressed of all nations. It is difficult to understand why this humanitarian impulse should have exhausted itself in a few brief months. For the deplorable fact is that the solicitude we demonstrated for the Hungarian refugees has been little in evidence with regard to the Egyptian expellees. Expressions of sympathy have been forthcoming; concrete action not at all.

Freedom, we have often been reminded, is indivisible; so, we may add, are assaults on freedom. Nasser's brutal assault on Egypt's Jews is morally no less revolting than the Soviet attack on the freedom of the Hungarian people. This is not merely a question of balancing rights: A sense of justice and compassion expresses itself not in cautious and pinched weighing of rights but in spontaneous and generous response to the victims of oppression.

In a letter to Attorney General Brownell last week, Senators JAVITS and IVES of New York and Senator CASE of New Jersey urged emergency action to give asylum to a "reasonable number" of Jewish expellees from Egypt. The Senators estimate that the number of such refugees "who have families here and would seek admittance to the United States is relatively small—not over 5,000 at the largest estimate." Senators JAVITS and IVES have also proposed an amendment to the immigration bill now pending before Congress so as to permit the entry of refugees not only from Iron Curtain countries but from the Middle East as well. This new legislative proposal, however, as is recognized by the Senators themselves in their letter to the Attorney General, does not obviate the need for prompt action by the Attorney General within the framework of already existing law.

Under the present immigration laws the Attorney General is empowered to admit the Egyptian Jewish refugees as parolees, as he has done for the Hungarian escapees. Neither in logic nor in humanity should we prefer one group of helpless victims of tyranny over another, when both find themselves in equally desperate circumstances. We urge the administration to reconsider its decision and erase the double standard it has applied, with such grievous effect, to the unfortunate victims of oppression.

Msgr. George G. Higgins Urges Enactment of Kelley Minimum-Wage Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, one of the best articles which I have seen recently on the question of expanding coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act, the minimum-wage law, has been written by Msgr. George G. Higgins, of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, one of the outstanding leaders of liberal thought in our country.

This article appeared in numerous publications, among them the Catholic Standard. It takes pains to point out that the long-overdue extension of coverage of minimum-wage protections to many not now covered would not be "inflationary, interfere with States rights, cause business to go bankrupt, curtail employment, be difficult to enforce," and so on, any more than similar charges applied to the act in 1938 have been found to be valid.

Monsignor Higgins, who is director of the social-action department of the NCWC, adds in his article that 19 States have no minimum-wage legislation, and only 1 State has a minimum as high as $1 an hour. He adds:

It is obvious, then, that meaningful legislation must come at the Federal level.

The full text of the article by Monsignor Higgins, under the title "The Yardstick," is as follows:

Congress is now considering extension of the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Hearings are in progress in the Senate on S. 1267, introduced by Senators MORSE, MURRAY, NEELY, and MCNAMARA, and in the House on a similar bill (H. R. 4575) introduced by Congressman AUGUSTINE KELLEY, of Pennsylvania.

In addition, Secretary of Labor Mitchell has presented an administration-backed proposal. These bills and the Secretary's proposals all seek to bring the benefits of the wage-and-hour law to more employees.

The Fair Labor Standards Act, enacted in 1938, has remained virtually unchanged except for periodic adjustments in the minimum wage to conform with the cost-of-living index. It provided a minimum wage and time and a half for hours over 40 in a workweek. However, at that time Congress believed that conditions justified covering only a portion of employees who needed protection.

As a result, the full powers of Congress over interstate commerce were not exercised. Furthermore, many exemptions were placed in the act, removing additional large numbers of employees from the act's protection because, it was claimed, they were employed in so-called sick industries.

MANY OUTSIDE ACT

The present act covers about 25 million employees. An almost equal number remain outside of its protection. Thus, the original act fell far short of the policy declared in section 2—to eliminate "the existence in industry * * * of labor conditions in detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers." It is of significance that, for the most part, those remaining outside of the act are rereceiving low wages and working long hours.

The problem, then, is whether under today's conditions there is any longer any economical or practical need for denying minimum wage-and-hour standards to the several millions of employees not covered under the terms of the existing law. In our opinion, there is not. For that reason, we strongly favor the enactment of the Morse-Kelley bill.

The Morse-Kelley bill tackles the problem in two ways: (1) By amending the coverage provisions to include activities which affect commerce; (2) by limiting or entirely eliminating certain of the exemptions. It is estimated that the Morse-Kelley bill would bring wage and overtime benefits to approximately 9 million employees.

Those who oppose the Morse-Kelley bill argue that changes in the act to provide minimum wage-and-hour standards to any number of new employees would be inflationary, interfere with States' rights, cause business to go bankrupt, curtail employment, be difficult to enforce.

In answer to this, the proponents of expanded coverage point out that all of these arguments were made at the time the law was originally enacted, but that none of the dire consequences resulted. It is suggested that if industry could conform in 1938, it could easily do so in 1957.

MAJORITY CONFORM

As a matter of fact, the major part of industry is already conforming either because of the Fair Labor Standards Act, or because they voluntarily adopted fair standards, or because they operate under collective-bargaining agreements. The vast bulk of employers in the United States now pay $1 per hour and recognize the 40-hour week. So, except for some unusual circumstance, it would seem that the maintenance of such minimum standards would not constitute a crippling burden.

Finally, the argument in favor of having the States handle this type of legislation is meaningless for all practical purposes. Despite discussions of minimum-wage and maximum-hour legislation over the past 40 years, State action has been incomplete and inadequate.

Nineteen States have no minimum-wage legislation. Anly eight States have minimum wages for men. Only one State has as much as a dollar an hour as a statutory wage. It is obvious, then, that meaningful legislation must come at the Federal level.

Kansas Democratic Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, the Kansas Democratic Club held their annual rally in Topeka, Kans., on April 5 and 6 and on the night of April 6 we were indeed honored to have with us a most distinguished gentleman, the former President of the United States, Harry S. Truman, who spoke on the occasion of the Kansas Democratic Club's victory celebration dinner. This was the largest Democratic gathering of its kind in the history of our State, over 1,300 people being in attendance at this dinner. It is indeed fitting and proper that the former President's speech be included in the RECORD and it is, therefore, set forth below:

Never did Kansas need a Democratic approach more than it does at this time. But sometime, and the time gets closer, Kansas will awaken to the fact that its interests are the people's interests. Then the public servants of Kansas will belong to the party of your governor and the people's interests in this great State will be in safe hands.

We had a national political campaign last November, and glamour and demagogery cost us the top job. But Kansas came across with a Democratic governor and a lot of local Democratic officials.

I have been from Aroostook, the potato county in Maine, to San Diego, Calif., from Seattle and Bellingham, Wash., to Key West, Fla., from Minnesota to Louisiana and all the States in between—east, west, north, and south.

All are great in some particular. Kansas is great in many particulars. Its people are independent thinkers and are willing to listen to facts and act accordingly. It has a western approach to things, and it is recovering from that bleeding era which affected both Kansas and Missouri.

I have been in many countries in Europe, South and Central America. I have been to Mexico and Canada. And while I had great receptions and cordial welcomes in all of them, I still favor this part of the world as the best place in which to live.

I have had every political office, nearly, from precinct worker to President of the United States, and I came back home to live at the end of it all, and I'm your close neighbor.

The only reason I have gone over this is to lead up to what happened on November 6, 1956.

On November 7 I issued the following statement:

"The people have spoken, and good citizens abide by the result.

"I am, of course, disappointed that Mr. Stevenson was not elected. I did all I could to help in his campaign.

"I am very happy at the results in Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, and South Dakota and a number of other States, Pennsylvania, Washingtno, Oregon, and Idaho, for instance.

"Since we have a Democratic Congress, I am sure that the country will continue to go forward with Democratic advice and help."

In 1948, when an unusual victory took place, I told all the smart boys and the big newspapers to take down their crow-eating signs and come into the Government to help the winner make good. Most of them did. There were some of that had a notion all was wrong with the country. But this great Republic of ours cannot and will not go completely wrong.

I am a Democrat and believe in the principles and policies of the Democratic Party. At this meeting celebrating the victory of Governor Docking in Kansas and Missouri's overwhelming victory for the Democratic Party, I am repeating some of the things I have said before. To start with, the party in Congress needs aggressive, fighting leadership. The Democrats in Congress need a program for domestic and foreign policy. The leaders in Congress can give us such a program.

Each period of our national history has had its special challenges. Those that confront us now are as momentous as any in the past. Recent happenings mark the beginning of a period that will be eventful, perhaps decisive, for us and for the world.

It may be our lot to experience, and in a large measure to bring about, a major turning point in the long history of the human race. The first half of this century has been marked by unprecedented and brutal attacks on the rights of man, and by the two most frightful wars in history. The supreme need of our time is for men to learn to live together in peace and harmony. Right now we are faced with terrible situations in Hungary, Egypt, Syria, Poland, and East Germany.

The peoples of the earth face the future with grave uncertainty, composed almost equally of great hopes and great fears. In this time of doubt, they should look to the United States as never before for good will, strength, and wise leadership.

It is fitting, therefore, that we proclaim to the world the essential principles of the faith by which we live, and to declare our aims to all peoples.

The American people stand firm in the faith which has inspired this Nation from the beginning. We believe that all men have a right to equal justice under law and equal opportunity to share in the common good. We believe that all men have the right to freedom of thought and expression. We believe that all men are created equal because they are created in the image of God.

From this faith we will not be moved.

The American people desire, and are determined to work for, a world in which all nations and all peoples are free to govern themselves as they see fit and to achieve a decent and satisfying life. Above all else, our people desire, and are determined to work for peace on earth—a just and lasting peace—based on genuine agreement freely arrived at by equals. Most of us believe that aggressors should be stopped in their tracks—stopped before they start. And that can and has been done by the United States of America.

In the pursuit of these aims, the United States and other like-minded nations find themselves directly opposed by a regime with contrary aims and a totally different concept of life. That nation boldly threatens to bury us and all free nations.

That regime adheres to a false philosophy which purports to offer freedom, security, and greater opportunity to mankind. Misled by this philosophy, many peoples have sacrificed their liberties only to learn to their sorrow that deceit and mockery, poverty and tyranny are their reward.

That false philosophy is communism.

Communism is based on the belief that man is so weak and inadequate that he is unable to govern himself, and therefore requires the rule of strong masters.

Democracy is based on the conviction that man has the moral and intellectual capacity, as well as the inalienable right, to govern himself with reason and justice.

Communism subjects the individual to arrest without lawful cause, punishment without trial, and forced labor as the chattel of the state. It decrees what information he shall receive, what art he shall produce, what leaders he shall follow, and what thoughts he shall think.

Democracy maintains that government is established for the benefit of the individual, and is charged with the responsibility of protecting the rights of the individual and his freedom in the exercise of his abilities.

Communism maintains that social wrongs can be corrected only by violence.

Democracy has proved that social justice can be achieved through peaceful change.

Communism holds that the world is so deeply divided into opposing classes that war is inevitable.

Democracy holds that free nations can settle differences justly and maintain lasting peace.

These differences between communism and democracy do not concern the United States alone. People everywhere are coming to realize that what is involved is material well-being, human dignity, and the right to believe in and worship God.

The United States has invested its substance and its energy in a great constructive effort to restore peace, stability and freedom to the world.

We have constantly and vigorously supported the United Nations and related agencies as a means of applying democratic principles to international relations.

We have consistently advocated and relied upon peaceful settlement of disputes among nations.

We have made very effort to secure agreement on effective international control of our most powerful weapon, and we have worked steadily for the limitation and control of all armaments.

We have encouraged, by precept and example, the expansion of world trade on a sound and fair basis.

We have strengthened the free nations to prevent aggression, and when aggression came in Korea, we took the lead in hurling it back.

We have, through our programs of foreign aid and technical assistance, restored the economy of the free Western nations, opened new opportunities in the lives of the people of the underdeveloped countries, and demonstrated to all the world that the way of freedom is the way to higher standards of living.

This is a great record in foreign affairs. It is a record of generosity and devotion to the cause of peace that no nation in history can surpass. We have spent our money, we have sacrificed lives, we have assumed great burdens at home and abroad in this great effort.

But in spite of all our achievements, we have not yet reached our goal. Indeed, 4 or 5 years ago we seemed closer to success than we do today. We now seem to be slipping backward, as the forces of communism advance in the Middle East and the Far East, and the alliance of free nations is beset by differences and doubts.

The fault lies in the lack of leadership in the State Department and the White House. Our allies have come to the conclusion that they cannot trust our foreign policy, and our foes have decided that most of the time our leaders are bluffing and they need not fear them. Our country is still admired and respected, but our Government has lost both confidence and respect. This is a situation of great danger for the future of our Nation.

However, in this perilous situation, our reaction must not be one of panic or impatience. We must not abandon the basic policies which we have followed so far, because they have saved the world from another world war, and they remain our only hope for the future. We must insist that the President and the Secretary of State fol-

low these policies; we must put all the pressure we can on them to do their jobs right, and continue to lead the free world with courage and decision.

The only way we can do this is through the Democratic leaders in Congress. The President has the main responsibility in foreign affairs, but he has to work with the Congress, and strong congressional leadership can make up, to some degree, for weakness in the executive branch. So we must encourage our congressional leaders to hold the country firmly to the great effort we have been making for peace, and to correct the blunders and vacillation that come from the executive branch.

This means certain specific courses of action in the years ahead.

We, as citizens, must call for continued support for the United Nations and its related agencies. We must strengthen the authority and effectiveness of these international organizations. But we must insist that the United Nations shall not be used as an excuse for failing to have a foreign policy of our own. We must not develop a "let-George-do-it" attitude toward the United Nations. This country is a leader in the United Nations, and, as a leader, it must decide where it wants to go. The idea of dumping all the knotty Near East problems in the lap of the U. N. without proposing any solutions is a shameful abdication of our international responsibilities.

Second, we must insist on the continuance of our defense programs and our programs to strengthen the power of the free nations to resist aggression. Here the danger comes from unwise budget-slashing. Unfortunately, the balance of military power is still essential to world peace. If the free nations become weaker than the Communist nations, all hope will be gone. If, on the other hand, our defense expenditures and those of our friends demonstrate our unflinching determination to meet any armed attack with overwhelming force, such an armed attack may never come. Now is certainly the time we need such a policy, and we need it badly.

Third, we must continue and expand our programs to aid the economic development of the poorer countries and to give them the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress.

Foreign aid is under attack today. But most of our foreign aid is for military and defense equipment. Only a small fraction of it is for economic development and technical assistance—the program that was launched, when I was President, as the Point 4 program. Yet this small fraction may be the most important part, for the only sure defense against Communist infiltration in the underdeveloped countries is progress toward a better life for the average man.

More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.

For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of those people.

The United States is preeminent among nations in the development of industrial and scientific techniques. I believe that we should continue to make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investments in areas needing development.

Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge.

Only by helping the least fortunate of its members to help themselves can the human family achieve the decent, satisfying life that is the right of all people.

Democracy alone can supply the vitalizing force to stir the peoples of the world into triumphant action, not only against their human oppressors, but also against their ancient enemies—hunger, misery, and despair.

If we are to be successful in carrying out these policies, it is clear that we must have continued prosperity in this country, and we must keep ourselves strong.

Recent events, unfortunately, have brought about a lack of confidence in our influence abroad. These events test our courage, our devotion to duty, and our concept of liberty.

Steadfast in our faith in the Almighty, we must continue our advance toward a world where man's freedom is secure.

To that end we should devote our strength, our resources, and our firmness of resolve. With God's help, the future of mankind will be assured in a world of justice, harmony and peace.

This world concept requires the effective and militant leadership of the United States of America, the greatest Republic in all the history of the world. It is perfectly apparent that the world must look to the Democratic Congress for that leadership.

Now is the time for the people and the Democratic Party to awaken to their opportunities everywhere. Here in this great State of Kansas you have a governor you can follow and on whom you can rely. Wake up and take advantage of your opportunity.

Shopping Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial:

[From the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of April 8, 1957]

SHOPPING ABROAD

This country can no longer go it alone on the natural resources within our borders. The American Iron and Steel Institute reports that last year 34 million net tons of iron ore came to us from abroad. That is 11 times as much as was imported 10 years ago.

A fair share of this came up the Delaware from iron mines in Venezuela. Canada alone contributed nearly 16 million tons. Brazil, Chile, Liberia, and Sweden each accounted for more than a million tons.

Steel is an industry basic in importance to a great power. Our own steel industry in its tremendous expansion uses ever greater quantities of iron ore, and it cannot find them any longer in the United States in sufficient measure.

The Government is well aware of our lack of home supply of vital metals. That is the reason for the stockpiling program of copper, nickel, and a large number of other materials. We cannot afford to be caught short of these in time of war.

Underlying our present foreign policy of cooperation with other nations and assistance to them lies this fundamental economic situation. We are no longer a self-sufficient nation, as we were at the opening of the century. We dare not risk acting like one in our foreign policy.

Alaska's Economy Doesn't Warrant Immediate Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the following letter to the editor of the Seattle Times was printed in the April 4, 1957, edition under the caption: "Times Readers Have Their Say."

This is a most thought-provoking presentation of facts and figures which all add up to the conclusion that Alaska's economy does not presently warrant statehood. It makes timely reading for all Members of Congress, and dovetails with my suggestion that Alaska be given Commonwealth status for an interim period with Federal tax exemption in order to give industry an incentive to establish plants and payrolls in the Territory to develop the vast resources there. Once investors are able from a cost standpoint to support themselves and make a profit, Alaska will be able to afford statehood which I have personally supported by my vote in Congress. I think Congress should give full consideration to the Commonwealth plan.

The letter follows:

ALASKA'S ECONOMY DOESN'T WARRANT STATEHOOD

EDITOR, THE TIMES:

I have been an Alaskan since 1933, and my future is tied in with Alaska. The majority of voters in Alaska have indicated desire for statehood, but I am not sure that everyone realizes just what it might mean to their personal economy. * * * Many proponents of immediate statehood may very well be motivated by personal gain rather than desire to see Alaska benefited.

Many have an honest reservation in mind as to whether or not Alaska's economy can support the added expense of statehood without a definite threat to the ability of industry to continue to operate in Alaska—let alone the expansion necessary to make Alaska self-supporting. * * *

Brief summary is here made of income-producing industries in Alaska; also analysis of taxes collected on this income and appropriation demands against those taxes:

Total Territorial income for 1956 has been estimated at $500 million. This is broken down as follows: Mining, $24,919,000 (this includes $8,300,000, from sand and gravel production); forestry, $34,395,000; fishing, $78,000,000; farming and miscellaneous, $8,000,000; defense and/or Government spending, $335,000,000.

Mining offers a potentially greater source of income. Forestry products should increase. Since fisheries income has remained relatively stable for the past 3 years, it could be assumed a plateau has been reached. Testimony before recent statehood hearings in the House subcommittee by General Twining indicated that Government will have continuing expenditure for an indeterminate period for maintenance, but that heavier construction spending would probably fall off. How much is open to conjecture.

Reduction in Government spending must be made up in additional income from other industry or sources in order to maintain tax revenues at present levels.

Taxes collected by Alaska for 1956 totaled $20,354,126.67; certain of these revenues are

earmarked and approximately $14,500,000 will go to the general fund and $1,500,000 to support of schools—a total of $16 million. For a 2-year period, or biennium, we can assume collections going to the general fund and school support will amount to $32 million.

The biennial appropriation bill recently brought out in the Territorial legislature totals $36,507,264.36; added increases in taxes were passed to close the gap between appropriations and tax collections.

Obviously, the same taxpayers are being loaded with heavier taxes to meet the additional expenditures, with no indication that the top has been reached in Territorial budget appropriations. Compare growth of appropriations and population for the past several years.

Population in 1939 totaled 55,000—53,000 civilian and 2,000 military. In 1950, there were 152,000—119,000 civilian and 33,000 military. Last year, there were 212,000—162,000 civilian and 50,000 military.

Budget appropriations (general fund) for the 1938–39 biennium amounted to $3,500,000. For 1950–51, $17,973,000; for 1956–57, $36,507,000.

There are several obvious conclusions to be reached by analysis of these facts and statements:

In order to maintain a tax income sufficient to meet even the present rate of appropriation, the annual income must remain the same. This is not going to happen, because heavy construction represents roughly $90 million of the present income. Obviously, the $8,300,000 production of sand and gravel is tied to heavy construction.

Industry will have to make up the loss in heavy construction incomes; to expect industry to make up more than $90 million annually is not reasonable; particularly since mining and forestry, which I believe represent the great potential, now have total annual income of the only approximately $60 million.

Consider what the added cost of statehood will mean to the taxpayers. Very conservative estimate would be $3 million per year. Since $500 million income resulted in approximately $20 million in taxes, let us say that 4 percent of income represents taxes.

Working it backward, $3 million added cost of Government would necessitate slightly under $80 million in additional income. For industry to add this additional $80 million would indeed be a monumental task.

It certainly doesn't seem that Alaska has an economy that is based on sound enough facts to warrant any real enthusiasm for a change to statehood at this time.

GLEN D. FRANKLIN.

I'm Just a Number Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO KRUEGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, millions of Americans filing their income-tax returns once again are going through the annual business of searching for their social security number. It is just one more blank to be filled in before the return can be filed. At least some Americans object not only to this, but to the fact they have been brought under social security aaginst their wishes. C. A. Waldron, of Minot, N. Dak., well-known in the northwest as "Dakota Cal," sums up his feelings and the feelings of many in his poem entitled "I'm Just a Number Now":

Today I'm just a number; it is one
I did not seek;
When men were wrapt in slumber
Congress dumped it on the meek.

Another freedom late enjoyed
Has vanished up the spout
We've lost a voice in what we join;
Its gone; we're left without.

Do-gooders who are in the know
Have bound us to obey
They've put a clincher on our dough
We spent it as they say.

For, e'er we pay our income tax
We're "numbered" for the kill
They've all but stitched it on our backs
They've nailed it on the till.

No longer may one choose a source
From which to buy insurance
Now bludgeoned into it by force
We sign, on pain of durance.

To pick insurer as we did
Is down the drain by order
They take the pro quo from the quid
Until we can't afford 'er!

You're put upon to pay the toll
Improvidence has courted
To build great arsenals of dole
That drones may be supported.

It matters not how man may squirm
Nor how, in vain he fidgets.
He rates a number; like a worm
He's stretched in endless digits.

Thus socialism grows apace.
Like octopi it reaches
Until the whole darn human race
Is strangling at the breaches.

EPITAPH

Here lies old number 651-s.s.-8947;
His present whereabouts unknown—
He hoped and aimed for heaven.
American his heritage—they fleeced him of that surety
And made him just a number
Under socialized security.

Same Old Suckers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, from the Deep South—Jackson, Miss., and the Daily Clarion-Ledger—comes an editorial reminder of who is being gouged as a result of the Suez Canal fiasco that was engineered by the British, French, and Israelites.

Cleanup of the canal mess has been heralded far and wide as a "United Nations project." But, as the Clarion-Ledger points out, you have only to look in the nearest mirror to determine the sucker in this deal.

Here is the Clarion-Ledger editorial of April 6, 1957:

If you are wondering who has been footing the bill for clearing the Suez Canal in Egypt, stop right now and go take a good look in the mirror. You and other American taxpayers have contributed the tidy total of $17,410,000 to open the Middle Eastern waterway again to international shipping. This officially has been a "United Nations project."

Usually, the United States pays one-third of all U. N. costs. However, this U. N. venture is costing us many times the usual quota. A Washington report offers some inside information on the Suez project.

Russia has paid only $1,396,000. Egypt, which closed the canal when attacked by Britain, France, and Israel, will pay only $36,000. Israel's cost is $16,000. Britain and France have made no payments to date. Total costs may approximate $50 million.

In the long run, we suspect the usual situation will prevail. Good old Uncle Sam will let other nations do the talking, then will quietly pick up most of the tab. As an American taxpayer, you will pay a share of this expense even though your share may be far too small to compute.

Foreign Aid Under Attack

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, Eugene Castle a few years ago wrote Billions, Blunders, and Baloney, a book dealing with America's foreign-aid program. Recently his latest work on the same subject entitled "The Great Giveaway" has been published.

In view of the fact that Congress shortly will debate the foreign-aid authorization and appropriation bills for the fiscal year 1957, it seems to me every Member should read Eugene Castle's new book before voting on this important and controversial legislation.

Constantine Brown, in the Evening Star Saturday, March 30, 1957, comments both on the book and its author in a very well done column. Mr. Brown's article as it appeared in the Washington Star is as follows:

FOREIGN AID UNDER ATTACK—GROWING GROUP DETERMINED TO CUT DOWN 'GLORIOUS' GIVEAWAYS TO REST OF WORLD

(By Constantine Brown)

Whatever may be the success attained by the growing group of Senators who are determined to put the brakes on Uncle Sam's glorious giveaways to the rest of the world, they will at least succeed in alerting the American people to the facts of the indiscriminate raid on the taxpayer.

And as the battle in the Senate shapes up, a new and discerning book by one of America's most patriotic and public-spirited citizens adds facts and disclosures to the still-limited public awareness of what has been going on.

Eugene W. Castle, a self-made man, a successful publicist more as an avocation than a profession, and an understanding student of world affairs, has published a startling book called The Great Giveaway. In it he sets forth the true balance sheet of America's long and costly effort to play Santa Claus to the rest of the world.

Never in history has any nation even begun to approach the magnitude of the United States giveaway program that began during and after World War II. The whole spectacle of foreign aid has been an astonishing one—1 nation, wealthy but with limited resources—trying singlehandedly to prop up the rotten economies, the poverty-stricken populations, of 2 whole continents.

Of course, the pressure of the cold war, the ominous threats of Stalin's Russia, the welding of the shackles on the helpless satellite captives of Eastern Europe, had much to do with the incredible ease with which the global planners were able to foist their generous program on the American taxpayer. But there was even more than that involved: The precedent for Yankee bill paying had already been established in our national thinking. Years of the Roosevelt New Deal had hardened our people to the facts of government largess, unbalanced budgets, massive boondoggling.

The all-out drive to dissipate the resources of America and at the same time to support an immense army of professional do-gooders began with the Marshall plan in 1947. This was sold to the gullible public and to Congress as a temporary aid program made absolutely necessary by Europe's postwar poverty and despair. If the aid were not forthcoming, the do-gooders warned, all Western Europe would succumb to Communist infiltration.

Of course, according to the sales talk, all the plan was to aim for was the rehabilitation of European industry and production. Once that was accomplished, there would be no further need for any United States economic assistance to foreign lands. They could then take care of themselves.

At the time that the Marshall plan was being debated, warning voices were raised in Congress. There were lawmakers there then who knew, as practical patriots, that there would be no end to organized giveaways once they got started. Such schemes are self-perpetuating. They build up enormous payrolls of people who stand to lose soft jobs and high salaries when the program ends. And they build up long handout lines, in America as well as abroad, of persons, firms, and political groups who subsist on the bounty of free dollars.

The warning voices were correct. There has been no letdown in the clamor for more and more foreign aid. Even the White House has uncritically joined the clamor—foreign aid, to the administration, is a necessary adjunct to American foreign policy.

All the old rules, the old adages, of our heritage have been junked. Self-help is reactionary. Self-reliance is stupid. Economy and care are antiquated nonsense. What we need, the giveaway artists insist, is a world prosperous on the wealth of the American producer. Then everybody will be happy, the Communists will wither on the vine, and "Uncle Sugar" will be every man's security.

Of course, as Mr. Castle amply demonstrates in his book, this happy ending is still a long way off. Billions every year have been poured down the ratholes of every flea-bitten, impoverished, and worthless corner of the world, yet the United States is still hated still suspect, and still opposed If the dollar shower were to end, and even if it doesn't these countries for the most part could never be depended on to support the United States in a shooting war.

Bakers Forge a National Cemetery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD H. BAKER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein an editorial from the LaFollette Press, LaFollette, Tenn.:

BAKERS FORGE A NATIONAL CEMETERY

We like the proposal of Congressman HOWARD BAKER to establish a national cemetery at Bakers Forge Cemetery in Campbell County. We hope the bill can get through and that the dead of all wars, from the American Revolution to the Korean war, of Campbell and this whole section can be gathered in this place under the perpetual care of a grateful Nation.

The remains of soldiers of all wars are now interred in Bakers Forge. It is fitting and proper that they should be allowed to sleep in peaceful slumber under the protection of the Stars and Stripes.

Many will remember that when the Tennessee Valley Authority was preparing the reservoir of Norris Lake, the remains of many honored dead were removed to Bakers Forge. Hundred of these were soldiers, some of them the very first to cross the mountains and join the Union Army in Kentucky at the outbreak of the War Between the States.

So, already the cemetery takes on the character of a national cemetery. We hope it will be so recognized and so proclaimed, and so cared for, as proposed in Congressman BAKER's bill.

What the President Cannot Do

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, there are some things the President cannot legally do. Other things he ought not to do. However, both the President and the Congress have operated for so many years beyond the bounds of the Constitution that they have grown morally insensitive to that fact.

Mr. Robert B. Dresser, a distinguished lawyer of Providence, R. I., in a letter to the President which follows complains in no uncertain terms about this.

On February 18, 1953, the President wrote that he regarded as inappropriate that he should express his views on proposed constitutional amendments. Such amendments are matters solely for the Congress and the States, not for the President. Nevertheless since then he has on a number of occasions actively and vigorously opposed such amendments. He went to such lengths in opposition to the Bricker amendment that the proponents of the measure were put in the position of petitioning the President for his support. In legislative matters too the presidential and administrative officers not only interfere but become the chief proponents of legislation—the chief source of propaganda, publicity and releases to offect public opinion. They are often the principal witnesses before the committees to advocate their measures at taxpayers' expense. This has been particularly noticeable recently in determining policy and appropriations in the issue of Federal aid to education. We have had a first-class demonstration of what thought control is by Government. In this the President and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare have become active proponents and extensive propagandists and publicists. They have held conferences and made speeches and handed out releases and untold quantities of publicity and arguments to bring pressure to bear upon the Congress. They propose to reverse the longtime policy of regarding education as the exclusive concern of the States and the people in the local school districts.

Mr. Dresser points out the interference and pressure by the administration in connection with the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act and the Bricker amendment.

Mr. Dresser's letter follows:

PROVIDENCE, R. I., *March 16, 1957.*
President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As a devout believer in the Constitution of the United States and the form of government which it established, I have been disturbed by the trend away from that form of government in recent years. As a consequence, I am writing you this open letter.

Some years ago, the late President Woodrow Wilson made the following statement, which has been often quoted:

"The history of liberty is the history of the limitation of governmental power, not the increase of it."

With a full understanding of this truth, a group of men representing the Thirteen Original States met in Philadelphia 170 years ago and drafted the Constitution of the United States, which was subsequently ratified by the States.

By this Constitution a Republic was formed, and certain powers were delegated to the Federal Government thereby established. The powers not delegated to the Federal Government by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, were expressly reserved "to the States, respectively, or to the people."

The limitations imposed by the Constitution upon the power of the Federal Government and the reservation by it of the powers to the States or to the people were designed to prevent the concentration of power in a single government, which, as history has time and time again demonstrated, leads ultimately to the destruction of a people's liberty.

As a further safeguard, in both Federal and State Governments the powers were divided among the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities.

For some years past, the Federal Government has been encroaching steadily upon the rights and powers of the States. It has built up a huge bureaucracy until today there are over 2,400,000 civilian employees on the Federal payroll in the executive branch.

This concentration of power in Washington at the expense of the States has been effected largely through the abuse of the taxing and spending powers of Congress and the unwarranted extension of the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce beyond the limits of any reasonable interpretation of that phrase.

The end result of all this if continued will be the substitution of some form of socialism for our American system of private enterprise and constitutional government.

The continued maintenance of our liberty requires that this trend toward socialism be reversed.

The remedy seems clearly to lie in the amendment of our Federal Constitution. It would be foolhardy to rely wholly on Congress. A conservative Congress today may be followed by a radical Congress tomorrow.

In the words of Thomas Jefferson: "In questions of power, let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

It is the opinion of many that among the needed amendments to the Constitution are amendments limiting the treatymaking power, the taxing power, and the power to spend more in a given year than the Government's receipts. Resolutions proposing such amendments have been introduced in the Congress during the past several years. To each of these amendments you, either personally or through your executive assistants, have expressed your opposition to the Members of Congress, and in the case of at least one of the amendments, you have actively and successively opposed favorable action by the Congress. I refer, of course, to the Bricker amendment limiting the treatymaking power. There is good reason to believe, I am told, that but for your opposition the amendment would have been approved by the Congress and proposed to the States.

This action has been taken by you despite the fact that the power to amend the Constitution is vested solely in the Congress and the States, and the President has no power to veto and his approval is not required.

It is difficult for me to believe that either your or your executive assistants for whose actions you, of course, are responsible, would knowingly disregard the Constitution, and yet I am forced to the conclusion that the action referred to has been taken with full knowledge of the limitations upon the executive power.

Under date of February 18, 1953, you wrote a letter to a Member of Congress from which I quote the following:

"I appreciate your letter of January 30, soliciting my views on House Joint Resolution 103, proposing a constitutional amendment limiting individual and corporate income taxes and forbidding Congress to levy gift and death taxes.

"While I share your feeling that our taxes must be reduced as soon as possible, as expressed in my recent message to the Congress, I feel that it would be inappropriate for me to express my views on a proposed constitutional amendment, since a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution is not presented to the President for his approval."

This was a clear and sound statement of a well-recognized principle, and it is to be greatly regretted that you have not since adhered to it.

Unfortunately, your interference with the powers of Congress has not been confined to the matter of constitutional amendments. It has extended to the field of legislation as well. I will cite only one instance.

In 1952, after 5 years of the most thorough investigation, a Democratic Congress passed and repassed over President Truman's veto the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. If ever a piece of legislation was thoroughly studied and prepared, this was one.

And yet, since coming to office, you have used your great influence with Congress to render this law to a large extent nugatory.

There was published in the May 1953 issue of Reader's Digest a splendid article by Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, one of the authors of the act, entitled "The Truth About the Immigration Act." The article ends with the followir.g quotation:

"The aim of the opponents of this law is not to better its execution or revise its provisions but to destroy it. The issue thereby raised is clear. Are we to have an immigration policy—impossible of fulfillment—based primarily on the desires of Europe? Or are we to have a policy which is based primarily on what is good for America?"

According to a press dispatch of July 23, 1953, Representative WALTER, who has opposed the attempt to destroy the McCarran-Walter Act, said: "The pressure from the White House is stronger than any I've seen in my 21 years in Congress and by far the most effective."

Perhaps you feel that you are better able to decide these important questions than the Congress. But would you feel that all future Presidents would be equally well qualified?

I had supposed that the division of powers by the Constitution among the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities of our Government was regarded as a most necessary safeguard against the establishment of an autocratic Government and of basic importance for the preservation of individual freedom.

If this or any other provision of the Constitution is to be changed, may I suggest that it should be done in the manner provided by the Constitution itself, namely, by action of the Congress and the States.

Ours was intended to be a Government of law, and not a Government of men.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT B. DRESSER.

Senators and Congressmen may be glad to receive from the people an expression of their opinion, with a copy of the foregoing letter.

A Little Here, a Little There

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, according to the following editorial which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of April 4, 1957, the administration has cut its expenditures by $1,680 per year. The editorial will be of interest to our colleagues, and it is as follows:

A LITTLE HERE, A LITTLE THERE

The Treasury Department took a step in the interests of economy just the other day and the way we get the story is this:

Mr. Nils Lennartson, a special assistant to Secretary Humphrey, knew of his boss' remarks about that haircurler of a depression that faces us sooner or later if somebody in Washington doesn't start saving money. Mr. Lennartson knew also that Congress and a lot of newspapers had been yelling about reducing the budget and that people had been writing letters about all the spending. So Mr. Lennartson canceled 2 of the 3 news wire services the Treasury used to keep step with what was going on.

One of the wires was the Dow Jones news service, which is offered by the publishers of this paper, and a good one, too. When the men who sell the wire service for Dow Jones heard about the cancellation one of them went right down to Washington to find out what the trouble was.

Our man was told by Mr. Lennartson that he had been so impressed by the Wall Street Journal's position about Government economy that he had decided to save the Treasury Department $1,680 a year by canceling the Dow Jones service.

Well, our reaction to all this is, fine. If the Treasury Department doesn't need the Dow Jones service, it would be wasteful of the tax money Dow Jones and everybody else pays into the Treasury to keep the service.

Furthermore we're glad that our editorials about saving the taxpayers' money are getting some results in Washington, even if the economy we're all for seems to start with us.

And while $1,680 doesn't look like very much of a start on a budget of $71.8 billion, well, maybe we all better remember that, as this newspaper has pointed out a number of times, the way to begin is to begin. And that a little here and a little there can amount to a lot of savings in the end.

That, of course, still goes. We do hope, though, that the Treasury's economy drive doesn't stop just where it started.

Pan American World Airways Proposes To Make Florida International Air Gateway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, Miami, Fla., is rich in its history of aviation pioneering. Her peoples have assisted and encouraged this great industry since the date of its inception. The advent of the airplane brought Miami a better understanding of the peoples of other countries of the world, particularly those in Latin America. We in Miami and throughout Florida are cognizant of the many benefits that have been derived from the mutual friendships that have thus been created.

Now vast new possibilities for enhancing Florida's international friendship and her tourist and other industries are opened in a proposal by Pan American World Airways to link Florida through Miami by a southern transatlantic route to Europe and on around the world. The Miami International Airport for many years has been termed "the gateway to the Americas." Miami International Airport should be recognized as an "international air gateway." It is a logical center for international travel and trade.

The Pan American World Airways proposal would permit this great airline to pioneer this route from Miami to Puerto Rico, the Azores, Lisbon, Madrid, and Rome. The Governments of Spain and Puerto Rico are supporting the PAA bid. Airlines of six foreign countries now are flying the mid-Atlantic route from various terminals in the Carribean area to southern Europe, but to date no United States airline has been given permission to fly the route. I am advised that Pan American is the only United States carrier currently seeking it.

The greater Miami area, statistically, is the fastest growing area east of the Mississippi. Its population of 495,000 in 1950 has been growing at an average of about 10 percent per year and today is estimated to have in the neighborhood of 1 million permanent residents. Retail sales in the greater Miami area have quadrupled in the past decade. They were $350 million in 1945, rose to $665 million in 1950 and soared to $1,393 million in 1956.

South Florida is one of the world's outstanding resort centers and each year is adding facilities to entertain thousands more people. During the past 12 months it is estimated by State officials that 6,268,000 tourists visited Florida. Since the war, Miami Beach alone has built 62 new hotels and added to 9 others, to provide more than 8,000 additional hotel rooms. At the moment, at least 5 new hotels, with a total of about 2,000 rooms, are being planned for construction in Miami and Miami Beach. Additions are being planned to others that will add another 1,000 rooms or so. New motels and apartment buildings will add thousands more available tourist rooms within the next few months. Comparable building booms are going on in adjacent Broward and Palm Beach Counties.

Today the Florida Hotel Commission estimates there are about 45,000 hotel rooms in Dade County. There are more than 8,000 motel rooms, 200,000 rooms and apartments and more than 21,000 rooms in private homes, or approximately 275,000 available at any one time for visitors.

Other surveys show Latin Americans are spending about $40 million a year for transportation alone on trips to and from Europe. Many of them enroute, would like to visit Florida, a land in which Latins feel a strong community of interest.

Florida's tourism and industry are expanding at a tremendous rate. Today's tourists are airminded. In the 5-year period from 1951 through 1955, for example, passengers at Miami International Airport nearly doubled from 1,655,000 to 3,590,000. The Miami International Airport handles nearly as many international passengers as all New York airports combined. Complete availability of international transportation would appear to be a logical addition to Miami's existing services.

Address by Hon. Morris F. de Castro, Chairman of the 40th Anniversary Celebrations Committee at the Transfer Day Program Held at the Emancipation Garden, St. Thomas, V. I., on Monday, April 1, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARL CHUDOFF

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. CHUDOFF. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, April 1, 1957, the Virgin Islands of the United States celebrated its 40th anniversary of the transfer of the Virgin Islands from Denmark to the United States. I was hoping that I could be present for this occasion, but due to the necessity of remaining here in Washington attending my congressional duties, I did not have the good fortune to attend the ceremonies. The principal address of the occasion was delivered by the Honorable Morris F. de Castro, former Governor of the Virgin Islands. It was an excellent address, worthy of the attention of every Member of the House of Representatives. I believe it would be worth while for everyone in the House to read it.

ADDRESS BY HON. MORRIS F. DE CASTRO, CHAIRMAN OF THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS COMMITTEE, AT THE TRANSFER DAY PROGRAM HELD AT THE EMANCIPATION GARDEN, ST. THOMAS, V. I., ON MONDAY, APRIL 1, 1957

Mr. Chairman, Governor and Mrs. Walter Gordon, distinguished guests, and my fellow citizens of the Virgin Islands in St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John, for the honor and privilege—as I esteem the call to me to be—which Governor Gordon granted me to head the 40th anniversary celebrations throughout the Virgin Islands I shall ever be grateful, I present my heartfult thanks, Your Excellency.

GREETINGS

To celebrate these historic days with us, many of our friends from official Washington have been good enough to put aside their own business—even pressing engagements, I understand—and, in many instances, have traveled far. We appreciate very much the kindness. To each and every one in the official party, and to the representative of the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Carl T. Junge, we extend a hearty welcome, yes, a welcome as warm and as pleasant as the famed Virgin Islands sunshine which drenches our gathering here today.

Particularly, I want to salute an old friend of these islands: the Ambassador of Denmark to the United States. Ambassador Kaufmann, we recall with much pleasure your visit to St. Thomas in July 1948 when you joined in our Freedom Centennial. We were happy to see you again in August 1952 in St. Croix to present, in the name of beloved Denmark, the replica collection of elaborate furnishings for the government house on that island, in commemoration of 1½ centuries of diplomatic relations between our respective countries.

It is good to have you here with us, Your Excellency. Please turn your steps frequently to these shores to renew with us those many ties that still remain between Denmark and the Virgin Islands. As our voices resound, Ambassador Kaufmann, in the traditional cheer "Hans Majestaet Kong Frederik den IX laenge leve"; we know that you join with our prayers for the continued well-being of our illustrious leader, President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

GRATITUDE TO COMMITTEE

I want to thank, particularly, Dr. Roy W. Bornn, who is today in Washington on urgent business, and Messrs. Henry Rohlsen and George Simmons, the chairmen of the three steering committees; as well as the active members of our committee: Commissioner Leon A. Mawson, Messrs. Adolph Gereau, J. Antonio Jarvis, Raphael Wheatley, and my onetime private secretary, Mr. Frederick A. Esannason. These officers have accomplished an effective translation of historic recapitulation into pageantry and praise and have crowned it with beauty and dignity. I know that you appreciate their work as much as I do.

Outstanding was the distant journey back into the nostalgic past, in which we were led by Mr. Jarvis yesterday, to stand in the presence of history as enacted with the changing of the guard over our island home 40 years ago. We do appreciate the fine planning and much effort, and particularly the genuine interest, which developed into delightful and remarkable focus the spontaneous outpouring of a people's gratitude to our sovereigns, past and present.

THANKS, EVERYONE

In this harmony of interests, we recognize and we congratulate the participating arms: the United States Navy, the insular government departments, our industries and other fields of private enterprise, and many others, some appearing in the programs and parades of yesterday and today, for their part in this impressive portrayal of the Virgin Islands success story of twoscore years.

GOLD OF THE ISLES

And, now, with your kind permission, I would like to discuss a few anniversary thoughts in the chatty suppertime style which we used some years ago. I would like to talk to you this morning about gold. Now, please do not look surprised; I am no longer the Commissioner of Finance, and I no longer prepare the revenue estimates. And I do not have any gold in the bank's vaults, either. So, just relax and hear me through, please. Since I have hardly done any public speaking over the past 3 years, I just had to find some familiar ground from which to sound off. That is why I have chosen gold, the well known yellow metal, one of the heaviest substances known. I will endeavor to point out that gold, not exactly the raw ore, but its equivalent in cultural and material value, is being discovered and being developed every day in the Virgin Islands.

ITS ATTRIBUTES, SURELY

I understand that when Interior Secretary Seaton visited the Virgin Islands last December he received an application from a group of prospectors for mining rights at the newly opened national park on the island of St. John. I hope they find gold, or silver, or uranium, or even oil. But, my dear friends, the gold that I speak about, the treasure of the Virgin Islands of the United States, sparkles in the loveliness of our sunrise and sunset, in the panoramic splendor of our landscape and seascape, in the wonders of our climate, and in the peace and quietness here, so far removed from the roar of the concrete jungles.

Gold, pure and refined, gleams forth in our man's humanity to man, in the richness of our culture and character, in the ready hospitality among all Virgin Islanders. Golden too, I must add, is the absence from these shores of the ugly blotches of organized crime, of subversive movement, of racial discrimination. Thank God, that this is so.

OUR HERITAGE

We must repeatedly refine this precious ore by the constant cultivation of harmony and goodwill. These days of retrospect—yesterday and today—crowd us with fond memories of the gracious and gentle life of yesteryear. We are proud of those memories; for they represent the skein with which we fashion the rich fabric of our folkway. It is good that me maintain in our towns the Old World jewels of architecture; it is better when we embellish the refined taste in our morals; but we are at our very best when we can pass on this heritage to succeeding generations as theirs to keep and to increase. God grant that this will always be so.

PAYMENT IN GOLD

In gathering the notes of this talk, we visited our public library and found there a treasure trove of Virgin Islands material: many, many volumes dealing with the historical—and the folk interest, drawn from a wide field of scholars, educators, government officials, and other writers.

We found in Zabriskie's account of the transfer, this incident which took place on a Saturday afternoon at 4 o'clock, on the last day of March 40 years ago, in the large diplomatic reception room of the State Department (State, War, and Navy Building) in the city of Washington. There the then Secretary of the Treasury, William G. McAdoo, handed to Secretary of State Robert Lansing

a Treasury warrant, representing $25 million in gold, and smilingly explained that he had brought the money in the form of a warrant because the actual gold coin would weigh nearly 48 tons. Approximately 96,000 pounds, that is.

PROSPERING POORHOUSE

That incident was definitely not the first time, of course, that gold in substantial quantity jingled in Virgin Islands history. In bygone years, as you will recall from history, our cities and towns were used as sanctuary for freebooters in from the Spanish Main. Here they counted and shared the loot, we understand. March 31, 1917, was definitely not the last time that such bullion was linked up with our islands. A President of the United States once labeled our islands as "an effective poorhouse." That was unfortunately (?) tacked on to us back in 1931. Unfortunately or fortunately? Let us discuss the phrase in the light of what has transpired since.

We can venture this explanation: As part and parcel of our Nation we experience the rise and fall of the national economy. Therefore, when the lamented depression shook the country two and one-half decades ago, it is quite understandable that the islands, too, as its miniature, had to bear the brunt of a damaged economy as well. That was the time of the classic proposal to Congress that Denmark be paid to take us back.

That remarks, however sincerely meant or well intended, from the honored guest aboard the U. S. S. *Arizona* made us do things * * * and do them in a big hurry. For, since then, the poorhouse has paid off the mortgage, every cent of it. Yes, we have definitely done so. Official documents have proved that the internal revenue taxes which have been paid into the Treasury of the United States on liquors produced in these islands have more than covered the total cost of the islands' government to the United States, including the purchase price of the islands from Denmark.

The mortgage settled, we next proceeded to prove that we would not be a liability to the United States. We installed modern conveniences to our little cottage, planted ornamentals, and tidied the spot spick and span. Yes, we built hotels, schools, hospitals, roads, increased public and private housing. We fashioned monuments to a people's indomitable will, courage, and persistence. You know what happened following that renovation, and still continues * * * before the paint was dry on our "Rooms to let" signboard, the world same hurrying over to register. So great is the crowd that continues to push up to our gates that we had better do something fast to save some room for our own children. And now we should like to extend a gracious invitation to the author of that disturbing phrase for him to return to spend his retirement years in this tranquil and prospering paradise of the Caribbean—the onetime poorhouse. Unfortunately or fortunate * * * disturbing or inspiring. * * * What do you think now of that label of 1931 compared with communal results in the 26 years since. I will give my answer—President Hoover's 1931 "poorhouse" has been transformed during the administrations of President Roosevelt, President Truman, and President Eisenhower into the 1957 prospering "guest house".

OUR OWN HANDIWORK

In August 1953, I made a statement that, since the year 1950, total bank deposits in the Virgin Islands had increased $2,200,000 in that 2½-year period, imports into the Virgin Islands had increased by $2 million and exports by $300,000, and that travel statistics showed that 94,000 tourists visited St. Thomas and spent $4 million in the year 1952, and that 123,000 arrived during the following year and spent approximately $5,400,000.

But look what happened to these same indexes since that 1953 suppertime chat: Total bank deposits in the Virgin Islands, which were $6,475,669.49 on June 30, 1953, are shown on the published statements of the 2 banks in the Virgin Islands to be $16,806,928.84 on December 31, 1956, an increase of over $10 million in 3½ years. Total income taxes paid in the Virgin Islands in 1953 were $720,314.36. Total income taxes paid in the Virgin Islands in 1955 amounted to $1,059,631.61, and in 1956 income taxes increased to $1,549,309.68—or double the amount paid 3½ years ago.

Our Tourist Development Board estimated that in 1953 visitors to the Virgin Islands, in the tourist economy of the islands, spent approximately $5,400,000. In 1956 gross tourist expenditures were estimated to be $11,645,988, again more than double the amount spent by tourists 3½ years ago. In 1952 total imports into the Virgin Islands were $11,162.88. In 1955, our imports jumped to $16,255,575, an increase of $4 million. During the same period exports from the Virgin Islands increased from $2,477,655 to $4,277,314, an increase of $2 million.

Do you care to listen to a few more startling comparisons? The assertion was made not so long ago, that Virgin Islanders are not industrious, not given to hard toil and sacrifice. Well, I looked for the facts and I found that in the year 1956 there were 8,138 workers in all the Virgin Islands covered by workmen's compensation, of whom, incidentally, 4,345 were engaged in private, I repeat, in private employment and 1,793 in Government work. This figure represents nearly four times as many workers in private employment as in Government employment on these small islands where Government naturally combines all levels of city, county, State, and Federal activities. Let it be remembered, too, and let it be quoted widely, that the people of the Virgin Islands today raise more than 10 times the local revenues than they did 20 years ago, and 2¼ times the local taxes they raised 10 years ago. Here are the figures: In 1936 local revenues totaled $288,438; in 1946 local revenues had increased to $1,374,259.61; and in 1956, revenues from local taxes amounted to $2,911,775.08.

Unlike the buccaneers of old, we have not been trundling wheelbarrowsful of bullion down Main Street lately, nor are we paving the new waterfront highway with the heavy, yellow ingots. Yet, despite the pinch of poverty, felt here as elsewhere among our ill-housed and ill-fed citizens, grass is definitely not growing on Main Street * * * and that is not because of any water shortage, either. And here's another fact: Keeping pace with our economic advancement, we have been building steadily solid and lasting monuments—not alone of stone and of concrete—but of human resources as well in the health and well-being of our citizens, in the letters, and in the arts.

Dear friends, I am moved to bring to witness this Transfer Day, the firm faith of Virgin Islanders in the traditional American virtues of hard work, in thrift, in resourcefulness, and in our sturdy self-reliance. How very often, these days, we have to fall back on their support. Nevertheless, we are experiencing years of progress, and, God helping us, we can look ahead with confidence.

GOVERNMENT HAS HELPED

Government has had no small chapter, of course, in this success story. I would like to pass on to you the definition given by Lincoln in his first inaugural address: "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to be done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, in their separate and individual capacities."

We believe that no American—no one group of Americans—can truly prosper unless all Americans prosper. For we are one family made up of millions of Americans with the same hopes for a full and happy life. We believe that the slum, the outdated highway, the poor school system—deficiencies in health protection, the loss of a job, and the fear of poverty in old age—in fact, any real injustice in the business of living—penalizes us all.

We know that our Government stands ready to help us to help ourselves and to do those things for us which we cannot so well do in our individual capacity. I strike into this record our full appreciation for the golden millions which the Federal Government has poured into our islands to equip us with modern sewerage systems, improved communications facilities, the very latest in hospital and school plants, in low-cost housing, airport and highway construction, among the substantial physical improvements over the past decade. On the other hand, let us never undervalue or underestimate the many things I have here recited in part only, which we, in the march of progress have done, and daily continue to do, for ourselves as we should, by intelligent planning, skill, and by the sweat of our brow.

PATRIOTISM UNLIMITED

I listened very carefully a few weeks ago to my good friend, Col. Joseph A. Christmas, USAF, the selective-service officer in the Virgin Islands, as he was interviewed by the Women's League over radio station WSTA. Among his many remarks commending the spirit and valor of Virgin Islands servicemen, Colonel Christmas brought out the fact that there were approximately 544 volunteers of the 1,073 Virgin Islands servicemen processed through the local board, or roughly 50 percent of the total enlistments. I just had to point out that fact because, these days, we hear too little of the patriotism and sacrifice of Virgin Islanders; and hear far too much, these days, of the economic benefits which these islands receive from the Federal Government * * * although we receive such grant-in-aid at less than par, in many instances, along with the other Territories and certain States of the Union.

PROGRESS DEMANDS DEDICATION

Unhesitatingly I wish to state my firm conviction that the people of these islands are well advanced in the application of the principles of American democracy and of self-government. We have a tremendous reservoir of leadership ability just waiting to be tapped. But, my friends, these times cry out loudly for more constructive suggestions. We need less complaints and less criticism of each other. Progress is not for the lazy and indolent. Progress demands character, it demands will, it demands dedication. Progress requires quiet decision, self-respect, and self-reliance.

Let us cherish our island home with a love that does not count sacrifice, a concern that thrives under constant and determined effort. Let us remember, you and I, that our child and our children's children will benefit or suffer by what we do today. The element of gold—here pure, there adulterated—has marked our progress over the 40 years, 1917 through 1957. Progress demands more than lip service or a mere recitation of its elements. How well we have learned the lessons along the way. Have we profited well from the experience? We should be building foundations now under our castles in the sky, if there they be, so that our next anniversary celebration, in 1967, may be truly golden in word and in deed.

THE HIGHER LEVEL

And so this morning, richly endowed as we are in the good things of the earth, in the fellowship of our neighbors and the closeness of our Nation, would it not be fitting for each of us to speak in prayer to the Father of the Nations to ask that He help us and teach us and receive our thanksgiving?

Might we not pray that He teach us? Teach us, and teach our leaders, to seek to understand the problems and needs of our people. Teach us how those problems may reach solution in wisdom, and how best those needs may be met. Teach us to require of all those who seek to lead us, and teach us, too, to require of ourselves, these things: integrity of purpose; the upright mind, selfless sacrifice, and the courage of the just. Teach us trust and hope and self-dependence. Teach us the security of faith.

THE ROAD AHEAD

Four decades ago, when old Dannebrog was replaced here by the Star and Stripes, the United States stood on the brink of World War I. Today we celebrate this anniversary at a time when the nations seem to be gathered on the verge of a most serious catastrophe of our times. This sombering thought should bring us solemn pause. Today, as we meet here in peace and quietness, our statesmen are striving valiantly to settle international issues around the conference table rather than around the watch fires of a hundred circling camps. Today the democratic countries, led by our mother country, and by our great President, are earnestly and eagerly seeking ways and means to keep the peace.

This is a serious moment. And it behooves us as good American citizens to be loyal to our country and flag and to the eminent principles for which they stand, to proclaim our faith in righteousness and justice, and to be proud to give ourselves in meeting the everyday needs of our Nation, by willing sacrifice. Thus we strengthen, likewise, our own homeland.

OUR COMMISSION

To each individual gathered here, and to those within the reach of my voice, I express, first, our satisfaction that you could join with us in reviewing this parade of events. Secondly, my great faith that you, each and every one of you, can contribute something to render more precious the social, economic, and political fabric of these islands so dear to us all. And, thirdly, that in so doing you will gain the satisfaction of knowing that you are moving along the high road of constructive progress on all fronts and not banding together to achieve the defensive or negative concept of mere physical security. When we place our desires and designs into proper perspective, to which we can attend right now, we would move into better position to celebrate the golden anniversary laden with achievements beyond our fondest dreams. It is a great faith that must march forward. With it we cannot stand still.

IN SUMMARY

In closing we wish to emphasize that a real, pulsing drive, adorned with deep human concern, has marked these Virgin Islands as the showplace of American democracy. Our gold is in our hearts and in our homes, and our monument not the shaft of stone, but a tower of true spiritual and cultural values and of great material accomplishments. From that viewpoint, and with these self-evident truths, we have surveyed with pardonable pride, yet with humility, these past 40 years.

It is well that we solemnly pledge, this instant, to build a stronger and better nation and home—of greater security and increasing prosperity for all. Working together for the common welfare is an American habit. Let us continue to cultivate and to keep that habit strong. We know that we have not failed to do our full share in this good work. We know what has been done. We know whither our goal. With sincere and unswerving dedication to the tasks ahead, with confidence in our ability to accomplish them, with abiding faith in Almighty God, we cannot fail—we shall not fail.

For the honor of appearing once again before you, my countrymen, thanks to each one of you.

God bless you all.

Going Nasser's Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of April 3, 1957:

GOING NASSER'S WAY

In his press conference yesterday Secretary Dulles again expressed hope for a satisfactory settlement of the immediate problems of the Middle East, including firm Egyptian commitments on the Suez Canal, a greater voice for the users in operating the canal than Egypt proposes to permit, and Israel's right to use both the canal and the Aqaba Gulf. But his statements reveal his own doubts, despite his lifting of the ban on tourist travel to the area.

Indeed, the trend of events, the air of resignation at United Nations headquarters and of pessimism in Washington all point in one direction. This is that everything is going President Nasser's way and that he is riding to a political victory. Unless this trend is reversed there is grave danger that all the brave words uttered in United Nations resolutions, in Secretary General Hammarskjold's reports, and in declarations by President Eisenhower, Secretary Dulles, and other western statesmen will turn to ashes, with unforeseeable consequences for the future.

These words were to the effect that the liquidation of the British, French, and Israeli military countermeasures against Nasser's belligerent provocations should be followed by action to assure progress toward more peaceful conditions and toward a greater degree of justice and compliance with international law than existed prior to these events. These conditions were to be secured and supervised by the United Nations police force and were to include the restoration of secure freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal and an end to Egypt's unilaterally proclaimed state of war with Israel, involving a renunciation of belligerent rights and therewith an end to Egyptian guerrilla raids and blockades.

But Nasser has thus far paid small heed to any of these words, and events are rapidly returning to the state of affairs which precipitated the recent hostilities and could precipitate new ones. Far from restoring the definitive system established by the 1888 Suez convention to guarantee "secure freedom of navigation" in the canal, or paying any attention to the Security Council resolution calling for insulating the canal from Egyptian politics and for agreement between Egypt and the canal users on the tolls, Nasser has served notice that Egypt alone will own and operate the canal under his terms, that it will collect all tolls and determine their allocation, and that at most he would be willing to arbitrate complaints while continuing the cause of the complaints.

At the same time he proclaims his determination to maintain his state of war and his belligerent rights against Israel and in defiance of a special Security Council decision to resume the Suez blockade immediately and the Aqaba blockade as soon as the United Nations force has left. He has enlisted the support of King Saud on the latter blockade, although Saudi Arabia decreed in 1949 that a claim to territorial waters does not infringe on the right of innocent passage by vessels of other nations.

Furthermore, in the face of Mr. Hammarskjold's assurance that the takeover of military and civilian control of Gaza in the first instance would be exclusively by the United Nations forces, Nasser has imposed his own civilian and military police control of this strip and has relegated the United Nations forces to patrolling the border jointly with his own "police." He has made a gentleman's agreement not to send direct military forces into Gaza during the interim period and to reimpose regulations against guerrilla raids. But since the first instance lasted only a few days, the question arises how long the interim is to last, and in any case the guerrilla units are already reassembling.

In his speech of February 20, President Eisenhower declared that if, unhappily, Egypt does hereafter violate the armistice agreement or other international obligations, then this should be dealt with firmly by the society of nations. It remains to make good these words, and the society of nations may be taken to mean not only the United Nations but also other international associations and alliances in which the United States is a partner.

Further Opinions on the 22d Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I have been been heartened by the replies of distinguished American historians and political scientists to my opinion survey on the 22d amendment.

Heretofore I have presented the views of 6 experts in this field, and today I present 4 additional replies from California, Tennessee, Washington, and Colorado.

Those whose views are included herewith are: Dr. Dayton D. McKean, political scientist, of the University of Colorado; Dr. Robert J. Harris, of the Vanderbilt University, political science department; Dr. Claudius O. Johnson, of Washington State College; and Dr. John D. Hicks, Morrison professor of history at the University of California.

The letters follow:

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO,
Boulder, Colo., March 18, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. UDALL: In my opinion the 22d amendment should never have been adopted, and it should be repealed as soon as possible.

I have three principal objections to it. First, its antidemocratic character, the distrust of the American people that it embodies. It denies voters the opportunity to vote for someone they may want. Second, it could in a time of national emergency, involve the Nation in unnecessary danger, forcing out of office an experienced President who had the confidence of our country and the world to replace him at a critical moment

with someone who did not. Third, the amendment produces a 4-year lame duck President who cannot be expected in his second term to be able to lead his own party, since its other leaders, perhaps each seeking to succeed him, are free to defy him or not as they please. This condition can only lead to a further (to me regrettable) weakening of the two-party system.

I wish you all success in your attempt to get the amendment repealed.

Sincerely yours,

DAYTON D. MCKEAN, *Dean.*

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY,
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
Nashville, Tenn., March 19, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE UDALL: In reply to your letter of March 13, I am making a number of observations concerning your proposal to repeal the 22d amendment.

In general, it was my opinion at the time the 22d amendment was submitted that it was an error. Subsequent events have not changed my opinion in this connection. In my opinion, the amendment will have the long-range effect of weakening the President not only with respect to his legislative relations with Congress, but also with respect to his negotiation with the governments of foreign states. To be sure no conclusions can be reached now concerning the impact of the amendment upon President Eisenhower's relations with Congress. At his age and in his physical condition it is most unlikely that even Mr. Leonard Hall would regard him as a possibility for a third term. Moreover, most generalizations have to make an exception of General Eisenhower. It is my belief that President Eisenhower's popularity and prestige are such that he could continue to exercise a considerable influence upon Congress should he choose to do so. If it is true that his grip has loosened on his party and upon Congress, then that is more than likely due to laziness, indifference, incapacity, or a combination of these. It is hardly likely, however, that very many presidents are going to enjoy the enormous personal popularity of General Eisenhower and that in their case the amendment would seriously impair them as legislative leaders and foreign negotiators. Moreover, it seems to me that in the last analysis, as you indicate in the enclosed remarks, that it is for the American people to decide whether they desire a president for 1 term, 2 terms, 3 terms, or any other number. That at least seemed to be the design of the original framers of the Constitution and in general their judgment has stood the test of time better than the judgment of the framers of the 22d amendment is likely to stand the test of time. Many of the original objections to a third term, you will recall, were due to Jefferson's fear of a monarchy. And, Jefferson, it must be remembered, was inclined to see the danger of a monarchy in every nook and cranny and in every dark corner. He, himself, however, indicated that in order to avert such a danger he would be willing to stand for a third term. After Jefferson's objections to a third term were more practical than philosophical and, indeed, in some instances the opposition to a third term for some presidents were made by those who thought they never should have had one term.

In general, unlimited reeligibility makes for better government than for worse because so long as a man is reeligible to public office there is a prospect that he will endeavor to exert his best talents in the event he will decide to stand on his record for reelection. This, to me, is an ample safeguard against abuses of power.

A more important consideration is that in the world that we live in, we know not what crises may confront us. It is inconceivable in the midst of a serious crisis that the American people would want to change the presidency merely because of a constitutional mandate which decrees that a president can serve no more than 2 terms or a maximum of 10 years should he come in by the route of the vice presidency. This could be a serious flaw in our Constitution in the perilous conditions in which we live.

If there are any specific questions you would like to raise concerning this problem, I shall be only too happy to discuss them. For the time being, I shall content myself with these very general remarks and trust that they will be of some value to you.

With best wishes for the success of your proposal, I am,

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT J. HARRIS.

STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON,
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
Pullman, Wash., March 19, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. UDALL: You pay me the honor of asking my opinion on House Joint Resolution 182 which would repeal the 22d amendment. Although I favor the 2-term tradition for the President as a general policy, I believe the occasion will arise from time to time when it may be wise to depart from the tradition. I do not, therefore, hold the opinion that the 2-term tradition should be frozen into the written Constitution. Consequently, you may record me as favoring the resolution to repeal the 22d amendment.

In my opinion a provision which restricts the political freedom of the people in the choice of their officers has no place in our fundamental law. I believe further that no group, liberal or conservative, should use the power it may have at a particular time to impose upon a minority a restrictive political provision. Quite aside from the questionable ethics of such action, it is almost certain to return to disturb or plague its promoters. Factions which at one time would prevent from running for a third or fourth term a President they happen not to like would, by that action, set for another time the same obstacle in the way of a President they may wholeheartedly approve and earnestly desire to continue in office. Furthermore, restrictive provisions of this character represent a negative concept of government, the idea that the public is better served when its officers serve under rigid regulations. It is well to remember that the restrictions which may be designed to prevent incapable or corrupt officers from making mistakes or promoting sellouts and giveaways will also operate to prevent capable and trustworthy officers from achieving the best results. I think it is right to assume that our Presidents will be qualified men of integrity who have a sense of their responsibilities in a democratic system. This I regard as a calculated risk, one that we may intelligently take in a day when we need affirmative, positive government.

Sincerely yours,

CLAUDIUS O. JOHNSON,
Professor of Political Science.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
Berkeley, Calif., March 23, 1957.

Representative STEWART L. UDALL,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. UDALL: The 22d amendment was in my judgment a mistake. I share the opinion of George Washington that the Nation should have the right to choose any citizen for the Presidency for as many times as it may see fit.

Sincerely,

JOHN D. HICKS,
Morrison Professor of History.

St. Lawrence Seaway Will Make Chicago the Nation's Largest Grain-Exporting Port

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on the financial page of the Chicago Daily News of April 2, 1957, is an article by Ed Kandlik that will prove of interest to all my colleagues who have given thought to the great changes that will come in the opening of the St. Lawrence seaway when the cities on the Great Lakes become ocean ports, competing with the ports on the seaboard.

According to a study conducted at Indiana University, and which Mr. Kandlik presents in his most illuminating article, by 1965 Chicago will become the Nation's largest grain-exporting port with Duluth ranking second. The seaboard ports will suffer in proportion. Mr. Kandlik's article follows:

Chicago may become the Nation's leading grain export center by the mid-1960's as a result of the St. Lawrence seaway.

This is the conclusion of the 252-page printed report, The Effects of the St. Lawrence Seaway on Grain Movements, prepared by the Bureau of Business Research, Indiana University, in conjunction with the Chicago Board of Trade.

Robert C. Liebenow, president, the Chicago Board of Trade, said many of its members are already preparing for the opening of the seaway by expanding their facilities.

"When the new waterway is ready for use, Chicago will have a minimum of 20 million bushels of new grain warehousing capacity," he said.

"When this is added to the more than 50 million bushels of space formerly available, it will give this port water facilities for handling grain second to none."

Low freight rates will draw the grain from an area extending from the Rockies to the Appalachian Mountains north of a line that follows the Ohio River and extends through northern Oklahoma and central Missouri. Points as far as Enid, Okla., may direct their shipments through Chicago.

By 1966 from one hundred and fifty to two hundred million bushels of grain will be moving into export annually through the St. Lawrence seaway, the report said. Much of it will be grain that formerly moved through gulf and Atlantic ports.

The report said the seaboard ports will suffer substantial losses of grain traffic and the effect will be intensified by the seasonal traffic on the seaway.

Eastern and southern transportation carriers also are expected to experience hardship from the change.

While the diversion of grain export shipments to the Great Lakes will spread to many ports, Chicago will gain the most, the report said. Its position was termed "strategic" to attract grain from the Corn and Soybean Belt and from the Winter Wheat Belt.

Chicago's exports will probably range from eighty to one hundred million bushels by the mid-1960's, the report said. If this potential is realized, Chicago would become the Nation's largest grain exporting port. Milwaukee will handle part of the potential.

Duluth is expected to rank second to Chicago in volume. Its increase will be disap-

pointingly small because it already handles most of the spring wheat shipped eastward, the report said.

Transportation charges via the seaway route will be from 15 to 20 cents per bushel less than over existing eastern routes, the report found, but may be cut to 10 cents by intensified competition.

While the cost advantage will be so great as to attract the vast bulk of grain exports, prospects were said not to be bright for shipments via the seaway for consumption along the east coast.

Water rates for seaway grain shipments to Europe are expected to exceed by 4 to 8 cents a hundred pounds those from North Atlantic ports. The rates from Great Lakes ports are expected to be on a par with those from New Orleans and gulf ports.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government, submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 139, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

957

Appendix

Address by Hon. Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, Before Midwest Federation of College Young Republican Clubs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have just returned from a visit to my State, during the course of which I addressed a wide number of organizations of all types.

One of my most memorable pleasures was the honor and privilege of addressing, on Saturday evening, April 6, in the capital city of my State, Madison, the Midwest Federation of College Young Republican Clubs, a group of Young Republicans representing 13 States and 40 colleges. I am very happy to say it was a good meeting.

I ask unanimous consent that the address delivered by me on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR WILEY SAYS GOP MUST SHOW IT "IS A PARTY OF PROGRESS IN ATOMIC AGE, NOT PARTY OF REACTION OF HORSE AND BUGGY DAYS"; SAYS PARTY MUST FOR "AMERICA'S GOOD AND ITS OWN GOOD SPEARHEAD WORLD LEADERSHIP"

I am indeed happy to be with you tonight.

It is a real pleasure to join with you in looking forward to the role of the Republican Party in the future.

It is most appropriate that you who are the leaders of tomorrow, should consider this vital question of the future of our party—your party and mine.

You Young Republicans have demonstrated that you are aware of your responsibilities as citizen-leaders in the dynamic period up ahead.

I cannot commend too highly your participation in YR Club activities.

REAL ASSETS OF YR MEMBERSHIP

As you well know, your membership provides a splendid opportunity to acquire a broader understanding of government, as well as enjoying an ideal training ground for future leadership.

Certainly, an active role in a Young Republican organization is a valuable supplement to any course of education, and an asset to you personally.

Your experience, I believe, provides each of you with a greater appreciation of our political process, and an understanding of techniques and tasks of a truly responsible political party.

All in all, your YR Club provides a "real-life" laboratory in which to acquire a better understanding of politics—theoretical, and especially, practical.

MY THEME TONIGHT—MODERN PROGRAM ESSENTIAL

My theme tonight is comparatively simple but it is composed of many elements.

My theme is this: America today is advancing in the jet-atomic age, advancing, as it must, irreversibly up the high road of leadership on the world scene. It is the GOP's task, the "Grand Young Party's" task to spearhead such leadership.

The American people will vote at the polls in November 1958 and in November 1960, for the party which provides a program geared to the needs of this age, geared to the needs of a shrunken globe.

The American people will vote for us if they believe that we are "the party of the future."

They will vote against us if they have the idea that we are a party of the past, the past when the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans represented barriers in space and time.

If however, in this age when space and time has been virtually annihilated by man's inventiveness, if we supply a modern program, tailored to the needs of a dynamic Nation of 170 million in the jet-atomic age, then we will win and retain America's support.

If, on the other hand, the American people believe that we are a party which only looks backward to "the dear old days," a party which is patterned after the McKinley era of the horse and buggy, then they will not vote with us.

The question is, therefore, what must be the elements in a modern program for a brighter future for all?

And, secondly, what are the techniques, what are the organizational methods by which we can get this program adopted?

Let us first take up the latter question. Why? Because I think that there will readily be almost universal agreement on this matter of new-type techniques.

Then let us frankly approach the latter challenge—the challenge of new programs.

At this time, let us look "right in the eye" at those issues on which there is and will be an honest difference of opinion.

THREE-HUNDRED-AND-SIXTY-FIVE-DAY CAMPAIGNING

First, we'll look at the matter of techniques.

I think that you Young Republicans have yourselves set a fine pattern for tomorrow's victories at the polls.

You have been showing what an enterprising campaign organization can do and must do. And I mean 12 months a year, not simply in the latter part of September and the entire month of October.

You Young Republicans have shown that there is a salesmanship job to be done 365 days a year; a literature distribution job in the wards and precincts; a TV and radio job; a doorbell-ringing and volunteer-registration job; and all the other types of grassroots activities which must keep the Republican Party in the minds and eyes of the people.

ATTRACTING ALLEGIANCE OF STAY-AT-HOMES

You and I remember that, according to 1956 statistics, out of a potential vote of about 104 million, only about 62 million—or three-fifths of those eligible—voted.

Of this number, Ike received almost 36 million—a majority of votes cast—10 million more than his opponent.

However, this points up an important factor: There is a "political gold mine" of 42 million votes, either inactive or untapped.

To fully utilize our opportunities—for the benefit of our party, and the Nation—we must do two things:

1. First, this stay-at-home group must be persuaded to vote; and

2. Second, our programs—Republican programs—must be proven to so benefit the national interest as to attract these voters.

This cannot be a taken-for-granted task; for, as we know—even though the stay at homes are inactive—many of these are traditionally either independents or are Democratic inclined.

THE DIFFICULT CHALLENGES OF 1958 AND 1960

Now, let me ask, "How important is it that we do all these things?"

The answer is, "Very important, indeed."

In the first place, in November 1960, we face one of the most critical challenges in Republican history.

At that time we will be going to the polls without that great standard bearer, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

He will, we know, play an active part in the campaign. But his name will not head the ticket, and our party will not automatically have the benefit of his enormous personal prestige.

We should have, however, the same mass of independent voters whom Ike attracted and whom we definitely need to win. I repeat: We need the independent voters to win. We need the "swing" voters. That does not mean that we must forsake our Republican standbys, our loyal GOP adherents. But it does mean that we must broaden the base of our party and not run it as an exclusive social club.

HARD BATTLE FOR NEXT CONGRESS

In the second place, we face an even tougher challenge—much earlier—in November 1958.

The fact is we face difficult contests for control of the Senate and House, for many key governorships and other State and local offices.

You Young Republicans are more than familiar with the specific issues involved in many of the statewide contests which are coming up.

But, I can tell you that from a national standpoint—so far as the battle for the 86th Congress is concerned, we have rarely faced a tougher problem.

Of the Senate seats coming up—21 are for Republicans incumbents' seats, 11 for Democratic incumbents.

And half the Democratic seats are in the safe "solid South." By contrast, most of our Republican Senate seats are in the so-called marginal States of the country—which could pivot either way, including right here in our State of Wisconsin and elsewhere in the Midwest.

PARTY'S POOR RECORD SINCE 1933

Obviously, the House elections too, could likewise go either way.

But here is an overall fact to remember: Since 1933, we Republicans have been in majority in the Senate and House for but 4 years out of the 24.

When we attained control, I personally was privileged to serve as Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee in the 80th Congress and of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in the 83d Congress.

I say: let us find out why we as a party have so repeatedly lost the Congress, even when we were winning the Presidency in November 1952 by such a landslide of electoral votes.

We must find out why it is, that in all this quarter century, (which represents the lifetime of virtually every member of this audience) the American people have selected a Republican Congress only twice.

I ask you ladies and gentlemen: "Why?"

Obviously, because we could not win the complete confidence of the voters in the 48 States.

Let us, then, come face to face with the issues. Doing so will spell, I believe, the difference between more possible defeats in the battle for the Congress and the Presidency, or new victories, such as we deserve to win.

WE MUST DISPEL A KEY ILLUSION

I say, that, to win America's confidence, we must dispel the illusion that the Republicans represent "special interests," especially the interests of so-called big business.

As we recognize, no political party can survive as a "pawn of any special interest" (neither yours, nor mine, nor anyone else's).

If it attempts to do so, one of two things will happen:

1. It will be defeated at the polls; or

2. If not, then it will exist, not as a servant of the people but as the pawn of the special interests.

In either case, it loses effectiveness as a political party.

We can only attain our political goals by successfully performing our general political responsibilities to the entire country.

WE WANT ALL GROUPS TO PROSPER

I say: "Our party must be identified with all America."

We can be proud of what we have accomplished for business (because of what business means to 170 million Americans). But so, too, we can and should be just as proud of what we have accomplished for labor, agriculture, consumers, and veterans.

But we should be proud of our record and we should advance that record—not because we are special pleaders for so-called big business, but because we want strong, healthy segments in a strong, healthy America. We want all groups to prosper and none to be "whipping boys."

And, parenthetically, I say that when so-called big business is mentioned, let us recall: The 8½ million stockholders who truly own America's corporations; the hundreds of thousands of small businesses who subcontract work for large enterprises; and the fact that, under our profit and loss system, we must not penalize groups simply because they have succeeded by superior initiative, organization, and resourcefulness.

THE HEART OF THE CHALLENGE TO THE UNITED STATES

And we come now to the nubbins of our being here tonight: The future role—the future program of our party.

In my judgment, as I have earlier indicated, the only factor in this role is the changed world in which we live.

It is a role symbolized by such up-to-the-minute facts as—a reported testing soon of America's first intercontinental guided missile; the flight last December of X B–52 bombers, nonstop, around the earth in 45 hours; the vulnerability of continental United States in this air age, both to air attack and, for example, to possible attack from missile-firing submarines off our coasts.

WILL THE GOP BACK UP OR ATTACK IKE'S LEADERSHIP?

All of these facts spell the need for United States leadership.

And that means, I say, Republican leadership, Republican statesmanship.

The GOP must not furnish, as it has in the past, misguided direction in the fight against America's leadership.

The GOP must back up Dwight D. Eisenhower instead of inadvertently undermining his leadership on the world stage.

Thus, here in the Midwest and elsewhere, one of the greatest challenges facing the Republican Party is acceptance of this modern fact: That the United States of America literally has no alternative but to be a leader of and a partner with all the free nations of the world in combatting Communist aggression.

The American eagle cannot be and must not be turned into an American ostrich.

The entire world, yes, including the 900 million people behind the Iron Curtain, look to this country for leadership.

WHAT CAN HAPPEN IF WE DEFAULT

The alternative to American leadership would be American default. The result of American default could be (1) a Communist world and/or (2) world war III.

We intend neither of these terrible eventualities to come about.

There must be no war, and there must be no Communist world.

I know that I need hardly remind you young people who recognize that you have to bear the brunt of military training, that there really is no alternative to adequate preparedness. Yes, even though preparedness takes a good many years out of a good many lives.

But it is better to be alive with 18 months of training "under your belt" than it is to be dead amidst the radio-active ashes of a bombed-out American city, a city caught in a Pearl Harbor-like blitz.

As you may have noticed, I have referred thus far only to the international phase of our modern program.

DOMESTIC PART OF MODERN GOP PROGRAM

Now, there is a vast domestic phase as well.

Here on the home front, the atomic age requires these things:

1. A strengthened American education program. I mean higher education, and I mean improved elementary- and high-school education. We are in a life and death race with the Soviet Union for technical superiority. We cannot be second best in the quality of our scientific, industrial, and other manpower.

2. An expanding economy which will provide still more jobs. More and more jobs for the American people. Every year 400,000 of you young people enter the labor force. That means there must be 400,000 or more jobs awaiting you.

As a part of this challenge, more and more women are entering the labor force. A third of the 66 million employed Americans today are women.

The young men in my audience who have marriage in mind know that many of their future wives will want to continue to work. The American people are determined that there shall be sufficient jobs for all who want to work.

RESHAPING THE FACE OF AMERICA

3. A new look for America's very geography. A new look for the face of our countryside and our cities. I mean speeding up of the development of our 41,000-mile toll road system; improvement and expansion of our already overcrowded airports so as to be ready for the jet airliners which will soon be rolling off our assembly lines; aid to our cities for slum clearance and urban redevelopment. Remember, many sections of our cities are blighted with decaying areas which, in turn, are breeding grounds for vice and misery; a "shot in the arm" for lagging housing construction; acceleration of the application of atomic energy for peacetime purposes; speeding the dredging of the Great Lakes connecting channels so the full St. Lawrence seaway will be open for 2,700 miles of deep-draft passage as soon as possible.

OTHER HOME FRONT GOALS

And, of course, there are many other elements as well in our domestic program. I refer, for example, to resolving the issues of our farm problem; strengthening America's social security (for your own mothers and dads who have worked a lifetime for our Nation); reforming our obsolete tax structure, as proposed by the Wiley bill for a Hoover-type National Tax Commission; enacting long-delayed civil-rights legislation; strengthening conservation of our natural resources; and there must be action on many other fronts, as well.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE COST OF THESE PROGRAMS

Naturally, some of the programs which I have outlined cost a considerable quantity of money. The mutual security program, which President Eisenhower is recommending to the Congress and the Nation, costs money; aid for airports costs money; aid for improved navigational aids for air traffic cost money; and so on, down the line.

CRASHES AVOIDABLE ABROAD AND AT HOME

But I ask you, my friend, which would you rather read, news that Congress has acted to approve mutual security legislation and airport and air-aid legislation, or would you rather read that because of our inaction, one of our allied countries has crashed—has fallen into the Communist orbit?

And would you prefer to read news right here in the United States of some new air collision, some new accident, in which a giant airplane has cracked up in one of our overly congested airports, or has collided headon with another plane in midair because of lack of traffic control?

(Remember, for example, that Civil Aeronautics Authority reports literally hundreds of almost disastrous near misses—of both civilian and military planes in the air, during a period of each few months.)

Do we want more near misses in domestic and foreign policy?

Do we want to be pennywise and pound foolish?

Do we want to risk more crashes?

I say that to provide for the needs of the modern age will cost a good deal. But not to provide for them will cost infinitely more.

A crash abroad, a crash at home—these will prove far costlier in the long run.

I AM A TRUSTEE IN TERMS OF CONSERVING FUNDS

You will understand, my friends, that I am not recommending the signing of any blank checks. I am not recommending that a dollar be wasted, or be casually spent, in an extravagent fashion.

I am a trustee of taxpayers' funds.

As a trustee, I believe in husbanding, in conserving. But I don't believe in "stand-pat-ism" or in looking backward.

So, I am recommending that we take the blinders off our eyes. I am suggesting that this country must prove itself further that it is a dynamic country in a dynamic world.

WE ALL NEED A YOUTHFUL APPROACH

And while we want to hold on to the landmarks of past times; while we want to be true to our traditions of the past, we want also to advance to the horizons of the future.

This is, I believe, the youthful approach which is so necessary.

It is the approach which is not limited to people like yourselves who are young in number of years, but extend to all people who are young in mind—as I trust we all are.

CONCLUSION

It has been a great joy to be with you tonight.

Some of the things which I may have said have undoubtedly "struck sparks" with some of the members of this audience.

Others of my suggestions may be regarded favorably, perhaps quite unanimously.

I have spoken frankly, however, in order to provide food for thought for you because I know that you are anxious to come up with solutions to the problems such as I have enumerated—problems affecting the very life of this Republic and problems affecting the future of our party.

Thank you for your kind attention, and good luck to you all.

Address by James Patton Before Utah Farmers Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, Mr. James Patton, president of the National Farmers Union, recently delivered an important address before the annual convention of the Utah Farmers Union at Salt Lake City.

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from Mr. Patton's speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY JAMES G. PATTON, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL FARMERS UNION, TO THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE UTAH FARMERS UNION, SALT LAKE CITY, FEBRUARY 23, 1957

I came here essentially to talk some bare, raw, economic facts which respect no party or person and to suggest some new ideas for increasing farmers' bargaining power regardless of political party in power.

* * * * * *

The blunt fact is that, in spite of 25 years of national farm programs, farmers now have little or no bargaining power in the commodity and money markets of the United States and the world.

* * * * * *

The Congress of the United States is still basically sympathetic to farm problems and to taking action which would help, but farmers and Congressmen alike have less sympathetic leadership in the executive branch of the Federal Government than they have had since the days of Hoover and Coolidge. The net result is that farmers have less bargaining power in the Nation's Capital than they have had in many years.

* * * * * *

The fact comes sharply home to me that the farmers—yes, and farm leaders—have been real pikers. Farmers are the only group in our economy or our population which have been going hat in hand and asking for less than half of what they deserve and what they can get.

* * * * * *

It is difficult, I am sure, for all of us to realize how far short of the goal parity of price actually was, even when we had it. But in the past few years, two major hoaxes have been perpetrated on American farmers which speeded up the economic decline and the destruction of our Federal farm program.

The first is the sliding scale, with its sugar-coated synonyms of "flexible" or "variable." This system, as you well know, was supposed to adjust supply and demand of the basis farm commodities. * * *

Against these promises, the performance has been an agonizing failure. The sliding scale has neither ended the over-supply nor the so-called surpluses, and it has actually put farmers even deeper in the hole than they were when the system went into effect. Nor has it helped the consumer. Housewives are still paying as much, if not more, for their groceries.

* * * * * *

The second hoax is the cheap feed policy. This is the idea that livestock and dairy farmers had one chief problem, namely, that they were paying too much for their feed, and it was reasoned that they were paying too much because the commercial grain growers of the Midwest had artificially high supports under their commodities.

* * * * * *

It should be obvious by now that the cheap feed policy is a false one—that cheap feed means cheap livestock just as surely as night follows day. * * *

The cheap feed philosophy has been one of the real keys to the recent business of dividing commodity groups against each other, which in turn is destroying the farm bloc in the United States Congress. * * *

There is a bitter feeling that there is little reason to bail out the corn farmers, who now face both low price supports and lower acreage allotments. I hope that some of the splits will be healed, but they run deep.

* * * * * *

It is past time for the American farmer and his elected leaders to sit down and take the toughest, most hard-boiled look at their situation. * * * We must put aside sentiment and emotion and get down to some really hard considerations about the future.

* * * * * *

Several conclusions are apparent: First, the American farmer is the only nonintegrated basic producer. He is the only one in the economy turning his product loose at the gate without subsequent control of it, and he is getting a shrinking proportion of the final price of his commodity.

Second, farmers can't catch up by increasing efficiency alone. Unlimited and increasing production will not solve the farmer's problem. Instead, it frequently digs him into a deeper hole. To increase his bargaining power, he must understand the problems of consumers and of the whole market.

Third, if farmers are truly concerned about the conservation of human and natural resources, they will know that they have too little organization, rather than too much organization. To offset the gigantic organizations of corporations and processors, who are not engaged in the conservation of resources—in fact, many are engaged in the destruction of resources—farmers must band together much more tightly than they ever have.

* * * * * *

The Department of Agriculture reported only a few weeks ago some depressing results of its study of the realized return to all farm labor and capital. Although it deducted an unreasonably low-interest rate on the current value of farm real estate and on farm inventory values and an allowance for working capital, the returns to farmers for their labor in 1956 came to only 70.3 cents an hour. This is a drop, mind you, of 28 cents per hour from the high point of 1947. And it is far below hourly returns in other businesses—$1.98 in manufacturing, $2.79 for building and construction, $1.86 for telephone business, and $1.57 in retail trade.

* * * Now let's look at the other side of the coin, at the extent of integration, monopolistic practice and price administration which characterizes the market in which farmers have to buy what they need and the market which takes their products at the gate.

* * * * * *

There we see vertical integration forward toward the consumer and backward toward the farmer, as well as horizontal integration. Vertical integration, you know, is a $50 word for what happens when a chainstore buys a feed lot and slaughters its own cattle for retail sale.

Let's look more closely at one of those food chains—Safeway Stores, Inc. Unfortunately, we don't have any really current figures, but we do know that between 1940 and 1947, Safeway Stores acquired 12 meatpacking companies in 10 States, 15 cheese plants (mostly in Wisconsin), 8 butter firms, 1 fish-processing plant, 1 poultry-processing plant, 1 beverage plant, 1 biscuit and cracker company, 1 cake and cookie company, and 1 dessert-powder company. For good measure, it also acquired a chain of 498 stores in New York, 14 in Washington State, and 454 other stores, mostly in New Jersey. We know that more of this integration has been going on since. To show the magnitude of it, Safeway obtained 32 percent of its meat supplies from its own packing plants in a 6-month period.

* * * * * *

Only last year the Federal Trade Commission prevented 11 canners of tomato products, including two of the biggest, from boycotting a bargaining cooperative of tomato growers in Ohio and surrounding territory.

* * * * * *

A list of corporations acquiring other firms during a recent 6-year period shows Foremost Dairies at the top, with 48 acquisitions, and Borden Co. in second place with 17 acquisitions. Borden and National Dairy Products, Inc. have recently been asked by the Federal Trade Commission to explain why they have not violated the antitrust laws by acquiring control of companies processing and distributing various forms of milk products, cheese, biscuits, cream, and many other foods.

The alarming growth of mergers, acquisitions, and integrations have been accompanied by unprecedented corporate profits. * * * Here are some of the increases in profits after taxes during 1955, compared with 1952, for various companies: The 4 top flour millers, 48 percent; the 5 top baking corporations, 36 percent; the 3 top meatpackers, 12 percent; the 4 top dairy processors, 45 percent; the 5 top canners, 73 percent; the 4 top retail-food chains, 30 percent; the 1 top food company, 48 percent; the 2 top soap companies, 38 percent.

This is evidence of the profit advantage in vertical integration, monopolistic influence, and administered prices, all contrasted to the individualistic competitive situation of the millions of farmers.

* * * * * *

We see in many regions of the country a kind of integration of very dubious benefit to family farming. The prime example of it is the broiler industry, in which the farmer becomes one cog in a system whereby a feed dealer supplies him with chicks, equipment, feed, and credit. For some time this was regarded as a rather unique venture in agriculture, but the technique has spread to beef cattle, hogs, and other commodities.

A recent advertisement by General Mills shows that corporations already highly integrated in the feed industry are interested in entering the poultry business where small-town feed dealers have been the principal source of capital. The February issue of Farm Journal calls it egg business in a package and describes the plan of General Mills to supply feed, pullet houses, and a guaranteed market as vertical integration.

This is bringing business integration right onto the farm, somewhat reminiscent, I fear, of a notorious sweatshop system for sending piecework into tenements for cheap hand labor.

Vertical integration controlled by middlemen puts farming at the bottom of the pyramid. If the food business is to be ver-

tically integrated the heart of the matter is whether it will be controlled for the benefit of farmers and ultimate consumers or for the benefit of a comparatively few corporations.

This question is more than economic—it is also moral and political. Its answer depends on whether farmers retain a fair share in what they work so hard to produce and on whether we have democracy in the agricultural economy or something approaching a corporate state.

I am dedicated to the proposition that whatever further integration takes place in the food business must be done for the benefit of farmers, and I suggest that the time is ripe for farmers to seize this economic device as one way to put the laws of supply and demand to work in their favor, instead of against them.

Professor Willard Cochrane, of the University of Minnesota, outlined at a recent meeting of the American Farm Economics Association a plan whereby farmers, with legal aid, might restrict their production to the point at which prices would be forced up to a fair level. Compared with "agribusiness," Professor Cochrane has put the horse out in front of the cart where it belongs.

Many of us have been reluctant to discuss the deliberate shrinking of market supply in order to achieve higher prices because of the monopolistic aspect of it, and we would rather get along without monopoly either for us or against us. But to some extent we have been suckers.

We have made ourselves hoarse trying to tell the American people that there is no true surplus so long as people are hungry at home or abroad. We have shouted from the housetops about the necessity for large national reserves against crop failure or international disaster. We have supportported appropriations for experiment stations and research to increase our productive techniques.

And what has been the result? We have furnished the free nations of the world with an abundance of food so far as the standard of market prices is concerned and enough about that to give large quantities away or sell them at cut-rate prices. We have provided the American housewife with a consistently higher selection of food than any other housewife in the world has.

In doing this we have lost about 100,000 farmers a year from the land, watched farm net income drop about one billion dollars a year, to less than 45 percent of parity, watched our prices fall by almost a third in relation to our costs, and have found ourselves in one of the worst cost-price squeezes of all time.

We have seen the Federal farm program, which we fought to get on the books as a reasonable exchange for an abundant production, destroyed in effectiveness by administrative interpretation in a Department of Agriculture dominated by middlemen.

I still believe strongly in a large national reserve of food and fiber, and some of you know me as a leader in the unsuccessful movement to establish the same policy on an international basis. Farmers Union has also advocated the stockpiling of food on the perimeters of areas most likely to be bombed in the event of an attack. And I still feel as strongly as ever that there is no true surplus of commodities so long as people are hungry.

Farmers Union is dedicated to all of those propositions and will continue to be. We are also dedicated to democracy in America and specifically within agriculture. We believe in the institution of a Congress of popularly-elected representatives of the people, and we believe in holding popular elections even though our friends don't always win.

But the raw truth is that American farmers must turn some fire back against the fire which has been scorching us. We must get our hands on the tough kind of bargaining power which we meet coming the other way every time we go to market. We must increase our take-home pay just as others have increased theirs, including the corporate officers who get it in the form of salaries and the corporate investors who get it as dividends.

American farmers must take over the management of their abundance, must take more control of their product. This may mean taking a page from the books of the auto industry, the steel industry and the big food processors. In some of these cases it may mean moving in on them before they move any farther in on us.

* * * * *

Perhaps a line should be drawn representing a price which will return a parity of farm income and no commodity allowed to cross that line unless it brings that price. And I am not talking about $21 hogs, which is a parity price—I am talking about $28 hogs, which is the price it would take to bring farmers parity of income. I am not talking about $2.49 wheat, I am taking about the $2.99 a bushel it would take to bring parity of income. I am not talking about $1.80 corn, but about $2.18 corn.

Every time farmers have come through with a good production job, what the economists call inelasticity of demand has come into play to penalize them instead of rewarding them. I propose that this law be used by farmers instead of against farmers. If the volume of farm production were reduced by only 1 percent, the average price received by farmers would increase 6, 7 or even 10 percent. This is the factor, in reverse, which has worked against us.

Even the most extreme critic of our national reserves, who thinks of them as wasted and wasteful burdens on the taxpayers' backs, would have to concede that what he calls a surplus is only a small percentage of the total farm production. But it has been this small percentage that has been the difference between success or failure on many farms and ranches because of the adverse effect of allowing the law of supply and demand to be used against farmers.

* * * * *

Managing our abundance for the primary benefit of farmers might be done by a close calculation of the national requirements, including reserves, figured right down to the point where we come out even. This figure for each commodity might then be translated into a bushelage or poundage quota for each farmer, in which case I propose that it be done on a graduated basis to benefit the family type of farmer.

This system might require a national board acting in the behalf of farmers, much as the Federal Reserve Board acts to stabilize money and banking. It might require other marketing boards to enforce the price established legally as a fair one, below which no commodities would move into commerce.

This outlines a tough proposition, but it is no tougher than the conditions on most of our family farms today. With it might go other features. For example, I would propose that parity income deficiency payments be provided to the extent that the estimaters of national requirements might overestimate.

This, in effect, would turn around another apparatus which has been used against us. Our farm policies have actually been subsidizing * * * the mounting profits of food processors and other middlemen, while farmers have been declining year after year.

* * * * *

We believe there should be declared a national food policy based on augmented consumption at home and abroad but rewarding those who produce it.

We would increase farmers' bargaining power by a comprehensive farm income improvement program consisting in part of a workable combination of parity deficiency payments and price supporting loans and purchases, marketing agreements, and production adjustments. We would put corn and the other feed grains into one package and gear their support directly to livestock. Instead of dragging the higher commodities down to the lowest denominator, we would pull the low ones up to a fair level and stop the vicious divisiveness between commodity groups.

We propose creation of a Federal Yardstick Family Farm Credit Agency to undo some of what is being done to our family farmers in this "tight money" era. We propose that crop insurance should be extended, not withdrawn, in times of disaster, such as drought.

We would increase the rate of payment in the soil bank and make more commodities eligible for the higher acreage reserve payments, also tightening up the conservation requirements.

We would restore to elected committees of farmers the administration of their programs, expand social-security protection for farmers and farm workers, and expand consumption at home and abroad by a food stamp plan, stepped-up school lunches, a broader milk for children program, international commodity agreements and an international food and fiber reserve bank.

We have not lost faith in the democratic processes of people using their Government for their own benefit. Unlike a contemporary farm organization and many officials of this administration, we do not believe in anarchy, either as a political system or as a means of handling the farm problem.

Our farm abundance can be managed; but, if it is to be managed for the primary benefit of those who produce it, we will have to take much bolder action than anything we have seen yet. We will have to match our economic opposition blow for blow, all within the framework of constitutional democratic processes.

Address by Secretary of Agriculture Benson Before Central Valley Empire Association

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, on March 19 last the distinguished Secretary of Agriculture, the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson, spoke before the Central Valley Empire Association in Fresno, Calif. He delivered an interesting and constructive speech, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE EZRA TAFT BENSON BEFORE CENTRAL VALLEY EMPIRE ASSOCIATION, FRESNO, CALIF., MARCH 19, 1957

It is always a pleasure to come to California—our leading agricultural State and one of my adopted home States. And it is a special pleasure to come to Fresno, the foremost agricultural county in the Nation. Mrs. Benson and I are happy to be here.

Back in 1938, while working on a marketing study at the University of California, I traveled into every county in this State.

Now, 19 years later, I still recall with a flood of happy memories those joyful busy days. I recall the delight I had out here in the Golden State in seeing your noble mountains and green valleys, your clear skies and blue sea, your bright sun and huge trees—and besides all this the most diverse agriculture in the United States.

These valleys are an inspiration to me and I love to see the progress you are making. Last summer I visited in Stockton where the Diamond walnut growers were dedicating their new processing plant. Today I gazed out over this great valley, this famous "fruit bowl" of California, this fabulous area in which you produce nearly every fruit from deciduous to subtropical, an unbelievable variety of vegetables, together with nuts, dry beans, rice, barley, sugarbeets, potatoes, cotton, alfalfa, and irrigated pasture—and besides all these, chickens, turkeys, dairy herds, beef cattle, sheep and goats. Truly, it is breathtaking. As I surveyed all this I could not help thinking how grateful we should be to the Almighty for the blessings He has visited upon our people here in California and throughout this choice land.

We are blessed by freedom and by the opportunity to use freedom as responsible citizens. We are blessed by prosperity—by plenty in a world wherein so many have so little.

And we are blessed by the possession of a basic philosophy of self-help—a philosophy that is the theme of this meeting of the Central Valley Empire Association.

I urge you—no, I challenge you—never to lose this fundamental philosophy. It was the spirit of the pioneers. It was the making of the West. It is the hope of the future. And it has paid dividends to California agriculture.

The cash farm income of the farmers and ranchers of this State last year reached an all-time high—$2,796 million dollars. This was the highest cash farm income any State has ever had in a single year.

Moreover, your realized net income per farm was also an all-time high—more than 50 percent above the level of 1949 and 9 percent above the previous high of 1955.

I wish we could say the same for the Nation's agriculture as a whole.

I have been reporting certain facts about the agricultural situation to the American people. Some of our critics do not seem to want me to mention these facts. Apparently they feel that only those things should be mentioned that support their particular political point of view.

A few years ago surpluses were mounting rapidly and rigid price supports on the so-called basic crops were encouraging more and more production of crops already in surplus. We called attention to that situation, and our critics did not like it. Last year we pointed out that the surpluses cut farm income an estimated 20 percent, or $2 billion, and they were upset.

And now that we are pointing out some encouraging developments in the agricultural situation, our critics are, if anything, even more indignant than they were before. We have been reporting farm developments on a consistent basis. We will not be swayed by pressure to paint either a rosier or a darker picture than the facts justify.

Fi[illegible] are facts, and the truth is that prices receive[illegible] by farmers in February were 3 percent above a year ago and 5 percent above the low of December 1955.

The truth is that on a nationwide basis, realized net farm income last year, as recently revised, was 4 percent above 1955—the first peacetime year, by the way, in which farm income has increased since 1947.

The truth is that exports on farm commodities are running at an all-time high.

And there is every indication that we have passed the peak of the storage problem and that Commodity Credit Corporation investments in price supports are declining. It is expected that the total CCC investment in farm commodities will be about $7.6 billion on June 30, 1957. This will be a net readuction of $700 million in a period of 12 months and a net reduction of approximately $1.3 billion below our peak holdings of February 1956.

These are the facts. I believe that the American people are entitled to know them.

We all know that, despite these more favorable developments, agriculture in general has been having some difficult times these past few years.

Many of these difficulties can be traced directly to policies which kept agriculture in a price-support straitjacket.

This dependence on rigid supports—on a form of guaranteed markets—on ever smaller allotments and quotas to fit shrinking demand—this was defeatism. This was submission to fear. This was following the path of least resistance.

We cannot make progress that way. That is the road to a Government-dominated agriculture, a socialized agriculture.

More than a century ago the French philosopher and historian De Tocqueville wrote: "Democracy and socialism have nothing in common except one world—equality. But notice the difference, while democracy seeks equality in liberty, socialism seeks equality in restraint."

Was not that the pattern—equality in restraint—being forced on agriculture under rigid supports?

The relative position of California agriculture provides a striking endorsement for the philosophy of self-help as opposed to dependence on Government. Last year your farm operators had a realized net income of $1.66½ billion—a record high for any State at any time.

Out here in the Central Valley where so large a proportion of our oranges, grapes, peaches, and dried fruits and tree nuts are grown, you believe in self-help through marketing agreements rather than in Government control through direct price support. You believe in farmer-owned and farmer-controlled cooperatives and you have many good ones. You have Federal marketing agreements and orders on raisins, prunes, figs, almonds, and walnuts—and you have, moreover, promotional efforts under State marketing orders on raisins, prunes, and figs.

You are firm believers in the value of research and education to increase efficiency, to improve quality, and to expand markets.

Of course you have your problems, too. Water is your great need here just as it is in many other areas. During November and December, I understand, you had near-record dry weather which held back planting and germination of grain crops and retarded growth of new grass in range areas. Despite some good rains, which relieved the worst immediate effects of the drought, your seasonal total precipitation has thus far been much below normal.

On the other hand, weather conditions have been favorable for getting work done.

But always there is this problem of water. I am told that February snowpacks for irrigation water were deficient and that ground-water levels are still dropping in pumping areas because of heavy usage.

As President Eisenhower said in establishing his Cabinet Committee on Water Resources in May 1954: "If we are to continue to advance agriculturally and industrially we must make the best use of every drop of water which falls on our soil, or which can be extracted from the oceans."

We must use more effectively the best storage we know about—the earth itself. Our soils and underground reservoirs constitute the greatest potential storage we have.

Here again the best programs are programs of self-help—programs initiated and developed by local people and managed by them, with the help of both State and Federal Governments where needed. Soil-conservation districts and the small watershed program are examples. The watershed program is a great step forward in our national efforts to conserve soil, water, range, timber, and wildlife resources. It supplements the efforts of the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers in seeking maximum utilization of available water supplies.

The small watershed approach recognizes that three kinds of management go hand in hand—soil management, water management, and local management. It is undeniably one of the great conservation developments of our time.

Our Soil Conservation Service is assisting in the investigation, planning, or conservation treatment of seven locally initiated California watershed projects under the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act. We are helping in the development of land use and structural works of improvement in two pilot small watersheds and the Los Angeles and Santa Ynez flood-prevention projects. We recognize that larger projects are needed for the rapidly growing requirements of your State.

Water is now perhaps the greatest limiting resource factor in the further development of this Nation. We must deal with this problem promptly and effectively. I repeat, we must deal with it cooperatively—on a partnership basis.

In the easing of drought and other disasters, there is need for more State and local participation. As President Eisenhower recently said in a message to the Congress: "State and local governments should assume a greater part in alleviating human distress and hardships and in meeting other local needs in times of disaster, calling on the Federal Government only to supplement their own resources."

With this in mind, legislation has recently been offered requiring a minimum of 25 percent State contribution in certain future emergency agricultural programs for disaster relief.

This is in line with the philosophy that the proper function of the Department of Agriculture is to help farmers and local communities to help themselves. Government must not dominate—it must not dictate. Government is the instrument of the people to serve them and to work with them, while preserving the basic freedom of the people to make their own decisions.

Government should do for the people what they cannot do for themselves as individuals or as groups. It is a legitimate function of the Department of Agriculture, for example, to help farmers and ranchers work their way out of unbalanced supply-demand situations. But such help must be sound. It must not sow the seeds of Government domination—it must not lead to dependence on Government to take over the marketing of farm crops.

Last summer when you had an oversupply situation in plums, we announced a purchase program. Over a 2-week period 90 carloads of fresh plums were purchased. The program was announced on August 1 and buying began a week later. On only one day after announcement of the program did the daily average auction prices fall below $3. During the 10-day period prior to the announcement, the average market price was above $3 on only 2 days.

This is sound help—it is temporary. It does not pile up commodities in Government warehouses where the accumulated cost of storage mounts day by day and where the fruits of the good earth are subject to deterioration and spoilage.

Hand in hand with this philosophy of sound, temporary help as needed goes the philosophy of producer responsibility. Conscientious producers recognize that they must help prevent oversupply problems by

commonsense plantings. Growers in California now produce most of the Nation's crop of tomatoes for processing—you grew 60 percent of the national total last year. Because of a record California crop of some 2¾ million tons, and greatly increased output elsewhere, the total supply of tomatoes for processing in the 1956 season was about 40 percent more than it was a year earlier. To prevent overproduction and depressed prices in the 1957–58 season, we have recommended acreage reductions which with normal yields would stabilize the situation in 1957.

These are all various aspects of self-help in agriculture—of the philosophy which you are saluting in this meeting.

But the most important and effective long-term program of self-helf for agriculture has been, and remains, a program of research and education in more efficient production and marketing. The better crop varieties and the better breeds of livestock and poultry we now have, the improvement in the management of fields and animals, the new industrial uses for soybeans, corn, cotton, and many other commodities, the techniques that we now have for conserving and improving natural resources—all these are based in large part on research and education.

Some will say, of course, that it is all very well to talk about research and education as the best long-term ways of improving agriculture's position—but the hard fact is that research and education are too slow. The lag between finding a new fact in the laboratory and applying it on the farm is too great.

True, we cannot expect research and education to solve our immediate surplus problems. This situation had become so critical—because the wartime emergency policies were continued for nearly 10 years after the war ended—that drastic temporary expedients had to be adopted.

We have such temporary measures in the vast disposal programs now in operation and in the soil bank. These, together with flexibility in price support, are the major tools with which we are gradually cutting down the surpluses and increasing farm prices and income.

The cost is heavy. President Eisenhower has submitted the largest agricultural budget in history for fiscal 1958—$5.3 billion.

But there was no alternative—we had either to pay the heavy cost of these emergency programs now or face a loss to the Nation, caused by a depressed agriculture, that would have been far greater.

But not for a moment should we allow ourselves to lose sight of the fact that these programs are emergency—are temporary. We must make sure that they win their objectives.

The acreage reserve program of the soil bank must indeed be used to reduce production of crops in surplus. Our disposal operations must not simply empty Government warehouses so they can be filled again, or reduce inventories so they can be built up again.

In a terrific rainstorm it may be necessary to use buckets to catch the water from a leaky roof. But the permanent solution is to fix the roof.

The permanent and sound solutions to agriculture's difficulties are lowered costs, competitive prices, improved quality, and expanded markets—largely through research and education.

California has long been a leader in agricultural research—and in marketing cooperatives also. I know you do not need to be sold on the value of research extension and cooperation. We all recognize, however, that in the past fact using has lagged far behind fact finding. We are seeking remedies. We are now getting speedier and more thorough communication to farm people.

It took about 10 years to put hybrid seed corn on farms. If a development of equal significance were introduced today, I wonder if a comparable job could not be done in one-third the time.

In the past, agricultural production research has outrun marketing research. We have set up in our Agricultural Marketing Service a research establishment whose exclusive interest is improving the marketing of farm products. In our Agricultural Repie through the Extension Services and the other agencies of the Department.

search Service we are giving increased emphasis to the development of new uses for agricultural products. This work is now being administered separately under a deputy administrator for utilization research and development.

As you know, the President's Commission on Increased Industrial Use of Agricultural Products has been preparing recommendations for the wider use of agricultural raw materials. An interim report of this Commission will shortly be presented to the President and the Congress. Current industrial consumption takes the products from less than 7 percent of our farm acreage. This is undesirably small. We feel sure it can and will be enlarged.

I wish there were time enough to go into the fascinating story of the research in marketing and new uses now going on. I could tell you about new merchandising methods that they increased store sales of fruit as much as 75 percent. Studies of storage and transportation are producing facts that will result in big savings.

New methods of preventing insect infestations of dried fruit have been developed. In another study our researchers have found that temperature control can greatly increase the storage life of dates. For example, dates that have a storage life of 3 months at 60° F., can be kept for considerably longer than a year at zero degrees.

A study is now getting underway on the marketing costs of eggs in certain areas in California.

With the help of our technicians, plans for a complete modern wholesale food center in San Francisco have been prepared and preliminary surveys are underway of facilities in Oakland and Los Angeles. I might say, in this conection, that construction was begun last year on a new wholesale food market in Philadelphia which is expected to save more than $6 million annually in food handling costs.

In the field of new uses, we have developed an excellent whole-milk powder which, with water added, makes milk of good flavor. When we find out how to make the powder retain its good qualities in storage and how to produce it economically, it should go a long way toward bringing supply and demand of milk into balance.

The new fruit and vegetable powders may open entirely new markets.

Improvements in processing and handling of frozen foods will lead to a further tremendous expansion of this young industry.

New forms of dried eggs and greatly improved frozen poultry products will stimulate consumer demand.

The commercialization of potato granules, or instant potato, has moved ahead rapidly in the past few years. The mashed potatoes are indistinguishable from the product made with fresh potatoes. Several companies which have adopted our findings are now producing this form of dehydrated potato.

Who can say that the progress we have been making in marketing and new uses will not burst forth in a flood, just as the 20 years of production research, which had been damned up by the depression, suddenly broke forth during World War II? Who is to say that there is not at this moment in the fields and laboratories of our Federal and State research establishments a crop, perhaps more than one, which will do for the farmers of the West, the South, the Northwest, or the East, what the soybean has done for the farmers of the Middle West?

Who is to say that there is not now in the laboratories a development in the field of marketing which might rival the effect of the development of the frozen food industry?

Already we see the shadow of things to come—of amazing advances in the production and marketing of food and fiber.

Nowhere is the marketing outlook brighter than here in California. Your population growth continues to be astounding. California producers who used to look to the East for markets now find a vast and rapidly expanding market on their own doorstep. Despite the tremendous agriculture of this State—and I repeat it ranks first in the Nation—your sources of meat are moving eastward. You get hogs from Iowa and you buy beef in markets farther and farther East.

Besides the expanding Western market, your products are in demand throughout the country. And as more outlets open in Asia, you will have strategic advantages there also.

Let us move forward this exciting future through a return to the concept of full partnership between the Federal and State governments, on the one hand, and the people on the other.

There is fine cooperation between your State department of agriculture and the Federal Department—between your land-grant college and the USDA. I firmly believe that we need on the national level people who intimately know State problems. I have appointed several former Commissioners of Agriculture to my personal staff. They have been extremely valuable. We are making progress in our struggle to restore the concept that responsibility for farm programs resides in the people.

The drift toward centralization of power has been slowed down. Next we must halt the trend—then reverse it.

Here in your "Salute to Self-help in Agriculture" you are rendering a true service to the cause of responsible freedom.

I am most happy to join you in this reaffirmation of a vital American principle.

May God bless this tremendously important work.

Dangerous Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Dangerous Civil Rights Program" from the March 25, 1957, issue of the Waycross, Ga., Journal-Herald.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DANGEROUS CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE sees the Eisenhower administration's civil rights program as a threat to "the very roots of constitutional government."

Along with many other lawmakers from all parts of the Nation he insists that the legislation violates the 10th amendment to the Constitution.

The proposed civil rights program would give broad powers to the Federal Government. These are regarded by many as clearly in violation of the rights of the individual States.

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution," says the 10th amendment, "nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

One of the proposed civil-rights measures would authorize the Attorney General of the United States to seek injunctions to restrain persons who are about to engage in any acts or practices which would give rise to a cause or action.

As we understand it the Attorney General would be permitted to file injunctive proceedings and civil suits in the names of private individuals whom he considers to have been deprived of their civil rights whether these individuals desire to go to court or not.

There are other aspects of the civil-rights program which are objectionable. The whole program appears to be designed to expand Federal bureaucracy and to further diminish the power of States.

There are many Members of Congress who think, among other things, that the civil-rights proposals are too vague.

They point out, for example, that they could be misused by overzealous officials in the Government and perhaps even could be used against religious and nationality groups.

While it is doubtful if this would be done it is apparent that many lawmakers don't like the proposed measures and are inclined to vote against them.

But it is unlikely that many outside the South will do so. The reasons all boil down to political expediency.

Many Democrats think they must support the civil-rights program to win back Negro votes the party lost in the last election. Republicans will support it in order to woo even more Negro voters.

It now is freely predicted that the program will eventually pass, though it is expected to run into a lot of trouble in the Senate where it is difficult to shut off debate.

Our Constitution contains adequate provisions to protect the rights of all citizens. The proposed so-called civil-rights program is both dangerous and wrong.

Lost Youth Group Threat of This Era

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, as the sponsor of S. 872, the Youth Opportunity Act of 1957, I have taken special interest in the problems of our young people from the ages of 14 to 24.

Malvina Lindsay, in the Washington Post and Times Herald for April 8, 1957, has given us an article entitled "'Lost' Youth Group Threat of This Era." I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By Malvina Lindsay)

A big lost generation of tender age, 14 to 17, will be chalked up to the 1955–65 decade unless some way is found to make productive the many youngsters of that age who lead idle, aimless lives. They are the school dropouts who can't get jobs, also the in-school boys and girls who merely mark time.

Teen-age population is rising again, reflecting the early 1940's upsurge in the birth rate. Since about 40 percent of high-school students drop out of school before graduation, the number of untrained and uneducated youth in the job market is steadily increasing. Yet, ever higher skills and more education are demanded by employers. Moreover, farm youth is being displaced by machinery.

Educators, civic workers, and officials of the United States Department of Labor are urgently seeking means to develop and train adolescent drifters. Much interest throughout the country is now being centered on community work-experience schools through which part-time schooling is combined with part-time paid employment.

Through such projects, potential drop-outs are often induced to remain in school. Indifferent students and those of low ability often find new meaning in their school work through relating it to job experience.

Work experience schools also provide a bridge of adjustment between school and the working world for 16- and 17-year-olds who do not intend to seek higher education. In some ways they are a modern equivalent of the old system of apprenticeships for youth.

This system, says George Macaulay Trevalyan, in his English Social History of the 16th and 17th centuries, was a better method of protecting youth between the dangerous ages of 17 to 24 than anything discovered today.

That much further study of the work-experience schools needs to be made was brought out at a recent conference here of the Advisory Committee on Young Workers of the United States Bureau of Labor Standards. This group, representing educators and juvenile and employment advisers from throughout the country, heard reports on a work-experience school project in Philadelphia, and on research that the United States Office of Education is doing on projects for the idle teen-ager.

It was brought out that no single pattern has been developed for the work-experience school, and that different kinds of such schools will be needed to meet the varying needs of adolescent misfits. It was also emphasized that no project offers a single answer to the question of how to find a place in society for the early school leaver unprepared for today's labor market. School, home, church, community services have their responsibilities in meeting his needs. Often the adolescent misfit needs psychiatric care.

Much interest in youth conservation camps is now developing. Nine States are operating 29 forestry camps for juvenile delinquents and 5 more States have camps underway. Many suggestions have come to the Bureau of Labor Standards that such camps be extended to provide opportunity for other youth than delinquents.

There is also interest in having unemployed youth help restore public facilities in the national parks, which have suffered because of labor shortages. The National Parks Association will operate a pilot program of volunteer conservation service this year for a total of 52 high-school and college students, who will work for experience and school credit, though lodging will be provided.

In order to find out which approach is best in helping unemployed and disadvantaged adolescents, the Bureau of Labor Statistics plans to undertake a program of assistance to five demonstration communities—if it receives funds requested in the President's budget.

Since by 1965 the 14–17 group in the population is expected to increase by 55 percent, there is urgent need to get ready now to develop the productive capacities of that big segment of the population.

Presidential Disability

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Arlington (Va.) Daily Sun on presidential disability. In recent months there has been considerable discussion of how the difficult problem of who should determine whether the President of the United States is physically capable of continuing in office if the President is not in physical condition to make the determination himself. President Eisenhower is to be commended for the steps he has taken to bring this problem before the public and to find a solution.

The principal current proposals on this matter would designate either the Vice President, or a majority of the Cabinet, or the Supreme Court, or the Chief Justice—sometimes in conjunction with Congress—to make the determination of disability.

Last week the Arlington (Va.) Daily Sun put forward a new proposal which differs from the principal suggestions that have been made. The Sun proposes that Congress make the determination. Briefly, the proposal is as follows:

If two-thirds of each House of Congress votes to approve a finding of Presidential disability, the powers and duties of the President shall devolve upon the Vice President.

If, subsequently, a majority of each House of Congress approves a finding of renewed ability and competency on the part of the President, his powers and duties will be restored to him, provided he wishes them restored to him.

The principal argument which the Sun advances in support of its proposal is that, unlike designating the Vice President, the Cabinet, or the Supreme Court to make the determination of disability, the designation of Congress to do so would establish no radical departure from the present Constitution and no basic alteration in the constitutional balance of powers, since the Constitution already grants to Congress the power to remove the President for a high crime or misdemeanor. The Sun argues that its proposal would merely extend Congress's removal power to cover disability.

I think this is an interesting and constructive proposal that deserves further study. In order that it may be studied along with the other plans that have been proposed, it is my intention to have it drafted in proper form and introduced as soon as it can be prepared.

I commend the editorial from the Daily Sun to my colleagues' attention.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Arlington (Va.) Daily Sun of April 5, 1957]

PRESIDENTIAL DISABILITY: A NEW PROPOSAL

President Eisenhower has rendered a service to the country in bringing public atten-

tion to bear on the constitutional difficulties involved in determining Presidential inability.

The principal question the Founding Fathers left unanswered (although the question was raised in the Constitutional Convention) is: Who shall determine whether a President has been disabled to such an extent that he cannot properly perform the duties of the office?

President Eisenhower has put forward one answer: Let the Cabinet decide, by majority vote. This suggestion has been criticized, justifiably, we believe, on the ground that Cabinet members, completely indebted to the incumbent President for their jobs, would be interested parties, loath to remove him from power.

Others have suggested bringing in the Supreme Court or the Chief Justice in one way or another. But what is involved here is the transfer of political power from one person to another, and many believe that it would be a mistake to involve the Court or any of its members in that kind of a decision.

Both of these suggested methods of determining Presidential disability would establish entirely new and untried procedures for removing or displacing the President. But in our opinion it is not necessary to move into these untried fields, for in drafting the original Constitution, the Founding Fathers envisaged the possibility of having to remove the President from office in extreme circumstances, and entrusted the removal power to Congress. At that time, the Founding Fathers provided only for removal of the President by impeachment for a high crime and/or misdemeanor. Experience has since shown that a physical or mental disability might also be cause for his removal from office. If the Founding Fathers were willing to entrust the power of Presidential removal to Congress in the first instance, why shouldn't we today follow the pattern they originated by extending Congress' existing power of removal so as to cover disability? In that way, there would be no radical departure from the past, no basic alteration of the balance of powers established in the original Constitution.

Moreover, since the transfer of political power is involved in finding a President unable to perform the duties of his office, is it not wise to entrust that function to a representative body, accountable to the people?

It is for these reasons that this newspaper believes the determination of presidential inability should be made by the Congress of the United States in the following manner:

1. If Congress, by two-thirds record vote in each House, approves a finding that the President is physically or mentally incapable of performing the duties of his office, the powers and duties of his office shall devolve upon the Vice President until the next presidential election or until those powers and duties are restored to the President, as provided below.

2. If, subsequent to a finding of disability by the Congress, the President feels himself competent to perform the duties of the office, and if he desires to have those duties restored to him, he shall so advise the Congress in writing. If Congress, by majority vote in each House, approves a finding that the President is physically and mentally able to perform the duties of his office, the powers and duties of the Presidency shall be restored to him.

3. For the purpose of considering any finding of disability or ability, in the event Congress is not in session, the President pro tempore of the Senate may, with the concurrence of the Senate minority leader, convene the Senate, and the Speaker of the House may, with the concurrence of the House minority leader, convene the House of Representatives.

It would not be appropriate, in a Constitutional amendment (which would probably be required to deal with this problem), to outline in detail the procedure by which Congress would arrive at a finding of disability. It would be the duty of Congress to establish such a procedure as soon as possible after the ratification of the amendment.

But in order to answer questions that may arise about our proposal, we suggest the following procedure:

1. The creation of a special joint committee of Congress, made up of 8 Senators and 8 Representatives, with an equal number from both major parties, appointed respectively by the majority and minority leaders of the respective Houses. The committee would be created pursuant to a concurrent resolution which could be introduced by any Senator or Representative, which would be entitled to immediate consideration, and which would become effective when passed by a majority of both Houses.

2. The special joint committee would hear such testimony from such witnesses as it deemed appropriate and if two-thirds of its members concluded that the President was unable to perform the duties of his office, they would submit a finding of disability to both Houses which would then, by roll call vote, either approve or disapprove the finding of disability. Failing a two-thirds vote in the joint committee or in either House, the President would retain his powers.

3. If the President desired reinstatement, the same special committee would be reconvened (vacancies to be filed in the same manner in which the committee was originally chosen), and hear appropriate testimony. A majority vote in the committee would be required to submit a finding of renewed ability to both Houses, and a majority vote in both Houses required to approve that finding. Failing a majority vote in the committee or in either House, the Vice President would continue to exercise the powers of the President.

(We believe that the President should be reinstated by a majority vote even though we would require a two-thirds vote to displace him, because we do not think that a minority of one-third of either House should be in a position to prevent the man elected by the people as their President from resuming his office.)

Any plan for solving this difficult constitutional problem is bound to have some drawbacks and imperfections. Were that not the case, the problem might have been solved long before this. No doubt some may find drawbacks to our suggestion of having Congress determine Presidential disability, but we believe it to have merit.

1. Because it involves no new or radical procedures and no alteration of the traditional constitutional balance of powers. Instead, it merely extends a procedure written into the Constitution by the Founding Fathers themselves.

2. Because it would mean the determination of this delicate and difficult question by the most representative, and hence the most democratic institution available, an institution each of whose Members is directly accountable to the people.

In short, if we can't trust two-thirds of the Congress to act responsibly on such a grave matter as displacing the President then we can't trust democracy.

Dangerous Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Dangerous Proposal," published March 26, 1957, written by Turner Rockwell, editor of the Valdosta (Ga.) Daily Times.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DANGEROUS PROPOSAL

(By Turner Rockwell)

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE has joined with other Members of Congress from the South and some from other parts of the country in voicing bitter criticism of the Eisenhower administration's so-called civil-rights proposal as a threat to "the very doors of constitutional government."

Senator TALMADGE and many others feel that this proposal violates the 10th amendment to the Constitution.

The proposal would give broad powers to the Federal Government which many thoughtful people feel would be wholly without justification. They feel that the proposed legislation is clearly in violation of the rights of the individual States and individuals.

The 10th amendment says: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

One of the provisions of the proposed civil-rights legislation would authorize the Attorney General of the United States to seek injunctions to restrain persons who "are about to engage in any acts or practices which would give rise to causes of action."

As I understand the proposal, the Attorney General, if it is enacted, would be allowed to file injunctions and civil suits in the name of private individuals whom he feels have been deprived of their civil rights whether these individuals desire to take legal action or not.

This is not the only objectionable feature of the proposal. The whole project appears to be an effort to enlarge Federal bureaucracy and to take more rights from the States and individual citizens.

Many Members of Congress—both Houses—feel that the proposed legislation is too vague and indefinite. It is pointed out that overzealous officials could abuse the powers conferred on them and might even be used against religious and other groups. Maybe it is doubtful if this would be done, but some see the danger of such activity.

The whole proposal smacks too much of political expediency. Some Democrats favor it as an effort to win back Negro votes and many Republicans feel that it will enhance their strength among the Negro voters.

It is apparent that the proposal will be passed, although it is probable it will run into a lot of trouble in the Senate, where efforts to limit debate have in the past been defeated.

The Constitution provides ample provisions to protect the civil rights of individuals and the proposed civil-rights legislation does not

appear to be needed. To enact this legislation is to give Federal officials too much power over individual citizens and it is just another step in taking away from the States rights which are guaranteed to them by the Constitution.

There are a lot more important matters which should be given attention by the Congress than this proposal.

Squandering American Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, considerable doubt has been cast upon the effectiveness of our foreign-aid program. As an illustration of waste and outright disrespect for the help we have been giving to countries around the world, I am inserting at this point in the RECORD a copy of a letter from an individual who has seen the waste of our goods abroad.

The letter follows:

MARCH 12, 1957.

DEAR SIR: The writer of this letter is a Pennsylvania Dutchman, perhaps the closest, tightest-fisted man on earth. And it hurts me to see my fellow countrymen throwing money around like drunken sailors. We inspire contempt, not respect or affection.

I recently spent 14 months in Haiti. There I saw canvas chairs, tarpaulins, and sails made from American mailbags. Apparently no American mailbags are ever returned to the country of origin.

Two years ago they had a hurricane which brought half the country to the brink of famine. The United States promptly sent about $9 million in money and food. However, the Haitian Government refused to spend 1 penny distributing this food even though people were fainting in the streets from hunger. They did turn over some of it to the Catholic Church and to Protestant missions who distributed it at their own expense. Corrupt officials sold vast quantities of butter, rice, powdered milk, and other foodstuffs and put the money in their own pockets. The rest was piled up and allowed to rot.

The United States is advancing the money to build a big dam in the Artibonite River. Now I may be mistaken (I generally am) but I suspect that that huge reservoir will be silted up and useless in a few years. That Artibonite River is not filled with water but with liquid mud and, so far as I know, no effort is being made to halt erosion.

I am not opposed to sharing our food and our money with the hungry children of the world. What I do criticize is the lack of intelligence with which it is distributed. It is time to sober up. We are trying to buy friendship but what we get is mostly contempt. Of course, I am not a world traveler, but I have had a better chance than most Americans to know how other peoples feel toward us.

Sincerely yours,

P. S.—Some years ago I sent $10 to a Baptist missionary after a hurricane had passed over his country. The reply I got was an angry one. He said that the Government had turned the American money over to the politicians and that they had not spent it to relieve distress but for purely political ends. We Americans are suckers.

Increased Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a press release by me containing a letter from Mr. George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business concerning "administered prices" in certain industries, and the need to determine the contributing factors in bringing about increased prices. This letter is timely inasmuch as it was received by me during the time the hearings were being held on S. 11. I think this letter deserves wide circulation.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, Tennessee, chairman of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, today released the following letter commenting on the subcommittee's proposed investigation on the problem of price increases in "administered price" industries:

NATIONAL FEDERATION
OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS,
Washington, D. C., March 19, 1957.

Hon. ESTES KEFAUVER,
Chairman, Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: We believe the announced hearing of your subcommittee in exploring administered prices in certain industries would be a very important move provided that in the study and the hearings all contributing factors in bringing about increased prices which the consumer has to bear are considered, and that action is taken along the lines suggested above.

The Federation's official position directed by our members nationwide is that we condemn and oppose monopoly wherever it exists in our economy.

Something must be done, and done quickly by the Congress to stop the spiral of inflation, all tending to reduce consumer buying. Every day in every way we hear: "Will prices ever stop going up?"

A good example of what could have been done is that in the recent steel strike of last summer, at that time Congress or the administration should have explored the situation and if the earnings of steel corporations permitted increased compensation for employees, then steel should have been told: "Grant the increase, with no increase in prices."

Then again, if the demands of labor on the steel industry were unjust or the profits of the steel corporations were not there to grant the increase to employees, then the employees or their representatives should have been told: "It can't be done."

The strike was settled, and as was to be expected—up went the price of steel products, and from that moment on other industries followed the same pattern.

If the present trend as to the action in the bigger industries in this Nation continues—and we are referring to all segments in the bigger industries—just as surely as this letter is being written the public and the Nation will face the greatest spiral of inflation in history—and with no end in sight.

Senator KEFAUVER, let me conclude by saying that if such a study and investigation is made along the lines outlined above, and such action would be all inclusive, your committee would be doing a great service for the American public, and more important, for the Nation's future.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. BURGER,
Vice President.

Fred Dillon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ALLEN FREAR, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a tribute which appeared in the Green Bay Press-Gazette, Green Bay, Wis., to a very well-known sports figure in that State who passed away recently.

This individual, by name Mr. Fred Dillon, was for many years associated with numerous forms of athletic endeavors. While he was, perhaps, best known for his work at St. Norbert High School and College, his dedicated interest to the field of athletics won him scores of friends all over that State.

Mr. President, although I am not a native of Wisconsin, I have been very close to the Badger State, and for that reason I feel it most appropriate to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRED DILLON—THE UNPOLISHED GEM

(By Jack Yuenger)

Many years ago a German thinker remarked, "What is not in a man cannot come out of him."

Used as a yardstick for human measurement, there must have been a lot in that unpolished gem—Fred Dillon.

Travel anywhere in Wisconsin and the reputation of the late all-sports coach at St. Norbert High School will have preceded you.

You'll hear as many different kinds of things about him as you will people you meet, but from each you will detect a certain awe, respect, or personal admiration.

Yet the outside world never really knew the man who put the Squires on the athletic map.

To most he was the scowling taskmaster who grunted commands, hurled acid remarks, gave no quarter and asked for none.

He was the dynamo of the basketball court, the football field or the boxing ring. He lived by sweat, hard work, and rigid discipline. Anyone who played for him got the same rule book or quit.

But there was another side of Fred Dillon. His salty wit gave away a bent for prankishness. Despite pressures or setbacks, Fritz valued the power to smile.

Take a year ago, for instance, when the Squires were to meet Menasha St. Mary in the finals of the St. Norbert College invitational.

The excitable St. Mary coach, Ralph McClone, stopped by Dillon's dressing room to shake hands. As the former was about to leave, Fritz asked him he wanted a few feet

of rope. "What for?" asked the Zephyr coach.

"Oh, just to tie yourself down during the game," fired Dillon.

This ability to lighten the nerve load was a special knack of Dillon's and one which his oppenent coaches never quite understood. St. Norbert men received a reputation as "a tournament team" because they rarely were tight when the chips were largest.

The fact that St. Norbert won more of the Catholic tournaments than any other Wisconsin high school was a tribute to Dillon's practical psychology.

But, you don't win 312 basketball games, or baseball titles on the strength of winsome humor.

Dillon demanded more of his men more times under more situations than almost any coach in the country. He could growl, and did. He could spit acid sarcasm, and he did. He could put a size 11 brogan in a tender spot, and he did that too.

For some unexplainable reason, Fritz got a big kick out of people speaking of him as a scowling, gruff Irishman. But he tried throughout his life, and not successfully, to hide a very human heart.

Ask the ex-GI's who got scrawling letters from Dillon throughout the war, along with packages on occasion.

Ask the former St. Norbert students who were treated to movies when they were broke, or fishing trips, or who got Fred's best clothes to wear.

Ask the ex-Squires who got up first, ate last, and talked the lonely out of homesickness. Find out where the most popular room on the campus was, at all hours, for understanding, advice, direction, or just a friendly game of cribbage.

Yes, there was much more to "the age of Dillon" than met the eye.

The "sons" of St. Norbert High School learned many lessons from tireless, demanding Fred Dillon, from 1930 right up to last week.

They learned courage and determination, teamwork, and honesty, loyalty, and the capacity for hard work. And, wherever they go in life, they carry the stamp of Dillon upon them with his personal slogan, "never quit."

As late as 3 weeks ago, when the Squires forged from behind in the final seconds to capture the State Catholic championship to years before, in the thirties, St. Norbert teams oozed Dillon's determination to win.

Remember back in 1939? The Squires were having a bad year and the basketball squad lost an awful lot more than they had won. Dillon, in exasperation, said he'd pull the starting lineup for the Catholic tournament out of a hat, if he had a hat. Two friends, including the then college coach Mickey McCormick, obliged him. They put all of the team names in a hat and pulled Fred's starting lineup. That makeshift squad, despite every odds in the book, went on to win the tournament.

If I could pick one spot that will live with me longest, it would be a cluttered locker room in the basement of Van Dyke gym following last year's Catholic tournament. The Squires had just picked up their sixth tourney title and pandemonium reigned on the playing floor. Under the cover of the confusion, Dillion stole from the playing area and shuffled unnoticed from the crowd.

Upstairs, the cry began to mount. "We want Dillon." But Dillon was too proud to appear and show his emotion. "They won it, I didn't," was all he said. And—there was a suspicious wet line down two leathery cheeks as he said it.

Yes, sir. You took Fred Dillon as you found him, or you left him alone. Most people took him—and they were better off somehow.

National Sunday School Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, this is National Sunday School Week—a campaign with which I am highly sympathetic. The Longview, Tex., News-Journal had some excellent points to make in a recent editorial about the present endeavor to stimulate regular Sunday school attendance and the meaning of the institution in our way of life.

The Longview News-Journal is a distinguished, responsible, and influential newspaper published in east Texas; and I ask unanimous consent that this splendid editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Longview News-Journal of April 7, 1957]

FOUNTAIN OF STRENGTH

The week of April 8-14 had been dedicated to America's youth in religion and set aside as National Sunday School Week. The sponsor of the week, the Laymen's National Committee, has chosen as the guiding theme for the occasion: Sunday School—Source of Spiritual Strength.

No particular faith or church sponsors the week. The Laymen's National Committee is an all-faiths organization. State and local officials, leaders in industry and business, fraternal, civic, and ministerial associations are united in programs to encourage Sunday school attendance.

That man is more than an animal is a fact all of us must realize. As President Eisenhower some time ago expressed it, "Either man is the creature whom the psalmist describes as a little lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honor, holding dominion over the works of his Creator, or man is a soulless animated machine to be enslaved, used and consumed by the state for its own glorification."

There is a strength for man that is greater than his physical strength, greater than his organized strength as represented by government, greater than his strength as expressed in education and culture. Many men throughout the ages have found this greater strength in what we recognize today as Christianity—the worship of the one true God through His Son Christ Jesus.

Our forefathers who founded this Nation recognized the source of this great strength and based our Government upon the moral law and practice incorporated in the principles of Christianity—the Christianity that remained strong and virile while the great cultures of Rome and Greece crumbled, the Christianity that survived the flood of barbarism that overran Europe in the dark ages, the same Christianity that today lives and flourishes independently of worldly power and organization.

As adults, most of us realize that the basic appreciation of moral principles which our people gained in Sunday school has made an incalculable contribution to America's present welfare. As Cola G. Parker, national chairman of Sunday School Week, recently expressed it:

"Now, our rapidly increasing younger generation must be imbued with these principles if it is to be prepared to exercise its priceless heritage of democracy in a free world. Unless based on moral principles, our civilization cannot long survive. The Sunday school is a vital source of spiritual strength for our Nation's future."

More than ever before, our young people today need the guidance and enlightenment of religious training and education. It is through our Sunday schools that tomorrow's leaders are introduced to fundamental principles that lay the groundwork for a fuller, happier, and more useful later life. It is through the Sunday school that religious appreciation and understanding can be applied in terms of everyday living, and help our young people to become better citizens.

That our Nation observes Sunday School Week is highly significant. This is nationwide recognition that in our Sunday schools we have a great fountain to which as young and old we can come for spiritual strength and understanding through which we may be lifted above the mortal levels of the animal world into that spiritual realm to which God invites all men.

Make Sunday school attendance a weekly part of your life's schedule.

Its High Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, in further reference to the lack of corn legislation, I ask to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Tipton, Iowa, Conservative of April 4. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues. The editorial follows:

IT'S HIGH TIME

Politics and farm legislation are difficult to separate.

Consider the recent activity on corn legislation in the House of Representatives which was intended to be "nonpartisan."

No sooner had the program been defeated than the National Republican Congressional Committee sent out a letter and a picture of newspaper headlines.

They also sent a "suggested caption" for the picture: "These headlines tell the story of what happened to the Republican-sponsored emergency corn legislation in the United States House of Representatives. Despite warnings from the administration that corn and livestock prices might collapse without the legislation, the Democrat-controlled House in two separate votes killed off Republican plans to provide emergency relief for corngrowers this year. The GOP-backed plan would have increased corn acreage from 37.3 million acres to 51 million and enabled corngrowers to place acreage equal to 15 percent of their allotment into the soil bank."

It was "smart politics" to place the blame on the Democrats and the credit with the Republicans.

Dan B. Murphy, writing in the March 30 Farm Bureau Spokesman, has a different idea of what happened:

"Everyone is analyzing the stalemated House action on corn legislation. Are we without legislation because the two parties are nearly equal in strength? Because the

'farm block' failed? Or why? A look at the final vote, on the compromise bill Farm Bureau recommended as a bipartisan solution, tells the story.

"First, farm-area Congressmen did ignore party lines. (As predicted, they hasselled over the Democratic Cooley bill and the Republican Andresen bill, but they then teamed up to support the local-choice compromise.)

"Tabulation shows 63 Democrats (18 Midwest) and 125 Republicans (76 Midwest) supporting; 61 Republicans and 156 Democrats opposed * * * in as bipartisan a vote total as we're likely to see.

"The corn-States bill lost 70 votes in the southland but picked up 33 there, almost all Democratic. The western region broke almost even, 27 against, 24 for.

"What really killed us was massive opposition from the big cities. We lost 37 votes in New York, got only 5 of 14 in Massachusetts, 2 of 12 in New Jersey, etc.

"The same pattern held true in the Midwest. We lost 8 of 25 Illinois votes—all Chicago. The Detroit area put its 6 votes in the nay column, the rest of the State going 11 to 1 for.

"Ohio's 4 lost votes were from Cleveland, Wisconsin lost only a Milwaukee district out of 11. Indiana, Iowa, the Dakotas, and Nebraska were solid 'for.'

"We lost 7 rural votes (2 in Kansas, 3 in Missouri, 2 in Minnesota). These, plus Chicago's 8, would have given us a win. But we were only close, and close spells loss."

Congressman FRED SCHWENGEL also charges the Democratic leadership in the House Agricultural Committee with "Indian giving" because of the failure to support a corn program which was, in effect, the same program as a year ago.

In a statement made on the floor of the House March 28, SCHWENGEL said: "The RECORD shows that 156 Democrats joined with 61 city Republicans to defeat a corn measure that would help farmers in 1957 balance supply with demand. The Democratic forces against the corn bill were led by the chairman of the Agriculture Committee, a Democrat from North Carolina, and the ranking member of that committee, a Democrat from Texas.

SCHWENGEL said he is hopeful that prompt action will be taken on the corn bill reported out by the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry March 25. "Time has just about run out," he said, "but we can do a lot of good for our whole economy by enacting the Senate bill right away."

"It is high time," SCHWENGEL concluded, "when all of us—Democrats and Republicans alike—did something to take the vital farm issue out of partisan politics and started to come to grips with the real problem with effective legislation."

Then the American Farm Bureau, in a letter signed by Frank Woolley, legislative counsel, said:

"It is probably too late for legislation to be passed that will make any real contribution to lifting the price-depressing surpluses off the backs of farmers.

"Farmers have made their plans and corn planting time is practically here * * *."

Two days later Secretary Benson agreed with the Farm Bureau that enough corn farmers had, between March 13 and 28, made up their minds on planting and that it was now too late to do much good.

He also added that it would be necessary to take more than $108 million from other farm funds to support corn: $60 million from cotton, $32 million from wehat, $16 million from tobacco; and a half million from rice. This killed the bill.

Benson apparently supported the House bill, which was almost the same as the Senate bill. But 2 weeks later he found that corn farmers had decided on their plantings and found that there wasn't enough money for the program.

This series of events is both fascinating and confusing to watch. The Republican Representatives and Senators have made a valiant but unsuccessful attempt to keep up. Farmers are probably more confused.

So the problem goes—"too little, too late, too much politics."

SCHWENGEL is right when he says that it is high time for Democrats and Republicans alike to take the farm issue out of politics and come to grips with the real problem of effective legislation.

It is also high time that politicians and farm organizations stop damning each other for the corn farmer's plight and sit down together to agree on a plan that will provide effective legislation.

One Nation Under God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN R. BUSH
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the following essay written by Miss Patricia Otterbein, Williamsport High School student, which placed first in the senior division of the American Legion Auxiliary contest on the theme, One Nation Under God:

One of the most beautiful sights in the world is that of a family walking together to church. In every town in America the bells ring out on Sunday morning, calling together the families who know that our most precious privilege is freedom of worship.

From the beginning Americans have been conscious of God. Most of the families who first settled here came in search of religious freedom. The Quakers who founded Pennsylvania under William Penn came from England because they were persecuted by the King. The colonists who established Maryland under George Calvert, wanted a place of refuge not only for Catholics but for any who sought freedom from persecution. In 1636 Roger Williams who had fled Massachusetts established a settlement called Rhode Island, where for the first time in the history of the world all human beings were welcome regardless of race, color, or creed.

Although the men who wrote our Constitution were of many different national backgrounds and religions they all had a common objective—establishing a place where they could live and worship as they pleased. Despite the many problems caused by these differences they believed that all men are created in the image of God. The authors of our Constitution were not all men of great knowledge, yet they were God-fearing men who worked under Divine guidance. By guaranteeing freedom of religion, freedom of speech, security for persons and homes, and freedom from enslavement they secured for us a way of life consistent with the will of God.

Even in our everyday life there are signs of our consciousness of God. Our coins are inscribed with the words, "In God We Trust," a philosophy Americans have believed in from the beginning. When pledging allegiance to the flag every day millions of school children repeat the phrase "America, one Nation under God." As we travel along our highways we see many signs reminding us to attend church and worship according to our different faiths.

As a result of our religious training we are taught to have compassion for others less fortunate. And through agencies such as the United Fund, March of Dimes, and Crippled Children, we serve God by helping others.

Throughout our history, religion has played a big part in the lives of our people. Because of this, religion will continue to be one of the outstanding reasons why America is the greatest Nation in the world.

American Foreign Policy Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a review which appeared in a recent issue of the American Mercury of the book entitled "The Enemy at His Back," written by Elizabeth Churchill Brown.

There being no objection, the book review was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ENEMY AT HIS BACK

(By Elizabeth Churchill Brown; foreword by Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND)

Elizabeth Brown has done for us what we should have done ourselves—research on an important modern problem. We were too lazy, too smug, or too indifferent. No one could be brash or stolid enough to call the problem insignificant. In his foreword, Senator KNOWLAND makes it clear in two sentences:

"At the time of Yalta, 11 years ago, there were 200 million people behind the Communist Iron Curtain. Now there are approximately 900 million who have lost their freedom to the most godless tyranny the world has ever known."

How can such things happen? The author of this book has made it inexcusable to be ignorant of the answer to this question.

She has collected enough combustibles to turn our burning indignation into conflagration. During exacting years of warfare, we offered, upon the altars of our devotion, holocausts of human and economic riches. At the price of unimaginable sacrifices we won battles and wars. We surrendered liberties, luxuries and leisure to an efficient process of production for war needs. Our fearless, loyal and indefatigable soldiery and military leadership, generally speaking, were of a high order. They won. Then, after our enemy surrendered, we handed over our welfare and destiny to tenth-rate minds, scurrying in the devious alleys of international diplomacy, allegedly for the good of all of the nations. They had not even brought the affairs of a single nation to the level of their ambitions. Now they were going to lead all nations to Utopia.

This book horrifies us with many reminders that our own peacetime leaders were often as 10th-rate as the others. They, too, were men who fumbled and stumbled from one failure to the next. The pattern was invariant and one is tempted to believe that perverse and malicious planning could not more surely have complicated chaos.

The unmistakable record of events portrayed by this book makes the blunders and the botchery of Democratic leadership, from

Roosevelt to Truman and Acheson, so conspicuous that I marvel that Adlai Stevenson during the last campaign dared to bring up the subject of foreign affairs. If, today, we devote 59 percent of a $72 billion annual budget to purposes directly or indirectly tied to military preparedness and its incidents—if this must happen in the shadow of definitive military victory and in the gloom of an insecurity which neither victory nor a grandiose United Nations can dispel—there can be no blinking the fact that the heaviest responsibility rests with men like Roosevelt and Truman. They squandered the fruits of military victory during the succeeding truce.

The military prowess of the West defeated Hitler and Mussolini as well as Japanese militarism, but the incompetent leadership which sought to work out the still-elusive peace simply prepared the way for Stalin and Khrushchev. It needed no hindsight to warn against this. This same incompetent world leadership was adept with eloquent moralisms, such as those found in the Atlantic Charter or the first chapters of the United Nations Charter, but it cringed from the sternness and discipline demanded by morality.

In effect, we say to Poland: "Go in there and fight, we're behind you." Then we sit back and watch. Where is Poland today? We promise self-determination for little nations, then we sit by, inanely impotent, while Soviet Russia gobbles up a dozen or so satellites and its diplomats enjoy postprandium cordials at the U. N. We grow sanctimonious about the way German militarists regarded a treaty as a scrap of paper. Yet we tolerate our own leaders when they betray Nationalist China at Yalta. We rescue Korea by deluging it in blood and then leave it in a situation probably worse than that in which we found it. Our constancy in moral indignation evoked by the spectacle of ravished Hungary evaporates like a 7-day wonder. Perhaps it was even a greater wonder that we should have retained any capacity to be indignant about the way the Communists mowed down defenseless Hungarians. Certainly, we were not equally indignant when our own Ambassador to the United Nations publicly stated that in a period of 6 or 7 years, beginning in 1949, the Red Chinese had liquidated 15 million Chinese on the mainland of China.

In a sense, when the Republicans took over from the Democrats, they inherited a house still in flames and half burned down. They would have to be miracle workers (and they decidedly are not miracle workers) to do well in such a situation.

They did not even do well in the last campaign. They might effectively have used some of the ammunition in this book. They did not, perhaps largely because men like General Marshall—one of the prize dunderheads of the postwar period—constituted for the Eisenhower administration too much of a link with the two previous administrations.

If you want to get an accurate and summary view of such maddening episodes as Yalta, the effect of Communist propaganda on our foreign policy, Potsdam and the MacArthur hearings, you can't afford to go without reading this book.

Mrs. Brown deals out evenhanded justice, with objectivity and intelligence. She limits her editorializing, and stresses the damning facts. I don't know whether she is a Democrat or a Republican, but I do know that she is an American. She is lethal in criticising the Democratic misleadership during the war and immediate postwar period, by the sheer logic of events accurately described. She is, however, equally devastating with Mr. Eisenhower:

"On April 16, 1953, our new President Dwight Eisenhower, assured the American people that 'an armistice in Korea that merely releases aggressive armies to attack elsewhere would be a fraud.' Yet we signed an armistice which prepared the ground for the fall of Indochina and released thousands of Red troops which are now threatening Formosa. * * *

"In his state of the Union speech in early 1953, President Eisenhower had announced we would unleash Chiang Kai-shek. * * * But on March 2, 1955, the President startled the public by saying that if Chiang attempted to liberate the mainland of China, 'the United States is not going to be a party to aggressive war.' * * *

"For almost 2 years President Eisenhower repeatedly said that under no circumstances would he participate in a Big Four meeting with the Russians until their leaders had shown by deeds and not words that they meant to live peaceably with the rest of the world. And yet, in July 1955, the famous summit conference took place, even though Russia had in no way indicated by deeds that she had changed her spots."

What we need is more books like the one Mrs. Brown gives us which might serve to shake us out of our lethargy. They might make us realize that we have indeed enemies at our back.—Godfrey P. Schmidt.

Teachers' Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, on May 4 of this year, the 375,000 members of the Ladies Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars in 6,700 home communities across the United States will be leading their fellow citizens in a special observance: celebration of a national Teachers' Day. It is the hope of the auxiliary that other organizations and individuals will join them in this worthy project, and that May 4 will be proclaimed nationally as a day for paying tribute each year to the schoolteachers of the Nation. I should like to commend the VFW Auxiliary for launching this program, which has been too long overlooked, and which I believe will receive the hearty endorsement of the American people. I should also like to commend the fine explanation of national Teachers' Day which appeared in an editorial in the April 1 edition of the New York Daily Mirror.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEACHERS' DAY

Disturbed by the fact that the teacher is so often neglected and deprived of rightful community recognition, the Ladies Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars is sponsoring a project to make May 4 Teachers' Day.

They've chosen the date because it is the birthday of Horace Mann, the great American educator, and they hope it will help enhance the dignity of the teaching profession.

Senator TOM MARTIN, of Iowa, has already placed a resolution making May 4 Teachers' Day, before Congress and the chances of its being approved are good.

The VFW Ladies Auxiliary dedicates itself to promoting civic responsibility and good will; its works are a valuable contribution to American life.

Numbers Versus Ideas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an editorial, Numbers Versus Ideas, appearing in the Boston Herald of April 5, 1957, commenting on a speech recently made by Prime Minister Menzies, of Australia, in Melbourne, Australia.

From the quoted remarks in the editorial of the prime minister's address, there are many in the United States who are in agreement with him.

As far back as November of 1956 I called attention in a speech in Boston, Mass., of the risk of abdicating our foreign policy in the Middle East, and also in Hungary, to the United Nations.

I am in agreement with the comment in this editorial:

But we must not hide behind the U. N.'s skirts. We must not conceal a lack of policy by turning difficult problems over to the U. N. and our hot-and-cold policy in the Mideast has raised the suspicion that we have been doing just that.

The editorial follows:

Prime Minister Menzies of Australia tossed out some harsh words about American foreign policy the other day, and many Americans will reluctantly have to agree with them.

The Australian leader, who is normally quite pro-American, charged that the United States was passing the buck to the United Nations on the Mideast crisis and abdicating its responsibility for directing the western coalition.

"It isn't a foreign policy," he told a university audience in Melbourne, "to say we will take this to the United Nations.

"Every great power must get to understand that if it goes to the United Nations it must go with its own ideas hammered out so it will move in and say we have considered this; this is the right thing to do.

"That means that you determine, though you may not announce, your own policy before you take it into this community of of nations. Otherwise we shall have international affairs dominated by numbers. I much prefer to have them dominated by ideas."

We have made the same point in these columns more than once in recent months. The President and Mr. Dulles have intervened actively and effectively at several stages in the crisis, but at others their policy has been to withdraw and let the United Nations take the lead. These shifts have proved both confusing and disheartening to our friends and have seemed to play directly into the hands of Egypt's President Nasser and his Red backers.

Undoubtedly the United States was right to dissuade Britain and France from occupying the Suez Canal when the Egyptians first nationalized it. But was it right, after that, to leave the problem to the U. N., which was obviously too divided to use peaceful measures effectively?

Again it was honorable to join the U. N. majority in forcing all the belligerents to withdraw after the French-British-Israeli

handicapped could do. But he said

attack on Egypt. But should we have left it there? Was it equally honorable to leave the resulting chaos for the international body to clear up?

Our Government acknowledged serious doubts when it intervened once more to prevent the voting of sanctions against Israel. It was American diplomacy which persuaded Israel to leave the Gaza strip and positions along the Gulf of Aqaba. But after that we left the U. N. Emergency Force to iron out the details, and if it fails we shall still have much to answer for.

Where the United States has deferred to the U. N. as a matter of thought-out policy, it should not be criticized for weakness. We are pledged to work through the U. N. wherever feasible and appropriate, and it is definitely to our interest to cooperate with the new nations that are finding a voice in the world body. But we must not hide behind the U. N.'s skirts. We must not conceal a lack of policy by turning difficult problems over to the U. N. And our hot-and-cold policy in the mid East has raised the suspicion that we have been doing just that.

The role of world leader is still new to the United States. We still accept it with diffidence. But we cannot escape it. We cannot turn it over to others. If ideas, instead of mere numbers, are to prevail in the world ,we must supply them, or at least put our weight behind them.

Mr. Menzies' criticism is both friendly and to the point.

Labor Stand on Civil Rights Ignores Our Battle of Thirties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound shock that leaders of the AFL–CIO, the Nation's great labor organization, are in the forefront to deny the right of trial by jury in civil rights proceedings. The memory of these leaders is so short. Their consistency is most irregular. Labor's very existence was threatened similarly a quarter of a century ago. It was only after a vigorous effort that labor secured for itself this ancient right in passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932. Who would now dare question labor's right of such a sacred privilege.

In recent months much has appeared in the national press about this issue. One of the finest articles I have read on the subject was written by Morris Cunningham, a prominent Capitol Hill news reporter. It appeared in a recent edition of the Commercial Appeal, an outstanding newspaper published in Memphis, Tenn. I would like to include it as a part of my remarks. It follows:

DIXIE, UNIONS, AND JURY TRIALS—LABOR STAND ON CIVIL RIGHTS IGNORES OWN BATTLE OF THIRTIES

(By Morris Cunningham)

WASHINGTON, April 7.—With jury trial of contempt charges long since guaranteed in labor cases, today's labor union leaders show no concern over a threatened denial of this right in civil-rights proceedings.

On the contrary, today's union leaders are actually advocating that in civil-rights cases the Nation return to the judicial procedure they once denounced as a "Gatling gun on paper."

It was this procedure, before the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932, that was used to enforce the "yellow-dog" contracts which banned union membership and which employees had to sign to get jobs.

Felix Frankfurter, now an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, wrote in 1930 that this situation posed "a threat to the very existence of labor unions."

PERILOUS PAST FORGOTTEN

Yet today union leaders appear to have forgotten this perilous past in their zeal to enforce so-called civil rights.

Andrey J. Biemiller, chief lobbyist for the AFL–CIO, is one of the several present-day union leaders who has testified in behalf of the administration's civil-rights bill, which would provide for injunctions to enforce civil rights and which would contain no guaranty for jury trial of contempt charges.

TABLES TURNED NOW

"The AFL–CIO strongly advocates this proposal," Mr. Biemiller told a House Judiciary Subcommittee last month.

He said his now powerful labor organization favors the administration bill, and its injunctive procedures, because present laws on civil rights require that charges arising from them must be tried "before a jury drawn from the locality in which the crime was committed."

"Experience shows," he continued, "that in certain types of cases—not limited to civil rights—the local juries simply will not convict, regardless of the evidence."

With that, the modern-day labor lobbyist disposed of an argument that his predecessors in the labor movement vigorously advanced for many bitter years until they finally won their point with the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

And, by a curious coincidence, Mr. Biemiller's contention that the right of trial by jury must be bypassed because juries will not convict in some cases was precisely the same as that advanced against giving labor that right in 1932.

It was raised, among other critics of labor, by Representative Thomas L. Blanton, Democrat, of Texas, the only southerner in 1932 who voted against passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act in either the House or Senate.

FEARED SYMPATHIZERS

Mr. Blanton charged that juries hearing contempt cases arising from labor disputes would be composed of labor sympathizers. And pointing to prolabor Representatives in the House debate that preceded passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, he demanded:

"What kind of juror would our friend from New York (Representative John J. O'Connor) make in a case like this, a man who says he hates the Federal courts? What kind of a juror would Mr. (L. C.) Dyer make in an injunction case? What kind of a juror would Mr. (Fiorello) LaGuardia make? They would have the case decided before it was ever called. I do not want that kind of a juror in my case."

That was the type of argument that was being made against labor only 25 years ago. Yet today union leaders join with the NAACP and other pressure groups in echoing the same arguments in respect to southern juries in civil-rights cases.

And Mr. Biemiller is not alone in his latter-day contentions. Walter Reuther, a vice president of the AFL–CIO and head of the Automobile Workers Union, and other modern union leaders also are advocating passage of the administration's civil-rights bill.

NO MENTION OF TRIAL RIGHT

At its February 4 meeting in Miami Beach, the AFL–CIO executive committee adopted a resolution stating:

"We urge that the present civil-rights laws be strengthened by authorizing the Attorney General to bring civil actions to prevent or redress certain acts or practices which violate existing civil-rights acts."

This 1957 labor resolution made no mention of preserving the right of trial by jury in contempt cases arising from the court injunctions. Since the introduction of the administration's civil-rights bill last year labor union leaders have maintained a notable silence on this issue. But it was not always so.

In 1932, labor witnesses before the House Judiciary Committee, then considering the proposed Norris-LaGuardia Act, made vigorous arguments in behalf of trial by jury in contempt cases arising from labor injunctions.

The hearing transcript shows that James S. Easby-Smith, counsel for the American Federation of Labor, thumbed the lawbooks all the way back to 1200 A. D. to try to prove the validity of jury trials in contempt cases.

CITED ENGLISH LAW

Mr. Easby-Smith argued that English law, from which American jurisprudence was derived, clearly provided for jury trials in such cases.

He said the Magna Carta, the English bill of rights, decreed that no man shall be destroyed nor punished save upon the judgment of his peers and the law of the land. And, he said, "that meant a jury trial."

Donald R. Richberg, representing railroad unions, picked up the argument where Mr. Easby-Smith left off.

"The prevailing English practice up to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States," Mr. Richberg told the committee, "was to punish contempt of court through trial by jury, usually upon indictment or information.

"And yet the argument was made and had been made in the Supreme Court of the United States for 100 years that it was the inherent power of a court of equity to try contempt cases by the court, and that when the court was created by the Federal Government that power was poured into the court. It was absolutely untrue historically, and it was untrue as a fact, and of the intention of the framers of the Constitution who passed the first judicial act.

"I have made this point here because one of the questions here involved (in the proposed Norris-LaGuardia Act) is the right of trial by jury."

The Norris-LaGuardia Act became law March 23, 1932. In addition to banning "yellow dog" contracts, it assured for labor two rights which southerners now seek to incorporate into the administration's civil rights bill—a hearing before the issuance of injunctions, and jury trial of contempt charges resulting from any alleged violation of the injunction.

Milwaukee Exposition of the Handicapped at Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last month there was held at Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis., a most significant regional conference on the excellent theme, "The Handicapped at Work."

I had previously commented on this conference in the Congressional Record

At the Oakland Naval Hospital, Ray got

RIGID TESTS SET UP

effective rehabilitation of the mentally han-

on February 25, as recorded on page A1425 of the RECORD.

The conference featured not only an outstanding group of civic leaders and experts in the rehabilitation of the handicapped, but it met with an enthusiastic reaction from extremely interested audiences.

I have been pleased to receive from Mr. William P. McCahill, executive secretary of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, sponsor of the regional conference, the text of the program, along with many fine newspaper articles which reviewed some of the principal points made in the course of the program. The articles describe a few of the many inspiring instances of disabled individuals fighting their way back, against all odds, to their rightful places in communities.

I ask unanimous consent that the articles referred to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD following my remarks.

I cannot state too strongly this paramount fact, which I have emphasized down through the years: For the good of the handicapped themselves, for the good of their families and other loved ones, for the good of the Nation, we must make better use of the talents and skills of America's disabled.

We must enable them to be the strongest possible assets to our society, rather than liabilities in any sense. We must help them to help themselves.

The handicapped have proven themselves whenever they have been given the chance. The only trouble is that we have not given enough of them enough of a chance enough of the time.

We have rehabilitated many handicapped, but infinitely more needs to be done still, if we are to cope with the tremendous backlog of unattended needs. I hope, therefore, that American employers, in particular, will give to the President's Committee and to the various State committees fullest support. Nothing proves a better "tonic" for the morale of a disabled person than a suitable, gainful job.

I renew my request that the articles forwarded by Mr. McCahill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal of March 11, 1957]

FIND APPRENTICE JOBS FOR DISABLED SCARCE—VA CHIEF DECLARES ON THE JOB TRAINING FOR EX-SERVICEMEN HARDER TO LOCATE

It is becoming increasingly difficult for Veterans' Administration training officers to find apprentice and on the job training opportunities for partly disabled former servicemen, Harvey V. Higley, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs in Washington, D. C., said here Monday.

He was the principal speaker at a luncheon of some 200 persons representing agencies for aid to the handicapped in 7 States. Officially a regional meeting of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, the meeting was cosponsored by the Wisconsin governor's and Milwaukee committees on employment of the physically handicapped.

The meeting, which runs through Wednesday, is at Marquette Universary's Brooks Memorial Union, 620 North 14th Street.

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY GETS CITATION

Three persons and Marquette University received citations at the luncheon. Recipients were District Judge Robert W. Hansen, chairman of the governor's committee on employment of the physically handicapped, Kenneth W. Haagensen, director of public relations at Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., and Willett S. Main, Milwaukee district manager, Wisconsin State Employment Service.

Hansen was cited for his work on the governor's committee, Haagensen for his work in encouraging industries to employ the handicapped, Main for his part in the effort by the State employment service here in getting jobs for the handicapped, and the university for its service in the field, especially in the medical school's occupational and environmental medicine.

NOW PAY TAXES

Governor Thomson told the group that the State's program for training the handicapped was good business. For example, he said, in the year ending last June 30, the State trained 111 handicapped persons who had been on relief rolls at an annual cost of $162,000.

After they had completed their training under the State's vocational rehabilitation program, they obtained jobs and now are earning annual income of $287,300, on which they pay State income taxes, the governor stated.

He said that in the same year another 1,450 handicapped persons not on relief rolls were trained and obtained jobs. He suggested that the State vocational and adult education board consider establishing a citizens' committee to help with the development of its program.

"We have much to do and we want to do it with efficiency and maximum economy," Governor Thomson said. "At the same time we must look behind mere figures and dollars to the human needs of these courageous people who overcome problems that most of us can scarcely conceive."

LESS THAN 20 PERCENT ENROLL

Higley, formerly of Marinette, said that less than 20 percent of the 45,000 Korean war veterans who had taken vocational rehabilitation training had enrolled in on-the-job courses afterward.

Nearly 40 percent of World War II veterans who took similar training—and there were nearly two-thirds of a million of them—found training jobs in industry, he said.

"Can it be that employers, convinced of the desirability of hiring fully trained handicapped workers, are not yet convinced of the desirability of taking on the untrained, even though VA's vocational counseling has shown that they have the aptitude to learn the job?" he asked.

"Can it be that we've kept the emphasis on the well trained handicapped worker for so long that we have overshadowed the advantages of providing on-the-job training for the inexperienced?"

NEED NEW CONCEPT

Another serious problem on which little progress is being made is the employment of persons with physical impairments that keep them from working a full 35- or 40-hour week, he said.

"We have encountered many roadblocks: Employment policies * * * employers' reluctance to take a chance with the seriously handicapped * * * firms that simply haven't given enough imaginative thought to how they could utilize the services of such people," he said.

In this country, he declared, there is need of "a new concept of work * * * that measures ability not by the number of hours spent on the job but by what's done with those hours."

He suggested that the need probably was for education of employers on what the handicapped could do. But, he said, the handicapped themselves must be aided in seeking the confidence and the will to seek return to normal life.

JOB SERVICE PRAISED

Rehabilitation, he declared, is never complete until the partly disabled are returned to satisfying meaningful employment.

That feeling also was stated by Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, a retired and totally blind marine officer who is chairman of the President's committee. He lives outside Washington, D. C.

He congratulated the State employment service on finding jobs for 5,701 handicapped persons during the last year. He also praised the State vocational rehabilitation program.

The objective of the President's committee, he said is to "give a new birth of freedom to the physically impaired—a freedom to work, to earn a living by their own honorable toil, to give them opportunity, not a Siberia of hopelessness and unemployment merely because a small part of their abilities have been lost."

CALLED GOOD BUSINESS

The general, like the governor, said it was good business to train and place handicapped persons in jobs. There are 295,000 handicapped persons employed in this country, he stated.

"It costs an average of $600 per person to train a handicapped individual," he said. "The national average for keeping a person on relief is $1,500," he said.

The attitude in this country toward employing the handicapped, the general stated, is helping this Nation's international relations in the struggle against communism, especially in Asia and Africa. "People in those areas are acquainted with the employ the handicapped programs here," he said.

Supervisor Eugene Grobschmidt, vice chairman of the county board, explained that the county employs some 470 handicapped persons.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel of March 11, 1957]

HANDICAPPED LAY OLD GHOSTS TO REST

(By Jerry Cahill)

Some ordinary Joes who have overcome some extraordinary physical disabilities gathered together Sunday at Marquette University's Brooks Memorial Union to lay to rest some old ghosts about the handicapped.

They said:

They don't want pampering or pity.

Talking about their handicaps is not a taboo.

Most of the handicapped can do just about as much as you can do—sometimes more.

They want a chance to prove it.

The men interviewed are members of a special United States Navy team of amputees assembled here by the Oakland, Calif., Naval Hospital to show the Milwaukee public what rehabilitation means—and the public's stake in it.

OPEN TO PUBLIC

Just 1 of the 26 exhibits set up at Marquette for a 7-State conference and exposition on employment of the physically handicapped, the Navy display, like the others, will be open to the public from noon until 9 p. m. Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.

You can learn a lot at the exposition. Take 26-year-old Corbit Ray, a strapping former marine who grew up on a farm near Hemingway, S. C. Seven years ago he won a Silver Star—and lost his right arm—in Korea.

"They told me, 'You're going to have to lose your arm, or lose your life,'" Ray recalled Sunday. "I said, 'Go ahead and take the arm,' and now I'm kind of glad they did. I've never had a qualm about it, or felt sorry about it since."

had a 2-mile walk to his rural home ahead of him.

lished in 1915. This is certainly the

Mr. Bennett was largely self-educated. He was a student of Shakespeare and the

At the Oakland Naval Hospital, Ray got a new arm and learned to use it. Today he's a member of the hospital staff, teaching other amputees. He drives his own car, hunts, fishes, and likes to putter around the yard of his new home in Castro Valley, Calif., with his wife, Betty, and children Susan 5, and Thomas Charles, 2½.

Or take Jack Bates, sport-shirted and suntanned. He served in the Army Air Corps during World War II without a scratch. Two months after discharge he lost his left leg above the knee in an auto accident.

WILLING TO TALK

Today you'd never know he's an amputee. He goes up and down stairs, walks, runs, and even skips with hardly a trace of a limp. He got the artificial leg and the training at the Oakland Hospital, where he now teaches as a prosthetic researcher for the University of California.

It was Bates who made the point about most amputees being willing to talk about their handicaps.

"When you're in a group of people, you can feel them giving you that look out of the corner of the eye. You know they're curious, and you can't blame them.

"I usually get the conversation around to the handicap myself, and tell them about it openly. Most well-adjusted amputees are the same. They're glad to talk about it. It's a good way of educating the public."

OVERKINDNESS KILLS

"You can be killed with too much kindness," Ray said. "It does you more harm than not enough kindness.

"When I got home to South Carolina the first time after the amputation, I think it was harder on my family than it was on me. They wanted to do everything for me—help me dress, cut my meat, brush my teeth.

"Finally I had to tell them, 'Leave me alone, I can do it myself.' "

Ray learned he could do it himself at the Oakland Hospital where the rehabilitation staff from the top down gave him a straightforward appraisal of what was possible for him, as an amputee.

Leaders of that rehabilitation program are here with the men. They are Capt. Thomas Canty, a former Milwaukean who is head of the hospital's amputee service, and Lt. Comdr. Charles Asbelle, Dr. Canty's first assistant.

In addition to Ray and Bates, other members of the amputee team are Albert Wenger, formerly of Deer Park, Wis., who lost both arms and legs as a teen-ager, and Bill Smith, a World War II amputee who is now a metallurgist living in San Jose, Calif.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of March 12, 1957]

ABILITY URGED AS TEST IN AIDING HANDICAPPED—CONFERENCE TOLD THAT TOO MANY EMPLOYERS GIVE THEM JOBS ONLY OF SYMPATHY

Until business management is sold on the idea of employing handicapped people for what they can produce rather than out of sympathy, rehabilitation work will lag, a Minnesota commissioner of employment security said here Monday. He is Frank T. Starkey, a panel speaker at the seven-State regional conference on employment of the physically handicapped which is now holding sessions at Brooks Memorial Union and at the medical school auditorium at Marquette University.

About 275 are attending. Formal sessions run through Tuesday, and an exhibition of the work done by handicapped persons in the union ballroom will continue from noon to 9 p. m. Wednesday. It is open to the public.

To help employers make progress in the rehabilitation field, Starkey said, five barriers must be recognized and in some way circumvented.

RIGID TESTS SET UP

Many, he said, require rigid physical examination as a prerequisite for any kind of employment.

Strict seniority practices which place limited importance on the amount of productive work done by an employee make employers fearful of taking on workers who may be unable to do a full job, he said.

There is a widespread belief, which may or may not be right, that the presence of handicapped workers will increase the cost of the employer's compensation insurance, Starkey said.

There is also a let-George-do-it attitude in some plants and in others a genuine desire to help but lack of information about how to go about it, he said.

It may be necessary to modify some of the legal responsibilities fixed on employers to permit hiring of the handicapped without penalizing the employer, Starkey said.

Much, he said, could be done by such organizations as governors' committees on employment of the handicapped. However, he recommended against big year-round volunteer agencies.

What is needed, he said, is a group of people whose regular work is in the fields of personnel, labor management, physical medicine, and the field of compensation-insurance law.

At one time, he said, Minnesota undertook to organize a committee on employment of the handicapped in at least 25 of the 33 centers in which there is a local office of the State employment service.

DEMAND, SUPPLY VARIED

It was found, he said, that many of the communities had few handicapped workers who needed help or few employers big enough to provide them with work. The few who could were better reached through individual contact than through public campaigns.

The local committees became just meeting groups at which State officials were asked to speak or show movies, and the committees existed largely for their own entertainment, he said.

"I doubt very much that unemployed handicapped people are helped, even a little bit, by activities that are essentially entertainment," he said.

Starkey is chairman of the Minnesota Governor's Committee.

In a spech prepard for delivery Tuesday afternoon, Stanley L. Hanson, Boston, Mass., assistant vice president of the Liberty Mutual Insurance Co., said that hiring the handicapped worker was good business for everyone.

SAVED FIRM MONEY

"All available statistics emphasize that the properly placed handicapped worker is a safer, more productive, and more conscientious worker than those without handicaps," he said.

Insurance rates are not increased if workers with disabilities get carefully planned jobs, he said.

Liberty Mutual has completed rehabilitation of 84 paraplegics (persons paralyzed from the waist down) on whom it carried insurance, Hanson said. The total estimated indemnity and medical costs which his firm would have had to pay during the lifetimes of the 84 would have totaled $8,449,891, he said. Actually paid to them was less than $5 million for claims and about $895,000 for rehabilitation and training, he noted. The injured persons have the satisfaction of performing useful work, and the insurance company has saved more than $2,700,000, he said.

One of the discouraging aspects of rehabilitation, Hanson said, has been that although services for the disabled have been increasing rapidly the number of persons needing the services is increasing even faster. Contributing to the problem is the general aging of the population and more effective rehabilitation of the mentally handicapped, he said.

ILO AIDE SPEAKS

Ralph Wright, Washington, D. C., a labor counselor in the International Labor Organization (ILO), in a luncheon talk, said that rehabilitation of the handicapped had made slow progress in many parts of the world because of its cost, comparatively plentiful labor supplies and a lack of understanding of its values.

The ILO, an agency with 71 member nations, the sole surviving remnant of the League of Nations, was organized in 1919 and has headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. Wright said it had been steadily increasing its handicapped rehabilitation work. It provides technical advisers to governments, fosters international cooperation, provides an international information exchange and operates blind training programs in Egypt and Brazil, he said.

Justin Johnson, Van Nuys, Calif., director of public relations for the Hughes Aircraft Co. and chairman of the California Governor's committee, recommended big organizations.

FALSE PRIDE

California has 53, he said. He said that where they worked earnestly, even in unlikely areas, they found a lot of employable handicapped persons who were just "sitting in back bedrooms," and found jobs they could do.

John J. Lee, chairman of the department of special education and vocational rehabilitation at Wayne University, Detroit, Mich., and chairman of the Michigan Governor's committee, said that false pride, intolerance and overemphasis on heredity were some of the problems facing rehabilitation workers.

"Too many people have a fear of the handicapped, and withdraw from them. * * * Too many have false pride, and are afraid they will be damaged by inferior associations. * * * Too many ascribe too many defects to damaged heredity," he said.

The task is to promote social maturity, and conquer the public's attitude of withdrawal, he added.

[From the Marquette Tribune of March 13, 1957]

HANDICAP WHAT YOU MAKE IT, SAYS QUADRUPLE AMPUTEE

(By William Carley)

The man got up from his chair, walked over to a table, picked up a cigarette, lit it, and walked back—with no arms or legs.

The man is Al Wenger, 37, a quadruple amputee who has mastered the use of prosthetic devices, or artificial limbs.

Wenger, a native of Wisconsin, is now presenting exhibits at the 3-day regional conference of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped. The conference, which will wind up today, is being held in the ballroom of the Marquette University Memorial Union.

"To me a handicap is only as much as you let it be," Wenger said. "With the right attitude and the right limb fit, you can practically overcome an amputee setback."

DRIVES, DANCES, SWIMS

In proof of his statement Al listed driving, dancing, swimming, and cooking fried chicken as his favorite pastimes.

"I go swimming practically every day," he said. "I can float all right, though I can't push myself forward too well, as my stumps slice through the water. But I think I can fix up some sort of paddles that will work, and I'm going to try."

Wenger was a high-school student at New Richmond, in northern Wisconsin, when he lost both arms and legs. He had gotten off the school bus after a basketball game and

[From the Washington Evening Star of March 26, 1957]

importance he became its editor in chief. In Washington he became widely respected for his keen knowledge of national and

I'm busted, flat, and feeling blue
(But I'm a pal of Timbuktu);
We're adding breadcrumbs to our hash

had a 2-mile walk to his rural home ahead of him.

"But a blizzard blew up and I never got there," he said. "I got lost, and it was 8 hours before I made it to a neighbor's house. The temperature was 25 below zero."

Frostbite set in and Wenger's limbs had to be amputated. But less than 9 months later he was back in high school with his artificial limbs.

"Now I can cook chicken or rabbit as well as any housewife," he said. "And I still love to swim and dance."

WORKS AS INSTRUCTOR

After finishing high school Wenger worked for 14 years in an artificial limb factory in Minneapolis, and then went to Oakland, Calif., as an instructor in the use of the limbs.

The devices can be designed for any kind of work from mining to clerical filing, Wenger said. "We try to fit the man for the kind of work he wants to do."

Fitting the limb is definitely an art, according to Wenger. Each limb must be individually fitted and adjusted for functional and cosmetic (attractive) features.

"With the right limb and the right attitude, you can lick almost anything. Just don't make a handicap out of the handicap and you'll be O. K.," he said, as he excused himself for an exhibit show.

And he got up and walked away.

Ira E. Bennett: Editor, Scholar, and Statesman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOS. E. MARTIN
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, my home State of Iowa has supplied many leaders in the Capital of our Nation, but few have risen in their life's work to the stature of Ira E. Bennett, of Lyons, Iowa, whom it was my privilege to know.

Starting his career in journalism in Mexico and on the west coast of the United States, Mr. Bennett early proved his reportorial capacity, and in 1900, as a young man, he came to Washington. Here the combination of his abilities, relatively wide experience and industry, by 1908 won him the high position of editor in chief of the Washington Post. While on that assignment, Mr. Bennett came to know many of the great and near great, at home and abroad, and became a confidant of Presidents and statesmen. Notwithstanding that privilege, he never lost touch with those of lesser note, especially young people starting on writing careers who later became his disciples.

Despite an extraordinarily busy life, Mr. Bennett made it a point to study systematically and travel widely. A discerning student of history, he developed a rare insight into the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, not only for this Nation, but also for the world. An avid scholar in Shakespearean literature, he developed the capacity to express himself in words of power.

Mr. Bennett found time in which to prepare his monumental History of the Panama Canal—Builders' edition—published in 1915. This is certainly the most comprehensive and authoritative historical work produced by the construction era of the great waterway. One of its most important chapters was written by former Chief Engineer John F. Stevens of the Isthmian Canal Commission, known in history as the "basic architect of the Panama Canal." It is historically fitting here to record for the first time that it was Mr. Stevens, who, as head of the United States Railway Mission to Russia, 1917 to 1918, and later of the Inter-Allied Technical Board Supervising Siberian Railroads, 1919 to 1923, had observed at first hand the start and early years of the Communist revolution, first alerted Mr. Bennett, during his periodic visits to Washington, to the vast scope of that world conspiracy and its dangers to the United States. Mr. Bennett was thus enabled to be among the first leaders of this Nation in the study and exposure of international communism—an activity that he continued throughout his career with increasing effectiveness.

Resigning his position as editor in chief of the Washington Post in 1933, the year Soviet Russia was recognized, Mr. Bennett started what was in effect a second career. This period included his association with the United States Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission, 1935 to 1937, to which he contributed brilliantly in the preparation of The Story of the Constitution, published in 1937; his position as consultant to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs; and his last responsibility as managing editor of the National Republic.

In these capacities, Mr. Bennett's numerous scholarly articles, editorials and official reports form a vast fund of information and opinion based on a lifetime of study and observation. Written during tumultuous periods of our history by one of the greatest editors produced by our Nation, they will long stand as models for dedicated American youth.

During the final years of Mr. Bennett's life, those closely associated with him marveled at the keenness of his mind which remained clear to the end. His last editorial, written in bed, was published in the March issue of the National Republic, shortly before his death.

In order that the record of Mr. Bennett's life and accomplishments, as told in obituaries in some of the leading newspapers of the country and the National Republic, may be available to the people of Iowa and the Nation at large, especially future historians, I ask unanimous consent to have some press notices printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 27, 1957]

IRA BENNETT EDITED POST 25 YEARS

Ira Elbert Bennett, 88, editor of the Washington Post from 1908 to 1933, died yesterday at his home, 1614 19th Street NW.

Although he had suffered from a heart ailment for many years, he was active until a month ago as managing editor of the National Republic, a patriotic magazine.

Mr. Bennett was largely self-educated. He was a student of Shakespeare and the Constitution and he traveled and read widely.

He was credited with having drafted the World War I Czechoslovakian declaration of independence.

Mr. Bennett was born in Lyons, Iowa. He came to Washington in 1900 as correspondent for the San Francisco Chronicle after a year on a newspaper in Mexico and 5 years as city editor of the San Diego Union.

He joined the Post in 1905 and became editor in chief 3 years later.

Mr. Bennett was the author of a book entitled "The History of the Panama Canal," a collection of editorials written during and after World War I, and numerous free-lance magazine articles.

A lifelong Republican, Mr. Bennett was friendly with Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover.

From 1934 to 1938 he was a special correspondent for the McClure Newspaper Syndicate. He was consultant for the House Foreign Affairs Committee from 1949 to 1951.

He and his wife, the former Mabel Dorman Fyler, observed their 61st wedding anniversary last month. She survives, along with a daughter, Amy Langlais, 3818 Davis Place NW., a granddaughter and two great-granddaughters.

Mr. Bennett was a cofounder of the National Press Club and former president of the Gridiron Club. Marquis Childs, Gridiron Club president, designated the entire membership as a committee to attend the funeral.

Services will be held at 11 a. m., Thursday at Hysong's funeral home, 1300 N Street NW. They will be conducted by the Reverend Dr. Bernard Braskamp, Chaplain of the House of Representatives. Burial will be in Glenwood Cemetery.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of March 28, 1957]

IRA E. BENNETT, FORMER EDITOR

WASHINGTON, March 26.—Ira Elbert Bennett, 88, writer and former editor-in-chief of the Washington Post, died at his home today after a long illness.

Mr. Bennett was editor of the Post, now the Washington Post and Times Herald, from 1908 until 1933. In 1949–51 he was a staff consultant of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and in recent years was managing editor of the National Republic magazine.

Mr. Bennett wrote a history of the Panama Canal, as well as many magazine articles. He was one of the founders of the National Press Club and a former president of the Gridiron Club.

Surviving are his wife, the former Miss Mabel Dorman Fyler; a daughter, Mrs. Claude Langlais, of Washington; a granddaughter and two great grandchildren.

[From the Washington Daily News of March 27, 1957]

IRA BENNETT, EX-POST EDITOR, DIES AT 88

Services for Ira Elbert Bennett, 88, editor of the Washington Post from 1908 to 1933, will be held at 11 a. m. tomorrow in Hyson's Funeral Home at 1300 N Street NW. Burial will be in Glenwood Cemetery.

Mr. Bennett died yesterday in his home at 1614 19th Street NW. Although he had had a heart ailment for many years, he served until a month ago as managing editor of the magazine, National Republic.

He came to Washington in 1900 as a correspondent for the San Francisco Chronicle and joined the Post in 1905. A lifelong Republican, he was a friend of Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. He also served as special correspondent for the McClure Newspaper Syndicate and as consultant for the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee from 1949 to 1951.

He and his wife, who survives him, celebrated their 61st wedding anniversary last month.

peril of this unreality is believed to have been impressed upon Khrushchev and others in relation to the artificial rate of the Russian

Urgent Deficiencies Act, United States Code, title 31, section 665.

My judgment is based on my experience

Responsible leaders in the House have expressed concern over the violations of this law. Our colleagues, Mr. TABER and Mr.

[From the Washington Evening Star of March 26, 1957]

IRA E. BENNETT, EDITOR, AUTHOR

Ira Elbert Bennett, 88, editor in chief of the old Washington Post from 1908 until 1933, died today at his home, 1614 Nineteenth Street NW., after a long illness.

Mr. Bennett, a scholar, writer, and friend of Presidents, was active until some weeks ago as managing editor of the National Republic magazine. He was the author of a book entitled "The History of the Panama Canal," a compilation of editorials from the Post from 1917 to 1920, and of many magazine articles.

He was staff consultant of the House Foreign Affairs Committee from 1949 until 1951, and was a student of politics, the Constitution, and Shakespeare among other subjects. He was one of the founders of the National Press Club and former president of the Gridiron Club.

Surviving are his widow, the former Mabel Dorman Fyler; a daughter, Mrs. Claude Langlais, 3818 Davis Place NW.; a grandaughter; and two great grandchildren.

[From the New York Times of March 28, 1957]

IRA E. BENNETT, 88, A WRITER, EDITOR—FORMER CHIEF OF WASHINGTON POST IS DEAD—HAD BEEN ON HOUSE COMMITTEE STAFF

WASHINGTON, March 26.—Ira Elbert Bennett, writer and former editor in chief of the Washington Post, died at his home Tuesday after a long illness. He was 88 years old.

Mr. Bennett was editor of the Post, now the Washington Post and Times-Herald, from 1908 until 1933. In 1949–51, he was a staff consultant of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and in recent years he was managing editor of the National Republic magazine.

Mr. Bennett wrote a history of the Panama Canal as well as many magazine articles. He was a founder of the National Press Club and a former president of the Gridiron Club.

Surviving are his widow, the former Mabel Dorman Fyler; a daughter, Mrs. Claude Langlais of Washington; a grandaughter; and two great-grandchildren.

TEAPOT DOME WITNESS

Mr. Bennett was one of the important witness in the Senate investigation of the Teapot Dome oil scandal of 1924.

Mr. Bennett was born at Lyons, Iowa, and started his newspaper career in 1889 as editor of the Ensenada (Mexico) Lower Californian. Then he was city editor of the San Diego Union, 1892–97, and Washington correspondent of the San Francisco Chronicle, 1900–1905. He became an editorial writer for the Washington Post in 1905.

NATIONAL REPUBLIC AND THE NATIONAL REPUBLIC LETTERGRAM,
Washington, D. C., March 29, 1957.

The letter is given over to the passing this week of the managing editor of National Republic, Ira E. Bennett, a gentleman, scholar, Christian, and patriot, whose passing is felt by millions of men and women of all walks of life, throughout our own country and other nations of the world. Ira, as this writer so affectionately knew him, was a man of great talent, a renowned journalist and editor, a thinker, and a man of great patriotic conviction. Born in Iowa, he with a public-school education, took up the newspaper profession at an early age, his first post was that of editor of the Lower Californian, at Ensenada, Mexico, from where he quickly advanced taking over the editorship of the San Diego Union, and finally as Washington representative of the San Francisco Chronicle.

In Washington his fame grew rapidly, as he assumed the post of editorial writer for the morning newspaper, the Washington Post, and later as the newspaper grew to importance he became its editor in chief. In Washington he became widely respected for his keen knowledge of national and foreign affairs, and he counseled many Presidents, including Teddy Roosevelt, Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover. He was a close friend of William Jennings Bryan, Champ Clark, and many other famed Democrats, although a Republican in politics. He knew Gen. John J. Pershing, John Philip Sousa, and other great notables. He was a friend of Sir Thomas Lipton, President Thomas Masaryk of Czechoslovakia, and helped that statesman write the original free government constitution of that land.

After leaving the Washington Post, shortly after it changed hands, he served as chief adviser to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, following which he became managing editor of National Republic under this writer's management.

Mr. Bennett received many citations and at least one degree in literature, the latter from the Lincoln Memorial University. He was among the founders of the National Press Club in Washington, D. C., and among the early presidents of the famed Gridiron Club. He was a living encyclopedia on the historical and political events of the past two decades. Possibly one of the kindest things that can be said of any man is that he was admired by friend and foe, loved by all who knew him.

His last editorial and feature contributions appeared in the March edition of National Republic, and he had planned further contributions for the April edition, but slept into a lasting peace of mind this week. His remains were interred Thursday, March 28, at Glenwood Cemetery, Washington, D. C., following appropriate services conducted by the Chaplain of the House of Representatives, Rev. Dr. Bernard Braskamp. Readers of the National Republic will greatly miss his scholarly writings, and this writer a close friend, who now sleeps peacefully in the company of other great editors of National Republic, George B. Lockwood, Frank P. Litschert, and Herbert G. Moore.

WALTER S. STEELE.

America Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I am inserting a commentary on foreign aid prepared by one H. I. Phillips. It perhaps is good for a chuckle:

AMERICA SPEAKS
(By H. I. Phillips)

To meet both ends I seldom can
(But I'm a help to Pakistan);
It's hard to keep my shirt and pants
(But after all, I'm fond of France);
I guess I'll have to break my lease
(I must cooperate with Greece);
Hedged in by debts quite vast I am
(But I must not neglect Siam).

The wolf from door I can't repel
(Still I must help keep Burma well);
By Tuesday I am out of dough
(Malaya's feeling better, though);
My dollar very little buys
(But Egypt's safer, I surmise);
My own financial outlook's murky
(But still my heart belongs to Turkey).
I'm busted, flat, and feeling blue
(But I'm a pal of Timbuktu);
We're adding breadcrumbs to our hash
(Who cares? Ain't Tito short of cash?);
The sheriff's knocking on my door
(However, England's asking more);
I'm in a hole, but feeling noble • • •
I wish things were not quite so global!

Internal Crisis Key to Soviet Reforms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, it is far too easy to fall into the trap of believing that the Soviet Union has created a vast, monolithic structure which is capable of solving any problem by the application of brutality. The reality is much more complicated.

In the past few years there have been increasing signs that the Soviet system has been severaly strained by its own internal contradictions. Brutality—no matter how severe—has its limits.

The distinguished commentator, Marquis Childs, addresses himself to one aspect of the problem in his column published this morning. I ask unanimous consent that the article—as carried in the Washington Post—be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERNAL CRISIS KEY TO SOVIET REFORMS
[By Marquis Childs]

The experts here who have been poring over every word of Nikita Khrushchev's voluminous plan for reshaping the system of Soviet industry believe it has been forced by the severest internal crisis the Soviet Union has undergone since the land collectivization program of the early 1930s.

The Khrushchev proposal to decentralize control over industry comes out of the painful discovery that a system which embraces 250,000 to 300,000 enterprises cannot be run through the orders of government commissars in Moscow. Once production began to shift from heavy industry to consumer goods, even gradually and in a limited degree, the Soviet system of iron autnority over every phase of life began to creak and groan.

In the view of economic specialists, so long as the Soviet system was geared to the production of iron and steel and heavy machinery it worked after a fashion. But once the relaxation began, with the householder able to buy a few simple articles either never before available or only in such scarce supply as to be negligible, the trouble began.

While the little group of men in the Kremlin would naturally never admit it, what is missing is the mechanism of the market economy—the function of price as it governs supply and demand in the market place. Whether anything approaching a consumers' economy—Russia is a long way from such an economy—can operate without this mechanism is the question believed to be plaguing the Soviet masters.

The substitute would be a vast army of bureaucrats fixing prices through a system of government cost-accounting constantly threatening to break down of its own weight and by reason of its essential unreality. The

the so-called welfare state. Today, no longer ashamed of our lowered standards of independence, we "let the Government

Congratulations to Senator-Elect Ralph Yarborough From Texas

last year, would also seem to indicate that the more conservative segment of the Democratic Party is losing some of its grip on the public affairs of Texas. In addition, YAR-

peril of this unreality is believed to have been impressed upon Khrushchev and others in relation to the artificial rate of the Russian ruble as compared to other currencies of the world.

One of the most startling changes announced at the same time that Khrushchev's plan filled two-thirds of all leading newspapers was that rubles would be sold for foreign currencies at a premium. In 1950 the value of the ruble was artificially fixed at four to the dollar. At the new premium rate, an American will be able to buy 10 rubles for a dollar. Similar bonuses for other principal world currencies were announced.

In this way the Soviet bosses apparently hope to get a more realistic idea of the cost of the machinery and the commodities they import. Under the artificial rate for the ruble, they have been operating in the dark.

Those studying Khrushchev's proposed shift believe that the more relaxation occurs, the more trouble will accumulate for the little group undertaking to run a dictatorship without a dictator.

The specialists who hold this view do not expect that in the foreseeable future the cumulative trouble will produce anything like a revolution. If they are correct in their analysis, the Kremlin gang will be more and more harrassed by the need to adjust to inevitable alterations in the direction of further liberalization.

They thereby will be kept busy, but they will not be so hard pressed as to seek to distract their own people with the kind of foreign adventure which could lead to war with the West.

Admittedly, this is an optimistic view. It differs sharply from that of Soviet escapees and underground leaders such as Vladimir Poremsky, president of the National Alliance of Russian Solidarists, known by the initials NTS.

Poremsky, who claims to direct an extensive underground inside Russia, foresees a "major upheaval" that may come at any time. This could take the form of extensive rioting, with events coming to a climax in the refusal of Soviet troops to fire on the rioters. In Poremsky's view, that would signal the end of the regime.

But the experts agree on one thing: Not in the satellites, not even in Russia itself, has the Communist indoctrination transformed human beings into Communist robots. And that is, in itself, an enormously hopeful conclusion.

Case of the Postmaster General—Letter From Charles O. Porter, of Oregon, to Hon. John A. Blatnik, of Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

APRIL 8, 1957.

The Honorable JOHN A. BLATNIK,
Chairman, Legal and Monetary Subcommittee, Government Operations Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR JOHN: Because I am personally convinced that Postmaster General Summerfield has acted as a poor-business man and in bad faith in connection with his Department's $47 million deficiency appropriation request, I call for his immediate resignation and prosecution under the provisions of the Urgent Deficiencies Act, United States Code, title 31, section 665.

My judgment is based on my experience as a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and upon reading the colloquy in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for April 5, beginning on page 4639.

In a matter of this importance and interest, however, and in the interests of fairness, I am now writing to you in your capacity as chairman of the Legal and Monetary Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee to request that your subcommittee inquire, as soon as possible, into the circumstances and that Mr. Summerfield and Mr. Percival F. Brundage, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, be asked to explain their conduct.

The Postmaster General prides himself on being an efficient-business man, but the facts point in the other direction, to wit:

1. He asked for $3 billion in 1957 and received within about $16 million of that. Only $5 million was cut from what he asked for operations, with the operations total representing an increase of $74 million from 1956. Yet he comes to us now with a $47 million deficit, all the more amazing because so much of the expenditures are fixed costs.

2. His defense is that the volume of mail has increased beyond expectation. We all make miscalculations but this one is tremendous, particularly when you consider that in January of this year, at a time when he knew this $47 million deficiency existed, the Postmaster General estimated for fiscal 1957 that the Post Office would handle 58,024,000,000 pieces of mail, domestic and foreign, almost 300 million less than he had earlier estimated would be handled in 1957. In January, the volume of mail is decreasing—but in April it is the basis for the $47 million deficiency he knew about in January.

The law is very plain:

"(g) Administrative division of apportionment: Any appropriation which is apportioned or reapportioned pursuant to this section may be divided and subdivided administratively within the limits of such apportionments or reapportionments. The officer having administrative control of any such appropriation available to the legislative branch, the judiciary, or the District of Columbia, and the head of each agency, subject to the approval of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, shall prescribe, by regulation, a system of administrative control (not inconsistent with any accounting procedures prescribed by or pursuant to law) which shall be designed to (A) restrict obligations or expenditures against each appropriation to the amount of apportionments or reapportionments made for each such appropriation, and (B) enable such officer or agency head to fix responsibility for the creation of any obligation or the making of any expenditure in excess of an apportionment or reapportionment.

"(h) Expenditures in excess of apportionment prohibited—penalties: No officer or employee of the United States shall authorize or create any obligation or make any expenditure (A) in excess of an apportionment or reapportionment, or (B) in excess of the amount permitted by regulations prescribed pursuant to subsection (g) of this section.

"(i) Administrative discipline; reports on violations: (1) In addition to any penalty or liability under other law, any officer or employee of the United States who shall violate subsections (a), (b), or (h) of this section shal lbe subjected to appropriate administrative discipline, including, when circumstances warrant, suspension from duty without pay or removal from office; and any officer or employee of the United States who shall knowingly and willfully violate subsections (a), (b), or (h) of this section shall, upon conviction, be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned for not more than 2 years, or both."

Responsible leaders in the House have expressed concern over the violations of this law. Our colleagues, Mr. TABER and Mr. GARY, agree that the law has been violated. Mr. GARY well states the issue: "Are we going to continue to appropriate for the departments of Government or are we going to abdicate in their favor?"

Our distinguished colleague, Mr. CANNON, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, has spoken his mind with his usual clarity and force. All his remarks in the April 5 RECORD are worthy of attention by your committee, but these go to the nub:

"Every department observed and obeyed the law until this year. The Post Office Department is the first to break over. Postmaster General Summerfield tells the press he is heartsick. He would not be heartsick if he had obeyed the law. But he took funds out of the fourth quarter and spent them in the second quarter. And he took money out of the fourth quarter and spent it in the third quarter. It was done deliberately and on notice. He had notice when Congress passed and the President signed the bill. He had notice again when he first started using the money at the beginning of the first quarter in July 1956. He went before the Bureau of the Budget and asked for a supplementary estimate. The budget told him Congress had given him $2,184,000 for operations and he had to live within it. They refused to recommend a deficiency appropriation. Again the first of January he again went before the Budget Bureau and asked for a supplementary estimate. And again the Budget Bureau told him he would have to live within the amount Congress had appropriated for the purpose. He waited until the last minute and finally bludgeoned the Budget Bureau into giving him a supplementary estimate and then calls in the newspapermen and tells them unless Congress surrenders he will stop delivering the mail. He lays down an ultimatum to Congress and arrogantly gives them 3 days in which to come across. Regardless of what the Constitution says, the Department is writing its own ticket and naming its own appropriation, and the taxpayers of the Nation and the men they send to Washington to represent them can go jump in the sea."

Essential postal services should not be abridged abruptly. Too much important activity depends on them. Decreases in service for the sake of economy can no doubt be made, but they should come as the result of careful study, not because the Postmaster General invokes them as reprisals on Congress for an illegal situation his own ineptness created.

Sincerely,

CHARLES O. PORTER,
Member of Congress.

A Fool's Paradise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Jeffersonian Democrat, of March 21, 1957:

A FOOL'S PARADISE

(By Dr. Alfred P. Haake, noted economist, public relations consultant, and lecturer)

"Let George do it" was one one of the early clichés in our evolution from self-reliance toward glorified parasitism that hides behind

Once enough stock has been quietly acquired, the ambitious one, usually with an attorney, calls on the management and

[From the New York Journal-American of March 24, 1957]

FAIRBANKS FIGHT WILL BRING SEC, EXCHANGE

the market and above prices actually paid by the sellers.

Fortunes have been and will be made by

the so-called welfare state. Today, no longer ashamed of our lowered standards of independence, we "let the Government do it," and smugly tell ourselves that we are getting something for nothing. We are entering into a fool's paradise labeled "social control."

It is a fool's paradise because we do not realize, or will not let ourselves believe that we are merely kidding ourselves into thinking that we get a bargain when we "let the Government do it" for us; or that we shall escape paying heavily, out of all proportion to the benefits presently received, in eventual even higher taxes, higher costs of living, and destruction of freedom.

In 1956 a report was submitted by the Education Committee of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, after an exhaustive survey of the school situation in the United States. Roger A. Freeman, who was appointed on two presidential commissions to study the fiscal capacity of the States to meet their school needs, in an address to the Civic Federation of Chicago on October 31, 1956, said:

"The public schools last year expended slightly over $10 billion. A Federal-aid program of from 250 to 400 million dollars might at best have boosted that total by 2½ percent to 4 percent, which is less than half the average annual increase from State and local funds in recent years."

It follows that there was no real need for the excitement over the failure of the school aid bill in 1956, for the Federal aid was only a small part of the total cost and less than what any one of the States could do for itself.

It should be apparent that the real purpose back of the Kelley bill (school aid) was not to give the States help they did not need, but rather to establish the principle of Federal responsibility for schools, and then, prove in later years that the amounts initially appropriated were too small and establish grants that would then really bring the schools under Federal domination and control. It is an exquisite irony that the Federal Government would buy that control with our own money.

We have done fairly well with our schools and do not really need Federal aid to do even better. If only 10 percent of Federal taxes were shifted from Federal to State and local governments, the income of the latter would be increased by more than 50 percent. The way for Washington to help is to reduce the wasteful spending of our money.

Mr. Freeman points out that from 1900 to 1955, the public school enrollment has doubled, but that school operating costs have multiplied 43 times!

In 1900 school funds equalled 1½ percent of our national income; in 1955 they equaled 4 percent of national income.

The number of teachers has increased from 1 teacher for every 37 pupils in 1900 to 1 for every 27 pupils in 1955.

We have been doing a rather neat job with school facilities, and now need to do a better job with what we teach, and the character we build.

But there is more involved. The Constitution and the freedom it was designed to preserve and protect, are in dire peril from the constant increase of Federal responsibility and power. The Federal Government has already gone beyond the provisions of the document, the intent of its framers and the wisdom which experience has taught us guided the framers.

With all-powerful Federal Government, unrestrained by popular will, thanks to bribing the people with illusory benefits like Federal aid to schools, we are headed in the same direction as other nations which have undermined their stamina and finally gone down to destruction at their own hands.

Insist with your representatives in Washington that they defeat the new school-aid bill to come before them soon.

Congratulations to Senator-Elect Ralph Yarborough From Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, one of the richest traditions in our democratic heritage is the ability and willingness of Americans to close ranks after a hard-fought election and work together for the continued progress of all the people.

We have a splendid example of this fine tradition in Texas. The Honorable RALPH YARBOROUGH has been elected to serve as our junior Senator after a strenuous campaign. The Beaumont Enterprise supported one of Judge YARBOROUGH's opponents, but I would call to the attention of our colleagues the post-election editorial in the Enterprise wishing our new Senator "every success in efforts to serve his State and his Nation."

This fine example by the Enterprise of fair play for the winning candidate—although the paper did not support him during the campaign—is one that I am sure every person who has served in public office can appreciate and I want to take this opportunity to make it possible for every Member of the House to read this editorial.

The editorial follows:

[From the Beaumont (Tex.) Enterprise of April 4, 1957]

OUR BEST TO THE NEW SENATOR

Persistence has paid off handsomely for RALPH YARBOROUGH, Texas' new United States Senator.

The Enterprise extends its warmest congratulations to the Austin attorney upon his impressive victory in the special election to name a successor to Price Daniel, who left the national lawmaking body to become governor of the Lone Star State. We wish him every success in efforts to serve his State and his Nation.

Judge YARBOROUGH is young and aggressive and will, we have reason to believe, assume the responsibilities of his new job with the same determination and desire of accomplishment that have marked earlier unsuccessful political battles.

He can take justifiable pride in the fact that his victory at the polls was by much more than a meager margin and that it was statewide in its scope. His strength even ate heavily into the east Texas home grounds of his most formidable opponent.

For a long time the citizens of this State will be analyzing the significance of the YARBOROUGH victory. There will not, of course, be agreement all the way around.

However, we feel that most everybody will recognize that State government scandals of the past few years have helped bring it about. The Austin attorney, a liberal, has hammered away at what he calls the "Machine" at every turn of the road—and it must be remembered that the "Machine" has been operated by the conservative wing of the Democratic Party. We are even of the opinion that the recent legislative scandals resulted in fresh public concern that helped the cause of Mr. YARBOROUGH on Tuesday.

The outstanding liberal's victory in the Senate race, coupled with the narrow margin with which Governor Daniel defeated him in a battle royal for the governorship last year, would also seem to indicate that the more conservative segment of the Democratic Party is losing some of its grip on the public affairs of Texas. In addition, YARBOROUGH has fought loud and long for strict party loyalty.

The vote for Thad Hutcheson, the Republican candidate, was substantial—substantial, that is, for a Republican in the Lone Star State. However, with all the smiles and charm GOP bigwigs, including President Eisenhower, could throw toward Texas, he was not able to make anyone believe that there is to be, any time soon, a wholesale forsaking of traditional party allegiances at the State level.

Mr. YARBOROUGH will be the junior Senator of all the people of Texas, and we trust that the heavy responsibility that has been placed upon his shoulders will make him immune to pressure from any and all groups seeking favors that, if granted, would not be in the best interest of the State as a whole.

He can make a good Senator if he so wills.

The Enterprise pledges its support for every step he takes in that direction.

How To Become a Big-Shot Industrialist—Via Take-Over Route

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues in the House to two columns written by Leslie Gould, financial editor of the New York Journal-American, which were published on March 20 and 24, 1957, respectively:

[From the New York Journal-American of Wednesday, March 20, 1957]

HOW TO BECOME A BIG SHOT INDUSTRIALIST—VIA TAKE-OVER ROUTE

(By Leslie Gould)

Want to be a big-shot industrialist? Anyone—well, almost anyone—can.

The old tried and true method was that of the Horatio Alger heroes.

Start as an office boy, or in the shop, and work up step by step. Many of today's industrial leaders—most of them—followed that route.

There was another once popular way. Marry the boss' daughter. Only the opportunities for this are limited today as more and more companies shift to public stock ownership.

Public ownership has opened the door to a newer and, in recent years, successful method. Surprisingly it doesn't take very much capital. It can be done with other people's money.

Here's the way it is done.

First find a broken down, or nearly so, Stock Exchange or American Stock Exchange-listed company where the management has little or no stock interest.

As the take over operation develops, influence peddling lawyers and a retinue of publicity men—with actual or claimed access to high places—even that big office on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington—are taken on.

The next step is to acquire stock either alone, or with a syndicate, or the active help of ambitious customers' men in Exchange firms. The usual method is a combination of all three.

This can be done with as little capital as $70,000 to $150,000.

having received the unanimous vote of the Congress. At the same time, in 1947, a bill which had been passed by Con-

the Army are members of the Medical Service Corps. They belong to such outstanding organizations as the American Hospital Association, the American

and the number of general officers in each of the Corps.

Once enough stock has been quietly acquired, the ambitious one, usually with an attorney, calls on the management and breaks the sad news. It is out of a job. Also thousands of jobs are jeopardized.

The management has been asleep and never interested enough to have acquired an important position. The new group takes over, elects its own directors and officers, with the ambitious one assuming the top positions—president or chairman or both. The last makes for double paychecks and expense accounts.

TWO TYPES OF APPROACHES

The next move, once the new interests are in the saddle, is to increase the capital shares. Then, with the help of some sharp pencil boys, accountants, and lawyers, the search is begun for other takeover prospects. This time the hunt is for well-heeled companies, with the stock selling below the book value. Also, where the management has only a small stock position.

There are two approaches: A direct one for a merger through an exchange of stock, or a quiet accumulation of stock in the open market. If stock is bought, a friendly customers' man or two will put in some of his clients into the sought-after company on their promise of proxy support.

Sometimes a proxy fight can be avoided, particularly if enough shares in the sought-after company are acquired. Also if the management is willing to ride along on the promise of continued employment, usually as a consultant. Then, shares of the first company are exchanged for those of the second.

Since shares are given in exchange for stock of the acquired company, these need not be registered with the SEC. Then, the shares so exchanged may be sold on the open market. This has been done a lot in some of the cheap, speculative mining ventures.

HIDE BEHIND SWISS BANK

If the company to be taken over is a larger one and associates with capital of the raiding group wish to be anonymous, there are the Swiss banks. The Swiss banks never reveal their customers, who can be anyone.

The Swiss banks in addition to covering up identity of principals also extend extremely liberal credit margin as low as 10 percent against the American requirements of 70 percent for carrying securities. So a million dollars in American securities can be carried on an outlay of only $100,000, against $700,000 with American banks.

Stock Exchange firms are barred from arranging deals where less than the 70-percent margin is put up, but this can be gotten around by using a third party who makes the arrangements.

THIRD PARTY MYSTERY INDIVIDUALS

Another wrinkle is to contract with third parties—mystery individuals to buy stock on their own, using their credit, but guaranteeing them a price substantially above the market. This is being resorted to more and more. It amounts to a buying of proxies, for the delivery of and payment for, the shares is made after the stockholders meeting voting on the control.

Profits on these "above the market but delayed delivery of stock deals" can run into millions of dollars. Since the purchases call for delivery of stock 6 months or longer, the profits are taxable at the lower capital gains rates.

The laws bar buying of votes for dog catchers, but there apparently is nothing illegal in the buying of proxies for control of a company listed on the Stock Exchange or elsewhere.

[From the New York Journal-American of March 24, 1957]

FAIRBANKS FIGHT WILL BRING SEC, EXCHANGE LAWS REFORMS

(By Leslie Gould)

Out of the Fairbanks, Morse control fight—regardless of the rulings by the courts and the balloting at the stockholders' meeting—will come reforms in the securities laws and in stock exchange regulations.

These will cover:

1. Buying of stock and voting of proxies where the principals and the true beneficial owners are concealed, as by the Swiss banks.

2. Multimillion-dollar stock market commitments by officers and directors of a publicly owned corporation, the principal business of which is other than investment in securities, without specific stockholder approval.

3. Sale of major assets without stockholder approval.

4. Leases and other contracts committing a company to expenses running into the millions for a longer period of years, without stockholder approval.

5. An end to secret hearings by the SEC into matters vitally concerning the public owners of a business—the shareowners.

6. A crackdown by the SEC when officers, directors, and insiders and large shareowners fail to report promptly under the law transactions in the company's stock. These reports are supposed to be made by the 10th of each month, covering such dealings in the previous month.

FULL DISCLOSURE NEEDED

7. Promp and full disclosure of transactions with the corporation by any officer, director, insider, or large shareowner, or by any relative or close associate. The same where there are refunds of profits or commissions or fees by such individuals to the corporation, whether the repayments are voluntary or otherwise.

8. Real, instead of token enforcement by the stock exchange of its rule that its member firms and their customers' men must know their customers and, where there are agents or nominees, disclosure of the true principals.

9. Extension of SEC rules requiring disclosures by individuals holding 10 percent or more of a company's shares to groups acting in concert in the accumulation of such holdings. This should include customers' men in stock exchange and American stock exchange firms. They have "mastermind-ed" some of the recent takeover attempts.

10. Full disclosure of fees received by stock exchange firms from a corporation when these firms tip the corporation's securities in advertisements and in market letters and in other analytical literature.

11. Full disclosure of the names of and fees and expenses paid to lawyers and public relations advisers. Also any political contributions by the firm, or its officers and directors, or its lawyers and public relations advisers.

BOLDEST OPERATION

In one of the boldest and most daring financial operations in recent years, the Penn-Texas Corp. is seeking to grab control of the $135 million Fairbanks, Morse Co. There has never been an operation comparable to it.

Penn-Texas officers and directors, who have a relatively small personal stake in the stock, have committed the company to a $35 million investment in Fairbanks, Morse shares. Of this sum, $15 to $18 million is still owing and must be paid in the next 6 months.

Prices paid for the Fairbanks, Morse shares have in most cases been substantially above the market and above prices actually paid by the sellers.

Fortunes have been and will be made by the sellers of the shares to Penn-Texas, including undisclosed customers of Swiss banks, a couple of mystery men and a former Penn-Texas director who had other financial deals with the company.

To finance the Fairbanks, Morse shares Penn-Texas officers have used some of the funds received in a series of sale and lease-back deals for plants and property of its subsidiaries.

LEASE-BACK DEALS USED

Four plants were sold for a total of $22,700,000. In the lease-back contracts, the company is committed to pay over a long period of years more than $61 million in rents. On some of the rental contracts, the company pays all expenses of maintenance and taxes.

Only part of the sale price was in cash, the company in several of the deals taking back what it calls purchase money second mortgages.

These commitments are not peanuts, but the deals have been made without a specific stockholder vote on them.

The question is: How far can a management go in disposing of assets and in committing the business to millions of new expense without the approval of the real owners—the public shareholders?

Officer Grades, Army Medical Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL T. DURHAM

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to authorize the grades of major general and brigadier general in the Medical Service Corps of the Regular Army, and for other purposes.

I would like to chronicle very briefly before this body the previously unheralded performance of a large group of between 4,000 and 5,000 active-duty Army officers who, under present law, are denied the opportunity of attaining general officer rank, no matter how outstanding may be the performance of any individual of the corps. I specifically refer to the Medical Service Corps of the Army, which represents the consolidation of the former Medical Administrative Corps, the Sanitary Corps, and the Pharmacy Corps. I supported the Surgeon General of the Army, Maj. Gen. Norman Kirk, in 1947, in his recommendation for the establishment of a single corps which would provide administrative, scientific, and technical support to the Surgeon General and his physicians of the Army Medical Service in their mission of caring for the sick, injured, and wounded, and in maintaining the health of the Army. I did this in spite of the fact that it would abolish the Pharmacy Corps, which was established by a bill which I introduced in Congress in 1942, and which was signed by the President into law in 1943, after

questionably the only solution to the imports problem.

yield powers invested in it by the Constitution.

companies from their impact upon do-

having received the unanimous vote of the Congress. At the same time, in 1947, a bill which had been passed by Congress establishing an Optometry Corps was vetoed by the President in order to incorporate this profession in the Medical Service Corps. The Medical Service Corps is a natural outgrowth of the Civil War Hospital and Ambulance Corps, which relieved the overburdened physician of much of the work of a nonprofessional nature; of the Sanitary Corps, whose establishment was recommended by General Gorgas, the Surgeon General in 1917, at a time when he faced the problem of not having enough medical officers to provide proper professional care to the large number of casualties that was anticipated; and of the Medical Administrative Corps, which was established by law in 1920 as the result of a recommendation by Surg. Gen. Merritt W. Ireland, who recommended at that early stage the establishment of a Medical Service Corps; and, finally, of the Pharmacy Corps, which gave recognition to highly trained and educated officers with backgrounds in practical sanitation, military medical supplies and equipment, and knowledge and experience in the chemical, bacteriological, serological, and X-ray fields. These latter three corps faced and met their responsibilities superbly during World War II in almost every type of duty except the actual practice of medicine, dentistry, and nursing.

The Medical Service Corps has increased tremendously in size, responsibilities, and areas of utilization in the past 10 years. It is composed of individuals who are dedicated to the highest principles of the Army Medical Service, the United States Army, and this great Nation of ours. The Medical Service Corps officer, in addition to being professionally qualified in his field, must be adept in the application and techniques of the combat arms as well. These officers served with honor during the Korean conflict when each infantry division was authorized 38 Medical Service Corps officers. As a matter of fact, next to the infantry and artillery, they outnumbered all other frontline corps, and their assignments ranged from that of the assistant battalion surgeon, who provided frontline emergency medical care, to that of the helicopter pilot, who flew the wounded back to the hospitals.

The Medical Service Corps consists of specialists in over 50 scientific, technical, and administrative specialties, including pharmacists, optometrists, sanitary engineers, podiatrists, clinical psychologists, bacteriologists, radiological laboratory officers, biochemists, physiologists, entomologists, social workers, immunologists, parasitologists, and in the broader fields, administrators, comptrollers, and executives trained in management, logistics, manpower, teaching, intelligence, staff and command, training, research and development, operations and planning, programing, financial management, industrial funding, and the biological and physical sciences. These officers serve also as consultants to physicians.

It is also interesting to note that almost 30 percent of all the Ph. D.'s in the Army are members of the Medical Service Corps. They belong to such outstanding organizations as the American Hospital Association, the American Pharmaceutical Association, the American Optometric Association, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Chemical Society, the American Management Association, the Society of American Bacteriologists, the American Psychological Association, the American Public Health Association, the American Sociological Society, the National Association of Social Workers, the American Industrial Hygiene Association, the American Association of Clinical Pathologists, the American Entomological Society, the American Society of Immunologists, the New York Academy of Sciences, the Society of Experimental Biology and Medicine, the American Society of Experimental Pathology, the American Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, the American Society of Parasitology, the American Mosquito Control Association, the Radiaiton Research Society, and the American Society of Hospital Pharmacists.

In any major conflict in the future, the services of physicians will be in an acutely short supply. The existence of the Medical Service Corps negates the universal complaint of our World War II Reserve physicians, who charged that their professional services were needlessly expended in nonprofessional duties. The corps distinguished itself in Korea as a member of that great Army medical team, which assured our Army of the lowest sickness and disease rate, and the best chance of survival after being wounded, of any army in history. The Medical Service Corps has now reached full maturity, and new opportunities have been opened up in the whole area of service support in such new fields as medical intelligence, military missions, and particularly in the logistics officer program. In mobilization these officers would be required to serve in 1 or 2 grades higher than now serving, and the responsibilities would even be greater than in World War II. However, in this era of unprecedented opportunities for college graduates in civilian pursuits, a military career is not going to be attractive to the highest type of personnel desired, when it is realized that in the Medical Service Corps our present laws preclude equality of opportunity to aspire to the higher ranks available in the military service. At the present time, the Medical Service Corps is the only male corps which has no general officers, and which does not and never has had the opportunity of competing for these higher positions in the Military Establishment. Other corps of the Army, much smaller in size than the Medical Service Corps, have several general officers. Equality of opportunity should not be denied to the Medical Service Corps, and if some of the gross inequities cannot be rectified under present legislation, I propose that legislation be enacted that would correct these injustices. To illustrate the inequality that exists I should like to enter on the record a listing of all the male corps of the Army establishment with their approximate present strength of officers, and the number of general officers in each of the Corps.

Corps	Approximate strengths	Number of general officers
Armor	6,000	61
Artillery	20,200	121
Infantry	24,000	154
Adjutant General	5,300	6
Chemical	1,500	4
Chaplain	1,100	2
Engineer	9,400	29
Military Police	2,400	4
Finance	1,500	4
Judge Advocate General	1,100	3
Medical Service:		
Dental Corps	2,600	3
Medical Corps	4,300	17
Medical Services Corps	4,500	None
Veterinary Corps	475	1
Ordnance	7,100	23
Quartermaster	6,300	19
Signal	7,400	19
Transportation	6,400	14

The above data speak for themselves. I hold that any Corps of this size, which is composed of so many highly regarded professional personnel, and which has distinguished itself so admirably in combat, richly deserves the equality of opportunity afforded other male corps of the Army.

Unrestricted Importation of Residual Oil and Cheaply Manufactured Foreign Goods Is a Menace to American Industry

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, each year since residual oil imports began to get out of hand following World War II, there have been efforts in Congress to bring about restrictive measures, either by legislation or by directive to the executive department.

International oil companies have long protested that no laws are needed to prevent harmful practices on their part.

They insist that a voluntary program will take care of everything.

There has been a variety of approaches to the problem of excessive imports.

Several years ago we proposed an omnibus foreign trade measure that would have placed a 5 percent limitation on residual oil imports and at the same time would have offered various degrees of protection for other affected industries.

In the last Congress, I offered a bill to restrict residual oil imports to 10 percent of domestic demand.

What was hoped would be an acceptable substitute was the adoption by both Houses, with White House endorsement, of the recommendations of the Cabinet Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy.

Now, after 2 years, we find that it is unworkable and that legislation is un-

ing in this country at the present time. I fully realize that the congressional

S. 1451, which recently passed the Senate, I believe that the following letter

present population of 39,000 people, military and civilian. During World War

questionably the only solution to the imports problem.

In the interim, it has been established that any attempt to persuade the international oil group to conform voluntarily to suggested import levels is futile.

Our crusade in behalf of American industry and labor has been waged under great difficulties.

Attempting to set up tariff dikes as safeguards against mounting waves of foreign products devastating the United States economy would seem to be an impossible job as we must contend with the determined opposition of wealthy international trading companies.

Throughout the time that this pitched battle has been taking place, we have also been forced to carry out a vigorous campaign to prevent new breakdowns in the fortifications set up in the field of foreign commerce by our Founding Fathers more than a century and a half ago.

Despite the unfair competition for American producers and workers that has come out of the strange diplomatic maneuvering since Congress first relinquished some of its authority to the State Department, there are still persistent efforts in that Department to usurp additional congressional power for the purpose of broadening our concessions in foreign commerce.

Thus far I have mentioned only the coal industry as a victim of an unwise foreign policy.

In the same category are the textile and leather goods industries, glass, pottery, ceramics, machine tools, electrical equipment, and dozens of other manufacturers whose talents have helped to bring America the world's highest standard of living.

I might also point out that under one plan which the State Department is pushing very vigorously, the American farmer would also stand to lose big shares of domestic markets to foreign producers.

That particular plan would take the United States of America into the Organization for Trade Cooperation, thus throwing our tariff-making power into an office composed predominantly of foreigners.

Today, I am introducing a bill to impose a tariff quota on imports that threaten the welfare and security of this country.

My bill offers a plan to which no one should object.

It is a plan that American industry and labor have every right to demand; it gives foreign producers who look to the United States for markets a fair share of our business and an opportunity to plan output in conformity with prearranged schedules.

Mr. Speaker, I have met with other Members of the House who are introducing similar legislative proposals, and we have come to the conclusion that my bill is one which should have a wide appeal in all sections of our country.

In the first place, it proposes to reassert congressional authority in the field of international trade.

It puts the State Department on notice that the 85th Congress will no longer yield powers invested in it by the Constitution.

Actually, we could not take leave of a binding law even if this legislative body had a mind to do so.

Congress has always been responsible for policies dealing with international commerce, and these powers cannot be ceded without constitutional amendment.

The State Department has arrogated tariff-making functions over the past two decades or so.

During this period it has shown conclusively that it is incapable of conducting these affairs in a manner that would provide equitable treatment for the people of the United States.

No doubt foreign nations enjoy negotiating with a diplomat who is willing to surrender his country's markets to the rest of the world.

Does the State Department consider it protocol for our own working people to sit down to an empty table in order to satisfy demands of exporting nations?

Thousands of residents of the congressional district which I represent have experienced unemployment as a consequence of unwise tariff policies.

Our coal miners and railroad workers have been particularly hard hit through loss of coal markets to foreign residual oil.

The textile, glass, and pottery industries in our part of the country have felt the impact of foreign competition, and they stand to be hurt even more when the St. Lawrence seaway is opened unless the bill which I am introducing is written into law.

The danger confronting textile workers who lack inadequate tariff protection is universally recognized.

I might add that, while the cigarmaking industry in my part of the country would not be considered a big employer on a comparative scale, nevertheless there is no reason for it to be sacrificed to the competition of products made by poorly paid workers in lands abroad.

The bill which I am introducing today is designed to protect these and other groups who comprise the working segment of our population.

In addition to the foregoing bill to set up a tariff quota, I am also at this time introducing a bill to provide for a 10-percent quota limitation on residual oil imports.

It is identical to the bill which, as I mentioned previously, I introduced in the 84th Congress.

It was my original intention to incorporate this provision into my tariff quota bill, following discussions with colleagues equally concerned about excessive imports.

However, I have decided to offer the bills separately and hope that the Ways and Means Committee will see fit to include this provision into whatever tariff proposal is finally sent to the floor.

By way of explanation I should like to cite the reason why a specific quota limitation on oil imports is necessary.

We have learned from past experience that a tariff of even a dollar per barrel on residual oil imports is not an assured method of deterring international oil companies from their impact upon domestic oil markets.

Another reason why an absolute quota is necessary in this case is that the coal industry could not expect the Tariff Commission to place what would be considered a prohibitive tariff on residual oil imports due to the fact that the Commission decides its cases on a product-by-product basis.

Thus two different forms of fuel are not necessarily considered competitive by the Commission even though they may be used precisely for the same purposes by identical consumers.

Mr. Speaker, to emphasize the necessity for quick action on the bills which I now offer, let me point out that there is a movement afoot by the international trade groups to put across some form of the OTC during this session of Congress.

I believe that our tariff quota bill would be the best answer to these ambitions.

I also feel that our domestic fuels industries are at this time in perhaps the gravest danger since foreign oil began to deluge American markets not long after the conclusion of World War II.

There are literally swarms of tankers now engaged in carrying oil to Europe that are going to be free for other shipping activity once Suez traffic is returned to normal.

Despite a recent statement by an executive of one of the large international companies to the effect that shipping bottoms will not be in excess for at least a year, there is no question but that more tanker facilities are going to be available for stepping up the transportation of alien oil to the United States.

I recognize that the Office of Defense Mobilization is making every effort to prevent the devastating repercussions that lie ahead for the coal and railroad industries if the world oil group is permitted to impose its will in this manner.

Speaking for the thousands of workers in affected industries, as well as for the management which is charged with responsibility of keeping these industries in a healthy condition, I ask members of the House Ways and Means Committee to act quickly upon my recommendations so that we can bring the matter to the floor for a vote in the immediate future.

Southern Congressional Leaders Form South's Last Defense Line

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting the enclosed article which appeared in the April 4 issue of the Florence (S. C.) Morning News, which is one of the leading daily papers in my State.

I believe that the editor of this paper has truly expressed the conditions exist-

ing in this country at the present time. I fully realize that the congressional delegations from below the Mason-Dixon line are not the only good statesmen or the only good legislators in the Congress. I sincerely believe, however, that the Members of Congress from below the Mason-Dixon line have a much greater respect for the Constitution and hold it in higher esteem than the average person in the United States.

I realize that the Members of Congress from the southern States are greatly outnumbered and sooner or later our opponents will overpower us and pass a civil rights, or more popularly called a civil wrongs bill, which will deny a jury trial and permit numerous other invasions of the private individual's rights equalled only by the Kremlin in Russia.

I hope that every Member of the House will have an opportunity to read the article I am inserting in the RECORD today:

SOUTHERN CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS FORM SOUTH'S LAST DEFENSE LINE

The importance of the position occupied by southern Congressmen in the fight against the President's civil-rights bill is illustrated in the case of trial by jury. The civil-rights proposal is a frontal attack within the area of civil rights on the time-honored and constitutionally provided right of trial by jury.

The bill now before Congress would have the effect of denying persons accused of violating the civil rights of others of being tried before a jury of persons from their State and district. If the bill is enacted, the Government would be empowered to bring civil charges against an individual accused of violating the civil rights of another. He would be prosecuted by a Government attorney before a Federal judge, who would pass on the facts as well as the law. He would also pass sentence.

Also, the bill would establish a new division of the Department of Justice with lawyers employed for the specific purpose of investigating and bringing civil suits. The division would bring suit in behalf of a plaintiff even though the plaintiff had made no complaint. If the person named in the complaint did complain, the Government would bear the cost of the suit. On the other hand, the defendant would be required to pay the cost of defense.

Another phase of the proposed legislation would create a commission to investigate alleged discrimination. Persons accused of discrimination could be ordered to Washington and subjected to an investigation that would make the necessity of legal counsel just as real as if he were being criminally accused.

Against this invasion of civil rights in the name of "civil rights," southern Senators and Congressmen form our last line of defense. Their fight is a fight for trial by jury, for the defense of the civil rights of those whose civil rights would be taken from them by the President's civil-rights bill.

Financial Institutions Act of 1957, S. 1451

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, since the House may shortly concern itself with S. 1451, which recently passed the Senate, I believe that the following letter which I received, dated April 5, 1957, from Maurice S. Brody, an investment economist of Denver, Colo., will be of interest to our colleagues:

APRIL 5, 1957.

Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MULTER: The passage of S. 1451, known as the Financial Institutions Act of 1957, by the United States Senate clearly points up the fact that the Republican administration is hell bent on sharply revising the basic underlying philosophy of our National Banking Act.

The elimination of mandatory cumulative voting, the regularization of stock financing by national banks through the issuance of preferred stock, and the granting of permission to extend stock options to top management (all strongly opposed by the Federal Reserve Board) puts depositors and stockholders on notice that the basic safeguards which have maintained our national banking system at its present full strength is now to be discarded once and for all.

I naturally am concerned with the attitude of the House Banking and Currency Committee toward discarding these fundamental basic safeguards.

It clearly appears that the contemplated legislative investigation into the country's credit and financial policies should include an investigation into the effects which these drastic changes are likely to have on our national banking structure.

I, therefore, would respectfully suggest that you entertain the thought of having the House Banking and Currency Committee shelve this bill until the presently contemplated legislative investigation is completed. This makes commonsense as the reversal in basic philosophy in S. 1451 reaches right down to the fundamental concentration of financial power occurring in this country, and therefore certainly is tied in with any investigation of our financial and credit policies.

I will be pleased to hear from you concerning this thought.

With my kind personal regards and best wishes, I remain,

Respectfully yours,

MAURICE S. BRODY.

Outstanding Infantry Training at Fort Benning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I request that the RECORD show the exemplary job being done in training ground forces at Fort Benning, Ga. Recently a group of Members of the House and the Senate had an opportunity to see this training at firsthand. It was a very fine thing to see not only the different types of training but also the imagination and spirit with which the Infantry goes about their tasks. All credit must be given to Maj. Gen. Herbert B. Powell and his fine staff who operate this gigantic Army Infantry center and school.

I say gigantic because this great Army post covers 284 square miles and has a present population of 39,000 people, military and civilian. During World War II, close to 100,000 persons was the average population. Today the Infantry center and school prepares Infantry officers and enlisted men for ground combat and as rangers and airborne troops. In addition, Fort Benning supports the Army Reserve and National Guard with active-duty training opportunities and with correspondence courses. It was a wonderful opportunity for me and my colleagues to see these young soldiers and officers go about their training in weapons, communications, counterfire operations, transportation, airborne work, ranger tactics, and developing new concepts using modern weapons, aircraft, and helicopters in an amazingly bold and effective style.

I might also note that Fort Benning lends great support to the training of our allied personnel. As Sir William Slim, who rose from lance corporal to become a field marshal and chief of the Imperial General Staff, once said, "There is only one thing worse than to have allies, and that's not to have any at all." Thus, it speaks well for the Army and for Fort Benning to be assisting in this program upon which I would like to elaborate.

This important aspect of the mutual defense assistance program of the United States Government, the training of military representatives from participating countries in American service schools, is designed to unify the defense of the free world and to teach the employment and maintenance of American military equipment furnished these countries under the program. Those receiving the training in the United States generally return home as instructors to pass on to others the knowledge which they have acquired here.

The United States Army Infantry school plays a major role in this effort, receiving and training approximately 700 to 800 allied students per year from about 35 different nations. Roughly 40 percent of these students are officers of the Republic of Korea and Republic of Vietnam Armies who attend special, separate, translated classes. The remainder of the students are in regularly scheduled classes with American students. In a year's time from 45 to 50 different classes have allied students enrolled. The courses represented vary in length from 4 weeks to 9 months and begin and end throughout the year.

Once again, my appreciation to Secretary Brucker and to the Infantry center and school for a most informative visit.

Department of Commerce and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1958

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6700) making appropriations for the Department of Com-

the provision that, in the makeup of the ... and in this way be better equipped to further

merce and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Chairman, I wish to give the strongest possible support to the action by the Committee on Appropriations cutting out funds for the Office of Strategic Information in the Department of Commerce. I wish, particularly, to congratulate the Appropriations Subcommittee under the chairmanship of the Honorable PRINCE PRESTON, of Georgia.

The Appropriations Subcommittee looked very carefully into the workings of the Office of Strategic Information. They questioned the Secretary of Commerce, the Assistant Secretary for Administration and the Director of the Office of Strategic Information. It is apparent from the printed testimony of these witnesses and from the resulting Appropriations Committee report that the Appropriations Subcommittee arrived at the same conclusion as the Government Operations Subcommittee of which I am chairman—that the OSI has no clear idea of what it is supposed to do, how it is to go about doing it, and, most important, why.

In the 25th intermediate report of the Government Operations Committee during the 84th Congress, it was recommended that the Office of Strategic Information should be abolished. This recommendation was based on many hours of testimony from OSI and Commerce Department witnesses before the Government Information Subcommittee.

The subcommittee was looking into serious charges that the OSI was operating as a censorship agency—that it was clamping down on information which had absolutely nothing to do with the Nation's military security. The OSI witnesses admitted that they were not security experts, but they were unable to disprove charges that OSI was using the excuse of security to blanket information which the American people have a right to know. These charges came not only from the press and from industry but also from military and intelligence experts within the Government.

I want to emphasize that the studies of complaints about OSI by two House subcommittees shows that nothing the OSI has done in the past, is doing now, or is planning to do in the future would restrict information affecting the Nation's security. Rather, the agency uses the excuse of strategic value to impose restrictions on information which does not fall in the military security category.

To cite but one example, the OSI tried to prevent the publication of a series of aerial photographs which were planned by the Department of Defense and the State Department to help explain the President's "open skies" program. The Government's military and diplomatic experts felt the "open skies" program for aerial photographic inspection of atomic-weapons plants could be explained by showing the type of aerial pictures which could be taken. As a part of a display for the United Nations Building, the experts planned to use aerial photos of United States cities which had already been made public.

But here the OSI stepped in, assuming an attitude of cloak-and-dagger self-importance. OSI officials tried to block the plan to use photographs in the United Nations display, claiming a secret directive establishing the OSI gave them the authority to set policies covering information which might be of some possible strategic value to some potential enemy.

Not only were the OSI officials wrong from both the military intelligence and diplomatic viewpoints, but they were even wrong in claiming authority to set restrictive information policies. After a series of letters and public hearings, the secret stamp was removed from the directive setting up the OSI. When this declassified directive was compared to the version OSI had been using, it was discovered that the Commerce Department, itself, had added the claim that its Office of Strategic Information could establish information policies affecting other Government agencies.

The OSI has neither the authority nor the ability to censor information from other Government agencies. If documents have to be restricted from the military security standpoint, that decision should be made by experts. Neither is there a need for the OSI in the field of international exchange of information. This is a job which the Library of Congress has been coordinating since the Brussels Convention of 1886. In fact, OSI witnesses testified that the Library of Congress has been doing such a good job they merely transferred Commerce Department funds to continue the Library's work.

Cutting out all funds for the Office of Strategic Information will add to the efficiency and economy of the Federal Government, for testimony before two subcommittees of the House of Representatives has shown that the Office of Strategic Information is nothing more than an unnecessary exercise in ineptitude.

More important, however, is the fact that abolishing this censorship will help reestablish the people's right to know about their Federal Government.

Essay on the Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to place in the RECORD a prize-winning essay on the subject of the Constitution, by a young Oklahoman who has made an outstanding record in the high school at Grove, Okla.

The young essayist is Miss Linda Crawford, a 17-year-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Crawford, and granddaughter of two Grove pioneers, Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Gibson.

The essay, which won top honors in the DAR district contest, follows:

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1. My knowledge of its content and meaning; and my understanding of its protection of individual freedoms, and of the safety of the Nation itself.

The Constitution of the United States of America is my personal guaranty of freedom. It assures me that my freedom will not be jeopardized by the whim of a monarch nor the will of a dictator. It provides me with the security of a system of government by the people, administered by elective and appointive officials who depend solely upon me and my fellow citizens for their authority to govern.

The Founding Fathers established, by this great document, the most perfect system of government the world has known. The three branches of government thus established—legislative, executive, and judicial—each has separate duties, responsibilities, and obligations to the people; yet each is dependent upon the other for the proper functioning of the overall system of American government. The Constitution provides that the legislative body shall make the laws, but they must be signed by the chief of the executive branch. This means to me that the executive branch, by this right of veto, can prevent the legislative from becoming too powerful. Conversely, the right given to Congress to override the executive veto by a two-thirds vote means to me that the legislative can prevent the executive from becoming all powerful. Also, the power given to the judicial branch to interpret the laws and actions of the Congress and the executive branch creates another check against one branch usurping the functions of another.

The system of checks and balances provided by the Constitution is, I believe, a method to prevent the liberties of the people and their right to govern themselves from being placed in jeopardy by persons whose desire for power blinds them to the best interests of the people and the Nation.

The Constitution specifies the duties and powers of each of the three branches of government. It does not give a free hand to any branch, but carefully regulates the function of each. To me, this means a further guaranty against possible despotism from any direction, and warrants that the government will not exceed the authority granted it by the citizens of the United States. This regulation of power assures that the government will remain in the hands of the people, for only they can authorize a change in the constitutional powers vested in those in office.

The Constitution provides that all sections of the United States and all citizens of the United States shall be properly represented in the Government. This is, I believe, a measure the founders intended as a safeguard against such practices as taxation without representation, which was so repugnant to them, as it is to us today, and will be to future generations of freedom-loving Americans.

The Constitution spells out the method of selection of those who will represent the citizenry in the Government. This constitutes our guaranty of free election, and indicates, to me, the wishes of the Founding Fathers to pass on to future generations the right to elect those who will govern. At the same time, it provides, through granting of the power of impeachment, a system for disposing of public officials prior to the expiration of their elected terms. This power of impeachment means to me a further protection from corruption, and strengthens the system of checks and balances.

Another protection of the Constitution which further strengthens our Government

is the provision that, in the makeup of the Congress, each State, regardless of population, shall have two Senators; while Members of the House of Representatives shall be selected on a population basis. I interpret this to be a check to keep any one State, or small group of States, from gaining complete control of the Congress, and that it assures all States of representation, regardless of population shifts.

The Constitution protects my individual freedoms primarily through the 10 original amendments (the Bill of Rights). The Bill of Rights guarantees me the right to speak freely without fear. It guarantees me the right to worship God in the way I feel is best for me, without fear of interruption by the State. It allows me to read opinions and to write my own without fear of censorship. It guarantees me fair and speedy justice in all matters. It gives me the right to assemble in peaceable meeting with my fellow citizens. It assures me that the Government cannot take any of my possessions without compensating me for them; cannot enter my home without just cause; and cannot force me to give up my home to military persons except in dire emergency.

Also, the Constitution further protects my individual freedom through its guranty that I will have the same rights in other States as I have in my home State; that I cannot be forced into slavery; that I shall have the right to vote upon reaching proper age; and that I cannot be held without charge.

The protection of my individual freedom provided by the Constitution is one of the greatest gifts of my American heritage, and is the key to my personal freedom as a citizen.

The safety of the Nation itself is carefully provided for in the Constitution. It gives the Congress the power to maintain an army and a navy, to provide for a militia, and to declare war. It provides that the Presidents shall be Commander in Chief of the military forces. It spells out the power of making treaties with other countries, the appointment of ambassadors and envoys to foreign countries. It assures internal security.

The safety of the Nation is further safeguarded by those passages of the Constitution which prohibit any State in the Union from entering into agreements with foreign powers, keeping troops or naval forces, or engaging in wars of their own.

This means to me that our Nation, under the Constitution, has ample power to protect itself from its enemies; it gives me a feeling of security and helps me to realize how wonderful it is to be able to enjoy my freedoms and still be able to know that my fellow citizens and I will be provided by the Constitution with the means to fight for these freedoms if necessary.

2. My personal efforts to preserve, protect, and perpetuate it; and to further the understanding of it.

There are many ways, of course, to preserve, protect, and perpetuate the Constitution. Men have fought and died for it. American statesmen and jurists have devoted their lives to it. In comparison with these patriots and with others who have risen to eloquent heights in its defense and in its perpetuation my own contribution in behalf of the Constitution is not on the same plane. Nevertheless, I feel that the Constitution is for all American citizens and I believe that each should contribute in his own way to its preservation just as I try to do so—because it is in the millions of individual citizens, and their individual efforts, that this Nation, under its Constitution finds its strength.

As for my own effort, I try always to be a good citizen; to obey the laws of my country; to take an interest in public affairs; and to further my education in order that I may better understand the Constitution myself, and in this way be better equipped to further the understanding of it among others with whom I may come in contact.

I feel that my personal effort to be a good citizen is a direct contribution to the preservation and protection of the Constitution. I think that a part of being a good citizen is my appreciation and realization of the freedoms I enjoy under the Constitution. I also try not to abuse my privileges as a citizen; for example, although I have free speech, I do not interpret this to mean that I may speak harshly or in an ill-mannered way. Also, although the Constitution guarantees me right of assembly, I do not interpret this to mean that I should feel free to participate in unruly crowd actions or riots. I believe that freedom brings responsibility; and that by tempering my freedoms with a sense of responsibility and judgment, I am making a personal effort to preserve, protect, and perpetuate the Constitution.

By obeying the laws of my country, whether Federal, State, or local, I believe that I am making a personal contribution toward preserving and protecting the Constitution, because it is from the power granted by the Constitution to the Congress and to the several States that the laws are enacted. Also, from the Constitution comes the authority of the judicial branch of our Government to interpret these laws, and from the Constitution comes the power in the hands of the State and local governments as well as the Federal Government to enforce the laws. Therefore, I believe that if I do not respect the law, then I do not respect the Constitution, and by my disrespect I would undermine it. But because I do respect and obey the law, I feel that I am helping to preserve the Constitution.

I take a great interest in public affairs, and through this interest I feel I make a contribution to the Constitution's perpetuation and preservation, I think that if I do not take interest, then I do nothing to encourage those responsible persons in our Government to give of their best in the management of public affairs. I also believe that lack of interest in Government or a lackadaisical attitude toward Government on the part of the people is a dangerous thing, and can lead to control of the Nation by a few, which could mean an eventual loss of our rights and privileges under the Constitution and the destruction of our guaranty by the Constitution of a system of government by the people.

I feel that by furthering my education, I am making a direct contribution to the Constitution, because in my opinion, the more knowledge I have, the better I will be able to interpret and understand the Constitution and its relationship to all the many phases of my life it influences. I believe that education will help me to appreciate more fully and with greater understanding the freedoms and rights granted me by the Constitution, and give me more insight into the workings of and the meanings of this great document. Education is vital in a democracy, and I feel that through my efforts to gain an education, I make a contribution to the success of our democratic Government and its principal document, the Constitution.

One of my personal efforts to further the understanding of the Constitution also springs, I believe, from my effort to educate myself. If I, myself, am well equipped in my own understanding, I will be more able to further the understanding of the Constitution among others. Along this same line, I attempt to encourage free and open discussion in all the groups and organizations I belong to. I think this helps my friends and schoolmates to realize the privilege of freedom of expression, and I think that it may help them to understand and appreciate their rights under the Constitution.

The School Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the Evening Independent, of Massillon, Ohio, has taken a strong stand editorially against Federal aid to education, citing the fact that the citizens of Massillon have been willing and able to take care of their own school needs. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the Independent editorial on the school issue:

THE SCHOOL ISSUE

Back in January, President Eisenhower asked Congress to put its okay on a school building program which the Chief Executive estimated would cost the Federal Government $1.3 billion over a 4-year period.

The President said the money would be parceled out on the basis of comparative financial needs of the States. He also declared that many States were unable to provide needed classrooms for school children without financial assistance from the Federal Government.

Since then a number of interesting things have developed.

There is a great deal of sentiment both in and out of Congress against the use of Federal money to build classrooms. Opponents of the Federal aid school program declare that once the Federal Government foots the bill for school construction, it will not be long before the Federal Government moves in and takes over control of our public school educational system.

This is something no right-thinking American wants to see take place, particularly after the manner in which Washington bureaucrats have messed up things in other areas of activity where Uncle Sam, first, has handed out the money and then, second, taken over the operation.

There is equally strong sentiment both in and out of Congress for the Federal aid school program. Proponents of Eisenhower's proposed program declare public education facilities are entirely inadequate in some States and will remain so until the Government hands out the money to build the needed school buildings. They scoff at the claim that once Uncle Sam forks over the money for the public schools he will step in and take over direction of the educational system. These people should take a hard look at the facts before expressing such views.

Some prominent school authorities have said that such proposed Federal grants should be made but with the clear and distinct understanding control of schools will remain in the hands of the States or the various constituted authorities now entrusted with handling public school programs.

These authorities are trusting souls who should know better. By now they should know that it is a very simple matter for some pressure group to come up with a plan to slip into pending legislation some innocent looking gimmick that when thoroughly analyzed, once the legislation is passed, extends the power of Federal bureaucracy to the areas where it is desired—in this case, control of public school education.

Since Eisenhower presented his request for $1.3 billion, a lot of investigating of school needs has been done. The most striking information has been to the effect that not one State actually needs Federal aid to take care of its school needs. All the States can provide the schools they need with their own resources.

Even the President's Conference on Education which recommended Federal aid also admitted that no State was without means to finance its school needs if it wanted to do so.

Now the Chamber of Commerce of the United States makes public another interesting fact about the school situation.

It quotes Representative R. W. GWINN, New York Republican, a member of the House Education Subcommittee, who declares the United States Office of Education in Washington used coercive tactics against State officials who displayed only casual interest in the proposed Federal-aid program.

Representative GWINN said that the Office of Education, building up support for its estimate that there is a nationwide shortage of 159,000 schoolrooms, sent questionnaires to the States.

Following are some of Representative GWINN's comments, taken from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

"If it (the Federal agency) did not like the answer that came back from the person who filled the questionnaire in * * * it would return it to the State for revision. The United States Office of Education complained to one State about its failure to answer the questionnaire to the satisfaction of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It threatened the State official by saying 'the United States Office of Education does not want to make an official complaint regarding the inadequacy of data supplied by your State. * * *'

"In several instances the figures were very considerably raised. Old estimates were stricken out and new estimates put in as a result of the United States Office of Education telephoning or writing a State. After that, increases were written in. That made up a substantial part of the 159,000 schoolroom needs."

Representative GWINN's statements are a pretty strong indictment of the strong-arm tactics being used by Government bureaucrats in their mad scramble to keep on spending billions of taxpayers' dollars unnecessarily.

It was not too long ago that Massillon solved its public-school needs when voters approved a $4,125,000 bond issue. It took several years to get the measure through but Massillon did not run to the great White Father in Washington for financial help. It solved its own school problems and the new school buildings either have been built or are in the process of construction.

What Massillon has done, other cities and States also can do. The surest way to put Uncle Sam's spendthrift bureaucrats in the driver's seat is to accept Washington financial handouts.

We hope Congress possesses the intestinal fortitude to pigeonhole the Eisenhower school financing program.

Introduction of Bill To Prohibit the Discrimination in Employment on Account of Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VINCENT J. DELLAY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. DELLAY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill, the purpose of which is to remove age as a barrier to employment of individuals who are well qualified, physically sound, mentally alert, and possessed of years of experience. Thousands of position seekers who are walking the streets in search for employment become frustrated and discouraged at the repeated rebuffs handed them for only one reason, namely, they are over 45 years of age. Unfortunately it is one of such cases that everyone knows, but no one can prove. However, peruse if you will, the great metropolitan newspapers advertising columns of "help wanted," inserted by employers, directly or through the medium of employment agencies, and you will find an astounding number of employment opportunities limiting applicants as to age. In many cases calling for an individual of 30 to 40 years of age having a background and experience only 50 to 60 year old applicants could possess.

The condition sought to be remedied does not greatly affect the so-called hourly rated workers, production workers, and manual laborers who are protected by seniority rights under union contracts. However, the condition is acute in the management field, such as executives, administrators, professional personnel, personnel directors, industrial and public relations men and so forth. In other words, unorganized white-collar workers, often referred to as our "middle-class citizens."

One may ask: "Why are such good men out of positions? Are they unemployed because of inefficiency or other causes of their own making?" Of course, there will always be some within such category. But, the great majority are on the streets by reason of mergers or company sales. The present trend of selling businesses is greatest in the area of small manufacturing plants who employ between 200 to 1,000 workers. Too many of such enterprises are being swallowed by so-called syndicates, often referred to as associates or some other such fancy name, whom I prefer to call industrial scavengers looking for a tax deal or a fast dollar. Upon such sale, acquisition or steal of such a business the syndicate or purchasers' administrative staff takes over and the executives and other key personnel in the sellers' employ are let out pronto, without regard to length of service, efficiency, capacity, loyalty, or industry. To my mind, Mr. Speaker, to permit such condition to exist and adding insult to injury by foreclosing such injured parties from obtaining other means of a livelihood solely because of age, tends to create a malignant cancer in our economic system which may soon plague us. Let's cure it, if possible, before it is too late. Strangely enough, the age limit of 45 is usually fixed by top management, the head of which is, by most cases, over 45 years of age himself, thereby labeling himself too old for the position he holds. We constantly hear that the supply of future executives is far short of the demand. Competition for the best of the college recruits is becoming sharper all the time. Recruiters detailed to college campuses are falling far below their requisitions and in some cases are offering students in their junior year funds for tuition and other types of inducements if such students sign up for service in their organization upon graduation. Yet, qualified executives or other administrative personnel are unwanted if over 45 years of age. A horrible waste of manpower warranting consideration on the national level. Congress, in its wisdom, expressed itself in regard to age limitation in Federal Government employment thus:

No part of any appropriation hereafter contained in this or any other act shall be used to pay the compensation of any officers or employees who establish a requirement of maximum age for entrance into positions in the competitive civil service. (Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1957, Public Law 854, 84th Cong., 70 Stat. 757.)

While limitation as to age is interdicted by the appropriation act, 1957, and while the President has expressed his concern in regard to the same subject matter, when he in his acceptance speech at San Francisco on August 23, 1956, said:

Now, in all existing kinds of discrimination there is much to do. We must assure a fair chance to such people as mature workers who have trouble getting jobs.

I respectfully submit, Mr. Speaker, that when age becomes a major consideration in hiring an employee well qualified in all other respects, a "fair chance" no longer exists.

Mr. Speaker, I have said before that this unwholesome condition in private industry will soon plague us and agree with the statement made by Mr. Lyndall F. Urwick in his article entitled "Management Education in American Business," published by the American Management Association, 1954, on page 108, as follows:

If what has been lacking in private enterprise is a sufficiently inspiring, a sufficiently human leadership, if the citizen, regarded as a producer, is not convinced that his daily job is worthwhile both morally and from a narrower standpoint of self-interest, he will seek an alternative system. That alternative may well be frustrating and disastrous; it may lead to communism or to some other form of autarchy in a belated effort to clear up the mess. Should this happen, it will be little comfort to those who believe in freedom—if any survive—to be able to say "I told you so."

Britain's Version of Dulles Role in Aswan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, Americans can now choose between Britain's version of the Aswan incident and Mr. Dulles' version. Why hasn't our Secretary of State given the American people a lucid account of this incident before this? Why does he permit contrary statements to gain wide circulation before he deigns to give us his?

The news story by Don Cook, as it appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of April 4, 1957, is as follows:

BRITAIN GIVES ITS VERSION OF DULLES' ROLE IN ASWAN

(By Don Cook)

LONDON, April 3.—British Government sources today refuted the theory advanced

in a newly published biography of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that Mr. Dulles canceled American aid plans for the Egyptian Aswan High Dam as a move to force a showdown with the Soviet Union in the Middle East. The sources substantiated, in part, Mr. Dulles' explanation of his actions at a press conference in Washington Tuesday.

[In answer to a question concerning the book, Mr. Dulles told the press conference there were three reasons for dropping the Aswan Dam plans: The Senate had turned thumbs down on funds for the dam; the financial burden which would be imposed on the Egyptian people to meet their share of the project might develop antagonism to "foreign lenders," and Egypt "had been developing ever closer relations with the Soviet-bloc countries" and had recognized Communist China.]

COMMENT ON BOOK

Lengthy extracts from the biography written by John Robinson Beal, a Time magazine writer, have been carried in the British press and have caused considerable comment in official circles here.

Here is the British version of what happened—as this correspondent has been told by three different British Government sources independently:

An agreement was reached with the United States in the spring of 1956 that the offer to finance the Aswan Dam should be quietly withdrawn and forgotten. It was agreed, the British say, that the process of denying the aid should be spun out across as long a period as possible for technical or other reasons, as a means of maintaining indirect pressure on Egypt in the belief that the Soviet Union was not prepared to come through with a substitute financing proposal.

SURPRISED BY DULLES

Secretary Dulles' action in abruptly calling off any deal—"a calculated risk on a grand scale," as his biographer calls it—took the Foreign Office completely by surprise. He informed the Foreign Office by cable that at that moment there was an amendment to the foreign-aid appropriations bill pending in the Senate Appropriations Committee which would deny use of any funds for the Aswan High Dam.

He said he could not have the executive branch of the Government be put in the position of Congress running foreign policy and, therefore, in view of the earlier agreement with the British to cancel Aswan funds, he intended to move immediately and tell the Egyptian Finance Minister there would be no American aid for the project.

Modernizing Mail Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article from the March 25 issue of the Cargoite by Owen R. Orr, president:

MODERNIZING MAIL LAWS, GREATER TRUCK USE COULD HELP CUT POSTAL DEFICIT

(By Owen O. Orr)

Right now the deficit of the United States Post Office Department is running about $650 million annually.

How much money is that?

Well, in order to pay the interest on this loss—not the loss itself, just the interest—for only 1 year, a man who earns $5,000 a year would have had to work steadily, and give up his entire salary every year since 475 B. C.

That would cover only the approximately $17,160,000 in interest that taxpayers must annually pay on this single year's loss—not the actual deficit itself.

What's more, the situation is worsening. Post Office experts estimate that if present trends are allowed to continue, the Post Office Department will soon be losing a billion dollars every year.

Now, obviously, our mail system is in serious financial trouble. Today I want to talk about this predicament, how it came about, and advance some suggestions that will help mightily in remedying it.

The Government has never made money on the mails. From 1900 to 1910, however, postal losses averaged only $33 million a year. Today, however, first-class letter rates are the same as they were in 1932, there has been only a 3-percent increase in the cost of second-class mail, and an increase of only 38 percent in third-class mail rates.

Meanwhile, everything the postal department uses has more than doubled in cost. Losses since 1945 are more than $5 billion, and cost taxpayers over $100 million per year in interest alone.

Now, legislation has been introduced in Congress for postal-rate increases that would yield about $467 million in the 1958 fiscal year. Most of this—$366 million—will be acquired through a 1-cent increase on all first-class and airmail letters, leaving a $96 million increase on all other classes except parcel post. The latter service is not presently losing money.

At 4 cents, or even 5 cents, the first-class letter postage cost would still be the world's greatest bargain, whether used for a single letter or for a large mailing business. Actually three-fourths of all first-class letters are sent by business. Were the cost of a stamp for a first-class letter raised to 4 cents, the additional cost to the average family would be only 15 cents per month. The postal increases would be spread over so many millions of families that the few cents expended would hardly be missed.

But is this the answer to more efficient mail service?

To use a far-fetched example, suppose a housewife were asked to shop for mail service, the same as she would for bargains at a supermarket. She would go, let's say, to the Cleveland post office to send a letter to Miami, Fla. Just suppose the clerk told her that the letter traveling by mail train would cost 3 cents, and the approximate time in transit would be 36 hours.

By mailplane the cost would be 6 cents, the travel time 8 hours, and by fast nonstop mailplane the time would be 5 hours, and the cost 8 cents.

There is no doubt in my mind that she would purchase the 8-cent stamp.

I was told by a postal clerk that many people sending letters long distances will place a 3-cent stamp on a letter, and with it a special-delivery stamp (which costs 20 cents) rather than a 6-cent air-mail stamp, when the latter would assure much faster service.

So, in this fast-moving world of ours, a little thing like mailing a letter actually requires an educational program.

For many years the Post Office Department has maintained a breaking point in mail hauls. Anything under 300 miles is considered short haul. Anything over 300 miles is long haul. This, I'm told, was orginally determined on a time basis. It makes one wonder what they would call the coast-to-coast mail shipment that was flown in 3 hours and 48 minutes were the same decisions to be made today.

Considerable progress has been made by the rails in mail handling since the days when the postmaster's daughter used to hold the mail bag up for the mail clerk to grab as the train passed through the small station. If he missed, it was all right. He would grab it the next day.

Now the trains have highly efficient mail cars, where the clerks sort and route the mail as the train travels from station to station.

But what's happening to these passenger trains that carry the mail?

Airlines are taking more and more passengers from the trains. A survey made by the Post Office Department 6 months ago showed that rail passenger service had dropped to only 2,661 trains daily, and that applications were on file to take off another 700 trains throughout the United States.

That was 6 months ago. What must it be now, with some of the large eastern roads asking for a 45-percent increase in first-class passenger fares? Apparently these roads want to get out of the passenger business, where they suffer huge losses each year.

The long-haul mail service is no problem. Inevitably it will go to the airlines. It rightfully should, in light of the superior service that they give.

But what about the short haul mail? What will happen to it if these passenger runs are taken off?

Highway post offices can be placed in service between the largest cities, and made just as efficient as the railroad mail cars, because they can pull right into post offices all over the country. This fact is emphasized by the $40 billion highway program that will provide 4-lane limited access highways between these big cities.

So, this leaves the short-haul mail between the other cities and towns, which constitutes a greater volume by far than the long-haul mail.

This should rightfully go to the common carrier trucks.

Common carriers—both truck and rail—are the very backbone of the transportation industry. They stand as a great protective bulwark for the Nation in case of emergency and they have the vital know-how to deliver the goods.

Trucks can go from post office to post office with bulk drops of mail at the complete convenience of the Postal Department. The postal people can set all schedules and not have to wait until infrequent passenger trains arrive at widely separated times, after which the mail must be transported from the station to the post office.

Common carriers should be allowed to carry both mail and freight on some runs, for economy reasons, so long as the mail is carried on a "last on, first off" basis.

Our company would like nothing better than to carry bulk mail between our terminal cities. However, it is quite unlikely that we will be able to do so until several important changes are effected in legislation pertinent to the awarding of mail contracts.

At present, all mail runs are awarded on the basis of bid. The Post Office Department is obligated by law to award the contract to the lowest responsible bidder. Now, let's see what circumstances this law can be conducive to.

I have on my desk, for example, an invitation to bid on a mail haul from Little Rock to El Dorado, Ark., a distance of 120 miles. The run must be made 5 times a week, every day except Saturday and Sunday. It is to leave Little Rock at 11 p. m., arrive in El Dorado at 3 a. m. The contract is for 2 years. A bond of $900 is required with the bid.

Now suppose there is a man working in a factory in Little Rock. He is getting up in years, his health isn't too good. He has his home paid for, so he can put up the $900 bond. His doctor has told him to get out in the air.

So, he leaves his job, buys a used truck that the speedometer has been turned back

on, and he starts out—without any knowledge of what his costs will be. His health fails because driving a truck is not like the passenger car he has been used to. He can't afford to hire a driver and pay union wages, so he gives up and forfeits his bond.

The Post Office Department has announced that for every $2 of mail hauled by truck, they have saved $1 over what they were paying.

The trouble with this is that too often by saving a full dollar they are sacrificing efficiency and reliability. In my opinion, the post office people should be willing to save 50 cents or 75 cents on every $2 dollars, and get the reliability of service by common carrier trucks—people who know their costs, and can handle the mail shipments efficiently.

Certainly in the long run they would thus save more money, too.

Furthermore, instead of requiring all mail contracts to be awarded by bid, common carriers should be allowed to publish mail tariffs, just as they publish tariffs on other freight, and the Post Office Department should be permitted to award mail contracts on the basis of a cost-efficiency ratio instead of solely on the basis of cost, often at the expense of competence and service.

There are other ways to help relieve the postal deficit. All first-class mail could be required to carry a 5-cent stamp, with the understanding that the post office would route the letter by the fastest available transportation, be it by air or surface medium.

The post office could provide a discount to purchasers of bulk mail, as a method of encouraging greater usage of the mail system at profit-making rates.

But basically, the biggest single postal economy factor on the horizon is, in my opinion, the efficient usage of truck transportation on a broad scale in transporting the mails.

This can be done as soon as obsolete postal laws are modernized to keep pace with the facts of life in 1957.

Foreign Aid: Just End It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial appearing in the Richmond News Leader of Tuesday, April 9, 1957.

Mr. James Jackson Kilpatrick, the editor of the Richmond News Leader, is a distinguished and accomplished writer. His views on the subject of foreign aid, as expressed in this editorial, are worthy of consideration.

The editorial is as follows:

FOREIGN AID: JUST END IT

It was almost 4 years ago that the late Walter F. George, respected chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, offered a terse comment on American spending abroad. "As far as I am concerned," he remarked to the press on July 1, 1953, "Mutual Security is going into its last fiscal year this morning."

As the Federal budget for 1957–58 comes under congressional study, it is apparent that "mutual security" is still with us, and not merely mutual security in terms of actual military spending, but mutual security in the continuing pattern of global giveaways. In the phrase now popular in Washington, we are still "buying love" all over the world. We are buying love and losing our shirts. The policy is a failure. It cannot be made to succeed.

The time has come to put an end to it. Not "taper off," or "cut foreign aid by a billion or so." The time has come to abandon the whole wasteful, fruitless, arrogant scheme of atempting to rebuild the world in America's godlike image.

Where have these billions of dollars been going? Some of the money doubtless has been put to a useful purpose. Considering the fabulous sums expended, it would be incredible if some tangible gains, at least, could not be pointed out. But over and over, the pattern of foreign aid falls into the same shape.

In Iran, for example, our spendthrift Government has squandered upward of $300 million, equal to the Federal income taxes paid by 721,000 families with earnings of $5,000 a year. Much of this sum was expended at the direction of one William E. Warne, a professional bureaucrat with a particular love for socialized public power. As a recent article in the Reader's Digest disclosed, Mr. Warne insisted upon massive American tax investments in hydroelectric power in Iran, though the city of Tehran obviously had available—immediately at hand—great resources of cheap fuel oil. It was Mr. Warne who insisted upon building one beet-sugar refinery in Iran, and though it proved far from successful, buying and storing the machinery for a second.

In Afghanistan, as Congressman GEORGE MEADER recently observed, the first need of a primitive people is for rudimentary education, for elementary tools. What was he told of the aims of the International Cooperation Administration in Afghanistan? "We'll give the Afghans an airline and an agency like our CAA to regulate air traffic.

In India, Mr. MEADER disclosed, American tax funds purchased $1,539,000 worth of prefabricated steel for 52 easy-to-erect grain silos. But in June of 1954, with the fiscal year fast running out and some funds still unexpended, foreign aid officials purchased 600 more such facilities. Two years later, the bulk of these still were languishing in Calcutta, untouched by anyone.

In the Philippines, tax funds went to purchase electron microscopes—in an area without electric power to use them.

In Jordan, which at the last count listed only 9,000 autos, a large sum was expended on new highway construction. Another asphalt highway was constructed, at fantastic cost, through the jungles of Thailand. And in Portugal, American taxpayers were billed for a 15-mile 6-lane expressway connecting Lisbon with the gambling resort of Estoril.

In Mr. Meader's description, it is a "bureaucratic nightmare." Granted that many of the more than 9,000 employees in the ICA are devoted people, doing a competent job of what they are ordered to do, the widespread criticism is that the whole inflated program is kept expanding by the assidous labors of bureaucrats anxious to keep the level of spending permanently high.

Well, we are fed up. We are fed up with foreign economic aid, first of all, as a gross perversion of the spirit of the Constitution. Nowhere is the power delegated to Congress to undertake these outlays for building up the economies of foreign nations. We are fed up with the program, secondly, on the mouselike results that have stemmed from a mountain of money. In terms of the self-interest of the United States of America, which ought to be the sole criteria for an expenditure of public funds, not one thing has been accomplished which could not have been better accomplished by private venture capital and by the industry and resourcefulness of people themselves.

Let us stop this idiot's delight. The world will not come to an end. Neither will the invidious Russians conquer the earth, nor will the United States lose friends worth having. On the contrary, the United States can do more by minding our own business than by sticking a gratuitous nose in everybody else's business.

This is your money, fellow taxpayer, that is being wasted on fountains for Lebanese villages, flour mills for wheatless Korea, unused farm implements in India. And your voice alone can put an end to it.

Where Do We Stand on Polio?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Ashland Daily Independent of April 5, 1957:

WHERE DO WE STAND ON POLIO?

People in Boyd County are being shortchanged on free Government polio vaccine.

The percentage of eligible Boyd residents who have received the free vaccine is less than half that in other comparable counties in the State.

The reason for this situation is that some members of the Boyd County Medical Society are haunted. Their ghost is a terrifying, shadowy specter that lurks in dark corners and scares them nearly to death. His name is socialized medicine.

The doctors have a perfect right to their ghost. Most everyone has one. But when they start letting the ghost addle their thinking, it's time to turn on the lights.

We feel sure this spook is not bothering the majority of Boyd County's doctors. Probably just a few are overboard on the subject, but it looks as if they are the ones who are forming policy.

When the medical society as a whole follows a policy that considers socialized medicine more of an enemy than disease, it's time its members did a little soul-searching and a little house-cleaning.

The society is pursuing a short-sighted, reactionary policy on polio immunizations. It has decided that the only people who should get free polio shots from the Ashland-Boyd County Health Department are those who can't afford to get them from a private doctor and pay his fee. These people are termed "medically indigent."

This restriction is not enforced. No one checks up on a patient's ability to pay when he appears at the health center's Friday afternoon clinic to get a shot, and no one is refused a shot. But if anyone calls up to inquire about them, he is told the clinic is for the medically indigent. It is a policy of discouragement in the case of those unindigent famalies who inquire about free Government vaccine for their children.

That policy, dictated by the medical society, is the one the health department has been carrying out. It says, in effect: "Those who can afford to buy shots should do it. Those who can't will be taken care of free. Anyone who is left without a shot and gets polio has only himself to blame. Start giving people what they can buy for themselves, and you have socialism."

There might have been a time when you could get people in this country to stand up

and cheer at a statement like that. But those days, we hope, are gone forever.

This point of view is wrong in principle and we want to point out why it is wrong. But it is more than wrong—it is ill-becoming to anyone in the medical profession. For example, what about a youngster whose family is too indifferent to take him to the family doctor for a polio shot (which means making an appointment and maybe sitting in the waiting room), and is unwilling to go to the health center for a free shot because that is supposed to be for the medically indigent? Now is that innocent child supposed to have to take his chances with polio because he was unlucky enough to have negligent parents?

How much better would this child's chances of getting inoculated have been if there had been a free clinic for him to attend, along with all the other children in his grade at school?

That's why the medical society's policy is harmful to the community.

In the second place their policy is an attempt to turn the clock back to another generation as far as public health is concerned. One of the basic concepts in public health (and one that is accepted throughout the civilized world in spite of what we see in Boyd County) is that government—Federal, State, and local—has the right and the duty to protect the public from communicable disease, just as much as it has the right to protect it from fire and crime. The government has a right to provide free mass inoculations against contagious disease, not because they are concerned about the fate of any one individual, but because they are concerned about what he might do to the rest of the population in the way of spreading an epidemic.

Curative medicine is strictly up to the private physician. But preventive medicine is a public matter. There is a big difference, and some of the doctors can't see it, just as they can't see the difference between social progress and socialism.

Here is the present situation: The Federal Government, through the State health department, has made available free vaccine to the local health department. Word has been given out by the local health department (acting on the medical society's orders) that this free vaccine should only be obtained from the health department by the medically indigent. That leaves one other place to get vaccine—from a private physician. Doctors can get their vaccine free from the health department, then charge for giving it if they want to. Or else they can buy it commercially at a dollar a shot.

The State health department keeps a record of every shot of Federal vaccine that is given, either at the local health department or by doctors who have obtained it free from the health department.

According to these records, the list below shows how Bord compares with some other large counties in the State as to the percentage of eligible people who have received at least one shot of the free vaccine. These percentages, which include all those children that received free vaccine under the National Polio Foundation program 2 years ago, were obtained this week from the State health department and are effective as of the end of February:

County:	*Percentage*
Franklin (Frankfort)	94
Jefferson (Louisville)	88
Fayette (Lexington)	81
McCracken (Paducah)	72.3
Daviess (Owensboro)	66.7
Warren (Bowling Green)	57
Boyd (Ashland)	29.6

Why is it that in Frankfort 94 percent of the people under 19 and pregnant women have been able to get free vaccine, while only 29.6 percent of this county's citizens could get it? We pay Federal taxes just as they do. Why don't we have the same right? It is because our medical society decided that we don't, and they just don't have the right to make that decision.

Some doctors will be prompt to point out that they have given lots of commercially purchased shots that aren't included in the percentage. This is true, but how many have they given? How high would it raise our percentage? Nobody knows how well protected we are against polio, including the doctors. Meanwhile, we have been paying from $2 to $6 for the privilege of getting a commercial shot from a private physician.

The State Health Department says that only about 10 percent of the State's 120 counties agree with Boyd County that the free shots ought to be limited to the indigent. And none of the metropolitan areas listed above are included in that 10 percent, except Ashland.

Carter County has just concluded a series of free polio clinics to which the county doctors contributed their services without charge, and to which children were transported in county school buses. A similar program is now underway in Elliott and Morgan Counties. We have no figures for our neighboring communities in Ohio and West Virginia, but the clinics are free and open to all—not just to paupers.

Time is running out. The free Government vaccine will only be available until June 30, and then the program is being discontinued.

The Ashland PTA Council has sent out copies of a resolution which they passed urging mass inoculations. The resolution has been sent to all civic, social and fraternal organizations in the city. We have a strong feeling that these people and many others will be glad to cooperate in getting children to a clinic and providing whatever other assistance is needed to make a mass inoculation plan successful.

All we need now is a little help from the doctors.

Foreign Aid in Disguise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENDERSON LANHAM

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, with leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I am including an editorial clipped from the Wall Street Journal for Wednesday, April 10, 1957, entitled "Foreign Aid in Disguise."

While not agreeing with everything said by the Wall Street Journal editorial writer, I do think it is a mistake to put into the military budget the military items for foreign aid.

Moreover, the proposal will, no doubt, soon be made—has already been made by the committee headed by Mr. Benjamin Fairless to study and report on our foreign-aid program—that the economic aid be put in the budget submitted by the Department of State.

Obviously this is an effort on the part of the present administration to hide foreign aid and make it more difficult for the people and Congress to know just what is being done in the field of foreign aid. We had better keep it out in the open where the "watchdog committee," better known as the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the Appropriations Committee, headed by the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN] can keep its eagle eyes upon the appropriation and hold it to the very minimum consistent with America's security.

The editorial follows:

FOREIGN AID IN DISGUISE

The handling of foreign aid has been rejuggled time and again, usually with a rechristening of the responsible agency. The administration's latest proposed revamping has some particularly disturbing features.

One big objective of the new proposal is pretty plainly to make foreign aid more palatable to Congress, which has been prepared to cut the fiscal 1958 program substantially. That in itself is a dubious approach; either the program stands on its merits or not at all.

As outlined by Secretary of State Dulles, the rearrangement would put military aid and so-called defense support aid under the Defense Department budget. In addition, a continuing economic development fund would be established to make loans which might soon total $750 million a year.

Now if there is to be foreign economic aid, it is certainly better that it be on a loan basis instead of a grant basis, and in proposing the loan fund the administration was presumably aware that many in Congress share that opinion. But it should be noted that this loan fund would not supplant either direct grants of economic aid or the technical assistance program; but would go on largely as they are.

So all this could easily mean simply the addition of hundreds of millions a year in loans to the $4 billion-plus a year currently being spent for military and economic aid.

Moreover, the loan fund idea would cement into the Federal budgets, perhaps ineradicably, the principle of foreign aid; Mr. Dulles said the fund "would need continuing authority and a capital authorization sufficient for several years, to be renewed when needed." Once Congress bought this plan, it would be extremely difficult and maybe impossible for Congress ever to call a halt to heavy foreign aid spending.

At the same time, the proposal would remove foreign aid further from the control of Congress. The administration already has such funds for use at its own discretion. Under the new plan the administration would have greater leeway to embark on big long-range projects; as Mr. Dulles put it, the administration wants to break away from the cycle of annual authorizations and appropriations by Congress.

Even with the present degree of congressional control the spending of foreign aid money has been notoriously sloppy or worse in some instances. What it would be with the watchdog thus chained is not pleasant to contemplate.

The argument for putting military aid in the Defense Department budget is equally unsound. To do so would make it that much harder to tell just how much we are pouring out to arm our allies. Also, it is designed to persuade the American people that military aid is just as integral and permanent a part of American defense as are the dollars spent to maintain the United States Armed Forces—a proposition never proved and which many might feel misgivings about putting to a test.

The fact is that indefinitely continued military aid is, like economic aid, a questionable activity. Mr. Dulles argued its necessity because "many nations cannot support the military establishments which, in the common interest, should be on their soil." The answer is that if they cannot support them they will not in the long run keep them, as the big new British military retrenchment amply attests.

Mr. Dulles' presentation of the new plan is reported to have been well received in

Congress. Before the lawmakers get too enthusiastic, however, they ought to recall that it was never the intent of Congress to make either military or economic aid a permanent drain on the taxpayer. And they ought to take a good look at their own diminished role under the administration proposal.

The American people, from all the evidence, want changes in foreign aid, but not changes which tend to entrench and disguise it. They want changes that will lower the cost of the program and, in a reasonably near future, rejuggle it right out of existence.

Secretary Humphrey's Private Fortune and the Public Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I have been concerned for some time about the possible conflict of interest between the official activities of Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey and his interest in the M. A. Hanna Co. and Consolidated Steel Co. In addition, the legal firm which represents these interests has had a number of its former employees in high positions in the Department of the Treasury.

My concern has become more acute since the Suez oil crisis, at a time when Secretary Humphrey was active in giving advice to the President while at the same time the M. A. Hanna Co. owned stock in major oil companies value at almost $35 million.

In order to bring to the attention of my colleagues some of the grounds for my concern I include, under leave to extend my remarks, the following article from the newspaper Labor of Saturday, April 13, 1957:

CHARGE TREASURY HEAD PUTS PRIVATE FORTUNE OVER PUBLIC INTEREST

(By Michael Marsh)

Moves were afoot on Capitol Hill this week toward a congressional look at an alleged huge "conflict of interest" between the official activities of Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey and his multi-million-dollar investments.

By law, the Secretary of the Treasury is forbidden from being interested in any private business. Yet Humphrey, when he was confirmed in January 1953, was allowed to keep his large stockholdings in three giant corporations.

In contrast, Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson was obliged to sell his stockholdings in General Motors when he took office, even though no such stringent law against private interests applies to Wilson's post.

Current concern about Humphrey's situation was roused by a letter sent to Senators from financier Cyrus Eaton, charging that Humphrey "constantly uses his official position to further his private business fortunes."

CHARGES BY EATON

Eaton, like Humphrey, is a top leader in the Cleveland business world and is also board chairman of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad. In his letter—first publicized by columnist Drew Pearson—Eaton said that companies in the Humphrey orbit, through interlocking officers and directors, have the "incredible total of $60.7 billion (in) combined assets."

Pearson quoted Eaton as saying further that "foreign business firms had in some cases purchased coal from Humphrey's Pittsburgh Consolidated Coal Co., largest coal company in the world, because their countries had to do important business with the Secretary of the Treasury. Humphrey is a member of the board which controls the Export-Import Bank from which many countries have to borrow money."

Figures were also cited showing that the stock market value of the companies Humphrey is most interested in has soared over $800 million between January 1953, when Humphrey took office, and March 1957.

Specifically the market value of Pittsburgh Consolidated Coal has jumped $242 million, the value of M. A. Hanna Co. has jumped $119 million, the value of National Steel Corp., has jumped $110 million and the value of the Iron Ore Company of Canada—in which M. A. Hanna and National Steel own a substantial interest—has jumped $394 million.

Humphrey is a former top officer of all four companies and a large stockholder in the first three of them.

Eaton's charges, as carried by Pearson, produced a quick reaction on the Senate floor. Senator ESTES KEFAUVER (Democrat of Tennessee) called for an investigation by the appropriate Senate committee, pointing out that Secretary Humphrey's "imprint, for better or worse, is indelible in all Government policy today."

Senator WAYNE MORSE (Democrat of Oregon) seconded the idea, suggesting that "a thorough investigation of Mr. Humphrey's activities will show he is so involved in a conflict of interests that he is disqualified to serve further as Secretary of the Treasury."

MORSE further noted Humphrey's "terrific influence on both the President and the Secretary of State in the field of foreign policy." Humphrey is a member of the National Security Council, the Nation's top strategy board.

Meanwhile Senator MATTHEW M. NEELY, Democrat, of West Virginia, has also been actively investigating the subject. Early in March, NEELY revealed the fact that Humphrey's M. A. Hanna Co. owns over $24 million worth of stock in the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, which has big oil interests in Saudi Arabia and other foreign lands. In addition, NEELY showed, M. A. Hanna owns over $10 million worth of stock in Seaboard Oil Corp., which is active in Venezuelan oil.

Since then Neely has pushed his investigations further and is now considering asking the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which he is a member, to probe the question of how well the "conflict of interest" laws are being enforced. This would include a look at Secretary Humphrey's situation.

The Senate Finance Committee under rightwing Senator HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, normally has jurisdiction over the Treasury Department but has shown no interest so far in probing Humphrey.

Some of the questions being raised on Capitol Hill, in view of the Humphrey companies' interests in Middle East oil and Canadian iron ore as well as their domestic holdings, include the following:

What role will Secretary Humphrey play if Communists threaten United States oil interests in the Middle East and a "command decision" has to be made under the new Eisenhower "doctrine" about sending in United States troops?

What part did Secretary Humphrey have in the Administration's decision not to protest the billion-dollar price increase imposed by the oil companies last January?

Why is it, as Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, recently noted, that under Secretary Humphrey the Treasury has been endlessly "studying" the huge "depletion allowance" tax loophole enjoyed by the oil companies without ever making any recommendation about it?

INCOME TAX ISSUE

Have any of the Humphrey companies had income tax troubles, and if so how were they settled?

Another background factor is that Cyrus Eaton, like Humphrey, is interested in Canadian iron ore. Eaton's company, Consolidated Premium Iron Ores, Ltd., is currently being sued by the Treasury for several million dollars in United States income taxes, even though it's a Canadian company. Humphrey's firm, Iron Ore Co. of Canada, isn't being sued.

However, the Treasury's General Counsel, Fred C. Scribner, Jr., told Labor the claim against the Eaton firm is that it did business in the United States and owes United States taxes on the profits of that business. Scribner said he didn't know if Iron Ore Company of Canada is in a similar situation.

Another Treasury spokesman, asked about the Eaton charges, told Labor there'd be no comment expect for Secretary Humphrey's statements during Senate hearings on his confirmation back in January 1953.

WORTH $120 MILLION

At those hearings, Humphrey said he would not sell his stock in M. A. Hanna, Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal, and National Steel. These holdings, together with those of his immediate family, amounted to less than 10 percent of these corporations total stock, Humphrey insisted. However even 10 percent, at current market values, would make the Humphrey family holdings worth over $120 million.

Humphrey did resign all his chairmanships and directorships and also promised the Senators that, as treasury-secretary, he would not participate in any case involving any of his companies.

ACCOUNTING KEPT SECRET

Humphrey promised to send the Senate Finance Committee an exact accounting of his stockholdings. A committee source told Labor this week that Humphrey did so and that former Senator Eugene Millikin, Republican, of Colorado, then chairman of the committee, looked over the statement, found it satisfactory and then put it in his personal files, not into the committee files. Thus Humphrey's statement of his exact holdings is available neither to the public nor to present Senators.

Humphrey also told the Senators at the 1953 hearings that, in his lawyer's opinion, the law banning business interests by the Secretary of the Treasury did not apply to his own stockholdings.

The law, passed by the First Congress in 1789, says: "No person appointed to the office of Secretary of the Treasury, or Treasurer, shall directly or indirectly be concerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade or commerce * * *." Breaking this law is a high misdemeanor, a criminal offense.

MELLON PARALLEL RECALLED

Significantly, this same law was used years ago by a young Texas Congressman to launch impeachment proceedings against another Secretary of the Treasury. The date was January 6, 1932. The Congressman was WRIGHT PATMAN, today a leading figure in the House. The target was Andrew W. Mellon, like Humphrey a big businessman and the darling of Wall Street and the financial world. The charge was essentially the same: Mellon's huge personal stockholdings. Less than a month after PATMAN launched his impeachment charge, President Hoover plucked Mellon out of his Treasury post and sent him off to England as United States Ambassador.

Today PATMAN still retains his opinion that the law bans any Treasury Secretary from keeping large personal stock interests.

"The law is very plain," he told labor. "You don't need any interpretation to understand what it says."

There's also a possibility that the House Small Business Subcommittee under Congressman JAMES ROOSEVELT, Democrat of California, will probe Eaton's charge about official favoritism for Humphrey's coal company.

However, few observers are willing to predict that Secretary Humphrey's alleged conflicts of interest will really be aired in Congress. The conservative forces that control both Chambers have shown no desire for it.

The Postal Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Newark Evening News, of April 9, 1957:

THE POSTAL CRISIS

Forbidden by law to spend more than Congress has appropriated, Postmaster General Summerfield plans to curtail postal service next Saturday unless he gets $47 million which he says he needs to come out even at the end of the fiscal year on June 30.

The House Appropriations Committee so far has not been willing to go above $17 millions, an amount which Mr. Summerfield says would only meet salary adjustments authorized after the regular appropriations bill went through.

Confronted by a similar situation 7 years ago, President Truman's postmaster general, Jesse M. Donaldson, cut home deliveries from two a day to one. Twice-a-day deliveries were never restored. If the committee remains obdurate, some of the cuts contemplated by Mr. Summerfield would certainly become permanent, too.

The Post Office is a horrible example of Government in business—a deficit operation offering persistently deteriorating service. The notion that the Post Office "is a public service, not a business," expressed anew last week by the Liberal Party of New York, is no longer true, if it ever was. The Post Office is an adjunct of business, as shown, among other things, by the volume of third-class mail it handles—apparently at a loss.

There is no more reason why the taxpayers should subsidize users of the Post Office than that they should subsidize the telephone and telegraph systems, both of which under private ownership are able to furnish satisfactory and reasonably priced service at a profit.

Mr. Summerfield attributes his budget difficulties to increased use of the mails and extension of routes required by population and economic growth. Under the archaic "public service, not a business" doctrine, increased postal volume merely increases postal deficits.

Unless it can back up the claims of some of its members, who insist without proof that Mr. Summerfield's projected economies are unnecessary, Congress has no alternative to giving him what he says he needs. After that has been attended to, Congress ought to consider putting the Post Office on a self-sustaining basis. The public would not object to higher rates—if they were accompanied by better service.

Post Office Department Appropriation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include a bulletin from the United National Association of Post Office Craftsmen, Mr. Joseph F. Thomas, president, and Mr. Joseph V. Silvestri, secretary.

You will note that this association recognizes the need for the reinstatement of the cut in the Post Office Department that was put into effect by a few members of the Appropriations Committee. I am inserting this, Mr. Speaker, in order to show the unanimity of those who are familiar with the subject and a desire to reinstate the $47 million and continue the efficient and capable service of the Post Office Department.

INDEPENDENT ASSOCIATIONS CONFER WITH WHITE HOUSE

Unaffiliated unions: Due to the proposed curtailment made necessary by the failure of the House Appropriations Committee to provide sufficient funds for the continued operation of the Post Office Department, most of the independent postal unions of the United States, representing over 200,000 postal employees, banded together and requested a meeting with President Eisenhower to discuss this vital problem.

Meet with top aid: Although prior commitment prevented the President from meeting with the unaffiliated groups, he did designate his executive assistant, Jack Anderson, a former Member of Congress, to meet with us and we did meet at the White House at 2:30 p. m., on Monday, April 8, 1957.

Problems discussed: At the meeting, which promises to be a most productive one, we urged Mr. Anderson to request President Eisenhower to personally use his prestige with the Congress to insure proper operation of the Post Office Department, so that no employee would suffer financially, or otherwise.

POSTAL PAY RAISE DISCUSSED

Organizations Present Views: The organization leaders present explained to the president's assistant the great difficulty in obtaining competent help at today's postal salaries and asked that a reasonable increase be considered at once. We compared postal salaries with those of other groups and presented various other facts in support of a salary increase. In addition, a typewritten résumé of our discussion was left with Mr. Anderson, who stated that he would see to it that President Eisenhower was familiarized with its contents.

Some Hope: The President's aide did say that our chances for a pay raise would be greatly increased by the settlement of the appropriation question and by the passage of a postage rate bill.

The following were in attendance at the White House meeting: James B. Cobb, president, National Alliance of Postal Employees; C. B. Gravitt, Jr., secretary, National League of Postmasters; Edward L. Baker, vice president, National Association, Postmasters of the United States; John D. Swygert, secretary, National Association, Postal Supervisors; Ray L. Hulick, president, National Rural Letter Carriers Association; Ross A. Messer, legislative representative, National Association, Post Office and General Services Maintenance Employees; and Joseph F. Thomas, president, United National Association, Post Office Craftsmen.

Other meetings: The independent groups are in the process of arranging further meetings with key persons in the Congress to further our salary aims.

Extending the Power of Prayer to Those in Need

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, too often modern inventions seem to lead us away from God. The following article explains how telephones may be used to help invoke God's powers for men and women in desperate need. I strongly commend this arrangement for Washington, D. C., and every city in this and other countries:

Wherever the Reverend Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell moves these days, he jots little notes. He writes on envelopes, on invitations, on cards. He writes in subways, on buses, on his walks.

His jottings are messages of hopes for men and women crushed by despair. He couples the messages with brief prayers and they go, fresh each night, on the Dial-a-Prayer telephones set up under Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, where he is pastor.

The telephones carry the messages and prayers, all on Circle 6-4200. They are in use around the clock. If you stand by them in the sealed rock chamber under the church, you hear the relays' metallic click as they pass each call.

The system has brought floods of mail to the minister's desk in the 2 years since the installation was set up in the basement. And it has brought him some weird experiences.

Most of the letters just pour out thanks for a message that lifted an overburdened heart, but sometimes prayer listeners ask for spiritual aid beyond the dialed prayer.

Some weeks ago, a deep voice called the minister's study. Dr. Bonnell answered. The voice told of having heard the prayer for that day: "We thank Thee, O Lord, that there are no hopeless cases in Thy clinic. Grant to every seeking soul now Thy healing and salvation."

The voice said, "Do you really believe, Dr. Bonnell, what you said about no case being hopeless to God?" The minister said he did, with all his heart.

The man begged for audience, but not at the church. Dr. Bonnell sensed that the man was desperate; the voice was not an old voice, but it broke and quavered. He agreed to meet the man in Central Park, near General Sherman's statue.

The man would wear a carnation. The minister was to carry a paper-wrapped book. They met, and the man opened his heart in full flood. His home was shattered; his wife and children were apart from him; he could not concentrate on his office work and his career faced disaster.

Dr. Bonnell knew that the prayer had unlocked the troubled soul; that this talk in the park—it lasted more than an hour—had provided outlet for something black and bitter that had found no previous gap.

The man told the minister, "I had meant to die today because there was no door out. If you will let me keep in touch, I know I

can fight through." He begged Dr. Bennell to take a small phial, filled with clear liquid, that he took from a coat pocket.

Dr. Bonnell forgot about the little bottle until his hand fell upon it in his overcoat, days later, as he passed a Madison Avenue drugstore. He went into the shop and asked the apothecary if he could identify the phial's contents.

The man lifted the cork and sniffed at it. He said, "Potassium cyanide. Enough to kill five men." The minister asked him to keep the poison, but to let him have the bottle, which he did.

The man who had turned over the phial has his feet back on firm ground again. So have other folk who have lifted a telephone in the dead of night to listen to the dialed messages and prayers.

There is a letter from a nurse in one of the large East Side hospitals—"* * * terribly discouraged and homestick; afraid of the future"—who found new faith in a prayer. One from a daughter who knew agony as she watched a mother die in the low hours when the indifferent city slept. One from a Wall Street man, hard-driven, who responded to, "Eternal God, help us to know that amid all life's busyness, in a moment of prayer we may drink at the deep wells of Thy peace."

Dr. Bonnell's congregation passes Dial-a-Prayer cards to friends and to coworkers and the cards spread. Mail shows that men and women even call from other States for a voice to sustain them over bitter hours. One letter said of the telephone prayer service: "I believe this is the greatest ministry that our church has ever exercised."

It is one of the miracles of a great city that the disembodied voice of a clergyman, rising from a Fifth Avenue church basement, can reach so many, to lead them out of depression's darkness.

Paying Retired Presidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Gaffney (S. C.) Ledger of April 9, 1957:

PAYING RETIRED PRESIDENTS

Congress is considering a proposal to pay past Presidents of the United States $25,000 a year. Although there are only two living past Presidents, one of them in advanced age, the proposal is a highly important one, as we view it.

No citizen would like to see a past President find himself financially embarrassed and forced to curtail his activities to such an extent that his life would not be a pleasant one.

Fortunately, neither of the two living ex-Presidents are in any financial difficulty and we do not think either of them would suffer if the proposal is not adopted. However, we think a past President is entiled to some consideration, and when one looks at the huge sums of money being spent, the small item of $25,000 fades into significance.

The United States is currently the greatest nation on earth, and the President of this Nation has the most important job in the world. A top executive would be retired on a fairly liberal pension, and we think the President of the United States should be retired in such manners, and $25,000 or a similar amount, would be an appropriate reward.

Thomas Harris MacDonald

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include an article appearing in the Monday, April 8 issue of the Washington Evening Star on Thomas Harris MacDonald, former Commissioner of Public Roads.

Mr. MacDonald during his tenure in Washington was one of the most respected individuals I have ever known and was carried in high esteem by all Members of this legislative body. He, more than any other man, made a greater contribution to the highways and road network of this great country.

Upon his retirement, his great work did not cease, but rather he carried on as a research engineer with the A. and M. College of Texas on highway problems, where he continued to make important contributions in the advancement and development of our highway programs.

It was my honor to be counted as one of Mr. MacDonald's many friends and to have him reside in my congressional district upon his retirement from Federal service:

THOMAS HARRIS MACDONALD, FORMER HEAD OF ROADS BUREAU

Thomas Harris MacDonald, a pioneer in road development in the automobile era who played a major role in the development of the Nation's modern highway system, died last night on the campus of Texas A. and M. College, the Associated Press reported. He was 76.

He apparently suffered a heart attack while attending a play on the college campus with his wife.

Mr. MacDonald retired in 1953 after 34 years as chief of the United States Bureau of Public Roads and Commissioner of Public Roads. Since then, he had held the title of Distinguished Research Engineer at Texas A. and M., and was instrumental in organizing the Texas Transportation Institute, official research branch for the Texas State Highway Commission.

WROTE THESIS ON ROADS

Born in a log cabin near Leadville, Iowa, in 1881, he once told an interviewer he became interested in good roads at an early age because there were none out there. He wrote a thesis at Iowa State College in 1904 on the need of better roads for farmers, and in 1907 was named State highway engineer of Iowa.

When Mr. MacDonald came to Washington in 1919 to take charge of the national highway program he was 38.

He recognized early the transformation the automobile would bring in the American way of life.

"The American people are trying a great experiment," he told an interviewer in 1924. "It is the greatest theory of transportation ever offered. No other people could ever have tried it at any other time in the world's history, because the conditions were not present. This is it:

"'The people have provided themselves with 15 million pieces of rolling stock and have asked the Government to supply the roadbed.

"'Think of our good roads not as separated pieces of good road, but as a system of good roads on which you can go anywhere with certainty. It is like a railroad system, except that each runs his own train of cars independently of every other train of cars. The one thing in common is the right-of-way.

In 1946, President Truman honored Mr. MacDonald with the Medal of Merit in recognition of outstanding public service during World War II.

The citation accompanying the award stated that he "had envisioned, even before the war, the importance of highways to military operations, and under his energetic leadership 78,800 miles of strategic highways were created and maintained."

FRENCH AND NORWEGIAN HONORS

He also held the Cross of the Legion of Honor of France, and was a knight of the first class in the Order of St. Olav of Norway.

He served on the executive committee of the American Association of State Highway Officials, and was the author of papers on highway engineering, administration, and finance. He belonged to the Cosmos Club here.

Mr. MacDonald is survived by his widow, Caroline; a daughter, Mrs. Charles Weidinger of Staunton, Va.; and a son, Thomas H. MacDonald, Jr., of Washington.

The body will be brought here Wednesday for graveside services at 11 a. m. in Cedar Hill Cemetery.

The Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct to the attention of our colleagues the following letter dated April 4, 1957, which I received from Mrs. W. E. Jenkins, of Jacksonville, Fla.:

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., *April 4, 1957.*

Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In looking over the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 2, I find your objections to increasing the postal rates. Congratulations. I am delighted to find a Congressman who has some consideration for the American citizen. The Postmaster General has been bleating about losing money in the Department ever since he took over the management of it. He is apparently of the opinion that the post office is in operation solely for the business of making money. He should take himself back into private enterprise.

Our local mail delivery service has continuously deteriorated since Mr. Summerfield took over. In our particular section of the city we get 1 delivery which usually arrives about 4 or 5 o'clock in the evening. A letter mailed from downtown Jacksonville will reach us in about 3 days.

It could well be that if Mr. Summerfield would apply a little efficiency in management, the operation of the Post Office Department would not be so expensive.

Thank you for your attention and your good work.

Respectfully,

Mrs. W. E. JENKINS.

A Clever Deception

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, the unrelenting attack upon cooperatives continues unabated. Magazine advertisements sponsored by big business and utility interests cry out against the idea of American citizens banding together to secure goods and services for themselves and try to brand that simple democratic action as something foreign or alien. Implied in much of this attack is the suggestion that the co-op idea is about to uproot established commerce. Another frequently featured point is the false suggestion that co-ops bask in the light of tax advantages not enjoyed by private business. A letter I have received from the Cooperative League of the United States of America helps put this insidious campaign in its place by pointing out that co-ops themselves are really small business and all of them together do only about 2 to 3 percent of the Nation's business. Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the entire letter:

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, D. C., April 8, 1957.

Hon. LESTER R. JOHNSON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. JOHNSON: There are usually two sides to every question. Sometimes one side gets 'way out of hand, especially when it has unlimited amounts of money to spend.

That's what has happened in the current campaign against cooperatives. A bakers' association in Wisconsin claims that 50 percent of the independent bakers have gone out of business because of the "unfair tax advantage" of coops. Actually none has disappeared because of coop competition. There is only one cooperative bakery in the State.

It is, of course, perfectly true that small businesses are having a hard time, and that many of them have been either merged or forced out of business in recent years. But it is obvious, even upon superficial observation, that it is the corporate giants with control over 85 percent of the Nation's business which are the cause of this. And it is ridiculous—but, nonetheless, a very clever deception—to blame it on cooperatives, which are themselves small business, and which altogether do only about 2 to 3 percent of the Nation's business. What is happening is that a flood of big business money is being used to try to make small business afraid of cooperatives rather than the real dangers which it faces.

The cry that coops have an unfair tax advantage is as phony as a $3 bill. Revenue Act amendments passed in 1951 finished the job of putting coops and profit corporations on essentially the same tax basis. The point these letters to Congress attacking cooperatives don't make is that coops return to customers according to their purchases what the corporations can accumulate as profits. Federal income tax is not paid on these customer rebates either by cooperatives or profit corporations. The law applies to both equally.

Now comes the American Press with its poll of editors asking a "when are you going to stop beating your wife?" question. "Question 9: Bills have been introduced in Congress requiring that cooperative corporations and savings and loan associations be subject to Federal income taxation in the same manner as other business corporations. Would you favor such legislation?" Naturally, 86 percent of the editors replied "yes." But 12 percent knew what the tax law presently provides. As one editor said, "cooperatives are taxed like other corporations now. This is a question widely debated and much misunderstood by lay people and warped out of shape."

By some strange coincidence, the so-called National Tax Equality Association, which has spearheaded the drive to befuddle and confuse small business and the public, takes a double-page advertisement in the same issue of the same paper to boast of its handiwork in confusing editors, as well.

Maybe you have some questions to ask us. If so, feel free to do so. We will gladly give you all the facts in as much detail as you desire about the tax status of cooperative business.

Sincerely yours,

JERRY VOORHIS,
Executive Director.

Allowance for Career Diplomats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, this matter of insufficient allowances for career diplomats continues to be of concern to many. I respectfully call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial appearing in the April 7, 1957, edition of the New York Times:

AMBASSADORS AND POLITICS

The venerable Senator THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, Democrat of Rhode Island, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, speaking in a "closed" meeting, expressed some doubt as to the administration's recent ambassadorial appointments. His colleagues, including the Republican members, backed him up in a letter on this subject sent to Secretary Dulles.

The letter made familiar points. It conceded that all Presidents bestowed diplomatic appointments on generous contributors to party funds. The committee was worried, however, about some so-called political appointments. Senator HUMPHREY of Minnesota made the consoling remark that "there is no objection whatever to wealth as such," but Senator FULBRIGHT of Arkansas, is believed to have said that it would be a good thing if ambassadors possessed some familiarity with the language and tradition of the countriess to which they were posted.

Senator GREEN can of course, look back to days when diplomatic appointments were far more political than they are today. For more than a decade, under the Foreign Service Act, career Foreign Service officers have been increasing in numbers and in prestige. We are not represented in many important posts by political hacks. It remains true, however, that some posts, such as those at London, Paris, and Rome, require the American Ambassador to spend far more on entertainment than he receives in salary and allowances from his Government. This doesn't mean that we must have weak, inefficient or ignorant men in those posts. We have, in fact, been lucky. But when one of the requirements for a certain job is that the applicant shall be wealthy in his own right we limit the field of selection just as we would if we required him to have red hair or an interest in astronomy.

What is needed, one would think, is a more generous scale of allowances. This wouldn't shut out successful men of affairs who are willing to serve their country abroad, but it would admit others equally willing whose talents—and certainly we would hope for talents—have not endowed them overgenerously with the world's goods.

USIA Is Too Big

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I am including herewith an interesting editorial that appeared in today's issue of the Washington Daily News.

I believe the views expressed in this editorial—as well as the information included therewith are of interest to the Members as well as the general public. This, especially, for the reason this proposed legislation will be considered in the House within the next few days.

The editorial follows:

USIA Is Too Big

Americans always have been dubious about foreign propaganda, including their own. Budget hearing testimony just made public by a House subcommittee will strengthen that attitude.

The United States Information Agency (USIA) is a postwar organization set up to tell the world about our democracy and offset anti-Americanism. It spent $87 million in 1956, will spend $113 million this year and wants $140 million for 1958. The number of employees on its payroll has been increasing about 1,000 a year.

It has sent abroad swarms of ex-newspaper workers and others who must be falling over their own feet in their struggle to distribute Government handouts.

It employs, for instance, 17 Americans and 116 natives in tiny Cambodia, a country half the size of California and with one-third that State's population. It employs 489 in Japan, 222 in Korea. To tell its story it wants to spend $2,692,304 next year in France, $1,700,778 in Britain.

Most of these countries are already supplied with all the American news they can absorb, by the same worldwide press associations which serve American newspapers, and by magazines, American films, etc.

These private mediums have established a solid reputation for telling the truth about America and the rest of the world because—almost uniquely in the world—they operate without Government subsidy or political control.

USIA operation in this field is, at best, interference and duplication. At worst it

raises suspicion as to the disinterested reliability of all American news.

There is need for an American information service which functions modestly and intelligently. It should supplement rather than compete with other agencies. Its projects should be specific and limited, rather than splattered all over the lot.

The best things USIA does are usually those which employ the fewest people and cost least money. Most USIA libraries and reading rooms are crowded and highly productive of good will. The exchange program brings civic and youth leaders, labor unionists, and other influential men and women to this country to see for themselves. They usually return home enthusiastic about this country, anxious to combat anti-Americanism in their own lands.

But overall the USIA has far too many employees, trying to do far to many things. It wants to spend 24 percent more next year than this. It could spend 24 percent less and get more done.

Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a letter from the Brewery Workers Local Union No. 21, Belleville, Ill., stating their position in favor of granting statehood to Hawaii and Alaska. The letter I received, signed by Eugene E. Meder, secretary-treasurer of local 21, follows:

BREWERY WORKERS LOCAL UNION No. 21,
Belleville, Ill., April 8, 1957.

Hon. MELVIN PRICE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It is with concern that I write to you of this matter. Local No. 21 and I personally am of the opinion that Hawaii should be admitted to the Union. Judging from the past record of Hawaii, they (the people) have been of great help to our Nation in time of war and peace. As a far western outpost, they have benefited us as a bastion against the isms of the world of today. Financially and economically they are tied to us through industry, agriculture, and labor. It would be in our estimation a benefit to both sides to have them as a direct member of our great union.

Therefore we urge you to vote in the affirmative on admission of Hawaii as a State. The foregoing conclusion would also directly apply to Alaska as a State, and once again we urge an affirmative vote on admission of Hawaii and Alaska as States to our great Union.

We of the United States have a direct responsibility to the peoples of the world, to show that we are not interested in colonizations, or any of its various types, and these two Territories have shown their ability as well as their willingness to be a part of us.

Local No. 21 would also like to bring to your attention the desirability of voting in the affirmative on the Morse-Kelly bills S. 1267 and H. R. 4575, providing for extension of coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to 9.6 millions of low-paid workers now denied its protection. We think these bills would fully cover our objectives on minimum wage legislation.

Sincerely yours:

EUGENE E. MEDER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Cutting the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives yesterday approved cutting some $218 million from the Commerce Department appropriation. Previously, nearly $800 million dollars were cut from other appropriations. Thus, Congress already reduced the Eisenhower budget, which is the largest ever submitted in the country's peacetime history, by over $1 billion.

The Democratic-controlled Congress is determined to economize and is making sincere attempts to reduce the inflated budget for the coming fiscal year. From the current sentiment in Congress, it can be expected that further cuts will be made amounting to possibly three or four billion dollars.

If this is achieved, then Congress should follow it up with a reduction in income tax for all taxpayers.

I believe that considerable budget reduction is possible by efficient administration and the elimination of waste, duplication and extravagance. I further believe that such economy can be effected without jeopardizing the welfare of the American people, especially the aged people, the war veterans, small business, and certainly the health needs of the Nation.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

Address by P. Dale Soriano

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD a very interesting address by my good friend, P. Dale Soriano, executive director of the National Council of Civic Associations, Inc., which he delivered on March 25, 1957, before the Four Chaplains Memorial Chapter of the Disabled American Veterans at their State armory in Brooklyn.

Mr. Soriano's address contains a strong and moving appeal for enactment of H. R. 51, a bill to increase the compensation to disabled veterans. I wholeheartedly support the views expressed in this address and commend it to the attention of all my colleagues in both Houses of Congress.

The text of Mr. Soriano's address is as follows:

THE NEW COMPENSATION BILL

Dear veterans, March is a month in which we all have to face the income tax problem, and from there most of us go on to worry a little about our income-tax dollar and whether it is being spent the way it should be, and whether our national expenses could not be reduced somehow. Taking all this into consideration, I suppose it is a little bit bold of me to pick this particular time to talk to you about a bill now before our National House of Representatives in Washington which calls for an increase, although a small one, in compensation for disabled veterans.

With your permission, however, I'd like to tell you a little about this bill and why we of the Disabled American Veterans feel that if all our tax money were spent as wisely as it would be to effect this increase, we'd have nothing whatever to worry about, so far as how our tax dollar is spent. In fact, the DAV has given the passage of this bill top priority on our list of objectives for the coming year, because we know that it is absolutely necessary for even the basic needs of our Nation's disabled veterans, and because we know that it is good for the country as a whole.

At the present time, a veteran who has been totally disabled as a result of his wartime service to his country is awarded compensation of $181 a month, if he presents his claim and proves to the Veterans' Administration that he is entitled to a 100 percent disability rating. It doesn't take much figuring to see that this amount won't go very far toward providing even a basic standard of living for the man whose abilities to earn for himself have been so sharply curtailed.

The present bill before the House of Representatives, which is known as H. R. 51, would provide for increasing this compensation to $250 per month, not a tremendous increase, to be sure, but one that would mean a great deal to the totally disabled veteran. And when you consider that he didn't stop to ask whether or not he might be injured so that he couldn't earn his own living, before he went into the action that cost him his health and well-being, I don't see how we can fail to grant him that consideration now.

However, Veterans' Administration statistics show that only 1 in 20 disabled veterans has this total disability rating of 100 percent, and disability compensation is scaled down in proportion to the percentage of disability. Only 5.3 percent of all veterans drawing compensation have handicaps rated between 60 and 90 percent. Those with lesser disabilities make up the greater number of veterans who receive compensation, and their compensation is, of course, a good deal less.

There seems to have arisen an unfortunate feeling that because a veteran is less than 50 percent disabled, he really doesn't need any help from his Government, even though he has earned it. Nothing could be further from the truth. Let's look at a typical example, whom we'll call Joe Brown. Joe served in the Korean conflict, and as you probably know, the climate wasn't exactly ideal, let alone the severe military action in which we were involved. To put it flippantly, the foxholes were neither steam heated nor air conditioned. Joe's feet were badly frostbitten, not quite badly enough to require amputation of the toes, thank goodness, but very painfully.

After Joe was discharged from the armed services, he wasn't able to handle his old job in the factory because it meant standing on his feet, so he got an office job. He couldn't make as much money as before, because his talents didn't really lie in that direction, but with the compensation he received because of his disability, in addition to his decreased earning power he could just scrape by, with no possibility, of course, of laying anything at all aside for a rainy day. And incidentally, he didn't come by his compensation check automatically. He had to file a claim with the Veterans' Administration, and with the help of the DAV national service office he presented his claim before a VA rating board and was awarded a 40-percent rate of disability.

The only hitch in this plan whereby Joe was managing just to get by was that prices seemed to be constantly increasing, and as the months and years went on, his compensation plus his salary just didn't buy as much as they did when he came out of service.

Then one day when Joe tried to get out of bed in the morning to go to work, he just couldn't make it. His feet felt like they were literally on fire. He couldn't get his shoes on, and couldn't even put his feet to the floor. Naturally, he couldn't go to the office. He had to have immediate medical treatment in a VA hospital. This trouble, he finds, recurs every so often, and when it does, it means no work, and that of course means nothing coming in but his compensation. You all know what happens then, with no reserves to draw on.

I think you can easily see why in the case of Joe or any other similar disabled veteran with a 40 percent or 30 percent or 20 percent or even 10 percent disability, the DAV feels that a cost-of-living increase in compensation is absolutely necessary, just as much as it is for the 100 percent disabled man. The increase in dollars and cents to a lesser disabled man is of course smaller, in proportion to his smaller compensation, but when he needs it, he needs it just as badly as the 100 percent disabled man, because at that time of emergency he is 100 percent disabled, and he has fixed no income at all outside of his small compensation.

The Joe Browns—the veterans who weren't totally disabled, but just disabled enough to throw their whole economic picture in the future out of kilter—they are in the majority. They don't need complete financial aid, and they don't want the Government to support them the rest of their lives, because they are able to work part of the time. But they do need a boost, to keep them going when they're unable to work, when their disability recurs and they have to be hospitalized, and above all, to keep pace to some degree with the rising cost of living. Our Joe Brown, rated at 40 percent disability by the Veterans' Administration, would receive a monthly compensation of $80 per month, if H. R. 51 is passed, instead of the $66 he receives now—and believe me, that will barely begin to take up the slack between his reduced earning powers plus his compensation, and the cost of living at a decent minimum today.

Most of us realize, I think, something of the cost of war in lives lost and families broken up by the loss of those loved ones, and hearts broken because of the terrible hurt to their husbands and fathers who come home disabled. We as a nation and as individuals deplore their loss. But there is one thing we hate to face up to, and that is that war costs money, and that that cost doesn't stop when the shooting stops. It goes on as long as the brave men live who fought that war, because we must not—we cannot—allow those who didn't count the cost of their own well-being when their services were needed to suffer needlessly for the rest of their lives after the danger is past.

We Americans in the past few years have come to accept the realization that we must give of our bounty to help other nations not so fortunate, and, indeed, billions have been spent both in war and peace time in this manner. I have no wish to praise or censure the amount of money which we have spent and are spending as a nation in this endeavor to maintain our friendly relations with the rest of the world, and to help prevent the spread of communistic tendencies in other countries. Indeed, it is one of the basic principles of the DAV that we take no stand on world affairs or politics, either internal or international, as an organization.

I would like to point out, however, that just as we seem to feel that it is good business for us to help those nations who have been allied with us in time of war, and who, we hope, will continue to stand shoulder to shoulder with our country—so it is good business for us to give a helping hand to those brave men in our own country who have borne the brunt of wartime suffering, and whose children will make up our future manpower.

We have heard it said that charity begins at home. But disabled veterans don't care much for that word "charity," when applied to the disabled veteran. We of the DAV feel that the compensation awarded to the disabled veteran is not in any sense charity—it is payment for services rendered, and rendered well, and just as wages for any employment must rise to some extent with a rising economy, so must these payments rise at least in some small measure to help meet the increased cost of living. So let us say,

rather, that good business relations begin at home. We can never be strong as a nation while a handicap is placed upon serving our country. Our young men who have protected us and could conceivably be called upon to do so in the future must have the assurance that their country is with them all the way and will not stop to count pennies when the debt is so great and the reimbursement asked for is so small.

Thanks you for listening.

Economy Drive Lags

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following congressional bulletin sent out by my colleague from Michigan, ALVIN M. BENTLEY, to his constituents:

The week before last, the House completed action on the 1958 appropriations for the Departments of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Labor. The Appropriations Committee had already cut $118 million out of the budget request of nearly $3 billion. During debate on the bill, further cuts of some $68 million were approved.

But when the time came for recorded rollcall voting, the Congressmen were only willing to approve $15 million of the $68 million cuts. In other words, they put $53 million back into the bill. Specifically, increases were voted for the Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment Rights, the Women's Bureau, the Food and Drug Administration, the Office of Education and grants for waste treatment works construction.

Out of 14 rollcall votes on April 4, I voted for a cut in every single case as I had previously promised to do. I did this in spite of the fact I had received telegrams from several organizations in Michigan asking me to vote for the higher figures. I should point out that in every single case the cut was merely to restore the amount spent in the present fiscal year. Nowhere did we try to cut below 1957 appropriations.

What all this means is that in spite of the high-sounding promises about economy in government and about budget-cutting, the House failed to practice real economy in this opportunity. The combined budgets for these two departments is only $34 million less than they got a year ago and most of the various offices, agencies, bureaus, etc. were increased. It means that it is one thing to talk economy and another thing to practice it. It means that the people who want real economy in government and real tax relief are going to have to create pressure on Congress that will outweigh the pressure from organizations which have a natural desire to protect their own projects from any cuts at all.

It is interesting to know that, of the 14 rollcall votes, 6 Michigan Republican Congressmen had a solid vote for cuts on all rollcalls. In addition to myself, these were Congressman MEADER, Congressman JOHANSEN, Congressman HOFFMAN, Congressman CHAMBERLAIN, and Congressman CEDERBERG. It is also interesting to know that, among Michigan's 6 Democratic Congressmen, 1 of them voted for a cut—on 1 vote only.

The Michigan Office of Civil Defense has released a report showing funds made available to all Michigan counties from 1950 through 1956 for the purchase of equipment and supplies for civil defense. Clinton County put up $2,280.93 and received a matching Federal share for a total of $4,561.87. Gratiot County put up $1,174.40, got $274.90 from the State and $1,449.30 from the Federal Government for a total of $2,898.60. Ionia County put up $2,532.18 and that was matched by the Federal Government for a total of $5,064.36. Montcalm County's $1,765.38 was also federally matched for a total of $3,530.76. Saginaw County put up $3,599.94, got $3,081.94 from the State and $5,793.04 from the Federal Government for a total of $12,474.92. Shiawassee County put up $2,821.25 and that was matched by the Federal Government for a total of $5,642.50. We see, therefore, that during those 6 years the 6 counties of the eighth district only received a total of $16,642.08 for civil defense from Federal sources. Compare this with $2 million plus which was spent by Washington in the State of Michigan as a whole. However, certain municipalities, such as Ionia, Belding, Portland, Alma, St. Johns, and others received matching grants which are not included in the above figures.

On March 28 the Rural Electrification Administration approved a loan of more than $3 million to the Wolverine Electric Cooperative of Big Rapids which involves the possible use of nuclear energy for the generation of power. Wolverine's three member cooperatives, located at Portland, Newaygo, and Hart, serve more than 20,000 farmers and other rural consumers in west central Michigan.

A House subcommittee has just approved a 5-year, $2 billion school-construction program. This bill calls for maximum Federal spending of $400 million annually for the next 5 years as well as a $750 million program to let the Government purchase school-district bonds. There is also a $150 million authorization for the Government to service and guarantee State school-bond issues.

Budget Cuts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the American Association of University Women, an organization composed of outstanding educators throughout the country and one which needs no introduction to this body, is gravely concerned over the indiscriminate cutting of the budget and the ruthless slashing of appropriations without regard to actual need of the services involved. In a letter to me under date of April 4 they set forth their views on various phases of the legislation now before us, which merit serious consideration by the Members of the House. I ask unanimous consent for this letter to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The letter follows:

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN,
Washington, D. C., April 4, 1957.

Hon. EDITH GREEN,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. GREEN: By convention directives, the American Association of University Women supports economy in Government. But we believe the appropriations seriously and conscientiously recommended in the President's budget to be in line with the promises made to the American people by the administration and with those promises incorporated in the platform of the Democratic Party.

We also believe any major cutting of the administration budget is false economy which will leave current problems unresolved and which will inevitably result in multiplication of future expenditures.

We support the President in his belief that the $4,400,000,000 asked for the mutual security program is the minimum for the next fiscal year in terms of the safety of the world and as cheap insurance for our own safety.

Our studies have convinced us that the Office of Education cannot effectively serve the American people without the sums requested.

We believe the appropriation of Federal funds to assist the States in school construction is essential.

We regard the full sums requested by the Women's Bureau and such agencies as the Food and Drug Administration to be warranted, as greatly increasing demands for services from such agencies require increased budgets.

Sincerely,
Dr. KATE HEVNER MUELLER,
Chairman, Education Committee.
Dr. MERIBETH CAMERON,
Chairman, International Relations Committee.
Mrs. GERTRUDE HOUK FARISS,
Chairman, Status of Women Committee.
Dr. JANET MACDONALD,
Chairman, Social Studies Committee.
ISABEL H. KIDENEY,
Chairman, Legislative Program Committee.

What's Become of Our Champion?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, on April 3, 1957, an editorial was printed in the Kennebec Daily Journal, Augusta, Maine, emphasizing the necessity of immediate action to prevent the further loss of jobs caused by the serious damage to the textile industry by the loss of American business. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

WHAT'S BECOME OF OUR CHAMPION?

As much as we admire him, we get the impression President Eisenhower is playing his foreign aid fiddle while Rome burns.

Foreign aid was sold to the American public with double talk of such high caliber that it was palatable. We recognized the need for keeping depressed nations out of the Soviet sphere of influence by various financial and technological programs to raise their living standards. As a byproduct we were to enjoy more trade with them from their stimulated economy. It all made sense.

But, we were assured that areas and industries here in America that suffered from this program would be given prompt and effective relief. A child could see the folly of throwing big segments of our economy into a depression in an effort to stimulate the backward nations of the world.

What has been done to keep this promise?

What could be more distressing than seeing the final, valiant holdouts against the

retreat of New England's textile industry sacrificed to an oriental ideological experiment? Who won the war, the boys from the mill cities of New England, or the honorable suicide squads from the rice paddies?

While sleek new industries rise abroad, they're falling here with deadly regularity—Sanford, Brunswick, Skowhegan, Waterville, Madison, Lewiston, Saco—with Augusta's biggest mill described this week as "shaky." They staggered before the artificially created differentials of the mid-South TVA area; they toppled before United States subsidized foreign competition.

Where is the administration, champion of business and free enterprise, that we installed with such high hopes? Can it be that our desperate plight is too trivial for congressional and Presidential concern? Are we expendable in the grand scheme?

If so, let's find out where we stand and talk about it. Let it echo through our empty factories. Let's make up our minds if we have had almost enough, enough, or more than enough.

Let's find voices that mean what they say when they declare the Nation's proud heritage should be preserved. Time is running out here in New England for those we thought were our champions. If they can't get the Government out of the business that is ruining us, let us, including our own loyal congressional delegation, turn our support to those who will.

A Tribute to Edgar J. Armstrong, an Outstanding American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a resolution commemorating Edgar J. Armstrong's more than 50 years of devoted and loyal service to the First Presbyterian Church of Mineola, N. Y.

Born September 10, 1870, Edgar J. Armstrong symbolizes our finest and proudest traditions. A product of the most sublime era in American history, a man of strong character and great dignity, resourcefulness and imagination, generous of his time, his energy, and his knowledge, he has given strength and support to all who have had the good fortune to know and to work with him.

The resolution is as follows:

Whereas the board of trustees of the First Presbyterian Church of Mineola desires to recognize the lifelong service and devotion of Edgar J. Armstrong; and

Whereas Edgar J. Armstrong has been a member of the board of trustees for over half a century; and

Whereas throughout that time he has been an invaluable aid to said board of trustees because of his sound business acumen and his unflagging energy; and

Whereas the successful business administration of the church has been in no small measure due to his sagacity and zeal; and

Whereas he has been a source of inspiration and a stimulating influence to those who have been privileged to be associated with him in the work of the church: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the board of trustees of the First Presbyterian Church of Mineola do extend to Edgar J. Armstrong, their heartfelt thanks for the uncounted hours of service in behalf of the church and extend their unanimous hope for continued good health and happiness; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread in full upon the minutes of the board of trustees of the First Presbyterian Church of Mineola.

As visible evidence of their expressions, the present board of trustees, together with former trustees, present at a special meeting called for this purpose, have inscribed their names to this testimonial of their esteem and affection.

Given at Mineola, N. Y., this 5th day of April 1957.

Joseph A. Bub, President; Garret E. O'Dell, Vice President; Paul W. Weber, Secretary; Frank J. Fuhrer, Treasurer; Carl L. Robinson, Financial Secretary; Rev. Kermit J. Nord; Steven B. Derounian; Donald Harrison; John A. Moore; John F. Buhler; Prescott Albee; William B. Etheridge; Arthur L. Guldi; Lowell H. Frye; George C. Rose; George J. Schatz; Archibald N. Young; Alexander Kennel; Richard A. Newhouse; George F. May; Henry W. Cronn.

Neutralism—A Growing Force in the World's Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the subject of neutralism in world affairs must be of great interest to the people and especially to the architects of our foreign policy. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a challenging article by Mr. Fred Theroux which appeared in the Sunday Star of April 7. The writer calls attention to the responsibility of Congress as it attempts to write foreign policy, and he points out that there are challenging political possibilities in the idea of neutralist nations. I commend it to the attention of the House:

NEUTRALISM—A GROWING FORCE IN THE WORLD'S AFFAIRS

(By Fred Theroux)

Neutralism, a concept comparatively new to international politics, is today a major factor in the East-West cold war. The nations espousing it are finding that together they can wield an important influence in world affairs. And as that influence expands the pressure on them from the two great rival blocs increases.

A term devoid of precise or legal meaning, neutralism means, in effect, nonalinement. It is not neutrality, in the traditional sense, but, rather, an abstaining, a refusal to choose sides in the global rivalry of the Communist bloc and the nations of the so-called free world.

Not unnaturally, the neutralist nations have become the target of much bitter criticism from the committed antagonists in the cold war. On the theory, so bluntly stated in an American labor controversy of the 19th century, that "them that ain't with us is against us," the neutralist bloc has been attacked as essentially pro-Communist by Western critics. From the Communist side, outright attacks have been few, but every trick and trade known to the Kremlin's policymakers has been used to lure the neutralists toward the Red orbit.

THE SURVIVAL INSTINCT

But neutralism, as a national policy, is probably safe from the charge that it favors, with any consistency, one side or the other in the cold war. Whatever a carefully analyzed balance sheet might show, the fact remains that it is much more the product of the instinct for survival than a moral position or even a device of strategy.

For neutralism is clearly associated with vulnerability. It is practiced formally by new nations, most of them only yesterday released from the bonds of colonial status, and eager to build up a national identity without becoming the tail to another great power kite. There have been exceptions, of course, to this general rule—the Philippines, South Korea, and Vietnam, for example. But in each of these nations, lately arrived at independence, special considerations have worked to offset neutralist tendencies.

The roster of the neutralist nations tells its own story. Led by India, where Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's nonalinement path has brought him blame and suspicion, the major neutralist nations include: Burma, strategically shadowed by the vast bulk of Communist China; Laos, and Cambodia, neutral even from the neutrals according to Cambodian delegate to the United Nations Gen. Nhiek Tioulong; Ceylon, whose Prime Minister of leftist persuasion, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, said last year "we would like to be the Switzerland of Asia * * *" Afghanistan, wooed assiduously by both East and West but officially nonalined except for official approval of the new Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East last week; Indonesia, torn by serious internal revolt, accepting limited economic aid from both the United States and the Soviet Union, opposed to all military alliances and, in the words of President Sukarno, eager to see the world free of capitalism and imperialism.

Then there are the Arab States: Egypt, whose dictator President, Gamal Abdel Nasser, dreams openly of Egyptian leadership of a pan-Arab empire; Saudi Arabia, feudal desert monarchy rich in oil but closely tied by the same token to western economic influences; Yemen, isolated, medieval autocracy; Syria, leaning strongly toward Soviet tutelage but seething with internal political turmoil; Lebanon, a Christian-Arab nation of cosmopolitan tendencies unlike those of many of its close neighbors; Jordan, an artificially created kingdom whose political future is extremely dubious; Iraq, the only Arab State identified with the West's Baghdad Pact, which is fervently opposed by the rest of the Arab bloc; the Sudan, where strong pro-Soviet influences have been evident but whose present government is officially neutralist; Tunisia, probably the most prowestern of all the Arab States and certainly the most cosmopolitan, but nevertheless determinedly neutralist, and Morocco, like Tunisia, a recent addition to the ranks of independent nations.

HAD COLONIAL BEGINNINGS

All but two of these neutralists were until recently colonial dependencies of the old great powers—Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands. Their neutralism serves not only their immediate national interests, but also their fierce determination to assert their hard-won independence.

In Europe, besides the traditional neutrality (not neutralism) of Switzerland and Sweden, and the enforced neutrality of Finland and Austria, there is the questionable status of Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia. In the strictest sense, Yugoslavia is not really neutralist. It is not even nonalined, since the Communist regime there has certain ties with both sides in the cold war. In many aspects of foreign policy, Marshal Tito has

sided with the West. In others he has either sided with the Red bloc in the U. N. or carefully abstained from commitments. Neither a neutralist nor a satellite, the closest description of the Tito regime today would perhaps be that of a bridge, a buffer between the Communist bloc and the free world.

Nonalinement, in the case of the neutralist states, has definitely not implied isolation. While these nations carefully avoid identification with either of the two rival camps of the world, they nonetheless take an active part in world affairs. India, in particular, has been extremely active on the world stage, and the neutralist nations in the U. N., often with Indian leadership, have proved their ability to exercise a balance-of-power influence which has been at times decisive.

It would be too much to say, as of the moment, that the neutralist nations are of more comfort to the Communist bloc than they have been to the West. Despite individual actions seemingly attesting to the contrary, their nonalinement has been successful and effective.

But their almost belligerent insistence on their nonalinement, plus their determined assertion of their emancipation from colonial or semicolonial status, makes them inevitably major problems for western diplomacy. And Moscow, fully aware of the possibilities involved, has left no stone unturned to remind these nations of their late colonialism and of the identity of the former masters.

WAR WOULD CHANGE STATUS

Neutralism in the cold war, in the opinion of most close observers, does not by any means presuppose neutrality in a hot war. If the bombs began dropping, these nations would be forced, almost inevitably, to take sides. But until then, most of them probably will continue to find their immediate interests best served by nonalinement.

Pessimists on the subject of neutralism foresee the dropping of the neutralists, like overripe fruit, into the lap of the Kremlin. Optimists, on the other hand, look to the neutralists to restore sanity to a divided world by virtue of their effective balance-of-power role in critical situations.

Whichever might be the more accurate prognosis, the fact is undeniable that the existence of the neutralists does operate, clearly and effectively, to prevent the world from congealing into two hopelessly hostile and murderous camps. Remaining uncommitted, they might conceivably muster enough collective strength eventually to make impossible a global, nuclear showdown.

THE POLITICAL ASPECTS

To Congress, of course, the question of neutralism poses any number of challenging political possibilities. Our lawmakers are also the protectors of the taxpayers' pocketbooks; few indeed are the Representatives and Senators who are willing to face their constituents with a defense of American aid to nations publicly unwilling to espouse the West's cause in the cold war.

Already this year, in the congressional drive to find places in the President's budget where major slashes can be made with minimum conflict, the field of foreign aid looks most attractive. A sizable campaign is underway—Senator BYRD, Democrat of Virginia, has said it will aim for a $2 billion cut—to reduce American economic and military aid to foreign nations. Significantly, the opening attack has been aimed at the neutralists.

But the economy-minded effort to cut off all aid to India, Indonesia, and Yugoslavia, on the ground that these nations refuse to associate themselves with the West in the cold war, faces the determined opposition of the State Department and the White House.

H. R. 5101

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H. R. 5101 which would amend the Internal Revenue Code to exempt from the manufacturers' excise tax certain automobiles furnished without charge to schools for use in driver-training programs.

This bill has the full endorsement of the National Automobile Dealers Association.

The following is a letter I received concerning this measure. The author of the letter is former State Senator Burton L. Lohmuller, Centralia, Kans. Senator Lohmuller represented the 17th District in the Kansas State Legislature. Senator Lohmuller's letter and the excerpts of his statement made before the educational committee of the legislative council of Kansas, which I included herewith, clearly indicate some of the many reasons why H. R. 5101 should be enacted into law. Senator Lohmuller's background and experience qualify him to speak with intelligence on this subject. His comments merit the attention of all Members of Congress:

THE FIRST NATIONAL
BANK OF CENTRALIA,
Centralia, Kans., February 25, 1957.

Hon. WM. H. AVERY,
House of Representatives, Congress of the United States, Washington, D. C.

DEAR BILL: I was glad to read the article in the Topeka papers yesterday regarding your bill which would have the effect of exempting manufacturer's excise taxes on automobiles donated to schools for driver education.

Providing this bill can be passed, I am sure it will be a boon for driver education in the schools of the United States.

I am very much interested in driver education in the schools of Kansas and had a proposal before the legislative council 2 years ago that is still being studied, which would require Kansas high school students to take driver education before graduating from high school. I am enclosing a copy of my statements made before the educational committee of the legislative council of Kansas last year.

Very truly yours,
BURTON L. LOHMULLER,
President.

Mr. Speaker, the following are excerpts from the statement of Senator Lohmuller before the education committee of the legislative council of Kansas to establish a curriculum covering both the formal and practical education of our children as one of our greatest responsibilities:

Since the automobile has such an important place in the lives of all citizens, a knowledge of its mechanics, rules of conduct, traffic laws, adequate insurance, courteous driving, and of our own limitations, are imperative in modern driving to help insure the driver's safety and that of the general public.

To me, the inclusion of driver's training in our educational system is more than adding a new subject. It is adding an opportunity to include knowledge which can and will be used, and a practical plan to give the student an opportunity to practice courteous and proper social behavior in a real life situation.

I feel all the schools in Kansas should endeavor to work the course in auto driver education into their curriculum.

There is urgent need for teaching health and safety to our youth.

According to a chart, published for the schools by the Kansas State Board of Health, one can note that the period in one's life where most accidents occur is in the age group from 5 to 24. The increase in accidental deaths begins in the age group from 5 to 14 years. In this same group, 40 percent of the total deaths are caused by accidents. In the next age group from 15 to 24, being children of high school and college age, and the ages at which young people are driving more automobiles, 60 percent of the total deaths in this group are caused by accidents.

There is no organization, other than our school system, to teach safe driving in our cities and towns and on our highways. Through such a system, our future generations will be better and more careful drivers and thereby save many lives.

Prayer at Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner at York, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following prayer delivered by Rabbi Nathan Levinson, of the Ohev Sholom Synagogue, of York, Pa., at the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner held in York on Saturday evening, April 6, 1957, at which I was the principal speaker:

O God, be graciously pleased to take us under Thy fatherly care. Imprint upon our hearts such a grateful sense of Thy goodness as to make us ashamed to offend Thee. Dispose us to dedicate our souls, our minds, our hearts, and interests to Thee in a righteous and useful life. Keep us temperate in our desires, and diligent in our duties. Incline us to be just and upright in all our dealings, full of compassion, and ready to do good to all. Make our thoughts and our deeds testify to Thy everlasting rule over us. May the peace and well-being of our fellow men lie nearest to our hearts.

Almighty God, eternal ruler of the universe, Thou art revealed in the harmony and beauty of nature. Thou art also manifest in the lives of good men and women and in the righteousness of nations. Keep our Nation forever righteous and just. Bless our country and all mankind with the light of Thy presence. May all the people who make up this great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania consecrate their efforts under Thy guidance to the cause of liberty, equality, and justice. May we remain united in purpose, respecting each other's rights, and striving together with resolute hearts and willing hands for the welfare of all the inhabitants of the land.

Our Father in heaven, we are gathered here tonight to honor the memory of two outstanding statesmen and devoted Americans, Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, to whom the welfare of the common man stood supreme as the purpose of organized governing bodies. Humbly aware of our purpose, we thank Thee, Almighty God, for the opportunities afforded us for unselfish activity in behalf of our country and community. Vouchsafe unto us the wisdom to understand and the will to carry out the lofty designs that our democratic system is designed to generate.

Bless the leaders of the Democratic Party who have been placed in authority to direct its activities both locally and on the national scene. May our guest speaker, the Honorable DANIEL FLOOD, be blessed with success in behalf of his endeavors for the people of this great State and country. O God, grant good health and long life to all who are present here tonight. May they continue to serve Thee in pursuit of righteousness in a world blessed with peace and prosperity. Amen.

Congressman Al Ullman, of Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, even before his election to this body, my distinguished colleague, AL ULLMAN, played a major role in the drive for the fullest development, in the public interest, of the natural resources of the great Northwest and particularly of Hells Canyon. Although he has been a Member of this body only a relatively short time, he has already assumed a position of leadership in this fight for a high Hells Canyon Dam. To that end, he has worked tirelessly and ably. It is therefore entirely fitting that his work should win him the recognition of the Idaho-Oregon-Washington Hells Canyon Association which, at its meeting on March 30, adopted a resolution commending him for his efforts. In asking unanimous consent that this resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I join wholeheartedly in seconding the sentiments expressed in that resolution:

RESOLUTION COMPLIMENTING CONGRESSMAN AL ULLMAN

This association compliments Congressman AL ULLMAN, of the Second District, Oregon, for bringing to the Congress of the United States the details of the Hells Canyon issue, and more particularly we commend him for challenging the Idaho Power Co. for failure to truthfully present its Brownlee Dam progress to the Congress during February.

We commend Congressman ULLMAN for speaking on the floor of the House on March 5 in challenging President T. E. Roach, of Idaho Power Co., for Roach's failure on February 26 in letters and literature distributed to the Members of the Congress to include therein the fact that cofferdams at the Brownlee project became ineffective against the flood of February 25 and that work upon the Brownlee Dam core and foundation area had been delayed until the spring runoff has passed.

We further commend Congressman ULLMAN for his thorough statement to the Congress on March 20 calling further attention to the discrepancies between the power company statement and the record.

IDAHO-OREGON-WASHINGTON
HELLS CANYON ASSOCIATION.

Grassroots Concern Over Government Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, the people of this country are now in process of filing and paying their 1956 income tax. They have also been reading about the all-time high peacetime budget of the administration of $71.8 billion for fiscal year 1958. They appear to be more conscious than they have been for the past 2 decades of where this unbridled governmental spending is leading. This grassroots realization of the gravity of our fiscal policies is indeed most encouraging to those of us who having been raising the storm signals for many years. It is also encouraging to note that the concern of the citizens of the country about the dangers of unbridled spending, high taxes, and the resulting destructive inflation is being reflected in the Congress.

Recently a delegation of Illinois businessmen spent several days in Washington doing a little casual investigating of their own. I was honored by having one of them, a Mr. George M. Pendell, executive secretary of the Mattoon Association of Commerce, to call on me for a visit and discussion of the seriousness of the situation. After returning to Illinois, Mr. Pendell reported to the people of his area in the form of a guest editorial in the Daily Journal-Gazette.

With the thought that the Members of the Congress should have the benefit of the reaction of this unbiased source, I submit the editorial:

As a member of a 52-man delegation of Illinois businessmen that spent last week in Washington, D. C., visiting Senators and Congressmen, to try and impress on them the need to reduce Government spending, I returned with the feeling that our Government has grown too big and is reverting to a liberal and sometimes unsound spending of public funds. Our confidence in both the executive and legislative branches at Washington would be greater if ideas of thrift and economy, as outlined in the Hoover Commission reports, were getting more attention than they are now given.

It is not necessary to be a student of politics, or an experienced economist, to understand that the Federal Government is doing spending which could be done more economically at State and local levels. The ever-increasing and widespread extension by the Federal Government of its activities into business, personal, and local affairs is going to jeopardize the economy of our Nation. The yearly increases proposed in the budget serve no other purpose than promoting inflation and breaking down the spirit of our people.

President Eisenhower commented in a news conference that it was a great satisfaction to him that so many economy-minded people were in Washington now, but they are economy conscious without realizing what they are talking about. Our group, however, gathered facts and figures from authentic sources in Washington to get the true story of the $71.8 billion budget, so that we knew what we were talking about. We were briefed by men like Senator HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, and others relative to items in the budget that could be reduced; such as, the item of Federal aid to schools, the new and added foreign aid program that calls for $4.1 billion, even though they still have $6 billion unspent. We learned how $1½ billion could be cut from defense appropriation requests by consolidation of the buying in the armed services without hurting the defense program. We saw how the domestic-civilian program could be be cut $3 billion. We learned how the civilian employee payroll, now at a billion dollars a month peak, could be reduced. Agencies are now requesting more employees for 1957 and 1958, even though they could not find enough qualified people to meet the amounts they asked for in 1956.

No one could explain why they are building a new $60 million House Building; they now have 2. There still are only 435 Congressmen in Washington; no one knows why the third is being built. Items like $33.7 million to add on to the Smithsonian Institution, $42.6 million to repair and dress up Government buildings in Washington for 1957, and $85.5 million more in 1958, are unanswered. The Federal housing authorities want $93 million for 1957 and $99 million for 1958, but want $3 million more to administer the additional $6 million in 1958.

I purchased a copy of the 1957–58 budget, not to try and analyze it, but to use as a guide to impress people with its size, 6¼ pounds, 1,100 pages of figures, charts, statistics, unspent balances, commitments, proposals, and needs. It contains 600 big appropriations and 6,000 small items. The 6,000 small will soon grow into the big size class unless the people at the grassroots level start letting the spenders in Washington know that they are concerned about the ever-growing costs. Federal Government spending will never be reduced as long as the people back home continue sending delegations to Washington asking for Federal aid to do projects that local and State authorities should finance. You cannot ask for a reduction in taxes and still expect the Government to foot the bill for hospitals, schools, sewers, and housing projects. Mattoon's record is clean; let's keep it that way.

We cannot feed the world, supply it with oil, machines, chemicals, and all the other giveaway programs now in force, and at the same time tax the American people to the extent that no money is left to place back into building plants and buying machinery to keep our plants producing. Without new plants and equipment, we cannot help the world and still stay strong here at home.

By stopping new programs for 1957 and 1958, by holding to the 1956 spending level, which we were promised, a reduction in taxes and debt can be made.

Labor-Management Legislation for Federal Employees Needed Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that many of my col-

leagues have been shocked, as I have been, at the implications of a legal brief filed today by the Department of Justice. This brief, is in answer to a test suit filed by a group of postal workers in the United States Court of Claims, seeking overtime payments for work which they are required to perform at home, after completion of their normal working day.

The Justice Department brief, apparently setting forth the administration position, makes the bold assertion that Federal workers are not entitled to the benefits of workers in private industry because of "economy and Government efficiency considerations." The brief states that "many advances made by the labor movement are not, as a general matter, incorported into laws affecting Federal personnel." This, Mr. Speaker, is the precise reason why legislation is needed to provide modern machinery to govern labor-management relations in the Federal Government.

My bill, H. R. 6, of the 85th Congress, cosponsored by a number of Members of the House and Senate would modernize archaic labor-management concepts of Federal agencies and departments, so obviously stated in the brief to which I refer. A similar bill was favorably reported in the 84th Congress by the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Indications of the awareness of the need for this type of legislation have come from recommendations of the first Hoover Commission, the Committee on Labor Relations of Governmental Employees of the American Bar Association, and most recently from the National Civil Service League, supported mainly by top industrialists and businessmen who have had first hand experience in labor-management relations. In its monthly publication the League declared:

> Union recognition is an area in which there has been practically no leadership from the executive branch of Government.
>
> All groups interested in public administration, including the unions themselves, recognize that public employment is different from private employment, and that all aspects of collective bargaining cannot be utilized in Government. However, a full examination of employee representation and communication policies and techniques is long overdue.
>
> A constructive program would not only provide democratic assistance to the employee, but would also develop a means for management responsibility which industry has long since learned to utilize but which Government still lacks.

Mr. Speaker, it is true that in recent years the great advancements of the working men and women of America in bettering their economic position, their hours, and working conditions have not been shared by those Americans working for the Federal Government. But this was not always the case. The Federal Government was once the leader in establishing labor reforms for its employees, setting the example for private industry to follow.

For example, President Van Buren by Executive Order issued March 31, 1840, established a 10-hour day for Federal employees on public works projects, without any reduction in pay. In 1868 Congress passed legislation to establish an 8-hour day for laborers, workmen, and mechanics employed by or on behalf of the Federal Government. The Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912 granted basic rights to employees of the Federal Government was many years ahead of Federal labor-management laws affecting private industry.

It gave recognition to the rights of Federal employees in three major areas. First, it provided that no person in the classified civil service could be removed except for cause, providing further that all notices of charges must be in writing, with a reasonable time for the employee to answer the charges. Secondly, it authorized employees of the Federal Government to organize to improve their conditions of employment, their wages, and hours of work; the right to strike was specifically prohibited. Workers in private industry did not receive legislative sanction for purposes of organization until more than 20 years later. Finally, the right of Federal employees to petition Congress, or any Members of Congress was guaranteed; the right to furnish information to either House of Congress, or a congressional committee or member thereof was also guaranteed.

Now, 45 years later, this is still the basic law affecting labor-management relations in the Federal service. In this interim period, significant advancements have been made in Federal laws affecting labor-management relations in private industry. These laws are well known—the Railway Labor Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Davis-Bacon Act, the Wagner Labor Relations Act, amended by the Taft-Hartley Act, the Walsh-Healey Act, and the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Mr. Speaker, the Federal Government has lagged far behind in the establishment of sound modern labor-management principles and policies. The provisions of H. R. 6, amending the Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912, provide the basis for a uniform system of handling grievances, with fairness and dispatch, utilizing the services of the responsible employee unions in representing their members in such matters. This legislation is urgently needed to bring governmental policies in the labor-management area up to a level consistent with the proven practices of modern labor-management relations now generally in effect in private industry.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by Mr. Joseph Young, in the Washington Evening Star of Wednesday, April 10, 1957:

JUSTICE BRIEF PUTS ECONOMY ABOVE BENEFITS—SAVINGS GET PRIORITY OVER GOVERNMENT WORK CONDITIONS

(By Joseph Young)

A Justice Department brief contends that benefits for Federal workers such as overtime, better pay, and improved working conditions "must either bow to or be balanced with considerations of economy and efficiency in Government."

For example, the brief said, Congress, in the interests of Government economy, would be justified in setting a 10-hour workday for Federal employees.

The Department's brief was filed in answer to a test suit by a group of postal workers in the United States Court of Claims seeking overtime payments for extra time involved in studying postal sorting schemes.

The Department's brief, which presumably represents the administration's view, did not state that the administration feels that the Government's 8-hour day should be increased to 10 hours at this time. But it emphasized that such an increase in working hours would be justified in the name of economy if it should become necessary.

LIKE BENEFITS CHALLENGED

The brief emphasized the view that Federal workers, because of economy and Government efficiency considerations, are not entitled to the benefits of workers in private industry.

Federal employee leaders have denounced the Justice Department's views as a throwback to the horse-and-buggy days.

The horse-and-buggy comment was made by Thomas G. Walters, operations director of the AFL–CIO Government Employees Council.

"This attitude is a striking example of the archaic labor policy that the Government adopts for its own employees," Mr. Walters declared. "It emphasizes the need for a management-labor relations law in Government."

Roy Hallbeck, legislative representative of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, said "the Justice Department's view is the 19th-century version of employee rights." James A. Campbell, president of the American Federation of Government Employees, said "the Government's position is the most discouraging development to Federal employees in a long, long time; but it emphasizes the necessity of getting Congress to approve legislation officially recognizing the rights of Federal employees to better their working conditions."

HOME STUDY INVOLVED

The test case, which is being handled by the law firm here of Herbert S. Thatcher, involves postal workers who must study at home to memorize the routing of mail. The postal workers contend that industry in portal-to-portal agreements with labor unions now pays overtime for time spent by employees in preparation for their on-the-job duties or in traveling from one site to another in connection with a job.

The Justice Department's answer, in part, to these claims declares:

"Plaintiffs' [the postal clerks] complaint is that they are not, but should be, paid for the time they spend within the confines of their own homes learning and keeping up with their jobs. As they read the statutes designed to ameliorate working conditions and the case law growing out of those statutes, they should be compensated for what they term 'physical and mental exertion.' Such compensation, they argue, would be entirely in accord with the philosophy of present-day labor law. The philosophy, if such it can be called, may conceivably control in dealings between union and management.

"However, as between Federal employees and their employer, the United States, this philosophy must either bow to or be balanced with considerations of economy and efficiency in Government. The basic rights of labor—the right to strike and the right to bargain collectively—cannot be afforded Federal employees consistently with the Federal obligation to the taxpayer to operate the Federal administration economically and efficiently. [Government employee unions have never sought the right to strike and specifically forbid such strikes by its members in their constitutions.]

"As stated, Congress, alone charged with the function and duty of establishing the rates of pay and the criteria of payment for Government employees, has always been aware of the necessity of economy in Government and where it has acted to ameliorate the working conditions of Federal employees,

it has always acted cautiously and in conformity with its desire for Government economy.

"For example, while the 8-hour day was assured for labor by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, the Federal employee first obtained the right to work only an 8-hour day in 1945 and then only by implication. * * * True time and one-half for overtime has been standard for labor for many years. And yet, true time and one-half for overtime is still not available to the bulk of Federal employees. * * *"

DENIED OTHER GAINS

"These few examples illustrate that the many advances made by the labor movement are not, as a general matter, incorporated into the laws affecting Federal personnel. Clearly, the economical administration of Government precludes the immediate and total adoption by Congress of schemes such as automatic cost of living increases based on the consumer price index.

"If Congress desires that, insofar as it is possible, all workers in this country work only 8 hours a day, nevertheless, Congress could, in its concern for Federal expenditures, require, and validly provide, that Federal employees work 10 hours a day.

"That Congress has chosen to limit the working day of most Federal employees to 8 hours a day, 7 years after it chose to limit the working day for most workers in this country, is no indication that Congress has also chosen to pay its employees industry or private management wages or, in this case, overtime compensation, sometimes described as 'penalty pay,' for study over which Government has no control and on which it cannot check.

"For the fact of the matter is, as we have shown, that Congress has not always accepted for Federal employees the theories or rights of the labor movement in their entirety."

Gross Revenue of Central Valley Project Jumps 33½ Percent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a significant news story from the columns of the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee of April 2, 1957, relating to the gross revenue last year of $15,861,116 received from the operation in my State of the great Central Valley project.

California's Central Valley Basin, with 6½ million acres of irrigable land, only one-half of which is now being irrigated, presents a truly tremendous development potential. Regrettably, a great deal of completely biased information, half truths and out-and-out lies have been circulated about this project by various public utilities and power companies.

I am, therefore, particularly pleased to call attention to the fact that not only has the feasibility of the project been demonstrated beyond question by its financial stability, but also by the fact that the CVP has made available vast quantities of water to parched agricultural lands of the Central Valley of California.

The news story follows:

GROSS REVENUE OF CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT JUMPS 33½ PERCENT

The Federal Bureau of Reclamation has reported a gross revenue of $15,861,116 from the operation of the Central Valley project during 1956.

In its annual report on the CVP operation, the Bureau noted an increase of 33.5 percent in the revenue compared to the gross in 1955. A good water year and the first full year's operation of the Folsom and Nimbus powerplants, the Bureau said, contributed to the increase.

Revenue from irrigation water deliveries also increased over the revenue last year. A total of 1,701,040 acre-feet of irrigation water was sold for a total of $4,121,939. In addition 1,015,513 acre-feet were delivered on the exchange contract and for water rights for which no revenue is received.

Municipal and industrial water revenue totaled $375,054 with 37,190 feet delivered by the project in 1956.

Project operation and maintenance for 1956, according to the Bureau's report, cost $5,209,130. An increase in operating costs over that of 1955 was attributed by the Bureau to extraordinary maintenance in connection with flood damage and the operation of Folsom and Nimbus Dams.

Accumulated net revenue during the 12 years of operation of the CVP was set at $66,067,035 after deductions for operation and maintenance and provisions for replacement and interest.

Clyde H. Spencer, regional director for the Bureau in Sacramento, stated: "The feasibility of the project has been demonstrated not only by its financial stability but in making vast amounts of water available to agriculture lands of the valleys and by producing low-cost power for public agencies and others throughout the area."

The Nice Guy Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO W. O'BRIEN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. Mr. Speaker, recently I attended a dinner in my district which could well serve as a pattern for other parts of the Nation. It was in honor of a group of considerate people or what might be described in the vernacular as "nice guys."

Thirteen years ago, an Albany attorney, Mr. Hyman Rosenblum, looked about him and noted that at every school graduation prizes are handed out to the learned among the young graduates. While applauding such awards, he thought it would be a good idea to have a prize for the young man or woman who was most considerate of the feelings and property of others. He has given such an award annually, to young people in the graduating classes of three area schools.

Mr. Rosenblum does more than that. He gives an annual dinner, to be continued after his death under terms of his will, at which tribute is made to each of the past winners of the "nice guy" awards.

There were many distinguished persons at the recent dinner, including the State commissioner of education. It was a heartwarming experience to learn that sheer goodness is sometimes applauded in this era of conflict and tensions.

I believe we should do more than pay isolated honor to the nice people among us. I think we should make greater use of their warmth and talents in such important spheres as our foreign service and government generally.

Mr. Rosenblum deserves great credit for what he has undertaken, but I am sure he would be more than rewarded if his worthy idea was followed throughout the Nation.

H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I have received a joint letter from a number of outstanding national organizations who are vitally interested in a bill now before the full Committee on Education and Labor, H. R. 1, which has been reported out by the Subcommittee on Special Education. They urge that this bill be reported out of the full committee before the Easter recess, in view of the urgent need for prompt and favorable action on the spiraling problems with which we are confronted concerning school construction. I am in entire agreement with them on the need for the Members of this body to discuss this bill with their constituents while they are back in their home States during the coming recess. Under unanimous consent, I include the letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

WASHINGTON, *April 10, 1957.*

The Honorable EDITH GREEN,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN GREEN: We, the undersigned organizations, are taking this means of communicating with you and other members of the Committee on Education and Labor about the school-construction measure, H. R. 1, reported out by the Subcommittee on Education.

We strongly urge that the bill be reported out of the full committee before the Easter recess. There is need in our view for positive and prompt action to keep alive the support generated by the hearings of the subcommittee, President Eisenhower, Secretary Folsom, and national organizations such as the undersigned. Equally, if not more important, we think that individual Members of Congress would like to be in a position to discuss the measure, as approved by the full committee, with their constituents during their Easter recess stay in their districts. We are certain that the constituents of each Member of Congress would welcome such an opportunity.

We feel that the increase in school population necessitates, and the increases in the gross national product and in national income fully justify, prompt favorable action by the full committee and by the Congress.

With respect to action of the subcommittee in reporting out the school-construction bill we commend the statesmanlike deliber-

ations which resulted in a measure endorsed and supported by representatives of both parties. We wish to commend the subcommittee for its diligence, fairness, and promptness in reporting out an excellent bipartisan bill. We feel that this attitude of bipartisanship should be maintained in the future consideration of the bill through floor action.

We respectfully ask your earnest consideration of our request that the bill be approved by the full committee before the Easter recess.

Sincerely,

American Association of University Women, 1634 I Street NW., Washington, D. C.; American Home Economics Association, 1600 20th Street NW., Washington, D. C.; American Library Association, 300 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D. C.; American Parents Committee, 132 Third Street SE., Washington, D. C.; American Veterans of World War II and Korea, 1710 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.; American Veterans Committee, 1830 Jefferson Place NW., Washington, D. C.; Association for Childhood Education, International, 1200 15th Street NW., Washington, D. C.; Cooperative League of United States of America, 1025 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.; Council of Chief State School Officers, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D. C.; Delta Kappa Gamma Society, 1558 Quarrier Street, Charleston, W. Va.; Jewish War Veterans of the United States, 1217 New Hampshire Avenue, Washington, D. C.; Labor's Non-Partisan League—United Mine Workers, 1435 K Street NW., Washington, D. C.; National Association of Social Workers, Suite 217, Dupont Circle Building, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.; National Child Labor Committee, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.; National Board of YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.; National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, 3746 Hayes Street NE., Washington, D. C.; National Consumers' League, 2800 Street NW., Washington, D. C.; National Council of Jewish Women, 1637 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.; National Council of Negro Women, 1318 Vermont Avenue, Washington, D. C.; National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D. C.; National Farmers' Union, 1404 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.; National Jewish Welfare Board, 1637 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.; Spokesmen for Children, 19 East 92d Street, New York, N. Y.; Textile Workers of America, 718 Jackson Place NW., Washington, D. C.

MSTS Chief Cites Unit's Role

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I believe the following article from the Journal of Commerce by Vice Adm. John M. Will, United States Navy, commander Military Sea Transportation Service, is worthy of note by all my colleagues:

MSTS CHIEF CITES UNIT'S ROLE

(By Vice Adm. John M. Will, U. S. Navy, commander, Military Sea Transportation Service)

In the more than 7 years since the establishment of the Military Sea Transportation Service, the American maritime industry has undergone a remarkable transition.

In October 1949, when MSTS was organized, shipping was in the doldrums.

Many ships were in layup or in the process of inactivation because of lack of cargoes and maritime employment was at a low ebb. New ship construction was at a virtual standstill and the outlook for the shipyards was bleak, indeed.

SITUATION CHANGED IN 1950

With the outbreak of the Korean emergency in late June 1950, conditions in the shipping industry changed radically and it responded in full measure to the heavy demands placed upon it for the movement of military material.

It was during this period that the development of relationships between MSTS and the maritime industry was initiated. In the course of this development, as might have been anticipated, mistakes were made and misunderstandings encountered.

By profiting from the lessons learned in these shortcomings, however, a fairly sound and comprehensive working basis has been established along mutually advantageous lines. For their part, it is believed the shipping industry much prefers dealing with a single agency in matters concerning ocean transportation than with the several individual services as formerly.

The benefits derived from dealing with a single source are not confined simply to the booking of cargo or to the negotiation of charters and shipping contracts. They extend to the more expeditious settlement of invoices, the processing of claims, and the many other administrative details with which transportation procedures are surrounded. From the standpoint of the Department of Defense, the centralization of its ocean transportation needs under a single head has proved to be most effective.

The welfare of the American maritime industry is a matter of direct and continuing interest to the MSTS. Considering the fact that MSTS depends upon privately operated shipping to transport approximately 70 percent of the military dry-cargo movement, the reason for this interest is not difficult to understand.

The more favorable general business conditions are for the established American-flag berth lines, the more assurance MSTS has of the necessary dependability and frequency of sailings to provide capability for the military life. More and more, also, MSTS is availing itself of a share of the passenger space provided by the additional ships being placed in service on those routes on which military personnel regularly move.

Practically 100 percent of MSTS ship repairs and overhauls are performed by private yards. A healthy ship-repair industry, therefore, is of benefit to MSTS. This not only affords a wider range of competition for bidding purposes, but provides a broader base for expansion under conditions of mobilization.

In connection with the operations of MSTS, the principal target of criticism by industry, labor, and congressional groups has been the so-called nucleus fleet. Much of this criticism stems from a misunderstanding of the composition of this fleet and the purposes for which it is maintained. Many critics mistakenly assume the total number of units to represent so many ocean-going ships. Actually, of the total of 214 units, now in active operations, 71 of these are small coastal craft or naval auxiliary types which have no counterpart in merchant service.

They are employed for short-haul lifts in the Far East or on special missions in remote area. Among the remainder, 84 are tankers. Through activations from the reserve fleets, the number of these has been increased from 34 within the past 9 months because of the critical worldwide shortage of tanker tonnage made even more serious by the closing of the Suez Canal.

Even with these activations, MSTS is only now working out from a tremendous backlog of Department of Defense petroleum shipping requirements built up because of the unavailability of commercial tankers at any price. At no other time, since the establishment of MSTS, has the value and purpose of the nucleus fleet been demonstrated more completely than in connection with the recent and continuing tanker crisis.

UNITS ARE TALLIED

Of the remaining 59 units, 34 are troop and dependent transports. Industry concedes its inability to provide accommodations for mass troop movements. On the routes where military dependents are moving, privately operated passenger liners are participating in the lift in excess of the capability of the MSTS dependent transports.

The balance of 25 units comprises 2 C-4 cargo ships converted as heavy-lift carriers with 150-ton boom capacity, 4 utility aircraft carriers, 3 C-2 refrigerated ships and 16 Victory-type cargo ships. Since there are no American-flag ships of adequate heavy-lift capacity, the only alternative would be for foreign-flag charters.

The carriers are necessary for lifting aircraft of which many of the present-day types cannot be accommodated on the decks of conventional cargo ships. Refrigerated ship capacity is in short supply at best as evidenced by the necessity for the bareboat charter of five Government-owned refrigerated ships to a commercial operation for the express purpose of moving military refrigerated requirements in the Pacific.

The Victory ships are assigned to a variety of missions. Principal among these is the annual Arctic resupply operation each summer, while some participate in the Antarctic explorations. During the past several months, a number of these ships have been used on lifts for which privately owned tramps would ordinarily be chartered. However, because of prevailing high market rates for other business, tramp owners have not been disposed to make their ships available to MSTS at rates determined by the Maritime Administration to be fair and reasonable. Recently, also, on certain of the berth line routes, because of the generally good commercial market space offerings to MSTS have been insufficient to meet military shipping requirements.

ROLE IS EXTENDED

It should be emphasized that the overall mission of MSTS extends beyond its role as the coordinator of ocean transportation for the Department of Defense. In addition, it is responsible for providing immediate lift capability in an emergency and to provide an adequate base for necessary expansion to meet emergency or mobilization requirements. With consideration for these responsibilities, it should be recognized that the nucleus fleet which has been described represents the bare minimum essential for the implementation of the MSTS mission.

That this recognition is now generally accorded by the private shipping industry, has been demonstrated in many ways. It is believed, too, the industry has every confidence that in the event of any differences developing in its relationships with MSTS, the means are always readily available for a full and complete hearing.

I Am Grateful for My Second Chance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article appearing in the April 5, 1957, edition of the Congregational Christian Journal of Advance, regarding the Honorable Charles H. Davis, justice of the Illinois Supreme Court:

I AM GRATEFUL FOR MY SECOND CHANCE

On February 28, 1955, Charles H. Davis, then aged 49, was elected a justice of the Illinois Supreme Court by a majority of more than 3 to 1. Six months later he was stricken with a serious heart attack.

The tension between so impressive a professional achievement and so calamitous a personal disaster lends poignancy to a life history which might otherwise appear to be but a typical example of uninterrupted success.

EXTENSIVE PRACTICE

Justice Davis graduated from the University of Illinois with the class of 1928 and from the University of Chicago College of Law with the degree of doctor of jurisprudence in 1931. Thereafter he carried on an increasingly extensive practice in northern Illinois, handling many cases before trial and appellate courts, both State and Federal.

Justice Davis is a valued member and officer of the Second Congregational Church in Rockford, Ill. He is a member of the American, Illinois, and Winnebago County Bar Associations and, at the time of his elevation to the supreme court bench, held an AV rating in the Martindale-Hubbell legal directory—the highest to be conferred by the company.

In announcing his candidacy for the judical office, Justice Davis made the following public statement as an expression of his philosophy and faith:

"I believe men will be free as long as law is just and courts are free; that courts will be free as long as judges are just, possessed of minds that seek knowledge, of hearts that seek understanding, and are humble before God and upright before men. In the spirit of that belief, I pledge to you my unswerving devotion to the duties of the high office I seek."

Since assuming the office to which he was so overwhelmingly elected, Justice Davis has proven the authenticity and sincerity of his statement.

The Davis' home life is what may well be called maturely Christian. They have 7 children, among whom are 2 pairs of twins.

VALUED LAYMAN

"Mrs. Davis," testifies her minister, Dr. Joseph C. Cleveland, "has devoted her life to the rearing of her family and takes deep pleasure in working with the children, integrating the routine and common tasks of the household into rewarding family experiences." The family appears regularly at worship and church school on Sunday morning while each member participates usefully in the church's life and work.

"Justice Davis," Dr. Cleveland continues, "is one of those rare and valued laymen who would be the delight of a minister in any parish. He has held nearly all the positions of lay leadership, from that of a high-school boys' class teacher to chairman of the board of trustees and the office of assistant church treasurer."

CREATIVE LIFE

He offers excellent advice respecting the church's financial investments, is not tardy in suggesting to certain of his clients the propriety of remembering their church when drawing up their wills, and is ready always to be of help to his church in dealing with legal matters of any sort.

Let us turn now to the other side of our picture, permitting Justice Davis to tell us in his own words what the experience of being cut down in the midst of a creative life—with the possibility of becoming a chronic invalid—meant to him.

"When in August 1955 I experienced a series of heart attacks which proved to be more serious than I at first realized, I hardly knew what to think of it. I remember well the feeling of utter despair and dejection that came with knowledge of the cause of the pains that pierced my back and chest.

"The initial realization of what had happened to me was more upsetting than the attendant pain. Both physically and emotionally my world was in chaos. Confused thoughts of family, work, permanent incapacity, and the forfeiture of the ambitions of a lifetime raced through my mind. Slowly I began to realize that all hopes, dreams, and ambitions—yes, even life—depended on what would happen in the next few days.

"There was so much that I wanted to see through to completion. What could I do to help? I didn't know. I asked God to take my life in his hands. I told him of my hopes and aspirations and that I wanted to live; that I had failed in keeping my health and that I now came to him trusting that whatever he did would be right."

HEALING POWER

"Peace came to me at length. Hours, days, and nights went by. Now I had no fears, no worries. I had faith in my doctors and nurses, faith in myself, and faith in God. Slowly the weeks passed and I was learning that with good medical care and faith there is a healing power marvelous beyond comprehension.

"Nature does most things well. As I lay quietly gazing at the ceiling and waiting for the capillaries to take over the job of the arteries which were blocked by the thrombosis, I contemplated values. I found that though I had recognized most of life's real values my classifications had been faulty. With the quiet of this illness, I found a new perspective. Perhaps I shall never arrive at a true analysis of the worthwhile things that make up life, but my relative grouping of values today is certainly more accurate than before my illness.

"I found encouragement in the fact that many of my friends had made remarkable recoveries. Some had returned to health and then gone on to their greatest accomplishments. I began to understand what Theodore Granik meant when he said: 'When flat on my back, I found wisdom in the doctor's bromide that a coronary is the greatest lifesaver of middle-aged men. I've learned to conserve energy and make it produce more than ever.'

"However, I found that winning a recovery is much like preserving your liberty. It requires eternal vigilance. Frequently new pains, probably psychogenic rather than organic, would place me in fear of relapse. My sedative for recurring doubts and fears was and is a prayer that my doubts and anxieties be removed, my faith strengthened, my resolves firmed and that I may have that peace which passes understanding."

EMOTIONAL CONTROL

"For a while after I was up and around again, crowds of people, even friends, overawed me. But with the return of strength and vigor, these difficulties gradually receded.

"I found new interest in the world of books, which became my constant source of companionship—surpassed in constancy, understanding and devotion only by my wife who, in brighter days, had taken me to be her husband in sickness and in health.

"Experience has taught me some simple rules which I repeat to myself very often. Seek peace and serenity. Control your emotions. Live each day unto itself; don't worry about tomorrow. Spend time each day in silence.

"I have now resumed my work—but I keep from getting tired. There is rhythm in constructive effort and I am learning to conform with its beat. So, 'easy does it,' I tell myself and the world grows brighter all the while. The smile of a friend seems more genuine and life's meaning and purpose grow clearer every day. I am very grateful for my second chance."

COMRADELY STORY

This impressive account of a Christain's courage and faith may well cause each and every one who reads it to take heart. Those especially who have come through or who find themselves in the same deep waters must respond with more than gratitude to Justice Davis' comradely and candid story of his own experience.

What is perhaps of even greater consequence respecting all of us is that law and order—upon which our American democracy depends—are resting in the hands of men of Justice Davis' type and caliber.

The Teacher's Lot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, in the New York Times of April 7, there appeared an excellent editorial commenting upon the recent survey conducted by Dr. Hazel Davis for the National Education Association. In our concern today about the educational standards which must be maintained if our children are to be given the opportunity of taking full advantage of their innate capabilities, we must not overlook the vital role played by the American schoolteacher. To the extent that we can strengthen that role, to that extent will there be a commensurate strengthening of our entire educational system. Under unanimous consent, I include this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE TEACHER'S LOT

A distressing picture of the life of American public schoolteachers is etched by the statistics in a recent National Educational Association survey conducted by Dr. Hazel Davis. The main trouble seems to be that "people who would like to give their time to teaching have to give it to something else." For example, salaries are so low that about three-quarters of the men teachers and 17 percent of the women have had to take on other jobs to make both ends meet. They double as clerks, salespeople, bill collectors, tutors, camp counselors, even farmhands. One man reported he had been a spare-time dishwasher, ditchdigger, and truckdriver.

The average teaching salaries were $3,932 ($76 a week) for women and $4,374 ($84 a week) for men. About one-third of the 6,000 teachers covered receive less than $3,500 ($67

a week). In contrast, workers in manufacturing average $82 a week, while those in the printing trades receive $93, and in construction $98.

Then, too, the teachers reported that they are called on to do a lot of other things than teach as part of their regular work—10 hours a week on the average. Such chores were listed as planning, supervising, club activities, hall monitoring, collecting money for festivals, and the like. And a constant complaint was the too heavy pupil load they had to carry.

But Dr. Davis reports an encouraging theme which runs most strongly through the questionnaire replies: In spite of the drawbacks teachers love their work. Evidence of this is the fact that their job is not the stopgap kind that it is commonly supposed to be. The median length of service of those covered by the survey was 13 years. Then, too, those who reported belied the schoolteacher stereotype. Most of them are married, live in their own homes, and support dependents. And their civic and social interests are wide. At least one-third belong to four or more community organizations. All in all, public schoolteachers seem to lead lives that interest and satisfy them, in spite of their many professional troubles. But they surely deserve much better than they get.

Economic Aid for Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter written to the editor of the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader Evening News of April 8, 1957, by Mr. Joseph F. Lester, a well-known businessman of Kingston, Pa., in which Mr. Lester recommends that this country extend economic and technical aid to Poland:

EDITOR, TIMES-LEADER NEWS:

There has been a lot of controversy on extending loans to Poland for purchasing surplus foods for its starving people and machinery for devastated industry.

It was not Poland's fault to find itself in the hottest postwar situation. As our faithful ally, the one our wartime President spoke of, she was the world's inspiration of freedom and a gallant fighter on all fronts.

For a reward, the same President sold Poland down the river at Yalta and Teheran. She received the worst share of the conflict. Because of the postwar political bunglings, Poland was not able to participate in the Marshall plan or other direct and indirect assistance. Even individual packages, sent by friends and relatives from this country to Poland, were subject to almost triple rates compared with other European countries, some of them our enemies.

We spent billions to build economies of our former enemies that are now the richest countries in Europe. On the other hand, we spent millions for the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, telling Poland how much we value our freedom, but this does not help the people of Poland to feed or clothe themselves.

Hundreds of thousands of the former war patriots weer sent to the slave-labor camps in far-off Russia. Now these hundreds of thousands of repatriates released from the Russian slave-labor camps started to return to poverty stricken Poland.

The climax came last June during the uprising of Poznan; then came the October revolution and the breaking off from Communist Russia. We applaud them, but that's where we stop.

Breaking away from the Kremlin, Poland turned to the West and to the United States for assistance. A commission arrived in Washington, but the negotiations bogged down as to the definite opinion of the lawmakers, who, during their political campaigns, stressed the invaluable services rendered by Kosciuszko, Pulaski and thousands of other Polish patriots during our struggle for freedom.

Someone may claim that Poland is in the influence of the Communists but not of her own free will. In comparison, there is more communism in the so-called free and independent countries who are getting our heavy financial support. Isn't this the honest truth, lawmakers? Shall we keep pushing Poland in the orbits of Russia and then tell her we love her people?

Now is the time to put our words into deeds. Instead of exploring the Far East, the Northeast, and the Near East, we should help Poland, our old friend.

The time for action is now.

JOSEPH F. LESTER,
Kingston.

Leadership Under Truman and Ike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, we have noticed in recent press reports statements of former President Harry S. Truman that forces of communism have been advancing in the Middle East and Far East and that free nations have been beset by differences and doubts. Then he went on to place the blame for this so-called advancing communism and alleged doubt among free nations on what he termed a "lack of leadership in the State Department and the White House." He further stated that our Government had lost both confidence and respect among the people of the world.

Now, Mr. Truman did not back up his bold and baseless assertions with any facts and figures, so far as I know. He merely told the Kansas Democratic Club, which, of course, wanted to hear such nonsense, that here are some of my partisan conclusions and you may start your Fair Deal applause when you get all set and ready to begin.

But there are some real honest-to-goodness facts, as recorded in history, for us to examine and then remember after all the tumult and the shouting has faded out and left only the everlasting truth to be our shield and buckler.

ROOSEVELT-ACHESON-TRUMAN REGIME

In this late lamented regime, communism did its great and notorious advancing both at home and abroad. In every conference that was held it seems that we got a piece of paper and the Communists got a piece of territory. The Yalta Conference, for instance, was a catastrophe for our country and the free world. Alger Hiss, the convicted Communist who was upheld by Secretary Acheson, even as the dark shadows of guilt overwhelmed his integrity and patriotism, had access to the secret briefing papers used by our side during that conference. The decisions at Yalta paved the way for communizing Poland and for the Communist conquest of China. The Yalta deal contributed in two ways to the Communist victory in China, for it turned over to the Russians the all-important Manchurian Railway and the warm-water ports and recognized Outer Mongolia as a satellite state. And so, Communist China emerged and Nationalist China and Chiang Kai-shek became only symbols of a free China after the Yalta Conference.

It should also be remembered that the Harry Dexter White incident emerged out of publication of those Yalta papers. He, you recall, wanted our country to loan Russia four billions more than even Stalin himself wanted and this same White wanted the interest rate to be only 2 percent, although Russia had offered to pay 2¼ percent, and the same White wanted the loan to run 35 years, although Russia only wanted 30 years for repayment.

What a leadership, Mr. Truman, under Harry Dexter White and Alger Hiss.

What a communistic bonanza, Mr. Truman, with assists for communism in Poland and China and that extra $4 billion offered Russia but not even asked by Stalin himself during the Roosevelt-Acheson-Truman regime.

EISENHOWER-DULLES REGIME

Now in this present Eisenhower-Dulles regime, we have clearly seen a termination of communism's advance in Korea and in other places of the Far East. And we have seen a positive deterioration of Russian influence in Poland, Hungary, and the Middle East, the free people of the world having had our continual and effective encouragement every single day of the present administration.

Over 2,000 people with bad-risk files against them have been turned out of Government jobs and stopped from receiving tax-paid salaries during this present regime.

Vice President NIXON, before ascending to that office, conducted the investigation on Alger Hiss and he went to jail.

And so, for more than 4 years we have been running along pretty smoothly sans Hiss, sans White, sans 2,000 security risks, and the forces of communism have been stopped or deterred on every front and all along the line throughout the earth.

The truth shall be our shield and buckler.

Mr. Truman, what do you say about the facts? How about the Roosevelt-Acheson-Truman leadership against the communistic forces you mentioned? And how about the Eisenhower-Dulles leadership against the same evil?

The truth shall be our shield and buckler.

Annual Convention of the National Society, Daughters of the Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. FORRESTER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend, the National Society, Daughters of the Union, held its annual convention in Fitzgerald, Ga., a wonderful little city in the district which I have the honor to represent. This is the first time that the society has held a meeting in the Deep South, and there is much significance in the fact that they chose Fitzgerald, Ga., as the location.

Fitzgerald is unique in its history, and a living memorial to the brave men of both Blue and Gray who engaged in the terrible War Between the States. Nowhere in our Nation is there a better example of the brotherhood and love that came to exist between the people of the North and South in that era, and I think my colleagues might be interested in hearing a little about Fitzgerald.

Both Unionists and Confederates founded and settled in Fitzgerald, on about a 50–50 basis. The names "Blue-Gray Park," "Lee-Grant Hotel," "Sherman Street," and "Lee Street," sound a bit incongruous, but they were chosen with care by people of the North and South who built this city of unity, as a tribute to one another and the brave leaders of both sides.

Fitzgerald is built in a square extending 1¼ miles from the center in each direction. All streets east of the main thoroughfare are named after northern generals such as Grant and Sherman, while streets lying to the west bear the names of southern generals—Lee, Gordon, Jackson, and so forth. There are four drives around the city and two of them are named for northern ships, two after ships which sailed for the South. Many people in Fitzgerald find that their ancestors were among those who first settled the town, and many find that their southern grandmothers or grandfathers married northerners, and lived the balance of their lives in peace and harmony, together and amongst their northern and southern neighbors.

We can learn a great lesson from the city of Fitzgerald, Ga. If good people of both sides could get together at that time, when bitterness and animosity were at their peak, and settle a town together, intermarry, and live side by side with love and respect for each other, then certainly now, in 1957, there is no basis for any ill feeling between our different sections of the country. Yankees and southerners learned to like each other then, and they like each other now.

The American flag was prominent in the ceremonies conducted at the convention of the National Society, Daughters of the Union. A miniature flag was placed on each and every grave in the famous Evergreen Cemetery, where hundreds of veterans, both Union and Confederate, of the War Between the States are buried. To all of the people of Fitzgerald and our section, that flag is not a northern flag or a southern flag. It is the flag of a united country and people. No wonder our people in Fitzgerald and our district love that flag, and have no patience with any group or individual who would change our way of life.

Fort Benning, Ga.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, it was my good fortune, and that of many of my colleagues in the House and the Senate, to be guests of the Army at Fort Benning, Ga., on April 5 and 6. I wish to express my appreciation for the invitation to the Honorable Wilber Brucker, able Secretary of the Army, and to his legislative liaison chief, Maj. Gen. J. H. Michaelis.

I would also acknowledge the commendable leadership displayed at this vast infantry center and school which the Army has entrusted to the command of Maj. Gen. Herbert B. Powell, the commandant, and his assistants, Brig. Gen. R. L. Cook and Brig. Gen. J. V. Thompson. It is noteworthy that the inspiring example set by these senior officers has obviously made its mark on the junior officers and noncommissioned officers of the Infantry at Fort Benning.

As many of us know, the Infantry's traditional motto is "Follow me," that is to say, follow the leader up front. This one thought, development of leaders whom men will follow in ground and airborne combat, is the constant overriding theme of every action at Fort Benning. You see it everywhere you turn. Emblazoned on insignia, signs, literature is the call to "Follow me." In a world of shifting standards, the Infantry tells the world that it has this one unvarying rule today as it has had from time immemorial.

The weapons and machines of modern warfare, although wondrous to see, are as nothing compared to the display of leadership at all levels of Infantry organization. The Infantry leaders realize all too well the sacrifices that the Queen of Battles makes upon our youth in ground combat. There is no other time when personal courage, example, and determination are at the premium required in an infantry attack, or if necessary, to stand and fight in the defense. Our young soldiers and paratroopers constantly look to their leaders, along side them in battle and sharing it all, and the old cry comes back clear and strong, "Follow me."

We Members of Congress saw leadership again at its best at Fort Benning last week. For those of us who may have forgotten, we were reminded of this indispensable quality. Let none tamper with it. For it is the infantryman with his bayonet who is given the task of making the final decisive blow, the defeat of the enemy in battle. The infantryman pays the greatest price in casualties and fights under the most incredibly severe conditions of weather and emotional strain. The infantryman has the place of honor. The infantryman leads while he others follow. He deserves to be well led.

As General Powell so well told us there at the old home of all Infantry everywhere:

> It is this man, the infantryman, and this man alone, as a most important member of our military team, who ultimately determines the final outcome of war. Upon his courage, determination, leadership, and training rests the future of the United States. In the age of the airplane and atomic weapons, the infantryman has countered every development by devising new tactics and techniques to meet the changing methods of warfare. The infantryman has maintained his decisive position in war by creative and progressive thinking, and this has never been more true than it is today.

The Virgin Islands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter published in the Christian Science Monitor of April 2, 1957:

THE READER WRITES—THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

To the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR:

Your recent page, "The Reader Asks," contained an inquiry as to whether America has any colonies. Your reply declined to employ that charged word. I wonder, however, what general term would describe the situation in the Virgin Islands. The harmful myth that all is paradise there is exploded by even a casual study of the islands' problems.

Miserable living standards are apparent to the most inattentive tourists. Annual per capita income is under $400. Poor health and sanitation conditions, an ugly racial situation, and excessively high living costs combine to belie the stereotype of insular felicity.

Perhaps fundamental to these problems is the political status which, under the Revised Organic Act of 1954, makes the Governor and Secretary of the Interior all-powerful. This act provided for more stringent Federal controls, particularly in financial and administrative affairs. Dominant authority is exercised by officials unfamiliar with the islands and not responsible to the people. Other than the virtually hamstrung unicameral legislature, no officials are elected by the natives. Capricious actions by the governors have flouted the principle of separation of powers and have made a mockery out of the limited democracy allegedly existing.

A bill passed over a Governor's veto is sent to the President for resolution which actually is turned over to the Department of the Interior. The latter uniformly recommends upholding the Governor. This practice has made the veto power absolute, often characterized by its irresponsible use

to promote a flagrant abuse of executive authority. The last two governors have vetoed three-quarters of the legislature's acts.

In the past few years the situation has worsened. For example, mainland jobseekers with political pull have replaced many islanders in even lesser administrative positions.

Consider the political frustration of the people. They have no way to publicize their cause, lacking the minimum right to have a nonvoting resident commissioner in Congress such as other United States Territories have. Petitions and appeals to Washington officials are either ignored or turned down in favor of continued support of the Governor who is their representative on the islands.

Virgin Islanders have long realized that no one is going to bother about or deal with their problems except themselves. Consequently, they want to elect their own Governor, have a nonvoting delegate in the House of Representatives, have the same financial relationship with the United States as that held by Puerto Rico and be represented by a legislature possessing its legitimate share of power.

Very soon now, the Virgin Islands will be the last area in the Caribbean without home rule. The islands' political status fares badly in comparison with British, French, and Dutch territories. Whether the Virgin Islanders will be allowed their modest objectives will depend on whether Congress can still effectively deal with problems which, although posing no threat to our security, still merit prompt application of our democratic principles.

RALPH NADER.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

[MOTTOR'S NOTE.—The letter writer makes some telling points and many of them are justified. The Virgin Islands are admittedly not the best United States examples of territorial administration and doubtless it is fair to call them colonies. However, Mr. Nader does leave out some brighter sides to the picture—economic investment in sugar and other industries that over the long pull are intended to raise living standards in the islands, increase schooling and health facilities. While it is true that the islanders' freely voted actions have been vetoed in large numbers, some of the vetoes can be explained not only on the basis of arbitrary upholding of the Governor by Federal authorities but by immaturity of the legislators themselves in passing inadequately considered legislation.]

The Court and the Bar: Their Relation and Obligations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article appearing in a recent issue of the Illinois Bar Journal by the Honorable Charles H. Davis, of the Illinois Supreme Court—an outstanding lawyer and judge, well qualified to fill the next vacancy on the United States Supreme Court:

THE COURT AND THE BAR: THEIR RELATION AND OBLIGATIONS

(By Justice Charles H. Davis)

Members of the bar are licensed to practice by the Supreme Court and are officers of the Court. They may be censored, or their license to practice may be suspended or revoked for conduct which tends to defeat the administration of justice or to bring the courts and the legal profession into disrepute.

In summing up the lawyers' obligation Justice Cardozo stated: "Membership in the bar is a privilege burdened with conditions. A fair private and professional character is one of them. * * * Whenever the condition is broken, the privilege is lost." [1]

Historically and in fact, there is ample power in the court to supervise the conduct of the members of the bar; [2] its success or failure in this respect is dependent upon the courage and attitudes of the bar and the court. There lies the responsibility. In the interest of the health and honor of the profession and for the protection of the public, I find wisdom in the pronouncement of the Court of Appeals of New York, "If the house is to be cleaned, it is for those who occupy and govern it, rather than for strangers, to do the noisome work."

The lawyer has been portrayed by Thackeray as bending all the powers of a great mind to a mean profession. He has been the brunt of many jokes, which are generally uncomplimentary. However, the bar, even though the most maligned of all secular professions, has the highest standards. The practice of law is more than a way of earning a livelihood; it is a profession that senses intimately the frailties of life—its passions, battles, victories, and defeats; it is a profession of service to mankind.

The intellect of a great lawyer demands more from life and work than substantial income; it yearns for the joy of achievement and the compensation of being part of a dynamic profession that is shaping the law and life of our land.

The law is truly made by the bar, even though proclaimed by the courts. It is the courageous thinking of the members of the bar; their willingness to stand alone and to chart their course by faith in the right; it is this that has broken the barrier of outworn precedent with the enlightenment of sound policy.

In practice the court and bar are mutually dependent. A good judge is the product of a good bar. Both the bench and the bar are faced with the task of providing for the people of our State and Nation a legal system that will give every person a remedy in the laws for all injuries and wrongs which he may receive in his person, property, or reputation; a system which will provide justice freely and without delay. [4]

Through our own efforts and through sponsored legislation, we must meet these and other requirements of the day, otherwise our system, like others of bygone days, will melt in the fire of public indignation and yield place to some adequate procedure for public protection and public convenience.

With the bench and the bar rests the fate of the legal profession; it may continue to represent a larger and more varied social will by a broader and more comprehensive interpretation of the law, or it may shrink until the lawyer and judge become, in the words of Learned Hand, "hardly more important than a minor administrator, confined to a monotonous round of record and routine, without dignity, inspiration, or respect." [5]

The bar is called upon to litigate and the bench to adjudicate lawsuits over principles which have evolved beyond the concept of origin. A good bar and bench can shape these latent precepts of the average law suit to meet the needs of our expanding society, if they possess the vision to see what is within, and in so doing, they may add to the growth of our ever-developing field of law.

Our profession may make its contribution, nobly to preserve and to expand the field of the law, or it may meanly lose to posterity its opportunities of service. The challenge is ours. If these be ideals, then in the words of our late Justice Holmes, "Ideals furnish us our perspectives, and open glimpses of the infinite."

---

[1] In re Rouss, 221 N. Y. 81, at p. 85; 116 N. E. 782 at p. 783.

[2] Supreme Court Rule 59, ch. 110 Ill. Revised Stat., 1955, par. 101.59.

[3] *People* v. *Culkin*, 162 N. E. 487.

[4] Article II, sec. 19—Constitution of Illinois, 1870.

[5] Excerpt from the speech of Justice Hand, April 1916.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Family Farms and Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a resolution passed by the State legislature, State of Minnesota, relating to family farms and agriculture.

The resolution follows:

SENATE RESOLUTION RELATING TO FAMILY FARMS AND AGRICULTURE

Whereas it is recognized by all that the time proven family farm unit must continue as the basic social and economic unit of agriculture and that accordingly, farm policy must assist such farms in achieving standards of farm living equal to those enjoyed by other Americans; and

Whereas agricultural policy in this country has sought to foster family-sized, owner-operated farms, which has proved to be a sound and wise policy, since it has developed an efficient agriculture unparalleled in the entire world; and

Whereas present farm price levels are inadequate because they tend to increase the disparity between farm income and farm operating costs; and

Whereas this disparity in farm purchasing power if permitted to continue, reflects itself not only in economic distress for farmers, but in reduced retail sales, employment, and industrial activity; and

Whereas the present unfavorable economic conditions in agriculture make it extremely difficult for young people to establish themselves in farming as their life's work: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Minnesota, That we favor legislation to accomplish the following purposes:

1. Providing supports to assure favorable prices and income to producers of major farm commodities, using whatever methods may be most practical, such as loan and purchase programs, incentive payments, surplus removal measures, promotion of exports, or a combination of these measures. As far as possible, farm support programs should be placed on a self-regulating and self-financing basis.

2. Continuing, expanding, and improving the soil-bank program as a soil conservation measure and as a supplement to price programs, by including the feed grains and other major field crops in the acreage reserve; by requiring soil conservation practices upon acres placed into the acreage reserve; and by requiring participation in the soil bank as a condition to eligibility for price support.

3. Establishing a specific national policy regarding the size of food reserves which

should be maintained in the national interest.

4. Providing for greatly expanded research programs to study agricultural marketing and price problems and to develop new uses and new markets for farm products.

5. Providing price protection on the perishable farm products such a milk, meat, butter, poultry, and eggs, which are so important in our diversified farming economy, wherever purchase and storage measures are effective as a support measure.

6. Providing the initiative, both with leadership and funds, in carrying on effective farm credit, soil conservation, crop insurance, REA programs, and programs to promote the consumption of a proper diet among our aged, our schoolchildren, our low-income groups, and those in institutions; and be it further

Resolved, That the administration of farm programs at the county and community level be fostered in every way by legislative and administrative policy, specifically, safeguarding the right of farmers to elect their own committees, and to operate the county offices and programs in a manner consistent with law and regulations; and be it further

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States give the farmers some relief from the high cost of operation by repealing the 3-percent excise transportation tax immediately; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the senate be directed to forward a copy of this resolution to the chief officer of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state be instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture, and to each Member of Congress from the State of Minnesota.

Adopted by the Senate of the State of Minnesota April 8, 1957.

H. Y. TORREY,
Secretary of the Senate.

United States-Canadian Relations and the Death of E. Herbert Norman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I have been concerned these past few days at the state of the United States-Canadian relations resulting from the tragic death of Canadian Ambassador E. Herbert Norman.

I had fully expected the President to assume leadership and to take forceful steps to restore the traditionally fine relations between our two countries. I had hoped that the President would have voiced the distress which most Americans feel at the unfortunate tactics of the congressional committee which resulted in the publication of long discredited charges dealing with Ambassador Norman's early life.

My disappointment in the lack of forceful action by the President and the Secretary of State is keen. The Washington Post and Times Herald of April 11, 1957, has taken an editorial stand in line with my position, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include it in the RECORD, in the hope that it will be of interest to my colleagues.

PUT OUT THE FIRE

The flames of indignation that have swept Canada over the tragedy of E. Herbert Norman threaten to char the century-old friendship with the United States. It must be the task of responsible officials and good citizens on both sides of the border to prevent a compounding of the tragedy with words and actions that could cause lasting damage and bitterness.

Yesterday's strong formal protest from Canada was explicit in condemning the procedures by which the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee publicized long since discredited charges linking Ambassador Norman to communism—a piece of sheer hounding that seemingly was instrumental in Mr. Norman's suicide last week in Cairo. The Canadian Government demands that in the future any names of Canadian officials which come before congressional committees be sent to Ottawa in confidence for investigation. It further warns that unless the administration can guarantee not to pass on security information received from Canada without Canada's express consent, the exchange of such information may be suspended. That would be highly unfortunate, but the Canadian position is thoroughly justified. Canada's security is her own business, and she has managed it very competently.

Unhappily, the State Department's response was considerably less than forthright. The Department disclaimed any responsibility for the publicizing of the charges, although the subcommittee says that a State Department official cleared the release of the transcript. The note also deplores "any development from any source either American or Canadian which might adversely affect" friendship between the two countries. This seems calculated further to ire Canadians, inasmuch as it was a subcommittee of the United States Senate which started the whole business.

President Eisenhower attempted to soothe matters at his news conference yesterday by extolling the firm ties with Canada and by explaining again the tripartite character of the American Government. Informed Canadians will understand that the Executive Department cannot take direct responsibility for the actions of Congress. Nevertheless, the President pulled his punches by passing over the State Department's own blunder and by speaking of inadvertence on the part of the Senate subcommittee. The subcommittee may not have intended to light a conflagration, but there was no inadvertence about its mischief. It would be refreshing sometime to have the Chief Executive depart from his noncritical position and speak out candidly in the name of decency when such affronts arise.

It behooves responsible Canadians to realize that Americans as a people have no more sympathy than they do with the obscene procedures of the Jenner subcommittee and its insatiable counsel, Robert Morris. Americans, for their part, would do well also to realize that Canada is on the eve of an election. In a very real sense it is up to Members of the Senate to redeem this country's good name by apologizing and setting up checks to insure that such abuses will not crop out again whenever the subcommittee feels an urge for headlines. Even if the Senate evades this challenge, however, the good sense of Canadians ought to persuade them that it would be calamitous to burn down the bridge between Ottawa and Washington merely because a few beavers have gnawed at the timbers.

Planning for Expansion—The Hawaiian Economy and the Territorial Bonded Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, the overall effects of Hawaii-Alaska statehood, with particular emphasis on the peace and prosperity of the people of the United States in the future, makes the issue the single, most important one before this 85th Congress.

It is most important, therefore, that the Members of Congress see the total picture objectively. I include in the RECORD an article from the authority on municipal bonds, the Daily Bond Buyer, which presents Hawaii from an interesting and important viewpoint.

Those who have millions to invest are understandably anxious to make sure their investments are sound. They would never invest or recommend investing millions of dollars in the Hawaiian economy without first being absolutely sure that both in fact and in prospect there is no stranglehold on this economy from any untoward source.

[From The Daily Bond Buyer of March 12, 1957]

PLANNING FOR EXPANSION—THE HAWAIIAN ECONOMY AND THE TERRITORIAL BONDED DEBT

(By George Wanders)

HONOLULU.—Hawaii is an exciting adventure, a state of mind and a chain of enchantingly lovely islands. It is our primary defense outpost in the Pacific and the crossroads of that vast ocean. And it is an economic unit of bubbling vitality and rapid growth.

Hawaii is a paradise and also a paradox, if paradise be taken in the usual sense as an abode of the indolent. For in these islands only some of the visitors are idle. The more than half a million of residents are cheerfully busy providing goods and services for the Armed Forces and the tourists, and the whole range of local, mainland and export markets.

The Hawaiian economy is bursting at the seams and the expansion is at a rate that far exceeds the capacity of the capital resources of the islands. Mainland funds are needed in substantial amounts, and are being supplied in part by corporations and individual investors in the many Hawaiian opportunities. The Territorial government and its agencies and creatures also are large actual and potential borrowers. Their tax exempt bonds are destined to become better known and appreciated in the various financial centers of the United States.

THE ANNEXATION

Hawaii became a part of the United States by virtue of annexation in 1900, when Congress acted on the petition of the fledgling republic, which was formed largely in response to Washington's requirements and stipulations. The war with Spain and the need for servicing Admiral Dewey's fleet in the far Pacific suddenly made the strategic importance of the islands startlingly evident. The coming struggle for supremacy in the Pacific cast its shadow before, and Congress

finally accepted the Hawaiian request for a Territorial status.

The island government made acceptance conditional upon admittance to the Union as a State, equal to all other States. Governor Samuel Wilder King ticks off point by point the occurrences which led to the request for annexation. His own and his family connections with the islands go deep into the last century and his memory is sharp. The French flirted with the native kings for a time, the British made overtures, and Russia attempted a small but unsuccessful show of force. Toward the turn of the century Japan began to show interest and our Congress at long last was prompted to action.

The Organic Act of 1900 laid down the rules of procedure and provided for typical American institutions. American currency was already the principal circulating medium and acknowledgment of the United States dollar as the legal hand-to-hand unit was easy. Our postal system was extended to Hawaii. Popular elections already provided for a local senate and house of representatives, and they were continued. All Federal taxation was made applicable. But the Governor and much of the judiciary were to be and still are appointed by the President of the United States. The growing clamor for full statehood is readily understandable in these circumstances.

AN AMICABLE PEOPLE

The Hawaiian population is a mixture so colorful and varied that it is difficult to call any one group preponderant. Caucasian, Japanese, Chinese, and Polynesian native stock are the main elements, and there are scattering elements which originated in the Philippines and elsewhere. All are amicable and an increasingly intense loyalty to the United States is regarded as a matter of course. When formation of a brigade of 1,000 Japanese descendents was suggested for service in the Korean war, 10,000 presented themselves as volunteers. English is the universal language, larded with picturesque native words.

Much of the population is concentrated on Oahu, which is one of the smaller main islands. It embraces the county and city of Honolulu, and the city proper holds some 275,000 people. Honolulu is the center of trade, finance, and tourism, and almost all the Armed Forces are on Oahu.

The city of Honolulu is the Territorial capital and a port of world renown. It is fortunate in its pleasant location and also in other ways. The harbor and Waikiki Beach need no extolling here. Honolulu has a magnificent water supply in a huge "lens" of water-soaked volcanic rock located in its mountainous rim. Engineers estimate the fresh-water supply as adequate for five times the present population. Sewage disposal is a simple matter of taking advantage of certain strong offshore ocean currents.

SOME ECONOMIC FACTORS

Economically the islands are aided enormously by Armed Forces outlays which have been soaring in recent years and which now run to $300 million annually. There appears to be little likelihood of a downturn in such expenditures. The military security of the United States is involved and it admits of no parsimony. As Adam Smith observed long ago: Defense comes before opulence.

Sugar is next in importance and the annual production of over 1 million tons currently means an income of about $140 million. The pineapple income is about $110 million a year. Livestock is a growing item and some truck farming is done. Industry advances year by year and is becoming steadily more diversified. Promising bauxite deposits and a few other minerals begin to stir thoughts of mining ventures. Shipping is in a healthy state and airplane traffic is bounding upward, not only with the mainland, but also internationally and among the various islands.

Automobiles are beginning to supply the same problems that they occasion almost everywhere on the mainland. The ratio of cars to population on Oahu is exceptionally high, and a vast sales and service organization is being built up. Banking and insurance are thriving, and new homes are being constructed on a substantial scale. Business trends, wealth, and income per capita are comparable with mainland averages.

A TOURIST MECCA

Tourism deserves special emphasis in these islands of fabulous climatic endowment. Hawaii has become a mecca for many people in the Western States and Canadian Provinces seeking relief from more rigorous winters. The tourists come from the Eastern States, too, and from Japan and elsewhere. Military personnel have helped to make known the appeal of the islands.

The wave of tourists began to roll upward right after the Second World War ended and there has been hardly a perceptible halt in the flow to ever higher peaks. There were 15,000 tourists in 1946 and 128,000 in 1956. They spent in Hawaii some $6,300,000 in 1946, and about $65 million in 1956. The economic stimulus they afford is broad and pervasive.

New hotels are being built as rapidly as materials, labor and financing will permit, to satisfy a demand that now is met inadequately. Restaurants, some of them world famous, are continually crowded in the season. Gift shops are multiplying at Waikiki. The big island of Hawaii, with its rumbling volcanoes, is a focal point. All signs point to further growth of tourism, especially as facilities are completed to take care of the influx.

CAPITAL IMPROVEMENTS

Taken all in all, the expansion on the Hawaiian Islands calls for a sharp increase of governmental activities and services. New roads and schools must be provided, hospital facilities expanded and airports enlarged. Water mains must be extended to fresh developments. An enlargement of port facilities is projected and more automobile parking spaces are needed. The requirements are strictly comparable to those of countless mainland areas.

To meet them the Territorial government plans continued borrowing in mainland markets from time to time. Kam Tai Lee, Territorial treasurer, points out that the Territory has borrowed in behalf of the four counties of the islands to some extent and has loaned them in this way not only sizable sums but also its own excellent credit rating. The Territory thus has only a modest bonded indebtedness applicable to its own account. The counties are strictly accountable to the Territory for repayment of the sums advanced. They are to be asked, however, to do more direct borrowing on their own accounts in the future, and their respective treasurers already are taking a keen interest in the New York capital market.

The aggregate of general obligation bonds of all issuers now outstanding is slightly in excess of $100 million. There has never been a default and any such event is almost unthinkable. General obligation debt incurrence is limited under the Organic Act, for Uncle Sam insists that his Territorial wards deport themselves with the utmost financial decorum. He is more circumspect about Territorial soundness in financial matters than he is about his own.

REVENUE BONDS

Revenue bonds have been issued in small amounts in the past by Hawaiian governmental entities, and they are to be utilized more heavily in coming months and years. To aid in meeting the highway program the Territorial department of public works has been granted authority to issue up to $50 million bonds secured by highway revenues. A first series of $12,500,000 was sold last year and additional series are to follow.

The board of harbor commissioners of the Territory is expected to offer modest-sized revenue-bond issues on occasion. The Honolulu City Board of Water Supply has projected two series of $2 million revenue bonds each in the period to 1960. A possibility exists that an aeronautics commission will be given power to issue revenue bonds for airport development. All revenue bond issuers, actual and potential, have a high pride in their facilities and the financial background is carefully assured in every instance.

To the informed investor all Hawaiian governmental issues are exceptionally attractive. They are interest-exempt from all Federal income taxes and from State income levies wherever imposed. They are the stuff that investment soundness and safety is made of.

Backbreaking Tax Load

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very enlightening article on the Backbreaking Tax Load which appeared in the Boston Sunday Advertiser of April 7, 1957:

BACKBREAKING TAX LOAD

Do you realize—

That the taxes you pay—Federal, State, and local—have been multiplying like rabbits for decades?

That today, in peacetime, taxes are higher than they ever climbed in our costliest war year?

That exorbitant taxes are more than just a burden—they are a threat to your job or business?

That taxes allowed to run wild can wreck our productive economy—the greatest the world has even seen?

That taxes snowball because the costs of political waste and borrowing are added to legitimate government spending?

That the Federal, State, and local lawmakers you elect decide your taxes, and that only you, whose vote calls the shots at the polls, can influence them to cut down?

WASTEFUL SPENDING IS THE VILLAIN OF INFLATION—IT EATS AWAY YOUR DOLLAR'S BUYING POWER

1902 total taxes	
Federal	$517,000,000
State and local	860,000,000
Total	1,377,000,000
1922 total taxes	
Federal	$3,656,000,000
State and local	4,016,000,000
Total	7,672,000,000
1942 total taxes	
Federal	$13,382,000,000
State and local	9,612,000,000
Total	22,994,000,000
1952 total taxes	
Federal	$63,909,000,000
State and local	20,760,000,000
Total	84,669,000,000

1956 total taxes

Federal	$75,112,649,000
State and local	27,644,000,000
Total	102,756,649,000

Old Atlas is a has-been. You, John Q. Taxpayer, are the champion burden bearer of all time.

The growing load has recently brought warnings that straw piled on straw can eventually break even the strongest back.

As long as Government spending goes up, so do taxes. So do prices.

You're never going to get relief from exorbitant taxes, and you're never going to have prices that are reasonable, until cost of Government is brought down to necessary levels.

That goes for all Government—Federal, State, and local.

That's why those lawmakers who understand economics are calling for slashes in Government budgets.

STRAINS ON PROSPERITY

The overpowering decibels of our great industrial capacity and the sweet siren song of inflation make it hard to hear groans that mean real stresses and strains.

But unless such strains are eased, they can have a nasty result—they can cause a smashup.

If such a disaster is allowed to happen, you and your 170 million neighbors in these United States could kiss today's prosperity goodby.

Every family would feel the grinding agony of a crash. Even now virtually every family is feeling these warning stresses:

1. Constantly increasing prices of the necessaries of life. That's due mostly to too much money in circulation. The recent arbitrary tightening of bank money was a move to counter inflation.

2. Less purchasing power as each new tax rise bites deeper into the family purse. Experts estimate next fiscal year's total tax collections at all levels as about $119 billion. That would be nearly $1 in every $3 of the national income.

Actually both the price zoom and the tax bite are only the painful symptoms, not the disease itself.

The virus that's doing the job is wasteful, unnecessary Government spending, which not only hikes prices and eats your pay check but even brings on the long-range cripplier—public debt.

Only you, by the power of your vote, can bring about economy.

Later articles in this series will show some areas where savings can be made.

Not many people understand the causes of inflation, the sneaky way it happens. (An ABC explanation appears at the lower right of this page.)

But everybody knows the effect of inflation—prices that don't bear even a distant-cousin relationship to normality.

And while you recognize the undisguised taxes—like income tax, retail excise tax, sales tax—you'd be stumped if a TV quizmaster asked you to list all your hidden taxes. The figures of the year-by-year rise in total taxes tell the big story.

UP GO TAXES—DOWN GOES THE TAXPAYER

Like a runaway, unguided missile, your taxes are going up all the time. The driving fuel is the unnecessary part of Government spending.

Accurate records for United States tax collections start right after the Civil War with an 1866 total of $310,120,448. It meant $8.67 a person.

World War I cost a lot of money and we were still paying for it in 1920 with United States taxes of $5,407,580,251. That meant $50.81 a person.

World War II peak was in 1945, with Federal tax collections of $43,675,865,945. That made it $312.86 a person.

Then Washington threw historical precedent out of the window. Instead of peace bringing Federal expenditures down (and bringing taxes with them) they went up—hand in hand in a dizzy dance. The piper hasn't stopped playing and the dance is costing you more every year.

In 1952, the last Truman budget year and during the Korean fighting, the Federal bite was $65,009,585,559, or $414.03 a person.

In fiscal 1956, you and your neighbors chipped in $10 billion more to the Federal kitty, $75,112,649,000 or $446.85 per person.

Now let's see how State and local taxes get in on the act.

The Tax Foundation, of New York, has compiled the figures. They show that non-Federal taxes zoomed from $860 million in 1902 to $9,612,000,000 in 1942, up to $20,760,000,000 in 1952, and in 1956 got way up there in the clouds with $27,644,000,000.

That hiked total taxes from $17.75 a person in 1902 to $607.43 in 1956. It's the unnecessary part of that bite that stings.

TAX HISTORY OF 90 YEARS

The Federal Government only last December issued a report on its own tax collections in the last 90 years. Population growth swells the total figure, so the best picture is the per capita figure.

In 1866, the United States tax intake was slightly less than $8.67 per person—man, woman, or child.

In 1956, the United States tax intake was $446.85 per person. And that person means you and every members of your family.

That's just Federal tax—not including State or local bites.

When you add those, your tax outgo was $607.43 per person.

It takes a lot of spending—and a lot of it unnecessary—to pile up a load like that.

Inflation simply is an obnormal increase in the supply of money.

Sounds attractive, doesn't it? That's why it has lured many a nation onto the economic rocks.

The fact is that more money floating around doesn't mean more buying power—it means less buying power. That is because prices, which reflect the value of goods in relation to money, go up when the supply of money goes up—and faster.

Inflation is the twin sister of excessive taxation. And together they feed the other member of their family, public debt.

SHORT-WEIGHT COIN

Spendthrift kings in ages past financed their wastrel regimes by inflation. It was once called "clipping the coins," because that is the way they did it.

Nowadays the methods have changed, but the aim is the same. So is the effect.

The purpose is to make up a deficit, brought on when a government spends more than its income. Since taxes are a government's income, governments have resorted to inflation only after unreasonably high taxes have the people fed up to the ears.

The effect is to shrink the value of each money unit (for you that means the dollar) so that it buys less. It does this in disguise by giving you more dollars. They still buy less.

HOOVER SHOWED HOW

Just like you, the Federal, State, and local governments can't live without income. Defense is only one of the necessaries of life to Government. All the essential services by which we live, from the Federal operation of an efficient postal system to your local fire department, need money to run.

So we'll always have taxes. But the Hoover Commission reports have shown that a big chunk of the money spent by Government is due to inefficient and often duplicated operations.

That's not healthy muscle. That's fat.

It's the slimming down of Government overweight that can save you taxes. It can also take the Government off the inflation cycle of cheaper and cheaper dollars.

Most people know of the horrible example of inflation that hit Germany after the First World War. Before that war, the German mark was worth about an American quarter. But in the inflation period, an American dollar could buy millions of German paper marks. A wheelbarrow load of marks was worth hardly the price of the wheelbarrow.

What happened then? Hitler happened.

Let's look at our own inflationary course.

It really began in the first administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The President, not an economist himself, bought the idea that a nation stricken by depression could spend its way out.

The idea was that it could then create its own credit and live off it by manipulation of currency.

That couldn't be done while the United States was under the gold standard. Only the Federal Government may issue money, whether currency or available bank credit. So under the gold standard the supply of money was automatically determined by the gold reserve.

That limited Federal spending to: (1) The number of gold dollars the Government could collect in taxes, and (2) the number of gold dollars that the Government could borrow, which it must repay in gold.

The first step was to throw away the ceiling by abolishing the gold standard. From then on, the Government could print all the paper dollars it wished and call them money without having to redeem them. There's a name for that—it's "flat money"—and the more of it that's issued, the less each dollar is worth.

MORE, CHEAPER DOLLARS

Let's see how that has raised the number of dollars in circulation—currency outside the banks: 1932, $4,669,000,000; 1957, $30,502,000,000.

That's one aspect. Now a look at the effect on bank credit. No more gold standard, so debtors no longer had to pay in gold. As a debtor, the Government used its legislative power to make its own creditors accept paper dollars.

By thus turning its debts into paper assets, the Government fed the inflationary fires.

With many more times as many dollars available, today's dollar buys only one-fourth as much as the 1932 gold dollar.

So your family's standard of living has been hurt both by taking your dollars in taxes and shrinking what you have left by inflation.

THE PAY-PRICE CYCLE

The spiral shape of inflation is one of its worst features. When prices soar, everything any government buys, from an aircraft carrier to a bottle of ink, costs more. That means more taxes and borrowing. It puts all levels of government deeper in hock, and they must pay more interest on debts.

All public debt, Federal, State, and local—grew from $3,333,000,000 in 1902 to $92,158,000,000 in 1942, and by 1956 reached the stratosphere of an estimated $321,600,000,000. That means the interest item on budgets has rocketed too.

Higher costs of living bring successful demands for pay raises. These are passed on to you in higher prices, a tail-chasing that never makes ends meet.

Nobody ever gets the brass ring on the tax merry-go-round.

FAMILY TAX LOAD

The Tax Foundation estimates this is the way taxes burden the average family.

$3,500 income

All United States taxes	$689
State and local	370
Total	1,059

$4,500 income	
All United States taxes	$920
State and local	473
Total	1,393
$8,000 income	
All United States taxes	$1,967
State and local	759
Total	2,726

Congressional Subcommittee Denounces Bureaucratic Secrecy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a splendid and informative article "Congressional Subcommittee Denounces Bureaucratic Secrecy," written by our distinguished colleague from California, Mr. JOHN E. MOSS, chairman of the Subcommittee on Government Information of the House Committee on Government Operations, and appearing in the Harvard Law Record of March 7, 1957.

There is no one more competent to discuss the subject matter of the within article than the gentleman from California [Mr. Moss]. In connection with the subject matter of this article, the gentleman from California [Mr. Moss], and the members of his subcommittee, have done outstanding work. The character of the work done by the subcommittee of which the gentleman from California [Mr. Moss] is chairman is not only painstaking, but penetrating and objective, and the results that will flow from it will be in the best interests of our country.

The article follows:

CONGRESSIONAL SUBCOMMITTEE DENOUNCES BUREAUCRATIC SECRECY

(By Hon. JOHN E. MOSS, of California, chairman, House Government Information Subcommittee)

A massive accumulation of restrictive regulation challenges the people's basic right to oversee the workings of their Federal Government.

The pattern of restriction is documented in the 25th intermediate report of the House Committee on Government Operations, and in the volumes of hearings that lie behind this report. Case after case is described in which Congressmen and citizens were denied information without good cause. The effect, in every instance, has been harmful to our country's political traditions.

The report summarizes the first year's work of the Special Subcommittee on Government Information, chartered in June 1955, by Congressman WILLIAM L. DAWSON, of Illinois, chairman of the Government Operations Committee.

The subcommittee, exploring present law, already has documented the need for new legislation broadening public access to official records. It is equally concerned, however, with the deeper problem of the administrators' attitudes toward present law. Many Federal agencies apparently have twisted grievously their delegations of authority in an attempt to find justification for their restrictions on information.

As in any area of law, two necessities compete. No official denies, in principle, the public's right to inspect Government actions and policies. Neither does anyone—least of all the members of the subcommittee—question the need to keep secret such classes of information as military security data.

It is the subcommittee's purpose, nonetheless, to see that the indispensable security systems protect only that information for which the need for secrecy has been demonstrated.

THE BURDEN OF PROOF

The public and Congress now bear the burden of proving their right to look at papers held by Federal agencies. Instead, it should be up to the agency to demonstrate—to the satisfaction of Congress, the courts and the public—the overriding necessity to withhold information.

Congress often has stated explicity that certain specific records shall be restricted to agency use. Such clauses stand in more than 50 statutes, their subjects ranging from military codes to postal savings deposits. In a much smaller number of statutes, the agency is ordered to make public other specific records.

These orders from Congress to the agencies may deserve review later, but the subcommittee has begun its study with an exploration of the far wider area where no statute specifically commands either publication or restriction of information. Because a free flow of information about this vast Government and its works is essential to the survival of democracy itself, the study is of great importance to the Nation. This responsibility made it necessary to reject the advice, tendered from the sidelines to every new inquiry, to start work with a flare of sensation.

There is sound reason to avoid building issues out of personalities or specific instances of restriction. The subcommitee wishes to convey the point that the restrictions which it is studying concern all the Government as an institution, and a whole body of administrative law.

A legislative inquiry has three interests. It must examine the delegation of authority by Congress or the President to an agency. It then must look at the manner in which the agency uses that delegated authority. Finally, the inquiry must find a way to measure the effect—or lack of effect—that the agency's operations have upon our national life. The ultimate reality of law and politics clearly lies here.

GETTING THE FACTS

The first step in the subcommittee's study was to circulate a questionnaire to the 63 departments and agencies of the Federal Government. They were asked to describe in detail their information policies, defining specifically the types of data not available to the public and the Congress. They were asked to cite the legal authorities upon which they based these policies.

The answers to this questionnaire now provide a solid background against which a balanced inquiry can proceed—an anvil against which the subcommittee can hammer out individual cases of unwarranted restriction. The questionnaire performed a useful service, incidentally, in forcing many an agency to go through a tangle of unrelated rules and begin to develop, for the first time, a coherent and consistent policy on the availability of information.

The agencies' answers show exactly what delegations of authority are claimed in Government information restrictions. It appears there are 4 of prime importance: 2 statutes, a Presidential letter and an Executive order.

AUTHORIZED SECRECY

Executive Order 10-501 establishes the Nation's security system for protecting information affecting the national defense. The order represents an entirely suitable exercise of the President's power.

The President's letter of May 17, 1954, on the other hand, appears to represent the agencies' tendency to assume authority where the delegation is unclear. The letter authorized the Secretary of Defense to deny a single congressional investigating group specific information during the Army-McCarthy controversy. No fewer than 18 other departments and agencies are now citing this letter as grounds for denying data generally to congressional committees. The subcommittee believes this to be totally unwarranted, and draws support from an explanatory letter written by the President's special counsel declaring that the President was exercising a right which is his, and his alone.

The 2 statutes are title 5, United States Code, section 22, and title 5, United States Code, section 1002. The first, with a history going back to 1789, is the most widely used of all the authorities. Designed as a housekeeping statute, it gives department heads the power to write regulations providing for the custody, use, and preservation of their records. This innocuous language has given rise to a jungle of rules restricting congressional and public access to a vast variety of papers.

In drafting the second statute, title 5, United States Code, section 1002, its authors ordered the agencies to inform the public of their doings, but they created broadly phrased categories of exceptions to the rule. These exceptions have been expanded by usage to cover nearly any piece of paper an administrator might wish to shield from public view.

The subcommittee consequently concludes that delegations of authority to the agencies have been widely misused and inflated.

To carry its point further, the subcommittee asked the counsels of many departments and agencies to define the powers delegated by the four authorities. The appalling variety of the answers demonstrated the subcommittee's contention that the agencies were, in effect, making up their own law individually as they needed it.

The subcommittee has used two other devices to follow the legal arguments down to final reality—the law's effect on our national life.

Panels of specialists have been enlisted from the fields most immediately affected by Federal information restrictions. Groups of newspapermen and scientists have testified, and interested businessmen may be asked to do so shortly. A somewhat different panel was recruited among lawyers experienced in the field of Government information. Their opinions have added great weight to the subcommittee's legal findings.

These specialists are kept informed of the subcommittee's progress, and are regularly asked for further advice and opinion. They are able to show where inequitable information rules work their worst damage, and what implications lie in proposed changes. In this fashion, these expert advisers bring into perspective the concrete cases of unwarranted information restriction.

About 300 cases have been reported so far to the subcommittee by Congressmen and congressional committees, newspapermen, trade associations and even the agencies themselves. In each of these cases, someone has felt himself unjustly barred from information.

THE CASE METHOD

Generally they are referred to the agency involved, with requests for verification of the facts and for the legal justification. When the answering letter appears incomplete, or where the matter is too complicated to be covered by mail, hearings are called. The agency is asked to reconcile the concrete case of information suppression with its policy as stated in answer to the questionnaire.

It very often happens that this request results in the rewriting of agency rules. This happy solution is not always accomplished, however, and the subcommittee feels that changes must be made in the language of some of the original congressional delegations of power to the agencies, to clarify their proper purpose.

An amendment designed to return title 5, United States Code, section 22 to its original housekeeping role has been submitted to Congress. Proposals to improve title 5, United States Code, section 1002 are being contemplated, and freedom of information clauses are beginning to appear in other bills.

Amendments will be useful, but the real source of the problem lies deeper. It concerns the spirit with which the agencies read the statutes, and the attitude taken by administrators toward the public's right to supervise the Federal Government.

Ceylon Navy Veteran Helps to Save the Old "Big E"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Ceylon Herald, Ceylon, Minn., dated April 4, 1957, entitled "Ceylon Navy Veteran Helps to Save the Old 'Big E' ":

CEYLON NAVY VETERAN HELPS TO SAVE THE OLD "BIG E"

Donations pouring into San Diego, Calif., from all over the Nation to save the World War II aircraft carrier *Enterprise* from the scrap heap and salvage her for a war memorial and museum are getting special attention in Ceylon. At least one local World War II veteran served aboard the *Enterprise* during most of her major battles in the Pacific theater of operations. He is Alfred "Bill" Beseman, today partially disabled from injuries suffered in combat aboard the "Big E." He was assigned to the ship shortly after the Pearl Harbor attack.

Efforts to save the great fighting ship were kicked off early last month by the colorful naval commander, Adm. William F. "Bull" Halsey, now retired, who used the Big E as his flagship for a considerable length of time. Halsey, in a television appearance on the "I've Got a Secret" program, keynoted the drive for $250,000 needed to pay for towing the ship from its present berth at Bayonne, N. J., to a permanent mooring near the Institute of Aeronautical Sciences building on Harbor Drive in San Diego. The *Enterprise* is the only pre-World War II carrier left.

In the ship's war diary, Then There Was One, Author Eugene Burns writes of the *Enterprise* as one of the Navy's greatest fighting ships, the first carrier to receive the rarely awarded Presidential citation. Of the seven first-line United States carriers when war began, four were sunk in the first year of the war, another saw action in non-Pacific waters during the period involved, and another was out of action at the decisive moment. The *Enterprise*, virtually alone, held the long thin Pacific line against overwhelming odds. The ship destroyed 911 enemy planes and 71 enemy ships and survived 19 engagements in the Pacific.

The book and all that has been written about the big carrier is sadly lacking in photographic records of battles and hardships, Bill Beseman says, because the carrier was never able to keep a photographer aboard for any length of time. With history-making action on all sides most of the time, eager photographers were exposed to the worst sort of peril and several lost their lives before even tripping their camera shutters. In many cases films were either destroyed or damaged.

Bill has responded to Admiral Halsey's appeal which includes a request for a flood of letters to President Eisenhower, the Vice President, and Congressman JOSEPH P. O'HARA.

Do It as Lawrence Has Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, another tribute to the local initiative of Greater Lawrence, Mass.

This time from an editorial titled "Climate of Prosperity" that appeared in the Boston Herald on April 9, 1957.

To every community that may be marking time, or coasting upon its past achievements in this changing world, I recommend the Greater Lawrence Story, which is the basis of the Herald's comment.

Lawrence was a one-industry community.

When its textile mills closed down, or moved away, the need for providing a new and diversified industrial base, became critical.

How Lawrence met and conquered this challenge is a guide that should provide insurance for every community that may be similarly affected.

Find out how Greater Lawrence did it. Chambers of commerce, labor unions, and citizens committees for industrial development: Learn the lessons of Lawrence's economic recovery.

Under permission to extend my remarks, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Boston Herald's editorial advice: "And if we are to succeed, we must do it as Lawrence has done."

CLIMATE OF PROSPERITY

At the advertising club dinner honoring Greater Lawrence's spectacular economic recovery A. I. M. President Kurtz Hanson described the great cooperative effort which Lawrence's own citizens made to attract replacement industries to its empty textile mills.

"Industries like people," he said, "want to be with a winner. We needed that first important breakthrough to convince prospects of the advantages we knew we had."

The breakthrough came when Western Electric decided to locate a big new plant in the area. Other industries followed, and Greater Lawrence, which 7 years ago was deep in the doldrums, is now well on the way to recovery.

But Western Electric's move wasn't just chance. The company was sold on the area by the community's energetic Citizens' Committee for Industrial Development. A climate of community responsibility was created. Lawrence's potential as an industrial site was analyzed and built up. The breakthrough was carefully engineered.

Surely there is a moral here for Massachusetts. The State as a whole has been through no such crisis as Greater Lawrence, which saw its principal industry suddenly shut down and put 20,000 people out of work. But the out migration of certain industries from the area has created a problem with which we all must wrestle. The Commonwealth is teetering between a decline and a new surge of growth. It, too, needs a breakthrough. It needs to convince industry that it is a winner.

And if we are to succeed, we must do it as Lawrence has done, not by bribes and cajolery, but by making an honest case for ourselves, by proving that we have something substantial to offer over the long term.

A major test will come when and if the Governor's new tax program takes effect. The additional revenues can be used to meet essential services and relieve the killing pressure which now bears on our property taxpayers. Or they can be frittered away without improving in any way the basic financial situation of the localities.

The way our communities choose may decide whether Massachusetts as a whole is classified in the winner or loser category seven or twice-seven years hence. It may decide whether our future climate is to be one of prosperity or failure.

The Lawrence story should be studied with the greatest care by every municipality in the Commonwealth.

The Forgotten Soldier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, the following is a letter which I received recently from Mr. Frank J. Shurtz of Zanesville, Ohio in my congressional district, Mr. Shurtz' letter represents the thoughtful approach of an officer of a veterans' organization dedicated to the veterans of World War I, regarding legislation which this Congress will be considering:

WORLD WAR I BARRACKS 454,
Zanesville, Ohio, April 6, 1957.

The Honorable JOHN E. HENDERSON.

DEAR SIR: Time has faded many memories of the boys of 1917 who answered the call, amid the excitement and the fever of the day, to do their duty as they saw it.

Yes, the forgotten soldier, the boy of the First World War who marched away in 1917, with a prayer in his heart and a song on his lips that he would not come back till its over, over there.

Yes, he marched away to fight and die for a cause he though was right. Some never returned, but sleep eternally in Flanders Field.

It is now nearly 40 years since this same boy marched away. He was paid a dollar a day for his service. No; he didn't complain.

Now he is asking for an adequate pension to help sustain him in the remaining twilight years of his life.

Never before has Congress waited so long to take care of the soldier of previous wars—he has become the forgotten soldier.

The veterans of more recent wars have received much under the GI Bill and its related benefits. The years have taken their toll

of many First World War veterans, so it is only right and fitting for those remaining that they should receive a pension after waiting for so many years. Many are now disabled and cannot work.

We do ask that you as a Member of the 85th Congress give this your most sincere thought and careful consideration, so that the Doughboy of 1917 need wait no longer for the pension which he needs so badly.

Let us remember the soldier of 1917, who fought to make this Nation safe so that we now enjoy the peace and prosperity of 1957.

We know you will be proud to have been a Member of this 85th Congress, one that sees that the veteran of World War I is no longer forgotten.

We will greatly appreciate an early answer to this letter.

Yours very truly,

FRANK J. SHURTZ,
Vice Commander.

Amendment of Anglo-American Financial Agreement

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 72) to implement further the act of July 15, 1946, by approving the signature by the Secretary of the Treasury of an agreement amending the Anglo-American Financial Agreement of December 6, 1945.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON].

Mr. FULTON. There is one thing we should recognize about this loan. It has been a pretty good business deal for the United States so far because in September of 1949, the British devalued the pound sterling by 30 percent, devaluing the pound from $4.03 to $2.80. That meant that this loan went up in value in British pounds and that we can call on the British taxpayers to produce from the original $3,750,000,000 translated into pounds, the larger amount of $4,875,000,000 worth of pounds, as this United States loan increased in value in pounds sterling by 30 percent or $1,125,000,000 worth of pounds sterling. As a matter fo fact, when Britain devalued the pound sterling in 1949, she did get some concession because on debts owing to other foreign nations in pounds that amount of $12 billion loans was reduced by 30 percent in value. And on this $12 billion original amount of British foreign loans there was actually a $3 billion credit. But, the United States came up with a gain on this loan of $1,125,000,000 added value in pounds just through that action of Britain in devaluation of the pound in 1949.

The statement is made that Britain is paying less taxes. In 1956, the United Kingdom was paying 29.7 percent of her gross national product in taxes at all levels of government against the United States paying 26.1 percent of its gross national product. Likewise, you hear that gasoline taxes are being reduced in Britain. For example, that Britian's Chancellor of the Exchequer just took off the 28 cents per imperial gallon gasoline tax put on in December 1956, because of the Suez situation, but it was not stated that this action still leaves 35 cents a gallon tax on gasoline. Would you like to be paying high taxes like that as Federal taxes on gasoline in the United States? Of course not. So the citizens of Britain are still paying higher taxes than we are in the United States.

Britain certainly should not be criticized when their representative government plans to come up with a budgetary surplus reducing many necessary governmental services, because that is what many of us Republicans believe is good for our own country as well as Britain. That is what Secretary George Humphrey believes will continue in the future to make Britain a good credit risk.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield.

Mr. RIVERS. I have heard it said that they were the highest taxed people in the free world. Is that true?

Mr. FULTON. They are among the highest taxed people in the free world, but of course get many services in return that in other countries, are paid for by individuals personally. So that factor must be taken into account in each country when speaking of the tax level. As to taxes, we in this country are going to reduce taxes and Government expenditures, I hope. We in this House have already voted almost a billion dollars' worth of budget cuts to date in the 85th Congress. Possibly we in Congress can come up with a United States tax cut and it will help the whole free world and make our economy better. Rather than criticizing Britain for her tax cuts and balancing her budget and coming up with a surplus, I think she is to be congratulated. We in Congress should follow the same course of sound governmental fiscal policy.

H. R. 6575: A Bill To Repeal the Colorado River Storage Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, a bill to repeal the Colorado River storage project, H. R. 6575, has been introduced into the House of Representatives. The author of the bill quoted Raymond Moley as saying that increased costs "obviously would now knock the roof off any past estimate."

This argument was utterly demolished by the opening of bids on construction of the giant Glen Canyon Dam. The lowest bid was not $25 million to $50 million higher than the Bureau of Reclamation estimate, as was predicted by those opposing the project. The winning bid of Merritt, Chapman & Scott was an astonishing $107,955,000, compared with the Bureau of Reclamation estimate of $135 million. This saving of more than $27 million is 25 percent of the cost of the dam.

In conclusion, I stress that construction of the Colorado storage project is proving itself more economic than ever, and I urge Congress to give full support for its rapid completion by appropriating at least the amount recommended in the President's budget.

Portrait of a Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article entitled "A Congressman's Day," by William Henry Chamberlin, which appeared in the April 5 issue of the Wall Street Journal.

This article concerns my friend and colleague, the Honorable CHESTER MERROW, of New Hampshire, who, in my mind, typifies all that is good in the body of men delegated to concern themselves with the weighty problems of the Nation and the world.

The article follows:

A CONGRESSMAN'S DAY—TYPICAL LAWMAKER PUTS IN LONG HOURS, INCLUDING STUDY OF LETTERS PROTESTING HIGH GOVERNMENT SPENDING

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

WASHINGTON.—What is a Congressman's day like?

It is an around-the-clock affair, if one may judge from the schedule of Representative CHESTER MERROW, serving his eighth term as one of the two Republican Members of the House from New Hampshire. A phone call to Representative MERROW's apartment shortly after 8 a. m. proved to be too late; he had already gone to his Capitol office.

From 8 until 10:30 there is mail (delivered four times a day) to go through; there are transcripts of testimony and committee reports to study. Representative MERROW is a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and belongs to a subcommittee which deals with international organizations, such as the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

What seems to be most on the minds of Mr. MERROW's constituents? Many of his letters are of what might be called the bread-and-butter type—inquiries about veterans' compensation and housing loan conditions, requests for agricultural bulletins (the free seeds which Congressmen formerly sent to farmers have long been out), applications for employment in the Navy shipyard at Portsmouth, and the like.

"One of the most important parts of a Congressman's job," say Mr. MERROW, "is to be a liaison man between his constituents and the various agencies of the Federal Government."

VISITORS FROM HOME

There is also a good deal of calling by folks from his home district. These visits range in time and substance from that of the indi-

vidual who wants to shake hands with his Congressman and perhaps exchange a few ideas on public affairs to that of the group or delegation with an interest in favoring or blocking some piece of legislation. All receive as much attention as a busy working schedule permits; some are entertained at lunch in the House restaurant.

Public as well as private affairs figure in the mail which comes to the Congressman's desk. Like other Representatives and Senators, Mr. MERROW reports a considerable number of communications to the effect that taxes are too high, that the budget is too high, and that both should be cut.

"But people aren't always consistent," he adds. "In many cases, if you would ask the same man whether he wants Government spending cut and whether he wants an improvement, paid for out of Federal funds, for his hometown, the answer will be 'Yes' in both cases."

Committee sessions usually begin at 10:30 and the House is called to order about noon and sits, with some intermissions, until 4 or 5. If Congress does not always come up with the right answers, it is not for lack of intensive briefing.

Apart from the more spectacular committee sittings that make the headlines—such as the investigation of labor unions or the recent debate which preceded the acceptance of the Eisenhower doctrine, or, in the past, the televised McCarthy-Army hearings—a very large amount of information from Government officials is obtained for the work of the more important committees.

For instance, one high-ranking State Department official has been on the Hill for days on end giving a chronological record of the developments which led up to the current phase of what has been a chronic crisis in the Middle East.

EUROPEAN BRIEFING

Mr. C. Douglas Dillon, who recently took over as Deputy Under Secretary for Economic Affairs in the State Department after serving for several years as Ambassador to France, has been spending some time giving House Members a briefing on economic conditions and prospects in Europe. Indeed, what the average Congressman might complain of is not any dearth of information to guide his voting decisions, but the difficulty of digesting and mastering the bulky materials which are available.

The work of Congressman MERROW and his colleagues does not end when the House adjourns for the day. Apart from the extra hours that may be put in on committee hearings, there are frequently invitations by groups and organizations to dinners which serve as small forums where the Congressman may express his views.

A voluntary task which Congressman MERROW has assumed is the dispatch to a number of New Hampshire newspapers of a weekly report on his activities; he calls it Washington Summary. Here the New Hampshire voters get an account, boiled down to manageable size, of what the House Foreign Affairs Committee is doing. One of its most recent resolutions was in favor of the early admission of Spain to membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other European defense and economic organizations.

In the near future the Committee on Foreign Affairs will hold hearings on some questions of foreign policy in the town of Laconia, N. H., and Congressman MERROW hopes this will heighten awareness of the subject and popular interest. His mail contains a fair proportion of letters on foreign relations, although he does not report any overwhelming trend of approval or protest in regard to administration policies.

FOREIGN-AID FOES

Most of the mail he received on Tito's proposed visit to the United States and on the suggestion that sanctions might be applied against Israel was negative. He also gets a fair number of letters recommending cuts in foreign aid. Himself an Eisenhower Republican, as are most Members of Congress from New England, Mr. MERROW believes the case for foreign aid has not been adequately put to the people.

To cope with his mountainous mail and with the many chores of getting in contact with Government agencies on behalf of constituents, Mr. MERROW, whose salary is $22,500 a year following a recent raise, receives the standard allowance of $17,500 for secretarial assistance. A visit to his office during a typical working day gives the impression that both he and his assistants are kept pretty fully occupied.

Speech of Hon. Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania, at 19th Annual Midwest Convention of the American Jewish Congress, April 7, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting excerpts from a speech made at the 19th Annual Midwest Convention of the American Jewish Congress in Chicago on April 7, 1957:

The compliance of Israel and the noncompliance of Egypt with resolutions of the United Nations stand in stark contrast.

Peace in the Middle East can never be achieved by appeasement of defiant dictators.

The refusal of Egypt to permit passage of Israeli ships through the Suez Canal and Egyptian threats to deny the right of innocent passage through the Straits of Tiran are in direct contravention of the established United Nations position. United States policy affirmatively supports the right of Israeli shipping to use both waterways.

This is clearly stated in the letter to me of March 27, 1957, from Under Secretary of State Herter:

"We believe that Israel-bound shipping should enjoy the right of free and innocent passage through the Straits of Tiran. We also believe that Israel shipping should enjoy the right of passage through the Suez Canal. We have made our position on these points clear, both in public and in our relationships with the States concerned."

It is my opinion that the United Nations General Assembly should be convened to consider the implementation of the rights of all nations to waterways that are legally free under international law. Nasser's defiance of the United Nations ought to be disposed of now by that body. The United Nations should be no less prompt to act now to preserve the peace than it was last November.

If the United Nations will not act, by appropriate resolutions, to be followed (in the event of Egyptian defiance) by resort to United Nations forces or by sanctions against Egypt, then those nations which sincerely desire to avoid war in the area must consider what they will do to bring Nasser to his senses. This includes the United States.

Timely concert of action by the Western nations is much to be preferred to the alternative that Israel, in desperation, may resort to the international law doctrine of self-help.

To begin with, Nasser's bluff can and should be called. He has already played roulette with Russian chips and Marshal Zhukov has seen them disastrously expended across Sinai. It is unlikely that the Soviet will repeat such a bad gamble as to provide so bad a risk with a new stack of costly blue chips.

Moreover, Nasser cannot be sure of his other former friends. His only sure ally is Communist-infiltrated Syria. His reach for dominance of the Arab world has lost millions in oil revenues to his increasingly skeptical Arab neighbors.

Nasser's terms for one-man rule of the Suez Canal are those of a blackmailer and extortioner. His proposals would leave the area in a situation worse than the conditions prevailing prior to the intervention of the United Nations. But the United States is committed to the position stated by Ambassador Lodge that a return to the status quo would be most unsatisfactory to the United States.

Therefore, in default of effective United Nations action, the United States should adopt measures of economic pressure against a dictator who will not listen to reason, but who might be compelled to react to strong economic pressures, resolutely applied.

Therefore, all United States aid in any form whatsoever should continue to be denied to Egypt. At the same time, loans and technical assistance should be made immediately available to Israel. This includes restoration of the grant to Israel proposed October 2, 1956, of $25 million of MSA funds and it includes necessity for early departure of the United States mission to confer on the need for a $75 million United States Export-Import Bank loan.

The surplus food distribution program to Israel should be resumed, and there is good reason to believe that this will shortly take place. Israel will accept approximately 100,000 refugees this year from Hungary, Egypt, and other Iron Curtain type countries. This food program is therefore critical.

There are other economic pressures available against Nasser. There is the right to bypass American shipping (as well as British and French shipping) until the loss of canal revenues squeezes the Egyptian Government into economic grief.

There is the increasing likelihood of the use of larger and faster tankers some of which are now being constructed and others are in the planning stage.

Offering prospects of quicker relief from oil shortages are new pipelines bypassing the Canal, and wherever feasible, bypassing certain of the more volatile Arab States.

Some of these measures are expensive, but it is questionable whether the pursuit of means to make the Western World free of Nasser's dangerous tactics could possibly be as expensive as would be a surrender to the tyranny of a tinpot dictator, acting from a heart regardless of international consequences and evilly bent on mischief.

However costly the application of courageous tactics now may prove to be, they are certainly infinitely less costly to the United States than for us to be pitched into a war involvement through failure to act promptly and wisely to avert the consequences of the scheming folly of a power-crazed and irresponsible Arab dictator with a powder keg in one hand and a match in the other.

Forced Relocation Compensated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, I have this day introduced a bill to provide that business concerns which are dis-

placed by low-rent housing projects shall be compensated for the cost of relocation, together with a percentage of the loss of good will caused by their forced relocation.

It has been brought to my attention that many small businesses have been completely destroyed and uprooted by the construction of public housing projects. Inadequate provision had been made for their relocation in the area and no provision has been made for the loss of businesses which have endured for many years. Communities have been changed and people thrown to the winds.

Recent editorials have demonstrated the impact of housing projects on small-business concerns and the hardships which small owners have been compelled to undergo because of forced evictions. Urban relocation programs provide for compensation to these small-business men who have been displaced involuntarily. A decent respect for the problems of the small-business man reimbursement in part to these people who through no desire or voluntary conduct on their part have been uprooted and cast aside.

My bill provides that in addition to the direct property losses sustained by small-business men that these uprooted businesses shall be compensated for their moving expenses and 1 percent of the average of the past 2 years' gross business. In this wise, the hardships will be softened and justice will be done.

Minnesota State Legislature Again Speaks on Behalf of the Family Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, again the Minnesota Legislature speaks out on behalf of the family-farm unit. In its resolution of April 8, the Minnesota Senate says:

It is recognized by all that the time-proven family-farm unit must continue as the basic social and economic unit of agriculture and that, accordingly, farm policy must assist such farms in achieving standards of farm living equal to those enjoyed by other Americans.

To those of us from America's farm areas, this is so obvious that it continues to startle—not to say, shock—us to find that others, notably the administration's farm program administrators, are not aware of this single truth.

Under leave to extend my remarks I ask permission to insert this fine resolution of the Minnesota State Senate of April 8 relating to family farms and agriculture:

Resolution relating to family farms and agriculture

Whereas it is recognized by all that the time-proven family farm unit must continue as the basic social and economic unit of agriculture and that accordingly, farm policy must assist such farms in achieving standards of farm living equal to those enjoyed by other Americans; and

Whereas agricultural policy in this country has sought to foster family sized, owner-operated farms, which has proved to be a sound and wise policy, since it has developed an efficient agriculture unparalleled in the entire world; and

Whereas present farm price levels are inadequate because they tend to increase the disparity between farm income and farm operating costs; and

Whereas this disparity in farm purchasing power if permitted to continue, reflects itself not only in economic distress for farmers, but in reduced retail sales, employment, and industrial activity; and

Whereas the present unfavorable economic conditions in agriculture make it extremely difficult for young people to establish themselves in farming as their life's work: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Minnesota that we favor legislation to accomplish the following purposes:

1. Providing supports to assure favorable prices and income to producers of major farm commodities, using whatever methods may be most practical, such as loan and purchase programs, incentive payments, surplus removal measures, promotion of exports, or a combination of these measures. As far as possible, farm support programs should be placed on a self-regulating and self-financing basis.

2. Continuing, expanding and improving the soil-bank program as a soil conservation measure and as a supplement to price programs, by including the feed grains and other major field crops in the acreage reserves; by requiring soil conservation practices upon acres placed into the acreage reserve; and by requiring participation in the soil bank as a condition to eligibility for price support.

3. Establishing a specific national policy regarding the size of food reserves which should be maintained in the national interest.

4. Providing for greatly expanded research programs to study agricultural marketing and price problems and to develop new uses and new markets for farm products.

5. Providing price protection on the perishable farm products such as milk, meat, butter, poultry, and eggs, which are so important in our diversified farming economy, wherever purchase and storage measures are effective as a support measure.

6. Providing the initiative, both with leadership and funds, in carrying on effective farm credit, soil conservation, crop insurance, REA programs, and programs to promote the consumption of a proper diet among our aged, our schoolchildren, our low income groups and those in institutions; and be it further

Resolved, That the administration of farm programs at the county and community level be fostered in every way by legislative and administrative policy, specifically, safeguarding the right of farmers to elect their own committees, and to operate the county offices and programs in a manner consistent with law and regulations; and be it further

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States give the farmers some relief from the high cost of operation by repealing the 3 percent excise transportation tax immediately; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the senate be directed to forward a copy of this resolution to the chief officer of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States Congress; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state be instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture, and to each Member of Congress from the State of Minnesota.

Adopted by the Senate, State of Minnesota, April 8, 1957.

H. Y. TORRET,
Secretary of the Senate.

Interview Between Congressman Farbstein and Robert Spevak, New York Post, for Broadcast Over WMCA, New York, April 7, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 21, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following interview which took place between Mr. Robert Spevak, of the New York Post, and myself on April 7, 1957:

Mr. SPEVAK. Reporters, I know, are supposed to be hard boiled men and indifferent to peoples feelings; but I can tell you from my own experience that it is never pleasant to report from the Capitol of the United States about duplicity and double standards of political morality where they involve Government officials. We all know that it exists to some extent but this past week we've been treated to such a large dose of it from persons in high office that it just can't go by unnoticed.

Secretary of State Dulles was asked to explain comments by a friendly biographer that he deliberately provoked the Aswan Dam crisis in order to call Russia's bluff on economic aid to Egypt. Dulles said in reply, "I think that question could be answered in the negative," but he did not answer it in the negative. In his own fashion Secretary Dulles left the story substantially unchallenged. At his weekly press conference the President was twice asked what this country plans to do about Dictator Nasser's continual flouting of the U. N., and failure to permit Israel to pass through the Suez Canal. The President gave what I consider a disjointed answer which added up to exactly nothing.

David Ben-Gurion, it seems, never informed the President in their correspondence that Suez was in any way involved. So it seems we are not prepared to do anything about Nasser on this score either. I have asked Congressman LEONARD FARBSTEIN, of Manhattan, here today to discuss another example of high moral pronouncements by United States officials and the failure of this Government to do anything about them, namely the forced exodus of thousands of Jews from Egypt.

Congressman FARBSTEIN. I understand you have a bill in on this subject. Just what are you proposing?

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Well, Mr. Spevak, I might say that it is singularly appropriate that this question is raised now, just prior to the beginning of the Passover period commemorating the exodus of the Jews from Egypt thousands of years ago. I introduced in the Congress a resolution to the effect that it is the sense of the Congress that the treatment of the Jews in Egypt recently, constitutes persecution because of race, religious beliefs, or political opinion. Further, it violates the human-rights sections of the United Nations Charter. I feel that this resolution should be passed by the Congress; and I feel that the United States should publicly do what it can toward ameliorating this situation. I feel further that the

United Nations should pass a resolution calling upon Egypt and Nasser to discontinue their acts.

Mr. SPEVAK. Well, Congressman FARBSTEIN, in discussing this matter I think probably both of us would agree that it is important to keep several facts in mind, sort of background matter.

No. 1 of these facts is that the Israeli Army entered the Sinai Peninsula on October 29, 1956.

No. 2 is this. On November 1, 1956, 72 hours later, the Egyptian Government promulgated a series of decrees and among them were the denationalization of certain Egyptian citizens, mostly Jews.

No. 3. Within 5 days the U. N. cease-fire was accepted by the belligerent parties.

No. 4, and what I think is most important, Egypt kept these decrees in effect and in fact I believe has them in effect right up to the present time. Yet by the middle of last November it was already evident that Egypt intended to exploit the brief hostilities to despoil and ultimately destroy its Jewish community.

Now Congressman FARBSTEIN, you're a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee a great distinction, I might add, for a freshman Member of Congress.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Thank you.

Mr. SPEVAK. Now can you tell us, Congressman Farbstein, how you feel about this question? Some people think that the Jews brought this matter all on themselves.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Well, frankly Bob, I can't understand how anyone with any degree of intelligence could possibly say any such thing because anyone who is knowledgeable in the least would know that Nasser has constantly been declaring the fact that he is at war with Israel. He has been actively blockading Israel both in the Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba. Now, a blockade itself is an act of war, and preventing Israel from using the Gulf of Aqaba for innocent passage of ships was such an act of war. Proclaiming its rights of belligerency and preventing Israel's use of the Suez, these are all acts of war. How could Israel, therefore, justifiably be called an aggressor? Must a man wait until he and his family are annihilated by gangsters who have continually threatened his life and that of his family and are purchasing weapons to carry out their threats in full view of his proposed victim? Or should he do what any prudent man would do?—Move against his adversary before he is destroyed? That is all Israel did. Israel moved before Nasser had an opportunity to build up enough hardware to annihilate her people and to drive them into the sea as he and the other Arab people had been saying.

Mr. SPEVAK. Well, Congressman FARBSTEIN, you use the word gangsters. Now do you think that there are any parallels, or do you find any parallels, between the techniques used by Hitler against the Jews. You remember his so-called aryanzation program and what Nasser calls his Egyptianization program.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. It's very obvious that Nasser learned from Hitler. He has gone even further than Hitler went. Hitler started this thing anew. It is my belief that Nasser with the benefit of people in his employ, who are former Nazis like Otto Remer, and Vonleers, had this thing prepared long, long before the adventure into the Sinai. As a matter of fact these decrees, as you suggested earlier, were promulgated within 2 or 3 days after Israel, to protect itself, ventured into the Sinai.

Mr. SPEVAK. Do you think they expected this?

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Well, of course, they were only looking for some means whereby they could oust the Jews out of Egypt just the same way they had prepared for the nationalization of the Suez.

Mr. SPEVAK. You don't think the invasion took them by surprise?

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Of course it did, yet this was all planned. They were only looking for a pretext, as you just mentioned, to come in and start acting against the Jews to drive them out, to pauperize them, to denationalize them, and the various other things that were done against the Jews and are still being done.

Mr. SPEVAK. Now as you noted a moment ago, it is very close to the Passover season. Ironically we find a new exodus from Egypt thousands of years after the original exodus. But I just wonder if there isn't 1 difference here or at least 1 similarity with nazism. I've seen reports that Nasser has seized Jewish hostages from many of the families that he has ordered deported. In other words he is holding some back, I presume, for blackmail purposes or in order that people who leave the country don't talk too much about what is going on in there. Now does that jibe with the information that you have?

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Oh, yes; there is no question about it, as a matter of fact, not only information that has come to me but which has appeared in the public press. One of the reporters who works for your own newspaper wrote quite an article on that. It appeared in the Times. I believe it is common knowledge, not only the knowledge that I may have personally.

Mr. SPEVAK. Now I want to ask you one thing, getting back to this matter of whether Israeli Jews are responsible for the plight of Egyptian Jews. Have Egypt's Jews been active in Zionist causes?

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Why that's ridiculous, Families that are being persecuted by Nasser today are amongst families that have lived in Egypt for almost 2,000 years. These families that have lived there for generations are being persecuted just the same as stateless Jews. All this is a pretext. As a matter of fact the Jews that were in Egypt were particularly careful to see to it that they in no way could be connected with Israel or with Zionism because they knew that the only method that they could have of retaining their livelihoods and their very lives was by keeping away and steering clear of any semblance of friendship for Israel or for Zionism.

Mr. SPEVAK. Well, that jives with information that we have too. Of course, you probably run into this, that Nasser claims he is not against Jews but acting only against Zionists. I've run into that with other Arab spokesmen too. Now there are some people who regard this as a not too clever semantic maneuver. But from what all we have been able to gather is that the 50,000 Egyptian Jews were not active in the Zionist cause although they were very close to Israel in the physical sense. I noticed in a little booklet put out by the American Jewish Congress called The Black Record: Nasser's Persecution of the Egyptian Jewry, that this point is stressed quite emphatically. Now what other ways do you know of that the Egyptian Government is persecuting Jews—I mean that have come to your attention?

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Well, of course, what they are doing is they are depriving those who are remaining in Egypt of their livelihood. They are telling firms that if they retain Jewish employees they won't allow them any export or import licenses. They are denationalizing the firms that are doing business in Israel, making it impossible for the survival of the people who live there. As a matter of fact what they are doing is they are expelling people who live in Egypt making use of hostages so that others, as you suggested, of their families won't advise the world of what's going on. The things that they are doing are very similar, as a matter of fact, even worse, as I said before, than those things that were done by Hitler. And I think it is an outrage.

Mr. SPEVAK. Now Congressman FARBSTEIN, its always very nice for Congress to pass resolutions expressing sympathy with the Egyptian Jews or with any other persecuted people. But what else do you think might be done for them and also what do you think are the, in general at least, needs to be done so far as future relations with Israel are concerned?

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Aside from the fact that there should be a public expression by the President and also a resolution passed by the United Nations calling upon Mr. Nasser to discontinue his depredations, I feel that in a broader sense what this country should do is in its mutual security law make a token grant-in-aid toward the building of a 16-inch pipeline from Elath to the Mediterranean. That will make evident that this country doesn't intend to remain at the mercy of Nasser insofar as the use of the Suez Canal is concerned, so that oil transshipment will not again be interfered with—to show this country intends to stand by its moral commitment to Israel. And also so that the countries in the area whose leaders fear the street mobs under Nasser's influence may clearly understand that it is our desire, our sincere desire, for them to make peace with Israel. And when these street mobs and the people who control the various other governments that surround the Arab Governments that surround Israel realize that this country is truly behind Israel, I think that a better attitude will be taken by them and that there will be a greater opportunity for peace.

Mr. SPEVAK. Well, if I may then summarize what we have heard from Congressman FARBSTEIN is this: The physical survival of one of the oldest and most peaceful religious communities of the world is at stake. But strangely the Eisenhower doctrine doesn't seem to cover the subject. The President said at his Wednesday press conference that he will not speculate upon the character and reliability of Dictator Nasser.

So the question I guess remains what it has been here in recent weeks, where to drift from this point on? It's not a very pretty picture it seems to me that we painted here but it's one that does command immediate attention.

This is Bob Spevak in Washington returning you to our studios.

Reuther's Boycott of the Kohler Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Reverend Edward A. Keller, professor of economics, University of Notre Dame, has written a most interesting article for Human Events magazine.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the article at this point so that the people of the United States may know the facts on the Kohler boycott as revealed by Reverend Keller.

Notwithstanding Reuther's violent methods, the Kohler Co. continues as one of the leading industrial organizations in this country.

The article follows:

[From Human Events of February 23, 1957]

CAN REUTHER'S BOYCOTT BRING KOHLER TO ITS KNEES?

(By Rev. Edward A. Keller, C. S. C.)

"It seems to me that it is almost sinful to have any labor dispute degenerate to the

point this one has—where we actually have to wreck the company. That's what we're doing, wrecking the company."

So spoke Don Rand, international representative of Walter Reuther's UAW, to a reporter of the Wall Street Journal (August 9, 1956). Rand was referring to the UAW national boycott of the Kohler Co., the second largest manufacturer of plumbing ware in the United States.

Fifteen regions across the country are said to have full-time special representatives seeking support for the boycott. In addition, 65 strikers are employed in Sheboygan, Wis., to prepare and disseminate boycott leaflets and pamphlets. The UAW is attempting to enlist the support of other unions, employers, contractors, and architects in its boycott effort. UAW representatives also seek to persuade city councils, county boards, and some State legislatures to adopt resolutions directing their purchasing agents not to buy Kohler products, and not to contract with builders who submit bids based on use of Kohler products. The boycott resolutions vary in certain particulars, but usually they mention Kohler products; they also urge boycotting of employers found guilty of unfair labor practices by the National Labor Relations Board. In some instances the reslution urges a boycott of any employer against whom charges have been preferred by the union, and against whom the NLRB General Counsel has issued a complaint.

The following language from a resolution introduced in the Minneapolis City Council is an example of such a broad resolution:

"No bids for materials, supplies or merchandise of any kind of nature for any department under the jurisdiction or supervision of the city council shall be accepted unless such bids contain the following provision: That any labor troubles or disputes, actual or threatened from whatever cause arising, and whether or not the demands of the employees involved are reasonable and within the power of any party to bid or contract to concede * * * shall excuse the city, at its option, from the performances of any unexecuted contract or bid or any unexecuted portion of such contract or bid, and the city shall not be liable in damages because of its action taken pursuant to the terms of this ordinance."

Nine Government bodies have adopted boycott resolutions.[1] The legality of such ordinances is highly questionable because most States require awarding of a contract to the lowest bidder. Even if legal, such a broad and loosely worded resolution as that quoted above should be opposed because it would force every contractor to grant any union demand, no matter how unreasonable if he hopes to obtain a contract from the city.

The UAW boycott of Kohler products is a significant modern development in the American labor movement. Union boycotts have generally been a weak weapon in the union's arsenal, but since the merger of the AFL and CIO the boycott may prove to be a potent weapon in forcing an employer to grant the demands of a union when strike and picket lines have failed. Boycott director Rand admitted as much when he stated that "this is the most comprehensive boycott ever organized by labor because we now have the full weight of the combined AFL-CIO with us."

The open declaration of intention by the UAW-CIO "to wreck the [Kohler] company"—which employs some 3,000 workers, supplies products of which customers highly approve, and furnishes the Nation with vitally needed defense products—poses the question of why a union feels it has the right to wreck a company which it has been unable to force to accept its demand by a strike. Only one answer, apparently, is indicated: The UAW is making the Kohler boycott a test case to prove its power of compelling obedience by a threat of destruction.

If the UAW boycott against Kohler is successful, no employer, no matter how big or strong, would dare resist the demands of any union, with the threat of destruction hanging over him at the bargaining table. The destruction of the Kohler Co. by boycott would demonstrate the complete monopoly power of the UAW-CIO. This is why the entire Nation has a vital interest in this long drawn-out, complicated labor dispute.

A short chronology will sketch the background of the boycott. In the fall of 1933 the Kohler Co. was organized by an independent union, the Kohler Workers' Association. The AFL attempted to organize the company in 1934. Despite a strike, accompanied by mass picketing and violence, which resulted in 2 deaths and injury to over 40 persons, the AFL lost. From 1933 to 1952 the Kohler workers were represented by the independent union. In 1951 the UAW-CIO made its first attempt to secure representation status, but lost the NLRB election to the independent union. The UAW made a second try in 1952, winning the election with less than a 4-percent margin of votes.

On February 23, 1953, the first contract with the UAW was signed by the Kohler Co. Its expiration date was March 1, 1954. Three months before the contract ran out both the union and the company gave notice of termination of contract at the date of expiration. Negotiations on a new contract were begun.

The union operated for a month without a contract. The strike was called on April 5, 1954. The number on strike has been reported to be, at its highest, around 2,500. On the day the strike began a reported 2,500 pickets massed in front of the plant gates. Production was halted for 54 days. Village police appeared to be unable, and county police appeared to be unwilling, to deal with the mass picketing and the attending violence.

The company refused to carry on negotiations as long as mass picketing and violence continued, holding that coercion of this kind prevents genuine collective bargaining. The company asked the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board, the State counterpart of the National Labor Relations Board, to order the union to cease and desist. Wisconsin's so-called right-to-work statute states:

"Any person who by threats, intimidations, force, or coercion of any kind shall hinder or prevent any other person from engaging in or continuing in any lawful work or employment, either for himself or as a wage-worker, or who shall attempt to so hinder or prevent shall be punished by fine not exceeding $100 or by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than 6 months or by both fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court." (Section 343.683.)

The WEBR found the union guilty of illegal picketing and ordered it to cease and desist. Despite the WEBR order, the union continued its illegal activities, and on May 24, 1954, a riot occurred in which violence against both nonstrikers and policemen took place. When the WEBR asked a circuit court to enforce its order against the union, the union stated it would henceforth comply.

The UAW appealed the WEBR order on the grounds of pre-emption by the Taft-Hartley Act, since the Kohler Co. operates an interstate business, and also applied to a Federal court for an injunction to prevent the WEBR from proceeding. The Federal court found against the union, as did the Wisconsin supreme court, whose decision was appealed by the UAW to the United States Supreme Court. On June 4, 1956, by a 6 to 3 decision, the United States Supreme Court upheld the Wisconsin supreme court.

In the decision, the majority of the Supreme Court justices declared that the dominant interest of the State government in the presence of violence and property damage cannot be questioned, and that the State should be able to take action to stop violence, even though the union commits a Federal unfair labor practice which would normally come under the jurisdiction of the NLRB. The Court declared that the States "are the natural guardians of the public against violence."

When mass picketing ceased a sufficient number of workers crossed the reduced picket lines so that production could be resumed. Last spring, after being out on strike for 2 years, the UAW practically admitted the strike was lost when it told the strikers to look for other jobs. At the same time strike benefits were stopped except for the strike leaders and emergency cases. Spasmodic token picketing still continues. With the cessation of violence on the picket line, vandalism at the homes of some nonstriking workers increased. The number of such acts is reported to have been between 700 and 800. The UAW disavows agency in these home demonstrations.

The importance of victory to the UAW in this dispute is indicated by Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the UAW-CIO, who in December 1956, at a meeting of civic clubs in Detroit, stated that the Kohler strike, now in its 34th month, had cost the UAW $10 million; he further stated: "If the more than 2,000 Kohler strikers paid dues to UAW for 250 years it would not make up for the amount the union has spent at Kohler."

Meanwhile, the UAW has conducted a legal counterattack against Kohler. On July 12, 1954, the union filed charges before the NLRB, accusing the company of a variety of unfair labor practices. The NLRB hearings, which opened on February 8, 1955, have not been terminated because they wait upon the testimony of a witness (John Gunaca) who fled to Michigan to avoid standing trial in Wisconsin on a charge of felonious assault. Michigan's Governor Williams has refused to extradite this witness to Wisconsin to stand trial. The NLRB subpenaed Gunaca to testify in the Kohler case about a year after he went to Michigan and now agrees to take his testimony somewhere in Michigan.

In October 1956 the NLRB's trial examiner, George A. Downing, dismissed the alleged charges of unfair labor practices on the technicality that the UAW trustees had failed to file non-Communist affidavits required of them as officers of the union under the Taft-Hartley Act. The NLRB had refused to drop charges on similar grounds previously. It ruled that Robert Burkhart, a UAW international representative who was in charge of both the bargaining and the strike, was not an officer of the UAW because the UAW's constitution does not designate international representatives as officers. The UAW appealed Downing's decision to the NLRB. On February 8, 1957, the Board overruled Downing, stating that "it is not for the Board to determine who should be the union's officers on the basis of the precise duties they perform." The case has been remanded to the trial examiner, to be heard on its merits.

---

[1] Lincoln Park, Mich.; River Rouge, Mich.; Bristol, Conn.; New Britain, Conn.; Massachusetts House of Representatives; Boston, Mass.; Lynn, Mass.; Worcester, Mass.; Los Angeles County, Calif.

Resolutions were proposed but not adopted in the following 14 cities: New Haven, Conn.; Norwalk, Conn.; New Bedford, Mass.; Eau Claire, Wis.; Fond du Lac, Wis.; Green Bay, Wis.; Jonesville, Wis.; Jefferson, Wis.; Salem, Wis.; Sheboygan, Wis.; Stevens Point, Wis.; Wawatosa, Wis.; Virginia, Minn.; Pueblo, Colo.

In two cities, Milwaukee and Minneapolis, resolutions have been proposed but not acted on. Significantly, three cities—Waterbury, Conn.; Menasha, Wis.; Ansonia, Conn.—have rescinded resolutions which had been previously adopted.

As this complex legal maneuvering goes on, the workers at Kohler are denied their right either to decertify the UAW or to be represented by another union. A representation election cannot be held by the NLRB until final decision is rendered on the charges of unfair labor practices.

Because of the far-reaching nature of the UAW-Kohler dispute, the main issues involved need some explanation. The following comments are a personal evaluation of the issue as they have been publicized by both sides.

1. The main issue at present is the rehiring of the strikers, especially the 90 whom the company discharged for alleged violence on the picket line. These include many of the union officials and all of the executive committee. The union contends they were discharged for union activity. The NLRB General Counsel's office has dropped the cases of 18 of the 90 and is now proceeding on 72. The union also insists that the remaining strikers—somewhere between 1,600 and 2,500—be rehired. This obviously would require the Kohler Co. to discharge the employees hired to replace the strikers. The company refuses, contending that the workers were not hired as strikebreakers but as permanent employees who voluntarily sought employment at Kohler. The solution to this problem will depend upon the determination by the NLRB of whether the dominent strike issue was economic or unfair labor practices. Under the Taft-Hartley Act, the employer is not obligated to rehire "economic strikers" who have been replaced. If, however, the cause of the strike is unfair labor practices, even when it is not the sole cause, the NLRB could order the company to rehire the strikers with full seniority and at the expense of those who displaced them. This would be true, also, if the strike were begun for economic reasons and then turned into an unfair-labor-practice strike by the employer's conduct. However, any employee loses his right to reinstatement if he engages in violence in a labor dispute.

The UAW accuses the Kohler Co. of refusing to bargain, an unfair labor practice, and blames the breakdown in collective bargaining on an alleged adamant antiunion stand taken by the Kohler Co. The NLRB will have to decide whether the Kohler Co. refused to bargain in good faith or merely engaged in hard bargaining. It would seem that the willingness of the Kohler Co. to renew the old contract without change for 1 year, and their offer of 4 drafts of a new contract do not indicate either a refusal to bargain or a dominating passion to bust the union.

2. Among the main original demands of the UAW in negotiations was compulsory unionism, in the form of the union shop and maintenance of membership. The Kholer Co. refused to grant either a union shop or maintenance of membership, taking the stand that while they acknowledged the right of their workers to belong to a union and bargain collectively, they felt they had no right to force their employees, by a union-shop contract, to join a union. Although compulsory unionism was originally a main issue, the UAW has dropped the union shop, while continuing its maintenance of membership demand.

3. Arbitration has been another hotly contested and highly publicized issue. Outsiders offered the suggestion that the issues in dispute be arbitrated. The company refused to arbitrate the writing of the contract, rightly contending that this would amount to a delegation of management to a third party, who had not the necessary knowledge to rule intelligently on the issues. Most management in the country would stand side by side with the Kohler Co. on this issue.

An arbitration clause had been incorporated in the first contract signed by UAW with the Kohler Co. However, the company insisted that arbitration be limited to interpretation and application of the contract. The union contended this was not enough and demanded that grievances, especially grievance discharges, be submitted to arbitration. The union could point to many companies who do arbitrate disputed discharges; in fact, it has become standard procedure in most contracts.

4. Another issue arose in this same area. The union demanded comanagement in the form of veto power over or a sharing in the decisions of management, even going so far as to demand the right to veto the subcontractors employed by the Kohler Co. Mr. Herbert Kohler correctly contended this could destroy competition and lead ultimately in this country to a European type of cartel arrangement.

5. Seniority was still another basic issue. The union demanded straight seniority on layoffs, rehiring, promotions and discharges with superseniority for union officials. Strict seniority is very debatable. The CIO is dedicated to it, and therefore opposed to incentive systems and merit increases. The Taft-Hartley Act forbids an employer to grant merit raises to a worker (even to a nonunion worker in an open shop), without the permission of the union where it has won bargaining rights. The purported purpose of this requirement is to prevent an employer from weakening the union by favoritism; the real effect is to destroy worker incentive and to bolster the union's contention that all employers exploit their workers and that only through the union can the workers obtain anything from their employer. This does not work to the interest of the worker but serves to make real the fiction of Marxian class struggle.

The Kohler Co., however, can be accused of being too rigid in its attitude toward seniority. Some companies permit a modified seniority but do not allow plantwide seniority, thereby preventing the evils of plantwide bumping. In defense of the Kohler Co., it should be pointed out that the company has not laid off a permanent employee in 20 years. Not hampered by rigid seniority, the company was able to move workers about the plant to jobs where the men could best be utilized, instead of laying them off as straight seniority might require.

It is interesting to note that the above issues were in the noneconomic area and that the two main economic issues, wages and pensions, were pushed to the background. In this significant fact, a key to the stalemate can possibly be found and a glimpse into the future of labor-management relations obtained.

Unions increasingly emphasize noneconomic issues because they cannot seriously contend, except for propaganda purposes, that the American worker receives subnormal wages. The constant expansion of the scope of collective bargaining beyond the bread-and-butter issues of traditional American unionism is indication of a strong union drive toward comanagement.

The economic issues can be played down because even the union admitted that wages were not a serious issue in the dispute. Moreover, it is a fact that the Kohler Co. installed a pension system before the UAW came into being and that its present pension system, while voluntary and a jointly contributory system, is in many respects more generous in its provisions than the standard UAW–CIO pension plan the union wishes to substitute for it.

The UAW-Kohler dispute indicates the need for amending the Taft-Hartley Act:

1. The secondary boycott provisions of the act should be strengthened to make illegal any secondary boycott—whether directed at employees, employers, or Government bodies. This is needed because of the potential monopoly power inherent in the merger of the AFL and the CIO.

2. Secondary picketing—that is, picketing at any site other than that of the original dispute—should also be made illegal. Secondary picketing is a most effective means to enforce a secondary boycott. Also, picketing should be limited to employees of the company with whom the union has a dispute. This would prevent much violence on the picket line by eliminating the trained "educator squads," who too often are the instigators of violence in a labor dispute.

3. The act should clarify the officer issue. Congress, if it intended to prevent Communist influence from dominating unions, must have intended that those who function as officials by leading negotiations, strikes, etc., should file anti-Communist affidavits. The constitutional test adopted by the Board seriously weakens this section of the act.

Appropriate or Else

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, as a person who recognizes that the post-office system is vital to our economy as well as a wonderful method of communication, I am deeply disturbed by the threat to curtail these essential services of the post office.

I deplore the inability of the administrator to conduct a department within the appropriations fixed by the Congress.

Services must not and will not be curtailed.

I believe the following editorial will make interesting reading and will eliminate the confusion which attended the threats by the Postmaster General and the congressional statements refusing to be blackjacked into giving a deficiency appropriation of $47 million:

FIRST-CLASS FIX

Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield is in a terrible fix. He is running out of money and insists he will have to reduce mail service in 7 different ways unless Congress gives him $47 million more to add to the $3 billion he has already been granted. Last week he served Congress with a 48-hour ultimatum to cough up the extra money or he would do a lot of things to inconvenience 170 million Americans.

Whether or not the boss of the post office carries out his threat of reduced service effective Saturday, his actions smack of a grandstand play. The fact is he overspent the funds granted him by Congress, then insisted the legislators give him more money, and practically overnight.

The Constitution leaves to Congress control over the purse strings. Even the President has to depend on congressional appropriations to run his office. Perhaps Mr. Summerfield should be reminded that while the bureaucrats can propose, it is the Congress which disposes. The legislators are properly jealous of this prerogative. Small wonder, then, that a House Appropriations Subcommittee did not take kindly to Mr. Summerfield's gun-to-the-head approach.

Congress didn't knuckle under, ignored Mr. Summerfield's deadline, and the committee concerned told the Postmaster General he could expect $17 million out of the demanded $47 million, but he would have to wait a week to see about the other $30

million. So Mr. Summerfield found reasons for postponing his service cutback for a week. The new deadline is next Saturday.

Mr. Summerfield concedes that he has $632 million left to run the post office until the end of the fiscal year June 30. The additional $30 million he regards as so vital is less than 5 percent of the funds already available. Other Federal agencies have been forced to economize beyond the 5 percent without taking reprisals that hurt so many people. Are no savings at all possible in the post office without restricting service?

Our Liberties We Prize and Our Rights We Will Maintain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following from the Iowa State Senate Journal of March 19, 1957:

OUR LIBERTIES WE PRIZE AND OUR RIGHTS WE WILL MAINTAIN

A committee from the house appeared and announced that, in accordance with Senate Concurrent Resolution 17 duly adopted, the house was ready to receive the senate in joint convention.

The senate proceeded to the house under the direction of the sergeant at arms.

JOINT CONVENTION

In accordance with law and concurrent resolution duly adopted, the joint convention was called to order, President Nicholas presiding.

President Nicholas announced a quorum present and the joint convention duly organized.

President Nicholas extended his personal welcome to the Pioneer Lawmakers and offered the following remarks:

"Members of the joint convention, members of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association, ladies, and gentlemen, it is with great pleasure as a presiding officer of this joint convention to assist in the welcoming of the former lawmakers of Iowa, who together with the present lawmakers have established in Iowa a State and local system of government which, in the very nature of things, has its faults, but which I would not exchange for that of any State of the Union. Iowa has good government, and the laws we pass help to keep it so.

"We have set up a judiciary under which the protection of our laws is guaranteed to all, and whose integrity has never been questioned; we have established protection for our poor, our widows, and our orphans. We have safe working conditions for the employees in our industries; we have shown due regard for our problems of sanitation and public health.

"It is through the efforts of the Pioneer Lawmakers of this State that we have established a system of government which was formed on a sound foundation, and it is you here today that I can congratulate upon being a part of this great establishment for a great State.

"It is nice that you could come to renew acquaintances with old friends and new. I am happy to welcome you, and it is a pleasure to introduce the former senator who will have charge of this meeting from now on.

"It is my great pleasure to present to you the Honorable De Vere Watson, who is going to substitute for Senator Arch W. McFarlane on this occasion today."

The Honorable De Vere Watson, former senator from Pottwattamie, presented to the joint convention Senator George E. O'Malley, of Polk, who welcomed the pioneer lawmakers on behalf of the Senate and offered the following remarks:

"Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Pioneer Lawmakers, members of the joint session, ladies and gentlemen, this is an honor to have the opportunity to welcome the Pioneer Lawmakers of Iowa on this occasion.

"We of the 57th general assembly are happy to see you back to view our legislative endeavors and again breathe in the atmosphere of Iowa's most exclusive society, the general assembly.

"I am likewise happy that the now-famous quote, 'Old soldiers never die; they just fade away,' does not apply to your honored group, as evidenced by your substantial numbers here today.

"As you well know, several members of the Pioneer Lawmakers are still carrying on and are active in the making of laws of our State. I assure you it has been enjoyable to work with Hon. Frank C. Byers, senator from Linn; Hon. Arch W. McFarlane, senator from Black Hawk; Hon. J. T. Dykhouse, senator from Lyon; Hon. George L. Scott, senator from Fayette; Hon. Dewey E. Goode, representative from Davis; Hon. A. C. Hanson, representative from Lyon; Hon. W. J. Johannes, representative from Osceola; and Hon. Stanley Watts, representative from Clarke—present assembly members tht you have on your membership.

"You Pioneer Lawmakers in your time of service reflected the hopes and ideals of your constituents. The laws you passed met the needs of those days.

"As our predecessors in molding Iowa's statutes, you set the pattern and led the way for generations to follow.

"We hope that our current deliberations meet with your approval.

"On behalf of the members of the senate, it is a real pleasure to welcome you here today and sincerely hope that your meeting will be one of inspiration and that you will all enjoy yourselves by renewing acquaintances with the older members and friends and becoming acquainted with the new members who are carrying on in an effort to effectively solve the legislative problems of the day."

Senator Watson presented to the joint convention Representative Robert B. Carson, of Buchanan, who welcomed the Pioneer Lawmakers on behalf of the house and offered the following remarks:

"Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the joint convention, and friends: Today we pause in our ponderance of the many problems which are before us in this 1957 legislature. We pause and do honor to the lawmakers who have pondered many similar problems in legislative sessions which are now a part of the history of the Hawkeye State. On behalf of the members of the house of representatives in the 57th general assembly I extend our most hearty and sincere welcome to you, the Pioneer Lawmakers of Iowa.

"Through those perilous decades immediately after the founding of the Territory, the pioneers of Iowa selected sound, intelligent, and God-fearing individuals to make their laws. The result has been a sound-thinking, highly literate, and God-fearing people who have flourished on this rich land. These good people, and this good land, are the abundant resources which will furnish a solid normal growth in the years which lie ahead.

"The lawmaker of today, like his predecessor, must constantly study the future needs of the citizen. He must examine and reexamine these needs and determine which ones should be provided by government. He must determine whether they come within the proper province of government, the priority to be given each of these needs, based on their urgency and the availability of public funds if the needs are material in nature. The lawmaker must further be governed by the fact that the State has nothing in its own right with which to provide for any need. The State can only provide what it must first levy from the citizen. May divine providence give us the wisdom and the strength, as you have had the wisdom and strength, to protect the solvency of the citizen while providing for his future needs at the same time.

"We, the lawmakers of today, commend you, the lawmakers of yesterday, for the forthright and steadfast manner in which you came to grip with the problems which faced you in the assemblies in which you served. We are delighted to have you return to these halls today. May God bless you every one."

Senator Watson then presented to the joint convention the Honorable Harold E. Davidson, president of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association, who addressed the joint convention as follows:

"Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the 57th general assembly, ladies, and gentlemen, I appear before you today to honor the members of this assembly on behalf of those who served at least 20 years ago. The purpose is not only briefly to live again legislative problems of former years, but also to reassure you and each of you members not only of the importance of your task to the problems of this biennium but to the future development of our State in all the aspects of future good living.

"At the outset, I should like to make a general observation about the function of law and lawmaking.

"Dean Roscoe Pound pointed out many years ago that law is social engineering. Neither common law rules nor statutes are ends in themselves. They are always means to the end of securing the best possible social adjustment of conflicting interests. It is the best interests of society which should constantly be uppermost in your minds in the promulgation of and the enactment of a statute. The law should be a means to eliminate or reduce social friction. It is inevitable that when a statute is enacted it is designated to meet the then current needs of the community caused by actual conditions.

"It is a truism, that changes in community conditions come about more rapidly than changes in our laws. This is only natural and, certainly, no one can be criticized therefor.

"However, in some cases the continued application of an old law in a community which has undergone extensive economic, industrial and social changes increases the very social friction which the law originally was designed to reduce or prevent.

"Our fathers toiled in greater hardship than do we, and lived more frugally—far less indulgently. The ways of our age are swifter and more superficial. Many of our generation have recently waxed wealthy, inheriting real and personal property that in many instances quadrupled in value. All this seemed a happy exception to the toilsome course of ordinary life of the days gone by; but it has dangers and disquieting tendencies, illustrated by present trends and indulgences. This includes, among other things, greed, commercialism and inordinate lust for power and money, and all too often without regard as to the ethical and moral means of such acquisition. Consequently regulatory statutes are necessary now that were not needed years ago. Regulation, of course, does not mean that government should be in competition with private business and not at all, except and only to the extent that neither the people nor private

enterprise can supply such types of service. Regulation means the adoption of such rules as are reasonably necessary to prevent abuses or exploitation of the public or segments of it, by means of advantages acquired by natural or created situation.

"CENTRALIZATION OF POWER

"There is a strong trend to centralize power in the Federal Government in Washington. This centralized power, as a general rule, is inconsistent with individual liberty, individual responsibility, and human freedom itself. This trend, if continued, will also reduce this State as well as the other 47 to mere satellites. The result will be the loss of State control of matters of local concern, the destruction of our dual system of government. Also, if this process is not checked, the time must certainly come when the sovereign States will be nothing more than mere municipal corporations with only such powers left them as the Federal Government may choose to allow.

"The 10th amendment to the Constitution of the United States in substance provides that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

"The State governments were, are, and should continue to be governments whose sovereign powers are inherent and not delegated powers as is the Federal Government.

"It is the opinion of many leading lawyers that this 10th amendment is being ignored and nullified by judicial decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in many of its decisions.

"For an example: The vesting of power to regulate the insurance business by Congress, and the consequent loss of regulation by the States, if and when Congress should exercise such power, was effected by a decision in the case of *United States* v. *Southeastern Underwriters Association* (322 U. S. 533), decided in 1944. Fortunately for the States the good judgment of Congress came to the rescue and in March 1955, passed the McCarran Act providing in part that the business of insurance and every person engaged therein shall be subject to the laws of the States. However, it must be apparent to you, and the fact remains, that under this decision the Congress still has the power to repeal this statute and the Federal Government take over at any time and eliminate State regulation.

"In this connection, it is interesting as well as discouraging to note that there is now pending litigation in the Circuit Court of Appeals at Cincinnati, Ohio, to judicially determine whether or not the Federal Trade Commission has the power to regulate the insurance business and this claim of the Federal Trade Commission is being made regardless of the 1955 congressional enactment. How are we to curb this unconstitutional usurpation of the States' powers? This should be the concern of all our citizens as well as legislators; but it is difficult properly to educate the rank and file of our citizens because it is being done a little at a time and each instance affects only a small segment of our people or, possibly offers temporarily what appears to be benefits although in the long run disaster may result.

"You are all familiar with the famous Nelson case. Nelson was convicted for subversion under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania. The United States Supreme Court reversed this conviction on the theory that, by the passing of the Smith Act, Congress intended to preempt the field and only the Federal courts could prosecute for subversion.

"There is not the slightest doubt that Congress never intended the State laws to be thus nullified. The author, Congressman SMITH, last year asked Congress to specially clarify its intention for the purpose of preventing the future nullification of such State laws.

"You may ask why is he telling us these things. The answer is simply to inform any of you who may not be too familiar with these matters and to again remind those of you who are, the importance of not voluntarily permitting the Federal Government to preempt these or any other fields that are primarily and fundamentally the States' prerogative and constitutional duty to exercise.

"Again in this same connection we are just now fully realizing how thoroughly federalized our National Guard has become and have seen the Pentagon dictate a requirement for all National Guard personnel to have 6 months' intensive training in an Army camp. The National Guard was essentially a State militia for use in maintaining law and order if and when violence should break out and probably more often needed where and when disaster strikes. This has been true except in time of war. The cold war and the extensive preparedness for war emergencies will some time pass, but the guard, through Federal subsidy and gradually imposed controls, has become a Federal rather than a State force and a part of the standing Army of the United States.

"It must be readily apparent to all of us that if the Federal Government has the power to preempt any and all fields, the result could and eventually would be detrimental to our freedom and liberty. We may for the moment think we, as certain individuals or our various groups, could gain some temporary benefits or advantage by such preemption. However, it should be clear that once the sovereign powers of the States are lost they could never be regained. Also we as citizens of this great and still sovereign State, to a large degree, can better know and understand the needs and desires of our people for orderly government than Washington, D. C. Further, if there are inequities or wrongs to be righted, certainly the legislature is more apprehensive of such conditions and needs than are people in faraway States which may not have similar existing conditions.

"There is now strong sentiment in some quarters in favor of Federal aid to education. In fact, many in high Federal Government positions are advocating appropriations for what is now said to be used only for the construction of a public school building program. Of course, it should be obvious to all of us that this is only the first step toward Federal control of our entire public school system. The next step will be to subsidize teaching salaries, perhaps only particularly in the beginning. Then comes the dictation of the textbooks to be used and who may or may not teach in our schools. We are then at the complete mercy of some school administrator or bureaucrat in Washington with whom we may, but probably would not, agree as to what is best for our State public school system.

"If this situation should exist, the economic and financial dependence would make impossible the operation of our schools without such Federal subsidy. The Federal Government would necessarily exact from us more tax money than would be thus returned, plus all the costs occasioned thereby, which would be substantial. Certainly we can and should build our own schools.

"We may not build them as elaborately; they may not conform to some national architectural plan; less redtape and less cost will certainly result, and in the long run our children will be able to receive as good an education, probably better than as, if, and when what is taught and who may teach is dictated from Washington.

"The future stability of our Federal Government depends on less Federal spending, not more.

"You all remember the old adage: 'He who pays the piper calls the tune.' This truth is as real as life itself.

"It is not our purpose and it is definitely not intended to try to dictate to this assembly any specific legislation, but rather to assure the members of this assembly that the people of this great State realize the magnitude of your duties and trust you to engineer the best possible social adjustment for the future and for all the people of our State.

"Having also had some experience in the judicial branch of government, it should be clear from what has been said that this branch should never, under any guise of expediency or otherwise, usurp your branch which is the legislative. The judicial approach must always strive to interpret legislative enactments to give force and application to the true intent of the legislature, except in the very rare instances where a statutory law is unconstitutional.

"May I say to you distinguished legislators that I thoroughly believe that the judges of both the district courts and the superme court of this State adhere strictly to this most important principle of our system of free government of checks and balances. The written opinions of our State supreme court sustain this observation.

"One of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States in an opinion written by him some time ago said that 'because the words of a statute are plain that their meaning is also plain is merely pernicious oversimplification.' I leave this for your own appraisal.

"Time will not permit here to discuss the farfetched interpretation applied to the interstate commerce clause of the United States Constitution, but suffice for the present to say, that it is hard to imagine a business or enterprise that could be considered purely intrastate even though its product or service has never been and probably never will become interstate commerce or cross any State line. The interpretation generally is to the effect that there is such possibility and if not directly, by some indirect method. Such interpretation was never intended and amounts simply to usurpation of power. Your attention is invited to investigate some of the many Federal decisions on this subject and the effect it has on the several States and their government.

"In conclusion, may I say I consider it a high honor to have had the privilege of appearing before you and if anything has been said to assist in stimulating your thinking, I shall feel most amply rewarded.

" 'Our liberties we prize and our rights we will maintain.' This is our motto and is inscribed on our State flag. If this motto is to survive until the next century, our dual system of government must also survive and ways must be found to educate and alert our people effectively to resist and prevent the Federal Government from preempting the powers and duties of State governments.

"I know you will not shirk your responsibility as public servants but will help solve not only the problems of our State but those of ours and other States in their relation to the Federal Government. Let us all dedicate ourselves to helping preserve the sovereign powers of our great and beloved State.

"We must all have faith. Someone has said that faith is louder than noise. This is true, for if we have faith a cannon could be shot off beside us and our faith still remain. We must all have faith in God, faith in the people of our State and country and last, but not least, faith in ourselves.

"Remember our motto: 'Our liberties we prize and our rights we will maintain.'

"Thank you."

Time for Congress To Step In

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit for printing in the RECORD the following editorial from the April 10, 1957, issue of the Chicago Daily Drovers Journal:

TIME FOR CONGRESS TO STEP IN

Postmaster General Summerfield's threat to discontinue rural free delivery mail service on Saturday and eliminate a number of other postal services should serve as an urgent call to arms for Congress.

For if, in order to enforce his will on Congress, it is legal for the Postmaster General to eliminate farm mail delivery and soon thereafter to eliminate third-class mail entirely (as counsel is said to have advised him to do), it is high time laws be enacted, in the public interest, which would make such deeds illegal and punishable.

To discontinue rural mail delivery on Saturday would be to deprive people living on rural routes of service which was provided by congressional enactment many years ago. Included in Saturday rural delivery are services for which many farmers have paid with the understanding there would be Saturday mail delivery. It is also true that the suppliers of services to the farmer dependent on mail service would be immeasurably damaged and, in some instances, destroyed.

In the case of third-class mail elimination, thousands of small businesses of incalculable importance to the national welfare and prosperity would be wiped out in a single stroke.

In this situation, which is untenable, Congress can supply a remedy through legislation designed to prevent destructive action and, by so doing, to eliminate the possibility of future coercive threats.

The question also reaches deep into the moral fiber of the Commonwealth. It is our thought that the approach to this problem should be thoroughly saturated with Americanism.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Strengthening of Principle of Sanctity of Contracts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the other night I had the privilege of addressing one of the great business organizations of my State.

In Racine, I spoke before the S. C. Johnson Co.—famous for its product, Johnson wax. The company had brought in 65 of its representatives from 30 countries all over the world.

I spoke on a theme basic to this shrunken globe of ours.

I spoke on fair treatment of business at home and abroad—fair and equal treatment under the law.

I presented what I called an economic bill of rights for the protection of foreign capital against confiscation, for example.

I ask unanimous consent that the address delivered by me before the S. C. Johnson Co. banquet be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I ask that it be preceded by two items: First, the text of an amplifying statement which I have prepared on the subject. In it, I have referred to a related issue, namely, the principle of arbitration and conciliation in the instance of economic and other disputes; and second, I ask that an article by Bernardo Estes, editor of Sindicato de Prensa Latino Americano, describing the S. C. Johnson conference be likewise printed. The company has done a great job in Latin America, and our good neighbors to the south have likewise been friendly hosts and customers to this great company.

There being no objection, the address, statement, and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY

Soon, Congress will be taking up the 1958 mutual security bill.

Every study—the Fairless Commission, the Eric Johnston report—which has been made in advance of this bill—emphasize this fact:

"The world needs more investment of private—I emphasize private—capital. Private enterprise should do the job of building up underdeveloped economies especially, rather than expecting simply government-to-government aid."

SENATOR WILEY'S EFFORTS TO PROMOTE FAVORABLE ECONOMIC CLIMATE

And so, I have sought throughout the postwar era to encourage private enterprise to do this investment job.

I have sought to help contribute to a favorable economic climate throughout the world—favorable to private enterprises' operation.

DANGER IN EGYPTIAN NATIONALIZATION

We cannot have such a climate if let us say, a government arbitrarily confiscates private property—foreign or domestic.

Recent Egyptian nationalization of British and French and other property is a case in point—an illustration of harmful tendencies at work—harmful to investors' confidence throughout the world.

A FINDING IN 35 YEARS OF LAW EXPERIENCE

Mr. President, having been a practicing attorney for more than 35 years before coming to the Senate, I have stressed throughout a lifetime this fact: The strength of America is the rule of law.

Yes, the strength of America is its respect of the sanctity of a private contract, the sanctity of private property. And that, of course, includes the sanctity of the right of appeal against alleged unfair treatment.

Unfortunately, too many countries, these days, have the notion that a contract can be broken by one side—completely arbitrarily.

But the great Anglo-Saxon tradition holds that a man's word must be as good as his bond, and his written contract, particularly, must be faithfully kept—in letter and in spirit.

LET WORLD SEE WISDOM OF ANGLO-SAXON CONCEPT

And so, I told the representatives of the S. C. Johnson Co., that I hope that the various foreign countries in which they are established, will come to recognize the wisdom of this Anglo-Saxon concept.

Too many countries are toying with confiscation of private property. Too many countries have gotten the concept that men should rule, rather than the law.

LEADING FRENCH PAPER CRITICIZED UNITED STATES

What brought this situation to mind especially was this fact:

The New York Times of Monday, April 8, carried a significant report from the French press about one particular case in which is charged that it is the United States which is at fault in possibly undermining sound economic relations among the nations.

This Times report relates two widely separated problems:

(a) The long-litigated and complex dispute as regards the title to shares of the General Aniline & Film Corp. (the Interhandel case), and

(b) Trying to resolve the problem of Egyptian nationalization.

These cases—Interhandel and Egypt—obviously differ from one another tremendously.

SHOULD DISPUTES LIKE THIS BE ARBITRATED?

But there is at least one common thread between them, as noted by some French and United States observers. It is the common thread:

"Should not governments adjudicate disputes of this nature, if necessary before an international tribunal?"

Thus, the Times referred to a widely reported article entitled "A Regrettable Refusal of International Arbitration." It was printed in the leading journal of finance in Paris, L' Information. The New York Times write-up states the author criticized "the American interpretation of the Washington accord." The author is quoted as declaring that at stake in the Interhandel dispute "was the question of good faith among the nations. By refusing to arbitrate as requested by the Swiss Government, the United States makes itself the sole judge of right and wrong."

Earlier, the Times article, by George H. Morison, reported:

"Owing to the confiscation on a vast scale of French private property in Egypt the Interhandel case had become a subject of fierce controversy in the Paris press."

I AM NOT PASSING JUDGMENT ON CASES, ONLY POINTING OUT SIDE EFFECTS

Now, let me state that:

1. I am not in the slightest passing judgment on the Interhandel case itself. The case is too involved; besides, it has been handled, and is being handled basically by the executive and judicial branches.

2. I am simply pointing out how a side effect of one case may significantly involve very different cases, e. g., Egyptian nationalization. The side effect is possible discouragement of many future arbitration efforts.

3. I personally have a dual responsibility. In the first place, I am senior Republican on the Judiciary Committee which is handling the complex question of alien property.

In the second place, I am Senior Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which concerns itself with mutual security, worldwide economic relations, friendship among the nations, etc. It is our Foreign Relations Committee which reviews all treaties. It is our committee which approved the treaty of February 16, 1931, under which every dispute arising between the contracting parties shall, when ordinary diplomatic proceedings have failed, be submitted to arbitration or conciliation, as the contracting parties may, at the time decide.

ARE 31 UNITED STATES ARBITRATION TREATIES TO BE DEAD LETTERS?

I ask now: "Is the 1931 Arbitration Treaty to be relegated to a dead letter?"

I point out that, all too regrettably, the historical facts are these: a recent column on the editorial page of the New York Times factually pointed out that, unfortunately, dozens of arbitration and conciliation treaties, solemnly signed by the United States have likewise not been utilized in the slightest.

Is this unwholesome trend of ignoring 31 or more treaties to be continued now? Do not I, as former Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, have the responsibility to raise this issue now so that it is carefully considered in all its implications?

I believe I do have this responsibility.

I HAVE COME TO NO DECISION YET ON ANY PROPERTY RETURN

Let this further fact be understood very clearly: I am not commenting now at all on the issue of any possible return of alien property. That is a vast, complex issue in itself. I am commenting today and simply raising questions about the general need for arbitration in today's world where business confidence has far too often been shattered.

So far as any possible alien property return is concerned, I feel that I am still in a quasi-judicial position on the Senate Judiciary Committee. I am now studying the record of the hearings.

I have been asked repeatedly by newspaper reporters about my position on this or that alien property bill. I have told them the facts: I have not made and would not consider making any commitment whatsoever, as regards the various forms of the pending legislation.

I AM CONCERNED SOLELY WITH PUBLIC INTEREST

I have stated that I want to study the record—and only thereafter will I come to a decision for or against this or that bill.

Obviously, on the alien property return issue, a great many private interests are at work—in competition with one another.

I am not concerned with these private interests in any way, shape, or form, neither German nor Swiss nor American private interests.

I am concerned with but one interest—one interest above all, and that is, the interest of the United States Government—the interest of 170 million Americans.

I am concerned with the respect in which we are held by the peoples of the world. We are the beacon. We are the lighthouse, and we must remain so. Fair play must still be our creed and our deed if the world is to continue to respect us.

MY QUESTION TO THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

And so, I should like to state one simple proposition: I state it, however, respectfully in the form of an open question to our Secretary of State and to our Attorney General.

I ask: "Would not the United States Government be on firmer overall grounds—in terms of restoring the vitality of arbitration treaties—if it were to agree to arbitration and conciliation of this Interhandel dispute?"

The Swiss Government has asked for arbitration. The State Department, for what it deems good and proper legal reasons, has turned the Swiss Government down.

This case has, of course, been fought up and down through the United States courts.

So far as I am concerned, the United States courts may be completely right in what they have repeatedly held. I do not dispute their decisions in the slightest. I have the highest regard for our judicial branch.

SHOULD WE NOT ADVANCE WORLD RELATIONS BY ARBITRATION?

But I ask this question: Would it not be a sound contribution to international relations if the United States Government were graciously to say, in effect, "Gentlemen of Switzerland, we Americans may believe our courts have held 100 percent soundly. But we believe so much in the rule of law; we believe so much in the principle of adjudication of disputes between nations, that we are willing to see the process of conciliation and arbitration followed."

In my judgment, if the United States were to do so, and to do so expeditiously (because I certainly do not want unreasonable delay), then America might make a most significant contribution to international law.

I am commenting in this manner because I feel that the principle of arbitration can and should be applied in a great many pending disputes throughout the world.

HOW TO DEFINE "DOMESTIC JURISDICTION"

Of course, as the State Department has noted, we rightly exclude from our arbitration treaties any obligation to conciliate or arbitrate a matter within "domestic jurisdiction."

But obviously, if "domestic jurisdiction" is interpreted very broadly by ourselves and other powers, then probably no dispute whatsoever will ever be arbitrated. Why? Because everything might be regarded as "domestic."

THE BIG ISSUE: AMERICA'S INTEREST

Here I leave the case except for one additional point:

Some individuals may argue that "to arbitrate this Interhandel dispute would help Private Interest A, or harm Interest B, or help Interest C."

But that is not the question.

I am urging a principle, not any private interest.

I represent no interest. I speak for no interest. I am interested in no interest except—if you can call it that—the interest of the American Government and the American people—leaders of the world in this atomic age.

I say, let my Government weigh this Interhandel question carefully once again in the light of the Egyptian and other dangerous situations.

Let our Government decide not simply on the legal technicalities, as important as they obviously are, but on the many possible side effects and on the psychological impact throughout the world—the impact of whatever we may finally decide.

EACH SOVEREIGN BRANCH MUST CAREFULLY DECIDE

I do not in any way tell another sovereign branch of Government what to do. But I do urge the State Department to think this question through once again—with the broadest public interest in mind—not any private interest—but solely this public interest—a sounder, more stable world—a world in which private enterprise will be protected through due process of law.

There follows now the text of my address as it was prepared for delivery in Racine.

SENATOR WILEY SAYS ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS SHOULD BE PROCLAIMED AND OBSERVED BY FOREIGN LANDS SO AS TO ATTRACT UNITED STATES CAPITAL AND IMPROVE STANDARDS OF LIVING

(Address by Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, of Wisconsin, senior Republican, Foreign Relations Committee, at S. C. Johnson Co. banquet, Racine, Wis., April 4, 1957)

I am delighted to join in this the first international conference sponsored by your outstanding company.

I can well appreciate the tremendous amount of arranging and preparation that went into this event.

I know that I speak for representatives of your overseas subsidiaries and distributors, as well as for our attending State and Foreign dignitaries, in thanking you for bringing this conference to its rightful home—Racine. This is but another indication of your forward-moving and civic-minded spirit.

As alert businessmen seeking expanded sales abroad of top products, you are understandably concerned over what lies ahead for international business?

May I say, at the outset, that in my judgment, you look out on a mighty bright horizon.

Let's take a look at the evidence—abundant evidence—for optimism.

AMERICA'S TOP GOALS

But let's first ask, as we go into the midway mark of 1957, what aims are we working for? What does our businessman look for? What is our administration working toward? In essence, the goals are the same:

1. First of all, we want peace and prosperity for America.

2. Secondly, we want peace and prosperity for our fellow men everywhere.

These are fundamental aims, and seemingly simple. However, when we take a real look at world events today, we see it's a long, hard road to peace and prosperity. And it is composed of many avenues.

FOUR AVENUES TO A BRIGHTER TOMORROW

In the course of these remarks, tonight I shall mention but one such avenue in detail:

That of sound international investment.

But there are other avenues—all of which converge on the highroad to peace and prosperity.

Here they are:

1. First of all, invincible American strength—diplomatic, military, economic, spiritual strength—for we are the guardians, the trustees of the greatest values of the human race.

PERILS OF THE AIR-ATOMIC AGE

And we dare not be anything but invincible in this air-atomic age. I mean this age of the shrunken globe; this age of promise and yet of peril, fantastic peaceful developments, and almost equally fantastic developments in nuclear warfare, in jet propulsion, in chemical and biological warfare; this age of danger of a Pearl Harbor-like blitz attack.

2. Secondly, we need to continue to use the avenue of a strong system of alliances. Our purpose is to further the unity and well-being of the free world. Your United States is now the moving force in a sound interlocking system of pacts and agreements with 45 other nations. I refer to the Rio Pact, Anzus Pact, NATO Pact, SEATO Pact, United States-Nationalist China Pact, United States-Korean Treaty, and so forth.

3. Expansion of the free world's scientific and technical horizons.

By this avenue, I mean more sound technical aid, making available the peaceful fruits of atomic energy, more experiments in harnessing the energy of the sun, and other scientific advances.

4. Expansion of the free world's business and commercial horizons.

That means more trade, beneficial, on a two-way street; no dumping, but sound, mutually helpful trade.

And I mean investment. It means more pouring forth of American capital, risk capital, into foreign manufacturing, foreign distribution outlets, foreign advertising (to help increase consumption and increase familiarity with quality-name brands), foreign mineral development, sound foreign equities—stocks and bonds.

I emphasize risk capital—investors' capital willing to take chances in return for the possibility of a fair return on its investment.

S. C. JOHNSON CO. DEMONSTRATES SOUND BUILDING OF MARKETS

And I emphasize the concept "sound." Why? Because an unsound approach to foreign investment can be proven utterly self-defeating.

I'm delighted to say that the S. C. Johnson Co. is one of our most inspiring examples of sound, step-by-step building of foreign markets.

I congratulate you gentlemen on your many achievements to date.

In serving your own well-being, in serving the private good, you have simultaneously served the public good.

Your efforts have well supplemented the economic efforts of your United States Government: efforts to further world prosperity and higher standards of living.

UNITED STATES HAS THREE INTERESTS IN TRADE EXPANSION

Of course, some people may ask: What does the United States get out of trade expansion? She gets, as you well know, three major benefits:

First of all, increased trade is steadily giving us access to raw materials and the other products that we need.

And who would dispute our growing needs for raw materials as our industrial activity reaches capacity limits—

A gross national product of $430 billion.

Personal income over $330 billion.

Employment up to 66 million people.

These facts show higher industrialization levels. And this in turn means greater imports of primary goods. What would we do without outside sources of iron-ore concentrates, nonferrous metals, uranium, and many other items?

Secondly, increased trade means new markets for our own finished goods. New foreign demands are created for American-produced products from our farms, mines, and factories. Again, our workers are further assured of full employment.

Our export activity over the past year is an indicator for the future: 1956 merchandise

exports totaled almost $3 billion greater than in 1955. Machinery exports rose about 24 percent, with iron and steel products and chemicals making up about one-third of the $3 billion increase.

But these figures are only a drop in the bucket compared to what the free world really needs from us.

It will bring infinitely vaster quantities, provided it can generate enough of its own purchasing power. That means, of course, through the sale of its own goods to others and to ourselves.

Thirdly, increased world trade helps to make foreign lands far less vulnerable, than they might otherwise be, to Communist penetration.

Yes, prosperous foreign economics mean more stability, less unrest, less yearning among underprivileged masses for a radical change. I mean a change such as the Reds offer—with their phony cure-alls for economic ills—cure-alls which are far worse than the economic illness, itself.

THIRTY BILLIONS OVERSEAS CAN BE INCREASED

The other day, I commented on the Senate floor regarding the very considerable amount of American investment already overseas.

All told, around $30 billion of American money is now invested throughout the world—in plants and refineries and mines and stores, and yes, in stock and bond portfolios.

In 1956 $3 billion more were added.

That is a huge sum. But I say that it could have been larger still, if more American investors were satisfied that the fruits of foreign investment compensate for the considerable risks of foreign investment.

OBSTACLES TO FOREIGN INVESTMENT

I need not tell you in detail, my friends, who work abroad, that in many lands, private enterprise does not exist, as we know it. There are a variety of historical, cultural, economic and political facts which account for that condition, but it is a plain fact.

I need not tell you that even where private enterprise is nominally free, there tend to be all sorts of governmental restrictions on foreign investment.

I need not remind you that widespread inflation of currencies is one of the most serious problems faced, in this respect. An American may trade his goods, expecting to get a rate of, say, 20 units of a foreign currency to the dollar. The American may find, however, that by the time, the transaction is completed, he is indeed getting 20 units for the dollar, but the currency has so seriously lost its purchasing power, that the real value of the currency is now only 50 to the dollar.

Such inflation most often is not planned that way; it just happens as a consequence of a variety of regrettable conditions.

In any event, foreign governments have a right, within limits, to do as they please within their own borders. We Americans do not propose to try to dictate to anybody how they should proceed.

OUR FRANK ADVICE TO FOREIGN FRIENDS

But we do say, in friendship and in frankness to our friendly neighborlands, "if you will provide a favorable climate for American investment, for American manufacturing and distribution and advertising and sales, we believe that you will profit handsomely. We believe that if you will give us anything like a fair opportunity to earn reasonably on our money, that it is you who will benefit even more than we.

"Because, after all, the greatest market in the world is back home, in America itself. There are almost unlimited opportunities for investment in the United States. It may not pay us to go abroad, therefore, unless we are assured a fair break."

You and I know that, very frankly, in many foreign lands the peoples do not enjoy the same sort of political freedoms that we do.

But again, we definitely do not propose to dictate to any foreign land what it should do inside its own territory. We are good neighbors, not meddlers, not "know-it-alls."

ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS FOR FOREIGNERS

If, however, a foreign government may not believe in a political bill of rights for its people, then at least we ask, let there be an economic bill of rights for foreign investment. And let that economic bill of rights be observed in letter and spirit.

What does that mean? It means—

(a) A generally fair break for the foreigner under the law, and in the law courts of the foreign lands.

(b) It means a strong effort to maintain the purchasing value of a sound currency, rather than to indulge in loose fiscal practices.

(c) It means a minimum of exchange restrictions (to the extent that fiscal conditions will permit).

(d) It means no expropriation of foreign private property. (Or, if the very worst comes to the worst, fair and prompt compensation for such expropriation.)

(e) It means freedom from excessive taxation, from harassing Government restrictions and Government interference.

(f) It means minimal limitations as regards reasonable return of foreign earnings to the United States, return of interest and dividends. (And, in stages, return of at least part of the principal of the original investment.)

These, then, are a few points in a foreign economic bill of rights.

Now, my friends, let me say this—in all fairness: I am fully aware that many foreign economies are in comparatively weak condition.

I am fully aware that many foreign lands may not be able to permit the remittance of as much foreign earnings as we would like, or of the original principal as fast as we might desire for investment. And so, I think that reasonable compromises can and should be worked out.

WE MUST NOT BE OVERCRITICAL

We Americans are blessed. We have such great wealth, that it is often hard for some of us who have not been outside our borders to realize how meager are the financial resources of many foreign lands, especially one-crop lands or one-mineral lands. Most of such countries are trying to diversify, but it is not a quick or easy task.

I want us to be sympathetic, therefore. I want us to be understanding. I definitely don't want us to be overcritical of any foreign government or economy. I want us to put ourselves in the other person's shoes.

ACCOMMODATION NECESSARY, ADAPTATION HELPFUL

The S. C. Johnson Co. has shown how it can accommodate to many different conditions in many foreign lands.

It has proven its ability to adapt, to work out reasonable formulas, so that both the company can prosper, and the foreign government and people will rightly feel that they, too, are benefiting.

This is the sort of action which we need in this world.

We can't and won't and don't believe in making over the world in America's own image.

Each people is entitled to its own destiny, its own self-chosen way of life.

We like ours, but we won't try to force it on others. Soviet Russia's way—dictation—is not our way.

THREE STEPS TO ADAPT TO THORNY TARIFF PROBLEM

Instead, we are doing our part to accommodate and adapt, as a nation, to meet foreign needs and our own.

Nowhere is that better illustrated than in the tariff question. This problem is invariably one of the thorniest, most controversial, which we of the Congress face.

In the few moments remaining to me, I won't attempt to get into it in detail.

I will only say this:

While reserving the right to stand up for the livelihood of a hard-hit American industry on a tariff issue, the United States has wisely initiated positive measures to improve its economic ties with other nations.

Let's note three means:

The Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955 instituted a "staged reduction" of tariffs in accord with other nations. And subsequently in 1956, we concluded reciprocal-trade agreements with 21 other countries designed to bring us economically closer to nations of the free world.

Secondly, the Customs Simplification Act of 1956 was enacted to help reduce inexcusable delays and inefficiency in handling imports.

On a third front, we are participating in several major institutions designed to augment trade, promote the sound economic development of member nations, and stimulate private investment.

Most of you are familiar with the activities of the Export-Import Bank, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Monetary Fund, International Finance Corporation.

I shall not go into further detail on the major problems of our foreign-trade system. I am sure that Herb Prochnow, as a banker and as former Deputy Under Secretary for Economic Affairs, can do a much better job in analyzing the ins and outs of tariffs, quotas, and other restrictions which you no doubt face in your own operations.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, may I say, my friends, that the future of mankind does depend on the answer to this question.

"Will we effectively fulfill the responsibilities for preserving world peace and prosperity that our strength and position have delegated to us"

The answer must be "Yes." I have faith it will be "Yes."

America can look toward new international horizons, horizons signaling greater economic benefits for our own children and those of our foreign brethren. And only then will international peace and security become, as they must, a lasting reality.

FOLLOWING THE GOLDEN RULE

Then follows the text of the Latin American press writeup to which I have earlier referred.

This article makes the good point that American businesses should act in Latin America on the same high level that we would expect a foreign business to operate in the United States.

The point is well taken.

So, too, however, I say, in all friendship to our good neighbors, this fact: Our Latin American neighbor lands should seek to follow the same high law standards in their countries that they would want us to follow toward their operations in the United States. Let them treat our capital fairly. Let us treat their capital, or any other foreign capital, fairly.

Let each nation's laws be respected.

Let each nation seek to elevate its laws to the highest possible level, including faithful observance and enforcement of those laws.

Let us, in effect, follow the golden rule—to do unto others as we would ask them to do unto us.

JOHNSON WAX CO. IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF UNITED STATES BUSINESS MAKING FRIENDS AND CUSTOMERS IN LATIN AMERICA

(By Bernardo Estes, editor, Dindicato de Prensa Latinoamericano)

RACINE, WIS., April 12.—It is significant that the S. C. Johnson & Son Co., of this city, should end the second week of their first in-

ternational conference during the same time that Pan American Week is being celebrated in the Americas. For this company, which is best known for its wax products in Latin America, has done much to make friends for itself and United States businessmen, in general, in the countries where they maintain operations.

While the Ambassadors of 19 Latin American countries were touring the State of California under the auspices of the Organization of American States, here in the State of Wisconsin the Johnson people were holding their first international conference.

At this conference were some 65 of the company's representatives from the 30 countries of the world where Johnson operates. Of importance to this writer was the fact that the company is represented in Argentina, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Puerto Rico, and in Venezuela.

In talking with the men who run the Johnson operations in each of these Latin American countries it was a delight to hear that here was another big United States business that was conducting itself and its business in the republics south of the United States border in the same manner that the people of the United States would expect the Latin American businesses and businessmen to conduct themselves in the United States.

It was wonderful to hear that already the company was doing as much of its business buying and manufacturing in the Latin American countries as they found their markets increasing. A plant has been in operation in Mexico for some time now, another plant is being built in Venezuela. While he is waiting for his own plant in Venezuela to be completed, the manager of the Venezuela branch told me that he is buying his products for sale in Venezuela from the company's branch in Mexico.

When questioned separately, the managers in each country revealed that they employed only local help, bought everything they could locally such as cartons, labels, other packaging and operative requirements. They used the local newspapers, plus radio and television where it was available and were doing everything possible to become a part of the community and country in which they operated.

The Johnson Co. has found that their good conduct and manners in the countries where they manufactured, packaged, and sold their products has paid off in good business for their enterprise. This is a lesson that a few other United States businesses in Latin America could do well to learn and practice.

For over 10 years now, this writer has been commenting on the fact that if United States businessmen and tourists would practice the same good manners in Latin American countries as they do in their own communities the reactions they receive would be surprisingly different in warmth and reception. What most fail to realize is that in the names of North America, Central America, and South America there always appears the one big important word—America. The peoples of Latin America think of themselves as Americans too.

When a company like Johnson & Son make it a policy to operate on this understanding their conduct just does not benefit their own business interests or the interests of the local people who participate in their activity—they are rendering a great service to countries in which they operate and the United States by cementing the friendship and goodwill of all the great peoples in all the Americas.

The Honorable Alexander Wiley, Senator in Washington representing the State of Wisconsin and ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate was the speaker of the evening during the banquet that highlighted the Johnson conference said in part of his speech, "I am delighted to say that S. C. Johnson Co. is one of our most inspiring examples of sound, step-by-step building of foreign markets. In serving your own well-being, in serving your private good, you have also served the public good."

These few words from this important speech shows how clear thinking and farsighted United States statesmen feel about the proper conduct of United States business interests in countries outside the United States. It is hoped that the people of Latin America understand that a herd of goats should not be judged by the few animals who do not measure up to standards.

"Maryland University Spends Far More Time and Energy Finding a Good Backfield Coach Than the Administration Devotes in Recruiting Many Ambassadors" James Reston, of New York Times, Declares

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I include here a brilliant article by James Reston of the New York Times entitled "The Problem of Envoys." Mr. Reston is impartiality personified in his analysis, but he pays special and deserved tribute to Senator MICHAEL J. MANSFIELD, Democrat, Montana, for the leadership he is giving to finding a solution to the problem of appointing able ambassadors.

Nothing helps the American cause abroad more than brilliant American ambassadors, and appointments should be on the basis of the best men in the United States for these key posts, and not on the present basis of who can afford to serve overseas.

Mr. Reston's article follows:

THE PROBLEM OF ENVOYS—AN EVALUATION OF PRESIDENT'S POLICY OF LEAVING SELECTION TASK TO OTHERS

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, April 11.—The problem of picking Presidential ambassadors overseas, now under discussion in the Capital, has been blurred as usual by issues of personality and politics.

The central issue is not whether career officers should be picked over noncareer political appointees; or whether President Eisenhower has been more political in his selection than President Roosevelt (he hasn't); or whether John Hay Whitney in London and Scott McLeod in Dublin are good or bad.

The main point is whether the appointments meet the requirements of today, and whether they are the best men available to the President, all things considered, including political obligation.

On most of the side issues in the debate the facts are fairly clear. Even the most loyal members of the United States career Foreign Service do not assert that their organization is studded with geniuses who would make better ambassadors in London, Paris, Rome, and Bonn than are available in private life.

Similarly, a study of the Eisenhower appointments and of the Roosevelt appointments to the embassies merely proves that roughly the same political system is being carried on—if anything with more competent people now than a generation ago.

The point is, however, that what may have been good enough in the thirties, when the United States was still an isolated country, is no longer good enough in the fifties, when the responsibilities of the United States overseas are greater than anything ever carried by any sovereign state in the history of diplomacy.

THE PRESIDENT EXPLAINS

In discussing why he was running into criticism on his budget and his foreign aid and other policy proposals, President Eisenhower told newsmen yesterday that he thought he was being criticized because he was having to go against the traditions and habits of the past.

"Now, I happen to believe," he said, "that in this day we cannot * * * limit ourselves to the governmental processes that were applicable in 1890."

In ambassadorial appointments, however, the criticism is mounting, not because he is trying to change the habits of the past, but because he is not trying to change them as much as he could, and because he is acquiescing in appointments that make little sense even under the present system.

For example, the political pressure on the President to appoint certain of his personal friends to top embassies is not nearly so great as might be imagined. Amory Houghton, on leave of absence as chairman of the board of the Corning Glass Works, did not press for the appointment to Paris despite his large contributions to the Republican Party in 1956.

He was pressured into taking it. He had considerable knowledge of Germany, where he had lived when his father served as Ambassador, and he preferred to go there. He was sent instead to France, though he does not speak French.

Meanwhile, David K. E. Bruce, who speaks French like a Parisian and knows the French problem well, was sent to Germany over his personal protest that he could not speak German.

Similarly, William Lacey, who had a brilliant record as Minister to the Philippines but who knows very little about Eastern Europe, was assigned to the ambassadorship in Warsaw, while Charles E. Bohlen, the Government's most distinguished expert on the Communist movement, was sent to the Philippines, which he knows nothing about. There are many similar illustrations.

MONEY IS A PROBLEM

The elements of money and politics are important in this whole question of the appointments to the main embassies, but probably not as important as they seem. The principle of putting the best men in the key posts at a time of lively and even critical diplomatic negotiation is popular with the people, and if dramatized and insisted upon by the President, could probably prevail even under present political circumstances.

Legislation is needed to provide representation allowances large enough to enable men without private means to take the big embassies. The fight for this is being led by Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, the Democratic whip from Montana, and it has a great deal of support within the Foreign Relations Committee.

The amounts of money involved in solving this aspect of the problem—$3 million or $4 million at the outside—are peanuts compared even with the budget for United States propaganda, and nothing helps the United States propaganda effort more than brilliant American ambassadors in key posts.

If such a fund were available—the President has said he is for it but has done nothing to push it through Congress—it would then be possible for the White House to

establish a system of recruiting, not just the men who can afford to serve, but the best men in the country for the jobs.

No such effort is made now. The resources of the Republican Party have not even been exploited by the administration. This is a party that must command the allegiance of 80 percent of the lawyers and maybe 90 percent of the skilled administrators in American business and industry. Even in the universities it has far more support than is generally recognized. Yet Maryland University spends far more time and energy finding a good backfield coach than the administration devotes in recruiting many ambassadors.

And the curious paradox of all this is that nobody in Washington agrees with the above thesis more than the President of the United States. What has rendered the last few months so interesting in this field is that President Eisenhower not only has the large objective of the best men in the key jobs but also has the undoubted political power to make the principle prevail.

Better than any of his recent predecessors, he has defined the problem and stated the goal, but he has left the job to others who find it easier to go on about as before.

Tribute to Hon. Carl Hayden, of Arizona

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, in the Arizona Republic, published in Phoenix, Ariz., there appeared last Sunday a very well deserved tribute to the present occupant of the chair, the President pro tempore, my distinguished senior colleague from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN].

Having known the present occupant of the chair all my life, I take great pleasure in submitting the article for inclusion in the Appendix of the RECORD, so that my colleagues may see the high esteem in which my colleague is held in our native State of Arizona.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is inclined to object. However, if there is no objection, the article will be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article is as follows:

HAYDEN KNOWN AS SILENT SENATOR—DURING HIS 45 YEARS IN CONGRESS ARIZONA'S CARL HAYDEN HAS GAINED A REPUTATION FOR KEEPING HIS MOUTH SHUT—YET, HE IS ONE OF THE MOST INFLUENTIAL MEN IN WASHINGTON

(By Arthur Edson)

WASHINGTON.—When cartoonists try to draw a typical Senator, they often come up with the same stock character: a man who is fat, of medium height, and who usually has his mouth open.

A strong argument could be made that few of today's Senators completely meet these requirements. And the man who has been Senator longer than anyone now in the business doesn't fit the picture at all.

For CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona, is lean and gaunt, and though at 79 he's naturally a bit stooped, he still stands more than 6 feet tall.

As for the open mouth, HAYDEN has kept his so resolutely shut—in public at least—that after 15 years in the House and 80 years in the Senate he truly can be called the silent Senator.

Indeed, he has kept so silent that, even though on February 19, 1958, he stands to break the service record of 46 years in Congress held by the late Representative Joseph G. (Uncle Joe) Cannon, he remains almost unknown to most of the country.

Yet HAYDEN is no mere timeserver.

Harry S. Truman called Hayden one of the most important men in Congress. And the late Senator Alben Barkley (Democrat of Kentucky) said of him: "No more effective legislator ever served in either House."

Republicans don't spare the adjectives either.

WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, of California, the GOP Senate leader, has said: "His actions have been based not on narrow partisan lines, but on what is best for the welfare of our country."

Others will contend that HAYDEN, with his long interest in public roads and reclamation, has helped to change the face of a Nation, especially in his beloved West.

HAYDEN is President pro tempore of the Senate, largely an honorary position that goes to the member of the majority party who has served longest.

The duties aren't onerous—he has the right to preside when the Vice President isn't around—but in a time of mass disaster it could be exceedingly important. HAYDEN is third in line to the Presidency, behind Vice President NIXON and Speaker of the House SAM RAYBURN.

It's fairly easy to explain HAYDEN's power. The trouble starts when an attempt is made to explain why this hasn't been matched by a flood of publicity.

HAYDEN has been a member of the Appropriations Committee since he has been in the Senate, and now is its chairman. Since every Senator has a pet project involving money, it's good business to stay on good terms with HAYDEN.

Yet his friends insist another Senator might have his job and still not have his influence. HAYDEN's strength, they say, comes from two additional sources:

1. His ability to make friends—many Senators of both parties have said HAYDEN went out of his way to be kind to them when they first arrived in Washington.

2. His mastery of the intricate art of legislation.

As for HAYDEN's knack of staying out of the headlines, a reporter who spent years covering western news says he never got more than 2 or 3 stories out of the man from Arizona.

"I remember one of these very well," the reporter said recently. "A committee was breaking up and Senator O'MAHONEY called me over and said, 'Carl's got a big story for you.' Then O'MAHONEY explained how the committee had agreed to something the West had been wanting.

"O'MAHONEY gave me all the facts, and when he finished he turned to HAYDEN and asked, 'Isn't that right, CARL?' HAYDEN nodded, but never said a word.

"It was the biggest story I ever got from him."

The man with this unusual gift for silence was the first white child born in Haydens Ferry, Ariz. The town, now known as Tempe, was founded by his father.

One early incident had an almost prophetic note.

When he was around 10 years old CARL found a dynamite cap.

It exploded and blew a finger off his left hand.

Hurriedly the family started for medical help.

"Although it was 9 miles across the desert," a friend recalled, "there was not one whimper from little CARL on that long ride into town."

Even then, it seems, HAYDEN preferred to keep his mouth shut when it would do him no good to open it.

After attending the normal school of Arizona, HAYDEN went to Stanford. There he made the football team—he was a center—and lost a close election for presidency of the sudent body.

That's worth mentioning because never since has he lost a political race. He became county treasurer and then sheriff, and when Arizona became the 48th State, on February 14, 1912, he was its first Representative.

From that day to this, throughout its entire statehood, Arizona has kept HAYDEN in Congress.

HAYDEN rarely speaks on the Senate floor, and when he does he never is mistaken for Daniel Webster.

His voice is flat, with no appeal to the emotions, and often even those nearest him have trouble hearing.

One Senator has decided that HAYDEN deliberately speaks softly.

"The bill comes to the floor and someone asks HAYDEN about a detail," this Senator said. "HAYDEN will get up and mumble something and sit down. Well, the Senator who asked the question won't have any idea of what CARL has talked about, but he will decide if HAYDEN thinks it O. K., he'll let it go."

When asked about this theory, HAYDEN denied he attempts legislation by inaudibility. "They know what I'm talking about, all right," he said.

Oddly, during his early days in the Senate this man of silence took part in a couple of filibusters. Once he carried on singlehanded for 2 days in a successful effort to beat a bill to prohibit the importation of Mexican farm laborers.

Another time HAYDEN teamed with Henry Fountain Ashhurst, then the senior Senator from Arizona, to block a Boulder Dam bill. Their objective: to get a better share of water for Arizona.

They tied up the Senate for about a month and eventually accomplished their goal. It must have been quite a spectacle—Ashurst, famous for his literary allusions and grand flourishes; HAYDEN, quiet, colorless, matter of factual.

If HAYDEN has any regret about choosing the quiet way, he doesn't show it.

"Let me tell you a story," he said, leaning back in his chair and propping his knee against his desk.

"Just before the war General Marshall called up and said he had something important to discuss with us. It was so top secret we sent the stenographers and clerks out of the room. Only the Senators and the general were present.

"Well, the meeting broke up, a cord of reporters were outside the door. You know how it is. Everyone was shouting, 'What did he say? What did he say?' One young reporter—I never had seen him before—came up to me and asked what Marshall had said. Before I could say anything an oldtime reporter said:

" 'Don't bother HAYDEN. He wouldn't give you the time of day.' "

The silent Senator grinned at the memory and said:

"It was the finest compliment ever paid me."

The Role of the States in Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts

from a speech delivered by Joseph P. McMurray, Commissioner of Housing for the State of New York, on March 19, 1957, before the third annual dinner of the Pittsburgh Housing Association at Pittsburgh, Pa.

Commissioner McMurray is well remembered in the Senate as the former staff director of the Committee on Banking and Currency. His speech discusses the role of the States in housing, and I believe Senators will find his remarks informative and thoughtful.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The achievements of your organization, dating back to its founding in 1928, are outstanding in the record of action by citizens housing groups throughout the country. The projects you have successfully engaged in over the years are in the best tradition of American citizenship. Your energy for work and your talent for diversity humble me.

As occasionally happens, your celebration tonight is tempered somewhat by the fact that you are losing the services and companionship of one of your most vigorous workers, John P. Robin. He has done a truly grand job as president of the Pittsburgh Regional Industrial Development Corp.

I am happy to join in your tribute to Mr. Robin tonight, and I wish him godspeed and every success in his new undertaking.

It was suggested that I talk to you about the role of the State in housing. Actually, I find it is quite impossible to talk about housing without also talking about a lot of other matters from which housing cannot be separated.

We must certainly include considerations of city planning, if not regional planning. We must also include the planning of roads and highways, schools and shopping centers, and the way a city or an area is going to develop in the coming years.

Therefore the first point I want to make is that it is no longer possible to talk only about housing. We have to talk about housing and planning almost in the same breath.

Here we immediately run into obstacles and fears over the word "planning" that often hinder us from coming to grips with problems in the only effective way they can be resolved.

I'm sorry to say that the concept of planning when applied to Government is still considered by all too many people as something unsavory—an indulgence of "egg heads" and "deep thinkers" into the sphere of fantasy. I see some change in this attitude coming about, but it is all too slow.

Yet to shy away from planning because of such shallow misconceptions, or to be overawed by its challenge, is to commit the most serious folly. That would be evading our responsibilities to our children and to the generations yet unborn.

Actually planning is the application of economic science or economic commonsense to the problem of government, just as is done in the management of great private enterprises.

The large industries that are identified with your city and other giant industrial and commercial corporations throughout the land spend a good deal of their funds and assign their best brainpower to planning their programs not only for the year ahead but for decades ahead. It makes economic sense to hard-headed businessmen. It makes the same kind of good sense when applied to government.

* * * * *

Government is already playing a determining role in our national life and an increasingly important role in our community life. Trying to halt this development or stop it is useless. If you examine the facts of our community and national life, you have to recognize that the problems of modern industrial life and of social forces today are of such magnitude that nothing short of serious overall planning on all government levels is required.

Government today is so big and complex, and its expenditures form so large a part of our financial output, that we cannot afford not to treat it as we would a heavily capitalized big business.

We have to look at government problems from the economic point of view. We are all investors in a gigantic public corporation. We should look at our capital expenditures as investments for future social and economic gains. We should examine carefully operating costs and income.

From my experience in these matters, approaching the various problems that confront our governments from the economic point of view will almost invariably result in the correct answer from a social point of view. It just doesn't pay not to plan, not to invest and not to spend on needed developments that call for action.

What is to be done? How shall we proceed in the field of housing and planning? Which level of government has the prime responsibility for meeting the present-day problems of slums, inadequate and insanitary housing, poorly planned cities? The Federal Government? The city government? The State government?

Actually, today, we know that to a large extent the Federal Government and the city government have faced up to their responsibilities and are attempting to meet the problem of housing and planning with concrete programs. One may complain that these programs are inadequate, but the point I wish to make is that the pattern of Federal and municipal action has been established.

How about our States? On this level of government there has been altogether too little action. As a matter of fact, most of our State governments have not even begun to think about these problems, let alone formulate any kind of program that would assist the Federal Government and municipalities tackle these problems. What can be done on the State level, therefore, is what I would like to stress tonight.

As you will recall, one of the issues raised by the joint executive and congressional commissions on intergovernmental relations, the Kestnbaum report, was the part the State should play in transmitting Federal financial aid to the community for planning and housing. It in effect proposed that the State become the intermediary agency between the Federal Government and the city.

The State would become the agency to which the Federal Government would dispense its aid and assistance. It would, in a word, break the traditional and hard-fought relationship that was built up during the thirties between the Federal Government and the city government.

In the State of New York, Governor Harriman asked me to comment upon the proposals in that report as they affected those problems which came within the jurisdiction of my agency.

I advised him that nothing should be done, in any way, to interfere with or break down the relationships and communications lines of aid and assistance between the Federal and local governments that had been built up. To do so would be a mistake and a backward step, jeopardizing the hard-won right of our urban centers.

If this be so, then is there anything left for the State to do? Very definitely so. The State can play a very important role of providing aid and assistance to municipalities. The problems we are confronted with are so vast and so complex that help from this quarter, as from any quarter, is very much in order.

Even large cities such as New York, Philadelphia, and cities such as your own, which probably could get along fairly well without any State assistance, could still benefit to a large extent and increase the scope of its housing and planning programs through State aid.

But the most important role the State can play is in assisting smaller cities and towns, whose local facilities and personnel are either in very short supply or nonexistent, so far as being in a position to do the kind of jobs that need doing in their communities or to take advantage of Federal-aid programs.

Here the States have a real responsibility to the local communities to give technical aid and advice, to make known the available Federal and State aids, to assist in implementing Federal programs, and to stimulate and add to the programs by some form of State aid.

The State can serve as a source of education and information for its municipalities, a sort of thinking machine and a clearinghouse of ideas and information. It can exert a powerful influence on legislators and administrators. It can serve as a rallying point and a means by which numerous communities can pool their resources toward a common objective.

I do not advocate that the States actually do the work for the communities but they can give direction, consultation and assistance to stimulate local action.

When we look at slums from the standpoint of dollars and cents, it just plain doesn't pay to permit them to remain when the land they occupy could be put to a higher and better reuse.

In a properly planned urban renewal program in a Connecticut city it has been estimated that the tax return from just one new building which will occupy but one-fourth of the project area will be more than the entire area returned prior to its clearance and redevelopment.

In New York City it has been estimated that the increased taxes from title I areas will produce enough in 7½ years to pay the entire cost of the city's participation in the program.

To cite still another example, the coliseum which was built at Columbus Circle in New York City as a result of an urban renewal operation has since April 28, 1956, attracted over 2 million persons to various public expositions and trade shows.

It has been estimated that these visitors spent about $72 million of which $2 million went to New York City in sales tax. The Federal Government likewise enjoyed vastly increased tax revenues.

When you compare the returns from these areas after redevelopment with what was being returned in the past, it is truly a remarkable achievement. It is another dollar and cents argument for proper planning.

In this connection I am reminded of a city in upstate New York which was interested in providing an offstreet parking lot. The intention was to buy an area, demolish the structures and develop the parking facility. The local officials paid no heed to the urban renewal process.

Through proper planning coupled with urban renewal and with $2 of Federal money matching each $1 of local money the community could have had not only its parking lot, but also could have cleared and removed a substantial amount of existing slums without any additional expenditure.

Need I say more except to reiterate the responsibility of the States to make known to their communities the benefits of proper planning and how the Federal Government can help.

I am not advocating that all States must have State-aided housing programs, although we are happy in New York State that we do have such programs. I do feel, however, that

the States have a real and a definite responsibility to encourage good housing within their boundaries.

Let me tell you what we are doing about housing and its related problems. With respect to State-aided public housing, we have been authorized to make loans to local housing authorities up to a total of $885 million to house low-income families.

To date, we have financed the erection of approximately 38,000 completed dwelling units, with over 19,000 additional low-rent units either under construction or in planning.

These State-aided projects vary in size from 66 units in one small community to 3,500 units in a single development in New York City.

I have never felt that a worthwhile State-aided housing program should meet only the needs of families in the lowest income brackets. To be well-rounded and to serve properly equally urgent needs by others, some housing must also be provided for middle-income families whose present accommodations are inadequate and for whom very little has been provided in the past decade.

New York State, therefore, has been authorized to make mortgage loans out of the proceeds of a State bond issue of up to $50 million to housing companies for the development of middle-income housing projects for those families who can afford about $20 per room per month. These loans will be fully repaid with interest. All of this fund has been entirely allocated, for all practical purposes, and there is real need for additional authorizations for this State-sponsored private enterprise middle-income housing program.

When State-aided public housing projects are built on vacant sites, we require an offsite slum clearance operation as well.

I have arranged with the Federal Urban Renewal Administration that non-cash-grant-in-aid credit be given for such offsite slum clearance areas when they are located within the boundaries of an urban renewal project.

The result of this agreement is that instead of $1 of local contribution bringing in $2 of Federal money, every dollar of local money matched by our State brings in $4 of Federal money. Such coordination among the State, city, and Federal governments produces renewal programs of realistic size.

I feel rather deeply that the one-third local contribution for urban renewal activity is excessive. It may be too heavy a financial burden for limited local resources.

Yet I do not believe the local contribution should be cut to the vanishing point. Unless localities have a financial stake in renewal they may act in an irresponsible manner.

The limit of the State's contribution for renewal, counting any offsite clearance allocation, should not exceed one-sixth of the net renewal project cost.

The State can be a tester and a demonstrator for new ideas and new programs. For example, I have worked out with the Urban Renewal Administration two proposals under section 314 of the 1954 Housing Act. The first of these is a study leading to the development of a statewide housing code which could be adopted by reference by municipalities. Such a code giving minimum housing occupancy standards would be a valuable tool. This study should have national significance.

In this work we have already surveyed existing codes and ordinances, or the lack of them, in 55 of our cities, towns, and villages. At this preliminary stage it is apparent that the degree of enforcement varies widely from community to community. Examples of good enforcement are all too rare.

To assure proper code enforcement it may be necessary to provide some form of State subsidy to help pay sufficient salaries at the local level to attract competent enforcement personnel and to train them.

Our second 314 study will be carried out in Utica, a city in the central part of our State. It will be an attempt to demonstrate the full effect upon a city if all the legislation, Federal, State or local, is brought fully to bear on the community's housing and planning problems.

The study will point out what planning base should exist to make the best use of the urban renewal concept and will reveal shortcomings or needed additions to existing legislation, local, State and Federal.

We think that the State has a responsibility to review constantly the relationship of the cities to the State and the laws which give the city governments their powers.

We think that the State can do a great deal in promoting racial democracy and more balanced neighborhoods in our communities by enacting laws such as the Baker-Metcalf Antidiscrimination Law in our State and by setting up machinery such as New York State's Commission Against Discrimination.

The problems that confronted our larger cities for decades are now also the problems of the smaller cities and towns and the unincorporated areas in our counties. The machine age and our enormously expanded population have so spread and so intensified the problem of proper planning and proper housing throughout most areas of our States, that the State can no longer afford to ignore the problem.

The State must act if we expect to continue to raise our level of living and to make an increasingly better and happier land in which to prosper and raise our families.

Address by Hon. John Sherman Cooper, of Kentucky, on Celebration of the Foundation of Ghana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address I delivered at the Town Hall in New York City on the occasion of the independence of the new nation of Ghana, on March 6, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We are here this evening to mark and to celebrate an event of truly historical significance. Today, the people of a former colony, the Gold Coast, became the new nation of Ghana.

During the past 12 years, many peoples have joined the family of nations—moved by the powerful forces of freedom which have swept across Asia, through the Middle East, and into Africa.

But the establishment of Ghana has new significance in this development, and will undoubtedly strengthen the movement toward independence in Africa. For the people of Ghana are the first in Equatorial Africa to complete the transition from colonial status to full independence and sovereignty.

For this transition, we must not fail to pay tribute to Great Britain and to her enlightened statesmen. Quietly, but faithfully, Great Britain is carrying out a policy of assistance in the development and independence of many of its formerly subject peoples. In a narrow sense, this has been described as the breakup of a great empire. But historically, it is the development of a greater system of world collaboration, based on freedom and justice.

The new nation of Ghana bears the impression of England at her finest. And we are glad that Ghana has become the ninth link in the British Commonwealth, comprised of independent and democratic nations, united voluntarily in free association, and truly devoted to peace.

Tonight, I do not want to subordinate the fact of Ghana's independence, and the struggle of her people for independence and freedom, to the world problems with which our country and the older free nations must deal.

Yet it is a fact that this day of independence takes on added world significance when we contrast it with the fates of older nations in other parts of the world.

In the nearly 12 years since World War II, the world has watched two main attitudes toward colonialism. One has penetrated the belt of the world's colonial areas in Asia and Africa, liberating hundreds of millions of people, and opening for those who have known little opportunity, new horizons of freedom and development. The other, radiating from the Soviet Union, has penetrated by force, ancient civilizations to the West and to the East which had long known independence, and had long contributed to humanity the fruits of their ancient cultures.

The evolution of Ghana as a country fully free must forever stand in strong contrast to the revolution in Hungary 4 months earlier, which saw a great people once more subjected to domination slavery.

No matter how symbolic, no matter how representative, Ghana may be in the long struggle of man to be free, Ghana stands at the commencement of the difficult task of building a new nation. It must be considered, not as a model or as an ideal alone, but as a concrete instance of nearly 5 million people assuming the rights, and also the obligations and problems of independence.

The tasks faced by the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa is immense. With a small body of trained civil servants, they must take over their governments and maintain political stability—and often in the face of bitter harassment of anti-democratic parties, whether Communist or extreme rightwing groups.

Poverty, illiteracy and malnutrition are other forces against which the newly independent peoples will have to fight for a long time.

Ghana's future has not been guaranteed success. Its problems, political, economic and social, are many. They will challenge the new government and citizens of Ghana with unusual demands of patience, ingenuity, self-restraint, and mutual cooperation. But it is fortunate that in its political and economic resources, Ghana enters independence under favorable auspices.

Due to the wisdom and restraint of its leader, a great leader, as well as the understanding of Great Britain, it has enjoyed for years a continuous, orderly and peaceful development of parliamentary experience and constitutional processes.

We are glad to read that Mr. Nkrumah, the first Prime Minister has noted the rich agricultural, mineral, and power resources of his country, which unite to produce a per capita annual income of $140 for its nearly 5 million people—high for an African nation, and exceeding the combined per capita incomes of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon.

Ghana presents also a challenge to her friends in the community of free nations—to offer sympathetic interest and assistance.

Just as we, as a young and weak United States of America, looked to our friends in Europe, so let us now stand ready to lend assistance to our newest and youngest neighbor.

It is a real challenge to our wisdom and understanding. For if our interest and friendship are to be valued by Ghana, we must accept, without question, that Ghana is an equal in the family of nations—free to develop its own democratic forms, institutions, and policies.

This is sometimes difficult for us to do. We must remember that newly independent countries, having won statehood, are jealous of independence. They want first to keep it, to strengthen it, to make it secure. It is difficult for them to agree that decisions affecting their country shall be predetermined by stronger powers. And they desire to achieve some measure of economic self-sufficience—a freedom, as they see it, from economic as well as political colonialism.

This policy is fundamentally one of self-interest, based on the need for internal stability and peace over a period of years. It is similar to the policies that guided the United States in the early years of our independence.

I am sure that governmental statements on independence and freedom have little meaning for millions of people throughout the world if those statements ignore the issue of colonialism.

The fight against colonialism is an integral policy of every Asian and African country. Only yesterday the new Prime Minister of Ghana told the final session of the Gold Coast Assembly that his Government would seek to help all African peoples in their pursuit of freedom and social progress.

It always comes as a shock to us when our attitude toward colonialism is questioned.

The United States has declared again and again its commitment to the principle that all peoples should be free, and I believe that our history—immediate, as well as distant—shows that sustained purpose.

The United States is one of the few large powers which has no colonies—and it seeks none. In those cases in which the full power to make a decision lay in our hands, the decision was made for independence. This is true with respect to Cuba, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico, which refused full independence.

We spoke and acted with others for Indian and Indonesian independence. And surely the world knows our great sacrific for Korean independence.

Since World War II, we have been deeply, sometimes violently, involved in a world struggle between two great centers of power. The goals of this struggle have been the peace and freedom of all mankind—nothing less.

I believe it is only fair to admit that this issue has influenced our relationship with our allies—some of whom are colonial powers—and that we have been required to direct our immediate efforts to what we have believed was an attack on our security and the very concept of world freedom.

I would point out also that it may well be that the resolution of our own country and other free nations has guaranteed for many newly independent countries an opportunity for peaceful development.

One of the major criticisms directed against the United States is that it does not put sufficient pressure on its allies to relinquish their colonies.

It is true philosophically as Gandhi said, "There is no such thing as slow freedom" and that "all birth takes place in a moment."

Nevertheless, the United Nations, including former colonial peoples in the United Nations, recognized that in some cases independence is an evolutionary process—as it set up a Trusteeship Council for the non-self-governing territories. The record will show that our country has adhered to this spirit in the United Nations. Ghana itself is an example of this process.

Despite our record, however, the United States is faced with the continuing problem of convincing the Asian and African peoples of our genuine support.

I would suggest that we apply to this evolutionary policy, called gradualism—wherever it is employed—a condition for our support. This test resides in whether it is being used to promote independence, step by step, or whether it is employed as a cloak to prolong colonial domination and deny the advance of freedom.

To our friends in Asia and Africa, we must point out that a true test of a great power's attitude toward independence and freedom is whether it strives to cooperate, and to aid new countries to hold their newly won independence, or like Soviet Russia, fasten on them a new control and domination.

There is a final point which bears deeply upon the attainment of understanding and sympathy between our country and Ghana and indeed on our influence for world freedom.

It is the issue of racial discrimination.

I see here, as I know you must see, a parallel between the international issue of colonialism and racism—and the work of full civil rights and desegregation going on here. There is a grave obligation on our Government, and the people of this country, who subscribe to the principle of freedom and constitutional processes to see that the positive, effective steps are taken without delay to remove discrimination and to assure the full freedom of all our people.

This is true as a matter of justice and humanity at home. It is also necessary if we are to be able to communicate real meaning to our leadership in the world. We must have faith in the full practice of freedom at home if we are to have influence in its growth in other countries. That is the reason that I emphasized at the beginning of this speech, the challenge of freedom.

The announced objective of our foreign policy is not peace alone but peace with justice and freedom. We distinguish our policy from that of the Soviet Union, upon the ground that ours is based on some first principle—some ethical standards. If at times these standards do not seem to prevail, we believe it is nevertheless their formulation and the continuing effort to make them effective, that holds peaceful nations together, makes the world more civilized, and gives a gleaming hope of peace. Surely we cannot compromise our world standards by the failure to assure full freedom and justice at home to our own people.

I am glad that the President of the United States has sent to Ghana as his representative the Vice President of the United States, to express the friendship of our country to the people and Government of the new state.

It is an honor to meet with you tonight. While none of us here speak in an official capacity, we believe that we represent our country's tradition of freedom and express the sentiment of the people of the United States as we join you this evening to hail Ghana's independence. Unfortunately, freedom is not inevitable, or its spirit constantly irresistible. President Eisenhower, in a recent address, recalled the wise observation of the great Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, "the irresistible comes to pass, through effort."

This then is the thought upon which I end—that we in the United States must practice freedom at home to encourage this exercise everywhere and help those countries and those people who genuinely demonstrate our desire to be free.

Through effort—our effort—joining with that of millions and hundreds of millions throughout the world, freedom can prevail.

Reporters' Roundup

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the transcript of the proceedings before a radio panel entitled "Reporters' Roundup," on April 8, 1957, on which I appeared.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATOR KARL E. MUNDT, REPUBLICAN, OF SOUTH DAKOTA, IS GUEST ON REPORTERS' ROUNDUP RADIO PROGRAM FOR MONDAY, APRIL 8, 1957

Senator MUNDT is questioned on numerous newsmaking topics, including "What new legislation is needed to deal with abuses of power by labor union leaders?" "How can American labor unions protect themselves against rackets and racketeers?" "What evidence will the Senate Rackets Committee produce against AFL–CIO Vice President Reuther?" "Do you feel that most labor unions are run in an honest manner?" "When will the Senate investigate improper activities in management as well as labor fields?" "Is Postmaster Summerfield trying to blackmail Congress for postal funds?" "Have United States foreign-aid dollars been spent wisely for the future of American peace and prosperity?" "Should the administration barter surplus United States products for strategic goods from Russian satellites?" "Do you think there still are Communists employed in governmental agencies?"

Senator MUNDT is questioned by well-known newsmen of the Washington Press Corps: Mr. Bill McGaffin, Washington correspondent of the Chicago Daily News; and Mr. Donald O'Connor, Washington correspondent of the Detroit Times. This panel program is moderated by Robert F. Hurleigh, commentator and director of Mutual's News and Special Events Operations.

Attached is a complete transcript of Reporters' Roundup radio, a weekly nationwide feature of the Mutual Broadcasting System. This program is heard on some 584 Mutual affiliates from coast to coast, 9:30 p. m. eastern standard time, on the Mutual network.

REPORTERS' ROUNDUP

(Guest: United States Senator KARL E. MUNDT, Republican, of South Dakota. Moderator: Robert F. Hurleigh. Panel: Bill McGaffin, Chicago Daily News; Donald O'Connor, Detroit Times.)

ANNOUNCER. Reporters' Roundup, where bylines make headlines. In a moment hear United States Senator KARL E. MUNDT, Republican, of South Dakota, answer questions fired at him by a panel of veteran reporters.

Mr. HURLEIGH. "What new legislation is needed to deal with abuses of power by labor union leaders?"

Mr. O'CONNOR. "How can American labor unions protect themselves against rackets and racketeers?"

Mr. MCGAFFIN. "Do you feel that most labor unions are run in an honest manner?"

Mr. HURLEIGH. The Senate's current investigating committee is doing an important job for the American people by exposing improper activities in labor and management fields. The Senate select committee's open investigation of labor racketeering has turned up a distressing situation which appears to be the beginning of extensive

public hearings concerning corruption and maladministration with labor and management. And, as the Senate select committee prepares to hold new hearings in Washington next week, AFL–CIO leadership is committed to its own drive to purge labor of undesirables holding positions of influence in member unions. Reporters' Roundup guest tonight is a well-known member of the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Fields. He is United States Senator KARL E. MUNDT, Republican of South Dakota. Senator MUNDT is one of the ranking Republican members of the Senate's powerful Committee on Government Operations. He also serves as a member of the Senate Appropriations and Agriculture and Forestry Committees. Senator MUNDT continues to rally nationwide public opinion on such vital public affairs issues as created by the current investigations conducted by the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in Labor and Management—on which Senator MUNDT serves. Senator MUNDT received a master's degree from Columbia University in 1927. He served in the United States House of Representatives for 10 years before he was elected to the Senate in 1948. Senator MUNDT was reelected to the Senate in 1954. And now, our guest is ready.

ANNOUNCER. Reporters' Roundup, which comes to you transcribed from the Senate Radio Gallery in your Nation's Capitol, is presented by the Mutual Broadcasting System as part of its public service programing to stimulate interest in current public affairs issues. Reporters' Roundup is devoted to encouraging a desire in all Americans to listen, read, and think more about public affairs. When the American people inform themselves from sources of their own choosing, they make wise decisions. May the opinions you will now hear expressed by our guest prompt you to further thought. Our guest is United States Senator KARL E. MUNDT, Republican, of South Dakota. Senator MUNDT is prepared to answer the challenging questions of this panel of well-known and able reporters: Mr. Bill McGaffin, Washington correspondent of the Chicago Daily News; and Mr. Donald O'Connor, Washington correspondent of the Detroit Times. Your moderator, Robert F. Hurleigh, commentator and director of Mutual's News and Special Events.

Mr. HURLEIGH. And now, Mr. McGaffin, let's have the first question for Senator MUNDT.

Mr. MCGAFFIN. Senator MUNDT, there has been quite a sharp exchange between Senator MCCARTHY and Walter Reuther, the union leader. You recall that Senator MCCARTHY said a few days ago that the Senate Rackets Committee investigation of Reuther would produce information that would make Beck, and I quote, "smell like the attar of roses." Mr. Reuther, in reply to that accused Senator MCCARTHY of "trying to run interference" for Teamster's boss, Dave Beck. What do you think of that exchange, sir?

Senator MUNDT. Well, I've been reading about it, and it seems like it's acrimonious enough to attract a lot of interest. I don't know anything about the merits of the pros and cons of the running debate which is going on between Reuther and MCCARTHY. MCCARTHY did announce one day in the committee that he had done some independent investigating of some of the unions headed by Walter Reuther and asked the Chair to call an executive committee meeting to present his evidence, which the Chair has agreed to do. The meeting has not yet been held so I know nothing about what facts Senator MCCARTHY may have in that area.

Mr. MCGAFFIN. Well, Senator, on today's news ticker there was a story out of Atlantic City quoting Mr. Reuther as saying that he had been advised by Mr. MCCLELLAN that the committee had found no basis for investigation of the UAW. Do you know anything about that?

Senator MUNDT. I think that dealt with one particular facet, Mr. McGaffin, of the investigation which had to do with the man who had been buying all the clothes, furniture, etc. for Dave Beck, and Mr. Shefferman had answered a question asked by some member of the committee as to whether he had done that for other labor unions and in that connection Mr. Reuther's name was brought in. I interpreted Senator MCCLELLAN'S statement to be that they found nothing in that particular transaction improperly involving Mr. Reuther.

Mr. O'CONNOR. You have no personal knowledge then, Senator, of any information the committee might have against the UAW?

Senator MUNDT. None except that there is before the committee a considerable and growing body of evidence in connection with the so-called Kohler strike out in Wisconsin, which I believe does involve one of Mr. Reuther's unions.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Senator, do you think that labor has taken the findings of the committee to date seriously enough to the extent that it has shown a willingness to celan its own house where corruption does exist?

Senator MUNDT. Yes; I think that willingness has been manifest in a majority of the labor unions. I would not want to say that universally they have agreed to clean their own house nor am I at all certain that union members have the capacity to clean their own house without the helping hand of the Government enacting some new legislation, but, in the main, I would say, American unionism has demonstrated a desire to cooperate with appropriate steps to clean its house.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Do you think that is a direct result of the committee investigation, sir?

Senator MUNDT. Yes. I think that its expression certainly—it, referring to the labor union movement—that its expressions in this connection have grown out of the hearings and the investigations. It is also true that within the labor union, such as this bakery union ruckus right here locally, there have been some indications that some officers within the union were desiring to clean it up but I am certain that there has been a great momentum given this whole movement by the committee hearings.

Mr. MCGAFFIN. Senator, what is going to happen to Dave Beck, in your opinion?

Senator MUNDT. At the moment, Mr. McGaffin, I think the major difficulties confronting Dave Beck are outside of our committee room and are in two fields; one of them very definitely involving his troubles with the Internal Revenue Service, and I think they are going to bring into the purview of their authority his financial transactions, his income-tax reports, and, of course, that will be adjudicated in conformity with justice before the courts, but he is certainly in trouble in that area. The other area of difficulty with which he finds himself surrounded now I think is within the American trade union movement itself, where his associates in other unions and some of his associates in the teamsters union have frowned very disapprovingly upon his repetitious use of the fifth amendment and his failure to make disclosures when he appeared before our committee. Now those two areas of difficulty are immediate and urgent and are on Mr. Beck's doorstep right now. Our committee, of course, is also continuing its investigations of his activities and it is entirely possible that some time later we'll have Mr. Beck before us again.

Mr. MCGAFFIN. To get back to Reuther for a minute, Mr. Reuther, according to the news dispatches, said that if the committee didn't call him he would insist on coming to testify before it. Do you know whether there are any plans to call Walter Reuther any time soon?

Senator MUNDT. Well, as I said in connection with the Kohler matter, I presume that Mr. Reuther will be a witness in that area when, as and if, we actually get it into the stage of an open hearing, and certainly if Mr. Reuther or any other well-known labor-union leader makes the request to appear before our committee our response will be affirmative.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Senator MUNDT, Dave Beck's Washington attorney, Arthur Condon, who appeared with him at the hearings, claims that Leonard Hall, the former chairman of the Republican Party, solicited Beck's assistance in the 1956 presidential election. Do you know, sir, whether this is true?

Senator MUNDT. No; I do not. I have read that exchange of opinion on the part of Mr. Condon and Mr. Hall; one says "Yes" and one says "No." I know nothing about it whatsoever. I can say only that as far as my relationship with the 3 campaigns go and in 1952 I was serving as director of the Republican speaking program for Eisenhower-Nixon, and in 1956 heading the truth squad, that as far as my personal knowledge goes, no requests were made by Mr. Hall of Mr. Beck, but I don't know all of the facts that may have developed in the course of the campaign.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Well, Mr. Hall, of course, today denied that he had ever solicited Mr. Beck's financial assistance. He admitted that he had talked to Condon and that they probably had talked about politics. Do you think, however, that this exchange, which is in the newspapers, will affect Mr. Hall's future? He has been rumored as a candidate for Governor of New York.

Senator MUNDT. No, I do not; because I think it's quite logical that any national chairman in the course of a campaign is solicitous to secure whatever support he can and if it were true—and Mr. Hall says it is not true—but if Mr. Hall had requested Mr. Condon, as a friend to Mr. Beck, to support the Republican candidacy, at that time none of the evidence which is now before us was before him, so I see nothing improper about such a request, had it been made.

Mr. MCGAFFIN. Well, Senator, there was another matter that came out toward the close of the campaign. You recall the Brooks subcommittee, which was investigating the Government nickel plant in Nicaro, Cuba, and the construction of an addition to that plant. And, testimony was given before that subcommittee to the effect that Mr. Hall had—I believe the charge was that he had indulged in a shakedown of a contractor to get him to contribute to the Republican campaign, and one of the Congressmen, after listening to this testimony, said, "Well, if this testimony is true, Len Hall should be in jail," and we've wondered what you think about the charge and whether you think that might have something to do with the fact that Mr. Hall didn't get a spot in the cabinet as many people thought he would.

Senator MUNDT. I remember the charge which came during the latter days of the campaign which I interpreted at the time as one of these last-minute political roarbacks which sometimes come. I remember what Mr. Hall said in response. He said, "It's a lot of poppycock; there's no truth to it; I'll be happy to come down and appear before the committee if they will call me after the campaign is over. If this is a ruse simply to make me immobile during the campaign, I'm not going to fall for that political trickery." He offered to appear before the committee afterward. I think it speaks very eloquently that the subcommittee has not called him since the election. I am sure it had nothing to do with Mr. Hall's not getting an appointment from the White House because I know Mr. Hall pretty well personally and he has told me that he has never

been an applicant for any such appointment and knows of no appointment in the Federal Government that he, at the moment, would be willing to accept.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Senator, you have held 5 or 6 weeks of hearings, I believe, on the Teamsters' Union. Where do we go from here?

Senator MUNDT. Scranton, Pa., starting next week, except we don't go to Scranton. Scranton comes to Washington. The hearings deal with the situation in Scranton.

Mr. O'CONNOR. What specifically in Scranton are you going to investigate?

Senator MUNDT. It is going to involve the general area of the construction industry and perhaps indirectly again the teamsters, but the whole area of improper activities in the construction industry in the area of Scranton, Pa.

Mr. O'CONNOR. You were quoted today, Senator, as having said that the labor rackets committee will soon investigate dishonest management and dishonest labor unions in the construction industry in New York.

Senator MUNDT. That is correct. That is going to follow the rather brief hearings we're having in connection with the Scranton situation which I don't believe will carry us much beyond 10 or 15 witnesses and we should be able and we hope to be able to conclude before the Easter recess. After the Easter recess, then we come to the New York-Manhattan Island situation.

Mr. O'CONNOR. We have heard a lot about dishonest labor leaders so far, Senator. What type of dishonesty do you expect to find among management connected with labor?

Senator MUNDT. We know what we're going to find in the New York City-Manhattan area because before the select committee was created our regular Senate investigating subcommittee, which Senator MCCLELLAN also heads and on which I serve, had a number of witnesses from the New York City-Manhattan area involving the construction industry, and the kind of dishonest practice we discovered there was this. That dishonest contractors would make special under-the-table deals with dishonest labor leaders, so that in the competitive bidding for a housing project, for example, they could always underbid their competitor because the dishonest union leader would say, "If you'll underbid him and slip me a little money, we'll eliminate the welfare fund payment or some other fringe benefit payment," so that the man who got gypped, of course, was the workingman who didn't get all the benefits he expected to get. The man who profited primarily was the dishonest contractor who got the job because he had an advantage in the bidding and the dishonest union leader got the benefit of whatever bribe was paid him by the dishonest management.

Mr. MCGAFFIN. Senator, is it possible that another phase of management that you might investigate is the unwarranted use of expense accounts for entertainment employed by management?

Senator MUNDT. Yes; I think that is certainly possible. We have had within the last 2 weeks the interesting beginnings of some evidence which would lead us in the direction of believing that in certain managerial groups, certain corporations—probably not the great gigantic corporations—but in smaller corporations that there has been a tendency to misuse stockholders' money and stockholders' funds, much in the same manner that the evidence leads us to believe Dave Beck misused the dues paid by the union members. Since we are authorized by the act to study improper practices in labor and management or labor or management, it is certainly within the realm of possibility that this kind of evidence will be firmed up sufficiently to justify some investigation in that area. There is this important difference which I should point out, because our responsibility essentially is in the direction of the public interest. In the field of the union, you have a situation where a man, in order to get a job to support his family, must join a union. Then, to belong to the union he has to pay compulsory fees and dues for the various kinds of fringe advantages he gets, so he has no choice but to belong to the union or not support his family. A stockholder in a corporation has a lot more independence. He can buy stock or sell it. He doesn't have to stay in the corporation if he believes something dishonest is going along. So, while we would be interested in correcting those dishonest practices either place, our major public responsibility obviously is in the field of compulsory unionism, where a man has to belong to a union, has to subject himself to the improper practices in order to have a job to support his family.

Mr. MCGAFFIN. Well, what other field of management, Senator, do you think you might investigate? You mentioned the example of dishonest contractors.

Senator MUNDT. Yes. Well, we're not prepared, of course, to list the whole series of areas in which we might go, but the contracting industry seems to lend itself especially to that kind of investigation. There's another area which deals with such things as garbage collection, places where unions of associations of garbage collectors or whatever you call them make some kind of a contract to get an exclusive right or privilege to do a certain thing in the city, and there management, call if you will city management, or politicians at the local level—there's a great opportunity for graft and corruption in that area.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Senator, if I may change the subject for a minute here, it is reported that the United States has threatened to cut off the Hungarian escapee program, that is, bringing the Hungarians into this country, which supposedly is causing a lot of suicides and frustration among the Hungarians awaiting entry here from Austria. Do you think the escapee program should be continued and will Congress do anything about it?

Senator MUNDT. Well, I don't think the escapee program should be continued indefinitely and without limit, if that is your question. Whether we should cut it off on a particular day or at any particular number I would want to see a lot of evidence to know what answers I would consider appropriate for that. But if the question is, should we go on with an unlimited program, my answer is, I don't think so.

Mr. O'CONNOR. No, sir, that isn't the intent of my question. It's, should we cut it off now.

Mr. MCGAFFIN. Senator, there are about—if I may cut in here, Don—there are about, I believe, 30,000 refugees who have made it out of Hungary and are sitting in camps in Europe, and that is where the wave of suicides started at the report from here that no more were going to be admitted to the United States. Those people are sitting out there on a limb in a very bad spot. Also, I think many thousands of the refugees who came into this country on a payroll status have had no assurance from Congress that their status will be regularized, and they are getting——

Senator MUNDT. Yes, well, that, of course, gets into two different areas. I am confident that those who are here now and who are legitimately here and appropriately here and justify their being here because they are honest political refugees, that they will be given continuous haven in this country. Now, from the standpoint of those who are still over there and wanting to get here, I think we will insist on our original understanding, and that was that the United States would take its share, not all of them, but its share. I'm sure we'll make exceptions in that direction from the standpoint of the importance of reuniting families where you have people over there whose wives may be here, whose parents may be here, or whose intimate members of the family are already here, I'm sure we will adjust things so that they can continue to come.

Mr. MCGAFFIN. Well, what would you regard as a fair share for the United States?

Senator MUNDT. Well, of course, that is a pretty difficult thing to put down in mathematical terms. It's a question of surveying what has been done by the other recipient countries, the other countries which are able to absorb refugees, which have the same disposition toward communism that we have, and I think it is something which, on balance, you have to study very carefully, and I wouldn't be able to give you an off-the-cuff answer as to the exact number of refugees I would consider to be fair.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Senator, a quick question before we go off. Do you think Postmaster General Summerfield is trying to blackjack Congress into giving him more money by threatening to cut the mail services?

Senator MUNDT. I prefer to use the word "nudge." I think he's trying to nudge Congress in that direction and that probably if Congress does not make the funds available he will have to carry out his program of reducing some of the postal service.

Mr. HURLEIGH. I'm sorry, gentlemen, but I am going to have to cut in here. Our board of judges has selected the prize-winning question submitted by our listeners for this broadcast. In a moment, Senator MUNDT is going to answer these questions. Stand by for the names of the winners.

And now, Senator MUNDT, here are those prize-winning questions from our listeners.

ANNOUNCER. Mrs. Belle L. Crawford, of Phoenix, Ariz.

Mr. HURLEIGH. "Do you think there are still Communists employed in governmental agencies?"

Senator MUNDT. Yes; I am sure that there must be in the almost 2 million civilian employees here and there some Communist who has not yet been discovered and disclosed, but I am equally confident that they have been reduced to a very small minimum and that everything that the FBI and that internal security can do is being done to eradicate them, so I would not think that they are in important places today or having any great impact in the formation of public policy.

ANNOUNCER. Mrs. Sidney Armstrong, of St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. HURLEIGH. "Have United States foreign aid dollars been spent wisely for the future of American peace and prosperity?"

Senator MUNDT. I would say some of them have and some of them have not. Certainly we have not thrown away all of our foreign aid; a lot of it has been used judiciously and wisely and constructively and inevitably in developing the great kind of bureaucracy that has to distribute these dollars abroad much of it has also been used wastefully, and as a member of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, I'm one of those who this year proposes to squeeze out as much of that waste and eliminate as much of the useless expenditure as is possible.

ANNOUNCER. Miss Mary Philips, of Tulsa, Okla.

Mr. HURLEIGH. "Should the administration barter surplus United States products for strategic goods from Russian satellites?"

Senator MUNDT. I don't think I could answer that one categorically yes or no. My disposition is to look with pretty much of a jaundiced eye on any such barter arrangements with satellite countries, but I would not be prepared to say I want to slam the door entirely against consideration of such conceivable exchanges. In my opinion we would have to balance each transaction in relation to how it answers this criterion: Does such an exchange benefit the free

world? Is it serving the self-interest of the United States? Will it do more to preserve freedom than to promote Communism? If those answers could be given so as to benefit the American side, I would say such exchanges might be justified, but if in any remote respect they tended to strengthen the other side rather than our side, I think we should stay completely away from them.

Mr. HURLEIGH. I want to thank United States Senator Karl E. MUNDT, Republican, of South Dakota, for being our guest on Reporters' Roundup, which came to you transcribed from the Senate Radio Gallery in your Nation's Capitol. And, my thanks, too, to the reporters on our panel: To Mr. Bill McGaffin, Washington correspondent of the Chicago Daily News, and Mr. Donald O'Connor, Washington correspondent of the Detroit Times.

ANNOUNCER. This broadcast of Reporters' Roundup will make news because its guest, United States Senator KARL E. MUNDT, Republican, of South Dakota, faced questions which are asked by most Americans. Next week, and each week thereafter, Reporters' Roundup will seek out the top news and the man who makes it. You'll get the story behind the headlines as our guest answers the questions of Robert F. Hurleigh and a panel of veteran reporters. This is Jaffray Ford speaking.

Jewish War Veterans Oppose Return of Seized Property

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address delivered by William Carmen, national commander of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, before the convention of the Department of Massachusetts.

Mr. Carmen presents cogent arguments against the return of German property now in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian, which would be contrary to the Bonn Treaty and would, of course, be another expense to the overburdened taxpayers of the United States.

The Jewish War Veterans propose instead that Congress pass the bill sponsored by the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] to use proceeds from the property for education in the fields of science and engineering.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY WILLIAM CARMEN, NATIONAL COMMANDER OF THE JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BEFORE CONVENTION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS, JEWISH WAR VETERANS, APRIL 7, 1957

History has decreed that I should become your national commander at a time of great crisis, a time when events have literally shook the world. In recent months we have witnessed a deep crisis in the Middle East. We presented our position forthrightly on this crisis and voiced our opinions with all the effectiveness that our resources could command.

* * * * *

But while the full orchestration of our symphony played on the question of the Middle East during the past few months, and has since quieted down somewhat, it is time for the men in the pit to rise again to the occasion of another deeply felt policy of JWV.

I refer to the present bill before the Congress of the United States that would return to our former enemy, Germany, the so-called seized assets which are now in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian.

Twice in the past 6 years our organization found itself compelled to take a position on the return of the alien property. At our 56th national convention in Atlanta, Ga., in September 1951, we passed a resolution opposing the return of properties and funds to the Germans and further resolved that such property and funds be used to compensate Americans injured and sacrificed by the Germans in prison camps and otherwise for the payment of their just claims.

As recently as July 17, 1954, our NEC recommended that JWV go on record as opposed to a bill introduced by Senator DIRKSEN providing for return of German property now in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian.

There are, generally speaking, three possible grounds on which to base a decision on this subject. The first of these is purely emotional; the second is moral, and the third is business and financial.

In terms of emotional objections, these must be obvious to everyone in this room. If there ever was a time when the memory our our 6 million departed brethren should be memorialized in our hearts, it is now—when our coreligionists find themselves once again, the butt of indignities and degradation in the Communist countries and Egypt. Let our protest to any return of seized German property be based upon emotional grounds alone and I am sure that righteousness, decency, and honor would be on our side.

Moral grounds offer a somewhat different basis for our decision. It is true that all German assets were seized immediately upon the declaration of war betwen our country and that dominated by Hitler.

But also at that time all British and French nationals were required to surrender their American stocks to their Government, which sold them on the open market and used the proceeds in American dollars to buy munitions. No step is being taken to return these stocks or their value in American dollars to these people. Therefore, would we not be putting our former enemies in a better position than our allies by taking this action? Of course we would. Also, a formal treaty with the Bonn government definitely stipulated that the Bonn government would waive all rights to this property in turn for no reparations on the part of the German Government.

In addition, the West German Government pledged to make good its own nationals that property seized by the Government of America. This, of course, was in lieu of reparations.

This would be moral grounds enough, since, if you enter into a treaty, it would seem logical that you honor it—that's the very basis of morality.

Now the Germans scream so self-righteously about the sancity of private property. What about the sanctity of treaties between nations? Yes, there is a time when the hatreds and prejudices of the past must be buried. German property presently held by the Alien Property Custodian is, literally, their remains. Let it be buried with the past and forgotten by that nation who, but for the grace of God and the mighty power of America, would have led us all to the gas chamber.

Now for the business and financial grounds on which we reject the return of German property. Where, generally, will this money come from which will be used to reimburse German nationals? This property cannot be returned since, basically, the property has been taken over by Americans. Therefore, the only thing that can be returned is hard cash, and where is this cash going to come from? From your pockets and from mine. As a matter of fact, the money that would be returned would be far in excess of the actual assets of the corporations and property taken over at the time of World War II.

The passage of such a bill would be, to me, an affront upon the honor of the American citizen. It would be an insult to his dignity. Must the American people, taxed to the hilt at the present time, be forced to dig even deeper into their pockets to pay our former enemies for so kindly making a volcano out of the world?

Ask the mother of any son who died in Europe if she is willing to have this German property returned—and pay for it no less, out of her own pocket. Ask a man who was fortunate to come to this country after 6 years in a German concentration camp and who has since become a citizen, whether he is willing to dip into his pockets to pay the German people for so-called seized assets. And ask yourself and ask me and I say that this would not only be immoral, it would be a sin against humanity.

But there is an attempt to utilize this money for some common good. Senator SMATHERS, of Florida, who, you will recall, addressed our national convention in 1955, has introduced a bill which would utilize the money held by the Alien Property Custodian for the education of children of veterans, particularly in the badly needed fields of science and engineering. What better way to use this money than for educational purposes?

The Senator from Florida is to be congratulated on his vision and forthrightness in presenting this bill to the Senate of the United States.

Our national legislative director last week testified for this bill and, of course, against any bill to return German property.

Thus, I have made the question of the return of enemy property the theme of this little talk this evening. There are many, many ramifications to this proposed return, some of which would take hours to discuss. But the kernel of our thinking is contained within these remarks. I have been informed that the lobby which is attempting to railroad this bill through Congress has been spending upward of a million dollars to do the job. There is only one way to counteract this action if you haven't got dollars and that is with truth.

If we tell the truth, the truth will make us free, it has been said. This has been the foundation stone of our organization. If we have been accused of sometimes being outspoken, this then is the reasoning behind such so-called outspokenness.

It has been a privilege and a pleasure to have been able to present these facts before you tonight. Be informed, be aware of the problems that we face in this world, and in the long run you will discover that we are making a better world for our children and our children's children.

I thank you.

Results of Poll Taken in Sixth Congressional District of Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, I recently mailed about 20,000 question-

naires to a list of residents in my congressional district whose names were selected at random. They represented a good cross section of the people in my area.

The returns have exceeded my expectations. There has been a 15-percent return to date, and the completed questionnaires are still pouring in.

I am sure that Members of Congress will be interested in the views of my constituents and for that reason am inserting the percentages of the current tabulation of the answers in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. When all the questionnaires are returned I shall tabulate the complete results. The current tabulation follows:

	Percent		
	Yes	No	Undecided
1. Do you approve the emergency use of military force in the Middle East by the United States as proposed by President Eisenhower?	40	45	6
2. Do you approve the expenditure of large sums of money by the United States for use in developing Middle East countries?	17	77	6
3. Do you think the Middle East problem is one for the United Nations only?	49	44	7
4. Do you believe we should continue our foreign-aid program which calls for the expenditure of $4,300,000,000 in military and economic aid to our allies and free countries during the next fiscal year?	26	66	8
5. Do you favor balancing of the Federal budget?	86	9	5
6. Do you favor balancing the budget before Congress votes a tax cut?	68	27	5
7. Do you favor an increase in postal rates to meet postal deficits?	65	31	4
8. Do you approve direct Federal grants to States to help build schools?	65	32	3
9. Do you approve an increase in the minimum wage?	61	31	8
10. Should labor union welfare funds be regulated by law?	84	12	4
11. Do you favor amending the Taft-Hartley Labor Act?	44	45	11
12. Do you think the Federal Government should continue its support programs for agricultural products?	42	50	8
13. Do you favor the Bricker amendment limiting the effect of international treaties?	46	19	35
14. Do you favor a protective tariff or quotas on imports of foreign products which compete with our own products, such as plywood, fish, and bulbs?	77	19	4
15. Do you believe that overnight facilities should be maintained within the boundaries of Rainier National Park at or about the present altitude?	82	12	6
16. Do you believe that the National Park Service should permit the construction of some sort of ski lift or aerial tramway in Rainier National Park?	71	22	7

Amendment of Anglo-American Financial Agreement

SPEECH

OF

HON. BROOKS HAYS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 72) to implement further the act of July 15, 1946, by approving the signature by the Secretary of the Treasury of an agreement amending the Anglo-American Financial Agreement of December 6, 1945.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. NICHOLSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. NICHOLSON. I would like to ask the gentleman from Arkansas if it is really necessary to have this matter brought up in the House of Representatives because the Secretary of the Treasury under the 1946 agreement could agree to do this and we have made ample provision for it. Why is this a matter for the Congress to pass on when it is all written out as to what they can do when England finds itself not in a position to take care of the principal and interest payments. Is it not a matter than can be taken up by the executive department or the Treasury?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Chairman, the Secretary of the Treasury thought not. Of course, he spoke on advise of his counsel and, I think, perhaps, I was the one in the hearings who asked that question or at least the question was raised. As I recall the testimony, the legal staff of the Treasury Department held that congressional approval was either necessary or desirable.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield.

Mr. VORYS. If the gentleman will look at page 12 of the report, he will find the original agreement. Section 12 of that agreement provides, and I quote:

Consultation on agreement: Either government shall be entitled to approach the other for a reconsideration of any of the provisions of this agreement, if in its opinion the prevailing conditions of international exchange justify such reconsideration, with a view to agreeing upon modifications for presentation to their respective legislatures.

Therefore, under section 12 of the original agreement, it provides that modifications must be presented to the respective Legislatures of the United Kingdom and of the United States.

Mr. NICHOLSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield.

Mr. NICHOLSON. I understand, whether it is in the report or not, that the British Parliament did not act on this and does not have to act on it and that the Prime Minister of England, or someone he designates in any event, just has to sign his name and it does not go before the Parliament; is that not so?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Yes, I think the gentleman is right. Of course, that is true only because of the difference between our form of government and the British form. The British have a parliamentary government.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield.

Mr. JUDD. Is not the situation this, that under the British parliamentary system when England's Government enters into an agreement and presents it to the Legislature, unless there is an objection, then it is ratified. Whereas, under our system, it requires a positive act by the Legislature to make official such an agreement by our Executive. That is why this resolution is before us. The British Parliament ratified it when it raised no objection. We have to take a positive action to ratify it.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Yes; I think that is a good statement. I would like to say further to the gentleman from Massachusetts that I have the feeling even if the question as to the necessity for referring this to the Congress were answered in the negative, I still believe it might be desirable, aside from the point which it seems to me the gentleman from Ohio disposes of, that section 12 does require congressional action. In matters of fundamental import where there is a policy decision that might represent a departure from previous action, it is right for Congress to take a look at it. I yield further.

Mr. NICHOLSON. I want to thank the gentleman for permitting me to interrupt him. There are duties that the Congress must perform and duties that the executive and judicial branches of the Government must perform. I object, and I think I am right in objecting to this procedure, because it puts the Members of Congress in the position that ought to be filled by some other people, because this matter was signed and sealed in 1946, and that agreement said that if the British Government finds they cannot pay this that they can have a waiver or something in parentheses, which is about the same thing. That is on the books. There is nothing for us to do. We have already given them the right to do it. England has now said, "We cannot stand this." Therefore, the proper authority should act on it, and I do not believe the Congress is the proper authority in this instance.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I always respect the gentleman's opinion, and I was glad to yield to him for the statement.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. This question of British Parliament's ratifying or not ratifying this matter has been brought up at least two or three times thus far, and I think it ought to be made perfectly clear.

Under our form of government, we have three separate, distinct, and somewhat independent branches—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial—whereas England has not, as I think the gentleman has pointed out. In England the legislative branch is also the executive branch. The ministers are also members of Parliament. In presenting the British budget, for instance, the ministers, who are members of the majority party, bring in the budget, and they decide what it is going to be, and there is not even a vote on the various items as there is in this Congress. If somebody demands a vote, it then becomes a matter of a vote of no confidence in the Govern-

ment. If members of the majority party vote against themselves, they vote themselves out of office and into an election.

So you have an entirely different system, and you just cannot say because the British Parliament did not formally take a vote that we should not. The British Parliament, as the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD] has pointed out, assents by the minister assenting, and the question is not raised. It is the same as if they had a vote on it.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I thank the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. Can we not boil this situation down to size? I believe the gentleman has stated that this new agreement has already been signed by the Secretary of the Treasury and some authority for the British Government. In other words, it is signed, sealed, and ready for delivery if the House puts its stamp of approval on it, for this is a Senate resolution we are considering. In other words, the difference between the British Parliament and the House of Representatives of the United States is that the House, if it approves this resolution, will admit it is a rubber stamp, whereas the British Parliament does not have to admit it.

Mr. BATES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I yield.

Mr. BATES. I want to commend the gentleman for the fine statement he has made, but he and others have raised certain questions in my mind. It appears from what has been said that this is an exceptionally good bill from the point of view of the United States. This being so, I wonder why the British are so anxious to accept it.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. It is believed that the new arrangement is in the interest of both. If it is in our own interest it does not follow, of course, that it thereby conflicts with Britain's interest. I think in this instance it is fair to say—the committee was so convinced—that this is a very reasonable adjustment of a confused clause Mr. Humphrey argued vigorously, and I think it was a reasonable position, that since it was in the interest of clarification it would establish a better relationship for future payments and less possibilities for difference of opinion. That is the story, I may say to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. BATES. I am certain that the relationship would be increased and bettered between the United States and Great Britain after the passage of this, but after these many statements which have been made here indicating the United States might gain some $2 billion as a consequence of the enactment of this proposal, the converse would appear to be true also, and that Great Britain would be harmed by it. I wonder why she would be so strongly in favor of it.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. It was the unpredictability of the rulings and construction of these two sections that led the United Kingdom to seek clarification.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and ten Members are present, a quorum.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to take any further time right at this moment.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I voted against the British loan in 1946 but I am for this bill.

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present. The gentleman has a very important statement to make and he should be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and twenty-one Members are present, a quorum.

Lives or Dollars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, are we building our new highways for the safety and enjoyment of the public or for exploitation by private greed? Shall we make them safe and give the people an opportunity to see America first? Or shall we erect billboard canyons and ribbon slums, hemmed in with blatant advertisements of pink pills for pale people and 57 kinds of beer, interspersed with pinboard carnivals and hotdog stands?

The question involves not only the safety of the individual but the safety of the Nation. Rear Adm. Neill Phillips testified before a congressional committee that the restriction of billboards along our superhighways is necessary for national defense. He testified that restriction of billboards along the superhighways is necessary for national defense.

He said billboards would impede movement of troops and refugees in emergencies and interfere with directional signs vitally important in civil defense operations? He contended that billboards would distract drivers and present fire and splinter hazards to civil defense.

Referring to arguments that billboards would stimulate business, he said:

I just don't believe that the voters of America can be made to believe that it is good for the national economy to squander millions of dollars to deface our country with a hideous rash of billboards along the network of our new superhighways.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch said editorially in its issue of March 29, 1957:

BEAUTY, NOT SAFETY, THE ISSUE

A great many people must respond favorably to the idea that the new interstate highways should be protected against the commercial exploitation that has turned many existing highways into rural slums.

We reach that conclusion because the outdoor advertising industry has begun to fight back. It sponsored a study at Iowa State College which concluded that billboards along highways have some slightly beneficial effects in that they keep drivers from succumbing to highway hypnosis. Another paper based on research in Iowa and Michigan concludes that there is no significant relationship between outdoor advertising signs and highway accidents, and that the evidence, if any, is slightly in favor of signs as a safety measure.

These conclusions are tenuous enough to warrant being ignored, but we do not expect the billboard people to ignore them.

Actually the safety issue is not the basic one. The new highways should be protected from commercial exploitation because the motorist is entitled to see some natural beauty just for the fund of it—or the good of his soul. And there are other ways of combating highway hypnosis than obscuring the view with signs.

And the Washington Star on March 30, 1957, said:

ROADSIDE EYESORES

The movement to safeguard the proposed 41,000-mile Interstate Highway System from roadside eyesores of the type so familiar to travelers on United States Route 1 is worthy of public support—although the movement is a bit belated. It would have been better if some statement of policy, at the least, had been included in the 1956 Federal Highway Act which authorized the network. For it is evident that a strong fight will be waged by commercial signboard and other interests to make the most of the new roadside locations opened up by the huge highway program.

The law's deficiency was brought to public attention last December by Robert Moses, New York's park chief, in a Harper's article. He wrote that the new expressways would be "all left exposed to an indiscriminate mushrom growth of ugly filling stations, hotdog stands, and all the other familiar roadside eyesores." He warned that "if the billions of public investment * * * are to be protected and the value of our scenery and natural assets is to be preserved, steps to prevent the onslaught of commercial advertising must be taken before construction gets underway." Since then several bills have been introduced calling for varying degress of Federal control of roadside defacement—either by the setting of standards voluntarily to be enforced by the States or by the withholding of Federal funds for noncompliance with the standards. Hearings on some of these proposals are being held this week.

We hope that some reasonable method of control can be worked out, so that the new vistas of natural scenery through which the new highways will run will not be desecrated as some of our older highways have been.

We have at the gates of Washington one of the most convincing demonstrations that could be made. Driving out of the city on Highway No. 1 we find an arterial highway so blinded by obscuring billboards—although it has not yet reached its ultimate nuisance potential—such a discordant riot of gaudy billboard excesses as to completely hide one of the most beautiful countrysides to be found in historic Virginia.

On the other hand, entering the city from the same direction is the famed Shiley Highway from which the reckless dollar-crazed exploiters have been excluded and which is a delight to the eye of the tired city dweller who enjoys a Virginia landscape of surpassing beauty, uncontaminated and unspoiled by the blare and glare of vandal billboards.

Drive over these two highways and take your choice.

Airlift Gamble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an excellent address entitled "Airlift Gamble," delivered by Delos W. Rentzel, chairman of the board of Slick Airways, before the Aviation Writers' Association luncheon at the National Press Club, on April 11, 1957.

Mr. Rentzel, who is one of the foremost authorities on civil aviation, occupied the positions of Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, Administrator of the Civil Aeronautics Administration, and Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, all during recent administrations.

Mr. Rentzel, in his address entitled "Airlift Gamble," pointed out some of the grave dangers we are risking today in our failure to provide ourselves with a modern, adequate, and ready force for a worldwide airlift.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AIRLIFT GAMBLE

(Address by Delos W. Rentzel, chairman of the board, Slick Airways, before the Aviation Writers' Association luncheon at the National Press Club, April 11, 1957)

There are people, well informed and otherwise, who refer almost casually to our worldwide commitments in foreign policy. A discussion of what we are doing internationally and what we want to do, as well perhaps as what we are failing to do, often sounds just a little like an atlas—we shift rapidly in our conversation from Suez to New Delhi; from Indonesia to the African Gold Coast; from Buenos Aires to Yemen.

Now we may wish all these distant places would disappear or at least stop bubbling and boiling. However, they exist and our concern with what happens in them and between them is very great. As the leader in the alliance of free nations, we do have worldwide commitments no matter what it may cost, no matter how much this interferes with other activities, no matter how long.

And so we must gear our economy, our way of life, to these responsibilities that have been thrust upon us. Fortunately, however, never before has a nation been so well qualified to exercise this needed leadership. I am speaking particularly of technological capability—the impressive, and at times awe-inspiring ability that our engineers and scientists have developed to bring organized human and machine energy to bear on a problem, no matter, what it is, no matter where it is located. This is fortunate, of course, because from a manpower standppoint we are not in a position to compete with the nations behind the iron and bamboo curtains. They increasingly outnumber us and so we must redress the balance with our not-so-secret weapons, advanced technology and energetic, imaginative administration.

A prime example of technological strength in this modern world is, of course, air power which provides a control of accessibility never known before in history. The wide-ranging B–52s of the Strategic Air Command, strengthened by the tremendous firepower made available to them, are without question the greatest shield we have against total war. However, because of the nature of our international obligations, total war is not our only worry. Put very simply, we must at all times be concerned with what are sometimes referred to as brush fires. We do not wish to lose strength piecemeal and be nibbled to death—and to me, this is our worst danger.

The ability to move men and materials, tanks and military policemen, ground atomic weapons and relief supplies for civilians, into distant areas quickly and economically is an important element in our international power. And whenever it is to be done, it must be done swiftly and expeditiously. I am not suggesting we repeat the experiment carried on by our allies in Suez, but it is an instructive lesson. The slow, tedious shipment of men and supplies in that action was as responsible as anything for the French and British failure to accomplish what they set out to do.

Complete and effective use of airpower requires more than applied firepower, although this is certainly essential. The less than full acceptance of all the implications of air logistics is to blunt our weapon and fail to make use of our fundamental strength. Some have argued against providing ground units or advanced air bases with atomic weapons on what are apparently moral grounds. I would suggest that it is far more immoral, once we are committed to an action, whether aggressive or basically defensive, to fail to make use of our full technological strength to guarantee that sufficient men and materials are where they are needed at a time when they are needed. Von Paulus' failure at Stalingrad for the lack of 300 tons of daily logistics, was the ultimate failure in logistics support and broke the back of the German Army.

This awareness of the range and depth of true airpower has long been shared by some of our military leadera. For instance, the late Hap Arnold once wrote:

"Airpower includes a nation's ability to deliver cargo, people, destructive missiles, and warmaking potential through the air to a desired destination to accomplish a desired purpose. Airpower is not composed alone of the warmaking components of aviation. It is the total aviation activity—civilian and military, commercial and private, potential as well as existing."

The recognition that airpower includes the ability to move men and materials, as well as deliver explosives, has increased since the magnificent airlifts of World War II, Berlin, Korea. In addition, there has been an increased awareness that the very speed of air transport is transforming our conception of military logistics.

During the Revolutionary War it took 3½ days to move supplies from Boston to Portsmouth, an estimated speed of 1½ miles per hour. In the later stages of World War II it took 106 days to move supplies from the United States to the combat commander in Germany, a calculated speed of 3½ miles per hour. In about 175 years we increased the overall speed of moving military supplies only 2 miles per hour.

Now General Washington's quartermaster, who did so well with the transport equipment available to him, is no longer with us. However, it does seem at times as if his influence pervades the Pentagon. We still rely overmuch on enormous, costly stockpiles and fill long supply pipelines with men and materials.

Of course, there has been much talk, public and private, of the new values of air logistics. And, in truth, the military has been making greater and greater use of air shipment. Most striking, perhaps, the Federal Government is today running the world's largest airline, the Military Air Transport Service, better known as MATS. This gigantic airline, by its own statement, airlifted every hour of the day last year about 100 people and nearly 20 tons of cargo for all branches of the Department of Defense. And its service is increasing for it flew a plane over the Atlantic or Pacific every 23 minutes during 1956 as compared with every 32 minutes in 1955. Operating on published timetables over many of the same domestic and international routes flown by United States scheduled commercial airlines, MATS is, without question, a major airline business.

Why then, with this larger taxpayer-supported, Government-run airline operation do I seem to raise serious questions about our military leaders' understanding of air logistics? Why do I feel that our Nation's plans for airlift in time of national emergency are insufficient? To put it simply, why do I contend that we are running the risk today that the airlift we will have, should an international crisis develop, will not be sufficient?

First let me quote a statement that I am sure you are all familiar with. The Senate subcommittee, headed by Senator SYMINGTON, studying airpower came to this disturbing conclusion:

"The United States has insufficient airlift capacity to maintain the mobility of the Army and to enable the latter to meet overseas commitments; nor do plans include provision for adequate airlift."

A serious charge. However, let's approach this problem in a more fundamental manner. Let's examine what elements are required to meet the airlift needs of our Nation.

Technology, in the sense in which I have used it, means more than hardware or electronic devices. It also means modern, systematic administration and management. In a national-defense sense, it also means the intelligent planning and mobilizing of all resources, from whatever source, at the proper time and in the proper place. This involves careful allocation of our resources. We must not burden our economy with a form of clumsy and illusory over-preparedness. For this runs the risk that, in time, the taxpayers and voters, demanding relief, will throw out the baby with the bath. This kind of situation, if we blunder into it, leads to a form of Maginot Line thinking in which today's weapons, today's airplanes, today's tactics become fixed forever—because of economy reasons.

Modern technology and international requirements demand that we wage wars, whether hot or cold, small or large, with an organization in depth. It is, unfortunately, always easier and less of an administrative headache to organize large standing armies and huge stockpiles rather than to put up with the intricate and complicated plans that permit flexible growth of both national defense and a healthy civilian economy. The time is long past when we can debate a choice between guns and butter. In all candor, for economic reasons as well as equally sound political reasons, we must strive for both.

We learned in past military airlifts that we needed both the military and the civilian air-transport facilities and personnel. This conclusion has been agreed to by spokesmen for MATS, incidentally. For instance, Rear Adm. Thomas B. Williamson, commander of the Pacific Division of MATS, declared recently:

"We aren't set up to do the whole job in a crisis. A force of that size would be too costly to maintain. But we can and do provide a hard core of trained forces around which to rally the Nation's total airlift potential."

This recognition of the partnership, required if the job is to be done without delay and without waste, led to the creation of the Civil Reserve Air Force plan. Under the CRAF program specific planes, crews, maintenance personnel—even bases and operation

systems—are earmarked for military duty at a time of national emergency. This is not just a mobilization of available aircraft, for it contemplates blending the operating competence and ability of the scheduled airlines into the full defense effort.

This plan is based on the assumptions, as James H. Douglas, Under Secretary of the Air Force and newly appointed Secretary, has put it, that "Airlift can't be stored—it must be in operation." An airplane, after all, is only one element in a successful airlift. There is need of flight crews, maintenance men, and operations managers all working and organized within an air-transportation system.

Because of these operating facts we can take two major roads to reach the desirable goal—sufficient airlift to do the job. The Department of Defense might try to justify to the Congress the need for a great deal of the best and biggest equipment, with the constant obsolescence and reequipment cycle that we find in both military and commercial aviation. Or it can take another approach. Defense could concentrate on a nucleus fleet of the best possible planes of the jet age and encourage the civilian American-flag carriers to expand and increase their contribution to the CRAF fleet.

Sadly, the military has apparently decided to reject either of these two approaches. We have a large and growing MATS fleet composed of piston-engine equipment. This at a time when the commercial airlines of the free world as well as the Russians, are busy making concrete plans to enter the jet age. Frankly, I think the military is just as alert to the air transport needs of the jet age, so far as military airlift is concerned, as any of us. However, they are unwilling, apparently, to tell the Nation what is required. Even more they have recently rejected an opportunity to move into the future. I refer to the Douglas C–132. This huge plane with a payload of 100,000 pounds, built to fly at over 460 miles per hour with a range of 3,500 to 4,000 miles, could well have launched a new era of air logistics, both civil and military. For example: Nine of these planes could have accomplished the Berlin airlift that required better than 250 planes. It could do the job of a C–2 cargo ship—and cost little more.

The flexible logistics power this plane alone would provide is obvious. However, after spending tremendous sums, the Air Force canceled the development of the C–132 for economy reasons. The builder retorted that this was a "voluntary retreat from progress" and this seems an apt conclusion. Having rejected the idea of a major modernization and expansion of the MATS fleet, has the military taken the other approach and encouraged the growth of the civil airlines so that CRAF can take on a greater burden? The answer is a flat no.

While the military has been sending more men and supplies by air each year, it has been permitting the civil carriers a lesser share each year. In 1951, for instance, civilian carriers handled 37.3 percent of the more than 345,000 passengers hauled by MATS, and more than 30 percent of 62,000 tons of cargo and mail. The story in 1956 was drastically different. The total hauled had gone up sharply—to 845,000 passengers and 165,217 tons of cargo and mail. However, the proportion hauled by civilian carriers had dropped to 18.4 percent of the passengers and 9.1 percent of the cargo.

This is a remarkable contrast to the policy and practice of the Military Sea Transportation Service. The commercial shipping interests of the United States in 1954 and 1955 received more than two-thirds of the dollar outlays by MSTS for movement of traffic. As a result of this policy the civil shipping industry has permitted the Navy to apply resources in funds and personnel to other Navy combat tasks.

This question of the best use of trained personnel points up a major problem our Air Force faces today. General Nathan Twining, the Air Force's Chief of Staff has stated the problem clearly. He said recently:

"Over the last 5 years, in fact, our requirements for technically-trained people have increased twice as much as all other personnel requirements put together. The technically-trained people are the ones we need and the ones we must retain. Unfortunately, those are the ones we find it hardest to hold. The record shows that about 80 percent of the people we lose are skilled technicians or supervisors. Although the Air Force reenlistment rate has been rising encouragingly, we are now able to retain only 1 technician out of every 3 men that reenlist."

Because of this shortage of skilled personnel at a time when our Nation's security seems to depend literally upon the efficiency of the Air Force, it would seem logical to let civilian organizations do as much of the nonfighting job as possible. Civilian transports can obviously not substitute for the guardian planes of General LeMay's force nor can they take over the vital functions of the Air Defense Command. Both of these commands, as well as other fighting elements of the Air Force, are desperate for trained and proficient flying, maintenance, and operations personnel. Where we can shift a uniformed man to a job closer to a combat role let us do it, both in the name of military efficiency and for the benefit of the taxpayer.

It has been contended that MATS requires considerable training so that it shall be in readiness should trouble develop. This training in turn produces carrying capacity as an incidental development. Hence, it would be wasteful not to use this capacity. Routine military traffic is therefore handled by MATS rather than the commercial carriers. So far as training requirements are concerned, the Hoover Commission reported enough instances of nontraining flights to at least suggest this training argument might be something of an after-the-fact explanation. The fact is that the more first-rate, modern airplanes, regardless of ownership, we have active on a day-to-day basis in routine military carriage the better our airlift capacity will be when needed.

This raises two questions. First, just how truly ready and useful are the various components of our overall national airlift, and second, how much capability can the civil carriers provide?

Because air transport is much more than just planes or even flight crews, it is far easier to move from 8 hours of utilization to 10 than from 4 to 10. The daily aircraft utilization rate of the civil carriers averages about 8 hours. MATS reportedly averages about 4.4 hours. There have been reports that MATS is programing to increase to 6 hours but unless present operation is inefficient the increased peacetime rate will require more maintenance; more skilled personnel and, therefore, greater expense.

How about the ability of the civil carriers to provide enough aircraft? Present CRAF plans call for something more than 300 civilian planes. However, actually there are 1,000 four-engine aircraft, either in the present fleets of the civil scheduled airlines or in production, that are considered by the Air Force to be suitable. In airlift terms this means that if the defense so required, there could be available during the initial emergency period double the capacity of the present Civil Reserve Air Fleet.

By 1961, because of equipment plans, the civilian airlift contribution could be increased by more than four times over today's plans. Incidentally, this would be enough capacity to transport across the North Atlantic more than 1 million troops in 30 days.

The major airlift problem will exist tomorrow in increasing measure. The question is not should we have a good one but how do we pay for an ever-improving air transport fleet?

What we require is not a debate, public or private, as to what percentage of the traffic should be carried by civil or military. We need a new partnership concept built on the assumption that the national defense requires a detailed and efficient use of all transport facilities available if we are to make full use of air logistics. It requires detailed planning and close association. Certainly we need a vigorous and well-equipped MATS nucleus. However, we also need a coordinated effort between military and civil air transport services.

It has been noted that it is sometimes difficult to get a new weapon, or a new technique adopted by large organizations. Administrative inertia often interferes. Let me quote Alfred Mahan, who once pleaded for an understanding of new techniques. He said:

"Changes in tactics have only taken place after changes in weapons, which necessarily is the case, but the interval between such changes has been unduly long. This doubtless arises from the fact that an improvement in weapons is due to the energy of one or two men, while changes of tactics have to overcome the inertia of a conservative class."

Often in recent years we have heard Air Force theorists quote this Mahan conclusion with warm approval. I am confident that these same pioneers will recognize the facts of our international and domestic life today and implement this organizational idea that I have been discussing for the benefit of the Nation.

We cannot afford to continue to gamble that an effective airlift will be present when we need it. Now is the time for us to jointly plan for the future, for on our use of airpower—and its crucial adjunct, airlift—may well depend our security and freedom.

A SOLUTION

1. A permanent working conference between MATS, as the single management group for the military, and a representative airlines group to draft a practical plan to expand CRAF, and work toward aircraft of logistics types which can equally be used by airlines and the military on an economically sound basis.

2. A system of expanded use of civil air carriers by annual steps until at least 50 percent of the military transport requirement moves in commercial aircraft.

A part of this program could be a requirement for constant modernization of the commercial logistics fleet.

Bailment or lease of aircraft may be temporarily necessary until replacement aircraft can be procured, but this can be accomplished in such a way that no subordination is required of the military.

3. A program of joint procurement by the military and civil carriers of suitable truly logistics-type aircraft.

4. Expedite the completion of all standby projects on aircraft assigned to CRAF so that all such aircraft are truly in a state of instant readiness. This could include the requirement that flight and supporting personnel are ready to go into uniform if necessary to meet D-day assignments, whatever they may be.

5. Stop talking about why we can't provide the military services with enough airlift and get serious about finding ways and means to do so. The kinds of aircraft now under development to do the job can be used successfully in the commercial airlifting of things and in the peacetime movement of purely transport military requirement.

Racketeering and Embezzlement of Union Funds—Address by George Meany, President, AFL–CIO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, many Americans have been disturbed in recent weeks by certain disturbing manifestations of alleged racketeering and embezzlement of union funds in some segments of the labor movement. This is an alarming development.

It is important that the general public remember that the vast majority of American trade-union members and officials are law abiding and honest.

One reassuring fact has been the speed with which national leaders of organized labor have acted to suspend from positions of trust and influence those who may have violated this trust. An effective and forthright statement by one of labor's outstanding national leaders, George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, was delivered by Mr. Meany to the annual convention of the United Automobile Workers in Atlantic City, N. J., on April 9, 1957.

So that Members of the Senate can have the benefit of reading the full text of Mr. Meany's remarks, I ask unanimous consent that his speech, as published in the New York Times of April 10, be printed in its entirety in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

President Reuther, officers of the United Automobile Workers, and delegates to this 16th constitutional convention of a great American trade union, I take a great deal of pleasure in the opportunity afforded to me this morning to address you for a few moments. At this most vital and significant moment in the affairs of our trade-union movement and of our Nation, there are many matters that I would like to discuss with you—matters of importance to you and me as trade unionists and as American citizens.

However, time will not suffice to talk about all of the things that I would like to talk about, so, outside of a brief reference to the merger and the problems that have come with it, I intend to devote my time here this morning to what I think is the most important subject facing American labor.

In regard to the merger, I appreciate very much the remarks of your president here this morning and want to say to you that in attempting to work out the problems that have come with the merger, he has delivered a fine service to the merged federation and to his own union.

OPTIMISTIC ON MERGER

The problems that we have in connection with the merger are not problems that are new to us. They are problems that we had every right to expect that we would have. I am not in the least bit pessimistic about these problems because while we are wrestling with them we are learning to live with one another in one house.

I am sure that we are going to solve these problems. I am sure because of the people who made a contribution of good faith and good will to bring about the original merger and that includes as No. 1, Walter Reuther, that those people are applying the same good faith and good will to making the merger succeed.

Yes; we are going to continue to have problems; it is part of the complex life in which we live. But there is one thing that I am more certain of now than ever before, and that is that in attempting to meet these problems we will meet them and in the tradition of the American trade-union movement with good faith and good will and that we will not again attempt to settle them by dividing.

I want to deal with one problem which I spoke about a moment ago which is most urgent and which perhaps today is uppermost in the minds of many of the American people and surely is uppermost in the minds of those who are dedicated to the philosophy of free trade unionism. This problem is the problem of corruption, racketeering, thievery, fraud, embezzlement—anything you want to call it that exists in some unions within our movement.

CITES LABOR'S IDEALS

I intend to discuss it with complete frankness in keeping with the American tradition of free discussion, and I intend to discuss it with a sense of loyalty to the movement and to its ideals and conscious of the achievements that have been written over the years by our movement in raising the standard of American life and making a contribution at the same time to the standing of the Nation as a whole.

The tradition of our movement, the importance of our movement to the American people, and if I may say to the entire free world, commands that we meet that problem head on, without evasion and with no attempt to sweep it under the rug.

Keep in mind that in facing this problem we must realize that this is not a business that we are in. We are not producing something for profit. We are not trying to build up the wealth and the income of a few people.

This is a movement dedicated to the highest humanitarian ideals. A movement dedicated to good: To good for those we represent, their wives, and their families, and good for the Nation as a whole.

If we were to fail to meet this problem we would, in effect, be liquidating the traditions of those who founded our movement.

STRESSES PUBLIC OPINION

No. 2: There is a good, sound and practical reason why we have to meet this problem. We run the risk of adverse public opinion, which is so important to our movement. Let me emphasize, however, that this is not the main reason. The main reason is the No. 1 reason—that we are against racketeering, no matter what form it may take, not just because it is bad for the labor movement but primarily because it is wrong.

If we fail to meet this problem we will incur adverse public opinion. We would, in a sense, be taking the position that we were not concerned with public opinion—that we were a class apart, as it were, from the rest of the citizens of this country.

We believe in the movement and the United States of America. We believe this is the only type of Government in which workers can gather together in free trade unions and collectively advance the cause of all in the movement and do the things collectively for all that none can do as individuals.

Under that theory we believe that a democracy is a place where no one segment of the population can make progress at the expense of others, that democracy is a place where there are no special privileged groups—and that applies to labor as well as anyone else.

SEES HOSTILE PRESS

Don't let anyone tell you that labor hasn't stood well with the general public. Don't be fooled by the fact that most of the time we have a hostile press. Don't be fooled by the fact that the press gives greater emphasis to our mistakes and our sins of omission and commission than it does to the advance of the progress that we make.

I am quite sure that the American people as a whole are aware of the contribution that the American trade-union movement has made to this way of life we have here in this country of ours.

I am quite sure that the great mass of the people are aware of the fact that this dynamic American economy which has provided so much of the good things of life to the people of this great country depends for purchasing power on the base of the economic structure. They know that purchasing power in large measure has been developed because of the activities of the free trade union movement.

Don't let anyone tell you that the American people as a whole do not recognize the fact that free trade unions such as we have in this country are a bulwark of democracy. They are a guaranty against dictatorship and a guaranty of the preservation of the way of life that we love.

SEES WORLD WAITING

I am quite sure it is not too much to say that not only the public in this country knows of the good that labor has done and generally supports labor's objectives, but that it is also not too much to say that free people all over the world recognize the contribution that labor in America has made to democracy and to social justice.

So don't let anyone try to give you the line that we are not interested in public opinion, that public opinion makes no difference to us or that we don't care what the public thinks about us.

That is a line that could be characterized as a "public-be-damned" line. We don't take that line because we consider ourselves an integral part and an important part of the American public.

Another reason we have got to meet this problem head-on if we are determined to advance and to build on the achievements of the past, to bring an ever-better day to the American workers—yes, a shorter workweek with higher worker income and all the things to which we aspire—we must conduct our affairs in a way to command public commendation.

American labor has come of age. No longer can we take the position that we are the underdog. We have 15 million people organized in the AFL–CIO, and that is big labor then we must assume big responsibility.

The American people expect us to bear a responsibility in keeping with the size of our organization, and the American people have every right to expect that we discharge that responsibility in keeping with the highest ethical and moral standards possible. Failure to live up to these standards will undoubtedly give ammunition to our enemies—and we still have our enemies.

RECALLS CRITICISM OF MERGER

You remember the cry of power of the anti-labor forces a year or so ago upon the completion of merger between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

We don't hear so much about that today except as it pertains to the future. We hear the charge that a labor monpoly has been created. This, of course, is for the purpose of trying to fasten upon labor restrictive legislation in the form of right-to-work laws and further restrictive amendments to Taft-

Hartley so anyone who is conducting the business of the union in a corrupt manner is playing into the hands of America's labor enemies.

This is not an issue of a corrupt official here or there. This is a question that we must face as something which jeopardizes the very high principles of our movement; that jeopardizes the tradition of the weak against the strong as being the purpose of the trade-union movement.

This corruption threatens our everyday situation as an instrumentality to fight for human dignity at home and as a dynamic factor for freedom and justice throughout the world.

All of this brings us to the inevitable conclusion that labor racketeering, in whatever form it may take, and true trade unionism have nothing in common.

They cannot mix. The one is the negation of the other, and sooner or later, no matter how strong the union, no matter how good the conditions that have been built up and secured by the union, if that union is under racketeering or corrupt control, it is bound to go down with irreparable injuries to the members of that union.

LEADERSHIP NOT A BUSINESS

I am all for running unions on a business basis, but this doesn't mean that unions should become business organizations, or that union leaders should make a business of their leadership and use their offices in the union for private profit.

Trade unions are set up for a specific purpose and a very simple purpose—to advance the welfare and interests of the workers represented by the union. When men are elected to office in a trade union, they are elected to office to that same purpose and no other purpose.

I would like to point out that the AFL–CIO is not a law-enforcement agency. We are not charged with the duty of enforcing the laws of various States and of the Nation as a whole.

But we are an agency set up to carry out a law having to do with trade-union ethics. And while we intend to leave the question of law enforcement to the proper authorities to act in order that we may act on our own law of trade-union ethics. That is our job and we are going to do it.

QUOTES CONSTITUTION

The AFL–CIO constitution states very plainly that one of the purposes of the merged organization, and I will quote, "is to protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic unionism." That's our job.

Whether the district attorney or the grand jury moves or not, this is still our job. Whether management is involved in some of these crimes and perhaps committees or public officials are not as zealous in going after management as they are after labor, that doesn't make any difference and provides us with no excuse not to do our job.

For instance, borrowing money without the knowledge of the membership and without them being informed that you borrow it, and without paying interest may not be against the law of the land. I don't know. But it is against the trade-union law.

Buying property as an individual and then making a decision as the head of the union that the union will buy that property at an exorbitant profit to the individual may not be against the law. It may not be illegal. But it's against the trade-union law.

Taking the fifth amendment, which is part of our basic law and is designed to protect the innocent and protect the average citizen from being compelled to testify against himself—that, of course, is not illegal.

It's part of the basic law and all citizens have a right as citizens to take the fifth amendment.

CITES TRADE-UNION LAW

But taking the fifth amendment on the question of personal corruption in connection with the handling of trade-union funds, the refusal to give an account of the stewardship of those funds, while that may not be against the law, it is against the trade-union law and no one has the right to take that position.

There is another theory that hold trade-union office who has been expressed in the last few weeks to which I do not subscribe. That's the theory that the membership of the various unions have no interest in these matters if their pay is good and their conditions are good; that they are not interested in some of these borrowings and other things, some of these shenanigans with their money; that they are only interested in their pay envelope and their conditions.

Well, gentlemen, I have a much higher concept of the intelligence of the American worker than that. I think the American worker is interested in his union.

I think he has intelligence enough to know that even if the union has, to some extent, been successful in building up his standard of life and of work, it cannot very long continue to serve him in that capacity if it is under the corrupt influence of corrupt officials.

I believe the American worker is interested in his union and that he wants his union run in keeping with the tradition of the American labor movement and in complete keeping with the purpose of the union, which is to serve the membership.

TELLS OF IMPLEMENTATION

The AFL–CIO constitution, that portion of it which I just read, has been implemented by the establishment of an ethical practices committee to apply the trade-union law.

That committee is active, that committee is going to handle all the cases that come before it, and I can assure you that the committee is going to interpret the constitution of the AFL–CIO in the same manner for a small union as it does for a big union. No big union is going to be immune from that law.

I feel confident that the American trade-union movement is going to do its full part, a little more than its part, in eliminating corruption from the ranks of labor. I hope that the public authorities show as much determination and as much zeal in playing their part in connection with this problem to see to it that laws that are on the statute books are observed and that those who violate the laws are punished.

There have been many predictions that these revelations of union corruption are going to weaken the trade union movement.

SEES ORGANIZING CURBED

Yes, we know that there are those who will use these revelations and these scandals as the basis for fastening restrictive anti-labor legislation on labor. They will try to use these sins of the few to push legislation of that type and hypocritically state that their real concern is the purity of the trade union movement.

I know those things are going to happen. I know that the organizers organizing in the nonunion field are going to have some added resistance, perhaps, because of these revelations.

But I contend that the elimination of these corrupt practices that have been exposed, no matter how that elimination is accomplished, whether by the trade union movement itself or by the public authorities, in the final analysis is good for the trade union movement and we will profit by it.

I know the American trade union movement is basically sound. I know that it is steeped in the tradition of those who founded our movement. I know there are thousands upon thousands of dedicated trade union leaders for every single crook that is turned up.

I am confident that in that tradition of American labor we will move forward, that these things that are happening will serve as a spur for us to to work harder than ever before so that this movement, dedicated to human justice and decency and freedom, will continue to make progress for the people it represents and for the Nation in which we live.

In this effort I am confident that your organization, under the dynamic leadership of Walter Reuther, will pay its full part.

Thank you very much.

Aid to Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of April 11. It is a report on a speech made by Edward T. McCormick, president of the American Stock Exchange, in which he said:

> If the financial health of our country is to improve and not deteriorate, far more serious attention must be given to facilitating the raising of funds for this classification of business.

I think it is very encouraging indeed that a man who might essentially be regarded as a spokesman of big business should begin to recognize that the welfare of big business is related to small business.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MCCORMICK TELLS ANALYSTS GROUP HERE WALL STREET SHOULD AID SMALL FIRMS

Edward T. McCormick, president of the American Stock Exchange, yesterday urged investment bankers to give small business firms more assistance in raising equity capital.

Addressing the Washington Society of Investment Analysts at a luncheon meeting in the Occidental Restaurant, McCormick said in part:

"If the financial health of our country is to improve and not deteriorate, far more serious attention must be given to facilitating the raising of funds for this classification of business."

Short-term funds are apparently available, he said, without too much difficulty from the banks and the Small Business Administration. The problem, he added, is "the more serious one of obtaining from one-half to 1½ million dollars of long-term capital on a national basis for plant expansion and the development of new and improved products at lower costs."

What is needed, he declared, is equity capital, for debt could prove to be the death-knell of many of these companies in the event of an unforeseen recession in their business.

He proposed that leading investment banking houses designate representatives to

a special committee. They would provide a continuing available group of experienced men with whom these small companies may come with specific problems for financing and to be able to receive appropriate guidance.

He emphasized that while the Federal Government has given long consideration to the problems of these smaller companies, I don't think that we in the securities business should, or can allow the problem to rest there. I think we have a serious responsibility to try to find some practical answers to the equity needs of these small businesses.

J. Sinclair Armstrong, chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, was a guest at the analysts meeting. He asked McCormick if some companies would rather not list their securities on an exchange because of SEC regulations.

McCormick replied that many firms have unwarranted fears of SEC regulations. On the other hand, he added, some companies are now seeking listing privileges because of tighter SEC proxy rules. He indicated that such rules protect management in the event of a control battle.

To another question, McCormick agreed that mutual funds could be a good source of equity capital for a small firm. He also agreed that too often a small firm has to refuse offers of new capital because management control is an issue.

McCormick left the Securities and Exchange Commission in 1951 to head the American Stock Exchange. He pointed out that 19 of the American Exchange's member offices are in Washington.

Amerst E. Huson, head of the local analysts group and an official of the SEC, presided at the meeting here.

The McLeod Appointment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the Senate has before it at the present moment the problem of confirmation of the nomination of Scott McLeod, to be Ambassador to Ireland. Mr. President, I hope that my colleagues on the Committee on Foreign Relations and on the floor generally will accord very careful consideration to his nomination before giving it their approval.

As the New York Times said on April 11, 1957, Scott McLeod is the symbol in the State Department of all that has happened in the last 4 years to lower morale so drastically and to drive from the diplomatic career some of the best officers we had.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the editorial from the New York Times of April 11, 1957, entitled "The McLeod Appointment."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MCLEOD APPOINTMENT

Scott McLeod is the symbol in the State Department of all that has happened in the last 4 years to lower morale so drastically and to drive from the diplomatic career some of the best officers we had. He entered the State Department in the security section in 1953 as the representative of Senators BRIDGES, MCCARTHY, and the late Senator McCarran. No one man has represented in the public mind more than Scott McLeod all the evils of McCarthyism as applied to diplomacy. On Tuesday he was nominated as Ambassador to Ireland.

Is it any wonder that a storm of criticism has arisen throughout the country over diplomatic appointments when such things can happen? It would be unjust to make a blanket condemnation, for some fine appointments were made, but there have been bad appointments, and this one comes as a climax. It would be hard to imagine a wrose blow to the diplomatic crops or a worse example of playing politics with the foreign affairs of the United States. Secretary Dulles must take the blame for Mr. McLeod's unfortunate work in the field of so-called security and the refugee problems, for he, after all, is the head of the Department, and he must take the blame for this appointment.

Ireland deserved a better fate. She has been most fortunate since 1953 in having a first-rate envoy—Ambassador William Howard Taft 3d. Dublin is a post where the work is not arduous and life is wonderfully pleasant. The man who is named to Ireland is a fortunate man. If he is a career diplomat like Mr. Taft he is a lucky man. For the noncareer man it is a reward.

And now it is Scott McLeod who is going to get this reward if his nomination is ratified. Whether he gets it or doesn't is not a personal matter. He is a well-intentioned if woefully misguided young man and no one begrudges him any happiness he can get. But the damage to the State Department and the United States diplomatic corps that will result from this appointment is public business. The Senate should block it.

Mrs. Nixon as Ambassador

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Mrs. Nixon as Ambassador," which was written by Earl Mazo, and was published today in the New York Herald Tribune.

Mr. President, I think the article is most worthwhile and long overdue.

I have heard the great majority leader of this body say, on many occasions, that it takes 2 good women to make 1 good man—in other words, that it takes the man's mother and his wife.

Of course, the Vice President is fortunate in having a very wonderful mother, whom I have had the pleasure of meeting, and I know her to be a very lovely lady. But I think all of us will agree that much of what the Vice President is doing and has been able to do could not be done without the help of his most lovely wife, Pat Nixon. So I think the article is most deserved.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MRS. NIXON AS AMBASSADOR

(By Earl Mazo)

WASHINGTON.—Pat Nixon has become a top-rung personality—a woman of considerable importance at home and abroad—simply by being herself.

That may be a novel achievement in Washington where nothing is more fierce than the competition for standing—and women normally assume an aura of power by shining as party givers, promoters of causes, or makers of profound or witty observations on foreign or domestic matters.

But Mrs. Nixon's status is easily understood in the American towns where she campaigned with her husband or the countries where she was a vital part of tremendously successful Nixon good-will missions.

Without appearing to try, Mrs. Nixon showed again during the Vice President's 3-week tour of Africa and Italy that she is this country's most effective female ambassador of good will—as well as the most aggressive campaigner a politically soaring husband could have in his corner.

She charmed peasants by the thousands and potentates by the dozens. It was like the five previous NIXON trips overseas and the political campaigns at home.

Folks saw in the friendly, attractive lady who moved so freely among them a symbol of the dedicated American helpmate—or the favorite schoolteacher, the pleasant, unpretentious one who always seemed to make things right, at least for the moment, when she smiled.

Back and forth across the African continent, and up to Rome—in an audience with the Pope, meetings with sultans and prime ministers, and handshaking and baby-patting tours through streets of hovels—the Vice President's wife invariably was the same crisp, unhurried Pat Nixon who never grew weary and was even immune to native bugs that attacked everyone else, including her husband.

In Liberia, several women political leaders showed up to accompany Mrs. Nixon around town. They wondered at first why she wouldn't talk politics.

"Funny thing for a politician's wife, says she doesn't poach on her husband's territory," one of them said as the group left for an afternoon of handshaking and baby hugging.

Within an hour the women leaders were converts.

"She's shrewd. Also sweet," said the original doubter. "She gets along like that without saying a thing about politics. Imagine that."

In the ramshackle Monrovia marketplace, ragged women flecked hordes of flies and wondered why such a fine lady would visit their fetid stalls.

The Vice President's wife marveled at their wares, shook their hands, praised their runny-nosed babies, and the atmosphere changed. People laughed out or whispered excitedly. "She's Mrs. Nixon, the American President lady."

When she left, young and old sang out, "Bye, bye, darling."

It was no different with the big shots.

Sultan Mohamed V, all-powerful ruler of Morocco, shattered an ancient tradition of his court that females are tolerated only in connection with the informalities. He granted Mrs. Nixon a formal audience. The scene was one of pomp and high policy, but the Vice President's wife brought things down to earth quickly by observing Morocco was pretty much as she had seen it in the National Geographic magazine.

In one country, Mrs. Nixon was assigned an air-conditioned Fleetwood Cadillac. It was the President's own pride and joy.

At the first stop it broke down. But before her hosts could recover their composure enough to show embarrassment, Mrs. Nixon sang out, "It always happens in Washington, too," then trotted off to a less sumptuous vehicle.

She gave hard candy to kindergarten classes and taught the youngsters to remove the paper wrapping before gobbling it down.

"Children are the same all over the world. They're so cute I can't resist them," she said. Teachers and parents bubbled agreement and thanks.

Fifth-grade classes from Ghana to Uganda laughed and shook their heads over the heavy budget of home work Mrs. Nixon's fifth-grade daughter had to tackle in faraway Washington.

At a pathetically-inadequate welfare home in a town that needed a thousand of them, the pioneer founder told of the troubles she was having supporting just one.

"It just takes somebody to go ahead on these things," Mrs. Nixon said. "Please don't get discouraged."

In Tunis one surprisingly brisk morning, the Nixons showed up in the reviewing stand on time for a parade scheduled to begin at 8:15 a. m.

But the local custom was for everything to be at least 45 minutes late, so the Vice President and his wife sat there in the cold, practically alone—but smiling.

Tunisian newsmen kept insisting it was practically unthinkable for Tunis to have such a cold morning. Then they noted the Nixons were good sports to sit there and wait.

"They are also good friends of Tunis," a photographer added.

"Out of respect for us they do not shiver. That is a fine gesture."

Had she heard it, that remark probably would have made Pat Nixon consider the discomfort worthwhile.

One thing she hopes for most fervently on public trips is that whatever she and her husband do will convince the people "we enjoy being here and are genuinely interested in them."

American Aid to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, Dr. Michael Albery, of Boston College, and his associate, Dr. John Hooker, have prepared a thoughtful and interesting column on the question of American aid to Poland, which appeared in the Richmond Times-Dispatch on March 24, 1957. I ask unanimous consent that the column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES-POLISH TALKS RAISE BIG ISSUES

(By Michael Albery and John Hooker)

DILEMMA OVER POLAND

A delegation from Gomulka's national Communist government of Poland is currently in Washington, seeking large-scale economic help. If they succeed, they could set a pattern for future American help to the rest of the Soviet satellites. Time is therefore ripe to draw up an American-Polish balance sheet.

On the "debit" side: Yalta is still with us. To invade East Germany in World War II, Stalin was of course bound to overrun Poland anyway. But the Yalta agreements, whereby the United States and Britain yielded Stalin the right to decide the future of Poland, went far beyond anything Stalin could have got for himself by mere right of conquest.

The western allies forgot geography, and forgot that Poland is historically the bulwark of the Christian West against Asiatic barbarism. Acting upon Yalta, Russia seized Polish lands rich in timber and oil, and Poland itself got questionable compensation in territories which she will have difficulty in retaining, once Germany is reunited.

Russian bayonets installed a Communist government, ignoring feeble United States protests. Poles from UNRRA refugee camps were deported back to Communist Poland against their will.

Upon every battlefield of World War II Polish blood was shed without stint, in the cause of a free fatherland which the allies of Poland were legally committed by treaty to restore. But the allies have wriggled out of their treaty engagements. Families of Polish soldiers, sailors, and airmen killed in the Battle of Britain, at Monte Casino, at Alamein, in Burma, and in the Pacific mourn their dead, frequently in dire financial straits. So do the surviving relatives of Polish officers murdered in the notorious Katyn massacre. Poland's citizens today lack food, fuel, and the barest amenities of comfort. Returning tourists render appalling accounts of the misery in postwar Poland. Russia siphons off the bulk of Polish harvests.

On the credit side of the ledger is the help the United States gave to Poland during its brief moment of independence from the collapse of the Russian Army in 1918 to Hitler's invasion of Poland in 1939. The United States Government assisted Poland to the tune of more than $240 million. United States corporations erected factories and created distributive networks. Private United States investors bought bonds of Polish municipalities, and subscribed to loans intended to stablize the Polish currency.

Millions of gift parcels of foodstuffs, clothing, and drugs were shipped by Polish-Americans to their destitute relatives. Today, this zeal is thwarted by the imposition of prohibitive import duties, which few of the intended recipients can afford to pay.

Poland's prewar bonds have been defaulted, and we cannot put much faith in any promises offered by the representatives of the Gomulka regime. Nor can we prevent the Russians grabbing United States shipments of machinery, food, or clothing.

But the Poles have always been among our stanchest friends. We think the United States ought to run some risks in order to justify their friendship. Some Members of Congress appear to think so, too.

At the same time, the United States administration ought to make certain demands on the Polish Government. First, the import duty on gift parcels must be abolished at once, and not replaced by complicated customs formalities designed to have the same effects as the unjust import duty.

Defaulted bonds must be recognized. Such recognition may prove of little intrinsic worth to the holders of such bonds, but we in the Western World must stop the lenient attitude which has permitted dictatorships to nationalize foreign property and denounce freely-assumed obligations ad lib with impunity.

United States taxpayers owning property in Poland must be allowed a safe conduct to go back and reclaim it, sell it, or remove it from Poland as they choose, irrespective of the laws prevailing there at present.

If we grant technical assistance, we must have our own personnel on the spot supervising its disposition, to prevent its being diverted into the bottomless pit of Russia.

None of these requirements should be impossible for the modified national-Communists of Gomulka's Poland to undertake. If the delegation in Washington can pass these tests, then it may not be a waste of time to do business with them.

Suez and Sovereignty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Christian Science Monitor entitled "Suez and Sovereignty."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUEZ AND SOVEREIGNTY

(By Joseph C. Harsch)

WASHINGTON.—The attitude of the Government of the United States toward Egyptian rights in the Suez Canal would have been different if John Foster Dulles had taken his position from the past position of his own country on a similar issue.

Mr. Dulles has accepted the theory that Egypt has unquestioned rights of sovereignty over the Suez Canal. On the basis of that theory Secretary of State Dulles opposed Israeli-British-French intervention and has concurred in the exercise of Egyptian sovereign rights over the canal.

Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson and Secretaries of State Elihu Root and William Jennings Bryan would not have agreed with him.

The principal legal arguments which both the Roosevelt and Wilson administrations employed in the case of the Panama Canal were phrased by Elihu Root, first as Secretary of State and then as a Member of the Senate of the United States.

The Root position was employed by Mr. Roosevelt in the original acquisition of United States rights to build and operate the canal and by Mr. Wilson when the question came up over whether United States shipping should enjoy preferential tolls over foreign shipping. In one case the position was to the immediate selfish advantage of the United States, and in the other case, that of the tolls, it was to the immediate selfish disadvantage. But it prevailed in both cases, and was the solid foundation of the United States attitude toward such matters down to the Suez crisis.

In 1904, when the issue was whether the sovereign rights of Colombia had been infringed, Mr. Root, contended:

"They are in error who assume that the relations of Colombia to the other nations of the earth as regards the Isthmus of Panama were, in truth, of unqualified sovereignty and right of domestic control according to her own will, governed and protected by the rules of international law, which describe the attributes of complete sovereignty. * * *

"The stupendous fact that has dominated the history and must control the future of the Isthmus of Panama is the possibility of communication between the two oceans. * * *

"The formal rules of international law are but declarations of what is right in the generality of cases. But where the application of such a general rule would impair the just rights or imperil the existence of neighboring States, or would unduly threaten the peace of a continent, or would injuriously affect the general interests of mankind, it has always been the practice of civilized nations to deny the application of the formal rule and compel conformity to the principles of justice upon which all rules depend."

In 1913, when Congress wanted to maintain preferential tolls for United States shipping through the canal, Mr. Root said:

"It is only because civilization had its rights to passage across the isthmus, and because we made ourselves the mandatory of civilization to assert those rights, that we are entitled to be there at all. * * * How idle it is to say that because the Canal Zone is ours, we can do with it what we please."

Thus, according to the Root thesis, the "general interests" of all nations constitute a right of eminent domain where "the possibility of communication between the two oceans" is concerned. On that thesis the United States denied the right of Colombia to prevent construction of the canal and also denied its own right to charge lower tolls to its own shipping.

On the basis of this thesis the United States controls the Panama Canal today.

But if the doctrine of unlimited sovereignty is applied then the United States never had a right in Panama in the first place and has no continuing right to be there today. The concession to Egyptian sovereignty over Suez has invited Panama to assert the same claim to the Panama Canal. If it chose to do so it could cite Mr. Dulles and his Suez policy.

Under the Root doctrine of rights in respect to canals, President Nasser did everything he shouldn't do. He used his control of the Suez Canal to "imperil the existence of neighboring States" (Israel), to "threaten the peace" (of the Middle East), and to "injuriously affect the general interests" (of all maritime nations using the canal).

Rights of sovereignty, like rights of property, are controversial. The general public interest does at times take precedence over personal property rights. The general public interest has at times past taken precedence over claims of absolute sovereignty. General Nasser has asserted his absolute sovereignty over the Suez Canal. General interests have been adversely affected.

Had the United States taken its position from its own record it would certainly not have acquiesced to the extent it has to the claims of Egyptian sovereignty.

Facts About the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GORDON ALLOTT

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, the two recent appointments to the Supreme Court of the United States caused a member of my staff to make an independent research concerning some interesting and illuminating facts and documents about the Supreme Court. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the paper entitled "Facts About the Supreme Court," which was written by Svend Petersen.

There being no objection, the paper was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FACTS ABOUT THE SUPREME COURT

(By Svend Petersen)

Since President Dwight D. Eisenhower has appointed four members of the United States Supreme Court, Chief Justice Earl Warren and Associate Justices John Marshall Harlan, William Joseph Brennan, Jr., and Charles Evans Whittaker, there may be some curiosity as to which Chief Executive appointed the most members of the Nation's highest tribunal.

Although Justice Whittaker is the 91st man to sit on the Supreme bench, there have been 94 appointments, inasmuch as 2 Associate Justices were elevated to the Chief Justiceship and 1 Jurist served 2 separate tenures. William Howard Taft, a Republican, promoted a Democrat, Edward Douglass White, from Associate to Chief Justice, in 1910, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a Democrat, elevated Associate Justice Harlan Fiske Stone, a Republican, to Chief Justice in 1941. Charles Evans Hughes, who had left the Supreme Court in 1916 to run for President of the United States, returned to the highest tribunal as Chief Justice in 1930.

George Washington, the first President, appointed the most Justices, 10, including the 5 original ones. Franklin D. Roosevelt named 9, including the elevation of Stone; however, he only named 5 during his first 2 terms. Taft, who later became Chief Justice, named six Justices in a single term, including the promotion of White. Andrew Jackson named 6 in 2 terms, including 1 the day he left office. The Court had been enlarged by two members the day before "Old Hickory" left the White House.

The only Presidents who did not appoint any Justices were William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor, and Andrew Johnson, none of whom served a full term. Harrison died a month after his inauguration, and Taylor 16 months after taking the oath. Johnson, however, missed serving a full term by only 6 weeks.

The number of appointments by each President follows:

Washington	10
John Adams	3
Jefferson	3
Madison	2
Monroe	1
John Quincy Adams	1
Jackson	6
Van Buren	2
W. Harrison	0
Tyler	1
Polk	2
Taylor	0
Fillmore	1
Pierce	1
Buchanan	1
Lincoln	5
Johnson	0
Grant	4
Hayes	2
Garfield	1
Arthur	2
Cleveland	2
B. Harrison	4
Cleveland	2
McKinley	1
T. Roosevelt	3
Taft	6
Wilson	3
Harding	4
Coolidge	1
Hoover	3
F. Roosevelt	9
Truman	4
Eisenhower	4
Total	94

Of the present personnel of the Court, Associate Justices Hugo Lafayette Black, Felix Frankfurter, and William Orville Douglas were named by Franklin D. Roosevelt, while Harold Hitz Burton, and Thomas Campbell Clark were appointed by Harry S. Truman. Roosevelt had been in office for over 4 years before the resignation of Willis Van Devanter made room for the appointment of Senator Black of Alabama. Frankfurter and Douglas were both appointed in 1939. Burton, whom Truman, a Democrat, appointed in 1945, was a Republican senator from Ohio at the time of his selection.

Another of Franklin D. Roosevelt's appointees, James Francis Byrnes, resigned after a year on the Bench. He later served as Secretary of State. He had served in both the House of Representatives and the Senate prior to going to the Court, thus having been in the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of the Federal Government, including both branches of the first named.

Stanley Forman Reed and Sherman Minton, who were named by Roosevelt and Truman, respectively, have resigned during the past few months.

Eisenhower is the fourth straight Chief Executive to appoint a Chief Justice, inasmuch as his three predecessors also named men to that post. Herbert Hoover named Hughes to the head position of the Court, Roosevelt elevated Stone, and Truman appointed Frederick Moore Vinson.

Washington named three Chief Justices, John Jay, John Rutledge, and Oliver Ellsworth. Rutledge, a recess appointee, presided over the August 1795 term of the Court, but the Senate rejected him the following December 15. When the President nominated him and the Senate confirmed him as one of the original Associate Justices in 1789, he declined the appointment.

John Adams named John Marshall Chief Justice a little over a month before he left the White House. Appointments as Chief Justice, besides those already mentioned, include: Andrew Jackson appointed Roger Brooke Taney, Abraham Lincoln named Salmon Portland Chase, Ulysses S. Grant chose Morrison Remick Waite, Grover Cleveland picked Melville Weston Fuller, and Warren G. Harding selected Taft. The last named was the only man to occupy both the highest elective and the highest appointive offices.

It is an amazing coincidence that Taft appointed White Chief Justice and later succeeded him, and that Taft appointed Hughes Associate Justice and was later succeeded as Chief Justice by Hughes, who had resigned as Associate Justice in order to be the Republican nominee for President following Taft. Hughes missed the Presidency in 1916 by an eyelash. A shift of 1,983 votes in California would have given him the office, 267 electoral votes to 264. As it was, that State's 13 electors voted for Woodrow Wilson, who won by 277 to 254 in the electoral college.

Four Supreme Court Judges each served a third of a century on the Tribunal. Stephen Johnson Field's appointment as Associate Justice was confirmed March 10, 1863. His resignation took effect December 1, 1897. He had delayed his retirement in order to better the record of John Marshall, serving a period of 34 years and 9 months.

Marshall was appointed Chief Justice January 20, 1801, was confirmed by the Senate January 27, and took the oath on February 4. He served until his death, July 6, 1835, a period of 34 years and 5 months. Marshall had declined an appointment as Associate Justice, which had been tendered September 26, 1798. The Liberty Bell cracked during his funeral procession.

John Marshall Harlan, a grandfather of one of the present members of the Court, was appointed Associate Justice October 17, 1877, was confirmed November 29, and took the oath December 11. He served until his death, October 14, 1911, a period of 33 years and 11 months. He had entertained an ambition to set a record that would surpass that of Justice Field. As it was, he set the third best mark. It is noteworthy that his namesake, John Marshall, set the second best.

Joseph Story was appointed Associate Justice November 18, 1811, and served until his death, September 10, 1845, a period of 33 years and 10 months.

Of the Chief Justices, Marshall served the longest, 34 years. His successor, Taney, served 29. Presidents came and went during Taney's regime, as no less than 10 Chief Executives occupied the White House while

he sat on the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Fuller served 22 years for the third best mark.

Supreme Court Judges were born in 23 different States, in three foreign countries, and on the ocean. Ten were born in New York, 9 in Virginia, 8 each in Kentucky and Massachusetts, 5 each in Connecticut, Maryland, Ohio and Pennsylvania, 4 each in Georgia and New Hampshire, 3 each in South Carolina and New Jersey, and 2 each in Indiana, Minnesota, and Tennessee. The following States have each contributed one: Alabama, California, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, North Carolina, and Texas. John Catron was born in either Pennsylvania or Virginia.

James Iredell, George Sutherland, and James Wilson were born in Great Britain, the first two in England and the last-named in Scotland. David Josiah Brewer was born in Turkey of American missionary parents. William Paterson was born at sea while his parents were migrating from Ireland to what is now the United States. Felix Frankfurter, one of the present members of the Court, was born in Austria.

The "Fighting Irish"—the McLeod Appointment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, in the Washington Post and Times Herald for April 11, 1957, there appeared an editorial entitled "Fighting Irish," in which it is contended, with reference to Mr. McLeod's appointment:

To appoint such a man to a diplomatic post is an insult to the recipient nation and a degradation of diplomacy. How can the Senate, which is at frequent pains to demonstrate its friendship for Ireland, view this as a friendly act?

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial of April 11, 1957, published in the Washington Post and Times Herald, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIGHTING IRISH

What has Ireland done to the United States to deserve Scott McLeod? President Eisenhower was scarcely his most persuasive yesterday in explaining his nomination of Mr. McLeod as Ambassador to Ireland and of Henry J. Taylor as Ambassador to Switzerland. Neither Dublin nor Berne comes in the category of a post to which a career appointment is ruled out by expense. It is hard to see what special qualifications either a glorified gumshoe or a somewhat credulous radio broadcaster possesses to merit this sort of reward.

The President justified Mr. Taylor's appointment on grounds of personal admiration and friendship. This is at least understandable if not commendable, although Mr. Eisenhower's assertion that Mr. Taylor's views in the foreign field coincide with his own raises the question whether he has listened to Mr. Taylor's broadcasts recently. At any rate, perhaps Mr. Taylor can entertain the Swiss with tales of flying saucers, in which he advertised himself as an expert and ardent believer a few years ago.

In the case of Mr. McLeod, who has headed the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, the President offered no such personal justification. He acted, he said, on the recommendation of Secretary Dulles. Yet, if we are to believe John Beal's biography of Mr. Dulles, the Secretary attempted to fire Mr. McLeod for insubordination 4 years ago. Mr. Dulles' interest in promoting Mr. McLeod out of his way is obvious, but the Irish may reasonably inquire (and the Irish press has inquired), "Why at our expense?"

This is the man who acted as a stooge for Senators MCCARTHY and BRIDGES; who leaked information to the McCarthy inquisition; who attempted to frustrate confirmation of Charles E. Bohlen as Ambassador to Russia; who conducted a reign of terror among State Department employees on security charges; whose office suspected the Department Policy Planning Staff because members were assigned as a part of their jobs to read the Daily Worker and (in a totally different category) even the Reporter; who presided over the Refugee Relief Act with such severity that it became a mockery. The fact that Mr. McLeod recently has seemed to mend his ways and keep out of the bad news by no means makes a rose of his past malodorous record.

To appoint such a man to a diplomatic post is an insult to the recipient nation and a degradation of diplomacy. How can the Senate, which is at frequent pains to demonstrate its friendship for Ireland, view this as a friendly act?

Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in the Wall Street Journal of today entitled "March Housing Starts Dipped to Lowest Annual Rate in 8 Years; Builders Demand Government Action."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARCH HOUSING STARTS DIPPED TO LOWEST ANNUAL RATE IN 8 YEARS; BUILDERS DEMAND GOVERNMENT ACTION—ADMINISTRATION OFFICALS SAY IT'S UP TO CONGRESS TO PROVIDE RELIEF

Housing starts in March plunged to a seasonally adjusted yearly rate of 880,000 units, lowest for any month in more than 8 years. Government housing officials said it's up to Congress to reverse the downtrend.

A Wall Street Journal check of builders across the country found many of them hollering for Government help. Most of them, as they have before, said scarcity of credit is the key reason for the home building slide.

In many areas, they reported practically no mortgage money available for low-down-payment loans backed by the Veterans' Administration and Federal Housing Administration. Such mortgages also carry interest ceilings below the rates currently being charged on conventional mortgages in most sections.

And the president of the National Association of Home Builders issued a bitter statement that assailed the administration, Congress, and the Federal Reserve Board. He implored the administration and the lawmakers "to stop gambling with the welfare of the American people."

The Labor Department said February's adjusted rate on housing starts was the lowest since February 1949, when new homes were started at a rate of 796,000 units. March home building compared with annual rates of 910,000 units in February and 1,094,000 in March last year.

ACTUAL STARTS

Actual starts during March totaled 83,000 units, the Department said. This was a 28 percent climb over February but still 16 percent below a year ago and the lowest for any March since 1949. March starts included 75,500 private and 7,500 public housing units. The Department said the unusually large number of public units placed under construction were all in the military housing program.

The Labor agency said new private and public housing starts in this year's first quarter amounted to 213,000 units—less than in any other first quarter since 1949. Privately financed units alone totaled 200,200, the report said, for a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 933,000 units.

Final Department reports for the year 1956 showed 1,118,100 nonfarm dwelling units were started during the year, 16 percent lower than in 1955. Building of single family houses, which made up nearly 89 percent of the 1956 total, was 17 percent below the record set in 1955. Rental-type units continued their 6 year downtrend with a further drop of 5 percent during 1956, the Department said.

The sharpest home building cutbacks last year were in the metropolitan areas, where housing starts were down 20 percent compared with only a 4 percent decline in the nonmetropolitan areas.

TOP OFFICIALS UNAVAILABLE

Both Housing Chief Cole and Federal Housing Commissioner Mason were unavailable for comment in Washington on the March home building decline. Aids said there was little action the administration could take. "We've done about all we can," declared one official. "Now it's up to Congress."

The administration has asked, and the House has rejected, an increase to 5 percent from 4½ percent in the interest-rate ceiling on VA-backed loans.

Also, the administration has asked for power to reduce further the minimum down-payments on FHA-insured mortgages. This proposal has been altered considerably by the House Banking Committee. Last month the FHA cut downpayment requirements on mortgages it insures to the present legal minimum—5 percent on the first $9,000 of appraised value and 25 percent on the value above that figure. Officials felt this move came too late to have any marked effect on March starts.

FHA officials yesterday did express hope the March home building drop was the "darkness before the dawn." They cited new figures on the flow of mortgage insurance applications into FHA as an indication of a possible building upturn ahead.

Applications for FHA mortgage insurance on proposed houses amounted to an estimated 16,200 in March, officials said. This was about a 34 percent climb over February's 12,102. Still, it was well below the 24,884 received in March of last year.

On already-built homes, officials said preliminary reports showed 18,400 applications were received in March. This was higher than the 14,563 it received in February but below the 26,067 of a year earlier.

GOODYEAR'S STATEMENT

The statement by the president of the home-builders group, George S. Goodyear, declared, "not only is the homebuilding industry being crushed by an inflexible policy of tight money, but we are laying the

groundwork for a housing shortage that will plague the country for years to come."

The NAHB chief accused the Federal Reserve Board of proceeding on the blithe assumption that housing is postponable and pursuing monetary policies that have kept the home-building industry tottering on the brink of disaster.

"This economic brinkmanship is a dangerous game that the country can no longer afford to play," Mr. Goodyear asserted. "Strong, affirmative action is necessary before the Easter congressional recess, which is almost upon us. It cannot wait."

The NAHB said that every workingday that elapses without corrective action means the loss of 1,000 new homes and costs construction workers $5 million a day in wages.

OTHER FACTORS CITED

So-called tight credit, however, wasn't the only thing cited by builders across the country for less business.

Some declared the heavy buying of smaller homes by veterans since World War II had about dried up that market, and the higher-priced new homes compete for buyer attention with older, larger houses. Lenders require larger downpayments of course, on costlier or older homes, whether the mortgages are Government-backed or not. Builders said a lot of potential customers can't raise the required amount of cash, even if the financing is available.

At least one builder, Ralph Bodek, of Philadelphia, indicated he is stymied on his construction scheduling while the congressional wheels grind along on Federal housing proposals.

"What we need more than anything else is a consolidated opinion out of Washington," he asserted. "Builders won't do much without it, and I'm one of them."

Mr. Bodek said "uncertainty in the mortgage market" has knocked the number of his housing starts 'way down." He added: "Things are still low in April, and I don't see any dramatic changes in the wind."

Practically nationwide were reports of little activity on homes financed under the VA or FHA programs.

"I'm out of business and will be until we get some kind of relief," said H. S. Brownett, Jacksonville, Fla., builder who has concentrated on VA-financed homes. He said he has started 6 houses this year and sold only 1.

"If we could get money at a 4- or 5-point discount we could get back in business," he said. GI mortgage money in Jacksonville is currently offered at a 10 percent discount, meaning the lender actually puts out only 90 percent of the face value of the mortgage and is to be paid back the principal and interest on the full amount. The 10 percent difference has to be either absorbed by the builder or put up by the buyer as a larger downpayment. Usually it's the builder that takes the loss on a new house.

"GI housing is out the window as far as we're concerned," said C. D. Crawford, owner of a Pittsburgh home construction concern. He reported the company has expanded its luxury home building and is edging into the commercial field.

In New York, Dime Savings Bank of Brooklyn has just announced it is cutting out all new VA mortgages with "extreme reluctance." Williamsburg Savings Bank of Brooklyn, another large mortgage lender, said it is thinking about charging a 3 percent discount on VA-backed loans. Some builders reported Williamsburg has already notified them of such a plan.

SOME DISSENTS

There were some dissents from the general feeling, of course.

John R. Butler, vice president of T. J. Bettes Co., Houston mortgage concern, claimed "there is plenty of FHA and conventional loan money. The (home) purchaser is the missing item."

Said a Philadelphia banker: "There are plenty of houses in this country still unsold, with the mortgage requirements taken care of. We've been putting money into housing, but not where we don't think it will sell."

Complained Ralph Scherger, co-owner of a Pittsburgh construction company: "People are just edgy these days; they don't want to go in for any more monthly payments than they have to."

Builders in Chicago and Cleveland cited the storms of the past weeks as one reason home starts have been held up in their areas. They said they plan to go ahead now.

Campanelli Bros., Inc., Framingham, Mass., also cited cold and stormy weather, said it planned to begin 150 houses in April, as it did last year.

In the Los Angeles area, a builder and a banker both said overbuilding in the past has put the supply of houses ahead of demand.

In Dallas, Fox & Jacobs Construction Co., Inc., said it started as much dollar volume—$350,000—of houses in March as it did last year. An official said optimistically: "We'll be disappointed if we don't do as much business this year as last."

But Triangle Construction Co., also in Dallas, said it's "probably building less houses in April than any April for the last 5 or 6 years. The March situation was about the same."

Basic Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask uanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the March 26, 1957, issue of the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner entitled "What More Basic Right Than Trial by Jury?"

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT MORE BASIC RIGHT THAN TRIAL BY JURY

Sections 3691 and 3692 of title 18 of the United States code are those cited as abridging the right to trial by jury. They relate to contempt cases, and have been brought to the fore by realistic study of the so-called civil-rights legislation. For it is under this formula that a jurist may constitute himself judge, prosecutor, and jury.

Far more than a mere legalistic anomaly, there is a glaring contradiction in the view that one set of civil rights justifies abrogation of a basic right three times spelled out in the Constitution. Advocates of the proposed new law—from the NAACP to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, and miscellaneous "liberals" in between—have yet to explain just why their injunctive process should sidestep the Constitution on this point. Why do they oppose a jury trial?

The Federal code, incidentally, says that in contempt cases the defendant, on demand, shall be entitled to trial by jury, but "this section shall not apply in any suit or action shall be instituted, not in the name of the United States." Further, the proposed civil-rights law says that injunction proceedings shall be instituted, not in the name of the real plaintiff who thinks he has been prevented from voting or exercising some other right, but in the name of the United States.

Georgia Senator HERMAN E. TALMADGE has introduced a bill to clarify the right to trial by jury. It provides that all persons cited for contempt of a Federal court for any acts other than ones committed in the presence of the court "shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the contempt shall have been committed." Further, it would provide that no person can be bound by an injunction unless he is a party to the proceeding; is named in and served with a true copy of the injunction; or has read and explained in his presence by a judge in open court the provisions of the injunction.

This is, of course, a Government of laws—not a government arbitrarily of men, or of injunctions. It rests upon the Constitution—in persuance of which (and not otherwise) laws are enacted and enforced.

The most infamous criminals in the land—from murderers to kidnapers, running the gamut of the whole underworld—are entitled to trial by jury. Is not a citizen so entitled who might happen, quite circumstantially even—to be caught under a blanket injunction?

The United States Constitution is recommended reading just now for every citizen, and particularly those in Washington charged with enacting and interpreting and enforcing the law.

Montgomery College Has Functions Unique in Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Montgomery College Has Functions Unique in Area," which was published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of April 6, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MONTGOMERY COLLEGE HAS FUNCTIONS UNIQUE IN AREA

In Takoma Park, a bustling, friendly 10 year old is growing up. The youngster is Montgomery Junior College, only public school of its kind in the Washington area.

Its aims are simple, unassuming, and realistic. Eric Labouvie, professor of modern languages who has been at Montgomery since the school was founded, explains it this way:

"Many of the students who come to Montgomery are not ready for college—at least not ready for the factory method in force at so many of our universities. Others have been refused admission to larger schools. Some have failed at other schools.

"We believe that many of these students are very definitely worth saving."

SPECIAL ATTENTION

Labouvie continued:

"We give these students individualized attention. The student-teacher ratio is very favorable, and most of the classes have fewer than 25 students. Here they get help and special instruction they couldn't get at a larger school.

"The results are rewarding." Students have gone gone from here to the dean's list in other universities. They have graduated from demanding 4-year colleges. Some have gone on to take advanced degrees and other professions like law.

About 700 students attend classes on the college's 7-acre campus. Most come from Montgomery County. For county residents, the tuition is low—$100 per semester—and students can economize by living at home. Montgomery has a cafeteria, but no housing.

FULLY ACCREDITED

Dean Donald E. Deyo emphasizes that Montgomery, first junior college in Maryland fully accredited by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, is open to all.

This year, for example, 2 foreign students are enrolled, along with 25 from outside Maryland, and 118 residents of the District.

They are offered a dual-purpose program: One is designed for students who will go on to complete 4 years of college. The other is for those seeking business or technical training to equip them to enter the work-a-day world after 2 years.

The school has two campuses. The main campus, at Takoma Avenue at Woodbury Drive, offers academic programs—like pre-law and engineering—and some vocational courses, including secretarial work.

The other is in Rockville, at the site of the formerly all-Negro George Washington Carver Junior College in the Carver High School. Here the college offers trade courses.

Montgomery was set up in May 1946, with $10,000 in county funds. It was housed in temporary buildings behind the Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School.

Today the school is listed for $164,523 in the county board of education's budget. It also receives State funds. Montgomery has six main buildings. A school of practical nursing will be opened next year in cooperation with nearby Suburban Hospital.

Dean Deyo is working on plans for a $1,370,000 expansion program which, over a 2-year period, would give Montgomery a new field house, library, and science building. County educators think he will see the plans realized.

Dr. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., on the 22d Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I present today the incisive comments of the young historian, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., on the 22d amendment.

Dr. Schlesinger, a member of the Harvard University faculty, has already carved out for himself an enviable niche as a historian. His works include The Age of Jackson, and more recently, the first volume in his 4-volume The Age of Roosevelt biography.

Dr. Schlesinger's reply to my inquiry follows:

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
Cambridge, Mass., March 28, 1957.

Congressman STEWART L. UDALL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN UDALL: I am heartily in support of your joint resolution proposing to repeal the 22d amendment.

That amendment, in my judgment, represents an anomaly in our Constitution. Except for the 22d amendment, all present amendments to the Constitution aim to enlarge the rights of the people. The 22d amendment restricts the rights of the people. Only one other amendment was similarly restrictive; that was the 18th amendment which the people in due course repealed. I am confident that due consideration will lead in time to the repeal of the 22d amendment.

The notion that unlimited Presidential reeligibility threatens dictatorship is, in my judgment, chimerical. It did not do so in the 160 years of American history before the adoption of the 22d amendment. It should be noted that our northern neighbor, Canada, had the same man as Prime Minister for a total of more than 20 years without suffering any notable diminution in the rights and freedoms of the people. If we ever get dictatorship in the United States, it will come, not because public officials can be reelected to office, but because of some far more fundamental breakdown of Government. To suppose that the 22d amendment has blocked up what otherwise might be an invitation to totalitarianism is to accept a most superficial view of the origins of totalitarianism. As George Washington once said, "When a people shall have become incapable of governing themselves, and fit for a master, it is of little consequence from what quarter he comes."

The 22d amendment is based on the premise that the American people cannot be trusted to make the decision about the third term themselves. I do not see that our experience as a nation justifies this conclusion. More than this, the limitation imposed by the 22d amendment may at some time be a source of genuine peril. As George Washington said, "I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man, who on some great emergency shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public." Theodore Roosevelt put the point this way: "If, for instance, a tremendous crisis occurred at the end of the second term of a man like Lincoln, as such a crisis occurred at the end of his first term, it would be a veritable calamity if the American people were forbidden to continue to use the services of the one man whom they knew, and did not merely guess, could carry them through the crisis." In point of fact, the one time the American people chose to continue a President beyond the traditional two terms was in exactly the circumstances envisaged by Washington and by Theodore Roosevelt. If we purport to believe in democracy and self-government, why not trust the people?

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, Jr.

United States Savings Bonds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following is my testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee on February 21, 1957, regarding the interest rate on United States savings bonds:

STATEMENT OF HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. MULTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, for the privilege of appearing here today.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear you on H. R. 4734, Mr. MULTER.

Mr. MULTER. I am sorry I do not have a prepared statement, but I did not know until yesterday that the committee intended to have these hearings today.

The bills that are before you, H. R. 4734 and H. R. 4735, to amend the Second Liberty Bond Act to authorize a change in the maximum interest rate permitted on United States savings bonds, as I read them, apply to sales of bonds after the enactment of these bills.

I think, as already indicated, it is the intention of this legislation to cause the American public not only to invest in these bonds, but to continue their present investments in them. I think an important thing that you must consider is that those who hold these bonds today, particularly the E-bonds, must be encouraged to continue to hold those bonds rather than to cash them in.

As early as 1951, I introduced bills in the House, two companion bills, to accomplish the purpose of causing the general public to retain their E-bonds, and, as they purchased them in the future, to retain those additional investments for the longest possible term.

I have been putting similar bills in at every session since, and on January 3 of this year I again introduced the same bills which bear the numbers H. R. 2480 and H. R. 2481.

The one bill, H. R. 2480, provides for payment of a premium on savings bonds and savings certificates, while H. R. 2481 provides for tax exemption on the earnings on these E-bonds.

If you enact the bill as you have it before you, you are creating, instead of an incentive to holders of E-bonds to hold them, an incentive to cash them in and buy the new bonds if and when the Treasury issues them at the higher rate.

I think it is just as important if not more important that you give an incentive to the present holders of E-bonds to retain them for the maximum period possible. You will accomplish that if you enact bills similar to the bills that I have mentioned to you a moment ago.

I know the aversion to tax exemption, but I can think of no greater incentive to the holder of E-bonds than to say to him, "If you will hold your bonds for 10 years you will then have tax exemption on the earnings on those bonds."

My bill provides that the tax exemption shall be earned only if he holds the bonds for the full period of 10 years. It also provides that if he should decide to cash them in at some time before the end of the 10 years, then the income on those bonds is taxable.

It may be that you will decide that a better way of doing it is to increase the interest rate or give a premium for holding the bonds.

Rather than proceeding as indicated in Chairman Cooper's and Congressman Reed's bills, of increasing interest rates, my bill H. R. 2480 provides for a premium to be paid for holding the bonds for the full 10-year period. As I indicated, it would apply to bonds that are presently issued and outstanding, as well as new bonds. Again I urge upon you, that is extremely important.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that complete your statement?

Mr. MULTER. In a half moment, sir.

There are, according to the Federal Reserve Bulletin of January 1957, some $50 billion in E bonds or E and F bonds outstanding today. If you are going to increase the rate of interest payable on your new bonds you are going to cause those bonds to be cashed in in large part. Once the owners of those bonds cash them in, it is doubtful as to how many will then reinvest them in other E bonds or Government bonds.

Today, because of the higher yield being obtained from other sources of investment—

stocks and particularly municipal and State bonds which are tax exempt—the person who will cash in his bonds—and many of them are doing it today—will buy something other than these Government securities.

The fact of the matter is that since 1951, every year, there have been more E bonds cashed in than have been sold during each of those years.

I urge the committee to consider seriously the terms of H. R. 2480 and H. R. 2481 in connection with the bills that you have before you. I do trust that, in any event, you will increase the rate not only on new issues but on the presently outstanding issues that are being held by the public, so as to give them an additional incentive to hold those bonds.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that complete your statement?

Mr. MULTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you for your appearance and the helpful information given the committee. We will bear your suggestions in mind.

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Keogh.

Mr. KEOGH. May I commend my colleague from New York for his obviously fine statement, and say for the record that he has presented himself in a manner that those who know him know he always does, with great diligence and competence.

Mr. MULTER. Thank you, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. JENKINS of Ohio will inquire.

Mr. JENKINS. I know you are an expert on this matter. You have introduced your bills, and our chairman has introduced a bill, and so has Mr. REED.

There are a lot of people interested in what we are talking about all over the country.

What do you think as between your proposed legislation and the legislation proposed by these gentlemen? Do you not think that their legislation would be preferable to these thousands of people who are interested?

Mr. MULTER. I have the utmost confidence in Chairman COOPER and Congressman REED, and I am sure that in introducing their bills they thought that was the best way to tackle the problem.

But I have pointed out to you, as I read the bills introduced, they apply to future sales of these bonds. I think it is extremely important to give an incentive to holders of outstanding bonds that they shall hold on to their bonds.

You can imagine what it would do to inflation if only half of the outstanding $50 billion or $25 billion were cashed in within a short time after this bill is enacted because the new bonds are going to carry a higher interest rate than their bonds.

I might say this: there has been newspaper comment and magazine comment across the country most favorable to my bills. I have received hundreds of letters from all over the country supporting my bills. I will say that at that time the bills by Chairman COOPER and Congressman REED had not yet been introduced. But I think the point I have made about them is a very valid one and should be seriously considered by the committee.

Mr. JENKINS. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. EBERHARTER will inquire.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. MULTER, you have touched upon a subject which I have previously thought about.

It occurs to me that there would be a tremendous switch from 3-percent bonds to 3¼-percent bonds. And whether or not the proper way to handle it is by the bills introduced by Mr. COOPER and Mr. REED is open to serious question in my mind.

It seems to me if we can convince the public to hold on to their present bonds we should do so. But now they have no incentive to hold on to them when they can switch over and get one-quarter percent more interest a year. So the Government will not gain anything by a switchover. In fact, it would lose money because of the higher interest rate.

That is your main contention, is it not?

Mr. MULTER. That is my contention.

May I point out to this committee that, as you well know, the E bond was always intended to carry about one-half of 1 percent per annum more interest than other Government securities. And when you increased the rate the last time it was with that in mind. There has been no increase since.

The result is that today your other Government securities, which you can buy today and cash in tomorrow without losing a penny's interest, are paying a higher rate than these bonds. There is no incentive for anybody to hold an E bond, and most people today are cashing them in as fast as they get them. Under these payroll plans, a man gets his bond today with his paycheck, and tomorrow he cashes it in.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

We thank you for your appearance and the information given the committee.

Mr. MULTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

CBS Action Makes Case for FCC Network Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct the attention of our colleagues to the proposed action by Columbia Broadcasting System to discontinue its television affiliation with Charleston, W. Va.'s station WCHS–TV, the only operating television station in the capital city of my State. Columbia Broadcasting System has announced it will transfer its network affiliation to station WHTN–TV in Huntington, W. Va., which has just been purchased by the Cowles interests, "a big-business operation in the Midwest." The unfairness of such action is clearly evident in the following letter which I have forwarded to the president of CBS. The public interest may also be involved if the contemplated transfer is effected. The following editorial from the April 10, 1957, issue of the Charleston Gazette clearly points up the issue. The letter and editorial follow:

APRIL 10, 1957.

Dr. FRANK STANTON,
President, Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR. STANTON: It has come to my attention that the Columbia Broadcasting System contemplates discontinuing its affiliation with Charleston, W. Va.'s only operating television station, WCHS–TV, and transferring its affiliation to WHTN–TV in Huntington. I understand that WCHS–TV has already been notified that its affiliation will be terminated on July 1, 1958, the expiration date of its contract with CBS.

I am quite familiar with the service being given by station WCHS–TV in Charleston, our State capital, which is the focal point for both State and Federal governmental activities in West Virginia. The Columbia Broadcasting System in having been affiliated with station WCHS–TV, has enjoyed the confidence and profound respect of the citizens of the area. The present facilities accommodate a very broad listening audience, and our capital and its people have been greatly benefited by the very adequate and complete services that have been rendered. In my opinion, no station could possibly provide better service than that being rendered to the public in the Charleston and immediately adjacent areas by station WCHS–TV. The transferral of network facilities from Charleston to a new station would deprive a rapidly growing industrial area of the kind of service it has been receiving and which it so rightly deserves. Unexcelled news service, national, State, and local, has been provided in the field of both radio and television by WCHS–TV, and Charleston has come to accept it as one of the indispensable factors in the progress and development which have caused the Kanawha Valley to be so often spoken of as the "magic valley."

If the plan that has been announced by CBS is carried forth to completion, I have no doubt that the citizens of all of West Virginia will be justified in feeling that Charleston's local station has been exploited to satisfy big business and absentee ownership. It would be said indeed if this should be the situation, because it is in just such situations that Government control, so often and so vociferously deplored in this day and age, is invited.

Charleston's station WCHS–TV is about to complete the construction of a new high tower erected at a cost of over $300,000. The location and the construction of the tower were approved by the engineering department of Columbia Broadcasting System. It would seem to me that CBS would be morally obligated to continue its affiliation with the Charleston station, now that WCHS–TV has gone to the trouble and expense of building the new tower. Transmittal of pictures via the new tower is expected to begin on May 1. The station constructed the tower in good faith in order to improve and expand its coverage. Instead of waiting until the station could have an opportunity to prove the performance of the new tower, CBS has arbitrarily announced that it will transfer network facilities to the Huntington area as soon as the present contract runs its course.

Dr. Stanton, I cannot help but be greatly disturbed about the action contemplated. I represent the congressional district in which Charleston is located. Mine is the greatest coal-producing district in the United States, and in the Kanawha Valley you will find one of the largest concentrations of chemical plants in the Western Hemisphere. It seems little short of ridiculous that the city in which is located the seat of State government, situated in such a large industrial and heavily populated area, is about to be deprived of its CBS outlet. I realize that the matter is one over which I have no direct supervision or control, but as Representative of an area which will be most vitally and injuriously affected, I cannot, in good conscience, avoid protesting the action being proposed. I am advised that the owners of television sets will be put to additional expense for purchase of new antennas, and I should think that CBS would be most reluctant to cause this additional burden to be placed upon the public. Moreover, the public has a natural, and, indeed, vested interest in retaining the outlet in Charleston, and I am at a loss to understand why the facilities should be moved to another community which already possesses the outlet of another leading network, namely, NBC.

I trust, Dr. Stanton, that the proposed action, although already announced, will not

be consummated. Local ownership has been recognized by the Federal Government as being the type of ownership which renders the most complete public service to the people. The people of West Virginia too long have suffered from out-of-State ownership of many of the industrial enterprises, and we look jealously and with askance upon the decision by CBS to weld another shackle and place another millstone around the neck of local ownership as is being done in this instance. I sincerely hope that reason and justice will prevail and that the Columbia Broadcasting System will not terminate its affiliation with WCHS–TV.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT C. BYRD,
Member of Congress.

CBS ACTION MAKES CASE FOR FCC NETWORK CONTROL

The decision of the Columbia Broadcasting System to switch its television affiliation from WCHS, Charleston, to WHTN, Huntington, raises two rather astouding points:

1. That an organization of the supposed business sense of CBS would make such a decision in the first place; and

2. That the Federal Communications Commission, which has the power to regulate individual television stations down to the finest detail, has no control whatsoever over the giant networks.

On point 1, except for a business obligation to do the best possible job for its stockholders and what some may hold to be an obligation to the viewing public, we suppose the CBS decisions in such matters are its own business.

But on point 2, it seems to be astonishingly inconsistent that Congress would give the FCC control over individual stations, which would be in the relative category of small business and give an absolute free hand to the networks, which are big business with the power to make or break an individual station.

And nothing does more to emphasize this inequity than the case at hand, which we consider to be an unfair, arbitrary, and unreasonable action on the part of CBS to give one television station a great advantage at the expense of another.

It can hardly be denied that network affiliation is a big factor in the value of a local station. Thus, looking at it in the cold light of cash value, the CBS decision will be highly beneficial to WHTN and somewhat detrimental to WCHS just as it would have had a similar effect on the stations concerned if NBC had decided to swith from WSAZ to WHTN.

Therefore, it seems rather significant that the CBS decision came shortly after WHTN, admittedly a weak third station in the Charleston-Huntington area, was purchased by the Cowles interests, a big business operation in the Midwest.

Is this a case of CBS, which is big business itself, bowing to the demands of big business in the ownership of individual television stations?

And, with this switch in network affiliation, what happens to the value of the stock of WHTN, which certainly must have been acquired by Cowles at a modest price?

The only reasons made public by CBS for its decision were that it wanted to be in a more competitive position with NBC's Huntington outlet, WSAZ, and that Cowles had done an outstanding job of management in other cities.

But CBS prefers to ignore the advances made by WCHS after its main competition had a 5-year advantage in getting on the air, and the effort and expense to which it has gone to improve the CBS competitive position.

The thing that makes the CBS action so unfair, and casts suspicions upon the motives involved, is that the decision was made just before WCHS is to put in use its new transmitting tower which it is building at a cost of $300,000 to improve its competitive position.

Both WCHS and WHTN are in the process of building new towers. Therefore, if CBS had any interest in being fair in its consideration of affiliates, we contend that it would have waited until it could have had a firsthand comparison of the two stations on their performance with their new transmitters.

Instead, CBS arbitrarily announces its decision to kick its old friend, WCHS, off to the side and embrace an untried but wealthy newcomer.

Such an action certainly causes suspicions and raises questions that should be subject to review by the Federal Communications Commission.

In the public interest, Congress should do something to prevent this dog-eat-dog principle of permitting the big to swallow up the small.

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "United States Cash No Cure," written by Roy Covington, published in the Miami Herald of March 20, 1957, and reprinted and sent to me by Roy Hawkins, of Miami, Fla.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"UNITED STATES CASH NO CURE," KNIGHT—EDITOR LAMBASTES WASTE AND FOLLY

(By Roy Covington)

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—Foreign aid began as a means of rehabilitating war-torn nations of Europe. It was never intended to become, as it is today, a permanent arm of our foreign policy, John S. Knight, editor and publisher of the Knight Newspapers, charged Tuesday night.

"We seem to have the curious idea in this country that anything can be cured by shaking the United States money tree," said Knight in a speech before the Charlotte Executive Club.

High government spending and foreign aid in particular were targets chosen for criticism.

He also described the "free press as the last bulwark of individual liberty."

John S. Knight is editor and publisher of the Miami Herald, the Akron Beacon Journal, the Detroit Free Press and the Chicago Daily News.

He also serves as a director of the Charlotte Observer, of which his brother, James L. Knight, is president and publisher.

Introduced by C. A. McKnight, editor of the Observer, Knight spoke to some 300 executives, including a number of visiting newspaper editors and publishers from both Carolinas.

Knight said he did not decry all foreign aid, but, he said, "It is incomprehensible when the administration says that foreign aid cannot be cut, and Congress supinely agrees."

He cited "waste and folly" in the application of foreign aid funds.

"In Iran, for example, the International Cooperation Administration built a sugar-beet refinery. But it couldn't be operated for 3 years because the Iranians didn't know how to grow beets. One ICA office in Iran requisitioned 53 automobiles and 41 drivers for its 55 employees.

"There are literally dozens of such examples of waste and folly," said Knight.

He admitted he was one of Ike's earliest supporters for the Presidency.

But of late, he said, he has become "most concerned with the Eisenhower administration's change in directions since the President's reelection." The $72 billion budget proposed by the administration was a "shocker to all who believe, as I do, in holding down expenses of the Government," declared Knight.

"It is an undeniable fact that the budget can be cut," he said, "but the President and Congress are now engaged in a buckpassing contest to avoid taking responsibility."

"Mr. Eisenhower is wasting his breath in warning labor and business of the dangers of inflation when the Government itself, by gargantuan expenditures, is contributing to the spiral," Knight said.

The administration's philosophy of foreign aid as an arm of foreign policy is contributing to the overall spending spree.

"As our foreign spending rises, so does our spending at home," he said. Knight was disappointed that Mr. Eisenhower had not formulated a new and striking foreign policy.

"The incredible Mr. Dulles flies from one continent to another looking for trouble, and usually finds it," scoffed Knight.

Describing the results of a hit-and-miss foreign policy, Knight said "the British and French are miffed; the Israelis rightly complain that they were doublecrossed; Nasser, the troublemaker, is riding high; SEATO is falling apart; NATO has lost much of its effective fighting strength, and every nation with communism for sale is blackmailing us to the limit."

Knight said he also was troubled over trends evident in the thinking of the American people.

He listed as areas for concern:

The naive faith in President Eisenhower. The prevalence of let Ike do it symbolizes an inattentiveness to public questions.

Extremism in the field of racial conflict. "Instead of approaching a problem of this magnitude in a calm and rational manner, realizing it may never be solved in our time, the issues at stake have given rise to racial strife and hate mongering."

Wage inflation, in which annual wage increases are totally unrelated to productivity. "Collective bargaining, as it is sometimes humorously called, is actually nothing but the exercise of power by labor leaders who can cripple or ruin an industry at their will."

Decline of the small-business man. "It seems to me that we are losing much of the country's basic strength when the few supplant the many."

Decline of the individual. "We seem to have lost much of the rugged individualism of our forefathers. Today nearly every job applicant seems more interested in the hours of work and pension plans than in accepting responsibility and seeking achievement. Security has become a goal rather than an achievement."

Hon. Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, Condemns Latest Natural Gas Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 12, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, one of the most inflationary pieces of legislation

of the 85th Congress has now been introduced.

I refer to the proposed legislation which would unfortunately make a hollow shell of Federal regulation of the prices of natural gas.

Specifically, I have reference to H. R. 6790 and H. R. 6791, introduced, respectively, by Representative OREN HARRIS, of Arkansas, and Representative JOSEPH O'HARA, of Minnesota.

In my judgment, this proposed legislation poses a tremendous threat to the American economy in more ways than one.

I ask unanimous consent that a statement I have prepared on this subject be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin yield for just a moment in connection with that he has just said with respect to the Harris bill?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. I commend the Senator from Wisconsin for the action he is taking at the very start in opposition to the Harris bill, which has been introduced in the House.

When I was mayor of Philadelphia we had a mayors' committee which fought very vigorously against that bill. I know the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin was on that side, and did his very best to prevent its enactment. I assure the Senator from Wisconsin that he will have support in his efforts from at least one Senator on this side of the aisle.

Mr. WILEY. I thank the distinguished Senator. My opening remarks contained a statement of my views. I shall continue to restate them in committee, and before the Senate, when the subject comes before us.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY

For months, we have been reading disturbing newspaper accounts to the effect that a new version of the bill which President Eisenhower vetoed in the 84th Congress would soon be introduced.

Now this version has been offered.

This time, it attempts to accomplish its objective by permitting a so-called reasonable-market price to be charged.

But what is reasonable-market price?

It is the going price.

So, will this be regulation? Of course not; it is pretended regulation on the basis of an unregulated price.

So in its pretense at regulation, it is even worse than last year's more frank bill. In 24 pages of legal falderal, the bill deceptively makes noises as if some regulation were really being attempted.

It sets up a standard for a regulatory agency which the Commission would find it impossible to follow. The criterion would be a quicksand of uncertainty into which every regulatory case would founder—if any attempt were made to actually enforce it.

The reasonable-market price would be changing constantly—upward.

The Commission investigators would have to scramble to keep up interminably with what the latest market price was.

Consequently, the Commission would be following the market price rather than leading, abjectly approving rather than independently establishing a fair regulated price, as all regulatory commissions are supposed to do.

The supporters of this legislation make no bones about what they really have in mind.

Their aim is the very same as it was in the 84th Congress, the 83d Congress, and in preceding Congresses—to deny the consumers of this Nation the reasonable protection which the consumers had a right to expect under the Natural Gas Act of 1938.

For months, we have been reading reports from natural-gas associations to the effect that if the administration really wants this legislation enacted, it—the administration—will have to work hard for it.

I hope that the administration will do no such thing.

I say very frankly, however and yes, sorrowfully, that I will not be surprised if the administration does come once again to the unwise decision of backing the purposes of this legislation.

Unfortunately, the administration has allowed itself to swallow the misrepresentations which have been spread by the natural-gas industry.

Unfortunately, the administration, which has been wisely pleading for a curb on inflation—which has been pleading for voluntary efforts to hold down wage and price pressures, this same administration now seems determined to do a rightabout-face. Thus, it probably backs a bill which will be one of the most inflationary measures in the 85th Congress.

Fuel is the key item in the cost of living and in the cost of production. When industry has to pay higher fuel costs, when 30 million homeowners have to pay higher residential gas costs, what is that but inflation?

We see in this legislation, too, one more unfortunate step down the road of ineffective regulation by a so-called regulatory agency. It is a road in which a Federal Commission does not seem to be actively interested in protecting the very public interest which it was set up to protect.

I say, frankly, but respectfully: The Federal Power Commission has repeatedly failed in its obligations vigorously to protect the public interest.

Instead, by backing the previous version of this legislation and by reportedly backing the present version of this legislation, the Federal Power Commission seems to say, in effect: "Gentlemen of the Congress, we will be glad to authorize whatever the 'traffic will bear,' if you will just permit us to do so."

I want to be fair to the Federal Power Commission—which, after all, faces enormous work burdens. I am not, of course, reflecting on the sincerity of any of its members. I respect their honest differences with me. I am simply stating that the Commission is not uniformly doing the job which the Congress originally intended for it.

Lastly, I want to reiterate a point which I have previously made. The oil and gas industry is definitely entitled to a reasonable return on their investment. The local gas distributors are entitled to a reasonable return. The pipelines are entitled to a reasonable return on their investment.

But so, too, the public is entitled to reasonable protection.

There is no evidence whatsoever to indicate that the oil and gas industry has suffered under previous Federal regulation. There is every evidence to indicate that the industry has prospered, and that it will continue to prosper if reasonable regulation is carried on.

I hope, therefore, that this Harris-O'Hara legislation will be defeated.

I hope that it will be defeated on its lack of merit and not simply because of part of the oil industry's lobbying tactics, as carried on in the 84th Congress.

I hope the administration will reconsider its overall stand.

I support this administration generally. But I will not falter on my right to part company with the administration when my conscience tells me it is in the wrong.

Perhaps, there are some within the administration—within the Department of Justice or elsewhere—who support my stand and who disagree with the Harris-O'Hara bill. If so, I hope they will be in a position to come forth and openly say so.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Appendix

Asian Assembly for Moral Rearmament

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, there has just been completed in the Philippines an Asian Assembly for Moral Rearmament attended by representative leaders from 27 nations. This assembly was welcomed to this country by the late President Magsaysay, and was attended by his successor, President Garcia, with members of his Cabinet.

We in Washington would be wise to take note of what has been done and said at this gathering. The reconciliation of bitterness between races and nations, the demonstration of moral and spiritual power in men who can decide policy, the implications for the United States of this new understanding among the free nations of Asia—these are all matters of the highest significance.

Freedom has its ideology. Absolute moral standards give it firmness. The spirit of God gives it life.

If we in America live that ideology we shall find a response in Asia that money cannot buy. It could be the turning point.

The signs of response to these deeper realities at this assembly are a source of hope for us all—and a challenge to us to examine our policy and our practice in light of these truths.

Mr. President, I ask that a statement I have prepared on this subject be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ASIAN ASSEMBLY FOR MORAL REARMAMENT—STATESMEN UNITE AT MRA ASSEMBLY IN THE PHILIPPINES

President Carlos P. Garcia of the Philippines and Mrs. Garcia, with members of his Cabinet and leaders of the Philippine Congress, traveled by special train to Baguio to welcome delegates from 27 nations to the Asian Assembly for Moral Rearmament held March 29–April 8. President Garcia said: "I am glad that Moral Rearmament was born. It is sounding a chord that will find responsive hearts the world over."

The Presidential party included the Acting Secretary of Foreign Affairs, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the chairman of the Senate Committee on National Defense, as well as other members of the Cabinet and chairmen of congressional committees.

The Manila Times reported that President Garcia went to fulfill a date made by the late President Magsaysay. Speaking of the late President, Senator Roseller Lim said:

"Since his breakfast a year ago with Dr. Frank Buchman, initiator of Moral Rearmament, the President said at least three times, 'Ros, we must decide this on the basis of what's right, no matter whose feelings are hurt, even my own.' On that basis many of the President's problems were solved. Five days before his death I told him about this Assembly. He said he would come to Baguio to open the conference, and expressed the particular hope that the three Colwell brothers would be coming."

Senator Emmanuel Pelaez, chairman of the Senate Committee on National Defense in the Philippines, said:

"It is for practical reasons that I want MRA to be a force here. From the standpoint of national security it can be a very practical, realistic bulwark against the infiltration of communism."

ONLY ANSWER A SUPERIOR IDEOLOGY

The former Prime Minister of Nationalist China, Gen. Ho Ying-chin, now chairman of the Military Strategy Advisory Board of Taiwan, summing up the results of the conference, declared that what he and others had "failed to achieve in 10 years of postwar diplomatic effort had been accomplished at this Asian Assembly.

"Although the war ended over 10 years ago, deep bitterness has remained. I see Moral Rearmament as the ideology which is uniting the Asian nations. Real contributions have been made to the welfare of Asia. Leading Japanese and Koreans have found understanding. We have seen a dream of long standing realized here. Enemies have become reconciled and great hope has been found.

"Today we need a superior ideology to safeguard our national freedom and democracy. Dr. Frank Buchman, from his knowledge of human nature, foresaw this need and has given the world an ideology of change. Twenty years' experience of communism has proved to me that the only answer is a superior ideology. Today there is only one road—that of moral rearmament—along which the whole world can advance to freedom and peace."

Gen. Ho Ying-chin pledged himself to accept gladly any responsibility through moral rearmament to consolidate this new spirit in Asia and the world.

PRIME MINISTER U NU DEFINES BASIS OF ANSWERING IDEOLOGY

The Burmese Prime Minister sent a message to the assembly which was broadcast over the Burmese National Radio: "Dr. Buchman has presented to the world a new ideology above race and class because it seeks to answer the needs of the heart. This ideology seeks to change men, their ideas, their motives, their aims. Its moral standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness, and love form the cream of all religious beliefs."

Prime Minister Nobosuke Kishi of Japan said in a message delivered by Niro Hoshijima: "I look forward to the day when all the peoples of Asia unite in friendship. This desire of mine makes me exceptionally happy to send my greetings to the Asian Conference for Moral Rearmament. Understanding between nations can hardly be realized by the official phase of diplomacy alone. What appears to me vastly more important is a reawakening to the moral and spiritual values involved."

Dr. Mohammad Hatta, former vice president and cofounder of the Indonesia Republic, sent a message declaring: "If with God's help you can achieve something to alleviate world tension, the whole of mankind will be grateful to you."

R. P. Sunarto, a director of Radio Indonesia, delivered Dr. Hatta's message and told of the widespread response to weekly broadcasts on MRA in Indonesia.

President Ngo Dinh Diem of Vietnam sent a personal representative, Dinh Van Huan, first president of the court of appeals. Mr. Van Huan said: "To remake the world we only need a determined nucleus in every country. I am deeply convinced of the objectives for which you are so effectively striving. An Asian Assembly for Moral Rearmament should be held at least once a year."

HISTORIC HATREDS HEALED

Niro Hoshijima, cosignatory of the Japanese Peace Treaty and oldest member of the Diet in point of service, said: "Relations between Japan and our nearest neighbor, Korea, are not what they should be. This is primarily the responsibility of the Japanese. Here we have been able to find the road to unity between Korea and Japan. With the spirit of MRA Japan can change and we can find lasting unity with the countries of Asia."

Yoon Sung Soon, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Korean National Assembly, said: "The real difficulties between Korea and Japan can only be solved through the spirit of moral rearmament. We need to change personally, but it also needs to issue in political, social, economic and international changes. I have to change and every nation has to change. Just as Korea and Japan have found unity through MRA, so too can every nation."

Senator Shidzue Kato, member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Japanese Diet, asking forgiveness of the Korean people who suffered under more than 30 years of Japanese occupation, said: "I want to take full responsibility for what my nation did and for this I ask your forgiveness. I return with the determination that it will not just be lip service to an apology but to fight that this spirit becomes the policy of my nation."

Mrs. Park Hyun Sook, former Korean Cabinet Minister whom the Japanese had imprisoned for years and whose husband had been bedridden for more than 18 years as a result of Japanese maltreatment, said: "The unity of Asia can only be achieved when there is reconciliation between Japan and Korea. Through change in my own heart I lost my enmity and I am convinced that only on the basis of MRA can permanent peace be achieved in Asia and the world."

Senator Kato, in describing how the reparations agreement between the Philippines and Japan was ratified, said: "Before I met MRA I was champion in embarrassing the government to get my name before the public. But MRA taught me how to fight on the basis of what is right. Last June the Diet was considering ratification of our reparations agreement with the Philippines but this was endangered by our party's opposition to the government and the many conflicts in the Diet. I decided to take full responsibility as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee to fight for ratification, and 3 hours before the Diet session ended the reparations agreement was ratified."

Daw Nyein Tha, distinguished educator from Burma, said: "MRA has the secret of turning enemies into friends." She quoted Dr. Buchman: "'The best defense of your

country is the respect and gratitude of your neighbors.' "

Mr. Kichizaemon Sumitomo, head of the Japanese industrial family which before the war employed 500,000 men, said: "I realize that as a capitalist I was also responsible for what happened in the Philippines by providing the material strength for the Japanese militarists. But apology is not enough. We in management must work on a basis of what is right. It is not enough to rely on good will between individuals. We responsible leaders of our nations must commit ourselves to living a moral ideology."

After an apology by Renzo Yanagisawa, chairman of 250,000 Japanese shipyard workers, for what Japan did to the Philippines during the war, Donato Alarcon, vice president of the Philippine Transport Workers Union, said: "At this assembly we are developing the moral ideology where our mistakes of the past can be corrected and Japan and the Philippines can learn to live as members of one family."

Willard Johnson, president of the student body of 12,000 at the University of California at Los Angeles, and Jerry Nelson, another student leader from the same university, told of the unity MRA had brought to their campus. "We were the bitterest political enemies on the campus," said Nelson. "What we had been doing was divisive and selfish. MRA united us. America needs this ideology. It is the only hope of our country." Johnson said: "We Negroes have often attempted to answer racial prejudice with an equal amount of prejudice against the whites. Our real battle is against prejudice and not against the people involved in it. The ideology of moral rearmament can answer racial prejudice because it challenges both black and white to change and build a new world."

WORLD DICTATORSHIP, WORLD DESTRUCTION, OR WORLD RENAISSANCE

Dr. Douglas Cornell of Washington, executive officer of the National Academy of Sciences, said: "MRA is the ideology of freedom needed in the atomic age. I have worked 10 years in the development of weapons and have some knowledge of such facts as the marriage of atomic warheads with guided missiles. The new factor is that the next war would mean total destruction. Consciously or unconsciously everyone of us chooses one of three alternatives—world dictatorship, world destruction, or world renaissance. MRA offers every man the chance to play his full part in the creation of this renaissance."

Dante Calma of the office of the President of the Philippines, said: "As yet it is only in Communist countries that ideology is placed before self-interest. I fear for the future of my country and my children if there is not a change. Moral rearmament has proved a turning point in my life and for the first time I have become part of my Catholic faith. The future of this country as well as of Asia is being shaped here at this assembly. We Filipinos must make moral rearmament top priority."

Dean Vincente G. Sinco, dean of the College of Law, University of the Philippines, and chairman of the import-export committee, told the assembly: "I have been overwhelmed by the decisions which men and women have made at this assembly to take this ideology to Asia and the world. The spirit of greed, falsehood, impurity, and selfishness exists even where there is no communism. With MRA these forces will not become dominant in our nation. Only in this way will we have peace and unity."

Rajaram Shastri, Member of Parliament of India and General Secretary, 1954–55, of the All-India Hind Mazdoor Sabha, central organization of the Socialist trade unions of India with 500,000 members, declared:

"As a Marxist I spent 26 years of my life organizing the Indian working class on a basis of hatred and bitterness. When I saw the division around me I traveled for an answer to Soviet Russia, Red China, and several countries of Europe, but everywhere I found people suffering from the same disease—materialism.

"When I met moral rearmament I realized that for 26 years I had been pointing out the mistakes of others instead of seeing where I need to change myself first. MRA turned a torchlight inward. Through absolute moral standards and the guidance of God lies the way to bring peace and happiness to individuals, families, nations, and the world."

Cornelio Balmaceda, general manager of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and former Minister of Commerce, who had earlier attended the World Training Center for Moral Rearmament at Caux, Switzerland, while a delegate to the ECOSOC Conference in Geneva, said: "Ideological controversy plagued the meetings in Geneva. At Caux I saw Communists changing and the force of an idea to unite the world. Most solutions center around material rearmament. MRA is an armament that does not cost nations billions to insure defense. While the masses of Asia are being serenaded by communism, the coming of moral rearmament is very significant and timely."

TRUE BASIS FOR EAST-WEST UNITY

In a cable to Mr. SAM RAYBURN, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and Senator THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on the occasion of a private showing for Members of both Houses of the United States Congress of the all-African film Freedom, delegates at the Asian Assembly said:

"The Asian nations gathered at Baguio in the Philippines respond to your initiative in the presentation of the film Freedom to the United States Congress. The Asian premiere of Freedom was seen here this week by delegates from 24 nations attending the Asian Assembly for Moral Rearmament. This overwhelming film is providential for our nations at this critical time and must reach the millions of Asia now.

"The ideology depicted in the film Freedom, is the ideology Asia wants. It is the only true basis on which East and West can unite. Where diplomacy has failed to answer our greatest need, moral rearmament is succeeding. It is breaking down barriers of hate and bitterness and creating trust and unity. It is opening up avenues to reparations and concrete accords.

"We are grateful for the three American brothers, the Colwells, who responded to the late President Magsaysay's call that they come to Baguio. They have played a vital part in operating the spirit in which unity is being forged between our nations."

The cable was signed by: Senator Roseller T. Lim, the Philippines; General Ho Ying-chin, chairman, Military Strategy Advisory Board, Formosa; Niro Hoshijima, senior member, Japanese Diet; Senator Shidzue Kato, member, Foreign Relations Committee, Japan; Yoon Sung Soon, chairman, Foreign Relations Committee, Korean National Assembly; R. P. Sunarto, director, Radio Indonesia; Devar Surya Sena, Radio Ceylon; Dato Mahmoud Bin Mat, former speaker, Legisaltive Council, Malaya; Maung Maung Khin, editor, New Light of Burma; Rajaram Shastri, Member of Parliament, India.

A special showing for Members of Congress of the Philippines was held on April 13 and attended by the speaker of the house of representatives, the senate majority leader, chairmen of the three senate committees, and other congressional leaders. The morning session of the senate was delayed for an hour to enable Members to attend.

1890 or 1984?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, for the edification of my colleagues, a thought-provoking editorial published in the Wall Street Journal, entitled "1890 or 1984?"

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

1890 or 1984?

When President Eisenhower the other day was asked about the complaints over the size of his record peacetime budget, his retort was that this isn't 1890.

"In this day and time," he said, "we cannot * * * limit ourselves to the governmental processes that were applicable in 1890. We have got to adapt the great principles of the Constitution to the inescapable industrial and economic conditions of our time."

And that, we suppose we are to understand, explains everything.

The ghosts of Grover Cleveland and William McKinley have never been so popular as of late. Let anyone venture the smallest suggestion that old virtues—like thrift or prudence or self-reliance or local responsibility for local problems—might have some virtue today, as well for a government as for its citizens, and he is dismissed with some such phrase as "we can't turn the clock back to McKinley."

This is intended to be devastating. It is supposed to mark the critic as an ignoramus unaware of the march of history and more than likely an enemy of the people because he opposes progress. And naturally it also marks the speaker as a forward-sighted fellow whose gaze is fixed ahead, say on 1980.

It is a debater's retort that answers nothing. While it might be a happy thing if we could indeed turn the clock back to McKinley when the cost of Government to the citizens was measured in thousands instead of billions of dollars, no one has proposed any such thing.

As a matter of fact, the most vociferous critic of Mr. Eisenhower's budget is extravagant compared to Mr. Eisenhower only a few years ago. Then he proposed to turn the budget back to $60 billion; today the most hopeful reactionary dreams of taking no more than $5 billion or so out of Mr. Eisenhower's $72 billion budget. The critics of Mr. Eisenhower's program, men like Senator BYRD, for example, are neither unmindful of history nor fools.

But the debater's trickery in this kind of retort does not disturb us half so much as the fear that some of the people who use it do not see the trick and may suppose that they have uttered something wise.

For what is often really being suggested is not merely that the circumstances of history change but that the principles of wisdom have somehow changed also. The suggestion is not simply that it may be wrong to cut "x" billion out of the budget, a matter on which even practical men may differ; the suggestion is that it is somehow wrong even to suggest considering such an outmoded principle as thrift.

There is here a dangerous trap for the mind. A wise man once said that government is best which governs least. Now if Jefferson were alive today he would not

measure what is the "least" possible in 1957 by what was the "least" possible when he made his declaration against tyranny. But a mind so constituted would not be fooled into thinking that, however much circumstance had altered the application of the principle, the principle itself had been outmoded.

We take it as self-evident that the Government of the United States in 1957 cannot meet its responsibilities with the same sums of money it took from its citizens a century ago. That in an age when technology has diminished the boundaries between one part of the community and another its laws perforce must be more complex and farther reaching. But that is not the same thing as saying that the principles of wise government pass with the passing times.

That is why when men have visions of a world far worse than ours they do not look backward but forward. And what disturbs their vision is that somehow in the future all the ancient virtues will be forgotten because people may be persuaded of the view that because governmental processes are old they are outmoded.

The memory of 1890 is not half so terrifying as the specter of 1894.

The Washington Pilgrimage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUART SYMINGTON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, on April 27, at the seventh annual awards dinner of the Washington Pilgrimage, Washington, D. C., a civic leader of St. Louis, Mo., Mr. William Harper Bryan, will be honored as the Lay Churchman of the Year for 1957.

It will not be possible for me to be present on that occasion as this outstanding business executive receives this honor in token of his service to the church life of St. Louis and the Nation.

Other leaders will also be honored; therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a short explanation of the Washington Pilgrimage, together with a statement about the national church and lay awards for 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WASHINGTON PILGRIMAGE

An inspirational and practical program which unites our commitment to America with a new understanding of the rich meaning of our national religious heritage, the Washington Pilgrimage, is the only organized movement in America which actively relates the principles of our American religious heritage to present-day moral and spiritual ideals, in terms of what we are, what we have, and what we aspire to in 20th-century America.

Critics of American life say we are too greatly concerned with financial gains, technological advances, and other evidences of material advantages. Perhaps they might more definitely say that we do not make enough of the basic reservoirs for good which are equally a part of our lives—the hope, faith, love, confidence—in ourselves, our families, our friends, and the countless other men and women we have neither seen nor known.

The Washington Pilgrimage's basic theme is This Nation Under God.

AWARDS FOR 1957

The Washington Pilgrimage national church and lay awards were announced in Washington on March 28. Dr. Louis H. Evans, famous Hollywood, Calif., minister, now minister at large for the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, United States of America, was named "churchman of the year." William Harper Bryan, of St. Louis, recently referred to as the "1957 Spirit of St. Louis," has been named "lay-churchman of the year." Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod, general director of United Churchwomen's 11 million members, has been named "churchwoman of the year."

The awards will be received in person by the recipients at the seventh annual awards dinner of the Washington Pilgrimage, Washington, D. C., April 27. Cecil B. deMille will be present to present the churchman award to Dr. Evans.

Other distinguished leaders who will participate in the pilgrimage of all faiths April 26, 27, and 28 include Justice William O. Douglas, Senator Francis Case, Judge Luther Youngdahl, Judge Homer Ferguson, Dr. Theodore Distler, and Bradshaw Mintener.

Paul LaValle, conductor of the Band of America, will direct massed bands at a special ceremony before the Lincoln Memorial in honor of the inclusion of the words "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance.

In collaboration with the 350th anniversary celebration of Jamestown, a special program will be presented before the Jefferson Memorial honoring the early founders of the Nation.

Charles E. Wilson, president of the People-to-People Foundation, in cooperation with Col. Edward Kirby and George Denny, will present a program in the Senate caucus room at 12 o'clock noon Saturday, April 27.

President Eisenhower received the lay churchman's award for 1955. This year's recipient, William Harper Bryan, is president of the Associated Hardware Co. and former president of the Witte Hardware Co. As a civic leader, he founded the Polio Society of St. Louis; served as president of St. Louis Sales Executives Club, district governor of Kiwanis International, president and member of the board of directors of the St. Louis Convention Bureau for 20 years, member of the board of the chamber of commerce and chairman of the Century Club. As a church leader, he has served as a trustee of the Third Baptist Church of St. Louis for 18 years, often as president and sometimes chairman of the ways and means committee, has taught a Sunday school class since 1923, and has served the Metropolitan Church Federation as a member of the executive board and the finance committee.

Dr. Louis H. Evans, author, national preacher, and regular radio and TV speaker, is a graduate of Occidental College, Los Angeles, and McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago. During college days he was chosen all-conference and all-State end in football and all-conference and all-Southern center in basketball. He is the founding sponsor of the Fellowship of Christian Athletes, Inc.

As minister at large, Dr. Evans covers 40,000 miles per year by plane and train and has filled 450 speaking engagements since September 1953. He has spoken before conventions of business, education, government, armed service, civic, religious, and lay leaders throughout this country and abroad. He has visited Japan, Korea, China, India, Africa, and the Near East, meeting with students, government and mission leaders. In 1955 he flew to Scotland to address the ministers of that country at the request of Dr. Billy Graham (clergy-churchman of 1956). For the past 4 years he has served a part of every summer as summer pastor of the National Presbyterian Church of Washington, D. C., the church of President and Mrs. Eisenhower.

Dr. Evans' books include Youth Seeks a Master, the Kingdom is Yours, and Make Your Faith Work, all published by Fleming H. Revell Co. He has received many honorary degrees and was chosen one of the 12 outstanding religious leaders of America in the Life magazine nationwide poll. Three of his four children are in full-time Christian service.

Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod has directed the work of United Churchwomen since 1948. Formerly the executive secretary of the United Council of Church Women, she is now the general director of the enlarged organization, United Church Women of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. Mrs. MacLeod served as a consultant at the assembly of the World Council of Churches in Evanston, Ill., 1954; attended the planning meeting for the World Council in England in 1949; visited refugee camps in Germany in 1955; and led a fraternal team of American women to Mexico in 1956 to attend a conference of Mexican Protestant women. She holds a number of honorary degrees and is a graduate of the South Carolina College for Women. She has two daughters and is the widow of Dr. W. Murdoch MacLeod, a minister in the Presbyterian Church, United States.

Federal Expenditures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, those who oppose reducing the 1958 budget are just not responsive to general public opinion.

The progressive addition of bureaus and agencies calling for more Federal employees and annual increases in the cost of Government has aroused the people to the necessary tax burden that must be imposed on them to administer these programs.

Instead of continuing heavy taxes and spending to the limit of public forbearance, Government leaders might well read the signs of revolt so spontaneously generated by uniting their efforts to make this 1957 the year of the turning point from deficits and lavish indulgences.

Sensible reductions from amounts proposed by domestic Federal agencies, a more careful review of overlapping functions and waste in the Defense Department, and withdrawal of foreign aid from missions completing their assignments, can be the direct means of showing the folks back home that we are abandoning our disappointing experiences in assuming we can save the world.

It is traditional for heads of families and business organizations to periodically take account of capital depletion and correct unwarranted expenditures that endanger the safety and solvency of the financial structure.

The predicament of the United States Government, overdrawn, so to speak, in the sum of $275 billion, still insisting on increased budgets with no assurances of diminishing naitonal indebtedness and only an expression of hope for tax relief, should indicate the timeliness of a re-evaluation of our national financial prospects.

The American citizens have been extremely tolerant but that tolerance is waning. Let us recognize and profit by the warning before we encounter open revolt.

American Bar Association Recommendation Regarding Congressional Investigations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, many Members of the Congress, and many persons throughout the Nation, recently have been disturbed by the excesses of some congressional investigating committees. While the process of continued analysis and investigation by the Congress is absolutely essential to the operation of the legislative branch of our Government, it is even more essential that these investigations be handled with fairness and tact and with full protection for the reputation and personal rights of anyone under accusation.

For this reason, I am calling to the attention of the Senate some pertinent recommendations made by a committee of the American Bar Association with respect to the conduct and methods of congressional investigating committees.

These recommendations are described in an editorial which was published in the April 14, 1957, issue of the Oregon Journal, of Portland, Oreg., which was written by Mr. Douglas McKean, associate editor of that newspaper.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION RECOMMENDS CURBING INVESTIGATIVE EAGERNESS OF GROUPS IN CONGRESS

(By Douglas McKean)

Three years ago, the American Bar Association made an exhaustive study of congressional investigative committees as related to individual rights.

The report made some rather serious charges against methods of those committees and suggested rules of procedure which the bar believes would eliminate the abuses.

In reading this discussion of the bar report, two facts should be borne in mind:

1. Since the report was made 3 years ago, its recommendations can be evaluated in an atmosphere uncolored by feelings, pro or con, regarding the recent Senate committee hearings.

2. The report was made subsequent to hearings of what was popularly known as the McCarthy committee. In relation to these hearings, it should be remembered that the American Bar Association has never been accused of being soft on communism.

And it made its criticisms and recommendations in the face of the fact that the subject under investigation—subversion of our Government by agents of a foreign power, in other words, our national security—was much more vital than misuse of union funds or vice in Portland.

What the American Bar Association found was a continuing pattern of abuses, starting almost with the inception of our Government and continuing up to the time of the report.

The relation between this report and the current Senate hearings is recurrence in the current hearings of many of the abuses which the bar committee found in previous congressional investigations.

Early in its report, the bar committee says it approached the problem with no hostility toward the investigative function.

It recognized, in the case of Communist infiltration, that disregard of security out of an excessive concern with the rights of individuals may let the enemy reach the national jugular.

On the other hand, it also recognized that sacrifice of rights beyond the true needs of security is self-defeating, since the basic principles of freedom may be lost in the struggle to maintain them.

"It is apparent," said the report, "that the problem of striking the proper balance is difficult but of paramount importance."

And the bar committee became convinced that the choice is not between total emasculation of the investigatory power and unfettered arbitrary exercise of that power.

Crux of the problem lies in the fact that congressional investigations have gradually progressed from investigation of issues or facts pertinent to legislation, inquiries into the honesty and efficiency of the executive branch and aiding the Congress to perform internal duties relating to its own Members, to a new field—inquiry into matters of private opinion and what amounts to a trial of private citizens.

The bar report notes that trial of individuals is ordinarily a function of the judiciary, acting through its properly constituted trial courts.

It also notes that justice and due process of law are among the cornerstones of Western civilization and that any breakdown in judiciary protection is watched with microscopic eye.

Then the bar committee remarks, "But it would be a hollow victory if individual rights were protected in the courtroom but ignored in the more volatile atmosphere of the committee room or in administrative hearings."

In other words, the American Bar Association says that if the Congress is going into the trial business—and it admits some justification for this infringement of the judicial function—then at least it should adopt some of the courtroom practices which insure justice and fair play.

In this connection, the bar committee remarks that the concepts of due process developed through centuries of judicial history are not only fair, they are in general efficient tools for arriving at the truth.

And Wigmore, widely recognized expert on the law of evidence, has this to say on the matter of finding the truth:

"For two centuries past, the policy of the Anglo-American system of evidence has been to regard the necessity of testing by cross-examination as a vital feature of the law * * * it is beyond any doubt the greatest legal engine ever invented for discovery of the truth."

Preservation of the right of cross-examination to witnesses before a congressional committee is one of the key recommendations of the American Bar Association.

In brief, its recommendations are these:

1. That the scope of the investigation be clearly defined, that no less than two members of a committee be present at hearings, and that important matters such as issuance of subpenas and direction to a witness to answer a question be decided by a majority vote.

2. A witness should have time to obtain counsel, should be advised of the precise nature of the investigation, should be allowed to make a brief written or oral statement at the conclusion of his testimony, should have a complete transcript of the hearings, should be allowed to testify without radio or television broadcasting, and should have certain additional rights in executive sessions.

His counsel should have the right to accompany him to all hearings, advise him as to his rights, interpose objections, and should have the right to cross-examine adverse witnesses. The latter right would be subject to control by the committee to avoid abuse.

3. Third parties whose names are mentioned in a manner which tends to defame them should have the right to appear and testify under conditions comparable to those outlined above.

4. Committee files should be confidential and used only for the proper purposes of the committee.

5. All committees should be under supervision of a committee made up in the House of the Speaker and majority and minority leaders and in the Senate of the Vice President and majority and minority leaders.

This committee would act as an appellate body in matters arising under the proposed code of investigative procedure and in an advisory capacity as regards the need for a particular investigation and how it should be conducted, that is, whether it should be by standing, special, or joint committee. Each House would retain ultimate responsibility for action.

The right and the need for knowledge of all the facts by legislators and the public is recognized.

For example, recent Senate committee hearings on teamster union affairs may prove valuable as a basis for legislation which will aid honest unionism and may help the union itself put its house in order.

The American Bar Association report recognizes this potential good and does not decry investigations as such. What it does say is that these good results can be preserved without putting the private rights of individuals in jeopardy.

It was the abuses which, as far back as 1922, led Walter Lippmann to write of "* * * that legalized atrocity, the congressional investigation, where Congressmen, starved of their legitimate food for thought, go on a wild and feverish manhunt, and do not stop at cannibalism."

And only this year, William S. White, who has covered the Senate for some years for the New York Times, had this to say in his book, Citadel, on Senate investigations:

"For many months in each of several years the very corridors of the Senate Office Building—the site of the echoing marble caucus room where so many of these inquisitions were conducted—stank with the odor of fear and the odor of monstrous silliness."

This need not be, but as the American Bar Association report says, "Continuation of an easily removable shadow of an important part of congressional activities would be the worse abuse of all."

The bar said this 3 years ago and still the abuse continues. The congressional investigation can be of great value, but if persistently abused it will eventually fall into disrepute and either be abandoned or lose all effectiveness.

The Federal Flood Insurance Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks, I have been endeavoring to determine the reasons for the delay in the issuance of flood insurance policies to those who desire to purchase them. I have found that the delay was caused first by the administrative details which had to be ironed out before rates could be established, policies drafted and claims procedures established.

The administrative work has been completed now and excellent procedures have been developed under which extremely reasonable rates are proposed for policies which you will be able to purchase from your own insurance agent wherever you live. Fire and casualty insurance companies will issue the contracts and collect fees and losses will be handled through independent claims adjustment facilities.

I was delighted to learn of the excellent job which had been done but my spirits were dampened when I learned that the Federal Flood Indemnity Administration has been unable to get the Appropriations Committee to budget the $50 million which will be necessary. Members of the committee tell me that the States have indicated little interest and that the demand for the insurance on the part of individual homeowners is below expectations. The committee apparently has balked because of the campaign for economy and the whole program is in danger of collapse—this is shocking, but true.

The $50 million to which I have referred is not to be spent each year, and is necessary for two principal purposes: First, for subsidy premium payments into the reserve fund, and secondly, for payments to agents, carriers, and loss adjusters for their expenses and services. Obviously, if the Government sells an insurance policy and a loss occurs, the Government has a legal obligation to pay the loss, therefore a reserve fund must be set up. The program will be self-supporting, but, like any private insurance company, the Government must have money to start.

During the 84th Congress I was privileged to participate as a cosponsor with Senator Herbert H. Lehman and others in the first flood-insurance program ever established in the United States.

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY said, on March 21 on the floor of the Senate, that—

The Nation's first flood-insurance program, in the shaping of which I was privileged to participate, was one of our proudest accomplishments in the last session of Congress. It was intended to fulfill a dire need on the part of homeowners and businessmen in all parts of the country, including New England. It was promptly considered and passed by both Houses of Congress, and swiftly approved by the President, because of the urgent need for such legislation before disaster struck again.

Now, nearly a year later, as New Englanders and others prepare for the consequences of spring and melting snows, what has happened to this program? No protection is available, no insurance can be purchased, no regulations have been published, no final policy forms have been agreed upon. Excessive bureaucratic delay, undue reliance upon a private insurance industry whose attitude has been negative from the beginning, and a diminution of popular interest as the result of restrictions, have all contributed to this administrative failure.

Senator KENNEDY puts his finger on one of the major reasons for the failure of the program to date. He said:

One of those legislative problems—the necessity of obtaining a special appropriation for administrative expenses—would not have occurred had the administration accepted the provision in my original bill for such expenditure to be made from program funds, which come from a Treasury revolving-loan fund. But once the present provision was enacted, the new Federal Flood Indemnity Administration was negligent in failing to submit a budget request in time for inclusion in the urgent deficiency appropriation bill, already passed by the Congress.

I have joined with Senator KENNEDY in sponsoring legislation to amend the present Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956. My bill, H. R. 6334, was introduced on March 25, 1957.

I include here the text of H. R. 6334, together with a letter I have received from the Commissioner of the Flood Indemnity Administration. I feel both of these items will be of considerable interest to my colleagues:

Be it enacted, etc., That (a) section 4 of the Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956 is amended by striking out all that follows the colon and inserting in lieu therof the following: *"Provided*, That in the precessing of applications for insurance under this act, the Administrator shall give priority to applications from persons who are not then protected against loss due to flood under any insurance provided by the Administrator under this act."

(b) Section 7 (a) of such act is amended by striking out the last sentence thereof.

(c) Section 15 of such act is amended—

(1) by striking out in the first sentence of subsection (b) the following: ", and the contributions made by the Administrator and the respectives States in accordance with section 7 (a) of this act"; and

(2) by striking out the last sentence of subsection (e) and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "Funds may be borrowed under this section at such times as may be deemed necessary by the Administrator, and funds so borrowed shall be deposited, in such proportions as the Administrator deems advisable, in the disaster insurance fund, the disaster reinsurance fund, and the disaster loan fund."

(d) Section 21 of such act is amended by striking out the second sentence thereof.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY,
FEDERAL FLOOD INDEMNITY ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., April 11, 1957.

Hon. FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN THOMPSON: This is in answer to the inquiry from your office yesterday about the current status of the Federal flood indemnity program.

On March 12, 1957, the President transmitted to the Speaker of the House proposals for supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1957, in which $50 million was requested for the operations of the Federal flood indemnity program. This amount is composed primarily of two items: One for subsidy premium payments into the reserve fund (disaster insurance fund); and the other for payments to agents, insurance carriers and loss adjusters as reimbursement for their expenses and services. You realize, I am sure, that this money can only be used as the business develops. Obviously, if we sell an insurance policy and a loss occurs, the Government has a legal obligation to adjust the loss and an adjuster must be paid. The same is true for agents who sell the policy and carriers who issue it in our behalf and perform accounting and statistical services. Until money is appropriated by the Congress for this purpose, we cannot legally incur these obligations.

The request is now before the Subcommittee on Independent Offices of the House Committee on Appropriations. Since the Federal Flood Insurance Act requires that all administrative costs, including payments to the insurance industry for selling and servicing this insurance, must be paid from appropriated funds, the date that we can offer this insurance to the American public is directly related to the action of the Congress. When Congress appropriates these funds, we can shortly thereafter commence issuing insurance policies.

By way of background, you will recall that the 84th Congress enacted the Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956 on the closing day of the session and it was signed into law by President Eisenhower on August 7, 1956.

Acting under the authority of this act, Administrator Albert M. Cole established the Federal Flood Indemnity Administration as a constituent unit of the Housing and Home Finance Agency on September 28, 1956. On the same date, I was appointed Commissioner of FFIA.

Some of the potentially difficult administrative problems of establishing a new program lent themselves to prompt solutions. Acting under the authority of the act to utilize the private insurance industry to the maximum practicable extent, we have been able to lay out a marketing plan that contemplates maximum use of private facilities: Insurance agents and brokers throughout the country will sell Federal flood-indemnity contracts; fire and casualty insurance companies will issue the contracts and collect fees; and losses will be handled by independent claim-adjustment facilities. The marketing arrangements we have made will enable persons or corporate bodies to purchase flood-indemnity contracts in their own communities from the same agents or brokers who sell fire and casualty insurance.

We have been successful in negotiating with the insurance companies to have their services and facilities made available to us at cost; without profit or allowance for administrative expenses or other expenses normally incident to the operation of their business. These operations will be subject, of course, to our supervision and control.

After months of intensive efforts, we are now completing final drafts of the flood-indemnity contracts, underwrting rules and regulations, loss adjustment procedures and accounting and statistical forms and regulations, as well as completing the rate structure. Net rates (after the application of subsidy) will range for the major classes of our risks from approximately $1 to $2.50 per hundred of insurance on an 80-percent coinsurance basis.

Since you were so closely connected with the legislation which created the flood-indemnity program, you know that flood insurance for fixed-location property has never been generally available to the American people. Because of the high risk and catastrophic nature of floods, private companies have declined to offer this form of insurance.

This meant that we were charged with the responsibility for writing flood insurance without any prior flood-insurance experience to draw upon for ratemaking and underwriting. However, we had to comply with

provisions of the act which specified that rates shall be established which would produce sufficient proceeds to pay all claims for probable losses over a reasonable period of years, shall be based on consideration of the risks involved, and that the fees to be charged the purchasers of indemnity contracts shall be designed to achieve marketability.

We attacked the rate problem by calling on the services of two groups of specialists. One was a committee of highly competent rate experts from the insurance industry. The other was an interagency committee of the Federal Government, including engineers and hydrologists from the Weather Bureau, the United States Geological Survey, and the Corps of Engineers.

Each committee, working separately, came up with a different rating system. The industry suggested rates which would be applicable nationally. These rates would take into consideration, among other things, (1) the location of the property, whether over water (such as piers, wharves, and similar facilities) or not; (2) whether insurance covered only the building or the building and its contents; (3) the location of the contents within the building; (4) whether or not the insured desired to take advantage of coinsurance or contribution provisions; and (5) dollar and percentage deductibles.

The Government group suggested rates based on hydrological data and the mathematical probability of floods. This system would establish rates on the basis of location alone, that is, elevation and distance from the exposure, and upon the probability of a flood of a certain discharge at that site. These data, it was proposed, were to be used to develop contour maps which would indicate flood frequency, magnitude and intensity, and thus an average risk for property within prescribed zones shown on the map. This method is time consuming and expensive and not practicable for immediate use.

We have given both these systems exhaustive study and have arrived at a method which we feel combines the best features of each. We propose to adopt the general approach suggested by the insurance industry, but have modified it by considerations of flood frequency and damage in different areas.

By using the best data available, we have established a separate set of rates for each major river basin in the United States and for the more highly exposed areas along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. We feel that the rates as now established meet the requirements of the act, including marketability.

I share with you and your constituents the concern over the need for protection against future flood losses, and I assure you that we are making every effort to offer flood insurance as soon as possible after the appropriated funds become available.

I trust that this answers your inquiry. If you have need for any further information, please do not hesitate to contact me again.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK J. MEISTRELL,
Commissioner, Flood Indemnity Administration.

Arrogance of the Postmaster General

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, a senior member on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Mr. LESINSKI, commented on an editorial of the Detroit Times of April 15, as follows:

Under law the Federal employees do not have the right to strike against the Government. However, the Postmaster General has achieved the same effect as a strike and some action against him should be taken. As per my previous statement and the following editorial from the Detroit Times of April 15, 1957, he should resign.

The editorial, which I endorse wholeheartedly, is as follows:

The arrogance of Postmaster General Summerfield has brought about a bureaucratic shakedown of Congress and American taxpayers.

His arrogance succeeded last Saturday in canceling all regular mail deliveries in the United States on a business day for the first time in history.

It has succeeded beginning today in curtailing deliveries and hours when post offices are open to the public.

Mr. Summerfield high-pressured a congressional committee into voting him $41 million extra to run his Department through the remainder of the fiscal year ending June 30. But even this did not move him to call off his cutback of service. He demands the money in hand.

His arrogance has hampered the operation of business and gravely inconvenienced the American people.

The "crack of doom" method he has used raises questions of his efficiency and competence.

Whatever bureaucratic victory he has gained, the Postmaster General has lost the confidence of the public.

He should resign.

Area of Production Definitions and the Farmer's Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the farmer goes to the market place and asks: "What am I offered?"—for the American farmer must sell his product in the market and pay, in great part, for the processing of that product for market. The cotton farmer's price for his cotton must absorb the cost of ginning. The farmer cannot pass on to the consumer any increase in his cost of production.

When the wage and hour legislation was before Congress in 1938, Representatives from the Cotton Belt pointed out these facts to other Members of Congress. Congress realized that the cotton farmer had to pay the cost of the ginning and that to increase the cost of ginning would result in a reduction in the farmer's income. Accordingly, when it enacted the wage and hour legislation, Congress placed in the law an exemption applying not only to agricultural labor but in addition exempted the operations and processes involved in preparing for marketing and handling of agricultural commodities. This exemption is in section 3 of the act of 1938, as amended, and came to be known as the area of production clause.

However, despite the clear intent of Congress, the Secretary of Labor, through the definition of "area of production" has virtually nullified this exemption. So well have they drawn their definition that only 14 percent of the cotton gins in the Nation are exempt under this bureaucratic decree, and only 4 percent of the cotton compresses are eliminated from the provisions of the minimum wage and maximum hours law. Under the present departmental definition, and it will be remembered that earlier definitions issued by the Secretary have been condemned and nullified by the Federal courts, a cotton gin in a rural county in Arkansas is not considered as being in the area where cotton is raised if, first, more than 5 percent of the cotton received at the gin in any month was transported more than 10 miles from the farm, or, second, if the cotton gin is within 1 mile of a village having a population in excess of 2,500, or is within 3 miles of a city having a population of 50,000.

Another example to indicate the extent to which this definition has nullified the intent of Congress to exempt operations and processes involved in handling and preparing for market of agricultural commodities is the fact that cotton warehouses in the Cotton Belt which handle 94 percent of the cotton crop are not considered by the Department as being in the area where cotton is grown.

Only last year the Supreme Court denied a contention that poultry is not an agricultural commodity and, therefore, dressing and preparing poultry for market is not to be considered under this exemption.

Nor does the Department of Labor take into consideration new processes and techniques in preparing food for market. Canning of fruit and vegetables is exempt but the freezing of food is not. Today, great savings to the consumer have been effected by packing some vegetables in the field and hauling them to the packing sheds for precooling prior to shipment. But, this new technique is penalized by the Department, which has ruled that since the packing is done in the field the cooling operation is no longer exempt.

The following information, taken from official Government sources, shows graphically what has been happening to our farmers' income because of these increasing labor costs and processing charges:

[In billions of dollars]

Year	Gross farm income	Production expense	Labor cost of distributing products	Net farm income
1947	34.0	16.8	10.8	17.2
1948	34.6	18.6	11.8	15.9
1949	31.6	17.9	12.4	13.7
1950	32.1	19.2	13.0	12.9
1951	37.1	22.3	14.2	14.8
1952	36.7	22.5	15.1	14.3
1953	35.1	21.2	16.0	13.9
1954	33.5	21.4	16.5	12.0
1955	32.9	21.6	17.2	11.3
1956	34.0	22.1	(1)	11.8

[1] Not available.

It is apparent that action must be taken to eliminate the Department of Labor's authority to restrict and nullify the intent of Congress. In the Senate S. 1418 has been introduced by Senator STENNIS, of Mississippi. This bill will reemphasize the intent of Congress by de-

fining the meaning of "agriculture," "first processing," and "area of production." Senator STENNIS would define the area of production to be "all of each county in which such commodity is produced in commercial quantities, except that it shall not include the corporate limits of a city or municapility having a population in excess of 250,000 as reported in the 1950 census."

In the interest of protecting the farmer's net income as well as assisting the American consuming public, this legislation should be adopted.

Partial Return of Vested Enemy Property and Payment of Certain Categories of War Claims

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today at the request of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission a bill designed to amend the Trading With the Enemy Act and the War Claims Act of 1948, so as to provide for a partial return of vested enemy property and the payment of certain categories of war claims. In view of the complexity of and the general interest in this subject, I desire to insert into the Appendix of the RECORD the letter, dated April 3, 1957, from Mr. Whitney Gilliland, Chairman, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, which in a general way explains the background of this legislation, which was prepared jointly by the Department of State, the Department of Justice, the Treasury Department, and the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission. I also want to make public the explanatory memorandum submitted by the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission explaining in greater detail the specific provisions of this legislation.

The letter and memorandum read as follows:

FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., April 3, 1957.

The honorable the SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: There is enclosed for the consideration of the 85th Congress the draft of a proposed bill entitled "A bill to amend the Trading With the Enemy Act, as amended, and the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended." The proposed measure is the culmination of long study by appropriate agencies of the executive branch of the Government of two important problems:

1. The disposition to be made of enemy assets vested as a consequence of World War II and

(2) The final settlement of unsatisfied claims of American nationals for World War II losses occasioned by enemy action.

Except for those provisions relating to the financing of war claims payments to American nationals, the proposed measure is essentially the same as that submitted by the executive branch for congressional consideration in the 84th Congress on June 6, 1955, which was introduced in the Senate June 14, 1955, as S. 2227 and in the House, June 8, 1955, as H. R. 6730.

The first part of the draft bill deals with the assets in the United States, title to which was vested in the Government under the Trading With the Enemy Act as a consequence of World War II. By far the greatest portion of these assets was owned by nationals of Germany and Japan. In general, this part of the draft bill provides for a limited return as a matter of grace of the vested assets, or of the proceeds of their liquidation, to such of the former owners or their successors in interest as are natural persons not in territory behind the Iron Curtain. The maximum value of property or proceeds returnable to any one individual is fixed at $10,000. In the few instances where property of charitable, religious, and educational organizations was vested, such property would be returned without regard to its value. Interests in trademarks would be returned to business enterprises as well as natural persons. All interests in copyrights would be divested in favor of the former owners or their successors in interest. Patent interests would not be returned.

The second part of the draft legislation deals with certain claims of United States nationals against Germany arising out of World War II. Payment of these claims is to be made out of the vested assets not subject to return under the first part of the draft bill. This arrangement varies from S. 2227 and H. R. 6730, 84th Congress, in that the latter bills provided for the payment of American war claims out of repayments to be made by the Federal Republic of Germany in settlement of its indebtedness to the United States for postwar economic aid. It now appears that sufficient funds will be available from the liquidation of vested assets to provide substantial compensation to Awerican war damage claimants and at the same time permit the partial return program envisaged by the first part of the bill.

I also enclose with the proposed bill a memorandum describing its provisions in detail and, where necessary, explaining the reasons for particular provisions. However, in order to afford a clear understanding of the general purposes of the draft legislation, it will be helpful to add here a brief statement of the events which have led to its recommendation.

By the first War Powers Act of December 18, 1941, Congress amended the Trading With the Enemy Act of 1917 to grant the President extensive powers to vest assets in the United States owned by foreign countries or their nationals. The 1917 act already contained provisions for the return of such of the property to be vested as might ultimately prove to be owned by nonenemies. However, neither the 1917 act nor the 1941 act provided for the disposition of World War II vested assets finally determined to be owned by enemy governments or their nationals. That matter was left open.

Early in 1942 the President created the Office of Alien Property Custodian as an independent agency and delegated to the Alien Property Custodian the power to vest property other than securities, cash, and credits. In June 1945, the Custodian's vesting power was expanded to include German and Japanese-owned securities, cash, and credits. As a result, substantially all the German and Japanese assets known to be in the United States as of December 7, 1941, were vested by the Custodian or by his successor, the Attorney General.

In January 1946 the United States and 17 allied nations other than the Soviet Union and Poland executed the Paris Reparation Agreement, whereby they agreed upon the division of the limited German assets in kind available to them as reparation from Germany, including German external assets located within the respective signatory countries. The 18 Allies agreed to hold or dispose of these external assets in such a way as to preclude their return to German ownership or control. This program was formulated in light of the allied experience after World War I when the attempt in effect to exact reparation from Germany's current production failed and led to Germany's default on its obligations. Moreover, it was clear after the end of World War II that the United States would have to provide major assistance to Germany to prevent disease and unrest. This country, therefore, favored measures which would limit Germany's World War II reparation to its external assets and other assets in kind, thus relieving Germany of reparation payments from current production and avoiding the indirect financing of reparation by the United States. The Paris Reparation Agreement met this objective.

In 1946 Congress enacted section 32 of the Trading With the Enemy Act authorizing returns of vested property to persons having merely technical enemy status and to enemy nationals who were persecuted by their own governments. In the same year, Congress added section 34 to the act, providing for the payment of prevested debt claims of Americans against enemy nationals whose property was vested.

By the War Claims Act of 1948 Congress added section 39 to the Trading With the Enemy Act, providing that German and Japanese assets not returnable under section 32 should, after the payment of debt claims therefrom, be retained by the United States without compensation to the former owners. In addition, the War Claims Act of 1948 gave priority to the use of the net proceeds of liquidation of this retained property for the payment of compensation to American civilian internees of the Japanese, to American servicement captured by the forces of Germany, Japan, and other governments which failed to provide adequate subsistence as required by the Geneva Convention and to certain Philippine religious organizations which had rendered aid to American personnel. This act did not provide for the payment of war claims of Americans arising out of war-caused property damage but authorized a study of the problem. The Attorney General has advanced a total of $225 million from the proceeds of vested assets for purposes of the War Claims Act of 1948. Thus that act constituted a congressional disposition of the German and Japanese assets vested under the Trading With the Enemy Act during World War II. Furthermore, that act, in effect, gave confirmation to the reparation program set forth in the Paris Reparation Agreement by devoting German external assets to the satisfaction of certain American war claims.

The Japanese Peace Treaty of 1952 also followed the policy incorporated in the Paris Reparation Agreement with respect to enemy external assets. It provided that the Allied Powers should have the right to retain and liquidate Japanese property within their respective jurisdictions. In addition, the peace treaty provided that Japan should compensate nationals of the Allied Powers in Japanese currency for war damage to property located in Japan. In consequence of these and other provisions the United States and the other Allied Powers waived any additional war claims against Japan.

The Bonn Convention of 1952 for the Settlement of Matters Arising Out of the War and the Occupation. Between the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States, Britain, and France also affirmed the policy of the Paris Reparation Agreement. In that convention the Federal Republic of Germany agreed to compensate its own nationals for their loss of external assets by the vesting and other action of the Allied Powers. For their part, these countries gave the Federal Republic a commitment that they would not

assert any claim for reparation against its current production. These provisions of the Bonn Convention were carried forward and approved in the Paris protocol of 1954 which was approved by the Senate April 1, 1955, and came into force on May 5, 1955.

On July 17, 1954, Chancellor Adenauer wrote to the President to enlist his support for legislation which had been introduced in Congress for the general return of vested German assets. The Chancellor referred to the hardships suffered by many of the German individuals whose property had been vested. He mentioned old people, pensioners, and beneficiaries of insurance policies and inheritances in particular, and urged that alleviation of these hardship cases would make a considerable contribution to furthering the friendship between the peoples of the United States and Germany. The President's reply of August 7, 1954, referred to the fact that the Allied Governments decided to look to German assets in their territories as a principal source for the payment of their claims against Germany. The President expressed sympathy with individuals in straitened circumstances in Germany for whom the operation of the vesting program in the United States had created particular hardship. He pointed out that American nationals who had suffered losses arising out of the war had received no compensation, also with resultant hardship in many cases. Finally, the President stated that although none of the bills then pending in Congress with regard to the return of vested assets had the approval of his administration, the problem was receiving earnest consideration and he hoped that a fair, equitable, and satisfactory solution could be achieved. The matter was also raised by Chancellor Adenauer with the President during the former's visit to Washington in October 1954 and conversations between representatives of the two Government were agreed upon.

The Japanese Government also expressed a hope that the return of vested Japanese assets would be considered. The subject was discussed by Prime Minister Yoshida with the President on November 9, 1954.

As a result, the executive branch formulated the plan represented by the enclosed draft bill. Thereafter, representatives of the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany discussed the matter of vested German assets and the related problem of American war claims against Germany. Subsequently, similar discussions were held between representatives of the United States and Japan. During these discussions representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan were informed that the executive branch would recommend a limited return of vested assets to natural persons up to a maximum of $10,000 as a matter of grace for the purpose of alleviating the cases of hardship caused by vesting. The United States representatives pointed out that this action would result in a full return to approximately 90 percent of the former owners whose property had been vested and would achieve the equitable solution sought by the President. The United States representatives expressed the hope that in addition to relieving hardships of an appreciable number of German and Japanese people, this action would serve to make even more secure the ties between the United States and those countries. The representatives of the German, Federal, and Japanese Governments expressed the hope that the proposed return would subsequently be followed by a wider program. They were informed, however, that the administration did not envisage a broader return than was contained in the present recommendation.

It will be noted that returns of vested assets would not be made to persons behind the Iron Curtain.

The second part of the proposed bill provides for the compensation of certain American World War II losses in the European theater. An examination of available records discloses that there are approximately 28,000 claims for such losses outstanding in which the amount claimed is approximately $215 million. In many cases, however, the amount claimed is not stated, pointing to a potential claimed amount of more than $215 million. It is not possible to estimate the number of prospective claims in excess of 28,000 that may be filed if the proposed bill becomes law. Past experience in such matters indicates, however, that total claims may well exceed the 28,000 figure.

The administration's proposal to the 84th Congress with regard to the financing of American war-claims payments was based on estimates made by the Office of Alien Property at the end of 1954 showing that it held assets of approximately $60 million over and above reserves for litigation, claims, and other obligations, and that returns to individuals up to $10,000 would require the expenditure of approximately $57,500,000. It was estimated thus that the return program would utilize all of the free assets available at that time. Since it was not possible to finance payment of American war damage claims against Germany from vested assets, provision was made for the use of the above-mentioned German repayments to this country.

It is now estimated that, as a result of the successful defense of suits and claims for the return of vested property, approximately $108 million of such property now remaining with the Office of Alien Property represents free assets. This amount is the balance of vested property remaining after setting aside reserves for unresolved claims, litigation and other obligations, including a 100 percent litigation reserve in the amount of approximately $120 million. It is anticipated that after all pending suits are disposed of a substantial amount of that reserve will become free and will be added to the present $108-million figure. Thus it is apparent that the total of vested assets available for the financing of American war claims payments will exceed the $100 million fund proposed by the administration in the 84th Congress.

The proposed bill expressly provides that the aggregate of the sums covered into the war claims fund for payment of American war claims shall at no time be less than the aggregate value of vested property, or proceeds thereof, to be returned to the former owners. All vested assets not required to effect the returns proposed by the first part of the bill would become available to the American war claimants.

The draft legislation was prepared by the Department of State, the Department of Justice, the Treasury Department, and the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission. It is based upon a full and careful consideration of the problems involved, and represents the considered position of the administration. The proposals should be considered as a whole. Prompt and favorable action would resolve a troublesome problem in the field of our foreign relations and would strengthen the ties of friendship with the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan.

I respectfully request that early consideration be given to the proposed legislation which transmitted herewith. A similar communication is being sent to the Vice President.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that the enactment of the proposed legislation would be in accord with the program of the President.

Respectfully yours,

WHITNEY GILLILLAND,
Chairman.

EXPLANATION MEMORANDUM ON DRAFT BILL TO AMEND THE TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT, AS AMENDED, AND THE WAR CLAIMS ACT OF 1948, AS AMENDED

The first part of the proposed bill is designed to effect: (1) The return in general as a matter of grace of vested assets other than patent interests to natural persons not behind the Iron Curtain up to a limit of $10,000, and (2) the return of trademark and copyright interests to business enterprises as well as to natural persons without regard to the $10,000 limitation on value and, insofar as copyright interests are concerned, without regard to the limitation on return to persons behind the Iron Curtain. Property owned by charitable, educational, and religious organizations would also be returned without regard to the $10,000 limitation. The proposed bill would treat several types of vested assets in a manner different from the treatment accorded the great bulk of such assets. The differences are deemed advisable by virtue of past policy, facility of administration of the contemplated return program, and the desirability of terminating the World War II alien property program as quickly as possible. There is set forth below a résumé of the manner in which the proposed bill would affect various categories of assets.

CATEGORY I: ASSETS OTHER THAN TRADEMARK, COPYRIGHT, AND PATENT PROPERTIES AND PRINTS OF MOTION PICTURES

The great bulk of the vested assets falls within this category. The proposed bill would effect returns of these assets in an amount not exceeding $10,000 to natural persons. Natural persons would not be deemed to have had any ownership interest in assets vested from a business enterprise in which they have stock or some other beneficial interest. Consequently, no part of such assets would be returned to them. Persons who have made settlements or compromises of claims or suits with respect to vested properted would be barred from obtaining any property in addition to that which they obtained in the settlement or compromise. Persons convicted of war claims would be excluded from return.

The following property would be excluded from the return program by reason of United States commitments to foreign governments:

1. Vested property located in the Philippine Islands and subject to transfer to the Republic of the Philippines under the Philippine Property Act of 1946 (22 U. S. C. 1381–86).

2. Certain securities of American issue looted in the Netherlands by Germany during its occupation of that country. Under an agreement with the Netherlands executed January 9, 1951, the United States undertook to return such securities to the Government of the Netherlands or its nationals.

3. Property which this Government is obligated to release or to receive or retain pursuant to existing agreements between the United States and certain World War II allies relating to the resolution of conflicts between the Alien Property Custodians of the signatories. These agreements, entered into by the United States pursuant to Public Law 857, 81st Congress, provide for transfers of various categories of vested property by and to the United States.

Returns of property in category I would be effected under a claims program. Claims would have to be filed with the Attorney General within 1 year of the enactment of the proposed legislation. In order to facilitate the administration of the contemplated program new claims would be required of persons who have previously filed claims under section 9 or section 32 of the Trading With the Enemy Act. This requirement would obviate the necessity of reopening thousands of closed claims and examining additional thousands of claims now pending under those sections to obtain the new data required by the proposed legislation.

The proposed bill provides that in general a return of vested property in this category will be subject to a deduction of the amount of conservatory expenses incurred with respect to such property, a deduction to cover

general administrative expenses, a reserve for any unpaid taxes with respect to the property and a reserve for any pending debt claims against the property under section 34 of the Trading With the Enemy Act. If the Attorney General should hold property vested from the prevesting owner in addition to the property returnable under the proposed bill, the amounts of expenses and reserves would be deducted, to the extent possible, from such additional property.

A person who has a pending claim under section 9 (a) or section 32 could claim return under the proposed bill only upon the filing of a written waiver renouncing his claim under section 9 (a) or section 32 to the amounts retained for expenses and reserves. As a practical matter this provision would reduce the amount of vested property returned under this bill to a section 9 (a) or section 32 claimant by the amount of the deduction for administrative expenses plus the amount of any debt claims. On the other hand, it would permit the claimant to receive a return under this bill without the necessity of establishing himself as a nonenemy under section 9 (a) or as a persecuted person or other eligible claimant under section 32. The provision for waiver has been included in the proposed legislation in an attempt to close out as expeditiously as possible the great majority of the pending title claims—that is, those which are filed against vested property worth less than $10,000. Elimination of these claims would be a major step toward the termination of the administration of World War II vested property.

CATEGORY II: TRADEMARK PROPERTIES

Since the use of a vested trademark would be deceptive except in connection with goods made by the prevesting owner of the mark, or the successor in interest of such owner, it is deemed advisable to make a general return of trademarks and unexpired interests in prewar contracts relating to trademarks. The proposed bill would authorize returns of trademarks or contract interets therein without regard to the $10,000 ceiling and thus would enable a natural person to receive such marks and contract interests in addition to $10,000 of other vested property. However, royalties or other income received from the marks or contract interests during the period of vesting would be charged against the $10,000.

The proposed bill would authorize the return of trademarks and contract interests therein to business enterprises as well as natural persons. However, any royalties or other income derived from such marks or contract interests during the period of vesting would not be returned to business enterprises. Also excluded from return, by reference to specific vesting orders, are certain possible reversionary or other similar rights relating to trademarks and good will which, since prior to World War II, have been assigned to and held by vested corporations which are still controlled by the Attorney General and which conduct manufacturing businesses. In general, the vesting orders excluded from the return provisions are catchall vesting orders issued as a precautionary measure for the purpose of cutting off any unknown or undiscovered rights which may have been retained by enemy nationals with respect to the goodwill, trademarks, and trade names of these vested corporations. Some of the excluded vesting orders vested contract rights which related to such trademarks and trade names. In many cases, these nebulous reversionary rights may be nonexistent or without any real value, although the catchall vesting orders still serve a precautionary purpose. To return the rights vested by these vesting orders might invite unnecessary harassment of vested corporations and their involvment in litigation with respect to those portions of their businesses in which the trademarks are used, notwithstanding the fact that the vested corporations for many years have operated these businesses independently of the former owners of any purported reversionary rights.

Inasmuch as the Attorney General has only about 315 vested trademarks and trademark contract interests, the return of such property would not involve the administrative problems described below with regard to copyrights. Consequently, the return would be effected by the claims program described under category I and would be subject to the restrictions mentioned there. The proposed bill provides that where a trademark or trademark interest was owned prior to vesting by a person in East Germany, it would be returned to a person in the Federal Republic of Germany if a competent agency of the Federal Republic certifies that an equivalent trademark has been registered by it for such person.

CATEGORY III: COPYRIGHT PROPERTIES

Vested copyright interests number more than 300,000. These cover vested copyrights and copyrights which are the subject of prewar contracts. A program for the return of copyrights and unexpired contract interests in copyrights of the nature described under category I might well become unmanageable because of the number of claims which might be filed and the complexity of claims of authors and composers in connection with vested prewar contract interests. Furthermore, since a substantial number of copyrights and contract interests would not be returned under the program proposed for category I by reason of the exclusion of East Germans, the Attorney General's Office would be forced to continue the administration of such copyrights and interests without any apparent practical means of terminating such administration within a reasonable time.

As a result of these considerations it has been deemed advisable in the proposed bill to effect the return of copyrights and unexpired contract interests therein by means of a statutory divestment which would require no action on the part of the Attorney General. Such divestment would be effective without regard to the value of the copyrights and contract interests and would serve to effect returns to business enterprises as well as to natural persons. The divestment would not extend to royalties or other income received during the period prior to divestment. Such funds would be returnable only to natural persons within the limits and pursuant to the claims program described under category I.

It should be noted that the divestment proposed in the draft bill would serve to return copyrights and unexpired contract interests therein to persons and firms in the East Zone of Germany. Thus, although such persons and firms would not receive the return of any money in the hands of the Attorney General they would become entitled to any income from their copyrights and contract interests which might accrue after divestment. Investigation in Germany has disclosed that practically all the former owners of valuable copyright properties who were located in the East Zone of Germany prior to World War II have now established themselves in the West Zone. As a result the amount of future income payable to former owners in the East Zone from the copyright divestment would be negligible.

The proposed bill specifically excludes from return the moneys collected in connection with the publication in the United States of Hitler's Mein Kampf, the diaries of Paul Joseph Goebbels, the memoirs of Alfred Rosenberg, and a work by a leading Nazi, Otto Skorzeny. The copyrights and contract interests connected with these works are also excluded from divestment. A photographic history of the Nazi Party formerly owned by Heinrich Hoffman, its official photographer, has been excluded from return. In addition, the copyright to a scientific motion picture entitled "Meiosis" has been excepted from divestment because of its wide use by American educational institutions. Since this copyright was owned by an East German firm prior to vesting, divestment might impede its future use in this country.

CATEGORY IV: PATENT PROPERTIES

Patents and interests in prevesting patent contracts are excluded from return by the proposed bill. It has been the policy of the United States since 1942 to make the patents and technology vested from World War II enemy nationals readily available to American industry by means of revocable nonexclusive royalty-free licenses for the life of the patents. This policy has been widely publicized and has been relied upon by licensees in making investments to develop and exploit the patents. The exclusion of patent interests from the return program is thus in keeping with the Government's long-time policy and will serve to safeguard the interests of American licensees.

With two exceptions, the income received by the Alien Property Custodian and the Attorney General from vested patents and contract interests in patents would be returned by the proposed bill to natural persons up to a limit of $10,000 in the same manner as other property in category I. One exception is the money collected from American licensees under prewar contracts with enemy nationals deemed violative of the antitrust laws. This money was collected because the Government did not suffer the disability of the enemy party. (See *Standard Oil Co.* v. *Markham* (57 F. Supp. 332), affirmed sub. nom. *Standard Oil Co.* v. *Clark* (163 F. (2d) 917 (C. C. A., N. Y., 1947), certiorari denied, 333 U. S. 873).) It would, of course, be inequitable to enrich a returnee with a gift of funds which he himself could not collect. The second exception arises from the fact that much of the income received from vested patents and patent contract interests was derived from their use in war production. In returning vested patents and patent contract interests to nationals of allied countries the Attorney General deducts royalties received from war production and turns them over to the Treasury. The returnee is compensated by his own government pursuant to reverse lend-lease arrangements. In the negotiation of the understanding between the United States and Italy which led to the return of vested Italian property it was agreed that patent royalties derived from war production should not be returned. In view of the fact that the segregation of such royalties would have been difficult, it was agreed that all royalties earned by vested Italian patent and patent contract interests prior to the end of 1945 would be deemed attributable to war production. The policy and date agreed upon in the Italian understanding have been used in the proposed bill.

CATEGORY V: PRINTS OF MOTION PICTURES

The Attorney General administers a considerable number of prints of motion pictures. Few, if any, of the individual prints are of more than nominal value. The aggregate value is not commensurate with the expense which would be involved in processing claims for their return. Furthermore, these prints can be duplicated elsewhere in almost every instance. Accordingly, the proposed bill excludes the prints from return except in cases where claims thereto have already been filed under existing law. The bill further provides that the Attorney General deliver the prints to the Library of Congress, which may retain or dispose of them in any manner it deems proper.

A section analysis of the first part of the proposed bill is set forth below:

Section 1 would make technical amendments to section 39 of the Trading With the Enemy Act necessitated by other provisions of the proposed bill. In addition, it would authorize and direct the Attorney General to transfer proceeds of vested assets to the war-claims fund for use in the program of compensating American war-damage claimants in the second part of the bill. The aggregate of such transfers would at no time be less than the aggregate value of property returned under the proposed section 40 of the Trading With the Enemy Act, thus insuring that the funds available for the benefit of the American war-damage claimants would not fall behind the value of property returned to German and Japanese nationals under the proposed section 40. Ultimately all proceeds of vested assets not required for effecting returns under that section would become available to the American war-damage claimants.

Section 2 of the proposed bill would add new sections 40 to 42 to the Trading With the Enemy Act to effect the proposed returns of vested property. Such returns will not be affected by transfers of the proceeds of liquidation of vested property to the war-claims fund.

The proposed section 40 (a) would effect the returns in general of vested property to natural persons up to a limit of $10,000. It specifically excludes from return the securities subject to the looted securities agreement with the Netherlands, copyrights and copyright contract interests, motion picture prints, patents and patent contract interests, property transferable to the Philippine Government, property subject to intercustodial agreements with foreign countries, and Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Rumanian property subject to disposition under section 202 (b) of the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949, as amended. It further provides that if the property of a prevesting owner exceeds $10,000 in value and cannot be divided into a portion having a value of $10,000, then return would consist of a lesser portion, if practicable, augmented by a supplemental return. Finally, section 40 (a) would make returns thereunder subject to deductions for expenses and reserves as set forth in section 40 (m).

The proposed section 40 (b) relates to trademarks and trademark contract interests. It would provide that they should be deemed to have no value in connection with the $10,000 limit on returns and in connection with valuation for the purpose of deducting general administrative expenses under section 40 (m). Section 40 (b) would make business enterprises eligible for the return of trademarks and contract interests therein. The reference to specific vesting orders would exclude from return certain possible reversionary or other similar rights relating to trademarks and goodwill connected with vested corporations still administered by the Attorney General. Trademark registration by the German Federal Government authorities would govern the return of trademarks in certain instances. All returns of trademarks would be subject to outstanding licenses issued with respect thereto.

The proposed section 40 (c) would authorize return of vested property to charitable, religious, and educational institutions without regard to its value.

The proposed section 40 (d) would limit to $10,000 the amount of property to be returned to the estate or the heirs of a prevesting owner who has died since the date of vesting. In addition, it would specifically prohibit any one person from receiving more than $10,000.

The proposed section 40 (e) would bar returns to persons claiming vested property who have previously settled or compromised suits or claims with respect to such property, to persons or firms behind the Iron Curtain as of January 1, 1955, or subsequently, and to persons convicted of war crimes. Section 40 (e) (2) uses the phrase "maintained his principal dwelling place" in connection with the disqualification of persons behind the Iron Curtain. This phrase is used in preference to language appearing in section 2 of the Trading With the Enemy Act which defines an enemy as including a person "resident within" enemy territory. The definition in section 2 has caused difficulty, in part because of uncertainty as to the weight to be given to a person's intent as to the future place of his abode. The phrase "principal dwelling place" would eliminate such intent from consideration.

The proposed section 40 (f) would exclude from return by reference to specific vesting orders any income received by this office from Mein Kampf and other works mentioned above and would exclude the Hoffman photographic collection both as to income and actual physical property.

The proposed section 40 (g) would exclude the return of moneys received from patent licensing contracts deemed to be violative of antitrust statutes and moneys received from the use of patents prior to the end of 1945.

The proposed section 40 (h) would bar return of property to a person claiming such property through his stock ownership or other beneficial interest in a business enterprise which owned the property prior to vesting.

The proposed section 40 (i) is practically identical with section 32 (d) of the Trading With the Enemy Act. It would restore persons to whom return is made to all rights, privileges and obligations in respect of the returned property which would have existed if the property had not been vested. This section would specifically exculpate the Government from any liability in connection with its administration or use of the property during vesting. It would also bind the returnee by any notice received by the Attorney General prior to return and impose on him any obligations which accrued with respect to the property during the time of its vesting. The period of vesting would not be included for the purpose of determining the application of any statute of limitations to the assertion of any rights by such person.

The proposed section 40 (j) is practically identical with section 32 (e) of the Trading With the Enemy Act. It would permit persons eligible for return under the proposed section 40 to sue subsequent to the return to establish as against the returnee any right, title, or interest they may have in the returned property. The period of vesting would not be included in determining the application of any statute of limitations to any such suit.

The proposed section 40 (k) would require that claims for return under section 40 be filed within 1 year from enactment in such form as the Attorney General shall prescribe. New claims would be required from persons who have filed previously under other sections of the Trading With the Enemy Act.

The proposed section 40 (l) would prevent anything in section 40 from affecting the rights of claimants to pursue remedies under sections 9 (a), 32, or 34 of the act. It would prohibit a person claiming property under section 9 (a) or section 32 from receiving a return under section 40 unless he waives his claim under section 9 (a) or section 32 to the amounts of expenses and reserves retained under section 40 (m). A return of property to any person under section 40 would be prohibited while a claim to the same property filed by some other person is pending under section 9 (a) or section 32.

The proposed section 40 (m) would provide for the retention by the Attorney General of the amount of conservatory expenses incurred with respect to the returnable property, a charge for administrative expenses and reserves for the payment of taxes and debt claims. It would provide that such expenses and reserves be retained from any additional property of the owner prior to vesting. Any unused portion of a reserve for the payment of taxes or debt claims would become returnable as though it had not been a part of a reserve. Returnees would be permitted to pay the amounts of expenses or reserves in lieu of the liquidation of returnable property to provide funds therefor.

The proposed section 40 (n) relates to the controls exercised by the Treasury Department pursuant to section 5 (b) of the Trading With the Enemy Act over assets owned by Communist Chinese and certain other blocked nationals. Returned property would be subject to these controls if owned by such persons.

The proposed section 40 (o) would make the determinations of the Attorney General in the administration of section 40 final.

The proposed section 40 (p) contains definitions.

The proposed section 41 (a) defines "copyrights."

The proposed section 41 (b) would provide for the divestment of vested copyrights effective 90 days from the enactment of the section. This 90-day period is proposed in order to afford time for adequate notice and instructions to American licensees and American parties to vested prewar copyright contracts regarding the effect of divestment on their future payments of royalties and taxexs thereon. Divestment would be made subject to outstanding licenses previously issued and assignments of interest in such licenses. The rights remaining in the Attorney General under licenses would be transferred effective the day of divestment to the owner of the divested copyrights. All royalties accrued up to that day would have to be paid to the Attorney General.

The proposed section 41 (c) would divest the vested interests in prewar contracts relating to copyrights effective 90 days from the enactment of the section. All sums payable under such contracts prior to the day of divestment would have to be paid to the Attorney General.

The proposed section 41 (d) would exclude from return the right to sue for infringement during the period of vesting.

The proposed section 42 would authorize the transfer of motion picture prints to the Library of Congress with the exception of prints subject to claims under present law. The Library would have full discretion to retain or dispose of the prints in any manner it deems appropriate.

Section 3 of the proposed bill would amend section 32 (h) of the Trading With the Enemy Act to exclude from returns to designated successor organizations thereunder any property returnable under the proposed section 40.

WAR CLAIMS ACT AMENDMENTS—GENERAL STATEMENT

The second part of the proposed bill provides for the receipt and settlement by the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of five types of World War II claims for losses suffered by nationals of the United States. Claim payments are proposed to be made from the War Claims Fund into which proceeds from the liquidation of World War II vested enemy assets are to be transferred as provided in the first part of the proposed bill. The War Claims Fund was created upon enactment of section 13 of the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended (approved July 3, 1948), for the express purpose of making expenditures only as provided in such act or as may be provided hereafter by the Congress." The types of claims authorized by the proposed bill are, briefly, as follows:

1. Physical damage to or physical loss or destruction of property located within the prewar boundaries of Albania, Austria, Czechoslovakia, the Free Territory of Danzig, Estonia, Germany, Greece, Latvia,

Lithuania, Poland, and Yugoslavia in the period beginning September 1, 1939, and ending May 8, 1945, occurring as a direct consequence of military operations of war or of special measures directed against such property because of the enemy or alleged enemy character of the owner.

2. Damage to or the loss or destruction of ships or ship cargoes occurring as a direct consequence of military action by Germany in the period beginning September 1, 1939, and ending May 8, 1945.

3. Net losses by maritime insurance companies incurred in the settlement of claims for insured losses, including reinsured losses, of American-owned ships or ship cargoes which were lost, damaged or destroyed as a direct consequence of military action by Germany in the period beginning September 1, 1939 and ending May 8, 1945.

4. Loss or damage on account of the death or injury of any civilian national of the United States who was a passenger on any vessel engaged in commerce on the high seas if such death or injury was a result of military action by Germany during the period beginning September 1, 1939 and ending December 11, 1941 (the date upon which the United States declared war against Germany). In this general category the proposed bill would also include claims for the loss or damage to the property (chiefly personal effects) of any such passenger.

5. Losses resulting from the removal of industrial or other capital equipment in Germany which was owned by the claimant on May 8, 1945 and removed for the purpose of reparation including losses from any destruction of property in connection with such removal.

Within the limits of the categories of claims provided for in the proposed bill, except with respect to death or personal-injury claims, provision is made for the recognition of claims based upon assignments to the claimant of the rights or interests in lost or damaged property or property that was subject to reparation removal.

Recognition of claims of stockholders or the direct or indirect owners of any other proprietary interest in a corporation or other entity, under the proposed bill would be conditioned upon 25-percent ownership, direct or indirect, of such interest at all times between the date of loss and the date of filing claim, by United States citizens or nationals. Each award under this type of claim would be in an amount equal to the respective percentage interest of each claimant in the total corporate ownership. In other words, if one-half of the stock of a corporation were owned by 5 persons each having a one-tenth ownership of the total stock and the total loss was $1 million, such individuals collectively would be entitled to one-half the loss and each claimant to one-fifth of such one-half, or $100,000.

Payments of awards certified to the Secretary of the Treasury by the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission would be made in the following order of priority.

1. Death and disability claims would be paid in the full amount of each award certified, up to $7,500.

2. Payments up to $1,000 would then be made on awards certified for all other claims. Thus if the award is for $1,000 or less the full amount certified would be paid.

3. Thereafter, payments would be made on the unpaid principal of awards in equal amounts on each award or in the total amount of the remaining unpaid principal amount whichever is less. The total payments under priorities (2) and (3) on any single award would not exceed $10,000 under the bill.

4. Within the limits of any remaining funds available for payment of awards and after satisfying the requirements of priorities (1), (2), and (3) in that order, any remaining unpaid principal of an award would be paid on a prorated basis.

Eligible claimants or their predecessors in interest, in the case of natural persons are required to be nationals of the United States on the date of the loss for which a claim is filed and continuously thereafter until the date of filing such claim. In the case of a person who may have lost United States citizenship thrugh marriage to a citizen or subject of a foreign country, such person would be an eligible claimant if citizenship is reacquired prior to the date of enactment of the proposed bill, and if such person would have been a national of the United States at all times on or after the date of such loss if such marriage had not taken place. A national of the United States is defined as any person who is a citizen of the United States or who owes permanent allegiance to the United States. Aliens are expressly excluded from such definition.

Eligible claimants, or their predecessors in interest, in the case of corporations or other entities, under the proposed bill, are required to have been incorporated or otherwise organized under the laws of the United States or of any State or Territory thereof or the District of Columbia on the date of the loss, damage, destruction, or removal of its property. In addition the proposed bill requires as a condition of eligibility for such corporations or other entities that at least 50 percent of the outstanding capital stock or other proprietary interest in such entity was owned directly or indirectly by natural persons who could qualify as eligible claimants as described in the preceding paragraph.

These provisions of eligibility follow the traditional and generally accepted principle of international law relating to the nationality of claimants asserting claims against governments other than their own. It is believed a strict compliance with the eligibility requirements established by international law is essential since the claims are to be paid from the proceeds of assets vested and retained in lieu of the usual type of war reparation payments.

In addition to the foregoing major provisions of the proposed bill certain necessary collateral provisions are included relating to the claims filing period, limitation of attorneys fees, deduction for administrative expenses, and similar administrative matters.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE WAR CLAIMS ACT OF 1948, AS AMENDED

Section 4 of the bill designates as title I all present provisions of the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, without redesignation of original section numbers.

Section 5 of the bill changes the word "act" to "title" wherever it appears in the present War Claims Act (which becomes title I) except in section 13 (a) of such act. This section creates the war claims fund and requires "the moneys in such fund shall be available for expenditure only as provided in this act." Since claims authorized in this proposed bill are also payable from this fund, the word "act" in this case must not be changed to "title."

Section 6 of the bill contains all necessary provisions relating to the receipt, settlement and payment of the claims therein authorized. These provisions would be designated as title II of the act and would add to the War Claims Act new sections 201 through 216. These new sections provide as follows:

DEFINITIONS

Section 201: Subsection (a) defines the territorial limits of the European countries named in this subsection and within which compensable war losses must have occurred. These limits are those generally accepted as existing on December 1, 1937. Alterations in the boundaries of these countries did not begin until 1938. The countries named in subsection (a) are Albania, Austria, Czechoslovakia, the Free Territory of Danzig, Estonia, Germany, Greece, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Yugoslavia.

Section 201: Subsection (b) defines the word "Commission" to mean the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, which in subsequent sections of the bill is the agency designated to receive and determine the validity and amounts of claims filed thereunder.

Section 201: Subsection (c) defines the term "national of the United States" to mean a citizen of the United States, in the case of a natural person, and in the case of a corporation, partnership, unincorporated body, or other entity, such as estates of decedents, trust estates, foundations, fraternal orders, or societies organized or created under the laws of the United States, or any State or Territory thereof, including the District of Columbia, in which not less than 50 percent of the outstanding capital stock or other proprietary or similar interest is owned, directly or indirectly, by nationals of the United States. Aliens are expressly excluded from the definition of the term "national of the United States."

Section 201: Subsection (d) defines the term "property" to mean not only real estate which, of course, includes land, buildings, permanent fixtures to land or buildings, but items of personal property of a tangible nature which can be presently identified, evaluated and which, in the judgment of the Commission, would normally be expected to have been owned by the claimant at the time of such loss, damage, or destruction. If, however, such items of personal property or movables were held or used by the claimant in carrying on a trade, business, or profession at the time of the loss, the strict requirements of identification and present evaluation would be waived, although the claimant would, nevertheless be required to establish the fact that such property was held as inventory or employed in a commercial or professional operation. Such operations would include, of course, the operation of a school, scientific or other research facilities, and similar related activities of a charitable or professional nature. Intangible property, such as rights or interests in real estate, loss of profits or income, goodwill, not susceptible of precise evaluation, or where the measure of damage would be purely speculative are expressly excluded from the definition of the term "property."

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

Section 202: This section authorizes the appropriation out of any money in the war claims fund for the purpose of defraying necessary expenses of the Commission and the Treasury Department required for the administration of the program authorized under the bill.

CLAIMS AUTHORIZED

Section 203: This section contains five subsections, (a) through (e), each of which contains provisions for specific types of claims which the Commission would be authorized and directed to administer.

Subsection (a) authorizes claims arising from the physical damage to, or physical loss or destruction of property (a defined term under the bill), which at the time of such damage, loss or destruction was located in Albania, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Free Territory of Danzig, Estonia, Germany, Greece, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, or Yugoslavia. In determining whether the loss occurred in any of these countries reference will be made to the boundaries of such countries as they existed in continental Europe on December 1, 1937, in accordance with section 201 (a) of the bill. This subsection further requires that such loss shall have occurred in the period beginning September 1, 1939, when active military operations began with the invasion of Poland by Germany and ending May 8, 1945, the day following Germany's unconditional surrender and the cessation of

military operations in the European theater. The loss, damage, or destruction must have occurred either as a direct consequence of military operations of war or from special measures directed against property in the countries or territories named, and in the respective periods of time specified, because of the enemy or alleged enemy character of the owner.

It is further required that the property forming the subject matter of a claim under subsection (a) of section 203 must have been owned directly or indirectly at the time of its loss, damage or destruction by a national of the United States as such term is defined in subsection (c) of section 201. In other words, it must have been owned by a natural person who was a citizen of the United States or a corporation or other entity which could qualify as a national of the United States. In this connection a subsequent section of the bill prohibits any award unless the claimant and all predecessors in interest were nationals of the United States continuously from the date of loss to the date of filing the claim.

Section 203 (b): Authorizes claims by American ship or cargo owners for their losses resulting from military action by Germany in the period September 1, 1939, to May 8, 1945. Marine insurers or reinsurers or their assignees are not eligible claimants under this subsection. The latter claims are provided for in section 203 (c). Subsection (b) is designed to take care of possible claims by self-insurers, particularly in the period, early in 1942 when no such insurance, either Government or private, was available, and where essential defense or war materials was being shipped abroad.

Section 203 (c): The same types of marine loss claims are authorized in this subsection as in subsection (b) but only in the case of marine insurance or reinsurance underwriters who suffered net losses on policies underwritten for American hulls or cargoes during the same period, September 1, 1939, to May 8, 1945. Except for a short period, early in 1942, such insurance was otherwise available. The underwriters were particularly depended upon, during this period, for insurance coverage. Thus they prevented any substantial diminution in the flow of war materials and supplies abroad.

As indicated, the basis of claims hereunder would be the net losses suffered by the insurers or reinsurers on risks insured under policies covering American-owned hulls and cargoes lost or damaged by military action of Germany in the period specified. Under this subsection, the companies would file not as sugrogees but as direct claimants for net losses which they sustained, in other words, for the difference between their aggregate premium receipts on all such policies, hull and cargo combined, and the aggregate of indemnity payments on hull and cargo policies.

Section 203 (d): Death, injury, and property loss claims by American civilian passengers aboard commercial vessels resulting from German attack on the high seas are provided for in this subsection. Such death, injury, or loss must have occurred in the period beginning September 1, 1939, just prior to the sinking of the steamship *Athenia* on September 3, 1939, and ending December 11, 1941, the date upon which the United States declared war on Germany. It is believed no such vessels carrying America civilian passengers were sunk or destroyed by enemy action after that date and in any event there were ample deterrents to civilian travel in the period of open hostilities. American passengers on such vessels prior to the war, as in the case of Americans killed or injured on the *Athenia*, were the unwitting victims of enemy attack, a risk which they did not knowingly assume.

Death claims by eligible survivors are limited to maximum awards of $7,500 and would be payable only to the surviving widow, husband, children, or parents of the deceased as in the case of similar claims under other sections of the War Claims Act. Claims for personal injuries, however, following the general rule of law governing survival of actions, would not inure to the benefit of any particular survivors if the injured claimant dies while his claim was pending or prior to an award or if his death was not directly attributable to injuries sustained in the manner and in the period specified above.

Property loss claims by such American passengers would be confined to property as that term is defined in section 201 (d). It would be property normally expected to be in the claimant's possession at the time of loss. For the most part these claims will not be large dollarwise and will include luggage, personal belongings, and the like. Whatever the property may be, appropriate proofs of ownership, identification, and value will, of course, be required.

Section 203 (e): Provides for the very few but meritorious claims resulting from the removal from Western Germany of American-owned industrial and capital equipment for reparation purposes. These removals were authorized by the Potsdam and Paris reparations agreement. In a very real sense these removals were tantamount to the physical destruction of such property, and therefore properly regarded as war claims. Whether any particular items were removed for reparation purposes would obviously require appropriate documentation, including proof of the consent for its removal by the Allied Control Council, the Allied Control Authority, or the United States zone commander, and proof that such removal resulted in a measurable loss to the claimant.

TRANSFERS AND ASSIGNMENTS

Section 204: This section would permit the filing of a claim under subsections (a) or (b) of section 203 (property damage and direct ship or cargo loss claims) by the original owner of the property notwithstanding the sale or assignment for value of such property subsequent to its damage or loss. It would also permit claims to be filed by assignees to whom a claim had been assigned for value under subsections (a), (b), or (e) of section 203 at any time prior to the enactment of proposed title II of the act. The rules of eligibility and entitlement to an award, in the case of such assignees, would, of course, remain unchanged.

NATIONALITY OF CLAIMANT

Section 205: This section prohibits the allowance of any claim in favor of any claimant unless he and all of his predecessors in interest were nationals of the United States on the date of the loss, and continuously thereafter until the date the claim was filed with the Commission. The only exception provided for is in the case of a claimant who may have lost his United States citizenship between these two dates solely by reason of marriage to an alien but who reacquired such citizenship prior to the date of enactment of proposed title II. The term "national of the United States" is defined to mean, in general, a citizen of the United States or one owing permanent allegiance to the United States or a domestic corporation or other entity in which at least 50 percent of the capital stock or other proprietary or similar interest is owned, directly or indirectly, by nationals of the United States.

CLAIM OF STOCKHOLDERS

Section 206: This section prohibits claims based upon any interest, direct or indirect, in a corporation or other entity qualified to receive an award under proposed title II in its own right. If any corporation or other entity is not eligible as a claimant, as in the case of a foreign or alien-owned corporation, partnership, or entity, claims are authorized under this section by stockholders or other owners of a proprietary or similar interest in such entity to the extent of their interest and if at least 25 percent of such interest in such entities has been owned, directly or indirectly, and continuously from the date of the loss to the date of the claim by nationals of the United States who would be qualified to receive an award or any claim filed pursuant to proposed title II. The basic purpose of this section is to avoid the undue administrative burden of receiving and settling claims based upon a relatively minute interest in a foreign or alien-owned corporation whose property may have been damaged or destroyed or removed for reparation purposes.

DEDUCTIONS IN MAKING AWARDS

Section 207: This section specifically requires the Commission to take into account and to reduce any proposed award in the amount of any compensation or reimbursement received by the claimant from any source whatsoever for the same loss with respect to which a proposed award is made. In other words, the purpose of this section is to prevent any double benefits for the same loss.

CONSOLIDATED AWARDS

Section 208: This section permits the issuance of one award in favor of several individuals who may have a joint interest in any one claim. It is designed primarily to take care of those cases where the original owner of the property, forming the subject matter of a claim, may have died subsequent to the loss.

CERTAIN AWARDS PROHIBITED

Section 209: This section prohibits the issuance of an award in favor of any claimant who may have been convicted of treason or any other crime involving disloyalty to the United States. It would also prohibit awards in favor of any claimant whose claim under proposed title II is within the scope of title III of the International Claims Settlement Act. Title III of that act, which is presently administered by the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, permits claims similar to those authorized under proposed title II of the War Claims Act, to be filed for certain war losses that may have occurred in countries named in section 201 (a) of this proposed bill. Certain claimants under title III of the International Claims Settlement Act could, conceivably, obtain full compensation for their war losses, occurring in Greece, for example, if permitted to file claims under that act as well as under the proposed amendments to the War Claims Act. This possible result would occur largely in connection with damages caused by Italy in any of the countries so named. This provision is necessary, therefore, to prevent duplication of claims and discrimination against claimants who could not qualify under these proposed amendments to the War Claims Act, as in the case of those claiming recoveries for war lossess occurring in Bulgaria, Hungary, or Rumania. By virtue of this provision, title III of the International Claims Settlement Act, of 1949, as amended, and proposed title II of the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, are expressly made mutually exclusive.

CERTIFICATION OF AWARDS

Section 210: This section requires the Commission to certify all awards to the Secretary of the Treasury for payment in United States currency.

CLAIM FILING PERIOD

Section 211: This section requires the Commission to give public notice by publication in the Federal Register of the time when, and the limit of time within which such claims may be filed. Such limit is fixed at not more than 18 months after such publication. The date of publication may not be more than 60 days after enactment

of proposed title II or of legislation making appropriation to the Commission for administrative expenses.

CLAIMS SETTLEMENT PERIOD

Section 212: This section requires the Commission to complete its affairs, in other words, to terminate settlement of all claims under proposed title II, not later than 5 years after enactment of such title or after enactment of initial legislation appropriating funds for the Commission's expenses for carrying out its functions under such title. It is expressly provided that the life of the Commission itself will not be affected by this provision.

PAYMENT OF AWARDS; PRIORITIES; LIMITATIONS

Section 213: This section directs payment of all awards certified to the Secretary of the Treasury to be paid out of the war claims fund in accordance with a proposed schedule of priorities. Under such schedule, claims based upon deaths or injuries would be paid in full up to a permissible maximum, in each case, of $7,500. On other types of claims this section authorizes an initial payment of $1,000 or payment in full if the award is made for less than $1,000. Awards in excess of $1,000 but not more than $10,000 would then be paid in an amount which would be the same for each award or in the amount of the unpaid balance of such award whichever is less. In other words, a claimant receiving an award of $5,000 would receive an initial payment of $1,000. If funds were sufficient he could conceivably receive, as a second payment, $4,000. In this case, however, all other awards in excess of $1,000 would also receive second payments of $4,000, except those in total amounts of less than $5,000. These would be paid in full. No second payment could exceed $9,000.

In the case of awards in excess of $10,000, and depending upon the availability of funds, the holder of such an award would receive a first payment of $1,000 and a maximum second payment of $9,000. In these cases, however, the bill provides that the remaining unpaid balance of such an award would be prorated to provide an equal percentage distribution to all claimants similarly situated and to keep within any limit of funds available for the making of such payments.

The remainder of this section deals with more or less technical provisions in connection with the actual payment of awards except paragraph (f) which provides that the payment of any award which is not paid in full will permit the claimant, or award holder, to look for full payment at some time in the future. Subsection (f) expressly provides, in this connection, that such claimant will not be divested of his claim and that the United States in his behalf may proceed against any appropriate foreign government for the unpaid balance of his claim.

FEES OF ATTORNEYS AND AGENTS

Section 214: This section restricts the fees of attorneys, agents, or any other representative of a claimant for services rendered in his behalf in connection with any claim to an amount not to exceed 10 percent of the amount paid pursuant to any award that may be made. This provision follows the usual practice of the Government in limiting fees or compensation of representatives acting in behalf of claimants under similar circumstances. It will be noted that the limitation is based not upon the amount of the award, which could greatly exceed the amount of actual payments, but upon the total amount paid pursuant to an award. The demand or receipt of any greater percentage would constitute a misdemeanor under the express provisions of the bill, subject to the payment of a fine of not more than $5,000 or imprisonment of not more than 12 months, or both.

APPLICATION OF OTHER LAWS

Section 215: This section makes applicable to proposed title II certain administrative provisions of the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949, as amended, and the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, as follows:

War Claims Act

Section 2 (b), first sentence, authorizes the Commission to prescribe necessary rules and regulations and to delegate functions to any Commission member, officer or employee.

Section 2 (c) authorizes, for the purpose of any hearing, examination, or investigation, the issuance of subpenas requiring the appearance of witnesses or production of documents with related provisions as to witness fees and mileage.

Section 11 requires appropriate notice to claimants of the approval or denial of their claims and the amount of awards, authorizes hearings with respect to claims and the subsequent affirmation or revision by the Commission of its original action. This section also provides that the action of the Commission in allowing or denying any claim should be final and conclusive in all questions of law and fact and not subject to review by any other official of the United States or by any court. It is deemed essential that this finality clause be applicable with respect to the claims program authorized in proposed title II. In the absence of such a provision the program could not be completed within the 5-year limitation period and the funds available for payment of claims could be seriously jeopardized. It should be borne in mind that no vested property rights are involved in the determinations of the Commission in any claim filed under proposed title II. Such rights as may be created would be purely stautory in nature. Payments on awards would be clearly gratuities. Claimants will have, under proposed title II and the incorporated provisions of title I, ample safeguards in the presentation of their claims and the fair and equitable determination of their entitlement to an award. This provision is not at all unusual in situations of this kind. It means, simply, that the Commission will not have jurisdiction of a permanent nature with respect to any particular claim.

International Claims Settlement Act

Subsections (c), (d), (e), and (f) of section 7 of the International Claims Settlement Act relate to payment of awards certified by the Commission where the payee is under a legal disability or is deceased or, if a corporation or partnership, is liquidated. This section also relates to payments to receivers or trustees and to assignees of an award. These provisions are necessary because of the possible change in circumstances that may occur between the issuance and certification of an award and the actual payment thereof. Although there is a relatively short timelag it frequently occurs that one in whose favor an award is made may have died before payment can be effected. It is conceivable, too, because of the schedule of deferred payments provided for in the bill, that the time lag between an award and payment may extend over several years. This makes all the more important provisions of the nature above described.

TRANSFER OF RECORDS

Section 216: This section simply makes it clear that any records, files, or documents in the possession of the Department of State which have a bearing on any claim filed under proposed title II will be available, upon request, to the Commission for the purpose of enabling the Commission to carry out its functions with respect to such claim or claims.

The final section of the bill itself, numbered section 7, is the usual severability clause by virtue of which the entire act will not be held invalid if only one provision thereof is found to be invalid.

Bargaining Style Changes in East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, In my extension of remarks, I include an article written by Dorothy Thompson appearing in the Washington Star of April 11, 1957, showing our missed opportunity for bargaining position in the Middle East:

BARGAINING STYLE CHANGES IN EAST

(By Dorothy Thompson)

I don't know what our Government means by negotiation.

Negotiation is only what traders call bargaining. A customer wants certain goods and the seller wants to dispose of them. That is the first condition for a trade. The bargaining occurs over the price.

In the "Souks" and "Muskies" of most of the Arab world there is never a fixed price. A customer sees something he wants and asks what it costs. The merchant (praising his discerning taste) states a price. The customer expresses the most intense regret that it is beyond his means and names what he is prepared to pay. The merchant, shaking his head negatively and with sorrowful eyes, displays other inferior goods. The customer rejects them and starts to walk out of the shop. The merchant softly invites him to have a cup of sweet coffee. The customer complies and expresses his admiration for the beauty of the wares in general and the manners of the merchant's little boy.

PARTNER APPEARS

The merchant finds the customer so sympathetic and distinguished that for purely personal reasons he suggests a small shaving of the price. The customer still regrets. The merchant confesses that he himself might come down a little further (ruinous as that would be) but his partners would never agree. The customer again makes for the door. A partner miraculously appears. There is a whispered conversation and the merchant reports triumphantly that he has persuaded the partner to come nearer to the buyer's price.

This can go on for a long time. But, at a point, the buyer usually says. "It's still more than I ought to pay, but I do appreciate your concessions"—and brings out his purse.

The seller is all smiles. He serves another cup of coffee. The buyer takes his card and promises to inform friends about his beautiful wares. The merchant touches his hand to his brow and bows, invoking the blessings of peace. The bargaining has occurred in an atmosphere of exquisite courtesy.

In Cairo "negotiations" (bargaining) have been going on in a way that must utterly astonish the Arab President of Egypt.

When the United Nations (and the United States) halted the military operations involving the canal and forced the withdrawal of the British and French (the prime users), Egypt was also in a hole. For there wasn't any canal! The Egyptians, to impede the military operation, had sunk ships and cement-laden barges along its whole passage. To operate it again, on any terms, it had to

be cleared, and clearing it was a major engineering operation.

OPPORTUNITY MISSED

It would seem that then, when the canal was blocked, was the time to bargain about how, when restored, it would be operated.

Egypt could not clear the canal except at enormous expense, on top of the great losses she was daily suffering from the suspension of shipping. She did not possess the necessary machinery or adequate engineering skills, which she would have to hire. If she called on the Russians, she would pay through the nose and invite a new crisis.

But what did the would-be customers of canal service do?

They cleared the canal, at their own expense, before any price for its resumed use had been agreed upon. Gen. Raymond Wheeler (one of the greatest Army engineers in American history) mobilized men and machines for one of the quickest and most efficient jobs ever done. Now, after 5 months, it is just about ready to be handed back to Mr. Nasser clear and clean, still without those who cleared it and want to use it knowing what price they will have to pay for its use.

So, for the second time, all the bargaining advantages have been put into Egypt's hands.

If any Arab showed such a lamentable lack of trading skill, his head would be bowed in shame. Toward a customer showing such lack, he would feel nothing but amazed contempt.

And there hasn't been even exquisite courtesy and sweet coffee.

A Leading National Newspaper Decries the Outmoded Method for Rollcall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I heartily agree that we should have recourse to modern methods of taking the roll in the interests of saving time. I recognize that in many instances valuable work is done during a tedious rollcall, but there are enough parliamentary delays to allow for the last-minute conferences. A freshman Congressman, like myself, undoubtedly has a lot to learn about such procedures, but to date no senior colleague has given me reason for defending the present practice.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an editorial which appeared in the Sunday Oregonian on April 7, 1957:

LOST DAY IN HOUSE

The United States House of Representatives spent the greater part of its day Thursday responding to the 400-plus names of those in the Chamber. The Members were acting on 17 separate amendments to the appropriation bill for the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare. In each case the Clerk was required, by the rules of the House, to read the roll, with each Member answering to his name.

The system has not changed in the nearly two centuries of the Republic. But surely it cannot be permitted to continue much longer. The Capitol in Washington is equipped with telephones, electric lights, even refrigerators for the refreshment of the lawmakers. All these things were unknown to the Founding Fathers, and all were originally considered more or less vulgar innovations when first introduced. Now, of course, they are recognized as necessities.

Congress thus has ample precedent for the installation of electric vote recorders such as are in operation in some State legislative chambers and in parliaments over the world. Tradition is a glorious thing, but its keeping in this specific instance seems scarcely worth the wasting of a legislative day.

Salute to Chemical Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID S. DENNISON, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. DENNISON. Mr. Speaker, this week has been set aside to salute the chemical industry. All of us recognize the vital role chemistry is playing in America today. It is a basic part of all American industry and so is responsible for the creation of millions of jobs. It has added materially to our comfort and enjoyment of life. It plays a most decisive part in the defense and security of our country. Chemistry touches our daily lives on every hand and contributes mightily to an ever greater America.

The 11th District of Ohio, which I have the honor to represent, is probably the most intensified and fastest growing industrial area in the United States. Its mills, factories, and businesses of all kinds feed strength and life to our vigorous economy. With the advent of the St. Lawrence seaway northeastern Ohio will experience even greater industrial vigor and activity.

None the least of the important industries in this area are the huge chemical plants located there. Chemical Progress Week, therefore, is especially near to the hearts of the people of northeastern Ohio and we are proud to join in the salute to a great and basic industry.

The following editorial from the Telegraph, published at Painesville, Ohio, sets forth the thinking of many of the people of the 11th Ohio District regarding the chemical industry:

SALUTE TO CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

One week each year is set aside as Chemical Progress Week. The 1957 observance started Monday and will continue through Friday.

During this week the people who work in the chemical industry throughout the country use many means to acquaint the public with some of the contributions the industry makes toward a better America.

Most of us are aware of some of the direct benefits the chemical industry contributes to our constantly improving way of life in the ever-expanding field of pharmaceuticals and antibiotics, which go so far in making and keeping us healthy; in the tremendous advances in agriculture and food development; in the development and production of new and better clothing and houses.

These are only some of the easily identified ways in which chemistry contributes to our well-being.

Perhaps most of us are not aware, however, that chemistry plays an important and integral part in all our great American industries.

For instance, in two basic industries, steel and electronics, the amazing, new, and improved products which so greatly influence our lives would be impossible without the contribution of the chemist in research, engineering, and manufacturing processes.

As part of the current celebration, Lake County chemical firms have arranged special window displays and have provided speakers for various civic organizations. Some schools, which have worked on chemical projects, also will participate in the observance.

Lake County occupies a prominent place in northeastern Ohio's expanding chemical empire. It is fitting that tribute be paid to an industry which means so much to the prosperity and progress of our country.

Complicated Milk Hearings End After 102 Days

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, the Department of Agriculture has just completed a 102-day hearing on the subject of a Federal Milk Marketing Order for New York and Northern New Jersey. The hearing record is said to contain some 15,500 pages covering the testimony of more than 450 witnesses and weighs over 150 pounds.

In the meantime, the chaotic condition of the dairy industry is exemplified by the following article from the Hudson Star under date of April 1, 1957:

DAIRY GROUP IN REVOLT AGAINST BIG MILK TRUSTS, SAYS WALDORF

"We are in revolt against the domination of the big milk trusts," William Waldorf of Copake, president of the Dairy Farmers of America, Inc., said yesterday in discussing the forthcoming meeting in Chicago to form a national organization.

Mr. Waldorf will fly to Chicago tomorrow and meet with 25 dairy leaders throughout the Nation.

"We are organizing to take our share of the American standard of living," he said. "Among other things we must have shorter hours and higher pay.

"Let me cite three instances:

"Citizen A, covered by unemployment insurance, receives more remmeration for not working a 40-hour week than Citizen B, a dairy farm employee or dairy farm owner, receives for 40 hours of highly skilled labor. And the trend is toward futher segregation of agriculture by increased unemployment payment and a decreased work week.

"American children are no longer killed in American mines or heavy machine industries. Modern agriculture is the most dangerous of our heavy machine industries and the age group most commonly killed on American agriculture is 10 to 14 years of age.

"As dairy farmers we have an estimated $20 billion of capital invested in the milk production industry, which we risk for no profit and an average hourly wage of less than 50 cents an hour in a country with an average hourly wage rate of about $2 an hour and a minimum wage of $1 an hour. Dairy farm employees as well as owners labor 3,600 to 3,700 hours a year in a country with a 2,000-hour work year.

"We are in revolt against the domination of the big milk trusts. They must pay more for our milk.

AN ACTION GROUP

"We are an action group. Our national organization will be made up of similar action groups. We are producers of milk, not handlers of milk.

"Our aims will be clearly stated. To attain them we will use the Government and the democratic process. We will be orderly. We will avoid violence. When our forces are deployed they will represent the industry.

"We need and will use and rely on the understanding of the consuming public, which includes labor. Our task is national. The need is great. When we are understood we are encouraged."

Proposed Tax Reduction for the Depletion of Human Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT ZELENKO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a new measure which would cut taxes for older workers by providing a tax deduction for the depletion of human resources.

This bill is aimed at encouraging older people to continue productive activity in business and industry. It would allow taxpayers 45 years of age and older to claim a special deduction for the depletion of human resources on their Federal income tax. There is no reason why there should be a distinction between the present deductions for the depletion of natural resources, machinery and property, and that of the depletion of the most important resource of all—the human one.

The proposed deduction would be computed strictly on the basis of the taxpayer's age and would apply only to salaries, wages, and earned income and would offer an added economic incentive for the older workers to realize their full potential as useful and productive members of the Nation's business and industrial population. At present, from a monetary standpoint, retirement benefits in many cases far outbalance earning inducements for people of 45 and over to remain actively employed.

These conditions have produced a steady and detrimental effect upon the size of our country's senior working forces. Unless Congress takes constructive measures to combat the problem, we will ultimately find ourselves faced with a nationwide shortage of skilled and experienced older workers who form the strength and backbone of so many of our leading industries.

The reduction in income-tax revenue would be balanced with a decrease in social security to older workers who, with the inducement of tax deductions, would choose to remain actively engaged in business and industry. The deduction for the depletion of human resources would be computed by subtracting 44 from the age of the taxpayer and multiplying the resulting figure by 1 percent of his earned income. In other words, as the taxpayer grows older he would be allowed to deduct 1 additional percent each year. Thus, a 66-year-old working taxpayer would be entitled to a deduction of 22 percent from his earned income.

I hope this measure will act to ease the problems of our older people in industry, to the mutual benefit of our senior citizens and our national economic structure.

Colossi to the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, our Government neglects Latin America. This is a familiar charge, for which there is ample evidence. One outstanding neglect by the present administration is represented by its leaving the post of Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs vacant for more than 8 months. An Acting Assistant Secretary, even one as able and experienced as Richard Roy Rubottom, cannot function as well as a man who has an unqualified hold on this important job.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which comes from the New York Times for April 14, 1956. What it says applies as well this year as it did last:

PAN AMERICAN DAY

Today is Pan American Day, a day of annual commemoration and of dedication to one of the greatest and most successful regional associations in history.

The whole world is poised on the threshold of a new age. Eoverything that has happened since the second World War ended proves that to us. We feel a sense of growth and change, of a revolutionary dynamism that has rarely if ever been equaled. And we are beginning to realize that nowhere in the world is the great change more significant than in Latin America. It is a vast and complex movement, embracing as it does twenty different nations spreading over a huge continent, a great isthmus to the north and islands in the Caribbean Sea. One must approach this tremendous historic upheaval in all humility. Perhaps we in the United States, standing off at a distance but bound up closely as we are with Latin-American affairs, are in a better position to see the forest where our neighbors can only see the trees.

Latin America is ceasing to be a "frontier" in the historic and economic sense; it is approaching maturity; it is merging into the one-world where the destinies of our age are being decided. Western Europe has lost its dominance. The great sources of power today are on the periphery where the two giants—Russia and the United States—operate. Over the horizon one can see the light of another dawn as the Ibero-American world grows and grows.

Today the population of Latin America and the West Indies about equals that of the United States and Canada; at the present rate of growth by the end of this century it will be double. Industry is transforming agricultural economies. The exploitation of vital mineral wealth is raising national incomes and hence living standards. A middle class is growing fast and is assuming ever greater political power. Illiterary, disease, ignorance, poverty are declining rapidly.

Political consciousness is rising everywhere. And what do men ask who need no longer spend desperate lives scrounging for a bare subsistence? They ask for freedom, and freedom means the liberal democracy of the West. The dictator, the caudillo of Latin-American history, is doomed. Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, Somosa of Nicaragua, Perez Jiménez of Venezuela, Rojas Pinilla of Colombia—such men are anachronisms living on borrowed time.

Nothing has given surer proof of this and nothing in the year since we last celebrated Pan American Day has meant so much as the overthrow of Juan Perón and his wicked, blundering regime in Argentina. This revolution, which finally succeeded last September, was one of the most significant and heartening events in all Latin-American history. There have been disappointments and setbacks during this year, especially in Colombia, but what happened in Argentina outweighs all the years of all the dictators and it points inexorably to the eclipse of those backward men who still cling to power in a few countries.

Latin America has on the whole been outside the pattern of the cold war, but it cannot long remain so. Already the Russians are singing a siren song and always the Communists lie in ambush to strike when weakness is shown. It cannot be emphasized too often that the answer to the Communist threat in Latin America is democracy and not the military-fascist dictatorships of Venezuela, Colombia, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic. The greatest weakness of United States policy toward the hemisphere has been its overt friendliness to the dictators.

Latin Americans feel that they have been and are being neglected. Secretary Dulles, for all his constant traveling, has been to Latin America only once, and that for the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas, Venezuela, in March 1954. He has never made a trip around Latin America. The region is not just important to us; it is vital to our existence. It is emerging from adolescence into lusty manhood. On this day of commemoration North Americans should pause to thing what Latin America means, what is happening there and how in this changing world our relationships must be adjusted. We are still the colossus of the north, but the day is coming when there will be other colossi to the south.

St. Lawrence Seaway Studies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID S. DENNISON, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. DENNISON. Mr. Speaker, Ohio, and particularly the 11th District which I have the honor to represent, is vitally concerned with the construction and development of the St. Lawrence seaway. As this great project progresses there will be many unforseen problems which will concern all of the areas affected by the seaway. It is just good commonsense that we do our best to anticipate as many of these problems as possible. To this end I join with my good friend

and colleague from the great State of Ohio, the Honorable A. D. BAUMHART, Jr., in urging investigations now of the impact the seaway is likely to have on the Great Lakes shipping and shipbuilding industries. In support of this plea I would like to include the following editorial from the Painesville Telegraph, published at Painesville, Ohio:

PLEA FOR SEAWAY IMPACT STUDIES

With completion of the St. Lawrence seaway scheduled in 2 years or less, Representative A. D. BAUMHART, JR., of the 13th Ohio District, is urging a congressional investigation of the impact the seaway is likely to have on the Great Lakes shipping and shipbuilding industries.

The plea is timely, and if such a study is to be made it should start soon. Two years is a short time in Government operations.

"The ramifications of seaway development are many, and for that reason I believe that we cannot begin too soon to prepare for the challenges we will surely encounter in 2 years or less," Representative BAUMHART wrote to Representative H. C. BONNER, chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

He suggested five subject areas for investigation: The increase in proportion of lake tonnage carried in foreign ships; the use of Great Lakes shipyards by Government agencies; the building of a prototype vessel (Clipper class) developed by Maritime, and the desirability of building such a vessel in a Great Lakes yard; use of the lakes for storage of laid-up fleets in the future; and the expected effects of foreign competition both for the intralake trade and the overseas trade.

Many cities along the Great Lakes are making big plans for getting substantial shares of the increased business expected when the seaway opens. Lake County, of course, is involved in that race.

But the subjects Representative BAUMHART suggests for investigation are broader in scope than the interests of any city or area along the lakes. Congress would do well to make the suggested studies.

Governments South of the Border, Free and Otherwise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD in connection with Pan American Day, I am bringing the following list to the attention of my colleagues. It separates the practicing democracies and blatant dictatorships, with a third category consisting of countries striving to adopt democratic procedures but who for various reasons do not qualify as democracies at this time:

TYPES OF GOVERNMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA, MARCH 1957

I. DEMOCRACIES

1. Brazil.
2. Bolivia.
3. Chile.
4. Costa Rica.
5. Ecuador.
6. El Salvador.
7. Mexico.
8. Panama.
9. Peru.
10. Uruguay.

II. DICTATORSHIPS

1. Colombia (Rojas Pinilla).
2. Cuba (Batista).
3. Dominican Republic (Trujillo).
4. Nicaragua (Somoza).
5. Paraguay (Stroessner).
6. Venezuela (Perez Jimenez).

III. GOVERNMENTS FALLING BETWEEN THE EXTREMES OF POPULAR FREEDOM AND DICTATORIAL GOVERNMENT CONTROL

1. Argentina: Revolutionary government of General Aramburu has problem of recovery after 10 years of Perón dictatorship. Elections are promised for 1957.

2. Guatemala: Government of Castillo Armas which replaced Communist-infiltrated government [duly elected] of Arbenz has aroused criticism of even friends by repressive measures.

3. Haiti: President Magliore forced to resign in December after outburst of public discontent. Provisional government has scheduled elections tentatively for April.

4. Honduras: In October 1956 a liberal military junta seized power from an unpopular de facto government. The junta is committed to free elections and an eventual return to constitutional government. At present junta enjoys widespread popular support.

An Investment in Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to include a splendid editorial from the April 11 Free Press of Somersworth, N. H. The editorial is an expression of the views and conclusions of New Hampshire citizens who attended a hearing at Laconia on April 6 on the mutual-security program, conducted by the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements. The editorial follows:

AN INVESTMENT IN PEACE

Moving to the national scene, New Hampshire again became the center of attention over the weekend when a subcommittee of the House of Representatives' Foreign Affairs Committee, of which our own CHESTER E. MERROW is a ranking member, came to hold a hearing to sample grassroots sentiment.

Before the weekend was over, the seven Congressmen heard an impressive array of speakers, representing a good cross-section of New Hampshire opinion, give an overwhelming vote of confidence to the Federal Government's mutual-aid program. Under this program, economic and military assistance goes throughout the world to help bolster peace-seeking peoples.

One of the points which the testimony at Laconia brought out and this we believe is something that American people fail so often to recognize is that so-called foreign aid is not a one-way proposition. It's truly a mutual undertaking with this country as donor receiving a generous return on its investment. Of every single dollar that goes abroad, 70 cents of it is spent here in this country by the recipient.

We so often hear criticism leveled at these foreign aid expenditures yet the amount spent in aiding other countries is a small part of our overall budget—only $4.4 billion out of a $71 billion budget. Congressmen this weekend pointed out that it could be worse. They explained that it costs the American taxpayer approximately $700 to equip and prepare for the defense of his own country a soldier in another land such as Korea. Yet if an American soldier were to be put on Korean soil for defense purposes it would cost the American taxpayer $7,000 a year.

The Congressmen who visited New Hampshire this week and the citizens who testified before them failed to agree on all the ramifications of the foreign aid issue. Yet in the midst of this disagreement there was one encouraging ground of common feeling—Mr. and Mrs. New Hampshire taxpayer would be in an even more perilous world than they now find themselves if it were not for the comparatively nominal investments that have been made by this country in a foreign-aid program.

From the Sky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a beautiful and expressive poetic contribution by my esteemed friend, a former Member of the House of Representatives, former Member of the United States Senate, and majority leader of that body, Hon Scott W. Lucas, entitled "From the Sky":

FROM THE SKY

Below, I see earth's curtains of lace,
Traveling through the beauty of space;
The rugged peaks near mountains of lawn
Will make you dream of the ages gone;
The shimmering snow in summer sun,
Telling the world what its robes have done.

Highways of gold, so lovely to see,
With pint-sized autos moving so free;
The small, fleecy cloud—lonesome and brave—
Winks at our plane with a friendly wave;
The smoke of a train, inching along,
The hum of motors, singing a song.

The farmer's home, an old stately place,
Cheerful in white, from its toes to face;
The light, brown fields of the rustling corn,
The autumn winds on the leaves forlorn;
Miles upon miles of our bounteous soil,
Plowed and terraced by the hands of toil.

Little creeks here and big rivers there
Look for their master to claim their share;
Cities of grandeur all over the place,
Lifting their fingers to heaven's face;
Chimneys of smoke from factory tower
Tell subtle tales of American power.

The blue horizon in yonder sky
Breaks bread with the earth, so near, so shy;
Sand dunes of old on the lake nearby
Cause you to ponder about the sky;
The lake itself is a strange old thing,
Its depth and its height, of thee I sing.

Ore boats bleak from the Mesabi Range,
Moving their all for process and change;
And now I see in the western nest,
The stately spires of Chicago's best;
The setting sun, tinged with wings of gold,
Calmly leaves the earth with tales untold.

Pray God protect such beauty and calm,
From the painful curse of atomic bomb.

—*Scott W. Lucas.*

Civil Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a series of three editorials which appeared in the Richmond News Leader on April 11, 12, and 13, 1957. The able editor, Mr. James Jackson Kilpatrick, in a forceful and intelligent manner, has presented an analysis of the so-called civil-rights legislation, which I commend to every Member of this body as worthwhile reading material. These editorials constitute the most concise and succinct discussion of the evils of the civil-rights proposals I have seen yet.

The unwarranted and ill-advised civil-rights proposals are fraught with extreme danger, not only to the Southern States but to every State in the Union.

The editorials are as follows:

[From the Richmond News Leader of April 11, 1957]

THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Within the next few weeks, when various delaying maneuvers have been exhausted, the House of Representatives will begin consideration (to employ a polite phrase) of the pending "civil rights" bill. Actually, we may be reasonably sure that Congressman EMANUEL CELLER's bill scarcely will be considered at all, in the sense that Members of Congress will give judicious study to the need for such legislation, or to the merits of particular provisions. Goaded on by minority blocs in key districts, the House will pass the bill with a whoop. Or so it appears now.

Yet this bill is so poorly drawn, so sinister in its implications, and so destructive of vital rights and powers, that some faint hope should be preserved of seeing it defeated. If Members of the House who are remote from immediate political pressure, and have been swayed only by the propaganda of liberal organizations, will take time to ponder the mischief inherent in the bill, perhaps we may yet see the matter abandoned.

The bill is divided into four parts. The text of part I appears on this page today; remaining portions will follow tomorrow and Saturday. May we invite readers to join in an examination of part I?

These opening provisions, it will be seen, establish a Commission on Civil Rights, and define its powers and duties.

The first question to be asked is, Why a commission at all? Sponsors of the bill cannot adequately answer even that basic question. They point to isolated instances in which it has been alleged—though seldom proved—that someone has been denied his right to vote—Evidence is utterly lacking to demonstrate the existence of any national problem that would justify a commission such as this one. We may also comment, in viewing the bill as a whole, on the paradox which sees a commission created in part I to investigate the very problems which are legislated upon in parts III and IV. Either the commission is necessary, and we should wait upon its report; or the substantive, permanent legislation of parts III and IV is necessary, and the commission's report is needless.

But assuming for the sake of argument that some need exists for an investigatory commission, we may inquire, Why a congressional commission? A President may by Executive order appoint any Commission he wishes to appoint; one such Presidential Commission already has reported on civil rights. The answer—and here we begin to get at the bones in the bill—is that only Congress can create a commission having powers of subpena.

How would this commission be permitted to use its subpena power? The registrar of some backwoods county in South Carolina could be summoned, under pain of prison sentence for refusal, to appear before the commission in Alexandria, Va., or Charleston, W. Va., these being within the fifth judicial circuit, to answer some "allegation in writing under oath" that he is depriving certain citizens of their right to vote. The rules do not permit him to confront his accuser; he is permitted no powers of cross-examination through his own counsel; if he wishes witnesses summoned in his own behalf he must bring them at his own expense—and then they would be permitted to testify only "in the discretion of the commission." The commission's own witnesses, it appears, would be abundantly cared for; the persons charged, it will be seen, may or may not be summoned at Government expense—they will be "afforded an opportunity voluntarily to appear."

Let us look a little deeper: This commission is to be composed of six members, but what is put down as their sole qualification? That "not more than three of the members shall at any one time be of the same political party." Who may schedule hearings? Any subcommittee may schedule hearings, provided it is composed of "2 or more members, at least 1 of whom shall be of each major political party." Could anything more clearly expose the political nature of this body? Not a word is said of geographical considerations; nothing is said of qualifications in law, history, education, or Government. Three Democrats. Three Republicans.

This political sextet, once appointed and confirmed, would then employ "a full-time staff director and such other personnel as it deems advisable," but this unlimited corps of salaried employees would be only the beginning. The commission also may "accept and utilize services of voluntary and uncompensated personnel" (for which we may read the attorneys and staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), who are to be paid travel and subsistence expenses.

And what are the vaguely defined duties of this traveling band of inquisitors? They are set forth in section 104 of part I. Broadly, the commission is to investigate, to study, to collect, to appraise, and finally to report on anything under sun or moon which may relate to "equal protection of the laws." It is the blankest check ever written; and it would be handed over to the commission members with a broad grant to utilize their powers as they please.

To be sure, section 104 offers what might seem to be a saving grace—a terminal date on the commission's existence. On that point the minority report of the House Judiciary Committee said this: "Anyone who believes that this Commission will cease to exist in 2 years can rightfully be accused of believing in fairies. The 2-year limitation on the duration of the Commission will mark its first milestone to perpetuity. There will be as many leftwing pressure groups howling for its permanency as now demand its creation. Considerations of political expediency which spawned it will not let it expire."

This then is part I of the bill. It creates an unwarranted investigatory commission, qualified on a basis of partisan politics and armed with incredibly broad powers of subpena. This commission will function, in practical effect, as a congressional arm of the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other leftwing bodies. It would be financed—at what heavy cost the sponsors cannot or will not predict—from the United States Treasury.

And this is the "moderate" beginning the South is asked to accept on a civil rights bill.

[From the Richmond News Leader of April 12, 1957]

A CIVIL-RIGHTS BUREAUCRACY

The civil-rights bill now pending in the House of Representatives opens with a long section, discussed in these columns yesterday, which creates a Congressional Commission on Civil Rights. Part II of the bill is quite brief. It simply provides for an additional Assistant Attorney General, to be named by the President and confirmed by the Senate:

"PART II OF THE CIVIL-RIGHTS BILL—TO PROVIDE FOR AN ADDITIONAL ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

"SEC. 111. There shall be in the Department of Justice one additional Assistant Attorney General, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall assist the Attorney General in the performance of his duties, and who shall receive compensation at the rate prescribed by law for other Assistant Attorney General."

The majority report of the House Judiciary Committee says this:

"While the bill does not specify that the additional Assistant Attorney General * * * shall be head of the Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice, it is the understanding of the committee, predicated upon testimony of the Attorney General, that the individual authorized to be employed by this section will be so designated and given such responsibility. The reason for not specifically stating the title and duties of the newly authorized Assistant is purely one of internal management on the part of the Attorney General as head of the Department of Justice."

The majority report acknowledges that there already exists within the Department of Justice a Civil Rights Section within the Criminal Division; but in the majority's view, "it is no longer logical that this section should remain as a subdivision of the Criminal Division, since recently the Justice Department has been obliged to engage in activities of a civil nature in the civil-rights field." As examples, the majority cities the Department's intervention in Hoxie, Ark., and Clinton, Tenn. Moreover, the majority adds, congressional approval of parts III and IV of the pending bill * * * "would increase the volume of litigation in which the Department of Justice would be involved."

The majority report continues with this significant comment:

"Probably the most important factor providing for such a division is the fact that the problems which arise in the area of civil rights are extremely complex and very delicate in nature. The problem touches the very essence of Federal-State relationship and, therefore, requires a centralized responsibility in the person of an eminently qualified attorney with the prestige of a Presidential appointment behind him."

On the surface, part II of the bill may not appear to warrant strenuous opposition by critics of the proposal as a whole. Yet even a scanty knowledge of the operations of Federal bureaucracy will suggest an unerring picture of the course this new Civil Rights Division would pursue. In order to justify its creation, the division swiftly would plunge into widespread litigation. Where causes of action could not be found, the division would create them.

But we do not have to fear that this eminently qualified attorney would find the "In" basket on his desk empty of suggestions. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which assiduously cultivates all the litigation its busy attorneys can handle, could be relied upon to pepper the division with daily memorandums. The

practical effect of part II would be to provide the NAACP with an entire new legal staff, their salaries paid from the bottomless United States Treasury, with which to carry on the organization's harassment in the name of the United States Government.

The Department of Justice has done very well, these many years, without such a division. No compelling reason can be advanced for establishing it now. The brief provisions of part II would do nothing to improve domestic tranquility in the complex and very delicate field of civil rights, but on the contrary would surely lead to discord, strife, and a deeper bitterness. This is what the moderates would buy with part II of their bill.

[From the Richmond News Leader of April 13, 1957]

A WEAPON FOR TYRANNY

The civil rights bill now pending in the House of Representatives is divided into four parts. The first of these, reviewed, editorially on Thursday, creates a congressional Commission on Civil Rights; the second, discussed yesterday, provides for a new Assistant Attorney General who would head a Civil Rights Division within the Department of Justice.

If the bill contained nothing more than parts I and II, it would still be a thoroughly bad bill, but the harassments thus authorized might somehow be tolerated. The worst evils of the pending measure lie concealed in parts III and IV. These provisions would equip the new Assistant Attorney General with weapons by which the entire State and Federal relationship could be effectively destroyed. Age-old guaranties of personal rights would be stripped away.

Part III undertakes to add a fourth and fifth paragraphs to the old Ku Klux Act of 1871. It is important to understand that the first three paragraphs of the existing law already provide that any person injured by denial of certain civil rights (including the right to vote) "may have an action for the recovery of damages * * * against any one or more of the conspirators." If Smith and Jones conspire "by force, intimidation, or threat" to keep Brown from the polls, Brown already has full power to sue them. What, then, would be added by the pending bill?

The two new paragraphs would authorize the Attorney General, upon an allegation that someone had conspired against Brown or was "about to" conspire against Brown, to bring on Brown's behalf "a civil action or other proper proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order."

But such a proceeding would not be instituted for or by Brown alone, as an individual plaintiff. It would be institued "for the United States, or in the name of the United States."

Furthermore, Federal courts would be authorized to hear such proceedings "without regard to whether the party * * * remedies that may be provided by law."

The quoted provisions were phrased with deliberate care. As events in Clinton, Tenn., recently have made clear to the public, a jury trial is prohibited in any contempt proceeding arising out of an action instituted "for the United States, or in the name of the United States." The effect of this section of the pending bill would be to place the powers of a tyrant in the hands of every Federal judge. Under the catch-all term of "equal protection of the laws," almost anyone may contend that he is being deprived of anything. Upon the flimsiest allegations of an "about-to" conspiracy—without even the consent of prospective plaintiffs—the Attorney General may demand an injunction. He is not required to give notice. Not even a hearing is guaranteed.

Let us be specific. Under this bill, the new Assistant Attorney General provided in part II could pick at random any handful of Negro schoolchildren in any locality in the South. Without asking or obtaining their consent, he could seek an injunction against local school officials on the contention that they were about to deprive the children of equal protection of the laws. Such an injunction could be obtained ex parte—that is, without a formal hearing of any sort. It could be obtained without regard to whether the party aggrieved shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies, thus overturning the ruling of the United States Supreme Court on March 25, in a North Carolina case, that Negro plaintiffs in school segregation cases must first exhaust State remedies before seeking Federal relief. Resistance on the part of anyone to such an injunction, because the suit had been brought for the United States, or in the name of the United States, would be punishable by a summary trial for contempt, without benefit of jury.

That is part III of the bill. Part IV, which applies to voting rights only, closely parallels the language of part III. Together, they form the most vicious legislative weapon ever devised for the support of judicial tyranny. In place of government by law, in which State powers are preserved and individual rights are jealously protected, these provisions would substitute government by injunction—government by the uncheckable whim of Federal judges.

Those of us in the South, having suffered most grievously from the Supreme Court's rape of the Constitution, are perhaps better situated than other Americans to comprehend the evils here afoot. We can measure the bill's effects in terms of the incalculable bitterness and hostility which its sweeping provisions could bring to our public education.

It is the blindness of other sections of the country that is most mystifying. Every State in the Union, it may be surmised, has some domestic institution vital to the interests of its people. These interests may relate not merely to schools or to voting, but also to conservation practices, to the control of State resources, to the management of hotels, theaters, restaurants, even to State laws governing inheritance and marriage. In each of these fields, it may be contended that someone is denied "the equal protection of the laws." And under part III of the pending bill, the Attorney General may seek to translate such contentions into blinding injunctions, obtained without regard to State remedies and State courts.

Members of Congress from the North, Midwest and West seem not to comprehend what vast powers they are here transferring to the courts. State Governors and other State officials, outside the South, seem indifferent to their own extinction. In fighting this sinister bill, southerners are not speaking for their own region alone; they are struggling to defend the whole fabric of Union from forces that would destroy it. Let us pray the efforts will not be in vain.

A Reminder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID S. DENNISON, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. DENNISON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to call attention to the following editorial which appeared in the Ashtabula Star-Beacon, Ashtabula, Ohio, under date of March 29, 1957:

IN OUR OPINION: CONGRESSMEN HAVE SHORT MEMORIES

Some northeastern Ohio observers are declaring these days that President Eisenhower's leadership over the Members of Congress is faltering and they are going their own way.

They say he isn't assertive enough in promoting his program, that he doesn't crack the whip on Capitol Hill, that his steep budget has cost him popular support and that, in any event, he is a "lame duck" who can't run for reelection in 1960.

Consequently, they add, the lawmakers are following their traditional course under such circumstances. They are falling into factions and allowing themselves to be pressed heavily by local and regional rather than national concerns.

It is said, too, that when they climb a platform anywhere in the land they seldom nowadays bother to mention Mr. Eisenhower's name, having concluded there is no further political magic in it for them.

This could be a risky route to travel. To begin with, the newest public opinion polls show the President's popularity only slightly below recent record high levels.

Secondly, the lawmakers might remember that neither the Republican nor the Democratic rank-and-file candidates won much of an endorsement at the polls in 1956 or earlier elections.

Mr. Eisenhower was the only one for whom there was great and widespread enthusiasm. The President, in the view of most, won reelection as a man people trust. But it isn't easy to separate a man and his program. Just possibly, voters may expect Congress to support him on this whether or not he exercises a strong initiative. Surely the wiser heads in both parties will move cautiously before consigning him to political limbo.

What About Saturday Love Letters?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article by H. I. Phillips entitled "What About Saturday Love Letters?":

WHAT ABOUT SATURDAY LOVE LETTERS?—AND WHERE'LL PEOPLE SWIPE PENS IF POST OFFICE CLOSES FOR A DAY?

(By H. I. Phillips)

It was nice of the Postmaster General to extend the life of correspondence in America for another week. Mr. Summerfield spent most of his life in the automobile business, which may partly explain his threat to take the spotlight off autos and put it on letter carriers.

He gave the country the three-tone mailbox and better mail-wagon upholstery, but last week he forgot to put shock absorbers on Congress and the public.

With Uncle Sam dishing out billions right and left, it is hard to see why the postal service, deep in the red, should be singled out for cuts, but the Postmaster General may not be doing his cause much good by acting more like an auto dealer trying to recover a hardtop from a nonpaying customer than like a Government official trying to win fair

play from Congress. He seems to keep his finger on the horn while talking.

Some members of the appropriations committee are saying things about him that wouldn't be allowed through the mails.

WHAT OF LOVE LETTERS?

At a time when the world's greatest need is affection and comfort, Mr. Summerfield would hold up love letters from the Friday coffee-break to Monday of next week. He would treat romance, courtship, marriage, and a letter to mother strictly under the head of business enterprises.

He could go down into history as the postman who rang only once, and not at all on Saturday.

With his automobile selling background, he talks as an extra not included in the basic price.

Think of the blow to the love life of a nation if millions of tender epistles got stacked up in our post offices from Friday to Monday. And how can an administration boasting of its support for business and prosperity tolerate also a slowdown in business correspondence?

Fancy not being able to enter a post office on Saturday even to swipe a pen or see who's wanted by the police for forgery and safecracking.

The biggest laugh is found in Mr. Summerfield's statement that the cut in service won't apply to special delivery letters. Gosh, a special delivery stamp can delay a letter until an entire congressional session is ended.

Chicago's Negro Population Second Largest in Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Chicago has the second largest Negro population in the country, now over 600,000, compared with half that figure in 1940. I am extending my remarks to include the following article from the widely read and highly rated Chicago Defender, issue of April 13, 1957:

NEW BOOK PROBES STATUS OF CHICAGO'S NEGRO LIFE

The Chicago Negro, who he is, where he comes from, where he lives, and how he has affected the distribution of races in Chicago, is the subject of a new book to be published March 26. The book, the Negro Population of Chicago, was written by Otis D. and Beverly Duncan and published by the University of Chicago Press.

The first complete study of its kind, the Negro Population of Chicago attempts to shed cold statistical light on one of the Nation's hottest subjects.

Chicago is not the only city with a Negro population problem. Thirty northern and western cities, in the period from 1940 to 1950, more than doubled their nonwhite population. The Duncans, a husband and wife research team from the University of Chicago's population-research center, point to New York's Negro population, which has increased from 669,000 to 1,046,000.

Thus New York has the Nation's largest Negro community. Chicago has the second largest with a population of over 600,000—nearly twice the 1940 Negro population.

Since "The Negro Population of Chicago" is a statistical study, little attempt is made in the book to study the consequences of the facts brought to light. The authors' statement on the book is "that one of the major sources of social disorganization in the contemporary American city (is) its inability to accommodate and assimilate the southern Negro."

"The patterns described in this book," they note, "and the social problems arising out of them, are not unique to Chicago." They are observed, with local variations, in each of the northern metropolises where Negroes have increased in numbers at rates of 50 to 100 percent per decade.

"Today the focus of attention, renewal slum clearance programs and the provisions of public housing. But it remains a real question whether such measures can eradicate substandard housing and its attendant problems as rapidly as they are created.

"While the Nation debates the issue of segregation in southern schools, the North is neglecting the so-called race problem at the heart of the problem of the survival of the city itself."

The growth of the Negro population in Chicago resembles, according to the Duncans, the growth of previous foreign-born migratory groups. In other generations it was the influx of Europeans that caused Chicago to grow. Today, most of Chicago's population growth is due to increasing numbers of migrating and multiplying nonwhites.

The most important difference and the Negro migrant is the fact that the Negro faces more barriers to his assimilation in the "melting pot" process and to reaching new economic levels.

For this reason, economic status is the chief factor for determining where new Americans may live, while the movement of the Negro is highly restricted. Hence the improvements in living conditions which we have come to expect of all migrants is to a great extent prevented among Negroes.

Organized and unorganized attempts to restrict the Negro geographically, in addition to social ties and economic differences, have led to the creation of Negro ghettos throughout the country. This is most evident in Chicago.

The tremendous Negro migrations from the South to Chicago during World War II and in the postwar years, stimulated by an acute labor shortage, have filled the city's Negro ghettos to the point where satisfactory adjustment to new life in the North by the newcomers is impossible. In areas surrounding the Negro ghetto, the competition for living space with white residents has been keen and even the cause of violence.

The penetration of Negroes into hitherto white areas of Chicago is a major factor in changing the proportion of whites to Negroes. In the last 20 years, the Negro has increased in number while the white population has decreased. Today 1 of every 6 Chicagoans is nonwhite.

Inheriting the effects of poor educational standards in the South, Chicago's welfare agencies have had to deal with thousands of young adults having practically no education or skills. However, the Duncans show that the number of Chicago-educated Negroes is increasing and changing the character of the nonwhite population.

Further, an increase is seen in the migration of whole family units which should tend to stabilize the behavior of Negro youth.

The last 10 years has seen tremendous improvements in the economic status of the Negro. In 1940 two-thirds of the nonwhite population of Chicago were engaged in unskilled and semiskilled personal services.

In 1950 only one-third of the Negro population was engaged in personal services. A tremendous shift to industrial work, the trades, and to some extent even the professions has taken place.

Baseball: The Game for All America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, today is the opening day for major-league baseball. The President of the United States will throw out the first ball. Thirty thousand people will be crammed in Griffith Stadium. Millions of Americans will await the final score of the first game of the season.

Baseball is the game for all America. It is most aptly described in a tribute by Mr. Ernie Harwell, which first appeared as a guest editorial in the season-opening issue of the Sporting News 2 years ago. It has since become a classic. It has frequently been reprinted, quoted by speakers, and represented by a framed copy in Baseball's Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, N. Y. It has become a classic.

With the approval of the House, I herewith offer it for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

THE GAME FOR ALL AMERICA

(By Ernie Harwell)

Baseball is President Eisenhower tossing out the first ball of the season; and a pudgy schoolboy playing catch with his dad on a Mississippi farm.

It's the big-league pitcher who sings in nightclubs. And the Hollywood singer who pitches to the Giants in spring training.

A tall, thin old man waving a scorecard from his dugout—that's baseball. So is the big, fat guy with a bulbous nose running out one of his 714 home runs with mincing steps.

It's America, this baseball. A reissued newsreel of boyhood dreams. Dreams lost somewhere between boy and man. It's the Bronx cheer and the Baltimore farewell. The left-field screen in Boston, the right-field dump at Nashville's Sulphur Dell, the open stands in San Francisco, the dusty, windswept diamond at Albuquerque. And a rock home plate and a chicken-wire backstop—anywhere.

There's a man in Mobile who remembers a triple he saw Honus Wagner hit in Pittsburgh 46 years ago. That's baseball. So is the scout reporting that a 16-year-old sandlot pitcher in Cheyenne is the new "Walter Johnson."

It's a wizened little man shouting insults from the safety of his bleacher seat. And a big, smiling first baseman playfully tousling the hair of a youngster outside the players' gate.

Baseball is a spirited race of man against man, reflex against reflex. A game of inches. Every skill is measured. Every heroic, every failing is seen and cheered—or booed. And then becomes a statistic.

In baseball, democracy shines its clearest. Here the only race that matters is the race to the bag. The creed is the rule book. Color is something to distinguish one team's uniform from another.

Baseball is Sir Alexander Fleming, discoverer of penicillin, asking his Brooklyn hosts to explain Dodger signals. It's Player Moe Berg speaking seven languages and working crossword puzzles in Sanskrit. It's a scramble in the boxseats for a foul—and a $125 suit ruined. A man barking into a hot microphone about a cool beer, that's baseball. So is the sports writer telling a .383 hitter how to stride, and a 20-victory pitcher trying

to write his impressions of the World's Series.

Baseball is a ballet without music. Drama without words. A carnival without kewpie dolls.

A housewife in California couldn't tell you the color of her husband's eyes, but she knows that Yogi Berra is hitting .337, has brown eyes and used to love to eat bananas with mustard. That's baseball. So is the bright sanctity of Cooperstown's Hall of Fame. And the former big leaguer, who is playing out the string in a class B loop.

Baseball is continuity. Pitch to pitch. Inning to inning. Game to game. Series to series. Season to season.

It's rain, rain, rain splattering on a puddled tarpaulin as thousands sit in damp disappointment. And the click of typewriters and telegraph keys in the press box—like so many awakened crickets. Baseball is a cocky batboy. The old-timer whose batting average increases every time he tells it. A lady celebrating a home-team rally by mauling her husband with a rolled-up scorecard.

Baseball is the cool, clear eyes of Rogers Hornsby, the flashing spikes of Ty Cobb, an overaged pixie named Rabbit Maranville, and Jackie Robinson testifying before a congressional hearing.

Baseball? It's just a game—as simple as a ball and a bat. Yet, as complex as the American spirit it symbolizes. It's a sport, business—and sometimes even religion.

Baseball is tradition in flannel knickerbockers. And chagrin in being picked off base. It is dignity in the blue serge of an umpire running the game by rule of thumb. It is humor, holding its sides when an errant puppy eludes 2 groundskeepers and the fastest outfielder. And pathos, dragging itself off the field after being knocked from the box.

Nicknames are baseball. Names like Zeke and Pie and Kiki and Home Run and Cracker and Dizzy and Dazzy.

Baseball is a sweaty, steaming dressing room where hopes and feelings are as naked as the men themselves. It's a dugout with spike-scarred flooring. And shadows across an empty ball park. It's the endless list of names in box scores, abbreviated almost beyond recognition.

The holdout is baseball, too. He wants 55 grand or he won't turn a muscle. But, it's also the youngster who hitch hikes from South Dakota to Florida just for a tryout.

Arguments, Casey at the Bat, old cigarette cards, photographs, Take Me Out to the Ball Game—all of them are baseball.

Baseball is a rookie—his experience no bigger than the lump in his throat—trying to begin fulfillment of a dream. It's a veteran too—a tired old man of 35, hoping his aching muscles can drag him through another sweltering August and September.

For 9 innings, baseball is the story of David and Goliath, of Samson, Cinderella, Paul Bunyan, Homer's Iliad and the Count of Monte Cristo.

Willie Mays making a brilliant World Series catch. And then going home to Harlem to play stick-ball in the street with his teen-age pals—that's baseball.

And so is the husky voice of a doomed Lou Gehrig saying, "I consider myself the luckiest man on the face of this earth."

Baseball is cigar smoke, hot-roasted peanuts, the Sporting News, winter trades, "down in front," and the "seventh-inning stretch." Sore arms, broken bats, a no-hitter, and the strains of the Star Spangled Banner.

Baseball is a highly paid Brooklyn catcher telling the Nation's business leaders: "You have to be a man to be a big leaguer, but you have to have a lot of little boy in you too."

This is a game for America, this baseball.

Two Towns Show How To Improve by Improving

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include herewith an editorial entitled "Two Towns Show How To Improve by Improving" which appeared in the April 11, 1957, issue of the Courier Journal of Louiville, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

TWO TOWNS SHOW HOW TO IMPROVE BY IMPROVING

The people of Franklin and Cave City have reason to be proud today—proud of their home towns and proud of themselves. For their two cities have just been selected by the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce as the State's outstanding communities in civic progress and local improvement.

There is an object lesson in Franklin and Cave City that might be noted by the leaders of other towns who fear that progress and industrial development are passing them by. For neither of these towns has anything in the way of physical facilities that dozens of other Kentucky towns do not have. Neither of them, a few years ago, had any special lure to offer new business or to attract new industry. Yet in both communities, new industry and expanded business are evident today, part of the overall progress for which the cities have been cited.

New business was not the only reason for their selection, however. In both towns, the merchants are building new store fronts, improving the interiors of their stores, expanding their lines of merchandise. They boast new school buildings, new street-lighting projects, new hospitals, a program of improved pay for teachers, better street projects.

THE RIGHT KIND OF SPIRIT

The point is that both Franklin and Cave City attracted new business because they started these improvement projects first. The people of Franklin started their improvement program not to attract industry but to make the town a place where its educated young people would like to stay. They decided to remake their town, and to change the attitude of the people in it.

When the time came to look for new sources of income and employment, they had a labor survey ready, and $250,000 for industrial site buying, as incentives for potential industrial investors. That's the kind of spirit industry likes to find, and in time new plants began finding their way to Franklin. Now the payrolls from these new plants will help spark further improvement that will make for further expansion. It's a cycle of prosperity that builds on its own momentum.

In too many towns, officials sit and wait and wish for the chicken to come before the egg, unwilling to face the tough fact that civic progress must produce industry before industry can produce prosperity and more progress. Fraklin and Cave City are to be congratulated for having the courage and energy to hatch the egg rather than to sit wishing for a chicken.

The State Chamber of Commerce is to be commended, too, for having a program that recognizes and rewards progress and local initiative. Too often, we fear, chambers of commerce tend to become little more than lobbies for employer groups, given to denunciation of union labor, income taxes, cooperatives and government in general, and to public yearning for the good old days of Harding-type free enterprise. It is an attitude, a state of mind, that can frustrate and stagnate a chamber of commerce as well as a city. For as Franklin and Cave City have shown, it is not enough to stand pat or long for the past.

Great Lakes Water Important to Several States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID S. DENNISON, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. DENNISON. Mr. Speaker, the 11th District of Ohio which I have the honor to represent, is one of the most dynamic and fastest growing in the United States. We have three great ports on the Great Lakes and the welfare and livelihood of hundreds of thousands of people in northeastern Ohio and throughout the State are closely knit with the waters of the Great Lakes. We, in Ohio, cannot permit diversion of any water from the lakes without protest unless there is an overall study to determine the rights of all the States bordering the lakes. The problem we face is set forth clearly in the following editorial from the News-Herald, published in Conneaut, Ohio, one of the major harbor cities on the Great Lakes. I commend careful study of this editorial to the other Members of the House:

STOP NEW WATER STEAL

Conneaut Harbor, with its top-ranking ore port, has a vital interest in hearings now underway in Washington on the proposed diversion of Great Lakes water into the Illinois Waterway.

With the coming of the St. Lawrence seaway, Conneaut and other lake ports will need even deeper harbor channels. Lowering of the lake level from the water diversion would have the opposite effect.

Immediate result of any drop in the lake level would be a reduction in the size of ore cargoes and a resultant increase in transportation costs.

A natural lowering of the lake levels in the last 3 years of at least 21 inches has reduced the cargo capacity of the Great Lakes fleet by 5,040,000 tons, according to Lyndon Spencer, president of the Lake Carriers Association.

"At present the natural trend of lake levels is downward and this trend may well continue for several years," Spencer testified at the Washington hearing. "Under these circumstances increased diversion would only add to the lower levels from natural causes. But whether the lowering is natural or manmade, the effect on vessel capacity and on Great Lakes commerce, is equally grave."

It is estimated the annual potential cargo loss to the United States and Canadian fleets from increased diversion would total almost 1,500,000 tons a year with a resulting economic loss of about $2,500,000.

Present diversion is 1,500 cubic feet a second, plus domestic pumpage, the total of

which already lowers Great Lakes levels by nearly 2 inches.

Bills introduced by Illinois Congressmen would authorize an increase of 1,000 cubic feet a second in the diversion of water from Lake Michigan into the Illinois Waterway.

Congress should turn down this new water steal.

A Day for Schoolma'ams—Why Not?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article by H. I. Phillips, entitled "A Day for Schoolma'ams—Why Not?":

A DAY FOR SCHOOLMA'AMS—WHY NOT?—ONLY JOB THAT'S TOUGHER IS EXTRACTING TEETH IN A MENAGERIE

(By H. I. Phillips)

America is to have a Schoolteacher's Day. It's about time. Who rates it more? A schoolma'am is close to No. 1 in the building of a civilized society. She is a bulwark of progress. She, as much as anybody else, makes America what it is. And she has tough going all along her journey. Consider the public schoolteacher:

Hers is one of the few professions where opposition, contrariness, and stubbornness are nonstop. Her calling takes not only patience, intelligence, skill, and tact, but intestinal fortitude, self-sacrifice, a sense of dedication, and a talent for enduring anguish.

She gets little credit if Junior seems fairly smart, and all the blame if he fails to be Phi Beta Kappa material.

She dedicates the best years of her life to a great purpose and is supposed to be satisfied with a red apple, and maybe one polite sentence in a 2-page note denouncing her for not letting little Willie run the classroom unrebuked.

MUST SUFFER GLADLY

A schoolteacher is entitled to more nervous breakdowns in a single school week than most folks are asked to endure in a lifetime.

She must smile when her heart is broken, her stamina weakened, her patience exhausted and her headaches made king sized.

It is her job to suffer indignities gladly, take it on the chin calmly and register no complaint except by request.

Her job is one of the toughest on earth, barring bear training, teeth extraction in a zoo, and the mental training of army mules.

A schoolma'am must be a glutton for harassment.

She must combine the qualities of Mollie Pitcher, Clara Barton, the Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe, and the grandmother in Little Red Riding Hood.

If Junior grows up to become a millionaire owner of the steelworks she doesn't get honorable mention, but if he winds up in the hoosegow the consensus is that she must shoulder the blame.

She gives much, asks little, and expects less.

All her life she must endure the cries of, "Teacher slapped me for nuthin'," "No matter what you say, he's a good boy," and "I've a good mind to complain to the board of education."

Her career is a sacrifice wrapped in a dedication.

She must love children beyond the call of affection and be kind to moppets even when they pick her as a target when they want to play Indian.

We salute her. And while we are at it we give a cheer for the male teacher, the principal, and the dean.

Hawaiian Statehood Benefits United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, statehood for Hawaii is to the benefit of the United States of America in more ways than one. One of the benefits is that it gives full recognition to the great Americans that compose the population of the Territory of Hawaii. Statehood removes the citizens of Hawaii from the apron strings of the mother—the United States of America.

The record of Hawaii's citizens in war—whether as civilians or as fighting men on the worldwide battlegrounds—has been outstanding. Equally outstanding is the performance of the Americans of Hawaii—and they are all Americans—in the normal everyday pursuits of the United States.

An outstanding exemplification of this Americanism was the recognition given Frank W. C. Loo as one of the Ten Outstanding Young Men of the Nation in 1956.

Nominations for the Ten Outstanding Young Men of America are solicited annually from the general public and are limited to men between the ages of 21 through 35. Two questions are considered by the judges:

First. What outstanding contribution did the nominee make to his work or profession?

Second. What outstanding dedication of service did the nominee make to the general welfare of the people?

Judges on this year's panel were: Adm. William A. Radford, chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Department of the Navy; Walter L. Hayes, Orlando, Fla., president, American Fire and Casualty Co.; W. Howard Chase, New York, N. Y., Communications Counselors, Inc.; Carl T. Rowan, Minneapolis, Minn., Star-Tribune.

William E. Robinson, New York, N. Y., president, the Coca-Cola Co.; John S. Coleman, Detroit, Mich., president, Chamber of Commerce of the United States; Ben H. Wooten, Dallas, Tex., First National Bank in Dallas; Dean Robert G. Storey, Dallas, Tex., SMU law school.

Richard D. Weigle, Annapolis, Md., president, St. John's College; H. Roe Bartle, mayor of Kansas City, Mo.; Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Washington, D. C., bishop of the Methodist Church; Walter B. Martin, M. D., Chicago, Ill., past president, American Medical Association; and Frank Leahy, Michigan City, Ind., Merritt-Chapman & Scott.

It will be noted in the following citation that Frank W. C. Loo was cited as originator and general chairman of National Citizenship Day observance in Hawaii. It is particularly noteworthy that Mr. Loo was educated in the local schools of Hawaii. He is an example of the kind of citizens Hawaii is producing. The United States will add to its resources by the admission of Americans of Hawaii to full-fledged membership in the Union as citizens of the State of Hawaii.

The citation follows:

TEN OUTSTANDING YOUNG MEN OF THE NATION FOR 1956

FRANK W. C. LOO

Born November 20, 1922, Honolulu, Hawaii, attorney at law.

Schools attended: University of Hawaii, United States Merchant Marine Academy, Ohio University, Yale University.

Degrees: Bachelor of arts, bachelor of science, and bachelor of laws.

Affiliations: Kamehameha Lions Club; past president, Chinese Catholic Club; director, Pearl Harbor Apprentice Alumni Association; vice president, Chinese Literary Improvement Association; St. Stephens Church; member, Chinese Chamber of Commerce; La Kalihi-Kai Elementary School PTA.

Activities: Past vice commander, Kau-Tom Post, No. 11, American Legion; advisory board member, St. Anthony's Home for Dependent Children; board member, World Brotherhood, Hawaii chapter; operates own law firm in general practice; active in community affairs, including Americanism and citizenship, religious activities, education, and community betterment.

The legal profession is normally expected to provide more than its share of volunteer leadership for the betterment of the community. Frank Loo, of Honolulu, Hawaii, is to be considered the least of exceptions.

Named the Outstanding Young Man of 1956, Loo has more than demonstrated to the public that members of his profession believe in community service without thought of personal gain or monetary remuneration. Utilizing his professional training for community service, Loo has extended his interests to include active participation in Americanism and citizenship, education, community betterment, and religious development programs.

Engaged in the private practice of law in his own firm since 1952, Loo has served on the important Committee on Unauthorized Practices and Legal Ethics, whose duty it is to investigate and prevent the unlawful practice of law by unlicensed persons, as well as the respectability of maintaining high standards of ethical conduct among attorneys and judges.

Loo has offered his voluntary legal services to several community organizations, including the St. Anthony's Home, a Community Chest institution caring for dependent children; American Legion, Kau-Tom Post, No. 11; Department of Hawaii; the Chinese Catholic Club; and the Oahu Council Diocesan Union of Holy Name Societies.

As originator and general chairman of National Citizenship Day observance in Hawaii, Loo, in cooperation with the junior chamber and the United States district court, arranged 2 ceremonies in 1953 during which some 400 aliens were naturalized before a large Hawaiian audience. For this project, the Honolulu Jaycees earned the highest United States Junior Chamber of Commerce national award for Americanism.

Through his unselfish efforts to help his fellow man and to contribute toward the betterment of his community, Loo has en-

gendered abounding good will in his community toward the legal profession because he stands out as an excellent example of individual leadership for community service without personal gain or monetary remuneration.

Labor Stand on Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, today, as a quarter of a century ago, a great fight is developing in the Congress to assure guaranteed right of jury trials in contempt of court cases.

Twenty-five years ago the issue was whether or not persons charged with contempt of court in connection with labor disputes would be guaranteed jury trial. With the help of the virtually solid vote of southern Members of Congress, American labor won one of its greatest legislative safeguards through the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Today, southern Members of Congress are fighting to assure trial by jury to anyone who may be charged with contempt of court in connection with the proposed civil-rights legislation now pending. I hope that when the showdown comes on this issue, they will not be fighting without support.

Morris Cunningham, Washington correspondent for the Memphis Commercial Appeal, has just published an excellent series of articles reviewing the fight made in 1932 in behalf of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. Mr. Cunningham's painstaking research makes it clear that the issue in 1932 was the same as today, involving the basic American right of jury trial. Under unanimous consent, I include Mr. Cunningham's articles as an extension of my remarks.

The articles follow:

DIXIE, UNIONS, AND JURY TRIAL—SOUTHERNERS STANDING ALONE IN CIVIL RIGHTS JUDICIAL FIGHT—DESERTED BY UNION LEADERS, NORTHERN LIBERALS IN BATTLE FOR GUARANTEED JURY TRIALS—SIMILAR SCRAP OF 25 YEARS AGO RECALLED

(By Morris Cunningham)

WASHINGTON, April 6.—For the second time in this century a great cry is being raised for the guaranteed right of jury trials in contempt of court cases.

This time southerners are demanding that such a guarantee be included in President Eisenhower's civil rights bill.

Twenty-five years ago the battle was fought over the inclusion of a similar guaranty in labor laws, so that persons charged with contempt of court in connection with labor disputes would be guaranteed jury trials.

With the help of Southern congressmen, labor union leaders and Northern liberals won their battle with the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932.

But today, in the new battle, southerners stand virtually alone—deserted by their allies in that bygone battle.

Indeed, modern-day union leaders have switched to the other camp and are actually advocating the injunctive procedures and denial of jury trials in contempt cases they once fought so bitterly.

WELL ENTRENCHED

But today labor unions are well entrenched, their existence no longer threatened by "government by injunction" as it seem to them in bygone years.

This series of articles will attempt to review the history of court injunctions in labor disputes, of their use with the support of troops and police to enforce the hated "yellow dog" labor contract, of the countless persons jailed without jury trials for contempt of court, and of the years of strife and bloodshed before labor achieved—with Southern support—the beginnings of its powerful present-day status.

The articles will endeavor to relate that bloody and bitter period in American history to the present campaign to invoke the same judicial procedures to enforce racial integration in the South.

And in the course of the articles it will be shown how northern liberals and labor leaders have switched their position in relation to court injunctions and the principle of trial by jury.

CONTRACT EXPLAINED

First, it should be explained that a yellow-dog contract was an agreement between employer and employee in which the employees, as a condition to getting a job, agreed to refrain from joining a labor union or participating in union activities.

Through a United States Supreme Court decision prior to 1932, such contracts were enforced through court injunctions, frequently backed by troops and police.

A person who violated an injunction was tried for contempt of court, without a jury, by the judge who issued it. And frequently he was summarily jailed.

A parallel easily can be seen here between the United States Supreme Court's school-desegregation decision and the situation that has arisen from it, including the contempt charges that have been filed at Clinton, Tenn., and the provisions of the administration's civil-rights bill.

The first State court injunction in a labor case was issued in 1888, the first by a Federal court in 1891. Thereafter, injunctions in labor disputes, with contempt charges tried without a jury, became common.

Labor-union leaders, it should be noted, did not recognize the Court decision in respect to the yellow-dog contract as the law of the land.

BITTER WARFARE

Instead, they waged bitter and relentless political warfare against that as well as other adverse court decisions, seeking in every conceivable way to nullify them.

Labor's friends in Congress, including an overwhelming majority of Southerners, took up the battle and fought to override the decisions with Federal legislation.

Bills were introduced in Congress for 14 consecutive years before the Norris-LaGuardia Act finally was passed in 1932, labor's most important victory to that time.

In the bitter years preceding that action, the courts themselves came under attack, frequently on the floors of Congress.

Representative Leonidas C. Dyer, Republican of Missouri, declared on the floor of the House in 1932 that "some of the judges that have been appointed are absolutely without question unfit judicially and otherwise to pass upon matters affecting human rights, as they have demonstrated by the issuance of very arbitrary and unjust injunctions."

HIT BY BANKHEAD

Representative William B. Bankhead, Democrat of Alabama, one of the many Southerners fighting with labor on the issue, declared on the same day:

"It has become apparent that some of the Federal judges, clothed with a little brief authority, seem to have forgotten absolutely the fundamental essence of our judicial system in some of the injunctions they have imposed against organized labor."

As early as 1930, the brilliant Harvard University law professor, Felix Frankfurter, now an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, wrote:

"Organized labor views all law with resentment because of the injunction, and the hostility which it has engendered has created a political problem of proportions."

Roscoe Pound, dean of the Harvard University Law School, likewise commented upon the growing distrust of the courts, wrote:

"The attitude of many of our courts on the subject of liberty of contract is so certain to be misapprehended, is so out of the range of ordinary understanding, the decisions themselves are so academic and so artificial in their reasoning, that they cannot fail to engender such feelings."

URGED RESTORATION

Donald R. Richberg, a labor attorney then representing the Railway Shop Trade Union, wrote: "It is * * * worthwhile to point out the misdirection of persistent efforts to combat natural laws of human conduct with artificial laws."

Former Senator George Wharton Pepper suggested that Congress restrict the courts as a mean of restoring and maintaining public confidence in the juriciary.

"To maintain such confidence," he asked, "must we not confine the courts to the sphere in which the creators of our constitutional system intended them to live and move and have their being?"

DIXIE, UNIONS AND JURY TRIALS—LABOR STAND ON CIVIL RIGHTS IGNORES OWN BATTLE OF THIRTIES

(By Morris Cunningham)

WASHINGTON, April 7.—With jury trial of contempt charges long since guaranteed in labor cases, today's labor union leaders show no concern over a threatened denial of this right in civil-rights proceedings.

On the contrary, today's union leaders are actually advocating that in civil-rights cases the Nation return to the judicial procedure they once denounced as a "Gatling gun on paper."

It was this procedure, before the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932, that was used to enforce the "yellow dog" contracts which banned union membership and which employees had to sign to get jobs.

Felix Frankfurther, now an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, wrote in 1930 that this situation posed "a threat to the very existence of labor unions."

PERILOUS PAST FORGOTTEN

Yet today union leaders appear to have forgotten this perilous past in their zeal to enforce so-called civil rights.

Andrew J. Biemiller, chief lobbyist for the AFL–CIO, is one of the several present-day union leaders who has testified in behalf of the administration's civil-rights bill, which would provide for injunctions to enforce civil rights and which would contain no guaranty for jury trial of contempt charges.

"The AFL–CIO strongly advocates this proposal," Mr. Biemiller told a House Judiciary subcommittee last month.

He said his now powerful labor organization favors the administration bill, and its injunctive procedures, because present laws on civil rights require that charges arising from them must be tried "before a jury drawn from the locality in which the crime was committed."

"Experience shows," he continued, "that in certain types of cases, not limited to civil

rights, the local juries simply will not convict regardless of the evidence."

With that, the modern-day labor lobbyist disposed of an argument that his predecessors in the labor movement vigorously advanced for many bitter years, until they finally won their point with the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

And by a curious coincidence, Mr. Biemiller's contention that the right of trial by jury must be bypassed because juries will not convict in some cases was precisely the same as that advanced against giving labor that right in 1932.

It was raised, among other critics of labor, by Representative Thomas L. Blanton, Democrat of Texas, the only southerner in 1932 who voted against passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act in either the House or Senate.

FEARED SYMPATHIZERS

Mr. Blanton charged that juries hearing contempt cases arising from labor disputes would be composed of labor sympathizers. And pointing to prolabor representatives in the House debate that preceded passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, he demanded:

"What kind of juror would our friend from New York, Representative John P. O'Connor, make in a case like this, a man who says he hates the Federal courts? What kind of a juror would Mr. L. C. Dyer make in an injunction case? What kind of a juror would Mr. Fiorello LaGuardia make? They would have the case decided before it was ever called. I do not want that kind of a juror in my case."

That was the type of argument that was being made against labor only 25 years ago. Yet today union leaders join with the NAACP and other pressure groups in echoing the same arguments in respect to southern juries in civil rights cases.

And Mr. Biemiller is not alone in his latter-day contentions. Walter Reuther, a vice president of the AFL–CIO and head of the United Auto Workers Union, and other modern union leaders also are advocating passage of the administration's civil rights bill.

NO MENTION OF TRIAL RIGHT

At its February 4 meeting in Miami Beach, the AFL–CIO executive committee adopted a resolution stating:

"We urge that the present civil-rights laws be strengthened by authorizing the attorney general to bring civil actions to prevent or redress certain acts or practices which violate existing civil-rights acts."

This 1957 labor resolution made no mention of preserving the right of trial by jury in contempt cases arising from court injunctions. Since the introduction of the Administration's civil-rights bill last year labor union leaders have maintained a notable silence on this issue. But it was not always so.

In 1932, labor witnesses before the House Judiciary Committee, then considering the proposed Norris-LaGuardia Act, made vigorous arguments in behalf of trial by jury in contempt cases arising from labor injunctions.

The hearing transcript shows that James S. Easby-Smith, counsel for the American Federation of Labor, thumbed the lawbooks all the way back to 1200 A. D. to try to prove the validity of jury trials in contempt cases.

CITED ENGLISH LAW

Mr. Easby-Smith argued that English law, from which American jurisprudence was derived, clearly provided for jury trials in such cases.

He said the Magna Carta, the English Bill of Rights, decreed that "no man shall be destroyed nor punished save upon the judgment of his peers and the law of the land." And, he said, "that meant a jury trial."

Donald R. Richberg, representing railroad unions, picked up the argument where Mr. Easby-Smith left off.

"The prevailing English practice up to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States," Mr. Richberg told the committee, "was to punish contempt of court through trial by jury, usually upon indictment or information.

"And yet the argument was made and had been made in the Supreme Court of the United States for 100 years that it was the inherent power of a court of equity to try contempt cases by the court, and that when the court was created by the Federal Government that power was poured into the court. It was absolutely untrue historically, and it was untrue as a fact, and of the intention of the framers of the Constitution who passed the first judicial act.

"I have made this point here because one of the questions here involved (in the proposed Norris-LaGuardia Act) is the right of trial by jury."

The Norris-LaGuardia Act became law March 23, 1932. In addition to banning "yellow dog" contracts, it assured for labor two rights which southerners now seek to incorporate into the administration's civil-rights bill—a hearing before the issuance of injunctions, and jury trial of contempt charges resulting from any alleged violation of the injunction.

DIXIE UNIONS, AND JURY TRIALS—SOUTH'S STAND CONSISTENT

(By Morris Cunningham)

WASHINGTON, April 8.—Southern Congressmen have been consistent in fighting for the right of jury trials in contempt court cases.

Twenty-five years ago they fought side-by-side with prolabor Congressmen to pass the Norris-LaGuardia Act and to assure jury trials in contempt cases arising from labor disputes.

Today Dixie Congressmen are making approximately the same arguments their predecessors made a quarter century ago to obtain this same guaranty in the administration's civil rights bill.

There is a ring of familiarity in the Dixie arguments of today and 25 years ago. For instance, here is what Representative Gordon Browning (Democrat of Tennessee), later two-time Governor of Tennessee, said on the House floor in behalf of the Norris-LaGuardia bill, March 8, 1932:

"Another principle we undertake to enunciate here is not new, and that is the right of trial by jury. The insistence is made against this measure that it is robbing the people of the right to prevent a wrong, which would be better than undertaking to remunerate them for the wrong done.

"In my humble opinion that is not the principal reason for those people undertaking to hold on to this practice of the Federal courts.

"The principal reason is that they would rather undertake to convince one man, who is schooled in the thought of their economic beliefs, than to convince 12 men of their rights in a trial by jury.

"The right of trial by jury is a constitutional right. It goes back to the first declaration of English rights.

"We have a situation now by which a man may be enjoined by a Federal court without notice, and either through ignorance or intention he violates that injunction. He is arraigned before the court, which is not only the legislature but the grand jury, the trial judge and the prosecuting attorney; the man is sent to jail without a trial by jury, which is guaranteed to him under the Constitution; and then another court on appeal, 2 or 3 years later, may decide that the injunction was wrongfully issued.

"However, that man has been punished, not only wrongfully, but punished contrary to the fundamentals of the Constitution. I say it is not right for such a practice to be perpetuated in this free country of ours, and that is one of the things which is being objected to in the passage of this bill."

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shows that at the conclusion of his remarks, Mr. Browning was applauded, presumably by and Northern liberal and prolabor Congressmen.

Yet today, when Dixie Congressmen make approximately the same arguments in behalf of jury trial of contempt charges in civil-rights cases, they are greeted by rebuttals from labor union leaders, and by cries of derision from the Northern liberals.

Mr. Browning was not the only southerner to support passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. In fact, the RECORD shows that only one southerner voted against it in the House, and none in the Senate.

The single Southern opposition vote was cast by Representative Thomas L. Blanton, Democrat, of Texas.

Congress had thought hat it had successfully assured jury trials in contempt cases involving labor with the passage of the Clayton Act in 1914. But a series of court decisions greatly restricted its applicaiton. Representative Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Republican, of New York, coauthor of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, charged that the courts manned by politically-appointed judges had emasculated the Clayton Act.

Representative E. H. Crump, Democrat, of Tennessee, later to become Tennessee's topmost Democratic leader, was a Member of the House in 1932 and joined in supporting and voting for the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

So did Representative JERE COOPER, Democrat, of Tennessee, who is still a Member of the House; Senators Kenneth D. McKellar and Cordell Hull of Tennessee, and all of the other Tennessee Congressmen of that year.

Also voting for the bill were the Mississippi delegation, which included Representative John E. Rankin and Senators Pat Harrison and Hubert D. Stephens, among others.

Senators Joseph T. Robinson and Hattie W. Caraway and the Representatives from Arkansas also joined with the other southerners, with the single exception of Mr. Blanton, of Texas, in supporting the labor bill.

Southern support was so great, in fact, that the RECORD shows that a good-natured dispute broke out on the House floor as to whether the South could take credit for the passage of the bill.

Representative Charles L. Gifford, Republican, of Massachusetts, took exception to a remarks by Representative William B. Bankhead, Democrat, of Alabama.

"Why, down there," the Massachusetts Republican exclaimed, "they resist efforts to organize; they say to the American Federation of Labor that they are entirely unwelcome to come into those States to help organize labor there."

"And yet," Mr. Gifford continued, "we hear the Democratic Party of the South claiming credit for this bill favoring organized labor."

Mr. Gifford couldn't understand it. But there was more to the Norris-LaGuardia Act than prolabor legislation. It involved the constitutional right of trial by jury—a right for which Dixie Congressmen are still fighting.

MR. CELLER REFUTES HIMSELF

(By Morris Cunningham)

WASHINGTON, April 9.—Twenty-five years ago Representative EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, protested the widespread use of court injunctions in labor disputes.

Today Mr. CELLER, now chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, takes a different view in respect to injunctions in civil-rights cases.

And while he supported the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932, which assured jury trial of contempt charges in labor cases, he

is today demonstrating no interest in the southern fight to guarantee jury trial of contempt charges in civil-rights cases.

In fact, he is reported to have voted with the majority in a recent executive session of his committee during which a southern amendment to the administration's civil-rights bill was rejected 17 to 15.

On March 8, 1932, Mr. CELLER delivered a speech on the House floor in behalf of the Norris-LaGuardia Act and dwelled at length upon abuses of the injunctive power in labor disputes the same power the civil-rights bill would invoke to enforce racial integration.

"I have read injunctions so fantastic, so arbitrary, that they were practically but one step from a threat of jail to a striker if he coughed, spat, or chewed. Some injunctions read very much like orders of an army of occupation bent upon vicious revenge. Many injunctions are not used to protect property from irreparable loss, but issued to disorganize unions and to terrorize and intimidate those on strike."

He told the House the Norris-LaGuardia Act would "follow the English practice and relegate the disputants to the criminal side of the law and to actions for damages."

"Only in rare instances," he said, "do we allow injunctions in this bill."

Mr. CELLER also lashed out against the Supreme Court decision validating the "yellow dog" labor contract and struck at abuses of the injunctive power by Federal judges.

"Because of the laxity of Federal judges," he said, reviewing the judicial history of injunctions in labor disputes, "all manner of abuses crept in the issuing of injunctions. One of the most obnoxious of these was the granting of an injunction at simply an ex parte hearing.

"The bill before you this afternoon precludes the issuing of an injunction without a hearing and the taking of testimony. It destroys forever the issuance of an injunction after an ex parte hearing. Both sides must be heard."

Mr. Celler was speaking then, of course, of injunctions against labor unions. The administration's 1957-model civil-rights bill, which he is supporting, contains no guaranty of both sides being heard before an injunction is issued.

Southerners have charged that the bill is so broad that an injunction could be obtained against people who had no knowledge it had even been issued.

And the debates show that this was one of the arguments in behalf of the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Senator Huey P. Long, Democrat, of Louisiana, cited this instance in support of the act:

"In Monroe, La., when the Vicksburg, Shreveport & Pacific Railroad strike occurred there was a man named Lynch who was running a grocery store. He had received the trade of the employees of the railroad for from 20 to 25 years. They all went out on strike. He inserted a little notice in the newspapers that he did not care for the trade of any man who was brought into Monroe, La., and used as a strikebreaker.

"Lynch was immediately brought before the United States court in Shreveport, La., one-hundred-and-some-odd miles away, on the charge that he was guilty of contempt because there had been an injunction against certain specified employees of the railroad.

"There the court entertained jurisdiction against Lynch and several other persons because of nothing on earth except they had inserted in the newspapers a notice that they were loyal to the citizens of the town and did not care for the trade of people who came in there in order to break up the strike."

He added that the merchant was "lodged in jail and served 30 days' imprisonment."

Senator Long opposed an amendment to the Norris-LaGuardia Act that would have given Federal judges power to issue injunctions against labor unions to restrain threatened offenses.

"If the word 'threatened' is inserted in the bill, then the gate has been thrown open," Senator Long said. "That is all a Federal judge needs for a ground upon which to issue the injunction. The threat of one man is as good as the threat of a thousand men, because under the power of a Federal court the injunction generally is not restricted to the man who is directly enjoined."

Mr. CELLER likewise opposed an amendment that would have authorized injunctions to prevent intimidation.

"An examination of the precedents in this country and in the State and Federal courts," he said, "will show that the word 'intimidation' forms the basis of greatest abuse in labor injunctions. The cases seem to indicate that the word 'intimidation' is not capable of exact definition, and that hence the courts become laws unto themselves. There is no limit to what the judges embrace within the word 'intimidation.' If this amendment were adopted, it would cover all sorts of peaceful and lawful actions."

These arguments are interesting in respect to the administration's civil-rights bill, since it would authorize the Attorney General to seek injunctions in civil-rights cases on the basis of threats or intimidation.

DIXIE, UNIONS AND JURY TRIALS—FRANKFURTER ASKED FOR JURY

(By Morris Cunningham)

WASHINGTON, April 10.—A brilliant Harvard University law professor who now sits on the United States Supreme Court once coauthored a book that was replete with arguments in behalf of jury trials in criminal contempt of court cases.

Prof. Felix Frankfurter, now Justice Frankfurter, also is credited with drafting the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932 that guaranteed jury trials in contempt cases arising from labor disputes.

In his book, entitled "The Labor Injunction," published in 1930 and coauthored by Nathan Greene, Justice Frankfurter traces the history of the labor movement in the United States and points again and again to abuses of the injunction and subsequent contempt charges tried without juries.

Southerners in Congress today are fighting for this same right, the right of trial by jury in contempt cases, to be incorporated in the administration's civil-rights bill.

Justice Frankfurther is not the only Supreme Court Justice to let his views be known in this matter prior to becoming a member of the Supreme Court.

Three former Supreme Court Justices, all from the South, supported the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932 while they were Members of Congress. They were Senator Hugo Black, Democrat, of Alabama, Senator James F. Byrnes, Democrat, of South Carolina, and Representative Fred M. Vinson, Democrat, of Kentucky.

Justice Frankfurter perhaps summed up his view on the right of trial by jury in contempt cases when he wrote:

"The grievances aroused by summary prosecutions for contempt and their legislative appeasement long antedate labor injunctions. But the incidence of hardship has, in our day, fallen heaviest upon labor, because of the widespread threat of summary punishment conveyed by every labor injunction.

"The heart of the problem is the power, for all practical purposes, of a single judge to issue orders, to interpret them, to declare disobedience and then to sentence."

He said the injunction "employs the most powerful resources of the law on one side of a bitter social struggle."

Pointing to the misuse of contempt proceedings by Federal courts in previous labor disputes, Justice Frankfurter cautioned that in some instances, "a stranger to an injunction suit may still be punished for contempt of the injunction."

Many proponents of the right of trial by jury in contempt proceedings argue that this is the point at issue now in the Clinton, Tenn., case, where 17 persons have been charged with contempt in connection with the integration of Clinton High School. In that case Federal Judge Robert L. Taylor hasn't decided whether he will grant jury trials.

Justice Frankfurter opined that "trial by jury in contempt proceedings is an innovation in modern practice, but is a return to what is old in the history of English law."

And he said that "since a charge of criminal contempt is essentially an accusation of crime, all the constitutional safeguards available to the accused in a criminal trial should be extended to prosecutions for such contempt."

Justice Frankfurter's theory was not an unpopular one. Both the Democratic and Republican national platforms of 1928 had scored abuses in the use of injunctions and had called for reforms.

The Norris-LaGuardia Act, passed in 1932, breezed through the House by a vote of 362 to 14 and the Senate by a vote of 75 to 5.

Many prominent Congressmen, some of whom are still in the House or Senate, supported the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the RECORD shows.

They included, to name a few: House Speaker Sam Rayburn (Democrat, Texas), Representative Clarence Cannon (Democrat, Missouri), Representative Howard W. Smith (Democrat, Virginia), Representative Wright Patman (Democrat, Texas), Representative Martin Dies (Democrat, Texas), Senator Matthew M. Neely (Democrat, West Virginia), House Majority Leader John M. McCormack (Democrat, Massachusetts), House Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin, Jr. (Republican, Massachusetts), Senator Dennis Chavez (Democrat, New Mexico), Senator Huey P. Long (Democrat, Lousiana), Representative John Rankin (Democrat, Mississippi), Representative Fred A. Hartley, Jr., (Republican, New Jersey) (coauthor of the later Taft-Hartley Act), and various others.

This combination of southerners, northern liberals, and westerners indeed gave truth to the statement of former Justice Story of the United States Supreme Court who said "the trial by jury is justly dear to the American people."

Viewing the past, southerners today find it difficult to understand the present opposition of labor and northern liberals to the right of trial by jury in contempt cases arising from civil right's cases.

The Julio Centeno Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE S. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following letter from the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs regarding the case of Julio Centeno:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., April 12, 1957.

The Honorable GEORGE S. LONG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LONG: On April 1, 1957, you inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an As-

sociated Press dispatch that appeared in the Washington (D. C.) Evening Star for March 29, 1957, concerning a veteran who plunged to his death from atop the Veterans' Administration Building at 252 Seventh Avenue, New York City, N. Y. Because of your interest in the matter, I am furnishing you some additional data about this veteran.

Mr. Julio Centeno's records in the Veterans' Administration reveal that this World War I veteran filed an application for pension on March 29, 1956. Although he served from July 10, 1918 to December 23, 1918, the Service Department records show as a result of lost time due to a. w. o. l. and confinement, Mr. Centeno had less than the 90 days required service for entitlement to monetary benefits and his claim was accordingly disallowed. In October 1956, the possibility of affording him domiciliary care at the Veterans' Administration Center, Bath, N. J., was under consideration. This the veteran declined, giving as his reasons that he had found a satisfactory place to live and was in receipt of aid from the department of welfare. There is no record of any subsequent contact that he had with our New York office. Even on the day of his appearance on the roof of the building and his subsequent death, he had not contacted any of our people at the regional office nor asked them for any assistance.

I have furnished you this report with the thought in mind that you may wish to enter it in the RECORD also, so that those who may possibly have gained an unfavorable impression from the press dispatch about the Veterans' Administration relations with this veteran may be more fully acquainted with the pertinent details.

Sincerely yours,

H. V. HIGLEY, *Administrator.*

Public Assistance for Needy Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD today a joint resolution adopted by the Wisconsin State Legislature, relating to a memorial to Congress concerning public assistance granted to needy Indians.

The resolution follows:

A JOINT RESOLUTION RELATING TO A MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS CONCERNING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE GRANTED TO NEEDY INDIANS

Whereas the proportion of needy Indians receiving public assistance from the categorical aid programs administered by the State department of public welfare is much higher than that for the population as a whole; and

Whereas under special legislation (sec. 639, title 25 of the United States Code), the Federal Government provides 80 percent of the State and local government share of public assistance to New Mexico and Arizona, thus recognizing the need for equalizing disproportionate burdens placed upon the State and local governments by reason of the location of Indian reservations and concentrations of Indian populations therein: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the senate (the assembly concurring), That the Congress of the United States be respectfully memorialized to provide equitable financial treatment to State governments with respect to aid provided under social-security programs to Indians living in this State; and that copies of this resolution shall be delivered to the Secretary of the Interior, the members of the congressional delegation of Wisconsin, and the President of the United States.

ROBERT G. MAROTZ,
Speaker of the Assembly.
ARTHUR L. MAY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.
W. P. KNOWLES,
President of the Senate.
LAWRENCE R. LARSEN,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.

The Tuttle Creek Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include a copy of House Resolution No. 41 forwarded to me by the Honorable Jess Taylor, speaker of the house of representatives, Topeka, Kans. This is a resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States and the appropriate committee thereof, to direct special attention to the land-procurement practices of the Corps of Army Engineers in the Tuttle Creek Dam area of northeastern Kansas, and was adopted on April 3, 1957, by the House of Representatives of the State of Kansas.

The resolution follows:

Whereas the Tuttle Creek Dam on the Big Blue River in northeastern Kansas is in the process of construction by the Corps of Army Engineers; and

Whereas this $90 million project encompasses 53,000 acres of land in a highly developed and productive agricultural area, resulting in the removal of 2 third-class cities and 4 towns and the dislocation of nearly 600 farm homes, 19 cemeteries, scores of schools and churches, and involves relocation of parts of 2 railroads, 1 Federal highway, 6 State highways, and hundreds of miles of county and township roads; and

Whereas congressional appropriations for this project, as a part of the Kansas River Basin flood-control plan were finally made afer 15 years of serious questioning as to the advisability and economic feasibility of this project by Presidential and State commissions and engineering studies, organizations, and legislative bodies of the State of Kansas; and

Whereas violent objection to this project by the several thousand residents of the Tuttle Creek area drew congressional and nationwide attention to this project; and

Whereas the people of said Tuttle Creek area repeatedly through the years voiced their objections to this project in personal and delegation appearances before the congressional Appropriations Committees of both the House and Senate; and

Whereas assurances were repeatedly given to the people to be displaced by said Tuttle Creek Dam, both by these congressional committees and the personnel of the Corps of Army Engineers that, in event of construction of this project, very effort would be made to see that the people in the affected area would not have inflicted on them undue economic hardship and loss as a result of such project and so far as possible they would be left in as favorable economic position following displacement as they were before being forced to move; and

Whereas appraisals and purchase of land and residential properties in said Tuttle Creek area are in the process of being made by the land procurement office of the Corps of Army Engineers; and

Whereas appraisement of property in the cities and towns in the Tuttle Creek area are being made on the basis of value in present location with no consideration given to replacement cost in kind in another location; and

Whereas the high percent of refusals to accept the offered price by those whose properties are appraised and the ever-increasing number of condemnation actions being filed against residents of the Tuttle Creek area indicates dissatisfaction with the procedures and treatment being accorded the people of this area in matters of appraisals: Now therefore

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Kansas, That we respectively urge, request, and petition the Congress of the United States to make such inquiry into the land procurement procedures of the Corps of Engineers, issue such directives, and take such action as may be necessary to insure the fulfillment of the intent of congressional appropriations committees as expressed to the people of the Tuttle Creek area and as assured these people by the Corps of Army Engineers; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the house of representatives be directed to send a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, each Member of the Congress of the United States, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget of the United States, and to the Chief of the United States Corps of Army Engineers.

I hereby certify that the above resolution originated in the house, and was adopted by that body April 3, 1957.

JESS TAYLOR,
Speaker of the House.
A. E. ANDERSON,
Chief Clerk of the House.

Aid to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Star of April 10, 1957, on the subject of American economic aid to Poland:

Once again, the Eisenhower administration is getting an important assist from Democratic Senators in a ticklish policy move.

The administration is thinking in terms of a $75 million deal with Poland, under which the Poles would receive loans for the purchase of surplus farm commodities and machinery. Conspicuous among the opponents are Minority Leader KNOWLAND and Senator STYLES BRIDGES, chairman of the Senate G. O. P. Policy Committee. They say that such a deal would indirectly aid Russia by easing demands for help which the Poles otherwise would make on the Kremlin.

This probably is true. But the risks of indirectly helping the Russians have to be

balanced against the advantages of direct help to the Poles, assuming they want to go through with the deal. On this score, it seems to us that the best interests of the United States will be served by a reasonable attempt to lessen rather than to increase Polish dependence on Moscow, and it is gratifying to see such prominent Democrats as Senators RUSSELL, MANSFIELD, and SPARKMAN coming to the support of the administration.

Gallup Poll on National Prohibition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I now wish to insert in the RECORD the following extraneous material that has been delivered to me by Mr. Clayton M. Wallace, executive director, National Temperance League, Inc., 131 Independence Avenue SE., Washington, D. C. The article is as follows:

GALLUP POLL ON NATIONAL PROHIBITION DOESN'T REFLECT TRUE PICTURE OF LIQUOR SITUATION, TEMPERANCE LEADER CHARGES IN STATEMENT

"The Gallup Poll on National Prohibition (published locally in Washington Post-Times Herald, April 9) fails to reflect many significant trends in America against alcoholic beverages," Clayton M. Wallace, executive director, National Temperance League, Inc., said today.

"While national prohibition was the method of dealing with the liquor question under the 18th amendment," said Mr. Wallace in a statement, "today we live under the 21st amendment, which gives to each State the right to deal with the liquor question in its own way.

"Under the 21st amendment, a State may have a liquor monopoly system, a license system, local option, or statewide prohibition. Under the 21st amendment, there is a persistent effort to dry up 'wet' territory through local option, with small steady gains toward the 'dry' side.

"Texas has 144 dry counties with 80 more partly dry and only 30 still wet. Oak Cliff, Tex., a Dallas surburb with 225,000 population, voted dry last fall. Polk County, largest dry county in Florida, faced the possibility of a wet-dry election this month. No election was held because the liquor interests could not get enough signatures on their petitions to call up the election. Regardless of public sentiment on national prohibition, there is a real growth in dry sentiment at the local and State levels.

"The recent Gallup Poll shows the strongest dry sentiment in the South. It is in that area that much territory has gone dry under local option. Recent studies made by the research department of the National Temperance League show that the rate of alcoholism in the South is less than half of that in the Northeastern States.

"In a study of the estimated alcoholics per 100,000 adult population for 1953 the national average was 4,390, while the average for 9 Southern States was 2,490. The average for the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware and District of Columbia was 5,650.

"On the west coast, California's estimated number of alcoholics per 100,000 adult population was 7,060. We believe these figures show that where the sale of alcoholic beverages is reduced by local option, the harmful results of drinking are also reduced. Where the sale of beer, wine, and liquor is wide open, alcoholism and other harmful effects of drinking are much more widespread.

"Furthermore, there is no doubt of a rising tide of temperance sentiment in the churches of America, who are alarmed over the effects of alcohol on the character of the American people."

Ike Hasn't Changed—He's for Economy Where It Can Be Made

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial appearing in the Ashland Times Gazette of March 30, 1957, one of the outstanding newspapers of our district. I recommend it to the Members of Congress.

IKE HASN'T CHANGED—HE'S FOR ECONOMY WHERE IT CAN BE MADE

People who are worried about "What's Happened to Ike?" can rest a bit more easy these days.

In his Thursday press conference, President Eisenhower quipped:

"It is a great satisfaction to me to find out there are so many economy-minded people in Washington. They didn't used to be here."

And he also said:

"If we could get these things (i. e., service provided at a loss by the postal service) on a business basis and tackle the problems where the money is going out, we would save a whole lot."

He also was quoted as remarking:

"You can save some money here and there, and I'm all for it to the last dollar."

This sounds more like the President who sought office in 1952 on an economy platform and who ripped some $10 million from his predecessor's proposed budget in 1953.

But Eisenhower also made some comments Thursday that the American people should seriously weigh and evaluate.

"No one," he said, "has urged cutting the Armed Forces by 20 or 10 percent or any other thing that will give us a significant saving in the budget."

National security, including foreign aid, totals more than $45 billions of the $71.8 billion budget proposed by the President and his staff.

Not until these measures can be measurably sliced, as Ike points out, can the people of the country expect any truly large reductions in expenditures.

Certainly it is true that some money can be saved here and there. But it is actually a drop in the bucket compared to the big items in the budget.

Someone has pointed out that everyone in Washington could be laid off and the saving would be something less than 10 percent of the total budget this year.

Whether or not that figure is accurate is open to question, but it illustrates well the basic fact that the United States cannot retain its vital position of world leadership unless it remains strong and assists those who keep it strong and influential in the world today.

The price of staying strong is steep, but it is far more economical than allowing ourselves to slip and become the victims of a more costly war.

We agree that economies can be effected in certain areas. But we are not so naive as to believe that piddling savings will materially reduce the budget or will result in any tax reductions at this juncture.

The temper of the people may be high over the budget.

But as yet we have seen no concrete proposals to reduce it measurably without sacrificing in the very areas in which we cannot afford to weaken ourselves.

We believe Ike is sincere and is trying to save where savings are possible and logical. We do not believe he has changed in attitude from 1952.

He is merely more familiar now with the needs than he was during some of the more extreme campaign expressions in 1952.

And we can't criticize a man for changing his position to aline himself with the real situation.

USIA Movie Subsidy Revealed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Post and Times Herald of April 11, 1957:

USIA MOVIE SUBSIDY REVEALED

(By Frank Eleazer)

The United States Information Agency (USIA) secretly spent $100,000 in 1953 to subsidizes the production of a commercial anti-Communist movie for showing in American movie houses, it was disclosed yesterday.

A House Government Operations subcommittee made public recent closed-door testimony in which a top official of the propaganda agency conceded that the movie turned out to be a box-office failure.

He said this unfortunately is the history of motion-picture documentaries.

Agency officials refused even to tell the subcommittee the name of the movie or to say where it is being shown now. But it indicated that a foreign-language version, financed by non-Government interests, is now in production.

The subcommittee held hearings on the USIA's request for $140 million to finance its operations in the new fiscal year beginning July 1. The request was $27 million above the Agency's current budget.

The Agency also wants an extra $4 million to build a powerful new radio transmitter for its overseas Voice of America broadcasts.

INITIAL DENIAL CHARGED

Subcommittee Chairman JOHN J. ROONEY, Democrat, New York, charged that the Agency's motion-picture director, Turner B. Sheldon, first denied to him that USIA had any connection with the anti-Communist picture which ROONEY said he saw at a Washington movie house.

But he said Shelton and Clive L. Duval II, the Agency's General Counsel, came to his office the following day and told him the story.

The heavily censored 741-page testimony did not make clear to what extent USIA has participated in such ventures, although Shelton said this was the only case he knew

of involving a film produced for distribution in this country.

Elsewhere, the hearings showed that the Agency has budgeted $755,924 in the new fiscal year for a secret motion-picture project known as Kingfish.

Shelton told the subcommittee USIA is making movies locally in 44 countries. These generally are documentaries, he said, which "advance the cultural interests" of this country, explain American positions, or expose how Communists infiltrate local governments.

OTHER HIGHLIGHTS

Other highlights of the testimony:

Former film producer Eugene W. Castle said Congress should take the USIA out of the news business and leave the field to the regular private news agencies. USIA wants spend $11,474,000 on its press service in fiscal 1958—a $1,594,000 increase. Castle also said the Nation would be better served if the Agency were abolished altogether and its necessary functions handled by the State Department.

Subcommittee members questioned whether the USIA wire service, operated last year at a cost of $1,280,000, duplicates commercial news services like the United Press. Officials said it does not. The service goes to about 10,000 publications, organizations, and officials.

USIA is boosting its TV output. It said a check last fall showed its canned shows were being used on 138 of the 185 TV stations in the free world outside the United States and Canada.

The agency is stepping up its radio broadcasts, known as the Voice of America. Instead of the $16,849,479 it got this year it wants $27,387,767. A new land-based transmitter would be built in the Greek area to replace the shipborne transmitter, *Courier*, which has been tied up off the island of Rhodes for 4 years.

The agency wants to spend $2,930,000 under its new budget distributing books. In addition to purchases of regular editions it will print 7,455,000 low-cost paperback volumes in 19 languages to sell at 10 to 40 cents a copy.

Negro Band Leader Dizzy Gillespie for several months last year received for an overseas culture tour a Government-guaranteed salary higher than President Eisenhower's. Gillespie was paid $2,150 a week—about $150 a week more than the President.

The Great Giveaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, there is a new book just released which ought to be "must" reading for every American taxpayer. It is the Great Giveaway, by Eugene W. Castle, author, world traveler, and authority on motion pictures and propaganda. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the following articles about it: An editorial from the March 18, 1957, issue of the Manchester (N. H.) Union Leader entitled "the Great Giveaway," the featured book review in the May 1957 issue of American Mercury magazine; and the review from the Christian Herald edited by the Reverend Daniel A. Poling.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Manchester Union Leader, March 16, 1957]

THE GREAT GIVEAWAY

Unless you're able to keep your emotions fully under control, we advise you not to read Eugene W. Castle's latest book, The Great Giveaway. We'll guarantee that Mr. Castle's expose of the foreign aid scandal, which has so far cost American taxpayers nearly $60 billion, is going to thoroughly excite even the most complacent. To whet the appetite, here's a sampling from this great book, recently published by Henry Regnery Company, Chicago:

"We have sent our dollars marching sixty billion strong over the world's far lands in quest of mutual security. The prize, like a will o' the wisp, has eluded us. The world is still in turmoil and danger. There is no security, mutual or otherwise.

"What have these dollars brought us?

"They have dammed great rivers far away. They have built fine highways for others to travel. They have reared hundreds of industrial plants under flags which many of us cannot even recognize. They have dispatched thousands of American technicians to remote India and elsewhere. They have poured out our resources to distant peoples everywhere.

"Our billions of dollars have delivered jet planes across the seas and some of these planes have been diverted to misuse. Our dollars have given vast armaments to friendly nations to strengthen them against aggression, and some of those armaments have been misdirected to the invasion of other countries. Our budgets have helped sustain the domestic budgets of Europe, while our own debt remains higher per capita than in any other country in the world.

"What measure of security for America has been attained from all this?

"At home, mutual security is in a large way responsible for the denial of tax-relief to millions of Americans whose earnings have been nibbled away by the Federal Government to pay for foreign spending ventures.

"The facts given in this book are only those that have pierced the mantle of secrecy veiling the mutual security program. They are but part of the story, the part that Washington's bureaucrats could not conceal. The full story will perhaps never be known to the American people."

Be sure to read Eugene Castle's The Great Giveaway! Available at all booksellers on April 15, 1957.

[From the American Mercury Magazine of May 1957]

THE GREAT GIVEAWAY

(By Eugene W. Castle)

(Henry Regnery & Co., Chicago)

Unless all signs deceive, Eugene W. Castle has written the book which will confound the foreign aid zealots in Washington this year.

It is a book which gives the American people the other side of the foreign aid debate—a side which has long been awaiting an advocate.

So far, the foreign aid bloc, sparked by the White House itself, has had things pretty much its own way in Congress. With the appearance of the Great Giveaway, the Washington billion dollar spenders will be driven upon an uncomfortable defensive. This man Castle has the rare gift of asking unwelcome questions. The little men in the Washington agencies who supply the speeches and the charts for the foreign aid big brass will have a rough time during the next few months scurrying around to find the answers to Castle's verbal blockbusters.

The most telling argument in the Great Giveaway is the revelation that we are beginning to depend upon foreign aid as a substitute for a foreign policy. The bewildered men in Washington have reached the stage of vertigo in the cold war. They are running out of expedients. Foreign aid has come to them in this dilemma as a safe and painless way to give the appearance of having a foreign policy, without actually doing anything to provoke the Russians. In the Eisenhower administration, foreign aid has become a sort of glorified numbers game. Only the hapless taxpayer is unhappy under the program, and hitherto he has been kept in blissful ignorance of the total sting of the giveaways.

Along comes Gene Castle to blurt out the hidden truths. Some of the things which he tells us are nightmarish in their impact. For instance: Since 1947 we have poured out over $60 billion in foreign aid, and we are more unfriended today than we were when we began. In our desperate desire to purchase friends, we have lavished billions upon neutral nations such as India, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, and so forth, which will not even fight on our side in the next world war. In our technical aid and development programs we have opened the door to a lush future of giveaways which some doubledomes are now seriously estimating in the trillions. The whole program reeks with the imprint of waste, inefficecny, and irresponsible planlessness.

One of the best parts of the book is Castle's description of the sordid pressures in Washington which result in the annual aid appropriation. These pressures include (1) the bureaucratic drive to get more money to maintain empty and bankrupt projects which are supplying prestige and power to incompetent men, and (2) the pressure of what the author describes as big business, big banking, and big labor, which financially profits from the spendings. The hollow farce of so-called Washington investigations of foreign aid is sketched pitilessly by the author. One of the disconcerting things about the book is Castle's uncomfortable habit of naming names and giving instances.

The book is not an exercise in negativism. Castle concedes the good which has been accomplished by foreign aid in wartime, or in the reconstruction difficulties which follow war. Where he takes issue with the Washington spenders is in his refusal to accept aid as a permanent peacetime program. He shudders at the spectacle of a free world which is kept viable only through the constant economic blood transfusions of American dollars. He describes, with searing words, the basic insecurity of a world which rests upon such shaky political foundations.

If, as now seems apparent, the Eisenhower administration is resolved to take its whole Middle East and Asiatic policy upon the bulkheads of foreign aid, then The Great Giveway is the book which its propagandists must answer during the coming months. It is a book which should easily become a best seller. Crisply written in language which crackles and stings, it is a book which is a controversialist's must. Few books of the 1957 season will come with such apt timeliness. Few will raise more hackles on the backs of the political truth dodgers.

[From the Christian Herald]

THE GREAT GIVEAWAY, BY EUGENE W. CASTLE (HENRY REGNERY CO., CHICAGO, ILL.)

Whether or not we support the Government's vast program of foreign aid, this volume is imperative reading. The title is a true description of what you will find between the backs. Certainly, there will be no disagreement with the statement "We have made progress and we have made mistakes," but here is a question that this author faces and in answering carries conviction. "Are we profiting from the mistakes of yesterday or are we continuing to make

the same mistakes at even greater costs?" Reading here one thing becomes ominously clear. In investigating foreign aid the taxpaying American citizen learns grimly that he can never win. And did you know that credits to foreign governments must be redeemed in gold if demanded?

Shall It Be Feast or Famine for the Increasing Millions?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interesting article by Dr. Karl D. Butler, entitled "Shall It Be Feast or Famine for the Increasing Millions?"

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHALL IT BE FEAST OR FAMINE FOR THE INCREASING MILLIONS?

(By Karl D. Butler)

It can be feast and not famine for the peoples of earth during the next century * * * if scientists, producers and distributors work objectively toward this goal. I am led to this conclusion by reflection on some extremely subjective evidence recently published by scientists of the California Institute of Technology after appraising the resources of the world in high-level private conferences still in progress across the United States. This group of scientists[1] speculates as to the mineral, energy, agricultural and manpower resources 100 years from now.

The scientists speculate on a number of specific questions, including: "To what levels might per capita consumption of various minerals grow in industrialized society?" "How rapidly might we expect industrialized civilization to spread throughout the world?" "How large might human populations grow and how rapidly?" "What are the available raw materials which man might use?" "Can agricultural productivity be brought abreast of the world requirements?" "Are our technical manpower resources adequate for the evolution?"

In these imaginative speculations, certain assumptions are made. It is assumed that technically it is possible for man to exist at a modest standard of living on the leanest of substances—air, sea water and ordinary rock—and that eventually we will be forced by sheer pressure of increased population to move in that direction. The rate and manner of approach to what they assume to be this ultimate condition are explored in the conferences.

Special significance is given to the question in which we are all interested—the agricultural potentials of the world. It is assumed that three-fourths of the people in the world do not presently have an adequate diet. Even in recent years, it is stated, population growth in the world as a whole has exceeded growth in food production. For example, Asia, which contains over half of the world's population, has the gravest food shortage of any area, and its agricultural problems appear to be the most difficult of all.

It is said that we might look forward, among other things, to an eventual complete replacement of animal protein by plant protein and partial chemical synthesis of food material. It is assumed this might be necessary in order to support 5 to 10 times the present world population. It is assumed that the earth's population during the next 100 years may increase from 2.6 billion people to 6.7 billion or more. All these predictions are said to apply only if world catastrophe is avoided.

THE EXPERTS PREDICT MORE CEREALS, LESS PROTEINS

In a nutshell, the predictors say that food presents on insoluble problem because their studies indicate that "improvements of conventional agriculture can greatly increase the world food supply," and that eventually nonconventional food-production techniques will feed any expected increase in world population "if we look beyond the limits of our present agricultural system."

We are blandly told that what may be in prospect for each of us is one-third less steak, hamburgers, milk, and eggs, and more cereal products. "This is a dietary prescription for Americans if the population of the Nation increases, as expected, to 200 million in 1970."

According to the New York Times of May 22, 1956, the team reports that "animal foods are 10 times more expensive to produce, in terms of the acres necessary to make a calorie of food, than are plants used directly as food."

CONSUMPTION CAPACITY VERSUS PRODUCTION CAPACITY

In essence, the challenge presented to farmers in these pronouncements is: "When will our ability to consume seriously challenge our demonstrated capacity to produce?"; or "Can agricultural productivity be brought abreast of the world requirements?"

As a partial answer to these questions, I should like to pose another question: "When and how can we learn to consume intelligently what we are now capable of producing?"

In order to attempt to answer these questions or to seriously challenge the assumptions made by the touring scientists, I think it is first necessary for us to take a look at where we now are, both in our capacity to produce in relation to our apparent ability to consume and in our nutritional status. Also, we should appraise our markets.

PRESENT DEFICIENCIES IN AMERICAN DIET

There is no question but that a great many people in the world are not as well fed nutritionally as are Americans. However, nutritionists tell us that there are a number of nations which rank far ahead of the United States in this respect. Perhaps the best way to measure the human nutrition standards of a country is on a basis of its per capita animal protein consumption.

On this basis, a number of countries, including New Zealand, Australia and Uruguay (a total of 7 or 8) surpass the United States. Even though it is often said we are the best fed nation in the world, this statement can be seriously challenged. Further, it is well established that many in the United States today are not properly fed. In fact, one authority says that 25 percent of our population does not consume enough animal protein; and officially at least 11 percent of our population is underfed. This malnutrition cuts straight across all types of family income groups from low to high.

Recently a prominent nutrition authority, Miss Edith Shapcott, said: "From statistics one sees it would seem 45 percent to 50 percent of the people in the United States have diets poor in at least some respects." Miss Shapcott is a nutrition consultant at the Visiting Nurse Association of Brooklyn. On being honored by the Public Health Association of New York recently for her contributions to improving the nutrition of New York residents, Miss Shapcott said: "We often find anemia, especially in pregnant women and new mothers. Borderline deficiency of vitamin A is fairly common, and older people are apt to neglect vitamin C. All this applies as much to those in the higher income brackets as to the lower." Miss Shapcott further said that what women lack is a knowledge of what makes a good balanced diet.

In studies recently released at Cornell University from surveys made among housewives, it was found that only one-quarter of the homemakers interviewed showed a fair layman's understanding of nutritional principles.

Dr. B. S. Schweigert, assistant director of research of the American Meat Institute Foundation, has estimated that one-sixth of our population (the low-income group) does not attain optimum nutrition because of economic factors. He pointed out that surveys have shown that teenagers, overweight men and women, pregnant women, industrial workers, and those 65 years of age and older require improved dietary patterns where income level is not the limiting factor in the selection of the amount and kind of foods consumed.

Dr. Schweigert says: "The major protein needs are for the teen-age and the overweight adult groups. While there is a slight overlapping between groups, the total estimated need for additional protein for these groups alone would require a 5 to 15 percent increase per year in the need for carcass meat (or the equivalent amount of protein from other sources) based on the current level of meat production in this country."

Thus we can say that we as a people are not as well fed as nutritionists would like to have us. Now, what is our ability to produce?

OVERPRODUCTION IS ONLY FORESEEABLE PROBLEM

Certainly if our ability to produce and produce superabundantly had not been clearly demonstrated, we would not have a farm problem at the present time. There is no question but what farmers are producing great quantities of commodities, such as wheat, corn, cotton, and often dairy products for which there are not profitable markets.

To accomplish this great productivity, we had to have the technical knowledge, and there had to be incentives. There also had to be a market for things we did not need. For the most part, the market for excess productivity has been the Government. In attempting to argue this point, the fact is that we are now producing, and have been for some time, commodities for which there are not effective markets.

So I would say that our first problem for the foreseeable future is to find markets for things we are producing. On this point, the most knowledgable people in the country are fairly well agreed. They feel there is little hope that production and consumption of farm commodities can be brought into effective balance during the next quarter of a century, and the time required to do so may be much longer.

In spite of (1) the projected continued increase in human population and intelligently directed educational efforts to increase our capacity to consume nutritional and concerted foods, such as meat, milk, and eggs; (2) our ability to apply teachnology in the form of new improved plant varieties and animal breeds; (3) an enlightened use of fertilizers and chemicals; 4 greater application of mechanization; and (5) the whole rampart of technology in our agricultural productivity, what farm experts are saying, based on exhaustive studies, is that our ability to produce, assuming no national catastrophe, will continue to outrun our capacity to consume.

ABUNDANCE OF FOOD IS NOT WORLDWIDE

Of course, this does not apply to the world as a whole. However, I think we do know this: In spite of our continued pouring of billions of dollars into projects abroad, many of which are highly worthy from an educa-

[1] Dr. James F. Bonner, professor of biology; Dr. Harrison S. Brown, professor of geochemistry; Dr. John R. Weir, professor of psychology; Prof. Robert V. Barts, director of the Industrial Associates Program of the California Institute.

tional standpoint and otherwise, before these underfed nations can eat as high on the hog as we have become accustomed to do in the United States, even without deficiencies, they must develop ways and means of raising their productive capacity enough to be able to afford a higher standard of living than they now have. We can help and we are helping; but they, themselves, in the end will have to accomplish this, both by individual effort and by adopting national policies which may help them achieve the desired end.

All of us have stomachs of more or less comparable capacities. It is true that each of us chooses different things with which to fill that stomach, and we should be very grateful for that free choice. But it is a fact that, the world over, it takes in the neighborhood of 1,500 pounds of food per year to fill a human adult stomach. This more or less limited poundage can be in the form of cereals and other starchy foods such as bread, potatoes, and rice, or as milk, meat, cheese, butter, eggs, fruits and vegetables, and other forms of nutritionally packed products.

THE MARKETS OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

Speaking specifically of the United States, I think we should bear certain fundamentals in mind. So far as agriculture is concerned, what we eat makes the market, and we only have three basic markets—exports, industrial uses, and human food.

Our export markets move up and down from year to year. During the past year, which was a fairly good export year, the export market handled about 10 percent of our harvested crop acreage, both food and nonfood. Although a great deal of work should be and is being done to expand our export markets, it is not likely that our total percentage of exported crops will be greatly expanded in the immediate years ahead.

Our second market, the industrial use of agricultural products, amounted to about 7 percent of our total production last year. This included tobacco, cotton, flax, and other such crops. Although 7 percent is not a tremendous segment of our productivity, again this area is very important and undoubtedly can be expanded.

The third market, and the greatest, is what we consume ourselves. About 12 percent of our cropland acreage is used to produce crops for direct domestic food consumption, such as fruits, vegetables, and cereals. The remaining 71 percent of all cropland is used to produce livestock and poultry feed crops, the products of which find their way into human consumption in the United States.

Great effort is needed to expand all of these important markets. I might say another related need is that a great deal more research is needed in the expansion of the types and quality of crops we grow. For example, of the more than 200 plant varieties which are used for commercial production in the world, only 12 crops supply more than 80 percent of man's needs—only 12 crops of the more than 300,000 known plant species. As a matter of fact, only 1 of the 12 has been brought into use since the advent of agricultural science—rubber. This makes one wonder just how effectively our demonstrated scientific ability has been applied to the needs of agriculture.

THERE IS ALSO A TREMENDOUS PRODUCTION POTENTIAL

Many of these best authorities believe that our productive capacity for the things we now produce on farms in the United States could be doubled just with the proper application of the knowledge we now have. In my opinion, this is a conservative statement. If there were markets which would make it profitable for farmers to apply all the technology now known plus that which scientists estimate could be applied, we could greatly increase our productive capacity. This, in addition to the fact that we are producing more than we can effectively utilize at this time, makes me seriously question some of the assumptions made by the Cal Tech scientists. However, as I mentioned before, it is their privilege to predict just as much as it is my opportunity to challenge them.

Some are predicting that labor will be working only 30-hour weeks in a few years. Who is going to operate successfully a modern dairy or other farm enterprise on a 30-hour week? Who is going to get the hay in the barn in a 6-, 8-, or 10-hour day? Some farm days during a rush season cannot be run by the clock—as least, as yet.

There is another question which might be asked. If our greatest problem is the application of brainpower, as outlined by the scientists, why not use our technology and our scientific knowledge, both present and hoped for, to improve the human diet? Why not aim for a maximum type of diet for the masses rather than a minimum, as projected by the scientists? In other words will it be feast or famine for the increasing millions?

In this country, we have been applying technology at a tremendous rate; and that, along with questionable Government policies, is perhaps the biggest cause of our buildup of commodities for which there are no markets at the present time.

NEW PLANT VARIETIES SHOULD INCREASE CROP PRODUCTION

As an example of our ability to apply technology, plant scientists in State and Federal Governments, and especially in the seed industry, have changed the whole character of our crop plants. Even though the number of plants has not changed as mentioned before, the character of the crop plant itself has. In 1956, more than two-thirds of all the United States cropland was planted to new and improved varieties which did not exist 20 years ago. Of the 337 million acres of cropland (1954), about 70 percent was planted to new and improved varieties of field crops and other crops that did not exist in 1935. Of all crops now grown, 96 percent are from seeds of types not known 20 years ago. With soybeans, 98 percent of the varieties grown were not known 20 years ago; cotton, 95 percent; oats, 92 percent; corn, 86 percent; and wheat, 80 percent.

Who knows what the pattern will be 10, 20, 50, or 100 years from now? Right now, plant-grown nitrogen is being replaced by industrially produced nitrogen.

The predictors say that we may have to learn to use plant proteins direct for human consumption instead of animal proteins because the latter are less efficient to produce. This may be true. On the other hand, why would it not be just as logical to speculate that, when we learn how to produce plant proteins more profitably than now or to produce them synthetically, what is going to keep us from using both synthetic products and plant proteins from algae, etc., to greatly expand the production of animal products? Man has demonstrated that he likes animal products, and man is not easy to change. Even aborigines in Africa are known to boil rats in their rice to give it added flavor.

Those of us who have had a little experience in attempting to get people to eat more of nutrition-packed products, such as meat, milk, and eggs, know how difficult it is to get man to change his habits. Would it not be far more difficult to get people to revert to a poor diet than to get them to use a better diet? In other words, man certainly will not easily revert to a cereal diet after he has tasted steak unless there are some pretty compelling forces. As long as there is incentive to eat more steak or hamburger or consume more milk and other tasty products, I believe man would be more inclined to move in that direction if at all possible.

I have confidence in the ingenuity of man, with God's help, to accomplish what he would like to accomplish rather than to give in to the idea of taking the road of least resistance and reverting to a cereal diet which is so prevalent in the more backward parts of the world today.

There is another point that needs to be clarified. It was said that animal foods are 10 times more expensive to produce than are plant products. This may be true in general, but man does not live by generalities. He lives by specifics.

No poultryman can stay in business today who does not produce one pound of meat from approximately 2½ pounds of feed. The great industry of poultry is more or less based on this formula. Furthermore, there is research in progress which clearly indicates that it is within our means today to produce great quantities of palatable poultry meat at the rate of a pound from 1½ pounds of feed. This certainly is not a 10-to-1 ratio. In general, with pork and other meat, the ratio is roughly 7 to 1. With cattle, especially when fed stilbestrol, the ratio is less.

SEVEN POUNDS OF MUSH OR ONE POUND OF BACON AND EGGS?

Then, too, who among us wants to eat grass? Roughly 55 percent of all the animal products in the United States are produced from our great forage crops, both in the grazing areas and from forage in the form of hay, silage, and meals made from them. What would we do with the great forage crops and all the land that is used to produce them, and with the expansive grazing areas of the West which would be of little agricultural value if we did not husband animals to use them?

An ordinary breakfast of bacon and eggs, and other commodities, might weigh a pound. If this were converted to a cereal equivalent, it would equal up to 7 pounds. Who wants to eat seven pounds of mush or algae for breakfast when we can have tasty bacon and eggs with buttered toast and plenty of other delicious dairy products?

It is difficult in these days of surplus to visualize a time when people might starve because of farmers' inability to produce enough food supplies. In 1955, the experts figured that farmers produced about 4 percent more than we used, and the present so-called farm problem revolves around our buildup of surplus stocks which has resulted because farmers have been able to produce more than we have eaten.

Our first challenge as American farmers is to learn to use profitably what we are now able to produce. This alone will take at least a quarter of a century, possibly much longer. It is the belief of many experts that advances in technology and efficiency will enable farmers to keep up with the increasing demand for food by our ever-growing population. Then, too, world population may not increase anywhere near as fast as the scientists assume it might. The population experts have been wrong before. According to their predictions of only 20 years ago, our population should be declining right now.

The desire of the human race has been to improve its lot, and one of the principal ways of doing this has been through better food. In this connection, most people consider better foods those which improve the human diet.

AGRICULTURE CAN MEET INCREASED FOOD DEMANDS

There is no question that in the years to come we need higher per-acre yields of food and feed. We will need more animal growth per pound of feed. We will need a large increase in livestock numbers. We will need considerably larger output of food per unit of livestock. All this must depend on great advances in research knowledge and technology, particularly as they apply on our farms. There is no question but what we can do it. Other nations can do it, too, if they

have the will and capacity to apply modern technology.

American agriculture has the potential for enormously greater production than we are achieving. It is my firm belief that the growth in population will be met by farmers' capacities to produce more of the high-protein, healthful food needed for proper diets. With a greater demand for food, farmers will respond with increased use of fertilizer, improved crop-producing practices, improved livestock, added capital investment, and whatever else it takes.

A century ahead is a long time, but I am counting on more and better food for the peoples of the world—not less.

Swords Into Plowshares

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Swords Into Plowshares," written by Kelvin Wallace Coventry, and published in the Front Rank, the National Church School Weekly of the Christian Church.

This article was sent to me by the Reverend James I. Spainhower, of the First Christian Church of Fayetteville, Ark., and, in his words, "shows the high regard in which the international student exchange program is held by Christian people the world over."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A NEW INTERNATIONAL PEACE VENTURE IS SUCCESSFULLY TURNING SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES

(By Kelvin Wallace Coventry)

"The American has no need for a blueprint of democracy—he lives it." This statement neatly sums up the testimony of more than 12,000 foreign students, teachers, lecturers, and research scholars who have observed American life firsthand under the 10-year-old "swords into plowshares" program.

Just what is the swords into plowshares plan? Briefly, it is the largest international educational program in our history, launched on August 1, 1946, when Congress passed the Fulbright Act. This act described a plan for turning the implements of war into instruments of peace and understanding.

At the end of World War II many millions of dollars' worth of American military equipment was left idle in warehouses all over the world. This included bulldozers, machine tools, locomotives, and food and clothing stocks which could be of great help in rebuilding foreign countries. Yet, these countries did not have the dollars to purchase this vital equipment.

Then the unique Fulbright plan was proposed. We would sell our surpluses for foreign currencies and credits, with part of these funds being set aside for educational exchange purposes. The debt would be paid, but it would be paid in terms of things money cannot buy—goodwill and better international understanding.

It was apparent that we might not see the benefits of the Fulbright Act for many years when it was signed in 1946. But now we are reaping a harvest of dramatic results.

In Finland, a young doctor who studied with the first "blue baby" heart specialist at Johns Hopkins University Hospital has since performed many successful operations on children with heart disease.

In Italy, a professor of medicine at the University of Genoa has set up an isotope laboratory after having done research and visited medical and biological projects of the Atomic Energy Commission in the United States.

What personal meaning does the exchange experience have for foreign students?

"Do you like the United States?" was the inquiry of friends when a foreign student returned to his home. Proudly introducing his bride to his countrymen, he said, "I married an American."

Another foreign-born student spent 9 months in the United States sharing the ordinary life of its citizens. This was his impression: "No one could, I hope, live for any length of time with so generally openhearted and kindly a people as the Americans and remain unaffected. It is difficult to express my deep feelings, but I will never forget."

While exchange students are marveling at the wonders of New York City and mass-production techniques, over 9,000 American students have sampled the mysteries of the Far East and the exquisite beauty of Paris. Through their studies they are adding continually to our store of knowledge about these distant friends.

In Germany, one American scholar is working with a Nobel prize-winning biochemist on the conversion of light into chemical energy. An American forestry expert is studying Scandinavian methods of utilizing waste wood products. These are only two of the ways American scholars are advancing the frontiers of knowledge through joint research with their foreign colleagues.

How does the American view his experience in terms of better understanding with other nations? One student expressed his views in this way: "I have made friends of people who have never had American friends before. I believe I have made America more real and more reasonable to them than ever before."

In India, an American lecturer and his wife lived in a rural university area, entirely surrounded by rice paddies. "The humblest of peasants and farmers were our neighbors," wrote these Fulbright grantees. "To our surprise, toward the end of our stay we were actually invited to dinner in Hindu homes. We have a feeling that with our friendships and talks we built new attitudes toward Americans and America."

Aren't we afraid that one rotten apple will get in the barrel of international understanding? It is unlikely. Besides being carefully screened by the selective board, only those students who display interest in a broad range of activities, are active in community life, and show leadership, have a chance of representing their respective countries.

What is it about the swords-into-plowshares program that makes it so important in this atomic age? As an American student who recently returned from the Middle East remarked, "The proposition of getting on to common ground is no longer a matter of philanthropy. It is a matter of survival. It is not something we should do merely because it is a good thing, but because we need it to survive and grow."

The Fulbright Act has torn down misconceptions and enmities, and new understandings and friendships are rising in their place. All of this represents a new American achievement—achievement in international human relations as significant in our history as the spanning of the continent by the first railroad or the invention of the automobile.

"Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe," H. G. Wells once said. The exchange program is helping to win that race. Through personal persuasion this new venture is developing a kind of people-to-people understanding that may prove a mightier weapon for peace than the pen or the sword.

Tito—Loyal Communist and Slavemaster of Yugoslavia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including a timely article by a great American, Mr. William H. Smyth, of New York City. Mr. Smyth knows Yugoslavia. At one time he was in business in Belgrade and represented such American firms as Chrysler, Packard, Caterpillar, Goodyear, and other large industrial organizations. For 20 years or until July of 1941 when Yugoslavia was overrun by the Germans, Mr. Smyth through the operation of his business and his varied social, technical, trade, and general contacts learned to know Yugoslavia and its people as do few, if any other Americans.

Mr. Speaker, the article which I am inserting first appeared in Defenders of the American Constitution, Inc., in March of 1957. The article follows:

TITO—LOYAL COMMUNIST AND SLAVEMASTER OF YUGOSLAVIA, A DANGEROUS THREAT TO AMERICA AND THE WESTERN WORLD

(By William H. Smith)

Just over 90 years ago, led by our original Republican administration, our fathers fought a great war to preserve our Nation and as one result abolished slavery in our land. Just recently, our new Republican administration considered inviting to be our guest, the Yugoslavian Communist Dictator, Tito, a man dedicated, like all leading Communists, to the destruction of our Nation, and who, through our Government's support, has held our friends and World War II allies, the Yugoslav people, in slavery.

However, following the reports of the administration's intentions, protests pouring in from all over the country, from religious, ethnic, labor, and other patriotic groups, from Members of Congress, and in newspaper editorials, and the statement from the mayor of New York that he would hold no official reception for such a person as Tito, caused worry, apparently great worry to our foreign policy leaders and to Tito.

As a result, the Yugoslav Communist Government announced that Tito would not accept an invitation to visit Washington at this time, and thus got all concerned off the hook * * * our own foreign-policy leaders who would have faced sure moral condemnation for inviting and entertaining in our Capital, Tito the mass murderer, thief, and enemy of the United States, whom they helped to build into a person of greatly overrated international importance, while Tito saved himself from having his inflated pride hurt through coming here and not receiving the full honors usually accorded to a chief of state, and from arousing suspicion among his Kremlin pals over the possibility that he was getting too close to the West.

That's fine for now, and the protests made might seem to indicate how far the American people must be ahead of their foreign-policy

leaders in their appreciation of the basic moral principles upon which our Republic was founded and became great, and in their unwillingness to have our national shrines desecrated through visits from unworthy guests.

But in view of the administration's constant and determined efforts over the past 4 years to give aid, economic and military, to this thug, Tito, and his associated gangsters, in view of its failure to realize that Tito and his mob do not represent the people of Yugoslavia • • • possibly no more than Al Capone represented the people of Chicago • • • and in view of its "diplomacy of personal contact," doesn't it behoove us to be on guard to ensure that Tito be not invited to visit us in the future?

Therefore, might it not be worthwhile to review who Tito is, how he came to power and maintained himself in Yugoslavia against the will of the people, his record of loyal service to Moscow and of enmity to the West, his actions in the Polish, Suez, and Hungarian situations, and what may be expected of him in the future, which together should show whether he measures up to the kind of person we would like to have visit us?

Whether Tito was born in Croatia, Yugoslavia, or as some say, in Galicia or the Ukraine, which might explain his foreign accent and poor Croatian shown in his early speeches after Stalin placed him in power in Yugoslavia in October 1944, he did serve in the Austro-Hungarian army in World War I, he was captured by the Russians and held as a prisoner of war. He joined the Bolshevists in the Russian Revolution, studied in Communist schools in Russia, and later was sent to Yugoslavia to work with the Communist Party. He rose in the party, was jailed by the police, escaped, and was sent to serve world communism in other countries. In the spring of 1937, together with other Yugoslav Communist Party leaders he was called to Moscow for consultations.

Iskra (the Spark), the excellent Yugoslav bimonthly paper published by refugees in Munich, Germany, in its April 25, 1956 issue, under the heading, "Tito—Model Executioner," portrayed a bit of Tito's character through the following quotations connected with that 1937 trip to Moscow:

(a) From Die Weltwoche, the well-known Swiss weekly, and its articles on the Riddle of Tito, by Serge Caplan, in April 1953, who said: "Early in the morning, April 23, 1937, Milan Gorkic, secretary-general of the Yugoslav Communist Party, and his wife were led into the courtyard of the Ljubljanka, the central prison in Moscow. Both were in chains and heavily guarded. The previous night Vishinski and Manuilske had sentenced them in a special court. Gorkic bore himself calmly, bravely. His wife cried, screamed, called for help. She directed glances full of curses at Friend Walter, the name by which Tito was known to his Communist friends, who had come there to witness the carrying out of the death sentence. Gorkic and his wife were placed against the wall and shot. When they fell, Tito left. The same day, before noon, Malinkov, then Stalin's secretary, received Tito with a smile, and said: 'I have good news for you, Friend Walter. The executive committee of the Comintern has named you to be the general secretary of the Yugoslav Communist Party, as successor to the traitor Gorkic.'"

(b) Hans Borkenau, a former member of the German Communist Party, now a publicist and author of many articles and studies on communism, states in his recent book, European Communism—Its History From 1917 Until Now, in the chapter on Tito's rise: "Tito contributed to the destruction of his superiors and after their demise received a free hand for the reorganization of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Stalin regarded Tito as one of the most able representatives of young generation of Communists; he was the dynamic type who works much and questions but little. In other words, he was a model executioner for Stalin, the great executioner, whom today, in chorus with Khrushchev and company, Tito renounces and charges with criminal actions."

Tito returned to Yugoslavia to reorganize the Yugoslav Communists who remained quiet when Stalin's ally, Hitler, attacked Yugoslavia, April 6, 1941. But after Hitler's attack on Stalin, June 22, 1941, Tito, under the mask of nationalism and of resistance to the Germans, began his drive to eliminate anti-Communist Yugoslav leaders, and to prepare to take over the country for world communism.

General Mihajlovitch, Royal Yugoslav Minister of War, who later, in 1942, contributed greatly to the British victory at El Alamein by cutting the German supply line through eastern Serbia down to Greece, late in 1941 drove Tito out of Serbia into mountainous western Bosnia. From there Tito carried on his campaign for the communization of Yugoslavia, calling his bands deceptively, "The People's Army of Liberation," which meant to the peasants liberation from the Germans, and thus initially helped to get support from some of them.

In spite of getting the supplies we sent him instead of to General Mihajlovitch, and in spite of getting the equipment surrendered to him on our instructions by the Italians in Yugoslavia, after their capitulation, Tito's forces were so ineffective that German paratroopers captured his headquarters in Drvar in May 1944. Tito saved himself by deserting his men and being flown to Italy in an Allied plane. Then our leaders, appeasing Stalin, and in their incredible ignorance of what Tito, a Communist, was, consulted with this runaway, placed him on the Yugoslav island of Vis with Allied troops to protect him, and treated him as a man of parts.

True to his vicious Communist training, Tito, after being saved by the Western Allies, skipped from Vis in a Soviet plane, and reported to Stalin in Moscow. As a result, Stalin, against Allied arguments, sent a Soviet army into Yugoslavia, and in October 1944, placed in power in Belgrade, as "liberator of Yugoslavia," Tito, who had deserted his own men at Drvar, and never had been able to reach Belgrade with his partisans. An orgy of arrests and killings of anti-Communist Serbs followed. The Serb youth, without equipment or training, was conscripted and driven as a protective screen before Tito's Communists as they followed the Germans retreating through Zagreb to Germany. In Zagreb, as in all other Yugoslav cities, arrests and murdering ensued. People, many in absentia, were put before special courts on all kinds of fictitious charges, merely to have some quasi-judicial justification for Tito's confiscation of their property.

Tito and his mob organized Communist Yugoslavia on the basis of Soviet advice and police terror. They created a slave state in which the people and their churches, practically speaking, had no rights other than to act as directed by the Communist Party • • • which had all power.

Their much propagandized "break" with the Soviets, June 28, 1948, actually their expulsion from the Communist International—Comintern—was a personal matter of Stalin's who probably felt his protege, Tito, was getting too big for his boots. Our foreign-policy leaders, excited, it seems, by their silly hopes that through Tito they would be able to win the Chinese and Satellite Communists away from the Soviets, overlooked facts such as Tito's flight from Vis to Moscow in 1941, his shooting down of unarmed American airmen in 1946, and his proven record as a Communist, and began to support Tito. Incredible as it must have been for the enslaved peoples, our United States, supposedly the bastion of liberty, enabled Tito and his gangsters, through American support, to maintain themselves in power and to hold the Yugoslav peoples in slavery • • • even until now.

Including the $550 million given in UNRRA aid, a third of which, according to competent observers, was shipped on by Tito to Soviet Russia, and to the Albanian Communists, we've given Tito probably $2 billion in aid, economic, financial, and military. As an example of how our Government extends aid, even military, to an avowed enemy, note that our Department of Agriculture announced January 19, 1956 (last year) "details of an agreement between the United States and Yugoslavia providing for the sale of $49 million worth of United States agricultural commodities (including certain ocean transportation costs) for dinars (Yugoslav currency)." Tiflis covered approximately 75,000 metric tons of wheat, 49,000 bales of cotton, and 40,000 metric tons of lard plus ocean transport.

Four months later, a New York Times dispatch, dated May 21, 1956, read: "The United States and Yugoslav Governments announce an agreement today to release $46,700,000 in American Aid Counterpart funds to be used to purchase equipment and supplies for the Yugoslav armed forces."

Presumably, upon receiving the shipping documents for the commodities concerned, the Yugoslav National Bank credited the United States for the dinar amount covering the dollar value of the commodities. Then following the May 21 agreement, they probably debited our account for the dinar value of the $46,700,000 mentioned, and through these simple bookkeeping entries, the wheat, cotton, and lard, supposedly "sold" to the Yugoslav Communist Government, was given them free for the purchase of military equipment and supplies, to be used, if so dictated by world communism at some future date, to kill our own American boys.

But, as possession of the commodities must have passed with the documents, what was to stop Tito from shipping all or part of them, should he so wish, say to Czechoslovakia as payment for arms for Yugoslavia, or even for Egypt in some Communist deal, Tito's men having played an important role in negotiating the Czech-Egypt arms business.

That's just one glimpse of how Tito and his mob have maintained themselves in power in Yugoslavia. Our enormous aid to Tito enabled him to travel to India, Burma, Ethiopia, Egypt, and other countries, going in his own private yacht, accompanied by warships and hundreds of guards, all intended to impress the people visited, and has enabled him to build an operate a spy and propaganda apparatus in our and other countries, and all for the benefit of world communism and the overturn of the democracies.

His trips, judging by the results, were made as a front-man for Moscow. Obviously, Tito, posing as a "different" or "nationalist" Communist, openly supported by the United States Government, has been an ideal ground-breaker for Khrushchev, Bulganin, Zukov, Shepilov, and other Moscow men who followed him. And traveling on his own yacht, he most probably carried Soviet gold for delivery to Nasser for the financing of the Soviet-inspired revolutionary propaganda in Africa, which was noted incidentally in my May 7, 1954, talk before the Commonwealth Club of California, and which is very interestingly and fully described in Frank Kelly's article in the New York Herald-Tribune of February 12, 1957. Don't forget that Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, July 26, 1956, just a week after returning from his visit to Yugoslavia, where on July 18, he was in conference the whole day with Nehru and Tito. Also note that Tito, only a few weeks earlier had returned

to Yugoslavia from his trip to the Soviet Union, and in all probability could have brought back some suggestions for Nasser.

Tito's statements during the Suez, Polish, and Hungarian crises, have been reserved, but his delegate to the United Nations has voted fairly consistently with the Soviets, or abstained to their advantage.

I may be wrong, but believe that Tito, during that period was trying not to offend the United States, whose foreign-policy leaders had until October 16 to decide what to do about extending further aid to Tito. The decision announced that day, extending economic aid and leaving the door open for possible military aid was so important for Tito in giving him a chance to bolster his sagging economy, that even the Hungarian revolt on October 23 brought no statement from him, waiting as he was for help from us. Our administration worked fast to help the Communist dictator, for on November 3, 1956, the Department of Agriculture announced: "Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson announced that the United States has entered into a commodity agreement with the Government of Yugoslavia for the sale to that country of $98.3 million worth (including certain ocean transportation costs) of United States agricultural surplus commodities," covering approximately 925,000 metric tons of wheat, 85,000 bales of cotton, 32,000 metric tons of lard, 7,000 metric tons of cottonseed or soybean oil, 9,000 metric tons of inedible tallow, and ocean transport. This is the third foreign currency transaction entered into with the Government of Yugoslavia, and brings the total value of such agreements with that country to $221.5 million.

Most interestingly, a New York Times dispatch from Belgrade, dated November 4, the day after Mr. Benson's announcement, and published on the 5th, included the following:

"Yugoslavia supported the new government in Hungary tonight. * * * The Belgrade regime finally took a public stand on the Hungarian situation after 9 days of official silence by circulating a commentary from Tanjug, official news agency. The document was understood to state the views of President Tito. It regretted that the government of Janos Kadar had to rely on Soviet troops to come to power. But it explained this intervention with the assertion that reactionary elements were about to bring down the whole Socialist structure in Hungary.

"The use of foreign troops for settlement of internal matters is contrary to the principle attitude on which Yugoslavia is building socialism and which should exist in international relations. However we cannot overlook the fact that the use of these troops is the product of negative developments."

Thus Tito, who had kept his mouth shut while the, to him, life-saving commodities agreement was being worked out with us, was able on November 4 (with $98,300,000 of commodities assured to him from America the previous day, with 100,000 tons of the wheat to be supplied immediately without the usual 7-day waiting period), to talk, and talk he did.

He spoke again, and at length, at Pula, Yugoslavia, on November 16. There he discussed the Polish and Hungarian situations, and although he made certain criticism of Soviet handling of the situations and of its intervention, yet he stated definitely, and this seems the kernel of it all to me, as reported in the New York Times on November 17: "Many people are asking why the Soviet intervention took place. It is clear, we have said and we will always say, that we are against the intervention and use of foreign military force. * * * It is understood that if intervention saves socialism in Hungary, then comrades, we will be able to say, although we are against the intervention, that Soviet intervention was necessary."

Noting that Tito uses the terms Socialist and socialism as we use Communist and communism, it is seen that irrespective of the desires of the Polish, Hungarian or any other peoples to have their freedom, Tito approves the use of foreign, Communist, intervention to suppress those God-given desires, and to maintain the respective Communist government in power over those people.

When Tito speaks of freedom, it appears obvious that he means freedom for the Communist Party concerned, to control the government concerned, and thus to enslave and dominate the people under them. Unfortunately our foreign policy leaders do not appear able to understand this difference between Tito's standard Communist idea of freedom, and freedom as we understand it * * * freedom for the people as masters of their governments.

Tito is now assured of $98,300,000 more at least in good American commodities, to be paid for apparently in his Yugoslav Communist dinars. Are those dinars to be released back also as counterpart funds to be used by him for the purchase of more military equipment and supplies, to be used possibly some day against our American boys? Or will he ship them to Czechoslovakia or some other Communist country to pay for equipment for his Yugoslav Communists or for Egypt or some other country where communism is trying to foment trouble for the West? If so, why?

Tito, the deserter we saved in May 1944, and saved again through our support after Stalin turned against him in 1948 (though Tito never has turned against communism), must carry on as a Communist. Otherwise he will be finished. In a free election the Yugoslav people would rid themselves of him fast; he knows that, hence will hold no such election.

He has to stick with world communism, with the Soviets, and it seems to me, the sooner our foreign-policy leaders realize that, the better it will be for us and for the world. How can the rest of the world, particularly the hundreds of millions of enslaved peoples, have any faith in our declarations of our anti-communism when we support Tito, whom we have built into a world figure in communism?

A visit by Tito to Washington would be a tremendous buildup for him personally, it would be a victory for world communism, and would be the last straw in wrecking faith in our country in the minds of those immense numbers of human beings, living miserably in Communist slavery, but who have held to their hope in getting back their freedom one day through our help. Our handling of the Hungarian situation must have dismayed those people who have carried hope for freedom in their hearts. Let us start to rebuild that hope through letting Tito know, once and for all, that he will never be invited to Washington.

Post Office Closing Unfortunate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of April 13, 1957:

POST OFFICE CLOSING UNFORTUNATE

Postmaster General Summerfield carried out his strike threat against the American people today by discontinuing mail service for the weekend.

With characteristic inconsistency, Summerfield made exceptions. He saw to it that the White House, and certain other departments of Government, the heads of which he knows personally, got service. John Doe, the average American taxpayer, who foots the bills, received no mail. Summerfield was economizing on him. Since the Post Office Department's explanation was that it was important to deliver mail to favored Government recipients, we must assume other Americans are unimportant in its book.

Quite obviously Summerfield was throwing his weight around. He wanted to make his point—that Congress must knuckle down to him and grant him what he requested or else. His colossal arrogance in treating the American people like dirt is without precedent in history.

Since the problem is likely to be solved during the course of the next week, the issue itself now is secondary. But Summerfield's action in stabbing the American people in the back is a challenge that must not be allowed to go by default.

Summerfield's disservice to his country is not merely a blot on his personal record; it is a blackeye to the Eisenhower administration. Unless the President disavows him, as the labor movement repudiated Dave Beck, then Mr. Eisenhower must share the responsibility.

It is a serious matter for a man in high place like the Postmaster General of the United States to penalize the American people. He should not have that authority. Why should he be allowed to go on strike at the expense of his countrymen? Dictatorship in any form is just as reprehensible at home as it is abroad.

Today's suspension of service was uncalled for; it was a deliberate and inexcusable abuse of authority. Money was available to operate the Post Office Department today and next week when the difficulty is likely to be resolved. So this was a crisis Summerfield precipitated without any justification. There are other interesting angles which need not be explored now.

Steps must be taken under responsible leadership to straighten out the mess in the Post Office Department. Rates should be reviewed and efficient methods installed to give the public the break to which it is entitled and which it has not been receiving. For a country that is supposed to be so advanced and wealthy, the United States has a postal service that is pathetic, to state it in generous terms.

Subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee on International Organizations and Movements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include resolutions adopted by the New Hampshire House of Representatives in connection with a public hearing of the subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee on International Orgnizations and Movements which was held in Laconia on the 5th of April. This meeting was in the First District of New Hampshire, represented by my colleague, Congressman CHESTER E. MERROW, who is the ranking minority member of this subcommittee. Other mem-

bers in attendance included: KARL M. LECOMPTE, Iowa; FRANK M. COFFIN, Maine; L. H. FOUNTAIN, North Carolina; DANTE B. FASCELL, Florida; and ALBERT P. MORANO, Connecticut.

I am delighted that the House of Representatives of the New Hampshire Legislature has passed these resolutions in reference to the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements. I greatly appreciate their thoughtfulness and I am glad that there is such a tremendous interest in foreign affairs in the State of New Hampshire. The hearings which were held were a marked success and we derived a great deal of good from our meeting in Laconia. The testimony we received will certainly be helpful when mutual security legislation is before the House.

I know that I express the sentiment of every member of the subcommittee in saying that we are exceedingly grateful for and deeply appreciate the action taken by the New Hampshire House of Representatives.

The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTIONS TO SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Whereas the State of New Hampshire is highly honored to have a subcommittee on international organizations and movements, Committee on Foreign Affairs, of the United States House of Representatives, meet in the city of Laconia, on Friday, April 5, 1957, at the Garden Theatre; and

Whereas the committee has invited the people of New Hampshire to visit Laconia on that date and express their views on national and international affairs; and

Whereas Hon. CHESTER E. MERROW, Congressman from the State of New Hampshire, is a member of that subcommittee and will appear at that time: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the house of representatives, do hereby offer our gratitude to said subcommittee for extending to this State the distinction of being its choice for its first meeting outside of Washington, D. C.; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the chairman of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, Hon. A. S. J. CARNAHAN, and to Congressman MERROW.

[SEAL] W. DOUGLAS SCAMMON,
Speaker, House of Representatives.
PETER S. KARAGIANIS,
Representative from Laconia.
GEORGE T. RAY,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

Words of Wisdom from Joseph A. Salerno, Labor Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the transgressions of a few labor leaders should not blind us to the unimpeachable integrity of the overwhelming majority. Nor should this be used as a pretext for attacks designed to weaken the organized labor movement and its established role in the functioning of our economy.

Modern labor leaders are well aware of their responsibilities. The trust reposed in them by millions of union members is well justified.

Joseph A. Salerno, of Boston, is an exemplary leader, who has devoted a lifetime to the cause of organized labor. His intelligence, sincerity, and courage are a tribute to his personal character, and inspire confidence in the leadership of labor.

As New England director, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL–CIO, he speaks words of wisdom, that deserve your attention.

Under unanimous consent I am reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the editorial of April 12, 1957, from La Gazzetta Del Massachusetts, and its well-deserved commendation of Joseph A. Salerno:

MR. SALERNO IN TIMELY ADVICE

Joseph A. Salerno has long been recognized as an articulate spokesman for the particular branch of organized labor with which he is associated. He always knows whereof he speaks and he speaks fluently and in language that is clearly understood by persons without advantages of higher education. His views are conservative except when he feels circumstances warrant abandonment of such a policy.

He chose Waterville, Maine, to offer very timely advice to members of labor unions, but his remarks to workers in that area should carry weight throughout the Nation. His conviction is that union members should, if necessary, regain control of their unions and not permit development of a few bosses who order members what to do instead of doing what the unions instruct.

Mr. Salerno is competent to analyze the cause of the recent national exposures of wrongdoing by some labor bosses. He knows that the blame rests with union members who are too lazy to attend meetings and assert their authority to determine policies, make certain that funds are honestly used, and that the welfare of their organization is the major consideration at all times.

No one can question the value of this advice. It comes from one, admittedly capable of offering advice. It is devoid of personal considerations. If all unions would decide to do what Mr. Salerno has suggested the future of organized labor would be definitely assured. No reason would develop for any interference by National or State governments.

Good Neighbors Are His Specialty Wherever He Is

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. R. POAGE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Waco Times-Herald of March 18, 1957:

GOOD NEIGHBORS ARE HIS SPECIALTY WHEREVER HE IS

The tanned, gray-haired general, wearing the dark blue dress uniform of the United States Army, looked around the dinner table at the men from Waco, Temple, Belton, Killeen, Copperas Cove, Lampasas, McGregor, and Oglesby.

Their names and faces took him back to the years when he commanded Fort Hood, reactivated the 1st Armored Division from scratch with raw recruits, became an authority on ground warfare in the atomic age and still had time to help the communities that surrounded the huge armored center solve their problems. Roy Smith, the Killeen banker and chairman of the group, had stirred the memories with his recital of how General Clarke personally helped this community with its water troubles, pacified that rancher after a tiff with the troops, devised a school solution for another community, assisted the Boy Scout program in central Texas, and otherwise made himself a supremely useful citizen.

Now Gen. Bruce Clarke heads the United States Seventh Army in Europe at 162 posts and stations, comprising 250,000 Americans counting the dependents with the troops, strung out along 700 miles of the Iron Curtain. He looked around at his old Central Texas Military Affairs Committee and said, "The only difference in helping the Army to solve problems with communities in central Texas and with communities in Germany is the difference in the language." Then he passed on to reassert his faith in central Texas' future.

But those who have been with General Clarke in Germany can enlarge on his success at winning the Germans over to a new attitude toward the Americans who are protecting them day and night from the Soviet Army.

When General Clarke took over the United States Seventh Army in Europe 11 months ago, there was ugly and spreading tension between the Germans and the United States troops. There had been crimes of violence on both sides but the German newspapers in a particular area, aiming at discrediting all military in their drive against a rearmed Germany, had magnified the crimes and the tension beyond their meanings.

One of General Clarke's first acts on arriving at this troubled spot was to make an address to the leading citizens of that part of Germany. He speaks no German. But his adopted daughter, whom he rescued as a war waif in the ruins of Munich in 1945, stood by his side. This beautiful girl, now 17, put into German the general's invitation to sit down and look at the problems and work them out. It created a sensation in that part of Germany.

One particular United States regiment was the source of most of the violent trouble that had preceded General Clarke's arrival. The Germans considered its men ogres. A few months later, when this regiment prepared to return to the United States, the Clarke good-neighbor policy had worked its magic to the extent that German neighbors of the regiment bought an expensive silver service, engraved it with the regimental crest, held a big feast of presentation and invited the ogres to come back any time.

General Clarke didn't refer to these incidents, nor to the way his men have used their own money and muscle to help German orphans, German poor, Hungarian refugees, German flood victims. But he did admit that relations between the United States Seventh Army and the German people are the best they've ever been. "We are their guests," said the general.

The guests are not sitting around with their feet propped up, either.

In 2 hours, the 170,000 men of the United States Seventh Army can roll ready for battle, whether it's a Sunday or a snowy midnight or a fine, sunny day in 2 hours, with all guns loaded, gas tanks filled, planes and tanks in motion and all men at their as-

signed spots. If General Clarke has worked a miracle in friendship, he has achieved a double miracle in hour-to-hour unceasing military preparedness. "We hope we will never have to do our stuff," he said. "But if it comes, we are ready."

General Clarke gives the credit to his men, urges the homefolks to write them and help keep up their morale. We think General Clarke is entitled to some credit and mail, himself.

Postal Fund Dispute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I should like to include an editorial from the Saturday, April 13, 1957, issue of the Miami Daily News, of Miami, Fla., entitled "A Good Fight, Best Man Won."

As the editorial indicates, the post office must grow to meet the steadily rising demands of our population, and in order to accomplish this it must have the necessary funds. Our country is enjoying dynamic growth. Unlike some agencies and services, the post office has to serve each new home, each new family, and each new community. It cannot stand still.

A million and a half young people get married each year. The post office must serve a million new homes a year. This means, Mr. Speaker, that every working day the post office has to accommodate the equivalent of a completely new city of approximately 10,000 population. I believe both the Congress and postal officials are determined that our postal service keep pace with the demands of our citizens in 20th century America.

The editorial follows:

A GOOD FIGHT, BEST MAN WON

The Nation today is receiving a lesson of what happens when irresponsible Congressmen deny a department of the Government the funds it must have if it is to give the service the public demands.

Closing of the Post Office Department for today by Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield is no sudden action. The Postmaster General warned Congress several days ago that he would have to curtail service unless the money needed to operate was forthcoming.

There is a dispute between Mr. Summerfield and some members of the House Appropriations Committee over who is to blame for the Post Office Department's predicament. Some blame the Postmaster General, as head of the Department, because fourth-quarter money was spent in advance to cover sharply increased expenses. Others blame the Bureau of the Budget for having authorized the advanced spending.

It doesn't matter who is to blame. The committee has belatedly approved $41 million of the $47 million which was requested. The action came too late to avoid economies which went into effect today.

Mr. Summerfield is no stranger to politics, although he is essentially a businessman. He has sought to run his Department like a business against the opposition of the politicians in Congress who have blocked necessary postal-rate increases and consolidation of post offices.

The Postmaster General deserves commendation for standing up to Congress and forcing the issue. Essential services of Government cost more as the country gets bigger. This controversy has been a demonstration to the Nation that if the budget is to be reduced, the savings can be made only in nonessentiial spending.

Plans Completed for 1957 Congressional Tour of New York City, May 10, 11, and 12

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, plans have been completed for the annual congressional tour of New York City and Kings Point Maritime Academy, May 10, 11, and 12.

This annual congressional tour for Members of both Houses of Congress and their families provides for 3 glorious days in New York at a cost of $37.50 for adults and $32.50 each for children between the ages of 5 and 12 years.

As in previous years, Members of the Senate and House of Representatives have received a most cordial invitation from Mayor Robert F. Wagner of the city of New York, who has instructed his city department of commerce and public events to make every effort to assure an interesting and well-balanced program for the reception and entertainment of the group making the 3-day tour of New York.

For the information of those who intend to make the tour, the following itinerary will be of interest.

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

Friday, May 10: 9:45 a. m. daylight time, we leave Washington via Pennsylvania Railroad. Luncheon will be served in dining car. We arrive New York Penn Station at 1:45 p. m. daylight time, and immediately board motor coach for tour of lower New York, including a stop at City Hall for reception by the Mayor, Hon. Robert F. Wagner. We also stop at the United Nations for a 2-hour tour. We arrive at the Paramount Hotel about 6 p. m daylight time. The evening will be open for Members to attend the theater or enjoy the bright lights of Broadway.

Saturday, May 11: 9 a. m. motor coaches will leave for Pier 83, Hudson River, to board excursion steamer for luncheon and harbor inspection until 2 p. m. From 4 to 6 p. m. the party will go aboard the Italian Line steamship *Cristoforo Colombo* at pier 84, Hudson River, for a reception and inspection of the ship. The party will then proceed to the Hotel Savoy-Plaza for a reception and buffet dinner after which the evening is open for theaters and other forms of entertainment.

Sunday, May 12: 8:30 a. m. motor coaches will transport the party to the foot of the Battery for a 9 a. m. departure via steamer up the East River through Hell Gate Rapids and out to Long Island Sound for a noon arrival at the United States Maritime Academy pier at Kings Point, Long Island. After lunch and a review of the cadets, the party will return by bus to the Pennsylvania Station, New York City, and depart for Washington at 5:30 p. m. daylight time.

I should like to emphasize that this tour is for Members of the Senate and House of Representatives and their families, and reservations should be made immediately by calling Miss Patricia Bryan, extension 366 or 1830.

Bankers Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

CENTRAL MISSOURI TRUST CO.,
Jefferson City, Mo., April 8, 1957.

The Honorable W. STUART SYMINGTON,
United States Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR SYMINGTON: Attached is a letter from Robert Van Cleave, the author of After the Federal Reserve System—What? regarding Dr. Welsh's memorandum to you which you sent to me for comment on March 6.

I am pleased to note that Mr. Van Cleave and Dr. Welsh appear to be in fundamental agreement on the basic point " 'that the mere fact that interest rates have risen is not sufficient justification for pumping more money into the system,' and again, 'The idea that a ready solution to economic difficulties is simply one of arbitrarily increasing the monetary supply is a dangerous philosophy.' " Also both of their statements either directly support or definitely imply that the management of monetary policies should be in the hands of an independent, non-politically motivated agency, such as the Federal Reserve Board.

In my judgment, if there is anything wrong with the present monetary policy mechanism, it is due to restrictions on the authority of the Federal Reserve, rather than to any abuse of its present powers. For example, not many months ago when inflationary pressures were the strongest and when almost all economists agreed that credit should be temporarily restrained, the administration relaxed terms on FHA loans, et cetera, with much publicity, while at the same time the FED was attempting to follow a restrictive policy by refusing to supply all the reserves that were demanded for further credit expansion. The former policy was in the interest of immediate popularity; the latter was the unpopular policy, but in the best interest of the welfare of the country.

Sometime in the future, I believe, we very much need to give sufficient authority to some indepetndent agency to coordinate all Federal monetary policy, in accordance with overall objectives as laid down by Congress.

Some of the most vital objectives should be to foster such monetary policies as will continue to encourage maximum economic prosperity and expansion up to the very limits of available resources and technical know-how. The key is to keep private and public affairs in balance so that we can have an equilibrium between spending and saving and between borrowing and paying of debts. I know of no agency better suited for this great responsibility than this Federal Reserve Board, if it could be given adequate authority to do the job.

Attempts have been and are now being made to find somebody to blame for the present tight-money situation. Some are blaming the administration; some are blaming the Federal Reserve Board. As you well know, I have no love or even respect for the policies of the present administration, but I do have great respect for Mr. MARTIN and the policies the FED is attempting to follow. And I believe the time is long overdue for the responsible leadership in the Democratic Party to disavow many of the irresponsible statements on monetary policy that come principally from some of the elected representatives of our party.

The cause of tight money is that we are not saving as much as we want to spend, and not that the FED or even the administration is attempting to raise interest rates for the benefit of big bankers. Even with restrictions on further expansion of credit, we have witnessed a serious continuation of greater and greater inflation. In the past, inflation has always brought deflation and recession—the greater the inflation the more difficult the inevitable readjustment. Where is this to end if some agency is not supported by the responsible leaders of both parties in their efforts to restrict the continued expansion of credit when all available resources are fully employed or, in some cases, overemployed?

Granted monetary policy alone cannot hold the economy in balance. Wage increases, for example, in excess of productivity increases are largely beyond its control. But the absence of any effective monetary policy would certainly create the probability of much more serious and violent economic fluctuations (i. e., how much greater would the inflationary spiral have been since 1951 if the FED had not been active?).

The current controversy over the VA-loan rate seems to me to be another example of the potential dangers of involving politics in monetary policy. The proper course in my judgment is to permit the rate on VA loans to adjust itself to the market price of money necessary to attract long-term savings. And unfortunately, the further inflation progresses, the higher the price that must be paid to attract long-term savings. There have been several suggestions that the Government should expand its program of direct loans to veterans at the 4½-percent rate, which is substantially below the present free-market rate necessary to attract long-term investment funds. But as Mr. MARTIN says on page 4 of the attached statement (which I thought you might not have seen), "none of these proposals operate to encourage more savings, i. e., to increase the total flow of funds from which all demands for long-term investment must be made." Such a program would, of course, require additional borrowings by the Treasury and "would not only be inflationary but would tend to raise the market rate of interest still further and then increase the barrier that is already impeding the flow of private investment funds in VA markets."

My dislike of the political overtones involved in the tight-money argument are based not only on the best interests of our economy, but also upon its future implications for the Democratic Party. I believe if our party continues to make monetary policy a political issue, in the final analysis this matter can only be resolved in the same manner as William Jennings Bryan's proposal for the free coinage of silver—as an appealing emotional issue that will eventually be discredited by the facts.

I am not arguing that monetary policy, any more than any other policy, should be exempt from political debate or criticism. My point is simply that direction of all Federal monetary policy should be coordinated by an independent, non-partisan agency, with final authority to take such actions as are in the overall best interests of the country. As conditions now exist, many monetary policy decisions must be made by the administration and Congress. Such decisions have often become involved with partisan considerations and have, therefore, been based primarily upon the immediate popular reactions. Unfortunately the results have frequently been contrary to the overall best interests of the people whose approval is sought.

True, I bear the political epitaph, "banker," but I am one banker who is also a dedicated liberal Democrat. In my very humble opinion, it is not in the best interests of the country or of the Democratic Party (whether liberal or conservative) to give support to an issue which, if determined politically, will in the final analysis bring great discredit to our party and serious dangers for the future of our free-price, free-competitive, and free-enterprise economy.

Please excuse the length of this letter, but I feel so intensely on this subject that it is hard to stop.

Thank you and Dr. Welsh for taking the time to consider this matter.

Respectfully yours,

SAM B. COOK.

Plain Talk for Those Concerned Over United States Prestige Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I commend the following editorial from the Sacramento Union of April 10, 1957, to the attention of those of my colleagues who periodically are impelled to regale us with expert assessments as to an alleged low state of United States prestige in foreign countries:

IS THAT BAD?—EUROPEAN NATIONS NO LONGER LIKE US

A San Francisco merchant who became an international expert after touring Europe for 6 weeks, is alleged to have reported that in England, France, Italy, and Spain, Americans are "looked upon as well meaning but without all our buttons. The talk of Eisenhower and Dulles now is about 'two sick men running the United States Government.'"

England has lost her colonies throughout the world and is struggling to remain a second-rate power in the family of nations; France hasn't had a stable government since the Second World War and is a hotbed of socialism, communism, and Poujadists; Italy is Communist dominated, and Spain is an absolute dictatorship, where freedom is found only in the dictionary.

Yet we are to concern ourselves about the low level of esteem to which the United States has sunk in those nations. Why? We've been spoon feeding all of them for years, literally pouring billions into ratholes in each of their countries.

If Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles have finally succeeded in displeasing those nations, this country ought to give them a standing vote of thanks. Certainly the San Francisco merchant, who became an international expert in 6 weeks, ought to be reminded that Mr. Eisenhower is President and Mr. Dulles is Secretary of State of the United States, and not of Europe.

As Hawaii Sees Employ the Physically Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, having a great deal of interest in the physically handicapped and in promoting a better understanding of the capabilities of the Nation's physically handicapped, it is a privilege for me to draw to the attention of the Members of the House the prize winning first place essay of the 1957 National Employ the Physically Handicapped essay contest, Hawaii division. This national essay contest is sponsored by the Disabled American Veterans. The teacher of the young man who wrote the essay which I insert in the RECORD is Mrs. Elaine Kono, of Hilo, T. H. The essay follows:

EMPLOYMENT FOR THE HANDICAPPED A COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

(By Jackson Kohagura, Hilo High School, Hilo, T. H.)

Imagine yourself a young man 25 years of age, happily married for 3 years, with a 2-year-old son. Life has been good to you. Although you are not rich, you have a car and a home that will be paid for in another 10 years or so. You enjoy your work as an auto mechanic in a local garage. It isn't the best paying job in the world, but it supports you and your family quite adequately.

One afternoon you are driving home from work, when suddenly you feel as though you were struck by lightning. You recover consciousness and find out that you were hit by another car coming out from a side street. You find yourself in a hospital bed with a ball of fire on your right leg. You look up into the disturbed face of your wife, who says nothing; but you can tell immediately that something is wrong—very wrong. A nurse gives you an injection and tells you that soon you will feel no pain. You put your hand to your right leg where the pain is. Then it slowly sinks into your brain that you have no right leg.

The next few weeks are filled with pain and despair. Your only comfort is your wife's daily visits. As time passes, your thoughts turn away from yourself. You wonder whether your insurance policy is large enough to cover the hospital bill. You wonder how you will get an income, since without a leg you can no longer work as a mechanic. There are many other questions to be answered: How will the monthly payments on the house be met? And your son? Yes, your son. Will you be able to get for him all the things that you had hoped for—an education? Security? A happy home? How would he feel about having a father who has no right leg, a father who cannot run and play ball with him?

About a month after you go home from the hospital things are looking black for you and your family. You cannot meet the monthly payment on the house; the car is beyond repair; your savings are wiped out by additional therapeutic treatments for your leg; after your insurance policy is used to its maximum amount. But you have one hope left—the Government. You know the Government helps disabled people through many agencies.

One morning you call on a cheerful and sympathetic man who is a counselor for the Vocational Rehabilitation Agency. The first thing he does is to get a medical report on your physical condition. He gives you some vocational aptitude and interest tests. After looking over the results, he says that your abilities could be directed to being a bookkeeper. You laugh bitterly, because you don't know a single thing about bookkeeping. He convinces you that if you are willing to try his suggestion, you have nothing to lose.

You are sent to a business school by the agency; they also give you a pair of crutches. You do very well, just as your counselor has predicted. Your family is supported by the Welfare Department for the duration of your schooling; payments on your house are made through loans from friends who have noticed your progress.

Finally the big day comes when you are ready to go out and look for a job. You hobble on your crutches into a large building, move toward the personnel manager's office and wait your turn to see him. He is very nice, but he explains to you that you have no chance of passing a physical examination. You protest the idea of a physical exam for a bookkeeper's job. You show him your reference and a certificate of the validity of your training. He excuses himself with "I have nothing to do with company policy. A rule is a rule." After many similar futile attempts you find yourself returning dejectedly to the Vocational Rehabilitation Office. Your counselor, who has been waiting for you, says, "Same old excuses, I presume."

"Same old excuses." These words run through your mind. How did he know?

"You mean this happens all the time?" you ask. Sadly you find out that there is definitely a prejudice against people who do not have full use of their physical faculties. You are more frustrated than ever when you hear your counselor repeat the very same poor reasons that employers give for not hiring handicapped people: More absenteeism, higher injury rates, lower production. These falsehoods in a country which is proud of itself for the equal opportunity offered to everyone. Is this equal opportunity?

You know that Government surveys prove that handicapped workers produce at an equal to or higher rate than full-bodied persons on the same job. The surveys also prove that handicapped persons are equal to or better than normal workers in absenteeism and injury rates. Handicapped workers also have the same wide range of skills, abilities, and interests as the nonhandicapped.

You feel hopelessly frustrated, for you are not even given a fair chance to prove yourself or your abilities. Although you know that the man in the Vocational Rehabilitation Agency is trying his best to find a position for you, you cannot help thinking that his efforts are in vain.

People who talk to you sympathize with you, but they do not seem to realize that you can do a good job in an occupation where your disability is not an occupational handicap. There is a stigma attached to employment of disabled persons. This prejudice is difficult to understand. If an individual takes the time to find out what a disabled person can do, there certainly would be no hesitancy about hiring a disabled worker.

One day a call comes from the rehabilitation agency to inform you that a position has been found for you. You realize that you are among the more fortunate of the disabled who will be employed. You are suddenly transformed into a person who pays an income tax instead of one who depends upon money derived from the taxes of other people. You also realize that in paying in income tax you will be "squaring away" the amount that the Government has spent on you since your accident. Things look bright again and there is a future for you.

What you have just read has a happy ending. However, for every disabled person that is rehabilitated and has been helped by the Vocational Rehabilitation Agency and other related agencies, there are many, many more disabled that lead a futile, aimless life. Many disabled people do not get the help they need because there are not enough trained personnel to handle all the cases. There is also a need for rehabilitation centers and other facilities where each individual case can be handled.

The public needs to educate itself on what a disabled person can do. The centuries-old stigma that is attached to disabled persons must be destroyed. The prejudices must be corrected.

"What can I do?" you ask. Alone it is always difficult to accomplish much; but as a community of individuals something can be done. A community must realize that its reward for ridding itself of groundless prejudice is a body of taxpayers, productive though physically handicapped. Remember, although you are a normal person today, you have no assurance that tomorrow you will be the same. Tomorrow you might need the community's help.

"Open the door for the disabled."

A Fitting Choice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to include an editorial from the Mount Vernon News, entitled "A Fitting Choice."

This refers to the choice of Gen. Nathan Twining as head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It has been my privilege to know General Twining for a number of years. He has great ability, his loyalty can certainly never be questioned, and he is one who has the intestinal fortitude to speak his views. He is certainly no yes-man.

I think the appointment of General Twining will be heartily endorsed by all.

The editorial follows:

A FITTING CHOICE

Gen. Nathan Twining, now Chief of the Air Force, seems a wise choice to succeed Adm. Arthur Radford as head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Certainly no one is better qualified by position and experience than Twining.

He has held his present post 3½ years. In this job he has again and again showed a talent for getting along with his fellow service chiefs. General Pate, of the Marine Corps, calls him the fairest minded man I know.

In World War II he served in the South Pacific where he once spent 6 days on a life raft after his plane was ditched, and in Italy.

He has all the qualifications that fit him for an office which has been held by so many great military men.

Massachusetts Department of Natural Resources Review of Legislation Relating to Lobsters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting letter pertaining to the lobster industry that merits the attention and consideration of each and every Member of the Congress.

The letter follows:

THE COMMONWEALTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES,
Boston, April 11, 1957.

Congressman THOMAS J. LANE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LANE: The Massachusetts Department of Natural Resources has reviewed the several bills relating to lobsters (the Payne bill (Senate 237) and companion bills (H. R. 2425, 2464, and 3028) by Congressmen HALE, MCINTYRE, and COFFIN, all of Maine).

On the basis of our present information we find no need for the legislation at least in its present form with one exception.

Title 1, in substance, is an attempt to establish a minimum legal length of lobsters (Homarus americanus) at 3 1/16 inches (carapace measure) as a national policy, while at the same time reserving to the individual lobster-producing States the right to deal internally with their own lobster industry as they may see fit.

Massachusetts may well agree that a uniform legal length for all lobsters, wherever caught or taken, might be universally desirable. However, we do not agree that such minimum length be set at 3 1/16 inches. Without commitment Massachusetts might take a somewhat different view if the minimum length was to be 3 3/16 inches. Another objection which might be considered is the possibility of difficulty in enforcement arising from the conflicting, concurrent, or overlapping of authority or jurisdiction of two sovereigns.

For the foregoing reasons, together with the fact that this State is not presently aware of any particular problem concerning the interstate shipment of lobsters which have been illegally caught or taken, and for other reasons title 1 is objectionable to the interests of the Commonwealth and would not receive our support.

The exception to which I referred above deals with title 2. Title 2 defines lobster as that species of decapod crustacea commonly known as Homarus americanus. We agree with all other lobster-producing States that this part of the legislation will be beneficial to all such States, including Massachusetts.

It is the consensus of the States producing Homarus americanus that the North Atlantic lobster will never be equaled by any of the competing substitutes.

We are aware of the increasing importation and use of crawfish in its many varieties and voice no objection to the sale of those products as crawfish. However, to permit the word "lobster" to be used in connection with the advertising and marketing of what is generally considered by lobster lovers as an inferior substitute would subject the true lobster, Homarus americanus, to unfair, if not deliberately fraudulent, competition. For these reasons we would support title 2 of the legislation.

I trust that this information will prove useful when these matters come up for consideration.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCIS W. SARGENT,
Commissioner.

Post Office Department Appropriation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, it is to be regretted that the chairman of the Appropriations Committee and possibly one or two more are playing politics with the Post Office Department's recommendations. I am sure the public will know of his actions and his refusal to give consideration to the request of the Postmaster General that an emergency exists.

I am reliably advised that the Postmaster General notified the proper department many months ago of the situation in which we now find ourselves. It is ridiculous, in my opinion, for the Congress to pass laws reclassifying and increasing expenditures of the Post Office Department and then to refuse to give the money to pay for those increases.

I sat in on a meeting a few days ago, Mr. Speaker, and our Postmaster General Summerfield had questions fired at him for over an hour. I might add that many of the questions did not come from so-called friends. The Postmaster General clearly demonstrated that he is a victim of politics, that just a few members of the New Deal and Democratic Party were trying to embarrass not only him but the Eisenhower administration as well.

Being granted permission to extend my remarks, I am including the following information given by the Postmaster General that I believe will be of interest:

How much does the Post Office Department spend in a year?

About $3,250,000,000.

Seventy-eight and four-tenths percent for postal employees' salaries and fringe benefits set by Congress.

Fifteen and one-half percent for transportatoon of mail set by Government agencies.

One and eight-tenths percent for rents, utilities, and communication set by FCC.

Only 4.3 percent left for controllable items over which the Department really exercises any control.

Use money to print stamps, buy trucks, pens for 38,000 post offices, and hundreds of other items needed to operate post offices.

Why does the Post Office Department need $47 million now?

To give accustomed service for the next 90 days.

None of this money to pay past bills.

Three reasons why it is costing more to give the American people the mail service they deserve, expect, and pay for:

1. More mail than estimated by about a billion pieces. And this increased volume of mail doesn't provide funds to operate the Post Office Department, since all revenues go directly to the Treasury Department.

2. Increased mail service to 1.3 million new homes.

3. Higher wages to employees by law.

All three of these reasons beyond control of the Department.

If the Post Office Department doesn't get the $47 million, what can it do?

Required by law to live within the money Congress appropriates.

If Congress doesn't vote more money, must curtail mail service starting next Saturday, April 13.

Orders to do so already in hands of postmasters.

1. No Saturday mail deliveries.
2. Close post offices on Saturdays.
3. Less delivery service in business areas.
4. Close post offices earlier on weekdays.
5. Embargo third-class mail on April 29.
6. Stop the sale of money orders on April 29.

Obviously these drastic actions seriously hurt the economy of the Nation.

Has the Post Office Department ever asked for more money before?

Yes; but only once in past 4 years.

In 1956 needed and got $166 million more, of which $150 million was for pay increases under Public Law 68, effective March 1, 1955; the remaining $16 million is the only supplemental appropriation the Department has received in 4 years for additional operating expenses.

However, in 2 other years spent less:

In 1954 turned back $105 million.

In 1955 turned back almost $50 million.

Are you cutting costs in the Post Office Department?

Yes. Now carrying 20 percent more mail with fewer employees than 6 years ago.

How many postal employees are there?

1952	523,757
1955	511,613
1956	508,587

How is mail volume increasing?

	Pieces *Billion*
1952	49.9
1956	56.4
1957 (estimated)	58.8
1958 (estimated)	59.7

Is the Post Office Department satisfied with mail service today?

Of course not.

Better than it was but still not good enough.

What is the Post Office Department doing to improve service?

Spending over $4 million this year alone or research.

Set up first Office of Research and Engineering in history.

Working with nine engineering firms and Bureau of Standards.

Developing mechanical and electronic devices to speed mail through post offices.

Over 1,500 obsolete post offices replaced in past 4 years with new ones built by private capital.

Objective: Next day delivery of mail anywhere in the United States.

Our Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on April 4, it was my honor to attend the centennial birthday party of the National Education Association at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington. On that occasion, I heard a wonderful address by Dr. William G. Carr, executive secretary of the association. Dr. Carr spoke on "Our Heritage," and although he was speaking about the heritage of the National Education Association, his words hold an important message for all of us. I ask permission to have his remarks printed here and I urge all Members of Congress to read them. The address follows:

OUR HERITAGE

Every birthday invites us to look in two directions, forward and back. But in this instance looking back shows us how difficult it is to look forward.

If the 43 founders of the National Education Association could be here tonight, they would confess that their most sanguine dreams in 1857 did not foresee in any manner whatsoever the remarkable present status and strength of the organization they established. If they, with their buoyant and daring spirits, could not foretell a fraction of today's achievements what warrant have we now to try to forecast the long reaches of the future?

Of two things, however, we may be reasonable sure. First, we can see that the association is still growing. It is growing in numbers. More important, it is gaining in clarity of purpose and, therefore, in influence and usefulness. It is increasing in its ability to enlist the energy and enthusiasm of its members and friends. Growth is a sure evidence of vitality. The fact that our association is still unfinished is a good general augury for its future, however indistinct may be the shape of things to come.

Second, we may be sure that none of us will be on hand for NEA's 200th birthday. Of course, the ladies among us age so slightly, so imperceptably, that one is tempted to think they might make it. But even that is a happy illusion.

Everyone is curious about the causes of longevity. When some respected member of the community attains his 100th birthday, the newspaper reporters knock early at his door. While the flash bulbs explode their lightning around his white hairs, the reporters always ask the same question, the one to which the reading public wants an answer: "How do you account for your long life?" The old gentleman may prefer to recall the story of his life at full length. He may want to recite the exploits of his youth with lurid details of fact and fancy. But you and I and the reporters want to know how he has survived.

So it is with the NEA. There is a double temptation on such an occasion as this either to try to recount the full history of the past or to try to forecast what will happen in the next hundred years. These are inviting prospects but I shall resist them both. I shall neither "dip into the future" nor "chronicle the past." Instead let us consider why the NEA has kept so spry and in

such good health. Let me suggest three of the important elements in our heritage that have enabled our associatino to endure for a hundred years.

I

The first element in our heritage is the habit and the tradition of voluntary cooperation.

No ordinance or statute requires anyone to support the National Education Association. An act of Congress confers the charter which merely permits the association to transact business in the District of Columbia. But every activity under this charter is performed only because individual members join forces to make it possible.

This principle of voluntary partnership for a common purpose brought the 43 founders together at the Athenaeum in Philadelphia 100 years ago. The printed message calling this meeting has been preserved for us with all its old-fashioned sturdy phrases. It invited the participation of all teachers "who are willing to unite in a general effort to promote the educational welfare of our country." It speaks of "concentrating the wisdom and power of numerous minds," of "distributing among all the accumulated experience of all." It summoned a national meeting of all who "are ready to devote their energies and contribute of their means to advance the dignity, respectability, and usefulness of their calling."

Today this same desire "to concentrate the power and wisdom of numerous minds" on the achievement of common ends enlists 700,000 NEA members and makes the association by far the largest professional organization in the world.

This part of our heritage manifests itself in many ways, but never in a more dramatic fashion than in these birthday dinners. Tonight, as the edge of darkness moved westward across the continent from Maine to California, in sumptuous hotel ballrooms, in severely functional school cafeterias, in cities and towns and villages, overseas in Hawaii and Alaska and Puerto Rico, members of the association and their friends gather to celebrate its birthday. We know of a least 2,500 such occasions—and there musts be hundreds more that have not been reported to us.

Some of these dinners, for various practical reasons, have already been held. I would like to tell you about one of these. There is a town named Ulysses in the sparsely populated area of the Kansas Dust Bowl. This is a rather unusual name for a town; it did not, however, derive from some far-wandering classical scholar. The explanation is simple—Ulysses is located in Grant County and the NEA dinner there was sponsored by the Grant County Teachers Association. The president of the association wrote that the dust was blowing so that one could not see the highway—"a total blackout" in her words. Number of teachers in Grant County—75. Number present at the dinner—75; plus the school board, plus the PTA officers, plus 35 other citizens. They ate their centennial dinner in the school gymnasium. They lit their candles and cut their cake beneath the basketball goal. The tables were nicely decorated. The president wore an orchid. When the photographer took their group picture, to give NEA a record of its proud occasion, they all smiled that unconquerable American grin—proud, friendly, and relaxed. As their president wrote me, "We did what we could to help make 1957 very important."

"We did what we could." Upon that first person plural depends the very existence of the National Education Association. Whether the enterprise is a centennial dinner or any of hundreds of other varied daily acts of service and good will, our association represents an unwritten but powerful treaty of mutual assistance among its members. With our colleagues across the Nation and around the world, we here and now are the heirs and present custodians of the great tradition of voluntary cooperation. Without that element in its heritage the association would be only a name and a legal entity. With it, as has often been proved in the past, no worthwhile task is too big to tackle or too difficult to accomplish.

II

A second aspect of our heritage is dedication to the ideal of equal opportunity for all. This is undoubtedly the central motif of American education, the compelling theme to which other principles are merely accompaniments and elaborations.

Because of this principle, every child born in America is born rich. He may not have the proverbial silver spoon but he does possess a golden key—the key of education to unlock the door of opportunity. The American people have expected their system of universal education to produce miracles. For the past century it has not failed them. The schools of the Nation have moved freedom forward. They have helped to make the Nation united, strong, and prosperous, as well as free.

"To promote the caure of popular education in the United States"—this great purpose of the association was proclaimed at its first meeting in 1857. That purpose in those same words remains in our congressional charter today.

Much else has changed in our country and in the world. To glimpse what has happened, it is only necessary to recall some of the circumstances prevailing in 1857. At that time, there were only 31 States in the Union. Alaska was Russian, Puerto Rico was Spanish, the Canal Zone was part of New Granada, and Hawaii was an independent kingdom.

In 1857 there were no land-grant colleges, no school health services, no public kindergartens. Even the legal status of free secondary education was undetermined. Few men and even fewer women had opportunity for higher education.

In 1857 the transatlantic cable was completed to link the two great land masses of the earth. It is a striking measure of the changing times that in 1957 we are preparing an earth satellite to link our planet to others. In 100 years the secrets of the land, the sea, and the air have been seized and harnessed. And eternally questing man now turns to assail the remote fortresses of outer space.

In 1857 also some genius invented what must be regarded as the greatest aid to instruction of all time—the first pencil with an eraser on the end.

In 1857 Thomas Edison was a 10-year-old boy conducting improbable and hair-raising experiments in the basement of his home. Alexander Graham Bell was at school in Scotland. Wilbur Wright would not be born in Dayton for another 10 years.

Most of the founders of the NEA could remember when James Monroe was President of the United States. They were nearer in point of time to the Declaration of Independence than we are to them.

Through the intervening century good times and bad have alternated. The unity of the Nation has been tested and affirmed in the fiery crucible of civil conflict.

New inventions have revolutionized communication and travel. New materials, new sources of power, and new medical discoveries have profoundly changed our personal habits, our economic patterns, and our social structures. Wars of massive destruction and appalling ferocity have cast down some nations and created others. Our country has, with many a lingering longing glance behind, become a world power. A great struggle for the loyalties and minds of men has shaken the world and continues to do so.

But through all these changes, the National Education Association has never faltered in its zeal to provide a fair chance for all through good educational opportunity for all. Changing conditions have led the association to expand the scope of its efforts. Local support for universal education has been supplemented by growing State support. State support, in turn, will be supplemented by national support. Some barriers have to be removed before this goal can be attained. But nothing can alter the goal itself. Nothing can weaken the determination of the association to press on toward it. We inherit, in this respect, not only the achievements of our predecessors but also their unfinished business. The striving, too, is part of our heritage.

III

The third part of our inheritance is the ideal of professional service. In 1857 the NEA founders declared that one major purpose of the new association should be "to elevate the character of the profession of teaching." Today, we find these identical words still in our charter. Directly or indirectly, they guide the activities of the association. In cooperation with its 6,000 State and local affiliates, the Association is steadily lifting the requirements for admission to the profession. It has been remarkably successful in winning approval for a 4-year college preparation as a minimum for beginning teachers in any school. It works for smaller classes—not that teachers may lead an easy life—but rather that teachers may be fully occupied in giving children the individual attention which is essential to their effective instruction. It promotes levels of compensation and conditions of service which will make teaching an attractive career for the best of America's youth. For competent teachers, and for competent teachers only, it insists on professional treatment. Through its research, publications, and conferences it increases the knowledge, wisdom, and skill of its members.

It helps teachers in the classroom to make practical applications of scientific findings in child growth and psychology, to evaluate and improve their methods of teaching, to use wisely the new audiovisual aids to learning, to adapt the curriculum to meet new needs and to include new information, to provide education suited to the interests and abilities of exceptional children, to produce and use better textbooks and children's reading material, and to remove artificial barriers between the school and its surrounding community.

Through its code of ethics, it has placed service above self and it has identified those standards of conduct which befit the members of a responsible profession. In these and many other ways, the association is making the practice of education in any of its branches respected because it is respectable.

Great men and women, a few of them famous but most of them completely unknown, have held our association to this unselfish purpose over the past 10 decades. Occasionally some member of the association is called upon for extraordinary devotion. Such was the case, for instance, a few months ago when a teacher led her pupils from a flaming fire-trap school in North Carolina risking and losing her own life as she did so. Few are called upon thus to give their lives for their pupils in one swift and irreversible decision. But many there are who give their lives for their students hour-by-hour and day-by-day over many years of skilled and devoted service. The professional ideals which motivate such lives are also part of the proud 100-year heritage of the National Education Association.

Time is a seamless fabric. Clocks and calendars are human inventions. They measure the fabric of time but they do not cut it. The clock ticks and the leaves of the calendar turn aside to provide convenient reference points in an unbroken pattern that we perceive only dimly, if at

all. Minutes, days, years, and centuries are artificial and relative terms.

In the life of a man a century is a very long time indeed. In the life of an institution a century may be only a brief interlude. At his 100th birthday, if he survives that long, a man is at the beginning of the end. An institution on the same occasion may be only at the end of its beginning.

P. G. & E. Co. Statement on Central Valley Project Power Operations Ridiculous in the Light of Project Financial Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago Mr. Robert H. Gerdes, vice president of the P. G. & E. Co., attempting to justify his company's proposal to build the Trinity project power facilities, stated, with reference to potential preference customers of Trinity power, that "all the taxpayers in the State and throughout the Nation would be paying more taxes so that these favored few can get tax-subsidized cut-rate Federal power." The 1956 financial report on the Central Valley project indicates just how incorrect and ridiculous this statement is.

On numerous occasions I have pointed out to this body that there is no Federal subsidy involved in power operations of Federal reclamation projects—that power pays its own costs, including interest, and assists repayment of irrigation costs. The 1956 financial report of the Central Valley project shows that CVP power not only is paying its way with interest but is returning a nice profit to Uncle Sam. The gross project revenues for 1956 totaled $15,861,116 while net revenues amounted to $7,845,761, most of which is attributable to project power revenues. This net amount is after payment of all operation and maintenance expenses, after setting aside funds for expected future major item replacements and after paying interest on the power and municipal and industrial water investments. Addition of the Trinity facilities will improve this financial picture. In other words, the Central Valley project not only is producing low-cost power for the people in the area but it is doing so at a profit.

I include for the information of my colleagues an article appearing in the April 3 issue of the Fresno Bee, which covers the 1956 report on the Central Valley project.

The article follows:

CVP's NET REVENUE RISES 64.7 PERCENT

The Federal Bureau of Reclamation has reported the operation of the Central Valley's project during 1956 produced a net revenue of $7,845,761, an increase of 64.7 percent over the 1955 figure.

In its annual report on the CVP operation the Bureau notes the gross revenue totaled $15,861,116, an increase of 33.5 percent over the amount reported for 1955.

The Bureau said the increases were due largely to a good water year and the first full year's operation of the Folsom and Nimbus powerplants.

BREAKDOWN IS GIVEN

A breakdown of the earnings follows:

Power sales, $11,352,011 from the delivery of 1,395,139,014 kilowatt-hours of electricity; irrigation-water deliveries, $4,121,939 from the sale of 1,701,040 acre-feet; municipal and industrial water, $375,054 from the sale of 37,190 acre-feet; and miscellaneous, $12,112.

In 12 years of operation the project's net earnings total $66,067,035, or 12.7 percent of the cost of the revenue-producing plant in service. The construction costs to December 31 totaled $520,856,000.

COSTS ARE REPORTED

Last year's costs were:

Power, $2,596,739; irrigation, $2,348,656; municipal and industrial, $263,735; provision for replacement, $701,850, and interest on investment, $2,104,376.

The bureau said project pumping took 163,448,195 kilowatt hours and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company received 1,447,808,707 kilowatt hours.

Water storage approached maximum in Millerton and Shasta Lakes and reached capacity in Folsom Lake. The total storage amounted to 5,200,000 acre feet as compared to 2,800,000 acre feet the previous year.

HOW DELIVERIES WERE MADE

The water deliveries by service areas were:

Class I—Friant-Kern, 489,470 acre feet; Madera, 72,150; Mendota Pool, 19,022; Delta-Mendota, 185,848; Contra Costa, 5,058, and Sly Park, 5,731, and Class I, Friant-Kern, 130,640; Madera, 182,301, and Mendota Pool, 41,321.

An additional 1,015,513 acre feet were delivered on the exchange contract and for water rights for which no revenue was received.

Clyde H. Spencer, the bureau's regional director in Sacramento, said "the feasibility of the project has been demonstrated not only by its financial stability but in making vast amounts of water available to agricultural lands of the valley and by producing low cost power for public agencies and others throughout the area."

Submarines Everlasting Honor and Glory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it was Adm. Chester Nimitz who once said that the Japanese missed their golden opportunity at Pearl Harbor when they restricted their attack to capital ships. If they had knocked out our submarines, our task would have been infinitely greater. For as soon as the war started, our submarines began unsupported operations in Japanese waters and substantially damaged Japan's vitally important shipping.

"It was to the submarine force that I looked to carry the load until our great industrial activity could produce the weapons we so sorely needed to carry the war to the enemy," Admiral Nimitz has said. He added, "It is to the everlasting honor and glory of our submarine personnel that they never failed us in ouf days of peril."

Now this valiant—and relatively unpublicized—branch of our Armed Forces is getting the kind of recognition long due it. Throughout the Nation, a television program called the Silent Service is being shown to increasing millions of Americans. This series, based on authentic war reports, dramatically presenting the heroism and adventures of submarines at war, effectively delivers to the citizenry a weekly account of the vital role our submarine service performs in the Nation's defense.

The series was conceived in love and devotion by Adm. Thomas M. Dykers, United States Navy, retired, an old submariner himself who as commanding officer of the submarine *Jack* in World War II downed 4 Japanese tankers in 1 day—a feat unequaled by any other United States sub in the war.

Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to pay tribute to the glory of the men of the submarine service. I commend NBC Television Films for bringing this story to the American public and to WTOP–TV in Washington, D. C., where it begins on the air April 30, so that everyone, especially those in Goverment here, in the Nation's Capital, may know more about the Silent Service."

Tribute to an Outstanding Citizen—Ian Ross MacFarlane

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, with the closing of the Emergency Hungarian Refugee Operation, it seems a fitting time to review what has been done in resettling the thousands of gallant freedom fighters and their families in various American communities.

The contribution of the citizenry of Baltimore in this cause is one, Mr. Speaker, which I feel privileged to acknowledge with pardonable pride. Over 125 Hungarians have been brought or sent to Baltimore by various sponsors. This project has required the interest and patience of Baltimore industry in offering employment; the charity of religious organizations in donating clothing; the generosity and understanding of the Baltimore homeowner in making available living quarters where these Hungarian newcomers could live, not only in self-respect, but in an environment of genuine American family life. The YMCA, the Rotary Clubs, the Kiwanis, and other civic organizations, the police department, storekeepers, taxicab companies have all joined in a cooperative effort to assist these otherwise bewildered patriots from overseas.

However magnificent as has been the work, Mr. Speaker, of those already mentioned and the scores of others who have toiled so generously but without recognition, there stands out one Marylander who has been the originator, the spark, the driving force, the coordinator

of all this trendous achievement. He is Ian Ross MacFarlane, who this year marks his 20th anniversary as a radio commentator.

Mr. Speaker, this is not the first time Mr. MacFarlane has figuratively left his job as one of our State's most respected political reporters and news commentators to assist those who needed aid. During World War II and following his return from an overseas tour of duty that took him to the frontlines, Citizen MacFarlane sponsored the idea over his radio hookup that eventually resulted in the Congress enacting into law a measure that provided for increased allowances and allotments for the dependents of servicemen. Immediately after the cessation of hostilities, he led the fight that secured for 158 honorably discharged veterans the right to own and operate taxicabs in Baltimore. This group is still functioning and doing a standout job under the name of the G. I. Veterans Taxicab Association of Baltimore. In organizing this company, Mr. MacFarlane insisted that it be based on equality for all. In other words, Mr. Speaker, integration of its membership from its very inception. In between gathering and editing news, Mr. MacFarlane served as president of this group for 5 years, leaving them with earned assets of over $100,000.

Every veterans' organization in Maryland has honored Mr. MacFarlane by citations, medals, and plaques for his work in behalf of all veterans. In 1947, he was named the Baltimorean who has done most for the Negro people.

Being a humanitarian and a champion of the rights of all has been the keystone of Ian Ross MacFarlane's life. He is the first non-Jew ever to have lived and worked as a member of the Jewish agricultural colonies in Palestine. Since this period in 1933, he has constantly worked voluntarily for the cause of autonomy for Palestine, which he has seen come to pass with the establishment of the Republic of Israel. Today he is one of the outstanding champions for justice and understanding of this tiny outpost of democracy in the Middle East.

So, Mr. Speaker, it is no wonder that when another voice of an underprivileged or persecuted person calls, Ian Ross MacFarlane is among the first to respond.

Therefore, it is a privilege and real pleasure to be able to pay tribute to Ian Ross MacFarlane in connection with his outstanding and untiring efforts in connection with the Hungarian relief program, and his many other civic activities.

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. GORDON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted by the city council of the city of Chicago on March 28, 1957, memorializing the United States Congress to enact the Juvenile Delinquency Control Act (S. 1455). This resolution which was presented by Alderman Alfred J. Cilella, memorializes the Congress in support of bill S. 1455, providing for the strengthening and improvement of State and local programs to combat and control juvenile delinquency. The resolution points out that juvenile delinquency has increased 70 percent since 1948 and that estimates show that by 1960, unless corrective steps are taken, 2 million children may be in trouble with the police annually. The resolution succinctly states the case for favorable action on bill S. 1455 and I commend to the Members of the House this resolution for their most serious and careful reading.

Prompt attention to the serious problem of juvenile delinquency is most urgent and essential and I feel that the city council of the city of Chicago is to be praised for its forthright and progressive stand on this vital question.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION MEMORIALIZING THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS TO ENACT JUVENILE DELINQUENCY CONTROL ACT—ADOPTED BY CITY COUNCIL OF CITY OF CHICAGO AT MEETING HELD ON MARCH 28, 1957 (PRESENTED BY ALDERMAN ALFRED J. CILELLA, 36TH WARD)

Whereas the social problem of juvenile delinquency, according to the finding of the Congress of the United States, as set forth in the statement of finds and policies of Senate bill 1455, deflects children in their growth to responsible citizenship, and diminishes the strength and vitality of the people of our Nation; and

Whereas since 1948 delinquency has increased by 70 percent according to court dockets across the Nation; and

Whereas during the period from 1948 until the present the number of children has increased by only 16 percent; and

Whereas it is estimated that we may have, by 1960, 2 million children annually in trouble with the police; and

Whereas the growing seriousness of this problem, with its terrifying potentialities, demands the attention of all branches of Government—Federal, State, and local; and

Whereas while the city of Chicago, through its various agencies, public and private, is attempting to deal effectively with this problem, additional support from all available sources obviously should be sought; and

Whereas there is pending on the calendar of the Senate of the United States Senate, Senate bill 1455, otherwise known as Juvenile Delinquency Control Act, which provides for the strengthening and improvement of State and local programs to combat and control juvenile delinquency, with authorization for the appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, the sum of $2 million, and for each of the following 4 fiscal years sums not to exceed $5 million annually, as the Congress may determine; and

Whereas these sums under the provisions of Senate bill 1455 are to be apportioned among the States in the same ratio to such sums as the child population of each State bears to the child population of all the States; and

Whereas said bill calls for a determination of the needs in the State for strengthening and improving State and local programs for the control of juvenile delinquency, and development of plans to meet these needs, and for coordination on a continuing basis of juvenile delinquency control programs and of plans for strengthening and improving the same; and for the training of personnel in juvenile delinquency programs to furnish improved services to delinquent youth; and for demonstrations of improved services for the location, treatment and after-care of delinquent youth; and for research and investigation for assessing the causes and extent of juvenile delinquency and the effectiveness of existing control programs; and

Whereas although it has been concluded by the citizens and their representatives in local government in Chicago that the problems of youth may best be dealt with at the local level, it is obviously advantageous, both to our State and to our community, to have at the disposal of our authorities substantially augmented resources for the solution of our most pressing difficulty, the necessities of our young people: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives are hereby memorialized by the city council of the city of Chicago to enact into law Senate bill 1455, or any other legislation embodying the same provisions and purposes, with all possible expedition; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be spread upon the journal of the proceedings of the city council and that copies be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

JOHN C. MARCIN, *City Clerk.*

"All Members of the Board Shall Be Persons Who Profess a Belief in the Feasibility and Wisdom of This Act" (From the TVA Act)—New Board Member Should Be Man of Ability, Vision, and Executive Capacity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the conference committee, in its report on the TVA Act some 24 years ago, when the TVA Act was originally passed, commented as follows:

We are fully persuaded that the full success of the Tennessee Valley development project will depend more upon the ability, vision, and executive capacity of the Board than upon legislative provisions.

TVA's success over the years has been attributable in a large measure to the fact that distinguished men of ability, vision, and executive capacity have served on the Board.

As a vacancy is soon to exist on the TVA Board, a well-considered editorial appealing for the selection of such a man as Director appeared in the April issue of the Public Power magazine. Under unanimous consent, I include this timely editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

MAN FOR A JOB

Some 24 years ago, when the House of Representatives was debating final passage of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act, the House group on the conference committee commented: "We are fully persuaded that the full success of the Tennessee Valley development project will depend more upon the ability, vision and executive capacity of the Board than upon legislative provisions."

Thus at the birth of TVA it was recognized that the success or failure of the agency would depend as much on the caliber of those serving on its three-member Board of Directors as upon any other factor.

TVA's undeniable success is a tribute to a number of distinguished men of ability, vision, and executive capacity who have served on its Board during the past 2 dozen years. Next month one of these men steps down, and President Eisenhower faces the difficult task of selecting a worthy successor.

The vacancy on the TVA Board will come May 18, when Dr. Harry A. Curtis retires. At 73, Dr. Curtis looks back upon a long and distinguished career of public service, capped by a 9-year term as TVA Director.

To understand the significance of the appointment which the President is to make, it is desirable to take note of the agency which the TVA directors are responsible for administrating. TVA is the world's largest public corporation, a wholly owned Federal corporation with total assets approaching $2 billion. It operates the Nation's largest integrated power system, with a total installed capacity nearing 10 million kilowatts. And it is perhaps the world's outstanding example of comprehensive river development, with unified development and conservation of the resources of a region that includes parts of 7 States and a population of more than 5 million.

More than this, TVA has become a worldwide symbol of democratic achievement. TVA has provided inspiration and guidance to water project planners in many nations and is considered abroad to be one of the greatest proofs that our form of government does work.

In providing that TVA be operated under a three-member Board of Directors, Congress specified a unique qualification for these Board members. The TVA Act states: "All members of the Board shall be persons who profess a belief in the feasibility and wisdom of this act." Another section of the act specifically bans political considerations in the appointment and promotion of TVA employees.

But the best description of the qualification for a TVA director remains that of the House committee when the act was being given final consideration. He must be a man of "ability, vision, and executive capacity." We hope that these qualifications are uppermost in the mind of the President when he nominates a successor to Dr. Curtis.

Old Earth on the Operating Table

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in 1492 man crossed water and found wealth.

Before that, he crossed land.

Since then, he has flown through space and plunged through water.

It is said that man is where he was in 1492 in relation to earth, space, and water; he has dug about 6 miles deep into the earth's crust and soared not much higher than 6 miles above his home on the ground. The ocean veils the land beneath it in mystery. Glaciers mask 10 percent of the earth's lands.

Man can hold the skull of a man in his hand and point out its parts and the organs that fit into it and how they are nourished. Man knows man. He can trace the circulation of his blood. He knows his life span and does what he can to lengthen it and free it from pain. He tries to be better informed so he can live more creatively and less wastefully.

Man can spin the globe in his hands, but he cannot point out its component parts and how they are nourished—too much ocean, too much earth, too much space. Perhaps man in relation to these is where Dr. Harvey was in relation to man and his circulatory system.

Perhaps man in the international geophysical year which is just ahead of us stands on the threshold of unlocking a geographical bill of rights for man. Nature does not set the same table before man on each of the continents. It is said that one of the hopes of the IGY is that it will enable man to lessen the inequalities of nature and its burdensome pressures on man.

It is said that the Scriptures and the Bill of Rights provide man with a light to get along with man and his Creator, and that the IGY will better enable man to do so all over the world. At least that is a conclusion one can draw from the article listed below. It is from the April 14 issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald entitled, "Old Earth on the Operating Table":

OLD EARTH ON THE OPERATING TABLE

(By Alton L. Blakeslee)

NEW YORK.—Mother Earth is getting a vast and unique physical checkup. The results could profoundly affect your life for the better.

To do this checkup, 5,000 scientists from 56 nations will go digging, crawling, climbing, sailing, freezing, baking, testing, comparing, flying, and even crashing the gravity barrier into limitless space.

They will probe into earth's temperatures and pressures, the complicated actions deep inside the earth and high above it and the powerful influences acting from the outside. For science is making a great assault against ignorance about the world, seeking to solve secrets of the earth and some of the mysterious forces which control and shape our lives.

From it all may come better control over climate and weather, improved or even new ways of communication, even perhaps gifts and powers as yet undreamed of by mankind.

The assault is the International Geophysical Year—better pronounced simply as IGY—starting officially July 1 and lasting 18 months. Geophysics is the science of the earth. Vanguards of this geophysical task force already are at work at the South Pole and other stations over the face of our globe.

Man has lived on earth about half a million years. He has charted much of its lands, roamed wide over its seas, explored some mysteries of its ocean of oxygen and air, figured out some secrets of the sun, learned a bit about magnetism, gravity, cosmic rays. But in all this time men have dug only about 6 miles deep into the earth's crust. Others have soared not much higher above their homes on the ground.

Compared with the 4-billion-year age of the earth, it is as though mankind had lived for only a few seconds upon the skin of an apple—and knows only about its skin.

In a whole lifetime from only a few vantage points, scientists can learn only a few things about the earth and its life. It demands worldwide, standardized efforts to understand global forces such as weather, radio blackouts, cosmic rays, gravity, the advance or retreat of glaciers, magnetism, and the causes of earthquakes which jar the globe.

That is the purpose of IGY. Scientists and engineers of all major nations, including Russia, and many smaller countries are sharing the checkup job, and will share equally all their findings about the earth.

Twice before, in 1893 and in 1932, scientists cooperated in this fashion, but only to study phenomena of the little-known north polar regions. This time, the physical study is truly global.

Our blazing sun is one main target of interest, for the sun is a massive, controlled H-bomb reaction, giving us life; bathing us with warmth, light, suntan rays, X-rays.

But the sun does not live unruffled, unchanged from moment to moment. Vast explosions and flares and electromagnetic storms sweep across it, causing sunspots, making the sun a vast atom-smashing machine bombarding us with atomic bullets and radiations. The sun's life and emanations affect our weather and magnetic currents, the creep of ice masses.

Sunspots occur in cycles, and the coming 18 months are a time for expected maximum sunspot activity. That is a main reason for undertaking the IGY studies now, correlating many types of observations and measurements with the solar activities.

So in one of a dozen IGY activities, scientists will expand present programs which keep a constant solar patrol or watch upon the face of the sun, to record what is happening there.

In a new and audacious step, other scientists from the United States and Russia will rocket tiny artificial moons or messengers out into space. These objects will go whirling about the earth at speeds of 18,000 miles per hour, in orbits ranging from 200 to 300 to 1,500 miles high.

Measuring devices inside these little round balls can take a never-before-seen look at the sun. They can sense and record radiations from the sun as they actually are out in space, before they are absorbed or altered by our thick, protective blanket of air. What is pure sunlight actually like? Tiny radios inside the little moons will broadcast back the answers.

The artificial moons can tell us new facts about cosmic rays hurtling at us from our sun and across billions of miles of space from distant universes of stars.

They can tell how empty space actually is—how many molecules of hydrogen gas race about in the not-quite-perfect vacuum of space. How high does our atmosphere rise? How many meteors and of what sizes speed through space? What hazard would they be to passenger ships questing to Mars or the moon?

IGY marks man's first hesitant step to conquer the new frontier of space.

On earth itself, many hundreds of scientific stations will be at work, strung along three main belts or meridian lines between the North and the South Poles with others crisscrossing west to east. Each will do one to several simultaneous tasks in search of new knowledge.

Many will be concerned with weather. Our atmosphere is the fluid of a vast heat engine driven by the sun, scientists point out. Its flow, its winds, all the forces acting upon it, create our weather, the balmy spring days, blizzards, hurricanes.

To understand weather better, and also to sample cosmic rays and study other events, hundreds of rockets and rackoons—rockets launched from high balloons—will roar 20 to 200 miles high. They will read temperatures, wind speeds, pressures, humidity. What they learn will be melded with similar readings from hundreds of stations on land and at sea.

Great surges of cold air spill down from both poles, setting in motion events affecting weather thousands of miles away. For the first time, the great unknown Antarctic Continent will be manned by nearly 60 sta-

tions, permitting drawing of daily weather maps. What they learn can be correlated with north polar observations, and data from everywhere else.

Glaciers still mask 10 percent of the earth's lands. Are they melting or advancing, where and why? Glaciologists want to know. If the ice masses thaw entirely, mankind wins new lands to populate and draw resources from—but at a cost of losing great cities such as New York and London when ocean levels rise 75 feet or higher.

And IGY ships will sail the great seas, charting the bottoms with echo-sounding devices. What lies underneath? How fast move the deep ocean currents—never yet well traced. How rapidly does cold water travel from polar regions to the Equator and back? On this depends to a great extent the fertility of the seas and the abundance of marine life. These currents affect long-range weather forecasting, too.

How rapidly does deep cold bottom water rise to the surface? In 100 years, or 10,000? If the reversal is slow, then deep holes in the oceans could be safe garbage dumps in which to drop concrete coffins containing dangerous radioactive wastes from atomic power plants.

On scattered island stations, specialists will record and measure the changes in sea level which come with the seasons, and add to knowledge of ocean tides.

Similar but smaller tides pulse through the solid interior of the earth, and will draw special attention. Gravity keps us earthbound, and gravity measurements give clues to these tides; help to determine the rigidity of the earth and its internal structure.

Manmade explosions will send shock waves plumbing into the earth, to learn more about the shallow crust which supports us, and its deeper layers, too. And around the world, seismology stations will record deep and shallow earthquakes, using these quivers and violences to chart the earth's interior down to its fiery, molten core. Knowledge and understanding could lead to means of predicting earthquakes in advance.

High above us sweep violent electromagnetic storms whose cause and meanings scientists want to learn. The earth's magnetism is not a steady thing; it is subject to daily and long-term fluctuations. Ground stations will help spell out part of this story. Much can be learned from studies of magnetic and electrical events 50 to 250 miles up.

Up there lies the ionosphere, an electrified layer of air which bounces back radio waves from earth and makes radio communication possible. Flares from the sun alter it, make radio useless. But scientists already have learned new modes of radio transmission which grow even stronger when the ionosphere is disturbed.

From the ground, from rockets into the air, from data learned by the artificial moons, scientists also will explore puzzles of the aurora or northern lights and the dim air glow which always shines about the earth. They will attempt to make far more accurate measurements of the size and shape of earth, to correct errors in present longitude and latitude measurements which permit inaccuracies of 200 to 300 feet in distances between continents.

IGY will bring a special kind of calendar. There will be regular world days each month for simultaneous measurements and observations, and there will be special world days or rocket launchings signaled by an international warning system to coincide with such unusual events as sunspots, solar eclipses and meteor showers.

You will be supporting IGY with tax funds. Congress already has appropriated $39 million for United States participation. The American program was prepared by a National committee established by the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, representing us in the International Council of Scientific Unions for IGY.

All findings on a dozen fronts will be fed into 3 world data centers, 1 of them in the United States. All information will be shared equally with all nations.

Where will it lead; what benefits may it bring? Perhaps control over cosmic forces which now go untamed or unused. No one can predict. IGY can enrich our fund of basic, fundamental knowledge. Science and the world have never been the poorer for that.

For Foreign Loans Why Not the World Bank?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I am including in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Nashville Banner, April 10, 1957, suggesting that future foreign loans, as envisioned by the Secretary of State, should be programed through the World Bank. The editorial is thoughtful and timely.

The editorial follows:

FOR FOREIGN LOANS WHY NOT THE WORLD BANK?

Rather than embark on a long-range program of enlarged loans to friendly nations, as visualized by Secretary Dulles for a new approach to foreign aid, why not refer these to the World Bank, of which 44 nations already are members and stockholders?

The purpose of that institution is stated in its articles of agreement, and very title. It is an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Its subscribed capital stock now amounts to $9,263,200,000; and disbursement on loans as of last October was a little in excess of $2 billion.

America is heavily encumbered with loans and grants-in-aid already made, some going back to World War I (still in arrears) and scores of billions lent during and since World War II. Even if this were not true, it would be a matter of questionable prudence to undertake such a commitment of up to $750 million annually, for an indefinite period.

There stands the World Bank, its purpose: "To assist in the reconstruction and development of its member countries by facilitating the investment of capital for productive purposes, and thereby promote the long-range growth of international trade and the improvement of standards of living; to promote participation in loans and investments made by private investors, and to make loans for productive purposes when private capital is not available on reasonable terms."

The United States has subscribed to a larger portion of its stock than any other nation, a shade more than one-third, or $3,175,000,000.

Such an institution, as a matter of business principle and solvency, necessarily keeps its books balanced and its accounts current, a concept of responsibility these debtor nations could use in the whole area of international finance.

Much of the economic aid mentioned by Secretary Dulles in his outline of the proposed loan program falls within the scope of the bank's purposes. It exists, it could be capitalized at a higher figure if necessary (all of the members participating); why not use it?

Bridge Across the Ohio River Near Lawrenceburg, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARL WILSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, a week or so ago I introduced a measure which would give Government approval to the creation of an Indiana-Kentucky bridge commission for the purpose of constructing a toll bridge across the Ohio River near Lawrenceburg, Ind. Since this is in the congested Cincinnati area, a bridge at this point would be very helpful.

A few days after introduction of my bill—on Monday, April 8, to be exact—this Chamber passed a measure calling for an appropriation of some $10,500,000 for the construction of another bridge across the Potomac River between Virginia and Washington. There are already five Potomac bridges in this area.

It seems grossly unfair to me, Mr. Speaker, for the general American public to be asked to foot the cost of this project, with the State of Virginia paying no more, proportionately, than will Nevada, for example.

Also, the people in Indiana and Kentucky—and elsewhere, I am sure—are going to wonder why they have to finance all their bridges across the Ohio, while the entire Nation pays for bridges connecting the District of Columbia with Virginia and Maryland.

There are now four bridges spanning the Ohio River between Evansville and Cincinnati, a distance of some 350-river miles. Not a one of these was financed by public moneys. All were constructed as toll bridges, paid for by the people who use them. The people out there have not complained about it, either. They were glad to get the bridges, glad to pay for them. I am certain they will be equally as glad for the opportunity to pay, by the toll arrangement, for the proposed new bridge at Lawrenceburg.

I am familiar with all the arguments in favor of another Potomac bridge—the congestion, the fact that Washington is the Nation's Capital, and so forth—but I still cannot see the fairness of calling upon all American taxpayers to meet the cost.

I might point out that there is very much heavy traffic in the region of the Ohio. People now drive 30 or 40 miles to get to a bridge to cross that river. There are many important industrial centers, and there is much defense work going on. In event of armed attack against our country, the north-south traffic arteries and bridges would be of immense importance.

In seeking passage of my own Lawrenceburg Bridge commission bill, I am not suggesting that one red cent come from Federal funds. All that my people want is the approval of the Government so that they can proceed, in an orderly manner, to set up a commission which

will plan all the details incident to financing and constructing of the bridge.

I wonder why other bridges, such as the Potomac projects, cannot be financed in a similar manner?

A Passover Message to Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following message by Lord Mayor Robert Briscoe:

A PASSOVER MESSAGE TO AMERICANS
(By Lord Mayor Robert Briscoe)

(Robert Briscoe, the Jewish lord mayor of Dublin, came to New York last month on the eve of St. Patrick's Day and the Jewish festival of Purim and since then has been visiting American cities in behalf of Jewish and Irish organizations.

(Tomorrow night, the lord mayor and his family will observe Passover at a traditional seder in the New York area on the occasion of the holiday, which commemorates the deliverance of Jews from Egyptian bondage. Mr. Briscoe has written this message especially for the Hearst newspapers.)

Passover finds me visiting in the United States where so many of my coreligionists share in the benefits of freedom with all other Americans.

Therefore my best wishes for a happy Passover go out to all my friends, to all the people who made me welcome in the communities which I visited, and to all who join in commemorating mankind's oldest Festival of Freedom. You can be joyous as you follow the Passover ceremony in which every generation repeats the wonderful story of our deliverance from bondage, the exodus from ancient Egypt.

But, unfortunately, not all of our people dwell in America, Ireland, Israel, and other free countries. Millions are held in bondage by the modern Pharaohs. They truly eat the "bread of affliction" and can only pray for deliverance.

In recent months a great human torrent has managed to break out of these areas of bondage, creating the gravest Jewish refugee problem since the end of World War II.

The main purpose that brought me to this country was to help rescue these uprooted people and open up a new life for them through the United Jewish Appeal's emergency rescue fund to save at least 100,000 of these new refugees. And at this Passover season—the celebration of freedom—I feel impelled to urge a special effort for this lifesaving work. The most effective way to help is by making an extra Passover gift to the emergency fund.

As both Irishman and Jew I want to salute the people of Israel at this Passover time, just a few weeks before they celebrate the ninth anniversary of their independence. Israel, like Ireland, has shown that a small nation, against great odds, can achieve freedom through the indomitable spirit of its people.

Israel's gallant people rate another salute. Despite all their difficulties, they are continuing to give haven to the great majority of Jewish refugees from modern tyrannies. Therefore we must do all we can to sustain the newcomers.

All who help in this humanitarian duty can then repeat in good conscience the words of the Passover ceremony, "Let all who are hungry enter and eat."

Essay on Patriotism in Modern America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following prize-winning essay from Jefferson County, Ohio, in a contest sponsored by the American Legion of Ohio on the subject of Patriotism in Modern America. This essay was written by Winfield Glenn, Jr., of Mingo Junction, Jefferson County, Ohio, and I am happy to present this fine prize-winning essay to readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

PATRIOTISM IN MODERN AMERICA

To me, patriotism means the very spark of life which ignites the mixture of brawn and brains and commences the function of our modern, powerful engine of democracy.

The study of mechanics reveals that the first stroke of the four phases of a gasoline combustible engine is intake. That is so in our engine of democracy, the present-day American Government. In with the downward movement of the piston of freedom, comes a mixture of truth, honesty, ambition, brotherhood, and sportsmanship through the values of mankind. But there also enter impurities such as communistic infiltration, prejudices, idleness, and dishonesty.

Now is it not God's intended and divine plan for qualities of such different tastes to thrive together in harmony? Since these qualities will not mix or intermingle, honesty soon begins to remove dishonestry, ambition overcomes idleness, and truth, along with brotherhood and sportsmanship, foils infiltration and prejudices. But with all the essential corrections, human nature is still present on a scene of undecided nature. Human nature, man's downfall, tends to be selfish and find the easy way out. It is only natural that a person would think of his advancement first. Consequently people are torn between doing what is right and what is wrong. Although the right has an edge over the wrong, many people take the easy way out. Therefore, with some people on one side and other people on the opposite side, an unbearable amount of public and private tension and unrest is formed. The piston of freedom of speech and press, like that of a combustible engine, soon compresses the mixture of which we talked to its paramount of density. Although this is the most trying time of despair, God, the divine distributor of mankind, still offers a chance. Yes, there is a chance, and this chance is like that of the third stroke of an engine—power. God sends a spark, the very spark of patriotism, which explodes the mixture and thus turns the crankshaft of a smooth-running government. Best of all it has removed the impurities from the mixture, and the two different paths of wrong or right are plainly shown. Then, without doubt, people have to pick one way or the other, usually the right. Therefore the piston of freedom, inspired by the inertia of the explosion from the spark of patriotism, rebounds in an upward movement to force out the impurities of the wrong in form of correction, forgetting, and forgiving. Patriotism is the key to worldly and national harmony and happiness. So let it be your guide in eradicating these evils of today. Be confident when you reutter the words of the immortal and noble Abraham Lincoln: "That this Nation of the people, for the people, shall not perish from this earth."

Trial by Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 7, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I present a resolution adopted by the Louisiana Society of the Sons of the American Revolution on the 4th day of April 1957, at New Orleans, La. The resolution is as follows:

Whereas our Founding Fathers realized the inequalities inherent in depending solely on judicial temperament for justice, and in the Declaration of Independence declared, in part:

"The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations * * *. He has obstructed the administration of justice * * *. He has made judges dependent on his will alone * * *. He has combined with others to subject us to jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution * * *. For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury."

Whereas the Congress of the United States is now considering legislation which would permit the Federal Government to intervene in litigation and, by so doing, obtain an injunction against the alleged offender, and in such cases a single Federal judge would be able to issue an injunction, make its initial interpretation, determine who has violated it, and inflict punishment for contempt; and

Whereas the Constitution of the United States makes no exception to jury trial on criminal charges except impeachment; article III, section 2 of the Constitution provides:

"The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed."

The Bill of Rights goes on to say (amendment 6 of the Constitution):

"In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed": Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Louisiana Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, That we respectfully petition the Congress of the United States to adequately safeguard our vested rights guaranteed to us under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and that it endorse no legislation, no matter under what guise it may be offered, that would have the effect of abrogating the trial by jury of persons accused of crime; and

Resolved, further, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Attorney General of the United States, and Senators and Representatives from Louisiana; and

Resolved, further, That a copy of said resolution be sent to the members of the New Orleans press, radio, television, and other media.

A true copy of a resolution passed by the Louisiana Society of the Sons of the American Revolution on the 4th day of April 1957, at New Orleans, La.

STEWART O. LANDRY, *Secretary.*

The Ideas That Made America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, recently, the Rev. Gerard Grant, S. J., delivered an address The Ideas That Made America to the Serra Club of Chicago, which carries a very pointed theme and a powerful message.

Resultingly, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks and to include a speech, I am happy to include the talk in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The address follows:

THE IDEAS THAT MADE AMERICA—A TALK BY REV. GERARD GRAY GRANT, S. J., TO THE SERRA CLUB OF CHICAGO

The story I am going to tell you concerns a very little known aspect of American history, but one which is very important to us. I have often started this talk by reminding people that ideas have consequences. If you teach a young boy that lying is smart, he will grow up to be a liar. If you teach him to regard his parents as old fogies, he will. If you teach him that his country is worth dying for, then you may have a Nathan Hale. This country of ours is founded upon a whole system of ideas and there is some danger that in losing sight of those ideas we might completely divorce ourselves from the tradition upon which we rest and hence lose complete contact with the things that give vitality to this country.

I imagine most of you have heard of Mr. Walter Lippmann, the commentator and political analyst. I believe Mr. Lippmann is one of the sound thinkers of our time. In his last book, called The Public Philosophy, Mr. Lippmann pointed out that a people must keep alive the philosophical tradition upon which their heritage rests or they lose the heritage. It may take time. There is such a thing as social inertia, and just as you can set a ball rolling and it will roll on a smooth surface for quite a while without another push, so human beings can go along drawing heavily upon their past but contributing nothing to it. Daily and yearly they lose more and more contact with the things that made them. That is by way of introduction and when I have come to the end I think you will see what Mr. Lippmann meant.

Now to the story. Historians, social scientists, political scientists, and others were always fascinated by this unusual fact, that in our Declaration of Independence and in our Constitution there is found embedded a whole system of what we call scholastic philosophy. I think most of you know what is meant by scholastic philosophy. The name is a poor one. "Scholastic" refers to the school men, who were the instructors and professors in the universities of the Middle Ages. Scholastic philosophy was not one philosophy, but a whole group of philosophies, alike in their basic position, but vastly different in their development.

The most famous of the scholastic philosophers was Thomas Aquinas, but there were others, men like Bonaventure and Duns Scotus. Essentially the matter goes back to the ancient Greeks—Zeno, Plato, and principally to Aristotle. From Plato came St. Augustine's thinking which remained a vital force in the intellectual life right to the end of the Middle Ages and is still kept alive in some of our universities, such as Villanova. But Thomas had partaken heavily of Aristotle, and most of the Middle Aged schools of philosophy traced their heritage back to that great mind.

In the Middle Ages philosophy and theology were the heart of the university system. When the Reformation came, theology, of course, was banished from the universities in Protestant countries. Oddly enough, in some places they kept the scholastic philosophy alive, notably at Edinburgh and Glasgow, in Scotland. There they were in the unusual position of defending predestination in theology at one moment and free will in philosophy at another. The two are not compatible, as you know, because predestination presumes a lack of freedom. However that might be, they kept the scholastic tradition alive.

When the American colonists came to this country they were for the most part representatives of those sects in England called Dissenters and that is precisely why they came to this country, because they suffered many of the disabilities that Catholics did in England. They were unhappy with the church state and the state church and they wanted independence in religious matters. They came here and one of the first things they did, of course, was to found little seminaries for the training of their ministers. The professors in those institutions had all come from Glasgow and Edinburgh. When they sent men abroad for further study to come back and teach, it was to the universities in the mother country that they sent them. There were seven of those colonial colleges. Today they have all grown into great universities: Harvard, Brown, and Yale, Kings College which is now called Columbia, the College of New Jersey which is now Princeton, Penn's College which is the University of Pennsylvania, and William and Mary down in Virginia. Those seven furnished the intellectual stimulus for this growing Nation.

Now we return to the puzzle that confronted the Catholic thinkers. For a great while they thought that they had discovered the origin of Jefferson's thought in a volume which he had in his library at that magnificent home called Monticello he built on top of a mountain overlooking the Shenandoah Valley. The volume was a copy of Filmer's debates. Filmer was an Englishman and an apologist for James I of England, the King who first put forth most cogently the purely pagan notion of the divine rights of kings. He had been challenged by a young Jesuit priest teaching in Europe who wrote in reply to reject his position. The young priest's name was Farther Robert Bellarmine, later to be canonized as a doctor of the church. Filmer had the courtesy, while he was defending James I, of quoting Bellarmine at great length and it was the passages from Bellarmine in Filmer's debates that were heavily annotated in Jefferson's own hand.

Thus for a while historians thought this must be the connection, this must have been where Jefferson found the germ of the ideas that he put into the Declaration of Independence. But it remained for Dr. James J. Walsh, former seminary student who had to leave because of ill health, later a physician of note and a historian of no small stature, to uncover the whole story. He went to those seven colleges and probed into their libraries and came up with some fascinating data. He found that all through the colonial times those seven colleges were teaching scholastic philosophy much as we teach it today at Loyola, DePaul, Notre Dame, Georgetown, or where have you. Moreover, they even taught it in Latin. The disputations which constituted their graduation ceremonies were all conducted in Latin. The student had to be fluent in that language to succeed at all.

Now we know that of the men who signed the Declaration and the Constitution, perhaps 50 percent had gone to those colleges and the other 50 percent with one exception had all been tutored locally by the Protestant minister who was himself a graduate of those schools. The one exception, of course, was Charles Carroll who went to St. Omar's where he was taught that same system of philosophy. Thus, gentlemen, you see, the story is this: the reason we have a Constitution written the way it is, is simply that the men who wrote it could not have written it any other way. They wrote out of their convictions. They wrote out of their own deep knowledge of the realm of ideas and how those ideas applied to human life. That is why they could start out the Declaration with these immortal words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, endowed with unalienable rights, that to protect these rights governments are instituted among people deriving their just power from the consent of the governed."

What has that to do with us? From it we can draw some very consoling and inspiring conclusions. First of all, the germ ideas that made this country have their origin in the classrooms of medieval universities. They were developed by the great doctors of the church of those days, Bonaventure, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas. Another great thing—we alone in this vast land of ours have been carrying on this intellectual tradition, because, after the War of Independence, England was no longer popular in this country, and when the young men went back to Europe for further studies so they could return and become instructors, those young men no longer went to England or to Scotland, but to Germany where they sat at the feet of Kant, Hegel, and other doctors of the new school. When they returned they gradually displaced the oldtimers and, as the old men died out, took over completely. The result is that in American universities for the past 100 years or more, except in those under Catholic auspices, there has not been taught one vestige of scholastic philosophy.

Now we have rather the contrary; we have had a potpourri or melange, a mess of every impossible and insane system of thought that has ever been proposed. Hegel's work was designed for one purpose only, to destroy God, because Hegel's whole philosophy was intended to divinize man. Kant pulled the rug from under all intellectual thought, all sound development of reality, because he took as his cardinal premise that we are unable ever to reach the reality that lies beneath appearance. Out of these groups came such wild systems as idealism, which in its most extreme form holds that nothing exists except ideas, and what you see about you is merely the project of your mind. From that we have pragmatism, which relies upon the oversimplified notion that that which works, works, and in the area of law we got positivism, which holds that the only law which exists is the law of the state. Such a thing as the law of nature implanted in our very being by the God who created us is something which, for these thinkers, is altogether false.

I will venture to make this statement and I am confident that I can make it without serious contradiction; I will venture to say that with the exception of perhaps one-half dozen men you cannot find in the philosophy departments in the universities of this country men who could write anything approaching the Declaration of Independence today and still remain loyal to their own convictions. They can't do it. What materialist among them could write: "We hold this to be self-evident that all men are created"? Not one of them. What materialist could add the word "equal"? Be-

cause there is only one thing in which we are all equal. We are equal in nothing, in appearance, in height and weight, or intellectual attainment, or social background, or wealth. In this alone are we equal, that each one of us is endowed with an immortal spirit within us. That is what Jefferson knew, and that is what no materialist could ever hold. "We hold it self-evident that men are endowed with inalienable rights." No positivist teaching in our secular law schools could subscribe in good conscience to that statement, for the simple reason that his very philosophy of positivism holds there are no such things as inalienable rights, since all rights come from the state and the state if it wishes can take those rights away. And so for the other details you will find in the Constitution, in the first 10 amendments especially because those amendments deal largely with those inalienable rights, give fuller expression and enumeration to them.

Fortunately, there has been some little revival of interest in scholastic philosophy. Some years ago Robert Maynard Hutchins, who may be lamentable for other things, did this job well. He introduced scholastic philosophy almost single-handed at the University of Chicago and created something of a sensation at the campus. The ideas he proposed to his students from Thomas Aquinas and Bellarmine and the other writers caught on like wildfire. The Daily Maroon had nothing in it at all for weeks and months but quotations from the Summa Theologica and from other great scholastic works. He was joined there by Mr. Mortimer Adler. A man named John Wild attended Chicago in those days and he went back to Harvard to teach something that approaches scholasticism. A man named Vetch down at Indiana has been doing something in a limited way.

The lawyers have had second thoughts. When they put the Nazi criminals on trial at Nuremberg, Germany, right after the war, they were faced with this problem: On what basis could they try them? Should they go upon the principle of ex post facto legislation, a principle repudiated in our own Constitution and recognized to be unsound by every good lawyer? If they did not, they had no way to rest their case. It was only then that they came to realize that while there was no international code that Hitler and the others had violated and while the laws of their own country had not prohibited their actions there still remained one law that did forbid their acts and under which those men could be punished, the natural law. This idea was developed first by Zeno and then by Aristotle and brought to the fullness of its perfection by the modern scholastic writers. There is some hope now. The law journals have carried articles about the natural law. We can expect, however, that it will be some time before the positivists die out and scholasticism once more gets a hearing in our State and secular institutions.

Now to return to Walter Lippmann. His great point was this: That unless America is reintroduced through its universities to the public philosophy, the very heritage by which we live will be lost. Because once a people gets away from the essential philosophy that lies behind its fundamental documents, then though those documents may remain in force, and the words may still be there on the paper, but the spirit will no longer be in the hearts of the people. Then it is only a question of time until the very vital lesson, the very living idea would be lost completely. Why hasn't it been lost before? We can attribute it to two great factors, one the inherent good sense of Americans and the fact that these basic documents have been taught as compulsory in our grammar and our high schools for so long. Every youngster has read the Declaration, every youngster has read the Bill of Rights, and they speak so forcefully, so nobly of the things that men believe in that boys and girls in our schools could not help but be impressed. The second factor that has saved us, and here is the point of pride for us, is our Catholic high schools and universities. Year after year, in their quiet way they turn out men and women imbued with the philosophy that inspired the Declaration and the Constitution, men and women, who still keep alive the public philosophy in their minds and hearts. Some of them may not understand it too well perhaps, we know that; some of them flunked their exams in it once in a while. Nevertheless they were exposed to it and are convinced of it.

What is the hope for the future? Very briefly, this country is waking up to Catholic scholarship. This country is waking up in the philosophy departments, at least in some areas, to the possibility of introducing and teaching a scholastic philosophy. Yale had Father Courtney Murray teaching there a year or two ago. Pennsylvania has invited Father Paul Henri, who is teaching now at Iowa. Perhaps in time we will see that kind of thing everywhere, though there is still great prejudice. Philosophers have their prejudices just as well as religious people, and no positivist wants to see a scholastic philosopher teaching in the same institution with him, because he knows well that within a year or two he is going to have to look for another job. You can't fool the kids. Just as two men down at the University of Chicago set the whole institution on its ear because they brought to the place the "public philosophy" for the first time, so these people know very well that as this philosophy is introduced into their colleges they are either going to have to learn it themselves and teach it or they are going to have to get out. There is where the prejudice chiefly lies. It is another cause to pray for.

Help Keep Alive the Spirit of Freedom in Eastern and Central Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 5, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, an excellent way for the United States to help keep alive the spirit of freedom in the enslaved countries of Eastern and Central Europe would be to assist the democratic patriots of these lands to publish their writings in their own national languages.

At present the exiles from the satellite nations have little opportunity to publish their works in their native tongues. And there is almost no possibility for the underground opponents of Soviet oppression and Communist dictatorship to have their manuscripts printed after they have been smuggled through the Iron Curtain.

Yet the importance of an active cultural output by writers and poets dedicated to national independence and democracy cannot be underestimated. From the author's pen can come—as at the time when our own land became a free nation—the words which will keep alive devotion to liberty, confidence in a common cause, and consciousness of a national destiny. Both those who are refugees and those still enslaved, whom these words will certainly sooner or later reach, will receive new inspiration and feel new pride in their country.

The Soviet Union knows well the significance of a nation's cultural life in keeping alive the spirit of resistance. A massive campaign has long been underway in the satellite countries to destroy independent culture and thus to produce a new generation unacquainted with its own cultural heritage and out of touch with any of the current writing and thinking of its democratic leaders in exile.

The case for a United States publications assistance program has been well presented by one of Czechoslovakia's most distinguished patriots, Dr. Peter Zenkl. Dr. Zenkl—three times lord mayor of Prague, and one of the stanchest anti-Nazi and anti-Communist democrats in Czechoslovakia before and after World War II—now honors the United States by his residence here. As Edward R. Murrow recently said: "Technically, I presume Dr. Zenkl is now classified as a refugee. But he will be at home wherever freedom flourishes and men are prepared to fight for it."

I am glad to present below a memorandum in which Dr. Zenkl expands on these ideas and on other proposals for preserving and strengthening the cultural vitality of the Eastern and Central European nations. Some of these proposals might appropriately be carried out by Government, others by our great foundations or other private organizations. Certainly Dr. Zenkl's thesis deserves careful attention by all of those who are concerned about the ultimate liberation of these captive peoples.

Dr. Zenkl's article follows:

Modern historiography stresses more and more the study of individual cultures and civilizations in contrast to the old historiography which primarily described the political, economic, and social situation (of different countries). According to the opinion of modern historians, the vital force of nations is not their momentary political power or economic prosperity, but their spiritual reaction to the challenge of the cultural world around.

The correctness of this modern conception can be convincingly demonstrated on the history of the central European nations. In their case—more than in the case of any other nation—the cultural and moral collapse always preceded the political downfall and the loss of freedom and, conversely, the cultural boom was always foreshadowing the coming of political freedom. The cultural workers and genii of these nations—such as Mickiewicz, Smetana, or Petofi—were political heroes and forebears of national freedom in the noblest sense of the word. Even the latest events in the countries behind the Iron Curtain demonstrated that the first flames of the political liberation—or of the fight for the liberation—originate frequently just among the cultural workers, among the writers, and the students.

It is one of the seeming paradoxes of Marxism, which has been perfected by the technique of Soviet imperialism and colonialism, that it attacks most violently and bitterly the intellectuals and the culture in general, in spite of the theoretical claim that the cultural activities are only a reflection and consequence of the economic situation or the status of productivity. I repeat that it is only a seeming paradox, because in the Lenin-Stalinist Marxism every detail is weighed very thoroughly: Marxism has to

declare in theory that the whole culture is a matter of secondary importance in order to lead away the interest of the nations from the cultural activities, in order to break the ties of cultural cooperation among the members of the cultural and political community so that they would become an easier prey and victim of the imperialistic intentions of the Soviet dictators.

It is a well known fact that the highly cultivated (cultural) nations of Central and Eastern Europe—the nations between the great nations of Russia and Germany—are exposed after the inhuman and devastating 5 years of Nazi occupation to another 9 to 15 years of the most brutal and cruel oppression of their 1,000-year culture which gave so many noble products at all times to Europe and to mankind. Communism, by using a sheer physical force, forbids all kinds of free cultural expression in order to cram into this forcefully created vacuum its own cultural monstrosities. In Central Europe, the Communists burned the books of scientific nature and belles lettres; they plundered the public and private libraries; they stopped the cultural influx from the West; they destroyed the excellent literary and scientific publications, the societies and the museums; they corrupted the cultural upbringing of the children, youth and adults from the nursery schools up to the world-famous universities; they occupied and monopolized the theater, the film production, the broadcasting and television; they even transcribed and changed the whole history of these nations in such a way that they disrupted the centuries old hierarchy of national values and brought in to this once so promising cultural world only lies and chaos. We wish to mention as a little example that one single state-operated publishing house in Czechoslovakia (there is no private publishing enterprise in Czechoslovakia), Artia, published during the last 5 years about 5 million Communist books in different languages which were used to flood other countries with Communist propaganda. During the first 9 months of the year of 1955, Soviet Union imported in tiny Albania 100,000 books and countless numbers of newspapers and magazines.

The purpose of this Communist large-scale effort of the worst kind is not only the interruption of all cultural ties of the satellite nations with the West, but also destruction of their own national tradition. A nation without the roots can be easily subjugated by the Communist doctrine of the so-called historical materialism.

HOW DOES THE FREE WORLD REACT ON THIS CULTURAL OFFENSIVE OF THE SOVIETS?

The free world fights in many ways the political and economic advances of communism. The free world also does a great work on the human side of this problem by giving the possibilities of a new life to many refugees from these countries. But we have to state with regrets that nothing, or almost nothing, is being done in order to preserve the individual cultures of these countries. The Soviet offensive meets with an easy success, because there is no defense. Its rich arsenals as well as new sources had been destroyed by the barbarian Communists. And so the totalitarian occupation of these countries—first the Nazi occupation and now the Communist occupation—aimed primarily at the destruction of all the cultural treasures of the occupied nations in order to have free elbow room for its own activities and in order to be able to conquer the souls of the captive peoples and to deepen the abyss between them and the West by the mass production of totalitarian culture. In the Communist-occupied countries the Muses are sadly silent. It is certain that many an invincible member of this Nation creates in secrecy, but his products are locked in the bottom of a drawer. They must not be known to the public, because the authors would be thrown in jail. On the other hand, there are many cultural workers from the occupied nations living in exile, and they may indeed enrich by their work in their own language the cultural riches of their own nations, but they are also forced to hide their writings in the bottom of the drawers, because these works cannot be published abroad. It is quite impossible for them to cultivate on a limited basis the free creative forces of their nations which should serve as a bridge between the rich, free past, and the promising creative activities in the future. And so it happens that these rich cultural sources rest unused to the loss of all.

This tragic interruption of the free cultural development of the satellite European nations, this complete interruption of the thousand-year western tradition in the countries situated between the Black Sea, the Adriatic Sea and the Baltic Sea, this interruption will be a shameful spot on the history of the Free World which is losing in this way not a small and unimportant element of its own strength.

It would be a great merit of the United States of it would grasp this problem in its full meaning and if it would help to save the desperate efforts of a considerable number of the Central and East European cultural workers now living in exile. It is rather obvious to me that this kind of help would bring the most beautiful harvest to America and at the same time it would win for the United States a deeper and more permanent gratitude than can be expected in the field of economic or political help. For in this field, that is, in the field of economics, the temporary products only are of concern, but in the field of culture the products are almost of eternal value. Only a tiny fragment of the economic or political subsidy would be needed to save the cultural life itself of these nations. After all, even many Americans derive benefits from the creations of these cultures. It would certainly be an outstanding merit of the young United States of America would render help to the old cultures of the occupied nations in these difficult times.

This proposal is not concerned with any kind of propaganda, not even in the best sense of the word. It does not follow any political goals, either, even if the realization of this proposal would be of highly political nature. The meaning of this proposal is as follows:

1. To make possible the publishing of belles lettres and of the scientific literature of numerous writers from behind the Iron Curtain living in exile, and to publish these writings in the mother tongue of individual nations. These authors, who had great possibilities to publish their works in their homelands, were deprived of this privilege by their anti-Communist demonstration. They have a certain possibility to publish in the language of the country where they live as exiles, but they have no opportunity to publish in their national language. Many people in the free world are able to read the literature in the languages of the satellite countries, and if no worthwhile literature will be published in exile, these people will turn to the books published behind the Iron Curtain, and it certainly would not serve the interest of the free world. After all, the books published in exile will get, sooner or later, legally or illegally, into the countries behind the Iron Curtain, where they are awaited with great anticipation, as we have learned in the most authoritative way.

2. There is also a need to publish belles lettres and scientific books smuggled out from the satellite countries by the authors—anonymously, of course—so that all valuable writings from these countries would not be doomed to decay in the drawers, but that they would become a new source of strength for a new and better thinking.

3. Another problem is the translating of the prominent books of the western literatures into the languages of the occupied nations, so that they would be ready when the cultural Iron Curtain will be torn down. These translations would be readily available for publishing in these countries in order to speed up the desirable cultural contact of these nations with the contemporary western civilization.

4. And it is also desirable that the prominent essays, scientific treatises and belles lettres of these countries were translated into the great western languages, so that the free world would get acquainted with the thinking and the desires of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain and thus to gain knowledge about them. As of now, this knowledge is rather limited in the West.

5. There is also a need for the publishing of the new literary and scientific publications in the national tongues of the exiles, and for the support of the existing publications. They have to struggle with financial and other problems, which cannot be overcome without the outside help that would enable them to compete in quality, print, and general appearance with the richly decorated Communist publications.

6. This kind of aid should not be limited only to the literary arts, but it should be analogously extended to the other branches of cultural activities such as music, painting, sculpture, architecture, film industry, theater, ballet, etc.

President Nasser's Resentment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of April 1, 1957:

PRESIDENT NASSER'S RESENTMENT

President Nasser's point of view, as expressed to a group of American newspapermen in Cairo, is discouraging. This is not because of his negative position on current issues. That is well known. But his patent resentment at the United States, and the reasons he gives for it, offer very little hope of working out a reasonable modus vivendi in the Middle East.

The Egyptian leader harks back to the brusque withdrawal of proferred American aid to the Aswan Dam project—which is understandable. He also charges that the United States is now taking Israel's side without one word about the rights of the refugees. But he completely overlooks the fact that the United States did offer to help build the Aswan Dam and that there would now be no question about Israel's rights in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal if Israel, Great Britain, and France had not, under strong urging from Washington, pulled their troops out of Port Said and Sharm el Sheikh. In other words, President Nasser's question to the United States is (as the old joke has it): "What have you done for me lately?"

The United States has made errors in its dealings with Egypt. It has been dilatory when speed was called for (notably at the time of the Egyptian arms deal with the Communist bloc) and too hasty when suavity would have been in order—as in the Aswan Dam decision. But it has never been moti-

vated by any antagonism toward Egypt; if anything its recent course has been too conciliatory, too anxious not to antagonize the Cairo Government. Moreover, the United States would be very pleased to see a general settlement of the whole Arab-Israeli problem, such as President Nasser says is necessary—a settlement that would take in the refugees, the water question and boundaries.

However, the immediate, urgent need is to liquidate the state of belligerency that exists in Palestine and that threatens the renewal of a shooting war. The first stage of such liquidation was the withdrawal of Israeli, French, and British troops from the territory seized in November. That has been accomplished. The next is to end the belligerent acts on the Egyptian side that provoked the crisis. One of these is a ban on fedayeen raids—which can be done by the United Nations emergency force, given proper status and such border defenses as are necessary. The other is the interference with Israeli shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez. These are necessary prerequisites to a settlement; they must be supplied by Nasser. The only purpose of American policy is to obtain a fair, workable arrangement that will encourage the stability that the Middle East needs. This implies no hostility to Egypt—but neither does it imply that anything Nasser thinks will serve his own ends will be satisfactory to the United States.

Middle East Development Authority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, one of the clearest and best-informed voices in the field of American foreign policy today is that of Minnesota's great Senator, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY. Always a forceful and articulate spokesman, Senator HUMPHREY is also a keen student of foreign relations. As a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he has frequently offered incisive criticism and constructive suggestions in such a manner as to place all those who believe in peace in his debt. Knowing of his special interest in the crucial area of the Middle East, I have asked unanimous consent that an address which he delivered in New York City on April 10 be included in the RECORD.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY ON THE MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (MEDA)

Tonight I want to explore with you some further thoughts on a subject I first broached here in New York on December 20 in a speech I made at the Overseas Press Club. At that time I said:

"It might be useful * * * to consider establishing, under United Nations auspices, a Middle East Development Authority. Most of the economic, as well as the other, problems of the area are international in their scope. Most of them also require outside assistance, either in the form of capital, of technical aid, or of good offices. Why not, then, have an international agency to deal with them? The kind of Middle East Development Authority that I have in mind would have on its board of directors representatives of all the states of the area, as well as representatives of the states furnishing capital and technical assistance. Ample provision could be made to protect national sovereignties."

In the past few months since I made that suggestion, I have been spending a good deal of time thinking about the proposal in more detail. Among the various proposals which others have made and which are entirely consistent with my own suggestion, is one in particular which I should like to bring to your attention. It originated in the London Economist last August 4, at the start of the Suez crisis. The Economist called for "a permanent international zone to consist of the Gaza strip, plus a narrow strip of Egyptian Sinai running all down the frontier to the Gulf of Aqaba south of Israel's Red Sea outlet at Eilat, plus the Island of Tiran at the mouth of the gulf." The Economist proposed that "this area should be available for the passage of oil pipelines, air, and land traffic—in fact, all international communications agreeable to the United Nations."

I believe that this proposal should be given more consideration. Even on its own merits, such a strip would form a buffer zone making it possible for both Egypt and Israel to reduce their military expenditures. Unlike most international transfers of land, it would displace no settled nationals of any country. Operating in conjunction with a Middle East Development Authority, the project could indeed provide new employment to many of the 200,000 Arab refugees in the Gaza strip.

Of course, there is the possibility—perhaps the probability—that intense negotiations would have to take place before both Egypt and Israel would accept this proposal. We need to be bold. But there are advantages in it for both. As one bargaining point in negotiations, I would even be willing to consider the possibility which has up to now been unacceptable to the Israelis: namely, the possibility of an internationally administered and guaranteed corridor across the Negev which would provide land communications between Egypt and Jordan. Such a corridor could in turn be used as a quid pro quo both for an additional international corridor across the Sinai Peninsula and for Arab guaranties of free Israeli passage through the Straits of Tiran and the Suez Canal.

Whether or not some modification of this plan for the internationalization of territory can be worked out, the parallel proposal of a Middle East Development Authority still seems to me to be a significant and hopeful one. We should give it the highest priority in a dramatic effort to break the accumulated logjam of frustration and bitterness in the Middle East.

No where on earth can a better case be made than in the Middle East for a regional approach to the basic necessity for economic development. Most if not all of the vexing, complicated tensions of the area are involved with, and partly dependent upon, present economic conditions and future economic prospects in the area.

A Middle East Development Authority (MEDA), representing all the states in the region as well as of other states furnishing capital and technical assistance, could be a decisive new element in the whole situation. It seems to me that such an authority could be the catalytic agent which is now so desperately needed to precipitate solutions for a host of other Middle East problems.

As I now see it, MEDA itself would be a kind of hybrid between the World Bank and the TVA. It could undertake projects itself. It could lend money to either private or public agencies. It could participate in equity financing, in the manner of the International Finance Corporation. It could actively manage projects. It could carry on scientific research (in such matters as soil fertility, geological surveys, etc.). It could make basic engineering surveys and contribute to the drawing up of overall regional development plans. Furthermore, it could carry on long-term technical assistance—directed and staffed by the people of the area—for the people of the area.

The advantages of such an authority are really exciting. Just to consider a few of the possibilities:

1. MEDA could divert the attention of Arab leaders from military adventures to internal economic development. Turning Arab energies into constructive channels would eventually lead to institutional and social changes, such as the growth of a middle class, which would have a beneficial energizing and yet stabilizing influence.

2. MEDA could provide a means of channeling Arab oil revenue into productive uses which would benefit the entire area, thus utilizing part of the presently existing hard-money resources of the Middle East for the financing of regional development.

3. MEDA could be an international entity with which the states of the area could carry on bilateral negotiations and bilateral economic agreements. At present, it would be fanciful to expect Israel and Egypt to agree with each other. But it would perhaps not be so fanciful to expect them to agree separately with someone else.

4. MEDA could ultimately provide a solution to the whole Palestine-Arab refugee problem. This problem is supposed to be dealt with by the U. N. Relief and Works Agency, but UNRWA's activities have been limited almost solely to relief. The only long-term solution for the refugees is basic economic development for the area as a whole—the kind of development which will make it possible for the area to support more people at a higher standard of living.

5. MEDA might provide the political and economic formula for the acceptance of the Jordan River plan. MEDA itself could manage the project. This would also have advantages because an international agency would be less suspect of giving one side or the other more or less than its fair share of irrigation water or of power.

6. MEDA could give technical assistance and supervised farm credit to farmers settling on new lands coming into production from the development of the Jordan, the Litani, the Euphrates, or the Nile.

I appreciate the fact that there would be very serious practical problems as to how MEDA could be established and financed. In the present circumstances in the area, these problems may prove insuperable. For this reason, it is probably wise not to attempt to outline MEDA's charter and functions in precise detail, but to leave plenty of room for negotiation and compromise as developments indicate. Great care must be taken not to give MEDA the appearance of a supranational authority which would impinge upon the sovereignties of the states of the area. All chances of Egyptian participation, especially, would be lost if MEDA were put forward as an international agency to operate the Suez Canal.

To meet these objections, ample provisions for the protection of national sovereignties would have to be written into MEDA's charter. Further protection would be offered by the fact that all participating states would be represented on MEDA's Board of Directors.

Care would also have to be taken that MEDA did not become an instrument for furthering the Arab economic boycott of Israel. At the same time, the project would probably fail if the Arabs viewed it as an instrument designed especially for breaking their boycott. The avoidance of both of these pitfalls will require a fine degree of diplomatic tightrope walking, and determination to come to grips with the problems.

It is important to recognize that progress toward political stability and economic development in the Middle East can only be

made slowly, one step at a time. It is impractical to try to work out an overall political settlement and economic development plan in a single package. It is imperative, however, that some kind of a start be made. Once this is done, the economic and social consequences will themselves generate a kind of momentum that will lead to further progress. For example, one cannot realistically expect the establishment of full trade relations between Israel and the Arab States in one step. But one can, perhaps, expect some kind of an arrangement, with MEDA or a similar agency acting as an intermediary, whereby joint water-use rights, for example, can be established. And one can also expect one thing to lead to another. Economic contact has a way of stimulating further activity.

In all of this, it is of the greatest importance that economics and politics be sharply separated. Economic development and political stability are, of course, closely related, and it is a close question as to which comes first. But one of the difficulties with the American foreign economic assistance program has been that it has been too much concerned with political conditions and too little concerned with economic conditions. The result, in many cases, is that the program has been counterproductive politically and a failure economically.

If there is a new international agency for economic development in the Middle East, or if the United States continues its own bilateral programs, the problem should be approached on an economic basis. The charter of the international agency should forbid the use of political considerations, and the United States should renounce such use. On the other hand, the most rigid economic criteria should be established and adhered to.

What we have got to get across to everybody concerned in the Middle East is that it is in their own interests to turn their attention from intraregional feuding to intraregional development. This is true of both Israel and the Arab States. Israel has a per capita gross national product approximately twice that of Lebanon, the richest Arab state, and approximately 4 or 5 times that of most of the other Arab states. Just as it is unhealthy, and indeed dangerous, for the United States to live as an island of wealth in a sea of poverty, so is it unhealthy and even more dangerous for Israel to do so.

This is not to suggest an Israeli aid program for the Arab States. But it is to suggest that Israel has responsibilities toward the Arabs, particularly in terms of compensating the Arab refugees and providing for at least token resettlement in Israel.

The Arab States likewise have responsibilities toward Israel, the most important of which is to recognize Israel's right to independent existence and peace.

The Arabs frequently complain about the disparity in American aid to Israel as compared to the Arab States. What is frequently overlooked is that American aid has been better used and has been more effective in Israel than in almost any other country of the Afro-Asian region. The economic transformation which Israel underwent between 1952 and 1955 is as dramatic as that which occurred in Western Europe under the stimulus of the Marshall plan—yes; even more so.

The plain economic truth is that comparable amounts of aid poured into the Arab States would have produced by no means comparable results. In Israel, the aid program was dealing with a skilled, literate population with workable social and political institutions which are a prerequisite to economic development. These same conditions do not exist in the Arab States. This is not a reason for withholding aid to Arab States; but it is an additional reason for undertaking, multilaterally, and on a regional basis, fundamental development projects in the Arab States. The need is great—the possibilities challenging.

Total United States aid to Israel and the Arab States has amounted to more than $600 million. Except in Israel, it has not been particularly effective. The total that can be usefully expended over the next 10 years will almost certainly be no more than $600 million—let's say $1 billion at the most. If a regional development agency like MEDA could be created and given a capital of approximately this amount, the United States would be called upon to contribute only a portion of the total. In addition, the chances of successful economic development would be considerably improved.

UNITED STATES-ISRAEL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

What I have just said about the importance of Israel as a symbol for economic development in the whole Middle East area only further serves to emphasize the importance of close, continued United States-Israel economic relations. Your own Chamber is dedicated to the promotion of these relations, through the publication of your News Bulletin and Monthly Journal; your regular and special meetings of businessmen; your market research; the finding of agents here for Israeli products and in Israel for American products; your advice to investors; your assistance in licensing arrangements, and the many other valuable services you are performing.

I know that your 10-year program aims at sustaining and increasing United States-Israel economic relations and calls for economic activity totalling $1,500,000,000 over the 10 year period since your founding in 1953. I rejoice with you that economic activity between the two countries is increasing, in spite of diminishing official United States economic aid to Israel.

On that subject, let me say a bit more. United States economic aid to Israel reached its peak in fiscal year 1953 ($70 million), and has been decreasing since then. Last year it was $25 million, but was augmented by some $25 million in surplus foodstuffs.

This form of aid promotes United States exports to Israel, usually to an extent larger than the aid amount itself. This help, of great value to Israel, has also helped establish United States leadership in Israel's markets.

I know that you have heard talk of renewing such aid now that Israel's troop withdrawals have occurred. I know that the hundreds of United States business firms trading with Israel, are anxious to know: (a) When will the aid be renewed, and (b) What amount of aid is being considered.

I am glad to say that I have reason to believe that the Israeli aid program will be resumed in the near future. As you know, mutual security aid for fiscal 1957 was planned at about the level of $25 million for Israel. I believe that when the program is resumed, it will be reinstated at about that same level.

You will also remember that a United States Export-Import Bank loan to Israel of $75 million was under negotiation last year, to assist Israel's agricultural development. The grant of the loan would have meant much export business for the United States, no doubt over and above the $75 million loaned.

The Export-Import Bank announced last October 11 that a delegation from the bank would leave for Israel to examine the development program and clear the way for granting the loan. The outbreak of fighting negated this mission.

Since Israel's withdrawal there have been rumors that the negotiations for the loan are being resumed and I can assure you that some of us have been urging, and will continue to urge with all the force at our command, the renewal of these negotiations.

OIL PIPELINES

Many of us have been following closely the developments in the two Israeli pipeline projects now in process, as well as the third which is still in the planning stage.

I appreciate the fact that our Government has not been requested to assist in the financing of any of these projects, but I am afraid the reason is what the Israelis consider to be a predictable disinterest on our part. I should like to see us take an active interest, and offer to help. The oil pipeline situation in Israel at the moment is itself another story of imagination and initiative on the part of those pioneering people.

The first pipeline, a purely domestic project, calls for the construction of an 8-inch pipeline from Eilat—on the Gulf of Aqaba—to the railhead of Beersheba. This line will be capable of carrying about two-thirds of the country's oil needs, or roughly 800,000 metric tons a year. Construction of this pipeline was undertaken from domestic resources, with pipe already in the country and the preliminary technical survey was done by Tahal, the Israel water planning company. To put the line in operation by the target date of April 15, Israel must bring to rapid completion 2 pumping stations with double pumps—one located at Eilat and the other about 100 kilometers north of that port. Israeli press reports indicate one of these stations was completed by the middle of March. The oil will be transported by rail from Beersheba to the Haifa refinery which has an annual capacity of 4 million tons. This pipeline of 240 kilometers will cost about $6.7 million.

In the meantime, another project which is about to commence is for a 16-inch pipeline from Beersheba to the Mediterranean coast—in the neighborhood of Wadi Sukheir (about 30 kilometers south of Tel Aviv) with the oil transported by sea tanker to Haifa. The 16-inch line from Beersheba to Wadi Sukheir will be 60 kilometers in length.

Israel is also seeking financing for a 32-inch pipeline to carry 25 million tons of oil a year from Eilat to a location somewhere along the Mediterranean coast. The pipeline will be 180 or 270 miles long, depending upon the location of its Mediterranean terminal, and may require something in the order of $60 million. According to Israeli reports, surveys of this line have begun, with the help of French engineers. This project would be an international pipeline and is intended as Israel's answer to the Suez problem. Israelis say that they prefer private enterprise financing of this project. At one point, the French Government announced it would finance its construction but this appears to have fallen through. Whether this project can be realized remains to be seen. It, too, may depend on what we do.

Here, as on other issues, it is important to remind ourselves in conclusion that what happens to Israel happens to freedom. America and the entire free world are inextricably involved in the fate of Israel. We must frankly come to recognize that whatever happens to this struggling country happens to the forces of freedom everywhere.

If this outpost of democracy suffers, the free world suffers with her. As a result, far more than the fate of one nation, as vital as that is, is involved in the future of the Middle East.

Israel ought to and does represent and exemplify America's foreign policy objectives. Our goals for a free and peaceful world include development of responsible governments, the correction of ancient social and economic inequalities, the determined use of modern skills and technical skills for economic progress, and the opening of new horizons for the human personality. When we look at the Middle East today, where but in Israel do we find these goals being realized

in daily performance? Israel is an exemplification of liberal democracy, in an area needing a beacon of democracy.

We have a vital stake in keeping that beacon glowing.

Congress To Probe Tax-Avoidance Plan Used by Four International Oil Firms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on February 19, 1957, I took the floor of this House to call attention to the fact that the Arabian-American Oil Co., in operating the Saudi Arabian oilfield, has been treating its royalty payments to King Saud as a tax rather than a royalty. At that time I pointed out that under Aramco's purported agreement with King Saud the net profits of $500 million to $600 million were divided equally between King Saud and the Arabian-American Oil Co., and that by arranging to have the payments to King Saud treated as a tax rather than a royalty, the Arabian-American Oil Co. could deduct the payments made to King Saud from income taxes due the United States. I further pointed out that by arranging this simple gimmick with King Saud, Aramco was permitted to skip income taxes due our Government on a profit of over $300 million a year.

The arrangement under which the Aramco Oil Co. produces oil in the Middle East is not American enterprise in a foreign land in the usual sense. The blood and the dollars of the American people are pledged to the protection of the status quo in the Middle East as well as the integrity of Aramco's oil contracts with King Saud which would otherwise be a meaningless scrap of paper. What does our Government collect from the Aramco Oil Co. in return for its very costly guarantee of contract integrity? A conspired avoidance of an income tax obligation on $254 million of income each year.

It seems to me that the time has come for the American people to rise up in protest against the injustice of income tax diversion by those who should rightly pay. The American people have a complete right to know what goes on and how some people or corporations are specially privileged to accumulate tremendous incomes outside of the reach of the tax collector. It is morally unjust for so many people to assume tremendous tax burdens when a few are failing to do their proper share toward contributing to the operation of our costly Government.

The Senate Combined Antitrust and Public Lands Subcommittees have done a tremendous service in calling the attention of the public to the tax abuses of American groups engaged in the production of oil abroad. It is my earnest hope that this Congress will look further into these matters and thoroughly examine the tax returns of the Aramco Oil Co. to determine what further special considerations have been possible within the scope of our current income tax laws.

Following is an article by Bernard D. Nossiter, Staff Reporter of the Washington Post and Times Herald, which appeared on April 13, 1957, and which details the tax avoidance plan worked out by Aramco:

FOUR OIL FIRMS FACE PROBE ON TAX-AVOIDANCE PLAN

(By Bernard D. Nossiter)

Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, Democrat of Wyoming, yesterday asked the Senate Finance Committee to investigate a multimillion dollar tax-avoidance device by four international oil companies. Chairman HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, of the Finance Committee indicated that the O'MAHONEY request would be promptly honored.

BYRD said, "I will have the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation make a study on this matter. It will then be considered by the Finance Committee."

The study will focus on a Treasury-approved device for the Arabian-American Oil Co. (Aramco). Under it, Aramco makes about 70 percent of its payments to Arab King Saud in income taxes instead of royalties. This saves Aramco's four American parent companies a conservatively estimated $80 million a year that would otherwise go to the United States Treasury.

PLAN BOOSTS SAUD'S TAKE

In effect, the scheme, begun in 1950, enabled Aramco to sharply boost Saud's take at the expense of United States taxpayers.

Aramco is a Delaware corporation owned 30 percent each by Standard Oil of New Jersey. The Texas Co. and Standard Oil of California, Socony Mobil Oil gets the remaining 10 percent.

Formed in 1933, Aramco has a 60-year concession on all the oil in Saud's kingdom. Aramco estimates this is 15 to 20 percent of the free world's reserves.

The story of how Saud adopted an income tax for Aramco in 1950 was told to O'MAHONEY's combined Antitrust and Public Lands Subcommittees at little-noticed hearings last month.

But the request for a Tax Committee investigation was sparked by the belated discovery of a new fact: that the 1933 agreement provides that Saudi Arabia shall collect a royalty of 4 gold shillings a ton (21 cents a barrel) on Aramco oil but shall not impose any kind of tax until the pact ends in 1993.

Some tax experts reason that the 1950 income tax, therefore, could not be imposed without Aramco's consent. Thus, they conclude that the income tax is simply a mask for a royalty payment. This mask saves Aramco about $100 million a year and its parents $80 million in United States taxes.

The New York office of the Internal Revenue Service, it was learned, questioned the validity of the Saudi tax in 1954. But in 1955, the Internal Revenue Service in Washington headquarters ruled that it was a proper tax.

Asked to explain why, a spokesman for Internal Revenue Commissioner Russell C. Harrington, said that the ruling was made before Harrington took office.

Fred A. Davies, Aramco's board chairman, told the O'Mahoney committee last month, "we certainly never thought of it (the Saudi tax) as a disguised royalty in any sense."

He said that, "they (Saud's Government) asked us as early as 1948: 'Isn't there some way in which we can get a greater take?' and a little later they said: 'Isn't there some way in which the income tax you pay to the United States can be diverted to us in whole or part?' In the meantime, they had been visited by a representative of the (United States) Treasury Department and they knew of that situation (tax savings for Aramco by paying Saudi taxes instead of royalties) which existed."

Davies explained that by 1949, Saud's royalty of 4 gold shillings royalty only yielded the potentate about 20 percent of Aramco's net profit on each barrel of oil.

FIFTY-FIFTY VENEZUELAN SPLIT

But Saud knew the international oil companies had agreed to give Venezuela a 50-50 split on the oil there.

In 1949, said Davies, Aramco's taxpayments to the United States were greater than Saud's royalties "and they weren't a darn bit happy about that."

Arabia, said Davies, had a desire for "this approximately 50-50 take which they knew Venezuela was getting.

"So, the royalty was left unchanged but Saud 'imposed' an income tax to make up the difference."

"Why didn't Aramco simply increase its royalty," asked O'MAHONEY's counsel, Donald P. McHugh?

Answered Davies: "The Saudi Arabian Government was insisting on an income tax which would result in no additional burden on the company."

Although Aramco's profits have steadily climbed since 1950 to reach $543,400,000 by 1955, the company now pays no United States taxes on its Arabian operations. On the $272,200,000 Aramco melon cut up in 1955, the 4 parent firms paid only the small intercorporate dividend tax. This amounted to $21,200,000.

But now the Congress will study this language authoritatively said to be in the 1933 concession agreement with Arabia:

"The company (Aramco) shall be exempt from all direct and indirect taxes, imposts, charges, fees and duties."

HERE'S WHAT IT WOULD DO

If Congress decides the Treasury was wrong and that Saud's tax should really be treated as a royalty, then, according to tax experts, Aramco's 1955 books will look like this: Net income (after an equal payment to Saud) of $272 million; subtract $108 million for depletion allowance (Aramco doesn't use this permissible device now because the tax and royalty it pays Saud reduces its taxable income to nothing even before calculation of the generous depletion allowance); this would leave a taxable income of $164 million and the United States Treasury would pick up $85 million. If Aramco's 4 parents collect as dividends what is left in the kitty—$186 million—then they would have an additional tax bill of over $14 million.

In brief, instead of the United States Treasury receiving $21,200,000, as it did in 1955, it would get $100,000,000, a gain of $78,800,000.

Senator BYRD noted that all tax legislation must originate with the House Ways and Means Committee. But the Senate's chief economizer remarked that his Finance Committee is interested "in anything that indicates avoidance of taxes or evasion of taxes."

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

Address by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California, Before Daughters of the American Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address I delivered last night before the 66th Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY UNITED STATES SENATOR WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, 66TH CONTINENTAL CONGRESS OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, CONSTITUTION HALL, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 15, 1957

The Daughters of the American Revolution have notably contributed to the preservation of our spirit of patriotism without which our Nation would not have arisen from the flames of the revolutionary war nor survived the intervening years.

In this year 1957 we need to rededicate ourselves to the American Constitution and our free way of life.

America is still the authentic revolution. The flame of freedom which was struck at Concord and Lexington still is an inspiration to the enslaved behind the Iron Curtain.

But it is also an ageless lesson that no outsiders can win independence for a people though they may give material assistance. The subjugated must be willing to pay the price in blood and resources to gain their own freedom.

We do recognize, however, that when freedom is destroyed anywhere in the world a bit of freedom is destroyed everywhere.

Other nations have been or now are larger in land area, in population, and in natural resources. Yet they have not been able to give to their people the freedom and the standard of living Americans have enjoyed.

As important as is the productive capacity of our Nation and its military strength, these are not the factors which alone could preserve our freedom or enable us to maintain a free world of free men. The inner strength of America has not been its great cities, its huge industrial plants, its extended transportation systems, or its variety of natural resources.

The factor which made America an inspiration to the rest of the world grew out of our Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the spiritual values which the founders of our Republic recognized and by which they were guided.

We have recognized that there was a higher moral law to which governments were also accountable. We have humbly acknowledged the divine inspiration which made and preserved us as a nation.

We have read of and been inspired by the action of George Washington kneeling in prayer during the dark days of Valley Forge and of Lincoln doing the same during his lonely vigil in the White House during the darkest days of the Civil War.

This Nation of ours has grown from a weak colony of 3 million on the Atlantic coast to a great power of 170 million people, the most productive nation the world has ever known.

The priceless ingredient for our people has been our constitutional form of government, which guarantees our religious, personal, and economic freedom.

The incentives furnished have constantly opened new horizons.

In this atmosphere Americans of each generation have sought to leave to their children a better land than they themselves found, not just better in a material way but in the educational and cultural developments that make for better family and community life.

New inventions in various industrial fields and the tremendous potentials of the peacetime developments of atomic power are bound to challenge us for many years into the future.

Instinctively we know that human freedom is a greater force than tyranny.

We also instinctively know, though at times our allies and our own Government may for expediency forget, that there are some things in life which cannot be compromised.

Nations can die while delegates talk. Last year the General Assembly of the United Nations passed 10 resolutions in 76 days of debate. All that while freedom was being strangled to death in Hungary. With callous indifference the Soviet Union placed itself above the higher moral law of God as well as above its obligations under the United Nations Charter.

No international organization can long endure with a double standard of international morality.

Are the obligations and the mandates of the United Nations to be applicable to the democratic nations but not to the totalitarian powers? To the law abiding but not to the outlaw nations? To the small and weak countries but not to the big and strong? What kind of justice is this? Are we building on quicksand? What kind of a foundation is this for constructing a system of international law and order based on justice?

We serve no useful purpose if we hide the facts. To the contrary by ignoring them and failing to seek remedies, we may endanger the safety of this Republic and free men everywhere.

For many decades the men in the Kremlin have preached the doctrine that the free world contains the seeds of its own destruction.

It is far more likely, I believe, that the Communist world contains the seeds of its own destruction.

Hungary was but the latest in the indications that, even under totalitarian police rule and the brainwashing of a whole generation, the spark of freedom still lived and was capable of lighting a fire that endangered the whole monolithic structure of Communist tyranny.

After the Hungarian experience how much reliance can the Soviet Union place in the armed forces of the other captive nations if freedom is ever within their reach? How can they have faith in Communist indoctrination when young students were the leaders of the Hungarian rebellion?

Within the past 10 days, the rulers in the Kremlin have sought to intmidate Norway, Denmark, Greece, and Iceland.

The Soviet Union has not changed its long-term strategic objective: the destruction of human freedom everywhere.

They will be relentless in seeking to destroy our institutions. Fortified by our faith in God, we must be determined that our way of life will be preserved.

Hungary has also taught the world that unless an independent government or revolutionary movement can function for several weeks or months it is difficult for outside friends to assist.

Had the British Red Coats crushed the first American rebellion in a week and captured the leaders (as happened in Budapest) there would have been no time for France and our other friends abroad to come to our aid.

Sooner or later there will be another Hungary. Will the free world be better prepared to strike a blow for freedom? Will the United Nations be prepared to do more than talk and pass 10 resolutions?

It may come this year or next in Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Albania, North Korea, China, Poland, or in Hungary again.

Indeed it may even come in the Soviet Union where the people of Russia were the first victims of the godless Communist tyranny.

During the week Nagy was the legal head of the Hungarian Government what a difference it might have made if the United Nations had sent in observers; if based on the first United Nations resolution the friends of freedom abroad had sent the freedom fighters bazookas and grenades rather than more resolutions of sympathy.

Or is the policy of the United Nations and the free world now to be that we will throw water on the embers of freedom and revolt against tyranny and that we will finance Communist economic and political systems so that the slaves will be more content with their masters?

For several years the United Nations has discussed the freedom of colonial people in Asia and in Africa. These are and will continue to be important questions until equitable solutions have been reached. The Asian-African bloc of neutrals show great solicitude.

Why, however, has there been a strange silence in the United Nations relative to the destruction of freedom in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia? Here is a clear-cut prima facie case of the violation of its international treaties of friendship and nonaggression by the Soviet Union. Here is a clear case of the unilateral incorporation of three independent nations as provinces within the U. S. S. R. Here we find three nations that were once free which are now in Communist captivity. Yet here the silence is almost deafening.

Will the General Assembly take further action in the Hungarian case to back up its 10 resolutions or will an effort be made to create a zone of silence so that relations with the Soviet Union will not be embarrassed? Is justice for Hungary to be blinded and gagged as well? Is the conscience of the world that was so thoroughly aroused in October and November to be complacent and satisfied in April and May? If the Security

Council meets on the Mideast question this month or next will the Hungarian issue be raised or be forgotten?

These are questions which freemen will be asking and enslaved people who want to be free will be waiting for the answers.

It was Lincoln who said: "Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. * * * We, even we here, have the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free. * * * We shall nobly save or meanly lost the last, best hope of earth."

The Landmarks We Defend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, it is a privilege for me to ask unanimous consent that the masterful address delivered by my honored and distinguished colleague [Mr. RUSSELL], before the 66th Continental Congress of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington last night, April 15, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. Entitled "The Landmarks We Defend," this address is a forceful summation of our cherished American heritage which should be read by every citizen of our country.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LANDMARKS WE DEFEND

(Address of Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, 66th Continental Congress, the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, April 15, 1957)

Madam president general, delegates to the 66th Continental Congress of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, ladies and gentlemen:

It is indeed a high privilege to be permitted to address this distinguished gathering. The Daughters of the American Revolution stand in the very forefront of this Nation's great patriotic organizations. Their contributions to the preservation of our ideals and institutions are valuable beyond computation.

You have recognized the fact that a people without sentiment are poor indeed. In periods when some have considered it fashionable to scoff at pride as a venal sin, you have courageously sought to create and instill pride of our heritage in our youth, indeed in all of our people. You have realized that our country would be safe so long as our increasing population revere and respect the works of those men whose vision, efforts, and sacrifices enable us to enjoy the richest legacy of freedom the world has ever known.

Those who have insisted that our Constitution is outmoded or that this sacred document is a sort of political accordion to be expanded or contracted with the changing moods of men who temporarily hold power have met with unrelenting opposition from your great organization.

The numerous resolves that you have approved over the span of many years demonstrate that you are confirmed in the faith that our national charter, the Constitution of the United States, means exactly what it says and that no man nor set of men can ever twist or distort it for their purposes without endangering all that we hold dear. As the years have come and gone you have consistently rallied to protect the landmarks our fathers have set, whether they were under direct attack or threatened with undermining by a cunning process of nibbling and erosion. In short, you have worked at citizenship.

The system we have evolved under a Constitution which guarantees the rights and liberties of every American citizen has brought us greater blessings than any people have ever enjoyed. We call it the American way of life. It has enabled us to progress and go forward—to develop—to invent—and to accumulate—to such a degree that the civilization we enjoy has become the envy of the world.

This priceless heritage was not easily won. It cannot be cheaply defended. It will not be easily preserved.

These are dangerous days that demand that those who love liberty recognize and prepare against any force that is likely to destroy that heritage.

The most obvious threat to the security of the United States is the armed might of the Communist conspiracy with its nerve-center located in the Kremlin. Cracks may appear in the Iron Curtain. Rulers may come and go, deified today and denounced tomorrow, but the ultimate objective of the Communist conspiracy remains unchanged. They still seek to dominate and rule the entire world. We know enough about this ugly system to realize that this would mean the destruction of every element of human dignity. No amount of wishful thinking can alter this brutal fact.

We know that without regard to the needs or wishes of the masses of their people, that a despotic power is largely devoting the great resources of the Soviet controlled world to the building of military might. They maintain vast armies. They have built the second largest navy of the world with incomparably the largest fleet of submarines afloat. Only the foolish would blind themselves to the fact that the Soviet has made disconcerting progress in fashioning the new and effective vehicles designed to deliver terrible nuclear weapons. Shamefully we must admit that the Soviet developments in the atomic field were greatly expedited by the treason of those who either partook of our hospitality or enjoyed our citizenship. The unprecedented peacetime efforts by the Soviet Union have done much to close the gap of our leadership in these engines of vast destruction. For many years we have relied on our preeminence in this field for the maintenance of world peace.

We must constantly recognize that we are confronted by a foe who knows little and cares less about the principles of honor and decency we have been taught to respect. The only language that he understands is the language of strength. The only way to prevent a war so destructive as to stagger the human imagination is to maintain American military might. Come what may, cost what it must, the United States must maintain superiority in atomic weapons and in the ability to deliver them. If our people are informed as to the magnitude of the stakes, I do not for a moment doubt that they are willing to make any sacrifice necessary to maintain superior strength in this field. There is no other way to salvation.

Another constant threat to our institutions of freedom is the Communist-directed effort to undermine those institutions by infiltration and internal subversion. Some of the committees of the Congress have exposed many of the ramifications of this phase of the Communist conspiracy. Your great organization has consistently supported every effort to reveal and stamp out this Communist threat. The Federal Bureau of Investigation works ceaselessly to ferret out agents and traitors who seek to sell this country to our enemies. The prosecutions following these exposures have brought about an awareness of the insidious nature of this danger.

We recognize that the diabolical forces in the Kremlin constantly conspire to find ways and means to plant its agents upon us. The Congress, through legislative enactments, has demanded a careful screening of all aliens who seek admittance to our land. We have sought to make sure that our generosity in making our country a sanctuary for the oppressed shall not be abused.

The heart of America goes out to every victim of tyranny and oppression in foreign lands. However, we will never be able to overthrow the Communist conspiracy by the process of admitting to our country all of those who seek to escape Red tyranny. Common prudence also dictates that we take every precaution to make sure that our national compassion for those in distress is not developed into a gateway for a Communist Trojan horse.

Most of our fellow citizens are fully awake to the danger posed from without by armed Soviet might and from within by Communist subversion. At great cost we seek to maintain the means to protect our way of life and our institutions of free government. We seek to keep loyal Americans on guard to defend us against both of these dangers.

Let me speak to you about a third threat to our constitutional system and to the rights and liberties it seeks to assure. There is another danger confronting us which is far more insidious than even the Communist conspiracy of subversion. This danger is ever present but always difficult to recognize. It often comes in appealing guise, confusing and deceiving many whose love of country is unquestioned. It is a creeping disease which, if not arrested, will surely result in the death of the system which has enabled us to achieve our greatness.

I refer to the grave threat which is posed by big government, undue concentration of power. We must arrest the prevailing trend towards shifting all of the functions and powers of the States into the control of a completely centralized, all-powerful Federal Government. The rights filched from the several States must be restored.

The Founding Fathers well knew the corrupting and tyrannous effects of highly centralized government. They were not only students of history. They had endured tyranny. They knew that the shores of history were littered with the wrecks of great civilizations that had risen to greatness but had deteriorated and crumbled to dust when all of the power of government over the people became concentrated in one pair of hands. They were familiar with the axiom which history had proved before Lord Acton, that all power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Knowing that individual liberty could not be maintained in a government of men, they sought with a wisdom almost beyond human understanding to assure that the liberties of their descendants would be forever protected by a government of law. Thomas Jefferson expressed this determination when he declared, "In questions of power let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

The very genius of our system of government is found in the careful division of power to rule our people. The Founders believed that the exercise of the functions of government should be kept as close as possible to those who were governed. They therefore fashioned a Federal Government of limited powers, with the rights of the several States and of the people fully reserved and protected by the National Charter.

The exercise of the powers over the people allotted to the Federal Government were further divided. They were distributed between

the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches of the Federal Government. To assure the perpetuity of American liberty, they established the most marvelous system of checks and balances ever brought forth from the minds of men.

Those wise patriots realized that the problems of government confronting each of the States would not be exactly the same. They knew that as the several States in their own way approached their own solution for any problem, each State would serve as a laboratory of government. In the processes of trial and error or trial and cure, the experiences of one State would serve as a guide to the others without the danger of injury that simultaneous application to all might bring.

So great was the faith of the founders in the system of divided powers that each of the Original Thirteen States likewise embraced this system. The State functions were divided between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. To keep the Government close to the governed, counties and other subdivisions were vested with those functions which most directly affected the people in their everyday life. All placed their faith in a government of law and sought to eliminate any possibility of a government of men.

It has been a long time since those who live on American soil have felt the chafe of the chains of tyranny. So many generations have enjoyed the blessings of unchallenged liberty that we have become prone to take them as much for granted as the air we breathe or the water that we drink.

Millions of loyal American citizens have been so engaged in the everyday business of making a living for their families that they do not realize how far down the road to centralization we have already traveled. The approach to one big government has not been made by spectacular leaps. The process has been insidious, but it has gone a long ways. The whittling process has gone so far that it threatens to reduce the several States to mere geographical boundaries or administrative areas of Federal departments. The transferral of the proper functions of the States or their subdivisions to the administrative control of Federal bureaucrats in Washington has been done in many ways. A series of decisions by Federal courts have wiped out a number of rights and privileges which the States have exercised since the birth of our Republic. They do much to extend the process of centralization.

Cooperation between the Federal Government and the States and their subdivisions has long been a part of our system. In recent years, however, some of the legislative proposals that are called Federal aid are almost a sort of bribery to tempt local government to surrender their control over local functions in return for money from the National Treasury.

A small but active group of self-styled intellectuals have dedicated themselves to the task of centralization. Most of them honestly believe that national State socialism is better for us than the system devised by our fathers. They abhor a free enterprise economy and would have the Government of the United States possess the power to control the activities and the lives of all of our people. Unmindful of the lessons of history, they would place America's future in a supposedly benign and all-powerful Federal Government.

This group is too small to be effective were it not for the carelessness and indifference of unthinking millions. Mankind has ever been plagued by the chimerical illusion that it is possible to get something for nothing. We have our millions who seek and accept alleged free benefits for their States and communities from a Generous White Father in Washington in return for the surrender of the priceless right of local self-government. It is understandable that the people of foreign countries who have seen how prodigal we are with our expeditures on the foreign-aid program would believe that dollars grow on trees in the District of Columbia. However, the most obtruse American taxpayer on this day which is the last day for the payment of Federal income taxes must be painfully aware that this is a foreign illusion.

Any money that the Federal Government spends on functions which properly belong to the States and their communities must come in the first instance from the people of these States and communities. Federal bureaucracy takes a toll from every tax dollar it touches. Those who are enticed with the idea of free money from Washington will eventually find to their sorrow that they are paying yearly increasing costs in dollars and cents for the privilege of giving away the right to govern themselves.

The 9th and 10th amendments to the Constitution, designed to limit the powers of the Federal Government and protect the rights of the States and the people, were once considered the keystone of our system. Due to a series of recent decisions by the Federal judiciary, they have now been rendered almost ineffective.

It would have been impossible to have convinced the authors of the Constitution or of the Bill of Rights that a Federal court would ever hold that a sovereign State was powerless to enact and enforce laws against Communist subversion which occurred within its borders. Those men would have been shocked by the mere contention that any local subdivision of government was without power to rid themselves of a teacher, chosen locally to instruct and guide their children, paid with local tax funds, because he sought the refuge of the fifth amendment.

These decisions, as well as others that could be enumerated, are destructive of local self-government. Such crippling attacks upon the rights of the States make meaningless our once proud boasts of an indissoluble Union of indestructible States. State power cannot survive many more such disastrous and degrading blows. If our dual system is once destroyed, how long will the individual rights and liberties of the American people survive?

There is considerable national agitation today over measures pending in the Congress that are euphoniously labeled civil-rights bills. The title of these bills appeal to the American people. Every American is in favor of more and bigger and better civil rights. An examination of what these measures really do immediately raises the question as to whose civil rights and what constitutional rights are involved. They raise the issue of how far you may go in infringing upon the civil rights of all of our people in the attempt to establish doubtful civil rights for the benefit of one group by force bills. High-handed and drastic legislative action in this field must be weighed well in the light of its effect upon the rights of the States and upon the sum total of the liberties of all of the American people.

Some of these bills are destructive of the integrity and rights of the several States as entities of government. They could be used to deny the elemental rights of individual American citizens guaranteed by the Constitution. By a cunning plan to make the Federal Government a party to civil causes growing out of acts now punishable as crimes against either State or Federal law, these bills would deliberately bypass and annul sacred and inherent individual rights specifically spelled out in the Constitution. American citizens could be punished and jailed without due process by resorting to civil proceedings and contempt citations tried in star chamber sessions.

The right of trial by jury before being sentenced and punished is the proudest boast of Anglo-Saxon justice. It is considered the shield and buckler of the liberties of free men wherever the English language is spoken. Even before Magna Charta was wrung from an unwilling King John at Runnymeade, men of our race had spilled their blood for the right of a public jury trial by their peers. For many centuries Lord Jeffreys and his Star Chamber have been held in odium for perverting judicial power into an instrument of oppression and tyranny. If free born American citizens can be thrown in jail for indefinite or unlimited terms by this perversion of process at the caprice of a Federal judge enjoying life tenure by appointment, we will no longer have a government of law. Our most sacred rights will be the plaything of a government of men.

Let no lover of liberty anywhere be deceived by the specious argument that the unprecedented powers of this bill will be applied only in one section of the country. If enacted, they will be a threat to the most sacred constitutional rights of every American citizen. Such proposals are repugnant to the system which has brought us to greatness. They would employ the methods of the despised police state of totalitarian regimes.

There is no condition in this land of ours that can conceivably justify the wholesale sweeping aside of constitutional rights. Our Constitution wisely provides that the United States shall guarantee to every State of this Union a republican form of government. If there be a single State where a republican form of government is denied, the Federal power may be legally applied. There is no valid reason for general Federal legislation that will further degrade all the States and State institutions. There is no cause whatever to impeach the laws, the procedures, and the officials of all of the States and in the process so twist our system as to eliminate the guarantee of due process of law which has heretofore protected every one of our citizens. If this be done in the name of civil rights, it will be a crime more heinous than any ever committed in the name of liberty.

The President of the United States is duly chosen by the people to serve in the most exalted office of the earth. No President of the United States, even in time of dangerous crisis, has ever possessed any such powers over the lives and liberties of the American people as these bills propose to vest in an appointed Attorney General.

The American system rejects the idea that any one man, however wise or impartial, should be permitted to govern by intimidation and injunction and jailing his fellow citizens for contempt. What self-respecting patriot will willingly agree that any official under any circumstances could designate him to be the first to be stripped of his constitutional rights to a fair trial before being jailed? Our forebears did not endure Valley Forge or face death on a hundred battlefields in the war for independence for any such tortured concept of freedom.

The heart of our country is still sound, and the spirit of patriotism still lives. American youth have again and again shown the heroism of old in their country's service. We still have the genius and capacity to meet and overcome any threat to our freedom and to our institutions.

All of us must work harder in the discharge of every duty of citizenship. Our age is complex and requires greater vigilance as the price of liberty. We must constantly guard against the evil consequences of carelessness and indifference. We can seek no greater reward than to have another generation study and consider the period in which we live and say, "Our American heritage and the landmarks of our Fathers were safe in their hands."

Annual Dinner of the Amen Corner of Pittsburgh, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the Amen Corner of Pittsburgh, Pa., includes in its membership many of the leading business and professional men in the tri-State area of which Pittsburgh is the center. Each year it holds a dinner with a program devoted to the discussion of matters affecting the national welfare. Saturday night, April 6, 1957, the 31st of such meetings was held.

This annual dinner also honors the retiring president of the organization. This year the president, Mr. Walter Schulten, an outstanding industrialist and civic leader of Pittsburgh, was so honored.

The speakers this year were the distinguished Senator from Kansas [Mr. SCHOEPPEL], the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], and myself. All of the addresses placed emphasis on the high cost of government and the course we must take to maintain the economic stability of the United States. Unfortunately, we cannot have printed the speech of the able Senator from Ohio, because he spoke from notes and did not have a written address.

I feel that these speeches are of interest to the general public, and I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the Genesis of the Amen Corner, the address of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. SCHOEPPEL], and my remarks on that occasion.

There being no objection, the Genesis and addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GENESIS

The Amen Corner is not a club. Don't forget that.

It is something that just happened, and, without rhyme or reason, might happen in any well-regulated wide-awake, self-respecting urban community.

It happened to Pittsburgh in 18—let me see—well, as far back as the memory of this scrivner runs, debates to the contrary notwithstanding, there has been about town a coterie of boon companions, men of many minds, without regard to race, creed, politics or previous condition, who have gathered nocturnally, quite haphazardly, at some place of convenient rendezvous, to discuss as the spirit moved them, any subject under the rising or the setting sun, and, without let or hindrance, apply to the arts forensic any system of logic or reason, which, the individual in his sovereign right, might elect.

Membership in the Amen Corner is one of the difficult mysteries of the day. There is no set formula and no rules of procedure are made to guide the ambitious tyro who would have his name inscribed on the roster of membership. Indeed, the only information on this head which is available is that to gain the open sesame one must be a one hundred percent man. In truth manhood is the acid test which the Corner prescribes, apparently in secret, for one never knows when, if, or how, he is to become a member until some day he is slapped on the back, hale fellow-like, and is told that he is an "Amener."

That's the simple, frank process, but, like the higher degrees in some of the fraternities, the reason why one has been elected is never disclosed.

"Many are called but few are chosen" seems to be quite literally the maxim of this unique fraternity of good fellows.

The progenitor of "The Corner" was called "The Steps" and its place of concourse then was at Liberty Avenue and Sixth Street.

One dark night some scalawags, out of tune with that splendid spirit which preserves the best traditions and usages of an epoch, wantonly and without ruth, moved "The Steps" to make room for the ignoble and sordid march of progress—moved them no one knew whither.

Up to Grant Street to the offices of one of the group, the fathers of the Amen Corner trekked and metaphorically pitched their tent.

Not long thereafter this same iconoclastic march of progress—to be exact, in the fall of 1915—the William Penn Hotel offered a rendezvous which the dispossessed members of "The Steps" grasped with an appreciation of the hospitality extended, in a way that warmed the cockles of the heart of the genial Boniface.

"Come over to the William Penn," said he, "and meet in a corner of the lobby."

So, they came, and out of "The Steps" there evoluted The Amen Corner.

On its roster, as active or honorary members, are ambassadors to and from the Old World, Governors, Senators, Judges of all the courts, clergymen, lawyers, business men, politicians, literatti, artists, actors, musicians, and notables in greater or lesser degree in nearly every profession, vocation, and avocation.

Many brilliant prandial functions have marked the history of The Amen Corner. Annually the president is honored with a testimonial dinner. That's why we are here tonight.

But nightly, and now daily since it has its own spacious quarters on the club floor of the Wm. Penn Hotel—the real zest of membership in The Amen Corner may be judged from the casual gatherings and the open discussions that animate them.

Controversies rage on every conceivable subject. Questions are never settled. That's too much to expect from "men of many minds."

But though the disputation may work itself into the velocity of a typhoon or the heat of argument may rise to the temperature of Hades, and, the end of the day may leave some sorely tried tempers and furniture may be a bit awry, the day after dawns with the same sunny skies breaking through Pittsburgh's changeful atmosphere, and the same happy, smiling faces and the same warmth of handclasps all around, that prevailed before the last argument.

THE ROLE OF THE CONGRESS IN THE PRESERVATION OF FREE ENTERPRISE

(Address by United States Senator ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL, Republican, of Kansas, at the 31st annual dinner of the Amen Corner, Pittsburgh, Pa., on April 6, 1957)

It is a pleasure to be with you in Pittsburgh tonight—the city aptly referred to as the Renaissance City of America, the great metropolis with the Golden Triangle.

Many of your fine leaders, from all walks of life, have contributed to this great enterprise, prominent among them being Walter F. Schulten, one of the outstanding industrialists.

He has interested himself, as you know, in the great civic advancement of your city, and is to be congratulated for his splendid accomplishments.

It is always a pleasure for me to meet with business leaders to discuss some of the problems which confront the Congress of the United States in preserving the free enterprise system which you represent and symbolize.

The 531 individuals who constitute the Congress, 96 Senators and 435 Representatives, are the board of directors for the American people. We are responsible for determining the policies of what has become the biggest business on earth.

As in most corporations, boards of directors have no administrative responsibilities. In the Federal Government, executive responsibility is the province of the President.

The American people—170 million of us, with only 7 percent of the world's population—enjoy the highest standard of living of any country on earth.

We have only 6 percent of its land area, yet we account for 40 percent of its production of goods.

We generate 45 percent of its electric power.

We have 60 percent of all the telephones in use, and more than 75 percent of the automobiles.

The other side of the coin is, of course, the fact that 93 percent of the world's population has far less of the good things of life than do our own citizens.

With the bulk of the world's resources available to them, they should be able to do more for their own people without depending on the American taxpayer.

People from many lands visit America to see our factories, our farms, and to study our productive processes. Our Government fosters these exchanges, as we believe that others can benefit through the application of our advanced technology and scientific developments to raise their own living standards.

I support these efforts. However, I am disturbed that so many who visit our industrial plants leave our shores without finding the key to America's well-being and strength.

They believe that our progress can be transplanted to other lands by capital grants and the application of technical know-how.

They have failed to grasp the fact that the accumulation of capital in the United States, as well as our technical superiority, is based on a unique system of relationships between private citizens and their governments. These relationships are derived from the spiritual and moral concepts which our Founding Fathers wrote into our Constitution.

They are the basis for a competitive capitalistic system, which today protects the free world from atheistic communism.

I believe in this system, and none of us should hesitate to voice our belief that this is the most productive system man has devised.

The United States Information Agency has sent an exhibit to many countries to explain our American system described as "the people's capitalism." This is a good phrase. We have no classes in America.

Here in Pittsburgh your industrial society provides one of the best exhibits in the world to show the success of this system. Many of your neighbors are at one and the same time workers for, investors in, and customers of the same firm.

The distinguishing feature of each of these relationships is the fact that they are based on the voluntary decisions of individuals.

We in the Senate must make sure that its growth is fostered by the development of sound fiscal and monetary policy.

Any one can buy or sell a share of stock in any listed American corporation.

You can seek any job for which your abilities qualify you.

You are free to spend your income as consumers to satisfy your personal wants and express your individual preferences.

This voluntary system based on free individual choice is the unique feature of "the people's capitalism."

The Congress of the United States, your board of directors, promises to protect these rights for all our citizens, which rights have been handed down to us by our forefathers.

These freedoms are possible only because individuals have the right to own private property. The productive tools in America belong to the people and not to their Government.

In recent years we have heard a great deal about the fifth amendment. Every one here is familiar with the fact that it protects individuals from self-incrimination.

Some of you perhaps are not aware of the fact that it also provides the basic security for private property. This amendment, a part of our great Bill of Rights, provides that private property cannot be confiscated without due process of law, nor can it be acquired for public use without just compensation.

From our earliest days as an independent country, we have believed in private enterprise.

It is an article of faith that every individual should be free to develop his God-given talents and to enjoy the fruits of his own labor.

Our country has prospered greatly because of these basic fundamental beliefs.

Our Constitution protects freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and the freedom to petition one's Government.

These freedoms have fostered intellectual development, the spirit of scientific inquiry, and the willingness to explore the unknown, which underlie our great scientific and industrial accomplishments.

Let me remind you that our scientific developments come from the efforts of individuals. We believe in the dignity and importance of every individual.

Let me discuss our current concern with lobbying in terms of the freedom guaranteed in the Constitution to petition one's Government.

I am reminded of an article written in 1935 by Raymond Moley, who is truly an elder statesman in the field of political journalism. Mr. Moley wrote:

"Lobbies about which we are hearing so much these days are an inevitable aspect of republican government. They fill a need created by modern economic life, which is a mesh of many interests. If we recognize these interests as legitimate, we speak of them as interests.

"If we do not like them, we call them in an italicized voice interests. If we hate them and are fighting them, we call them big, special, or vested interests. But interests they are, and they multiply, overlap, and conflict."

It is the admitted responsibility of the Congress and the Senate to prepare and pass upon the ground rules under which these overlapping and conflicting interests compete with each other.

We should run no risk that our deliberation turn into a Roman holiday for the benefit of sensational journalism, and referring to the general area of the activities which we call lobbying, I would like to again quote Mr. Moley: "It is difficult to indict a method which in its essence is the ancient right of petition in a modern dress."

Regarding this right of petition, there is a traditional policy in Washington which every American citizen critical of lobbying should know and understand.

On nearly every entrance door in the Senate Office Building there is a sign which reads, in effect: "Come in. You are welcome."

Were the sign ever to be removed, dictatorship would get its first toehold on the Republic of the United States of America.

Those among our population who in their lack of information condemn the practice of business lobbying as a sinister influence in our public life would be astonished to discover that the widely-publicized groups referred to as the power lobby, the oil and gas lobby, the steel and chemical lobbies, etc., are relatively unimportant compared to other groups.

These other groups are the farmers, the veterans, the labor unions, and others whose activities are usually considered to be exclusively in the public interest, instead of in the private interest.

These citizens would be still more astonished to make the discovery that the biggest of all lobbies are the departments of the Federal administration: The Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Post Office, the State Department, the Treasury Department, Foreign Aid, and its associated lobbies.

As to the actual day-to-day operation of Washington lobbies, I do not know a single Senator or Representative who does not value the data and information emanating from these offices.

The public which, unfortunately, is preoccupied with the more sensational aspects of lobbying, does not know that one single, well-written, time-saving analysis is more influential over Congressional action than a dozen offers of special favors, free dinners, or elaborate cocktail parties.

Our system of government is founded on the concept that those who govern do so with the consent of the governed. This concept, in turn, rests on the fact that our citizens own private property, not only homes and personal possessions, but the tools of industrial production.

They can live and support their families regardless of whether their political views are attractive to those in power.

When the United Nations was established in 1945, one of its first acts was to establish a Commission on Human Rights.

Our Government supported the work of this Commission, as we wished to foster universal recognition of the guaranties enumerated in our Bill of Rights, including the right to own private property.

You will be interested to know that your Government, in the councils of the United Nations, has attempted unsuccessfully for 11 years to secure recognition of the private ownership of property as a basic human right.

What is even more disturbing is that fact that in 1952 a resolution was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly which, in effect, condoned the right of countries to nationalize private property without compensation. Only four countries, including the United States, voted against the adoption of this resolution.

As we turn the pages of history we can find no instance in which a war of aggression was started through the legislative actions of a free people. Under our Constitution, only Congress can declare war.

It is inconceivable that we would ever debate a program for an aggressive attack on anyone.

The danger to world peace arises from the fact that in so many countries decisions which determine the course of history do not rest with the elected representatives of free people, but are in the control of individuals who have dictatorial powers over the manpower and resources of their countries.

Permanent progress toward achieving a world in which more of our energies can be directed toward fulfilling the desires of our own people for a more satisfying life, rather than in colossal military expenditures, requires that other countries achieve systems of government in which the aspirations of individual citizens will have a more important place.

The people living behind the Iron Curtain, if they understood our way of life and if they controlled their own destinies, would never vote to make war on us. Our danger lies in the actions of their leaders who have kept the truth about our economic system from their own citizens.

It is because I believe so strongly that the spread of our system of private competitive capitalism would not only help others to raise their living standards, but would remove the threat of nuclear warfare, that I feel we must further a better understanding of our economic system throughout the world.

Every foreign study group which visits the United States must learn that the real secret of our progress lies in the fundamental freedoms which we enjoy.

Until the right to own private property is established as a human right, every citizen will always be subject to the arbitrary actions of those who control the economies of countries where the people are not free to express their own wishes.

Furthering respect for private property will advance the economic well-being of other countries. What is even more important, it will enable us to reduce our own military burdens.

In the months ahead the Congress of the United States must determine the character of our foreign-aid program. Its size, duration, and method of operation will affect the future of our own economy.

Because of the impact foreign-aid expenditures have on the Federal budget and, hence, on industries' tax burden, the Congress will give this program careful scrutiny.

Last year the Senate authorized an extensive study of the present program. The Committee on Foreign Relations has secured assistance from a number of private groups representing different points of view. Their work is now being published by the committee in a series of reports to guide the Congress in its deliberations.

President Eisenhower also established a committee to examine this problem. He appointed Benjamin Fairless, one of your most distinguished citizens, to serve as chairman.

Last month the committee's unanimous report was made public by the President. It strongly urges that we stimulate private investment, rather than depend on Government grant aid. Let me quote from the report:

"Foreign investment of private capital is far more desirable than investment by Government; and during the past fiscal year it appears that there was approximately $3.7 billion of new, private United States investment abroad. Such investments provide much more than capital to the cause of economic development, for they carry with them the initiative, the managerial skill, and the technical aptitude which have proven of great worth to the American economy.

"Moreover, private capital does not constitute a drain on the taxpayer. Indeed, to the extent that private capital can proceed, the burden on the American taxpayer can be reduced without impairment of that economic development of the free world which is so essential to the realization of American aspirations.

"Beyond that, private American capital can join more easily with private capital in other countries than can Government investment.

"We believe, therefore, that the United States Government should increase its efforts to make known, both at home and abroad, the productive contributions and possibilities of private capital. This can and should be done by our diplomatic missions and by friendship and commerce treaties. In our opinion, this effort has not been pursued, thus far, with the vigor that the obvious benefits of such an undertaking would justify" (p. 8).

Obviously, private investors are not going to send their money abroad unless they feel that the countries receiving their capital will

not arbitrarily nationalize it or discriminate against it because of its foreign origin.

However, in spite of all that we can do to further private investment, the Fairless committee realizes that our Government must continue to make some direct grants and loans for many years into the future.

The Congress must decide whether grant aid should be administered by our own Government or through the United Nations.

There are two schools of thought on the subject of foreign grant aid. The first, which is supported by the Fairless committee, and which I endorse, believes that governmental assistance financed with your tax dollars should be given primarily to those countries which are willing to take the necessary political, economic, and military measures to safeguard their own freedom against the only aggressive force in existence in the world today—international communism.

The second school of thought, which has many supporters, believes that foreign economic development financed by the American taxpayer is a noble end in itself. The adherents to this philosophy believe that we should support the establishment of a new specialized agency within the United Nations, to be called SUNFED.

The initials stand for Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development.

The reasons for adding the word "Special" to the title of this agency are that without the "S" the initials would read "UNFED," and this is not an appealing word.

Walter Reuther is one of the strongest advocates of SUNFED. He has suggested that our Government pledge an annual contribution of 2 percent of our gross national product to such a fund. This would mean additional expenditures of more than $8 billion of tax dollars.

Establishment of SUNFED would encourage underdeveloped countries to develop along socialistic lines, as they would not feel any compulsion to create the necessary internal conditions to attract the funds of private investors. I am, of course, opposed to such an increase in our foreign-aid expenditures. However, I am even more concerned with the direction the program would take, if the funds were contributed to such an agency.

Any such international organization supplying grant aid would be directd and operated by individuals from many countries in the United Nations whose economic philosophy would range from an adherence to our system of private competitive enterprise to socialism, communism, and every form of economic organization which might lie between the two extremes.

Experts and technicians who are exponents of socialism and communism would be sent into many underdeveloped countries. Yes, they would bring capital and technical training, but I am sure they would not bring the one priceless gift we could give these countries—namely, an understanding of the basic principles of human organization which underlie not only our material well-being, but are responsible for the political freedom which makes each of us rejoice in our United States citizenship.

I am very happy that the Fairless committee in its report to President Eisenhower unequivocally said, and I am again quoting: "The contributions of other economically advanced nations to the task of providing external assistance to nations in need should be actively sought. But it does not appear that there is need for yet another worldwide bureau, such as the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, for the distribution of grant economic assistance" (p. 11).

Mr. Fairless, as the chairman of this presidential commission, has performed a great service for the United States and toward the advancement of the private enterprise system to which he contributed so much in his work as a business leader here in Pittsburgh.

Let us now turn our attention to some of the domestic concerns which confront your board of directors, the Congress of the United States.

I have stressed the necessity of preserving freedom for every individual to express his views, and to live his life according to his own dictates as long as he does not infringe on the similar rights of others.

In our present industrial society, there is a definite need for free labor unions. The labor movement can play an important part in advancing our concepts of freedom.

The Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 provides that a union, which is certified as a bargaining agent for a majority of the employees in any establishment, shall represent all the employees in collective bargaining negotiations and in the handling of any grievances with the employer.

The Congress provided that union-shop agreements not prohibited by State or Territorial law could be executed by unions and employers. Unions contend, with some justification, that they want all members of the bargaining unit to contribute toward the benefits all the employees receive from the activities of the union working as their agent.

The Congress in 1947, when the Taft-Hartley Act was written, regarded the rights and obligations of labor unions in terms of their traditional function as representing their members in dealing with their employers and not as political parties. Recently it has become obvious that in some respects some unions regard themselves as political parties.

I would never infringe on the political rights of any group. I do not object to unions engaging in politics. However, I do feel that any political action by a union must be truly voluntary. No union which participates in politics should be allowed to negotiate a union shop agreement and force all its members to contribute to a political campaign.

The results of the last election clearly show that many union members did not carry out the wishes of their union leaders in the privacy of the polling place. These members, in effect, were forced to contribute dues under a union shop agreement to pay for a political campaign in opposition to their own political beliefs.

More recently, the select committee investigating racketeering under the chairmanship of my friend and colleague, Senator McCLELLAN, has revealed that funds collected on a compulsory basis through union shop agreements, allegedly for political purposes, actually were used for the private gain of a few unscrupulous and, I am sure, unrepresentative union officials.

One task which this Congress must undertake is the amendment of the Labor Management Relations Act so that every union may be given the choice of whether it wishes to operate as a political party or as a trade union.

If it chooses to become a political party it should enjoy the immunities of the first amendment, but lose the right to negotiate union shop agreements.

On the other hand, if it wishes to confine itself to acting as a bargaining agent for its members and not engage in any political activity, it should be permitted to negotiate union shop agreements under State and Territorial law. I know we cannot continue our present course of fostering compulsory membership in political parties. This was the technique of Mussolini and Hitler. It is fascism, and not Americanism.

For many years I have been a member of the Select Committee on Small Business. I sought this assignment as I believe that if our economy is to prosper, today's small businesses must be encouraged to grow into the big business units of tomorrow.

We must constantly revitalize the ranks of our business leaders with newcomers of ability and energy. Every American glories in the achievements of your pioneer industrialists—Andrew Carnegie, Henry Frick, and Andrew Mellon.

They started with nothing but new ideas and a few dollars, which they had saved before the tax collector made saving so difficult.

They gave this community new industries, supplying employment to hundreds of thousands of your fellow citizens. To be sure, they earned large profits, but these profits are small in comparison with the benefits the consumers of our country received from their purchase of the products created by their efforts.

Under our system, the consumer of America really receives the profits from any industrial endeavor.

In recent years it has been more difficult for small business to succeed and move forward. I have been disturbed that so much of the work of our Small Business Committees has been directed to attacks on big business rather than to the development of measures to further the growth of our smaller firms.

One proposal advanced to assist small corporations is to reduce the normal tax on the first $23,000 of corporate profits.

It has great merit, and I support it. However, it only partially solves the problem. We must remember that many of our smaller firms are either individual proprietorships or partnerships. They will only be helped by reducing our personal income tax rates.

If a small business shows a profit of $25,000 and this profit represents a return of 5 percent on invested capital, the stockholders must have invested a half-million dollars. Most small businesses are owned by only a few stockholders.

A family, or two or three individuals, have risked all their assets in a venture.

I wonder whether those who speak with feeling about the small business concern whose profits total only $25,000 have the same solicitude for the stockholders with assets of at least $500,000. Yet, we are talking about the same people.

Under our present personal income tax laws rates in the top bracket reach 91 percent, and it is becoming more and more difficult for individuals to accumulate funds for investment. We can do a great deal to help small business by making it possible for individuals to once again save capital from their current income.

This will accomplish more than attacks on big business or the establishment of new Government programs to loan funds to small business. Loans cannot be repaid unless equity capital can be substituted for Government debt.

The Congress must reexamine our tax structure so that it will produce the maximum possible revenue without depriving individuals of the incentive to establish and expand new businesses. Present tax rates were established under the previous administrations, and many of them are designed to punish success rather than to raise revenue. This is a luxury we can no longer afford.

In view of the large expenditures which our Government must make for years to come it is essential that taxes be levied with due regard to the fundamental economic principle of diminishing returns. Any tax rate which is set so high that it discourages new investment and hence produces a smaller net revenue for the Government than would a lower rate is completely indefensible.

The subject of taxes invariably requires an examination of appropriations. The Congress is considering the budget for the fiscal year 1958 which will start July 1. President Eisenhower has recommended the largest peacetime budget in our history. The greater portion of this budget is dedicated to our defense and foreign-aid activities.

I can assure you that the Congress will examine these items closely, and we will endeavor to effect every possible economy without jeopardizing the security of our country.

In the last analysis the domestic items included in the budget reflect the demands upon the President and the Congress by the people of America. We must reverse the trend to ever-larger Federal budgets if we are to preserve our system of private enterprise.

This can only be done if every community leader assumes a personal responsibility to see to it that demands are not made upon the Federal Government for services which could be better performed either by private enterprise or by the States and local communities.

The Atomic Energy Act was amended in 1954 so as to make it possible for private enterprise to devote its resources to the development of this new great force. Here in Pennsylvania at Shippingport you will shortly be producing electrical energy from the atom on a commercial basis.

I can see no reason for the Federal Government to compete with private industry in the development of peaceful uses for atomic energy. Yet, proposals are repeatedly made which would ultimately require spending billions of tax dollars to place the Government in the utility business in competition with private industry. We must resist these measures which would not only tend to produce a collectivist economy, but would add ever-increasing burdens on our taxpayers.

The 83d Congress authorized the disposal of the Government's investment in synthetic rubber plants to private industry. This transfer has been completed.

The Government is out of this business, and properties valued at hundreds of millions of dollars have been added to the tax rolls of our States and local communities. There is much more to be done in getting the Government out of business. The Government is still the country's largest insurer, its largest lender, its largest tenant, its largest holder of grazing land, its largest warehouse operator, its largest shipowner, and its largest truck-fleet operator.

If the Government withdraws from businesses which can be undertaken by private industry, we will place billions of dollars of additional property on State and local tax rolls and at the same time we will increase the revenue of the Federal Government by their sale of these properties.

All funds realized from the sale of these properties should be dedicated to a reduction of the national debt. The increased local revenues will make it easier for the States and local governments to build schools and perform other necessary community services themselves, instead of seeking Federal assistance in Washington.

As an illustration of how we can apply new approaches to complex economic problems, let me mention briefly Public Law 480 of the 83d Congress, providing for the sale of our agricultural surpluses for foreign currency.

This law also permits bartering surplus agricultural commodities for strategic materials which are placed in our military stockpile where they add to our national security.

The foreign exchange derived from these transactions is used to pay necessary expenses of our Government in foreign countries. Some of the funds have been lent back to the countries purchasing these commodities for economic development.

This program has two features of interest to all taxpayers.

First, it disposes of surplus agricultural products. Appropriations for agricultural programs, a large domestic item in the budget, can be reduced drastically when we are no longer burdened by surpluses which overhang the market and depress agricultural prices.

The second feature of this program of interest to you is that it does not require current funds from the taxpayers. The money for the acquisition of these commodities has already been spent.

In disposing of them we reduce storage charges, we secure needed foreign currency for Government purposes, we acquire strategic materials, and we contribute to our foreign-aid program, which would again otherwise probably involve the expenditure of additional tax dollars.

This Congress will undoubtedly extend this program for an additional year. Programs of this type can be utilized to maximize the benefits to all our people from every tax dollar spent.

As a former governor, as well as a legislator, I am concerned with the problems of education.

We must improve our educational programs, if we are to keep pace with the Russians who have placed great emphasis upon the training of scientists and engineers. You cannot train scientists in our great schools of technology without first providing the applicants for the freshman class with an adequate foundation in mathematics and in the basic sciences.

I find that in many cases our secondary schools have broadened their curricula so as to include so many subjects that it becomes a difficult task to find adequate revenue to pay all the specialized teachers this program requires.

Furthermore, those who are qualified to teach science and mathematics will not accept the salaries normally paid schoolteachers, as they have opportunities to work at their specialties in private industry.

Our communities must reappraise their educational programs. We must make sure that we are doing the best possible job in teaching the fundamentals. We must eliminate some of the frills that our school budgets cannot afford so that we can pay better salaries to those teachers who have a real background in the subjects they are teaching, as well as the teaching qualifications.

This task cannot be undertaken by the Federal Government. It is one of the jobs which I hope that you will do in your local communities.

The future of our country is in the hands of those who are now in school.

It has been a great pleasure for me this evening to review some of the issues which concern us in Washington. The preservation and development of a private enterprise economy both at home and abroad is the most important task before the Senate today. You, as citizens, are stockholders in the greatest business on earth.

In my limited time I could touch on only a few of our problems. I can assure you that your board of directors, the Congress of the United States, regardless of party, and your Chief Executive, are working together to advance the interests of this great Republic.

Big Spending or Economy—You Must Decide

(Address by United States Senator Edward Martin, of Pennsylvania, at the annual dinner of the Amen Corner, in the Penn-Sheraton Hotel, Pittsburgh, April 6, 1957)

Of all the great powers in the world the United States is the only one where the people still control the Government.

This significant fact of modern history is the foundation upon which was built the structure of American freedom.

It is given impressive expression in the preamble to the Constitution which declares that "We, the People * * * do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States."

That concept of government gave force and effect to the principle set forth in the Declaration of Independence that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

If that ideal is to survive—if we are to continue to control our Government—our people must recognize that we have responsibilities as well as rights.

History teaches that it is a heavy responsibility to live as free men. Great nations have gone down to destruction because their people allowed control of their government to slip from their hands. The great powers of the past failed when the people started to depend upon government and not upon themselves. The result has always been extravagant spending, a crushing burden of taxes and debt and eventually the loss of freedom. They passed out of history as completely as if they had been destroyed by invading armies.

The record of the past shows very clearly that freedom cannot long be retained by a people who ignore or evade their responsibilities. That means that we must all accept a personal share of responsibility for keeping our Nation strong, secure, sound, and solvent. We must all take part in government. We must become interested and active in politics—not merely from a partisan standpoint—but as a patriotic contribution to the public welfare.

You men assembled here tonight are leaders in business, industry, and in the professions. You are vitally interested in building the economic strength of this important area and of the Nation. Therefore, the situation in our country, as it relates to Government spending, taxes, and debts should be a matter of great concern to you—and I am sure it is.

I am sure that you are all seriously disturbed over the alarming increase in the cost of government at all levels, local, State, and Federal, during the last quarter of a century.

Let us look at the figures.

In 1932 the people of the United States paid $6,375,000,000 for local government. That cost is now $26,230,000,000.

For State government in 1932 we spent a total of $2,028,000,000. Now the States are spending at the rate of more than $11 billion a year.

The cost of operating the Federal Government in 1932 was $5,125,000,000. The current budget calls for the expenditure of nearly $72 billion.

Now, if we add up these figures we find that the overall cost of government has jumped in 25 years from $13½ billion to $109½ billion, an increase of more than 700 percent.

Now let us look at the debt, which is a mortgage on the future of every man, woman, and child in the United States.

The bonded indebtedness of local government, which was $16,680,000,000 in 1932, is now above $33 billion.

The debt of State government has grown from less than $3 billion to $11 billion in the same period.

The Federal Government debt shows the most startling increase—from $19½ billion in 1932 to the present debt of more than $274 billion.

The total Government debt has gone up from $30 billion to more than $318½ billion, an increase of more than 700 percent.

In addition, many States and local subdivisions have created authorities to finance various types of construction and other public works by the sale of bonds. For example, in Pennsylvania the debts incurred by State and municipal authorities have reached a total of nearly $2 billion.

One illustration of the increase in the cost of government is that the Federal Government proposes to spend $14 billion a year for welfare programs as compared with a little more than $3 billion 10 years ago.

Unfortunately we are continually taking on new projects and new spending programs

which grow bigger and more expensive year after year. Local government, with hat in hand, goes to the State for handouts. The State government, with hat in hand, goes to the Federal Government for handouts—the so-called grants-in-aid. Even our big cities are bypassing the States and go directly to Washington for financial assistance. And to raise the money the Federal Government has two courses to pursue—higher taxes or bigger debt.

The time has come when each level of government must stand on its own feet. Otherwise it will not be long before all government will be controlled at the national level. Each grant of Federal funds carries with it a measure of Federal control. That control never lessens. It always increases.

The time has come when we must look ahead with extreme care before we take on new projects.

Two of the greatest men in our history had something to say on this subject.

Washington said this to Lafayette: "It is a part of the military art to reconnoiter and feel your way before you engage too deeply." This was stated when Lafayette was urging some reforms for France.

Abraham Lincoln said in a letter to a friend: "I hope to stand firm enough to not go backward, and yet not go forward fast enough to wreck the country's cause."

The automobile gives another illustration of watching both the past and the future.

It has a mirror which gives a view of the road in the rear, while the driver has a perfect view of the road ahead.

The careful driver sees both the rear and the front.

Let us not move too rapidly in government until we survey the road of the past and carefully reconnoiter the road to the future. Let us not lose sight of the dangers that lie ahead.

One of the greatest dangers to national stability is inflation. Inflation is suggested by many economists as a cure for certain economic ills, but it is only a shot in the arm.

Inflation, high taxes, deficit governmental finance, big government debt and big centralized government have destroyed more nations than invading armies. It will destroy more countries than the most terrible bomb that could be invented.

Before it is too late, let the American people take over, because it is still our Government. The people still have the power to control.

Let us bear this in mind. No nation, regardless of how rich it may be in natural resources, can live and pay taxes which destory initiative and the private-enterprise plan of economy. Many are now advocating things which tend toward socialism: public power, restricting the right to work at the job of our choice, centralization of government.

The free-enterprise economy plan has done more to advance our living standards and our cultural and spiritual attainments than all our vast natural resources.

There are many systems of government that advocate some form of socialism. Let us look at some of the results.

After 40 years, the Soviet type of communism has produced a living standard only one-tenth as high as that of the United States.

The so-called Swedish welfare state has produced a living standard only one-third as high as the United States.

In England, where nationalization of basic industries has continued for 12 years, the living standard is about one-half what it is in the United States.

Many of the Founding Fathers who were interested in the independence and freedom of the individual feared that our Government, unless most carefully and economically administered, would fail, of its own weight, within 200 years. Time is moving rapidly. It's our Government. Let us look it over. If we are spending too much for government let us have the courage to make corrections.

One of the principal reasons for the alarming rise in the cost of government is the constant demand from organized pressure groups who have no regard for the welfare of our Nation or its future.

They demand appropriations of public funds for their pet projects, for new and expanded functions of government, for sectional advantage and for every conceivable form of spending. Some do not hesitate to threaten political reprisals unless their proposals are given immediate and favorable attention.

That same sort of pressure must now be exerted in support of economy. If we are to achieve government at lower cost we must develop a demand for economy so strong and so insistent that no one in the executive or legislative branches of government will dare to ignore or oppose it.

It must be supported by business associations, chambers of commerce, service clubs, labor organizations, farm groups and welfare and educational societies. It must have the driving force of an aroused public opinion, so strong and so powerful that it will be irresistible.

As I said in the beginning of my remarks—in the United States the people still control the government. Therefore the battle to cut the cost of government must begin with you.

Big spending or economy—you must decide. And I have complete confidence that you will make the right decision.

Address by His Excellency Tran Van Chuong Before Far East-American Council on Commerce and Industry Luncheon

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the Ambassador from Vietnam to the United States before the Far East-American Council on Commerce and Industry luncheon on April 11, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY TRAN VAN CHUONG, AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES FROM VIETNAM, DELIVERED BEFORE THE FAR EAST-AMERICAN COUNCIL ON COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY LUNCHEON, APRIL 11, 1957

I am certainly not a speaker, nor an economist. Yet, I have accepted your invitation to address your Far East-American Council on Commerce and Industry for two reasons.

First, it is very difficult for me to refuse an invitation in this great friendly country of yours.

Second, I know the importance of your group.

Therefore, I cannot resist the temptation of trying to get across to you a few simple ideas about a matter of common concern to those among Asians who know that communism is a mortal danger and count on American leadership to stop it.

You are certainly very concerned about the explosive situation in the Middle East, about the vacuum left there by the withdrawal of former colonial powers. You are certainly concerned to see that in such a vacuum, a country as weak and small as Egypt can defy such Western nations as France and Great Britain, your strongest allies, and even disrupt their economic life.

Let me tell you that the same vacuum exists almost everywhere else in Asia and Africa, that it must be filled if we are to survive, and that it cannot be filled by any government unless you, American leaders and businessmen, are more aware of your own importance in such circumstances.

What I want to propose is a new concept of American leadership, of American security and of human solidarity, a new and juster concept in which you, as members of an elite, of a powerful minority in the most powerful nation of the world, can play the major role, and can gain by doing it a tremendous amount of prestige, influence, and extra wealth.

To understand it, we must first realize what is the basic cause of that vacuum of strength and power in Asia and Africa and what can fill it.

What is the basic cause of that vacuum?

It is not merely the withdrawal of former colonial powers; it is the lack of technical and industrial development in Asia.

Europe, America, and Russia are powerful because they have learned to transform their coal, rivers, and waterfalls into power and energy and to multiply their natural resources with machines.

Most Asian countries are weak and poor because their native rulers or their former colonial masters did not care much to lead them on the road to technical progress. And now their relative poverty makes them more vulnerable to Communist propaganda; their relative weakness makes them more vulnerable to Communist aggression, infiltration, or subversion.

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO REMEDY SUCH A TRAGIC SITUATION?

You cannot fill this vacuum of wealth and strength in Asia with military bases and alliances alone. Nasser, for instance, has openly defied the West without ever being frightened in the least by those alliances nor by the British Navy or the French Army.

It was enough for him to side with Russia. Military strength and alliances are necessary but not sufficient.

Nothing is more dangerous than the wrong belief that American military might and alliances can deter or stop Communist expansion, that the umbrella of American airpower can be for the free world and the United States itself an effective protection.

Indeed each border country of the free world should be given the possibility and the will to defend itself against eventual Communist aggression or subversion and, for this purpose, nothing can replace aid and investments.

Aid is most important and necessary.

American aid is, indeed, American defense because each country of the free world is an American frontier and must be defended, and cannot be better defended than by its own Army and people.

It is American aid which has enabled President Ngo Dinh Diem to achieve almost miraculous successes in Vietnam, to save it for the free world, to resettle 860,000 refugees, to defeat the feudal sects, to put an end to internal insecurity, to discover hundreds of depots of arms, and thousands of Vietminh cadres that the Communists had left behind them, after the Geneva Armistice, to prepare a Communist subversion.

This is the most shining example of how necessary American aid is and of what it can do in Asia.

Yes, foreign aid is American defense and if it were cut, it would lead to another loss or to another Korean war that would cost a hundred times more to the American taxpayer and to American families.

But foreign aid has its own limitations in quantity and in quality.

Almost everyone in the United States recognizes that Vietnam has achieved tremendous and almost miraculous successes during these last 2½ years, but nobody is surprised that in spite of these miraculous successes, American aid to Vietnam has been cut by about two-thirds during this last 30-month period; from about $800 million in 1954 to about $250 million now.

Foreign aid is most necessary but we cannot rely solely on it to save a country, we cannot go very far and very long with ounces of aid wrapped up in pounds of red tape.

That is why foreign aid must be completed by foreign investments. They are absolutely necessary to give an underdeveloped country a minimum of industrial equipment without which it cannot raise the living standard of its people and keep an army strong enough to defend its frontiers.

Therefore, I must tell you: More than any others and even more than your own Government, you can stop communism, help your country, your human brothers and yourselves by merely realizing that you can make greater profits for ourselves in producing in Asia, for instance, more bicycles for Asians than a second car or a second TV set for each American family.

What I would like you to achieve for our common interest and safety, with the help and under the protection of American aid, is that sphere of coprosperity that the Japanese dreamt of during the Second World War.

Of course, I am not inviting you to any economic conquest, but to a true, profitable association.

The United States is the country that can best realize such an association because it is the country which owes an important part of its economic prosperity to a more just association between capital, management, and labor. It is the country where a Henry Ford realized that he could make greater profits for himself by paying higher wages to his workers than by exploiting them.

You will do the same with countries that have plenty of almost untapped natural resources but lack capital investments and technical knowledge to transform them into power and wealth. You will do it for our common interest and safety.

All this, you already know.

You already know that American aid has led many American firms to very successful enterprises in Europe, in the Philippines, and in Japan.

What I would like you to know better is that it is absolutely necessary that you do it and more resolutely and more systematically in other Asian countries as well; that you should do it as a matter of policy and not only as a matter of business and you would then discover that Vietnam, for instance, can be a gold mine for many American enterprises.

Indeed, it is an ideal country for an experiment of this kind.

It is not a barren, poverty-stricken country as many Asian countries are. On the contrary, it is a green, fertile country which has been able to resettle 860,000 refugees and could receive a few million more. It is a favored country where people are never cold nor hungry.

The people are cooperative, intelligent, and active. They have the gentleness of the Thai and the Indonesians, with the dynamism of the Chinese.

And they are not half ready to surrender to the Communists.

I also would like you to realize that you should not wait in an armchair for our people to bring to you keys and maps for American penetration and influence. You have enough experience and money to do it yourselves and our administration, alas, has other urgent tasks against the Communists.

Please, do not forget that Saudi Arabia's oil has not been brought to you on a tray.

Each great firm or foundation has only to decide, as a matter of policy, to devote a small part of its profits or money to some survey, planning, study, or investment in one of the distant countries that must be strengthened against communism, and it would soon discover that it is absolutely impossible not to make great profits in Vietnam, for instance, in producing in Vietnam for a virgin market of 12 million people who have had to import almost everything from abroad until now.

Indeed, the primary source of all our present troubles, the basic cause of the insecurity of the world is the neglect or failure of the West to share with Asia and Africa its ability to multiply its strength and wealth with machines.

You, Americans, are not responsible for it but you have to repair it for your own safety; you alone have enough extra wealth and power to do it on a great scale; and you have enough idealism and realism to realize that only solidarity can undo what selfishness has done.

Propaganda Costly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "USIS Staff Costly; Many Are Drones," written by Walker Stone, Scripps-Howard editor in chief, as it appeared in the April 9, 1957, issue of the New York World-Telegram and Sun.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHERE THE MONEY GOES: USIS STAFF COSTLY; MANY ARE DRONES

(By Walker Stone)

BANGKOK, April 9.—"USIS," said an American correspondent in Korea, "provides total job security for newspapermen."

USIS means United States Information Service. It is the overseas extension of what in the States is called by the initials USIA (U. S. Information Agency). Abroad, as well as at home, it is one of our Government's most controversial agencies.

This large and growing bureaucracy, now appealing to Congress for a spectacular increase in appropriations, is staffed in large part by former newspapermen and women.

They are of varied experience, judgment, and industry. Some are talented and dedicated in their work as America's public relations representatives abroad.

SOME ARE DRONES

Others are drones and timeservers, drawing salaries and living allowances far in excess of what they could earn if they could obtain jobs in private newsgathering organizations—and many couldn't.

The number of ex-newsworkers employed by USIS in Asia is in excess of the number of active editorial workers employed by the American wire agencies (UP, AP, and INS) plus all employed in Asia by the individual American newspapers, plus all employed by American radio and television broadcasting systems, and news magazines. For good measure, include the British, French, German, Canadian, and Australian correspondents in Asia—and still the USIS list is longer than all combined.

USIS operates on a budget which could never be matched by any combination of private news organizations, which have to depend for revenues on the market value of their services.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

USIS is in many fields besides gathering and giving away news. It operates libraries in cities all over Asia. It engages in cultural activities, which include the sending of Asian students, teachers, journalists, and other intellectuals to America to study and observe our ways of doing things.

In practically all fields it employs too many people. And in the news and propaganda effort, USIS is wide open to criticism.

An American correspondent in Tokyo had this complaint: "Too many USIS personnel want to be bigtime executives. They sit in their offices and expect the Asians to come to them. Communists on the other hand work completely without offices and mimeographs. They work in the beer halls. Practically all Japanese newspapermen go out for beer after work. The Communists buy reporters drinks, become close personal friends. When some local crisis arises, the Communists are in a position to call on the actual working newsmen to inject the Communist line."

DINNER PARTY

Here in Bangkok, an American newsman had become friendly with several Thai reporters who came to him seeking an American slant on developments. He learned the Thai reporters were not well acquainted with USIS personnel. He tried to correct that condition by giving a dinner party for USIS people and working Thai reporters. After a week of having invitations declined, he gave up. "The USIS folks couldn't come," he said. "They were too busy going to parties they were giving for each other."

Over in Saigon, a fourth American newsman, voiced the apprehension that USIS may be building into a worldwide newsgathering organization to compete against private American news agencies.

That competition is not marked yet, USIS news bulletins are too meager in content, too slow in delivery and viewed suspiciously as containing propaganda.

EXPENSIVE TELETYPES

In such major cities as Tokyo, Hong Kong, Manila, and Singapore, where newspaper competition is fast and fierce, the local press gives scant attention to USIS handouts, rely entirely on their own reporters and the wire services. Even in Saigon the USIS sheets frequently show up as cone wrappers for peanuts peddled on the streets.

But there are signs USIS may be planning large-scale competition, despite the provision in present law forbidding competitive news activity. Throughout southeast Asia, USIS is installing expensive teletype receivers, indicating plans for a more elaborate and more costly communications network than can at this time be provided by private news agencies whose budgets are limited by charges that can be levied against newspaper clients.

Whatever are USIS shortcomings, they cannot be laid to understaffing. Perhaps it could be made a more efficient and less controversial agency if the payroll were drastically pruned—but USIS budgeters are not planning it that way.

EMPLOYEE BREAKDOWN

Here's a breakdown on the number of USIS employees in some of the countries of Asia:

	United States personnel	Local personnel
Japan	60	396
Korea	22	200
Philippines	56	661
Vietnam	32	203
Malaya	11	60
Indonesia	24	193
Cambodia	17	93
Laos	7	43
Thailand	35	254
Burma	16	105

The figures include those engaged in all USIS enterprises—libraries, cultural activities as well as news and propaganda. They include translators. The explanation given for the large number employed in the Philippines, disproportionate even in this table, is that the Philippines is the regional headquarters for USIS in southeast Asia. Communications relay stations are maintained, and printing establishments turn out books and pamphlets for the whole area.

VAST ORGANIZATION

Yet the figures above do not tell the whole story. A vast administrative organization is employed in the United States embassies in all these countries, to care for the housing, transportation, and so forth, of all United States Government personnel in each country. For example, the administrative section of the United States Embassy in Manila charges the salaries of 22 Americans and 93 Filipinos against USIS, for it is computed that the time and efforts of that many are required to attend to the housekeeping chores incident to maintaining the USIS establishment in the Philippines.

In many countries USIS personnel is larger than the personnel of the embassy proper.

And in many stations, USIS salaries and living allowances are larger than is paid to men and women of comparable qualifications on the regular embassy staffs—a fact which does not help improve morale in our career Foreign Service.

Effective Use of Newspaper Advertising

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT GORE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article containing an address delivered on April 6, 1957, by Mr. Albert A. Stone, vice president and general manager of the Jackson, Tenn., Sun, at a meeting of the Tennessee Press Association.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Jackson, (Tenn.) Sun of April 7, 1957]

POWERFUL FORCE IN AD COLUMNS, EDITORS TOLD

The effective use of the advertising columns of newspapers constitutes the most powerful and profitable advertising force in existence, members of the Tennessee Press Association were told last night at a banquet at the New Southern.

Albert A. Stone, vice president and general manager of the Jackson Sun, cited figures to show that "when our American people are spending over $1½ billion a year for their newspapers, we have the best evidence that our product is read and appreciated." And, he added, "subscribers read the advertisements in our newspapers as eagerly as they read the news."

Speaking before the west Tennessee divisional meeting of the TPA, the Jackson newspaper official was introduced by Carl Jones, TPA president and publisher of the Johnson City Press-Chronicle. The title of Mr. Stone's address was "What of Tomorrow?"

The complete text of Mr. Stone's address follows:

"At the annual meeting of American Newspaper Publishers in New York last April the ensuing 10 years were heralded as the dynamic decade. Outstanding industrial leaders and highly accredited authorities on finance completely documented the advent of unprecedented expansion in the United States.

"Phenomenal advances in technology, greater facility in distribution and increasing demands of a constantly growing, more prosperous population, give credence to the conclusion that big industry is destined to become very much larger. Already, the definite trend in that direction is being accelerated. The low of the survival of the fittest is operative. Quite obviously, this rather disturbing situation is not peculiar to industry. It extends into virtually every line of endeavor. Yes, even to newspaper publishing.

"This poses the vitally important question: What of tomorrow? What does the future hold for our newspapers here in west Tennessee? Specifically, will our newspapers continue to go forward in community leadership and service; will they become even more strongly entrenched in our trade area, or will they become victims of that immutable law, where there is no vision the people perish?

"We alone can answer that all important question. We must face the issue squarely and we must make our decisions without equivocation. A complacent attitude or any kind of dilatory action could well prove fatal.

"If my conviction has any validity we must expand and intensify our coverage, we must improve our facilities and, most important of all, we must provide a definite, sane, and vigorous program of community leadership if we hope to survive. We cannot avoid the issue and we cannot escape the fact that we are today engaged in a battle for our existence. The very logical and timely question arises: Is the reward worth the effort to keep apace with the onward march of progress?

"There are valid reasons for our giving most careful consideration to the major factors and the known quantities in our operation before exploring too deep into the realm of future possibilities. The relative merit of our product in a highly competitive field and the potential of the market we cover are factors deserving first consideration.

"Let's take a realistic view of newspaper advertising which provides the major portion of our revenue. Regardless of the entry of new media, newspaper circulations have risen more than 3 million copies per day in the last 4 years showing a 5.8 percent gain since 1952. All records were shattered last year when the 1,761 daily newspapers gained a total net paid circulation of 57,101,510.

"That nearly everybody reads a newspaper nearly every day is proven by reliable Market Research Corporation of America statistics. It is obviously true that the newspaper is basic and the effective use of its advertising columns constitutes the most powerful and the most profitable advertising force in existence any day and every day.

"When our American people are spending over a billion and one-half dollars a year for their newspapers, we have the best evidence that our product is read and appreciated. The very authentic Continuing Study of Newspaper Reading shows conclusively that subscribers read the advertisements in our newspapers as eagerly as they read the news.

"Furthermore, this readership is entirely voluntary and leisurely performed at the readers' convenience. In this most receptive atmosphere the advertiser registers solid impact in selling his merchandise.

"The newspaper is the only medium that is specifically designed to reach all the people all of the time. Its intensely local appeal and infinite range of daily services are effective in bringing together every member of every family in one big market place.

"Today 20 million women in the United States work in offices or in industry. One out of every three women is gainfully employed. To reach this vast market of most important consumers would be difficult through other media. But they can be reached through their newspaper, and are reached—because 95 percent of the women in America read a newspaper sometime during the day. When they will, where they will. Remember, 80 percent of the buying in America is done or influenced by the women.

"When people think of advertising they think of newspapers. That psychology is most important. More than 400 million individual classified advertisements were published by newspapers in our country last year. Your sales appeal in newspapers is never resented. It is expected and welcomed by thousands of eager readers who want to know where the best quality and the best values are to be found.

"Many studies have been made in recent years to find out how people feel about newspapr advertising. The most recent one was made by Northwestern University. The question was asked of housewives, "Would you rather have your newspaper published with or without advertising?" Ninety-three percent answered that they would prefer their newspapers with advertising.

"An overwhelming advantage newspapers offer advertisers is their complete flexibility. You can run a full page, a collection of many pages or as little as 1 inch. You can insert your message once a month, once a week or several times in the same issue. You can get your ad in the newspaper practically overnight, and you can cancel it just as quickly.

"The most powerful and the most profitable advertising force in existence remains most economical. In spite of greatly increased costs of production and moderate rate increases you can still buy a big, full-page newspaper advertisement for less than a penny for each household to which it is delivered.

"Newspapers move more merchandise than any other advertising medium—thus, they play a most important role in preserving the Nation's healthy, ever improving economy.

"Newspapers are first with the people and first with the advertisers of America. The irrefutable evidence in our favor is the fact that advertisers invest more money in newspapers than they do in television, radio, magazines, and outdoor advertising all combined.

"Thus, the first factor in our consideration—the relative merit of our product in a highly competitive field—certainly points to the wisdom of making necessary improvement and expansion of facilities to maintain our positions in the tremendous surge of progress that simply cannot be held back under our changing order.

"The second factor for our consideration here is the potential of the market we cover. I am really kneedeep in clover now. Next to bragging about my five exceptionally fine grandchildren I like to talk about the greatness and the grandeur of this wonderland we call west Tennessee.

"Appropriately enough, this highly productive land, so richly endowed by nature, has borne such titles as the Promised Land, the Land of Canaan, and the Garden of Eden, between the original Land of the Chickasaws,

and the present title. This choice segment of mother earth, so favorably located between the major TVA Lakes on the east and the mighty Mississippi River on the west, embraces 10,893 square miles of level to gently rolling land inhabited by 1,112,666 very fine citizens.

"West Tennessee remains one of the most productive areas of our section. We have a total farm population of 266,100 with an annual income of over $300 million. The growing season for West Tennessee is frequently more than 7 months, and rainfall ranges between 40 and 50 inches per year. Our mean temperature is 60.3 degrees with the average for January 40.4 and for July 79.3.

"In addition to these most favorable conditions for the promotion of agriculture and dairying interests in west Tennessee, our soil ranks unusually high in productivity and responds more readily to fertilization treatments than other soils of Tennessee. The silty sand loam in our section lends itself to the most economical tillage and actually produces better crops. Tennessee agricultural experiment stations have demonstrated this significant fact. Three acres of corn—one in west Tennessee, 1 in middle Tennessee, and 1 in east Tennessee—were accorded the same treatment. The west Tennessee acre was 25 percent more productive than either of the other acres.

"West Tennessee is surely gaining its rightful place in the industrial expansion of our section. More than 1,200 plants now operating here employ over 75,000 people and have annual payrolls in excess of $250 million. The manager of one of west Tennessee's largest plants made this typical comment: 'I have nothing but the highest praise of the quality of labor here. Both male and female laborers are extremely cooperative, trained easily and quickly, and are always interested in doing a good job.' With such loyal and intelligent employees readily available, unsurpassed facilities for distribution, TVA power, abundant water supply and most favorable climatic conditions west Tennessee is indeed industry's land of opportunity.

"Last year a consumer spendable income of almost a billion dollars ($974,479,000) was distributed among the 293,980 households in west Tennessee. Total retail sales amounted to $804,957,000.

"The second factor in this consideration—the potential of our market—certainly passes with a top score.

"We are entering an age of automation and accelerated production. It appears certain that big business is to become much larger. It does not follow, however, that small business must suffer a decline. This is a big, rapidly growing country with the widest possible diversification of interests. The small operator who renders an essential service to his community and properly adjusts his operation to the changing times is just as secure as he ever was before.

"This is particularly true of the small newspaper that adequately serves its local community. It is absurd for the publisher in any such community to assume for a moment that he can compete with metropolitan journals in quantity of news and feature content supplied the reader. The impregnable fortress of the small newspaper publisher is consistently good and complete reporting of his local community news. So long as the publishers are faithful to that trust the small newspapers, constituting the vast majority of all journals published in west Tennessee, have nothing to fear from outside publications.

"That the whole is equal to the sum of all its parts, as we were taught in school, is perhaps technically correct, but the old axiom has some fallacies. All of the parts of this building could be heaped together on the lot with the result quite different from the beautiful and serviceable hotel building we occupy. In reality, then, the whole is equal to the sum of all its parts plus their relationship.

"The component parts we have analyzed for building a successful newspaper operation in west Tennessee in a new era are indeed most excellent.

"The unrivaled merit of our product—newspaper advertising—and the superior qualities of our market, the most highly productive west Tennessee area, are thoroughly demonstrated facts. Effective coordination of these controlling and highly promising factors is the responsibility of the individual publisher.

"In surveying the field of competent, intelligent and alert newspaper publishers in west Tennessee I have no doubt that the challenge offered by these changing times will be met and more powerful, more prosperous newspapers will emerge to better serve this truly great and growing market.

"This genuine interest you have manifested in the promotion arranged by General Price and your eager desire to master the important art of newspaper selling are most commendable. The stimulating attitudes you have shown predict for our section a strong, prosperous and independent press, so vitally necessary to keep our country free."

Protective Organizations for Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Shades of 1850," published in the Christian Science Monitor of April 1, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHADES OF 1850

On Monday morning just a week ago 125 employees of the accounting department at headquarters of the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad in St. Louis arrived as usual to begin the day. They found the office dark, locked, and an armed railway guard outside the door. Posted was a printed notice which said in effect:

This office has been moved to Denison, Tex. (some 600 miles away). Those who wish to continue their employment must report to the office at Denison by 8:30 Wednesday morning. The railroad will furnish transportation of persons and household goods.

Forty-eight hours in which to pull up roots and begin new lives three States away. Some of the employees had worked in the old office between 30 and 40 years. Many had left personal belongings—spectacles, money, uncashed checks—in desks which had been sped on their way over the weekend. None of them had had warning. The company had recently denied rumors that any move was contemplated.

The M-K-T had elected a young president recently who is faced with the necessity of making economies. This, apparently, is one of the ways that economizing is being done.

An act such as this has one merit: It exhumes a bit of the past against which to measure the progress of industry's practices since the 14-hour day of a century ago. Management appears as indignant as do unions. The Chamber of Commerce of Metropolitan St. Louis immediately expelled the M-K-T railroad from membership and returned in full its current dues.

The occurrence may have still another merit: It may help some people to understand why so many workers, even in the face of fair wages and hours, wish to cling to some form of protective organization of their own.

Hon. Theodore Francis Green, of Rhode Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, we Senators who serve on the Committee on Foreign Relations are extremely fortunate to have a chairman of the caliber of the distinguished senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], who not only knows the subjects over which he presides but is also a great asset to his own State, to the Nation as a whole, and to the free world at large.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article from the Harvard Law School Bulletin pertaining to our distinguished and outstanding chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the senior Senator from Rhode Island, THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN

(By William H. Edwards, '21)

(With the thought that THEODORE F. GREEN, a senior alumnus of the school, Rhode Island lawyer, and veteran Member of the United States Senate, would be an interesting man to know more about, the editor of the Bulletin sought out William H. Edwards. A fellow member of the Rhode Island bar, he has known the Senator for many years and has graciously responded in the disquisition below.

(Mr. Edwards is a partner in the Providence firm of Edwards & Angell. An active alumnus of the school, he has served as Rhode Island chairman of the law-school fund, and he is secretary of his class, 1921.)

THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, senior United States Senator from Rhode Island (and Harvard Law School, 1890–92), is a special case history in, among other things, geriatrics. He is not only the exception that violates the proverb and proves no rule; he is the case that disproves all rules. Born in October 1867 (only 2½ years after Appomattox), he is now serving his 21st year in the United States Senate and will be 90 this autumn. A vigorous and dynamic individual, both physically and mentally, he appears, as all observers agree, like a man in his sixties. Yet he can and does discourse with vivid recollection of the law school of 1890 and of those far-off solar myths, Ames, Gray, and Thayer.

Elected for the first time to the governorship of Rhode Island in 1932, he began the important part of his political career in his 66th year, at an age when in that "little principality" bank presidents are usually in the habit of retiring. Yet Mr. GREEN has been going strong ever since—an Aristides whom his electorate on 5 occasions (2 guber-

natorial and 3 senatorial) have not become tired of calling "the Just," and an elder "Cato" who follows very literally that other hardy gentleman's precept, "Senesco discens (I grow old learning)."

With this session he has become chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and is at the time of this writing struggling day after day with Mr. Dulles and with what some logician has flippantly called the undistributed Middle East. His schedule would break the back of a far younger man. On the day this writer talked with him, Senator GREEN had been at his office or in the Senate from 8:30 a. m. till 5:30 p. m., or later, some of the time acting as chairman of a committee hearing. He had come back to the University Club (of Washington) for dinner. At about 8:30, beginning with dessert, he started reminiscing about the years of his early education. He talked, with few interpolations on the part of his guest, for nearly 2 hours, and when the conference broke up late in the evening appeared as genially fresh as if he had just finished breakfast and as young in zest and manner as if he had gotten through law school in, say, about 1910 or 1915, or even later.

Altogether we have here a portent of no mean proportions—a portent of personality and achievement in which the law school, one of his two legal nurses, can take proper pride. To have survived to such age with such vigor is remarkable, to be sure; but to have survived with credit to himself and the State and Nation he serves is phenomenal.

With his accession to the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations and with the establishment of a record for age in Congress (there seems to be a little doubt on this score, but the next few months will dispose of any transient and embarrassed phantoms who have turned up as competitors in congressional records), Mr. GREEN'S history and political activity have been given wide publicity, particularly in a full and sympathetic article in the Saturday Evening Post (issue of January 5, 1957). It would be idle, in the space allotted to this disquisition, to go too much over the same ground.

What is interesting, one supposes, or may be interesting, one hopes, to the law school constituency has to do with those events of his life when pertain primarily to his education and his legal training.

Mr. GREEN was sickly as a child. He received much instruction at home. At the proper time, his father, Arnold Green (Harvard Law School, 1865–66), taught him Greek. No lessons or the study of them was permitted on the Sabbath. Arnold Green got around that by a legal fiction which permitted study of the Greek Testament on Sundays. "I saw through him," said the Senator. "But we got on all right till I became better at New Testament Greek than he was. He didn't like that." Biographers struggle these days with the problem of father-son hostility. Catherine Drinker Bowen struggled with it in "Yankee from Olympus," and now Professor Howe, in his just-published volume on Holmes, struggles with her struggle. Senator GREEN is lucidly direct and frank. "I was always rather afraid of my father," he admits. No lack of admiration, apparently; simply a little fear.

The first school Senator GREEN went to was Miss Sawyer's, nearby on Benefit Street in Providence. "Keep him off the streets," said Arnold Green to Miss Sawyer. "Whether he learns anything or not I don't care." Later he went to Mr. Shaw's school. His class had only six members. The chief advantage of this school was that he had a walk of a mile or more each way. His health began to improve.

Thereafter came Classical High School, a public school of high standing in Providence. Here Mr. GREEN must have found himself intellectually, for he speaks with zest of his 2 favorite subjects, mathematics and Greek (1 of his respected teachers in mathematics being an uncle of the writer, Stephen O. Edwards, who later was a brother lawyer of Mr. GREEN'S). Mr. GREEN liked mathematics and Greek, but he did not like the girls in this coeducational school. They had all the seats near the window; Mr. GREEN had a corner seat surrounded by blackboards; and the teachers tended to "placate the girls." Whether this early experience produced later results no one can tell. Mr. GREEN says characteristically: "Well, it's true I was a bachelor then, and I still am." He graduated from Classical in 1883, at the age of 15.

He was uncertain about going to college. If he did, it was to be Brown. He never had a thought otherwise. The family was a Brown family—alumni, fellows, trustees galore. Mr. Arnold Green left decisions to his children (there were the Senator, 2 sisters, and the 3 "little boys") with a freedom that was remarkable. On the day for matriculation in the autumn of 1883, he asked Theodore if he was going to college. The son said he was uncertain, though he had taken rather casually and passed an entrance examination, giving up a picnic at the last moment to attend to it.

But the college bell was ringing, and Theodore strolled over to the Brown campus and climbed to upper Manning Hall where matriculation was in progress. Someone set off some firework caps, and the future Senator suddenly found himself held for questioning by President Robinson, literally before he had made his final decision to enter college. This was his first encounter with "Zeke" Robinson (stern but undignified). Green told him he was not guilty, did not know who the culprits were, and would not tell him if he did. This outraged Robinson, who called on Arnold Green. "Forget it," said the father, and as Green, Sr., was a prominent citizen, the president forgot it. Later that year the president raided 16 Slater Hall, where Green lived with John Henshaw. Green did not gamble, but some of the group were gambling. Robinson went again to Arnold Green, and there was even talk at that or another time of young Green's going to Amherst. "In any event," said President Robinson to the father, "the room was so full of smoke it was unhealthful." "Get him a larger room," said Arnold Green.

The son did top work scholastically—mathematics under Prof. "Nat" Davis, Greek under the elder Prof. Albert Harkness. There is a well-known story that THEODORE reported to his father that he stood second in his freshman year. "Work harder," said Arnold Green. At the end of the sophomore year THEODORE reported: "I led my class." "They must have pretty low standards," the father replied. The writer asked the Senator if this story was apocryphal. "No," he replied; "something very much like that happened."

The transition to Harvard Law School, after a 3-year interval, 1 year of postgraduate work at Brown and 2 years in a law office, seemed natural. Senator GREEN was the fourth oldest son in four successive generations to be a lawyer: Timothy Green, Timothy Ruggles Green, Arnold Green, and the Senator. A fifth oldest son in the next generation is the Senator's nephew, Ronald C. Green, Jr., Harvard Law School, 1934, now practicing in Providence with the firm of Hinckley, Allen, Salisbury & Parsons (once Green, Hinckley & Allen, of which the Senator was a senior member for about 20 years).

Mr. GREEN lived for his 2 years on Cambridge Street ("near that big red building"—obviously Memorial Hall). He said that as far as grades went he "did all right," but he remembers with some pride that he officiated as usher at two weddings during examination periods. This did not trouble him. "I never took examinations hard," he says.

Dean Ames, John Chipman Gray, and James Bradley Thayer were among his teachers, and he remembers them as great men. Ames, he thought, was not great as a teacher, but a very fine person. Gray was the outstanding teacher of this trio of giants.

After finishing 2 years, Mr. GREEN decided to go to Germany to complete his work. He and his father consulted Dean Ames, who was opposed. His opposition was obviously useless, as Arnold Green had done the same thing in his youth.

So the future Senator set off for Germany, to Weimar for a summer and a winter to learn the language, and then to Bonn for two terms with a term at Berlin in between. One of his vivid recollections is of Dr. Paul Krüger, famous German jurist and historian, and translator of the Gaius palimpsests. Krüger would take the matter in hand (for example, the Institutes of Gaius) and call on students to read a paragraph of the Latin and then translate it, at sight, into German for the benefit of the class. Mr. GREEN says this was terrifyingly hard for him. On the street after class he ran into the great Krüger, walked along with him, and mildly suggested that perhaps Krüger would have thought, because of language difficulties, of passing over him. "No," said the professor, "I do not discriminate. I will continue to call on you. You will be able to do what is asked." And he did. The Senator says that nothing has seemed hard to him in life since.

The Senator's admiration for Roman law and its great figures is boundless. For 3 years after his return, he taught Roman law at Brown. He practiced law with his father, and after his death with Frank L. Hinckley, 1894, and the late Arthur M. Allen, 1900, and others, as mentioned above. Subsequently he practiced with Henry C. Hart, 1907, and Patrick P. Curran (later judge of the superior court of Rhode Island) in the firm of Green, Curran & Hart. For the past 2½ decades political interests have been paramount. Space does not permit an account of his charitable and educational activities and his connoisseurship in art, particularly in the field of Chinese painting.

One observation may be made in conclusion. The Senator's attitude to his education explains in part his cheerful longevity. He has taken things as they came, with no undue fear or distrust. If he had any advice to give younger men and younger lawyers, it would, he said, be this: "Just tackle things as they come up. Things are never as bad as they seem."

By way of confirmation of this spirit, his easy serenity is well expounded in a piece of verse which he composed for the Class of 1887 Gate on the Brown Campus. He frankly likes the lines and thinks that they are rather pat. There are two examples of paronomasia in it—the metaphorical reference to the actual college pump and well which are close by and to "Hope College," the ancient dormitory beside the gate.

Welcome, O undergraduate,
Within this '87 gate!
All ent'ring here find hope endures,
The fount of knowledge still allures,
And here good fellowship abides,
To cheer and help whate'er betides.

The Senator has in his own life, perhaps without realizing it, been the perpetually optimistic and perpetually youthful hero of his own couplets.

The Unworkable Lease-Purchase Program for Federal Buildings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, when the current administration first proposed a lease-purchase program for such public buildings as post offices, back in 1953, many of us on this floor said flatly we did not think the program would work.

The program has not worked. A House Public Works subcommittee discovered further proof of the unworkability of the program when Comptroller General Joseph Campbell appeared before it a few weeks ago.

This important question has been the subject of many newspaper editorials, among them one in the Tri-City Herald in Richland, Wash.

I ask unanimous consent of this body that the editorial of Friday, March 22, in the Tri-City Herald be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LEASE, PURCHASE, AND LOSE

The lease-purchase plan by which Uncle Sam leases a post office or Federal building for a given number of years and then has the option to buy it, is a costly venture according to testimony in Washington, D. C.

This conclusion is important to the Tri-Cities which are currently seeking a new Federal building, particularly for a new Federal court, and new post offices in Kennewick and Pasco.

There has been talk locally of having some concern build a structure according to Government specifications and then lease it to Uncle Sam, who could purchase it in 20 years.

Here are some editorial comments on the plan recently carried by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch which may indicate Federal thinking on the idea:

Testimony from two branches of the Government about the administration's lease-purchase plan leads to an irresistible conclusion.

Under the lease-purchase plan, the Government, instead of appropriating funds for the construction of post offices, courthouses, and similar buildings, signs a contract with private interests which then construct the buildings and rent them to the Government. After 20 years the buildings become Government property; but in the meantime the Government has paid rentals large enough to cover not only construction costs, but the financing charges, and profits of the private enterprisers it has dealt with.

A House Public Works Subcommittee asked Comptroller Joseph Campbell how much these extra costs would run to. His answer: On 146 Federal buildings planned, the Government would pay $634,500,000 more than it would pay if the same structures were built directly under the direct appropriations. That is a lot of money.

The committee then heard Franklin G. Floete, head of the General Services Administration, explain why the lease-purchase program has bogged down. It can be made to work, he said, if the Treasury will allow higher interest payments than at present, and if construction cost estimates are increased 11 percent.

In other words, the Government is unable to get its building done by the lease-purchase method unless it is willing to pay a great deal more than the $634,500,000 in excess costs already in sight under the program as now set up.

Need there be any question about what irresistible conclusion it is which this testimony leads to? Surely the lease-purchase program should be abandoned and the old-fashioned way of direct appropriations restored.

A Program To Preserve Our National Parks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, an editorial from the Memphis Press Scimitar of April 3, 1957, describing a program known as mission 66, to preserve our national parks in their natural state, and to provide for more adequate facilities to take care of the growing number of visitors each year. I would like to invite the attention of my colleagues to this editorial on the importance of taking action on preserving our national parks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PROGRAM TO PRESERVE OUR NATIONAL PARKS

A program known as Mission 66 is before this Congress. It was introduced in the previous Congress. It will be before every Congress through 1966, the year from which it gets its name. Part of it is to be carried out each year.

It is a program to prepare our national parks for the 80 million visitors expected in 1966, the golden anniversary of the National Park Service. The park facilities, which were planned to take care of only 25 million people, are being overtaxed as the result of the unexpected growth of America's population. Not only facilities, but personnel are inadequate to handle the crowds, and as a result our parks, museums of irreplaceable nature, are threatened with permanent damage.

This situation was revealed to the public in a series of articles by the New York Times and Christian Science Monitor.

It may seem ironical that it requires new buildings to preserve the primitive character of the parks, but truth is often ironical, and that's the way it is. You have to have buildings in which to put the crowds, and competent rangers to guide them, or they get out of hand and spoil what should remain unspoiled.

No one knows better than the experienced nonpolitical head of the National Park Service, Conrad L. Wirth, that scrupulous moderation must be used in making improvements in natural areas, for you cannot improve on nature. He is asking for—one might rather say, he is consenting to—only what a clamoring public will not be satisfied without. One of the finest things in the Mission 66 program, for instance, is its insistence on the preservation of the wilderness area of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, where you find almost as many varieties of trees as you will find in all of Europe, and where wild animals roam under virgin trees as they did when the white man came. Half of the Nation's population lives within 500 miles of this park, it has 2,500,000 visitors a year, and conservative "Connie" points out how important it is to preserve for all time this glimpse into the past, this view of eternal nature.

The National Park Service is not a bureaucracy, but a group of dedicated men and women who care deeply, and work hard at less than they could get in private industry, to protect for all of us a treasure that would otherwise be lost.

In case you are wondering what relation this has to the current discussion of the budget: This program originated before the present inflated budget was conceived, it shares in none of the loose and irresponsible figuring that has rightly aroused the American people. It is truly conservative and truly economical.

Scott McLeod

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The McLeod Appointment," published in the New York Times of April 11, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MCLEOD APPOINTMENT

Scott McLeod is the symbol in the State Department of all that has happened in the last 4 years to lower morale so drastically and to drive from the diplomatic career some of the best officers we had. He entered the State Department in the security section in 1953 as the representative of Senators BRIDGES, MCCARTHY and the late Senator McCarran. No one man has represented in the public mind more than Scott McLeod all the evils of McCarthyism as applied to diplomacy. On Tuesday he was nominated as Ambassador to Ireland.

Is it any wonder that a storm of criticism has arisen throughout the country over diplomatic appointments when such things can happen? It would be unjust to make a blanket condemnation, for some fine appointments were made, but there have been bad appointments, and this one comes as a climax. It would be hard to imagine a worse blow to the diplomatic corps or a worse example of playing politics with the foreign affairs of the United States. Secretary Dulles must take the blame for Mr. McLeod's unfortunate work in the field of so-called security and the refugee problems, for he, after all, is the head of the department, and he must take the blame for this appointment.

Ireland deserved a better fate. She has been most fortunate since 1953 in having a first-rate envoy—Ambassador William Howard Taft III. Dublin is a post where the work is not arduous and life is wonderfully pleasant. The man who is named to Ireland is a fortunate man. If he is a career diplomat like Mr. Taft he is a lucky man. For the noncareer man it is a reward.

And now it is Scott McLeod who is going to get this reward if his nomination is rati-

fied. Whether he gets it or doesn't is not a personal matter. He is a well-intentioned if woefully misguided young man and no one begrudges him any happiness he can get. But the damage to the State Department and the United States diplomatic corps that will result from this appointment is public business. The Senate should block it.

Luncheon in Family Dining Room of United States Senate Preceding Opening Baseball Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, for more than 20 years Lowell Mason, a former member of the Federal Trade Commission, has entertained members of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Government at a luncheon in the family dining room of the United States Senate preceding the opening baseball game of the season.

This is one of the outstanding luncheons of the year, and is appreciated and enjoyed by everyone who is privileged to attend.

Mr. Mason always opens this luncheon with grace. It is so meaningful and inspirational that I ask unanimous consent that the prayer of grace be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD and made a part of these remarks.

There being no objection, the prayer of grace was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOWELL MASON'S GRACE

Oh Lord may we speak with Thee before partaking of Thy bounty?
No Lowell—you may not!
Mankind is so long on supplication and so short on endeavor—
Always asking for daily bread—always asking to be forgiven trespasses—
Always praying to Me for something.
Be silent!
For I would speak to thee;
To ministers preaching My gospel; to scientists groping for My truths;
To men of business rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's.
And in this room and on this noon time I would speak to Legislators seeking My statutes and judges searching for My laws—
I speak not to puppets, void of dignity, tools of the state exiled from truth and incompetent to choose between good and evil.
I speak to you—and to you—and to you.
Son of man, stand upon thy feet!
You pray to Me?—Here's My prayer to you!
My children which are on earth, you have hallowed My name.
But My Kingdom has not come, nor My will been done, on earth as it is in Heaven.
Resist temptations, for I will not do for you what you must do for yourself.
It is not enough that you work for your daily bread,
Work also to end your trespasses against each other.
Then indeed My kingdom will be within you.
And you will glorify My name.
For ever and ever and ever.
Amen.

United States Warned To Guard Hemisphere Interests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "United States Warned To Guard Hemisphere Interests," written by Ernest B. Vaccaro, of the Associated Press, and published recently in the Washington Post. The article points out that, once again, we are beginning to lose some of the great stature which fortunately not long ago we held in the Latin American countries; and that if we do not do something about it promptly, we are likely to find ourselves in a worsening situation.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES WARNED TO GUARD HEMISPHERE INTERESTS

(By Ernest B. Vaccaro)

The United States was told yesterday that its vital interests in Central America and the Caribbean "are in danger of being overlooked" in its concentration on world-shaking events elsewhere.

A report was made public by a special Senate committee studying foreign aid.

It was prepared by James Minotto, Phoenix, Ariz., rancher and a former Mutual Security Agency chief in Portugal. He drafted it for the committee after a survey of Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and Mexico.

While he said the threat of Communist subversion in those areas appears "negligible," he declared Guatemala showed "the ease with which some of these countries can be subverted to a base for mounting a Communist-led psychological offensive against the United States."

In urging continuation of military, economic development and technical assistance for the area, he declared:

"For example, the Castillo Armas government in Guatemala must convince most of the people that they are better off than they were in 1954 if the present trend toward more democratic government is to be maintained.

"If the Government is unable to demonstrate such improvement, very few observers are willing to predict the orientation of the new administration that will come to power in 1960.

"The great gap in incomes in several of these countries plus the lack of education presents a fertile field for Communist activities. The Communist Party is outlawed in almost every country in the area. Despite this fact, untoward events, or dramatized issues of the local government against the people in some countries, can result in a repeat in the unhappy history in Guatemala from 1950 to 1954."

Minotto said the United States must carry out its moral commitments to Guatemala, which cannot carry on necessary programs within the borrowing limits of its own economy.

"The availability to the United States of sites for naval and air operations and the denial of such sites for use against the United States by other countries are considered essential parts of our security interests," he said.

Minotto said the Defense Department should speed up machinery for arms deliveries about which there have been some disappointments. And he said the Government should relax its policy of restricting grants and loans to emergency conditions to provide help for construction of public facilities needed to stimulate private investment.

The Bermuda Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, in the Maryville (Mo.) Daily Forum for March 13, 1957, I came across an editorial entitled "The Weakening Wall," which, with particular reference to the British-American meeting at Bermuda, offers some very pertinent remarks concerning the strength of the Free World's defense front.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WEAKENING WALL

When Prime Minister Macmillan, of Britain, meets President Eisenhower at Bermuda later this month, the future of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is bound to be batted about. Today that outlook is too cloudy for the free world to feel wholly safe.

Well advertised are the cutbacks that have been made in NATO forces, particularly those of Britain and France. And the example has not been lost on the West Germans, already slow in building their own NATO army.

All kinds of justification are given for the cutbacks. Troops are needed elsewhere. The emphasis is shifting more and more to atomic weapons which are said to lessen the need for big ground forces on the European defense arc.

Still, those who believe stoutly in NATO's value as a deterrent to aggression insist that adequate ground forces are an indispensable element. They fear that sharp reductions could destroy NATO's steel backbone and leave the West's eastern perimeter guarded by mere token forces.

There is little question that what has been happening to NATO reflects a steady easing of western fears that the Soviet Union will commit open aggression against Europe.

This relaxation has reached the point where participating nations feel safe in shifting forces to other fronts. Their leaders clearly believe these new fronts more important in the present world situation.

The real question is whether in fact they are more important. And that is one of the great matters Mr. Eisenhower and the new British Prime Minister must discuss at Bermuda.

Both are knowledgeable men fully aware that freemen twice in this century failed to grasp that their liberty had to be guarded ceaselessly against tyrants.

In the years since World War II, the free peoples have been more steadily at the alert.

But we are approaching what seems like a major crossroads, where we must decide

whether safeguards will be maintained at proper level or an increasing softness will be allowed to invest our efforts at defense.

If the trend is to be toward softness, then freemen may once more invite the holocaust that struck the globe in 1914 and again in 1939. Tyrants live for the moment when the guard is down.

Oregon Orchardist of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, a few weeks ago an event of importance and significance took place in Hood River, Oreg. Hood River lies in one of the most beautiful valleys in the world. At this season, the thousands of acres of fruit trees for which the valley is famous give it the very breath of life of a fairyland. Nature's eons may be credited for the valley; man himself cultivated the wonderland of blossoms. The event to which I refer was a Hood River Chamber of Commerce dinner at which, for the first time, an annual award was made for Orchardist of the Year. Four other awards were made for such categories as horticulture, orchard management, orchard soil management, and citizenship. The release issued by the chamber of commerce gives the details of the occasion.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the release printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOOD RIVER COUNTY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
HOOD RIVER, OREG.

To Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER.

Five men representing the cream of the crop in the first annual "Orchardist of the Year" contest honored Wednesday night, February 27, were led by a person of long standing in public service, as well as in the fruitgrowing industry.

Riddell Lage is a Pine Grove orchardist in partnership with his father, E. E. Lage, and manages 217 acres of property, of which 154 acres are in apple, pear and cherry orchards. His major varieties are Anjou and Bartlett pears, Red Delicious and Newtown apples with limited acreage of Gravenstein and Winesap apples and Lambert cherries.

A long list of public services is connected with the name of Riddell Lage. For eight years he served in the State Legislature as Hood River County representative. He is president of the Mid-Columbia Credit Association, is a past president of Oregon State Horticulture Society, is a former member of the State Board of Agriculture, and is former president of the Hood River County Traffic Association.

Until recently, Lage was a member of the State Liquor Commission, and was a director of the Washington-Oregon Canning Pear Association. This month he has been on a tour, including a visit to Washington, D. C. as a state representative of the Employment Service.

Lage is also an independent packer, and is noted for keeping detailed records on his orchard and packinghouse operations. He is noted for his willingness to try out new equipment and innovations in the industry. He follows a permanent sod cover crop program. Among his horticultural practices are careful fertilization of trees based on size and vigor, and the careful training of young trees with special emphasis on selection of permanent scaffold limbs.

Joe Smullin, Jr., Parkdale orchardist, received the Horticulture award. He has 105 of his 150 acres in fruit and is recognized as following a good program of tree replacement for capacity orchard production.

Smullin has a large number of acres in new orchard of good commercial varieties for the Parkdale district, and raises 6 to 7 acres of strawberries in his young orchard to help pay expenses of bringing trees into bearing. He is a member of the Apple Growers Association and is a senior chamber director. He is high in citizenship. His sponsor notes that Smullin's orchard is well sprayed and crops are clean year after year, and that he uses land unfit for orchard as pasture and stockraising.

Richard Radliff, Barrett orchardist, received the orchard-management award. He has 55 of his 72 acres in orchard, and is in partnership with his father, Archie Radliff. He keeps outstanding farm records and has participated in fruit-production cost studies sponsored by Oregon State College. He has eliminated undesirable varieties of fruit, replacing them with those which are more popular.

Much of the equipment used by Radliff has been built by himself in a well-equipped machine shop. He is converting to more modern practices and has one of the best appearing cabin areas and facilities in the valley. The 1955–56 freeze claimed a large number of his Newton apple trees.

The orchard soil management trophy went to Roy Bisbee, who is in partnership with his brother, Ben, Oak Grove orchardists. They manage a 95-acre ranch of which 75 acres are planted in orchard. Roy, in addition to his outstanding soil-management program, has been noted for some other good orchard practices. He and his brother recently constructed a catch basin for water storage to supplement the sometimes short supply of irrigation water available in that district. Roy and Ben also discovered a sport of the Starking Red Delicious apple in their orchard in 1945 and patent is pending for the sport variety called Starkrimson.

Bruno Hukari is the recipient of the fifth award, that of citizenship. Among the public-services offices held by Hukari are membership in the West Side Fire Department, Hood River Ditch Co., County Community Agriculture Committee, and Memorial Hospital Board.

Hukari, who owns a 54-acre Oak Grove orchard, also assisted with the Memorial Hospital construction fund drive, and is a past board member of the Apple Growers Association.

Indiana Leads the Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Indiana Leads the Way," from the Hammond Times, of Hammond, Ind., in its issue of April 8, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDIANA LEADS THE WAY

Indiana has more than held its own in the matter of personal income as compared to several Midwest States.

Some startling facts along these lines are revealed in a comprehensive study just released by the United States Department of Commerce. The period from 1929 to 1955 is covered—a total of 26 years. Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa are included with Indiana in the report.

Indiana led the other 3 States with a 328 percent gain in total personal income. For the others the increases were: Wisconsin, 245 percent; Illinois, 212, and Iowa, 192. Illinois still has more than half the total personal income in the four-State area.

The sources of this income also were studied. For Indiana personal income from manufacturing more than quadrupled. This increase was 440 percent.

Indiana income from wholesale and retail trade went up 389 percent during this period. The smallest increase was farm income, 114 percent.

It is significant to note that Indiana led the other 3 States in all 3 categories.

It is evident, as pointed by the report, that Indiana has enjoyed steady, even spectacular, growth in the period covered. Hoosiers also will find satisfaction in the fact that their State has set the pace for the area.

Cuban Chief Restores All Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article, which was published today in various newspapers, which notifies the people of the world that the President of Cuba has once again restored all constitutional and civil rights to the people of Cuba.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CUBAN CHIEF RESTORES ALL CIVIL RIGHTS

HABANA, CUBA, April 15.—President Fulgencio Batista announced today the restoration of full constitutional guaranties to Cuba's 6 million people, effective at midnight tonight.

The guaranties were suspended 45 days ago. Batista's government announced the action was intended to protect Cuba's vital sugar production from threats of sabotage by insurrectionists and Communists.

Batista declared he felt the internal situation had now eased sufficiently to permit return to the people of the rights of peaceful assembly, freedom from arrest without a warrant, and other constitutional rights.

The presidential palace remained under heavy guard. It was the scene of an attempt by revolutionaries to assassinate Batista on March 13.

Batista declared the restoration was ordered to protect the people against terrorism. Many leading Cubans and opposition political parties had accused Batista of a dictatorial act in suspending the guaranties.

The President made clear the restoration applied also to easternmost Oriente Province,

where Fidel Castro, 30-year-old former Habana University student, and a small band of followers have been attempting to wage guerrilla warfare against the Government.

The President's Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, on March 19, 1957, an editorial discussing the 1958 budget appeared in the Marysville (Mo.) Daily Forum, and because it is of general interest not only to Missourians but to Americans everywhere, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIFFICULT, PERILOUS TASK

At budget time in former years, Congress has resolutely set about cutting the President's money requests almost as a matter of course. But the lawmakers always assumed the White House had presented a budget it earnestly believed was essential in every detail.

They are not thus convinced in 1957.

When Mr. Eisenhower presented his figures for the coming year, he permitted his potent Treasury Secretary George Humphrey to assail them as too big.

Many legislators and a horde of others interested in the Federal budget took this as an unmistakable sign the President didn't really believe in his new figures. There has been widespread feeling that he either ducked the task of tight budget making, or didn't know how to bring it off.

Some observers have thought that Mr. Eisenhower was honestly torn between the desire for economy in government and the belief that many costly Federal programs are necessary to meet the problems of this expanding country in a troubled age.

Whatever is in his mind, whatever the facts of budget preparation within the administration, the President plainly doesn't intend to revise his requests. He has tossed the ball to Congress.

The lawmakers obviously do not like this. Even though in past years they have relished the job of budget slashing, they didn't like to undertake that part of it which they feel is properly the administration's responsibility.

The President says big savings aren't possible unless sizable projects like the farm or the veterans' program are trimmed. And he adds that since these are authorized by Congress, the latter must decide which if any must suffer.

It is true that these things have been authorized on Capitol Hill. But most legislative programs originate in the executive branch of government.

"The President proposes, the Congress disposes," they used to say.

The responsibility for Government programs generally is a joint one. If a major project is to be heavily slashed, the matter hardly seems one for congressional decision alone.

The budget situation this year is extremely puzzling. Probably there are not too many Americans who feel that up to now the administration has discharged its full responsibility toward the vital budget-making assignment.

Aluminum Production on the Columbia River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, Oregon's paramount industry springs from its vast stands of timber, the greatest in any State. However, Oregon's metropolis, Portland, finds that metalworking outranks the giant lumber industry as the city's No. 1 employer. This information was offered in the December 13, 1956, issue of the Iron Age. The article goes on to point out that the "big factor in the area's industrial growth is aluminum-reduction plants." It should be noted in passing, Mr. President, that the initial development of the hydroelectric resources of the Columbia River, with the construction of such great multiple-purpose dams as Bonneville, Grand Coulee, and McNary, made this metalworking upsurge possible.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have this material included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DON'T OVERLOOK PORTLAND AS METALS MARKET

(By R. R. Kay)

Metalworkers selling the west coast area can't afford to overlook Portland, Oreg. It's another fast-growing spot for metalworking products and services.

Metalworking outranks the giant lumber industry as Portland's No. 1 employer. So says the latest census of manufactures. In 1954 metalworking payroll was over $72 million, and value added by manufacture hit $140 million. The value added was 31 percent of that of all Portland manufacturing—a 73-percent increase over 1947. And today's figures are even higher.

ALL SORTS AND SIZES

Variety is the spice of Portland's metalworking life. The diversification trend, steady for several years, is now very strong. Made-in-Portland labels go on lots of products, from mechanics' handtools to special logging devices, from automobile license plates to furnace and heating equipment.

Big factor in the area's industrial growth: Aluminum reduction plants. Both Aluminum Company of America and Reynolds Metals Co. jacked up capacity in the past few years. The result is a healthy increase in Portland-area aluminum fabrication.

A SHOT IN THE ARM

World War II shipbuilding gave the Portland metalworking industry its big boost. When fighting stopped, subcontractors switched to other products, many never before made in the Pacific Northwest. And some shipbuilders, themselves, branched out.

Take Albina Engine & Machine Works and Gunderson Bros Engine Corp., both still in ship construction and repair. Today, Albina also makes a motorized painter's stage. And, through an affiliate, turns out stainless steel valves. Gunderson is readying a new automobile-parking unit called File-A-Way.

Williamette Iron & Steel Co., area's largest shipbuilder, is at work on a multi-million-dollar conversion job. Its Bingham pump division continues to grow, making large centrifugal pumps for the world market.

HUMMING ALONG

In fact, Portland's metalworking industry is humming on all fronts, expanding, diversifying, or both. Oregon Steel Mills, with three electric furnaces, recently expanded. The firm makes light structurals. Union Carbide & Carbon's electrometallurgical division, a ferroalloy producer, has doubled capacity.

Foundries are thriving. There are 15 gray iron, 20 nonferrous and 4 diecasting. Leaders include: Electric Steel Foundry Co., high alloy and electric steel castings; and Omark Industries, ferrous investment castings. Schmitt Steel, Inc., is one of three steel forging plants.

Iron Fireman Manufacturing Co. has a large plant subcontracting for the aircraft industry.

CLAIMS TO FAME

Portland is a leading producer of logging trucks, trailers, sawmill, and lumber manufacturing machinery. That figures, since woodworking is still Oregon's No. 1 employer.

Lift truck makers include Hyster Co. and Lamson Mobilift Corp. And tractor manufacturing is in for a big boost. Wagner Tractor Co., a Mixermobile Manufacturers affiliate, bought a 71-acre site.

United States Naval Academy Nutritional Foods for the Brigade of Midshipmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Board of Visitors to the United States Naval Academy, and as a Member of a Congress which constantly and properly has an ear attuned to economy, I feel that Congress should be apprised of a program now underway at the Naval Academy which is designed not only to contribute to the welfare of the midshipmen, but to do so without adding to the costs of operating the Academy.

It has often been said that an army marches on its stomach; the same holds true, and even more so, for a growing young man being developed into a naval officer.

Admiral Smedberg, Superintendent of the Naval Academy, long has been concerned with the many complex problems involved in providing 4,000 calories a day of nutritional foods for the 3,600-man brigade of midshipmen at a daily ration of $1.35.

To assist in this problem, General Foods Corp. was asked by the Academy to loan the services of one of its four institutional dietitians, Miss Gerry De Mauro, to create nutritional salads and desserts with sufficient eye appeal and taste appeal that the midshipmen would eat these dishes with the same relish they apply to steak.

According to Commissary Officer Louis W. LeForge, Jr., the result has been a contented brigade, a great reduction in the volume of food left on their plates—and lower costs. To cite only one exam-

ple, Miss De Mauro showed the Academy cooks how to reduce the cost of each lemon meringue pie by 7 cents, and since 700 pies are devoured at a single sitting, this represents a substantial saving.

The personnel of the Academy certainly deserve commendation for the foresight shown in improving the physical well-being of the midshipmen. Miss De Mauro and General Foods rate a hand for donating their services to make this accomplishment possible.

New United States Role in Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "New United States Role in Africa," which appeared in the Indianapolis News on April 9, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW UNITED STATES ROLE IN AFRICA

Vice President Nixon is right in advocating that the United States give more attention to cultivating friendship with the Africans.

Large areas of Africa, as Mr. Nixon found on his recent tour, are emerging into civilization, culture, and self-assertion. And although, as he has reported, Communist domination there is not a "present" danger, "Communist leaders consider Africa today to be as important in their designs for world conquest as they considered China to be 25 years ago."

This country has paid little attention to African relations as such, leaving them up to the European powers. But Africans now are breaking away from their colonial ties. It is high time to quit dealing with them through the British foreign office and its counterparts.

Vice President Nixon recommends that the old-fashioned diplomacy which finds African affairs lumped with those of Asia and the Middle East be thrown out of the window. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee already has given its approval to the Nixon suggestion that a new bureau of African affairs be set up in the State Department.

The State Department itself should act affirmatively on his further advice to shake up some of our African foreign aid missions, "information" staffs and embassies and man them with persons "better capable of interpreting and explaining our policies."

A new interest in Africa should not mean that the Washington global do-gooders have another giveaway playground set up for their administration. Far from that. Whatever economic assistance this country should lend should be in the form of promoting mutual trade, providing a climate for American private investment projects and technical advice.

If we try to use in Africa the same old ideas of past foreign aid programs, they not only would stand to fail as they have elsewhere but could even bankrupt us.

From the United States, the Africans should have democratic encouragement, but no dollar diplomacy.

The Postmaster General Should Resign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the $41 million deficiency appropriation should be approved quickly by Congress so that full postal service can be restored throughout the Nation. We cannot abide ill-considered "meat-ax" cuts vitally affecting thousands of families whose breadwinners are postal employees, as well as the millions of postal patrons who are entitled to rely on the mail service which has been established.

However, the Postmaster General should resign. I said so at the outset of this hassle; I say so again now, as do the Detroit Times and other leading newspapers, along with a number of Congressmen, including my friend and distinguished colleague, JOHN LESINSKI, Democrat, Michigan, who is a senior member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, of which committee I am also a member.

Now, did the Postmaster General violate the antideficiency law? Yes, says the Comptroller General in an opinion written April 12, 1957. He violated subparagraph (c) (1) which requires him to make the money appropriated to his Department last for the full year without the necessity of a deficiency appropriation.

The law provides no penalty for the violation of this section. I intend to introduce an amendment to provide for the same penalty applicable for violations of paragraph (a), (b), and (h) of the Antideficiency Act.

My considered opinion, as a lawyer, is that Mr. Summerfield violated paragraph (h), for which paragraph the penalty is, upon conviction, a fine of not more than $5,000 or imprisonment for not more than than 2 years, or both. His guilt, of course, must be determined by a court. Therefore, I am turning over a copy of this statement to the United States attorney for the District of Columbia with the request that he take appropriate action and in due course advise me. I personally do not believe Mr. Summerfield should be fined or imprisoned, in view of the fact that there have been previous unprosecuted violations of the Antideficiency Act although it appears that none was so gross, so flagrant, and so arrogantly carried out as the instance before us. In any event, if he were convicted, the matter of punishment would be for the court to decide.

All that I am saying as a lawyer is that there is a basis for prosecution for the following reasons:

Paragraph (h) of section 3679, Revised Statutes as amended—title 31, United States Code, section 665—commonly known as the Antideficiency Act, provides:

(h) Expenditures in excess of apportionment prohibited: penalties.

No officer or employee of the United States shall authorize or create any obligation or make any expenditure (A) in excess of an apportionment or reapportionment, or (B) in excess of the amount permitted by regulations prescribed pursuant to subsection (g) of this section.

It is plain that Mr. Summerfield did authorize and create obligations in excess of the amount permitted under subsection (g), which subsection, so far as important, reads as follows:

The head of each agency, subject to the approval of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, shall prescribe, by regulation, a system of administrative control * * * designed to (A) restrict obligations or expenditures against each appropriation to the amount of apportionments or reapportionments made for each such appropriation.

A study of the reapportionments made by the Bureau of the Budget at the recommendation of the Postmaster General shows that the fourth quarter apportionments beginning with December 14, 1956, were $11 million below the "apportionment" made on July 13, 1956, and were $31 million below the July 13 "apportionment" by reason of a "reapportionment" accomplished on February 4, 1957. A study of the eight adjustments of the "apportionments" will show that the Postmaster General decreased the fourth quarter "apportionment" by three different "reapportionments," which resulted in the fourth quarter "apportionment" being $40,727,100 less than the third quarter "apportionment" which covered 2 days' less time.

I have put "apportionment" in quotation marks because the proper understanding of this word is central to an understanding of my contention that subsection (h) has been violated. My point is this: As used in this act, an "apportionment" is more than a mere division of the money appropriated for the whole year. It is, rather, the sum necessary for any particular quarter so that the usual services provided by the Department may be carried on as provided by law. It is plain that the reductions in the fourth quarter by the adjustments set forth in the Comptroller General's letter, No. B–131361, dated April 12, 1957, resulted in the amount allocated to the fourth quarter being far too little to maintain the usual services in the sense just described. This is further borne out by the fact that the Postmaster General is pressing for a $47 million deficiency appropriation so that he may maintain operations during this fourth quarter.

The whole matter boils down to the Postmaster General's willful and knowing violation of the Anti-Deficiency Act by purposefully refusing to apportion the appropriation money as required by law. It may be said that he did ask the Director of the Budget to approve supplemental appropriations and that the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, through inexcusable ignorance with respect to the use of postal revenues, refused to transmit this information to Congress.

However, the Postmaster General well knew the antideficiency law and had ample opportunity between July 10,

1956, and the adjournment of Congress that year, as well as during the remainder of 1956, to contact the appropriate committees of the House to inform them of any additional needs so that the drastic curtailment now put into effect would not be necessary and so that the antideficiency law would be obeyed instead of flagrantly flouted and violated.

Rise in Construction Spending in March

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Construction Spending Set Record in March, Rose 3 Percent Above Last Year," which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on April 11, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSTRUCTION SPENDING SET RECORD IN MARCH, ROSE 3 PERCENT ABOVE LAST YEAR

WASHINGTON, The Government reported spending for new construction put in place expanded seasonally in March to nearly $3.2 billion—a record for the month.

This was a 9-percent climb over the $2.9 billion spent in February and 3 percent above the less than $3.1 billion of expenditures in March of last year.

March construction closed out the most active first quarter on record, the Commerce and Labor Departments said in a joint release. Spending for new construction totaled nearly $9.2 billion in the January-March period. This was a 4-percent increase over the previous first quarter high reached a year ago.

On a seasonally adjusted basis, the report said, new construction activity in this year's first quarter climbed to a record annual rate of $44.8 billion—compared with a $44.4 billion rate in the preceding quarter and actual expenditures of $44.3 billion for the full year 1956.

The departments said private construction outlays totaled nearly $2.3 billion in March. This was a 7 percent increase over February and about the same level as a year earlier. Spending for new houses climbed 10 percent in March to $890 million but still fell 11 percent shy of year-earlier outlays.

Spending for public construction in March amounted to $913 million, the report said. This was 14 percent above February and 13 percent higher than a year earlier.

Looking at the first quarter, the departments said private expenditures totaled nearly $6.6 billion—about 1 percent higher than the corresponding period of last year. Declines in housing, stores, and farm buildings, the report said, were offset by increases to record levels in construction of industrial buildings, office buildings, churches, schools, hospitals, and public utilities.

Public outlays for new construction amounted to nearly $2.6 billion during the first quarter, the report said. This was 11 percent above the like period of last year. All major types of public construction contributed to the climb with new highs being reached in expenditures for highways, schools, and sewer and water projects.

Construction outlays in the first quarter totaled nearly $9.2 billion, Government figures showed. This was 4 percent above the previous high for the period reached a year ago. On a seasonally adjusted basis, building expenditures climbed to a record annual rate of $44.8 billion. This compared with $44.3 billion spent in the full year 1956.

Private construction work in the first quarter was 1 percent above the like 1956 period. Declines in building of homes, stores, and farm structures were offset by record construction of industrial and office buildings, churches, schools, and hospitals.

Jury Rights and Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of March 31, 1957, contained an interesting editorial entitled "Jury Rights and Civil Rights." I commend the Post-Dispatch for a really excellent editorial, which will be of interest to all Senators. I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JURY RIGHTS AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Southern opposition to civil-rights legislation is being led in the Senate this year by soft-spoken lawyers instead of shouting racists. Senator ERVIN, of North Carolina, has attracted attention, for example, by invoking against the administration's proposed bills the sanctity of the constitutional right to trial by jury. And he is reported to have made some headway.

The proposed legislation would indeed make it possible to bypass jury trials in some civil-rights cases. When a Negro was denied the right to vote, the bills would permit the United States Department of Justice to seek in Federal courts an injunction against the State's refusal to register the Negro as a voter. Violations of the injunction would be punished by actions for contempt, which could be heard without a jury.

Senator ERVIN argues that the effect would be to deprive Americans of a sacred right—the right to a jury trial. He may have a point. But he would be more persuasive if he were as zealous in protecting the disfranchised Negro's constitutional rights as he professes to be in protecting the rights of the white disfranchiser.

Everybody knows why the civil-rights legislation proposes to enforce the constitutional right to vote by use of injunction and contempt proceedings—which, incidentally, are constitutionally just as valid as criminal jury trials. The reason for this procedure is that in the areas where white officials habitually deny Negroes the right to vote, the juries also are white and would tend to refuse convictions.

Would Senator ERVIN agree that, as a condition of holding jury trials in civil rights cases, Negroes should be members of the jury? If so, his passion for juries might be regarded as sincere. Otherwise he will find it hard to prove that one man's right to a jury trial is a proper basis for denying another man's right to vote.

Rooster Feathers in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, the word "cocktail" originally meant the rear end of a rooster. And the word's basic meaning right now could be expressed in the phrase, "Rooster feathers," according to the makeup of cocktail, rhetorically and in literal syllable.

Much has been said or written about the Washington cocktail party, or rooster feathers, as this function has been carried out during the past two decades, particularly after liquor became legalized and glamorized in President Roosevelt's first term. Now when a Congressman is invited out to rooster feathers in Washington and the function appears to be tied in with something he should rightly attend, he could always try to get there about the time rooster feathers is over. But if he gets in before the tail end of the rooster's tail, then he could very well hunt for some sparkling ginger ale or some good red tomato juice for a little honest nourishment while some of the remaining gigglers are closing up on rooster feathers with manifest evidence of drooping feathers and minus any remaining crow after too many ounces of Old Crow.

Sometimes a person may wonder about the historic background or early origin of rooster feathers. Did Nero start rooster feathers as he worked out his fiddling technique just before the occasion of the burning of Rome? Or did Pontius Pilate establish rooster feathers as he considered his final order of execution against the Saviour? Or did rooster feathers start much later, say when Benedict Arnold got some of his friends together during the last week before he carried out his predatory plot? Certainly George Washington had no rooster feathers party when he got ready to cross the Delaware in the hour of our country's great crisis. Neither did rooster feathers originate with Paul Revere in the early evening of the night of his famous midnight ride. It could never have been invented by Joan of Arc that evening before she rode out to deliver her people yonder in France in their time of great need. These last-named people were serious and effective patriots with sober and far-reaching objectives ahead of them. And none saw fit to have rooster feathers in the critical hours of those great undertakings and historic achievements.

Does a Representative or Senator or high governmental official really need rooster feathers to sustain him or entertain him in his times of wrestling with the problems of his day and age? The correct answer is no, of course.

Rooster feathers tends to make women silly and men belligerent.

Rooster feathers is a friend of frivolity and failure.

Rooster feathers is an enemy of all serious endeavor.

Rooster feathers has no ally in heaven but many good friends in hell.

Rooster feathers in Washington never gave America her greatness or strength or fame or continuity but is certainly an effective force to curtail all of these here at the very center of our country's heartbeat.

Looking Ahead in Southern Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL BROWN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. BROWN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an interesting and informative speech delivered by Mr. J. W. Fanning, chairman of the division of agricultural economics, the University of Georgia College of Agriculture, Athens, Ga., to the Southern Regional Conference for Supervisors and Teacher Trainers of Agricultural Education, in Atlanta, on April 4, 1957.

The speech follows:

LOOKING AHEAD IN SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE

(By J. W. Fanning)

As one attempts to look forward to the South of the sixties, the agricultural pattern of the past and the transition of the present come into clear focus. This situation is confusing and somewhat frustrating. It's rather difficult to decide where to catch hold in a discussion of this kind, and what factors in our present dynamic economy one should hang his over-the-hill look onto. Everyone seems to agree that change is the order of the day—and will likely be so for many years yet. But it's not easy to reach agreement on what southern agriculture will look like in the years ahead—nor, for that matter, what the pattern of total community life will be. We seem to be expecting change—rather hoping it will come—but praying that it will not be too upsetting, and that the great value of our past rural culture can be retained. It doesn't hurt to hope for such things. However, we've seen enough change to know that things "ain't like they used to be and never 'wuz'."

With this brief introduction, I should like to call your attention to seven areas of great change and development. Within each I should like to make some observations that reflect a projection of present trends and opinions about the pattern of things to come. As in every projection, even though it's founded upon a base which one regards as sound, there's doubtless some reflection of sadness in leaving a pattern of life one has known so well and loved so much. But as the little poem expresses it so well:

"Change and change, and never rest,
Not what we are, but what we hope for is best."

1. A CHANGING POPULATION PATTERN

From 1940 to 1950 in the South:

Farm population down 28 percent (United States 18 percent down).

Rural nonfarm population up 45 percent.

Urban population up 40 percent.

Total population up 13 percent (United States up 15 percent).

Farm population declined from 43 to 27 percent of the total population. (For the United States the decline was from 22 to 16 percent.)

Rural population declined from 65 to 57 percent of the total population.

The South contributed 5,481,000 or 64 percent of the national net migration of 8,610,000 persons from the farms of the United States between 1940 and 1950. Of those migrating from the farms of the South, 68 percent were white and 32 percent were nonwhite. Males and females migrating were in about equal proportion. More than half (53 percent) of the net migration were persons in the age grouping 10 to 24.

Observations

Farm population will continue to decline in numbers and in relation to the total.

Large net migrations of young men and women will continue from our farms as birth rates remain high and replacement needs do not increase substantially.

A large rural population will be maintained with the likelihood, however, that it will drop to less than 50 percent of the total.

Developments that will stabilize and hold a substantial rural population should be encouraged.

The tendency to concentrate population in metropolitan centers seems destined to continue in the South.

Producing for the growing local markets will offer increasing opportunities for farms in the South. Dr. Marguerite Burk, of A. M. S., thinks it reasonable to assume that the major part of the one-third to one-half rise in food expenditures by 1975 will come in the South. Actually, we will likely need an increase of as much as 50 percent per head in the demand for food marketing services in the next 20 years in the South.

Holding onto the great values which have been an integral part of our rural culture becomes imminently important and challenging.

2. FEWER FARMERS AND A CHANGE IN TENURE

From 1940 to 1955 in the South.

The number of farmers declined 23 percent.

The number of white farmers declined 20 percent.

The number of Negro farmers declined 32 percent.

The number of white farmers increased from 76 to 80 percent of all farmers.

The number of tenants declined 52 percent.

The percentage of tenancy declined from 49 to 31 percent.

Sharecroppers, even though declining 36 percent in numbers, increased from 38 to 50 percent of all tenants.

Observations

The South is apparently destined to have even fewer farmers in the years ahead—with a smaller percentage of these being nonwhite.

There are evidences that the percentage of tenancy will decrease somewhat from present levels, but not significantly. Tenancy is the road to ownership. It must be used to an increasing extent as capital investments required to farm profitably rise. Great emphasis is needed on fair and workable rental arrangements between owner and tenant. And the social stigma of renting must be removed. Our youth must be taught that it is honorable and economically sound to climb the tenure ladder to ultimate ownership of their farms. In many respects a young couple is far better operating under a share rental arrangement (new type sharecropping) with adequate working capital than owning land with inadequate working capital. The first step to profitable farming today is the possession of adequate working capital and an excellent credit rating with a financial institution that looks with favor upon agricultural lending.

3. FEWER FULL-TIME FARMERS

In 1954 in the South:

Thirty-nine percent of all farms were part-time and residential, receiving more income from off-farm employment than from farm production.

Sixty-one percent of all farms were commercial depending upon farm production for most of their income. Half of these commercial farms had annual gross incomes of less than $2,500. The remaining 47 percent had yearly incomes exceeding $2,500.

Variations by States in the percentage of part-time and residential farms were from 48 percent in Virginia to 31 percent in Mississippi.

Observations

Industrial and other off-farm employment opportunities have been the means by which large numbers of small farmers have been able to remain on their farms and in rural communities. These opportunities will minimize full-time farming operations in areas where small farms predominate.

The maintenance of substantial numbers of people in our rural communities will largely depend upon how successful this system of farming can be made. As industrialization grows, farmers need criteria by which to decide between accepting off-farm employment and changing their basic farm organizations and methods to increase farm income. There is a great need by part-time and residential farmers for information on how best to use their land, labor and other available resources.

On of the great challenges of the South is found among the 730,000 commercial farmers selling less than $2,500 yearly. Studies show a smaller percentage of these persons with off-farm income. Also, they are older people. Many can move into nonfarm work. Others can change their farm setups for larger income. There will be others who find it practically impossible to make needed adjustments. They need help and encouragement to do the best with what they have and what they are.

4. LARGER FARMS WITH HIGH CAPITAL INVESTMENT

From 1950 to 1954 in the South:

Farms increased from an average size of 124 to 170 acres, a rise of 37 percent.

Capital invested in land, buildings, motor vehicles, machinery, equipment and all livestock in the January 1 inventory, increased from $11,304,186,000 to $31,526,640,000, a rise of 2.8 times.

Total capital investment per farm worker increased from an estimated $2,700 to $9,900.

Working capital increased from 19 to 33 percent of investments. Machinery and equipment increased from 8 to 25 percent of invested capital.

Observations

Larger commercial farms can reasonably be expected to provide more acres and larger gross incomes per family as well as a more efficient economic unit in the use of labor and capital. The size of business as related to efficiency will become more and more important. Size of farm will increase extensively and intensively.

Larger farms will require greater amounts of capital for maximum efficiency—and a growing expertness in the management of capital.

The question of "how big is too big" for sound farming should receive much attention in the years ahead. The release of the old system of 40 acres-and-a-mule must be completed. The acceptance of efficient family-sized farm units of upwards to 300 and more acres must be made. The building of new attitudes toward both the number and size of farms is a challenging undertaking.

Greater emphasis will be required on the efficient management of the farm business. Invested capital per man will continue to increase as our land values move upward and even more power and livestock and poultry come to the farms. Both opportunities and risks increase with this kind of farming. Better management is the only solid answer.

There are many burdensome inefficiencies in farm layout, building and field must be corrected. This will require greater investment of capital funds.

5. CASH OUT OF POCKET COSTS TO CONTINUE HIGH

In 1955 in the South:

Total production expenses ($5,595,000,000) were 68 percent of total cash receipts ($8,243,000,000).

Expenditures for feed, fertilizer, and hired labor were 41 percent of total production costs.

Repairs, operation, and depreciation of capital items amounted to 34 percent of total production expenses.

The costs of repairs, operation, and depreciation of capital items equaled the total sales of all farm products in 1940.

Expenditures for fertilizer in the South were 41 percent of those for the United States.

Expenditures for feed were 24 percent of those for the United States.

Expenditures for hired labor were 33 percent of those for the United States.

Observations

The purchasing power of farm people becomes of increasing significance as they commercialize to an even greater extent their farm operations and homes. Farmers and their families are now dealing largely in dollars—and the financal skills of the family become of tremendous importance.

As cash-out-of-pocket costs rise in the aggregate and in relation to the gross receipts, risks also increase. And price becomes of greater importance than heretofore. Farmers must therefore concern themselves more with price forecasting.

Efficiency has always been important in farming, but it takes on added significance today and in the future. Margins will be close. Full use of available resources is necessary. Producing to the market demand is quite important.

It seems inevitable that spending per unit in southern agriculture will rise. Attempts will be made to raise the level of yields per acre, per animal, per machine, and per hour of man labor. This will be a stronger movement toward intensification of production. New farm enterprises will receive considerable attention in the years ahead. This development will require close planning of operations and a finesse in management that will absorb the increased risks involved. Here is a great area of counseling with southern farmers.

6. FARM INCOME CREEPING UPWARD

From 1940 to 1955 in the South:

Total cash farm receipts rose four times.

Farm prices went up 2⅔ times.

Crop income rose four times.

Crop prices went up 2⅔ times.

Livestock and poultry income rose four times.

Livestock and poultry prices went up 2.1 times.

Cotton declined by 8 million acres, but production increased 2,200,000 bales.

Beef cows increased 40 percent from 1949 to 1955, but the South continued to hold 32 percent of the Nation's total.

Broiler production moved up from a negligible percentage of the total for the United States to 63 percent.

Observations

Spectacular increases in farm income are not probable for the next 10 years. For one thing, unusual rises in prices such as came during and immediately after World War II are not in prospect. Increases in the aggregate income of farmers must, therefore, come largely from a larger total production. The emphasis at present and for the next few years at least, will be upon checking total production. Within this framework, rates of overall adjustments will likely slow down. Opportunities to increase the acreages of cotton, peanuts, and tobacco, large income producers, are extremely limited. Controls appear certain in the years of the foreseeable future.

There appear to be certain basic changes in southern agriculture that will continue to go forward—more slowly for the next few years, but after then at an accelerated rate. Shifts in land use to include more small grains and forage crops are inevitable. Greater emphasis upon forest resources is certain—and this is moving forward at a rapid pace—so rapid in fact, until we need to think clearly on how much and what types of our land should be put in trees. The trend toward intensive livestock production will continue with emphasis upon milk, broilers, eggs, and pork. We shall try our hands at intensive production of beef cattle. It would appear logical that the South would develop an increasing percentage of the Nation's turnout of the higher valued and better quality foods such as dairy products, livestock, poultry, fruits, and vegetables. Our population and income patterns will provide this opportunity. Chances are that individual farm specialization will increase in a framework of great State and regionwide diversification. The drive for greater efficiency will force this.

It seems reasonable to expect income per farm and per farm person to increase in the years ahead. In fact, these will be much more significant than the moderate increases that may come in total farm income.

Vertical integration will probably increase in agriculture. The patterns for the broiler and canning industries will likely expand to eggs, hogs, beef cattle feeding, and possibly other enterprises. The approach to farmers is different with vertical integration.

7. PERSONAL INCOMES TO MOVE FORWARD

Total personal incomes from 1940 to 1954 increased 4½ times, from $13,163,000,000 to $57,356,000,000.

Total employment from 1940 to 1950 rose 20 percent, nonfarm employment 43 percent, but farm employment declined 25 percent.

Industries associated with large capital per worker are increasing, even though those requiring low capital per worker still employ 60 percent of the manufacturing workers in the South.

The South in relation to the United States as a whole has made rapid progress in the accumulation of financial resources, production of electric power, per capita income and other basic developments in economic progress.

Observations

The purchasing power of the people of the South is destined to increase sharply in the years ahead. Industrialization will continue and with it other types of businesses and services will grow. Many changes will be imposed upon farm families as they seek to live with these adjustments within our cities, towns and communities. It is significant that if incomes of the South and non-South were equal now, the United States food market might be 10 percent larger.

As we look to the future, there are five developments growing from the changes outlined above to which we need to direct our attention.

1. NEW COMMUNITY PATTERNS ARE DEVELOPING

The homogeneous self-contained rural community is being rapidly replaced with a community of heterogeneous interests and commercial interdependencies. Our methods of working with and motivating communities must undergo a great deal of change—particularly those in which many small part-time farmers live.

2. COMMUNITY INTERDEPENDENCIES ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY SIGNIFICANT

Into rural communities are coming factories, shopping centers and many kinds of municipal facilities. Even the still somewhat remote farm community is fast becoming an integral part of this larger more industrialized community. The line between urban and rural is becoming thinner—and the need for recognising and respecting interdependencies is becoming greater. Farm people must continuously look to the larger community in which they live, operate their farms and sell their products.

3. COMMUNITY POTENTIALS ARE REQUIRING CLOSE STUDY

Communities now have the very real problem of answering the question "What kind of a community do we wish to be?" Shall we remain agricultural or become industrialized? These questions must be intelligently answered by both rural and urban people in across-the-table study and discussions. Farm people must take an active and strong position in this planning. They need a lot of information and encouragement in this dertaking. They must have adequate and earnest representation on city-county planning boards, citizens' planning and other groups.

4. APPRAISING OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

The dignity of farming along with all occupations open to our rural people needs careful appraisal. Young people should be given the opportunity to appraise the occupations of their communities, State, and region. There will be fewer farmers, but agriculturae is more than farming. This broader understanding of opportunities in agriculture is a great need of our rural and urban people.

5. OUR UNDERSTANDINGS MUST BROADEN

To live and operate successfully in the present world, it takes a lot of knowledge and understanding. Economic and social forces of tremendous scope are at work effecting our profits and living standards. These must be appraised and their possible effects understood as well as possible. Somehow, we must broaden our horizons of understanding. We must become students of world affairs.

The South will be confronted with many other great changes in the years ahead. To understand the forces behind these changes will mean that they can be given guidance. To guide the changes means the South will move forward to a stronger position in national and world affairs, and will become an even better place in which to bring our children into maturity as capable, progressive, independent-thinking self-acting, Godfearing young men and women.

Everyone who will be associated in any manner whatsoever with southern agriculture in the years ahead faces a magnificent opportunity for service.

Home Building

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, on April 4, 1957, an editorial discussing home building appeared in the Joplin (Mo.) Globe, and because it is of general interest not only to Missourians but all

Americans, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Government action in relaxing credit terms on home loans, and in extending the area in which insured loans may be made is interpreted in many quarters as the first break in more than a year in a somewhat rigid tight-money policy.

It is seen also as indicating that Federal economists believe inflation has been brought under control. Investor and financial markets will watch closely in the period immediately ahead for signs of any further relaxation of loan controls.

One reason the Government moved to make it a bit easier to buy a home, it is felt, is the continued drag in new-home construction. February reports showed new housing starts had dropped below an annual rate of 1 million, generally considered to be the desirable number to keep up with the growth of the Nation.

Trying to keep the national economy in balance in this period is a highly intricate and complex job. The economists feel that they should watch out for and guard against deflation as well as inflation. So far they have done a commendable job because we still have prosperity without any runaway inflation, and there are no alarming signs of deflation.

Last week's order merely makes it easier for people to finance homes by lowering the downpayment schedule 2 points to the 1955 level. The hope will be that it brings 1957 home building back up to or above the million-a-year rate.

The Late Honorable Fred L. Crawford

SPEECH
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, the passing of my esteemed friend and former colleague, the Honorable Fred Crawford, grieves me.

No Member of Congress was more devoted to duty nor took his responsibilities more seriously as a servant of the people.

From early youth, Fred Crawford studied the intricate workings and problems of national and international trade and finance, and being schooled in that art he became a most valuable member of the House Banking and Currency Committee. He served on that committee for many years with great distinction.

I dare say that Fred's good services both in and out of Congress have and will be a benefit to every American for generations to come. On many, many occasions while Fred was in Congress and since, yes, to the very last he took time to counsel and advise with me on our United States fiscal conditions which as time went on became a greater worry to him, and without a doubt that worry contributed to the untimely death of this good man.

If being a conservative with the people's money is a virtue, and I believe it is, I must give the late Honorable Fred Crawford much credit for my conservative record in Congress.

Goodby, Fred. God rest your soul.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his family and to his multitude of friends everywhere.

The Chamber and the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Lancaster (S. C.) News of April 11, 1957:

THE CHAMBER AND THE BUDGET

For a grassroots reaction to the ever mounting total of the Federal budget, we can offer the resolution adopted last week by the Lancaster Chamber of Commerce. Taken alone such a resolution is worth about as much as the paper on which it was written. Added to the weight of a growing protest over irresponsibility in governmental expenditures, it is an important action.

President Eisenhower is a strong personality who has, in his long public career, said or done a few things that are out of character. One of those moments came recently when he conceded the budget was out of hand by inviting Congress to slash it wherever savings could be made. Treasury Secretary Humphrey had already boggled at the $71-billion plus request in an unprecedented public repudiation of an important administration document.

While it may have been the President's intention to shift the burden of forced economy onto Congress, his attitude of helplessness in the face of rising governmental costs produced a shocked reaction in the United States. There is ample evidence that the strength of this reaction was miscalculated. President Eisenhower is now defensive of every item in the budget, but the reaction is growing.

Taxpayers, groups, and organizations all over the United States are joining in a chorus of questions. They want to know why Federal expenditures can no longer be controlled; why every desire and whim of the outgrown bureaucracy must be met; why Uncle Sam's billions must be poured into foreign and often unfriendly nations in ever-mounting totals, and why the richest nation on earth has a public debt which has passed all human comprehension.

When the Lancaster Chamber of Commerce says: "We will always need more than we can afford and it's about time we started spending according to our ability to pay," it is letting the light of reason in on a situation which, for all its magnitude, must be resolved on just such a homely basis.

The United States, buying world position on the installment plan, is no different from spending according to our ability to pay." ments outrunning his ability to pay. Our national ability to pay is tremendous but it would appear that our present commitments have finally reached that point where the taxpayers are genuinely worried lest someone appear with claim and delivery papers.

Blackmail or Incompetence?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENDERSON LANHAM
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, in the Wall Street Journal for Monday, April 15, 1957, the lead editorial is headed "Blackmail or Incompetence?" The reference is, of course, to Postmaster General Summerfield. In my opinion, the answer to the question "Blackmail or Incompetence?" is "Both."

Included with my own remarks is the editorial referred to:

BLACKMAIL OR INCOMPETENCE?

So Postmaster General Summerfield has informed Congress that if it doesn't promptly give him the money he wants for the post office he will take a meat ax to the postal service.

The general's ultimatum was handed to the Congressmen a week ago and when they didn't fall all over themselves in a rush to put up the money he got out the cleaver. In New York and many other cities the post office windows were shuttered on Saturday and there were no mail deliveries. Further cutbacks in service are scheduled for this morning.

The general's operation plan calls for cutting daily mail deliveries to business today. If that doesn't speed up Congress he will suspend money order sales at first and second class post offices on April 29; on that last date there will also be an embargo on all third-class mail—we suppose you will have to send it by dog sled.

Now none of this, you understand, has anything to do with the regular Post Office appropriation. Congress appropriated the 1957 money last year; the 1958 appropriation is not due until June 30. This is extra money—known technically as a deficiency appropriation—that Mr. Summerfield is asking for to tide him over until the next payday.

And he says, "Gimme quick, or else."

If this strikes you as pretty arrogant behavior for a public servant—a sort of blackmail of the body politic—Mr. Summerfield's defense is that he can't help it. He has just plain run out of money. And how can he be expected to run the Post Office, or anything else, without any money?

The trouble with this reply is that it raises as many questions as it answers.

It is certainly not amiss to inquire why this emergency came so suddenly. Mr. Summerfield knew last summer how much money he had to run the Post Office for 12 months. Dividing a given sum of money by 12 doesn't require advanced mathematics. If it is true, as alleged, that the money provided last summer was too penurious to keep service up to par for the full year, one still wonders why small adjustments were not made during the year. No sensible post office clerk, however unhappily underpaid, would unconcernedly spend his year's salary in 9 months.

The difference may well be that a post office clerk is not habituated to deficiency appropriations. With Government departments they are so usual as to seem an almost unquestioned right and Mr. Summerfield may be honestly surprised to find himself now out of money and none promptly provided. It's a temptation to forego frugality in November when the Appropriations Committees will be in session in April.

To suppose that this sudden crisis was deliberately developed for its dramatic effect on

Congress may be very unfair. It could be that the Post Office Department was simply lulled into not counting its pennies carefully. But if this is not a calculated kind of political blackmail, then somebody in Congress ought to find out who goofed.

Jury Trial Position Defended by Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include a news report from the Memphis Commercial Appeal for April 13, indicating that labor leaders in Tennessee are concerned about any proposal which would deny right of trial by jury for persons charged with contempt. The newspaper articles by Morris Cunningham referred to in the story were printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for Monday, April 15, on page A2958.

I hope that when the Congress makes a decision as to whether jury trials will be provided in the cases of citations for contempt under the proposed civil rights legislation, that American labor will again support the principle of trial by jury.

The news report follows:

JURY TRIAL POSITION DEFENDED BY LABOR—STATE UNION LEADERS OBJECT TO NEWSPAPER ARTICLES—LEGISLATURE IS RAPPED

NASHVILLE, April 12.—State labor leaders took issue Friday with articles in the Commercial Appeal which they said left the impression that labor was opposing trial by jury.

They referred to a series of articles by Morris Cunningham, chief of this newspaper's Washington bureau.

Matthew Lynch, legislative representative of the Tennessee State Labor Council (AFL–CIO), issued a statement which he said had been read and approved by Stanton Smith, president, and Charles Houk, director of political activities of the council.

EFFORTS POINTED OUT

"We must take issue with the writer and take this opportunity to point out our efforts to secure the right of trial by jury for all persons charged with contempt for offenses committed outside the presence of the court," Mr. Lynch said.

The articles pointed out that the Norris-LaGuardia Act and other measures to assure jury trials in contempt cases arising from labor disputes drew almost unanimous southern support 25 years ago. Southern leaders say that today, with the same arguments being presented on civil-rights matters, labor leaders have taken the other side.

Questioned concerning activities by national labor leaders in behalf of the proposed civil-rights legislation, Mr. Lynch contented that the national AFL–CIO did not take a position against trial by jury in such cases as charged and neither does labor have the right to trial by jury in such cases except for a few rare instances under the Taft-Hartley law.

The national organization, he said, "took the position that if trial by jury is to become an issue, that the proposal should cover all Government contempt actions and not just as a rider to one bill."

To those advocating trial by jury "as a matter of principle, this will be sound and acceptable," he said, "but, of course, it will not satisfy those who are pursuing this cause as a political expedient."

LABOR BILL DRAWN

Mr. Lynch said labor had a bill drawn during the recent Tennessee legislative session to guarantee a trial by jury in all contempt cases where the offense committed was out of the presence of the court.

"The bill was not introduced," he said, "because another was before the legislature that said 'the party charged with such contempt shall be entitled to a trial by jury on the question of guilt or innocence.'"

Legislative records show that the bill, which was sponsored by Senator Clifford Allen of Nashville, passed the senate. It was defeated in the house after representative Harry Lester of Nashville pointed out it would mean many cases affecting labor would have to be tried before juries instead of by judges.

Mr. Lynch said the bill received one of the most overwhelming defeats of the entire session when it was sent to the table by a vote of 51 to 14. He added that "not a single legislator from Shelby County was among the 14 who were willing to stand up and be counted for the right of trial by jury in the house."

Records show that Representatives James J. Bertucci of the Shelby delegation was absent the day the bill was tabled.

The labor leader assailed "the silence on the above by the press and others who claim to be for this basic right."

Mr. Smith was asked how he reconciled the position taken by Andrew J. Biemiller, chief lobbyist for the AFL–CIO, and other top leaders of the organization in supporting the civil rights bill.

SEPARATE LEGISLATION

He said labor's position is that the subject of trial by jury should be considered in separate legislation and should cover all fields, including labor, and not simply civil rights legislation.

Mr. Smith and Mr. Lynch said the question of trial by jury will come up for consideration by the State Labor Council at its annual convention here in October and both predicted adoption of a resolution asking for such guaranties "for everyone" in all contempt cases away from a courtroom.

The State labor spokesman concluded:

"There is a second part to this issue at the national level and that is a preinjunction hearing such as is provided in the Norris-Laguardia Act. Let's take a look at the record on this issue.

"Labor secured the introduction of this measure in the 1955 session of the Tennessee Legislature and upon its introduction it was almost unanimously greeted with howls of anguish from the press.

"It was characterized as 'destructive * * * slanted * * * biased,' 'a dangerous shenanigan,' 'indictment of our whole judicial system,' 'breeds violence,' 'whittles away the injunctive protection' and scores of other abusive remarks."

Real Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting and most complimentary article on the sound leadership of Speaker RAYBURN, which appeared in the Boston Evening American, on April 13, 1957:

REAL LEADERSHIP

Speaker RAYBURN of the House of Representatives has given new and substantial impetus to the movement in Congress for lower Federal spending and ultimate tax reduction.

He has also brightened prospects for the eventual success of the movement considerably.

His ability to get such a vital matter as tax reduction above the level of partisanship, and his willingness to do so, give him high stature as a statesman.

Mr. RAYBURN goes a long way in this instance toward fulfillment of what the late William Randolph Hearst once called a great need of the country in the field of taxes, spending, and debt.

"What is needed in Washington," Mr. Hearst wrote in a letter to his editors on December 20, 1933, "is some clearness of vision and some sound American commonsense; some realization that taxation means national exhaustion; some understanding that what the Government spends the people must pay; and that whatever is paid to the Government must be deducted from the purchasing power of the community, from the consumption of goods, from the manufacture of products and consequently from the expansion of busines, and from the employment of labor."

This was said 24 years ago, but it applies equally to the present problems and burdens of the country. Mr. RAYBURN'S support of the same views gives new force to the sound words of Mr. Hearst.

William Grove Skelly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAGE BELCHER
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Tulsa, Mr. Republican, great American, great civic leader, wonderful friend, Bill Skelly, has gone from our midst. His loss to me personally is irreplaceable. I was associated with him in politics for 33 years. I was his supporter in his races for Republican national committeeman, he was my supporter in my races for Congress. I learned a lot from him. To extol his virtues would take more space than the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD affords. I am, therefore, inserting in the RECORD two editorials; one from the Tulsa Tribune, of Tulsa, Okla., dated Friday, April 12, 1957, and one from the Tulsa Daily World, of Tulsa, Okla., dated Saturday, April 13, 1957. These two editorials set forth his record better than I can, but they do not attempt to give the complete record of Bill Skelly, only the history of Tulsa with all its progress can give this. He is gone, but will never be forgotten.

The editorials follow:

[From the Tulsa Tribune of April 12, 1957]

BILL SKELLY

William G. Skelly is dead at 78. For many years he has shared with Waite Phillips the sweepstake honors for good works for Tulsa. He was proud of Tulsa, and Tulsa will always be proud of him.

Bill Skelly gloried in his humble youth, and told the stories of his failures and his set-

backs with gusto. He admired education and contributed liberally to it, but he never pretended to education that he didn't have. Sycophants who love millionaires because they are millionaires never impressed him, but to him a good tool pusher or an honest horse wrangler—well, those were men worth knowing.

Bill Skelly spent his life being sure everything was going to come out all right if people would only sell, build, promote, and stand upon their own feet. He had little faith that a citizenry, coddled by an overprotective government, could make a strong nation.

"Root, hog, or die," he would say.

This sprang from conviction, not callousness. He had an absorbing interest in helping people who suffered from poverty or bad luck in getting under way again. And he was a born reformer who was not above trying guile when direct methods failed.

Once he observed with dismay that a hill family tenanting one of his farms was living on an unhealthy diet of pork and cornmeal. He talked up the virtues of fresh vegetables without success. One day the farmer remarked that he and his wife had always been sad because, while they had strapping sons, they had never had a daughter.

"And carrots haven't been working?" asked Skelly.

"What have carrots got to do with it?"

"Why," exploded Skelly, "I thought that everyone knew if you want a baby girl you have to eat carrots."

On his next visit carrots were growing all over the yard and were being served for breakfast, lunch, and dinner. The next year the farmer and his wife had a daughter.

He was a gifted salesman. Once, while we were driving across Kansas with him, we stopped at a Skelly gas station and he blew up at the untidy condition of the restroom. Then, after the filling station operator was sufficiently flustered, Skelly sat down with him for half an hour and figured how the operator could increase his profits.

During the Madison oil trials, when the presidents of the leading American oil companies were indicted in an abortive effort to prove price fixing, most of the executives moved glumly between the courtroom and their hotels. But Skelly toured all over Wisconsin rallying his dealers and talking up bottled gas.

Once, his optimism almost ruined him. When the stock market crashed in 1929 he was already deeply involved in investments. After the market had slipped for a couple of weeks he was convinced the upturn was near and he bought stocks heavily. When the market continued down he lost stock control of the Skelly Oil Co. to the Mission Corp., but he continued to manage it. When the upturn finally came he became a heavy investor once more and rebuilt his fortunes.

This same optimism was the secret of his success as a civic leader. He believed Tulsa was the greatest city on earth and he promoted civic improvements with force and fire. In 10 minutes in his prime he could turn a roomful of timid men into bold ones.

At the moment Tulsa badly needs the leadership of the Skelly-Waite Phillips era. We are overcommitted and underinspired. We have a lot of fine people who are all for Tulsa, but we squabble about details and ride off in oppsite directions until when becomes how, and how becomes if, and if becomes can't.

Bill Skelly was sure that when good people put their heads together and bend their backs together the mountains move.

And the mountains did move.

[From the Tulsa World of April 13, 1957]

WILLIAM GROVE SKELLY: GREAT CITIZEN

Citizens the stature of William Grove Skelly don't come along too often. Their magnificent contributions to local, State, and national affairs are seldom duplicated. That is why the death of such men creates a sense of loss, a feeling of emptiness, that is all too difficult to assimilate.

As a Tulsan and Oklahoman Bill Skelly was without peer. From the day in 1912 when he settled with his fledgling oil business in muddy, bristling, and brawling Tulsa, he launched upon a lifetime of effort, with others of his individualistic fervor, to build Tulsa civically, culturally, and economically—rightly earning in the process the tag, "Mr. Tulsa."

He disliked the label; yet no other man who has trod the boards of life in young Oklahoma's headlong rush to greatness so deserved it.

To reflect in mere words the life and times of Bill Skelly—who preferred to be known as an "ex-muleskinner" rather than an oil magnate—would command a tome. Suffice it to say here that he was an individualist in all that he represented and accomplished, a fighter from the drop of the hat, a public-spirited human whose varied economic interests at no time deterred him from a chosen path of good citizenship.

Bill Skelly's works didn't stop with Tulsa, or Oklahoma. His intense concern with all that went on about him led him, through good times and bad, into the rugged field of politics and onto the stage of national affairs. It was in the political field where he gave vivid demonstration of his penchant for positive, direct, and vigorous leadership. Just as there was never a question as to who held the reins of the great Skelly Oil Co., so there was never a doubt of where Bill Skelly stood on a political issue.

Yet in all his years of business and political activity, who can point to the man who held bitterness in his heart against Bill Skelly? He became, in a State that can claim all too few men of his political morals and persuasion, "Mr. Republican." Still, no Democrat or Republican scorned the man or the beliefs which he held.

Nobody can say how many thousands of people of good will passed through Bill Skelly's office in the championship of a good cause. And few were the times when they were turned away. It is sufficient to say that if Bill Skelly couldn't see the good in a project, it probably had little to commend it.

What Tulsa can claim to be today bears the indelible brand of Bill Skelly, and many other Tulsans with whom he was associated, in an unselfish and wholesome job of community building.

The lives of these men and the history of Tulsa—1912–1957—are irrevocably linked together. If there is a civic or cultural or athletic project that has bloomed to full flower without Bill Skelly's cooperation and active help, it has not come to our attention. That Tulsa and Oklahoma will miss Bill Skelly should go without saying. We say it anyway. For the real merit of the man, the full measure of his contributions to fellow citizens and the Nation, are for time and history to record. In the shadow of his rugged personality and good works, few are equal to the task of chronicling the life and inherent greatness of William Grove Skelly.

A vital part of Tulsa and Oklahoma is gone, but never to be forgotten.

Jesse James and His Stepbrothers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article by H. I. Phillips entitled "Jesse James and His Stepbrothers:

JESSE JAMES AND HIS STEPBROTHERS—SHERIFF FINDS BOOT AND TV MELON HELPS GODMOTHER BRING GOOD LUCK

(By H. I. Phillips)

With Hollywood and TV going in heavily for westerns, Cinderella stories and jackpot programs, it would seem possible to merge all these elements in one stirring screen story. We don't see why not and are at work on such an offering. Synopsis:

1. Story opens in a hideout occupied by a handsome Jesse James type and two stepbrothers. The stepbrothers are a pair of meanies who have a wonderful time as outlaws but never let Jesse come along. They make him stay at home and mind the store while they go to all the high-class train robberies, etc.

2. The stepbrothers are about to leave on another of their many bigtime holdups, all decked out in the finest Hollywood costumes, replete with 6-shooters. Jesse begs to go along. They order him to stay in the shack and slave away at dusting off alibis, repairing rifles, etc.

3. Jesse is in despair when a fairy godmother appears and asks what's wrong. Jesse sobs that his stepbrothers are off on their ponies shooting things up again and have left him behind to do the dirty work of just behaving himself.

Jesse: "I wish I could go to the big train robbery they are attending tonight. I never have any fun."

Fairy Godmother: "Have you a pumpkin?"

Jesse (weeping): "Don't rub it in by asking me to bake a pie."

WINS MELON

4. The godmother explains the situation. Jesse says he has no pumpkin. The godmother replies, "I know where you can get a melon." He asks where. She whips out a magic wand. Instantly he is on a TV show against people like Charlie Van Doren. He wins and gets the biggest melon in TV history.

5. The godmother changes the melon into an Arabian horse, 1 year's supply of black masks, and a gun autographed by Hugh O'Brien.

6. "How about white mice?" asks the godmother. He is fresh out of mice but says he has a stepmother who is a rat. The godmother transforms the rat into four horses and a stagecoach in which a beautiful schoolma'am is riding across the desert.

7. Jesse asks, "Why the stagecoach and the schoolma'am?" The godmother replies, "On your ride to join your wicked stepbrothers in the great train-robbery routine the old scene where you fall in love with the schoolma'am is always good."

OBVIOUS

The rest is obvious. Jesse goes to the wonderful stickup, makes a bigger hit than his stepbrothers, and gets home safely. It turns out that the sheriff has found a shoe dropped in the flight from the robbery. He laughs heartily; the boot was dropped by one of his stepbrothers. (Moral: With a fairy godmother you can have all the luck.)

PILLS

America is a pill-taking nation. You could almost switch the old anthem lines to read, "I love thy rocks and pills. A noise rising above all others from coast to coast is that of people shaking bottles to get tablets out of them. Americans once based hopes on life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but today aspirin is on the list. Headache pills are in such demand they are thrown instead of rice at weddings and considered a household necessity all through the happy couple's life, especially when the grocery bills are totaled up.

Automation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, I recommend to the attention of our colleagues the following summary of a recent address by Mr. H. F. Dever, president of Brown Instruments Division of Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co., before the Metal Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia. It is an understandable and informative discussion of the much-misunderstood project of automation, and Mr. Dever's remarks will, I am sure, serve as an introduction to the marvels of modern industrial techniques to many small-business men.

Reprints of the text of Mr. Dever's talk are available through the National Small Business Association, 801 19th Street, Washington, D. C.

SMALL BUSINESS AUTOMATION

(Summary of an address by H. F. Dever, president, Brown Instruments division, Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co., before the Metal Manufacturers Association of Philadelphia)

Modern technology is so fast-paced it sometimes outruns even those who take part in its creation. The industrial wizardry with which we deal today ofttimes seem familiar and understandable on the surface, yet becomes almost bewildering in its complexity on close study. In short, development of techniques and products has become such a rapid process that the language of communication between those involved cannot keep pace.

There still exists, for instance, a semantic curtain between the scientists and engineers on the one hand, and the ultimate users—the businessmen—on the other. The very fact that businessmen devote frequent meetings to better understanding of the developments mapped for their use by the scientists is proof that attempts are being made constantly to keep the channels of intellectual communication open and up to date.

In this talk, I would like to make a contribution toward dispelling some of the semantic fog surrounding one of the newest trends in American industry—automation. I believe it not only desirable but necessary to separate automation's fact from fancy; to attempt to translate the generalities of this captivating technological trend into practical, down-to-earth terms familiar and meaningful to businessmen. In particular, I'd like to discuss one phase of this thing called automation—instrumentation. And I'd like to let my comments on the instrument phases of automation be based on the understanding that this whole activity is merely an extension of the process of making things automatic that has been going on for many years.

For every multi-million-dollar electromechanical machine, for every new, man-made brain development that threatens to obsolete even pushbutton devices, there are literally hundreds of more prosaic, less expensive, off-the-shelf automatic instruments that daily function as the sinews of this trend toward factory or process automation. My own firm has been involved in this field since 1859. Honeywell has its stake in those fields of automation that I call office automation and machine tool or Detroit automation, as well as in my own field, instrumentation.

I think we will be wiser to consider automation as an acceleration and expansion of much that we have been doing, rather than some wholly new glamour concept that is beyond our comprehension or our pocketbooks.

I also think you will find it purposeful to study briefly what limitations there are, if any, to the size of rims that can profitably harness automation's techniques and products. It is our firm belief at Honeywell that America's small businesses will be big investors in automation in the future; that it is not something of interest only to the mammoth industrial firms.

First let us look at what the engineers call instrumentation.

The products of our particular industry, as many of you are well aware, are mechanical, electric, and electronic devices that indicate, record, and control a variety of physical and chemical conditions vital to production. These include temperature, pressure, flow, dimension, speed viscosity, and chemical composition, among others. By measuring these factors and exposing them to automatic control, American industry has been able to bring down the cost of production, to minimize waste, and, in general, improve the quality of product.

There are many typical applications, and there can be and are many custom-engineered applications—each differing from the next. As to the products, they may range from thermostats or millivoltmeters costing, say, $50 to $200, to elaborate electronic recorder-controllers costing $2,500 to $3,000. A single unit may serve some purposes adequately, but, in others, complete integrated control systems are needed to harness large numbers of instruments of a wide variety, and such systems may cost from $100,000 to $500,000.

The major advantages of instrumentation are, of course, economic. Intelligently and appropriately applied, instrumentation will result in a better quality product, with fewer rejects, less waste of men and machinery (or in other words, increased productivity), which can't help but bring an overall reduction in manufacturing costs. If the use of instrumentation is not economically sound—if the instruments do not reduce costs, improve the product or accomplish some needed result—they will not be bought by the hard-headed operators of our manufacturing industries, big or little. There is ample evidence that instruments are filling a true economic need.

Let me cite a few specific examples:

A brick company, Macon, Ga.: Installation of continuous kilns with automatic control increased production and quality. Temperature controls alone upped brick production 10 percent. Approximate cost of temperature controls, $5,000.

A textile mill, Startex, S. C.: The addition of 1 slasher cylinder plus automatic controls on a textile slasher increased slasher production of 50 percent. Approximate cost of controls, $2,000.

An office building, Omaha, Nebr.: Installation of a single instrument plus switches and measuring elements enabled one man to read temperatures in 144 different locations throughout a 5-story-and-basement office building. System paid for itself in 2 years. Approximate cost of measuring system, $6,000.

A cooperative farmers dairy, Allentown, Pa.: Automatically controlled pasteurizing equipment at this dairy upped production from 3,400 pounds of milk per hour to 100,000 pounds per hour. Approximate cost of automatic controls, $4,000.

A manufacturing company, Dayton, Ohio: Installation of automatic temperature controls on plastic molding presses reduced rejects 38 percent. Approximate cost of controls for each press, $1,000.

But the full potential of automatic control is still very far from being realized. Estimates for 1956 by McGraw-Hill have put instrument sales at $345 million, as contrasted to a mere $157 million in 1947. But we are still probably only some 10 to 15 percent along the way to realizing its full potential.

Because of the tendency of many commentators to superlatives on automation—to say nothing of the more glamorous equipment's stiff price tags—there is a persistent inclination to consider automation the "privileged pasture" of today's industrial giants. It is our feeling that this is another of the foundationless notions growing up around this technology.

You don't need two or three million dollars for plant and equipment purchases to get your feet wet in automation. Much automation—more, probably, than many of you realize—can be brought at conventional equipment costs.

The hundreds of thousands of small- and medium-size companies with less than 1,000 employees can best profit from automation. It can be the common denominator to meet your requirements to remain competitive.

It's a plain fact of business life that the small business has only two alternatives as regards automation. It can ignore it and subsequently be forced on the defensive to meet competitive pressures, or it can look at it realistically and plan a sensible course of adoption—thereby gaining the advantage of action and minimizing the inroads of competition.

The smaller firms have one notable advantage: The companies that produce automation equipment are interested in volume markets, and plants with less than 1,000 employees constitute such a market. According to the latest figures, there were 308,000 manufacturing firms in operation at the start of this year. Of this number, only 1,850 were in the 1,000-employees-and-up bracket; the greater bulk—306,150 to be specific—employed fewer than 1,000. It therefore seems logical that the manufacturer of automatic equipment and devices will, so far as possible, design his products to fit the needs of the more numerous small businesses. And he will furnish much help, aid, and assistance in the adaption of it to the specific requirements of each plant.

Now you might logically ask, "How does a firm go about automation? How can we take advantage of it?"

First, I urge you to think of automation as something you can and should check in on. It is not a fad—it is economic and is here to stay. Actually much automation is now as close as your nearest master mechanic or instrument engineer. The same holds true for much of the technology—it, too, is just waiting to be applied.

I also suggest that you visit plants in comparable industries; use consultants; apply incentives within your organization for improved methods work; get together with the qualified manufacturers—they can help you select the proper equipment; do not overlook the better magazine and trade publication articles and textbooks on the subject, and, finally, your trade association may be of help.

If your standard of living is to continue rising at the rate it has for the past 15 years, and if we Americans are going to have all of the goods which most of the experts see in store for us, and at the same time gain the additional leisure we're all seeking, then instrumentation and automatic control, as well as other forms of automation, will inevitably have to be part of the scheme of things.

Automation is a complicated technical subject but it can be a realistic, progressive, and constructive force in your business or industry right now also. It is a subject—

and includes a program—that alert management can use to advantage beginning now and which laggard managements may well wish they had considered sooner.

The Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, when the people of America in a nationwide movement spontaneously disapprove a Federal budget involving heretofore unheard of expenditures, Government administrators can draw but one conclusion. The hard-pressed taxpayer is out to get relief.

What the average American does not realize is how the Congress and executive departments have over the years, partly at the request of the people and largely through their indifference, legalized far-reaching Government functions calling for annual increases in employees and salaries as well as facilities for administration.

Now that the people have demanded the Congress reduce the budget, the Congress in turn is face to face with the embarrassing problem of trying to reduce expenditures for services and agencies created by its own ill-considered legislation. To cut out established agencies, even though they serve a small minority of our citizens, would severely test the judgment of members who directly represent these favored constituents and must look to them for reelection.

So when Government has become so all-embracing that social and welfare benefits, all regularly distributed to such a large percent of the population, get so numerous and so large, congressional efforts to cut the budget are severely limited, leaving only two approaches: first, cease hiring more employees, and second, postpone the authorization of agencies and projects until they can safely be executed—after our defense and overseas operations become less indispensable.

This plan, strictly adhered to, can bring about sufficient budget requirements to provide a tax cut for all our people.

But the big reductions, the ones that count, can come only through a judicious reappraisal of our commitments for national defense and foreign economic aid. In all these years if foreign-aid programs had succeeded in accomplishing what we expected, our present relations with nations of the world should be far more satisfactory and with much less danger to world peace than now appears.

We have seen former world powers, our allies, reduced to dependencies. We have witnessed formerly impotent nations, rising to the point of self-expression, assume the attitude of threatening nations, resorting to blackmail methods to throw their self-styled neutralism to the Communist cause unless we outdo their material demands, and we have seen the only other major world power successfully infiltrating smaller struggling nations which, by their very economic position, can never hope to become self-supporting and capable of resisting aggression.

In much of our foreign economic aid we are succeeding temporarily only because we have insisted on "upping the ante" and even there, because of the preponderance of have-nots, Communist infiltraters promising better things are steadily laying the groundwork for the eventful day when they can assume dominant control.

In areas such as these we cannot reject the possibility that aid in the form of armaments insufficient in amount and incapable of resisting aggression may in the end be turned against us in the final test of strength.

The time has come when the United States must look well to her own survival. Continued spending of our money and substance, accompanied by increasing inflation with its cheapening monetary system and a breakdown of Federal and industrial pension systems, can place the unsuspecting people of the United States in the position of the have-nots, when we, too, may fall to the communistic theory that only the state can successfully provide for us.

We cannot reasonably advocate scrapping either our defense budget of our foreign aid economic programs. But there is must waste in our defense operations which can be recovered. There are savings to be accomplished by elimination of duplications. There are untold economies to be made by application of commonsense and frugality in the administration of each branch of our Defense Establishment.

As to foreign economic aid, many important missions have practically completed the work originally assigned them. Instead of using downright pressure for new projects in governments to which they have been assigned, they should be ordered home. Aid of this nature should be well placed with every assurance on part of the recipient area that their own contributions will be faithfully complied with. The estimated cost of many of these projects is often increased manyfold by failure of the contract nation to fulfill its pledge.

How unrealistic can a people become? How far must fundamental rules of human behavior be sidestepped before truth and sanity reassert themselves to turn the tide of riotous, self-destroying conduct of our national affairs leading blindly into dissolution and bankruptcy?

The sprawling, spendthrift Federal Government for the first time in a generation is reading in no uncertain terms clear evidence that a major proportion of thinking Americans aroused over the questionable stability of their future welfare, are voluntarily proclaiming their conviction that as a nation we have reached the point beyond which it is dangerous to tread.

Never before has public criticism of a peacetime budget been so volatile, and never before have Members of Congress and department heads been more conscious of reactionary critics among their constituents. It is the most fortunate public demonstration of a democratic society this Nation has experienced in many decades. It is a solemn reminder to legislators and executives alike that overmanned Government, reckless spending, huge national debt, and a confiscatory tax system have reached the point of intolerance by the people whose substance is being confiscated without consent and dissipated with little or no accounting.

Little wonder—less than 30 years ago the total cost of Federal Government was less than the yearly interest payment on the national debt today. Our total debt, less than $20 billion, is now $275 billion, nearly $2,000 for every man, woman, and child. Social welfare has become costly, sure enough, but it takes only about 15 percent of our taxes. It is the military and foreign aid expenditures that create the real burden. And the deeper we become involved the less national security against Communist aggression and the nearer we seem to approach dangers of military involvement. The program is so big, so unwieldly, so devoid of permanent policy.

Only now are we beginning to realize how futile are our highly humanitarian dreams that young America can make over the world in its own likeness or that permanent allies and stanch friends are developed by bolstering bankrupt, tottering ruling cliques in lands where suppressed individuals have never been harmless to the world save when under strong dictatorial governments.

Let us ease away from sentiment and turn back to reality. Let us begin now to curtail our foreign aid.

The Gerry Murphy Case—Time for Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Manchester Union Leader which appeared on Wednesday, April 3, 1957:

This newspaper would be the last to suggest that this Nation become involved in those endless Latin American political intrigues, but certainly there comes a time when America must take a stand. That time is now, when the Dominican Republic's dictator, Trujillo, has not confined his vicious machinations to his own people or even within his own borders, but has apparently had a hand in the murder of an American citizen and a guest of our country who thought he was safe here.

On December 3, 1956, Gerald Lester Murphy vanished in the Dominican Republic after he had talked in public of piloting a sick man from Amityville, Long Island, to the Dominican Republic. Murphy apparently thought he had flown Dr. Jesus de Galindez and, after reading about the Galindez kidnaping-murder in the newspapers, had begun

to ask too many questions. That was his big mistake. The other aspects of the case—the murders of Murphy and Galindez, the phony suicide and even more phony note of confession of a Dominican pilot, and the run-around given Murphy's father and fiance and Representative CHARLES O. PORTER of Oregon—are all past history. But still the case remains unsolved, and no action has been taken against those responsible.

Galindez, of course, had been writing searing but factual denunciations of the Trujillo dictatorship, thinking he was safe here in America. Possibly he should have taken further precautions, bearing in mind the thousands of Americans who just disappear from the streets of New York City.

The United States State Department, as usual, submitted its standard protest, but if past performance is any criterion this protest will mean nothing. The note asked the Dominican Government to "reopen and vigorously pursue its investigation." Maybe the State Department thinks they'll investigate and implicate themselves. At the very least, America should retaliate by halting the flow of tax dollars in military and other aid to Trujillo. This, of course, would be contrary to current policy which calls for subsidizing dictators the world over.

In the words of Thomas Jefferson: "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God."

Roosevelt and Eisenhower in Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. L. PILCHER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. PILCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting the following article from the Atlanta Journal of April 10, London dateline, and written by Sterling Slappey. In the following story, the writer informs his readers what we in Thomas County, Ga., have known for a long time. Miss Kate Roosevelt, daughter of my esteemed colleague, JIMMY ROOSEVELT, and granddaughter of our late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, is quoted as having said during an interview in London that—

Of course I like London, but I like Thomasville, Ga., better. That is my favorite place. The hunting is wonderful. I like the weather and a lot of the people down there.

John Hay Whitney, our Ambassador to England, is Miss Roosevelt's stepfather and owns a large plantation at Thomasville.

It is most gratifying, Mr. Speaker, for us Thomas County residents to have brought home to us in such a nice fashion that Thomasville and its hospitality can have so great a tranquilizing effect upon wonderful people who represent both of our great political parties, because almost everyone in America knows how much our President Dwight Eisenhower enjoys Thomasville and its environs. I, therefore, cordially invite each Member of this body, along with his family and friends, to visit Thomasville at his earliest convenience. If you will do this, I am convinced that you will not only be able to throw away your medicinal props, but will conclude, as has President Eisenhower and Miss Roosevelt, that we have fine weather and a lot of mighty nice folks down there.

LIKES THOMASVILLE—"I'M KATE," GREETING AT UNITED STATES EMBASSY

(By Sterling Slappey)

LONDON, April 10.—The reserved and frosty representative of the Queen who calls at the United States Embassy is apt to be met by a lovely young girl who says:

"Hi; I'm Kate."

From that point on British-American relations are on the upgrade, for the man hardly exists who wouldn't like Kate Roosevelt.

Miss Roosevelt is ambassador John Hay Whitney's stepdaughter. She is 21, brown haired, and wears blue jeans 3 or 4 days a week. Recently she has been serving as Embassy hostess while her mother, the former Betsey Cushing, of Boston, recovered from an operation.

She is sure of herself in greeting either a diplomat or the dustman, and she's fast becoming one of London's favorite people.

Whitney is "Daddy" to her and Franklin D. Roosevelt is remembered as "Granddaddy." Her father is James Roosevelt, Mrs. Whitney's first husband.

The Whitneys took Kate along recently for luncheon at Clarence House with Queen Mother Elizabeth and Princess Margaret. She hasn't met the Queen and Prince Philip yet but "hopes to."

When she calls herself Kate, or Katie, she gives the English a pleasant shock.

Most English people are congenitally unable to be so informal themselves, but they like to see it when it is well done.

"I'm afraid sometimes I may be too informal for these people. They always are asking you 'how do you like London?'

"I tell them, of course I like London and that I'm going to stay over here with mother and daddy for at least 6 months.

"But, I like Thomasville, Ga., better.

"That is my favorite place. The shooting (bird) is wonderful. I like the weather and a lot of the people down there."

The Whitneys have a large plantation at Thomasville.

Kate was asked if telling the English that she likes Thomasville better than London was the kind of diplomacy taught by Ambassador Whitney.

"Daddy hasn't given me any special lessons in diplomacy," she says.

Check This Vertical Flight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Cheraw, S. C., Chronicle of April 11, 1957:

CHECK THIS VERTICAL FLIGHT

An edgy President Eisenhower, who assured his press conference he was feeling very much better, also decried futile and fatuous talk about serious budget cutting, defended foreign aid as mutual security, and froze a reporter who asked if he would be willing to do without that pair of helicopters that have been proposed for getting you out to the golf course.

"Well, I don't think much of the question," said the President with unusual asperity, "because no helicopters have been procured for me to go to the golf course." He shut off further questioning with an icy "Thank you, that is all."

But there's something symbolic about those helicopters. After the first golf-transport announcement, it was said they were to take him to the airport, and the latest explanation is they are to take him to the secret White House in case of a genuine air-raid alert. In view of the fact that most of the Cabinet were helicoptered to Camp David for a meeting about a year ago, it would seem that the Air Force might be able to take care of the President without all this hullabaloo. On the other hand, he also told his press conference that saving a few millions here and a few millions there was poor economy.

Patriotism in Modern America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following essay entitled "Patriotism in Modern America," written by Miss Susan McGrath, 220 East Livingston Street, Celina, Ohio.

Susan, a senior in Immaculate Conception High School, Celina, Ohio, was one of 12 State winners in the annual Ohio American Legion essay contest.

Mr. Fred J. Strohl, Jr., commander of Celina Post No. 210, American Legion and the post members are to be commended for encouraging the young people of their community to participate in this worthwhile program. The Celina Post has had 3 State winners in the past 7 years.

The following essay won statewide recognition for Miss McGrath:

PATRIOTISM IN MODERN AMERICA

(By Susan McGrath, Celina, Ohio)

Patriotism means love and loyal support of one's country, yet it is too often thought of only in terms of battle. Modern American patriotism covers a much greater field than this. Although defense of one's nation is a heroic example of love and support, patriotism extends to our churches, to our schools, and to our scientific and business organizations. The common man can and does practice this virtue in his everyday life.

The scientists who devote their time at low salaries to the discovery of modern techniques and methods that make up a strong nation; the manufacturers, and satisfied peoples; the Government workers who give up big money making positions to serve their country; the teachers who dedicate themselves in youth the love of, loyalty to, and pride in their country—these are examples of persons truly as patriotic as the men and women who exhibit patriotism under the stress of war and fighting.

In spite of the fact that the United States is a young country, it stands among the leading nations of the world today. Why? There are many reasons, chief among which might be mentioned, her great natural resources; but if it were not for the love and loyal support of her citizens, America would not be the prosperous country it is. Our land got its start from freedom-loving patriots and it continues in its path of glory

only through the efforts of its modern patriots.

Modern America gives its citizens a high standard of living, security, happiness, freedom of every kind, and an all-around better way of life. The citizens of the United States must give their land stanch patriotism in return.

To give loyal support to America, it is necessary to fulfill all the duties of a good citizen. Patriotism must be shown in our spiritual life as well as in our family life, working life, and in our school life.

Young people in school owe it to America to obtain the best education they can, so that, when the time comes, they can give intelligent participation in civic affairs. Giving aid in civic projects, taking active part in patriotic organizations—these are the marks of a truly patriotic modern American.

Patriotism in modern America is an everyday thing, inseparable from every citizen of this great land. It stands out as one of the leading virtues that the people as a whole possess. It seems to be just as natural as breathing, for how could anyone help loving a country as wonderful as our own United States of America?

Views From the Districts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, Philip W. Porter is one of this country's outstanding journalists. His daily columns appearing in the Cleveland Plain Dealer are widely read and quoted. Phil Porter's columns are characterized not only by their astute analysis of current problems, but reflect throughout the discerning qualities of the writer. One of his most recent and timely articles follows:

PORTER ON CUTTING TAXES—YOUR VOICE AS A TAXPAYER APPARENTLY IS MUCH STRONGER THAN YOU MIGHT THINK

(By Philip W. Porter)

Amazing, isn't it, what a passion for economy has suddenly swept Congress. Well, not exactly. As the man once said, congressmen don't see the light; they feel the heat. And they're feeling heat today from us taxpayers. High time, too.

Of course, economy has always been a fine thing to talk about before election and forget later. And there have been successful feeders at the public trough who have pretended to be great economizers, but who have simply followed the unbeatable pattern of underestimating their revenues, then sitting on the surplus.

They pretend to be saving money; actually they save nothing, because the taxes are being collected anyway.

But this year apparently is different. A long time ago, a wise owl said that if you got enough people paying steep income taxes, they'd squawk sufficiently to bring them down. This seems to be what is happening today. The income level is now up so high that thousands of horny-handed sons of toil are bleeding from the checks they are sending to the internal revenue office.

President Eisenhower is catching it because is budget was higher instead of lower. Both parties in Congress are trying to figure out a way to make a tax cut before the next congressional elections, beginning a little more than a year from now. Meanwhile, appropriations committee members are swinging the ax mightily at the Ike budget and already have got a billion or so out? That ain't hay, chums. Ever figure how much a billion is?

LONG WAY TO GO

Of course, it would be wise not to spend your tax cut (projected) yet, or even to count on the budget cuts staying in the bill when it passes both Houses and then is agreed on by the conference committee. An old legislative trick is to cut in the House and restore in the Senate, then split the difference in conference.

But you can bet your boots that sentiment among citizens is overwhelming right now for a cut in spending, and a corresponding cut in taxes. The first tipoff came when our new Senator, FRANK LAUSCHE, who keeps not only one, but both ears to the ground (a neat trick, but he's full of good ones) sounded off boldly against the pan-American games appropriation, after the $5 million already had been stricken from the bill. Other Congressmen made a quick check back home, and finding majority sentiment strongly in favor of cuts, took a similar brave position. It's completely safe to go with a sure majority.

I believe the Ike administration by now realizes it made a mistake by not asking for a cut to begin with. They darned well should. They would make a big hit, and recoup lost ground, by submitting a revised budget, with some real cuts—and in the Defense Department, too. It has become almost a cliché to say, when you're talking cuts, "Oh, but you can't cut defense."

Well, I'm not suggesting they cut expensive big aircraft or guided missiles or research or tanks or supercarriers. But I am suggesting we can sell a lot of useless real estate, eliminate duplicate purchasing systems, modernize the military payroll system, desist in filing so much junk paper on the pretense it's really secret, and finally unify the armed services. The way they are today, they've triplicated their overhead, and expense, instead of economizing, which was the original objective.

NO WEAKENING THERE

These soft spots are all in the Defense Department, and most of them were recommended for extinction by the Hoover Commission report. To cut this fat wouldn't weaken us a bit; it would simply eliminate some useless jobs and improve overall efficiency.

Whole departments and projects could be abandoned in other executive departments. Sure, the jobholders and the promoters would squawk, for they are dedicated public servants and sincerely think their own project is all important. But many are strictly luxuries. And these folks don't pay the bill. We do.

Economy would raise the very devil with Federal employees and they'd be lobbying their heads off (probably are already) at the first cry of alarm. Well, let 'em; they've a right to be heard. But Congress has the semifinal word. You have the final one. And right now it's no.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 27, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I wish to include in the Appendix of the RECORD the following article which appeared in the April 1957 issue of the American Legion magazine:

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

May I compliment the American Legion on its stand for sound Americanism. It is apparent that veterans, as a group who fought to retain freedom, stand ready to fight against any principles that would lose those freedoms. This is the reason that I am proud to have been a continuous member of the American Legion since our local post was chartered.

A symbol of this freedom fight is your continuous opposition to Federal aid to education. With many others I have been concerned about the excessive growth of our Federal Government and its attempts to assume too many functions that rightfully belong to the States and to local governments.

One such attempted usurpation of authority is this repeated effort to authorize the Federal Government to assume control of the public-school system. If this movement is permitted to grow, then too soon we can expect government schools with thought control instead of public schools with freedom of thought.

Equally important would be the effect on the several States and on local initiative. Our home State of Indiana (and I understand this is true of all of the States) has been able to supply all of the necessary classrooms without Federal aid. In doing so, millions of dollars have been saved for the taxpayers. Whenever any of our tax dollars travel from our home State to Washington, and then are returned back to us, these same dollars have shrunk to a small fraction of the original amount.

There are justified complaints on the size of the present proposed Federal budget. The proposal to provide Federal aid to schools would add to this burden. Thus, savings to the taxpayers should be a serious consideration.

JOHN V. BEAMER,
Member of Congress From
Fifth District, Indiana.

Federal Handouts for Local Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a letter from Dr. A. P. Black, research professor of chemistry at the University of Florida, which is refreshing in the very fact that it opposes Federal handouts for local projects. He also suggests that this is one way of cutting down the budget. I wish to insert Dr. Black's letter, dated April 5, at this point:

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE HERLONG: I should like to suggest that you cast your vote in the negative with respect to that part of the appropriations bill setting aside funds to be used in constructing sewage treatment facilities by local communities. Although the construction of sewage treatment plants does have public health significance, this is a matter which should be handled entirely at the local level without Federal participation.

In my considered opinion, elimination of items of this type constitutes one highly desirable method of reducing the tremendous proposed budget of the President.

Cordially,

A. P. BLACK.

Air Force Merits Praise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, at this time, when the American public has indicated its interest and determination for economy in Government and careful scrutiny of Federal expenditures, the article submitted herewith by George Peck is refreshing and stimulating.

I invite the Members to take the time to read it because it is deserving of that attention. If more Federal agency heads were as careful as the dedicated Government people handling taxpayers' funds mentioned in this article, I think the budget could unquestionably be cut substantially, with the ultimate benefit of tax reduction for the overburdened American taxpayer.

The article follows:

AIR FORCE MERITS PRAISE

(By George Peck)

Over the years in this column I've had much to say about wasteful Government spending—have pointed out that many Government agencies are prone to vie with each other to spend as much of the taxpayers' money as possible. Their ideas of success seem to be predicated on how expensive they can make their procurements—the more expensive, the more successful.

Therefore, it is, indeed, a pleasure to have found a Government agency that is buying the most of the best for the least. What makes it really something to cheer about is that it is charged with purchasing the most of any Government agency. The Department making this enviable record is the Air Force, which during a fiscal year, purchases approximately $10 billion of materiel, consisting of about 1,250,000 different items. Nearly all these items are purchased through Air Materiel Command at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. Testifying to the high moral standing and the patriotism of the men engaged in spending this huge sum is the fact that during the past 3 years only 1 employee has been convicted of dishonesty.

Gen. E. W. Rawlings, the commander of Air Materiel Command, with headquarters at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, has under him in charge of both purchasing and production, Maj. Gen. D. H. Baker, a graduate of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, and directly in charge of all purchasing is Brig. Gen. W. T. Thurman. In addition to his extensive procurement experience, General Thurman is an excellent lawyer, having formerly been general counsel of the Air Force.

In awarding an order for the purchase of airplanes costing several hundred million dollars, the entire organization works for many months and sometimes more than a year watching every detail to make certain that the best in quality is obtained at the lowest possible price. Everyone realizes that. But, because so few realize the meticulous care taken in purchasing small items, the procedure followed in purchasing transportation services is outlined.

Lt. Col. Arthur G. Frankel, Jr., who practiced law for 7 years before enlisting, is Chief of the Airlines Branch; his Deputy Chief is Oliver C. Brumm. Robert F. Hinger is contract specialist of this branch. These three men work as a team on many procurements.

Colonel Frankel's department prepares a Request for Proposal from contractors which becomes the basis for making bids. When the bids are received in Colonel Frankel's section, the entire organization goes into high gear to evaluate the thousands of technical details involved. After all the information has been laid out in the simplest possible form, these three men meet to determine who has offered the lowest price. Each bidder is required to list the cost of each item which represents a part of his total price. The buying officers soon become familiar with these figures and can spot instantly where and why a bidder may be too high. They sometimes question the lowest bidder as to his ability to furnish service at the price he quoted.

In this department one ten-thousandth of a dollar is important and frequently the difference between the rate offered by the lowest and the next lowest bidder is only two ten-thousandths of a dollar.

Before the lowest bidder is awarded the contract, his facilities are inspected to make certain that he can fulfill all the requirements. After passing this test, his bid is submitted for review by senior officers before the contractor is notified. Through these technical checks and balances, performance is assured and the buyers make certain that the penalties for nonperformance are heavy, to protect the Government in all cases.

Proof of the dedicated loyalty to the Government of these people who are handling the taxpayers' funds is that in most cases their salaries are about one-third as high as the industry personnel negotiating with them.

As an incentive, awards are offered to the buyers for developing new methods that result in lower costs. For example, in October 1953, Mr. Brumm received the Buyer of the Month Award; in December 1954, he received the Efficiency Award; and in March 1956, he again received the Buyer of the Month Award. These awards were given for developing new buying concepts in transportation services and for materially reducing costs in purchasing overseas air transportation.

Yes, indeed! It's a pleasure to have discovered and to be able to report a Government agency, the employees of which are handling the taxpayers' money as though it were their own.

Cut Waste, Not Muscle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Rock Hill Evening Herald (S. C.) of April 10, 1957:

CUT WASTE, NOT MUSCLE

President Eisenhower has said the only really big cuts possible in the Federal budget would have to come from security items such as defense and foreign aid. The President declared cuts in these items would endanger national security.

We disagree. Cutting our defenses is one thing. Cutting waste out of the defense and foreign aid budgets is another.

The Defense Department ought to make a bigger effort to unify the services. It should trim out needless duplication and overlapping. The Official Airline Guide lists 563 military posts and camps in the United States, alone. Can't the Pentagon consolidate these operations without endangering security?

Pentagon chiefs ought to study ways to save on manpower, costs. One suggestion has been to stop industry from draining off the technicians that the armed services have trained at great expense to taxpayers. Some observers say this rapid turnover of trained technicians could be halted by giving merit raises to valuable technical people. They say it is far cheaper to pay salaries comparable to those paid for similar work in industry than to train a new force of technicians every few years.

Defense costs now amount to more than 10 percent of the gross national product—the value of all goods and services produced in the United States in a year. Military chiefs are talking in terms of new billions to convert the Armed Forces to an atomic footing.

If the military wants to keep pace with the atomic age it must find ways to cut out wasteful spending.

Washington Report by Bruce Alger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 28, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, as a weekly service to my constituents I report most briefly the week's legislative and congressional activities in which I participate. The following is the current report:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

The Department of Commerce and related agencies appropriation bill for 1958 was reduced $69 million (9½ percent) below 1957 expenditures and $218 million (25 percent) below the budget request. Savings thus far this year in six appropriations now total $1,039,000,000 (7.2 percent of $14,300,000,000). Really impressive savings—that is, cutting below 1957 expenses—are infinitesimally small. Government is still growing, more than the population increase, most discouraging. In the CAA portion of the bill air traffic safety will be increased with more radar control and personnel on the airways traffic lanes. The suggestion has been made that those aircraft using the airways could help pay the cost, thus relieving the taxpayer. We must decide soon—and the people are concerned—whether in many Government services we pay our way or charge it to Uncle Sam, and like the ostrich with head in sand, pretend it isn't costing us, all the while demanding budget cuts.

The House passed the Export-Import Bank Act extending the expiration date 5 years from 1958 to 1963. The bank, financed by United States dollars, has made loans of $5,277,000,000 to 68 countries as aid to United States trade in manufactured and agricultural products. Charging interest sufficient to repay the Treasury 2¼ percent, the Bank has lost only $500,000 with $9 million in loans past due, and has paid its own expenses, which are 1.7 percent of gross income, while building a reserve of $435 million. This program has been one of the Government's more businesslike arrangements.

The amendment of Anglo-American financial agreement, the British loan, posed a real question. The Great Britain loan of $4.472 million requires a 50-year annual payment of principle and interest of $138 million with

an option of canceling the interest portion (approximately $81 million) if certain trade and currency conditions prevail making repayment difficult. Now Britain wants to cancel this year's payment or work out a new agreement, hence this amendment. The amendment would set up a new formula permitting postponement of payment. Arguments for: (1) A better chance of our being repaid; (2) A needed ally needs help; (3) Secretary Humphrey favored it. Arguments against: (1) The $81 million interest payment was already in escrow in a United States bank, so Britain had the money; (2) a just-announced British tax cut of $280 million suggested they could pay (and we could cut our taxes); (3) over $8,000 million in economic aid plus untold billions in military aid had earlier gone to Britain; (4) we're in effect supporting Britain's welfare programs. The vote was divided without pattern, but it passed 218 to 167. I voted against it.

A trip by our Interstate Committee members through the United Aircraft plant building, the Pratt & Whitney aircraft engine and Sikorsky helicopter at Hartford and Bridgeport, Conn., added to our aircraft knowledge. The J-57 and J-75 jet engines being tested were regular infernos of power (a horsepower now roughly requires two ounces of engine weight, as blades whirl 11,000 revolutions per minute). The helicopter flights were magic carpet-like as we went almost straight up and down in traveling between airports. Shuttle services will soon be prevalent throughout the country. Igor Sikorsky was as interesting as his fabulous engineering reputation would suggest. He enthusiastically reminisced about his early helicopter, "A fine machine. Its only fault—it wouldn't fly." They fly now—all sizes and styles.

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 8 carries a Dallas constituent's letter to a fellow Texas Congressman (which he then put in the RECORD), commenting on and approving the courage of the Member who opposes Federal handouts when, most tempting of all, the Federal money is for his own district. To this constituent, and many other Dallas residents for recognizing the problem and commending me, my thanks. Yes, it is tough, and public understanding and approval are necessary.

General Twining, the new head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, joined several of us for breakfact this week. We listened and questioned him concerning defense plans. He stressed the three roads we are simultaneously traveling in military preparedness developing (1) conventional weapons, (2) nuclear weapons, and (3) guided missiles of all types. No wonder the expense.

Several items suggesting further legislative squabbles: The Postal Department-Congress struggle over increased money needs versus reduced service; foreign-aid money to be partially put in the military and removed from congressional scrutiny; Walter Reuther's "less work for more pay" announcement, completely overlooking the need for "increased productivity" only making it all possible (not Federal law or the bargaining table.)

Annual Congressional Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following press release dated April 15 regarding the results of my annual congressional poll taken among the residents of my district:

PRESS RELEASE FROM THE OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN ALVIN M. BENTLEY, EIGHTH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN

Congressman ALVIN M. BENTLEY, Republican, of Michigan, today released the results of his annual congressional poll taken among residents of the Eighth Congressional District of Michigan. This year more than 13,000 questionnaires were answered and returned. Occupations of those replying were given as follows: Farmers, 2,296; workers, 3,292; business, 1,323; professional, 1,147; housewives, 88; office workers, 1,796; others, 3,070. The results of the poll are listed below:

1. I favor the following in a farm program:

(1) High price supports (9.3 percent)	1,213
(2) Flexible supports (37.6 percent)	4,896
(3) Soil bank program (32.6 percent)	4,241
(4) No supports (24.4 percent)	3,174
(5) Other (3 percent)	390

(Farmers voted 37 percent for a soil bank program and 30 percent for no supports as their first choices.)

2. The following items in our national budget could best be reduced for more economy:

(1) National defense (12 percent)	1,559
(2) Foreign aid (70.6 percent)	9,188
(3) Veterans' benefits (18 percent)	2,346
(4) Farm payments (31 percent)	4,037
(5) Health and welfare program (14.5 percent)	1,887
(6) Other (4.8 percent)	621

All groups put foreign aid first and farm payments second. Farmers voted 27.3 percent for cuts in their own payments.)

3. The Federal Government should help our schools as follows:

(1) Direct subsidies for teaching salaries (11.9 percent)	1,545
(2) Grants to States for school construction (27.3 percent)	3,556
(3) Loans to States for construction (33.0 percent)	4,295
(4) Scholarships for colleges and universities (15.4 percent)	1,999
(5) Assistance to lower interest rates on school bonds (41.3 percent)	5,379
(6) Nothing (11.6 percent)	1,514
(7) Other (2.6 percent)	332

(All groups listed numbers 5 and 3 in that order as their first two choices.)

4. We need the following improvements in our Social Security laws:

(1) Lower retirement age for men and women (46.1 percent)	5,997
(2) Allow increased outside earnings (59.8 percent)	7,784
(3) Increase minimum benefits (30.9 percent)	4,019
(4) Pay full benefits regardless of other pension income (38.9 percent)	5,059
(5) Other (3.8 percent)	499

(Workers voted 64 percent to lower retirement age but all other groups gave absolute majorities for increases outside earnings. Housewives voted for it 70.5 percent.)

5. Our immigration laws need the following changes:

(1) More immigrants permitted per year (4.2 percent)	543
(2) Revise quota system to take care of oversubscribed countries (16.1 percent)	2,093
(3) More liberal provisions for adopted children (31.3 percent)	4,078
(4) Other (6.2 percent)	812
(5) No change in present law (29.0 percent)	3,770

(For the most part, all groups voted evenly between numbers 3 and 5. Apparently the only change that receives any support is to facilitate entry of orphans and adopted children.)

6. The Post Office Department needs:

(1) Higher postal rates (27.8 percent)	3,618
(2) Increased salaries for postal workers (21.4 percent)	2,787
(3) To be run on a business basis (50.3 percent)	6,542
(4) To be operated only as a public service (27.4 percent)	3,566
(5) Other (3.5 percent)	451

(All groups substantially endorsed the principle that the Post Office Department should be run like any other business.)

7. In the field of labor legislation, I favor:

(1) Government-supervised secret strike ballots (38.1 percent)	4,959
(2) Permission for secondary boycotts (3.5 percent)	460
(3) Antimonopoly legislation against unions (39.9 percent)	5,186
(4) Investigation of union trust funds (58.0 percent)	7,542
(5) Repeal of Taft-Hartley Act (11.7 percent)	1,517
(6) Compulsory union shop in all States (7.2 percent)	931
(7) Other (3.3 percent)	430

(Workers voted as follows: (1) 35.3 percent; (2) 4.5 percent; (3) 31 percent; (4) 55.1 percent; (5) 19.7 percent; (6) 13.5 percent.

The vote for No. 4 might have been larger if answered after the recent teamster investigations in Washington.)

8. We should have helped the Hungarian uprising as follows:

(1) Send troops (3.7 percent)	480
(2) Send weapons (11.9 percent)	1,546
(3) Send food and clothing only (37.2 percent)	4,840
(4) Admit all refugees (5.1 percent)	664
(5) Press for U. N. police force or other U. N. action (60.4 percent)	7,861
(6) Nothing (6.5 percent)	849
(7) Other (2.1 percent)	278

(All groups appear to regard the Hungarian problem as strictly a United Nations affair and believe that our assistance should be confined to charity and relief supplies.)

9. Do you think we should have stronger civil rights legislation on a Federal basis or let the States handle their own problems?

(1) State (52.2 percent)	6,790
(2) Federal (30.7 percent)	3,996
(3) Other (2.4 percent)	317

(All groups gave a slim majority to the principle that the question of civil rights is primarily a State problem.)

10. If prices and wages continue to rise we should:

(1) Impose price and wage controls (43.5 percent)	5,665
(2) Investigate unions and corporations alike (63.8 percent)	8,307
(3) Have tighter credit controls (31.6 percent)	4,107
(4) Do nothing (2.1 percent)	279
(5) Other (2.7 percent)	357

(Almost all groups listed Nos. 2 and 1 in that order as their choices. Workers voted 66 percent for No. 2 and 48 percent for No. 1. Business voted 65 percent for No. 2 and 40 percent for No. 1. Only the professional people endorsed credit controls over price-wage controls.)

Congressman BENTLEY expressed his deep appreciation to all persons replying to his questionnaire and promised to reply personally to all letters and comments which accompanied the answers even though the number might mean a delay of several months for some.

Whither Bound America?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the March 1957 issue of the Masonic Monthly and written by Dr. James A. Chandler, 32d degree, K. T.:

WHITHER BOUND AMERICA?

(By Dr. James A. Chandler)

Communism masquerades in many garbs to court favor, to deceive, to mislead, and to win the American people. Whatever its tactics or its pretentions may be at one time or another, its avowed purpose to dominate the whole world remains the same.

It is likely that some Americans will be lulled into complacency by the new propaganda that Stalin's successors are not like the murderous Stalin, but are men of peace and respectability. "Come into my parlor said the spider to the fly."

This is no time to let our guards down. All indices point to the fact that never before was there greater need of vigilance. Whatever the new face of communism today or tomorrow, it carries the same bloody bayonet.

The Communist manifesto, the creation of Karl Marx in 1848, said:

"Seizure of power and retention of power throughout the world by the proletariat is only a matter of time. The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat is inevitable. In a word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so: that is just what we intend."

That purpose has remained the same for 108 years. Nikita Khrushchev, speaking recently to a group of Rangoon University students in India, said, "The days of capitalism in the world are approaching their end. Our system will win."

The national convention of the Communists in New York, May 27, 1928, began its fight to control legislation and governmental processes in the United States—a remolding of America according to Communist principles. A few of the revolutionary objectives outlined by the Communists at said convention were:

"Abolish the Senate, the Supreme Court, and the veto power of the President. Release all political prisoners immediately (and it was done). Withdraw all United States warships and Marines from China immediately. (This was so the Reds could eventually take over—which they did—with American aid.) Abolish all laws which disfranchise the Negroes on ground of color. (This is in process.) Abolish laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races. (This has been accomplished in some States, including the District of Columbia.) Abolish censorship over motion pictures, theaters, and radio. (The battle is still on.) Withdraw all troops from Latin America immediately. (Accomplished.) Repeal immigration laws immediately. (They are still working to that end.) Immediate recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States. (This was achieved.)" (William L. Roper.)

The Communists quickly gained the objective demanding immediate recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States, and there has been no end to the grief it has caused this country. President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized Soviet Russia on November 16, 1933. Some of Mr. Roosevelt's close advisers urged him not to do so, and millions of Americans have considered it a dangerous mistake. When we consider the conduct of Russia since the organization of the United Nations, its long line of vetoes and broken promises, its supreme contempt for freedom and constitutional government, its brutal murdering of millions and its enslavement of many millions more, it becomes increasingly apparent that the recognition of Russia was a most grievous mistake. Particularly so, when we recall that "good old Joe" promised Roosevelt, in return for recognition, that Russia would cease all meddling in the internal affairs of this country, and that then Stalin began immediately setting up one of the most diabolical spy machines ever known to history. Gerhard Eisler, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, David Greenglass, Alan Nunn May, Klaus Fuchs, Bruno Pontecarvo, Jacob Golos, Harry Dexter White, Alger Hiss, and many others had key roles in that great conspiracy against our Government.

Yet, be it said to our shame, "there is still a determined, well financed conspiracy in America to cover up the tracks of the Red stooges and their dupes. In many cases smear attacks have been made on patriotic, alert Americans who have dared expose the great conspiracy. In fact, a subtile, organized campaign is again underway to whitewash the conspiracy and belittle the menace of communism," (William L. Roper).

Space in these columns is inadequate to list the long line of crimes committed against humanity by the Soviet Union. The United Nations, particularly the United States, has manifested almost infinite patience toward the Kremlin, who, professing to believe there is no God, has lost all moral sense, all respect for the dignity of man and all faith in the moral order of the universe.

In the words of John Pichetto, published in the Mississippi Veteran, official American Legion publication:

"The time has arrived when the United States Government must break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet thugs and gangsters who hold power over the people of Russia. The justification for such a move is apparent. The Communist regime is not a government but a world-wide conspiracy. The trail of blood spilled by the Communist assassins extends all over the world. Facts brought to light by the Senate Internal Security Committee demonstrated that the Russian diplomatic missions and the Russian news service, Tass, are nothing but coverup agencies from which espionage activities are conducted in the United States. When a diplomatic mission ceases to be a diplomatic mission and becomes a focal center for spying, it no longer deserves the privilege of recognition. This is true of Soviet diplomatic and political organizations throughout the entire world. Yet the nation that commits atrocities and outrages against all human sensibilities is permitted to maintain in Washington a luxurious embassy, and its spies disguised as diplomats mingle with Washington society, sipping their vodka cocktails, smiling their false smiles and plotting their iniquitous plots right under the very shadow of the vital departments of our American Government."

It is believed by many of the electorate that if the issue were presented to the American people, they would vote overwhelmingly for the breaking off of all diplomatic relations with the Kremlin.

There are other conditions in our Government, considered abuses by countless millions of the electorate, against which they should like to register their protest, but how can they ever have that opportunity, if the international liberals, or collectivists, in both parties—a sort of third party—hold the balance of power, and thereby are able to block any corrective measure that might be presented by the constitutionalists or nationalists? No wonder there is need of new political parties with tightly drawn lines and clearly defined issues.

There are many national leaders and countless millions of the electorate who believe that the Government left us by our Founding Fathers has been greatly diluted and rendered ineffectual by the adoption of Socialist policies by both political parties, so much so that there is but little difference between them. They believe that the States and the people have been largely robbed of their sovereign rights and that the powers that rightfully belong to the States and the people are fast being concentrated in the Federal Government at Washington, D. C.

These columns have shown time and again by direct quotes from George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and others that the establishment of an oligarchy at Washington by the Federal Government is the greatest of all dangers to our country and the most of all to be feared. In fact, the Bill of Rights grew out of the recognition of that danger. The States were very jealous of their sovereign rights to govern themselves in their internal affairs. Accordingly, they demanded the guarantees recorded in the Bill of Rights, and they would not have signed the Constitution without those guarantees.

Yet, the Federal Government has sought through long years to rob the States of their rights and consolidate all power in the Federal Government in Washington, D. C. From 1860 to 1938 the Supreme Court rendered 60 decisions to invalidate certain acts of the Federal Government as unconstitutional invasions of the States, but since 1938 the Supreme Court has not reversed one single act of the Federal Government in order to protect the rights of the States reserved to them in the 10th amendment. Worse still, the Supreme Court since 1938—18 years—has lost no opportunity to increase its authority by a usurpation of the powers belonging to the States and guaranteed to them in the 10th amendment. Several recent decisions of the present Supreme Court seem to indicate that it is determined to complete the job.

But how much do people care so long as they have access to the "gravy train" of the Government, grants-in-aid for one thing and another? Nothing could be more dangerous to our country. To the extent we make a Santa Claus or a papa out of our Government, it becomes paternalistic, and to the extent it becomes paternalistic we lose our freedom. The only money our Government handles comes from the tax-burdened people, and, by the time the more than 2 million bureaucrats at Washington get their rakeoff, the people find that their money has shrunk almost beyond recognition. It has been demonstrated that the States can accomplish vastly more when they handle their own money and attend to their own interests.

Benjamin Franklin was a sage when he said, "He who trades his freedom for security loses both." We may depend upon it that whatever our Government contributes to, it will finally control, and all such is destructive to our Republic, the result of which will be the loss of our freedom to an oligarchy at Washington, D. C.

The Republic of Greece became an oligarchy. The Age of Pericles in Greece, nearly 500 B. C., was followed by the Age of the Sophists, expert in counterfeit logic, who made the people believe that black is white. The people were given a sort of dole, and they were coddled and softened by it. Instead of the people controlling the government, they were controlled by it. The people sold their freedom for security, with the result that the great civilization of Greece, the cradle of liberty, swiftly ended in oblivion.

Rome was first a republic, but certain leaders sold to the people the idea of Utopia, a glorified state with a centralized government

that would care for them. It promised them all needed securities so that they need not worry about anything. In time, a triumvirate took over. Then a second—Caius Octavius, Mark Antony, and Lepidus. After the liquidation of Mark Antony and Lepidus, the strong Octavius seized the reins of government and became the Roman Emperor, under the name of Augustus Caesar, to whom all must bow or lose their heads. That centralization of power in a dictator was largely responsible for the downfall of Rome.

When any nation listens to its sophists, or its demagogues, in time it will crumble into dust and ashes. Liberty perishes and the people mourn their departed glory. Will the voice of history cry aloud in vain to this generation?

The demand for the enactment of the so-called civil rights bill is further evidence of a determined effort to rob the States of their rights to control their own internal affairs, which were guaranteed to them by the Bill of Rights. The Federal Government is already exercising a gestapo authority at Clinton, Tenn. But what became of the police power of Tennessee, and where was the Governor, when 18 men were arrested at the behest of a Federal judge, denied trial by jury and treated as common criminals? That judge usurped an authority that belonged to the sovereign State of Tennessee. As David Lawrence said:

"Is Tennessee still a State in the Union, or has it abdicated entirely to the Federal Government? Has it given up its exclusive right under the Constitution to maintain law and order, to insist upon trial by jury, and to punish through its own State courts all criminal cases of assault and battery and threats to the safety of an individual? * * * It means that the State of Tennessee and the county of Anderson, which have the primary duty to maintain law and order, have given way to a superior power—a Federal judge's arbitrary action. It is a tragic day in American history."

Senator HARRY F. BYRD says that this civil rights bill is "the most iniquitous" that has ever been offered to the Congress. Yet President Eisenhower calls it "must" legislation. Mr. Eisenhower in a speech at Fort Worth, Tex., before he was first elected to the Presidency, said:

"I believe that we should not forget that what the Founding Fathers of America strove for was the diffusion and decentralization of power—strove to keep power out of the hands of the central government to the detriment of individuals. If we can remember that, if we surrender responsibility we must surrender a comparable degree of authority—if we can remember this and solve our own problems our own way—then faith of our Founding Fathers that this Nation can govern itself will be justified."

Various quotes have been made in the Congress from speeches made by Mr. Eisenhower, when he first ran for the Presidency, that favored the preservation of the rights guaranteed to the States and the people by the Constitution, and that indicated he was against the centralization of power in the Federal Government. Certainly that is no more than should be expected of him or any other loyal American. The Constitution needs no concessions from any citizen. It demands respect.

According to reports, if this civil rights bill, now urged by Mr. Eisenhower becomes law, it will "create a national police force to supersede and sit in judgment upon the activities of local and State law enforcement officers in almost any kind of case they might handle." That simply means that the law enforcement agencies of the States would be puppets, or secondary and subservient to the Federal Government, and that means the usurpation of the rights reserved to the States by the Constitution.

It means that the Civil Rights Commission proposed by that bill would be a Kremlin-like executive branch in Washington and plenty of gestapo in the South, with power to arrest without warrant, arrest upon suspicion, false accusation, or hearsay of disloyalty to integration, voting privileges, or else, and be forced to go to Washington, D. C., for trial without jury and all at your own expense. The accused would have to pay for whatever legal talent he needed or go before this inquisition, called the Civil Rights Commission, without it.

Talk about some States denying Negroes the civil right to vote. The Supreme Court has already, without legal right, by unanimous vote denied the whites their divine right to freedom of choice, which is the basis of all freedom, so that they can no longer choose their own company, nor the company of their children. Talk about needing a law against lynching. The South has already been lynched and left hanging from a socialogical limb of a tree misnamed "modern science." Just what are we coming to in this "land of the free"?

Yet President Eisenhower says this civil-rights bill is must legislation. In the opinion of many national leaders and many of the electorate, it seems impossible to harmonize Mr. Eisenhower after the election with Mr. Eisenhower before the election. Could it be that Mr. Eisenhower has misinterpreted his popular vote to mean a mandate from the people that now the Federal Government must violate States rights by assuming the functions that belong to the States, and thereby consolidate the powers reserved to the States by the Constitution in an oligarchy at Washington? The Southern people believe that Mr. Eisenhower's popular vote was a mandate to keep our boys from becoming cannon-fodder in another war. Korea-like or other.

What is it in Washington that works so effectually against the rights reserved to the States and the people by the Constitution to control their own internal affairs? Countless millions of voters who care more for their country than they do for a party label think they know what it is, and what they want is just one chance to cut off its tail just behind its ears at a certain guillotine called the ballot box.

Our Republic has been imperiled ever since it was founded, and more so today than ever. When Benjamin Franklin was asked, in the year 1787, what the Constitutional Convention had given to the people, he replied, "We have given to you a Republic, if you can keep it." There are always complacent souls who sense no danger ever. Everything is always just fine and lovely. They look askance at anyone who voices a word of alarm.

Monday, September 17, 1787, was the final day of the Constitutional Convention, meeting in Philadelphia to form a new Government for the United States.

Benjamin Franklin arose to address the Convention for the last time. He said:

"This (new form of government for the United States) is likely to be well administered for a course of years and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupt as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other."

Whither bound America?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Time For Vigilance, National Republic magazine, William L. Roper.

The Right of the People, September 21, 1956, the Dan Smoot Report.

The Question of Awful Moment, Mississippi Veteran, John Pichetto.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 22, 1957, page A381.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 17, 1957, page A303.

The U. S. S. "Randolph"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, on April 11, 12, 13, 1957, in connection with congressional duties, I, together with 8 Congressmen, inspected the aircraft carrier U. S. S. *Randolph* and observed air operations. The trip was very informative, illuminating, and inspiring. It left us with the feeling that our naval defenses are in competent hands and that our future is being provided for.

The orientation cruise began on Thursday evening after Congress recessed when we were conducted by Capt. Robert McElroy and Comdr. F. A. Manson to the Anacostia Airport and traveled by convair to Jacksonville, Fla. After an inspection of the naval airbase there, we were flown on Friday morning by a COD aircraft to the U. S. S. *Randolph* about 70 miles off the coast. Landing on a carrier with a sudden stop was a new experience.

I believe that a history of one of our aircraft carriers, a description of what I observed and my reactions may give the same pleasure to my colleagues and our citizenry as I received.

The U. S. S. *Randolph* is a recently modernized 31,000-ton aircraft carrier with a new angled flight deck, enclosed hurricane bow, new deck-edge elevators and other improvements. The carrier possesses almost unlimited range and enormous striking power. Her air group is capable of seeking out and destroying any force which a potential enemy can muster in the air, on or under the sea. The chief function of the *Randolph* is to carry, launch, and handle aircraft quickly and effectively. Capable of achieving speeds in excess of 33 knots and carrying between 80 and 100 aircraft, the *Randolph* is a forceful argument against aggression of war.

The carrier with a length of 895 feet and breadth of 199 feet with its complement of 2,500 men and officers is under the experienced command of Capt. Daniel F. Smith, Jr., of Pittsburg, Tex. The officers are courteous, experienced, and efficient. The men, sailors, and mechanics with whom I had the opportunity to mingle and talk admire their captain and they enjoy good morale. Their only "beef" at this congressional inspection tour was the requirement to exercise extraordinary care to keep themselves and the ship spotless and neat. My talk with several of the enlisted men and officers revealed a high regard for their superiors and a satisfaction with their daily chow. What they missed most of all was their absence from their families and loved ones. In addition, they complained that to deny them the benefits of the GI bill upon separation from service was unfair.

This carrier bears a great name which dates back to the Continental Navy and

Revolutionary War. Named after Peyton Randolph, patriot and statesman from Virginia, this present flattop was constructed in Newport News, Va. She was launched in 1944. Her speed was the keynote. The *Randolph* was launching planes only 4 months after being commissioned, a feat believed to be without precedent in big carrier history. During World War II, the *Randolph* joined Adm. Marc Mitscher's famed task force in the Pacific and supported the landing of troops on Iwo Jima. The *Randolph* also saw action as a unit of Admiral Halsey's 3d Fleet in the final battle against the Japanese.

Since 1953, when she was modernized, she has conducted operations throughout the world, in Gibraltar, in Salonika, Greece, in Genoa and Naples, Italy, and in July of 1956 when the State of Israel was forced to invade Egypt to protect herself, the U. S. S. *Randolph* stood ready and her aircraft provided air cover and surface and air reconnaisance for the evacuation of United States nationals from Alexandria. She patrolled the area for 30 days to protect the United States interest.

Now the U. S. S. *Randolph* is off the Florida coast providing the training grounds for pilots of jetplanes, the Navy Cougars and of twin-engine A. J. Savage. To see these young cadets qualify by bringing down these fast and big planes on an angled deck of a moving carrier within a distance of 500 feet is breathtaking. If it is a difficult task in daylight, it is more so in darkness. The cadet fliers demonstrated their skill not only in the daytime but also at night. As a plane approaches the deck, hearts beat as fast as the moving jets. The question in the spectator's mind is will he land or will he overshoot? If he approaches too high or too low, the pilot is warned off by the signalman and the plane roars by. If he is within range and the landing hooks are down, the pilot makes his attempt to lay her down. Nerves of steel and pinpoint precision are needed. As the speedy Cougar or the twin-engined 50-foot-wide A. J. Savage settles on the angled deck, I breathed a sigh of relief and satisfaction. After the arresting cable brings the plane to a screeching halt, the plane is guided to the catapult, shot off into the blue and the process is repeated until the flier has completed at least 6 successful day landings. Upon completion of the final landing, everyone knows that another boy had become a man and joined the legion of qualified Navy pilots in America's defense. As night fell, these fliers were required to prove that they were skilled enough to land their planes on the angled deck under these conditions. No signalman was there to guide. The only help that these men had were the lights outlining the deck, their training, and their God. The only way to believe this performance is to see the operation. It baffles the imagination. Coordination and expert handling are required of the pilot, flight crew, and signalmen. A single mistake may bring disaster, death, or destruction. No serious accident took place and all cadets qualified except two who were overanxious and as a result were directed to fly back to Pensacola Airbase for further training and a new tomorrow.

As a safety measure in event of an accident, we had as a constant overseer a helicopter called " the Angel" and one destroyer. In the evening, two destroyers stood ready to do rescue work. They were almost called into action when one of the heavy planes after an apparently successful landing went a little too far and its left wheel toppled in the catwalk nets. A hundred Lilliputians tugging and pulling finally lifted the Gulliver onto the deck once again with very little damage to its structure. It was a close one.

Whatever questions we visiting Congressmen asked were supplied quickly and if not known, answers were obtained. To Lt. Comdr. Robert Reeve of New Jersey who spent numberless hours answering my naive questions and those of my colleagues and who pointed out the features of the angled deck, the arresting wires, the catapults, the twin-engine A. J. Savage, the Cougar, the control tower called the Pri-Fly, the radar system, and the "meatball," I can express only my appreciation and thanks. His attention and guidance will never be forgotten. With men like Lieutenant Commander Reeve, Captain McElroy, Commanders Manson and McNella who possess the practical, technical, and tactical knowledge, our country has very little to fear.

The work being done on the U. S. S. *Randolph* which thrilled me and earned my admiration is not unrecognized by the Navy. In 1955, this carrier won two of the Navy's highest honors; one, the Atlantic Fleet's coveted battle efficiency E, and the other the Chief of Naval Operations aviation safety award. The latter award was for the ship's outstanding safety record and commendable efforts in preventing aircraft accidents. This is a record that the *Randolph* can justly be proud of.

All I can say after this 3-day inspection tour is "Hail to the U. S. S. *Randolph*, its men, and its command."

The Horse and Buggy Days

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, here is a letter from one of the ancients who lived in the "horse and buggy days"—to which no one wishes to return. It reads:

DEAR FRIEND: I received your letter yesterday.

I was raised in the country, walked over a mile to school, and did chores morning and night. We sat two in a seat. There would be room in the schools now if they would do that.

I went to school to study, and went home after 4 p. m. There were no swings or slides on the school grounds. They have taken a lot of school houses out of the country. I never figured on a vacation when school was out. I thought I was having one when I was in school.

I was 77 May 19, 1956. My dad never gave me a dollar in his life to spend nor left me one when he passed on. He hired me to the neighbors when I was 13 for 50 cents a day, if he didn't need me at home, and he didn't give it to me to spend either. I know what a dollar is worth.

If F. D. R. and Truman, and Ike, had had to earn that money themselves, they wouldn't have been so free with giving it away. We want the Townsend plan so the money will be spent where it is needed.

I never bought a horse or buggy or cutter, wagon or car or tire or gasoline, on the installment plan.

I only get $30 a month social security. I could use more. We burn wood and I cut it. I sawed wood yesterday with a bucksaw. It is too nasty to work outdoors now. It snowed and rained a little last night. It is 38 above now and cloudy at 10:19 a. m.

I wish you all good luck, success, happiness and contentment blessed with health. May God bless and keep us all now and forever.

Yours truly,

SAMUEL T. JORDAN.

The foregoing is just inserted as proof that, while "the good old days" were not everything that one could desire, an individual with courage could get along. And no doubt Jordan wouldn't even need the $30 a month social security, if the New Deal internationalists hadn't imposed such ruinous taxes, thus cutting down his chance of providing for his own old-age security.

There should be some way of retaining our independence, still making progress, and more of us "paddling our own canoes."

The Washington Pilgrimage—A Symbol of the Religious Heritage of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, on April 26, 27, and 28 the Washington Pilgrimage, under its 7th annual program, will visit our Nation's Capital to pay tribute to our great American religious heritage.

During the weekend hundreds of men and women of all faiths, from all parts of America, will visit patriotic and historical shrines, religious centers, memorials, and various institutions of government. In the course of their program they will meet and hear personal messages from America's spiritual, cultural, and government leaders. One of the outstanding events of their program is an awards dinner on Saturday evening, April 27th. At that time, Dr. Louis H. Evans, former pastor of the Hollywood, Calif., Presbyterian Church, and who presently represents the Presbyterian Church on a nationwide basis, will be named Clergy-Churchman of 1957. The award will be made by Mr. Cecil

B. DeMille of Paramount Pictures, Hollywood, Calif.

The Washington Pilgrimage is an organized movement in America whose basic theme is "This Nation Under God," and whose purposes are:

To emphasize our national religious heritage.

To create a greater awareness of the spiritual vision and understanding of America's founders.

To rededicate ourselves to the spiritual origins of our country.

To strengthen our spirit of liberty under which Americans of all religious beliefs may prosper in unity.

To encourage vision, faith, and courage in order to revitalize our American faith in democracy and morality.

To recognize religious leadership by the only national awards in this field to the Clergy-Churchman, Lay-Churchman, Churchwoman of the Year, together with the Faith and Freedom Award in religious journalism.

Because of the importance of this occasion, and for the reason, in all probability, you will be visited by some of those participating in this important event, I take this opportunity to acquaint you with the purposes and activities of the Washington Pilgrimage.

The Father of All Good Roads in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include an editorial on Thomas Harris MacDonald, former Commissioner of Public Roads, which was carried in the April 16 edition of the Washington Post and Times Herald. I had the distinct pleasure of knowing Mr. MacDonald for a number of years and the following article certainly is a worthy tribute to this great man:

THOMAS H. MACDONALD

Thomas H. MacDonald, who died in Texas the other day at the age of 76, left an inheritance to his fellow Americans which will stand enduringly as a monument to his memory. For 34 years—from 1919 until his retirement in 1954—he served as the head of the United States Bureau of Public Roads. The country had scarcely a quarter million miles of public roads when he took office—and very little of that mileage was hard-surfaced. There were few bridges adequate to carry heavy trucks, the highway system was unintegrated, road markings were haphazard, thruways existed only in the dreams of this extraordinary hard-headed, practical, and determined visionary. When he left office, there were 3,500,000 miles of interlocking, hard-surfaced highways criscrossing America, the foundation for a national network linking together all parts of this continental land.

It was Thomas MacDonald who persuaded Congress to pass the first Federal highway legislation under which the National Government shared costs and set specifications for major road construction. He administered the expenditure of these funds with uncompromising devotion to the public interest, and with an absolute avoidance of politics which kept him at his post under 7 Presidents and 17 Congresses. In 1950, he appealed to Congress for a vast program of highway modernization and development which at last took definite form in the 50-billion-dollar National Highway Act adopted last year. Everyone who drives a car or truck, for business or for pleasure, across the face of America stands indebted to this quiet, forceful public servant who earned the title, "the father of all good roads in the United States."

Summerfield's Arrogance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I was very glad to read the editorial columns of the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of yesterday, April 15, and learned that they, too, had requested the removal of the Postmaster General, Mr. Summerfield, for his arrogant disruption last week end, not only of the post office system but of American business as well. I had also made such a request and introduced a resolution to make it a reality.

Mr. Speaker, the inefficiency and low morale of the post office employees at this time can be traced to the lack of knowledge, the lack of ability, and the lack of experience of the present Postmaster General.

This breakdown of the post office was the first since its inception in 1789.

The entire blame does not lie with the Postmaster General since the Eisenhower administration must also take a share of the responsibility of this debacle.

It was the president of the United States who refused to carry on the precedent established by his predecessor in appointing an employee of the post office who had received his promotions through his ability and standing in competitive examination. The only yardstick used by Ike's administration was that Mr. Summerfield sold General Motors cars, was a Republican, and a heavy contributor to the Party.

These standards should not have been a criteria in appointing a man to run one of the country's biggest businesses, employing over half a million people, doing a business volume of $2½ billion and maintaining 39,000 post offices.

House Resolution 234, introduced by me in yesterday's session, would do precisely as expressed in the editorial of the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph. It would not only remove the present Postmaster General but requested that his successor be appointed from the ranks of the postal employees. This would assure the public of having a man of experience and knowledge.

The editorial follows:

SUMMERFIELD'S ARROGANCE

The arrogance of Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield has brought about a bureaucratic shakedown of Congress and American taxpayers.

His arrogance succeeded last Saturday in canceling all regular mail deliveries in the United States on a business day for the first time in history.

It has succeeded beginning today in curtailing deliveries and hours when post offices are open to the public.

Mr. Summerfield high-pressured a congressional committee into voting him $41 million extra to run his Department through the remainder of the fiscal year ending June 30.

But even this did not move him to call off his cutback of services. He demands the money in hand.

His arrogance has hampered the operations of business and gravely inconvenienced the American people.

The crack-of-doom methods he has used raised questions of his efficiency and competence.

Whatever bureaucratic victory he has gained, the Postmaster General has lost the confidence of the public.

He ought to resign.

Comprehensive Confusion on the Middle Snake, or Who's in Charge Here?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, recently the Electric Consumers Information Committee released an excellent bulletin entitled "Comprehensive Confusion on the Middle Snake, or Who's in Charge Here?" This bulletin excels not only by having an apt title, but also by being highly informative in its summary of the untenable position which the administration presently occupies and which the Federal Power Commission submissively supports with regard to the Hells Canyon stretch on the Snake River.

I am sure this fine article will be of interest to my colleagues and under unanimous consent I am having it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

COMPREHENSIVE CONFUSION ON THE MIDDLE SNAKE, OR WHO'S IN CHARGE HERE?

With last week's recommendation by the Federal Power Commission staff that Pacific Northwest Power Co.'s Mountain Sheep-Pleasant Valley license application be denied because of the need for flood control storage at the Nez Perce site, the Middle Snake River is running even muddier than it was when it recently washed out the Idaho Power Co.'s coffer dam at Brownlee.

Last weekend Interior Secretary Seaton told a press conference he was "unalterably opposed" to the high Federal dam at Hells Canyon. Instead, Seaton has instructed the Bureau of Reclamation to restudy the Pleasant Valley site with the aim of determining feasibility of constructinng a higher, or a high-high storage project there.

During the recently concluded Senate Interior Subcommittee hearings on pending

Hells Canyon legislation (S. 555) the Corps of Army Engineers witness under questioning said that the corps would probably reopen the Middle Snake for restudy in connection with its review of the 308 comprehensive plan of 1948 now in progress. Earlier this year, Colonel Foote, in charge of the north Pacific division, had written James T. Marr, president of the National Hells Canyon Association, that the corps had no idea of including the Middle Snake in its review. Congressman DON MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington, received word from the Chief of Engineers that there would, indeed, be a restudy of the Nez Perce site.

These events have precipitated a situation of vast confusion on the Middle Snake. There are at present six different schemes calculated to develop this stretch of the river which extends from a point below Weiser, Idaho, at the upper end of the high Hells Canyon reservoir, downstream to Nez Perce site which is a short distance below the confluence of the Salmon with the Snake.

1. High Hells Canyon and Nez Perce: Hells Canyon was proposed by the Bureau of Reclamation in 1946 and by the corps in the main control plan, its 1948 comprehensive plan for the Columbia Basin. In 1949, it was assigned to the Bureau for construction when the corps and Bureau signed their joint comprehensive plan. Nez Perce was proposed by the corps for later construction because of the problem of high dams and migratory fish.

The corps' Middle Snake review of March 1952, found that the combination of Hells Canyon and Nez Perce would be the best possible for full development of the water resources of the Middle Snake. And the Bureau, in material made part of the record of the 1952 House hearings on the first separate Hells Canyon bill, had this to say about the two projects:

"The construction of Hells Canyon and Nez Perce develops most fully the potential water resources, since all available head, all available storage, and all available streamflows are fully utilized. Together they would develop 8.7 million acre-feet of storage and produce 2.5 million kilowatts of prime power capability. * * * The Hells Canyon plus Nez Perce combination is, therefore, the best plan for full resource development. * * * Since the Hells Canyon plus Nez Perce plan is the best, all comparisons of other plans are made to it.

"Hells Canyon is an essential part of this best plan. Also, Hells Canyon avoids the Salmon River fish problem."

2. Nez Perce plus the three Idaho Power Co. dams: This is the main part of what the Federal Power Commission staff calls its plan I, in its brief on the Pacific Northwest Power Co.'s Mountain Sheep-Pleasant Valley license application. It would provide about 5 million acre-feet of storage, and about 2 million kilowatts of prime power capability. It would prevent the construction of Secretary Seaton's proposed high or "high-high" Pleasant Valley projects, as it would the Mountain Sheep-Pleasant Valley scheme of Pacific Northwest Power Co.—all of which lie upstream in the Nez Perce reservoir area.

3. Secretary Seaton's proposed high Pleasant Valley Dam, plus two Idaho Power Co. dams: The Secretary's recent letter to Federal Power Commission Chairman Kuykendall, informed the latter that a restudy of Pleasant Valley site to obtain more needed storage on the Middle Snake was underway and as soon as the results were known, Kuykendall would hear from him. In 1953, the Bureau had plans for a large storage project at Mountain Sheep site as a substitute for Hells Canyon proposals. They went awry when it turned out that site conditions did not warrant this kind of structure.

In an April 1954 report, the Bureau proposed a low, run-of-river dam at Mountain Sheep and a medium-sized storage project upriver at Pleasant Valley. Subsequently, Pacific Northwest Power Co., composed of 4 of the largest private-power companies in the Pacific Northwest, filed license application to construct these 2 projects. Assistant Secretary Aandahl twice wrote to the FPC that the Bureau had no further interest in building the dams now that a license application was being considered by FPC. This was consistent with the backout from the Hells Canyon case by former Secretary of Interior McKay in May 1953.

In his press conference last week, Secretary Seaton expressed the pious hope that the FPC "will honor our request for a reasonable time within which to complete a study of the Pleasant Valley dam site." Evidently his letter to Kuykendall on this matter had been dictated but not read by Seaton, as there was no such request in it, unless it was written with invisible ink.

The high Pleasant Valley project, now under study by the Bureau, would both prevent construction of Nez Perce and Hells Canyon (Federal or Idaho Power) projects. It lies in the reservoir area of one and would inundate the other by its own reservoir. Total storage would amount to 1.3 million acre-feet, and in combination with Idaho Power's Brownlee and Oxbow Dams, would provide 2.3 million acre-feet of usable storage in the Middle Snake, and about 1.2 million kilowatts of prime power capability. It would also supersede the PNPC Pleasant Valley Dam.

4. Secretary Seaton's "high-high" Pleasant Valley Dam, plus Idaho Power's Brownlee project: This combination would eliminate Nez Perce and high Hells Canyon. It would supersede PNPC's Pleasant Valley Dam, and inundate Idaho Power's low Hells Canyon and Oxbow sites. If constructed, it would be the world's highest dam, at about 710 feet. The Bureau witness in the recently concluded Senate hearings on Hells Canyon legislation, said that there had been some discussion concerning the feasibility of such a dam, but no investigations or estimates have been made.

5. Pacific Northwest Power Co.'s Mountain Sheep-Pleasant Valley scheme, plus Idaho Power Co.'s three dams: This would prevent construction of Nez Perce and high Hells Canyon Dams. It would provide only 1 million acre-feet of usable storage for flood control (from Idaho Power's Brownlee reservoir) because the Pacific Northwest plan does not include flood-control valves on the outlet gates. Prime power capability would be about 1.2 million kilowatts.

6. Pacific Northwest Power Co.'s Mountain Sheep-Pleasant Valley Dams, plus High Hells Canyon: With a total of 3,880,000 acre-feet of flood-control storage (none from Pleasant Valley) this combination would provide prime power capability of about 1.7 million kilowatts. It would prevent construction of Nez Perce, high, or "high-high" Pleasant Valley, and the three Idaho Power Co. dams.

For the sake of adding to the confusion, the FPC staff's plan II in its recent Mountain Sheep-Pleasant Valley brief could be included. It consisted of storage on the Salmon River, low dams below Nez Perce at Asotin and China Gardens, PNPC Mountain Sheep-Pleasant Valley, and Idaho Power's three dams. It was discarded by the staff, however, as being inferior to its plan I discussed above.

It is obvious that November's election results have stirred the administration into a state of feverish activity to provide more storage on the Snake River, and thereby take the Hells Canyon monkey off its back by such a gesture. It is significant that the FPC staff brief recommended that no matter who builds Nez Perce to get the most storage in this sketch of the Middle Snake, that storage must be had. No recommendation was made by this same staff in the Hells Canyon proceedings that the High Dam be constructed in order to obtain nearly 4 million acre-feet of vitally needed storage.

Now the corps, the Bureau and Pacific Northwest Power can struggle for the go-ahead to develop the lower end of Hells Canyon, each proposing mutually exclusive projects, with no coordination, singleness of purpose, or broad plan. In the meantime, Idaho Power has asked the FPC for permission to borrow $44 million in unsecured promissory notes to keep its Brownlee project going.

If the general public can be kept sufficiently bewildered by this latest procession of plans for Middle Snake development, none of which include High Hells Canyon, and if a concerted effort in the Congress to pass Hells Canyon legislation is not made, Idaho Power can be so financially committed at its Brownlee project that Congress could well hesitate to pass the authorization when it considers the additional costs of clearing the company out of Hells Canyon.

But, with all this administration-contrived chaos to take the public's eye off the indispensibility of High Hells Canyon in any Middle Snake development plan, there should be one fact constantly in mind which was stated by the Bureau of Reclamation in the 1952 House hearings on Hells Canyon legislation:

"In short, if Hells Canyon storage capacity is wasted by construction of small dams, that loss will be permanent and cannot be recovered by any other combination of dams."

This is the haunting fact that Secretary Seaton, the Federal Power Commission, the Corps of Engineers and the Eisenhower administration is attempting to dodge by their unwillingness to admit a tragic error made in 1953. No matter where they turn, Hells Canyon stares at them like a skeleton at the feast.

Upper Fox River, Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD today a joint resolution adopted by the Wisconsin State Legislature, memorializing Congress to enact H. R. 742, relating to the improvement of the upper Fox River in Wisconsin. The resolution follows:

Whereas the Honorable MELVIN R. LAIRD, Member of Congress from the Seventh Wisconsin Congressional District, has introduced H. R. 742, which provides that the State of Wisconsin shall take over the Federal property of the upper Fox River; and

Whereas this proposal contemplates that the Federal Government provide funds not to exceed $300,000 to place the facilities on the upper Fox River in suitable condition for public use; and

Whereas the upper Fox River is one of Wisconsin's oldest traditions, having been used by the earliest explorers in their voyages from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River; and

Whereas the enactment of H. R. 742 is essential to the preservation of the upper Fox River as a waterway: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That the Wisconsin Legislature urge the Congress of the United States to take prompt and favorable action on H. R. 742; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Honorable JOHN A. BLATNIK, chairman of the Subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors of the House Public Works Committee, and to each member of the Wisconsin delegation in Congress.

ROBERT G. MAROTZ,
Speaker of the Assembly.
ARTHUR L. MAY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.
W. P. KNOWLES,
President of the Senate,
LAWRENCE R. LARSEN,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.

"Miracle" on the Potomac

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in Time magazine, February 25, 1957:

"MIRACLE" ON THE POTOMAC

Of the big southern cities that have ended segregation in their public schools, none have attracted more attention, or produced more controversy, than the Nation's Capital. Last December a House subcommittee headed by Georgia's JAMES DAVIS declared that integration had "seriously damaged the public-school system," and recommended that it be stopped. Last week a more reasonable judgment came from Washington's Assistant School Superintendent Carl F. Hansen. Integration, says he in a study published by B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League, has been nothing less than a "miracle of social adjustment."

INTRODUCTION VIA TV

When the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision in May 1954, Washington's tall (6 ft. 5 in.), intense Superintendent Hobart Corning lost not time in putting through a plan for wholesale desegration. "Transition," he told his teachers, "will not be easy," but he had already done much to pave the way. Among other things, the school system had produced a series of broadcasts that brought Negro teachers into white classrooms and white teachers into Negro classrooms via TV. In 1953, teachers began holding a series of interracial conferences on the problems that integration would produce. Finally, after opening day in September 1954, the Washington Daily News reported: School integration gets smooth start.

What effect has integration had since then? It is quite true, says Superintendent Hansen, that the number of white pupils in the schools dropped 10 percent in 1 year (67.9 percent were Negroes last year). But part of the reason for this could well be the nationwide migration of families into the suburbs. It is also true that the Negroes have, on the whole, scored below their white classmates in IQ tests, but the inferiority of the all-Negro schools, rather than the pupils themselves, is to blame. Between 1945 and 1953, a total of 45,000 pupils had been on a half-day schedule because of overcrowding; of these, 80 percent were Negroes. Now all but about 1,500 can go to school a full day. As for disciplinary problems, 11 integrated high schools reported 410 serious offenses last year, but these cases involved only 3.1 percent of the total high-school population. One school reported no cases, two others with a combined enrollment of 2,378 reported only 35.

"ONE OF US"

Many reported incidents of violence between Negro and white students have proved totally false. One irate grandmother, for instance, declared that a Negro boy had slashed her granddaughter's dress with a knife, had to back down when she found that the girl had torn her clothes while playing during recess, with no Negro boys around. Though there have been student fights and parental protests, says Hansen, none have amounted to much.

Perhaps the best illustration of how integration is working in Washington lies in dozens of anecdotes cited by Hansen. In September 1954 a white mother tried to transfer her child to another school because of the child's Negro teacher. Persuaded to postpone action for a 2- or 3-week trial period, the mother became so fond of the teacher—and so proud of her child's progress—that she happily decided to leave him where he was. In a junior high school, a group of boys decided to join an antiintegration demonstration going on in front of their school. But on the way outside the building, they passed a Negro classmate, and promptly proved that they had actually accepted integration without knowing it. "Hey, you," shouted a white boy at the Negro, "come on." Who—me?" asked the startled Negro. "Yes; you," said the white boy. "You're one of us, aren't you?"

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Republicanism at Work Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address on the subject Republicanism at Work Today, delivered by the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. THYE] before the Ramsey County Young Republican League annual convention in St. Paul, Minn., April 13, 1957.

I also submit for printing in the Appendix, to follow the address of the Senator from Minnesota, an editorial entitled "Modern Republicanism Judged by Its Results," from the St. Paul Pioneer Press of April 17, 1957.

There being no objection, the address and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPUBLICANISM AT WORK TODAY

(Address by EDWARD J. THYE, United States Senator from Minnesota, before the Ramsey County Young Republican League annual convention, Commodore Hotel, St. Paul, Minn., April 13, 1957)

My participation in the Ramsey County Young Republican League Convention is something I have looked forward to ever since I received the invitation from Mr. Butler. I have always maintained that no political party can long endure without the active participation at all levels of activity by those like yourselves who are dedicated to a keen interest and desire to serve in public and community affairs.

One topic which has assumed national importance in today's political life is that of modern Republicanism. Many Republicans have attempted to define it, while the Democrats maintain that it is a figment of imagination and that it does not exist.

I am one who believes that there is no easy definition for the term which President Eisenhower has created. I would like to believe that the term "modern Republicanism" can only be defined by example and by the record of the Republican administration and the Republicans in Congress.

If we quickly scan the record of the Republican Party in the past 4 years, we can begin to see that modern Republicanism is a very real thing which has won the support of the vast cross section of our people.

This record indicates that the Republican Party has met the fast-growing needs of our expanding economy without sacrificing the principles of our free-enterprise system. It has proved to be sensitive to the human needs of our Nation, and, at the same time, has maintained a fiscal stability which has allowed us to assume heights of prosperity which, 30 years ago, challenged man's imagination.

We might use the following examples in considering our definition:

1. One of the great problems of our day is that of providing school facilities for our expanding school population. It is interesting to note the approaches taken to this problem by the two major political parties. The administration has submitted a bill to the Congress which urges that funds should be made available for school construction only in those areas where a need is demonstrated. We know there are areas where the number of school-age children far exceeds the space available for classrooms. The administration would also require that the local units match the Federal funds. The Democratic Party proposed legislation for Federal aid to school construction without regard to need or the willingness on the part of the local units to match Federal funds. This represents a major difference in the approach to this highly controversial problem. The important thing to remember is that the Republican Party recognized the need for action and, at the same time, proposed a solution which would allow local units of government to participate and which limited Federal participation.

2. Ever since the Civil War, the issue of civil rights has been debated and discussed. Many office seekers have used this issue as part of a platform to enter high office. However, until 1953, very little in the way of action was taken to solve the problem. I have observed, firsthand, the situation which prevailed on civil rights in our Nation's Capital. For years and years, there were many promises made to the colored population of Washington, but not until the Republican administration came into power was any action taken. Today when you visit Washington, you will find segregation does not exist in the public schools, the public restaurants, the hotels, or the public parks and playgrounds. By Executive action, President Eisenhower has recognized the dignity of the individual and has lowered the bars of racial prejudice. If this present Congress passes civil rights legislation, it will be due largely to the patient and understanding approach taken by the President and the administration. Here we see modern Republicanism at work. It demonstrates a sensitive concern for a social problem and a willingness to take action.

3. For over 20 years, we witnessed the vigorous debate over the issue of public power versus private utilities. The two groups of contestants had become deadlocked to a point where suspicion, fear, and anger were the rule among those who had the responsibility of converting our natural resources for power. I have lived through that long debate, and I know that many of you have debated this question in high school and college debate tournaments. Shortly after the Republican administration assumed its duties in 1953, President Eisenhower advocated a partnership to develop our natural resources. The partners were to be the Federal Government, the private utilities, the State governments, and the local units of government. He said that each partner should share in the work which had to be done. Once again, we see the recognition of a need for action and alertness in developing a workable blueprint for success.

4. Modern Republicanism has been responsive to the human needs of our people in the area of research into diseases, extension of social security, unemployment compensation, and other related programs. The agency of Health, Education, and Welfare stands as a monument to this type of action and accomplishment. It means that our standard of living has advanced to an alltime high, that people are conscious of a commonsense approach to problems that affect them most directly, and that labor has advanced to a greater position of importance in our economy and society.

5. At the same time that the Republican Party has been writing this record of accomplishments, the fiscal and monetary system of the United States has been maintained at an even level. Inflation has been curtailed, and every person's dollar is more stable. This may seem strange to you at a time when so much talk is heard on the general subject of the $71.8 billion budget for fiscal 1958. However, let us analyze the budget for a moment.

In any discussion of the budget, we must remember that 60 percent is accounted for by defense and national security expenditures. If we could eliminate this huge expenditure and just consider the domestic budget, we would find that it is sustained by an alltime high in national per capita income and national gross productive output. We must never forget that our economy is constantly expanding and that we, as a nation, are going through a period of tremendous growth. This you can see in the cars you buy, the clothes you wear, the food processing in the supermarkets of today, the improvement in farm machinery, and the advanced methods which are now employed by business and agriculture.

Even if we include the huge outlays for national defense and security, we find that the percentage of our national income going to the Federal budget is not out of proportion compared to preceding years. Let me illustrate this point: in 1953 the Federal budget was almost 25 percent of the national income, in 1954 it was 22.7 percent, and in the following years it has been declining percentagewise until the 1957 budget represented 19 percent of the national income. The $71.8 billion budget estimate for fiscal 1958 approximates about the same percentage of a projected estimate of the national income for next year.

I would like to see this percentage of our total national income reduced if at all possible, but at the same time I realize that the 19 percent of our national income is considerably less than the 52 percent and 54 percent during the war years of 1944 and 1945. In this respect, I must emphasize the tremendous economic adjustment which has been accomplished since that time without the depression which was once predicted.

Unfortunately, as long as we must engage in the cold war with Communist Russia and her satellites, we must continue to spend much of our revenue on items of defense and national security.

At this particular period in our history, this represents an abnormally large expenditure. The United States is still in the initial stages of exploring and developing the modern instruments of defense. It was 40 years ago that I served in the United States Air Service, in World War I. At that time, the Air Force was in an early stage of development. However, we who were serving thought that our planes were far advanced in comparison with what other countries had.

World War II demonstrated how quickly research and development can change all weapons. Some of you probably flew the B–29 and B–17 bombers. Everyone thought

at that time that there could be little improvement in aircraft production.

Then the atomic age dawned, and we now see how obsolete the equipment we used in World War II has become. Today we talk in terms of missiles, atomic warheads, interceptor missiles, atomic-powered submarines, jet fighters, 'round-the-world bombers, advanced artillery, and pushbutton warfare.

As a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, I have the opportunity to hear the Chiefs of Staff, the top military and civilian officials of our Navy, Army, and Air Force. These men all testify that in spite of the rapid advances we have already made, we are still involved in day-to-day research and development in the use and production of new weapons. This is another reason why our current budget for defense represents such a large share of the proposed budget for fiscal 1958.

We know that we must never yield our place of leadership to the Communists. To do that would be to seal the fate of freedom, peace, and our democratic way of life. So, we must always ask ourselves this question: How much shall we pay to defend our liberty, our Constitution, our God-given rights? I, for one, would not attempt to place a dollar value on those basic elements of our way of life.

This does not mean that we must go blindly ahead without challenging proposed expenditures. The administration and the Republican Members of Congress realize that every expenditure must be carefully weighed and considered. A conscientious effort will be made to reduce the present budget by an amount which will not place our national security in jeopardy.

At the same time, the administration and the Congress are working to implement the second Hoover Commission report, which will allow us to trim expenditures and save tax payers' money. The executive branch of our Government has already accepted wholly, or in part, 313 of the 479 recommendations made by the Commission. This represents 65.3 percent of the entire report. The 84th Congress enacted 39 public laws, House resolutions, and Senate resolutions which implement 55, or approximately one-third, of the 167 legislative recommendations that the Commission made.

I point these facts out to demonstrate that behind the scenes, there is much activity designed to increase efficiency in government and which will effect an economy. This will appear in future budget requests.

But, remember. When we discuss the large budget requested by the President, we must view that budget in the light of our present-day economy and our growth as a nation.

Now, I would like to discuss the handling of our foreign policy under the Republicans during the past 4 years. President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles assumed a situation in 1953 which was not bright. There was the Korean War, the crisis in Indo-China, and rumblings in almost every part of the world.

The Korean hostilities were ended shortly after the President assumed office. We witnessed a release of tension in Indochina and saw the Red Chinese pull back from their threat of war against Formosa.

The United States truly assumed leadership of the free world under the guiding hand of the President and the Secretary of State. The Russians were placed off balance. No longer was the United States holding back and waiting to see what Russia would do next. The United States became the first to act and placed the Communist world on the defensive. This was accomplished through our leadership in the United Nations, at the Geneva Conference, with the establishment of SEATO and by the strengthening of NATO.

Modern Republicanism again recognized the need for concerted action and met the challenge. The most recent test in the Middle East was met with the same degree of patience and understanding. The job is not finished, but we are not at war, and Russia has not gained domination of that important area of the world.

We have now considered major examples of how the Republican Party is meeting the needs of the people and the responsibility of shaping policy—both domestic and foreign.

Through the past 4 years, we have seen our people advance in all aspects of everyday life. There has been no appeal in this philosophy to special-interest groups. There has been no use of the divide-and-conquer technique of former years. There has been no emotional attempt to pit labor against management, banker against farmer, small against large. Ours has been an appeal for unity—unity for a very real program of progress with benefit to all and discrimination for none. The Republican Party today is a party of heart, mind, and conscience. The heart has been demonstrated by the humanitarian approach to our people's problems. The mind has guided our financial and economic destiny. The conscience has been the balance wheel which recognizes that the Federal Government shall share responsibility with the States and not dominate and discourage local initiative.

This is the type of philosophy which challenges the imagination of adults and young people alike. You are present today to participate in the work of modern Republicanism. As we look ahead, petty differences must be eliminated so that we may pass on to future generations the heritage of a nation which, today, stands as a bulwark of hope, inspiration, and friendship to the entire world.

[From the St. Paul Pioneer Press of April 17, 1957]

MODERN REPUBLICANISM JUDGED BY ITS RESULTS

Senator EDWARD J. THYE adopted an effective and convincing way of explaining "modern Republicanism" in his talk before the Ramsey County Young Republican League.

Rather than emphasizing words and theories, he presented concrete examples of what has been done and what is proposed by the Eisenhower administration and Republicans in Congress.

The administration supports Federal aid for school construction, but only in areas where the need is proved and where local taxpayers are willing to match Federal funds. In contrast, the free-spending policy of the Democrats calls for Federal appropriations "without regard to need or the willingness to match Federal funds."

In civil rights, the Eisenhower administration actually brought about desegregation in Washington, which had persisted under Democratic administrations despite many promises. The Republican civil-rights program now before Congress would get at the root of discrimination in the South by assuring minority groups the right to vote and thus make their influence directly effective in local politics.

Commonsense partnership between public and private agencies and companies in development of power and water resources is part of modern Republicanism. Establishment of the new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is an indication of the party's concern for human values and individual happiness and well-being.

In discussing the Eisenhower budget, Senator THYE pointed out that the $71.8-billion program for 1958 represents only about 19 percent of the anticipated national income. The 1953 budget was nearly 25 percent of national income, and in the war years the budgets took more than 50 percent of income. Of the total 1958 budget, 60 percent is required by defense and security measures to prevent war and protect the Nation. The foreign policy of the administration likewise has reduced the danger of another world war and has put Russia on the defensive.

Senator THYE has given an excellent summing up of the record of "modern Republicanism." Its results are the best proof of its soundness.

Address by Former Senator Lehman Before American Jewish Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address delivered on April 10, 1957, by a very distinguished former colleague of ours, one of the great Americans now living, in my judgment. I refer to an address by former Senator Herbert Lehman, of New York, at the 50th anniversary observance of the American Jewish Committee, in New York City, on April 10, 1957, on the subject the Pursuit of Equality.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PURSUIT OF EQUALITY

(By Herbert H. Lehman, honorary vice president, American Jewish Committee. American Jewish Committee's 50th anniversary observance, April 10, 1957, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel)

The pursuit of equality is part of the pursuit of freedom. It is the quest for the means of making freedom meaningful, by extending it to all and by eliminaing those contradictions in it which have developed in our social, political, and economic life.

The pursuit of equality in America is as old as the New World itself. The pursuit of equality led the Pilgrims to Plymouth Rock, led Roger Williams to Rhode Island, and William Penn to the banks of the Delaware and the Susquehanna.

The pursuit of equality, and the struggle for equality, animated Sam Adams, John Hancock, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison. It inspired William Lloyd Garrison and John Brown. In fact, the story of the pursuit of equality in the United States is the history of the United States.

My purpose in referring to those heroes of our past is to indicate that the pursuit of equality is one of the most continuous and obvious threads in the American tradition.

This pursuit has been the crux of continuous struggle. Obstacles have bedeviled the way. Some phases of the struggle have been violent and bloody. Advances have been followed by retreats and victories by defeats.

But, in general, the direction of the march has been forward. Progress has been made.

As I have said, the pursuit of equality is part of the pursuit of freedom—an inseparable part. Freedom without equality is meaningless.

At this point let me try to clarify an area of some confusion in many minds—the confusion between civil rights and civil liberties.

Our civil liberties consist of the entire body of the inalienable individual rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights—the right

freely to believe, to think, to express one's self, and to worship, without let or hindrance. Civil liberties are the basic freedoms: Free speech, free press, free assembly and free worship; and the right to individual privacy, security, and free trial.

Civil rights, on the other hand, are rights not granted but denied. Civil rights are those rights denied to some individuals because of their race, color, or national origin. The rights in civil rights is the right of all individuals to equal treatment under law, without restraint or discrimination based on race, color, national origin, or previous condition of servitude.

Civil rights are the right of the American Indian, the Mexican-American, the Filipino-American, the Japanese-American, the Italian-American, the Catholic, the Jew, and the Negro to equal opportunity and equal access to all public institutions and facilities, whether schools or buses. It is the right of all these individuals to unhindered and equal participation in the political life of community, State, and Nation.

It is the right of these individuals to be free of discrimination in employment, in housing, and in the Government service.

It is their right to be secure against physical attack or coercion based on their race, creed, color, or national origin.

These are the civil rights. They are the opposite side of the coin of civil liberties. The constitutional charter of civil liberties is the first 10 amendments. The basic charter of civil rights is the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments.

Within the past 50 years, within the life of the American Jewish Committee, the struggle to defend our civil liberties has been won and lost and won again. We have had waves of danger and waves of repression.

Within very recent years, we had one such wave, of tidal proportions which threatened to wash away the very underpinnings of our democracy.

The worst of that wave is some 3 years past now. The forces of freedom prevailed, but much ground was lost.

I do not think we yet know how great and deep the damage was. Much of it is still in obvious evidence. The continuing and still dangerous vagaries of the House Un-American Activities Committee and of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee are present backwash of the tidal wave that was so recently here.

We must not forget the recent struggle to defend our civil liberties. We must not forget the epidemic of fear which was deliberately and successfully spread to paralyze the efforts to defend civil liberties. There were many men of apparent good will who chose to look the other way and who retreated into what they thought were storm cellars but who, by their conduct, actually helped the forces of McCarthyism to hold full and almost unchallenged sway.

Today we are witnessing the same kind of a spectacle—the same kind of conduct—in the civil-rights struggle. It is the same story all over again. And this may well be the climactic chapter of the epic called the pursuit of equality.

Let us go back a moment and try to approach the subject of civil rights—this central phase of the pursuit of equality—with some perspective as to time and direction.

With respect to civil rights, as with civil liberties, the last 50 years have seen alternating and mixed periods of progress and retreat.

In general, the quarter century since 1932 has been a period of progress. The 25 years before that was a period of either stand still or of outright regression.

Because civil rights, by the definition already given, involves different kinds of discrimination, affecting many different groups, it is understandable that there have been different rates of both progress and regression for the different groups and the different types of discrimination.

Thus, within the last 25 years there has been steady and even spectacular progress with respect to discrimination on the basis of religious creed or national origin. This progress has been especially marked for Catholics and for Jews.

I believe that in America today there is less prejudice and discrimination against individuals on the basis of their religion or national origin than at any time in my memory.

The American Jewish Committee, among other organizations, can claim a share of the credit for this progress.

But let us never forget that all forms of prejudice, bigotry, and discrimination, against all minority groups, have a basic relationship. While any single group in the population is being discriminated against on grounds of color, creed, or national origin, all minority groups suffer or are endangered.

Progress for one group is progress for the other. Regression for any group, or with regard to any particular form of discrimination, is a defeat, and a threat, to all.

Today the chief focus of the civil-rights struggle is on our fellow Americans of Negro race. True victory in the pursuit of equality depends on victory in their cause. That struggle is in deep crisis.

Most of us have recognized for some time now that oppression of Negroes, by discrimination and segregation, not only saddles the Nation's conscience with the burden of injustice, and darkens it with the stain of hate, but also deprives the Nation of the total potential contribution which could otherwise be made by these Americans.

Discrimination and segregation are not only wrong and wicked in themselves; they are also costly to the country.

There is a body of studies and statistics to prove this observation beyond question or doubt. Each day new evidence accumulates that the practice of segregation and discrimination in America is not only unjustified and unjustifiable, but is uneconomic. It is also degrading, not only to its victims, but to its practitioners.

As Vice President NIXON, just back from Africa, is privately saying—and I hope he will say so publicly soon—the American practice of discrimination against Negroes is a crippling handicap in our relations with the increasingly influential peoples of Asia, and also with those in the new continent of the future—Africa.

These are facts. They need to be brought home, again and again, to every American, including and particularly those in the Deep South.

But I am afraid that there are many people in the South today, far too many, who are no longer interested in facts. They do not even wish to hear them. They vastly prefer not to think of them. They devoutly wish the civil-rights problem would somehow resolve itself and disappear.

I am afraid also that there is beginning to be something of a conspiracy of silence even in the North regarding the civil-rights problem. We are hearing less and less about it in the newspapers and magazines and over the air.

In fact the problem is growing heavier. Resistance to the law of the land has stiffened into total inflexibility.

The Supreme Court issued its unanimous ruling in the school segregation cases on May 17, 1954—3 years ago. Since that time there have been hundreds of actions by the Supreme Court, and by the lower courts in implementation of the original Supreme Court decision.

Moreover, the Supreme Court has plainly indicated, by its decision in the Montgomery bus case and others, that all forms of officially sanctioned segregation are unconstitutional and illegal.

In the period immediately following the original Supreme Court decision in the school cases, and the decrees implementing that decision, there was good basis for hoping that school districts in most parts of the South would, however grudgingly, accept the law of the land. It was widely felt that school integration and the abolition of segregation was now merely a matter of time—of when.

All the reports I get from the South these days fail to support the original optimism.

The real extremists—the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils, the White Supremacists, the demagogues and rabble rousers—these have gained the upper hand in many if not most areas where moderates seemed to have been in charge 2 years ago.

State legislatures throughout the South are moving, if they have not already moved, to follow the Virginia model, not only in offering resistance to integration, but in absolutely outlawing it. Local school districts which might contemplate integration, are being absolutely forbidden and prevented from doing so. In some States, a school superintendent who permits integration is made a felon and imprisoned.

One State legislature after another is taking up arms against the NAACP, as if by outlawing the NAACP the institution of segregation can be preserved.

The words one hears coming out of the South these days are increasingly harsh and strident. The Supreme Court has become the common target of such vile calumny, from even the most responsible quarters, as to raise the question of how the damage being done to the necessary respect for law can ever be repaired in the South.

In most parts of the South, tensions are deepening. The worst calamity of all has been the almost absolute breakdown of lines of communication between the Negroes and the whites.

The whites are isolated from the Negroes and vice versa. Men of good will who would repair this situation fear to do so. Fear, indeed, is the chief force in the South today. Fear is everywhere, among the Negroes and among the whites.

They fear each other and they fear themselves.

The white liberals in the South have been silenced. All who had any doubts concerning the validity of white superiority, supremacy, and domination have had their lips effectively sealed.

I am deeply troubled and alarmed by this situation. I am afraid that we have passed the point where we can hope that time and the courts will take care of everything.

There was a time 2 years ago, and a year ago, and 6 months ago when Negro leaders and southern white leaders might have come together and begun to resolve the crisis.

There was a time when Cabinet officers and Federal officials at all levels could have encouraged and led the way for local officials to make reasonable plans for school integration and actually to start it.

There was a time when the concentrated influence and authority of the executive branch of the Government could have mobilized, on a neighborhood, community, State, and regional basis, all the forces of good will which were and still are plentiful in the South, both among Negroes and whites.

Nobody in high authority in the executive branch of the Federal Government made a single move in this direction.

One man could have and should have given the orders and set the moral tone for this undertaking.

I mean the President of the United States.

Some of his Cabinet officers might have taken the lead on their own initiative and that might have turned the trick at the time. But President Eisenhower would not make a move, and neither would any of his Cabinet officers.

Today, in my judgment, President Eisenhower is the only official who can halt the rapid, dangerous deterioration in the situation. He is the man who must now take the lead in resolving this most serious internal crisis which the United States has confronted for a century.

Should he continue to try to stand aloof from this crisis, he will, I predict, be subject to the very harsh judgment of history.

President Eisenhower must act now.

All of us, as private citizens, must urge and demand that he act.

I urge that President Eisenhower immediately convene a White House conference of white and Negro leaders from the South—educators, businessmen, lawyers, clergymen, and politicians—to reestablish the lines of communication by the white and Negroes.

I urge that President Eisenhower undertake a special tour in the South and meet with the local leaders in each area to discuss and advocate integration and the abolition of segregation.

I urge that President Eisenhower and Attorney General Brownell call together all the law-enforcement officers of the Nation and take counsel with them on how to restore the rule of law, and respect for law, in the South.

I urge that President Eisenhower call a meeting of all the Governors of the Nation and discuss with them the current crisis.

I urge that Secretary of Health Folsom do the same with the educators and the public welfare administrators of the Nation.

The entire executive branch of the Federal Government must show that it considers a national crisis to exist. It must appeal to all men of good will in the North and in the South, to help resolve this crisis.

It is an emergency; emergency action, on the part of the executive departments, is called for. Nothing short of that will do.

There are, of course, many other actions that need to be taken on the civil-rights front.

Congress must be urged to act on the civil-rights legislation now pending before it, including the measures that will provide Federal support for the constitutional right to vote, for the right to be free of the threat of physical violence, and the right to enjoy equality of opportunity in employment, education and other aspects of communal life.

It is an obvious, if lamentable fact that both the executive and the legislative branches of the Federal Government have been virtually paralized in this critical phase of the pursuit of equality. Only the judiciary branch has continued to enunciate the obvious—that segregation is discrimination, and discrimination is unconstitutional, illegal and against national policy.

The southern spokesmen—the spokesmen of the southern whites, that is—continue blandly to talk as though the southern Negroes had no right to rights, and that the inferior status forced on these American citizens is solely the concern of the States. These southern spokesmen assert the supremacy of local authority—White authority—to dispose of American Negroes as though they were still chattels, and not precious human lives with inalienable rights guaranteed by the Constitution. They speak always for the southern whites. Who will speak for the southern Negroes?

I repeat historic words that were said at a national political convention in 1948: "The time has arrived in America to get out of the shadow of States rights, and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights."

My friends, there is no time left for further delay and procrastination. Both the executive and legislative branches of our Government must proceed to discharge their obligations regardless of the difficulties and possible political costs. Some of the leaders of the political party to which I happen to belong, have pleaded as an excuse for inaction on civil rights, that substantial action would split the party. Lately I have heard reports that leaders of the Republican Party are using the same argument against vigorous civil-rights action on the part of the administration. The Republican Party is developing a southern wing, too.

I believe that it would be much better to split the political parties of this country than to split the country. Actually I do not think that these splits that the political leaders are so afraid of would really develop. If the leadership of both parties acted on this problem in a bipartisan spirit, there would be no splits and no damages, political or otherwise.

In my judgment, all who believe in the cause of freedom, all who know that when the rights of any individual or group of individuals are violated, the rights of all are threatened, must now mobilize their supreme efforts for the struggle. The time is now. It is later than you think. All who would live in freedom and who would struggle for it must come forward now.

Lamartine G. Hardman, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the recent news release issued by the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, Inc., about one of Georgia's distinguished citizens, Lamartine G. Hardman, Jr., of Commerce, Ga., who is to become president of the ACMI at its annual convention at West Palm Beach, Fla., this month.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF L. G. HARDMAN, JR.

Lamartine Griffin Hardman, Jr., of Commerce, Ga., is destined to assume the presidency of the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, at a time when the textile industry in the United States seems headed into an era of progress and renewed confidence.

Mr. Hardman, president of Harmony Grove Mills, who as vice president of ACMI, helped steer the organization through the critical period of uncertainty brought on by low-wage foreign imports, now is slated to help institute directors and officials formulate policies for a future that now seems filled with hope. If custom is followed Mr. Hardman will become president of ACMI at the institute's annual convention in April at West Palm Beach, Fla.

The incoming president of ACMI has served the textile industry in many capacities including that of president of the Cotton Manufacturers Association of Georgia, director of the Cotton Textile Institute, and at present second vice president, member of the executive committee, and a director of ACMI.

Mr. Hardman's coming elevation to the ACMI presidency has met with approval in the industry where he is widely known for his ability as an administrator and leader.

Popularly known as "Lam" throughout the industry, Mr. Hardman's family background is one of manufacturing, finance, medicine, agriculture, politics, and religion. His father, a prominent physician served as Governor of Georgia from 1927 to 1931.

Born at Commerce, Ga., on July 5, 1906, Mr. Hardman attended Georgia Military Academy and later the University of Georgia, where he received his B. S. degree in 1930.

His professional career led finally to the position of president and treasurer of Harmony Grove Mills at Commerce, positions which he holds today. He also is president of the First National Bank of Commerce and president of Frozen Food Lockers, Inc., of Commerce.

In addition to his distinguished work in various textile trade association positions, Mr. Hardman also is a former trustee of Mercer University at Macon, Ga., and of Truett-McConnell College, Cleveland, Ga.; chairman of the board of deacons of the First Baptist Church, Commerce, Ga.; member of Phi Delta Theta social fraternity; member of the Piedmont Driving Club, Atlanta, and the Capital City Club, Atlanta.

Married to the former Dorothy Shell of Bainbridge, Ga., Mr. Hardman is the father of two sons, L. G. Hardman III, 17, and John B. Hardman, 15, and a daughter, Shell Hardman, 12.

Where the Food Dollar Is Going

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two articles appearing in the April 15 and April 16 issues of the Washington Daily News entitled "Where's Food Dollar Going?" and "Are Marketing Profits Too High?" and written by Dickson J. Preston, Scripps-Howard staff writer. They contain some interesting comments on the consumer-farmer price situation.

Mr. Preston points up the fact that the American housewife is insisting that the food she buys contain "built-in maid service," including everything from pretopping of carrots to complete pre-cooking of TV meals. He recalls that 10 years ago the farmer got 51 cents out of each food dollar, while currently his share of the food dollar amounts to around 40 cents. Mr. Preston also comments that any decrease in farm prices is more than wiped out by the increased expense of delivering an item of food to the grocer's shelf. After pointing out that higher costs include labor, freight rates, and packaging, he refers to the fact that since 1947, wages paid food marketing workers of all types have risen from a 1947 average of $1.13 to $1.82, and during the same period freight rates have advanced 50 percent.

I am calling the attention of Senators to the articles by Mr. Preston for the reason that they constitute an interesting departure from the stories with regard to the agricultural picture usually carried by big-city newspapers. Too many big-city writers are inclined to assume that the farmer should be left to operate independently and without assistance from his Government in adapting his operations to our changing economy.

They are inclined to state that the farmer is getting rich; that he is obtaining additional income; and that, because of the high cost of living in the cities, the

farmer is not entitled to any subsidy or price support.

The articles point out that the high cost of food to the consumers who live in the cities is not the consequence of something that is benefiting the farmer, but is the result of the in-between costs—in other words, the food handling and packing costs—and that they are not of benefit to the farmer.

Mr. President, Mr. Preston is to be commended for the presentation he has made in specifically pointing out the type of problem which today confronts the farmer.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News of April 15, 1957]

THE PRICES ARE UP, BUT WHY?—WHERE'S FOOD DOLLAR GOING?

(By Dickson J. Preston)

If yours is an average city family, you'll spend $500 more for food this year than you did 10 years ago.

The additional outlay will provide a little better diet—though not much—and a little more of it. You'll eat more meat and fresh vegetables, less bread and potatoes.

But only $45 of that extra $500 goes to the farmers who produce your food. Nearly all the rest will be absorbed by a host of transporters, packers, assemblers, processors, promoters, wholesalers, and retailers who are known collectively as middlemen.

POSERS GALORE

What are you getting in return? Is it worth the cost? And if not, what can you or your Government do about it?

Answers to these questions will be sought in hearings soon to be held by a subcommittee headed by Representative VICTOR L. ANFUSO, Democrat, of New York.

Here, according to Agriculture Department experts, are some of the things the subcommittee will discover:

American housewives today are spending billions a year at the grocery for work they used to do themselves. This is know in the food trade as built-in maid service. It includes everything from pretopping of carrots to complete precooking of TV meals.

The expense of delivering an item of food to the grocer's shelf has gone up so rapidly in recent years it has more than wiped out any decrease in farm prices. Higher costs include labor, freight rates, and packaging.

Food marketers' profits, percentagewise at least, are actually lower than they were 10 years ago. And in many cases the dollar profits are lower, too.

Some of the increase goes to pay for promotional gimmicks—trading stamps, premiums, and the like.

Outlook is that this price spread between farmer and consumer will rise, rather than drop, for the next few years. Ten years ago the farmer got 51 cents out of each food dollar. Today he gets 40 cents. By 1967 it may be 35 cents or even less.

Food industry spokesmen insist housewives have demanded the extra services.

POTATOES, ETC.

For instance, washed potatoes sell much faster than unwashed ones even though they cost 2 cents more per pound. That goes also for scraped carrots, washed spinach, cut-up chicken, sliced french fries, boned fish, and even ready-to-bake pie with the rust all crimped.

An Agriculture Department study sets the price of this maid service at only 45 cents an hour.

It estimates a day's meals, with mom doing all the work for the family of 4, would take 5½ hours to prepare and cost $4.90 at today's prices. Using ready-to-cook items, the same meals take only an hour and a half—but cost $6.70.

That's 4 hours less work for the housewife at an added cost of $1.80.

[From the Washington Daily News of April 16, 1957]

YOUR FOOD DOLLAR, WHERE IS IT—ARE MARKETING PROFITS TOO HIGH?

(By Dickson J. Preston)

In the last 10 years, a House agricultural subcommittee reports, the cost of the wheat in a loaf of bread has dropped nearly half a cent.

Yet the price of the loaf itself has gone up a nickel.

That's one sample of the many changes in modern food costs which the subcommittee, headed by Representative VICTOR L. ANFUSO, Democrat, of New York, plans to investigate. Here are some others:

The dairy farmer is getting 5 percent less for his products today than he did in 1947. But the consumer is paying 12 percent more for milk, butter, and cheese.

The grain in a 12-ounce box of corn flakes costs only 2.8 cents compared with 3.6 cents 10 years ago. The corn flakes themselves cost 7 cents more.

Altogether, the price of food has climbed 16 percent in 10 years while the farmer's share has dipped 14 percent. And if the farmer isn't getting it, where does the money go?

BREAKDOWN

Here is a breakdown of what happens to your food dollar today:

To the grocer: 18 cents. (Out of this, his net profit averages a little more than a penny. His United States taxes are about the same. He pays 9 cents for labor and about 7 cents for State and local taxes plus all other costs of doing business.)

To the wholesaler, assembler, and processor: 34 cents. (Profits to these middlemen run about 2½ cents all told, with an equal amount in taxes. Labor costs account for 17 cents. Canning, packaging, commissions, and other costs make up the remaining 12 cents.)

To the transporter: 8 cents. (This includes railway freight and trucking costs from the farmer to the processor as well as from the processor to the wholesaler and retail store.)

To the farmer: 40 cents. Thus half a dozen or more firms may make a small profit out of the food between the farmer's field and your table. Their net take adds up to nearly a dime out of each dollar you spend. And their local, State, and United States taxes come to even more.

PROFITS TOO HIGH?

Are profits in the food marketing industry too high? It all depends on the point of view.

Chain grocery profits in 1947 averaged about 1.5 percent of total sales. Today they're less than that—only 1 percent in 1955. But volume has increased, and most food chains are making more in dollars than they did 10 years ago.

(In terms of investment, grocery chains are netting 11 percent or more.)

Food processors in 1947 netted 2.5 percent on sales and more than 13 percent on stockholders' equity. Today both figures are down. So are wholesalers' profits.

Costs of all these firms, on the other hand, are sharply higher. Wages paid food marketing workers of all types have risen from a 1947 average of $1.13 to $1.82 last year. Freight rates are up 50 percent. The cost of everything from paper to meat cleavers has climbed.

Park Kennedy, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a radio broadcast by Mr. Tris Coffin on April 3, 1957, in which he speaks of the excellent record and fine character of Mr. Park Kennedy, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

There being no objection, the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A few days ago, while Dave Beck was roaring like a wounded lion in the Senate caucus room, another labor leader was testifying before another committee.

Here there were no floodlights, no banks of television cameras, no excited reporters dashing out with bulletins, no lines of spectators winding down the hall. Virtue, it seems, has no news value.

This witness was Park Kennedy, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, a modest, soft-spoken man who lives the arduous life of a missionary. He rarely has time to spend more than a few days at one sitting in his small Minneapolis home. He has no swimming pool, no Cadillac, no office to match the splendor of the Czars.

His union is run with the scrupulous attention of an old-line insurance company. All of the officers, including Kennedy, are bonded. All of the union's books are audited by independent auditors, and statements given to members. The union, in its investments, abides by the same rules as for savings banks.

The brotherhood was formed 74 years ago on a brisk September day in a caboose. It was Caboose No. 10 of the Delaware & Hudson Railroad yards where the 8 brakemen met. Today, the BRT has some 200,000 members in North America. It is regarded, generally, as a model of constructive unionism. It is respected by the men in overalls in the yards and by railroad presidents.

Park Kennedy looks like the dedicated president of a small college. He speaks softly and earnestly about economics, foreign policy, and politics. He looks steadily and tolerantly through horn-rimmed glasses.

Kennedy started railroading as a news butcher on trains running between Chicago and Des Moines when he was 17. A news butcher walked up and down the aisles of the train selling apples, candy, and newspapers from a basket. He slept, if at all, in a vacant seat.

Park Kennedy caught the romance of travel, moving through strange towns, seeing new faces, and hearing new dialects. So, at 18, he became a freight brakeman in the Dakotas. He saw the blizzards howl out of the north and cover the dark earth with blankets of snow. Later, he worked as a switchman in western Canada and our own Midwest.

Kennedy has lived much of his life among the men who plow the soil and plant the grain. This has given him an unusual sympathy for farmers, and he is a strong voice in labor demanding justice for the man on the tractor.

He looks on progress as a challenge, and even now is deep in a study of automation. He did not oppose the St. Lawrence Seaway,

although some saw it as a threat to railroad labor. To him, it was a new vein of commerce.

He has been through all of Western Europe and Israel, talking with labor people and making notes. More than a year before the Middle East flared up in a blaze of sparks, Kennedy wrote:

"I came to the conclusion that Israel, in order to be able to continue with its vital work, first and foremost requires security. It is the task of the free world and the free labor movements to do everything in their power to see to it that Israel is guaranteed against aggression, or infringement of its sovereignty and integrity."

But most of his time is spent with the trainmen, where they live and work.

As for Dave Beck, Park Kennedy says, "He is no more typical of the labor movement than the spoiled apple is of the orchard."

De-Icing of Great Lakes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have been interested for some time in reports which have been carried in the press concerning Sweden's successful experience in extending its program of de-icing considerable stretches of water which might otherwise be 100 percent frozen during the winter season.

Each year, with the onset of winter, we of the Great Lakes region experience the annual problem of the icing of the lake waters. And with the approach of spring, we impatiently await what has now once again come about, and that is the annual opening of the shipping season.

Last Friday I noted press reports that Lake Superior had been closed to shipping because of a tremendous icefield which locked Whitefish Bay just west of Sault Ste. Marie.

Six Great Lakes vessels were trapped in the ice. Three last Friday were freed by one of the Coast Guard breakers.

Naturally, the question has long intrigued us of the lakes: Can we not do something about de-icing, at least partial areas of lake water?

I do not mean simply by using icebreakers, for they obviously have limited effectiveness against the massive floes of ice.

I mean using man's inventiveness and ingenuity to come up with an underwater device such as our Swedish friends use.

In last Saturday's Milwaukee Journal there was a most interesting editorial entitled "Fighting Ice With Bubbles," which I believe is the sort of thought-provoking comment which well merits the most serious attention of our lake authorities.

I, for one, intend to take it up with Federal officials here to see what can be done about appropriating a small sum for experimental purposes to help overcome man's ancient foe—ice.

Obviously, as the Journal editorial points out, the de-icing of key areas, even for a matter of a week or two, could be of tremendous economic significance.

I ask unanimous consent that the Journal editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIGHTING ICE WITH BUBBLES

Western Great Lakes shippers have just sweated out once again the annual drama of opening the ice in the Straits of Mackinac and the approaches to the Soo locks—the St. Mary's River from the south and to the north Whitefish Bay in Lake Superior, which has been temporarily blocked again.

For this job the Coast Guard provides one of the world's most modern icebreaking ships, but even her accomplishments are a triumph more of brute force than of science. This spring she had an unusually rugged time of it, as strong winds replugged the straits with floe ice and stacked it 25 feet deep in Whitefish Bay.

Sweden has turned to science in the battle against ice. The Stockholm region is a vast maze of inland waterways, lined with ports and crowded with shipping when open. The principle of the Swedish device is as simple as that which keeps the Juneau Park lagoon open for the ducks on the Milwaukee lakefront.

Neoprene tubing full of tiny holes (like your lawn soaker) sends a constant stream of compressed air bubbles from the channel bottom to the surface, lifting the warm water. In experiments, even from a 50-foot depth under 2 feet of ice, a usable channel was opened up in 2 weeks. In regular use, of course, operation would begin before ice forms, to prevent it.

Now the Swedes plan a working installation the whole 60-mile length of the long estuary that extends past Stockholm to the Baltic. Only comment so far from Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway authorities is that the idea has been suggested to them.

The thing has limitations, of course. It wouldn't prevent or melt such windrows of flow ice as caused the jams in the Soo region this spring. But it might well have real practicality at least for keeping confined channels open longer at the onset of winter, in the St. Lawrence as well as the western lakes, and perhaps susceptible to earlier spring openings.

The key to our situation is the tremendous carrying capacity of the lake freighter. Just 1 inch of controlling depth more or less, or one round trip per season more or less, has an economic impact in the hundreds of thousands of dollars. If channel de-icing could keep the straits and the Soo open even a week or two longer, it might prove more than worthwhile.

A fantastic thought, possibly, but men have been called harebrained before and yet done greater miracles than this would be.

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Foreign-Aid Questions Getting a Needed, Thorough Going Over" and published in the Birmingham News of April 8, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN AID QUESTIONS GETTING A NEEDED THOROUGH GOING OVER

The Nation is taking a new extensive look at its foreign-aid programs.

It's time. We've been at that aid business for 10 years now. Something like $56 billion has been spent. That averages about $330 for each American.

Our national budget has kept getting higher and higher, though we are not at war, there is no active fighting on a large scale anywhere. The demand for economy is widespread and intense. More and more our people have come to realize that we had better watch out very carefully lest this trend lead us into disaster.

What can be done in the way of sound saving in our foreign-aid programs? President Eisenhower has asked for a total of $4,400,000,000 for the coming fiscal year. His position is that well-considered use of our money for aid to other peoples is an excellent, an urgently needed investment.

Critics have maintained that there is much waste and ineffectiveness in those programs. Some have urged that they be ended completely. Others contend that at least drastic cuts in expenditures can and should be made.

Advocates point to what they consider tremendous achievements: The Marshall plan's contribution to the remarkable recovery of Western Europe. The crucial aid to Greece and Turkey. The help to Korea and Formosa and free forces in Indochina. And now, of course, there are great dangers, military, political and economic in the Middle East and Africa, and President Eisenhower's plan for the Middle East has been advanced.

No one, of course, can prove what would have happened if such aid programs had not been carried. It is conceivable that Western Europe otherwise might have been run over by the Communists, that the situations in other places might be much more unfavorable, if help had not been extended. This paper shares that view. It also agrees, broadly speaking, that wisely planned and administered aid by our country probably will be needed for a good many years to come. The struggle between freedom and communism seems likely to continue in many places for a long time.

Military aid in the right places can be a contribution, of course, to our own defense.

Economic aid may be a big factor in developing or strengthening free ways of life in numerous areas, thus contributing substantially to the resistance to Communist lures and advances.

So we believe that President Eisenhower's proposals should be given careful, sympathetic consideration.

But we also hold that it is obvious that there is need for a very penetrating study and a very thorough consideration of all aid proposals. We don't believe real friendship can be bought and sold, of course. We do believe that aid in need on an intelligent, mutually cooperative basis can work to the advantage of those aided and those giving the aid. It is that kind of aid, within our means, that should be our objective.

Where military weakness of a nation desiring aid might mean great danger of a new Communist advance, whereas some help could be reasonably expected to end or at least reduce that danger, the answer as to the problem involved, generally speaking, seems clear.

Where urgently needed economic assistance could give real support to freedom, we certainly would not be indifferent.

But the strictest examination of the questions involved in foreign aid should be the invariable rule. There should be no loose throwing around of money. The dangers in our own financial position also should be given due consideration in making any decisions.

An incisive, comprehensive, down-to-earth, and down-to-dollar sense study of all pending foreign-aid proposals is imperative to sound continuation of these programs.

Memorial to Edgar Allen Poe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, although we Marylanders take pride in the tradition of positive action which has been established by the sons and daughters of our great Free State, we occasionally must admit that our work on certain worthy projects has been allowed to lag. Such a situation was recently discussed in the Baltimore Beacon, a newspaper which is edited and published by Mr. Maurice R. Shochatt. According to the Beacon, our efforts to provide a proper and lasting memorial to Edgar Allen Poe have not always received the prompt attention they so rightfully deserve. This matter is of importance, not only to Baltimore and the entire State of Maryland, but also to all parts of the world where Poe's works have been read and enjoyed. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the article published in the Beacon be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POE STATUE IN WYMAN PARK CAN MATCH POET IN TRAGIC NEGLECT

Baltimore is proud to be associated with Edgar Allan Poe and his deathless verse. But paradoxically, the Monumental City, through the years, has not treated the immortal bard too kindly.

Take, for example, the drive now being conducted by the Uptown Civic Association to obtain a more prominent position for a Poe statue located in Wyman Park.

Headed by Warren J. Weinberger, president; Reuben Fedderman, Eli Baer, and Bernard Potts, vice presidents; Albert L. Sklar, chairman of the board; and Max R. Israelson, consultant, the Uptown Civic Association is urging that this statue be placed in the spot formerly occupied by the General Samuel Smith statute in Wyman Park.

Officers of the group point out that this particular Poe statue has hitherto been overlooked because it now stands in an obscure triangle formed by 29th Street, Wyman Park, and North Howard Street.

The movement for the relocation of the statue has been endorsed by Traffic Director Henry A. Barnes; Arthur D. McVoy, director of the planning commission; the Evening Sun, and the Edgar Allan Poe Society. A number of years ago, 27 to be exact, this same Poe statue in Wyman Park was involved in a story that received headlines and stories from coast to coast and border to border. The Baltimore Sun reported the following story on May 30, 1930:

Unable longer to tolerate what he said was a misquotation from The Raven on the Poe Memorial in Wyman Park, Edmond Fontaine carried out his published intentions to chip off a superfluous letter "S." And, although he declared in a subsequent statement that there could be no real charge against him because he did nothing but good, he was lodged in Northern Police Station unable to furnish $101.45 collateral after his arrest on a charge of defacing the monument.

"Dreaming dreams
no mortals
ever dared
to dream before."

Thus read the inscription on the face of the monument while accepted editions of Poe's works have the word "mortal" instead of the plural form.

Fontaine had earlier noted in a letter to the Evening Sun Forum: "It has been 7 years since the piece was unveiled. And the error on the pedestal in the lettering of Poe's poem is still standing as a black mark against the taste and literary appreciation of Baltimore. I hereby serve notice on the powers that I will go and chisel out the offending letter S for the good of my soul." Mrs. Sally A. Bruce Kinsolving, president at the time of the Poetry Society of Maryland, stated at the time that at a meeting of the Edgar Allan Poe Society it was suggested that steps be taken by the Society to replace the present disintegrating base of the monument with a worthier one bearing the proper inscription. Nothing, incidentally, was ever done about that suggestion. A Baltimore Sun editorial published in June 1930 stated in part:

This much is true—that the quotation from Poe on the monument to Poe himself was wrong. It is preposterous for a city and its officials to profess the deepest reverence for the genius of the poet and claim him annually for the greater glory of Baltimore, and yet tolerate a gross and frequently cited error on a civic memorial to him. It is true that poetry suffers more from such mistakes than any other thing in the world. To add an extra syllable, to take away a single letter or tack one on is to do to poetry, especially to such poetry as Poe wrote with the greatest of intellectual precision, an astonishing and awful violence. There can be no doubt that as it stood, the quotation was an annoyance, a stupidity and a reflection upon the sense and taste of the city.

In case readers may wonder what happened to Mr. Fontaine, "Maryland: A Guide to the Old State Line," a WPA project published in 1940, reported in regard to Mr. Fontaine: "Admirers defended him and the case was dropped." But to date the Poe statue in Wyman Park is neglected and forgotten and treated just as shabbily as Edgar Allan Poe was doomed to be treated during his days on earth. Is it any wonder that, when arrested, Fontaine stated: "Poe himself would suffer agonies over the neglect of the Baltimore public for his monument."

Look Magazine Home Achievement Award to Little Rock, Ark.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I was very pleased recently when I learned that the capital city of my State, Little Rock, had been selected this month as one of nine American cities chosen to receive a Look magazine community home achievement award. These awards are conferred to give recognition to outstanding citizen activity and accomplishment in improving homes and residential areas. The citizens of the nine cities selected to receive these awards can well be proud of their achievements in this field, and I am especially proud that the city of Little Rock was among those selected. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the energetic and civic-minded citizens of Little Rock, whose activities made this award possible.

Much of the credit for the progress which has been made by Little Rock in this field goes to Mr. R. Redding Stevenson, who recently resigned after serving for 16 years as chairman of the Little Rock Public Housing Authority. The Arkansas Gazette, in an editorial on March 11, 1957, summed up Mr. Stevenson's contribution to the community as follows:

His dedication and persistence have given Little Rock a housing and redevelopment program currently rated among the best in the Nation. Although municipal resources for matching Federal grants have been severely limited, the authority has brought into being such major projects as Granite Mountain, Dunbar, and Philander Smith, and has others of comparable magnitude in the works. In the process some of the worst of the city's slums have been cleared and the land put to new and constructive use for public, industrial and residential purposes.

But as important as the projects themselves has been their byproduct. Working closely with the city planners, the authority has used its resources to redirect the city's basic growth patterns. In recent years public housing has become secondary, and the emphasis has been on long-range redevelopment, the salvaging of changing neighborhoods before they slip into decay.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a letter I received from Jane Douglas of Look magazine, informing me of the selection of Little Rock for this honor, together with the article on this subject appearing in the April 30 issue of Look magazine, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOOK,
COWLES MAGAZINES, INC.,
New York, N. Y., April 11, 1957.

Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: Little Rock, Ark., is the winner this month of a Look 1956 community home achievement award, an honor conferred for exceptional effort and achievement on the part of its citizens in improving the homes and residential areas of the city.

The community home achievement awards, given for the first time this year, were established by Look to confer nationwide recognition on those communities whose citizens have taken active steps, of major significance and proportion, to meet and overcome one of today's most urgent local civic problems, the problem of slums, blight and deterioration in the residential neighborhoods of an overwhelming number of the Nation's cities.

Little Rock is one of a total of nine cities on which Look is bestowing community home achievement awards for accomplishments during the calendar year of 1956, or for the culmination in 1956 of preceding efforts and achievements. The activities of the winners are described in an article on

the awards appearing in the April 30 issue of Look, on the newsstands April 16.

Because I am sure you will be happy to know of this honor that has come to your constituents, I am enclosing a set of advance tear sheets of the forthcoming Look article.

With kindest regards and good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

JANE DOUGLAS.

[From Look magazine of April 30, 1957]

THE LOOK COMMUNITY HOME ACHIEVEMENT AWARD—NINE CITIES LEAD DRIVE TO BETTER UNITED STATES HOUSING

(By Gereon Zimmerman)

Americans worked at record pace in 1956 to spruce up their homes and communities. Millions of do-it-yourself experts (with blistered palms) worked on their own homes. Professional city planners (with a sense of urgency) speeded billion-dollar housing projects and programs to renew and redevelop large urban areas.

In Chicago, wreckers' cranes demolished tenements to clear sites for new housing projects. In Seattle, Mrs. William Ryder camped at the telephone and urged neighbors to attend Queen Anne Hill improvement meetings. In Indianapolis, George Berry worked long hours under the Planner House program to help build his own home and earn the mortgage down payment during its construction period. The drive to conserve and enrich the $250 billion investment in United States dwelling units has never been so widespread or so productive. The effort to halt the deterioration of old dwelling units must be pushed, for even though 1 million new homes have been built each year since 1949, there is not enough good living space for the rapidly expanding United States population.

To give recognition to outstanding citizen activity and accomplishment in improving homes and residential areas, Look set up a program of community home achievement awards that is unique in the public-service field. A panel of experts chose nine cities for the awards and cited seven others for honorable mention. Albert M. Cole, administrator of the United States Housing and Home Finance Agency, was chairman. In evaluating each community's achievements, Cole and the other jurors laid particular stress on citizen participation.

The award-winning cities are: Baltimore, Md.; Chicago, Ill.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Little Rock, Ark.; Memphis, Tenn.; Norfolk, Va.; Rochester N. Y.; Seattle, Wash., and Shreveport, La.

These cities won honorable mention: Dayton, Ohio; Dallas, Tex.; Clarksville, Tenn.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Perth Amboy, N. J.; St. Louis, Mo., and Washington Terrace, Utah.

The winning cities will soon receive the bronze Look community home achievement award plaque shown above. Other awards will be made next year to cities whose improvement achievements are outstanding in 1957. A summary of the accomplishments of the nine winning communities follows.

Here is what communities did to win their home achievement awards:

BALTIMORE, MD.

Residents of the Bolton Hill district were devoted to the charm of their historic neighborhood and its handsome century-old houses. To check the deterioration of the area, more than 200 neighbors bought shares in Bolton Hill, Inc., a corporation that buys run-down properties, restores, and then resells or rents them. All profits revert to a revolving fund to continue the preservation of the neighborhood. George Thomas, executive vice president of Bolton Hills, Inc., says: "Our project is a permanent one."

CHICAGO, ILL.

The metropolis kept changing—for the better. It created a new planning department, to implement its plan Atlas, a master plan for future growth. It launched six new slum-clearance projects. The law department put the heat on slum landlords. (Result: a sixfold increase in convictions of housing-code violators.) Mayor Richard Daley proclaimed 1956 as Home Improvement Year. Greater Lawndale alone spent $1½ million on home betterment. The 35 community-conservation groups continued their work.

MEMPHIS, TENN.

The Bluff City accelerated slum clearance and individual home rehabilitation. Rigid inspections resulted in the demolition or repair of more than 5,200 units. Memphis put into effect a master plan for the repair or razing of all substandard housing and also filed plans for major urban redevelopment and renewal projects with the Federal Government. Memphians spent more than $6 million for home improvements last year. Their belief: You can get more done through citizen cooperation than by court order.

NORFOLK, VA.

The Redevelopment and Housing Authority completed razing of 4,300 hovels that once served as dwellings; 90 percent of a 3,000-unit public-housing project was completed and occupied. To beautify public-housing units, the authority operated its own nursery, planted shrubs and trees for tenants. Home-service advisers provided residents with information and aid on property maintenance. Norfolk also planned to level another 500 slum dwellings, tightened its zoning ordinances, enforced its housing codes.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

Planner House Homes, Inc., was a top achievement in a long-range, $25 million improvement program. The corporation enabled a buyer to earn his mortgage down payment by working on his own home. This unusual "sweat equity" method worked so well that about 150 attractive homes (appraised at $12,000 to $14,000) now occupy land once covered by shacks. Almost all the homes are owned by Negroes. Planner House, a social agency, proved that minority housing can be a financial and social success.

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

The city completed its Dunbar Redevelopment Project, which demolished 142 slum dwellings. It began the Granite Mountain project, where a community of light industry and low-rent housing will replace a slum. The Philander Smith project will clear a blight of "shotgun shacks" and the land will be used by Philander Smith College. The Metropolitan Planning Commission moved ahead on the 25-year Metroplan. The women's chamber of commerce brought pressure on landlords who violated codes.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Citizens began the expansion of Cobbs Hill Village, which houses the aged in bright, modern individual apartments for approximately $46 per month, including all utilities. Cobbs Hill Village is an independent, nonprofit organization. A housing ordinance with teeth in it was passed. Local newspapers and other media cooperated in publicizing the programs of the Rochester Home Improvement Action Committee. The city also made progress on redevelopment plans for the Baden-Ormond area.

SHREVEPORT, LA.

Homeowners rehabilitated more than 1,000 dwelling units classified as substandard under the terms of the new minimum-housing ordinance. Shreveport also completed a master plan for future growth. As one feature of it, Mayor James C. Gardner directed successful municipal cooperation with private capital in the development of Hollywood Heights. This suburban residential community for Negroes is planned to have 1,000 one-story homes of striking contemporary design in the $10,000 price bracket.

SEATTLE, WASH.

Community teamwork brought a new look to the Queen Anne district. Neighbors formed the Queen Anne Civic Development Committee and worked with Operation Home Improvement. University of Washington experts devised a home-improvement questionnaire in which owners were asked to rate their homes. More than 2,000 homeowners took part and Seattle merchants promoted remodeling. The result was a flurry of improvement activity.

Economy Cars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRESCOTT BUSH

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, a subject which is of increasing interest to travelers on our highways in the United States is the question of the number of automobiles and the kind and speed of the automobiles which are used on those highways.

One of the significant developments of the past 2 years, particularly, has been the large number of imported small automobiles which we find on our highways in the United States. Personally, I am very glad to see these small cars there, and I hope to see many more of them there.

The burden of my remarks today is to call to the attention of the motor industry in the United States, and those interested in it, including the labor organizations which are identified with it, the fact that that industry ought to get busy and supply consumers in the United States with small cars which are comparable in size, speed, price, and general utility to the various cars being imported from abroad.

My view is that the building and use of small cars should be encouraged, and not discouraged, by the automotive industry in the United States. In the long run, such encouragement will be for the benefit of all our people, and will represent a very healthy development.

If the automotive industry does not follow this course, I am very much afraid that the market will be preempted by other countries, and that, for the first time, we shall be finding the motor industry of the United States coming to Washington requesting that a tariff be placed on the importation of automobiles. That is something which the motor industry has always opposed. On the contrary, if has always been very much on the free-trade side of the argument.

I hold in my hand a very good article on this subject from the Wall Street Journal of April 10. The article is en-

titled "Economy Cars." I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ECONOMY CARS—EUROPE'S TINY AUTOS FACE BIG TEST AS MORE MAKERS INVADE UNITED STATES—HEINKEL AND BERKELEY JOIN VOLKSWAGEN; FIAT TO BOW SOON; DETROIT IS SKEPTICAL—SAVINGS FROM A "PONY CART"

(By Daniel M. Burnham)

A sleek, tan Renault Dauphine zips between two lanes of snarled city traffic, sneaks around a curve ahead of a turning taxi and whines off down the street.

"The way I figure it this pony cart will save me the equivalent of two dresses and a trip to the beauty parlor in lower fuel costs before the year is out," says the car's pert, green-eyed driver, a secretary for a Manhattan advertising executive.

The economy-minded secretary belongs to an avant-garde of American car owners who are showing more and more interest in Europe's low-cost, snub-nosed models. They're still a small minority, of course, compared with the army of consumers who remain loyal to Detroit's bigger, more powerful, and more expensive makes. But Detroit continues to keep an eye peeled to see just how far West Germany's Volkswagen and its beetle-like relatives can penetrate the American market.

THE ACID TEST

One thing seems certain: 1957 will be the year when Europe's so-called economy cars will get their acid test in the United States. A year ago only a half dozen manufacturers were peddling European models in the economy range—$1,700 and under. But with the recent United States introduction of such makes as the German Heinkel and the British Berkeley, and the debut of the Italian Fiat later this month, no less than 16 foreign producers will ply the American market this year.

This figure doesn't include at least six other European automakers who are testing the United States market with models retailing from about $2,000 to $12,000 or more. These include the sporty MG and Jaguar, and the stately Rolls-Royce, among others.

Why the sudden rush of low-price foreign cars? For one thing, post-Suez gasoline rationing and price boosts sharply curtailed European auto sales, releasing thousands of feet of production space for the manufacture of export models.

Moreover, the handsome sales performance of the Volkswagen here—soaring from a volume of 1,300 in 1953 to over 50,000 in 1956—has turned the attention of many an overseas economy car producer to the United States market.

SOME FADED OUT

Not all foreign-made economy cars have shared the Volkswagen's success in the United States.

The first Renault model, for example, the 4CV, which was introduced in the United States in 1946, fell from a sales peak of 1,700 in 1948 to 110 in 1953. By 1956, however, sales had jumped back to 2,100.

But now a spate of stylish makes in the $1,700 and under category is being shipped in from England, Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, and Italy to bid anew for United States dollars.

Take your choice: The Lloyd 600 from Germany boasts a 2-cylinder engine with a front-wheel drive; the Renault Dauphine from France offers a 4-cylinder engine with a rear-wheel drive. Six of the little models have air-cooled engines (motors in United States makes are water-cooled); five have engines putt-putting in the rear.

There are conventional sedans, sedans with sliding roofs, station wagons, and convertibles. There are bucket seats, full seats, and the yielding, hammock-type seats of the French Citroen 2CV. Some of the vehicles have 4 doors, others 2 doors. A pair of midgets—the Heinkel and Isetta of Germany—have only one door and that, oddly enough, is in the front. In size, they share one characteristic: They're smaller than the smallest Ford, Chevrolet, or Plymouth. The contrasts, in descending order, the Heinkel Cabin Cruiser (99.6 inches long), the Renault Dauphine (155 inches), and the Plymouth Savoy hardtop (204.6 inches).

Berkeley Coachwork, Ltd., of England now markets, in limited quantity, the first economy racing-type car in the United States. The tiny 2-seater has a 2-cycle, 2-cylinder engine. It sells for $1,595 in New York, the manufacturer says.

"It will be impossible to saturate the American economy car market before 1959 or 1960," Robert Lamaison, who holds the titles of vice president and North American manager of the French auto company, Regie Nationale des Usines Renault. This year, he foresees sales of 24,000 Renault Dauphines, introduced here last May to supplant the smaller 4CV. Two months ago, after protracted delays, the first large shipments of the new car began to arrive regularly. In 1956 combined sales of the 2 models were less than 3,000.

To back his sales plans, Mr. Lamaison says he has increased the number of distributors from 4 to 15 and has added 230 new dealers.

A. E. Birt, president of Hambro Importing Corp., forecasts 1957 sales of about 12,000 Morris 1000's, a remodeled British Motor Corp. car which his firm imports. Last year, the prototype of the 1000, the Morris Minor, had sales in the neighborhood of 500.

Meanwhile, Ford Motor, Ltd., which produces the Anglia and Prefect in Britain, is talking of a 300-percent sales jump over 1956 with its revamped models. The company won't give the 1956 sales figure. American Motors Corp., which last summer started importing a redesigned, English-built Metropolitan, predicts sales of 20,000 in 1957. But thus far its monthly volume has averaged under 50 percent of its goal.

Perhaps impressed by the success of the Volkswagen, President George Romney of American Motors and Louis E. Wolfson, a major stockholder, who are to confer this week, reportedly will discuss the possibility of placing more emphasis on the company's small cars. These include the Metropolitan and the Rambler.

Despite these rosy forecasts, American manufacturers remain skeptical. Harlow Curtice, president of General Motors Corp., recently called the performance characteristics of foreign economy cars substandard in comparison with Detroit automobiles. General Motors subsidiaries produce economy cars in England, West Germany, and Australia but, Mr. Curtice says, General Motors has no plans to offer them in the United States.

L. L. Colbert, president of Chrysler Corp., asked if his company had plans to introduce a low-priced car, said Chrysler has been "building and testing small cars since before World War II," and that the company's engineers have just returned from Europe after "studying small cars and plants that make small cars. But none of this activity is an indication Chrysler is going into the production of a small car in the foreseeable future."

Car dealers of Studebaker-Packard Corp. report they hear persistent rumors the company has several European cars under study in South Bend and is preparing to introduce an economy car. These rumors are flatly denied by Studebaker-Packard spokesman.

Auto fans are prone to argue interminably about the pros and cons of the European models.

The 2-door humpbacked Volkswagen, for example, stands belt high to a tall man standing on a curb. To slide into the bucket seat behind the steering wheel, the driver must jackknife his body, often knocking off his hat.

The Volkswagen interior is hardly spacious, with the windshield only a forearm's length from the driver's nose. The car is so close to the ground that the view from the oblong back window takes in only the lower grille work of a truck parked behind. "German purgatory," says a lanky New Yorker climbing out of the rear seat of a Volkswagen after a 2-hour ride.

The Volkswagen has luggage space for a pair of small suitcases between the back seat and the minute engine chugging under the rear hood. It has further luggage space between the gas tank and the fire wall under the front hood. But both spaces combined don't measure up to the 29.5 cubic feet of space in the Ford's luggage compartment.

This compactness, to be sure, has advantages. Overall, the Volkswagen is more than a yard shorter and roughly half a yard narrower than the Ford, making it a nimble competitor in heavy traffic and an easy car to park.

In weighing the Volkswagen's advantages and disadvantages, its supporters obviously believe economy and maneuverability are more important than luxurious comfort. One question likely to be answered this year and next, however, is whether these buyers will trade in their Volkswagen for another. For 30 years Detroit's auto men have been conditioning the consumer to annual changes in style. A Volkswagen owner trading in his 1955 model in 1957 will only get a replica of his old model.

"There's no way of telling how the buyer will react to this," shrugs one Manhattan Volkswagen dealer. "But we'll soon be finding out."

Another point of contention between boosters of foreign economy cars and backers of the bigger United States models: The horsepower race.

Horsepower of economy cars ranges from 9.2 in the lightweight Heinkel to 52 in American Motor's Metropolitan. While these seem rather meek when compared with the 200 thundering stallions advertised under hoods of some American cars, the economy autos aren't quite the feather pushers they appear to be.

Both European and Detroit engineers figure horsepower of an engine in the laboratories, but while the Americans adjust their horsepower to what it would be under ideal atmosphere conditions, the European figure represents what it would be under normal conditions.

Automotive engineers estimate that if the advertised 190 horsepower of the Ford V–8 engine were readjusted to actual driving conditions its power would be cut to about 150, depending on altitude and temperature.

In addition, American car manufacturers attach a long list of powersapping accessories to their engines—after they've determined the horsepower. These accessories are not available on many foreign cars.

"Start with the advertised horsepower in any Detroit car," says an automotive authority, "then subtract as follows: Two to three horses for the engine's fan, 3 to 5 horses for the generator, 5 to 10 horses for power steering (power brakes don't drain horsepower) and about 50 horsepower for less-than-ideal atmospheric conditions. Then throw away a few more horses for the automatic transmission depending on who's driving the car."

With all such deductions made from a Ford Custom, its boast of 190 horsepower melts to as low as 100 at the rear wheels on the highway, this authority declares. At the same time the Volkswagen, losing but

four of its 36 horsepower via a generator and attached blower, actually ends up with 32.

Nevertheless, on a tight race from a red light, a Detroit car will shoot by most any European car in the economy class.

On a still morning not long ago, a Volkswagen was raced with its gas pedal flush to the floor over a 20-mile stretch of parkway outside New York City. On the gentle down grades the little auto whistled up to a top speed of 72 miles an hour. On the upgrades, however, the speedometer drifted back to a low of 52 miles an hour. The Volkswagen's average speed for the 20 miles was a puffing 64 miles an hour.

"Where the lack of horsepower really hurts," says a University of Vermont undergraduate who owns a Volkswagen, "is when you need extra gumption to pass a car doing 45 miles an hour on mountain roads. It took me a couple of hair-raising weeks to figure out that I had to add a third again as much distance to make it around the car."

At least partly balancing this relatively timid performance, car savants say, are the economy factors offered by European makes. Many foreign producers, for example, advertise gas consumption of over 35 miles to the gallon of gas, while the Berkeley boasts "up to 70 miles a gallon."

Gas savings are difficult to pinpoint; how much a motorist saves in gas depends on how and where he drives. On recent road tests conducted by the Wall Street Journal covering close to 900 miles of city, suburban, and highway driving, a VW averaged 29 miles to the gallon. In similar tests a 1957 Ford custom averaged 13 miles to the gallon. VW dealers advertise a consumption rate of 32 miles per gallon, while Ford refuses to advance any such estimate. Some Fords will do better than 13 miles per gallon, but no standard Ford will approach the VW figure.

Using the road-test gasoline average, figure you drive you car 10,000 miles in the first year, and that gas is priced at 35 cents a gallon for high octane grades burned in the Ford, and at 33 cents a gallon for the "regular" gas used in a VW. The VW gas bill comes to $114; the Ford gas bill to $269. Savings: $155.

Also, figure both cars burn oil at the same rate, and that you change the crankcase oil every 2,000 miles as the companies suggest. Your bill for oil burned will be the same, but since the crankcase of the VW takes 3 quarts of oil per change as against Ford's 5 quarts, you save 2 quarts of oil at every change. At 50 cents a quart, the VW will cut another $5 off your bill.

Furthermore, the VW has an air-cooled engine, which obviously does not need antifreeze in the winter. The Ford, on the other hand, consumes about 10 quarts of antifreeze at 80 cents a quart.

Finally, there's the basic price differential between the VW, which retails for $1,540 in New York, and the Ford custom, which has a New York price of $2,012, according to one dealer. Tallying up the savings, car buyers have found that a VW can shave about $650 off the Ford custom in lower purchase price and cheaper operating expenses during the first year of ownership.

Long-term VW owners also have discovered that car parts for their make generally are cheaper than for Detroit models. However, the supply of parts for foreign autos is not always very dependable. Despite claims from dealers that any part can be flown to a dealer's garage within 4 or 5 days from Europe, production delays, shipping difficulties, and ordinary breakdowns in paper work have marooned many a midget auto in the garage. One Dallas Volkswagen owner found his car shopbound for 4 weeks while a new crank was located.

"If anything happened to my Volkswagen I'd be in a heck of a fix," frets Mrs. Bernivene L. Monner, of Hood, Oreg. "The nearest source of parts is Bend, Oreg., 160 miles away."

The Little Chamber Orchestra

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on the evening of May 1, 1957, at the Department of Agriculture Thomas Jefferson Memorial Auditorium, Members of Congress, Government officials, and the people of Washington will have an opportunity to hear a concert by the Little Chamber Orchestra of Portland, Oreg., conducted by Dr. Boris Sirpo. The concert is sponsored by the Oregon State Society of Washington, D. C.

The Little Chamber Orchestra has won worldwide fame and acclaim, and is again embarking on its third international tour, sponsored by the Department of State and the Department of Defense. In past years the Little Chamber Orchestra has played before the royalty of Europe, and this year will play in the famed Bergen Music Festival. The Little Chamber Orchestra has received well-deserved praise from Time magazine following its international tour in 1955.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article about the Little Chamber Orchestra which appeared in Time magazine dated July 4, 1955, and the excellent article by Hilmar Grondahl, music editor of the Oregonian, which appeared in that newspaper under date of March 27, 1957, and describes this year's tour by the Little Chamber Orchestra of Portland, Oreg.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Time magazine of July 4, 1955]

VALUE RECEIVED

It was raining buckets in Paris' Boulevard Poissonnière one night last week as six taxi drivers shouted and gesticulated at the door of the Hotel Violet. "What kind of a circus is this?" cried one. "We'll get wet as pigs," complained another. "This calls for an extra tip." Eventually, the taxicabs got under way, carrying 16 American girls dressed in flowing silver-gray silk and toting violins, violas, cellos, and a string bass, their conductor, Boris Sirpo, and a few assistants. In sum total they were the Little Chamber Orchestra from Portland, Oreg., and their destination was the National French television studio in Rue Cognacq-Jay.

The orchestra's dampened debut before France's TV watchers was a cloud-high point of a 7-week European tour that had already won raves in Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and England. As the French cameras blinked on, Conductor Sirpo led the girls through a solemn, contemplative Corelli air, a Vivaldi piece (with violin solo by tall, blonde Claire Hodgkins), some modern variations by Alexander Tansman and an allegro by Stamitz. They played with fire and discipline that astonished their listeners—and played everything without a sheet of music. When they had done, the TV crew crowded around, and the studio audience burst into applause.

PART PAYMENT

The triumphal tour was the kind of stuff that winsome movies are made of. The girls themselves range in age from 15 to 28, have been rehearsing for their tour for the last 2 summers. Conductor Sirpo, 60, is a hard-driving, expatriate Finn who wants the old countries to understand the deep-down values he has found in the United States. "I felt the need to repay America for giving me so much," he explains, "and for a music teacher, music is the only way to repay something. I wanted to show Europeans what young Americans can do in music, to let them see something of the culture and spiritual power our country can produce."

Conductor Sirpo abandoned his own conservatory in Finland when the Russians invaded in 1939 and headed for the United States. Since 1945, he has been teaching at Portland's Presbyterian Lewis and Clark College, where as many as 70 students brave his celebrated sternness to play in his student orchestra. One reason: beneath the rigorous vigor lies a puckish streak that relieves the direst stress. For example, Sirpo was once felled on the podium by a minor stroke, and somebody shrieked that he had been shot. As the cops arrived, he regained his speech and muttered solemnly: "My wife did it." On another occasion, the Sirpos had just moved into a house that was supposed to be haunted. Sure enough, ghostly sounds wakened the couple, and Mrs. Sirpo suggested that he investigate. "No, my love," said he. "You go; your English is better."

MONEY BACK

The girls take their tour with all the seriousness that a dedicated Finn and a Presbyterian education can instill. "It's like a mission," said one. "We are here to represent the United States to foreign countries. We try to make a good impression everywhere." To make it better, they rehearse 2 or 3 hours after breakfast every day, and again after lunch and dinner. Even when sightseeing, they make an impression. One girl, faced with an untranslatable menu, left her table, buttonholed a Frenchman on the street, brought him back, and got him to translate the menu while other diners goggled.

Portland was hardly aware that it even had an all-girl orchestra before the girls departed, and managed to raise only a dismal $6,100 toward the tour expenses. As a result, each girl dug up—by borrowing, selling instruments, etc.—some $1,500 of her own, and stands to spend it all. But Portland knows better now, will parade the girls through downtown streets when they get home next week, already has scheduled a big fund-raising concern 2 days after homecoming. After that? "This is only the beginning," says Sirpo. "We still have to go to South America."

[From the Oregonian, Portland, Oreg., of March 27, 1957]

ORCHESTRA PREPARES FOR NEW TOUR OF EUROPE

(By Hilmar Grondahl)

An official folder of the international music festival of Bergen which came to our desk recently contains the information that "The Little Chamber Orchestra, United States of America," Boris Sirpo, conductor, will give concerts on May 29 and 30 in that Norwegian city.

We went to the Mt. Tabor school Tuesday night to hear Boris Sirpo and some of the young players who will make the trip with him as they rehearsed for their forthcoming concert at Lincoln High School auditorium the night of April 3.

The music they were working through as we came in was a group of four songs which Sirpo had composed in recent months and which are to be given their first public performance at the next concert with mezzo-soprano Josephine Albert Spaulding as soloist.

SCHEDULE EXTENSIVE

There are two numbers apiece from longer cycles entitled "Dreams" and "Death" which reveal a high quality of creative art on the composer's part, and seemed, as they were

sung at rehearsal, to have been written with this special singer in mind.

But what we were particularly interested in learning at this point was about this projected second tour of the Little Chamber Orchestra. Its original venture onto the European scene a year ago had stirred a rash of superlatives from writers abroad, but the schedule for this year's junket appears more extensive, varied, and interesting.

It starts off, officially, with a performance in Washington, D. C., on May 1, which is sponsored by the Oregon State Committee and will be heard in the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Hall.

GROUP TO FLY

A week later the band of 15 with their conductor, manager, chaperone, and a few more members of its entourage will climb into an Armed Forces plane and be flown over to Frankfurt. This is a part of the arrangement made with Uncle Sam's military personnel through the State Department, the culmination of lengthy correspondence. At a later date, from June 15 to July 15, the local ensemble will be taken by the Armed Forces through its mid-European and Mediterranean theaters. The scheduled itinerary includes Germany, Italy, Turkey, Greece, and Morocco.

OTHER CONCERTS SET

Prior to this Army tour there is to be an intensive catalog of 11 dates in Finland and concerts in Norway, England, Belgium, and France. Subsequently there are July engagements in Sweden and Denmark, and then the trek back to Frankfurt for the hop back across the Atlantic.

Of the 15 players who will comprise this season's Little Chamber Orchestra, 9 will be making the trip for the second time. These are Claire Hodgkins, Ann Tremaine, Pat Kalberger, Susan Lathrop, Joann Kaden, Kay Hardwick, Pat Olson, Eunice Watson, and Jean Nesbitt. First timers include Marilyn Gardner, Sharon McCabe, Layne Stramler, Merna Eastman, Carol Critelli, Janette Foxton, and Lois Elsnor.

Parental Perspective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article of interest to parents, which appeared in the Chelsea Record, Chelsea, Mass., on April 15, 1957:

PARENTAL PERSPECTIVE

One of the quieter agencies of the Federal Government is the Children's Bureau. Its undemonstrative ways do not prevent it from doing well at its appointed task of helping to provide a better life and future for America's children.

The rash of talk about juvenile delinquency in recent times has focused great attention, perhaps greater than ever before, on the problems of bringing children to useful manhood. This growing interest tends to heighten the importance of the Children's Bureau, one of whose famous pamphlets is called The Adolescent in Your Family.

It is in this time of heightened interest that Katherine Brownell Oettinger will take over as President Eisenhower's choice to be head of the Children's Bureau. Without stressing the point overmuch, one may note a certain symbolism in the fact that Mrs. Oettinger will be the first mother to head the Children's Bureau since its founding 45 years ago. Previous chiefs of the Bureau have been spinsters.

Mrs. Oettinger's experience as a parent may serve her especially well at this time, since there is a growing inclination to blame parents for the shortcomings of their teenage offsprings. Having been through the mill herself, Mrs. Oettinger may be better equipped than some other observers to keep the role of the parent in proper perspective alongside such influences as the school, the church, and other social institutions. She is undertaking an important and interesting task. We wish her well.

Need for a Scholarship Loan Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on March 27, on behalf of myself and Senators BEALL, COOPER, IVES, and PAYNE, I introduced the Education Loan Act of 1957, S. 1727, to establish a $1 billion program of Federal loans and loan insurance over a period of 8 years up to 1965 to encourage and assist individuals needing financial support in obtaining a college or university education. Many of the 200,000 young men and women of college caliber who are graduating from high school this year will be unable to go on to college for financial education. In addition some 350,000—about half—of the college freshmen will have varying degrees of financial difficulty in meeting college expenses and many of these young people will be thus forced to discontinue their education.

The program envisioned by this bill is based on loans rather than outright grants thus avoiding an added strain on the Federal budget. A recent report by the New York Education Department, for example, has shown a significant increase in demand for loans of this type.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from the mother of a prospective medical student in Lockland, Ohio, together with an editorial on the same subject from the Cincinnati Times-Star. Her letter forcefully points up the need for adoption of a scholarship loan program.

There being no objection, the letter and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOCKLAND, OHIO,
April 9, 1957.

DEAR SENATOR JAVITS: My son will graduate from Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, June 10, and has been accepted to Ohio State Medical School, but there it may stop or end for him, as I don't see how he can make medical school without a loan of some kind. If he could get a loan without it seeming like charity or worrying how to get through, his grades would be better.

This boy has worked his way through college and with what help we could give him, as my husband is a factory worker, and the only way I could help him is remortgage our home, and we aren't getting any younger, with two other children to raise.

This boy is married, and his wife, a wonderful girl, is teaching first grade at Finneytown School, Ohio, and she seems determined that he be a doctor, but so many sacrifices to make on her salary of $186 per month. My boy has dug ditches, shoveled coal in factories, and never has had a vacation in 16 years of schooling. He's always managed to work, and save for college. I say there should be a place a student can go to borrow the money on a good scholar standing and not always give the scholarships to the "A" pupils. I know my son would pay every cent to the Government if he could get a loan to finish his schooling.

He is so determined to be a doctor, and when he was accepted in medical school, 1 of 5 from a class of 40 or 50, it made me feel proud, but I wonder all the time if he can go on. Will there be a way?

He brought three South American students from Bogotá and they ate with us, and the conversation about government loans came up. They graduate, go back to South America, and pay the government back.

My son has inquired about a loan, but no satisfaction so far has come from it.

In closing, I only hope this bill goes through, as I know he could work and pay back all he borrows. He has an outstanding character in this community.

[From the Cincinnati Times-Star of March 27, 1957]

JAVITS PUSHES STUDENT PLAN

Five Republican Senators joined Wednesday in sponsoring legislation setting up an 8-year billion-dollar colege student loan program.

Senator JACOB J. JAVITS, Republican, New York, was introducing the bill which would permit loans of up to $1,000 a year for 5 years, repayable over a 10-year period, to needy students.

Five percent of the direct loans could go to foreign students, who could make repayments in local currency.

In addition, the measure provides a program of Government insurance on loans made by private sources, including colleges and universities.

Cosponsors of the bill are Senators IRVING IVES, Republican, New York; JOHN S. COOPER, Republican, Kentucky; FREDERICK PAYNE, Republican, Maine, and J. GLENN BEALL, Republican, Maryland.

The Plight of the Individual in a Big-Business Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, a distinguished former Member of this body, Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, delivered an address on Tuesday, April 2, which is worthy of the closest attention of the Senate and the country. He spoke before an audience at the City College Baruch School of Business in New York on the subject The Plight of the Individual in a Big-Business Economy. I ask unanimous consent that the text of Senator Lehman's remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Plight of the Individual in a Big Business Economy

(Remarks of Herbert H. Lehman at the City College Baruch School of Business, Tuesday, April 2, 1957)

As I am sure you are frequently told, you are the trustees of tomorrow. And tomorrow is not very far away. I do not know what judgment will be finally passed on today's trustees—today's leaders of action, enterprise, and ideology in our country and in the world—but I doubt whether that judgment will consist wholly of praise.

I do not think the current trustees—and I am referring to the leadership in every field, in every land—have done very well with our country or our world. But I am an incurable optimist. I think we can and will yet solve our problems, at home and abroad, if we will only recognize that they exist, and set out, with total energy, dedication, and resources to resolve them.

I am going to talk to you today about just one of these problems, but one which I believe particularly concerns you young men and women about to begin your careers beyond the limits of the college campus.

Thsi problem concerns the growing concentrations in our national economy, the development of big business into giant business, and the significance of this development for the individuals involved in business.

I want especially to discuss the significance of this development for the individuals who are in the ranks, or who are yet to join the ranks of big business itself—the individuals who work for, with, and through big business and giant business.

Of course the growth of vast business concentrations has many aspects—economic, sociological, political, cultural, and even international. Each of these aspects is critically important and extremely complex. This whole subject, in all of its aspects, calls for our immediate attention and urgent concern.

We are traveling a road from which, after a while, there may be no turning off or turning back—the road toward bigger and bigger business, toward greater and greater concentration of economic power in fewer and fewer hands.

Recently, Fortune magazine published a study of the 50 largest firms in each of the major fields of the American economy, with figures for their 1955 sales, assets, and net profits.

It is, of course, an old story that in steel, in automobiles, and in oil production, for instance, a few giant firms are clearly dominant.

It is less generally understood, however, that economic concentration is growing in almost every sector of our economy. Today, almost every line of business is dominated by the giants.

The 50 largest insurance companies have 90 percent of all the assets of all insurance companies in the country.

The 50 largest manufacturing companies made 27 percent of the sales made by all manufacturing companies—and there are 325,000 manufacturing companies in the United States.

The 50 largest corporations in all fields, together, made sales of $86 billion, or about 28 percent of the total gross national product of the United States.

One company, General Motors, made a net profit, in 1955, of over $1 billion, on assets of $6 billion, with sales amounting to about $12½ billion.

Just think of that—one company had a sales turnover equivalent to 3 percent of the gross national product of the United States.

No wonder that thoughtful men in the business world are raising the question: "How big is too big?" A recent issue of the monthly publication of the American Institute of Management raised this question editorially and concluded that when one firm attains a sales volume that equals more than 1 percent of the gross national product, that firm is just too big for the health of the national economy.

I, myself, do not have the answer to the question of "How big is too big?" But I know it is a crucial question. Today, our entire economy is coming to consist of a few giants and swarms of ants, the ants consisting of small businesses. There are 4,250,000 separate businesses in America, of which perhaps a thousand are truly big business firms. Accordingly to a survey made by the United Press, there are 78 firms in the United States with assets of more than a billion dollars each. These I call the giants.

It is a fact that big businesses, on the average, are earning more and more profits every year, while on the average, the small businesses are earning less.

Indeed, the time has come to take a new look at the whole question of competition, and at what constitutes unfair competition and discrimination in business. There is a new dimension in our economy now, the dimension of giantism. If we want to retain an economic system based on competition, new rules must be written—and very soon—to protect the ants against the giants, and the consuming public against both.

We had better take a good long look at the loopholes in our antitrust laws.

Something had better be done promptly about the mergers.

The Federal Trade Commission reports that there were 905 mergers in 1956, 846 mergers in 1955, and 617 mergers in 1954. The number has been going up steadily. Moreover, many of the mergers have been spectacular ones, the merging of two already large corporations to make one giant—and to eliminate one further source of competition.

I have been especially interested—and concerned—over bank mergers. Once I was a banker myself.

During 1955, 225 banks, with total assets of $9,616,000,000 were merged, consolidated, or acquired by other banks. During the 6-year period from 1950 to 1956, 830 banks, with assets of $18,600,000,000, were merged, consolidated, or acquired.

Moreover, these mergers took place, for the most part, in the key industrial areas of the country; these mergers were part of the process whereby big banks grew even larger, and smaller banks were swallowed up.

Today there are about 14,000 commercial banks in America. Twenty-four of these are giants, with a billion dollars or more of assets each. In California there is, of course, the fabulous Bank of America, with resources of over $9 billion. Here in New York City, we have two giants, Chase-Manhattan and First National City, each with resources of over seven billion; ranking below them in size, New York has 4 $3-billion banks, and 2 $2-billion banks. Together, these eight banks hvae perhaps 75 or 85 percent of all the deposits in New York City.

It is strange that these huge banks should be trying to expand, through merger and consolidation, when as a matter of fact—and I say this on the basis of my experience as a banker—a $500-million bank, and certainly a billion-dollar bank, can do everything in the public interest which a $4, $7, or $10-billion bank can do. In other words there is no economic justification for the expansion.

Within the last 6 years alone 137 banks in New York State have been merged, consolidated, or acquired by other banks. The resources of the banks which have thus disappeared were $10 billion, almost one-sixth of the total resources of all the banks in all of New York State.

The story is the same in California, in Oregon, in Washington, in Pennsylvania, in Rhode Island, and in numerous other States.

California, for instance, had long been the scene of bank mergers and consolidations. By 1950, California had only 149 banks (compared to over 600 in Kansas). But between 1950 and the end of 1955, 86 of these 149 California banks were merged, consolidated, or otherwise taken over * * * a reduction of over 60 percent in the number of banking institutions in this huge and growing State.

The story is the same in many other parts of the country.

The end result is not only a decreased number of banks and less competition, but a more highly centralized control of the Nation's financial system, with mounting danger to the entire national economy if a relatively few individuals should decide, for whatever reason, to misuse their control over the lifeblood of our economy.

* * * * *

The development of bigness, and of monopoly control, in banking has been parallel to that in many other lines of economic endeavor. In almost every field, big business has gotten bigger, and giants have grown to dominate the field and to dwarf all others.

The giants and the big business firms not only dominate our economy to an increasing extent; they are, in fact, beginning seriously to affect our culture, our education, and the intellectual climate of our times. Certainly they have the greatest access to what are called the mass media—television, radio, and the press.

Their actual and potential effect on the political life of our times is, in itself, a vital question which requires sober study, thought and consideration, of possible countervailing measure.

The whole range of the possible effects of economic concentration—the economic, the social and the political effects—need to be carefully analyzed and publicly discussed. The people of this country need to be alerted to the actual and potential dangers of giantism and monopoly. There must be a call to action, on this front as on so many others.

* * * * *

Today, I want to concentrate on just one aspect of this situation, a somewhat subtle aspect, but not the less important or deadly on that account.

I refer to that strange and growing impact of giant business on the pattern of the lives of those who work in business and for business.

Of course, the growth of big business makes life harder for those engaged in little business. But that is not my central thesis today.

The danger I want to emphasize today arises from the fact that big business has become the major employer in the United States. Big business, itself, has been building up a series of collectivist bureaucracies which, in my judgment, are far more dangerous for the future of our country than the Government bureaucracies against which the spokesmen for big business have complained for so many years.

In referring to corporate bureaucracies, I am not thinking of the production workers, pocessors, handles, and haulers of the commodities produced by big business. Most of these workers, organized into labor unions, constitute a separate problem, or a separate phase of the whole problem. These workers feel the impact of the corporate ideology, but do not constitute a part of what I have called the corporate bureaucracy.

In today's discussion, my main concern is for these employees involved in the administrative, technical, technological, professional, and managerial functions of big enterprise. These are the bureaucracy; and it is a growing bureaucracy.

A new professional class is developing in America, alongside the educators, doctors, lawyers, engineers, and scientists. They are the sales engineers, the industrial relations experts, the public relations counsellors, the program planners, and the communications advisers—to name but a few of the new categories.

These are the bright young men and women who occupy the desks in the great corporate headquarters buildings. They spend their days in conferences, and their nights in writing memos and reports, or in reading those that others have written.

They are staff people, some of whom hope, of course, to be graduated to command posts.

These are the individuals who receive the main impact of the corporate ideology, and transmit and reflect it. They represent the new soul and spirit of big business.

They are increasingly today among the brightest and ablest of our college-trained output. Nowadays, as all of you know, the big-business enterprises actively recruit the brightest graduates, and do, in fact, get a major share of them.

Recent surveys have shown, moreover, that most of the graduating seniors today want to work for the big corporations. A smaller number are willing to work for small companies. Only a very small percentage of college graduates seem to want to start their own businesses, or to hang up their own shingles, or to start up their own practices, in the case of the professions.

The big corporations offer good pay, security, and good prospects for advancement. But what is more—and this is not clearly understood—they offer a way of life.

In return for the relatively good pay, job security, and job opportunity which the big corporations afford, the employee is expected to give not only his talents and devotion, but also his conformity.

A typical training pamphlet of the General Electric Corp., which came to my attention recently, advised all professional employees, as part of their basic code of conduct, to avoid taking an interest in "controversial" questions.

And there is some evidence that many college students who aspire to work for these corporations are taking this advice in advance. Some members of some faculties in some colleges and universities have suggested this attitude as the correct one for those who want to "get on" in the great bureaucracies which have grown up in the corporate world.

In these new bureaucracies, there has developed the same faults and failings which usually characterize collectivist bureaucracies—the modeling of thought as well as action on the attitude of the "boss," the pressure for conformity, the redtape, the centralization of authority, and the reluctance to go out on a limb or take a chance.

The engineers, the scientists and technologists, the lawyers, the statisticians, the public relations experts, the advertising experts, the merchandisers • • • all those working for Big Business and making up the corporate bureaucracies, are being pressed into a single mold. The individual is supposed to disappear, becoming instead a unit on a "team" and a cog in a wheel. The individual is induced to fuse his identity into that of the corporation. He becomes what William H. Whyte has called "The Organization Man."

I am worried about this. I am concerned that today Big Business is doing just what it used to accuse the New Deal of doing—it is trying to destroy individualism in favor of regimentation and conformity.

Of course, I do not believe that Big Business, or any other force, will actually succeed in stamping out all individualism in the younger generation. Not even the Communists have succeeded in doing that in the Communist countries.

The fact is, however, that we should be encouraging individualism and individual enterprise. We are not. Today the leaders of big business, and of government, are only paying lip service to these values. Actual encouragement is being given to orthodoxy and to the false litanies of sloganising and merchandising. All official support is being given the new philosophy of action identified with Madison Avenue, with the emphasis on form and approach, rather than on content and substance.

Against this background, there is little incentive for young men and women to go to work for small business, or to start up new businesses.

Today, according to a report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, less than 10 percent of the research engineers and scientists employed by commercial and non-profit organizations work for small businesses. Over 90 percent work for big businesses.

Of course, the Government—particularly the Defense Department and the Atomic Energy Commission—are supporting most of the outside research and development work that is being done today. Of seven billion dollars being spent annually for research and development in the United States, four billion is being contributed in one form or another by the Government.

These four billion dollars, moreover, are being expended almost entirely through the big corporations of America. According to a report of the Defense Department, 95 percent of the Federal funds being spent through commercial companies to promote scientific research and development is being paid out to corporations having more than 500 employees—in other words, to big business.

Thus, the Government, through its research and development program, is helping to attract the engineers, scientists, and technologists to the ranks of Big Business, and thus to promote economic concentration—making big business bigger.

This, in turn, helps to build up the corporate bureaucracies I have been talking about; it helps to make a career as a member of one of these bureaucracies attractive to young professional graduates.

More and more individuals are becoming part of these collectivist conglomerations. More and more individuals are feeling the pressures—and the inducements—to conform their lives and their thinking to the patterns laid down by these corporate organizations.

I can hardly tell you how deeply this problem concerns me. I consider its manifestations to be at least partly responsible for the feeling of complacency and of aimlessness to be found in the general public—in a world which lies momentarily exposed to atomic destruction and in a country in which every day there arise new problems of ever-greater complexity.

I am in the twilight of my active public life. But I am not complacent. I see the dangers and the problems. I wish more of my countrymen did, with me.

I think the problems posed by big business, by the economic giants in our country, and by the growing concentration of economic power in a few hands, must be frankly confronted and resolved.

I, myself, do not pretend to know many of the answers. I know you can't turn back the clock or unscramble the egg. I am not positive how big is too big. I believe that some Government controls over bigness are necessary. But I am not sure what new controls we need. We need some. And perhaps we need to enforce some of the antitrust laws we already have.

I am convinced that beyond a certain point, continued growth in the size of a business does not necessarily result in benefits for the consumer. Because of the many dangers which economic giantism presents to the general welfare, I believe that the continued expansion of giant firms must, in every case, be carefully studied and judged from the viewpoint of the general welfare.

One of my chief worries as far as big business is concerned is the lack of democratic controls, or of any controls. The huge corporations, with their tremendous power over so many phases of our national and individual lives, are responsible only to the balance sheet and to the profit and loss statement. This is the only responsibility which management has even to the stockholders, who are the theoretical owners of the corporations in question.

Of course, in these huge corporations there is no real relationship between management and ownership. In most cases management is self-perpetuating and has no real constituency at all.

Perhaps one of the answers to this situation lies in requiring the management of publicly held corporations to show some measure of democratic responsibility both to the stockholders, and to the general public.

My real point is that we need some new and original thinking on this subject.

And while the thinkers are at it, let them study the particular aspect of the problem I have outlined today—the problem of corporate bureaucracy, and what it does to those who become a part of it. And what that does to the pattern of national thought and life.

I am sure that there are answers to these problems, just as I am sure that all our public problems can be resolved. As I remarked earlier, I am an incurable optimist.

I believe in the strength and resources of freedom. I believe that with the good use of freedom, all obstacles can eventually be overcome.

During a long life I have sometimes seen my worst fears realized. But I have seen my high hopes for the American people always fulfilled in the end.

I believe in the American people, in their courage and their resourcefulness.

I believe in you, the young men and women of America.

I have faith that my faith in you, in America, and in freedom, will be justified.

So Long as Oil and Gas Interests Are the Recipients of Special Privileges Other Business Corporations Will Go on Paying 52 Percent in Taxes and Individuals up to 90 Percent, Says the Trentonian

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, there is a great deal of talk these days about reducing the budget and reducing taxes. A lot of it is good talk, informed talk and some very important and able suggestions are being put forward for consideration.

One of the most interesting and worthwhile plans which I have seen would reduce the depletion allowance given oil and gas interests from the present 27½ percent to 20 percent in some cases, in others to 15 percent.

The Trentonian, a leading newspaper in the Fourth New Jersey District which I have the privilege of representing, has commented on this editorially. The Trentonian says that "In 1952 it was the late Senator Taft, of Ohio, who said the depletion allowance was 'to a large extent a gift.'"

I include here the trenchant editorial from the Trentonian of April 15, 1957:

READ THIS AND WEEP

We have held off on this dissertation until today, which is the deadline for filing

income-tax returns. We are assuming that all good citizens either have filed said returns or will do so today. And we are assuming that most corporations have their affairs with Uncle Sam in tidy condition.

The reason why we say we have held back on this editorial is because it will burn you up. In fact, if published earlier, it might have burned you to such a crisp that you would have rebelled and not filed an income-tax return. Then you'd either wind up in jail or have to pay a big fine, and it would be all our fault. We couldn't run any such risk.

Anyhow, let's take a look at the record—the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, that is, of March 27, 1957, in which is detailed certain deliberations of the Senate.

In the RECORD is revealed:

1. That over a period of 7 years an oil company which shall be called "Z" made $7,368,000 in net income before taxes and legally did not pay a single penny in taxes.

2. Over a period of 6 years, company T realized combined profits of $1,832,000 and legally paid $7,500—four-tenths of 1 percent.

3. Company W, one of the largest if not the largest, in 10 years had profits of $95,119,340, yet legally paid only $5,750,000, or 6.05 percent.

Now let it be said that these companies are not located in the East. They are down in Texas and out in Oklahoma, Wyoming, and California. They are the companies who came mighty close to being on the carpet as a result of the natural-gas fiasco in the august United States Senate.

And they are the companies—they and some 2 dozen others—who prosper because they are allowed a 27½-percent depletion allowance.

For the 10-year period from 1945 to 1954, according to the RECORD, 27 domestic oil companies had a total net income before taxes of $3,265,289,925, yet paid total Federal corporate income taxes of $561,916,554, or 17.21 percent.

Compare that with the 52 percent paid by other businesses.

This depletion allowance was originally set up as a wartime measure back in World War I days—but then it was 5 percent.

The purpose was to permit oil companies to recover their initial investment and to provide funds for exploration—drilling more wells.

In the short space of 8 years or so, sympathetic Congresses had hiked the depletion allowance to its present level of 27½ percent.

And there it has remained, despite some assaults on it by right-thinking legislators.

One of them is Senator WILLIAMS, of Delaware. Another is Senator DOUGLAS, of Illinois. In 1942 it was the late Senator La Follette. In 1952 it was the late Senator Taft, of Ohio, who said the depletion allowance was "to a large extent a gift."

Senator WILLIAMS on March 27 of this year pointed out that the "deduction goes on year after year without regard to the original investment, with the result that their original investment can be recovered under this tax-free formula many, many times."

The domestic situation is bad enough, but the foreign situation involving American companies is even worse. Senator CARROLL reveals that a combine of 4 huge companies owns the complete oil concession in Saudi Arabia. They are taking the 27½ percent allowance, yet, according to CARROLL, there is "no great need for exploration there. We already know that three-quarters of the world's oil is there." He pointed out that of the $700 million gross earnings of the combine, only $7 million went for exploration.

In any event, the RECORD makes interesting reading on an amendment offered by Senator DOUGLAS which would have reduced the depletion allowance in some cases to 20 percent, in others to 15. It was rejected.

And so long as oil and gas interests are the recipients of special privileges from a benevolent Congress any such amendments will be defeated. And other business corporations will go on paying 52 percent in taxes and individuals up to 90 percent.

"Mike" O'Leary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, every so often somebody moves into a section of the country from another area whom you feel has lived among you all his life. Captain John J. "Mike" O'Leary was that sort of person.

Mike died the other day.

He was known by many Members of the House during his long years as manager of the St. Charles Hotel in New Orleans. The historic hotel he managed was frequently the headquarters for congressional committees which went to New Orleans. Many were the times that Members, on a pleasure trip to New Orleans, made the St. Charles Hotel their home during their stay in New Orleans.

Mike was my friend for more than 20 years. I was one of the first people he met when he came to New Orleans and I was among his first permanent guests. I lived at the St. Charles Hotel until I came to Congress 17 years ago.

My old high school and college classmate, "Pie" Dufour, of the New Orleans States, has written a piece about "Mike" which just about says everything about him that any of his friends would liked to have said had they been given the opportunity. Since "Mike" had so many friends in Congress I am passing along "Pie" Dufour's tribute in order that we may all share in his appreciation and evaluation of a really great guy.

The article follows:

MIKE O'LEARY MUST HAVE HAD MORE FRIENDS THAN ANYONE ELSE IN UNITED STATES

Did anybody in the United States have more friends than Mike O'Leary?

He knew more people than anybody I ever saw and more people knew him.

And in all the years I've known him—since the 1930's—I've never heard anybody say an unkind word about John J. O'Leary.

I never heard anybody call him John. And I don't have the slightest idea what the "J" in the middle stood for. To everyone, he was either "Captain O'Leary," a title won in World War I, or "Mike," but how he got that nickname I don't know.

Mike O'Leary was a man of the highest business and personal integrity. A wit and a raconteur, he had an engaging, friendly personality. In directing the St. Charles Hotel, of which he was manager for almost a quarter of a century, Mike operated with a quiet efficiency, which included an almost personal touch to the services given the guests.

I repeat that Mike's friends were legion. They were the bigwigs in sports, in politics, in the newspaper game, in the Army and the Navy, in the theatrical world. They were also the little fellows in these and other walks of life.

Mike was one of the founders of the Quarterback Club, one of the most successful of the Monday morning second guessing groups in America. He used to enjoy being needled about the food served at the lunches.

Hardly a meeting, over the nearly two decades of the Quarterback Club's existence, that questions didn't come up to the head table, directed at Mike. Such laugh-provokers as:

"Captain O'Leary, what is this?"

"Mike, did the chef cut this meat with an invisible ray?"

"Cap O'Leary: Where do you eat?"

Mike enjoyed the weekly jesting, and as Chairman Lester Lautenschlaeger read the messages, he'd stand in one of the doorways, grinning his wonderful Irish grin.

Once, at the weekly meeting of a luncheon club of which he was a member, Captain O'Leary came with a lunch box and a thermos bottle. "Think I'd eat that stuff I serve you fellows?" he asked, as he opened the lunch box and unwrapped a sandwich.

Mike was a great booster for sports in New Orleans—Tulane football, the Pelicans and the Sugar Bowl game, especially. The annual buffet which he spread for the Sugar Bowl teams and guests after the game was the most fabulous I've ever seen.

It was seldom that I've been out of town that someone, in a hotel lobby, at a theater or at a sports event didn't ask to be remembered to Mike O'Leary.

Mike was a great story teller and he had a fund of true tales. Frequently, Mike was in the know on important matter and knew the news behind the news.

O'Leary served in the United States Army in World War I, in both the Cavalry and Signal Corps. He saw battle action in France and I suspect that he performed with distinction, for he never spoke about his war days, at least I never heard talk about them. In World War II, Captain O'Leary served on a draft board here.

One of Captain O'Leary's chief characteristics was his courage. He received a terrific one-two punch in the last half dozen years of his life. The first was the loss of his lovely little daughter, after harrowing months of doubt as to whether the little girl would win or lose the batle for life. This broke Mike's heart, but not his spirit. And then, a year or so later, Mike was stricken with a serious illness which incapacitated him for months.

He rallied, returned to the job, physically beaten down, but remained the same genial soul. He was stricken again, complications set in and he became enfeebled, but in due time he returned to his desk once more, with his fighting spirit unbroken.

Mike O'Leary's death was a great loss to this community, and to his thousands of friends it was a personal tragedy.

Salute to Jamestown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to point out that we citizens of Virginia are particularly pleased that the Boston Daily Globe recently printed a fine article, signed by the writer known as Uncle Dudley, describing the wonderful festival now underway at Jamestown, Va. Commissions established by both our Federal Government and the State

of Virginia are now commemorating the 350th anniversary of the establishment of the first permanent English colony in the New World, at Jamestown, with a magnificent, inspiring, and educational display.

The two most famous permanent English colonies in the New World, from which our present United States of America is descended, were established at Jamestown in 1607, and at Plymouth Rock, in Massachusetts, a few years later, in 1620.

This fine article from the Boston Daily Globe, describing the similarities between the voyages of the Virginia and Massachusetts colonists, and their later tribulations, was reprinted in the Richmond Times-Dispatch on Friday, April 12. For the benefit of the Members of the House, I take very great pleasure in including this article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

SALUTE TO JAMESTOWN

The two Commonwealths of Massachusetts and Virginia, which have shared so richly in the building of our Nation's heritage of pioneering, tradition, and government, are finding occasions this spring for renewal of memories closely similar.

Bay Staters look to the approach of summer which will bring the *Mayflower II* to Plymouth in careful reduplication of the Pilgrim voyage that wrote one of the seminal chapter of the American legend. Meantime, down in the Old Dominion, our southern neighbors have this week opened the 350th birthday festival of Jamestown—the first permanent English settlement established on this continent.

The similarities of experience between these two precarious ventures of the early 17th century were numerous and close. Both the Virginia Company of London and the Virginia Company of Plymouth were chartered the same year: 1606. The resolute little group of voyagers on the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed*, and the *Discovery* accosted the same perils from unknown seas, knew the same wavering hopes and tasted the same exultation when at long last they made landfall, as did the Pilgrims.

The first Virginians, however, were more fortunate. Though their voyage was one of the longest transatlantic passages on record—close to 4 months—the promised land where they finally found haven greeted them with the warm breezes of April, murmerous with bees and fragrant with blossoming plum and wild strawberry. New England's rock-bound coast in that bleak November, a few years later, offered grimmer welcome to Elder Brewster and his companions.

And if the tribulations of the little band that set about building its fort on the shady peninsula well up the James River provided a preview of what was soon thereafter to befall their compatriots at Plymouth, including a starving time, tenacity of purpose displayed was common to both.

Jamestown's birthday celebration has opened on an elaborate scale and will continue through 8 months. The primitive atmosphere of the settlement has been reconjured. It is sustained not only by replicas of the famous fort, Indian lodges, and other features of the first colony, but with exact copies of the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed*, and the *Discovery* as well.

With colonial Williamsburg and Yorktown summoned from close by to lend support to the observances, the Jamestown birthday party will surely garner the attention it so well deserves. Massachusetts extends felicitations to its sister State and to Plymouth's pace setter in American history.

Such reemphasis as this on our Nation's yesterdays fulfills a dual service. It provides a reminder of the humbleness of our beginnings, at a moment of power in Time's forward march when such a corrective can prove sanative.

Of equal if not, indeed, greater consequence, such revitalization of interest in shrines commemorating common national experience help clarify in a time of confusion and doubt the principles from which our democratic institutions have evolved.

Despite the fact that the meager group who debarked from the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed*, and the *Discovery* differed in many ways in their outlook upon life and religion from the even smaller company of the *Mayflower*, *Jamestown*, and *Plymouth* had and still have one significant fusion point.

In the first charter of the Virginia Company of London it was set down that the inhabitants of the colony and their children should "have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities * * * as if they were abiding and born within this realm." The planting of that seed and its subsequent growth are Virginia's and the Nation's history. Like the Mayflower compact, and the creation of the New England town meeting which followed a few decades thereafter, it meant that the beginnings of free, representative, democratic institutions and Government had been made.

Dedication Exercises of the East Coast Facilities of Tracerlab

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday I am attending the dedication exercises of the East Coast facilities of Tracerlab, Inc. They have a very interesting facility in the Speaker's State of Texas. The principal speaker will be the Honorable STERLING COLE, an expert member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, who has done an enormous amount of work on this subject. I will be delighted to be there, and also because the laboratories are in the district of the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. DONOHUE].

I would like to tell the Members, Mr. Speaker, of the work played by the women in the nuclear instrument industry. The following is part of a letter sent to me by Tracerlab, Inc., and also there is a release from the corporation:

TRACERLAB, INC.,
Waltham, Mass., April 12, 1957.

Hon. EDITH NORSE ROGERS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. ROGERS: It is an honor indeed to have you present at our dedication ceremony.

* * * * *

The nuclear instrument industry, like so many others, is shorthanded, so women have come to play an important role here to help fill the gap, and many of them are doing jobs which would otherwise be done by men. Since the atomic-energy field is hardly 10 years old, it does not suffer from the rigid hiring-patterns of older industries and, as a result, women who can take responsibility and carry it out have been given a free hand. Much of our work in radiochemistry is done by women—women Ph.D.'s, women technicians, women laboratory assistants, women chemists. Our Industrial Relations Director is a woman. Our crystal-growing laboratory, one of a handful of such operations in the whole world, is in charge of women. Much of our Geiger tube glass work is done by women. In addition, of course, the more traditional jobs of clerks, secretaries and others are filled by women. (I am sure you will be able to make comparisons with women in industry 10 years ago, or, drawing on your own experiences, show how today's situation is different from that of yesteryear.)

In a rapidly growing company such as ours, women have probably been offered more unique opportunities to achieve positions of leadership than in other companies. Our rapid growth has resulted in more promotions, but at the same time has made greater demands on the individual. A number of successful instances in which women have risen to the top here and are at the same time raising families or enjoying successful marriages is conclusive proof that today's woman is enjoying the freedom and equality she has long sought and has the full acceptance of management as a dependable reliable worker.

As I said above, I can only offer these as suggestions. If you would like additional thoughts, I would be glad to give them to you on the telephone or Thursday morning when you get here.

I might suggest that you may want to get here around 12:30 p. m., although the dedication ceremony does not begin until 1 p. m., in order to give the press time to talk briefly with you.

Sincerely yours,

W. A. STENZEL,
Public Relations Manager.

[Tracerlab, Inc., press release of April 17, 1957]

Peaceful applications for atomic energy are taking another giant step forward in the United States with the completion of the world's most modern plant devoted entirely to peaceful uses of atomic energy for Tracerlab, Inc., pioneer in this field. The $1,900,000 plant in Waltham, Mass., with 4 acres of floor space, confirms United States leadership in the world race to harness the atom. It will house Tracerlab's east coast laboratory, research and manufacturing facilities, and will be dedicated April 18 in brief ceremonies to be attended by National, State, and local officials, and many of the people who have contributed to the peaceful uses of the atom.

Formerly housed in seven separate locations in downtown Boston, where the company was established only 10 years ago with a half dozen employees, the new facilities house operations which last year turned out almost $12 million worth of X-ray and nuclear products to the world's medical, research, industrial, and chemical centers. Tracerlab, with some 800 employees, operates the world's largest commercial radiochemical facilities, has the broadest product line in its field—ranging from simple lead bricks for radiation shielding to complex process control systems using radioisotopes—and a complete X-ray equipment line, produced by its X-ray subsidiary, Keleket X-ray Corp.

President W. O. Faxon, commenting on the new plant, said: "It is predicted that the nuclear instrumentation market alone will rise to a total of $135 million by 1963 (compared to $10 million in 1955) in response to an accelerated reactor building program as well as to new applications for atomic energy uncovered by research now in progress. This building gives us under one roof the facilities we need to continue to keep pace with this tremendous growth.

"This one building will provide complete facilities for a number of varied working groups. Besides manufacturing and administration, 11 separate major chemical laboratories, many designed exclusively for radioisotope work, can be used for research and synthesis. In another part of the building engineering facilities have been set up for the special needs of industrial, X-ray and instrument groups whose work may be in textiles one day, rubber the next, medicine the third and so on through an ever-broadening range of applications."

To tell the story of how the peaceful atom has been put to work to save industry some $200 million last year, and to show some of the operations of this unique New England firm, product displays, plant tours and demonstrations of isotope applications will be held at the time of the dedication which will be witnessed by the invited guests, and representatives of radio, television, newspapers, and the trade press.

A highlight of the program will be an address by the Honorable STERLING COLE, Representative from the State of New York and member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, who will carry out the ribbon-cutting ceremonies by remote control using isotopes in a Traceriab beta gage.

Civil Rights and Trial by Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by Herman Edelsberg and David Brody, of the Antidefamation League of B'nai B'rith, and Francis Pohlhaus, of the Washington bureau, NAACP, which I commend to the attention of my colleagues. The opponents of H. R. 6127, which I trust will shortly be reported out of the Rules Committee, are claiming that this bill will deprive citizens of their right to trial by jury, and this statement is a refutation of that argument:

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL AND TRIAL BY JURY

One of the persistent arguments devised by the opponents of civil rights legislation is the claim that the present bill would deprive a man of his right to a jury trial. This argument is wrong in theory and wrong in fact.

1. Existing Federal laws, long on the statute books, make it a crime for any person to violate the constitutional rights of another in certain circumstances. In any prosecution under these statutes the defendant gets a jury trial. In no way is this existing law changed by the proposed bill. Nor would the bill make criminal any act which is not already criminal.

2. What the bill does is to add a civil remedy—as distinguished from the existing criminal remedy—in cases of civil rights violations. It would give the Government the same choice between criminal or civil remedies that the Government now has in some 28 fields—for example, antitrust, wage-hour, Atomic Energy Act violations. It would give to the Attorney General the right to go to a Federal court and get an order directing a State official or some other person to do that which may be necessary to give another citizen his constitutional rights. This is a time-honored equitable remedy—already available to individual citizens in civil rights cases; but because of the intimidation practiced against individuals sometimes, it is necessary to give this right to the Attorney General, too.

3. Opponents of civil rights argue that this procedure would deprive a man of his right to a jury trial. There is no constitutional right to a trial by jury in contempt cases. It is a long-standing rule of law that when a person violates a valid court order—whether it involves the payment of alimony, a labor relations decree, or an antitrust order—he lays himself open to conviction of contempt of court and punishment without a jury trial. You do not therefore deprive a man of something, when he is not entitled to it to begin with.

4. The opponents of civil rights have never been heard before to complain about their own State laws which permit judges to send defendants to jail for contempt of court without a jury trial. No member of the southern bloc in Congress has raised his voice over the fine and jail sentence imposed by an Atlanta judge on the leader of the NAACP in that community for contempt of court—without a jury trial. Nor did they complain when an Alabama judge fined the NAACP $100,000 for contempt of court—again without a jury trial. Other southern States are setting up so-called "sovereignty commissions" and investigative committees to discourage integration. Failure to comply with orders of these commissions or committees subjects a person to a contempt citation and punishment—without a jury trial. Yet no southern Member of Congress has protested this punitive State legislation. It should be clear to any fairminded person that what these people are trying to do is to protect violators of Federal court orders and defend the segregation status quo in the South—and not the jury system.

5. It is true that in a case of contempt where the act done in violation of the court's decree is of a criminal nature, the defendant has been given a jury trial by act of Congress, if he demands it. But for many years it has also been the unchallenged rule written into the law by Congress—no jury trial where the Government itself is a party to the contempt action. Now for the first time, and only for the sake of encouraging resistance to valid court orders, it is being suggested that a special exception be given to violators of civil rights so that they may get jury trials when other violators of court decrees do not. If this claim has any validity whatsoever, it should be fought out in a general debate on Government contempt actions and not as an extraneous and emasculating rider to a civil-rights bill.

6. Consider the kind of cases in which the new civil remedies would be used. The bulk of them would involve denials of the right to vote. The order of the court would direct a jury commissioner to register a qualified voter, or in some cases would direct a sheriff not to interfere with a man's right to register and vote. If such a simple order is disobeyed, there is no reason why the court should not be able to enforce it by fine or jail sentence, as it does in hundreds of other cases of the same nature and simplicity. For example, a husband who refuses to pay his wife alimony can be fined and sentenced to jail without a jury trial, and the world accepts this as being perfectly fair.

7. Moreover, the great bulk of crimes are misdemeanors rather than the more serious felonies, and in nearly all the State courts misdemeanors are tried and jail sentences imposed by courts acting without a jury. Surely there is no greater need for a jury trial in case of a violation of a court order designed to protect Constitutional rights, particularly since the moral stigma of a criminal conviction does not attach to a conviction for contempt. Nor does the convicted man lose any of his civil rights—right to vote, for example—which follows in the case of a conviction for a serious crime.

8. The most troublesome aspect of the hollow jury trial argument is that it seems to be a move designed to encourage resistance to valid court order. If the bill is passed in its present form, it is expected that in virtually every case a State official ordered by the court to do the rightful thing to protect a person's Constitutional rights, will obey. However, if the opponents of civil rights can add the jury-trial rider to this bill, it will be a signal to some State officials or lawless elements to defy the Federal court's order. They would count on a jury that would share the community's prejudices against Negro Constitutional rights to nullify the court's order by voting to acquit regardless of the clear evidence of guilt.

Columbus Day: A Spiritual Symbol to the Americas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, as the author of H. R. 387 which seeks to declare October 12 a legal holiday, I am pleased to submit the following report issued by the executive committee of the National Citizens Committee for Columbus Day for printing in the RECORD.

I take this opportunity to commend the membership of the executive committee for the fine work which is being done in bringing to the attention of the people of the Americas the significance of Christopher Columbus.

COLUMBUS DAY: A SPIRITUAL SYMBOL OF THE AMERICAS—THEME: AMERICANS ALL

(A report on the 1956 Columbus Day observances in the United States issued by the executive committee, the National Citizens Committee for Columbus Day, Washington, D. C.)

"In fourteen hundred and ninety-two
Columbus sailed the ocean blue."

These words have helped many a youngster through an examination. But how many youngsters or oldsters for that matter stop to think of the spiritual significance of the great discovery of October 12, 1492.

We are told by Samuel Eliot Morison, our most eminent biographer of Columbus, that the discovery of the New World was the most spectacular and most far-reaching discovery in recorded human history.

The American continent has indeed become the symbol of a new way of life—of freedom—of opportunity—for people the world over. The Charter of the Organization of American States, the oldest, the strongest, and most influential regional organization in the world, proclaims that the historic mission of America is to offer man a land of liberty.

And yet, we in the United States know very little about the people in the other 20 American republics—their problems, their needs, their aspirations.

On February 23, 1957, His Excellency Victor Andrade, the Bolivian Ambassador to the United States, in an address before the Cosmopolitan Club of Pennsylvania State College said:

"The average citizen in the United States is only vaguely aware of Latin America. He has, on the whole, a kindly feeling toward his southern neighbors and believes they will stand beside the United States in the event of a crisis—as, indeed has been true in the past. But he knows comparatively little about Latin America and hears comparatively little. Many Latin Americans feel they are taken for granted by the United States, and, perhaps, there is something in that feeling."

COLUMBUS DAY CELEBRATIONS—AN OCCASION FOR LEARNING MORE ABOUT OUR LATIN AMERICAN NEIGHBORS

The National Citizens Committee for Columbus Day agrees with the observations of Ambassador Andrade. The national committee was organized from a Washington, D. C., community committee in 1955 to help our citizens in all sections of the country learn more about their Latin American neighbors.

In 1955 and in 1956, nationwide Columbus Day observances commemorated two great ideas:

The discovery of the Western Hemisphere.

The historic brotherhood of the Americas.

Reports from the 1956 Columbus Day participants—governors, mayors, teachers, businessmen, labor leaders, and community leaders—urge the national committee to make Columbus Day observances another occasion for promoting inter-American solidarity and to set up a permanent organization to that end.

A permanent Columbus Day organization is one of our 1957 goals.

AMERICANS ALL—THEME OF COLUMBUS DAY OBSERVANCES

The national committee has chosen as its Columbus Day theme—Americans All. This is a spiritual symbol uniting over 340 million Americans of many creeds, languages, and cultures in a manner without procedent the world over.

The national committee is a voluntary citizens group working through such established channels as schools and colleges, national and community organizations. Our 1956 chairman was the young and able managing director of Time-Life International, Mr. Edgar R. Baker. Participants in Columbus Day observances are rewarded only through the success of their efforts in achieving stronger bonds of inter-American solidarity.

Since 1955, hundreds of thousands of Americans—adults and young people—have learned more about the spiritual significance of the Great Discovery as well as the historic bonds of the 21 American Republics.

Before 1955, Columbus Day in the United States was kept alive by the distinguished leaders of the Knights of Columbus and the various Italian-American societies. Since 1955, these same leaders have given their fullest cooperation to the efforts of the national committee. In hundreds of instances, they have assumed the responsibility of bringing all schools and colleges, and all organizations into both statewide and communitywide Columbus Day celebrations.

While Columbus Day has long been celebrated by many of our Latin American neighbors, the national committee is hoping that they, too, will use their celebrations as an opportunity to strengthen their bonds with us in the United States.

THE 1956 COLUMBUS DAY PLANNING COMMITTEE REPRESENTATIVE OF "AMERICANS ALL" THEME

The 56 leaders who so willingly served on the 1956 Columbus Day planning committee and helped to carry out the Columbus Day program to a succesaful end were indeed representative of the "Americans All" theme. Citizens of the United States worked in cooperative harmony with representatives of the Latin American Republics, and Italy and Spain.

The United States representatives were:

Mr. Miguel Aranguren, Organization of American States.

Dr. George E. Arnstein, Journal of the National Education Association.

Mr. Edgar R. Baker, managing director, Time-Life International.

Miss Nora Beust, United States Office of Education.

Miss Edna Bowles, the Americas Daily.

Mr. Howard H. Cummings, National Council for the Social Studies.

Mr. G. Edward Damon, National Association of Secondary School Principals.

Mr. Zachary T. Del Giorno, Italian American Societies.

Mr. William E. Dunn, Inter-American Schools Service, American Council on Education.

Mr. Thomas F. Gately, chairman, World Trade Committee, Washington Board of Trade.

Miss Mary Anne Gibson, National Catholic Education Association.

Dr. Delia Goetz, United States Office of Education.

Mr. A. B. Kapplin, National Americanism Commission, B'nai B'rith.

Dr. Merrill F. Hartshorn, National Council for the Social Studies.

Dr. David Heft, Organization of American States.

Dr. Wilhelmina Hill, United States Office of Education.

Dr. J. Dan Hull, United States Office of Education.

Sister Mary Janet, S. C., Commission on American Citizenship, Catholic University of America.

Dr. Arno Jewett, United States Office of Education.

Dr. Marjorie C. Johnston, United States Office of Education.

Mrs. Ruth E. Kaiser, Department of Elementary School Principals, National Education Association.

Mr. Omar B. Ketchum, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Dr. John R. Ludington, United States Office of Education.

Mr. E. W. H. Lamsden, Time-Life International.

Rev. Thomas D. Martin, Commission on American Citizenship, Catholic University of America.

Dr. S. V. Martorana, United States Office of Education.

Rev. Frederick A. McGuire, C. M., Mission Secretariat, National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Dr. Virginia Neal Mills, Department of Rural Education, National Education Association.

Hon. George D. Neilson, judge of the Municipal Court for the District of Columbia.

Mr. John T. O'Brien, public relations consultant.

Dr. Alejandro Orfila, director of public relations, Organization of American States.

Dr. Paul E. Smith, International Relations Committee of the National Education Association.

Lt. Col. James B. Sweeney, United States Air Force.

Rev. Joseph F. Thorning, St. Joseph's-on-Carrollton Manor.

Miss Kathleen Walker, Editor, Americas, Organization of American States.

Mr. Vincent Wilber, Department of State.

Mr. John W. White, United States Inter-American Council.

Mr. George Winstead, United States Information Agency.

Mrs. Constance Zarbo, the Americas Daily.

The Embassy representatives were:

Argentina: Mr. Alberto J. Prando, counselor.

Bolivia: Mr. Luis F. Ramirez, alternate delegate of Bolivia to the OAS.

Chile: Mr. Ricardo Lira, third secretary.

Colombia: Dr. Francisco Gnecco, cultural counselor.

Costa Rica: Mrs. Mirtha Virginia de Perea, first secretary.

Cuba: Dr. Mario Nunez, first secretary.

Dominican Republic: Mr. Victor L. Aybar, first secretary.

Ecuador: Dr. Luis R. Salazar, first secretary.

El Salvador: Miss Grace McDougald, secretary to the Ambassador.

Guatemala: Mr. Julio Sandoval, cultural attaché.

Haiti: Mr. Jean Dauphin, minister counselor.

Honduras: Mr. Jose Llado de Cosso, press attaché.

Italy: Mr. Salvatore Porcari Li Destri, third secretary.

Nicaragua: Dr. Aristides Somarriba, second secretary.

Panama: Miss Anita Ramirez-Duque, counselor.

Peru: Mr. Jose Urdanivia, second secretary.

Spain: Mr. Angel Segaz, first secretary.

Uruguay: Mr. Albert Rodriguez-Nin, embassy secretary.

It was through these leaders that our story of Columbus Day was told throughout the Western Hemisphere and in Spain and Italy. It was this committee which helped to distribute the 2,500 copies of the 1956 Columbus Day Leaders' Guide so ably prepared under the direction of Dr. John R. Ludington of the United States Office of Education.

Actually, Dr. Paul E. Smith distributed 750 guides through the international relations committee of the National Education Association. Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt distributed 600 to the Catholic schools. Dr. William E. Dunn sent materials to the three-hundred-odd American-sponsored schools in the Latin American countries. The Latin American representatives carried the Columbus Day story to their ambassadors who in turn informed their governments of United States activities.

THE 1956 SPONSORS OF COLUMBUS DAY

Business sponsors

The 1956 Columbus Day chairman, Mr. Edgar R. Baker, managing director, Time-Life International, not only gave splendid leadership to the nationwide celebrations, but he was also generous in his financial support of the national committee's work. Other business sponsors contributing were:

H. W. Balgooyen, executive vice president, American & Foreign Power Co., Inc.

William E. Barlow, president, Vision, Inc.

W. W. Faw, president, the Faw Hotels.

Lewis B. Harder, president, South American Gold & Platinum Co.

W. M. Miller, vice president, Singer Sewing Machine Co.

John D. J. Moore, vice president, W. R. Grace & Co.

A. Thomas Taylor, chairman of the board, International Packers, Ltd.

Andrew B. Shea, president, Pan American-Grace Airways, Inc.

Malcolm C. Stewart, treasurer, the Gillette Co.

A large contribution was also made by the National Forum for Good Government, an educational foundation.

Honorary sponsors

From the Congress of the United States came honorary sponsorship from Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives. In spite of their heavy 1956 political campaign duties, many of these eminent leaders gave direction and guidance to the Columbus Day programs.

From the United States Senate: Hon. J. Glenn Beall, Maryland; Hon. George H. Bender, Ohio; Hon. Styles Bridges, New Hampshire; Hon. Harry Flood Byrd, Virginia; Hon. Earle C. Clements, Kentucky; Hon. Ralph E. Flanders, Vermont; Hon. Theodore Francis

Green, Rhode Island; Hon. Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., Missouri; Hon. Spessard L. Holland, Florida; Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota; Hon. Estes Kefauver, Tennessee; Hon. John F. Kennedy, Massachusetts; Hon. Thomas H. Kuchel, California; Hon. William Langer, North Dakota; Hon. Warren G. Magnuson, Washington; Hon. Mike Mansfield, Montana; Hon. Edward Martin, Pennsylvania; Hon. Wayne Morse, Oregon; Hon. Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota; Hon. Frederick G. Payne, Maine; Hon. A. Willis Robertson, Virginia; Hon. H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey; Hon. John J. Williams, Delaware; Hon. Milton R. Young, North Dakota.

From the United States House of Representatives: Hon. Marguerite Stitt Church, Illinois; Hon. James J. Delaney, New York; Hon. Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut; Hon. John E. Fogarty, Rhode Island; Hon. James J. Fulton, Pennsylvania; Hon. Brooks Hays, Arkansas; Hon. Lester Holtzman, New York; Hon. Donald L. Jackson, California; Hon. Walter H. Judd, Minnesota; Hon. Edna F. Kelly, New York; Hon. Michael J. Kirwan, Ohio; Hon. Earl M. LeCompte, Iowa; Hon. John W. McCormack, Massachusetts; Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Massachusetts; Hon. Chester E. Merrow, New Hampshire; Hon. Thomas E. Morgan, Pennsylvania; Hon. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Massachusetts; Hon. Carl D. Perkins, Kentucky; Hon. Melvin Price, Illinois; Hon. Sam Rayburn, Texas, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Jr., New Jersey; Hon. Lawrence H. Smith, Wisconsin; Hon. Leonor K. Sullivan, Misouri; Hon. Harrison A. Williams, Jr., New Jersey; Hon. Clement J. Zablocki, Wisconsin.

From the religious world came honorary sponsorship from Protestant ministers, Catholic priests, and Jewish rabbis:

Dr. Leonard P. Aries, the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Rabbi A. Balfour Bricker, Temple Sinai, Washington, D. C.

Rev. Edward L. R. Elson, minister, the National Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C.

Msgr. Luigi Ligutti, director, National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Des Moines, Iowa.

Rev. Frederick A. McGuire, C. M., executive secretary, mission secretariat, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.

Rabbi David H. Panitz, Congregation Adas Israel, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Frederick E. Reissig, executive secretary, Washington Federation of Churches, Washington, D. C.

Rabbi Henry Segal, Congregation B'nai Israel, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Albert P. Shirkey, Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church, Washington, D. C.

Rev. Joseph F. Thorning, St. Joseph's-on-Carrollton Manor, Frederick, Md.

From the Latin American countries came cooperation and honorary sponsorship from the ambassadors to the United States and to the Organization of American States:

His Excellency Ambassador Adolfo A. Vicchi, of Argentina.

His Excellency Ambassador Representative Eduardo Augusto Garcia, of Argentina.

His Excellency Ambassador Victor Andrade, of Bolivia.

His Excellency Ambassador Representative Fernando Lobo of Brazil.

His Excellency Ambassador Mario Rodriguez Altamirano of Chile.

His Excellency Ambassador Representative Alberto Sepulveda Contreras of Chile.

His Excellency Ambassador Francisco Urrutia of Colombia.

His Excellency Ambassador Representative Cesar Tulio Delgado of Colombia, Chairman of the Council of the Organization of American States.

His Excellency Ambassador Gonzalo J. Facio of Costa Rica.

His Excellency Ambassador Miguel Angel Campa of Cuba.

His Excellency Ambassador Representative Jose T. Baron of Cuba.

His Excellency Ambassador Joaquin E. Salazar of the Dominican Republic.

His Excellency Ambassador Representative Jose R. Rodriguez of the Dominican Republic.

The Honorable Dr. Benjamin Peralta, chargé d'affaires of Ecuador.

His Excellency Ambassador Hector David Castro of El Salvador.

His Excellency Ambassador Jose Luis Cruz-Salazar of Guatemala.

His Excellency Ambassador Mauclair Zephirin of Haiti.

His Excellency Ambassador Representative Love Leger of Haiti.

The Honorable Dr. Policarpo Callejas B., chargé d'affaires of Honduras.

His Excellency Ambassador Manuel Tello of Mexico.

His Excellency Ambassador Representative Luis A. Quintanilla of Mexico.

His Excellency Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa of Nicaragua.

His Excellency Ambassador Joaquin Jose Vallarino of Panama.

His Excellency Ambassador Guillermo Enciso-Velloso of Paraguay.

His Excellency Ambassador Fernando Berckemeyer of Peru.

His Excellency Ambassador Representative Juan Bautista de Lavalle of Peru.

His Excellency Ambassador Julio A. Lacarte of Uruguay.

His Excellency Ambassador Cesar Gonzales of Venezuela.

The Honorable Nelson Himiob, Interim Representative, of Venezuela.

In addition to the splendid cooperation from the Latin American ambassadors, the cooperation from the staff of the Organization of American States was perhaps our greatest asset. The National Committee wishes to pay special tribute to Dr. Jose A. Mora, Secretary General, and Dr. Alejandro Orfila, Director of Public Relations, for their efforts in making this splendid cooperation possible.

WHAT THE GOVERNORS AND THEIR STATE COLUMBUS DAY CHAIRMEN DID IN 1956

Thirty-eight governors issued Columbus Day proclamations urging schools, colleges, churches, and organizations to observe Columbus Day in commemoration of the great discoverer and the historic brotherhood of the Americas. Here is the list of the distinguished governors participating: Hon. James E. Folsom, Alabama; Hon. Orval Faubus, Arkansas; Hon. Goodwin J. Knight, California; Hon. Edwin C. Johnson, Colorado; Hon. Abraham A. Ribicoff, Connecticut; Hon. J. Caleb Boggs, Delaware; the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia; Hon. LeRoy Collins, Florida; Hon. Marvin Griffin, Georgia; Hon. Robert E. Smylie, Idaho; Hon. William G. Stratton, Illinois; Hon. George N. Craig, Indiana; Hon. Fred Hall, Kansas; Hon. Albert Benjamin Chandler, Kentucky; Hon. Edmund S. Muskie, Maine; Hon. Theodore R. McKeldin, Maryland; Hon. Christian A. Herter, Massachusetts; Hon. G. Mennen Williams, Michigan; Hon. Orville L. Freeman, Minnesota; Hon. Phil M. Donnelly, Missouri; Hon. Victor E. Anderson, Nebraska; Hon. Charles H. Russell, Nevada; Hon. Lane Dwinell, New Hampshire; Hon. Robert B. Meyner, New Jersey; Hon. John F. Simms, Jr., New Mexico; Hon. Averell Harriman, New York; Hon. Norman Brunsdale, North Dakota; Hon. Frank J. Lausche, Ohio; Hon. Raymond Gary, Oklahoma; Hon. Elmo Smith, Oregon; Hon. George M. Leader, Pennsylvania; Hon. Dennis J. Roberts, Rhode Island; Hon. Joe J. Foss, South Dakota; Hon. Frank G. Clement, Tennessee; Hon. J. Bracken Lee, Utah; Hon. Arthur B. Langlie, Washington; Hon. William C. Marland, West Virginia; Hon. Walter J. Kohler, Wisconsin; Hon. Milward L. Simpson, Wyoming.

Fourteen governors appointed State chairmen who organized statewide Columbus Day observances:

California: Mr. Peter Bertoglio, Pittsburgh.
Colorado: Mayor Frank Ciancio, Welby.
Florida: Mr. E. D. Henry Palermo, Tampa.
Idaho: Dr. Alton B. Jones, Boise.
Indiana: Mr. Edward J. Dowd, Indianapolis.
Kentucky: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alfred F. Horrigan, Louisville.
Michigan: Mr. Walter H. Graveline, Bay City and Mr. Ralph Mancini, Detroit.
Missouri: Mr. John J. Griffin, St. Louis.
New Jersey: Mr. Ovid Colalillo, Orange.
Oregon: Mr. Ernest R. Jachetta, Portland.
Pennsylvania: Senator John Dent, Jeannette.
South Dakota: Dr. Harold Freeman, Pierre.
Utah: Dr. E. Allen Bateman, Salt Lake City.
Wisconsin: Mr. John R. DiCello, Sr., Kenosha.

WHAT SOME OF THE STATE CHAIRMAN DID

Missouri: Mr. John J. Griffin, banker and civic leader.

In the State of Missouri, Mr. John J. Griffin, vice president of the First National Bank in St. Louis, served as the able State chairman for the second consecutive year. Here is the composition of his State committee which organized parades, essay contests in the schools and provided speakers.

Chairman and county or town

Mrs. Richard H. Walsh, chairman of Women's Division for State.
Dr. J. B. Wedge, chairman, Knights of Columbus.
Sam Shaikewitz, Jewish representative of St. Louis and St. Louis County.
Mr. C. Rouss Gallopp, Audrain County.
Mr. Henry Garvey, Buchanan County.
Col. W. Ed Jameson, Callaway County.
Mr. John S. Williamson, Boone County.
Dr. D. G. Ruopp, Cape Girardeau, Mo.
Mr. Stuart Keckley, Fulton, Mo.
Mr. Oren Lamb, Macon, Mo.
Mr. Francis H. Hess, Jasper County.
Mr. Dave Bush, Fenton, Mo.
Mr. J. Voss, Fenton, Mo.

Mr. Griffin's description of what happened in Fenton, Mo., on Columbus Day is a good example of how Americans all work together for a common goal.

Mr. Dave Bush represented the Civic group and Mr. J. Voss represented the Knights of Columbus group.

The committee did a very fine and wonderful job. They enlisted the support of all merchants in thir immediate vicinity, including Fenton, High Ridge, Valley Park, House Springs—in St. Louis County and Jefferson County. In this, they were able to solicit sufficient funds from the merchants to give prizes to the following participants in the essay contest—which was participated in by 5 public and 5 parochial schools:

First prize: Jim Downing, Valley Park Public School, Kodak and projector.

Second prize: Miss Hope Hraz, St. Catherine LaBaure, Sappington, typewriter.

Third prize: Miss Johnell Gessler, Arnold Public School, record player.

Fourth prize: Miss Patricia Kowert, Fenton, Mo., St. Paul School, fountain pen and pencil.

The additional money which was left over was distributed equally to the Cardinal Glennon Hospital for Crippled Children and the Shriners Hospital for Crippled Children. Each hospital received $50.

This committee did a very fine job in arranging a parade which extended over one-half mile. This parade consisted of walking units, riding units and floats.

The parties participating in this parade were the American Legion, Lions Club, Knights of Columbus Zouaves, the National Guard, the Valley Mount Ranch riding unit, and the Big River dancing unit. Open cars were provided for the participants, all of which assembled at the reviewing stand in the public school grounds in Fenton, Mo. There, the meeting was opened with a prayer by the Catholic priest of the town and closed with a prayer by the Protestant minister.

The principal speaker for the day was the Honorable Jerome F. Duggan, one of the founders of the American Legion and at present time legal adviser to the American Legion.

Indiana: Mr. Edward J. Dowd, Knights of Columbus leader.

In Indiana, Gov. George N. Craig appointed Mr. Edward J. Dowd, a noted leader of the Knights of Columbus, and past State deputy of the Indiana State council. Mr. Dowd reports that there were proclamations by the mayors of about 70 communities as well as the proclamation by the Governor.

The Knights of Columbus assumed the responsibility under Mr. Dowd's direction in organizing Columbus Day celebrations in some 100 Indiana communities, public and parochial schools, community organizations, and mayors along with the press, radio, and TV joined the Knights in making Indiana's observance of Columbus Day a truly historic occasion.

In Evansville, Ind., Mr. Edwin C. Kempf, grand knight, brought the story of Columbus to the people of southern Indiana through well-organized radio and televison programs on October 12. The television program over WFIE-TV was an unusual one. Says Mr. Kempf: "Knights of Columbus State Secretary Jack Griffin reported from this station from 4:45 p. m. to 5 o'clock. I would like to explain Brother Griffin's activities. The television station arranged their studio to appear as a living room with a fireplace. Brother Griffin, along with three of his children, spent the 15 minutes reading about Columbus' voyage, and as Brother Griffin read, the children interspersed the reading with questions about Columbus, his ships, the Indians, and the route from Spain to America. The latter was the highlight as Brother Griffin used pictures and explanations to dramatically point out the entire route of Columbus."

New Jersey: Mr. Ovid J. Colalillo, leader in Italian-American organizations.

For the second consecutive year, Governor Meyner appointed one of New Jersey's most able Italian-American leaders as State Columbus Day chairman. Mr. Ovid J. Colalillo has again done a magnificent job. He reports:

"Under the inspirational leadership of our Governor, Robert B. Meyner, a statewide program was developed. The mayors of all the cities, towns, and villages, etc., numbering 566, received letters containing the message of Columbus Day. We urged them to appoint municipal committees to arrange programs for the celebration and to issue proclamations. In order to assist, we furnished sample proclamations upon request.

"In addition to the above, television time was given to our committee by our Governor. I appeared on his weekly program to give a report to the people of the State concerning the celebration. Governor Meyner also issued a statewide proclamation urging the people of the State of New Jersey to observe Columbus Day with appropriate ceremonies in their homes, houses of worship, and other suitable places. He also directed that the flag of the United States be displayed on all State buildings and requested school authorities and civic leaders throughout the State to hold appropriate exercises for the commemoration of this day.

"By virtue of the above activities, our celebration of Columbus Day was one to be remembered. The responses to our appeal were many and widespread. I can say that almost every large city in our State observed Columbus Day by having some form of activity arranged. A very high percentage of the mayors of the towns and villages issued proclamations, and several cities have established permanent Columbus Day committees.

"From the activities reported to me throughout the State, I feel deeply honored and gratified and can state without equivocation that the observance with the theme 'Americans All' is now felt in the entire State."

WHAT MAYORS AND THEIR COMMUNITY CHAIRMEN DID IN 1956

The national committee believes from reports that well over 300 mayors of cities with over 25,000 population issued Columbus Day proclamations. We received proclamations from 164 mayors, and we know that in seventy-odd cities and towns in Indiana, and in most cities and towns in Missouri, Colorado, and New Jersey, the mayors did issue proclamations according to State reports.

The majority of the 164 mayors reporting directly appointed community chairmen who actually organized communitywide celebrations. The successful community celebrations were organized by His Honor John B. Hynes, mayor of Boston, and president of the United States Conference of Mayors: Here are typical reports:

The city of Baton Rouge, La., and parish of East Baton Rouge. The Honorable Jesse L. Webb, Jr., mayor, president

Mayor Webb, one of our Nation's few but distinguished women mayors appointed Mr. Robert S. Boeker, her assistant, as Baton Rouge's Columbus Day chairman. Mr. Boeker writes:

"Mr. Guy Dicharry, a local businessman, acted as assistant chairman of our committee. Special club programs as well as radio and television publicity and programs were held in our city. Speakers were assigned to these activities and to the schools where requests for them had been made.

"It is the opinion of the undersigned that this annual observance could be built up in Baton Rouge to a very worthwhile project. Since the Louisiana State University has many Latin American students on the campus, we have an ideal location for joint activities in such an observance as a gesture of friendship to our Latin American neighbors."

Sacramento, Calif., the Honorable Clarence L. Azeuedo, mayor

Mayor Azeuedo appointed as Sacramento's Columbus Day chairman, Mr. Lawrence F. Girolami, an attorney. Mr. Girolami gives an interesting report of Sacramento's big celebration:

"My committee organized a community celebration in which the Sacramento chapters of the Sons of Italy in America and the Knights of Columbus held ceremonies in the rotunda of the State Capitol Building in Sacramento. In the rotunda there is a statue of Columbus pleading his case to Queen Isabella. Following these ceremonies at noon, the Knights of Columbus held a luncheon. The following evening the Sons of Italy in America held their Columbus Day dinner.

"The mayor has asked me to advise you that next year he intends to organize a larger community program in this city for the celebration of Columbus Day."

Denver, Colo., the Honorable W. F. Nicholson, mayor

Mr. Marshall M. Reddish, United States Mint Service, Treasury Department, set an enviable record as Denver's Columbus Day chairman. Mr. Reddish makes an interesting report and some important observations, too:

"The Denver Citizens Committee had considerable success in calling attention to the two great ideas which are endorsed by the national committee. We were thus able to make notable headway beyond the traditional Columbus Day celebrations. Many clubs, such as the American Legion, Knights of Columbus, and World Trade Clubs devoted their programs during the week of October 8 to 13 to the Columbus Day theme. Many others paid at least a passing salute to Columbus during that week. Both the Denver public schools and Catholic schools endorsed the Columbus Day theme and many of them had special assemblies, special work in art classes, and panel discussions on pan-American culture. Among the window displays was one by Braniff Airlines and a Latin-American importer.

"Due to the lack of time the local committee was not able to arrange major radio or TV programs. However, spot announcements and news coverage were conducted both by radio and television stations.

"Considerable interest was expressed in setting up a continuous organization for the yearly celebration. I would like to do what I can to help. Please send me any advice or comments you have for establishing such a continuing group.

"I have found the encouragement of Columbus Day observances a rich experience in brotherhood. The observances promote cooperation between groups of all kinds and are very much in line with our country's good-neighbor policy."

Hoboken, N. J., the Honorable John J. Grogan, mayor

Mr. Charles De Fazio, member of a distinguished Hoboken law firm, and a leader of UNICO National, joined hands with the National Citizens Committee in Hoboken's outstanding 1956 Columbus Day celebration. Under the sponsorship of UNICO chapter over 300 Hoboken residents celebrated at a banquet attended by State and local officials.

COLUMBUS DAY PROGRAMS IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

From 37 States and the District of Columbia, 113 colleges and universities reported Columbus Day observances and conferences on the Latin American countries. The national committee presents herein three types of programs.

Dr. Curtis A. Wilgus, director, School of Inter-American Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, sent a copy of his seventh annual conference program on the Caribbean, organized in cooperation with the United Fruit Co. This School of Inter-American Studies conducts one of the Nation's outstanding programs in inter-American affairs. The May 1956 bulletin gives an interesting account of what the University of Florida is doing.

Dr. Richard C. Todd tells us how many departments of East Carolina College, Greenville, N. C., cooperated in making the great discoverer and our Latin American neighbors more real to the students, the community, and the state. Here is the story of what they did:

The East Carolina College Columbus Day committee participated in the national program in the following manner:

1. East Carolina College Band played, sang, and danced Latin American compositions as half-time show of the E. C. C.-Catawba football game, September 29.

2. Three televised programs:

(a) October 12, over channel 9, at 4 p. m., George Perry in his Music Appreciation Course featured 30 minutes of Latin American compositions, techniques, and composers.

(b) October 13, over channel 9, at 4:30 p. m., Claud Garren narrated the discovery of America, etc.

(c) October 14, over channel 7, at 1 p. m., Dr. Martha Pingle featured our Latin Ameri-

can students and Francis Neel in a cultural program.

3. A forum entitled "Americans All" was tape recorded for radio and used throughout North Carolina—Dr. Richard C. Todd, moderator, with panel consisting of F. Stanley Moore, John Gordon, Rachel Cordiero, and Mona Farge.

4. United States Navy Band in concert at East Carolina College, Monday, October 15, 8 p. m., played a medley of Latin American compositions at request of committee.

5. Dr. Elmer Lawson directed the Social Studies Student Teachers to feature "Americans All" theme in their work in the various high schools. This was done by use of book and picture displays, films, class discussions, map projects, assembly programs, etc.

6. Pan American flag display, Latin American painting exhibit, and Latin American book display; October 8–20, Joyner Library lobby, arranged by Dr. Mildred Southwick, Francis Neel, and James Butler.

7. Latin American Artifact Display, student union, October 5–19, arranged by Francis Neel: Dr. Richard C. Todd, chairman; Dr. Kenneth Cuthbert, music; Dr. Martha Pingel, American literature; Dr. Mildred Southwick, library; Mr. Francis Neel, art; Miss Mary Greene, publicity; Miss Rosalind Rouiston, radio and TV; Mr. James Butler, alumni secretary.

At Harvard University:

A special exhibition of works by and about Christopher Columbus were on view at Harvard's Widener Library from Monday, October 8 through Columbus Day, October 12.

Its key piece was a rare early printing of the letter Columbus wrote to the treasurer of Spain on his return from the New World, describing his discoveries.

This letter was printed in Paris in 1493. It was presented to Harvard by the Bodleian Library in 1936 during the Harvard Tercentenary celebration. The only other known copy of this edition is owned by the Bodleian.

Other materials on display have been chosen to suggest the range of Harvard's collections dealing with the great navigator.

There are, for example, Samuel Eliot Morison's Admiral of the Ocean Sea, the first study of Columbus' journeys from the viewpoint of navigation and seamanship; the memorial volume from the city of Boston's Columbus celebration in 1892, the 400th anniversary; a copy of Fernand Colomb which the author Henry Harisse, one of the great 19th century students of Columbus, presented to Francis Parkman in 1872; and various literature, some in manuscript, dealing with the navigator's death, burial, and remains.

The library has one of the most extensive collections of books and documents relating to Columbus. Its thousands of items include notarial manuscripts, many facsimiles of original Columbus documents preserved in European libraries, and a virtually complete collection of secondary works on the explorer.

EXAMPLES OF WHAT PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS DID ON COLUMBUS DAY

Through the cooperation of the national and State education association journal editors, State department of education bulletins, and the National Catholic Educational Association, thousands of schools learned about Columbus Day and did something about it, too.

The story of what schools did is a thrilling one. Here are some examples of how schools in 32 states observed Columbus Day as a taking-off point for study of our Latin American neighbors.

Miss Cora M. Leamy, director of curriculum, Gardner, Mass., public schools, wrote:

"Gardner's observance of Columbus Day in its schools this year proved to be outstanding and included many unusual and unique ideas. In grades 1 to 6 in the elementary grades and in the junior high school, units of work were carried on, observing the discovery of the Western Hemisphere and the brotherhood of the American Republics.

"Newspaper publicity sent in from the various schools was excellent.

"Activities carried on included:

"Songs of the American Republics; poems, stories, plays, dramatizations, and pantomimes (some of these original); choral reading; bulletin board displays and exhibits; filmstrips; recordings; motion pictures; picture study; assembly programs; models of boats; map work, tracing routes, locating countries, etc.; scrapbooks, notebook covers; round table, panel discussions, individual and group reports; creative arts; clay modeling; chalk drawing; water color and crayon illustrations; murals and built-up posters."

Miss Eda Williams, a primary teacher in the Thompson School, Bend, Oreg., says:

"Ours is a primary school, having only the first three grades. However, in every room there were stories of Columbus, songs, art work, and in my room and loaned to the other rooms, a large pop-up poster of Columbus and his three boats.

"I very much like the idea of using Columbus Day to build better relations between the countries of the Americas."

Mr. Anthony F. Musso, supervisor of foreign languages, Scranton, Pa., public schools, says:

"We have had a citywide coordinated program for the observance of Columbus Day in the Scranton public schools. In the State of Pennsylvania Columbus Day is one of the holidays selected for special observances by the public schools and the department of public instruction requires that an appropriate program be conducted. We have always observed Columbus Day suitably in the public schools of Scranton, but this year, due to your committee's work we had an increase in Columbus Day activities.

"A brochure of suggested activities was sent out to each elementary and secondary school. At the same time a newspaper article and a discussion during a principals' meeting emphasize the importance of properly observing Columbus Day with the theme Americans All.

"As a result, several school PTA's conducted Columbus Day meetings and programs, most social studies classes focused their attention on the Americas, and each of the five secondary schools held lovely Columbus Day assemblies in their respective school auditoriums.

"The newspapers cooperated with their publicity on our activities and the activities of the Columbus Day Association of Lackawanna County, who held an annual banquet on that day."

In the Syracuse, N. Y., public schools, Miss Gertrude M. Burke, head, department of citizenship education, developed and sent out to each citizenship education teacher an excellent Columbus quiz. Teachers used bulletin-board displays and scrapbooks to help tell the Columbus story.

Sister M. Anthony, principal, St. Joseph's Academy, Crookston, Minn., tells us how hard the whole school worked to make Columbus Day a success.

Columbus Day was observed by the entire school with a program presenting skits and songs:

1. National Anthem, entire school. The Pledge of Allegiance, entire school.

2. Columbus Sailed the Ocean Blue, song, first and second grades.

3. Salute to Columbus, choral reading, composed by the third and fourth grades.

4. A medley of American music, instrumental ensemble.

5. A skit on Columbus composed by the seventh and eighth grades.

6. Columbus, choral reading, fifth and sixth grades.

7. Dramatization of significant parts of Columbus' life, 12th grade.

8. America, the Beautiful, entire school.

The first and last number on the program were accompanied by the instrumental ensemble.

The bulletin boards were decorated by the history students from the 10th and 11th grades. Their decorations and illustrations carried out the theme "Americans All."

A large map of the 21 American Republics was made by the ninth grade. Each different country was represented by their flag.

At St. Mary's Academy, Leonardtown, Md., a Columbus Day Telecast was sponsored by the student council. The Columbus Day guide committee will be pleased to see how effectively the students used the material in the guide. Sister Frances Clare, principal, gives us an outline of this attractive program:

Master of ceremonies: Jane Eckenrode.

Star-Spangled Banner: Chorus.

America on Columbus Day, 1956: Louise Burch, 1958.

Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean: Chorus.

The Americas' Contribution to the World: Barbara Burch, 1959.

America the Beautiful: Chorus.

Columbus and World Trade: Rose Marie Longmore, 1957.

Commercials.

Columbus, by Joaquin Miller: Choral reading.

Columbus Day and You: Linda Yates, 1960.

God Bless America: Chorus.

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS IN COLUMBUS DAY ACTIVITIES

The national committee cites the following organizations and agencies because they have taken great responsibility in getting cooperation from Americans, young and old, across the United States and in Latin America:

American Library Association.
The Americas Daily.
B'nai B'rith.
Civic Education Service, Inc.
Commission on American Citizenship, Catholic University of America.
Cooperative League of the United States of America.
Inter-American School Service of the American Council on Education.
International relations committee of the National Education Association.
The Instructor.
Knights of Columbus.
Girl Scouts of the United States of America.
Mission Secretariat, National Catholic Welfare Conference.
National Catholic Education Association.
National Council for Italian-American Friendship.
Organization of American States.
Pan American Medical Association.
Pan American Societies.
Sons of Italy.
State departments of education.
State education associations.
UNICO.
United States Information Agency.
United States Conference of Mayors.
United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
World trade committee on the Washington Board of Trade.
Young Catholic Messenger.

THE NATIONAL COLUMBUS DAY CELEBRATION, PAN AMERICAN UNION, HALL OF THE AMERICAS

The National Columbus Day Celebration, held in the Hall of the Americas, Pan American Union Building, was sponsored by the Western Hemisphere committee of the world trade committee of the Washington Board of Trade. Active leaders were:

Mr. Thomas F. Gately, chairman, world trade committee.

Mr. Evan H. Baker, W. R. Grace & Co.

Mr. Henry W. Beardsley, Pan American Airways.

Mr. John I. Bott, Asiatic Petroleum Corp.

Mr. Henry F. Grady, Bank of America.

Mr. Stephen S. Halsey, American Express Co.

Mr. Ronald McVickar, Northwest Orient Airlines.

The Honorable George D. Neilson, judge of the Municipal Court for the District of Columbia, chairman, Western Hemisphere committee.

Mr. John T. O'Brien, public relations consultant.

Over 500 Washington, D. C., leaders attended the Pan American Union celebration, at which the Honorable George D. Neilson acted as the master of ceremonies, and Mr. John I. Bott, Asiatic Petroleum Corp., as official host.

Special features of the celebration were:

Musical prelude: Headquarters Command Band, United States Air Force, under the direction of Capt. Harold L. Copenhaver.

Presentation of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 Columbus Proclamation: Mr. Philip M. Talbott, president, Washington Board of Trade, now the incoming president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

Presentation of the 1956 Columbus Day Proclamation of the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia: President Robert E. McLaughlin.

Latin American dance fiesta: under the direction of Rafael Sarda.

Columbus Day, 1956: Mr. John T. O'Brien, executive vice chairman, National Citizens Committee for Columbus Day.

Presentation of citations for their efforts in promoting Inter-American friendship by the National Citizens Committee for Columbus Day:

Mr. John W. White, secretary-treasurer, National Citizens Committee for Columbus Day.

Dr. Horacio Aguirre, editor, the Americas Daily.

The late Mr. Rudolf S. Hecht, formerly chairman, International Trade Mart, New Orleans, and cochairman, New Orleans Inter-American Investment Conference.

The Honorable Henry F. Holland, formerly Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

Dr. Jose A. Mora, Secretary General of the Organization of American States.

Monsignor Jose Joaquin Salcedo, Secretary General, Acción Cultural Popular, Bogotá, Colombia, South America.

Coffee: The courtesy of the John H. Wilkins Co.

Cuban punch: The courtesy of His Excellency Miguel Angel Campa, Ambassador of Cuba.

COOPERATION—THE PRESS, RADIO, AND TV

The 1957 Columbus Day programs were given more press coverage than heretofore. The National Committee is indebted to Dr. Alejandro Orpila of the Organization of American States for the splendid press coverage given by the Latin American press. Stories about Monsignor Jose Joaquin Salcedo, Secretary General, Acción Cultural Popular, Bogotá, Colombia, a recipient of a Columbus Day citation, were carried as front-page picture stories in around 40 Latin American newspapers.

Miss Edna Bowles, the Americas Daily headed the publicity program for the United States, with special information to the press, radio, and TV outlets.

Reports from around the Nation reveal the excellent cooperation given by the press, radio, and TV in the States and in the communities.

GOALS OF THE 1957 COLUMBUS DAY OBSERVANCES

From our experiences in the 1955 and 1956 Columbus Day campaigns, the National Committee has discovered a great untapped reservoir of friendship in the United States for our neighbors to the south. United States leaders and plain citizens have eagerly cooperated in our Columbus Day efforts.

The National Committee, therefore, believes that the following goals should be adopted for our 1957 Columbus Day activities:

1. The organization of a permanent nonprofit Columbus Day Committee with a charter to do the ever expanding job that must be done in the United States and the Western Hemisphere to build inter-American understanding and solidarity.

2. The development of adequate Columbus Day materials to tell more effectively the story of Columbus and the relationship of the people of the United States to the people of Latin America.

3. The organization of a fund-raising drive for scholarships, training, and exchange programs for Latin Americans in the United States.

4. The selection of United States and Latin American citizens who excel in their contributions to inter-American solidarity for citation awards to be appropriately designed by a noted sculptor.

As we pay tribute to the great mariner on this October 12, 1957, and review our accomplishments in the 4½ centuries since America was discovered, why not join hands with our neighbors throughout the Continent and raise our voices in a song of tribute to this great land of ours:

"America, both North and South, God shed
His grace on thee,
And crown Thy good with brotherhood,
from sea to shining sea."

Let America be proud of itself. Let 21 nations stand together as one. The Continent of America.

Where Money Isn't Tight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit an article on the subject of public versus private power, by Mr. Raymond Moley and published in a recent issue of Newsweek:

WHERE MONEY ISN'T TIGHT

(By Raymond Moley)

On a tree near my place of residence I recently saw a notice obviously printed by a youngster in pencil. It said: "Lost! A black cat with white spots. Reward for return to——"

Then appeared the name and address. Below, the owner had added the following: "P. S. If you want to keep it, all right. But let me know so I will stop looking."

This reminded me of the feeling taxpayers must have about politicans who promise less spending and tax reductions and then, after election, dash all hopes. Perhaps we might all adjust ourselves better if we knew the worst and stopped looking.

I don't want to discuss the budget seriously this week but merely to tell of a few clippings I have collected over the past few weeks.

Item: In December it was announced by the Rural Electrification Administration that it had approved an $8,883,000 loan to the Sacramento Municipal Utility District to construct new facilities for serving "outlying regions" in that part of California. The rate is 2 percent. The Government of which the REA is an agent pays 3¼ percent for the money. The REA has made $3 billion in such loans. No Federal income taxes are paid by REA.

Item: The Gore bill would appropriate $400 million to build Federal nuclear-fueled powerplants. Private companies are building such plants in considerable numbers and sizes.

Item: Debate is still going on, after 7 years, about who will build additional power facilities at Niagara—the Federal Government, the New York State Power Authority, or five investor-owned companies that are able and willing to put $525 million into the project. This installation would pay $23 million annually in Federal, State, and local taxes.

Item: 27 Senators have sponsored Wayne Morse's bill to oust the Idaho Power Co. from the Hells Canyon site where that investor-owned company is building the first of 3 dams authorized by the Federal Power Commission. The Federal dam would cost the Government some hundreds of millions of dollars.

Item: But the Idaho Power plan would not only save the Federal Government the cost of the dam but pay millions in taxes to the Federal, State, and local governments. This is shown by another clipping from an Idaho paper, which was sent to me by a lady in that State. It says that the Washington Water Power Co. delivered checks for taxes to nine Idaho counties amounting in all to $1,122,215. This was only the first installment for 1956. No wonder the people of Idaho prefer the development of their water resources by investor-owned companies.

Item: The Southwestern Power Administration, hailed when it was created as a monument to social progress, is deeply in the red. The Comptroller General of the United States points out that the SWPA rolled up a loss of $12,425,000 for the years 1943–55, and that the Southeastern Power Administration showed a loss of $12,096,000 for the years 1950–55. Uncle Sam must bail ou these children of his.

Item: Our old friend, the collectivists' delight, the TVA, has used up $2 billion of taxpayers' money to date. Of this, less than 10 percent has been repaid. No interest is paid on the remainder, and only a token amount is paid in lieu of Federal and State taxes. The Hoover Commission Task Force under the chairmanship of Ben Moreell found that TVA had escaped nearly $172 million in Federal taxes and more than $76 million in State and local taxes.

Item: My final clipping is a Wall Street Journal signed article saying that the Eisenhower administration is trying to figure out how to spend the cash it expects to get from Congress. High on the list are the creation of a TVA in the Nile Valley, something like the upper Colorado project for the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, and another for the Jordan. With the rich experience gained in the valleys of the Tennessee, the Columbia, the Colorado, and other American streams we should be quite equal to the task. What a blessing it is that in this moment of international peril we have learned so well how to spend money.

Small-Business Tax Relief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, tax relief for small business is so urgent that it is quite properly receiving nationwide attention. The increasing number of bankruptcies among small-business con-

cerns has focused attention on the problem. My bill, H. R. 6027, is one of several that would bring the relief so greatly needed. In its issue of April 15, 1957, Time magazine has published a very fine statement in connection with small-business tax relief and, under unanimous consent, I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

SMALL-BUSINESS TAX RELIEF IS THE NO. 1 NEED

The backbone of the United States economy is made up of small businesses—they account for some 4 million of the 4,250,000 United States firms. Yet small business is in deep trouble. While big businesses are getting bigger and taking a fatter share of the market, small companies are shackled in their attempt to grow by heavy—and often discriminating—taxes. Wrote Florida's Democratic Senator GEORGE SMATHERS to President Eisenhower last week, in pleading for the creation of a Cabinet-ranking Secretary of Small Business: "Every single barometer indicates a general worsening of conditions for smaller firms. Time is running out for the small-business man."

The Small Business Administration defines a small business as a retailer with annual sales of not more than $1 million, or a wholesaler with sales of $5 million or less; Washington wags describe it as one that cannot afford to keep a lobbyist in the capital. Actually, the facts speak more eloquently on behalf of the troubled small-business man than any lobbyist could. More small concerns went out of business last year than in any year since 1940; bankruptcies this year are running higher than in 1956. Small business's share of total manufacturing sales slipped from 18.9 percent in 1947 to 12.3 percent in 1956.

The mortality rate for new businesses has always been high—largely because of mismanagement and inexperience. But the fact that business failures since 1947 have doubled among firms 10 years old and older indicates that taxes are now the real trouble. After paying the Government 30 percent of earnings under $25,000 and 52 percent over it small firms have proportionately far less than bigger companies to use for expansion. To escape extinction, more and more smaller firms are forced to merge with bigger companies, thus accelerating the trend toward monopoly. Faced with these facts, almost everyone in Washington agrees that small-business men deserve a better break.

The most direct help would be an overall tax cut. Both Democratic and Republican Congressmen have introduced measures to aid smaller firms either by raising the profit point at which the 52-percent corporate-tax rate becomes effective or lowering the tax rate for profits under $25,000. A Cabinet committee appointed by the President recommended a cut from 30 to 20 percent for corporations with earnings of less than $25,000. But the administration, harking to Treasury Secretary George Humphrey's firm opposition to tax changes involving more than a minimum revenue loss, has so far regarded direct tax cuts as too expensive. Moreover, corporate-tax cuts would not benefit some 85 percent of small concerns that are not incorporated, who now pay their taxes on a steeply graduated individual tax scale.

Corporate and individual income taxes are only part of a small-business man's tax troubles. There are many other taxes that often discriminate against him in favor of big business. For example, many small companies with limited capital are forced to buy used equipment or old buildings, but must depreciate their investment for tax purposes at a less-favorable rate than permitted for the new equipment big companies can afford to buy. Worst of all, inheritance taxes are so stiff that the heirs of many small family-owned businesses are often forced to sell off their holdings at distress prices or are left without sufficient capital to continue operating.

Since an overall tax cut seems out of the question, members of both parties in Congress, and the administration itself, are backing measures to give the small-business man tax relief in at least these areas. The administration hopes to present its proposals to Congress shortly. Among the remedies: (1) Spread the payment of estate taxes over a 10-year period for all small firms; (2) give small firms the right to depreciate used equipment for tax purposes at the more rapid rate allowed for new equipment; (3) permit closely held corporations with no more than 10 stockholders to be taxed at the partnership rate when it is less than the corporate rate, while continuing to take advantage of the corporation's limited liability features.

Such relief measures are probably the most that the small-business man can hope for in the near future. Congressional experts calculate that they would cost the Government some $200 million in tax revenues, but the Treasury puts the loss much higher—at $500 million. In any case, the tax loss would probably not be permanent; many of the payments, such as on inheritance taxes, would only be deferred. Actually, cutting the taxes on small business might well increase the overall tax take, since it would give small-business men cash to expand. Thus, as the President's Cabinet Committee pointed out, the measures would "tend to enlarge the national income, which is the ultimate source of all tax revenues."

United States Welfare Aid Cuts Alarm State Leaders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper article and a letter from Gov. James T. Blair, Jr., of Missouri:

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat]

MISSOURI CAPITAL COMMENT: UNITED STATES WELFARE AID CUTS ALARM STATE LEADERS

(By Hume Duval)

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., April 13.—Governor Blair, legislative leaders, and department heads are showing no little concern over the threatened cut in Federal matching funds for welfare administration in fear it may be the beginning of a policy to force the States to assume a greater share of the cost of jointly financed programs.

Under pending legislation in Congress, Missouri stands to lose in the current quarter $150,000 in Federal matching funds for welfare administration.

This would be a crippling blow to the jointly financed program. The State does not have the money available to make up the loss in such a short time and, as the Governor has informed Missouri Congressmen, the only alternative would be drastic reductions in personnel and other administrative expenses.

PRESSING PROBLEM

While the immediate problem is pressing, the question is being raised here as to whether this legislation is as far as Congress intends to go, or would it be eventually followed by cuts in Federal funds for old-age assistance, highways, public health and other jointly financed undertakings.

If Congress can cut Federal matching funds in one field, State officials point out, it can reduce them in other fields and turn back to the States a greater share of the responsibility for maintaining programs on their present and expanding levels.

In Missouri, this would be disastrous to the budget and would obviously force an increase in State taxes or a sharp curtailment in services.

Governor Blair has pointed out that the Federal Social Security Act provides that welfare administration costs be financed by the Federal and State governments on a 50-50 basis. However, this can be nullified by Congress, as now proposed, by simply placing a limit on the Federal funds available.

The Federal act sets up a formula for matching old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind and to the disabled. Roughly speaking, a $60 monthly grant to a recipient, for example, is financed to the extent of $39 in Federal funds and $21 in State funds.

ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS

Percentagewise, the Federal Government pays 64 percent of old-age assistance, aid to the blind and to the disabled and 75 percent of aid to dependent children costs. It pays 50 percent of administrative costs under present law.

When the State division of welfare makes out its budget for submission to the legislature, it determines the needs for a 2-year period, allocates the Federal Government's share in expectation that it will be paid and asks the assembly to provide the State's share. Any change in the Federal policy throws the entire budget out of line.

Governor Blair takes the position that under the Federal Social Security Act, the Federal Government has a contract with the States to pay 50 percent of the administrative costs of the welfare program. He believes this contract should be lived up to, not nullified through the simple expedient of refusing to appropriate sufficient Federal funds to finance it.

According to information received by State officials, Congress is attempting to strike at States which have a high welfare administration cost, some running as much as 27 percent of the cost of the entire program. Missouri has a 4.5 percent administration cost.

Proctor N. Carter, director of the Division of Welfare, points out that a percentage cut across the board will penalize States like Missouri which operate their programs at low cost while States with higher costs would not feel the pinch so keenly.

ATTACK BASIC LAW

Blair has proposed that if Congress wants to cut administrative cost participation, it should attack the basic law rather than lop off appropriations in the manner now under consideration.

He has suggested as an alternative that Congress establish a definite percentage beyond which it would not go in joint financing. The States would then know exactly how much of the total cost the Federal Government would pay in dollars and would be in a position to lay out a program limited only by how far they would be willing to go on their own beyond matching Federal allotments.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
STATE OF MISSOURI,
Jefferson City, April 15, 1957.

HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR BLUE: I enclose an article written by Hume Duval, chief of the St. Louis Globe Democrat Jefferson City Bureau, which appeared in the paper on April 14.

This article sets forth in a very clear and understandable manner the present problem we are having in connection with Federal appropriations for administrative expenses for the State welfare program included in the Urgent Supplementary Appropriation Act of 1957, H. R. 4249, chapter 4.

I sincerely hope that this matter will be promptly resolved favorably to the States and we will be assured that we will receive full Federal participation in the administrative costs of the welfare program on a 50–50 basis, as provided in the Federal Social Security Act.

With personal good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JAMES T. BLAIR, Jr.,
Governor.

Postal Subsidy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial sets out some constructive ideas on where our Post Office Department could pick up approximately $100 million toward its operational expenses.

This is only one of several leaks and subsidies which includes bulky magazines which could help defray expenses of our Post Office Department:

[From the Monahans (Tex.) News of March 28, 1957]

WHERE TO FIND $100 MILLION

There's a quiet $100-million-a-year subsidy leak of post office money to the railroads, we are told. Forty years ago it began as only a trickle, it seems, but the loss has grown and grown though the department has striven manfully to plug the leak. It is time now, with taxpayers militantly aroused over Government extravagance and a huge national budget, to bring to the attention of every Senator and Congressman this unwarranted $100-million-a-year overpayment to the railroads for hauling second-, third-, and fourth-class mail.

Away back in 1916 Congress ruled: "The Postmaster General shall, from time to time, request information from the Interstate Commerce Commission as to the revenue received by railroad companies from express companies for service rendered in the transportation of express matter, and may, in his discretion, arrange for the transportation of mail matter other than of the first class at rates not exceeding those so ascertained and reported to him, and it shall be the duty of the railroad companies to carry such mail matter at such rates fixed by the Postmaster General."

Congress made that part of the Mail Pay Act of 1916. That law seems straight—forward and simple enough. The United States Government, logically, should not pay more than anyone else for a similar service. But for 40 years the ICC apparently hasn't been able or willing to do what Congress told it to do. In 1947, 1948, and 1949 the Postmaster General asked ICC to provide express rate information required under this law. He got no help. In 1949 the ICC opined that the law "does not place upon us a duty or mandate" to supply such data. Further, said the Commission, the railroads did not employ "any rates or system of rates" in hauling express shipments.

The Citizens Advisory Council of the Senate Post Office Committee has just published its report bringing to light this $100 million-a-year overpayment to the railroads. There is evidence that, in 1955 the Post Office Department, in "round figures", paid the railroads 80 cents per equated car-mile to carry second, third, and fourth class mail. At the same time, the express company (owned by the railroads) paid just half as much—only 40 cents for similar service. The total overpayment in 1955 to the railroads by the Post Office Department is estimated at $121,041,950!

Perhaps this is mere small change in terms of a $71 billion national budget. But that $100 million is a good-sized hunk of the year's postal deficit. And it takes a lot of us citizens a lot of hours to earn $100 million! Is this unenforced 40-year-old Mail Pay Act toothless? Or are our Congressmen feckless? We ought to find out.

North Dakota Legislature Sees Need for Limitation on Petroleum Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include the contents of Senate Concurrent Resolution EE of the 35th Legislative Assembly of North Dakota. The resolution follows:

Senate Concurrent Resolution EE

Concurrent resolution relating to the need to protect the national security by imposing a limitation on petroleum imports

Whereas expanding development of petroleum resources, dependent upon the incentives of increasing markets, is of primary importance to the economy of North Dakota and is essential in maintaining the financial requirements of our State government;

Whereas the security of the United States and the national economy are dependent upon continued discovery and availablity of increasing petroleum supplies in North Dakota and her sister States;

Whereas the incentives to search for, find, and develop new petroleum reserves have been and are now undermined by excessive imports of petroleum and its products, as illustrated by the increasing encroachment of Canadian petroleum competing for North Dakota oil markets in the North Central United States;

Whereas this growing economic threat to needed and essential expansion of our petroleum resources has been recognized by all branches of government as an impairment to the security of the United States and her allies in the free world;

Whereas the Congress of the United States provided in the 1955 extension of the Trade Agreements Act authority for a limitation on petroleum imports when they threaten to impair the national security, and the administration, having ascertained that such impairment did exist, has acted without success to obtain voluntary limitations of petroleum imports in consonance with national-defense standards enunciated by a Presidential Cabinet Fuels Committee and by the Congress;

Whereas the failure of oil importing companies to limit petroleum imports as urged by Government in the name of national security, and the continued increase in these imports in defiance of such Government requests, now requires positive mandatory Government actions to restrict petroleum imports in conformance with accepted defense standards;

Whereas this action must and should be taken immediately if the Nation is to avoid increasing imports and ultimate dependence on unreliable foreign sources of petroleum supply, the dangers of which are now illustrated by conditions in Western Europe, dependent for vital petroleum fuels on the Suez lifeline which is now disrupted; and

Whereas an effective limitation on petroleum imports is made more essential by worldwide expansion of oil tanker fleets and capacities which will enable the importation of unprecedented quantities of oil from the vast Middle East field when normal movements of oil are restored in the eastern Mediterranean: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of North Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That this legislature hereby urges immediate measures by the President of the United States to limit petroleum imports to levels recommended by his Cabinet Fuels Committee in February 1955, and that North Dakota Representatives in the United States Congress are herewith urged to pursue whatever action they deem essential to assist in accomplishing this objective; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be immediately dispatched by the secretary of state to the President of the United States, to the members of his Cabinet Fuels Committee, and to North Dakota Members of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives.

Alaska Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD at this point an editorial from the Bellingham Herald, a daily newspaper published in the Second Congressional District of the State of Washington.

This editorial goes into the arguments for and against the admittance of Alaska as a State. As a member of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of the House, it has been my opportunity to hear lengthy testimony on both sides of the statehood question.

The question has evolved around the financial aspects of Alaska's qualification for statehood. It is true certain revenues would be lost, and others gained, in the switch from standing as a territory to that of the forty-ninth State. I do not think it fair that Alaska and Hawaii be considered in the same breath as far as statehood goes. Each has its own economic and other problems concerning qualification for statehood.

As this editorial points out, the Territory has gone ahead with elections and selected "representatives" under the Tennessee plan. This would indicate there is a great deal of interest in Alaska on the statehood question.

I do not believe we should defer the decision on statehood for Alaska at present for consideration of alternate plans. These people are not a foreign nation, most of the population came from other States in the Union. They are not a backward economic unit. They have the apparatus of government. They have vast resources and the potential for a great development. It has been suggested we must offer exceptional tax advantages to encourage investment capital to come in and harvest the natural resources of Alaska.

I believe with today's transportation conditions and with the world market for metals, fuels, and other resources which Alaska has in abundance, industries are going to be attracted to the source of these rich deposits.

The Bellingham Herald editorial, I believe weighs the advantages and disadvantages of immediate statehood, and interjects the idea that perhaps some compromise will be worked out. I believe, one way or another, this Congress should look the Alaskan statehood issue squarely in the eye and decide what qualifications are there, and what lacking, for Alaska to become the forty-ninth State of the Union.

Text of the Herald editorial is as follows:

ALASKA STATEHOOD GETS ATTENTION OF CONGRESS

With the support of President Eisenhower—making allowance for some reservations—and the State Department, Alaska's chances of statehood in the relatively near future appear to be improving.

In the background, however, is the high cost of going it alone, in a high cost era, and it is not impossible that admission will be achieved gradually, in conformity with the suggestion of Representative THOMAS M. PELLY of Seattle, that Alaska "would fare much better under commonwealth status than actual statehood."

The President has indicated approval of statehood with the stipulation that certain Federal military reservations be set up first in western and northern Alaska and excluded from State jurisdiction.

Speaking for Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Robert C. Hill, favored statehood at a congressional committee hearing. "Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, particularly in view of the concrete expressions of public opinion in its favor in these Territories," Hill said, "would seem to constitute a clear example of self-government referred to in the Charter of the United Nations, and as such should be viewed in a favorable light by the great majority of U. N. members."

However, statehood is not a one-way street. While Alaska may be a "colony," as some statehood advocates say, as a Territory it benefits from Federal bounties. Statehood, according to "Representative" Ralph J. Rivers, of Fairbanks, would cost Alaskans an extra $2,500,000 a year, including new tax revenues of $987,287. Mr. Rivers estimated that $1,162,713 of this "extra burden" would be offset by nontax revenues which would accrue to Alaskans as a State which are not received by the Territory. The $987,287 of estimated tax revenues required under statehood, he added, could be raised "by a 1-percent tax on property outside incorporated areas, or other levies."

Further, Edward J. Rusing, prominent Alaska banker, said Alaska is trying to develop an economic atmosphere that will attract more people. The Territory's resources, he testified, can be developed "only when risk capital is attracted to the Territory."

That qualification goes to the heart of the problem. Complete self-government is desirable, but Alaska is under some handicaps. Its resources are fabulous and its area is larger than that of Texas and California combined, which qualifies it as potentially our largest State; yet its population, 128,643 (in 1950), is relatively small. While this total is larger than the population of some Western States at statehood, times—and costs—are different today.

In suggesting a Commonwealth status, similar to that of Puerto Rico, Congressman PELLY told a House subcommittee that this would permit Alaskans to elect their own Governor and enjoy most of the rights now denied them, but at the same time they would be exempt from Federal income taxes as an encouragement to the development of Alaskan resources. The Seattle Congressman continued:

"Then, after an agreed period, industrialized and with an economy built up during the interval by tax incentives to attract industry, Alaska eventually would become a great and wealthy and self-sustaining State.

"Except for such procedure, I am convinced Alaska will be forced to overtax private enterprise in her borders, and yet her resources neither will be properly exploited nor properly conserved, which will result in unsound State management and continued vast Federal expenditures. * * *

"A 20-year period with tax incentive under Commonwealth status could result in the end in Alaska's becoming one of the richest States in the Union."

Alaska's confidence—or hope—in statehood is revealed in its adoption of a State constitution and its election of 2 "Senators" and 1 "Representative"—under the so-called Tennessee plan—who have been in the Nation's Capital knocking for admission. These officials will qualify if and when statehood is granted.

Apparently a majority of the people favor statehood. Some opposition is on economic grounds, some of it is political. For instance, the South long has resisted the admission of new States because it would be further handicapped on the State-rights issue. Some partisan opposition has been based on the political complexion of the Territory. That is why Hawaii and Alaska, which generally have been on opposite sides of the political fence, have been bracketed together in Congress as candidates for statehood.

In effect, Congressman PELLY's compromise solution would resolve the valid opposition to Alaska's admission under current conditions and at the same time promote the development of its economic self-sufficiency.

The Late Honorable Fred L. Crawford

SPEECH
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, it was with deep regret on a personal basis that I learned of the unexpected death of Fred L. Crawford on April 13. He had been in my office on several occasions the very week of his death. Then he appeared to be in wonderful health, and was his usual cheerful and energetic self.

I had known Fred Crawford since I first came to Congress. He led the first congressional committee to Alaska to hold hearings on statehood. Fred Crawford did a terrific job then. From that time on he was a leading advocate of statehood for Alaska. His help was given to us Alaskans in ever so many other ways. Of course, I am aware that the other Territories and possessions also benefited from his wise advice and counsel and leadership. It is interesting to note that this Member of Congress from Michigan was possessed of the vision which led to so many changed concepts in reference to American areas beyond the seas. During the years since he left Congress we Alaskans have missed Fred Crawford in his official capacity; but his enthusiasm was such that even since then he has guided us, counseled us, and helped us.

Hundreds of Alaskans knew Fred Crawford; some of us knew him well. We treasured his friendship. We grieve now because we have lost a friend. We grieve because the Nation has lost a man who served it well. We grieve most of all because Betty Crawford and their son have lost husband and father. To them I should like to extend deepest sympathy on behalf of the people of Alaska, and for Mrs. Bartlett and myself personally.

Hawaii's People—A Needed Resource

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii's Americanization is exemplified in a very special way by the recognition given Hawaii's citizens in many varied fields. Last year one of Hawaii's distinguished young Americans of oriental ancestry was honored as one of the 10 outstanding young men of the year. This selection was made by a singularly qualified board.

I am pleased to insert into the RECORD today an announcement of the selection of America's four outstanding young farmers, one of whom is an American of Japanese ancestry from Hawaii. It is particularly noteworthy that his recognition was accorded to him for his work in growing coffee. I believe I am right in saying that Hawaii is the only place in America where the coffee is grown.

The recognition accorded Hawaii's citizens by their being selected as in this instance and in other instances points up the total integration of Hawaii's population into the American way of life. These selections also illustrate the fact that Hawaii offers to the United States a most valuable human resource which can only reach its full potential by the admission of Hawaii to statehood so that the exceptional qualifications and inherent abilities of the great American citizens of Hawaii may be given the political climate to realize their maximum potentials.

ANNOUNCING AMERICA'S FOUR OUTSTANDING YOUNG FARMERS OF 1956—HAWAIIAN NAMED AMONG AMERICA'S FOUR TOP FARMERS

DURHAM, N. C., April 16.—The annual search for America's four outstanding young farmers went beyond the Nation's boundaries this year to honor a man from Hawaii along with farmers from Texas, Arkansas, and Utah.

Fifty outstanding farmers, 21 to 36 years of age, representing each of the 48 States, Hawaii, and Alaska, were all honored today, April 16, at a banquet in Durham, N. C., where the names of the top four men were announced.

The special recognition went to:

Takeshi Kudo, 34, Kona, T. H., utilized submarginal lava land to develop new methods in growing coffee.

Russel Mayer, 36, Milford, Utah, through soil and water conservation planning produced cash crops on more than 1,000 acres of what was once Utah desert wasteland.

John P. Tufts, 31, Dallas, Tex., in 6 years in spite of rugged drought conditions, built a dairy herd from 7 to 205 cows that outproduced every herd in Texas of more than 50 head.

Alex S. Curtis, 31, Manila, Ark., a graduate electrical engineer with a love of the soil, purchased a run-down acreage in 1949, and last year had 200 visitors tour what has now become a model farm.

Each of the 50 young farmers at the banquet were sought out by a Junior Chamber of Commerce chapter and nominated with others for, first, community and then State outstanding young farmer awards. The Jaycees and the American Petroleum Institute Committee on Agriculture are national sponsors of the program now in its third year.

Judging of the 50 finalists was done by a panel of 5 agricultural experts: Mr. W. B. Camp, Bakersfield, Calif.; Dr. W. H. Martin, dean of agriculture, State University of New Jersey; Dean Harry J. Reed, Purdue University; Dr. J. Wayne Reitz, president, University of Florida; Dr. A. D. Weber, dean of agriculture, Kansas State College of Agriculture.

The awards were presented in Durham by Wendell H. Ford, Owensboro, Ky., national Jaycee president. Gov. Frank Clement, of Tennessee, was the main speaker. Also present was Chester Lauck, known to millions as Lum Edwards of the former Lum and Abner radio team.

Adding to the pageantry of the surprise announcement of the four most outstanding farmers was the 140-voice Duke University Men's Glee Club which each year tours the Nation.

What Price Culture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, I would like to make some observations on the activities of the State Department and their cultural exchange program to date.

Since I believe that an exchange of ideas between nations is a good thing, I suggested to the State Department that perhaps it would be interested in helping to send four youngsters who won the championship to the world championships in England in June. I received a North American dairy cattle judging great big "No."

These four youngsters are typical, wholesome, fine American farm young people, who are the youngest judging team ever to win the United States national judging contest, held at Waterloo, Iowa, this year, and to go on to win the North American continent championships. Since they reside in my congressional district, I have had the opportunity of meeting them. I can tell you they are fine young Americans, teenagers we can view with pride. They come from farm families of modest means, and have earned their award through hard work on the farm.

The proposed trip would enable them to be in England for about a week. Private dairy people are attempting to raise enough money for their expenses on the trip. I was interested in procuring travel arrangements through the State Department's exchange program. Cattle experts say these outstanding 4-H judgers have an excellent chance to win the world championship in England if they are able to compete.

I would like to refer to the remarks made yesterday by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. TRIMBLE] who pointed out the fine impression made by two young farm girls from India who came to visit in his district under the exchange program. I believe we could expect favorable results from sending these four American farm young people to England to exhibit their skills against judging teams from around the world.

Now, I do not believe that every project of this nature should be financed by the Government. However, since we have approved vast sums to be spent on the cultural exchange program between our Nation and others, I thought that this would certainly reflect good will toward our Nation, and would be a project that we could be proud of.

The State Department has informed me that they cannot spend the small sum of $3,000 or so to help send this team to England. I was interested in finding out just what kind of talent it takes to be financed by the State Department.

A look at the record is most revealing. The State Department found it could afford a sum of $133,000 so that Band Leader Dizzie Gillespie could reflect glory and honor on the United States by riding down the streets of Buenos Aires dressed as a gaucho. It appears that we are interested in spreading be-bop before we spread good farming practices. Gillespie drew $2,100 per week while teaching the Latin Americans to be cool cats.

Looking further into the record we find the Jose Limon Dance Co. received $43,801 to tour South America and teach the natives there to tango and mambo. Then there is the globetrotting Tom Two Arrows, who this year had his listing changed to Tom Dorsey. This veteran State Department cultural exhibit just returned from a tour of Japan, Korea, Formosa, Cambodia, Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, and Malaya where he demonstrated American culture, and the State Department reports glowing reports.

The list of professional acts includes many famous names in our field of entertainment, sent at a cost of $3 million. Now, I believe that we should also have a few amateur attractions to show that we have hard-working people in this country who excel without selling their talents.

The State Department has sent a few amateur groups abroad. Included are an amateur hockey team, distance runners to Finland, a track team to Rumania, the San Francisco Chinese-American basketball team, and also the world-famous professional hoop squad, the Harlem Globe Trotters.

I do not believe that all of these groups did us good. Many of them were probably of great value in spreading our culture to foreign lands. I question strenuously the value of the State Department spending $133,000 to send a jazz band to South America. I am not altogether certain that jazz is the type of culture we need to be spending that kind of money to spread.

I believe the State Department could do more toward cementing relations with the youth of other nations of the world by spending about $3,000 to send our judging team to England to compete in the world championships. Prejudices have less foothold in children than in adults. These youngsters could do a real job of spreading American good will to farm youths from many nations where our motives and system of government are misunderstood.

The State Department is also requesting $810,000 to generate enthusiasm among the American people to attend an international fair in Brussels, Belgium. The object is to send American musicals to Brussels at great cost to the State Department, and then persuade Americans to go overseas to see them, by spending $810,000 on a promotion campaign for the trade fair.

This is big money, a grandiose type of promotion designed to dazzle. I think we can do more good by sending plain American citizens to exchange everyday ideas.

I believe this Congress could well spend more time looking into what kind of people we have directing these programs. Who is choosing for us the people and the types of culture to be sent overseas to impress the foreign population with American ideals? It is obvious that sending fine young farm people is not being given consideration, but sending bebop artists from our smoky dives is considered hep international relations.

Extension of Lease Purchase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I intend to introduce immediately a bill extending the life of the Lease Purchase and extended lease program until June 30, 1960, with amendments designed to make the program more workable. The program otherwise expires July 22, 1957.

Fundamentally, I believe the program to be the most reasonable and acceptable

approach to the ever-increasing problem of keeping up with Federal public building needs, General Services and Post Office programs.

It is essential that the extended lease authority given the Postmaster under the Lease Purchase Act be continued. This has proven to be a most effective weapon in meeting the needs of the small communities throughout the country. This is provided for in section 203 of Public Law 519, the Lease purchase Act and empowers the Postmaster General to enter into lease agreements for periods not exceeding 30 years and to do other things required to cary out the purposes of this provision. This extended lease authority is not available to the Post Office Department under the basic law and if this act is not extended, then, this most effective method of meeting the problem of post-office needs in the smaller communities will not be available.

There have been hundreds of post offices constructed under this program that could not have been built without long term lease arrangements. In my district as well as throughout the State of Florida and the United States many urgent local needs have been met.

Using my district as an example, the following construction has in the last 2 years been completed; or is underway:

Dade City; 9,000 feet, estimated construction cost $50,000.

Zephyrhills, 4,200 feet, estimated construction cost $20,000.

St. Petersburg, 142,000 square feet, estimated construction cost $1,300,000.

Interbay Branch, Tampa, 4,500 square feet, estimated construction cost $30,000.

The following construction has been approved and is being advertised or processed and thus the estimated cost is not available;

West Tampa Branch, 6,000 square feet.

Dale Mabry Branch, Tampa, 6,000 square feet.

Newport Richey, approximately 6,000 square feet.

The following construction is being cosnidered when the present lease terms expire, size and cost is thus not yet estimated: Ybor City, Tampa branch; Tampa, mail-handling facility; Tarpon Springs, St. Petersburg and Gulf Beaches, two branches; Clearwater, additional branch; Ruskin.

I hope this gives an idea as to how important this extended lease program is in meeting the problems of smaller post offices, branch offices and expansion of existing facilities.

Aside from any considerations of merit or demerit as they relate to lease purchase as such, there can be no argument advanced that convinces me that this extended lease program is unsound, unworkable or unwise. It has proven itself to the contrary.

Considering the lease-purchase aspects of the bill I shall introduce, the following reasons seem to necessitate its extension for a reasonable period:

First. It is obvious and has been for some time that Congress is not going to meet this responsibility of Federal building and post office needs in the local communities through direct appropriations. This is true despite the fact that authorized building in the District of Columbia for Federal purposes is jumping to an alltime high, to some $130 million, not including the new House Office Building. This is true despite the fact that the needs in the local areas, in the congressional districts, become ever more acute. This is especially true with the new economy wave that is sweeping the Nation and Congress—with which I concur—and which in itself justifies the lease-purchase approach to meeting this problem. This is further true because our backlog of public building needs is so great that the direct appropriations needed to bring the program up to date and give the type of service to the people at home to which they are entitled would be in the billions.

Second. This is the most economical method of financing these projects over the long run without having to make large construction appropriations at a time when the people are demanding economy in government.

Third. The additional cost of rent as the result of moving to larger quarters is self-liquidating by the additional business turnover resulting from the additional space and accommodations to patrons.

Fourth. The entire program is based upon the merits of the given projects and the greatest needs, rather than political considerations, and this will continue to be true so long as the GSA and the Bureau of the Budget continue to handle the program of recommending projects. Should Congress attempt to return to only the direct appropriation program it would result in district vying against district for priority and favored treatment rather than meritorious consideration alone.

Fifth. This lease-purchase program is only an alternative approach, additional to the basic law and the direct appropriations approach. Congress can still, where and when the facts justify it, authorize and appropriate for construction. This alternative is available to Congress at all times. This lease-purchase program and extended lease program provides for an additional way of meeting the need on a planned, methodical and merit basis.

Sixth. The Lease-Purchase Act has not had adequate chance to operate to prove its true value. Admittedly, there are some shortcomings of the act, and the amendments contained in my amendment are directed at trying to rectify some of these problems. The basic reason for the philosophy behind the bill remain as commanding as ever, and it is a mistake, in my judgment, to kill at this time a program that is so badly needed.

Seventh. Much money and time and effort has been already expended in planning a well-rounded program on a national basis under this act and this should not be lost or destroyed at this time.

Eighth. This is the only way, through financing, that the multi-million-dollar financing deficit can be met soon enough to provide adequate services where needed.

St. Louis Consumer Federation Urges Stricter Supervision of Trade Practices in Meatpacking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the spring bulletin of the St. Louis Consumer Federation, an outstanding organization of alert, public-spirited, consumer-minded people in my city, has urged support for a proposal by Senator WATKINS of Utah to transfer jurisdiction over trade practices in the meatpacking industry from the United States Department of Agriculture to the Federal Trade Commission.

The Packer and Stockyards Act lodges jurisdiction in the Department of Agriculture over trade practices in livestock buying and meat merchandising, with a result, according to the St. Louis Consumer Federation, that consumers and small packers have been left virtually unprotected from false advertising, deceptive practices, price discrimination, and monopolies, declaring that the Department of Agriculture has done practically nothing to carry out its responsibilities in this field.

Because of the language of the present statute, the St. Louis Consumer Federation points out, the Federal Trade Commission has refused to handle complaints against big packers involving nonmeat items such as ice cream and oleomargarine.

In view of this situation, the St. Louis Consumer Federation, headed by my good friend Mrs. Frederick A. Faust, has written to Senator WATKINS urging enactment of the kind of legislation he has proposed to give the Federal Trade Commission authority to handle complaints against the meatpacking industry in the same manner it does against other industries.

It is my understanding that many of the smaller meatpacking firms, and the Western States Meat Packing Association, support such a change in the law.

Under permission of the House of Representatives, I submit herewith the portion of the spring bulletin of the St. Louis Consumer Federation which discusses this matter, as follows:

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

The FTC was established, 1914, to prevent unfair competition, deceptive practices, false advertising, price discrimination and monopolies. It is one of the independent agencies of Government in the service of the general public.

Since its establishment in 1914, many changes have come about; take one, take packaging. With modern packaging the old adage "let the buyer beware" has lost all its meaning. It is impossible to examine the content of hermetically sealed packages to evaluate quality before buying. Sellers therefore have to be policed, and the FTC is a policeman to protect consumers.

But it is not clear why the FTC should not have police power over the meat packing industry. At present, the Packers and Stock-

yards Act places trade practices in livestock buying and meat merchandizing in the USDA.

Some, if not all ice cream and oleomargarine seems to come under the Packers and Stockyards Act also. We refer here to a report in the Wall Street Journal that the FTC has refused to handle complaints against Swift & Co. involving ice cream, and against Armour & Co. involving oleomargarine, but it did act against Blanton Co. of St. Louis involving Creamo Margarine.

Logically it seems that jurisdiction over packers in the field of price discrimination, restraint of trade, and over their stockyard activities belong with the FTC and not to the USDA. The latter was established to conduct comprehensive research and educational programs relating to farming; provide crop reports, commodity standards, meat inspection, marketing services, aid in flood control, administer price supports and production adjustment programs, and make loans to farmers.

According to the WSJ, USDA officials conceded that their agency has done very little in the antitrust field. In fact, the USDA has not kept a close watch on trade practices of companies engaged in slaughter, packing, and sale of meat products.

We find ourselves in full agreement with the Western States meat packers and other small packers who would like to see jurisdiction over the meatpacking industry as it relates to trade practices, returned to the FTC where it belongs. The big packers are opposed. No public good is to be expected from mixing up the functions of the FTC and the USDA. It leaves consumers and small packers quite unprotected.

Question: How may the St. Louis Consumer Federation and our elected Senators and Representatives in Congress help the Federal Trade Commission to regain its lost domain and clean up this particular mess?

"Not in the Public Interest"—Comments by St. Louis Consumer Federation on Proposed Natural Gas Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, now that new legislation has been introduced to seek once again to overturn the Supreme Court decision on regulation of natural gas rates in the field, I believe many of the Members—particularly those from the consumer areas—will be interested in a thoughtful discussion of this issue by an outstanding St. Louis consumer leader.

Mrs. Zonja Wallen-Lawrence, a member of the Executive Committee of the St. Louis Consumer Federation, and a lady who is an intense fighter for the consumer in all instances, has written me the views of the Federation on the natural gas controversy, and her letter is a clear, straightforward, convincing exposition of the issues involved.

As this letter points out, only 7 States produce enough gas to export more than they import, and these 7 accounted for 94 percent of the total interstate shipments of natural gas in 1953. I think that helps to put this matter into perspective, as does the rest of her excellent letter.

Under permission granted me by the House of Representatives, I herewith submit for the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and for the attention of the membership the letter from Mrs. Zonja Wallen-Lawrence of the St. Louis Consumer Federation, as follows:

ST. LOUIS CONSUMER FEDERATION,
MRS. FREDERICK A. FAUST, PRESIDENT,
1823 HICKORY STREET,
St. Louis, Mo., April 1, 1957.

Re natural gas.
Hon. Mrs. JOHN B. SULLIVAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN SULLIVAN: The executive committee of the St. Louis Consumer Federation wishes to go on record as opposed to any bill or bills before Congress that would remove from Federal regulation the sale in interstate commerce of natural gas for resale, and the transportation of natural gas in interstate commerce.

The Natural Gas Act of 1938 was passed by Congress because of the necessity to protect consumers against unreasonable increases in the price of gas. Need was father of the act. The need for protection of consumers has not lessened.

Giants of the oil and gas industry have made repeated attacks on the Natural Gas Act hoping that they may charge whatever the traffic will bear rather than abide by price based on costs plus profits.

In the 80th Congress, the Moore-Rizley bill created so much public indignation that it never got out of committee. The Kerr bill (1949–50) was vetoed by President Truman and Congress did not attempt to override the veto. Its sibling, the Harris-Fulbright bill of 1956 was vetoed by President Eisenhower on the basis of objectionable tactics by the oil companies; not on the basis of the issue.

The issue is: Shall the price of gas, when there is conflict of interest among States, be fixed by an interested party or by a disinterested umpire?

There is conflict of interest among States because of the disparity in the distribution of natural gas in nature. Only 7 States produce enough gas to export more gas than they import. These 7 accounted for 94 percent of the total interstate shipments of natural gas in 1953. There are 16 gas-producing States importing more natural gas than they export. Illinois is one. Lastly, there are 26 States and the District of Columbia which export no natural gas. Missouri is one. This disparity in a noncompetitive industry creates conflict of interest among States. The Constitution of the United States gives Congress power to regulate commerce among the several States and the need for regulation exists and is provided for by the Natural Gas Act of 1938 which is now under attack.

Furthermore, because the natural-gas industry is essentially noncompetitive, regulation is necessary to protect ultimate consumers of gas. Well over 21 million households (approximately 80 million persons) use natural gas for heating, cooking, etc. In Missouri alone there are over 650,000 consumers of gas who would be hurt by removal of Federal control over the sale in interstate commerce of gas for resale. In the wonderful State of Texas, where the median per capita income is well below the national average, consumers are going to be hurt too—unless local State laws offer them local protection.

When consumers' gas appliances have been purchased and connected to the gas mains, and then the price of gas goes up and up, consumers have no alternative but to pay and pay. They are captive. There is no other gas distributor who can sell them gas for less. Competition is nil. However, at this point the State protects us.

When the distributor—Laclede Gas Co., for instance—has laid its network of pipes and has been connected to the pipeline at the "city gate" and then the price of gas goes up and up, the distributor has no alternative but to pay and pay, and pass the increased cost on to the consumer. There is no alternative pipeline that will sell gas for less. There is no competition.

The interstate transmission of natural gas is almost completely dominated by 17 pipeline companies according to testimony presented before the Senate, 1956.

The effective supply of natural gas sold to pipelines is in the hands of a few corporations who also own the bulk of the Nation's reserves of natural gas. In 1953, 70 percent of all natural gas for resale in interstate commerce was sold by 35 companies. And 54 percent was sold by 22 companies among whom were the biggest and most profitable corporations in America. Because the supply is concentrated in the grasp of so few, competition in the sale of natural gas can be said to exist not at all—from a consumer's point of view.

Benefits from relinquishing Federal control over prices charged at the points where natural gas enters the pipelines for later resale in interstate commerce would accrue to a few large corporations and would hurt millions of American families. This is not saying that consumers do not want the oil and gas producers to make fair returns on the actual capital they have invested.

Because the natural gas industry is in effect noncompetitive, because gas is a public utility, because demand exceeds supply, and because there is a conflict of interests among States, regulation is necessary, and the Supreme Court as recently as 1954 upheld the authority of the Federal Power Commission to protect consumers by regulating interstate sales of natural gas for resale. The Natural Gas Act of 1938 in fact imposes on the Federal Power Commission the duty of protecting consumers from unfair gas prices.

Because we believe the changes proposed by the oil and gas industry—freeing natural gas prices from Federal regulation—is not in the public interest, the executive committee of the St. Louis Consumer Federation wishes to go on record in Congress as opposed to any bill or bills which would remove from Federal regulation the sale of gas for resale in interstate commerce.

Respectfully yours,
ZONJA WALLEN-LAWRENCE,
Member of the Executive Committee,
St. Louis Consumer Federation.

A Better Deal for Commuters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, the problems of commuters living in the suburbs of our great American cities grow more acute each day. Those commuting by rail form northeastern New Jersey to New York City are having a particularly difficult time due to the gradual deterioration of rail and ferry facilities between the States of New York and New Jersey.

George Alpert, president of the New Haven Railroad, has written an intelligent, provocative article, "A Better Deal for Commuters," in the April 1957 issue of Harper's magazine. While I do not necessarily agree with all of Mr. Alpert's conclusions, under unanimous consent I include the article in the Appendix of the RECORD because of the national interest in this subject:

A BETTER DEAL FOR COMMUTERS

(By George Alpert)

In the dozen years since World War II, American cities have spent large sums of money to relieve traffic congestion, only to find their streets remaining as congested as before. Many circumstances have combined to bring about this exasperating result. One of the most important, it seems to me, is the mistake that was made in building nearly all new metropolitan-area transportation facilities around the private automobile and the motortruck. As we shall see, it is an outright physical impossibility to provide space in the center of town for all those who must come in, if they come by car. Downtown traffic congestion can be eased only by making it possible for people to come in without cars.

Actually, cities like New York and Chicago already have railroad networks which could provide a practical, comfortable, efficient system of doing just that. A two-track commuter rail line, occupying no more space than an ordinary city street, can carry at least five times as many people per hour as a four-lane superhighway—and there are no cars to be parked on arrival.

A complex of financial and other problems has prevented rail commuter services, for all their inherent advantages, from growing enough to play their part in metropolitan transport. I believe, however, that the difficulties can be cut through and that we can make it possible for many more people to come to town by train. I would like to make two simple proposals to that end. The first is that rail commuter lines be given, where necessary, a public subsidy in return for guaranteed, low-cost, frequent service. Already most other forms of transportation in the United States require and get a subsidy. Since the public is demanding better commuter services, it would make sense to provide the necessary subsidies here as well.

The second proposal is that new trackage needed to complete and extend present commuter networks should be built by a public authority and leased to the railroads—again on a firm guaranty of frequent, low-cost service. We have toll highways. Why not toll railroad tracks?

Lest I be accused of proposing an unlimited giveaway to the railroads, I hasten to add that I am confident the overall cost of these measures can be kept within bounds—and will, indeed, prove much cheaper than providing highways of equivalent carrying capacity. Parkways cost several million dollars a mile—in heavily built-up areas, land acquisition, and bridging run the cost far over $10 million a mile—and their carrying capacity is limited.

THE DAY TRAFFIC STOPPED

Neither of my proposals is wholly new. Somewhat similar suggestions have occasionally been made in the past. But the time has come to examine them seriously and see how they can contribute to relieving the urban transportation problem.

It will be useful to set some limits to the discussion. The urban-area transportation question has bewildering ramifications. It involves local habit and custom; the form of government organization in the area; the changing location of factories, stores, and homes; the movement of goods and people to and from points entirely outside the metropolitan district (long-haul traffic); the distribution of goods within the area and within the neighborhood; the movement of people within the neighborhood. It even touches upon such seemingly unrelated matters as the financial structure of the companies furnishing transportation service; thus, for a variety of reasons, airline and trucking companies carry nothing like the railroads' onerous burdens of bonded indebtedness. (Unlike the railroads, airlines and trucking companies did not have to provide their own right-of-way; in some cases, they enjoyed fast defense-tax writeoffs for equipment; and, being newer, they were organized in an era of greater financial prudence.)

We will not have room to go into any of these matters. We are discussing only one phase of urban transportation, the movement of people between the outer edge of the city area—the so-called commuter zone, rather than the inner rapid-transit zone—and the center. It will be difficult enough to deal concretely with this alone, for each city's situation is different.

The Saturday Evening Post recently printed a short story called The Day All Traffic Stopped, about a woman who brought every vehicle in Chicago to a standstill for weeks by abandoning her car when it stalled at a downtown intersection on a busy afternoon. The story was fiction, but it could happen in a score of American cities. I sometimes feel as though it happens in my own city of Boston twice a day—at the morning and evening rush hours.

A little calculation quickly shows why incredible traffic jams are inevitable in our great cities. According to counts made by the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, approximately 900,000 people come into Boston daily by private automobile. They ride, at an average of 1.6 persons per vehicle, in some 575,00 vehicles. Standing bumper to bumper, 575,000 of today's mammoth cars would occupy more than 2,000 miles of traffic lane; to keep them moving, at least several times as much traffic space must be provided.

Of course, large cities furnish respectable mileages of street. But no city does or can provide street mileage, let alone parking space, on such a scale; there would scarcely be room for the city if it did. Moreover, cars are not uniformly distributed throughout the city; they congregate in particular sections and, at the rush hours especially, on a small proportion of the streets.

Up to now, attempts to improve matters have proceeded chiefly along two lines: the construction of arterial roadways, and (on a smaller scale) of off-street parking facilities. Everyday experience and numerous formal studies agree on the outcome. In nearly all cases, the completion of a new vehicular traffic facility results in an immediate rise in the number of cars entering the city streets.

The Boston Chamber of Commerce, for example, recently checked what happened in one downtown area after the opening of a convenient new parking garage. Within 3 days, 2 additional cars were coming into the area for every 3 accommodated in the garage. In 2 weeks, the street parking places were once again full, and the streets were more congested than ever, for there were now many more cars in the area than before.

Someone remarked not long ago that Bob Moses, the high-powered New York public works man, had made it possible to dump more cars into 34th Street. The comment would make a fitting epitaph for nearly all metropolitan parkway-building programs. Unfortunately, if steps are not taken to limit the increase in cars entering the city, it may serve as an epitaph for the core of our cities as well.

After all, why do so many people still choose to buck all that traffic and drive into the city? Though it is often said that Americans just like cars, the fact is that, in too many parts of too many metropolitan areas, there is no other convenient way to go.

The streetcar and its variants, such as the interurban car, are all but dead, killed as much by failure to modernize in time as by their inherent limitations. Buses, which have largely taken the streetcar's place, are uncomfortable and do not by any means go everywhere. Bus schedules, moreover, are often highly irregular, and the street corner is hardly an all-weather waiting room.

Trains are faster and more comfortable, and much more nearly weatherproof than road vehicles of any description. But several of our largest cities have little rail-commuter service, and even the New York area has major suburban districts without a direct rail connection to mid-Manhattan. Furthermore, outside the rush hour, trains are often few and far between; this makes things difficult for those who cannot be certain of always catching the 5:15.

So millions drive to work. It is doubtful that any significant proportion of car riders can be inducted to switch to buses. In fact, bus patronage is steadily declining throughout the country.

I believe, however—and there is solid evidence for my view—that many car riders would go by train, if train service were frequent, cheap, and available. For where service is good, the great majority of commuters do go by rail; and metropolitan area rail services are holding their own or better.

This is true of Chicago, where daily passenger traffic is again increasing, after a postwar decline, on both the main rail lines and the Chicago rapid-transit system. It is also true in Boston, where the number of passengers carried daily has increased consistently, at least on the commuter lines of my own railroad, the New Haven. And it is true for those parts of the New York area with direct rail service to Manhattan; the main commuter lines in Long Island and Westchester are either gaining or holding their own. On the other hand, the New Jersey railroads without a direct link to Manhattan are slowly but inexorably losing traffic.

A few months ago, a close study of commuters from Westchester County and nearby sections of Connecticut was carried out for the Metropolitan Rapid Transit Commission, an agency set up jointly by New York and New Jersey to investigate transportation problems in the New York area. The study found that 77 percent of Westchester and Connecticut commuters enter the city by train. Only 23 percent commute by car, and at least half of those have destinations that are outside Manhattan or not easily reached from Grand Central Terminal. An earlier study, conducted under different auspices, showed that over 90 percent of the commuters in the Westchester area served by the New Haven go by rail.

Despite the differences between commuter railroads and rapid-transit systems, I think I may cite the experience of Cleveland and Toronto. Cleveland has a new rapid-transit line parallel to the lake front, and Toronto a new subway, a single double-track line, beneath its main street. In both cities, the new rail transit facilities have already led to a substantial reduction in the number of cars entering the downtown area. In Toronto, the reduction is reported as more than 10 percent—enough to make the difference between jammed and open streets.

WHY RAILROADS LOSE MONEY

The effectiveness of rail transportation in minimizing traffic congestion argues persuasively for expansion of rail service in metropolitan areas. Unfortunately, these lines carrying hundreds of thousands of passengers daily—and keeping hundreds of

thousands of private cars out of downtown streets—are in danger of going under. For many commuter lines are losing money, often a great deal of it. The railroads concerned cannot continue to absorb these losses indefinitely.

It is possible for reasonable men to differ over methods of determining whether a particular rail service is making or losing money. I think myself that the system of allocating costs enforced by the Interstate Commerce Commission (the Federal agency that regulates the railroads) exaggerates the share of general railroad costs chargeable to passenger services, some of which are really earning money for the road. But many commuter services are losing money by any method of accounting.

The basic difficulty is the short work week and the decline in non-rush-hour travel. Thirty years ago, the commuter rode the railroad 6 days a week and there was a sizable volume of off-peak travel, too—wives coming into the city to shop, couples spending an evening in town, and so forth. Today, commuters ride only 5 days a week; their families shop in suburban shopping centers or by car; and many of them stay home evenings to watch TV (a circumstance that has brought woe to other industries besides the railroads).

As a result of these changes in working and living habits, much of the equipment and many of the men employed in commuter service work but 20 hours a week. Car builders, however, give no rebates for lightly used equipment; and a railway employee receives a day's pay, whether he mans a train 1 or 8 hours a day.

A number of commuter lines are also burdened with other difficulties. Many are on branch lines with little or no other business; the commuter service must bear the entire cost of maintaining the right-of-way. Traffic on other lines is highly seasonal. But it is the rush-hour service demand which is chiefly responsible for the deficits of commuter service and, incidentally, of all forms of rapid transit.

I see only one solution for this problem—short of complete abandonment of commuter service or a revolutionary change in work patterns (spreading out the hours at which employees have to report to work): public support of commuter services.

Such support might take any of several forms—including, conceivably, public ownership and operation of the commuter lines. The latter would be awkward as well as expensive, though; for while many commuter services run on branch lines, many operate over main-line tracks, heavily used for freight and long-distance passenger service.

The best arrangement, in my opinion, is to pay railroads the difference between the revenue and the cost of good service at reasonable fares on vital commuter lines. I think there should be explicit agreements between the railroads and appropriate public agencies, spelling out the bargain, commuter line by commuter line: (1) services to be provided (including enough off-peak service to make it easy to use the train); (2) fares to be charged; (3) the method of computing costs (what part of general railroad costs each service is to bear, etc.); and (4) provision for needed improvements.

I am unable to say how much such a program might cost, because the cost would depend on how widely it is applied. But I am certain it would cost a very small fraction of the scores of millions large cities are now spending in a vain effort to cope with traffic congestion by other means. And I am sure arrangements that give adequate protection to the public interest, yet are flexible enough to meet changing conditions, can be worked out.

Spokesmen for several railroads have on occasion suggested relief from local taxes (in States where railroads are subject to local taxes) as a means of offsetting commuting deficits. I think tax relief and its effect on both community budgets and commuter-train losses should be explored. But I think a direct payment to the railroads, in return for specified services, is likely to prove better.

WHAT CITIES CAN TRY

An integral part of any plan for supporting rail commuter services must be a careful weeding out of lines with little real traffic potential. It is no more more sensible for the public than for the railroads to carry the losses incurred by lines serving areas of limited population. It might be more economical all around to let commuters from those areas contribute to urban auto traffic.

At the same time, the need is urgent for additional rail commuting facilities in every large city. The need is so great, in fact, that several cities (San Francisco and Chicago, to name two) are giving serious consideration to the construction of regional rapid-transit networks.

It seems to me that much can be done in many cities without going that far. The construction of new commuting facilities by the railroads themselves is, however, out of the question; the dismal financial record of existing commuting services makes it utterly impossible for the railroads to raise the money. The new facilities should be built by local public authorities; and, where it would be advantageous to integrate them into existing rail networks, the new facilities should be leased to the railroads, as toll highways are now "leased" to trucks and private automobiles. The leases can and should contain guaranties of the train service to be provided with the aid of the new facility.

Here are a few examples of the facilities that should be provided in this way. In New York, the first need is for additional railroad trackage under the Hudson River between New York and New Jersey. At present, the only tracks under the Hudson are those of the Hudson Tubes (whose tunnels are too small for standard railway cars or rapid-transit cars of adequate size) and the Pennsylvania Railroad. The other lines serving northern New Jersey and nearby sections of New York State end on the Jersey side; to reach Manhattan, their riders must take the ferries or the Hudson Tubes—or commute by bus or train. Increasing numbers of Jersey commuters have chosen the automobile, to the despair of New York officials, who must cope with the daily flood of cars from across the river. The solution is to provide new rail trackage to carry trains from Jersey directly into the city.

In northeastern Westchester—an area due for rapid growth over the next two decades as part of the New York dormitory belt—many communities are miles from the nearest existing railroads, the Harlem division of the New York Central and the main line of the New Haven. A spur to the New Haven would not only help these communities grow, but prevent them from adding still more cars to New York streets.

Philadelphia is another city with a New Jersey problem. The Pennsylvania and Reading railroads serve many suburbs to the southwest, west, and north. But only one rail line crosses the Delaware into New Jersey, where many Philadelphia workers live. Additional lines into New Jersey would help reduce congestion in downtown Philadelphia and might well be included in the program of transportation improvements under consideration in Philadelphia.

Boston and its suburbs are served by a score of commuter lines operated by three railroads—one of the most complete commuter networks in the country. Trains from the south of Boston stop in one part of downtown Boston, and trains from the north in another. A tunnel between South and North Stations—originally proposed by a New Haven Railroad president more than 45 years ago—would double the usefulness of the Boston commuter lines by allowing all of them to serve the entire downtown area.

For Chicago, Stanley Berge, professor of transportation at Northwestern University, recently proposed a highly imaginative suburban redevelopment scheme. Its main features are:

1. Substantial addition to the extensive network of suburban rail lines Chicago already enjoys as the world's greatest rail center.

2. Passenger conveyors across the downtown business district.

3. Two tunnels to close gaps between the main railroad stations and thus allow commuter trains to run around a downtown loop (the way the Chicago "el" now goes).

The full plan would cost $500 million and take many years to complete. But some parts of it—such as the tunnels—could be started right away.

There are cities, of course, like Los Angeles, where traffic and transportation problems seem hopeless. On the other hand, the large cities of the Midwest—like St. Louis, Kansas City, Minneapolis—have rail lines radiating out in every direction. With new signals and other modest alterations, many of these lines could be utilized for traffic-relieving commutation service. The needed improvements could be financed either through the commuter-service subsidy or through a public-ownership, lease-to-the-railroads arrangement.

As with the service subsidy, I cannot say just how much a rail-facility program of this kind would cost, since the price would also depend on how widely it was employed. Again, however, the cost would certainly be far less than the outlay required for vehicular-traffic facilities of equivalent carrying capacity.

Of course, neither of the measures I propose will finally "solve" the urban traffic problem. In a country that is still growing as swiftly as the United States, there will be no final solution to any major transportation problem. But with suitable public support, the railroads can provide frequent, low-cost, all-weather rail commuter service that will certainly take a lot of the pressure off the crowded streets.

New England Irishman Gave Navy Its First Sub

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting article which presents the question of who invented the submarine, as it appeared in the Boston Traveler on April 10, 1957:

NEW ENGLAND IRISHMAN GAVE NAVY ITS FIRST SUB—WEAPON BORN OF GRUDGE

(By Bill Schofield)

You can always get an argument on the question of who invented the submarine.

The classicists favor Alexander the Great, who had himself dunked into the Mediterranean in a glass barrel back in 330 B. C.

Or maybe it was the Yankee inventor David Bushnell, who produced an undersea something-or-other named the Turtle back in 1776.

Or it could have been Leonardo DaVinci, or Simon Lake.

Leave it up to the United State Navy, though, and you'll find they settle for John P. Holland, who came from Ireland as a frustrated school teacher and settled in New England.

With that in mind, the Navy points out that this week brings another birthday for its submarine force. For it was 57 years ago tomorrow that the Navy finally accepted the Irishman's invention, the U. S. S. *Holland*, and promptly ordered six more undersea boats just like it.

That was the beginning of our present submarine fleet, and the start of the path that led to the atom-powered U. S. S. *Nautilus*.

It was also the signal for other nations to start building submarine fleets, thereby creating a chain of international headaches and war perils.

The wispy bespectacled little Irishman, who came from County Clare, had a special purpose in developing his submarine. His original goal was to sink as much as he could of Britain's Royal Navy.

However, he was never able to get the weapon built until 18 years after he came to this country in 1872. By that time, the Royal Navy was safely beyond his range.

Not until May 17, 1897, did he finally launch his craft successfully in the waters off Staten Island. And it was almost 3 full years more before the Navy came along with a purchase order.

No doubt it would have jolted Holland sharply if he could have realized what he was starting. Actually he was pointing the way to one of warfare's most deadly and economical weapons.

The record proves the value. In World War II, for example, United States submarine crews comprised only 1.6 percent of the Navy's personnel. Yet this small group of men destroyed 214 Japanese naval ships and accounted for 55 percent of all enemy shipping destroyed.

Today the submarine weapon has been so highly developed in the hands of the Soviets that our Navy is placing its peak emphasis on training for antisubmarine warfare.

And in New England, much of that ASW training is centered on Naval Reserve activities. Naval Reserve submarine divisions are conducting drills each week on the U. S. S. *Greenling* in Boston, the *Shad* in Salem, the *Haddock* in Portsmouth, and the *Kingfish* in Providence.

And this month they're celebrating the birthday of John Holland's success by putting on a recruiting drive, aimed at bringing more members into the silent service.

It all goes back to the moods of the one-time Irish schoolteacher. And it's our good fortune that he hated the British so thoroughly that he developed a special weapon to use against them—even though he never was able to reach them.

Our National Defense in the Atomic Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on April 16, 1957, it was my privilege to address the Pennsylvania State Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., on the subject Our National Defense in the Atomic Age.

The address follows:

It is a pleasure to have this opportunity to appear before so noteworthy an audience representing as it does the best and most enduring ideals of American womanhood and citizenship.

During my years in public life I have developed admiration for your activities on a national scale as reflected in your annual continental congress here in Washington.

Your endeavors to restore and mark places of great historic importance and your intense interest in the great problems facing our country are among your laudable objectives.

I am especially happy to speak to you as my neighbors in Pennsylvania on a subject which has been of vital importance to the Daughters of the American Revolution since its founding.

I share your conviction that continued public interest in an adequate national defense is vital if we are to maintain our world position and strength in order to preserve our liberty and freedom.

In discussing the subject of our national defense in the atomic age, it is of interest that Congress is currently considering the administration's request for a $38.5 billion defense budget, the largest in 2 years.

These funds are required for the maintenance of our Armed Forces at their present strength and for the development of a wide range of new powerful weapons.

In examining this request many of us ask ourselves whether or not such enormous expenditure is really necessary for our national security.

We wonder if this huge and expensive Defense Establishment is becoming an unbearable drain on our national economy.

Some critics contend that it is a waste to continue our national defense program at its present level, now that Stalin is dead.

They further state the present Soviet leadership has no intention of attacking the United States.

In addition, they argue that the Russians have altered their doctrine and strategy and, hence, are no longer determined to communize the world.

Fellow Americans, let me assure you that this is not true.

Today the Soviet Union and Communist China maintain the largest military force in history.

Excluding the armies of North Korea and Viet minh, the Russian and Chinese Communists forces number well over 11 million men.

The Russians alone have an army of 2½ million ground troops.

The security of Western Europe is continually threatened by 31 Soviet divisions stationed on satellite territory.

Since World War II the Soviets have reequipped their armed forces with a complete new family of powerful small arms, artillery, armor, and transportation equipment.

They have constructed a fleet of over 450 submarines and are aiding Red China in modernizing the huge Chinese army.

The Communist bloc is also pushing ahead rapidly in the development of guided missiles and in the buildup of their atomic and hydrogen stockpiles.

For example, since the first of this year we have learned of a series of atomic bomb tests by Russia.

They are training scientific and technical personnel at a rate which will seriously threaten the lead of the West in scientific skill within a few years.

If the Soviets have changed their nature since Stalin's death there are few signs of it.

Witness their sly maneuvering in the Middle East, where they are fanning fanatical nationalism through antiwestern propaganda.

Certainly the Communist ideology has not changed since Stalin's death.

The Soviet leaders still preach the incompatibility of the Communist system and western society.

Mr. Khrushchev, after having labeled Stalin a murderer and a tyrant, recently stated that he was nontheless a great Marxist and "fighter of imperialism in the class war."

Khrushchev said quite openly that in this respect the present Kremlin leadership is Stalinist in its attitude.

With this attitude on the part of Soviet leaders the quest for peace remains increasingly difficult.

No one realizes more than I do the folly of an arms race.

Certainly every effort should be made to reach a sound agreement with the Soviet Union on the reduction of armaments.

But sound agreement involves international control and inspection.

It, therefore, follows that until such an effective system can be established for the entire world we must remain constantly alert in our defense and push ahead with our weapons development.

We cannot afford to take a chance on any weak disarmament plan based solely on the good faith of the Soviets.

A mistake in judgment on this crucial issue could mean our destruction.

Confronted as we are with Soviet hostility and with their refusal to cooperate on a sound disarmament system it is horrifying to imagine what might happen to us if we do not maintain and develop our defense.

We must remain vigilant.

We must be prepared at all costs to oppose Communist aggression in any form.

Therefore, let us now consider what we need to defend the United States adequately.

We cannot forget the impact of atomic-hydrogen weapons on our defense system.

Surely we have all been made aware of the new scientific age in which we are living.

In this connection, the President's plan for the peaceful uses of the atom has provided some indication of the revolution in living which he will experience when the effects of nuclear power are fully felt.

Until now, however, primary emphasis on nuclear research has stressed the destructive aspect of the atom in the weapons field.

The effect of the atom on military strategy has completely altered former concepts of defense and war.

Today we cannot think of an adequate defense system without first taking into full consideration the destructive force of atomic-hydrogen weapons.

I believe that there are two major requirements for a sound defense policy in this atomic age.

First, we must maintain and develop our capacity to retaliate massively against any power that launches a thermonuclear attack on the continental United States.

Second, we must maintain and develop our capacity to fight small or limited wars with the use of either tactical atomic weapons or of conventional arms as the circumstances may require.

Let me further develop these points.

We are living today under the shadow of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

In testimony before the Senate during its inquiry into airpower last year the Nation's top military experts pointed out that the Soviet Union now has the capability of striking a devastating blow at the United States.

Gen. Nathan Twining, chief of the Air Force, said in part:

"In looking to the future our plans and programs must be orientated toward countering the Soviet capability.

"As the Soviet war potential increases, particularly in intercontinental striking capability, this becomes even more valid.

"Such a potential will give the Soviet a continuing ability to attempt to deliver at

any time of his choosing, with or without warning, a crucial blow against us.

"Thus for the foreseeable future we must maintain in constant protected readiness a retaliatory force of sufficient strength to deter an attack, or to insure ultimate victory if general war occurs."

Therefore, it is evident the maintenance of atomic-hydrogen power, as a deterrent force, requires the stockpiling of sufficient quantities of fissionable material and the development of airpower as a means of delivery.

From information released to the public it appears that both the United States and the Soviet Union have reached the position of being able ot wage atomic warfare.

Working from published evidence and his own special knowledge, a British physicist recently estimated that the United States probably has stockpiled material for the manufacture of 35,000 atomic weapons as opposed to Soviet stockpiles for approximately 10,000.

Our Strategic Air Command today is the means of delivering our thermonuclear power.

From bases encircling the Soviet Union SAC can strike the Soviet Union within hours after an attack on the West.

To maintain and develop SAC as our first line of defense we must steadily push research and experimentation in weapons, piloted aircraft, and guided missiles.

Above all, we must keep pace with Soviet advances.

Bases circling the Communist bloc must be maintained.

Because it is upon this first line of defense our national survival may depend.

The second requirement of a sound national defense policy is the ability to cope with local aggression in small wars.

We must take into account the possibility that small tactical atomic weapons may be used in a local conflict rather than conventional arms.

This means that our Armed Forces must develop offensive and defensive tactics geared to the use of a variety of small atomic weapons.

At the same time we must also be prepared for local attacks that are confined to nonatomic weapons.

According to the estimates of military experts the Soviet Union will soon possess a capability for atomic destruction equal with the United States.

This will establish a nuclear stalemate.

In such a stalemate, the United States may find that it will be difficult to initiate the use of tactical atomic weapons if the Communists use only conventional-type weapons.

When the Soviet Union is able to bomb the United States with nuclear weapons the risk that a local atomic war might spiral into an all-out conflict would be too great.

This means that our Armed Forces must possess a dual capability, namely:

(a) The capability to fight with conventional arms, using conventional tactics for some types of conflict; and

(b) With atomic weapons using atomic tactics for other type of combat.

Therefore, it is necesary to maintain our Armed Forces at their present strength and continue to supply them with conventional equipment.

We must also train them in the use of tactical atomic weapons and supply them with the latest models in our small atomic-weapons system.

Let us now turn our attention to our existing Defense Establishment and the problem of its continued development.

Testimony by leading Defense Department authorities has given convincing evidence that we do have a balanced defense system, and at a cost which our national economy can support.

Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson recently pointed out that "the forces envisaged in the long-range program of the Department of Defense constitute by far the largest Military Establishment that this country has ever undertaken to maintain for an indefinite period of time."

Secretary Wilson continued by saying:

"With the incorporation into our Military Establishment of the new weapons that we have developed, they constitute a force of tremendous striking power which, in my opinion, adequately provide for our national security at this time."

He added:

"It is also my feeling that these powerful United States forces continue to make a major contribution to peace and stability in the international field."

Fellow Americans, as a member of the House Armed Services Committee and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, I agree with Secretary Wilson that our present retaliatory deterrent force is much more powerful than it was a year ago.

Under plans outlined in the President's 1958 budget this force will be strengthened in both power and effectiveness.

The present number of bomber wings in SAC—numbering 11 wings of B–52's with 45 bombers per wing—will be maintained.

Plans have been made to accelerate the fighter program.

Increased stockpiles of more powerful and more diversified nuclear weapons are being made available to SAC at bases all over the world.

Research in the ballistic missile program, now highly accelerated and on atomic-powered aircraft, holds great promise for the future capabilities of SAC.

It is our hope to be first in developing the intercontinental ballistic missile which will enable us to strike the enemy with pilotless craft, armed with atomic or hydrogen warheads.

The development of ground-to-air and air-to-air missiles for our continental defense system is also being accelerated.

The Air Force has developed the Falcon and the Navy the deadly Sidewinder, both of which are now in quantity production.

The Air Force is currently concentrating on the Bomarc, a long-range missile of supersonic speed, while the Army will further develop both Nike and Talos.

The Armed Forces of the United States have a total strength of over 2,800,000 men and women.

The Army, according to Secretary Wilbur Brucker, represents the most "thoroughly equipped and superbly trained army" that this Nation has ever put into the field.

These forces, together with our strategic Reserve, are ready to fight at any moment should the need arise.

This readiness constitutes an impressive deterrent against aggression.

In support of our mutual defense alliances, and other arrangements, 40 percent of our Army is stationed overseas in 73 countries.

Army missions in 44 nations in Europe, Asia, and Latin America are directly engaged in helping to train more than 200 allied foreign divisions—a large part of the free world's military strength.

Considerable progress is being made in matters of organization, research, and development in the Army.

Under plans now being implemented the major combat units of our ground force are being reorganized into the so-called pentomic divisions, which improve the ability of the Army to fight effectively under conditions of atomic warfare without losing their ability to conduct conventional war.

We are also organizing atomic support units, which are particularly suitable in providing atomic support for the forces of our allies in combat.

Research and experimentation are progressing in the development of new weapons systems.

As a result, we are stockpiling our arsenal with an adequate variety of atomic weapons precisely tailored to our needs, and which can be used accurately against close or distant targets.

At the same time, emphasis is being placed on the continued improvement of conventional weapons needed to accomplish many tasks for which atomic weapons would be wholly unsuitable.

The element of flexibility is similarly being stressed by the Navy.

The most important offensive weapon developed by the Navy is the mobile airbase—the new carrier *Forrestal*.

In the event of global war this type of ship will serve to defend the continental United States, and at the same time project our air striking power into the enemy's territory.

In case of local war it will supplement our land-based airpower, or supply airpower where land bases are limited or nonexistent.

The Navy is also pushing its aircraft and missile-development program.

Several types of advanced aircraft, operating from mobile carrier bases, have already been added to the fleet.

Of particular importance is the new *Skyhawk*, a light attack plane with high-speed and high-altitude performance, capable of carrying atomic weapons.

The development of sea-based ballistic missiles will prove to be immeasurably important by adding variety and dispersability to our deterrent capabilities.

The Navy is making the transition from guns to missiles very rapidly.

The cruisers *Boston* and *Canberra* have been converted and a third, *Galveston*, is being readied.

Under the present program the Navy envisages a total of 21 missile ships before the end of 1958.

The Navy is also making the transition to nuclear power as rapidly as possible.

The submarine *Nautilus*, the pioneer ship in this development, has now steamed more than 55,000 miles without a single disabling casualty.

Its reactor has now been refueled after 2 years of service.

The nuclear-powered submarine introduces a new weapon into naval warfare.

It can sink ships, it can serve as a radar picket ship, it can seek out and destroy enemy submarines, and most important of all, it can serve potentially as a base for the launching of ballistic missiles.

The present program of the Navy and Marine Corps serves to maintain a high state of immediate readiness, while instituting some very basic and revolutionary changes in naval weapons systems and strategy.

The readiness of the Navy was strikingly demonstrated during the recent Suez crisis by the rapid deployment of a large part of our fleet and by the evacuation of our nationals from Egypt.

Fellow Americans, in concluding my discussion of our national defense in the atomic age, I join millions of other American in accepting our Military Establishment, the projected program for the development of our military capabilities, as being adequate in meeting the requirements of our defense program for the maintenance of United States and free world security.

Ease Hardship on Handicapped Children of Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation to correct

an inequity in the laws administered by the Veterans' Administration. In its simplest terms, the bill would define the term "child" include persons over 18 years old who become incapable of self-support and remain dependent on a veteran or a veteran's widow.

The following example serves to illustrate the benefits that would result from passage of this bill. A 19-year-old boy, the only child of a deceased veteran, takes his first job in industry. In his first week at work he becomes permanently disabled and incapable of earning his own way. His mother, the veteran's widow, is unable to claim her son as a dependent under present law, yet she must and will want to provide for her handicapped son. As the law stands, she would only be entitled to $1,044 annually in widow's compensation benefits from the Veterans' Administration. In addition, she would be allowed to earn up to $1,400 to supplement her meager income—a total of $2,444 to support herself and her crippled son. By redefining the word "child" for purposes of the Veterans' Administration laws, Mr. Speaker, the widow would collect $1,452 in compensation benefits and she would be allowed to earn up to $2,700 outside income without losing her Veterans' Administration payments—a total, in this case, of $4,152, and an increase of $1,708 over existing benefits.

I should like to inquire, Mr. Speaker, how many of my colleagues would look forward to spending their last years on an income of this size, while supporting a crippled son or daughter. I believe the time has come when Congress must act to correct this unnecessary hardship.

To complete the record, Mr. Speaker, I am including a brief summary of the legislative history of the term "child," and a table of benefits that would result from this legislation. Here again, let me point out that this bill does not propose to raise existing benefit payments—but, rather, it broadens the scope of the act to include a number of our unfortunate citizens forever denied the opportunity to earn their own way:

DEFINITION OF HELPLESS CHILD

General law: Compensation payable for child over 16 years of age only if insane, idiotic, or otherwise mentally or physically helpless at date of attaining age 16 years and at date of filing claim.

War Risk Insurance Act amendment of October 6, 1917: Compensation payable to a child of any age if insane, idiotic, or otherwise permanently helpless.

World War Veterans' Act, 1924: Compensation payable to a child of any age if permanently incapable of support by reason of mental or physical defect.

Public No. 2, 73d Congress, and Veterans Regulation No. 10: Compensation payable to a child over 18 years of age only if prior to reaching age 18 child becomes or has become permanently incapable of support by reason of mental or physical defect—or until 21 years of age, under certain conditions, if in school.

Public No. 484, 73d Congress, as amended: Pension is not payable to a child over 18 years of age unless prior to reaching the age of 18 the child becomes or has become permanently incapable of support by reason of mental or physical defect—also payable under certain conditions until 21 years of age if in school.

BENEFIT SCHEDULES

Mr. Speaker, benefits under laws currently administered by the Veterans' Administration are listed in the following chart. The legislation I have introduced today would increase benefits by increasing the total number of children in a family receiving these benefits. For example, a veteran's widow supporting a son or daughter newly defined as a "child" by this legislation would be entitled to the same benefits she would receive if her family were increased by one.

COMPENSATION, DEPENDENCY AND INDEMNITY COMPENSATION, OR PENSION TO VETERANS OR THEIR DEPENDENTS

RATE TABLES

The succeeding tables of rates are added for ready reference where information as to rates payable under existing laws is desired without a detailed analysis of the elements of entitlement. The brief table of rates for wartime and peacetime service-connection disabilities is restricted to the largest class of such rates, those payable under Public Law No. 2, 71st Congress, March 20, 1933, and Veterans regulations issued pursuant thereto, as modified and amended by subsequent legislation. It does not include rates payable for service-connected disabilities under the general pension law or Public Law No. 141, 73d Congress, March 28, 1934, as amended. For rates under Public Law No. 141 and for detailed information bearing on elements of entitlement, under such laws, references should be made to the pertinent tables set forth in the preceding part of this analysis. Dependency and indemnity compensation is payable under the Servicemen's and Veterans Survivor Benefit Act for service-connected deaths occurring on or after January 1, 1957, whether service was prior to or on and after that date and without distinction between wartime and peacetime service:

Rates of compensation for wartime and peacetime service-connected disabilities under Public Law 2, 73d Cong., as amended, and Veterans Regulations

	War service-connected rates, Veterans Regulation 1 (a), as amended, pt. I	Peacetime service-connected rates, Veterans Regulation 1 (a), as amended, pt. II
(a) 10 percent disability	$17.00	$14.00
(b) 20 percent disability	33.00	26.00
(c) 30 percent disability	50.00	40.00
(d) 40 percent disability	66.00	53.00
(e) 50 percent disability	91.00	73.00
(f) 60 percent disability	109.00	87.00
(g) 70 percent disability	127.00	102.00
(h) 80 percent disability	145.00	116.00
(i) 90 percent disability	163.00	130.00
(j) Total disability	181.00	145.00
(k) Anatomical loss, or loss of use of a creative organ, or 1 foot, or 1 hand, or both buttocks, or blindness of 1 eye having only light perception, rates (a) to (j) increased monthly by	47.00	37.60
Anatomical loss, or loss of use of a creative organ, or 1 foot, or 1 hand, or both buttocks, or blindness of 1 eye, having only light perception, in addition to requirement for any of rates in (i) to (n), rate increased monthly for each loss or loss of use by	[1] 47.00	[2] 37.60
(l) Anatomical loss, or loss of use of both hands, or both feet, or 1 hand and 1 foot, or blind both eyes with 5/200 visual acuity or less, or is permanently bedridden or so helpless as to be in need of regular aid and attendance, monthly compensation	270.00	223.00
(m) Anatomical loss, or loss of use of 2 extremities at a level, or with complications, preventing natural elbow or knee action with prosthesis in place, or suffered blindness in both eyes, rendering him so helpless as to be in need of regular aid and attendance, monthly compensation	329.00	263.00
(n) Anatomical loss of 2 extremities so near shoulder or hip as to prevent use of prosthetic appliance, or suffered anatomical loss of both eyes, monthly compensation	371.00	296.00
(o) Suffered disability under conditions which would entitle him to 2 or more rates in (j) to (n), no condition being considered twice, or suffered total deafness in combination with total blindness with 5/200 visual acuity or less, monthly compensation	420.00	336.00
(p) In event disabled person's service-incurred disabilities exceed requirements for any of rates prescribed, Administrator, in his discretion, may allow next higher rate, or intermediate rate, but in no event in excess of	420.00	336.00
(q) Minimum rate for arrested tuberculosis	67.00	53.50

[1] But in no event to exceed $420.
[2] But in no event to exceed $336.

Additional disability compensation because of dependents [1]

	Wife, no child	Wife, 1 child	Wife, 2 children	Wife, 3 or more children	No wife, 1 child	No wife, 2 children	No wife, 3 or more children	Dependent parent or parents
Korean conflict, World War II, World War I, Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, Boxer Rebellion, Civil War, Indian wars, Peacetime service (under combat or extrahazardous conditions)	$21.00	$35.00	$45.50	$56.00	$14.00	$24.50	$35.00	$17.50 (1); 35.00 (2)
Regular peacetime service	16.80	28.00	36.40	44.80	11.20	19.60	28.00	14.00 (1); 28.00 (2)

[1] Above rates are for 100 percent disability. If and while rated partially disabled, but not less than 50 percent, additional compensation is authorized in an amount having the same ratio to the amount specified in the applicable table, above, as the degree of disability bears to the total disability; e. g., war service-connected disability of 50 percent, compensation rate $91.—if veteran has a wife, his compensation is increased as follows: $91.00+$10.50=$101.50.

Rates of compensation to widows, children, and parents of deceased veterans

For service-connected death prior to Jan. 1, 1957	Widow, no child	Widow, 1 child	Each additional child	No widow, 1 child	No widow, 2 children	No widow, 3 children	Each additional child	Dependent parents
Korean conflict, World War II, World War I, Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, Boxer Rebellion, Civil War, Indian wars, Peacetime (Regular Establishment): Death result of armed conflict, extrahazardous service, including service under conditions simulating war, while United States engaged in war.	$87	$121	$29	$67	$94	$122	$23	1 parent, $75. 2 parents, $40 each.
Peacetime (Regular Establishment): Death not result of armed conflict, etc.	69.60	96.80	23.20	53.60	75.20	97.60	18.40	1 parent, $60. 2 parents, $32 each.

Rates of dependency and indemnity compensation to widows, children, and parents for service-connected death occurring on or after Jan. 1, 1957 [1]

Widows and children	Children, no widow
Widow alone: $112 per month, plus 12 percent of basic pay of deceased husband, with total amount adjusted to next highest dollar. Rates range from $122 in an E–1 case with less than 2 years' service to $242 in case of an O–8 with over 30 years' service. Slightly higher rates if deceased was lieutenant general, vice admiral, general, or admiral, with $266 top.	Children under age 18: 1 child, $70. 2 children, $100 (equally divided). 3 children, $130 (equally divided), plus $25 for each child in excess of 3 (equally divided).
Widow and 1 child under age 18: Same as amount payable to widow alone.	Child age 18 or above who became permanently incapable of self-support prior to that age: $95 (basic $70 rate increased by $25; total rate with $25 supplement variable where there are other children).
Widow and 2 or more children under age 18: Same rate as that payable to widow alone with following exception: Where total amount payable under the Railroad Retirement Act or Social Security Act, or under sec. 405 of the Servicemen's and Veterans' Survivor Benefits Act based upon an assumed fully and currently insured status, is less than $128, the compensation payable to widow by VA increased by $25 for each child in excess of 1, but the total increase may not exceed the difference between the amounts payable under the above and $128.	Child or children ages 18 to 21 attending school: Same as basic rate payable to children under age 18 where there is no widow. (Payment barred if child commences program under War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act of 1956.)
Widow and child or children age 18 and above permanently incapable of self-support where incapacity began under age 18: Regular widow's rate payable to widow, plus $70 for each such child payable to child.	
Widow and child or children age 18 but under 21 attending school: Regular widow's rate payable to widow, plus $35 payable to each such child. (Payment barred if child commences program under War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act of 1956.)	

1 parent only			2 parents living together			2 parents not living together		
Total annual income		Monthly rate	Combined annual income		Monthly rate to each	Total annual income of parent		Individual rate
More than—	But equal to or less than—		More than—	But equal to or less than—		More than—	But equal to or less than—	
	$750	$75		$1,000	$50		$750	$50
$750	$1,000	60	$1,000	$1,350	40	$750	$1,000	40
$1,000	$1,250	45	$1,350	$1,700	30	$1,000	$1,250	30
$1,250	$1,500	30	$1,700	$2,050	20	$1,250	$1,500	20
$1,500	$1,750	15	$2,050	$2,400	10	$1,500	$1,750	10
$1,750		0	$2,400		0	$1,750		0

[1] Persons eligible for death compensation based on death occurring prior to Jan. 1, 1957, may, under certain conditions, apply for and receive dependency and indemnity compensation.

Applies also to remarried parent living with spouse, with income of spouse counted.

Pension rates: Indian wars, Civil War, Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, Boxer Rebellion, World War I, World War II, and Korean conflict

Indian wars	Civil War	Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, and Boxer Rebellion		World War I, World War II, and Korean conflict [1]
		Service pension laws in effect Mar. 19, 1933, reenacted by Public Law 269, 74th Cong., Aug. 13, 1935, as modified or amended		
30 days or more service or through campaign in connection with or in zone of active Indian hostilities.	90 days or more service or discharge for disability incurred in line of duty.	90 days or more service or discharge for disability incurred in line of duty.	70 days or more service but less than 90 days.	90 days or more service or discharge for disability incurred in line of duty. In active service before cessation of hostilities.
Rates:		Rates:	Rates:	Rates:
⅓o disability or more... $101.59	Rate..... $101.59	⅓o disability or more.. $101.59	⅓o disability or more.. $67.73	Permanent and total..... $66.15
Age 62 or over..... 101.59	Aid and attendance 135.45	Age 62 or over..... 101.59	Age 62 or over..... 67.73	Rated permanent and total for continuous period of 10 years or reach age 65 years..... 78.75
Aid and attendance.... 135.45		Aid and attendance... 135.45	Aid and attendance.... 88.04	Aid and attendance..... 135.45

[1] Also available to Spanish War group veterans. However, such veterans generally are entitled to, and take, the higher service pension rates set forth in col. 3.

Rates of pension to widows and children

For non-service-connected deaths	Widow	Widow age 70	If widow was wife of veteran during service	Widow, 1 child	Each additional child	No widow, 1 child	No widow, 2 children	No widow, 3 children	Each additional child
Korean conflict, World War II, World War I	$80.40			$63	$7.56	$27.30	$40.95	$54.60	$7.56.
Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, Boxer bellion:									
Act of May 1, 1926, as amended	$54.18		$67.73	$62.31, $75.86	$8.13	$62.31	$70.44	$78.57	$8.13.
Sec. 1, Public Law 144, 78th Cong., July 13, 1943						$27.30	$40.95	$54.60	$7.56.
Civil War, Indian wars	$40.64	$54.18	$67.73	$48.77, $62.31, $75.86.	$8.13	$48.77	$56.90	$65.03	$8.13.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. GWINN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend and revise my remarks, I include the following address on Federal Aid to Education delivered today by my colleague, the Honorable AUGUST E. JOHANSEN, of Michigan, before the 66th Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution, meeting in Washington, D. C.:

Two weeks ago today, on April 3, the President of the United States held a White House news conference.

By way of opening my discussion of the subject of Federal aid to education, I quote a question asked at that news conference, and the President's reply.

A newspaper correspondent asked:

"Sir * * * you said earlier tax cuts would be possible because some of these programs are not permanent. They are temporary. Could you identify 1 or 2 of these?"

The transcript of the President's reply, verified at the White House, is as follows:

"For example, I recommend the school program for 4 years; I want 4 years, and I want it stopped, if necessary by a constitutional amendment. I just want it stopped there. I don't want to go into anything we can't continue, that we shouldn't continue."

The school program to which the President referred is, of course, the proposed Federal assistance to the States for school construction, again currently before the Congress.

I believe the President is completely sincere in saying that he wants this program only on a so-called emergency, onetime, one-shot, temporary, terminal basis. He has repeatedly so stated to the Congress, and he has indicated some of the very valid reasons why the program shouldn't continue on a permanent basis.

Heretofore I have also always believed that the President was completely convinced that it is possible to have the program on such a terminal basis—a view, incidentally, I have never shared.

Now, however, I am not so sure as to the President's own certainty on this point—in view of his amazing and enigmatic reference to stopping the program "if necessary by a constitutional amendment."

I will not speculate as to whether this statement was made by the President in complete seriousness or facetiously in an effort to discount the idea that terminating the program would involve a serious problem or difficulty.

In either case, it seems to me to suggest a definite misgiving on the part of the President, a doubt as to whether terminating the program is really going to be as easy and simple as a company commander ending a drill period with the order, "Fall out."

In either case, the President's reference to a constitutional amendment in this connection ought to be so effective a warning to the Congress and the American people that it will be the kiss of death for this or any similar proposal for Federal aid to education—and I earnestly hope it will be just that.

Furthermore, if adoption of this or any program of Federal aid to education does in fact involve the likelihood or possibility that we are starting something which will require a constitutional amendment to stop, now is the time to know it; now is the time to face up to the fact, and now is the time to stop such a program, once and for all.

Indeed, it would be well for Congress and the American people to earnestly consider adoption of a constitutional amendment now, spelling out definitely and decisively the proposition that the financing and control of education and educational policy in the United States shall hereafter be specifically reserved to the States, or to the people.

I intend, as a Member of Congress, to explore to the fullest the potentialities of such a step.

The temptation is strong to elaborate on the implications of such an amendment. Particularly, I would like to point out its potential effect in restoring to the States, the local units of government, and our citizens, an acute awareness of their rights, responsibilities, and capabilities in this area of activity so vital to progress, freedom, and constitutional self-government.

Such a step would, I believe, be a powerful antidote to the real opiate of a free people—the illusory doctrine and dogma that the solution of all problems, and of the problems of education in particular, must depend increasingly upon Federal action, Federal financing, and the exercise of Federal authority.

I resist that temptation because of the greater and more immediate urgency of discussing the proposal currently before Congress, in support of which both the Congress and the American people will be bombarded, by high-voltage propaganda, increasingly in the weeks just ahead.

With regard to this proposal for Federal assistance to the States for school construction, I wish to make just two points:

First, I should like to document the fact that there are numerous determined and powerful advocates of this specific legislation, both in education and in Government, whose avowed desire and design for America is all-out, all-type Federal aid to education on a permanent basis and on an ever-expanding scale—time-wise, dollar-wise and program-wise.

For them this particular legislation is useful and important primarily because it would successfully establish a principle; because it is, in the words of Adlai Stevenson to the National Education Association convention in July 1955, "just a beginning." And Mr. Stevenson urged, as an illustration of what he had in mind, that "over the longer run it may be best, it seems to me, not to tie Federal assistance to specific purposes, such as school construction, but rather to make unrestricted cash grants to the States on a per pupil basis. State governments would then have much greater flexibility to distribute these funds among local school districts for whatever purpose would most effectively advance education."

This year, as for several years past, the official platform of the NEA advocates, without reference to any temporary or terminal basis for the program "financial assistance from the Federal Government to the States

* * * for the support of public education."

As a further clarification of the permanent and expanding type of this Federal participation envisioned by the leadership of this organization, I call attention to the testimony of Dr. William G. Carr, executive secretary of the NEA, to a Senate committee in 1955:

"As long as our schools are cut off from the most powerful and efficient and productive form of taxation that we have (Federal taxation, of course) so long will they fail to receive a reasonable share of the great wealth and income of our country."

There is nothing terminal or temporary about that philosophy of Federal aid to education.

In February of last year, Dr. John K. Norton, head of the department of educational administration at Teachers College, Columbia University, declared:

"Even if $500 million a year were voted for school-building aid, it would represent only a first step toward adequate Federal participation in the financial support of education in the United States."

Dr. Edgar Fuller, executive secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers, whose chief argument for Federal aid to education before congressional committees is that the Federal Government now discriminates against education by limiting its Federal-aid bribes ("incentives" is the gentler word he uses) to stimulate State spending to highway and other welfare programs, and that it must offer some competitive bribery in behalf of education, has urged that "Federal assistance for school facilities be at least one-third the amount of Federal assistance for highways during the next decade, in order that competition for State [matching] funds may be equitable."

Governor Williams, of Michigan, who has a known aversion for moderation, has proposed a 5-year program of $16 billion-plus—compared with the President's one-time-only program of $2 billion, spread over a 4-year period.

Finis E. Engleman, Connecticut commissioner of education, writing in the October 1955 NEA Journal, said:

"Since for many years funds [from Federal sources] will only be sufficient to supplement the State and local efforts, some safeguards must be erected to insure the continuance of local and State efforts to finance their schools."

I said last July that "the import of these words is that someday funds from Federal sources will do all—or, at least, the bulk—of the job." And I have been told that this was reading entirely too much into Dr. Engleman's statement.

Be that as it may, I defy you to read "too much" into the statements of the amazing trio of educators and economists who addressed the American Association of School Administrators at Atlantic City on February 18 of this year.

Economist Beardsley Ruml described Mr. Eisenhower's current proposal as a "harmless gesture of good intent," but "wholly inadequate," and evasive of what he termed "the central duty of Federal support for the public schools." Mr. Ruml proposed an immediate Federal grant of $750 million a year, which would increase until it reached $3½ billion in 1962. No termination of the program was suggested, so far as I can determine.

Prof. Seymour Harris, of Harvard, proposed a start of $600 million a year now, with $6 billion a year by 1965.

Prof. Lester V. Chandler, of Princeton, didn't bother with specific figures. He simply advocated that "financing education should be primarily a Federal responsibility," with local or State support only secondary.

One final example: Dr. Theodore Brameld, professor of educational philosophy at New York University—of whom more later—in his book Toward a Reconstructed Philosophy of Education, published in 1956, urges "* * * the United States should spend annually at least $35 billion on education, nationally and internationally, during the next quarter-century. * * * Moreover, not less than half of this amount should come from the Federal Treasury" (p. 295).

What a pity that the House Subcommittee on Education did not secure for its record the testimony of these determined and reckless advocates of transfer of the responsibility for public school financing to the Federal Government, thereby putting the Congress and the American people on full and fair notice as to how truly, compared with their desires and designs, current proposals are just a beginning.

To pooh-pooh these proposals for gargantuan expansion of Federal activity and financing in the field of public education as merely the harmless pipedreams of dwellers in ivory towers is to ignore the potential eagerness of powerful educational lobbyists, of a few socialist-minded and power-hungry labor leaders, and the would-be political beneficiaries of an all-powerful centralized Federal Government to join forces to give substance to the pipedreams.

Small wonder President Eisenhower suggests the possible necessity of recourse to a Constitutional amendment to set limits and call a halt to the relatively modest program of Federal assistance for school construction he has felt constrained to propose.

And now, briefly, my second point—the matter of Federal control of education.

It is absurd and, I think, an insult to your intelligence to suggest that any transfer of responsibility for public education to the Federal Government and Federal finances, on the scale envisioned in the statements I have cited, can be accomplished without a transfer of control over education.

Yet it is stoutly argued in recent testimony before the House subcommittee that there is no threat of Federal control.

And it is pointed out that the proposed current legislation includes provisions that there must not be any Federal control.

How, as a practical matter, may I ask, can there be a massive transfer of citizen, community and State dependence for financial support without a measure of transfer of control, regardless of these puny and temporary prohibitions.

One answer, of course, is that even to achieve the comparatively modest degree of participation in Federal aid proposed by the President's school building bill, many States must change their tax structure and their school district setup—or face the prospect of Federal taxation without participation.

To argue that because tomorrow, or next year, there may not be Federal interference in, or dictation of, curriculum, educational standards or administrative policies, and conclude that therefore there is no actual or potential Federal control of education, and no threat of such Federal interference and dictation subsequently, is to miss the whole point and meaning of control.

The unfortunate widow who signs over title to her home to a greedy relative in return for an ill-defined promise of financial support loses control of that home the moment she delivers the deed—not at some indefinite future when the new owner begins to dictate her activities or serves an eviction notice.

The ominous threat of Federal control of education, it seems to me, is clearly recognized and underscored by a statement of President Eisenhower in his special message of January 28 of this year:

President Eisenhower said:

"Once the accumulated shortage (of classrooms) is overcome, if State and local autonomy in education is to be maintained, the States and communities must meet their future needs with their own resources and the Federal-grant program must terminate."

The key words, in that statement, are: "If State and local autonomy in education is to be maintained."

That, in plainest possible language, means "if State and local control of education are not to be replaced and supplanted, albeit gradually and at the outset imperceptibly, by Federal control of education."

Unfortunately, most of the advocates of Federal aid to education on a permanent and expanding basis lack either the perception, or the honesty, or the courage to face squarely this inevitable corollary of Federal control.

One advocate who does unblinkingly face up to this reality—and for his own ideological background and associations or his current proposals I have neither sympathy nor respect—is Dr. Theodore Brameld, whom I have already quoted.

Dr. Brameld does not flinch at Federal control of education. He advocates establishment of a permanent Federal Educational Authority.

In that connection may I point out that the NEA and the American Association of School Administrators are on record as favoring creation of a National Board of Education as an independent agency, which would select a Commissioner of Education responsible to the Board.

Dr. Brameld asserts "the need for educational designs that * * * are parts of an organic whole embracing schools everywhere in the Nation and the world."

More specifically, he contends that educators "in agreeing to Federal aid * * * acknowledge that final responsibility for schooling can no longer rest so exclusively where it has rested in the past—with the localities or States."

And he further argues that those who "separate the questions of Federal aid and Federal control" take the position that "whereas they are willing that Congress, as the representatives of the people, should provide funds, they are not willing that the representatives of the people should control them."

This, Dr. Brameld concludes, "implies a distrust in representative government that Congressmen who hold genuinely democratic convictions should resent."

Finally he advocates an education system that is supported heavily by Federal taxation (supplemented by local resources) and controlled by the majority; that gears curriculums, teaching, guidance, and administration to the purposes of the economy of abundance, political order, scientific society, and esthetic pattern, and that brings newspapers, radio chains, and other instruments of public enlightenment into direct cooperation with education and under similar controls.

What, then, is the conclusion of this matter?

On the darker side, the warning of Dr. Leonard D. White, of the University of Chicago, national authority on State-Federal relationships, a warning of particular import with respect to education in these United States:

"If present trends continue for another quarter century, the States may be left hollow shells, operating primarily as the field districts of Federal departments and dependent upon the Federal Treasury for their support."

On the brighter side, the knowledge that if, beginning with the problem of current school-building shortages, we will patiently, painstakingly and persistently bring to bear the resources of leadership, finance, and organized effort available in our communities and States, we will meet the needs and successfully maintain State and local autonomy in education—an indispensable bulwark of freedom and progress.

God grant us the wisdom to recognize the task; the courage to accomplish it.

Aid To Distressed Areas

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it is a well-known fact that many communities in the United States have not shared in the economic growth and prosperity that have generally prevailed throughout the country in recent years. The Federal Government to a great extent shares the responsibility of alleviating the economic distress in these areas. This is not a partisan view.

President Eisenhower recently spoke in support of a program to help labor surplus areas. Then, too, in the last election both major parties incorporated a solemn promise in their respective platforms supporting legislation to aid labor surplus areas.

There is evidence of strong support for such legislation since the Senate during the 84th Congress approved a bill on the subject by a 2 to 1 vote. At the same time, the House Banking and Currency Committee unanimously approved a bill similar to the measure that was passed by the Senate. Unfortunately, however, the House failed to act on the legislation because the majority and minority were divided on several administrative details and a few basic provisions with regard to the execution of the program.

NEED FOR COMPROMISE

As a result of the failure of the 84th Congress to take final action, we still do not have a program to help depressed areas. The administration has proposed one approach to the problem and the Democrats have taken a somewhat different approach. Frankly, it is time to stop squabbling over details and to unite in enacting a long-overdue program to help labor-surplus areas. I am not interested in who gets the credit for the enactment of the program. What I am interested in is that a workable and effective program should be enacted which would help alleviate the unfortunate economic conditions that exist in many of our communities.

With this purpose in mind, I have introduced today, H. R. 6975, "Area Redevelopment Act of 1957," which attempts to compromise between the several positions that have received major attention in the 84th and 85th Congresses. It is my belief that my bill, H. R. 6975, adopts the best provisions of the proposals of the administration bill, S. 1433, as well as the best that can be found in S. 964, the bill introduced by Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois.

Like the administration bill, S. 1433, my proposal is intended to aid industrial labor-surplus areas only. This does not mean I am opposed to extending aid to low-income rural areas. I do not believe, however, that the two programs fit into the same bill.

You will recall that last year the Department of Agriculture initiated a rural-development program. I am informed that this program is a step in the right direction to help the low-income rural areas. The administration has already proposed to increase the budget for a rural-development program. If need be, Congress should appropriate additional funds to expand that program even further. With the exception of providing assistance to rural areas, therefore, my bill constitutes a compromise between the two approaches, as I have suggested earlier.

It is my opinion that the administration bill, S. 1433, does not go far enough to meet the needs of chronically depressed areas, which need Federal help in forms of grants, vocational training with compensation, and Federal loans. While on the other hand, the Douglas bill, S. 964, provides too liberal aid to areas whose economic decline is of recent duration. In this connection, such communities normally have sufficient resources and should not be entitled to the variety of programs offered in the Douglas bill.

AID SHOULD BE PROVIDED ON BASIS OF NEED

I believe that the solution to this difference lies in providing various types of aid that would be available to communities with labor surplus. The extent of the help would be based upon the duration and levels of unemployment. Under my proposal, as embodied in my bill, H. R. 6975, the neediest communities would get the most aid, while the help extended to the less needy communities would be more limited.

This approach would also make it possible to reduce the Federal expenditures, but still leaves sufficient funds for communities which meet the most rigid tests of chronic unemployment and economic distress.

My bill, H. R. 6975, provides for designation of three different levels of unemployment, such levels determining the eligibility of the areas for different types of programs.

The three levels of unemployment are as follows:

First level: The unemployment rate in the area is 6 percent or more, adjusted seasonally, and has been 8 percent or more at least 8 months in each of the preceding 2 years.

Second level: The unemployment rate in the area is 8 percent or more, adjusted seasonally, and either has been 8 percent or more for the major portion of each of the preceding 2 years or has averaged 12 percent or more during the preceding year.

Third level: The unemployment rate in this area is 6 percent or more, adjusted seasonally, and either has averaged 6 percent or more during the preceding 5 years, 8 percent or more during the preceding 3 years, or 12 percent or more during the preceding 2 years.

Here is how I would apply these criteria to the various types of programs offered in the administration and in the Spence bills.

I. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

I believe that all communities with labor surplus should be entitled to technical assistance from the Federal Government. But that does not mean that the community which has had just 6 percent unemployment for parts of the last 2 years should be entitled to receive the same aid as the community which has been subjected to chronic unemployment many years.

I would, therefore, limit the extent of technical assistance given by the Federal Government to communities in the first level, mentioned before, to only one-third of the total cost of the needed technical assistance, and would require that the other two-thirds of the needed funds should come from State or local sources.

However, for the most needy communities I would extend Federal assistance to provide as much as 3 out of every 4 dollars needed.

II. LOANS

The administration bill, S. 1433, now provides that Federal participation in loans to labor surplus areas should be limited to 35 percent of the cost of the proposed projects. The Douglas bill, S. 964, would go as high as three-fourths of the total cost of the project.

In this connection, I believe that the administration proposal is amply adequate for communities which meet the criteria of the first level of unemployment, but is certainly not sufficient for areas which have suffered from chronic unemployment for many years.

My bill, H. R. 6975, would extend Federal participation under the proposed loan program, as follows:

A. For the first level areas, up to one-third of the total cost of the project.

B. For the second level areas, up to 50 percent of the total cost of the project.

C. For the third level areas, as much as 75 percent of the total cost of the project.

In addition to providing loans to labor surplus areas, my bill, H. R. 6975, will amend section 207 (a) of the Small Business Act of 1953, by providing that in making and approving loans first preference be given to small business concerns which are otherwise qualified and which are located or about to locate in areas of substantial and persistent unemployment.

Section 207 (a) of the Small Business Act of 1953 is also amended by making eligible for loans local private nonprofit organizations, including industrial foundations, development corporations, and similar groups, formed to assist, develop, and expand the economy of areas of substantial and persistent unemployment, as certified under section 4 of the Area Redevelopment Act of 1957, but only where the purpose of the loan is to enable such organizations to provide supplementary assistance to one or more small-business concerns in such areas which have qualified for loans under the preceding provisions of this subsection.

In making and approving loans under this subsection, first preference at all times shall be granted to qualified small-business concerns certified as being located in areas of substantial and persistent unemployment or about to locate in such an area and to local nonprofit organizations previously described under this amendment to section 207 (a) of the Small Business Act of 1953.

III. GRANTS

The administration bill, S. 1433, makes no provision for grants except in the case of technical assistance, while the Douglas bill, S. 964, provides for Federal grants for public facility projects. I do not believe that all the communities that have some labor surplus should be entitled to this type of aid. Therefore, my bill, H. R. 6975, in addition to providing loans for public facility projects, would allow Federal grants up to one-third of the cost of the public facility project in level 2 areas and up to two-thirds of the cost of the project in level 3 areas.

IV. SUBSISTENCE PAYMENTS

The administration bill, S. 1433, does not allow any subsistence payments to persons undergoing training for new jobs in labor surplus areas. I believe that this type of program should be used sparingly and in extreme cases only. Therefore, my bill, H. R. 6975, extends Federal subsistence payments to people undergoing training only in areas with the most chronic unemployment; namely, those which are classified in level 3.

My bill, H. R. 6975, would assure that the neediest communities would get adequate aid and in addition, it encourages the several States to establish their own program of area redevelopment and by limiting some of the aid provided by the Douglas bill, S. 964, it would also be possible to reduce the total cost of these area redevelopment programs.

Mr. Speaker, it is my belief that my bill, H. R. 6975, constitutes a genuine compromise between the administration bill, S. 1433 and the Douglas bill, S. 964. This is especially true when you compare the cost of the three bills.

Recognizing the administration bill, S. 1433, as a conservative approach, it will cost about $55 million; while the Douglas bill, S. 964, represents an ultra-liberal approach to the subject and would cost in excess of $325 million. My compromise bill, H. R. 6975, would cost in the neighborhood of $200 million and would extend Federal aid to labor surplus areas in a reasonable yet realistic manner.

Mr. Speaker, I most earnestly beseech all those who would like to see Federal aid extended to alleviate unemployment conditions in depressed areas to unite behind this compromise bill, H. R. 6975.

Problems of Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include a letter from Mr. Helmer Twito, former North Dakota commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. I feel his constructive letter on the problems of veterans is worthy of the attention of Congress:

RANSOM COUNTY
VETERANS' SERVICE OFFICE,
Lisbon, N. Dak., April 4, 1957.

Hon. USHER L. BURDICK,
United States Representative from North Dakota, Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND USHER: I have your comments badgering the foreign policy and the U. N. I also received your very encouraging telegram. Thank you for both. Many of us appreciate that you and our North Dakota officials in Washington will support matters of benefit proper for veterans. Would that other States were as well represented as is North Dakota.

I am at a loss to know just what Dulles and the administration is trying to accomplish by way of a long-range foreign policy program but just as soon as there is some disturbance which happens somewhere on the globe we get our nose into it and lose out. I see little reason, nor can I appreciate the President's request for his billions to be given to the many people who shot us veterans full of bullets. Paradoxically, however, he would approve of his Commission, headed by Omar N. Bradley and their report on veterans and do this in the name of an economy move; yes; cut down on these non-service-connected pensions or the veterans' social-security benefits for veterans between the ages of 50 and 65, in fact partially or en toto in cases, wipe out their status as veterans. (Re Public Law 880, signed by President, August 1, 1956, and also information given, pp. 30–31 in booklet Your Social Security, November 26, 1956.) Some will state veterans are not in a special group. Uncle Sam pointed his finger at them and because they happened to have the fitting birthdate he placed them in a special group. They are a special group, once they served in the Armed Forces of the United States. They deserve consideration of a grateful nation. They do not deserve clippings of their benefits, surely not in the name of economy, when our former enemies are given our hard-earned tax money.

Do you think, USHER, it is the intent of this Congress further to give the World War I non-service-connected veterans the rough time we already have to prove them disabling sufficiently to warrant that little pension check so many need so badly? The hurt to those between the ages of 50 and 65 is bad enough. Why should it be so difficult for these veterans to get their non-service-connected rating? Why this increasing paperwork and added needed efforts for this group? So often their disabilities are residuals or revert back to their World War I service, now almost impossible to get medical and lay evidence to prove them service connected. Why should nonservice mentally sick veterans be unable to benefit from admission to Fort Meade, S. Dak., or St. Cloud, Minn., when veterans' hospitals like these can do so much of benefit for these veterans? Why this new change of entrance requirement? Is this the intent of Congress? Is it rulings and orders at the behest of top VA officials or the President rather than the intent of Congress? Surely these World War I veterans are the forgotten men. More and more is their difficulty to prove themselves even for pauper status to qualify for their small pension, these veterans who pass away at the rate of 243 per day so that by the year 2000, or 43 years hence these now average veterans of 63 years at present will then all be pushing up flowers somewhere, their race in life finished. Four million seven hundred and forty-four thousand veterans who fought to make the world safe for democracy will have passed away. A million and three quarters have already passed away and the rest are all now in their sunset days of life.

Permit me to suggest for consideration and in behalf of this group of veterans the following:

1. Even an increase in amount of both pension and compensation of 10 or 15 percent is justifiable.

2. Permit veteran an increase of a few hundred income to qualify. Raise present low amount. Even an increase would keep him near pauper status were this desired by those opposed. One thousand four hundred dollars for single veterans and $2,700 for veterans with dependents is surely out of line now with increased costs of living over what it was at the time this amount was set.

3. Allow these non-service-connected veterans between the ages of 50 and 65 to keep their veterans' status, even getting social security. As a civilian the veteran is entitled to his social security. As a veteran he deserves retention of his status as a veteran and the consideration of a grateful Nation.

4. Grant non-service-connected mental cases privilege of good VA hospitals. It is very difficult to establish service connection, more especially with these World War I veterans.

5. Cut down on expense of new and changing forms and paperwork, increased personnel and work for personnel which can be lessened.

6. Grant a veterans' status for benefits and hospitalization to the forgotten men, the marines and those who served in the Central America and West Indies uprisings like San Domingo and Haiti, or who served on the U. S. S. *South Dakota, Pittsburg,* and *Colorado.* At least these veterans should be granted benefits comparable to the Korean conflict veterans, benefits of hospitalization and pensions and compensation. These veterans really are the forgotten and neglected veterans, the few yet living, many of them also in need. All six of these are corrective. All six are suggested for consideration. It would be most gratifying could justice also be given veterans referred to in this communication and proper action taken to bring this about.

This letter gets to be lengthy. Permit me in conclusion also to voice approval of H. R. 71, which prohibits payments of pensions to veterans who are imprisoned for periods of longer than 60 days, following their conviction for a felony or misdemeanor, but permits payment to the wife and family of the veteran, while he is imprisoned. Local case of a single, non-service-connected veteran, World War I, Tommy O. Berg, who attempted holdup at Rugby. He was unable to work. Depressed over his little pension, but naturally acts like these are not to be condoned.

Might I also suggest approval of H. R. 72, which I understand provides for the return to the Veterans' Administration of unexpended pension, retirement, and similar funds in the estate of incompetent veterans who are in the care of guardians at the time of their death, provided that the veteran does not have a surviving widow, child, or dependent father or mother. Probably the savings or the economy of these measures would be nominal only. Probably the added cost of paperwork and personnel would not justify favorable action in these measures. However, it would appear them worthy of approval were a saving to be made.

Cooper T. Holt, VFW national commander in chief; Francis Arnold, from national VFW headquarters office; local, district, and State officials of veterans visited our North Dakota Soldiers' Home here in Lisbon last fall, at which time I presented the facts given in the six statements above given. Assurances were given that these injustices ought not be, that an attempt would be made to have them corrected. Lately out of the hospital

from a 43-day stay, where for 21 days I lay at death's door with a most severe heart infarction, I am about my usual self now, but I hope I can live to see these aged veterans given more justice. I shall enclose a picture of this discussion at the soldiers' home, captioned on back side, taken at time of visit of our commander in chief.

Trust you will pardon me for personal references and lengthy letter, but in February at a Fargo meeting of delegates of the western conference, representing 22 States west of the Mississippi River, Hawaii, and Alaska, I was privileged the mike and also brought to the attention of this meeting these same facts concerning this group of veterans. Again assurance of action and attention to this matter was given.

I know that congressional action takes time. I also know, generally speaking, that the Congress is of good intent and purpose as far as the veterans are concerned also. National veterans organizations do much to assist. However, there are also those who are far more concerned to give our tax money away to those people who shot us veterans full of bullets, who bring or exert considerable pressure upon the Congress for what they want. However, as stated, I do believe Congress of good intent and purpose for us and trust you will bring to attention the status of these veterans referred to, veterans who have been hurt through both official omission and through commission, acts which should be corrected, before the rest of these World War I veterans will have passed away, possible correction of the six factors herein given. Your continued interest and effort in our behalf is indeed appreciated very much.

Cordially and sincerely,

HELMER TWITO,
Ransom County Veterans Service Officer.

Dr. Jozef Tiso: Christian Democrat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WALTER M. MUMMA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, in Middletown, Pa., in the district I represent, a publication entitled "Bulletin of the Slovak National Council Abroad," is published by the executive committee of this organization. Some of the members of this group have settled in my district and have sent me an article by Dr. Jozef Pauco, from the April 1957, issue of this bulletin, with the request that it be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on the 10th anniversary of the execution, on April 18, 1947, of Dr. Jozef Tiso, President of the Slovak Republic, 1939–45.

At the request of my constituents, and as a courtesy to them, I am having this article placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so they may in this way express their personal views. The article is as follows:

DR. JOZEF TISO: CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT

(By Dr. Jozef Pauco)

The President of the Slovak Republic (1939–45) who was executed by a procommunist regime on April 18, 1947, ranks among the outstanding figures of the central European Christian Democratic movement. He was Dr. Jozef Tiso, the ideologist of the Slovak Populist Party, which fought for the independence of Slovakia and since 1925 represented the majority of Slovak voting power. The philosophy motivating the Slovak Populist Party was for God and nation and it was in the spirit of this principle that Dr. Tiso embodied all his Christian Democratic politics.

"Let no one pause to wonder," he wrote, "that we work with God for the nation. God does not need the nation. God will be God even without a nation whether we admit the fact or not, but without God there can be no nation * * * There is no sinful failing against God in allying the concepts 'For God, for nation.' It means the binding of human values to values that are eternal, that are divine." [1]

Dr. Tiso affirmed that this clarion call "for God, for nation" should intensify Christian idealism. His own words are: "Putting it in a practical way, this simply means that one (who cultivates Christian idealism) will not frustrate the influence of Christianity upon the life of a nation in its schools, its literature, its parliament; he will, on the contrary, use every opportunity to help Christianity enter more and more significantly into classrooms and lecture halls, into family life and into public life, for it is Christianity alone that can preserve the roots of idealism without which no nation can survive." [2]

Christianity imposes the obligation of love for one's nation. "Love for the nation is a religious precept, and anyone who does not foster a love for his nation violates the fourth commandment. He is branded not only as an earthly traitor but also as a transgressor who profanes the law of God." [3]

Chauvinism, on the other hand, he denounced as can be seen from these extracts: "A regulated love of self is the foundation of Christian charity. From this basic tenet there also evolves the proper concept of Christian nationalism. First comes love of one's own nation, then an extention of charity to others. Non-Christian nationalism is of an entirely different stock, loving self and hybridizing into chauvinism." [4]

One who is a believing Christian and a patriot works for the freedom of his nation because "the independence of a nation is a natural good which substantially affects not only the individual and his material and spiritual interests, but it concerns the entire national commonwealth. Since national freedom is then such a natural good that affects the individual, the family, and the entire national community, there can be nothing inappropriate in the gratitude which is shown to God in return for it. * * *

"For a nation to exist and yet not be independent means sentencing it to its extinction. If a nation is to exist, and there is proof of this in the fact that it now does exist, then that nation, by the will of God, must be free. * * *

"A nation must be granted its freedom, for without liberty it would in vain have the God-given gift of language; it would be unable to use it. In vain would it have a God-given territory; it would be unable to cultivate its land and make a living on it. Consequently, if a nation is to live according to its intellectual endowments and character, it must be free in order to fulfill its destiny. The divine will, therefore, is for a nation to be independent and free." [5]

The liberty of a nation is protected by the state. As Tiso sees it, "The state is an organized body established for the welfare of the citizens. It is founded on the natural law, therefore on the will of the Creator, Who so created man that he can live and develop his mental and moral faculties only in association with other men. The state is a means to an end and not the end of man. It is for the state to serve the welfare of man, not for man to serve the state. This is the original design of the Creator from which, however, the developmental periphery of human society has steadily departed more and more." [6]

It was only natural for Dr. Tiso as the ideologist of the Slovak Populist Party to conceive of the democratic structure of the state. "Just as it is an axiom for political activity to be concerned above all about the public good and about the common welfare," writes Dr. Tiso, "so it is likewise true that political activity of such a nature is carried on more successfully on a democratic basis than on any other kind of foundation. The very root of the word, demos—people, signifies the universality of all the members of a nation, incidentally of a State, who are to be not merely passive but truly active in this common functioning. A democratic system brings up people for universality, for it draws the widest possible public to share in the governing of the state and thereby more and more come to be identified with the state. Consequently there is not only an awakening of responsibility in wide circles, but there is also established a definite degree of confidence in the directives that are promulgated, for in them the citizens see an expression of their will and of their effort to attain a better future." [7]

"Democracy means putting into effective use every creative force in the state as well as appraising its every component unit according to its moral worth even in the event that the ruling power does not demand this." [8]

Dr. Tiso dedicated himself to service in a Christian democracy: "We uphold the principle of democracy because democracy is consonant with Christian teaching and we will not permit it to become corrupted with Marxist and socialistic appendages." [9] We Slovaks are from our very souls adherents to this Christian democracy and we condemn every form of dictatorship regardless of the label under which it may try to hide its true nature or identity. We pledge ourselves to stand for democracy but for democracy of the proper stamp." [10]

Dr. Tiso ardently promoted a Christian democracy which was supported by both of the Christian components of the Slovak nation, for he was convinced that "along with Catholic universality and Catholic idealism, Lutheran individualism and realism can be used beneficially in politics. When all these attributes are combined then not even the gates of hell can prevail against our common front. Catholic populists and Lutheran nationalists, we must cooperate and neither covet nor grasp. Let us not forget that we here ally ourselves in the cause of national politics and that there is here no possibility of joining with Catholics of other nationalities." [11]

Naturally, the Communists regarded a political leader of this caliber as their key enemy and consequently Msgr. Jozef Tiso was the first Catholic prelate from behind the Iron Curtain singled out to make the supreme sacrifice in the struggle with communism. However, "as a martyr to his love for the nation, Dr. Tiso will continue to live in the nation." [12] "Dr. Tiso is a martyr for the cause of freedom and fittingly he ranks with Washington and many great men of history." [13]

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] Daily Slovak, 1939, No. 189, Bratislava, Slovakia.
[2] Slovak, 1924, 92.
[3] Slovak, 1939, 197.
[4] Slovak, 1934, 113.
[5] Slovak, 1940, 227.
[6] Slovak, 1938, 293.
[7] Ideologia, pp. 123–124.
[8] Slovenska Pravda, 1937, No. 74, Bratislava.
[9] Slovak, 1938, 243.
[10] Slovak, 1936, 178.
[11] Slovak, 1932, 237.
[12] Vatican Radio, April 28, 1947.
[13] Congressman ALVIN O'KONSKI, May 31, 1948, in Bedford, Ohio.

A Real Blow to Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, there recently appeared in a distinguished newspaper of the First District of Florida, the St. Petersburg Independent, an editorial expres[illegible] both my opinion and that of a great many people whom it is my honor to represent in this Congress. It is entitled the "Real Blow to Civil Rights" and expresses the fear of so many people throughout the country of the proposed civil rights legislation that would eliminate the inalienable right of every American under even civil charges to the equally important right of trial by jury in contempt proceedings. This analysis is sound and represents the concern of many people throughout the Nation. For the information of the House I would have this editorial included in the Appendix of the RECORD at this time.

The editorial follows:

[From the St. Petersburg Independent of April 10, 1957]

REAL BLOW TO CIVIL RIGHTS

Committees in both Houses of Congress this week failed to act on President Eisenhower's civil-rights program, and it now appears that the legislation will not be brought to the floor of either House for action until after the Easter recess. Meanwhile opponents of the bill—mostly southern Senators and Representatives—will continue to dwell on the more vicious aspects of the legislation in the hope of picking up support.

Certainly they have a good case; for in an effort to insure the civil rights of every American, the proponents of the measure would in fact destroy the civil rights of those who may run afoul of the law.

Under the bill, the United States Attorney General would be empowered to go into Federal district courts to seek injunctions against alleged violators of civil rights. Contempt cases arising from the injunctions would not carry the right of a jury trial for the accused.

Under the present United States Code persons accused of criminal contempt are entitled to a trial by jury except when the United States is specifically made a party to the action. The proposed bill provides that contempt actions will be brought by the Attorney General in the name of the United States. Thus, even though contempt is not committed in the court or so near thereto as to interfere with the administration of justice, the accused could be dragged before the court and fined or jailed without benefit of trial by jury.

In arguing against the provision on the floor of the House, Representative WILLIAM C. CRAMER pointed out that Congress in adopting the Norris-LaGuardia Labor Act provided that the defendant in contempt proceedings involving a labor dispute be guaranteed a trial by jury, even though the United States was a party to the litigation.

"Can it be said that Congress would not be equally vigilant and jealous of this basic right in the instant at hand than where labor was involved?" Representative CRAMER asked. "Should we deny to municipal and State officials, school officials, public servants the basic right we have taken cognizance of in labor legislation?"

The proponents of this vicious measure are quite frank in stating their reasons for it. They bluntly declare they want no jury trials because they fear southern juries will not convict in civil-rights cases.

This is a shocking display of cynicism not only toward the people of the South but in our revered system of justice. If we have reached a point where trial by jury is to be relegated to limbo to be replaced by one-man drumhead courts then the civil rights of every American are not only endangered, they are dead.

Dedication of a New Sanctuary of Temple Ezra

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the dedicatory services of a new sanctuary of Temple Ezra in my district, I was extended an invitation to attend and the opportunity to speak as their Representative in the Congress of the United States.

On that occasion which was March 17, 1957, the day was Purim, the day on which was read the Megillos Esther. The Jewish people have many Megillos like the scroll of Esther, commemorating similar events in their oftentimes sad and bloody, but glorious and triumphant history.

Even private experiences of some outstanding personalities, including rabbis, were written down in scrolls and were read on the day of their anniversaries. So they have various dates of Purim.

On this event, they added another date—March 17—corresponding with the Irish anniversary of their patron, St. Patrick. I was deeply impressed with the coincidence that saw the two great anniversaries commemorated on the same day, emphasizing and reiterating the great spirituality and religious freedom in the United States.

It is a special honor, under the permission granted me to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, to include the brilliant sermon of Rabbi Joseph Liberles of Temple Ezra, delivered on that occasion:

DEDICATION SERMON BY RABBI LIBERLES

Friends, for the last 6 weeks our torah portions dealt with the erection of the tabernacle with all the implements for the ritual in the minutest details. Yesterday's torah reading Tsav (Leviticus, ch. 6) reported that all the work was completed as if we would have chosen the date of our synagog's dedication according to our torah reading. It also speaks of the dedication ceremony which took place in the presence of the gathered congregation. The celebration lasted for 7 days. However, the way the ceremony had been held seems to us very odd and archaic. In what strange world do we find ourselves.

After Moses had sanctified the tabernacle and brought the sacrifice upon the altar, he took from its blood and put it upon the right ear, hand and foot of the priests.

What does this mean to us in the mid-twentieth century? To me it means a type of ordination. From now on ear, hand, and foot are to be dedicated to God's service. The ear bows down too often to gossip, or shuts itself to the cry of the needy and the oppressed. Therefore, the ear is sanctified to listen only to the words of truth, to the doctrines of wisdom and virtue, and to the fear of God. The hand should do noble deeds of righteousness, mercy, and love. For the hands can kill and also carry the gift of charity. The foot ought to walk steadfastly forward on the King's Highway and not the crooked path of slyness.

In the Sidra of this week, Shmini (Leviticus, ch. 9) which we started to read yesterday afternoon the 7-day celebration is over and for the first time the high priest takes over his functions. With outspread hands he says the benediction. At that moment a beautiful glimmer of light is shining through all the rooms of the holy place, a fire descends from heaven and devours the sacrifice upon the altar while the praying worshipers fall upon their knees. The fire symbolizes the good. It is the divine fire of enthusiasm within us all which will inspire us to do good deeds. The rabbi takes the place of the priest inspiring the worshipers through his sermon to uphold the lofty ideals of our precious heritage.

At this very moment of great rejoicing I, too, feel the burning flame within me. Indeed, it is the Shechinah, the presence of God that permeates every fiber of our being, in truth, this is a Beth-el, a house of God.

Since time immemorial our people have been building houses unto God; whether they constituted just a stone as at the time of our patriarchs or a tent as to the time of Moses, or they were more elaborate such as the Solomonian temple; whether they were small synagogues for just a few families, or huge temples in big cities such as ours. All through our history, going or being driven from country to country, from shore to shore, we Jews carried the blueprints of a house of God with us. Houses where the soul can commune with its Maker, where the poor can forget his lowly state, houses where the worshippers become perfectly free, where there is no inhibition in regard to status, where the praying multitude brings forth the majestic Sh'ma Yisrael Adonoy Elohaynu Adonoy Echod, houses in which the wrong doings are being condemned whether they concern our own people or non-Jews, white or colored people. Houses of righteousness that do not vibrate with indignations are not true houses of God. In particular Temple Ezra which has been created out of the ashes of our European burned synagogues, and its members who were once fleeing from the destruction who barely escaped death through the unrighteous behavior of some insane leaders across the sea, the Ezraites in particular have built this monument that will spell righteousness, justice, love, compassion, and holiness. We the remnants of concentration camps, who have been branded like cattle, upon whom the numbers were burned into our skins and flesh as a stigma, a mark of infamy, castigated like criminals, we who have been humiliated in such a most cruel way no one would dare fare with animals; yes, as the Yiddish tune has it, it was only too true: "In feir un flamm hot men uns gebrennt." (We have been burned at stake, devoured by the flames of fire.) We are showing the world with this synagogue that we can control our emotions, we, who could flare up in this our free world and do harm physically, economically, mentally, and emotionally to our former taskmasters and slave drivers, we are using our energies to build houses of peace and of brotherhood. Although we cannot blot out from our

memory, and we never intended to do so, that which cruelty has done to us in the days when the scytheman was reaping rich harvest of millions of innocent people, men, women, and children, we will remember Adolf Schickelgruber alias Hitler in the same way as we remembered but yesterday in all our synagogues Amalek by reading from the scroll the words: "Z'chor es Amolek. Remember Amalek what he has done to you lo tishkoch—do never forget!" This house of worship where people gather in harmony and friendship is but the best answer to subdue and combat hatred, prejudice and discrimination. This house will be a house of healing and forgiveness. This house which will be a memorial for all those that gave up their lives al kiddush hashem—for the sanctification of God's name, this house will be a Kiddush Hashem for the living, a house of prayer glorifying God in our triumphant and victorious march through history past, present and im yirtser hashem—if God wills it, future. It is as if Ezekiel's vision would become manifested in this building when he envisioned the valley of the dry bones coming to life again. Indeed, before our eyes our dear ones ascend from the grave at this solemn moment of dedication and encourage us to carry on through the memory of them our task of executing the word of God, contributing our share to Judaism through the revivification of our most precious heritage.

My friends and distinguished guests, truly when people were completely uprooted from everything, their kinsfolk, their land, language, possessions, who stood alone in a foreign land, confronted with almost insurmountable problems of all kinds, those especially of adjustment, bewilderment, and lonesomeness, when they can within a relatively short time rise to such gigantic heights and pull themselves together to form a congregation before they were settled securely and work themselves up to acquire and completely remodel as beautiful a house of God such as this, who in spite of everything are extending their hands of brotherhood and friendliness to all people, who with open arms are welcoming their Jewish brethren regardless of their ethnic and cultural background and invite them to become members or officers of this worthy institution, then we can proudly say that Judaism is not lost and Temple Ezra can look forward to a great spiritual future. You will agree with me that with such an attitude all three concepts of a house of God as expressed midrashically by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in form of a mountain, a field and a house are possible to become united in this house of worship. If this is to be true we may ascend to Abraham's mountain reaching the peak of spiritual ascendance which can be found in communion with God in public worship; we may go out into Isaac's field, sowing the seeds of divine worship and gaining a sustaining consciousness of the sanctity of our faith; we may enter Jacob's house, taking refuge in it and being granted protection. We have the opportunity to make this house a fulfillment of all these lofty ideals if you wish it.

At this very moment we are dedicating this house to God. But a house is built out of dead matter and it would stay dead unless we who have created it dedicate ourselves to God. May this house never become a museum to be visited once or twice, and not a mausoleum either, but rather a house of the living God for the living, thus handing down to our posterity a living institution and not a mere edifice, however beautiful, an edifice of dead material bereft of all vitality.

We need today more than ever dedicated men and women who devote themselves to the cause of Judaism, to the cause of justice and of love, to the cause of brotherhood, in short who devote themselves to God, for the world will not be saved otherwise.

At this solemn moment of dedication we turn to our dear departed ones—zichronom livrochoh—(in blessed memory) in whose memory we are now kindling the Yahrzeit lights. Most vivid and befitting are the immortal words of one of the most illustrious sons of America, the almost Biblical figure of Abraham Lincoln, when he said: "It is for us the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work they have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they (here) gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain."

From this house of love and help the thankful prayers will ascend to heaven. May God spread the tabernacle of His peace over this house, over its directors, members, and friends. May He heal the people from the wounds which brute passion has caused to suffer and from the illnesses which bigotry has wrought. "Heal those that are sick with hatred and cruelty. Cure them of the blindness which sees not the brother, and of the deafness which heeds not his cry."

May our heavenly Father bless those who unite to form synagogues for prayer, and those who enter therein to pray.

"Bless, O Lord, this house, we pray." Amen.

Poor Ol' Buck! Even Kids Spurn It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article by H. I. Phillips entitled "Poor Ol' Buck! Even Kids Spurn It":

POOR OL' BUCK! EVEN KIDS SPURN IT—WE STILL FIGHT OVER DOLLARS BUT THEY'RE A DELUSION

(By H. I. Phillips)

I am the shadow of yesterday, low man on a totem pole, the fade-away baseball and the emblem of low visibility. I am the forgotten value, the hole in the doughnut, the slippage in the clutch and the leak in the dike. I am the symbol of the leaky roof, the punctured tire, the shrinkage in the wash, the yolkless egg and the old-time vaudeville vanishing act. I am one with the lost collar button, the fish that got away, the little man who wasn't there, the lopsided pool ball, the defective compass, and the skip in the motor.

NOBODY LOVES ME

I have sunk faster than a skindiver pursued by a posse, and lower than a character in skid-row. I have lost my looks, my prestige, my capacity and my self-esteem. I am at home only with peanuts and penny ante poker players. I have become the butt of jokes. Nobody loves me. In the wallet I am little and in the grocery store I am as a loose cabbage leaf in a hurricane. In the payroll I am an illusion and a snare. The employer and the worker both fight for me but are fooled either way the battle turns out. The only laugh I get out of life comes through the picture of people striving to get more and more of me without a full appreciation of the fact I mean less and less to them.

COMES IN BALES

The employer can use me only in bales. The employee seeks me in the superpackage. It is a performance which makes stupidity a national pastime. Nobody seems to understand that you don't get more distance on a football field because you move the goal posts closer to the lineup. I knew my glories in the forgotten era of the high-wheeled bike, the bustle, the wasp waist and the magic lantern. What has happened to me shouldn't happen to a dog. I bring disappointment and surprise to the housewife at the supermarket and break the heart of the husband shopping for a tonic, a doctor, a bottle of rye, 5 gallons of gasoline, or a good cigar. Teenagers scorn me and even little children sneer, "Are you kiddin'?" when I am offered to them for a trip to the candy store. Pillow slips, mattresses, horse collars, and hidden kiddy banks no longer take me. I am unacceptable in the old sock. Things have reached a stage where, even if the corporation gives 2 for 1. I am held for no gain in midfield. I am the American dollar.

NEW YORK RETARDED?

New York is generally supposed to be more up to date than most communities, but only a few days ago did it take its last trolley car out of service. This reminds us that the horsecar had disappeared from our hometown when we were a kid, yet when we came to the big city years later, they were still running in parts of Manhattan. Incidentally we got extra nostalgic over the trolley car, which, it seems to us, offered a ride away ahead of anything the average city busline can give. The comfort of passengers was a top consideration, with wonderful open cars run through the summertime; safety was so paramount that the law required an operator whose mind was not to be distracted by any other duties, and a conductor who took fares, gave information, and helped passengers on and off politely.

Any suggestion of a one-man-trolley worker who would, in addition to running the car, have to take on the added duties of a conductor, was sure to be howled down or laughed off. Rarely did a trolley roar by anybody to make time or because it was crowded, and the gruff, discourteous operator was shortlived. Our earliest boyhood recollection in the transportation field is of a trolley on the Sylvan Avenue line, past our house, that had a stove amidship in which a fire was kept during cold weather, but there is a vague memory of horsecars on the Chapel Street line. It seems to us there was nothing quite so bracing and pleasant as a trip to Savin Rock or Lighthouse Point back home on an open trolley in the warm months. The memory of the swing and sway of the trolley car as it zoomed out Kimberley Avenue over the two old bridges, the salt air from the meadows and from the harbor filling the nostrils, is still keen. We remember the fights to get on the front seat, the occasional ride on the running board and the Sunday trips when the conductor couldn't get all the fares. Then there was the trolley ride, a long forgotten diversion of childhood days, when a group would charter an open car for a half day of picnicking. Oh, boy.

A Tribute to Thomas H. MacDonald, Father of the Nation's Highway System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, America lost a great public servant when Thomas H. MacDonald, former Commissioner of Public Roads, died on April 7,

1957. He has been rightfully called the Father of the Nation's Highway System. Because his early background, training, education, and experience tie him to Iowa, I deem it an honor to pay tribute to his memory.

Iowa, perhaps better than any other State, knows the great loss to the world of highway administration, planning, and construction which is sustained in the death of Thomas H. MacDonald.

Mr. MacDonald died at College Station, Tex., on Sunday, April 7, 1957, succumbing to a heart attack.

Though born in Colorado and moved to Iowa at an early age, Mr. MacDonald considered himself a son of Iowa. It was in Iowa that he was educated in engineering; in Iowa that he entered upon his profession; in Iowa that he laid the foundations for sound highway planning and engineering; in Iowa that he created his first magnificent highway system; and from Iowa that he carried to the Nation's Capitol and to the Federal Government the experience and wisdom which were to qualify him so thoroughly for the expressive title "Father of the Nation's Highway System."

Iowa knew Tom MacDonald not only with deep respect and admiration, but also with warm personal affection and friendship. It knew him not only as an engineering administrative genius, but also as a man of the highest principles, inflexible in his insistence upon rendering in his own service the fullest measure of performance to the public which employed and trusted him, and equally insistent upon such performance by others under his direction.

His career is too well known to highway and other governmental circles in this State, as well as throughout America, to need detailed restatement today. But his is an inspiring life, nonetheless, which may be profitably reviewed again.

Mr. MacDonald first attended Iowa State Teachers College at Cedar Falls, Iowa, in 1899–1900. He went on from there to graduate in civil engineering at Iowa State College at Ames, in 1904. It was during his undergraduate days there that his lifetime interest in roads was developed. A thesis which he wrote on studies of the power required to pull a wagon—this was before the days of automobiles—over various types of roads became an authoritative text in that field.

When he was serving as a young professor at Iowa State and the legislature commissioned the college to prepare a study of how Iowa's roads might be improved, Tom MacDonald was the logical person to undertake and head such a study. The research which went into that effort was the beginning of a devotion to highway improvement which was to characterize the rest of his life.

He fell naturally and logically into the position of State highway engineer when Iowa launched a road improvement program in 1907. He simply switched titles, retaining the same functions, when the Iowa State Highway Commission was established separate from the college in 1913, with Mr. MacDonald as chief engineer.

Iowa owes its first real system of all-weather roads to Mr. MacDonald's foresight and energy. This State promptly took the lead among all States in creation of a coordinated highway system, under his administration. He recognized the basic needs for proper grading and draining. More than a third of Iowa's roads were graded, bridged, and drained, and plans had been made for an unprecedented hard-surfacing program when he was called to Washington, D. C., in 1919 to take charge of the Bureau of Public Roads, as the Nation's Federal Highway Commissioner.

There stands to his credit the development of the joint Federal-State system of highway planning and construction. He insisted always upon recognition of State sovereignty in highway matters. He regarded State highway commissions as representative of the States, and the United States Bureau of Public Roads as properly bound to act only with and through the State commissions.

As the acknowledged last word in highway administration and policy planning, Tom MacDonald was frequently the adviser of congressional committees. He never wavered from his loyalty to the principle of State sovereignty. Neither did he ever relax his insistence upon the right of the Federal Government to demand uniformly high standards of design and construction in all projects where the Federal Government shared in financing. Throughout his public life, he was generous in the assignment of credit to State highway departments for their large measure of contribution to highway improvement.

These self-imposed high standards won him in the national field the same admiration and respect they had brought to him in his adopted state, Iowa.

Although himself a Republican, and he always so remained, Mr. MacDonald, without solicitation on his part, was appointed Chief of the United States Bureau of Public Roads, in 1919, by a Democratic Secretary of Agriculture, serving under a Democratic President. He accepted the proffered appointment as a matter of duty and with some misgivings as to his own ability to handle the job. He performed such an outstanding service that, as a matter of course, he remained, through 34 years of shifting Republican and Democratic national administrations, exemplifying for the Nation and the industry, that highway administration itself is not, and should not, be in any degree partisan.

One of Tom's last visits to Iowa was to attend the testimonial dinner accorded to his former associate and his successor, Fred R. White, who retired as chief engineer, Iowa State Highway Commission, in October 1952. He gracefully and justly gave credit to Mr. White for the structure built upon the foundations he had laid in Iowa, without, of course, claiming any credit for the foundation.

Tom MacDonald was widely known throughout Iowa despite his long absence from this State. There are still active in highway and engineering circles here men who knew him as a student and many who launched their own business careers in Iowa while he headed the Iowa highway effort. Many too, met him also at meetings of various national highway and related associations, before which he was a frequent and appreciated speaker.

Mr. MacDonald retired as Commissioner of Public Roads in 1953, but did not discontinue his active interest in and contribution to highway work. He accepted the position of "distinguished research engineer" at Texas A. and M. College, College Station, Tex. There he headed a highway research station which in the few years of his tenure, has contributed important knowledge and counsel to the world of roadbuilding and road use.

We say a sad goodbye to a lifelong distinguished public servant, almost without peer, and a personal friend of all who worked with him in the great and important objective of providing adequate thoroughfares for our country. He spent billions of dollars of the people's money with never a shade of a shadow of a suspicion as to the integrity or the intelligence of the expenditure thereof. He left his imprint on his time as few men are privileged or able to do. His was a substantial contribution to making America a better place in which to live. Much that today's motorist takes for granted in the ease, and comfort, and speed of his travel along America's highways, he owes to Thomas H. MacDonald.

There is no irreverence in quoting as a word of farewell to a good and faithful public servant the 5th verse of the 3d chapter of the Gospel according to St. Luke:

> Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth.

Tom did his part to bring that to pass.

Chicago's Lake Diversion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial taken from the Chicago Daily Tribune issue of April 17, 1957:

QUARRELING AMONG LAKE CITIES

The traditional foes of Chicago's lake diversion held a meeting in Cleveland and rehashed the charges, rumors, and crazy statistics they have been using for years. The Governor of Ohio advocated a Federal investigation. The mayor of Milwaukee urged President Eisenhower to name a commission "to find out why Chicago has failed to dispose of waste by modern methods."

Many studies and investigations of lake diversion already have been made, the latest being by the United States Army engineers, but Chicago has no objection to further examination of the problem. Chicago has nothing to hide. Particularly we welcome an investigation of our major sewage treatment plant, which has been named 1 of the 7 modern engineering wonders of the world. Since 1950 Chicago has provided complete

treatment for all its sewage, including industrial wastes, and thus has complied with all the requirements set forth by the United States Supreme Court in its 1930 decree.

If a new investigation of Chicago's treatment works is made by a Presidential commission, as proposed by the mayor of Milwaukee, the same body ought to make a study of Milwaukee's methods of handling its wastes. As every gardener knows, Milwaukee is in the fertilizer business. This business has seemed to be more important, in the minds of Milwaukee officials, than purity of Milwaukee's drinking water.

During rainstorms the flow of surface drainage water into the Milwaukee treatment works results in a lowering of the nitrogen content of the city's fertilizer. To keep the fertilizer rich in quality, it was formerly the practice to have all sewage, both sanitary sewage and storm water, bypass the treatment works and flow into Lake Michigan. About 2 years ago the State government, acting on many protests that Lake Michigan was being polluted, ordered the city to treat all sewage. An investigation by a Presidential commission could determine whether this order is being obeyed.

The same commission also could determine whether other lake cities are giving proper treatment to industrial wastes. Chicago's plants are designed to treat such wastes in an amount equivalent to the sewage of 3,800,000 people, in addition to handling the actual sewage of 4,500,000 people. When all the lake cities have been certified as having treatment facilities as good as Chicago's and are free from all blame, it will be time enough for the politicians of those cities to make snide comments about Chicago.

The Lake States and cities will never get anywhere by quarreling about lake diversion. Everybody agrees that it is important to maintain lake levels for navigation purposes. The cyclical fluctuations of these levels are measured in feet. Yet the current controversy is about a proposed increase in diversion which the Army engineers estimate would lower the level of Lake Michigan by not more than five-eighths of an inch.

The Lake States and the Federal Government ought to proceed as promptly as possible to correct the big fluctuations in lake levels, not the little ones.

Flourishing Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of the Industrial Bulletin published by the New York State Department of Labor, sets forth graphically and with documentation the remarkable record of a remarkable city and county, the city of Rochester in Monroe County, New York. Year after year, Rochester and Monroe County are in the van insofar as economic conditions are concerned—a condition which reflects the vision and imagination of the area's leaders and the high character of its residents.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD some excerpts from the article The Rochester Area from the Industrial Bulletin.

The Rochester labor market area—Monroe County—is the Nation's largest center for the manufacture of photographic and optical goods. It has consistently enjoyed more favorable employment conditions than those prevailing in the Nation as a whole during practically all of the past 16 years. In every important category—total employed, unemployed, labor-management relations, growth of industry, proportion of skilled workers to total employment force, labor turnover and hourly and weekly earnings—Rochester figures look good.

The only time since 1940 when the area reported a relatively substantial labor surplus was during the 1949 business recession. For the past 4 years the Rochester area has been classified in the balanced labor supply category. During 1954, Rochester was one of only 16 such areas in the Nation, and the only one in New York State. During 1954, 1955, and 1956 employment conditions in Rochester were generally regarded as the most favorable in New York State.

Estimated total unemployment during the postwar period ranged from a high of 30,000 in August 1949 to a low of 4,500 in the fall of 1953. The October 1956 estimate is 5,500—2.2 percent of the civilian labor force.

The excerpts follow:

In spite of the fact that a whopping total of 47,900 or 42 percent of the area's 114,100 factory workers are employed by photographic, optical, and instrument firms (which themselves form a number of diversified industries-within-an-industry) Rochester plants turn out a wide variety of other products, ranging from electrical equipment, industrial machinery, and automotive equipment to men's clothing, food products, and printing.

At its October 1956 level of 224,100, nonfarm employment was more than one-and-a-half times as large as in the pre-World War II year of 1940. Initial impetus for this increase came in the early years of World War II. Between April 1940 and the employment peak in the summer of 1943 Rochester manufacturers added about 53,000 workers to their payrolls.

After the 1943 high, the number of job holders receded slowly, then dropped sharply by about 25,000 when the war ended. Within 3 months after the end of World War II, factory employment turned up and by late 1946 came close to the peak World War II level. Employment dipped again during the business recession of 1949 but began to recover in early 1950. The Korean outbreak boosted employment again. This recovery continued until late 1953.

Nonfarm wage and salary employment reached a high of 223,800 in December, 1953, an increase of more than 33,000 for the 3½ years following the Korean outbreak. In 1954, in common with most of the Nation, Rochester's job total turned downward. The post-Korean decline was not reversed until early 1955 after nonfarm payrolls had reached a low of 211,300.

Rapid recovery during 1955 made up all of these losses so that by December 1955 nonfarm wage and salary employment reached an alltime high of 225,700.

Employment continued at a high level during 1956, with total employment (including nonfarm wage and salary employment) reaching a new high of 250,100 in October 1956. Employment gains during 1956 occurred in both manufacturing and nonmanufacturing. Manufacturing employment, however, has still not yet attained its postwar peak of 119,300 reached in September 1953. Nonmanufacturing employment, on the other hand, is at an alltime high. About 40 percent of the area's employment gains since 1940 were achieved through the hiring of women. In manufacturing, the proportion of women employed increased from 27 percent to almost 32 percent.

Manufacturing industries have been responsible for the bulk of the area employment increases registered during the 17-year period since 1940. Net expansion of the manufacturing work force was close to 66 percent between the spring of 1940 and October 1956. The photographic, optical and instrument industry, the area's largest industry, added nearly 20,000 workers through October 1956. Electrical machinery gained about 8,000 workers since 1940.

Other important changes since early 1940 include primary and fabricated metal products and transportation equipment which together increased the number of their employees by 6,000; food products by 4,000; nonelectrical machinery by 4,000 and printing by 2,000. As a result of the long-time factory gains, manufacturing employment now accounts for 51 percent of the area's nonfarm total as contrasted with little more than 47 percent in 1940. Incidentally, the proportion of total employment in manufacturing is one of the highest among the metropolitan areas in the Nation. Throughout the postwar period, the Rochester area's record of labor peace was among the best in New York State and was one of the most favorable among the major metropolitan areas in the Nation.

Labor turnover in Rochester has also traditionally been low. A comparison over the past 16 years shows that in every month of this period manufacturing labor turnover has tended to be substantially lower than the national average.

The area's labor force is characterized by a very high proportion of skilled workers. In 1950, the proportion of professional, technical, and skilled workers (30 percent) was higher in Rochester than in any of the 57 largest metropolitan areas in the Nation. In optical manufacturing, photographic equipment, men's apparel, and in almost all Rochester's major industry groups, prosperity is firmly founded on craftsmanship.

Weekly earnings in the area's factories were at a record high and averaged $87.83 during September 1956, for a workweek of about 41 hours. On the average, factory workers in the area earned $2.14 an hour during the month.

Spokane Public Forum Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution:

SPOKANE PUBLIC FORUM RESOLUTION

Whereas the Honorable USHER L. BURDICK, speaking in Congress, calls for a committee of five to work for legislation to protect the life and health of the Nation by outlawing the general practice of chemically treating most all food and vegetables on the shelves of our stores, rendering our food unfit and dangerous for home consumption by these poison chemicals; and

Whereas as to Coca-Cola, that was challenged over 50 years ago as to its poison

effects and resulting danger to our people, especially our children. This is the same Coca-Cola that floods our market today, and is served in our hospitals, with no word of protest from the authorities: Be it

Resolved, That the Spokane Public Forum go on record highly commending the Honorable USHER L. BURDICK, of North Dakota, for his courageous stand, and work to get action in Congress to protect our people from this commercialized poison, masquerading as pure food in the family market throughout the country.

Mother of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, each year the Illinois Mothers Association of the American Mothers Committee selects from all the mothers of Illinois, the woman that they feel has done most to promote the cause of good motherhood in our State. The choice of the committee for 1957 was Mrs. Cassie N. Reeves, of Weldon, Ill., a constituent of mine.

Mrs. Cassie Cross Reeves was the daughter of a farmer and lived all her life in a small rural community where she enjoyed the love and respect of all who knew her. She graduated from grade and high school at Weldon, Ill., and trained for the teaching profession at Illinois State Normal, where she met her husband, Everett Reeves. Instead of teaching, this young couple settled on a farm which they purchased, assuming a huge burden of indebtedness. Lean years and a rapidly growing family however, left little for payments on the mortgage and Mr. Reeves was finally forced to combine his two professions by becoming principal of the village school. Fate had other plans however, and his career was cut short by his untimely death. His young widow was then confronted with a huge mortgage, the problem of raising four little children, and no visible means of support. Mrs. Reeves, however, had great faith in God and mankind, confidence in herself, and the will to see her job through. She accepted her husband's position which was offered to her and became mother, father, and wage earner. With all this she still managed to engage in school activities and wholeheartedly worked for all uplifting projects of her community. At the same time she personally managed her farm.

This mother looks now with pride on her four children. Colon, the eldest son, received his B. S. from the University of Illinois and his M. S. at the University of Chicago. He was a Marine captain in World War II and holds a permanent rank as major in the Reserves. Richard, the second son, was captain in the Air Force during World War II, a graduate of the University of Illinois and he is now a professional engineer. Robert, the youngest son, received his B. A. from the University of Illinois and became an industrial engineer. He served in the Naval Air Corps for 2 years. Margaret, the only daughter, graduated from Illinois State Normal and become a high-school music director. During her 27 years of teaching, this widowed American mother not only paid off her indebtedness, but raised, fed, clothed, and educated a fine American family. She now enjoys security and serenity and continues to serve her church and her community.

On April 7 Mrs. Reeves was honored in her home community of Weldon, Ill. At that time most of the surrounding community turned out to honor her as the mother of the year. Mr. Speaker, I herewith append an article from the Champaign Urbana Courier of Monday, April 8, giving an account of this ceremony that was held in the DeLand-Weldon High School.

MOTHER OF YEAR HONORED—500 AT CEREMONY FETING MRS. CASSIE REEVES

Approximately 500 persons honored Mrs. Cassie N. Reeves, Weldon, "Illinois Mother of the Year," for 1957 at a ceremony Sunday afternoon in DeLand-Weldon Junior High School here.

Ten of the 40 candidates for the title recently given Mrs. Reeves were present, along with two former State mothers of the year. John W. Chapman, lieutenant governor of Illinois, presented Mrs. Reeves the State citation, and she received a pin from Mrs. Amos E. Seymour, Virden, Ill., chairman of the American Mothers Committee.

The Reverend Dale Pitcher, Pontiac Methodist minister and longtime friend of the Reeves family, gave the main address. Other speakers included Miss Carrie Marsh, who substituted for her sister, Mrs. Roy Twist, in explaining why the local WCTU nominated Mrs. Reeves for the honor; Loren Richardson, Weldon, village president, and Richard Reeves, Decatur, one of Mrs. Reeves' four children gave the response for the family.

Her 3 sons, 1 daughter and members of their families came from 3 States to take part in the tribute. The sons are graduates of the University of Illinois and the daughter attended Illinois State Normal University.

Former State mothers of the year attending were Mrs. Addie Carroll, Greenville, and Mrs. Charles Woods, Lincoln, who was chosen in 1955. The 1957 candidates present received certificates of merit.

Representatives of many groups interested in the selection of an outstanding mother each year attended the program, coming from Champaign-Urbana, Bloomington, Danville, Princeton, Kankakee, Litchfield, and other towns.

Ernest Dickey, principal of DeLand-Weldon Junior High School, was toastmaster, and Mrs. Loren Richardson, program chairman.

Mrs. Reeves, 62, was chosen for the award because of her accomplishments in rearing a family and paying off a mortgage on a farm after the death of her husband 30 years ago. She taught in Weldon Grade School about 23 years.

Mrs. Reeves also will be honored at a meeting of the American Mothers Committee of the Golden Rule Foundation May 7–10 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City. The "National Mother of the Year" will be chosen from the State winners.

Mrs. Reeves also will be a guest of honor at a ceremony April 25 at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Flood Insurance Still in Abeyance Although All Details Are Said To Be Worked Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, in a recent special order in the House, on April 8, I was intensely critical of the delays which have occurred in placing into effect the Federal flood insurance program authorized by Congress last year.

As I pointed out, people are experiencing flood damage right now, with the heavy spring rains in many parts of the country, yet the official attitude has seemed to be that the floods should wait while the minute details of the program are worked out to everyone's satisfaction—before any policies are issued or any businessmen or homeowners are afforded some measure of protection against disastrous flood losses.

Since then, I have received a great deal of additional information from the Flood Indemnity Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, which administers the new program, and have been assured that the details are now being worked out, and are just about all completed.

Now, we are informed, the delay is at the door of Congress—that nothing can be done until Congress appropriates funds for the payment of possible future losses once the policies are issued and also appropriates funds for the payment of private insurance companies of agents' fees, claim adjusting costs, et cetera.

LETTER FROM COMMISSIONER MEISTRELL

This situation is outlined in some detail, Mr. Speaker, in a letter which I have received from the Commissioner of the Federal Flood Indemnity Administration, Mr. Frank J. Meistrell, and in fairness to him, I am inserting the full text of his letter at the conclusion of these remarks.

I will say, in comment on it, that I am pleased all of the details have been worked out for cooperation between the Federal agency administering the program and the private insurance firms which will handle the sale of the insurance on a nonprofit basis.

I will say I am delighted that things have been brought to the point that the program can get underway if money is made available.

But I must say, in fairness to those in St. Louis and elsewhere who live in dread of new flood damage while this whole program languishes in redtape, that it seems to me there has been much too much delay downtown on this and that there now appears to be a desire to blame any and all delays on Congress.

The act was passed last year. There was no money included for the program in the President's budget sent up here in

January. The initial request for funds did not arrive until last month.

I have checked with the Appropriations Committee on this matter and I have been informed that the proposed funds for the flood insurance program were not put on any urgent priority list by the administration, and hence were not considered for any of the urgent deficiencies or supplemental bills which have been reported out so far.

SHOULD COME UP AFTER EASTER RECESS

Hence, this matter is being treated in the usual manner of any rather routine request for a supplemental appropriation, and the reason it is so treated is not by decision of the Appropriations Committee, as I understand it, but rather by decision of the Bureau of the Budget, which has shown no sense of urgency about it.

Congress has just been subjected to a buck-passing, blame-placing fiasco over deficiency postal funds, and the resentments are deep in this entire House over the way this whole issue was handled. I hate to see the Appropriations Committee again being blamed for delay on the flood insurance program, when it is not in any sense responsible for the delays which have occurred.

It is my understanding that this proposed appropriation for $50 million for payment of future losses and for payment of agents' fees and adjusters' expenses, and so on, will be considered by the committee along with other supplemental items in a bill which will probably come out shortly after the Easter recess. I wish this had been earmarked by the Budget Bureau as among the kind of high-priority items taken up in the bill we passed earlier this week which contained postal funds.

LETTER CONTAINS MORE DETAILS ON RATES

In Mr. Meistrell's latest letter to me, Mr. Speaker, there are some additional details on the probable rate structure for this insurance and on other aspects of the program which I believe will be of interest to many of the Members as well as to all of those who are anxious to buy flood insurance once the program is underway.

The text of the letter from Mr. Meistrell, dated April 15, is as follows:

HOUSING AND
HOME FINANCE AGENCY,
FEDERAL FLOOD
INDEMNITY ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., April 15, 1957.

Hon. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: I am pleased to give you the following information in answer to your inquiry concerning the present status of the Federal flood-indemnity program.

I wish I could give you, and many others who have inquired, a definite answer as to when flood insurance will be made available to the general public. The fact is that the date on which we shall be able to offer flood insurance to the public is directly related to action by the Congress.

As you know, there is now pending before the Subcommittee on Independent Offices of the House Appropriations Committee a supplemental appropriation request which when approved by the Congress will provide necessary funds.

A hearing on this request was held on April 3 and I am enclosing herewith a copy of the justification of supplemental estimates and a copy of my statement before the subcommittee, which you requested. I do not have a copy of my testimony to the subcommittee which you also requested.

You will observe that the appropriation request is for $50 million based on an initial insurance authorization of $3 billion as prescribed in the Federal Flood Insurance Act. This request is composed of two major items:

The first item of $36 million is to be used, if needed, to pay losses in excess of premium income estimated at $54 million. In short, we anticipate having available for the purposes of the disaster insurance fund loss reserves aggregating $90 million.

The second item of approximately $14 million is to be used for payments to the insurance companies, and agents and brokers, for selling and servicing flood indemnity contracts, and to claim adjusters for adjusting claims arising under these contracts. This money will be expended only as such services are actually rendered.

In this connection, I should like to emphasize that:

The payments made to insurance companies for issuing policies and performing other related services on our behalf, are to reimburse them only for their out-of-pocket costs, and do not include any profit, or administrative overhead, or any other expense incident to the normal conduct of their business. The claims adjustment organizations are to be reimbursed for their services on a comparable basis. The agents and brokers who sell the contracts are to be paid on a commission basis which has not yet been finally determined.

In effect, we are prepared to put into operation a wholly new insurance business using for the purpose the facilities and the highly trained personnel of the insurance industry at cost. This appears to us to be the most economical and effective way to put this program into operation promptly.

As a consequence, the staff of the Federal Flood Indemnity Administration can be kept relatively small. Our functions will include policy formulation, supervision of program operations by the insurance companies, settlement of claims for losses, and research. The administrative costs of this agency can thus be kept comparatively low, especially during the early years when the program is largely experimental.

You asked me also what the cost will be for this insurance. This raises the whole question of rates which has been our most difficult problem.

For the major classes of risks, our net rates (after application of the subsidy) will range from $1 to $2.50 per $100 of insurance on an 80 percent coinsurance basis. Within this range, the rates will be different in various parts of the country depending upon considerations of flood frequency and flood damage in such areas.

On the basis of available data, we have established a separate set of rates for each major river basin in the United States, and for the more highly exposed areas along the Atlantic and gulf coasts. We believe that these rates reflect varying degrees of exposure, ascertainable at this time, and that they are marketable, as required by the Federal Flood Insurance Act.

The rating system we have devised will of course be refined and improved, as we gain experience. But it makes possible flood protection for the people this program is intended to help—the home owners and businessmen of modest means who are exposed to flood hazards. The insurance industry is prepared to market flood indemnity contracts at these rates.

Mindful of the constant need for economy in our operations, we have given considerable thought to the question of large losses being incurred in excess of income derived from these fates. Certain safeguards have, therefore, been incorporated into the program:

1. The amount of insurance which can be sold to any person or corporation is limited to $250,000, and $10,000 on a dwelling and its contents.

2. The total amount of insurance in force will not be the measure of the Government's liability as most losses arising under these contracts will in all probability be partial losses. Moreover, flood indemnity contracts will contain dollar and percentage deductibles which will tend to reduce nuisance claims.

3. The flood indemnity contracts will be sold nationwide. Since all exposed places will not have damaging floods at the same time, the fundamental principle of insurance will apply, namely, the contributions of the many to pay for the losses of the few.

You will also find enclosed three different sets of answers which we have prepared to various questions that have been asked us from time to time.

We deeply appreciate your interest in this program. If we can be of further service to you at any time, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK J. MEISTRELL,
Commissioner, Flood Indemnity Administration.

Departments of State, Justice, Judiciary, and Related Agencies, Appropriation Bill, Fiscal Year 1958

SPEECH
OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6871) making appropriations for the Departments of State and Justice, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, the American people have been forced into their present situation whereby we are compelled to defend ourselves and help others who are willing to fight for their freedom. The role of defender of human freedom, a choice which we had to make, is costing billions of dollars each year. The cost of our activities in this regard comprise 63 percent of our total budget. The fundamental issue involved is war or peace. The Russian Communists seek world conquest. We want peace—not at any price but peace with justice and freedom for all.

The Communists are engaged in unrelenting warfare against all the people of the free world. Their warfare takes various forms, with emphasis upon propaganda warfare but not omitting armed aggression when the Communists feel that there is a 50–50 chance of winning. The Russians will not desist in this effort until they conquer the world or are themselves destroyed. That is a sad fact of life but nevertheless a fact of life which we must face up to.

It is now almost 10 years since President Truman made the historic decision to defend our freedom and the independence of other freedom-loving nations

against the threat of Communist agression. That decision has had a marked effect upon the history of the whole world. It also officially ended our uneasy alliance with the Russian Communists which was made during the world crisis which marked World War II.

We have pursued this objective for almost 10 years. The American people have made tremendous sacrifices to make possible programs in support of that objective. There are now unmistakable signs that this great effort is beginning to bear fruit. There have been revolutions in the Communist-occupied countries—revolts against the Russian masters who are the overlords of the Communist empire. There are clear signs that intense struggles are taking place within the Soviet Union. The people of the non-Russian nations are demonstrating again their discontent with communism and their contempt for the Russians whom they know as their exploiters.

Together with this it is obvious that there is dissension among the leaders of the Kremlin. They are confused—uncertain, but nevertheless unchanged in their determination to impose communism upon all the nations and people of the world. The Russians are well aware of the tremendous corrosion and human restlessness that is taking place throughout the entire Communist empire. The Russians are well aware that the people they enslave await only the opportunity to throw off their chains and assault their tormentors. To counteract this the Russians have made unfounded promises to give more freedom to the people, more opportunity for individual development, more recognition of the national demands coming up from all the nations within the empire. The men in the Kremlin have even attempted to blame Stalin for all the errors and miseries of life under communism. They have blamed Stalin for the almost endless list of crimes against humanity committed by the Communists during the past 30 or more years. The much publicized "de-Stalinization" campaign being talked about within the Russian empire is nothing more than an effort to find a scapegoat for the complete and dismal failure of communism to provide the decencies of life for the people is enslaves.

The leaders of the Kremlin are aware that unless changes are made, internal revolution is inevitable and each such revolution hastens the day of final collapse of their empire. Their greatest fear is that if they relax the hold of the police state over the people, total revolution of all the people will occur. This, then, is the great dilemma which now confronts the leaders of the Russian Communist conspiracy.

In the face of this compelling evidence, I am firmly convinced this is not the time to give the Communsts a breathing spell—this is not the time for us to relax our worldwide campaign of truth.

It is generally recognized that the worldwide struggle between the evil forces of communism and the desire of all people for freedom and democracy is essentially one of ideas and ideals. This struggle involves the dissemination of ideas which reflect the social, economic, and political system of the free world. It also involves full exposure of the cruel realities of communism as contrasted with the rosy ideal painted by the theory of communism. Our campaign has been designed to counteract Communist lies about the American free way of life, the free enterprise system, and government of the people, by the people, and for the people. In summary, it has been recognized that the struggle for the world will be largely won or lost by the judicious and astute utilization of all the medias of mass communication to effectively carry freedom's story to all the people of the world.

Economy in the operation of the Federal Government is long overdue. There is no doubt in my mind that Congress can save the American taxpayers several billion dollars of the funds requested in the budget which the President sent to Congress a short while ago. Every Member of Congress is anxious to bring economy and efficiency into the operation of our Government. The question before us is where we can make substantial cuts and at the same time provide maximum security for our people.

I believe that the type of work which the USIA is by law and Presidential directive chartered to do is one of the essential elements necessary to prevent the conspiracy of communism from taking the breathing spell it so badly needs. The USIA is the agency of our Government which, by law, is charged with the responsibility of exploiting all the developments growing out of the effort of the Polish people to win their freedom and national independence and the all-out effort of the Hungarian people to win their freedom and national independence. If maximum exploitation is given to these two historic events and the confusion and uncertainty which grips the leaders of the Kremlin is also exploited, a powerful blow will have been struck for the cause of peace and freedom.

Again I say, this is not the time to give the enemy a breathing spell—now is the time to press forward our advantage and to reap the rewards which the great sacrifices of the American people over the past 10 years have produced. It is my hope that the USIA will intensify the campaign of truth and bring it to an ever increasing number of people throughout the world.

The Lowest Ebb of Our Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, April 14, was the 92d anniversary of the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln. The Lincoln group of Washington, D. C., in cooperation with the National Park Service, held an appropriate observance at Ford's Theater, the scene of the assassination, which has since become the famous Lincoln Museum. Our colleague, the Honorable FRED SCHWENGEL, of Iowa, vice president of the Lincoln group, gave the address for the occasion. He entitled his remarks "The Lowest Ebb of Our Country."

Congressman SCHWENGEL is a lifelong student of the life and deeds of the Great Emancipator. He knows his subject well and in his address last Sunday he gave new meaning to the growing importance of Lincoln's stature. I know that Congressman SCHWENGEL considers it a great honor to deliver such an address. I can appreciate this deep sense of pride, because a few years ago it was my distinct privilege to deliver the Lincoln Day memorial address at Ford's Theater.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to ask permission to have Congressman SCHWENGEL's fine address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD so that all can share its message:

THE LOWEST EBB OF OUR COUNTRY

(Address by Hon. FRED SCHWENGEL, of Iowa, Ford's Theater, Sunday, April 14, 1957)

Tomorrow morning at 7:22 o'clock, it will be exactly 4 score and 12 years since the great heart of Abraham Lincoln ceased to beat in mortal flesh. This happened at a time when he and the Nation that he led so nobly had reasons to feel that it stood on the pinnacle of its finest and most significant moment in history. After 4 years of sacrifice, bloodshed, and heartaches unmatched in the history of the world, the question of whether a nation had a right to dissolve itself, to secede, was settled forever. With this wonderful victory came also the greatest moral victory of any nation in history. He led his people and they joined him in breaking the chains of slavery for millions born in an atmosphere of freedom. Three million souls born to be slaves became free and soon a nation became aware of the fact that as the slaves were freed, so were their masters.

And so it was, as we look back to that time that our country was getting ready to enjoy its finest moment. It had won its greatest victories. Lincoln was happy and the people were rejoicing—the boys would soon be home now. No more sow belly and beans, home and peace, a united Nation, it was wonderful.

With this great achievement, however, Lincoln saw still other battles to be won. They were in the political arena, and he knew they must be won on the basis of reason and commonsense. This would be awfully hard, but he must try. So as he had planned the battles of the war he now was planning the battles for the peace and there was no precedent for this either. He knew it would not be easy and he knew it would take time, and he knew that what was exactly right would come gradually. We must take our time. So now the real pressure was off, permitting him, the official family, and his family to look forward to some moments of relaxation. And so, on the evening of the 14th, he entered this theater with Mary, his wife, to see Our American Cousin. He was in a box seat just above us 4 score and 12 years ago today.

We need not go into detail on what happened here on that day. All of us know too well the terrible story of the shot that killed this great-hearted man. May I try for a few moments to review the reaction of a Nation toward his passing—then from this, call to your attention some significant observations, from which we can learn some lessons for our time and which might be of some value to us.

Robert Browning Hamilton once said:

"I walked a mile with sorrow
And ne'er a word said she;
But, oh the things I learned from her
When sorrow walked with me."

It was Good Friday when he was shot—one wonders—was this the hand of the Almighty? He lived until Saturday morning; until 7:22. That day was a cold, rainy day. He was in the Peterson house—hundreds of people stood outside watching, wondering, hoping, and praying. Officials were coming and going from this brick house. Inside, Lincoln lay on a wooden bed in the rented room of William Clark. He hadn't been conscious from the time the bullet found its mark the night before. Life was ebbing away.

They did what they thought was best to keep him alive, but the doctors knew it couldn't be.

Rumors spread and soon the Nation was to know that as they sacrified for the four long years with Lincoln as leader and were about to enjoy a great period of celebration, they now were forced to mourn. Sorrow was with them once again. The Nation began a period of mourning. More people shed tears over this death than any in the history of our Nation. Yes; maybe even the world. There were funeral sermons in almost every church and community. Editorials in every newspaper in the land and muffled talk on the streets; in the homes. It was on the lips of those in saloons and the railroad cars. There was black bunting and crepe everywhere. These were attempts to say something that could not be said. Silence seemed to reign. Men tried to talk about it and the words failed and they fell back to silence. To say nothing seemed best. They did go through the motions of grief, and they did take their part in a national funeral and the ceremony of humiliation and abasement and tears.

Newsboys at their stands normally making a lot of noise but at this time they cried no headlines. They handed the damp sheets from the press to the buyers, wiping their tears as they sold their papers. In thousands of stores the merchants told their clerks they would close for the day. And on Monday, in many schools, the sobbing teachers could only tell the children "Go home, there will be no school today."

The board of trade, operators in gold, were shocked and closed the exchange. They couldn't transact business in this atmosphere. In North Carolina a Negro in a shanty barber shop told his first customer that he wouldn't shave anybody that day, because he said, "Somethin's happen to Marse Linkum."

Lincoln wasn't on the official roll of any church, but on Sunday every church did penance—Catholic, Jew, and Protestant. They could have and did have many differences, but in this they were united—thankful that their God had given them a Lincoln and mourned deeply his death. Seemed he might have been a member somehow of every church.

The tragic effect of this murder on the South is strongly expressed in Herman Melville's poem, most effectively edited by Jim Bishop in his book The Day Lincoln Was Shot:

"Good Friday was the day
Of the prodigy and crime,
When they killed him in his pity,
When they killed him in his prime.
They killed him in his kindness.
In their madness in their blindness,
And they killed him from behind.

"He lieth in his blood—
The Father in his face;
They have killed him, the forgiver—
The Avenger takes his place.

"There is sobbing of the strong,
And a pall upon the land;
But the people in their weeping
Bare the iron hand:
Beware the people weeping
When they bare the iron hand."

As we reflect and contemplate the almost unbelievable problems of that time, one wonders how a Nation that had just gone through the valley of the shadow of death paid so dearly with so many human lives for its sins—then having won, and I believe somehow both sides in this war won—stood on the brink of enjoying and celebrating its greatest achievement—could now stand the terrible shock of having to go into the darkest valley of sorrow ever experienced by any nation in the history of man. It seems as we look back now, too terrible a load for his people to carry—but they must. They could if—if, that is, they would harken and be reminded, as Lincoln was, to what our forefathers said and did four score and seven years before. He said at Gettysburg that what they said and did about the great objectives of Government was his goal—and he certainly implied that they are our goals, too. The people must achieve them now without Lincoln as their leader. It seemed hard—but they now had, as we have, a forefather that he did not have; one whose simple pronouncements made so much sense. Volumes could be said about what he said that gave them sustenance for strength and courage in their hour of challenge, but I shall refer to only two short paragraphs of his public statements.

His annual message to Congress, dated December 1, 1862, has been nominated by many a student, at home and abroad, as the greatest state paper any American ever wrote. With this I agree. The country's plight was then as desperate as it ever was. That message was a classic of truth, of philosophy, of love of country, of duty, and actually, of beauty of thought and style. Every American ought to read it. In it Lincoln gave to Congress the formal announcement of his Emancipation Proclamation, together with its facts and reasons and needs. He argued that two nations made out of our one, could not reasonably exist. "There is no line straight or crooked suitable for a national boundary upon which to divide." "There is no possible severing of this but would multiply and not mitigate, evils among us." Note the logic in his every word. He then proposed our Constitution be modified so that his pet plan would prevail, that slaves would be free and slave owners compensated. He said, "By mutual concession we should harmonize and act together. Without slavery the rebellion could never have existed; without slavery it could not continue."

How noble, how logical is every suggestion. Then came the famous last paragraph. It is probably 60 seconds in length. When we read it we ask ourselves, Did anything grander ever come from the White House?

"Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or in dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even we here—hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."

In this 1-minute paragraph there are a total of 160 words—111 of them are 1-syllable words and 49 are 2-syllable words. Every one a jewel set in a crown of logic.

What a precious plea. To end the bloodiest war in history.

To sweep away the curse of slavery and selfishness.

Complete in justice—to all—even to the slaveowner.

Could purpose be more divine?

Did mortal man ever use words for a nobler aim?

How wise was Lincoln. How sad the thought that men did not let his wisdom then prevail.

But surely his God must forever bless the plea.

Let me at this point pose the question—can we find some lessons or ideas in these 160 words to end the terrible cold war today?

Then there are those suggestions on conduct for a people and as a nation for our time and for all the world:

"With malice toward none and charity to all.

"With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace, among ourselves and with all nations."

In this paragraph, this gem of completely Christian thought, this another of his masterpieces, are exactly threescore and 12 words (72 in all) and 2 less than threescore of them are 2-syllable words and 1 word has 3 syllables and it is "charity"—another and maybe nicer name for love. Christ said, didn't He, "I give you one new law—that ye love one another." This was the core—the central idea of Lincoln's great objective—his life—by precept and example.

Then let us look at the last statement in his final inaugural address—"to do all which may achieve a just and lasting peace—among ourselves and with all nations."

We might ask ourselves—are we doing all we can to bring peace and understanding among ourselves?—think for a moment on some of our domestic difficulties—race, labor and industry, and education. They are many—varied and complex—then we don't really have to remind ourselves of the world tensions, do we? Are we doing all we can to solve the problems that plague us? I think not.

Let us then heed the admonitions of our forefathers and especially those of Lincoln.

Harken unto those great foundations of truth and morality on which our country was built.

Then we will know that as hate breeds contempt and ignorance breeds misunderstanding and poverty, so can the respect for virtue in others make us more respected, and the sharing of our freedoms and liberties will spread these virtues to other lands.

From these fine examples on our American heritage it is not hard to conclude that it is our business to make other men wiser and better as we can find or make opportunity. Let us then think on these and countless other thoughts, foundation truths of our forebears—make them our rule and guide—then try to find ways to make our personal and collective application of them to the problems of our time, remembering that the words of a great seer—"that no doctrine, faith, or knowledge is of value to man except as it bears fruit in action."

Having done this, can anyone doubt that God will continue to bless America?

Let us today then dedicate ourselves to our unfinished task before us—emulating our forbears—doing those things, as they did, that true wisdom dictates—realizing always that right makes might and that if we would

attain our goal as Lincoln did, charity in all its senses must be our motive. Accepting these as our principal guidepost we will be well on the way toward attaining peace among ourselves and with all nations. Thus we do great honor to our forefathers and especially to Abraham Lincoln.

Amendment of Anglo-American Financial Agreement

SPEECH
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 72) to implement further the act of July 15, 1946, by approving the signature by the Secretary of the Treasury of an agreement amending the Anglo-American Financial Agreement of December 6, 1945.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 minute.

I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, that we gain little help from arguing the merits of the original loan, particularly the merits of section 5 and section 6. I do not wish to go into those matters, but some things have been said which would, perhaps, justify my making this brief reference. The British loan legislation was not, as I recall it, a partisan matter. It probably had heavier support on our side of the aisle, but it had respectable support and outstanding and brilliant support from the other side of the aisle. As I recall, it had bipartisan support. Our former colleague from Michigan, Mr. Wolcott, our beloved friend from Michigan, was for the loan. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN], equally beloved, was for the loan. I could go on and enumerate others who supported it. But, what I am trying to say, Mr. Chairman, is I hope that we can confine our discussion to the merits of this new agreement under present conditions and judge it in that light. I will include in my remarks some figures which, I think, may be enlightening, and may make some Members feel better about it in the light of economic conditions.

Mr. GAVIN. If the gentleman will yield?

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. I decline to yield at the moment.

Mr. GAVIN. I just want to say I will not feel any better about it.

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. There has been a great deal of discussion as to why no security was required of the British when the original loan was made in 1946. I want to make it clear that it would have been impossible for the United States to have secured collateral in the United States to cover the entire loan. As of 1946 the total value of British-owned securities and direct investments in the United States amounted to only $1.475 billion. Of this amount $895 million was already pledged to secure other loans. Consequently, only $580 million would have been available as security to cover the original loan.

We have also heard considerable discussion here of the recent reductions in British taxes. Even after those reductions have been put into effect the British tax burden on the individual will be far heavier than the tax load in the United States. The following table gives a comparison between the tax burden on a British subject with two children and the tax burden on a similarly situated United States citizen:

Income tax

[Married man with 2 children, all income earned]

Income (after deductions but before personal and other exemptions)	Approximate United Kingdom tax before change	Approximate United Kingdom tax after change [1]	Approximate United States Federal tax
$5,000	$960	$930	$520
$14,000	6,158	5,474	2,616
$28,000	16,798	15,452	7,445
$56,000	42,068	40,722	22,472

[1] Assuming 1 child aged under 12 and 1 child between 12 and 17.

Proposed United States Lake Diversion Will Hit Our Shipping, Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, in support of the various Lake Diversion bills voted out of the Public Works Committee yesterday, I would like to exhibit this very objective article on that subject:

[From the Toronto Financial Post of February 9, 1957]

PROPOSED UNITED STATES LAKE DIVERSION WILL HIT OUR SHIPPING, POWER

OTTAWA.—Canada will soon be asked by the United States State Department to discuss a greater diversion of water from the Great Lakes into the Illinois Waterway at Chicago.

But Canadian authorities find it difficult to see anything to talk about.

The United States has always insisted on retaining the right to divert the waters of Lake Michigan as it pleases. And it has in fact done so.

The first diversion was in 1899; the latest increase in flow was authorized barely a week ago.

Canada has not been consulted on any of these occasions. Nor has it claimed a right to be consulted.

"Why are they suddenly worrying about our consent now?" asked one Canadian authority.

"We know that users of the whole Great Lakes-St. Lawrence system will suffer from an increased diversion from Lake Michigan.

"It will hurt shipping and it will reduce power output—on the United States side as much as ours. We will go on saying so whenever we are asked.

"But if United States power and shipping interests don't restrain them, we can't. We may object. But we have no formal grounds for protest," he said.

Only reason Ottawa can find for the new United States concern about Canadian "agreement" to increased diversion is that the Columbia River is now in the picture.

Washington now realizes that its cherished "right to divert" cuts both ways.

And on the Columbia, where much more is at stake than in the Illinois diversion, Canada is asserting the right to divert.

The United States, not Canada, insisted on establishing a right to divert in the 1909 treaty on boundary waters. Just as the United States insisted on excluding Lake Michigan from the rules governing boundary waters, so that the right to divert applies to it.

The United States has used these rights consistently, and as recently as last month.

The precedent is now too well established to be changed by any new consultations unless they cover a complete overhaul and redefinition of the principles of the 1909 treaty.

POINT OF DIFFERENCE

The diversion of Lake Michigan water southward from Chicago into the Mississippi has been one of the contentious issues between Canada and the United States for more than 50 years.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1914 listed it as one of the outstanding points of difference between the countries.

And it is now in the news again, because President Eisenhower is under strong political pressure to let an extra 1,000 cubic feet per second (or even 2,500 cubic feet per second) be drawn off from the Great Lakes and fed through the Illinois waterway into the Mississippi.

The Illinois waterway connects Lake Michigan with the Mississippi. It is used for navigation. It also carries off a large part of Chicago's sewage.

Twice Congress has passed bills sponsored by the Midwestern States to increase the present diversion of 1,500 cubic feet per second (plus domestic pumpage) by another 1,000 cubic feet per second.

Twice President Eisenhower has vetoed them. But he is faced in the new congressional session with another 16 bills (in identical terms) asking for the flow to be increased by 2,500 cubic feet per second.

Congress is not giving up, and it is beginning to put some of the blame on Canada for blocking the diversion.

Washington's current impression that Canada has to consent before the diversion can be increased was created by the State Department, and to some extent fostered by President Eisenhower.

It is not supported in Ottawa: And it is a new departure in United States thinking.

The rate of every previous diversion has been settled by the United States administration or the United States Supreme Court, and Canada has never had a say in it.

Nevertheless, the Canadian Government has very clear ideas of the damage that would be done in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River if yet more water were taken out of Lake Michigan.

Even if the extra 1,000 cubic feet per second were limited to a trial period of 3 years, the lake and river levels would be affected, it is stated, for as long as 14 years.

During that period, both Canada and the United States bordering the lakes would lose a considerable amount of cargo-carrying capacity in the lakes. Both would also suffer a reduction in output from hydroelectric plants.

Here are estimates:

Loss of electricity: Over a 14-year period of lower levels resulting from the 3-year diversion, reduction in electric output would be:

At Canadian plants: 40 million kilowatts.

At United States plants: 45 million kilowatts.

Loss of shipping capacity: Every reduction in water level reduces the average load of

lake vessels by about 70 tons on every trip. This table shows the reductions caused by the Chicago diversion:

[Inches]

	1909 diversion	Proposed 1957 diversion	Total
Lakes Huron and Michigan	2¼	½	2¼
Lake Ontario and St. Lawrence above International Rapids	1½	¼	2⅛
Montreal Harbor	1½	¼	2

The United States Great Lakes Carriers Association is fully aware of the loss it suffers from every lowering of the water levels.

It estimates that every inch reduction means a loss of 1½ million tons of cargo each season.

Who decides on diversions?

In 1890 the Congress made the Secretary of War responsible for authorizing any change in the course of navigable waters within the United States.

In 1899 the Secretary of War authorized the first diversion from Lake Michigan into the Chicago drainage canal.

In 1909, when the Boundary Waters Treaty was signed with Canada, the United States carefully excluded Lake Michigan from the boundary waters covered by the treaty, though it had to give Canada freedom of navigation on Lake Michigan in return for its freedom of navigation on the St. Lawrence.

Lake Michigan, however, being regarded as domestic waters, it was covered by article II of the treaty which reserves to both countries the right to divert all waters on its own side of the line which in their natural channels would flow across the boundary or into boundary waters.

Under this article, if Canadians feel injured by any such diversion they have the same legal remedies as any Americans who are injured: An appeal to the United States courts.

By the late 1920's so much water was being taken out of Lake Michigan for the Chicago drainage canal that other United States States bordering the lakes protested.

They took the case to the United States Supreme Court, which ordered that the diversion must be cut back to 1,500 cubic feet per second for the canal plus 1,700 cubic feet per second for domestic pumpage. This was the operative decision until December 1956.

In December 1956, Midwest States appealed to the Supreme Court for permission to increase the diversion for a temporary period of 1 month.

This was on the grounds of the severe drought condition in the States down the Mississippi. The Court permitted diversion of 8,500 cubic feet per second until the end of January.

In January 1957, the Supreme Court granted a further extension of this 8,500 cubic feet per second until the end of February.

Meanwhile the politicians have been trying to get the Congress to authorize a larger diversion than the Supreme Court had granted.

In two sessions the Congress has passed bills raising the diversion from 1,500 cubic feet per second to 2,500 cubic feet per second.

President Eisenhower has vetoed them both times, and the State Department has always opposed them as being objectionable to Canada.

ENGINEERING STUDY

In his last veto, in August 1956, the President called for a new engineering study by the United States Corps of Engineers, and noted that objections had been received from Canada and the legal advisers of the States of New York, Wisconsin, and Ohio.

He instructed the State Department to start discussions with Canada to work out a solution to these problems as soon as all the pertinent facts are available.

The engineers' report is expected to be in the State Department's hands within a very short time now; and immediately afterward the call to discussions is expected.

If, as Washington reports indicate, the United States is contemplating separate talks confined to the Chicago diversion, it's difficult to see what sense they could make for Canada.

The Canadian Government could only repeat that it does object, that it thinks further diversion would damage both United States and Canadian interests throughout the Great Lakes Basin, but that the United States must decide now as it always has in the past.

Confidential talks between the two Governments on boundary waters problems are scheduled already by the agreement of last summer. They were prompted by the urgency of the Columbia River problem.

But the principles involved in the interpretation, or possible modification, of the boundary waters treaty are the same in both cases.

It would be intelligible from Canada's point of view if the United States decided to throw the Chicago problem into the same general discussion. Only that might take several years, and the political pressures in the Midwest are urgent.

But short of a complete examination, embracing the Columbia and other rivers as well, Canada hasn't much to say about the Chicago case in isolation.

A Propaganda Weapon So Smartly Wielded That It Took America Into War

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the other day in the New York Times, Arthur Krock cited one of the handicaps of the United States Information Agency.

He cited the belief of some that its news service is a poor and unnecessary supplement to those provided by the private professionals in the field.

Another factor was that pouring more millions of dollars into the payroll of the USIA would not dispel the propaganda advantages which total inhibition from truth and consistency and autocratic government give to the Soviet Union.

After the last war, a sign appeared on a wall in Europe. It said, "Yank, Go Home." A few days later someone added, "Via TWA." Perhaps we need more humor to parry unfriendly thrusts.

On one of the continents a foreigner holds an exclusive franchise as distributor of one of America's great corporations. In 20 years, he has grossed millions. To his countrymen, he is America's bitterest critic. But he sells our products.

There is a new word for the men's room in Peru. When miners come out of the mines, one can hear the question, "Donde istar el Chicago?"—Where is the Chicago?

If what Arthur Krock says is true, then perhaps we need more moxie with the boomerang and more ingenious ways of labeling our products and services.

In his book, The Right To Know, Kent Cooper, former chief of the Associated Press, shows how a foreign power favored us with a propaganda weapon so smartly wielded that it took America into war, the First World War.

In chapter 8 of this book, Mr. Cooper says:

Yet the infant American peacetime effort, reaching for results after the Second World War, harked back to the idea of buying the influence of the press in neutral countries in the discarded German-French type of rivalry of 30 years earlier.

He says further:

Though they knew how to stir up their angers by propaganda news for wars which they started themselves, Americans had never known the experience of having other nations use it on them to gain their participation and support in wars started by others far away across the ocean.

In Cuba's struggle for independence, in the sinking of the battleship *Maine*, in the story of Uncle Tom's Cabin, in the Mexican War, in the War of 1812, and in the American Revolution, Mr. Cooper concludes that—

The propaganda that pushed the American people in all of its own 19th century wars was generated here at home entirely by the people and their newspapers—not by their Government.

Incendiary use of the news did it.

In the two 20th century conflicts, the genesis of the idea of America going to war was in Europe, not in the United States, which meant that foreign propaganda had to cross the Atlantic to get us to fight.

In discussing one of the most important chapters in the history of news, the book on page 101 relates:

The story of how the European virus known as international news propaganda first reached these shores, and how before and after the beginning of the First World War it infected America with the urge to immerse itself in Old World quarrels—records an astonishing, effective international use of news on a grand scale for propaganda to attain a definite governmental goal—for the first time, our country armored itself to battle for its demands anywhere on earth, instead of placidly remaining an isolated North American provincial.

The Right To Know is so timely in the light of Mr. Krock's observations on USIA, Mr. Speaker, that I am taking the liberty of including here the thumbnail reviews that precede each of the 21 chapters:

I

UP FROM DARKNESS

When a primitive male grunted something like "Ug-glug-ung" at a female of the species, trying for the first time to say "I love you," he was giving her some news. And if he meant what he said, he was giving her honest news. When his grunts began disclosing to a group something he did or saw, he was spreading the news. But for ages there was no method of recording it in permanent form for really wide distribution. Then came dissemination of news through the printed

word in a product which we call the newspaper.

2

INTO THE LIGHT

An intensely human trait which we call curiosity carries with it the urge to know. Publication of news is responsive both to the curiosity and the urge. Permanent suppression of the right to minister to this human trait in countries where but one ideology like communism is taught is not possible. Dictator governments can prevent information about other ideologies from being given to the public for a while—sometimes for a long while. But what all such governments will learn soon sooner or later is that, the more they try to educate their people exclusively to accept the one ideology, the more curious the people become and the sooner they will strike down restraints that limit their knowledge.

3

THE CRUCIBLE FINALLY PRODUCED

Dictators who from fear never tolerate a free press have something to learn from America. For here, despite the way newspapers assail suppression, expose malfeasance and demand reform, and despite their unrepressed torrents of personal criticism and abuse of those in high office, the American Government has endured. Not only has it endured with complete press freedom, but the country has grown bigger and stronger. So, too, has its form of government.

4

AN AMERICAN MODEL

Just as resentment from pent-up emotions takes violent form when restraint against acquiring knowledge is first removed, so time and the innate moral character of those intelligent enough to have felt the restraint bring eventual sanity in the public's attitude.

5

WHILE CRITICS RAGED

Despite the adverse criticism of its performance, the press in this land will continue to thrive, if first, it is ardently cooperative as between its news and business departments in the creation of an acceptable newspaper; second, if it deals honorably with its readers by printing the news, suppressing nothing of importance whether or not such news counters the beliefs or prejudices of its owners; third, if having gained acceptance, it resists news suppression by government in peacetime and successfully incites the people to rebel against political censorship in wartime when the very life of the Nation may be at stake.

6

A STRANGER APPEARED

Two thousand years after the Roman Emperors gave up the effort to model their citizenry into a pattern through the Acta Diurna, a giagantic effort at state publication of news was established in Soviet Russia to do the same thing by vigorous dictatorial methods. Just before that, however, European states, including Czarist Russia, had sensed the necessity of giving the people only such information as would serve government interests, even if this involved altering facts and reporting untruths. This was the 20th century stranger that appeared in the news world. Its name became government propaganda.

7

STIRRED HIS CAULDRON

It is not a natural emotion that moves parents to cheer as their governments issue commands to take their sons by the hundreds of thousands to be mutilated or killed in war. First there must be an enemy to hate. Plainly stated, to goad them to hate that enemy has been the purpose of all domestic war propaganda news issued by any government to its own people. The fact that news was used for this purpose marked the recognition by government of man's educational advancement. It also marked the beginning of government by tact instead of by proclamation.

8

PRODUCED ARMED CONFLICT

Rivalries in propaganda methods among the nations in the First World War developed crude, original procedures not used by the more experienced in later years. Yet the infant American peacetime effort, reaching for results after the Second World War, harked back to the idea of buying the influence of the press in neutral countries in the discarded German-French type of rivalry of 30 years earlier.

9

AND BROUGHT AMERICA IN

No one would have believed that the chosen leader of this free people, elected because he had "kept us out of war," could so soon after his election so successfully propagandize the news as to ready them for a war so tragic that it changed the whole trend of history. But the Germans finally favored him with a propaganda weapon so smartly wielded that it took America into the war, to make the world safe for democracy.

10

TO MAKE IT A WORLD WAR

An element of what we call "news" is that it astonishes. The most effective propaganda, therefore, incites astonishment. When the public is suddenly astounded, its reaction can be instantaneous, as it was in 1917.

11

THEN THE NEWS CARTEL WAS USED

When men achieved literacy their governments had to devise methods to channel their thoughts and control their emotions so they would subserviently accept their rulers' plans—even for war. Of all the means adopted to attain this end governmental propaganda in the news proved the most effective nationally as well as internationally. And the instrument that made such propaganda news available through the world press in the first half of the century was the great international news cartel. A descriptive title of one of its functions, therefore, as America learned, could have been "Purveyor Extraordinary of Government Propaganda News."

12

JUST ONCE BUT NEVER AGAIN

The life of the great international news cartel as a highway for propaganda was extended by inaction at Versailles, where the malignance of its operations could have been destroyed by American governmental demand. Since it was not, private American initiative had to end it 15 years later, with no government knowledge that it had even been done.

13

PRESS FREEDOM REQUIRES

If two world clashes confirmed anything for certain it was that rulers, not their subjects, still incite wars. A truthful, unfettered press, free from government dictation, could frustrate the plans of war-mad rulers if it were inclined to do so. It could, because in any country where the press is free the newspapers are closer to the people than their government is. The press, therefore, is in a position through news exposure to put the brakes on any government bent on war, again provided it is free and wishes to do so. Extension of the fre press concept, therefore, is the first essential. The second is for the newspapers to fulfill the opportunity afforded them to expose the intent of government propaganda.

14

SUPPORT FROM ALL AND

Those interests which have most at stake in our capitalistic economy have this yet to learn: that the one great hope of ultimate world understanding in addition to free international trade must be based, not upon governmental efforts, but upon mutual international acquaintance at the level of the people themselves. This is attainable, if at all, through wide unhindered interchange of news completely independent of all governments and conducted solely to inform, with no other intention whatsoever.

15

AN END TO NEWS SUPPRESSION

Censorship which can include complete suppression of news is any government's own worst enemy. For the poison that is censorship is so strong when rigorously applied to suppress the news that it benumbs government into a false sense of security. Where the people are not informed there is nothing to arouse their patriotism, without which their government stands constantly upon the brink of disaster. The form the disaster takes could be rebellion from within or invasion from without, which a people lacking patriotism can no longer be driven to resist.

16

LIKE HISTORY'S MOST FLAGRANT EXAMPLE

The people themselves who in anguish furnished their sons to fight the war and who toiled to pay its costs could wait and wait until political administrators in Washington and a dictator in the Kremlin decided when the public should be told the awful thing was over. * * *

It may well be that the time has come, or will come, when government, with or without using military censorship as a cover for what it wants to conceal, may so far project autocratic control of government news as to render ridiculous the zealous acceptance by the press of the rules the government imposes respecting withholding news from publication. Both political and military authorities have done things other than this which militate against the efforts of the press honestly and promptly to discharge its mission of serving news to the public. Nothing has been done about them. With an Associated Press reporter a casualty in this instance, it well may be that by loss of public respect through tolerance of unwarranted autocratic suppression of news the entire press itself ultimately may be the casualty.—(Except from a statement on the Edward Kennedy case, written June 1945.)

17

AFTER WHICH CAME PEACE

Operations of American Government peacetime news propaganda having had no precedent in the entire history of our country, this story of how it came into being belongs in the annals of the troublous years that followed the Second World War.

18

AND A PROPAGANDA WAR

America always has been at its best when, in its youthful vigor, it has given the world a new idea. It never does well when it merely adopts Old World practices. Yet when Russia began propaganda broadcasts our Government, instead of relying upon original methods based on American ethical standards, followed the Russian lead. And away it went on what was for our country a strange adventure.

19

DON'T TELL IT—SELL IT

Outright suppression of current news or mention of it "off the record" by individuals in high positions in war and peace for later sale by them "on a now it can be told" basis became popular before, during and after the

Second World War. The practice obviously assailed the principle of the right to know. In addition to that, these personally narrated accounts, with omission of the adverse, often undertook to establish records of near perfection in the official actions of the authors. Not only was the public thus denied information when it occurred but unfortunately much of later history must be based upon such distorted presentations. Lack of critical interest on the part of the people in this development militates against their welfare while they live and future generations may wonder how they managed invariably to select as leaders men who never erred.

20

AND CONDEMN THE PRESS

The tendency toward throwing our futures into the lap of the Government as a means of relief from all our worries could end press freedom even if the press were performing with sublime inspiration and with such complete objectivity as to satisfy all its critics.

21

BUT REMEMBER THIS

There is ultimately more for this Nation to fear from lack of internal loyalty because of suppression of news than from external efforts by others to discredit it abroad. If the Government of the United States cannot maintain a wholesome partnership with the people of the United States by trusting them with full information to which they feel they are entitled, then the people will not trust their Government, and they should not.

Is it more moxie with the boomerang, and more ingenuity in getting ourselves more favorably talked about that we need? Or do we bring out greatness in others by treating them with greatness?

Power and Principle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the March 25, 1957, issue of Congress Weekly, the official publication of the American Jewish Congress:

POWER AND PRINCIPLE

Has moral paralysis begun to afflict the United Nations? Has this instrument of the international community designed to carry out such noble aims as peace, social progress, the protection of human rights, exhausted its energies? These questions must seriously trouble all who reposed great faith and hope in the U. N. and who continue to believe that a world organization is indispensable for the preservation of international peace and human rights.

It can hardly be denied by even the most enthusiastic supporters of the UN that there has been a fateful slipping away from the heights of 1945. One could easily adduce a catalog of evidence to show that over the years there has been a consistent decline in the will and capacity of the U. N. to realize its high-minded and generous goals. The virus that has infected it and continues to nibble away at its moral resources is the increasing tendency to substitute the expediences of power politics for support of moral principle.

Nothing illustrates this tendency more vividly than the apparent refusal of the organs of the U. N. to come to grips with the tragedy of Egyptian Jewry. In a recent report to the World Jewish Congress, Dr. Maurice L. Perlzweig, its representative at the U. N., observed:

"There were delegations who were prepared to raise the problem publicly, but strenuous efforts were made to dissuade them by influential personalities both within and outside of the Secretariat. We were told at all levels that we had better rely on private diplomacy. Above all we were told that the opening of the Suez Canal was a larger and more urgent international interest, and must be given first priority; for this the help of Nasser was indispensable, and he must not be irritated by public agitation on the Jews of Egypt. In short, it is the tragic truth to say, and the time has come to say it, that the international community has failed in its duty to the Jews of Egypt, and therefore violated the ideal of human rights to which it is committed by the Charter, because it is dominated by the politics of power."

The negative response in the U. N. to the horrors inflicted on the Egyptian Jewry is paralleled by other failures to act affirmatively in the area of human rights. Since 1945 there has been a steady weakening in all countries of the endeavor to back up the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with a convenant that would implement it. For the last 3 years a committee of the General Assembly has been considering the texts of proposed covenants and it still has been unable to complete its work. At a recent meeting the Greeks raised the question of the need for devising machinery to safeguard human rights during the years in which the U. N. slowly moves toward agreement on the covenant. But this wise suggestion only produced a resolution which requested the Commission on Human Rights to study the problem, and thereby removed it from consideration by the General Assembly for at least another year.

Despite such obvious flagging of efforts in the U. N. with regard to human rights, the situation is by no means hopeless. The challenges and opportunities still remain; and above all there remain the persistent aspirations of mankind for a world of security, moral order and human dignity. These aspirations are doomed if the international community continues to base a world organization on mere accommodations among power blocs. Sooner or later this must be recognized.

Henry J. Taylor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the New York Journal-American of Tuesday, April 16, 1957:

HENRY J. TAYLOR

President Eisenhower's appointment of Henry J. Taylor as Ambassador to Switzerland brings into our diplomatic service a man of extraordinary attainment.

In the newspaper business we know Mr. Taylor chiefly for his outstanding record as a foreign and war correspondent. He was not only a good reporter, he was—and is—a talented writer.

With these qualities it is not strange that Mr. Taylor became a lively radio commentator and the author of a number of provocative books. What is unusual in this day of specialization is that his interests and abilities led him to become a respected economist and successful businessman.

The President recently said Mr. Taylor was a man for whom he had held considerable admiration for a long time. We have, too. We hope the Senate speedily confirms the appointment.

United States Information Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I was disturbed during the debate on the appropriation bill for State Department, USIA, Justice, and related agencies when it was alleged that the United States Information Agency had spent $100,000 to produce a film which was said to be a flop. It was also said in the debate that the title of the film was classified. As chairman of Subcommittee No. 7 of the Foreign Affairs Committee which is "State Department Organization and Foreign Operations" and which subcommittee is set up according to the statement of the Foreign Affairs Committee—"to deal with the loyalty and adequacy of all personnel and instruments of foreign policy under the control of the United States, and particularly the State Department and the Foreign Service, United States Information Agency, and liaison with Central Intelligence Agency and other United States agencies involved in foreign policies"—I considered it my duty to find out why the United States Information Agency was allegedly classifying the title of the movie. Following is a statement from the United States Information Agency which I think will set this matter straight and which I think is a sufficiently good explanation to satisfy any reasonable person.

If any Member cares to dispute the allegations and can offer any information to me that the statements herein contained are not factual and valid I will be glad to call a meeting of my subcommittee and ask the proper officials to appear and clarify any matters in dispute.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to include extraneous matter, I include the following statement by the USIA:

STATEMENT REGARDING FEATURE FILM PRODUCED WITH UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY SUPPORT

The United States Information Agency has expended slightly more than $100,000 in connection with the production by a commercial concern of a hardhitting, anti-Communist motion picture. This motion picture was produced overseas and is now being shown on a worldwide basis by a major American film distributing organization. The amount spent by USIA was less than 20 percent of the total budgeted

production cost of the film, the balance of about $500,000 being contributed or arranged for by the producer. Under the contract with the producer, the Government, in return for its share of the financing, received complete control of the script, and agreement by the producer to give the film extensive foreign showings. The producer, who had made available approximately 80 percent of the financing, naturally insisted on domestic as well as foreign showings in order to recover his investment. The film is presently being shown overseas in a number of different language versions and will unquestionably be seen by millions of foreign viewers all over the world. Since it is a film with a compelling anti-Communist theme, it certainly will have a most useful impact on persons in other countries and advance the foreign policy objectives of the United States Government. So far as the box office question is concerned, the picture will probably show a modest profit when all the returns are in.

The United States Information Agency asked the House Appropriations Subcommittee not to identify the film on the printed record of the hearings, since the probable result would be to seriously impair the effectiveness of the film abroad. The Communists study the record of these hearings, as proven by past experience, and would undoubtedly publicize the connection of the agency with the film in question, thus impairing its usefulness with foreign audiences.

The report of the House Appropriations Committee made in connection with the United States Information Agency's budget request for fiscal year 1956 (No. 417, 84th Cong., 1st sess., dated April 13, 1955) stated that greater emphasis should be placed on getting out "unattributed materials rather than those which bear the USIA label." Manifestly, it is not possible for the agency to carry out unattributed information activities like this film if the Agency is compelled to identify the film and disclose the Agency's connection with it.

The Patriotic Spirit of Naugatuck's Crusader Post, No. 1946, VFW

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 11, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker and distinguished colleagues, I wish to pay tribute to Crusader Post, No. 1946, of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of Naugatuck, Conn., for its organization of a Sea Scout Ship. This post, under the leadership of Chief James J. Owens, is organizing Naugatuck Valley youth between the ages of 14 and 18 into a group of Sea Scouts who will receive training in navigation, instruction in small arms, and Marlinspike seamanship. These young men will also visit naval installations, yacht clubs, and take cruises on naval vessels in addition to other activities Moreover, under the guidance of Chief Owens and other outstanding Naugatuck citizens, these future leaders of our Nation will be better prepared to assume leadership and responsibility in the future

Mr. Speaker, the Crusader Post plan will play a prominent role in developing better citizens, and I wish that veterans' organizations of other communities in the Nation would use the Crusader Post plan as a model. Those of us who serve on the House Armed Services Committee know that Boy Scout training during an individual's youth days enables the individual to become a better military man in later years.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the Naugatuck Crusader Post for its patriotic spirit in organizing this Sea Scout post. The post has taken the lead in a new crusade to mold better citizens, and at the same time prepare young men to become better members of the Armed Forces in the future.

Practical Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable James V. Mangano is clerk of the Supreme Court of the State of New York. He is one of my constituents and also one of my colleagues on the Democratic executive committee.

Mr. Mangano's lecture at St. John's University on practical politics is an excellent discussion on our two-party system:

At the outset, I want to express my thanks to Mr. Frank Panizzo who invited me in behalf of the political discussion seminar, St. John's University, and I wish also to thank the members of this group for affording me the opportunity to address you this afternoon.

The topic I have chosen, I think, is a very fascinating one: Practical Politics.

I will endeavor, within my limited time, to condense the highlights of politics, primaries, elections, and party organizations. I trust that I will leave you with a clearer and more enlightened view of party politics. Too often we hear it condemned and criticized. Those who are engaged in doing so, very often do not realize that they are tearing down the very pillars of our Government Our Nation has prospered and become the greatest democracy in the world in the some 180 years of our existence because we have a two-party system and we must strive to continue that system not only for our own sake, but for the sake of all liberty loving people throughout the world.

In selecting candidates for public office, party positions and establishing party platforms and programs, we must ask ourselves the plain basic question. Who and what is right and who and what is wrong? What will make things right or wrong? Who will decide that I must live, work, dress, eat and play within the framework of certain standards that are right and anything else is wrong? One of the best explanations I have heard regarding this is as follows:

"That which does the most good for the greatest number of people for the longest period of time is moral and right." Actually, no one person or group of persons made standards of right or wrong. These standards have been accumulated over many years of trials and failures the best of which survived and became standards of right. We owe a great debt to the rebels who dared to try to change our standards, for it is through them that things changed a little, one way or another. However, the real basic standards of right and wrong have changed little in centuries. There is no denying the proof and force of the Ten Commandments or the Sermon on the Mount. By living accordingly, and the standards set therein is the ultimate of right, and the wrong, nil.

In this great country of ours, we have a two-party system of Government. The Republican Party and the Democratic Party. Upon these parties are based the glory which has made America great and the inspiration of man to accomplish his goal for the general welfare and interest of the people of our country and the people of the world. Basically, both parties are interested in making this country a better place in which to live and for its citizens to enjoy the blessings of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness endowed to us by the Almighty God and for which our Founding Fathers fought so valiantly.

The philosophies of these parties were originally expressed by Jefferson and Hamilton. Of course, as years went by, changes took place and we have accepted many advancements in our social way of life. But from time to time, in the formation of these party programs, are included the old basic philosophies upon which these parties were founded; namely, conservative and liberal.

These principles are not just carried out in a haphazard manner. The best vehicle conceived to carry out these ideals is our American system of party politics. We will have to commence with the organization of a party on a national scale.

Party politics are comprised as follows:

The Republican National Committee whose headquarters ar esituated in Washington, D. C. Its chairman is the Honorable H. M. Alcorn, of Connecticut. It has, of course, other officers and an executive committee.

The Democratic National Committee is also in Washington. Its chairman is the Honorable Paul M. Butler, of South Bend, Ind.

The selection of a chairman of the national committee doesn't just happen by coincidence. He is elected by the members of the national committee from each State in the Union.

The national committeemen from each State of the Union are elected by Delegates to the National Convention, in caucus.

The Democratic State committee offices are located in Albany and at the Hotel Biltmore in New York City. The chairman of this committee, is the Honorable Michael Prendergast of Rockland County, N. Y. The selection of a chairman is made possible by a majority of the vote of the members of the State committee who are elected from each Assembly District in the State of New York, by the enrolled voters of the Democratic Party within those areas at a primary election.

The Republican State committee is located in Albany, and its chairman, the Honorable Judson Morehouse, is also selected in a similar manner as mentioned above.

Sometimes the rules of the organization vary slightly.

In this connection, I would like to inform you that the members of the State committee, male and female, are also members of the Kings County Democratic executive committee, and also are known as leaders and coleaders.

In order to clarify this particular phase of organization, I would like to bring to your attention that every 2 years members of the county committee are selected in each assembly district at a primary election. Thereafter, a meeting is held for the purpose of organizing the entire Kings County committee, which is the backbone and mother organization of the party in the county. At this meeting the Kings County Democratic committee elects officers and designates various committees for the administration of the affairs of the organization in the county.

Among the committees formed is the Kings County Democratic executive committee, which is the one of the most important and powerful committees and which is comprised of the duly elected State committeemen from each assembly district which is authorized by the Kings County committee to exercise all its powers, rights, and prerogatives.

The chairman of the executive committee is also known as the county leader. The incumbent is the Honorable Joseph T. Sharkey. He is selected by a majority vote of the Democratic executive committee, with headquarters at 400 Fulton Street, Brooklyn.

The Honorable John R. Crews is the incumbent chairman of the Republican county committee with offices at 16 Court Street, Brooklyn.

May I also, at this time, bring to your attention that the Liberal Party is also a recognized party in this State. It has party rules, headquarters, and a chairman and officers.

In the assembly district, the recognized leader of that district, is the duly-elected State committeeman. He is the titular head of the assembly district organization which is composed of the duly-elected county committeemen elected within their election district and who are also recognized as captains and cocaptains. They usually range from not less than 2 nor more than 4, divided equally between the sexes, in each election district, depending upon the number of enrolled voters of their respective party. In addition are the enrolled voters of the party who reside in the assembly district.

The members of the county committee or captains of the election district act as the liaison between the constituency and the political organizations. Their obligations and duties are numerous.

For the purpose of clarifying the political formation and existence of boundary lines, I would like to inform you that an assembly district in Kings County is composed of between 45 to approximately 100 election districts, ranging in voting population between 80,000 to 144,000 citizen population.

The congressional districts are made up of approximately the same area as the senatorial districts, although the boundary lines are not coterminus as they were more than 10 years ago. The formation of these lines usually are based upon citizen population within an area according to the population taken by the last Federal census. During this formation of district lines for legislative purposes, gerrymandering sometimes takes place. A classic example of this exists in this area which is in the 12th Congressional District. It starts at around the Queens water and borderline and ends up at the East River and forms a snake right through the heart of Brooklyn.

I know that you will be interested this afternoon to learn briefly how nominations come about.

On an assembly district basis, a candidate for member of the assembly is designated for nomination by his respective political party, by obtaining a petition supported by the leader and sponsored by the State committeeman and the county committeemen from the assembly district. This designation, under our State laws, may be contested by anyone who files a petition with the board of elections according to the provisions of the election law, and that contest usually takes place on what is known as primary day which, this year, will be September 10, in this State.

The same procedure and rule applies to senatorial nominations and congressional nominations, the only difference being that they must be designated by their respective political subdivisions on a wider basis.

Similar rules apply to municipal court judges, city court judges, county court judges, surrogates, borough presidents, district attorneys, and councilmen.

Supreme court justices in this State are nominated in a different manner, namely, at a judicial convention attended by judicial delegates. A majority vote of delegates nominates the candidate. The judicial delegates are duly elected at a primary election by the enrolled voters of their respective parties within the judicial district. The convention is called by the State committee of the respective party.

The mayor, comptroller, and president of the city council are also nominated by petition on a citywide basis.

The governor, lieutenant governor, comptroller, attorney general, United States Senator, and court of appeals judges are nominated at a convention by delegates duly elected within their respective districts throughout the entire 62 counties of New York State.

There is one very important factor which is not generally known by the people and which, in my opinion, is fundamental and is the cardinal purpose of our Government and, that is, the establishment of a party platform upon which a successful administration must, to a great degree, stand or fall.

The carrying out of this program is recognized as party responsibility and, to a great measure, establishes the standards of right and wrong for the administration of the affairs of our people, for the purpose of deriving the most good, for the greatest number of people, for the longest period of time. Of course, each party proclaims its platform to be the right one and for this reason, representatives and duly elected delegates from all sections and from cross-sections of the population meet in conferences, committee meetings and conventions for the purpose of establishing a party platform and for the presentation of an orderly program of carrying out those policies which, in their opinion, will best administer the affairs of the National Government and for local government, if that be the case. In other words, the responsibilities are not on the shoulders of one person—a President, a governor, a mayor, or a local assemblyman or councilman—but on all the people through their elected delegates and party leaders.

While politics has given us Americans such as Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson, and both Roosevelts, and it has given us governors like Al Smith, Lehman, Tom Dewey, and Harriman, and judges like Cardoza, Pound, Lehman, and Loughran, we must keep in mind that these men, like local public officials, were elected by the people.

Government, therefore, is your business. You have a direct and personal interest toward its betterment which you can neither delegate nor dodge. Either you run it, or it will run you. Government will be as good or as bad as you make it. Under our form of government and political system, it is the people who govern themselves by designating, nominating, and electing those people who they believe are able to carry out the policies and programs for the ultimate good of all.

Thank God if an elected official abuses his public office, which is a public trust, it is within the province of the people to terminate his stewardship, trusteeship, or term of office.

May I also leave this further impression with you? Our Government, its political system, and the many millions of honest and conscientious people who make up these two great American institutions, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, should not be condemned and abused by irresponsible criticism.

While I am strictly a Democrat, I have endeavored, during my discourse, to be as objective and informative as possible. I have espoused no particular political principle or philosophy. You are to make your own decision. Take whatever stand you consider best. Study, as closely as possible, the philosophies of the parties. Join and support a local political party. In short, it is between you and God.

More Scholars Express Views on Two-Term Limitation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, replies continue to pour in from historians and political scientists whose opinions I solicited on the merits of the 22d amendment. Nearly all of the scholars whom I contacted have seen fit to respond—which is, I think, firm testimony of the public spirit of our college professors.

In extending my remarks today, I am including three replies. The first is from Dr. Cortez A. M. Ewing, research professor, government, at Oklahoma; the second was submitted by Dr. Arthur N. Holcombe, professor of government, emeritus, of Harvard University; and the last is a memorandum prepared by Prof. Samuel P. Huntington, Jr., also of Harvard, and sent in by Samuel H. Beer, chairman of the department of government at that institution.

These replies follow:

OBSERVATIONS ON THE 22D AMENDMENT

(By Dr. Cortez A. M. Ewing)

The resolutions calling for the repeal of the 22d amendment point up the difficulty of formulatiig foolproof constitutions. The addition of the amendment was no more than a reflection of the indigenous fear that some future President would seize power by force or control of the electoral machinery and, thus, render ludicrous the constitutional provisions relating to the election of the Chief Executive. That this fear was present in the American public is shown by the ratification of the amendment by States in which the Democrats possessed a majority of the State legislative seats, despite the fact that the four consecutive elections of Democratic Franklin D. Roosevelt furnished the occasion for constitutional limitation of presidential tenure.

Against this traditional American fear of tyranny stands the equally desirable principle that a President ought to be the vital leader of the American people throughout his term as Chief Executive. After a President's second election, everyone knows that he cannot be elected for a third term and the inevitable jockeying among the presidential aspirants occurs. Real leadership passes from the President. Politically he becomes an elder statesman while still occupying the presidential office. This situation unquestionably handicaps the administration in its plain responsibility to secure the adoption of an administration legislative program. And postponement of reform measures may well have serious effects upon the public welfare.

The prime desideratum is to achieve optimum leadership throughout the term for which a President is elected. In States where they are constitutionally barred from succeeding themselves, governors are progressively less important in executive direction as the end of their terms approach. One of such important officers remarked that

"during the last 6 monthe of office, the governor has so few visitors that it is almost necessary to send out engraved invitations to keep from being lonely." Constitutional provisions cannot guarantee strong executive leadership; but they can seriously restrict it. Before the adoption of the 22d amendment, Presidents could, by postponing announcement of their personal intentions or their preferences in successors, retain their influence until the last year of their terms. With the implementation of the 20th amendment and the later scheduling of the national conventions, it would be possible to reduce that period to about 6 months.

It must be admitted that incumbents might succumb to the blandishments of their placemen and announce for third terms, but natural law and public opinion would serve to reduce them to a minimum. In American politics it is becoming difficult, if not impossible, for men to establish themselves as of presidential caliber until they have reached the middle-age bracket. After 8 years of onerous duties in the Presidency most men will be looking forward to the enjoyments of retirement, to be liberated, as Jefferson remarked, "from the hated occupations of politics and to remain in the bosom of my family, my farm, and my books."

As a political theorist I was personally opposed to the ratification of the 22d amendment, for three specific reasons:

1. I thought then, and am still of the same opinion, that formal constitutional prohibitions are not generally as reliable as the best judgment of the American people.

2. Formal constitutional prohibition makes no provision for specific crises in national politics—crises like a war for national survival, in which the disqualification of a strong President may have tragic results for the whole country. On this point, the British constitution is superior to our own. Under it, a strong leader like Churchill can be utilized throughout the critical period.

3. And finally the mere existence of a constitutional disbarment is an invitation to an unprincipled President or political party to use force in retaining control of the Government—always in the interests of the general welfare.

At least the forms of democracy are retained when a President is elected for a third term, which is of vital importance to the future of the Nation. The Republic existed for 152 years before the third-term tradition was broken—and the innovation was accomplished through the positive approval of the American public. I doubt that either the vigor or the spirit of American democracy was impaired by the elections of 1940 and 1944. Much more permanent injury could come from the constitutional weakening of the presidential office.

I am convinced that the 22d amendment's adoption, from the long-range view, was ill-advised and that the inevitable results of its operation are contrary to the proper development of executive management of the Government of the United States.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
Cambridge, Mass., March 30, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN UDALL: I have your letter of the 13th instant, and am happy to reply to your inquiry.

You wish to know whether I favor the repeal of the 22d amendment, and will state my reasons for my opinion in a form suitable for publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I was opposed to the adoption of the 22d amendment, because at the time of its adoption it seemed to me impossible to get fair consideration of the basic principles involved on account of paramount interest in protecting or attacking the record of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. At the present time the memory of President Roosevelt would not interfere so much with a consideration of your proposal on its merits, though doubtless some politicians would look forward to the possibility that the first person to be affected by the repeal of the 22d amendment (if it could be repealed) might be RICHARD NIXON.

I fear that it is impossible to arouse enough interest in your proposal to get action upon it without arousing an amount of interest that would throw the question into politics. It is difficult at best to persuade many Americans to take an interest in a speculative question involving the form of government. I do not know why it is, but the bulk of the people have an aversion to the study of the science of government. In order to be persuaded to act, they must first feel the necessity for action; and such a feeling seems to be contingent upon a personal problem such as many felt in the case of FDR's third and fourth candidacies.

If a general convention should be called to revise the Constitution (which God forbid), this would be an appropriate subject for consideration. Standing by itself alone, I think it is better not to make an issue of it. There are more promising and more urgent subjects for consideration by thoughtful Congressmen with a taste for constitutional reform.

This seems to be a reply not well suited for the use mentioned by you in your letter. Perhaps it would be better to regard it as a personal and confidential communication.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR N. HOLCOMBE,
Professor Government, Emeritus.

MEMORANDUM ON THE 22D AMENDMENT PREPARED BY PROF. SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON, JR.

Although, as Congressman UDALL notes, the prospects of repeal are rather dim, it very definitely seems to me that repeal is desirable for the following reasons:

1. The 22d amendment tends to enhance the gap between executive and legislature in terms of continuity and change. In general, the legislature represents the principle of continuity, the executive the principle of change. This gives the executive considerable power when the President first comes to office—a fresh mandate—but it also weakens the President and his executive officials in that they are generally amateurs in the National Government as compared with congressional leaders. The 22d amendment not only fixes a rigid principle of change on the Executive Office, but also means that every 8 years there will be a general clearing out of subordinate executive officials. In this respect, the amendment is a neo-Jacksonian variation on the theme of rotation in office and "where annual elections cease, there tyranny begins."

2. While obviously there is no data to judge how the amendment will affect the Presidency, there is a vast quantity of comparable data on the effect of similar restrictions on the States. As you know, a number of State governors are restricted to one term. While I haven't made any study of the effect of these on State government, my general impression would be that States without this restriction get along better than States with the restriction. Compare, for instance, New York and Pennsylvania: Al Smith in the 1920's, Lehman in the 1930's, and Dewey in the 1940's. Each stayed in office three terms and each was able to give the State consistent and vigorous executive leadership. Each was also able to carry through a program of reform and development which he would not have been able to do if he had been restricted to one term. A comparative study would, I am sure, make abundantly clear the generally deleterious effects of these restrictions on State governments. In addition, no other constitutional democracy, to my knowledge, imposes any formal constitutional restrictions on the length of time which its chief executive can hold office.

3. If there is danger in prolonged tenure in office, this certainly applies just as much to the legislative branch as to the executive branch. The general failure to impose any restrictions on the tenure of legislative officials in American history reflects the late 18th century and Whig view that the legislature represented the people and the Executive was undemocratic. Since the Jacksonian revolution in American politics, this is manifestly not the case, both branches are in their own ways equally democratic, and there is no logic to imposing a restriction on tenure on one branch without imposing it on the other.

4. Although advanced on grounds of protecting democratic government against possible tyranny, the amendment actually denies to the people the fundamental right to choose their governors. As you know, the President generally represents a constellation of political forces (and, indeed, frequently embodies them), and so long as that political configuration remains dominant it seems to me that the electorate should be able to keep the President in office. It is possible that inability to do this might have very divisive effects (the inability of Ike to run for reelection certainly will have this effect on the Republican Party, and, conceivably—we should recognize—on the country as a whole.

5. The increased importance of the President in international affairs and his role as a world leader make it much more desirable for him to have the option of remaining in office. It takes time to educate Presidents and their subordinates to the requirements and responsibilities of the conduct of foreign affairs, and there is a serious question as to what extent the country can afford a constant turnover of leadership. Here, it seems to me, that some of Lippmann's warnings (which, generally, I think, are exaggerated) may well be applicable.

6. While inability to run again will probably weaken the President's power, it may also enhance tendencies toward arbitrary action. I think history shows that most Presidents in their second term have seriously considered running again, and the possibility of so doing has tended to make them more responsible and considered in their actions. If a President knows definitely that he is finished politically and, also, if he feels his power beginning to weaken, he may be led to take actions which he would not take if the possibility existed of his again facing the electorate. In other words, the amendment may tend to decrease not only the power of the President but also his responsibility.

USIA—IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington News of April 17, 1957:

USIA—IV

Do you wonder sometimes where your Federal income tax money goes?

We cite you to the case of an official of the United States Information Agency.

On September 22, 1952, he was appointed public affairs officer and attaché to our embassy at Saigon, in Vietnam. His salary was $9,710 per year.

For 26 months, from his appointment to December 4, 1954, according to House Appropriations Committee hearings on the USIA budget, he got a salary of $21,876.

But because Saigon is considered a hardship post, he also got a hardship post differential of $5,017.

His post allowance was $2,944.

He got a transfer allowance of $150, and a temporary lodging allowance of $8.

That totals $29,996, but that wasn't all.

He and his family were transported from here to Saigon. Cost, $4,604.

Then he had a home leave transfer to agency, meaning, we judge, the United States Information Agency. This cost another $4,789.

The grand total spent out of the Treasury over this 26-month period for this $9,710-a-year employee was $39,390.

This helps explain, to us, at least, why the House yesterday followed the lead of its Appropriations Committee and voted to cut the USIA budget for next year by $35 million, from $140 million requested to $105 million.

Now, the USIA budget battle goes to the Senate.

And we hope that there, such examples as the one above will convince the Senate, too, that USIA wants more than it should get.

Korea: Land of the Forgotten Kid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. HEBÉRT. Mr. Speaker, I wonder just how many of us ever give a passing thought to what our youngsters on duty in Korea are really thinking about.

Not many of us, I am certain.

I just received a letter from a very old and dear friend of mine, who shall be nameless for obvious reasons.

My old friend wrote this:

DEAR EDDIE: I am taking the liberty of sending you herewith a copy of a letter which our son, Peter, sent to his sister Dierdre. He did not have any idea that Mary or I would see it. Mary suggested I might send it onto Washington because she thinks that the Armed Forces in Korea are the forgotten lads compared to those in the European theater.

GIBBONS.

This letter is a remarkable document and after reading it I could not resist the temptation to pass it along so others might also read it. There is plenty of food for thought in it and I just wonder how many other youngsters would not like to have written the same thing if they possessed the same talent as this youngster for articulate expression.

Maybe your neighbor has a kid like this one or maybe you have one in your own house.

Here is the letter:

DEAR DE: At the moment I feel like a little boy lost in a foreign place, not knowing where to go, and even if I did, why in hell should I go there in the first place. This place is filled with Americans, interesting people at home, yet here, with the one thought of home on everyone's mind. No one person seems to have a spark of life. Eventually one starts feeling he is serving a prison term for 16 months, placed in a small compound, limited by his own dislike for the outside which is quite revolting. The distractions afforded become monotonous; a show is not exactly different from any seen before (same type persons, same stories); the library is adequate but even the knowledge to be gained is useless both here and the future is still the future, the food is food, not eggs benedict, or crayfish, not seasoned, etc.; the work a monotonous Army routine. A conversation runs like this:

"Hiya," "Hiya," "Rough day?" "Yep, how about you?" "Colonel got on my ————." "Hell, you're short time (less than 100 days), don't sweat it." "Naw, they won't send me to division." "What are you going to do?" "Go to the club." "Flick tonight?" "Yes; its purty good." "What is it?" "Don't know, think I've seen it a couple of times." "Well, see you down there." "Yea. By the way, you're getting to 'short' aren't you." "Naw, still got 23 days to go." "No sweat." By the time you've heard this conversation from officers and GI's countless times a day, you begin to wonder if there is anything in the outside world; a place where a trip to a downtown bar or theater would be an entirely new experience, or a French Quarter where people think of more than the one subject, "Are you short time?"

Actually, I don't see how these people stay in the Army, doing the same thing day by day, year by year; to me, a job of emptying the ocean into a hole by means of a thimble. Not only that, but in the Army you have to have someone else to plug up the hole in the bottom of the thimble with his finger; an NCO to make sure you do the job, and an officer to check the hole procedure.

But I hope you at home can feel better protected knowing I am here to count the number of times someone else pours out a thimble of water.

Cannot say that I am in the best of moods tonight and shall continue down the road of periodic depression in the future, but, I hope you shall continue to uplift a lad's spirits by your letters to

Your brother,

PETER.

Reserve Forces Act of 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, since the enactment of the Reserve Forces Act of 1955 I have made it a policy to make periodic reports to the Congress on the implementation of that law and the Reserve forces generally.

I know the Members are aware of the recent controversy between the Army National Guard and the Department of the Army which came about because of an Army directive requiring Army National Guard recruits to participate in the 6-month basic training program. The differences between the Guard and the Army were resolved after lengthy hearings before the subcommittee of which I am chairman. We were able to obtain the unqualified approval of the Army and the National Guard to a memorandum of understanding which alleviated their differences.

The required 6 months training program for all guard recruits will have the effect of providing the Army National Guard with persons already trained in the basic arts of war and ready to enter upon the advanced and unit training phases in the Army National Guard. This is necessary because the technique and pace of modern warfare, in this age of possible sudden disaster, requires well-equipped Reserve forces in being, capable of immediate mobilization and almost concurrent entry into battle stations. I have no hesitancy in predicting that with all National Guard recruits receiving 6 months of basic training after their enlistment the level of training of the Army National Guard will rise, and more than ever before the Guard will justify the position which the Congress has given it, the first line of defense for our country.

The Army National Guard has done an outstanding job of attracting and retaining in its ranks on a voluntary basis over 400,000 young men who have consistently demonstrated an intense interest and desire to serve their country. One of the provisions of the memorandum of understanding, agreed to by both the Army and the guard, was that the strength of the Army National Guard should not be permitted to fall below 400,000.

It must be definitely understood, however, that what the committee and the parties to the agreement had in mind, in establishing this figure, was that the strength of 400,000 for the Army National Guard was to be considered a floor and not, in any respect, a ceiling.

The increased international responsibilities thrust upon this country dictating increased worldwide commitments for our active Armed Forces require that our Reserve forces be maintained in a constant state of readiness and that there be no reduction in their strength and training. However, it has been brought to my attention that the Department of the Army has projected a 1958 fiscal year end strength for the Army National Guard of 400,000. Now, at the present time, the Army National Guard has already obtained a strength of approximately 430,000, and it can be reasonably anticipated that this strength will gradually increase as more and more emphasis is put on the acquisition of trained men for the guard ranks.

Last year the Congress appropriated for a 1957 fiscal year end strength of 425,000 and, it is my understanding, that the Appropriations Committee repeatedly stated that it desired no cessation in National Guard recruiting.

In view of this, it is my earnest hope that the Congress will place no limitations on the National Guard for fiscal year 1958 which would serve to restrict recruiting activity at a time when it is now on a steady ascent. I realize, of course, that, for budget purposes, we must have an appropriations limitation on the overall strength of the Army National Guard. But I believe this strength figure should be set sufficiently high so as to not impair National Guard recruiting in the next fiscal year.

The budget now under consideration provides for only 25,000 6-month trainees for the Army National Guard, whereas a more realistic figure would be approximately 50,000. Any restriction on National Guard recruiting at this time, to my mind, would be a grave mistake and cause untold injury to the projected plans and programs for increasing the efficiency and combat capability of our Reserve forces.

The guard has constantly demonstrated its ability to meet the requirements imposed upon it by Congress. It has furnished trained units and individuals in times of catastrophe and need, and is deserving of strong and continued support in its efforts to increase its combat potential and capability for our common defense.

Rural Electrification Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following address by Melvin Sims, member of the Adams Electrical Cooperative, delivered at the congressional dinner sponsored by the Association of Illinois Electric Cooperatives in Washington, D. C., on April 8, 1957:

NEED FOR ADEQUATE AND DEPENDABLE ELECTRIC SERVICE

Speaking as a member of an electric cooperative, I am going to talk with you about my farming operation, and how much my family and I depend upon adequate and dependable electric service from our cooperative.

Our farming operation is quite typical, possibly somewhat larger, but typical of many livestock farms in our area. We have a hog enterprise, feed some cattle, produce grade A milk and raise corn, wheat, and soybeans. I live on the farm which was cultivated by my great grandfather and I am proud to have a son who now says he too wants to be a farmer. Our family loves the life on the farm, but deprive us of electricity and I suspect that our agricultural heritage might soon terminate.

Now lets look at some of our electrical needs and think together of the consequence of inadequate power or a complete failure in each situation. Each of you are aware of the growing importance of water—it is fast becoming one of the major limiting factors of agricultural production. We now have 3 electric deep well pressure water systems and plan to install 2 more in the next 2 years. My ultimate goal is to have water under pressure in every field. We have 4 electrically heated automatic drinking fountains. Try to imagine a cold winter day with no electricity—no water in the home and what little water available for the livestock would be frozen and the drinks and plumbing in need of repair.

Grade A dairying would certainly be an unpleasant and inefficient task without electricity. It powers the milking machine, cools the milk, warms the milk house in the winter and cools it in the summer, heats the water and lights our buildings so that we can produce a clean efficient and wholesome food for our neighbors.

Pig brooders have saved an additional pig per sow and in some instances the entire litter. Without our brooders on a cold and stormy day, the new-born pigs become chilled, their mothers restless and the liveability low. Pigs saved per liter is one of the important measures of efficiency in swine production—when this figure drops too low it results in another farm-business failure and ultimately a higher cost of pork across the counter.

We do not have a poultry enterprise but the poultryman, too, relies heavily upon his electric supply. The automatic waterers and feeders are an efficiency measure but the chick brooding a necessity. A power failure at chick brooding, as in pig-brooding time, can be a catastrophe. In industry, a power failure means production losses but in agriculture, production losses are sometimes accompanied by serious deterioration.

Our cattle-feeding enterprise requires lots of feed mixing and grinding. Here again we have turned to electricity to save labor and eliminate an unpleasant task. The automatic equipment removes the ingredients from their respective bins, accurately meters specified amounts into the grinder, mixes and grinds the feeds and delivers a predetermined amount into a feeder or bin with only the required time and effort of setting a timer and pushing a button. The vertical auger elevates feed and grain into seven different bins. This electrical equipment saves approximately 6 man-hours per week.

As farming becomes more and more mechanized, the farm shop becomes increasingly important. The electric welder saves in repair bills and in loss of time. With 150 tires to maintain, the air compressor is a necessity. The electric drill, the bench grinder and the power saw are other tools which add to the efficiency of our farm.

The investment requirement of agriculture is at an alltime high—the average in our county being approximately $60,000 with some going in excess of $200,000, but I believe that there is every reason to assume that additional investments will continue to be added.

Many of these additions will be electrical if we are assured of continuance and adequate electric power. Agriculture, like industry, will advance with the supply of power.

Of course, the greatest efficiencies from the use of electricity on the farm come from its use in production, but we must not overlook the comfort and morale of the farm family. We use electricity to heat and cool our home and cook our meals, light our rooms, and warm our beds, wash and iron our clothes, freeze our food, mix our cakes, and sharpen our knives, keep the time, and receive the news, shave the husband, and mend his clothes, and probably most important of all, power the electric train.

The children would probably be in a less jovial mood if it were really necessary to wear their coats in the house, satisfy their hunger by roasting their weiners over a candle, and miss just one episode of the Lone Ranger. Seriously, if we are to keep young efficient, top level families on the farm, electrical conveniences must be guaranteed.

The farmer lives to a large extent by faith, and is generally closely associated with his church. He has faith that the seeds he plants will grow, that adequate moisture and nutrients will nourish the crops and that winds and hail and storms will not destroy that which he tills. In like manner, we are developing more and more faith in our cooperative, that they might always provide us with the electric power we are dependent upon.

Stare Decisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the editorial "Stare Decisis" which appeared in the Birmingham News on April 7, 1957. As pointed out in this editorial, the Supreme Court decision is recognized as a departure from accepted legal precedents and is a venture into sociological fields. This confirms the belief in the minds of many eminent jurists throughout the country that there was no attempt on the part of the court to follow established legal precedents. Unfortunately this tendency is found not only in the May 17, 1954, decision but is also found in many other decisions of the court and is causing a great deal of concern throughout the country. An excellent explanation of the doctrine "Stare Decisis" is contained in the Birmingham News and is as follows:

"STARE DECISIS," OR: WHEN SHOULD COURT REVERSE EARLIER RULINGS?

A small group of distinguished legal experts, who must remain unidentified, has put together some legal history and comment which has a bearing on a basic issue—when should courts change the decisions of previous courts.

The doctrine is that of stare decisis, standing by previous rulings. This long has been a matter of interest to judges. Consistency of courts is important. When there is much inconsistency, operations of lower courts can be thrown into confusion. Mr. Justice Roberts wrote, in a dissenting opinion in *Mahnich* v. *Southern Steamship Co.*, 1944, that "if litigants and lower Federal courts are not to [follow precedents reasonably closely] the law becomes not a chart to govern conduct but a game of chance; instead of setting rights and liabilities it unsettles them."

Mr. Justice Roberts went on to say that, "the more deplorable consequence will inevitably be that the administration of justice will fall into disrepute. Respect for tribunals must fall when the bar and the public come to understand that nothing that has been said in prior and adjudication has force in a current controversy." And: "The tendency to disregard precedents in the decision of cases * * * has become so strong in this court of late as, in my view, to shake confidence in the consistency of decision and leave the courts below on an uncharted sea of doubt and difficulty without any confidence that what was said yesterday will hold good tomorrow * * *."

Mr. Justice Roberts jabbed in still another case, *Smith* v. *Allright*, 1944: "It is regrettable that in an era marked by doubt and confusion, an era whose greatest need is steadfastness of thought and purpose, this court * * * should now itself become the breeder of fresh doubt and confusion * * *"

This particular summary had basic reference to the case of *Radovich* v. *National Football League and Others*, which put pro football under antitrust regulations, though baseball had been ruled not under them, the reason for this being very obscure.

Still, there is a substantial body of high legal opinion that consistency is not necessary

in courts. Mr. Justice Holmes: "It is revolting to have no better reason for a rule of law than that so it was laid down in the time of Henry IV." But although "it may be suggested that at least one reason for precedent is that it enables the expert to exclude the layman (Prof. Arthur L. Goodhart)," departing from precedent involves changes in conditions. This leads legalists to consider whether "the question presented is one of applying, as distinguished from what may accurately be called interpreting, the Constitution (Brandeis)."

Now Brandeis, as is known, was a great one for change. Even so he had something useful to say for those who, especially in the segregation situation, are hopeful that the court's basic decisions may, once more, be reversed.

Brandeis wrote, dissenting in *Burnet* v. *Coronado Oil and Gas Co.*, that "the doctrine of res judicata demands that a decision made by the highest court, whether it be a determination of a fact or a declaration of a rule of law, shall be accepted as a final disposition of the particular controversy, even if confessedly wrong. But the decision of the court, if, in essence, merely the determination of a fact, is not entitled, in later controversies between other parties, to that sanction which, under the policy of stare decisis, is accorded to the decision of a proposition purely of law." Query: Did the segregation reversal of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* have its base in fact or law?

Therein may be held some hope, however slight, in further reversals. For the decisions in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* and *Bolling* v. *Sharpe*, both 1954, the latest segregation decisions, were based not so much on hard law, as is obvious, as contentions involving fact, to wit, psychological factors allegedly affecting minds of Negro school children. Moreover, Brandeis flatly conceded that in the abstract, "the earlier decision may have been influenced by prevailing views as to economic or social policy * * *."

Well, we know quite well that the segregation decisions do involve social policy. But wherein was the change, where registered, where mandated by the public mood North or South? That is difficult to determine, hence it should be subject to reconsideration.

Justice Douglas noted in 1949 that in the previous 12 years there had been 30 instances of the court reversing itself, whereas in the 30 years between 1860 and 1890, there had been only 18 reversals. Has there been a change simply for change's sake?

Who Cuts Government Spending?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on the question of cutting Government expenses the Los Angeles Times of April 16 carried an interesting article which is reasonably self-explanatory. The county has 12 Members of the House of Representatives, more than about 35 of our States. The county contains both metropolitan and rural areas.

LOS ANGELES HOUSE REPUBLICANS VOTE FOR BUDGET CUTS—FOUR BACK ALL PROPOSED SLASHES; TWO DEMOCRATS AGAINST ANY REDUCTIONS

(By Robert T. Hartmann)

WASHINGTON, April 15.—Four Los Angeles County Congressmen, all Republicans, have voted for every budget cut in the 1958 Federal budget put to a record vote to date. Two Democrats representing Los Angeles County in the House have opposed every rollcall reduction.

A survey of the Los Angeles legislators' voting records on the controversial budget shows the county's 8 Republicans and 4 Democrats favoring the following proposed savings:

Republicans	
Representative HIESTAND	$68,282,900
Representative LIPSCOMB	68,282,900
Representative JACKSON	68,282,900
Representative SMITH	68,282,900
Representative MCDONOUGH	66,955,900
Representative HOLT	66,426,800
Representative HOSMER	65,879,100
Representative HILLINGS	56,096,900
Democrats	
Representative DOYLE	362,800
Representative ROOSEVELT	263,800
Representative HOLIFIELD	None
Representative KING	None

Most of the House budget cutting done so far has been by voice, standing, or teller votes, in which the individual Member's aye or no is not recorded. But last week, in a marathon of 14 roll calls, proposed floor amendments cutting appropriations for the Labor Department and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare were put to the House.

ONLY NINE APPROVED

If all 14 of the economies had been adopted, an additional saving of $68,282,900 would have been effected. As it was, only 9 of the amendments carried and the largest single sum, a proposed $50 million cut in grants to States for sewage plant construction, was rejected by a party-line split.

HIESTAND, JACKSON, LIPSCOMB, and SMITH were among the 90 hard-core budget cutters (74 Republicans; 16 Democrats) who followed the lead of the chairman and ranking minority member of the House Appropriations Committee in voting for every cut in the 14 rollcalls.

HOLIFIELD and KING were in the 54-Member solid spending bloc, composed of 52 Democrats and 2 Republicans (PATTERSON, Connecticut, and BURDICK, North Dakota) who opposed every budget-cutting amendment. So was the majority leader, Representative JOHN MCCORMACK, Democrat, Massachusetts.

Other Members strayed occasionally from party positions but analysis of the 14 record votes leaves no doubt that it is the Republicans in general (with some Southern Democratic support) who really want to cut President Eisenhower's $71,800,000,000 peacetime budget.

Among the Los Angeles legislators, Representative MCDONOUGH voted for every cut except one, a $1,327,000 item for the Food and Drug Administration. Representatives HOLT and HOSMER each opposed this and three other reductions in Federal funds.

HOLT did not support a $346,800 cut aimed at the Bureau of Labor Statistics, $46,300 reduction for the Bureau of Labor Standards, and $136,000 cut in the budget for the Bureau of Veterans Re-employment Rights.

HOSMER also voted against the $346,800 savings at the expense of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a $442,000 reduction for the Bureau of Employment Security, and a $288,000 cut for the Wage and Hour Division.

HILLINGS opposed a $12,186,000 reduction in Federal grants to States for unemployment compensation and did not vote on a $31,000 cut in funds for the Women's Bureau.

ROOSEVELT and DOYLE voted in favor of cutting $263,800 from the Mexican farm labor program budget, and DOYLE opposed all the other amendments. ROOSEVELT was not recorded as voting on three proposed cuts in Labor Department appropriations.

All the Los Angeles County Democrats except ROOSEVELT, who was not recorded, joined in last month's House resolution deploring the size of the Federal budget and asking President Eisenhower to suggest additional cuts.

Republicans HIESTAND, HILLINGS, LIPSCOMB, MCDONOUGH, and SMITH opposed the House resolution passing the budget back to the President. HOLT, HOSMER, and JACKSON did not vote.

Ike Must "Follow Through" on Foreign Aid as Well as Golf

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, last week one of my constituents, William R. Mathews, independent-minded publisher of the Arizona Daily Star, Tucson, Ariz., presented some very valuable testimony to the Special Senate Committee To Study the Foreign Aid Program.

Few editors in this country have given more careful attention in years past to foreign policy problems than Mr. Mathews, and few have his insight.

For these reasons I am placing his testimony in the RECORD, so that it may receive full scrutiny by those who are interested in this subject.

The testimony follows:

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE TO STUDY THE FOREIGN AID PROGRAM, APRIL 12, 1957

My name is William R. Mathews. I am editor and publisher of the Arizona Daily Star of Tucson, Ariz.

First, let me thank you for giving me this opportunity to testify.

If there is any one lesson my experience as a working reporter and editor, who has seen much of the world, its wars and revolutions, has taught me, it is that any aspect of American foreign policy as important as foreign aid must identify itself clearly with the self-interest of the American people. Only by such an appeal can they be unified behind the policy and thus enable a Washington administration to speak with an enduring authority that will command respect at home as well as abroad.

This fundamental truth has been confirmed by recent history. Because an unusual combination of circumstances clarified the need of the Marshall plan and its successors, the American people saw their own interest involved. The Communist-promoted civil war in Greece in 1947 sounded the first clear warning. As it was followed by the seizure of Czechoslovakia in March 1948, the hotly contested elections in Italy in April, the Berlin blockade in June of that year, and the growing economic desperation of Britain, France, and Germany, most Americans realized that they had to do something to bring a halt to this expanding Soviet imperialism. The truculent attitude of Moscow aroused their anger as well as their fears.

The Marshall plan came in the nick of time. If the Kremlin had not made the mistake of refusing to collaborate with the many Socialist parties which governed most of the countries of Europe, I believe the Marshall plan would have come too late. From personal observations I can testify that Communist stupidity, combined with the Marshall plan, saved Western Europe, Tur-

key, and Greece from being engulfed by Soviet imperialism.

Just as the Marshall plan's help was restoring Western European productivity and as America's interest began to wane a bit, the Communists struck again in Korea. No people, no congress, no president would have responded instantly to meet that threat unless they saw their own safety, their own self-interest, clearly involved. The implications of the Korean struggle clarified the need for NATO and the indefinite maintenance on our part of a military strength that the Kremlin respects.

Conditions have changed and we should welcome the change. The Marshall plan, NATO, the Korean war, all paid off and, in my opinion, paid off big. The advance of communism by military means has been stopped. Western Europe's productivity has more than been restored; it has been expanded vastly over what it was in 1939. But the biggest thing of all is the changed attitude of the Soviet Union. Had it not been for this American-sponsored program, I doubt whether this notable change would have come.

As one who has been to the Soviet Union three times, the last in April 1954, and who has made a written record whose accuracy has been confirmed by events, I take this change in Kremlin attitude seriously. I believe it means that the Soviet Union has given up all plans for many years to come to expand to the west. Thus, much of what we sought to attain by the Marshall plan and our own and Europe's rearmament, has been accomplished. The Soviet Union now respects our political and military accomplishments, as well as our industrial strength, whereas it did not have such respect in 1947, nor as late as 1950.

Paradoxically, this new situation makes the matter of foreign aid, economic and military, a much more difficult policy to formulate and execute. The old emotional appeals of fear, anger, and hatred have been pretty well worn out and will be neutralized if the Kremlin continues to grow more reasonable and less bellicose.

The effect has already made itself felt at home and abroad. England is cutting its armed forces; France is busy in Africa. Belgium and Holland feel safer and have reduced their contribution to NATO. The action of Congress a year ago in reducing foreign aid by $1 billion reflects a rapidly growing American opinion that will continue to make itself felt in the future.

That the year 1957 will produce a crisis in the entire foreign-aid program is now apparent. If it is to be met wisely, we must take due account of the changed feeling in Europe and among the American people, and take note of the rapidly deteriorating situation in the Middle East.

How to present this need to the people in such a way as to command their support is a basic problem. We assume they will back a program once they see their own self-interest involved.

For instance, the day of economic aid to Western Europe is nearly over, and military aid in the form of financial expenditures will have to be reduced seriously by stretching out the new weapons program over more years.

On the other hand, Americans quickly see their self-interest in the Orient and Pacific Ocean area. They understand the predicament of Greece and Turkey. There will be no trouble to get generous appropriations for those areas. They will go along, grudgingly, with economic help for the Orient, India, and the Middle East. They will go along with the point 4 program as long as it is not overdone. They are extremely sympathetic to all of Latin America.

I believe that a program of $2,500,000,000 to $3,000,000,000 can be carried on indefinitely if it is presented as an historic American job to be carried out by Americans. Americans will rise to assume responsibility as a matter of pride. They like to adventure, but they do not like to be the minority member of a committee when they are paying the bill. Any plan to refer any important part of foreign aid to the United Nations, or any other committee, will seriously lessen the interest of the American people.

However—and in saying this I do not want to appear too pedantic—no amount of aid can be successful unless it is accompanied by a wise political policy. Whereas Europe has learned to live with the blundering and contradictory statements and attitudes of American executive, military, and congressional officials, the Middle East and the Far East have not. They are extremely sensitive and suspicious. If there is any place where we must appeal to native self-interest and pride, it is in these areas. It comes ahead of any foreign financial aid.

This applies to the present situation in the Middle East. As a newspaper editor, I spent a month there in 1947, and opposed editorially the creation of the new state of Israel. When, however, more than two-thirds of the nations of the world formally recognized that new state and welcomed her into the family of nations, opposing governments as well as individuals must accept such a fact and try to make the best out of it.

President Eisenhower, in his speech of February 20, started our policy on the right road. What seems to have escaped so many people is that he made demands not only upon Israel but upon Egypt, too. That he succeeded in persuading Israel to withdraw its forces now obligates him in using equal firmness in dealing with Egypt. Just as I favored, editorially, the use of sanctions against Israel, so now I favor their use against Egypt. In these demands upon Egypt, and with reference to the Gulf of Aqaba, the President said, "* * * we expressed the conviction that the gulf constituted international waters and that no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the gulf. We announced that the United States was prepared to exercise this right itself and to join with others to secure general recognition of this right."

The implications of those words are far reaching, and answer one of the chief demands that Israel has been making. That the United States was prepared to exercise this right (of using international waters of the gulf), requires us now to keep our pledge, and properly so.

With reference to the Suez Canal, he said, "Egypt by accepting the six principles adopted by the Security Council last October in relation to the Suez Canal bound itself to free and open transit through the canal without discrimination to the principle that the operation of the canal should be insulated from the politics of any country."

Those words pledge the United States to act with a determination and firmness against Egypt similar to what was used against Israel. It is time we not only let Israel but Egypt know that we mean what we say. For us to vacillate after making such an official declaration would ruin our policy, make our foreign aid look ridiculous, and our Government look weak and flabby.

This new firmness makes up what has been a big deficiency in American policy—vacillation. If we are to use our influence for peace, we must win the respect of those with whom we deal. That respect cannot be bought with money. It can be won only by acting with fairness and firmness so that all of the nations of the world will know that we mean what we say.

When the Arab world sees that we will not permit Israel to extend its conquests, its fears will be somewhat abated, and America will win a new respect and confidence. When Israel sees that we will protect her status but not countenance further expansion, she will be more inclined to postpone her basic ambitions of winning back the bounds of the "Land of Israel." Best of all, when the American people see a diplomatic policy succeed, they will support it generously with their lives as well as with their fortunes. They will not support a blundering diplomatic job; they will support a well done diplomatic job.

It is up to President Eisenhower to do in diplomacy what he has learned he must do in golf—follow through—with his policy as outlined in his speech of February 20.

Weekly Broadcast of Dean Clarence Manion, on March 31, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following weekly broadcast of Dean Clarence Manion on March 31, 1957:

SLASH THE BUDGET OR SURRENDER TO SOCIALISM

Last week I had the stimulating experience of debating with Mr. Norman Thomas before students of the Harvard University Law School. The assigned topic was the United States and the United Nations, but, in our free-wheeling interchanges, the discussion overflowed that subject and covered many adjacent areas of our domestic and foreign policy.

Norman Thomas is probably the most learned and certainly the most distinguished "professing" Socialist in America. I use the term "professing" advisedly, because our political woods are now filled with practicing Socialists who, nevertheless, fiercely resist that designation and call themselves a variety of things ranging from "liberal Democrat" to "modern Republican."

With commendable candor, Mr. Thomas readily acknowledges that he is now and has been a very active Socialist for more than 35 years.

It has been 22 years since Norman Thomas and I first debated the subject of Socialism. We met on the platform for the first time in 1933. On that occasion, I was standing firmly on home base, stanchly defending the constitutional and political status quo. Mr. Thomas was then far out in left field trumpeting for the economic and political revolution.

Last week it was Norman Thomas who was defending the status quo, while I was practically outside the ball park. Yet, neither Mr. Thomas nor I have changed our fundamental positions since 1933. However, in the meantime, it is quite obvious that somebody has rearranged the bases and relocated the grandstand.

Those of us who are against socialism and who are determined to destroy its presently great influence upon American life will find an alarming paradox tucked away in Mr. Thomas' personal political history.

NORMAN THOMAS WON WHILE LOSING

As the Socialist candidate for President in six successive campaigns, he did not get a single electoral vote. Nevertheless, he now points out that the most important Socialist measures for which he campaigned quite hopelessly in 1928 and 1932 are now the law of the land.

At the same time that our professional politicians were publicly scorning socialism and ridiculing the presidential candidacy of Norman Thomas, they were quietly stealing his platform and writing it into law.

Mr. Thomas is certainly entitled to all of the great satisfaction that he presently gets out of this indirect accomplishment. Shakespeare said that "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet"—and, in the same realistic spirit, Norman Thomas is perfectly willing to let the politicians call his Socialist program anything they please as long as they continue to establish it.

EISENHOWER MORE SOCIALIST THAN F. D. R.

On next April 16, the Harvard Times-Republican will publish a copyrighted interview with Norman Thomas. With the editor's permission, I am able to give you the following direct quotation from the statement which Mr. Thomas gave to that newspaper on the night of our debate:

"The United States is making greater strides toward socialism under Eisenhower than even under Roosevelt, particularly in the fields of Federal spending and welfare legislation. This progress can be credited to President Eisenhower and is particularly significant because it is being done by a Republican administration."

Mr. Thomas would be the first to admit that these great strides toward socialism in this country could not have been made by Eisenhower, Roosevelt, or anybody else who frankly told the American people exactly where these strides were taking them. American voters will not buy socialism when it is offered to them under its right name.

In the depression campaign of 1932, candidate Norman Thomas preached Federal spending and centralized socialism to millions of unemployed, dispossessed mortgagors, and outraged farmers. However, on election day, he received fewer popular votes than the Socialist presidential candidate had received in 1912.

Franklin D. Roosevelt won that 1932 election in a landslide, but he did not promise to cure the depression with socialism. On the contrary, he made the campaign on an express promise to reduce Federal expenditures by 25 percent.

In 1952, Norman Thomas had given up running for President. Nevertheless, in spite of the Republican victory, he now observes that his Socialist program is progressing more rapidly than ever before. Outside of the Federal bureaucracy, I dare say that no one is happier about the President's record-breaking peacetime spending budget than Socialist Norman Thomas.

FORMULA FOR SOCIALISM: FEDERAL SPENDING

Federal spending is the common denominator of all components of the Socialist plan for the destruction of our American political end economic system. It was all right for Karl Marx to call for the abolition of private property and the public ownership of everything, but his American disciples have long recognized that this revolutionary goal can be accomplished in this favored land only by circuitous indirection.

Hense, the American Socialist's formula for making private property into public property is a program for more and more and more Federal taxes. It was Karl Marx himself who prescribed a heavy, progressive income tax as the sure way to make all private property into public property.

But nobody can sell confiscatory taxation to American voters as an end in itself. This being so, the Socialist tactic is to dramatize assorted categories of human needs that are far beyond the reach of private charity or local governments and must therefore be satisfied out of the financial resources of the Federal Treasury.

By the terms of the 16th (income tax) amendment, the financial resources of the Federal Treasury are limited only by the earning capacity of all of the people and all of the property in the United States. In order to satisfy a constantly expanded list of such Federal benefactions, first for the American people and now for all the people in the world, it has been necessary for the Federal Government to cut itself in for an ever larger share of the national income.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF PRIVATE BUSINESS

For the preferred and practical purpose of sharing their profits, the Federal Government presently owns from 30 to 52 percent of all the private business corporations in the country. With beccming benignity, the Federal Government forgets this proprietory interest in any one of these corporations when the business loses money. In that case, the Government considerately waives its share of the losses. In other words, the Federal partnership does not work both ways.

On the personal earnings of individuals, the Federal Government imposes a prior first claim that ranges from 20 to 91 percent of the total income. From any point of view, these assorted percentages of public ownership will gladden the heart of American Socialists. But these impressive cuts out of private enterprises are only a part of the long stride that we are now taking in the direction of Karl Marx.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OWNS ONE-FOURTH OF THE LAND

Over this microphone last week, Mr. Willis E. Stone, of the American Progress Foundation, pointed out that the Federal Government owns outright some 700 business corporations, representing approximately one-fifth of the total productive capacity of the country.

The Hoover Commission found that the Federal Government owns 472 million acres of land within the boundaries of the 48 States. This means that, on the average, 1 acre out of every 4 acres in the country is now owned by Uncle Sam. If you think that this vast area is an ancient residue of the Public Domain acquired by the Louisiana Purchase and the Mexican War, you are mistaken. Nineteen percent of this federally owned land has been acquired in the last 14 years and more thousands of acres are being acquired right now.

When the Federal Government gets title to real estate, that property is automatically exempted from all State taxes. The State tax burden of private owners is thus proportionately increased by every acre under Federal ownership.

If this immense Federal domain was taxable by the several States in which it is located, the property tax on your home would be sharply reduced and your State would have plenty of money for schools, roads, relief and welfare without so-called Federal aid and its coincident centralized controls.

EISENHOWER PREDICTS DICTATORSHIP

In 1949, when he was President of Columbia University, Mr. Eisenhower viewed this evil centralization of power and ownership with appropriate alarm. At that time he said this:

"If we allow this constant drift toward central government to continue, ownership of property will gradually drift into the central government and, finally, we shall have to have dictatorship as the only means of operating such a huge establishment."

Since Mr. Eisenhower made that sagacious observation, real property ownership has been drifting into the central government at the rate of 6½ million acres every year. During the next 12 months, Federal taxes will siphon off more than $73 billion worth of private property into the public ownership of the Federal Government.

Just how far away is the dictatorship which Mr. Eisenhower prophesied as the only means of operating such a huge establishment? Recently he warned us that Federal price and wage controls may soon be necessary to prevent the further inflation of our depreciating dollars.

DOLLARS ON THE DOWNGRADE

Since he made that statement, the value of the dollar has continued to shrink. Federal bonds are no longer attractive to investors. A torrent of F- and G-bond redemptions has forced the Treasury to sell high interest-bearing short-term notes to pay off long-term debt. Ask your banker if he thinks that this is a good sign for the future of your savings.

Norman Thomas knows what is happening and is happy about it, because the Socialists planned it that way. It would be ironical, would it not, if the American dollar would collapse even while the bureaucrats are scattering them around the world like chicken-feed.

DON'T TRIM THE BUDGET—SLASH IT

This is no time to trim the President's fantastic budget. This is a time to hit the budget on all sides with a meatax. Congress should make all Federal agencies disgorge back into the Treasury the unnumbered billions of congressionally appropriated, but unallocated funds, that are now held as unexpended balances. Congress should then hack out of this bloated budget every new spending program, such as Federal aid for school construction and bureaucratic ministration for juvenile delinquency.

What remains after subtracting the reclaimed unexpended balances should be cut at least 30 percent straight across the board. Nothing less than this will prevent your dollar and your liberty from sinking in the slough of socialism.

Wrong Approach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, in a few words, the editorial appearing in the Erie Daily Times of Erie, Pa., on Saturday, April 13, 1957, expresses very thoroughly the wrong approach by the Postmaster General on his handling of the postal problem.

If the employees of the post office decided that their request for increased wages was not receiving proper recognition by the Postmaster General and Congress and decided not to report for work until a decision was made, a great clamor to discharge everyone engaging in the movement would be heard from the newspapers and the people.

This is exactly what Mr. Summerfield did and I feel it is up to the President to request his resignation.

He has failed to measure up to the qualifications demanded of a man in this high position.

He should be replaced by one who has been an employee of the post office and has the experience necessary for the position.

The editorial follows:

WRONG APPROACH

We go along with Postmaster General Summerfield that he has a problem.

But he took a helluva of an approach to solving it.

The postal service is a public utility; it is as necessary to every man and woman as their lights, gas, and telephones.

If the phone company, for instance, would decide to cut off service on Saturdays and Sundays because they were not making enough money, the resulting howl from the general public would be heard all the way to Tibet.

Summerfield acts very much like a child with a tantrum; if he doesn't get his way, then someone will get hurt.

Well, he did hurt everybody.

From the invalid sick in the hospital who looks to a daily card for cheer to the big industrialist dependent on orders to keep his factory going, there has been a deep dislocation.

It is not right one man should have so positive a voice in the affairs of a national bureau.

This would be a good time to look past Summerfield and his complaint to a system whereby a final authority for such a drastic action could be appealed to a higher court.

That one man could hurt so many people by so arbitrary an action is not democracy. It is the Fascist approach.

Atom Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. DURHAM
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from the New York Times on the new diplomacy now appearing on the horizon in Russia. In the past 12 days, 5 atomic explosions have taken place in Russia, 1 after this editorial was written. The editorial, in my opinion, points up very realistically the reason why we should continue our efforts, not only in the production of more weapons, but better weapons, which we are capable of doing under present conditions.

Russia has changed her position so many times during this cold war that there is only one approach America can take toward this menace to civilization and a free world—that is, to continue an all-out atomic program.

The editorial follows:

[From the New York Times of April 15, 1957]

ATOM DIPLOMACY

The mushroom cloud of death produced by a nuclear explosion has risen from Soviet soil four times during the past 2 weeks. Such nuclear tests have become so frequent in recent years that these latest explosions might barely merit comment if they were not teamed suspiciously with the latest Soviet diplomatic offensive. These past few weeks Moscow has been giving dire warnings to countries from Norway to Saudi Arabia of the awful fate Soviet nuclear attack can impose on them should these states participate in the free world's defense. Against the background of these warnings the latest Soviet atom tests are clearly intended as much for political as for scientific or military purposes. Moscow seems to hope that by such brandishing of its atomic might it will terrorize one or more of the nations united in defense of the non-Communist world. This is precisely the kind of atomic diplomacy Moscow used to accuse us of practicing, accusations which were made with Moscow's usual cavalier disregard of the truth.

Statesmanship for some years now has required particularly steady nerves on the part of statesmen, and this latest Moscow tactic points up this need. Yet Moscow can hardly be credited with a really effective strategy in this matter. The truth is too plain and has been plain for several years. The truth is that the world can no longer afford to play Russian roulette with nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union can inflict horrible death and destruction on others. But whatever Moscow can inflict on Denmark the free world can inflict on Bulgaria. Moscow and Leningrad are hostages for the safety of London and Paris. As early as 3 years ago the then Soviet Premier, Georgi M. Malenkov, revealed his awareness of that fact. We can hardly believe that the present Soviet rulers do not understand that nuclear war means mutual destruction for all participants, perhaps for all life.

In the light of this latest Soviet tactic, it is clearer than ever that the security of the free world and the hope for averting war rests, for the time being, on the West's remaining so strong that, short of madness, no effort to use Soviet nuclear weapons will be made. It is for this reason that the refusal of West Germany's physicists to contribute to strengthening their country's, and the free world's, atomic might must be regretted. With the exception of Professor Kapitsa, we have no evidence that Soviet physicists have taken a similar stand. No more than any other country can West Germany escape the horrible realities of the atomic age. The radioactive fallout from hydrogen bombs dropped on France or Czechoslovakia would not be prevented from crossing West Germany's borders because West German physicists refused to help their country's defense.

Against this unhappy background there is a ray of hope in some of the latest moves of our own country's diplomacy. The goal of effective nuclear disarmament backed by effective inspection and control measures, including the elimination of all barriers to the free movement of persons, is still, unfortunately, far from having Soviet backing. But the suggestion made by Mr. Stassen at the London disarmament meeting last Friday provides a useful initial step which we can only hope will gain Soviet acceptance. Certainly it would be a good thing if all powers concerned were to agree that beginning next year no newly produced nuclear material would be used to make nuclear weapons. We have been producing such weapons since 1945 and the Soviet Union since 1949, if not earlier. Both countries must now have enormous stockpiles. Agreement to cease building these stockpiles still further would really create a new atmosphere in which there could be justified hope for further, more fundamental progress.

But even beyond the goal of nuclear weapons control, the world needs an end to the Moscow-inspired enmities which cast so deep a shadow over humanity's future. It is in this context particularly that we may welcome the progress that has been made toward Polish-United States economic cooperation. Further progress is still needed, but certainly a mutually satisfactory agreement on an American loan to Poland would help still further to calm the word's tensions. It is certainly a striking contrast that we see today: Moscow threatens our friends with nuclear annihilation while we negotiate with a Communist country to provide grain and cotton needed by the Polish people. Can there be any doubt as to which road holds the better promise for world peace?

Increased Postal Rates on First-Class Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, Washington, D. C., before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee on April 10, 1957:

INCREASED POSTAL RATES ON FIRST-CLASS MAIL

I am George J. Burger, vice president and Washington representative of the National Federation of Independent Business. I am appearing here solely for the membership of the federation.

We represent independent business and professional people in all vocations from all parts of the country. We have the largest directly supporting membership of any business organization in the country.

Our position on legislation is dictated directly by our membership. We poll our members on all important issues, and are committed by their majority vote.

The federation is currently completing a tabulation of its nationwide membership vote on the question: "Are you for or against the administration's proposal to increase first-class mail rates from 3 cents to 5 cents an ounce?" When this question was presented to the members in mandate No. 228, the members were given "Comments regarding issues listed on opposite page of the mandate."

The argument "for" was:

"One million dollars a day * * * that's what operation of the United States Post Office Department is costing taxpayers. Treasury Department had to drain off $360 million from general tax collections in 1955 to keep it going, will have to dig up another $650 million in 1956 for it. This is shameful. The post office performs a service, and those who use the mails should pay for it. All the administration's asking is enough added revenue to pay the costs of operation and allow better services, for instance, routing of all first-class mail by air, where this is possible."

The argument "against" was:

"A hidden tax increase, that's what this adds up to. Most every taxpayer in the land uses the mails, therefore pays for the Post Office's operation one way or the other. If rates go up will there be any tax cut? In its request, the administration seems to be following the old tax line of hitting hardest those who squawk the least, people who use first-class mail. This mail comes closest to paying its own way, but would be hit by the largest increase on any class mail. Business people, and small firms at that, use 75 percent of first-class mail. And most of their mail is local."

The results of the poll on this issue show 32 percent for, 63 percent against, and 5 percent no vote.

This poll was made on the proposal to increase to 5 cents an ounce on first-class mail and as the proposal has since been cut back to 4 cents an ounce on first-class mail, it is important to note that in a nationwide poll of the federation membership in July 1953, through mandate No. 196, the question presented to the membership at that time was:

"Are you for or against the proposal to raise postal rates as follows: (1) first-class mail (intercity) from 3 cents to 4 cents; (2) domestic air mail from 6 cents to 7 cents; (3) second-class mail, a 25 percent hike in 1953, a 17 percent hike in 1954 (in place of scheduled 10 percent increase); (4) third-class mail, a 33⅓ percent increase?" and the result of that poll showed: 40 percent for, 57 percent against, and 3 percent no vote.

Mr. Chairman, it is to be noted that in a period of almost 4 years between the above 2 polls it is self-evident that small business has a vital interest in the use of the first-class mail service, because, for practical purposes, first-class mail, insofar as small business is concerned, is in some degree the lifeblood of their businesses, and hence their strong objection to any increase in that class of mail service.

From what we read and hear it appears to small business that other classes of mail service are the ones causing the alleged deficit in the postal operations, and, if this be so, then those classes of mail service should be expected to pay their own way and not charge the deficit to the first-class mail service, which is the one service hitting the hardest at both John Q. Public and small business.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, due to the ever-increasing concentration in our economy, the failure in vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws over the years, and the failure to come through with promised, expected tax relief for small business, small business today is faced with a serious condition as to their future business life, and if this first-class mail rate is increased it is going to add a further severe hardship to the burden small business is now already carrying.

Mr. Chairman, we wish to advise that it is very encouraging to us, as we review the scene from the grassroots to note that small business nationwide—in all segments of our economy—is becoming aroused, and I mean aroused as to their continuing future in the business world, and I am sure that many Members of Congress hold to the same opinion as a result of reviewing the letters they must be receiving from the grassroots.

Errors in the Trial of Jesus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, this is Easter Week. It is Holy Week. It is the time of the Passover, too. It is the most solemn week of the year.

People slow down. Strife ebbs. Stores close. People eat less. They think more.

It is a time meant for man to contemplate on the direction of life in relation to that of the Lord.

Easter Week gives man the time to turn back the pages of life and to review them in the quiet of his heart, asking strength to avoid in the future what might not read too well in the past.

Easter means many things to many people.

The question is, Could it mean more to the Congress and to the courts of the United States? Could the impact of Easter, let us say, cause the Congress and the courts to stay execution of any death sentence until the week after Easter? The week after Easter would be the only week in which a life could be legally snuffed out in our land.

This would give all pause for thought.

The question is, Would it have its proper influence on society, on Congress, and the courts?

Had this idea prevailed in the Holy Week 2,000 years ago, Pontius Pilate would not have washed his hands and the life of the Lord might have been spared. In spite of man, it was, anyway. The influence of that life thunders through time.

It might be well for us to review each year at this time, Mr. Speaker, errors in the trial of Jesus.

It is said that our Bill of Rights, scrupulously observed, guaranteed life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that under our Bill of Rights the tragedy of 2,000 years ago could not be repeated today, or ever.

Errors in the trial of Jesus are said to be so well known that they need not be repeated here.

Rural Electrification Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following address by Maurice Johnson, manager, Edgar Electric Cooperative, delivered at the congressional dinner sponsored by the Association of Illinois Electric Cooperatives in Washington, D. C., on April 8, 1957:

ADEQUATE LOAN FUNDS FOR LONG-RANGE PLANNING

Those of you who are familiar with the early development of the rural electrification program are cognizant that its early acceptance was more on raising social standards than on economic need or justification. As evidenced in Mr. Sims' presentation, rural electrification has made a much greater contribution than was earlier anticipated. In addition to raising social standards for a very important segment of our people, it has contributed a great deal to our national economy and to the Nation's well-being.

Our primary concern in this discussion is on one phase of our operation that enables us to better serve rural America with all the electric power it can economically use—vigorously compete with inferior forms of energy and continue to be leaders in establishing fair costs for electricity to be used on the farm.

In the beginning when we were just learning to walk we were not exempt from making mistakes. The greatest of these was prompted by our ignorance of the great potential for the use of electricity on the farm. Not only the skeptics but even our most devout and ardent leaders of our program were of the opinion that the ultimate in farm consumption would be around 100 kilowatt-hours per month. Since we had no experience, no relevant data to refer to, we designed, and built, our distribution systems to serve from 40 to 60 kilowatt-hour per month per member. Today many of our systems have the capacity to serve 10 to 15 times these original design capacities. But in order to achieve this we have experienced a heavy and irrecoverable expense in retiring obsolete equipment.

In the late 1930's and early 1940's everyone connected with the program concentrated their efforts on the problems involved in extending central station electric power to the farm. Praise and appreciation were forthcoming from recipients of this great energy even when its predicted limitations of application extended only to the lamp to read by and in some cases to operate an electric motor to drive the water pump and washing machine. The struggle of our farm folks to get electric service was difficult and one which no one would ever forget. But we are forgetting.

Through consolidation of farms, members retiring from participation and death, we are losing those members who are familiar with the history of rural electrification. The ownership is being transferred to a generation of farmers who have never known what it was like to live on a farm without electricity and to people who for various reasons live in the country but are employed and primarily interested in urban activities. To support this the record discloses that practically all our revenue in the thirties came from the farm. Today, however, only 52 percent was reported as coming from the farm, the rest coming from nonfarm residential consumers commercial, small power, and industrial loads.

In addition to our changing ownership, many other facets of our operating environment are changing. We can no longer gain public or member support by reporting so many unelectrified farms. It is well known that most every farm desiring central station electric power is now receiving it. The attitude of the commercial companies toward us has taken an about face. In the early years they were certain they would be able to take over electric cooperatives at a rate of 10 cents on the dollar. They, at times assisted in getting cooperatives started by offering special considerations and technical assistance. Today, they are looking for a vulnerable place in our operation to attack and discredit us.

We have acquainted you with our change from horizontal growth to a vertical growth, our changing ownership, and the change in attitude of the commercial electric companies. If we are to continue to be an asset and contribute to the national economy and continue to be strong competition in the electrical industry, we are going to have to incorporate every artifice known in our operation in order to serve what at one time was considered submarginal territory.

At this point we would like to briefly define long-range planning and how it contributes to the efficiency of our operation.

Long range is a delusive and indefinite interval of time but extends as far into the future as we can conservatively predict after considering all pertinent factors. With demands on our distribution systems doubling every 5 to 7 years and with labor costs increasing each year we must do a good job of planning. Long-range plans enable us to utilize our facilities over longer periods of time—design and construct our systems with greater flexibility to meet varying sets of conditions—make all construction compatible with an overall ultimate system thereby eliminating early obsolescence and expensive retirements. Schedule construction to adequately supply the demands as they mature thereby eliminating over or under investment in distribution facilities.

Since our loan applications are based on the construction set forth in these studies we work in close cooperation with REA. As a whole these studies project our system requirements several years in advance of the time that we need them, but we use them every day a sa guide in programing construction in order to efficiently expand our sys-

tems. Now as set forth above we construct only that portion necessary in order to maintain a good quality of service and we request advances on approved loan funds to meet only the cost of this construction.

If we did not have approved loans covering longer periods of time than our requests for advances we would overload REA and be processing loans continuously. This accounts for the difference between the amounts of money we have under contract from REA and the smaller amount of money that we have actually been advanced.

We are very happy to have had this opportunity to clarify these captions on the status of REA approved loans and advances as they appear on annual reports. We have not overestimated our needs on our applications but only insured that the funds would be available at the time they are needed to carry out our expansion program systematically.

We have the history, information, and tools today whereby we are in an excellent position to meet the great challenge of furnishing rural America with low-cost power. It will not be easy but we know of nothing more worthwhile or contributory to the welfare and economic position of rural America than an abundant supply of low-cost electricity.

Spires of the Spirit: A Cross Against the Sky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is said that the influence of the life of the Lord thunders through time. It does, especially now, in the Easter Week.

Dr. Harris, Chaplain of the United States Senate, puts it well in his article entitled "A Cross Against the Sky." It appeared in the Washington Sunday Star a few Sundays ago, and is cited now:

A CROSS AGAINST THE SKY
(By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris)

Two crossed beams of lumber have become the most sacred symbol of the ages. Everything leading up to its torturing death was old. Everything on this side of it is gloriously and startlingly new. For the One who hung on it and died on it is alive forevermore. That is the emancipating fact which is the very heart of the great glad tidings. St. Paul puts it succinctly when he declares that if Calvary's intended victim is not alive, then the whole cathedral of faith collapses.

The surpassing moral grandeur of the Christ of Calvary is forever epitomized in the sign by which the things for which He stood and for which He stands will at last conquer. The forces on which Jesus literally "bet his life" were spiritual. He taught that it is the meek who shall inherit the earth. He has been called "The Terrible Meek." But real meakness is never weakness. The tyrant Stalin's spiritual bankruptcy was revealed when someone mentioned the power of the Pope which must be reckoned with. Cynically the dictator asked, "How many divisions does the Pope have?" Material force is never the last word, but in righteous hands it can be like the surgeon's knife to remove a malignant growth. Dedicated divisions can back spiritual objectives, and often have. Christ himself did not repudiate physical force. In the very week of His passion, with the cross looming so near, He did not hesitate to use it. He knotted together cords of wrath as whips in His strong hands. He made the quiet courts of the Temple a battlefield. With words of burning anger He actually drove before Him those who had desecrated His Father's house and who had made it a den of thieves. That was no time for sweet persuasion, it was the hour for masterful coercion.

The Christ of the Cross is the gentle Jesus, meek and mild. He is tender, but he is terrible. He caresses like a mother, but He also strikes like a thunderbolt. Who can watch and listen to Jesus without seeing the gleam of a sword bathed in Heaven? But did not the Master declare just before He accepted the cross as the sign of His cause, "He that takes the sword shall perish by the sword"? Yes, but that sword was used to viciously attack, not to defend. It was drawn in personal spite and vengeance. It was a bad sword. But remember Jesus also said, "I came not to bring peace, but a sword." That sword unsheathed against that which defies His cause is a good sword.

If a certain prime minister had used a sword instead of an umbrella, the history of these awful times might have been different. Because the sword of Britain's might was not raised a noble little democracy in Europe was, in appeasement, thrown to the wolves, a perfidy committed for "peace in our time." There is nothing in the spirit and attitude of Jesus to forbid the mobilizing of physical force to aid in the victory of the ideals for which He marched straight to the waiting cross. To interpret the cross as a flag of truce decorated with a white feather, advancing with soft words toward those arrayed at the gates of Hell is a terrible travesty of its real meaning. Without righteous swords, coerced men are compelled to cry peace when there is no peace, and to surrender the most heavenly things to the most hellish forces. A peace gained by constant retreat because of the threatening blackmail of superior force is not peace—it is abject surrender. Ill will must be held in check by fear of the power of organized good will, with arms to match its mandate. To weaken the national striking power in a world like this is to vote to make it inevitable that the democracies shall be forced to do the bidding of moral perverts who have been allowed to fashion a preponderance of swords.

This is by no means to say that material might is the last word. It never is. We are but saying that to so misinterpret the meaning of the cross that callous deviltry is allowed at its will to trample righteousness into the ground whenever it is powerful enough, while the forces of good stand impotently by with unused arms, is not the Christianity of Christ. This is the day of all days for those who are really "soldiers of the cross" in Christ's holy crusade to make men free to sing with a new meaning "Onward Christian soldiers, marching as to war, with the cross of Jesus going on before." America has come to the kingdom for such time as this. Her might alone tips the scales of justice and freedom.

It was with a surge of grateful pride that last summer, at the battlefront, I stood where Korea faces the perfidious foe. With our great commander, General Lemnitzer, we went to the frontline. The Communists were plainly visible. What is keeping that motley horde from sweeping down and once more trampling into bloody mire the fair plants now growing in the garden of a genuine democracy? Answer—American and Korean arms, nothing else. I felt no incongruity that I was wearing a treasured cross as I shook hands with the chaplains on that bleak hill, with their uniforms marked with the same conquering sign.

And why is the Philippine Republic making such strides in freedom today? Because the lamented Ramon Magsaysay, a devout Catholic Christian, bowed daily at the foot of the cross, then went out with that cross to exterminate the Communist Huk guerrillas threatening the very life of the nation. Then after he had done that, disregarding all danger to himself, he went everywhere in the spirit of the Master and of the cross bringing food, education and opportunities for a more abundant life even to the outermost islands. He opened the door of the palace at Manila to barefooted peasants. Sometimes he listened to the pleas of a thousand in one day. With Christlike pity he toiled day and night to lift the living levels of the people he loved and who loved him.

Overcome evil with good is the injunction—yes, but often, first it is necessary to overcome evil that good may have its chance—that the cross may have its day and its say.

"For in the end we pass all by
For a lone cross against the sky."

Rural Electrification Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 29, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following address by V. C. Kallal, manager, Southwestern Electric Cooperative, delivered at the congressional dinner sponsored by the Association of Illinois Electric Cooperatives in Washington, D. C., on April 8, 1957:

THE EFFECT OF INTEREST RATES ON THE COST OF DISTRIBUTING ELECTRIC POWER

Interest is defined as the price paid for the use of funds. It is usually expressed as a rate. Interest is regarded as a market phenomenon, like other prices. It is, therefore, determined by the interaction of the many forces of our complex economy. Compensation for risks and many other items are included in the interest rate over and above the pure payment for the use of funds. The borrower is not interested in funds as such, since money does not reproduce. He is, however, interested in the goods or service which he can secure with the borrowed capital.

The amount of capital necessary per unit of volume of business varies widely, depending upon the type of business. In the case of electric-power distribution, the investment is comparatively high per unit of sales. Hence, the interest rate is of utmost importance. Equally as important is that funds must be available on a long-term basis.

The REA statistical report for the year 1955 shows that the nearly 1,000 borrowers have in excess of $600 invested per consumer served. At 2 percent interest it took in excess of 9 percent of the gross operating revenue to cover interest expense.

The need for electric power continues to grow and grow. Estimates made 10 years ago seem absurd today. In fact, estimates made as late as 5 years ago are but a little better.

The Federal Power Commission is predicting a required capacity by 1980 of 386 million kilowatts compared to 114 million kilowatts today. And even this estimate is considered much too conservative by some in the utility field.

As the consumption increases, so also does the investment per consumer. Interest costs maintain or even increase their importance in the overall cost of distributing power.

It should be pointed out that the cost of distributing electric power includes the cost of generating and transmitting power. Hence, any increase in interest rates for funds for construction of generation or transmission facilities is reflected in the cost of distributing electric power to the ultimate consumer.

A reasonably low-interest rate is, therefore, of utmost importance to those engaged in the generation, transmission, and distribution of electric power. Power, and particularly electric power, has made our Nation one of the greatest from the standpoint of production per worker.

No development has so greatly influenced our homelife, the operation of our farms or factories as has the development of electric power.

This is not news to any of us here tonight. We were aware of this before we assembled here.

Our State and Federal Governments have been cognizant of this fact for years. Laws and controls are designed to recognize the importance of such things as electric service to the consumer and to protect his interests.

Our Federal Government has recognized from time to time the need for help for various segments of our economy. There are today more than 4 million rural consumer members of electric cooperatives. These rural people have prospered since getting electric power for improved living and increased efficiency in production. The cooperation fo the rural people and their Government through the REA has benefited many segments of the overall economy.

It would be somewhat short-sighted and detrimental to the overall economy of our Nation to disturb the arrangement of the 1,000 rural electric cooperatives and the REA.

These 1,000 rural electric cooperatives are doing an excellent job in meeting the demands for increasing amounts of electrical energy each year by their membership. The need for more plant and therefore more funds is continuous.

Therefore, it is imperative that such bills as H. R. 4781 do not become law. The unnecessary burden of increased interest rates suggested by this bill is not justified.

The electric cooperatives have cumulatively to date paid more in interest by about $47 million than the cost of money to the REA. Why then should we jeopardize the whole program by unnecessarily changing interest rates?

The REA Act wisely provides for the right of the borrower to generate and transmit power. Any increase in interest rates would destroy this effective bargaining power.

The REA program has maintained, and rightfully so, the support of the Congress. The program is self-liquidating and it is best adapted for the job for which it was established.

We are confident that you, as Members of Congress, are aware of the importance of electric power to rural America. We are sure that you would not permit increased interest rates or any other obstacle to jeopardize the ability of the electric cooperatives to repay their loans in full and according to schedule.

In closing, I would like to summarize as follows: (1) in electric power distribution, the investment per consumer is high (2) interest on borrowed money is an important cost item (3) electric cooperatives will need additional funds year after year (4) the rural electrification program is self-liquidating (5) for continued success, the electric cooperatives must be able to borrow money from the REA at the present rate of 2 percent.

The Dallas Tornado

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I believe sentiment is growing in America among our States and the local communities to do as much as possible for themselves without calling on the Federal Government. The people of Dallas, Tex., were stricken by a terrible tornado which caused over $4 million damage and took many lives. It is my understanding that immediately after the tornado struck, insurance adjusters and investigators moved in to take care of the people's claims. Carpenters, brick masons, engineers, and the people in general moved in the next morning and went to work to restore the damaged property. Local contributions of time, money, clothes, and food poured in. A magnificent job was done by the city of Dallas and the State of Texas. It is my understanding that no official request for help to the Federal Government in Washington was ever issued by the local authorities. The people of Dallas will always remember with pride how everyone chipped in and, at the local level, rebuilt the damaged portion of their great city. This is the kind of effort that made America the Nation that it is today. This is the kind of pride, frugality, and thrift which will preserve this great Nation. I congratulate the people of the city of Dallas, Tex., on their splendid reaction to a major disaster.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a speech which I delivered before the Executives Club, Chicago, Ill., on Friday, April 12, may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN POLICY

(Address by Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, Montana, before Executives Club, Chicago, Ill., Friday, April 12, 1957)

I shall open my remarks today by violating a basic principle of effective public speaking. I shall remind you of a somewhat unpleasant matter. In 3 days your Federal Tax returns are due. It is still uncertain what Chicago's bill for income taxes will be in 1956. In 1955, however, it was about $1.3 billion.

You may wish to contrast that total with the experience of this city a little more than a century ago. In the year 1834, all taxes levied on all citizens of the town of Chicago amounted to $48.90. Lest the urge to return to the good old days grow irresistible, I hasten to add that while taxes were low, life in Chicago in those days was not without some minor inconveniences. It was not, for example, until 10 years later, in 1843, that pigs were officially banned from the public streets.

But I have not come here today to collect your income taxes. A Senator's responsibilities involve many unusual assignments but tax collection is not yet included among them. I have been asked by constituents to stop grizzly bears from crossing the Canadian border. I have been asked to change the light bulbs in the Federal building in Butte. I have even been asked to provide the correct answers for TV quiz programs.

And most frequently, I have been asked to "do something about taxes." The phrase—it is a phrase in very common usage in Washington these days—is subject to varying interpretation. When a constituent demands that a Senator "do something about taxes" he may mean many things. I am convinced by long experience in Congress, however, that there are two things he emphatically does not mean. He does not expect the Senator to raise taxes or to collect them.

I have opened my remarks on this matter of taxes because it relates very directly to the subject which we have under discussion today.

What we pay in Federal taxes is, of course, determined by the budget. This year, the budget submitted by the President to Congress is the highest peacetime budget in our history. What are the really big items? First of all, there is the cost of present national defense, $41.7 billion, almost 60 percent of the total budget of $71.8 billion. There is also a charge of $4.3 billion for foreign aid. To a large extent this foreign aid is military assistance; it is also linked to our own national defense needs. Other major items in the budget stem from the still unpaid price of past wars. Our obligations to veterans of these wars, for example, will require about $5 billion during the next fiscal year.

When we put these charges together we find that the preponderant cost of government and, hence, of the high-tax rate, is closely associated with national defense, past, present, and future. The extent of the need for national defense in turn, is tied to the state of our relations with other nations. And foreign policy is the principal mechanism which guides those relations. Foreign policy and taxes, in short are inseparably interwoven. If our foreign policy can move the international situation toward greater stability and security for all nations, the cost of national defense in time can come down and so too can the tax rate. If it is unable to do so, if instead world tensions and the danger of aggression increase, then the cost of national defense must inevitably increase and so too will taxes. The alternative is to toy with the future of the Nation. I do not believe there is a person in this room who would knowingly do that regardless of how onerous the tax burden may be.

Taxes, I am sure, constitute one reason for the growth in public and congressional interest in questions of foreign policy during recent years. There are others, beyond taxes. Scientific achievements at the University of Chicago and elsewhere a few years ago ushered us into a new era of human history. An effective foreign policy can help to make this new age, this age of nuclear power one of ever-widening horizons of progress for the people of the United States and for all mankind. An ineffective policy, however, opens up the possibility, not merely of vastly higher taxation, but of the sudden death of tens of millions of our citizens. It is not overstating the situation to say that an ineffective policy could act to bring about the end of recognizable civilization everywhere on earth.

These are not remote possibilities. These are the realities of the world in this second half of the 20th century. These are the facts which confront us today and will continue to confront us throughout all of the tomorrows that it is possible to foresee.

We need not fear these facts. We need fear only ignorance of them or indifference to them.

The principal method for dealing with these facts as they affect our national survival and interests is foreign policy. It is the first line of defense of the Nation. It is the one hope in this nuclear age of keeping the price of national security somewhere within the limits of our capacity to pay. And I might point out that in contrast to the cost of past wars, current defense and foreign aid, it takes less than $250 million a year to run the Department of State, the agency that is responsible for foreign policy.

Let me make clear that I do not mean to suggest that foreign policy is the answer to all the problems which confront us in the world. Foreign policy, no matter how effective, is not a panacea. It is not a cure-all for the ills of mankind. It is a highly imperfect world in which we live. Our foreign policy is a major factor, but only one factor, in determining what happens in it.

Recognition of the limits of foreign policy is not, however, an invitation to deprecate its importance. It is not a call to retreat into a citadel of isolation. No matter how thick the walls, that citadel will not insulate us against the powerful tides of the 20th century.

Recognition of the limits under which foreign policy operates, is a warning to use the great but not unlimited power of this Nation with restraint, with economy, and with perception, to safeguard the interests of all the people of the United States. It is, in short, an urgent reminder of our need to develop and to maintain the most effective policy possible.

There are no readymade formulas for such a policy. An effective foreign policy cannot be pulled out of the magician's hat. It cannot be had for the wishing. It is possible, nevertheless, to detect the elements which must underlay a policy that will serve our national interests to best advantage.

One of these elements is an informed citizenry. In the last analysis, the people of the United States by their ballots, determine the broad direction of foreign policy. Sooner or later, foreign policy must reflect their basic sentiments. Unless it does so, it will rapidly become a rootless policy, a sterile policy. It will command neither support at home nor respect abroad.

That is why the people must have the facts on world affairs, as those facts affect the interests of the United States. The greater their knowledge and concern with these facts, the more effective will be the broad direction they give to foreign policy.

Foreign policy can be irresponsibly shortsighted or it can be concerned not only with the needs of the hour but with the long future of the Nation. It can deal only with the immediate problems or it can take cognizance of the kind of world in which we want our children and our children's children to live out their lives. Foreign policy can focus on one problem such as communism or it can, as it should, put this problem in the context of the many problems which confront us abroad. Foreign policy can be pennywise and pound foolish or it can be as economical as possible, commensurate with our long-range national security. Foreign policy can be wavering and fearful or it can be consistent and courageous in keeping with the finest traditions of the Nation. Ultimately, responsibility rests with the people of the United States to determine what form foreign policy shall take. That is why, I repeat, the people of the United States must have the facts.

Where are we to get them? The press and other media of communication, of course, perform a distinguished public service in this connection. So, too, do organizations such as yours and educational institutions which stimulate interest in foreign-policy questions.

Most important, however, the people of this country have a right to expect the facts from their Government. They have a right to expect honest information rather than smiling assurances that the Government, like father, knows best. Those of you who may have teen-aged children, I am sure, have long since bene disabused of that idea, even as I have been.

The point that I am trying to make is that the national administration, whether it is a Republican or Democratic administration, has an obligation to take the Nation into its confidence in matters of foreign policy. It has an obligation to make clear the

good and the bad in international situations, the successes and the failures of our policy. The people of this country are wise enough not to expect perfection in the conduct of foreign policy. They are also wise enough to discount foreign policy by cant.

Most of all, the administration in power has an obligation to spell out where it is that we are headed in foreign policy and what it is likely to cost to get there. This point brings me to the second element of an effective foreign policy. Just as we must have an informed citizenry we must also have clear and continuous leadership from the President.

Under our system of government, the system of separate powers, the President is not a dictator but neither can he be a figurehead, nor a mere agent of Congress. The President is an independent representative of all the people of the United States and his is the function of national leadership. Nowhere is this leadership more essential than in matters of foreign policy. The Vice President, the Secretary of State, and others can assist him in discharging this function. In the end, however, if the Nation is to speak to other nations with an undivided voice, it must speak through the President. If we are to concentrate our national strength to meet the challenges which roll in upon us from abroad, it is the President who must serve as the focus of our national power.

The President can be neither a Republican nor a Democrat in foreign relations. He must be the President of all the people. All of us—Republicans and Democrats alike—gain if the President and his Secretary of State conduct our foreign policy well. All of us lose if they conduct it badly.

Mr. Eisenhower is in a unique position to give the Nation the kind of national leadership we must have in foreign policy. In the first place, he is a Republican but his reputation was largely established under Democratic administrations. He is well-acquainted with the situation abroad and his stature is high throughout the world, even in the Communist countries. His last election, in which he ran far ahead of his party, was a great personal tribute from the American people of both parties. He is not eligible for reelection and is therefore in an excellent position to keep the Office of the Presidency out of politics in questions of foreign policy. He has, in short, an unparalleled opportunity to lead the Nation toward greater security in a more stable and peaceful world.

This brings me to the third of the basic elements which is essential to an effective foreign policy. I refer to the role of Congress and particularly the role of the Senate of the United States.

The President has the responsibility for conducting foreign policy, but there are constitutional limitations on his power in this respect. Under our system of government, he must have the cooperation of the legislative branch. The reason for this is obvious. It is Congress which provides the funds for the Defense Establishment, for the Department of State, for foreign aid, and for numerous other purposes related to foreign relations. Beyond these ordinary legislative functions, moreover, the Senate has a special constitutional function. It is the function of advising and consenting in major matters of foreign relations. In recent years this function has been used with great vigor.

A case in point was the resolution passed a short time ago on the Middle East, the legal basis for the so-called Eisenhower doctrine. You will recall that in that instance the President sought special military and financial authority to deal with the crisis in the Middle East. The Senate gave the most careful attention to the request, as, indeed, it should, to any major foreign-policy matter in which the President seeks congressional cooperation. Before passage, however, the resolution was amended by the Senate in many important respects. What the Senate did by these amendments was to safeguard the constitutional power of Congress to declare war, and, at the same time, it reaffirmed the President's power to command the Armed Forces. The Senate also made other changes designed to prevent a misuse of public funds in the Middle East and to sustain the United Nations Emergency Forces which is trying to keep peace in that region.

If I may digress for a moment, I should like to say this about the United Nations and our relationship to that Organization. The United Nations is what the member states, including ourselves, wish it to be. It is no more, no less. To regard it as a supergovernment is to ignore the realities of the present world and to do a disservice to ourselves and to peace. To regard it as a body without any function in the relations among nations is equally a disservice to ourselves and to peace.

The United Nations is not a substitute for sound foreign policies on our part. It ought not to be made a scapegoat for inadequate policies of the administration. If the United Nations is to serve our interests and the interests of other free nations, it ought not to be assigned, nor should it seek responsibilities which it is powerless to discharge. But when the United Nations does make a genuine contribution to the cause of peace among nations—as the United Nations Emergency Forces are doing in the Middle East—then, by all means, in our own interests, the Organization ought to have our full support.

Those U. N. forces are made up of the troops of several small nations. By maintaining the truce in the Middle East they may well be the major factor in forestalling an outbreak of a third world war in that region. They are performing a great service to humanity, and in this instance deserve the backing of this Nation and the entire world.

If I may now return to the role of Congress, the point I wish to stress is that Congress must see eye to eye with the President on the main questions which confront us in foreign policy. If there are significant differences, they must be reconciled under the leadership of the President. Unless they are, policy will break down in dissension between the two branches of the Government. We shall face the rest of the world, not as a united people, steadfast and persevering in direction, but as a divided nation, halting and indecisive in purpose.

How are we to obtain this reconciliation of views between the President and the Congress in the matters of foreign policy? A similar problem of course presents itself in domestic matters. In that connection, our Government operates largely on the principle of sponsorship of legislation by the President and his party in Congress and responsible opposition from the other party. I suggest that this formula is inadequate in foreign policy matters, particularly when the opposition party happens to be a majority in Congress. That is the case now with the Democratic Party in control of both Houses. In this situation, something more is needed than Presidential proposition and responsible opposition. What is needed is active, responsible cooperation between both political parties and between the executive and legislative branches of the Government.

What this entails is first of all mutual restraint. Neither party can seek to make political capital out of foreign policy without grave risks to the safety of the Nation. Responsible cooperation also entails close, frequent, and frank consultation between the President and the leadership of both parties in Congress. It entails the use of men of outstanding ability, regardless of party, in the State Department. It entails the acceptance by both parties of the supremacy of their national responsibilities over their party loyalties in dealing with matters which affect the safety and the well-being of the Nation.

Let me make clear what responsible cooperation in foreign policy does not mean. It does not mean a pretended unity when none in facts exists. It does not mean a bipartisanship of silence when conscience urges us to speak out in questions of foreign relations. It does not mean blind and unquestioning congressional acceptance of the dictates of the executive branch of the Government.

Every Member of Congress owes to his constituents an obligation to think for himself on matters of foreign policy no less than on other public questions. By the same token, however, he has an obligation to place the national interest above party interest when the stake is the future of the Nation itself.

To sum up, these 3 elements—an informed public, Presidential leadership, and responsible cooperation between the President and Congress and between the parties—these 3 elements provide the foundation for an effective foreign policy.

What of the structure which rests on this foundation? What of the policy itself? A sound foundation is essential to a sound policy. It does not in itself guarantee such a policy.

Foreign policy results from the major decisions which the Nation takes or fails to take with respect to situations abroad involving our interests. These decisions are or ought to be made ultimately by the President, largely on the advice of the Secretary of State. The wisdom of his decisions will determine whether foreign policy is more, or less effective, whether in the long run the cost of national security will be higher or lower, whether we shall move toward international peace and stability or toward international conflict and chaos.

The problem of decision in foreign policy does not differ greatly from the same problem in business or in the professions or even in our personal lives. In any given situation we are usually confronted with a number of possibilities. The doctor must decide whether or not to operate. The businessman must decide whether to buy or sell. We weigh and assess the pertinent factors and then choose what we believe to be the best possible course of action.

This process of weighing the factors in foreign policy can be a very complex one. Let me illustrate just how complex by reference to the situation which confronts us now regarding Poland. As you know, the Polish Government has a mission in Washington at the present time. The Polish Government is headed by Communists. Yet the Poles are seeking aid from this country. If this were the only factor in the situation—a Communist government seeking aid, the decision would be a simple one.

It is not, however, the only factor. Here are some others. The Republican administration, for example, came to power in 1952 on a platform supporting liberation of the Eastern European satellite countries. How is this pledge to be fulfilled? By force of American arms? By words? By tears shed over martyrs to liberty as in the case of Hungary? Or are we to try some other method? Does the Polish request for aid offer any possibility for contributing to peaceful liberation? In this connection, we should note that Poland has recently moved into a more independent position with respect to the Soviet Union. Its capacity to maintain even that limited position of freedom may well depend on whether or not some measure of interim economic support can be obtained from the Western nations.

The aid the Polish mission seeks is largely in the form of loans to purchase agricultural surpluses from this country. I need hardly remind you that we have those surpluses in great abundance. If the Poles do not get

food from us they have two alternatives—to turn back to a greater dependency on Russia or to let their people starve. If they choose the latter we may be sure, moreover, that it is not likely to be the Polish Communists who will go hungry.

Further, all reports indicate that there has been some liberalization of political life inside Poland under the present Gomulka regime. The recent election was freer than any Poland has had since the war. The Gomulka regime has made peace with the Catholic church in Poland—the church of the great majority of the Polish people.

And what of the broader implications of a decision on aid to Poland? What of the impact of the decision on other Eastern European countries—on the liberation of Rumania, Czechoslavakia, and Bulgaria? Any decision will certainly influence them either to draw the strings with the Soviet Union tighter or to seek to loosen them. What of its effect on a divided Germany? German unification, one of the critical questions of peace in Europe and in the world, is closely related to what happens in Poland.

There are other factors that I might mention which have to be considered in this seemingly simple decision of whether or not to provide aid to Poland. I think, however, that I have said enough to make clear that we cannot pose the issue simply in terms of "should we give aid to Communist Poland?" We might well rephrase the question in these terms: "Will aid to Poland contribute to international stability and security and hence serve our own national security? Apparently, the President believes that such might be the case, for the Polish aid mission is in this country on his invitation.

I began my remarks on the subject of taxes and I should like to revert to that matter before concluding. I wish I could hold out the promise of a return to the good old days of a tax rate for Chicago of $48.90, without of course restoring the right-of-way to the pigs in the city streets. I believe most of us, however, would be satisfied with a considerably higher rate than that provided it were considerably lower than what we now have.

I believe further that we can have a lower tax rate. The key to significant reduction, as I have stressed throughout my remarks today, is a more effective foreign policy. And there are steps to that end which can and should be taken promptly. Here are a few. We need to restore and strengthen our relationships with democratic countries abroad on the basis of mutality of interests and mutality of sacrifice. Unless the free nations maintain their defense in common, each will pay an enormously increased price to try to maintain it alone and most may not be able to maintain it at all.

With respect to foreign aid, these programs are now under careful scrutiny in the Senate. From personal observations in many parts of the world, I am convinced that substantial savings can be made in foreign aid not only without detriment but with positive benefit to our interests and to the interests of other free nations.

There is a desperate need to streamline and coordinate the activities of the many governmental agencies which are now egaged in foreign activities. Not only is this diffusion of responsibility in itself wasteful of public funds, but it can also result in grave damage to our relations with other nations. The key factor here is to restore responsibility for foreign policy to where it belongs—to the President and his Secretary of State.

These are the first steps. They can lead, in time, to others. Most important, they can lead, in time, toward an effective foreign policy, a policy that will yield more security for the Nation in a more peaceful world. That is the only kind of policy which will serve the interests of the people of the United States. That is the only kind of policy which is worthy of the people of the United States.

Position of North Dakota State Welfare Board Regarding Federal Appropriations for Public Assistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a telegram received by me, which is similar to one received by my colleague [Mr. LANGER], from Mr. Carlyle D. Onsrud, a member of the North Dakota Welfare Board. The telegram pertains to certain pending appropriations.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BISMARCK, N. DAK.

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.:

North Dakota seriously concerned regarding Department of Health, Education, and Welfare appropriation for public assistance. The stalemate on this appropriation puts in jeopardy May and June grants for recipients of old-age assistance, aid to the blind, aid to dependent children, and aid to the permanently and totally disabled. North Dakota can advance State funds for May. If the stalemate continues it cannot guarantee operation except in old-age assistance A question whether State Welfare Board can advance State funds on any program unless it is fairly certain Federal funds will come subsequently to replace the State funds substituting for Federal funds.

Likewise concerned with that part of that appropriation dealing with administration of public assistance. The Federal Social Security Act provides that the States will be reimbursed 50 percent matching for administrative costs of these programs. This is a long-standing principle and the Federal Government has a resounding legal and moral obligation to live up to the commitment in the act. A State welfare director makes his recommendations for administrative costs to the State legislature very 2 years, based on the receipt of Federal moneys according to what the Federal Government contracts to do by its own act. The 53 boards of county commissioners make their budget on the basis of reimbursement from the State Welfare Board of a percentage of funds for administration. The Congress by breaking away from this principle through the process of closed-end appropriations snatches the rug out from under responsible administration of public assistance so sensitively attuned to every level of government following a formula. Very genuinely and sincerely I think that any closed-end appropriation for administration both for fiscal 1958 and the deficiency for fiscal 1957 completely nullifies the 50-50 provision already in the act. This we regard as unselective cutting of a dangerous character because reasonable and adequate administration of public assistance depends on administrative money to employ caseworkers and county directors to investigate and serve the North Dakota citizens that need public assistance. A closed ceiling on administrative grants for individuals or for the administration of an admittedly complicated program, realistically high costs of living and medical care cannot be nullified by inadequate appropriations. The times therefore call for a tighter screening than ever to exclude those not legitimately in need. Once on the rolls the cost is high. Indiscriminate tinkering with administration through inordinate cutting could cost many millions because of lack of help.

We urge strongly that the Congress use essential prudence in not adopting a closed-end appropriation in either grants or administrative funds. We want to assure you that the State Welfare Board in North Dakota is concerned about the high cost of government as well as the Congress. We know the Social Security Administration and the American Public Welfare Association would welcome an examination of the reasons that support the type of appeal that I am making today. Let there be an examination but let it come with ample opportunity for an objective, comprehensive, and intelligent analysis. Impulsive action will do much harm to so many people. We would appreciate very much your efforts to restore the cuts made in public-assistance administrative costs so that they will be in harmony with the recommendations of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. We would ask very humbly and sincerely also that the principle of open-end appropriations for grants and administration be continued as a vital essential of adequate public assistance in our State and in the Nation.

With kind regards,

CARLYLE D. ONSRUD.

Aviation Facilities Planning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BRICKER
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, last week the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. SCHOEPPEL], and I, in response to a recommendation of the President, introduced an aviation bill to create a commission for the promotion of the aviation program to meet the advent of jet propulsion planes.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a report by Mr. Edward P. Curtis, the President's special adviser in this field, which was forwarded to the Senate at the time of the President's message on the matter. I make this request so that all Members of the Senate may have the advantage of this very critical analysis, and the suggestions for solving the problem.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERIM REPORT OF SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR AVIATION FACILITIES PLANNING, APRIL 1957

Shortly after assuming the duties of Special Assistant for Aviation Facilities Planning last year, the facts on our air traffic in the United States began to pour into my office. The alarm which has been voiced in the past from many sources is, in fact, supported by evidence that our airways and terminals are subject to increasing congestion.

Over 65,000 aircraft are flown daily in the United States. We have counted, with the aid of radars, as many as 220 aircraft flying at one time in the vicinity of a major city. Many thousands of military jets mingle in the mixed traffic of our airways and serve to

accent the dangers of "see and be seen" rules. The pilot needs assistance if he is to cope with the great increase in aircraft speed and if the danger of collisions is to be minimized.

The present situation is perhaps no more startling than the extraordinary growth in air traffic which the public desires and the economy will support in the future.

In 1946 only 6 billion passenger miles were flown in the United States by the airlines. In 1956 this had mushroomed to 20 billion passenger miles. My studies show that this figure will be approximately 70 billion in 1975. In addition, the present 61,000 private United States aircraft will exceed 100,000 in 1975.

Clearly, the safety and convenience of the public now and in the future requires more sophisticated and energetic efforts to reduce the hazard and delay in the Nation's air traffic. The Federal Government must lead and support this effort. The present vigorous program of the Civil Aeronautics Administration to expand its existing facilities using known techniques is highly commendable and deserves our full support. Its full energies will be needed to accomplish this. The specific proposal of legislation attached to this report in no way affects the operational measures which the Civil Aeronautics Administration intends to carry out.

I have searched thoroughly for the basic causes of our airways problems, and one in particular has emerged sharply: the military and civil agencies in the Federal Government which control and expedite air traffic are not provided systems acceptable to them with which to modernize their operations. Acceptability depends, in large part, on joint test and evaluation by civil and military pilots and ground controllers.

The Government can take steps to solve this problem now, and I respectfully attach a draft bill which proposes legislation to do it. Therefore, I wish to explain this problem and its solution, which is urgently needed. This is the purpose of the interim report.

A search was first made to determine why aggressive efforts have not been made in the past decade to modernize the systems and methods used to assist our air traffic. I found that there was no lack of scientific ideas. In fact, an over-abundance of electronic systems have been developed in the laboratories to improve our terminal and enroute operations. Most of these have been shelved and never used. The key to this dilemma may be found in the organizational arrangements in the executive branch which are intended to set the goals, to develop, and to select the systems and methods which will meet these goals.

The problem of modernizing the airways was clearly recognized in 1948 as one which required urgent action. The actions taken then have not been effective. The Government attempted to resolve the technical conflicts in air traffic control at that time by creating the Air Navigation Development Board. The board was established by an interagency agreement between the Departments of Defense and Commerce. Many excellent men have bent their efforts toward making it work. However, the statutory authority of each of the two agencies and the clouding of the air traffic control problem by an understandable concentration on agency missions have made the board far less effective than anticipated. There being just two voting members on it, all actions have required unanimous agreement. This board of two members, without legal status and without control of its own funds, has been unable to bring sufficient authority, decision, or clear objectives to bear on air traffic problems.

In addition, there are several Government and industry committees which have deliberated constantly in the past 10 years on the goals and the techniques for air traffic control and air navigation. In spite of the usual difficulties of committee action, they have produced, in the past, some useful advice. However, there has been no one agency with specific authority and capability for them to advise.

The determination of our goals, and the selection of systems and methods for controlling our air traffic, has been dangerously slow. It cannot be expedited by committee and interagency coordination. This was not recognized 10 years ago, and today we find our air traffic system antiquated and under strength.

The rapid, continuing growth of aviation foretells future conditions which demand a new element of decision making now, a more modern organizational structure to evaluate and select our air traffic system of the future.

This shortcoming has been recognized and separated from many other organizational problems in aviation. The nature of its remedy and the urgency of need has prompted me to prepare a draft bill and clear it with the interested executive departments. This bill is intended for the use of Congress in creating an Airways Modernization Board. The chairman would be appointed by the President, and would have no affiliations with existing Government agencies. The Departments of Commerce and Defense would each supply one member to the board, in view of their basic interest in its activities.

The Airways Modernization Board, as an independent agency, would be responsible for developing and consolidating the requirements for future systems which are needed to provide the necessary communications, navigational aids, and control needed to accommodate the future air traffic in the United States. It would be responsible as well for the systems engineering, the evaluation, and the selection of such aids as will best serve the needs of aviation.

This bill recognizes that military and civil aviation share the same airspace. It recognizes that the selection of future systems and methods of control of air traffic is a public action in the broadest sense. The Board is authorized to assemble military as well as civil personnel to assist in conducting its affairs. The Board is likewise expected to arrange for satisfactory and equitable advice from the users of aircraft and the engineering talents of industry. In other words, the Board will conduct a joint analysis, test and selection activity which recognizes that the national system must accommodate the civil and military air traffic in peace or war.

The overall system is an essential part of our national defense against air attack. It likewise must respond to the growing demands of public need. These apparently different requirements have not been subject to resolution by the committee conference methods which have been used. Therefore, the Board is expected to engage in extensive test and experimentation in the field, where the intricate problems of procedure and equipment can be tried, and the pilots and traffic controllers can experiment together, bringing the skills of science to bear, and to resolve their problems. This Board, with an impartial Chairman, will then be able to arrive at decisions and specify the most advantageous systems from an economic, operational, and technical point of view.

It is intended that this Board will specify new systems which will best serve the needs of all air navigation and traffic control to the interested military and civil agencies. It is not intended that the Board will have the authority to develop or procure the final ground or airborne equipments to be used in operations.

The Airways Modernization Board is proposed as an interim organization to establish a point of responsibility for system development and selection. At present, this kind of activity is scattered throughout the two principal agencies. This bill is proposed in order to consolidate this activity and to initiate the joint test and evaluation work which is so urgently needed if this country is to avoid an increase in delay and hazard to air traffic.

The functions which the Board will perform are entirely in consonance with the considerations being given to a broader change in Federal Government organization for aviation matters. In my final report, I intend to cover the broader plan. However, it is now clear that much more thorough examination needs to be undertaken in order to achieve a durable permanent organization. To recommend such in final form too quickly might result in improvisations which would complicate or delay the expected action necessary to accommodate the civil and military needs of aviation in the future.

Consequently, the Airways Modernization Board is proposed as the most expeditious and effective way to commence the long-range improvement of our air traffic systems. Its tenure of 3 years is proposed as sufficient to establish the permanent functions of joint test, evaluation and selection of air traffic systems. This period of time likewise will permit the executive branch to plan further organizational adjustments into which the functions of this new Board will logically fit.

Respectfully submitted.

EDWARD P. CURTIS.

Senator O'Mahoney Understands Threat to Liberty in Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an editorial entitled "Senator O'MAHONEY Understands Threat to Liberty in Civil Rights Bill," published in the News and Courier, of Charleston, S. C., under date of April 17, 1957. The able editor of this outstanding newspaper is Hon. Thomas M. Waring. This editorial commends the distinguished Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY] for his sound position on the question of the right to trial by jury, and how this important part of our heritage is being threatened by the so-called civil rights bill.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR O'MAHONEY UNDERSTANDS THREAT TO LIBERTY IN CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Speaking at the annual banquet of the Hibernian Society in Charleston March 18, 1947, Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming, stressed the fact that the United States has repudiated the doctrine of arbitrary power.

This week, 10 years after he made this statement, Senator O'MAHONEY gave evidence that he believes what he said. The Democratic Senator lined up with southern critics of the so-called civil rights bill. He said he was in favor of a civil rights bill but one that is conceived in justice and freedom rather than in any thought of punishment.

Senator O'MAHONEY told reporters that the proposed presidential Civil Rights Commission to investigate complaints of civil rights

violations could easily do more harm than good. And with respect to another part of the bill vigorously opposed by southern Senators, he said, "I don't think we should be afriad of a jury trial in matters of this kind." In announcing his stand on the legislation, he said that the South has made many striking advances in racial relations, while such relations in some other parts of the country have worsened.

Senator O'MAHONEY's stand on the civil rights bill is of major significance. His statement shows that the South is gaining ground in its battle to convince other regions that the force bills are a threat to the liberties of all Americans.

Senator O'MAHONEY is not a Western conservative like, say, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, Republican, of Arizona, who might be expected to line up with southern conservatives. The Senator from Wyoming is a western liberal and an oldtime supporter of the New Deal. Hence his acceptance of some of the southern constitutional arguments is all the more meaningful.

If Senator O'MAHONEY is convinced that the right to jury trial and other parts of our heritage are being threatened by the civil rights bill, the likelihood of convincing other northern and western Senators is considerable.

In order to overcome the propaganda barriers of the NAACP and convince these Senators, the South must continue to argue its case—and on the highest level. Senator SAM ERVIN of North Carolina has done especially fine work this session in accomplishing just that.

The other task facing southerners is that of insisting on respect for law and order throughout our region. The enemies of the South must not have any excuse for urging Federal intervention. Hoodlumism must be put down. The ignorant elements who join the Ku Klux Klan must be made to realize they are under the eyes of local and State police. Responsible men must stay active in movements such as the Citizens Council, and prevent infiltration by troublemakers or hotheads.

If the South can speak with dignity in Washington and act with honesty and good sense at home, there will be more Senator O'Mahoneys who will realize southerners are fighting the good fight for American liberties.

What Can We Do?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, the Reverend James A. Chandler, of Mobile, Ala., is a retired Methodist minister who, since giving up his active ministry, has continued to write articles on religious subjects even though confined to his bed because of illness.

Reverend Chandler's article, entitled "What Can We Do?" which appeared in the February 5, 1957, issue of the Methodist Christian Advocate, published in Birmingham, Ala., is an inspirational call for steadfast faith in our God and for the optimism and hope such faith engenders for the future.

I ask unanimous consent to have Reverend Chandler's article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT CAN WE DO?

(By Rev. James A. Chandler, retired)

"In a world which teeters on the edge of an abyss of terror and death, what can we as individual Christians do?" (Editorial in Methodist Christian Advocate, December 4, 1956.)

We can trust God and the moral order of the universe.

We are not accidents, neither is the world. If God has a purpose in everything and if on the earth nothing walks with aimless feet, this is not an aimless or a teetering world. Therefore, it must end right.

"That which began best, can't end worst,
Nor what God blest once, prove accurst."
—*Browning.*

If we sing, "This is our Father's world," we should believe it.

Parents are more responsible for their children than they are for themselves. They did not ask to be born into the world. In like manner, God is more responsible for the world than the world is responsible for itself or those who dwell within it.

Christians cannot believe that blind fate holds helm or that God has abdicated. His throne to the Devil. It is therefore difficult to believe that God will suffer His purposes to fail or His world to go to pieces.

Christians cannot justify any hopeless outlook upon the future. We do not know what the future holds, but we know who holds the future. The parables of the leaven and of the mustard seed indicate the triumph of the Kingdom of God in this world. St. John declares that the holy city, the new Jerusalem, is to come down from God out of heaven into this world and that the tabernacle of God is to be with men. (Revelation 21: 2–3.)

The lights are not going out all over the world. "There is not enough darkness in the world to put out the light of one candle." "The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it." (RSV John 1: 5.)

The earth may teeter and totter and reel, but the foundation standeth sure. The seas may roar and deep answer unto deep, but the Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters.

"In vain we search the lowest deeps, for Him no depths can drown."

He whom the winds and the waves obeyed always rebuked the fears of His disciples. With Christ, the master of storm and tempest, on board, we need not flounder nor drown in a sea of fear. "We are saved by hope." No Christian can be a pessimist.

Because of the world's conflicts and commotions, many fear the destruction of civilization and prophesy the end of the world. Wars and rumors of wars are cited as proof that the end is near. But the world has had those conditions through long centuries. "History proves that in the last 2,500 years, this world has had 11 years of war for every year of peace" (Nathanael Olsen). Yet people have been expecting the end of all things and the bodily reappearing of our Lord ever since the days of St. Paul. In fact, St. Paul and the early Christians expected the Lord's return during their lifetime. It is not difficult to understand. The loving heart naturally longs for the return of its beloved. But the times are in God's hands and no man knoweth the hour.

"This is my Father's world." If so, let us trust Him to see it triumphantly through all that threatens its destruction.

The philosophy of St. Paul, the greatest philosopher that ever lived, is our stabilizer, a gyroscope particularly apropos to present world conditions. To St. Paul, all the commotions and convulsions of the inanimate world, the groans of beasts, and the groans of man, are in sympathetic understanding and perfect unison—"the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now" (Romans 8: 22). To St. Paul, who could read the thoughts of plants and trees and could hear the heartbeat of nature, the universal frame of nature is in the throes of a mighty travail felt in every part and crying out for deliverance—as a mother with child—and that so sure as there be birth pangs so sure must there be a birth, the birth of a new world, a new humanity, a new and better social order (Romans 8: 22). Out of St. Paul's philosophy of pain grows St. Paul's philosophy of the Christian life (Romans 8: 26–39). So that, and no wonder, he could exultantly declare, "And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to His purpose."

Isaiah, looking far down the vista of time, prophesied the time when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore" (Isaiah 2: 4). If so, how can it be that the world "teeters on the edge of an abyss"? He also wrote with the pen of divine inspiration, "He (the Christ) shall not fail nor be discouraged until He has established justice in the earth" (Isaiah 42: 4). There is no place in our holy religion for either the word or the spirit of defeatism. Victory is perched upon our banners. No army could have the heart to win, if it should be assured it marches to a sure defeat. Whatever the seeming or the temporary reverses, God's world does not "teeter on the brink of an abyss" nor need anyone's life "tumble in."

We cannot believe that God will suffer His world to be destroyed by bombs or all the forces that the wicked can muster. The Kremlin denies the existence of God, hates righteousness, and defies the moral order of the universe. The Kremlin has within itself the elements of its own inherent rottenness and final destruction. "A famous historian lists 19 civilizations which have flourished and disappeared. Only 3 of these were overcome by outside forces, 16 of them decayed from within" (Dr. Charles M. Crowe). The swords Russia fashions against the freedom-loving nations cannot prevail. How can they, if it is still true that "righteousness exalteth a nation and sin is a reproach to any people" and that "except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it?"

A bishop had been walking the floor far into the night, worrying about certain evil forces that seemed to prevail over all that is righteous and good. Through sheer exhaustion he fell into his easy chair and was soon sound asleep. He dreamed that an angel came to him and said, "Bishop, you can undress now and go to bed: the Lord God will take over the rest of the night."

If this is our Father's world, we cannot accept any thought that God will suffer His purposes to fail, or that He will stand idly by and see His world destroyed by the devices of the wicked, or by all the military forces they may assemble against it.

In the revised standard version of the 75th Psalm, we find these very significant words:

"When the earth totters, and all its inhabitants, it is I who keep steady its pillars. I say to the boastful, 'Do not boast,' and to the wicked, 'Do not lift up your horn: do not lift up your horn on high, or speak with insolent neck.' For not from the east or from the west and not from the wilderness comes lifting up, but it is God who executes judgment, putting down one and lifting up another.

"When the earth totters, and all its inhabitants, it is I who keep steady its pillars."

How To Spoil a Political Work of Art

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "How To Spoil a Political Work of Art," written by Arthur Krock, which was published in this morning's New York Times.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW TO SPOIL A POLITICAL WORK OF ART

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, April 17.—One of the fondest beliefs of the Democratic management in the 1956 presidential campaign was that the voters could be persuaded that Dwight D. Eisenhower was a do-nothing President, idly uninformed on public issues and content to let a few advisers decide everything—the kind of head of state the French know historically as "le roi fainéant." And the Democratic campaign management as well as the party candidate for President apparently came to believe this themselves.

By October 4 Adlai E. Stevenson had sufficiently completed this political portrait to show it to a Wilkes-Barre, Pa., audience, as follows: "Unfortunately, this failure of leadership is not unique [his reference was to the President's news conference statement that he didn't know why the Republicans in Congress had not supported a bill he favored to relieve unemployment in depressed areas]. In other vital matters * * * it has appeared that the President has not known or has not cared what was going on." And Stevenson, who later was to refer to the recumbent in the White House, inquired if it "was any wonder why we ask, 'Who's in charge here?' "

This correspondent agreed at the time, and before and since, that there are some in the multitude of questions posed at White House news conferences which it might be reasonably assumed the President could answer informatively but which he has seemed unable to do. And this could lend support to the deduction either that his staff failed to brief him on matters as it should, or that he was strangely unconcerned with them.

But close daily observation of the workings of the executive branch never created an impression in this Department that there was any resemblance to reality in the portrait of the President painted by Stevenson and the Democratic campaign management. To the contrary, there was continuous proof positive that the answer to the question, "Who's in charge here?" always has been "Eisenhower." And the election results were powerful evidence that the great voting majority accepted and approved this as the fact.

THE VOICE OF AUTHORITY

The President's news conference today was particularly interesting with respect to this campaign background. His reaction was spontaneous to certain questions that concerned the powers and duties the Constitution and his oath impose on the President alone. And it was the unstudied response of a man who is master in his house.

Had the President seen a letter to him from 10 Members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy in which he was asked to "give the highest consideration" to the reappointment of Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, the Democratic dissenting minority of the Atomic Energy Commission? The President hadn't seen it, but when he did his reaction would be that "it is my responsibility to appoint people in the executive department." And he emphasized "my."

Would the Strategic Air Command be used as an offensive weapon in some future small war, as General LeMay said it was ready to be employed? "When [if] you get a picture," replied the President, "of the great Strategic Air Command charging all over the world for little police troubles, of course that would be entirely wrong." There was no doubt the Commander in Chief, and not just the constitutional one, was speaking.

Has the administration changed policy in the respect that it will now discourage any use by American shipping of the Gulf of Aqaba, which it has asserted to be a free international waterway, "while negotiating with the Egyptians on the Suez question"? "We have not changed our policy with respect either to Aqaba or Suez, I assure you," the President answered, and the last three words bespoke full knowledge and final authority.

BOSS OF THE RAILROAD

If King Hussein of Jordan asks for our military or economic aid, will we give it as the first use of the Eisenhower Mideast Doctrine that Congress has sanctioned in advance by resolution? If Jordan is attacked in the circumstances of that resolution, and asks for aid, the answer will be yes, said the President. And if the circumstances bring into play instead the Anglo-French-American commitment of 1951, the answer again will be yes. Once more there was no resemblance to the Democratic campaign picture last year.

Did Postmaster General Summerfield cut down the mails on his own or with the President's advance approval? "He acted with my complete approval and came to me before he did it." And so with every question that concerned the Presidential authority and responsibility. Even when he explained that he had relied wholly on subordinate counsel—as in the appointment of Scott McLeod as Ambassador to Ireland—the President added that the subordinate "is held responsible by me" for the end results of his counsel.

The Federal railroad is run badly on occasion, and the timetables are not always to be relied on, as when the budget express reverses its direction. But there is no doubt who is in charge.

Air Rights and Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Air Rights and Defense," which was published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of recent date.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AIR RIGHTS AND DEFENSE

The Dutch Government did not get all that it asked for in the air-rights agreement recently concluded with this country. But Prime Minister Drees' personal appeal to President Eisenhower to intervene in the case probably may be credited with the decision to overturn the recommendation of the Civil Aeronautics Board. Apparently on Mr. Drees' argument that the Dutch must maintain "their historic position as a world carrier if (Holland) is to pull its weight as a sound member of the Western Alliance," the Netherlands airline was granted 2 additional air routes serving this country, 1 to Houston and 1 to New York. Holland already had two American routes.

This means, in effect, that foreign policy considerations have outweighed economic arguments in the decision—partly at the expense of American and other foreign airlines now linking this country and Europe. This alone does not make the agreement unsound as a matter of national policy. Mutual defense often necessitates concessions. The question is whether the basing of an international air-rights agreement on this sort of consideration does not invite a complete breakdown of the already rather subjective procedures by which the CAB assigns such routes.

Generally this newspaper favors the broadest opportunities for the airlines of all nations to share in the world's air commerce. The arbitrary exclusion of foreign lines from this country would amount to a kind of protectionism altogether inconsistent with this country's desire for freer world trade. But this does not mean that the interests of American carriers—which are competing against governmentally underwritten foreign carriers—should be cast aside, or that economic or unnecessary operations should be allowed. Nor does it mean that this country should fail to seek a mutuality of air-rights concessions and scrupulous respect for past accords. As for defense considerations, they could and should be met in some more direct fashion, although the needs of mutual security do have a proper place in the country's general trade philosophy, of course.

Moves are afoot to provide for congressional review of international air agreements. Presidential intervention, it seems to us, complicates these negotiations more than enough already. Probably there is no entirely satisfactory answer to a problem that invariably touches on foreign policy as well as domestic economies. But debates in Congress would scarcely help matters. The desirable course, rather, is to place more reliance on the deliberate and dispassionate findings of the CAB staff in the absence of really compelling reasons to overrule them.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I desire to insert the report of the Minneapolis Citizens' Committee on the Study of Federal Aid to Education. This report has been submitted in letters by Frank E. Adams, president of our board of education, and Rufus A. Putnam, superintendent of schools, whose letters of submission are incorporated.

The letters and report follows:

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Minneapolis, Minn., March 29, 1957.

The Honorable ROY W. WIER,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WIER: On January 15, 1957, the board of education authorized the president

of the board to appoint a citizens' committee to study Federal aid to education and to submit findings and recommendations to the board of education, to be forwarded to the Congress of the United States for action.

At the meeting of the board of education which was held on March 26, 1957, the board voted to endorse and support the report which the citizens' committee presented to the board and to send copies of the report to the Minnesota delegation in the Congress of the United States.

A copy of the report of the citizens' committee is enclosed.

Yours very truly,

RUFUS A. PUTNAM,
Superintendent of Schools.

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Minneapolis, Minn., March 29, 1957.

Congressman ROY WIER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR ROY: As president of the Minneapolis School Board, and by action of the school board directors, I appointed a special committee of Minneapolis citizens to study the entire question of Federal aid to education. I am enclosing herewith a copy of this report and the committee members.

Our board met on March 26, 1957, and unanimously endorsed this committee's report. It was voted to send copies to our Senators and Congressmen for their consideration.

It has been my feeling that some form of Federal aid to education is not only inevitable but necessary. It was my concern as to what type of aid and who would be the recipients that prompted our study.

We hope that our conclusions will serve for some sort of action in the right direction.

To my knowledge this is the first time any large school board has undertaken such a project.

Very truly yours,

FRANK E. ADAMS,
President, Minneapolis School Board.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO STUDY FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION APPOINTED BY MINNEAPOLIS BOARD OF EDUCATION, MARCH 25, 1957

To the Members of the Board of Education:

The members of your committee, appointed in accordance with your resolution of January 15, 1957, have considered the many facets of the problem of Federal support for the public schools.

This committee realizes and believes in the necessity and inevitability of Federal aid for publicly controlled and tax-supported schools, and recommends:

1. Federal support for the public schools should be distributed solely on the basis of the number of children of school age within each State.

2. Control of the public schools should remain the complete responsibility of the States and local school districts; and any funds derived from Federal sources should be channeled to the several States through the United States Office of Education and the respective State departments of education.

3. The basic responsibility for the financial support of the public schools should remain with the States and local communities; but it is in the national interest and entirely appropriate for the Federal Government to give continuing and extended partial support.

4. In addition to providing partial current support of education, and filling other educational needs, Federal funds should be used to construct and equip public-school buildings.

5. The offshore oil and gas resources beyond the limits of State jurisdictions belong to all the people; and the proceeds from such resources should be dedicated to the use of publicly controlled and tax-supported schools.

Respectfully submitted.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO STUDY FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION,
JAMES B. LUND, *Chairman.*
MRS. HOWARD S. KAHN, *Secretary.*

MARCH 25, 1957.

The recommendations of this committee have been established upon certain basic considerations which may be summarized as follows:

Proposals for Federal aid to schools now being considered by the Congress generally emphasize aid for school construction. These proposals are based on the premise that many school districts are unable to meet the classroom shortage through their own resources; consequently, these districts should be helped through Federal grants. Even though some of the proposals would distribute Federal funds among the States on the basis of the number of school children, each State would determine how the funds would be apportioned among the school districts. In most States, need and the ability to pay would be major factors in determining the amount allotted to each district.

Because Minneapolis has more taxable wealth per pupil than the average community in Minnesota or in the Nation, the Minneapolis schools would probably not benefit directly from any plan of Federal aid which was based upon equalization of need. The proposals now before Congress would be of indirect benefit, perhaps, by providing some aid to other Minnesota communities whose needs might otherwise have to be financed from State taxes, a substantial part of which are paid by Minneapolis citizens.

In America, schools have been kept close to the people and there is general agreement that it is in the interest of democracy to keep them thus. Financial support is closely related to control over expenditures. There is general concern that Federal support should not be synonymous with Federal control. In a Federal program based on need, or equalization, there is a danger of Federal control. In order to preserve the fundamental principle of local control of public schools, therefore, any program of Federal support should be distributed on a purely objective, pupil population basis.

The Federal Government creates no wealth. It has no resources which are not available to States and local communities. However, with the growth of nationwide industries whose wealth-generating powers stretch across State lines, and with the corresponding growth of tax collecting powers and the increasing concentration of tax collections at the Federal level, greater equity is secured by assessing a part of the cost of education through taxing powers at the Federal level. There is also real justification for using the income from certain natural resources which belong to all the people, such as the offshore oil lands, for the benefit of all the people by using such income to improve the quality of schools throughout the Nation.

Because in a democracy all have equal votes in determining the affairs of Government; because education is the foundation of high living standards; and because of the mobility of population within and between the States, it is in the interest of all communities and of all citizens that there should be no "educational slums." Because good education for children in all parts of the country is a national concern, the Federal Government may properly be called upon to provide some support for the educational program. Because local control of schools is also important, the control and expenditure of such funds should be determined by the local district.

Membership of the special committee to study Federal aid to education: James B. Lund, chairman; Mrs. Howard S. Kahn, secretary; Frank Adams; Benjamin Drake; Mrs. Donald Dunshee; Shelton Granger; A. I. Heggerston; Dr. Frederick W. Hill; John Huebner; York Langton; Kenneth F. McNulty; Mrs. M. L. Mansfield; Mrs. A. J. Smaby; Dr. Wm. E. Watson; Robert Wishart.

TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very timely editorial regarding TVA, published in the Courier-Journal, of Louisville, Ky., on April 5, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"NOTHING IN MIND," THE PRESIDENT SAYS, REGARDING TVA

Next month President Eisenhower must appoint a new director to the board of the Tennessee Valley Authority to succeed retiring director Dr. Harry Curtis, and on his selection depends the life or death of TVA. Yet the President revealed at Wednesday's press conference that he hasn't the foggiest notion of what is at stake in the appointment, and blandly admitted that he had nothing in mind about the qualifications of the man to be chosen.

Concerning the appointment, Frank van der Linden, of the Nashville Banner, asked if the man "would have to be an Eisenhower Republican, or an Army engineer like General Vogel, or what did you have in mind on that?" Replied the President, "Well, I haven't got anything specifically in mind for the person you are talking about. But I believe, of course, it is a Board this is required to be bipartisan, and I don't remember whether the man going out is a Republican or a Democrat."

The President is mistaken. There is nothing in the TVA enabling act requiring the Board to be bipartisan or nonpartisan, and while it is surprising that Mr. Eisenhower is not familiar with the men who head this vitally important governmental agency, the politics of Dr. Curtis has no possible bearing on the upcoming appointment.

The President went on to say, according to the official transcript, that there are many appointments in which politics should play no part, and that he tries to get the best men, an effort which apparently failed when he chose his previous TVA Director, Gen. Herbert Vogel.

Concerning TVA, the President said, "You certainly have to get a qualified individual, who would be a man knowing something about public utilities, their financing, and, in general, what I would call a middle-of-the road philosophy in all of this field of governmental intervention in local affairs."

In other words, the new director of TVA must be a man who considers the agency an example of intervention in local affairs, though it does not intervene in local affairs, and must have a middle-of-the-road, or lukewarm, attitude toward the very enterprise he must help to guide. That is to say, he must be a man who knows something about power (how about flood control, land use, reforestation, administration, naviga-

tion?) and who regards TVA with dynamic suspicion, or ardent apathy.

That's what President Eisenhower says. It isn't what the law says. The law says the Director of TVA shall be a man who believes in TVA.

The Nickel Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I am including in the RECORD a letter I addressed on April 3, 1957, to the Honorable Gordon Gray, Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, and a letter dated March 20, 1957, addressed to me by Mr. John M. Curley, president of the Eastern Stainless Steel Corp.

Over a year ago I became convinced that the Department of Commerce and the Office of Defense Moblization were not taking all the necessary steps to protect American business, particularly in the plating industry, insofar as the allocation of nickel was concerned. Subsequent hearings by 3 committees of the Congress verified this conviction, and the Congress in Public Law 632 of the 84th Congress directed the Secretary of Commerce to make a study of the nickel situation and report thereon by December 31, 1956. The report admitted, in effect, that there had not been fair and equitable distribution, and it is my understanding that some progress has now been made in this regard respecting the plating industry. Apparently, however, there has not been the same attention directed to the plight of other users, and I have accordingly propounded some questions on the subject to the Honorable Gordon Gray, the new Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization.

May I say for the RECORD that it is my hope that Mr. Gray will himself become acquainted with the nickel situation, the manner in which it has been allocated, and the extent to which the Federal agencies have delegated their responsibility for the allocation of this scarce and critical material.

The letters follow:

APRIL 3, 1957.

Hon. GORDON GRAY,
Director, Office of Defense Mobilization, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GRAY: Over a year ago I became interested in the cause of a number of responsible business concerns that use nickel in connection with their operations in the plating industry, others in the stainless steel industry, others in the chemical industry, etc. I became convinced that the Government had a definite responsibility to insure fair and equitable allocation of nickel which was in short supply. This responsibility was increased in my opinion by the fact that 33⅓ percent to 40 percent of available nickel was taken by the Government itself for defense and stockpiling purposes, thus increasing the shortage to civilian users.

As a result of the light of publicity on the matter and following hearings by three congressional committees it became well established that the system of allocation, insofar as platers were concerned, was not fair and equitable. Also the action of the Government in entering into an arrangement with the principal producers of nickel whereby that concern actually allocated the material to American industry was to say the least an unusual delegation if not abrogation of governmental responsibility.

The details of the allocation system were not published in the Federal Register or elsewhere to my knowledge so no one was quite sure just what the system was, the period upon which it was based, the provision for new and expanding businesses, curtailed businesses, etc.

It is my understanding that the Commerce Department, after a survey requested by the Congress, has admitted the validity of the complaints of the platers and that some helpful steps have been taken with respect to the plating industry. However, the situation with respect to operators in the stainless-steel industry and I believe in other industries remains the same. In this connection I enclose a letter of March 20, 1957 from Mr. John M. Curley, president of the Eastern Stainless Steel Corp., Baltimore, Md., wherein certain pertinent points are raised. I would appreciate your comments on the questions raised by Mr. Curley and also on the following:

1. Whether it would be possible to allocate the nickel sinter as he has suggested without involving the regular allotment of those who receive it?
2. Whether additional supplies of the nickel sinter could be similarly handled?
3. Whether some mills are receiving more nickel than they need while others are receiving less than their requirements?
4. Whether there are plans to revise the existing allocation formula?
5. Whether or not there is a written agreement between the Department of Commerce and/or Office of Defense Mobilization and the International Nickel Co. with respect to the allocation of nickel.

I shall appreciate hearing from you with respect to this matter at your early convenience and since there is a widespread interest in this subject I shall place this correspondence in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and shall afford your reply similar consideration unless you indicate otherwise.

Very sincerely yours,
JOHN W. McCORMACK.

EASTERN STAINLESS STEEL CORP.,
Baltimore, Md., March 20, 1957.

The Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Office of the Majority Leader,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN McCORMACK: Thanks very much for your letter of March 6 with copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD containing data on the scrap picture as far as export is concerned. This is very interesting and I certainly appreciate your having sent it to me.

You know nickel has been a problem with us and with a couple of other concerns and the whole thing is set up on a ridiculous basis of our purchases from the Nickel Co., in 1950 and 1951. As a result of this, some people get more nickel than they need and we get little or nothing on unrated steel for domestic use.

The nickel situation, however, is easing and there is every indication it is going to ease substantially in the near future. However, in the meantime, we are still suffering for want of nickel and have to go out in the market and pay ridiculous prices for it because nobody is willing to change the formula.

At the present we have been advised by the BDSA that there is 1,500,000 pounds of nickel sinter on hand in Philadelphia in the hands of the National Lead and it has been offered to all the steel companies on the basis that it is available to them, but it will be taken off their regular allotment and, therefore, they all have refused it. We would love to get it, but we have had to refuse it because our regular allotment is so small that we would not get aany electrolytic nickel if we took this sinter at Philadelphia. Sinter can be used by a steel mill, but you still have to have some electrolytic and our allotment is so small we could not even consider taking it. However, if somebody is really sincere, this material should not lie in Philadelphia for over a month just because somebody cannot decide how to distribute it. We have recommended that it be distributed on a hardship basis because the mills will not accept it on a regular allotment basis, although everybody in Washington says it is not controlled.

If they would sell this, or any part of it, as a means of overcoming the very unfair inequity, we would be glad to purchase any quantity of it at the regular price.

There is another million pounds coming in next week which will be in the same position and, of course, what will probably happen, if they are not able to sell it, will be to put it in stockpile as the only other solution. Along this line, if somebody really wants to make sure the budget does not continue on its same high figure before adoption, a good place to look for saving is on the purchases of nickel for the stockpile.

Everybody you talk to on the nickel question will tell you it is not controlled and that the Commerce Department does not tell how it is to be distributed; but, if we got that or any part of it on the basis on which it was offered, it would automatically be deducted from our allotment from the International Nickel Co. as there is a tie-in of information between the various suppliers and whether you call it control or not, we are limited to a very definite figure in spite of the fact that I am sure some mills get more than they need.

If there is anything you could do to shake loose any part of this nickel sinter by getting the machinery working to a point where the facts can be considered and you do not have to be tied to a 7-year-old formula, it would be greatly appreciated and would be of tremendous assistance to us.

I certainly hope there is something that can be done on this because it looks like a possible way of getting more nickel without these people having to lose face which is what it all amounts to.

Very truly yours,
EASTERN STAINLESS STEEL CORP.,
JOHN M. CURLEY, *President.*

Amendments to Public Buildings Purchase Contract Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H. R. 6993, a bill to amend and extend Public Law 519, 83d Congress, and to amend the Public Building Act of 1926, as amended.

The general effect of H. R. 6993 will be to continue the purchase contract method of acquiring public buildings, a program which may be coordinated with existing authority for construction by direct appropriation under the Public Buildings Act of 1926, as amended, and existing leasing authority.

That the Members may know the many advantages of H. R. 6993 herewith is an outline analysis which sets forth the amendments to existing law and accompanying statements in support of the proposed amendments:

OUTLINE ANALYSIS

Section 411 of the Public Buildings Act of 1949, as amended, 63 Statute 176, as added by the act approved July 22, 1954 (68 Stat. 518), as amended, is amended as follows:

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I, PUBLIC LAW 519, 83D CONGRESS

Amendment

(a) The proviso at the end of subsection (a) reading: *"Provided*, That prior to July 1, 1955, a limitation of not to exceed $5 million is hereby established for such purpose" is hereby deleted and the following added in lieu thereof: *"Provided*, That subject to the foregoing restrictions on total annual payments, any such purchase contract may provide for payments at such intervals as the Administrator may deem necessary and, without regard to the foregoing requirement for equal annual payments, for partial payments during construction to cover interest on and amortization of the earned portion of the purchase price."

Explanation

The recommended deletion would eliminate language rendered obsolete through the passage of time. The substitute proviso would permit the beginning of the purchase contract term at the commencement of the construction so that the amortization of principal and interest may be commenced on that portion of the cost of the improvements as is represented by construction completed to the satisfaction of the Government. It is believed that these changes will facilitate both temporary and permanent financing since they will provide a means of eliminating or reducing short-term borrowing for construction, and of shortening the time the long-term investor must wait after making his commitment before investing his money and receiving amortization payments with interest.

Amendment

(b) The colon after the word "States" in the fifth line of subsection (d) is changed to a period and the remainder of the sentence reading, *"Provided*, That no such agreement may provide for the payment by the United States in pursuance of the terms thereof of moneys in an aggregate annual amount in excess of 15 percent of the appraised fair market value of the property at the date of the purchase contract, or in the case of property where construction shall not have been completed at that date in excess of 15 percent of the fair market value at the date of completion of such construction." is deleted.

Explanation

The proviso which limits the aggregate annual amount of payments under a purchase contract to 15 percent of the appraised fair market value at the date of the contract or the date of completion of construction, depending on whether or not the building is in being at the date the contract is entered into, is inconsistent with the basic authority of the act. Congress sets the maximum limit of cost for the project by approving estimates thereof recommended by this agency and has specified the minimum and maximum number of years over which the purchase price may be amortized, at the end of which time title to the property is required by the statute to vest in the United States. Any arbitrary limitation on the percentage of fair market value which may be amortized annually might render the contract impossible of performance. In addition, the large majority of the projects involve new construction and it is most impracticable, if not impossible, to determine in advance and before completion, what the fair market value will be upon completion.

Amendment

(c) By striking from subsection (e) the words "within 3 years after the date of enactment of this act" and inserting in lieu thereof "on or before June 30, 1960."

Explanation

Subsection (e) of section 411 of the act provides that no appropriations shall be made for purchase contract projects which have not been approved by resolutions adopted by the Committees on Public Works of the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, within 3 years after the date of enactment of the act. The act was approved July 22, 1954. Therefore, in order that we may proceed with planning for additional urgently needed projects and submit them to the committees for approval it is necessary that the act be continued in force for an additional period and we have here provided for an extension until the end of the fiscal year approximately 3 years beyond the present expiration date.

Amendment

(d) By striking item (2) of subsection (e) and inserting in lieu thereof "(2) an estimate of the maximum cost of the project: *Provided*, That the maximum cost set forth in any prospectus for any project may be exceeded by not more than 15 percent or shall be reduced by an amount equal to the percentage increase or decrease, if any, as determined by the Administrator of General Services, in construction costs generally dating from the time of transmittal of such project to such committees;."

Explanation

Under the method adopted by General Services Administration for implementation of the program buildings are designed to meet the particular needs of the agencies to be housed therein for construction on sites acquired for the particular building. Obviously, the site cannot be acquired or preparation of the plans and specifications undertaken until after complete approval of projects by the Bureau of the Budget and both committees of Congress. Accordingly, the maximum cost estimates required by the law to be included in the prospectus submitted to obtain such approvals are on the basis of sketch plans. As the obtaining of all required approvals, acquiring sites, preparing building plans and specifications, and advertising for bids are a time consuming procedure, the estimates, for purposes of the prospectuses, must precede by periods ranging from 6 to 18 months, the award of construction contracts. The maximum cost estimates in the 99 projects already fully approved were based upon costs current at the time the estimates were made. As indicated by the testimony during the hearing construction costs increased from 10 to 15 percent before we opened construction bids. As a result the maximum cost ceiling set forth in the prospectuses were inadequate to cover current construction costs. While this problem could be alleviated through resubmission of prospectuses, such action would further delay getting the projects underway and would appear to burden, unnecessarily, the committees. Accordingly, this amendment is proposed to provide that the maximum estimates in the prospectuses may be exceeded or shall be reduced commensurate with increases or decreases in construction costs generally.

Amendment

(e) By striking item (3) of subsection (e) and inserting in lieu thereof "(3) a comprehensive plan for providing space for all Government employees in the locality of the proposed project, having due regard for suitable space which may continue to be available in existing Government-owned buildings and in rented buildings;".

Explanation

This amendment will substitute, for the certificates of need by the head of the using agency, a requirement for a comprehensive plan for providing space for all Government employees in the locality of the proposed project. This change will lend more flexibility to the problem of allocation of space in the project based on conditions prevailing at the time of completion of construction.

Amendment

(f) By striking the word "and" following the semicolon in item (7) of subsection (e), by changing such semicolon to a period and by striking item (8) of subsection (e).

Explanation

This amendment eliminates the requirement that prospectuses include a statement by the Director, Bureau of the Budget, of conformity with the policy of the President.

Amendment

(g) By changing the period at the end of subsection (h) to a colon and adding the following *"Provided*, That the Administrator of General Services is authorized to enter into agreements with any State, county, municipality, or any subdivision thereof providing for reduction in the amount of or for exemption from taxes otherwise payable under this subsection."

Explanation

Under this amendment agreements with States, counties, municipalities, or any subdivision thereof for exemption from or reduction in taxes would be permissible.

Amendment

(h) A new subsection (k) to read as follows is added:

"(k) The faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment of all annual payments contracted for under purchase contracts entered into pursuant to this section, and there is hereby authorized to be appropriated in each fiscal year, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the amounts necessary to provide for such annual payments. Payments under purchase contracts entered into pursuant to this section shall be pledged, if the Administrator of General Services so requires, as security for any loans obtained by a contractor to assist in the financing of the construction of the projects to which the purchase contracts relate."

Explanation

Testimony adduced at the hearing established the fact that the difficulties encountered by contractors in obtaining financing constituted a major deterrent to the implementation of the program. Various potential sources of financing have indicated a lack of interest due to the fact that the Government's contractual obligation to make the annual payments due is the sole security offered. We were advised that a statutory amendment which would pledge the full faith and credit of the United States would materially aid market acceptability. The proposed provision, based on language contained in sections 10 (e) and (f) of the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended (42 U. S. C. 1410 (e) and (f)), is intended to accomplish the objective without making the contracts public debt transactions. The authority granted by this new subsection, of course, would be subject to the restrictions in the law on total annual payments as well as to all of the other requirements thereof.

Amendment

(i) A new subsection (l) is added to read follows:

"(l) Wherever, in this section, the Administrator of General Services is authorized to

enter into purchase contracts or a purchase contract, such authorization shall be deemed to include any contract or series or group of contracts, including but not limited to contracts covering acquisition of sites, preparation of plans and specifications, financial arrangements, and construction which the Administrator of General Services deems necessary to effectuate any of the purposes of this section."

Explanation

New subsection (e) is a technical amendment designed specifically to remove questions heretofore raised by counsel for financing institutions as to whether the terms "purchase contracts" or "purchase contract" as used in the act include any contract or series or group of contracts entered into by the Administrator of General Services as necessary to implement and effectuate the purposes of the act.

Amendment

(j) A new subsection (m) is added to read as follows:

"(m) Notwithstanding the provisions of the Assignment of Claims Act of 1940, as amended (31 U. S. C. 203, 41 U. S. C. 15), assignments of moneys due or to become due from the United States under any purchase contract entered into pursuant to the provisions of this section may be assigned to any bank, trust company, trust, insurance company, pension fund, other financing institution including a Federal lending agency, or any other individual, firm, or organization providing the financing in connection with any approved project, whether acting as principal or trustee."

Explanation

Counsel for potential investors of pension funds expressed the opinion that, in the absence of a court decision or amendatory legislation, it had serious doubt as to whether a financing institution, acting as pension trustee, could qualify as an assignee under the Assignment of Claims Act of 1940, as amended. The question is not absolutely free from doubt even though the Comptroller General of the United States, by decision dated October 9, 1956, specifically held that the validity of the assignment of the proceeds of a Government contract is not impaired by the fact that the indebtedness secured by the assignment represents an investment of trust funds, where legal title to, and control of such funds are vested in a bank or trust company. Accordingly, new subsection (m) has been drafted to eliminate this obstacle and enable participation of additional sources of financing.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II, PUBLIC LAW 519, 83D CONGRESS

Section 2: Subsection (g) of section 202 of the Post Office Department Property Act of 1954, as amended (39 U. S. C. 902 (g)), is further amended:

Amendment

(a) By striking the words "within 3 years after the date of enactment of this act" and inserting in lieu thereof "on or before June 30, 1960";

Explanation

Subsection (g) of section 202 of the act provides that no appropriations shall be made for purchase contract projects which have not been approved by resolutions adopted by the Committees on Public Works of the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, within 3 years after the date of enactment of the act. The act was approved July 22, 1954. Therefore, in order that we may proceed with planning for additional urgently needed projects and submit them to the committees for approval it is necessary that the act be continued in force for an additional period and we have here provided for an extension until the end of the fiscal year approximately 3 years beyond the present expiration date.

Amendment

(b) By striking the word "and" following the semicolon in item (7) thereof and by changing the semicolon to a period, and by striking item (8) thereof.

Explanation

This amendment eliminates the requirement that prospectuses include a statement by the Director, Bureau of the Budget, of conformity with the policy of the President.

Amendment

(c) By changing the period at the end of subsection (h) to a colon and adding the following: *Provided*, That the Postmaster General is authorized to enter into agreement with any State, county, municipality, or any subdivision thereof providing for reduction in the amount of or for exemption from taxes otherwise payable under this subsection."

Explanation

Under this amendment agreements with States, counties, municipalities or any subdivision thereof for exemption from or reduction in taxes would be permissible.

AMENDMENTS TO PUBLIC BUILDINGS ACT OF 1926, AS AMENDED

Section 3: The first section of the act entitled "An act to provide for the construction of certain public buildings, and for other purposes," approved May 25, 1926, as amended (40 U. S. C. 341), is further amended by striking out "That, to enable" and inserting "That (a) to enable", and by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(b) No appropriation shall be made to carry out the purposes of this act for any project (1) until the expiration of 30 calendar days of continuous session of the Congress following the date on which the Administrator of General Services has submitted to the Committees on Public Works of the Senate and House of Representatives a prospectus of the proposed project, or (2) where a resolution has been adopted by either committee, during such period, stating in substance that such committee does not approve of such a project. For the purposes of this subsection continuity of session shall be considered as broken only by an adjournment of the Congress sine die, but in the computation of the 30-day period there shall be excluded the days on which either House is not in session because of an adjournment of more than 3 days to a day certain."

"(c) The prospectus of the proposed project shall include (but not be limited to)—

"(1) A brief description of the building located or to be erected at a given location;

"(2) An estimate of the maximum cost of the project: *Provided*, That the maximum cost set forth in the prospectus for any project may be exceeded or shall be reduced by an amount equal to the total percentage increase or decrease, if any, as determined by the Administrator of General Services, in construction costs generally dating from the time of transmittal of such project to such committees;

"(3) A comprehensive plan for providing space for all Government employees in the locality of the proposed project, having due regard for suitable space which may continue to be available in existing Government-owned buildings and in rented buildings;

"(4) A statement by the Administrator of General Services that suitable space owned by the Government is not available and that suitable rental space is not available at a price commensurate with that to be afforded through the proposed action; and

"(5) A statement of rents and other housing costs currently being paid by the Government for agencies to be housed in the building to be constructed, enlarged, remodeled, extended, or purchased.

"(d) The Administrator of General Services shall submit to the Congress promptly after the convening of each new Congress, a report showing the location, space, cost, and status of each project submitted under this act and uncompleted as of the date of any prior report under this act."

Section 4: The prospectuses required by section 1 (b) of the aforesaid act, approved May 25, 1926, as added by section 3 of this act shall supersede the reports required by section 4 of the said act, approved May 25, 1926, and section 409 of the Public Buildings Act of 1949, as amended (40 U. S. C. 355), and said section 409 is hereby repealed.

Section 5: There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act.

Explanation

The purpose of these amendments is to set up a procedure with respect to the approval of building projects under the Public Buildings Act of 1926, as amended, that is substantially similar to the procedure provided for in Public Law 519, 83d Congress, as amended by this act. Also to authorize the appropriation of such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of the Public Buildings Act of 1926, as amended.

Urban Renewal and Redevelopment Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I desire to insert a resolution passed by the city council, city of Minneapolis, Minn., on April 12, 1957, calling attention of the Congress to a problem confronting the city of Minneapolis in connection with the programs for urban renewal and redevelopment and emphasizing its relationship with the local planning of the interstate highway system.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE PROPOSED REDUCTION OF FEDERAL AIDS FOR URBAN RENEWAL AND REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Whereas the city of Minneapolis has consistently supported present and prospective programs for urban renewal and redevelopment; and

Whereas such programs have been planned and presented on the basis that Federal aid would be available in substantial degree; and

Whereas the proposed interstate highway system, of necessity, requires coordinate planning for redevelopment of several areas of the city; and

Whereas local revenue resources are inadequate to finance the extensive requirements of urban renewal and redevelopment in time to be effective and productive; and

Whereas the city has been led to believe that the Congress would be asked to provide $250 million each year for 2 years for such aids, but there is now pending a proposal that the Federal budget provide $175 million for 1 year only for aids to urban renewal and redevelopment; and

Whereas such reduction in Federal aid drastically affects the prospects of any early

completion of the Lower Loop, Riverside, and other Minneapolis redevelopment projects, and upsets the future correlation of local planning with the interstate highway system: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the City Council of the City of Minneapolis, That we request the Congress of the United States not to reduce the Federal-aid program in support of present and prospective urban renewal and redevelopment projects.

That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, and to each Member of the House and Senate from Minnesota.

Passed April 12, 1957.

EUGENE E. STOKOWSKI,
President of the Council.

Approved April 12, 1957.

ERIC G. HOYER,
Mayor.

Attest:

LEONARD A. JOHNSON,
City Clerk.

Airline Subsidies—Congress Saves the Taxpayers $51 Million

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to insert the syndicated column by Drew Pearson which appeared in the Washington Post on Friday, April 12, 1957, headlined "Airline Subsidies Seen Offering Savings."

I should like to make two comments regarding the reforms in the airmail subsidy practice which have been accomplished by the Congress since 1948:

First. Effective with the fiscal year 1955 separation of the concealed airline subsidies from post-office airmail pay relieved Postmaster General Summerfield of $73 million a year of expenditures which he had previously been forced to carry in the post-office budget, and thus Congress in a single action reduced the post-office deficit by over $70 million per year.

Therefore Congress relieved the post office of having to expend $73 million a year in airmail subsidies, an amount which is considerably larger than the amount of money which Mr. Summerfield has been trying to extort from the Congress in a supplemental appropriation this year by the device of shutting off the citizen's mail service last Saturday.

Second. Since subsidies were separated out of the post-office budget and made a separate appropriation item payable by the Civil Aeronautics Board and not the Post Office Department, Congress has made the following cuts in the amount of subsidy requested in the presidential budget submitted to the Congress at the beginning of January each year:

Fiscal year 1955 (the first year in which subsidies came before Congress as a separate appropriations item)	$24,100,000
Fiscal year 1956	10,500,000
Fiscal year 1957	3,800,000
Fiscal year 1958 (House only has acted so far)	13,056,000
Total	51,456,000

The airline subsidy figure for 1958 is not only $13,056,000 below the amount requested in the President's budget for fiscal 1958, on page 441, but also $3,586,000 below the bedrock reduction figure stated 2 months after the President's big "telephone book" budget was sent to Congress as being acceptable to the CAB Chairman, the Budget Bureau, and the President.

It can thus be seen that since subsidies were separated from mail pay, Congress has saved the taxpayers over $51 million on the single item of airline subsidies by cutting the President's budgets by that much.

The items of $5,900,000 and $6,500,000 referred to in the Drew Pearson column attached are additional savings over and above the $51 million mentioned above and are attributable in good part to the insistence of Congress at the beginning of the year 1954 that thorough audits be made of the airline subsidies.

In this connection the credit belongs to the Appropriations Committee of the House. I refer particularly to House Report No. 207 of the 84th Congress, 1st session, March 15, 1955, by Mr. CANNON from the Committee on Appropriations, at page 6:

The survey indicates that the Civil Aeronautics Board does not have accurate facts or figures regarding Pan American operations. Most of the subsidiaries have never been properly audited and some not at all, and there has not been insistence that the operations of the entire system be treated as an entity, as required by a recent Supreme Court decision. If corrective action were taken, substantial cuts in subsidy should result.

The article mentioned above follows:

AIRLINE SUSIDIES SEEN OFFERING SAVINGS

(By Drew Pearson)

If the United States Chamber of Commerce and the congressional economizers want to save more money, the CAB and Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, have shown them an important way to do it.

The coleiction from Pan American Airways of $5.9 million in overpaid 1954 subsidies plus a proposed collection of $6.5 million as a result of bookkeeping which requires scrutiny is one way. It's a way by which the Government can make money instead of cutting down on such important projects as schools.

The recent bookkeeping windfall to Uncle Sam was the direct result of the hiring of 30 extra auditors by the Civil Aeronautics Board to check on the subsidiaries of the far-flung Pan American Airways. For a long time, certain members of the CAB, led by ex-Commissioner Joe Adams, have been trying to get the money to examine Pan Am's books. These CAB officials were suspicious that the big airline, with more subsidies than any other American company, was collecting extra subsidies from American taxpayers by failing to bill its foreign subsidiaries for services. But the CAB was never able to get a thorough look at the subsidiaries' books.

Credit for finally collecting this money goes first to Senator DOUGLAS, who, in speech after speech, urged his Senate colleagues both to cut down on airline subsidies and to hire enough auditors to look at the books. In the House Congressman JOHN ROONEY, of Brooklyn, did the same. DOUGLAS argued that the American taxpayers, through subsidies to Pan Am, were paying for luxury hotels and Pan Am's foreign subsidiaries. He began this campaign in 1953, continued through 1954 and 1955.

Finally he won out. Thirty extra auditors were hired.

Credit also go to Joe Adams, who harped on the same subject—and got dropped for his pains. After Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, close friend of Pan Am, called at the White House last December it was made know Adams would not be reappointed to the CAB.

REPUBLICANS TOUGH

Finally, credit goes to Ross Rizley, recent Republican Chairman of the CAB, and to the new Republican Chairman, James R. Durfee. Both men are "sleepers." Rizley was a lame-duck Congressman from Oklahoma who turned out to be one of the best CAB Chairmen in some years, so good that adroit moves were made to get him off the Board and onto the Federal bench.

Chairman Durfee, former GOP chairman of the Wisconsin Public Utilities Commission, has also proved to be a tough, play-no-favorites commissioner.

The order which Chairman Durfee has now published, reopening Pan American files, is one of the most sweeping ever issued by the CAB. After enumerating various cases in which Pan Am failed to charge its Mexican and Central American subsidiaries for services rendered, the CAB order concluded:

"As a result of these various matters, it appears that Pan American's subsidy needs may have been substantially overstated and that completion of the audit may disclose other discrepanices."

In a direct implication that Pan American engaged in faulty bookkeeping, the CAB stated: "It was not until fiscal 1956 when the CAB received appropriations for a substantial increase in its audit staff that such a project (of auditing) could be and was undertaken.

"The board, we think, was entitled to assume that the carrier's reports and filing were correct.

"Pan American is yet to be heard from in connection with all these matters," the CAB order stated. "On the other hand, the audit may disclose still further areas requiring exploration.

"HUGE SUBSIDIES

"Our duty in this respect is plainly evident when it is considered that transactions between Pan American and its affiliates aggregate some $50 million annually."

This refers to the fact that Pan American is now the only airline receiving a major Government subsidy.

In 1956 Pan American received $2,669,000 subsidy on its Atlantic Division, $11,482,000 on its Latin American division, and $1,356,000 on its Alaskan division. TWA received no subsidy whatsoever, though it flies the Atlantic, parallel to PAA, and has the less profitable run through the Near East. Northwest Airlines received $1,483,000 on its Great Circle Pacific run, and Pan American is now trying to get certificated to fly that route.

Between 1951–6, TWA received a total subsidy of $4,586,000 on its foreign operations. During the same period, Pan American received the huge total of $138,615,000.

Pan American has 30 subsidiaries all over the world. If the extra auditors hired by the CAB continue to find the same bookkeeping that they found on the books of its Mexican and Central American subsidiaries, a lot of money could come back to Uncle Sam.

PAN AMERICAN REPLY GIVEN IN STATEMENT

Pan American Airways yesterday issued the following statement on Drew Pearson's column printed above:

"The Drew Pearson column contains numerous misstatements of fact and draws erroneous conclusions of an audit conducted by the CAB of Pan American Airways' books which has not even been completed. The Board itself states: '* * * the audit to date is incomplete, and substantial further investigation and analysis is required. Also, it is possible that the questionable areas disclosed by the audit may already have been, to some extent, taken into account by disallowance made in this or other mail rate proceedings; and Pan American is yet to be heard in connection with all of these matters.'

"Mr. Pearson states that Pan American received some $15,507,000 in subsidies in 1956, whereas Pan American received only $7,249,000 for its entire operation, including its national interest routes to Alaska, Scandinavia, Africa, and Australia.

"Mr. Pearson claims the money has already been collected from Pan American as a result of the so-called audit, whereas, by the board's own statement, many of the questionable areas involved may already have been taken care of in other proceedings.

"Mr. Pearson, in referring to Pan American's affiliated operations, either by intent or oversight, neglects to mention the benefits in the reduction of subsidy which Pan American has received because of services performed by or for its affiliates. A few examples of these benefits are:

"1. Affiliates act as feeder lines and sell for Pan American from 10 to 15 million dollars of passenger sales per year;

"2. For acting as purchasing and shipping agent Pan American receives annually from $700,000 to $1 million;

"3. Profits from maintenance and repair flight equipment are substantial;

"4. Commissions earned as general sales agent for affiliates in the United States go to reduce Pan American's selling costs.

"One further service about which there is little or no talk is the diplomatic and national defense relationship which proved so valuable through World War II in Colombia and Brazil. The national airlines of these countries were dominated by German personnel and it was only through the investment of Pan American that we were able to de-nazify these airlines and make them of service to the hemisphere defense effort. If Pan American did not have these investments, foreign-flag airlines or nations unquestionably would. It is a possibility that such ownership could fall into Communist hands."

Rural Electrification Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an address by L. T. Clevenger, manager of the Southeastern Illinois Electric Cooperative, delivered at the congressional dinner sponsored by the Association of Illinois Electric Cooperatives in Washington, D. C., on April 8, 1957:

ELECTRICITY FOR THE FARM—WHERE WILL IT BE OBTAINED AND AT WHAT PRICE?

(Speech by L. T. Clevenger, manager, Southeastern Illinois Electric Cooperative, at the Congressional Dinner on April 8, 1957)

The tremendous growth in the use of electricity over the past two decades I'm sure is considered as a prime example of the industrial capabilities of this great Nation.

Ten years ago, in 1946, immediately following World War II, we used, in the United States, 190 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity. This was slightly less than the 198 billion peak year's use in 1944, and considerably more than the 118 billion used in 1940.

Just 10 years hence, in 1956, our needs have more than doubled to the alltime high of 529 billion.

Our total production capacities were approximately 40 million kilowatts in 1940 and we built 10 million more during the war. In 1946, the great postwar expansion began. We have today approximately 120 million kilowatts of generation in service, which represents power company facilities as well as power districts, Federal, State, municipal, and cooperative installations.

No other industry has had to expand as fast and with as much. In both production and sales, the electrical industry is still faced with a growing need for even more than ever before.

From a recent issue of Electrical World comes these new figures: "New capacity additions planned by all segments of the industry have swelled to 59,802,000 kilowatts." Electrical World goes on to say, "it is significant that 40 million, or two-thirds of this total, will be added by the end of 1959, and almost exactly half in the 2 years, 1958 and 1959."

This is a phenomenal growth pattern when one considers that within 3 short years, it appears that our present production capacities for generation will need to be increased by approximately 50 percent.

Yet, this merely is indicative of what today has become the growth pattern of the farmer's use for electricity. Wherein the industry, overall, is doubling in about every 10 years, the farmer has doubled his need for electricity in 5. And, it appears that he is only beginning.

In the past 20 years, farm and agricultural use of electricity has been primarily at the comfort level. A good part of electric consumption on the farm today is in the house. About 80 percent, I believe. Only 20 percent is being used for production.

A sample of what is to come was given you by Mr. Simms. Electricity as a production tool in agriculture has no horizon. It extends just as far as the field of automation can expand; as a labor saver, it has no equal.

The 1,028 electric cooperative systems in operation today, serving 4,357,000 consumers, represents an important segment of our economy. A 15-percent increase in cooperative sales for 1956 points even more to the importance electricity plays in farm operation today.

In 1956, these 1,028 systems sold power to their consumer members at approximately 2¾ cents per kilowatt-hour. Approximately 25 percent of the 2¾ percent cost of power to the farmer represents the price paid by the cooperative for the power it distributed.

This was slightly higher in Illinois, the average being just a litle above 3 cents. Correspondingly, power costs to the electric cooperatives were slightly higher and the 25 percent ratio of wholesale costs to the cooperative as to retail costs to the farm consumer remain relatively the same.

We, in the cooperative electric field, have studied, too, the industry's plans for generation expansion and wonder if the farm potential has been weighed in trying to anticipate the future production needs.

We realize that a product in short supply has a tendency to become more dear in price. The farmer must continue to have an adequate low-cost supply of electricity in Illinois if he is to compete with commodity production of like products in other areas. An increase in power costs to the cooperatives can mean only a corersponding increase to the farmer.

As you know, the Administrator of REA has the right to make loans to cooperative borrowers of REA for funds to construct generation facilities. It is not the desire of Illinois cooperatives to enter into the field of electric generation, so long as an adequate supply of electricity at a reasonable price can be obtained from those now in this field. However, we feel that it would indeed be unfortunate for the farmers and the electric cooperatives of Illinois if ever they were denied the right to generate their own electric power, should the present power suppliers fail in quantity, quality, or price to provide the cooperatives' power needs. Legislation to the contrary could prove disastrous.

Stop Hawaiian Statehood?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, on March 30, 1957, the Tulsa Tribune published an editorial by Richard Lloyd Jones entitled "Stop Statehood for Hawaii." The editorial was evidently written by someone who had no personal or factual knowledge of Hawaii.

A great many people in Hawaii have read the editorial. As a result, a considerable number of people of Hawaii have expressed their opinions to Mr. Jones.

For the information of the Members, I insert in the RECORD two of these letters which are comprehensive in their reply and are particularly pertinent at this time.

The letters follow:

HAWAII CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS,
Honolulu, Hawaii, April 8, 1957.

EDITOR, TULSA TRIBUNE,
Tulsa, Okla.

DEAR SIR: Our sympathies to Publisher Richard Lloyd Jones who apparently has watched one too many TV renditions of exotic Hawaii—scripted, of course, in Hollywood. His references to "tempest-tossed waters," however poetic, are not borne out by the United States Navy and its many marine activities carried on in these islands because of our natural harbors and normally serene waters. These "scattered bits of volcanic lava" just happened to be scattered strategically enough to have offered protection to the United States mainland coast from major enemy action during World War II.

The Honolulu Star-Bulletin, one of our two leading newspapers, editorially extended an invitation to Publisher Jones to visit Hawaii

with the open mind of a journalist and then write his impressions. It was also suggested that he visit our local PTAs. As president of the Hawaii Congress of Parents and Teachers and as a 20-year resident of this community I present these statistics and observations.

Hawaii's PTA membership ranks second in the United States on the percentage basis of parent membership to student population—almost 70,000 memberships or better than 50 percent, representing our 130,000 schoolchildren.

Another interesting statistic is the unique position the Hawaii PTA holds in family memberships. The local leadership which is reflected throughout the district and territorial organization is predominantly male with men of all professions taking a keenly active interest and role in their school and community improvement programs. Dr. William Odell, Stanford professor and leader of a recent school survey team here, stated that the PTA in Hawaii is the most significant of any locality in the United States.

A community so predominantly dedicated to the PTA objects of better homes, better schools, and better communities which are in themselves so thoroughly American, cannot be called either indolent or un-American.

Hawaii's people speak English, Mr. Jones, with no greater variations than appear within your own communities. In Hawaii there is no greater proportion of old country speech than in any other United States locality that has been built up in the last half century from foreign-born immigrants. Our legislators boast a very high degree of preparatory professional training, judging from the degrees they hold from various mainland universities and law schools. We have not developed national leaders from Hawaii, it is true, but neither have we had the opportunity to do so. We lack representation and we have a Governor who is appointed by a President for whom we cannot vote. We are also a young community with a young population—and very few national leaders are themselves established while still in their thirties.

We in Hawaii do not need to defend our patriotism—World War II and the subsequent Korean war recorded most accurately the loyalty and heroism of our volunteer boys, most of whom were of American-Japanese ancestry. For Mr. Jones' further information, the number of soldiers from Hawaii who gave their lives in both these conflicts was proportionately far higher than any other United States community.

Publisher Jones as a stanch American would deeply resent being taxed without representation. Hawaii has accepted this status for many years and asks rightfully for statehood and representation in Congress.

That members of our representation could be of several ancestries including Caucasian, Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian, etc., should not deter statehood in a country that has been developed entirely from immigrant arrivals from all parts of the world throughout its whole history. In Hawaii we have even included in our population departees from Oklahoma as well as all the other States.

Publisher Jones' sweeping statement of the Communist influence in the islands could be labeled as a scare banner and gives the impression that Mr. Jones' intent was to discredit our American-Japanese population rather than to prove his point on communism.

I have an abiding faith in the people of Hawaii to accept the responsibility that is theirs to clear themselves of communism and to elect representative leadership worthy of local, Territorial, or National Government, irrespective of racial background. The right to choose leadership belongs to citizens, not to racial groups; and the right to develop as a leader should depend on ability, not on one's ancestry.

Our indolent natives plucking guitars under a palm tree have been responsible for many of the on-the-job improvements in the pineapple and sugar industries to help place Hawaii in its number one position in these highly specialized fields. Our sugar and pineapple workers are the best fed, best housed, best paid, and best educated anywhere. And there are PTA groups and adult education groups on every plantation.

Pureblood Hawaiians have shrunk considerably since the population figures quoted by Mr. Jones from missionary reports of the year 1832. Measles, whooping cough, the common cold, and other viruses took toll by the thousands. Intermarriage has not obliterated the full Hawaiian as Mr. Jones charged and present statistics show definite rise in the number of pure Hawaiians.

I take strong issue with the statement made by Publisher Jones that our people are "wholly alien to our American way of life and wholly foreign to our concepts of government and human behavior."

Our schools, our churches, our war records, our local government, our common language all attest strongly to Americanism. Our people have the human dignity and respect for one another to be able to dwell side by side in harmony and cooperative endeavor. Our children are educated, not segregated, and are schooled in the same texts and curricula that are used on the mainland. Our parents share with other United States groups the same common problems of school financing, curriculum enrichment, and technical advancement; and the same personal problems of giving the best that they can to their youngsters. We share with all American communities the same concerns for health and welfare and industrial improvement.

We differ apparently in that we do not label our neighbor by his racial background, but rather by his individual contribution to our community society.

Publisher Jones would enjoy Hawaii as most other journalists with inquiring minds have for its very significant contributions to human relationships. The aloha that is so often carelessly bandied by Hollywood script writers and travel agencies is no more real than the tales we read of Oklahoma. The Hawaiian aloha is a quality of human warmth and understanding that is so deeply ingrained in the people of these islands that it even rubs off on visiting tourists.

Sincerely,

MRS. LEE R. DAWSON,
President.

OPEN LETTER TO RICHARD LLOYD JONES, SR., OF THE TULSA (OKLA.) TRIBUNE

MY VERY UNDEAR SIR: I'm just a malihini wahine in these Hawaiian Islands—having lived here only about 9 months—but then, that is 9 months longer than you have been here. When I read in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin the full text of your ignorant diatribe against Hawaii and the Hawaiians, I was at first more than somewhat huhu—but that strong emotion is now tinged with deep pity that a man can reach your venerable age, and possess the intellect to become a publisher and author, and then fail to have achieved in a long lifetime the simplest glimmering of Christianity, brotherhood, or that lovely, living spirit of aloha. This aloha is the most important export of the Hawaiian Islands—one which the whole miserable, mixed-up world of hatred, bigotry, intolerance, and prejudice, could well import from here in vast quantities. The lovely thing about this product is that it can be imported—and used to great advantage—it is as free as the air and the sunshine—it is limitless—it spreads—can never be wholly consumed or exhausted—in fact, it may be likened to the infinite chain reaction attributed to atomic energy.

To answer your question "Do we Americans want to put a couple of Japs in the Senate of the United States?" Well, first of all, the word should properly be "Japanese," if you are referring to the ancestral background. However, these people you refer to as "Japs" happen to be citizens of the United States, of Japanese ancestry—just as you, I presume, are a citizen of the United States of Welsh or British ancestry. Unless you happen to be a genuine American citizen of 100 percent North American Indian blood, how can you possibly set yourself up to judge and to discriminate against United States citizens of any ancestral background? All our great men, and some of our better citizens, have come from all the nations of the world, and have contributed greatly to the culture and to the industry of the United States.

And, Mr. Jones, if you'd read your history, you'd realize how much our Hawaiian-Japanese-American citizens contributed to the United States during World War II—fighting in the bitterest of battles, rescuing lost battalions of your neighbor State, Texas—bleeding and dying in great numbers, leaving wives and children and mothers and fathers and loved ones bereft, exactly like many of our G. I.'s of Welsh, or English, or Greek, or Hungarian, or Indian, or Negro, or any other kind of ancestry. Did you rise up on your filthy little "hate-box" when they drafted the Nisei warriors—or rather, when these loyal citizens volunteered—and protest against their going onto the beachheads and dying, fighting the Axis powers? Well, perhaps you did—fortunately, until your scurrilous editorial attack, I had never heard of you.

As to there being no common language over here—well, Mr. Jones, this may come as a surprise to your provincial little mind—but the language loosely termed as "English" is spoken widely over here—and some of it a better brand than you'd hear at home. There is also "pidgin English," which is a delight to the ear, with its lilt, freshness, whimsy, humor, and deft application. And the Hawaiian language is certainly one of the loveliest, and most practical, of all languages, and is, I imagine, as ancient as English—but, unfortunately, it is mostly heard only in songs nowadays. But there is another language—and one more than "common"—it is universal, understandable—and may even get us friends on Mars some day—it is the language of love and fellowship—warm, sunny smiles, open hands and hearts and minds—and an innate courtesy and genuine regard for all fellow creatures. So do come on over and further your education as a human being, Mr. Jones—you might even graduate cum laude from the course, if you bring the right attitude.

As to these islands being "tiny specks" in "tempest tossed" waters—well, sir, this crazy little spinning globe known as earth is but a "tiny speck" in the universe—but to all who live upon it it is rather important and is, in fact, until space travel arrives, our entire world. And, after all, tiny specks can be more important than the most gargantuan vacuum—after all, we earthlings recently stumbled onto the importance of a tiny speck which is utterly invisible and widely misunderstood by nonintellectuals like myself—that "lil ole atom." As to your term, "tempest tossed"—I presume you were referring to the broad Pacific Ocean—and we all know what Pacific means—and "peace, it's wonderful."

You must have completely forgotten Pearl Harbor—this "tiny speck" took a horrible beating, which might just have been meted out to the mainland if these islands hadn't been running interference. And when the shock of the attack wore off, the very good and loyal American citizens, many of them of Japanese ancestry, shook themselves, picked up the pieces, and instantly organized into

effective military units in all the services, and many facile hands and clever minds of these citizens were instantly put to use in all the war plants here. That was the time of test—and what a bitter thing it must have been to those patriotic United States citizens of Japanese ancestry—and had their patriotism been as apathetic as many mainland citizens, or had they not been true American citizens, that was their time (since you say the Japs dominate the Hawaiian Islands) to merely turn over this "tiny speck" to the Japanese Empire. And it didn't—thanks to its patriotic citizens of Japanese, Hawaiian, Portuguese, Chinese, Filipino, Samoan, Tahitian, Korean ancestry—what better proof of loyalty could any nation ask for?

When you speak of the dire danger of opening the gateway to empire which is totally foreign to the constitutioinal precepts of this Republic—a nice-sounding sentence, but a bit vague—I'd like to mention that the Constitution is more than a piece of old paper filled with glorious words—it is a sensible, practical, and beautiful declaration of a way of life, with equal rights under the law for all the citizens so fortunate as to be covered and sheltered by it—a dramatic appeal to the very best in the very basest of men—the philosophy that all men are brothers, no matter the race, creed, or individual eccentricity. And, anyhow, a 49th State would sound to the rest of the world a lot less imperialistic than a possession. And even you, Mr. Jones, can't disenfranchise thousands of America citizens who happen to be of Oriental or Polynesian ancestry, and cut the strong ties binding these islands with the mainland, leaving them to sink or swim.

As to your bringing in the communism issue—ah, how well I remember another Republican—a junior Senator it was—who used that issue as a whipping boy to try to get Americans to hate and fear each other. Sure, communism (that misnomer for the political creed of Russia) is a threat to the American and democratic way of life—I might mention—just one of the many threats that way of life has faced since its conception—but it's a threat which can be far better licked by clear thinking and cool heads and an absence of fear and hatred. Characters who foment and disseminate hatred and prejudice and fear are just as big a threat to our country as any Soviet commissar. And, after all, Mr. Jones, there is communism in the States, and it was the United States Government which let loose haole Communists on these islands.

As to your miserable attack on the native Hawaiian—you just don't know whereof you speak. Read any good book on the history of the Hawaiian people before they were discovered by the civilized world—they had a Government, religion, culture, and way of life which was more enlightened, balanced, and wholesome than any known to man—and, until their tempo was interrupted by the encroachment and greediness of the civilized world theirs was a culture to admire, envy, and emulate. They worked, and worked hard, and were self-sufficient—but centuries ago they knew what modern man is now finding out—hard work and industry and the daily grind for material things must be alleviated by and balanced with wholesome and vitally necessary play or relaxation. So, for 9 months they worked and for 3 months they played—and the result was fine, healthy bodies with fine, healthy minds—no mental institutions, no prisons, no hospitals—they didn't need them. I envy them their good sense, don't you? I admire their capacity for serenity and happiness and contentment right now, today, despite the discordant pressures on them of the haole way of life. Most of all, I love and admire the Hawaiian for his deep tolerance of others—and only hope that I can meet many more Hawaiians and become real friends with them, so that I can learn from them—they have so much to offer.

As to the Hawaiian people as a race becoming obliterated by the tides of immigration to their lovely islands—thank the very kind Lord, there are still quite a number left—and their lovely natures have remained whole and balanced, and have been passed on to other races, through intermarriage. And as a parallel to your statement about the "obliteration" of the Hawaiian peoples—take a look in your own backyard, Mr. Jones—how many Indians do you see?

As to the "American is not a guitar thumper, but a worker"—well, for one thing, have you heard of Elvis Presley, Mr. Jones? Or the "modern" theory that was used in war plants during the war—that people work better to music—or do you recall the depression and the "shovel leaners" and the fact that right today there are many, many "unemployables" in the United States—able-bodied people who could work, but don't choose to. And do please check your history books before you revile the Hawaiian people and their "failure to produce a mind who has measured up to the giants of our country's history," etc.—the great crowned heads of Europe acknowledged the magnificence and greatness and stature of King Kamehameha I of Hawaii.

Mr. Jones, I could go on and write a big fat volume to answer each of your specious arguments—but I really think it would be best for you to buzz yourself over to these "scattered bits of volcanic lava" and find out that the people here are, first of all, American citizens as important as any citizens on the mainland—that they are human beings of terrestrial origin—the grass here is green—the flowers are glorious—the air is of the same chemical content as elsewhere—but to those of us lucky enough to be breathing it right now, it is balmier, cleaner, and more fragrant—the soil is varied, as in the States—red, as in Georgia, black and loamy, as in some of the Midwest, sandy as in parts of Florida, California, or some Western States—there is cactus, just like that grown in Texas or Oklahoma—there are exotic and heavenly tasting fruits, as well as those of the garden variety—there is a lot of lava around—on the Big Island tourists from all parts of the world come to see and to admire it—but then, have you ever been to Mount Lassen National Park in California? And if you'll talk to agricultural experts, they can tell you that volcanic land, with proper treatment, can be the richest soil of all.

But more than all these tangible things, which are like things in all other parts of the world, there is something here in the Hawaiian Islands which is unique and wonderful and which, despite the impingement of traders, missionaries, armed forces, tourists, and despite the tense atmosphere elsewhere—atmosphere filled with fear, hatred, ignorance, stupdity, bigotry, prejudice, and intolerance—is still a living, breathing, everyday miracle here in these blessed isles—that is the spirit of aloha—of vast, deep tolerance of others—of sincere love for fellow men—of innate courtesy—a well of contentment and serenity and being at peace with nature and self. Perhaps it's the famous trade winds which sweep over these islands and keep the soiled air of hatred away. Whatever it is, Mr. Jones, do come on over and open your eyes, your heart, and your mind (though it might be a struggle for you), and partake of some of this aloha. Brother, you could use it.

RUTH DEATHERAGE
Mrs. B. C. Deatherage.

EWA BEACH, HAWAII.

Alabamian Passes: Death of Doorkeeper Saddens United States Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. GRANT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, during the adjournment of Congress last fall, Daniel R. Jones, Deputy Doorkeeper of the House, passed on. There has just been called to my attention an article by James Free, Birmingham News' Washington correspondent, which I am privileged to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Dan Jones will long live in the memory of the House membership.

The article follows:

ALABAMIAN PASSES: DEATH OF DOORKEEPER SADDENS UNITED STATES CONGRESS

(By James Free)

WASHINGTON, September 6.—Every Member of the United States House of Representatives will miss Dan Jones. So will hundreds of members of the Washington press corps.

Dan won't be at the main door of the House to greet them and to help them any more. For Daniel R. Jones, Deputy Doorkeeper of the House, died the other day at the age of 61. Dan was an Alabamian, but his friendships were not limited by State boundaries.

It was Dan's business to know every Member of the House by sight. It was his business, too, to know newspaper, radio, and television reporters who covered the House—and there are many of them. Dan was good at his business, too, for he worked hard at it.

As a top aid to William "Fishbait" Miller, Doorkeeper of the House, Dan had responsibility for the several key doors used by its Members. A force of 16 men and boys worked under him.

Dan posted himself on the most important door, with three assistants. That was the door on the House floor nearest the elevators that the Members use most.

As the Members filed in—usually in response to the ringing of House signal bells—it was part of Dan's job to bring them up to date on the immediate situation. He wasted no words doing it, for he had a lot of Members to inform.

He'd say something like: "Vote on recommit. Foreign aid." Or perhaps "quorum."

If the incoming Member happened to be a Democrat, Dan would pass on the word from the House Democratic leadership: "Committee votes 'nay,'" he would say. Or maybe just "vote 'nay.'" This was simply for the guidance of Democratic Members.

Dan and his "boys" served as liaison between newsmen and representatives. Newsmen would give the names of the Members they would like to see, and the "Jones boys" would see if the legislators were on the floor and available.

More often than not Dan could tell you without looking on the floor, whether a certain Member was there. He was seldom wrong, but always willing to double check.

He made a particular point of keeping up with Members from his home State of Alabama, and from nearby Mississippi and Georgia. The Chief Doorkeeper, "Fishbait" Miller, is a Mississippian, and Dan—while polite to all—was partial to southerners.

Another duty of "Jones boys" was to keep unauthorized persons out of the Speaker's

lobby, where the Members could read home-town newspapers or talk with reporters. This took a lot of tact, for frequently the visitor would be a constituent of importance to some House Member.

Tact was often needed, also in covering up for a House Member who simply did not want to talk to a certain reporter, or was possibly too busy at the moment to come out to the lobby.

Then, on rare occasions, Dan would be called on to cover up for some Member who was taking an afternoon snooze in the Members' cloakroom.

Dan's friendships were not bound by party lines, either. He loved to joke with "Yankees" and with Republicans. He knew who liked to fish, and who didn't, those who caught fish when they want fishing, and those who didn't.

His excellent relations with Republican Members stood him in good stead when the GOP won control of the House in the 83d Congress (1953 and 1954). Ordinarily, this would have meant that Dan, who was on Democratic patronage, would have to give way to a Republican job holder and move to a less important job.

But in 1953, when the Republicans took control, the GOP Chief Doorkeeper was a longtime friend and fellow native of Alabama—Tom Kennamer. When Kennamer asked the GOP House leaders if he could keep Dan Jones on his job, the answer was "Yes." So Dan was one of the few patronage officeholders in Washington who was not affected by the change of party control.

Dan had worked around Capitol Hill since 1942, when he came here to work for Representative GEORGE GRANT, Democrat, of Alabama. He joined the Doorkeeper's staff in 1943 and except during the 80th Congress (1947-48), when he returned to Representative GRANT'S office, he remained on that staff.

A slight, dark-haired, bespectacled man, Dan always wore the blue suits and black shoes that he insisted his aids should wear also. Those seeing Dan in action for the first time marveled at the results he got with his mock gruffness toward his young assistants.

The Speaker's lobby won't seem the same without Dan Jones.

Radio Station WOWO Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, in this day and age when we are all so conscious of the need for spreading the gospel of freedom and liberty throughout the world, it is encouraging for me to report to my colleagues a signal honor which has been given to a radio station in my district and to the Indiana State Bar Association, of which I am a member.

Only recently, Westinghouse Radio Station WOWO, in Fort Wayne, won the George Washington Gold Medal Award of the Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge for a daylong program designed to promote better citizenship.

The inspiration and information for this program were furnished by the American Citizenship Committee of the Indiana State Bar Association.

Joining in the daylong broadcast were Robert E. Meyers, mayor of the city of Fort Wayne; Attorney L. B. Harper, who has been active in citizenship work on behalf of the Lions' Club there; and Attorney Alexander Campbell, chairman of the bar association committee in charge of such projects. The broadcasts were highlighted by Jay Gould, a prominent member of the staff of WOWO, from documented statements by refugees, persons formerly in internment camps and local high school students. Mr. Gould's poem, Freedom, also won him a special gold medal. Carl W. Vandagrift is general manager of radio station WOWO.

As a result of its efforts to instill in its listeners the true meaning of American freedom and citizenship, I am sure that all who heard were inspired anew with the ideals of liberty which are the greatest asset of our Nation.

I am indeed proud to call attention to this stirring example of what is being done in Indiana to spread before the world the many and great blessings which are our national heritage.

Rural Electrification Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an address by D. Carroll Walters, director, McDonough Power Cooperative, delivered at the congressional dinner sponsored by the Association of Illinois Electric Cooperatives in Washington, D. C., on April 8, 1957:

EFFECT ON QUALITY AND COST OF ELECTRIC SERVICE TO MEMBERS

(Speech by D. Carroll Walters, director, McDonough Power Cooperative, at the congressional dinner on April 8, 1957)

I speak from the heart when I say I am happy to be privileged to visit this city. The name Washington, D. C., is probably known by more people around the globe than any other city. To you who are privileged to work here, it must be an inspiration, and always associated with privilege to serve goes responsibility. My responsibility at the moment is to represent the members of the rural electric cooperatives of Illinois, to discuss with you for a few minutes the matter of quality and adequacy of electric power at a fair and reasonable cost.

Speaking as a member of the McDonough Power Cooperative at Macomb, Ill., I shall use my own farm as an example of the uses of electric power and why constant full power for further increases in electric energy demand is in the future. My home farm is not the smallest, nor is it the largest, in the community. In our farm home we have 15 electric motors, each of which perform some chore in our daily living, in heating, cooking, cleaning, food preservation, and storage. In the farm operation we have three motors for water pumping for livestock, a number of electric heating units to provide proper drinking water temperature for this livestock, in addition to farm-shop equipment.

A high percentage of our Illinois farms are using heat lamps in the care of small pigs and poultry.

The use of air conditioning is coming to the farm as it has become a part of urban economy. The farm home, yes, but air conditioning is being used in the production of poultry and in the care of little porkers. No man nor bureau can fairly estimate the values of the rural-electric systems in terms of the millions of tons of food products which could not have been produced had not electric power been available to the reduced manpower on our farm in the World War II period. This Nation's people could have written a receipt "paid in full" to all REA loans at that time and would have received more than the value of those dollars in national integrity and security.

When our farm first received electricity we used about $6 or $7 worth of electric energy. The record shows that our farm far in 1956 used from 800 to 2,750 kilowatt-hours of electricity costing as high as $46.69 per month, or for an average of about $27 per month. Eighteen or nineteen years ago we were glad to have electricity—period. We had lights in our house and barn and could discard the battery radio. The wife could have an electric-powered washing machine and an electric iron. I remember well how we both would sometimes have to crank until we were blue in the face trying to get our gas-engine washing machine to run. Those of you and other Members of the Congress and the United States Senate who have not had that wealth of experience as was ours in the preelectric and pre-REA period frequently do not place the same value on our rural electric program as we would place on it.

When I read some of the advertisements intended to discredit the REA program, the former Corliss Archer shows and some of today's national advertising by the Associated Independent Electric Cos., it leaves one with somewhat of a feeling of inadequacy to cope with such activity backed by so much money, so easy to obtain. It reminds me of the people who today hide behind the fifth amendment to keep from telling about their activities, which, in many cases would destroy the Government that provides the fifth amendment behind which they hide.

Today, almost everyone has an idea about the so-called farm problem. Solutions are being offered by persons who have not had their shoes soiled by the byproducts of some of our farms. Agriculture is in the well-known price squeeze. Farms need assistance of electrical energy at the lowest price consistent with good business to aid them in meeting today's economic difficulty. The electric cooperatives have been a competitive factor in today's utility field, a competitive influence in the quality of electric service, fewer outages and power interruptions, and in inaugurating economy in the construction, maintenance, and accounting departments. Without some competition in the automotive industry our automobiles would be somewhat higher in price and would not be so well engineered. Competition has provided America with many things we are now enjoying. We urge that you do not let any influence persuade you to hamstring the field of competitive enterprise in the electric power industry with regard to control on retail price and the quality and continuity of service.

My cooperative has borrowed about $600 per member to provide electric service to my farm. As we are using our farm as an illustration, we point out that the electric water system, the water heaters, farm motors, air compressor, deep freezer, electric stove, refrigerator, television, and sundry appliances have cost us over $3,000 to purchase. These items that require this electric power to operate. We have spent an amount approximating 5 times the amount loaned by the REA to my cooperative, and please remember that the $600 average per connected member of loan funds was 100 percent used in the purchase of material and in the payment of labor and management, the total

amount of which was reflected in our national purchasing power, our national economy, and do not overlook the amount of that total that was paid in various forms of taxes. Multiply that amount by the millions of connected members today and try to visualize what effect that market has made in our national economy. Yes, even in taxes, taxes paid on manufacturers' profits, taxes on retail profit, taxes on wages earned, and not to mention the value of wages and the millions loaned by REA to the rural electric cooperatives pale into insignificance by comparison. Let us not allow the smoked glasses of economic selfishness blind us to the broad horizon of the benefits of this program.

Even those who would take the hide from this rural electric enterprise could benefit either directly or indirectly if they would set their dials properly and tune in.

It has been my pleasure to be here and thank you.

Departments of State, Justice, Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, Fiscal Year 1958

SPEECH
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6871) making appropriations for the Departments of State and Justice, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman who offered this amendment makes the argument that the thing has gone wild. He said it went wild last year. If it went wild last year from what we have heard divulged on the floor here today, it went wild because the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. REES] was asleep at the switch. I do not know the purpose of the amendment this year; it is not an election year. Last year apparently we had an arrangement whereby the gentleman from Kansas was going to offer the amendment and it would have been accepted. I do not know, but it was kind of a startling revelation to me that the thing was all cut and dried. Now, the truth of the matter is this: These representation allowances are in there so that some people can be ambassadors who are not millionaires. That is just about what it boils down to. The newspapers have carried several articles lately that ambassadors in certain posts have to be picked from the ranks of the wealthy, the campaign contributors, because that shows they have enough to be an ambassador.

But, there are a lot of people who come in before the Foreign Affairs Committee and testify and say that we are trying to make it possible for any person who shows that he has what it takes, the necessary abilities to handle a crucial situation, to be an ambassador in any post. If you really mean that, if you want it, then some people who have what it takes except the cash are going to have to have a little bit of help to be an ambassador. Look up your figures on some of our big embassies where some of the people come in the millionaire class, such as London, and you will find that they got $80,000 to run the Embassy last year, and the record shows that they spent another $80,000 out of their own pocket. Maybe that is too much. I do not know. But certainly if you are going to have to spend $80,000 out of your own pocket, it is going to severely limit the number of people from whom you can choose an ambassador to that post. Now, I am not in favor of anything unreasonable, but the chairman of the committee has already told you that they have cut this item, I believe, by more than 50 percent. Is that not right?

Mr. ROONEY. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Exactly 50 percent. And you are going to have to leave some things in there for some necessary functions which ambassadors must hold if they are going to remain and do any job for the United States.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Fifty percent with respect to the budget estimate but not 50 percent over what they spent last year.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. I explained to you why the item got so big last year, and it has been explained half a dozen times, because the amendment was not offered at the proper time, or it would have been accepted. The committee made a cut of 50 percent, over the budget request and if you ask me, I think that is a very healthy cut.

Other Than Honorable Discharges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill dealing with the hardship suffered by thousands of American servicemen who have been discharged from the Armed Forces under conditions other than honorable. These are individuals who have committed minor offenses or who because of some mental defect or disease have failed to meet, during their service, acceptable standards of social or military conduct. Their offenses or conduct were not serious enough to amount to crime either military or civil, for they have not been tried and convicted by a general court-martial.

Although the policy of the Armed Forces in issuing discharges other than honorable to such individuals was and is intended to distinguish these unfortunates from real criminals, nevertheless this meritorious effort on the part of the Armed Forces has failed of its intended effect. In the civilian mind there is little or no difference between the individual who was discharged other than honorably and the individual who was discharged dishonorably. The ordinary civilian has neither the time nor the patience to draw distinctions. If one has not an honorable discharge, chances for gaining employment are very small, indeed.

Mr. Speaker, have you seen the effects of such discharges upon the lives of these ex-servicemen? Try as they will they cannot get or hold jobs. Employers don't want to employ them, and therefore not only do they pay the price for a misdemeanor over and over again, but also their wives and children also pay a penalty out of proportion to the original offense. This atmosphere permeates as well to the social level, where it lurks as a family skeleton, a thing to be hidden. These unfortunate ex-servicemen apply, time after time, to the boards for the correction of military or naval records in the desperate hope that something might be found in their record which will afford a basis for changing the quality of their discharges. In most cases, the correction boards are helpless under the state of our present law. Their review is confined to the military record. It is true, the law says they may consider "such other evidence as may be presented by such person." But what effect is given this language? No matter how exemplary a life the individual has led since his discharge, no matter if he has been cured of the mental disease which caused his unacceptable conduct, no matter if his fault did not amount to a crime, the boards limit themselves to the official records and evidence relating strictly thereto; the cold official language comes back, "the board regrets, but." The individual must pay and pay for his misdemeanor committed when of a young age until he dies. His family and children must also pay and pay, not only until he dies, but even beyond. Mr. Speaker, is this the penalty a man should pay for acts or faults which were not criminal? Acts, which in the main, were committed by young persons who had not yet matured into adult judgment or responsibility.

I think you will agree that so severe a punishment should not be meted out to these servicemen. This bill will give them hope, a chance at rehabilitation. It will not wipe the slate clean, but it will say, that under our system, rehabilitation is not only possible but should have its rewards. Congress will now make clear its purpose, that the appropriate board must consider evidence of subsequent good character and exemplary conduct, and must issue to such individuals, a discharge or release under honorable conditions, dated back to the date of the original discharge that these men have rehabilitated themselves. Of course, it must be established to the satisfaction of the board by oral or written evidence, or even by such independent investigation as the board may make, that his character, conduct, activities, and habits since his original discharge have been good for at least 3 years. It directs the Board to take into consideration in each case the reasons for the nature of the

original discharge or dismissal, together with such other factors as the board may consider appropriate. Although the bill would permit the granting of an honorable discharge to these individuals, I call to your attention that it would not authorize the granting of the so-called direct GI benefits including pension, compensation, hospitalization, military pay and allowances, education, loan guaranty, retired pay, or other benefits. They would get a discharge under honorable conditions only.

Mr. Speaker, every Member of this House I am sure will agree with me when I say that this legislation is long overdue. In the fiscal year 1955, a total of 1,062,940 men and women were discharged from all branches of the Armed Forces. Of these were 69,323 who received undesirable, bad conduct, or general discharges—those subject to review under the provisions of the bill which I have introduced. It is interesting to note that between July 1, 1950 and June 30, 1955, only 561 discharges were corrected or changed by the Boards for the Correction of Military and Naval Records. I repeat only 561 out of 69,323. This is due, I am sure, not to the coldness of heart of the reviewing board, but rather to the punitive rules under which the reviewing board operates.

I am sure that every Member of Congress has one or more cases in his district where boys still in their teenage years have been given less than honorable discharges that could be meritoriously considered by the appropriate military review board.

For this reason, Mr. Speaker, I hope that the 85th Congress will enact this worthy legislation into law. By doing so it will give many thousands of our American servicemen, who have rehabilitated themselves in civilian life, a chance to prove that they have lived an exemplary life and are now good American citizens. The stigma which now automatically attaches for a lifetime to them can be erased. It will help them to obtain dignified employment worthy of their natural ambitions and abilities. I feel that they have been punished enough, let us help them to help themselves in their goal to become first-class citizens.

National Investment for Economic Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, the growth of the American economy is of greatest importance to everyone. As the economy grows, so should our thoughts grow with it. We must open our minds to all ideas which are forward looking. As a means of presenting some very provocative thoughts on the American economy, under unanimous consent, I insert a pamphlet entitled "National Investment for Economic Growth," a joint statement by members of the board of trustees and the agriculture, business, labor, and international committees of the National Planning Association, adopted at the annual joint meeting in Washington, D. C., December 10, 1956:

NATIONAL INVESTMENT FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH

(Joint statement by members of the board of trustees and the agriculture, business, labor, and international committees of the National Planning Association adopted at the annual joint meeting, Washington, D. C., December 10, 1956)

I

From 1929 to 1955, total production in the United States, measured in constant dollars, more than doubled. During the next 20 years, it is reasonable to expect that we will be able to double production again. If peace can be maintained, the United States at the time of its bicentennial anniversary in 1976 may find itself at the threshold of an age of abundance. However, certain requirements must be met to make this possibility a reality. One such requirement is for social overhead expenditures, public and private. The National Planning Association believes that this is a most propitious time to look ahead and to examine what requirements in this field the Nation will be called upon to meet in the coming decades.

The goal of abundance will not be achieved automatically. Production increases do not take place as a result of any natural law. Economists and statisticians have become accustomed to assume a projected increase in output per worker of 3 percent or 4 percent year after year. Such an increase in productivity, however, can materialize only if raw material resources and energy supplies are available to satisfy the needs of industry; if labor can meet the requirements of modern technology for greater skills and greater knowledge; if the fruits of pure and applied research can provide the basis for further technological advances; if management continues to venture into new fields of endeavor and to expand productive capacity today for tomorrow's market; and last but not least, if purchasing power and demand are encouraged to rise in accord with the rising capacity to produce and consume.

The case of agriculture gives us a preview of what can happen when the capacity to produce outstrips effective demand. Adoption of new technology in farming has pushed total production beyond the point at which present domestic and foreign markets are absorbing it at prices favorable to the farmer. Other sectors of the economy may run into similar problems, unless we learn how to live with abundance.

There are in an expanding economy certain functions which are desirable for the general welfare and essential for sustained expansion. They include education and training, research, promotion of mental and physical health, the development of natural resources, provision of public recreational facilities, construction and maintenance of highways and skyways, water and sewer facilities, slum clearance and urban redevelopment, and other national and local improvements. These functions may be called the social overhead costs. Some of these functions are performed by private sources; many are traditionally public services. If they are not properly performed, economic growth will suffer sooner or later.

Over the past 15 years, the requirements of war and rearmament preempted much of our productive capacity for national defense purposes. Public and private undertakings for other than defense purposes were held back so that today we are faced with a truly critical situation with regard to our schools and hospitals, our roads and airports; serious water supply problems are threatening in some of our cities and rural areas.

II

During the last 5 years, we have invested over $65 billion in residential housing, almost $300 billion in private plant and equipment, and roughly $80 billion in additional assets for our defense establishment, but only about $50 billion has been invested by Government in what might be called the social capital of the Nation of which $10 billion is federally owned while $40 billion represents State and local government investments.

High priority was required to build up the defense plant, to expand and modernize our industrial plant, and to provide housing for the increased population. The lag in making a corresponding effort, public and private, in bringing our social plant up to date, however, has created serious deficiencies. To correct these deficiencies is one of the most urgent tasks which lie ahead.

This year, the Federal Government embarked on a long-range road construction program to alleviate some of the pressing inadequacies in our highway system. Also, State and local government activities in these areas of public responsibility have increased in recent years. We have failed, however, to provide for adequate educational facilities, to attract by adequate compensation the increasing number of additional teachers which a growing population demands; to alleviate the growing shortage of hospitals and people to staff them. These are some of the problems of today; they will be bigger problems tomorrow. We must begin preparing for them today. Such deficiencies, if allowed to continue, may well seriously handicap economic development. It would be a tragic paradox if a nation which emphasizes the role of private enterprise in economic growth permits these deficiencies to continue and thereby fails to give private enterprise the public support it needs to carry out its functions. A growing economy must have a healthy educated labor force; it needs an ample supply of water and energy; it needs the results of research; it needs roadways and air facilities if private enterprise is to maintain an adequate rate of growth.

In the field of primary and secondary education, we are faced not only with an already heavy backlog of unfilled demands, but we can also look forward to the increasing requirements of an ever-growing population. In a recent publication of the Department of Commerce, it was estimated that $4 billion in expenditures for school construction would be needed during each year of the coming decade to meet requirements in this area. This means that the rate of school construction outlays over the next 10 years would have to rise 60 percent above the current level of $2.6 billion. Furthermore, if in the America of 10 or 20 years hence average outlays per school-age child are to attain a level currently spent only in those communities with high education standards, total operating expenditures for pupils and teachers will more than double, reaching by 1975 an annual rate of outlay which exceeds $21 billion per year as opposed to the 1955 level of only about $10 billion.

A corresponding increase in effort, both private and public, is needed in higher education in order to meet the requirements of a technologically advancing economy. This will call for an intensification of our interest and activity in the basic sciences—including the social as well as the natural sciences. In addition it will be necessary that our colleges and universities prepare to meet the demands for more engineers, chemists, technicians, and executive leadership; and it will be necessary that both government and industry devote increasing atten-

tion and resources to basic research and development projects. It is a special responsibility of Government to support bold programs in those areas of research and development which give promise of uncovering new areas of basic knowledge, and of leading to a more efficient utilization of resources.

The age of abundance will be an age calling for a more intense and efficient use of our available natural resources as well as for the development of new resources.

Public as well as private action is needed for soil conservation on the farms and ranches throughout the United States. Private industries and groups require technical aid and, in many instances, economic assistance from governments (Federal, State, and local) in developing and carrying out effective soil conservation programs. In some areas this must be coupled with flood prevention and regulated run-off. The public lands must be maintained whether devoted to forestry, grazing, recreation, or a combination of uses. Revenues from sales of timber, grazing privileges, admission fees to recreational areas, fishing and hunting licenses provide significant sums, but part of the costs will continue to be paid by Government. Continuing increase in the demand for recreation will call for greater expenditures for public parks, game preserves, and other recreational facilities.

We also face the possibility of serious shortages of water to provide for all the functions it performs in support of a growing economy. Already, in some areas the increasing demands for water by industrial as well as nonindustrial users have gradually but steadily lowered the water level to a point where it is even insufficient to meet all public needs. Water pollution has further restricted the available supply of usable water. The Department of Commerce in another study of water needs and resources has estimated that capital investment in urban water facilities must increase by $19 billion by the end of 1975. Substantially larger amounts will be needed to meet the water requirements for irrigation, industrial production, and public consumption. Assuring an adequate water supply 10 years from now may require doubling of present outlays. The complete solution to the problem of water utilization is not to be found in flood control projects and new dam programs alone, but must include a complete reevaluation of the available supply, distribution and proper use of our water resources. America is blessed with a generous reserve of coal and still substantial reserves of oil and gas. Nevertheless, there is a need for making every possible effort in the development of nuclear energy. It may be wise not to exhaust our conventional fuels because of their valuable qualities as an irreplaceable source of chemical materials. Moreover, there are regions in the United States where the transportation costs for fuel constitute a heavy burden on the economy of the region. This might be reduced in time through the use of nuclear fuel and power.

In the light of the expected great increases in the demand for energy, it will be important that a part of the additionally needed supplies of energy be obtained from such new sources as nuclear and solar energy. Nor are we yet certain what other benefits, aside from power, might be revealed if nuclear energy were to be explored more deeply. There are great uncertainties in the nonconventional sources of energies, and desirable progress can be made only if Government, private enterprise and research institutions cooperate to the fullest extent in this field.

III

In 1955, about $36 billion was spent for the nondefense services performed by Federal, State and local governments. This is a large sum of money. However, these expenditures should be seen in the perspective of a Nation growing in population and in total production.

Nondefense purchases of goods and services [1]

	In 1955 purchasing power				In percent of gross national product	
	In billion dollars		In dollars per capita			
	Federal	State-local	Federal	State-local	Federal	State-local
1929	[2] 1.0	16.0	8	131	0.5	8.8
1939	9.0	19.6	69	150	4.7	10.3
1945	1.6	14.5	11	104	.5	4.6
1950	4.5	24.5	30	152	1.4	7.6
1951	4.3	25.0	28	162	1.2	7.2
1955	5.9	30.1	36	182	1.5	7.7

[1] Total Government purchases of goods and services excluding national security and excluding the so-called transfer payments, such as interest on the national debt, veterans' benefits, farm price supports, and social security benefits.

[2] Estimated from budget totals.

Source: Economic Report of the President, January 1956.

Thus, public expenditures for nondefense purposes amounted to approximately the same percentage of total production in 1955 as they did in 1929. Yet 1929 was a year of extraordinarily high private spending and relatively low Government spending. In contrast, 1955 was a year in which State and local government expenditures continued to increase in an effort to catch up with these deficiencies. Compared with 1939, which was still a year of sizable emergency economic programs, Federal expenditures for these purposes have declined; State-local expenditures have increased. On a per capita basis, the 1939 level of total Federal, State, and local expenditures was not reached until 1955. As a proportion of total production, these public outlays are still below the prewar level.

In addition to the Government outlays in these fields there are also considerable private outlays in education, research, health services, and conservation of resources. It is difficult to estimate the private outlays for those activities which can be classified as belonging to the same category of social overhead costs. Adding an estimated allowance for the private activities to the public functions in these fields, total outlays for social overhead costs in 1955 may be estimated at around $42 billion.

This would mean that in 1955 11 percent of the total production of goods and services was used for these social overhead functions. 1955 was a year in which we were still lagging behind in the performance of these essential services and for a few years an increase in this percentage might be needed. After catching up with the needs during the coming years we may assume that over a longer period of time a minimum of 10 to 12.5 percent of total production may be required in order to provide adequately for the performance of these essential services. What would that mean for future years?

It has been estimated that potential annual production in the United States would approximate $600 billion and exceed $800 billion 10 and 20 years hence, respectively (measured in 1956 dollars).

Assuming that 10 percent of the full-employment production is needed for the social overhead functions, outlays for these programs might rise from $42 billion per year in 1955 to $60 billion in 1965 and more than $80 billion 20 years from now. Even a rise to $100 billion public and private outlays for these purposes by 1975 would mean a rise from only 10 to 12.5 percent of total production. It is probable that the larger share of the increase would be in the form of Government outlays.

We do not know if these amounts actually will be needed or whether they will be adequate. We only wish to point out that increases in outlays indicated by these figures, large as they appear, would impose no or only a small increase in the share of production devoted to these purposes. On the contrary, it appears that unless these national responsibilities are fulfilled adequately there will be little chance that the potential increases in production could materialize.

Some of the programs discussed in this statement are of such urgency that they can no longer be deferred and should be initiated without delay. However, under present economic conditions care must be exercised in carrying out these programs so as to minimize inflationary pressures. If a slack should develop in private investment, expenditures for such programs should be stepped up.

IV

Many of the educational training and health programs to which we have referred would not only support the rise in productivity of workers but by the same token would also help to increase the earning power of marginal workers. Such measures thereby would contribute to a rise in purchasing power generally as well as to an increase in the income of many families who currently live on substandard incomes. Over the past quarter century, the United States has experienced a less uneven distribution of income. Wage rates in what were formerly the lowest level have been raised. Social insurance and private pension benefits have provided some income for the aged. Nevertheless, there are today in the United States 7 million families with money incomes below $2,000. And despite present prosperous conditions we still have 5.8 million individuals on our public-assistance rolls. This low-income group includes some farmers who satisfy part of their needs out of their own production. But it also includes many who are unemployed workers in depressed areas, aged or disabled workers, widows, and members of broken families. Programs designed to rehabilitate these submarginal farmers, to rehabilitate chronically depressed areas, to make social insurance and assistance payments more adequate, appear to be the most promising measures for dealing with the remaining pockets of poverty. Programs of slum clearance and urban redevelopment can be and should be undertaken for the benefit of families in the low-income brackets.

To raise the income of every urban family up to a minimum of $2,000 per year would require less than $9 billion. We do not suggest that the whole deficiency should be made up by public programs. The estimate does indicate, however, that the problem is of a magnitude which can be solved by a nation which is moving toward the threshold of abundance.

V

Increase in Government expenditure programs of the size and magnitude indicated require planning and programing in order to obtain maximum results. The long-range national program—local and State, as well as Federal—which has been undertaken for road construction is the type of bold approach which is equally important for education, conservation, resource utilization, slum clearance, and so on, where the need for expanded action is also urgent.

In many of these fields, the deficiencies are problems common to regions, States, and localities and are the concern of a great number of different governmental agencies and private groups. There is need for greater cooperation both in the planning and in the operations of government and private programs. For example, the problem of water supply and use almost invariably involves a number of neighboring States or cities, and industrial and individual as well as public users.

The financing of a Government program which expands approximately in proportion to total production should not create insurmountable difficulties, particularly on the Federal level. As the economy expands and incomes rise, Government tax revenues increase by large amounts each year even without any modification in tax rates. If it does not become necessary to raise national security expenditures above $50 billion or should they even decline, some reduction in Federal taxes should become possible over the next decade in spite of the projected increase in nondefense expenditures. We believe, however, that until substantial relief is attained for the pressing deficiencies in Government services, greater priority should be given to taking care of the needed increase in Government programs than to granting substantial tax reductions. This does not preclude suggesting desirable tax revisions.

A large portion of the increase in Government expenditures will be borne by State and local governments. Most State and local taxes, however, are of such a nature that tax revenues do not rise as rapidly as Federal revenues in an expanding economy. The disproportion between rapidly rising State-local functions and much lower rising State-local tax revenues will require some revisions in Federal-State-local financial relationships.

A number of studies of desirable revisions in Federal-State-local relationships have been made in recent years. The National Planning Association believes that the very broad scope and large size of the programs discussed in this statement necessitate a new approach to the problem of intergovernmental relationships. We believe that it is urgent to explore new ways for financing the expanding functions of local government and the new programs in the field of urban renewal and regional development.

Race Relations Improve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the April 20, 1957, issue of America was written by a friend and classmate of mine who has been working for the Ford Foundation and writes with authority on this important subject:

RACE RELATIONS IMPROVE

(By Joseph P. Lyford)

In an outspoken attack on race prejudice, Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle, of Washington, D. C., warned some months ago that America cannot "win the bitter war for men's minds in the world struggle if the Communists can tell the hundreds of millions in Asia and Africa that they, rather than Christians, practice the doctrine that all men are equal."

The reaction abroad to the conflict over desegregation in the South justifies an even more ominous observation. Without prompting from the Communists, a large segment of the foreign press normally friendly to the United States has been printing a daily ration of such stories as the Emmett Till murder in Mississippi, the Autherine Lucy case at the University of Alabama, the bombings of Negro churches, the activities of White Citizens Councils—the same type of stories, in a word, that United States newspapers are headlining.

Almost as serious, the little events in the segregation story leave a deep impression abroad. An example: Indian Opinion, the Natal (South Africa) newspaper edited by Mahatma Gandhi's grandson, recently front-paged half a dozen articles from different nations. The item from the United States told about the white Florida public-health physician who was fired because she lunched with a Negro nurse. A steady flow of such information can understandably create an unhealthy suspicion of America and of Christianity.

Recently, however, the foreign press has been getting a different picture of the situation in America, one which may help balance the stories of crime and strife. Asian, African, and European editors have received copies of a study, published toward the end of 1956, which tells in detail how, quietly and without publicity, racial barriers have been falling in States all over the Union. The report, by Harold Fleming and David Loth, is entitled "Integration, North and South" (Meridian Books, 17 Union Square West, New York 3, 110 pages, 40 cents). It lists more than 1,100 examples of how the Negro is gaining equality of opportunity in the school, in public and private employment, in religious worship, in health facilities, in public accommodations, and in social organizations.

Page after page of the report carries a story within a story: the account of how Catholic institutions have responded to the crisis over race relations in the South. Without depreciating the courageous and effective contributions of other denominational groups which have worked on behalf of desegregation and whose work is outlined in its pages, the report makes it clear that the Catholic Church has set an example that has heartened all supporters of the Christian principle of racial equality. The church's activities have been especially noticeable in such Black Belt States as South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana, where the Negro population is densest, where segregationist sentiment is highest and where the flammatory activity of the white supremacy groups are most intense.

THE CHURCH AND INTEGRATION

One of the forces for enlightenment in a strongly prosegregation State is the Rock Hill School in South Carolina, which integrated under Father Maurice V. Shean, C. O. Another, of course, is Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel, of New Orleans, who is educating his people to accept desegregation and who has supported the merging of Negro and white classes in catechism at Erath, La. But besides these comparatively wellknown examples of progress in integration, there are previously unreported cases in dozens of communities and cities in States everywhere in the South.

What is most important, not only have many Catholic schools, churches, and lay groups achieved integration quietly, but in many cases the community has been deeply influenced by their action. Deep-seated prejudices have been quieted and have begun to evaporate as citizens watch, often in real amazement, the way in which Negro and white Americans have shared spiritual guidance and educational benefits on an equal plane. It might almost be said that the initial success in breaking down segregation practices was really overshadowed by the subsequent effect that the sight of equality being practiced daily has had upon southern communities.

Integration, North and South contains dozens of citations of Catholic schools and organizations, mainly in the South, which have taken steps toward integration. The report says, in summary (p. 57):

"In six southern and border States, Negroes were enrolled with whites in Catholic and elementary schools before May, 1954 [the date of the United States Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation by race and the 'separate but equal' doctrine].

"During the 1954–55 school year and in the following term, Negro children began attending formerly all-white Catholic grammar and high schools in 21 southern cities, as well as in many smaller communities. States in which Catholic school integration occurred in whole or in part are Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia."

In the field of higher education, the survey recounts the progress of Catholic colleges and universities. All-white Catholic institutions desegregating since the Supreme Court decisions include Spring Hill College, Mobile, Ala.; Barry College, Miami, Fla.; Belmont Abbey College and Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont, N. C.; and St. Gregory's College, Shawnee, Okla. An all-Negro college, Xavier University, New Orleans, admitted white students for the first time. As noted before, many of these colleges were located in the areas where desegregation moves could be expected to encounter the bitterest opposition.

In many Southern States, hospitals have been centers of progress for the Negro in his quest for equal treatment. Here, too, Catholic institutions have figured prominently. In the border State of Missouri, the 90-bed Queen of the World Hospital opened 2 years ago as the first nonsegregated hospital in Kansas City, with an integrated hospital staff as well. In Charlotte, N. C., Mercy Hospital began admitting Negro patients in September 1954, after Bishop Vincent S. Waters of the diocese of Raleigh requested superintendents of hospitals to make their facilities available to Catholic Negroes and to allow qualified Negro surgeons and doctors to take care of their patients. St. Francis Hospital in Charleston, W. Va., admitted Negro nurses for training and service on an integrated basis which included housing. St. Mary's Hospital of Knoxville, Tenn., enrolled nine Negroes for training as practical nurses.

The Catholic Church also moved "vigorously" in several southern areas to implement its prointegration position in various church-affiliated lay organizations, reports Integration, North and South. Paradoxically, one of the most forthright demonstrations occurred in Alabama, a most difficult State. In Mobile, Bishop Thomas J. Toolen conferred one of the Church's highest honors, that of Knight of St. Gregory, upon a Negro layman. The recipient was the first Negro in the South to be inducted into the papal honorary society and one of only a few of either race in the entire country.

The Knights of Columbus in Tulsa, Okla., accepted its first Negro member in 1955; and in the State of Delaware the same year, the Bishop Monaghan Council accepted the first Negro applicants for membership since the Knights of Columbus was organized in Delaware 50 years ago.

South Carolina, where integration progress has been almost entirely lacking, was the scene of important Catholic activity. The Catholic Youth Organization was integrated on the diocesan (in this case statewide) level, and as a result, both meetings and conventions have been biracial. The Diocesan Council of Catholic Women of Charleston and the newly formed South Carolina Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (a Catholic lay catechetical group) have also been integrated.

In the context of the whole integration report, the part played by the Catholic institutions was impressive, but even this did not tell the whole story. The report did not claim to include every example of integration. Much progress remains hidden in communities where the work of reducing racial tensions and creating equal opportunities has

taken the form of education and discussion rather than of overt action.

It is important to emphasize that the report lists only examples of integration occurring since the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation.

This point is unfortunately not made clear in Integration, North and South. The section of the report which deals with integration in the non-Southern States makes almost no mention of the work of Catholic groups. This omission arises from the setting of an arbitrary time zone to be covered by the report. By the date of the Supreme Court ruling, the Catholic Church and its affiliated organizations in the North had integrated almost completely. Thus, paradoxically, the church was a victim of its own forehandedness insofar as the report was concerned.

The author of the nonsouthern section of the report, David Loth, has acknowledged the validity of criticism directed at his report on this point. To clarify the record he explained, after publication, that in taking his "inventory" of integration since 1954, he had found that "Catholic churches and religious orders provided some of the outstanding examples of institutions which had desegregated almost entirely in the North before the period covered in our survey." Further, he declared, "The examples of successful integration by religious groups, therefore, would have been vastly increased by the remarkable record of the Catholic Church and a few others if the report had been extended to the last 10 years instead of the last 2."

CHURCH LEADERS SPEAK OUT

An historical review of the Catholic Church's position on race-relations matters demonstrates its unequivocal doctrine on the subject. As far back as 1891, Catholic prelates like Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, Minn., were taking a clear stand. "What do I claim for the black man?" asked the archbishop. "That which I claim for the white man, neither more nor less. I would blot out the color line. White men have their estrangements. They separate on lines of wealth, of intelligence, of culture and ancestry. But let there be no barrier against mere color."

Since Archbishop Ireland's day, Catholic Church leaders have repeated the substance of his views, and in recent years such men as Samuel Cardinal Stritch of Chicago, Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York, Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans, Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio, Archbishop Richard J. Cushing of Boston, Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter of St. Louis, Bishop Russell J. McVinney of Providence, Bishop Waters of Raleigh, and Bishop Toolen of Mobile have spoken out repeatedly on the subject. Their call for interracial justice is strengthened by papal encyclicals issued in recent years—that is, Quadragesimo Anno (Pius XI, 1931), Mit Brennender Sorge (Pius XI, 1937), Sertum Laetitae (Pius XII, 1939) and Mystici Corporis (Pius XII, 1950)—as well as by editorials in Osservator Romano.

LAYMEN TAKE ACTION

Helping to put principle into practice have been lay groups like the Catholic Interracial Councils, which now exercise great influence in 28 cities and cooperate with such organizations as the NAACP, the Southern Regional Council, and the Urban League. The National Council of Catholic Women, the National Council of Catholic Men, the National Federation of Catholic College Students, the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade, the National Catholic Educational Association, and the Catholic Press Association have done their part, too, to advance integration.

The effectiveness of the church and its lay affiliated groups prior to 1954 can be measured by the fact that in Washington, D. C., and Maryland, parochial schools have been integrated since 1949, and that in St. Louis school integration was completed in 1947. Other States where parochial school desegregation was begun or completed in advance of the Supreme Court decision include Delaware, Kansas, Kentucky, Texas, and West Virginia. In higher education, 26 Catholic colleges, universities and seminaries in the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Texas, and Mississippi had desegregated before 1954.

This record has been an outstanding part of the total movement of all United States educational institutions toward equal treatment of all races. Despite outbreaks of violence in the South, successes like those described above are slowly strengthening the public belief that the days of segregation are numbered—and the people of other nations are beginning to comprehend this, too. Commenting on the events described in Integration, North and South, the Jerusalem Post said recently that the United States appears "determined to follow the difficult road toward full civic equality for her colored citizens."

Read by itself, of course, Integration, North and South presents a completely optimistic picture, and the authors are careful to caution their readers that the report is frankly one sided because it concerns itself only with the forward progress of integration of the Negro into American life. The publicizing of backward steps, reasoned the authors, has more than adequately been taken care of by the newspapers. Chronicles of quiet progress have rated few headlines, but, as a foreword by Morris L. Ernest declares, the report is "news of a high order," and an "inventory of hope." It makes unmistakably clear the fact that Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, Negros and whites, doctors, priests, ministers, lawyers, businessmen, unionists and housewives can share credit for deepening the meaning of freedom to all citizens of this Republic, and for bringing a message about Christianity and democracy at work to the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Europe.

Warning From the Past

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article written by Elias Gilner which appeared in the April 1, 1957, issue of Congress Weekly, the official publication of the American Jewish Congress. Mr. Gilner, a close student of Middle East problems, lived in British mandated Palestine during the period he describes:

WARNING FROM THE PAST

(By Elias Gilner)

On March 13 Britain and Jordan exchanged letters terminating their 1948 treaty and severing the military and economic links between the two countries. In 6 months the British forces will be out of Jordan and all their buildings, land, and permanent installations as well as some of their ammunition and other stores will become Jordan's property. This exit, which is an expulsion rather than a voluntary departure, arouses some melancholy reflections upon the political folly of some mighty nations and the tenacity with which this folly is pursued.

The Kingdom of Jordan, originally created by Britain as the Emirate of Transjordan about 35 years ago, was the illegitimate offspring of a general policy to placate the Arabs at the expense of the Jews. The word "illegitimate" is used advisedly for under the terms of the British mandate the whole of the area of Palestine was to be the territory in which the "Jewish National Home" was to be created. But in his White Paper of 1922, Winston Churchill severed the whole of Transjordan—two-thirds of the mandated territory—from Palestine and handed it over to Emir Abdullah as a consolation prize for the loss of his father's, King Hussein's, domain to Ibn Saud in their war for what is now known as Saudi Arabia.

This emasculation of an international obligation was one link in a chain of events and policy which began shortly after the Balfour Declaration, which was pursued with mounting obduracy over some 3 decades, despite frequent warnings and eventually violent opposition, and which proved as disastrous to the interests of the British Empire as it was unethical. This policy had been actuated by expediency which proved to be inexpedient and by a drive to secure the flow of Mid Eastern oil which, as recent events have shown, has failed. Britain's exit from Jordan is one of the last scenes in the drama of failures resulting from this policy.

While Britain has begun to reexamine her policy—and her attempt to retake the Suez Canal was a fruit of this reexamination—our Government appears to have taken over this policy lock, stock, and barrel, with similar motivations. An error, committed for lack of experience is understandable; an error repeated in disregard of a broad field of experience is incomprehensible, to say the least.

A review of the highlights of Britain's experience and a comparison with our own Mid East policies of recent years may therefore be instructive.

The Balfour Declaration was undoubtedly issued in good faith. But powerful forces in both major parties in Britain, which were oriented on the Arabs and oil, regarded the declaration as a grievous error. These forces included practically all the permanent, top-ranking officials in the Colonial, War, and Foreign Offices and they exercised tremendous influence upon the formulation of Government policies irrespective of whether the Conservative or the Labor Party was in control. These forces had the further advantage of influencing appointments so that their adherents were actually running the colonies and mandated territories on the spot.

The overwhelming majority of the men in Palestine, former army officers reared in the tradition of Lawrence of Arabia, embarked upon active opposition to the idea of a Jewish national home shortly after the 1918 Armistice, roughly a year after the Balfour Declaration. It will be recalled that late in 1918, Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Emir Feisal, who subsequently became King Feisal of Iraq, had reached an amicable understanding. On January 3, 1919, a written agreement between them was arrived at, of which article 3 reads as follows:

"In the establishment of the constitution and administration of Palestine all such measures shall be adopted as will afford the fullest guarantees for carrying into effect the British Government declaration of the 2d of November 1917."

On March 3, 1919, Emir Feisal wrote to Professor (now Justice) Felix Frankfurter:

"We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through; we shall wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home."

There was no reason to believe that these sentiments were insincere. In any case,

there was no organized Arab opposition to Zionism at the time. Whatever may have actuated Feisal in his professions of friendship, the memory of the hangings of Arab leaders by the Turks was still fresh and the Arabs were not inclined to risk opposing the victorious British.

But the OETA (Occupied Enemy Territory Administration) officials, seeking to stifle the National Home idea in its cradle, encouraged Arab opposition. The first to demonstrate it quite openly and practically at the moment when an understanding with Feisal was being reached, was Colonel Postlethwaite, the then Governor of Jaffa. Early in 1919, he organized the Arab-Christian-Moslem Society whose prime purpose was political opposition to the Jewish National Home. With the advent of this society things began to happen and on the eve of Passover 1919 there were rumors that the Arabs would attack the Jews of Jerusalem. The late Dr. Eder, then principal officer of the Zionist Commission to Palestine, went to see the top OETA administrators but received no satisfactory assurances.

The disturbing rumors reached Commandante Bianchini, who at the time was in charge of an Italian naval unit patrolling the offshore waters of the Mediterranean in the area. Bianchini was a Jew and took the rumors seriously. He, too, went to see the British administrators and, receiving no satisfactory reply, he brought to the Holy City a company of his marines who patrolled it the entire Passover week. Nothing untoward occurred. However, a year later, when Bianchini and his unit were no longer in the area, the process of rumors and futile representations to the Administration repeated itself with the difference that the anticipated riots materialized.

A succession of bloody disturbances followed, resulting in the Churchill white paper and in an undisguised administration policy which favored the Arabs over the Jews. The discrimination affected the administrative departments, the railways, the police as well as the law of the land itself, particularly the regulations concerning immigration and land purchase. In 1926 the Arab Legion was formed in Transjordan but no equivalent all-Jewish Legion unit was permitted in western Palestine. In August 1929 the terrible riots throughout Palestine were the prelude to another attempt to curtail Jewish rights under the mandate. The Passfield white paper of 1930 was devised to stop all Jewish immigration into Palestine but was modified under the pressure of widespread public protests. The sustained riots of 1936–39 brought on the severer 1939 MacDonald white paper, which virtually halted Jewish immigration and acquisition of land by Jews and condemned the Jewish population of the country to a permanent minority of one-third. This was the decree which led to a long period of struggle, costly in blood and property, which eventuated in the partition of Palestine and the birth of Israel.

This brief review would be incomplete without reference to an event which left its indelible imprint upon the Mideast situation.

The 1936–39 riots began in April 1936 with a general strike ordered by the Arab Higher Committee under the leadership of the former Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj-Amin El-Husseini. Despite intimidation and the assassination of Arab dissenters, the strike began to peter out visibly by midsummer, and by the beginning of autumn was on the verge of disintegration. An important factor in the collapse was the ripening of the Arab orange crop. Failure to harvest it would have completely ruined the already tottering Arab economy. The opportunity of humbling the Mufti and dealing a mortal blow to his power was at hand.

While the strike was collapsing, Fawzi Bey Kaukji, the Arab gang leader who had been permitted for months to engage in depredations against Jews, Englishmen, and even Arabs with impunity, was cornered in the hills by Col. H. J. Simson, an incorruptible British officer sent to Palestine to suppress the riots. A decisive kill was at hand.

Suddenly, an amazing move to save the Mufti's face and the life of his henchmen in the field was made by the Palestine administration. It permitted the Mufti to publish an appeal, October 12, 1936, to him and his committee by the Arab kings to call off the strike with honor. Up to that moment these kings had not interfered and had no legal right to interfere in the internal affairs of Palestine. The only official jurisdiction in the country was that of the Mandatory. Yet the Mandatory, against which the Arabs were on strike, was willing to sacrifice its own prestige in order to save that of the Mufti. He, of course, promptly responded to the appeal of the kings.

Shortly afterwards, when Fawzi Bey Kaukji and his gang were completely bottled up, the Mufti gave the Palestine Government an ultimatum: Unless the gang was permitted to escape within 24 hours, the strike would be reinstituted. The utter ridiculousness of the threat was apparent. But the Palestine Government preferred to take it seriously and ordered Colonel Simson to withdraw from his positions. Kaukji was saved, the Arab kings and the Mufti triumphed and the groundwork for the Arab League had been laid.

The history of American Middle East policies since Secretary Dulles took command of the State Department up to our recent position in the U. N. when we threatened Israel with sanctions does not indicate that we have learned anything from Britain's bitter lesson.

Like Britain in the past, we have been pouring huge amounts of money into the Arab coffers and are prepared to do even better under the Eisenhower doctrine. We have helped to accelerate Britain's departure from the Suez Canal. We have proclaimed a new neutral policy as between Israel and the Arab countries which, in practice, expressed itself in a tendency decidedly unfavorable to Israel. Since 1953 the grant-in-aid to Israel has been scaled down annually and now it is in suspension. Arms and ammuition shipped in liberal quantities to Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt were denied to Israel despite the growing threat to her security. Even after Egypt's arms deal with Soviet Russia, we persisted in denying Israel defensive weapons. As formulated in Dulles' speech of August 26, 1956, we envisioned as one of the major conditions of settling the Israel-Arab differences, the ceding by Israel to the Arabs of territory which would merely increase the Arabs' wasteland but which is vitally needed by Israel as a source of sustenance and security.

In the United Nations we supported the double standard of justice as between Israel and her Arab neighbors by tolerating Egyptian and Jordonian acts of murder and pillage, while censuring Israel for retaliating. The crowning act of our policy of appeasing the unappeasable Arabs was performed in the arena of the United Nations after the recent invasion of Egypt by Israel, Britain, and France. Our almost hysterical rush to the Security Council with a resolution branding Israel an aggressor, while we uttered hardly a word against the pillage and murder of innocent women and children in Israel by Egyptian fedayeen, will not redound to our glory when the history of this period is written. Nor will our threat of sanctions to force Israel to evacuate the Gaza strip and the Gulf of Aqaba.

The fruits of this policy are already apparent. Nasser has chalenged the United States on Israel's assumptions. He has returned to Gaza. He insists that he will continue the blockade of the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba against Israel. He has proclaimed himself the one and only boss of the Suez Canal, to whom all tolls are payable. He dictates to the U. N. forces in Gaza as he did in other areas of evacuation. His ignoble defeat by Israel has been permitted to become a triumph.

Is not all this reminiscent of the events in Jerusalem in October 1936? It matters little that there the name was Haj-Amin El-Husseini and here it is Gamal Abdel Nasser. The characters, methods, and aspirations of the two individuals are similar. Like the Mufti before him, Nasser aspires to be the supreme ruler of the Moslem world. Like the Mufti, Nasser possesses an inordinate sense of grandeur inflated in no small measure by the spineless submissions of the international community. And our reaction to Nasser's latest acts of defiance does not indicate an essential change of attitude on our part.

Shall we repeat Britain's error to the end? Shall we wait until Nasser plunges the world into an atomic holocaust? Or shall we topple his lawless reign while he still walks on feet of clay?

Billions, Not Millions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, in these days of very large governmental expenditures, it is not easy to maintain a balanced concept of the enormity of governmental spending and its impact upon our American economy. The following editorial from the Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette points up changes that the years have brought and ends upon a very wise note of caution for the future:

BILLIONS, NOT MILLIONS

Today the American people are living in a world of fantastic figures so far as Federal taxes, budgets, and the national debt are concerned.

The numbers are getting too big for human comprehension.

We have only to go back a few years into the present century and make some comparisons to show how the cost of National Government has mushroomed like an atomic bomb explosion.

Take the public debt of the United States. In 1915, the year after World War I broke out in Europe, our national debt was only a little more than $1,191,000,000.

The debt rose to approximately $25 billion for the fiscal year of 1919 as the result of America's participation in World War I. Then it began to decline.

The national debt was down to $16,931,000,000 in 1929, the year the stock market broke as the prelude to the great depression.

Today the Federal debt is in excess of $276 billion as compared to not much over $1 billion in 1915.

This debt might have been much larger than it is if Congress had not placed a legal ceiling on it. This ceiling has virtually forced the Eisenhower administration to balance the Federal budget. The financial watchdogs in Congress have said they will not let this ceiling be lifted again.

Now let's take a look at the Federal budget. In 1917, for the first time in its history, the United States Government spent in excess of $1 billion in any given fiscal year. The expenditure for that year reached $1,977,000,000. The United States had entered World War I on April 6, 1917.

President Eisehower has submitted to the Congress for the fiscal year 1958 a budget of $72 billion. This is the largest peacetime budget in the history of the United States.

These comparative figures are enough to curl the hair of any citizen with a sense of thrift in his system.

Finally, let's examine what has happened to the taxpayer himself. The year 1913 saw the final ratification and adoption of the 16th amendment to the Federal Constitution permitting Federal income taxation.

Today a man with a $10,000-a-year income and 2 dependent children pays over 25 times more Federal income tax annually than a man of similar income did in 1913. Such a man paid only $60 on a $10,000 taxable income in 1913. In 1955, his total tax was $1,592. The tax payments of this man ranged from a low of $40 in 1929 to a high of $2,245 in the World War II year of 1944.

Taxpayers with $3,000 net incomes paid nothing in 1913, but were taxed $36 in 1918 to help pay the costs of World War I. They then had a tax holiday until 1941 when they were assessed $58. The tax in this bracket arose to $120 in 1955.

A man with the same exemptions and a taxable income of $25,000 paid $260 in 1913—$9,705 in the war year of 1944—and $6,268 in 1955.

The man with a net income of $100,000 paid only $2,510 in 1913. He wrote a tax check for $68,565 in 1944 and for $51,912 in 1955.

These figures may have made you dizzy. They did us, too.

Only the people can stop and reverse this trend.

The remedy for what ails us is to reduce taxes, cut the budget, keep the budget balanced, and get greater efficiency and more value from each tax dollar.

Nobody wants to return to horse-and-buggy days. Nobody want to turn the clock back to the beginning of the century.

But unrestrained Government spending will lead to further inflation, followed ultimately by deflation and depression, national bankruptcy and the end of the free dynamic American economy. Surely nobody wants that.

Departments of State, Justice, Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, Fiscal Year 1958

SPEECH
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6871) making appropriations for the Departments of State and Justice, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, in view of what the gentleman from New York has just said, may I say when I owe someone an apology I will make it, and it is possible I owe an apology to the gentleman from Kansas. I do not know what the RECORD is going to show but I know what was said here on the floor. Certainly I do not think I was stupid in inferring from that that there was some kind of arrangement made that the Committee was going to accept an amendment which was going to be offered either by the gentleman from Iowa or the gentleman from Kansas. But since the gentleman from New York has stated that there was a misunderstanding it is possible that I misunderstood with whom the deal on the amendment had been made.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. No, I will not yield to the gentleman from New York. It was his statement that caused the confusion, so I am going to try to clear up the confusion.

If that is the case, and if there was no agreement made, and if the gentleman from Kansas had not had prior arrangements, and if it were not stated here that there were prior arrangements made for the Committee to accept the amendment, then certainly I apologize to him because I do not want to imply that anybody has done anything that he did not do. In other words this is an "iffy" apology.

Foreign Aid Reverse Grants and Repayments by Foreign Countries, Section 2

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under date of April 1, I inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD, on page A2595, a detailed statement on the extent of United States expenditures in support of the foreign-aid program.

Again, through the courtesy of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, I am inserting a statement prepared by Mr. Hermann Ficker, analyst in international finance and trade, who also prepared the statement referred to above. Once again he has done an outstanding job.

It is only fair, Mr. Speaker, to point out that some foreign countries have made repayments to the United States on grants and loans. In the report submitted herewith there is covered a period from July 1, 1940, to June 30, 1956. Section 1, the first report, dealt with grants and utilized loans.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I am including this very valuable report. The report follows:

REVERSE GRANTS AND REPAYMENTS BY FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND ORGANIZATIONS TO THE UNITED STATES ON GRANTS AND LOANS FOR PERIOD JULY 1, 1940–JUNE 30, 1956

The following 3 tables dealing with reverse grants and reduction of indebtedness comprise section 2 of a report on United States aid extended to foreign countries and organizations for the war period, July 1, 1940–June 30, 1945, and postwar period, July 1, 1945–June 30, 1956.

Section 1 dealt with grants and utilized loans.

In section 2 the gross tabulation for reverse grants is given by country and program for the war period and postwar period. Repayments on loans and credits are given in one table for the combined period.

I. Net grant aid, war period, July 1, 1940–June 30, 1945

Lend-lease	$46,728,287,000
Grants-in-aid	1,400,010,000
Total	48,128,297,000
Less reverse grants	7,872,637,000
Total	40,255,660,000

II. Net grant aid, postwar period, July 1, 1945–June 30, 1956

Grants-in-aid	$49,095,405,000
Less reverse grants	1,646,408,000
Total	47,448,997,000

III. Net loans and credits, July 1, 1940–June 30, 1956

Net authorizations	$17,056,369,000
Less unutilized loans	955,836,000
Utilized loans	16,100,533,000
Principal payments	4,345,423,000
Outstanding on June 30, 1956	11,755,110,000

IV. Tabulation of net aid, July 1, 1940–June 30, 1956

Net grants, war period	$40,255,660,000
Net grants, postwar period	47,448,997,000
Net loans and credits, war and postwar period	11,755,110,000
Total	99,459,767,000

V. Net reverse grants and repayments, July 1, 1940–June 30, 1956

Reverse grants, war period	$7,872,637,000
Reverse grants, postwar period	1,646,408,000
Repayments on loans, total period	4,345,423,000
Net reverse grants and repayments	13,864,468,000

Sources: Foreign aid, 1940–51, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1952; foreign grants and credits, U. S. Department of Commerce, October 1956.

TABLE I.—*Reverse grants and returns on grants, by country and program, war period, July 1, 1940–June 30, 1945*

(Thousands of dollars)

Country (war period)	
Belgium-Luxembourg: Reverse lend-lease	204,791
United Kingdom:	
Returned merchant ships	5,143
Returned Navy ships	3,963
Reverse lend-lease	4,989,894
Cash war-account settlements	31,500
Total	5,030,499
Australia: Reverse lend-lease	888,441
India: Reverse lend-lease	582,225
New Zealand: Reverse lend-lease	251,732
Union of South Africa: Reverse lend-lease	870
China: Reverse lend-lease	3,672
France: Reverse lend-lease	866,728
Netherlands: Reverse lend-lease	36,973
U. S. S. R.:	
Returned merchant ships	4,494
Reverse lend-lease	2,213
Total	6,707
Total	7,872,637

TABLE II.—*Reverse grants and returns on grants, by country and program, postwar period, July 1, 1945–June 30, 1956*

[Thousands of dollars]

Country	Postwar period	Fiscal 1955	Fiscal 1956
Brazil	52,880		
Military aid counterpart funds	97		
Lend-lease naval ships (military) returned	52,783		
Bolivia: Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	6	6	
Chile	78		
Military aid counterpart funds	71		
Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	7		
Columbia	154	79	
Military aid counterpart funds	131	79	
Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	23		
Cuba: Lend-lease naval ship (economic) returned	48		
Dominican Republic	143	26	43
Military aid counterpart funds	124	26	43
Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	20		
Ecuador	29		
Military aid counterpart funds	9		
Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	20		
Haiti: Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	7		
Honduras: Military aid counterpart funds	30	30	
Mexico: Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	73		
Nicaragua: Military aid counterpart funds	34		
Paraguay: Lend-lease ships (economic) returned	7		
Peru	117		
Military aid counterpart funds	49		
Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	68		
Uruguay: Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	66		
Venezuela: Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	24		
Australia: Cash war-account settlements	20,000		
Austria	53,943	1,140	2,973
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	50,970	1,140	
Civilian supplies returned	2,973		2,973
Belgium-Luxembourg	6,992	397	1,208
Military aid counterpart funds	4,907	323	1,200
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	2,077	74	8
Reverse lend-lease	9		
Burma: Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	625		
Canada: Return of military equipment loans	3,964	82	
Formosa	73,008	575	282
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	6,208	575	282
Lend-lease naval ships (military) returned	66,800		
Czechoslovakia: Cash war-account settlements	173		
Denmark	15,994	406	200
Military aid counterpart funds	1,892	327	191
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	14,102	79	9
Ethiopia: Military-aid counterpart funds	258	58	152
France	240,542	10,219	1,465
Military-aid counterpart funds	8,829	500	914
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	178,895	9,719	551
Reverse lend-lease	1,054		
Lend-lease naval ships (military) returned	47,764		
Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	4,000		
Germany	70,486	2,459	3,073
Military-aid counterpart funds	2,791		2,791
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	75,892	2,459	282
Return of civilian supplies	803		
Greece	70,069	4,290	2,577
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	65,092	4,290	2,577
Lend-lease naval ships (military) returned	13,555		
Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	422		
Iceland: Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	1,777	91	
India	28,611		
Reverse lend-lease	26,275		
Cash war-account settlements	2,336		

Country	Postwar period	Fiscal 1955	Fiscal 1956
Indochina (3 states)	7,172	1,710	261
Cambodia	121	64	57
Military aid counterpart funds	78	64	14
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	43		43
Laos: Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	29		29
Vietnam: Military aid counterpart funds	646	471	175
Unspecified	6,375	1,174	
Military aid counterpart funds	3,959	893	
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	2,416	282	
Indonesia	5,045	121	83
Military aid counterpart funds	80		
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	4,965	121	83
Iran	7,878		
Military aid counterpart funds	3		
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	7,875		
Iraq	297	93	155
Military aid counterpart funds	248	93	155
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	49		
Ireland: Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	910		
Israel: Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	458		
Italy	84,022	6,679	1,482
Military aid counterpart funds	5,582	1,472	1,042
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	78,439	5,208	440
Trieste: Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	1,839		
Japan: Military aid counterpart funds	2,885	1,154	1,585
Jordan: Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	63		
Korea: Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	17,926		8,854
Netherlands	54,045	1,063	238
Military aid counterpart funds	2,690	447	422
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	51,110	616	Cr. 184
Reverse lend-lease	27		
Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	218		
Norway	23,734	1,099	561
Military aid counterpart funds	2,319	257	393
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	21,075	842	168
Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	340		
Pakistan	6,441	2,487	2,022
Military aid counterpart funds	1,016	394	622
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	5,425	2,093	1,400
Philippines	4,121	843	860
Military aid counterpart funds	562	192	200
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	3,599	650	660
Portugal	3,495	650	281
Military aid counterpart funds	2,082	542	219
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	1,413	108	62
Spain: Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	48,734	9,386	38,248
Thailand	4,027	981	873
Military aid counterpart funds	2,819	920	740
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	1,208	62	133
Turkey	26,830	5,700	3,634
Military aid counterpart funds	816	816	
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	21,515	4,884	3,634
Cash war-account settlements	4,500		
Union of South Africa: Cash war-account settlements	92,500		

TABLE II.—*Reverse grants and returns on grants, by country and program, postwar period, July 1, 1945–June 30, 1956*—Continued

[Thousands of dollars]

Country	Postwar period	Fiscal 1955	Fiscal 1956
U. S. S. R.	39,204	17	28
Lend-lease merchant ships returned	9,302		
Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	29,903	17	28
United Kingdom	529,993	6,885	1,404
Military aid counterpart funds	3,270	616	651
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	158,297	6,269	753
Reverse lend-lease	106,056		
Lend-lease merchant ships returned	179,205		
United Kingdom—Continued			
Lend-lease naval ships (military) returned	6,312		
Lend-lease naval ships (economic) returned	76,853		
Yugoslavia	26,651	3,859	3,033
Military aid counterpart funds	65		
Economic and technical assistance counterpart funds	24,486	3,859	3,033
Lend-lease naval ships (military) returned	2,100		
Total	1,646,408	62,584	75,575

TABLE III.—*Repayments of loans and other credits, by country, war and postwar period, July 1, 1940–June 30, 1956*

[Thousands of dollars]

Country	Net authorizations	Unutilized on June 30, 1956	Principal collected	Outstanding on June 30, 1956
Argentina	162,065	60,000	25,921	76,144
Bolivia	47,042	1,067	11,297	34,678
Brazil	815,230	105,621	249,288	460,321
Chile	152,440	8,226	78,956	65,258
Colombia	85,278	1,509	59,643	24,126
Costa Rica	21,227	9,390	1,812	10,025
Cuba	82,220	10,052	60,148	12,000
Dominican Republic	3,284		3,284	
Ecuador	41,626	6,367	9,565	25,694
El Salvador	1,574	98	1,476	
Guatemala	2,620	2,048	1	571
Haiti	37,891	4,476	7,245	26,170
Honduras	1,184	66	1,118	
Mexico	338,239	85,584	133,287	119,368
Nicaragua	5,550	240	4,890	420
Panama	6,518	30	5,481	1,006
Paraguay	13,900	7,542	5,483	515
Peru	155,029	123,244	5,583	26,202
Uruguay	22,011	2,672	9,882	8,757
Venezuela	26,874	4,153	14,768	7,953
Unspecified	142,601	4,462	128,351	9,188
Afghanistan	45,934	16,100		29,834
Australia	22,559		5,135	17,424
Austria	36,170	4,535	24,339	7,296
Bahrein	17,048		17,048	
Belgium-Luxembourg	239,522		95,589	143,933
Belgium	234,972		94,012	140,960
Luxembourg	3,000		27	2,973
Belgian Congo	1,550		1,550	
Burma	5,043		3,118	1,925
Canada	198,628	2,625	194,304	699
China-Taiwan	367,858	2,158	194,114	171,586
Czechoslovakia	30,377			25,507
Denmark	56,661	4	7,787	48,870
Egypt	25,674	7,740	17,934	
Eritrea	50			50
Ethiopia	31,707	24,000	3,777	3,930
Finland	152,313		56,503	95,810
French Union	2,469,954		728,533	1,741,421
France	2,463,405		726,275	1,737,130
Algeria	680		136	544
French Equatorial Africa	4,368		621	3,747
New Caledonia	1,501		1,501	
Germany	1,355,706	10,034	171,082	1,174,590
Greece	147,495	9,833	45,906	91,746
Hungary	15,917		3,968	11,949
Iceland	6,249		699	5,550
India	446,716	60,481	6,952	379,283
Indochina	25,000			25,000
Indonesia	180,770	26,968	13,316	140,486
Iran	130,896	53,691	10,609	66,596
Iraq	1,099	210	889	
Ireland	128,200		321	127,879
Israel	184,138	16,361	15,192	152,585
Italy	481,209	25,714	195,980	259,615
Japan	650,474	35,021	497,296	118,157
Korea	24,928		3,978	20,950
Latvia	11		11	
Lebanon	1,550		1,550	
Liberia	44,773	17,550	4,845	23,076
Morocco	18,378	9	12,785	5,584
Netherlands	472,172		199,278	272,894
New Zealand	20,463	3,068	1,427	15,968
Norway	140,830		48,244	92,586
Pakistan	61,136	38,257	136	22,743
Philippines	219,652	81,557	59,867	78,228
Poland	81,268		19,873	61,395
Portugal	54,917		3,161	51,757
Angola	165	100	65	
Rhodesia	60,686	6,978	4,038	49,670
Saudi Arabia	31,826		10,583	21,243
Spain	142,408	17,267	37,838	87,303
Sweden	28,337	26	8,276	20,035
Syria	102		52	50
Thailand	18,587	10,828	6,499	1,260
Turkey	180,189	26,791	38,600	114,798
Union of South Africa	132,118	21,081	13,016	118,021
U. S. S. R.	222,493			222,493
United Kingdom and dependencies	5,241,316		703,751	4,537,565
United Kingdom	5,216,709		696,701	4,520,007
British East Africa	2,394		82	2,312
British Guiana	128			128
British Honduras	482		482	
Jamaica	20,930		5,889	15,081
Nigeria	674		637	37
Yugoslavia	55,900		5,889	50,011
European Coal and Steel Community	100,000			100,000
U. N. Headquarters	65,000		7,000	58,000
Total	7,056,369	955,836	4,345,423	11,755,110

NOTE.—In some instances data shown in this table include loans and other credits extended to private entities, for example, outstanding indebtedness shown for Cana la represents the indebtedness of private companies and not official governmental loans.

Congress Should End Unfair Tax on Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following editorial from Labor, a newspaper published in Washington, D. C.:

CONGRESS SHOULD END UNFAIR TAX ON TAX

Many Members of Congress are talking about reducing taxes for low-income people. There's one place where Congress can and should make a start, because the country can't afford perpetuation of a tax injustice which cries out for correction.

That's the tax on a tax, and here's how it works now: An employee pays a social security, railroad retirement or civil service retirement tax, which is withheld from his wage or salary, so he never sees the money. Yet Uncle Sam taxes this money a second time, by means of the income tax. If that isn't a tax on a tax, what is it?

Congress granted tax relief to stockholders, who claimed they were double taxed by taxes on both corporation profits and on dividends. Surely double-taxed workers have a stronger claim to tax relief. Our neighbor country, Canada, recognizes that, and does not impose an income tax on the retirement tax money of its people.

Uncle Sam's income tax instructions say "you can deduct," from the income on which you pay the Federal tax, any and all "personal property taxes, real estate taxes, State income taxes, State or local sales taxes, auto license fees, poll taxes, and State gasoline taxes."

All those deductions are fair. Why should you be forced to pay a tax on money already taken from you in taxes? Why is it any different when the money has been taken in retirement taxes?

The railroad unions are asking Congress to enact a bill by Congressman EUGENE MCCARTHY, Democrat, of Minnesota, which would end the tax on tax, and thus make it possible to raise rail retirement benefits with no increase in the total taxes paid by railroaders.

In addition to the obvious unfairness of the tax on a tax, there's another reason why it is unjustified.

The railroad retirement, social security, and civil service systems serve a broad social purpose, and relieve the Federal, State, and local governments of financial burdens they would otherwise have to carry. Just a little thought makes that clear.

Before the three big retirement systems came into being, countless thousands of old folks had to "go over the hill to the poorhouse." Poorhouses cost a lot of money, which the public had to pay in taxes. Also, State and local governments had to spend further tax money in public relief for needy aged men and women.

In the great reform era of the 1930's, Congress created a social security system, which has two parts. One provides old-age pensions paid for by workers and their employers, by means of retirement taxes. This self-pay part is steadily taking over the job of the other part, which provides old-age assistance paid for by taxes on the general public.

Thus, social security taxes are relieving the public of both the burden of the tragic old poorhouses and more and more of the burden of old-age assistance. The railroad retirement and civil service retirement systems work the same way. Without them, the public would have to pay more taxes to support the rapidly growing number of old folks in ways far less conducive to their self-respect.

Why should the employees under the three great retirement systems be penalized for taking over so much of the burden at their own expense? They are penalized now by being forced to pay the tax on a tax. They hope and pray that Congress will stop this injustice.

Our Strange Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a recent editorial from the Fort Wayne (Ind.) Journal-Gazette—Our Strange Diplomacy. It sets forth some ideas that a good many people have concerning our foreign aid programs:

OUR STRANGE DIPLOMACY

American diplomacy is being conducted today like a huge give-away program.

If other nations do not apply to us for aid, we insist upon them taking it anyway.

That is a strange way for the world's greatest power to conduct itself.

It does not show maturity.

The foreign aid program which was started after World War II was understood to be an emergency measure for the immediate postwar period. Now it seems to be regarded in the State Department as a permanent thing.

If individuals were treated as we treat other nations, we know that the individuals would be robbed of their self-reliance and of the ability to stand on their own two feet.

Nations are not very different from individuals. Nations are composed of people.

Doles to foreign nations are not a solution for what ails the world today.

They could lead to widespread pauperization.

It is not possible to buy friendship in the market place.

The whole business of American aid to foreign lands must be placed upon a sound basis.

There should be sound loans for sound propositions. The loans should be repaid. This is the way to build the future.

Money scattered around without purpose or plan is not going to produce a better world.

People are not going to make progress unless they are careful and thoughtful, unless they plan and operate according to sensible economic policies.

We have encouraged the nations abroad to become like dependent children.

It is time we got back to basic reality.

The Race for Scientific Supremacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, much attention has been given in the press and other media, as well as by speakers on their rostrums throughout the country, to the "critical shortage" of scientific personnel and the "decreasing trends" in science education.

Usually the alarming figures are coupled with such comparable figures as we are able to obtain or estimate for the Soviet Union. This comparison lends drama to what might otherwise be just another dull set of figures. Statistics and graphs can be produced to show what we seem to be falling behind in the scientific race with the Soviet Union.

There is little question that Russia is turning out scientists, engineers, and technically trained people at a faster rate than we are. Both the number and the percentage is greater, particularly the latter. This is understandable, because Russia has had to start practically from scratch to build up a great industrial society. This situation was made worse by the devastation of World War II.

In what has been called a "cold war" of the classrooms, it has been estimated that Russia will produce during the decade from 1950–1960 a total of 1,200,000 trained engineers, compared to our 900,000. In 1955, Russia turned out 130,000 engineers and scientists, as against 60,000 in the United States. Figures often vary, but it must be remembered that in addition, many of the Soviet boys and girls who drop out of the mainstream at the end of their 7th or 10th year, receive specialized training at schools called "technikums." There are estimated to be more than 3,500 of these in Russia. This year they will graduate 100,000 draftsmen, electricians, mechanics, lab assistants, and other technicians. We have no exact counterpart to this rich source of trained people.

It should be remembered that universal education in Russia has now reached the stage where all children receive 10 years of free public schooling if they are capable of receiving it. College entrance is on the basis of severe, competitive examinations, and all tuition is free. Worthy students receive financial aid, in return for which they give 3 years' service, or in a manner of speaking, their whole life to the state.

Russian school children are strictly regimented. They go to school 6 days a week, more hours per day, and more weeks a year than our children, and concentrate heavily on the sciences. They have no electives; they spend 4 years in chemistry, 5 in physics and mathematics, through trigonometry, is a required course. They also study a foreign language for 6 years. English, being a language of science, is very popular.

Much has been written pro and con about the quality of the people being turned out by Russia's 800 institutions of higher learning, and her technical schools. American educators and students of Russian affairs are inclined to believe that the standards are neither as high as alarmists say, nor as low as wishful thinkers would like to believe. They are coming up fast.

If Russia were concentrating only on peaceful developments of her industries, this is the sort of competition between nations that we could welcome. Certainly, it would be a race in which we should have no fear of competing. But there is evidence that the Soviets regard scientific development and engineering progress as a weapon—to build up a strong base from which to infiltrate the underdeveloped nations of the world and eventually to challenge Western industrial supremacy.

What are the actual figures for the United States? How should we best meet this undeniable challenge? Certainly, we do not wish to adopt the Soviet regimentation system. We do not want to turn out robots for certain narrowly-defined tasks. Our emphasis in education has been upon development of the whole personality of our school children. We believe in a democratic system in which students are allowed to reach the full extent of their capabilities.

Percentagewise, we again hear alarming figures. We learn that in 1900 the percentage of students in grades 9 through 12 taking physics was 19 percent whereas today it is only 4.6 percent. However, in 1954, the latest year for which figures are available, the total enrollment in grades 9 through 12 was 6,500,000 compared with only 500,000 in 1900—a thirteenfold increase. Actually the enrollment in high school physics has increased from 98,846 in 1900 to 302,800 in 1954. In chemistry, enrollment has jumped from 40,084 to 482,700. Percentages, therefore, are misleading. Yet they are quoted every day in an effort to prove that we are losing the race.

There is genuine cause for concern, but they are quite different from those usually expressed. These causes are the general decline of the level of scientific teaching, the low salaries of science teachers, the skimpy amounts of money allotted by hard-pressed school boards for scientific and laboratory equipment.

In 1900, physics was offered mainly at the 10th grade level; today it is offered usually as a 12th-grade course. In smaller schools, it is often alternated with chemistry in the 11th and 12th grades. It has been pointed out that about 23 percent of high schools having enrollments up to the senior year offered neither chemistry nor physics. This is another alarming figure, until it is shown that these schools include only 5.8 percent of all high-school students. Figures cited by the Office of Education show that at least 95 percent of all students reaching the 12th grade at least have the opportunity to take these courses.

American youth today is interested in science and engineering. The Office of Education says that 55 percent of the boys who took the 1956 general scholarship exam of the National Honor Society, a high school scholastic group, said they planned to take college majors in science or engineering. Other surveys have shown that children frequently asked more questions about science than any other subject.

Yet the facts also show that youngsters who are fascinated by science at junior high school levels often avoid science in senior high school. Twenty-seven percent fail to take high school biology, 68 percent avoid high-school chemistry, and 77 percent—in this atomic age—do not enroll in high-school physics. The mortality rate continues through college, as the freshmen and sophomores drop out of school, leaving fewer and fewer students who are willing and able to pursue the demanding studies in an institute of technology or science department.

Part of this may be due to the myths that have sprung up about scientific studies. Some students have the notion that one must be a genius to succeed in science. Others think that science classes are dull—textbook and sheer academic drudgery. They can be and often are, but they need not be. What is needed is better curricula, new textbooks, modern equipment, and above all, more and better-trained teachers.

The challenge is threefold: the students' interest must be held and maintained. The new teachers must be given more incentive and challenge to keep them in the field. The experienced teachers must have apportunity to improve and discuss their techniques with their colleagues and specialists in various fields. None of these objectives can be solved very easily by a legislative approach. We cannot create a favorable climate to scientific teaching and study merely by the passage of a law.

One of the difficulties of the high school curriculum is the so-called four solids requirement that too often operates to exclude science courses while emphasizing social studies, English, and foreign language. It is too easy to condemn the schools for the trends that many people regard today as alarming. The quality of instruction is never as high as we would like it to be. The budgets for science teaching are never satisfactory. Besides, industry competes with higher education. They comb our laboratories and classrooms for teachers who are unable to continue to make the sacrifices all too often necessary in this field.

However, there is much that can and is being done. Through such means as the science teacher achievement recognition—STAR—awards, and the preparation of career information material by such organizations as the National Science Teachers Association, we may be able to counteract the current trend. The National Science Foundation provides Federal funds for summer and academic year institutes for science teachers. It serves the President's National Committee for the Development of Scientists and Engineers as well as industrial firms, which are supporting scholarships in ever greater amounts. Contacts between university and college specialists and their colleagues in the general science field have improved greatly in the postwar years.

There is another aspect to this problem. It is obvious that Russia, in training ever greater numbers of technicians every year, is thinking not only of her own needs, but also of the many underdeveloped countries who are willing to accept cadres of scientific and technical workers from Russia. These workers bring both material and technical aid and the gospel of communism. If our own shortage of technicians in many fields persists, we may find ourselves without weapons in a very important aspect of the cold war.

Among the solutions to this problem, a national science or technical academy has been suggested. This would provide engineers and technicians for periods of service overseas in the underdeveloped countries. Perhaps a more simple solution would be to offer an option of service in lieu of military duty for those who have the skills necessary to help other nations—agricultural specialists, geologists, biologists, public health officers, construction men, and others. These men, serving as civilian personnel, or even as members of the Armed Forces, would be suitably compensated for the discomforts and hardships of living in these countries. The servicemen who qualify as scientific and professional personnel might well be willing to spend their obligatory period of military duty as overseas point 4 technicians.

One leaf that might be borrowed from the Russian book is the possibility of longer school terms and more hours of schooling per week. This suggestion has been made by several thoughtful Americans who have visited Russia and observed the education process there. For many students, unable to find sufficient summer employment to spend their time gainfully, a shorter summer vacation would serve equally well. The long summer vacation is a throwback to the days when young children had to pitch in with the summer chores on the farm. Those days are just about gone forever. Admiral Lewis Strauss, the distinguished chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, has proposed a total of 210 days of school per year, as against the present 180. He also maintains that gifted students must be permitted to forge ahead just as backward children are given special attention. The longer period of tuition could be used to shorten the number of years of elementary and secondary schooling or to bridge the gap between the accomplishments of the American high school students and their European cousins.

Whatever the measures we take to increase our flow of scientific and technical people to the industries and laboratories and classrooms of our country, let us recognize that we are engaged in a race that, if successful, can lead us into a fine new age of peaceful accomplishments. But if we don't keep up, our civilization may be challenged by a power which would like nothing better than to humble if not destroy the great western industrial society which has wrought such significant changes in the world.

A Look at Modern Spain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a review of The Yoke and the Arrows, by Herbert L. Matthews, which appeared recently in the book review section of the New York Times. It was written by Mildred Adams. Members of Congress might do well to read it, especially those Members and Senators who are associated with Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations committees.

The review follows:

THE YOKE AND THE ARROWS, A REPORT ON SPAIN, BY HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

Maybe this is it. Perhaps this book, so honest, so well informed, so personal in the best newspaper sense, may help to lift the sullen lid on which Gen. Francisco Franco y Bahamonde sits so firmly.

The Spanish people have learned to live under that lid, and some of them profit by it. Americans, dimly conscious of the fact that a billion dollars of their money is being spent under it, accept it uneasily. The aching need, for us as well as for them, is that the lid be somehow tilted up so that light and air and a reasonable degree of truth about Spain may take the place of those sickly fictions which have poisoned so many attempts to understand the country's recent past or to think with any clarity about its possible future.

This need Herbert Matthews fills with a unique skill. He has produced an "all of which I saw, part of which I was" book, and invested it with the present tense. Writing "not a history of modern Spain, nor of the Spanish Civil War," he insists nevertheless that "certain facts must be kept in mind if we are to understand the situation today." The United States is spending $400 million in Spain to build bases that form an integral part of the neo-Maginot defense belt now being drawn around this continent, and more millions in economic aid. American military engineers are grounding those bases on something more solid than drifting sand; it would seem equally important that the United States should also know the political and economic realities of Spain. They may

be harder to get at than the geologic subsoil, but a wrong assessment would be just as perilous.

So Mr. Matthews, who covered the Spanish Civil War as correspondent for the New York Times and went back in 1956 to see what had happened since, digs first into the layers of myth that have accumulated since Franco attacked the Second Republic in July of 1936.

He starts with the hoary illusion that Franco rebelled against the legally elected Government of Spain in order to rescue his country from communism. That idea, says Mr. Matthews, was not mentioned in the general's first proclamations, but developed as an afterthought. "The facts are that there was precious little communism in Spain when the civil war started, and the Republican Government was at no time Red." By the same token "the Loyalists were not, at that time, saving Spain from the sort of fascism represented by Germany and Italy." That, too, developed along with Franco's strength. In short, the Spanish Civil War was a much more complicated, and, so to speak, private struggle than most outsiders have recognized, and the mirrors that time has held up have distorted it still more.

The second illusion stems from the first and accepts the thesis that because Franco keeps on saying he was fighting communism, he is, therefore, a champion of democracy. From this shaky premise follows the perilous tenet that because Franco is allowing the United States to spend more than $1 billion in Spain on bases and economic aid, we have the Caudillo in our pocket. Mr. Matthews reminds his readers that Hitler and Mussolini, who earlier paid Franco for what they thought were defense agreements, got no aid from him when they needed it most.

He is by no means as sanguine about our expensive bases as are our military men. Their viability in time of war, and our security, depend on the will of "a most cautious, a most coldly calculating man," who, at the moment of crisis, will make up his own mind whether or not we may use them. Though Franco has an evil reputation throughout the democratic world, we have bargained with him for the use of Spanish land in the defense of democracy. Having made this dubious pact, says Mr. Matthews, let us recognize that for our own safety we must watch events most closely, and be at least as clear and frank about it as with Marshal Tito.

Many readers may quarrel with Mr. Matthews' skepticism and dispute his conclusion, but they rest on a sound analysis of the forces that support Franco and with which he plays so skillfully. The new element, American influence through American dollars, is neutralized thus far. No American flag is allowed to fly over those expensive new bases; American officers, under rigid orders to keep out of political discussion, dress inconspicuously in civilian clothes. What will happen when 10,000 GI's go over to man the finished bases, and Pedro who built them, begins to compare his pay with that of GI Joe who serves them, remains to be seen. (More economic analysis would have been welcome in this chapter, but dependable data are hard to get.)

No small part of the fascination of this book lies in the manner of its writing. As though its author were talking by the fireside, it rambles, moves back and forth through time, dodges across the landscape, mixes fact and conviction, things heard, seen, and believed in an apparently artless fashion that conceals a deft skill. Among those who prefer to evade or conceal past or present truths about the Spanish situation it may not be popular, but in its unpretentious way it is one of the most important books on modern Spain this reviewer has seen.

Needed: A New Postmaster General

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, I recommend to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial from the Ocala (Fla.) Star Banner:

NEEDED: A NEW POSTMASTER GENERAL

If President Eisenhower is wise, he'll start looking immediately for a new Postmaster General.

Throughout the controversy with the House Appropriations Committee over the issue of extra funds needed to operate the Post Office Department through June, Postmaster General Summerfield has acted in an arrogant, high-handed manner.

In fact, seldom in history has the public witnessed such a brazen resort to browbeating threats and tactics by a high official of the executive department. The methods employed by Mr. Summerfield in an effort to get his way fall into the pattern of union bosses like John L. Lewis, Walter Reuther and Dave Beck.

Frankly, we think the services of the Postmaster General to the Nation and the Eisenhower administration have about as much value now as a canceled 3-cent-stamp.

To be sure, the House committee yesterday voted to give Mr. Summerfield 41 of the 47 million dollars he says he needs to keep the Department running until June 30. Since this amount is likely to be approved speedily early next week by the House and Senate, it may be said the Postmaster General has been successful in his threats and won the battle with Congress. But the committee members did not bow so much to Mr. Summerfield's judgment as they did to the reality that the Nation could not stand a drastic curtailment of mail service.

One thing that can be safely predicted is that most Members of the House will not easily forget the incident. Indeed, they will long remember Mr. Summerfield's overdramatization of postal problems and his last-minute threat to the entire Congress.

Moreover, there is an important point which should not be overlooked by the public. It is the general botch the administration has made of the whole affair.

The Post Office Department is currently operating under a budget of some $2 billion. According to Representative CANNON, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Summerfield was given repeated warnings he should "live within" that amount but did not do it.

The postal official said, in effect, his Department could not "live within" the figure because of a greater mail volume than anticipated, the need to extend delivery routes into new urban areas and to meet pay and retirement increases voted by Congress.

He can properly point to the fact that the Department informed Congress in January that more funds would be necessary. However, the Bureau of the Budget delayed until March an official request for supplemental fourth-quarter funds. That is inexcusable inefficiency.

But that delay doesn't excuse Mr. Summerfield's attitude and actions.

A good and efficient administrator of the Post Office Department would have told Congress earlier of his troubles. He would have prodded the Budget Bureau. He would have been tactful in his dealings with the branch of the Government which controls the purse-strings. He would not have used blackjack tactics.

Above all, an able administrator—one who acknowledges that public interest, convenience, and necessity are paramount—would have followed through quickly after the House committee's action and rescinded the order halting Saturday mail deliveries. But not Mr. Summerfield. He has done what rain, snow, sleet, and the gloom of night aren't supposed to do—stopped the postmen from making their appointed rounds today.

The plain fact of the matter is that Mr. Summerfield's arrogant performance shows he is a liability to the administration and is not the man to attempt to remedy postal service problems. He ought to go—and by special delivery.

Equitable Postal Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I should like to include an editorial from the April 15, 1957, issue of the Flint Journal entitled "Let the Users Pay the Costs."

I would like to add that the views expressed in this editorial are entirely typical of general public sentiment in the Sixth District of Michigan as indicated by responses to a questionnaire which I recently sent to several thousand people in the district. Although the questionnaire contained no reference to third-class mail, hundreds of citizens took time to add their own opinion concerning it. In my opinion, there is real resentment over present rates for third-class mail.

The editorial follows:

LET THE USERS PAY THE COSTS

The controversy waged last week over appropriations for operation of the postal service should serve, once again, to demonstrate the need for putting the Post Office Department on a sound business basis.

At the present time, the Department operates at a loss of about a million dollars a day. The taxpayers have to make up that loss, and yet the great majority of taxpayers use the mails only occasionally. Their taxes subsidize the cost for those who use the mails frequently.

Most citizens are tired of having their mailboxes crammed with so-called junk mail, advertising circulars, mostly, which go third class. Most people throw it away without even reading it. They regard it as an irritation. They would be even more irritated if they stopped to think that they are helping pay for it through their taxes. And yet that is exactly what they are doing.

A family may subscribe to 1 or 2 magazines which are delivered by mail. The charge for delivering those magazines is not sufficient to cover the cost of delivery of course. Another family may subscribe to 8 or 10 magazines, and still another may subscribe to none. But the no-magazine family, through

its taxes, helps foot the mailing bill for the 10-magazine family.

Why, it can be asked, should a citizen who uses the mail service only for an occasional letter help pay the cost for a business which uses the service extensively to drum up new business? Why should a person help pay the mailing costs of a newspaper or magazine which he never reads?

There may be legitimate justification still for some kinds of mail subsidies, but the Post Office Department should be as self-supporting as possible. Postal rates, including first class, should be raised; and, in general, those who use the mails the most should be expected to pay an equitable share of the cost.

And even if it costs us an extra penny or two to mail a letter to Aunt Minnie in Brooklyn, where can you get a comparable bargain, unless it is a newspaper?

"Here's Your D—— Mail and Tax"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of Monday, April 15, 1957, on the subject of appropriations for the Post Office Department:

A man walked grimly into the Wilkes-Barre post office on Sunday.

Opening the slot, he deposited two letters and yelled at workers inside the enclosure: "Here's your d—— mail and here's your d—— income tax."

Then, in high dudgeon, he strode out of the building, leaving startled customers and employees to their thoughts.

The man's resentment toward the Post Office Department is understandable in view of the jerking around the public received over the weekend. But he was wrong in taking it out on the postal workers. They were not to blame for what happened, although they may be targets in some instances where infuriated citizens do not stop to think.

The responsibility rests on the shoulders of Postmaster General Summerfield in Washington. It was he who high-handedly decreed the weekend shutdown of service in a strike against the public to force Congress to knuckle down and give him what he wants in the way of financing.

The weakness of the position of the Postmaster General is demonstrated by the fact that he still has at his disposal approximately $632 million. There actually was no financial crisis that called for the suspension of service this past weekend. Not only did he have this cash balance, but Congress already had okayed a $17 million appropriation and indicated $24 million would be forthcoming this week. This would bring the total of extras to $41 million. To be sure, this is $6 million short of what Summerfield wants, but obviously no cause for taking a sock at the innocent bystander—the public.

The principal issue involved is not the money the Post Office Department may need or may not need. That is only incidental. What does matter is that a man in the driver's seat, by an arbitrary stand, slapped the American people around. Not even Stalin or Hitler could do that with impunity. Summerfield also must be made to understand he cannot get away with it.

We resent these tactics and we say so in language, we hope, is clear.

At the same time, we repeat: Don't take it out on the mailman or postal clerk; he is not to blame for policy in Washington.

Summerfield Should Be Impeached

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend by remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter to the editor of the Tampa Morning Tribune, Tampa, Fla., Tuesday, April 16, 1957, entitled "Summerfield Should Be Impeached":

SUMMERFIELD SHOULD BE IMPEACHED

AVON PARK.—I highly congratulate the Tribune's lead editorial April 13, entitled "Needed: A New Postmaster General." You should have added that if this Summerfield be not fired forthwith by the President, then the United States House of Representatives should consider impeachment proceedings against said Summerfield.

The Democrats have a majority in the House, and hence can impeach him, as it takes only a majority to impeach. The fact that the Senate is 49–47 Democratic now precludes that said Summerfield would be convicted of impeachment charges, for it takes a two-thirds Senate vote to convict, but said proceedings definitely would serve the national interests as it would enhance the prestige of Congress and scare the life out of the General Motors brigade now in charge of the executive branch of the Government.

Last fall, Summerfield gave the most partisan political speech in Tampa I think most people have ever heard. The gist of Summerfield's logic in said diatribe ran something like this: "All successful people are Republicans and all unsuccessful people are Democrats. Keep the executive branch of your Government in charge of the 'successful' people, namely, the Republicans." I have never heard a Democratic speech as demagogic as this Tampa Summerfield speech.

What Summerfield is trying to do is, of course, obvious to anyone who thinks this thing through. Summerfield wants first-class postage rates to be increased, letting the ordinary people of America foot the bill for increased costs for carrying second-, third-, and fourth-class mail. It is, of course, Summerfield's constitutional right and prerogative to lobby Congress for this typical Republican big-business stratagem, but it is not all right for Summerfield to autocratically use presumed executive powers to throw a monkey wrench into usual post-office operations to gain his point. This is "sandbagging" Congress, as Congressman CANNON, Democrat, of Missouri, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, calls it.

But if Summerfield can get away with this dictatorial game of his, then I am not averse to complimenting him—for then typical big-business strongarm tactics have taken over a pusillanimous American public. We can then coin a new American political term, namely, "Summerfielded." This verb means to scare Congress into submission by withholding congressionally voted upon Government service. Yes; the next is for Treasury Secretary Humphrey to "Summerfield" Congress into submission to extend interest rates on Government bond issues. We may see Defense Secretary Wilson "Summerfield" Congress into voting more defense moneys, etc. And thus we will see the absolute abdication of Congress, and the end of constitutional government in America.

HENRY STONER.

Airways Modernization Act of 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY G. HASKELL, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. HASKELL. Mr. Speaker, on Monday last I introduced H. R. 6890, the Airways Modernization Act of 1957. This bill translates into legislative form the recommendations made last week by Edward P. Curtis, President Eisenhower's special adviser on air traffic control, and endorsed by the President. It is another step in the direction of safer airways, an objective I have sought to attain.

An editorial in last night's Washington Evening Star points up the desirability of this legislation and, under unanimous consent, I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD and commend it to the membership of the House.

The editorial follows:

SUPERAIRWAYS

President Eisenhower has given justified emphasis to the need for developing superairways for aviation, comparable to the superhighways which have become necessary to handle the great increase in automobile traffic. There are highways of the air now, of course, but they have grown dangerously congested, especially in the vicinity of large cities. Control systems are inadequate and of varying types. Several air accidents have revealed the shortcomings of the present facilities. And numerous near-collisions also have indicated the urgency of more effective controls over air traffic.

The overall problem is so acute and so important that the President wisely has endorsed a special consultant's recommendation for creation of an interim Airways Modernization Board to devise means of solving it. The board proposal was made by Edward P. Curtis, presidential adviser on aviation facilities planning. Mr. Curtis, in a preliminary report on a year-long study of the airline situation, told the President and Congress that a major overhaul of the Nation's civil and military airways is needed "in the interest of public safety and convenience," as well as for national security.

The proposed board would not overlap the functions of the present Civil Aeronautics Administration or the Civil Aeronautics Board, it was pointed out. It would, however, replace the old Air Navigation Development Board, which, according to the Curtis report, "has been unable to bring sufficient authority, decision or clear objectives to bear on the air traffic problem." The new board, unlike its predecessor, would be an independent agency, headed by a presidential appointee not affiliated with any Federal department. The Departments of Defense and Commerce, however, would have representatives on the board.

With the prestige of Executive and statutory authority, the board would have power to obtain the cooperation of all Federal agencies in formulating a program for a network of superairways to serve both civil and

military requirements. And it would work out plans for a coordinated control system designed to end the see-and-be-seen method of avoiding collisions in the air. Certainly it is as essential to bring our national airways up to date as it is to develop a great interstate highway system, with Federal aid. Both projects are designed to serve and protect the public.

Rev. J. E. Gryczka

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of April 16, 1957:

REV. J. E. GRYCZKA

Wherever men cherish freedom, wherever they admire courage, wherever they respect ability, wherever they are inspired by devotion to duty, wherever they appreciate generosity, wherever they love God, there will be sadness today because of the death of the Rev. James E. Gryczka, a priest of the Roman Catholic Church for 50 years and pastor of St. Hedwig's Church at Kingston 40 years.

Now that he is gone to claim the reward for a life dedicated to the service of God and man, there is little we might add to the record, as revealed here through the years.

For instance, on December 27, 1951, on the occasion of the golden jubilee of St. Hedwig's, we wrote: "The eminence St. Hedwig's enjoys is not hard to understand, for it is largely a reflection of the vigorous personality of its pastor, Father Gryczka, who has labored here so zealously for 35 of the 45 years since his ordination * * * Any reference to St. Hedwig's is a recital of Father Gryczka's achievements in the priesthood * * * The church he has served with such inspiring fidelity, the parish to which he has been so intensely devoted, the organizations he has diligently promoted and, last but by no means least, the community and the country which are so heavily devoted to him for service beyond the call of duty—all join in wishing him well on this auspicious occasion."

On October 28, 1952, on the occasion of a public reception at Kingston High School in honor of Father Gryczka, we had this to say, among other things: "His achievements are explained not only by his capacity, but by his idealism and unselfishness. He has been imbued with the spirit of the crusader to such an extent that no sacrifice, not even of his health, has been too much in the service of God and man. While his life has been dedicated to the salvation of souls, he has labored, with amazing success, in allied fields. * * * Grateful parishioners and men of eminence have been attracted by his warm personality, indomitable courage, inspiring industry and other qualities of leadership."

Under the heading, "A Cross for Man of God," when announcement was made the Polish Government-in-exile had awarded him the Cross of Polonia Restituta, we had this to say on November 20, 1953: "Imbued with the zeal of a churchman and patriot, he combined, in his tall and graceful person, the qualities of a Count Pulaski, the dashing hero of the Revolution, and a Cardinal Wyszinski, Polish primate. * * * Polonia Restituta is a fitting and becoming award for this unselfish man of God."

Three days later, after the ceremony, we added this editorial footnote: "Polonia Restituta (Poland Restored) is a symbol that was not lost on the recipient of the honor last night nor on the audience that testified by its presence to the respect in which Fathed Grysczka is held."

On October 23, 1956, we wrote, on the occasion of the observance of his golden jubilee, this valedictory: "Among Americans of Polish extraction, Father Gryczka is a towering figure. Although he is a native of Blossburg in nearby Tioga County, he personifies the indomitable spirit of Poland while carrying on in the finest American tradition. He combined in his person what is best in the country of his birth and in the land of his forefathers."

There was a lot more about this man who gave away his worldly goods to ease the plight of the needy and to provide education for 30 priests and 40 professional men, but what we have included in this review furnishes an index to his character.

It is a singular coincidence that Father Jim, as he was known affectionately to colleagues and intimates, should pass on during the observance of Holy Week. For him, the glories of this Easter Sunday will be a rewarding experience.

Problems of America and Those of the Other Continents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Americas Daily, of Miami Springs, Fla.:

PROBLEMS OF AMERICA AND THOSE OF THE OTHER CONTINENTS

The fundamental problems of Inter-American cooperation usually march very slowly, as if it was believed that time, by itself, could solve a great part of them.

This tardiness is in marked contrast with the accelerated rhythm of negotiations between the United States of America and other regions of the earth, especially Europe and Asia.

Should complications—visible and invisible—in the Americas march at a moderate speed, the indifference that there seems to exist with regard to Inter-American problems would not have consequences to speak of. But it happens that those complications are constantly increasing, in particular in the economic field, while the much expected and definite solution of the problems has not been forthcoming for a long time.

It is in the interest of both the United States and the Latin American countries, in a high degree, to reach a prompt solution of pending matters, which because of their magnitude are related with the essence of life itself in the twenty Latin American countries.

When negotiations are frozen in diplomatic procedures, which are traditionally slow, without any encouragement toward the goal of victory, it is very difficult to achieve the success hoped for.

It is necessary to take some measures, strong in their form, regarding Inter-American economic cooperation, and those measures, without a haste that may compromise the result, should be firmly adopted within a reasonable length of time. Otherwise, the aim of that cooperation will fulfill only a politico-psycological task during determined moments, but without any practical and constructive transcendence.

The existence of negotiations with Europe and Asia, for example, of extraordinary urgency and seriousness, because they are closely linked to the fate of world peace, is undeniable. However, this fact does not signify that the problems of America do not require careful study and energetic decisions. Also, the problems of America have very close relation with the equilibrium of international policies. A strong America will be the greatest fear for Communist imperialism. An America, with the solidarity of its 21 republics, would be the maximum defense of world democracy.

Trial by Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend by remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New Orleans Times-Picayune of April 15, 1957:

TRIAL BY JURY

Assistant United States Attorney General Olney made what seems to us a rather remarkable statement April 5: "There is no constitutional right to jury trial in either civil or criminal contempt cases." Those sincerely interested in civil liberties should take a good look at this ukase and its import. What it seems to mean is that if the Federal judiciary and Government so decided, the courts could take over, with the consent of Congress, the unilateral enforcement of every Federal criminal law and (by preemption) most State laws; could similarly take over common United States lawsuits. Maybe the States' judiciary would be allowed some of the "pleasure."

This could be done by the contempt process: orders to, and services upon any number of individuals not to violate criminal laws or offend against the common law; orders at large or by specification; a trial without jury on any complaint that the orders have in fact been violated; unlimited penalties (short, perhaps, of the "cruel and unusual"), in addition to civil damages, not explicitly for violation of law or offense against common law, but for contempt of the court.

It would mean that the Founding Fathers, and the originators of the Bill of Rights, despite three express provisions on the subject, fell short of and nullified their objective by a "foolish" failure to spell out the boundaries of the contempt procedure. It would mean that jury trial has been a chimera from the beginning. It would mean that contempt of court can cover everything by a little stretching.

If it were literally true, it would mean that much waste motion has gone into dealing with crime alone in the past 168 years; that certainly a lot of it went into prosecution of Communist advocates of "violent overthrow."

It can be imagined why Mr. Olney, in the course of "logic," made this statement; and it can also be imagined that if he had it to say over again, he might phrase it differently. It could even be imagined that far from agreeing with the rightfulness of the premise, he is warning that something constitutional should be done to deal with the implica-

tions it raises. But it can also be imagined that when one is committed to an expedient, he is likely to say and urge almost anything. Not only is the truth or falsity of the "official" remark a matter of grave study from the civil liberties standpoint; but also the emotional "high pressure" aura surrounding it.

Mismanagement of the Postal Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of the House to editorials appearing in three Minnesota newspapers published in my district concerning the recent action of the Postmaster General which indicate that the people were not deceived by the fog of publicity under which he tried to cloak the mismanagement of the postal services.

These editorials appeared in the Maple Lake Messenger, the Princeton Union, and the Aitkin Independent Age.

The editorials follow:

[From the Maple Lake (Minn.) Messenger of April 10, 1957]

"GIVE ME WHAT I WANT, OR ELSE"

The people of the United States may suffer the loss of a governmental service which has become very dear to them because a Department head has the audacity to affront Congress with the ultimatum—"give me what I want, or else."

Postmaster General Summerfield has instructed postmasters throughout the Nation to curtail certain services as of Saturday of this week unless Congress appropriates the $47 million which he claims is necessary to keep his Department in business.

We wonder what effect it would have on our national security if the head of national defense, for instance, were to make similar demands on Congress. And what sort of turmoil would be in the offing if other department heads were to do likewise.

Seems to us the tactics being used by Summerfield are nothing short of dictatorship. We think this country is still too much instilled with the basic qualities of democracy to allow any one person to place himself in a position where he defies elected Representatives from every State in the Nation.

We don't think it is fair to assume the budget committees of the House or Senate are not aware of the plight of the Postoffice Department. Nor do we believe they are so downright stupid they cannot come to a conclusion as to a budget necessary to run this particular Department.

In our opinion, it appears that Mr. Summerfield is a little too big for his britches.

[From the Princeton (Minn.) Union of April 11, 1957]

UNFAIR CURTAILMENT OF MAIL SERVICE

With the millions and billions that Congress is appropriating for one project after another both in this Nation and abroad, the curtailment in mail service which Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield has ordered to become effective this next Saturday, April 13, appears both petty and mean. If that order closing our post office on Saturday and discontinuing rural mail deliveries on that day goes into effect, the 13th will be an unlucky day.

During 1956 we paid in taxes 50 cents out of every dollar that we earned, and there probably are scores of other taxpayers in this community who did likewise. We paid enough to get postal service 6 days a week.

If the Postmaster General and Congress cannot reconcile their differences and get together on some sane, efficient way of operating the Post Office Department, possibly the public will have to go on a sitdown strike in the matter of paying taxes.

There is not reasonably good management or cooperation in the Federal Government when the public has to be penalized in such an essential matter as even fair mail service when the taxpayers' money is being tossed around in staggering sums as it is in Washington.

We would like to make a suggestion to Mr. Summerfield—that the postal rates on third class mail be doubled. Our post offices in the rural districts in Minnesota every day are almost swamped in a flood of third-class mail—posters, circulars, unsealed letters for one advertising scheme after another. The public also suffers from this avalanche of worthless mail.

Every resident of this community should protest to his Representative in Congress and to his Senators against this senseless curtailment of mail service in our villages and rural districts.

[From Tony's Column in the Aitkin (Minn.) Independent Age of April 11, 1957]

Kinda looks like Congress is going to call Postmaster General Summerfield's bluff and refuse him $30 million of the $47 million he has requested to run the Post Office Department for the balance of this fiscal year, June 30. Summerfield threatens to cut Saturday service down the line, third class mail entirely, except medicines, etc., if he does not get what he asks. Some Members of Congress have already weakened and if the Postmaster General starts holding his breath like a spoiled brat, enough old grandmas in Washington might be rounded up and scared into giving him his way. On the other hand, there are some pretty stubborn old he-men down there, who don't like to be bluffed and who just might say "T'hell with you; who's taking all the ribbing for the taxpayers' money that's being squandered in the various departments of Government? You can start doing a little economizing along with the rest of them."

That would sound pretty good to the average taxpayer and I don't think most of them would object if the Postmaster General does have to hold his breath for a couple of months. Anyway, in a few days, no one would notice any difference except probably that the Post Office Department wouldn't be going into the hole any deeper. If Congress voted the Department a billion they would still, in some way, create a deficit. It's been that way since the Post Office Department was founded 175 years ago, and it isn't likely that it will ever change without subsidizing one class by robbing another. If it were operated on a businesslike basis like any independent business is forced to operate in order to exist, these pleas for increased appropriations would not be coming up at every session of Congress.

Snitching Road Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New Orleans Times-Picayune of April 9, 1957:

SNITCHING ROAD FUNDS

When the trust fund for the Interstate Highway System was created by allocating to it new gasoline, vehicle and tire taxes, it was supposed that the whole fund would go for road construction. In fact, Representative HALE BOGGS and his confreres wrote into the bill that the money would be expended by the Bureau of Public Roads, Department of Commerce. It took a fight to get the money into a trust instead of the General Treasury pool where much of it might be diverted to other purposes.

But now the House proposes to pay $365,000 of the fund over to the Departments of Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare to enable them to see that the States comply with the Davis-Bacon Act requiring that road contractors pay the Government dictated "prevailing wages."

Despite the Boggs protest, the House decided to allow this raid. The explanation was that it was not unusual to dip into trust funds for money for other departments to do work connected with carrying out the legislation. It appears that the old age and survivors trust fund has been called on repeatedly to meet expenses of departments whose services are used directly or indirectly in connection with the pensions administration.

But obviously, the fact that some departments do work connected with the trust funds is no reason for special payments to these departments. Their money is supposed to be budgeted and appropriated separately. By drawing on the trust funds they get money that doesn't show up in their budgets.

Representative BOGGS is going to take his fight to the Senate, and we hope that Senators ELLENDER and LONG give him a strong helping hand. It is certain that the taxpayers did not expect that the departments of the Government would be able to cut in on the supposedly well-protected highway construction fund.

Nadler Could Be Ike's Answer Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article by H. I. Phillips entitled "Nadler Could Be Ike's Answer Man":

NADLER COULD BE IKE'S ANSWER MAN—ENCYCLOPEDIC CLERK WOULD FIND PRESS QUESTIONS A SNAP

(By H. I. Phillips)

Teddy Nadler, a top TV jackpot winner, with $152,000, is taking a year's vacation from his $85 a week job as an Army depot clerk. He can well afford it and even with income taxes taking $85,000 and more, he probably has more money than any two Army generals and possibly as much ready cash as the entire general staff. His depot job had to do with supplies for the service and, despite his amazing performance on TV, we hear he had trouble with questions like "Did those canned eggs go out yet?"—"Where's that invoice?"—"What's new with the Army socks?"

Nadler says he got no further with the Army because "it has no use for my type of knowledge." This seems ridiculous. As

a highly solvent young man who seems to have all the answers and know-how to get dough fast he could be used to help balance the budget.

BATTLE OF THE BUDGET

Nadler's distinction has been his coverage of almost every field and it is hard to see why the Government hasn't grabbed him out of the warehouse and put him to work in Washington where there is a desperate need for right answers. Uncle Sam could certainly use somebody who could answer such questions as "Name any mountain higher than the Federal debt"—"What are the highest waterfalls in the world and how close is the United States Treasury from going over in a barrel?"—"Name any three battles tougher than the present battle against inflation."

He might be of special service assigned to the Pentagon to give swift answers to the question, "How many more laps do I have to cover before I reach the right office?" He could be of value to Ike on those press conferences. We have heard Ike hesitate on many questions Nadler could probably answer, and add, "Do you want a simple answer or shall I go into all the details?"

(NOTE.—We were going to comment further along this line, but our chief scout assigned to the matter just brings word that there is no such person as Nadler. He is a mechanical brain in a two-piece suit. "He is Univac with a bloodstream and a big checking account," the scout says.)

DOUG FORD SPEEDS UP GOLF

"Nixon for More Help to Africa"—headline. "Doctor Live-It-Up, I presume." Can you remember away back when all any American was expected to bring to Africa was a guide, and some mosquito netting? Doug Ford, winner of the Masters golf tournament, is the fastest player in the game, seldom hesitating on any shot. His triumph can speed up the game all over America, if it has the right effect on duffers who address every shot as if about to address a convention of police chiefs. A notorious racketeer was furtively put back into circulation by a single member of a New York parole board. If a fellow has a really bad record it's pretty hard for him to stay in jail these days. A jury has ruled void the will of a woman leaving $700,000 to a waiter. It may have wanted to preserve the tradition that no waiter ever picks up the check. Nine men have been indicted in an alleged plot to create a monopoly in the pickle industry. (Do you suppose the vinegar works figured in the conspiracy?) You can tell a seal's age by looking at its teeth, says a news item. (Remind us of that the next time we meet a walrus who attracts us somewhat.) Tyrone Power and Loretta Young played in a movie "Suez" on TV the other night. There are two actors who don't mind taking a "cut."

More Scholars Express Views on Two-Term Limitation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I present today the views of four historians and political scientists who have responded to my survey of opinion of American scholars on the wisdom of the 22d amendment.

Three political scientists favor repeal of this amendment. They are: Dr. R. G. Whitesel, of the University of Iowa; Dr. N. D. Houghton, of the University of Arizona; and Dr. John A. Caylor of Cottey College of Missouri.

The fourth reply is from Dr. Frank W. Prescott, chairman of the Adolph S. Ochs Department of Government, of the University of Chattanooga in Tennessee. Dr. Prescott feels that judgment should be reserved on this question until "we have the benefit of a few more years of experience with the limitation."

These replies follow in order:

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA,
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
Iowa City, April 10, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN UDALL: The most fitting thing about the 22d amendment is its number. That, at least, is suggestive of low caliber and limited range. The amendment carries the historical inference that the presidential elections of 1940 and 1944 were somehow illegitimate; its restrictions are unwise; it creates more difficulties than it meets. Lest I pile sour grapes on sour grapes I shall limit my comments to the continuing faults of the amendment.

Despite the actual indirect process for electing a President, the people have made that office an instrument of popular sovereignty. The 22d amendment is, therefore, not so much an extension of the prized constitutional principle of limited government as it is a limitation on the underlying proposition of popular sovereignty. In effect, the amendment declares that all trust dissolves with the simple fact of third term eligibility; that the people cannot be trusted before the fact, nor Congress after the fact. The argument that a President, too popular, too long, will be too powerful oversimplifies the relationship of tenure and tyranny, which depends upon the degree of power, actual and accessible.

I am also persuaded that the amendment will operate to reduce the effective term of a reelected President to something less than 4 years. A President either must suffer substantial loss of political power before the expiration of his second term or must offset the loss by transfer techniques. Either the people who elected him lose part of his effectiveness or the next electorate loses part of the effectiveness of free choice.

There remains the claim that the amendment simply reaffirms constitutional custom and tradition. I think there may be some question about the validity of the claim, but beyond that, custom and Constitution are rather more complementary than synonomous, and serve different as well as similar purposes. There are many political customs, such as that about district residence of candidates for the House of Representatives, which stand to lose their utility if we seek to provide them rigid constitutional protection. I think the two-term tradition should have remained in this category. On the other hand, there are certain constitutional provisions exceedingly difficult to backstop with tradition and usage: the problem of an incapacitated President suggests itself here.

You have solicited the above views, and I have been happy to respond. What you did not solicit was my sympathy—I use the word advisedly—but I offer you that, too, in your efforts to repeal the 22d amendment. The belief that the amendment is the only real safeguard against the power of an incumbent President to dictate his renomination and reelection indefinitely is widespread and substantial enough to make any change in the amendment a most difficult undertaking.

Sincerely yours,

R. G. WHITESEL.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA,
Tucson, April 8, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR STEWART: The proposal to repeal is in harmony with my own attitude on the matter, namely, that there was no sound reason for adopting the 22d amendment. In fact there was ample reason that it should not have been adopted and since that is my basic position, I could without regret, see it repealed, as a matter of principle. I must say frankly, however, in an apparent accord with your own realistic evaluation, that a Congress which would propose such an amendment is not likely to propose its repeal so soon after its adoption, nor are 36 of the State legislatures at all likely to approve within the 7-year period.

But, even so, any move that may encourage some facing up to the basics involved should be worth making, and could serve to encourage some much-needed critical public consideration of important factors in our domestic democracy and foreign policy.

'Our people and our leadeship must (and it would better be soon) ultimately face up to certain basic questions, including: (1) do we or do we not really believe in this democracy business? (2) do we or do we not have confidence in the capacity of our people to make reasonably sound judgments and decisions on matters of fundamental political, economic, and foreign policy, on a basis of free and open public discussion, in a context of complete freedom and willingness to read, study, and listen to any and all kinds of attitudes, opinions, and evaluations? or (3) are we going to go on cultivating and relying upon fear as one of the bedrock components of our public affairs thinking and operations: fear of democracy, fear of freedom, fear of ideas, fear to teach, fear to be taught, fear of our scientists, fear of Russia, fear to live in the great flow of history, fear of welfare statism, fear of nonconformity, fear of controversy, and fear of ourselves?

It is submitted that any democracy whose leadership has lost confidence in its people, and whose people have lost confidence in themselves and in their capacity to choose and change their major policymaking and policy-directing officials has already laid the groundwork for its own demise.

The adoption of the 22d amendment was an open public declaration of this basic lack of confidence. True, it came in a context of partisan (actually bipartisan) reaction toward "That Man" and his immediate successor; but since it could not apply to either, the one being dead and the other being specifically exempted from its operation, it can only be assessed as a hysterical confession of a lack of confidence in the capacity of our people to govern themselves.

If it be said that this public confession was unwarranted, it still tends to demonstrate incapacity to govern. And, to the extent that it may reflect reality, we face indeed an alarming situation, which could hardly be cured merely by repealing the 22d amendment. Proclaiming a capacity to govern, which we may not possess, might prove to be only political whistling in the dark. Even so, however, the effects of a strong and persistent effort to repeal, involving as it should somewhat prolonged public consideration, ought to be worth while, even for its possible incidental byproducts.

If the effort to repeal can get our leadership, political, educational, and editorial, to face up to the basic questions stated above, that ought to justify the effort. If the effort to repeal can encompass wide examination

of basic underlying issues so as to get our people to recognize the observable fact that they are rapidly abdicating their responsibility for governing themselves in both domestic and foreign affairs, that could be a great service.

If the movement could reveal, as it should, something of how relatively completely our public "thinking" is being done by well-paid "public relations counsel" and professional ghostwriters, hired by private interests, political parties, and governmental agencies, that could be all to the good. If a crusade to repeal could, as it should, serve to make us aware of how largely and increasingly our individual "opinions" consist merely of our mouthings of what we get from so-called newscasters, commentators, and columnists, whose job is to sell lines which must be acceptable to commercial sponsors, advertisers, and publishers, that could, with advantage, leave us feeling justifiably somewhat naked and ashamed, intellectually and politically.

Perhaps it may not be so much that our people have lost confidence in their capacity to govern themselves. It may be, rather, that we have never developed a well-grounded and dependable confidence. Perhaps basic conditions, in this land, originally endowed with abundant resources and ample living space, have allowed us to produce a population of 170 million of the best gadgeteered people in all history, without having had to develop a capacity for understanding and coping with the kinds of great public problems with which we are now, and prospectively, confronted. In any event, our real challenge now is to develop a confident capacity. That can come only when and if our people prove willing and able to equip themselves, by wide reading, continuous study, and critical examination of public problems and proposed programs, with a capacity to make their own individual evaluations. There is no reason to assume that it can ever come by means of mass indoctrinations with "safe," "noncontroversial," or "bipartisan" dogmas. That way lies, not functioning democracy, but quite conceivably, an American brand of totalitarianism.

Any movement which may cause our people to bestir themselves to grow up and to take on democratic political maturity needs to be encouraged and accelerated.

Indeed, it is difficult to see anything but constructive promise in your proposed venture, and you and Senator NEUBERGER are to be commended for launching it. It is worthy of persistent effort on the part of two such promising young members of the Congress. It will not be easy, but it should prove interesting, stimulating, beneficial, and altogether wholesome.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

N. D. HOUGHTON,
Professor of Political Science.

COTTEY COLLEGE,
Nevada, Mo., April 10, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN UDALL: I would like to express my appreciation to you for the excellent service you are performing in securing and publishing the comments of leading historians and political scientists on the 22d amendment. I am clipping and saving the letters as they appear, with an eye toward using them, with other materials, in my government class next year as a special project of study.

Although I hesitate to intrude my opinion within those of my more illustrious colleagues, I would, for what it's worth, like to say that I feel that the 22d amendment is an unfortunate restriction on the free choice of the American electorate. Certainly no man is indispensable, but to say that we must take the second choice because the first choice has already served a short period of time is a negation of common sense. Constitutional revision for the purpose of revenge is unworthy of the United States. I hope that the 22d amendment will be repealed soon, and the full and free choice of their President will be restored to the American people.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. CAYLOR,
Professor of Social Science.

UNIVERSITY OF CHATTANOOGA,
Chattanooga, Tenn., April 10, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
Member of Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN UDALL: Impressive as the list of authorities who may favor repeal of the 22d amendment which your resolution provides, there stands more than a century of debate on the feasibility of a constitutional limitation on the Presidential terms which came to fruition in 1951. And I see no reason to rush into a repeal before we have the benefit of a few more years of experience with the limitation.

Very truly yours,

FRANK W. PRESCOTT,
Chairman, The Adolph S. Ochs Department of Government.

The Late Honorable Fred L. Crawford

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, it was with profound regret that I learned of the unexpected passing of our former colleague and my personal friend, Fred L. Crawford, on April 13. I know many of our colleagues will miss the warm and friendly visits of Fred Crawford in their offices and on the floor of the House.

Fred Crawford was a kindly and generous man. He was known and respected for his painstaking work with the non-self-governing areas under the United States flag. As a Member of Congress from 1935 to 1952, Fred Crawford played a vital role in obtaining independence for the Philippine Islands, commonwealth status for Puerto Rico, and organic legislation for Guam and the Virgin Islands. In addition, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Territories, he held hearings in American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and Guam. He had a personal knowledge of and interest in the welfare of thousands of our islanders in the Caribbean and the Pacific. For 20 years he was a strong advocate of statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. After his retirement from Congress he maintained an active interest in the affairs of our offshore areas.

Besides being an excellent legislator, Fred Crawford was a keen and practical businessman and financier. He had widespread business and farming interests on the mainland and in the Virgin Islands. He was the organizer of the West Indies Bank & Trust Co. in the Virgin Islands, an outstanding financial institution in the Caribbean. To thousands of persons in the Virgin Islands, Fred Crawford brought the concept that banking was something for the little-business man and farmer as well as for those in the higher-income brackets. To them, Fred Crawford was a benefactor and a true friend.

In the years I served with Fred Crawford on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs my interest in our dependent areas waxed and bloomed. I learned much from him in the appreciation of islanders' appetite for self-government and in the need for creating an outlet for their dignity, sense of responsibility, and willingness to cooperate with the Federal Government. I have lost a personal friend whose judgment and advice I often sought.

The people of our offshore areas have lost a true friend. I share in their loss. To his wife and son I offer my sympathy and share their grief. To all of us who were his friends and colleagues—I join in paying homage to the late Fred Crawford.

Tanker Deal Called Full of Loopholes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT ZELENKO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries has been conducting hearings on United States maritime policy. A most significant newspaper article concerning one phase of the hearings follows:

[From the Washington Daily News of April 15, 1957]

GREEK SHIPOWNER VERSUS UNITED STATES—TANKER DEAL CALLED FULL OF LOOPHOLES

(By Jack Steele)

The United States Government has no guaranty that millionaire Greek shipowner Aristotle Onassis will carry out his agreement to build 3 new supertankers, costing $51 million, in American shipyards.

This has been established by a House Merchant Marine Committee investigation of a deal made with Mr. Onassis by the Justice Department and Maritime Administration.

Mr. Onassis is an Argentine citizen and a resident of Monaco, where he owns the Monte Carlo Casino.

COMPLEX DEAL

Under his complex deal with the Government, Mr. Onassis is supposed to build the 3 new American tankers in return for permission to transfer title to 14 United States surplus ships to a Liberian company for foreign-flag operation.

The deal was made as part of a settlement after the Government had accused Mr. Onassis of acquiring the 14 surplus vessels illegally.

The committee's hearings clearly indicated that Mr. Onassis outsmarted the Government by getting the Maritime Administration's preliminary approval to transfer the 14 surplus ships without giving any hard-and-fast guaranty to build the 3 new ones.

Thus the hearings sustained a charge by Representative HERBERT ZELENKO (Democrat of New York) that the Government's agreement with Mr. Onassis is full of loopholes.

ASSURES GROUP

Maritime Administrator Clarence G. Morse has assured the committee he will try to reach a new agreement with Mr. Onassis to guarantee that the three new tankers actually will be built.

He did so after Chairman HERBERT C. BONNER (Democrat, of North Carolina) declared that he was not satisfied United States interests had been protected and expressed fears that the Maritime Administration was about to lose control of the situation.

Other committee members charged at the often stormy hearings that United States taxpayers were being "raped" on the deal.

Mr. Morse first insisted that he was proud of the Government's agreement with Mr. Onassis.

But he wound up by pledging to seek a firmer guaranty that Mr. Onassis will build the 3 new tankers before giving final approval for the transfer of title of the 14 surplus ships. Six of the ships already are operating under foreign flag.

Plight of the Family Farmer Under the Eisenhower-Benson Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. John O. Stenson, one of my farm constituents has written a letter to me on the problems confronting the family farmer. I feel she has done an excellent job in giving the practical effects of the Eisenhower-Benson farm program. Under unanimous consent I insert this letter into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

GARY, MINN., *March 28, 1957.*

Mrs. COYA KNUTSON,
Congresswoman, Ninth District,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MADAM CONGRESSWOMAN: This weekend our county paper again carried announcements of eight more farm sales. Last week and the week before there were as many or more.

Right now top grade eggs are 21 cents a dozen. Eggs have not been over 24 cents all winter. We have heard rumors that the Government bought eggs for the school lunch program. If they did, it has had no effect on the price of eggs. Farm magazines keep telling us to raise larger flocks, thereby reducing costs. There is already a surplus, so that can't be the solution. They are trying to squeeze out the small farmer. Mr. Benson does not (or should we say will not) recognize the plight of the small farmer. Last fall when we shipped some of our livestock, we had expected a return for them to pay up bills accumulated during the summer for fuel, repairs, taxes, etc. We were very much disappointed. We received only 8 or 9 cents a pound for most of those. We buy our meat over the counter so we know what a difference there is in the price when we buy it back. The packinghouses must really be raking in the money. Why aren't the packinghouses "investigated"?

During the war years I worked at stores and then they had the OPA to keep the middlemen in line. I think that should be done now. Someone is getting rich, and it isn't us hardworking small farmers.

As you know, it isn't only the low farm prices that are to blame for the farmers' plight. Farm prices have been low before but then other things were in line. Why is nothing being done to check the rise of living costs? Now they are talking about raising the postage to 5 cents on a letter. That's one reason for writing to you now—can't afford it later. Also they are going to raise the telephone rates again. Then we shall have to dispense with that luxury. Our REA rates have been raised several times since we came here.

My husband bought this farm in 1946 after serving in the United States Navy for almost 4 years. We did all right the first few years (when the Democrats were in) so have most of it paid for. We like to live on the farm, that is why we are here. But we think it is only fair that we earn a decent living at it. We don't mind the hard work and long hours (sometimes 17-hour days during busy seasons) if we only could have some of the conveniences that city people take for granted in this bountiful America. We don't have running water in the house, and no water in the barn. With the high cost of farm machinery and repairs and payments to make on the farm there never is money left for conveniences and certainly none for luxuries.

We don't think the soil bank will help the small farmer. We have 280 acres. Some of it is very light soil, and we need to make all of it to produce. To reduce the surplus they should put restrictions on the big farmers. They are responsible for most of the surpluses. Mr. Benson seems to favor the big farmer.

The small farmer can't make a go of it, with prices such as they are. Everything we have to buy keeps on going up. If these farmers are forced off their farms and have to seek employment elsewhere there will be an awful mess.

We need help, and we need it right now. I know it would not do any good to write to Mr. Benson—the letter would go in the wastepaper basket without even being opened. We do sincerely hope that you will do what you can to help us.

Yours truly,

Mrs. JOHN O. STINSON.

Millions Were Lost in Postal Delay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, as a climax to the battle between certain Democrats and certain Republicans over the supplemental postal appropriation, I am inserting the column of David Lawrence which appeared in last night's papers across the Nation. As always, David Lawrence has, in my judgment, well summarized the situation.

MILLIONS WERE LOST IN POSTAL DELAY—CONGRESS IS BLAMED FOR LACK OF ACTION AFTER EARLY WARNING BY SUMMERFIELD

(By David Lawrence)

Incalculable losses running into many millions of dollars were suffered by the American people because of the failure of the Nation's post offices to provide over the last weekend the service normally given.

Business mail was delayed, and many deliveries which had to reach distributing centers on Mondays missed connections, thus causing financial losses that now must be borne by individual businesses. In certain types of business there is no way to make up the losses.

This is an example of irresponsible government. The blame belongs to those voters who last autumn gave the Nation a Democratic Congress and deprived the President of the majority support needed to control the action of the committees in the legislative branch of the Government.

The Democrats today are in control of both Houses of Congress. They got ample warning last January that the Post Office Department was running short of funds due to the increased volume of mail. But the Democratic leadership didn't act in time, and a big bill now has to be paid by innocent bystanders.

There is, of course, the usual outburst of political fury and a demand from the Democrats that Postmaster General Summerfield resign. But the record shows he isn't to blame. He warned Congress last January that his funds were running low. Even though the Director of the Budget didn't come up with the needed request for more funds till March 15, still there was ample time for Congress to act before mail service had to be curtailed. At this point, it should be noted that the Postmaster General is prohibited by law from spending money that hasn't been specifically appropriated by Congress.

So it all comes back to the simple fact that there is no harmony between the legislative and executive branches of the Government. Those pious promises of cooperation made last fall by the Democrats have gone up in smoke—at least so far as they concern voting at the right time the funds needed for the proper support of the Post Office Department.

Postal rates should, of course, be equitably increased all along the line, but the need for reform in handling postal receipts is of even greater importance. It turns out, for instance, that all the money collected for the sale of postage stamps doesn't go into the Post Office Department to be used by it, but into the General Treasury, which is certainly an unbusinesslike procedure. For the Post Office has to ask for appropriations for every dollar it spends. In any private business, the funds taken in can be used to pay expenses, but not in the Post Office Department.

The Postmaster General was right in curtailing service because he didn't have the money to pay for it, and Congress was wrong in failing to heed his warnings and give him the necessary funds in time.

Now, however, with the emergency here, Congress is acting promptly, but the American people are asking why they had to be injured before the Democratic Congress took enough notice of the dilemma to do what ought to have been done several weeks ago.

In no other country in the world that boasts of a free government would a situation such as has just arisen be possible. Under a parliamentary system the executive and legislative branches together take full responsibility for the budget. Yet in America today there is no such direct responsibility, because the Congress is controlled by one party and the Presidency by the opposing party.

President Truman had the same thing to contend with when the Republicans won control of Congress in the middle of his last term. Other Presidents have been up against the same kind of stalemate in Congress. Only the most urgent legislation is passed as the partisans fight for advantages, and many important measures are sabotaged altogether.

Since there is no immediate chance for a change to a parliamentary form of government, the American people will have to learn that in Presidential elections they should vote for the same party to control both the legislative and executive branches of the Government.

The 1958 election affords an opportunity to eliminate divided Government by electing a Republican Congress. The people cannot change the Presidency in 1958, but they can place the full responsibility on the Republican Party for the last 2 years of the Eisenhower administration. Then the voters can decide in 1960 whether the record warrants a continuance or a rejection of the Republican Party for the succeeding 4 years.

Responsible Government has long been the dream of many who have studied the weaknesses of the system of divided responsibility possible under our present form, but it may take a disaster in an atomic age to bring about the needed reform.

House Appropriations Committee Deals Unfairly With Mining Producers Who Properly Relied in Good Faith on Previous Actions of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the argument over appropriations which threatened to delay the Easter recess of Congress requires, I think, some statement from those who believe that the Appropriations Committee is wrong in continuing to refuse to appropriate for the minerals program authorized by Public Law 733.

It will be recalled that the budget sent up a request for $30 million for the mineral program to be included in the first urgent deficiency appropriations bill. The House Committee refused to include the money. Some of us protested this failure and the $30 million was put in the bill on the Senate side. The matter has since been tied up in conference between the two committees.

The first urgent deficiency appropriations bill involved other matters, including appropriations for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Small Business Administration. In order to take care of some of these items, the Appropriations Committee reported House Joint Resolution 310 which provided funds for a number of these items but leaving out any appropriations for the acquisition of strategic minerals, including tungsten. This bill went over to the Senate where it was amended to include $9,140,840 for the minerals program but limited each producer to not in excess of 2,500 short-ton units—the present law puts the limits at 5,000 units.

The Senate committee, in its report to the Senate, made the following statement:

> The committee recommends the allowance of $9,140,840 for the acquisition of strategic minerals under the provisions of Public Law 733, 84th Congress. Of the amount recommended, $600,000 is for the continuation of the asbestos and fluorspar programs and the balance of $8,540,840 is for the tungsten program.
>
> It is the view of the committee that the sum recommended is adequate to allow the producers of tungsten to plan for an orderly close-down of their facilities insofar as purchases under Public Law 733 are concerned. The committee has recommended the inclusion of a limitation to limit the acceptance of deliveries from any one producer from a mining district to 2,500 short-ton units in any one calendar month. Public Law 733 limits such deliveries to 5,000 short-ton units.
>
> The committee will not consider any additional funds for the acquisition of tungsten under the existing provisions of Public Law 733; and the committee urges the proper legislative committee to consider amendments to overcome the objections that have been raised to the tungsten program.
>
> It is possible that legislation to implement the long-range minerals policy could be enacted during this session of Congress. If such legislation is enacted to provide for a tungsten program the committee will consider funds for it at the proper time.

It will be observed that the committee says that the amount allowed was in order to permit an orderly closedown of the mining facilities, and further states that the committee did not intend to consider any additional funds for acquisition of tungsten under the existing provisions of Public Law 733. This appropriation, in short, was an amount allowed to permit the mining industry to close up its operations in an orderly fashion.

It will be recalled that Public Law 733 was passed last August for an announced program covering 30 months and costing $90 million. The first appropriation last August was for $21 million. On the basis of those facts, the mining industry bought equipment, put milling properties in running operation, hired men, and proceeded to go to work on the very proper assumption that the program would last for 30 months with a total amount of $90 million, of which $21 million was already provided. In fact, the Senate Appropriations Committee last August in its report to the Senate stated that the $21 million was the initial amount and the executive agency was directed to come in with a supplemental request in January.

It is our belief that the producers very properly relied upon these representations and that they should be protected against loss incurred by reason of acting on the basis of those representations. It is manifestly unfair to set a program in operation, lead people to rely upon it, and then cut it off. Many miners have invested literally thousands of dollars in getting their equipment required, procuring some new equipment, and putting the mines in operating order. They feel a deep resentment toward their Government and especially toward the Appropriations Committee of the House. With all respect to my colleagues on the Appropriations Committee, I believe that this feeling is jusitfied and that these miners have been done a grievous wrong.

Those of us who represent some mining areas were very reluctant to accept the provisions put in House Joint Resolution 310 by the Senate. We realized it meant the end of the mining program under Public Law 733 and, for all practical purposes, the end of the tungsten industry in the United States. We thought it little enough under the circumstances, but the House Committee on Appropriations would not even accept that amount and ignored the bill, House Joint Resolution 310, when it was returned to the House with the Senate amendments.

Instead of taking this bill House Joint Resolution 310 on the floor where the Senate amendment would have been debated and voted upon, the Appropriations Committee met and passed out a new bill limited to funds for social security payments and small business. The first urgent deficiency appropriations bill presumably will remain in conference—with the tungsten miners sitting out on a limb, as they are now.

Some of us think that the members of the Appropriations Committee ought to carefully examine their consciences, especially during this Easter period, as to whether or not their action is hurting innocent people who relied in good faith upon the fairness of their Government.

Lippmann Finds NATO Allies Have "Extraordinary Lack of Confidence in Dulles"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, columnist Walter Lippmann is now traveling in Europe, and his dispatches constitute a report on the present state of opinion in the NATO countries.

He drew some rather alarming conclusions in his column which appeared in the press this morning. I refer particularly to his statement:

> There is in the anti-American feeling a general disillusionment with President Eisenhower himself. There is an extraordinary lack of confidence in Secretary Dulles.

Mr. Lippmann's column follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of April 18, 1957]

SOME IMPRESSIONS

(By Walter Lippmann)

ROME.—One of the things that has impressed me in Great Britain and again in Italy is that in foreign affairs there are no clear and sharp issues. There was, of course, a deep division of feeling over the Suez issues. But now that the intervention has failed and has been liquidated, there does not seem to be anywhere a definite difference of view as to what the Western World or the United States should do next.

My impression is that here in Italy there is a feeling of solidarity with the British and the French but that this feeling is checked by a strong practical sense that it is the national interest of Italy to go along with the United States.

In moving about and talking to a variety of people from the countries of Western Europe I have found a remarkable amount of agreement, almost a consensus, about the Soviet Union, about the Middle East, and about the United States.

I have seen no one who thinks the Soviet Union is planning and is preparing for a general war. For that reason resounding declarations of the so-called Eisenhower doctrine are received with puzzled incredulity. Some think that the President and Mr. Dulles are living in an unreal world, empha-

sizing dangers that will probably not come and not dealing with dangers that do in fact exist. Others think that they must mean something deep, so deep that nobody understands it.

I have seen no one who thinks that the Soviet Union is at present willing or able to negotiate a general German or European settlement. The commonly accepted view is that the Soviet Union cannot afford to withdraw the Red army from Eastern Germany and from Poland. This would mean the fall of the East German Communist regime, and along with that a turning of Poland and Hungary against Russia.

Some whom I have seen think that there is nothing for the West to do but to back up Dr. Adenauer and accept the fact that Europe is partitioned. Others, who are, I believe, more farsighted, think the West should keep on trying to negotiate, offering the Soviet Union terms which Moscow, were it less frightened and suspicious, could find reasonable.

There is a general view, I found, that in the rivalry for the so-called uncommitted nations of Africa, the Middle East, and south Asia, the Soviet Union has an easier hand to play than has the United States. There is a feeling that the Soviet Union has won the game in Nasser's Egypt. Certainly it would be a pleasant surprise in Europe if Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles are able to hold their own in the game.

Although I have not encountered it myself, there is obviously wide anti-American feeling. There is, on the one hand, a big distaste for the manners and the bearing of Americans traveling abroad or talking to the outer world. The comforts and the conveniences of the American way of life are popular. But the talk that goes with them, be it from tourists, itinerant Congressmen, or other officials is definitely unpopular.

There is in the anti-American feeling a general disillusionment with President Eisenhower himself. There is an extraordinary lack of confidence in Secretary Dulles. There is a general underlying anxiety that the fate of Europe should so much depend upon them. The feeling seems to be unanimous as one learns not only in private conversation but also in blunt correspondence in the responsible European press, that the President is a tired man living in a kind of semiretirement.

All this tends to strengthen the feeling in favor of projects, like the common market, of European solidarity. I have no doubt that the brilliant reception of Queen Elizabeth in Paris reflects in some considerable measure this new feeling of European solidarity. Yet I am unable to judge, nor is anyone I have talked with, whether the general feeling of European solidarity is strong enough to overcome the national feeling and the vested interests which keep Europe divided.

It will be years before we know. But in the meantime the common effort to work at these common projects is in itself a healthy manifestation of European solidarity.

Anti-Americanism in Iceland as a Result of the Foreign Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on April 17 entitled "Foreign Aid at Work":

FOREIGN AID AT WORK

Things are pretty bad in Iceland, our Mr. Williamson reports from that ancient island republic in this newspaper today.

For example, there is a raging inflation. And a conservative-dominated government has given way to a leftist government which has put Communists in key government posts.

What has caused these events, so unfortunate to the Icelanders—and potentially important to the United States bomber base there? Well, the inflation has resulted from an influx of foreign money—mostly the money spent by the airmen, along with some $40 million in United States grants and loans in less than a decade. As a result of the inflation, anti-Americanism has got so strong that the Communists wound up in the government.

More United States loans are in the offing—loans of the kind that we have been told will shore up local economies and help stave off communism.

In fact, there is some $4.4 billion worth of foreign aid included in this record peacetime budget that President Eisenhower and Congress are having such a hard time cutting.

The Late Honorable Fred L. Crawford

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I served with Fred Crawford for many years on the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. He was the second ranking Republican on that committee and at one time the chairman of the Subcommittee on Territories. He took an intense interest in all the matters under the jurisdiction of our committee, especially those matters relating to the offshore areas such as Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. After his retirement from Congress he actively devoted himself to business enterprises in the Virgin Islands.

Fred Crawford was one of the best legislators I have ever served with. He was intelligent, industrious, and forthright. His extensive business experience gave him a fine grasp of many of the problems which come before the Congress. Fred Crawford was an independent thinker. He would disagree occasionally with his own party just as vigorously as from time to time he disagreed with the Democrats. He was a man who stood up for what he thought was right. On one occasion he spent a short period in a Maryland jail rather than submit to the extortionate bonding practices conducted in that State when he was accused of a minor offense. This exposed him to a good deal of publicity which some people would have avoided. But he preferred to face the publicity rather than be victimized by the bond racket. I felt that the incident distinguished Fred Crawford as a man of singular courage and independence of thought.

More important than all of this, he was a very close personal friend in whose opinions and conclusions I reposed great confidence. His passing is a deep personal loss and I extend my sympathy to members of his family.

The President's Papers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I include in my extension of remarks an editorial "The President's Papers," appearing in the Boston Herald of April 15, 1957. This editorial addresses itself to a very important matter. Former President Harry S. Truman has long advocated action that will preserve Presidential papers, which I think would be a wise investment to make.

The editorial follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S PAPERS

Washington established the precedent of taking the presidential papers with him when he left office. This has also been the ancient custom of the Prime Ministers of Britain when they departed 10 Downing Street. But not until the middle of the last century did the Federal Government begin to make efforts to obtain books and papers of past Presidents in order to preserve them.

The papers of many of our Presidents are enshrined in the Library of Congress. Lincoln's papers, when they were opened in 1947, were found to have filled nearly 200 folio volumes; Washington's were about as extensive.

But as the Office of President has grown, so has the number of the executive papers, the very history of their times. In late years it has become the custom to build an archive for housing the documents and papers of the Presidents, in or near their hometowns.

Woodrow Wilson's career may be traced by visiting his birthplace, Staunton, Va.; Harding's papers are in Marion, Ohio; several Coolidge memorials are scattered around Massachusetts and Vermont; the Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace—Hoover, incidentally, was the first to really break with the tradition of letting his files gather dust in the Library Annex in Washington—is at Stanford University in California; the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park was erected at a cost of $350,000 supplied by admirers; and Truman's Library will be located on a farm site near Grandview, Mo.

No disposition of President Eisenhower's papers has been declared; still, it is obvious that a situation exists in which the history of the present generation is being preserved in an exteremely haphazard way. A need exists for a centrally located presidential memorial as Irving Brant, the historian, points out, so that presidential papers will be available to the scholars of a future America.

The advantages of such a memorial go beyond central accessibility. They insure a uniform standard of care for precious, perishable matter. And in the private library, where friendly custodians sometimes guard the memory of their presidents so devotedly that the critical historian can be hampered—conditions for impartial research are not always ideal.

It would be unfortunate to junk the admirable efforts of such history-conscious Presidents as Mr. Truman; but present structures could be used to house other mementoes of an administration besides the presidential papers. Situated in Washington, a presidential memorial would shed a strong spotlight on the past that guides the American future. As a tourist attraction the memorial would inspire visitors and more than defray the initial cost.

Taxation of Cooperatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from our former colleague, Jerry Voorhis, executive director of the Cooperative League, which very lucidly refutes the claims concerning the unfair tax advantages of the cooperatives. I have long been concerned with the problems of small business and, therefore, am well aware of these claims. Mr. Voorhis' forthright letter readily disposes of these claims and points up the fact that money is being spent to make small business afraid of cooperatives rather than the real dangers, such as the growth of corporate giants, which it faces:

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, D. C., April 8, 1957.

Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ROOSEVELT: There are usually two sides to every question. Sometimes one side gets way out of hand, especially when it has unlimited amounts of money to spend.

That's what has happened in the current campaign against cooperatives. A bakers' association in Wisconsin claims that 50 percent of the independent bakers have gone out of business because of the "unfair tax advantage" of co-ops. Actually none has disappeared because of co-op competition. There is only one cooperative bakery in the State.

It is, of course, perfectly true that small businesses are having a hard time, and that many of them have been either merged or forced out of business in recent years. But it is obvious, even upon superficial observation, that it is the corporate giants with control over 85 percent of the Nation's business which are the cause of this. And it is ridiculous—but, nonetheless, a very clever deception—to blame it on cooperatives, which are themselves small business, and which altogether do only about 2 to 3 percent of the Nation's business. What is happening is that a flood of big business money is being used to try to make small business afraid of cooperatives rather than the real dangers which it faces.

The cry that co-ops have an unfair tax advantage is as phony as a $3 bill. Revenue Act amendments passed in 1951 finished the job of putting co-ops and profit corporations on essentially the same tax basis. The point these letters to Congress attacking cooperatives don't make is that co-ops return to customers according to their purchases what the corporations can accumulate as profits. Federal income tax is not paid on these customer rebates either by cooperatives or profit corporations. The law applies to both equally.

Now comes the American Press with its poll of editors asking a "when are you going to stop beating your wife?" question. "Question 9: Bills have been introduced in Congress requiring that cooperative corporations and savings and loan associations be subject to Federal income taxation in the same manner as other business corporations. Would you favor such legislation?" Naturally, 86 percent of the editors replied "Yes." But 12 percent knew what the tax law presently provides. As one editor said, "Cooperatives are taxed like other corporations now. This is a question widely debated and much misunderstood by lay people and warped out of shape."

By some strange coincidence, the so-called National Tax Equality Association, which has spearheaded the drive to befuddle and confuse small business and the public, takes a double-page advertisement in the same issue of the same paper to boast of its handiwork in confusing editors, as well.

Maybe you have some questions to ask us. If so, feel free to do so. We will gladly give you all the facts in as much detail as you desire about the tax status of cooperative business.

Sincerely yours,

JERRY VOORHIS,
Executive Director.

Trial by Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted by the Louisiana Society, Sons of the American Revolution, on April 4, 1957:

That, whereas our Founding Fathers realized the inequities inherent in depending solely on judicial temperament for justice, and in the Declaration of Independence declared, in part:

"The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations * * *. He has obstructed the administration of justice * * *. He has made judges dependent on his will alone * * *. He has combined with others to subject us to jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution * * *. For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury."

That, whereas the Congress of the United States is now considering legislation which would permit the Federal Government to intervene in litigation, and by so doing, obtain an injunction against the alleged offender, and in such cases a single Federal judge would be able to issue an injunction, make its initial interpretation, determine who has violated it, and inflict punishment for contempt;

That, whereas the Constitution of the United States makes no exception to jury trial on criminal charges except impeachment; article III, section 2, of the Constitution provides:

"The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed."

The Bill of Rights goes on to say (amendment 6 of the Constitution):

"In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed."

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Louisiana Society of the sons of the American Revolution, That we respectfully petition the Congress of the United States to adequately safeguard our vested rights guaranteed to us under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and that it endorse no legislation, no matter under what guise it may be offered, that would have the effect of abrogating the trial by jury of persons accused of crime;

Resolved, further, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Attorney General of the United States, and Senators and Representatives from Louisiana;

Resolved, further, That a copy of said resolution be sent to the members of the New Orleans press, radio, television, and other mediums.

The Early History of the Interparliamentary Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I am indebted to a recent biography of Theodore E. Burton, a great statesman, for some interesting facts with reference to the Interparliamentary Union and the history of the organization and participation of the American arm of this peace organization. It was my privilege to serve in the House of Representatives with this outstanding legislator and statesman, a man whom I held in the highest esteem and affection.

The author of the biography of Hon. Theodore Burton, Forrest Crissey, in referring to Representative Burton's initial interest and subsequent activity in the Interparliamentary Union, has this to say:

Burton's interest in international peace was crystalized while he was visiting Paris in 1900. The second conference of the Interparliamentary Union was in session. Its announced purpose was to study questions of an international character suitable for settlement by parliamentary action. This intrigued him. Then he learned that its delegates were all members of the lawmaking bodies of the various nations represented. It would be decidedly interesting, Burton thought, to take a look at so polyglot an assemblage of national legislators in the discussion of ways and means for settling disputes between nations by civilized processes. Entirely as an unofficial visitor, he attended the session. There was then no American group in the Interparliamentary Union. What Burton heard of the deliberations of this unique body interested him greatly—but not to the extent of moving him to take steps for the formation of an American arm of the organization. Bringing the United States into this strange parliament was left to one of his colleagues in Congress of a less cautious temperament, Richard Bartholdt, of St. Louis, who entered the House in 1893 and served until 1915. Bartholdt attended the conference of the union in Vienna in 1903. He was so moved by what he heard there that, on his own initiative, he started a movement for the formation of a group

to represent the United States in the deliberations of the union. On his return in America he wrote an article urging Americans to do their share in helping to make the world peace-minded.

The day after its publication he called at the White House and had a conference with President Roosevelt. As a result, the President indicated that he was heartily in accord with Mr. Bartholdt's plan to secure an appropriation from Congress to finance a meeting of the Interparliamentary Union in St. Louis the following year. This appropriation was made and the union accepted the invitation of the United States to call its 1904 conference in St. Louis.

Burton became Mr. Bartholdt's most active coadjutor, taking a prominent part in the deliberations of the conference and in the organization of the American group which became a permanent and powerful arm of the Interparliamentary Union. He attended the London Conference of the Interparliamentary Union in 1906, the Geneva Conference in 1912, the Hague Conference in 1913. Then, following World War I, he was present at the Vienna Conference in 1922, the Copenhagen Conference in 1923, the Berne and Geneva Conference in 1924, the Washington Conference in 1925, and the Paris Conference in 1927.

His activities were not confined to mere attendance at the conferences. He threw himself into the labors of the organization with characteristic thoroughness.

In all the deliberations of the Interparliamentary Union, Burton held to conservative ground.

* * * * *

His expectations of immediate results in the stabilization of international peace were much more modest than those of most of his associates in the Parliamentary Union, but he believed in the necessity for a civilized adjustment of disputes between nations and had faith in the ultimate acceptance of this principle.

The United States delegates of the Interparliamentary Union had invited the Union to hold its next (1925) meeting in Washington. The invitation had been accepted and as there were to be a large number of important representatives of practically all the countries of the world at that meeting, Burton sought permission from Congress to use the Hall of Representatives. After all, it was no more than the other countries had done. In every country in which meetings had been held, he said, the greatest deference had been shown the Interparliamentary Union. The United States should not be outdone in courtesy by other nations.

All precedents were against such a procedure, no other legislative body had ever been permitted to hold its sessions in this historic hall. It was a compliment to this veteran Member of Congress that his extraordinary resolution passed by unanimous consent.

The meeting in Washington (1904) had an excellent effect. Many Congressmen had never before had the opportunity of attending the sessions of this organization. Some could not see its purpose nor when the United States should be a member. Some worked against the appropriation of the $50,000 necessary to cover the expenses of the meeting, saying that it was a waste of the taxpayers' money; that this group of individuals with no official authority would come to this country and talk peace and do nothing to effect it.

To this, Burton made a patient reply, recounting the history of the organization since its founding in 1889. In part, he said:

"It accomplished substantial results in the first decade of its existence, the members met here in the year 1904. Perhaps their greatest accomplishment was at that meeting, when delegates from the United States and from a number of foreign countries in a body called on President Theodore Roosevelt and urged him to ask the other nations to meet again in a second Hague Conference. President Roosevelt gave heed to the request, consulted diplomats of the different countries with a view to a second conference, which, as a result, was held in the year 1907. It was an important step, a milestone in the history of better and more friendly relations between nations.

"The great benefit of these meetings is primarily the coming together of representatives of the different parliamentary bodies for consultation. This was very well expressed by Senator McKINLEY, the president of the American group:

"'The advantages of such an organization readily suggest themselves. Freed from the domination of any government, it represents a universal and democratic aspiration. Nothing in it savors of particular interest or privilege. Composed of officials, holding its conferences in the Houses of Parliament, it is itself only semiofficial. Perhaps its main service is its opportunity for parliamentarians from all parts of the world to meet, to confer, to educate one another. * * * For parliamentarians from so many different countries just to meet, officially or unofficially, at conference, at table, at social gatherings, is in itself not without benefit.'"

A multitude of questions have been discussed at these meetings, including economic and financial subjects, reduction of armaments, problems of social policy, the rights of minorities, the burden of high rates for passports and visas and improvement in international law.

Bossitis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including by request an item carried by the Memphis Appeal in its issue of April 8, as follows:

POSTAL SYSTEM HAS "BOSSITIS," WORKER SAYS

The president of a Memphis postal union says the big fault in the Post Office Department is "the old Indian disease known as too many chiefs and not enough Indians."

Iron Grey Riddle, president of the Memphis branch of the National Postal Transport Association, wrote to the Commercial Appeal:

"Postal employees were amused by Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield's loud wails over his recent dilemma caused by lack of funds, and it is hard not to say 'we told you so.' Ever since Mr. Summerfield took office we have been alarmed at the ever-increasing cost of operation and a steady decline in service.

"Despite the efforts of the GOP to blame the Congressmen who appropriate the fund, it will be hard to deceive postal patrons as to who really is at fault. Here are just a few things which have not improved service but which have cost the taxpayers a great deal:

"1. The flying of 3-cent mail. The public is well aware that airmail postage costs 6 cents, and most of us do not mind paying 6 cents when we want a letter flown; but whether we ask for it or not, the Department pays 6 cents and over for each 3-cent letter that it flies.

"2. Painting the corner mail box to look like a barber pole and postal vehicles to resemble bread trucks. We feel sure that the public will never be informed as to how many millions are involved by this move.

"3. The Summerfield regionalization program, which created thousands of jobs for officials in the upper pay brackets but which failed to provide any relief for production workers who actually move the mail."

Majority of Country Editors Oppose Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the country editors of America have spoken out against Federal aid to education. Under leave to extend my remarks I am including an article which appeared in the American Press of April 1957 on this subject:

MAJORITY OF COUNTRY EDITORS OPPOSE FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

The much-touted "emergency" need for Federal aid to education is looked upon coolly by the majority of editors of weekly newspapers, as indicated by a question included in the American Press' most recent survey.

The question on the subject was worded: "A bill has been introduced calling for an appropriation of $600 million a year for 5 years to be used to speed school construction. Do you favor such a program?"

Forty-five percent replied "Yes," 53 percent voted "No" and 2 percent didn't answer. Percentages are based on replies from 760 weekly newspaper editors or publishers.

The majority of those commenting on the question were opposed to the idea largely on the ground that local communities, counties and States could take care of their own school problems and should take care of them. Many also feared that Government aid would lead to a degree of Government control. It was also argued that each dollar going to Washington would come back cut in half before it was put to work on school construction.

Along with the question on school construction was another question reading: "If a school aid bill is passed, do you think it should include a provision denying aid to areas in which schools are segregated?"

To this question 34 percent voted "Yes," 62 percent voted "No" and 4 percent didn't answer. The heaviest opposition, of course, was in the South where 78 percent voted against the idea, 17 percent voted for it and 5 percent didn't vote.

A third question related to education asked: "Federal scholarships, to help 100,000 students with ability, but who can't afford college, to have a college education, are expected to be proposed to Congress. Are you for or against such Federal scholarships?"

Fifty-five percent of the editors voted against this idea, 42 percent were for it, and 3 percent didn't vote. Comments on the various questions regarding education follow:

Kerm Powers, Thayer (Kans.) News: "Why is there a school construction problem? If a town of 100,000 population increases to 1,250,000, isn't there 25 percent more tax valuation with which to build the schools the increased population requires?"

FEDERAL INTRUSION

R. F. Lebbs, Mapleton (Iowa) Press: "Federal aid means we pay for schools anyway,

so why not have each district take care of its own needs?"

H. A. Gossard, Berrien Springs (Mich.) Journal-Era: "It is another Federal intrusion into local government; most areas can do a better job of financing own educational needs by consolidation, integration, etc. The relatively few which need help should be required to pay back."

Samuel O. Carter, Solomon (Kans.) Valley Tribune: "No local situation exists which cannot be eliminated by intelligent local action."

Glenn F. Logan, Mokena (Ill.) Semmler Newspapers: "I don't want to see the schools regimented and that is what would happen in time if Uncle Sam starts putting in his money. There is too much tendency on the part of the public to shun local responsibility and turn to some central authority."

F. Lyn Gladstone, Newell (S. Dak.) Irrigator: "Federal expenditures to spur school building are needed badly, but fund should be allocated, except where schools are not needed, on the basis of the ratio of number of schoolchildren to assessed valuations."

N. G. Neil, Graybill (Ill.) Mercury Independent: "Better solution would be to reduce taxes and let districts which need new schools use savings to improve local units."

LEAVE IT TO LOCAL GROUPS

M. C. Paige, Newton (Ill.) Mentor-Democrat: "Local communities, with adequate State aid, always have and always will be able to meet their school needs if they will make proper use of the facilities at their command. As for segregation: The South has a Negro problem. I think they have done a pretty good job of handling it without interference of Yankee uplifters and do-gooders. Leave them and their schools alone."

Paul M. Clapper, Lousiville (Ohio) Herald: "A school-building program should be only on a loan basis."

Ronald R. Furse, Plattsmouth (Nebr.) Journal: "Keep the Federal Government out of our school systems. We can build our own schools at half the price. We are sick of using half our tax dollar to pay salaries and administration expenses."

Charles Broderick, Mt. Morris (Ill.) Index: "Let the local taxing bodies solve their own school problems. We have."

Robert R. Bliss, Hillsboro (Ill.) News: "I believe great good would come for future generations by spending more on educational facilities and scholarships and less on military and agricultural programs. Federal scholarships could well be tied to the military program to provide the bright kids with an academic education instead of KP and latrine duty."

G. T. Toole, Wayland (N. Y.) Register: "Federal aid is a circuitous means of shrinking taxpayers' dollars. Let the Federal Government rebate a uniform percentage of the taxes taken from each State and let the State decide what school it should be spent for."

Ray Wieloszynski, Franklinville (N. Y.) Sentinel Press Weeklies: "Let each State face up to its own problems. This expectance of State or Federal aid breeds lethargy, encourages bureaucracy, and surrenders individual rights."

WOULD INCREASE COSTS

Karl R. Bierly, Apollo (Pa.) News-Record: "Such a bill would simply be an inducement to building contractors and labor to boost their costs at expense of the public."

N. J. Paul, Merchantville (N. J.) News: "Stop mollycoddling the ravenous education groups and give education benefits comparative with other needs in life."

Ross W. Buck, Sewickley (Pa.) Herald: "Federal aid is a costly, inefficient, bureaucratic way of building schools. State aid is cheaper, and there is less likelihood of bureaucrats in Washington taking over education."

Jack Colby, Littleton (N. H.) Courier: "Local communities can do the job required for education, including school construction, with far greater returns for the dollars spent. A Federal-aid program would eat up a good portion of the tax revenues."

George F. Cleary, Gloucester (N. J.) News: "Regarding college and school aid, we bemoan the Federal Government extending its influence any further and would much rather see these problems handled at the State level."

D. H. Moreau, Flemington (N. J.) Democrat: "If the United States would keep its hands out of its pocket the problem would and could be met locally."

Jack Wettengel, Henrietta (Tex.) Leader: "There may be areas in which aid is needed to build schools, but I believe the greatest number of appeals for aid come from school boards who are too lazy to do anything about it themselves."

Phil Fourney, Ravenswood (W. Va.) News: "Government controls what it finances. Schools should be returned to local government. State control too great now."

Robert S. Latimer, Jr., Bishopville (S. C.) Messenger: "Individual States should handle and finance their programs, as has been done in South Carolina."

Delmus C. Harden, Fulton (Miss.) Times: "If we are facing a serious slump this program may be needed. If not, let matters take a normal course."

Gilbert J. Hersman, Weston (W. Va.) Independent: "Federal aid for school buildings may be necessary—but the local communities should shoulder a large part of the cost of education. Whenever the Federal Government hands out grants some authority and control goes with it. I would like to hear candidates for Congress tell of what they have saved the people—not what they get for them in spending money."

M. A. Perry, Atlanta (Ga.) Herald: "Georgia is completing a $200 million public-school building program, paid for by Georgia taxpayers. If Georgia can provide its own school building funds, so can the other States, and without danger of Federal control."

Loyal Frisbie, Bartow (Fla.) Democrat: "The States can do the job themselves, if they will. Federal aid inevitably means Federal control."

Max Schaefer, Seaside (Oreg.) Signal: "Any aid to education by the Federal Government must first be taken away from us in the form of taxes, tossed around by a bureaucracy and then, what is left, handed back to us under conditions which impose at least a degree of control over our schools. I would particularly oppose Federal aid based upon need. The States which are gaining most in population shifts have the greatest temporary need, but the need is the result of a process which is also resulting in development and the growth of wealth in those States. I do not believe States which are losing population or remaining static should be penalized to provide schools for States which are growing."

WASTE OF FUNDS

Virginia M. Weigand, Golden (Colo.) Transcript: "I am against Federal aid to education because of the loss of revenue involved in collecting taxes here, spending it in Washington and getting back 50 to 75 percent. If just a portion of that tax could be paid directly to our school district we would be using our funds much more wisely."

Steve Williams, Milford (Utah) News: "Cut Federal taxes and let us build our own schools. As for Federal scholarships, what a wonderful pork barrel that would be! Students who want to go to college can find a way."

Adrian Reynolds, Green River (Wyo.) Star: "Any further Government grant for schools puts Federal Government in position of dictating courses, etc., and leads to dictatorship."

Donald Carpenter, Montrose (Calif.) Ledger: "This is another invasion of States rights by the New Deal-Fair Deal-Eisenhower-modern Republican group. Let the States handle their own school problems."

A few comments on the segregation problem were:

James A. Dement, Antonito (Colo.) Ledger-News: "Education is the strongest bulwark against false philosophies."

Victor A. Gierre, Louisiana (Mo.) Press-Journal: "I am for desegregation, but Government already has too much school authority."

E. W. Doherty, Killdeer (N. Dak.) Herald: "I think integration should be required in a school bill simply because there is no object to building two schools in southern communities for each 1 in the North."

H. M. Sutherland, Clintwood (Va.) Dickensonian: "I am opposed to integration in the public schools until the people of the South are prepared for it through education and persuasion, without force. Unless there is a slowdown of present tactics there will be violence in the South that will shame the Nation. It is my hope that this explosive problem will be taken out of the hands of politicians. (Herbert Brownell and DICKIE NIXON) and placed in the hands of a statesman like Walter F. George."

Edward A. Bandjough, Wewahitchka (Fla.) Breeze: "You cannot punish this generation or the next one for the sins of its forefathers."

Commenting on the proposal for Federal scholarships, editors said:

Art Dove, Utica (Ohio) Herald: "I taught college 5 years. Youngsters wanting education can get it if they have enough ambition."

Andrew M. Shortz, Badger (Minn.) Enterprise: "If a student has completed 4 years of college successfully and needs aid to go further, then a Federal aid program might be valuable. By that time a person has gained the education of experience and knows what he wants to do in life."

Richard J. Leiser, Mendota (Ill.) Reporter: "I would be fearful such scholarships would be a political football."

Otha Grisham, Seguin (Tex.) Enterprise: "Youngsters who want a college education can get it. Why go to this expense? Surely Congress has more pressing work to do."

Harold Hudson, Perryton (Tex.) Herald: "This is a bunch of bunk. I worked my way through college and am thoroughly convinced that anyone desiring a college education today can get one through his own efforts. An education is not a 'right' to be handed out by a paternal government."

Elmer R. Price, Toledo (Oreg.) Leader: "I've never seen a youngster who really wanted college to be denied it."

K. A. Eggensperger, Thompson Falls (Mont.) Ledger: "I do not believe there is any such things as a 'young person who cannot afford to go to college.' I worked my way through and never received a single dollar from an outside source. Many of my college friends worked their way. I do not believe in giving our young persons too soft a start in life."

Need a Million?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, my very good friend, E. Clare Weber, has in the past few years built up an insurance business in Cleveland of astounding

proportions. It is a tribute not only to Mr. Weber but to the free-enterprise system in our country today. An article follows:

NEED A MILLION? TRY INSURANCE COMPANIES—LARGE CORPORATIONS ARE DOING SO MORE AND MORE FREQUENTLY, EXECUTIVE SAYS

(By John Metcalfe)

When large corporations need dough for expansion, where do they usually go?

More and more they are heading for the insurance companies, it was noted yesterday by O. Kelley Anderson, president and director of New England Mutual Life Insurance Co., Boston, whose firm invests about $1 million a day in mortgages and bonds.

Insurance firms, Anderson said, are the country's biggest reservoir for long-term capital funds. By long-term he means loans running from 10 to 30 years, often running into the millions of dollars.

Like everyone else, insurance firms are trying to put their money to work, Anderson asserted in an interview at New England's E. Clare Weber Agency. Occasion of Anderson's visit here was the fact that Weber's agency has been awarded the company's top award for sales achievements, the president's trophy.

In terms of assets, New England is 11th in the insurance industry. It also ranks among the first 50 firms in the Nation, as far as assets go, Anderson said.

ONE HUNDRED BILLION IN ASSETS

The insurance industry, he asserted, is interested in landing the big corporate fish who may need a cool $50 million for an expansion program. Also, he added, "We do an enormous volume" with smaller companies who seek loans ranging from $100,000 to $500,000.

Anderson pointed out that the Nation's insurance firms have assets of nearly $100 billion, waiting to be put to work and make a profit. New England, he added, has total assets of about $1,800,000,000.

New England, Anderson said, is interested in lending capital to sound firms on a long-range basis. "We don't make short-term loans," he added.

Regarding what is termed the present "tight money market," Anderson said he thought that the term is being overworked.

Like an individual borrowing at a bank, money is available to those who appear capable financially of meeting their obligation. Money is still tight, he said, but an ably managed firm can usually raise the capital it needs.

Many insurance firms, Anderson pointed out, are heavily invested in mortgages and bonds. Only 7 percent of his company's money is put into common stocks, these in high-grade issues, with purchases decided on the dollar-averaging method.

On the subject of insurance, Anderson expressed surprise that despite a lot of inflation talk, his industry keeps on growing. A man once thought that a few thousand dollars was enough insurance to care for his family in case of his death.

Now, he said, many heads of households feel the need for up to $100,000 in life insurance to see the family through in case the wage earner dies.

Of the insurance business he offered this observation:

"We always know that we will have more money tomorrow than we have today." By this he meant that the business is growing constantly and that the insurance premiums keep building up.

Anderson ventured the opinion that business will be good this year for New England Mutual. Sales in the first quarter are up an estimated 15 percent from the same period last year. The Weber agency gained 46 percent in the first quarter, compared with the like interval in 1956.

Members of the Weber agency attended a dinner at Hotel Statler last night in recognition of their winning the President's Trophy twice. The agency has $134 million of insurance in force.

High Honors Paid to Hon. John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, and Hon. John J. Rooney, of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, as the House is about to recess for the Easter holiday, I am aware of the religious overtones of this holy week. On Monday and Tuesday our Jewish brothers paid tribute to their ancient Passover, and we of the Christian faith approach Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and the joyous Easter Sunday of rededication to our respective faiths and realization of the mysteries of eternal spring and the eternal God.

Mr. Speaker, I bring tidings of the great joy, high honor, and special distinction conferred upon two of our most respected and beloved colleagues, the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] and the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY].

Last night I was privileged to be a witness with some of my colleagues and in the presence of a brilliant gathering of clergymen led by His Excellency the Archbishop of Washington; His Excellency the Auxiliary Bishop of Washington, and many very reverend and right reverend monsignori and priests, when His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate conferred the Ecclesiastical Order of St. Gregory the Great, with the rank of Knight Commander with Star, upon the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK], and the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY].

This was not an action of a political, temporal, or sovereign nature, but rather a tribute from the leaders of their faith to these two outstanding Christian American gentleman whose character, integrity, and public service merited this ancient, historic, and prized award.

Mr. Speaker, it matters not what honors may come to a public official from his friends or from his community; it matters not how high and mighty among men he may be. Unless he believes in God, unless he is sincere in the manifestation of his faith, regardless of what that belief may be, he is lacking one element essential to greatness. The distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK], and the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY], are devout communicants of their church and profess deeply and sincerely their belief. In these years of uncertainty and turmoil, they stand among us calm and serene as they embrace the motto of our country "In God We Trust."

Emblazoned upon the emblem of the order with which they have been honored are the words pro deo et principe—for God and country. No better phrase can depict their public and private manifestation of faith in their God and dedication as patriots to the United States of America, and so, Mr. Speaker, not only do I congratulate these, our two beloved colleagues, but I congratulate my country and this House on the good fortune in having them as citizens and as Members. Down the long avenue of time, which I hope and pray lies before them, may they enjoy good health, long life, and great success in the vast circle of their friends and in the intimate bosom of their families ad multos annos.

Tale About "Assistant President"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the April 16 edition of the Washington Evening Star contained an excellent column by the very competent nationally syndicated columnist, Thomas L. Stokes.

The significance of the subject matter of this column cannot be overemphasized. Certainly Mr. Stokes' disclosures contain serious implications. They point up a fact which I and many of my colleagues in the House and Senate have contended for many years. There is a sinister influence at work within the present administration, and that influence is none other than private utility groups who are attempting to monopolize the natural resources of this country. No better example of their influence can be found than their attempted grab of so great a public resource potential as is found at the Hells Canyon site on the Snake River.

The present administration has done everything in its power to give this great resource away. Yet the people of the great Pacific Northwest have indicated their fervent desire that resource development be carried on consistent with the public welfare.

I applaud Mr. Stokes' telling disclosure. My only possible disagreement with him would be over the last sentence of his column. He writes, "Credit should go where credit is due." I believe he would have been more exact if he had written, "Blame should go where blame is due." If Mr. Stokes' facts are correct—and I believe them to be so—then certainly there is a great deal of blame involved in this matter.

The column follows:

TALE ABOUT "ASSISTANT PRESIDENT"

This is a tale about Sherman Adams, major domo in the Eisenhower administration under his innocent title of "Assistant to the President."

It is a tale, too, about geography, Sherman Adams' geography in New Hampshire, where he once was Governor, and how it reacted politically on a lot more geography spread in magnificent splendor of mountain, forest, plain and swiftly coursing rivers in the West and Northwest and on the Pacific Coast and also, indeed, in the South.

But we'll stick to the West, first. This will take us to Salt Lake City and another one of Republican National Chairman Meade Alcorn's regional conferences on May 3 and 4. There will gather Republican political leaders from 9 States—Oregon, Washington, California, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and Montana. The purpose of these regional meetings, of which there are six altogether, is to try to find out how the Republican Party can win next year's congressional elections.

That being the aim, much study must be given at Salt Lake City to the sad news the Republican Party got in some parts of that vast area last November, especially in Washington, Oregon and Idaho. For one of the biggest election surprises was the earthquake which, despite the Eisenhower victory for President, shook up that region. It elected Democratic Senators in Oregon, Washington and Idaho, added two Democratic House Members to make it 3 out of 4 Democrats in the State's House delegation here along with 2 Democratic Senators, elected Democratic Governors in Oregon and Washington, and made wide gains in State legislatures.

Admittedly a factor in this Democratic upheaval was that big gorge with the intriguing name—Hells Canyon—in the Snake River along the Oregon-Idaho boundary. A big piece of geography. Democratic candidates made an issue of it. They attacked the Eisenhower administration and former Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay for helping to hand over development at Hells Canyon to a private power company, Idaho Power, an absentee-owned corporation which holds its stockholders meetings in Augusta, Maine. The Idaho Power Co. was awarded a license to build three dams at Hells Canyon by the Federal Power Commission. The way was opened for the company when Secretary of the Interior McKay withdrew from the FPC a recommendation by his Democratic predecessor, Secretary Oscar Chapman, for construction of one high dam by the Government at Hells Canyon. The latter was in keeping with the overall plan prepared by the Army engineers for development of the Columbia River system, of which the Snake is a tributary.

Now we come to Sherman Adams, who won't be at Salt Lake City.

It was he who called Secretary McKay from the White House early in the Eisenhower administration and instructed him to withdraw the Chapman recommendation for a high Federal dam. Thereupon Secretary McKay tore up the memorandum which he had drafted supporting the high Federal dam and prepared another to withdraw the previous recommendation.

So much for western geography. Now for Sherman Adams' geography, to get a better understanding of why he is directing the fight against public power development. His attitude reflects a widespread antagonism in New England among businessmen against Federal power development. They have resisted development of their rivers for production of cheap electric power by comprehensive Federal development. This failure is a factor in migration of so many mills to the South. Because of that migration, much of it to the TVA cheap power territory in the Southeast you find deep-seated hostility toward TVA among New England's Members in Congress.

That is shared by Sherman Adams. He revealed that by his attempt to prevent the Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, J. Sinclair Armstrong, appointed Tuesday by President Eisenhower to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy, from turning over certain information to a congressional committee investigating the Dixon-Yates deal. That deal, you may recall, was an attempt to cut under TVA, which was instituted by the Eisenhower administration and finally abandoned when exposed by the Senate investigation.

We see Sherman Adams' hand in the Hells Canyon imbroglio again in the last Congress. He put heavy pressure on Republicans in the Senate to line them up and, with the help of a handful of Southern Democrats, to defeat the Morse-Pfost bill that would have nullified the FPC license to Idaho Power and authorized Federal development at Hells Canyon.

There very likely will be talk at the Salt Lake City Republican meeting about Hells Canyon and what it means in politics, though it is unlikely anyone will be so bold as to point the finger at Sherman Adams. But it is he who is the real driving force in the administration's war on public power development.

Credit should go where credit is due.

Big Government, Socialistic Trend, Extravagance Are Chief Worries of Editors

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a very interesting article which appeared in the American Press of April 1957. It relates to big government, to socialistic trend, and extravagance and from the article, it will be observed that these three items are the chief worries of most editors:

BIG GOVERNMENT, SOCIALISTIC TREND, EXTRAVAGANCE ARE CHIEF WORRIES OF EDITORS

Big government—the trend toward socialism—and extravagant Federal spending are the three chief worries about the Washington scene among the country editors of the Nation, as expressed in the Survey for Congress conducted by the American Press.

Results of the survey, showing the opinion of 794 editors on 20 current legislative controversies, public questions were published in the March issue of the American Press, along with comments on many of the questions.

But in addition to comments on specific questions, many editors used the survey as an opportunity to voice their concern with Government in general. Some of the broader comments showing concern of grass-roots editors over what is going on in Washington, follow:

Ray Wieloszynski, Franklinville (N. Y.) Sentinel Press Weeklies: "Would like to see congressmen have the guts to cut costs for the good of the Nation instead of the patronage of a voting body."

L. L. Reading, Lansdale (Pa.) News: "As Lincoln declared, 'This Nation cannot exist half slave and half free,' so this writer firmly believes it cannot exist half Socialist and half free enterprise. It will become one or the other—and if it be Socialist it would not be the Government of our Founding Fathers."

Elmer J. Spears, Washingtonville (N. Y.) Post: "Let our leaders set their sights toward almighty God, begging His assistance in all they do, living their lives in His name, and I say to you that the trouble of this country will fall away like water over a dam. Not until this is done will we see any real advancement."

Ross W. Buck, Sewickley (Pa.) Herald: "Maybe what we need in this country is a third party, a truly conservative party, based on the theory that the best government is the least government."

Mrs. Mary Dirks, Schwenksville (Pa.) Item: "Where is the aid the GOP bragged about for small business? If you're in General Motors class nothing is impossible, but the little fellow is getting squeezed out faster every year. It's not only taxes, but the general attitude of Government toward the small-business man. Tight money is hurting everyone except the ones who now control our finances. America was built 'on the little guys.' Let's get back to fundamentals."

Arthur E. Ball, Little Falls (N. J.) Herald: "The administration should stop kidding the public although I realize they like it. Tell them less about the so-called peace which doesn't exist while we spend three times as much for armaments as for everything else. Also tell them that prosperity gained by inflationary methods is leading us to the devil."

B. B. Bobbitt, Long Branch (N. J.) American: "Eisenhower's increased budget is threat to country. It might have endangered his reelection if known in advance. Secretary Humphrey is regarded as a hero for his protest."

G. W. Hall, Myrtle Point (Oreg.) Herald: "I'm a Republican—but I'm not in favor of Ike's skyrocketing budget. Give us more men like HARRY BYRD. Though a Democrat, such a man would be more advisable for President than anything we've had in the 20 past, devastating years."

Carroll T. Benson, West Allis (Wis.) Star: "One of the must pieces of study Congress faces is a reduction in expenditures if we are not to go under economically. Let's quit kidding ourselves. Taxes have caught us in a vise that bids fair to bleed us to death."

DIPPING INTO FEDERAL FUNDS

John J. Shinners, Hartford (Wis.) Times-Press: "One very basic thing we oppose is this constant dipping into Federal funds for everything. Right here in our little city we are building an addition to a hospital with Hill-Burton funds, going to have an airport with State and Federal help, have just widened a main street with Federal funds, and are planning an extension of rural library service with Federal funds. We think the people should be doing things for themselves, without Uncle Sam getting into the picture and partially running everything.

A. M. Tinker, Somerset (Ohio) Press: "The people of this Nation have got to again look at Government as the servant and not the master of the people, but so long as they are willing to have Government perform the services that should be their individual responsibility that can never be."

T. Ballard Watters, Marshfield (Mo.) Mail: "In general, I hope for a reduction in size of Government, but it is doubtful if my hopes can be realized. I think Government spending should be curbed, with less penalty on thrift. The Government debt should be reduced before tax relief is given."

John O. Denson, Minonk (Ill.) News-Dispatch: "Handouts are spoiling Americans and turning them toward socialism."

A. L. Paddock, Jr., Plymouth (Ohio) Advertiser: "There is still a lot of fat in the military appropriation. If the Bureau of the Budget needs any hints, my telephone number is Plymouth 59. We are still spending too much on veterans. There is absolutely

no need to pay for hospitalization to treat non-service-connected disabilities."

POOR RETURN TO STATES

Charles Broderick, Mount Morris (Ill.) Index: "People in my area feel strongly that the Federal Government has too much to do with local affairs. For every $100 in Federal taxes we pay, only about $75 gets back to us in any way. The rest goes to pay some leech's Federal salary and he can tell us what to do, besides."

Gaylord T. Newby, Woodward (Okla.) Journal: "Let's cut Government spending while the country is described as prosperous. What are we going to do if slow times come, now that the multitude embraces the Roosevelt ian theory of spending ourselves rich? Have Republicans lost their backbone?"

Clark Coble, Stilwell (Okla.) Democrat-Journal: "I favor elimination of all subsidies—social security, unemployment compensation, etc. Let us do away with all socialistic legislation. This country was built by freemen on free enterprise. We are no longer freemen and enterprise is hardly to be called free."

Charles J. Wyly, Delhi (Pa.) Dispatch: "I should like to see all forms of Federal aid (which is another way of saying to return funds to taxpayers after the Washington cut) gradually curtailed. I don't believe in the principle of aid to farmers, but since union labor is protected it's only fair to help farmers have enough income to purchase the products made by union labor."

W. L. Roundtree, Tallulah (Pa.) Journal: "To much giveaway of taxes, both Federal and local. Local Negro population in particular spending 75 percent of their effort trying to get free money. Negro women having bastard children fast in order to get welfare—the more bastards they have, the more they get paid."

W. Mat Jones, Gatesville (Tex.) News: "In reference to strikes, wage increases, especially as applied to defense plants, which of course includes all the big union-controlled corporations: Take John. He gets $80 per week. His union strikes. He gets $100 per week. The NLRB, composed of prounionists the last few years, grants the raise. Then look at your withholding and social security schedules and see who gains. John, no. The company, no. The Government, yes. They get more social security and withholding tax. What does this do to the country's economy?"

H. M. Sutherland, Clintwood (Va.) Dickensonian: "I would favor price control again—particularly of newsprint and food and medicines—to prevent runaway inflation. The only way to control a hog is to keep him in a pen."

E. E. McCarthy, Orlando (Fla.) Corner Cupboard: "These are times of full employment, yet our Government is providing many services that it first started in depression years. Unless there is curtailment we seem headed for more inflation. It will be a test of our democracy to see if we can cut down on these individual benefits without causing a political upheaval."

Bob Lee Kidd, Jr., Porteau (Okla.) News and Sun: "The Government had better do something to aid small business. Most small town businesses are now with their backs to the wall."

Fred T. Turkington, Elkton (Md.) Cecil Democrat: "Having served in both Army and Air Force for about 7 years, I'm convinced there is plenty of room for economizing in the Armed Forces without damaging wartime capabilities."

Ed Schultz, Jacksonville (Ark.) News-Progress: "This newspaper's policy is against the welfare state and Government meddling. It believes strictly in the law of supply and demand. It fears the present trend will lead to the downfall of America in the same manner in which lazy people brought about the downfall of ancient Greece and Rome. It feels that very few newspapers of today are willing to speak for what they believe to be right for fear of political pressure or loss of advertising revenue."

Mason Rossiter Smith, Gouverneur (N. Y.) Tribune-Press: "I think that with courage, real determination and no fear of political repercussions, any Federal department head could cut operating costs at least 25 percent."

Maxwell R. McMillan, Santa Rosa (Calif.) Herald: "We have a Republican administration run by holdover bureaucrats from previous Democratic administrations. Hence the cash flow of $83 billion out of Washington to special pressure groups and ever-increasing billions to foreign countries all over the world."

Msgr. Dr. Joseph Tiso Memory Commemorated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, some great men have been murdered, others incarcerated for years, merely because they stood in the way of the rulers of the Kremlin, and among these great men we find the name of Msgr. Dr. Joseph Tiso, who was murdered by the edict of the Kremlin. He worked diligently and faithfully for his religion and for the freedom of the Slovak Republic and the people in the republic. This fight for religious freedom and personal liberty was so foreign to the dictatorial concepts of the Communist hierarchy, that men like Monsignor Tiso, must be eliminated and he was.

Today the whole civilized world pays tribute to the outstanding loyalty of this great man, to the idea he pursued of religious and personal freedom of his people. He is dead but still lives in the hearts of civilized men. Here follows eulogy by Joseph A. Mukus, doctor of laws, director of the Slovak League Press Bureau:

MSGR. DR. JOSEPH TISO (1887–1947)

(By Joseph A. Mikus)

On April 18, the Slovaks in the free world are commemorating the 10th anniversary of the martyrdom of Msgr. Dr. Joseph Tiso, President of the Slovak Republic.

There are certain forces that used to present this Catholic priest as a controversial personality on the scene of central European politics after Munich.

In the last message to the Slovak people entrusted by Monsignor Tiso to his confessor before his execution, in the early morning of April 18, 1947, he states: "I feel that I am a martyr of the defense of Christianity against bolshevism, against which our nation must in all possible ways defend itself, not only in the spirit of its Christian character, but also in the interest of its future."

What is the right and what is the false around the dramatic life of Msgr. Joseph Tiso?

Born in Velká Bytva, a small city in western Slovakia, J. Tiso studied theology in Vienna, where he took his doctor's degree. At the end of World War I he became professor at the Nitra Seminary and later secretary to the bishop of Nitra. Since the beginning of the Czecho-Slovak Republic in 1918, he was active in politics.

In 1925, Reverend Tiso was elected deputy of the Prague Parliament for the Slovak People's Party with Msgr. Andrei Hlinka as chairman. That was the largest political party in Slovakia, grouping the majority of the voters of Slovak ethnic origin. Its political program was aimed at the promoting of Christian principles in public life and the transformation of the Czechoslovak centralistic and Czech dominated state into Czechoslovakia, i. e., a federal union composed of the Czech lands on the one side and Slovakia on the other. In 1927 and 1928, when the Slovak People's Party was temporarily a member of the Government coalition, Monsignor Tiso was Minister of Public Health in Prague. After the death of Andrei Hlinka, in August 1938, he became chief of that party.

The Czechs, who had for long time been reluctant to subscribe to the People's Party program, were finally disposed, under the pressure of the Sudeten German problem, to accept the federative reform. As a result of this constitutional change, "an autonomous status, with a special Slovak Diet, was granted to Slovakia by the Government in Prague, on November 19, 1938. The Slovak Diet (members to which were elected on December 18, 1938, in accordance to the electoral laws of Czechoslovakia) opened at Bratislava on January 20, 1939, and Monsignor Tiso was appointed Premier by the President of the Republic" [1] (Emil Hacha).

On March 13, 1939, Monsignor Tiso was summoned to Berlin by the Chancellor of the Third Reich. There, Hitler let him know that Hungary was about to end preparations to occupy Slovakia and added that only the declaration of an independent Slovak State could save her from occupation. "On March 14, the Slovak Diet, which had functioned as the federal Diet of the Slovak part of the Czechoslovak Republic, after hearing Monsignor Tiso's account of his visit to Hitler, voted unanimously for the creation of an independent State of Slovakia. By the same vote the Slovak Diet was transformed into the legislative Diet of the State of Slovakia." [2]

The same day, the Bratislava Parliament elected Tiso Prime Minister of Slovakia, and later, on October 26, 1939, President of the Slovak Republic.

During World War II, Slovakia was in the "Hinterland" of the German eastern front. In this situation, Tiso's policy was to assure the main national interests of Slovakia without provoking Germany excessively. Although she, like any other central European country, was involved in the general war conditions of Europe, Tiso knew how to maintain the political order as well as the social and economic prosperity of Slovakia.

The German-Slovak relations were characterized by a great pressure from Berlin in the field of both, internal and international politics. The German Minister Plenipotentiary in Bratislava, Von Killinger, intended to organize, in 1940, a "coup d'etat" against Monsignor Tiso, when he tried to resist. Having been disclosed prematurely, this plot failed and Von Killinger had to leave Bratislava. His successor, Hans Ludin, in a speech held in summer 1941, in the city of Kezmarok, attacked Monsignor Tiso in a way which has probably no precedent in diplomatic history. But Tiso remained on his place having firmly behind him the strength and unity of the Slovak people. As there were rumors, later in 1943, that, because of new German pressure, he would resign from his office as the head of state, two Rabbis went to see Archbishop Kmetko of Nitra and asked him, on behalf of the Jewish community in Slovakia, to convince Monsignor Tiso of the necessity to remain in his place.[3]

The best proof that the regime of President Tiso was more liberal than the regim[illegible] of any

Footnotes at end of speech.

other Central European country at that time is in the fact that from 1939 until 1944, when German soldiers entered Slovakia, none had been executed in that country. During the whole existence of the Slovak State, from the beginning till the German occupation, there was no condemnation to death for political reasons, it has been stated in an official publication of the Benes-Gottwald regime, in 1946.[4] Of course, it is hardly possible to make Tiso responsible for the atrocities of German soldiers committed during and after the uprising in Slovakia, in September and October 1944. That country then became an area of military operations and was subject to the German military laws. In this Communist-inspired adventure, more than 30,000 Slovaks, besides many Jews, lost their lives in the guerrilla fighting against the units of the German Army.

Because of a token participation of Slovakia in the war against the Soviet Union after 1941, Monsignor Tiso drew the hatred of Moscow upon himself. Before the Red army had advanced on the territory of western Slovakia, he left Bratislava, at the end of March 1945, and went with his government into exile in Austria. In October 1945, he was extradited, according to an instruction of the United States Department of State, by the American military authority, to the Czechoslovak National Front government, after having been indicted by Prague as a war criminal.

Tiso was imprisoned in Bratislava, to be judged later by the so-called Slovak National Court, under the presidency of Dr. Daxner, a Communist, and composed of 7 members, of whom 5 were Communists, 1 Democrat, and 1 neutral, all that in a country whose electors, by a majority of 70 percent, voted in the elections of May 26, 1946, against communism.

"Nevertheless," as writes Hugh Seton-Watson, "he still enjoyed considerable popularity in the country. Slovak independence had been a period of prosperity. Many Slovaks argued that Tiso acted as he did in March 1939 only because the alternative was a partition of Slovakia between Germany and Hungary. So strong was popular feeling in his favor that many Slovaks of strong democratic views, who had personally suffered under his regime, nevertheless argued that he should not be condemned to death on grounds of political expediency. The Communists, however, were implacable. Tiso's greatest crime in their eyes was that he had declared war on the Soviet Union. In the established Communist view, this is sacrilege, for which death is the only penalty. The Czech Social Democrats followed the Communists, and the Czech National Socialists took the formal view that a traitor to the State must be punished. Only the Slovak Democrat Party, pressed by its supporters, pleaded for mercy. It received some wavering support from the Czech People's Party, which was unwilling to see a Catholic priest executed. The decision rested with President Benes. He decided that he could not use his prerogative of clemency against the advice of his Government. Tiso was therefore hanged. The result was a growth of discontent in Slovakia which had dangerous implications."[5]

Both the Vatican and the Slovak bishops interceded with the President asking him to grant clemency to Tiso as an act of political wisdom. But in the eyes of Benes, he was a visible symbol of Slovakia's aspirations for independence, and therefore it was necessary to eliminate him. In fact, both the President and the chairman of the court declared long before the end of the trial that Tiso would hang.

As regards Moscow, Tiso was a symbol of the religious resistance of the Slovak people to communism. At the end of the trial, General Gundurov, chairman of the Congress of the Slav Peoples, came from Moscow to Bratislava to communicate the will of the Soviet Government that Tiso must be hanged. "This, Bardossy, Tiso, and Antonescu," as says Hugh Seton-Watson, "none of whom were guilty of atrocities, found to their cost. Nor can these men be said to have taken part in Hitler's conspiracy of aggression. * * * But in the view of the Soviet Government they had committed treason, and the courts of their native countries gave the verdicts that Soviet Justice required."[6]

There are anomalies in the application of principle of justice, indeed. Hjalmar Schacht and Franz von Papen, two important helpers of Hitler, are free. None, with a sense of proportions, will never believe that Monsignor Tiso's responsibility in World War II was heavier than that of these two prominent defendants of the Nuremberg trial. They had, however, the privilege to be judged by an international tribunal, which has, for unknown reasons, been denied to the political personalities of all Central European countries that, after Munich, necessarily belonged to the German orbit. In this way, their fate was predetermined.

In his heart, Monsignor Tiso, as it could not be otherwise, was a resistant to nazism. But under the pretext of collaboration it was easy for Moscow to let him condemn for other reasons. Maurice Descote, a French political writer, expressed his opinion upon the execution of this Slovak patriot in the following way: "More than a collaborator, it was a doctrine and a political attitude that was on trial."[7]

The trial of history will, without any doubt, confirm this judgment.

---

[1] Rafael Lemkin: Axis Rule in Occupied Europe, Washington, D. C., 1944, p. 139.
[2] Ibid. p. 140.
[3] Konstantin Culen: Biography of Monsignor Tiso, Middletown, Pa., 1947, p. 372.
[4] Dr. V. Brezny: Budapest sans masque. Published by the Slovak regional Ministry of Information, Bratislava, 1946.
[5] Hugh Seton-Watson: The East European Revolution, New York, 1951, pp. 184–185.
[6] Ibid. p. 377.
[7] Maurice Descote: Aspects de la Tchécoslovaquie, Paris, 1948, p. 174.

Footnotes at end of speech.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Appendix

Address by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered before the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons at Miami, Fla., on Friday evening, April 26, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY UNITED STATES SENATOR WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS, MIAMI, FLA., APRIL 26, 1957

We must not take our constitutional form of Government or our free-enterprise system for granted. Neither fall into the category of something that can be locked in a safe deposit box and kept forever secure. Each generation must be prepared to make the necessary sacrifices to maintain them that that our Founding Fathers were prepared to make in the first instance.

Other nations have been or now are larger in land area, in population, and in natural resources. Yet they have not been able to give to their people the freedom and the standard of living Americans have enjoyed.

As important as is the productive capacity of our Nation and its military strength, these are not the factors which alone could preserve our freedom or enable us to maintain a free world of freemen. The inner strength of America has not been its great cities, its huge industrial plants, its extended transportation systems, or its variety of natural resources as important as these are.

The factor which made America an inspiration to the rest of the world grew out of our Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the spiritual values which the founders of our Republic recognized and by which they were guided.

We have recognized that there is a higher moral law to which governments are also accountable. We have humbly acknowledged the divine inspiration which made and preserved us as a Nation.

We have read of and been inspired by the action of George Washington in kneeling in prayer during the dark days of Valley Forge and of Lincoln doing the same during his lonely vigil in the White House during the darkest days of the Civil War.

The priceless ingredient for our people has been our constitutional form of government which guarantees our religious, personal, and economic freedom.

We must not dilute our constitutional guaranties whereby human freedom would be comprised with totalitarian tyranny in any form of world government.

The incentives furnished under our system have constantly opened new horizons.

In this atmosphere, Americans of each generation have sought to leave to their children a better land than they themselves found, not just better in a material way but in the educational and cultural developments that make for better family and community life.

New inventions in various industrial fields and the tremendous potentials of the peacetime developments of atomic power are bound to challenge us for many years into the future.

We must as a Nation build on principles rather than personalities. Individuals come and go but fundamental principles endure. What are some of these basic principles for which we should stand.

1. Constitutional government with the division of power between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Federal Government and the reservation of all power not granted to the Federal Government, under the Constitution, to the States and to the people. The longer I have been in the Senate the stronger has grown my support of States rights.

2. Maintenance of our free enterprise system under which we have grown from a small colony of 3 million people to a great world power of 170 million with the most productive economic system the world has ever known.

3. Protection by the Federal Government and the States of the people from the concentrated and arbitrary use of power by business or labor organizations against individuals and small-business enterprises. The right to earn a living as an employee or as a proprietor of a small business is a "civil right" of the first magnitude.

4. Maintenance of a soundly growing economy based on free enterprise and full employment. No business or labor organization should have the power to strangle the economic life of 170 million Americans and by so doing endanger freemen everywhere. With power must also go responsibility.

5. Support of a sound fiscal structure for our Federal, State and local governments. This requires all of them to live within their means and to stop traspassing on the tax resources of the others.

Without a sound dollar and a solvent government our whole structure of local, State, and National governments, of public and private educational facilities, of wage earners, of public social security and private pensions and retirement systems will be jeopardized.

Without a sound dollar every employee, every housewife and our people living on retirement income or social-security payments will be penalized. Inflation and debt repudiation is but another form of confiscatory taxation in the Marxist socialist pattern.

It is time for us to rededicate ourselves to a renewed faith in our free way of life.

A tax system under which the Federal Government taxes personal incomes at rates varying from 20 to 91 percent and corporate income at a 52-percent rate is simply too burdensome. It will ultimately destroy our free enterprise system.

For fiscal year 1958 President Eisenhower estimates that the Federal Government will spend almost $72 billion—an increase of more than $5 billion over the 1956 spending rate.

The budget continues in balance only because of a continuous increase in the level of our prosperity which has brought forth a steady rise in tax revenues with no increase in rates.

Few people realize that all we need to do at the present time in order to be able both to reduce our towering national debt and cut taxes is to stop increasing Federal expenditures. Had Federal outlays been held at their 1955 level we would now face the pleasant prospect of a budget surplus of almost $9 billion in the coming fiscal year. This would be sufficient for a sizable reduction both in the national debt and in taxes.

In order to have a budget surplus of almost $5 billion in the forthcoming fiscal year, all we need to do is to keep Federal expenditures from rising above their already high current level. This reduction of $3 billion can and must be achieved as a minimum. I pledge my efforts to this end.

This must not be any single shot effort. In future years we must continue to keep Federal expenditures from increasing and wherever possible, to reduce them. Only this way can our burdensome taxes and national debt be steadily reduced.

There is a prevalent school of thought which maintains that Federal expenditures must keep pace with the growth of our economy. This is a dangerous and unnecessary philosophy. For one thing, it is the economy that maintains the Federal Government and not vice versa. Further, unless we are able to reduce our tax burden, we may end up by destroying or seriously crippling that which is the source of our strength—our free enterprise economy.

We live in a perilous age. Unless we are able to reduce Federal expenditures and taxes, we will have no margin available for emergencies.

I do not deny that as the country grows, some increase in Government expenditures is necessary and even desirable. However, of one thing I am certain. During a time of peace it is not necessary for Federal expenditures to increase as fast or faster than the increase in the national income or as fast as an overburdened tax system can produce increased revenues.

The founders of this republic knew well the history of the world up to their time. They knew that where there was a concentration of power in a single agency of national government that the freedom they sought to guarantee could easily be lost.

Those of us who continue to believe firmly in this wise political philosophy instinctively know that the Federal Government cannot give anything to the States unless it first takes it away from their citizens.

It is in our best interests that the States of our Union be strengthened rather than weakened.

The 48 States should be experimental laboratories where people within limited geographical areas would have the opportunity to legislate and administer policies in conformity with the local needs and desires.

In determining those State policies all adult American citizens are entitled to vote if they meet the qualifications established by law.

Throughout the major part of the last 30 years, the Federal Government has had to use a constantly increasing portion of the Nation's taxable capacity to meet its expending obligations. Only by calling a halt to this process can the weakened sovereignty of our States be shored up and revitalized. If the Federal system is worth retaining, our aim has to be less Federal spending and less taking on of new obligations accompanied by a reduction in Federal taxes and debt. In this way and solely through these means the

States and localities will have the wherewithal to undertake the many necessary programs as society grows and becomes ever more complex.

America is still the authentic revolution. The flame of freedom which was struck at Concord and Lexington still is an inspiration to the enslaved behind the Iron Curtain.

But it is also an ageless lesson that no outsiders can win independence for a people. They must be willing to pay the price in blood and resources to gain their own freedom.

We do recognize, however, that when freedom is destroyed anywhere a bit of freedom is destroyed everywhere.

Nations can die while delegates talk. Last year the General Assembly of the United Nations passed 10 resolutions in 76 days of debate. All that while freedom was being strangled to death in Hungary. With callous indifference the Soviet Union placed itself above the higher moral law of God as well as above its obligations under the United Nations Charter.

No international organization can long endure with a double standard of international morality.

Are the obligations and the mandates of the United Nations to be applicable to the democratic nations but not to the totalitarian powers? To the law abiding but not to the outlaw nations? To the small and weak countries but not to the big and strong? What kind of justice is this? Are we building on quicksand? What kind of a foundation is this for constructing a system of international law and order based on justice.

We serve no useful purpose if we hide the facts. To the contrary by ignoring them and failing to seek remedies, we may endanger the safety of this Republic and free men everywhere.

For many decades the men in the Kremlin have preached the doctrine that the free world contains the seeds of its own destruction. It is far more likely, I believe, that the Communist world contains the seeds of its own destruction.

Hungary was but the latest in the indications that, even under totalitarian police rule and the brainwashing of a whole generation, the spark of freedom still lived and was capable of lighting a fire that endangered the whole monolithic structure of Communist tyranny.

After the Hungarian experience how much reliance can the Soviet Union place in the armed forces of the other captive nations if freedom is ever within their reach? How can they have faith in Communist indoctrination when young students were the leaders of the Hungarian rebellion?

Within the past 2 weeks the rulers in the Kremlin have sought to intimidate Norway, Denmark, Greece, and Iceland.

The Soviet Union has not changed its long-term strategic objective: The destruction of human freedom everywhere.

They will be relentless in seeking to destroy our institutions. Fortified by our faith in God, we must be determined that our way of life will be preserved.

Hungary has also taught the world that unless an independent government or revolutionary movement can function for several weeks or months it is difficult for outside friends to assist.

Had the British redcoats crushed the first American rebellion in a week and captured the leaders (as happened in Budapest) there would have been no time for France and our other friends abroad to come to our aid.

Sooner or later there will be another Hungary. Will the free world be better prepared to strike a blow for freedom? Will the United Nations be prepared to do more than talk and pass 10 resolutions?

It may come this year or next in Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Albania, North Korea, China, Poland, or in Hungary again.

Indeed it may even come in the Soviet Union where the people of Russia were the first victims of the godless Communist tyranny.

During the week Nagy was the legal head of the Hungarian Government what a difference it would have made if the United Nations had sent in observers; if based on the first United Nations resolution the friends of freedom abroad had sent the freedom fighters bazookas and grenades rather than more resolutions of sympathy.

Or is the policy of the United Nations and the free world now to be that we will throw water on the embers of freedom and revolt against tyranny and that we will finance Communist economic and political systems so that the slaves will be more content with their masters?

There is now being negotiated in Washington grants, loans and credits of $100 million to the Communist Gomulka government of Poland.

This has the support of the executive branch despite the fact that:

1. Poland is a member of the Communist Warsaw pact and is occupied by Soviet divisions.

2. On February 27 of this year it voted for the Soviet resolution in the United Nations to condemn the United States.

3. Gomulka himself helped liquidate non-Communist Poles at the close of World War II.

4. The Soviet Union has stripped Poland of over $4 billion worth of industrial and agricultural products. By this aid we will indirectly be aiding the Soviet Union.

5. When we strengthen a Communist economic system we strengthen the Communist political system.

6. At the very time Poland was negotiating the $100 million out of the United States their delegation in Communist north Vietnam were extending loans and credits to the Communist government of Ho Chi Minh.

On April 11 a joint statement was issued in Peking by Premier Chou En-lai of Communist China and Josef Cyrankiewicz, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland, which among other things said:

"The hearty welcome and warm reception accorded the Polish Government delegation by the Chinese people and the Government of the People's Republic of China demonstrated the fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Polish peoples. The visit to China of the Polish Government delegation will bring even closer the relations between China and Poland and between all the Socialist countries."

Further on the communique said: "After appraising the latest international situation, both parties point out that, although thanks to the continuous constructive efforts of the peace-loving countries and peoples who advocate a peaceful settlement of international disputes the general trend of the international situation is toward relaxation, the imperialist aggressive circles have not ceased their activities to wreck peace, but have attempted to attain their old objective by new disguised ways.

"In Europe, they are reviving the forces of West German militarism. In Asia, they are still carrying out activities to endanger the independence and neutrality of many countries in this area. In the Near and Middle East, the ruling circles of the United States are pushing forward the Eisenhower doctrine, which is aimed at supplanting Britain and France in their colonial position."

In addition, the Communist Chinese and Polish representatives said this:

"The two parties consider that the building of socialism in accordance with Marxism-Leninism constitutes the supreme interest of the two peoples, and that in their respective Socialist construction in the light of their national characteristics and specific conditions they should consistently combat all deviations, whether doctrinaire or revisionist. To do this is a sure guaranty for effectively overcoming difficulties and smashing all plots of hostile forces to sabotage the Socialist construction.

"The two parties reaffirm their support for the worker-peasant revolutionary government of the People's Republic of Hungary in their struggle to consolidate the Socialist system and eliminate the consequences of past mistakes. They will continue to help the Hungarian people overcome the difficulties they are presently facing."

Before concluding, the Polish Communists again indicated that they were giving economic assistance to another Communist country in the following words:

"The Government of the People's Republic of China expresses its thanks to the Polish People's Republic for its active support to China in its struggle to defend its sovereignty and Poland's various aids to China in the economic field and in the fields of shipping, science, and technology."

Communist Yugoslavia in the post-World War II period (July 1, 1945, to date) has received more than $1 billion in grants, loans, and credits from the United States.

During this entire period, Dictator Tito has:

1. Opposed our foreign policy of encouraging mutual-defense pacts against potential Soviet aggression.

2. Supported Communist Chinese membership in the United Nations.

3. During the whole period of the Communist aggression in Korea, the Yugoslav Government either supported the Soviet position or abstained on the resolutions condemning the aggression.

4. Abstained on the February 27 Soviet resolution condemning the United States. (Resolution was defeated by a vote of 8 yeas to 53 nays.)

In addition to the economic and military aid already given Tito's Yugoslav Communist government, there is now under consideration a proposal to turn over 215 jet planes to them.

This does not make sense to me.

We have a number of stout non-Communist friendly nations that are allied with us in mutual defense pacts. They need jet fighter planes. These nations include the Republic of Korea, Turkey, Thailand, Pakistan, Vietnam, the Republic of China on Formosa, and the Republic of the Philippines. All of these allies should have priority over Communist Yugoslavia.

I do not favor taxing the American people to support Communist economic or political systems abroad.

For several years the United Nations has discussed the freedom of colonial people in Asia and in Africa. These are and will continue to be important questions until equitable solutions have been reached.

Why, however, has there been a strange silence by the membership to discuss in the United Nations the destruction of freedom in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia? Here is a clear-cut prima facie case of the violation of its international treaties of friendship and nonaggression by the Soviet Union. Here is a clear case of the unilateral incorporation of three independent nations as provinces within the U. S. S. R.

Will the General Assembly take further action in the Hungarian case to back up its 10 resolutions or will an effort be made to create a zone of silence so that relations with the Soviet Union will not be embarrassed? Is justice for Hungary to be blinded and gagged as well? Is the conscience of the world that was so thoroughly aroused in October and November to be complacent and

satisfied in April and May? While the Security Council is meeting on the Mideast question this month or next will the Hungarian issue be raised or be forgotten?

These are questions which freemen will be asking, and enslaved people who want to be free will be waiting for the answers.

All Americans, regardless of party, can join together in subscribing to the oath of Thomas Jefferson:

"I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Address Delivered by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very eloquent and forceful speech made by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on Monday, April 22, in New York City, at the annual Associated Press luncheon held during the convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

Secretary Dulles has well set forth the basic principles of our foreign policy.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RUSSIAN STRATEGY UNABLE TO DIVIDE FREE WORLD—TEXT OF A SPEECH BY SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES AT THE ANNUAL ASSOCIATED PRESS LUNCHEON

I recall pleasurably your annual luncheon a year ago. It is a compliment that you have asked me to come a second time.

Since this is my first speech of the second Eisenhower term, it may be appropriate to set forth the basic concepts which guide our foreign policy. It is important that both friend and foe should know the principles by which we chart our course.

At the close of World War II, the statesmen of the world met at San Francisco to plan a better future for a war-scourged world. They wrote the United Nations Charter; and in its first article they laid down three basic and interlocking principles.

There must be peace; there must be justice; and there must be liberty for nations and for persons.

Peace, justice, and liberty—these same concepts underlie the foreign policies of the United States.

Our task is to realize these concepts in a world of rapid and accelerating change.

Two decades ago I wrote that world peace depended, not on preserving the status quo, but on finding ways of peaceful change. Today, this requirement is more than ever imperative.

Our foreign policy accepts change as the law of life. We seek to assure that change will be benign, and not destructive, so that it will promote not merely survival but freedom and well-being.

FIRST REQUIREMENT: SHUT OUT AGGRESSION

A first requirement is that the door be firmly closed to change by violent aggression.

Of all the tasks of government the most basic is to protect its citizens against violence. Such protection can only be effective if provided by a collective effort. So, in every civilized community, the members contribute toward the maintenance of a police force as an arm of law and order.

Only the society of nations has failed to apply this rudimentary principle of civilized life.

An effort was made through the United Nations to create an armed force for use by the Security Council to maintain international order. But the Soviet Union vetoed that.

However, the member nations still had the possibility of cooperating against aggression. For the charter, with foresight, had proclaimed that all nations had the inherent right of collective self-defense.

The free nations have largely exercised that right. The United States has made collective defense treaties with 42 other nations. And the area of common defense may now be enlarged pursuant to the recent Middle East resolution.

This collective security system is subject to assaults from without, and to infirmities within.

SOVIET RULERS WANT FREE NATIONS DIVIDED

The Soviet rulers understandably prefer that the free nations should be weak and divided, as when the men in the Kremlin stole, 1 by 1, the independence of a dozen nations. So, at each enlargement of the area of collective defense, the Soviet rulers pour out abuse against so-called militaristic groupings."

And as the free nations move to strengthen their common defense, the Soviet rulers emit threats. But we can, I think, be confident that such Soviet assaults will not disintegrate the free world.

Collective measures are here to stay.

The greater danger comes from internal hazards. A collective defense system, in which each member nation is completely sovereign, requires a high degree of voluntary cooperation and agreement.

Happily, we have that. For example, it is agreed that the primary task is to deter war. Modern weapons have such vast destructive power that there could be no real victor were general war ever to occur.

It is also agreed that the principal deterrent to aggressive war is mobile retaliatory power. This retaliatory power must be vast in terms of its potential. But the extent to which it would be used would, of course, depend on circumstances.

The essential is that a would-be aggressor should realize that he cannot make armed aggression a paying proposition.

LAND, SEA, AIR POWER ALL VITAL TO DEFENSE

It is also agreed that it would be imprudent to risk everything on one single aspect of military power. There must be land, sea, and air forces for local action and for a defense which will give mobile striking power the chance to do its work.

Thus the general design of common defense is widely agreed. Of course, its detailed application presents recurrent difficulties. Also, the sharing of the burden raises problems.

Modern weapons are extremely expensive. Immense sums must be spent in research and development and in making weapons which may become outmoded almost before they are in production.

The United States is the only free world country able to sustain the cost of developing a capacity for retaliation adequate to deter a potential aggressor who himself has great and growing aggressive power.

In addition, the United States supplies military equipment to others and, in some cases, helps to stabilize the economies of allies which cannot otherwise play their proper part in the scheme of common defense.

The President faces no more difficult task than the crucial one of deciding, in this defense field, how much to spend, where to spend it, and how to bring the cost into a budget which provides for other needed tasks and does the whole without monetary inflation or excessive taxation.

There are some who, in a zeal to economize, would slash that part of our budget which is often miscalled foreign aid—as though it did not aid us. That would not be economy, but extravagance.

If the forces and facilities which others provide were subtracted from the common defense, the United States defense budget would have to be expanded vastl from what it now is. That is the considered judgment of the President and his military advisers.

COLLECTIVE DEFENSES NOT CONSIDERED IDEAL

The free world collective defense arrangements are not ideal.

There is nothing automatic about them, and they require a continuing conscious effort by many nations to cooperate and to forego the petty selfishness and the extremes of nationalism which could poison the relationships.

But the relationship is predominantly one of good will and trust. It marks a significant step in the long-overdue progress of international society from anarchy to order.

To maintain and develop this progress is a basic principle of our foreign policy.

But we do not believe that the only way to security is through evermounting armaments. We consider that controls and reduction of arms are possible, desirable, and, in the last reckoning, indispensable.

It is not essential that controls should encompass everything at once. In fact, progress is likely to come by steps carefully measured and carefully taken.

Thus far it has not been possible to assure the inspection and other safeguards that would make it prudent for us to reduce our effective power. But we shall continue to seek that goal.

Armaments are nothing that we crave. Their possession is forced on us by the aggressive and devious designs of international communism.

An arms race is costly, sterile, and dangerous. We shall not cease our striving to bring it to a dependable end.

ANY POLICE SYSTEM ESSENTIALLY NEGATIVE

Any police system is essentially negative. It is designed to repress violence and give a sense of security. But the sense of security is illusory unless behind its shield, there is growth and development.

Military collaboration to sustain peace will collapse unless we also collaborate to spread the blessings of liberty.

Trade, from the earliest days, has been one of the great upbuilders of economic well-being. Therefore, this Government advocates trade policies which promote the interchange of goods to mutual advantage.

Also, the United States, as the most productive and prosperous Nation, assists other nations which are at an early stage of self-development.

It is sobering to recall that about two-thirds of all the people who resist Communist rule exist in a condition of stagnant poverty. Communism boasts that it could change all that, and points to industrial developments wrought in Russia at a cruel, but largely concealed, cost in terms of human slavery and human misery.

The question is whether free but undeveloped countries can end stagnation for their people, without paying such a dreadful price. Friendly nations expect that those who have abundantly found the blessings of liberty should help those who still await those blessings.

Of course, each country must itself make the principal effort to improve its lot. But others can provide an impetus and the margin between hope and despair, and perhaps between success and failure.

They can do this by showing interest and concern; by giving technical guidance; and by providing capital for development.

PRIVATE CAPITAL SHIES AT BIG RISKS

Much of this is done under private auspices, and we wish it could all be done that way. But sometimes the hazards are greater than private capital will assume. So, our Government supplies some funds for economic development purposes.

The sharing of markets and of development capital is not a giveaway operation. It assures that the free world, of which we are part, will be a vigorous, hopeful community. That corresponds to our interests and to our ideals.

Our mutual-security program can and should make our policies more clear and more stable. Two weeks ago I outlined proposals to this end before a special committee of the Senate.

With the help of the Congress, and, with the support of the American people, our trade and economic development policies can serve mightily to demonstrate that the peace of freemen is not the doomed peace of human stagnation, but a peace of such vitality that it will endure.

Just as our policy concerns itself with economic development, so, too, our policy concerns itself with political change.

During the past decade, there have come into being, within the free world, 19 new nations with 700 million people. In addition, many nations whose sovereignty was incomplete have had that sovereignty fully completed.

Within this brief span nearly one-third of the entire human race has had this exciting, and sometimes intoxicating, experience of gaining full independence.

PROGRESS TO GOAL OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

The United States believes that all peoples should have self-government and independence if they desire it and show the capacity to sustain it. We rejoice that there is progress toward this goal.

But liberty requires more than the mere breaking of old political ties that have become unwelcome.

Those patriots who won for us our independence knew and proclaimed that our free institutions could be sustained, and our independence made durable, only if our Nation accepted the disciplines which religion and education enjoin.

That is indispensable to assure responsible leadership able to guide a young nation through the dangers which beset it.

International communism is on the prowl to capture those nations whose leaders feel that newly acquired sovereign rights have to be displayed by flouting other independent nations. That kind of sovereignty is suicidal sovereignty.

The United States stands as the faithful and vigorous champion of the principles of our Declaration of Independence. And we want the new independence of others to be something better than a brief twilight preceding the blackout of Communist despotism.

Nowhere is the pressure for change greater than within the Soviet orbit. For there the most basic human aspirations are the most repressed.

A year ago Khrushchev boasted before the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party that communism was on its way to triumph everywhere on its merits as a system of thought and government.

But in October how many Communists could be found in supposedly Communist Hungary? A few hundreds of secret policemen, hopelessly implicated in the crimes of the regime, and a handful of traitors willing to govern by grace of Soviet tanks.

COMMUNISM PROVED OPPRESSIVE DESPOT

Communism in practice has proved to be oppressive, reactionary, unimaginative. Its despotism, far from being revolutionary, is as old as history. Its subjects, in vast majority, hate the system and yearn for a free society.

The question of how the United States should deal with this matter is not easily answered. Our history, however, offers us a guide. The United States came into being when much of the world was ruled by alien despots.

That was a fact we hoped to change. We wanted our example to stimulate liberating forces throughout the world and create a climate in which despotism would shrink. In fact, we did so.

I believe that that early conception can usefully guide us now.

Let us provide an example which demonstrates the blessings of liberty. Let us spread knowledge of that around the world. Let us see to it that the divided or captive nations know that they are not forgotten; that we shall never make a political settlement at their expense; and that a heartfelt welcome and new opportunity await them as they gain more freedom.

Let us also make apparent to the Soviet rulers our real purpose. We condemn and oppose their imperialism. We seek the liberation of the captive nations.

We seek this, however, not in order to encircle Russia with hostile forces, but because peace is in jeopardy and freedom a word of mockery until the divided nations are reunited, and the captive nations are set free.

We revere and honor those who as martyrs gave their blood for freedom. But we do not ourselves incite violent revolt. Rather we encourage an evolution to freedom.

VOICE OF AMERICA SPREADS INFORMATION

The Voice of America, our information programs and cultural exchanges, spread throughout the world knowledge of what freedom is and does. When Hungary was invaded and freedom crushed, we sponsored a United Nations condemnation of the Soviet Union. And when some steps are made toward independence, as recently in the case of Poland, we show a readiness to respond with friendly acts.

Events of the past year indicate that the pressures of liberty are rising.

Within the Soviet Union there is increasing demand for greater personal security, for greater intellectual freedom, and for greater enjoyment of the fruits of labor.

International communism has become beset with doctrinal difficulties. And the cruel performance of Soviet communism in Hungary led many to desert Communist parties throughout the world.

The satellite countries no longer provide a submissive source of added Soviet strength. Indeed, Soviet strength, both military and economic, has now to be expended to repress those who openly show their revulsion against Soviet rules.

The Soviet government pays a heavy price in terms of moral isolation.

Soviet rulers are supposed to be hardheaded. For how long, we may ask, will they expend their resources in combating historic forces for national freedom which are bound ultimately to prevail?

UNITED NATIONS PEACE WITH JUSTICE

Let me speak now of the United Nations. Its charter couples peace with justice, and provides the most significant body of international law yet known.

The United States has agreed to those principles and seeks to conform to them; and we expect other signatories to do the same. On occasions we invoke the processes of the United Nations to help to make effective the principles embodied in the charter.

We are not ashamed, as a powerful Nation, to pay the same decent respect for the opinions of mankind that we thought proper when, young and weak, we sought our independence.

That is no abdication of foreign policy. It is the exercise of foreign policy, and its exercise in the way which represents the best hope for humanity.

Our dedication to the principles of the United Nations Charter was severely tested by the recent Middle East crisis. We were then faced with a distressing and unprecedented conflict of loyalties. Historic ties would have led us to acquiesce in the forcible action that was begun.

But this would have involved disloyalty to the United Nations undertaking that all members renounce the use of force except in defense against armed attack. That same pledge is also embodied in all our treaties of alliance. We decided to be loyal to that commitment.

This was a hard decision, although to those directly affected it was not an unexpected decision.

DECISION UNPOPULAR BUT IMPERATIVE

It was not, I suppose, a popular decision. Yet it was imperative if the world was not to go as it went when the League Covenant was disregarded.

But, as we have seen, the charter prescribes not merely peaceful settlement, but settlement in conformity with justice and international law.

We must, and do, seek also to advance that goal. For example, we are now striving to bring about conditions in the Middle East better than those provocative and dangerous conditions out of which the recent violence was born.

This cannot be done quickly or all at once. Where emotions run high, and a sense of grievance is deep, those most directly involved are more eager to gain partisans for their cause than to heed impartial counsel.

Wherever such situations occur, they are always worsened by Soviet intrigue. The Kremlin likes troubled waters in which to fish.

We know, in domestic affairs, that it is hard to apply just solutions when racial or class passions run high. The task is equally hard in international affairs, and sometimes war seems to offer a shortcut to the desired end. But that seeming is an illusion.

The only durable solution is one which comes by patiently, resolutely, and resourcefully seeking justice and the rule of law. That, at least, is the faith and the dedication of your Government.

I have tried to describe principles which guide United States foreign policy. But while guiding principles are essential, they are not enough. They must be reinforced by daily action, as throughout the world, our views are sought and our influence is made felt.

This is the task sometimes called waging peace. It is a hard task.

It is seldom dramatic. The many who take part in it may never be known as heroes. Yet they make efforts, and in some cases sacrifices, like those required in war to win a war. By so doing, they spare us the infinitely greater sacrifice of war itself.

Surely the stakes justify that effort. As I am briefed on the capacity of modern weapons for destruction, I recognize the impossibility of grasping the full, and indeed awful, significance of the words and figures used.

Yet we would be reckless not to recognize that this calamity is a possibility. Indeed, history suggests that a conflict as basic as that dividing the world of freedom and the world of international communism ultimately erupts in war.

That suggestion we reject. But to reject in terms of words, or of hopes, is not enough. We must also exert ourselves to the full to prevent it. To this task, the American people must unswervingly dedicate their hearts and minds throughout the years ahead.

That is not too much to expect. Americans are a people of faith.

They have always had a sense of mission and willingness to sacrifice to achieve great

goals. Surely, our Nation did not reach a new peak of power and responsibility merely to partake of the greatest, and perhaps the last, of all human disasters.

If only we are faithful to our past, we shall not have to fear our future. The cause of peace, justice, and liberty need not fail, and must not fail.

Ambassador Campa's Address on Role of the Lawyers in Inter-American Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in anticipation of the approaching 17th anniversary, on May 16, of the organization of the Inter-American Bar Association I am extending my remarks to include the address of one of the great diplomats of the world, Dr. Miguel Angel Campa, Ambassador of Cuba to the United States, at the luncheon on April 16, 1957, at the University Club in Washington given in recognition of Ambassador Campa's work in the diplomatic service of Cuba for over 50 years. The luncheon was the joint tribute of the Inter-American Bar Association and the bar association of the District of Columbia under the chairmanship of Frank J. Kelly. Many of the lawyers present at the luncheon to honor the distinguished Ambassador of Cuba had visited Cuba in 1941 as participants in the first conference of the Inter-American Bar Association held in Habana.

Dr. Campa's address was contained in exactly 193 words. I think many of my colleagues will wish to preserve this address as a classic expression, in a minimum of words, of the spirit properly underlying internatonal relations and the role of the lawyers of one country working in cooperation with lawyers of other countries.

Speaking of the large contribution to Cuba-American understanding made by the Inter-American Bar Association, he said:

I cannot think of any one group better fitted for the cultivation of the pacific and spiritual ideals sustained by nations and men of good faith, than that group which is dedicated to assure, with the book, the word, or the advice, the juridical norms of justice and friendship between nations.

Dr. Campa's classic 193-word address, in full, follows:

I only wish to say a few words to express my sincere appreciation to the president and the members of the Inter-American Bar Association for the cordial invitation extended to me today.

Relations between Cuban and American lawyers have very deep roots, created by the traditional friendship of our respective peoples, and stimulated by a deep and reciprocal scientific and professional understanding.

The frequent visits of American and Cuban jurists between our countries, which gain more importance every day, not only serve as a means of knowing and of developing a higher regard for each other, but go beyond the social and academic levels to flourish in the field of international relations. I cannot think of any one group better fitted for the cultivation of the pacific and spiritual ideals sustained by nations and men of good faith, than that group which is dedicated to assure, with the book, the word, or the advice, the juridical norms of justice and friendship between nations.

As a diplomatic and a lawyer, I sincerely wish, for universal benefit, that we remain always together within this attitude of friendly collaboration, and in this position of supreme human responsibility.

Dr. Adolfo Bioy, of Buenos Aires, Argentina, is the president of the Inter-American Bar Association and William Roy Vallance of our own State Department its secretary general. Mr. Vallance is one of the founders of the association, has attended and participated in all its conferences, convened in the capitals of the various countries in the Americas. No one in the history of our State Department has done more for the cause of hemispheric understanding and solidarity, no one in the United States enjoys the confidence and the warm personal friendship of so many lawyers in so many countries of the American hemisphere. His expected retirement at the end of the present year will be a great loss to the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I would not wish to close without joining myself with the members of the bar association in congratulating Ambassador Campa on the completion of a half century and more of distinguished service to his country. The Ambassador was born in Habana in December of 1882. In 1906, when 23, he entered the foreign service of the Republic of Cuba as second secretary. The succeeding steps in his remarkable career follow:

Chargé d'affaires, Legation of Cuba in Paris, 1907.

Designated to Legation of Cuba in Rome, Italy, 1909.

First secretary, Legation of Cuba in The Hague, 1910. Chargé d'affaires in The Hague, 1911.

Transferred to Berlin 1911. Chargé d'affaires, Berlin, 1912.

Transferred to London, 1913, as chargé d'affaires.

Appointed secretary of the Cuban delegation to the Peace Conference at Versailles, 1919.

Permanent delegate of Cuba to the League of Nations, First, Second, Third, and Fourth Assemblies.

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan, 1920.

Acting Under Secretary of State, 1925.

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Brazil, 1930.

President of the National Consultive Commission on Transportation, 1930.

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Mexico, 1933.

Under Secretary of State, 1937.

Secretary of State, 1939.

Representative of Cuba to the first meeting of foreign ministers, Panama, 1939.

Appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, 1940.

President, Cuban delegation to the second inter-American meeting of the Caribbean, 1940.

President of the second meeting of foreign ministers, 1940.

President, Inter-American Union of the Caribbean, 1941.

President, International Organization of Archivists, Librarians, and Conservatories of Music.

Plenipotentiary of Cuba in the signature of the Convention of Prisoners of War, and member of the Administrative Council of the Permanent Tribunal on Arbitration at The Hague.

Secretary of the Cuban delegation to first assembly of the League of Nations and various assemblies of that Organization.

President, Pan American Columbian Society, and corresponding member of the Academy of Science of Cadiz.

Minister of State, 1952.

President of the Cuban delegation to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly of the United Nations, 1952.

President of the Cuban delegation to the Pan American Conference at Caracas, 1954, and President of the Economic Commission of that conference.

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Washington, 1955.

Publications: Land and Air Transport Code, 1931; One Year of Cuban Foreign Policy, 1939–40, 1941; Glorious Ashes, 1941; An Actual Interpretation of the Discovery of America, 1942; Regional Politics of the Caribbean, 1944.

Decorations: Grand Cross of the Orders of Carlos Manuel de Cespedes; National Red Cross and the Lanuza Honor and Merit of Cuba; the Sun and Merit of Peru; the Golden Spike and Brilliant Star of China; Vasco Nuñez de Balboa of Panama; Cristobal Colon and Juan Pablo Duarte of the Dominican Republic; Merit, Pethion and Bolivar of Haiti; Cross of the Sun, Brazil; Aztec Eagle, Mexico; Order of the Liberator, Venezuela; Isabel the Catholic of Spain; Cross of Italy and St. Maurice and St. Lazarus of Italy; Merit of Chile; Boyaca of Colombia; Merit of Ecuador; Delgado of El Salvador; and Condor of Bolivia.

Knight Commander of the Orders of Carlos III of Spain, Cross and Leopold II of Belgium; Legion of Honor of France.

Address by Charles E. Wilson Before the Washington Pilgrimage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, most of us have noticed the thousands upon thousands of children who are coming to Washington at this time to be inspired by the monuments and public buildings and the life of their National Capital.

Last Saturday it was my privilege to preside at a meeting of the Washington Pilgrimage, composed of many men and women throughout the country who likewise come to Washington for the inspiration, both political and spiritual, that comes to them in the city. I should like

to read a brief paragraph from what the President of the United States said to leaders at the White House last fall:

If our American ideology is eventually to win out in the great struggle being waged between opposing ways of life, it must have the active support of thousands of independent private groups and institutions and millions of individual Americans acting through person-to-person communication in foreign lands.

At the meeting last Saturday it was my privilege and honor to introduce Mr. Charles E. Wilson, former President of General Electric, who is devoting his life and energy and money to making certain that the American ideology becomes known throughout the world.

I ask unanimous consent that the speech delivered by Mr. Wilson on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF CHARLES E. WILSON, PRESIDENT, THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE FOUNDATION, BEFORE THE WASHINGTON PILGRIMAGE, SENATE CAUCUS ROOM, APRIL 27, 1957

Senator WILEY, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, I am happy to be in the Nation's Capital this afternoon, sharing in the Washington Pilgrimage.

This is a pilgrimage Americans of all ages should make, not once, but many times. For no one can walk down these venerable avenues of the past, without walking in the footsteps of our fathers as they opened the way in the New World for the dignity and the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

No one can see with his own eyes, as you have seen, the original written words of the Declaration of Independence without a deep sense of reverence and gratitude. Consider again the everlasting promise, the eternal truth, of these simple words which our forefathers brought forth at the risk of their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident—
That all men are created equal
That they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights
That among them are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Is there a man, woman, or even a child above the age of 10, anywhere in this country, who cannot understand the tremendous significance of these words?

This is the essence of the message of America.

This is the message that we, the people, must carry to other people in every corner of the world.

Yet there are some rulers of vast populations today who fear this message. There are those who do not want these words to be seen, to be heard, or felt in the lives of everyday people.

There are still those who impose their wills by bayonets; who have brainwashed and otherwise persuaded millions of people into believing that people are the slaves of the state and not its masters. They do not want government by the consent of the governed. They seek to rule the entire world as they now rule these people. Indeed, by their acts they make a mockery of the word "government."

These are not pleasant things to ascribe to so-called governments; but they are facts we cannot ignore. The people they pretend to speak for are not our enemies. Only their masters stand between us and them. The ashes of liberty lie smoldering behind the Iron Curtain, ready to burst into the flames of freedom. But we must carry our message not only to people who are slaves to dictatorship but also to those who are slaves to misunderstanding and poverty.

Equality, liberty, freedom are empty words to the poverty-stricken people of India, Indonesia, and parts of the Philippines. Let me tell you how one man—an American chaplain in the last war—made these inspiring words come alive in the villages of southeast Asia. Chaplain John Peters was with his infantry regiment in a swampy jungle of Mindanao in the Philippines when the first mail they'd received for 2 months arrived. A youngster from Kansas came to the chaplain to show him the contents of a tattered brown envelope. "Look, Chaplain," he said, "I'm not supposed to be her." It was a letter from his draft board saying that he had been deferred as he was deemed essential to the war effort as a farmer. They joked about it as they walked on through the jungle. Suddenly snipers opened fire. The boy, walking 3 feet behind him, got it. He died in the chaplain's arms. That day he promised God that if he survived he would do something to make up for the loss of that boy's life.

When the chaplain returned home, he sought fruitlessly for 2 years to make good on his pledge to do something. His chance came in 1953, following one of his sermons in a small Oklahoma town. Two hundred of his fellow citizens were so moved that they raised $13,000 to start a program of self-help, now called World Neighbors, that is doing miraculous work in both India and the Philippines. He is helping the people of the small villages to help themselves on a people-to-people basis, in much the same way that the county agents helped our farmers to improve their living conditions and increase the productivity of their land.

This is but one of many examples of how individual Americans are sharing their advantages with people of other lands and giving meaning to the great truths enunciated by our Founding Fathers. I'm sure most of you have heard about the American agricultural agent who showed the Indian farmers how to put a small steel plate on their wooden plows and doubled their production by going 3 inches deeper into the soil. This is the kind of language every human being can understand.

It was my privilege shortly after the war when I had returned to General Electric to render some technical assistance to the Indian Government. (Case of the powerplants and generators.)

What, after all, is the magic formula that has made this country the most productive, the most prosperous, the one offering its citizens the greatest degree of individual freedom? Certainly it was not just one thing, but rather a combination of things. However, it seems clear that the principles hammered out on the anvil of free discussion by our early American forebears played a large part in creating the prosperity, security, and justice we now enjoy.

Can we share this with others and substitute an era of good feeling and friendship among men for the miserable situation we call a cold war?

Aware of the inherent limitations of governments alone to cope with this situation, President Eisenhower called a White House conference of top leaders last fall and put the case to them with his customary frankness:

"The problem is for people to get together and to leap governments—if necessary, to evade governments—to work out not one method but thousands of methods by which people can gradually learn a little bit more of each other.

"Every bomb we can manufacture, every plane, every ship, every gun, in the long run has no purpose other than negative; to give us time to prevent the other fellow from starting a war, since we know we won't.

"If our American ideology is eventually to win out in the great struggle being waged between opposing ways of life, it must have the active support of thousands of independent private groups and institutions and millions of individual Americans acting through person-to-person communication in foreign lands."

The President then appointed 41 committee chairmen, representing all phases of the Nation's economic, social, and cultural life, to expand and supplement the people-to-people activities of Government and private agencies already successfully underway.

There are committees on youth organizations, business organizations, advertising, education, music, hobbies, fine arts, cartoonists, service clubs, medical and health groups, religious groups, women's groups—in fact, every phase of organized American life. The question is, can the people of this and other countries, acting as individuals and through their organizations, do the job that their Governments have failed so far to do? Can the people, who have everything to lose and nothing to gain by another cataclysmic war, make their will effective even in the totalitarian states in time to prevent another world conflict?

Perhaps the greatest hope lies in the confidence President Eisenhower has inspired in the people themselves that they can do something to determine their density with respect to peace. Encouraged by the effectiveness of the exchange-of-persons program, which has received such great impetus under the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts and now involves upwards of 50,000 people learning more about each other through person-to-person contacts, he launched his people-to-people program last fall, and not 1 of the 41 committee chairmen refused this challenging assignment. Now nearly a thousand leaders are involved in the program as members of these voluntary committees. And we seek your active help today.

Around you are pamphlets which give a listing of the 41 committees and their chairmen. I know each of you in the room will find at least one committee which will inspire your interest and activity at home.

Our only directives are as varied as the initiative and tastes of 170 million Americans. Here there is room for all. In our diversity is our strength and appeal. Here is a mission for a farmer as well as a missionary; for the Mayflower descendant and first and second generation Americans—35 million of them. Here we need the poet and the advertising mind; the young student and the old philosopher; ham radio operators and Hollywood producers; music—long hair and crew cut; GI's in our armies overseas as well as the 2 million American tourists traveling abroad this summer. We need pen pals, stamp collectors, people with hobbies, people with business and professional contacts in all parts of the world to swing into action.

In just a moment we will give you an illustrated report of the activities of many of the 41 committees embraced in the people-to-people program.

As these ideas and programs spread to the other nations, counterpart committees and organizations will spring up in other countries to strengthen existing ties and multiply new friendly contacts in every direction.

We need your ideas, your personal participation. We invite every American to build his own do-it-yourself kit for peace. You of the Washington pilgrimage have a leading role to play in people-to-people communication. You are helping to keep alive the spiritual heritage that has made America great; more importantly, that has made it loved. Here all our materialistic resources, all our institutions—industrial, military, government—are subordinate to the things of the spirit—to secure for each individual

born and as yet unborn life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Only the dictator has reason to fear the people of the United States of America.

And let us remember that we are not alone. Our country was founded by men who had a profound faith in divine providence. Down through the years our people have sought and received His guidance. If we appear in the eyes of others to have accomplished miracles, perhaps we have—but we did not accomplish them alone.

I, for one, am deeply convinced that in the long run we shall triumph over godless communism and that justice and freedom will, in time, prevail throughout the world. As we seek now to prevent war through the President's people-to-people program we shall succeed only if we, today, match the faith of our fathers in almighty God. I do not hesitate to ask your prayers for this people-to-people program, that we may be ever guided by His might and that we may continue in His way.

Freedom Plus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech of Mr. Theodore Everingham, of Jackson, Mich., who won the American Legion Michigan oratorical contest. Sometimes a citizen of the United States whose profession is not that of words or statesmanship or politics says something very important to the rest of us, with a sincerity and inspiration which is worthy of notice. Mr. Theodore Everingham, of Jackson, Mich., is such a citizen. He is a senior at Jackson High School. In a speech entitled "Freedom Plus," which won the American Legion's oratorical contest in Michigan, he reminds his fellow countrymen that they must use their freedom if they wish to preserve it. With pride in my constituent and in a fellow American, I offer you the ringing forceful words of his speech.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEDOM PLUS

You might say the story of American freedom began with the shrill sound of the fife and the distant rolling rumble of the battle drums echoing across the hills and fields of the New England area. You might say it all began with the tramp-tramp-tramping of the marching British boots on the rocky Atlantic coast. Or you might say this story began with that "shot heard 'round the world," fired from behind a crude rock wall by a long forgotten Minuteman. The red-coated British troops, proclaiming by their presence that the Crown would not easily surrender her wilderness Colony across the Atlantic, in America. It happened that the brave efforts of the colonists overpowered the British hand of control. To the kingdom of England, the revolution meant the loss of a backward, remote Colony. To the colonists, it meant a completely new and wonderful way of life—American freedom.

It soon became evident that freedom alone was not enough. Though the American Colonies were free and independent, they were completely dismembered. American financial problems and interior trade were all but impossible, because there was no central government powerful enough to regulate or control the individual Colonies. Local jealousies and weaknesses threatened disruption of the Colonies. The newly won freedom needed guidance and support, in order to survive.

The situation wasn't satisfactory; there was need for an immediate and extensive change in the badly failing Articles of Confederation. To make this change, 55 of the world's most talented political minds of the day convened in Philadelphia in 1787. These brilliant statesmen, led by such coveted names as Washington, Madison, Hamilton, and Franklin worked arduously for 3½ months in the sticky, hot Philadelphia summer. Three-and-a-half months of debate and controversy that grew into bitter personal hatreds, over States rights versus a central power, and the powers of large States against the power of the smaller States. At last the results of their efforts, giving birth to a new and lasting freedom for the Colonies—the Constitution of the United States of America.

The "more perfect Union" that was founded in that colonial summer has come a long way in the last 170 years—from a backwoods frontier group of remote settlements to a nation of concrete and steel, radios, plastic toys, electric blankets, and even too much food. The United States of America—a world leader in agriculture, industry, and happy citizens. A beacon nation, welcoming oppressed, unhappy people to her shores, regardless of their social background. A world melting pot of dialects, skin colors, religions, and nationalities. A nation whose greatest assets still remain her freedom and liberty. The Constitution framed this new way of life, a way of life to be admired, your free way of life.

Generally speaking, Americans are free, happy, at peace, well fed and clothed, and content, I fear too content. What are you going to do to preserve this, your American way of life?

Let's imagine for a moment that American democracy is in the form of a huge, many-headed beast from the Arabian Nights. Let each of its heads represent one citizen of the United States. Each head, or person, has the vital job of protecting the body of the animal from the enemy of American freedom, the scourge of communism. If one head becomes lax and complacent in its job, the dread plague of communistic control creeps into the gap and, like a prairie fire, spreads to all parts of the body until finally the flame of democracy dwindles, flickers, and dies entirely.

The question remains, What are you going to do to preserve what you have?

I've shown you that freedom was not enough for the dismembered colonies after the American Revolution. And today it's still true that to be free, to live in a free nation, to know the taste of freedom, is not enough.

It's not enough to be free when we shun the Negro on our busses or in public places because he has a different color skin and a different ancestry.

Or when we frown on people who speak with a strange dialect or accent.

Or when the key to your door depends on skin color, ancestry, or religion, turning away those who differ from you or your habits.

How free will you remain when your voting privilege depends on your neighbor? Is it right that on election day, the 70-year-old man who can boast of never missing an election should be the exception rather than the rule? Or when you take the all-too-popular attitude, "I don't count, anyway."

Edmund Burke, the noted Irish statesman, once said, "What is liberty without wisdom, and without virtue? It is the greatest of all possible evils, for it is folly, vice, and madness knowing no tuition or restraint." I believe that this is a small price to pay for this, your most precious American heritage—your wisdom and your virtue.

How much is your freedom worth? No price tag has ever been hung on liberty. All the rubles in Russia can't buy your freedom from you if you don't choose to sell. If you lose your liberty, American wealth can't buy it for you. American industry can't produce it, and American power can't match it. But the American heart and will of mind can keep it, if you so please.

I don't believe the American people want to lose their way of life. Rather, I think, they don't really know how to keep the hope of freedom for the American people of the future.

The answer to the problem of preserving American freedom and liberty may be found in your everyday life. Examine yourself. Do you spend more time on the sports page and the comic strips than reading the headline news stories whose outcome could very well change your entire life? If so, you are not an informed citizen. Compare the names Abdul Nasser, David Ben-Gurion, and Selwyn Lloyd with those of Dick Tracey, Popeye, and Donald Duck. Which ones have been the subjects of your reading?

To preserve your freedom you simply must use it. Freedom is not like a light bulb or an automobile tire that wears out as it is used. Liberty strengthens and preserves itself as it is used.

Here are the things that you, as a citizen, must do to assure the strength of America for the future:

Inform yourself. Read about local, national, and world problems. Then form opinions about what you have learned and defend them.

Vote. Put your opinions to work for yourself and your Nation. Voting is the way Americans are represented. Realize that when you stay home from the polls, you aren't making just one less vote to be counted; you are actually casting a ballot, by your silence, for the person or policy that you don't want in office.

Truly, love thy neighbor. Give him a chance, regardless of who his father was, or where he came from, or how funny he sounds when he talks. Prove to him that Americans believe that all men are created equal—that his color, creed, religion, or dialect needn't hinder him in this country.

Realize how much you do mean to the future of America. True, you are only one, but you must do your part to be a true American and to raise your children to follow in your footsteps.

And be sure to worship as you see fit, and pray that others will follow your example. Thus you will be strengthening America's spiritual bond and helping assure a sound future for America.

If you will believe these things that I have told you and practice them as well, you may call yourself a true American citizen. Remember that the flag of freedom cannot fly alone. It needs support—your support. Grab hold of the staff and raise your banner high, showing the world that America will not easily surrender her hard fought for way of life. Use your wisdom and your virtue to defend yourself, now and always. For if you don't, America may well slip back into the mire of political control and when you awaken, you will find that the freedoms you now enjoy will no longer be there to be neglected.

American, freedom alone is no enough. You must use what you have.

The Diplomatic Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, in my judgment, one of the really important questions which confronts both the President and the Congress is the maintenance of an adequate United States Foreign Service and the appointment of qualified persons to office in that Service.

This is important, first, because in the past few years we have come pretty close to destroying the morale of our Foreign Service by inadequate pay, by the appointment of individuals who are not qualified, and by a general public campaign to bring the Foreign Service into disrepute.

Shortly the Foreign Relations Committee will be holding hearings on the nomination of the United States Ambassador to Ireland. I hope the committee will look very carefully into his qualifications.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, two articles from the New York Times, the first entitled "Foreign Affairs: The Misuse of a Diplomatic Service," written by C. L. Sulzberger and published in the New York Times of April 27, 1957, and the second an article entitled "Slash in Funds Threatens New United States Diplomacy Goals," written by James Reston and published in the New York Times of April 29, 1957.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of April 27, 1957]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—THE MISUSE OF A DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

PARIS, April 26.—The United States depends heavily upon the intelligence, vision, and reliability of its envoys abroad. These qualities, in a real sense, represent our first line of defense. American foreign attitudes are influenced to a considerable degree by the judgment of these diplomats as collated and evaluated by the State Department and National Security Council.

It is therefore of utmost importance that we exercise care in the appointment of suitable ambassadors. For policy is fundamentally based upon the art of weighing probabilities. This is especially true of United States policy, which continues to be largely empirical.

Reliance upon the competence of individual diplomatists remains vitally important. This is true despite the increasing vogue for international conferences and flying visits by foreign ministers. Even Secretary Dulles would admit as much.

Why, therefore, are we so careless about selecting those who represent us? Why are we, the wealthiest country, so niggardly about paying adequate allowances to envoys—with the result that often we send inexperienced rich amateurs to most important capitals?

This is no new development in our history. It has long been custom to reward faithful party contributors with fat bank balances by giving them embassies. Frequently they prove wise and competent. Douglas Dillon and David Bruce were admirable in Paris. An Italian diplomat observed of Clare Luce: "She is the best Ambassador you ever sent to Rome. She was the first member of your politburo to come here. She could get things done through the White House."

ALSO SOME LUNKHEADS

But we have also managed to appoint some lunkheads. A Democratic stalwart, privy to nasty political secrets, was named to two small but extremely sensitive posts by Roosevelt. He botched up each of them. Certain noncareer selections have become figures of fun in the countries to which they were assigned.

And even with competent amateurs Washington is not always wise in distributing them most suitably. Thus, for example, Bruce, one of our best French-speaking statesmen, is now in Bonn. He knows no German. The new envoy in Paris, Houghton, understands German. He knows no French. The chief mission in Rome doesn't speak Italian. Linguistic talent is not everything. But surely it is possible to find rich men who comprehend the better-known foreign tongues.

And, admitting that they are often effective, should it be necessary for us to appoint only millionaires to certain of our most important positions abroad? Congress has just reduced the State Department's entertainment fund to $600,000. Yet diplomats are forced to entertain. Often, indeed, their guests are Congressmen.

But while the British Ambassador in Washington has a special allowance of more than $80,000 a year, our envoy in London gets only $7,500 for similar purposes. As a result he loses money. Ellsworth Bunker, now representing us in India, was once offered the Paris job. He declined it after Bruce told him the post cost him $50,000 annually.

The French Government is embarrassed about the small hospitality budget furnished its diplomats. Yet this amounts to over $850,000—40 percent higher than what Congress allows our embassies and legations.

THE M'LEOD NOMINATION

In the professional Foreign Service we are fortunate in having some outstanding individuals. Raymond Hare in Cairo knows both the Arab world and language. Charles Bohlen was the most brilliant envoy seen for years in Moscow. But we do not make the best use of available ability. Bohlen has been shunted to Manila. He could serve far better in a position concerned with Soviet affairs. The Dulles regime has railroaded out some of our finest talent—men like George Kennan, John Davies, and Charles Thayer.

This in itself is lunatic. But it is positively shocking that the police agent chosen for such dirty work, Scott McLeod, should be rewarded by being named Ambassador to Ireland. The choice is an insult to the Irish and to American commonsense.

Dulles contends that McLeod has considerable knowledge of world affairs. A former FBI agent, the nominee once assured this writer that security was a basic criterion of diplomacy. Checking qualifications of Foreign Service candidates, he used to ask himself: "How would I like him behind a tree with me in a gunfight?" Such cerebral approaches qualify McLeod better as representative to the underground Irish Republican Army than to the respectable Irish Republican Government.

Isn't it time sanity and order were applied to our Foreign Service? Certainly enough money should be made available to the State Department to enable any man to accept any assignment. Certainly we should try to select envoys who know the simpler and more widely spoken languages. Certainly, also, we should employ specialists like Bohlen where they are best suited. And certainly we should cease exporting hacks or hatchetmen as a reward for electoral bets or dirty work.

[From the New York Times of April 29, 1957]

SLASH IN FUNDS THREATENS NEW UNITED STATES DIPLOMACY GOALS

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, April 28.—The House of Representatives' cut in the State Department's budget has caused concern here primarily because of its effect on the plan to enlarge and strengthen the language-training program of the Foreign Service.

It has come at a time when some of the most distinguished senior members of the Foreign Service—Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen in Moscow and Deputy Under Secretaries of State Loy Henderson and Robert Murphy—are nearing retirement. It also comes when the State Department is starting a program to modernize the professional diplomatic service.

Though the main burden of implementing United States foreign policy falls on these Foreign Service officers, here and overseas, and though the State Department budget is less than 1 percent of the total budget for next year, it was cut by the House of Representatives from $227,700,000 to $180,400,000.

TIMING SIGNIFICANT

John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, will make a major effort with President Eisenhower's strong backing this week to get the Senate to restore the cut. Many of the administration's plans for rebuilding and strengthening the Foreign Service will depend on the outcome of his appearance Tuesday afternoon before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee of Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Democrat, of Texas.

The timing of the House cuts has special significance for the Foreign Service. These are the permanent officials of the State Department who spend most of their lives overseas in carrying out the foreign policy of the United States.

Important new responsibilities are now falling on these men and women. They are being asked to assume vastly increased duties in the area of the Middle East, since the United States has taken over many of the responsibilities there previously met by Britain.

Coincidentally, the uprisings in Eastern Europe and the increasing importance of Africa are adding to the opportunities of United States diplomacy.

The cuts have come, too, just at the time when the State Department was beginning to get over the economy wave of 1953 and 1954, and when applications for Foreign Service have been recovering from the crisis in recruitment that followed congressional attacks on the State Department and Foreign Service 3 years ago.

These developments have enabled the administration to build an active recruiting program in more than 500 United States universities this year, and it has paid off. For example, about 7,000 university graduates took the most recent Foreign Service entrance examination as compared with 5,000 last summer and fewer than 2,500 6 months before that. If sustained, the House cuts would reduce the year's crops of new Foreign Service officers from 400 to 200.

TRAINING IMPERILED

The proposed House cuts also threatened the efforts now under way seriously for the first time in many years to correct what is generally regarded as one of the most serious weaknesses of the Foreign Service—its comparative lack of foreign language facility.

Fewer than 50 percent of the men and women now in the Foreign Service have an adequate command of French, German, or

Spanish. Also, in the light of the Nation's new responsibilities in the Arab world, the shortage of trained Arabic-speaking officers is widely regarded as a dangerous shortcoming.

New language training centers of the Government's Foreign Service Institute have been established recently in Nice, France; Frankfurt, Germany, and Mexico City. New procedures are planned for next year to force more officers to specialize in foreign language training.

For example, one of the great deterrents to adequate language training in the past has been the unwillingness of Congress to provide funds for finance replacements for Foreign Service officers while they were at language training school in Washington, Taipei, Tokyo or one of the other language centers.

Lack of replacements has made Ambassadors unwilling to allow members of their staff to leave their posts to acquire or improve facility in foreign languages. Therefore, the House was asked to increase the Foreign Institute budget this year from $3,700,000 to $5,100,000. This would have enabled the State Department to provide replacements for the officers in language school, but it ran into the severest kind of opposition in the House.

This is one of the problems Mr. Dulles will try to have removed when he appeals Tuesday to the committee of Mr. JOHNSON, the Democrats' Senate leader.

Paradoxically, Congress has been liberal in providing funds for a 10-year overseas-building program. This will provide new embassy buildings, new consulates, and improvements on old buildings. However, on the more important matter of providing language training, representation of allowances, and other things that improve the quality and effectiveness of the officers overseas Congress has not met the State Department's recommendations of what is necessary to keep pace with the Nation's role in the world.

EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLAR FUND VOTED

For example, the total sum voted to enable all Foreign Service officers to meet their official entertainment or representation obligations this year was $800,000. This had to cover more than 3,000 Foreign Service officers and all Ambassadors and Ministers in all overseas missions.

State Department officials feel that the main reasons for the failure to get a larger percentage of the best college graduates into the State Department and Foreign Service are as follows:

The pay scale is considerably lower and the requirements are more exacting than in commerce, business, and in the new and growing foundations that are looking for the same kind of talents.

The uncertainty of family life in a job that requires a great deal of moving from one part of the world to another.

Slowness and element of accident in advancement from the entering class in the Foreign Service (class 8) to class 1 or to the rank of career minister or career ambassador.

Slowness and difficulty in getting appointed even after all examinations are passed. The security check alone often takes 3 to 4 months.

For example, many of the men who have gone through the arduous task of passing the written and oral examinations and the security check will not be sure of appointment, though the State Department is ready to appoint them, until Congress decides whether it will sustain or restore the cuts made in the Department's budget.

The State Department recently has taken action to minimize some of the objections to the Foreign Service listed above. Examining officers, for example, have found that normal language training in United States universities does not usually qualify men for the kind of foreign language assignments they get in the Foreign Service. Nevertheless, the language requirements in the examinations in the past have frightened away many good Foreign Service prospects and eliminated others.

These figures show, for example, the ratio btween the applicants who passed and failed for foreign language examinations last year:

Language	Took language examination	Passed language examination	Failed language examination
French	1,226	392	834
German	572	189	383
Russian	213	69	144
Spanish	1,043	334	709
Total	3,054	984	2,070

LANGUAGE TESTS DROPPED

Consequently, the stiff foreign language requirements of the past have now been dropped in the belief that the State Department will get better men and women in the long run if it concentrates on all-around ability and furnishes concentrated language courses of its own in the Foreign Service Institute.

Also, to meet the criticism that Foreign Service officers are not always promoted in accordance with merit, a new career development and counseling branch has been established in the State Department's personnel office. This will make the promotion procedure more scientific and more in keeping with the officer's abilities and ambitions.

Congress did increase the salary and retirement scales last year. While these still fall below the inducements offered to especially talented men and women in private enterprises, the State Department is not making any issue of the present pay scale. It is as follows:

Career ambassador, $20,000.
Career minister, $17,500.
Class 1, $14,600 to $17,000.
Class 2, $12,600 to $14,400.
Class 3, $10,60 to $12,400.
Class 4, $9,000 to $10,500.
Class 5, $7,400 to $8,900.
Class 6, $6,100 to $7,300.
Class 7, $5,100 to $6,000.
Class 8, $4,300 to $5,350.

Thus the issue this week in the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee hearings is not primarily salaries, but the need for more and better trained men and women, particularly in foreign languages, to meet the growing responsibilities of the Nation.

Home Demonstration Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN STENNIS
OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, the week from April 28 through May 4 is National Home Demonstration Week. The home demonstration work of the Nation represents one of the finest possible examples of splendid and effective cooperation by the National, State, and local governments. It also represents the very best in joint efforts of the trained workers and the people at the community level, including the community leaders who give so generously of their time without direct compensation. This great program includes the 4-H Club work.

The Nation is greatly benefited by these fine programs.

The Memphis Commercial Appeal, ever a champion of these programs, has a splendid editorial entitled "Home Demonstration Week." I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Memphis Commercial Appeal of April 25, 1957]

HOME DEMONSTRATION WEEK

"Today's home builds tomorrow's world."

This will be the theme of National Home Demonstration Week which will be observed by more than 6½ million homemakers in the United States from April 28 through May 4.

Organized with the cooperation of the Agricultural Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, the home demonstration program is designed to provide information which families—particularly those in rural areas—can adopt for better living.

National Home Demonstration Week was started to acquaint the general public with the various problems relating to home and family. In the United States and territorial possessions, there are 66,000 Home Demonstration Clubs. These clubs select their own volunteer leaders, of whom there are now 70,000.

Home demonstration agents work with club members by demonstrating new methods and techniques in homemaking. They also advise homemakers on individual plans and problems. They aid in establishing new clubs and in obtaining new members.

It is a fine combination—college-trained specialists in home economics working personally and in groups with homemakers who constantly face and consider changing conditions in an organized effort to solve problems of the family, the community, and the world.

We hail National Home Demonstration Club Week, salute the members and the organization it honors and commend the splendid contribution they are making to today's home, which, in truth, builds tomorrow's world.

The National Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH E. FLANDERS
OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, the national debt is a matter of serious interest to all of us. It has risen to a point where the per capita debt is $1,613.38, compared to a per capita yearly income of $1,935; and the family debt is $5,100, compared to a family yearly income of $5,520. We are all seriously concerned about the immense size of this debt.

One of the Members of the Senate, the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], has proposed legislation which looks toward reduction of the debt. The bill introduced by the Senator from Massachu-

setts is S. 1738, which I have been glad to support.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two articles relating to the bill introduced by the Senator from Massachusetts. One is an article by Donald I. Rogers, the Herald Tribune business and financial editor, published in the New York Herald Tribune of Friday, April 19, 1957; and the other is an article written by Tom W. Gerber, the Herald Washington correspondent, published in the Boston Sunday Herald of April 14, 1957.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of April 19, 1957]

SANE WAY TO CUT UNITED STATES DEBT

(By Donald I. Rogers)

One of the wisest proposals ever offered for reducing the Federal debt is scheduled for a hearing soon by the Senate Finance Committee when it gives consideration to a bill introduced by Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Republican, Massachusetts, whose recommendation may prove to be the most spectacular "sleeper" of this session of Congress. This reporter predicts that this bill, whose advent occasioned so little attention, is destined for wide and wholesome discussion.

The bill, S. 1738, is called the Public Debt Reduction Act of 1957, and it presents a sane, workable, and practical program for gradually cutting down the Federal debt, the largest contributing force behind inflation.

It would further amend the Second Liberty Bond Act, amendments to which now establish the ceiling on the national debt at $275 billion. It would provide that the ceiling on the national debt be reduced on July 1, 1958, by an amount equal to 2 percent of the net revenue of the Nation for the 1957 fiscal year.

After the first direct reduction the bill provides that, effective July 1, 1959, the ceiling of the national debt be reduced by an amount equal to 3 percent of the net revenue for the 1958 fiscal year that, effective July 1, 1960, by an amount equal to 4 percent of the net revenue for the 1959 fiscal year; effective July 1, 1961, and July 1 each year thereafter, by an amount equal to 5 percent of the net revenue for the fiscal year ending June 30 of the preceding year.

SUSPENSION PROVISIONS

It contains three suspension provisions. One would take effect when the country is in a state of war or its armed forces are engaged in conflict. The second would be invoked upon recommendation of the President because of threatening economic conditions (such as the necessity to increase government spending to create employment). The third suspension would apply if Congress passes any tax-relief measures during the operation of the act resulting in reduction of revenue to the United States. The amount of money otherwise applied to the reduction of the public debt may be reduced for 2 fiscal years by the amount of the loss of revenue caused by the tax measures enacted.

It may be difficult to remember that back in 1941 the Federal debt was $48,900,000,000. Five years later it had risen to $269 billion. With great effort it has been contained at approximately $275 billion for several years.

INTO ALL POCKETS

The average taxpayer need not feel remote from the overpowering Federal debt—for it reaches into every individual's pocketbook in the Nation. For one thing, a substantial portion of all the tax money sent by individuals to Washington—this year approximately 10 percent—annually must be diverted to pay the interest on the debt. This year the Government must obtain more than $75 billion in new loans at current high-interest rates in order to meet the more than $75 billion of public debts that will mature in the next 12 months.

And, when you consider that the high Federal debt is responsible, in good measure, for the tight-money supply and the resulting high-interest rates, it can be perceived how the Federal financial structure is trapped in a spiral of its own creation.

The Saltonstall bill at least opens an avenue of escape from what ultimately must be fiscal disaster. For, if this Nation has not reached the peril point of indebtedness, it is fast approaching it—and will certainly pass it in the event of any emergency requiring greatly increased Federal expenditures.

[From the Boston Sunday Herald of April 14, 1957]

SALTONSTALL PLAN MAY SAVE UNITED STATES FROM SOVIET PREDICTION

(By Tom W. Gerber)

WASHINGTON, April 13.—Some of the Nation's leading economists fear the United States is plunging headlong toward fiscal chaos on a timetable set by the Soviets 35 years ago.

This fear is reflected at least in part by the unprecedented economy drive in Congress aimed at butchering the $71.8 billion budget.

In this uneasy atmosphere, a bill introduced by Senator SALTONSTALL, Republican, of Massachusetts, is gaining quiet but increased attention as a possible roadblock on the dash toward economic disorder.

The Saltonstall measure would provide for systematic reduction of the public debt.

Behind this simple and unexciting title are economic realities like the value of the money that jingles in your pocket or warms in your billfold.

The Saltonstall bill would provide a means for the Government to pay banks and individual citizens a small slice of the $275 billion it owes. This is the national debt.

At the same time, Government services and international policies Congress believes the Government should provide would not have to be sacrificed.

SALTONSTALL believes his debt-reduction bill is essential for national security. And here's why he feels that way:

The national debt in 1941 was $49 billion. By the end of World War II, or midway in fiscal 1946, the debt had risen to $269 billion.

On this basis, if the United States were pitched into a war in the next few years, it could swell the debt to nearly a half trillion dollars.

And these are debts the Government would have to pay to keep its credit standing. It also is far beyond what many economic thinkers believe is the Nation's peril point.

This is the point when the public's confidence in the Government's ability to pay its debts begins to deteriorate.

Thus, to SALTONSTALL, the size of the national debt is linked directly to national security.

COST ZOOMS

As a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, the Senator says he has reason to believe the World War II criterion of cost now is outdated. It would cost considerably more to run a war in the 1950's than it did in the 1940's.

By gradual reduction of the public debt, the value of the dollar would be stabilized.

Here's how the Saltonstall bill would work:

1. If it went into effect on July 1, 1958, an amount equal to 2 percent of the previous fiscal year's revenues would be set aside to reduce the national debt.

This would be about $1.4 billion. The Saltonstall bill thus would require more revenue than spending. And this would tend to hold down the budget.

2. The amount set aside each year would increase by 1 percentage point up to 1961 when it would settle at 5 percent.

3. Provisions of the Saltonstall bill would be suspended under three circumstances.

The first would be in time of war when national survival hinges on unlimited spending.

The second would be in time of crisis, such as a depression when stepped-up Government spending usually is required to keep economic activity alive.

FIRST OF KIND

And the third time would be in event of a tax cut voted by Congress. This would suspend the bill for 2 years. And in this regard, SALTONSTALL points to the fact that his proposal encourages tax relief.

Congressional historians report that the Saltonstall bill is the only one of its kind ever introduced, though the files bulge with other proposals for reducing or controlling the debt.

The national debt in 1789 was about $75 million. This was paid off by selling western land.

In 1920, when the national debt was $24.3 billion, Congress established a sinking fund to reduce the debt. But the problem was that there was no provision against deficit financing at the same time.

Thus even as steps were being taken to reduce the debt, it was growing.

No schemes have been enacted since 1929 to reduce the national debt.

LENIN PREDICTION

It was about this same time that Lenin, who just had won control of Russia, predicted gleefully that the Soviet Union would force the United States to spend itself into bankruptcy.

And despite the growing strength of the United States in the world community, some comparative figures indicate Lenin's prediction may have a chance of coming true.

For instance, the nonpartisan National Economic Council reports that the United States debt is more than twice as large as that of the rest of the world combined.

And this Nation's budget is 17 percent greater than the combined total of 32 other major nations of the world.

Top economists like Jerome Frank, former head of the Securities and Exchange Commission, and Yale Prof. Olin G. Saxon, have expressed concern that the Nation might not be able to withstand a $300 billion national debt.

They claim it would be inflationary and cause the Government's credit standing to topple.

This might mean the Government would have to borrow at higher interest rates to swell the national debt even larger. This, in turn, would lead ultimately to depression.

FLEXIBILITY CITED

Other economists, and many congressional experts, reason that if the United States fails to reduce its public obligations in time of unprecedented prosperity, it will never get at the task.

In this regard, one of the cited advantages of the Saltonstall bill would be flexibility.

If economic activity increased revenues also would increase. And under the Saltonstall formula, Federal spending also could increase to absorb the needs of a growing nation.

In addition, as the national debt gradually were decreased under the Saltonstall bill, a lesser amount could be set aside each year to "service" or pay interest on the debt.

The Senator's bill, submitted less than 2 weeks ago, surely is the most important proposal he has set forth in his 12 years in Congress.

New Montana State Highway Engineer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I recently made a few brief remarks on the Senate floor relative to the retirement of Montana's State highway engineer, Scott P. Hart. Today I should like to comment on the very able replacement appointed to assume these duties on May 15—Fred Quinnell, Jr., of Helena, Mont. Mr. Quinnell is well qualified for this vital post in the State administration and is at present the assistant highway engineer in the highway department's technical division.

Fred Quinnell comes from a family long associated with the engineering field. His grandfather, his father, and his son have all been successful in the field of engineering. Fred joined the Montana State Highway Department in June 1927 and has served in many Montana cities as well as being State project engineer, division engineer, and as administrative assistant to Scott Hart.

I know that Fred Quinnell, Jr., will continue to provide the valuable services associated with the State Highway Department. I am looking forward to working with him and his associates on matters of State interest for Montana has a great future ahead in its numerous highway programs, local, State, and interstate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article from the Miles City Star be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ASSISTANT TO SUCCEED HART—QUINNELL APPOINTED NEW STATE HIGHWAY ENGINEER

HELENA.—Appointment of Fred Quinnell, Jr., Helena, as Montana highway engineer was announced Friday by the Montana Highway Commission. The 53-year-old Quinnell will succeed Scott P. Hart, resigned, on May 15.

Quinnell, presently assistant highway engineer in the highway department's technical division, has been with the department since 1927.

He previously served as project engineer, resident engineer, division engineer, and as administrative assistant to Hart.

The commission announcement from Chairman Harry L. Burns, Chinook, was released by Secretary Clarence E. Cunningham, Helena.

Quinnell was born at Wisconsin Rapids, Wis., September 2, 1903. He attended public schools at Melstone and Roundup and received his civil engineering degree from Montana State College, Bozeman.

Hart, highway engineer since January 26, 1953, announced his resignation for health and personal reasons March 29. It was accepted with regret by the five-member highway commission. Hart, 67, also was highway engineer for 14 months in 1948–49.

The new highway engineer first worked for the highway department while still a high-school student, doing summer survey jobs. His father, Fred Quinnell, Sr., now retired, is a veteran Montana civil engineer, and his grandfather was a construction engineer in England. Quinnell's son, Arthur, is a location engineer with the department's interstate division.

Quinnell joined the highway department at Roundup in June 1927, the year after his graduation from Montana State College.

During the past 30 years, he served in many Montana cities, including Forsyth, Butte, Wolf Point, Glendive, and Miles City.

Fred Quinnell, Sr., lives in Roundup. He retired as Bozeman city manager 3 years ago. He also served as Roundup city manager about 30 years.

Among his early day civil engineering jobs in Montana was the Glass-Lindsey irrigation project near Big Timber, one of the oldest such works still functioning in the State.

Report on Operations of United States Information Agency Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a summary of the experience of the United States Information Agency throughout the world, published in the New York Times of April 28, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

USIA—REPORT ON ITS OPERATIONS ABROAD

(With the United States Information Agency's appropriation threatened by heavy cuts in Congress, New York Times correspondents were asked to report on the agency's operations in several areas of the world where its work is most important. Their dispatches follow.)

WEST GERMANY

BONN, April 27.—In terms of budget, personnel, and variety of programs, the USIA's German operation is the biggest in Europe.

The programs include the RIAS radio station in West Berlin, a network of Amerika Haeuser in West Germany and West Berlin, exchange of teachers, students and leaders, presentation of books and magazines, distribution of documentary films, television and radio shows, preparation of pamphlets and feature articles, and the organization of public exhibits.

The budget for fiscal year 1956–57 was $7,500,000, of which $3 million was spent on RIAS. This radio station beams its broadcasts to the people in the Soviet Zone of Germany and is generally considered the most worth-while activity of USIA in Germany. The exchange program is rated by nonofficial Americans as the second most worth-while American investment in West Germany.

Effects weighed

The effectiveness of USIA's other activities is an open question. It is the claim of nonofficial Americans that, judged in terms of political action, the USIA's operations in the Federal Republic are conducted in a vacuum.

Except for the distribution of prepared feature articles, the USIA has virtually lost contact with German newspapers and periodicals. Up until 4 years ago intimate personal contact was maintained with German reporters and editors in Bonn.

Except for RIAS, the Amerika Haeuser and the exchange program, the Germans today are only dimly aware of the fact that the United States Government maintains one of its biggest and costliest programs in their country. One of the reasons for the gradual recession of USIA from the public scene is the increasing tendency to concentrate on staff work and to diminish work in the field.

AUSTRIA

VIENNA, April 27.—The staff and scope of the USIA in Austria were cut by more than half after this country achieved its independence and the need to counteract the propaganda disseminated by Austria's Russian occupiers ceased. The staff now numbers 30 Americans and 200 Austrians.

USIA's news and feature service, however, still distributes 30 to 40 stories weekly to Austrian newspapers. Since the state treaty it has averaged about 5,000 printings a year.

There is a small theater in Vienna, run partly by the United States of America in connection with the Austro-American society, and a Wander Theater has been touring the country presenting such plays as "The Patriots" and "Abe Lincoln in Illinois."

Although the exchange of persons program has been curtailed about a hundred Austrain students, editors and cultural leaders visit the United States under USIA's auspices annually. There are American Houses in Vienna, Salzburg, Linz and Graz; reading rooms in Klagenfurt and Innsbruck. There is a visual media unit which supplies window displays and photographs.

On the whole USIA here seems to be carrying on with a much smaller staff an information operation that compares favorably with the more ambitious activities of occupation days.

MIDDLE EAST

AMMAN, April 27.—The United States has launched through its Information Agency an all-out propaganda campaign to enlist the sympathies of the Arab leaders and people for the Eisenhower doctrine.

The response to these efforts has been gratifying to the USIA officials in most capitals of the Arab world. Appreciable amounts of mail bring requests for more information and expressions of approval.

But the problem confronting the USIA is that in the Arab world antiwestern agitators already have turned the Eisenhower doctrine into a dirty word before it has even been studied or implemented. The task of the USIA is to try to defeat this negative campaign.

One is inclined to conclude that unless United States Government policy gives all the appearance of full support for the Arabs, efforts by the USIA to win the people over to the western camp will have a sadly limited effect.

MOROCCO

RABAT, Morocco, April 27.—With the independence of Morocco the USIA increased its budget from $50,000 a year to $100,000 and the spending has now reached a level of $125,000 a year. The personnel includes 8 Americans and 20 local employees.

The Arabic sections of its 3 libraries have been expanded and 12 portable libraries of about 100 volumes each, 80 percent Arabic, have been set up to meet local demands for information. (Five caids of remote regions south of the Atlas Mountains sent in requests for libraries last week.)

The United States point of view has received better presentation in the nationalist press than the Communist point of view or the more important neutralist point of view from Egypt, despite the greater expenditures by Egypt, which also has the advantage of cultural affinity.

INDIA

NEW DELHI, April 27.—The United States runs a generally thoughtful and balanced propaganda program in India but it staggers under enormous political weights.

As long as the United States arms Pakistan, United States Information Service men here will be regarded as representatives of a country that is acting against India's security interest. No propagandist can persuade the Indians to like the arming of their neighbor or even get them to appreciate the reasons for it.

That is the political handicap when it comes to presenting the case for the United States. When it comes to presenting the case against the Communist there are other handicaps.

One is that the Russians and Chinese have their own propaganda machine, the Communist Party of India, which does not have the foreign label attached. Another is that the Indian Government keeps a tight reign on anti-Communist propaganda of the USIA.

The United States Information Service here has a budget of about $2 million. There are about 500 local employees and 60 Americans. United States propaganda here has to be aimed at the relatively small group of opinion-making people—officials, professionals, teachers, students, businessmen.

INDONESIA

JAKARTA, INDONESIA, April 27.—American information specialists have been hard at work in "neutralist" Indonesia since 1949 trying to make more friends and influence more people on behalf of the United States.

It is a a challenging asignment "selling" pro-Americanism and anticommunism to 82 million former colonial people whose Government is constantly telling them that Indonesia has decided not to take ideological sides in the cold war. The task is not made any easier by the increasing heavy salvos of Communist propaganda from the Soviet and Chinese Communist embassies here.

In the opinion of many Indonesians, the program generally appears to be effective. But there are criticisms, and usually these deal with matters of policy that are apparently set by Washington.

For one thing, some educated Indonesians say that local Information Agency officials send to the United States only those politically "pure" Indonesians who don't have a trace of leftism in their records.

"That means that the United States will accept only people already on their their side to visit the United States," they say, noting that Communist-bloc nations send outspoken anti-Communists on tours behind the Iron Curtain .

Many young Indonesians, they say, hunger for books, and they consequently would rather see more Information Agency libraries established rather than see money and energy go into still another anti-Communist news item in the daily bulletin.

JAPAN

TOKYO, April 27.—Activities of the USIA in Japan undoubtedly have a wide influence on public opinion. This is obvious to anyone who studies the use made by mass media—newspapers, radio, television, and other outlets—of material supplied by the agency.

One reason for the success of the USIA in Japan may lie in the fact that a lot of informational work Americans might be doing here is actually carried on by the Japanese in nine "Japan-America cultural centers." Material for these establishments, which include libraries, is supplied by the USIA.

Besides these projects, the USIA itself maintains 14 American cultural centers in as many important cities. Last year 12 million Japanese passed through these institutions, half of them to use library facilities, the other half to view USIA films.

Success of the indirect approach through mass media, in which the USIA label seldom appears, is much more important in a country that is virtually 100 percent literate and prosperous enough to have 50,000 television receivers in operation.

SOUTH AMERICA

LIMA, PERU, April 27.—In South America, not yet a particularly critical area for United States foreign policy, Washington's information and propaganda activities are geared to keeping old friends and making new ones. Emphasis in the efforts of the USIA is on presenting undramatically a general view of American policy objectives and explaining the American way of life.

In this endeavor the Agency apparently is meeting with a fair degree of success. Numerous newspapers throughout the continent print the Agency's releases, editors often use the USIA's background material for editorials, specialized groups view the technical films with propaganda content, much free time is obtained on radio and television outlets for the Agency's programs.

In view of the rising nationalism throughout South America, frequently with an anti-United States tone, and continuing Communist influence these programs appear to be important on all levels. Yet what can be accomplished here is limited, first, by the size of appropriations, and second by the caliber of the Agency's representatives.

The criticism most often heard is that the Agency's officers, with some exceptions, fail to establish the kind of intimate personal contacts with public-opinion leaders that is so vital in Latin America. The fact that the officers have almost no entertainment allowances is a factor.

BASIC FACTS ABOUT THE USIA

The United States Information Agency is an independent office within the executive branch of the Government, charged with the cold-war role or dispensing American propaganda and information abroad. In the polite language of a directive of the National Security Council, the purpose of the agency is:

"To submit evidence to the peoples of other nations by means of communications techniques that the objectives and policies of the United States are in harmony with the advance of their legitimate aspirations for freedom, progress, and peace."

ORGANIZATION

USIA was established as an independent agency in August 1953, the successor to several informational operations starting with the Office of War Information established during World War II. It now has about 12,000 employees. Of these, about 7,500 are foreign nationals employed in the 200 field offices now operating in 82 foreign nations or territories. Of the approximately 4,300 Americans on the payroll, 1,500 are stationed abroad and 2,800 are at the Washington headquarters.

PROGRAM AND COST

The USIA mission is carried out through these communications methods:

1. Broadcasting, primarily the Voice of America: The central studios of the VOA are in Washington; additional major transmitters are located in Manila, Okinawa, Ceylon, Salonika, Tangier, Munich, and afloat in the Mediterranean. As of December 31, 1956, VOA programs were on the air 162 hours and 45 minutes a week, using 45 languages. Allocation this year: $21,316,264.

2. Information centers and libraries: There are 164 of these centers scattered around the world where American books, magazines, and newspapers are available; where staff people answer questions about the United States; where exhibits reflecting American culture and achievement are shown. Allocation this year: $8,858,332.

3. Press service: Furnishes special materials, including the texts of United States Government policy pronouncements, to overseas USIA centers and to the press of foreign nations. Allocation this year: $9,880,000.

4. Motion-picture service: Produces or acquires motion pictures depicting various aspects of United States life, for use abroad through commercial or USIA outlets. Allocation this year: $7,004,000.

In addition to the funds for specific services, the cost for local overhead and personnel to operate these activities abroad is currently put at $46,451,154. Of this, $18,800,000 is available for Europe; $10,700,000 each for the Near East (including Africa) and the Far East; and $6,300,000 for Latin America. Another $8,600,000 is earmarked for running the Washington headquarters.

Comparative Electric Power Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article distributed by the Electric Consumers Information Committee April 17, 1957. The article reports that while electric power rates are rising over the Nation, they are being reduced by the nonprofit distributors in the Tennessee Valley Authority area, and the Bonneville Power Administration area. At the same time, both the TVA and Bonneville Power Administration are ahead of schedule on repayment of costs, plus interest, to the Government.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MURRAY. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Is it not correct to say that whenever private power companies do not have competition, their rates are higher than when they do have competition close by in the form of Government-controlled power?

Mr. MURRAY. That has been my observation. The Senator is absolutely correct.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. The further they get away from a yardstick, the higher the rates of the private companies are. Is that not correct?

Mr. MURRAY. The Senator is absolutely correct.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NONPROFIT UTILITIES IN TENNESSEE VALLEY AND PACIFIC NORTHWEST BUCK NATIONWIDE INCREASE IN ELECTRIC POWER RATES

In sharp contrast to Federal Power Commission figures showing a general upward trend over the country in domestic power bills since 1948, publicly and cooperatively owned utilities distributing power obtained from TVA and the Bonneville Power Administration have been steadily lowering rates to consumers. As a result the average residential use of electricity in these two regions is the highest in the United States and more than double the average use nationwide.

The report on the private power industry in 1955 by the president of the Edison Electric Institute revealed that over a 10-year period ending in November 1955, a total of 454 applications for rate increases had been made by private electric utilities, of which 419 were granted, 9 were pending, 11 withdrawn, and only 15 denied.

In California early this year the giant Pacific Gas & Electric Co. asked the State public utilities commission for a 6-percent hike in electric rates which would cost consumers $16.6 million more a year. Southern California Edison a few days later applied for a 16-percent rate increase which would remove $34 million annually from power users' pockets.

Congressional policy written into both the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933 and the Bonneville Project Act of 1937 provides that power sold at wholesale by the Federal Government for distribution is for the purpose of benefiting the people as a whole, particularly domestic and rural consumers. Electric power is to be made available to the people served by TVA and Bonneville through distributing utilities at the lowest possible rates in such manner as to encourage the widest possible use of electricity.

How well this objective has been met is reflected in the record of the 152 municipalities, rural electric cooperatives and 2 small privately owned utilities obtaining their power from the TVA system.

Rate reductions below the original basic TVA rate have been made by 53 distributors over the history of the agency's operations. Of this number 34 rate schedules are 10 percent below the basic rate, and 19 are now at the lowest rate schedule—20 percent under the basic rate.

From 1934 to June 30, 1956, TVA distributors have made more than 200 rate reductions, and during fiscal 1956 lower rates were adopted by 30 distributors. TVA is now drawing up a new rate schedule lower than the lowest now in use, and further reductions can be expected by the distributors.

Last year the Northwest Public Power Association gave 19 nonprofit utilities—10 in Oregon and 9 in Washington—the "One Cent Power Achievement Award." To obtain such recognition, a utility must have an average residential rate of 1 cent or less per kilowatt-hour.

A 1-cent residential rate is more than 60 percent under the national average rate per kilowatt-hour of 2.6 cents in 1955. No private utility in the Columbia region has met the 1-cent test.

Is the Federal low-cost abundant supply policy unbusinesslike?

The Federal budget for fiscal 1958 estimates that by the end of that year TVA repayments will be running 23 percent ahead of schedule, while TVA's 1956 report showed net income of about $26 million. Bonneville Power Administration reported that in 1956 the power investment on the Columbia River dams and BPA's transmission system had exceeded the repayment schedule by $77.1 million, with a net profit to the Federal Government of nearly $6 million for the year. The payout requirements for both agencies include principal, interest, operation, and maintenance.

The nonprofit utilities distributing TVA and Bonneville power to their users have experienced a greater power use and an accordingly greater return on their investment. The 150 municipal and rural electric cooperative utilities in the Tennessee Valley netted an aggregate $25 million in 1955, after all expenses, including interest, taxes, and depreciation were deducted. Before interest the average earnings of these systems gave them an 8 percent return on their investment. This makes possible further rate decreases.

How cheap power has increased domestic consumption in both regions can be seen by the following table:

Time	Annual electric energy used per domestic consumer (kilowatt-hours)		
	Columbia Basin	Tennessee Valley	United States
1933		600	600
1940	1,551	1,353	1,008
1955	7,462	5,800	2,850

From 1940 to 1955 average annual domestic use of electricity grew nearly fivefold in the Columbia Basin, and from 1933 to 1955 nearly ninefold in the Tennessee Valley because of the Federal power program. Over the United States, however, average domestic use increased four times between 1933 and 1955, and about 2.8 times between 1940 and 1955. In the latter year average domestic consumption is less than half that of the Tennessee Valley and amounts to less than 40 percent of annual domestic consumption in the Pacific Northwest.

TVA has estimated that domestic power users in its service area paid $36 million less in 1955 than they would have if they had purchased the same amount of power under rate schedules prevailing over the United States as a whole. Total savings to consumers of all kinds served by distributors of TVA power were estimated at $76 million in 1955.

Although similar figures are now harder to come by for the Pacific Northwest, it is roughly estimated from scattered BPA and FPC data that the domestic consumers of publicly and privately owned utilities in the Northwest paid about $115 million less for their average annual consumption of power under the composite rate for Oregon, Washington, and Idaho in 1955 than they would have if they had purchased the same amount under the composite domestic rate for the United States.

The wide effect of the high-use low-rate power marketing policies of TVA and BPA has reached millions of electric consumers outside their respective service areas by the yardstick of performance on rates, service, and expanded use which all utilities have been forced in varying degrees to emulate. In every direction, the nearer to the Tennessee and the Columbia Valley, the lower the electric rates, the farther away the higher those rates become. This area of influence, as far as it has reached, has resulted in many millions of savings to power consumers served by privately owned electric utilities.

Increased use of electricity has stimulated the manufacture of electric appliances that use power in the home, and electric equipment that generates, transmits, and distributes it. And the greater productivity in the farm, home, and factory has been one of the most significant achievements of TVA and BPA wholesale rates which have in peace and war stimulated the economic strength of both regions and thereby that of the Nation as well.

Federal Aid to Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a news story by Dr. Benjamin Fine which appeared in the New York Times on April 21, and a recent editorial from the Asheville (N. C.) Citizen regarding the shortage of college facilities.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of April 21, 1957]

THOUSANDS OF COLLEGE APPLICANTS AWAITING DECISION ON ADMISSION

(By Benjamin Fine)

For the next 3 to 4 weeks the postman will have a hand in the future of thousands of young people.

These youngsters, all high-school seniors, will be waiting for letters from colleges to which they have applied. The letters will carry acceptances or rejections from the schools of their choice.

Acceptance means the end of fretful waiting; rejections means the student must be content with a second choice, or perhaps even a third.

Not too many years ago a high-school senior with good grades had his pick of a college. Now, with the 1940 college population of 1,500,000 grown to 3 million, many colleges receive 5 to 10 times as many applications as they can accept. This is particularly true of big-name schools in the East.

Entrance standards get tougher each year, foreshadowing the difficulties to be faced by the students of 1970, when the college population is expected to reach 6 million.

Because of these conditions, some students now apply to at least 4 colleges, sometimes to as many as 10.

In its turn, a college may have to accept twice as many applicants as it can admit. Rejections from students make this necessary. Once a student is accepted by the school of his desire, he declines bids from any others. Good students might receive as many as four acceptances.

Princeton, for example, will send acceptance notices to 1,200 students to get a class of 750 this fall; 4,000 applied. Brown University, with 3,000 applications, will accept 1,200 for 650 places. Harvard, with 3,600 applications, will accept 1,550 for 1,100 places.

Smith received 2,188 applications. It will admit 600 students. Dr. Benjamin F. Wright, president of Smith, said the college did not know how many acceptances would be sent to get 600 students. Last year Smith had 45 more freshmen than it had anticipated because of a rise in student acceptances.

Yale has received 4,000 applications. The exact number to be admitted, said Arthur Howe, Jr., admissions director, has not been decided.

Miss Harriet Newhall, admissions director at Mount Holyoke College, reports that it has received more applications this year than in any other year. She predicts there will be about 150 more than last year's 1,600. At the same time, Mount Holyoke will take in a smaller class than last year.

To handle the heavy applications, colleges charge $5 to $25. This might look like a revenue producer, but Jonathan Pearson 3d, Union College admissions director, estimated that it costs more than $75 an applicant to run the admissions office. Union, where the $5 fee is expected to be increased to $10 next fall, has received 1,350 applications for a freshman class of 300 to 320.

Colleges differ in the dates on which they notify students of acceptance or rejection. Some send notices as early as the beginning of the high school senior year, others not until May 16.

Harvard, Yale, and Princeton and some other Ivy League universities have an agreement to notify candidates on May 14. Leading women's colleges, such as Smith, Mount Holyoke, Vassar, Barnard, and Radcliffe, set May 16 for notification.

Cornell notifies applicants as soon as a decision is made early in March. Brown sends notices after April 22. Union began accepting candidates on March 1, with rejections of unqualified candidates going out before that date.

Talks with high-school students and guidance counselors and comments from college officials give this picture: The students are fretful, the guidance people harassed and the college officials agreed that New York area students should look beyond the crowded eastern colleges for their education.

In replies to questionnaires, many college officials cited the flood of applications as perplexing and troublesome.

Charles R. Dalton, admissions director at the University of Rochester said: "The kind of admission procedure with which all colleges and universities are faced today, resulting from the number of multiple applications and the necessity of overadmission, is transforming admission officers into numbers racket gamblers, promising no more attractive outcome than a set of ulcers."

Miss Barbara Ziegler, admissions director at Wheaton College at Norton, Mass., had another concern. She said repeated references to "tidal waves" of students had increased the fretfulness among students and their parents.

"Junior high-school students are already beginning to panic," she said.

THE STUDENTS' SIDE

If the senior class at South Side Senior High School at Rockville Centre, Long Island, could be taken as typical, there is nervousness among students.

One girl has applied to Goucher, Vassar, Wellesley, Connecticut, Bryn Mawr, and Mount Holyoke. She is 20th in her class of 230, has a 91 percent 4-year average and did superior work in her college board tests, going above 600.

Despite her record, she is worried. Others in her class have applied to the same schools, and she knows that colleges will place a geographical quota on the number of students accepted from one locality.

"My first choice is Goucher," she says. "Right now I'm on edge. But I guess my parents worry more than I do."

A classmate with an even better school record—seventh in her class, 94 percent average and 650 in the college board tests—hopes to go to Smith. She also has applications in for Mount Holyoke, Middlebury, Radcliffe, and Vassar.

"If I'm turned down in all five, I just don't know what I'll do," she said. "It will probably be too late to apply to a big-name college the last week in May."

Her worry is real. Most colleges do not accept applications after April 1. This makes the waiting period difficult. Students know that if they get turndowns by mid-May, they will not find it easy to find a college with openings.

Another classmate said she dreamed she was accepted at Smith, but suffered the disappointment of waking up.

"It was so real," she said, "that I jumped out of bed and shouted, 'Mother, Mother, I've been accepted.' I threw my arms around my mother and kissed her. But it was just a dream."

If Smith fails her, she still may dream of Cornell, Connecticut, and Oberlin, her other choices.

At Manhasset, a girl said she had applied to Northwestern; Hollins, in Virginia; Beaver, in Jenkintown, Pa.; and Grinnell, in Iowa. She has an 83 average, a college scholastic aptitude score of 600 in verbal and 500 in mathematics.

"So many of my friends are getting rejections, I just don't know what to think," she said. "I've never been so anxious in my life. My parents are even worse than I am."

Private school students worry, too. A senior at Rhodes School, 11 West 54th Street, applied to Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, Smith, Swarthmore, and Cornell. She was fifth in her class and scored more than 700 in college tests.

"What'll I do if I'm turned down?" she asked. "My folks are pretty upset."

Now and then a student admits the college is not always at fault. One of these has applied to Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Carnegie Tech, Johns Hopkins, Pratt, Cooper Union, and City College. He hopes to be a chemical engineer. With an average in the mid-eighties, he feels he has reason to worry.

"I should have studied harder the first 2 years," he admits. Then I wouldn't be so on edge now."

Guidance directors with these young people in their charge must devote full time to the problems.

Dr. Marison E. Byrnes, in charge of college placement for the 230 Rockville Center seniors, devotes many hours to interviewing students and visiting admissions officers. A record 92 percent of the Rockville Center senior class wants to go to college. This high percentage is becoming quite usual, particularly in suburban schools.

Her Manhasset counterpart. Miss Reba Boze, said she was "getting grayer by the minute." She described parents and students alike as beside themselves.

One boy, she said, was rejected by four colleges.

"He came in this morning in tears," she related. "It just broke my heart. He's not a bad student. In former years I could place him somewhere. What will happen this year?"

With acceptance, another fee enters. This is in addition to the nonrefundable application fee. When a student is accepted, he is required to send a deposit ranging from $50 to $100, also nonrefundable.

The acceptance may come from a college that was the second choice of the student. He is not certain, though, about his first choice. In these cases, students have been sending the deposits to the first colleges accepting them. These fees will be forfeited if the students are accepted by their first-choice schools.

[From the Asheville (N. C.) Citizen]

COLLEGE AID

Senator CASE, Republican, of New Jersey, is continuing his advocacy of an emergency program of Federal aid to provide classrooms at community colleges.

Last December he warned that the bumper crop of war and postwar babies now crowding elementary schools will soon be seeking college admission. The result, he says, will be lack of room unless provision is made soon.

The Senator proposes to expand 2-year colleges through grants-in-aid to States.

Such a program would be welcomed by communities which lack or have inadequate junior college facilities. For the Asheville, Charlotte, and Wilmington junior colleges it would supplement the aid plan proposed by the State board of higher education.

Nationwide, the program would require a large sum. Although the idea is good, for it is designed to meet a foreseeable situation, the difficulty lies in getting approval of Congress which is already faced with a huge budget. At any rate, lively interest is being shown in the junior college bill.

The United Nations and Responsibilities for the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOS. E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Hon. Francis O. Wilcox, Assistant Secretary of State, before the Foreign Policy Association of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., on April 12, on the subject The United Nations and Responsibilities for the Future.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNITED NATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE FUTURE

(Address by the Honorable Francis O. Wilcox, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, before the Foreign Policy Association of Pittsburgh, Pa., Friday, April 12, 1957)

I am happy to be in Pittsburgh again and to take part in the Seventh Annual Pittsburgh Public Forum on World Affairs. I recall with pleasure my visit here several years ago when I was with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In my talk today, I should like to direct attention to the changing composition and role of the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is not surprising that our main focus should be on the General Assembly. A quick look at the events of the past decade leaves us with the impression that the United Nations today is a somewhat different organization from that conceived at San Francisco.

In 1945, the Security Council was hopefully expected to maintain and restore peace. In this Council power and responsibility were neatly combined. However, the 10 years of cold war, of sharp differences between the Soviet orbit and the free world, and in particular of repeated abuses of the veto by the U. S. S. R., have pushed the Council into a secondary role. The Council today, while still available, tends to be most useful primarily in situations where there is a possibility of East and West finding a common ground. In other situations it has been faced with increasing disuse.

In contrast the role of the General Assembly has outstripped the expectations of the framers of the charter. The General Assembly was designed to be the less powerful organ. It was scheduled to meet in regular annual sessions. It could not make decisions as could the Security Council—only recommendations. Its main weapon was discussion and debate. Power and responsibility were not realistically reflected in it—the vote of a small state equalled that of a large power. If increasing disuse has characterized the Security Council, quite the opposite is true of the Assembly.

THE ROLE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

If past is prologue then it would seem helpful to consider the implications for the future of the enlarged General Assembly and the greater responsibilities that have been assumed in the past few years by this body. These are changes which give new dimensions to the United Nations and which therefore pose for its members new problems and, I think, new opportunities.

In the last year and a half, the United Nations has grown from 60 to 81 members. A preponderance of the increase, it is interesting to note, represents newly sovereign states in Africa, the Near East, and the Far East, commonly referred to as Afro-Asia.

In the last 6 months, the General Assembly has assumed and discharged unprecedented responsibilities under the uniting for peace resolution which was adopted in 1950 following the Communist aggression in Korea. The machinery provided by this resolution was used for the first time when the Security Council was prevented by negative votes of some of its permanent members from dealing with the crisis in the Middle East and Hungary.

The increasingly important role played by the General Assembly and its greatly enlarged membership, taken together, are causing concern to some members of the United Nations and to some able students and critics of world affairs. Some of our stanch allies are wondering whether the Assembly can effectively face up to critical issues which threaten or break the peace.

I think it would be useful to review briefly some of these fears and warnings. Perhaps, in the process, we can form a judgment as to whether the Assembly is in fact in danger of becoming a Frankenstein monster about ready to destroy itself as some would have us believe.

First, the General Assembly, it is contended, is becoming more and more addicted to bloc voting, with loyalty to bloc taking precedence over any real attempt to meet issues objectively and on their merits. This is regarded as an irresponsible, even dangerous, development when a coalition vote of over one-third can be mustered by the Afro-Asian bloc alone.

Second, it is charged that there is an increasing tendency to water down resolutions in order to get a two-thirds supporting vote where important issues are under consideration. This tendency, it is contended is producing diluted resolutions of little force or effect.

Third, the principle of sovereign equality under which each state has one vote has come in for renewed criticism as giving an unreal, and distorted, reflection of the relative power, and influence, of the several states in international affairs. Is it right, it is asked, for a small, economically and politically weak state to weigh equally in the balance with a large and strong state when the votes are counted? Does not this encourage a tendency to "gang up" on the larger state?

Fourth, it is argued that the General Assembly has a double standard of justice and morality; one for states which abide by its recommendations, another for states that defy them. This also raises the question as to whether we are at fault in resorting to the United Nations on issues which it is powerless to resolve and which, therefore, may result in a sense of frustration or loss of faith in the organization itself.

A LOOK AT THE RECORD

These charges are serious ones and deserve our careful consideration. I believe a look at the record of the 11th General Assembly will help us determine their validity. With regard to all of them, I would like to make the general observation that they imply a greater authority and power than the General Assembly actually has. The composition and role of the General Assembly may be changing but its duties as set forth in the charter remain unchanged. It is a recommendatory body whose influence depends on the voluntary cooperation of its members.

BLOC VOTING

Let us take the matter of bloc voting. The only really consistent bloc voting in the General Assembly—and it is carried on with monotonous regularity—is done by the U. S. S. R. and its satellite states. This is a pattern long established; it is not a new phenomenon. The fears currently expressed are that the Afro-Asian group of nations may, as a matter of agreed policy, vote together and control Assembly action on important matters in a manner contrary to our interests. This, in my opinion, is more a mathematical possibility than a logical expectation or certainty. The mathematical facts are as follows:

As presently constituted, when all 81 members are voting, 54 votes are needed for the Assembly to act on matters requiring a two-thirds majority. If all the Afro-Asian states were to combine they would have a "blocking minority" of 28 votes, sufficient to block action on matters requiring a two-thirds vote and enough to give them a major voice in deciding all important issues. By contrast, in the new Assembly, the Latin American States now have but 24 percent of the vote, non-Communist Europe 19 percent, the Soviet bloc 11 percent, and the old British Commonwealth countries 5 percent.

In practice, however, the Afro-Asian group does not regularly vote as a bloc and when it does it is apt to be on issues for which there is overwhelming support from States outside the Afro-Asian area. Again, I think we should look at the record of the last general assembly.

Take first the vote on the principal resolutions relating to the Middle East crisis. Here, certainly, one might expect to see Afro-Asian solidarity. Yet out of 11 important resolutions approved between November 1, 1956, and February 2, 1957, this bloc voted as an entity on only 2, and in both these cases the resolutions received total votes of 74 in favor, 2 against, and 2 abstentions. Indeed, the general observation may be made that the Afro-Asian group displayed considerable unanimity in casting affirmative votes on the resolutions which were adopted by impressive or overwhelming majorities. In other words, they did not act as an irresponsible splinter group in opposition to the will of the majority.

The voting record on the Hungarian situation demonstrated less unanimity, although there was an increasing tendency for all United Nations members, including those from Africa and Asia, to be more sharply critical of brutal Soviet actions as they became revealed. On this issue, it might be observed, we would have welcomed a solid Afro-Asian bloc vote. But on only 3 out of 10 resolutions were more than 20 Afro-Asian votes cast affirmatively and these dealt with the less contentious issues of relief for the Hungarian refugees. The vote on the remaining seven resolutions reflected wide splits within the bloc. The point I want to emphasize is this: the Afro-Asian group does not constitute a monolithic bloc.

Of course, there is a tendency for States with common interests and problems to vote together when they think this will serve those interests. These tendencies, wherever they exist, present problems to all who wish to see international issues dealt with on their merits. At the same time, we should not exaggerate the extent to which such bloc voting prevails nor should we exaggerate the practical consequencies.

WATERED-DOWN RESOLUTIONS

Let us consider the record on the watering down of resolutions. Now it is true that a resolution is seldom approved in committee in the form in which it was first submitted. This would be a remarkable thing not only for the General Assembly but for any political deliberative body. We have only to consider, for example, the tortuous course of a piece of legislation, or a simple resolution, in our own Congress.

This process of compromise is certainly a democratic process. It is an attempt to find common ground and secure the widest possible area of support. It is an essential step if the General Assembly is to comply with the charter injunction to harmonize the action of nations. It exercises a moderating influence on the action of states and places a premium on reasonable policies reflecting broad rather than narrow interests.

A good example of the wisdom and effectiveness of this process is the General Assembly's handling of the Algerian problem. You will recall that France a year ago withdrew her delegation when Algeria was inscribed on the agenda. This year, in the 11th General Assembly, France, while denying the Assembly's competence, did not oppose inscription. When the matter came up before the Political Committee in February 1957, a strong resolution drafted by 18 Afro-Asian States was introduced. While this resolution no doubt expressed the convictions of the drafters, it was obvious from the beginning that it could never receive the two-thirds vote necessary for adoption. Actually no vote was ever taken on this resolution as a whole.

On February 11, in an effort to reach a measure of agreement, a milder resolution was introduced by Japan, the Philippines, and Thailand. The following day a number of other powers tried their hand at drafting an acceptable resolution. Both these resolutions came to a vote in committee and were adopted. Neither, however, received a two-thirds majority.

On February 15, the General Assembly in plenary session heard the Political Committee report failure to secure two-thirds support for any resolution on Algeria. At this juncture, the powers which had fathered the two resolutions that received a simple majority in committee, introduced in plenary a moderate compromise resolution. This resolution, expressing the hope that a peaceful, democratic, and just solution to the Algerian problem would be found in conformity with the principles of the charter, was adopted by a unanimous vote. France refrained from voting in keeping with its position that the General Assembly is not competent to deal with the Algerian situation.

This result could be called, I suppose, an example of a "watered down" resolution. I believe it more accurate to describe it as a practical compromise arrived at after exhaustive debate in which all sides had an opportunity to express their views. The debate cleared the air; and substantive action by the Assembly, which would have hampered rather than promoted a solution, was avoided. It is clear from the unanimous vote that during this debate the States principally concerned had achieved understanding, if not approval of each others attitudes and interests. All members faced the fact squarely that the General Assembly on its own could not provide a solution to the Algerian problem. Progress, however, was possible and progress was made because the Assembly acted responsibly in maintaining an atmosphere conducive to a practicable solution in the future by the parties directly concerned.

General Assembly consideration of the question of Cyprus followed very much the same pattern.

I believe that the Assembly's record on the disarmament question was also an example of responsible action. Assembly members recognized fully that before disarmament can be achieved the principal powers must reach agreement through quiet negotiations. The Assembly was aware that the 81-nation forum is not the right place to try to reach agreement on highly technical details involving the security of many peoples and many countries. For these reasons, it voted unanimously to refer all the disarmament proposals before it to the Disarmament Commission and its subcommittee for prompt, quiet, and detailed consideration. This is an excellent example of the Assembly realiz-

ing what it should or should not do in a given situation.

Of course, not all compromise resolutions passed by the Assembly are generally regarded as the best result that might have been achieved. For example, a good many delegations considered the Assembly's last resolution on the deployment of the United Nations Emergency Force in Egypt as something less than satisfactory. It would obviously have been preferable if the Assembly had been more precise in definining UNEF's role in the Gaza Strip or at the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba. But here, as in other cases, the outcome was determined by the prevailing balance of interests in the Assembly, in this case by those who favored less precision. Nevertheless, the result, while not ideal, did make possible the effective interposition of the UNEF between Israeli and Egyptian forces.

Now, I realize that such halfway measures will never satisfy those who expect the United Nations to make quick, clear-cut and enforcible decisions based on agreed concepts of right and wrong in a given issue. Nevertheless, such precise and complete solutions to problems are not always possible. International issues today often are susceptible of only modest solutions. The Assembly's willingness to face up to its limitations as well as its capacities in concerete instances represents a forward step toward even greater responsible action in the Assembly.

THE VOTING FORMULA

One of the very first actions that a newly sovereign state takes in the international field is to apply for admission to the United Nations. Membership in this body is looked upon as the final stamp of approval by the international community. Once admitted, the new state is anxious to demonstrate its ability to contribute to the objectives of the charter, and equally desirous, I think, to assert and maintain its new-found independence and sovereignty. The new state tends to avoid actions which would make it appear that its vote is in someone else's pocket.

I believe that, by and large, these new states, and the so-called small or weak states, have acted responsibly and in the common interest. There are occasions, of course, when a state or group of states advances proposals which are impossible or extremely difficult for the United Nations to carry out and which place the major powers in a difficult predicament. On such accasions in particular we may feel that the 1-state 1-vote formula is, in fact, an inequity and perhaps some consideration should be given to weighted voting devices.

But it is hard to blame these states for using the General Assembly, on occasion, as an opportunity to make the major powers sit up and take notice. Sometimes, when the latter are at loggerheads, such action may serve a decisively constructive purpose.

The General Assembly is as near as the world has come toward the creation of a parliament of nations. As an international institution it tends to reflect accurately the underlying political, economic, and social conditions in the world. It should draw upon, as does a democracy, the energy and intellectual resources of all its members. The atmosphere of equality which prevails encourages it to do this. We should also recall that the Assembly, as a recommendatory body, has built-in safeguards against the imposition of the will of the majority on an opposing minority, even if this is a minority of one. Its recommendations may be disregarded.

However, where the majority is overwhelming and the justice or good sense of a proposal is abundantly evident, opposition or noncompliance by one or more of the great nations will be at the peril of turning world public opinion against them. As the General Assembly has grown this has been revealed as one of its great unwritten powers. No nation can lightly accept a position of definance to its limited authority.

THE DOUBLE STANDARD

I would like to say a word now about the so-called double standard. The failure of the General Assembly to bring about the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary, as contrasted with its success in the Middle East crisis, has become a cause of concern.

The record of Assembly action on these two issues does not support the charges made against it. The resolutions invoked against the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Communist regime were more strongly worded than in the case of the action in the Middle East. The Assembly climaxed its action with outright condemnation of the U. S. S. R.—a step which has blasted the underpinnings from the Soviet propaganda campaigns of the past years. Frustrating United Nations action has cost the Soviet Union dearly.

We must face the fact that the possibility for such frustration of United Nations action was written into the Charter when great power unanimity was required for Security Council decisions. It was hoped, of course, that unanimity on questions of aggression or threats of aggression would prevail but we were as insistent as any other power in including this provision. It is true that the uniting-for-peace resolution empowers the General Assembly to act in cases where the Security Council fails to act. But this was a resolution, not an amendment to the Charter. The fundamental responsibilities and authority of the Security Council and the General Assembly remain unchanged.

There are and there will remain those within the community, the state, and world who attempt to defy the law. In the absence of enforcement power or a decent respect to the opinions of mankind they may—at least in the short run—get away with it. It is true that this is a threat to the rule of law, but it is not its abrogation.

The Soviet Union remains charged by mankind with a brutal and flagrant violation of the Charter in the case of Hungary. With regard to General Assembly action, I believe the cause of freedom was served within the capacity of that body to do so in the circumstances, and that the cause of Soviet communism was dealt a serious and irreparable blow.

I think we underestimate the telling and lasting effect on governments, and people throughout the world of the long days and nights of incisive debate and investigation of the Hungarian issue by the General Assembly. As the details of Communist ruthlessness, cynicism, and falsehood were revealed, the eyes of many were opened for the first time to the true meaning of Soviet imperialism. This was particularly true among the representatives of states who, for a variety of reasons, have tended to take a noncommital or detached stand, particularly on issues with cold-war overtones.

By way of illustration, I would like to refer to an episode in the 11th General Assembly when the Hungarian matter had been under debate for nearly a month. A resolution of condemnation of the Soviet Union was before the Assembly. The delegate from Burma asked for the platform and spoke as follows:

"My delegation has listened with objective detachment to the arguments put forward by the Soviet Government and its allies in defense of the Soviet action in Hungary." "We have hoped," he said, "that the truly modest steps proposed by this General Assembly would have been unanimously adopted. We abstained and waited during the week of December 2, under the expectation that surely the Secretary General of the United Nations would be agreeably received in any member country, at any time. We abstained and waited, while the Secretary General told us that there was a chance that he would be received in Hungary at a stipulated date within the next few days." Then, in telling the Assembly that he was now prepared to vote condemnation of the U. S. S. R., the Burmese delegate said, "We do this to keep our self-respect. After all responsible waiting for action has passed, we can do no less." "There," he said, speaking of Hungary, "but for the grace of God go we."

At the conclusion of this debate, Burma joined 14 other Afro-Asian nations in condemning Soviet violation of the Charter. In my opinion, this exposure and condemnation of Communist imperialism has served to strengthen the bonds of the free world. It may well turn out to be one of the greatest blows suffered by the Soviet Union and the satellite system in the past decade. In any consideration of a double standard it must be weighed on the positive side of General Assembly accomplishment. For any measure that reveals the methods of despotism and suppression of freedom serves the cause both of the oppressed and of the free who wish to remain free.

PROBLEMS FOR THE FUTURE

In discussing the changing composition and role of the General Assembly I have attempted to place the problems encountered in the light of our experience to date. We will continue to have these problems and new ones will evolve as the resources within the General Assembly are developed.

In summation, I would like to suggest some guidelines for the future.

We should not assume that there will be solid bloc voting or mechanical majorities in the General Assembly except for the Soviet Union and its satellites.

We must remember that states generally act in what they conceive to be their own best interests. There are varying gradations of interest on various problems. There is much in international intercourse that tends to unify—and as much which causes disunity.

We should keep in mind that when a two-thirds vote is required it is often necessary to negotiate among the regional groups or blocs making up the Assembly. If, however, we continue to demonstrate constructive leadership and do our utmost to identify our interests with the interests of world peace and of progress, then I believe the General Assembly is not a body to be feared, now or in the future.

In discussing earlier the question of weighted voting, I did not mean to close or dispose of the issue. For it may well be true that the General Assembly does have a voting system which tends to give a distorted reflection of the power and influence in the world of the various members. However, as I indicated earlier, there is evidence of a responsible restraint exercised by members of the Assembly. This is due, in large part, to an awareness that a General Assembly resolution when passed is still only a recommendation and that its effectiveness depends upon the degree to which it is followed—particularly by the stronger and more influential powers.

The mere fact that a bloc of powers can muster a two-thirds vote on an important issue does not necessarily mean that they will do so. I cite as a case in point the reaction at the General Assembly to the question of the invoking of sanctions against Israel for failure to withdraw her forces. One of the Middle Eastern states had actually introduced such a sanctions resolution. It was very posible at the time that such a resolution could have passed by a two-thirds majority. But this potential majority exercised a commendable restraint and caution; they waited to learn in particular what the position of certain powers would be whose support might be decisive. As it turned out, the resolution was never brought to a vote and Israeli forces were eventually withdrawn.

Such responsible action is an example of the General Assembly being used as an instrument through which our interdependent world realizes and accepts its interdependence.

The more influential states must recognize that power and responsibility go hand in hand and that their positions of leadership cannot be taken for granted.

The less influential states should take care not to impair or destroy by their actions the usefulness of the organization that protects them and gives them an equal voice in the councils of nations.

The United Nations should be recognized for what it is, an aid to progress toward a more peaceful world. It is complementary to traditional diplomacy, not a substitute for it or for responsible international conduct. It is not a political Univac, where you feed the problems in one side and take the answers out the other.

In this connection we have often recognized that there are certain international problems that can be more effectively handled outside the context of the United Nations. We have also recognized that we can never use the United Nations as a substitute for bold, imaginative, and realistic foreign policies and programs of our own; that we must continue to pursue many of our national interests and objectives through various regional arrangements and bilateral relationships.

I think there is no doubt that the United Nations must develop more effective pressures to get members to abide by its decisions and recommendations where threats to the peace are involved. In this connection, I believe the creation and use of the United Nations emergency force is an important step in the evolution of voluntary peace-enforcing devices. The experience gained through this current experiment may prove invaluable in the future.

I look to the future of the United Nations, and of the role of the General Assembly in it, with optimism. It has recently faced crucial issues and has emerged a stronger and in some ways a more mature organization. We and the other member states will be called upon to assess its limitations and exploit its resources if it is to discharge well the purposes for which it was founded. The United States will continue to contribute its full measure of support to this end.

Montana Mother of 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, each spring an outstanding mother is selected in the Nation and in each State to be honored on Mother's Day, the second Sunday in May.

I am extremely pleased to announce that Mrs. Adolph Rieger, of Plevna, Mont., has been selected as Montana Mother of 1957.

This 66-year-old mother has 18 children and 55 grandchildren. Mrs. Rieger was born in South Dakota and was a schoolteacher before coming to Montana, where she and her husband have been engaged in ranching.

Montana has selected a woman of great accomplishments in all things associated with American motherhood. She has raised a large family and many of her children have received higher education. Five sons served in the Armed Forces. The Reigers have developed a fine ranch in eastern Montana, providing a future for several of their sons.

In addition, Mrs. Rieger has been very active in church work, as well as school and community activities.

I am taking this opportunity to extend my very best personal wishes to Montana's mother of the year, and to express the hope that she will enjoy many more years with her fine family.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article from the Miles City Star, April 17, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PLEVNA WOMAN NAMED 1957 MOTHER OF MONTANA

(Montana's mother of 1957 is the mother of Mrs. Lyle Horr, 806 Washington, in Miles City.)

DEER LODGE.—Selection of Mrs. Adolph Rieger, of Plevna, 66-year-old mother of 18 children and grandmother of 55, as Montana mother of 1957 was announced Wednesday.

Mrs. Warren H. Graeter, of Deer Lodge, Montana chairman for the American Mothers Committee, made the announcement. She said Mrs. Rieger, who was born at Tyndall, S. Dak., is a candidate for the American Mother title.

Sixteen of Mrs. Rieger's children are living. One daughter died at the age of 5 and a son was killed in the World War II Battle of the Bulge. Five of the Rieger boys served in the Armed Forces.

Three of Mrs. Rieger's children were graduated from Montana State University, Missoula, and two others received special training there. Two daughters became nurses.

Her husband is retired and three of their sons manage the family ranch near Plevna.

Mrs. Rieger, the former Lydia Freier, attended Teachers Institute in South Dakota and taught school in that State before she was married and came to Montana.

She has been active in the Emmanuel Congregational Church and taught Sunday school for years. Mrs. Rieger also has been active in the American Legion Auxiliary, her county home demonstration club, and in 4-H Club work.

Operation of the Post Office Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, two editorials have come to my attention, pertaining to the current controversy over the operation of the Post Office Department and the question of whether the postal operation is a public service or is a business that should be run on a profit basis.

One editorial, published in the Daytona Beach Evening News of April 24, 1957, is entitled "What the Post Office Is For," and the other editorial, published in the Charleston, S. C., News and Courier, of April 17, 1957, is entitled "A Breach of Law."

I ask unanimous consent that the two editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Daytona Beach Evening News of April 24, 1957]

WHAT THE POST OFFICE IS FOR

United States Senator OLIN JOHNSTON, of South Carolina, was speaking in the finest American tradition when he said here this week that the main purpose of the post office is to serve the public and that it's not something to be run the same as a business.

Senator JOHNSTON, who holds a potent position as Chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Commission, has taken a sound view also, in our opinion, in favoring a pay raise for post-office employees.

It is to be expected also, as he seems to believe, that first-class mail rates may have to be raised again, and perhaps other post-office charges as well.

But the American people have learned, as post-office customers, that an academic business attitude toward the post office can raise hob with the service and thus hurt private business all along the line and injure the private lives of all citizens. They have learned these things from false economies put into effect by Postmaster General Arthur Ellsworth Summerfield as an expression of Republican Party policy.

Pennypinching the past few years has cut in half mail deliveries to residential areas and otherwise has caused the service to deteriorate. The argument in support of these follies has been that it's sound business to curtail service to overcome a deficit. We can remember some private businesses which have put themselves out of business by following such a policy. Aggressive businesses have turned failure into success by improving service in the face of losses.

The important thing about the post office is the public service it renders to everybody—to all citizens, men, women, and little children, to the poor and the rich, the educated and the ignorant, to big and little business and to Government itself on all levels.

The key thing to remember is this service and how important it is to the business, social, and political life of this Nation. The dollar factor, important though it may be, is of secondary importance.

It is unfortunate that the Republican administration has taken the private business view of the post office. It is fortunate that in the United States Congress there are other Senators and Representatives who share the views expressed by the South Carolina Senator.

The American people can afford to foot the bill for a post-office deficit—the per capita share of this deficit being something like $3 a year or less. The American people cant' afford to lose the post-office service. They can't afford to let it run any further down hill.

A recent survey by the New York Times showed that today many other countries maintain postal service which in many respects has ours licked. The American people want the best. They're willing to pay for it—willing and able.

Because this traditional attitude toward the post-office service has been upheld pretty consistently, the service has been broadened and improved through the years. Republican as well as Democratic administrations have had a share in many succesful adventures in post office enterprise.

Looking backward the New York Times recalls the start of registered mail in 1855; the start of the pony express in 1860; free city delivery, in 1863; money orders, 1867; special delivery, 1885; rural free delivery, 1896; postal savings, 1911; airmail, 1918; the

start of experimental flying of regular 3-cent mail.

To these should be added parcel post early in this century—a revolutionary though controversial boon to business and to private citizens, and c. o. d service.

Besides all this the post office renders extracurricular services: It gives out information regarding civil-service examinations and even conducts some of the examinations. Documentary internal revenue stamps can be bought in post offices. It sells migratory bird hunting stamps. Postal employees are required to administer pensioners' oaths in the execution of pension vouchers. Post office employees give notary public service, for example when you cast an absentee ballot.

All these manifold services help to make the post office what it is—a vast apparatus whose civil-service employees give the public just as good service as the officials in Washington will let them. A deficit? Let's pay the difference and keep the service as good as it can be made.

If we wish to reduce the deficit let's cut out some features which interfere with essential service. For example, third-class mail, consisting mainly of unsolicited and unwanted advertising mater, costs a deficit of more than $100 million a year. But that's a money deficit. We must figure in also the loss of time, space, and efficiency in processing, loading, hauling, and carrying by hand the tons of third-class mail which nobody wants at the receiving end. We could save a mint of money and expedite the mail by eliminating most or all of the third-class stuff.

The thing to remember is that the American people want to keep on with this typically American service. They want to pay for it collectively, as they pay for Weather Bureau information, the services rendered by the Patent Office and the Bureau of Standards, the Library of Congress and its Copyright Office, the Coast Guard and its Lighthouse Service.

Then there's the National Park Service, the United States Fish and Wildlife Service. They don't pay their own way, yet these and many other services are essential to our life as a great nation. We cherish them for the same reason that we maintain public libraries, hospitals, parks, botanical gardens, and national monuments—because our sense of civilization carries us beyond and above the concept of public service as a dollar business.

[From the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier of April 17, 1957]

A BREACH OF LAW

The Post Office Department's no-extra-money, no-mail trick has been so successful that we wouldn't be surprised if other Federal agencies adopted it. We can just imagine the public power boys in TVA saying "More money, or we won't be able to deliver electricity on the weekends." If the State Department doesn't get every dollar it wants, it could threaten to remove United States Consuls from countries visited by large number of American tourists. The FBI could enforce the law only on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

The Federal agency strike threat may be just the device the bureaucrats have long sought for the purpose of keeping down economy-minded Congressmen.

A return to normal mail service should not be an occasion to forget what Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield has done. The question of law violations should be pursued. In this connection, we note a statement by Joseph C. Campbell, Comptroller General of the United States, whose General Accounting Office serves as Congress' watchdog on Government spending.

Mr. Campbell said that the Budget Bureau on three occasions—last July, December, and February—decreased the Post Office's fund for the quarter which began April 6 in order to increase allotments for earlier quarters. Mr. Campbell pointed out that there is a law requiring agencies to apportion their funds through the entire fiscal year so that additional funds will not be necessary.

The Comptroller General said this Federal law had been violated by the Budget Bureau in permitting the Post Office Department to spend its appropriations so rapidly. The Post Office, Mr. Campbell added, violated, the spirit of the law.

We feel sure that Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON of South Carolina, chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, will take Mr. Campbell's charge into account in conducting an investigation of the situation. Senator JOHNSTON has been awake and alert to this matter, and can be counted upon to see that the mail gets delivered.

Dollar of Federal Aid Costs Ohioans $1.69

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial appearing in the Mansfield News Journal, entitled "Dollar of Federal Aid Costs Ohioans $1.69." Mr. Speaker, this editorial is worthy of the reading and thinking of every Member of this Congress. It clearly demonstrates what our States pay and what we receive. It is information that should be remembered by the Members of this legislative body, because all of us should recognize that whenever the Federal Government participates in any program, we encounter additional redtape and additional costs.

[From the Mansfield News-Journal of April 15, 1957]

DOLLAR OF FEDERAL AID COSTS OHIOANS $1.69

Federal aid is a great big painful laugh as far as the citizens of Ohio are concerned.

For each dollar of Federal aid that Ohioans get they pay out $1.69 in taxes.

On top of that, they pay 20 percent more which goes to the agencies of the Federal Government which "handle" the aid.

In contrast the great and wealthy State of Texas, the State of millionaires, pays only 78 cents in taxes for each $1 it gets in Federal aid.

Ohio is one of 14 States which has to pay out substantially more than a dollar to get a dollar back. The other 34 States get the gravy. They get back more than they pay.

But all of the States lose 20 percent on the deal because that is the Federal Government's handling cost, for taking money away from some people and giving it to others.

Writing in the Magazine of Wall Street, McLellan Smith explains the situation in detail:

"Federal aid to States and local units of government, one of the great misnomers of our times, may be voted by the current Congress to the tune of $5,273,000,000, to be distributed in no less than 54 forms of aid," the article says.

"Aid, that is, if one may consider it as such, giving back to some States a fraction of the money Washington takes from them in taxes, and turning the horn of plenty toward some low-taxpaying areas with donations far out of proportion of their contribution to the Federal Treasury.

"And whether a State receives more or less, there intervenes the middleman, the United States Treasury, a costly and inequitable dealer in the great game of dollars. The Federal handling charge runs to approximately 20 percent of the money handled. That goes to payroll and administration expense. It is therefore reasonable to say that the proposed $5.3 billion giveaway represents $6.3 billion in the overall. The processing fee naturally must come from the taxpayer.

"It's a topsy-turvy hocus-pocus but it has no element of humor to it, especially to those States which are minus in the deal because they get out of the aid pool only a fraction of what they contribute to it."

Here is a table showing what the several States paid in and what they lost or gained in the Federal aid hocus-pocus:

Amount taxpayers in 14 States paid in taxes for each dollar of Federal aid received (fiscal 1956)

State	Tax paid	Loss
Delaware	$2.45	$1.45
New Jersey	2.40	1.40
Connecticut	2.21	1.21
New York	1.82	.82
Ohio	1.69	.69
Maryland	1.67	.67
Illinois	1.64	.64
Michigan	1.59	.59
Pennsylvania	1.50	.50
Indiana	1.46	.46
Massachusetts	1.24	.24
Wisconsin	1.23	.23
California	1.05	.05
New Hampshire	1.02	.02

Amount taxpayers in 34 States paid in taxes for each dollar of Federal aid received (fiscal 1956)

State	Tax paid	Gain
Oregon	$0.96	$0.04
Florida	.93	.07
Virginia	.90	.10
Minnesota	.89	.11
Rhode Island	.89	.11
Washington	.79	.21
Texas	.78	.22
Iowa	.77	.23
Maine	.71	.29
Missouri	.67	.33
Kansas	.66	.34
Nebraska	.66	.34
Vermont	.62	.38
Colorado	.61	.39
North Carolina	.57	.43
Montana	.55	.45
Tennessee	.55	.45
Kentucky	.52	.48
Arizona	.51	.49
West Virginia	.51	.49
Georgia	.49	.51
South Carolina	.49	.51
Utah	.49	.51
Nevada	.48	.52
Idaho	.46	.54
North Dakota	.44	.56
Wyoming	.42	.58
South Dakota	.38	.62
Alabama	.36	.64
Louisiana	.36	.64
Oklahoma	.35	.65
New Mexico	.34	.66
Arkansas	.31	.69
Mississippi	.29	.71

Tax Cut for Low Income Taxpayers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced two bills to provide a tax cut for low income taxpayers, and I rise to discuss my reasons for so doing and to

urge Congress to give early and favorable consideration to my bills.

During the last session of Congress I introduced a bill substantially identical to one of the bills that I introduced today.

The House has cut budget requests of some $72 billion by over $1 billion to date, with the big money bills yet to come. I insert here a table showing the amount of the various cuts by the House of Representatives in budget requests:

Summary of House action on appropriation estimates, 85th Cong., 1st sess.

Appropriation bill	Estimates	Cumulative estimates	Bill reduction	Cumulative reduction	Percent reduction	
					Bill	Cumulative
1. Regular and supplementals, 1958:						
Treasury-Post Office	$3,965,291,000		$80,364,000		2.0	
Interior	515,189,700	$4,480,480,700	60,794,000	$141,158,000	11.8	3.2
General Government matters	20,921,870	4,501,402,570	4,900,500	146,058,500	23.4	3.2
Independent Offices	5,923,195,000	10,424,597,570	537,993,300	684,051,800	9.0	6.5
Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare	2,981,277,581	13,405,875,151	134,446,000	818,497,800	4.5	6.1
District of Columbia (Federal payments only)	25,504,450	13,431,379,601	3,000,000	821,497,800	11.7	6.1
Commerce	871,513,000	14,302,892,601	217,827,940	1,039,325,740	25.0	7.2
State-Justice-Judiciary (as reported)	665,649,802	14,968,542,403	101,850,009	1,141,175,749	15.3	7.6
2. Supplementals and deficiencies, 1957:						
Urgent deficiency, 1957	382,067,500		46,977,500		12.3	
Second urgent deficiency, 1957 (as reported)	55,100,000	437,167,500	6,110,000	53,087,500	11.1	12.1
3. Total session		15,405,709,903		1,194,263,249		7.7

The President said recently that the Budget Bureau has projected a surplus of about $1.8 billion, based on figures preceding the cuts which Congress has made to date. He further indicated that another $1.8 billion can be saved through administrative economies, which would mean an estimated surplus of $3.6 billion. It does not appear either unlikely or unreasonable to expect that there will be sufficient money available for a tax cut of the kind which I propose in one of my two bills. Indeed, I have withheld introducing any tax cut legislation until this time because I was not sure that responsible fiscal policy would permit an orderly reduction of the national debt together with a reasonable amount of tax relief. The first bill which I have introduced provides for raising individual exemptions from $600 to $700. Revenue loss to the Federal Government from this proposal will be $2.8 billion. Under this proposal approximately 3.6 million people in the low-income tax group will be absolved from any tax liability whatsoever. This is a very small percentage of the number of taxpayers in this country, of which there are today about 81 million. Those who will be removed from the income-tax rolls are those who are least able to pay, and those whose income tax is most expensive to process in the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Many of those removed from the tax rolls actually pay less than the amount that it costs the Government to process their return. Slightly over half of this tax cut will go to those who earn less than $5,000 a year, and who constitute the largest class of taxpayers.

Under this particular program the average worker in my district earning the average wage of about $5,000 a year with a wife and two children would receive a tax cut of about $80 or 15.4 percent. For comparison among the various income levels I insert into the RECORD a table of reduction of taxes for various representative income groups with an average family of two children:

Married couple, 2 dependents

$3,000	$120	$40	$80	66.7
$4,000	320	240	80	25.0
$5,000	520	440	80	15.4
$8,000	1,152	1,064	88	7.6
$10,000	1,592	1,504	88	5.5
$15,000	2,900	2,780	120	4.1
$25,000	6,268	6,116	152	2.4
$50,000	18,884	18,648	236	1.2
$100,000	51,912	51,624	288	.6
$500,000	402,456	402,092	364	.1
$1,000,000	857,456	857,092	364	(1)

[1] Less than 0.05 percent.

The other bill which I have introduced offers the taxpayer an increase in the individual exemption from $600 to $800 per annum. This will be possible if the present rate of reduction in appropriations is continued by Congress. The reason I say this is that at the present rate of reduction of appropriations the House will cut the Eisenhower budget by slightly in excess of $4.7 billion. An increase in individual exemptions from $600 to $800 per year will reduce Treasury revenues by about $5 billion. It will also have the effect of eliminating about 7.2 million of the low-income bracket taxpayers.

I want to underscore this, Mr. Speaker, that independent of the economies being effected in the budget by reductions of appropriations by the House of Representatives, Mr. Eisenhower and the Bureau of the Budget have anticipated a Government surplus of about $3.6 billion. This leaves ample room for reduction of taxes along the lines of either of the 2 plans I have suggested in my 2 bills with a budget surplus of about $3.6 billion for reduction of the national debt.

This is the kind of tax cut which is most beneficial to the economy of this country. It goes principally to those who are in the lower income-tax brackets and must immediately spend the proceeds to buy their daily needs. As such, it will flow immediately into the channels of trade and create jobs and opportunity. Those in the upper brackets benefit also by a reduction in taxes. Industry and trade will have an increased volume of money moving in pursuit of goods and services. All will benefit. Such a tax cut will stimulate business and industry, and it is not inconceivable to expect that the stimulus will be such as to result in additional revenue to the Federal Government so as to reduce estimated revenue loss.

I urge early and favorable consideration on either of my two tax cut bills.

Speech of Hon. Clifford Davis, of Tennessee, at the Dedication Ceremonies for the E. H. Crump Memorial, April 21, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the late Edward Hull Crump, who served as a Member of the House of Representatives in the 72d and 73d Congresses, was a dynamic political and civic leader in Memphis and the State of Tennessee for 5 decades. He was without question a man of integrity, patriotism, and great mental capacity. He was beloved by the citizens of Memphis, who recognized that he served unselfishly to build a happier and more prosperous community. He was interested in the common man. His charities and helpfulness were extended quietly. Many who were ill, discouraged, in financial distress, or with personal sorrows found ready assistance from him.

When he left this life for a greater reward, the Council of Civic Clubs decided that there should be an everlasting memorial to his long and great life. A perfectly beautiful life-sized statue was erected in Overton Park, one of our oldest and most beautiful recreation and cultural centers.

I had the very high privilege of making the address at the dedication of this memorial on the last Easter Sunday. In this speech I sought to recite some of his outstanding contributions to the life of our section of the country.

By this permission to extend my remarks, I have the honor to include that humble effort that those who knew him in Washington and others may be able to review his outstanding record.

The address follows:

SPEECH OF HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS, OF TENNESSEE, AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONIES FOR THE E. H. CRUMP MEMORIAL, APRIL 21, 1957

Mr. Chairman, Your Honor the Mayor, gentlemen of the city commission, our beloved Senator McKellar, and my friends:

It is with sincere humbleness that I have the honor and the high privilege to represent so many on this Easter Sunday when we endeavor to pay tribute to that great American, the late Edward Hull Crump, to

whose memory we are dedicating this everlasting reminder.

Mr. Crump was my closest political adviser, counsellor, and friend. Countless others called him such. He gathered unto himself loyal friends in every walk of life.

Humble in victory, without rancor in defeat, he traveled far along life's road to great achievement. Service to others is the toll we pay as we travel life's highway. For every mile along his way he paid in devoted service to his fellowman.

There are many roads in life which one may follow. Some lead to quicksands of tyranny and some to freedom. Some roads lead to individual despair and others to happiness. Many roads lead to destinations unknown. Mr. Crump was always ready to use his legislative influence to erect a helpful sign for the benefit of his fellow citizens traveling along life's many highways. He never hesitated to recommend the coercion of law to prevent the stronger travelers from impeding the progress of the weak. He used his voice and his vote to help those stranded in the march of life through no fault of their own.

Mr. Crump was devoted to his mother, who created a family atmosphere in which he breathed the highest ideals and was stimulated to sustained and strenuous intellectual and moral effort in order to conform to family standards. His mother had an abiding confidence in the future of her son, which strongly influenced him to justify it.

Through three generations of this family the same could well be written. Mr. Crump had great pride in the three fine sons he and his beloved wife brought to manhood and success.

While Mr. Crump was fundamentally conservative, I cannot help but refer to him even so as a true liberal. As a review of his record will show and the people more and more realize, he believed in the most freedom possible for the individual consistent with orderly society.

For nearly a century and a half there was no memorial to Sir Christopher Wrenn, the great English mathematician, architect, and scholar in St. Paul's, the great cathedral of his building. At long last the famous epitaph was composed. That inscription known to so many of you who have visited the cathedral simply says, "Beneath lies buried the founder of this church and city, Christopher Wrenn, who lived more than 90 years not for himself but for the public good. Reader, if you seek his monument, look around you."

If there ever were a parallel in thought, it lies in this tribute to the real builder of Memphis. How true it is that the hard work of Mr. Crump will ever live in the hearts of generations unborn when we but look around.

Though he never made a public speech, he made some of the deepest and finest utterances in meetings with public delegations and with his political supporters in the privacy of his well-appointed office. Though not admitting that he was a city planner, he was constantly working for a bigger, happier, cleaner, and more prosperous Memphis.

He was interested in the building of schools and we have but to look around to see these fine physical structures. We must be reminded that he insisted that the training of our youth be left with skilled educators. He tolerated no political influence in the election of teachers nor in the prescribed courses of study.

During Mr. Crump's administration as mayor, he established the juvenile court in the days when there were few courts of this jurisdiction in the land. This court to this day has contributed immeasurably to the happiness of our youth, in the rehabilitation of those who have faltered, and in the reestablishment of broken homes. So it is in these days when juvenile delinquency presents a problem in so many concentrated centers of population, we see but rare instances of juvenile crime in Memphis and no investigating committee can find reason to seek cause and effect here.

It was Mr. Crump who established the City Beautiful Commission. He loved the beautiful and insisted on the city's physical cleanliness. The national recognition given to the efforts of the current work of the City Beautiful Commission bears evidence of its worthiness.

Looking around further we see park after park built upon his urging. I shall never forget walking with him through Hodges Field when he envisioned another place for athletic contests. The E. H. Crump Stadium will ever stand as a monument to his interest in athletics. It has provided a great outdoor arena not only for football and track events but has accommodated great religious gatherings on many occasions.

It took courage to force some transportation companies to separate grades for safety and easy movement of traffic, but the older citizens within the hearing of my voice know that he had that courage and in many instances viaducts and subways were constructed.

One of the great monuments to his memory is the beautiful Mississippi River bridge, to which I shall always refer most naturally as the E. H. Crump Bridge. The late Mr. Thomas H. MacDonald, longtime Commissioner of Public Roads, considered this the finest and most beautiful bridge built under the many years of his administration. Mr. Crump influenced the building of the beautiful approaches and the modern lighting facilities. He it was who had the vision for this necessary gateway east and west. Senator McKellar was a great instrument in its successful conclusion, and in a small way I was able to work with him and local officials and citizens of Memphis and Arkansas under the constant direction of Mr. Crump.

The Memphis harbor project so important to the future of Memphis, which will add to our transportation needs and the making of more payrolls and the spread of wealth to everybody in Memphis, was a creation of his own mind. This development already so far along in its design and building is progressing steadily toward the fullest possible accomplishment.

Years ago he became interested in cleaning up the bad conditions at our front door in the Wolf River channel. An interceptor sewer was built but we found that with the rapidly growing population and the development of chemicals and industry still more had to be done. One of his last monuments, not yet completed, is the cutting of Wolf River directly into the main channel of the Mississippi on the northern limits of our city. I am pleased to advise that we are nearing success in this matter and I have dedicated my best efforts as a member of the Committee on Public Works in the House, and as chairman of the Subcommittee on Flood Control, to its earliest possible completion.

All of you know that cheap power from the Tennessee Valley Authority has added to our prosperity and has benefited our section tremendously. Mr. Crump long ago was an advocate of cheap power and he never failed for a moment in supporting the philosophy and the objectives of TVA, and it was he who builded another monument in insisting that Memphis purchase the distribution system for electricity. Today under wise management our light division is operating on good business principles and is keeping up with the growth of Memphis most satisfactorily.

He was interested in bringing natural gas to Memphis, and all of us know the tremendous demands on our water system and the fine way in which those demands are met.

So we have another monument that will live for all time in the distribution of public utilities by a city well known throughout the country for its efficiency and its service to the people. And I should like to remind all of you that working with his long-time friend, Mr. E. W. Hale, former chairman of our county commission, he established the same unselfish interest in county affairs as he did in purely city matters, and with a recognized strong city and county government cooperating in matters of State government, we have reached a high place in the family of cities.

On many occasions Mr. Crump surprised me by his knowledge of the Bible. Undoubtedly he read it with a deep earnestness and with an amazing understanding. He had had one of the cleanest minds I have ever encountered.

An excellent conversationalist, he had in his fine brain such a wealth of general information that he could talk accurately, thoroughly, and exhaustively about any subject that could be suggested by anyone.

Mr. Crump was most highly respected as a Member of the United States House of Representatives during his two terms of service.

It must not be forgotten that he was seven times a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions, a member of the Democratic State committee for 4 years, of the Democratic National Committee for 9 years, a regent of the Smithsonian Institution, as well as a successful mortgage-loan, real-estate, and investment banker.

When I had business at the White House some years ago, President Roosevelt opened the conversation with an inquiry about Mr. Crump. He asked particularly that I urge him to come to see him. Shortly before President Roosevelt's death, he telephoned Mr. Crump and asked that he drop by to see him on a matter of some importance. Upon returning from the visit, Mr. Crump said to me, "Cliff, the President will not be with us long." In less than a fortnight, he had passed on to his reward. I have often said that to many Mr. Crump seemed to have an extraordinary ability to see far into the future and oftentimes many of us felt he could see through a stone wall.

He gave to all of us two mottoes which I have never heard used by any other man. They have been most valuable to me personally. He said, "Plan your work and work your plan." And still another was, "Observe, remember, and compare." If in every walk of life we could but observe a set of circumstances, remember them well, and compare the relationship with a problem or emergency of the moment, we could save so many mistakes in decision.

To me, this is not a sad moment. The man we honor had much too full a life for that. I must confess, however, a feeling of great loneliness and a heart filled with a longing for his counsel in these troublesome days. I like the works of the poet Edwin Markham:

"And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a kingly cedar—green with boughs—
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills
And leaves a lonesome space against the sky."

Born of a great intellect, Mr. Crump was a man of great faith, industry, and manifold experiences. He had faith in his fellow man. That faith in others led them to put their trust in him.

He had great faith in our kind of government. His life was dedicated to its preservation and its betterment. His compass was the Constitution of his country; his ultimate goal, a better life for his fellow man. To paraphrase Emerson, governments have their development in the moral integrity and character of man.

He believed in a life hereafter.

One of the imperishable yearnings of the soul of man is to live beyond the day of death. During life our departed leader created to himself an everlasting memorial. His services to his Government and, through Government, to his fellow man will go on and on. Many hereafter, because of his ennobling example, will gain inspiration to serve in the cause to which he gave his full devotion. That will be our lasting memorial in his honor.

Address by Ambassador Joaquin E. Salazar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix to the RECORD I wish to include the following address made by His Excellency, Ambassador Joaquin E. Salazar, of the Dominican Republic, on the occasion of his presentation of $100,000 as the first check of the half-million dollar gift from the Dominican Republican to Dr. Fred Soper of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau in Washington:

Dr. Soper, Secretary General Dr. Mora, gentlemen, it is a most distinct privilege for me to place in the hands of the Director of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau this initial contribution by my country for the Bureau's campaign against malaria throughout the Americas.

Upon receiving the pertinent instructions from my government for this purpose, the thought immediately struck me that its financial assistance for the eradication of the physical scourge of malaria is proof anew of the dynamic spirit with which the Government of the Dominican Republic, inspired by Generalissimo Trujillo's leadership, vigilantly, and diligently endeavors to improve the lot of humankind in all spheres. Under that lofty leadership, the Government of the Dominican Republic has devoted itself these last decades to the enhancement of the dignity of man by safeguarding and improving in every possible way the living conditions of our citizenry. In following its ideals of well-being and happiness for the Dominican people, my government has clearly seen the unquestionable need for eliminating every form of misery from our communities. That is why what may be termed the Trujillo program of government can be defined as a persistent effort to eradicate ignorance, disease, poverty and all other manifestations of fear and want from our soil.

As an example of this let me point to the fact that we are conducting this very moment a nationwide all-out campaign to eliminate illiteracy from our midst. Generalissimo Trujillo has urged every person in our territory, whether Dominican or foreigner, to help in this noble cause.

Highly important aspects of this patriotic approach to the national welfare are found in the Dominican Government's work in the field of public health. Modern sanitation and unsurpassed general medical care extending from the cradle to old age, are available to everyone in our country regardless of individual financial means. And in our land malaria will soon be a thing of the past. I do not have to go into detail as to what such blessings mean for the Dominican people.

Our country's prodigious progress in all fields—political, social, and economic—is not ours alone to enjoy, but, rather, is for the benefit of men everywhere. In the moral order, we stand foremost among those nations which stanchly combat any infiltration of the deadly virus of international communism. In the material order, our service to humanity's forward march is no less conspicuous, as shown by the special contribution amounting to $100,000 which we are making today to the Pan American Sanitary Bureau as a first instalment toward a total of $500,000, for its malaria-eradication program.

Out of our sentiments of brotherhood and love that are so deeply rooted in the Dominican spirit toward anything related to this great family of American nations, in dedicated service to the loftiest ideals of Pan Americanism, I express the hopes of my Government that our contribution will go a long way in helping get rid of the physical evil that is malaria and, also, its concomitant harm to men's minds and their spirit.

Congressman Paul C. Jones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter of appreciation which is self-explanatory.

Few men have rendered such notable service to American agriculture.

The letter is as follows:

NATIONAL FARMERS UNION,
March 14, 1957.

Hon. PAUL C. JONES,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN JONES: Thank you from the bottom of my heart on behalf of depression-struck family farmers all over the country for your untiring, sincere, and effective efforts to bring about enactment of the farm income-improving feed-grain bill.

If your efforts had succeeded, almost every farm family in the Nation would have had almost one-fifth more income in 1957 than they otherwise will have. Moreover, enactment of the proposed legislation for which you worked so hard would have left the livestock-feed grain economy and the entire farm economic situation in a stronger and healthier position to face subsequent years.

I know from close personal observation that you did everything a Member of the House humanly could to bring about enactment of this income-improving bill. While the temporary setback that family farm forces received is a disappointment to all of us, you may be sure your efforts were not entirely in vain. The fight you made has become part of the record of farmers' long, uphill struggle to attain a full parity of income and living standards in a prosperous expanding national economy.

Personally, may I thank you for the fine, courteous, and cooperative way in which you have helped me to make my feeble efforts as effective as the circumstances permitted.

Sincerely,

J. A. BAKER,
Coordinator of Legislative Services.

Russians Are Trying To Bully Us and Hoax the World, Says Truman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, former President Truman, as President, and now as former President, always spoke or speaks with firmness, directness, strength, and with consistency. The whole world, Communist controlled and non-Communist, knew that, first, President Truman made his own decisions, and second, that when he made them he meant them.

Before making any decision on foreign affairs, he always saw that friendly nations and allies of our country were consulted and advised. He never did anything that would cause a friendly nation to think it was slighted or cause them to impugn our motives, particularly from the angle of respect and friendship.

He is one man the gang of conspirators in the Kremlin respected, because they feared him.

They know that Harry S. Truman is a true leader—a man of decision. They also know that Harry S. Truman is a man of courage—a warrior.

The conspiratorial gang in the Kremlin, and their associates elsewhere, know that he will not fall for their "soft-soaping" tactics; that he would not follow the road to appeasement to another Munich for the West. They also know that Harry S. Truman as President, and now as an elder statesman of the United States, knew and knows the cold, cruel, destructive mind of a Communist-in-fact, with their origin of "hate" of all peoples and all governments who do not agree with or submit to their will.

In an article appearing in the Boston Sunday Globe of April 28, 1957, as well as other newspapers throughout the country, which I include in my remarks, former President Truman again gives his keen knowledge of the intent and purposes of international communism, warning the American people of the danger of falling for changed Communist tactics—not any changed intent—and clearly showing that the conspiratorial intent of international Communist to world revolution and thereby world domination, still exists.

It would be well for our people, and the peoples of other countries outside the sphere of Soviet—Communist—domination to pay heed to the views of former President Truman, for his views are those of the man of actual experience.

Our country and the free world, with the chances of a future world of peace, would be better off if President Eisenhower subordinated whatever personal feelings he may have against former President Truman, and sought his direct and active advice and assistance in these trying days that the world is undergoing.

Former President Truman knows that "soldiers fight when statesmen fail" and

that whenever possible to avoid it, the United States should not try to go it alone.

The article follows:

RUSSIANS ARE TRYING TO BULLY US AND HOAX THE WORLD, SAYS TRUMAN—MANKIND IS SICK WITH ANXIETY AND FEAR OF ANOTHER WAR—RUSSIA LIKES IT THAT WAY

(By Harry S. Truman)

The Russians have reached a new climax in their campaign of fear. They are trying to make Western Europe surrender to their Communist designs. That is the main reason behind their series of nuclear explosions and their thinly veiled threats of annihilation in their recent messages to European capitals. Their object is to disarm and disrupt the free world.

The Russians like to pose as a peace-loving nation, anxious only about its own security and survival, when, in fact, the real purpose of the Kremlin is to terrorize free nations into coming under its influence.

I am sorry to say that there are some people who cry peace, peace with the Russians when there is no peace, just as Jeremiah lamented in Babylonian times. There are those today who do not realize that unless the free nations face up to the Bolsheviks and meet strength with strength, there can be but one kind of peace—a Hungarian peace on Kremlin terms.

I believe the Russians are attempting to do three things: They are trying to intimidate the free world: they are trying to break up the NATO alliance; they are determined, at any cost, to achieve supremacy and domination in the nuclear field.

The Russians are taking advantage of the opportunity we gave them in the Suez misadventure to drive the western allies still further apart. In the typical Russian fashion of exploiting the fear of nuclear war, they are combining an unusual number of nuclear explosions with threats of destruction to independent nations in the west, the south, and the east.

We must be neither intimidated nor beguiled into lowering our guard by naively believing that the Russians are now really serious in seeking better relations with us and our western allies.

We must not again make the mistake we made at the Geneva "summit" Conference when our Government wishfully mistook the grinning tactics of the new masters of the Kremlin as a sign of a reformed Russian approach to world peace.

In fact, the Geneva Conference proved to be a major hoax to cover Russian maneuvers for penetration of the Middle East. One of Russia's historic aims has been the control of the Middle East through the Black Sea Straits.

I speak with some experience when I urge that we should never again meet with the Russian rulers outside of Washington.

Three Presidents of the United States have gone to meet the Russians at places suitable to their convenience and needs.

We in the United States and the free world have waited patiently for the emergence of a truly peaceful Russia. We will be the first to welcome and cooperate with well-meaning Russians for world peace.

But pending the emergence of a truly peaceful Russia, we must not forget that the only thing the masters of the Kremlin have ever understood is force. For that reason we are compelled to maintain our strength and to help maintain the strength of the free world.

This is no policy of despair; it is the course of prudence and hope. Time is on the side of the free peoples of the world, and until the Russian people are free to assume their responsibility in helping to guard the peace of the world, we must do everything we can to discourage Russian dictators from embarking on mad ventures which will lead eventually to World War III.

I strongly believe, therefore, that Great Britain and the United States should continue as expeditiously as possible whatever experiments are necessary to maintain our supremacy in the nuclear field.

Let us bear in mind that our continued experiments should also enable our scientists to find new ways of harnessing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. We have already learned many important facts from our tests with the hydrogen explosion.

I, for one, have some misgivings about our negotiations for a so-called open sky.

I would suggest that from above the surface, even with the most sensitive equipment, we will be able to see only what the Russians allow us to see. Until we have full and equal inspection on the ground as well as underground, we may find ourselves in a position where we are likely to lose more than we can gain.

At the very moment the Russians are bullying us and our allies with their large assortment of nuclear explosions, they are attempting, at the same time, to deceive the world by saying they are prepared to stop their own tests, on the condition Britain and the United States agree in advance to stop their tests.

For one thing, let us remind the Russians that when we make agreements, we keep them. The Russians have another code when it comes to agreements. They keep only the ones that suit their purposes.

Therefore, I am of the opinion that there can be no agreement on nuclear tests or nuclear weapons control except under a system of rigorous and continuous mutual inspection.

I would ask the Russians if they are prepared to let our inspectors see for themselves what they are really doing. If not, we must remain on guard and continue to suspect the intentions and motives of the Russians.

This is a state of affairs which the world cannot too long endure. All the peoples of the earth want peace, but the Russian Communist dictatorship persists in blocking it.

For 12 years, since the end of the Second World War, the Kremlin dictatorship has not ceased its relentless harassment of every effort the West has made to reach a working agreement with Russia.

The cold war persists even after the death of Stalin, and the brief campaign of de-Stalinization that intrigued the world tempted some of our people to hope that a new Russia had emerged.

Russia has known all along that she has nothing to fear from us in the way of aggression. All she needs to do in the interest of her security is to attend to her own business and leave the rest of the world alone, as we do.

We have no territorial ambitions, nor are we interested in building up an empire of satellite states.

Quite to the contrary, we have been encouraging and helping self-determination and independence everywhere for all peoples who feel ready for it.

But the Soviets are again using the pretense that the United States is doing everything possible to encircle Russia. The masters of the Kremlin know full well that the United States and her friends and allies act solely for defense and for no other purpose. That is true even in the face of constant Russian truculence, subversion and infiltration. We have only to look at the recent troubles they have stirred up in the Middle East.

They are back at their old tactics of simultaneously offering peace pacts and threatening to unleash a hot war upon those nations that stand up to them and refuse to submit to their terms.

The Soviets would have us settle for what they call coexistence. Their idea of coexistence is, in reality, a nervous and perilous truce which could leade to war. Coexistence is Russia's device to avoid making the necessary concessions for an assured world peace. In fact, coexistence is Russia's idea of making everybody do what Russia wants.

There are some people, and I regret to say some governments, who have not accepted the fact that but for Russian intransigence the world would now be enjoying the pursuits of peace.

Mankind today is sick with anxiety and torn by fear of another world war, solely because Russia wants it that way.

It is up to Russia to dispel the belief that she cannot achieve her legitimate aims in a free and peaceful world. She can achieve peace, if she really wants it, as all other nations do.

For if Russian performance were up to its pretended peaceful propaganda, there would have been no conflict in Korea, no Far East crisis and no Middle East crisis. There would have been no slaughter of Polish and Hungarian people, and no crushing burdens of an armaments race. The world would be directing its energies toward production for peace and the improvement of the standards of living of all peoples everywhere.

Every attempt to reason with the Russian dictators and every effort at reasonable compromise and conciliation have failed.

More than ever now our foreign policy needs to be clear and unmistakable. Let us stop running around the globe with disjointed pieces of policy pulled out of the air and made on the fly. Let us have real frankness and bipartisanship in the administration's relations with Congress. We must check the growing skepticism that in our foreign policy we don't know where we are going or what we are doing.

Above all, let us be sure that the Russians and our allies do not continue to have that idea.

Employment of the Handicapped: A Community Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am proud to insert an essay on community responsibility for offering employment opportunities to the physically handicapped. This essay was written by a very intelligent young lady in my congressional district. It placed fifth in the 1957 national essay contest conducted by the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped.

The author is Miss Clare Frances Connors, of Mechanic Street, Bellingham, Mass. Miss Connors and the other contest winners will receive their awards from the hands of President Eisenhower at the annual meeting of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped on Thursday, May 23.

As Miss Connors' representative in Congress, I am delighted with her success. I share in the pride which I know her family and all her friends and classmates must feel. Miss Connors is a student at St. Mary's Central Catholic High School, in Milford, Mass., which will share in the honors accorded Miss Connors. There will be presented to the school a wood and bronze wall plaque

which will be a permanent record of the achievement of Miss Connors and the school where she has had such excellent training.

The essay follows:

EMPLOYMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED: A COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

(By Clare Frances Connors)

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." These ideals, taken from the Declaration of Independence, are dear to all Americans. Our forefathers died for them; our democracy was founded upon them; our lives revolve about them.

"Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—the most treasured rights in all our heritage. And yet, they are actually being denied to a certain group of our fellow Americans—right here in the "land of the free and the home of the brave." I am speaking of the handicapped. For centuries these unfortunate people have been misunderstood, neglected, and sometimes even mistreated. And even today, in our land of freedom and brotherly love, they have been forgotten to a great extent.

I am not saying that we have imprisoned them, or that we have afflicted them in any corporal way. But how can a man consider his life fruitful and purposeful when he is banished to the care of relatives or placed in a rest home, there to spend his days in empty idleness? Is this the life meant by our predecessors in the Declaration of Independence? Obviously not. Can a man truly possess liberty when he must depend upon the generosity of others for the very necessities of life? Again, obviously not. Furthermore, can a man truly be said to be engaged in the "pursuit of happiness" if he is not given the opportuity to develop his talents and abilities? Again, we must admit that he cannot.

But what can be done to aid these physically handicapped people to enjoy the fruits of liberty? The answer to this problem lies in one word—employment. Employment gives a man much more than money; it gives him a sense of security and independence, and, above all, it enables him to feel that he is making some worthwhile contribution to civilization.

In the past, and even at present, employers have been most unwilling to hire physically impaired workers. "It is not good business to hire the handicapped," they objected. "My other employees do not like to see them around; they make my establishment appear to be a charity concern; and they drive away business, for customers do not like to see them or ask them for service."

These and other objections were answered by the handicapped themselves when their opportunity to prove themselves came during World War II. At this time, most of America's able-bodied sons were sent overseas, and the shortage of manpower became so crucial that employers were eventually forced to hire handicapped workers to maintain the wheels of industry.

Contrary to their expectations, employers found that the performance of the handicapped compared favorably with, and, in some cases, even surpassed that of able-bodied workers. Although this discovery caused many employers to reverse their policies and hire handicapped workers, there still remain many more who cling to their former ideas. Therefore, since the handicapped have proved themselves to be steady, loyal, contented, and competent workers, we can see that a tremendous amount of potential manpower is being wasted due to the obstinacy of employers.

The employment of the handicapped is a community responsibility. After all, what is a community? A large collection of homes, business buildings and public utilities? A political division of territory? A group of people having common interests and ideas? Yes, the community is all of these, but it is also something much more important—a group of people having a common goal—the general welfare of all—in which each member cooperates in attaining that goal.

The "general welfare of all" has many aspects. Among these are the social, economic, and moral aspects. Socially, a community cannot function perfectly unless all of its members are playing their proper roles. But what of the handicapped? Can they be considered to be in their proper roles when they are left to be a family burden or a public charge? No, their proper role is like that of any able-bodied member of the community—being employed in some work which benefits the community as a whole. Therefore, if a community desires social harmony, it must enable the handicapped to utilize their abilities for the common good.

The economic prosperity of the community depends upon the manner in which it utilizes its resources. When members of the community refuse to employ their fellow citizens merely because they have a physical handicap, the community is being deprived of its potential manpower.

The moral law requires us to render to each man his due. This is especially binding in the case of the employment of the handicapped. For, if a man demonstrates ability to perform a certain service, and is conscientious and willing, justice certainly demands that he be given the opportunity to prove himself. It is, then, the moral obligation of the community to give all of its handicapped members a chance to demonstrate their capabilities.

Much can be done about this great responsibility of the community. Private citizens can do a great deal to arouse public opinion. Civic groups can be organized for the purpose of alerting employers to the value of handicapped workers. And eventually the community as a whole, abandoning the phrase "Let George do it," will take up the motto of the current craze, "Do it yourself," until the combined efforts of all will finally succeed in abolishing the greatest handicap of all—unemployment.

I, Me, My, Mine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE CANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print I am enclosing correspondence which is self-explanatory:

NEW YORK, N. Y., *April 18, 1957.*

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE CANNON: May I respectfully register the fact that as a voter, I agree completely with the New York Times editorial position on the irresponsibility and politically prompted motives behind your committee's actions in its un-thought-through cuts in appropriations. And may I further state my belief that the American public as a whole, having voted overwhelmingly for President Eisenhower and his program, will prove to have long memories politically on your present actions.

Sincerely,

M. MCCRUM.

APRIL 22, 1957.

DEAR SIR: In response to the accompanying letter of April 18, 1957, who in the world would consider it politically expedient to deny appropriations?

I take my political life in my hands every time I vote to cut these topheavy budgets. But I have been here so long that I can afford to vote for the general welfare and the solvency of the Government notwithstanding the bludgeoning assaults from the lobbyists and special interests and self-seeking pressure groups who jam Washington and the corridors of the Capitol and fill the mail with letters like yours.

With best wishes.

Very truly yours.

CLARENCE CANNON.

Crisis in Middle East Eyed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks I include an interesting article entitled "Crisis in the Middle East Eyed," appearing in one of the strongest Republican papers in the country, in its April 28, 1957, issue, and written by George Minot, an outstanding member of his great profession.

In his article George Minot gives an idea on several questions of import to our people of the real views prevailing among the 1,200 members of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, at their meeting in New York City last week, and gives an idea of their concern about certain policies and actions of the present Republican administration.

The article follows:

[From the Boston Sunday Herald of April 28, 1957]

CRISIS IN MIDDLE EAST EYED

(By George Minot)

There were two things on which the 1,200 members of the American Newspaper Publishers Association agreed at their meeting in New York this last week. One was that there is no sign of a letup in the increase of individual prices and services. The other was that in this country people will spend more money, have bigger incomes and pay larger taxes in 1957 than in any year in history.

As was the case last year, they were an outwardly optimistic crowd. But if you went to enough of their gatherings, and sat around late enough into the night, you would find that off the record a great many of them were worried about costs, creeping inflation, and such things as consumer-price indexes.

INFLATION STALKING NATION

The rise in prices in March was only two-tenths of a point, and of itself it might be dismissed as of little or no importance. But editors and publishers from one end of the United States to the other and from Hawaii, Peurto Rico, and Canada were quick to point out that the March rise represented the seventh such monthly rise in succession. Consumer prices now have risen without interruption for a full year. In that time they have moved up from 114.7 to 118.8, which is 3.7 percent.

William Dwight, of Holyoke, president of the association, found this problem of inflation stalking across the room in a discussion of scores of individual topics on the program. The system of life we have developed in the United States is at stake, was the way he put it.

If you wanted to find what executives from the Atlantic to the Pacific thought about the way things were going, you probably got a better idea by sitting in with informal groups at luncheons, in hotel lobbies, or the proverbial smoke-filled rooms at night. Here you would run into topics like these:

BIG BUDGET NOT POPULAR

Ike and his health: This was the one question you ran into most often. There seemed to be sincere and affectionate interest in that. The answers were all to the good. Two or three of the publishers had visited the White House in the last month. One had played golf with him in Augusta. Another had attended one of the famous stag dinners last week. From all the story was the same. Ike is fine. He feels as good as he looks. His cough is gone. He never has been more sharp, more alert, possessed of more poise, working harder.

The budget before Congress: Very few persons like it and not too many understand it. This is how John S. Knight, publisher of the Chicago Daily News, expressed it: "When Mr. Eisenhower was elected he talked about reducing our commitments, but now they seem actually to have been expanded. Another change is in his attitude toward the size of Federal spending. At first he talked of the prudent use of the taxpayer's dollar—the emphasis was on governmental economy. Then he came up with the largest peacetime budget in history. The people are at a loss to understand why this is so."

Norman Chandler, publisher of the Los Angeles Times, was more emphatic than many others that the budget should be sharply cut. "The minimum cut should be $5 billion," he said.

The state of business: You didn't have to be around New York long last week to discover that the scare about business conditions was over. Analysts who were gloomy in January were optimistic again. Now they will tell you 1957 will be one of the best in the history of American business. It may not be a recordbreaker, or show a gain over last year, but it will be good by almost any standard. In nearly every activity, in almost every section of the country activity is at a high level. Obviously the economy is not headed for a bust. Home building, hurt by tight money, is picking up sharply again on the Pacific coast. Automobiles, slow in February and early March, are getting the upturn expected in April. It seems certain the industry will sell more cars in 1957 than in 1956.

WHOSE CRISIS IS IT?

The recurring crisis in the Mid East: The idea that every time a place like Jordan gets into trouble or King Hussein fails to manage his affairs, then it becomes our crisis, is a proposition that fails to gain much enthusiasm among newspaper publishers. The best thing Washington can do is to keep out of it, was a statement you heard more and more often when you asked why we shouldn't be alert to rescue the situation in the Middle East when and if it gets out of hand. And the warning of the President the other day that the United States regards the independence and integrity of Jordan as vital clarified nothing.

"It is one thing," said a New York publisher, "to pledge support to nations—if they seek it—beset by armed aggressors. It is something else again to flirt with a foreign policy that makes every political crisis of every nation our responsibility."

The people around Ike: During the first term, Sherman Adams, former Governor of New Hampshire, was closer to the President than anybody else. The same thing is true now. "Of all those with me in the Government, he comes closer to knowing what I am trying to do." That is the way Eisenhower put it 3 or 4 years ago and he said exactly the same thing to one of the publishers within the last month. A number of those at the New York meetings deplored the influence of brother Milton on the President. He is supposed to be a great advocate of big spending in both foreign and domestic fields. The thinking of brother Edgar drew considerable applause from the New Yorkers. "The Republican Party could do a lot worse than draft him to run in 1960," said one of them.

DULLES VIGOROUS, ROBUST

The speech of Secretary Dulles at the big Associated Press luncheon, billed as a major foreign policy address, fell flat. Not a flutter of applause broke its 30 minutes. He told the satellite countries they are not forgotten, that we never will make a deal with the Reds and that we aren't trying to reunite divided nations. Few could see anything new in that. Incidentally, Dulles never looked more vigorous or in better health.

Modern Republicanism: It might be amusing here to repeat the standard greeting handed out by some members of the Washington press corps attending the meetings:

"Are you a modern Republican?" And your answer was supposed to be:

"Certainly not. My father and mother were married."

The Twin Enemies of Freedom—Communism, Like Crime, Advances and Takes Hold Because Men Ignore God—Communism Denies and Destroys Every Spiritual Value

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present copies of correspondence between myself and Mr. J. Edgar Hoover in which it will be noted he granted me the privilege of including in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of his address before the 28th annual Convention of the National Council of Catholic Women on November 9, 1956, in Chicago, Ill. I am sure that every Member of this great legislative body will be pleased to have the text of this important speech by this distinguished American available to full reading.

Being a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee you will naturally expect me to call your special attention to Mr. Hoover's comments on the subject of "Communism."

The letters and address follow:

JANUARY 10, 1957.

Hon. J. EDGAR HOOVER,
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND: On November 9, 1956, you delivered an address before the National Council of Catholic Women at Chicago, Ill., entitled "The Twin Enemies of Freedom."

If you have no objection I would appreciate very much having the privilege of presenting this to the House of Representatives and ask unanimous consent to have same printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Thanking you for your consideration of this request, I have the honor to be,

Cordially,

CLYDE DOYLE,
Member of Congress.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR,
Washington, D. C., January 15, 1957.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have received your kind letter of January 10, 1957, and I am happy to enclose a copy of my November 9, 1956, speech before the National Council of Catholic Women which you may certainly feel free to have included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Your interest in this regard is indeed encouraging.

Sincerely yours,

J. EDGAR HOOVER.

THE TWIN ENEMIES OF FREEDOM

(Address of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, before the 28th annual convention of the National Council of Catholic Women, November 9, 1956, Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Ill.)

I am honored to discuss with this outstanding group of "career" women a matter of pressing urgency to every home in America. I say "career" women because I feel there are no careers so important as those of homemaker and mother.

As homemakers and mothers, you must be disturbed, as I am, with the continued advance of the twin enemies of freedom—crime and communism. These evil forces menace not only the security of our Nation but they also menace the homes of America, which are the foundations of our civilization.

Statistics show that before this year comes to an end, 1 out of every 16 homes across the land will have been blighted by sorrow and misery because of crime. Lawlessness will deprive some of these homes of their breadwinners and leave disgrace, shame, and heavy hearts, as their loved ones join the ever-expanding forces of the lawless.

Recently, newspapers carried a heartwarming report that church membership in America has now passed the 100 million mark. That is good news for all of us. But this good news was marred for me by the knowledge that nearly 11½ million persons have been arrested for serious offenses, or to bring this dreadful fact into sharper focus, 1 out of every 15 persons in our Nation has a record of arrest for a serious offense.

Those who look upon life in the abstract might hold to the view that the number of arrests is not a true yardstick for measuring the extent of lawlessness. I invite them to look at the record of convictions. This record shows that more than 5½ million persons have been convicted for one or more violations of the law, or 1 out of every 29 persons in the land.

In this age of materialism, all too frequently crime is considered merely in terms of dollar costs. It is a shocking fact that crime costs every home in America $467 a year—an estimated total of $20 billion each year.

The staggering cost of crime in dollars and cents becomes more realistic when we face the fact that for every $1 spent on education, $1.29 is spent on crime. For every $1 contributed to the churches of America crime costs $12. Our national debt could be wiped out completely in 14 years if this money were used to reduce that debt rather

than to pay tribute to the lawless. But unfortunately the real cost cannot be measured in monetary terms.

Some 11½ million people in these United States have either been disgraced or have had their lives completely ruined in their attempts to live outside the law. If a person wants to throw his life away, he has that choice. But it is not a right; because the innocent suffer more than those who violate the laws. The real tragedy of crime lies in the suffering of its innocent victims. In any 24-hour period, 7,094 serious crimes are committed across our land. Every time your watch ticks off 12 seconds you can record the occurrence of a serious violation.

I believe the basic source of pressures for peace and security lies with the women of America. The fact that you have gathered here in Chicago in convention is proof that the necessity for militant action to sustain the American way of life is obvious to you. For today, a dangerous complacency threatens to blind our people to the menaces which would destroy us unless they are recognized and curbed.

Textbooks are filled with theories on crime causation. There are many contributing factors to crime, but the real cause can be stated in simple terms: crimes are committed by those who lack a sense of moral responsibility. For the most part, they commit crime knowingly and with deliberate intent. If we are to live in an America free of crime, if we are to see a better world, then we must live by and teach the golden rule.

Criminals are made—not born. The blame for crime must be placed where it rightly belongs—upon the adult. A new sense of responsibility must be born in the home if we are to reverse the rising trend of youth toward lawlessness. Reasonable discipline, administered with consistency, is essential in developing a stable individual.

The crime problem is basically a youth problem. In the past 4 years, while the number of 10- to 17-year-old children in this country increased 10½ percent, arrests of boys and girls in this age group increased nearly 21 percent. Youths are committing more serious crimes with increasing frequency, and this is a source of real alarm in every community in the land.

Last year 2,262,450 major offenses were committed by the Nation's crime army. A little over 42 percent of these crimes were committed by children under 18, and nearly half of these were under 15. The 10- to 17-year-olds last year were involved in 62 percent of all arrests for automobile thefts, 53 percent of all arrests for burglary, 47 percent of all arrests for larceny, and 21 percent of all arrests for robberies.

This situation, in the final analysis, is not the failure of youth but the failure of adults. The fact remains that out of every 100 boys and girls in the 10 to 17 age group, 97 live law-abiding lives. There is nothing basically wrong with the youth of the land. Youth needs only to be guided along the proper path. A youth's intelligence must be anchored in morality to give him the ability to determine right from wrong, good from bad, and the true from the false. Given discipline, young people will learn self-discipline; given training, they will learn to live useful lives. The 3 out of each 100 who annually break the law have wandered into a morass of disbelief—where they have no faith, no belief in a Supreme Being, no respect for the rights of others, no belief in the dignity of man, and finally, no belief in themselves.

There must be training for parenthood as well as a fixing of responsibility for the failure of parenthood. Too many parents allow their children to run free with no check on what they do, where or with whom they go. The result is a juvenile jungle. Too many homes breed juvenile delinquents through parental neglect. Too many children are left to shift for themselves—hungry, helpless, loveless.

When parents are not sufficiently interested to know where their children are and what they are doing, the risk for their future is grave. It is the parents who should be brought before the bar of justice to account for their stewardship when their children go astray. The parents are responsible to a great extent for the sins of their children. The parents should be held morally, legally and financially responsible.

I have studied the case histories of thousands of criminals. In almost every case, the failure to develop character is directly attributable to lack of proper influence and guidance in the home. Unfortunately, the home no longer provides the inspiration for right living. The American home must become again a center of learning how to live as well as a center of living.

Modern society is geared to a fast tempo; there are great demands on the parents to provide the material necessities for their children. Too often, the primary need for sympathetic and spiritual guidance is neglected and the child is deprived of the very element which is most essential to stabilize him emotionally and to aid him in his growth toward maturity. As a result of this thoughtless neglect, society suffers.

What is needed is to restore the home to its proper place where the lessons of the Golden Rule are translated into daily living, where the members of the family counsel and aid each other, and where each has a share in the responsibilities of home life.

What is needed is a return to the home where parents are companions of their children as well as the providers of the necessities of life, where parents share their leisure time with their children, and where children are taught the spiritual and civic responsibilities of manhood and womanhood. A child above all else needs the firm moral backing of a conscientious mother and father and the love, understanding and security that a good Christian home affords.

What is needed is gerater participation by parents with their children in the programs of the church, the school and the community. What is needed is to cease being "penny-wise and pound-foolish" in providing for our churches, schools, and community facilities.

What is needed is a greater interest in and knowledge on the part of parents of the needs of local law enforcement agencies to the end that those agencies might have the support and the facilities so necessary to protect the homes of the land. Good government does not just happen—it is the result of the constantly vigilant efforts of the many who selflessly strive to build a better community, and beyond that, a better Nation and a better world.

What is needed above all is to practice the living faith of our fathers in our daily lives and a dedication to making the Kingdom of God a reality on "earth as it is in Heaven."

The neglect in the training of so many of our Nation's youth, their lack of spiritual nourishment, their ignorance of the great truths of the Bible, and the tragic void of God and prayer in their lives weaken our homes and our Nation's welfare.

Secularism is not necessarily an evil of immorality and excesses. More often it is the evil of nonmorality and indifference. That is why I say the greatest crime is the toleration of crime.

Neglect at home and lack of discipline in the home are two of the main reasons for juvenile delinquency, it is true, but the basic cause of the present situation is that so many of our young people have no real sense of moral responsibility which comes from an intimate knowledge of God's teachings. This is essential to meet the criminal enemies of our freedoms.

It is essential in order to meet the Communist enemy of both our spiritual and physical freedoms.

Communism, like crime, advances and takes hold because men ignore God. The real danger in communism lies in the fact that it is atheistic and seeks to replace the Supreme Being. Communism is secularism on the march. It is the mortal foe of all the world's religions which acknowledge the existence of God. Either the faith of our fathers will triumph or communism will engulf us. In this land of ours the two cannot live side by side.

Nowhere among the leaders of the Communist Party in the United States, Russia, Red China, or in any other part of the world will you find one who loves and believes in God. God is truth. Communists hate truth and, therefore, they hate the church.

One of the slogans of the Communist Revolution in Russia in 1917 was: "Religion is the opium of the people."

This was first uttered by Karl Marx, the founder of communism, in 1843. Lenin, now resurrected by the Kremlin as the Communist idol and guide of the present and future, restated it in 1905. And last year, Nikita Khrushchev, the present head of the Russian Communist Party, publicly proclaimed that Communists have not changed their opinion on religion and said: "We remain the atheists that we have always been; we are doing all we can to liberate those people who are still under the spell of this religious opiate."

When Communists temporarily and passively tolerate religion, it is for the purpose of furthering communism. But time and again they have struck ruthlessly against Christians, Jews, and other faiths, torturing, imprisoning, and murdering those who hold God above the state. Those who hate God always bring misery in their wake. They are brutal, cruel, and deceitful. Communism denies and destroys every spiritual value. No church and no church member can temporize with it.

And now the American Communists would have us believe they have changed their philosophy. What a farce that is. They now even deny their allegiance to the Soviet Union. They now speak of advocating a "peaceful and constitutional road to socialism in our country." Communism in America would garb itself in new and more respectable raiment, but it is the same old conspiracy against human dignity and freedom it has always been and always will be. The Communist conspiracy is as deadly now as it was before the Geneva Conference because of its false smiles.

The "big lie" technique originated with the Communists and has been perfected by the Communists. Largely through this technique, backed with a ruthlessness which challenges the imagination, one-fourth of the world's surface and 1 out of every 3 persons, or 900 million souls, are under the influence of the Red star. The Communists never have taken over a country by a majority vote in a free election. There are only 25 million Communist Party members in some 60 countries of the world, a bare 3 percent of the people enslaved. They have attained their tyranny through infiltration and by brutal force, by seizing leadership of key organizations, popular fronts, and lulling the vigilance of patriots with propaganda, lies, and deceit.

We relax our vigil at our peril. In dealing with the Kremlin and its followers the road of appeasement is not the road to peace. It is merely surrender on the installment plan.

The American public must not be lulled into complacency by the new Communist propaganda line. It is just another Leninist tactic. Lying, twisting, and turning are their time-proven techniques to gain their ends.

The current Communist tactics do not change the basic goals of Communist con-

quest; they do not change the basic Communist techniques; they do not mean independence from Soviet Communist leaders; and they do not represent any change of heart or a lessened antagonism toward religion. Communists shift from violence and threats of violence to rely temporarily upon enticement, duplicity, and division. The current Communist tactics are designed to win again by deceit the influence and alliance the Communists once enjoyed with some well-meaning but unsuspecting progressive-minded persons in our Nation. These tactics are designed to develop a broadened base for the advance of Marxist socialism; and primarily they are designed to evade American justice and the relentlessness with which the Communist Party has been prosecuted by the United States Department of Justice in American courts and exposed by congressional committees and the American press.

Communist concessions are never made with peaceful intentions, nor with honor, nor with honesty, and the Communists have proved time and again, when their false smiles will not gain their objectives, that they have no hesitation in using tanks and machine guns to achieve their purpose.

Lenin said with utter frankness, "Concessions do not mean peace with capitalism, but war on a new plane."

American Communists have not suddenly become good citizens. They are merely making war against America on a new plane.

In fact, there is nothing really new in the current Communist tactics. The American Communist Party, from the time of its inception here in Chicago in 1919 until the present, has changed its name 9 times. The constitution of the Communist Party in this country has been changed 17 times, zigging and zagging for the attainment of its diabolical ends through deception and double talk.

If the party runs true to form, it will change its constitution again next February, and perhaps its name, when it meets in convention in New York City. Regardless of what it does—of this you can be sure—it will be the same old crowd at the same old stand banded together for the same old purpose—to advance the Communist cause and to serve the Soviet Union. They will use the same old techniques with which they have hoodwinked so many people in the past.

The women of the Nation must make their contribution by raising their voices to preserve the American way of life and to counteract the Communist attacks against our laws which have so effectively been applied to curbing the Communist program with its criminal ends. The chief objective of Communist attacks will be to discredit acts of Congress; the courts; the prosecutions of the United States Department of Justice; and the FBI.

The strategy of the Communists to get others to front for them and do their dirty work cannot be underestimated. To illustrate, last Christmas 42 persons signed a petition to request Presidential amnestry for the Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act for conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. Not only did these persons ask the Government to release a group of Communist conspirators from prison to observe a Christian holiday which they would destroy, but they asked that the sentences of these atheists be commuted to the time already served. Even more shocking is the fact that half of the signers of the petition were clergymen, professors of theology, or persons who were engaged in other religious positions. Another such petition is now in preparation to again ask for the release of those who would destroy the American way of life.

This is not an isolated example. Last year a legal brief was filed with the United States Supreme Court urging that the Internal Security Act of 1950 be declared unconstitutional. This legal brief had been initiated by 18 persons. Nine of these persons, exactly one-half, were members of the clergy. Of the 360 persons who signed the brief, some 100 were clergymen.

Because they despise the church, the Communists continually attempt to infiltrate unsuspecting religious organizations. What better cloak of legitimacy can be found for their programs than to present them as the offerings of clergymen and churches?

One of the oldest Communist techniques is to use others to do their dirty work. Communism, they say, must be built with non-Communist hands. Today there are less than 20,000 Communist Party members in the United States. But the party's actual strength never can be measured in terms of members because thousands of bleeding hearts, pseudoliberals, sympathizers, and dupes always stand ready to lend their aid when their services are needed.

The record clearly establishes that Communist Parties have the power of swift and solid growth when the opportunity arises. When the Communist Party membership was at its peak in the United States a decade ago, it was stronger in number than the Soviet Communist Party when it seized power in Russia. In Italy, the Communist Party once dwindled to only 15,000 members and then increased to more than 2 million. In Red China, a small inconsequential party of less than 10,000 grew to more than 6 million.

The national chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, William Z. Foster, has correctly said: "The actual strength of the Communist movement in the United States is not something that can be accurately stated in just so many figures. It has to be measured largely by the general mass influence of the party and its program."

Our most effective defense against this conspiracy lies in our basic American faith in God, an ardent fervor for liberty under law and justice for all, and belief in the God-given rights of individuals. Morality and religious convictions stand as major obstacles in the path of Communist progress.

Even today, in the lands where Red tyranny reigns, the fires of freedom are burning as never before. Incident after incident has come to light where patriots were willing to shed their blood to feed the fires for freedom which one day will burst into a giant conflagration which even the dictators' heels of might cannot stamp out. The fact that physical and mental torture, slave labor camps and brutal murder do not stay man's selfless drive toward freedom for all mankind has baffled the Red Fascists, because they do not know God and His way.

To a people who still love freedom and who still look to a Supreme Being, their sacrifices shall not be in vain because one day the Almighty will wreak vengeance on this atheistic, terroristic tyranny. Communism runs counter to the aspirations of the human heart. The Communist way eventually will perish from this earth because it prostitutes truth, because it is heartless and cruel, because it is evil and because it denies the existence of the Omnipotent. We pray for the coming of that day.

We must strive to overcome the apathy, ignorance and guile which nourish the twin enemies of our freedom—crime and communism. Let us never forget that strength and good character, like charity, begin at home. So long as the American home is nurtured by the spirit of our Father in heaven and is a center of learning and living, America will remain secure.

A Reducing Diet for Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the Boston Sunday Advertiser for April 21, 1957, on taxes, inflation, and the cause of it all, Government spending:

A REDUCING DIET FOR GOVERNMENT

If your doctor tells you to get rid of a lot of overweight that's endangering your health, you'd be foolish to go on slinging whipped cream desserts down the old gullet. Wouldn't you?

Well, your Uncle Samuel, the gent in the stars-and-stripes suit, is ignoring the doctors' orders just that way.

Twice in the last 10 years, first from 1917 to 1949 and again from 1953 to 1955, a team of economic medicos did a real overhauling job on the Federal Government's anatomy.

Their diagnosis: Uncle Sam packs too much fat for his health.

The doctors, known as the first and second Hoover Commissions, prescribed a diet each time. The first time they found 273 items on the Federal menu that were too rich in calories. The second time they urged restraint or elimination of 314 items. Many of those were on the original diet list and ignored.

MD'S ADVICE BRUSHED OFF

But Uncle Sam, like the patient who thinks he knows more than the doctors, hasn't reduced. In fact, he has added weight.

Your high taxes are paying the tab.

And you're paying it in more ways than taxes. In 20 of the last 25 years, the Federal Government has operated in the red, spending even more than the taxes you pay. That has been a big factor in the inflation that makes your dollars buy much less.

The State and local governments aren't streamlined sylphs, either. They're all overweight like Uncle Sam, and you have to pick up the tab for them, too.

In these days of world tension, the need for adequate defense, no matter how costly, is unquestioned by any thinking American. But only about 39 billions of the hotly contested new Federal budget of $71,800 million are allotted to defense.

The rest, nearly 33 billions, are nonmilitary expenditures. And that's about as much as the entire cost of the Federal Government, including the Armed Forces, as recently as 1948. And it's nearly twice as much as the total Federal expenditure in 1940.

Not that the entire Defense Department budget is untouchable. Some of it is fat of no value, the second Hoover Commission found. The Federal Government was operating five laundries at our big San Diego, Calif., base, at less than half of capacity. It turned out that having the admiral's and the general's shirts washed in the same laundry just wasn't considered good protocol.

It is estimated that $7 billion savings have been effected to date by going along with 72 percent of the recommendations of the first Hoover Commission.

WHAT OTHER HAND DOES

Typical results were creation of a Cabinet Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (which brought into coordination many overlapping agencies) and the creation of

the General Services Administration (which did a similar job).

How clumsy our Federal setup is can be shown by two of the more senseless conditions the Hoover Commission found.

1. Government agencies can't agree on simple definitions. So Uncle Sam buys hundreds of kinds of screwdrivers.

2. Lack of proper inventory has one department paying a premium price for an article that another department down the hall is selling as surplus at 5 to 7 cents on the dollar of the purchase price. The Commission figured that every cent more on the surplus sale price would save the United States $20 million a year.

It is the building of little empires in departments which causes waste like that. It also causes much of the foot dragging that has prevented more economies. The little empires want to be let alone, because streamlining would bump a lot of officeholders off the public payroll.

There's a big gimmick in cutting Government costs. The Citizens' Committee for the Hoover Report keeps a box score and estimates that the few recommendations of the second Commission which have been put in effect are saving more than $500 million a year.

But, in defending his big budget, President Eisenhower recently pointed out that many big savings can be accomplished only by act of Congress, since Congress authorized the costly programs.

And there's the rub. Last session of Congress, some 260 bills (many overlapping) were introduced to implement Hoover savings. Some 20 were enacted.

LEARNING NEW TRICKS

One that could be a whopper of a saving was a bill to streamline the archaic budgeting and accounting system that makes for inconsistent figures. The budgeting part of that bill was killed by opposition from some veteran economy advocates in the House Appropriations Committee. They just didn't want to learn new methods at their age.

The accounting improvements have saved money.

The same opposition faces a similar bill in this session, although it is sponsored by at least 50 Senators.

When some lawmakers who shout loudest for economy fight it if it inconveniences them, you can bet the only voice they'll listen to belongs to you, the voter who elects them and pays the taxes.

THE FAT OF THE LAND

There's no mystery about Uncle Sam's overweight. The clinical job done by the Hoover Commissions was sharp and comprehensive. Some of the reducing diet can be accomplished by Executive order of the President and his aids. But more of it requires action by Congress to undo its own programs. Some programs have so long outlived their utility that the original worthy aims are lost in the fog.

The Hoover task forces diagnosed many fatty spots among the more than 2,300 arms of the Federal Government in Washington. The total Federal civilian payroll is well over 2,300,000 persons.

Listed here are some of the items the Commission urged Uncle Sam to drop for his diet or cut down. In some cases, progress has been made. In most cases, nothing has been done.

Ending chemical research and the commercial manufacture of fertilizers by the subsidized Tennessee Valley Authority.

Raising premiums charged by the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation to cover costs and provide a reserve, if the agency is retained.

Liquidation of many Federal agencies that the Commission says have served their purpose. Those listed included 12 production credit corporations, the Agricultural Marketing Act Revolving Fund, the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation.

Shutting down of many commercial-type bakeries, laundries, and dry-cleaning plants operated by civilian Government agencies. The Hoover Commission and the Bureau of the Budget uncovered 19,771 such businesses. Over 500 have been shut down.

Centralizing executive department printing, a big dollar item, to put it under businesslike control.

Making the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation return to the Treasury some $66,800,000 of the Government securities it holds. This is to settle a debt. The Hoover Commission found that the relations of the Treasury and this agency amounted to the debtor collecting interest from the creditor.

Reorganizing the Federal Housing Administration to do its own financing outside Government sources.

Ending of the postal-savings system as outmoded. The system was most useful for safety during the depression, but now the United States insures bank deposits.

Reorganizing the veterans' life insurance program, costing the Treasury $37 million a year, to pay its own way by efficiency without raising premium rates.

Ridding he National Park Service of wasteful business operations. In this area something has been accomplished, but not enough according to the Hoover Commission box score.

Reorganizing the Export-Import Bank to return to the Treasury large sums now used for short-term loans in competition with private banks. Also restricting the bank to long-term export-import loans, loans for development of foreign resources and loans to foreign governments.

With 94 percent of all United States farms now electrified, the Commission urged that the Rural Electrification Administration be reorganized to be self-supporting. The REA, in hock to the Treasury to the tune of the better part of $3 billion, has subsidized the sale of power to farm cooperatives at a loss.

Making the Small Business Administration charge enough interest to pay its way. As a general policy, the Hoover Commission urged that all types of Government subsidies be brought out into the open or stopped.

The Hoover Commission made 48 suggestions on how Federal lending agencies could save the Government money by efficient operation.

WHO'S A PRESSURE GROUP? YOU, YOU, AND YOU ARE

You're always hearing about pressure groups that make Government spend money. But the best definition of a pressure group is "You."

The fact is that all our millions of taxpayers, who feel the burdens and want relief, are their own worst enemies.

You can't have your taxes cut unless you're willing to have economy invade the areas where you have a special interest. The best things in life, the song says, are free—but tax reduction defies the rule.

The Committee on Federal Tax Policy, which has been carrying a torch for economy, nutshells it this way:

"Federal taxes are too high and must come down. Upon this point the public seems to be agreed."

It then explains how farmers want subsidies; how labor, which pays a good chunk of the farmers' benefits, wants higher wages which raise prices of things the farmer buys; how veterans, etc., want special benefits. Even your PTA getting a new school building, worthy as that objective is, swells the pressure. The report concludes:

"Each group loses sight of the fact that it not only pays directly and indirectly varying shares of the costs of its own benefits, but all of the benefits of other groups.

"Taken together, these various groups make up the Nation. Their collective demands present a serious obstacle to budget reduction."

HUGE FROZEN ASSETS

Harmonizing with the ideas of the Hoover Commissions, the Committee on Federal Tax Policy points out that vast Government assets are now tied up in loan programs.

These are all to win the favor of various segments of the public—or, to put it another way, pressure groups.

As long ago as 1953, it is pointed out, Government agencies held a total of $18 billion of net loans. Four agencies were responsible for nearly half of that. They were the Rural Electrification Administration, the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Federal National Mortgage Association, and the Export-Import Bank.

It is estimated the recovery of those assets would be more than enough to pay a year's interest on the national debt, and cut taxes by that much.

In fiscal 1955, aid to agriculture cost the Treasury $2,366,000,000—a good-sized hike over the previous year—despite Secretary of Agriculture Benson's attempts to cut it down.

At least six major Federal agencies are involved in furnishing electric power, often in competition with private companies and all at the cost of billions to the taxpayers. The Government thus collects less taxes from the private power companies whose rates are undersold.

The list of programs that amount to handouts of special groups could go on and on. The picture would remain the same:

Billions a year in Federal spending (some put it as high as $8 billion) could be cut down simply by taking the Government out of subsidized competition with private industry.

And saving those billions could cut your taxes.

Curling Our Hair Is Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I ask permission to insert a very spritely editorial from one of my rural newspapers, the Halstad Valley Journal, Halstad, Minn. The editorial follows:

CURLING OUR HAIR IS RIGHT

Under the new Federal budget, the costs of the Benson farm program and operating the Department of Agriculture will increase nearly $2½ billion.

That increase is almost double what the Department of Agriculture received for fiscal 1954.

In 1954 the Department of Agriculture receiver $2,557,000,000 while in fiscal 1958 $4,965,000,000 is sought for operating the Benson farm program and his departments.

The staggering increase in costs should clearly indicate to everyone the dismal failure of the Benson farm program. Ask most farmers what they think of the program and they'll give you an earful.

The only sensible farm program is the one which functions for the benefit of the people on the farm and close to the soil. Community life can be enhanced by a sane farm program, instead of one which seeks to drive people away from the rural areas.

Farming and rural living is a "way of life" that furnishes the basic sanity to our whole social and economic way of life.

Farm people should be the ones to determine what kind of a program they are going to have; not urban residents. Would labor and business accept such domination by rural people?

The 75th Anniversary of the Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, we Pennsylvanians are proud of our coal industry. We appreciate the accomplishments of the companies and their employees, whose efforts in developing the mines and producing the coal have contributed substantially to the economy of our Commonwealth and the security of our Nation.

This year one such important mining company is celebrating its 75th anniversary, and I feel that the event merits the attention of this legislative body. Inasmuch as coal's vast reserves are being counted upon to supply a progressively greater portion of America's energy requirements in the coming years, it is important that Members of Congress become better acquainted with this industry and its problems. I invite you to read the brief history of an old coal company. I ask unanimous consent to have this material inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The title is: "Seventy-Five Years Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Co."

I salute the R. & P. its officers, and its working force. It has been my privilege over the years to meet a good number of the R. & P. people and their families. Dr. Charles J. Potter, president of the Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Co., is well known to many Members of Congress and to executive department officials. He spent several years as Chief of the Marketing Branch of the Bituminous Coal Division of the Department of the Interior which administered the Bituminous Coal Act of 1937. During the war he served as Deputy Solid Fuels Administrator for War in the Department of the Interior. When the Government seized the coal mines in the latter part of 1943, Secretary Ickes appointed Dr. Potter as Deputy Coal Mines Administrator with responsibility for administering Government possession and carrying out the so-called Ickes-Lewis agreement.

More recently, Dr. Potter has served on the task force for the President's Advisory Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy. In pointing to this record of the man who has served as chief executive officer of the R. & P. since 1948, I remind you that he and his company have always been generous in devoting time and effort to meet requests occasioned by Government studies and inquiries.

Among the other members of the R. & P. family sharing in the spotlight of the company's anniversary is Heath S. Clark, chairman, finance committee. Mr. Clark was president of the R. & P. from 1933 until he was succeeded by Dr. Potter in that capacity 15 years later.

The historical sketch appearing in the R. & P. anniversary program follows:

The year 1957 marks the 75th consecutive year that the Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Co. has engaged in the business of mining bituminous coal. Its predecessor, Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal & Iron Co., incorporated November 1, 1881, began the development of mines in 1882 and was selling coal commercially by 1883.

The story begins with the Second Pennsylvania Geological Survey in the latter part of the 1870's when Assistant Geologist Franklin Platt and his brother, W. G. Platt, found coal deposits in Jefferson County. They enlisted the financial support of Walston H. Brown, New York financier, for the acquisition and development of the properties. Mr. Brown also acquired control of the Rochester and State Line Railroad which ran south from Rochester to a point just across the Pennsylvania State line and consolidated it with a number of short line roads in the area to form the Rochester and Pittsburgh Railroad Company.

The railroad company then subscribed to all the stock of the newly formed Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal & Iron Co. which enabled the company to purchase 5,862 acres of coal-bearing land in December of 1881. Extension of the railroad to serve these properties was begun early in 1882. Franklin Platt was placed in charge of development of the mines.

Both companies encountered many vicissitudes in their early years and soon the railroad went into receivership. Its property, including all the stock of the Coal & Iron Co., was purchased at foreclosure sale October 16, 1885, by Adrian Iselin (1818–1905) an investment banker of New York City. The railroad was then reorganized under his direction and eventually became the Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburgh Railway Co. It continued to own all the stock of the coal company until the end of 1906 when, in anticipation of the effective date of the amendment to the Interstate Commerce Act which prohibited railroads from transporting commodities in which they had an interest, it transferred its interest in the stock of the mining company to Mahoning Investment Co. which was formed for this purpose. The stock of Mahoning Investment Co. thereupon was distributed to the stockholders of the railway as a dividend.

In 1928 the Van Sweringen brothers of Cleveland acquired the controlling interest of the Iselins in the railway company. It was a condition precedent that the terms of sale be extended to all other stockholders, and in fulfilling this condition the Van Sweringens acquired substantially all the stock of the railway. It was subsequently sold to the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co. in 1929, and is now the Buffalo division of that road.

Flanklin Platt still continued in charge of the mining properties, and with adequate financial support from the Iselin interests Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal & Iron Co. grew and prospered. By 1895 its coals were well established in the markets, it had developed a profitable outlet for its fine coal in the form of coke manufactured in its more than 1,000 ovens, and had attained an annual output of 1¾ million tons of coal. Since then, its history has been much the same as that of the bituminous-coal industry in general, and in particular of the central Pennsylvania district, where, until recent years, all its coal holdings were located.

The B. R. & P. afforded the shortest route to the Buffalo-Rochester market of any railroad serving a major coalfield. The area was traversed by several east-west trunklines and coal could be shipped to many destinations both north and east at the base freight rates. Naturally, this was the area developed by the company for the marketing of its product. Its coal could reach the Canadian markets by rail via Buffalo and the Niagara frontier, by car ferry from Charlotte (Rochester) across Lake Ontario and by ships to Lake Ontario and St. Lawrence River ports. The company's principal markets continue to be in the northeastern part of the United States and in mideastern Canada.

In the earlier years most of the company's production was marketed through sales agents and wholesale coal distributors. About 1920, the company adopted the policy of selling direct to consumers and expanded its sales department accordingly. Today marketing is done by two wholly owned subsidiaries, Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Co. (Canada) Ltd., organized in 1926, and United Eastern Coal Sales Corp., organized in 1936. The principal sales offices are in Toronto and New York, respectively, and branch offices are maintained in Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Rochester, Syracuse, Montreal, and Port Colborne. Retail yards are operated in Buffalo, Rochester, Utica, Philadelphia, Toronto, and Montreal. In addition, coal docks and several small retail yards are operated in Canada.

Consumption of coal in the United States approximately doubled every decade until about 1920 and the coal reserves and output of Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal & Iron Co., expanded with it. Additional coal lands were acquired in Armstrong, Clearfield, and Indiana Counties, Pa., where new mines were opened. The first major acquisition was in 1896 when the coal and iron company obtained a controlling interest in a corporation formed to purchase the mines and properties of the Bell, Lewis & Yates Coal Mining Co., a successful coal company with an annual production of about 1½ million tons. In the same year the company bought another going mine with an output of about a quarter of a million tons. This was the Helvetia mine which continued to produce until 1954 when the operation was abandoned because the coal remaining could not be economically recovered.

In 1898 the B. R. & P. Railway was extended to and beyond the Armstrong County field, finally justifying the inclusion of Pittsburgh in its name by obtaining trackage rights over the B. & O. into that city. Shortly thereafter a branch of the B. R. & P. was built into Indiana County and new mines opened in that area. The Ernest mine opened in 1904, the Lucerne mine in 1907 and the original Kent mine in 1910, are still in operation.

New corporations were formed to develop and operate many of the coal fields so acquired. The banking firm of A. Iselin & Co. furnished the money for the acquisition of these lands and title to them was taken in the name of Adrian Iselin. After the accumulation of sufficient acreage to constitute operable properties for one or more mines, a new corporation would then be formed and the coal lands purchased from Adrian Iselin for the exact amount he had paid for them, including the expenses involved and interest at the prevailing rates, a practice somewhat unusual for the times. The Rochester and Pittsburgh Coal & Iron Co. acquired no stock interest in these companies, but its officers and managers were also the officers and managers of the new corporations while the Iselins continued to hold controlling interest in each. By successive steps, culminating in 1939, the several operating companies were consolidated to form the present Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Co. and the picture was com-

pleted in 1950 by merging the Mahoning Investment Co. into it. Ownership of a majority of the stock of the company continues in the Iselin family.

The manufacture of coke constituted an important part of the company's business in its early years. The coke was of superior quality, particularly for foundry use, and the markets for it extended as far west as the Mississippi River, large shipments being made to such cities as Chicago, St. Louis and Milwaukee. Eventually the company found it could not compete with coke made in the nonunion Connellsville field. It procured a controlling interest in two corporations and they constructed blast furnaces at DuBois and Punxsutawney which afforded outlets for much of the company's coke production. Over many years they were profitable enterprises in themselves. By 1935, however, the furnaces had become obsolete so they were scrapped and the companies liquidated.

A battery of beehive coke ovens had been constructed at the Ernest mine when it was opened in 1904. Coke manufacture was interrupted with the scrapping of the blast furnaces but operation was resumed in 1936 and continues today. Through a wholly owned subsidiary another battery of beehive ovens was constructed at Lucerne mine in 1952. Much of the product of these ovens is presently sold to the steel industry.

The companies now comprising the Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Co. attained their peak production in 1917. Thereafter, in common with the so-called northern fields, a considerable amount of the business the company had enjoyed shifted to the nonunion fields in the South. The central Pennsylvania field was among the earliest to be organized by the United Mine Workers of America. The company operated under contract with the union until 1925 when, out of sheer competitive necessity, it went nonunion and continued so until the advent of the NRA in 1933. Since then, it has operated under contract with the United Mine Workers.

Throughout its history the Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Co. has equipped its mines with the latest and most efficient machinery available. As early as 1895 more than half its output was produced by machine mining, a method of undercutting the coal seams with machines driven by compressed air, instead of by a pick-swinging crew of strong-armed coal miners. It was one of the first companies to introduce electricity into coal mines and to install electrically driven cutting machines, locomotives for underground haulage, pumps for draining the mines, and fans for ventilating them. It was perhaps the first company to replace the usual small powerplants, located at each mine, with central powerplant generation and its own transmission system. Today, its four operating mines are fully equipped with modern mining machinery underground and for the mechanical cleaning of coal produced. Photographs of some of the early and modern plants and mining equipment will be found in the following pages.

For all practical purposes piecework rates in bituminous coal mines went out of existence with the advent of the contract negotiated with the United Mine Workers in 1947. This imposed a hardship on most of the mines in the central Pennsylvania field where natural conditions, generally speaking, do not permit as hight a rate of productivity as prevails in the fields from which central Pennsylvania's principal competition comes. This, along with the antiquated railroad freight rate structure which in effect deprives the field of its one principal natural advantage, that of a geographical location nearest to the major eastern markets, caused the company to look to other coal-producing districts. In 1948 a going mine, renamed O'Donnell, was acquired in the northern West Virginia field. In 1956 a leasehold interest in a substantial acreage of coal, also in northern West Virginia, was acquired where, if exploratory mining now in progress confirms the existence of a body of coal to the extent and quality indicated by the initial core drilling, a mine of a capacity of approximately 1 million tons per year will be developed and equipped.

The company also has endeavored to find stiuations outside the coal industry where its mining and marketing experience would be of value. To date, it has found one deemed worthy of exploitation and, through Vitro Minerals Corp. owned equally with Vitro Corporation of America, it is successfully operating an open-pit uranium mine in Wyoming. The company expects to continue to seek further opportunities of this nature.

Men play an important and interesting part in the history of any business organization. It is regrettable that space allows for the telling of only a few incidents about the men who exerted much infleuence upon the fortunes of this company.

One of the early presidents of the company, George E. Merchant, resigned the presidency of the company to become general superintendent of the B. R. & P. Railway. Very likely Mr. Merchant considered this a substantial promotion and probably it was, for at that time, managerial control of the coal company was vested in the railway.

The old Rochester mine was famous for its double-track, rope-haulage system using 4 drums powered by 2 large steam engines. This was a very complicated but, in those days, a highly efficient means of hauling coal from the mine workings to the tipple and returning the empty coal cars underground. Mining engineers from this country and from many parts of Europe came to see it in operation. One of its marvels of efficiency was that only one man was needed to operate it. Oldtimers say that only three employees of the company were capable of operating it, among them, the president of the company, Lucius W. Robinson and James Craig, father of the present general manager of operations of the company. It is history that Mr. Robinson actually did operate the hoist for several days when a majority of the mineworkers struck for higher wages.

Mr. Robinson served the longest term of any of the chief executives of the company, from 1899 to 1928, first as president and then as chairman of the board of directors. During his regime, the company achieved its greatest expansion in production and in coal reserves.

Great changes in the bituminous coal industry have occurred during the life of the company, and great improvements have been made in the industry's public and labor relations as well as in the efficiency of its producing and marketing methods. The policy of the company has been to keep pace with these changes and improvements. For example: In 1917 the companies now comprising the Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Co. produced more than 9 million tons of coal from 28 mines with approximately 10,000 mine workers; in 1944, the peak year of World War II, it produced just short of 7 million tons from 9 mines with approximately 4,000 mine workers; in 1956 it roduced 5 million tons from 4 mines and 2 small strip pits with approximately 2,000 mine workers.

In the first 75 years of its existence the Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Co. has produced more than 335 million tons of coal and owns unmined reserves sufficient for more than another 75 years at current rates of production. Not all of these reserves can be mined economically under today's conditions but, if experience is a criterion, most if not all of them eventually can be recovered as new methods of mining are developed and as the more easily recoverable beds of coal in the country are depleted. In the belief that there is a place in the bituminous coal industry for a well-managed and well-financed company of its size, the Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Co. looks forward with confidence to the next 75 years.

The American Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, the American way for getting things done is by private enterprise, where this is not possible then it should be based on the principle of partnership between Government and private enterprise.

The Trinity River project in California exemplifies the public gain to be realized from the application of this principle. A private utility company has submitted a proposal by which it would construct, operate, and maintain the hydroelectric power phases of the project. The proposal has wide support because it would save the taxpayers $55.5 million in capital outlay; provide the Federal Government with a net return of $165 million from sales of falling water; and result in tax payments of an estimated $145.6 million to Federal, State, and local governments.

Secretary of the Interior Seaton recommended to Congress on February 13 that it approve the joint development plan. On the 17th of April, I introduced H. R. 6997 to provide for joint development of the project—as being in the best interest of the Government and the taxpaying public.

Seventy-two newspapers in northern California have endorsed the partnership plan. Among them is the Humboldt Times, published at Eureka, Calif. I desire to include with my remarks the following editorial, entitled "The American Way," from the March 24, 1957, edition of this newspaper:

THE AMERICAN WAY

The controversy stirred up by only a handful of Congressmen over the offer of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. to develop the Trinity River project on a partnership plan with Uncle Sam provides voluble echoes once again of the faint-hearted philosophy of the depression years which asked Americans to put its trust in empire-building bureaucrats.

That paralytic doctrine, born of anxiety and fear, yet ever since threatening the moral fiber of our free institutions, has in recent years been repudiated by the great majority of Americans.

President Eisenhower has expressed the renaissance of America's people, a rebirth of self-confidence and personal dignity, in what he has defined as a partnership policy on the part of Government with private industry to promote the general welfare of the Nation.

This kind of cooperation is not something new, it is intrinsically American. It dates back to the earliest beginnings of our Nation. It is, in fact, one of the great themes of the American epic and one of our great contributions to civilization at large—the concept of teamwork, the ideal of fair play, the ethic of a living democracy.

To us, this is the compelling reason why we feel the P. G. & E. partnership plan, endorsed by Mr. Seaton, the Secretary of the Interior, should be quickly approved by Congress.

Even more than the sound reasons that the P. G. & E. proposal would save the taxpayers $56 million—the cost of building the power facilities, and provide a total net gain of $310 million from Federal, State, and local taxes, and project revenue during the 50-year period of the contract.

The Secretary has pointed out that the basic purposes of the reclamation program are the development of irrigation water supply and the reclamation of land. Electric power is generated only incidentally to the basic purpose of the program.

We believe that the development and distribution of electricity is the job of private industry. We feel it can, does, and will do the job better and cheaper than Federal agencies which all of us, already burdened with heavy taxes, will have to dig still deeper in our frayed pockets to pay for.

We submit that the Trinity project, which Congress has decided to be a program urgently needed to promote the general welfare of our people, should also be the handiwork of cooperation and teamwork—for therein, we feel, lies the real meaning of democracy.

The Old Santa Fe Trail as a National Monument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, on February 28, 1957, I introduced a bill to provide that the Secretary of the Interior shall investigate and report to the Congress as to the advisability of establishing as a national monument a site on the Old Santa Fe Trail near Dodge City, Kans. As further evidence of the desirability of establishing this monument I want to bring to your attention a letter from Mr. James P. McCollom, a member of the board of directors of the Southwest Kansas Historical Society at Dodge City, Kans.:

DODGE CITY, KANS., *April 20, 1957.*

Hon. J. FLOYD BREEDING,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BREEDING: After the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition, came the most historical event west of the Mississippi River—the opening of the Old Santa Fe Trail.

President Jefferson made a master stroke in making this purchase. He immediately backed it up by commissioning the great explorers to traverse the Missouri and beyond to the Pacific. Immediately before Lewis and Clark returned he commissioned Col. Zebulon M. Pike and 23 other men to explore the south and southwest boundaries of the new purchase—as far as the mountains. Pike followed a course along the north side of the Arkansas River to the mountains, a course destined to become the Santa Fe Trail. He then crossed over to Mexican territory and old Santa Fe. Pike's glowing accounts of huge profits to be made by trading with Santa Fe spurred many venturesome men to begin a packsaddle train of merchandising to that far-off city. Captain Becknell, with a few wagons, made the trip up the river in 1821. In 1822 he made another trip with 30 loaded wagons, this time going by way of the Cimarron Cut-off-wagon Bed Springs route. He touched Colorado and Oklahoma and thence into New Mexico.

The old Santa Fe Trail is easily the most historical spot in Kansas, since its earliest establishment and continuous use over 68 history-making years until the railroad opened the West to further settlement.

The site on the old trail which we propose for a national monument is on the main line of the trail (all travel centered here with no branch-offs). The site is almost exactly midway between Independence and Santa Fe and is adjacent to U. S. Highway 50. This makes it very accessible to millions of tourists. From a headquarters building a commanding view could be had of the Arkansas River and Valley, the main line of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad and famous Highway 50. The remains of the old Santa Fe Trail are the most extensive in existence, having 2 miles of continuous paths with 8 to 15 separate and distinct trails. They are also the best preserved of the entire length of the trail. They are sodded over and practically in an unspoiled condition. The plow is a constant threat to the preservation of this trail for posterity.

It would be only fitting and proper that the old Santa Fe Trail should be first on the list for historical recognition. This would be a national monument equal to and as dignified as the Scotts Bluff National Monument commemorating the old Oregon Trail.

Yours sincerely,

JAMES P. MCCOLLOM.

Leadership and Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker and ladies and gentlemen of the House, my South Carolina colleague, the Honorable ROBERT W. HEMPHILL, is in much demand as a public speaker because of his forthrightness and keen analysis of the problems facing our country and the world today. I commend to the attention of the House the following splendid address delivered at a banquet of the Omicron Delta Kappa Leadership Society at the University of South Carolina:

LEADERSHIP AND RESPONSIBILITY

(Speech of Hon. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL, Member of Congress, before Omicron Delta Kappa Leadership Society, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C., April 25, 1957)

Mr. President, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, some time ago I witnessed an argument between two little sisters about an office in a little club of their neighborhood. The younger of the two sisters had been elected recording secretary and the older of the two was making fun of the younger. The younger recording secretary lashed out: "You just don't understand, you see, this is the first time I have ever been elected to anything, and I am proud of it."

The little wisdom expressed here might well illustrate something so evident here as well as in the Capital of the United States where I have some responsibilities.

Leadership and recognition are treasures only a few attain. Every honor that you and I receive, such as election to this fine organization, is not only a privilege, but has far reaching effect and responsibility. The organization of which you are a part—the school where you have attained these honors—the community from which you come—your families and their names—the church to which you belong, and even your girl friend, are now in the spotlight that your success has gained for you.

The examination of a critical world is never limited to a man or woman, regardless of age, who is in a coveted position; everything he or she touches, and everything with which he or she is surrounded, is on the block for testing. And so, we must understand, that if we are to accept the reins of leadership we can never turn them loose, nor can we escape our public and private responsibilities—and this applies to the great heroes in the world governments.

Early in 1953 there disappeared from the American scene a man who had been denied his greatest desire. His father had been President of the United States, and by right he should have been. Some felt he was cheated—others, just defeated, in his aspirations of 1952. Without rancor or bitterness he returned to his seat in the United States Senate and his responsibilities as the majority leader. He worked unceasingly for a party which had refused him, believing that he was working for a nation that must survive. In the midst of his efforts he was stricken by cancer, but continued despite terrific physical pains and colossal discouragements. In an article about him shortly after his death, a great publication [1] carried an item entitled, "Heroic Last Days of Robert Taft." All of his colleagues knew that he lived like a leader. The world knows now that he died like a leader, and even in death he is an inspiration to great and good men everywhere.

Most of you gathered here today are leaders on an American campus. As a member of the public, a citizen, and even as a Member of Congress, I have every right to expect of you the highest type of citizenship, outstanding integrity, and highest morality in your mature life. You have what it takes—you have been recognized and honored for it and you cannot let us down now—you must not even let yourselves down.

I mentioned morality, as a delineation between right and wrong, which is more important to me than any other factor in the history of what man calls civilization. The same moralities that today are necessary in the huskings of the market are necessary among the nations of the world. If America departs from her morals, or any high Government official disregards them, we suffer. We are suffering now from the burden of some taxation from a decade of tension, from a loss of friendship among our most honored and ancient of allies, from a loss in fact over the entire globe, all of which might be blamed on our departure from moral truths; everybody knows that you cannot buy a friend—that is, everybody but the United States Government.

I suppose every speaker you have had has had something to say about communism. My classification of communism is very simple. Communism is the devil's form of government, and behind the Iron Curtain there is a hell on earth. History may blame our governmental policies, our efforts to combine good and evil at the same conference table—as one of the main causes of the growth of communism in a world that wanted freedom.

Let us look at the Communist leadership for a moment. Red China is the world's biggest dope peddler.[2] The government is in the business of dope and corruption. Red China is not responsible to world opinion, to

Footnotes at end of speech.

world morality, nor concerned with common decency. Let us then compare the record of Nationalist China on this evil. Before the war and before the Communists were encouraged by our diplomatic stupidity, narcotics were decreasing in China, and to those who may criticize Chiang Kai-shek and his government, I wish to point out this one fact as an evidence that the Chritianity he and his wife believe in works among the peoples of the East.

At the Geneva Conference in 1954 the Communists were present[3]—present, too, was the climate of fear and suspicion which always prevails when Communists get together. The Russians brought their own food and their own automobiles. The Chinese Communists would not rent a house which the Russians had previously considered because of fear of hidden microphones and wiretappings. The American representatives rode about in a rented automobile; but the Communist had bullet-proof cars. Which way of life will you and the world choose, and in which direction will you leave the future—in the direction of morality or otherwise?

I wish I could tell you that this lack of appreciation of morality is confined to those who do not believe in our way of life or the religions which have made this country great. Unfortunately, I cannot. On Saturday, April 13, we had no mail service. An American businessman had been given a high cabinet post and responsibility for the operation of the Post Office Department. On January 10, 1956,[4] he had made a statement about his budget as follows: "To provide the American people with an even better mail service," and "That tried and proven concepts of business management have been introduced into every phase of the Post Office Department's activities." Despite these statements we find that he had disobeyed the law known as the "antideficiency law," and this fact was confirmed by Democrats and Republicans in debate which followed.[5] Instead of applying the business methods required by law and appropriating the funds by quarters sufficient to take care of any threatened or anticipated emergency, the law was violated and the American public was alarmed, and properly disgusted, as it should be. If the Congress needed any defense because they provided the funds requested by the Budget Bureau and the Post Office Department, neither the Postmaster General, whose unbusinesslike methods were partially responsible, nor the Director of the Budget,[6] whose appalling ignorance was such that he did not even know that the Post Office revenue does not go to the Post Office, has had the morality to admit the wrong. Great Americans of the past have been quick to say, "I made a mistake." Shall we now cultivate leadership or leaders whose morality is lacking or who have neither the courage nor the patriotism to admit mistake?

The American people are quick to forgive a mistake, honestly admitted. I hope the leaders of the future will have the honor and integrity the American people deserve.

I have talked here of people of nations, politics and morals, and of leaderships and responsibilities. The campus leaders of Omicron Delta Kappa have furnished many leaders in the maturing life of the Nation—internationally, as well as on a State and community level. I wish I could look into the magic glass and see your place tomorrow. I believe each of you will be cognizant of the responsibility you have. You must, if civilization is to flourish and continue, develop to an even greater extent than you already have your sense of morality, and your dedication to the principle that there is no substitute for honor and trust, there is no justification among men or among governments which superimposes the wrong way over the right way.

And—lest you forget—a recording secretary has an important position of leadership and responsibility.

I salute you as the patriots, the leaders, of the America of tomorrow.

Thank you for allowing me to come.

---

[1] This Week magazine.
[2] Reader's Digest, February 1955.
[3] Reader's Digest, February 1955—Distrust Thy Neighbor as Thyself.
[4] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, April 12, 1957, p. 4998.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Bulletin—Comptroller General, United States, issued April 13, 1957.

Federal Participation in Flood-Drought Control Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a copy of the joint statement relating to Federal participation in flood-drought control projects by the Governors of the States of Missouri and Kansas. This is a statement urging the Congress and its committees to give prompt are careful consideration to appropriations for the planning and completion of flood-drought control projects previously authorized for construction in these two States:

We, the undersigned Governors of the States of Missouri and Kansas, respectfully urge Congress and its committees to give prompt and careful consideration to appropriations for the planning and completion of flood-drought control projects previously authorized for construction in these two States. Both States contain great river valleys in which the water-flows of navigable streams are and have been under the control of the Federal Government and which historically have been plagued by recurrent extremes of flood and drought.

We are satisfied that the flood-control projects designed by the Corps of Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation present the only comprehensive, feasible plan for the alleviation of flood and drought damages in our major river valleys. In our judgment appropriations for such purposes would represent capital investment of the highest order both from the standpoint of necessity therefor and national economic return.

Some of the flood-drought control projects designed by the Corps of Engineers and Bureau of Reclamation in these States were approved and authorized by Congress as early as the year 1938 and have never received initiation or construction through appropriations to cover planning or construction costs. The time lag between authorization and construction which was the result in some instances of the demands of war, has and will continue to result in greatly increased costs above the original cost estimates. While the potential loss and damage as the result of failure to construct these authorized projects is correlatively increasing it would be in the interest of governmental economy to proceed with the construction and completion of these projects as soon as possible.

We recognize also the subsequent need for watershed or upstream control programs in the interests of both soil and water conservation. Such programs present a measure of flood control for their immediate localities but engineering research and study establishes the fact that such projects are not a substitute for the controls provided by larger down-river reservoirs.

Therefore, we urgently request that appropriations be made by the current Congress sufficient to permit orderly and economic construction to commence or proceed on all authorized Federal flood-drought control projects approved by the Bureau of Reclamation or the Corps of Army Engineers in the States of Missouri and Kansas and that further appropriations be made for planning work on the additional projects suggested by such Federal agencies as essential to complete the comprehensive plan for flood-drought control in the great river valleys in these States.

JAMES T. BLAIR,
Governor, State of Missouri.
GEORGE DOCKING,
Governor, State of Kansas.
KANSAS CITY, MO., April 16, 1957.

Must Post Office Make Money?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very comprehensive article on the fundamental question of whether our Post Office Department should be self-supporting, which appeared in the Boston Sunday Globe on April 21, 1957:

MUST POST OFFICE MAKE MONEY?—ITS LOW COST SERVICE HELPED AMERICAN BUSINESS—DEFICIT IS NEGLIGIBLE COMPARED WITH BENEFITS TO ALL CITIZENS

(By John Harris)

The outpouring of indignant words that has resulted in the Post Office Department's restoration of normal services has still left unanswered the fundamental question, Should our Post Office Department be self-supporting?

Ever since the founding of this Nation each generation has argued, without reaching a permanent understanding, whether our Post Office Department should be operated as a business venture or as a public service.

Benjamin Franklin, our first Postmaster General, previously served in that capacity under the Crown. When Franklin took over for His British Majesty, the postal agency was functioning in the red. Shrewd businessman Franklin turned this into a profit. He even exults in his autobiography that when he was fired, as a result of his becoming embroiled with the Governor of Massachusetts, the agency again was run at a loss and returned to the British Treasury "not a farthing."

IF FRANKLIN COULD DO IT—

Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield, with prior experience mainly in the world of business, has been trying to repeat Franklin's example of bringing into balance his department's expenditures and revenue.

Summerfield's background undoubtedly made such an objective inevitable. More-

---

Footnotes at end of speech.

over, he was faced with challenges that inspire the business mind to action. He heads a multi-billion-dollar organization, one of the largest on earth, with more than 500,000 employees, 37,000 post offices. And, on account of rising costs with which we are all familiar, Summerfield has been confronted with what appear to be mammoth deficits.

In 1953 the operating loss was $622 million; in 1954—$399 million; in 1955—$362 million; in 1956—$463 million; and, projected for 1957—$651 million.

Summerfield's recent clash with Congress over additional funds, which involved the unprecedented shutdown of our postal system, was actually part of his persistent drive to solve his deficit through increasing postal rates. He has found Congress adamant in resisting this proposal, and in this course Congress has the support of the Citizens' Advisory Council to the Senate Post Office Committee which maintains we should not turn our back on "the proven American ideal of a post office dedicated to service, not revenue."

OTHER COUNTRIES BREAK EVEN

A survey of post office systems abroad—in Great Britain, France, Spain, Italy, India, Pakistan, for instance—shows generally that they are just breaking even or run at a deficit. Their setup is radically different from ours. In all these countries, and in most other foreign lands, the government unifies and operates all three communications, post, telephone, and telegraph. Revenues from the latter two offset deficits from postal operations.

Great Britain, first nation to utilize penny postage and the country regarded as the founder of modern postal service, encountered a deficit last year in its post office department. Revenue from its telephone and telegraph departments more than counterbalanced the deficit, and thus money was funneled into the lean British treasury.

Such a solution here would certainly work mathematically, if this were the only consideration. American Telephone last year showed a $616 million profit while Western Union showed $14 million. Their combined earnings, during recent years, would more than have offset the deficits of our Post Office Department. But even entertaining such a solution would violate our conception of a free economy.

The thought that our Post Office Department, through a sharply altered rate structure alone, should bring its books into balance, appears equally violative of our American experience which has seen this Nation's prosperity and widespread dissemination of information assisted by the constant availability of inexpensive postal communication. Indeed, it can be argued that Americans have been wise not to be distracted by postal deficits, for in meeting them patiently, we have benefited uniquely from the often unappreciated instrument of civilization which low-cost postal service has offered us.

Sending letters was once the exclusive prerogative of kings, nobles, and government officials. In the not too distant past, when most mail services were privately operated, the cost was prohibitive for average citizens. The rate for sending a letter from Boston to New York was once 25 cents, then an onerous charge. Letter writing was widely discouraged until the reforms of the last century which introduced low-cost postage. This helped to provide something else essential to our democracy, an informed electorate.

As for our prosperity, the Citizens' Advisory Committee noted "It was low-cost postal service that made possible the growth of America's business. Many of today's giants of trade and industry began as tiny establishments and grew great through the enactment of helpful postal services. There still remain many more small businesses than large in America. These small businesses need the same opportunity."

PROFITS FOR ALL

Government was not established for the purpose of making profit. We do not expect it of its agencies, such as the State, Commerce, Labor or even the Treasury Departments. It may be argued that where limited numbers of citizens benefit from some Government service, the operation should be made self-sustaining. In the instance of our Post Office Department the benefits accrue literally to everyone. And, if we divide the recent Post Office Department deficits by the number of the population, the per capita cost is negligible compared with the benefits. Congress has been prudent in keeping postal costs within the reach of everyone's purse.

Postmaster General Summerfield, hailing President Eisenhower's signing the legislation which furnished extra funds and restored Saturday postal service, refrained from demanding higher rates. Summerfield spoke instead about "trying to give the public the best possible mail service; to keep postal employees on the job; and to operate as economically as we can." These are objectives truly in harmony with public service and our best tradition.

Even sage Ben Franklin had different views to express, earlier in his autobiography, when he was still a small-business man and he had just been appointed postmaster in his adopted city of Philadelphia. He joyously discovered that access to postal service increased correspondence, enlarged the number of people interested in his product, and multiplied profits to his business so he could give his time to public service. This, because of the nature of postal service, is the better example Franklin has left us.

Great Lakes Water Diversion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, April 12, 1957, representatives of every Great Lakes State except Illinois, met in Cleveland, Ohio, together with officials of many municipalities and port authorities in the Great Lakes region, to discuss the legislation now pending in Congress which would permit an increased diversion of Great Lakes water through the Illinois Waterway.

The conference, called at the invitation of the Honorable C. William O'Neill, Governor of Ohio, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE, CLEVELAND, OHIO, APRIL 12, 1957

Whereas the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota hold title to the waters of the Great Lakes under a high public trust to protect and preserve them for the benefit of some 50 million of their citizens; and

Whereas any diversion of these waters from the Great Lakes watershed materially injures the interest of the 50 million citizens in this natural resource; and

Whereas the commerce of the Great Lakes is a major factor in the economy of the region made up of these States and of the Nation itself, specifically in the coal, chemical, steel, and utility industries and public hydroelectric facilities; and

Whereas diversion of Great Lakes waters, outside the Great Lakes watershed materially injures the above-described commerce and the above-described industries; and

Whereas tremendous public expenditures have been made in and are continuing to be made in the improvement of port facilities throughout the Great Lakes, which facilities will be materially injured by any impairment of the natural levels of the lakes; and

Whereas the Government of the United States and the Government of the Dominion of Canada have expended and are expending tremendous public funds in the development of the St. Lawrence seaway, which development will be materially injured by any impairment of the natural level of the lakes; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States has authorized the deepening of the connecting channels of the Great Lakes involving further tremendous expenditure of public funds, which deepening will be directly reduced by any impairment of the natural level of the lakes: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this conference of State, municipal, and industrial officials, speaking directly for and on behalf of the 50 million citizens of this region, hereby expresses unalterable opposition to any diversion of water from the Great Lakes watershed and specifically urges the Congress of the United States to defeat legislative attempts by the Chicago Sanitary District, the State of Illinois and oher groups outside the Great Lakes area which would pillage the natural resources vested by law and by specific Supreme Court decision in the people of the Great Lakes watershed and which would violate the rights of the people of the Great Lakes and Canada under existing treaties between the two nations; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Vice President of the United States as President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the chairman of the Senate and House Committees on Public Works, and to each Member of Congress from the States participating in this meeting.

El Dorado County Chamber of Commerce Reaffirms Endorsement of Cooperative Trinity River Development Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, on April 19, 1955, the Board of Directors of the El Dorado County (Calif.) Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution favoring a cooperative plan for development of the power facilities of the Trinity River project.

This stand was reaffirmed by resolution approved March 12, 1957. In transmitting a copy of the same to me, chamber officials urge that the partnership plan be supported in the interest not only of the taxpayers of California but of the United States.

El Dorado County is situated in the heart of California's famed mother lode country. Geographically, it is in the immediate users' area to be served by Trinity River power. Therefore, the public position of its chamber of commerce is especially significant in connection with Secretary Seaton's recommen-

dation, and my bill (H. R. 6997) to provide for joint development.

For the information of Members of Congress, I desire to include with my own remarks the following resolution pointing out the desirability of the cooperative plan:

RESOLUTION FAVORING PARTNERSHIP DEVELOPMENT OF TRINITY RIVER PROJECT

Whereas recommendation for the joint development of the Trinity River unit of the Central Valley project in California by the Federal Government and the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. was made February 13, 1957, by Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton; and

Whereas the El Dorado County Chamber of Commerce believes that the development of the Trinity River should be carried out at the least cost to the Federal taxpayer; and

Whereas the development under the cooperative plan would result in a beneficial broadening of the local tax base; and

Whereas it would mean a surplus of $165 million in project revenues in 50 years of operation, as compared to an all Federal development project; and

Whereas according to estimates it would also mean an additional $135 million in Federal, State, and local taxes during the 50-year period: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the El Dorado County Chamber of Commerce directors at their regular board meeting March 12, 1957, reaffirm their stand, made in a resolution drawn April 19, 1955, on the desirability of the cooperative plan; and be it further

Resolved, That this chamber of commerce hereby respectfully urges Senators KNOWLAND and KUCHEL and every member of the California congressional delegation to support the cooperative plan by the Federal Government and the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. in the development of the Trinity River project.

Approved by the board of directors of the El Dorado County Chamber of Commerce, March 12, 1957.

Attest: HARVEY E. WEST, Jr., *President.*
WALTER G. DRYSDALE, *Secretary-Manager.*

Third Annual Model Congress of Genesee County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the schools of Genesee County, N. Y., annually hold a model congress as a means of acquainting the students through experience and participation, with the mechanics and content of representative government. This is a most commendable undertaking.

This year, the model congress was held at the New York State School for the Blind at Batavia, with students from the following schools participating: Elba Central School, Batavia High School, LeRoy Central School, Pavilion Central School, Oakfield-Alabama Central School, Corfu Central School, Byron-Bergen Central School, and the New York School for the Blind.

A number of bills were submitted by the high school students to the congress, and after consideration by the appropriate committees, were acted upon by the congress in plenary session.

The following measures were approved:

Bill No. 61, submitted by Terry Graham and James Griffith, Pavilion Central School:

Be it enacted by the Model Congress: That a tax of $0.01 be placed on every pack of cigarettes earmarked for Federal aid to education.

(A) The lump sum should be given to each State in proportion to size, population, and number of schools.

(B) The State legislature should regulate how the money should be divided among educational needs.

Bill No. 67, submitted by Lois Benthin, Elba Central School, a bill to increase from $600 to $800 the personal income-tax exemptions of a taxpayer:

Be it enacted by the Model Congress: That the Internal Revenue Code be amended to allow $800 as an exemption for a spouse, and for each dependent and an additional exemption of $800 for anyone over the age of 65.

Bill No. 65, submitted by Diane Ketchum, and Jean Ann Huber of Byron-Bergen School, a bill to provide adequate medical care for low-income families:

Whereas only one-half of the families of the Nation are covered by some form of sickness insurance; and

Whereas this insurance covers less than 25 percent of all medical expenses; and

Whereas families with incomes under $3,000 have twice as much illness as those families with higher incomes;

Be it enacted by this Model Congress that:

1. A cooperative Federal-State program be established to assist in the financing of personal health services. Each State would draw a plan to assist the development of the health service which conforms to a program of minimum Federal standards.

2. Federal grants-in-aid would be made from general tax revenues for the purpose of assisting the State in making personal health services available to the general population and the lower income families in particular. The Federal Government would also assist the States in operating facilities for tuberculosis and mental care.

Bill No. 53, calling for Federal aid to schools which adopt the four-quarter plan of year-around operation was defeated. It was submitted by Wendy Fosburg of Batavia High School.

Bill No. 13, calling for increase of the immigration quotas was also defeated. It was submitted by Suzanne Beebe and Lorna Lamb of Corfu High School.

The Congress was under the chairmananship of Samuel Giansante, of Elba Central School.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I also include in the RECORD an editorial from the April 8 issue of the Batavia Daily News with respect to this model congress:

MODEL CONGRESS SHOWS THE WAY

The model congress staged by area schools at the State School for the Blind commends itself as a most sensible and worthwhile project.

It involved students from throughout the county assembling after the fashion of the national legislative body, studying, debating, presenting and finally voting on measures of nationwide significance.

It was edifying to see the grasp of national issues that the students have.

Certainly, an endeavor of this kind promotes not only a knowledge of the mechanics of government, but also encourages thinking on all sides of an issue and, in effect, puts significant meaning and "life" into what is between the covers of a textbook.

Unofficial Visit to the Jewish Colony at Sosua in the Dominican Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT ZELENKO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, during the Easter recess, accompanied by three of my distinguished colleageus, Hon. ISIDORE DOLLINGER, of New York, Hon. EARL CHUDOFF, of Pennsylvania, and Hon. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL, of Maryland, I made an unofficial visit to the Jewish colony at Sosua in the Dominican Republic. We were guests of the colony which was established 17 years ago to provide a haven for persons of the Jewish faith who were victims of Nazi horror and inhumanity.

We spent several days in Sosua where we worshipped in their synagogue, lived in their homes, visited their farms, factories, school, and hospital.

We found a happy and prosperous people in a thriving community. Those who came there oppressed and forsaken are now proud citizens of the Dominican Republic, living in harmony with their neighbors, respected and welcomed everywhere.

The Sosua settlers told us, and we can report from personal observation, that the promises made to them by Generalissimo Trujillo in 1940 have been fulfilled. He has kept his word.

In Ciudad Trujillo, the capital of the Dominican Republic, we witnessed a history making and significant event.

Alfred Rosenzweig, who came there with the small band of Hitlers' victims, was sworn in as a Congressman of the Republic. He was the first of the Jewish faith to achieve this honor. To us this was indicative of the freedom of opportunity, freedom of religious belief and worship, and the absence of discrimination of any kind, because of race, creed, or national origin in the Dominican Republic.

We were invited to meet with Generalissimo Trujillo. In the course of our discussion, we mentioned the plight of the Egyptian refugees who are now seeking a haven from communism and Nasser terrorism. We were particularly concerned because President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles have refused the same preference to the Egyptian refugees as was given to the Hungarians.

Generalissimo Trujillo assured us that he would be happy to do today what he did in 1940. He said that the door of the Dominican Republic is open to all oppressed people, regardless of race, creed, or national origin and that 5,000

Jewish refugees can be admitted immediately. He further advised us that he is making available sufficient fertile land for all those who will come.

Middle East Situation Serious

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States and perhaps of the world are thinking about the ultimate possibility of war in the Middle East area. As part of my remarks I am including a timely article by a Scripps-Howard staff writer, Mr. R. H. Shackford, who is presently in Amman, Jordan. It is obvious from a reading of the article that until the difficulty between the Arabs and the Israeli is resolved, there will be but little chance for peace in the area. The article follows:

AMMAN, JORDAN, April 25.—The odds are heavy on the side of civil war here. If that happens Jordan's neighbors, like jackals, probably will devour her.

That is the opinion of most foreign observers and the fear of many moderate Jordanians. But they sit mesmerized and helpless.

Tension is near the breaking point.

DESPERATE

The economic situation is desperate. The mood of two-thirds of the people—1 million Palestinians in a country of 1,400,000—is that they have nothing to lose. The only thing worth gaining, for them, is revenge against Israel. The West has blocked such revenge, but the Reds promise it for them.

Young King Hussein still is fighting with the moral support of neighboring Kings Saud of Saudi Arabia and Feisal II of Iraq. He hopes for their military support if the lid blows off. But only a minority of the people are behind him—the majority being Palestinians, not Jordanians.

The struggle between the King and the extremists has grown rapidly ever since the extremists won last year's elections—the first free ones in Jordan. The issue was drawn early this year when Jordan was faced with choosing whether to support the Eisenhower doctrine.

The extremists, who want closer association with Egypt's President Nasser and Moscow, and a policy of positive neutrality, reject the doctrine. The King and some of his advisers want such support, because they now are conscious of the strong hold communism is getting on Palestinians in their midst.

WALKING THE TIGHTROPE

The current crisis started early this month when the King dismissed the old cabinet headed by extremists and set up a new one. He is trying to walk a tightrope by getting rid of pro-Nasser extremists, while not alienating the Palestinian rank and file who are attracted by them.

The King's dilemma is this: If he should come out enthusiastically for the Eisenhower doctrine, or if the Richards mission appeared here now, the extremists probably could give the street mobs the signal for all-out riots. That may happen anyway. Countrywide demonstrations the last few days were a possible prelude to a major effort to overthrow the present Government and the King.

There are few if any hopeful signs either here or in the more tension-ridden area west of the Jordan River—the section of old Palestine the Israelis failed to conquer in 1948.

The most encouraging sign is the King's strong measures to keep the lid on—deployment of the Arab Legion and police in trouble areas, abolition of all travel within the country, a purge of officers and probably stiffer measures to come. If the extremists decide to push it, there will be a fight—and everyone agrees a bloody, tragic one between Arabs.

UNITED STATES SCAPEGOAT

The United States is the major scapegoat. The Reds carefully maneuvered the situation so a million Palestinians in Jordan—half in miserable refugee camps—look on the United States as their enemy and Russia as their friend. "If my enemy (Israel) is your friend, then you are my enemy," they say. "The Soviets say Israel is their enemy and therefore the Soviets must be our friends."

Only those who have lived in squalor and hunger and without hope of returning to their old homes for 8 years can understand this reasoning. These people do not look beyond the Israeli question—and it does little good to lecture them on the dangers of communism. "What about Israel?" they reply.

Time and again I asked Jordanians and Palestinians of moderate cast what could the United States do when they asked me, "What is the United States going to do?"

Time and again the answer was undeviatingly the same: "Admit justice is on our side in the dispute with Israel, and do something about getting justice for us."

It is pretty hard to reply to this in the middle of a refugee camp of 40,000 desolate, forlorn people living in mud huts and tents on barren plains west of Jericho. Even harder to answer when the refugee is standing on the edge of no man's land and looking 50 feet across barbed wire to his orange grove now tended and harvested by Israelis.

The Western World often forgets the crux of the Israeli problem is right here in Jordan. Likewise the crux of Jordan's current problems revolve around the Israeli problem.

Looking at hard facts it is hard to conclude otherwise than that the cards are stacked against continuation of Jordan in its present state. The United States unfortunately today is seeking to maintain what is an untenable status quo.

Jordan really is two countries:

First is old Transjordan the area east of the Jordan River. It is primarily desert and mountains; until the Israeli war it was inhabited by a few hundred thousand Bedouins and shepherds.

Secondly is a small chunk of old Palestine—an area 75 miles long and 30 wide, north and south of Jerusalem and west of the river. The Israelis failed to capture this and the late King Abdulla annexed it.

MOSTLY PALESTINIAN

This area is populated by about a half million Palestinians. To it and nearby Jordanian areas another half million Palestinians fled and still remain. The present population of Jordan is thus two-thirds Palestinian.

Palestinians, being much more sophisticated and politically conscious than the desert nomadic Jordanians, quickly came to dominate this country. King Abdulla gave all Palestinians Jordanian citizenship.

The present prime minister is a Palestinian refugee. His predecessor was a Palestinian. Most members of the cabinet are Palestinians. Palestinians have only one objective in life—get rid of Israel and return to their lands.

Although the indigenous Jordanians are less strongly inclined, their country is a paradise for Reds and extremists.

A former moderate cabinet member, dismissed a week ago by King Hussein, discussed the situation with despair:

"No one knows from hour to hour what will happen. Extremists are in control of the crowds and refugees, thanks to the West's refusal to face up to the refugee problem all these years.

"These demonstrators are not Communists. They don't even know what communism is. But Communist leaders are taking full advantage of their frustrations.

"It is a classical Marxist revoluntionary style. Demonstrators are Palestinians driven from their homes 8 years ago, who feel 8 years of injustice is enough. They are sick and tired of seeing sympathetic foreigners like you come here and look at them, go away and write nice words—but then nothing happens.

"They sit, and brood, and plot. But something is going to happen now. For years Moscow paid no attention to them. Now Moscow says it is on the side of the Palestinians. Your answer is a proposal to save us from communism. That isn't what these people want. They want what the Soviets are saying—that their case against Israel is just."

If Hungarian Refugees, Why Not Egyptian?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am dismayed to learn that the administration sees fit to reject the entrance of Egyptian displaced Jews to the United States under the parole provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act. Yet, this is the very provision in the law which gave the administration authority to admit 32,000 Hungarian refugees. I note that Mr. Rogers, in replying for the Attorney General, stated that the decision to admit Hungarian refugees was taken in "a sudden unexpected emergency which arose while there was no Congress in session." This answer is completely illogical.

The authority to admit the Hungarian refugees was based on law and the law operates whether or not Congress is in session. It is heartless mockery to say that existing law is operable for one group of people and then inoperable for another group of people who are similarly situated. Whether or not Congress acts on the administration's proposals, is completely irrelevant. The law as it exists today, provides sufficient authority to admit the helpless deportees of Egypt.

Moreover, the administration has announced that it will continue to permit the entrance of additional Hungarian parolees. No one finds fault with that, but then what happens to the excuse given by Mr. Rogers that the administration will not act on Egyptian deportees while Congress is in session, pending action on the proposed legislation affecting parolees? The Hungarian refugees are still being admitted although Con-

gress is in session and the pending legislation has not been acted upon.

There is more to this than meets the eye. What is the real basis for this discrimination? The Committee on the Judiciary, of which I am chairman, will put that question to Mr. Rogers.

Resolution Concerning Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a senate concurrent resolution passed by the South Dakota Legislature which memorializes the Congress to substitute the Scrivner, Republican, of Kansas, bill for H. R. 1 in the event there is action on the part of Congress to provide Federal assistance to education. In presenting this concurrent resolution, I likewise call attention to a senate resolution passed by the South Dakota Legislature which I inserted in the RECORD under date of April 15, 1957, and which appears on page 5114 of the RECORD, wherein the South Dakota Legislature went on record in unequivocal opposition to the whole philosophy of Federal aid to school construction or education in any manner.

Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that these two resolutions, which were passed by the South Dakota Legislature, clearly define the feeling of the people of South Dakota on not only education but on a majority of these Federal-aid grants. The senate concurrent resolution is as follows:

Senate Concurrent Resolution 11

Concurrent resolution memoralizing the Congress of the United States and his Excellency, the President of the United States, the Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower; the Honorable KARL E. MUNDT and the Honorable FRANCIS CASE, United States Senators from South Dakota; the Honorable E. Y. BERRY and the Honorable GEORGE McGOVERN, Congressmen from South Dakota; relating to a sound approach to more increased educational funds through local control by providing that 1 percent of the personal and corporate Federal income tax generated in the State of South Dakota shall either be retained in or returned to the State to be used for such educational purposes as the State of South Dakota may determine

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of South Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring therein):

Whereas there are some people in public life that feel that there is a pressing need for Federal aid for schools based on the premise that this country faces an educational crisis caused by the fact that while more and more children have been entering our schools every year, there have been fewer and fewer teachers and school buildings to take care of them; and

Whereas other people in public life, who recognize that there is a need for more educational funds in our Nation, feel that the problem can be met quickly and sensibly at the local level but not on the Federal plane because Federal aid results in Federal control in its distance from the people, and fails to solve State and local problems; and

Whereas the Government of the United States, through taxes, is siphoning a great part of the wealth of our Nation out of the several States and Territories into the Federal Treasury; and

Whereas the Government of the United States is collecting taxes from nearly all sources of revenue, including taxes on individual and corporate incomes, admission, beverages, communications, gifts, luxuries, transportation, and from excise and other taxes, leaving to the States but relatively few other sources of tax revenues; and

Whereas at rates approaching confiscation of property, States are still not able to raise revenue sufficient to carry the rising costs of State and local governments, and especially not to meet the demands for needed improvements and higher salaries for the training of our youths; and

Whereas it has been proposed that the Federal Government grant aid to the State for educational purposes; and

Whereas it is neither economical nor efficient to withdraw huge sums out of the States and Territories and redistribute funds under bureaucratic regulations from the Federal Treasury; and

Whereas there was introduced in the 85th Congress of the United States, House Joint Resolution 159, which resolved in part, "That 1 percent of all income taxes collected on individual and corporate incomes under Federal statutes shall be deemed to be revenue for the State or Territory within which it is collected, for use, for educational purposes only, without any Federal direction, control, or interference," and in line with said House joint resolution Representative ERRETT P. SCRIVNER, of the Second District of Kansas, and Representative E. Y. BERRY, of the Second District of South Dakota, have introduced bills to aid education through this direct transfer-to-the-State treasury plan; and

Whereas it is desirable that if aid is required by the States, that it be accomplished by a simple, easy, direct, and efficient method, not hampered with bureaucratic restrictions, or dictation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of South Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That the Congress of the United States be respectfully urged and requested to adopt legislation in line with the Scrivner plan of aid to education and House Joint Resolution No. 159 whereby the State of South Dakota would retain 1 percent of all income tax collected on individual and corporate income under Federal statutes which would be deemed revenue for the State of South Dakota for educational purposes and without any Federal direction, control, or interference; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Senate of the State of South Dakota transmit copies of his resolution to His Excellency, the President of the United States, the Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower; to the Honorable KARL E. MUNDT and the Honorable FRANCIS CASE, United States Senators from South Dakota; the Honorable E. Y. BERRY and the Honorable GEORGE McGOVERN, Representatives in Congress from South Dakota.

NILS A. BOE,
Speaker, House of Representatives.
WALTER J. MATSON,
Clerk, House of Representatives.
L. R. HOUCK,
Lieutenant Governor, President of the Senate.
JOHN EWELL, for
NIELS P. JENSEN,
Secretary of the Senate.

Northerners Need To Know Facts in the South—There'd Be Less Misunderstanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article written by Mr. Albert Taliaferro, Jr., of Cordova, Tenn.

He emphasizes that the South does not have a real Negro problem. It is provocative of great interest and I am sure you will be interested in reading it.

The article follows:

NORTHERNERS NEED TO KNOW FACTS IN THE SOUTH—THERE'D BE LESS MISUNDERSTANDING

(By Albert Taliaferro, Jr.)

A message to white northerners and to higher class Negroes:

There would be no hate or misunderstanding over integration if you could understand the following facts and do something definite to correct the practices of southern Negroes which produce those facts.

In Shelby County, Tenn., last year there were 2,986 illegitimate Negro children to 23 whites. That means more than 129 Negroes born out of wedlock, to 1 among whites. And that picture does not take into consideration the fact that there are almost 3 whites to 1 Negro living in Shelby County. Taking this into consideration, the ratio is at least 260 Negro illegitimate births to 1 white.

Scripps-Howard Reporter Andrew Tully saw one Negro woman in Mississippi who had 7 children by 7 different men.

THE DISEASE ISSUE

A study of United States statistics on venereal disease in the South showed very much the same sort of ratio.

I have never seen these detailed facts brought to public attention, in an effort to explain why southern whites do not want integration forced upon them and why the Southern States are setting up laws to block forced integration. Our good Negro brethren deserve to know these reasons, in order that they may correct them.

Those infected with venereal disease leave germs on toilet seats where they are caught by innocent people. Could anything be more convincing to integrationists?

White southerners simply do not want to accept such an unprepared race on an equal basis. Higher class Negroes do not expect them to. We have hundreds of higher class Negroes in many of our southern white colleges, who understand the problem. They know that they are held back by lower level Negroes.

Negro preachers of our Nation, according to that great Negro publisher, Davis Lee, instead of preaching the gospel against sin, are fanning hate against the southern whites who really are their friends. Wise Negro leaders, especially preachers, should first insist on cleaning up the southern Negroes' sins and then ask for recognition. But so far the NAACP and many Negro leaders are not doing this.

QUESTION OF DUTY

Is it the southern white peoples' duty to cleanse the Negro race? No; the Negroes would consider that as meddling in their private affairs. I think it is the duty of the NAACP, and they should be forced by higher class Negroes to get going on that job.

Some northern whites have the crazy idea that they are somehow different from the southern whites and for so thinking, they are completely responsible for the unnatural hate with which the southern Negro is being infected.

Results of Questionnaire Mailed by Hon. John F. Baldwin, of California, to Residents of the California Sixth District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. BALDWIN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, early this year I mailed a questionnaire to every family of registered voters in the California Sixth Congressional District. The response to this questionnaire was the largest that I have ever received. Many constituents not only answered the questionnaire, but sent supplementary letters or wrote detailed comments on the back of the questionnaire. I have spent many hours personally reading all of these comments, and they have been most helpful. I am firmly convinced that a Congressman can better represent his constitutents if he knows the views of all of these constituents, than if he has only heard from pressure groups.

The tabulation of the questionnaire is summarized below:

1. A civil-rights bill is under consideration by Congress which would provide that any intimidation or other effort to prevent a citizen from legitimately voting in Federal elections is a Federal offense, and that the United States Attorney General be given authority to prosecute such a violation. Do you favor or oppose such a bill? Favor, 86.4 percent; oppose, 8.6 percent; undecided, 5 percent.

2. President Eisenhower has proposed that Congress authorize him to use our Armed Forces, if necessary, to protect the territorial integrity and political independence of any Middle Eastern nation requesting such aid, against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism. Do you favor or oppose such authorization? Favor, 63.6 percent; oppose, 25.5 percent; undecided, 10.9 percent.

3. The Refugee Relief Act, which permitted admission into the United States of refugees, expired on December 31, 1956. Proposals have been made that an extention of this act be passed so that additional refugees from Hungary and other countries might be admitted to this country. Do you favor or oppose such an extension? Favor, 41 percent; oppose, 48.5 percent; undecided, 10.5 percent.

4. President Eisenhower has proposed to Congress that the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act be liberalized so that unused immigration quotas could be transferred to country whose quotas are oversubscribed. Do you favor or oppose this modification in the act? Favor, 47.4 percent; oppose, 41.7 percent; undecided, 10.9 percent.

5. The present tight-money situation has resulted primarily from Government efforts to prevent inflation. If you had your choice, which of the following would you prefer:

(a) High interest rates, with reasonable stability in prices—89.3 percent.

(b) Lower interest rates, but with higher prices for the goods you buy—10.7 percent.

6. It has been proposed that the Veterans' Administration's interest rate on veterans' home loans be increased from 4½ to 5 percent to stimulate lending agencies to make more VA home loans. Do you favor or oppose this increase in the VA interest rate? Favor, 56.6 percent; oppose, 34.3 percent; undecided, 9.1 percent.

7. It has been proposed that the veterans' preference, which gives priority to veterans over nonveterans in Federal civilian employment, should not apply after a nonveteran has a minimum of 15 years' Federal service. In other words, a nonveteran with more than 15 years of Federal civilian service could not be "bumped" (ousted from his job), in case of a reduction in force, by a veteran with less Federal civilian service. Would you favor or oppose such a limitation of the veterans' preference.

Answers from all constituents: Favor, 73.8 percent; oppose, 21.8 percent; undecided, 4.4 percent.

Answers from veterans: Favor, 66.5 percent; oppose, 27.4 percent; undecided, 4.1 percent.

Answers from nonveterans: Favor, 80.1 percent; oppose, 15.8 percent; undecided, 4.1 percent.

Answers from Federal civilian employees who are veterans: Favor, 44.6 percent; oppose, 51.6 percent; undecided, 3.8 percent.

Answers from Federal civilian employees who are nonveterans: Favor, 90.5 percent; oppose, 8.6 percent; undecided, 0.9 percent.

8. (Answered by residents of Solano County.) The Air Force has announced that it considers it essential to construct 500 additional housing units at Travis Air Force Base to provide adequately for military personnel stationed at the base, and for our national defense. In order to do this, under present law, the Air Force must first purchase the existing 900 housing units at the base which were originally built under the Wherry Act. Such purchase would remove the Wherry housing units from the tax rolls, depriving Solano County of approximately $45,000 in property tax revenue per year. With these facts in mind, do you favor or oppose the Air Force proposed construction of the 500 additional housing units? Favor, 36.8 percent; oppose, 51 percent; undecided, 12.2 percent.

Foreign Aid Fails To Hit Target

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an article by Mr. George Todt, editorial correspondent for the Valley Times, North Hollywood, Calif. His comments regarding our foreign-aid program are timely and I commend the article to the House membership:

OUR ALLIES AND OUR BAG HOLDING

(By George Todt)

"All hope abandon, ye who enter here."—Dante—Inferno.

The ludicrous aspects of our foreign-aid giveaways become more apparent with the passage of time. There are so many flagrant examples of what our global doles have failed to buy for us—friendship, security or peace—that it would be easier to write a book than a short article on the subject. Let's take a look at the recent antics of our partner, Great Britain, for a starter.

Our strongest ally has just told us—in effect—to go fly our kite. Not only is Her Majesty's Government's bowing out of the picture insofar as the global military defense of the Western alliance may be concerned, but it is also preparing to open the floodgates of trade with the Iron Curtain bloc as well. Is this Britain's revenge for President Eisenhower's stopping her midway in the recently attempted conquest of the Suez Canal? If so, then we will possibly find France—our No. 2 ally—following suit.

France is practically a military nonentity for the time being anyway—at least insofar as any adequate contribution to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's defense of Western Europe is concerned. She has some half million men, armed by courtesy of the United States, and they are presently gallivanting over north Africa instead of maintaining their share of our mutual burden at the Rhine, which was the reason why we gave them weapons and economic aid in the first place. France has spent our wherewithal in Indochina and Africa, instead.

But to get back to our British cousins. They have thrown in the sponge and now say they must rely on the American taxpayer to pay for their defense. How come? For answer, John Bull points to the Suez fiasco. Really crushing, you know.

And yet quite a case might be made to the neat effect that Britain lost no money whatsoever on the ill-fated expedition. The military costs were previously given as approximating $300 million. Afterward, London picked up nearly $2 billion in credits and loans from the World Bank and from us, these to tide her over. We have generously agreed to postpone interest payments extending many years into the future on the postwar British loan. This means, in effect, another grant-in-aid gift of billions in savings.

We came to Britain's rescue—as we have on numerous other occasions—with enough oil to keep her going without any economic letdown in any quarter. In fact, there was a boom—not a recession—in England during the last winter. Production was at an all-time high. In fact, things were so good that the Government announced early in April that income taxes would be cut; also taxes on entertainment, household goods, and gasoline sales. How about that?

It must seem strange to thinking Americans that after we came to Britain's rescue in the last two World Wars, after spending more than $120 billions on economic and military aid to our allies since 1945, and after paying the highest income and other taxes in our history—the American people must now be treated to the spectacle of our closest ally's handing us the ball and taking a powder on the next play. This doesn't make sense to our side.

Let's face it. When British fat was in the fire, the Empire knew how to maintain its share of military forces in the face of world tensions—and did so magnificently without aid or direction from Uncle Sam. The British Commonwealth could do so today if it wanted to make the effort.

But what is the incentive for it to do so? As long as our politicians in Washington are too weak to insist that our allies do their full and fair share in our mutual system of alliances—why not allow the American taxpayer to carry the Old Man of the Sea on his back? Can we actually blame the British? Is this sad turn of affairs their fault—or ours?

Frankly, we have only ourselves to blame. It is sheer stupidity on our part to undertake the defense of others who are neither enthusiastic nor willing to share equally in their own defense against a hideous, alien ideology such as militant Marxist socialism. But far from being interested in doing more

than a token share, our allies—namely, the British and French—seem more interested in open trade with the enemy. Or do they really think of the Communist leaders as enemies? Why have they left us holding the bag? What's up?

Classroom Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent editorial in the Monday edition of the Washington Post and Times Herald on the subject of classroom shortage.

Opponents of the plan to have the Federal Government make grants-in-aid to State and local school districts for needed classroom construction must realize that the bulk of the American press and a vast majority of the American people favor the idea.

I want, on behalf of the proponents of this legislation, to commend the Post and other outstanding newspapers for their stand favorable to legislation that means so much to America.

The editorial follows:

CLASSROOM SHORTAGE

Of all the unfinished business which Congress faces on returning from its Easter recess, nothing can make a stronger appeal to its conscience and its concern for the national welfare than the proposal for Federal aid to school construction. In one form or another, the proposal has been before it for more than a decade. The need for Federal aid has grown more acute each year. Continued neglect of it can result only in impairment of the Nation's public school system. Congress has a heavy obligation to act upon it before the session's close.

Opposition to Federal aid seems to rest on two arguments. One is the contention sponsored by the United States Chamber of Commerce that no classroom shortage exists; this ostrich method of approaching a serious problem by closing one's eyes to it may be comforting to economizers but it is neither constructive nor realistic. The other argument is an old one and deserves more serious consideration: it is rooted in a fear that Federal aid may lead to Federal control of the public schools. Marion Folsom, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, dealt with both these arguments in a notable speech recently at Rochester, N. Y.

Taking the figures supplied by State and local school agencies throughout the country as a basis, Mr. Folsom attacked the contention that no classroom shortage exists. "For the third year in a row," he said, "the States reported our schools are overflowing with about 2¼ million children above their capacity. These children are not imaginary. They are in school today, and they can be counted with reasonable accuracy. These children, and millions of their classmates, are handicapped by half-day school sessions or badly overcrowded conditions or use of makeshift facilities. * * * The latest and best estimate by the States places the total classroom shortage at about 159,000 classrooms."

The Secretary's reply to those who fear Federal control of education seems to us equally persuasive. All that is proposed in the administration bill, he points out, is a grant of Federal funds for a limited emergency period to be allocated to the States, matched by their own resources, and then allocated by them to local school authorities for local disbursement and administration. The Federal contribution would amount to only 15 percent of total funds for school construction in the country and to no more than 3 percent of total funds for public schools for all purposes. Moreover, the Federal contribution would be limited to construction and would, by explicit legislative provision, have no relation to the selection of teachers, the determination of school curriculums or the administration of school programs. It is hard to see in this any genuine threat to the independence of local school boards.

From the beginning of the American Republic, the Federal Government has given assistance to education through land grants to colleges. This aid has brought rich dividends to the American people as a whole. Something like it is needed now for the public-school system because neglect of school construction during the war and postwar years has created an emergency classroom shortage which the States cannot meet out of their own resources. The need is immediate, temporary, and real. Federal aid means the salvation, not the sacrifice, of community control of the public schools.

Bertrand-Harrrison Bend Migratory Waterfowl Refuge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to the Iowa Senate Concurrent Resolution 23 as adopted by the 57th General Assembly of Iowa.

The resolution follows:

Senate Concurrent Resolution 23

Whereas it has been proposed that the United States Fish and Wildlife Service establish a migratory waterfowl refuge and recreational area on the Missouri River in and adjacent to Harrison County, Iowa, in what is known as the Bertrand-Harrison Bend in connection with a project of bank stabilization being constructed by the United States Army Corps of Engineers; and

Whereas such an area would greatly enhance the recreational facilities of Iowa; and

Whereas outdoor recreation tends to lessen juvenile delinquency by providing a wholesome and healthy outlet for youthful energy as well as fulfilling a basic need for the people of Iowa in general; and

Whereas the United States Army Corps of Engineers has made a study of the proposal and finds that the necessary alterations in its plans can be carried out at no additional cost: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the senate (the house concurring), That the Legislature of the State of Iowa commends the Federal agencies involved for their forethought and efforts in the interests of outdoor recreation and urges their continued cooperation in advancing this project to a successful completion; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the senate send copies of this resolution to the United States Senators and Representatives from Iowa; the United States Senators and Representatives from Nebraska; to Brig. Gen. J. L. Person, United States Army Assistant Chief of Engineers for Civil Works; and to Mr. Ross Leffler, Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

SENATE CONSERVATION COMMISSION,
ALBERT WEISS, *Chairman*.

We, William H. Nicholas, Lieutenant Governor of Iowa; Richard W. Berglund, secretary of the Senate; W. L. Mooty, speaker of the house of representatives; and William R. Kendrick, acting chief clerk of the house of representatives, hereby certify that the above and foregoing resolution was adopted by the Senate and House of the 57th General Assembly of Iowa.

RICHARD W. BERGLUND,
Secretary of the Senate.
WILLIAM R. KENDRICK,
Acting Chief Clerk of the House.
WILLIAM H. NICHOLAS,
Lieutenant Governor of Iowa.
W. L. MOOTY,
Speaker of the House.

Food Fair Decision Threat to FTC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD the following statement made by me and text of a letter to Representative OREN HARRIS, chairman, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce:

FOOD FAIR DECISION THREAT TO FTC

The meatpackers' exemption from surveillance by the Federal Trade Commission that was created in the Packers' and Stockyards Act of 1921 poses grave threats to the continued usefulness of the FTC and to its ability to proceed against unfair and discriminatory practices by any American company.

Under a ruling by a Federal Trade Commission hearing examiner in the Food Fair case, which involved unfair practices in the operations of a supermarket grocery chain of 238 stores, any company, no matter what its primary line of business is, simply by establishing a small meatpacking operation can oust the FTC of jurisdiction over its activities. I have written a letter to the chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee urging him to take early action in order to resolve the statutory ambiguity that gave rise to this condition and to affirm the FTC's jurisdiction over monopolistic practices of meatpackers.

The text of my letter to Representative OREN HARRIS, chairman, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, is as follows:

"On April 11, 1957, a hearing examiner for the Federal Trade Commission issued a ruling that underscores the urgency for early consideration by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of necessary legislation to close the loophole in the Federal Trade Commission Act created by the meatpackers' exemption. In the *Food Fair Stores, Inc.* case (FTC Docket 6458), FTC's hearing examiner ruled that Food Fair's ownership and operation of a meatpacking plant ousted the Federal Trade Commission from jurisdiction over unfair methods of competition that violate the Federal Trade Com-

mission Act and discriminatory practices that violate the Robinson-Patman Act even though these unfair and discriminatory practices are totally unrelated to the distribution of meat and meat products, or for that matter, even to the distribution of agricultural products.

"By vesting $2,700,000 in a meatpacking plant, Food Fair has been able to remove FTC surveillance over the business of a supermarket grocery chain of 238 stores with gross sales of $475 million. This is a case where the tail wags the dog.

"Unless the Federal Trade Commission overrules its examiner, his decision leads to absurd results. Any company, no matter what its primary line is, with a minimal investment in a meat packing operation can deprive the Federal Trade Commission of jurisdiction over its activities. Under the examiner's ruling, this device could be used by tire producers, battery manufacturers, automobile manufacturers, integrated oil companies, or any other industrial giant, to eliminate antitrust enforcement by the Federal Trade Commission over monopolistic practices that result in unfair and discriminatory methods of competition.

"I hope that the hearing examiner ultimately is found to be in error. The fact that there is much to support his interpretation of the packers' exemption, however, further demonstrates the need for Congress to clarify this statute and to affirm the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission over the activities of meatpackers.

"As the law now stands, the Secretary of Agriculture has jurisdiction to enforce the antitrust provisions of the Packers' and Stockyards Act of 1921. The Secretary of Agriculture, however, for more than 30 years has done nothing to enforce these antitrust provisions, even with respect to those companies whose primary lines are slaughtering, processing, and selling meat and meat products. It is obvious that the Secretary of Agriculture is neither equipped for nor qualified by experience to continue these antitrust responsibilities.

For these reasons I urgently request that you schedule early hearings on my bill, H. R. 5282, to return to the Federal Trade Commission jurisdiction to prevent monopolistic acts and practices and other unlawful restraints by persons engaged in commerce in meat and meat products."

United Nations Aid Suggests That the United States Reduce Its Spending Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the head of the International Monetary Fund has proposed that the United States cut its Government expenditures in the interest of a more stable world economy. Will our policymakers heed his advice? I doubt it. The statement by Mr. Per Jacobsson, managing director of the International Monetary Fund to the United Nations Economic and Social Council follows:

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., April 17.—The head of the International Monetary Fund proposed today that the United States cut its governmental expenditures in the interest of a more stable world economy.

Per Jacobsson, managing director of the body, told the United Nations' Economic and Social Council that inflated international budgets today represented "the greatest obstacle" to monetary order.

Previously he expressed the opinion at an interview that it would be unfortunate if the United States foreign-aid program should be such as to stand in the way of possible budget reductions and tax cuts.

He said, however, that the current high volume of demand for goods and increasing private investment throughout most of the world had been of benefit to the United States, enabling it to maintain its export markets in the years after the Korean war.

BUSINESS IS HELD KEY

Noting the economic theory that governments should spend largely in times of shrinking private business and retrench correspondingly when private investment stands at a high level, the Swedish expert asserted:

"It now seems as if the authorities were quite willing to accept and apply the first part of this theory but that they show great hesitation and unwillingness to apply the necessary retrenchment in a period of boom.

"There are, however, some countries which recently have taken steps to cut down effectively the volume of their government expenditure; among them I would especially mention Belgium, the Netherland, Great Britain, and, as far as investment expenditure is concerned, Austria.

"Under the influence of the examples set by these countries, it is not excluded that a new fashion involving a curtailment of government expenditure will gain ground, instead of the practice of ever-mounting budgets followed in most countries during the post-war years. For such a fashion to be firmly established it is probably necessary, however, that some extra-European countries—and particularly the United States—should partake in the movement.

"For anyone who has had the occasion to examine the internal position of a number of countries in various parts of the world, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that if only the budget deficit could be brought down to manageable proportions the greatest obstacle to monetary order would have been eliminated."

SEES NEED FOR COURAGE

Mr. Jacobsson conceded that cuts in government spending would require much political courage and determination. But he added that fortunately people everywhere are tired of inflation and this should make it easier for authorities to take without fear or hesitation the necessary measures, whether these are popular or not.

WORLD MARKET STRESSED

He went on: "It is, I think, advisable for most countries to remember that if they continue to allow their costs and prices to rise, they may not be able in the future to count on an increase in the general level of world-market prices but become exposed to the risk of getting into an unbalanced position internally and externally.

Mr. Jacobson outlined the measures taken by the International Monetary Fund to support the pound sterling during the Sues Canal crisis. There was a surprising unanimity of view regarding this course among almost 60 member nations, he said, and an amount equal to the United Kingdom's quota of $1,300,000,000 was made available.

"It was found to be not only in the interest of the United Kingdom but also in the general interest that support should be given to a currency with the worldwide importance of sterling, in which over one-half of the world's currency transactions are settled," he said.

The Fund Director noted that despite political stress over the last few months, no grave monetary disturbances had taken place and progress had been made in several nations toward increased transferability of currencies.

He reported, however, a distinct feeling of uneasiness regarding increasing living costs in such countries as the United States and Britain, despite the pronounced increase of private business investments.

The Trend Toward Monolithic Banks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address given by me before the convention of the Independent Bankers Association, at the Golden Gate Hotel, Miami Beach, Fla., Friday, April 26, 1957:

This morning I should like to discuss with this most distinguished assemblage a matter of grave national concern. I am referring to the trend toward monolithic banks that is wiping out independent banks on a wholesale scale and concentrating control of the Nation's banking business into fewer giant financial institutions. This trend is an ominous one indeed for the future of the independent banking system; permited to continue unchecked, it could have dangerous consequences for the entire competitive economy which depends for its lifeblood upon banking credit.

Traditionally the banking system of the United States has relied for its vitality on vigorous competition by a multitude of independent banks, locally organized, locally financed, and locally managed. Unlike other countries, such as Great Britain and France, where a few mammoth institutions control nearly all the banking facilities, the American system is based on unit banking—that is, strong, growing community banks which provide a wide range of financial services to the people in the area. It is the unit banking system which has played a key role in the economic development of this country. And it is this kind of system, premised on small units effectively competing with each other, that our antitrust fabric is designed to perpetuate and preserve.

CONCENTRATION OF BANKING FACILITIES

Against this background, what are the details in respect to concentration of banking facilities? In this connection, let me refer you to the report of our House Judiciary Antitrust Subcommittee, dealing with corporate and bank mergers. Our subcommittee found that at the present time, the 100 largest banks control approximately 46 percent of the total assets of all the commercial banks in the country and more than 48 percent of the bank deposits. It found that in 10 of the 16 leading financial centers, 4 banks own more than 80 percent of all commercial bank assets; 2 banks more than 60 percent; that in each of the 16 leading financial centers, the first 2 banks own more than 40 percent of all commercial bank assets; the first 4 banks more than 60 percent.

There is yet another facet—concentration through bank holding company control. In

my State of New York, for example, 14 holding companies control banks having deposits of $7.2 billion, amounting to 19.5 percent of all commercial bank deposits in the State. In Arizona, 2 holding companies control over 80 percent of all commercial bank deposits. In Minnesota, 2 holding companes hold 45 percent of the commercial deposits; in Montana, the same 2 companies control over 44 percent of the commercial deposits; in North Dakota, 29 percent; and in South Dakota, 37 percent of the commercial bank deposits. One holding company controls 42 percent of Oregon's bank deposits, and the same company in Nevada holds 78 percent of the commercial bank deposits.

PACE OF BANK MERGER ACTIVITY

Largely responsible, in my judgment, for the present degree of concentration has been a spate of mergers accomplished through acquisitions by banks and by holding companies. In fact, the rapidly accelerating trend towards mergers has been the major development in banking over the past 7 years. Thus in the period from 1950 through 1956 some 1,017 of the Nation's commercial banks have disappeared by way of mergers and consolidations. Banks so eliminated have not been, for the most part, the financially weak, unsound banks that needed rescue in the depression pattern. Nor have they been, in the main, the specialized, poorly organized, or the inefficiently managed. On the contrary, most of the banks that have disappeared have been growing, efficient, profitable, vigorously competitive banks taken over at peak earning capacity. The merger pattern is not predominantly a situation where two or more small, inadequately financed or managed banks, falling behind in the competitive race, seek by merging to form a big integrated institution, able to compete on equal terms. On the contrary, a large percentage of mergers involved one or more giant banks having assets of $100 million or more. And the absorbed banks were likewise no minnows; a large percentage of those banks having assets in excess of over $50 million.

There is yet another consideration. During the last 35 years, the number of banks has been reduced by more than half. In 1921 there were over 30,000 commercial banks serving the Nation's borrowers and creditors; by contrast, at the end of 1956 some 13,680 commercial banks remained in operation—a new low. This despite the postwar boom, the 286 percent growth in bank assets, the new high level of loans and deposits, the greatly increased use made of banking services, and the enormous growth in the number of depositors.

REMEDIAL LEGISLATION TO CURB BANK MERGERS

Particularly in light of recent experience, additional legislative action is imperative to prevent bank mergers having substantial anti-competitive effects. At the present time bank mergers are circumscribed by the provisions of the Sherman Act of 1890 which prohibits combinations in restraint of trade, attempts to monopolize, or monopolization of trade or commerce. Illegality is established by proof that the merger has actually resulted in an unreasonable lessening of competition; it is immaterial whether the merger was accomplished by stock or asset acquisitions.

Section 7 of the Clayton Act, adopted in 1914, on the other hand, deals specifically with corporate and bank merbers and bans those achieved by stock purchases where there is the mere reasonable probability of a substantial lessening of competition or a tendency to monopoly. Responsibility for enforcing the section insofar as banks are concerned was vested concurrently in the Attorney General and the Federal Reserve Board.

Section 7 was designed to stop mergers beyond the reach of the Sherman Act but its failure to include mergers accomplished by asset acquisitions resulted in a loopole which so far as nonbanking corporations are concerned was closed by passage of the Celler-Kefauver Act of 1950. However, because of revisions made in subsequent versions of antimerger bills, it became impracticable to include within the scope of this act corporations other than those subject to the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission. This left assets acquisitions by banks unaffected by the new law since authority to enforce the provisions of section 7 dealing with banks is vested in the Federal Resrve Board and not in the Federal Trade Commission.

This loophole in existing law not only has no logical basis, but, more important, it has seriously hampered enforcement efforts to proceed against bank mergers injurious to competition. For this reason legislation is urgently needed which would provide enforcement agencies with the same authority to move against bank mergers accomplished by asset acquisitions as they now have to move against bank mergers achieved by stock acquisitions.

During the last session I introduced a bill, H. R. 5948, to provide such authority. This bill was approved by the House without a dissenting voice but the Senate was not given opportunity to consider the measure.

It is significant that after the House passed my bill, Mr. Ray M. Gidney, the Comptroller of the Currency, spearheaded a drive to have the Senate Banking and Currency Committee consider another bill dealing with bank mergers. This bill, drafted by Mr. Gidney's assistants, represented an obvious maneuver to head off Senate passage of H. R. 5948. It was contrary to the President's recommendations calling for revision of antitrust legislation to cover bank mergers accomplished by asset acquisitions, as envisaged by H. R. 5948.

The bill drafted by the Comptroller would amend section 18 (c) of the FDIC Act and give the Federal bank supervisory agencies sole jurisdiction to approve or disapprove a proposed merger, taking into account as one of the factors to be considered whether the transaction may lessen competition unduly or tend unduly to create a monopoly. Concomitantly, it would deprive the Attorney General of enforcement jurisdiction under the Clayton Act notwithstanding that in the more than 60 years since passage of the first antitrust law, no one had previously suggested that its provisions did not apply to banks as well as to other sectors of the American economy. According to the Department of Justice any pretense that this measure would provide protection for competion is a sham.

Notwithstanding these considerations, the Comptroller's bill was approved by the Senate during the last Congress and was again adopted by the Senate this year as section 23, chapter 5 of title III of the financial institutions bill of 1957, commonly known as the omnibus banking bill.

Let me quote what the Attorney General had to say before our Antitrust Subcommittee several weeks ago about this provision sponsored by Mr. Gidney:

"First, the proposed banking legislation prescribed for bank mergers would weaken section 7 standards. The factor of competition would be only one of numerous considerations to be taken into account by a banking agency in scanning a merger. Beyond that, the competitive considerations of section 23 specified, whether the acquisition may 'lessen competition unduly or tend unduly to create a monopoly' are completely novel and are intended simply to be less stringent than those specified by the Clayton Act, section 7, for other American business. As the result, not only does that proposal prescribe pale antitrust standards, but even that lesser standard is only one of many factors banking agencies must consider. All told, then, that proposal does little more than give lipservice to insure competitive enterprise in banking.

"Banking agencies themselves recognize inherent difficulties in construing this jerry-built standard."

What is more, the section proposed by the Comptroller would weaken the standards which he states his office now follows in respect of bank mergers. In this connection it must be remembered that under present law, approval by the Comptroller of the Currency is required in all cases of mergers between national banks or between a national bank and a State bank where the resultant institution is to be operated under a national charter. May I point out that Mr. Gidney has averred before our subcommittee that before giving his approval to any such merger, he will determine whether its effect in any section of the country may be substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly; that he will determine, in short, whether the merger is violative of the policy of the Celler-Kefauver Antimerger Act. He has stressed that he would not approve any bank merger or consolidation which he considers to be in violation of the principles of this act.

But what does the record show? It shows that up to January 1956 the Comptroller's office did not even promulgate standards embodying these principles or acquaint its examiners with this alleged policy. Indeed, it was only after our subcommittee brought this dereliction to light in December 1955 that Mr. Gidney hastily promulgated standards for considering the competitive consequences of bank mergers.

The record also shows that from April 1953 (when he assumed office) to the end of 1956, Mr. Gidney approved 424 bank mergers, with banks absorbed in such transactions having total resources of $6,977,985,576. Furthermore, from April 1953 to the end of 1954 the Comptroller approved 193 mergers involving absorbed banks with resources of $2,581,943,159. Not once during this period did he disapprove an application for competitive reasons.

After hearings before our subcommittee in May 1955, Mr. Gidney's record became a shade better. Thus in June 1955, for the first time, he informally disapproved a merger application for competitive reasons; and followed that up in November 1955 by refusing, for the same reasons, to approve certain proposed mergers in cases involving 8 banks. However, in 1955 he approved 126 bank mergers involving, in respect of banks absorbed, resources of $2,015,225,452. In 1956 Mr. Gidney approved 105 bank mergers, the banks absorbed in such transactions having total resources of $2,380,816,965. In that year he informally disapproved 10 applications for competitive reasons.

In the last analysis, the conclusion is inescapable, as the Attorney General has testified, that Mr. Gidney has tended to give little or no consideration to the question as to whether or not competition would be substantially lessened. In fact, the Comptroller apparently assumes that a merger which tends to monopoly is in the public interest. By his own admission, he is utterly unconcerned by the current wave of bank mergers—a view, I might add, that is diametrically opposite to that of the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

To be blunt, Mr. Gidney's normal procedure is to rubberstamp, as a matter of routine, any monopolistic proposal that may be presented. I recognize that it is not an uncommon administrative tendency for regulatory agencies to be more or less responsive to the industries which they are supposed to regulate. Mr. Gidney's case is more unique, however, since he appears to have been taken over completely by the giant banks he is supposed to regulate. His concept of the public interest is to identify the functions of his

office with the private interests of the banks subject to his jurisdiction.

In light of these considerations, it is clear that to give the Federal bank supervisory agencies unfettered jurisdiction over the antitrust implications of bank mergers and to weaken the standards, all as proposed by the Comptroller, would only stimulate the tempo of present bank merger activity.

Fortunately, the bank omnibus bill, and particularly section 23, will not be considered by the House Banking and Currency Committee until the next session of Congress. I deem it imperative, in the interest of preserving the integrity and vitality of the unit banking system, to work unceasingly, to prevent passage of this section.

On the positive side, legislation is necessary to amend the antitrust laws to encompass bank mergers, however accomplished. Such legislation must insure against the Attorney General being deprived of antitrust jurisdiction in bank merger cases. It must also embody present section 7 standards. My premerger notification bill, H. R. 2143, which was recently approved by the subcommittee, originally contained a section identical with my bill of last year, applying these principles. However, in order that premerger notification not be confused with legislation amending the substantive standards of section 7 of the Clayton Act, as amended by the Celler-Kefauver Act, the bank merger section has been deleted. In the near future I will introduce a new bill dealing solely with bank mergers. While I have not yet come to a final conclusion, I am giving careful consideration to a proposal amending the antitrust laws which will (1) give the Federal bank supervisory agencies jurisdiction over bank mergers but prohibit approval of any transaction where the effect may be substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly; (2) require the agency to obtain the views of the Attorney General in respect to the antitrust implications of the proposed transaction, together with the views of the State bank supervisor in respect to banking factors, where a State bank is involved; (3) reserve to the Attorney General antitrust enforcement jurisdiction.

I hope that you will give this proposal your immediate consideration and examination.

ACTION NECESSARY TO CURB HOLDING COMPANY EXPANSION

In addition to bank merger legislation, action is equally necessary, at the Federal level, to prevent the holding company device from being used to circumvent State branch district lines drawn to safeguard against banking monopoly. In the absence of effective Federal or State legislation on the subject, these geographic limitations can be avoided by the simple expedient of forming a holding company to acquire control of banks throughout a State without regard to district lines. As one holding company candidly acknowledged when organized, it felt itself compelled to carry out its plans by this method of group banking because the laws of the State and the National Banking Act both prohibited branch banking beyond certain limits.

Such circumvention is possible notwithstanding that a holding company system is a substitute for a branch system and that there is no essential difference between branches and affiliates, or subsidiary banks. As the House Banking and Currency Committee pointed out: "Great stress has been placed on their difference in form, which everyone of course recognizes. * * * (H)owever, in a large measure they are differences without a distinction. Other than in form, what is the practical difference between a branch and a bank the stock of which is owned by a holding company that can select the bank's directors and change them at its pleasure, even holding repurchase rights to the directors' qualifying shares; that can hire and fire the bank's personnel and otherwise supervise its operations; that can make its investments, handle its insurance, buy its supplies, originate and place its advertising; can pass on its loans to local firms and individuals, usually receiving a fee for services performed?" The fact is that "as each new bank is * * * added to those already a part of the holding-company system, such bank automatically becomes in effect, though not in name, a branch of that banking system."

To my mind the conclusion is inescapable that despite all that has been said about the distinction between bank-holding company groups and branch-banking systems, both accomplish the same thing, the operation of a number of banking units under one control and management. Also inescapable is the fact that through the corporate device, holding companies still can be used to evade branch-banking laws and thus defeat the declared policies of the State regarding branch banking.

Largely through the efforts of your association, Congress in 1956 enacted the Bank Holding Company Act for the purpose of maintaining competition among banks and minimizing the dangers inherent in concentration of economic power through centralized banking control. But it is most unfortunate that the Senate deleted from the bill a key provision passed by the House prohibiting holding-company expansion of banks within a State except in accordance with the branch-banking laws of that State.

This whole issue of holding-company circumvention of branch lines came dramatically to life in New York State when the First National City Bank applied to the Federal Reserve Board for permission to form the largest bank-holding company in the Nation. Initial objective of First National City was to acquire control of the County Trust Co. of White Plains, N. Y., the dominant commercial bank in Westchester County, and thus pierce the branch line separating New York City and Westchester. In short, through the device of forming a holding company, the same management which was restricted in its operation under a bank charter to New York City, sought to acquire a unit bank in another district, operate it in the same manner a branch would be operated, and flout the expressed will of the legislative body of New York State regarding the establishment of banks. Moreover, there was every prospect that the First National City Bank plan would initiate a chain reaction until ultimately a handful of giant New York City banks, through the holding-company device, would be in control of nearly every sizable bank in the State of New York. Success of the plan would have meant that the day of independent unit and regional banking would have passed and that money and credit in New York State would be largely controlled by a few gigantic banking institutions.

For these reasons, I testified at length befor the Federal Reserve Board calling attention to the alarming competitive consequences of the proposal. In addition, I testified in the early part of January 1957 before the State of New York Joint Legislative Committee To Revise the Banking Laws, and pointed out the necessity of amending the State's banking laws to prohibit any bank holding company from acquiring in the future any bank located outside the district prescribed for branch banks.

It is gratifying that Governor Harriman and the New York State Legislature recognized the threat to the State banking structure implied in the First National City plan. This was evidenced by adoption on January 29, 1957, of stopgap legislation, effective until May 1, 1957, prohibiting any bank holding company from acquiring a bank located outside the branch banking district. It was also evidenced by legislative approval of a measure extending this legislation until May 1, 1958, which I have little doubt that the Governor will sign. In these circumstances, the First National City proceeding before the Federal Reserve Board would become moot since the transaction would be barred under State law.

It is clear, of course, that this action at the State level is extremely important particularly since New York is the banking center of the Nation. Nevertheless it is my firm conviction that the effort to pierce branch district lines through the holding company device is a matter of national import and should, therefore, be considered at the Federal level. Otherwise, action would be required in State after State, on a piecemeal basis, to obtain legislation preventing holding company attempts at banking dominance. For these reasons, I urge you immediately to undertake an all-out effort, which I will join, to pave the way for amendment of the Federal Bank Holding Company Act so as to prevent holding company expansion except in accordance with State geographic limitations applicable to branch banks. Such an amendment should be similar to a provision contained in the House-approved bill which was deleted by the Senate.

Your efforts should be concentrated toward having the amendment considered by the House Banking and Currency Committee when it begins hearings on the omnibus banking bill. Part of the effort should be directed to obtain the support of other like-minded organizations determined to stop the trend toward monolithic banking.

The consequences of banking monopoly are ominous indeed. It is my hope that with your help Congress will take prompt, effective action to insure that that condition will not come to pass.

Letter Expressing Concern Over Hearings in the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Management Practices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a letter from Mr. Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union and a vice president of the AFL–CIO, expressing to me his deep concern over the hearings presently going on in the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Management Practices.

His letter expressed the feelings of all decent and honest union men and union officials everywhere. His concern was not over the hearings, nor over the danger to those who have not been true to their trust and duty to the unions and their membership. Rather, Mr. Curran feared that from these hearings would come laws which would restrict upright and honorable working men in their efforts to combine to secure better working conditions for themselves and others yet to come. I insert this letter into the RECORD and hope that my colleagues in Congress and the people of the United States will read this statement by a sincere, honorable unionist. America does not fear investigation, nor does it fear punishment of those who have failed to carry out their duty to their members and to the labor movement. Indeed,

the degree to which labor has cleaned its own house of Communists and racketeers is remarkable. Restrictive legislation will break down the labor movement and will destroy one of the strong cornerstones of a free capitalist America.

The letter follows:

NATIONAL MARITIME UNION OF AMERICA,
New York, N. Y., April 16, 1957.

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DINGELL: I am writing to express our deep concern for the manner in which the present hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Management Practices are being used by forces hostile to organized labor for the promotion of legislation which would seriously restrict trade unions in the conduct of their legitimate activities.

The AFL–CIO has no reason for concern about honestly motivated efforts by the Congress to determine the nature and extent of malpractices with a view toward determining whether any additional legislative safeguards are needed. We have made clear that we of labor will not tolerate corrupt use of union office or of union funds by any individuals within the united labor movement.

We have spelled out this determination in an ethical practices code which set standards far stricter than those which could be contemplated by law. Congressional investigations such as those of the McClellan committee and others can serve labor in this work because they have facilities for uncovering wrongdoing not available to the labor movement itself. As such evidence has been produced it has resulted in fast and effective action by the AFL–CIO.

But it would be a perversion of the committee's purpose if these hearings were to pave the way for legislation designed to weaken unions, obstruct their organizing efforts and reduce their ability to protect the living and working standards of their members. Such a result would be harmful to labor, industry, and the Nation.

There is concrete evidence that groups such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the chamber of commerce are using revelations of the McClellan committee for the promotion of legislation which is basically antiunion. One of their major objectives is a national prohibition on union security in any form. The same forces have been promoting such legislation in State legislatures under the grossly misleading label of right-to-work laws. Unions from bitter experience have given such legislation the appellation "right to wreck laws." Another objective of the antiunion group is legislation to outlaw industrywide bargaining.

It should be obvious that such legislation has no connection with the problems posed by the committee's investigation. The purpose of such legislation is not to protect workers; on the contrary, its purpose is to weaken the only effective protection which workers have against exploitation and abuse by their employers.

This legislation is being pushed forward under cover of an emotional press barrage in which little effort has been made to pinpoint the attack to specific individuals and unions. The bulk of the press treatment of the hearings has been such as to apply the sins of a few within labor to the whole labor movement and to obliterate the great good work done by the vast body of honest unions and their officers. Although individuals in high office in business, banking, government, legal, insurance, and other fields have been exposed in the past as having broken trusts as outrageously as have some in labor, no greater smear campaign has been carried out against a whole group as is now being thrown at the labor movement.

No responsible official of the labor movement would belittle the seriousness of the offenses which have been revealed by the McClellan committee. But the reaction in the press has without question been entirely out of proportion.

Labor's battle against corruption goes back many years. It has been fought on every level, in the great majority of cases with employers working on the side of racketeers. The records are full of evidence which shows how employer groups persuaded racketeers and gangsters to infiltrate trade unions in the first place or to establish opposing unions with the objective of destroying honest, dedicated trade unions as they struggled to get a start.

We consider it important that none of this be lost sight of in considering legislative proposals in the labor-management field. The battle against corruption is a continuing battle in the labor movement, as it is in business, politics, the entertainment fields, and so many other areas. There are sufficient laws on the books now to make it possible to act against swindlers, embezzlers, and gangsters. The answer is more rigid enforcement of these laws.

The record and the program of the AFL–CIO and the public statements of its president, George Meany, and other officials make clear that labor ready now as it always has been to cooperate with public agencies and right-thinking citizens in the matter of safeguarding union funds and welfare trusts against possibility of abuse. Most unions long ago established strict and inflexible controls which provide such protection for their funds. The AFL–CIO certainly is ready to aid in preparing and will support legislation aimed at requiring the strictest standards for all such funds. The same holds true for any legislation which is needed to protect and advance the legitimate aims of organized labor and is clearly designed for that purpose.

But the fact that corruption has been uncovered in a few spots within the labor movement cannot be used as an excuse for punitive and restrictive legislation against unions without serious damage to the interests of workers, industry, and the Nation.

Such legislation by weakening and obstructing honest unions would aid and encourage racketeers and gangsters in seeking prey in this area.

Such legislation would lessen the ability of the American worker to protect his living and working standards and would lead to economic imbalances which would have a harmful effect on the Nation as a whole.

The contrast between the strong free labor movement through which American workers promote their interests and the government-dominated labor movements behind the Iron Curtain and elsewhere in the world, is one of America's most persuasive arguments in the crucial worldwide battle for men's minds. Such legislation would undermine America's vaunted position in this regard.

It is our sincere hope that you will oppose any effort which may be made to push through punitive and restrictive legislation against trade unions on the basis of isolated abuses. It is our hope that you will insist that any legislation in the labor-mangement field be based on recognition of the importance of a strong free labor movement for maintaining the well-being of individual working men and women and the economic strong of the Nation.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH CURRAN,
President National Maritime Union,
Vice President, AFL–CIO.

Foreign Aid Booby Trap—Stalin's View That Capitalist Nations Will Pay Way to Destruction Is Cited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHIL WEAVER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, the majority of my constituents in the First Congressional District of Nebraska have convinced me, by personal conversation and by their letters, that they are opposed to foreign aid. It is apparent that this aid does not necessarily do the job for which it is intended, and the moneys thus profligately expended are wasted, to the detriment of our own citizens, who pay exorbitant taxes to keep the foreign aid program in existence. Our national debt is too high, and we must stop this wastefulness before it climbs higher. In short, we can no longer afford to indulge those who cry on our shoulders. The welfare of our own citizens and the economic well-being of our own country must come first.

In this connection I am inserting the following article by Constantine Brown, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on Monday, April 22:

FOREIGN AID BOOBY TRAP—STALIN'S VIEW THAT CAPITALIST NATIONS WILL PAY WAY TO DESTRUCTION IS CITED

(By Constantine Brown)

The latest administration proposal for a lavish and practically unlimited program of foreign aid is an old plan in new fancy wrappings. The goal that the bureaucrats have been aiming for these many years is a blanket foreign-aid authority, backed by huge available sums of the American taxpayers' money. With this fabulous treasury the do-gooders and the officeholders would be able to do quite as they pleased without the embarrassing necessity of going to Congress every year for appropriations.

Congress is going to take a very wary view of the newest giveaway move. While the lawmakers are studying the issue, it would be well for them and for all of us to remember something said by one Josef Stalin back in 1921. The Russian Communist dictator knew his subversion. Apparently he realized fully how the foreign aid approach to saving the free world from Communist conquest would work to the overall benefit of the Reds and their world revolution.

Stalin, in a book published in an English edition in Moscow called Marxism, and the National and Colonial Question, predicted that the reign of socialism would be eventually accomplished through the economic and social equalization of nations. The effort of the richer capitalist nations to bolster up the poorer, he predicted, would have just that result.

In Stalin's view, capitalist money would pay for its own destruction. The depletion of American wealth, for example, by huge giveaway programs for aid to needy nations, would be equalization and would set the stage for the inevitable takeover by Communists.

He said that real and prolonged aid extended by the advanced nations to the backward nations would inevitably lead to the

destruction of capitalism and the creation of a single world economy so essential to the final triumph of socialism under the world leadership of the Soviet Union, the home and hearthcenter of the world revolution.

What Stalin knew in 1921, his wily successors know today.

Some apologists for American foreign aid have pointed to Soviet programs of aid to weaker nations, suggesting that Russia is competing with the United States in giving away resources to win friends. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Soviet aid is no giveaway. For every shipload of wheat, for every cargo of tanks and guns and ammunition, the plotters in Moscow receive something they covet. They give nothing. They will lend, if the borrower is thereby bound to Soviet interests by his indebtedness. They will make barter deals, swapping Communist arms for Egyptian cotton, for example, thereby mortgaging the future economy of Egypt for years and years. But there are no presents.

While the Communists cannily insure that every deal they make is one of permanent gain to the Soviet world, our side lavishes American wealth on dubious projects of no earthly use to backward peoples. We do send refrigerators to Eskimos, and we do build desert roads that go nowhere, and we do maintain armies of bureaucrats, both American and foreign nationals, at staggering cost all over the world. This is, apparently, the way we seek to implement the predictions of Stalin, and equalize the economies and societies of the free world. Then the way is paved for the Red victory.

Even Mr. Khrushchev has publicly laughed at foreign aid as practiced by our ambitious global planners. He sneered at the story of aid to other nations as plain evidence of the built-in folly of American leaders. Apparently the jolly Russian doesn't fear that the openness of his amusement will cause the United States to take a second look at the doubtful wisdom of the foreign-aid program.

He seems to be safe in his assumption. Despite rising and clamorous public opposition to a continuation of this unstinted generosity, President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles cast about for new ways to make the giveaways even larger, while making them seem smaller to the suffering taxpayer. Hiding the cost of military aid in the Pentagon's budget, for example, effectively deceives the public as to the real cost of the aid program. Then substituting alleged loans for the outright gifts heretofore made has the virtue of appealing to the common sense most people have. But the history of such loans speaks for itself. The money is gone and forgotten.

Aramco's Magic Lamp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, it was indeed gratifying to learn that Senator HARRY BYRD, of Virginia, will submit to the consideration of the Senate Finance Committee the tax-avoidance practices of the Arabian-American Oil Co. Certainly tax loopholes by which a quarter billion dollars of oil profits annually escape the Federal tax collector should be eliminated.

The discovery of this tax loophole came about as the result of congressional inquiry. Why did not the Internal Revenue Service advise Congress of its tremendous tax losses through the operations of obsolete internal-revenue laws? The Service is in possession of the records and should be making constant review of statute distortions which fail to carry out the spirit of the law. The Service should be vigilant and prompt to call congressional attention to legal devices which permit the escape of tremendous revenues.

President Eisenhower has recently indicated that he would ask the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare a study of the laws which enable the Arabian-American Oil Co. to pay no American taxes on their oil operations. There is no need for him to bother his Secretary of the Treasury. The answers can be quickly provided by the numerous White House guests during King Saud's recent visit. Practically all of them were experts on income-tax avoidance.

Following is a timely editorial which appeared on this subject in the Washington Post of Friday, April 26, 1956:

ARAMCO'S MAGIC LAMP

We hope that President Eisenhower will follow through with his recent statement that he would ask Secretary Humphrey about the laws which enable the Arabian-American Oil Co. to pay no American taxes on its oil operations. Aramco's net earnings were about $280 million last year. Aramco did pay about $280,000 tax last year on stock transactions; but this sum was not a tax on direct income from oil operations. At this melancholy time of the year for less fortunate taxpayers, Aramco's immunity inevitably piques curiosity.

Aramco holds the fabulous oil concession in Saudi Arabia. It is jointly owned by four large American oil companies. The secret of Aramco's tax bonanza is outwardly simple, but—on closer inspection—raises some interesting questions. Under a 1918 American revenue law, taxes paid to a foreign government can be used as an offset credit against American income taxes. Since 1950 Saudi Arabia has collected a handsome income "tax" from Aramco—so handsome, indeed, that the Arabian "tax" wipes out all of Aramco's American tax obligations on its oil operations.

Critics contend, however, that the Arabian "tax" is actually a disguised form of royalty. Aramco's original agreement with Saudi Arabia, signed in 1933, provided that no taxes should be imposed on the oil company. But when the Arabians later asked for a larger profit split, similar to Venezuela's 50–50 oil agreement, the company "as a practical solution" accepted the tax. When added to the existing royalties, the "tax" raised Saudi Arabia's share to half of total profits.

For several years, American tax officials wrestled with the problems posed by this eminently practical solution. In the end, it was decided that the "tax" was a tax, and not a royalty. Of course, as President Eisenhower pointed out, the four parent companies pay some taxes on Aramco's earnings—but on the far lower intercorporate dividend basis. As reported by Bernard Nossiter in this newspaper, the Federal tax saved by Aramco in 1955 was about $80 million.

Unquestionably, this is good for Aramco, but is it also good for the United States? Is it fair to other businesses less favored by the tax laws? Aramco, of course, also benefits from the 27½ percent oil depletion allowance, which some think is quite enough. Obviously there are hazards to investment in the kind of foreign operation Aramco conducts; and obviously it is very much in the national interest to encourage participation by American companies in Near East oil development and production. But surely Aramco's position would be just as secure, and the reputation of the oil industry would be enhanced, if the tax oblibations were applied more equitably. Senator BYRD has expressed interest in closing this loophole. He merits support.

Courage and Candor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD a constructive statement regarding a man who has through the years known the inside of the State Department.

Because of certain adverse information in opposition to Bryton Barron, I present this statement covering the background of this man who knows the facts.

All students of government realize that one of the greatest obstacles to economy, efficiency, and reform in public affairs is the reluctance of men and women who possess a firsthand knowledge of particular evils to come forward and lay the facts on the line. Such reluctance arises from a natural loyalty to old associates, combined with an awareness of the fact that if one speaks up he may bring down on his head no end of calumny and abuse from those whom he may expose. The latter is a particularly menacing prospect for the lone citizen if those who would be affected by his testimony happen to have the vast resources and machinery of government at their disposal to defame their accuser and confuse the issue.

It is, therefore, appropriate that I express the admiration which some of us from South Dakota hold for a man who spent his formative years in our State and who has been forthright and vigorous in urging reform in an important area of government, namely, the State Department, which he probably knows better than most of us because he served in it here in Washington for more than a quarter of a century. I speak of Bryton Barron, the author of a recent book entitled "Inside the State Department," now in its second printing. Mr. Barron and his wife reside at 401 Waterway Drive, Falls Church, Va., but their friendship with Senators MUNDT and CASE and many other South Dakotans has extended over the years. Both Mr. and Mrs. Barron have close relatives in South Dakota, and Mrs. Barron's brother, Louis Lillibridge, of Burke, S. Dak., is a former member of the State legislature and a highly respected citizen of the State.

Bryton was reared by his pioneer grandparents on a farm near Sioux Falls. Following his graduation from the high school there in 1916 at the head of his class, he entered the local Baptist college. Soon he had captured nearly every honor on the campus, including his class presidency and captainship of an undefeated debate team as well as the editorship of the college paper. He dropped out for 1 year to earn money working on the Argus-Leader, the leading newspaper in the State, and then returned to compete for and win a Rhodes scholarship in State competition. He entered Oxford University in 1920, was awarded a diploma in economics and political science in 1922, and then in 1923 became the first South Dakotan to obtain a research degree—bachelor of literature—at Oxford.

Bryton returned to Sioux Falls with his bride in mid-1923 to become the Argus-Leader's editorial writer. Some years later the distinguished editor of the paper, the late Charles M. Day, wrote of Bryton that he was "a shark for work and a deep student of history and economics, earnest, loyal, and efficient."

In 1925 the Barrons set off for the Philippines on teaching appointments. Of Mr. Barron's record while in the Orient, the director of education in Manila wrote as follows on January 5, 1929:

> It was through Mr. Barron's effort that our division of publications was created and organized, and it was my pleasure to appoint him chief of this division. We have never had a man in the Philippine service in whom I had greater confidence. This is evidenced by the fact that he won such rapid promotion. * * * Mr. Barron is the type of man who is never satisfied unless he is doing two men's work and doing it well.

While in the Philippines, Mr. and Mrs. Barron collaborated in the preparation of a series of textbooks on grammar and phonics. Over 150,000 copies have been sold, and they are still in demand.

Mr. Barron entered the Department of State in Washington on July 11, 1929, as an editorial assistant at a salary of $2,600. Inside of 6 months he had been advanced to chief of the section and jumped 2 grades in salary. His work on the official register of the Department brought to him data regarding the records of various individuals in the service. His previous editorial experience enabled him to play a leading role in the inauguration and development of the Department's weekly publication, the Department of State Bulletin. Supervision of his staff of a score or more editors required him to follow closely the work on diplomatic correspondence compiled for publication. Important State papers, including Presidential proclamations, came across his desk in draft form for editorial attention. Further promotions followed for Mr. Barron, and he was given charge of preparing the Department's printing and binding estimates, along with control of appropriations for those purposes, and participated in hearings before the Bureau of the Budget and congressional appropriation committees. In 1940 Mr. Barron was promoted again, this time to Assistant Chief of the Division of Research and Publication, one of the largest then in the Department, and given another increase in salary along with responsibility for day-to-day administration of the Division.

In 1944 Barron was again promoted in salary and given an opportunity to rebuild the Department's treaty staff and restore treatymaking to its proper role in the conduct of foreign policy. He pursued the task with the utmost vigor, taking steps to set the records in order and to train treaty technicians so that all future commitments for the Nation would be properly drawn. In 1946 Barron was rewarded for his efforts with another grade increase in salary. In due time he initiated and obtained congressional approval of legislation designed to require prompt publication of all United States treaties and agreements. He also inaugurated a looseleaf service to provide for the maintenance of up-to-date treaty information, an innovation which was highly praised. Always a stern taskmaster, Barron eventually ran into discontent in his own staff. His fight against the abuses of executive agreements also made him enemies among those who were running the Department at that time, and finally in 1950 he was reassigned to other work. The year previous a national biographical reference service had listed Bryton Barron as 1 of the 10 outstanding men in the Department.

After 20 years of the strain of administrative responsibility, Barron welcomed the change in assignment, to historical research, to which he could bring to bear his familiarity with treaty problems, even though it involved a slight cut in salary. In this area his last and most interesting project was the compilation of papers dealing with Yalta and the betrayal of American interests at that 1945 meeting between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, with Alger Hiss in attendance.

Mr. Barron's last performance rating in the Department, signed by the Chief of the Historical Division, G. Bernard Noble, as well as by the Assistant Chief of the Division, and dated January 14, 1954, read as follows:

> Overall work performance is very competent. Research is done carefully and painstakingly; organization of material is logical; attention to technical details and security is entirely satisfactory.

The review of Mr. Barron's work for the previous year, signed by the Chief of the Policy Studies Branch along with the Assistant Chief of the Division, and dated December 10, 1952, was to the same effect as the foregoing, with the added comment that the review by Barron of the work of others shows very good critical insight.

The picture changed a few months later when Barron officially protested suppression of controversial documents. The division chief who had praised his work in the above-quoted 1954 signed statement, but who was on record in opposition to release of the Yalta story, took steps to have Mr. Barron fired. The attention which this patriot from South Dakota focused on the attempt at suppression resulted in the Yalta papers being released in 1955, even though only in expurgated form, but Barron paid for it with his job, having been forced to retire effective February 1, 1956. In some quarters Barron was accused of insubordination in this connection. It is his comment that the insubordination, if any, was on the part of those who resisted prompt and unexpurgated publication of significant documents as requested by Congress and promised by the Department—not on the part of those like himself who pressed to fulfill the program. It may be noted in passing that the compilations of documents on Teheran and Potsdam, conferences which paralleled the one held at Yalta and on which Department historians were working when Barron was busy on Yalta, have strangely enough not yet been released to the American people.

Mr. Barron was interested in economy and a housecleaning in the Department long before he left the service. Back in 1952 Senator CASE of South Dakota, in writing to a fellow Senator, said of Mr. Barron:

> He really knows the personnel of the Department and has watched with dismay as it became infiltrated with Reds and padded with people who were not needed.

He spoke of Mr. Barron as "a career man with an excellent reputation and a good educational background." After the Republicans took office in 1953, Mr. Barron had several talks with Donald Lourie, the new Under Secretary for Administration. Speaking on behalf of several veteran employees who made it a matter of record at the time that they sought no favors for themselves but were willing to be detailed to help Mr. Lourie for a few months, Mr. Barron presented specific recommendations regarding personnel and organizational changes in line with the 50-percent reduction in the size of the Department which Secretary Dulles was said at the time to be considering. Some changes were made along the line of those suggestions, but opposition within the entrenched bureaucracy prevented any thorough housecleaning.

In line with the suggestion given, Mr. Barron himself was detailed to Scott McLeod's office on a special assignment shortly after the new security officer was appointed in early 1953. Senator MUNDT wrote the Department congratulating it on the use being made of the services of "tried, trusted, and able career men like Mr. Barron," adding:

> I know that for years Mr. Baron has been disturbed over some of the laxity which has continued in responsible positions in your Department men and women who lack the sturdy sense of dedication to our American ideals.

After this detail had been completed and Mr. Barron had returned to his regular work, the Security Chief wrote the Assistant Secretary in charge of Barron's work as follows:

> I want you to know how deeply indebted I am to you for your generous understanding of my problems in making available to me the services of Mr. Bryton Barron, who has made such a useful and practical contribution to the survey team studying the organization, direction, and administration of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs. I fully realize that the assignment to my office stretched out considerably longer

than originally agreed upon, but the problems he faced were numerous and intricate, and it was only due to his perseverance, long hours of work, and devotion to his task that the job is completed as of this date.

The rank and file of the employees in the Department of State indicated their respect and confidence in Mr. Barron on frequent occasions and to an unusual degree. In his early years there he managed its first softball team, which had a most successful season, and he was subsequently elected manager of the basketball team. In 1935 he helped organize the employees recreation association and was elected its first president. He also helped organize an employees union, served for many years as an elected member of its board of directors, and was designated a spokesman of the employees before the Bureau of the Budget and the Civil Service Commission. It is particularly noteworthy that he helped obtain the charter for the State Department Federal Credit Union and was for 8 successive years elected to its board of directors by the members of this organization, the largest employee group in the Department. The board of directors in turn elected Mr. Barron treasurer and general manager of the union each of those years, a remarkable demonstration of the high esteem in which he was held by his fellow workers. This was again reflected in a letter which came to him from an official of the credit union just before Mr. Barron left the Department and which concluded with these words:

Your unselfish service to this institution is so well known to the membership that it requires no repetition on my part. Nevertheless, I cannot let the opportunity pass without reminding you that as a founder, charter member, holder of No. 1 account, treasurer during many formative years, and as my colleague on the board of directors, you have exercised a powerful and wholesome influence upon the affairs of this institution which now numbers upward of 8,000 accounts with accumulated assets of more than $2 million.

In his private life, Barron demonstrated 20 years ago some of the resourcefulness of pioneer ancestors when, lacking money to buy a home, he took leave from office, borrowed to buy some materials, and then proceeded to build with his own hands an 8-room house. Much of the interior he finished off working nights and holidays. Years later, when the family moved to a new home on Lake Barcroft, the house that Barron had built 18 years before found a ready market.

The Barron family has always been a well-knit unit. Those who follow model aviation as a hobby knew the group—father, mother, daughter Bebe, and son Roger—as the Flying Barrons, winners of innumerable prizes and trophies in model contests all over America. Bebe, now grown and married, has two sons; Roger, who was graduated from Princeton with honors, is also married and doing graduate work at MIT. As an outgrowth of activity in the model hobby, Bryton was in 1952 elected national secretary-treasurer of the Academy of Model Aeronautics. Mrs. Barron, who for years operated a private school of her own in Fairfax County, has helped many of the young people in that area.

Looking back over the record, it is clear that Bryton Barron's years at the head of the Department's treaty staff, where he had to deal with policy questions and responsible officials in every area of our foreign policy, his 20 years of administrative experience in the Department at a time when that agency's prestige was at its height, his years of working in the secret archives of the Government, and the wealth of biographical and other data which he has accumulated at first hand, render him peculiarly qualified to report on conditions in the State Department.

In addition to his book, he has in recent months written magazine and newspaper articles on the subject, has been heard on both local and coast-to-coast broadcasts, has indicated his readiness to cooperate with congressional committees, and has been in wide demand as a lecturer before interested civic and patriotic groups. Commenting on his book, a writer in National Review has aptly remarked that—

Mr. Barron is the first man to report to the American public on conditions inside the Forbidden City in Foggy Bottom.

Walter Trohan, veteran Washington correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, after commenting that the book was "packed with dynamite," went on to say that—

No one can question Barron's experience or qualifications for writing the inside story of the State Department.

The Tablet, that stanchly patriotic weekly published in Brooklyn, has commended Mr. Barron for his courage. And the Honorable Spruille Braden, who served as an Ambassador to several Latin-American countries and as Assistant Secretary of State, has stated that he can confirm much of what Mr. Barron has written as being absolutely accurate, adding:

Mr. Barron * * * has done a splendid patriotic job, and one that was much needed.

In arguing for economy and a housecleaning in the Department he knows so well, Bryton Barron contends that the bureaucratic setup has become so big that it is both unmanageable and a perfect cover for undesirable elements. He wants only those employees retained who by the record are wholeheartedly in support of the American way of life and our sovereignty as a nation. Personal attacks on him will not divert him from the basic issues.

Cost of Federal Power Facilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, for the past year or so private power companies have been inserting into the periodicals of this country a number of ads attacking public power, the Rural Electrification Administration, and the co-ops which farmers and others have set up to furnish themselves with power.

I recently received a letter from Clyde T. Ellis, general manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, pointing out certain fundamental errors in the advertisements of the private power companies. The gist of his letter and the error which the private power companies have displayed appears in the third paragraph of his letter. That is, that taxpayers do not pay the cost of Federal power facilities because the facilities are self-liquidating and the costs borne by the consumers of the electricity produced.

I hope all of the Members of Congress and the people of the country will read this letter and will realize the importance of the services furnished by the TVA and other Federal power-producing agencies.

The letter follows:

NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC
COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., April 18, 1957.

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DINGELL: Attached is another of the long series of propaganda advertisements by the private power companies attacking competition in the electric industry and the Federal water and power resources development program. It is in itself a fine study in false statements, supported by innuendos, and by statistics which must have been conjured up out of a crystal ball.

It says in part:

"Part of your taxes are used to help pay the cost of electric service for customers of Federal Government power systems [because] your taxes help build the Federal powerplants that produce electricity for these people [and] you have to be taxed more because they don't pay all the taxes in their electric bills that you pay in yours. People who get electricity from TVA, for example, pay less than one-fifth of the taxes on electric service that you pay."

In the first place, taxpayers simply do not pay the cost of Federal power facilities because those facilities are self-liquidating and the costs are borne by the consumers of the electricity produced. This is a plain, simple fact, and the statement in the ad is a flat falsehood.

In the second place, this argument of you pay more taxes because somebody else doesn't pay more can be used at a thousand points in our economy. What the power companies are really saying is that Federal wholesale, State wholesale, local public, and cooperative electric systems do not pay Federal income taxes (or, in some cases local or State property taxes)—but the emphasis is on income taxes. This argument runs to the whole root of our constitutional system—on the payment of taxes by governmental units—and to the whole Federal tax system as regards the difference between the taxes of (1) individuals, (2) partnerships, (3) cooperatives, and (4) profit corporations. To charge that the Federal, other public and cooperative electric systems are peculiarly privileged is simply at variance with the fact. Presumably because a lot of people buy power from profit-making power companies which pay profit taxes which they collect from the electric consumers, no citizen should be permitted to buy nonprofit power, and therefore all nonprofit power systems should be sold to the profit corporations creating a 100-percent private power monopoly. (Incidentally, 52 percent of the cost of these fabulously expensive progaganda ads come out of the United States Treasury, and by a

clear line of reasoning make others pay more taxes to make up the theoretical difference.)

As to the contention that people buying TVA power pay less than one-fifth of the taxes on electric service that consumers of profit-power pay, we have no idea where this statistic came from. In the first place, TVA does not retail power—so unless the statistic is a flat fabrication it must rest on a comparison of private generating and transmission facility taxes with TVA's payments in lieu of taxes, and there just aren't any figures on which to base such a comparison.

Please note the attached chart, too, showing (1) that the private power companies purchase 10.7 percent of the Federal wholesale power (more than the rural electric systems do); and (2) that over half of the TVA power is purchased by Federal Defense Agencies and thus benefits all the people very substantially.

The details of these dishonest advertisements—paid for by the electric consumer, including a majority of the farmers served by our cooperatives—vary, but the purpose and aim is consistent—to destroy all competition in the electric industry and create a private power monopoly.

We urge most strongly that you take steps to stop this flood of propaganda, financed by the cost-plus electric power monopoly at the expense of the electric consumer. We reiterate that any utility manager or stockholder should have the right to buy advertising space or exercise his rights of free speech in any manner in accordance with the laws and customs of a free country, but there is absolutely no justification for permitting monopolies to levy the equivalent of taxes on the electric consumer for the purpose of propagandizing for the destruction of what little competition there is in the electric industry.

Sincerely,

CLYDE T. ELLIS,
General Manager.

THIS TRICK'S ON YOU!

A bucket of water over the door is one of the risks of April Fool's Day. But being tricked on other days is something else again.

Yet that's what happens as far as your taxes are concerned. Part of your taxes are used to help pay the cost of electric service for customers of Federal Government power systems.

First, your taxes help build the Federal powerplants that produce electricity for these people. Then, you have to be taxed more because they don't pay all the taxes in their electric bills that you pay in yours. People who get electricity from the TVA, for example, pay less than one-fifth of the taxes on electric service that you pay.

Next time you hear someone talk in favor of Federal Government electricity, ask him about the trick it plays with your taxes (and his). Chances are, he'll stop talking and start thinking.—America's Independent Electric Light and Power Companies.

Purchasers of Federal power, fiscal 1956

	Percent
REA's	6.7
State and other public	9.9
Municipals	17.0
Federal agencies	34.8
Private utilities	10.7
Private industry	20.8

Purchasers of TVA power, fiscal 1956

	Percent
REA's	5.8
Private utilities	.01
Private industry	13.4
Municipalies	23.0
Federal defense agencies	57.7

Source: Compiled from data obtained from various Federal agencies.

Moscow, Cairo, and Suez

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of April 11, 1957, makes most interesting reading:

MOSCOW, CAIRO, AND SUEZ

In the first of a series of exclusive articles in this newspaper, Mr. Tom Lambert of our Washington bureau revealed yesterday that Soviet Russia is in the process of sending Nasser's Egypt a supply of its latest model, most powerful jet fighters. Mr. Lambert's survey discloses that Czechoslovakia and possibly Poland are joining the Soviet Union in replacing at least a portion of the armaments that were captured from Egypt during Israel's lightning invasion last fall. Considerable evidence also exists that two other Arab nations, Syria and Yemen, are expanding their armed forces, with Moscow supplying the arms plus technicians to instruct the Arabs in their use.

This is foreboding news. However one may assay the Israeli invasion of Egypt, there can be no doubt that the loss of armaments suffered by the Egyptians seriously impaired their ability to make war in the future. Great stores of trucks, tanks, and guns were seized in the Sinai Peninsula, where they had been abandoned by the Egyptians in their precipitate flight. The only Egyptian warship that tried to take part in battle was captured intact and is now a part of the Israeli Navy.

It is in the air, however, that the primary danger may lie. And the menace of the technicians must not be overlooked, for these may be the fifth column of infiltration. Prior to the invasion of last fall, the best Egyptian fighter plane was the Mig-15, made in Russia. Even in the 2 days of Israeli-Egyptian fighting prior to the Anglo-French intervention, relatively few Egyptian pilots took the air, and when they did so their Mig-15's proved inferior to the French Mystères of the Israeli Air Force. Once the Anglo-French bombardments at Port Said began, a good many Egyptian planes were destroyed on the ground with some reportedly flown away to safety in Syria and elsewhere.

Now, however, Mr. Lambert reveals that instead of Mig-15's, the Communists are believed to be supplying Cairo with a "large number" of Mig-17's, Mig-19's, and Yak-25's, all of which are later and better jet fighters than the 15's. In addition, the Egyptians have been industriously rebuilding the airfields that were damaged and pitted by British and French bombers. From the standpoint of armaments, though not from the standpoint of the fighting quality of her army, it is very likely that Egypt is emerging from her defeat of last autumn stronger than ever. Similarly, more than ever the Soviets are displaying their eagerness to stir up trouble and heighten tension throughout the Middle East.

Against such a background, it would be surprising if Nasser displayed a willingness to compose his differences with other nations on future regulation of the Suez Canal. Speaking, as he believes, from a position of strength, he has as yet shown no inclination for moving toward a genuine meeting of minds. Indeed, he is in less of a compromising mood than ever, for although he had previously accepted the Security Council's six principles for a settlement, including a provision that operation of the canal be "insulated" from the politics of any nation, he now has turned his back on them.

Nevertheless, the negotiations in Cairo between American Ambassador Raymond A. Hare and Egyption Foreign Minister Mahmoud Fawzi went on yesterday, just as they went on all last week. At his press conference in Washington President Eisenhower stressed the importance of continuing negotiations in the hope of obtaining a satisfactory agreement. Yet the United States will have to face up to the reality that it may not be possible to get a satisfactory agreement from a dictator who is riding high. And despite the present relative lull in the Middle East, the situation remains basically incendiary, with Israel reportedly considering a test of her rights in the Suez Canal, Jordan in political turmoil—and Communist arms steadily flowing into the area.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Address by Congressman Overton Brooks, of Louisiana, Before the Red River Valley Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the 32d annual convention of the Red River Valley Association met in Shreveport, La., April 22–23, 1957. Congressman OVERTON BROOKS made a very fine address. It is filled with interesting facts, particularly about navigation of Red River. It is as follows:

In the year 1899 the last boat steaming up the Red River arrived at Shreveport and after leaving its cargo retraced its course back to the Mississippi. Since this date no river boats have arrived at Shreveport and the Red River has not been used for navigation. The question naturally arises, "Why has this stream not been used for waterborne commerce in more than 50 years?"

The answer is that the Red River over the years became unsuited for navigation. It has developed like many other streams in this Nation which have changed due to the stripping of the hillsides of timber and to the cultivation of the lands by draining them and making possible the quick removal of water from the land. The little streams throughout our countryside have often dried up and have even disappeared in many instances in the course of the development of our Nation.

Red River has suffered this fate. The banks are soft and crumble and melt away under the terrific impact of high water rushing downstream to the sea. Channels have changed in the course of time to such an extent that boundaries have disappeared and old lines have been marked out. Parts of Bossier Parish, for instance, now find themselves on the Caddo side of the river. In at least one instance we have built a great bridge over the Red River and this was in Avoyelles Parish—only to find later that the river actually bypassed the bridge and left the structure high and dry, making a several-million-dollar structure, in the course of a very short time, worthless and unusable. In another instance, in northern Bossier, within the last few years, the State was compelled to spend tens of thousands of dollars to stop the ever-moving process of a Red River-changing-channel in order to save another bridge in the course of construction in the Plain Dealing area and prevent it from being bypassed.

From the time the last river boat came to Shreveport, our people began to yearn for and to hope for the day when navigation would be restored to the river. They have seen other river ports in Louisiana and elsewhere thrive and grow and expand while our own valley, as fertile as the Garden of Eden, does not keep pace with this growth of these other areas. We have the people, the climate, the natural advantages of other localities; but we fail to provide the water transportation and water rates which they enjoy. This is the real difference between the Red River Valley cities and towns and other places.

In the years prior to 1946, we who were interested in the further development of our valley had been at work trying to restore navigation. At first we asked for navigation on the Red River itself as the answer to our traffic problems. We know that every large community must of necessity have every form of transportation—road, rail, air, pipelines, and water—and that the community that fails in any one respect does not contribute fully to its own development competitively with other more fortunate communities. After working on this matter for years, our plans were submitted to the Board of Rivers and Harbors of the Army engineers in Washington, a board composed of the best hydraulic engineers in America.

I was present when this hearing occurred in Washington in 1946. I can look back over the years and realize how important this hearing was to our people here. Claudius Dickson, of Shreveport, was president of the Red River Valley Association and headed the delegation going to Washington. John Ewing, of the Shreveport Times, a director of the Kansas City Southern Railway, came up especially and made a splendid presentation. Senator John H. Overton, my uncle, organized the meeting and presented the witnesses. Other distinguished citizens, many now gone to their rewards, made appearances on behalf of water transportation along the Red River. We all asked for navigation on the river itself.

After months of study and deliberation, the Board of Rivers and Harbors on April 19, 1946, in effect turned down our request for navigation on the Red River, but approved a plan for a waterway to be built on the south side of the river in the alluvial valley as a canal. There can be no question but that the approval of the Overton Waterway was a rejection of the use of the channel of Red River for navigation purposes. Since this decision was rendered, year by year, we have asked the Congress for money for the purpose of planning, blueprinting, and for engineering work for the lateral canal, and the Congress has granted this request; and has provided in all $515,000 for this purpose.

Why did the Board of Rivers and Harbors turn down the use of the channel of the Red River for navigation purposes but, at the same time, approve the construction of a canal along the south side of the river from Shreveport to the Atchafalaya? There were a number of reasons for this decision.

The first reason was that which I have already discussed; namely, the shifting of the channel, the caving and the disintegration of the banks of the stream, the lack of availability of an adequate supply of water in the Red; and the greater cost of providing for navigation along the channel of Red River and the greater length of the channel of the river for transportation, for such purposes over that of the canal.

I think it is obvious that navigation on the Red River would require more water than navigation on the Overton Waterway. This is, of course, because the Red River is a flowing stream and the canal will be a slackwater course. It will require much more water to maintain a channel of a specified depth on the flowing stream than on a slackwater canal. How much more will be required depends upon the rate of the flow of the river and this will depend upon the number of obstacles placed in the path of the current.

The third reason that the use of the Red River channel for navigation purposes was discarded is that such a route must be much longer than the canal type of waterway. The Overton Waterway, as designed, is 205 miles long. On the other hand, the Red River channel is 280 miles long—75 miles longer than the proposed Overton Waterway. The Red River channel, of course, is longer because it is filled with curves, and bends. Then, too, its current will provide a serious obstacle to upstream navigation. The lack of current on the Overton Waterway, as designed, makes for much less bank wash and erosion; and provides for a greater stabilization of bank and channel.

The use of the Red River channel, if this were feasible, would require 12 locks and dams. The dams on the river, of necessity would be much larger and longer than those on the canal, for from bank to bank the river is much wider and, of course, would cost much more money to construct. It is obvious also that banks above and below the locks and the dams would have to be completely stabilized for some distance to prevent what occurred in Avoyelles Parish when the Red River cut a pathway around one of the bridges which had been constructed and thereby rendered the bridge useless. This would require much money. The project to stabilize the banks of the Red 3 miles above and 3 miles below Shreveport has already cost the Government over $10 million. This will give you some idea of the cost of stabilizing the river for a distance of 280 miles.

The original estimate of the cost of the Overton Waterway was $42 million. Since this estimate was made in 1946, of course, prices have gone up considerably. The engineers will give you a further cost estimate; but I would guess that it would certainly run under $100 million. On the other hand, the cost of building the Red River route, using the river channel for navigation, will run $300 million or better—2 or 3 times that of the cost of the waterway.

Besides this, the engineers say that it is not feasible to build the waterway on the Red River. Constant shifting of channels, crumbling of banks and varying elevations of water make real problems; and these, in turn, make the river itself unsuited and unusable for navigation purposes.

You may say, "Well, Congressman, who says that the river is unsuitable for navigation besides yourself?" I answer, "The United States Corps of Army Engineers."

When we are sick, we go to a doctor; when we have a toothache, we visit a dentist; and when we need to build a great canal for navigation, we look to our engineers. They have not let us down in any emergency.

This is the group of engineers which has built the program of flood control and navigation for our Nation since its inception. It is the group which was founded by the Father of our Country, George Washington, when he was President of the United States. He sent to Europe to obtain three of the very best engineers from the armies of Napoleon, and they formed what is now our Army engineers. Since that time our Corps of Engineers has rated tops in conduct, ability, and efficiency.

The Army engineers is the same organization which landed its men on the shores of

Normandy in France in World War II, even before the combat troops landed; and they cut the barbed wire and removed the obstacles, preparing the way for the landing of the infantry and the artillery, the tanks and the jeeps. They won an immortal place in the hearts and minds of our people; and neither time nor distance will efface the valor of their efforts nor the impact of their achievements in the development of America. I think we can safely depend upon them in the building of the Overton Waterway.

The canal when built will begin at the confluence of the Old and Mississippi Rivers, and will continue on up to Shreveport, 206 miles to the northwest. The first 7 miles is through Old River, and the next 24 miles through the Red River, at which point it follows Coulee des Grues, Choctaw Bayou, and Chatlain Lake Canal to Alexandria. It then proceeds through lands cuts to Cane River through Natchitoches, and then on to Bayou Pierre and to Shreveport. It will use 120 miles of existing waterway as compared to 86 miles of land cuts. At Shreveport a turnaround basin will be built and a basin for loading and unloading will be built at all of the large stopping points.

It is fair to say that most of the land utilized will be far removed from urban centers and will be low or swampy land not normally used for cultivation. By the same token, the number of roads to be rerouted will be reduced to a minimum.

I have heard it said that such a canal will split the countryside wide open, and that a barrier greater than anything we have experienced will be erected to prevent the free passage to and fro across the waterway. This, of course, is not true. The waterway, of course, will be no greater a barrier than is Bayou Pierre and Cane River at the present time. At this time these streams and others like them must be bridged if we are to cross them. The same will apply to the canal.

On the other hand, the canal will pass through rather low places in the countryside, and this waterway will provide means of draining these sections of central and northwest Louisiana, which they do not now have. It is estimated that flood control and drainage benefits for the area will exceed $1 million per year. Flood control is an item for which we will spend millions of dollars even though we do not build the canal. If built, the canal will help take care of this expense, and no other development presently contemplated will provide flood control and drainage benefits as indicated by the building of the canal.

Of course, this canal will cost lots of money. Any worthwhile project will cost money; and the question is whether or not it is justified. The Army engineers will settle this question, and I submit that they are better able to dispose of this question accurately than any other group of people.

The actual or total benefits from the construction of this project will be inestimable. A million and a half people have settled in this portion of the Red River Valley and they are all affected by freight rates. Every rate increase of the railroad companies and the truck carriers and the buses adds to the cost of living of our people. Those who live in the areas of Louisiana where navigation is available know the difference in the costs. A rate increase is often the difference between success and failure of business.

Throughout the length and breadth of this country, we see the great cities and towns grow up along the rivers and the harbors. Navigation has attracted the people and businesses to these spots. Cost of living is lower and business prospers in such locations. And we see the great highways terminating at the sea and at the inland ports; and even the railroads, feeling the quickening impulse of lower rates, lay double tracks, add to their equipment and personnel and begin to boom in the stimulus of the increased transportation attendant with the port and with navigation. It is largely in places where there is navigation that the communities grow and prosper. New Orleans, the crescent city; St. Louis, the hub of America; Chicago, the windy city; Pittsburgh and its golden triangle—all of these great cities are built on waterways and the backbone of their prosperity and growth lies in the development which lower freight rates and navigation have given to the community.

The Overton Waterway will open up to us, for waterborne commerce, the great ports along the Mississippi, such as Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Memphis, and St. Louis; the ports along the Atchafalaya and along the intercoastal canal, such as Lake Charles, Houston, and Beaumont. It will connect our communities directly with navigation all along the inland waterways of America—with Pittsburgh, Chicago, Minneapolis, and Sioux City. It will develop in our midst a new type of industry and bring fresh opportunity and new accomplishment to our people.

If we are going to have navigation for the Red River Valley below Shreveport, it is going to be by way of the Overton Waterway. Congress will never appropriate funds for the construction of a great project such as this if it is not approved by the Corps of Engineers. Nor will the people who must support the project by local cooperation approve it in the absence of the recommendations of the Army engineers. We can use all of the persuasion possible and apply political pressures, but I can tell you this—the Army engineers will not yield to the point of recommending a project which they feel is not worthy of the approval.

If, therefore, we reject the canal proposal, make no mistake, navigation in the Red River Valley is dead. We have no alternative. If we accept the proposal, we move forward. The way is not smooth. It is rough; filled with opposition and difficulties; but at the end of the rainbow, it offers the fulfillment of a dream of 55 years—navigation in the Red River Valley. We move forward—at times, it is true, slowly—but always forward, and ultimately over the years we leave to our children the priceless heritage of having developed our God-given resources to the best of our ability. We leave to them the basis for competitive commerce in our valley, for further development greater than otherwise would have been possible; for prosperity and for happiness.

Keep Out the Piranha

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, since I introduced H. R. 6572 on April 2 to regulate the importation of the maneating South American piranha fish, I have received many inquiries from individuals, magazines and newspapers.

Despite the obvious danger to other fish, wild animals, livestock and human beings if the piranha were introduced into American waters, there are today no restrictions on its importation. They are being sold right now in pet and curio shops for as little as $1.

A warm water fish, the piranha could not live long in our northern waters. But it could be introduced into our southern waters, in Florida, for example, where it could become acclimated, breed and spread. Surely we must guard against that happening.

To illustrate the potential danger posed by unrestricted importation of the piranha, I offer an editorial and an article from the Milwaukee Journal of April 18, 1957. The editorial follows:

KEEP OUT THE PIRANHA FISH

Congressmen get concerned about strange things—such as a South American fish.

Those who learned about the bill introduced by Representative REUSS, Democrat of Milwaukee, to bar importation of the little piranha, called the cannibal fish, may have wondered whether a congressman didn't have something more important to worry about. The best explanation is to read up a little on the piranha and then wonder what would happen if some of them—now being sold by pet dealers in considerable numbers—got loose and multiplied in some of our warmer lakes and rivers. (See article about the piranha below.)

Many a less dangerous animal, bird or insect has been imported—sometimes innocently and sometimes with serious good intent—only to become a serious pest. Representative REUSS mentioned the English sparrow, the starling and the carp. (Wisconsin seined out more than 7.5 million pounds of carp last year to protect game fish species.)

So there is reason for congressional concern about the terrible piranha, and sound reasons to keep these fish out. Americans with a yen for strange fish in their home acquariums should be content with something less ferocious—and happy to keep their fingers intact.

The following article, written by Mr. Gerald W. Kloss, a feature writer for the Milwaukee Journal, vividly describes the ferocious nature of this tiny fish:

THE BLOODTHIRSTY PIRANHA—BILL BEFORE CONGRESS WOULD CONTROL IMPORTATION INTO UNITED STATES OF SAVAGE SOUTH-AMERICAN FISH WHICH IS A MENACE TO MAN AND BEAST

(By Gerald Kloss)

When cattlemen in certain sections of South America have to move their herds across streams, they sometimes resort to a peculiar stratagem: They pick out the sickliest cow or calf in the herd and send it into the river some distance from the ford.

Within seconds the water boils furiously around the expendable beast. Out of nowhere, it seems, a school of beautifully colored, bass size fish swarms about the cow, ripping vicious bites and shreds of flesh from its abdomen. The sight and smell of blood madden the fish to an even higher frenzy, and the cattlemen take this opportunity to run their herd across the stream in comparative safety.

But they have to do it in a hurry, for these fish have been known to skeletonize a 400-pound hog in 10 minutes. They are called piranha—pronounced pee-RAN-ya—and their list of credits qualifies them for the title of the most bloodthirsty creature in nature.

HORROR DEVISED BY PARADOXICAL NATURE

They are afraid of nothing—not even man. Teddy Roosevelt wrote of seeing a man lose a foot to the piranha before he could be pulled out of a Brazilian river by his friends. "The most ferocious fish in the world," Teddy called them.

Dr. R. L. Ditmars, the famous naturalist, said that piranha "would make a ferocious wildcat seem tame by comparison." Christopher W. Coates, director of the aquarium in the Bronx zoo, goes even further: "The tiny piranha, at least for my money, is the most horrifying and soul shuddering spectacle devised by a paradoxical nature."

The prospect that these piscine murderers might get loose in our own rivers and lakes, gobbling up game fish (and fishermen), has resulted in a bill introduced in congress recently by Representative REUSS of Milwaukee. The bill would require import licenses for piranha so that safeguards could be set up.

Until recently piranha cost up to $100 a specimen in the United States, for they were found only in South America, chiefly in the waters of the Amazon and La Plata basins. West German biologists, however, have learned how to breed them in tanks for tropical fish collectors, and the cost has gone down to about $1 per specimen on the east coast and $10 in the Midwest. (One is on display here now at the public museum.)

Fortunately for Wisconsin, nature has provided the best defense against these killers: They can't live in waters below 70 degrees, so they would hardly survive long in our climate. In the south, however, they could become a menace if they were allowed to breed in the warm streams and lakes.

A LITTLE MONSTER WITH RAZOR TEETH

At first glance, the piranha belies its evil reputation. It somewhat resembles our sunfish, flat and deep bellied, and it seldom measures more than a foot long. Some species have beautiful coloring—purplish-blue backs blending into silvery sides and crimson bellies, with bright and red gill covers and tails. The eyes have a black iris outlined in red.

What identifies it is the fleshy, undershot jaw and a set of razor sharp teeth that can snap through a man's finger in a split second. The triangular shaped lowers mesh with the pointed uppers in a grip that leaves marks on hard steel. South American Indians use the teeth for arrowheads and knives.

Coupled with this impressive dental equipment is an appetite that demands a weekly ration of food twice the weight of the eater. A 150 pound man with the same craving for food would eat 300 pounds a week.

But even beyond the hunger drive, piranha apparently just like to kill for fun. After eating their fill, they will strip a victim to the bone, dropping the shreds of flesh in their haste to get another bite. When no other food is available, they don't hesitate to go after one of their own kind.

THEY ATTACK IN SCHOOLS

An experiment was conducted with a number of immature piranha in an aquarium to find out whether they might grow up under artificial conditions with less vicious tempers. Placed in a large tank, they seemed to get along all right for a time.

Then, when they had grown to about 2 inches in length, their native savagery asserted itself. One piranha, without any apparent provocation, bit another. Immediately, the other seven tiny fish turned on the bitten brother and snapped off the back two-thirds of it.

The aquarium keeper reached into the tank with a pair of steel tweezers in order to save the head. Incredibly, the dying pihanha's jaws clamped on the tweezers and held on until the fish head was placed in formalin. The tweezers were dented by teeth marks from the infant fish.

Attacking in schools, piranha take on opponents hundreds of times their own size. On larger fish, they take their first bites out of the tail, immobilizing the victim so that they can slash away the rest in comparative leisure.

Alligators are safe from attack as long as they don't have any open wounds—but a bleeding creature, no matter how big, is finished if there are any piranha about.

PADDLERS HAVE LOST FINGERS

Because of their insatiable greed, piranha are suckers for any kind of bait. One cast of the line and you've got a bite. They fight the hook like game fish several times their size, and, even when out of water, they continue to snap the air in attempts to sink their teeth into a victim.

Tales of the piranha's ferocity are abundant and well documented.

Men have fallen off boats in South American rivers and been reduced to skeletons in a matter of minutes.

Natives who dipped their canoe paddles too deeply have paid a cost of several fingers.

Women who washed clothes along the shore of piranha infested streams have lost toes and fingers.

There is, however, one redeeming feature about this nasty creature: Once caught—and make sure it's dead before you try to retrieve the hook—the piranha makes good eating. And that, to put it mildly, seems only fair.

General Aniline & Film Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, on April 30, 1956, I testified before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in support of my bill, H. R. 80, 84th Congress. Subsequently, I inserted the text of my testimony in the Appendix of the RECORD for May 8, 1956. The remarks begin on page A3674. The subject of my testimony concerned a warning that the United States should not repeat the mistakes which we committed following World War I when we returned vested enemy assets to the German Government and thereby deprived American citizens with valid claims against the German Government of a source of funds for payment of these claims. These claimants are still waiting for full payment.

I am deeply concerned with this problem of assets vested during World War II because there is located in my district the Ansco plant owned by General Aniline & Film Corp. Majority stock of GAF is held by the Alien Property Custodian and it is my hope that the Department of Justice will, in the near future, sell this stock to American citizens. My bill, H. R. 597, 85th Congress, is concerned with this subject.

In my testimony before the committee in 1956, I made a statement to the effect that I. G. Farben had ordered destroyed a nitrocellulose plant located near Afton, N. Y., and that this destruction, ordered just prior to Hitler's aggression in Europe, deprived the United States of a production potential of vital nitrocellulose.

My statement was based on testimony given by Mr. Harry L. Derby, former president of the American Cyanamide Corp. and a minority stockholder in GAF, before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee on July 1 and 2, 1954. Mr. Derby was also Chairman of the Army and Navy Munitions Board of the Chemical Advisory Committee during World War II.

Subsequent to my testimony, Mr. D. A. Schmitz, who was president of GAF in 1936 when the plant at Afton was leveled, disputed the statement that the destruction of this plant had been carried out on orders from Germany. He stated that the action was taken because the plant had not been in use for several years and the local taxing authorities had levied on the property a tax which was uneconomical for the corporation to pay for a nonproducing unit. Mr. Schmitz believes that statements concerning destruction of this plant have cast a doubt on his loyalty as an American citizen and on the loyalty of his board of directors and subordinates during this period.

Mr. Schmitz has sent to me a photostat of a letter from Mr. H. W. Sachs, Ansco's chief engineer at the time, which gives Mr. Sachs' statements concerning the destruction of this plant:

BINGHAMTON, N. Y., *January 3, 1957.*

Mr. D. A. SCHMITZ,
Greenwich, Conn.

DEAR MR. SCHMITZ: I am in receipt of letter of December 19 written by Mrs. M. Stiegelmaier at your behest. The essential facts regarding dismantling of the Afton plant are as follows:

The cotton nitrating plant in the town of Afton, N. Y., was built approximately 1916, and I understand operations were discontinued about 1920. The plant had been idle ever since.

In the course of the years, the masonry structure of most buildings suffered from severe deterioration due to weathering as well as chemical action in those sections where acids had been used. Machinery and equipment was sold piecemeal, at suitable opportunities, or taken to the Binghamton plant. By 1936, the remaining balance had no further use value and this included much of the boilerhouse installation. Some of the buildings were used for storage of baled scrap film waiting for disposal.

Even though the plant had reached an extremely low use level the town of Afton insisted upon a tax assessment way out of proportion. Repeated attempts were made to lower the tax payments, without success; negotiations were carried on by Mr. Chris King, assistant treasurer, now deceased.

In order to remove the tax burden it was finally decided to dismantle the plant. Consequently, in the summer of 1936 all buildings were leveled to the ground and the stack was blown up. The actual work was carried out by Levine & Sons, scrap dealers in Binghamton, under the supervision of the writer, who was Ansco's chief engineer at that time.

These are the true circumstances which led to the dismantling of the Afton plant. I do not intend to enter or participate in any controversies but the facts should speak for themselves.

I trust the above will comply with your request.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely yours,

H. W. SACHS.

Mr. Speaker, the statement concerning the nitrocellulose plant at Afton was a very minor of my testimony.

It was not my intention to cast doubt on the loyalty of the American management of GAF and no such intention should be inferred. It is, of course, well known that I. G. Farbenindustrie was a cartel of tremendous power which aided Hitler's war machine in its early successes but Mr. Schmitz has written to me:

First, to my knowledge, the I. G. Farbenindustrie in Germany had definitely no control over the management or policies of General Aniline & Film Corporation during the period that I was president of that company, beginning in June of 1936 and until I was relieved of my position when the Alien Property Custodian seized the company in 1942.

Regarding the Afton plant, to my knowledge no order for its dismantling was ever received from any source outside the company. In the event that such a directive could have been made, it most certainly would not have been honored by my management. Certainly any such action would have required a board of directors' resolution.

I am pleased to insert Mr. Schmitz' statement and Mr. Sachs' letter so that they can be a matter of public record.

Republican Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an address given by my very capable colleague, Congressman JOHN M. VORYS, of Ohio. These remarks were given at the Arneson Institute of Practical Politics held at Ohio Wesleyan University on April 22.

This Institute of Practical Politics of Ohio Wesleyan has received worldwide recognition and speakers of both parties are annually invited to participate. I was most happy to have the privilege of being in attendance and I consider it a pleasure to incorporate the remarks of my colleagues in the RECORD:

REPUBLICAN FOREIGN POLICY

(Speech of Representative JOHN M. VORYS, of Ohio, member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Monday afternoon, April 22, 1957, on Republican Day at Ohio Wesleyan University, sponsored by the Arneson Institute of Practical Politics)

Our foreign policy is bipartisan on fundamentals, set forth in the platforms of both political parties, and supported by the leadership of both parties in Congress. Many people grumble about this. They want their party to have all the good, sound principles, and the other party to take all the ideas they disagree with. But neither of the great parties will accommodate such people. Both parties support the sound, patriotic ideas.

Personally, I rejoice in this demonstration of the essential unity of our people. It brings continuity to our policies, hope to a divided world, despair to the despots.

Nevertheless, there are differences between our two parties that show up in methods, in means, in performance, in results. Under our Constitution, the President has primary and paramount responsibility for conducting foreign policy. Today, and for the last 4 years, the people and the daily papers talk about the Eisenhower foreign policy, and Republican foreign policy, and the history books will say it that way.

We are in the fifth year of Republican foreign policy under President Eisenhower, a troubled, turbulent, complicated, critical period of continuing tension, controversy, and change throughout the world. Foreign policy is more than a speech, a set of principles. It involves courses of action on our part going on day and night, here and all over the world, some secret, many unnoticed, some exciting and dramatic. A day-by-day, play-by-play review now would be impossible. Regardless of the ups and downs and zigzags of each day's headlines, the heart of Republican foreign policy under President Eisenhower is simple, noble, practical; we work for peace.

President Eisenhower's first administration started with action for peace.

He had promised to end the war in Korea, and he did it.

He made his historic atoms for peace proposal in the United Nations, and the only nation that had ever dropped an A bomb in war become known as the leader in devoting atomic energy to peace.

He electrified the world with his open skies inspection proposal at the summit meeting, as a practical, workable step toward disarmament.

We obtained a peace treaty at long last for Austria. We settled the explosive status of Trieste. The President asked for and obtained authority to use our Armed Forces in the area of Formoa, where war threatened 2 years ago; and peace has been maintained in Asia ever since.

He and our great Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, with courage and skill have prevented war by Soviet miscalculation by letting the Reds understand clearly that we would fight if they launched aggression, but never letting them know where or when we would not fight. If this policy had been followed in earlier years, we might have avoided the last 3 wars under Democratic Presidents. If the Kaiser had known beforehand that we would come in, World War I might never have started. If Hitler had not heard "again and again" that we would not send our boys to fight on foreign soil, World War II might have been avoided. If the Chinese Reds had not heard that Korea was beyond our defense perimeter, they might have held off. To prevent war by miscalculation, our leaders must be courageous, but careful. Time and again in the last 4 years, we have gone to the brink of war, but we haven't gone over, because Eisenhower and Dulles took care that we didn't miscalculate, and neither did our enemies.

But peace to us means more than mere absence of war. We seek peace with justice.

When the Suez Canal was nationalized, we immediately sought peaceful settlement. Then, right in the heat of our fall campaign, Britain, France, and Israel, our old friends, launched aggression. We were put to the test, and the President said, "There cannot be one law for our friends, another for our foes," and joined in pressures in the U. N. for withdrawal. But he said, "There will be no involvement of our forces in this situation." And, although the Democrat opposition criticized him and his acts day and night during the last week of the campaign, the people reelected him with a landslide. The people were for peace with justice. And today, Britain, France, and Israel have withdrawn and our forces, as he promised, have not been involved.

Where do we stand now? President Eisenhower, in his great second inaugural address in January said, "We live in a land of plenty, but rarely has this earth known such peril as today. * * * In too much of the earth there is want, discord, danger." He spoke of "new forces and new nations" * * * of old and great nations in time of change, of "the designs of international communism, dark in purpose, clear in practice." Then he said:

"We look upon this shaken earth, and we declare our firm and fixed purpose: the building of a peace with justice in a world where moral law prevails. The building of such a peace is a bold and solemn purpose. To proclaim it is easy. To serve it will be hard. And to attain it, we must be aware of its full meaning—and ready to pay its full price."

In this grim and deadly struggle with Godless, ruthless communism, the price of peace is high. Sixty-three percent of our budget is for our protection against Soviet aggression, subversion, and infiltration, military, economic, ideological. But the price of war is higher, not only in budgets, but in blood and tears. In past wars we paid with the priceless lives of the young, our bravest and best. In future wars all of us risk suffering and death.

While the price of peace is great, the rewards are great, even during this uneasy costly peace. We have had 4 years of the greatest prosperity, the highest standard of living, of any nation on earth in all human history. Under Republican foreign economic policy, our foreign affairs are profitable to our people. Last year our people received nearly $24 billion from exports, foreign investments, foreign investors and travellers, while our government was spending $4.2 billion on foreign military and economic aid, but spending fourth-fifth of it in this country. Last year our exports, our sales abroad, amounted to $19 billion, our imports, our purchases abroad were $14 billion, and we had 20 percent of the international trade of the whole world. That is, one-fifth of all commerce crossing international borders was sold by the United States, while in the last 4 years the cost of our own defense and our share in collective security, has been an ever-dwindling fraction of our ever-rising national income. Peace is not only, as our President has so eloquently said, "our duty and our destiny." Peace is profitable to the United States of America.

We have in this country people who want the profits of peace without paying the price. They say, "if we cut out our military spending and our foreign aid, we would have even more profitable peace." Now I believe that the President and Congress should, and will, cut our military and collective security costs as low as possible, but I can assure you that, if we cut it all out, we would not have profitable peace. We would soon have war, or a peace dictated from the Kremlin, and it would not be profitable to us.

Most of us understand the need, the economy, of our own vast military machine, for maintaining peace, deterring costly war. Let's look for a moment at the economics of our collective security. Our so-called foreign aid is up for reappraisal in the White House, in Congress. I can, however, give you a few facts about Republican administration of foreign aid.

It costs about one-tenth as much as our military expenditures on our own forces. Eighty percent of this is spent in this country and goes to our own farms and factories. Foreign aid appropriations in the past 4 years have been just about one-half what they were in the 4 preceding years of Democrat administration. We have about 19 divisions in our Army, Russia has 175. We have the best Navy in the world. Russia has 400 submarines to sink our Navy; Russia has the largest Air Force; we feel ours is the best. Both countries have A- and H-bombs, guided missiles. We have one thing Russia hasn't got. We have a string of air and naval bases all around Russia; Russia has no bases around us. We have small forces on those bases, and mobile air and naval forces ready to get to them quickly, but we depend largely on the forces of the countries near where those bases are located, to defend them against sabotage, infiltration, sudden attacks. When we help those countries to defend their own soil and keep these bases ready for massive retaliation, we contribute to our mutual security. That system, as Admiral Radford says, is "part and parcel of our own defense."

It cost us last year $6,600 to maintain an American serviceman abroad, without count-

ing his weapons. It cost us last year $789 per man in mutual security funds to help maintain an allied serviceman abroad, armed and equipped, ready for action where we want him, according to jointly made defense plans. Our so-called foreign aid helps to maintain 200 allied divisions in 44 nations, a naval force with as many vessels as our own, although not as powerful; 300 air squardons, as many as we have, but not as well equipped. It is not our forces alone that deter Russia; it is the combination of our forces with those that surround her ready to strike from every side, that maintains peace, and gives us and the free world mutual security, collective security.

Now I am opposed to give-aways; we cannot buy friends, but if we can help arm and strengthen nations that want to stay free and are willing to raise forces larger than they can arm and support, and thus help deter Soviet aggression, at one-tenth of the cost of our own forces, we are getting a bargain in our mutual security program.

Some people say we should bring our forces home, arm to the teeth, and wait for the Soviets to come here. If we did that, it would cost more, because intercontinental planes and missiles are very expensive. I think the Soviets would try to come here, after taking over the rest of the world and cutting us off from the constantly increasing number and volume of strategic materials we need to import. I have seen war-devastated countries of Europe and Asia, where they fought at home. I prefer our policy of planning to fight our wars away from home, on friendly soil, if we have to fight, and not doing all the fighting ourselves. This is not a selfish policy. In this way we give other free nations a chance to defend their soils, while we defend ours. This policy of collective security, mutual security, has given us peace for 4 years.

I have told you that foreign aid amounts to one-tenth of our own military spending. Well, about one-tenth of that one-tenth is spent on nonmilitary technical assistance and development assistance, 80 percent in loans, and goes also to nations with which we have no military mutual security agreements. This includes some neutralists nations. We wish they would join us in mutual defense, but we cannot force them. Whatever happens, we don't want them to go Communist, or be taken over by Communists, through being forced to rely on the Reds for technical and development assistance. So we help them fight hunger, disease, and ignorance. We help them develop their economic and political independence, for that adds to our security in war, and in peace we do more business with more developed countries.

You know about our agricultural surplus problem. We use farm surpluses in the mutual security program whenever we can. Since World War II just about 30 percent of our foreign aid, $16 billion of it, has been surplus agricultural products. Thus, foreign aid has been our biggest single farm aid program, while helping to maintain peace.

You have heard much about giveaways, grants. Well, $14 billion of our post-World War II aid, about 25 percent, has been in the form of loans, and we have been repaid $5.7 billion in interest and principle of these loans. Tell that to people who say that such loans are giveaways.

In the last 4 years the legislation for these policies, involving the cost of peace, and the rewards of peace, has had bipartisan support, and bipartisan opposition, although, of course, the leadership and the execution came from the Republican administration. I believe in giving credit where credit is due. I must also report that there has been more Democrat partisanship in foreign policy in Congress in the last 3 months than I have seen in my 18 years in Congress, and it has not been good for our country. I believe in placing blame where it belongs.

You are all familiar with the President's Middle East doctrine. The law was signed March 9. It applied in the Middle East methods that had been tested and found successful in earlier acts. The aid provisions were similar to the Greek-Turkish aid law, passed by the Republican 80th Congress at the request of a Democrat President. The authority to use our Armed Forces was similar to that granted in the Formosa resolution passed in 1955 by a Democrat-controlled Congress at the request of a Republican President with but 3 no votes in the House and 3 in the Senate. No new appropriations were included. Emergency use of old appropriations winds up June 30, 1957.

You would have thought that, in view of the ominous and obvious tension and instability in the Middle East, this law would have been rushed through.

Instead, a partisan hue and cry started, saying the proposal was unprecedented, unconstitutional, a declaration of war, a blank check, and that Congress had not been consulted; this went on for over 2 months. The House acted in 25 days, in commendable bipartisan spirit, and made no crippling amendments. Now a House Member is not supposed to criticize the Senate, but somewhere, some amendments got in this bill that I feel were unnecessary, unintelligible, or undesirable. The Executive, however, considered them as merely harassing, rather than hamstringing, and the House accepted them rather than risk delay by a second filibuster—you know where.

One of these amendments involved the President's authority to use Armed Forces. A straight Democrat Party vote struck out the words which were copied from the Formosa resolution, "he is authorized" and inserted instead "the United States is prepared to use Armed Forces." It was amusing that the Democrats decided to repeal by law the charges made all through last year's campaign that the United States is unprepared to use its Armed Forces.

On this issue of bipartisan consultation, here are some facts I can give you firsthand: The President had a bipartisan congressional meeting on foreign policy, including the Middle East doctrine, at the White House for 4 hours on New Year's Day, although Congress did not convene until January 3. Before the Presidential message on Saturday, January 5, publicly stating his policy, Secretary Dulles went over the provisions of the bill, inviting comments and suggestions, with both House and Senate committees. The text of the bill when introduced reflected the results of congressional consultation and suggestions.

Nevertheless, some of the Democrats kept saying for 2 months that there ought to be congressional consultation and approval before the President takes a public position on such matters, and thereby commits the country.

Now, let's see what happened next: In March the question of whether the United States should suport sanctions against Israel in the United Nations was being publicly discussed by nearly everyone—except the President. He called a bipartisan meeting at the White House on March 21 to discuss the Israeli situation. Now those meetings are supposed to be off the record, but if any definite action is taken, it is announced in a press release immediately after the meeting. It is significant that no action was announced after that meeting except that the President was going on the air that night. The President then proposed a course for Israel, which I approved and which Israel followed, which kept the issue of sanctions from coming to a vote in the U. N., but there is no record that this course had the approval, or disapproval, of the Democrat congressional leaders.

It appears that the Democrats, after insisting on being consulted, before action, declined responsibility for action. Nevertheless, the President called a bipartisan meeting to report on the Bermuda conference the day after he returned.

When you start to play politics on this business of bipartisan consultation, you can work it two ways. You can say, "The President put us on the spot by committing himself publicly without consulting us," or you can say, "He put us on the spot by consulting us in advance before committing himself publicly."

Playing politics either way on foreign policy problems is bad for the country. We will have a Republican President conducting foreign policy for nearly 4 years. We will have a Democrat Congress now and next year. Then we need a Republican Congress.

On the perplexing, complicated, controversial problems of foreign policy, there is room for honest difference of opinion, for intelligent, sincere debate. There is no room for partisan politics. We Republicans must try to keep it out. Politics should stop at the water's edge. That means partisan politics on foreign policy should stop at Capitol Hill. When the Democrats start, we must point it out, show it up, knock it down, and stop it.

For our cause working for peace is a noble one. It ought not to be "above party." It ought to be the cause of both parties. Let us be sure it is ours.

I have dwelt, perhaps overmuch, on the practical, political aspects of working for peace, the cost and the rewards. But there are higher rewards. "Blessed are the peacemakers." I conclude with these moving words from our old soldier, peacemaker President, in his second inaugural address on the price of peace:

"Before all else we seek, upon our common labor as a nation, the favor of Almighty God. And the hopes in our hearts fashion the deepest prayers of our people.

"May we pursue the right—without self-righteousness.

"May we know unity—without conformity.

"May we grow in strength—without pride of self.

"May we, in our dealings with all peoples of the earth, ever speak truth and service justice."

A Protest From the Steuben Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following telegram from the Steuben Society of America objecting to statements made by a representative of Poland:

Hon. HENRY S. REUSS,
Washington, D. C.:

The Steuben Society of America wishes to protest vigorously against statements made by the Polish Ambassador to the United States before a gathering of American citizens in New York, Sunday, April 21, 1957, as reported in the New York Times on page 2, column 3, Monday, April 22. This accredited representative of a foreign power by criticizing measures initiated and furthered by the United States for the defense of our own country and the protection of Western

Europe overstepped the prerogatives and violated the accepted code of conduct of a representative of a foreign government in our country. We urge that this matter be made the subject of inquiries by both Congress and the Executive. The Ambassador's attack on the North Atlantic Pact and Western Germany as a partner of that pact constitutes an unqualified endorsement of the Warsaw Pact which is the antithesis of the North Atlantic Pact. How can our Government without any guaranties whatsoever offer financial assistance to a satellite nation which will use the proposed loan to strengthen the weapons of communism against the Western World? Mr. Spasowski's statement makes it evident where the satellite government in Warsaw stands despite all its protestations.

STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
OTTO HEERLEIN, *Acting Chairman.*

For the Full Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MYRON V. GEORGE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial by Clyde M. Reed, Jr., in the Parsons (Kans.) Sun of Friday, April 19, 1957, entitled "For the Full Story":

A study of operating statements sheds light on deficits reported by the Katy Railroad for the months of January and February. The study was made by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat and reveals several interesting facts, including at least one change not heretofore reported in the method of keeping books on the railroad.

William N. Deramus III, the Katy's president, and Robert E. Thomas of New York, executive committee chairman, have been laying great stress on the terrific losses suffered by the railroad in the first 2 months of the year.

They have done this in explanations of why the Katy management resorted to desperate practices in personnel transfers and firings during past weeks. The January and February deficits were supposed to explain everything.

Perhaps the most significant of the Globe-Democrat's findings is that $233,000 was charged off in 1957 as maintenance expense before it was spent.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has no objection to such a practice, since it may be logically done to spread expenditures over the year that likely are to be concentrated in a few months' period of good weather.

But the Katy did not engage in such an accounting procedure in the similar period last year and until now there was no public knowledge that it had been done this year. Least of all there had been no enlightenment from Messrs. Deramus and Thomas on this point in their repeated pleading about deficits.

The effect of the change, as the Globe-Democrat explained, is to depress the road's showing for the months of January and February of this year since there was no similar entry a year ago.

Further, it develops that the Katy reported an increase of $864,346 in total maintenance costs over the first 2 months of 1956. It is an increase of 27 percent. Other costs, including operational and administrative, were the same as last year's or below.

The huge jump in maintenance costs occured in the face of heavy personnel layoffs in February that are a matter of public knowledge and should account in themselves for a sizable reduction in expenses, since wages are involved.

Added to this is the fact that even with the big boost in maintenance costs shown in the railroad's statements, the Katy would have about broken even in the first 2 months of 1957 if a $500,000 adjustment had not been made in revenue accounting late in 1956.

Deramus pointed out in a letter to employees a week ago today that the effect of the revenue exchange in the closing months of last year was to overstate earnings in November and December by $500,000.

By the same token, although he failed to say so, the railroad's income in January and February was understated by an equal amount since most of it normally would have been credited to revenue in those months.

The Globe-Democrat's stuy also brings to the surface the news that the Katy's actual dollar income in January and February is down less than 1 percent from a year ago, despite the $500,000 bookkeeping adjustment.

Freight traffic was off 9 percent through March, but revenue held up during the first 2 months in comparison with the corresponding period last year because of freight-rate increases.

It's a complicated situation, to say the least. But some things are clear.

There has been a change in bookkeeping on the railroad, but no hint of it from the two spokesmen who have been busily engaged in crying "wolf" at every opportunity.

The comparisons with last year, both in revenue and expenses, are of a nature which put the recent earnings performance in a poor light.

Total revenues in the first 2 months were not off nearly as sharply as one might be led to believe by the emphasis placed on the dark side of the picture. One percent is not much of a drop in any business.

The big and as yet unanswered question is, "Why?"

Certainly some stockholders on the railroad must be asking themselves that, and so are various segments of the public in the territory served by the railroad.

The Katy is a business whose operations are of vital concern to the public. If they were not, then the Nation has been pursuing the wrong policy for three-quarters of a century in insisting upon detailed regulation and reporting on railroad activities.

Isn't it time to bring out the full story whatever it may be?

Maj. Jean Pierre Chouteau Commemorative Stamps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill which would authorize issuance of a special series of 3-cent postage stamps during the calendar year 1958 in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of Maj. Jean Pierre Chouteau, who in 1796 established the first permanent white settlement in what is now Salina, Okla.

Frequently called "the father of Oklahoma," Jean Pierre Chouteau arrived at the site of Salina in the spring of 1796 in command of a party of French traders and trappers while George Washington was still President of the United States. Major Chouteau brought his group to what is now Oklahoma from the region west of St. Louis to explore the unknown country along the Grand, Verdigris, and Arkansas Rivers and to establish a settlement and trading post to open trade with the Indians in the area.

A man of refinement and culture, Major Chouteau is reputed to have read Greek and Latin classics in the original, and to have brought many of the treasures of civilization to the area. Lawns were planted in rare shrubs, trees, and flowers; and paradise trees brought direct from France remain there today.

From Salina, business, industry, and enterprise began and spread. Fur trading became a big business, and salt manufacture became important to the region. Nearby, shipyards were built for the construction of keel boats of considerable size.

Subsequently, trading posts extended across the State, and the impact of Maj. Jean Pierre Chouteau upon the area was tremendous and unforgettable. His contributions to the history and civilization of Oklahoma are recognized by the statewide observance of October 10, his birth-date anniversary, as Oklahoma Historical Day both by virtue of a joint resolution of the Oklahoma Legislature and by proclamation by the Governor of Oklahoma.

It would be most fitting and appropriate for the Postmaster General, in line with the bill I have introduced, to prepare for issuance, a commemorative stamp in honor of Major Chouteau, and to offer such stamps for sale to the public first at Salina, Okla., where Major Chouteau settled, and which the Governor of Oklahoma has proclaimed to be the Pioneer Capitol of Oklahoma for the day.

Junk Mail Also a Giveaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SID SIMPSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. SIMPSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Macomb (Ill.) Daily Journal of April 26, 1957:

JUNK MAIL ALSO A GIVEAWAY

On Wednesday of this week we received five identical pieces of mail from a New York publishing house. Offering a book, The Great Giveaway, and a subscription to an information service, the five pieces were mailed under a bulk rate.

Upon inquiry, the Macomb post office supplied the information that it cost the publishing house only 1½ cents for each piece of mail.

It costs 3 cents to send a sealed letter from Macomb to Colchester, 2 cents to send a postcard.

Yet a piece of junk mail can be sent from New York for 1½ cents. So cheap is this rate the sender can afford to lay down a barrage, 5 identical pieces of junk mail to 1 person in 1 day. This, we suggest, is another great giveaway, a giveaway of postal funds.

Aside from the difference in cost, there is the matter of service to the people. Service to the people should be considered because the Post Office Department belongs to the people. Service to the people involves what the people want, what is of the most value to them.

As for the five identical pieces of junk mail, we could have gotten along nicely without them. The book, The Great Giveaway, which deals with foreign aid, may be a volume of much merit, but we're not going to buy because we're already a little foundered on pro-and-con arguments about foreign aid. In other words, this junk mail was of no interest to us and of no benefit to either us or the sender.

On the other hand, the letter that is sent from Macomb to Colchester at a cost of 3 cents can be assumed to be of interest, and in many cases benefit, to both the sender and recipient. At least, such letters are not shoveled into post offices by the ton. They are a means of communication between individuals. They are important to the individuals, whereas junk mail is not.

There has been much talk in Washington of postal deficits. Saturday service was curtailed recently when the Postmaster General and Congress got into a hassle over funds. Proposals to raise postal rates are pending.

It might do some good to write your Congressman and Senators, urging that their first move be that of ending the waste of junk mail.

Hold everything. We just received another copy of the mailing on The Great Giveaway. That makes six.

Improvement of the Red River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE S. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

SPEECH BY CONGRESSMAN GEORGE S. LONG AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE RED RIVER VALLEY ASSOCIATION, SHREVEPORT, LA., APRIL 22, 1957, ON IMPROVEMENT OF THE RED RIVER

Mr. Chairman, I am highly honored and indeed very happy to have been invited to this splendid organizational meeting of the Red River Valley Association. The association has done outstanding work in the field of flood control, soil conservation, and in general promoting beneficial projects for the Red River area. It is a privilege to number among my friends the men who head up this fine organization. Your president, Mr. Fairbanks, is one of my fellow townsmen and a gentlemen whom I hold in the highest regard. And may I say here that Mr. Roy Mathius is one of the most energetic and capable men in this field, and I hold him in the highest regard. All of these gentlemen are earnest and sincere and accomplish much good for the people of our great State.

While it is true that I have not always agreed with all of their philosophies and plans, I have endeavored to disagree without being disagreeable. It has often been said that when two men in business always agree, one of them is unnecessary.

I am offering a plan which may be considered as a supplement or an alternative to the plan which is under consideration, that is, the Overton Red River Canal. I will go into this matter in detail at a later time in my discussion.

Earlier this year I introduced a bill in the Congress of the United States, known as H. R. 3844, which has for its purpose to provide a waterway accessible to several States from Oklahoma to the Gulf of Mexico. My proposal would actually begin at Denison, Tex., and work southward deepening and widening the Red River to the Atchafalaya River and thence to the Gulf of Mexico. The waterway would be more than just a deepened channel or a canal. It would encompass features of both with the end result that the people throughout the area involved would enjoy the benefits of a fine inland water system. In my plan which would begin improvement of the river at Denison, Tex., I include the establishment of a channel through Caddo Lake to Jefferson, Tex. The Jefferson, Tex., area contains a vast and virtually untapped iron ore bed which could be worked economically if water transportation were available. The utilization of the waterway for this purpose would add a vast amount of tonnage to the year traffic. My plan would encompass parts of Red River which readily lend themselves to improvement and which are feasible as an inland water system and also encompasses canals around those portions of the river which do not lend themselves to construction improvement. The river would be straightened in places and entirely bypassed in other spots.

Let me say, here, that the plan I have in mind would effectively control the waterflow on the Red River through a system of locks and dams. These locks and dams would maintain the water level throughout the year at a depth which would enable water traffic to move. During the times of floodwaters, the locks and dams could be opened to permit the floodwater to pass on through. This plan, in addition to providing a fine inland waterway system would have interesting possibilities in the field of irrigation.

I know there are some who will immediately take the position that this sort of project is not practical. There are the criers who want to cry before they know what can be done. I seriously doubt that there has ever been a large and far-reaching project without its full share of skeptics. I have the greatest respect for General Holle and his group of Army engineers. I certainly realize that they are doing a good job in their field, but at the same time, I do not propose to let the Army engineers do my thinking for me. They have been wrong in the past, and they will be wrong again in the future. The Army engineers say there is no precedence for a project of the type I propose. It is not within my scheme of operation to follow established precedence. I think it is much better to make precedence. I have known many things in my lifetime that were labeled "impossible" that are now being used for the benefit of mankind. The things that we accept as commonplace and without which our lives would not be as easy, were, for the most part, considered impossible, impracticable, unworkable, and the idea of some crackpot. I need only to mention the automobile, the airplane, the telephone, radio, television, etc.

In my boyhood it was an established fact in the minds of many that the Ohio River could not be made navigable the year around, but I personally have lived long enough to see it done.

When I was a member of the Oklahoma State Legislature some 30 years ago, we tried to secure authorization to make the Arkansas River navigable. The report from the engineers, at that time, was that this plan was impossible. Today, my friends, improvement of the Arkansas River, together with other rivers, has been authorized and part of the work toward making these streams navigable is underway or in the preparatory stage. In a few years the Arkansas River will be navigable and will be used in commerce. I do not hesitate to say to you, my friends here today, that the time is coming and will come soon when the Red River will be navigable from Denison, Tex., to the Gulf of Mexico.

When my brother, Huey Long, was Governor of this great State, he proposed to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River at New Orleans. The Army engineers told him that this positively was an impossibility and the time would never come when such a structure could be built. But he was not discouraged by the adverse report and went to work with other engineers who told him after a preliminary survey that it could be done. Today, that wonderful bridge across the Mississippi is there to facilitate the travel of hundreds of thousands. Further, as a result of the discovery of what could be done, there is today more than just the one bridge across the Mississippi.

In my opinion, if the Army engineers would be more inclined to take a second look and not steadfastly adhere to a single plan, we would all benefit by a more enlightened approach to the matter before us. I think we are in agreement that we want a workable and fully practical waterway system without too much of a penalty being imposed upon a small segment of our population. The Overton Canal, as it is proposed, is merely a barge canal. The Red River improvement which I propose would be good for small craft and barges and make available a plentiful supply of water that is much needed and which would provide a fine inducement to industry which might wish to come to our State.

There is still another aspect to the waterway proposition. In the Overton Canal plan, it is proposed that local interests pay a part of the construction and all of the main payments of this canal. To me, that is not fair, as we are saddling a few small parishes in our State with a tremendous burden in the construction of a waterway which is intended to help all the people of the States of Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, and even Oklahoma. Actually the parishes through which the canal would pass would not benefit as much as the terminals of the canal. I know that it is claimed that the local interest share will not run too high, not over $20 million, but, here again, I disagree. I believe you will be interested to know that I have talked in private with engineers who are employed by the Government, and they have told me almost exactly what I am telling you about my plan. Many fine engineers in this country believe that by the system I have outlined to you today, through a system of canals, and straightening and widening and deepening the river, that we will have a permanent waterway with an abundance of water.

Now, let me discuss the Overton Canal briefly. In the building of the Overton Canal there will not be much water and what water there is must be pumped out of the Red River into the canal in order to provide a sufficient depth to float barges. Now there is where I differ with some of my good friends. Regardless of what our friends in the Army engineers may say, all the reasons in the world would not make this feasible. Should we go ahead with the Overton Canal, in my opinion, we would be constructing a monstrosity which would go down in history as one of the greatest engineering mistakes in our area. I do not claim to be an engineer, but as you know, commonsense can and should be used in everything.

In my district there are three parishes through which this canal would pass. The land there is rich and to dig a canal with its bank areas and rights of way a lot of good land would be destroyed. To dig a canal through a parish would cause many landowners to find their farms divided and this, of course, creates a consierable problem. These same people are going to have to pay taxes to pay for their own farms as well as for the canal. As I stated earlier, these people are not the ones who are going to benefit by such a canal if it is built. If we are going to construct a canal or a deep waterway, I propose that we let the Federal Government build it from start to finish and thereby eliminate local charges. Then you would have no trouble after the determinations were made as to how and where the canal is to be built. There is no complete survey or determination of all the facts on the Red River. It is merely said that it will reach from the mouth to Shreveport. If the canal is intended to go to Jefferson, Tex., then we should have a survey to make determinations for all of the river from Denison, Tex., to the Gulf of Mexico and the river through Caddo Lake to Jefferson, Tex.

I believe that all of the Congressmen from the States of Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas would go along with this line of thinking. I have talked this matter over with my friend, WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas, and we are in agreement that local interests should not be called upon to pay for this waterway; that it should be paid for by the United States Government because it will serve the interest of all the country and not just a few small parishes in Louisiana.

It is time that we stop and look and listen. We all believe that a waterway is needed. I have strongly advocated a deep waterway from Alexandria to the Gulf of Mexico ever since I first made the race for a seat in Congress. I was ridiculed by many who said that this was impossible. I thought we might go down the Red River into the Atchafalya River, thence into the Gulf of Mexico, or we might travel into the Calcasieu River and enter the deep waterway at Lake Charles. However, I believe that deepening the Red River and traveling from there into the Gulf of Mexico is much more desirable and feasible. This would furnish our area with a fine water outlet to the entire world.

Incidentally, it is only a short distance from the waterway to Oklahoma, and by constructing some 35 miles of canal the large limestone- and cement-producing areas of Oklahoma would provide a great boost in tonnage.

If we proceed with deepening the Red River at places, it will be desirable to make lakes such as the one that is on the Sulpha River just south of Texarkana. Lakes of this type serve as reservoirs during floodtime and an invaluable asset to a water system of this type. Further, when the lakes are full, water can be released during drought periods to maintain a proper water level and also provide possible irrigation sources. In this manner the water in the Red River could be controlled and there would be no such thing as another disastrous flood. Water will be there to irrigate the land, and the great valley of ours from Denison, Tex., to the Gulf of Mexico would become a veritable paradise, a Garden of Eden without equal anywhere. To improve our area in this manner would attract residents, and the value of land up and down the river would double and triple in value. Business would increase, industry would move in, and our lot would be vastly improved.

So, my friends, I urge you to get your great organization to go into this matter in a serious way so as to arrive at the best and most feasible way for the United States Government to build a deep waterway through this great land of ours.

In time of war, this being an area far inland, industry could be developed for the manufacture of various war materials with a ready outlet to the sea. We would have power, we would have labor, we would have raw materials, and we should have transportation. Further, a deep-water system this far inland would provide storage areas for our ships during times of repair.

To me, just to build a canal from the mouth of the Red River to Shreveport would be much less than half a loaf and would not serve the purpose for which we need a deep waterway. Let's be fair and honest and realistic. Local interests would never receive enough benefit from it to pay even a small portion of the taxes. You would ask seven small parishes to build a waterway for the benefit of big businesses such as Lone Star Steel. Also, in my opinion, it would serve as a place for our Government to manufacture war material for our national defense. Large paper mills would be able to come into the area, as they could bring their timber to the mills and their products to the rest of the world. I do not feel that it is fair to burden these seven small parishes to the tune of some $20 million, because, my friends, that is a large sum in itself. The $20-million figure is not a realistic one, because I have gone into this matter completely and I estimate, when you take into consideration the bridges, pipelines, and other items, in addition to the upkeep of the canal, the cost will exceed $50 million. I have had the pleasure of discussing these things with your president and executive vice president. I do not wish to be put in the position of opposing a waterway, but sincerely and earnestly urge you to make a change so that the expenses will be taken off the parishes of this State.

Gentlemen, it has been a privilege and a pleasure to meet with you today. I appreciate this opportunity to think out loud.

Thank you and goodby.

Congress Should Not Accept the Philosophy of Atomic Electric Power at Any Cost When It Means Further Displacement of Our Adequate Coal Supply

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, one of the most lucid and rational papers delivered at the recent Nuclear Congress in Philadelphia was that presented by Mr. Jack K. Busby, executive vice president of the Pennsylvania Power & Light Co., Allentown, Pa. Mr. Busby participated in a panel discussion devoted to the subject, The Latest Prospects for Economic Nuclear Power.

It first reviews briefly pertinent material developed by other speakers at the Nuclear Congress. It refers to testimony of Marling J. Ankeny, director of the Bureau of Mines; Frank Weaver, Federal Power Commission; Karl Mayer, consultant, Stanford Research Institute; W. Kenneth Davis, director, Division of Reactor Development, Atomic Energy Commission; and James H. Harlow, chief mechanical engineer, Philadelphia Electric Co.

The combined testimony of the distinguished gentlemen which Mr. Busby cites is worthy of appraisal for everyone concerned with the commercial development of the atom. When the complete minutes of the meetings are on printed form, I shall ask that they be made a part of the reference file of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee.

Mr. Speaker, from time to time I have taken the floor of the House in defense of the Atomic Energy Commission's opposition to a so-called crash program. Let me point out that AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss, at a press conference on April 1, explained that he opposed the Gore-Holifield bill last year because, among other reasons, it would have slowed down other developmental work on nuclear fission. He added:

"I think the same reasoning prevails [this year] and I would hope that the same people who opposed it before in the Congress would oppose it this time and perhaps with some recruits."

Mr. Speaker, I too hope that we shall have recruits for the AEC program and in opposition to expensive hit-or-miss projects. I commend the Busby statement to the attention of any Member who may be uncertain as to America's proper pursuit of the atom's potential.

Mr. Busby and Mr. Ankeny have lent emphasis to a statement which I made last month in regard to the abundance of coal reserves in the United States. To invest millions of dollars in an atomic power system merely for the satisfaction of producing electricity from this source of energy would be a betrayal of the trust invested in us by the people who would be forced to bear the cost of such a project—the general public. In addition, such an undertaking would be in violation of the inherent rights of those families who depend upon a going coal industry and a progressive railroad industry for a livelihood.

Now that it has been established without qualification that there is sufficient mineable coal to satisfy the growing demands of the electric utilities industry for centuries to come, what reason would Congress have for the summary establishment of a more expensive competitive industry? For the information of Members of Congress not close to the coal industry picture, I should like to point out that, while there was a modest increase in bituminous coal production in 1956 over the previous year, unemployment in mining communities is still a most serious problem.

As for anthracite, the people of our colliery areas in northeastern Pennsylvania rightfully look upon Government-subsidized competitive fuels as an unfair body blow, for it threatens them with further deprivation and discouragement.

I wonder how many Members of Congress noticed this headline in the Journal of Commerce for March 28: "Pennsy to lay off 1,600 maintenance men." Let me say that 600 of this number were employees at car shops in Altoona, my home town. Those unfortunate workers could not very well be expected to accept the philosophy of "atomic electric power at any cost," for further displace-

ment of coal would only mean greater decline in rail traffic and less need for maintenance men, repair workers, and operating crews.

As explained in Mr. Busby's statement, North America—particularly the United States—is the most unattractive market in the world for high-cost nuclear power and Europe is perhaps the best market for such power. Mr. Busby's sagacious appraisal of the contrasting conditions between America and Europe are exceedingly relevant. "Rather than borrowing difficulties, it would seem wise to stand firmly on the economic advantage we do have," he explains. "We should not sacrifice these to the lure of engaging in a kilowatt race where fossil fuels are scarce and power is comparatively high cost and in short supply."

When this factor is taken into consideration, the impracticability of a crash program becomes all the more evident.

Mr. Speaker, no one could be more enthusiastic than I about the role of the atom in a peacetime economy. As a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I am in the fortunate position of being close to the Atomic Energy Commission. I have an opportunity to talk with our leading scientists and engineers. I am constantly impressed at the progress that has taken place since our ingenious technicians first began to look into the atom to find out what it might yield for promoting the general welfare.

Unfortunately, so much glamour has attached itself to the subject that Congress, like the general public, may be inclined to automatic approval of entirely too many projects evolving around the peacetime atom, regardless of their practicability. The crash program belongs in this category. The idea of wholesale generation of electric power from fissionable material is of course an attractive proposition until, that is, the cost factor is taken into consideration. Commercial generation of atomic power is not going to be economically useful for many years to come; in support of this conclusion, I now invite you to acquaint yourselves with the opinion of an outstanding power compahy executive, Mr. Jack K. Busby. His statement follows:

Mr. Chairman, at the outset, permit me to disavow the kind of broad knowledge and technical familiarity with matters atomic which might be implied by my presence here on this panel in company with men whose attainments in the field are so well known.

My experience with atomic energy is indeed quite limited and stems entirely from a general acquaintance with the work of my company in association with Westinghouse in research and development on the homogeneous type of reactor. The objective of this research program is to establish the feasibility of constructing a 150,000-kilowatt nuclear powerplant on the Pennsylvania Power & Light Co. system.

Thus, I approach this question of a desirable nuclear program here in the United States primarily from the point of view of a utility executive—but, I should add, as a spokesman for no one other than myself.

The presentations you heard this morning highlight certain facts:

1. As to coal, Mr. Ankeny has made it clear that we have ample supplies of economically minable and transportable coal adequate to more than take care of power generation needs and other coal needs through the period here in question.

2. As to hydro, Mr. Weaver has reported, in effect, that the maximum amount which could be developed would have primary usefulness in carrying peak loads and would not be sufficient in amount to affect the overall capacity situation. Thus, the hydro potential is seen to be complementary to the base load power supply and not directly competitive with either conventional steam or nuclear powerplants for the future.

3. As regards markets, Mr. Mayer neatly capsuled the matter in his statement that for the decade 1960–70, North America—particularly the United States—is the most unattractive market in the world for high-cost nuclear power—and that Europe is the best market for such power.

4. As regards nuclear-power costs, Mr. Davis' projections tie in very closely with Mr. Mayer's analysis. Mr. Davis' figures indicate that in 1970 nuclear power in the United States will begin to be low enough to be competitive in cost with conventional power.

5. As regards conventional-power costs, Mr. Harlow's paper on the characteristics to be expected of a conventional plant as of 1980 suggest a cost of about 6.1 mills per kilowatt-hour assuming 36 cents per thousand British thermal units for coal and today's levels of construction costs. Assuming 2 percent per year inflation between now and 1980, the result should be a substantially higher cost per kilowatt-hour. This again tends to confirm Mr. Davis' projections that as of 1980 nuclear power should be fully competitive.

The facts in the papers presented this morning indicate to me the reasonableness of the following general conclusions on this subject of national policy for atomic-power development.

First of all, that there is no need for a crash program of atomic-power development in the years immediately ahead in order to make up for a shortage of fossil fuels. Mr. Ankeny has made it entirely clear that we have adequate supplies of economically minable and transportable coal sufficient to cover our power generation and other needs.

Secondly, there is no need for a crash program of atomic-power development in the years directly ahead as a basis for counteracting high prices of fossil fuels. Mr. Mayer has in his turn made it entirely clear that power costs in the United States, based on fossil fuels, are lower than in other industrialized regions elsewhere in the world.

Thirdly, there is no need for a crash program because of a power shortage since no such shortage exists or is threatened here in this country. This is conceded by everyone.

These three factors of shortage of fuel, high cost of fuel, and shortage of power are the reasons for the crash programs for atomic-power development abroad. We are not confronted with these serious problems. Rather than borrowing difficulties, it would seem wise to stand firmly on the economic advantages we do have. We should not sacrifice these to the lure of engaging in a kilowatt race with nations abroad where fossil fuels are scarce, and power is comparatively high cost and in short supply. If we should do so, we would be placing a substantial extra burden on the Nation's economy at a time when we can ill afford it.

On the other hand, the fact that we should not have a crash program for atomic-power development at this time certainly does not mean that we should sit back and do nothing. Clearly there is a need for research and development as against the time in the future when we will be requiring atomic-power plants as sources of economic power.

How should such research and development proceed? It is reasonable that this be handled in two phases:

(1) Experimentation which would culminate in the construction of prototypes of reactors. This field of experimentation and prototype construction should certainly be open to industry and industry should be encouraged through research assistance which the Atomic Energy Commission is authorized to grant under the Atomic Energy Act. Also, at the same time, it would be expected that AEC would carry forward an experimentation program—nonduplicative of industry projects—to meet its responsibilities under the act to insure that all promising peaceful applications of atomic energy are being looked into and developed.

(2) For the next phase in research and development, there should be construction of full-scale atomic powerplants when the basic experimentation and prototype development show that such construction on the large scale is justified. Again, this is something that should be done by industry, with appropriate assistance by AEC as necessary and appropriate under the particular circumstances.

The difficulty that exists—and one which has led to considerable political controversy—is the making of a fair determination as to when a given reactor type should be further developed on a full-scale basis.

On the one hand, the Government should not inject itself into the situation by Government building of powerplants which are technologically premature, or which would be built by industry if industry were given the chance. Such action would be Government intervention in the business of power supply on the basis of a partisan decision to extend nontaxpaying Government power at the expense of the taxpaying utilities and other taxpayers who have to foot the bill.

On the other hand, a failure of industry to test out worthwhile reactor concepts on a full-scale basis could prejudice an orderly development and progress toward commercial and economic atomic power.

Much of the sound and fury about the Gore bill and reactor acceleration would be eliminated if we can find a fair and acceptable way to make these necessary determinations on the timing for full-scale development.

One proposal that has been made is that a national evaluation group of highly qualified persons should be formed. This group could make periodic reviews of the situation and render public reports to the Congress and the executive branch. And such reports, being prepared out of political context, might well serve to mark out an orderly process of development which reasonable people could accept.

Finally, I suggest that a crash program is not automatically justified by reference to potential foreign markets. The foreign situation—particularly the 15 million kilowatts of nuclear capacity to be in service by 1967 as spoken for by Euratom—should be scrutinized with caution. Europe has never provided much of a market for power-generation equipment. Further, the dollar shortage situation has to be taken into account as do the forces of national pride in the countries abroad. It could easily be a serious mistake for this country to disrupt a sound domestic program for the development of atomic power by adopting a crash approach when the foreign markets may prove to be nonexistent or existent only in minor degree.

All of these considerations, coupled with our favorable national situation as regards fuel and power, emphasize the wisdom of pursuing in orderly fashion an aggressive and orderly program of research and development. And as economic circumstances justify it, nuclear power will take its proper place in the field of power supply. As this evolutionary process occurs, industry should progressively stand more on its own feet and Government assistance be correspondingly curtailed.

A Toast to Oklahoma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by Mr. Roy P. Stewart for the Daily Oklahoma magazine of April 21, 1957, and entitled: "A Toast to Oklahoma." As my native Oklahoma is now celebrating the 50th anniversary of its admission as 46th State of the Union, this fine article by an outstanding feature writer is most timely and captures beautifully the infinite variety of Oklahoma with its unique history and its ever-colorful people. I commend this article to your attention.

The article follows:

A TOAST TO OKLAHOMA

(By Roy P. Stewart)

Ladies and gentlemen, on this anniversary eve of the greatest land rush in history, thundering overture to the appearance of Oklahoma on the national stage, I give you the 46th State: a land matured and yet forever young, with a culture that spanned in 68 years the ethnological gap from stone age to steam heat, from tepees to towers, from arrows to atoms.

A State whose human currents are as diverse as its geological formations: One whose eager, awkward footsteps, stumbling over obstacles both human and animate, have echoed over the Nation and the world.

I present to you a State that began life with a name borrowed from a transplanted Choctaw tribe, with its white people loaned by 45 States and some foreign countries, its red people taken from lands between swamps of the Everglades and the verdant valley of the Mohawk.

For the people, events, places, and incidents to follow—each a part of Oklahoma for good or ill—I ask your salute:

Footweary Spanish and French explorers who first crushed this premeval grass—Coronado, Du Rivage, Du Tesne, Du Bourgmont, La Harpe, and their dreams. And with them the men whose gleaming shares have brought from Oklahoma loam more treasures than those adventurers' visions held—men who now can go into the field and plow again above the grave where last year's hopes lie buried by drought—men undefeated and unafraid.

Nathan Boone, son of Daniel, who led troops of the First Dragoons across the State; Washington Irving, traveling our land to put his impressions into print; Henry M. Stanley, visiting our Indians before going to Africa seeking Dr. Livingston; and the two Red River wars; Col. R. A. Sneed, last prototype of the bearded Confederate officer and gentleman; the Durant girls who won a national basketball championship, and El Reno boys who did the same feat.

Sam Houston, living in the teepee of Oo-loo-te-ka, chief of the Cherokees; Marquis James, writing The Raven, the story of Houston, because of youthful admiration of Sam's son, Temple, one of the most dramatic trial lawyers to stalk into a northern Oklahoma courtroom; Jefferson Davis, serving at Fort Gibson long before he led the lost cause of the Confederacy; Robert E. Lee, serving here under Albert Sidney Johnson, before he faced Grant at Appomattox with a heart heavier than a sword. And Ben Locke and his Choctaw company in War I, whose language on communications wire drove the Germans crazy, trying to decipher it as a code.

An Irish lad named Murphy, mess-wagon driver for Col. Phil Sheridan, pounding the location stake for Fort Sill; Payne, author of Home, Sweet Home, putting feeling into his song as he sat in the home of John Ross in the Cherokee nation; Tessie Mobley, the Ardmore Chickasaw, singing arias at La Scala in Milan, where Giuseppe Bentonelli sang before he stepped into a Metropolitan role on 2 hours' notice—as Joseph Benton.

Lone Wolf, Satank, Satanta and Big Tree, the Kiowas; Clermont the Osage; Quannah Parker, the Comanche, and Geronimo, the Apache, proud leaders of their vanquished and vanishing people. Joseph Oklahombie making the most outstanding individual record in War I without the publicity of Sergeant York; Otis Leader, another Oklahoma Indian, being selected by Pershing to model for a French statue depicting the most representative American doughboy; John Smith, Jack Treadwell, Ernest Childers, Jack Montgomery, among Medal of Honor winners of War II.

Miles, Leavenworth, McClellar, and Arbuckle stationed here with troops; Custer, who raised his own rank and made it stick after the massacre of the Washita when Black Kettle and his Cheyennes were killed, along with women, children, and the aged in a snowbanked village. And Little Raven, buried with the ribbon of the Medal of Honor around his neck, then reburied to make way for Canton Reservoir. Jim Thorpe, the Sac and Fox, returning to the King of Sweden the Olympic decathlon medal because he once played professional baseball under his own name.

The Negro slave in the Choctaw Nation who wrote the beautiful Swing Low Sweet Chariot from the depths of a melancholy, religious heart; Sequoyah, inventor of the Cherokee syllabary, the only man ever granted a literary pension by the United States Government; Douglass H. Johnston; governor of the Chickasaws, so trusted that he could be removed from office only by death or an Executive order of the Nation's President. And Frank Phillips, the Iowa barber who founded a billion-dollar oil empire; the discovery well of the Healdton field which opened a vast boom, drilled a mile away from the intended location because rig timbers, bull wheel, and cable tools were off-loaded from wagons there so a creek could be forded and it was too much trouble to load them again.

The Cherokee Advocate, first newspaper published in Oklahoma, and Poor Sarah, by Elias Boudinot, the learned Cherokee, first book published here. John Joseph Matthews, who told in Wah-kon Tah steps taken by his Osage people along the white man's road. Grant Foreman and Thoburn the historians; Elgin Groseclose, Paul B. Sears, Stanley Vestal, Don Blanding, Dora Aydelotte, George Milburn, Todd Downing, Burton Rascoe, and Savoie Lottinville, lifting Oklahoma letters into prominence. Lynn Riggs, with three plays on Broadway at the same time and whose Green Grow the Lilacs will live long as Oklahoma!

Milton Reynolds, covering Indian treaties for the New York Tribune, remaining here to found the Edmond Sun.

The Easter pageant at Holy City; Robber's Roost, the Ardmore explosion, Tulsa race riots, Urschel kidnaping, and Great Salt Plains. Jesse Chisholm cutting a trail and Cessna building his first airplane in an Enid garage. And shortlived highway commissions, cement sale scandals, voting hassles, vanishing railroads, the book and movie Cimarron, based on the life of Mrs. Thompson Ferguson; the Winnie Mae around the world and Art Goebel's first flight from Hawaii.

The Ewe Lamb rebellion, Osage reign of terror, the State of Sequoyah and Territory of Cimarron. Johnson's and Walton's impeachment as governors; the Big Pasture of our southwestern counties which Aaron Burr hoped to make a western empire. The Braniffs expanding a three-passenger plane into an international airline; W. B. Anthony, carrying the great seal of the State from Guthrie to Oklahoma City, in the dead of night, without waiting for formal notice on changing the capital.

Stand Watie, the Cherokee, wearing epaulets of a Confederate general and Pat Hurley, from the Pittsburg County coal mines, chosen for Secretary of War, Apiatan, the intelligent Kiowa, bringing back word that quieted plains tribes and helped break up the ghost-dance excitement. Houston B. Teehee of Tahlequah signing currency as Treasurer of the United States; Dennis Flynn, introducing in Congress a bill to admit Oklahoma and Indiana territories as a single State.

The 101 ranch as an inland empire of 101,000 acres and the 101 ranch as a farm security project; the Miller brothers, the Mulhalls and Charley, the last of that clan; Pawnee Bill touring the Nation; Charley Tompkins twirling a rope in an Italian arena; Will Rogers, making fun of the world's imagined ills; Wiley Post, who flew around the world alone, taking his first lessons from barnstormer Burrell Tibbs. Oklahoma rodeo hands, then and now, making more money from Madison Square Garden to Cheyenne than men of any other State.

Formal dances of our collegiate Greek orders and white tie affairs with former wildcatters in uncomfortable clothing; Percy L. Gassaway thumping his boots in the Halls of Congress. The convention dominated by delegates from Indian territory which adopted the longest constitution of any State under the whip of William H. Murray: Campbell Russell, the reformer, and Gooch, first kidnaper hanged under the Lindbergh law. Longhorn trail herds and a $100 million terminal market now; Pretty Boy Floyd and the statue of the Pioneer Woman; Bud Ballew sheathing a smoking gun to drink coffee in the California Cafe at Ardmore, where Dow Brazil lay dead on the floor. The McFarlin Memorial Church at Norman, Boston Avenue Methodist Church at Tulsa, the Price Tower at Bartlesville, denoting eras in architecture.

Hooley Bell, the Cherokee lobbyist in Washington, who could quote poetry in three languages; the Santa Fe and Rock Island railroads lending farmers 25,000 bushels of seed wheat to get them started; old Greer County coming back to Oklahoma from Texas and a slice of Roger Mills taken away. The Receiver's field south of Granfield, where a fight over oil led the Supreme Court to establish our southern boundary on the far bank of Red River; triple Snyder tornadoes, the Woodward and Leedey holocausts; Crazy Snake, the rebel, the first normal school at Alva and boats rowed down the main street of Pauls Valley.

The National Guard and the Thunderbird legend and Lt. Gen. Raymond S. McLain, the Nation's outstanding citizen soldier—and only guardsman ever to reach such high permanent rank in the United States Army. The first Oklahoma electors throwing away their votes on Bryan; a dozen men insured for $1 million each and community camps. Plowing under pigs and Government buying of drought cattle and Zato Heir, the sleepy-eyed Hereford, siring more than $1 million worth of bull calves. Henry G. Bennett, builder of a great school, first administrator of point 4, who kept a rendezvous with death on an Iranian hillside.

Buck Garrett, striding through the Carter County oilfields with a gun bumping his hip and Ewing London, his reform successor, dodging bullets fired through his office door. Miss Alice Robertson, daughter of a governor, selling Indian relics to pay taxes; Arch Dixon making the State's first glider flight; Tonkawa and Three Sands and the Seminole boom; Bill Tilghman dying with his boots on at

a Cromwell dance hall; Rhodes scholars and martial law; Gene Autry pounding a telegraph key; the Wild Mary Sudik and Andy Payne, flatfooting across desert and plain to win the bunion derby.

Tom Mix leading a cowboy band; a gatekeeper at a Ponca City refinery winning $4,500 on a terrapin derby and Black Gold, winner of the Kentucky derby. Roy Harris, whose the Third Symphony Toscanini praised after he conducted it; the senate oligarchy and the young Turks of the Marland administration; toll bridges on the Canadians and the Red; Jake Hamon walking two blocks with a bullet in his stomach from the gun of a jealous woman; the Wilburton mine disaster and Appollo Soucek, seeking the path of the sun god for whom he was named, to set a new altitude record for airplanes; Clarence Tinker, the Osage warrior, vanishing in aerial combat over the central Pacific.

Tom Slick with mud on his only pair of boots and sale of the Slick holdings for $35 millions. Grubstakes for a thousand leases; Lew Wentz, Halliburton, Hinderliter and Lloyd Noble; Nelson Johnson appointed minister to China and congressman Manuel Herrick, serving 6 months in Baltimore for violation of the prohibition amendemnt. Virginia Highland, one of the best five-gaited horses ever to win a stake event; Lon Chaney, Sr., working in a Grand Avenue furniture store; the Brizzell Bible collection and Custer County farmers standing off mortgage foreclosures with a rabbit gun. Alice Brown Davis, only woman ever to be Governor of an Indian nation, a gentlewoman who made a fortune and gave it all away, and the big bucks who cried openly and unashamed at her funeral.

The jakeleg epidemic, a million free textbooks and a 2,000-year-old mummy found near Kenton. C. C. Julian dying by his own hand in Shanghai after fleecing gullible speculators here; Norma Smallwood becoming Miss America; Walter Emery winning the national intercollegiate golfing championship; the Big Red football team and Port Robertson's wrestlers, taking over in the national arena the place Ed Gallagher's A. and M. lads once held. Hugh Johnson, "Old Iron Pants," the Okmulgee fire-eater, running NRA; legalization of beer that is not intoxicating by statute; the drink wet-vote dry jiggers.

Jackson Barnett, the eccentric Creek, directing traffic on Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles while people fought over his Oklahoma oil money; Josh Lee, of Norman, the teacher turned politician, and Josh Lee, of Vinita, the farmer, who gave Joe Scott goose pimples when he ran for head of the board of agriculture. Lindbergh stranded near Woodward; Charley Colcord building the city's first "skyscraper" and helping erect one of its last; the Babbs Switch fire, the largest junior livestock show in America; Mrs. George Waters running the Granite reformatory and the Indians winning the Dixie championship.

Van Heflin, the Walters boy, starring on stage and screen; Erik Rhodes, Rochelle Hudson, Darla Jean Hood, Kay Francis, and Glenda Farrell in the movies; Emily Stevenson and Larry Cotton singing with dance bands over the Nation's airways and the Teagarden brothers with their own dance bands. Sherman Billingsley leaving the speakeasy business to go respectable with one of New York's finest supper clubs; the Keys quadruplets, Babe Hunt the boxer, and John Levi, one of the greatest football players of them all, as Pop Warner said.

Pepper Martin, the Dean brothers, the Warners, Carl Hubbell, Sam Allen, Allie Reynolds, Mickey Mantle, and Art Keller putting the Oklahoma touch to big-time baseball; Cicero Murray and the "hot oil" army; Dillard with 1 street, 3 miles long, with never a stone or brick in its length; 6 horse hitches of teamsters' wagons crawling 30 miles like 1 twisting worm. Ragtown, which only the Post Office Department knows as Wirt. And Pete Traxler, Al Jennings turned reformer, Belle Starr, the Daltons and Doolins; the frontiers of science marking a trail toward a new and brighter land.

All these I give you, each in its separate place, for in no other time or in no other setting have a people so earnestly sought their destiny with such complex aims. As the sands move slowly down the Cimarron, so have the sands in Oklahoma's life glass poured. We have been impulsive and often crude; gentle and harsh; considerate and unyielding. None can say we have not been picturesque.

Power for the Northwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the April 21, 1957, edition of the Washington Post and Times Herald carried an editorial which I believe will be of interest to my colleagues in the House.

The editorial draws attention to an aspect of the Hells Canyon fight which unfortunately has been frequently overlooked in the extended discussions that have occurred concerning this important issue. Advocates of the high dam at Hells Canyon, however, have never lost sight of the real issue involved in this long battle—maximum development of our natural resource heritage.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include this editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

POWER FOR THE NORTHWEST

Congress has a last chance during this session to provide for maximum development of the magnificent electric power potential at Hells Canyon. This dam site in western Idaho is said to be the finest on the North American continent. Now that the Supreme Court has declined to review an appellate court decision upholding the license granted the Idaho Power Co. to build three relatively small dams on the Snake River, only action by Congress can assure full use of the Hells Canyon site.

Unhappily the situation has been beclouded by the controversy between proponents of private and public power, and by a multiplicity of plans for the development of the Snake River. There is the plan for construction of low-level dams by the Idaho Power Co. as finally authorized by the Federal Power Commission and now partially under way; there is the plan proposed by the FPC staff but rejected by the Commission itself; there is the hint by Secretary of the Interior Seaton of a compromise Federal proposal; and there is the original comprehensive plan devised in 1948 by the Corps of Engineers calling for construction of a high dam at Hells Canyon.

The fact that Mr. Seaton has been considering a proposal for an alternate high dam downstream at Pleasant Valley (which would affect plans of the Pacific Northwest Power Co. as well as the Idaho Power Co.) virtually acknowledges that low-level dams will not make adequate use of the power potential. Of all the plans so far, that of the Corps of Engineers would produce the most power and provide the greatest flood-water storage.

It has been and is a mistake, in this newspaper's judgment, to approach the question out of any doctrinaire preference for public or private power. The governing considerations, in our opinion, are two: First, the Northwest is drastically in need of additional power for its future industrial and agricultural development. Second, the great sources of waterpower are not so numerous in the United States that the country can afford to see them wasted.

If these considerations are valid, then it seems to us that the important thing is to insure that the Hells Canyon site is available for maximum development. The issue of private or public development is secondary. In the nature of things, the full project is of such size that no private company might want to undertake it; at least, none has so far. Still, there would be nothing to prevent a group of utilities from pooling their resources as they have done in respect of atomic-energy plants. Nor should the possibility of joint development by a group of States be ruled out.

Alternatively, if only the Federal Government could build the high dam, the matter of power distribution, and provisions to insure that the dam would pay for itself, could be worked out to general satisfaction. Understandably there is a wish not to add to the Federal budget at this time; but there are ways to approach the problem without relying altogether on Federal financing. In fairness to the private companies and to the power needs of the Northwest which must be met soon one way or another, the final decision cannot long be delayed. All the same, it would be better to put up with some delay pending the devising of a formula in order to protect the site. What Congress needs to do is to take another look before Hells Canyon is foreclosed to the future.

Public Power Is Not Cheap Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert three articles in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. One is an editorial from the Johnstown (Pa.) Tribune-Democrat for April 13, 1957; the second is a news item that appeared in the United Mine Workers Journal on March 1, 1957; the third is from the Washington Evening Star editorial page of February 26, 1957. All pertain to the generation of electric power.

The Tribune-Democrat's assertion that public power is not cheap power has long been documented, yet it must be repeated—at the risk of seeming platitudinous—only because seeds of truth have difficulty in taking root in adverse political climates.

I hope that Members of Congress will pay particular attention to the excerpt by Robert Moses, chairman of the Power Authority of the State of New York, which states:

Powerplants on top of coal mines produce power as cheap or cheaper than almost any hydroelectric plant that can be built today.

The spasmodic outcries for developing Government-sponsored hydroelectric

power to replace that generated in steam plants are regrettable for two reasons: First, ultimate costs would constitute heavy losses to the taxpayers; secondly, when water power replaces steam power it puts coal miners out of work. A parallel situation is being developed by supporters of Government-subsidized atom-generated electric power. Last year the House beat down an attempt to put across a crash program that would have provided for constructing a number of reactors in various parts of the country, and I am confident any such proposal will meet a similar fate this year.

A year ago the AEC was firmly opposed to what was known as the crash program sponsored by the Democratic leadership. The Commission agreed with some of us who felt that the program was unnecessarily costly and would intensify scientific manpower problems. Now, a year later, the AEC has a crash program of its own design, although in different garb. Either way you look at it, the construction of more and more reactors at taxpayers' expense is extravagant and can lead to extension of public power.

Only if the Government subsidizes construction of the reactors, underwrites most of the insurance risks, and pays the fuel bill, will the cost of atomic power be competitive with that produced by coal. Crash program supporters do not dare to try to challenge this conclusion, although their attempts to befuddle the public with tall tales of low-cost atomic power continue unabated.

The material from the Mine Workers Journal and the Evening Star furnish further enlightenment on the subject of public versus private power. Please note that the Utah Power & Light Co. has invested a minimum of $26 million in its expansion program. This money does not come from the Federal Treasury, and no bureaucrats will have to be added for operating the powerplants or for distribution of the electricity; in addition, the company will pay taxes—like every American business should—and whatever this figure amounts to will be that much more than would come into the Treasury under a public power program. The editorials and news stories follow:

[From the Johnstown (Pa.) Tribune Democrat of April 13, 1957]

PUBLIC POWER ISN'T REALLY SO CHEAP

The announcement that Pennsylvania Electric Co. has broken ground for a $25 million, 185,000-kilowatt addition to its steam generating station at Shawville, near Clearfield, calls to mind a recent controversy between Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK of this State and Robert Moses, chairman of the Power Authority of the State of New York.

Senator CLARK had proposed that some of the hydroelectric power generated at Niagara be distributed to Pennsylvania public power agencies. He wrote Mr. Moses that "I campaigned on that issue and think I'm on sound ground." Mr. Moses, in an open letter, replied: "You may be on sound ground from a political standpoint, but you are waist deep in quicksand from a factual standpoint."

Mr. Moses said that if a transmission line were built to carry 100,000 kilowatts of Niagara power to the Pennsylvania border near Jamestown, the cost would be about 7 mills at that point.

"Pennsylvania has lots of coal," Mr. Moses wrote. "Burning coal produces steam. Steam produces power. The cost of coal is the largest component in the cost of steam power. The cost of transportation is often the greater part of the cost of coal. In Pennsylvania coal can be used to produce power without substantial transportation costs. Powerplants on top of coal mines produce power as cheap as or cheaper than almost any hydroelectric plant that can be built today.

"In West Virginia," Moses continued, "where coal is plentiful, the average generation cost to power companies is less than 5 mills. Most of your municipals and cooperatives are closer to West Virginia power than to Niagara power. A steam plant was recently constructed at Shawville in western Pennsylvania. It is right near a coal mine. It produces power for a total of about 4 mills, including fixed charges such as taxes and return on investment. If public bodies in Pennsylvania built a similar steam plant without the necessity of paying taxes and without the necessity of paying a return on investment, they could produce power for about 3 mills."

As a matter of fact, the Tennessee Valley Authority which set out to develop hydroelectric power is now producing something like two-thirds of its power with steam from plants burning coal—and is trying to get Congress to appropriate more money to build another steam plant.

Some days ago the Lon Angeles Times looked into the power situation at Memphis, which had decided to build its own generating plant to avoid the so-called Dixon-Yates contract—now canceled. Memphis has sold revenue bonds in New York at a coupon rate of 4.4 percent, the Los Angeles paper reported, whereas the Dixon Yates bonds could have been sold at 3.5 percent.

And now Memphis, which was to have bought power under the Dixon-Yates plan for 3.98 mills, will have to pay 4.48 mills and maybe more. The Dixon-Yates plant would have paid Federal, municipal, and State taxes, while the Memphis plant will pay none. Public power is, in fact, not cheap power.

[From the United Mine Workers Journal of March 1, 1957]

COAL PLUS KILOWATTS EQUAL COAL-O-WATTS AT UTAH POWER & LIGHT'S PLANT

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.—In August 1957, Utah Power & Light Co.'s carbon plant will almost triple its energy output when the new 100,000 kilowatt unit begins whirring out electricity.

The new $14.5-million unit, currently under construction by Bechtel Corp., is adjacent to the first 66,000-kilowatt section of Carbon plant—so named because of its location in coal-rich Carbon County in central Utah.

Together, the two units will cost $26.7 million and will produce 166,000 kilowatts—enough energy for a city of 300,000 people.

Basic task of the Carbon plant with its new unit will be to furnish electricity to central and southeastern Utah including mines and mills of the now maturing uranium industry. Electricity not used there will be transported through the company's integrated network northward to load centers.

The coal field site was selected for the new unit after months of intensive fuel and water studies.

The availability of coal from nearby mines was a major factor affecting the decision. Engineering studies of the UP&L system load movements and the operation of the present Carbon plant prove it is cheaper to wheel electricity to load centers than to transport coal from the Carbon-Emery fields to steam-electric plants located in northern Utah population and industrial centers.

The economic prudence of building the plant near its fuel source is also supported by potential spiraling coal transportation costs.

At full capacity the new 100,000-kilowatt addition will consume 950 tons of coal per day. Added to present consumption of 740 tons per day of the present 66,000 unit, the two units will consume 1,690 tons per day.

That's 608,400 tons a year—enough coal to keep some 225 Utah miners employed 7 days a week a full year.

Coal is delivered from nearby mines to the plant's coal-handling system where it can be distributed to the bunkers for immediate use or placed in the storage yard.

Water for the completed plant will be supplied from deep wells from winter stream flow and from reservoir storage.

Water is delivered from these sources into the Price River, which flows past the plant, and thence through a diversion dam and intake structure into a settling and impounding basin. Water from the basin is used in a cooling tower system, and a portion treated by a water softening process for use as boiler water.

Carbon plant is the company's second largest power maker. Largest is the 241,000-kilowatt Gadsby steam-electric plant in Salt Lake City.

Gadsby plant's coal burning boilers can consume up to 1,700 tons of coal per day—enough to keep 240 Utah miners employed 7 days a week throughout the year.

Construction of Carbon plant number 1 unit was begun in the summer of 1953 when engineers literally moved a mountain to provide suitable bedrock foundation for the plant. Construction of the second unit was begun April 1956.

Coupled with plant construction was enlargement of nearby Helper substation which steps down high tension voltage and serves as a key electrical energy distribution point for growing electricity requirements of central and southeastern Utah.

[From the Washington Evening Star of February 26, 1957]

POWER IN THE NORTHWEST

The Wall Street Journal, in a report from the Pacific Northwest, has cited some impressive figures that tend to pull the rug out from under Senator MORSE and other politicos who have been clamoring for a vast Federal dam-building program in that part of the country. The figures leave little room for doubt that the clamor, which has included all sorts of dire predictions about an imminent and critical power shortage has had a considerable amount of hot air in it.

Actually, according to these figures, private companies and local governmental agencies in the Pacific Northwest have been doing a tremendous dam-building job of their own. In fact, as the Journal reports, they now have approximately 4.6 million kilowatts of hydroelectric power under construction, just completed or definitely licensed for development, and they are seriously considering projects designed to produce an additional 4 million kilowatts. In the words of one utility official, this postwar program has been the largest of its kind ever undertaken at any one time in any single area in the history of America. By way of contrast, all the Federal dams built in the same region in the past 25 years amount to no more than 4.6 million kilowatts.

Indeed, after looking over the Northwest's private and local public utility accomplishments of recent years, the head of the Federal Bonneville Power Administration—which a year ago warned of a near-future serious shortage in electrical output in the region—now asserts that the danger of a crisis has been deferred until at least 1964 or 1965. All of which makes one wonder about the accuracy of the information that has led Mr. MORSE and like-minded legislators to predict a sort of calamity unless our National Government steps into the picture and goes on a dam-building spree.

We Need A-Power Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an article on Hon. Thomas E. Murray, member of the Atomic Energy Commission, written by Roger Stuart and appearing in the April 13, 1957, issue of the New York World-Telegram and Sun Saturday magazine.

The splendid article of Mr. Stuart presents to the reader the deep faith and the sound, logical reasoning of Commissioner Murray, one of the truly great men of this age and period, and a man who is universally respected for brilliant abilities, his constructive mind, his devotion to duty, and his nobility of character:

WE NEED A-POWER NOW

(By Roger Stuart)

WASHINGTON.—Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray is an independent-minded champion of free enterprise. Also he's a philosopher. If he weren't, the discovery that he is regarded in some quarters as a public-power advocate undoubtedly would cause him much greater distress than it does.

To have one's position occasionally misunderstood, as Mr. Murray sees it, is a penalty which a conscientious public official must be prepared to face. Under such circumstances, the veteran Commissioner says there are two things to do:

Stick to your guns.

Try to make your stand—and the reasons impelling it—better understood.

Being highly articulate and possessing a sturdy backbone, Mr. Murray has no great difficulty meeting either of these requirements.

Whatever misunderstanding exists about him can be traced to the opposing views of Mr. Murray and AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss (who, despite their differences, have great respect for each other) on the important question of industrial atomic power development.

Both are eager to bring about wide peacetime use of nuclear power. But while Chairman Strauss considers the current rate of development "most encouraging," Commissioner Murray insists it isn't fast enough.

The only Democratic holdover on the 5-member Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Murray was a successful inventor, industrialist, and power engineer in New York before his appointment to AEC by President Truman in 1950.

His term will expire in June, and there have been rumors that he does not wish to be reappointed. Another misapprehension. The 65-year-old nominal Democrat, who has made it clear that "as long as I remain a Commissioner, it will be part of my duty and purpose to keep this vital agency of Government free from partisan politics" would like very much to serve another term.

Intimates say, moreover, that Mr. Murray's stanch support of President Eisenhower's policies on key issues, including the atoms-for-peace program, is "recognized and fully appreciated." At the same time, his independence of judgment, it's claimed, actually has had a salutary effect on the Commission as a whole.

In any event, the difference in viewpoint of Messrs. Murray and Strauss on the development of nuclear energy for industrial purposes, according to the former, is merely one of "economics." Each has defended his position before the Joint Atomic Energy Committee of Congress, which itself is concerned lest the United States fall behind other countries in promoting this type of power.

Mr. Murray, long apprehensive on that score, urges that its development be stepped up "on an urgent basis." Calling specifically for the Government to launch a program of large-scale reactor development, he wants this to augment the current effort of private companies in the costly, time-consuming field.

Failure to do so, in his estimation, could mean that "industrial atomic power will not be developed soon enough to enable us to meet our responsibilities as a nation."

"Much as I'd like to see private industry go ahead on its own," Mr. Murray explained to this reporter, "the truth is that construction costs, in relation to the limited prospect of profits, do not justify private industry's proceeding as rapidly as the national interest demands."

The engineer-trained New Yorker knows from personal experience how difficult it is to finance large-scale power projects, and likewise, what it takes at times to insure that private enterprise gets its rightful chance to participate.

It was in the fall of 1950, a few months after he had joined the AEC, that the new Commissioner made an interesting discovery. The Tennessee Valley Authority, a Government agency, had submitted the only bid to supply a million kilowatts of electric power required by the AEC's gaseous diffusion plant at Paducah, Ky.

Unwilling to assume that private companies were either uninterested in the business or could not successfully compete with the TVA, Mr. Murray took it upon himself to find out. On the day that the Commission formally decided to award its contract to the Government agency, he set out to induce private enterprise to put in a bid.

The upshot was that a group of privately owned utilities decided to pool their resources and go after some or all of the contract—even though, by then, Congress was ready to proceed on the assumption that TVA would supply the whole load.

As a result of Mr. Murray's move, the AEC reversed its action and awarded the new group—called Electric Energy, Inc.—half of its load requirements. TVA kept the other half.

This solution was a turning point in AEC developments. It paved the way for arrangements of a similar nature in other cases. Now private concerns are supplying a total of 3 million kilowatts of power needed in the atomic energy program. But for Mr. Murray's initiative in bucking precedent to fight in behalf of a fair share for private enterprise, the entire load would have been furnished by Government power projects.

But that represents one kind of situation. The urgent need for rapid development of industrial nuclear power, according to the Commission's minority of one, as Mr. Murray sometimes is called, poses problems of an entirely different nature.

Appearing recently before the Joint Congressional Committee, he noted that the issue of private versus public power is continuously being interjected into the question of power reactor development. This, he declared, serves only to confuse the main issue.

For the matter of methods and rate of speed by which atomic power becomes available, he insisted, transcends the issue.

While adhering firmly to his belief that it's absolutely essential that the traditional primary role of private industry in the production of electric power be preserved, he told the legislators, he believes it would be a serious mistake for the Government to indulge in prematurely yielding its primary responsibilities in the power reactor field to private industry.

Certainly it's no criticism of the latter, he holds, that they are prepared today to provide no more than a portion of the financial support to the power reactor development program which the national interest requires. Still, he contends, there's a widespread and unfortunate tendency to underestimate the intricate and difficult problems involved in the design and construction of large-scale reactors.

In this connection, it is significant that President Eisenhower, though he has thus far rejected the proposal for the Federal Government to assume responsibility, felt it necessary to declare in his recent budget message:

"However, if acceptable proposals for non-Federal construciton of promising reactor types do not materialize within a reasonable time, a request will be made to the Congress for funds for direct construction by the * * * Government."

What the ultimate decision will be, and only Congress and the Chief Executive can decide the issue, is problematical. In any case, it's likely to stack up as one of the biggest stories of the year, whichever way it goes.

Because, with power-shy Europe and Asia pushing to make up for their shortages of conventional fuels through development of nuclear energy, the speed at which the United States program is carried on may count heavily, both in this country's prestige abroad and in its ability to supply defense plants with ever-increasing demands for power.

For friendly, hard-working Tom Murray, meanwhile, the current policy battle is not by any means the first occasion when he has felt it necessary to dissent from the views of his colleagues.

Long since convinced that there is no upper limit to the size of H-bombs that this country is capable of making, Mr. Murray has vigorously championed, for example, what he calls "rational armament." Arguing that United States policy must be based on all the facts about nuclear weapons—our need of them, their usefulness, and the dangers connected with their misuse, he contends that no nuclear weapon is really useful if it is so big and so overwhelmingly destructive that it won't be used.

It was this point of view that lay behind his proposal, in June of 1954, that a hydrogen bomb be exploded in a demonstration to disclose the destructiveness and horror that would attend a nuclear war. To witness such a demonstration, he said, world leaders—from both sides of the Iron Curtain—should be invited.

The proposal promptly earned Mr. Murray a rebuke by Chairman Strauss and the other three AEC members. They called the plan impractical. And so, too, they insisted, was his further suggestion that, once the big bomb had been exploded, further tests of the largest H-bombs be discontinued.

But Mr. Murray held stubbornly to his purpose. On one occasion, the four AEC members took formal action rejecting Commissioner Murray's motion to invite foreign observers, among them Communist observers, to witness tests of nuclear weapons in the Pacific. * * *

But now, at last, the picture has begun to change. Last fall President Eisenhower himself declared in a speech that "we witness today in the power of nuclear weapons a new and wider dimension of the deadly horror of war. Humanity has now achieved * * * the power to end its history."

Moreover, the United States Government finally has joined Great Britain in inviting Russia to observe western nuclear tests next summer in the Pacific, if the Soviets will allow the free nations to observe theirs.

In large degree this amounts to a vindication of the Murray position. Technical capacities and inventive achievements have won Mr. Murray wide renown.

In World War II he earned a special award from the Government for his invention of a new method of manufacturing shells which saved tons of strategic material and accounted for 25 percent of all trench mortar shell production. More than 200 patents have been granted him covering a wide range of inventions.

The Term "Pork Barrel" Is Out of Date

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, its time we discarded entirely that time-worn and obsolete phrase "pork barrel" in referring to waterway projects. Except for a few die-hard editors, the people of the United States regard river and harbor and flood control projects as much needed improvements and not as local patronage. A letter from George H. Palmer, president, Marine News, New York City, addressed to the editor of the Washington Star on this subject calls attention to the fact that no other Federal expenditure is subjected to closer scrutiny and that local interests often are required to contribute to the cost of waterway projects with cash, rights-of-way, and spoil areas for dredged material. Mr. Palmer's letter appeared in the Star on Monday, April 29, 1957, and is as follows:

PORK BARREL

The Star editorial What Comes Naturally, saying Congress "scorned economy in passing a $1.5 billion rivers and harbors bill," has just come to our attention. We believe the following facts will be of interest.

There is probably no legislation enacted in Washington that is less understood by the public than that for waterway improvements. It is astounding that so many people, many of them well informed, still believe that old cliche "pork barrel" with respect to waterway legislation. Such legislation is entirely free from so-called "pork" by reason of the method of its adoption and enactment and has been for a generation. Moreover, almost all projects are initiated by local interests, not by politicians or Army engineers.

Approved projects are those that have been certified economically sound after public hearings and long study by the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, made first by the distric officer, reviewed by his superior, the division engineer, then by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, and finally by the Chief of Engineers. No part of the study is perfunctory. Having passed that test, they go to the House Public Works Committee. If approved there, and later by the Senate Public Works Committee, they are incorporated in a river and harbor authorization bill which carries no money. After the bill becomes law, funds for those selected for prosecution are made available by Congress.

With over one-half of the projects investigated down through the years, the decisions by Army engineers have been "the principal grounds upon which the adverse conclusions are based, are the benefits to be anticipated * * * are insufficient to warrant the expenditure of Federal funds for the purpose."

There is no other Federal expenditure subjected to closer scrutiny as to its worth. Labeling such legislation "pork barrel" impugns the integrity of the Corps of Engineers and its Chief, committee members, and all others of the House and Senate.

It is rarely mentioned that piers, wharves, elevators, warehouses, trackage, and other necessary facilities are wholly the work of local authorities or private interests; the Federal Government improves only the waterways. The two, of course, are inseparable, one is utterly useless without the other. The waterway might have been derided as a pork-barrel project; the land structures serving it commended as civic advances. Civic interests also often contribute to the cost of many harbor and channel improvements with cash, rights-of-way, and spoil areas for dredged material. The derisive term "pork barrel" is absurd. While not always deliberate, it is a disservice to the people.

The great strength of the Nation today owes largely to harbor and channel development done in the past. The greater strength of the future will come largely from continuing development. Money spent for this purpose is an investment in the building of a nation.

GEORGE H. PALMER,
President, Marine News.
NEW YORK CITY.

Military Implications of the Eisenhower Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech by Prof. Alfred J. Holtz, department of political science, Western Reserve University, before the Naval Officers Club of Cleveland on March 19, 1957. I voted for the passage of the President's Middle East resolution with some reluctance, pointing out particularly that it is no substitute for a workable and just United States foreign policy—see my statement in the RECORD on March 7, page 2889. In view of the present serious crisis in the Middle East the following critique of the Eisenhower doctrine may be of interest to my colleagues.

The speech follows:

MILITARY IMPLICATIONS OF THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

Passage of the Eisenhower doctrine appears to have allayed the fears in American circles that the United States lacked a firm, effective foreign policy in the Middle East. Tragically enough, the congressional resolution merely compounds the administration errors that brought the original Middle East crisis into sharp focus, thereby resulting in the armed intervention by Britain and France, and necessitating the limited war, in self-defense, by Israel.

These drastic errors are briefly: (1) an erroneous administration estimate of the nature of the threat in the Middle East to our vital interests; (2) an inadequate administration theory of international politics, including the appropriate use of military power as an instrument of national policy; (3) an incapacity to act through the employment of concrete power rather than through abstract slogans.

The Middle East crisis erupted primarily because of the Eisenhower-Dulles conception that the sole threat to western vital interests was direct Soviet military aggression into the Middle East region. This oversimplified conception did not perceive of another type of threat, less dramatic, yet equally drastic—the threat of a localized aggression designed to upset the local balance of power, against Western vital interests. Such a threat was posed by rampant nationalism, personified by General Nasser, and supported by Soviet diplomacy and arms shipments.

Lenin had clearly outlined this indirect Soviet strategy when he declared that the way "to Paris and to London was through Peking and Calcutta," thereby associating Communist objectives with Asian objectives, to defeat the West. In 1949, the Chinese Communist theorist, Liu Shao-ch'i, augmented this strategy when he stated: "The path taken by the Chinese people in defeating western imperialism and in founding the People's Republic of China is the path that must be taken by the peoples of all colonial and semicolonial countries in their fight for national independence."

At the 20th Communist Party Congress, February 1956, Anastas Mikoyan openly boasted of the merger between the Soviet Union and the newly independent Arab-Asian states, with specific reference to Egypt and India. Thus, Soviet objectives and Nasser's objectives combined to weaken western vital interests through seizure of the Suez Canal, the jugular vein of West European economy.

When the British and French properly estimating this threat employed limited military power for limited objectives, to redress the unfavorable balance-of-power, President Eisenhower improperly invoked his moralistic platitude that force was not to be used as an instrument in defense of western national interests. Thereupon, Nasser imperialism, combined with Soviet imperialism, and supported by American moralism, established a new balance-of-power postuer in the Middle East that cannot be redressed, in favor of the West, by the belated and ill-conceived Eisenhower doctrine.

Parenthetically, the President's 1956 campaign oratory that "the advance of communism has been checked, and at key points thrown back" is contradicted by his newly espoused Middle East resolution. That doctrine was sold to Congress and the American people on the basis that Soviet Russia might intervene directly, or that international communism might capture one of the Middle East states.

In one sense, the Eisenhower doctrine is an improvement over the previous noninvolvement policy maintained by the administration as late as the armed intervention by our western allies and Israel. This startling reversal of conception of the American national interest has, however, not been accompanied by a reappraisal of the required military implementation to adequately sustain and defend our national interests in the Middle East. In brief, the Eisenhower doctrine perpetuates the illusion that bombastic propaganda is a substitute for drastic policy.

Nowhere, is this continued political error as clearly discernible as represented in the military implications of our new Middle East policy. Consider for the moment the geographic-strategic position of the Middle East, and the American military capabilities for deterring direct Soviet armed intervention.

This huge land-mass area, the crossroads to three continents, is far distant from American conventional armed forces. To

be sure, our Sixth Fleet could have a decided military effect on those states that border on the eastern Mediterranean. Moreover, our NATO commitments, and the military implementation thereof, provide reasonable safeguards for the defense of that vital country.

Yet, Iraq and Iran would be difficult to defend except by our Strategic Air Command, and such massive retaliation would require a political decision to initiate world war III. Who, among us here, is prepared to assert that Iraq and Iran are so vital to our national security that such a calculated risk should be undertaken. Our propaganda policy of deterrence is in sharp contrast to our policy action, for the administration has, thus far, refused to fully adhere to the Baghdad Pact, on the assumption that such a direct step would alienate the Arabs of the southern tier—Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Jordan.

However, the real danger to our vital interest remains in the Middle East. This danger is a dual one—local aggressions directed against our Western allies who also have vital interests in the Middle East, and indirect aggression engineered by international communism. The first type of aggression is illustrated by such ultra-nationalists as Nasser of Egypt, Serraj of Syria, and Nabulsi of Jordan, supported by Soviet arms and diplomacy. The second type is represented by leftist nationalists, combined with Communist fellow travelers, who would grab power through the use of Communist techniques of mob demonstrations, with view to further destruction of western power and prestige in the Middle East.

Recently, a Jordanian weekly, Sawt ash Sha'ab typified this danger: "America • • • has either lost her mind and really believes in the Communist danger to Arab State, or else she thinks we are little children and wants to frighten us with the big bad wolf in order to use us as tools for her own ends and for increasing her own wealth. Communism in Russia, China, and Europe has come as a result of the free will of the peoples. We have never heard of aggression on the part of the Soviet Union."

Does the Eisenhower administration understand this indirect, though real threat, and does it comprehend a military policy to forestall these dangers? Witness Secretary Dulles in his answer to questions from certain discerning Senators as to whether the United States would and could act against such local aggressions. His answer in each case was "No."

During the House hearings on the Eisenhower doctrine, Adm. Arthur Radford gave reassurances that are incapable of fulfillment. When asked by Congressman ROBERT BYRD, Democrat, West Virginia, as to whether the United States would have the capability as of now to move into any one or any group of the nations in the Middle East effectively and quickly with enough manpower and material, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff replied: "I think we would, Mr. BYRD." He added: "The passage of this resolution will make it less likely that we will have to fight a limited war."

When further questioned as to what military capabilities could be brought to bear in the Middle East, Admiral Radford observed: "I am thinking primarily of air and naval action which I think would be our largest contribution and most immediate." Yet, it is clear that these types of military action, unsupported by conventional land forces, would be incapable of preventing a local war initiated by arrogant Nassers, or by leftist Arabs, encouraged by Soviet diplomacy and arms.

Nasser's absolute control over the Suez, an international waterway, and Arab fanatic designs to liquidate Israel, the one true democracy in the Middle East, will not be shaken by present American military policy which is geared solely to deter a global conflict initiated by the Soviet Union. Our major military dilemma remains, despite congressional passage of the Eisenhower doctrine—how to prevent the continued loss of the local balance-of-power positions that once were held by Great Britain and France. Our present Military Establishment, with increasing emphasis on the Strategic Air Command, merely means that we await the wrong war, in the wrong place, at the wrong time, and against the wrong enemy.

It can be assumed that new and equally dangerous Nassers will soon arise in the Afro-Asian world, and that the Soviet-Red Chinese coalition will cleverly utilize these antiwestern nationalists for Communist imperialist objectives. Soviet atomic blackmail, combined with Nasser's political and economic blackmail through unilateral control of the Suez Canal, will not be contained by the military ineptitude of the Eisenhower doctrine.

As Thucydides quoted the warning by Pericles: "For I am more afraid of our own mistakes than of the enemy's designs"; so, too, must America reevaluate the military implications of our new Middle East policy.

O'Mahoney's Stand Sound

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following editorial from the Memphis Commercial Appeal:

O'MAHONEY'S STAND SOUND

As southern Members of Congress battle for inclusion of the right to trial by jury for anyone who might be charged with contempt under the Eisenhower administration's so-called civil-rights bills, Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY (Democrat, Wyoming) has taken his stand with them.

The veteran Wyoming Democrat remarked that he had observed that the Norris-LaGuardia Act provided jury trials for defendants in contempt cases arising from labor disputes, and said he thought it "a pretty good policy." He added: "I believe in the jury trial. I don't believe we should be afraid of a jury trial in matters involving civil rights."

It is interesting to note that Senator O'MAHONEY's sound stand is directly opposite to that taken by administration supporters of civil-rights legislation. They contend that amendments guaranteeing jury trials for defendants in contempt cases developing from their bills would emasculate their measures, surely a peculiar form of reasoning. It suggests that their primary purpose is to convict and punish, regardless of justice, constitutional rights, and freedom generally.

The right to a trial by a jury of his peers is basic for anyone charged under any law. It is particularly important to assure that right in this instance, because the bills are so loosely, vaguely, and widely drawn that almost anybody might be accused by almost anybody else for the most nebulous reasons. A Federal commission, for example, would be empowered to seek out and air racial grievances, a procedure that would lead to endless controversial hearings.

During Alice's adventures in Wonderland there was debate over how to try an animal for an alleged offense. The dog, named Fury, graciously offered to be both judge and jury, and he added: "I'll try the whole case and condemn you to death." There is no room for that sort of performance in this Nation in the name of civil rights or any other cause.

Timely Observations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the St. Joseph (Mo.) News-Press of April 3, 1957:

TIMELY OBSERVATIONS

Seventeen years ago this day it was our privilege to meet a gentleman of noble stature. Every April we have met him since that April 3, 1940. It is a privilege to say a few laudatory words about him while he is alive; the press will heap encomiums galore on him after he goes. That man is James Aloysius Farley. At that time he was Postmaster General in the Cabinet of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Also he was chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

We were introduced right in this News-Press office by Henry D. Bradley, then publisher, now president of the News-Press Gazette Co. Mr. Bradley had come to us only 4 months earlier from Bridgeport, Conn. The two long had been friends. They are to this day. The occasion of Postmaster General Farley's visit was the dedication of the new post office building on the then 80th anniversary of the start of the Pony Express (United States mail) between St. Joseph, Mo., and Sacramento, Calif. Theo J. Quinn was postmaster.

The visit of Mr. Farley recalls, after all these years, that already there was reason to believe that the man who made Roosevelt President was near a break with his chief. For even in St. Joseph that April day of the last year of Mr. Roosevelt's second term, we learned that the Postmaster General opposed a third term. And we felt Mr. Roosevelt was determined to run for a third term.

Much was written about the Roosevelt-Farley friendship and the break between the two. Our own belief, then and now, is that James A. Farley was a loyal, devoted guide and friend to the gifted, unpredictable squire of Hyde Park. Mr. Farley was standing on principle in opposing Mr. Roosevelt for a third term. An overwhelming mandate of the American people (article XXII, amendments, United States Constitution) has since confirmed Mr. Farley's view.

After a social visit in Mr. Bradley's office, Mr. Farley turned to this writer and asked about Missouri sentiment for a third term for Mr. Roosevelt. The editor replied that while the News-Press and Gazette would oppose a third term, Missouri Democrats likely would fall before the magic charm of F. D. R.'s magic voice. They did.

"I'm against a third term," said Mr. Farley. We retorted, "You will line up when the time comes." Quick as a flash Mr. Farley shot back, "You don't know Jim Farley." He told the truth. He did oppose the third term all through the convention. Then he resigned as chairman of the Democratic National Committee and as Postmaster General. But unlike that 1936 bolter, his old friend Al Smith, Jim Farley did not bolt his ticket.

The years have been kind to the six-footer, handsome, though bald James A. His face is as youthful looking today as then, as he

walks at a fast pace through that long lobby of the Waldorf-Astoria. James A. Farley is no youngster. He will be 69 years this next May 30. He was 45 when he entered the Cabinet of Mr. Roosevelt. What an odd pair, those two. Franklin Roosevelt and James Farley. How did they ever get together? From that 1940 day to this day we have never mentioned Mr. Roosevelt to Mr. Farley.

This do we know. No man was ever more devoted to a friend than was Jim to the chief. Alfred Emanuel Smith, F. D. R.'s mentor and Democratic candidate in 1928 and loser, wanted to try again in 1932. All three were friends, Mr. Farley, Mr. Smith, Mr. Roosevelt. Had Mr. Farley thrown his weight to Smith we believe Al would have been nominated. Could he have been elected? That is debatable. You can find some who (remembering Herbert Hoover's decline in popularity) will say that a "yellow dog" could have been elected on the Democratic ticket, as the saying goes.

Long months before 1932, as early as 1930 and F. D. R. was governor of New York, Jim Farley was his roving ambassador. He went all over the country selling the scion of that castle up the Hudson to the common people of the Democratic Party. F. D. R. would go New Deal? We doubt it. Did Jim Farley ever go New Deal? No. All apologists for the New Deal, leading off with cantankerous Harold Ickes, never considered Mr. Farley a New Dealer.

James Aloysius Farley is a living example of what is so rare: The Gentleman Politician. No man ever held a higher reputation, in or out of cabinet, than Mr. Farley. Mr. Farley to us is proof that politics can and does draw good high-minded men of solid worth. They are not many, true, but we find them in every State and in almost every city. We never knew a man who knew Mr. Farley who was not proud to call him friend. And a more friendly soul than big, handsome gum-chewing Jim Farley never have we known in a lifetime of knowing men in high place from Jefferson City, Mo., to Washington, D. C.

Address by Hon. Marion B. Folsom Before Rochester, N. Y., Rotary Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege recently to participate in ceremonies in connection with presentation of the Rochester, N. Y., Rotary Club award for public service to the distinguished Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Marion B. Folsom. Secretary Folsom is a long-time resident of Rochester, where he was for many years an officer and director of the Eastman Kodak Co.

The Rotary award comes as well-deserved recognition for Secretary Folsom's contributions over many years, in and out of Government service, to help achieve a better life for his fellow Americans.

In an able and earnest address following acceptance of this award Secretary Folsom set out cold, hard figures concerning his Department and the Federal budget, which shoud be studied by all of us. It is directness and clarity like this which have won Marion Folsom respect and esteem wherever he has given of his time and talents. He is clearly one of the most competent and valuable members of this administration.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to insert the following excerpts from Secretary Folsom's informative speech at this point in the RECORD:

The Federal Government often is called upon to undertake some programs in health, education, and economic security when the needs of the people have not been met by private effort or by local and State governments.

When Federal action is necessary, the most helpful action often is not for the Federal Government to take over the whole show. Instead, Federal activities should be designed to encourage greater initiative and enterprise by individuals, private agencies, and State and local governments. In this way, a pattern of cooperative action is brought into play—a sharing and division of responsibility designed to foster the best combination of services for all the people.

In a moment I want to tell you about some of the prudent and constructive investments the Department is making, or proposing, in health, education, and welfare. But first, because these activities need to be considered within the framework of the total Federal operation and our total economy, I would like to mention briefly a subject that is getting a lot of public discussion these days, the Federal budget as a whole.

When we talk about the size of the budget, we should remember that we are talking primarily about the cost of national security. We are talking not only about the cost of protecting our homes and businesses today, but about the cost of veterans programs and interest on the debt, which are largely the result of past wars.

The fact is that these expenditures for national defense and related items amount to more than 75 percent of the whole national budget. These expenditures have increased from 4 percent of the total national income in 1940, to 11 percent in 1950, and to an estimated 15 percent in fiscal 1958. As the President has said many times, we all wish that large defense expenditures were not necessary but certainly our country can and must afford the price of protecting our free society in this age of peril.

While the portion of our income spent for national defense necessarily has gone up, nondefense Federal activities in the proposed 1958 budget would take about the same proportion of the estimated national income—about 4.3 percent—as for the previous 2 years. Furthermore, this proportion is down substantially from the level of almost 6 percent in 1950, and more than 7 percent in 1940.

Many of the most experienced men in Government tell me that the testing and review of the budget that goes on within this administration—the search for economies and savings—are greater than they can remember. From my experience in business I would say that the budget of a business firm is not subject to anything like the exacting and painstaking review and justification required for the budget of a Government agency today.

This search for greater economy and efficiency is continuous. Only last week, the President pointed to possible savings which would reduce Federal spending somewhat in 1958 and lead to even greater economies in 1959. The fact is that total expenditures proposed for next year would take a smaller proportion of the estimated national income—about 19 percent—than in any of the 6 preceding years.

Some concern has been expressed about the effect of the budget on our total economy. And yet, in recent years, when the budget was larger in relation to the economy than it is today, business and industry have grown and prospered as never before. Almost all the indicators of economic progress—wages and profits and plant expansion and many others—set a new high record last year. And most of these indices have continued to climb so far this year.

I am just as concerned as anybody about the long-range effects of high rates of taxation—and I am anxious to see taxes cut again as soon as this can be done without injury to the national security and welfare. But in today's expanding economy there is no sound basis for picturing the 1958 budget as if it were an economic catastrophe.

In considering the administration's budget and fiscal policies, it is important to look at the whole structure of what has taken place since President Eisenhower first came into office. In January 1953, the President inherited a prospective deficit of about $11 billion in his first year. Now what has happened since then?

Well, first, we have had the most complete overhaul of our tax system in history. I am proud to have had some part in this revision. Many tax provisions which stifled the healthy growth and expansion of private business were eliminated or modified. Many inequities which placed an undue burden on old people, on working mothers, on those with heavy medical expenses, on parents with children in college were removed.

In addition to these changes, the excess-profits tax was eliminated and individual income taxes were reduced approximately 10 percent. Altogether, in 1954, taxes were reduced by $7.4 billion annually, the largest reduction in any single year in history. These tax reductions and the other tax changes have benefited, directly or indirectly, every man, woman, and child in the country. And I believe they have been important factors in the recent unparalleled growth of our economy. As an indication of this growth, business expenditures for new plants and equipment are now running at a level 43 percent above 1954.

In the second place, the President has now proposed a budget which provides a surplus for the third successive year. It has been a quarter of a century since we have had three balanced budgets in a row.

In a period when circumstances beyond our control compel large expenditures for national defense, this is a notable achievement. It is an achievement in which business and professinal leaders, as all citizens, can well take pride. And yet this achievement seems to me to have been largely ignored in much of the current discussion of the size of the budget.

We should remember that the budget is related to our population and our economy as a whole. It is only natural that some budget figures should tend to increase as the Nation grows. We can hardly expect to have a big, growing, increasingly prosperous country with a budget suited to horse-and-buggy days. Since 1950, our population has increased 13 percent, and our total output of goods and services—not counting price increases—has increased about 30 percent.

In discussing the proposed budget, President Eisenhower told the story recently of his conversation with some of the heads of the biggest corporations in America. The businessmen described how their budgets were increasing, on an average, from 6 to 10 percent. The businessmen were surprised that anyone would not expect this or would question it. One by one, they said, "Why, we are a growing company."

And the President replied, "What do you think America is?"

In the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the programs and services we have recommended for next year would amount to about $2.8 billion—4 percent of

the total Federal budget, or less than 1 percent of the national income.

It is important to understand, however, not only how much money would be spent—but in what way and why. Where we have recommended increases to Congress, we have first made a most careful study and we are deeply convinced that there is a genuine need for these programs and that they will be of real and lasting benefit to the country as a whole.

These programs are, in the best sense of the word, economical. For they are investments in human resources—in the health and vigor of the people; in their education and training for living and working in an increasingly complex world; in their protection against economic emergencies and distress and want. These are the resources which, in the final analysis, have been responsible for our expanding prosperity, our national security, our progress as a Nation. To neglect these human resources now—to slip backward in these fields—would only pile up greater costs and more acute emergencies in the long run.

And so we are placing the strongest emphasis on constructive investments which will reduce human need in the future. The value of such emphasis is well illustrated by two figures. More than $1½ billion, or about 65 percent of the Department's proposed budget for the next fiscal year, will be required for the regular program of public assistance grants for the needy aged, dependent children, the blind, and the totally disabled.

We believe that to relieve human need is good but that to prevent it is much better. An so one of the proposals in the new budget is for $2 million for research to help find out why people become dependent upon public welfare and to help eliminate some of the basic causes of dependency. We propose to spend $2½ million to train more professional workers to help persons receiving public assistance rebuild their lives toward financial independence. Already there have been a few demonstrations of dramatic success when trained professional workers have concentrated on providing the services that not only help people in need but help them out of need. We feel, therefore, that these two proposals are relatively small investments which will return far more than their cost by reducing the need for public assistance in the future. This is an example of constructive economy in the best sense of the word.

One of the first constructive national programs to reduce human need was started 20 years ago with the social security insurance system. This program has increased the financial security and independence of almost every family in America. Today, almost 3 out of 4 workers reaching 65 are eligible for social security benefits as a matter of right, based on their contributions and the contributions of their employers over the years. Altogether, 9.4 million persons are getting benefits now. If it were not for this program, the annual cost of public assistance would be several billion dollars higher today. In the past 6 years, for example, while the population over 65 has increased by more than 2 million, the number of older persons receiving public assistance has dropped by about 200,000. Many of those receiving public assistance today were not eligible for social security during their working years. Now that social security coverage is almost universal, the reduction in old-age assistance will be even greater in the future.

The value of a constructive approach also has been demonstrated dramatically in medical research. Funds have been increased more rapidly for this program than for any other major program in the Department. Yet there can be no doubt that sound medical research returns far more than it costs—through the sparing of human life, through reductions in the human and economic toll of disease and disability. Within the past 10 years the average life span in the United States has increased 5 years and the death rate has declined 12 percent. There have been dramatic reductions, for example, in the incidence of poliomyelitis and in deaths from influenza, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and other diseases.

Surely it would be false economy to cut back funds for research to help cure or control mental illness, cancer, heart disease, or other major killers and cripplers of our times when these diseases take such a terrible toll in human suffering and economic loss each year.

Or consider the program of vocational rehabilitation. This program provides medical care, training, and other services to disabled persons, to help restore them to productive jobs. Last year, largely because of modest budget increases in this program, the number of persons rehabilitated was increased to 66,000—a new record. Before they received these services, these people had annual earnings of about $17 million. After rehabilitation, their earnings were increased to about $127 million a year. And so the increased income taxes alone will pay for the cost of rehabilitation within a few years. Furthermore, about 13,000 of these people were receiving public assistance before they were rehabilitated. The cost of public assistance in 1 year alone would almost equal the cost of rehabilitation.

In the field of education—crucial to the future of our country—there are many problems which call for constructive action now. We know, for example, that in the next 10 to 15 years, the number of young people seeking higher education will double, perhaps even triple. And this will call for an educational expansion and adjustment beyond anything we have known before. Higher education, of course, is primarily the responsibility of the States and private institutions. We are proposing a very limited investment—grants to the States of $2.5 million a year for 3 years—to encourage planning and action within the States to meet this critical and growing need before it becomes even more acute.

Another problem of far-reaching significance is the very large number of capable students whose education is ended too soon. If current trends continue, about 40 percent of the young people who enter high school will drop out before they graduate. And of those who do graduate from high school, only half of those in the upper fourth of their class will go on to college. Only 6 out of 10 of the top 5 percent of high-school graduates receive a higher education. This is a tragic waste of human resources. Another example is in the field of mentally retarded children. Without special help, many of these children are destined to a life of dependence on others, falling far short of their real potential. Given the right kind of special attention and training, many of these children will grow up to lead happier and more useful lives. For the first time in the history of this country, the Federal Government is supporting a program of research to help solve these and other long-standing problems in education. This is a constructive investment in the future of our young people and the future of the Nation.

Another sound and prudent investment is the proposed program of emergency Federal assistance to help relieve a critical shortage of school classrooms in many communities. We have studied and restudied the classroom problem—carefully and objectively. Three conclusions are clearly evident from the facts.

First, there is a serious shortage of public-school classrooms. This shortage developed because not enough schools were built during many years of depression and war and because, more recently, we are having by far the biggest enrollment increase in our history. The problem also has been aggravated by record-breaking shifts in population.

Second, despite a great increase in school-building efforts, the States and many communities are not making enough headway in reducing this shortage.

Third, unless financially needy communities get help, the classroom shortage will persist for many years, hampering the education of our children and limiting the progress of our country.

Now I understand and respect honest differences of opinion as to whether the Federal Government should help build more schools in this emergency. It is unfortunate for the welfare of our children, however, that many of the public statements on such an important issue have been seriously misleading, and some have been clearly inaccurate.

It is contended, for example, that the classroom shortage is a myth or figment of imagination. Those who take this position offer no new or additional information of their own. They accept bits and pieces of data from the various surveys that have been made, and they quote these bits and pieces out of context or only in part. Yet the essential fact is that every responsible survey of actual conditions in the schools has reached the same clear conclusion—there is a substantial, widespread, and continuing classroom shortage.

It seems to me that the best source of information is the State and local school agencies who are closest to the situation and best able to get the facts. I have complete confidence in the integrity of these authorities. The latest survey was made last fall by the chief educational agency in each State. For the third year in a row, the States reported our schools are overflowing with about 2¼ million children above their capacity. These children are not imaginary. They are in school today, and they can be counted with reasonable accuracy. These children, and millions of their classmates, are handicapped by half-day school sessions or badly overcrowded conditions or use of makeshift facilities. The States reported 80,000 additional rooms are needed now simply to accommodate this overflow of students.

The States also reported they need 79,000 additional classrooms to replace facilities which are obsolete or unfit. I recognize that obsolescence is more difficult to measure—opinions on this will vary—but, nonetheless, it is a very real and important factor. And so the latest and best estimate by the States places the total classroom shortage at about 159,000 classrooms.

It is important to remember that we must deal not only with this backlog of shortage, but with continuing vast enrollment increases and with annual replacement needs in the future. The States indicate, for example, they will need 59,000 to 65,000 additional classrooms next fall simply to meet the new needs developing since school started last fall. Therefore, even if the States actually build this year the 69,000 classrooms they have predicted—a record high—they would make only a small dent in the accumulated shortage.

A second major fallacy is the argument of some critics that the administration is proposing Federal assistance for classroom construction as a means to leap into Federal control of education in this country.

Let us understand what is proposed here. The Federal Government would allocate some funds to the States. The States would put in some money, too, and then the States would administer grants to the local communities which need help very badly to provide schools for their children. So even in the building of the schools the Federal connection would be pretty remote. But, even more

important, by the time the first teacher or student entered the new school, when the actual education of children begins, there would no longer be any Federal involvement or connection whatsoever. How, then, could this proposal result in Federal control of education, even if we wanted it that way?

Furthermore, I don't know anybody who wants it that way. Certainly the President and we in the Department have emphasized many times we would be the last ones to want to control the instruction of the Nation's children. Certainly the State and local school authorities who are supporting this bill are most anxious to keep the Federal Government from controlling their affairs. In 1950, the late Senator Taft, after careful and objective study, sponsored a program of Federal aid for operation, as well as construction, of schools—a broader and more liberal program than is proposed today—and certainly Senator Taft was no advocate of Federal controls.

It is important to remember also that the Federal funds proposed by the administration would amount to only 15 percent of total funds for school construction in this country. These funds would be allocated only to the districts with the most acute shortages and the least resources to build needed schools. The Federal funds would amount to only about 3 percent of total funds for public schools for all purposes. It has been contended that even if this program itself would not mean Federal control, it would serve as a foot in the door and would lead to Federal domination of education in the future. The fact is that throughout our history the Federal Government has assisted the cause of education—and is doing so today—without domination or control. As far back as 1787, Congress required that public lands be set aside for educational purposes. In 1862, under the leadership of President Abraham Lincoln, the Federal Government began making financial grants to support the land-grant colleges. Only recently, by the way, the Association of Land-Grant Colleges adopted a resolution expressing appreciation that there has been no Federal control in this program. For 40 years, the Federal Government has been making grants to support vocational education. Since World War II, the Federal Government has invested $18 billion to help war veterans continue their education. For 6 years now, the National Government has provided funds to help build and operate schools in communities overburdened by Federal installations. In all these activities, over all these years, the Federal Government has helped meet national needs in education—and there is no Federal control of education today.

Furthermore, we are advocating only a temporary program. Once the backlog of shortage has been removed, with the help of emergency Federal aid, then the States and communities could meet future needs on their own, simply by continuing their current rate of construction.

Finally, the proposed legislation specifically provides, and I quote, "In the administration of this act, no department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States shall exercise any direction, supervision or control over the personnel, curriculum, or program of instruction of any school or school system." I don't see how it can be put any plainer than that.

Clearly, in the light of all these facts, the argument that we are seeking Federal control of education is simply a phony.

We believe the people of America are with us in seeking Federal assistance to help eliminate the classroom shortage. Emergency Federal assistance was strongly supported in the platforms of both political parties. Recent public-opinion polls seem to indicate that people in all walks of life, in all parts of the country, favor this program by about 4 to 1. The people know that badly overcrowded classrooms and half-day sessions are hurting the education of many children every day. They know that educational opportunities lost today may never be regained.

In all these programs in health, education, and economic security, we are proposing constructive investments in the future. Our objective is the same as yours in Rotary: service to society.

By acting now, with foresight, in community action and in national action, we may invest in our most priceless asset—the individual human being. As the individual advances in health, education, and economic security, his own life is enlarged and our whole society is enriched.

Address by Dr. Aaron Kottler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address by Dr. Aaron Kottler, president of the Kings County Medical Society, at the dedication of the Seafarers Welfare Plan Medical Department on Tuesday, April 16, 1957, in Brooklyn, N. Y. This is the first of four union-management medical centers of the United States maritime industry to be established.

The address follows:

Mr. Chairman, Reverend Monsignor Sala, Honorable Senator MAGNUSON, distinguished guests on the dais and in the audience, and ladies and gentlemen, hearing all the praises of the previous speakers, I should begin my address with the famous Shakespearean quotation "Friends, Romans, and countrymen, I come here to bury Caesar and not to praise him." I come here to bury a misconception which never should have originated between organized labor and organized medicine.

The Medical Society of the County of Kings and the Academy of Medicine of Brooklyn, sends to you its felicitations and best wishes for continued success of the Pete Larsen Medical Center. This is a momentous occasion both to industry, labor, and medicine. It demonstrates that important health problems can be solved in a democratic way without the aid of foreign socialistic ideologies.

The people of our free, great city receive the best medical care and are among the healthiest in the world. No person can honestly state that he has been medically neglected if he only sought medical care which is made available to him by the city of New York, through its hospitals and health department and by the medical profession. In 1955 it was estimated that the physicians in the County of Kings have donated medical services in clinics and nonprofit and municipal hospitals to the amount of $40 million.

However, the great majority of our people do not seek charity; they want to be paid fairly for their labors and are willing to pay for medical services received. They are willing to pay according to their ability to pay. This has been most recently proved in Brooklyn by the mass polio-inoculation program sponsored by the Medical Society of the County of Kings and the New York City Department of Health. The people pay a small nominal fee, just enough to cover the costs.

The cost of medical care has increased during the past decade. So has the cost of every commodity, including food, clothing, and wages.

Newer miracle drugs have been discovered in the past years. When penicillin was first made available it cost the physician $2.80 per cubic centimeter. Salk vaccine when put on the market cost the physician, only 1 year ago, $1.50 per cubic centimeter. The mycin drugs still cost 90 cents a tablet, and some even more. In 1955, it has been estimated that $3.4 billion was received by physicians throughout the country for complete medical care. Three and seven-tenths billion dollars were the hospital costs, $2.3 billion were spent for drugs and appliances, one-eighth billion dollars went for nursing and other charges, therefore, only one-third of the total cost for medical care can be justly charged to the medical profession as service fees.

A sound, healthy public makes a sound country. Not all sick people require hospitalization. Overutilization of hospitals increases the cost of maintaining the hospitals. It is cheaper to treat ambulatory patients at home and doctor's offices and health centers such as this one, provided the necessary diagnostic procedures can be obtained. The problem of how to provide the employee with ambulatory diagnosis and treatment is one that has to be solved by management, labor, and medicine. It is a problem of who will pay for the services.

Management, through its day-to-day conduct builds the character of a firm by the fairness and integrity of its business dealings. But the reputation of any firm as to the quality of its product or service is solely the results of labor. Management can assure these results by fair and humane treatment of its employees. All men regardless of station in life have an inherent dignity which must be recognized and reckoned with by management if a superior quality of product or service is to be maintained. Management may have the best shop equipment available, but if its employees are not healthy, both physically and mentally, then the quantity and quality of their output along with the firm's reputation inevitably suffer. Maximum results can only be achieved and maintained where management and labor recognize the inalienable prerogatives of each other with the mutual respect such recognition engenders and by operating as a team.

Good health involves proper nutrition, housing, clothing, and the discovery and correction of remediable impairments. All of these may be purchased by those who have the ability to pay for them. There is a definite relationship between health and the economic status of the individual.

Management contributes to the health of its employees by increasing their ability to maintain health by paying good wages and by providing certain additional benefits, such as diagnostic clinics and nonprofit voluntary health insurance programs.

Twenty years ago, 1½ million people were covered by some form of health insurance. In 1949, there were 50 million people covered by voluntary health insurance plans. Organized medicine then contended that voluntary coverage would expand, thus obviating the need for Government insurance. The following figures prove that this was a good estimate of the situation. One hundred and ten million persons are now covered for physicians' charges for survery, 5½ million for medical charges in hospitals, 10 million for major medical expenses (catastrophic).

Very little provision is made in the average group insurance plans which will provide for ambulatory diagnosis and treatment and preventive medicine. The employee must pay for this type of medical care. He will do so if the need appears to be urgent. If it does not so appear, he may use his money for

some other purpose with the result that many impairments are not discovered and treated.

Absenteeism costs industry more than $5 billion in terms of services and lost production. It does not include the economic loss incurred by employees whose efficiency is at a low ebb. This loss in dollars is greater than the $3½ billion that the medical profession receives for its services throughout the country.

Industry by doing its part to keep the worker healthy is not taking on an unnecessary burden but is protecting its own interests. Even the most comprehensive medical program will be less costly than the losses incurred through work absenteeism.

Medicine knows that it must get into the act and industry depends upon medicine to participate in this program.

Medicine must determine the physical abilities and limitations compatible with the demands of a job that an employee is seeking. Is the employee an undue compensation risk? Will he be an absentee problem? Is the employee mentally fit for the job he seeks? What is his attitude toward society, and his fellow worker, and his employer? The physician must acquaint himself with the job.

This health center will help the physician provide the necessary answers. Diagnostic procedures are costlier than the actual treatment of disease. This center, the only and the first of its kind in Brooklyn, with the cooperation of management, labor, and the medical profession, will prove that the above can be accomplished and that there is no need for any compulsory health insurance acts.

The Medical Society of the County of Kings is willing and ready to participate in this health center where the results of these diagnostic procedures will be transferred to the patient's family physician of his own choice.

Capital Praise for McCormack

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article of commendation to the gentleman from Massachusetts, Congressman JOHN W. MCCORMACK, which appeared in the Boston Daily Globe of April 29, 1957:

CAPITAL PRAISE FOR MCCORMACK

TO THE EDITOR:

Members of the Washington Group of Housewives United (an unpaid lobby of housewives) would like, through your paper, to congratulate the housewives in the 12th District of Massachusetts on the fine work their Congressman, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, did for them recently in the House of Representatives in Washington, D. C.

It was during debate on the floor of the House: The question was whether or not to accept the amendment of Representative CHARLES R. JONES, of North Carolina, to cut the requested appropriation of the Food and Drug Administration by $1,327,000.

As wives and mothers who run our households on budgets, we are quite economy-minded ourselves. But we are not for economy at all costs. And we were not for economy then at the expense and well-being of our families. There were other places where we felt the Federal budget might get cut, but not in the Food and Drug Administration.

Your Representative, Mr. MCCORMACK, made a fine speech in Congress in favor of giving the FDA the appropriation asked for (which had already been approved by the President's Bureau of the Budget and by the House Appropriations Committee).

In the end, your Congressman's point of view won out: The requested appropriation was granted.

MRS LOUIS B. WRIGHT,
President.
MRS. ROBERT Y. KERR,
Legislative Chairman.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Townsend Plan Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, for many years legislation embodying the principles of the Townsend plan "pay-as-you-go Federal social security for all" have been before the Congress. Last year, for instance, I joined with the gentleman from California [Mr. GUBSER] in sponsoring the Townsend plan bill in the 84th Congress.

I have today introduced the new Townsend plan bill which differs from previous Townsend bills, but not with respect to any basic principle, objective or standard. As a classification, it may generally be said that the new bill differs in terms of legislative form, in respect to technical form.

CHANGES IN 1957 TOWNSEND PLAN BILL

First. The 1957 Townsend plan bill is specially drafted as an amendment to the Social Security Act, repealing or suspending, as the applicable case may be, the various provisions of Old Age and Survivors Insurance and Federal Disability Insurance title II and instituting in place thereof the Townsend plan program.

Second. It provides for a transitional period and process whereunder it would be eased into effect, starting at a low rate of tax and benefits, these gradually increasing during the first year and a half, thereby progressively absorbing the benefits existing under the present system—without anyone being in any way dislodged or subjected to any less benefit that they are receiving. Likewise the tax system would be correspondingly brought into effect on a progressive basis, starting at 1 percent and increasing to a final maturity of 2 percent over a period of about a year and a half.

This transitional feature provides for the using of the reserve fund of OASI for precisely what it was created to be used for, namely, payment of the benefits under OASI, until the development of the Townsend program fully displaces them by way of absorbing them and progressing on to the maturity of the fully adequate benefits of the Townsend program.

Third. The 1957 Townsend plan bill specifically defines the objective it seeks. It provides that each year the Department of Commerce, under its Census Bureau work of annually surveying the distribution of money income in the United States population, report to Congress each year, specifically, what rate of tax would have been necessary during the preceding year, under the program, in order for the overall income of the aged population not to have been inferior to that of the younger adult population. This feature is designed to create a situation under which the Congress and everybody else will henceforth know, as a matter of clear record exactly what the relative position of the aged is economically. This provision would create a basis on which everybody could henceforth deal with the primary question of "just how much pensions should justly be" on a basis of fact. Up to now, this question of exactly how much pensions really ought to be has not been officially dealt with. The Townsend program is fundamentally predicated upon exactly that study and approach to the whole problem. This bill would provide, in the Social Security Act, the legal requirement that this question be authentically reported on each year, to Congress by the Department of Commerce.

Fourth. There have always been a long list of arguments, in principle academic arguments, about the workability of the gross income tax predicated in the Townsend plan. This bill provides, in its definition of "gross income" the conclusive end to this whole field of confusion, purely theoretical and academic argument and of wasted time and effort dealing with entirely unrealistic claims and counterclaims very simply: Since 1933, a genuine gross income tax has been operating with unchallenged efficiency and practicality in the State of Indiana. Correcting jurisdictional references, the precise text of the definition of gross income contained in the Indiana Gross Income Tax Act of 1933, as amended up to and including 1953, is incorporated in the 1957 Townsend plan bill.

It is specifically to be noted that this does not constitute any change in principle or departure in policy by the Townsend organization. The tax proposed in the Townsend bill has traditionally been exactly what is now proposed. However, there have always been those, in and out of Congress, who insisted persistently that the Indiana tax really was not the same, was in reality quite different from the Townsend proposal. Actually the definition of the tax base in the Townsend plan bill is precisely identical with that in the Indiana law.

Fifth. Citations to the Internal Revenue Act, bearing upon tax procedures are converted so as to cite the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

Sixth. The 1957 Townsend plan bill provides for old-age retirement at the age of 60 years; for full benefits to persons disabled between ages 18 through 59; for full benefits for female heads of family groups with one or more dependent children; and for proportionate benefits of one-third the full benefit rate for dependent children under 18. This last is new coverage.

Seventh. The 1957 Townsend plan bill does not require compulsory spending of benefits by beneficiaries.

Eighth. The 1957 bill does not require complete and outright, all-or-nothing retirement by beneficiaries, but encourages their participation in the Nation's productivity—but, at the same time, it provides a deterrent sufficient to prevent pensioners from selling their services so cheaply as to constitute unfair competition with other work seekers. The provision is that above the amount of $75 per month, adult beneficiaries would lose $1 of their benefit for each full $2 earned in employment or self-employment. For the secondary beneficiaries, the children, they, too, would lose $1 of their benefit for each full $2 per month in excess of $50 earned in employment or self-employment.

Ninth. The requirement of citizenship is eliminated as a condition of qualification to receive benefits. In place of it is the requirement that any person over 18 must have resided in the United States for a total of not less than 10 years in order to qualify. The reasons for this alteration are manifold; but suffice it to point out that very rare would be the citizen of the United States who would not satisfy this requirement before his childhood was over. At the same time, this residence requirement, imposed on our own citizens, would abridge the treaties we have with various nations, reciprocally agreeing that we treat each others' nationals exactly as we treat our own citizens; and it would conclusively bar persons from becoming simply retirement emigrees to the United States, as all would have to be here long enough to support the system quite significantly before being eligible to draw its benefits.

The bill exempts dependent children from this residence requirement even if the adults upon whom they depend may be barred by its residence requirement. These changes in the Townsend bill are not changes in any sense of principle, methodology, or standard. In reality, they are developments in the line of incorporating into an actual legislative instrument—a bill—provisions and definitions which more fully and, in fact, pretty completely embody and express the principles and meaning of the Townsend plan in the form of a law.

There are many reasons why this project was not feasible in former times, the most compelling, for example, being historical, namely, that the thinking of Congress has not reached the point of surrender to certain very fundamental tenets of the Townsend plan. In the 1956 amendments to social security Congress really gave in to universal coverage; they gave in the very basic principle of disability insurance; they cracked on the very severe issue of reduction of the age of eligibility for retirement. Prior to these events the Townsend movement was restricted to fighting for these fundamentals which were necessary as "breaks" in the structure of the present social-security system before the real fight toward the Townsend plan could be planned timewise.

With these changes accomplished as outlined above, the turn in the road was at hand, the opinion of Congress has changed fundamentally, and the specifics can be designed. This new bill embodies that new, final stage of evolution in the fight toward the Townsend plan. The 1957 Townsend plan bill is the first embodiment of the Townsend plan in terms of these long-fought-for and now accomplished necessary achievements in the development of the thinking of Congress on the subject of social security. It is in this very comprehensive and complex sense that this bill is new or different. It is not different in its principles, methodology, or standards.

THE NEED FOR TOWNSEND PLAN LEGISLATION

The need for this type of legislation is embodied, first, in the fact that we have a Social Security Act in the first place. This means that in 1935 Congress recognized that the social security problem existed to such a degree that the act was adopted. This realization extended to the level of the problem being recognized as, in principle at least, a national, not a local or regional problem, a problem requiring basically Federal legislative action. This legislative action in itself certified to the ruling conviction that privately the problem could not be handled. Placed on the fundamentally Federal base, it recognized that the problem was beyond the capabilities of local and even State governmental scope. The consequent actions of Congress after 1935, and up to and including 1956, certify unanswerably that this opinion as to the problem has continuously solidified and strengthened.

The system of OASI and Federal disability insurance—its latest phase—has done good as far as it has gone, or could go. When it is all summed up, however, the truth is this: We have a social security problem simply because the great majority of the American people reach old age and find themselves lacking the financial ability to command income and living standards reasonably comparable to the general standards of living prevailing around them. As a matter of fact, about 22 percent of persons aged 65 and over in the United States, as of 1955, had no money-income whatsoever from any source; they are totally dependent people.

The Townsend plan is based squarely on the belief that Americans should achieve economic sufficiency and independence as the final result of life.

In February 1954, the Social Security Bulletin carried an article by Jacob Fisher of the Social Security Administration's Division of Research and Statistics, namely, postwar changes in the income position of the aged. This report shows:

The population aged 65 and over increased 17 percent from 1947 through 1952—while the total population aged 14 and over increased only 5 percent—but their share of total personal income increased from 7 percent in 1947 to only 8 percent in 1952.

Analysis of Census Bureau data shows the share of the elderly to have been 7.3 percent in 1953, 7.7 percent in 1954, and 7.9 percent in 1955. By 1955, the aged population had increased 31.7 percent over its 1947 number—while the total population aged 14 and over increased only 8.3 percent. Thus, the average aged person's comparative income position declined, seriously, from the pitifully inferior 1947 level to an even more inferior level in 1953, 1954, and 1955. The increase of the aged as a portion of the total population continues unabated, while their total share of income remains unchanging.

This took place despite congressional action in 1950 increasing OASI benefits by 70 percent and in spite of congressional actions in 1952 and 1954. It took place in spite of the dramatic increase of private pension systems and the liberalization of just about every existing public and private retirement system as well.

Since World War II, OASI has not only failed to solve the social security problem; it has even failed to prevent it from getting worse.

Furthermore, a 1955 report from the Social Security Administration plainly warns that to establish even so modest a minimum OASI benefit as $75 a month would entail payroll tax rates so high as to endanger public support of its contributory principle, in their view.

Unabated surpluses of production dictate that we must keep buying power abreast of our ever-expanding ability to produce. Unless we stop destruction of the average American's buying power upon his reaching old age, this can never be done. This is what OASI has proven unable to do. It is exactly what the Townsend plan will do.

Added to what we authentically know the American people can do privately for their retirement, Townsend plan benefits will end poverty and dependence in old age, retiring all persons on fair economic equality with their fellow adults in general—thus amplifying buying power, the only way prosperously to absorb surpluses.

Therefore, the Townsend plan should be adopted immediately, in place of the present system of old-age and survivors insurance.

HOW THE 1957 TOWNSEND BILL WOULD WORK

This is a program that is capable of specific illustration. On the first day of the sixth month following the enactment of this bill, the program would go into effect. For purposes of simplicity, let us assume that this effective date of the program were January 1.

Then as of January 1, the tax proposed in this bill would go into effect and the present payroll tax—the National Insurance Contributions Act—would cease under the repeal provision of the bill. For the 6-month period of January through June the gross income tax would operate at the rate of 1 percent. For the 7th, 8th and 9th months, the tax-rate would be advanced to 1¼ percent; for the 10th, 11th and 12th months—through December—the tax-rate would be advanced to 1½ percent; for the 13th, 14th and 15th months, the tax-rate would be advanced to 1¾ percent; and for 16th and all succeeding months the tax-rate would be 2 percent. Meanwhile, as of the first of the seventh month, the revenue collected from the first month, less specifically the cost of administration for that first month, would be distributed as

benefits to the beneficiaries qualified as of that date to receive them. The amount of benefits would be determined by simply dividing the revenue available by the number of primary beneficiaries plus the number of secondary beneficiaries—children and others not qualified for the full primary benefit—converted into the number of primary beneficiaries the sum of their fractions represent.

As of the first of the eighth month, the revenue available from the second month would be so distributed; and, thereafter, as of the first of each month there would be distributed as benefits the revenue collected from the sixth preceding month. Thus, as the tax-rate matured and as beneficiaries qualified the program would ease into effect over a period of about a year and a half.

Statistical studies show that the first benefits under this program, as of the seventh month, would probably be between $60 and $70 per month. In each succeeding month, obviously, they would rise, generally—and starting with the 12th month—when the revenue collected under the first advance of the tax rate to 1¼ percent would come up for distribution—benefits would certainly rise then and thereafter.

The 1957 Townsend plan bill provides that benefits under OASI and disability insurance would continue to be paid to whatever extent they might be greater than the benefits being paid at any given time under the Townsend program, and to the extent that such benefits under OASI would continue to be paid, they would be paid out of the reserve funds of OASI.

However, since the average benefit under OASI—that is, the average retired worker's primary benefit—is only about $63 a month—and wives' benefits little over half of that, and widow's benefits, and so forth, about three-fourths of it—it is clear that most OASI benefits would immediately be absorbed by the benefits under this program. As this program matured under the full 2 percent rate of the gross income tax, there is no doubt whatsoever that all benefits under the present system would be absorbed. Thus, it is to be noted that a total transition from the present system to the Townsend program is provided for and spelled out in the 1957 Townsend plan bill. At no time would any beneficiary of the present program get a single penny less than the present program provides for him, but, duly, they would all receive far better benefits than are presently provided for. All benefit-obligations of the present system would be completely honored.

Beneficiaries under the Townsend program would be all persons aged 60 and over retired from gainful occupation; all persons 18 through 59 who are totally and permanently disabled; all female heads of family groups having dependent children under 18 in their family groups and all such dependent children and orphans under 18 years of age—these latter to receive benefits in the amount of one-third of the current primary benefit being paid to the foregoing. This benefit coverage of the people of the United States certainly takes account of all who could possibly expect to qualify under any of the present programs of the Social Security Act; and it takes into coverage the few elements that OASI still excludes. Any possible exceptions to the coverage of this program who might possibly be entitled to benefits under the present programs are hard to imagine, indeed, especially once the Townsend program is fully instituted under its full tax rate of 2 percent. Whatever possible cases there might be, they would obviously be so infrequent and so few that they do not constitute anything of such magnitude as to be classed as a problem. The Townsend program, once operating under the full support of the 2 percent rate of the gross income tax—as indicated by 1955 statistics on the population, the distribution of income, and the volume of business in the United States—would provide primary benefits of the order of $130 to $140 a month.

This level of benefits, under the coverage provided for in the Townsend bill, would involve a revenue of about $2.5 billion a month. The immediate question becomes this: How can so large a number of beneficiaries at these benefit levels be justified? In other words, the immediate question to be settled is that raised by those who are forever denouncing anything that is going to cost money. Obviously, this is a program the financial features of which really raise their dander. However, the answer is not difficult to set forth.

The first fact is a simple one: As of 1955, the group aged 65 and over lacked by 48 percent an equal income share as compared with the younger adults—aged 25 through 64. They endured this lack—about 22 percent of them having no income whatsoever from any source—despite all the programs presently in force under the social-security system as it is, despite all other public and private programs, despite the expanded rates of savings and investment that these times of unprecedented prosperity afford.

The nub of the matter is that less than the Townsend program will not fill the gap, will not eliminate the economic inferiority of the aged. Less will not secure the future of the younger people from the fate of economic deterioration when they reach old age, and so forth.

So, it comes down simply to this: Is the solution of the social-security problem a beneficial thing to our society or not? If it is a beneficial thing to do, then it is worth the price. The Townsend program is simply the only one ever designed and put forth actually to eliminate, fully solve this problem. If the problem is ever to be solved in any other way than through the Townsend program, it will have to be by providing the same standard of benefits for the same number and classes of people as are provided for under the 1957 Townsend plan bill. That is all there is to it, in reality. Either the problem is a valid one and should be solved or it should not.

To those who say that the financial magnitude of the problem has been overestimated, I say that economic sufficiency and independence should be the final reward in life for the people of the United States; that this requires two things: First, that people, retired people primarily in this context, not be subjected to an income level that involves poverty, insufficiency in terms of the actual general living standards of the times; and, second, that as an overall group retired people should enjoy an up-to-date share in income and living standards as compared to those enjoyed by younger adult people. Less than this constitutes inferiority, lack of freedom and independence, curtailment of the ability to participate fully in the social, economic life of the day—injustice, in short. The Townsend plan bill is calculated on the basis of those convictions and standards.

Now, if somebody feels, in their own view, that less than this is really an answer, let them state how much they believe should be the share of the aged. On this basis the whole matter can be settled; but the burden of proof is theirs. The Townsend plan bill alone is based upon the square question, "How much should an old-age pension be?" The Townsend bill provides the ways and means of providing the answer to achieving that pension—whatever it should be.

Since it is self-evident that whatever the final decision of Congress turns out to be as to what an old-age pension really ought to be, provide for, there still remains this unassailable truth—"It will require just as much money to be raised for just as many people under any other plan as under the Townsend plan." Therefore, the whole question reverts back to the primary one: Is the genuine solution of this problem of social security desirable or not?

To those who feel that it is desirable, we present the Townsend plan, embodying the defined ways and means of solving it. To those who do not wish its solution we say, "It is time you frankly said so." This is the essence of the Townsend plan bill.

The Post Office Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the Los Angeles Examiner on April 15, 1957:

The arrogance of Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield has brought about a bureaucratic shakedown of Congress and the American taxpayers.

His arrogance succeeded last Saturday in canceling all regular mail deliveries in the United States on a business day, for the first time in history.

It has succeeded, beginning today, in curtailing deliveries and hours when post offices are open to the public.

Mr. Summerfield high-pressured a congressional committee into voting him $41 million extra to run his Department through the remainder of the fiscal year, ending June 30. But even this did not move him to call off his cutback of services. He demands the money in hand.

His arrogance has hampered the operations of business and gravely inconvenienced the American people.

The crack-of-doom methods he has used raise questions of his efficiency and competence.

Whatever bureaucratic victory he has gained, the Postmaster General has lost the confidence of the public.

He ought to resign.

Asia Has Two Real Fears: The Power of Red China and the Uncertainty Regarding the Steadfastness of American Policy in Firm Opposition to Red China's Aggressive Designs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article by Walker Stone, editor in chief of Scripps-Howard newspapers. One marvels at the incredible speculations by some Americans regarding the nebulous advantages which they believe might conceivably come from recognition of or trade with Red China, while they ignoré the absolutely certain disastrous results such acceptance of Communist China would produce among our allies in Asia, the strategically located overseas Chinese in southeast Asian countries, the neutrals who realizing their own weaknesses are waiting to see which side is going to win in Asia, and the enslaved millions behind the Iron Curtain who hope and pray that we will remain steadfast on the outside while they resist valiantly from the inside.

When have we ever been successful in improving our own situation by helping our enemies become stronger?

The article follows:

ASIA'S REAL FEAR: RED CHINA—FRAGILE BALANCE ON COMMUNISM

RANGOON, BURMA, April 10.—Back in the late war, when his country was overrun by the Japanese, President Manuel Quezon of the then Philippine Commonwealth ran his government-in-exile from Washington.

"I'm not worried about Japan," he said then. "When the Americans get around to it, they'll make short work of the Japs. What worries me is that out of all this holocaust may emerge a warlike, aggressive China. That would mean trouble in Asia for generations to come."

President Quezon never lived to see his Filipino people gain independence, nor his dire prophecy fulfilled on Asia's future.

MYTH GROWS

The great population and land mass of mainland China today compose the central magnet which shapes and twists the politics of free Asia countries around Red China's crescent rim from Japan to Burma.

The prewar myth of the white man's invincibility has given way to a new myth of Red China's invincibility.

This was helped along when the United Nations settled for a phony armistice in substitute for victory in Korea and the French were driven ingloriously from their Indochina colonies.

PROVES REAL MENACE

The Peiping radio never lets up in its belligerent boasts that volunteer Chinese defeated the choice troops of 17 nations in Korea, and that Indochinese natives routed the flower of the French army at Dienbienphu.

The white man may still be the whipping boy of demagogs in former colonial lands, but the real fear of the peoples and governments in this area is expansionist communism and Red Chinese imperialism.

Red China has an army second only to Russia's; the world's third greatest air force, surpassed only by Russia's and America's, and a potential fifth column more menacing than any other imperial power ever possessed.

More than 20 million overseas Chinese reside in the Philippines, Malaya, Indonesia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Burma. And their influence is far greater than their numbers, for they are the bankers and traders who control commerce. Most of them balance allegiance between their countries of residence and their fatherland. Had they a free choice and secret ballot as between Free China and the Red regime, most overseas Chinese, being rugged free-enterprisers, probably would vote against communism. But so long as there is a possibility—it now seems to them more a probability—that communism will come out on top, they will avoid alienating themselves from the homeland of their ancestors.

In Bangkok, when the Korean war was on, it was said you could tell how the battle was going by whether Nationalist Chinese or Red Chinese flags were flying in front of Chinese shops. Yet Thailand does not recognize Red China, and is a member of SEATO.

In Indonesia, a few weeks ago, when President Sukarno was barnstorming through northeast Sumatra, delivering orations against the long-gone Dutch—orations which ended always in "Merdeka! Merdeka! Merdeka!" (Freedom, freedom, freedom), almost as many Red Chinese as Indonesian flags flew from village shop fronts.

Red aggressiveness is countered by wavering neutralism, as in Burma, India, and Indonesia.

ALIBIS IN TOKYO

It is countered by indecision and opportunism as in Japan where the new Prime Minister, Nobusuke Kishi, is basically anti-Communist but would like to have his cake and eat it, too. He talks in the same breath of increasing trade with Red China, complains there are too many United States military forces in Japan, yet alibis for failure of Japan to build its own defenses.

Communist expansion is countered by fortitude, by resolute opposition of peoples and leaders with a look over the shoulder at what the United States will do—as in Korea, Formosa, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Thailand. These are nations which have gambled that America meant what she said when she declared Communist China an outlaw nation.

Americans engaging in academic disputes about free press over whether United States correspondents should roam through Red China or in disputes involving the principle of free trade, over whether goods should be sold to Iron Curtain countries—they cannot know the effects of their words in this part of the world. These are not academic questions here. They are matters of life and death. When someone sneezes in Washington politicians out here catch cold.

Any sign in the United States of yielding to Red China is taken as a step toward recognition and giving respectability to the Communist regime.

Announcement of Senator ELLENDER's committee in favor of selling surplus agricultural products to Iron Curtain countries is greeted by Manila editorials demanding to know whether America sticks to a principle only until an opportunity for profit appears. And in Bangkok, opposing political parties scurry for credit in proposing repeal of Thailand's anti-Communist laws.

Unlike in America, politicians and peopleas out here are up against Communist guns, airpower, and fifth columns.

Once convinced the United States is coming to terms with Communist China, political leaders in this part of the world would not merely follow a trend, nor even march abreast. They would race to make their own terms first—as indeed, Burma, Indonesia and India already have.

A Tribute to Industry Leaders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Hon. James A. Farley at the annual meeting of the Super Market Institute held in Cleveland, Ohio, on April 10, 1957:

A TRIBUTE TO INDUSTRY LEADERS

I would like to say here at the start how happy we of the Coca-Cola Co. are to be your host at this session. It affords us an opportunity to tell you how highly we regard the long associations we have held with so many of you.

You have been gathered at this 12th annual meeting of the Super Market Institute to discuss How To Strike a Profitable Balance Through Management, People, and Productivity. You have been considering the various aspects of this current topic. But I don't believe that, in your busy probings of the problems at hand, you've had time to reflect on the part your industry and your leaders have played in the drama of change in American life.

For, through the improvements in your businesses, affecting so many facets of daily living, you have been responsible, probably more than any other one industry, in helping to bring more convenience, quality, and luxury to one of the fundamental parts of everyday living—the dinner table. Because of these innovations the American family has an opportunity to enjoy the pleasures that other technological advancements have provided.

I would like to take you back with me now to my own mother's grocery store at Grassy Point, N. Y., during the second decade of this century. It was a small store, stocked with an assortment of foods, staples, sundry items. My mother, one of my brothers or myself took turns behind the counter.

We had to watch carefully in the dimly lighted store when we scoped up a handful of non-brand cookies from the cracker barrel that the open bag did not spill on the non-standard swinging scale. And, after we had scurried to fill the orders of the housewife, we might often be asked to keep an eye on the package while she went and

shopped down the street for articles that our neighbor stocked.

Now this was a typical situation. Sometimes the store was larger, more often than not it was smaller. Customers lined up to wait while the clerk filled orders from unpackaged supplies, a good portion of them stacked out of sight beneath the counter or on an almost inaccessible top shelf.

Then, almost simultaneously, changes occurred in the industry—in packaging, selling, merchandising, wholesaling, and retailing—all toward making the one-stop shopping concept more efficient and profitable.

The oldest food chain—Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co.—developed under the guidance of the Hartford family, was one of the first chains to use the ideas of a convenient food store with standardized, labeled, and packaged articles at low prices.

Now let's look at some of the individual pioneers who blazed new trails in the development of the food industry.

Smith M. Flickinger, a wholesaler from Buffalo, who believed that a group of retailers associated with their wholesaler to promote a brand through a common name could meet chainstore competition. He started the Red & White Corp. and lived to count his system used among 5,000 stores in 34 States with $1½ billion in sales.

J. Frank Grimes, a Chicago accountant, who contributed to the voluntary chain movement with the master plan of teaching the independent to increase volume and reduce overhead and thus lower prices. The system became the Independent Grocers Alliance of America.

Clarence Saunders, a grocery salesman from Virginia, who opened probably the first self-service grocery store—Piggly Wiggly—at Memphis, Tenn., in 1916. The innovations of a turnstile and checkout counter, his visionary step, were significant milestones in supermarket development and paved the way for future supermarket owners. At one time there were 2,660 Piggly Wiggly stores across the country.

William H. Albers, whose Albers Super Markets, Inc., in Cincinnati, during the early 1930's, was probably the first use of the term "supermarket" in a company trade style. This pioneer and statesman in your industry became the first president of your institute and helped to formulate policy. At the first meeting of your organization 20 years ago he stressed the importance of sound merchandising with correct pricing of nationally advertised foods to stimulate increased good will and confidence of both the manufacturers and the customers.

Albert Ralph, of Ralph's Grocery Co. of Los Angeles: One of the first in the food business to develop systematized markets. Incredibly, a few of the structures built 30 years ago for his business are in use today.

Joe Weingarten, of J. Weingarten, Inc., of Houston, Tex., one of the first operators to use walk-in refrigerators and a "kiddie" car to transport on wheels the shopper's basket through the aisles. He has served for several terms as your president.

Michael Cullen, who caused a stir when he took over an empty building at Jamaica, N. Y., in 1930, stacked piles of merchandise in baskets and on shelves, made up handbills in large type to advertise his new operation, reduced both the overhead and the profit margin to try and give the greatest price benefit possible to the consumer. His flamboyant departure from customary business operations attracted the attention of competitors, who in turn modified their own business because of the drastic measures employed in "King Kullen" markets.

Paul S. Willis, president of the Grocery Manufacturers of America for the past 25 years, who recently was honored by the Sales Executives Club of New York for his contributions to the industry in fostering cooperation between manufacturers and distributors. He was the speaker at your first convention, when he advocated constructive planning for mutual problems and interests of the manufacturer and retailer. Last year you presented to him the William H. Albers award for improving relationships between these two interests in the food industry.

John Logan, president of the National Association of Food Chains since its organization in 1936: Through his leadership with farm groups and food-chain executives, a program was evolved to move into the market place large supplies of farm products temporarily in abundance. His efforts in combating food-chainstore taxes have helped to stop the growth of that campaign.

Watson Rogers, head of the National Association of Food Brokers, who welded food brokers into an ethical group performing a service for both the operator without a sales force and the one who did.

Campbell Stewart, president of the Certified Grocers of California, who proved that an individual retailer, through collective buying, can be successful. He began his business with the purchase of a carload of soap and promoted it into one of the largest distribution units in the country.

Mrs. Marie Kiefer, secretary-manager of the National Association of Retail Grocers of the United States, who has helped to guide that great organization for so many years.

Clarence Birdseye, a Brooklyn inventor who traveled to Labrador as a fur trader and conceived a process for quick-freezing foods. The method of rapid freezing, foods frozen in containers by pressing them between refrigerated metal plates, resulted in a new line of convenience foods with almost unlimited merchandising possibilities for the operator and a timesaver for the homemaker.

Daniel Gerber, whose attempt to save his wife effort and time in preparing foods for their child, led to a new line of convenience foods. Strained foods have been expanded for adult consumption and are now a part of regular shelf displays.

Clarence Francis, retired chairman of General Foods Corp., helped to found this giant organization and then was instrumental in molding it into probably the largest manufacturer of packaged goods. He has been a leader in the food industry for decades.

Many of the pioneers and statesmen in your business whom I have mentioned, as well as others, put in long hours with the Government in Washington during the depression years of the thirties and later in World War II. These representatives gave unselfishly of their energy and time to help feed the Nation during an era of legislative codes and later, in the war years, to see that men and women in uniform here and overseas, as well as the populace on the home front, had adequate food supplies.

Ironically, the emergencies of war were responsible for a number of technological advancements in food production, packaging and distribution. Short-cut production methods applied to meet time requirements were utilized later for peacetime manufacturing.

Many a blueprint containing an inventor's ideas was rolled off the drawing board and onto a shelf for the duration because of wartime restrictions. But it was at this time that the industry could look at itself and decide what changes would be most beneficial to it. And, with the relaxation of wartime regulations, numerous improvements benefiting the consumer came off the assembly line.

You know, being a member of the Coca-Cola family, I'm familiar with a motto of the Coca-Cola Co. that expresses the aim of this industry as well as our own business. We strive to put ice-cold Coca-Cola within an arm's reach of desire. This is, in fact, the purpose of all the manufacturing, merchandising, and distribution connected with the industry—even to stocking the shelves in the supermarket—to bring products within an arm's reach of desire.

As a part of your great industry, we have other things in common. Nineteen hundred and sixteen, the year that marked the beginning of self-service, is also the year in which the regular-size bottle for Coca-Cola as we know it today was introduced to become one of the most well-known packages in the world.

And, like you, we continue to experiment for improvement in bringing our product to the consumer. Under the administration of Robert W. Woodruff in the past, and, it goes without saying, now as well, we at Coca-Cola endeavor to place a standard-quality, well advertised and merchandised product in the hand of the consumer in the most effective and economical manner. Our research has aided us in pioneering the production of cartons, vending machines, and other equipment that have benefited the soft-drink industry as well as us.

Reflect, gentlemen, on the impact technical advancements in this industry have had on your day-to-day business and the consumer.

The use of transparent film for packaging, perfected to be moistureproof, developed by such scientific investigators as Dr. W. H. Charch and J. D. Rankin, of the Du Pont organization, brings all types of produce and supplies to the consumer in a form that the customer can see exactly what is being purchased and yet be assured of its freshness, quality, and sanitation.

Also, the housewife can feel confident that the attractively packaged food she brings home contains all the nutrition possible as a result of the work of researchers, biochemists, and others in vitamins, amino acids, etc.—nutritionists such as Dr. E. V. McCollum, Dr. Henry Clapp Sherman, Dr. L. A. Maynard, Dr. William C. Rose and T. B. Osborne, and L. B. Mendel.

In some supermarkets today the customer can stroll past row after row of food-o-mats—a system of gravity-fed displays and dispensers that allow the packages, whether they be cartons or cans, to be slid down and lifted up with a twist of the housewife's hand. This system was contributed to your industry by Lansing P. Shield, president of Grand Union Co.

And as the housewife accumulates packages, containers, bottles, cans, etc., during her journey up and down the aisles of a supermarket she no longer becomes discouraged about the weight of the purchases piling up. For S. N. Goldman, head of ACF-Wrigley and Humpty-Dumpty and a former president of your institute, became an inventor in addition to his other food store activities. He put a folding chair on wheels and then successfully improved it until we have the relatively light-weight, easily propelled shopping cart of today. This literally encourages the consumer to stock up on supplies until she arrives at the checkout counter with an order stuffing numerous grocery bags.

Then there are the myriad other inventors and builders connected with your industry—the refrigeration firms who have kept pace with your packaging necessities with improved storage methods—both for your warehouse and the display bins, the lighting experts who have assisted both you and your customer in the illumination of your market and the products, the cash register concerns who have calculated when you needed a faster checkout system and provided it for you, the architects and builders who have adapted your constructions to changing community life—and many more.

There is another facet of this industry that is significant but not as obvious to the spectators of our business—communications. As this field has mushroomed into a national industry it has been difficult at times to keep

track as well as inform each other of the news, the changes, the trends. The editors of your trade publications have in many instances assisted you in making the correct decisions regarding the progress of your organization by circulating the vital information and seeing that you had it in printed form when you needed it.

A few of them are: M. M. Zimmerman, founder and editor of Super Market Merchandising, chairman of your first convention, and your first executive secretary; Carl Dipman, for many years editor of Progressive Grocer and another pioneer in helping the growth of food merchandising; Godfrey M. Lebhar, founder and editor of Chain Store Age and first secretary of the National Chain Store Association.

Gentlemen, you are indeed members of one of the greatest industries in this country. By pooling your efforts, supplying a variety of goods, selling them in volume and at a low cost, you have helped elevate the standard of living of the American people.

In addition, you have accomplished another feat, if I may be permitted a comment at this point. When you look back across the decades it becomes apparent that the American housewife has decided herself that she would rather trundle her own shopping cart through a market, make her own selections and tote them, than have a clerk perform all these chores. In other words she actually would rather do it herself—and gentlemen—when you can make a woman think she likes to work, well, I call that good politics.

As you know, I started in the food business and then transferred to another line of work where there was a different system of checkouts. Well, I've been in the food business for a number of years now and I am not only happy to be in it, but proud to be a member of your industry.

Let us all strive to maintain the excellent standards established by the great pioneers, some of whom, but certainly not all of whom I've tried to bring back before your memory today, that this field of service to the American home can continue to progress. For, the work of these pioneers, and many more who are nameless, is being forwarded by you devoted, able and industrious men. Were you not devoted, you would not be here, projecting a successful and dynamic past into an equally dynamic future of unlimited opportunities for the good of the industry.

As for these meetings, I believe they are a tribute not only to you, but to the imagination, ability, and energies of the professional staff of the Super Market Institute and herewith I feel we should join in a tribute to Don Parsons, your executive director, and his associates for their splendid work.

And a particular accolade to those dedicated men who have given so unstintingly of their time and heart to this industry, your distinguished past presidents in addition to those I have mentioned already—Sidney R. Rabb, Claude W. Edwards, and Ray Dillon—and your current one, Joseph P. Mott.

Good luck to you all.

Time and Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a timely article which appeared in the Boston Herald of April 29, 1957:

TIME AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Time is running out on the civil rights bill, and unless backers of the measure can get speedy action now that the Easter recess is over the little group of willful men who oppose it will have won another round.

Earlier the consensus was that some kind of civil rights legislation would be fought through this session as a sop to mounting public demands. The old lineup of southern diehards was still there, but the civil righters were convinced they had the votes.

Now the outlook is less certain. The timetable of the pro group was to get the measure out of committee and ready for floor debate before Easter. This was considered necessary in order to forestall a filibuster which would naturally be more effective as the session drew to a close and the pressure of unfinished business became heavier.

That deadline already has been missed. In the House the bill is still firmly bottled up in the Rules Committee, headed by Virginia's hard-bitten HOWARD W. SMITH. And in the Senate a compainion measure is waiting consideration by the Judiciary Committee, which is under the thumb of Mississippi's EASTLAND.

Observers say that the two committee chairmen cannot hold out much beyond the recess, but they are men of strong purposes and great parliamentary experience. They will have to yield, but it may take a good many days yet.

The prospect is still good for some final action in the House. Once the bill reaches the floor there, a vote is unavoidable. But can the Senate be moved? It will certainly deliberate—at great length—and deliberation may turn into a filibuster. At this late date in the session, even the well-intentioned majority leader, LYNDON JOHNSON, may not be able to force action.

If civil rights legislation fails again this year it will be a tribute to the patience and ingenuity of the southern bloc. The bloc is holding out against seemingly insuperable odds. But there is consolation in the fact that it cannot continue to win must longer. Ingenuity has a limit. And so does the public's tolerance of delay.

Time is running against civil rights legislation this session, but it is running against the whole anti-civil-rights position in the longer term. The reform will come, if not this year, then in 1958 or 1959. The old guard has just about talked itself out.

No Change in Suez Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following excerpts from press and radio point up the fact that Egypt intends to continue its policy of aggression against Israel, a fact which by this time should be most apparent to our Secretary of State. These excerpts appeared in the April 24, 1957, issue of Israel Digest:

NO CHANGE IN SUEZ POLICY

"Informed sources in Cairo said that Egypt's official policy regarding the passage of Israeli ships through the Suez Canal was the same as in the past—that is, that Egypt was still in a state of war with Israel and that Israeli ships had no right to pass through the canal." (Radio Damascus, March 9.)

"The War Effort Office has notified the customs houses at Suez and Port Said that officials of the office will inspect all vessels heading for or coming from Israel." (Al Akhbar, Egyptian daily, March 11.)

"Abdul Nasser, in an interview with a correspondent of the French newspaper Matinee Dimanche, said that Egypt will continue to prevent the passage of Israeli vessels through the Suez Canal." (Radio Damascus, March 18.)

"Nasser, in his talk with Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold, today reiterated his claim to the rights of a belligerent, emphasizing that he would not permit the passage of Israeli ships through the Suez Canal, it was reported by reliable sources in Cairo." (A report from the United Press, March 23.)

SOON WE'LL DANCE IN TEL AVIV

A delegation of Egyptian artists came to Jordan to participate in celebrations marking the ending of the treaty with Great Britain. Interviewed by a correspondent of Al-Dif'a, Tahiya Kiryuka, a dancer, said: "God willing, we shall dance in Tel Aviv in the near future to entertain the Arab armies after they enter that city in triumph." (Al-Dif'a, Jordan daily, March 17.)

Our Overseas Bases Are the One Ace Card Which We Hold and Which the Soviet Cannot Match

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article by Virgil Pinkley, editor of the Los Angeles Mirror-News:

OVERSEAS BASES ESSENTIAL

(By Virgil Pinkley, Los Angeles Mirror-News editor and publisher)

Trying to get America out of overseas bases continues to be a prime objective of Russia.

In addition, we face related problems on Okinawa and in the Philippines. Further, Moscow is trying to frighten and blackmail Norway and Denmark on the issue of guided missile bases as was demonstrated this week.

Moscow reasons quite logically that if United States forces ever left foreign bases we probably never would return short of another global war. It would take months and years and fantastic expense to reoccupy these bases if they were not in our hands. Our withdrawal would cut lines of communications and supply and eliminate our vast depots.

For 7 years the Kremlin has striven mightily to break up NATO because Red military leaders look upon this entire organization in Scandinavia, Western Europe, Italy, Iberia, the Mediterranean, Greece and Turkey as one gigantic American-Western Allies base. This area swinging around Russia like an arc to the west and south contains thousands of air, naval, and rocket or missile bases. From them could come nuclear weapons of retaliation. It would be virtually impossible for the Soviets to knock out all these bases even in enormous surprise attacks. Weather alone would dictate otherwise.

STRONG POINTS FEARED BY RUSS

Moscow fears and respects these strong points we and our allies hold and man. Most of them were brought into being by the military grabs and aggressive power politics played by the Soviets during the closing phases of the last war and the years immediately following. The capture, suppression, and occupation of the slave states behind the Iron Curtain made free nations understand the peril of ruthless communism used to the hilt by the Russians in a modern and terrible form of imperialism.

The Soviets would love to get us out of European bases and then induce us to leave ones now occupied in Britain, Spain, north Africa, Saudi Arabia, and Iceland. If this happened, Europe, the Mediterranean, Africa, and the Middle East would lie helpless before the might of Russia's massed and mobilized 171 Red Army divisions, the world's largest jet air force of more than 20,000 planes, a frightening submarine fleet of more than 500, a mighty arsenal of nuclear weapons, and power politics.

These Red forces would be operating on interior lines of communication. The Kremlin could mass divisions and planes along a frontier and make demands in political, economic, military, and even territorial fields.

What would stand before the rulers of the Kremlin? In most instances little or nothing. America in that event would lie between the Atlantic and the Pacific. We could not stave off Russian aerial and guided-missile attacks if they were launched against us. We now know the hard way through experience that no nation, especially a large power with world trade and responsibilities, can be isolated or go it alone.

GIVING UP BASES RANK FOLLY

The most costly mistake we could make for our security and that of much of the world would be to abandon these overseas bases. It would be rank folly and utter stupidity.

Even in these days of strategic air forces, nuclear bombs and warheads, and intercontinental rockets or missiles, we need these overseas bases. They are paramount. Their being is the strongest possible brake on overt military action by the men who rule the Communist world from behind the walls of the Kremlin. Our strong points in foreign lands are like NATO—instruments of defense and for security. If we are forced into war they can become powerful offensive springboards, enabling full use of our growing inventory of military hardware.

If any administration or Congress proposed to eliminate these bases or cut down on their maintenance, the public should raise an outcry which continued until commonsense returned to Washington. There is no likelihood of any such action now or in the immediate future. In view of the Russian deeds in Hungary and the Middle East, the menace we have faced continues.

This past week, Premier Bulganin sent strongly worded and blunt communications to the Prime Ministers of Norway and Denmark, threatening all kinds of dire results if guided missile bases are established on the territory of either sovereign nation. Neither of these fine, brave, little countries has reacted in a frightened way. Each is a stanch member of NATO and has airbases which can be used by NATO. Further, naval forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have maneuvered in their territorial waters and off their coasts.

DENMARK, NORWAY STAND FAST

It was the act of a "brave, courageous nation, ruled by the principles of justice" for Russia, with its 220 million population, to try and scare 4,500,000 Danes and 3,500,000 Norwegians. Moscow knows, as does the world, that Norway and Denmark have no aggressive military aspirations. Each country is devoutly democratic and dedicated to working for peace. There are only limited military forces in these Scandinavian nations whereas Russia has the world's largest military machine, mobilized. This is not to say that the Soviet juggernaut is necessarily the best or that Russia and the slave states could outproduce the free world.

The Kremlin keeps reminding Norway that there are 120 miles of frontier between Russia and that country. Also, that Soviet jet bombers could reach Copenhagen in less than 30 minutes.

Despite the huffing and puffing of the big Red bear, our friends and allies in Denmark and Norway are standing fast. Their adherence to NATO is greater today than ever.

When the world situation is considered from almost any aspect, it is obvious that our oversea bases are essential. They must be held at all costs now and for a long, long time to come.

Brig. Gen. Louis H. Renfrow, a Devoted, Loyal, and Faithful Public Servant, Resigns as Deputy Director of Selective Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL C. JONES
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to call to the attention of his many friends in Congress that May 1, 1957, is the effective date of the resignation of Brig. Gen. Louis H. Renfrow, who for more than 15 years has rendered a most faithful and loyal service to our Nation as Civilian Deputy Director of Selective Service.

Many of our colleagues have had the opportunity to come into contact with and to know General Renfrow when he was serving as an assistant to the Secretary of Defense, Chief Legislative and Liaison Officer with Selective Service, and as an assistant military aide to President Truman. Others will remember him for his active and effective service in the American Legion.

After almost 40 years of military service—16 active duty and 23 reserve duty—and upon reaching the statutory age, General Renfrow was retired from service on February 1, 1957, and with his resignation from Selective Service, he expects to avail himself of an opportunity to affiliate with business.

I know, Mr. Speaker, that I am joined by many of my colleagues here in the House in wishing Lou Renfrow and his charming wife, Ruth Kelso Renfrow—a native daughter of the 10th District of Missouri—all of the success and happiness which they so richly deserve.

I think it is apropos to include in these brief remarks copies of letters which have been written to General Renfrow on the occasion of his retirement from Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, United States Army Chief of Staff, and from Maj. Gen. J. P. Epperly, Chief of the Dental Corps. Also, I am including a letter from the Director of Selective Service, Lewis B. Hershey, lieutenant general, United States Army, as well as an article from the April 1957 issue of Selective Service:

UNITED STATES ARMY,
THE CHIEF OF STAFF,
March 16, 1957.

Brig. Gen. LOUIS H. RENFROW,
Army of United States, Retired.

DEAR GENERAL RENFROW: On the occasion of your retirement from the Army of the United States after many years of devoted service to the Nation, I write to express to you the Army's appreciation for all you have contributed to its achievements.

From the time you first served as a dental surgeon with the 57th and 43d Infantry Regiments during World War I, you have consistently displayed outstanding devotion to duty. Following the war and your release from active duty, your participation in the activities of the Army's Reserve components proved excellent preparation for the duties you were to assume during World War II. In that conflict the Army was fortunate to have an officer with your qualifications to serve as dental adviser to the Medical Division of the National Selective Service System in Washington, D. C. In that capacity and later when you became executive officer and then Assistant Chief of the Medical Division, your experience and ability contributed significantly to the formulation of sound policies essential to meet the armed services manpower requirements.

After the war, your proved capabilities were of continuing value in your duties as Chief of the Liaison and Legislative Office of the Director of the National Selective Service System. While in this assignment and including your service as assistant military aide to the President with duty as Assistant Coordinator for Veteran Affairs, your ability assisted materially in the effective operation of both the selective-service organization and the Veterans' Administration. In your subsequent assignment as aide and special assistant to the Secretary of Defense, your judgment and tact were of substantive assistance in the many liaison activities which you performed for the Secretary. Later, as Deputy Director of National Headquarters of the Selective Service System during the Korean emergency, your ability and extensive knowledge of the manpower needs of our Armed Forces were important factors in the efficient operation of selective service. Throughout your career, culminating in your performance in the last mentioned assignment, your efforts have consistently promoted the security of our country and the free world.

In your retirement, I hope that you will maintain a lively interest in the Army and its doings. The Army needs informed friends throughout the country to interpret its requirements to our citizens. Your community will properly look to you, as a retired senior officer, for views on military matters. I trust that you will be an active spokesman for the Army, keeping abreast of current matters through contacts with the Army headquarters of the area in which you reside.

The best wishes of the Army follow you as you leave its active ranks. May you find in your retirement the happiness and good fortune you so richly deserve.

Sincerely,

MAXWELL D. TAYLOR,
General, United States Army,
Chief of Staff.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
OFFICE OF THE SURGEON GENERAL,
Washington D. C., April 3, 1957.

Brig. Gen. LOUIS H. RENFROW,
Army of the United States, Retired, Deputy Director of Selective Service, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GENERAL RENFROW: Upon your retirement from active duty I wish to express

both officially and personally my appreciation of the loyal and efficient service which has characterized your career as a member of the Dental Corps—a period marked by participation in three wars, World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict. Throughout your military career your professional and administrative ability has earned for you an enviable position in the field of dentistry, in both military and civilian circles, as evidenced by your selection as the first dental Reserve officer of the Army to be promoted to the grade of brigadier general.

It occurs to me that the word "first" is most significant as it applies to your career, in that, to you has been accorded the honor of being the first dental officer to be assistant military aide to the President; the first dental officer to be assistant to the Secretary of Defense; and the first dental officer to be Deputy Director of Selective Service. In each of these capacities you established an outstanding record, and the pride of achievement, which is rightfully yours, is shared not only by the Dental Corps but the Medical Service as a whole. But few attain such honors, and the dental profession is indeed fortunate to have numbered among its members one so richly honored.

Your abundant knowledge of, and your unbounded interest in Reserve matters are particularly worthy of note. I can think of no one who accomplished so much in this field, and I am sure your return to civilian life in no way will dampen your interest in military affairs.

To summarize your many activities without stressing the importance of the role which you filled as Deputy Director of National Headquarters of the Selective Service System would be remiss on my part, for here too you displayed the knowledge, keen judgment, tact and devotion to duty which typified your every endeavor in the interest of the Nation and the dental profession.

It is with regret that I note the retirement of our experienced dental officers, for I realize the distinct loss sustained by the Army in being deprived of the services of those who, like yourself, by their professional ability and devotion to duty have contributed in such an outstanding manner to the esteem in which the Army Dental Corps is held.

My best wishes are with you and Ruth always, and in the years ahead may health, happiness, and success be yours.

Sincerely,

J. M. EPPERLY,
Major General, Dental Corps,
Chief of the Dental Corps.

THE DIRECTOR OF SELECTIVE SERVICE,
Washington, D. C., March 22, 1957.

Brig. Gen. LOUIS H. RENFROW,
Deputy Director of Selective Service,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR GENERAL RENFROW: Your letter of March 21, 1957, tendering your resignation as Deputy Director of the Selective Service System, effective May 1, 1957, contains impelling reasons with which I cannot in conscience take exception. I must, therefore, with deep regret, perform the duty of approving your request.

Your references to the System, your associates on the staff, and the personnel make me extremely proud. Your reference to me leaves me deeply grateful and most humble.

The years since December 20, 1941, have been eventful, both in our lives, in the life of the Nation, and in the change which the whole world has undergone. We have shared in some small way in the unfolding of these events. It has been my high privilege to benefit with our organization and our Nation from unusual contributions which you have made. Your capacities and your energy have been given without reserve to the successful operation of the Selective Service System.

You have earned many times over the privilege of applying yourself to activities nongovernmental. I know that you have the contentment that can come only to those who have made their full share of contributions to their Nation.

To you, to Mrs. Renfrow, to the sons, to the daughters, and to the grandchildren, officially and unofficially, collectively and individually, go from us all every good wish and every fond hope for the years that are to come.

Sincerely,

LEWIS B. HERSHEY,
Lieutenant General, United States Army.

[From Selective Service of April 1957]

GENERAL RENFROW RESIGNS AS DEPUTY DIRECTOR, SELECTIVE SERVICE, MAY 1, 1957

Brig. Gen. Louis H. Renfrow who had retired on February 1, 1957, having reached the statutory age, submitted his letter of resignation as Civilian Deputy Director of Selective Service to Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey effective May 1, 1957. In his letter of resignation General Renfrow gave as his reason that an opportunity to affiliate with business had presented itself. In a letter accepting his resignation General Hershey expressed sincere regret at his leaving, and thanked him for his over 15 years of loyal and faithful service to his Nation and to the whole Selective Service System, while on active military duty.

Brig. Gen. Louis H. Renfrow was born in Cairo, Ill., October 5, 1896, the son of Louis Lee and Anna Mildred Renfrow, who are still living. He is married to Ruth Kelso Renfrow, and they have 2 sons, Robert Kelso and Richard Nelson, both of whom are World War II veterans, and 3 grandsons.

General Renfrow was appointed Deputy Director, Selective Service System, September ber 20, 1950, after 2 years as assistant to the Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson.

When General Renfrow left Selective Service early in 1949 to become Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, he was a colonel and chief legislative and liaison officer of Selective Service. Date of his promotion to the rank of brigadier general was September 8, 1949.

As chief legislative and liaison officer of Selective Service, General Renfrow—then a colonel—is credited with playing a major part in formulating and guiding legislative measures pertinent to Selective Service, including the present act.

General Renfrow's military career began when he was commissioned a first lieutenant in August 1917. During World War I, he served in the 57th and 43d United States Infantry, 15th Division of the Regular Army. He resumed private dental practice, retaining a Reserve commission and maintaining, over the ensuing years, an active and sustained interest in military matters, serving for several years in the 138th Infantry, Missouri National Guard, and participating in the training programs of the Army. In 1941, he was ordered to Washington for consideration of assignment to the Selective Service System.

General Renfrow's honors include: Legion of Merit (United States); Commendation Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster (United States); Selective Service Medal (United States); Victory Medals of World War I, World War II, and Korea; American Sector Medal, Legion of Honor (France); Order du Ouissam Alaouite Cherifen (Morocco); Medal Libertee (France); Star of Solidarity (Italy); La Cruz de Merito Militar (Guatemala). He is also a recipient of the Cross of St. Michael and St. Lazarus (Italy). Recently he was awarded the gold medal of the Pierre Fauchard Academy.

General Renfrow attended Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau, Mo.; and is a graduate of Washington University School of Dentistry, St. Louis, Mo., 1917; and the Army School of Military Tactic and Oral Surgery, Camp Greenleaf, Ga., 1918.

General Renfrow's affiliations are as follows: Member, Fellow, American College of Dentists; Fellow, International College of Dentists (past international president of the International College of Dentists at Large); Pierre Fauchard Academy (past national president); Omicron Kappa Upsilon; Delta Sigma Delta (past supreme grand master); member, Christian Church; Mason, 32d degree; Alpha Phi Omega; member, Army-Navy Club; member, American Legion since May 1919; La Societe des 40 Hommes et 8 Chevaux; member and vice chairman, medical advisory board of the American Legion.

General Renfrow has many firsts to his credit. He was the first Dental Reserve Army officer to be promoted to the rank of brigadier general; to be chief legislative and liaison officer; to be assistant military aide to the President; to be assistant to the Secretary of Defense; and to be Deputy Director of Selective Service; and the first dentist to be elected to membership in the National Mental Hygiene Society for work he did on the medical-survey program of Selective Service.

Schweitzer's Appeal To End Nuclear Tests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following portentous words of one of the world's greatest men, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, as printed in the New York Times of April 24, 1957:

SCHWEITZER'S APPEAL TO END NUCLEAR TESTS

OSLO, NORWAY, April 23.—Following is the translation of excerpts from a letter issued by Dr. Albert Schweitzer through the Norwegian Nobel Committee, asking that public opinion demand an end to nuclear tests:

Since March 1, 1954, hydrogen bombs have been tested, by the Americans at the Pacific Island of Bikini in the Marshall Group and by the Russians in Siberia.

After the explosion of a hydrogen bomb * * * something remained in the air, namely, an uncalculable number of radioactive particles emitting radio active rays. This was also the case with the uranium bombs which were dropped on Negasaki and Hiroshima and those with which subsequent tests were made. However, because these bombs had smaller size and less effect compared with the hydrogen bombs, one hardly paid any attention to this fact.

Since radioactive days of sufficient amount and strength have harmful effects on the human body, one started discussing if the radiation resulting from the explosions that had already taken place represented a danger which would increase with new explosions.

RACE HELD ENDANGERED

In the course of the 3½ years that have passed since then representatives of the physical and medical sciences have been studying the problem. The material collected, although far from complete, allows us to draw the conclusion that radiation resulting from the explosions which have already taken place, represents a danger to the human race, a danger not to be underrated, and that further explosions of atomic bombs

will increase this danger to an alarming extent.

I raise my voice, together with those of others who have lately felt it their duty to act, in speaking and writing, as warners of the danger. My age and the sympathy that I have gained for myself through advocating the idea of reverence for life, permit me to hope that my appeal may contribute to the preparing of the way for the insight so urgently needed.

There are two kinds of atom bombs, uranium bombs and hydrogen bombs. To these two bombs has recently been added the cobalt bomb, a kind of superatom bomb. The effect of this bomb is estimated to be many times stronger than that of hydrogen bombs having been made till now.

The explosion of an atom bomb creates an unconceivably large number of exceedingly small particles of radioactive elements.

PARTICLES HAVE LONG LIFE

Of these elements, some exist for hours, some for weeks, or months, or years, or millions of years, undergoing continuous decay. They float in the higher strata of air as clouds of radioactive dust. The heavy particles fall down first. The lighter ones will stay in the air for a longer time or come down with the rain and the snow. How long it will take before everything carried up in the air by the explosions which have taken place till now has disappeared, no one can say with any certainty. According to some estimates, this will be the case not earlier than 30 or 40 years from now.

What we can state with certainty, however, is that the radioactive clouds will constantly be carried by the winds around the globe and that some of the dust, by its own weight, or by being brought down by rain, snow, mist and dew, little by little, will fall down on the hard surface of the earth, into the rivers and into the oceans.

Particularly dangerous are the elements combining long life with a relatively strong efficiency radiation. Among them strontium 90 takes the first place. It is present in very large amounts in the radioactive dust. Cobalt 60 must also be mentioned as particularly dangerous.

WATER MADE RADIOACTIVE

The radioactivity in the air, increased through these elements, will not harm us from the outside, not being strong enough to penetrate the skin. But the danger which has to be stressed above all the others is the one which arises from our drinking radioactive water and our eating radioactive food as a consequence of the increased radioactivity in the air.

Following the explosions on Bikini and Siberia rain falling over Japan was, from time to time, been so radioactive that the water from it cannot be drunk. And not only there: reports of radioactive rainfall are coming from all parts of the world where anlayses have recently been made. In several places, the water has proved to be so radioactive that it was unfit for drinking.

Wherever radioactive rainwater is found the soil is also radioactive—and in a higher degree. The soil is more radioactive not only by the downpour, but also from radioactive dust falling on it. And with the soil the vegetation will also have become radioactive.

The radioactive elements deposited in the soil pass into the plants where they are stored. this is of importance, for as a result of this process it may be the case that we are threatened by a considerable amount of radioactive elements.

The radioactive elements in grass, when eaten by animals whose meat is used for food, will be absorbed and stored in our bodies.

What this storing of radioactive material implies is clearly demonstrated by the observations made when, at one occasion, the radioactivity of the Columbia River in North America was analyzed. The radioactivity was caused by the atomic plants at Hanford, which produce atomic energy for industrial purposes, and which empty their waste water into the river.

FINDS PROBLEM EVADED

The radioactivity of the river water was insignificant. But the radioactivity of the river plankton was 2,000 times higher, that of the ducks eating the plankton 40,000 times higher, that of the fish 150,000 times higher. In young swallows fed on insects caught by their parents in the river, the radioactivity was 500,000 times higher and in the egg yolks of water birds more than 1 million times higher.

From official and unofficial sources we have been assured, time and time again, that the increase in radioactivity of the air does not exceed the amount which the human body can tolerate without any harmful effects. This is just evading the problem.

Even if not directly affected by the radioactive material in the air, we are indirectly affected through that which has fallen down, is falling down, and will fall down. We are absorbing this through radioactive drinking water and through animal and vegetable foodstuffs, to the same extent as radioactive elements are stored in the vegetation of the region in which we live. Unfortunately for us, nature hoards what is falling down from the air.

None of the radioactivity of the air, brought into existence by the exploding of atom bombs is so unimportant that it may not, in the long run, become a danger to us through increasing the amount of radioactivity stored in our bodies.

What are the diseases caused by internal radiation? The same diseases that are known to be caused by external radiation.

They are mainly serious blood diseases. If the cells in the bone marrow are damaged by radiation they will produce too few or abnormal, degenerating blood corpuscles. Both cases lead to blood diseases and, most often, to death. These were the diseases that killed the victims of X-rays and radium rays.

It was one of these diseases that attacked the Japanese fishermen who were surprised in their vessel by radioactive ashes falling down 240 miles from Bikini after the explosion of a hydrogen bomb. With one exception, they were all saved, being strong and relatively mildly affected, through continuous blood transfusions.

DAMAGE TO DESCENDENTS

In the cases cited, the radiation came from the outside. It is unfortunately very probable that internal radiation affecting the bone marrow and lasting for years will have the same effect, particularly since the radiation goes from the bone tissue to the bone marrow.

Not our own health only is threatened by internal radiation, but also that of our descendants. The fact is that the cells of the reproductive organs are particularly vulnerable to radiation. To the profound damage of these cells corresponds a profound damage to our descendants.

To find out how the existing radioactive radiation has affected posterity, comparative studies have been made between the descendants of doctors who have been using X-ray apparatus for years and those of doctors who have not. Among the descendants of radiologists, a percentage of still births of 1.403 was found, while the percentage among the nonradiologists was 1.222.

In the first group, 6.01 percent of the children had congenital defects, while only 4.82 percent in the second.

It must be remembered that even the weakest of internal radiation can have harmful effects on our descendants.

The total effect of the damage done to descendants of ancestors who have been exposed to radioactive rays will not, in accordance with the laws of genetics, be apparent in the generations coming immediately after us. The full effects will appear only 100 or 200 years later.

We are forced to regard every increase in the existing danger through further creation of radioactive elements by atom bomb explosions as a catastrophe for the human race, a catastrophe that must be prevented under every circumstance.

There can be no question of doing anything else, if only for the reason that we cannot take the responsibility for the consequences it might have for our descendants.

They are threatened by the greatest and most terrible danger.

That radioactive elements created by us are found in nature is an astounding event in the history of the earth. And of the human race. To fail to consider its importance and its consequences would be a folly for which humanity would have to pay a terrible price. When public opinion has been created in the countries concerned and among all nations, an opinion informed of the dangers involved in going on with the tests and led by the reason which this information imposes, then the statesmen may reach an agreement to stop the experiments.

A public opinion of this kind stands in no need of plebiscites or of forming of committees to express itself. It works through just being there.

The end of further experiments with atom bombs would be like the early sun rays of hope which suffering humanity is longing for.

Greenville, Miss.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article from Fleet Flashes, the publication of the Lykes Lines:

GREENVILLE, MISS.

Greenville, Miss., came into existence in 1826 when a band of young pioneers docked their boat at Bachelor's Bend on the eastern shore of the Mississippi River, 150 miles south of Memphis. It was incorporated as a town March 21, 1886. Since then the world's richest alluvial soil of the flat, fertile Mississippi Delta has provided a bounteous living for Greenville's ever increasing population.

Greenville today is one of the most attractive cities of the delta, noted for its beautiful gardens, wide tree-lined streets, and spacious, well-kept lawns. It is a city rich in culture whose people have developed highly the art of good living. The metropolitan population is in excess of 40,000. Harmony, mutual aid, and understanding between the races have won national acclaim for this thriving port city.

Although for decades cotton has been the mainstay of the delta's economy, rapid diversification of agriculture has brought about vast production of small grains, livestock, dairy herds, poultry, and produce. Mechanized farming has replaced the mule and the plow. New industries to process farm commodities have supplemented the two large wood products mills, and many smaller plants have sprung up, manufacturing chemicals, machinery, cottonseed oil and cake, soybean oil mill products, fabricated metals, concrete products, fertilizer, and hardwood lumber.

The world leader in wool carpet manufacturing has a modern plant located here.

Greenville's strategic location and water transportation facilities make it a distribution point and retail trade center of no small proportions, handling a tremendous volume of petroleum, farm equipment, fertilizer, automobile, and other appliances, lumber and building materials, which is disbursed over a tri-State trade area. It is also a recognized medical center.

During the decade, 1930–40, Greenville showed the largest percentage of increase in population of any city in Mississippi. The increase, 1940–50, was 43.1 percent. To meet its growing needs Greenville has experienced a continuous building boom since 1940. Over 2,000 new homes have been constructed since 1945, as well as many new commercial establishments.

Washington County, of which Greenville is the seat, produces normally 125,000 bales of cotton; the Mississippi Delta, about 2 million bales. In recent years the trend has been rapidly away from the one-crop system, toward livestock, soybeans, corn, oats, rice, vegetables, poultry, and dairying.

Greenville's trade territory includes southeast Arkansas and northeast Louisiana, and has a population exceeding 300,000, which places the city third in the State in retail sales. The largest cities of comparable size or larger are about 100 miles away.

The Greenville Bridge, a modern structure of steel and concrete, 2 miles long, spans the Mississippi River 5 miles southwest of the city. It was built by the city of Greenville at a cost of $4,650,000 and opened to traffic October 6 1940.

Until 1931 the Mississippi River flowed past the Greenville business section at the foot of Main Street, but the Father of Waters then was moved several miles west by cutoffs. Huge levees on both sides of the river were constructed and are maintained by the United States engineers. The mighty Mississippi flows swifty to the gulf, and Greenville rests securely behind this modern miracle of engineering and tested flood protection.

A great benefit of the cutoff has been the resulting formation of beautiful Lake Ferguson, which is nearly a mile wide, 6 miles long, shaped like a horseshoe, with the southern heel connecting with the Mississippi north of the Greenville Bridge. Thus Greenville enjoys a natural deep-water harbor, receiving and shipping tremendous tonnage in lumber, petroleum, fertilizer, steel, farm supplies, and other commodities.

A new integrated rail, truck, barge terminal is the latest addition to Greenville. This ultramodern port facility will offer material-handling equipment that should satisfy the needs for the movement of any presently known commodity. A public warehouse will be operated in conjunction with the port terminal for use of demurrage storage only.

Year-round sports of water lovers are boating and excellent fishing for bass, white perch, sausage pike, bream, and channel cat, which have been weighed in at 120 pounds. Lake Ferguson is only 1 of 5 large lakes within 20 miles of the city. Other popular sports are deer, duck, and quail hunting; golf, riding, trapshooting and archery, football, and other seasonal sports. Greenville's citizens are justifiably proud of their community, which offers abundant opportunity for earning a living and a gentle southern climate in which to play and enjoy life.

Hodding Carter, editor of Greenville's daily Delta Democrat Times, Pulitzer prizewinner, author, lecturer, and civic leader, is of national prominence. Many of his books and magazine articles have been circulated throughout America and in European and other foreign countries. In Southern Legacy he wrote in 1949 of Greenville:

"In its strenuous past and its hopeful present, Greenville is the South in microcosm, though it does not share the more ancient heritage of the southeastern seaboard. Only a little more than a century ago the sites of Greenville and our surrounding small towns and plantations were soggy cypress swamps, hidden from the sun. Here was and is the frontier of the South.

"The people who came to this swampland and cleared and drained and planted it * * * bore mostly English and Scotch-Irish names, with a scattering of German and south-Irish stock * * * from the seaboard States or Kentucky or Tennessee. Here they settled where the land had been built up from swamps by silt deposits from centuries of the river's overflow."

Marginal Seas of Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, since my appearance on statehood for Alaska befor the appropriate subcommittee of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, I have received a good deal of mail from Alaska as well as from my own district and the State of Washington.

Because of my frank statement that a temporary commonwealth status would be preferable to statehood for Alaska, naturally there has been some differences of opinion as to this point. But I will say 98 percent of the opinions expressed in such letters are in complete support of my views. With exemption from Federal income taxes under commonwealth the people and business firms of Alaska would retain the $45 million which now goes into the Treasury of the United States. A part of this would be available for self-government and the adequate management, conservation, protection, and development of Alaska's resources. Payrolls could be established by attracting new venture capital for investment under a tax incentive program. But of equal importance, Alaska could afford research and proper regulation of her resources and in particular of her fisheries, which is now financed and administered by the Federal Government. Under statehood Alaska's economy could not possibly afford so much money.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, I desire to make my position clear. Under commonwealth status I favor self-management of the Alaska fisheries. However, under statehood I support retention of Federal control until such time as Alaska could afford to do the job herself.

Under questioning of the members of the subcommittee, when I testified, the point was raised as to whether or not under the Constitution the Federal Government could legally withhold control of the fisheries. In this connection I include for the RECORD a legal memorandum concerning the marginal seas of Alaska which was prepared by Edward W. Allen, an eminent member of the Washington State bar and past and present member of various international fishery commissions.

I have urged safeguards for the rights of nonresidents. The memorandum which follows concludes that any provision limiting the new State in its control over fisheries would not be unconstitutional because of the so-called equal-footing clause. I hope Members of Congress will study this brief:

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING MARGINAL SEAS OF ALASKA

May Congress, in enacting an enabling act for the admission of the Territory of Alaska as a sister State in the Union, withhold, either temporarily or permanently, control over migratory fish in the marginal sea of the new State?

The question involves the assertion that new States must be admitted upon an equal footing with existing States. The United States constitutional provision is (art. 4, sec. 3) that "New States may be admitted by the Congress into the Union * * *." It goes on briefly to prohibit carving up a State without its consent or forcing States to join.

There is nothing in this language about equal footing. This is a matter of judicial construction, probably basically sound, but subject to reconciliation with other features of our governmental structure. It does not interfere with the Federal Government exercising its own unrestricted power differently in different States, nor does it apply to Federal proprietorship. Furthermore, the Federal Government has latent powers, so that while it may permit a State to exercise jurisdiction in a particular field, this jurisdiction can be superseded when the Federal Government sees fit to act.

Under numerous decisions it has been pointed out that the Federal Government has such latent powers with reference to the marginal sea, and since the decision of *United States* v. *California* (332 U. S. 19; L. ed. 1889 (1947)), it has been made clear that because of the proprietory rights of the Federal Government, as well as its sovereign power, equal footing is not involved. This was a case wherein the United State brought action against the State of California for a declaration of the rights of the United States to lands, minerals, and other things of value underlying the Pacific Ocean, lying seaward of the ordinary low-water mark on the coast of California and outside of the inland waters of the State. The issue as stated by the Supreme Court, at page 29, was:

"Whether the State or the Federal Government has the paramount right and power to determine in the first instance when, how, and by what agencies, foreign or domestic, the oil and other resources of the soil of the marginal sea, known or hereafter discovered, may be exploited."

The holding of the Court was stated at page 38 to be as follows:

"Now that the question is here, we decide for the reasons we have stated that California is not the owner of the 3-mile marginal belt along its coast, and that the Federal Government rather than the State has paramount rights in and power over that belt, an incident to which is full dominion over the resources of the soil under that water area, including oil."

The Court further stated, at pages 35–36:

"The State is not equipped in our constitutional system with the powers or the facilities for exercising the responsibilities which would be concomitant with the dominion which it seeks. Conceding that the State has been authorized to exercise local police power functions in the part of the marginal belt within its declared boundaries, these do not detract from the Federal Government's paramount rights in and power over this area."

In commenting upon the holdings of prior Supreme Court decisions pertaining to a

State's right to regulate or control the taking of fish or other resources from its territorial waters, the Court said, at pages 37–38:

"But the opinion in that case was concerned with the State's power to regulate and conserve within its territorial waters, not with its exercise of the right to use and deplete resources which might be of national and international importance. And there was no argument there, nor did this Court decide, whether the Federal Government owned or had paramount rights in the soil under the gulf waters. That this question remained undecided is evidenced by *Skiriotes* v. *Florida* (313 U. S. 69, 75, 85 L. ed. 1193, 61 S. Ct. 924), where we had occasion to speak of Florida's power over sponge fishing in its territorial waters. Through Mr. Chief Justice Hughes we said: 'It is also clear that Florida has an interest in the proper maintenance of the sponge fishery and that the State statute so far as applied to conduct within the territorial waters of Florida, in the absence of conflicting Federal legislation, is within the police power of the State.' "

In 1950, the Court decided the case of *United States* v. *Louisiana* (339 U. S. 699, 94 L. Ed. 1216), which involved a suit by the United States identical for all practical purposes to the suit involving the State of California. The Court held that national rights were paramount in the marginal sea lying off the shores of the State of Louisiana. Such paramount rights were held to extend to the ocean seaward of the marginal belt.

In passing upon the issues presented, the Court stated, at page 704:

"We lay aside such cases as *Toomer* v. *Witsell* (334 U. S. 385, 393, 92 L. Ed. 1460, 1469, 68 L. Ct. 1156), where a State's regulation of coastal waters below the low-water mark collides with the interests of a person not acting on behalf of or under the authority of the United States. The question here is not the power of a State to use the marginal sea or to regulate its use in absence of a conflicting Federal policy; it is the power of a State to deny the paramount authority which the United States seeks to assert over the area in question."

One month subsequent to the decision in the Louisiana case, supra, the Supreme Court decided the case of *United States* v. *Texas* (339, U. S. 707, 94 L. Ed. 1221). This case involved a similar dispute between the United States and the State of Texas. Of the three cases, California, Louisiana, and Texas, the Texas case is perhaps the most definitive with respect to the effect of the "equal footing" clause as it pertains to the admission of a State to the Union. On this point the Court declared, at pages 717–718:

"The "equal footing" clause, we hold, works the same way in the converse situation presented by this case. It negatives any implied, special limitation of any of the paramount powers of the United States in favor of a State. Texas prior to her admission was a Republic. We assume that as a Republic she had not only full sovereignty over the marginal sea but ownership of it, of the land underlying it, and of all the riches which it held. In other words we assume that it then had the dominium and imperium in and over this belt which the United States now claims. When Texas came into the Union, she ceased to be an independent nation. She then became a sister State on an "equal footing" with all the other States. That act concededly entailed a relinquishment of some of her sovereignty. The United States then took her place as respects foreign commerce, the waging of war, the making of treaties, defense of the shores, and the like. In external affairs the United States became the sole and exclusive spokesman for the Nation. We hold that as an incident to the transfer of that sovereignty any claim that Texas may have had to the marginal sea was relinquished to the United States."

Of particular importance is the following statement of the Court dealing with the extent to which the Federal Government has paramount rights in the marginal sea:

"Today the controversy is over oil. Tomorrow it may be over some other substance or mineral or perhaps the bed of the ocean itself. If the property, whatever it may be, lies seaward of low-water mark, its use, disposition, management, and control involve national interests and national responsibilities. That is the source of national rights in it. Such is the rationale of the California decision which we have applied to Louisiana's case."

In 1953 Congress passed the Submerged Lands Act (43 U. S. C., secs. 1301 et seq.) wherein the Government ceded to several of the States, the marginal seas and, in some cases, greater areas, bordering those States.

The Submerged Lands Act was challenged as an unconstitutional exercise of the power of Congress to dispose of public lands in the cases of *Alabama* v. *Texas* and *Rhode Island* v. *Louisiana* (347 U. S. 272, 98 L. Ed. 689 (1954)).

In a per curiam decision, the Court determined that, under article 4, section 3, of the United States Constitution, Congress had the power to dispose of any kind of property, including marginal seas, which belonged to the United States. The concurring and dissenting opinions in the *Alabama* v. *Texas* case are of aid in defining the scope of the California, Louisiana, and Texas, supra, decisions.

Justice Reed, in concurring, stated at page 274:

"While this Court did not hold in express terms in the Texas, Louisiana, and California cases that the area in question belonged to the United States as proprietor, it did hold that 'the Federal Government rather than the State has paramount rights in and power over that belt, an incident to which is full dominion over the resources of the soil under that water area, including oil' (332 U. S. at 38, 39). This incident is a property right and Congress had unlimited power to dispose of it."

Justice Black, in dissenting, stated at page 280:

"The Constitution does give Congress power to dispose of and regulate 'Territory or other property belonging to the United States.' This power, where it applied, has been declared to be unlimited. Congress, the Court has said, 'may deal with such lands precisely as a private individual may deal with his farming property,' *Camfield* v. *United States* (167 U. S. 518, 524, 42 L. ed. 260, 262, 17 S. Ct. 864). Of course, this authorized Congress at will to sell or dispose of property it owns as property. It could produce oil from the ocean and sell that property. It could have that oil produced by its agents. But I have difficulty in believing that any State can be granted power under our Constitution to exact tribute from any other State that wants to take oil or fish from the ocean which is the common 'property' of all."

Justice Douglas, in dissenting, stated at page 282:

"Thus we are dealing here with incidents of national sovereignty. The marginal sea is not an oil well; it is more than a mass of water; it is a protective belt for the entire Nation over which the United States must exercise exclusive and paramount authority. The authority over it can no more be abdicated than any of the other great powers of the Federal Government. It is to be exercised for the benefit of the whole. As Mr. Justice Black aptly states in his dissent in these cases, 'In ocean waters bordering our country, if nowhere else, day-to-day national power—complete, undivided, flexible, and immediately available—is an essential attribute of Federal sovereignty' " and at page 283:

"If it were necessary for Texas to surrender all her property and political rights in the marginal sea in order to enter the Union on an 'equal footing' with the other States, pray how can she get back some of those rights and still remain on an 'equal footing' with the other States? That is the unresolved question in these cases. That is the question which points up the grievances of Alabama and Rhode Island. For what Texas (and a few other States) obtain by the present act of Congress is what we held the equal footing clause forbade them to retain. The equal footing clause, in other words, prevents one State from laying claim to a part of the national domain from which the other States are excluded (399 U. S. pp. 719, 720). Today we permit that precise inequality among the States which we earlier said was precluded by the equal footing clause."

In *Toomer* v. *Witsell* (334, 385, 92 L. ed. 1460), a case decided 1 year after the California, supra, decision, defendant brought an action to enjoin the enforcement of a South Carolina statute governing commercial shrimp fishing in the 3-mile maritime belt off the cost of the State. The shrimp involved were migratory. The defendants urged, inter alia, that, by virtue of the California, supra, decision, South Carolina had no jurisdiction over coastal waters beyond the low-water mark. In answer to this contention, the court stated, at page 393:

"Here appellants seem to concede, and correctly so, that such is neither the holding nor the implication of that case; for in deciding that the United States, where it asserted its claim, had paramount rights in the 3-mile belt, the court pointedly quoted and supplied emphasis to a statement in *Skiriotes* v. *Florida* (313 U. S. 69, 75, 85 L. ed. 1193, 1199, 61 S. Ct. 924 (1941)), that 'it is also clear that Florida has an interest in the proper maintenance of the sponge fishery and that the [State] statute so far as applied to conduce within the territorial waters of Florida, in the absence of conflicting Federal legislation, is within the police power of the State.'

"Since the present case evinces no conflict between South Carolina's regulatory scheme and any assertion of Federal power, the district court properly concluded that the State has sufficient interests in the shrimp fishery within 3 miles of its coast so that it may exercise its police power to protect and regulate that fishery."

Although the question has not been adequately pursued by the Supreme Court, it is believed that a sound argument, if necessary, might be made in favor of Federal jurisdiction of migratory fish apart from its asserted paramount right of control based on ownership or international expediency. In the Toomer case, for instance—while not making this point—the Court does say (92 L. ed. 1474, pp. 401–403):

"First, the McCready case related to fish which would remain in Virginia until removed by man. The present case, on the other hand, deals with free-swimming fish which migrate through the waters of several States and are off the coast of South Carolina only temporarily."

"Indeed, only 15 years after the McCready decision, a unanimous Court indicated that the rule of that case might not apply to free-swimming fish. The fact that it is activity in the 3-mile belt which the South Carolina statute regulates is of equal relevance in considering the applicability of the ownership doctrine. While *United States* v. *California* (332 U. S. 19, 91 L. Ed. 1889, 67 S. Ct. 1658 (1947)), as indicated above, does not preclude all State regulation of activity in the marginal sea, the case does hold that neither the Thirteen Original Colonies nor their successor States separately acquired ownership of the 3-mile belt."

An action similar to that in the Toomer case, supra, was brought to the attention of the Supreme Court in *Skiriotes* v. *Florida* (313 U. S. 69, 85 L. Ed. 1193 (1941)). There defendant appealed from a denial by the Supreme Court of Florida of a writ of certiorari to review a judgment of conviction for violation of a State statute forbidding the use of diving apparatus in the taking of sponges from the territorial waters of the State. The decision of the Florida court was affirmed by the Supreme Court.

The Court stated at page 75:

"It is also clear that Florida has an interest in the proper maintenance of the sponge fishery and that the statute so far as applied to conduct within the territorial waters of Florida, in the absence of conflicting Federal legislation, is within the police power of the State."

It should be noted that in almost every case, both before as well as since the California case, the Supreme Court when it sustained any State control within the marginal sea carefully guarded itself by pointing out that this was in the absence of the Federal Government having exercised control. The clear inference is what is definitely stated in the California decision that the Federal Government has the right and power to assume control and thereby exclude the State.

It should also be noted that this Federal power is sustained upon two principles: (1) That the State is not equipped in our constitutional system with the powers or the facilities for exercising the responsibilities which it seeks; and (2) this incident is a property right and Congress has unlimited power to dispose of it.

As a property right there can be no possible application of the equal-footing concept. Hence Congress could grant Texas 12 miles and California 3 and enabling acts differ with reference to public and Indian lands.

On the responsibility side there is strong, logical, and current reason for considering Alaskan ocean fisheries on their own distinctive merits. A special situation is presented. Alaska is not only in the most critical location from a security standpoint by its proximity to Asia, but the research being conducted by the International North Pacific Fisheries Commission indicates a commingling of Asian and Alaskan fish. These fish migrate between the marginal sea and the high seas. Their management to be most effective should be embrasive. It should be by that branch of government competent both to handle the entire situation and vested with the jurisdiction over international affairs.

Employment of the Handicapped: A Community Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, it gives me a great deal of pride to announce to the Members of the House of Representatives that Miss Sharon Garrett, a student of the Judge Memorial School in Salt Lake City, Utah, has won first place in the 1957 national essay contest conducted by the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped. In order that the Members of Congress can benefit from Miss Garrett's outstanding observations, I am inserting at this point in the RECORD, a copy of her prize-winning essay:

EMPLOYMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED: A COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY—THE FIVE AGES OF PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED MAN

(By Sharon Garrett, Judge Memorial High School, Salt Lake City, Utah)

I cannot get excited over works that preach or teach, but I'd like to set down, as simply as possible, some short chronicles which might have been written by 5 men—or rather, by 4 men and 1 child. These have lived in different ages, in different stations, in different parts of the world. But they had one thing in common.

The first speaks extermination.

"My name is Cleisthenes, but they call me the one-who-is-lame. The reason I am alive is that my father is Solon, one of Sparta's lawmakers, and my mother is Lydia, the strong willed.

"When a boy child is born in Sparta, he is taken out into the night and left there till dawn. If he survives the weather and the wolves, he is considered fit to be a future citizen of our great state.

"I was a sickly child, born with a clubfoot, but Mother loved me and hid me away till I was strong enough to survive; then my father used his influence.

"But even now, I know that I cannot live. They talk of me as a misfit. They say I constitute a danger to the safety of a militarized state and to the economic well-being of my fellow Spartans.

"I am afraid of what they will do. They do not understand who are not cursed of the gods.

The second speaks ridicule.

"I live in ninth-century France, the jester to a feudal lord. My sharp wit and honey'd tongue have often kept my master in a good mood. But more often it is the unwill'd contortion of me, his humped-backed fool, that keeps the court in a merry humor. I curse the shortsightedness of him and his court, for my treatment is less than of a dog. But, as the royal fool must have his flattery, this crookbacked fool must have his trencher and ale. And so I stay."

The third speaks (in an asylum) injustice.

"I own a piece of the sky. It's true that it is only a small piece—very small—and true I have no right to own anything. But I think that since no one else sees just this particular chunk of blue or regards it so constantly, it must be mine. These poor, mad devils here with me surely do not want it; they can only pluck at their chains and howl.

"Oh, don't think I really belong here with them, but it's quite customary to put crippled people in dungeons with the insane.

"I'm not bitter that I'm in here; I wouldn't be of use anywhere now. But I keep thinking about that printer's machine which brother-in-law Caxton brought from Holland; you don't need legs to set type.

"It's too late for me, but I hope that this renaissance, this rebirth of interest in the humanities, will bring also an interest in us who must remain in places like this."

The fourth, physical and custodial care, speaks eduction.

"I was born in Bremerhaven in 1820. My father could well afford the care I needed, and still do need. Shortly after my disability was discovered, he placed me here in this home in Munich which offers both care and education for the disabled."

"But there was not always this opportunity. In the last century, organized social interest in the welfare of disabled persons was barely getting underway. In 1780, for example, only one institution, in Orbe, Switzerland, offered physical and custodial care to people like me, and there was no chance for education until recently."

"I'm glad I live in this century—but all people need to do something, and I get awfully tired of sitting."

And the fifth speaks total rehabilitation.

"I am an American veteran of the Korean war. None of that sitting around for me. People of my century have realized that care and education are not enough. They know that society must prepare the disabled to become self-supporting. This realization resulted in the State-Federal vocational rehabilitation program in 1920. Since then, thousands of disabled persons just like me have become useful, productive members of their communities."

"And do you know what? They actually have surveys saying that, for many reasons, we are often more useful workers than many ablebodied men. Among other things, we are said to have greater appreciation for jobs because they are so hard for us to come by, and so we work harder to keep them. Absenteeism is less, and our accident rate is lower."

"Some companies are now hiring us exclusively, and the Federal Government is even making a policy of accepting our applications in atomic research work."

"Say, you'll have to excuse me, it's my turn to apply for that job. I surely hope my interviewer has been reading those surveys, too."

After thousands of years in the dark, humanity is just now coming into a renaissance in which prejudice, so far as physical handicaps are concerned, will be nonexistent. But our century is not yet unhampered by prejudice, nor will it be until that vet, or any other handicapped person, can walk with all confidence into an office—and come out with the job.

But it is only through our communities, through the cooperation of church and social organizations, clubs, and schools, radio, television and newspapers, and of organizations that have already discovered the value of the handicapped worker, that this achievement can be realized. There must be positive action by each segment of the community to influence every potential employer toward the conviction that it really does pay to hire the handicapped. Only when there is a universal consciousness and awareness that employment of the disabled is a community responsibility, will we truly have attained the fifth age of physically handicapped man—total rehabilitation.

Poland's Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, it is only fitting that we in the Congress of the United States join this week with the courageous, freedom-loving people of Poland in the commemoration of the 166th anniversary of Polish independence.

It was on May 3, 1791, that the Polish people enacted one of the first and most progressive European democratic constitutions. It was a constitution forged by a proud and devout people from the fires of rebellion against tyranny. It was a manifestation of the unconquerable spirit of a people who sent such patriots as Pulaski and Kosciusko to aid the American colonies in their fight for freedom.

And though Poland too often has felt the fury of freedom-crushing invaders, this spirit of liberty, which through the years has molded a bond of spiritual kinship between our countries, has never died.

This year there is a special significance to Poland's Independence Day which all the free world should recognize. During the past year the Posnan riots in Poland and the revolution in Hungary demonstrated dramatically the total bankruptcy of the Kremlin's policies behind the Iron Curtain.

In Poland, by raising their voices on the streets of Posnan in righteous demand for bread, freedom, and the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from their homeland, the Polish people exposed to the world the economic ruin incubated by communism.

Their demands for bread showed that Poland, under communism's collectivization experiment, was unable to feed her own people.

The demands of the Posnan workers for freedom—freedom of worship, freedom of the individual, freedom of enterprise, and freedom from fear—showed how wholeheartedly they rejected Soviet control of Poland and Communist dictatorship.

Their demands for withdrawal of Soviet troops from their soil showed that the Polish people had no desire to be a part of Moscow's military machine.

Perhaps most important, the revolt of the workers in Posnan clearly exposed the fallacy of the worldwide Communist propaganda—that communism is the rule of peasants and workers, the Utopia of the masses.

Indeed, the Posnan uprisings have brought during the past year a degree of freedom to Poland. Her people can breathe more freely. Cardinal Wyszynski, Poland's beloved anti-Communist Catholic leader, was freed from prison, and wider religious freedom was given to the people. Her pro-Moscow government was replaced by a national Communist government dedicated to Polish interests. The dreaded secret police were curbed and freedom of the press was partially restored.

The spark of rebellion against godless tyranny which flared on the streets of Posnan has, during the past year, spread to other subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain. Revolt exploded in Hungary. News of unrest reaches us from Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, China, and even from the Soviet Union.

In Poland, this spark of freedom has grown to a point where—for the first time since the Soviet Union took over the country—the Polish people this week will be permitted to privately commemorate, by decree of the Warsaw government, their May 3 Independence Day.

As they celebrate this day, the eyes of the Polish people are turned hopefully to the West, particularly to the United States.

This is understandable, for Poland has strong historical, cultural, and spiritual ties with the Western World. Her roots are especially deep in America, where the tide of Polish immigration through the years has served to enrich our culture in every field of human endeavor. Indeed, our 7 million Polish-Americans today can look with pride on the heritage they and their forefathers have brought to our land.

With the Polish people looking toward America for political, moral, and economic support, the Governments of Poland and the United States for several months have been seeking to negotiate some form of emergency aid.

There is no question that Poland, with its economy devastated by the years of Soviet exploitation and mismanagement, needs technical and economic assistance.

There are, however, several serious questions which must be considered in acting on such requests for assistance.

First, the Warsaw government is Communist, even though it has sought to divorce itself from Moscow control. Thus, in helping Poland at this time, would we be using our resources to strengthen Moscow and the Communist cause?

Second, would American aid to Poland at this time provoke Russian wrath against the Polish people, and lead to a ruthless stamping out by the Kremlin of the few freedoms that have been won during the past year?

These are questions which we in Congress must consider in taking action on any assistance for the Polish people.

But we also must consider, with open minds, the other side of the story; we cannot close our hearts and our minds to these facts:

Poland's 28 million people, who turn to us now in their time of need, are unshakably Catholic, proudly nationalistic and bitterly anti-Russian. They have no common bonds or sympathies with the Kremlin, nor with the 1,500,000 members of the Polish Communist Party who ruled their lives with blueprints supplied by Moscow.

They are, however, trapped by geography. Poland is encircled by the Soviet Union's military and political bloc. Successful armed rebellion is impossible. But, in the long view of history, the Communist system of government forced on Poland by the might of the Russian army is only transitory. Poland as a nation successfully rejected Russian subjugation in the past; and, with the devotion to freedom of the Polish people, she will overcome Communist oppression this time.

Already, Poland has won back certain of these freedoms. Given more time, and moral as well as material support, I believe the Polish people eventually will move farther and farther along the road to complete independence.

There is no doubt that this situation involves certain calculated risks. The Polish people, who have aroused Russian antagonism to a breaking point, already have taken a risk by turning to us for help. If we turn our backs on them, we—in turn—will be facing the risk of forcing the desperate Polish people to turn back to the Soviet orbit for help, and thus sealing off the first critical fissures in the Iron Curtain.

As I stated recently in an address before the Polish National Alliance Women's Department in Chicago, I do not believe that we can afford to be too impatient, or too demanding, as much as our hearts weep for the people of Poland. I believe, for the welfare of our own people and for the people of Poland, that we must proceed cautiously.

I believe—as President Eisenhower believes, and as he and the State Department have clearly indicated—that we should take cautious steps to strengthen Poland's independence. I believe, in weighing both the good and the bad factors, that it is essential to extend to the Polish people a judicious measure of the aid they need so desperately.

If the giving of such aid will help the Polish people pry themselves loose from the Soviet grip, and to develop a society along their own lines, it will be worth the price. If American aid assists or speeds the process of liberalization, it will be the cheapest and most effective—as well as the most humane—offensive the United States can mount in the cold war.

It is my hope that, in observing Polish Independence Day this year, the Congress not only will extend expressions of sympathy and friendship, but also will take steps toward the formulation of a policy which can bring about eventual realization of the dream of freedom that has been reborn behind the Iron Curtain.

The Blue Ridge Parkway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include the following joint resolution which was recently adopted by the General Assembly of North Carolina:

Senate Joint Resolution 234

Joint resolution memorializing the Secretary of the Interior to issue a directive terminating plans for expansion of certain facilities on the Blue Ridge Parkway, and petitioning the members of the North Carolina congressional delegation to assist in securing such directive

Whereas the National Park Service has announced a 10-year program contemplating the expenditure of $4 million for the expansion of tourists' accommodations on the Blue Ridge Parkway; and

Whereas representative organizations and citizens in towns and communities adjacent to the Blue Ridge Parkway in North Carolina have conducted a survey and study of existing facilities for lodging and eating, located conveniently for serving parkway tourists; and have determined that such existing accommodations, built and operated by private capital, are sufficient in quality and adequate in number to properly serve the traveling public in this vicinity; and

Whereas the expansion program of the parkway service would amount to an unfair and unjust competitive advantage against private enterprise, when such additional accommodations on the parkway are not justified, or essential; and

Whereas there appears to be a need for the posting of information and directions

on the parkway, so as to acquaint the parkway tourists with the location of available tourists' facilities and accommodations; and

Whereas a great segment of the economy of the northwestern portion of North Carolina, as well as State revenues, would be seriously impaired and adversely affected, if the referred to $4 million expansion program on the parkway becomes a reality; and

Whereas the North Carolina Highway and Public Works Commission acquired, by purchase and otherwise, at the expense of the taxpayers of North Carolina in excess of $1 million, the right of way through the State of North Carolina, for the building of the Blue Ridge Parkway and gave said right of way, without compensation, for the use of the National Park Service in the construction of said parkway: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the senate (the house of representatives concurring):

SECTION 1. That the General Assembly of North Carolina do memorialize the Secretary of the Interior of the United States to issue a directive to the National Park Service to cease and desist from its announced expansion of concession facilities on the Blue Ridge Parkway within the confines of the State of North Carolina, until such time as it has been clearly demonstrated and definitely established that private enterprise is not supplying the parkway traveling public with sufficient and adequate accommodations in the form of overnight lodging and eating facilities.

SEC. 2. That North Carolina's 2 Senators and 12 Congressmen be respectfully petitioned to request the Secretary of the Interior to issue the directive referred to in section 1 hereof.

SEC. 3 .That copies of this resolution and the record of its adoption be transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior of the United States and the 14 Members of the North Carolina congressional delegation.

SEC. 4. This resolution shall be in full force and effect from and after its ratification.

In the general assembly read 3 times and ratified, this the 24th day of April 1957.

L. E. BARNHARDT,
President of the Senate.
J. K. DOUGHTON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Examined and found correct.

PAUL STONER
(For Committee).

Senator Byrd's Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to call attention of the Members of the House to a fine editorial which appeared in the Mobile Register, of Mobile, Ala., on April 9, entitled "Senator BYRD's Service."

This editorial refers to my recent insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which included Senator BYRD's excellent speech before the Richmond, Va., Kiwanis Club in which he pointed to many of the dangers which face our people as a result of Federal encroachment on the rights of our people. Nationwide recognition has been paid to the Senator's valiant efforts in behalf of economy and the preservation of our way of life.

I wish to include herewith the Mobile editorial as I feel it pays fine recognition to a truly great American and one whose worth to the Nation will never be fully realized in our time.

The editorial follows:

SENATOR BYRD'S SERVICE

One of his home State colleagues in Congress has said some highly complimentary things of United States Senator HARRY F. BYRD, of Virginia.

Representative WATKINS M. ABBITT, praising the Senator as one of the outstanding Americans of today, also said this of him:

"The people of America are fortunate, indeed, to have in the United State Senate during these trying times a man who is dedicated to the preservation of the American way of life; a man who is fearless, courageous, and willing to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to try to steer our ship of state back on the course charted for it by our Founding Fathers."

Countless numbers of Virginians and other Americans will give immediate endorsement to these words of tribute to the senior Senator from the Old Dominion State.

Senator BYRD qualifies as a real statesman. He has rendered and continues to render distinguished service—priceless service—to the people of the United States.

This country could use, and indeed urgently needs, many more men of his stature in public life.

With the forthrightness that is characteristic of him, Senator BYRD struck powerful blows at the invasion and usurpation of States rights in a recent address in Richmond.

Much of what he said on that occasion holds particular interest to the South because its traditional racial customs are endangered by political decisions of the United States Supreme Court and threatened by so-called civil rights bills now before Congress.

"Strike down the power of States to control their own affairs, and concentrate all power in Washington, and you strike at the heart of what makes this Nation great," Senator BYRD warned.

In commenting on the United States Supreme Court decision against racially segregated public schools, the Senator said:

"To me the decision of the Supreme Court abolishing segregation and compelling integration in State and local public-school systems was a vicious and destructive invasion of States rights.

"It set aside all previous decisions by the Supreme Court on the subject. * * *

"This vicious recent decision did violence to State constitutions and laws, and even to Federal laws which provided segregation in the District of Columbia schools. * * *

"It would strike down a way of life in the United States which has been developed over a period of 160 years and, if enforced, it will destroy our great public-school system."

Senator BYRD was equally outspoken in expressing his opinion of the pending civil-rights bills, which he denounced as punitive legislation to punish the South.

He especially called attention to a bill that would establish in Washington a special bureau which would send its agents into the South and originate suits against southerners.

When agents of this anti-South bureau originated cases against southern people, he said, "they would be tried in Federal courts without jury, subjected to contempt of court proceedings, and so forth."

As his fellow Virginian, Congressman ABBITT, pointed out, Senator BYRD understands well the necessity of preserving the rights of the people and the sovereignty of our States.

Moreover, he is a stalwart, active figure in the struggle to preserve these cherished and vital blessings. His service in this cause alone has been such as to give him the eminence of statesmanship. His service has been outstanding in other respects, too, however. A particularly notable example has been his fight for sound fiscal practices in the Federal Government.

Senator BYRD's work in behalf of the country and its people has earned for him all the acclaim he has received, and much more.

Airlines Offer Own Safety Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, all of the evidence accumulated over the years clearly indicates that action is necessary to protect the air traveler as well as the people who live in the areas surrounding our large airports. It is interesting to note that since the drive by the Government to perfect the safety regulations as well as to prevent violations of Civil Aeronautics Administration and Civil Aeronautics Board regulations private airlines recognize that there is a definite need for revision and amendment; yes, and even legislative action to bring about greater safety rules for the heavily traveled air routes, particularly in the cities surrounding large airports.

Mr. Speaker, in my congressional district is located the world's largest international airport, to wit, Idlewild. I have, under date of January 14, 1957, reintroduced three bills which, in my considered opinion and as a matter of record from the hearings had on similar bills during the 84th Congress, would go a long way in bringing about greater safety and also demonstrate that Congress is willing to assume the responsibility for the welfare of the people who live in the vicinity of such airports. I urge early action on H. R. 2854, H. R. 2855, and H. R. 2856.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a release from the United Press regarding plans proposed by the Nation's scheduled airlines:

AIRLINES OFFER OWN SAFETY PLAN—CONTROLS PLANES ABOVE 9,500 FEET

WASHINGTON, April 29.—The Nation's scheduled airlines jumped the gun on the Government today and proposed their own air-safety rules for the world's most heavily traveled area—the golden triangle of New York, Washington, and Chicago.

The proposed rules would go into effect July 1, far in advance of similar air traffic control plans announced by Federal officials. The industry pilots' proposal was drawn up by experts of the Air Transport Association and the Airline Pilots Association, the 12,000-member pilots' union.

MUST FOLLOW AIRWAYS

If approved by the airlines involved and the ALPA executive board, the plan would:

Require all scheduled airline flights in the triangle to operate on insrument flight rules (IFR) above 9,500 feet, thus putting them under monitoring and guidance of Federal air-traffic control centers.

Ban off-airways flights in the triangle for airliners flying above 9,500 feet. This would put every flight above that altitude into federally designated airways.

Require every crew flying the triangle to file flight plans with traffic-control centers for trips to be made at a 9,500-foot altitude or higher.

VISUAL FLIGHT IN CLIMBING

Permit pilots to fly under visual flight rules only when climbing or descending to and from the 9,500 altitude. (VFR allows pilots to fly at any altitude so long as visibility remains good and places on them the burden of avoiding other traffic.)

Present Civil Aeronautics Administration rules require mandatory IFR flights only for planes above 24,000 feet. The CAA hopes to lower the ceiling to 15,000 feet early in 1958 for the entire country and for military and private aircraft as well as commercial.

The President's Aviation Facilities Planning Group has envisioned all traffic above 10,000 feet as operating in controlled airspace by 1965.

The ATA-ALPA plan in effect would speed up portions of the Government's own air safety plans affecting commercial planes by at least 6 months. The industry pilots group which worked out the triangle proposal said the CAA could handle the increased number of instrument flights with its present equipment and personnel.

Little Chamber Orchestra of Portland, Oreg., To Give May Day Concert

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday evening, May 1, Members of Congress and their staffs, Government officials, and the people of Washington are cordially invited to attend a concert by the Little Chamber Orchestra of Portland, Oreg. The May Day concert will be held at the Department of Agriculture Thomas Jefferson Memorial Auditorium, 14th and Independence SW., and will start at 8 p. m.

The Little Chamber Orchestra represents an outstanding cultural achievement of my city. Following their Washington concert the orchestra will board an Air Force plane for Europe and start on their international good will concert sponsored by the Department of State and the Department of Defense. While in Europe the Little Chamber Orchestra will participate in the famed Bergen Music Festival and will visit some 16 European and African countries in 2 months.

The 16 all-woman orchestra under the direction of Boris Sirpo, has won international fame during their last two Government-sponsored international tours. Time magazine described their 1955 overseas tour as the triumphal tour—the kind of stuff that winsome movies are made of—they played with fire and discipline that astonished their listerners—and played everything without a sheet of music.

Sixteen talented young women musicians make up the chamber orchestra, and the young women range from 17 to 29—the majority of them are students at one of the six colleges in Portland.

The distinguished music critic of the Washington Post and Times Herald, Paul Hume, in his column in that paper of April 29, describes the forthcoming concert as follows:

This Wednesday at 8 p. m., in the Jefferson Auditorium of the Agriculture Department, the Oregon State Society, with pardonable pride, announces a concert of superb chamber music to be played by the Little Chamber Orchestra of Portland, Oreg. Under the direction of Boris Sirpo, the all-girl orchestra lists music by Geminiani, Vivaldi, Stamitz, Dittersdorf, Bach, Tansman, Bartok, and Paul Juon. This is a fine list, and the program is open to the public without charge. The young ladies have visited abroad in previous years, and their concert here is the beginning of another international tour, under the auspices of the Departments of State and Defense.

On behalf of myself and the other Members of the Oregon congressional delegation, I extend an invitation to the concert. I am sure that those present will be rewarded by an outstanding evening of music.

A Joint Resolution Requesting the Federal Government To Refrain From Enacting New Grant-Aid Programs and To Reexamine All Such Existing Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include the following resolution which was recently adopted by the North Carolina House of Representatives. The secretary of state advises me that this resolution is still pending in the State senate. The fact that it was adopted by the house of representatives indicates its importance, and I include it for the information of the Members:

Whereas the State of North Carolina stands high among the States in the payment of taxes to the Federal Government; and

Whereas through Federal grant-in-aid programs the Federal Government by extravagant and unnecessary spending is forcing North Carolina also to spend extravagantly to match and thus obtain back part of its own money; and

Whereas North Carolina citizens pay income and other taxes which go to Washington and are returned in part to North Carolina under Federal grant-in-aid programs in amounts reduced by bureaucratic overhead, creating the false impression that the State is getting something for nothing; and

Whereas in returning funds to North Carolina the Federal Government ties strings to the use of these funds which interfere with local government, complicate the enactment of State legislation and force the State to spend in fields it believes unwarranted; and

Whereas it is common knowledge that local projects financed in part by Federal funds usually cost excessively because of unnecessary Federal requirements; and

Whereas the North Carolina Legislature feels that its citizens know better than the Federal Government how to spend the citizens' money and that local government is more capable and efficient than the Federal Government in managing local programs: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the members of the North Carolina Legislature in the 1957 session assembled:

SECTION 1. That the Federal Government refrain from enacting new grant-aid programs and reexamine all such existing programs and end or reduce their costs wherever possible.

SEC. 2. That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States as President of the Senate of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member from North Carolina in the Senate of the United States and in the House of Representatives of the United States.

SEC. 3. That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the presiding officers of the legislature of the other 47 States for their information and consideration.

SEC. 4. That this resolution be in full force and effect from and after its ratification.

Why A. T. & T. Should Split Its Stock: An Address by Judge Jonah J. Goldstein

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, is known far and wide as a leading citizen of New York, an able scholar in the law profession for over a half century, and one who graced the bench in New York for about a quarter of a century and distinguished himself as a great jurist. He is also well known for his activities as president of the Grand Street Boys' Foundation.

At the annual meeting of the stockholders of A. T. & T., of whom he is one, Judge Goldstein delivered a very enlightening address in support of the proposal to split up the company's stock at the ratio of 4 for 1. At this meeting, held on April 17, 1957, Judge Goldstein brought out many points which should be of great interest to management and businessmen in general, to shareholders, to labor, and to the public at large.

Let me refer very briefly to only a few of these points:

That there are no employee representatives on the company's billion-dollar pension fund;

That millions of dollars are spent in useless and extravagant advertising;

That if management were more interested in saving than in spending, there

would be more dividends to stockholders and less need for increased rates to the public.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it will be in the public interest to reprint this address in the RECORD, and I invite all my colleagues to read it. Under leave to extend my remarks, I request that Judge Goldstein's address be inserted in the RECORD.

The address follows:

REMARKS OF JONAH J. GOLDSTEIN, PRESIDENT OF THE GRAND STREET BOYS' FOUNDATION, AT ANNUAL MEETING OF A. T. & T., APRIL 17, 1957

Because of time limitation, I can only touch the high spots and ask you to think before you vote.

If you summarize management's objection to the proposal of the Grand Street Boys' Foundation for a 4-to-1 stock split, it amounts to "vote against, because father knows best."

Management urges us to have faith and confidence in the officers and directors.

Confidence and faith does not mean that we should blindfold ourselves, thus losing sight of what is going on.

A. T. & T. directors and officers are just human men of business, subject to human frailties.

Their self-imposed halos are too tight and interfere with their thinking as to what is best for shareholders, whose servants they should be, instead of playing the role of masters, whose decisions cannot be questioned because "father knows best."

Tradition in business is not sacrosanct. If it were, we would be in the horse-and-buggy stage instead of the automobile and the jet-plane age.

We, the share owners, and not the officers and directors, are legally and morally entitled to the role of "father knows best."

There is no reason why a person who wants to invest $5,000, $10,000, or $15,000 in A. T. & T. stock should have to be an odd-lot buyer, paying one-fourth point more when buying and getting one-fourth point less when selling. An odd-lot buyer is one who buys or sells less than 100 shares.

Management urges us to have confidence in them and to vote against the suggested 4-to-1 stock split. As Governor Smith, whose secretary I was in 1911, so often said, "Let's look at the record." The record shows the total ownership of the 19 directors to be 6,459 shares—fewer shares than they held last year. They were given rights to buy, as were we, but they sold the rights, instead of increasing their holdings. Does this show their confidence in the stock?

The notice sent us for this meeting shows that our company has 19 directors, including officers. Of these, there are 12 each of whom owns less than 200 shares.

The president, Mr. Kappel, who has been with the company for many years, owns 161 shares. Does this show confidence in the shares they manage and through which they seek to perpetuate their control?

Mr. Page, a director for 24 years, owns 170 shares. In addition to his director's fees of $12,800 for 1956, he also gets $25,000 a year as a consultant. Do his small holdings show confidence in A. T. & T. stock?

Mr. Parkinson, a director for 17 years, who, the press reported, resigned as president of Equitable Life when he was criticized for giving Equitable Life advertising to his son, owns 130 shares. Does this show his confidence in A. T. & T. stock?

A quick glance at the notice of the annual meeting sent to each one of us will show how often this lack of confidence in our stock is reflected in the directors' small ownership of A. T. & T. stock. Clearly, their stock holdings give them little interest in the dividends they receive from such little holdings.

These self-assumed criers of "father knows best" tell us, the shareholders, that a stock split "could encourage speculation and be damaging to its investment character."

Cleo F. Craig, chairman of A. T. & T.'s board, is also a director of United States Steel, which has split its stock several times. Why did he vote for the stock split in United States Steel and against the split in A. T. & T.?

Are the directors of General Electric, Standard Oil of New Jersey, General Motors, Bethlehem Steel, Sears, Roebuck, and General Telephone & Telegraph nitwits and incompetnet directors, when they split their stock not once, but several times?

General Telephone & Telegraph, a midget, compared to the giant A. T. & T., split its stock and its dividends have risen from 55 cents a share to $1.80—more than a 300 percent increase in 18 years, while A. T. & T. has not increased its dividend in 35 years and never split stock.

With our money, the New York Telephone Co., owned by A. T. & T., ran paid ads, headed "It's Happened Since 1940."

Box No. 1 of that ad, showed that wool suits are up 124 percent.

Box No. 2 that potatoes are up 131 percent.

Box No. 3 that bread is up 130 percent.

Box No. 4. "But the price of phone service is up 20 percent."

There should have been a fifth box, devoted to the forgotten shareholders, whose dividends are now the same as in 1940, in fact, the same since 1922.

All of us know how much less $9 will buy in 1957 than in 1922.

You drop a dime instead of a nickel into the coinbox to make a telephone call, the income to A. T. & T. is doubled, the officers' salaries and pensions are increased but the shareholder is told, by the self-designated "Father knows best": "We, your guardians, are running your company, in your interest, and it is to your interest that you get in 1956 the same $9 as you did in 1922." This does not make sense.

As human beings, with human frailties, directors, with few shares, will profit in other ways than by dividends. It is cheaper and better for them, but not for the shareholders.

No one is ever a loser because he is a director of A. T. & T., or any other large corporation. It ill becomes them to play the role of self-sacrificing citizens, battling to continue to serve at personal sacrifice.

We are told by "Father knows best" that it is better to have directors owning few shares, than directors with substantial holdings. Th ereason that "Father" gives is that he thinks it is more desirable to have directors who, because of small holdings, will be thinking impersonally in making company decisions. In the language of Governor Smith: "bologny is bologny, no matter how thin you slice it!" Small ownership of stock by directors is as bad as absentee landlordism. As owners of few shares, they are not interested in what you or they get as dividends. Perhaps they profit in other ways, such as directors' fees, steering large loans to A. T. & T. and Western Electric from favored banks, placing advertising, etc.

A. T. & T. and Western Electric, which it owns, carry large bank balances, on which no interest is paid, but pay interest on bank loans. Banks prosper through interest on good bank loans—their profit is the difference between what they pay and what they get. I repeat, no one is ever a loser because he is a director at A. T. & T., or any other large corporation.

We are asked to have blind faith in these directors, who, since 1913, have syphoned out over $2¼ billion for a pension fund. I repeat, billions not millions. These 2¼ billion came out of earnings that did not go to shareholders.

The only reference, by management, to pensions in the notice of the annual meeting, is the following:

"The pension plan applies to all employees alike. The proposed ceiling ($25,000 a year) would seriously reduce the incentive of younger people in the business."

In the language of the sidewalks of New York: "Who's kidding who?" and, I add: "Quit your kidding!"

How can anyone seriously urge that younger people in A. T. & T. would not regard a salary, such as Mr. Craig's, of $257,200, plus the suggested limit pension of $25,000 as an inadequate incentive?

Mr. Gifford gets a pension of $91,700, less one-half of his social security. The retired employee, getting an A. T. & T. pension of $150 a month, who earns over $100 a month elsewhere, has deducted from his A. T. & T. pension, the same one-half of his social security, even though he gets no social security, because he has implemented his small pension with outside earnings. This is an A. T. & T. deduction, not a Government deduction. This kind of equality is like comparing half of a flea to half of an elephant and raises serious questions of the morals and ethics of this A. T. & T. practice of short-changing old-timers' small pensions this way. I do not object to employees' pensions; my objection is to pensions of $91,700 a year, necessitating large sums taken from earnings to provide for such extravagant pensions.

There is no employee representative on the 2¼ billion pension fund. It is just as wrong for management to be in sole control as it is for labor to be in sole control, and this warrants a look-see by a Senate watchdog committee.

Blind faith is asked in those who run business so autocratically and, to a large extent, for the collateral benefit of themselves and not the stockholders.

Many millions are spent yearly in useless and extravagant advertising. The standard commission for placing advertising is 15 percent. Who gets this commission? Does a company without competition, which has a legal monopoly, require a coast-to-coast television program, Telephone Time, the cost of which, in 1956, was $3,645,928? (This figure is not a guess; it was supplied to me in writing by S. Whitney Landon, the secretary of our company.)

These television broadcasts have nothing to do with telephones. One of them recently was on the life of the ex-prizefighter Benny Leonard. The television drama on March 31 was about a commandant of a 17th century Canadian fort in Indian Territory, jokingly leaving his teenage daughter in charge when he traveled to Montreal. Why waste this money, or is it because some favored one gets the commission?

Expensive, full-page ads appeared in the Saturday Evening Post and other expensive advertising media, telling what Western Electric manufactures. These ads are a waste of A. T. & T. shareholders' money, because Western Electric's only customers are A. T. & T. and the Government and any waste of Western Electric's funds reduces Western Electric's profits, all of which goes to A. T. & T. The Western Electric advertising in 1956 cost $1,440,000. This figure was supplied to me, as was the expense item of the television program Telephone Time, by the secretary of our company.

The annual report, on page 30, lumps advertising, with costs of business relations with customers, public telephone commissions, etc., all in the sum of $529,811,847—over a half a billion of good money.

I have mentioned but two items of wasteful advertising, totalling over $5 million. There is, undoubtedly, more extravagant and useless advertising, on which a commission is paid. There is no legitimate excuse for such extravagant waste.

If father knows best, let him tell us. Why this waste?

The majority of stockholders are women and there is no sex to brains. There are smart women, as well as smart men.

If father knows best, why hasn't he kept pace with the times, by putting a woman on the board of directors?

Now as to competent and good-thinking management, why did not management spin off Western Electric from A. T. & T., by giving A. T. & T. shareholders shares in Western Electric, instead of doing what they did?

Western Electric is wholly controlled by A. T. & T. When Government complained about this, management entered into a consent decree, giving up valuable exclusive, Western Electric and A. T. & T. patent rights and limiting its business to A. T. & T. and Government.

Under the law, Western Electric is not controlled as to profits and earnings. Separating Western Electric and A. T. & T., by giving A. T. & T. stockholders shares in Western Electric, would have satisfied the Government and benefited the A. T. & T. stockholders. "Father" knowing best, did not even consult the stockholders, but did it on its own. "Father" thought it best to control Western Electric, instead of turning it over to A. T. & T. stockholders. At least, management, owning 6,459 shares, should have consulted all shareholders, for their opinion, before taking the action it did. There was no hurry since the Government suit was started in 1949 and the agreement was not concluded until January 24, 1956 (7 years later).

In passing, I urge that management look into the sale of new and good useable material, which is being sold as junk by companies that make up A. T. & T. I am assured such investigation will result in substantial savings.

A dollar saved is as good as a dollar earned.

After being a judge for 25 years, I get a pension. During my 25 years of service, I had a choice of paying into a pension fund, or passing it up and getting more salary. I paid into the pension fund each of those 25 years.

Mr. Gifford, who gets $91,700 as yearly pension, did not pay 1 cent into the pension fund.

The Annual Report tells us that over $162 million were taken out of 1956 earnings and transferred to the Employees' Service Pensions Fund. If extravagant pensions, like $91,700, were not given, there would be no need for taking out of earnings so stupendous a sum of over $162 million in 1 year.

We, the shareholders, pay for these extravagant pensions and, unnecessary, wasteful, advertising. The more millions wasted, the less there is for dividends. The less waste, the less need there will be for increased rates. Waste can profit no one, except those who handle the waste.

In my 25 years as a judge and over 50 years as a lawyer, I have had experience in checking facts. By studying the surface facts, it is my considered opinion that management, if it were more interested in saving, than in spending, there would be more dividends and less need for increased rates.

I know, as well as "Father" does, that a 4-to-1 stock split does not in and by itself increase dividends. It is the first step in that direction so that "Father" will learn that he is not infallible about knowing best.

We, the stockholders, should refuse to be treated as incompetents or infants.

If the directors won't take their halos off, let us do so and thus remove the interference with constructive thinking for shareholders' benefit.

The 1957 Fact Book, issued by the New York Stock Exchange, lists 85 stocks on the New York Stock Exchange which split 5 for 1, 4 for 1, 3 for 1, 2½ for 1, and 2 for 1 in 1956.

If stock splits were good enough for General Electric, General Motors, United States Steel, Bethlehem Steel, Crucible Steel, Standard Oil of New Jersey, General Telephone and Telegraph and many others, then there is no valid reason why our A. T. & T., long overdue stock split, should be longer delayed.

Spring is here. Housecleaning is in order. Let's start by sweeping away the cobwebs of "no splits for A. T. & T."

Out of Bondage—One by One

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very thought-provoking editorial which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor, Boston, on April 29, 1957.

The editorial follows:

OUT OF BONDAGE—ONE BY ONE

(By Carlyle Morgan)

WEST BERLIN.—"Coexistence" has a strange and faraway sound in these barracklike rooms with cold green walls and battered desks where refugees from East Germany seek acknowledgment of their citizenship in the West German Federal Republic. So does talk about the Soviet "smile." It is not simply a matter of these things having ended with the suppression of the Hungarian revolt. Many of the stories that unfold here, ordinarily before a trio of West German inspectors, began before the genial-looking Mr. Khruschchev came to power. They have continued since, apparently unaffected in their courses by the changes of regime at Moscow.

Here is one such story, of a man who looks like and thinks like and could be one of your next-door neighbors.

Let's call him Fred, as friends might in the United States or Britain. To use his German name might endanger the family he has left behind in Communist-ruled East Germany.

Fred is one of the more attractive refugees waiting clearance at this camp in West Berlin. His strong, intelligent face, with somewhat irregular features and alert gray eyes, supports his statement that he was a teacher in the Eastern Zone when the Communists took over. His big, brawny hands confirm his further testimony that he has since worked as a common laborer.

But Fred has known a still more rigorous schooling. He served a prison sentence of 4 years with hard labor and is one of the few jailed refugees who managed to keep the actual document in which the Communist authorities indicted him. To western eyes this reads like a cruel fantasy.

Originally Fred had been charged with conspiring to send plans of an important industrial establishment to West Germany. When the East German authorities could not make this stick, they charged him with generalities such as antisocial attitudes and criticism of the regime, collaboration with imperialists, and so forth. For this Fred got a presumably lighter sentence than he would have for the original charge.

How did Fred get into so much trouble? The authorities at the camp must get these things clear.

Well, in the first place, Fred was one of those schoolteachers who found it hard to give a Marxist slant to their classroom work, or to grade examination papers according to the students' adaptability to Communist indoctrination. Pressed to do this, he gave up his post and got the only other job he could—heavy manual labor.

In search of better pay he moved to another equally heavy line of work. There his education caused him to recognize a condition and report it to the management and he was promoted to the theoretical department of the industry. Here unfortunately his knowledge brought him into conflict with the views of some of the managers who were Communist appointed. And what began as a professional argument soon took on political significance.

As Fred talks to the West German inspectors his eyes brighten, his powerful hands move easily and surely with the gestures he must have used often in his classroom. The questioning now centers on one curious thing about his case: He stayed in East Germany for a whole year after being released from prison. Why did he not come to West Berlin sooner?

Fred points out that he had always lived in the eastern part of Germany, near the town where he taught school and later worked as a laborer. His family and only friends live there. His children have playmates there. To uproot the family would mean taking the risk of not being able to find work readily in a new environment, of being caught by border guards, and of exposing his wife and children to penalties.

So, for the sake of his family he had kept quiet and gone on with his work for the last year.

"Then why," asks an inspector, "have you come to West Berlin now?"

Because, Fred explains, he had been going to pieces under the unremitting pressures he felt upon him in his home town. He dared not talk to anyone at work or in the street or shops. Yet people—were they friends or not?—constantly tried to engage him in conversation and to ask his opinions, about his work, about the regime, about the news. Then the mayor of his town began to act in a way that indicated he knew Fred was being watched by the authorities.

Not only was there no future for Fred or his family in East Germany any more—Fred began to fear more and more that he would be arrested again on nobody could guess what charges.

It was Fred's wife who had clinched the decision that he should go to West Berlin. She had pleaded with him to go because she felt he was losing all self-respect, all confidence as a man, and was indeed approaching a total breakdown.

At last Fred had agreed with his wife that he should go to West Germany and that when he had found work there the family should try to reach him.

As Fred finished his testimony his eyes searched the faces of the inspectors as if to see if he had made any statements that might go against him. He seemed to expect cross-examination and to fear ridicule. When the inspectors kindly told him to leave the room so they could consider his case, which to them seemed a worthy one, he suddenly burst out crying and hurried into the hall.

By the time he was called back to hear the inspectors' decision he had composed himself and received the good news with a somewhat bewildered gratitude that was still not lacking in dignity.

For more than 10 years now the flow of refugees through this chink in the Iron Curtain has continued. They come to the camp as a rule with no possessions of any kind. Even to travel on the subway from East Berlin to West Berlin with baggage would probably cause detainment by the Communist authorities. So the refugees travel with it, often 1 by 1, among the

Berliners on their way to and from work between the two sectors of the city.

That may be how Fred's family will come to him later, maybe 1 by 1, on the last stage of a perilous journey to freedom, and to a haven for their self-respect and individuality.

Critics in Glass Houses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an article by Mr. Al Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists and chairman of the AFL-CIO ethical practices committee. Mr. Hayes discusses the problems posed by recent revelations of the Senate investigating committee and suggests a number of steps which can be taken to assist the labor movement in its fight against crime and communism. The article, which appeared in the April 25, 1957, issue of the Machinist, is as follows:

CRITICS IN GLASS HOUSES—LABOR'S WAR AGAINST CRIME AND COMMUNISM

The present leadership of the AFL-CIO is dedicated to the task of doing everything within its power to rid itself of all corrupting and perverting persons and influences and of maintaining itself upon the high ethical plane which its very nature demands. I say this without reservation and without equivocation. At the same time, I maintain that the labor movement has cause to be critical of other segments of our society in their attitudes and activities which bear directly or indirectly upon the question of ethical practices within the labor movement.

First of all, I am extremely critical of many spokesmen from business and industry, from the public press and from high places in Government for their attitude toward corruption in the labor movement. I would remind many of them of the old admonition about the danger of people living in glass houses throwing stones.

UNCONCERN FOR OWN HOUSES

Perhaps moral indignation, like charity, should begin at home. Corruption, as I have noted before, is a disease which infects society at large, and its manifestation in the labor movement is merely a part of the total picture. I cannot accept with good grace much of the criticism which emanates from others who show far less concern for cleaning their own houses than the labor movement has shown.

What shall we say, for example, of a labor critic from industry when recent events show that a leading corporation has been making use of the services of a keeper of call girls for the entertinment of its sales force and to assist them in making sales to prospective customers?

What shall we say of embezzlement of hundreds of thousands, yes, $1 million or more, on the part of industry, which scarcely gets mention in our Nation's press?

By what right does a member of the medical profession condemn labor in view of the medical profession's record of mercenary diagnosis and treatment, commercial operations, and fee splitting? And the legal profession is hardly in a position to criticise anyone with its ambulance chasers, collusive deals, and exploitation of misery and misfortune.

By what authority to the editors and publishers of the public press pontificate on matters of high morals when their loose, and sometimes deliberate, mishandling of news stories blackens the reputation of innocent people, causes the crowd to prejudge the guilt of alleged criminals, and condemn its defamed victims to a choice between a miserable existence or a self-shortened life?

And by what constitutional authority do holders of public office attain the right to condemn others when many of them have reached their present position by subterfuge, slander, and sellout?

Organized labor in America desires the cooperation of the community at large in the important job of weeding out the racketeers and Communists which still remain within its ranks.

But I strongly doubt the sincerity of many of those who make evidence of alleged misdoing in the labor movement an excuse for high moral indignation and public abuse. They have no desire to aid labor in its determination to set and maintain high ethical practices in its official family. They are interested only in seizing upon those cases of corruption and communism which are uncovered, exaggerating them and proclaiming them abroad in an attempt to defame and weaken organized labor.

What can others do to assist us in maintaining high ethical standards?

First of all, society in general can attempt to adopt a more objective attitude toward labor's ethical problems. As long as certain segments of our society persist in misusing examples of wrongdoing in the labor movement to smear organized labor as a whole and to cultivate within the general public a false concept of labor's place in our society, our job is made more difficult and our opportunities for continuing to contribute to the general welfare and progress of our country are being undermined.

Second, a great contribution can be made to labor's particular problem by a more widely expressed concern with corruption, racketeering, communism, etc., in general. It is unreasonable to expect the labor movement, or any other single group in our society, to maintain a clean house when society at large is infected. But for some unknown reason labor officials are judged differently than industry or business officials.

A $50,000 or $150,000 salary for an official of business or industry is a sign of success, but a $35,000 to $50,000 salary for a union official is considered "milking the union."

A man is not born to office in the labor movement; indeed, he is not born to membership in a labor union, and often his character is molded and his habits are formed long before he even applies for membership. He is a product of the local society into which he was born and in which he grew, and usually his conduct as a union member and later as a union official is a reflection of his early social and economic training. If he does wrong, he reflects discredit upon the office with which he was entrusted, but it was not the office which corrupted him.

The labor movement does not corrupt, it has been corrupted. Labor is determined to rid itself of the corrupting elements and it will do the job in spite of those hypocritical, self-appointed critics who gleefully grasp every opportunity to besmirch its name and character.

We do believe that management, the public press, and legislative investigating committees can make certain changes in their current atttiudes and activities which will assist labor greatly in the job of establishing and maintaining high standards of ethical practices in the conduct of its affairs.

HOW MANAGEMENT CAN HELP

Management has an important part to play. Many of the undesirable elements and practices which have crept into the labor movement are the direct results of management's activities. Historically it is a fact that corrupt and racketeering individuals have been deliberately planted in labor unions by employers, for the purpose of weakening the ability of their employees to bargain collectively.

More important, some of management's extreme tactics in seeking to prevent organization have given the gangster element an opportunity to gain positions of leadership in unions as a defensive measure. And I am sorry to say that management frequently shows a preference for dealing with the type of labor leader who ridicules democratic procedures and is inclined to corruption or communism. The highly cooperative attitude of Communist-dominated unions during the wartime alliance of the United States and the Soviet Union seemingly endeared such leadership to some employers, and the protective attitude of such employers has been a serious impediment to the labor movement in ridding itself of Communists in high places in some unions.

Other managements have seemed to prefer doing business with the dictatorial type of union leader. The type who doesn't bother with such democratic procedures as the ratification of agreements—even a 5-year agreement—by his union's members. The type who settles things over the table in a businesslike manner to the liking of management and whose members take what he gives them without question.

In spite of the fact that the right of employees to organize and to bargain collectively has been established under the law of our land for more than two decades now, there are employers who look upon unions and collective bargaining as undesirable, as proper targets for abuse.

Such an attitude on the part of an employer tends to foster the rise of similar conduct among his employees and tends to invite the service of those elements in our society which make a career of lawlessness and corruption. The employer who bargains and who treats other proper union activities in good faith and fairness does much to foster the development of sound and democratic unionism. And that type of unionism is the best defense against corruption and communism.

ROLE OF PRESS

The press, too, can contribute to the job of maintaining high standards of ethics in the labor movement. It is not doing so today. The banner headlines with which it treats stories of corruption and communism in the labor movement, its utter failure to publish information regarding the constructive role which labor plays in community life, its constant editorial condemnation of labor—all combine to give the public a completely false picture of the place of labor in our national life. And if the public-opinion polls which our newspapers and magazines love to feature prove anything, they prove the success of the press in miseducating the public.

When it comes to legislative investigations into alleged corruption in the labor movement, the position of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations was made unmistakably clear in the executive council statement on January 28 of this year. I doubt that any other segment of our society has ever made a more open and forthright pledge of cooperation. This does not mean, however, that we give carte blanche to legislative committees. We expect such committees to adhere to their primary function in the conduct of their investigations, that is to develop information which will enable them to recommend legislation which is necessary to correct the abuses concerned. When they stray from this function, they are subject to criticism.

management, if the press, if our legislators are serious in their desire to help labor out what corruption exists within its ks, they will have to put an end to many their current practices which, deliberately otherwise, are misleading the public as to e nature of the American labor movement d the extent of corruption in its ranks; if eir motives are not ulterior, they will ac- all the truth and effectively cooperate ith us in cleaning house.

If they persist in their present courses, ey will lead us and those who understand d wish to help us, to the inevitable conclu- n that they are interested not in helping bor but in using the current crop of ad- se publicity either to deliberately defame or to make us victims to their own petty hibitions for personal publicity or increased rculation.

NEED FOR UNPREJUDICED FACTS

I am becoming very much concerned that e net result of the mishandling of infor- tion concerning corruption in organized bor is going to end not in helping labor to tablish and maintain standards of high hics, but to weakening the labor movement a whole. I am concerned as a union offi- al. I am concerned, too, as an American tizen. In our system of free, competitive terprise, organized labor occupies an es- ntial place. Without its influence roughout the history of our economic and litical development, we would not now be joying the consumption which underpins r great industrial system, and we would t now be enjoying the advanced demo- atic and social practices which make our tion a beacon of hope for many oppressed d liberty-seeking peoples of the world to- y.

The hue and cry over labor racketeering, ndled by current congressional investiga- ons and fed by a circulation-hungry press but one facet of a resurgence of antiunion- m which may do our country's labor move- ent and our country itself irreparable rm. What we need is some calm, dispas- nate thought, unimpeded by prejudice d unswayed by those with personal axes to rind. However, this is not easy of accom- lishment. The propaganda against and the isinformation about organized labor has en effective. Millions of our citizens who o not know the facts and who are not in a sition to get the facts, have already been rejudiced by a merciless press.

Organized labor will no doubt be hurt. embers of unions and their families, as well nonunion members and their families, will l be hurt, and their injury will be reflected versely in every segment of our society. y reduction in the increased purchasing ower which we must have in the future to aintain a vibrant, progressing economy will ot only injure the very persons who are re- ponsible for it, but will hurt the innocent well.

Statement by the American Jewish Committee on Discriminatory Practices by the Saudi Arabian Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement issued by the American Jewish Committee on April 24, 1957. It was occasioned by Secretary of State Dulles' assertion in his press conference on April 23 that the continued exclusion of American personnel of the Jewish faith from the Dhahran Airbase in Saudi Arabia was occasioned largely, or partly at least, because of New York Mayor Robert Wagner's refusal to greet King Saud in January of this year:

STATEMENT BY AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE ON DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES BY THE SAUDI ARABIAN GOVERNMENT, APRIL 24, 1957

We are amazed by the statement in Washington yesterday by Secretary of State Dulles that Saudi Arabia's continued exclusion of American personnel of the Jewish faith from the Dhahran Airbase was partly at least attributable to Mayor Robert Wagner's refusal to greet King Saud on his arrival in New York last January. The merits of the action taken by Mayor Wagner is, of course, not the issue to which we are addressing ourselves at this time.

This new explanation for a practice of exclusion by Saudi Arabia that began more than 6 years ago, and continues undiminished, conflicts with the history of the recent negotiations by the State Department, for renewal of the lease on that base. Secretary Dulles has employed an irrelevant circumstance rather than acknowledging our own Government's failure to prevent assaults on American citizenship.

For more than 6 years, the United States Government has acquiesced in a flagrant policy of discrimination by the Arab States against American citizens of the Jewish faith. Our Government has negotiated treaties with Saudi Arabia which explicitly exclude Americans from that country on the basis of their religious beliefs. The American Jewish Committee is firmly convinced that such acquiescence in discrimination by a foreign government is tantamount to our Government upholding discriminatory policies.

The American Jewish Committee, therefore, was in constant communication with the State Department for nearly a year before the latest negotiations were concluded. We urged it upon our government that it is not now, and never has been, in accord with the traditions of American foreign policy to lend support to or otherwise justify discrimination by other countries against American citizens. This view was clearly reflected in the resolution adopted unanimously by the United States Senate on July 26, 1956, in which the "sense of the Senate" was expressed "that it regards any such distinctions directed against United States citizens as incompatible with the relation that should exist among friendly nations."

The American Jewish Committee has been continually assured that our Government would attempt to persuade Saudi Arabia to abandon its discriminatory policy. Yet, even before King Saud arrived in this country, we were informed that there would be little hope of success.

Mr. Dulles is also quoted as having said that King Saud insisted on continuing the prohibition against American personnel of the Jewish faith because "discrimination (by New York City) would be fought with discrimination" (by Saudi Arabia).

This, too, is at sharp variance with the explanation offered in a letter written to the Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee, on February 25, 1957, following King Saud's visit to this country, by William M. Rountree, Assistant Secretary of State for Middle Eastern and South Asian Affairs. He asserted that "the representatives of Saudi Arabia explained that their regulations were not intended to discriminate against citizens of another country because of religion, but were related to the tensions arising from the Arab-Israel dispute. The hope was expressed that Saudi Arabia would be able, as these tensions were eased, to eliminate restrictions arising from them."

We certainly do not accept as true the explanation offered by the representatives of Saudi Arabia that the discrimination against American Jews is not based upon religious affiliation. Nor are we convinced that Saudi Arabia will eliminate those restrictions in the absence of insistence by our own Government.

It has become equally apparent that the Saudi Arabian intransigence on this score during the more recent negotiations for renewal of the Dhaharan Air Base was in keeping with the earlier policies, in which—both directly and indirectly—the American Government has acquiesced.

Head of Chamber Backs United States Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article which appeared in the New York Times on April 29, 1957:

HEAD OF CHAMBER BACKS UNITED STATES AGENCY—COLEMAN STRESSES NEED FOR BUSINESS LIAISON OFFICE, WHICH FACED BUDGET CUT

WASHINGTON, April 28.—John S. Coleman, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, said today the organization was not "against everything" in its campaign to persuade Congress to cut the Federal budget.

It would be tragic to lose the Business and Defense Service Administration, the Commerce Department's business liaison branch, he commented in an interview on the eve of the chamber's 45th annual meeting.

The industry divisions of the administration would be eliminated by a $3,500,000 budget cut approved by the House of Representatives. Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce, has asked the Senate to restore almost all of it. The cut has disturbed the Government's mobilization planners as much as it has businessmen.

CALLED GO-BETWEEN

Mr. Coleman called the administration the basis of industrial mobilization for war and the go-between for business and Government. It is a small item and should be reinstated, he emphasized.

Asked if he thought Congress had gone too far with other cuts, he said he could not think of any others.

The Business and Defense Services Administration handles much of Government industry planning for a war emergency. It administers priorities for scarce materials. Its industry divisions are headed by businessmen on leave from their companies. Its nonmobilization work is to pass information and opinion between Government and industry.

Mr. Coleman is president of the Burroughs Corporation of Detroit, electronic equipment manufacturers. Before his chamber activity, he was known for his work on behalf of liberalized foreign-trade policies. His 1-year term ends with this meeting.

The chamber is making intensive efforts for budget reductions. It is the country's most representative business organization. About 2,500,000 businessmen belong to its 3,300 affiliated chambers and trade associations.

Several thousand members will attend the 3 days of sessions on taxes, the postal deficit, housing, agriculture, education, business leadership, foreign policy, and other matters.

Mr. Coleman, who is 59 years old, said he traveled 75,000 miles the last year trying to get local people all over the United States to measure the things they wanted against the national welfare.

He said he had been chiding businessmen to pay more attention to the affairs of their own locality and of the Nation, and to be vocal with their own employees first of all.

"We have to think globally," he stressed.

On the controversy over limiting oil imports, Mr. Coleman said, "I don't see why we don't cap our own wells and import the foreign oil while it's available." The security argument for curbs is that imports discourage domestic exploration.

Discussing the domestic economy, Mr. Coleman said that to an industrialist, the upward trend of prices doesn't look like inflation, it looks like an evergrowing economy.

The Right-To-Work Hoax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article by Mel Sacks in Textile Labor entitled "The Right-To-Work Hoax: Stairway to Poverty":

The State of Indiana has succumbed to "right to work." The 1st industrial center and the 18th in a rollcall of stricken States, Indiana fell before the poisoned arrows of big-business and reactionary-farm groups.

Spurred on by their success, these hate-labor groups are now hatching plans to trap Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maryland. They hope the Senate's probe of labor racketeering will bait the trap.

American workers, of course, are the chief victims of right-to-work laws. All of America, however, will suffer from the shrunken payrolls and reduced consumer power washed away by this tidal wave of union busting.

Cancerlike, right-to-work laws appear innocent at first glance. They masquerade behind a facade of fine-sounding words. But sometimes words don't mean what they seem to. Everybody believes in rights and everybody wants work. But when workers lift the curtain off the words "right to work" they get a bleak picture of lower wages, longer hours and insecurity.

How did this double-talk legislation get into so many State books?

Who were the back-door fathers of these laws, often conceived in secrecy and frequently delivered as riders to unrelated bills?

The first right-to-work law originated in Florida. In 1939, the Associated Industries, Florida affiliate of the National Association of Manufacturers, began to press hard for restrictive labor legislation. In 1941, the American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, employers of low-wage farm labor, also jumped on the open shop bandwagon.

The movement gained real momentum in the midst of wartime hysteria and was designed to stop unions from enrolling newly hired workers in defense industries. Such workers enjoyed the same high standards older union members had to struggle to win. Yet when they were asked to help pay the freight for such gains through initiation fees and dues, employers urged them to resist.

Always on the lookout for new and improved ways of walloping unions, big business groups saw that a campaign to pit worker against worker, under the guise of the right to work without joining a union, was tailor-made for them.

In Tom Watson, Florida's attorney general, they found their architect. In 1941, 1 month after he had been elected with labor support, Watson spoke out for the open shop. Shortly afterward he advocated a bill to ban the closed shop on all public projects.

In support of this bill he charged that at Camp Blanding many workers were forced to pay union dues at hiring time and then were laid off 6 weeks later. He submitted no proof. What's more, not a single worker was produced to back his charge and to claim a refund of his dues. Fortunately, the bill died in the House Labor Committee.

Despite this setback, Watson and his backers continued to build up their strength. They decided to abandon Federal action and push their plan on the State level in Florida. A smokescreen of publicity was blown over the State. Unions were charged with impeding the war effort, racketeering and curtailing the rights of individual workers.

By August 1944 Watson and State Representative Joe Jenkins, who had sponsored an unsuccessful open-ship bill in 1939, got a charter for a statewide right-to-work committee. W. L. Storey, chairman of the Farm Bureau's labor committee, was installed as president. The buddy-buddy deal between Florida big business and big farmers was in the open. Another group, the Florida Voters for Constitutional Government, pitched in, too. In fact, everybody got into the act except Florida's workers.

The Miami Citzen pointed out that the leaders came from "the backward, low-wage sections of the State where the lumber and turpentine interests rule their workers like barons of old, and laborers received little or nothing for working in groves and on the farm."

A constitutional amendment banning union security provisions was finally passed in Florida's general election November 7, 1944. The open-shoppers collared 55 percent of the vote. Where city support was almost evenly split, the rural areas supported the amendment 2 to 1.

Following a Federal district court ruling that the statute was not self-enforcing, but required an enabling act, Attorney General Watson went to Washington. He scoured Government labor relations agencies, requesting them not to award union security on public projects. But the Federal agencies refused to go alone.

Shortly afterward, Watson filed suit against several firms for having closed-shop contracts, but lost.

Watson also brought the threat of vigilantes into the picture. A private goon squad, the Veterans' Industrial Association, organized as union wreckers in Arkansas, was imported.

Watson later broke with this group because they were opposed to all labor, whereas he claimed he only fought the closed shop. For a while, Watson led the Federated Workers of America, a group whose purpose was to set up open-shop unions on a national basis. This died but the "wreck" law remained.

Right-to-work laws have been in effect long enough in 17 States to permit evaluation. It is noteworthy that those saddled with the law have average per capita incomes of only $1,400 a year. The national average is $2,000.

In right-to-work States union organizing efforts have been strangled. The rug has been pulled out from under job security. Workers grasp at almost any miserable wage offered them.

Instead of being friends and neighbors, workers become deadly competitors forced by economic distress to throw themselves into a cheap labor market.

Right-to-work States are pocked with poverty. They offer an object lesson to workers in union shop States because a study of right-to-work in action shouts out: "Don't let this happen to you."

The Lord & Taylor Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, for the past 20 years, Lord & Taylor, one of the outstanding department stores of New York City, in recognition of some current event or development of humanitarian significance, has established an annual award to which certain individuals identified with the activity concerned have been recognized and a substantial monetary donation given to a deserving charitable organization. This year the award was based upon the theme of the peaceful atom. Certain individuals identified with the atomic program were cited and the monetary award of $10,000 was given to the Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research.

The address of Miss Dorothy Shaver, president of Lord & Taylor, served to dramatize the myriad of uses for the peaceful atom and was so impressive to me as I listened to it as the accompaniment to the cinematic presentation that I feel it merits inclusion in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY MISS DOROTHY SHAVER, PRESIDENT OF LORD & TAYLOR, AT THE 20TH LORD & TAYLOR AWARD LUNCHEON, APRIL 12, 1957

It is my great pleasure to welcome you to the 20th Lord & Taylor award luncheon.

The Lord & Taylor award is held in the belief that business in a democracy has a responsibility to contribute to the humanitarian well-being and enlightenment of the community and Nation. Presented as a public service, the award seeks to renew our faith in our present world as in our future through the recognition of the achievements of the modern pioneer, whether his frontier be a laboratory, a studio, or an office.

Today it is our privilege and our challenge to be living in an era of great discovery, a discovery that is to shape the character of our times. It is the knowledge of the power of the atom. Its towering prominence on the landscape of our age is still partially obscured. That mankind is assembled at the foot of a great new and fertile power for good, there is no doubt.

Awareness of the immensity of the force contained in the atom first exploded over the hearts and minds of men in a deathly warning. Still haunting the human imagination is the destruction of Hiroshima. We now know this same force as one of our greatest powers for peace. It is the dedicated purpose of this program to shed further light on the promise of atomic energy for the betterment of mankind.

We are keenly aware that only the trained scientific mind can truly grasp the intricacies of the atom. We, as laymen in science, can only marvel at the meaning of this dis-

very and pay humble tribute to the daring
the brilliance of the minds that are
ting our atomic age.

THE ANSWER OF THE ATOM

Man in the universe is man whirling to a
rhm he cannot feel, obeying laws he does
comprehend, participant in a pattern
can barely perceive, citizen of space that
no end. To man, a part and yet an
erver of this scene, the unknown has
ays been a challenge, truth the ever-
ght goal.

A transient in eternity, man seeks to make
his own. He watches, questions, concludes
y to doubt again—and slowly, he learns.
In our time, using the knowledge accumu-
ed through history, as man observed he
ard a new sound in the universe, a sound
t has always existed had he learned to
en—the secret sound of life. It was the
nd of atomic radiation. This was the
e that guided man's thought to the great
overy of the power of the atom.

From the end of the 19th century when
was first perceived, scientists have explored
s persistent radiant beam. In 1939 the
m was finally split and there was released
earth a power of an intensity never before
t. Unleashed for man was the enormous
ding force of nature—the source of life.
The quest for this knowledge had been
g—truth often neglected. The atom,
ling the searching mind by its obscurity,
hidden for 25 centuries. Its existence
s first conceived in the fifth century B. C.
the Greek philosopher, Democritus, who
lared that matter is formed of invisibly
all particles, which he called atoms, mean-
something that cannot be cut.

This astounding insight was put aside for
0 years by the dominance of Aristotle's
mpellingly simple explanation that matter
s made up of elements that could be
n and felt rather than of tiny bits of
visible matter.

This false assumption of the physical
rld was first questioned by Galileo who
thstood the ridicule of his time for his
lief that principles must be tested by ex-
riments. So started the modern scientific
e.

Working with intellectual freedom, the
neer scientists of the 1600's, 1700's, and
00's constructed the framework of physi-
l laws and principles on which today
ientists stand. From primitive laboratories
across Europe came the great truths
t have given our age its pattern—the
w of motion, the nature of matter, the
gnetic attraction within elements.

With the discovery of natural radioactivity
1896 by the French scientist, Becquerel, a
pid chain reaction of atomic discoveries
llowed: from Thompson of England, the
ctron ushering in the electronic age; from
erre and Marie Curie of France, the isola-
n of radium and polonium; from Albert
nstein of Germany, the theory of the
uivalence of mass and energy and the
neral theory of relativity; from Ruther-
rd of England, the theory of radioactive
cay, of the atomic nucleus and the first
clear reaction; from Bohr of Denmark,
e theory of atomic structure; from Ernest
wrence of the United States, the develop-
nt of the cyclotron; from Fermi of Italy,
e development of atomic fission. From
ese and many others came the knowledge
hich we now possess of the universal na-
re of matter and the structure of the atom.

The lightest atom, hydrogen, has a single
oton in its nucleus and an electron that
cles it like a planet. Within suns, hydro-
n atoms fuse together and are joined by
o neutrons. The result is a completely
w element, helium, whose two protons at-
ct a pair of circling electrons. Helium,
turn, becomes the heavier element, lith-
m as more particles join its nucleus. Thus,
e by one, all the 92 elements were forged in
ellar fires until the heaviest atom of all,
uranium, was created. Uranium has a nucleus of 92 protons and nearly twice as many neutrons that is held together by stellar energy. It is this energy that man has learned to liberate.

"When a neutron strikes a uranium nucleus, it is absorbed. Under the strain of the added particle, the nucleus grows unstable and splits in two with a burst of energy, releasing more neutrons. In a mass of uranium, the neutrons released by one fission travel on to produce further fissions, liberating more and more energy in an intense chain reaction. This same energy will eventually light our cities, run our factories, and power our ships and planes."

The pulse of our Nation's life depends on power. Factories, farms, cities, the great agents of transportation—each demands power. The lifeline to all the dynamic enterprises of our society, power holds the key to our future growth as well as to our present strength.

Even with America's great natural resources, there are areas where our power is inadequate. By 1975 cheap coal will be scarce and power costs will rise. Our oil consumption has reached a fantastic peak and continues to grow. In Europe, reserves of coal and availability of oil are critical today. In the countries of Asia and Africa, power resources are frequently lacking and demand, springing from newly awakened economies, has vastly increased. To fail in meeting this urgent need would be to fail humanity's future.

The energy contained in world reserves of uranium is over 20 times that contained in the reserves of oil and coal. The power of the uranium atom released in reactors is the best answer now available to the challenge.

"As uranium slugs are pushed into a reactor and the controls adjusted, uranium atoms begin to fission and the chain reaction builds up, producing heat. It is this heat that makes atomic power possible. A liquid pumped through the reactor is heated as it flows around the hot rods. Passing over water-carrying pipes, the liquid imparts its heat to the water, turning it to steam. Thus, a reactor makes steam—steam to run the powerful turbine that turns the generator to produce electricity. Then the electricity passes through transmission lines and on toward the world of man to light his cities and lighten his labor with the energy recovered from suns that were born and died billions of years ago.

"But in addition to power, a reactor can also produce radioisotopes. Elements, inserted into a reactor become radioactive. Thus normal iodine becomes transformed into an iodine radioisotope. And so on with many elements, enabling them to perform new and vital tasks."

This year will mark the opening of the first full-scale commercial nuclear power-plant in the United States. Located at Shippingport, Pa., this first structure on the new frontier is the American power industry's pledge to the future.

Atomic power holds the promise of driving the engines of ships, planes, trains, and rockets, giving a new dimension to their range. Today we have witnessed the amazing performance of the first atomic-powered vessel, the submarine *Nautilus* which made naval history by sailing 2 years without refueling. We see it as a symbol of navigation of the future.

Since uranium is not inexhaustible, one of the great promises for limitless power in the future rests in fusing atoms. Light-weight atoms are made to collide with such force as to unite them, releasing the violent solar energy that has given life to the earth. The problem of controlling this kind of atomic fire is one of science's current frontiers. The Atomic Energy Commission has just announced that a large experimental device, to be known as the stellarator, will be built at Princeton University for the study of controlled fusion reaction. This device would approximate the heat of atomic fires raging at millions of degrees deep in the sun's core, creating for man the same power that lights the universe.

Key to a Nation's prosperity and high standard of living is its industrial strength. American industry, whose progressive attitudes have been the mainspring of its phenomenal achievements, has been quick to find uses for the atom. Last year, even in this pioneer period, industrial savings directly attributable to radioisotopes are estimated at half a billion dollars. Approximately 1,400 companies are at present using the new power of the atom.

The hypersensitivity of the atom has given industry a new tool which produces extraordinary efficiency. Atomic tracers test wear on machines to a degree never before possible, detect hidden flaws in fabrics and castings, and measure the thickness of metals and paper to fantastic degrees of accuracy.

The vast oil industry, with its complex of pipelines that carry vital petroleum across the length and breadth of this country was one of the first to put the magical atom to work. By using a small amount of radioactive material as a marker, different shipments of oil can be identified, vastly improving efficiency. These same tracers are used as superhuman eyes that spot breaks in transcontinental and local pipelines, saving labor, time, and needless effort.

Manufacturers of drugs are now employing radioisotopes for more effective sterilization of medical supplies. And so it goes—from steel to oil, from plastics to paper to fabrics to foods—every industry is looking to the atom for the answer to new and promising methods of production. Marking our modern landscape are new research centers where engineers and scientists are probing, searching, experimenting with the power which has made this an atomic age.

The specter of hunger has haunted more than two-thirds of the world's people for centuries. Today fast-growing populations have brought the problem of food supply in some parts of the world to a stage of crisis.

Plant disease and insect pests sweep with regularly across all lands, bringing needless waste of precious food. No nation is immune but some have learned the means of fighting.

The atomic biologist has brought new and powerful weapons to this fight. Radioactive isotopes are used to acquire greater understanding of the life processes of plants so that we may learn their essential requirements. As radiation causes mutation, breeding experiments aimed at creating more productive and disease-resistant strains have been vastly speeded. Radiation can alter plant chromosomes which contain the invisible genes that govern the cell's growth, enabling scientists to learn more fully their influence on the development of plant life. New rust-resistant hybrids of oats and wheat and a new higher-yield peanut strain are already among the tangible achievements of the atomic biologist.

One vast new field of research is the preservation of food by radiation. Exposed to it, potatoes can be stored for years without sprouting. Because radiation destroys living cells, scientists are using it to kill the bacteria that spoil food. Samples of meat are placed inside a lead cask and exposed to radioactive cobalt. Today irradiated meat remains fresh for weeks. Some day it may last for years as fresh as the day it was packaged.

Of all the fervent hopes of mankind, none is more deeply felt than the desire for health—freedom from that tyranny that enters like a stranger and stays unwelcome to do violence, to threaten, or to kill.

In the struggle to free men from illness the atom is a revolutionary weapon. Its value to our medical understanding has been compared to the value of the microscope.

Radioisotopes have opened new doors for medical research and treatment. One of the most valuable of these isotopes, radioactive iodine, has been used with great success in the treatment of thyroid disease. These isotopes are carefully stored in lead vaults to assure protection from accumulated radiation which would prove harmful to technicians. Since an overactive thyroid will take up more iodine than a normal thyroid, radioactive iodine can swiftly and accurately diagnose the trouble. An atomic solution is prepared by remote control appartus—a device called the master-slave. Watching his movements by means of mirrors, the technician draws up the iodine and transfers a measured amount into a paper cup. Water is then added and the patient drinks the atomic cocktail. Above the suspect gland, a radiation counter moves back and forth detecting the iodine's radiation and recording the spots where the disease is concentrated. This accurate diagnosis will lead to early and effective treatment.

The blinking of a warning light indicates another priceless isotope at work—Cobalt 60. Mounted inside a rotating cylinder, the cobalt's penetrating radiation bombards with special accuracy a tumor deep in the patient's body. Malignant cells may be destroyed by its powerful rays as dials keep careful count of the radiation received.

In case of brain tumors which X-rays cannot detect, radioarsenic tracers reveal the exact size and position of the tumor. Its successful removal is achieved by using a special atomic probe. The probe's sensitivity to radiation signals the tumor's precise location to the surgeon during the operation, enabling its complete removal.

In the new world of atomic medicine, guns are used to cure. This gun is loaded with radioactive gold seeds. Using a potato as a facsimile of a cancer, gold seeds are shot from the gun into the desired position simply by pulling the trigger. Radiation from the gold works to destroy malignancy. Removal of the seeds is unnecessary.

The invisible rays of the radiant atom are telling the story of the mysteries of human life with a clarity and precision never before revealed. New light is being shed on the workings of the body and the evolutionary changes during its life span. The atom gives new hope for answers to many of the enigmas of illness.

We have seen a power that can reach out to the mystery and agony of illness and give a deeper knowledge that can bring new life.

We have seen a power that can release humanity from centuries-old subservience to nature by supplying superhuman energy.

We have seen a power that can cut waste and error from the huge enterprise of industry by a sensitivity 1,000 times greater than man's.

We have seen a power that can fight pestilence and blight by creating new and better food for the hungry of the world.

A new freedom has come to man, so vast that we see only fragments of its total meaning, so powerful that it brings humility as well as hope, so essential that it has become the symbol of our future.

Into deserts and darkness, through ravaged fields and forests, into the grappling anxiety of poverty, into the torment of disease, the answer of the atom will be hea[rd]

PRESENTATION OF CITATIONS—THE HONORABLE W. STERLING COLE

A born leader, active in many fields, the man we now salute has brought his vision and high intelligence to the service of his country as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy since its creation in 1946. He served as its dynamic chairman during the 83d Congress and is at present its ranking Republican Member. As coauthor of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, he helped to set the legal foundation of all atomic activities in this country. His shining clarity of thought has been brought to bear on international problems arising from this atomic age. At this crucial stage in the development of peaceful atomic power we are proud to honor this knowledgeable legislator from our own State of New York, United States Representative W. STERLING COLE.

AMBASSADOR JAMES J. WADSWORTH

In 1953 President Eisenhower set the cornerstone for international atomic cooperation in his famous statement before the United Nations. He urged the establishment of an international organization devoted to the peaceful uses of atomic energy, to "serve the needs rather than the fears of mankind."

The man who was appointed by the President to foster this policy at the United Nations is a veteran of 19 years of Government service. Member of a family of distinguished public servants, he served ably as chairman of the United States delegation at the 87-nation Conference on the Statute of International Atomic Energy Agency. We now proudly present a man of impressive achievements, the distinguished Deputy United States Representative to the United Nations, our representative on the peaceful uses of atomic power, Ambasador James J. Wadsworth.

DR. LLOYD V. BERKNER

We in New York live close to a center of atomic discovery, the Brookhaven National Laboratory located in Long Island. Those who run this laboratory search for the signposts of the new atomic age. Living in a world apart, our future is their present. They pursue the peaceful potential of the atom for medicine, biology, chemistry, physics, and nuclear engineering.

The high responsibility for directing this work has been placed with nine of our eastern universities. The educator selected to guide the activity on the atomic frontier has a many faceted personality; member of the first Byrd antarctic expedition and winner of the Congressional Gold Medal, his brilliant scientific mind has been called into play by the State, Navy, and Defense Departments. It is not surprising that the associated universities has selected this long-time adventurer in science as its president to direct the Brookhaven National Laboratory. We are honored to have with us today, Dr. Lloyd V. Berkner.

DR. HENRY D. SMYTH

We cannot point to the advances made in the atomic field without paying tribute to the men who have devoted their lives to scientific research. These are the men who chart their course by unseen stars, who toil to achieve the miracles they may never see. Representing the best scientific tradition, our next awardee has played a continuing role in the development of atomic energy. Author of the internationally famous report evaluating atomic achievements as of 1945, a former Commissioner of the Atomic Energy Commission, he is the present chairman of the science and research board at Princeton University under whom some of our most promising atomic research is taking place. It is my great privilege to salute Dr. Henry Smyth.

COMMISSIONER HAROLD S. VANCE

One cannot think of atomic energy without paying tribute to the United States Atomic Energy Commission, the Government agency which bears the responsibility for encouraging, directing, and inspiring the entire atomic energy field. Like the nucleus of an atom, the Atomic Energy Commission holds the central position in this pioneer period of atomic activity, coordinating the work of the scientist, educator, and industrialist.

It is singularly appropriate to this occasion that we hear from 1 of the 5 Commissioners who direct the essential work of the Atomic Energy Commission, a man who has already achieved the mark of success in the head of a large and vital corporation. He has brought a keen business mind and a penetrating intelligence to the service of his country in this vital new field. I am proud to introduce to you the Honorable Harold S. Vance, who has come from Washington, D. C. to address us today.

GWILYM A. PRICE

No company more successfully represents the ingenuity and brilliance for which American industry is famous than the Westinghouse Electric Corp. and its dynamic atomic-energy program. Starting in this new field in 1948 with a few employees, its success in learning the secrets of atomic power has been such that it now employs over 6,000 people in its atomic-energy division.

Under the leadership of one of America's greatest industrialists, the Westinghouse Corp. has produced two of our foremost current achievements in atomic power and holds the plans for many more. First to translate atomic power into sea power, Westinghouse built the atomic furnace that drives the first atomic submarine, the U. S. S. *Nautilus*. First to establish atomic power as a major source for electricity in this country, Westinghouse designed and constructed, under contract to the AEC, the nuclear reactor for America's first full-scale commercial atomic powerplant located at Shippingport, Pa.

Our next distinguished citizen is a man with vision, with determination to learn the secrets of an unproved power, with the courage to tackle the unknown. We salute the president and chairman of the board of the Westinghouse Electric Corp., Mr. Gwilym A. Price.

ALFRED IDDLES

American industry, always alert to new potentials, early met the compelling demand for information on atomic energy by establishing a private information organization, the Atomic Industrial Forum.

It is the good fortune of the 500 industries which are members of the forum to be led by a man whose broad experience and wisdom give him a unique understanding of the needs of industry in an atomic age.

As its president, he led Babcock & Wilcox in building the nuclear portion of the Consolidated Edison plant at Indian Point, on the Hudson, which will give New Yorkers their first electric power from atomic energy.

One of the country's most prominent engineers, long a key figure in the development of the power field, it is our great honor to cite a man who truly represents American industry's belief in the promise of the atom, president of the Atomic Industrial Forum, Mr. Alfred Iddles.

PRESENTATION OF AWARD TO SLOAN-KETTERING INSTITUTE FOR CANCER RESEARCH

The inscription above the Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research says fittingly "Within these walls a few labor unceasingly that many may live"—a phrase which applies aptly to its distinguished director. Few men of science have his liveliness of mind, his warmth of personality, his originality of thought. His achievements in the field of medical research are impressive. It is with hope and faith in the new power of the atom to advance our struggle against illness that we give this year's monetary award of $10,000 to the Sloan-Kettering Institute to be used to augment its great research endeavor. We are deeply honored to have with us the man whose public-spirited generosity established and sustains this institute, Mr. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., and also the president of this institute, Mr. Frank A. Howard. And now it is my great pleasure to introduce Dr. Cornelius P. Rhoads, director of the Sloan-Kettering Institute, master in medicine and dedicated humanitarian, who will accept this gift.

Libel and Slander on Television

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, as a rule parents rejoice when their children follow in their footsteps. I am a lawyer by profession, and was privileged to serve on the bench in New York. Now my son is studying the same profession, to which he hopes to devote himself in life. My son, Victor L. Anfuso, Jr., is a freshman at St. John's University School of Law in Brooklyn, N. Y., and is serving on the editorial board of the school's Law Review.

In the May issue of St. John's Law Review is published a study written by my son—his first study of this type—dealing with torts, libel and slander, in which he maintains that oral extemporaneous remarks over television can be held as libelous. It involves two famous New York restaurateurs, Toots Shor, of the restaurant of the same name, and Sherman Billingsley, of the Stork Club. This is an area which until now has hardly been explored. His study should prove of considerable interest and great value to the many people associated, directly or indirectly, with the television industry, and to the legal profession generally.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert this brief study in the RECORD:

Torts—libel and slander—oral extemporaneous remarks over television held libelous: Plaintiff brought an action for libel alleging extemporaneous defamatory statements over defendant-television broadcasting station by defendant-master of ceremonies as to his being deeply in debt. Defendants made a motion to dismiss contending that a complaint which alleges false oral remarks does not state a cause of action in libel. The court in denying the motion held that an allegation of extemporaneous oral defamatory remarks over television is sufficient to constitute a cause of action in libel. *Shor* v. *Billingsley* (— Misc. 2d —, 158 N. Y. S. 2d 476 (Sup. Ct. 1957)).

Traditionally defamation has been separated into two categories according to the form of dissemination chosen, slander being oral and libel being written.[1] For oral defamation, with certain exceptions,[2] special damages have to be established,[3] while for a writing, by nature more permanent and durable, damage is presumed.[4] Libel has been further extended to include all communications by sight, e. g., a picture,[5] caricature,[6] or effigy.[7]

However, courts and the State legislatures seem to be either in hopeless disagreement or indecision [8] as to which form to apply to new technological developments. Defamation by motion pictures has been consistently classified as libel,[9] but no such uniformity exists where false remarks were broadcast over radio or television. Some courts, applying the classic distinctions of form, categorized defamatory statements read from a script as libel,[10] and extemporaneous remarks as slander.[11] In another group of cases the form used was not decisive since recovery, in any case, could be granted without proof of special damages. Thus, where the remarks were actionable per se, either reflecting upon the integrity of a public official,[12] imputing the commission of a crime,[13] or injuring the plaintiff in his business,[14] the courts refused to classify the defamation. One Pennsylvania court would not distinguish between libel and slander with relation to the modern electronic media since the wide range of dissemination possible is equally present whether the utterance is oral or written.[15] Various State statutes [16] are in disagreement as to whether defamation over the air waves constitutes libel or slander; while in England, by statute, any defamatory broadcast is considered libel.[17]

Some jurisdictions have generally limited the liability of a broadcasting station as a disseminator of defamation, demanding only a high standard of preventive care. If the remarks were extemporaneous,[18] or there was no right of censorship over a defamatory political speech,[19] the station was relieved of responsibility. Liability could be imposed, however, when there was some method of control not utilized, as a failure to censor a defamatory script.[20] Conversely, in other States the element of control is not relevant in deciding the question of liability. Thus, in Sorensen *v.* Wood,[21] the fact that a broadcaster was precluded by act of Congress [22] from censoring a political speech, was held not to constitute a defense. The Court declared liability to be comparable to that of a newspaper,[23] observing that a radio station had no "privilege to join and assist a libel." [24] Since then, 26 States [25] have adopted statutes absolving the station from liability for defamatory remarks made by a political candidate, while several States [26] make it contingent upon the exercise of due care.

New York has followed the formal distinctions between libel and slander in both radio and television so that only statements delivered from a script are libelous.[27] Some lack of due care [28] or disregard of control, such as rebroadcasting the defamation,[29] seems to be sufficient to extend liability to the broadcaster. Station owners have not been held responsible for interpolated defamatory comments,[30] a mere coincidental allusion to the plaintiff by television scenery [31] or, by statute, for a defamatory political broadcast.[32]

The instant case, declaring the permanence of form concept [33] not to be a restrictive doctrine, is the first to extend the principle of libel to oral remarks. The Court contended that any broadcast, regardless of form, has a greater potential for harm than a writing, and therefore is more properly placed in the libel area. It was further stated that legislation is not needed to change the rule since defamation is basically a common-law action. No mention is made of the extent of liability of the defendant-broadcaster for a seemingly uncontrollable remark, save that a good cause of action is stated against it.

In examining the case in relation to the judicial development of the law, it would seem to sanction a contradiction in terms. No longer need a libel be considered as written, and a slander as spoken, defamation.[34] This is in direct violation of the dictum laid down in *Locke v. Gibbons*,[35] and followed by all jurisdictions save two,[36] that our courts cannot legislate to eradicate the long-established distinctions between libel and slander.[37]

While it is true that damage from defamatory statements can almost be presumed to occur over the modern electronic media, it would seem more logical to include oral defamation by radio or television as a category of slander per se.[38] Another solution might be to discard the outmoded forms and make one action for defamation with certain categories exempt from proof of special damages. The legislature and not the courts would seem the best method of correcting a field of our law rapidly becoming confused and divided by contradiction.

---

[1] See *Remington* v. *Bentley* (88 F. Supp. 166 (S. D. N. Y. 1949); *Nichols* v. *Item Publishers, Inc.* (309 N. Y. 596, 132 N. E. 2d 860 (1956)); *Locke* v. *Gibbons* (164 Misc. 877, 299 N. Y. Supp. 188 (Sup. Ct. 1937), aff'd mem., 253 App. Div. 887 (13 N. Y. S. 2d 1015) (1st Dept. 1938)).

[2] Proof of actual damages of a pecuniary nature need not be alleged if the false utterance imputes to the party commission of a crime involving moral turpitude, unfitness in profession, trade or duties of employment, or a loathsome disease (see *Pollard* v. *Lyon* (91 U. S. 225 (1875)); *Keefe* v. *O'Brien* (203 Misc. 113, 116 N. Y. S. 2d 286 (Sup. Ct. 1952)); *Bennett* v. *Seimiller* (175 Kans. 764, 267 P. 2d 926 (1954)) or unchastity to a woman (N. Y. Rules Civ. Prac. 97).

[3] *Locke* v. *Gibbons*, supra note 1. See *Moore* v. *Francis* (123 N. Y. 199, 23 N. E. 1127 (1890)).

[4] *Ostrowe* v. *Lee* (256 N. Y. 36, 175 N. E. 505); see *Pollard* v. *Lyon*, supra note 2; *Ratcliffe* v. *Evans* ((1892) 2 Q. B. 524 (C. A.)).

[5] *Peck* v. *Tribune Co.* (214 U. S. 185 (1909)); *Burton* v. *Crowell Publishing Co.* (82 F. 2d 154 (2d Cir. 1936)).

[6] *Brown* v. *Harrington* (208 Mass. 600, 95 N. E. 655 (1911)).

[7] *Johnson* v. *Commonwealth* (14 Atl. 425 (Pa. 1888) (per curiam)).

[8] *Schultz* v. *Frankfort Marine, Acc. & Plate Glass Ins. Co.* (152 Wis. 537, 139 N. W. 386 (1913)).

[9] See *Wright* v. *R. K. O. Radio Pictures, Inc.* (55 F. Supp. 639 (D. C. Mass. 1944); *Brown* v. *Paramount Publix Corp.* (240 App. Div. 520, 270 N. Y. Supp. 544 (3d Dep't 1934)); *Merle* v. *Sociological Research Film Corp.* (166 App. Div. 376, 152 N. Y. Supp. 829 (1st Dep't 1915)); *Youssoupoff* v. *Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Pictures, Ltd.* (50 T. L. R. 581 (C. A. 1934)).

[10] See *Charles Parker Co.* v. *Silver City Crystal Co.* (142 Conn. 605, 116 A. 2d 440 (1955)); *Sorensen* v. *Wood* (123 Neb. 348, 243 N. W. 82 (1932)); *Weglein* v. *Golder* (317 Pa. 437, 177 Atl. 47 (1935)).

[11] *Remington* v. *Bentley* (88 F. Supp. 166 (S. D. N. Y. 1949)). It is noteworthy that this case involved a communication by sight over a television broadcast.

[12] See *Kelly* v. *Hoffman* (137 N. J. L. 695, 61 A. 2d 143 (1948)).

[13] See *Irwin* v. *Ashhurst* (158 Oreg. 61, 74 P. 2d 1127 (1938)).

[14] *Miles* v. *Louis Wasmer, Inc.* (172 Wash. 466, 20 P. 2d 847 (1933)).

[15] See *Summit Hotel Co.* v. *National Broadcasting Co.* (336 Pa. 182, 8 A. 2d 302 (1939)). See also *Coffey* v. *Midland Broadcasting Co.* (8 F. Supp. 889 (W. D. Mo. 1934)).

[16] See Cal. Civ. Code Ann., sec. 46 (West 1954) (slander); Fla. Stat. Ann., sec. 770.03 (1944) (libel or slander); Ill. Rev. Stat., ch. 38, sec. 404.1 (libel); Ind. Ann. Stat., sec. 2–518 (Burns 1946) (libel or slander); Mont. Rev. Code Ann., sec. 64–205 (1947) (libel or slander); N. D. Rev. Code, sec. 12–2815 (1943) (slander); Wash. Rev. Code, sec. 9.58.010 (Supp. 1955) (criminal libel).

[17] Defamation Act, 1952, 15 and 16 Geo. 6 and 1 Eliz. 2, c. 66.

[18] *Summit Hotel Co.* v. *National Broadcasting Co.*, supra, note 15.

[19] *Kelly* v. *Hoffman* (137 N. J. L. 695, 61 A. 2d 143 (1948)).

[20] *Felix* v. *Westinghouse Radio Stations, Inc.*, (186 F. 2d 1 (3d Cir. 1950))., cert. denied (341 U. S. 909 (1951)).

[21] 123 Neb. 348, 243 N. W. 82 (1932), appeal dismissed, *KFAB Broadcasting Co.* v. *Sorensen* (290 U. S. 599 (1933) (per curiam)); cf. *Coffey* v. *Midland Broadcasting Co.* (8 F.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Supp. 889 (W. D. Mo. 1934)); *Miles* v. *Louis Wasmer, Inc.* (172 Wash. 466, 20 P. 2d 847 (1933)).

[22] 66 Stat. 717, 47 U. S. C., sec. 315 (a) (1952).

[23] See *Peck* v. *Tribune Co.* (214 U. S. 185 (1909)); *Walker* v. *Bee-News Publishing Co.* (122 Neb. 511, 240 N. W. 579 (1932)); *Laudati* v. *Stea* (44 R. I. 303, 117 Atl. 422 (1922)).

[24] *Sorensen* v. *Wood* (123 Neb. 348, 243 N. W. 82, 85 (1932)), appeal dismissed, *KFAB Broadcasting Co.* v. *Sorensen* (290 U. S. 599 (1933)) (per curiam).

[25] Ariz. Code Ann., sec. 27–2007 (Supp. 1954); Ark. Stat. Ann., sec. 3–1606 (1956); Cal. Civ. Code, sec. 48.5 (3) (West 1954); Colo. Rev. Stat. Ann., ch. 41–2–6 (1953); Fla. Stat. Ann., sec. 770.04 (Supp. 1956); Ga. Code Ann., sec. 105–713 (1956); Idaho Code Ann., sec. 6–701 (Supp. 1955); Ill. Rev. Stat., ch. 38, sec. 404.2 (b) (1951); Kan. Gen. Stat. Ann, sec. 60–746a (Supp. 1955); La Rev. Stat., tit. 45, sec. 1352 (1954); Me. Rev. Stat. Ann., ch. 130, sec. 32 (1954); Mich. Stat. Ann., sec. 27.1406 (Supp. 1953); Miss. Code Ann., sec. 1059.5 (2) (1956); Mo. Ann. Stat., sec. 537.105 (Vernon 1953); Neb. Rev. Stat., sec. 86–602 (1950); Nev. Stat., ch. 230 (1951); N. M. Stat. Ann., sec. 40–27–35 (Supp. 1955); N. D. Rev. Code, sec. 14–0209 (Supp. 1953); Ohio Rev. Code Ann., sec. 2739.03 (A) (Baldwin Supp. 1956); Ore. Rev. Stat., sec. 30.760 (2) (1953); Pa. Stat. Ann., tit. 12, sec. 1585 (Purdon Supp. 1956); S. C. Code, sec. 23–7 (Supp. 1956); Utah Code Ann., sec. 45–2–5 (Supp. 1955); Va. Code Ann., sec. 8–632.1 (1950); W. Va. Code Ann., sec. 5482 (1) (Michie 1955); Wyo. Comp. Stat. Ann., sec. 3–8204 (Supp. 1955).

[26] Iowa Code Ann., sec. 659.5 (1950); N. C. Gen. Stat. Ann., sec. 99–5 (Michie 1950); S. D. Code, sec. 47.0506 (Supp. 1952); Tex. Rev. Civ. Stat. Ann., art 5433a (Vernon Supp. 1956); cf. Md. Ann. Code, art. 75, sec. 19A (Flack 1951); Minn. Stat. Ann., sec. 544.043 (Supp. 1954); Mont. Rev. Codes Ann., sec. 64–205 (1947); Wash. Rev. Code, sec. 19.64.010 (1943).

[27] *Hartmann* v. *Winchell* (296 N. Y. 296, 73 N. E. 2d 30 (1947)); *Hryhorijiv* v. *Winchell* (180 Misc. 574, 45 N. Y. S. 2d 31 (Sup. Ct. 1943), aff'd mem., 267 App. Div. 817, 47 N. Y. S. 2d 102 (1st Dep't 1944)). In like manner extemporaneous remarks are treated as slander. See *Tex Smith, The Harmonica Man, Inc.* v. *Godfrey* (198 Misc. 1006, 102 N. Y. S. 2d 251 (Sup. Ct. 1951)); *Locke* v. *Gibbons* (164 Misc. 877, 299 N. Y. Supp. 188 (Sup. Ct. 1937), aff'd mem., 253 App. Div. 887, 2 N. Y. S. 2d 1015 (1st Dep't 1938)). One case would seem to place a defamatory television prop in the libel area. *Landau* v. *Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.* (205 Misc. 357, 128 N. Y. S. 2d 254 (Sup. Ct. 1954), aff'd mem., 1 A. D. 2d 660, 147 N. Y. S. 2d 687 (1st Dep't 1955)). See also Leflar, Torts, 1954 Ann. Survey Am. L. 549, 562.

[28] See *Josephson* v. *Knickerbocker Broadcasting Co.* (179 Misc. 787, 38 N. Y. S. 2d 985 (Supt. Ct. 1942)).

[29] See *Tex Smith, The Harmonica Man, Inc.* v. *Godfrey*, supra note 27.

[30] See *Josephson* v. *Knickerbocker Broadcasting Co.*, supra note 28.

[31] See *Landau* v. *Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.*, supra note 27.

[32] N. Y. Civ. Prac. Act, sec. 337-a. See Legis. Note, Defamation by Radio and Television, 30 St. John's L. Rev. 133 (1955).

[33] See *Ostrowe* v. *Lee* (256 N. Y. 36, 39, 175 N. E. 505, 506 (1931)).

[34] *Locke* v. *Gibbons* (164 Misc. 877, 880, 299 N. Y. Supp. 188, 193 (Sup. Ct. 1937), aff'd mem., 253 App. Div. 887, 2 N. Y. S. 2d 1015 (1st Dep't 1938)).

[35] Ibid.

[36] See *Summit Hotel Co.* v. *National Broadcasting Co.* (336 Pa. 182, 8 A. 2d 302 (1939)); see also *Coffey* v. *Midland Broadcasting Co.* (8 F. Supp. 889 (W. D. Mo. 1934)).

[37] *Locke* v. *Gibbons*, supra note 34.

[38] See note 2 supra. It is interesting to note that falsely imputing unchastity to a woman was made actionable per se by statute. This was formerly adopted in section 1908 of the New York Code of Civil Procedure and is continued today in the New York Rules of Civil Practice, rule 97.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

, 1957

dings of
be set in
ore than
to Mem-

If manu-
urned in
ngs, the
rds "Mr.
or Com-
ereafter
with the

Printer
ESSIONAL
remarks
riod ex-
te when
ed, That
Congress
10 days,
nmittee,
ECORD is
30 days
; there-
e Public
d, That
session
10 days,
mittee:
of Con-
re than
ist only
nd shall
naterial,
or addi-

blish in
eport or
nmittee
eviously
rued to

n either
s speech
a news-
y other
ngs, the
ppendix
ch cases
Govern-
. This
which
r to an
emarks;
article
he final
may be

matter
nstance
RECORD
to ex-
ript is
g from
cost of
of cost
when
e shall
, tele-
nection
of de-
e legis-
esident
e Vice
For the
article
with-
sidered
ge rule
Official
return
se any
SIONAL
f this

eport-
manu-
tter to
make
r place

SENATOR
IN
OFFICE ADDRE
W
Streets northw
Vice Pre
ken, George
lott, Gordon,
nderson, Cli
N. Mex.
rrett, Frank
eall, J. Glenn
nnett, Walla
ble, Alan, Ne
ricker, John
ridges, Styles
ush, Prescott,
tler, John M
yrd, Harry Fl
apehart, Hom
rlson, Frank
rroll, John A
se, Clifford
se, Francis,
haves, Dennis
urch, Frank,
ark, Joseph
ooper, John
otton, Norris
urtis, Carl T
irksen, Evere
ouglas, Paul
worshak, Her
astland, Jam
llender, Alle
rvin, Samuel
anders, Ralp
rear, J. Allen
ulbright, J.
oldwater, Ba
ore, Albert,
reen, Theod
R. I.
ayden, Carl,
ennings, Th
Mo.
ickenlooper,
Iowa.
ill, Lister,
olland, Spes
ruska, Rom
umphrey,
Minn.
rs, Irving M
ackson, Hen
avits, Jacob
enner, Willi
ohnson, Lyn
ohnston, Ol
efauver, Es
ennedy, Joh
err, Robert
nowland,
Calif.
uchel, Tho
anger, Will
ausche, Fra
ong, Russel
cCarthy, J
cClellan, J
cNamara,
agnuson,
Wash.
alone, Geo
ansfield, M
artin, Edw
artin, Tho
onroney,
Okla.
orse, Way
orton, Th
undt, Kar
urray, Ja
eely, Matt
euberger,
Oreg.
'Mahoney,
Wyo.

1957

District

s, to be
hern dis-

e United
strict of

va, to be
ern dis-

United
strict of

, to be
trict of

United
trict of

United
trict of

, to be
ern dis-
s.

n from

Appendix

High Cost of Handling Chronic Drinkers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The High Cost of Handling Chronic Drinkers," which appeared in the April 19, 1957, issue of U. S. News & World Report.

Mr. President, programs for the care of repeater alcoholics impose a heavy financial burden upon city governments. For instance, the U. S. News & World Report story draws upon police records of a major American city to describe the case history—and cost—of 1 drunk, a man 54 years old, who has been jailed 235 times in the last 32 years. During these 3 decades the city paid $45,373 in police and court costs, jail keep, and hospital care for this habitual alcoholic, while obtaining only $510 in fines.

This typical case can be multiplied by tens of thousands in cities throughout the United States. The total direct and indirect costs of handing drunks may run into millions of dollars annually in large metropolitan areas. The loss in human resources throughout the United States is incalculable.

Many cities are now experimenting with rehabilitation programs which it is hoped will decrease the number of repeat drunk offenses. I believe that this program represents a forward-looking approach to a continuing problem. Such a plan will not only lower total city operating costs, but will assist in restoring to beneficial service men and women who might otherwise spend their lives shuttling back and forth between a bar and a city jail.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE HIGH COST OF HANDLING CHRONIC DRINKERS

On a chill, rainy day in March, a busload of prisoners, just released from the District of Columbia Work House, was hauled into Washington and let out at the bus' usual unloading point, a mile west of the Capitol.

Here was John A., 54, broke and threadbare, with no job, no family, no home. He shuffled off toward the business district, mooching dimes. By the time he reached his favorite cheap bar he had panhandled enough money to get drunk. Before midnight police arrested him.

Once more, John A. had stumbled into the revolving door of Skid Row—he had been drunk, arrested, sentenced, and had served his time, gone begging, and got drunk again.

PLAGUE OF CITIES

John A. is one of the repeater alcoholics who plague American cities. The cost of keeping just one such drunk off the streets during a lifetime of drinking is shown in chart A. After all this money is spent, the man is still a chronic drunk, repeating his performance over and over.

The common drunk is getting more attention because he is costly at a time when cities are trying to bring costs of government under control.

Each major city across the country now spends from $1 million to several million dollars a year to take care of drunks. The case of John A. is only one of hundreds of thousands.

The number of chronic alcoholics in the United States is put at nearly 5 million by the Yale Center of Alcoholic Studies. About 1.1 million have pursued liquor so long that they suffer mental or physical ailments because of it.

BURDEN FOR POLICE

More than 1.1 million people—60 percent of those arrested for all causes in United States cities and towns—are hauled in annually on charges associated with heavy drinking: drunkenness, drunken driving, disorderly conduct, and vagrancy. Among those arrested are thousands of repeaters.

City officials find that jails are jammed, courts are clogged, police forces are overburdened. New jails, more judges, larger police forces, all add to municipal budgets.

Indirect costs of chronic alcoholics are piled upon these direct charges. The drunk levies upon the citizen by panhandling. He resorts to petty thievery to finance booze. He seldom supports his family; consequently, relief payments are made from public funds.

City after city now is digging into the problem of the drunk—Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New Orleans, and others. Judges and local bar associations are joining city administrators in a search for more effective ways of handling drunks.

A businessman, David B. Karrick, started the newest and one of the most thorough examinations of the drunk problem in a city. Mr. Karrick, appointed one of the three Commissioners of the District of Columbia, found the Capital's prison facilities overcrowded. There was a prospect of having to spend up to $10 million for more jail space.

CAN LOAD BE CUT?

Rather than ask Congress for the money—since Congress is, in effect, Washington's city council—Mr. Karrick headed an investigating committee to find out whether the jail load could be reduced. The report of his committee, just published shows this situation in the Nation's Capital:

"Nearly 40,000 arrests for intoxication were made by the Metropolitan Police during the fiscal year 1956. More than 16,000 of these arrests resulted in commitment to our prisons, where the daily average drunk population exceeds 1,200. Many of these who are incarcerated leave wives and children destitue and entirely dependent upon subsitence payments by the Department of Public Welfare. * * *

"The costs to the taxpayer are enormous. Estimates, prepared on direct costs only, show that police processing of drunks cost $360,000 a year; court salaries involved, $76,000 a year; incarceration in prison, $1,204,000 a year. In addition, the alcoholic rehabilitation program costs $75,000 annually and the psychiatric services of the D. C. General Hospital cost $80,000 a year.

"Chronic alcoholics, therefore, are costing the taxpayers of the District almost $2 million a year."

ARREST-COMMIT POLICY

Public policy in the national capital is to try to keep all drunks off the streets through arrest. Those who can post bond or pay fines—more than half—are allowed to do so. Most others are sent to the workhouse—most of them under sentences ranging from 10 to 30 days. This is the revolving door method resulting in a workhouse population of which 85 percent are alcoholics.

Most of these chronic alcoholics in jail are past 40 years of age, but the Commissioner's committee reports: "The ages of those arrested show that a growing number of younger people, between 25 and 35 years of age, are being arrested for public drunkenness."

Looking to the future, the committee says: "The life expectancy of these individuals is long, and unless we are able to curb their delinquency at this stage, the taxpayers of the District of Columbia will have to house, feed and clothe many of these individuals for many, many years to come."

SAN FRANCISCO'S STORY

The cost of relief is demonstrated in San Francisco, where police now are arresting some 44,000 drunks a year. Homeless derelicts—single men without families—cost San Francisco more than $700,000 a year in relief payments alone. These alcoholics receive vouchers for food and rent, but many peddle the vouchers for cash to buy more alcohol. They prefer fortified wines—more kick for the money—but will drink vanilla extract, bay rum, rubbing alcohol or squeezings from canned heat.

These problems are facing almost all major cities in the United States. Alcoholics are costly now; they threaten to increase in numbers in the future and to become even more costly.

Most cities are just beginning to explore the size and cost of their burden of alcoholics and to experiment with curative methods of reducing this burden.

New methods of handling drunks, based on long-term commitment and curative treatment in place of repeated short jail sentences, are receiving increasing attention from authorities at all levels of government. These plans are coming mainly from businessmen, lawyers, doctors, police chiefs, and judges, rather than from those who are primarily reformers.

An experimental trend toward medical and psychiatric treatment of alcoholics is becoming more pronounced. The idea is to retrieve some of the derelicts from Skid Row, catch others in early stages and prevent them from becoming Skid Row cases.

No city has any hope that the problem can be wiped out; many officials do believe that, through treatment of the alcoholic, it can be reduced now and kept to lower levels in the future.

STRESS ON RESEARCH

This belief is based upon growing agreement among doctors, psychiatrists, and officials that alcoholism is a disease. It seems to afflict 1 drinker out of each 14.

Why some become alcoholics and others do not is still a matter of study. Mental upsets or an enzyme that reacts to alcohol in the chemical processes of the body are suggested by some researchers as possible reasons.

Congress is providing funds for research into the reasons for alcoholism, under direction of the National Institutes of Health.

As a result of the city investigation in Washington, drawing attention to the problem right on the doorstep of Congress, there is now talk of an investigation by a Senate committee. The idea would be to expose the extent and cost of the problem through national publicity, and to recommend whether the Federal Government should lay out more money either for research or for curative treatment.

SUCCESSFUL TESTS

States and cities, however, are doing a lot of their own digging.

More than 30 States have established commissions to see what can be done about treating alcoholics in mental hospitals or in outpatient clinics.

Curative treatment is being carried out mainly by cities, and only a few have gone beyond small-scale operations. Evidence from these pilot-plant experiments indicates that 20 to 25 percent of Skid Row habitués can be rehabilitated. In selected groups of drinkers treated before reaching the Skid Row stage, rates of cure have run as high as 75 percent.

Washington municipal courts have paroled more than 1,200 hopeful cases to Alcoholics Anonymous in the past 11 years. Of these, 95 percent have not been arrested since, and about 65 percent have achieved permanent sobriety.

Washington now plans to ask Congress to permit commitment for treatment up to 1 year. Drunks who can pay fines will not be let off, instead will be required to take treatment. Relatives will be permitted to commit an alcoholic for treatment even if he has not been arrested. Some Skid Row drunks will be provided with a "halfway house"—food and shelter after treatment, while they work for a living before being shoved out on their own.

REHABILITATION PROGRESS

California has concentrated more than other areas on the drunk problem because surveys showed it to be the State with the highest rate of alcoholism.

An Adult Guidance Center in San Francisco, to provide outpatient treatment and advice, has treated 6,000 people since 1951. A sampling of patients, including Skid Row derelicts and drunken seamen, showed that 25 percent stayed sober after treatment, and 70 percent earn a living without relief aid.

Los Angeles, shocked over drunk arrests that in some years have exceeded 100,000, voted $2 million in bonds to set up an alcoholic-rehabilitation center in 1954. It is run by the police department, costs $600,000 a year to operate, has room for 600 inmates and is to be expanded to a capacity of 1,500 patients.

A checkup on more than 3,000 patients who had been treated showed that 86 percent did not need to be sent back and the remaining 14 percent were rearrested only one-fourth as often as they had been before treatment.

COST OF TREATMENT

The treatment is proving a costly investment where it is being tried extensively. Looking at such expenditures as that in Los Angeles, some officials foresee the possibility that drunk clinics and hospitals will be set up on a large scale. These same officials believe that on a long-term basis the cost of treatment may be less than the cost of more and more jails.

Drunks, whether treated or jailed, will remain an item of big expense on city budgets.

CHART A

CASE HISTORY AND COST OF A DRUNK—FROM POLICE RECORDS OF A MAJOR AMERICAN CITY

Subject: A man 54 years old who has been jailed 285 times in the last 32 years and is in jail now. He studied accounting as a youth, has worked intermittently as a clerk, printer, cook, carpenter, driver, plumber, painter, laborer.

Cost to city to date:

Police and court costs, at $60 per sentence	$17,100
Jail keep, at $2.86 per day	26,873
Hospital care, during 140 days' treatment of delirium tremens, other ailments	1,400
Total	45,373
Less 52 fines paid by subject	510
Net cost to date	44,863

Address by Hon. Herman E. Talmadge, of Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very fine address made by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE] before the Kiwanis Club of Richmond, Va., on April 29.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR HERMAN TALMADGE, OF GEORGIA, BEFORE THE KIWANIS CLUB OF RICHMOND, VA.

President Welch, distinguished guests and my friends of the Richmond, Va., Kiwanis Club, your thoughtful invitation for me to speak to you today was an unexpected honor. It is one which I accepted with pleasure and satisfaction because of the close bonds of kinship and friendship which have existed between your own Commonwealth and my home State of Georgia throughout the whole course of our history.

Since the days of my youth I have looked to the State of Virginia and the city of Richmond with admiration and respect.

Representative government was born in Virginia.

Virginia's sons wrought the first constitutional republic for this Commonwealth.

Virginians wrote the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

And, of fond remembrance to southern people, Richmond is revered as one of the hallowed capitals of the Confederacy.

Georgia is proud to have shared your heritage and your history.

The forebears of many of our citizens came to Georgia from Virginia.

In many ways, during the past 180 years, the governments of both States have shown remarkable parallels in their development. This similarity is particularly striking today both in organizational structure and in programs being carried forward.

On a number of important occasions, your distinguished and respected senior Senator, Hon. HARRY F. BYRD, has spoken in Georgia, and he is greatly admired by the people of my State. I, personally, have been an admirer for many years of his outstanding record as a farmer, a publisher, an administrator, a sound, honest, and courageous public official and a statesman of renown.

I should like to pay the highest tribute possible to Senator BYRD and to your able junior Senator, A. WILLIS ROBERTSON. Both of these fine gentlemen have been most kind and helpful to me in my initial service in the Senate, for which I am deeply grateful.

And, I might add, that during my service as Governor of Georgia my associations with your chief executives—Governors Tuck and Battle—were most pleasant and rewarding.

Your present Governor, Hon. Thomas B. Stanley, is highly regarded throughout the South and the Nation for his leadership, his firmness on basic issues and his steadfast adherence to constitutional processes.

I commend you on the distinction and ability of your chosen leaders.

We, in Georgia, are grateful for their help, support and counsel in the fight to preserve our form of government in this country.

Virginia today is the No. 1 target of those who would destroy home rule and local self-government in this Nation. But I am confident that the people of Virginia will stand firm and meet this challenge in the tradition of Patrick Henry, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Robert E. Lee, Woodrow Wilson and the other great leaders this States has given to the Nation and to the world.

My friends, I want to take this opportunity of discussing with you the most deadly threat ever to confront us.

That is, the steady and vicious attacks now being waged on two broad fronts, the end objective of which is the destruction of representative government in this country.

These attacks, clever and calculated in design, are twofold.

One is aimed at destroying constitutional processes and the protective safeguards of freedom they afford.

The other is aimed at destroying the Nation through internal bankruptcy.

Should either attack succeed, it will succeed with finality.

The attack on constitutional government goes to the very heart of our existence as a Nation.

That is true because once we lose our precious rights under that instrument, we cannot defend ourselves against any other threats, either from within or from without.

What threats have been posed to constitutional government in the last few years?

We have seen the United States Supreme Court, in a series of partisan political decisions, deliberately ignore the Constitution of the United States and substitute impractical and unproved theories for established law and precedent as the basis for its rulings.

We have seen the Federal judiciary invade and seek to obliterate the reserved rights of the States in many fields of their internal activity.

The Court has sought to prohibit the 17 Southern States from operating their public school systems in the manner they determine to be in the best interests of their citizens.

The Court has sought to outlaw sedition laws in 12 States, Alaska, and Hawaii.

The Court has forced Federal regulation of natural gas production in 30 States.

The Court has sought to limit the power of States and cities to discharge employees when they plead the fifth amendment against self-incrimination.

The Court has sought to usurp State authority in cases of criminal appeals.

These decisions are unconstitutional.

They are not the law of the land, as some falsely insist.

They are the judge-made law of force and force alone.

It is not the people of the South who defy the Constitution; rather, it is they who uphold it.

When a Federal district judge, acting under this doctrine of force, issues a blanket edict under which anyone exercising his freedom of speech can be haled into court and fined for criminal contempt without a jury trial, then, I say to you, it is time for us to take stock as to where we, as a nation, are headed. It should be the signal for the

restoration and reassertion of our cherished constitutional rights.

We will never submit to this unlawful and unconstitutional judicial tyranny.

We will resist its imposition with all the strength at our command.

We are not going to sit idly by while freedom of speech is destroyed and thought control is imposed on the people of this Nation.

We are not going to sit idly by while an unconstitutional, arbitrary, and illegal extension of Federal judicial power is attempted.

This is not only an attack on the rights of the States to govern their own affairs but also a gross abuse of judicial processes imperiling the civil liberties of every American citizen.

Equally dangerous to the liberties of all the people of the whole United States is the so-called omnibus civil-rights bill now pending before Congress.

This diabolical six-point program is a grave threat to our traditional concept of constitutional government.

If it is enacted, an army of Federal agents will swarm over every State, harassing and intimidating the people and usurping the functions of local law-enforcement authorities.

The so-called civil-rights commission which would be established by this legislation would have authority to summon on 24 hours' notice anyone from any part of the United States to any place it might designate to defend himself against charges of which he was totally ignorant prior to the receipt of the subpena.

Under the bill, the Attorney General of the United States would be empowered to represent private individuals and to bring legal actions and suits in their names whether they desire to go into court or not.

Still another section would write into law a provision overturning the legal doctrine of the ages requiring an exhaustion of administrative remedies as a prerequisite to judicial relief.

It is regrettable that the Congress is wasting its time and energies on such a measure.

The same effort applied along constructive lines to develop the human and natural resources of this great country; to stimulate new job opportunities; and to provide decent housing and more effective governmental services for the masses of our people—would result in the advancement of real civil rights and human security for minorities and majorities alike.

By this method, and by this method only, can we bring needed social and economic improvement.

Certainly, it is foolish to suggest that we can do it by destroying fundamental constitutional rights of every citizen.

Every fledgling lawyer knows that the real civil rights of every citizen of this country are contained in the first 10 amendments to the Constitution.

These 10 amendments have been known since the beginning of this Nation as the Bill of Rights.

They are written in plain, unmistakable language.

From them spring all the rights necessary for the preservation of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

I cannot emphasize too strongly the serious nature and far-reaching implications of this proposal.

It shall be my purpose to cooperate fully with your Senators and all those of like mind in the fight to prevent these measures from being foisted on the American people.

Another dangerous proposal is that of limiting debate in the United States Senate.

For all practical purposes there has been unlimited freedom of discussion on all issues in the United States Senate since the year 1807.

The present rule XXII, under which the imposition of cloture is permitted in the Senate, was adopted in 1917 and was revised in 1949. It provides for cutting off debate only after an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Senators duly chosen and sworn.

This provision affords an adequate safeguard against abuse of the privilege of free speech and at the same time helps to maintain the delicate balance of powers afforded under our form of government.

The right of a Senator to present all of the facts in connection with an issue, to turn the light of truth, justice and fairness on that issue, goes to the very heart of the protection of minorities.

As long as the United States Senate remains a free and unfettered forum, as long as a vigorous and determined minority of Senators can present all of the facts concerning any measure, the rights of the people of this country will be more nearly secure.

So, we have seen, that through unconstitutional usurpation of power by the Federal courts, through proposed "force bill" legislation, through efforts to alter the longstanding rules of the United States Senate and through a myriad of similar devices, our system of government, as wrought by the Founding Fathers, is under sustained attack.

Not being able to carry their point under the system, its enemies have set out to destroy the system itself.

Of course, you and I know that if they succeed, they would not only destroy the greatest country on earth, but themselves in the process.

I am convinced, too, that the irresponsible fiscal policies being followed by our Government are a threat to our national existence.

Being such a threat, there is always the danger that a great deal of our spending may be prompted, without full justification, by those who would hasten the day of our insolvency.

Senator BYRD for many years has raised what appeared at times to be a lone voice against waste and extravagance in the Federal Establishment. Now, his legions are growing on the groundswell of a grassroots demand to cut nonessential spending.

During the last decade our Nation has shown the greatest growth of any period in its history.

Yet this growth is being imperiled by profligate spending policies.

The brave pronouncement of stabilizing the cost of living has fallen by the wayside.

During the coming fiscal year, the Federal Government expects to collect in taxes out of the people of this country the stupendous total of 75.8 billions of dollars.

This means that about one-sixth of the gross national product of the country will be paid in Federal taxes.

One wonders how long this Nation will survive such a drain on its economy.

The policy of hard money for the people and easy money for bureaucrats does not make sense to me.

There is no reason why the Federal budget should be any greater than that of 1955–56, which totaled $66.5 billion. By all economic yardsticks, it should be less.

The inflated $71.8 billion spending bill currently pending before Congress can be cut at least $5½ billion without impairing national defense or curtailing a single program of essential services affecting the masses of the people.

The only really effective way to trim Government spending—and I learned from experience as governor of a State—is through across-the-board budget reductions and refusal to inaugurate new spending programs. With the exception of defense and debt interest requirements, such a formula is needed to cope with the present Federal budgetary situation.

I favor such a cut of 6 percent which would save $1,584,000,000.

Additionally, I think the budget should be cut in four other ways. The first would be the discontinuation of all foreign economic aid—saving $1,800,000,000. The next would be the elimination of all but $1 billion of foreign military aid—saving $1,600,000,000. Thirdly, I would not enact the proposed program of Federal aid for education—saving $451,000,000. And, finally, I would reduce propaganda spending by $85,000,000—making a grand total budget cut of $5,520,000,000.

The across-the-board cuts could be absorbed almost entirely through a reduction in administrative costs, through institution of economy and more efficient practices and through streamlined methods without detriment to essential Federal services.

In fact, many agencies and departments are carrying over large amounts of money from year to year.

Tremendous defense and other savings could be realized through a continuing congressional review of all unexpended appropriations to determine their validity in the light of present conditions.

As far as the services themselves are concerned, appropriations to them should be determined in light of the latest technological advances as well as through a concerted effort to eliminate duplication and to reduce manpower through full utilization of latest developments and ideas in weapons and tactics.

In the field of foreign spending, the time has come for a thorough and sifting examination of each foreign economic aid proposal and for the same careful scrutiny of each and every military assistance project, to insure that the American taxpayer is getting his money's worth in national security.

Our government has grown so large and its activities become so extensive that no one disputes the fact that there is much waste in its operations.

My view is that the best way to eliminate this waste is through reducing appropriations.

By eliminating useless and nonessential spending, we can assure a continued balance of the Federal budget and make possible an immediate reduction in Federal income taxes of as much as 10 percent.

I am proud to associate myself with your senior Senator in his efforts to secure for the American people a sounder and more realistic Federal budget. I am optimistic that, as long last, his crusade in the interest of the oppressed taxpayer will this year be crowned with at least a measure of success.

I say with all candor that unless the present policy of Federal spending is held in check, all hope of a tax cut at any time in the future will vanish and we will be confronted with another round of Federal tax increases and more likely the imposition of additional new taxes.

I do not believe the American people will stand for this, but we are headed in that direction.

It is said that unless we in the United States scrap our archaic and outmoded conceptions of constitution law; unless we destroy trial by jury and other safeguards under the Bill of Rights; unless we adopt all manner of measures regulating human morals, racial and religious conduct; unless we discard our valued and long-established institutions; unless we scatter our wealth and resources to the four corners of the earth and unless we surrender our national pride and sovereignty, that Russia will exploit these failures or shortcomings against us.

Now, I ask, Who cares what Moscow thinks, says, or does?

It would be of little value to anyone if, in recklessly seeking to appease other countries, we destroyed our own.

If we make our policies to meet Communist criticism or propaganda, we should abolish private enterprise, representative Gov-

ernment, private schools, independent courts and every other institution of our society.

That brings to mind a legitimate question: Just whom are we trying to impress with our panicky and unstable policies?

By destroying our heritage, are we trying to impress some of the South American countries where military juntas preside over the life or death of every citizen?

Are we trying to impress the Communist butchers who tied the hands of American soldiers behind their backs and machinegunned them into a common grave?

Are we trying to impress the potentates of the Middle East in whose domains slavery is still the practice and maiming of the body is punishment for a minor infraction of the law?

Are we trying to impress the tribal chieftains of Africa?

Are we trying to impress the dictator Nasser who knows no law but force?

Are we trying to impress Nehru and members of his Congress Party of India where in the most recent election the caste system, sacred cows, communalism, and astrology were the issues foremost before the people?

Now, when this Nation reaches the place that her leaders are more concerned about what a foreign Communist propaganda agency does or says than they are about preserving the internal structure of our Government, than they are about protecting the rights and liberties of our people, than they are about maintaining the solvency and sovereignty of our Nation, than they are about upholding the reserved rights of the States and the people, then, my friends, we are in bad trouble and had better assert ourselves.

For once the flame of liberty afforded under our present form of government has flickered and gone out, it will never again shed its light and warmth over this land of ours.

Then it will be too late to lament over what once was or what might have been.

In conclusion, I make this observation.

Sometimes we may be justified in feeling frustrated with the policies of our Government.

But we must never sell America short nor should we discount the loyalty, courage, honesty, ability, and sincerity of purpose of the American people.

They have demonstrated again and again their intense determination to meet and to overcome whatever challenges may confront them.

Because of this, I am confident that this Nation will survive in spite of all the mistakes of its governmental leaders may make.

I hold fealty for both my State and my Nation.

In no instance has there been any conflict or problem for me for I know, as every loyal American knows, what is best for my State also is best for the country as a whole.

Washington needs to pause for reflection and for a reevaluation to realize fully once again from whence comes all freedom, all equality, all strength, all integrity, all security, and all those other precious attributes identified with our growth as a nation.

There must be a complete return and a sincere rededication to the fundamental teachings of the Holy Writ.

There must be a renewed respect for the true meaning of the Constitution and a respect for law as it is written.

There must be a practical recognition of the fundamental laws of nature.

There must be an instillment of sound business practices into the government.

And, there must be a solid determination on the part of all public servants to keep faith with the people.

Americans must be freed of the attendant evils of bureaucracy, red tape, intimidation and tyranny so that our people may once again be masters of their own destiny.

As for me, and the future of this country, I put my faith in Almighty God and in the sound judgment of my countrymen as we work shoulder-to-shoulder for right and justice.

To this concept, I am pledged.

To this concept, I give my energy and devotion.

Labor's Responsibility to Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I made this morning to the United States Chamber of Commerce.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR'S RESPONSIBILITY TO FREEDOM

(Address of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER before the United States Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D. C., May 1, 1957)

A reference to your program will disclose that the subject of this discussion is Labor's Responsibility to Freedom. I do not intend to adhere to that rather confined topic because I feel that all of us have responsibilities to freedom, not labor alone; and, while certain leaders of labor today are doing more, I feel, to destroy some of the tenets of our freedom, I believe that all of us should pause at this time in our history and ask ourselves, "What are we doing toward our responsibilities to freedom?"

In proceeding to discuss this topic with you today, I intend to outline not only the responsibility of the leaders of labor to freedom, but also to touch upon what I feel is the responsibility of business and professional people to this same magnificent blessing.

Who is the enemy of freedom? If freedom is our thesis what is the antithesis? A philosophy of government, or of business, or of labor? None of these segments of society are any particular menace to freedom until they make power and authority their goal.

Any group which seeks to impose its will upon a single unwilling citizen through the exercise of unrestrained power outside the law, or by the corruption of the law, is the enemy of freedom. Power itself is the enemy of freedom.

Lord Acton once said: "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

History reveals the greatest violence to freedom has always been done by men or institutions who made power the supreme goal of their life. Power is invariably created as a collective effort and then exercised by one or two individuals using the power of the collective to enforce their personal wills to achieve their personal ambitions and goals.

Organization into like-minded groups with a common aspiration has produced much that is good in America. Our service clubs, our trade associations, our kids on the sandlots playing little league baseball, our political parties, and our trade unions—were all organized in an effort to unite like-minded men so that a goal beyond the reach or ability of any single individual might be obtained through collective effort.

I heartily subscribe to labor's trade-union principle. Trade unions sincerely concerned with bettering working conditions, with improving the skill of artisans, with preserving the integrity of a trade or a craft, have made a magnificent contribution to our 20th century society. In our Nation the dignity of honest labor has always been respected. No man has ever presumed to look down upon another because of his occupation, and I pray such a day will never come.

I went to school with a carpenter's son, the watchmaker's boy was my dear friend, and the captain of our football team was the son of a blacksmith. The fathers of these men were valiant servants of freedom.

They went to Cuba with Teddy Roosevelt. They built the railroads across the western plains. They harnessed the rivers and made the valleys green.

Their lifetimes of honest toil set a standard for the working man in America which is today besmirched and tarnished and dragged in the mud by certain labor leaders who have made absolute power their only goal, who defy the law, who employ violence and brutality to enforce their will upon those free workers who dare to rebel against the all-powerful union boss.

Freedom is menaced today by those leaders of organized labor who have renounced their historic responsibility to their union members and established political power as the total objective of their organizations.

The objective of labor organizations, as recognized in the Clayton Act of 1914, and in numerous pieces of legislation since that time, is collective bargaining and attainment of better hours and better wages for the working men and women of America. With those purposes, no American can find fault. Rather, all should encourage their advancement.

Today, however, certain leaders of labor bring to the bargaining table, not only the strength of their arguments, to which they are entitled, but they are able to place by their side and at their backs the power of politics. Mr. Reuther constantly cries out against big business and against the monopoly of big business. He decries any effort other than his own to find political favor through pressure upon the political parties of America. Yet, through the use of his almost limitless millions of dollars, and his likewise almost limitless manpower, he has practically dominated one political party and, in my opinion, has ceased to be a leader of labor and has become, instead, a leader of politics.

This constitutes a usurpation of power and, as I have said before, power is dangerous in the hands of anyone, be it management or be it labor.

Let's take a look at the power that certain leaders of labor have been able to amass in the labor field.

In 1955 Mr. Walter Reuther, commenting on the merger of the AFL–CIO said: "This will make labor one of the most powerful forces in the Nation."

Mr. George Meany said: "It goes without saying that labor unity will provide a more effective instrument for political action."

President Charles Schultz, of the Wisconsion CIO, had this to say: "Most of the membership realizes that political action is the right arm of collective bargaining." And then he added: "We know that if we had a Democratic governor in Wisconsin the Kohler strike would have been won."

In the Senate of the United States the McClellan committee, of which I happen to be a member, is currently investigating alleged tieups between the leaders of organized labor and racketeers and vice. With great piety Mr. Walter Reuther has called for a cleanup inside labor. He has, by inference, condemned those leaders who have used union funds for their personal benefit.

May I emphasize that it was the misuse of union funds which produced these wails of anguish from Mr. Reuther? And may

I suggest that the freedom of the individual and the safety of the individual is far more valuable than all the moneys in all the union treasuries in all the world.

In the single instance of the strike against Kohler in Wisconsin, Mr. Reuther and the UAW have done more damage and violence to freedom than was accomplished by all the peculiar financial transactions of Mr. Dave Beck.

The strike against Kohler has been given only passing attention by the liberal press of our Nation. It is perhaps hardly newsworthy because these same tactics of brutality and violence have been used so many times in the past.

If not newsworthy, the actions of the UAW against Kohler are certainly worth reporting as a typical example of the lawlessness of a power-hungry labor union determined to impose its will upon the free workers of an industrial plant.

On April 5, 1954, a group of Mr. Reuther's Automobile Worker's Union members went out on strike against the Kohler Co., of Kohler, Wis., a manufacturer of plumbing fixtures and fittings. Following a back-to-work movement the plant was reopened. Today that strike is still in progress. The issue at stake is union control of employment at the Kohler plant.

The union first asked for a strict union shop—this, despite a Wisconsin right-to-work law. It finally said it would settle for maintenance of membership clause, one which would require that union members maintain their membership in order to keep their jobs. Herbert Kohler, the company head, believes in the right to work for any man and has refused to surrender to the union.

Mr. Walter Reuther dispatched Emil Mazey, secretary-treasury of the UAW–CIO, to the Kohler plant to run the strike. Mazey took with him a collection of union thugs. One of his associates was William Paul Vinson, a 27-year-old, 6-foot, 200-pound organization expert.

William Paul Vinson slipped up behind 50-year-old, 140-pound, Willard Van Ouwerk, who, with his wife, had been shopping in Sheboygan, and struck Van Ouwerk from behind, knocked him unconscious, kicked him, and trampled him, sending him to the hospital with internal injuries, a crushed chest, a pierced right lung, and four fractured ribs.

This, may I emphasize, was an assault upon a free American who had never done any harm to William Paul Vinson or to Emil Mazey or to Mr. Walter Reuther. Mr. Van Ouwerk's great offense was that he had refused to join the union and strike the plant.

In the course of time Vinson was brought to trial before a jury of 4 women and 8 men. Vinson was identified by five witnesses as the perpetrator of that vicious attack. The jury found him guilty and a circuit court judge of the State of Wisconsin sentenced him to serve 2 years in the State penitentiary.

The union's reaction to this orderly process of law was authorized by Mr. Emil Mazey.

Mr. Mazey castigated the judge, questioned his integrity and his ability, and then ordered union members to stay away from three small grocery stores because the judge owned a small amount of stock in these American businesses.

The strike at Kohler continues. The union under the direction of Mr. Walter Reuther, and through his lieutenant, Mr. Mazey, has used every method ever employed to win a strike. It has used violence, it has brought in goons to instill fear. More than 700 acts of violence and vandalism against nonstrikers, including brutal beatings, shotgun blasts into windows of homes, dynamiting of homes have been reported since the strike began.

And Mr. Walter Reuther's union has spent more than $12 million of union funds in an attempt to win this strike.

The issue has gone far beyond any desire to win a strike. Mr. Don Rand, international representative of the UAW and one of Mr. Reuther's boys, recently made this statement: "It seems to me it is almost sinful to have any labor dispute degenerate to the point this one has where we actually have to wreck the company—that's what we're doing, wrecking the company."

In the name of freedom, I ask you—does Mr. Reuther have to wreck the company to satisfy his lust for personal power over the employees of the Kohler plant? It is almost sinful, says Mr. Rand, to destroy an American business and the jobs of American working men because the American business will not surrender its freedom to the dictates of Mr. Walter Reuther.

And how is the union going about its efforts to destroy the Kohler Co.?

Well, they sent in goon squads to incite riots at Sheboygan, Wis., to prevent a supplier of English ceramic clay from unloading his vessel for transshipment to the Kohler plant.

Then the union used its power and influence to prevent the unloading of that vessel at Milwaukee.

In the name of freedom I ask you—is this America? Where force and violence can be used with impunity to destroy the peace, to impose the will of one man upon a community or upon a manufacturing plant.

In this strike we see the long strong arm of the political power of Mr. Reuther. Unfortunately nine governmental bodies in this free Republic have succumbed to union pressure and have enacted legislation to create a compulsory boycott of the Kohler products.

Oh, the union wasn't quite so direct as to ask these governmental bodies to enact an embargo against the purchase or installation of the Kohler products specifically. No, they are much cleverer than that. They secured the enactment of legislation to prevent the installation of products from any plant which was being struck by a union.

I ask you, how could Lincoln Park, and River Rouge, Mich., or Bristol or New Britain, Conn., or the Massachusetts House of Representatives, or Boston or Lynn or Worcester, Mass., or Los Angeles County, Calif., so desert the principal of freedom as to bow down to the will of this one man, Walter Reuther, and his ruthless, determined attempt to rule or ruin the Kohler plant?

"How?" I have asked. Political power is the answer, and power in the hands of any man is not good.

Let me cite another example, a report in the Chicago Tribune of July 29, 1955. On that day Angelo Inciso, an ex-convict and top man of local 286, of the AFL workers, served notice upon Rear Adm. Daniel V. Gallery, Chief of the Naval Air Reserve Training, that union pickets were prepared to stop all truck deliveries into Glenview Naval Air Station.

Trucks were stopped and there was no incoming traffic. Now why was this union picketing the naval station? Not because of any action taken by naval authorities or Navy suppliers, but because four sailors on permanent duty at the station had been working nights when off duty at a small electronic shop.

Perhaps the sailors had wives and children. It's just possible that they thought they were free to earn a few extra dollars to supplement their Navy pay, to buy necessities or conveniences for their wives, their children, or themselves. But this did not suit the concept of America nourished by Angelo Inciso, union boss and ex-convict.

Who won this battle? The union won the battle, and the then Under Secretary of the Navy, personally telephoned the base to give his orders to instruct the four sailors to give up their employment.

Oh, yes, Mr. Walter Reuther believes in freedom. He and the members of his union are quick to stand upon their rights as American citizens whenever and wherever their brutal tactics of absolute power have been questioned or criticized.

Mr. Walter Reuther also believes in freedom to spend the money collected from union members in any fashion he may desire, and Mr. Reuther insists that freedom encompasses his right to spend union dues money for political purposes at any level.

Mr. Reuther defends his spending of compulsory dues money for political purposes by saying that they do not spend this money in national elections, but use only contributed money. Mr. Reuther ignores the moral error in this practice while, at the same time, speaking from every platform about the moral rightness or wrongness of issues. I ask him, "What is morally right about spending the dues money of members of one political faith to defeat candidates of that same faith?"

It makes no difference whether this money is spent at the national level, the State level, the county level, or the local level. It is morally wrong and Mr. Reuther knows it. Yet, he continues to do it.

Why? Because money can bring him political power, particularly when this money is coupled with the thousands of men he can put in the field for political purposes. Mr. Reuther proclaims that he is a stanch protector of freedom, but Mr. Reuther denies the political freedom of his own members.

Mr. Reuther believes in the right and freedom of Mr. Emil Mazey to openly castigate a duly elected judge of the courts of the State of Wisconsin.

And Mr. Reuther undoubtedly believes in the freedom of Mr. Mazey to order a boycott on a grocery chain in order to do some injury to the judge who presided at that trial.

Mr. Reuther believes in the freedom of Jim McDevitt to appear at a banquet given in honor of four convicted union leaders in Scranton, Pa.

Mr. Reuther believes in freedom—his freedom to use political force to obtain the ordinances which have been enacted to penalize the sale of Kohler products in those nine communities.

And we can assume that Mr. Reuther would defend the freedom of his bully boy, William Paul Vinson, to assault a 150-pound peaceful nonstriker and send him to the hospital for 22 days.

And we can assume that Mr. Reuther would defend his freedom to dispatch 400 union "toughs" to the town of Clinton, a town, mind you, with only 1,600 population.

Mr. Emil Mazey took these 400 union muscle men to Clinton. Mr. Walter Reuther would defend his freedom to use political power to prevent the extradition of a unionist who was accused of an assault on a nonstriker and then fled to Michigan to escape prosecution.

Mr. Reuther speaks loudly in the name of freedom. He speaks out against big business and the dangers of their monopoly. But he carefully ignores the monopoly and the power of that monopoly in politics which he himself has created. For example, at the Democratic National Convention in 1956 there were over 200 delegates who were not just rank-and-file union members but who were leaders in the labor movement.

Now, I don't decry union members or union officials being delegates to national conventions. In fact, the Republican convention had over 60 who were rank-and-file members of the union movement. But when Mr. Reuther can dispatch over 200 delegates to a convention, I suggest to you that that is the breeding of power of the worst kind.

Mr. Walter Reuther would defend his freedom to instruct every paid employee of the UAW in Michigan to get out and work for the Democrats—and to recruit hundreds of additional workers and pay them with union funds.

Mr. Reuther would defend his freedom to ask men to leave their jobs and work for a political party, and these men are paid out of union dues—dues, mind you, that were collected from members of both parties. One thousand, five hundred and eighty men worked for an undisclosed number of days at a salary of $20 per day, plus $5 expenses, which, by my calculations, totals $37,000 a day. These men were employed to impose and enforce Mr. Reuther's political will upon the free voters of Wayne County.

Mr. Reuther urges that organized labor take the leadership in world affairs. Is he suggesting that the man at the lathe, or the man with the wrench, or the man at the drawing board, drop his tools, don striped trousers and become the leader in world affairs? Or, isn't he saying, in fact, that the labor leaders, such as himself, should assume that world leadership?

Mr. Reuther believes in the political and economic philosophy of the Americans for Democratic Action. He believes in and is a member of the Committee of the "Conference of Economic Progress," an organization that believes wholeheartedly in the Federal Government controlling our economic system.

Mr. Reuther believes in a liberal program for America. Not the kind of liberal program that the true liberals of history have espoused, but a liberal program based upon Federal control and Federal domination of our lives. Another of our great labor leaders, Mr. Meany, has echoed this belief, although it is difficult for me to believe that George Meany believes in the economic or political philosophy of Mr. Reuther. Mr. Meany said, "While the 85th Congress will not be predominantly liberal, we now have renewed hope for accomplishing that objective in 1958."

Before that, on November 25, 1955, Mr. Meany said: "It goes without saying that labor unity will provide a more effective instrument in political action. Our major objective is to elect strong, liberal majorities in Congress."

What right do Mr. Reuther or Mr. Meany have to stand up and speak for 16 million Americans, on the assumption that the labor movement will elect a liberal Congress?

I know working people. I employ people. I have worked with people all of my life, and I don't think the working people of this country want the kind of liberalism that Mr. Reuther espouses any more than they want outright socialism. But, on the other hand, what Mr. Reuther preaches is socialism.

Power is the root of evil. Power is the enemy of liberty. And here we have a most obvious example of a man's personal desire for political power being exhibited across America. Mr. Reuther said on November 30, 1955, "With the forthcoming merger of the CIO and AFL * * * will make labor one of the most powerful forces in the Nation."

Now, if he wants to use that power for collective-bargaining purposes, then he is within the limits of his constitutional and moral rights. But if he persists in using that power as he has been, to control a political party, in an effort to control the politics of America—then he is out of bounds.

You may doubt the far-reaching effects of this political power. If you do, let me read you a short sentence or two from the report of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor for the year 1953. This statement was made in connection with the recommittal to the committee of a bill which would have amended the Taft-Hartley Act in certain respects. Among those amendments was one that I had proposed which would give the States more power in settling labor disputes. Here is the long, strong arm of the union leaders reaching into the Senate of the United States, and I quote: "We, therefore, permitted the debate to continue for a couple days and then Senators X and Y presented fair labor practice amendments. This, of course, put the southerners on the spot because they were obliged to oppose this and it also did the same for the Republicans who, as a party, are supposed to favor the proposal. The A. F. of L. was opposed to a FEPC proposal being added to a labor bill. We then made arrangements with Senator Z to offer the motion to recommit before any amendments were voted on and as all factions were fearful and more or less confused, they voted to recommit the bill, 50 to 42."

Mr. Reuther believes that it is perfectly all right for labor to flex its political muscles in the Senate of the United States but he thinks, at the same time, that it is wrong for businessmen or professional men to do the same thing. I don't condone this practice. In fact, I regret that any group in America, whether it be labor or business, has the political power to go to the floor of the Senate and disturb the normal operations of that body. I mention this to you only to show you the extent to which the political power of these men has grown through their immoral use of dues money and manpower.

May I suggest that Mr. Walter Reuther is free to exercise his talents as a leader of a true trade-union movement in the United States? He is also free to enter politics and to utilize his talent for organization in either political party or form a new one.

May I suggest that Mr. Walter Reuther's present program of exploiting the labor-union movement to create a machine for personal political power is an affront to freedom and a challenge to every citizen in our Nation?

Now is the time for the working men of America to rise up against this cynical perversion of the union movement by certain labor leaders.

Now is the time for the working men and women of America to reaffirm their faith in the freedom and integrity and importance of the individual.

Now is the time for every citizen of this free Republic to renounce and condemn those who seek to fashion machines of absolute power.

Now is the time to reject and renounce that collectivist philosophy which regards man as too weak or too stupid to care for himself and proposes that man can only meet his destiny through the machinery of an all-powerful organization.

I suggest to Mr. Reuther this morning that he seriously and carefully ponder the position in which he finds himself. He can be a leader of labor and obtain for labor, through collective bargaining, those things to which they are entitled, or he can become the leader of a political movement. I suggest that he cannot be both at the same time because if he tries to do this he most certainly will destroy the very house for which he speaks in such passionate terms—the house of labor.

A political party cannot be a bargaining agent in this free country. A political party cannot dictate the terms under which labor and management will work. That is only done in Communist Russia and in Red China and in the other countries dominated by the Communist doctrine. Let Mr. Reuther remember, and forever remember, that the American people abhor power centralized in any one person or group of persons, and that they will not stand for a continuation of his trying to be, at one and the same time, a leader of labor and a leader of a political party.

The labor movement can be jeopardized—yes, seriously injured—if Mr. Reuther continues to misuse union funds for political purposes and continues to use the collective strength of these organizations to impose his political will upon the people of this country. When organized labor takes on the appearance of an overall political party, it invites opposition where none might otherwise develop. If organized labor wants to abandon its historic role and become a political party, that is the right of its members so to decide, but it is not the right of one man to impose his will upon the Nation's political scene as representing the will of his membership.

Let me, in conclusion, touch upon what I feel is your responsibility to freedom. You, the business people of this country, have neglected your responsibility to the defense of the free enterprise system. You have done this to the extent that young people across America actually fear our profit system, instead of respecting it as the creator of much of our economic success. You have been afraid, up until reent years, to take stands on issues, issues that affect not only you, but the entire country.

You are to be commended for having changed that "head in the sand" attitude. The business people of America have a great reluctance, even today, to engage in politics with either party, preferring, as I have heard many of you say, to keep clear of politics because of business reasons.

Let me tell you something: while you pussy foot and hide, there are organized groups of people in this country who are determined to impose their Socialist views upon the minds of America. So, lose your fear of political participation and join with all Americans to the end that a healthy political climate will be maintained in this country.

Yes, all of us have a responsibility to freedom. As Benjamin Franklin told a woman on emerging from the constitutional convention when she asked, "What have you given us?"—"We have given you freedom, if you can keep it."

Fredom cannot be kept by governments only, because Governments under our concepts were created to be the servant of the people. Only you, the citizens of America, through your neglect of Government and political forces, can destroy our freedom. Only you, by pursuing the material more than the spiritual, and ignoring the latter, can destroy the freedoms of America.

Let the voice of your conscience speak out against those who would cynically employ brutality and terror to enfore their will on free men.

Now is the time for a passionate devotion to those standards of individual integrity which made this Nation great.

Now is the time when you and I must join together to give to this land we love and to all human beings, wherever they may be, a new birth of freedom, under God.

The Great Giveaway Praised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the reviews of Eugene W. Castle's new book The Great Giveaway, as published in the April 4, 1957, issue of the Los Angeles Times and the April 11, 1957, issue of the New York World-Telegram and Sun.

There being no objection, the reviews were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Los Angeles Times of April 4, 1957]

THE BOOK REPORT

(By Robert R. Kirsch)

Consider, in this season of income taxes, the sum of $55 billion. It is a sum worth

considering: If all the farmers worked 2 years, the total value of the crops and products they brought to market would not equal this amount; all the consumer debts in the United States, including notes held by banks, come to little more than half of $55 billion; it is nearly twice as much as all Americans paid in 1955 individual Federal income taxes.

Yet $55 billion has been the cost so far of America's foreign-aid program. And billions more will be added in this year's budget. The long-range plans for foreign aid will cost further billions.

It is high time, according to Eugene W. Castle, author of The Great Giveaway (Regnery: $3.50), that Americans ask some basic questions about foreign aid: "What have we done? How have we done it? At what cost? With what results?"

Mr. Castle, an experienced newsman and observer of public affairs, suggests some pointed answers to these questions. You may disagree with some or all of them but you should be aware of the impressive facts he presents in support of his viewpoint. In any case, after the expenditure of $55 billion, we ought to take a long, hard look at what the Marshall plan and mutual-security program have accomplished, and, look at alternative policies to foreign aid.

On the credit side of the ledger, Mr. Castle views the lend-lease program and the Marshall plan as having been vindicated by worthwhile results, although he has some misgivings about the administration of both programs. Lend-lease, he says, was "in an historical emergency * * * our only feasible alternative to abjection."

"Although we probably blundered into the Marshall plan, rather than planned it, it was a plus achievement," he writes. It aided a Western Europe "which was a red scar of economic disintegration. * * * An economic pulmotor was needed to restore the breathing process. * * * The Marshall plan billions supplied that pulmotor. * * * But the Marshall plan was probably the last of the necessary programs."

But even the Marshall plan, the author says, should have taught us some important lessons. There were mistakes of both emphasis and administration. The nations we helped showed ill-disguised resentment of American postwar policies. We should have become aware of the backlash of the experience in terms of a truism as old as man—you cannot purchase friendship or respect. The beneficiary can be hostile to the benefactor.

Still, even this is not the most important consideration. It is Castle's belief that you cannot begin to evaluate the foreign aid program without investigating and questioning the entire foreign policy of the United States. Thus far, no far-reaching inquiry has been possible. Foreign aid has been sold as a magic nostrum to insure peace. The question is, will it insure peace? And what will its staggering burden do to the economy and society of the United States?

He lists the dangers of the foreign aid program as presently carried out:

The aid program is haphazard and crisis-ridden, improvised step by step to meet existing or fancied emergencies.. Inevitably, a point is reached where a policy, helpful perhaps in the teeth of an emergency, becomes hurtful as a permanent American commitment.

The aid program is a distinct deterrent to * * * a rational foreign policy since every move is first predicated upon the giving of money.

The burden of the aid program has an inflationary and debilitating effect on our national economy, sapping our substance and national wealth, placing ever-increasing demands on the American taxpayer.

These points may or may not strike a sympathetic chord in your own thinking but they must be considered by every thinking American. This book could be the start of a national debate as crucial as any in this country since pre-Civil War days.

[From the New York World-Telegram and Sun of April 11, 1957]

CASTLE RAPS BIG GIVEAWAY OF UNITED STATES CASH

American tax dollars have provided dress suits for Grecian undertakers, public baths for Egyptian camel-drivers and iceboxes for Eskimos. They have built roads that go nowhere and villages nobody wants to live in. They also have financed foreign plants to compete with American industry.

Those charges are recited in a slashing attack on foreign aid by Eugene W. Castle in The Great Giveaway, to be published April 15 by the Regnery Co., Chicago. Mr. Castle, founder of Castle Films, devotes a large portion of his book to criticizing President Eisenhower and his administration.

DIVIDES BLAME

Assailing the expenditure of $60 billion on foreign aid during the last decade, Mr. Castle accuses Democrats and Republicans alike of following the same star. He says: "Its every twinkle spells out 'spend freely for foreign aid.' By the light of that star, Franklin Roosevelt led the Nation. Harry Truman followed, and to him the light was brighter. As they trod, so treads Dwight Eisenhower, the most liberal of the trio.

"The opposite numbers in politics followed the same will-o'-the-wisp beckoning. Wendell Willkie, Thomas Dewey, and Adlai Stevenson have been one-worlders all in the golden light of mutual security."

Mr. Castle charges that every investigation of foreign aid expenditures has been a whitewash. He describes a congressional probe, headed by Representative JAMES P. RICHARDS, Democrat, of South Carolina, as a "lovefest of believers," and charges that its membership was "carefully handpicked for their pronounced proaid sentiments."

He claims that the White House was so pleased with the favorable report of the Richards Committee "that President Eisenhower appointed its chairman * * * as his ambassador to head the new American mission to dispense $400 million of foreign aid funds in the Middle East."

In a blistering assault on helping neutralist nations, he states: "The idea that our money can purchase the allegiance of neutralists or potential enemy nations is a trap for confused minds. There is something seductive about the belief that we can substitute subsidization for statesmanship. It seems to be an easy way out * * * we cannot buy lasting friendship or an easy peace."

BUYING OUR WAY

He adds that "in today's setting the task of evolving a workable American foreign policy * * * requires the highest and most courageous type of statesmanship. But we are not exhibiting such statesmanship when we attempt to buy our way out of difficult international situations."

Mr. Castle also levels his guns on the United States Information Agency, which is directly under the White House. He describes it as a "$140 million-a-year cave of winds, politically created and maintained."

He claims it "has harmed instead of helped the thinking of millions of foreigners who were once our friends; but it has been a veritable master at the art of mind-conditioning the American people at home."

CAN'T WIN

Mr. Castle charges that "we have sent our dollars marching sixty billion strong over the world's far lands in quest of mutual security. The prize, like a will o' the wisp, has eluded us. The world is still in turmoil and danger. There is no security, mutual or otherwise."

In investigating foreign aid, he says, "the taxpaying American citizen learns grimly that he can never win. The practical men who champion our aid program see to it that the sucker never gets his proverbial break. He must play the game, with the foreign-aiders, with a stacked deck of cards. When foreign aid is investigated it is only the yes men who are heard."

Economic Assistance for Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, on behalf of my distinguished colleague [Mr. LANGER] and myself, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the testimony of the Honorable John Hart, executive director of the North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission, given before the United States Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs on March 27, 1957. Mr. Hart appeared in support of S. 809, which would provide economic assistance and urge the establishment of industry on or near Indian reservations.

Mr. Hart has been one of the leading exponents of the theory that opportunity for gainful employment for the Indian people will go a long way in correcting many of the serious problems that confront our Indian people.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF JOHN HART, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NORTH DAKOTA INDIAN AFFAIRS COMMISSION

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, I had been hopeful of hearing the report of the Department of the Interior on this bill before testifying.

Senator CHURCH. Mr. Hart, if you would prefer to defer your testimony until after the other witnesses have testified, I would be happy to accommodate your request.

Mr. HART. It is immaterial. It is just a matter of information. There might have been something I could eliminate.

Senator CHURCH. You may go ahead now. If there is anything you would like to add after you have heard the other testimony, if you will advise me I will see to it that you are given an additional opportunity to testify.

Mr. HART. Thank you very much.

The North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission approved the purpose of this act in attempting to encourage industrial development on and adjacent to Indian reservations.

If there is any answer to the economically depressed Indian area problem, it is expertly planned, judiciously financed industrial development.

In solving this problem we need to utilize to the fullest the available experience of government in the field of industrial development and industrial financing.

To settle for less than the best experience we have available in government in each of these fields, industrial development and industrial financing, will not solve economic problems.

It will only delay the solution. Our hope is that this is not just another program to rehabilitate our Indians. Many Indians do

not want to be rehabilitated again. They just want steady employment near their homeland.

Therefore, we sincerely and most respectfully request that this committee consider the following suggestions with a view in mind of effectuating the long-term objective of this bill.

Senator CHURCH. Mr. Hart, at this point before you detail the suggestions that you are going to present to the committee, I wonder if you would, for purposes of the record, identify yourself and your experience in Indian affairs and your connection with Indian problems.

Mr. HART. My name is John Hart. I live at Rollette, N. Dak. By profession I am an attorney.

I served as county attorney out of Rollette County in North Dakota two terms, a total of 4 years. The county I served as county attorney contains approximately one-half of the Indian people in the State of North Dakota.

I am presently employed on a part-time basis and have been for the last 7 years as executive director of the North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission.

The North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission is an official agency of the State government created and financed by the Legislature of the State of North Dakota.

The commission is composed of the heads of the various departments of the State of North Dakota, the chairman of the board of county commissioners of all of the counties having Indian reservations.

The chairman of the board is an ex-officio chairman, that is, the Governor. No members are appointed. All members of the commission serve by virtue of having other positions in State government.

I am also a member of the American Development Industrial Council which may mean something and it may not, sir.

Senator CHURCH. Approximately how many Indians are there in the county in which you once served as prosecuting attorney?

Mr. HART. Approximately 5,000, sir.

Senator CHURCH. How long did you serve as prosecuting attorney?

Mr. HART. One term before the war and one term after the war.

Senator CHURCH. Thank you very much. I think that that information will be helpful as part of the record. Now you may continue.

We believe our suggestions are worthy of serious consideration. Our first suggestion is that paragraphs 1, 2, and 3, of subsection A, of section 2, be amended, in effect providing that the Small Business Administration be the gift or loaning agency in implementing the purpose of this act.

In making this suggestion we are not unmindful of the history of the Government effort on behalf of the Indians. We are not unmindful of the large sums of money Congress has appropriated in an effort to help the Indian people. We are not mindful of the sacred and almost unlimited obligation of the Government to economically provide effective assistance to Indian people.

We again are not unmindful of our past failures and we are not pointing the finger of shame at anyone or any agency of the Government.

We are responsible for our past failures; the Bureau of Indian Affairs is our Government's acknowledged expert and specializes in the field of Indian affairs.

At this point and for the purpose of this bill, it is not a specialist in the field of Indian affairs that is needed. What is needed is an agency specializing in the field of industrial financing.

Fortunately, the Government has such an experienced and specialized agency in the Small Business Administration. In making loans to tribes we desire that Congress utilize the best experience available in Government in order to where it is humanly possible prevent failures of ventures which could result in tribal income being mortgaged for the next generation and thereby crippling future tribal effort.

An Indian tribe paying off a bad business loan in my part of the country, called paying for a dead horse, may and probably will retard this laudable effort of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in getting its feet wet in the highly competitive field of attracting industry.

Senator CHURCH. I understand from your testimony that it is your recommendation, Mr. Hart, that such public money as may be made available should this bill pass for loans to Indian tribes to facilitate the construction of businesses on or near the tribal lands, ought to be made through the Small Business Administration, or ought to be made under the supervision of the Small Business Administration rather than the Bureau of Indian Affairs?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir. We feel that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is an expert in the field of Indian affairs, but the essential thing that is needed here is experience and judgment in industrial financing.

We believe that the Small Business Administration has all that experience, has the technicians available so that these loans that are made to tribes will be made on the best business basis available.

One of my fears is that if the tribe gets a heavy loan, the thing fails, the tribe can be crippled in the future as to all of its efforts.

We feel that the chances of failure are going to be less if the industrial financing phase is done by the Small Business Administration.

Senator CHURCH. I understand.

Mr. HART. It is a matter of where they have the specialists and have the judgment to guard against the defects, we feel.

Mr. GAMBLE. Mr. Hart, are you familiar with Senate bill 964, commonly known as the Area Redevelopment Act?

Mr. HART. I am familiar with two bills. One is a Republican bill and one is a Democratic bill.

Mr. GAMBLE. This was a bill introduced by Senator DOUGLAS. It is almost identical with legislation that was passed by the Senate last year.

Mr. HART. I am somewhat familiar with it, sir.

Mr. GAMBLE. Are you familiar with section 9 of that bill?

Mr. HART. I was familiar with it last year, sir. I am not at the moment familiar with it.

Senator CHURCH. Owing to the fact that the bells indicated a live quorum, I am going to have to recess the hearing for the time being in order that I can go over to the Senate floor.

I will return as quickly as possible and we can take up your testimony from that point.

I am sorry for the delay.

Mr. HART. Thank you, sir.

(A short recess was taken.)

Senator CHURCH. The hearing will be in order.

I think that we will be subject to a series of calls throughout the course of the hearing. Though this is regrettable, I think we will have to look forward to other interruptions.

Now, Mr. Hart, you were testifying at the time that the recess was called. Will you be good enough to take up your testimony at the point of interruption, please?

Mr. HART. Thank you, Senator.

Again we base our recommendations on our belief that the encouragement of industry does not require a specialist or a specialized agency in the field of Indian affairs, but does most importantly require a specialist and a specialized and an experienced agency in industrial development or area development, or in attracting industries or whatever you wish to call it.

The idea of industrial development on or adjacent to Indian reservations is gaining momentum. The least the people of the United States can do is to place this responsibility for guidance and technical information and necessary assistance under the direction of the one agency of the Government that fortunately has the necessary experience available.

In this truly important movement we cannot settle for anything less than the best.

It is our belief that from the Department of the Interior's report dated April 24, 1956, on Senate Joint Resolution 83, a copy of which I wish to present, the Department of the Interior would welcome Congress utilizing the experience now possessed by the industrial development experts in the Office of Area Development, Department of Commerce, by charging that Office with the primary responsibility for the objectives sought by this act.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior gave active support to Congress utilizing the experience and technical personnel of the Public Health Service in the highly technical field of medical care of Indian people because experience and technical training was needed to do that important and up to then neglected job.

Specialists in the field of Indian affairs are not the answer to the health needs of Indians. We believe specialists in the field of Indian affairs are not the primary need in developing the idea of industrial development on or adjacent to Indian reservations.

Meat and potatoes and bread and butter and decent housing is needed and will be supplied if the employment is steady and near the Indian's homeland.

We have no comment on section 4 authorizing $200 million. We are not experienced in industrial financing. We are not industrial development specialists with the necessary experience to properly evaluate the cost and financial need.

Perhaps more than $200 million is needed, but we will gladly defer our inexperienced theories to those who have experience and training and who can properly appraise this need.

In closing I would like to take one more moment of the committee's time to reemphasize the historical importance of the subject being considered today by reading three paragraphs from the report of North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission:

"The industrial development approach has stirred up the imagination of tribal groups, local communities, and those who are interested in the welfare of Indians, including American Indian Affairs, Inc., and most religious groups directly connected with missionary work among Indian people.

"It is the considered opinion of the Commission that the industrial development idea of the Government is closer to the historical solution of economic problems of the reservation Indians than any other program advanced by the Government thus far.

"The advantage of the Indian people being able to live in their ancestral homeland while at the same time being able to provide by their own labor the necessities of life for themselves and their families is obvious. This type of assistance eliminates many of the disadvantages that are found in regular welfare programs or in unearned income type of programs.

"It results in the growth of human dignity, self-respect, and self-confidence. It results in those being employed being put on an economically equal basis with the non-Indian people of the community where employment is on a nonsegregated basis. It encourages people to associate with non-Indian people in their day-by-day work relations in turn in an evolutionary manner, destroys those antagonistic racial felings which in some cases exist between individuals of economic or social groups."

Although I spend a lot of time needling the Bureau of Indian Affairs, I would like the record to show that the North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission admires the courage of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in recommending repeal of the discriminatory Indian liquor law and in working hard and determinedly in transferring the responsibility for the Indians' health to the Public Health Service.

Perhaps more than the two items is his courageous attacking of the highly competive field of attempting to encourage industry on and adejacent to our Indian reservations. The courageous step has been taken.

The serious problem before this committee, as we see it, is effective implementation of the effort. I do sincerely thank the committee for your time and attention and as a remembrance I am giving you a fine jewel bearing made by the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Indians.

We refer to this as the Langer jewel bearing plant. This industry employs approximately 75 or 80 percent Indian people. It is nonsegregated. It is located geographically to give all possible advantages to the Indian people, but they are not hired on the basis of being Indian or non-Indian. They are hired on the basis of people.

We believe that the social results have been very worthy.

Senator CHURCH. Thank you very much, Mr. Hart. I assume that this jewel bearing now becomes the property of the Government?

Mr. HART. It was the property of the Government. It now becomes your property.

Senator CHURCH. First of all, let me ask you, Mr. Hart, if the letter, copy of the letter you handed me a few minutes ago addressed to Senator MAGNUSON from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, is meant to be included in the record?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir; it is merely a matter showing the Bureau of Indian Affairs at one time approved the idea of assistance of another department and we believe it sustains the point of view that we have.

Senator CHURCH. Very well.

The letter will be included in the record at this point.

Depletion of Oregon Timber

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a cogent editorial from the Oregon Labor Press of April 19, 1957, entitled "Who Will Rescue Oregon When Our Timber Is Gone?" I also ask permission to include an interview with me by Paul Hauser which appeared in the Oregonian, of Portland, Oreg., for April 21, 1957.

This interview describes some of my views on the unfortunate economic situation which has brought Oregon's average incomes on a downhill slide during the past 10 years, in relation to the national average.

I present this material for the attention of the Senate so that other Senators can study some of the economic problems affecting a major region of the Nation—the Pacific Northwest. These problems require national solution, and they demand new policies from the Eisenhower administration; namely, an end to the hard-money program and a return to the Bonneville low-cost-power program.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Oregon Labor Press of April 19, 1957]

WHO WILL RESCUE OREGON WHEN OUR TIMBER IS GONE?

Statistics may be dull, but they can be wonderfully revealing.

A monthly statistical bulletin is issued by the Oregon State Unemployment Compensation Commission. It's full of graphs and charts and tables and percentages and averages. They're not very inspiring to read, but often they reveal vital information that can't be found anywhere else.

This month's bulletin is especially interesting because its cold statistics actually reveal why it's so tough to find a job in Oregon today and why Oregon seems to have slumped into an economic recession while other States enjoy greater prosperity.

First of all, the bulletin reveals that 48,100 Oregonians were looking for work during the first week of April, as compared with 42,200 a year ago. More alarmingly, the commission sees little indication of the usual spring gains in lumber, logging, and other seasonal occupations.

More than 40 percent of Oregon's jobless are in the lumber and logging industry. No one denies that Oregon's unemployment crisis is the direct result of the slump in the lumber and plywood market.

The Eisenhower administration decreed a policy of hard money and high interest rates. As a result, the profits of banks are at an alltime high, but home building is at its lowest level since 1949. Fewer houses mean less demand for lumber. The lumber industry is hard hit—and so is Oregon, the Nation's leading lumber State.

When lumber slumps, Oregon slumps. The dangerous and frightening degree to which Oregon's prosperity depends upon the lumber industry is revealed by these figures from the State statistical bulletin:

Almost one-quarter (24.2 percent) of all workers in Oregon are employed in lumber and wood products. No other State depends upon lumber to any such degree.

California is a close second to Oregon in the production of wood products—but less than 2 percent of all California workers are employed in this industry. Washington ranks third in lumber production but only 9.2 percent of Washington's workers depend upon lumber for their weekly paychecks.

In short, Oregon's entire economy depends to an alarming degree upon an industry that has three very serious shortcomings:

1. Employment in lumber and logging is highly seasonal, with long winter layoffs. Dependable year-around payrolls are found only in a small part of the wood-products industry.

2. Full employment in the lumber industry seems to depend upon hundreds of small mills and fringe operators who can be shut down by a small drop in price or demand for lumber or plywood.

3. Oregon's prime stands of timber soon will be gone. The lumber industry has cut its way steadily southward, starting on Puget Sound half a century ago. Now it is rapidly chewing up the last great stands of Douglas fir in southern Oregon.

What will happen when Oregon's last stands of prime timber are gone? Our neighboring State of Washington set an example of good luck or good management when her timber began to disappear. Washington's dwindling lumber jobs were replaced with year-round payrolls in aircraft at Boeing, in atomic energy at Hanford and in aluminum in many cities, large and small.

In other words, low-cost Federal power saved the payrolls of the State of Washington. For low-cost power is essential to aircraft, aluminum and atomic energy.

But will there be enough new low-cost power from Federal dams to work a similar economic transformation in Oregon? The answer is "No"—unless the Eisenhower administration's giveaway at Hells Canyon can be stopped and its antipublic power policies can be reversed.

That's why organized labor in Oregon is fighting to save Hells Canyon, fighting for full Federal development of our rivers. We're trying to save our jobs and the future of our State.

We want to make the best possible use of falling water—the only major resource we'll have left when the best timber is gone.

We want to reverse the economic trend that began in 1947, when Oregon's per capita income was $202 ahead of the national average. Last year the incomes of Oregon citizens had dropped $10 below the national average.

[From the Oregonian, Portland, Oreg., of April 21, 1957]

NEUBERGER RUES PAYROLL DECLINE, SEES CHEAP POWER AS ONLY REMEDY

(By Paul Hauser)

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is concerned that Oregon is on a downhill trip on the payroll escalator and sees buildup of an available bulk of low cost power sufficient to attract new industries as the only hope of changing direction.

NEUBERGER arrived in Portland Saturday for a week-long stay during Congress' Easter recess and met the press at his home, 1910 Southwest Clifton Street.

"I don't think I can stress enough the serious economic situation confronting Oregon," said the Senator. He pointed out that in 1947 per capita income of Oregonians was $202 above the national average and has since sunk to $13 below.

"We've been coming down the escalator for 10 years," he said.

PAYROLL NEEDS CITED

"Unless Oregon gets some new basic year-around payrolls we're going to have real difficulty maintaining the school standards, the educational standards and the welfare standards we've been accustomed to."

But NEUBERGER foresees only "some slight chance" that Congress will find any money at all in the current controversial budget for a start next year on the 1-million kilowatt John Day Dam. None was provided in the President's budget and it's 10 times as difficult to put in than to cut out.

Lack of unanimity on such major projects, the Senator said, is "the monkey on our back in the Northwest."

GOOD PROGRAMS SUFFER

"When some other part of the country is working for a Federal project you see an enormous unified effort * * * but most of the opposition to the great Federal projects in the Northwest comes from our country."

Senator NEUBERGER said he fears that many small but worthwhile programs in fields of health and school aid will suffer in the current hysteria over the budget.

He noted that funds for cancer research were cut back in the administration's budget.

"Actually they ought to be multiplied 10 times for a real crash program such as developed atomic energy."

Foreign aid, a program with "no friends," is likely to suffer as well, but NEUBERGER, who has back up President Eisenhower's foreign-aid program as a bulwark of peace, said he would hate to think of placing the United States in a category of a country willing to be "profligate with soldiers but stingy with dollars."

DOUBLE STANDARD FEARED

NEUBERGER spoke again of his conviction that great campaign funds are leading to "a hopeless double standard of morality in Government."

"How can we say a little bureaucrat is hopelessly committed when he accepts a deep freeze, and yet allow governors and Senators to accept tens of thousands as campaign contributions?"

Senator NEUBERGER and others are working on bills which would provide Federal financing of congressional campaigns, limiting individual contributions to $100, and giving income tax credit up to $10 for individual contributions to political parties.

SYSTEM CALLED WRONG

NEUBERGER said he believes the present system of political campaign financing is leading to freezing of the Democratic Party as the party of labor and the Republican Party as the party of business. He thinks it "inherently wrong" either way.

"My whole basic belief is that a man should not enter public office obligated either to organized labor or to corporations or businesses."

NEUBERGER will discuss a set of 6 standards for labor unions at his first public appearance of 7 scheduled this week before the Portland Central Labor Council, Monday night.

Keep Up This Budget Cutting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Keep Up This Budget Cutting," published in the Metropolitan Herald of Atlanta, Ga., for April 17, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KEEP UP THIS BUDGET CUTTING

Congress continues to cut away at President Eisenhower's recordbreaking peacetime budget and rightfully so. The national debt stands at approximately $275 billion. The interest on the debt is almost $7½ billion annually, more than it cost to operate the entire Federal Government in 1937 under Franklin Roosevelt.

Congressman JAMES DAVIS points out this week that the Federal bureaucrats in the executive department continue to enlarge and expand their agencies by hiring new employees. Federal civilian employment in the executive department is now 2,390,000 and the Federal payroll has reached an all-time record of more than $12 billion a year.

The Fifth District Congressman also warned the House that the payroll was being increased daily despite efforts of Congress to halt the hiring of additional employees.

No wonder the bureaucrats are screaming about the budget cuts by Congress. However, it will take the continued backing of the taxpayers themselves to make these cuts stick. Congress needs the support of every one of us in this fight.

Incidentally, this week's issue of the U. S. News & World Report tells us that the United States State Department sent a Negro jazz musician to Europe last year with a guaranteed salary of $2,150 per week—and at the taxpayers' expense. When called on the carpet by Congress for this, a Department spokesman said "It was well worth the expense." Incidentally, this is more than the President of the United States makes.

The time is long past time for Federal bureaus and departments to be forced to practice strict economy in every phase of governmental service—jazz musicians notwithstanding.

It is time to stop this foolishness. It is time for a change in Washington.

Admission of Members of United States Armed Forces to the Dhahran Airbase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an exchange of correspondence with the State Department on the subject of the admission of members of the United States Armed Forces to the Dhahran Airbase, in view of the restrictive provisions—with which I thoroughly disagree—on the part of the Government of Saudi Arabia; and also an editorial on the same subject published on April 25, 1957, in the New York Times.

There being no objection, the correspondence and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF A LETTER DATED APRIL 17 FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS

DEAR SENATOR JAVITS: I have received your letter of April 9, 1957, to the Acting Secretary, enclosing the statement which you made on that date before the Senate on our relations with Saudi Arabia. We appreciate the opportunity to review your remarks on this subject and, in response to your request, to provide comments on points raised.

As you point out, the various interested agencies of the Government consider the retention of the United States rights at the Dhahran Airfield of importance to our national security. The recent significant round-the-world flight of B–52 aircraft refueled, for example, over Dhahran.

Our recent discussions with Saudi Arabian representatives here were concerned with arrangements which would continue the United States rights at the airfield under the agreement of June 18, 1951. The text of this agreement, including its recognition of the sovereignty of Saudi Arabia over the airfield and the right of that Government to require visas of all persons entering Saudi Arabia, was not at issue.

We did, however, during these discussions express our special concern over restrictions on the admission of persons of the Jewish faith into Saudi Arabia. The representatives of Saudi Arabia explained that their regulations were not intended to discriminate against citizens of another country on the basis of religion, but were related to the tensions arising from the Arab-Israel dispute. The hope was expressed that Saudi Arabia would be able, as these tensions were eased, to eliminate restrictions arising from them. The Department will continue to take every appropriate opportunity to emphasize the continuing concern of the United States over the existence of these restrictions.

We can assure you that, whenever the question of slavery arises and there is firm evidence of its practice, the United States makes known its opposition to the continuance of this practice. We do not consider, however, that complete agreement with the United States on all matters is a prerequisite for cooperation in essential areas of foreign affairs.

We also note your remarks concerning King Saud's relations with President Nasser of Egypt. It is true that Saudi Arabia has associated itself with Egypt in aspects within the framework of Arab regional policy. At the same time, King Saud has emphasized his opposition to communism and his close friendship with and support for the United States. I know that you will agree with this attitude on the part of the ruler of a key Middle Eastern country is of considerable significance.

We believe that the recent visit of King Saud to this country was successful in creating greater understanding between the two Governments. We will continue to exert efforts to resolve those areas of disagreement which may still exist between us.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT C. HILL,
Assistant Secretary.

TEXT OF A LETTER DATED APRIL 18 FROM SENATOR JAVITS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Receipt is acknowledged of the Department's letter of April 17 regarding relations with Saudi Arabia. I note the following key phrases: in respect of the barring of United States soldiers of Jewish faith from our base at Dhahran that "The Department will continue to take every appropriate opportunity to emphasize the continuing concern of the United States over the existence of these restrictions." With respect to the fact that Saudi Arabia is backing Colonel Nasser's particular brand of Mideast chauvinism with heavy overtones of Kremlin manipulation, the Department says: "It is true that Saudi Arabia has associated itself with Egypt in aspects within the frame work of Arab regional policy. At the same time, King Saud has emphasized his opposition to communism and his close friendship with and support for the United States." I must dissent from the conclusion that either of these statements represents an adequate United States position. The Department should be taking much firmer steps than apparently are being taken or contemplated in respect of both of these urgent issues.

To allow the discrimination against United States soldiers—as well as United States citizens—by the government of Saudi Arabia because of their Jewish faith is a grave retreat from the highest American traditions and principles. It is an intolerable situation which began in the previous administraton in June 1952 and continues into this administration. It is contrary to the policy adopted by the United States in the early 1900's in its relation with Russia, and it is contrary to Senate Resolution 323, adopted on July 26 last, protesting such discrimination. It certainly cannot be reconciled with the Department's statement that King Saud has emphasized "his close friendship with and support for the United States."

I can see no fair reason for our Government's tolerating any connection between "the tensions arising from the Arab-Israel dispute" and the barring of United States soldiers from a United States base, contrary to American tradition and practice, and I believe that the Department should allow of no such connection.

Saudi Arabia has recently joined Egypt in seeking to bar peaceful international shipping from the Gulf of Aqaba in direct opposition to the findings of our country that these were international waters available to all for peaceful commerce. This represents

far closer association in actions disruptive of United States policy and international peace than the Department apparently recognizes in his statement: "that Saudi Arabia has associated itself with Egypt in aspects within the framework of Arab regional policy."

On the contrary, considering the assumptions encouraged by both the United States and the United Nations under which a withdrawal of Israel's forces recently took place, this action on the part of Saudi Arabia can only complicate the situation for our country and again endanger international peace. This stand by Saudi Arabia is certainly not an evidence of "close friendship with and support for the United States."

I do not get the impression from the Department's letter that there will be a determined and continuous effort to undo the injustices which I have described above, with clear notice to the Government of Saudi Arabia that the actions set forth above are not tolerable within the friendship which is professed toward the United States on the part of Saudi Arabia, and cannot be continued indefinitely.

A 5-year extension of the United States right to use the Dhahran Air Base may be justified on security grounds, and in that I have the greatest respect for the judgment of our President; but to tolerate the barring of United States soldiers from the Dhahran Base or Saudi Arabia's backing of Colonel Nasser and his defiance of the United Nations and the whole free world is contrary to the interests of the United States and of peace, is intolerable, and the Department's policy should not allow of it for an indefinite future.

Respectfully,

JACOB K. JAVITS.

[From the New York Times of April 25, 1957]

AMERICANS IN ARABIA

The refusal of the Saudi Arabian Government to admit American citizens of the Jewish faith extends even to American soldiers manning the air base at Dhahran under the recently renegotiated agreement with the United States. Thus our own Government is in effect a party—however unwillingly—to an outrageous discrimination against Americans on the basis of their religious belief.

In a letter to Senator JAVITS the State Department has pointed out that it had vainly expressed special concern over the restrictions, but that the Saudi Arabians had said "their regulations were not intended to discriminate against the citizens of another country on the basis of religion, but were related to the tensions arising from the Arab-Israel dispute." We do not believe this Arabian statement to be true; but even if it were true, its implications are totally unacceptable. The Saudi Arabian Government is saying that Americans of Jewish faith must necessarily have a political allegiance to a foreign government, Israel, to which Saudi Arabia is hostile, and that therefore these Americans must be treated on the same basis as if they were Israeli citizens. This is an intolerable suggestion reflecting on the loyalty of loyal Americans; and it is even more intolerable that the State Department is willing to bow, reluctantly or not, to such a suggestion.

Secretary Dulles' additional explanation at his press conference Tuesday is equally unsatisfactory. He reports at this late date that King Saud's negative attitude toward lifting the ban against American Jews was at least partly explained by the cold shoulder Mayor Wagner had given the Monarch on his arrival in New York last January. Disgusted as we were by the mayor's rudeness to an official visitor, we think that this incident is a pretty sorry excuse for Mr. Dulles to be making on behalf of the King. The fact still remains that the United States Government is acquiescing in religious discrimination against its own nationals, contrary to the principles of a Senate resolution passed last July and contrary to the historic position of our Government in dealing with such problems in the past.

The Nation's First Satellite Observation Station To Be Financed by Private Industry

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article about the Nation's first satellite observation station to be financed by private industry. It happens to be located in my hometown of Phoenix, Ariz. We are very proud of the installation.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATION'S FIRST SATELLITE OBSERVATION STATION TO BE FINANCED BY PRIVATE INDUSTRY IS RATED AMONG THE BEST EQUIPPED AND STAFFED OF ALL

(By Charles W. Pine and Robert L. Gilbert)

"Operation Moonwatch"—a swift-moving Jules Verne-like satellite observation program which has fired the imagination of the American public—paused at Phoenix, Ariz., on April 19 to unveil:

1. The first completely equipped and staffed station in the Southwest.

2. The first post to be completely financed by private industry.

The station itself—located on the skyscraper roof of the 12-story home office of the Valley National Bank—is a dramatic chapter in the story of man's determination to keep track of the earth-circling artificial satellite he will rocket-launch into outer space early next year.

The latter program, a highlight of International Geophysical Year—an 18-month "year" which starts July 1, 1957—will climax the project called Operation Vanguard when it was first announced by President Eisenhower in July 1955.

Since then, public curiosity has been whetted by innumerable articles speculating on the fate of the manmade satellite.

Often dubbed "an oversize Christmas tree ball"—its diameter is only 20 inches and its weight only 21 pounds when loaded with delicate reporting instruments—the satellite will provide invaluable data about such matters as cosmic and ultraviolet rays, air density and movement, temperatures, pressures, magnetisms, and geodetic determinations, scientists are confident.

Radio equipment contained within the world's first manmade satellite will be effective in determining its position only during the first 2 weeks of its travels as it whizzes around the earth's circumference at a speed of 18,000 miles an hour.

"After that, because of battery exhaustion, only means of locating the sphere will be by visual observation," emphasizes Dr. Armand Spitz, coordinator of visual satellite observations for the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory at Cambridge, Mass.

The SAO has been asked by the Government to see that the satellite "doesn't get lost," and Spitz' job is to organize some 200 observation posts across the country by the end of the year.

Manned by amateur astronomers equipped with special wide-angle telescopes, many of these posts, under ideal conditions, will be able to spot the satellite as it streaks across the heavens.

The telescopes, fixed to sighting bars installed along a meridian line, will be trained on predetermined areas of the overhead sky. Whenever the sphere is sighted by the amateur sky watchers as it crosses their field its time to a second, and altitude and azimuth to a degree, will immediately be communicated to SAO headquarters at Cambridge.

There, by feeding this data to electronic computers, scientists will be able to plot the satellite's ever-changing orbit.

Dr. Spitz is particularly proud of the Phoenix station financed by Arizona's statewide Valley Bank.

Terming it "an ideal setup both from the standpoint of equipment and personnel," he credits the bank's decision last September to build such an installation as being "inspiring news which since has encouraged the financing of similar posts by business firms in several key localities throughout the Nation."

It was Spitz who approached Carl A. Bimson, president of the Valley Bank, last fall with the suggestion that the Arizona financial institution might be willing to underwrite the erection of a model station on the roof of the skyscraper known as the Professional Building at Central and Monroe in the heart of downtown Phoenix.

After outlining the contributions to modern science that such a station might make, Spitz pointed out that the height of the post, plus the unusually clear skies that prevail in the Phoenix area, would make it a key unit in his contemplated 200-station network.

Valley Bank has a reputation for being unusually community minded—it underwrites, in whole or in part, such projects as an annual scholastic art exhibit or little league baseball clubs—but this was the first time, other than its membership in the Association for Applied Solar Energy, that it had been approached to help finance a project with interplanetary connotations.

Bimson, however, did not hesitate in giving Spitz an immediate "Yes." As he explained later:

"We have the space available; it's a unique opportunity to help American scientists edge their counterparts behind the Iron Curtain in penetrating the mysteries of outer space, and it might attract some favorable national publicity for Phoenix."

Bimson was right on all counts.

On February 19 of this year Maj. Gen. Bernard A. Shriever, commander of the western development division of the Air Force Research and Development Command, declared:

"In the long haul, our safety as a nation may depend upon our achieving space superiority. Several decades from now the important battles may not be sea battles or air battles, but space battles."

Missiles would joust hundreds of miles above the earth. Electronic planetary outposts might be the key to victory—and survival, he made it clear.

Blunt as they were, the general's references to the military-security aspect of Operation Moonwatch still cannot be measured by any yardstick known to the general public—due to the veil of secrecy surrounding such scientific exploration.

But news stories bearing a Phoenix dateline can be measured.

One such story dealing with the Valley Bank observation post, and released last February to selected metopolitan Sunday newspapers in a score of major United States cities, was used verbatim by a dozen of them. Their combined readership is 2½ million.

Other news releases about the Phoenix station have appeared in all sort of daily and weekly newspapers, financial publications,

and magazines with a scientific bent. Combined circulation is in excess of 20 million.

(The bank does not have complete clips on a September 1, 1956, AP story or a September 12 INS release, for example, but a conservative estimate indicates these 2 items alone appeared in approximately 60 newspapers with a total circulation of several million.)

The Phoenix post is staffed by members of the Phoenix Astronomy Club. Amos Hoff and Kenneth M. Zenkere, highly regarded astronomy instructors at Phoenix College and codirectors of the station, have recruited 2 complete teams of 19 members each. Twelve observers, a recorder and six relief men make up a team.

The teams will alternate in manning the station 3 mornings and 3 evenings a month. Their dawn and dusk schedule is due to the fact that the satellite will be visible only when the sun glints off it against the background of a darkened sky.

Backgrounds of the team members are amazingly varied—they range from college students and store clerks to lawyers and retired pensioners—but they have a common denominator: a fervent desire to be among the Nation's first sky watchers to track the orbit of the polished sphere after its launching.

Their chances are excellent, according to SAO officials—both because of the station's location, their conscientious training by Hoff and Zenkere and their equipment.

"Most favorable, in fact," is the way Jack Slowey puts it. Slowey, a scientist on the SAO's staff, attended a meeting of the Poenix sky watchers last month and gave them this explanation in support of his statement:

"The Vanguard rocket carrying the satellite will be launched from Florida's Cape Canaveral during evening twilight.

"Our calculations indicate the satellite could first be spotted over South Africa during that area's sunrise. Traveling in virtually the same orbit in which it was projected, the satellite will flash across the Southwestern States during the evening twilight here following the launching.

"Moonwatch headquarters will furnish you with the approximate time and direction of its passage. With this information, your station has an excellent chance of being the first in the Nation to spot the sphere."

Slowey and other satellite scientists point out that, during each 24-hour period, when the natural moon is rising and setting once, the man-made moon will be crossing the sky 15 separate times—coming up and going down at different points on the horizon each time.

However, it can be seen only when it passes overhead at twilight—either the morning or evening variety, which the layman usually defines as dawn and dusk. At other times, the satellite will be black in the night sky, or sunlit but lost in the daylight brilliance.

(How long the first satellite will continue to circle the earth depends on its orbit. Scientists would like to have it move in perfect circles around the planet at a height of about 300 miles.

(Space at that altitude is a vacuum by earth standards, although it contains enough air to slow the satellite and eventually bring it plunging to fiery destruction as a result of friction in the dust-laden lower atmosphere.

(But a perfect-circle orbit would require too much precision of control to hope for, and the satellite's path in all likelihood will be an ellipse. Scientists will be happy if it approaches no closer than 200 miles—in which case the farthest point on its flight would be about 1,500 miles above the earth.

(Dr. John P. Hagen, of the Naval Research Laboratory, calculates that at 300 miles the satellite will live almost a year. At 200 miles, it will have a lifetime of about 15 days, he believes.)

Although the satellite's official launching apparently won't take place until around January or February of 1958, the Phoenix team's schedule of six practice alerts a month is certain to sharpen their reflexes, SAO officials point out.

And within the next few months, these reflexes will be put to test by an SAO-sponsored test alert. A jet plane flying at an altitude that will make its engine inaudible—with a course and speed simulating the motion of an artificial satellite—will streak across the Nation flashing a light matching the sphere's expected brightness as seen from the ground.

After inspecting the Valley Bank Station's physical equipment, Slowey flatly described it as the best equipped post in the southwest.

The equipment consists of 12 specially designed telescopes, 12 sighting bars, shortwave radio with special antenna, tape recorder, and microphone, buzzer system—even coffeemaking facilities for use on cool mornings.

The sighting bars are welded to a metal plate installed along a north-south medidan painted on a wing of the building's roof. In the center, Valley Bank maintenance men have erected a 24-foot T-bar mast designed by Zenkere.

Zenkere wanted a tower that wouldn't sway the slightest in a 28-mile wind. He got it, although the bank had to send to the coast to get the necessary steel. Physical format of the station follows blueprints provided by the SAP.

Cost to the bank thus far has amounted to several thousand dollars, but Bimson has cheerfully okayed all bills. Deeply interested in Operation Moonwatch, he keeps in close touch with all developments and obviously is intrigued by its scientific possibilities.

He is particularly gratified by the fact that national publicity received by the bank since a September 1 press conference has encouraged several major American business concerns to sponsor similar stations.

In St. Louis, Mo., for example, a nationally known soft drink concern is installing a post on the roof of its downtown office building.

In Evansville, Ind., the junior chamber of commerce is underwriting a station being set up on the campus of Evansville College.

And in Walnut Creek, Calif., an observation team is being sponsored by the local pipefitters union.

Today, in fact, over half of the proposed 200 observation sites throughout the Nation are in the process of being constructed—and a majority of the remainder is in the planning stage.

Last September, at Bimson's press conference, Dr. Spitz predicted: "There are many American communities where capable observers are anxious to participate in this epoch-making project. Construction of actual sites will be tremendously spurred by the Valley Bank's enlightened attitude."

His prediction has come true.

Let's Give America Back to Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "Let's Give America Back to Americans," delivered today before the Advertising Club of San Francisco by Eugene W. Castle, veteran newsman and author of The Great Giveaway.

I am informed by the Public Printer that it is estimated that the printing of the address in the RECORD will require approximately 2⅔ pages, at a cost of $205.34. Notwithstanding this estimate, I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S GIVE AMERICA BACK TO AMERICANS

(Address by Eugene W. Castle, New York City, author of The Great Giveaway)

Today inflation is as great a danger to us all as is the atom bomb in the hands of the enemy.

Tragically, the principal forces feeding the fires of inflation are in the White House at Washington. It becomes an idle gesture to ask restraint of business or labor if Government itself will not curb inflation.

The more our Federal Government spends recklessly and needlessly, the softer American money becomes, and the more costly and difficult it is for the average American citizen to provide for himself and his family.

The purchasing power of the dollar has decreased 3½ percent within the past 12 months. The cost of the necessities of life is constantly rising.

The cost of sending a son or daughter to college has doubled since 1939, and the value of your dollar has decreased 50 percent since that time.

That is inflation—even if some politicians in Washington insist upon calling it prosperity.

We toss billions to the four winds and talk about bringing the full life to tens of millions who, perhaps, want to continue living as they have in the past.

We plan to give more billions to neutralist Nehru's India, while our own American Indians vainly seek a few million dollars to obtain the necessities of life in the land of their ancestors.

The hour is late and dangerous.

Unless the mass of our citizenry insists right now that the giving away of our dwindling resources be promptly stopped, we may soon arrive at the tragic state of not being able to help ourselves, or any one else in the world.

Between World War I and II, I saw the flames of inflation consume millions of helpless people in France, Germany, and Italy. I saw this happen before the dictators marched and drove their already ruined people to death and destruction.

Fortunately, many millions of Americans have recently been shocked and rocked into a great awakening. The exorbitant and highly inflationary budget of $71.8 billion has stirred the American people like an approaching prairie fire—stirred them to angry protest in such a tremendous nationwide uprising that many politicians at all levels of the Washington totem pole are still trying to recover from the shock.

Some Members of the House of Representatives responded to the mandate of the people by effecting substantial cuts in the Federal budget. However, the battle of the budget is still far from won. There are slick ways of restoring the savings. While a minority of our legislators of both political parties, patriotically fighting for cuts in the budget, appear to be winning their battle, a clique of superspenders in the Senate, prodded by the power and influence of the Chief Executive, is already at work to invalidate the savings made by the House.

Only the continuous vigilance of the American people—and their determination to maintain the fight for solvency—can stop the

stamped of those powerful forces within our government who are determined to spend us all into bankruptcy.

The Marshall plan was originally offered to a skeptical Congress as a means of rehabilitating the war-ravaged countries of Europe. We were told that $17 billion and 4 years would do the job.

But the Marshall plan has had no parallel, since the world began, in the resultant spending of the resources of one nation for foreign aid.

We have sent our dollars marching 60 billion strong over the far reaches of the earth in quest of mutual security. The prize, like a will-o'-the-wisp, has eluded us. The world is still in turmoil and danger. There is no security, mutual or otherwise.

What have these dollars brought us?

They have dammed great rivers far away. They have built fine highways for others to travel. They have reared hundreds of industrial plants under flags which many of us cannot even recognize. They have dispatched thousands of American technicians to remote regions of the world. They have poured out our resources to distant peoples everywhere.

Our billions of dollars have delivered jet planes across the seas and some of these planes have been diverted to misuse. Our dollars have given vast armaments to friendly nations to strengthen them against aggression, and some of those armaments have been misdirected to the invasion of other countries. Our budgets have helped sustain the domestic budgets of Europe, while our own debt remains higher per capita than in any other country in the world.

Unless I completely misjudge the character and desires of the vast majority of Americans, I think it can be safely said that we do not want to dominate the world. We do not want to dissipate our lives and fortunes in return for the empty title of world leadership that is apparently so pleasing to some Washington policymakers.

The minority who gain personal glory and temporary profit from repeatedly reciting the world leadership theme forget that the British Empire once owned the words and music to it, and that this empire has, of necessity, dispensed with both the trappings and the expense.

The founders of our country came here to establish freedom on the American continent—and all the world knows what a superb job they did. We know, too, for we have inherited this freedom, their wealth and great ideals. World leadership is not mentioned in the Constitution of the United States.

From the year 1792, when the first session of the first Congress convened, to 1950, when the current giveaway swung into full stride, the Government collected $406 billion in taxes.

From 1950 through 1956, both fiscal years included, the Government collected $433 billion in taxes.

For $406 billion in 158 years we fought and won 6 wars.

For $433 billion in 7 years we fought 1 war—in Korea—without victory; and we fought and are still fighting a cold war that we have been losing ever since it began.

When the Federal Government takes a heavy portion of the tax revenues of the whole country, as they have been doing for a long time, the individual and the locality have less with which to provide for their own needs, whether schools, hospitals, roads or old-age security. It is a rule as certain as it is obvious that as this process of Federal control enlarges, the significance and liberty of the citizen must proportionately diminish. This is the way it has always happened before.

President Eisenhower has said that high taxes are necessitated by the quest for peace. It is perhaps a pardonable oversimplification for the sake of rhetoric; certainly it will not bear much scrutiny. No one knows what is the precise price of peace. The price that the administration puts on defense in the new budget is $38 billion. The total budget is $71.8 billion. What has grown tremendously over the past several years is not only the cost of the military; it is the cost of new or expanded Federal intervention in the individual's life, and in largely unnecessary spending abroad.

The administration is adding to the price of peace a host of expensive and extraneous projects. What will happen if the price of peace increases? Britain has already cut its defense costs by more than three-fourths billion dollars, which means that Uncle Sam will probably have to pick up tab.

The challenge is before us. If steps are not taken to meet it now, some future year may be too late.

For many, foreign aid has become an Alice in Wonderland extravaganza—a nonsense land where men soberly insist that if a gift of tens of millions of dollars to an ally or neutralist fails to win his friendship, a gift of hundreds of millions will succeed. Our leaders and their high-flying ambassadors now argue that we can win peace and security, not by exerting firm policies and leadership but by giving away our margin of superiority to foreign nations in an effort to make them as strong as ourselves. From whatever end of the lens we look at foreign aid, its strange policies do not come into focus.

President Eisenhower once realized this when he publicly stated: "The United States cannot be an Atlas; it cannot, by its financial sacrifices, carry all other nations of the world on its shoulders and we should stop giveaway programs."

Few of us now remember that before its adjournment in July 1955 Congress ordered our giant foreign aid organization, the then Foreign Operations Agency, liquidated. Congress assumed, in terminating this Agency as a separate unit of the Government, that its activities would be greatly reduced and eventually ended. With that objective in mind, military aid was assigned to the Department of Defense, and future economic aid, under the new title of the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) was assigned to the Department of State.

When the former Taft law partner, John B. Hollister of Cincinnati, became the head of the ICA, prevailing Washington sentiment was that foreign aid was on the way to full and final liquidation.

In mid-December 1955 it appeared that Congress would be asked during the following January for $2.7 billion, the amount of the then current appropriation for foreign spending and a considerable reduction from the previous year.

But, only a week later there exploded the announcement that Congress would be asked for the astonishing sum of $4.9 billion for foreign aid plus another billion dollars in ten blank checks for the President to spend as and where he pleased over a 10-year period. What did this overnight reversal mean?

It meant that the White House had decided to set aside the will and instructions of the 83d Congress to reduce economic aid drastically in fiscal 1956 and taper off military aid in fiscal 1957. It meant that foreign aid was now to go on permanently, perhaps forever. What happened? That the White House was "afraid of the Soviets" became the new argument and principal propaganda of the day. Why were we afraid? At the time, the President expressed it this way: "With the Soviet leaders openly proclaiming their world aim, it would be a folly for us and our friends to relax our collective efforts toward stability and security." What were we afraid of?

In the furtherance of their policy of world trouble making, bluff and bluster, two tourists from Moscow, Soviet Premier Bulganin and pudgy Communist Party Boss Khrushchev staged a noisy and smiling procession for propaganda through India, Burma and Afghanistan. Throughout their travels, the two men from the Kremlin acted as canny businessmen. They adhered strictly to capitalistic methods. They gave nothing away. They promised nothing for free. If a prospective buyer was a bit hard up for cash they advanced it at a profitable interest rate.

For example, in neutralist India, which had received $1 billion worth of free goods from the United States and is now slated to get that much more, the Russians agreed to furnish that country with ore-mining machinery, but only on condition that Indian would purchase a million tons of ferrous metals. Even the widely heralded gift of a Soviet steel will to their happy and overly gracious host, Nehru, was no handout. It is to be repaid to Moscow by 12-year credits at 2½-percent interest.

In Burma, the two traveling salesmen from the Kremlin bought half of the Burmese rice crop and in return arranged to help Burma expand its agriculture and industry, not for free, but at an agreed price for goods and services.

In Afghanistan, the tourist capitalists from Moscow offered a $100-million loan to be used for the purchase of goods exclusively from the Soviet Union.

Paradoxically, it was the Soviet which was acting in the spirit of capitalism and not we. In the face of this new business and financial news our high policymakers in Washington panicked. They panicked despite the fact that for the 1954–56 period Soviet loans to other nations, usually at 2 percent or better interest, totaled only 4 percent of the United States outlays in dollar values during the same period. During this period the United States gave $12 billion to other nations.

Following a prolonged battle in Congress, during which the Comptroller General made public disclosure of the fact that $363 million of previously appropriated military aid funds remained unspent and had actually been lost in the catacombs of the Pentagon, Congress reduced the White House foreign aid request for fiscal 1956 by $1 billion and eliminated the President's 10-year blank-check request for another billion. However, foreign aid was back in business and with an increase of a billion dollars over the previous year. Despite the previously expressed will of the Congress, the great giveaway was on again, and perhaps forever.

What is a billion dollars?

If you earn $10,000 a year, it would take you 100,000 years to earn a billion dollars. If you built a house for $20,000 a billion dollars could pay for 50,000 houses just like yours. In terms of foreign aid we are spending $5 billion annually; therefore, the totals are 500,000 years and 250,000 houses.

But let's get away from these astronomical figures and get down to the individual. Here is an example that anyone can comprehend:

An invalid woman who for 20 years has depended upon a fixed trust income of $150 per month pays $17.15 a month Federal income taxes, compared with only $2 in 1939.

Therefore her current monthly check has now shriveled to $132.84 instead of $148. Moreover, since today's dollar now has only 50 cents of its 1939 purchasing power, her current buying power is only $66.42 per month, or almost $82 per month less than the $148 net which this invalid woman received in 1939. And that is not all, her diminishing dollars have lost another 3½ percent in purchasing power during the past 12 months.

This sorry example can be multiplied by millions dependent upon fixed incomes throughout America. It is the best reason that I can give you why the politicians offer to cut the budget maybe $2 billion or $3 billion is not enough to insure a sound and safe America. The cut has to be much deeper to accomplish this.

Even without any system of accounting, we now know that our foreign-aid spree has included the following:

We gave $7 billion to Britain that helped bring that country the plight of the former Socialist Labor government.

We poured more than $6 billion into France.

We gave billions to rebuild a war-torn West Germany in the most lavish manner conceivable.

We gave more than a billion dollars to the shaky government of Indochina before that country capitulated to the Reds.

We gave the Government of Norway $300 million, which they promptly applied to the reduction of their internal debt.

We gave Denmark $100 million, which they used the same way.

We are paying all living expenses and tuition costs for the sons of hundreds of wealthy Persians attending American universities.

In the name of foreign aid we are paying for free airplane excursions for thousands of Arabs visiting their religious shrine at Mecca.

In Portugal our handouts have paid for a 15-mile 6-lane superhighway connecting Libson with the gambling resort of Estoril.

American tax dollars have provided dress suits for Grecian undertakers, public baths for Egyptian camel drivers, and even iceboxes for Eskimos.

Also in the name of foreign aid we have shipped stage comedies to France, opera singers to Italy, and drama groups to Germany.

We have built an Italian village nobody wanted to live in and an Iranian road that leads to nowhere.

All this, mind you, at the American taxpayer's expense.

But this is not all. Foreign aid is no longer offered on the basis of "What do you need?" Now it is "What will you take?" Here are new examples of this:

Vice President NIXON recently attended ceremonies commemorating the establishment of the new African Gold Coast state of Ghana, but the Vice President's trip did not end with this official duty. He toured a number of African countries and everywhere indicated that the cash would follow. As a result it is estimated that these new customers, once wards of Great Britain and France, Portugal, and Belgium will now cost the American taxpayers more than $100 million annually—not for 1 year but for as long as the American people will stand for it, and pay for it.

Former Congressman Richards, the same Congressman who was responsible for reducing the White House demand for foreign aid for the current fiscal year by more than $1 billion, is now Ambassador Richards and he is flying around the Middle East desperately trying to divest himself of $200 million in a hurry before June 30 of this year so that he can come back and enable our global givers to obtain $400 more for the next 2 years. And remember, this is on top of the handouts already given and still going to the oil-rich desert dictators who do so well for themselves, but little if anything for their retarded people. King Saud, of Saudi Arabia, did not wait for Ambassador Richards to fly to him—the oil-happy potentate came to Washington and obtained enough money to announce that he will soon build a superhighway connecting his summer and winter palaces. While here, he purchased 100 gold-plated Cadillacs—and, of course, you paid for them.

Now we are about to change the law so we can give of our resources to Communist Poland. Senators WILLIAM KNOWLAND and STYLES BRIDGES are absolutely right in opposing this. Senator KNOWLAND said: "There are some things in life that cannot be compromised. Munich and Yalta should have taught us this."

This outrageous plan will not curb communism in Poland. Instead, the American people will be paying for obligations which the Kremlin will be glad to get rid of, and at the same time enrich a Soviet slave state. We are still assisting the Soviets in the case of Yugoslavia. Now we are adding Poland. We might just as well send the checks direct to Moscow.

The one to top them all is the recent suggestion made seriously by Congressman JIMMIE ROOSEVELT to the effect that it might be a good idea for us to give up the Panama Canal in order to show Egypt's Colonel Nasser what generous people we are. Apparently, the Congressman has completely forgotten the Monroe Doctrine which we have guarded so zealously for so long. Wouldn't it be nice to have some Red commissar telling us that he has taken over the internationalized Panama Canal, and that it is closed to ships flying the Stars and Stripes? In case of war we would very probably be unable to take our ships from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Once we forgot to get a road out of Berlin after our Armed Forces fought and won the war in Europe. Now, in our mad quest for global giving it is seriously suggested that to please Nasser, who has no desire to please us, we should surrender the Panama Canal—our waterway to the Americas. We built it. We own it. Now we should give it away with the billions we are squandering all over the world.

There are several specific reasons why the foreign-aid program as presently carried on is a potential threat to our own self-interest. Let us consider eight of these dangers:

1. It has grown haphazardly without coordinated relationship to any long-range foreign policy.

2. It has become a roadblock to the working out of a rational foreign policy since every move is first predicated upon the giving of money. It deludes many Americans into thinking that the answer has been found to our foreign-policy dilemma.

3. Our false sense of security is frequently bolstered by the self-deceiving pronouncements of the United States Information Agency. This "cave of the winds," already overbudgeted by $85 million, is branded round the globe as a Government-subsidized propaganda bureaucracy. Day by day it is casting suspicion of Government domination on our private press services, the Associated Press, the United Press, and the International News Service, with which it is steadily increasing direct competition overseas. For the first time, a Government kept press has come to America.

4. Instead of aiding many of the recipient countries, such subsidization immobilizes them. The initiatives and the risks which would bring sound and balanced recovery remain untried when Uncle Sam is standing by, checkbook in hand, anxious and ready to wipe out the red ink of all the other nations in the world. Through its mistaken aid policies, our Government has probably retarded the return of many free nations to normalcy by several years. We have prolonged economic dislocation instead of removing it.

5. Frequently we are swept beyond the boundaries of our true national interest into areas of the world where we should never have become involved. By accepting the role of global givers, we have become a nation of international busybodies, rushing from troublespot to troublespot with our doubtful remedy of dollars.

6. While we thinly spread our strength over the world, our homefront develops dangerous gaps in its defenses. We have cut back our orders for B–52's largely because we spend the money on questionable experiments in remote and unrewarding areas of the world.

7. Great though our resources may be, the American taxpayer cannot afford the ever-mounting cost of the foreign aid program. For more than two decades, the United States has lived in a deficit economy. During these years, our national debt has towered from $19,487,002,444 in 1932 to $274,374,220,802 today. Hanging over every man, woman and child in America is a built-in per capita national indebtedness of $1,700, and it is going up.

8. Private initiative, which has the driving necessity of showing a profit, and which cannot unload its mistakes upon the taxpayer, does the job infinitely better. Our foreign aid program has paid lipservice to private investment, but in practice it supplants the private investor. It interposes the sterile hand of the state between human wants and demands, and the private initiative which can supply them. The political promoter and the global headline-hunter replace the economist and the technician. The capable brains which might possibly make it work are not at the service of the aid agencies.

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE of Georgia has recently stated: "If it is felt that this nation in promoting its interests must assist other countries in their economic developments, there are ways much more effective and considerably less costly than direct handouts from the Federal Treasury. One way would be to stimulate the flow of American capital into needy and underdeveloped nations through the incentive of fast tax writeoffs, such as are now granted to industries engaged in defense production. Another way would be to expand the capacity of the World Bank to make long-term, low-interest loans to worthy nations upon the security of such collateral as undeveloped natural resources or industrial potential. In so doing, the United States would be able to achieve its goal without insulting the beneficiaries of its assistance, and perhaps even more important, without bankrupting the American people."

What can and should be done?

One answer that should come fast and firm is a loud "No" to all Government requests for more blank checks and long-term handouts without full details to the public and the complete approval of the Congress.

We should take immediate steps to stop the prevailing idea that doles can replace diplomacy.

There is no such thing as paying for friendship. This is equally true of foreign governments and peoples. Any future foreign aid should be given solely on the basis of how it will benefit Americans, because we must start protecting ourselves while we can still do so.

We cannot continue to support the world. The $60 billion already spent offer ample proof that the continuance of our global dole will never buy permanent peace, friendship, or even respect for our country.

Washington's vast giveaway, with the bureaucracy that feeds and grows upon it, should be ended and replaced with an expansion of world trade.

Senator Harry F. Byrd, who is one of the most patriotic men in the United States Senate and one of the greatest living authorities on our Government's fiscal affairs, said this to me, "I regard a reduction in the pending budget as vitally important to our future welfare."

One way to help achieve this reduction, and in a substantial way, would be for the Congress to appropriate no new money for foreign aid. No new money is needed because there is enough already appropriated and in the Washington economic and military pipelines to carry on foreign aid for another 2 years.

No new funds for foreign aid would mean a saving of at least $10 billion to the American taxpayers during the next 2 fiscal years. We can use the money.

No new foreign aid funds would mean that the American people are determined to notify the world, friend and foe alike, that they cannot afford and will not pay for a world dole forever.

During the next 2 years, the American people should receive a totally honest, free from "brainwashing", country by country audit on what our dollars have done. This audit should be made by men determined to find ways and means of spending a minimum of our money in the future, instead of "believers" and junketeering notables who have been old riders on the foreign-aid bandwagon, who like the ride and who, in many cases, profit from it. Such appraisers are no different from having bank clerks examine themselves. Moreover, the majority of those who yearly go through the motions of investigating foreign aid, actually travel from red carpet to red carpet, escorted by those who give our money away. Such investigations are really the carrying of pails of whitewash to the White House, and always at a time when the call for new money is in the headlines.

Trade and private loans should be substituted for Washington's desire to give us away. Loans should, of course, be properly secured and made available to those who may be worthy of receiving them. Loans should be made not as a means to get rid of our money but on the same basis that any individual or company in America negotiates for his financial needs with his banker.

Trade and private loans can and must eventually replace the uninterrupted squandering of the American taxpayers' money under the false idea that a new crisis can be presented and peace preserved if we keep on giving without condition, audit or even requesting a receipt for our billions.

In 1952 General Eisenhower said: "Certainly I know that we must find a substitute for the purely temporary business of bolstering the free nations through annual handouts. That gets neither permanent results nor real friends."

Later that same month Candidate Eisenhower said: "My goal, assuming that the cold war gets no worse, is to cut Federal spending to something like $60 billion within 4 years."

This is as true today as it was in 1952.

The storm of protest that has arisen over the $71.8 billion Federal budget for fiscal 1958 is an encouraging sign, regardless of its immediate effects on governmental spending plans. It indicates that the President's first objective of a $60-billion budget was taken seriously, and that the steady retreat over the past several years from that objective has caused widespread disappointment.

If the people speak loud and long enough—and if they are determined enough we can have a $60 billion Federal budget.

Now, what would this do for the American people?

1. It would halt the increasing trend toward inflation.

2. It would enable us to start reducing our monstrous national debt, which hangs like a dagger over our economy.

3. It would take the unwarranted gross waste and extravagance out of every department of Federal government.

4. It would provide an immediate tax cut for millions of middle-bracket Americans who need tax relief right now, and not at some unknown tomorrow.

Here in the United States we celebrate Christmas once a year. We must stop being Santa Claus to the world 365 days a year. We have long been known as Uncle Sap. Now we are also known as Uncle Sugar. As Uncle Sugar we can melt away from our present 50-cent dollars to 10-cent dollars sooner than most of us may now realize. Let's give America back to Americans.

The Home-Building Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, the Wall Street Journal of Monday, April 29, 1957, published an advertisement by the editors of the magazine House and Home, which, according to the editors of that journal, is "America's biggest industry monthly for America's biggest industry"—namely, the home-building industry. The advertisement is entitled "An Open Reply to the Wall Street Journal." It deals with the home-building industry and the whole problem of housing throughout the country today.

I ask unanimous consent that the substance of the advertisement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the advertisement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN OPEN REPLY TO THE WALL STREET JOURNAL ON BEHALF OF THE HOME-BUILDING INDUSTRY

Your recent editorial attack on the home-building industry was clever and bright and amusing, but it was unfair from start to finish.

You made the home builders look foolish by taking their words out of context and so setting up a straw man you could ridicule. You made them seem to ask help and favors they are not asking.

But you contributed nothing to your readers' understanding of how home building was whipsawed between too easy money and too little money.

You did not explain the Government actions which made it certain that home building would be hurt first and worst by tight money. You did not tell your readers how the Government itself has kept home building from getting the financing it needs in the free market.

"The Wall Street Journal" is far too important a newspaper to tell only half the story. Your readers are far too influential. Your readers should be given the whole picture and told the essential facts:

Fact No. 1:

"Home building is just about the most important single industry in America." So says Wm. McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

Home building is not only America's biggest single industry; it is also the most dynamic industry, exerting a tremendous influence to stimulate spending for everything from appliances, furniture, draperies and rugs to schools, churches, stores, roads and even cars.

Compared with agriculture, home building is bigger than cotton plus wheat plus corn plus tobacco combined.

For 10 years after World War II the newly great home-building industry played much the same part in sustaining national prosperity that the newly great automotive industry played after World War I.

Fact No. 2:

The biggest and most dynamic industry is now in very serious trouble. It is the only great industry which is not sharing in national prosperity.

While the rest of the economy has been expanding 6.5 percent, home building has been cut back 40 percent, from an annual rate of 1,460,000 starts in December 1955 to 880,000 in February 1957.

Fact No. 3:

This crisis in home building was precipitated by the Federal Government itself. (See fact No. 5.)

That is why the home builders have no hesitation—or pride—about asking the Federal Government, not for help, but for relief.

Fact No. 4:

The two chief architects of today's tight money policy—Randolf Burgess of the Treasury and William McChesney Martin, of the Federal Reserve—have both publicly recognized that tight money has hurt home building as it has hurt no other industry.

Both have said they wished they knew some simple way to correct this inequality.

Fact No. 5:

Here are the two big reasons why home building has taken almost the whole cutback of tight money:

A. The Federal Government refused to let home building raise its bid for money for FHA and VA mortgages. While all other borrowers were offering higher and higher interest, the Government kept the FHA and VA rates fixed far below the market price. (The FHA increase allowed last December was too little and too late. The VA rate is still frozen at 4½ percent—unchanged since 1954.)

And the Government has forbidden builders to meet the rate freeze with discounts unless the builder is willing to pay the discount out of his own pocket instead of passing it on to the home buyer.

B. Meanwhile, the Federal Government has stimulated and in effect subsidized the tremendous increase in corporate borrowing that has sopped up the money that formerly went into FHA and VA mortgages.

In effect the Federal Government offers to pay more than half the cost of any new corporate plant investment, first by allowing the corporation to deduct from its taxes 52 percent of its interest payments, second by allowing the corporation to deduct 52 percent of its entire plant cost as the plant depreciates.

How can the free market allocate money fairly when the Government (a) forbids home building to raise its bid and (b) offers a 52-percent tax subsidy to home building's competitors in the money market?

Fact No. 6:

Even inside the home-building industry the impact of tight money has been very unevenly divided.

The entire cutback has been taken by those builders who were serving the lower priced market—the market which had been financed primarily through FHA and VA.

The higher priced market—the market which uses conventional financing—is still booming.

Incidentally, this boom in quality houses means that even if starts fall to 900,000 this year, those 900,000 will use more quality products than the 1,200,000 smaller and cheaper houses built in 1950.

They will use more lumber, more roofing, more siding, more flooring, more bathtubs.

They will include many times more appliances—more ranges, more refrigerators, more dishwashers, more disposals, more clothes washers—and 30 times more air-conditioning units.

Fact No. 7:

The home-building industry is not asking the Federal Government for help to sell more houses; it is not asking for help of any kind.

It is asking for relief from the Federal actions which have indeed brought many builders to the brink of bankruptcy. Specifically:

A. It has asked the Federal Government to stop freezing the FHA and VA interest rates so far below the market.

B. It has asked the Government, through the Federal National Mortgage Association, to tap a wider source of money for FHA and VA mortgages by selling $2 billion worth of mortgage certificates to investors who cannot or will not buy mortgages as such. (Only qualified mortgages are permitted by law to buy FHA loans. In practice this limits the market to a few thousand lenders, mostly savings banks and life-insurance companies.)

This plea for relief through FNMA is no more than hundreds of railroads, manufacturers, and even banks asked (and got) from RFC when they found themselves caught in a money squeeze no worse than the money squeeze today on builders serving the lower priced home market.

The home builders frankly admit that in asking this relief through FNMA they are pushing a crash program to save many of their number from bankruptcy before it is too late.

Fact No. 8:

One big reason home building is being left to bear the whole cutback from tight money is that some high officials think the Government should turn home building on and off as needed to compensate the ups and downs in other industries. If general business is bad, let home building have enough mortgage money to build more houses; if general business is good, cut home building back.

For example, Vice Chairman C. Canby Balderston, of the Federal Reserve, has just cited home building as the No. 1 example of "postponable demand" with "marginal status" that "stands ready to absorb funds when credit eases." And Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of the all-important Senate Housing Subcommittee, says: "I have always believed that home construction could in part be used as a countercyclical measure."

What would the automotive industry—or any other industry—say and do if it were told that its sales volume would be determined, not by its own sales efforts, not by the need for its product, but by Government ukase to balance out the failures or successes of other industries competing for the same consumer dollar.

HOME BUILDING ASKS NOT TO BE SUBSIDIZED

Fact No. 9:

Home building is not a subsidized industry like farming. It does not want to be subsidized. On the contrary, it wants not to be subsidized. The only subsidy home building gets is public housing, which the home-building industry has fought, first, last, and all the time.

All the other home-building programs combined have cost the Federal Treasury little more than price supports for peanuts.

In fact, the Federal Government spends so little tax money to help home building that the industry cannot even get usable market reports from the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Fact No. 10:

Far from being a subsidized industry, home building is constantly bedeviled by Government interferences that make it harder to build and sell better houses for less.

Local building codes enforce $1,000 waste on almost every small house. Fictitious federally decreed interest rates for VA and FHA often cost another $1,000 for discounts. Undertaxation of land lets land prices soar out of sight, often adding $2,000 to the price of a small lot.

Many communities try to discourage home building through prohibitive improvement requirements. And taxes take 40 cents out of every building dollar.

FHA INSURANCE IS NOT A SUBSIDY

Fact No. 11: FHA is a mutual mortgage insurance system operated by the Government at a substantial profit. Its insurance premiums are twice as high as the insurance premiums charged for comparable insurance in England by private casualty companies with no government participation at all. Its insurance premiums are much higher than the savings and loans here plan to let their own proposed mortgage insurance company charge. Its insurance premiums are so high that some FHA critics say that FHA, far from being a concealed subsidy, is really a concealed Federal tax on the ownership of small homes.

The main reason FHA needs Federal participation is to let money flow freely across State lines from the established areas where money accumulates to the growth areas where mortgage money is most needed.

If there were no State barriers and no conflicting State laws, mortgage insurance could be handled here by private insurance companies as in England (and for a lower premium than FHA charges, as in England).

Fact No. 12: The home building industry is not asking Congress to extend the veterans' housing program.

Fact No. 13: Even though tight money has hurt home building as it has hurt no one else, the home building industry recognizes that a stable dollar is doubly essential to any industry dependent on heavy borrowing, so the industry has gone clearly on record in support of what the Treasury and Federal Reserve are trying to do to protect the dollar.

Wrote Chairman Martin of the Federal Reserve: "It is most heartening to have this great industry take such an understanding and broadminded attitude."

The home building industry does not want the kind of easy money we had in 1954. In January 1955 the presidents of every important trade association concerned with home building endorsed an open letter to President Eisenhower telling him that too easy money was encouraging serious abuses and threatening serious scandals.

THE NEED FOR GOOD NEW HOUSES IS STILL ENORMOUS

Fact No. 14: By building 12 million new houses since the war, the home builders have indeed eased the housing shortage which was so critical a few years ago. In so doing, they have built themselves out of the easy market, taken the cream off their sales. So—

Fact No. 15:

The money crisis hit home building at the worst possible time, just when the industry was making the difficult threefold adjustment from a seller's market to a buyer's market, from a market of first-time buyers to a market of second-time buyers, from a market whose first need was cheaper houses for young veterans with very little money to a market whose first need was better houses for families whose rising income lets them afford a more expensive home.

While the builders were learning to serve this very different market, some temporary cutback in starts was probably inevitable, but:

Fact No. 16:

The need for good new housing is still enormous.

Speaking quantitatively: All the new houses built since the war have still fallen 3 million short of catching up with net new household formation since 1930. (That means despite our bigger families we have been able to house 6 million new families only by cutting old units in half.)

Speaking qualitatively: We have houses enough for our nonfarm families only because more than 6 million families are living in units without private inside baths. One nonfarm family in every eight must live in a substandard home because there are still 6 million too few good homes to go around.

Most of these 6 million substandard homes are a disgrace to the richest Nation on earth. Most of them should be either completely rebuilt or destroyed at once.

Fact No. 17:

Incomes are rising so fast that at the present rate the average family will have an income well over $8,000 a year (in constant dollars) by 1980.

Out of 48 million dwellings occupied today not more than 15 million are the kind of houses people will want to live in when the average family makes as much money as junior executives earned just a few years back.

It is high time America faced up to the critical problem of replacing within 25 years most of the 33 million homes no one will want to live in—including the 6 million junkers that should be taken off the market right now.

Net new nonfarm family formation is running about 900,000 a year, so it takes 900,000 new houses a year just to keep up with population growth and farm-to-city migration. It takes at least another 100,000 to keep up with demolitions due to fire, highway construction, conversion to commercial use, etc.

So it takes at least 1 million new houses a year just to stand still.

Fact No. 18: In England Conservatives and Laborites alike recognize the need of building new homes at roughly five times the rate of population growth. By so doing, they hope to replace almost the entire stock of antiquated or substandard housing by the year 2000.

At the rate this country has been building since World War II it will take 480 years for America to replace its present 48 million houses. It will take 60 years to replace the junkers that should be liquidated right now.

So it is just plain nonsense to say America has been building too many homes.

Overbuilding is not the problem. The problem is underselling.

Trivial Snipers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial about a current situation which appeared in the Boston Evening American, on April 23, 1957:

TRIVIAL SNIPERS

There has been so much needling of President Eisenhower at his recent press conferences that many responsible journalists, and probably as many observant newspaper readers, have begun to wonder about the increasingly heavy accent on trivial matters at these discussions of current events.

It is a fact, and a sad one, that so much attention is paid to petty situations at the question-and-answer sessions that little time is devoted to urgent national and international affairs.

For example, the danger of war in the Middle East was almost wholly overlooked a fortnight ago in the confusion caused by a sarcastic reference to the purchase of helicopters for the President's personal use in case of an emergency.

Similarly, there was the implication that the White House was somehow responsible for the arrests of correspondents trying to keep up with Mr. Eisenhower's caravan on

the highway leading to his Gettysburg farm.

Perhaps the questioners were trying to provoke the President. Or, maybe, they merely wished to make themselves heard.

But they certainly did not bring out the information that is essential if the American people are to understand what their Government is doing at home and abroad.

Fortunately, the President himself has displayed almost unfailing good humor in his relations with the press, and that, of course, is to his credit.

But it is considerably less to the credit of the correspondents that so many of them think their jobs are well done when they succeed in forcing the occupant of the Nation's highest office into a momentary flare of temper.

Sniping and ill-disguised partisanship serve no worthwhile purpose and both are proof of poor taste and bad manners.

The Tiger's Tail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, at a meeting of the Red River Valley Association in Shreveport, La., on April 22, 1957, Gen. E. C. Itschner, Chief of Engineers, United States Army, made an address entitled "The Tiger's Tail." For the people of the Red River Valley this address was filled with tremendous importance and farseeing future prophesy. The address is so important to the people of the Red River Valley and the United States that I am presenting it with commendation to its author and appreciation for a fine report, well conceived and framed and presented.

The address follows:

THE TIGER'S TAIL

(Remarks by Maj. Gen. E. C. Itschner, Chief of Engineers, United States Army, before the Red River Valley Association, at Shreveport, La., April 22, 1957)

The Red River Valley Association has had a long uphill fight. You have come far, but a good stretch of road still lies before you.

Today, as Senator KERR pointed out in a recent newspaper article, the Arkansas and the Red Rivers are the only major tributaries of the Mississippi still to be made navigable. There have been formidable difficulties in each case. But a comprehensive plan is under way in the Arkansas Basin, and this summer we will break ground for Dardanelle Dam, the first navigation structure on that stream.

That will leave only the Red River. And I am happy to tell you that the review study of the Overton-Red River waterway from Shreveport to the Mississippi River is finished and shows a favorable ratio of benefits to costs. This study was made by General Hardin and Colonel Lewis and their staffs, assisted by members of the staff of the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors.

It shows that the cost of the project will be about $118 million, of which the share to be borne by local interests is $21 million. The benefits are estimated at $6¼ million a year. Small benefits are attributed to drainage and to the Ouachita River navigation project, but the great bulk of them—more than $6 million a year—are expected to consist of savings in the transportation of more than 2 million tons of prospective commerce a year. The benefits of the project are estimated at $1.08 for every dollar of annual charge—a small but definitely favorable margin.

Advance planning can begin whenever money is appropriated and appropriate assurance is provided that local requirements will be met. In this connection the investigators point out that the costs to be defrayed by local interests have risen by more than 700 percent since the project was authorized, largely because of the rapidly increasing development of the era through which it must run. For example, the number of existing highway bridges which must be altered at local expense has increased from 14 to 17; the number of pipelines, from 8 to 33; and the number of telephone, telegraph, and power lines from 5 to 53. The area will undoubtedly continue to develop, and as it does, relocation problems are likely to become even more severe, and the costs to both Federal and local governments even higher, until the project finally is put into place.

Now you probably appreciate that the benefit-cost ratio for this project is not large, and therefore a comparatively small decrease in estimated tonnages or savings or an unanticipated increase in cost could make the project unjustified economically. I therefore studied the report unusually carefully when it reached me about 2 weeks ago. As a result of that study and much thought, I am convinced that the economic analysis is sound and most meticulously prepared. I then questioned the cost estimate, made comparisons with actual experience recently on other projects, and I believe that it, too, is sound, based on the current price level.

The project provides for locks 56 feet wide and 650 feet long, and the canal is 100 feet wide at the bottom. Now we do not want to build a project that will be obsolete before it is begun. We do not believe you want us to. If we build at all, we must build for the future—for a dynamic future characterized by great growth and expansion. Otherwise we are merely incurring extra handicaps and expense for our children. So again I studied the problem carefully, and after considerable discussion with my staff, and based on information furnished me by General Hardin, and experience on other waterways, I believe the Overton-Red Waterway will be adequate as planned for the amount of traffic we assume will use it. Should the amount of traffic turn out to exceed our estimates materially, in all probability the enlargement of the project can be justified at that time. Until that day, however, I hope that navigation interests will realize that a waterway of appreciably larger dimensions, based on the assumptions we have made, cannot be justified economically, and therefore we cannot recommend it.

I think a quotation from the Bible would be appropriate at this point. It is the 12th verse of the 3d chapter of Second Corinthians, which reads:

"We have such hope, we use great plainness of speech."

So far your work has been largely inspirational and advisory. You have helped initiate and guide plans for the development of this valley. And I hope you will continue to do this, for by serving as a vehicle for expressing the needs and wishes of the people of the valley, you are fulfilling an indispensable function.

Someone must make room in the valley for the navigation project. Room not only in your lands but in your laws and businesses and trade patterns.

First, there must be local agencies properly empowered to deal with the Federal Government on questions affecting local cooperation. This is a prerequisite to construction. Arkansas law already provides for the establishment of such agencies, but Louisiana law so far does not.

Second, these projects must be made to justify themselves. We can expect our estimate of benefits for the Overton-Red Waterway to be subjected to the same bitter attacks as previous ones. Only experience will decide whether our estimates are in fact accurate, or too conservative, or as the opponents of the project claim, far too optimistic. What that experience will prove is up to you—the people and businessmen of the Red River Valley.

As you know, the Corps of Engineers has always tried to be reasonable but conservative in estimating the benefits of proposed projects. When we act as investment agents for American citizens to whom taxpaying is often a real hardship, we cannot allow ourselves to be guided entirely by the optimistic predictions of local interests as to the amount of new business and traffic that might arise once a waterway is built. That is why the Mississippi River Commission and the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors were established to scrutinize the justifications of all proposed projects.

Our national waterway program probably would not exist if the Corps had ever taken any other attitude. The cry of pork barrel is always being raised by opponents of the waterways. Back in the first decade of the century that outcry was particularly rife. And President Theodore Roosevelt, who was surely as good a friend of conservation and waterway development as ever lived, gave an extremely blunt warning to the Joint Conservation Conference in 1908 when he said:

"If you dissipate the improvements throughout the country on the ground that each congressional district shall have its share, you had better abandon the project from the beginning."

Then he went on to say:

"No work whatever should be undertaken that has not been thoroughly examined and fully approved by competent experts, and these competent experts do not look at things exactly as if they were enthusiastic citizens of the neighborhood."

The Corps' conservative and responsible approach has been an essential factor in the sound and successful development of waterways ever since. It is what gives weight and meaning to our endorsement of the Overton-Red River Waterway.

We are going to continue to be conservative in estimating benefits. At the same time, not only in the Corps of Engineers but throughout the Nation, we are learning that the rate of growth and progress in this country compels us to build for the future, and scale our building to provide for the future's vastly expanding needs.

Today the main trunkline waterway system of the Nation is within sight of completion. Generally speaking, there has been no great problem in justifying the improvement of these older waterways.

Now we face a new kind of situation. We must consider the improvement of some of the more difficult streams, or those which reach into newer, less developed regions—streams like the Red and Arkansas, the Alabama-Coosa, the Columbia, and the Chattahoochee. At the same time, we must begin improving the tributary and feeder waterways needed to expand our trunkline system into a true network, for until this is done we cannot get the fullest benefit from our main line construction. On these tributary lines the prospects of future traffic are often less apparent than on the main streams. And there are many who believe that we should approach the problem of estimating benefits on these waterways with a somewhat different attitude than we have on the arterial routes. They feel we should take greater account of the country's growing enterprise and needs, and make a larger allowance for the expansion of enterprise in areas that would be served by proposed waterways.

It is here on the Red River that this view may be tested. You are asking the American

people through their Federal Government, to invest almost $100 million in it. Assuming that the project will be built—and I believe the prospects are favorable—what will they get out of their investment? Will the results encourage them to make similar investments in other areas in the future? For example, will they warrant us in looking forward to the day when the Black and Ouachita Rivers may be improved as tributaries of the Red? The answers are up to you.

It is against this background, and in this spirit, that I point out the responsibilities and opportunities that are opening before you members of the Red River Valley Association. You have been the voice of the Red River Valley; now we look to you to be increasingly its hands and its brains. Once you start developing a region as large, rich, and varied as this one, you have a continuing responsibility. It will be a long time before you can let go. For resource development can stop only when the Nation itself ceases to grow.

United States Information Agency Has Lavish Setup in France

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Charles Lucey, Scripps-Howard staff writer, points out in an article that the USIA organization in France is operating on a lavish scale. He indicates that the British are doing as good a job as we are for much less money and with a lot less show. His article follows:

LAVISH IS THE WORD FOR USIA SETUP IN FRANCE

(By Charles Lucey)

PARIS, April 30.—From a resplendent office on an avenue appropriately named Gabriel, the United States Information Agency blows its horn here in Paris, and it is a high-priced performance often tending toward extravaganza.

USIA's fine quarters adjoins the American Embassy. Its staff is bigger than the Embassy staff, and it is a little hard to tell whether the tail or the dog does the wagging.

COMPARISON

A block away, Britain runs an information show costing one-tenth what the United States spends. France itself lays out only peanuts around the world to spread information and culture.

Here in France, as throughout Europe, USIA is engaged in many good, legitimate functions informing the world's peoples about United States policies, life and folkways. USIA's libraries invariably are filled. Many of the Agency people are devoted to their jobs and work hard.

But it is taking an awful lot of personnel to keep this show going. Here in France, the payroll lists 53 Americans and 247 Frenchmen. Additionally, it takes flocks of United States Embassy people to support the Information Agency—another 26 Americans and 76 Frenchmen plus 7 Marine guards. The USIA budget for France is just under $2,200,000 and supporting costs approach $400,000.

THIRTY-SIX-PAGE MAGAZINE

Here in Paris, USIA prints a 36-page biweekly magazine in French called Information and Documents. It is a fairly professional job. Describing various phases of American life, it may include photographs of a covered bridge, American theater scene, college campus pictures, families gathered at the table for Sunday dinner, and the like.

Mostly, the articles are serious, but recent numbers have included such bits of uncosmic souffle as the history of animated cartoons, descriptions of the New York ballet, an account of a Frenchman who established a splendid restaurant in a Western mining camp, etc.

It costs $175,000 yearly, circulates to 100,000 leaders, supposedly, of French thought. It certainly does not go to people starved for information or reading, because they have plenty of good French newspapers and magazines.

NOT THE BRITISH

The British put out no such magazine, but somehow manage to get a fair share of their story told in France through an inexpensive mimeograph production with a small circulation. It makes the American operation look plush indeed.

Here in France, USIA salaries alone exceed $500,000 yearly. Salaries run from $10,000 to $14,600 yearly with a few at the top getting another $3,200 living allowance. Many are paid more than they could possibly get in private jobs.

The French USIA show isn't merely Paris—there are branches in Lille, Lyon, Bordeaux, Marseille, Strasbourg, Tours, and Algiers.

How do the British manage in these places? They simply have the regular consul do the job instead of having separate information culture shows.

Protection of Beauty and Grandeur of Columbia River Gorge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in every generation a small handful of men and women have fought the battle of conservation in order to preserve the natural heritage of our majestic continent—the heritage which belongs to the people of the future.

Some of these battles, alas, have been lost. Others, fortunately, have been won. Here in this Senate we have recently seen conservation fights lost and priceless natural resources surrendered to exploitation.

But out in my home State of Oregon, due largely to the determination and dedication of a tireless woman, a long struggle is being won to safeguard the scenic grandeur of the marvelous Columbia River Gorge where it is traversed by U. S. 30, which we also know as the Columbia River highway.

This woman is Mrs. Gertrude Glutsch Jensen. Principally because of Mrs. Jensen's effective crusading, the Oregon State Legislature has passed an act establishing the Columbia River Gorge Commission. Appropriately and fittingly, Mrs. Jensen has been appointed as chairman of the commission, which has as its mission the necessary land exchanges and land management to keep the timbered slopes of the Columbia River Gorge from being logged over by unsightly sawmill operations.

I am very proud to report that my wife, former State Representative Maurine Neuberger, and I were leading proponents in the legislature of the bill to establish the Columbia River Gorge Commission, where we worked with a Republican associate, former Senator Philip Hitchcock, to bring about adoption of the proposal so indefatigably urged by Mrs. Gertrude Jensen.

It is appropriate for me to call this major achievement in the field of conservation to the attention of the Senate, because most of the great cliffs and palisades of the Columbia Gorge are included in the Federal domain known as the Mount Hood National Forest.

A few other people deserve real credit for what has been accomplished. Among them are Marshall N. Dana, ex-editor of the Oregon Daily Journal, of Portland, Oreg.; Neal Butterfield, of the United States National Park Service; Frank B. Folsom, of the United States Forest Service; and Mr. John B. Yeon, Jr., outstanding architect and conservationist, who headed a citizens' study of the recreational and scenic assets of the Columbia Gorge. It was Mr. Dana, a longtime defender of the beauty and majesty of the Columbia's unrivaled chasm, who presented to the 1953 session of the Oregon Legislature the bill which ultimately, after some revision and amendments, became the helpful protective law of today.

I feel certain that Members of the Senate will be interested in a most comprehensive report prepared by Mrs. Gertrude G. Jensen on the task of preserving and protecting the scenic grandeur of the great Columbia River Gorge. I ask unanimous consent that her statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A LIST OF THE MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN THE PRESERVATION OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER GORGE DURING THE PAST 4 YEARS

When I observed an extensive logging operation alongside the Columbia River highway below Mist Falls and just west of the Mount Hood Forest boundary of Wah-Keena Falls, I reported this observation to the executive council of the Portland Women's Forum, of which I am a member. The council was shocked and immediately the president, Mrs. Howard Arnest, appointed a committee to look into the matter. This committee was later known as the "save the gorge" committee, of which I served as chairman for 2 years. With the cooperation of the Oregonian and the Oregon Journal, and the friendly guidance and advice of Mr. Marshall Dana and Mr. Neal Butterfield of the National Park Service, considerable progress has been made.

MRS. GERTRUDE G. JENSEN,
Chairman, Columbia River Gorge Commission, State of Oregon.

A. The inauguration of an exchange program by the Federal Government as an emergency measure to safeguard beautiful stands of timber and watersheds along the Columbia River Highway and in the Gorge of the Columbia River. This exchange of lands in the gorge for publicly owned lands elsewhere has been carried on by the Bureau of Land Management of the Department of Interior and the Mount Hood National Forest of the Department of Agriculture with the friendly

cooperation of the National Park Service of the Department of Interior.

1. Some of the major exchanges of the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) which have been made and are in the process of exchange in the area from the Sandy River east to the forest boundary at Wahkeena Falls are as follows (the Forest Service makes the exchanges east from the boundary to Hook River):

(a) The mile-and-a-half Paul and Verla Martin strip of approximately 110 acres, extending east from the Sandy River bridge and along the south side of the expressway to the top of Broughton Bluff. This was done in cooperation with the owners of the property and Steboo Lumber Co., of Vancouver, Wash., of which William Culkin is vice president and general manager. The owners made the property available to the lumber company at the Government's appraisal, and the lumber company is exchanging this property for an area of equal value of public-domain land and timber on the Washintgon side of the Columbia River within 50 miles of the gorge.

(b) The acquisition and exchange of two parcels of property in Latorell Falls Canyon and watershed through the cooperation of the owners, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Mackaness and Mr. and Mrs. Clifford Latorell, Steboo Lumber Co., and BLM.

(c) The acquisition and exchange of a large and beautiful timbered area of over 200 acres beginning at the middle of Shepherd's Dell and along the south side of the Columbia River Highway of 1½ miles, all Douglas-fir trees, through the cooperation of the owners, Mr. and Mrs. Lyle Ginter, Steboo Lumber Co., and BLM.

(d) The Mist Falls area including Mist Falls, over 1,000 feet high and the forest up to Angels Rest including 2 miles along the south side of the Columbia River Highway of approximately 500 acres, through the cooperation of the owner of the land, Calvin Helfrich, the logger, Delbert Palmer, and Steboo Lumber Co.

(e) Several other parcels have been examined and an appraisal made by BLM.

2. The Mount Hood Forest Service has been successful in acquiring:

(a) The Warrendale Fishery property which runs along both sides of the highway and along the Columbia River for approximately 2 miles. This was the result of an offer to Mr. A. J. Dwyer, president of the Dwyer Lumber Co. to purchase land and timber in the gorge and exchange for land and timber elsewhere which was owned by the Government. This offer resulted in the offer of Donald Munro, Jr., grandson of Mr. Warren who owned this historic fishery built in 1885 to make the property available to the Forest Service.

(b) Many other parcels of privately owned property along the highway and in Multnomah Basin have been examined and are in the process of exchange awaiting a statement of policy from the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture making the gorge a special case and restoring the old policy of land and timber for timber instead of the present national overall policy of land timber for land and timber.

(c) Forest Service exchanges during the past 4 years achieved another successful exchange. Although this exchange involved only 40 acres of a heavily timbered forest hillside which is the southeast corner of the expressway intersection with the road into Bonneville Dam, this scenic entrance to the dam was seriously endangered and "nearly logged" and had it not been for a very sincere and earnest effort on the part of the Forest Service to act quickly, it would have been ruined. This corner was owned by Mr. Tyrell who sold the timber to Dubois Matlack Lumber Co. of Vancouver who had contracted with Merrill Bros. to cut the timber. An exchange was made for 40 acres in the gorge but farther back which cannot be seen from the highway. I always call this place Gertrude Dunns corner.

B. The appointment of an official Columbia River Gorge Committee by Gov. Douglas McKay. Mr. Marshall Dana was appointed chairman of this very important committee.

C. The enactment of the Columbia River Gorge bill, Senate bill No. 332, creating a Columbia River Gorge Commission. The drawing up of this bill was the result of a trip and conference in New York and in Washington which solved the problem of what to do. In New York, with my son, F. Charles Jensen, who was attending Columbia University and with Dr. Ralph Walker of the Madison Avenue Baptist Church, formerly pastor of the White Temple Baptist Church of Portland, we called on Horace Marden Albright, former head of the National Park Service in Washington, adviser to the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations and an active conservationist who greatly helped the Save the Redwoods movement in California.

In Washington, I conferred with Mr. Conrad Wirth, Chief of the National Park Service, and Ben Thompson, head of the recreational planning of the Park Service, and their assistants who had been briefed on the situation in the gorge by Mr. Neal Butterfield of the National Park Service in Portland. This conference was held in Mr. Wirth's office and resulted in the writing of the Columbia River Gorge bill which was presented to the 1953 Oregon Legislature by Mr. Marshall Dana.

This bill was passed through the concentrated efforts of the members of the Portland Women's Forum, the Mazamas and the natural resources committee of the Portland Chamber of Commerce, and Senator Richard Neuberger, Representative Maurine Neuberger, and Senator Philip Hitchcock.

This bill, in part, is as follows: *"Be it enacted by the people of the State of Oregon:* * * * For the purpose of preserving, developing, and protecting the recreation, scenic, and historic areas of the Columbia River Gorge, there hereby is created the Columbia River Gorge Commission. The Commission shall consist of three members who are resident of the State and shall be appointed by the Governor on a nonpartisan basis."

The duties and powers of the commission are to acquire land in the name of the State by purchase, exchange, transfer, gift, or devise. There are also other duties and powers. However, no money was provided by the 1953 or 1955 legislatures for the use of the commission for expenses or acquisition, due to the huge deficit in the State budget.

Another duty of the commission was the presentation of a plan to the Governor for the protection and administration of the Columbia River Gorge. This was done and follows as one of the major achievements in the plan for the gorge.

D. Presentation of the 25-year plan of acquisition, protection, and administration of the Columbia River Gorge to Gov. Paul Patterson by the Columbia River Gorge Commission. This plan resulted from a thorough and extensive study by members of the commission—Gertrude Jensen, chairman; George Ruby, attorney and member of the commission; Dan Pierson, member, and former president of the Chamber of Commerce of Hood River.

This plan was based on the 2-year study for the protection of the gorge as contained in the Northwest regional planning report of which Mr. Dana was chairman. This study was made for the protection of the natural scenery in the gorge at the time Bonneville Dam was built. Marshall Dana was chairman of the Northwest Regional Planning Committee and Mr. John Yeon, Jr., headed the committee of outstanding citizens who made a study of the gorge known as the Columbia River Gorge Committee. This plan was never carried out as the planning board of the State under Governor Martin was abolished by the next session of the legislature; Ormond Dean was chairman of this board. This book containing the plan for the preservation of the gorge was filed away in the State capitol since 1937 and is probably still there with no one authorized to do anything toward carrying out this plan.

Four years ago, Mr. Merriam, head of the National Park Service for region 4 in San Francisco, wrote me about his excellent report and study and felt that if I could obtain this volume, therein would be our solution. This report has been our guide.

E. The first gift—150 acres of land and timber of great value and scenic beauty near Mitchell Point, in the Columbia River Gorge, and intercepted by both highways and bordering along the Columbia River—presented to the State of Oregon, through the Columbia River Gorge Commission, on Christmas eve, 1954, by Anton A. Lausmann and Joseph H. Lausmann, in memory of their father, Vincenz Lausmann.

The 48th Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon in 1955 passed house joint resolution 21, expressing the appreciation of the people of the State of Oregon to the donors of this generous commemorative gift—the first gift made to the commission.

F. An amendment to Columbia River Gorge senate bill 332, giving the commission the power to transfer property and appropriating money for the use of the commission for expenses and acquisition. This amendment was introduced by Senator Pat Longergan and Representative Tom, at the request of the Portland Women's Forum. No money was appropriated for the use of the commission or for acquisition, but an agreement with the State highway commission that a sum of $50,000 be set aside for acquisition of areas in the Columbia River Gorge, as recommended by the Columbia River Gorge Commission.

As a result, the State highway commission, through their parks department, has cooperated with the gorge commission in their study of essential scenic areas to be acquired by providing the services of Mr. Ray Landon, negotiator for the right-of-way department, and Mr. Merriam, forester, to contact the owners of the several parcels of property on which the commission has requested a report.

G. The efforts of the Columbia River Gorge Commission and Governor Patterson are centered on Washington, D. C., to restore the former exchange policy of the Forest Service of land and timber for stumpage to facilitate the exchanges.

It is hoped that these efforts to make the gorge a special case in the matter of exchange will be successful.

Also:

1. The cooperation of the county commissioners of Multnomah County making 80 acres in Oneonta Gorge and 40 acres at St. Peter's Dome available to the Mount Hood Forest Service at a price of $4,000.

2. The very important assistance of Charles Ladd, Sr., farm forester of the State department of forestry, in preparing a book of current ownerships in the gorge from the Sandy River to Hood River and also the status of each parcel of land relative to land use—logged, when logged, first or second growth, and other relative facts.

3. The purchase of Chanticlier Point by the ladies of the Portland Women's Forum which will be presented to the State of Oregon as a gift through the Columbia River Gorge Commission and to be developed as a park, as, from this point is obtained the first view of the magnificent gorge of the Columbia River. Chanticlier Point is one of the world famous view points.

4. Appointment of M. K. Wolfe as coordinator and executive secretary of the

Columbia River Gorge Commission pro tempore—until a permanent arrangement is made. This was done through the efforts of the National Park Service. Mr. Wolfe is a retired top official of the district office of the United States National Forest Service in the Division of Recreation and Lands. This appointment was made to become active May 1, 1956.

5. Restoration of former exchange policy of land and lumber for timber by the Forest Service on five parcels of land under consideration for exchange.

This is a partial list of the major accomplishments.

The Post Office Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, Post Office Department policies have brought considerable criticism in my district, as I know they have in all parts of the Nation. I would like to include, with my remarks, Mr. Speaker, an interesting editorial on the subject from the Birdsboro (Pa.) Dispatch, which follows:

THE POST OFFICE QUESTION

Every time we talk about the operations of the Post Office Department we have trouble with our mail deliveries. More trouble, that is, than ordinarily. Nevertheless we feel that recent events in the postal service demand some sort of comment.

Last Saturday, perhaps for the first time in history, post offices across the United States were closed up tight. The Postmaster General blamed Congress for the circumstance, and Congress accused the Postmaster General.

The wrangle which brought on the closing, in our opinion, has reflected no credit at all to either party in the dispute. In a rather arrogant fashion, the public service has been subverted to the political uses of both parties.

The heritage of that Department is that its service cannot be halted by either snow, nor rain, nor gloom of night. But what nature cannot accomplish, partisan politics has achieved with a vengeance. The service was suspended in what amounts to nothing more than a political jockeying for advantage.

Postmaster General Summerfield contends that he needs $47 million to maintain the former level of service for the final 3 months of the current fiscal year. Congress, with equal vigor, has denied him that sum.

Lost in the smoke of the controversy at hand is the fact that the Postmaster General knew full well last July 1 just exactly how much money he had to run his department for the full year.

He argues that the money which he is now short has been spent in maintaining full service during the past 9 months. While this fact may be true, it raises the issue of moral conduct. Was the Postmaster General morally right in borrowing sums for service last fall from the money allocated for service this spring?

We do not think that such practices were justified. And in their practice we believe that the Postmaster General performed a grave injustice not only to the people whom he deprived of the service for which they have paid but to the administration which he serves as well.

Hallmark of Republican policy down through the years has been the application of established business practices to the conduct of public affairs. That is one reason why the people of the United States entrusted the affairs of government to Republican hands.

Certainly no businessman of any stature would drain the funds of his venture to the last drop and then rush off to the bank or to his customers crying for more money. Certainly no businessman of any stature would employ such arrogant tactics in achieving his ends.

One point which the Postmaster General and Congress, to a lesser extent, seem to have forgotten is that the real bosses of the Government are not the various public officials in Washington but the people whom the postal service is supposed to serve.

And one point that everyone concerned seems to have chosen to ignore is that those people are entitled to full service. There have been rather vigorous efforts to imply that the mails, as they are set up, serve not the people but certain segments of business.

This argument is as spurious as a $3 bill. People pay taxes. Out of the money derived from these taxes, the Government is supposed to provide certain services. There is no question that the postal service is one of these because that is one function specifically assigned to the Federal Government by the Constitution of the United States.

It may be argued that the income from the sales of postage stamps and other fees are not sufficient to operate the Post Office Department. But what of the money that the Government receives from taxes?

If this idea of self-sufficiency is to be applied to the postal service, why is it not applied to the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare? Each of these performs some service, or there is no legitimate reason for the existence of the departments.

If the users of mail must carry the full burden of the department's costs or suffer a cutback of service, why should farmers not also carry the full burden of the costs of the Agriculture Department? Farmers should, by the same logic, pay for all the research and subsidies which they receive.

There is a lot of talk these days about modern Republicanism. We cannot but wonder if the curtailed mail service is supposed to be a manifestation of this innovation. If it is, we trust that we shall be forgiven for doubting the future success at the polls of the Republican Party.

The Late William H. Stafford

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with my colleagues in expressing regret at the news of the passing away of William H. Stafford, a former Member of this body from Milwaukee, Wis.

A quarter of a century has passed since the late William H. Stafford served his last term in the House of Representatives, but the image of his personality is still vivid in the memory of some of his former colleagues and contemporaries. He was a colorful, outspoken man. During his service in our national legislature he was associated with early advocacy of independence for the Philippines, abolition of "lame duck" sessions, and modification of the prohibition law.

He was among a handful of Members who voted against the entry of the United States into World War I. Eleven years later he again opposed certain of our activities in the international scene.

The late William H. Stafford lived to be 87 years of age. He is survived by a sister, Mrs. Ella Steiner, Milwaukee; a niece, Mrs. John M. Lindsay, Milwaukee, and two nephews, Fred J. Siekert, of Milwaukee, and Stafford Siekert of Apple Valley, Calif.

I wish to convey to them my sincere condolences at this time.

Progress in Our Military Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I rise to report to the House that our military program is moving along nicely. I have just been advised by the Department of the Army that this week 4,523 young men entered the Army part of this program. Of this number, 2,244 were 18½ years of age or older, the Army states, and 2,279 are under 18½ years.

Since the Reserve Forces Act of 1955 was passed by the Congress, there have been made criticisms of the operation of the program under the 6-month training act. Suffice it to note at this time that of these 4,523 men entering the Army program—does not include the National Guard—this week, 3,080 came in under the 6-month training provisions.

The Army also informs me that a total of 161,329 young men are now enlisted under the Army Reserve program. This is clear evidence, in my opinion, that our Reserve program is definitely developing and should give our people confidence in its future.

As with most successful programs, however, additional problems arise. This is especially true of our Reserve program. With the increasing influx of younger men into this program, there come the difficulties of providing them with adequate training facilities, equipment and competent instructors at unit level. A part of this problem is that of supplying military clothing for these men in needed amounts. The Army indicates that these problems will be extremely difficult to handle in some localities, particularly the one pertaining to capable instructors.

These are but a few of the problems which this program presents to the Army and which must be ironed out as the Reserves continue to increase in size and move to their ultimate strength. This is a very favorable situation, even with the present problems, and one which will result in time in developing the best military Reserve program in the world.

Address by Assistant Attorney General Perry W. Morton Before the Washington Pilgrimage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, it was my pleasure last Saturday to introduce the Honorable Perry W. Morton, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, to the audience of the Washington Pilgrimage. Mr. Morton there delivered a most interesting address, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN ADDRESS BY HONORABLE PERRY W. MORTON, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, PREPARED FOR DELIVERY AT THE WASHINGTON PILGRIMAGE, UNITED STATES CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1957

It is indeed a privilege to share a few thoughts with you today concerning the significant theme which has brought us all together in this room. We come from many different backgrounds. Our ancestors embarked from numerous shores. We represent many geographic areas. We hold various specific religious beliefs. But we are here with a common concern and unity of purpose. Actually this pilgrimage is symbolic of what is finest and best in this city of Washington. For what is Washington but a bit of Kansas, California, Texas, Florida, Maine, Oregon, and all the rest, all melted together.

The point I wish to emphasize in these few minutes is: The essential unity which exists among us notwithstanding our differences, and in some respect, indeed, because of our differences. The Apostle Paul, in one of his great letters to the young church at Corinth, put the idea in these timeless words: "Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are varieties of service, but the same Lord; and there are varieties of working, but it is the same God who inspires them all in every one. To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good" (I Corinthians 12: 4–7).

It is because of this fundamental unity—to often obscured—that I, as a member of the executive branch of the Government, am not only free but honored to salute the Members of both Houses of the Congress, here present with you, no matter on which side of the aisle they may sit, for their common dedication to the principles which make this country great.

Many of you have often been puzzled, as I have been, why restraint, order and peace should prevail within our country to such a great degree, but the world outside is often torn asunder by such savagery, dissension and war.

It seems to me that we find peace where there is general agreement among our peoples as to what is right and just. It is upon this foundation that our internal laws beget such general respect and obedience.

Our way of life is one of trust in each other and in the judgment of the courts; of tolerance for each other's ideas and standards; of protecting the weak against the strong; of mediating our controversies with patience and fair compromise and abiding by the decision; of treating our neighbors as we want them to treat us; of recognizing the differences among our peoples and respecting them; of reducing inequalities and eradicating injustice; of acknowledging that progress cannot be stopped but must be attained by representative process; of regulating the course of public affairs to the needs of the people. These are at least some of the important ingredients of order and peace at home.

The President has aptly observed that "Men of widely divergent views in our country live in peace together because they share certain common aspirations which are more important than their differences."

These common aspirations, to which the President referred, all stem from one basically religious idea which is the cornerstone of our system of government. Indeed, it is not oversimplification to say that there are just two plans of government in all the world, and in all the history of the world There is the one which we call democracy, in which the individual is the citizen. And there is the other which we call dictatorship, in which the individual is the subject. No matter what they are called, that is the difference. It is immaterial whether the dictatorship is one which historically passed under the name of absolute monarchy, or whether it is a dictatorship of the right, like nazism, or one of the left, like communism. The one plan, called democracy, is based upon the essentially religous ideal of individual dignity and the infinitely precious value of each human soul. Under the other plan, currently identified as communism, the individual is degraded to being the puppet of an all powerful state. It is utterly amazing to observe the brazenness with which this Godlessly materialistic communism asserts that it is the revolutionary plan. As Dr. Elton Trueblood has so well described in his book Declaration of Freedom, "the free society is always and everywhere the revolutionary society." This great country of ours was born in revolution. The real revolution in this or any other time is the emancipation of man. Communism is not the wave of the future. It is the convulsive tremor of the dead past—a throwback to all that is cruel and ignoble in the character of man. Tyranny and dictators are as old as the Sphinx.

It is essential for us to understand that what we face is not merely an economic system, but a perverted faith, which is fanatical in temperament, missionary in the methods of its own expansion, and a substitute for God in the minds of its adherents. By its cleverly devious processes of subversion, including unscrupulous distortion of democracy's vocabulary, it succeeds in making helpers of many dupes whose empty talk corrodes the safeguards of true liberty.

That is why it is so tremendously important for us to understand that freedom is a treasure which is not purchased once and for all, but must be affirmatively preserved in every age and generation. That is why we must continuously cultivate our common aspiration that this shall be, indeed, one Nation under God. But let us be sure that we keep the picture of this motto right side up. Like any picture, it is confusing upside down. In this room of the United States Senate, it is especially fitting that we should, in this connection, recall the words of Peter Marshall, Chaplain of the Senate until his death in 1949: "The idea may be abroad in some quarters," said Dr. Marshall, "that democracy is the thing that must be preserved * * * and that God is to be brought in as its servant. We must not get the cart before the horse. The plea of the church today is not that people shall call upon God to return to democracy and bless it * * * but rather that we shall together cause our democracy to return to God and be blessed."

Dr. Marshall's point, of course, is that it is up to us to keep ourselves in tune with God's plans, instead of expecting Him to be some sort of a "gimmick" for getting what we want. It is not enough merely to be against the Communist conspiracy. We must act affirmatively for peace and freedom in order to make the brotherhood of man a reality. The only way to meet a perverted faith is by the living and spreading abroad of a better faith, penetrating all of the world with the dream of a society that is both just and free. We cannot do this by hiding in our closets singing some silly, shallow, sentimental, escapist, jukebox tune like, Have You Talked With the Man Upstairs? Religious faith does not provide an advance guaranty of immunity from risk, danger, and suffering. The God who spared not His own Son does not call us to walk in a garden, or to ride on an escalator above the turmoil of the human scene into a Beulah land. Men's finest hours come in times of ordeal, not in placid periods of tranquillity. It is especially in such hours that we, who are citizens of a nation under God instead of subjects of a godless state, find our unity towering above our differences. In unison and steadfast trust we can all say together: "God is King, be the earth never so unquiet."

Where Are We Headed in the Middle East?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am including as part of my remarks an interesting editorial that appeared in the Wall Street Journal and which points out the dangers that exist in the Middle East area.

The article follows:

CAUTION: EXPLOSIVES

As this is written the United States moves in the Middle East appear to have been successful.

At any rate King Hussein has regained some political stability for his country. The possibility that Jordan might be invaded by its immediate neighbors has diminished. And the Eisenhower administration can claim persuasively that its implicit warnings of United States intervention contributed to this favorable turn of events.

So we can all sigh with relief at the passing of this particular crisis. Perhaps also we can use this welcome breathing spell to take stock in a way that is difficult to do when events hang in the balance. Otherwise there is the danger that the successful passing of perils may persuade us the journey has become less perilous.

For good or ill the United States has got itself deeper and deeper into the maelstrom of the Middle East. In the last fortnight the Government has gone much farther than we understood the intent of the Eisenhower doctrine, and in so doing it has assumed new risks that ought to be fully measured.

The Eisenhower doctrine, as we think the public understood it, was a declaration that if any country in the Middle East was a victim of Communist aggression the United States would answer its appeal for help. It strikes us that this doctrine had to be stretched considerably to cover the troubles in Jordan.

Jordan itself is an artificial country. It was carved out of the Arabian desert by the British after World War I; until recently it was supported, economically and politically, by Britain. Its population consists of an unstable mixture of Circassian Moslems,

Arab Moslems, and Arab Christians to which have lately been added some 600,000 Arab refugees from Palestine.

Jordan thus has always had built-in stresses that have nothing to do with the political ideologies of communism. It had hardly obtained independence in 1946 before one king was assassinated. The next king was removed by Parliament and his son, the present king, has sat ever since upon an uneasy throne.

The interest of the Communists in this is undeniable. They are delighted by the strife and they have done everything to encourage it. But the notion that King Hussein leads a country that is united behind him except for the threat of international communism does not square with the known facts.

The real struggle is all mixed up with Jordanian nationalism, pan-Arabianism, anger at Israel, and lingering resentments from the long years of Western colonialism. It would be an explosive situation with or without the Communists.

To mix into this situation by rushing naval fleets and marine battalions into the area is a dangerous business. Our intervention has been welcomed by hardly anyone, except perhaps the King himself. In Jordan the Eisenhower doctrine is an inflammatory phrase—Mr. Richards with $200 million of Eisenhower doctrine aid to spend hasn't dared poke his nose into the place. Elsewhere in the Arab world we have made it easier for the Communists to talk about American imperialism.

We have also thereby acquired some new risks for the future. If the tenuous stability in Jordan gives way—and it is very likely to—what do we do with our fleets and our marines? To justify our action we have said that Jordan is vital to our interests. Do we invade it? Do we prop King Hussein on the throne with force? Are we prepared to fight Syria, Israel, Egypt, or Saudi Arabia to save Jordan if it should come to that? Or are we only bluffing?

Furthermore, if political stability in so small a country as Jordan is vital to us, what about the internal affairs of larger and more important countries in that area?

The Eisenhower doctrine, alone and without embellishment, was a major undertaking. It was an avowal that we would protect this area, if it wanted protection, from an aggression rooted in international communism. But whatever else this crisis in Jordan has been, and however much the Communists have shrewdly exploited it, its roots lie in the internal political stresses of the country, not in international communism. To inject ourselves into this situation is to go beyond the Eisenhower doctrine.

Some will reply that it is a logical extension of that doctrine. They say the time has come for the United States to recognize its responsibilities in that whole area, whatever the internal forces that threaten the peace, because any explosion would benefit the Communists.

Perhaps so. But if we are going to play around with such explosives, we had better be prepared to have them blow up in our face.

Examiner Rules FTC Has No Power To Act on Food Fair Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

Monday, March 25, 1957

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, a recent ruling by a Federal Trade Commission hearing examiner leaves a hole in our antitrust laws big enough to shove an industry through.

The ruling is the subject of the following story in the April 19, 1957, issue of the Wall Street Journal:

EXAMINER RULES FTC HAS NO POWER TO ACT ON FOOD FAIR CASE—FIRM'S MEATPACKING OPERATIONS PLACED IT UNDER FARM AGENCY CONTROL, HE MAINTAINS

WASHINGTON.—A Federal Trade Commission examiner ruled that the agency has no power to act against Food Fair Stores, Inc., Philadelphia, because the east-coast grocery chain operates a meatpacking plant.

Examiner Frank Hier held that the Agriculture Department has exclusive jurisdiction over meatpackers. The Agriculture Department's responsibilities extend, he added, even to a meatpacker's nonpacking operations.

FTC staff lawyers argued that giving the Agriculture Department sole jurisdiction over companies with packing interests would lead to absurd results. According to the staff, Mr. Hier's recommendation would permit a business to choose FTC or Agriculture Department regulation simply by acquiring or getting rid of a packing plant.

The examiner, however, said it's not up to him to interpret what he called the clear law. He noted that legislation is pending to give the Commission power to regulate the nonpacking activities of meatpackers.

Mr. Hier recommended dismissal of a 17-month-old FTC complaint against Food Fair. The chain was accused of inducing special promotional allowances from its suppliers which it knew or should have known were not being offered to its competitors. The dismissal order is subject to review by the full FTC.

Food Fair is a large supermarket grocery chain along the Atlantic seaboard. Its sales in the 28-week period ended November 10, 1956, were $279,373,768. Since 1945, Food Fair has operated a meatpacking plant in Elizabeth, N. J., which sells aout $25 million in meat products each year, the FTC said.

As the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] has pointed out, the meat packers' exemption from surveillance by the Federal Tradé Commission "poses grave threats to the continued usefulness of the FTC and to its ability to proceed against unfair and discriminatory practices by any American company."

The Packers' and Stockyards Act of 1921 took away from the Trade Commission jurisdiction over unfair trade practices in the meat packing and related industries and gave it to the Secretary of Agriculture.

A number of us would restore jurisdiction to the Trade Commission. The lead has been taken by the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] and the gentleman from Utah [Mr. DIXON]. In the other body where hearings have begun, the amendment is sponsored by the senior Senator from Wyoming, Senator O'MAHONEY, and the senior Senator from Utah, Senator WATKINS.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER], chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary and of its Antitrust Subcommittee, has urged hearings on these bills in a letter to the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HARRIS], which appeared in the RECORD of April 29, 1957, on page A3163.

In that letter he pointed out that any industry—tire producers, battery manufacturers, automobile manufacturers, integrated oil companies, or any other industrial giant—could squeeze through this loophole outside antitrust enforcement by the Federal Trade Commission.

The danger to our competitive free enterprise system also has aroused the National Federation of Independent Business, whose vice president, Mr. George J. Burger, has written the following letters to me and to the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission:

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS,
Washington, D. C. April 19, 1957.

Hon. LEE METCALF,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Note my letter to Chairman Gwynne of the FTC and the attached copy of clipping.

Truthfully it will take some men of your type to spearhead the fight to have immediate correction made of this situation.

The remaining independents in the food industry or the retail meat industry will be through if the Government and the administration doesn't take the appropriate action.

The platforms of both political parties contained a pledge for allout vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws to protect small business. Now we put the question: "Will the pledge be kept?"

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. BURGER,
Vice President.

APRIL 19, 1957.

Hon. JOHN GWYNNE,
Chairman, Federal Trade Commission,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR JUDGE: You, no doubt, are well aware of the action of the examiner in ruling that the Federal Trade Commission has no power to act in the Food Fair case.

If this wretched situation is allowed to continue, for practical purposes, due to divided authority in enforcement of the antitrust laws, it goes without saying, as we review the scene, that antitrust laws are worthless to protect the free-enterprise system.

This ruling will also cause a new defense for those who are charged under the FTC Act with alleged violation of the antitrust laws.

With airlines being exempt from antitrust laws, interstate carriers, and food chains where they are operating a meatpacking institution, we wonder where it is all going to end.

It is our hope that the Commission will take appropriate action in the present Congress in seeing to it that a correction is forthcoming at the earliest possible moment.

With some other cases pending—not applying to the FTC—we put the question: "When does equal justice under the law prevail?"

Would you be kind enough to bring my letter to the attention of your fellow commissioners, and as the National Federation is committed by its nationwide membership for all-out vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws, we will leave no stone unturned to bring about this correction.

Waiting to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. BURGER,
Vice President.

The Western States Meat Packers Association, of San Francisco, Calif., describes the situation as follows:

FTC SAYS IT HAS NO JURISDICTION OVER RETAIL GROCERY CHAIN WHICH OWNS A MEATPACKING PLANT

A Federal Trade Commission examiner issued an order on April 18, 1957, to dis-

miss, for lack of jurisdiction, a complaint against Food Fair Stores, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa. The FTC examiner, Frank Hier, said Food Fair is a meatpacker under the terms of the Packers and Stockyards Act and, therefore, is under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Secretary of Agriculture on all its operations.

The Federal Trade Commission had charged that Food Fair Stores, Inc., had violated the Robinson-Patman amendment to the Clayton Act by inducing special promotional allowances from food suppliers which the company knew were not being offered to its smaller competitors.

Food Fair is a supermarket grocery chain of 238 stores along the Atlantic Seaboard having an annual business of $475 million. The company also operates a meat packing plant in Elizabeth, New Jersey. Food Fair is listed and licensed by the Department of Agriculture as a packer.

Examiner Hier said the Packers and Stockyards Act is clear and unambiguous and provides that "the Federal Trade Commission shall have no power nor jurisdiction so far as relating to any matter which by this act is made subject to the jurisdiction of the Secretary."

This decision by Examiner Hier has thrown the American business community into a chaotic situation. Mr. Hier has stated that any company under FTC jurisdiction can escape supervision of its trade practices by acquiring a 20 percent interest in a meatpacking plant.

This is a problem of great importance because the Department of Agriculture does not have the legal power to administer the provisions of the Clayton Act or the provision of the Robinson-Patman amendment. Furthermore the enforcement provisions of the Packers and Stockyards Act relating to monopolistic acts and unfair competition are almost altogether neglected because the Department of Agriculture has no staff to enforce its responsibility in this field.

Enforcement in the Department of Agriculture is also lacking for still another reason. The Packers and Stockyards Branch is relegated to a commodity Division in the Agricultural Marketing Service and is supervised up the line by economists and research specialists who have no specialized training in the field of monopolistic practices or unfair competition. In fact, the enforcement of fair trade practices would interfere with the regular work of the Department in which these men are interested.

In addition to these unfavorable factors for effective enforcement in the Department of Agriculture, it should be noted that USDA does not have an appropriation for an enforcement staff, but in recent years the Department has vetoed every effort of the Packers and Stockyards Branch to obtain an appropriation for this purpose.

For instance, last year the branch requested that $200,000 be placed in the USDA budget to employ personnel to start enforcing the meatpacker provisions of the act. The entire amount requested by the branch was knocked out of the budget by the Department itself. The request was not submitted to the Bureau of the Budget or the Congress.

The Department of Agriculture also has refused to request a supplemental appropriation from Congress for enforcement purposes for the year beginning July 1, 1957. The Department has opposed the establishment of a separate agency within the Department for enforcement purposes.

Unless the Department of Agriculture is willing to ask for an adequate appropriation, and to establish a separate enforcement within the Department to conduct this work, there is no chance for effective enforcement of fair-trade practices in that agency.

Accordingly, your association has asked other business organizations to cooperate with us in restoring supervision of meatpacker practices to the Federal Trade Commission. There probably will be no satisfactory enforcement of laws dealing with fair competition until all businessmen are under the same law and the same degree of enforcement.

We strongly urge our members to write their Senators and their Representatives in Congress to support S. 1356, H. R. 5282, H. R. 5283, and H. R. 5454. Passage of these bills could bring about proper public regulation of unfair trade practices.

As this law stands, any company under Federal Trade Commission jurisdiction can get out from under by buying a meatpacking plant. Congress should act promptly to plug this loophole which is a threat to our competitive free enterprise system.

The Vital Role of American Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, it was my privilege yesterday to speak to a group of women before whom Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest, the able Treasurer of the United States, delivered a speech. I had the honor to introduce her. I ask unanimous consent that a statement I have prepared regarding women prominent in government in this country, together with a list of such women, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement and list were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE VITAL ROLE OF AMERICAN WOMEN

On several occasions, I have commented upon the increasingly significant role played by American women throughout our entire Nation.

Americans understand and welcome this fact.

By now, it is no particular news to the American people to point out that women already own an estimated two-thirds of the national wealth, or that women already constitute one-third of America's labor force.

What may not be generally realized, however, is the welcome extent to which American women are coming into their own—in occupying positions of importance in the business, political, professional and public service life of our land.

MRS. PRIEST, GUEST OF INVEST LUNCHEON

Yesterday, I had the pleasure of being host at a luncheon of the National Invest-in-America Committee.

One of our honored guest speakers was the able Treasurer of the United States, Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest. She symbolizes, I believe, the vital role which women play in our economic life—as investers, as taxpayers and in many other financial capacities.

OUTSTANDING WOMEN LEADERS IN EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Recently, I noted an article by Josephine Ripley in the Christian Science Monitor, in which she enumerated some of the outstanding women like Mrs. Priest, who have been serving in government with high distinction.

Included among them are, of course, such excellent public servants as former Ambassador Clare Booth Luce; the former Assistant United States Treasurer, and later Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, Catherine B. Cleary, of Milwaukee; the former Deputy Administrator of Civil Defense, Mrs. Katherine Howard; the former Deputy Director of Foreign Operations, Mrs. Hiram C. Houghton.

And currently, we enjoy the continued services of the Director of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, Mrs. Alice Leopold; the Chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board, Mrs. Dorothy McCullough Lee; our representative on the United Nations Human Rights Commission, Mrs. Oswald B. Lord; the newly nominated Ambassador to Norway (formerly Ambassador to Switzerland) Mrs. Francis Willis. (Mrs. Willis symbolizes, in turn, the very welcome increase in the participation of women in America's Foreign Service.)

So, too, in the honored ranks of Government, are the newly confirmed Director of the Children's Bureau, Katherin Oettinger, who succeeds another outstanding woman, Dr. Martha M. Eliot.

ABLE MEMBERS IN LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

Of course, here in the Senate we are proud of the invaluable services of the senior Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH]. In the House of Representatives too, is a sizable contingent of able women legislators of both parties.

WOMEN SERVING AT HIGHER LEVELS

In still another article in the Monitor, in this instance, by Mary Handy, a significant fact was pointed out: In 1870, only fourtenths of 1 percent of the women working had executive-level jobs. In 1930, that proportion of higher-level workers had risen to 3 percent, and by 1956 the level had gone up to 6 percent.

APPOINTMENT OF WHITE HOUSE ASSOCIATE PRESS SECRETARY

And recently, within the past few weeks, no less a personage than the President of the United States has rightly recognized women's higher level role, by appointing Mrs. Anne Wheaton as Associate Press Secretary at the White House.

ENCOURAGE RISING FROM THE RANKS

I am pleased to comment on this general subject, because, in my judgment, every possible encouragement should be given to this trend.

This Nation needs skilled manpower and skilled womanpower. Even more important, it needs skilled brain power—irrespective of sex—brain power for the advancement of this Republic.

We cannot afford to squander any talent. We cannot allow individuals of great promise to be kept at lower employment levels, simply because they happen to be of the fair sex.

We learned during World War II through the WACS, the WAVES, the Women Marines, the SPARS, how we benefited as a nation when we secured women's services, virtually alongside their fighting men.

Yes, we learned, too, through our experience with wartime factories, from Rosie, the Riveter, that women are ready, willing, and eager to serve their land in ever-new capacities.

RESPONSIBILITIES AS MOTHERS

Naturally, their primary responsibilities rightly remain as mothers of the race, as guardians with their husbands of the Nation's homes. But that need not detract from their appropriate contributions elsewhere.

I send to the desk now a few brief supplementary comments, along with a long and enheartening list of top women leaders selected by the Eisenhower administration.

This list comes, incidentally, from the office of Miss Bertha Adkins, assistant chairman of the Republican National Committee, in her own right, one of our most prominent women leaders.

I ask unanimous consent that these comments and the list be printed at this point in the body of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY

If each of us looked at our respective States, we could quickly find an outstanding group of women who amply represent the type of woman leader whom I am describing, and whom I am seeking to encourage.

We would find them in the General Federation of Women's Clubs, in the League of Women Voters, in the American Association of University Women, in the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, in the American Legion Auxiliary, and in innumerable other religious, ethnic, social, professional, and other groups.

We would find them in the Republican and Democratic Party units at the grassroots. We would see them serving with and for the Nation's hospitals, schools, orphan homes, welfare institutions, underprivileged service centers, and in many other connections.

Were time and space no factors, I could cite a great many such fine ladies from my own State of Wisconsin.

A LEADING WOMAN IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

I shall, however, set forth a few brief facts concerning one particular woman whose fine record has come to my attention from folks who highly respect her.

She is not from my State, but rather resides here in the District of Columbia where there is no Senator nor Representative to speak up in this manner for folks of merit.

And she is not in government, but rather is in private enterprise.

This particular woman has served as past president of the local Soroptimist International.

She is vice president of the Connecticut Avenue Association, and an active member of the board of directors of the Central Charge organization.

She has been prominent in the field of giving public recognition to what is well described as "juvenile decency." (I refer to the fact that most of our youngsters are fundamentally decent, and only a handful—less than 5 percent—become juvenile delinquents.)

During the past 12 years, she has been serving our veterans at Bethesda Naval Hospital, helping to rehabilitate them.

When the news of the magnificent Hungarian rebellion against Communist tyranny flashed to the world, she was one of the first here in the District area to take action. She and her employees eagerly agreed on the donation of proceeds of a portion of their business time for Hungarian relief. Similarly, she has arranged to bring several Hungarian refugees here to become self-supporting jobholders.

Her field—her business—is one which an uninformed person might not ordinarily think of in terms of a major United States business. And yet it is one, according to economists. It is that of dancing instruction.

The lady of whom I speak is the president of the Arthur Murray Studios of the Metropolitan Washington area. She is also regional director of 25 studios in 8 States and the District.

Her District business is, I understand, the most successful such franchise operation out of many such successes in the Nation. And she has built it herself during less than 20 years. She has built it with the philosophy of service, the sound, spiritual philosophy of contributing to character and human development.

She herself represents the ideals she seeks to advance, for she started humbly as a clerk in the Chase National Bank at $65 per month. And she worked her way up—an enterprising, dedicated woman in a so-called man's world—a pioneering woman, who grew with what had been an unknown industry, but what is now a vast industry throughout the Nation.

Indeed, the industry is extending overseas, for she is opening up a studio in Frankfort shortly—the first such American studio on the European Continent.

The lady's name is Ethel Pistere.

I have never had the pleasure of meeting this fine lady, or even any of her associates.

I select her as an example—a worthy example—of folks whom we may not know, but whom we may well admire.

CONCLUSION—LET WORLD'S WOMEN TAKE NOTE

Known or unknown, famous or less famous, in public or in private life, in everyday matters or in unique jobs, they are rendering significant service to the Nation.

In light dancing, or in serious diplomacy, in Wall Street or Main Street, I say: "More power to our women of ability—in serving this Nation."

Let the women of the world take inspiration from the women of America—from the Helen Kellers of America who have conquered every conceivable handicap, from the Susan B. Anthony's who have championed womens' equal role, from the women columnists and the women presidents of corporations and women scientists and educators and leaders in all walks of life.

TOP WOMEN APPOINTMENTS IN THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION

(Listed in order of appointment)

1. Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby,[1] Houston, Tex. (member of President's Cabinet) (resigned), Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.—

2. Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest,[1] Bountiful, Utah, Treasurer of the United States.

3. Mrs. Oswald B. Lord,[1] New York, N. Y., United States Representative on Human Rights Commission of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations; alternate United States representative to the 8th session of U. N. General Assembly (1953); alternate United States representative to the 9th session of U. N. General Assembly (1954); alternate United States representative to the 10th session of U. N. General Assembly (1955); alternate United States representative to the 11th session of the U. N. General Assembly (1956).

4. Mrs. Daniel J. Schenider,[1] Lakewood, Colo., Superintendent of the United States Mint at Denver.

5. Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce,[1] Ridgefield, Conn., United States Ambassador to Italy.

6. Mrs. Katherine G. Howard,[1] Boston, Mass., Special Adviser to the Federal Civil Defense Administrator (served first as Deputy Administrator), member, National Civil Defense Advisory Council.

7. Mrs. Lorena B. Hahn,[1] Omaha, Nebr., United States Representative on Status of Women Commission, United Nations.

8. Mrs. Hiram C. Houghton,[1] Red Oak, Iowa, member, Public Advisory Group on Refugee Relief Program, Department of State, formerly Deputy Director for Refugees and Migration, International Cooperation Administration (also Foreign Operations Administration).

9. Miss Albina R. Cermak,[1] Cleveland, Ohio, Collector of Customs at Cleveland.

10. Miss Catherine B. Cleary,[1] Milwaukee (resigned, June 1954), Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (first named Assistant United States Treasurer).

11. Mrs. Georgia France McCoy, Oklahoma City, Okla., Assistant to the Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

12. Mrs. Rae V. Biester,[1] Drexel Hill, Pa., Superintendent of the United States Mint at Philadelphia.

13. Mrs. Lottie Randolph, Columbus, Ohio, Assistant to Administrator, Farmers' Home Administration, Department of Agriculture.

Footnote at end of speech.

14. Miss Mildred E. Reeves,[1] Washington, D. C., Associate Judge, Municipal Court of the District of Columbia.

15. Mrs. Consuelo Northrop Bailey (resigned), South Burlington, Vt., member, Advisory Board, United States Post Office Department.

16. Miss Frances E. Willis,[1] Redlands, Calif., United States Ambassador to Switzerland.

17. Mrs. Elizabeth Shirley Enochs,[1] Lorton, Va., United States technical delegate on directing council of American International Institute for Protection of Childhood.

18. Dr. Bess Goodykoontz,[1] Iowa, alternate United States delegate, directing council of American International Institute for Protection of Childhood.

19. Mrs. Wendell Willkie,[1] New York City, N. Y.;

20. Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr.,[1] Oyster Bay, N. Y., members, American Battle Monuments Commisison.

21. Mrs. Wilfreda J. Lytle, Wilmington, Del., Director, Women's Activities (Second Region), Federal Civil Defense Administration.

22. Dr. Beatrice Aitchison, Portland, Oreg., Director, Transportation Research, Bureau of Transportation, United States Post Office Department.

23. Mrs. Daphne Leeds,[1] Atlantic City, N. J., Assistant Commissioner of Patents, Department of Commerce.

24. Miss Roberta Church, Chicago, Ill., consultant to minority groups, Department of Labor.

25. Mrs. Dorothy McCullough Lee,[1] Portland, Oreg., formerly member, Board of Parole, Department of Justice.

26. Mrs. Frances P. Bolton,[1] Cleveland, Ohio, United States representative, eighth session, United Nations General Assembly.

27. Mrs. F. Peavey Heffelfinger,[1] Wayzata, Minn., alternate United States delegate to UNESCO (United Nations) conference in 1953. United States delegate to eighth and ninth general UNESCO conference in Montevideo in 1954 and 1956, respectively. Also, in 1953, public member, 16th session of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, Geneva, 1953.

28. Miss Cleta Smith,[1] St. Louis, Mo., United States collector of customs at St. Louis.

29. Mrs. Olivia Erpenbach,[1] Minneapolis, Minn., collector of customs at Minneapolis.

30. Mrs. Helen Rogers Reid,[1] New York, N. Y., member, Government Contracts Committee.

31. Dr. Jean T. McKelvey, Ithaca, N. Y., member, advisory committee to the Secretary of Labor.

32. Mrs. Frances Lee,[1] San Mateo, N. Mex., member, Inter-American Commission of Women, Department of State.

33. Mrs. Raymond Sayre,[1] Ackworth, Iowa, member, Agricultural Advisory Commission; member, Commission on Congressional and Judicial Salaries.

34. Mrs. Alice K. Leopold,[1] Weston, Conn., Assistant to Secretary of Labor for Women's Affairs; also Director of Women's Bureau, Labor Department; public member, Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

35. Mrs. Lovilla Lalor, Santa Rosa, Calif., Director, Women's Activities (region 7), Federal Civil Defense Administration.

36. Mrs. Ada Mucklestone, Chicago, Ill., Director, Women's Activities (fourth region), Federal Civil Defense Administration.

37. Mrs. Frances Diehl, San Francisco, Calif., Director, Reception Center, San Francisco (liaison with visiting governmental guests and exchange students for U. S. State Department).

38. Mrs. Carmel Carrington Marr, Brooklyn, N. Y., assistant to the United States Ambassador to the United Nations.

Footnote at end of speech.

39. Mrs. Jessie Vann,[1] (term expired), Pittsburgh, Pa., member, International Development Advisory Board.

40. Mrs. Anna A. Mitchell,[1] West Hartford, Conn., United States collector of customs at Bridgeport.

41. Mrs. Jane Morrow Spaulding, Charleston, W. Va., consultant, Foreign Operations Administration.

42. Mrs. Mildred C. Ahlgren,[1] Whiting, Ind., member, Public Advisory Board, Foreign Operations Administration.

43. Mrs. Frances Nolde, Reading, Pa., consultant in Defense Air Transportation.

44. Mrs. Pearl C. Pace,[1] Burkesville, Ky., member, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission.

45. Mrs. Jessie D. Sayler,[1] Savannah, Ga., United States collector of customs at Savannah.

46. Mrs. Frances Lee,[1] San Mateo, N. Mex., only woman member, American delegation to the Inter-American Conference at Caracas (March 1954).

47. Mrs. Edna Basten Donald,[1] Grand Island, Nebr., member, National Assay Commission.

48. Mrs. Ralph D. Keeney,[1] Somersville, Conn., member, National Assay Commission.

49. Mrs. O. Blake Willcox,[1] Englewood, N. J., member, National Assay Commission.

50. Mrs. Edward A. Pool,[1] New York, N. Y., member, National Assay Commission.

51. Mrs. Philip J. Woodward, Winchester, Mass., Assistant Administrator for Education (region 1), Federal Civil Defense Administration.

52. Dr. Anna L. Rose Hawkes,[1] Vermont, member, United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange.

53. Mrs. Helen Chapman,[1] Jerseyville, Ill.;

54. Mrs. Percy Maxim Lee,[1] Farmington, Conn.;

55. Miss Helen G. Irwin,[1] Des Moines, Iowa;

56. Mrs. Lucille Leonard,[1] Providence, R. I.;

57. Dr. Susan Riley,[1] Nashville, Tenn., members, Foreign Operations Council, Foreign Operations Commission.

58. Mrs. Myra Glazier Kenney, Worcester, Mass.;

59. Mrs. J. B. Cooley, Minot, N. Dak., members, Council of Consultants, Small Business Administration.

60. Mrs. Gladys Forsyth, Lincoln, Nebr., Board of Field Advisers, Small Business Administration.

61. Mrs. Emmert T. Bowlus,[1] Frederick, Md., Comptroller of Customs, Port of Baltimore, Md.

62. Miss Jane H. Todd, Tarrytown, N. Y., member, Council of Consultants, Small Business Administration.

63. Mrs. Ann Louise Ferris, Allegan, Mich., Civilian Defense Officer (Evacuation), Federal Civil Defense Administration.

64. Mrs. Charles W. Weis, Jr.,[1] Rochester, N. Y., member, Federal Civil Defense Advisory Council.

65. Mrs. Jean W. Fuller, Los Angeles, Calif., National Director, Women's Activities, Federal Civil Defense Administration.

66. Miss Winifred G. Helmes, St. Paul, Minn., Assistant Director, Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.

67. Dr. Mary P. Holleran,[1] Hampton, Va., United States Representative on Inter-American Cultural Council of the Organization of American States.

68. Mrs. Katharine Dixon Agar,[1] Chicago, Ill., member, United States Commission for Celebration of the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of John Marshall.

69. Miss Catherine Cleary, Milwaukee, Wis., National Advisory Council on Vocational Rehabilitation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

70. Miss Louise Baker, Lincoln, Nebr., National Advisory Council on Vocational Rehabilitation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

71. Mrs. Howard Coffin,[1] Washington, D. C., member, Hamilton Bicentennial Commission.

72. Mrs. Margaret Patterson,[1] New York, N. Y., member, Hamilton Bicentennial Commission.

73. Mrs. J. Madison Blackwell,[1] New York, N. Y., member, 1955 Annual Assay Commission.

74. Mrs. D. Ray Murdock, Greenburg, Pa., member, 1955 Annual Assay Commission.

75. Mrs. R. Henry Norweb,[1] Cleveland, Ohio, member, 1955 Annual Assay Commission.

76. Miss Lucy M. Seiler,[1] Philadelphia, Pa., member, 1955 Annual Assay Commission.

77. Mrs. Margaret Cathcart,[1] Lake Forest, Ill., member, Soo Locks Centennial Commission.

78. Mrs. Rae C. Hooker,[1] Mount Pleasant, Mich., member, Soo Locks Centennial Commission.

79. Mrs. Charles A. Dean,[1] Jr., Grosse Pointe Farms, Mich., member, Soo Locks Centennial Commission.

80. Mrs. Julie B. Kirlin (resigned), Boston, Mass., advisor, Office of International Trade Fairs, Commerce Department.

81. Miss Jane H. Todd, Tarrytown, N. Y., consultant, Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.

82. Dr. Althea K. Hottel,[1] Bala Cynwd, Pa., United States Representative, Social Commission of Economic and Social Council, United Nations.

83. Miss Francis Knight, Washington, D. C., Director, Passport Division, Department of State.

84. Dr. Martha M. Eliot,[1] Washington, D. C., Alternate United States Delegate, Eighth World Health Assembly, Mexico City, May 10–June 4, 1955.

85. Miss Mary H. Donlon,[1] Kinderhook, N. Y., member United States Customs Court.

86. Dr. Katherine G. Bloyley,[1] Keuka Park, N. Y., member, Board of Foreign Scholarships.

87. Mrs. W. Greg Smith, Denver, Colo., Director, Women's Activities (Sixth Region), Federal Civil Defense Administration.

88. Mrs. Pearl Wates, Thomasville, Ga., Director, Women's Activities (Region Three), Federal Civil Defense Administration.

89. Mrs. Elizabeth B. Cusack,[1] Winchester, Mass., Alternate United States Representative, United Nations Children's Fund.

90. Associate Justice Jennie Loitman Barron, Brookline, Mass., Delegate, United Nations Congress on Prevention of Crime.

91. Mrs. Robert Low Bacon,[1] Long Island, N. Y.

92. Miss Elizabeth B. Howry,[1] Jamestown, R. I.

93. Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Washington, D. C.

94. Mrs. James H. Rowe, Jr., Washington, D. C.

Members, Commission to plan civic center in Washington, D. C.

95. Mrs. Frances B. Crowninshield,[1] Boca Grande, Fla., member, Boston National Historic Sites Commission.

96. Mrs. J. Ramsay Harris,[1] Denver, Colo., member, International Development Advisory Board (2 years).

97. Mrs. Bernice B. Cronkhite,[1] Cambridge, Mass., member, Board of Foreign Scholarship (2 years).

98. Mrs. Margaret M. Conant,[1] Glen Dale, Md., member, Board of Advisers, Federal Reformatory for Women at Alderson, W. Va.

99. Mrs. Mildred E. Younger,[1] Los Angeles, Calif., member, Board of Advisers, Federal Reformatory for Women at Alderson, W. Va.

100. Mrs. Hazel H. Abel,[1] Lincoln, Neb., member, Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission.

101. Mrs. Sherman Post Haight,[1] New York, N. Y., member, Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission.

102. Mrs. Oscar A. Ahlgren, Whiting, Ind., Assistant to National Director, Savings Bonds Division, Treasury Department.

103. Mrs. Isabella J. Jones, Pittsburgh, Pa., Assistant to Assistant Secretary for Program Analysis, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

104. Mrs. Nicholas (Alice Roosevelt) Longworth, Washington, D. C., member, United States Delegation to Inauguration of the President-elect of Brazil, January 30, 1956.

105. Mrs. William E. Martindale,[1] Harrisburg, Pa.

106. Mrs. Dorothy Young,[1] Philadelphia, Pa.

107. Miss Mamie Woodcock,[1] Salisbury, Md.

108. Mrs. Grace Bamonte Damour,[1] New York City, N. Y.

Members, 1956 Annual Assay Commission.

109. Mrs. Lorena B. Hahn,[1] Omaha, Neb., (1956) United States Representative on Status of Women Commission, United Nations.

110. Mrs. Christine Unger, Denton, Tex., Director, Women's Activities (region 5), Federal Civil Defense Administration.

111. Mrs. Dorothy D. Houghton,[1] Red Oak, Iowa, member, United States National Commission for UNESCO.

112. Mrs. Faye Hartman,[1] San Diego, Calif., director, San Diego office, Federal Housing Administration.

113. Mrs. Clover Todd Dulles,[1] New York City, N. Y., member, Board of Advisers, Federal Reformatory for Women at Alderson, W. Va.

114. Mrs. Mary Dilworth Barnes,[1] Pittsburgh, Pa., member, Board of Advisers, Federal Reformatory for Women at Alderson, W. Va.

115. Mrs. Helen C. Russell,[1] San Francisco, Calif., United States delegate to the Ninth Session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

116. Mrs. Dorothy McCullough Lee,[1] Portland, Oreg., member, Subversive Activities Control Board.

117. Miss Corma Mowrey,[1] Charleston, W. Va., member, President's special people-to-people group to promote understanding and friendship throughout the world.

118. Miss Anna Lord Strauss,[1] New York City, N. Y., member, President's special people-to-people group to promote understanding and friendship throughout the world.

119. Mrs. William Barclay Parsons, Jr.,[1] New York City, N. Y., member, President's special people-to-people group to promote understanding and friendship throughout the world.

120. Mrs. Eva Bowring,[1] Merriman, Nebr., member, Federal Board of Parole.

121. Mrs. Grace Christian, Ocean City, N. J., Director of Women's Activities (region 1), Federal Civil Defense Administration.

122. Miss Catherine Kelly,[1] Washington, D. C., judge of municipal court, District of Columbia.

123. Dr. Katherine G. Byley,[1] Keuka Park, N. Y., reappointed, board of foreign scholarships.

124. Mrs. Katherine Neuberger, Red Bank, N. J., member of 1957 Annual Assay Commission.

125. Mrs. Charles S. Payson, New York, N. Y., member of 1957 Annual Assay Commission.

126. Mrs. Oswald B. Ford,[1] New York, N. Y., reappointment (January 1957), United States representative, Human Rights Commission, Economic and Social Council of United Nations.

Footnote at end of speech.

Footnote at end of speech.

---

[1] Indicates Presidential appointment; others are departmental or career appointments.

Giant Business Expands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the danger of growing big business monopoly control of our country was recently stated by Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, former United States Senator from New York.

Mr. Lehman, one of the greatest men ever to serve in the United States Congress, is well qualified to discuss this most important question.

His warning is that 4 dozen corporations now control more than a fourth of the United States product, though there are 4 million companies at work.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to include with my remarks Mr. Lehman's article which was published in a recent issue of the New Leader, of New York:

GIANT BUSINESS EXPANDS

(By Herbert H. Lehman)

Fortune magazine recently published a study of the 50 largest firms in each of the major fields of the American economy, with figures on their 1955 sales, assets, and net profits. It is an old story that in steel, automobiles, and oil production, for instance, a few giant firms are clearly dominant. It is less generally understood, however, that economic concentration is growing in almost every sector of our economy. Today, almost every line of business is dominated by the giants:

The 50 largest insurance companies have 90 percent of all the assets of all insurance companies.

The 50 largest manufacturing companies made 27 percent of the sales made by all manufacturing companies—and there are 325,000 manufacturing companies in the United States.

The 50 largest corporations in all fields, together, made sales of $86 billion, or about 28 percent of the total gross national product of the United States.

One company, General Motors, made a net profit in 1955 of over $1 billion, on assets of $6 billion, with sales amounting to about $12.5 billion—a sales turnover equivalent to 3 percent of the gross national product of the United States.

No wonder that thoughtful men in the business world are raising the question: "How big is too big?" The monthly publication of the American Institute of Management raised this question editorially and concluded that, when a firm attains a sales volume that equals more than 1 percent of the gross national product, it is just too big for the health of the national economy.

Today, our entire economy is coming to consist of a few giants and swarms of ants, the ants being small businesses. There are 4.2 million separate businesses in America, of which perhaps a thousand are truly big-business firms. According to a United Press survey, there are 78 firms with assets of more than a billion dollars each. These are the giants.

If we wish to retain an economic system based on competition, new rules must be written—very soon—to protect the ants against the giants, and the consuming public against both. Something had better be done promptly about mergers, for one thing. The Federal Trade Commission reports that there were 617 mergers in 1954, 846 in 1955, and 906 in 1956. Many of the mergers have been spectacular, the merging of two already large corporations to make one giant—and to eliminate one further source of competition.

I have been especially interested in bank mergers, since I was once a banker myself. During 1955, 225 banks, with total assets of $9.6 billion, were merged, consolidated, or acquired by other banks. During the 6-year period between 1950 and 1956, 830 banks, with assets of $18.6 billion, were merged, consolidated, or acquired. These mergers took place, for the most part, in the key industrial areas of the country; they were part of the process whereby big banks grew larger and smaller banks were swallowed up.

Today, there are about 14,000 commercial banks in America. Twenty-four of these are giants, with a billion dollars or more of assets each. In California, there is the fabulous Bank of America, with resources of over $9 billion. In New York City, two giants, Chase-Manhattan and First National City, each have resources of over $7 billion; New York also has 4 $3 billion banks and 2 $2 billion banks. Together, these eight banks have some three-fourths of all the deposits in New York City.

It is strange that these huge banks should be trying to expand, through merger and consolidation, when—and I say this on the basis of my own experience in banking—a $500 million bank (certainly a billion-dollar bank) can do everything in the public interest which a $4 billion, $7 billion, or $10 billion bank can do. In other words, there is no economic justification for the expansion.

Within the last 6 years, 137 banks in New York State have been merged, consolidated, or acquired by other banks. The resources of the banks which have thus disappeared were $10 billion, almost a sixth of the total resources of all banks in the State. The story is the same in numerous other States.

California, for example, had long been the scene of bank mergers and consolidations. By 1950, California had only 149 banks—compared to over 600 in Kansas. But, between 1950 and the end of 1955, 86 of the 149 California banks were merged, consolidated or otherwise taken over—a reduction of over 60 percent in the number of banking institutions in this huge State.

The end result is not only a decreased number of banks and less competition, but a more highly centralized control of the Nation's financial system.

The development of bigness and monopoly control in banking has been parallel to that in many other lines of economic endeavor. The giant business firms not only dominate our economy to an increasing extent; they are beginning seriously to affect our culture, our education and the intellectual climate of our times. Certainly they have the greatest access to the mass media—television, radio, and the press. Their actual and potential effect on political life requires sober study and consideration of possible countervailing measures.

In becoming the major employer in the United States, big business has been building up a series of collectivist bureaucracies which, in my judgment, are far more dangerous to the future of this country than the Government bureaucracies against which big-business spokesmen have complained for years. In speaking of corporate bureaucracies, I am concerned with employees involved in the administrative, technical, professional and managerial functions of big enterprise.

A new professional class is developing alongside the educators, doctors, lawyers, scientists, and engineers. They are the sales engineers, the industrial-relations experts, the public-relations counselors, the program planners, and the communications advisers—to name but a few of the new categories. These are the individuals who receive the main impact of the corporate ideology and transmit and reflect it. Increasingly, they come from among the brightest and ablest of our college graduates; recent surveys have shown that most graduating seniors today want to work for big corporations. Only a very small percentage seem to want to start their own businesses or their own practices.

The big corporations offer good pay, job security and prospects for advancement. What is more, they offer a way of life. The employee is expected to give not only his talents and devotion but also his conformity. The engineers, scientists, and technologists, lawyers, statisticians, public-relations experts, advertising experts, merchandisers—all these making up the corporate bureaucracies are being pressed into a single mold. The individual is induced to fuse his identity into that of the corporation, to become an "organization man."

The leaders of big business and Government today pay lipservice to individualism and individual enterprise. In fact, their support is being given to the new philosophy of action identified with Madison Avenue, with its emphasis on form and approach rather than content and substance.

According to a report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, over 90 percent of the research engineers and scientists employed by commercial and nonprofit, organizations work for big businesses. It should be noted that the Federal Government—particularly the Defense Department and the Atomic Energy Commission—is supporting most of the research and development work being done today. Of $7 billion being spent annually for research and development in the United States, $4 billion is being contributed in one form or another by the Government. This $4 billion is being expended almost entirely through the big corporations. According to the Defense Department, 95 percent of the Federal funds being spent through commercial companies on scientific research and development is being paid out to corporations having more than 500 employees. Thus, the Government research program is helping to attract engineers, scientists and technologists to the ranks of big business, and to promote economic concentration.

One of my chief worries as far as big business is concerned is the lack of democratic controls, or of any controls. The huge corporations, with their tremendous power over so many phases of our national and individual lives, are responsible only to the balance sheet and to the profit-and-loss statement. This is the only responsibility which management has even to the stockholders, the theoretical owners. In these huge corporations, of course, there is no real relationship between management and ownership. In most cases, management is self-perpetuating and has no real constituency at all. Perhaps one answer to the situation lies in requiring the management of publicly held corporations to show some measure of democratic responsibility both to the stockholders and to the public.

We need some new and original thinking on this whole subject, and on the particular problem of corporate bureaucracy, what it does to those who become part of it, and what it does to the pattern of national thought and life.

Negative Action on Suez

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of April 28,

1957, is worthy of the attention of our colleagues:

NEGATIVE ACTION ON SUEZ

The failure of the Security Council to take any positive steps to solve the Suez Canal problem on behalf of the international community means that Egypt has succeeded in imposing a national solution. To be sure, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, in urging that the Egyptian plan for canal operation be "given a trial," asserted that American acquiescence in Nasser's program "must be provisional," and that payment of canal tolls by United States flag vessels would continue to be made under protest. But once a situation of this kind has been recognized de facto, it is extremely difficult to alter. If the unilateral Egyptian declaration on canal management is accepted by the Security Council and the maritime nations, even provisonally and under protest, Egypt has won in principle, and the practical application of the document, as Mr. Lodge said, depends largely on Egypt." That is precisely the situation which France and Britain took up arms to avert.

Egypt—and the Soviet Union concurs in this—argues that by registering the Egyptian declaration on the canal with the United Nations it becomes an international instrument. But it is an instrument that can be revoked by the nation that compiled it. The Egyptian delegate, Omar Loufti, went on to say that Egypt would be willing to join in "a solemnly and internationally binding commitment in the form of a reaffirmation or a renewal of the 1888 convention." But, as Guillaume Georges-Picot of France pointed out, "Egypt is * * * reserving its right to place its own interpretation upon the convention of 1888, according to which it claims that it is entitled to prevent Israeli ships or vessels from passing through the Suez Canal."

The Egyptian declaration does provide for the arbitration of disputes over canal traffic or management. This may be the means whereby the question of free passage of Israeli—and all other—ships can be guaranteed. If it works out after this fashion, another major crisis over the canal could be avoided. But the international community, governments and shippers alike, cannot be sure that this result will ensue. There is no certainty, no guaranty. Arbitration is at best a slow process. If Egypt decided, to use an imaginary example, that ships of the Swiss Republic constituted a threat to Egyptian sovereignty, and banned the canal to vessels flying the white cross, presumably the issue would be taken to an international tribunal. But in the meanwhile, costly voyages would be interrupted; vital trade might be disrupted, and since there would be no provision, presumably, for international enforcement of the arbitration award, it might be defied. Or, even if it accepted the judgment, the Egyptian administration of the canal might repeat the offense on another occasion.

Trade is a sensitive medium of international intercourse. It rests, in the long run, on a body of accepted doctrines and a series of practicable routes. If the routes are subject to changing conditions without notice they become uneconomical. There are many practices, of inspection, of pilotage, of tolls, of health regulations, that could make the Suez passage costly and irksome. Resort to international arbitration might be too slow to correct abuses of this kind—even if it was able to do so. In New York City subway riders are familiar with the form of slowdown sometmes used by transit unions—that of running trains by the book, carrying out existing regulations to the point of absurdity. Such violations of the spirit of the rules are extremely difficult to prove in court.

The best solution for a situation in which a national government operates the Suez Canal, would be an international group, able to act with speed and decision in case of violations of the letter or the spirit of the international rights involved. Egypt has rejected this solution. As Mr. Lodge said: "In view of this lack of provision for organized and systematic cooperation between Egypt and the users there is no assurance that the six requirements [set up by the Security Council before the outbreak of hostilities last November] will in fact be implemented."

With this uncertainty it certainly cannot be said that the Suez crisis has ended. The first major test will come when an Israeli ship seeks to pass through the international waterway. Then the canal users must make it crystal clear that Israeli's cause is their cause, and that the denial of rights to one nation threatens the rights of all. The United States has a particular responsibility to see to it that the assumptions on which Israel withdrew from Gaza and the Sharm es-Sheikh are made good in this respect. Beyond that issue, there is need for continuing negotiations, continuing pressure, to demonstrate to Egypt that the international character of the Suez Canal must be clearly established.

Jurisdiction Over Monopolistic Acts or Practices on the Part of Persons Engaged in Commerce in Meat and Meat Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, of the Committee on the Judiciary, this morning opened hearings upon a bill introduced by the senior Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS] and myself to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act by transfering to the Federal Trade Commission jurisdiction over the enforcement of the antitrust features of that law.

It may be of interest to point out that the first attempt to bring about the enactment of the Packers and Stockyards Act, for the regulation of the meat industry, was a bipartisan proposal by one of my predecessors, the late Senator John B. Kendrick, Democrat, of Wyoming, and the late Senator William S. Kenyon, Republican, of Iowa. That was more than 35 years ago. The act was finally passed early in the administration of President Harding, who signed the law in May 1921.

It is evidence of the bipartisan character of the effort of Congress to regulate commerce in the public interest that this new bill is sponsored in this session by a Democrat and a Republican. I am happy to be associated with the Senator from Utah in this effort, which has widespread support throughout the country, and concerning which the Senator from Utah gave the first testimony this morning. I ask unanimous consent that the text of his cogent and persuasive argument in support of the proposed legislation be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the argument was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WATKINS BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY, SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, ON S. 1356, CONFERRING UPON THE FTC JURISDICTION TO PREVENT MONOPOLISTIC ACTS OR PRACTICES AND OTHER UNLAWFUL RESTRAINTS IN COMMERCE BY CERTAIN PERSONS ENGAGED IN COMMERCE IN MEAT AND MEAT PRODUCTS

Mr. Chairman, in a free enterprise economy, the most effective regulator of economic activity is competition. Operating through the market forces of supply and demand, price competition is the best and most effective device for allocating resources to the production and subsequent sale of those goods or products for which demand is greatest. Also, such competition in the market for consumer preference is the best guaranty for improving product quality and maintaining prices which are fair to both producer and consumer.

As the economy has become more and more complex, so has the nature of competition. In some industries a relatively small number of firms has come to dominate economic activity. In some cases this has been due to superior management and business skill. In other cases it appears to have been the result of competitive practices which are not commensurate with the public interest. Price manipulation and unfair trade practices have been used to eliminate competition and to render neutral the forces of supply and demand .

COMPETITION A BIPARTISAN CONCERN

The public has come to expect and demand that government reinstate, where possible, and maintain by law as much price and other competition as the public interest necessitates in those areas of the economy in which it works badly or where little of it exists. This public concern is reflected in the platforms of both political parties. It is a matter of bipartisan concern.

For example, the 1956 Republican platform declares:

"The Republican Party has as a primary concern the continued advancement of the well-being of the individual. This can be attained only in an economy that, as today, is sound, free, and creative, ever building new wealth and new jobs for all the people.

"We believe in good business for all business—small, medium and large. We believe that competition in a free economy opens unrivaled opportunity and brings the greatest good to the greatest number."

Republicans also at that time pledged themselves to "a continuously vigorous enforcement of antitrust laws" (p. 7).

On the other hand, members of the Democrat Party at their 1956 Convention pledged themselves to maintaining "competitive conditions in American industry," and likewise "to the strict and impartial enforcement" of the laws "designed to prevent monopolies and other concentrations" of economic power (p. 18).

Thus both of our major political parties are committed to the objective of maintaining a free and expanding economy by fostering the growth of competition. For this reason, among others, I was happy to join with the distinguished chairman of this subcommittee in sponsoring S. 1356. This bill is designed to prevent monopolistic acts or practices, and other unlawful restraints in interstate commerce by persons engaged in processing and distributing meat and meat products. This S. 1356 does by—

1. Amending the Federal Trade Commission Act so as to return to the FTC jurisdiction over the meat packing and distributing industry, and by—

2. Amending the Packers and Stockyards Act so as to eliminate the authority the USDA has to prevent unfair trade practices under title II of that act, but which it has not effectively administered for 30-odd years.

Although S. 1356 repeals the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Agriculture over packers,

as authorized in title II of the Packers and Stockyards Act, it leaves undisturbed the jurisdiction of the USDA over the operation of stockyards, which is contained in title III of that act, as well as his special jurisdiction over dealers and handlers of live poultry, which is provided for in title V.

In regard to title III, I want to point out that the Department of Agriculture has been and is doing a commendable job. This is attested to by the description of its activities in this connection which are found in its Report on Current Activities and Problems Under the Packers and Stockyards Act, issued April 4, 1957.

Although the study giving rise to this report was prompted last February by the pending introduction of S. 1356, which would transfer title II authority to regulate packers back to the FTC where it was originally, about 75 percent of this report is devoted to the embellishment of my observation concerning title III. Also, planned future expansion of packers and stockyards activities by the Department of Agriculture apparently consists entirely of title III operations. This is evidenced by the fact that the only increase in funds for fiscal 1958 requested by the USDA for Packers and Stockyards Act administration is an item of $178,000 "to provide improved supervision of stockyards posted under the Packers and Stockyards Act and to post additional yards."

On the other hand, not one dollar is requested to expand the almost nonexistent title II operations, whose transfer back to the FTC is provided by S. 1356. The 25 percent of the self-appraisal report, which refers to title II activities, makes it very plain, in my judgment, that title II administration, in effect, is practically nonexistent. These hearings, Mr. Chairman, I am sure, will amply develop this point, and, therefore, I shall not elaborate at this time.

Before discussing in detail my reasons for co-sponsoring S. 1356, I want to make a few general observations.

UNFAIR COMPETITION CONDEMNED

First, I want to make it plain that no packer, large or small, or other business firm engaged in slaughtering or processing meat products has anything to fear from the return of title II authority to the FTC, provided their business behavior and trade practices conform to the norms outlined in the antitrust laws, which are designed to maintain and foster price as well as product competition.

Likewise, my action should not be construed as an attack upon big business. Bigness per se is not to be condemned. In fact, much of the comforts of everyday living which we all enjoy is made possible by economies of production which only large-sized firms can achieve. Only when big business uses its superior bargaining power and economic resources in a manner not consistent with the public interest—in this case to eliminate competition by unfair means, is it to be condemned.

By the same token, in co-sponsoring S. 1356, I do not intend to cast reflection upon any particular firm now doing business in the slaughtering or meat processing industry. Rather, I have been prompted to join Senator O'MAHONEY in sponsoring this legislation for two major reasons:

First, in light of the poor economic position in which most livestock producers find themselves, and the tremendous increase in direct buying from livestock producers, I believe it is imperative that proper scrutiny be maintained over the trade practices of firms slaughtering livestock and processing and distributing meat products so as to permit the existence of as many marketing alternatives for producers as the nature of the industry will permit. Fair competitive bidding should give producers higher prices than otherwise would be the case. And such competition can exist only where producers have marketing alternatives.

Second. I believe it is in the public interest that FTC control be extended over packers which enter into other sideline businesses—businesses which now escape such control because of USDA inaction, but whose competitors are subject to FTC control. The same need for public control applies to food firms, especially food chains, which now can acquire packing plants, or a substantial interest in one, and thus escape FTC supervision over their entire operations.

I shall discuss these two reasons in some detail at this point:

STOCKMEN NEED PROTECTION

Mr. Chairman, several million farmers, ranchers, and stockmen produce meat animals for market. With respect to cattle, the bulk of such animals are marketed during a period of a few weeks each fall. Most producers, especially in the great western range States, as you know so well, must market their animals at that time regardless of the prices offered, because they either do not raise enough feed to carry the stock until prices are more to their liking, or they cannot afford to buy feed for that purpose. A great number—essentially the small operators—must sell at that time in order to meet pressing financial obligations. As you know, most ranchers operate on a basis of "borrow it in the spring and pay it back in the fall." Still others must sell during the fall marketing season in order to meet the costs of daily living.

In recent years these forced fall marketings have been even heavier than normal, because of the effects of drought and the cost-price squeeze. High livestock numbers, caused by excessive feed-grain production on lands diverted from wheat and cotton production under the price support and acreage allotment and marketing quota programs, also have contributed to heavier marketing and low prices. These factors combined have served to virtually eliminate any bargaining power which producers might have had under more normal conditions.

Especially is this true in light of the increase in direct buying over the past 10 years from livestock producers. For example, whereas in 1946 the largest overall packer purchased directly from producers 20 percent of the cattle it slaughtered, this figure had increased to 32.7 percent by 1956. Whereas the same firm purchased directly 37.1 percent of the calves it slaughtered in 1946; in 1955 it purchased directly from producers 52.1 percent. There has also been a marked upward trend in direct buying by the next 9 largest overall packers during the past 10 years.

Since the subcommittee will develop this point, and all its ramifications later, I shall not pursue the matter further at this time, except to call to the subcommittee's attention the fact that producer organizations are very concerned about this upward trend in direct buying and the effect it has upon the prices their members receive in light of their weak bargaining positions. An example of this concern is provided by the following resolution adopted by the Utah Cattlemen's Association at its 38th annual convention held at Salt Lake City on December 7 and 8, 1956. The resolution reads as follows:

"DIRECT SELLING

"Whereas we strongly recommend that the Utah Cattle Association members refrain from consignment selling of livestock direct to packers for slaughter; and

"Whereas consignment slaughter short-changes the livestock producer and robs him of his rights as a seller. Consignment slaughtering thrives on a glutted market. It takes all of the gamble out of buying and gives the packer an assured profit with no investment and accomplishes nothing for the grower except to get rid of his stock and stop his feed bills. This is not buying, and it is not selling. We, therefore, condemn all three forms of consignment selling; namely, 'grade and yield,' 'price on grade,' and 'price on rail;' and

"Whereas this system takes advantage of split grading. The producer is paid on the basis of only three grades, while the meat is marketed by the packer on the basis of as many as 14 grades. Parts of the carcass can be sold at a much higher grade and price than that which the producer is credited; and

"Whereas packers also often trim carcasses before weighing and take advantage of shrink for hot weight. Direct selling to packers reduces livestock prices. A high percent of the better quality cattle move direct to packers leaving cattle of lower quality to move through markets and determine prices in the major markets of the West. In turn, these unrealistic low prices serve as the basis for pricing more direct to packer sales. Packers are also eliminated as potential buyers at our markets by these direct shipments—this reduces competition and prices at the markets: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we must return to competitive bidding on cattle if producers are to get full market value for their cattle."

On the buyers' side of the market, by contrast, we find that less than 500 federally inspected plants—which for the most part are not individually owned firms, I might add—and less than 1,000 nonfederally inspected plants are engaged in slaughtering and meat processing. It also should be noted that 10 national concerns which own the bulk of these plants, slaughter approximately 50 percent of the cattle, 66 percent of the calves, 70 percent of the hogs, and 77 percent of the sheep coming under Federal inspection.

In an industry where the buyers are few in number and the sellers are great in number, it is evident that the buyers are in a position to set the prices they will pay and the sellers have only the option of "taking it or leaving it." Where all the dictating as to price is done by the buyers, it behooves us to maintain as many market outlets as possible for livestock producers, who obviously under these circumstances at best, have a very poor bargaining position. Also, in an industry where the buyers' side of the market is dominated by a few national operative concerns, this is not an easy task.

Producer organizations at the grassroots level in increasing numbers are expressing concern about this situation. For example, at the Utah Cattlemen's Association convention mentioned above, the following resolution was also adopted:

"Whereas this year has probably been the worst for cattlemen since the early 1930's, yet packer and retail profits are at an all-time high; and

"Whereas we feel our problems have been increased by the large spread between live cattle and retail prices; and

"Whereas chain stores and retail organizations have become so big that they can, undoubtedly, influence our markets: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we commend the investigation being made by Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming, into the possible manipulation of our markets by the large retailers and producers."

At its 50th annual convention held January 8–9, 1957, also in Salt Lake City, the Utah Wool Growers Association adopted this resolution:

"Utah woolgrowers desire to offer complete cooperation with the O'Mahoney subcommittee of the Senate in its hearing relating to the apparent collusion between packers and chainstores in the processing, sale, and merchandising of our meat products and we lend every effort to make these hearings complete and informative."

SMALL BUSINESS SUFFERS

In the present situation, it is in the public interest—which is commensurate with that

of the livestock producer, the consumer, and the small independent packer—to insure that unfair trade practices do not lead to greater concentration by elimination of competition. In this connection, I point to the 1956 platform of the Republican Party, which pledged "the continuation and improvement of our drive to aid small business." "Small business," the platform added, "can look forward to * * * a continuously vigorous enforcement of antitrust laws."

Enactment of S. 1356 will clearly facilitate such enforcement which, in my opinion, is now lacking as far as prevention of unfair trade practices is concerned in the meat packing and processing industry.

Now I am well aware of the fact that this bill is favored among others, by an association representing, in the main, small independent packers who slaughter about 70 percent of the livestock in 9 Western States, including my own State of Utah. While these independent packers are concerned about the entry of the national packers—especially the big 10, which account for 77 percent of the meat animals slaughtered in the United States—into the markets of these 9 States, as cosponsor of S. 1356, I am only concerned that use of unfair-trade practices does not aid or impede such entry.

I am equally aware of the fact that another association which represents, by and large, the interests of these national packers is not only actively and openly opposed to this bill, but even used its influence to try to keep such legislation as S. 1356 from being introduced in the first place.

For these reasons, I want to make it very plain that the provisions of S. 1356 will be enforced by the FTC just as vigorously against an independent packer engaged in unfair trade practices as it will against a national packer. On the other hand, I want to reiterate that no packer, large or small, has anything to fear if this bill becomes law, unless it is engaged in unfair trade practices.

Taking the meat packing industry as a whole, my first concern is that no packer or distributor, big or small, independent or national, take unfair advantage of the already weak bargining position of the livestock producer. The marketing arrangement which economists call monopsony is characterized by few buyers and many sellers. This situation by and large is descriptive of the meat packer-producer relationship. In such a marketing situation, if all the buyers within trucking or shipping distance are owned by the same parent company, or if they are owned by but 1 or 2 such companies, the seller, perhaps as a result of a common policy in the first instance, and price leadership in the second instance, is not likely to get a price for his animals which is the result of real competitive bidding. Thus, generally speaking, the producer might just as well sell to the closest plant and take what he can get.

RESPONSIBILITY ABDICATED BY USDA

Where such a situation exists, or where there is only one packing plant or other buyer, it certainly would be in the best interests of livestock producers to insure the prevention of unfair-trade practices which could prevent the entry of competitors, or serve to eliminate or control existing competitors. The USDA in my judgment is not supplying such regulation, supervision, or enforcement today, nor has it for over 30 years. How could it, when such responsibility here in Washington is literally buried in the Trade Practices Section (staffed by three individuals) of the Packers and Stockyards Branch of the Livestock Division of the Agricultural Marketing Service?

This section not only is responsible for preventing unfair trade practices under title II, whose transfer to FTC is the purpose of S. 1356, but also under title III which deals with stockyards. By no stretch of the imagination is it reasonable to conclude that these undoubtedly capable people can prevent unfair trade practices in the food business—the largest industry in this country. Although the Packers and Stockyards Branch has 20 field offices, most of their work, as the Department's self-appraisal report indicates, is in connection with activities relating to the regulation of stockyards, or title III enforcement, which is not disturbed by S. 1356. Not one person is engaged full time in title II enforcement.

Now, this is not to be deemed criticism of the personnel of the Trade Practice Section or the Packers and Stockyards Branch itself, but it is meant to be criticism of several national administrations for the almost complete lack of action in the past to comply with the congressional mandate given the USDA in 1921 to prevent unfair trade practices in the meat-packing industry. The simple facts are that the Packers and Stockyards Branch has no enforcement staff for administration of the fair-trade practices provisions of title II of the act relating to packers. Testimony given to this subcommittee by a former head of that branch indicates that it cannot even investigate complaints, let alone take effective action. Why the Packers and Stockyards Branch does not even require packers to submit reports containing data which is most essential in the detection of unfair trade practices.

As the Department indicated in its report on the Packers and Stockyards Act:

"The annual reports of meatpackers are received by the 20 district offices that are maintained by the Packers and Stockyards Branch. * * * Information contained in these reports is primarily concerned with ownership, organization, and financial condition. * * * The annual reports of the top four packers are forwarded to the Washington office of the Branch where they are retained in a permanent file.

"Although the annual reports of packers are received, there is no tabulation or statistical analysis made of the information contained in them for the purpose of determining industry trends, problems, or conditions" (p. 14).

One might logically ask, as a result: For what purpose are these reports reviewed? Why are they not reviewed for the purpose of determining industry trends, problems, or conditions? Why even require reports in the first place unless they are reviewed in order to carry out specific objectives of the Packers and Stockyards Act?

As concerns title II, the Department is charged with the responsibility of preventing unfair trade practices by meatpackers, yet these reports do not even require packers to show losses on their meat, nonmeat food products, and nonfood product operations. Yet such information generally is essential to determine whether a firm is absorbing losses in one area in order to eliminate competitors, but making up the loss in other areas where it already dominates the market. If none but the reports of the top four packers are sent to Washington how could the Department ever detect various market sharing arrangements which limit competition for livestock and mean lower prices to producers? The odds are that it could not make such a detection, let alone produce evidence sustainable in a court of law.

In a given situation where there were several packers, including independent firms, a livestock producer might not receive much higher prices than would be the case if only one were to bid for his animals. But this much is certain: the prices he could expect to receive would not be any lower than those he otherwise would receive if he were limited to a single buyer, and if there is really competitive bidding, there is a good chance that such prices would be higher.

Now opponents of this bill have voiced opposition on the ground that "there is no monopoly in meat packing." This is a truism Another is that "there is no use to lock the barn door after the horse is stolen." No, the problem is not one of correcting monopoly; rather, the problem is one of preventing unfair trade practies which serve to eliminate competition and thus create, or tend to create or increase monopoly control over the market. Should the latter happen, it is equally certain that livestock producers will receive lower prices than would be the case if some price competition existed.

UTAH STOCKMEN SUPPORT S. 1356

It is this concern which has led many grassroots producer organizations to support the return to FTC of the authority to prevent unfair trade practices in the meat-packing industry. In this regard, Mr. Chairman, I should like to read the following letter to me from Mr. Edward S. Crawford, executive secretary of the Utah Cattlemen's Association dated April 10, 1957. The letter reads as follows:

"This letter is to advise you that on April 6, 1957, the executive committee of the Utah Cattlemen's Association met and adopted a resolution favoring the transfer of the trade practices section of the Packers and Stockyards Act to the Federal Trade Commission, as proposed in S. 1356 and H. R. 5282." At its 50th convention in January of this year, the Utah Woolgrowers Association adopted the following resolution:

"We are in accord with the proposal to place the administration of the Packers and Stockyards Act in the hands of the Federal Trade Commission. We feel that there will be a more direct contact between the administrative authorities and the packers and stockyards."

In an explanatory letter dated March 13, 1957, Mr. James A. Hooper, Secretary-Treasurer of the Utah Woolgrowers, informed me as follows:

"We received your letter of March 1, 1957, which enclosed S. 1356 together with a statement you made at the time of the introduction of the bill. * * * Your statement is very well put, and we concur with your bill S. 1356."

I am sure the subcommittee has received many similar expressions from producer groups at the grassroots level in other States.

PACKERS AND FOOD CHAINS ESCAPE REGULATION

Mr. Chairman, transfer of control over packers from the FTC in 1921 to the USDA, and subsequent nonenforcement since then by that Department have given rise to another situation, which, in my judgment, warrants return of title II authority to the Federal Trade Commission.

Many packers sell numerous nonmeat products, and own and operate other types of business enterprises besides packing plants.

In January 1957 the FTC published an excellent study on Industrial Concentration and Products Diversification in the 1,000 Largest Manufacturing Companies: 1950. This study indicates that:

1. 6.6 percent of the total shipments made by the largest five companies principally engaged in the sale of fresh meats consisted of 14 classes of nonmeat food products such as: Butter, dairy products, shortening and salad oils and oleomargarine.

2. Eleven and six-tenths percent of the total shipments made by the largest eight companies engaged principally in the sale of fresh meats consisted of 62 classes of nonfood products such as soap and glycerine, grease and tallow, feed and fertilizer, and pharmaceuticals.

Significant for our purposes here is the observation contained in the study that:

"With * * * 2 exceptions, all of the shipments in industries other than fresh meats or prepared meats were made by the 4 largest of the 8 companies principally engaged in fresh meats. These companies

carried on extensive manufacturing operations not necessarily a part of the production of fresh meats and prepared meats. * * * The 4 companies shipped varying numbers of a total of 21 classes of food products and 51 classes of nonfood products" (pp. 64–65).

Yet these packer-owned enterprises now are not subject to FTC regulations as concerns unfair trade practices, because the parent concern is a packer, although nonpacker-owned competitors are subject to such FTC control. This gives an unfair advantage to packer-owned, nonmeat-processing businesses. An example of this situation is provided in a case identified as Docket No. 6409. This is a case in which the FTC brought an action against a large national packer for alleged false advertising in connection with the sale of oleomargarine. The action had to be terminated on March 30, 1956, because the company involved was a packer, exempt from FTC jurisdiction by reason of the Packers and Stockyards Act.

This practice by packers has, in turn, led food chains and other nonpacker firms to buy a small interest in a packing plant or similar processing facility. Such action enables them to qualify as a packer and to escape FTC enforcement of unfair-trade practices carried on by their related enterprises, and through USDA nonenforcement of the Packers and Stockyards Act, the trade practices carried on by their newly acquired packing plants also escape supervision. Such a situation is well illustrated by the *United Corporation, et al.* v. *FTC*, case (110 Fed. (2d) 473). In this instance, action was brought against the corporation which then was engaged in the sale and distribution of canned meat products. After the FTC had filed its petition, the defendant corporation acquired an interest in several packing companies. It then filed a motion for dismissal of the FTC complaint on the grounds that it was a packer, and thus not subject to the jurisdiction of the FTC. In granting the defendant's petition, the court said:

"The Commission, while virtually conceding that petitioner at the time of the entry of its order came within the definition of a packer as contained in the Packers and Stockyards Act, contends that it had jurisdiction because petitioner had not acquired that status at the time of the filing of the petition before it. The facts as to this are that the petition was filed March 31, 1937. Petitioner acquired 20 percent of the stock of Montel, Inc., April 12, 1937 and 20 percent of the stock of Emmart Food Products Co., May 1, 1937. The order was not entered until August 2, 1939. As early as 1936 petitioner had entered into a contract entitling it to a one-fifth interest in the business of Montel, which was then operating as a partnership (p. 274).

"When petitioner here, by acquiring stock in Montel, Inc., and Emmart Food Products Co., became a packer within the meaning of the Packers and Stockyards Act and subject to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Trade Commission had no further power of regulation over it; and the fact that the Commission may have been considering regulation under a complaint theretofore filed is immaterial (p. 476).

"For the reasons stated, the order of the Federal Trade Commission will be set aside for lack of jurisdiction over the business of petitioner" (p. 477).

Mr. Chairman, such activity by food chains seems on the increase. The reason is obvious. If they can escape FTC control by purchasing a packing facility, and the USDA continues to maintain an inadequate enforcement agency, they will have more flexibility in their operations than otherwise would be the case. Where this happens, the result is to give them a freedom of operation their competitors cannot enjoy. But such freedom—exemption from unfair trade practice regulations—could well be destructive of our free-enterprise system, since it gives them an unfair advantage over their competitors and thus a means of eliminating publicly desired price competition.

A more recent case can be identified as FTC Docket 6458. On November 21, 1955, the Federal Trade Commission filed a complaint against Food Fair Stores, Inc., of Philadelphia, alleging that the corporation had engaged in unfair-trade practices prohibited by the FTC Act by contracting with suppliers to buy certain items for an anniversary sale at prices lower than the prices these suppliers were asking from the corporation competitors. It is to be noted that this alleged violation had nothing to do with the operation by Food Fair of a meatpacking plant it owned in New Jersey.

On March 20, 1957, Food Fair filed a motion with the FTC in which it was asked that the original complaint be dismissed on the grounds that the corporation was in the packing business and, consequently, not subject to the Federal Trade Commission Act as to its trade practices. It was argued that the corporation was subject to the Packers and Stockyards Act. In its brief filed in support of the motion to dismiss, this food chain had the temerity to cite part of the remarks I made at the time S. 1356 was introduced as evidence of the fact that FTC did not have jurisdiction in the matter. In part, the motion stated:

"Senator WATKINS, of Utah, the author of a bill (S. 1356) now pending in the Senate to confer upon the Commission jurisdiction in precisely the situation in issue here, stated the following on the floor of the Senate on February 25, 1957, in support of his bill: 'I believe it is in the public interest that FTC control be extended over packers which enter into other sideline businesses—businesses which now escape such control because of USDA inaction, but whose competitors are subject to FTC control. The same need for public control applies to food firms, especially food chains, which now can acquire packing plants, or a substantial interest in one, and thus escape FTC supervision over their entire operation.'"

On April 18, 1957, a hearing examiner of the Federal Trade Commission issued an order dismissing the complaint against Food Fair Stores, Inc., "for lack of jurisdiction," just as Food Fair Stores had contended was the case in its motion to dismiss the complaint. This is a food chain, Mr. Chairman, operating 238 stores located along the Atlantic seacoast, which had gross sales of $475 million for the 1956 fiscal year. Yet, because it owns a packing plant in New Jersey, which by comparison during its 1956 fiscal year did only $25 million worth of business, it will, if this order is upheld, be permitted to wholly escape adequate supervision over all its operations.

The hearing examiner in dismissing the complaint summarized the present status of the law, as presented by the FTC counsel, by stating that it leads "to absurd results enabling any concern to choose at will the regulatory authority, by simply acquiring or divesting itself of a packing plant. Or, put more crassly, by the simple expedient of buying a load of chickens, wringing their necks, plucking their feathers, and selling their carcasses in commerce, any business in the Nation, even a tire or battery manufacturer, for instance, may escape regulation of its entire business by the Federal Trade Commission, whose 'expertise' in the use, for instance, of brokerage, advertising allowances, service grants, and other devious means of competitive favoritism, is widely recognized. Thus, in the instant case, alleged competitive discrimination in the use of advertising allowances to push such nonagricultural products as floor wax, chewing gum, and cleaning fluid is left exclusively to the Department of Agriculture."

As the hearing examiner further pointed out, the responsibility for removing the absurdities of the law rests with the Congress. This fact, he went on to say, is evidenced "by the recent introduction for passage by Congress of S. 1356 to confer on the Federal Trade Commission the very jurisdiction contended for here, and by the statement of its sponsor." He then went on to quote the identical remarks I made when the subcommittee chairman and I introduced S. 1356. These are the remarks I read a moment ago which Food Fair had quoted in its motion to dismiss the complaint.

RELIEF SOUGHT FROM CONSENT DECREE

Without doubt, in part at least, such action by food firms has stimulated the action taken by three national packers to seek relief from a 36-year-old consent decree they signed in 1920, which prevents them from handling some 140 other food and non-food products. Such relief is essential, they say, if, under the circumstances, they are to compete on favorable terms with food chains which have and are acquiring packing plants.

The history of the consent decree and its effect upon Federal control of unfair trade practices in the meatpacking industry is indeed interesting. In the years prior to 1921 and before passage of the Packers and Stockyards Act, the FTC's investigation of packers resulted in the filing of antitrust suits by the Justice Department against some five national packers. Apparently rather than face prosecution, these packers signed a consent decree which since then has prevented them from:

1. Dealing in 140 food and non-food products, chiefly vegetables, fruit, fish, and groceries.

2. Using their distribution facilities for the handling of any of these 140 products.

3. Owning and operating retail meat markets.

4. Dealing in fresh milk or cream.

OBJECTIONS TO S. 1356 UNFOUNDED

In 1921, when the Congress was considering passage of legislation to regulate stockyards, the five national packers, which had signed the consent decree, were able to convince Congress that prevention of unfair trade practices in that industry should be transferred from the FTC to the USDA. Material which have been circulated in opposition to S. 1356 by the association representing these large national packers, list four reasons why a transfer was desirable then, and why such authority now should remain with the USDA. The reasons given are:

"1. Meatpacking, being at the time the country's largest single industry, was of sufficient importance to warrant establishment of a separate, specialized agency.

"2. The FTC was an investigative rather than an administrative body, and hence did not have the power nor the specialized knowledge necessary to do an effective job of administration.

"3. Inevitably, there would be overlapping of jurisdiction between the Department of Agriculture and the FTC, and much confusion thereby created.

"4. The Department of Agriculture had in existence the necessary bureaus and personnel to undertake administration of the act. Moreover, existing personnel were well equipped to undertake supervision of the complicated relationships characteristic of the livestock and meat industry."

Regardless of the merits these arguments may have had in 1921, it is evident from what I have already said that 36 years of ineffective administration or nonenforcement of title II renders them completely valueless today. Experience clearly indicates and the USDA self-appraisal report confirms this fact, that the Congress made a mistake when it transferred authority to regulate trade practices of packers from a specialized agency handling antitrust matters to the

USDA, which did not then and does not now have a separate regulatory agency. Indeed, regulatory activities of the USDA are scattered piecemeal throughout its various agencies.

Mr. Chairman, a short review of USDA experience in the administration of the Packers and Stockyards Act will make this conclusion even more obvious. Originally, the USDA did establish a separate agency to administer the act. In 1927, however, this agency was abolished and responsibility for administration was placed in the Bureau of Animal Industry—a research agency. During the 1940's it was in the Production and Marketing Administration—the price-support agency. In the fall of 1953, responsibility was transferred to the Agricultural Marketing Service.

Enforcement of the title II provisions relating to unfair trade practices today is lodged in the Trade Practices Section of the Packers and Stockyards Branch of the Livestock Division of the Agricultural Marketing Service. This section, I repeat, is staffed at the Washington level by a handful of people. The great bulk of the work of this trade practice section deals with title III activities—stockyards regulation, not prevention of unfair trade practices under title II, whose transfer to FTC is provided by S. 1356. It should be obvious to all that the odds against its being able to regulate the activities of economic giants the size of many of these national packers and food chains are many times greater than the odds David faced in his battle with Goliath. What more effective way is there to escape proper public regulation, as expressed by the antitrust planks in the 1956 platforms of our two major political parties, than to transfer such antitrust authority from an effective and specialized agency, such as the FTC, to another agency and Department and insure its burial in a section which doesn't have a single full-time employee engaged in title II activities? A handful of people, in effect, are charged with regulating the largest industry in this country—the food business.

PUBLIC INTEREST REQUIRES ENACTMENT OF S. 1356

Under such circumstances it should be very plain that if the national packers obtain relief from the consent decree, and if the FTC is not given back its original authority to prevent unfair trade practices in this industry, the result could have dire consequences for the public welfare. Small businesses in the meat packing and wholesale and retail grocery industries can, and may well fail in droves. The increase in mergers in the meat packing industry is cause for genuine concern. Livestock producers, as well as producers of other food products, could expect to see their already weak bargaining positions further destroyed. The consumer, too, would face the prospect of growing monopoly control over the higher prices he might be forced to pay.

On this latter score, it is important to note that whereas over the past 10 years—1947 to 1956—the retail cost of meat products declined only 5 percent, in spite of the greatest increase in recent slaughter history, prices received by producers declined by 29 percent. These figures are revealed in the report Food Cost Trends, published April 15, 1957, by the Consumers Study Subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee (p. 5). For our purpose here today, it is to be regretted that the initial phase of the subcommittee's work did not include an investigation of the effect corporation mergers and the trend toward vertical integration of production, processing, and distribution activities have upon prices received by producers and paid by consumers.

Facets of the latter include the increasing trend toward direct buying and the recent action taken by three national packers to seek relief from the consent decree. The subcommittee, however, gave assurance that investigation of mergers and vertical integration as they affect the price spread between what producers get and what consumers pay will constitute the next phase of the subcommittee's activities (p. 8).

Mr. Chairman, testimony received last June 21 by the Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on monopoly and antitrust reveals a record of ineffective administration and nonenforcement of the title II provisions relating to packers contained in the Packers and Stockyards Act. One witness reported going to the Chief of the Packers and Stockyards Branch in 1953 for the purpose of filing a complaint under title II against a national packer. The head of that Branch asked him not to file the complaint so that he personally could contact the alleged violator and obtain his promise of future compliance, since he had neither the staff nor funds even to investigate the complaint, if it were formally filed. This same witness indicated that his organization had given up going to this Branch because it never took action on any complaint it had filed. The USDA self-appraisal report of Packers and Stockyards Act administration indicated that not even one formal charge has been made under title II in recent years, mainly because apparently not even a formal hearing on a complaint has been held by the Packers and Stockyards Branch.

FTC JURISDICTION NEEDED

In spite of these facts, the national packer association which opposes S. 1356, states in printed matter being circulated against this bill that "the same factors which influenced the decision in 1921 should have an important bearing on the issue today." One of these factors, as I have pointed out—which the same group in 1921 said warranted transfer of the controls to the USDA—was that the FTC "did not have the power nor the specialized knowledge necessary to do an effective job of administration." Well, this observation in reverse now dictates the return of title II authority to the FTC.

The desire of the national packers to take such authority away from the FTC and to give such control to USDA in 1921, and their desire now to keep it there seems predicated upon the common knowledge that the FTC is an effective and efficiently operated agency. Too effective FTC administration, as far as they were concerned, led to the consent decree, which led to the transfer to the USDA, and now seems to be the basis of their opposition to return that authority to the FTC. It is now amply clear, quite to the contrary of such self-interest assertions, that the USDA personnel at the time of the transfer from FTC in 1921 were not "well equipped to undertake supervision of the complicated relationships characteristic of the livestock and meat industry." In fact, such personnel hardly even exist, let alone are they well equipped today for title II enforcement.

SOUND ADMINISTRATION DEMANDS TRANSFER

On the other hand, it is certain that if the Congress is ever going to be able to get effective administration of the laws it passes, it must recognize the need to group similar functions together for administrative purposes. Sound principles of organization dictate the reasonableness of this position. We have only ourselves to blame when we establish an independent agency, such as the FTC, to carry out a specific function like the prevention of unfair trade practices, and then proceed to dismember that agency by transferring its functions to other agencies and departments not equipped nor staffed to do the job.

Now I have heard the argument that packers are a vital part of agriculture, and, as such, the USDA should be responsible for preventing unfair trade practices in that industry. If this be so, and all logic is against it, then, by parity of reasoning, every other processor of agricultural products is also a vital part of agriculture and such antitrust authority over them also should be exercised by the USDA. It likewise is difficult for me to understand why such an argument now relied upon by the Department in opposing S. 1356 also did not apply when the USDA recommended that the Farm Credit Administration be transferred out of the Department and established as an independent agency. Certainly credit is just as vital to agriculture as meat packing.

Mr. Chairman, because I believe it summarizes the problem very concisely, I should like to read a letter dated April 5, 1957, which I recently received in support of S. 1356 from Mr. Alden K. Barton, chairman of the Utah State Board of Agriculture. This State official, who is in an excellent position to evaluate title II administration in the field, writes as follows:

"DEAR SENATOR WATKINS: I have reviewed Senate bill 1356 amending the antitrust laws relating to the meat-packing industry. I am in full accord with the statements you made before Congress in relation to fair-trade practices not being enforced by the Department of Agriculture and recommending that it could be efficiently handled under the Federal Trade Commission.

"It seems to me that the Department of Agriculture has had more to do with the stockyards division than they were staffed to handle and have not had the trained personnel to properly administer the fair-trade practices of the packers. There seems to be a feeling that packers can become monopolistic as they are endeavoring to go into other business such as livestock feeding and retail business to cover up some of the practices which would eliminate them from the laws that were intended to govern such practices.

"Another important practice which you mentioned is the chain stores going into the packing business in order to be exempt from the Federal Trade Commission supervision. It is felt by many that this is a bad practice and should be controlled. * * * I know that the four large packers are opposed to your bill; that is evidence that they are fearful of having more rigid supervision from the Federal Trade Commission than they are now getting from the Department of Agriculture.

"If you would like my advice, I would certainly favor Senate bill 1356. I feel it will be beneficial to the livestock industry. I also feel that anything that can be done to help the livestock industry should be the first order of business, under this high support program for basic commodities the livestock industry has suffered. I for one would like to do anything possible to help them out of the condition they are in at the present time. I have talked to several livestock men and they feel the same way that I have expressed myself to you.

"Hoping you are successful in getting this bill through the 85th Congress.

"Yours very respectfully,

"UTAH STATE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
"ALDEN K. BARTON,
"Commissioner of Agriculture."

But there is another basic reason why this authority to prevent unfair trade practices in the packing industry should be returned to the FTC, where Congress originally placed it. Because of 36 years of nonenforcement, title II of the Packers and Stockyards Act has never been fully litigated. The courts, therefore, have never been called upon to interpret the many and broad provisions which it contains. So from a practical standpoint, and in light of the seriousness of the situation, it might be several years before title II is fully litigated, so that effective action can be taken against alleged violators of the unfair trade practices provisions of that title.

In the meantime, if the national food chains and other food firms continue to acquire packing plants and thus escape FTC jurisdiction entirely, and the national packers concerned get out from under the consent decree, this situation would result:

1. A few large or giant firms would be able to set the prices received by producers not just of livestock products but a great many other farm products as well, and the prices paid by the consumer at the other end.

2 The same few giant concerns would be able to eliminate thousands of small businesses in all kinds of activities handling food products.

Religious Groups Wage Peace With the Weapons of Understanding and Food

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, our surplus food is a wonderful weapon for waging peace. There can be no question that the cause of freedom and democracy is served best by a warmhearted, generous, and prosperous people. This is particularly effective today when so many people of the world are yearning for an opportunity to achieve even a minimal living standard and the security that goes with it.

I am proud that religious groups in our country have taken the lead in using our abundant blessing of food in the interests of peace and of comfort to the unfortunate people in other countries.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to insert into the RECORD the press release and a statement of the combined religious groups, Catholic Relief Services, Church World Service, and the United Jewish Appeal, which are part of their great effort in waging peace:

ONE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS IN SURPLUS FOODS SENT TO NEEDY BY RELIGIOUS FAITH GROUPS—HANDLE 91.3 PERCENT OF ALL COMMODITIES DISTRIBUTED TO HUNGRY ABROAD BY UNITED STATES VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

NEW YORK, N. Y., April 29.—American overseas relief agencies of the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish faiths distributed more than 1,140 million pounds of United States surplus foods free to destitute and hungry people abroad during the 9 months ended March 31, 1957.

These supplies of America's stocks of reserve foods—cheese, powdered milk, beans, corn, rice, wheat, cornmeal, and flour—comprised more than 91 percent of all such surplus foods distributed by all American voluntary relief groups during the period.

The overseas shipments by the religious agencies had a total value of $99,895,942.

Other surplus stocks similarly distributed by nonreligious voluntary agencies amounted to 108 million pounds, with a value of $14,184,256.

Of this, the largest amount—nearly 101 million pounds valued at $13,294,899, or 8.09 percent of the total was distributed by CARE (Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.).

In addition, 61 million pounds of dried milk valued at $9,605,040 were distributed through UNICEF (United Nations Childrens Fund).

This was reported today by the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, 20 West 40th Street, New York City, which is composed of 40 agencies registered and recognized by the United States Government. The report is based upon data issued by the United States Department of Agriculture.

In all, the United States Commodity Credit Corporation released 1,310 million pounds of foods valued at $123,685,000 for free distribution overseas by voluntary agencies during the 9 months.

During the same period, the CCC released approximately 750 million pounds of surplus commodities for distribution to needy persons in America through various State welfare projects, institutional programs, etc.

Operation of the overseas free food distribution by the religious faith groups was carried out in addition to their regular, ongoing worldwide schedules of relief and rehabilitation, through which contributed and purchased foods, clothing, bedding, medicines, and self-help supplies are furnished and through which are maintained continuing programs of resettlement, constructive development and assistance for refugees as well as support for orphanages and hospitals, tuberculosis and other health projects.

In the United States surplus food distribution, the faith groups utilize the vast, worldwide networks of their own voluntary relief personnel and that of associated religious agencies.

Because of the highly voluntary nature of their assistance both here and abroad, religious faith leaders report, the faith agencies achieve an extremely high rate of distribution per dollar of cost, with much more than 200 pounds of food (in many cases more than 400 pounds) being given to relieve human misery for each dollar expended in their programs.

Costs of the surplus operations of the religious faiths are defrayed by the voluntary contributions of their members—in Protestant churches largely through the One Great Hour of Sharing United Appeal and the Share-Our-Surplus programs, in the Roman Catholic Church through the Bishop's Relief Fund, and through the Emergency Rescue Fund of the United Jewish Appeal as well as other Jewish relief programs.

Surplus commodity shipments by American voluntary agencies during the 9 months (July 1, 1956–March 31, 1957) were:

	Total pounds	Dollar value
RELIGIOUS AGENCIES		
American Friends Service Committee	6,129,220	$929,641
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee	8,584,700	559,290
Assemblies of God Foreign Service Committee	973,000	96,274
Catholic Relief Services—National Catholic Welfare Conference	796,892,300	65,378,021
Church World Service	249,866,366	23,171,056
Hadassah	1,462,765	375,137
Lutheran World Relief	72,997,047	9,063,114
Mennonite Central Committee	2,103,000	185,644
Unitarian Service Committee	377,700	50,255
World Relief Commission	916,555	87,510
Total	1,140,302,653	99,895,942
American Friends Austrian Children	826,000	111,040
American Mission to Greeks	471,000	65,957
American Korean Foundation	240,000	15,576
Care	100,985,145	13,294,899
Foster Parents' Plan for War Children	394,110	73,849
International Rescue Committee	720,000	98,360
Iran Foundation	1,992,070	216,658
Romanian Welfare	1,170,000	151,206
Tolstoy Foundation	90,000	25,200
United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America	947,000	90,091
Volunteer Border Relief	298,000	$30,260
Russian Children's Welfare Society	72,000	11,160
Total	108,205,925	14,184,256
Religious and secular agencies	1,248,508,578	114,060,198
United Nations Children's Fund	61,968,000	9,605,040
Total	1,310,476,578	123,685,238

Areas receiving United States shipments included Afghanistan, Algeria, Antigua, Austria, Bahama Islands, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Guiana, British Honduras, British Virgin Islands, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominica, Ecuador, Egypt, England, Ethiopia, Formosa, France, French Guiana, French West Africa, Gambia, Gaza, Germany, Goa, Gold Coast, Greece, Grenada, Guadaloupe, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Korea, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malay States, Malta, Martinique, Mexico, French Morocco, Nigeria, North Borneo, Nyasaland, Okinawa, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippine Islands, Portugal, St. Kitts, St. Helena, St. Vincent, San Salvador, Sarawak, Sierra Leone, Spain, Surinam, Syria, Thailand, Trieste, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Vietnam, Yugoslavia.

APPRAISAL OF UNITED STATES SURPLUS-SHARING PROGRAMS

(Submitted April 1, 1957, by Overseas Voluntary Agency Representatives)

GROWTH OF OVERSEAS SURPLUS DISTRIBUTION PROGRAMS

Since the enactment of the Agricultural Act of 1949—partially incorporated into the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (Public Law 480)—making surplus American agricultural products available to overseas voluntary agencies for free distribution to needy persons abroad, there has existed a developing partnership between the voluntary agencies and the American Government that is undoubtedly without parallel or precendent either in scope of operations or value to the free world.

Until 1954, the growth of the overseas surplus distribution programs was comparatively moderate. During the 4-year period of 1950–53, only about 300 million pounds of surpluses—mainly dairy products and shortenings—were distributed in areas of need abroad.

Public Law 480 provided increased opportunity and additional facilities for surplus disposal by American voluntary agencies and during fiscal year 1955 such shipments abroad reached 403 million pounds as against the previous annual average of 75 to 80 millions.

In fiscal year 1956, during which wheat, corn, rice, and dried beans were released to overseas distribution programs, the relief agency programs expanded rapidly.

With this added opportunity for service benefiting from the fact that, by this time, the agencies had been able to perfect worldwide distribution facilities of high efficiency, nearly a billion and a quarter pounds—three times that of the previous year—were distributed to the hungry, homeless, and destitute as a gift of the American people.

During the first 6 months of fiscal year 1957—from July 1 through December 31, 1956—shipments abroad by 22 agencies, going to needy people in more than 75 of our sister nations have totaled 917,394,773 pounds or nearly a half million tons with every likelihood that the figure for the full year may reach twice this amount.

Thus, in 3 years, the sharing of our surplus through the partnership of overseas voluntary agencies and our Government has increased some 25 to 30 times.

Despite the magnitude of this greatest of food-relief efforts, there are still many millions of impoverished and undernourished persons in need, far exceeding in number those now being ministered to in the overseas-distribution process.

NEED FOR IMPROVED EFFICIENCY IN BASIC CONTROLS

Government responsibilities for the overseas-distribution program at the outset were shared by various existing Government agencies both here and in the recipient areas abroad—among them bureaus within the Department of Agriculture and within ECA, MSA, FOA, and later ICA, in the embassies overseas, in United States overseas missions, in agricultural missions, etc., and in the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid.

During the more or less experimental stages of the food-distribution program, the combination of these departments and bureaus was fairly adequate to the task, despite the fact that the individual units concerned often necessarily operated upon policies divergent in interests and concepts.

Since the inception of the program, little change has occurred in the operating machinery, particularly as concerns the vital control points abroad, and there has been little actual change at home despite an apparent and recognized need which has somewhat recently resulted in attempts to remedy the situation through interdepartmental coordinating groups.

Meanwhile the agencies' programs of distribution, as a result of the enthusiastic nationwide response and support accorded them by individual Americans, and their representatives in Congress and the administration leadership, have grown like Topsy almost overnight, placing inordinately heavy strain upon the improvised machinery of operation.

Many circumstances have arisen that tend to militate against the basic objectives of the partnership to meet human need.

Such circumstances are largely an inescapable result of the rapid growth of the programs, and the progressive involvement of more and more departments of Government (however well suited to cooperation) and the resulting conflict of concepts and ideas and interests.

The persons and bureaus concerned with the program have attempted, and continue to attempt, to do their very best within the governmental structures in which they found themselves.

However, as there has up to now been no articulated policy or philosophy of program, there has been no way to acquaint the many concerned people and bureaus with the underlying aims towards which they should bend their efforts.

The agencies feel that in view of the rapid expansion of the programs, a thorough top-level discussion and study of the total situation could be very helpful.

To this end the agencies suggest that the Secretary of Agriculture—because the programs are concerned with agricultural surpluses and are largely made possible through agricultural funds and because of his personal experience in ministry to the needy—institute such a study in concert with other governmental agencies and with the voluntary agencies.

Such a study by a workable group of upper-level officials, drawing upon the experience of the past and viewing current problems and divergent approaches realistically, could produce a valuable clarification in procedures and could contribute effectively to a greatly increased efficiency.

Only through such a concerted effort—drawing upon the experience of all involved—can there be achieved the potential that lies in America's opportunity to utilize her abundance for the greatest good.

SUGGESTIONS FOR WIDER EFFECTIVENESS OF PROGRAMS

We suggest the following as points upon which attention of such a study might well be focused:

1. The location of supervisory responsibility. It is essential that these programs have direction from a single authority and be guided by a single policy.

This would eliminate a great deal of the unwieldiness involved when, as currently, three agencies—USDA and ICA and the embassies—each have responsibility for separate parts of the operation.

It would eliminate a tremendous amount of wasted time and interdepartmental paperwork.

It would speed up and simplify much of the detail concerned with orders for and shipment of commodities and would prevent a great deal of misunderstandings and cross purposes which, in the past, have resulted in many unfortunate and costly situations.

2. Coordination and cooperation, in fact rather than theory, on local levels of operation between agencies and/or missions and embassy representatives to achieve more realistic and practical applications of program.

3. A closer alinement in terms of program application of the facilities for distribution disposal provided in title 2 and title 3 of Public Law 480 which could make more realistic the actions necessary to meet emergencies (e. g., the Hungarian refugee needs) and to better serve borderline programs.

4. A reappraisal of the 50–50 ocean freight philosophy to determine whether experience to date justifies, through dollars saved, the loss in achievement of the basic objectives of the total program through resulting limitations, lessening of people-to-people contact, and decreasing faith in democracy in oftentimes vital areas.

Additional points upon which such a study could be highly beneficial include:

1. Whether there are not advantages in actually purchasing some processed products on the market with funds from surplus sales rather than processing current surpluses for welfare distribution either here or abroad. (For example, wheat conversion into flour in certain instances where costs of handling and transportation become excessive.)

2. Extension of processing of commodities as provided for by the last Congress, particularly in such cases where processed commodities can be moved and distributed at lower costs and to better advantage in processed rather than in their present form (e. g., conversion of cheese into oil and protein meal).

3. Use of title 1 local currency funds for rehabilitation and self-help projects through approved voluntary agencies.

4. Consideration of making available other products either in steady or temporary surplus whose use would be highly beneficial in overseas programs and which could have desirable effect on domestic prices.

5. The opening of the Iron Curtain countries to voluntary agency programs at such time that sales of surplus goods may be permitted in such areas.

6. Development of pilot projects in limited distribution of processed or unprocessed commodities in the mutual interest of the welfare of peoples and the stimulation of market sales (e. g., bulgor wheat as a rice substitute).

(From G. Blackford, Church World Service, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.)

Message of Joseph F. Thomas, National President of UNAPOC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the 75th anniversary message of UNAPOC President Joseph F. Thomas, which appeared in the Post Office Employee, official magazine of United National Associations of Post Office Craftsmen, in the issue for March-April 1957.

The message follows:

YOUR NATIONAL PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

(By Joseph F. Thomas)

THREE-QUARTERS OF A CENTURY

It was just 75 years ago that a strong and courageous group of men—dedicated postal employees—met and decided to form an association or union for the purpose of bettering their deplorable working conditions. They vowed that in spite of threats from the Post Office Department and snubs from the Members of Congress, something had to be done to make the United States Post Office a decent place to work.

This was the humble but honorable beginning of America's oldest postal union—the UNAPOC. Many years have passed since that day in 1882 and many other unions have come into existence, but none can claim the solid achievements of our association.

Most of the basic legislation which we now enjoy was obtained by hard work long before the present-day postal unions had even been organized. Through those long years our association has steadfastly maintained its independence and has refused to surrender to any outside labor union or to any particular political party. Never have we been placed in the position of contributing to those affiliated with racketeers and hoodlums and never have we been beholden to those who would use our funds to defeat certain of our friends.

It is certainly fitting, as we reach the three-quarter century mark, to look back and say a prayer of thanks for those heroes who so ably paved the way for us. It behooves us all to be grateful for the long and honorable career of UNAPOC, which has done so much to help us.

Salary

Action on salary legislation thus far has been very discouraging, in spite of all our efforts. Things did brighten somewhat when Senator OLIN JOHNSTON of South Carolina, announced that his committee would hold pay raise hearings at a later date.

This is the action which is necessary to set off our whole campaign and we are still more than hopeful that a decent pay raise will be forthcoming before the adjournment of Congress.

Rates

In the meantime, though it has been contrary to our policy in the past, our association testified in favor of postal rate increases before the House Committee. This was done because of the continued effort of many to hold up postal salary raises until the rate bill is out of the way. UNAPOC testimony below will give you a good idea of the motives behind our testimony.

"Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, my name is Joseph F. Thomas and I am

president and legislative representative of the United National Association of Post Office Craftsmen. Our association, America's oldest postal union, is located in the Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

"In appearing before you today I am representing over 40,000 members of our association and it is my hope that I am expressing their views to you.

"In connection with the bills before you, I hasten to explain that I am no financial expert and thus have not been able to delve into the actual complexities of these bills. I do know, however, that the first class letter rate is the same today as in the year 1932. I understand that second class mail has been increased about 3 percent since that time and that third class mail has shown an increase of 38 percent.

"At the same time, I remember that back in 1932 we were in the midst of a depression and certainly the dollar of today cannot be compared with the dollar of the 1930's. It is unreasonable to assume that postal rates should remain at an even figure for over 25 years, while in the same period salaries have risen over 100 percent, equipment, such as trucks and trailers, have increased between 200 and 300 percent and all other services, such as transportation, heat and light and many others, have risen sharply.

"I requires only a quick look at our own financial status, compared to that of 1932, to make us realize that increases in the posta' rates are in order.

"There has been some conflict in testimony before this committee as to whether or not the big businesses of our country actually favor the rate increases proposed. I am not qualified to pass on this question. However, after 20 years' service as a post-office clerk in one of the Nation's large offices, I can say that the bulk of mail processed by the post office is mailed by business houses and not by individuals. I am quite sure that business will more than pay its share in this respect and that individuals, such as myself, will be taxed about 11 or 12 cents a month, or a total of around $1.50 per year.

"As a member of this important committee, you may wonder why I, as an employee organization representative, should testify in support of a function which primarily belongs to management. The answer is simply this: In the past we have refrained from taking part in proposals to increase rates, feeling that this was the duty and responsibility of the Post Office Department. However, in recent years, each of our attempts to obtain reasonable legislation is met with a cry of "deficit." The term has been played up and exaggerated in the public mind and employee benefits have, as a result, become more and more associated with postal income. Naturally, since the employees of the post office are so vitally affected by postal rates, or lack of them, it is my duty to support any reasonable measure which will help the people I represent.

"In addition, as an individual citizen, I do feel as though a postal rate increase right down the line is justified. I feel also that I am expressing the views generally of our members, both as postal employees and as individual Americans.

"I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and each and every member of your committee, for the privilege and honor of appearing before you today."

What ails the mails?

If you were to put that question to officials of the Post Office Department, the answer would probably be "Nothing," and you would receive a long story about that elusive time in the future when all first class matter will be delivered the day after it is mailed.

Or, if you were to ask the same question of a regional official, he would tell you of the improvements in the postal service because of new equipment; he would laud the new efficiency because of the numerous changes which have been taking place and he would end up by telling you that the mail service has been improving in leaps and bounds, which it has not.

And, if you were to ask the American businessman what he thinks of today's mail service, he would probably show you the following letter to the editor, which is similar to many received by us in the past few months:

"To the EDITOR:

"I felt you might be interested in the following from 'Our Publisher's Viewpoint,' a monthly leaflet. It reads:

" 'Quite a number of people have written me about fantastic mail deliveries. Here is one letter from Philadelphia:

" 'On January 16 one of our customers in New York mailed us an envelope * * * first class, special delivery. It arrived by regular mail on January 26. Recently I personally mailed a first issue of our new magazine, first class, to a friend about 1½ blocks away on Thursday. It arrived the following Tuesday.

" 'In all the years we have been in business we have never seen the mail service as bad as it is now. It is unquestionably the slowest in any first-class country in the world. In Paris and London a special delivery stamp means special delivery that day. It seems as though it is a studied attempt on the part of our Post Office Department to force through their program for higher rates.

P. W.' "

So, there you have the extremes—management defending itself all the way and the businessman condemning the mails completely.

If you really want to know what ails the mails though, it might be wise to ask the Post Office employee—the fellow responsible for the actual moving of the mails. He would, in all probability, tell you that there is nothing wrong with the mail that is not curable with a little horsesense and some additional manpower. He'd say, no doubt, that it is very difficult for 2 employees to do the work of 3 and he would tell you, especially if his hours have been cut to the bone, that it is hard to keep good employees unless you are willing to pay them enough to live on.

He might tell you, too, that he is so busy keeping up with changes and so busy staying abreast of new regional orders, that he is hard put to actually settle down to what once was a calm and peaceful method of making a living.

The mails are ailing, no doubt of that, but the doctor may yet find a cure with a new and better prescription.

The Iconoclast of Petal, Miss.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, written by Albert Vorspan, and which appeared in the March 21, 1957, issue of the Reporter, makes most interesting reading:

THE ICONOCLAST OF PETAL, MISS.

(By Albert Vorspan)

Mississippi is the home of the white citizens' councils, the first having sprung up in Indianola 2 months after the Supreme Court's first decision on school desegregation. There are now more than 300 in Mississippi alone. However, in Forrest County, in the south-central part of the State, the local council is still trying to get off the ground. On reason for that is P. D. East.

At 35, East is the editor of the Petal paper, a weekly that circulates in the towns of Petal and Hattiesburg. The Petal paper is an unpretentious newspaper, usually of 4 pages, for which East does all the writing and his wife does the art work. Circulation was pushing 2,000, but for reasons that will quickly become obvious, it is now nosing down. Both friends and enemies of East agree that the Petal paper is a remarkable publication. Hodding Carter, distinguished Mississippi editor, has predicted that East will either win a Pulitzer prize or be run out of town on a rail.

While neither of these calamities has yet befallen him, either would be a tribtue to his powers of ridicule and his ability to make some of his fellow Mississippians laugh at themselves—or blow their tops at East.

The Deep South today has become a kind of arsenal. Everybody seems to have some type of weapon. The Negroes in Montgomery use love and passive resistance; the white citizens' councils use economic pressure; some people use dynamite. P. D. (his name, not his initials) uses laughter. In March 1956, for example, on learning of plans to launch a council in Forest County, he threw out an anticouncil editorial he had written and hastily made up the full-page ad reproduced on page 35.

A kind of mushroom cloud hung over the community for several days. East's telephone began jumping. There were threats, cancellations of subscriptions and advertising, and some blistering letters. Carter wrote P. D., "I hope you leave a forwarding address," and William Faulkner wanted to know whether East had found any dead cats on his front porch. Requests for reprints poured in from the rest of Mississippi as well as from 37 other States and 3 foreign countries.

Some Mississippians are currently engaged in a campaign to mend the tattered reputation of their State. Many automobiles carry tags that read: "Mississippi, the most lied about State in the Nation." Said the Petal Paper in its January 10, 1957, issue: "We agree with the tags. Unfortunately, the lies are not necessarily being told by persons out of the State."

P. D. is a native Mississippian, educated in the schools of the State except for a brief stay at the University of Alabama. He has a deep affection for Mississippi, its rolling hills and green beauty. "I love my child, too," he says, "but sometimes I have to spank her. Same way with my State, only I spank her with laughter. I figure if you can make a body laugh at himself, you can make some progress. Besides, I don't give Mississippi any hell that is undeserved."

In an age of conformity, and in a section of the country where not to conform is tantamount to putting your head to the muzzle of a loaded cannon, East is an iconoclast. A deeply religious man privately, he tells his Bible belt readers with no trace of apology that he has no use for going to church. He tells his chauvinistic neighbors that the time has come for Mississippi to return to the Union and for Mississippians to rejoin the human race. In bone-dry Mississippi, the Petal Paper proclaims editorially: "Like women and poker, that booze is here to stay," and explains the position this way: "It was 4,303 years ago that Noah finished unpacking the Ark. Almost the first act he performed was to plant a vineyard, from which he made wine and got good and skunked. And since that time his descendants have pretty well followed in his path, at any rate, relative to getting skunked. * * *" And he concludes: "If enough of the church-going, dry-voting, wet-drinking folks find it difficult to get hold of booze, they will vote wet."

UNPLEASANT REMINDERS

But it is East's views on the racial question that really set him apart and for which he pays a heavy price in advertising and subscription cancellations and, to some extent, in social ostracism. Not that he is a crusader; he finds the very suggestion presumptuous and distasteful. Nor does he regard himself as a latter-day Moses come to lead the Negro race out of bondage and into the white schools. He is not much concerned with integration, which to him is a secondary issue. The basic issue, in East's view, is whether Mississippi and the rest of the Deep South, in a desperate effort to avoid dealing with the racial problem, will rip out the entire structure of constitutional democracy as we understand it. "A revolution is whistling through Dixie," P. D. believes, "and we can either get on the bandwagon—or get run over by it. That's the choice."

East has not endeared himself to his compatriots with his incessant reminders of the lot of the Mississippi Negro. For example, he published a picture of a new white school alongside a picture of a frightfully dilapidated Negro school and asked his readers to guess which was which. When a local politician made a grandstand play and ordered Negro teachers out of an interracial meeting to which they had been invited by the whites to discuss mutual problems, East roasted his hide in print. (He believes that most white people shared his revulsion, as evidenced by the man's failure to win reelection.) When a Negro leader, Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, delivered a powerful speech to the Southern Historical Association, P. D. published it in full with his blessing "as one of the most brilliant pieces I've had the opportunity to read anywhere." But, first and foremost, East never stops pleading for some bridges to establish communication between whites and Negroes in Mississippi so that they can "sit down as human beings with mutual problems and with mutual respect to begin to work out differences."

EAST ON EASTLAND

East pours a boundless scorn on the "professional southerner," the cheap Mississippi politician who thinks the way to election is by yelling "Nigger" the loudest, the Mississippi legislature ("The Lord and the Constitution of the United States giveth, and the legislature of Mississippi taketh away"), and on those southerners who "use everything we have except our brains." East has an especially soft spot in his heart for Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, senior Senator of the State, to whom he refers, familiarly, as "Our Gem." In the May 31, 1956, edition, the Petal Paper, under a heading "Our Gem, he's real gone, man, real gone—Now ain't he a real cool cat, man," offered this unsolicited testimonial to Eastland:

"In addition to his character, his integrity, his principles, 'Our Gem' is not only intelligent in the usual manner, but he's sharp as as a tack in other ways, Jackson. Example: At Doddsville, Miss., 'Our Gem' has a small cotton patch, composed of something like 5,020 acres. And in the United States Senate, who has been the strongest fighter for the cotton farmer? Of course, our very own cool cat. * * * And down on the gulf coast a few years ago there came up the question of expanding industry in Mississippi, and 'Our Gem' told an acquaintance of ours that Mississippi needed industry like a hole in his head. (And get the coolness of what follows.) How, he asked, can you keep labor on the farm at a dollar a day with industry moving in and offering them a dollar an hour? Do you see what we mean? Ain't he a real cool cat, Jackson?

East is a gadfly, and he can sting the conscience. Here is a statement in an issue a week before an election: "Forrest County has 12,000 Negroes, all citizens of the United States, but their citizenship expires at 7:30 p. m. next Thursday." Or on the fact that most clergymen in the area are followers and not leaders: "I am curious to know which minister is going to bless the organizational meeting of the Citizens Clan next Thursday night." When some Negroes were pushed around on the streets of Hattiesburg, East announced the formation of "The Bigger and Better Bigots Bureau," and summoned to the colors all who wish "to strike a blow for the sweet magnolia." Few of his needles drew blood so quickly as a playful fantasy he wrote about heaven ("At the Gate, One Keeper—Two Gates?"), which concluded with this thought:

"For just a moment let's consider the possibility of the fact that in Heaven there is no Jim Crow law, no segregation, and one lives on a certain street, in accordance with the size of his halo. What then? Maybe some of us had better begin to get used to the idea * * * possibly? Still, on the other hand, from what we've seen from time to time there is no use in worrying about it all * * * it's likely to be thumbs down just when we tell St. Peter we're from Mississippi."

East has run off a few hundred thousand words on his weary Underwood during the past 3 years, but he has enjoyed few columns as much as that in which he kicked off the campaign to change the State symbol from the magnolia to the crawfish. What commended the crawfish to him as a likely symbol for Mississippi is the crawfish's tendency to move backward. "This State is on the threshold of its greatest movement—and, as we have said, there are some who want to travel uphill, straight ahead—and, of course, they must be dealt with before we can hoist the crawfish symbol. * * * Our sagacious leaders are showing us how; they are leading the way. Their aim is to protect us from those crawfish who haven't the intelligence to move backward. * * *"

Many people are amazed that East has not been stomped yet—including East, who thinks that since he hasn't had his brains knocked out yet, it is not likely to happen. One day, when he had to stop his car for a light, a red-faced man walked up to his car and demanded: "Git outta that car, so's I can mop the street with you." East replied: "Sorry, pal, that ain't enough inducement," and drove away. Another time, a stranger stormed into his office, obviously spoiling for a fight. East was, as usual, slouched in his chair, tormenting the typewriter. When he rose, stretching his 6-foot-2, 220-pound frame, the visitor muttered something irrelevant and departed.

DEFINITION OF A JOURNALIST

But East has felt the pinch of economic pressure, which is hardly calculated to ease his ulcer or to slow the advancing gray that already sprinkles his sandy hair. An organized campaign, stepped up the last few months, has cut heavily into circulation and advertising, and the paper is in a precarious situation. Not long ago, a local businessman refused to advertise in the Petal Paper because, as it was reported to East, "Things in your editorials didn't set well with him." East erupted editorially on "Freedom of the Press—And the Mighty Buck." Rejecting any effort to control his ideas through financial pressure, he wrote: "We believe that keeping facts or ideas from citizens to be a crime. We believe that any person who calls himself a newspaperman should never permit anyone, for any reason, to keep him from presenting the truth or at any rate, the truth as he sees it.

"So with the help of God, and to this we swear, as long as we can keep our head above water, we will print what we please in this paper, in so long as we believe it to be right, fair, or true. And if the time should come that to keep our head above water means to submit to pressure of any kind, then we will go under without hesitation, and at least with a clear conscience. In the meantime, however, we have only six words to say to those who would attempt to put economic pressure on us; the words are: 'Go to hell in a bucket.'"

Why does East write these things? "Damn it," he said recently, "I'm not a hero, and I don't want to be one. I'm just a country editor. But I can't look the other way when the most important issue of my life hits me smack in the face. I think God made us for a purpose, not for the hell of it. I do it because of necessity.

"There are lots of white people who think the way I do, right here in Mississippi and other places in the South, but they are afraid to open their mouths. But when they get my paper and take it into their homes and draw the blinds and sit there by themselves, they read the paper and, well, they know they aren't alone."

And what if the pressure gets too strong and the paper goes under?

"The tragedy would not be mine, but Mississippi's. I could run a profitable paper if I would run under their flag. But I have to live with myself. The tragedy would not be in what is done to me. It is what we are doing to ourselves. We just can't go on denying basic rights to some people and reserving them to ourselves. It may work for a time, but after a while it's got to catch up with us.

"Anyway," he says, brightening, "I have no intention of going under. I wouldn't give them the satisfaction. Besides, I'm having too much fun."

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Appendix

Address by Hon. Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, Before Foremen's Club of Philadelphia, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, it was my extreme good pleasure last evening to speak at the Labor and Industry Day dinner of the Foremen's Club in Philadelphia. I had a very fine time. That representative group of labor, management, and investors comprises the three elements in our society which will make for stabilization if they pull together. This was an example of a group working together and agreeing that, by and large, America needed not only their investment in material wealth, but also their realization that this is not the world we knew a few years ago, but is a world which challenges their best patriotic devotion to the American way of life.

I ask unanimous consent that my comments at the dinner be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE NEED MORE INVESTMENTS IN AMERICA; FURTHER BUILDING THIS COUNTRY WITH THRIFT, HARD WORK, AND UNCEASING FAITH

(Excerpts from address delivered at the Labor and Industry Day Dinner, Foremen's Club, Philadelphia, by Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, of Wisconsin, senior Republican, Senate Judiciary and Foreign Relations Committees, Wednesday, May 1, 1957)

It is a real pleasure and privilege to participate in this labor and industry day dinner.

I am glad to visit Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love, the cradle of American liberty on this May 1.

It is a most appropriate day, when we—you and I—can strengthen the foundations of liberty. Likewise, we can and should strengthen the ties of mutual respect and understanding between labor and management, and all segments of our population.

MY THEME TONIGHT: MORE INVESTMENTS

My theme tonight is very simple, and yet, I believe, it is significant and enduring.

My theme is: We need still more investments in America.

In this National Invest in America Week and in all the other 51 weeks of the year we need to invest, soundly and carefully, more savings, accumulated by means of our thrift and our hard work.

Why? So that our dynamic economy can still further expand; so that there will be higher productivity, more jobs; a higher standard of living, more comforts and conveniences for all.

ANOTHER KIND OF INVESTMENT NEEDED

But we need still another kind of investment as well besides our dollars and cents, our tangible savings.

We need the type of investment with which you foremen are especially familiar—you leaders of men.

I refer to the investment of something more intangible—our minds and souls, our faith and determination.

But an investment in what?

WHAT IS AMERICA

An investment in everything for which this Republic stands. So let us ask: Exactly what is this America of ours that we would invest in?

Is it simply the 3 million square miles of this part of the North American Continent?

Is it simply our cities and countryside, our forests and lakes and rivers, our towns and hamlets?

Is it our churches, our schools, and our homes?

Yes; but we are talking of investment in all these and more.

Is it our 170 million living souls, young and old, each with their individual personality, their economic and political and religious ideas?

Yes; and it is still more.

Is it America's history, from the days of the ringing here of the Liberty Bell; the days of Valley Forge—through all the subsequent evolution that occurred, through our expansion westward, our wars, our elections, our explorations, our progress?

Is it our businesses, large and small, our factories and our mines?

Yes; it is all this, and still more.

Is it our precious Constitution and its Bill of Rights?

Is it our dreams and our vision?

Is it our world leadership and our faith for a better tomorrow?

Yes, all these and still more.

Is it the sacrifices in blood and treasure which have been paid for this thing called the American way? The million men who have died in all of our past military conflicts, so as to keep this country free?

Is it our devotion to freedom, not simply for ourselves, but for all mankind?

Still again, we answer: All this and more.

Is it our businessmen, our laboring people, our educators, our scholars and our preachers?

It is these and more.

Is it the mothers and fathers of America, dreaming dreams of a better world for their children, and reaching out to understand more of the meaning of life, by contacting the Infinite?

Yes, my friends, it is all these and still more, that I say you and I are called to invest in.

And let me repeat, when I say "invest," I mean more than the common significance of that term.

We know that when one invests in something, something very precious, something that is a part of him, he does more than simply place his cash on the dotted line.

PRESERVING OUR GREAT FREEDOMS

When you and I think of investing in America, we should think of seeing to it that everything is done in order that America shall remain free and secure.

We mean that we invest with our spirit and our determination. Why? So that the great freedoms which mark this land—freedoms of press, speech, religion, trial by jury, and others—shall remain intact and so that we can hand them down to those who come after us.

When we invest in America, we see to it, for example, that our schools here in Philadelphia and everywhere else, become still better. Why? So that our children will grow up to be strong moral men and women who live wholesome lives.

Yes, so that our children will recognize the privilege of American citizenship and will be competent and adequate to meet all the challenges of such citizenship.

WORLD LOOKS TO US IN JORDAN AND OTHER CRISES

When we invest in America, we recognize that we are investing in the country that is the lighthouse of the world, the leader of the world.

We are the country to which the world looks for the salvation of the troubled Middle East and of south Asia and of Western Europe and of all other lands.

If the crisis in Jordan, for example, is successfully solved, as we hope and pray it will be, it will be because your country helped to solve it—your President, your State Department, and, yes, the presence nearby, of the ready Armed Forces of your flag.

Men of good will in Jordan and elseswhere look to us for leadership, just as the men you supervise look to yourselves for leadership.

We Americans are not meddlers, but neither are we shirkers.

The Middle East today may seem 5,000 long miles away; but really, it is in our own backyard because space and time have been shrunken by man's inventiveness.

So, we will not shrink from our duty and responsibility there, as we see it.

ASSURING HEALTH AT HOME BY SOLVENT ECONOMY

Meanwhile, here at home, now, how can we specifically invest in this leader country?

Obviously, through an adequate defense, a still sounder program of social justice for all, sound schooling, and making sure that our economy remains healthy.

Naturally, it is this last point to which I have referred which is especially pertinent to this Invest in America Week. An economy which is healthy is not a luxury; it is an absolute necessity.

More nations have been destroyed by inflation and/or bankruptcy than have been destroyed by wars.

You will remember that the German mark during the days between World War I and World War II became so depreciated that it eventually reached the point where a trillion marks was worth a single American dollar. The printing presses had gone wild. And soon the Weimer Republic collapsed.

That must not and will not happen here.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF TRUSTEES

A healthy economy is one where those who are in charge of the direction of the economy sense their responsibility as trustees.

A trustee conserves values; he does not squander them.

He adds to assets; he does not impair them.

That is why a sound dollar, a sound banking system, sound credit, a sound insurance industry, a sound securities industry, a sound home and construction industry—all these are part of an expanding, healthy economy.

EXPANSION IS KEY TO PROSPEROUS TOMORROW

I keep referring to this matter of expansion because this country must keep moving forward.

We must do so for several reasons:

(a) Because our people have rightly come to expect an ever higher standard of living.

(b) Because it has been estimated that we need to create a million new jobs every year.

That includes jobs for young people entering the labor force and it includes jobs to replace tasks that have been replaced by new-type operations.

RISK CAPITAL VITALLY NEEDED

(c) Because it has been estimated that $14,000 or $15,000 is necessary to create a new job on the average. And that money must come principally from an increasing amount of savings, wisely invested in risk capital, in the form of private stocks and bonds.

(d) Because our population is expanding. More than 4 million youngsters were born last year.

And with the extension of man's span of life there are more and more mouths to feed and clothe and more and more individuals to make comfortable.

So when we invest we invest for ourselves, for our loved ones, and for those who will follow after us.

We have in America an economic engine run on the gasoline of finance. Finance is the fuel which makes the machinery run. And that machinery not only carries its own weight, but carries others' load of work as well.

But finance is no longer for the few. It is for the many.

THE MEANING OF "PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM"

More than 8 million Americans own stocks and bonds in publicly owned corporations. And more than 13 times that number own life-insurance policies.

Add, too, the tens of millions with sound stakes in our banks, our savings and loan associations, our millions of privately owned businesses, and you get a picture of what has been aptly called people's capitalism, the capitalism of all Americans, all owners of stakes in the private-enterprise system.

To preserve and advance this people's capitalism is your task and mine.

ECONOMY COULD BE DESTROYED BY CLASS WAR

You and I know that, besides war or inflation, there are other ways by which this or any other economy could be destroyed.

It could be destroyed by class warfare, by hatred and bitterness between individuals and groups.

It could be destroyed by a failure of labor to recognize management's problems, or of management to recognize labor's problem, or both labor and management to recognize foremen's and supervisor's problems.

Each of us must learn to put ourselves in the other fellow's shoes.

If collective bargaining is to be successful, there must be mutual understanding and good will.

If foremen are to get the jobs done, they must have a team to work with, a team which recognizes the need and advisability of greater productivity.

For purposes of illustration, let us look back for just a moment to colonial times, the era of early Philadelphia.

THE EARLY AMERICAN HOME

Imagine, if you will, the early American, sitting before the fire in his own home on a wooden three-legged stool.

He had there all the elements of our early political economy.

He had his own capital, as represented by his home, his land, and his simple tools, and his wife's spinningwheel and loom.

That is—

He provided his own labor, himself and his family.

He was his own management.

He was supported by his own 3 elements of management, labor, and capital, as certainly as the 3 legs of that wooden stool supported him.

But his was a simple home and a simple economy.

COMING OF SPECIALIZATION

Since then, the industrial revolution has given us the benefit of the marvelous results of specialized production. More than 66 millions are at work today.

But, you might say that our whole modern economy still rests squarely on a three-legged stool. It is supported by the three essential legs of management, of labor, and of capital.

Obviously, a stool cannot stand on two legs.

No more can our economy stand, without all three of these supports, labor, management, and capital.

If each of these three groups always remembers its interdependence on the other two, our economy will never topple.

FIVE-FOLD OUTLETS FOR PERSONAL INVESTMENT

Now, my friends, inevitably the comment may come, "Senator WILEY, I agree with you that we should invest in America, both tangibly and intangibily, but where should we put our financial investments?"

Well, my friends, I am not a specialist in advising on finance.

If anyone has additional funds which he wants to invest, my first suggestion would be "go to your banker."

Go, as well, to other specialists, get their best judgment, and then follow through, based upon your individual needs and wants.

I personally have always considered that a well-balanced investment in things material would consist of:

1. A ready reserve of cash in your bank, in your savings and loan association.

2. Adequate insurance to protect your loved ones.

3. Your own home, if you feel the need, as more than 3 out of every 5 Americans do, to own your own residence.

4. Government bonds (on which Congress has now wisely acted to raise the interest returns).

5. Stocks and bonds in corporations whose records of earnings and growth or of potential good yield, you have carefully studied.

VITAL IMPORTANCE OF "LABOR AND INDUSTRY DAY"

But as you study corporations, including your own employer, bear in mind that a corporation's success depends upon more than management, and yes, upon more than investors, as important as they are. It depends on employees, it depends on you foremen, you who provide the vital link between labor and management.

That is why I am particularly glad that this dinner is on labor and industry day and that labor and industry day is on May 1.

That is because May 1 in some parts of the world has come to be identified with demonstrations, conducted by Communists or under Communists' influence.

The mere fact that we do not have uprisings in the United States on May 1 or at any other time is a clear indication, it seems to me, that America provides what labor needs and wants.

America provides what all of us want, young or old.

TRIBUTE TO ORIGINATORS OF INVEST-IN-AMERICA WEEK

As I approach the conclusion of these thoughts, I want you to know that it has been a special joy to come to historic Philadelphia.

It has been a pleasure, not only for all the reasons which I have earlier mentioned, but because it is Philadelphia which originated and spearheaded this national Invest-in-America Week celebration.

As you know, I had been pleased to comment on this outstanding celebration on the floor of the United States Senate.

The spread of Invest-in-America Week demonstrates how a few individuals inspired by a need, can originate a worthy idea, an idea which will grow and which will catch on like wildfire. Why? Because it is needed and because it is constructive and helpful for a great cause.

A MESSAGE TO AMERICA'S YOUNGSTERS

And speaking of great causes, perhaps the best way we can invest in America is through our youngsters, through the children and grandchildren in our own homes.

This spring I have spoken to possibly a thousand Wisconsin high-school students who have come to Washington before and during the Easter recess.

I have stressed with them the privilege of being an American.

I have emphasized the necessity of being alert so that we don't ever become so complacent that we risk another Pearl Harbor.

Investing in America means, too, for each one of us, young and old, to recognize that this is a changing, not a static, country in a changing, not a static, world. It is up to us to make those changes constructive.

Yes, my friends, we have a great job to do, and, like Nehemiah, we have to be about our Father's business.

I believe that, like the prophets of old, we cannot let the enticements or the threats of our Nation's enemies divert us from the basic job.

May we respond as Nehemiah did, "I am doing a great work; I cannot come down."

May each of us continue to advance the business which is every American's business, the business of protecting and advancing this Republic.

BUILDING THE "CATHEDRAL" OF AMERICA

I would like to conclude, my friends, by recalling the story of the workmen who, under Sir Christopher Wren's direction, were building St. Paul's Cathedral. They were asked, "What are you doing?" One workman said, "I am laying brick." Another workman said, "Oh, I am mixing mortar." But the third one replied, his eyes looking up on high, "I am helping Sir Christopher Wren build a cathedral." That is what we will all be doing when we truly invest in America—building and maintaining a great edifice—this Republic.

Monopoly in the Meatpacking Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, Hon. EMANUEL CELLER, chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary, testified this morning before the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Committee on the Judiciary, in favor of Senate bill 1356, which has been introduced by the distinguished senior Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS] and myself, to restore to the Federal Trade Commission the power of enforcement of the antitrust provisions of the Packers and Stockyards Act.

This measure is of great importance. While it deals partially with meat, it deals also with all sorts of food products and nonfood products.

Thirty-five years ago there was discovered in the United States, by reason of an investigation by the Federal Trade Commission, an amazing concentration of economic power in the hands of five meat-packing companies. So revealing

and so emphatic was the story disclosed by the Federal Trade Commission investigation that the Department of Justice brought suit against the five big packers under the Sherman Act. The packers, the defendants, instead of fighting the suit, gave their consent to the entry of a decree. One of the purposes of the decree was to divest the packers of their ownership and operation of the stockyards of America. Another objective was to divest them of the power of dealing in nonfood items, such as groceries and milk, and also of the operation of retail grocery stores. Such operations were then regarded by the courts, as they are now prohibited by the Sherman Act, as a concentration of economic power against the public interest.

The measure which has been introduced in the Senate merely restores to the Federal Trade Commission the power to enforce those provisions of the Trade Commission Act, the Clayton Act, and the Packers and Stockyards Act.

The statement of Representative CELLER was so persuasive, so effective, and so simple to understand that I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE EMANUEL CELLER, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, BEFORE THE SENATE JUDICIARY ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY SUBCOMMITTEE IN FAVOR OF S. 1356

I welcome the opportunity of appearing before this distinguished committee to urge prompt and favorable consideration of S. 1356, jointly sponsored by Senators O'MAHONEY and WATKINS. Identical bills [1] were introduced in the House by Representatives DIXON, BERRY, METCALF, and myself. The bipartisan sponsorship of these bills in both Houses of Congress bespeaks their nonpartisan character and highlights the urgency of their enactment in the public interest.

Prompt adoption by Congress of this legislation is needed in order to restore Federal supervision over monopolistic practices resulting from unfair methods of competition in the meatpacking industry. The meatpacking industry, although the third largest in the United States, is today the only industrial group which effectively escapes such supervision by a Federal administrative agency.

Beyond that, a recent decisional trend, which I shall discuss, highlights existence of a statutory loophole through which certain grocery chains and other major elements of the food industry can likewise escape—and are escaping—Federal supervision of practices destructive of antitrust principles, by the simple expedient of acquiring a minority interest in a packing plant.

This situation, which bids fair to exempt certain monopolistic practices in the retail as well as the wholesale food industry from effective Federal supervision, results from the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921.[2] That act removed supervision over anticompetitive trade practices of meatpackers from the Federal Trade Commission—an agency principally concerned with implementation of Federal antitrust policies. Instead, it placed this responsibility in the Secretary of Agriculture, an official whose multifarious duties are unrelated to antitrust enforcement, who has never been either equipped or motivated to supervise restrictive competitive practices, and who has not supervised them.

To correct this situation, the bill under consideration by this committee does two things: (1) It removes from the Secretary of Agriculture responsibility for preventing unfair methods of competition and other monopolistic practices in the meat-packing industry, and (2) it returns such responsibility to the Federal Trade Commission.

My plan this morning, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, is to discuss three general propositions:

First, that in enacting the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921, Congress intended to subject unfair methods of competition and other practices inconsistent with antitrust principles in the meat-packing industry to more stringent, rather than less stringent Federal supervision;

Second, that in the past 36 years the Secretary of Agriculture has failed almost completely to enforce provisions of the Packers and Stockyards Act dealing with anticompetitive practices by packers, thereby affording the meat-packing industry what amounts to an exemption from such provisions; and

Third, that recent legal moves of the large packers, coupled with widespread entrance of grocery and market chains into the packing business, combine to create a situation in which effective antitrust enforcement and effective prevention of monopolistic practices in the food industry, as evisaged in the pending bill, become more than ever vital in the public interest.

HISTORY OF THE PACKERS AND STOCKYARDS ACT OF 1921

Turning first to the history of the enactment of the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921, it is manifest that Congress did not intend to create the present supervisory vacuum in favor of packers and allied interests. On the contrary, Congress acted under the spur of then recent disclosures of widespread monopolistic trade and pricing practices on the part of dominant elements in the meat-packing industry and intended to subject the industry as a whole to more rigorous supervision.

Even before World War I there was widespread public concern over the Nation's system of food production and distribution, and particularly as to whether combinations and restrictive practices in this area were leading to unduly high prices. This concern increased with wartime shortages and attendant higher prices. In 1916 an unsuccessful attempt was made in Congress to order an investigation of the Big Five packers (Swift, Armour, Wilson, Cudahy, and Morris), and in 1917 President Wilson ordered the Federal Trade Commission to institute such an investigation. After a 2-year study the Commission issued a 6-volume report, finding that the Big Five had been and were using their vast power illegally to manipulate markets, restrict food supplies, control prices, defraud producers and consumers, crush effective competition, secure special privileges, and profiteer.

In 1920, as a result of this report, the Attorney General filed antitrust suits against the Big Five under the Sherman Act and the Clayton Act.[3] The complaints charged the defendants with having combined to restrain trade and to suppress competition in the purchase of livestock and the sale of dressed meats, by purchasing stock in competitive companies and in public stockyards, and by acquiring and operating retail meat markets, stockyard terminal railroads, and market newspapers. The defendants were further charged with attempting to dominate trade in products not related to the meatpacking business.

The case was never tried. The packers entered into a consent decree enjoining the further operation of the alleged combination and prohibiting the packers, among other things, from holding stock in public stockyard companies, public cold-storage plants, stockyard-terminal railroads, or market newspapers. The decree also forbade the defendants to handle or deal in commodities not related to the meatpacking business or to sell meats, fresh milk, or ice cream at retail.

It was in this climate that Congress, which had been engaged in virtually continuous consideration of packer legislation since 1918,[4] debated the packers and stockyards bill of 1921. As reported to the House by a unanimous Committee on Agriculture, and as later enacted with minor amendments, the bill contained two largely separate legislative patterns.

Title III dealt with stockyards and transactions taking place in stockyards. In addition to making it unlawful for stockyard owners, market agencies and dealers to engage in unfair and deceptive practices (sec. 312), this title provide detailed regulation of stockyards modeled on the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act. "The procedure and language," the committee reported concerning title III, "are modeled very closely on the Interstate Commerce Act, and the Secretary of Agriculture is given substantially the same jurisdiction over stockyard matters which the Interstate Commerce Commission has over railroads, including the power, after full hearing, to establish and enforce just and reasonable rates and charges for, and practices in connection with, the furnishing of stockyard services." [5]

Title II, on the other hand, dealt exclusively with packers, as broadly defined by the act, and prohibited them from engaging in specified anti-competitive practices. Practices so prohibited closely paralleled conduct condemned by the Federal Trade Commission and conduct enjoined by the consent decree of 1920. Responsibility for investigating and preventing such practices by packers was taken away from the Federal Trade Commission and transferred to the Secretary of Agriculture. According to the House committee report, this was done in order to prevent "overlapping of authority and duplication of jurisdiction of other departments of government." [6] Enlarging on this in debate, a member of the committee told the House:

"While there was a difference of opinion among members of the committee as to the most satisfactory and most effective place to lodge the supervisory authority, some favoring the Secretary of Agriculture, some favoring the Federal Trade Commission, others favoring a special commission, and a majority favoring the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Agriculture was finally agreed upon mainly because of the fact that the Department now has in the Bureau of Markets, the Bureau of Animal Industry, and the Pure Food Inspection Department scores of employees on the ground at the several market centers who can be of material assistance to the Secretary in gathering the information needed to insure intelligent action by him in exercising his supervisory relationship. In other words it is the thought of the committee that the lodging of the supervisory power with the Secretary of Agriculture will make for both economy and efficiency." [7]

Among additional reasons advanced for placing this function in the Department of Agriculture (and now advanced for keeping it there) were that the size and importance of the meat industry warranted establishment of a single specialized agency; that the

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Federal Trade Commission lacked power or experience to regulate stockyards; and that to give the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Agriculture powers in the same area of industrial activity would make for overlapping of jurisdiction and confusion.

On the other hand, it has been contended that it was the meatpacking industry that prevailed upon Congress to displace the Federal Trade Commission because of industry resentment of the Commission's report on the Big Five packers. Remarks of Senator Norris, chairman of the Senate Agricultural Committee, who opposed the shift, reflected this view. He said:

"The Federal Trade Commission which investigated the packers, Mr. President, was put on the rack, and every big business—not the packers alone, but every other big business, and every allied financial industry—jumped onto the Federal Trade Commission. They started a propaganda over this country, that has never before been equaled in any similar transaction, condemning the Federal Trade Commission. They did not come forth and deny that what the Trade Commission said was true, but they condemned the Federal Trade Commission for giving the information to the people. The people were startled when the conditions were given publicity."[8]

Regardless of the factors that may have contributed to the end result, there is no shred of evidence that Congress intended to exempt the packers from accountability for trade practices contrary to antitrust principles. Chairman Haugen, reporting for the House Committee on Agriculture stated:

"A careful study of the bill will, I am sure, convince one that it, and existing laws, give the Secretary of Agriculture complete inquisitorial, visitorial, supervisory, and regulatory power over the packers, stockyards, and all activities connected therewith; that it is a most comprehensive measure and extends further than any previous law in the regulation of private business, in time of peace, except possibly the Interstate Commerce Act."[9]

INABILITY AND FAILURE OF THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE TO SUPERVISE TRADE PRACTICES OF THE MEAT PACKERS

The defect of the Packers and Stockyards Act does not lie in any lack of legal authority. The point is that the act cannot be properly enforced by the Secretary of Agriculture. It is clear that the fundamental defect of the present statutory mechanism lies in the impracticality of placing antitrust supervisory and enforcement responsibility in the Department of Agriculture—an agency that has neither the experience, the staff, nor the incentive to exercise responsibility in matters of this kind.

The past 36 years have demonstrated beyond peradventure of doubt that the experience of the Department of Agriculture in marketing, animal industry, and pure food inspection, together with its functions of regulating stockyards, have not qualified it for exercising scrutiny over monopolistic practices of meat packers resulting from unfair methods of competition.

Moreover, the result of giving the Secretary of Agriculture antitrust enforcement responsibility is that there has been a singular paucity of cease and desist orders issued against packers under title II in the past 36 years.[10] Thus, for all practical purposes there has been created a supervisory vacuum for which not only packers qualify, but also other enterprises seeking immunity from enforcement can qualify, by donning the broad definitional habiliments of a packer.

I do not believe that Congress can continue to condone a statutory situation which has removed a segment of antitrust enforcement from an expert investigative agency—the very agency whose exhaustive investigation of the meat packing industry disclosed the need for additional, corrective legislation—and placed such authority in an agency whose experience and interest lie in other areas.

This February, in a move described in the Wall Street Journal as "obviously designed to head off current proposals to transfer antitrust jurisdiction over packers to the FTC,"[11] the Secretary of Agriculture ordered a survey of the Department's activities and problems relating to trade practices of packers. That survey, which was released on April 4, so candidly acknowledges the facts in respect to nonenforcement that it is difficult to understand why the Department would oppose, as it apparently does, the transfer of this function to an agency qualified for antitrust investigation and enforcement.[12]

According to the Department's survey,[13] the Packers and Stockyards Act is currently administered by the Packers and Stockyards Branch of the Livestock Division of the Agricultural Marketing Service of the Department; in other words, in a branch three echelons removed from the secretarial level. The appropriations and staffing history of the branch speak eloquently of the lowly place it and its work have been accorded. Its organization was built up on the basis of 260 positions in 1923, a number stated to be sufficient not only for regulation of the stockyards but also for a substantial volume of investigative activities. However, this was cut to 130 positions in 1925, and has thereafter hovered around 100. Today the branch has 93 full-time and 5 part-time employees.

Eliminating the administrative chief and 24 full-time and 5 part-time clerical employees leaves the administration of the act to 7 Washington and 61 field specialists. This group of 68 (which includes 4 valuation engineers and 3 scale and weighing specialists) has basic responsibility for a staggering volume of duties.[13]

These duties include regulation of 375 livestock markets and 64 terminal markets posted under the act, a total expected to reach 500 during the current fiscal year. They include regulation and/or supervision of 1,300 livestock commission firms and about 2,000 livestock dealers. They include the supervision of 1,300 poultry dealers, agents and handlers, under title V of the act, added in 1935. They include the periodic testing of 2,000 scales.

Beyond this, there are 2,000 packers and 2,600 buyers who purchase for these packers that are supervised under the act, and whose trade and pricing practices are the subject of the pending bill. Included among these packers, moreover, are 14 chain stores, of which 6 have almost 11,000 retail stores. To handle this load and also unfair practices of stockyards under title III, there has been established a trade-practices section in the Packers and Stockyards Branch. This trade-practices section comprises—let me emphasize—2 market specialists and 1 stenographer.

The Department of Agriculture survey concedes that because of inadequate appropriations and a determination to make "the most effective use of rather limited funds,"[14] administration of the act has, over the years, concentrated upon regulation of stockyards and of practices there occurring. It states, however, that the last few years have seen a change of emphasis. It points to the fact that there are now pending 17 investigations (of a total of 46) that deal with meat packer trade practices, including "some that originated as far back as 2 years ago and are at or near the stage of formal charges."[15] Based on the record there is little likelihood that trade practice enforcement dealing with packers will ever occupy a prominent place in the work of the Department of Agriculture. It must be recognized that the Packers and Stockyards Branch is only a small part of the departmental organization, its total budget a trifling part of the departmental budget, and supervision of packers' restrictive practices is only a minor part of the duties and responsibilities of the Branch under the act.

It is clear that the Department has consistently for more than 30 years, assigned little importance, if any, to the duty of enforcing vital antitrust provisions. The departmental survey stresses the fact that in fiscal 1956 a total of 1,704 scales were tested; that review of stockyard rates and charges saved shippers $482,000, and that investigation of an individual market stopped losses of $750,000 per year in fraudulent weight of hogs. These are functions for which the Packers and Stockyards Branch is qualified. Its efforts in this area should not be diluted by the addition of antitrust functions with which it has never been familiar. As the Department's survey states:

"Most of the cases under the act do not involve broad economic problems but are local in nature and effect and do not require long involved studies or large numbers of personnel. Investigations of alleged monopolistic practices, however, do become more involved and may require studies over an extended length of time by quite a number of personnel and entail a great deal of work by Department of Agriculture attorneys."[16]

Mr. Chairman, the Department of Agriculture should receive adequate appropriations for those functions which its Packers and Stockyards Branch is qualified to perform. Antitrust functions, however, should be promptly returned to the agency whose specialty they are. I shall quote, if I may, from the statement I made in February, when I introduced H. R. 5282. I then said: "The Secretary of Agriculture has indicated that next year he will ask Congress for an appropriation for this purpose. But even should the Department obtain necessary funds, it would be far more costly to set up a separate enforcement agency in the Department than to use the existing enforcement facilities of the Federal Trade Commission. These considerations are particularly important in light of the fact that the Federal Trade Commission has been established precisely to enforce provisions of law dealing with unfair methods of competition.

"Furthermore, it has been estimated that minimum unfair trade practice enforcement by the Department of Agriculture under the Packers and Stockyards Act would require an additional staff of 60 full-time employees. On the other hand, the Federal Trade Commission could absorb such enforcement activity with its present staff.

"In recent years the Department of Agriculture has relegated the Packers and Stockyards Branch to a Commodity Division in the agricultural service. Principal functions of this division are marketing news services and Federal meat grading—both of which depend on packer cooperation for their success. In these circumstances it is hardly to be expected that this division could, in any event, adequately enforce provisions of antitrust laws."

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS RENDERING ACTION URGENT

My final point, Mr. Chairman, involves certain recent legal and economic developments that render the effective prevention of monopolistic practices in the food industry more important than ever before.

The first of these is the motion filed late last year by three of the defendants in the

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

1920 antitrust suit for relaxation of the terms of the consent decree entered against them in that year. The packers contend that circumstances have changed to such an extent as to entitle them to relief. Specifically, they ask to be relieved of the injunction against entering the business of dealing in meat at retail and in nonmeat foods. Their objective is said to be to enter the supermarket field. I do not propose to discuss the merits of this motion, which was addressed to the Federal district court. I do believe, however, that if the court should find merit in the motion and should grant it, entry of the packers into the nonmeat food industry and the retail meat industry will give added reason for making sure that a competent agency shall be in the position to supervise the trade and pricing practices of the parties.

The other facet of this problem arises from the fact, as asserted by the packers and the Department of Agriculture survey, that food chains have extensively entered the field of meatpacking. In this connection, the definition of what constitutes a "packer" under the Packers and Stockyards Act creates a number of problems of statutory coverage, as between the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission and the Secretary of Agriculture. The act defines the term "packer" so that it not only includes any person engaged in the business of (a) buying livestock in commerce for purposes of slaughter or (b) manufacturing or preparing meats or meat food products for sale or shipment in commerce, but also includes interests in food markets controlled by persons in either such category, as well as any person who owns as much as 20 percent of the control of an enterprise in either of the stated categories (a or b), and as much as 20 percent of the control of a food market.

Several decisions involving this broad definition of "packer" give cause for concern. The committee is doubtless familiar with the 1940 case of *United Corporation* v. *Federal Trade Commission*,[18] in which the fourth circuit held that by purchasing stock in corporate packers after the FTC had filed a complaint against it, the corporate respondent, engaged in the marketing of canned meat, had successfully become a "packer," thereby ousting the FTC of jurisdiction to make an order requiring it to cease and desist from misrepresentation and false and misleading advertising.

More recently, on April 11, 1957, a hearing examiner for the Federal Trade Commission issued a ruling that underscores the urgency of closing the loophole in the Federal Trade Commission Act that was created by the meat packers' exemption. In the Food Fair Stores case,[19] the Commission's examiner ruled that Food Fair's ownership and operation of a meat packing plant ousted the Federal Trade Commission from jurisdiction over respondent's practices in allegedly inducing and receiving unfair and discriminatory allowances in violation of section 2 (d) of the Robinson-Patman amendment to the Clayton Act. These practices were totally unrelated to the distribution of meats or meat products. However, by investing $2,700,000 in a meat packing plant, Food Fair has been able to remove FTC surveillance over the business of a supermarket grocery chain of 238 stores with gross sales of $475 million annually. This is clearly a case where the tail wags the dog. Unless the FTC overrules its examiner, his decision leads to absurd results. His opinion indicates his belief that Congress intended "to have the Secretary of Agriculture regulate all phases of any business in whatever primary field, connected in any way, or operating to any degree in meat packing." Under this view, any company no matter what its primary line, can oust the FTC of jurisdiction over its activities by making a minimal investment in a meat packing operation.

I hope that the hearing examiner ultimately is found to be in error. The fact that there is support for his interpretation of the packers' exemption, however, emphasizes the need for Congress to clarify this situation and to reestablish the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission over the activities of meatpackers.

The packers' exemption has beshrouded other aspects of the Federal Trade Commission's jurisdiction with ambiguity. In the case of Armour & Co.,[20] for example, the Commission's examiner dismissed a complaint of false advertising under the so-called oleomargarine amendment to the Federal Trade Commission Act[21] on the ground that Armour is a packer and therefore not within the Commission's jurisdiction. The Commission upheld its examiner. When similar charges were entertained by the Commission against the Blanton Co.,[22] which is not a packer, that company appealed to the eighth circuit, contending that this amendment is unconstitutional because it does not apply equally to competitors who are not packers.

Passage of the bill under consideration to restore to the Federal Trade Commission jurisdiction over packers is essential in the interest of antitrust enforcement. Conversely, failure of Congress to act, coupled with the litigation of legal problems of the kind I have described, will frustrate such enforcement in ever-growing areas for decades to come. This I know this committee will not countenance.

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] H. R. 5282, 5283, 5454, and 7038.

[2] 42 Stat. 159, as amended, (7 U. S. C. sec. 181 et seq. (1952)).

[3] *United States* v. *Swift & Co.* (Equity No. 37,623, S. Ct., D. C. 1920).

[4] See House of Representatives Rept. No. 77, to accompany H. R. 6320, 67th Cong., 1st sess., May 18, 1921, p. 1.

[5] Id., p. 10.

[6] Id., p. 2.

[7] Remarks of Representative McLaughlin, of Nebraska, May 27, 1921, vol. 61, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 1878.

[8] Remarks of Senator NORRIS, June 13, 1921, vol 61, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 2492.

[9] House of Representatives Rept. No. 77, to accompany H. R. 6320, 67th Cong., 1st session, p. 2.

[10] The cease and desist orders issued by the Secretary of Agriculture under title II of the Packers and Stockyards Act are as follows:

Year	Respondent	Date	Docket No.
1957	Straub & Smith	Feb. 11	2253
1956	Machlin Meat Packing	Feb. 20	2120
1953	Valleydale	June 1	2058
1953	Flicker Packing	Feb. 18	2040
1950	Berry Packing	Oct. —	1910
1949	Quaker	Dec. 13	1838
1949	Cross	June 17	1820
1949	Victorville	do	1818
1948	Ainbinder	Apr. 20	1801
1947	Columbia	May 19	1787
1939	Home	Oct. 18	1223
1938	Schloss	July 2	1105
1938	Perlen	do	1022
1938	Schloss	Feb. 3	1019
1938	Feldman	June 30	960
1938	Brighton	May 17	948
1938	Schloss	June 8	928
1938	Swift	June 1	580
1938	Wilmington (revoked Sept. 7, 1938)	Apr. 15	477
1937	Schloss	Oct. 20	708
1937	Empire	Apr. 23	603
1936	Scala Packing	Jan. 7	581
1936	C. Swanston & Son	Nov. 11	549
1936	Armour et al	Mar. 30	440
1936	A. and P. (revoked Dec. 28, 1938)	Dec. 29	476
1933	Trunz	Oct. 25	419
1933	J. J. Felin	do	420
1922	Armour et al	Aug. 30	1

NOTE.—Some of these orders do not deal with the prevention of monopolistic practices resulting from unfair trade practices, but with such matters as refusal to pay for livestock, etc. The order in each of these cases will be submitted for the record.

[11] Article in the Wall Street Journal for February 21, 1957.

[12] U. S. Department of Agriculture Report on Current Activities and Problems under the Packers and Stockyards Act released April 4, 1957, herein called survey.

[13] The survey makes no reference to any assistance to the Packers and Stockyards Branch by "scores of employees" in the Bureau of Markets, the Bureau of Animal Industry and the Pure Food Inspection Department referred to in the 1921 rebates in Congress. See note 7, supra.

[14] Survey, p. 8.

[15] Id., p. 9.

[16] Survey, p. 28.

[17] 110 F. 2d 473 (1940).

[18] FTC Docket No. 6458 (1957).

[19] FTC Docket No. 6409 (1956).

[20] 15 U. S. C., section 55 (a) (2) (1952). This amendment prohibits representations in advertising suggesting that oleomargarine is a dairy product.

[21] FTC Docket No. 6197 (1956).

Spring Burgeons Along Park Avenue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, some of us have been working hard during the past 4 or 5 months to establish the principle of protecting our highway roadsides from defacement by signboards. A patriotic and civic-minded resident of New York City, Mrs. Albert D. Lasker, a devoted friend of mine, has shown that even so-called streetsides can be made more beautiful, too. Through the generosity of Mrs. Lasker, plantings have been made along Park Avenue, on Manhattan Island, of daffodils and tulips and other magnificent beds of flowers. These have been contributed in memory of Mrs. Lasker's mother, Mrs. Sara J. Woodard, herself a pioneer conservationist in the field of scenic and outdoor beauty.

So that members of the Senate may know of what has been done by Mrs. Lasker to help add some beauty and sylvan atmosphere to one of the famous streets in the largest city of our country, I ask unanimous consent that a short article from the New York Times of April 26, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPRING BURGEONS ALONG PARK AVENUE

A midtown stretch of Park Avenue is flowering with a mile-long planting of daffodils and tulips. The central islands of every block from 50th Street to 72d have been transformed into garden plots, holding 140,000 plants.

The daffodils, both yellow and cream varieties, began to bloom last Sunday over a ground cover of myrtle; the tulips, some still budding, are of red, pink, white, lavender, and yellow.

Between the traffic lanes the massed fields of flowers make a bright ribbon of color in the shadow of office and apartment buildings. The plantings are a gift to the city from Mrs.

Albert D. Lasker, who thinks New York needs to be more beautiful than it is.

When she proposed the plan horticulturists were doubtful that the plants would survive the city's traffic exhaust, soot, and limited sunshine. A test planting was made last year in two blocks north of 50th and 70th Streets. The flowers surprised everyone by their ability to flourish, Mrs. Lasker said.

She hopes that the success of the gardens will inspire other contributors to provide other seasonal plantings when the tulips and daffodils are gone.

The donor is president of the Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation, which is chiefly concerned with fostering medical research. She has made many gifts of flowering plants to the city since 1943. Her earliest donations were made in memory of her mother, Mrs. Sara J. Woodard, a pioneer park conservationist who founded one of the first public parks in Watertown, Wis.

The plantings were supervised by the department of parks.

Address by George E. Stringfellow Before Kiwanis Club of Scranton, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled, "Are We Spending Our Way To Destruction?" delivered by Mr. George E. Stringfellow, past president of the Kiwanis Club of New York City, and a long time business associate of the late Thomas A. Edison, before the Kiwanis Club of Scranton, Pa., April 24, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARE WE SPENDING OUR WAY TO DESTRUCTION?

(Address by George E. Stringfellow, past president of the Kiwanis Club of New York City and long-time business associate of the late Thomas Alva Edison, before the Kiwanis Club of Scranton, Pa., April 24, 1957)

Mr. President, officers, past officers, distinguished guests and members of the Scranton Kiwanis Club, Kiwanis has many fine objectives and it is essential to the preservation of our way of life that we support them with enthusiasm. The Kiwanis objective which I propose to emphasize today is free enterprise.

No one can champion free enterprise without engaging in politics. I am conscious of the fact that many service clubs shy away from the discussion of politics. I hope your club does not fall in that category. I shall emphasize the effect that politics has on free enterprise. I shall speak of politics in the sense defined by Webster as "the science of Government—about which we should all all know more."

Inasmuch as Government affects every phase of our lives, we individually and collectively should take an active part in the science of government. If we would preserve the kind of government our forefathers envisioned, and if we are to implement the underlying principles of Kiwanis, we must discharge our responsibility by taking an active part in directing the affairs of our Government.

High taxes in peacetime are the end result of extravagantly conducted governmental affairs. Confiscatory taxes will destroy initiative and free enterprise and replace our capitalistic system with State socialism, a blood brother of communism.

One hundred and fifty years ago, John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, said, "The power to tax is the power to destroy." Full force of that power is being used today.

Twenty-five years ago the cost of Federal, State, and local governments took 8½ percent of the Nation's income. Today, these 3 segments of Government take 30 percent of the Nation's income. The Federal income tax alone takes from us 20 percent to 91 percent and Federal Government takes from 52 percent to 65 percent of the profits of business concerns.

One hundred and ten years ago, Karl Marx, one of the founders of communism said, "The surest way to destroy the capitalistic system—free enterprise—is through taxation."

Fifty years ago, Nicolai Lenin, that patron saint of communism said, "Sooner or later we hope to force America to spend her way to destruction."

When we compare our present tax rate with that of a quarter of a century ago and our current spending spree, there is little wonder that many Americans are asking, "Are we taxing and spending our way to destruction, as the Communists predicted we would?"

Five years ago, speaking in Paterson, N. J., when our annual Federal tax bill was about $70 billion, candidate Eisenhower said, "I don't know what the amount of taxes represents, when we talk about $70 billion. But I do know this, we can't afford what we are spending and stay strong enough to lead the world to peace." President Eisenhower would now have us believe that if we don't spend at least $72 billion a year we cannot lead the world to peace. What we may ask brought about this rightabout-face on the part of the President? The rightabout-face was probably brought about by the President's palace guards who, for the most part, entertain the Harry Hopkins philosophy of "spend and spend and spend and elect and elect and elect."

I have very serious doubt that the President has learned what $72 billion is. I would, therefore, give him a few examples:

Seventy-two billion dollars would make a stack of 10-dollar bills 410 miles high. This is more than the distance from Scranton, Pa., to Montreal, Canada.

Seventy-two billion dollars would pay the wages of a million factory workers at the present average rate for 17 years.

Seventy-two billion dollars is almost twice as much as the United States Government spent for World War I.

Seventy-two billion dollars represents spending $1.15 per second since the birth of Christ.

In the 3 fiscal years ending June 30 of 1954, 1955, and 1956, the Federal Government, under Eisenhower, spent $193 billion. In the 152 years from George Washington's first inauguration in 1789 to 1940, the Federal Government spent $167 billion. In other words, Eisenhower's administration in 3 years spent $26 billion more than was spent in 152 years.

In a single month in 1956, the Federal Government spent almost twice as much as the total cost of Government during the 4 years of the Civil War.

EISENHOWER BUDGET

President Eisenhower has proposed a budget of approximately $72 billion for the fiscal year beginning July 1. In addition to that he proposes to spend another $14 billion appropriated by previous Congresses.

Eisenhower proposes to spend in 1 peacetime year as much as Franklin D. Roosevelt spent in 9 peacetime years and Roosevelt, I think you will agree, was not noted for his frugality with public funds. As a matter of fact, it must be apparent to anyone who has studied the record that the difference between the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and Modern Republicanism is one of degree—the latter being more expensive than the other two.

The magnitude of Eisenhower's proposed expenses during peacetime years is illustrated by a chart which I shall distribute at the conclusion of my remarks. The data for this chart was supplied by the United States Treasury Department.

The Honorable HARRY FLOOD BYRD, senior United States Senator from Virginia and one of the ablest and one of the most partiotic statesmen in the history of our Republic, recently referred to the proposed Eisenhower budget as a "spending spree which will continue inflation and increase the cost of living." Senator BYRD proposed a reduction in the Eisenhower budget of $6½ billion and has shown how and where the reduction can be made. If Congress reduces the Eisenhower budget, as recommended by Senator BYRD, and I hope it does, it still would be $65,300 million, which is $5½ billion more than Eisenhower recommended in 1952, when he sought the presidency. He said then: "Tax reduction is a way to boost consumer buying and let the people spend their own money instead of the Government spending it for them. Tax reduction is an essential part of our program to achieve prosperity without war."

PRESS CONFERENCE

At a recent press conference the President was told of the growing criticism of his unprecedented peacetime budget. His retort was "This isn't 1890. * * * In this day," he said, "We can't limit ourselves to Government processes that were applicable to 1890. We have got to adapt the great principles of the Constitution to the inescapable industrial and economic conditions of our times." And that, we suppose, in intended to explain everything.

If anyone ventures the simplest suggestion today that all virtues, such as thrift or prudence or self-reliance or local responsibility for local problems might have some virtue as they had in the past—for Government as well as for citizens—the suggestion is dismissed with such phrases as "We can't turn back the clock to McKinley," or "would you go back to the horse and buggy days?" This is intended to be devastating to the one making the suggestion. It is supposed to make him an ignoramus unaware of the march of history and more than likely an enemy of the people because he is opposed to progress. It also marks the defensive spender as a farsighted fellow whose gaze is fixed ahead to 1980. It is a debater's retort that answers nothing. It is intended to throw the subject out of focus and put the critic on the defense.

Such Senators as BRICKER, BRIDGES, BYRD, DIRKSEN, DOUGLAS, GOLDWATER, JENNER, KNOWLAND, LAUSCHE, MARTIN, MUNDT, REVERCOMB, RUSSELL, TALMADGE, and WILLIAMS—who are critical of the Eisenhower budget—are neither unmindful of history nor are they fools. They are men of far more experience and their judgment is unquestionably better than that of the "palace guard" composed of Hoffman, Adams, Stassen, and brother Milton, who have the President's ear.

In October 1932 Calvin Coolidge and Alfred E. Smith issued the following statement: "All the cost of Federal, State, and local government must be reduced without fear and without favor. Unless the people, through unified action, arise and take charge of their government, they will find that their government has taken charge of them."

When these 2 wise and courageous citizens made that statement, almost a quarter of a century ago, Government was taking 8½ per-

cent of the Nation's income. Today it is taking 30 percent.

If you want to reduce the cost of government, you can do it by telling your Congressman and your Senators that they must cut the cost of government or you will remove them from the Government payroll at the next election.

The Government will be as efficient as we demand and as wasteful as we permit. The time has arrived, I think, when we taxpayers, if we are to preserve our way of life, must speak out.

Unless we get control of Government expenses at an early date our whole form of government will be changed from capitalism to some form of state socialism—blood brother to communism.

We can prevent this by protesting to our Congressmen and Senators. They will respond to our demands if we are insistent. Will you make the demand now and thus do your share to preserve our way of life?

A Permanent U. N. Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PERMANENT U. N. FORCE

To the New York Herald Tribune:

The committee for collective security urges that the United States seek the establishment of a permanent and effective United Nations security force. This force would be useful in discouraging and preventing aggression, thus inducing peaceful settlement of disputes between member states. The need for and the value of such a force has been clearly demonstrated by the United Nations emergency force in the Middle East.

The establishment of such a force would involve many problems, such as the following:

1. Is the force to be used to stop armed aggression, to stop contraventions of international law, to maintain domestic status quo at the request of a government, to protect United Nations missions abroad, to police disturbed frontiers, plebiscites, areas of international importance?

2. Is the force to be controlled by the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Genral Assembly with a new voting system, or a new body?

3. Is the force to be recruited by national contingents under permanent United Nations command, or individually?

4. How large should the permanent force be and how should it be expanded when the need arises?

5. Who pays the force—national governments paying their own contigents, the United Nations paying the national contingents, or the United Nations paying internationally recruited forces?

6. Should the force be equipped with mass-destruction weapons, conventional weapons, or only small arms?

7. Under what circumstances should the force be used without the consent of the government in whose territory it is to operate?

8. Should the force be stationed in permanent bases which would become United Nations territory, or near trouble spots along disputed frontiers, or on national bases at the pleasure of national governments?

Recognizing the many difficult problems involved, we urge that the United States propose in the United Nations the creation of a commission to explore all phases of this proposal and to report its findings and recommendations to the General Assembly.

GOODHUE LIVINGSTON, Jr.,
Chairman, Policy Committee, Committee for Collective Security.
NEW YORK, April 3, 1957.

Address by George E. Stringfellow at Annual Spring Reunion, Omaha, Nebr., Scottish Rite Bodies of Freemasonry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the Omaha, Nebr., Scottish Rite Bodies of Freemasonry held their annual spring reunion last week. On the occasion of their banquet, they were addressed by the Honorable George E. Stringfellow, currently the Imperial Chief Rabban of the Shrine of North America. Mr. Stringfellow's home is in East Orange, N. J. He is senior vice president of Thomas A. Edison Industries of the McGraw Edison Co. He was a daily business associate of Thomas Alva Edison for many years. His achievements in civic and business affairs are extensive and significant. He has become a member of the board of directors of some of the large American corporations. Honors have been bestowed on him by institutions of culture and learning. He has given of his time and resources toward goals of better citizenship and a stronger republic.

The title of his address on the occasion referred to was "The Lamp of Liberty." I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LAMP OF LIBERTY

(Address by George E. Stringfellow, Imperial Chief Rabgan, A. A. O. M. S., before the spring reunion banquet of the Scottish Rite Bodies of Omaha, Nebr., April 25, 1957)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, friends, I am grateful to you for the warmth of your reception and for the privilege of addressing this audience of eminent Masons.

The spirit of friendship which is so much in evidence gives tangible meaning to the philosophy in which we Masons—and Shriners—believe: The brotherhood of man, and the fatherhood of God.

This belief in the existence of the Great Architect of the Universe, together with our love of country, our native sense of service to our fellow man, and our fundamental antipathy to tyranny, impels us to do all we can to preserve our way of life, which to a large extent, was conceived and implemented by our Masonic forefathers. We Masons, therefore, in my opinion, have a greater responsibility to keey "The lamp of liberty" burning in America than any other group of citizens.

We were fortunate in the early days of our history to have in our colonies a small group of leaders whose like had not been seen before or since. We who love our country are justly thrilled by the courage of our forefathers. They had granite in their character and iron in their backbone.

Individual enterprise, courage, daring and incentive were the order of the day. Social security was not emphasized. Individual freedom was more important. Patrick Henry's declaration "Give me liberty or give me death" represented the sentiment of our founding fathers. Their ideals were high, and from those ideals they fashioned and bequeathed to us in our constitution what Gladstone termed: "The greatest document ever stricken off in a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

Under our form of government we have made more progress in 170 years than people under other forms of government have made in 6,000 years. We have built on this continent a civilization which for prestige, power, and wealth has no equal in the annals of history.

It is true that our country has enjoyed a great physical heritage. Resources of mine and soil, water, field and forest have been given to us in prodigious abundance. However, other countries have been endowed with natural resources more richly than ours. It is, therefore, something more than material assets that accounts for our phenomenal progress. Of greater importance is the character of our people and the pattern of our Government.

In spite of all this, within recent years our country, our form of government, and our way of life have been subjected to severe and unwarranted criticism, largely from two sources:

1. The fuzzy-minded, egg-headed, self-styled liberals, and

2. The Communists and fellow travelers.

Of the two, I believe the self-styled liberals are the more dangerous because they aren't always recognized for what they are.

In a recent ceremony, when he received the 1956 award of the Freedom Foundation, J. Edgar Hoover, who, as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, is in a position to know what he is talking about, asserted: "Pseudo-liberals, as self-styled social reformers have become the ready tools of the Communist conspiracy in this country." They have increasingly conceived committees in the name of defending every freedom, but none to uphold authority.

The time has come for loyal Americans to stand up to our detractors.

The time has come for us to treat the Communist apparatus for what is it—a conspiracy to destroy America. We must not be deceived by the pseudo-liberals who assert that the Communists are not dangerous, and if left alone, will do us no harm. Don't you believe it. Their methods are devious, but their intent is unfaltering. They sometimes work under the principle of Roman Gen. Quintus Fabius, who said, "When your enemy is too large to defeat outright, lure him to battle, in small sectors and defeat him bit by bit."

Too many of our unthinking people have been lured by this strategy in the effort to take from us our freedoms in exchange for a totalitarian philosophy.

Whether we call it communism, socialism, welfare state, or liberalism, the objective is the same—to destroy individual enterprise and individual liberty.

England is a tragic example of what can happen. Socialism has been the rainbow with its elusive pot of gold, capturing the hearts of the English people.

Major services have been socialized, among them socialized medicine, about which there is misgiving and much regret.

The result is that personal wealth is just about gone. Only a mere handful of large estates remain. There is no one left to tax but the average man.

This same process of creeping socialism has been taking place in the United States

since 1933. Our Federal Government grows larger, more powerful and more costly.

Public housing, Government-owned utilities and power, Government control of transportation and commerce, Government control of money, credit, banking and business are self-evident facts.

In many quarters there is a demand for Federal aid to public education. This of course means Federal control of public schools. It is to be expected that if the Federal Government pays the bill, the Federal Government will make the rules. The strongest medium for promoting democracy at its grassroots would thus be controlled by means of Federal subsidizing.

Socialized medicine is being widely promoted. You can be certain that it would be tied up with redtape, regulations, and prohibitions.

All benefits are born from the noblest of motives. That's why so many people are deluded into accepting them. However, they don't read the fine print to see what final payment—both in terms of liberty and taxation—will be demanded of them.

All this is being done in the name of the common or average man. The cry is "Equality for all." But, there is something fallacious in the notion that everybody must be equal—that everybody must have approximately the same income, the same purchasing power, the same quality of car, home, and external circumstances, regardless of his creative ability or his productivity. There is no equality among men. The Socialist seeks to push all men down to a common level, but God does not give men equal endowment, nor does he make two alike.

In the parable of the talents—Matthew 25: 14–30—we are told in graphic and striking words how men were rewarded in accordance with their productivity.

The parable can be interpreted to mean that Jesus was talking about God and his children. The gifts to the three servants were not equal, as God's gifts to men are not equal. Each servant was free to choose and act according to his own wisdom and he was rewarded accordingly.

Men grow best when they are free from restraints, free to make their own decisions, free to work out their own problems, and free to accept responsibility for their own lives.

It is what we do with the opportunity given us that affords our spiritual development.

What we must safeguard today are the principles of government that provide us with the opportunity to develop, each in his own way, the spiritual and material gifts with which we are endowed.

We can preserve the way of life which has given us individual freedom, material success, and security, by exemplifying the courage, the daring, and independence of our forefathers.

If we Masons fulfill our threefold responsibility (1) to God, (2) to country, and (3) to our fellow man, we will keep the "lamp of liberty" burning in America.

Death of Dr. Claude B. Lewis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Death of a Doctor," published in the Minneapolis Star of April 23, 1957; also an article entitled "Dr. C. B. Lewis Dies; Brother of Novelist," published in the Minneapolis Star of April 22, 1957; and an article entitled "Dr. C. B. Lewis, St. Cloud, Dies," published in the St. Paul Pioneer-Press of April 22, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Star of April 23, 1957]

DEATH OF A DOCTOR

Dr. Claude B. Lewis, of St. Cloud, brother of novelist Sinclair Lewis, was a beloved physician and surgeon of central Minnesota—the kind of oldfashioned country doctor who, when times were rough back in the 30's, was willing to take a sack of potatoes or a crock of butter as payment on a medical bill. Many people in Stearns and surrounding counties mourn his passing.

Although his more famous brother won the Nobel Prize and international renown, the country doctor never was overawed. Sinclair once confessed that his ambition was to "impress Claude." But men who stay home and work at the grassroots often are hard to impress. Dr. Lewis' main interest was his country practice. Literary salons and coteries were not for him.

Now that he is gone, thousands of Minnesotans will remember his kindness and gentleness—and his great devotion to the sick and suffering—as among the real blessings of their lives. And perhaps this is a better kind of fame than even the Nobel Prize.

[From the Minneapolis Star of April 22, 1957]

DR. C. B. LEWIS DIES; BROTHER OF NOVELIST

ST. CLOUD, MINN.—Dr. Claude B. Lewis, brother of novelist Sinclair Lewis, died Saturday at the age of 78. He had been a physician and surgeon here for 52 years.

He was the last of the 3 sons of Dr. Edwin J. Lewis, the Sauk Centre, Minn., country doctor, who probably was the model for Dr. Kennicott in "Main Street." Fred, the oldest, a miller, died in Sauk Centre in 1944. Sinclair, the youngest, died in Italy in 1951.

Funeral services will be 2 p. m., Wednesday, at First Presbyterian Church with burial in North Star Cemetery, St. Cloud. The family prefers memorials to First Presbyterian Church, or St. Cloud Hospital.

Dr. Claude Lewis had the same fiery red hair and the same colorful—if more restrained—way of expressing himself as the novelist.

Sinclair never failed to send the doctor autographed copies of his books but the doctor often didn't have time to read them, according to a daughter, Mrs. Robert Agrell, Excelsior.

"He didn't like novels," she said. "He liked detective stories and stories of adventure and exploration. But he secretly was very proud of Uncle Hal." (Sinclair, also known as Harry or Hal.)

Of Lewis' novels, Dr. Lewis said: "Some I liked very much. In others I thought he was a little long-winded."

During his years in St. Cloud, the doctor became known throughout central Minnesota for his reputation as a surgeon.

He was instrumental in establishing the first school of nursing at St. Raphael's Hospital, forerunner of the present St. Cloud Hospital.

He also planned the purchase of modern equipment and set up the system of records still in use.

Dr. Lewis once told friends that, like his father, he loved his country practice because he "liked to take care of people who were really sick, who really needed me."

He loved the country, too, and at one time owned several farms near St. Cloud. Dressed in dungarees and with a cigar between his teeth, he would spend weekends tramping through the fields, discussing the management of the farms with his tenant farmers.

His cheerfulness and gentleness in dealing with his patients endeared him to the nuns, members of the Order of St. Benedict, who operate the St. Cloud Hospital.

And Dr. Lewis, a Presbyterian, spent his last weeks, in one of the "bishop's rooms" at the hospital. There the nuns would drop in one by one to say, "We're praying for you, doctor."

Dr. Lewis was born in Ironton, Wis., September 17, 1878. When he was 5, the family moved to Sauk Centre. His mother, Emma Kermott Lewis, died in 1891 and 2 years later, his father married Isabel Warner, who was as redheaded as her stepsons.

Dr. Lewis graduated from high school in Sauk Centre in 1895, taught school a year, then entered University of Minnesota and graduated in 1900. He entered Rush Medical College, Chicago, where his father also had studied medicine, and graduated in 1903.

After serving a year of internship at Augustana Hospital, Chicago, he came to St. Cloud in 1905 to begin practice.

He was a charter member and a former president of the St. Cloud Kiwanis Club. He belonged to the First Presbyterian Church and to the Minnesota State Medical Association and the American Medical Association. He was a member of the State organization's Fifty-Year Club.

He is survived by his wife, Helen A., whom he married in 1950; a son, Freeman, Glen Head, Long Island, N. Y., executive vice president of pocketbooks for Simon & Schuster, New York publishers; two daughters, Isabel (Mrs. Agrell) and Virginia, an interior decorator in San Francisco, Calif. There are six grandchildren.

[From St. Paul Pioneer-Press of April 22, 1957]

DR. C. B. LEWIS, ST. CLOUD, DIES

ST. CLOUD, MINN.—Dr. C. B. Lewis, 78, longtime head surgeon at St. Cloud Hospital and brother of the late author, Sinclair Lewis, died Saturday night after an extended illness.

Dr. Lewis came to the hospital here in 1905 after finishing medical school at Rush Medical College in Chicago, where he also interned. On his retirement in 1950 he was named to the honorary staff of the hospital.

Sinclair Lewis, who made his hometown of Sauk Centre, Minn., famous in his novel, Main Street, died in 1950, a year after he and Dr. Lewis had made a European tour together. A third brother, Fred, died several years ago.

Surviving Dr. Lewis are his widow, the former Helen Lindberg Deboll; a son, Freeman, of New York; and two daughters, Virginia Lewis, of San Francisco, and Mrs. Robert Isabel Agrell, of Excelsior, Minn.

Labor Union Regulation and Curbing Union Abuses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IRVING M. IVES

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, there appeared in the April 25 and 26 issues of the New York Times editorials entitled

"Curbing Union Abuses" and "Labor Union Regulation."

These editorials are so comprehensive and depict such a complete grasp of the present labor-management situation, where racketeering and other abuses are involved, that they should be read by all who are interested in this very critical and dangerous domestic problem.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of April 25, 1957]

CURBING UNION ABUSES

Organized labor in the United States faces a hostile public opinion much like the anti-business sentiment of 50 years ago. Another parallel is sure to follow: the regulation of unions by the Government. Sporadic cases of labor racketeering and corruption, many involving collusion by employers, have been of growing concern to the public, but the revelation of teamster misdeeds by the McClellan committee has raised the blood pressure of the entire Nation. As the committee penetrates other areas of this miasma the demand for its eradication will increase. And along with proposals that are in the legitimate interest of labor and the public will be many which are clearly neither. The time has come for the public to ponder both on what should be done and what should not be done.

It is well to keep in mind that, as with business in the past, the well-advertised misdeeds of the few are not an indictment of the many. The reckless misuse of union funds by teamster officials emphasizes by comparison the meticulous care with which other union treasuries are guarded, in the garment-trades unions, for example. And the AFL-CIO should receive unstinted praise for its determination to root out abuses and establish standards of good conduct for its affiliated unions.

Several areas of union operations should be clearly differentiated, both as to existing Government regulations and what further controls are needed. Welfare funds have been most in the public eye. But the McClellan committee exposures have now spotlighted union treasuries; the operating funds that come from members' dues. Then there is the field of internal-union government; how officers are elected, basic decisions made, etc. And finally there is the legal status of unions and of their operations in general.

The case for greater regulation in financial matters is much the clearest cut, where union officers are trustees for the contributions of the rank and file. Complete disclosure of welfare-fund operations is an absolute must, and either the Douglas or the Ives bill to compel this—both bills are now before Congress—should be passed. The Taft-Hartley law already requires financial reports to the Secretary of Labor for a union's accreditation by the National Labor Relations Board. It also calls for full information about union internal procedures.

The Taft-Hartley requirements, however, have obviously had no effect in the restraint of even the grossest abuses. Clearly, the disclosures should be fuller, and given a wider circulation, than either of the bills before Congress or the Taft-Hartley law prescribes. And, even then, will not direct Government controls be called for, such as clearly defined standards for union financial operations, with the power to enforce them, and some legal guaranties of democratic union government?

But measures beyond these are open to serious doubt. Opponents of organized labor, and those fearful of its strength, are using the McClellan committee revelations as arguments for more drastic limitations. For example, pressures are rising for a Federal law against the union shop, for the application of the antitrust laws to labor organization, and for a bar to industrywide union-management agreements.

President Eisenhower is now publicly committed to propose a program of legislation to curb improper union practices, which he has asked Secretary of Labor Mitchell to discuss with him today. Mr. Mitchell's known opposition to "right to work" laws and to subjecting unions to antitrust restrictions gives some hint as to his point of view. It is encouraging that he seems to be aware of the danger of too drastic, or purely antiunion legislation.

What is called for, of course, is protection against the abuses that are now being revealed, without weakening free and responsible collective bargaining—one of this Nation's most cherished institutions.

[From the New York Times of April 28, 1957]

LABOR-UNION REGULATION

President Eisenhower's program for laws to curb labor-union abuses, and Secretary Mitchell's comments on it show a commendable determination to deal with this vital problem, yet to proceed with care, taking the most urgent and easiest steps at the start and avoiding wrong directions.

Most timely is the administration's backing, and also that of Senator MCCLELLAN, for legislation such as Senator IVES' bill, now before Congress, requiring Federal registration of all labor pension and welfare funds and permitting public disclosure of their operations—both those to which union members contribute and those solely financed and controlled by the employers. Strong business opposition to the inclusion of employer funds slowed up action on this bill last year. But it is hard to see why the beneficiaries of one should not be as fully protected as those of the other.

The McClellan committee hearings have shown need of the same treatment for labor's operating treasuries. The Taft-Hartley law requires detailed financial reports to the Secretary of Labor from unions as a prerequisite to accreditation by the National Labor Relations Board. But only labor committees of Congress are permitted to inspect them—except that members of a union can see their own organization's report. In the 10 years since the records have been kept there have been only 200 requests for access to any of the 39,000 reports on file.

The President has approved, as he should, a law to make this information open to the public. But why should not all unions be included—not only those accredited by the NLRB—and also those, such as the Western Conference of Teamsters, not parties to collective bargaining at all? And shouldn't the reports of each union be made available to its members?

The administration has in mind a further step: Federal review and audit of union financial operations. This might well lead to another move not included in the program: legal standards of administration and penalties for their violation. Still another subject calls for the President's attention: guaranties of membership control over union elections and major policy decisions. The Taft-Hartley law also requires similar report on union official personnel and their salaries and on governing procedures. But these records, too, are not open to the public. They certainly should be.

Encouraging also is the AFL-CIO's support of the administration program. President Meany says the federation favors even more sweeping legislation on welfare funds and that labor "sees no danger in public disclosure of union financial reports." He adds: "Every union member should get a report of what is being done with his money." Amen.

Address by Hon. Roswell Magill Before Academy of Political Science

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech entitled "Can the Federal Budget Be Reduced?" made by the Honorable Roswell Magill before the Academy of Political Science on April 22, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAN THE FEDERAL BUDGET BE REDUCED?

(Address before the Academy of Political Science on April 22, 1957, by Roswell Magill, partner, Cravath, Swaine & Moore; president, the Tax Foundation; member, board of directors, Academy of Political Science)

The proposed $72 billion Federal budget for 1958 has provoked a storm of citizen interest. Citizens have begun to appreciate that so long as the Federal budget remains high, there is no real chance of Federal tax reduction.

We have painfully learned in our individual experiences during the past 10 years that unbalanced budgets mean not only additions to the enormous Federal debt but also inflation and a dollar gradually diminishing in value. Time was when a penny would buy a newspaper. Now pennies have little use save for sales taxes. Time was when a nickel would buy a subway ride. Now three nickels are required. Now a dime buys the afternoon paper that pennies used to provide. We don't want to produce the time when a dollar bill will be required for that purpose.

There is some evidence that the sheer size of the Federal budget has appalled a good many citizens. Moreover, many of us are troubled to recall that, after the 1952 campaign with its promises of a reduced budget and a smaller Federal Government, the budget really was reduced $10 billion in the course of 2 successive years; but that in the next 3 years it has grown $9 billion (including the new highway program); so we are back where we started. Nor is the growth solely in defense items. Defense expenditures are budgeted to increase $2.7 billion, less than a third of the total rise; other expenditures have increased $6.3 billion, more than twice as much.

Many taxpayers have taken pen in hand (better still, some have used pencils) to write to their Congressmen that they don't like the budget, and want it reduced. Congress has begun to respond to the demands of constituents. At the same time, however, some leaders express doubts whether citizens are really prepared to take less from the United States as the price of paying less in taxes. Is the economy drive really well grounded, not merely in the grassroots, but in the facts of present-day American life?

The fact that the current outcry from citizens is aimed at the proposed Federal budget may have obscured the source of the protest. Some people may in fact feel that the Federal Government already is too large and is spending too much; others may be convinced that loose Federal spending at a time like this can only add to inflationary pressures. Essentially, however, the curernt protest is a protest against high taxes. Too many people are paying too much in taxes, not only at the Federal, but also at the

State and local levels. They had hoped, after the campaign promises of last year, that there would be a substantial tax reduction, at least in Federal taxes, this year.

The proposed budget for fiscal 1958 washed out those hopes for tax cuts. That is why the people protested, and are continuing to do so. That is why these protests have forced the House of Representatives to make substantial reductions in appropriations bills to date. Americans this year are merely exercising the age-old right of civilized people to complain about taxes in the interest of reducing the burden.

Looked at in this light, the current protest does not answer a more fundamental problem involving our entire philosophy of government. Practically, are citizens really prepared to give up some school aid, some farm parity, some foreign aid, in the interest of a smaller expenditure total and thus lower taxes?

Philosophyically, are we now so large a country, with so many people, so much national income, and such worldwide responsibilities, that we must support a vastly expensive Federal Government? On this basis, for example, one commentator, an official under a prior administration, criticizes the currently proposed budget as being much too small. Senator BYRD says the budget is much too high and should be cut $5 billion. Who is right?

What are the facts? The calm and dispassionate atmosphere of an Academy of Political Science meeting ought to be a good spot in which to make the endeavor to separate out a few of the principal threads in a very complicated and tangled web. We can't hope to learn in a few minutes what Senator BYRD, and the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Director of the Bureau of the Budget have learned in several lifetimes of study. But we can hope to become moderately well-informed citizens, better able to judge intelligently some of the major issues here involved.

I

First, what is the budget? Who makes it? Who is responsible for it?

The current budget, a volume of 1,249 pages, is the Federal program of expenditures for the fiscal year July 1, 1957, to June 30, 1958; and the official estimate of cash receipts, mostly from taxes, for the same fiscal period. It is prepared by the Bureau of the Budget, an agency in the executive branch of the Government, headed by a director.

President Eisenhower stated in his budget message for 1957: "A budget is not just a book of figures describing fiscal operations—it is a comprehensive plan of action for meeting our national objectives. As such, it affects every phase of the life and activity of the Nation."

Fundamentally, the budget is a cumulative list of all the items of anticipated expenditures for the fiscal year for all the innumerable Government departments, bureaus, and agencies. Some of these items have already been authorized by Congress in past years. Some are logical developments of what has been authorized. Some require new authorization.

In a nutshell, the budget for fiscal 1958, which so many taxpayers are protesting, calls for expenditures of $72 billion in the year beginning July 1. Nearly two-thirds will go for what is called national security spending, and the rest for all other programs.

Even if Congress wants to cut a few billion out of proposed spending, it will have a hard time doing so. The trouble is Congress deals primarily with appropriations, not expenditures. As part of his budget planning, the President has requested Congress to pass some $73 billion in appropriations this year.

Even if Congress refused to pass a single dollar of this $73 billion, the President would still have available for spending some $70 billion from appropriations and authorizations by prior Congresses. And if Congress does give the President all the appropriations he now asks for, he will have available for expenditure on July 1, not the $72 billion he says he plans to spend, but a fabulous total of about $140 billion.

Actually, so far as spending for fiscal 1958 is concerned, about the only way Congress could be sure to cut expenditures would be to pass a measure putting a ceiling on spending for the year. That is why there has been considerable support for proposals such as the one by Representative JOHN RAY, of New York, House Resolution 170, which would, in effect, try to put an arbitrary ceiling of $65 billion on spending for fiscal 1958.

II

All this does not mean that Congress is wasting its time trying to cut appropriations bills. On the contrary, sizable appropriations cuts can influence spending, not only in fiscal 1958 but in later years as well. By cutting down the amount of carryovers, Congress can increase its control over future budget.

That is the significance of proposals by Senator BYRD and others to make major cuts in appropriations this year. Senator BYRD has said expenditures for fiscal 1958 should be cut by at least $5 billion. To help reach that objective he proposes that appropriations be cut by $6½ billion. Although he does not plan to release the details of his appropriations cuts until the Senate is dealing with each of the appropriations bills, he has outlined the main areas where he thinks these cuts can be made.

He would cut national security appropriations by $1½ billion, a reduction of less than 5 percent aimed at eliminating waste without curtailing essential defense spending. Presumably he would include as waste any big-game hunting parties in the wilds of Alaska by Air Force brass.

He would cut $2 billion more by maintaining military assistance to foreign countries at the 1957 level (a saving of $500 million), and by reducing economic assistance by $1½ billion.

He would cut $3 billion from domestic-civilian activities, which have risen 36 percent since 1954. Right here we have the critical test of the American philosophy of government, to which I referred previously. Few people seem to realize that the vaunted $10 billion cut in Federal spending achieved by the present administration in its first 2 years in office was due primarily to lighter military demands after the end of the Korean war.

On the other hand, nondefense spending, after a sharp drop of about $3 billion between fiscal 1953 and 1954, has increased steadily ever since, passing the previous Truman peak in the present year and reaching a new peacetime record in the proposed budget for fiscal 1958.

In my view, these proposals by Senator BYRD by no means hobble the Federal Government's activities, whether for defense or for civilian purposes. Mainly the line of demarcation seems to be between a Federal Government which spends freely on all sorts of not very essential projects and one which is reasonably careful about its expenditures. That the proposed cuts as a whole do not introduce an era of austerity is sufficiently shown by the fact that if all the cuts were made the budget would be reduced much less than 10 percent. It is likely that, in fact, the cuts will be more nearly 5 percent than 10. Even such relatively moderate reductions are producing howls of anguish from the particular bureau chiefs affected; chiefs who would not be able to expand their services as they hoped. Nevertheless it is quite clear that even after the cuts the Government at Washington will go on.

The really important result of the relatively slight shrinking of proposed Federal activities will be a corresponding opportunity to shrink Federal taxes a little, and even to shrink the massive Federal debt a little. We citizens would really enjoy a chance to spend for ourselves more of the money we earn.

III

Fundamentally, in what philosophy of government do we citizens believe? Do we really want to spend our own money, or do we really prefer to have the Government spend for us? Are we satisfied to restrict the activities of the Federal Government largely to those matters like national defense which only the Federal Government can do well? Are we satisfied to leave to the States and municipalities the execution of historically local functions, like schools and local highways, which the localities can finance and execute, perhaps more slowly, but in the long run, with better supervision and attention to local needs than a distant national government? Incidentally, we should not throw away the great advantages that flow from many local experiments in different forms of management of public affairs; advantages that are notably absent from the centralized administration of a monolithic state.

In presenting his budget 3 years ago, the President said: "This budget marks the beginning of a movement to shift to State and local governments and to private enterprise Federal activities which can be more appropriately and more efficiently carried on in that way."

That philosophy seems to me sound, and I should like to return to it. The 1958 budget was evidently drawn on a different basis.

The fact that we are a big country with a rapidly growing population and an enormous national income does not really justify the 1958 budget. If we spend up to the limit of our tax resources now, and that is what we are doing, where shall we turn if an emergency makes even heavier outlays necessary?

There is every indication that unless Congress makes heroic efforts to cut the budget, the final spending total for fiscal 1958 will be even higher than the President indicated in his January budget. We need only look at the last couple of years to see the possibilities. The 1956 budget rose more than $4 billion between the time the President first proposed it and the end of the fiscal year; the 1957 budget is expected to rise at least $3 billion in the same period. If it hadn't been for an even greater increase in budget receipts, the surpluses of the past 2 years would have been substantial deficits.

If inflationary pressures continue as at present, fiscal 1958 spending is virtually certain to be considerably higher than the $72 billion planned in the President's budget. And I wish I was as sure as some that the precarious surplus in the present budget will in fact be brought about by a continuing rise in budget receipts, reflecting a prosperity that is still booming lustily. Are we really as sure as that of endless good times?

Moreover, if we try to project this kind of budget with its huge obligational authority to future years, the outlook is gloomy indeed. A new analysis of the budget by the Tax Foundation shows that there are no less than 42 new or expanded programs proposed for fiscal 1958. Twenty-four are new, in the sense that they require new authorizations or have never yet been appropriated for, and another 18 are expanded.

Besides the well-known ones, such as Federal aid for school construction, the list includes such things as: a new series of loans and grants to State and local governments for development of small reclamation projects; grants to States to meet personnel and administrative costs of State and local civil-defense organizations; new borrowing power for college housing loans; new benefits for veterans; grants to States for construction of

training facilities for medical and dental schools; grants to States for training of public welfare personnel; grants and loans for areas with persistent unemployment. Grants to States to assist in tree planting at a cost of $4 million.

There are many others, but these are fair samples. So far as future spending is concerned, it is extremely significant that these 42 programs, involving appropriations of nearly $9 billion in the 1958 budget, call for expenditures of less than $2 billion in fiscal 1958. The rest would go to make future budgets big.

Our practice is to permit these programs to start small and grow big. An excellent example came to light recently. The item in question was an appropriation of $150,000 entitled "Salaries and Expenses, President's Committee on Education Beyond High School." The Committee received this appropriation some time ago and was supposed to make a report by December 31, 1957. In the current budget, there are 2 more items, 1 for $650,000 for grants and subsidies and another for $300,000 to enable the Committee to complete its report. The payoff, however, is a third item in the same budget requesting $2.5 million further to assist in developing programs to implement recommendations of the Committee. Thus, in 2 years, a little old $150,000 item to enable the Committee to make a report has grown to a $3 million appropriation for a grants and subsidy program to implement a report and recommendations that the Committee has not yet made.

However shocking these governmental practices may be to the taxpayers, taxpayers must recognize that the practical effect is to assure big budgets for years to come. Unless Congress and the administration take a strong stand now, the budget for fiscal 1959 may well approach $80 billion. If the budget is anywhere near that total, we may well forget the possibility of any of the substantial tax cuts that the politicians talk about but that public officials like to forget.

IV

Nevertheless, the outlook is not hopeless, nor is the battle lost. There are some good signs, too. One of the best is the renewed interest of Congress as well as of the people in the problem of controlling expenditures. Right now, there are dozens of bills attempting to deal with problems of carryovers, of appropriations procedures, of poor staffing for appropriations committees. I shall mention a few.

Legislation calling for a single-package appropriation-expenditure control bill has been introduced by the indefatigable Senator BYRD. This proposal seeks to give Congress actual control over annual expenditures both from new and prior appropriations. In addition to consolidating all regular appropriations in a single bill, this measure provides that each bill must be accompanied by a congressional report itemizing all appropriations and expenditures. Such legislation will limit total authorized spending for the year. A current estimate of revenue for the ensuing year is also called for, so that the Congress may know whether its actions will result in a balanced budget or a debt increase.

The Senate has already approved a measure introduced by Senator MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas, and cosponsored by 71 Senators which provides for the establishment of a Joint Committee on the Budget. This committee would fcailitate congressional analysis and evaluation of spending proposals and seems likely to strengthen congressional budgetary procedures greatly.

Senators KENNEDY and BYRD and 45 others are the sponsors of a bill calling for the statement of appropriations on an annual accrued expenditure basis, a recommendation of the Hoover Commission. Under this legislation, Congress would appropriate for each fiscal year on the basis of estimates of expenditures actually to be made or accrued in that year.

It is clear from what I have said that the problem of the Federal budget is not a unique problem that arises this year. The bitter recriminations raging around the "battle of the budget" cannot possibly be settled this year.

The fundamental question is, "What do we want Government to do for us?" Congress and citizens have to reach a judgment on that question every year. All the discussion and letterwriting about Federal spending will have a salutary effect if it helps pinpoint the principle at issue: the relationship between the Federal Government and the States, the localities and the individual.

This brief budgetary review makes it painfully evident that the first steps can and should be taken this year toward remedying the fearful lack of expenditure control manifest in congressional treatment of money bills. Surely, among the Byrd, the McClellan and the other proposals I have mentioned, Congress can find a way to end the present dismal lack of control over spending.

Whatever may happen to the budget now being dealt with by Congress—and I heartily hope it will be cut substantially—the probability of future budgets just as difficult to deal with makes it imperative that Congress improve its procedures. The path to eventual tax reduction must certainly first pass the milestone of congressional spending control. Members of Congress need to know, when they vote for appropriations, how much that vote will mean in terms of budget expenditures, national debt, and possible tax reduction. Citizens have a prime responsibility to help Congress achieve this control over their tax dollars.

Results of Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I recently submitted to the people of the 21st Congressional District in Texas a poll covering 12 current issues. The response has been very gratifying. More than 12,000 returns have been received. Tabulation of the answers has now been completed. The results are as follows:

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. The Eisenhower doctrine authorizes the President, if requested by an invaded country, to use American troops to combat overt Communist aggression in the Middle East. Do you favor this? Yes, 47.6 percent; no, 43.3 percent; no opinion, 9.1 percent.

2. A bill in Congress proposes that the Federal Government contribute a substantial amount of Federal funds to help finance local school construction, subject to local compliance with Federal regulations. Do you favor this? Yes, 28.1 percent; no, 67.2 percent; no opinion, 4.7 percent.

3. For the alleged purpose of protecting the civil rights of citizens from discrimination on account of race or religion, legislation in Congress proposes:

1. That a Federal commission be empowered to subpena persons and records to investigate claims of discrimination.

2. That the Attorney General may bring lawsuits, with lawyers and court expenses paid by the taxpayers, to recover money for damages on behalf of people who claim their civil rights have been violated.

3. That citizens, under Federal court injunction, may be sentenced to prison without jury trial for violating, or being about to violate, another's civil rights.

Do you favor this legislation? Yes, 12.4 percent; no, 77.2 percent; no opinion, 10.4 percent.

4. A bill in Congress would extend the Federal minimum wage and overtime law to retail stores and service establishments. Do you favor this? Yes, 41.1 percent; no, 49.4 percent, no opinion 9.5 percent.

5. During the past year, under present laws, about 350,000 immigrants were admitted to this country. A bill in Congress would increase this number each year. Do you favor the increase? Yes, 8.4 percent; no, 83.7 percent; no opinion 7.9 percent.

6. Do you favor statehood for Hawaii and Alaska? Yes, 67.2 percent; no, 17.4 percent; no opinion 15.4 percent.

7. Last year Congress adopted a soil-bank plan (costing $1.2 billion annually), to pay farmers for taking certain farmlands out of production, thus reducing surpluses. Do you favor continuation of the soil bank? Yes, 37.6 percent; no, 46.2 percent; no opinion, 14 percent.

8. The closed shop is outlawed by the Taft-Hartley Act. A bill in Congress would legalize agreements in the construction industry under which unions could select the employees on construction jobs and require that new workers join a union within a short period after going on the job. Do you favor this? Yes, 9.2 percent; no, 82.2 percent; no opinion, 8.6 percent.

9. The President's annual budget calls for a total of $71,800,000,000. Do you favor a reduction in this amount? Yes, 79.2 percent; no, 9.7 percent; no opinion, 11.1 percent.

10. The budget calls for $4.4 billion for foreign military and economic aid ($2.6 military aid, $1.8 billion economic aid), during the next fiscal year. Do you favor this? Yes, 18.4 percent; no, 64.6 percent; no opinion, 17 percent.

11. On the subject of tax reduction, do you favor the policy of first achieving a balanced budget before undertaking tax reductions? Yes, 76.1 percent; no, 17.4 percent; no opinion, 6.5 percent.

12. In the operation of the Post Office Department, there is presently an annual deficit in its operation of about $464 million. A bill in Congress would increase postal rates in order to reduce the deficit. Do you favor any increase in postal rates? Yes, 54 percent; no, 39 percent; no opinion, 7 percent.

EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

Mr. Speaker, there were so many interesting comments in regard to the various issues that I am constrained to discuss a few of the questions and perhaps clarify some of them.

Considerable interest was shown in the first question—dealing with the Eisenhower doctrine. About the time the questionnaire was sent out the Congress took final action on that issue, and it was overwhelmingly approved. So the issue is now moot, in a manner of speaking, but continues to be a lively topic before the American people.

Actually, the President already had the authority which he requested from the Congress. That authority has been held to be inherent in his constitutional authority as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces. And it has, without any action by the Congress, been exercised many times in the past. A few examples include the action against the Barbary pirates in 1801; the second Barbary War in 1815; the American-Mexican incident

between 1914 and 1917; the Boxer uprising in 1900; the almost innumerable instances of intervention in Latin America; the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua. Then there was the Korean conflict.

The purpose of the President in asking for congressional approval for his use of troops to combat overt Communist aggression in the Middle East was obviously to obtain an expression of support for that phase of our foreign policy.

PEOPLE WANT REDUCED SPENDING, TAX RELIEF

Mr. Speaker, I have the honor of representing a fairly conservative district. The people there are good, average Americans who still believe that 2 and 2 make 4, and that all is not gold that glitters. They still cling to the belief that a man should put in a good day's work for what he earns. They are very dubious about this business of getting something for nothing. In their patriotic zeal they put the Nation's welfare and the future of our country ahead of petty political considerations. They abhor demagoguery and political chicanery. They are hardy and patient people, and because of strength and fortitude they have survived 7 years of the most devastating drought in history.

Those people are understandably concerned about the size of our public debt. They are worried about the highest peacetime budget in history. They feel the heavy burden of the present tax load. They feel that the present Federal spending velocity should be reduced substantially. They want something paid on the public debt, and they want some tax relief.

It will be noted that 79.2 percent feel the President's current budget estimates are too high. Seventy-six percent favor a balanced budget before undertaking further tax reductions.

PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR RETRENCHMENT ENCOURAGING

As one who has through the years—not just this year—fought against nonessential Federal spending, I am encouraged by the amount of public support that is this year being shown in favor of this retrenchment policy. It is a good sign and it should bear fruit, coming as it does from all over the Nation.

Thus far the House has considered $15 billion in appropriations out of the $72 billion budget. And we have whacked more than $1 billion from it. That is good start. President Eisenhower has recently suggested another $2 billion that he believes can be trimmed. Surely we can whittle another $2 billion or $3 billion. If the Senate follows suit we should, therefore, be able to cut at least $5 billion. It all depends.

FOREIGN AID SHOULD BE CUT

Mr. Speaker, there are a number of budget items that can and should be reduced or eliminated. These include the $4.4 billion for foreign aid and the half billion for school construction assistance. The latter calls for a total outlay of $2 billion, with a half billion to be granted to local schools the first year. In my judgment we should defeat the proposed school aid measure and nip that new Federal commitment in the bud. How can we ever hope for balanced budgets and tax relief if we keep right on tallying up new expensive Federal grant programs, most of which, once started, snowball and go on for years and years?

As I see it, foreign aid should be limited in the main, except for certain loans and technical assistance, to military support for friendly and deserving countries which cannot help themselves and where it is to our selfish advantage to help keep them armed and prepared to combat Communist aggression.

FISHER VOTE ON FOREIGN AID

For the past 4 years I have personally voted against every bill for foreign aid. I have been constrained to do so because those bills have been presented in package form, all economic and military assistance lumped together, and they have included too much of what I was convinced was both wasteful and nonessential. The American taxpayers simply cannot go on and on carrying so much of the burdens of the world on their shoulders.

CUT SPENDING, CUT TAXES

We all know that tax reduction, including an increase in personal exemptions, to be really meaningful must be made at a time when the resulting loss in revenue will not have to be replaced with borrowed money, with the borrowed money to be added to the national debt.

We all know that is not really tax relief. It is tax postponement—just passing the added amount on to our children and grandchildren to pay. It may placate certain vote-hungry politicians, but it is not a sound approach and everyone knows it.

There is a remedy if the Congress has the courage to make use of it. Let us face up to the issue. We can balance the budget. We can reduce nonessential spending. We can reduce the public debt. And at the same time, while doing these things, we can and should reduce the heavy tax burden.

HOOVER COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. Speaker, in seeking ways to reduce, we are reminded of the great work done by the Hoover Commission. Sixty-five percent of all Hoover Commission proposals are in effect, including most of the major ones. The approval of some of the remaining proposals, at least, would undoubtedly help in promoting economy and efficiency in the operation of the Government.

PEOPLE FAVOR IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS

Mr. Speaker, the fifth question relates to immigration and the pending legislation designed to relax existing restrictions.

As indicated by the answers and comments, the people are very much alarmed about the proposed increase. It will be noted that only 8.4 percent favor an increase, and many of these answers were qualified. A total of 83.7 percent oppose any increase, and I am convinced the vast majority favor a reduction rather than an increase in the present rate of admissions.

President Eisenhower, as was true of President Truman before him, favors a drastic change in our traditional quota system. Under that proposal more than 100,000 more immigrants would be admissible yearly, above the number now being admitted. Last year more than 350,000 entered.

FISHER SUPPORTS PRESENT RESTRICTIONS

Mr. Speaker, I am unalterably opposed to any further breakdown in our quota system of orderly and restricted admissions. Our own population is recreasing rapidly. At our present rate we will have more than 200 million by 1975—and that is not very far off.

If we want to preserve our standard of living we simply cannot absorb the surplus population of Europe, as pressures would have us do. We cannot afford to become the dumping ground for that surplus. And the same is true with respect to our neighbors to the South and of the entire Western Hemisphere. Let us listen to the voice of the American people and then hold the line firmly.

FLOOD PREVENTION, WATER CONSERVATION

Mr. Speaker, it is our responsibility to distinguish between what is essential and what is not essential in Federal spending. One action where money can be wisely spent with assurance of good dividends to the taxpayers on the investments is in the field of flood control and water conservation, based upon sound engineering justification.

A good example that comes to my mind is that of the Falcon Dam on the Rio Grande. In just one flood which occurred shortly after that dam was constructed the saving from damage amounted to more than the entire cost of the project.

We have been urging advancement of the proposed international project on the Rio Grande above Del Rio. And we have urged the Corps of Engineers to complete surveys on all our streams in the 21st District of Texas, including the Colorado and tributaries, the Guadaloupe, the Neuces and its tributaries, and others. That is a flash-flood country, and protection is needed.

In addition, the Reclamation Bureau is presently making a comprehensive survey of the entire water situation in Texas. This may lead to location of feasible projects on our rivers and streams.

A multipurpose flood-control, irrigation, and water-conservation dam is now being proposed by the Reclamation Bureau on the Conchos above the city of San Angelo. Most of the cost will be paid back to the Government in accordance with contracts for the sale of water to the city of San Angelo and to irrigators. Because of this market for water, this project will be paid for in the main by local people and will cost the Government comparatively little.

INCREASE IN POSTAL RATES?

It will be noted that 54 percent of the people favor an increase in postal rates in order to reduce the annual deficit. That deficit is estimated at $650 million next year. If it can be reduced or eliminated it will cut the size of the budget just that much.

According to the responses I have received most of the people want substantial raises in rates on so-called junk mail. The pending bill on the subject proposes to raise first-class rates by 1 cent, and

this would yield $348.5 million yearly in new revenues, including revenue from an increase by 1 cent on post cards.

Second-class zone rates on magazines and newspapers would be upped by 4 successive annual 15-percent increases to provide a total of $31 million annually in additional revenue by the end of the fourth year.

Rates on third-class mail—largely direct-mail advertising circulars—would advance to yield $128 million in additional revenue by 1960. This increase would be on piece rate under bulk mailings, from 1.5 cents to 2.5 cents by 1959.

The Postmaster General is now required by law to set parcel-post rates at a level that makes this class of mail pay its own way, and that is now the case.

In regard to congressional franked mail, it is of interest to note that since August 1953, the Department has been paid in full for handling it—approximately $1.5 million yearly—and penalty mail of Government agencies—approximating $35 million yearly—which were formerly carried free.

Mr. Speaker, because of time and space limitation I must conclude. I believe that in conclusion I will quote from a comment on a questionnaire that was sent in from Brownwood, Tex., by a constituent who, while expressing certain kind and generous indulgence toward me, expresses a basic philosophy. Here it is:

Think you are doing a good job for us but your ideas of sound government do not coincide with the "spend and elect," "court the minorities," and "never mind the debt" attitude that prevails in Washington. I think, and sincerely hope, your ideas go along the same path as mine which does not follow those paths. We are already at the danger point in taxation as we also have taxes other than Federal, remember.

Alexander Hamilton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Alexander Hamilton," which appeared in the April 1957 issue of National Republic editorials, that interesting and informative monthly periodical and magazine published in Washington, D. C.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

In celebrating this year the 200th anniversary of Alexander Hamilton's birth, America will grow stronger in spirit and vision, with a new and deeper understanding of Hamilton's decisive part in establishing the Republic. Without Hamilton's judgment, influence, devotion, and moderating counsel, the American Constitution might have never been achieved.

Because he was a conservative in the eyes of Thomas Jefferson, Hamilton was the victim of much contemporary political calumny. History now has demonstrated clearly that Hamilton's brand of conservatism meant principally holding on to tried and proven values of the past—but not standing still. He was not afraid of new ideas, new approaches to old problems—nor even a wholly new form of government for a new nation on a virgin continent.

But Hamilton did insist upon the processes of law. Constructive change, as he interpreted history, could come only from evolution, rather than revolution.

The French Revolution, toward which Jefferson was wholly sympathetic, was viewed by Hamilton as rampant mob terrorism. Obviously, Hamilton's moderating influence in the formative years of the American Republic contributed notably to the survival qualities now recognized by all in our Federal system.

One of the great ironies of history is the fact that Hamilton vigorously fought Jefferson on the Louisiana Purchase. Yet when Jefferson finally accomplished this great act of national expansion, he justified the deed before Congress by accepting Hamilton's broad construction of Federal powers—rather than by the narrower conceptions of rigid States Righters.

Indeed, when we view the American revolution in calm historical perspective, it is impossible to imagine the establishment of the Union without Hamilton's work in the movement for independence, in the Philadelphia convention, as a contributor to the Federalist, and as an intimate friend, adviser, and guide in George Washington's Cabinet. Without Hamilton, the tottering young Union easily might have stumbled into the consuming vortex of Europes' monarchist intrigue and treachery.

His death on July 12, 1804, following the tragic duel with Aaron Burr, ended a brilliant and energetic career in its very prime. Hamilton was only 47. Had he lived another quarter century, his moderate temperament and sharp judicial mind might have eased considerably the trials of our national development.

Senator KARL E. MUNDT, of South Dakota, introduced the original resolution calling for a Hamilton bicentennial observance, on March 16, 1954. Many new nations in the world are trying today to find the solid road to freedom and human felicity. Hamilton's writing and letters could help and guide them all—as they still may help every American to revere, protect, and defend our own citadel of human freedom.

We owe much in honor and esteem to the memory of Alexander Hamilton.

The State Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "State Keeps 'Em From Our Door," published in the Los Angeles Times under date of Wednesday, April 17, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE KEEPS 'EM FROM OUR DOOR

Our State Department, more often than not, works in ways far beyond the understanding of the lay mind.

THE KLM CASE

Take the case of KLM, the Dutch airline. Mayor Poulson, the chamber of commerce and most of the Los Angeles press urged that KLM be permitted to fly into our airports. But the State Department ruled that KLM may put down no farther west than Houston.

On the other hand, the State Department had granted the right to fly to Los Angeles to Scandinavian Airlines, to British BOAC and to German Lufthansa. Scandinavian is deserving, for it pioneered the polar route, but BOAC and Lufthansa are sitting on their franchises apparently because they do not have the planes to fly here.

Now, both BOAC and Lufthansa are heavily subsidized lines and government-controlled. KLM, on the other hand, is a private company, receiving no Government subsidies. It actually pays its stockholders an annual dividend. Moreover, it is one of the oldest airlines, and next to the two great United States lines, Pan American and TWA, flies the most transatlantic mileage.

Holland, the home base of KLM, has managed without American giveaway for a long time and has created such a favorable climate for free enterprise that many American firms producing in Europe have established their offices and factories there.

PECULIAR CONCLUSION

This leads one to the peculiar but quite tenable conclusion that our State Department discriminates against countries showing the energy for self-support which its own program of economic aid is supposed to induce or encourage. We have long suspected that the giveaway bureaucracy looks with disfavor on any enterprise of any country which makes a bad case for continued American spending. The giveaway people are not interested in helping the Dutch, apparently, until the Dutch have caved in and become docile clients of the foreign-aid system.

That may not be the entire explanation of the State Department's decision but experience speaks strongly for it as one of the important factors. But there is another factor, quite as illogical as the first, and it should be rejected if we were not dealing with an organization like the State Department. This is that the State people know even less about their own country than they do about the outer world they deal with.

The grand gurus of State do not seem to be aware Los Angeles is an important center. They suffered the Latin American Ambassadors to meet here, we guess, because their files told them that this was a quaint Latin town in which the guests would feel at home. But as for other foreign guests of honor, State touts them away from Los Angeles whenever possible.

ROUTED AWAY

The travel schedules of these foreigners are arranged by the State Department or one of its contract agencies. Despite efforts of the consular corps in Los Angeles the visitors have regularly been routed away from here, just as KLM was. The planned visits of President Theodor Heuss and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of West Germany, postponed for reasons of health, are two examples; they were not to visit Los Angeles.

A number of visitors who have contrived to come here in spite of State said they were asked in Washington, "What on earth do you

want to do in Los Angeles?" The President of the Austrian Parliament, Dr. Hurdes, in a recent address in Los Angeles remarked humorously that he had to fight the State Department people in order to be routed here.

We have an influential southern California delegation in Congress. Perhaps the Representatives could provide State with some new maps and other gazetteer information. The chamber of commerce is a little behind in its traditional work.

We ought to have KLM here. Moreover, any visiting firemen who want to look over our community, one of the most remarkable in the world, ought not to be discouraged. They know what's here even if the State Department does not.

Jordan and the United States Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Jordan and the United States Problem," written by David Lawrence, and appearing in the Washington Evening Star of April 25, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JORDAN AND THE UNITED STATES PROBLEM—RED DRIVE SEEN POINTING UP DEMANDS TO CUT OUR AID PROGRAMS AND USIA

(By David Lawrence)

The struggle inside Jordan vividly illustrates the dilemma in the Middle East that confronts the United States and the other Westren Powers.

The Communists are conspicuously active—the young King admits it in a published interview with representatives of the American press. The plain effort of the Soviet conspiracy is to overthrow the existing regime in Jordan and line it up with Nasser of Egypt and the pro-Communist clique that has taken possession of Syria.

Shall the United States look on indifferently? Leaflets condemning the western nations, including the United States, are being distributed in the streets by the Communists. Student groups which have been infiltrated by Communist agents are being incited to make riotous demonstrations. Shall there be nothing done to counteract this, and shall the Western Powers let it all go by default and see the whole Middle Eastern situation grow more and more dangerous as armed conflicts ensue?

These questions go to the heart of the problem posed by the critics who have urged that America abandon her economic aid programs and curtail or abolish the United States Information Agency. Behind this drive is the belief that it will save money and that the budget can be thus trimmed and taxes soon reduced.

But the danger is that the budget may have to be increased if armed conflict breaks out. Then the outpourings of dollars may be many times more than any pittance now spent in counteracting Communist activity in the Middle East.

The Moscow propagandists are busy and energetic. They think the Eisenhower doctrine is too tempting for the Arab countries and that since Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, and Saudi Arabia are friendly toward the doctrine, the other countries may likewise come within its helpful orbit and ties to the West will be strengthened.

And so the battle on the propaganda front goes. Big stakes are involved. Out of little wars grow big wars. The peace of the Middle East is at best hard to manage. Referring to that area, Secretary of State Dulles in his speech in New York this week said: "Wherever such situations occur, they are always worsened by Soviet intrigue. The Kremlin likes troubled waters in which to fish."

Unfortunately, the Moscow regime has billions available for such intrigue and for propaganda of all kinds, including hundreds of "cultural missions," but in America any effective defense with propaganda or countertactics is waved aside by too many people as "boondoggling."

Perhaps the most misunderstood feature of the work of the United States Information Agency is the jazz-band tours that it has recently sponsored. A young American businessman who was in southeast Asia at the time of one of these jazz-band visits writes to this correspondent:

"The Benny Goodman tour proved that jazz is the folk music of America. It has a way of cutting through the boundaries of language and culture that nothing else possesses. Additionally, it enables Americans to get through to the average citizen of each country more quickly than any diplomatic procedure. For example, in Rangoon the university is a problem for the United States. The students are prime targets for all propaganda, for they are the future rulers of Burma. The Goodman band played two concerts indoors and held an outdoor seminar and jam session under the trees. Students flocked to hear the band. And the entire student attitude in Rangoon became more friendly toward the United States as a result. In Thailand, the king had Goodman to the palace four times so that he could play with the band. This was a tremendous asset to our people there—and they capitalized on the situation. My point is that we must fight our competition in these countries by all possible strategies, and the United States Information Agency enables us to cash in on our opportunities."

These are new problems, strange problems to the average American, who, feeling secure in a world of his own with all the comforts of a peaceful climate, little realizes that the cold war is going on every hour of the day in the smaller countries of Asia and Africa where the United States at the moment is determined that international communism shall not get a firm foothold—and this costs money.

Retirement of George A. Barton, of the Minneapolis Tribune

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, there was published in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of April 29, 1957, an editorial entitled "George Barton Retires"; also, in the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune of April 28, 1957, an article entitled "George A. Barton To Retire May 1 After 53 Years."

George Barton was one of the great athletes of the United States, and one of the finest sports writers we have known in our generation. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the editorial and article to which I have referred.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of April 29, 1957]

GEORGE BARTON RETIRES

George Barton is leaving the Tribune tomorrow and thus goes into retirement one of the finest sports traditions in this part of the world. For more than half a century he has chronicled the news of athletic contests with honesty, sympathy, and discernment.

He has been more than an observer. In boxing, which has been under a cloud at various times, he helped to restore confidence by his participation as boxer, referee, and then as chairman of the State boxing commission. He gave stature to any enterprise he aided.

George Barton is a man of remarkable memory, of complete probity, of enduring soundness. He has well earned the retirement into which he steps with the ending of April.

[From the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune of April 28, 1957]

GEORGE A. BARTON TO RETIRE MAY 1 AFTER 53 YEARS

George A. Barton, 72, veteran sports writer for the Minneapolis Tribune, is retiring May 1.

After more than 53 years of covering sports for Twin Cities newspapers, "Mr. Boxing" announced Saturday that he is putting aside his typewriter on a full-time basis.

He will continue to write a column once a week for the Tribune but will devote most of his time after May 1 finishing a book on the history of Minnesota sports over the past half century.

He also will remain as chairman of the State athletic commission, a position he has held for the past 15 years under 5 different governors.

Barton is one of the best known sports writers in the United States. Down through the years he has covered every athletic activity in the book, but he gained his greatest fame in boxing.

Born in Northfield, Minn., February 20, 1885, he moved with his family to St. Paul in 1893. He has lived there ever since.

George attended Madison, Benjamin Drew and Jefferson grade schools in St. Paul and Central High School. There he won letters in baseball and track.

He became interested in boxing while frequenting fire station No. 1 in St. Paul. He embarked on a fistic career at the age of 16 and turned professional at 17, boxing first as a bantamweight and later as a featherweight.

He engaged in sneak fights in his younger days when the sport was illegal in Minnesota.

Barton embarked on his newspaper career on the St. Paul Daily News in July 1903 as assistant to the late J. Alec Sloan at $10 a week. He continued to box in his spare time and eventually became an instructor at the St. Paul YMCA. Among his pupils were the famed Mike Gibbons and Ernest Brimmer, who became film star Richard Dix.

On December 7, 1903, he accepted a position as sports editor of the Minneapolis Daily News. He served in that post until February 16, 1923, when he became executive sports editor of the Tribune newspapers. He has been on the Tribune staff ever since as columnist, reporter, and director of the Star and Tribune Golden Glove program.

His newspaper career covers 53 years and 10 months when he steps out May 1.

During that span he has covered every heavyweight championship fight from Jack Johnson versus Jim Jeffries in 1910 at Reno, Nev., through the Archie Moore-Floyd Patterson mix last November.

Minneapolis baseball and Minnesota football also were his special beats, but boxing was his favorite.

Over 35 years "Mr. Boxing" refereed more than 12,000 bouts, involving 26 world champions and practically every known fighter of that period. He also served as judge for 30 New York-Chicago intercity Golden Gloves tournaments and 3 national intercollegiate meets.

As a fighter, Barton's most notable victory was over Terry McGovern, holder of the world's bantamweight and featherweight crowns. That was over six rounds in 1904. He boxed exhibitions with Battling Nelson and Joe Gans when they were tops in the lightweight division. He hung up his boxing gloves in 1910 when his salary as sports editor of the Daily News was hiked to $35 a week.

Many honors have come Barton's way through these 53 years. The most distinguished was the James J. Walker award in 1953 for his long and meritorious contributions to boxing.

He was president of the National Boxing Association in 1952–53 and was a militant leader against the monopoly of the International Boxing Club.

He served as president of the American Association of Baseball Writers in 1940 and also is a past president of the Star and Tribune 20-year club.

Barton was recipient of a trophy and the Town Topper award by the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce in 1953 for his contributions to boxing.

He was awarded a silver medallion by the French Boxing Federation and many other honors.

George married Kathryn Elizabeth Riley, of St. Paul, September 17, 1908. They have two sons—George A., Jr., and Richard Kenneth—and five grandchildren.

Barton will be honored by his fellow employees at a luncheon next Thursday noon in the civic dining room at the Star and Tribune.

Outstanding Citizens of Pendleton, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in the Pendleton East Oregonian, of Friday, April 16, there is a news story which reports the selection of the outstanding citizens of Pendleton, Oreg., for 1956. The selection was announced at the annual recognition banquet of the Pendleton Chamber of Commerce.

The story, written by reporter Jim Eardley, clearly establishes why Mrs. H. S. McKenzie and Mr. J. W. (Bud) Forrester, Jr., were singled out for this honor. I think it will be of especial interest to the Senate to know that Mr. Forrester is the father of Mike Forrester who, you will remember, was an able and alert Senate page boy during the 1st session of the 84th Congress.

Let me say, Mr. President, that I confess to a selfish but justifiable personal pride in calling this matter to special attention. J. W. Forrester, Jr., and I waded into the journalistic waters together when we worked on the Portland Oregonian as 16-year-old fledgling reporters.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this news story printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIVIC WORKER, EDITOR NAMED CITIZENS OF YEAR

(By Jim Eardley)

A woman who has given countless hours of public service in a multitude of worthy activities, and the editor and publisher of the East Oregonian last night were named Pendleton's outstanding citizens of 1956.

Announcement of the selection of Mrs. H. S. (Helen) McKenzie and J. W. (Bud) Forrester as the city's outstanding citizens last year was made last night at the Pendleton Chamber of Commerce annual recognition banquet.

Nineteen past presidents of the chamber also were honored. Ten were able to be present and the son of another accepted the award for his father.

About 100 attended the banquet.

HAS THREE GROWN SONS

Mrs. McKenzie has three grown sons. "While her sons are grown," said the awards selection committee, "she helps in the rearing of her 5 Pendleton grandchildren [she has 2 others], but manages to give countless hours to public service."

Mrs. McKenzie has as a private project, visitation and shopping service for shut-ins.

In addition, there is her work for veterans, and for church, clubs, and civic groups.

She is on the Veterans' Administration advisory council of the Walla Walla Veterans' Hospital, and has been active in veterans' aid for years.

In the Pendleton United Churchwomen's group she has charge of publicity.

HELPS AT HOSPITAL

She also does her stint with helping with the library book cart service at St. Anthony's Hospital. She is on the United Churchwomen's social relations committee.

Mrs. McKenzie is active in the Presbyterian Church, sings in the choir, and is chairman of publicity for women's association, and has circle activities.

She is a charter member of the Civic Music Association, and is on the executive committee, longtime member of Mothers and Wives Service Club, first vice president in charge of programs and publicity and is the club's veterans' aid representative.

Mrs. McKenzie is a member of the Pendleton Women's Club and is chairman of the library and publicity committees.

OTHER PROJECTS LISTED

She is chairman of the veterans' committee and of publicity for the Oregon Federation of Women's Club.

She is State chaplain of the Oregon Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic and treasurer of the local McPhearson circle.

Mrs. McKenzie is active in the Pioneer Ladies Club, one of her 2-year projects being the antique display in store windows during Round-Up, during which she has responsibility for more than 300 antiques.

She is a past president of the Thursday Afternoon Club and a member of the Medical Society auxiliary.

Of her services for shut-ins, the selection committee said: "The sick and aged are her own personal concern."

SONS LISTED

Sons of Dr. and Mrs. McKenzie are Dr. Robert McKenzie, Pendleton; Dr. Kenneth McKenzie, Denver, Colo.; and Dean McKenzie, New York City, working on his doctor of philosophy degree in art history.

Forrester is now member of the State board of higher education; vice chairman of Umatilla County Chapter, Red Cross; vice president of Pendleton Country Club; member of St. Anthony's Hospital advisory committee and chairman of the Pendleton Chamber of Commerce water resource development committee.

He is an active member of Kiwanis, Rotary, Episcopal Church of the Redeemer, and is on the Oregon Highway Lifesavers Umatilla County Board.

Forrester is a member of a committee which annually selects a research interne for Senator NEUBERGER's staff.

BACKGROUND MATERIAL GIVEN

He is a director of the Umatilla County United Fund Association, and a member of the Oregon State College memorial union board of governors.

Mr. and Mrs. Forrester gave a home for 1956 to a foreign exchange student at their own expense.

While the award was based on 1956 activities, the committee said it was interested in background material. Forrester was, in recent years:

President of the Oregon Newspaper Publishers Association, director of the Oregon State College Alumni Association, member of the Round-Up Board, member of the State parks study committee and member of the Umatilla County Development Commission, Umatilla County Red Cross membership chairman, chairman of school district 16–C (Pendleton) citizens advisory committee, member of the Umatilla County courthouse building committee, director of the Pendleton Chamber of Commerce, member of the Upper Columbia River Basin Commission and member of the Bonneville regional advisory council.

In January this year he visited 24 of the State's 36 counties interviewing editors and publishers of newspapers and people in agriculture and industry for a survey of the economy of Oregon. This has been published in book form.

The Supreme Court and Post Mortem Wills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, on April 29, 1957, the Supreme Court, in effect, wrote a post mortem codicil to a will made 126 years ago by Stephen Girard, who evidently entertained during his ante mortem days the belief that courts are not created to make wills for deceased persons. As one who clings to an abiding conviction that it is not the function of the judiciary to make or remake constitutions or laws or wills, I have read with profound concern the penetrating comments of Mr. David Lawrence on the astounding decision of the Supreme Court in the Girard will case, which appeared in an article in the Washington Evening Star of May 1, 1957, under the title "Ruling May Affect Private Schools." Believing, as I do, that Mr. Lawrence's penetrating comments merit consideration by all thoughtful Americans, I ask unanimous consent that the article in question be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RULING MAY AFFECT PRIVATE SCHOOLS—SUPREME COURT ACTION ON GIRARD COLLEGE CALLED REVERSAL OF LEGAL DOCTRINE

(By David Lawrence)

The Supreme Court of the United States passed a new law on Monday. It could affect discrimination or racial or religious grounds in private schools, exclusive clubs, and colleges supported or controlled by church groups of any denomination.

The Supreme Court isn't supposed to pass any laws. That's the function of Congress. But now the Supreme Court proclaims as "the law of the land" that a man who left his money in 1831 for a college to which only male, white orphans were to be admitted cannot have his wishes entirely respected. If Stephen Girard were alive today, he could discriminate on racial or religious grounds and conduct a private school or college, admitting anyone he chose. But, since he made the mistake of letting a city government act as trustee for him, the wishes of the original donor cannot be lawfully fulfilled by the trustee.

This is a sensational reversal of centuries of legal doctrine. Up to now it had been thought that a trustee, as such, was a private person, merely acting for the donor, and that a public official acting as a trustee could no anything that it was lawful for any trustee to do in following the provisions of a will. But the Supreme Court of the United States says the Board of Directors of City Trusts—an organization set up by the city of Philadelphia to carry out the terms of wills and estates left in perpetual trust—is an agency of the State and not an agency of the donor of the money. Then the Supreme Court invokes the 14th amendment, which says that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

No public funds are involved in the Girard College case. It consists entirely of private funds of nearly $100 million, and the real issue is the board of trustees. There are 14 citizens on it. Twelve are appointed by the Court of Common Pleas, and there are 2 ex officio members, 1 the president of the City Council of Philadelphia, and the other the city's mayor. This is not unlike the setup in many States where private colleges and universities operate under a State charter and the governor is designated as an ex officio member of the board of trustees.

Every college or university—in fact, almost every private club—operates under a corporation charter issued by a State government. If corporations, which are often referred to as creatures of the State, are some day to be subject to the rule laid down in the case of Stephen Girard College by the Supreme Court of the United States, it raises a question as to whether any form of discrimination—either on religious, racial, or even political grounds—might come under the ban.

One university here in Washington, for example, operating under a Federal Government charter, is required to select a certain number of trustees from a particular church. Will this be construed as discrimination? Many a bank and trust company, in seeking to carry out the wishes of a donor, is sometimes confronted with clauses in the will that require either religious or racial discrimination to be exercised. Can the trustee be enjoined now from carrying out the wishes of the donor if some relatives or other outside persons choose to challenge the fulfillment of the provisions of the will on the ground that the trustee is an agency of the State and hence cannot violate the 14th amendment?

These are questions of degree and scope on which the new decision, which happens to be brief, throws little light. Also, to what extent will States hereafter be limited in making their own rules on wills and trusts?

What, it is also being asked by lawyers, is going to happen to wills that are executed by State appointees, as in the case of an administrator or executor designated by the courts? Many wills, for example, provide that when a wife remarries she loses the benefit of the funds bequeathed or that children are to qualify only if they are members of a certain church. Does the new ruling mean that if the administrator is held to be an agency of the State he cannot recognize any discriminatory provisions in wills hereafter? The attorney general of a State, it will be noted, has the duty of enforcing all charitable trusts.

The new decision of the Supreme Court is avowedly based on the school segregation ruling handed down in 1954, but it raises more questions than it answers.

The Supreme Court could readily have accepted the decision of Pennsylvania's highest court in this case and thus could have retained the recognized principles of law. But being sociologically inclined the tendency of the present Supreme Court justices is to go more and more to the side of reform for reform's sake with less and less regard for any consistency of legal precepts.

The Fallacy of Federal Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Fallacy of Federal Aid," from the April 18, 1957, issue of the Baxley (Ga.) News-Banner.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FALLACY OF FEDERAL AID

Federal aid may well be the straw that finally breaks the camel's back despite all the grandiose objectives it is designed to accomplish.

There was a time when the Federal Government was known for its efficiency and anything connected with it was thought to be above reproach. Sordid politics was supposed to have been confined to the States and local governments and only when Federal aid was not involved did politicians seek to circumvent the law whenever they thought it politically expedient to do so.

Today the Federal Government is perhaps as strict as ever about how Federal-aid projects must be carried out, but the "watch dogs" required to supervise the States in carrying out Federal-aid projects bite heavily into Federal funds. Civilian employment by the Federal Government is at a peak today and still climbing.

It was interesting to note recently that Dr. Milton Eisenhower, brother to the President and highly recognized university president, spoke in opposition to Federal aid to higher education. We suspect that only in deference to his brother he did not speak out against Federal aid to education at the elementary and high-school level. He stated that Federal aid eventually leads to Federal control.

Certainly the News-Banner is in favor of receiving a Federal grant to help finance the construction of a sewage-disposal plant in Baxley. Yet the city of Baxley had already planned the project without Federal aid and would have completed it without Federal aid.

Today there is the worst shortage in history for engineers. So short is the supply that the Highway Department of Georgia has employed a recruiter to find engineers. Yet at the same time thousands of engineers are on the Federal payroll checking engineering plans just to see that they meet Federal-aid specifications. And more Federal aid means more Federal engineers.

We do not feel that the Federal Government should have no interest in the health and welfare of the people of America. What we do believe, though, is that the Federal Government should perform such services as it is found necessary directly and let the States render those which they are financially able to handle. In that way perhaps we can reduce the Federal debt and in time reduce taxes. But more Federal aid means more taxes and less return on the tax dollar. Somewhere the line must be drawn.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD three editorials which appeared in the Manville News, Manville, N. J., as follows: "Creation of 2-Year Community Colleges with United States Aid Advocated by Senator CASE," in the December 27, 1956, issue; "Senator CASE's Proposal," in the January 3, 1957, issue; and "A College for Somerset?" in the February 28, 1957, issue.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Manville (N. J.) News of December 27, 1956]

CREATION OF 2-YEAR COMMUNITY COLLEGES WITH UNITED STATES AID ADVOCATED BY SENATOR CASE

Coupled with the warning that there soon will be no room available in the Nation's colleges, United States Senator CLIFFORD P. CASE, Republican, today called for consideration of an emergency Federal-aid program to create 2-year public community colleges for more than a half million qualified youths who will not be able to gain admittance to 4-year colleges in the next 5 years.

The junior Senator from New Jersey is suggesting that Federal grants-in-aid up to one-third the cost of construction and equipment be allocated to States participating in the program. He did not stipulate that he would sponsor legislation to create the program, only submitting his views for consideration.

The community college is the usual 2-year college expanded to include vocational training. It would provide 2 years of college credit at a low-cost institution for students who would get their final 2 years of study at a regular 4-year college.

Another main function of the community college would be to provide college facilities close to students' homes, thus reducing the expense of living away from home.

ENROLLMENT FUTURE

To support his proposal, Senator CASE reviewed studies made by President Eisenhower's Committee on Education Beyond the High School. This report predicted that by 1970 approximately 6 million students will be seeking entrance to college, about twice the present total attending higher institutions of learning. By 1970, however, the Association of American Colleges anticipates there will be space for only 4.35 million students.

The association also reported, according to Senator CASE, that within the next 5 years colleges expect to expand facilities by about 20 percent.

"This means," the legislator stated, "that some 368,800 qualified boys and girls now in junior and senior high school are doomed to disappointment unless we find some effective way to expand college facilities."

In this State, he continued, "if nothing is done beyond expansion now planned, by 1963 one out of every three young people in New Jersey wanting to go to college will find no place. By 1973 the 'no room' sign will be hung for 1 out of every 2 desiring college."

These figures "are minimal," he added, and are based on the assumption that about 30 percent of high school seniors will want to enter college.

"The failure to expand facilities for higher education will take its toll as our population continues to grow and the number of doctors, scientists, teachers, and ministers does not grow apace," he said. "It will take its toll in industry and commerce as higher and higher skills are demanded and proportionately fewer and fewer young people can provide them." The Eisenhower Committee has predicted a need for a 75 percent increase in professional and technical personnel by 1975, along with a 25 percent decrease in laborers."

NO COST FIGURES

President Truman's Committee on Higher Education recommended that "the number of community colleges be increased and that their activities be multiplied," Senator CASE pointed out, and President Eisenhower declared in a speech in Ohio that "I firmly believe that more education than that obtained in high school must be brought to every community and locality in such a way that every young person regardless of his means or lack of means can go to school for a minimum of 2 additional years.

Senator CASE would not predict the cost of the community college program.

"The actual amount would depend on what portion of the total problem Congress chose to attack and how much interest this approach stimulated among the States," he said. "Obviously, the program would require a large sum, but our Government is already spending millions and millions to assist our farmers, our airlines, and our shipping firms. Surely, our youth and their future are equally important."

Twenty-six States have laws permitting establishment of community or junior colleges, 16 of them providing State aid, according to Senator CASE.

[From the Manville (N. J.) News of January 3, 1957]

SENATOR CASE'S PROPOSAL

In suggesting that the Federal Government consider an emergency grant-in-aid program to stimulate construction of 2-year community colleges, New Jersey's United States Senator CLIFFORD P. CASE has come forth with a stimulating idea that should receive deep consideration in the Nation.

Senator CASE's proposal adds new definition to the lack of school facilities in the country. While most people realize that our elementary and high school plants are bursting with youngsters, they do not have this same perception of conditions beyond the secondary school level. It is possible that Senator CASE's recommendation may help create the kind of thinking on municipal, county, and State levels that the problem of higher education requires.

Taking for granted that municipalities throughout the Nation are making tremendous efforts to construct new elementary and high schools to house the Nation's increasing population of young people, Senator CASE, in effect, poses the question: "Where do the youngsters go from there?" While this is a question many people already are asking, it is a question many more people will be asking within the next few years.

Within a few short years this question will have the same loud ring that we have been hearing about elementary and secondary school shortages since the end of the last war, unless a program is prepared to meet the inevitable crisis.

Using figures drawn from the Association of American Colleges and the United States Office of Education, Senator CASE points out that by 1970—only 13 years off—there will be at least 6 million students ready for college, approximately double the present enrollment, but the Nation's higher institutions of learning will have expanded their facilities to accommodate less than 4½ million students. Extending the statistical approach, all this means that about 368,000 youngsters now in junior or senior high school will have their enrollment applications rejected by colleges and universities for lack of space, that by 1973 1 of every 2 New Jersey children desiring to enter college will not be admitted.

To close this terrifying breach, a breach which unquestionably could numb, the Nation's future, Senator CASE recommends that Federal grants—without Federal control over curriculum—be granted to States which would devise their own programs for creation of 2-year community colleges, where young people could pursue higher learning close to home at minimum cost, and where institutions could provide regular college credits for those who wish to continue in a 4-year college. The 2-year community college also would provide a curriculum of posthigh school general education with vocational training for the subprofessions and occupations of a technical nature."

Here is a challenge for the States, for the educators, for those who are vitally concerned about the future of America's youth. The junior senator from New Jersey has issued a profound thesis, one which we hope he soon prepares as a formal document for the consideration of Congress, where committee hearings could shed more light on the impending crisis—where action to forestall a tragedy could be initiated.

[From the Manville (N. J.) News of February 28, 1957]

A COLLEGE FOR SOMERSET

The Somerset County Education Association, which comprises teachers and supervisory school personnel, has organized a steering committee from among its membership to study the possibilities of creating a community, 2-year college in Somerset County, and this display of initiative should receive the wholehearted support and cooperation of every individual and organization interested in education.

As 1956 ended, United States Senator CLIFFORD P. CASE issued a recommendation that an emergency Federal aid program be created to construct 2-year public community colleges. His main premise was that unless such a program was initiated more than a half million young people qualified for college training would find no facilities available for them within 5 years because of the continuing growth of our scholastic enrollment. Collegiate plants are expanding, but not fast enough.

Using New Jersey as an illustration, Senator CASE pointed out in December that "if nothing is done beyond the expansion now planned by 1963, 1 out of every 3 young people in New Jersey wanting to go to college will find no place. By 1973, the 'no room' sign will be hung for 1 out of every 2 desiring college."

In our first editorial on this subject, immediately following the Senator's statement, the News declared that "Here is a challenge for the States, for the educators, for those who are vitally concerned about the future of America's youth."

It is with pleasure, therefore, that we note that action is now being motivated by Somerset educators. If the broad national figures and those for New Jersey provided by Senator CASE are as indicative as we believe them to be, the Somerset County Education Association probably will discover there is need for a community college in Somerset, especially if they remember that the Case proposal also provides that such community colleges include a curriculum of post-high-school general education with vocational training "for the subprofessions and occupations of a technical nature."

A note of caution is necessary at this point: Community college vocational training should not be confused with the need for a secondary technical and vocational school for Somerset.

Should the county's education association find need for a junior college in Somerset, there should be little difficulty finding a place to house such an institution of learning. Surely the quiet countryside in Montgomery or Hillsborough or Branchburg could provide as pleasant a scholastic atmosphere as any to be found in Somerset.

A site is secondary, of course. Of primary importance is determination of the need for a junior college, and on this line of thought we suggest that the education association lose no time in securing the facts. We also recommend that Senator CASE take his proposal out of the recommendation stage and prepare a bill for congressional consideration.

If anyone believes that dispatch is not required, we refer them to a report made by President Eisenhower's Committee on Education Beyond the High School, a report which predicts that approximately 6 million young people will be seeking entrance to colleges by 1970, and by 1970, according to the Association of American Colleges, there will be space for less than 4½ million students.

How USIA Wants To Spend $140 Million

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Marshall McNeil, Scripps-Howard staff writer, as it appeared in the April 10, 1957, issue of the New York World-Telegram and Sun, entitled, "Where USIA's 140 Millions Go," together with an editorial entitled "USIA Is Too Big," from the same paper.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHERE USIA'S $140 MILLION GOES—WANTS TV OFFICER FOR CLOSED STATION IN MOROCCO

(By Marshall McNeil)

WASHINGTON, April 10.—The United States Information Agency, charged with telling the American story to combat communism worldwide—

Wants to spend $56,400 to give free subscriptions for 2 United States newspapers to leading Englishmen, including 644 members of the British Parliament.

Wants to hire a television officer for its Morocco office, but the TV station there has been off the air for a year; may get back on this year.

Wants $150,200 for Latin American translations of 67 books, but their titles and those of books translated under earlier appropriations for library uses are not disclosed.

Defends as proper the publication of a "wall newspaper" in Bolivia which puts the United States Government in the role of taking part in a debate over Bolivian internal affairs.

Proposes to give selected foreigners who have studied in American colleges 2 books and 2 magazine subscriptions.

Bought $134,926 worth of phonograph records (net cost after discount: $78,251) for use in its centers around the world, including a Dizzy Gillespie record for Addis Ababa in Ethiopia and some square-dance music for Rangoon.

These are among the facts about USIA revealed in House Appropriations Committee hearings released today. The Agency asks $140 million to spend next fiscal year—$27 million more than this year.

Arthur Larson, new Director, emphasized in a recent speech that USIA had a single, central purpose: To present evidence to the peoples of the world that America's policies and objectives are in line with, and will advance, their legitimate aspirations for freedom, progress, and peace. He cited at the time numerous indications of USIA's effectiveness in this approach.

To the House committee he said the Agency was trying to help bring about a state of world opinion so that vast expenditures for arms wouldn't be necessary.

"A large share of the burden falls on the shoulders of USIA in easing world tensions and creating favorable world attitudes," he said.

To carry out its mission, the Agency wanted to spend $155 million next year. But the Budget Bureau enforced a $15 million cut. Even with $140 million USIA expects to have jobs for more than 12,000 persons next year.

Scraps of testimony, in between off-the-record statements appear to reveal that:

USIA secretly spent $100,000 subsidizing a commercial anti-Communist movie generally for American consumption. A top official of the propaganda Agency told the committee the movie turned out to be a box-office flop when shown in 1953. He said that unfortunately was the history of such films. The Agency refuses to disclose the name of the film or where it is being shown now. But the testimony indicated a foreign-language version now is being produced—without help this time from the taxpayers.

USIA is boosting its TV output. It said a check last fall showed its canned shows were being used on 138 of the 185 TV stations in the free world outside the United States and Canada.

The Agency is stepping up its radio broadcasts, known as the Voice of America. Instead of the $16,849,479 it got this year it wants $27,387,767. A new land-based transmitter would be built in the Greek area to replace the ship-borne transmitter, *Courier*, which has been tied up off the island of Rhodes for the past 4 years.

The Agency wants to spend $2,930,000 under its new budget distributing books. In addition to purchases of regular editions, it will print 7,455,000 low-cost paperback volumes in 19 languages to sell at 10 to 40 cents a copy.

USIA is preparing to publish another magazine for distribution in some Communist satellite country.

COST TO INCREASE

Cost of the libraries the USIA operates is $8.2 million this year. Proposed cost next year would be greater, but the committee doesn't know exactly how much.

In Paris this year, USIS (United States Information Service—the name the Agency uses abroad) gave away 111 copies of 40 magazines at a cost of $758. Included were copies of the Psychiatric Quarterly.

USIA operates a worldwide press service, the cost of which is estimated at $11.4 million for next year.

It does not consider itself competing with or overlapping the three American wire services, the United Press, Associated Press, and International News Service.

"The real difference between us and the commercial services," Mr. Larson testified, "is that they are in the business of sending out news for the sake of news; we are in the business of supporting United States foreign policies."

BASEBALL SCORES

The USIA wire service sends out football and baseball scores. But these are specifically marked "not for publication." They are intended to keep our Foreign Service personnel "abreast of the latest news at home and abroad."

The New York Times has an overseas edition, as does the New York Herald Tribune. Copies are easily available throughout Free Europe. But USIA proposes to give away subscriptions to these papers to about a thousand Englishmen. As to their identities, Mr. Larson requested that they "not be incorporated in the printed record. Such publicity would almost certainly result in embarrassing our relationships with many of these important people and might have the effect of destroying their future cooperation with our program."

Subcommittee chairman JOHN J. ROONEY, Democrat, New York, charged that the agency's motion-picture director, Turner B. Shelton, first denied to him that USIA had any connection with the anti-Communist picture which Mr. Rooney said he saw at a Washington movie house.

MEAGER DETAILS

But he said Mr. Shelton and Clive L. Duval 2d, the Agency's general counsel, came to his office the following day and told him the story. In today's published hearings Mr. Shelton declined to discuss the case on the record except for meager details.

The heavily censored 741-page testimony did not make clear to what extent USIA has participated in such ventures, although Mr. Shelton said this was the only case he knew of involving a film produced for distribution in this country.

Asked specifically whether the agency had "engaged in any other ventures such as this," he sought and was granted permission to answer off the record. And his reply was not disclosed.

Elsewhere, the hearings showed that the Agency has budgeted $755,924 in the new fiscal year for a secret motion-picture project known as Kingfish. Members apparently asked no questions about this.

SILENT ON FACTS

Mr. Shelton told the subcommittee USIA is making movies locally in 44 countries. Because of certain ramifications about which his testimony at his request was deleted, he declined to name either the countries involved or titles of the pictures.

These generally are documentaries, he said, which "advance the cultural interests" of this country.

Either on its own or under contract with private firms the Agency runs a steady budget of documentary picture production in this country and as of February 1 had 438 original productions of this kind in circulation. Its list of nonsecret films also included 610 acquired from other sources.

The agency asked $9,446,000 for its movie work in the new fiscal year, compared with $4,507,569 in fiscal 1957. Representative ROONEY said films he has seen were "not impressive" and that the subcommittee has reached the point "where we question the value of this whole operation."

But Mr. Shelton said some of the films had tremendous impact on foreign audiences. He cited particularly a series on the Hungarian uprising.

FAIR PARTICIPATION

The hearings also covered a Presidential request for $20 million compared to $9,900,000 this year—to finance American participation in international trade fairs and to subsidize foreign tours of American musicians, sports figures, and other artists.

The transcript showed that the Agency came in for its annual hard time at the hands of subcommittee members. They challenged the Agency's methods and questioned its results in selling the American points of view overseas.

But Mr. Larson said the world now is more willing than ever before to hear this country's story. He said this results from our break with colonialism in the Suez crisis and from unrest in the satellites.

USIA Is Too Big

Americans always have been dubious about foreign propaganda, including their own. Budget hearing testimony just made public by a House subcommittee will strengthen that attitude.

The United States Information Agency (USIA) is a postwar organization set up to tell the world about our democracy and offset anti-Americanism. It spent $87 million in 1956, will spend $113 million this year, and wants $140 million for 1958. The number of employees on its payroll has been increasing about 1,000 a year.

It has sent abroad swarms of ex-newspaper workers and others who must be falling over their own feet in their struggle to distribute Government handouts.

It employs, for instance, 17 Americans and 116 natives in tiny Cambodia, a country half the size of California and with one-third that State's population. It employs 489 in Japan, 222 in Korea. To tell its story it wants to spend $2,692,304 next year in France, $1,700,778 in Britain.

Most of these countries are already supplied with all the American news they can absorb, by the same worldwide press associations which serve American newspapers, and by magazines, American films, etc.

These private media have established a solid reputation for telling the truth about America and the rest of the world because—almost uniquely in the world—they operate without Government subsidy or political control.

USIA operation in this field is, at best, interference and duplication. At worst it raises suspicion as to the disinterested reliability of all American news.

There is need for an American information service which functions modestly and intelligently. It should supplement rather than compete with other agencies. Its projects should be specific and limited, rather than splattered all over the lot.

The best things USIA does are usually those which employ the fewest people and cost least money. Most USIA libraries and reading rooms are crowded and highly productive of good will. The exchange program brings

civic and youth leaders, labor unionists, and other influential men and women to this country to see for themselves. They usually return home enthusiastic about this country, anxious to combat anti-Americanism in their own lands.

But overall the USIA has far too many employees, trying to do far too many things. It wants to spend 24 percent more next year than this. It could spend 24 percent less and get more done.

Wisdom of Military Aid Seen in Turkish Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Ansel E. Talbert, military and aviation editor of the New York Herald Tribune, in the issue of that newspaper on May 2, 1957:

WISDOM OF MILITARY AID SEEN IN TURKISH FORCES

(By Ansel E. Talbert)

America's policy of giving military aid to nations willing to defend themselves against Communist aggression—now 10 years old—is paying off handsomely in the current Jordan crisis.

Less publicized than the dramatic movement of the United States 6th Fleet to eastern Mediterranean waters is the quiet and efficient deployment of crack Turkish armed forces units during the last few days to positions where they could do the most good in any Middle Eastern explosion.

Turkey, with at least 480,000 well-trained men under arms—a greater number, for example, than either Britain or France has available—has just moved some of its best infantry and armored outfits to the Syrian border. They could effectively neutralize any future move by Syria to swallow up the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan—long a dream of the greater Syria nationalists, which recently has been revived by Soviet grants of arms and aircraft to the Syrian armed forces.

There is nothing imaginary about Soviet military aid to Syria and Egypt being increased since the Suez Canal crisis of last October. During the last 6 months Iron Curtain shipments to these nations through the Eastern Mediterranean have increased three-fold.

BILLION UNITED STATES EQUIPMENT

But chiefs of the Red Army would have a hard nut to crack in the shape of the Turkish Army, Navy and Air Force—which have been modernized with more than $1 billion in American equipment—should they ever make the unlikely decision to aid Syria and Egypt directly. The 3d Turkish Army, with headquarters at Erzurum, a city near the source of the Euphrates River, 450 miles east of Ankara, which figured in many past struggles between Russia and Turkey, has the task of guarding the Caucasus Mountain approaches.

Ten years ago this field army and the two other Turkish field armies had no tanks, no big guns, no mobile artillery and no modern airplanes to support their operations. Today, as a result of American help and the spending of nearly half the entire Turkish budget on defense measures, the Turkish armed forces are ready for anything.

JET BASES AVAILABLE

There is a string of jet bases across Turkey from the highly sensitive area of the Turkish straits—the Bosporus and the Dardanelles—to the Caucasus. Although these presently do not house any United States Air Force units, they could be made available overnight.

Adana, in the southern part of Turkey near the Syrian border, for example, has 14,000-foot runways and could handle the biggest existing bombers. It has huge hangers, workshops and barracks for three bombing groups. Some of the chief jet fighter bases are Diyarbakir to the northeast of Adana, Bandirma and Balikesir near the Dardanelles and Merzifon near the Black Sea. There are at least 11 modern air bases completed or near completion.

The gratitude of the Turkish people toward the United States is remarkable. A short time ago when this correspondent was passing through the Middle East, Turkey was holding a national celebration with ceremonies extolling America in each school throughout the nation to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the first American military assistance. This was given after the Soviet Union had put forward a claim to Turkey's eastern provinces and indicated an intention to take over control of the strategic straits.

Right now the Turkish Army comprises 16 infantry divisions 3 cavalry divisions and 6 armored brigades equipped with American Patton and Sherman tanks. The 1st Field Army headquarters are at Istanbul, while the 2d Field Army, which could reinforce either flank, is controlled from Konya in central Turkey, the 12th century seat of the Suljuk Turks and their Sultanate, which played a major role in the rise of the Turkish nation. There are 3 tactical air forces supporting the 3 field armies, and Turkey also has a small Navy trained for anti-submarine warfare.

Petaluma, Calif., Chamber of Commerce Endorses Trinity River Partnership Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, the board of directors of the Petaluma, Calif., Chamber of Commerce has taken a firm stand in favor of the partnership plan—by which the Federal Government would enter into an agreement with a private utility company for development of the power phases of the Trinity River project in northern California.

In taking this position after lengthy study, the members of this organization reaffirm the opinion of most Americans that "private enterprise should be encouraged, not hindered, by Government competition."

Joint development of Trinity River power facilities will allow private enterprise to do a job it is capable of doing while, at the same time, relieving the taxpayers of practically all the burden involved in this $225 million project. The partnership plan, as provided for in H. R. 6997, is among the best business proposals ever offered to the Federal Government and the taxpayers.

In support of this view, I desire to include with my remarks the following letter from the Petaluma, Calif., Chamber of Commerce:

PETALUMA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Petaluma, Calif., March 13, 1957.

Congressman HUBERT B. SCUDDER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SCUDDER: At a regular meeting of the board of directors of the Petaluma Chamber of Commerce, a firm stand was taken favoring the partnership plan approved by Secretary Seaton for the development of the Trinity project.

After a lengthy study by our committees this plan was found to be sound and in the best interest of every citizen in the State of California as well as the Nation.

This organization is opposed to Government ownership and operation of industry and it is the opinion of this chamber that private enterprise should be encouraged, not hindered by Government competition. We also feel that public funds should be invested only where necessary to furnish adequate service that private enterprise cannot provide.

We urge your support of this plan as we feel it is a vital step forward in the development of the State of California.

Sincerely yours,

CLAUDE D. BRADFORD,
Secretary-Manager.

The 40th Anniversary of the National Coal Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, the National Coal Association, which was organized to deal with questions of fuel supply during World War I, will hold its 40th anniversary convention at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington June 4–6. What takes place at the convention will be of nationwide interest, since the status of the coal industry is so closely related to the general welfare and the national security.

The National Coal Association has come a long way since its birth four decades ago. It has played a vital role in periods of war and peace.

The Honorable Tom Pickett, executive vice president of the National Coal Association and a former Member of Congress, has been good enough to supply me with the advanced program of activities scheduled for the convention. I am sure that the program will have wide appeal, for—in addition to coal industry people—representatives of railroads, chemicals, and other allied industries will attend. I am pleased to note that the banquet speaker will be a learned member of the clergy for whom everyone has the greatest respect, Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, pastor of

Marble Collegiate Church in New York City.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to inform the Congress that Mr. W. W. Goldsmith, president of Elk Horn Coal Co., Charleston, W. Va., is chairman of the NCA convention committee. Another resident of the constituency which I represent is Mr. L. Newton Thomas, chief executive officer of the Carbon Fuel Co., Charleston. He is president of the National Coal Association.

I am sure that our colleagues will want to join me in congratulating this organization for the excellent contribution it has made to the development of one of the basic industries of this Nation, coal.

Why Suggestion Awards Pay Off

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article entitled "Why Suggestion Awards Pay Off," which appeared in the February issue of the Armed Forces Management magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY SUGGESTION AWARDS PAY OFF

(By Henry G. Mazlen)

(Creative potential is that unique ability of bringing something new into the world—a new tool, design, book, song, idea, or method. It encompasses the capacity for thinking beyond the confines of existing knowledge and experience. It must precede both invention and copyright and is thus the basis for all progress.)

Within the Federal establishment, with its vast research organizations and particularly within the Department of Defense where a major portion of research is under the cloak of security restrictions, creative potential must not be neglected. In our world there is a constant race for new ideas, and it seems that America must remain ahead of all her idea competitors for sheer survival. It follows that our Government needs men and women with creative potential and that such employees must be encouraged.

In the commercial world, incentive for ideas lies in rewards reaped from marketing of patented or copyright works. Government has acknowledged that ideas are the secret and private property of the originator; to stay in his or her mind forever, or be made public. To induce those with creative potential to make their ideas public under Government protection, the patent and copyright laws were formulated.

There now exists a means for recognition and advancement related to the individual values of each public servant which can be measured against his or her creative potential and demonstrated contributions to progress.

At long last, a new law which recognizes the merit of awards for both ideas as well as performance, has been enacted. This law states, "The head of each department is authorized to pay cash awards to and to incur necessary expenses for the honorary recognition of, civilian officers and employees of the Government who by their suggestions, inventions, superior accomplishments, or other personal efforts contribute to the efficiency, economy, or other improvement of Government operations or who perform special acts or services in the public interest in connection with or related to their official employment."

Some men and women not only rise to meet what their particular jobs demand of them—but motivated by initiative, go beyond the prescribed limits to make valuable contributions to their own organizations specifically, and to the Government in general. A superior accomplishment toward efficiency and economy may not be patentable or copyrightable, but as a mark of individual effort, as an index of creative potential, it calls for deserved recognition and commensurate reward.

Clearly then, it is the duty and responsibility of management at all echelons to see that worthwhile contributions are properly credited to those who bring them forward. Management must recognize that there is no monopoly of ideas outside the Federal establishment.

Whoever has powers of observation keen enough to discover a need, self-confidence enough to believe that some method or device not previously tried is worth searching for, dissatisfaction enough with the existing order—and perseverance enough to work out a better way of doing a job—that person deserves to be encouraged and rewarded when the sum total of his or her efforts prove practical.

CREATIVE POTENTIAL LACKING

It has been asked why professors of English do not write our best sellers, why professors of chemistry and physics do not solve the mass of practical problems which impinge on these and related fields. We know now why our great songs are not written by concert artists, why our great symphonies are not composed by first violinists or conductors. The reason is that creative potential is lacking.

There is a saying that the "one who makes the model is not the inventor." This is the critical appraisal. Imaginative insight and inventive ability appear to go hand-in-hand and may be found in all walks of life, in all lines of endeavor and at all echelons of organization, from office boy to president.

It is a strange fact that new ideas have always encountered some form of opposition. The danger is that lethargy to change or outright suppression can frustrate those who really have good ideas. The history of invention is filled with heartbreaks. The patience of the creative personality is too often worn thin in crossing the desert of opposition.

Usually, all the good ideas come from the executives; but this is natural. The trick is to get those who are not in executive positions to develop creative potential and contribute to organizational progress.

In the Federal Government, the introduction of the suggestion box and the review of ideas by committees has tended to build confidence in the system. With continued encouragement, more and better ideas will evolve. It is surprising what a volume of ideas can be generated by a handful of people under proper stimulation.

Because it is human nature to become discouraged after a few disappointments, it is management's task to see that the suggestor who has submitted ideas which have not been accepted is made to feel that there is still plenty of room for improvement. Stephenson's locomotive, Fulton's steamboat, Edison's genius, and the contributions of Pasteur, the Wright brothers, and Einstein—all would have been lost to our civilization but for the indefatigable efforts shown by these idea men.

The greatest inventive contributions have come from men and women who were practically brought up on a diet of rebuke and scorn from friends, parents and strangers alike. They looked ahead. They didn't give up after 1 or 100 failures. Finally, they won out.

Thomas Jefferson was belittled for the Louisiana Purchase because his contemporaries lacked his vision. Today, unenlightened, irrational, intolerant attitudes toward progressive ideas would be unforgiveable. In the short span of some 50-odd years the ingenuity of man has attained a position which cannot even be measured against man's accomplishments over the past 300,000 years.

It is a fact that a significant part of this advancement was achieved by men and women working under the auspices of our Federal Government.

Unfortunately, security restrictions have precluded the free dissemination of these achievements and the identification of these benefactors in many instances.

The truth is that with technological advances, man's investigative faculties are becoming unshackled. There is no law, according to psychiatrists, which governs the production of ideas. Men with four university degrees after thier names are in no better idea "climate" than men who never finished high school. The scientist sorting his facts with cold logic is on the same creative plane with the lathe operator who recommends an improvement in machine design which increases production 100 fold and reduces costs. The question of worth is relative since the end result is progress; whether it takes the form of a master's thesis or a lathe worker's beneficial suggestion.

Within the Federal establishment with its extra-governmental affiliations, particularly in defense work, vast fields continue to be opened to innovators and investigators. Science, public health, communications, transportation, agriculture, industry—all have opened doors which confront us like new horizons. And in all these fields together with many, many more, there are Government employees whose creative potential is still to be awakened and stimulated.

Is it any wonder that management has this growing responsibility for finding and encouraging the minds we must have in the future we are all working for? When we remember that the Mayas of Yucatan actually had a calendar that lost but 1 day in 374,000 years, yet the Mayas possessed no instrument of precision to help them evolve it—what should not our creative potential be capable of?

We must also consider that often results will not be individual. In this respect, management must develop a standard of ethics in dealing with group accomplishments. By ethics in this special sense I mean doing everything possible to bestow group recognition plus individual recognition upon outstanding leader(s) of the group.

THREE TRAITS SHOWN

If an individual has ever accomplished anything worthwhile he or she has evidenced three admirable traits—organizational skill, experimental ingenuity and patience of a very high order. These criteria may assist management in selecting and training employees for specialized positions. These attributes tie in with the skill necessary for the accumulation of facts, systemization of observations, recording of conclusions. It is a form of articulateness which may be considered characteristic of innovators and research workers.

There is but one conclusion that you can draw from all this—that we must be prepared to receive ideas from all sources. There must be but one criterion. Does the idea contribute to progress; to efficiency and economy in the operations of the Federal Government, or to other objectives along these lines such as safety? If so, we are obligated to receive such ideas in good faith,

decide upon their merits and show the originator that his contribution is worthwhile.

No program of incentives and award can hope for success, regardless of law, if management does not believe in and subscribe to these fundamental truths about innovations and innovators alike. In many areas the search for ideas borders upon desperation. All echelons of management have been alerted by direct messages from the President and the Secretary of Defense. Instructions have been issued. Procedures have been formulated.

The onus lies heavily upon management to get the instructions carried out so that the full intent of the law will be met. The evidence will not be long forthcoming. As managerial leadership goes into full swing behind the awards program, the suggestion boxes will fill; measurable saving and documented efficiency in operations and records of unusual individual achievements will accumulate in all Federal organizations.

This testimony will prove beyond any doubt that the program of finding, stimulating, recognizing and rewarding creative potential has far-reaching benefits. And once the program is in high gear it will be management's task to keep it from retrogressing. Nothing remains static. There will always be room for improvement and need for improvers.

Rockets Open United States to Red Sub Attack

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of conjecture, and much misleading information on the strength or weakness of the Russian submarine fleet. In this regard, a series of recent articles in the San Diego Union and other Copley newspapers has helped to clarify the relative strengths of the submarine fleets of Russia and the United States.

This series of articles was written by the Copley newspaper's distinguished military expert, Mr. Rembert James, whose world travels and military knowledge qualify him as an articulate observer of this changing military balance of power.

Under unanimous consent I include these articles in the Appendix of the RECORD:

DEFENSES BEING READIED — ROCKETS OPEN UNITED STATES TO RED SUB ATTACK

(By Rembert James)

The perfection of the rocket has bared the coasts of North America, laying almost all of the United States open, in case of war, to a nuclear attack launched from Russian submarines.

Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, has told Congress that this danger from the sea is perhaps more real than the threat of attack from the air.

Top Navy men say this realization is behind the new urgency of the United States Navy's efforts to develop an array of long-range devices capable of detecting and destroying submarines.

It also is the reason why the Navy has created a new antisubmarine command in the Atlantic and plans to incorporate all antisubmarine measures this command devises into the Pacific Fleet as well.

A reporter trying to piece together the facts finds that two sets of intelligence reports circulating among high officials in Washington largely explain the situation.

One set of reports confirms that the Russian submarine fleet, with 450 boats and building new ones at the rate of more than 1 a week, is constantly increasing its activity in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

The other group of intelligence papers reports that the Russians have test fired 50 rockets at ranges of up to 800 miles.

The United States Navy has been launching missiles from submarines for several years, and its top leaders assume that the Russians have the skill to build missile launchers into submarines.

If the missiles had a range of 800 to 1,000 miles, they could reach into almost every State. They could stand offshore 50 or 100 miles and hurl rockets with atomic warheads at targets as far inland as Chicago and Detroit. And, of course, they could hit cities along both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

The development of the rocket has turned the submarine into an entirely new weapon. Its main purpose in the future, naval leaders believe, will be to launch rockets, either of the aimed ((ballistic) type, or guided missile type.

Admiral Burke, in a recent appearance before the House Armed Services Committee, told of the need for rapid development of antisubmarine warfare detection equipment and weapons, and of what the Navy is doing.

EMPHASIS ON ANTISUBMARINE WARFARE

"The Navy places major emphasis on antisubmarine warfare," he said.

"We have to be able to identify enemy submarines at long ranges, and kill them at long ranges. We are now making progress in those areas.

"Most of the ships and weapons the Navy now has, or has under development, are designed to play some part in antisubmarine warfare."

Burke meant by this that Navy ships, submarines, airplanes, and helicopters are being fitted with new electronic devices to find enemy submarines.

Russia has submarine forces deployed in four areas—the Baltic Sea, the Barents Sea, the Black Sea, and in the Far East at Vladivostok and Petropaviovsk.

Vice Adm. Wallace M. Beakley, commander of the United States 7th Fleet, East, has reported the number of Russian submarines in the Far East at around 100, of which 60 or 70 are long range.

INCREASED SIGHTINGS IN PACIFIC, ATLANTIC

In the Pacific, as well as in the Atlantic, these Russian submarines rove the distances. Increasing numbers of sightings, many near America's coasts, have been reported since the Russian submarine fleet started taking to the seas in 1948.

Because of the width of the Pacific, and the comparatively smaller size of Russia's Far Eastern submarine facilities, the threat of submarine-borne rocket attacks is considered less pressing in the Pacific than in the Atlantic.

But with the offensive capabilities of submarines increasing so rapidly in the last few years, countermeasures have become a top priority in the Navy's defensive effort in both oceans.

This concern over the capabilities of Russian submarines is not confined to the United States. Canada has shown similar worry.

Defense Minister Campney told the Canadian House of Commons this month that Canada's Navy and Air Force will get a new air-to-water homing missile to use against the Soviet submarine threat.

"We must counter the Soviet concentration on the building of a large submarine fleet, and the prospect of long-range submarines with the capability of launching atomic missiles from several hundred miles offshore," he said.

SNEAK STRIKE THREAT—"NAUTILUS" SEA TESTS PROVE SUBMARINE ATTACK POTENTIAL

It was the performance of the *Nautilus*, the world's first atomic submarine, that awakened American military strategists to full realization of the frightful possibilities of a new Pearl Harbor-type attack coming from the sea.

During exhaustive tests in the Atlantic, the *Nautilus* outran its hunters. It outwitted those who would detect it, even on the close approaches to New York Harbor.

The *Nautilus* proved almost impossible to find, and wholly impossible to contain and neutralize with present antisubmarine warfare devices.

Although the *Nautilus* was not fitted out with rocket launchers, the lesson was there for all to see. It could have bombarded New York, or even Pittsburgh and cities farther inland, with missiles now in operational use in the United States Navy.

A Russian submarine, with nuclear power and the ability to launch rockets, could have done the same.

A hundred Russian submarines, nuclear-powered and fitted out with rocket launchers and missiles with atomic warheads, could have brought destruction to every American city on the Atlantic seaboard.

If the rocket range were stretched out to 1,000 miles—and the Russians have tested dozens of rockets that carry 800 miles—the whole eastern half of the United States, as far as the Dakotas, could have been brought under attack.

A similar concentration of Russian submarines, standing off the Pacific coast, could have hit every State west of the Rocky Mountains.

These tests of the *Nautilus* and its possibilities took place a year ago. During that time the offensive possibilities of submarines have increased greatly, along with improvements in rockets and nuclear weapons.

How far has Russia progressed in these fields? What are Russia's attack abilities now? And her likely abilities in the future?

Vice Adm. Frank T. Watkins, head of the Atlantic Fleet's new Antisubmarine Command, said recently that there is no positive evidence that the Russians have achieved nuclear power for submarines.

"But we can only assume that they are working on that," he said. "They would be fools if they didn't."

Watkins estimated that in any case the Russians will have nuclear-powered submarines of indefinite range within perhaps 5 years.

American intelligence experts have agreed that Russia has around 450 submarines, and is building new ones at the rate of more than 1 a week, possibly at the rate of 75 a year. All of the new boats are long-range, ocean-going types equipped with snorkel breathing devices.

Adm. Jerauld Wright, Commander in Chief of the Atlantic Fleet, says he has no certain knowledge that the Russians have developed the technique of launching missiles from submarines, but he said the Navy assumes that the Russians have that capacity.

It is not hard for competent naval men to achieve. The United States Navy began carrying and launching the Regulus missile from the submarine *Tunny* more than 3 years ago.

As for progress in the missile field, Western intelligence agents believed as early as 1955 that the Russians had an operationally reliable surface-to-surface rocket with a range of 400 miles, and were trying to develop it to travel 1,500 miles.

The United States Defense Department said early this year that the Russians had been

firing ballistic missiles more and more frequently since November of 1955, the month in which they tested a missile with a range of 900 miles.

Trevor Gardner, former Assistant Air Force Secretary, believes the Russians possess a ballistic missile able to travel 700 to 800 miles.

A new set of intelligence reports received in Washington reports that the Russians have test fired 50 rockets at ranges of around 800 miles.

RED SUPREMACY FEARED—NAVY IS RUSHING DEFENSE AGAINST SOVIET ATOM SUBS

The United States Navy is going all out to develop antisubmarine weapons powerful enough to protect this country with its 5,000 miles of coast line from a possible nuclear attack from the sea.

American naval officers refuse to talk even privately about the reason for this new urgency, but some Members of Congress who deal with defense matters have supplied what seems to be the answer.

These Congressmen believe the Russians have speeded up their efforts to produce an atomic-powered submarine fleet and that the United States Navy has secret information to this effect.

Admiral Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, says the United States defenses are strong enough to repel an attack against American shores by the conventional type Russian submarines, but even this would be a long and bitter fight.

It is not known whether Russia has built a nuclear-powered submarine, or whether Russia has submarines fitted to fire rockets, but in case of war, Russia can be presumed to have that capability.

Such submarines, powered with nuclear engines able to run indefinitely without refueling, could shoot atomic-tipped missiles from 100 miles off United States coasts into two-thirds of the 48 States.

For this reason, antisubmarine warfare has become a major part of the United States Navy's defense training.

SECRECY SURROUNDS RESEARCH

High United States naval officials have said several times the Navy has a new device that is more effective against submarines than anything previously developed. There have been hints of other breakthroughs in the Navy's research for long-range systems to find and destroy submarines. But secrecy covers most of this research, although certain basic facts are known and some details have been disclosed.

For example, the sonar detection range has been greatly increased. This is the system in which sound waves are sent out electrically under water, strike an object, and rebound.

Ten years ago the extreme range for reliable detection was about 1 mile. Now it is much greater, but just how much the Navy refuses to tell.

During the last 5 years the Navy has worked out a system in which a helicopter hovers low above the sea and lowers a sonar listening device. This enables the helicopter to locate a submerged boat and drop depth charges, or call on airplanes or surface ships to do so.

The Navy also has blimps that cruise slowly over the ocean and hover over submerged submarines. There are submarines that destroy other submarines. There are airplanes that carry electric magnetic detection units and there are sonar picket ships stationed in such areas as the North Atlantic.

UNITED STATES MAINTAINS AIR RADAR WATCH

There are specially built airplanes that keep a constant watch over the Atlantic with radar, an oceangoing extension of the Arctic radar stations.

The Navy has improved depth charges, including one reported to have an atomic warhead. It has a type of homing torpedo that floats in the ocean until a submarine engine's noise activates the mechanism and brings the torpedo diving after the noise. This torpedo explodes on contact.

There is even a revolutionary new searchlight, powerful as the headlights of 10,000 automobiles, light enough to be mounted on an airplane and able to spot a submarine under water.

The Navy's major submarine defense effort centers around its antisubmarine warfare task group—an aircraft carrier with other surface ships, and submarines, armed with a whole array of submarine-spotting and destruction systems.

TWO DEFENSE METHODS PLANNED

In the event of war, the Navy would have two ways of meeting the submarine threat. One calls for destroying the enemy's submarine bases—atomic bombing by the Navy and the Strategic Air Command.

The other provides for tight defensive measures in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Arctic Oceans, all the way from American shores to Russia.

In this drive to gain mastery of the enemy's submarine offensive capability, the Navy has had help from such scientific centers as Scripps Institution of Oceanography and Caltech, in California, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, but mostly, the Navy has been forced to rely upon its own research, or pay for special research carried out by others. Industrial concerns have found only few ways in which underseas research seemed to have any commercial value.

This has meant that out of its current budget of $10 billion, the Navy had to use large sums on research. Naval officers say that this need continues, and is one reason why the Navy is to get $11 billion out of the 1957–58 defense budget of 38 billions.

Exposing the "Cheap Power" Myth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks I desire to include a letter from Mr. Alfred W. Bowman of Novato, Calif.

In my estimation this expression of opinion from a citizen and a taxpayer is an outstanding exposé of the myth that public power is cheap. It states the case plainly and from experience that somebody pays for this cheap public power in the long run—and those who pay are the taxpayers.

Citing his firsthand experience with the TVA, Mr. Bowman urges adoption of the partnership plan for developing power at the Trinity River project in California.

I am pleased to submit, for the information of my colleagues, the following letter from a resident of my district:

NOVATO, CALIF., *March 30, 1957.*

Congressman HUBERT B. SCUDDER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND: I wish to go on record as favoring Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s proposal to develop and distribute electrical power through a joint venture with the Federal Government at the Trinity River project.

In years past I owned and operated Bowman Manufacturing Co. in Memphis, Tenn., and was a beneficiary of the Government's Tennessee Valley Authority. My power bill was about half of that charged previously by the private enterprise, Memphis Light & Gas. I venture to say that Memphis Light & Gas could have cut the bill in half had it too been subsidized by the taxpayer. My cheap power bill soon faded into insignificance as my Federal tax bill soared. In short, who was kidding whom?

P. G. & E. is a very successful and well managed private industry whose business is generating and distributing electricity. I believe they can do a far better job in a joint venture than the Government has demonstrated in its venture into the public power field. Perhaps their rates won't be lower, but I am sure our taxes won't be higher on their account. They are heavy taxpayers both locally and federally. Let's keep them that way.

Therefore, owing to my firsthand experience with cheap power, I strongly favor and recommend P. G. & E.'s proposed plan.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

ALFRED W. BOWMAN.

Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like to place in the RECORD a few remarks about Poland today since the Polish people will celebrate the anniversary of their constitution of 1791 tomorrow, May 3. This constitution, as we know, was one of the first democratic and progressive constitutions in Europe.

We are all familiar with dramatic events of the last year involving postwar Poland and I believe these events have contributed greatly to an emerging awareness in the Soviet bloc that the Communist ideology cannot endure forever in the countries which are under their domination. The Soviets may control economically and militarily but activities in recent months prove that the Polish people have not permitted an inroad into their spiritual life and ideals but have held on to their belief in liberty.

It is heartening to note that it was the workers who dared to raise their hand against Communist tyranny thereby demonstrating the fallacy in the Communists claim that their philosophy is the rule of the peasants and workers.

May 3 gives Americans everywhere an opportunity to pay tribute to the Polish people who are so valiantly struggling to again have complete freedom and to restore the bonds with the West and the United States. These ties have long existed. It was Thaddeus Kosciusko, of Poland, who volunteered his services to our continental Army in the American revolution. He fought so courageously for us because he believed in the principles for which we were fighting. He was made a brigadier general in 1783 and was awarded the Order of Cincin-

nati which carried the privilege of citizenship and an annual pension. Kosciusko was beloved by other American officers. Shortly before he died, and many years after his return from America, he emancipated his serfs in order to manifest his belief in liberty, equality, and fraternity.

The Striving of the People of Poland for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KEAN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. KEAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very comprehensive address by the very able Representative from the Sixth District of New Jersey, Mrs. FLORENCE P. DWYER, on one of the most important events in the world today—the striving of the people of Poland for freedom and relief from the yoke of international communism.

This address, made before the 50th anniversary dinner of the Polish National Alliance Women's Department in Chicago, Ill., on March 24, 1957, merits the attention of every Member of Congress.

The address follows:

I am deeply honored to have the privilege tonight of addressing this distinguished gathering. I say this in all sincerity, and in all humility, for I know of no other organization in our land that has worked so tirelessly and accomplished so much in sustaining the eternal seed of American friendship in the bleak soil behind the Iron Curtain.

Yes, I am proud to join with you tonight in the observance of the 50th anniversary of the women's department of the Polish National Alliance, for I know the wealth of contributions members of your organization have made to the educational, cultural, civic, and social welfare developments of our Nation during these years.

I am proud to be with you tonight, for I know that our great Nation was born with the devoted help of Polish patriots.

I am proud to be with you tonight, for I share with you the conviction that the people of Poland thirst for freedom; that the spark of rebellion against godless tyranny which was ignited at Poznan still holds the bright hope of salvation for all the oppressed multitudes behind the Iron Curtain who are inching, step by step, along the road to freedom.

Certainly, this dream of freedom is not new to the Polish people; it is not a vision created in desperation by the hunger, the fear, the privation, the persecution of the Kremlin's ruthless communistic colonialism. The love of freedom is deeply rooted in Poland's culture. The Polish people were one of the first in Europe to strive for this God-given right; and, though its land too often has felt the fury of freedom-crushing invaders, this spirit of liberty has never died.

This inborn belief in freedom and human dignity, shared in common by our countries, has molded a bond of spiritual kinship between the people of Poland and America. It is a bond that has endured since the bitter days of our own struggle for freedom when Pulaski and Kosciusko left their homeland to fight for our cause.

Even beyond this spiritual kinship, Poland has deep roots in America. The tide of Polish immigration, through the years, has served to enrich our culture in every field of human endeavor. Today, our 7 million Polish Americans can look with pride on the heritage they and their forefathers have brought to our land.

I have always believed that the true hallmark of the American way of life is that, in this land of ours, it is possible for a person to be a 100-percent United States citizen and still cherish and perpetuate the best of the culture and the customs of the country of his origin.

This is important in a free nation such as ours, for we are descendants of every nation and every race on earth. And each has played its part in shaping American life. Be we of Polish descent, or Irish, or Italian, or German, or English—or of any of the other nationalities—we should be proud of our ancestral heritages, and seek to keep them alive and part of our American life.

The love of native country and the pride of customs and culture are particularly strong among our Polish-American citizens. The strength of these ties is reflected in the constant communication between you and your loved ones in Poland—a communication which even the Communists have not been able to sever.

It is important that this communication continue. The letters you write and the packages you send may not be dramatic; they may not make headlines. But they are very important, for they have comprised, in recent years, the single lifeline through which America has been able to keep alive our friendship with the Polish people. They have served to brighten the lives of those behind the Iron Curtain, and to remind them that they have not been forgotten or abandoned by the United States.

But, in the pattern of events of the past year in Poland, these questions arise:

Can this single lifeline of hope continue indefinitely to sustain the proud spirit of the Polish people?

Can hope alone sustain the determined seeking of liberty of a people whose economic and financial resources have been plundered by the forces of communism?

In searching for answers to these questions, I believe it is important to review the events in Poland which have sent shock tremors of unrest and rebellion throughout the Soviet Union's network of captive nations.

I have, just as you, vivid memories of the Poznan riots of last summer. Indeed, I was privileged—as a member of the New Jersey State Legislature last year—to introduce a resolution, which was quickly enacted, memorializing the undying love of freedom of those Polish patriots who were jailed or massacred in Poznan when they arose to demand "Bread and freedom and the right to worship God."

The defiance of the vast power and ruthlessness of the Soviet Government by a people who refused to surrender their spirits or their minds to the invader is one of the inspiring milestones in mankind's never-ending search for the light of freedom. It was, in the greatest sense, the turning point in the history of the relations between Moscow and its satellites—an inspiring example of courage and determination that turned the eyes of the world, especially behind the Iron Curtain, on Poland and the Warsaw government.

The causes of this rebellion against tyranny within Poland which has shaken the very foundations of the Kremlin's program for world conquest are many.

Basically, we all know, the Polish people through the years have faced westward because of their cultural traditions and their Roman Catholic faith. Poland's 28 million people—unshakably Catholic, proudly nationalistic and bitterly anti-Russian—have no common bonds or sympathies with the Kremlin, nor with the 1,500,000 members of the Polish Communist Party who ruled their lives with blueprints supplied by Moscow.

In addition to this vital factor, by mid-1956 there was a widespread discontent in Poland generated by a continuing economic crisis. Life in Poland was becoming more and more difficult. Living standards dropped, and prices kept climbing to higher and higher levels. The few consumer goods that could be purchased were priced far out of the reach of the average person.

In general, the Polish people were paying the price for years of poor and self-centered planning by the Communists. The entire Polish economy, under the Soviet Union's direction, had been geared to heavy industrial production without regard for the stable, balanced economic development necessary for a people's welfare. At the same time Polish trade was geared solely to satisfy Soviet interests rather than Polish interests. Historic trade patterns with the West were cut off, much to Poland's disadvantage, for Poland could not supply the legitimate needs of her people with trade with the East.

All of these factors contributed to a worsening economic crisis which, in 1956, went beyond the point of toleration.

Political elements also entered into the complex pattern of events and contributed to the general air of discontent. These elements, for the most part, had their origin in the Moscow regime's sudden switch of policy to an anti-Stalin line, in which Stalin was exposed for what he was and what he did. This act by the Soviet leaders in revealing before the eyes of the world the lie of Communist propaganda touched off immediate repercussions behind the Iron Curtain. In Poland, where anti-Russianism has a long and respected tradition, the repercussions were particularly violent. The Polish people began to seriously question past policies and past loyalties.

This mounting discontent reached a climax with the Poznan riots last June. The following 4 months brought increasing political ferment and potential danger for Poland, until—at last—the Warsaw government faced up to the responsibilities of its own misdeeds and mismanagement and returned Wladislaw Gomulka to power.

Gomulka, a Polish Communist leader who had been purged from the party and imprisoned for his anti-Stalin, nationalistic deviations, instituted a program of action that contained many concessions to the Polish people. Cardinal Wyszynski, Poland's beloved anti-Communist, anti-Soviet Catholic leader, was released from prison. Wider religious freedom was given to the people. General modifications in economic planning were proposed after a realistic reappraisal of Poland's deepening economic plight. The new Gomulka regime even responded favorably to President Eisenhower's proposal for economic aid.

In the cultural field, other concessions were made. Open criticism of the Government and Soviet Russia appeared in the public press. And, in the political field, some changes in the electoral law brought about a small degree of parliamentary reform. A tighter rein also was placed on the dreaded secret police.

Particularly dramatic in this abrupt change in leadership was the removal from office of pro-Kremlin Polish Communists who advocated slavish obedience to Russia, and the ouster of Marshal Rokossovsky, the Soviet military leader whose name had become a symbol of fear and persecution in every Polish home. All of these pro-Soviet offi-

cials were replaced by Polish Communist nationalists as Gomulka guided the Warsaw government on a new course of national communism which he maintained would be dedicated mainly to Polish interests.

The background upon which these changes took place heightened the tense air of danger in Poland. Hungary was in the grips of revolution. Soviet troops in Russia and East Germany were alerted, and in Poland the Red Army began preparations for another of the Kremlin's ill-famed maneuvers. The crisis finally subsided, at least temporarily, when the Soviet Union agreed to recognize the Gomulka government after assurances were given that Poland's relations with Moscow would not be altered substantially except for greater Polish independence.

Thus, for the moment, Gomulka's Polish "National Communist" regime has succeeded in its war of nerves with the powerful Soviet Union. But the struggle is far from over. Gomulka now must strengthen his regime, if he hopes to survive. Politically, he has been striving to do this by reshaping the party apparatus and strengthening it with his own loyal followers. However, the most critical problem facing Gomulka today is, without question, to solve Poland's economic ills. Should Gomulka fail, the prospects of the future of Poland's national communism would be dim.

During the past months, Gomulka has taken steps to remedy Poland's sick economy. For instance, pressures on the farmers have been eased. But it appears increasingly evident that Gomulka is placing his greatest hope on substantial economic aid from the United States. The Poles need farming and mining machinery; they need cotton, fats, and oils; they need many of the agricultural products which we have in surplus and which we have been using in our extensive economic aid program.

In recent weeks, a Polish delegation has been in Washington, conferring with our Department of State on means of expanding our economic relations with Poland and helping the Polish people in their hour of need.

These negotiations involve problems as complex and as fraught with significance for the entire world as almost any phase of our present-day international negotiations.

Most Americans, I am sure, agree that we should welcome any progress made in Poland—or in any other nation behind the Iron Curtain—toward a greater measure of freedom and sovereignty.

Our Government, in entering negotiations with Poland, is not urging nor trying to force upon the Polish people any economic, social, or political system or ideology. Our Government's only hope is that the Polish people eventually will be given the liberty to choose freely whatever system they want.

In general, our Government has taken a cautious attitude in these negotiations.

President Eisenhower's administration has manifested its interest in giving some form of aid to the Gomulka regime in Poland. Now, the purpose of this policy is not to aid any sort of communism. The doctrines of communism are repugnant to all free peoples, and they will remain so whether they are promulgated from Moscow, Warsaw, Belgrade, or any other capital.

No, our Government's policy is not to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland, nor to encourage the cause of communism. But our Government does have an enormous interest in extending the area of freedom from Moscow's domination as the best means of discouraging aggression and enhancing the eternal hopes for a sound and lasting world peace.

This, I firmly believe, is the objective we in the Congress must keep in mind as we view the question of aid to Poland.

I believe we should not close our minds to these negotiations. We must give the State Department our faith and our confidence as it proceeds with the delicate shaping of this policy which well may serve to ease the satellites toward a greater degree of independence from Moscow.

These negotiations take time, and patience, and confidential discussion. Once the policy has been formulated, the Congress can exercise its responsibilities under the Constitution. But, until that time—when we begin our study of such a policy in all of its implications—we should not bind ourselves with a rigid, dogmatic position which will make attempts at successful negotiation impossible.

This is most important at this time, for our policymakers are faced with many grave questions as they proceed with these negotiations.

In the first place, the Eisenhower administration is confronted with severe legal restrictions in seeking to administer some form of aid to a Communist-controlled country.

Long before last year's satellite rebellions began, Congress passed the Battle Act, which prohibits aid to Communist governments. There was a need for such restriction at the time. But now the question arises whether such restrictions should not be at least partially eased to fit the pattern of freedom-inspired unrest behind the Iron Curtain.

But, even beyond such legal questions, there is a need for great caution in aiding such satellite nations as Poland during this transitional stage between complete suppression and complete freedom. The welfare of both the people of America and the people of Poland demands such caution.

Briefly, our dilemma is this: If the United States does not aid Poland, the Poles may be compelled to turn to the Soviet Union for the assistance we were not prepared to extend. As a condition, Poland probably would be forced to include in its government more of the pro-Moscow Communists, and thus sacrifice what degree of independence it has achieved.

On the other hand, were we to grant Poland substantial aid through loans and credit, we doubtedlessly would run the risk of provoking intervention by Soviet Russia. It happened in Hungary. Russia would not tolerate a Hungary which was not tied securely to the Soviet Empire. It is probable that Russia would neither tolerate a genuinely independent Poland, nor any fundamental change in the structure of the Polish state. Russia today tolerates the Gomulka regime only because it is Communist and retains a certain loyalty to Moscow.

Also, there is the argument that aid to Poland would strengthen the Communist regime and make it difficult for the evolution of any genuine democracy there. Communism, whether it be Stalinist or nationalist, is fundamentally opposed to the ideals of democracy; and it follows that if we strengthen a Communist regime, we reduce the possibilities for the gradual emergence of democracy. Perhaps, what now appears to be a short-term gain may, in the long run, prove to be a burden of oppression that would be impossible to dislodge.

On the positive side, however, there is the argument that to aid Poland is to aid the Polish people, and not the Warsaw government. It is to make life easier for the Poles; it is to ease the burden of oppression from their tired shoulders; it is to give them a chance at a measure of the necessities of life.

These are some of the problems that face our Government today as it carefully considers the question of expanded trade relations with Poland as a measure of aid to the Polish people. The concern of our Government—which for so long has been the beacon of hope to the oppressed, the hungry, the homeless of the world—is for the welfare of our own people and for the people of Poland—and not the Warsaw government. We cannot afford to be impatient, or too demanding, as much as our hearts weep for the people of Poland. We must remember that the problems involved are complex; that the situation is charged with many dangers, both for us and for the people of Poland. We must remember, no matter how loudly our instinct calls out for the relief of hardships, that headlong and ill-advised action could only serve to wipe out the flickering light of the beginnings of freedom in Poland.

I believe, however—as President Eisenhower believes, and as he and the Department of State have clearly indicated—that we should take cautious steps to strengthen Poland's independence. I believe, in weighing both the good and the bad factors, that it is vital to extend to the Polish people a judicious measure of the aid they need so desperately.

Six years of World War II cost the United States alone $390 billion. By this estimate, just 1 day of that war cost our people nearly $200 million, or less than the amount we might loan to Poland to stave off an acute food shortage.

If the giving of such aid will help the Polish people pry themselves loose from the Soviet grip, and to develop a society along their own lines, it will be worth the price. If American aid assists or speeds the process of liberalization, it will be the cheapest and most effective—as well as the most humane—offensive the United States can mount in the cold war.

Unless we take such steps, there can be no hope for eventual liberation of the captive nations of the world; there can be no real meaning to the cause of freedom we have sought to advance across the horizons of the world.

Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALLEN SMITH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter, dated April 24, 1957, from Paul H. Lambert, president, Burbank Chamber of Commerce, Burbank, Calif., concerning opposition of the board of directors of the Burbank Chamber of Commerce to Federal aid for schools construction program:

BURBANK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Burbank, Calif., April 24, 1957.

The Honorable H. ALLEN SMITH,
Representative United States Congress,
Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR ALLEN: At a recent director's meeting of the chamber of commerce, the board of directors went on record reiterating their position as opposing Federal aid for schools construction program.

This position was taken by the board for several reasons. First, there is no wealth within the reach of the Federal Government that is not within the 48 States and the outlying Territories. If Federal aid to school construction is to be done on any basis, it could be a foot in the door to an ever-increasing expenditure program.

Secondly, Federal aid always raises the inherent threat that it will lead to Federal control and furthermore local school districts and the States which have the greatest problems of school housing are meeting their own needs, even though it takes their resourcefulness as well as their resources.

Sincerely,

PAUL H. LAMBERT,
President.

Stark County Board of Elections Recipient of American Heritage Foundation Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to announce that the Stark County Board of Elections, located in my home city of Canton, Ohio, has been selected for an award from the American Heritage Foundation for the best job done by a county election board in the national nonpartisan register, inform yourself and vote program in 1956.

I offer my congratulations to the clerk of the board, Hon. James Seccombe, who served the 16th District as a Member of the House in the 76th Congress, and to the members of the board and the staff who did such excellent work last year.

I wish to include in the RECORD the letter received by Mr. Seccombe, notifying him of the award, and the story from the Canton Repository giving details of the accomplishment which brought this honor to our county. Members of the Stark County Board of Elections are Paul M. Perkins, chairman, Lou Ella H. Buker, Vera L. Elliott, and Henry W. Kattman. Members of the staff of the board include J. Harold Hogan, deputy clerk, Mildred Mensch, Margaret Neel, Audrey V. Sickle, Sophie Hahn, Marie Dick, and Loddie Neumann.

The letter follows:

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION,
New York, N. Y., April 10, 1957.

Mr. JAMES SECCOMBE,
Clerk, Stark County Board of Elections, Canton, Ohio.

DEAR MR. SECCOMBE: We want you to be the first to know that the Awards Committee of the American Heritage Foundation, after evaluating the work of more than 7,000 participants, has selected the Stark County Board of Elections to receive a major American Heritage Foundation award for the "best job by a county election board" in the 1956 national nonpartisan register, inform yourself, and vote program.

The award is a 12-inch by 18-inch reproduction of the beautiful illustration, George Washington the Soldier, by the eminent artist, Arthur Szyk, and it carries a citation of appreciation.

Perhaps you would like the award to be presented to you at a particularly appropriate time and place. Or, if you prefer, we can simply send it to you. Please let us know your wishes.

Again, our heartfelt thanks and deep appreciation for all that you have done to advance the Foundation's continuing program to move more of our fellow-Americans from the role of passive spectators into that of active, participating citizens.

Sincerely,

JOHN C. CORNELIUS,
President.
WALTER BEDELL SMITH,
Chairman.

[From the Canton Repository]

CHOSEN AMONG 7,000—AWARD CITES WORK OF FALL CAMPAIGNS

The Stark County Board of Elections has been selected from among 7,000 election boards nationwide to receive a major American Heritage Foundation Award for the "best job done by a county election board" in the national nonpartisan, register, inform yourself and vote program.

Notice of the selection has been received by James Seccombe, clerk of the Stark County board, from Walter Bedell Smith, chairman, and John C. Cornelius, president of the American Heritage Foundation.

The award was based on a two-part program conducted by the Stark County board last fall. First aim was to register as many of the county's voters as possible, and in this the board was eminently successful. A record total of 148,702 electors was on the rolls for the November elections. Previous high was in 1952 when 145,608 voters were eligible to cast votes.

The second phase was to get out the vote and this also was successful in setting a new record. A total of 134,529 voters cast ballots, compared to the previous high of 131,142 in 1952.

The award will be a 12-by-18-inch reproduction of George Washington the Soldier by Arthur Szyk. It will carry a citation of appreciation for the work done by the Stark County board.

The letter from the foundation officials left it to the local board's decision on how and when the award will be presented. Mr. Seccombe said he will meet with the board and will suggest the presentation be made at a meeting here.

He said he also will suggest invitations to attend the meeting be sent to General Smith, who has served as President Eisenhower's chief of staff, or Mr. Cornelius.

Selection of the Stark board for this honor was based largely on a scrapbook comprised mainly of clippings from the Repository, which worked in very close cooperation with Mr. Seccombe and the board in promoting registration and actual voting. The campaigns were bulwarked effectively in their respective territories by the Massillon Independent and the Alliance Review as well as the county's several radio stations.

Mr. Seccombe said he already has received a telephone call and telegram from Ted Brown, secretary of state and Ohio's chief election official, congratulating the Stark board on its achievement.

He said Mr. Brown informed him he wants to attend the presentation meeting here and that the Stark board also will receive a special citation for its registration and vote promotion at the meeting of the Ohio Election Officials Association at Cleveland July 20–22.

The vote-registration campaign spearheaded by the election board, in addition to a continuous series of newspaper stories and editorials, featured numerous signs around the board of elections office. These queried: Is your name in the book?

Music was broadcast throughout the day, starting with hymns in the morning hours and including waltzes, marches, and polkas as the day progressed.

Parking on Second Street NW., between Market and Court Avenues was reserved for persons coming to the board's offices to register. In the case of persons who were crippled, board clerks would go out to the autos to register them. At night, sparklers and red flares were used to create a holiday mood and attract attention to the campaign.

The registration drive was climaxed September 21 when the offices remained open all night to accommodate voters unable to register during the conventional hours. This brought a total of 479 registrations and 91 transfers.

"Ours was the only board in the State and, as far as the American Heritage Foundation could determine, the only board anywhere that remained open all night for the convenience of the voters," Mr. Seccombe said. "It entirely removed the time element as a reason for not registering to vote."

The board also maintained extra hours at its offices in Massillon and Alliance City Halls. Branch offices also were opened in 18 Stark County villages for registration.

The second phase of the campaign, aimed at getting out the vote, found a united nonpartisan effort at work, Mr. Seccombe pointed out in a letter to the foundation which accompanied the scrapbook.

After registration was ended, the board received effective cooperation of labor organizations, civic and fraternal groups, and the parent-teacher association in getting out the vote for the November elections. This included distribution of lapel tickets worded: "I Will Vote—Will You?"

Both parties made automobiles available for persons needing transportation to and from the polling places. A school was held for 2,500 poll workers and there was not a single delinquency or absence among them on election day.

Bespeaking the efficiency of the election organizing was the low discrepancy in the figures of the unofficial count and the official count last fall, Mr. Seccombe informed the foundation.

The scrapbook contained letters from the mayors of Canton, Massillon, and Alliance, the Canton Chamber of Commerce and from district 27, United Steel Workers of America, complimenting the Stark board on its registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns.

The letter from the foundation notifying Mr. Seccombe of the Stark board's selection for the honor concluded with:

"Our heartfelt thanks and deep appreciation for all that you have done to advance the foundation's continuing program to move more of our fellow Americans from the role of passive spectators into that of active, participating citizens."

In commenting on the award Mr. Seccombe said:

"This award from the American Heritage Foundation is greatly appreciated. It is an honor to which we aspired and which we now accept with humility.

"To be selected from more than 7,000 participants is, we feel, an achievement in which we can all share.

"The award is accepted on behalf of the Stark County Board of Elections and its many employees, who all played a part in making this recognition possible.

"In the brochure submitted for the consideration of the judges of the foundation, the work of the Canton Repository, in story and picture, was liberally displayed.

"The Repository's registration and get-out-the-vote campaign contributed heavily to the success of our effort.

"We wish to thank all who played any part in the election board's program. We can all rejoice in the honor it has brought to Stark County."

Mr. Speaker, another honor has come to the 16th Congressional District of Ohio with the announcement that the New Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce received the national second place merit certificate of the United States Chamber of Commerce for its outstanding program and accomplishments.

I include with my remarks a news statement giving details of this award to New Philadelphia:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 30.—The New Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce was last night awarded a national second place merit certificate by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States at the leadership recognition dinner held at the Statler Hotel. The award was for program of work activities and achievements and outstanding accomplishments for communities of population up to 25,000 in the United States during 1956. The dinner was a featured event of the national chamber's 45th annual meeting.

In the program of work category the New Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce was

judged on its achievements in developing and conducting a well-balanced program of effective activities in business development, community betterment, good citizenship, and organization improvement.

The award was accepted for the members by Clayton D. Hatch, chamber president, and Eugene V. Endres, national councilor.

Mr. Hatch stated that the chamber's award was based on the activities of 2 of its councils, 25 of its committees, 3 of its affiliates, 30 chairmen, 150 committeemen, and members, and some 5,000 man-hours of work and participation.

The national winner in the program of work category was Longview, Tex., Chamber of Commerce (population 24,502); second, New Philadelphia, Ohio, Chamber of Commerce (population 12,948); and third, Huntsville, Ala., Chamber of Commerce (population 16,432), last year's national winner for program of work activities.

The material, information, and the program of work of the New Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce will be preserved in the national chamber's library and will be referred to and used in the future by local chambers everywhere.

Mr. Speaker, nationwide recognition has come to John Bentia, one of the outstanding young business leaders of my congressional district.

At 39, he has been chosen to receive the Horatio Alger Award of the American Schools and Colleges Association, thus joining a distinguished company which includes former President Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, and Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker.

The full story of this achievement was told in a recent issue of the Alliance Review, the newspaper John once served as a carrier. Under leave to extend, I include the article in my remarks:

BENTIA, WHO STARTED AS STOCKBOY, IS YOUNGEST TO GET HORATIO ALGER AWARD

A 39-year-old Alliance industrialist will be the youngest American ever to receive the coveted Horatio Alger Award of the American Schools and Colleges Association.

John Bentia, president and general manager of the Alliance Manufacturing Co., today was announced a winner of the 1957 Horatio Alger Award. He and several other outstanding men will receive the awards at presentation ceremonies May 9 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York.

Among those who will receive the awards this year with Bentia are: Gwilyn A. Price, chairman and president of Westinghouse Electric Co.; Joyce C. Hall, president, Hallmark Greeting Cards Co.; Dr. John J. Sheinin, president, Chicago Medical School; and Harry Sugar, president of Alsco, Inc., Akron.

Winners in previous years included such notables as Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, then head of General Electric Co.; Bernard Baruch; Dr. Milton Eisenhower; Conrad Hilton; former President Herbert Hoover; Charles F. Kettering; Gen. David Sarnoff; and Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker.

CARRIED THE REVIEW

Bentia was born in Alliance, the son of Rumanian immigrants. His first job came at the age of 5 when he carried the Review as a newsboy's helper in the north end of the city. He continued working throughout his childhood and youth—after school hours, on weekends, and holidays—putting his earnings in the family financial pool.

Bentia was graduated from Alliance High School and worked his way through Mount Union College by operating presses and as a heater at the Alliance Drop Forging Co. He received his bachelor of science degree in chemistry from Mount in 1938.

Upon graduation, he started work at the Alliance Manufacturing Co. as a stockboy in the storeroom. He quickly worked his way up the ladder, moving to the sales department, to purchasing, priorities, and then back to sales as sales manager. The next steps were vice president in charge of sales, then company vice president, executive vice president, and then president of this $20 million manufacturing company, a post he assumed in 1954.

OTHER POSITIONS

In addition he is vice president of Consolidated Electronics Industries Corp., parent firm of Alliance Manufacturing Co.; a director of the Alliance First National Bank, and a director of the Salem China Co.

Bentia at present is chairman of the Record Changers & Phonograph Committee of the Radio-Television Electronics Manufacturing Association, on the Government Contract Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers and was a member during World War II of the Dyno Motor Subcommittee of the National Munitions Board.

He has been active in community affairs, including the manufacturing division of the chamber of commerce, United Fund, YMCA, Red Cross, and other local campaigns.

Bontia, when reached in New York today where he is attending a directors meeting of the Alliance Manufacturing Co., said he did not deserve the award. He said he felt humbled in being put in the same company with such past winners as Charles E. Wilson, Bernard Baruch, Charles F. Kettering, David Sarnoff, and others.

LAUDS MOTHER

He said any success he might have attained comes from the persons around him. He listed his mother with whom he makes his home at 2043 South Union Avenue, his staff and coworkers as his helpers. "They all have been helpful and wonderful," he commented.

The national committee which makes the Horatio Alger award quoted Bentia as attributing his success to "determination, hard work and God-given good health." Even since the early 1940's Bentia has been known to work from 12 to 14 hours a day, 6 and 7 days a week.

COLLEGE INCIDENT

Bentia is convinced that by long hours of alert, concentrated study, one can overcome innate mental handicaps. He recounts an incident in college chemistry to prove his point: a classmate—dull, homely, naive—had started at the bottom of the class. Four years later, to the complete surprise of all, he ranked third—a position achieved by constant "plugging away, long hours, sheer determination."

The realization that the student had overcome his own handicap by extraordinary hard work crystallized in Bentia's mind a "never-say-die" attitude.

Possessed of a tremendous curiosity about all things, Bentia is an avid reader on subjects outside his immediate interest—currently he's concentrating on botany, female psychology (he's a bachelor), agriculture—and especially biography and autobiography.

During times of sustained work—when "staleness" is threatening—Bentia often relaxes by reading biographies of successful men. This serves as a catalyst, because he has always been spurred on by the success of others.

Comparing present-day opportunities to those of the past, Bentia candidly, yet emphatically asserts:

"There are infinitely more opportunities today. Chances for success are much greater simply because more and more men are seeking security rather than competitive success. For the really determined individual, unafraid of hard work, today's opportunities offer less competition than ever before. Actually, the less capable person now has more chances for success than he ever had in the past."

Dr. William F. Verdi, Famed Surgeon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, the city of New Haven, the State of Connecticut, and, indeed, citizens throughout the country and world, are sorrowed by the death of a great man and outstanding surgeon, Dr. William Verdi, at his home on April 21.

I had the pleasure and honor to know Dr. Verdi. He had earned the wide admiration, love, and respect which was his during the many years he had selflessly served his fellow men, his community, and his country. His great contribution to medicine will forever be recorded in the annals of medical history.

Below is an article and an editorial from the April 22 New Haven Register paying tribute to Dr. Verdi:

DR. WILLIAM F. VERDI

On rare occasions there comes among us one more richly endowed in skills, talents, and driving force than most of those among whom he will live and move.

When this individual gives freely and unreservedly of these talents his gifts will take on an imperishable nature.

Such a man was Dr. William F. Verdi.

Now that he no longer moves among us his gifts to his fellowman stand forth in memory and in visible sign around us.

They will endure as long as any upon whom they were bestowed remain—and after that in the minds of those who loved them.

No man could ask for more.

No man could give more.

Love — admiration — respect — faith — trust.

There were among the things Dr. Verdi inspired in those who knew him and those who depended upon him—often for life itself under the delicacy and sureness of his surgeon's hand.

These, then, are among the things he leaves behind him as he departs from a long life of unfailing service to a cause and an institution—and a community.

What more could any man leave?

For here walked a man who, in his own words, loved his work.

The extent to which he loved it is revealed now as one looks back upon his accomplishments.

Chief of Staff at St. Raphael's Hospital—clinical professor of surgery at Yale School of Medicine—president of the Connecticut Medical Association, and the New Haven Association—war service as a physician—these were some, but far from all, of the things which he did as a dedicated career unfolded.

Now, after long and fruitful years, the last active chapter has been written.

But other chapters, we may hold certain are yet to be placed upon the pages of time—by those who, because of him, will walk in the footsteps he once followed.

DR. WILLIAM VERDI DIES—SURGEON HERE 55 YEARS—LONG ON STAFF OF YALE MEDICAL SCHOOL—SAW MILITARY SERVICE IN WORLD WAR I—WON NUMEROUS HONORS

Dr. William F. Verdi, 84, famed surgeon and one of the founders of St. Raphael's Hospital, died Sunday at his home, 703 Whitney Avenue. He suffered a stroke several years ago and had been inactive since then.

Honored three times by the Italian Government, Dr. Verdi served as president of both the New Haven and of the State Medical Associations. He had practiced here for 55 years before being stricken. He was chief of staff at St. Raphael's and clinical professor of surgery at Yale School of Medicine.

Although Dr. Verdi was internationally-known for his medical skill, he was beloved in New Haven for his kindness. City Engineer William Bolton, a former band leader, recalls that one of his musicians needed an operation, but had no money to pay for it.

REFUSED PAYMENT

Dr. Verdi, nevertheless, took the poor musician, a Yale student, performed a successful operation and refused payment. Years later, the patient became wealthy, but the doctor continued to refuse payment.

Finally, in gratitude to Dr. Verdi, the poor student Rudy Vallee, at the peak of his fame, appeared one day at St. Raphael's and gave a private concert to Dr. Verdi's patients.

Dr. Verdi's surgical skill was known far and wide to countless thousands of persons in all walks of life whom he had helped, many times without compensation, during a half century of practice as a physician and surgeon.

"I am in love with my work," he once remarked. "If I had my life to live over again, I'd follow the same path. Friends ask me why I don't retire. Why, I couldn't retire. I love my work so much I want to be at it every waking moment."

An unassuming man; always impeccably dressed, Dr. Verdi considered medicine the highest of professions. It was not until 1949 when he became ill that he let up on his daily gruelling schedule of work. His schedule included hours of operating at St. Raphael's Hospital where he was chief of staff as well as regular private office hours.

SINCERE INTEREST

Dr. Verdi had the ability to win completely the confidence of his patients and he often described himself as being sincerely interested in each person who sought his aid.

He remarked at one time, "Everyone should know the surgeon is concerned, intensely concerned, with the recovery of the patient. He is interested in pulling the patient through. And he suffers even as the family suffers—every time. A tragedy is never taken more at heart than by the surgeon. It could not be otherwise for a good doctor."

Dr. Verdi was born November 27, 1872, in Montechiaro Vico Equense, Naples, the son of Domenic and Rose Ruggiero Verdi. When he was 18 months old the family came to the United States and settled in New Haven.

It was to his mother that Dr. Verdi attributed his success and in 1927 he contributed $10,000 to the Yale Endowment Fund for a medical scholarship in her memory. That same year he also presented a $10,000 organ to St. Michael's Church as a memorial to his mother.

PRAISED MOTHER

The eminent surgeon explained: "My mother gave me a pair of dextrous hands. That inheritance has been the most valuable possession of my life. She could knit, crochet, sew—in fact, do anything with her hands. She gave me some of her skill."

It may be said that the world owes the surgical ability and genius of Dr. Verdi to the insistence of Principal James D. Whitmore of Hillhouse High School. The young Verdi had left high school to take a job in a barbershop in order to help his family financially. But Whitmore called at his home and stayed with the boy until he promised to return to his studies.

Dr. Verdi was the first native Italian to graduate from Hillhouse High School. After receiving his diploma in 1891 he entered the Yale Medical School. He said he had considered being a priest, a lawyer, and a doctor but felt that he did not have a vocation to the priesthood and he was too shy to be a lawyer.

Before the turn of the century medicine was not held in the high regard it now is, and Dr. Verdi was determined never to be the usual "quack" or "Doc," as physicians were called in those days. He was graduated from Yale Medical School in 1894; where he had been marked by Dean William Carmult for a successful career.

SERVED AS INTERPRETER

In order to pay his tuition at medical school, Dr. Verdi served as an Italian interpreter in court and also taught English to Italian immigrants in high school.

Following an internship, Dr. Verdi did postgraduate work in surgery in Germany and Austria and for many years he returned each summer to Europe for further study in this field.

Dr. Verdi opened his first office in 172 St. John Street and performed his first operations in the little homes near East Street, where the instruments were sterilized on the wood-burning kitchen stoves.

The Italian-born doctor was honored three times by King Emmanuele, of Italy, in recognition of his high standing in the medical profession and for his services to former Italian soldiers in the interest of humanity. He received the title of Chevalier of the Order of the Crown of Italy in 1914 and was later raised to the rank of Commeneatore. The promotion followed his services with the United States Army Medical Corps during World War I. In 1929 he was named Grande Officiale of the Order of the Crown.

During the first World War Dr. Verdi volunteered and was commissioned a major in the Medical Corps. He served overseas from July 1918 until January 1919 and was attached to units near the frontlines. He was chief of the operating team at Chateau Thierry and later played an important part in caring for the wounded during the Battle of the Meuse-Argonne.

Although he was recommended for commission as a lieutenant colonel, he refused the promotion because the war had ended and he preferred to return to his practice in New Haven rather than to remain in the Army.

WITH MEDICAL SCHOOL

Since 1896 Dr. Verdi has been associated with the Yale Medical School faculty. He has served as assistant in obstetrics and gynecology assistant in surgical clinic; assistant demonstrator of anatomy; instructor in surgery. In 1919 he was appointed clinical professor of surgery and in 1933 he became an associate fellow of Branford College.

St. Raphael's Hospital stands as a monument to Dr. Verdi, who headed the St. Raphael Hospital Association for several years as well as being chief of staff. He was chairman of the group which raised the first million dollars toward its construction.

Dr. Verdi served also as president of the Connecticut Medicine Association and of the New Haven Medical Association at one time and was a member of the American Medical Association, the American Urological Association, and of the New England Surgical Association. He was a fellow of the American Surgical Association and of the American College of Surgeons.

Long interested in the civic affairs of New Haven, the doctor was awarded the New Haven Advertising Club's gold medal award in 1940. He had served as a member of the New Haven Board of Education from 1913 until 1917 and was president of the group for a term. He had also held the rank of colonel on the staff of Gov. Simeon Baldwin from 1911 to 1915.

Dr. Verdi was a trustee of the Connecticut Savings Bank, a director of the New Haven community chest, and a member of the New Haven cancer control committee and was on the advisory council of the Association of the Yale Medical Alumni.

In addition to his work with St. Raphael's and his private office in 27 Elm Street, Dr. Verdi was consultant surgeon at New Haven Hospital and at several other hospitals throughout the State.

Dr. Verdi believed the hope of the medical profession is the recruitment of more and more qualified men and women rather than any increase in Government direction of the profession.

Reds Active in Americas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I should like to include the following article by Pierre J. Huss, which appeared in the Albany (N. Y.) Times-Union of Sunday, April 28, 1957:

REDS ACTIVE IN AMERICAS

(By Pierre J. Huss)

UNITED NATIONS, April 27.—When Guatemalan patriots smashed the Communist grip on the government 3 years ago this May, the Kremlin ordered a tremendous shakeup in the Red machine throughout Latin America. Its hundreds of agents were told to operate only by infiltration into local Communist networks disguised as various democratic organizations.

The strategic zones for infiltration in the Americas as laid out by the Kremlin are in their order of importance:

The Colombia-Panama zone; the Antillean belt; the Central American isthmus; the Brazilian hump; the Bolivian plateau; the Argentine-Chile meridional tip.

The machinations of communism in Latin American and especially in Caribbean countries were exposed to view in a closed-door address before San Francisco's Commonwealth Club by Dominican Secretary of State and Ambassador-designate to the United States Manuel De Moya Alonzo.

Drawing upon the Dominican Republic's intelligence service watching Red intrigues throughout the Caribbean, De Moya said that the new Kremlin tactics are being carried out by regional Communist rings under reorganized leadership, a situation which places upon security authorities in the Americas more responsibility than at any time before in keeping the Communist menace at bay.

ALL FOREIGNERS

Declaring that all founders of Latin American communism were of foreign import, De Moya added:

"How well did they succeed? Did they establish strong Communist Parties? They did not. But they did establish Communist influence. Official Communist parties in the Caribbean seldom use the designation 'Communist.' They call themselves the Revolutionary Socialist Party or the Socialist Revolutionary Party, etc. But make no mistake—they are Red as any party this side of the Iron Curtain.

"These parties are generally illegal, except in Mexico and Costa Rica. So they operate either underground or in exile—or both. They don't lack for company or allies. They all want power and they hate the United States. For one thing, these revolutionaries consider the United States the great barrier

to that power. Let us face it. Uncle Sam would win no more popularity contests among Latin American leftists and nationalists than among Egyptians or Syrians of the same type.

"It would be a mistake to dismiss these people as comic-opera revolutionists. They are not. They are both deadly serious and deadly. They kill people. They have killed many people, and will kill many more unless the governments of the Americas make a concerted effort to break this thing up."

THREE YEARS AGO

Turning back to the Guatemala revolt against the Communists 3 years ago, De Moya said:

"Guatemala at that time was just about as far down the road to communism as a nation can go. With one exception—the army was not completely undermined. That ultimately proved fatal to the Reds—but not before they had released a Soviet-type terror never before seen in this hemisphere.

"Guatemala had temporarily ceased to be an American nation. Guatemala was not left wing or liberal then. Guatemala was Soviet terror in this hemisphere. Who was responsible? Some Guatemalan Communists, yes—but only a handful. The fact is there were never enough local Reds to possibly control the country. They called in allies. Who were they? We found among the actives the Dominican Revolutionary Party, the Dominican Revolutionary Socialist Party, and the Dominican Popular Socialist Party.

OLD REDS ON HAND

"Then there were Venezuelans known as Accion Democratica, which is probably the smoothest operating unit in the whole Caribbean movement. There were also many Nicaraguans. There are many organized Reds there. The Salvadoreans are specialists in labor agitation and they were there. So were the Spaniards, among them expert revolutionists who provided the know-how learned from Soviet terrorism in Barcelona during the 1936 uprisings. There were Mexicans, Chileans, Costa Ricans, Cuban, and even a few European Reds other than the Spaniards.

"That was the combination which controlled Guatemala in 1954. That is the combination that staged the butchering of thousands of innocent people. That combination is active today in the Caribbean."

Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALLEN SMITH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted April 16, 1957, by the Glendale City Board of Education re opposition to H. R. 1 and H. R. 3968:

Whereas the public education of children is traditionally the responsibility of local communities within the framework of the State education code; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States has taken under consideration legislative bills H. R. 1 and H. R. 3968 which would grant Federal aid for local schoolhouse construction: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the board of education of the Glendale Unified School District make known its opposition to H. R. 1 and H. R. 3968. Although these proposals are voluntary in form, the payment of the tax necessary to support them is not voluntary, and the power to withhold benefits from States failing to cooperate is by nature compulsory. Furthermore, the cost of such Federal aid to the taxpayers in this and many similar California school districts would exceed the benefits they might receive. The board feels that the effectiveness of the public school is due largely to local support and that Federal aid would unnecessarily weaken the close ties between the schools and the communities they serve.

Resolved further, That copies of this resolution be sent to congressional representatives in this area and to the boards of education of neighboring school districts.

BOARD OF EDUCATION,
GLENDALE UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT.

Aid for Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a letter from Charles Burke, Washington representative of the Polish American Congress, Inc. It is my thought that the letter will help clarify the situation extant in Poland and indicate to the reader that aid to Poland today, even though it is under Soviet domination, will materially help that country and enable it to assert its independence once again.

The letter follows:

For many years the Congress of the United States has demonstrated the friendship of this country toward the Polish people on Poland's national day, May the 3rd, which commemorates the anniversary of the enactment of one of the first European democratic and progressive constitutions (May 3, 1791).

The past year has proved to be one of the most eventful in the history of postwar Poland, and, indeed, in the history of the Soviet bloc as a whole. By the Poznan uprising in June, by the Polish October events and the heroic Hungarian revolution, the basis of Soviet theory and rule in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe has been shattered. During this past year the Polish people have taken the lead in demonstrating the total bankruptcy of Communist policy. By requesting bread, freedom, and the withdrawal of the Soviet army from Poland on the streets of Poznan they showed that communism has brought Poland and the other subjugated countries to a state of economic ruin. As a result of the Communist collectivization experiment, Poland, one of Europe's granaries, is unable to feed her own people. By requesting freedom, Poznan workers demonstrated how wholeheartedly they reject Soviet control of Poland and Communist dictatorship. The request that the Soviet army be withdrawn from Polish territory proves that the Polish nation has no desire to be a member of the Soviet bloc's military machine and that Poland's policy over recent years has not been of her own making.

The most staggering fact to come to light during the Poznan riots however, was the fact that it was the workers who dared to raise their hand against Communist tyranny, and the workers who showed the true worth of the fallacy that communism is the rule of peasants and workers.

By means of a bloodless revolution the October events have brought a certain degree of liberalization; Poles can breath more freely and Poland is on a more equal international footing with the Soviet Union. In October Poland took her destiny into her own hands. Gomulka, present leader of the Polish Communist Party was placed at the head of the bloodless anti-Soviet revolt by the people. The Government he created is striving to maintain its balance between three points: (1) The Polish nation's urge for greater freedom and liberalization and for absolute independence from the Soviet Government and a return to the West; (2) the country's disastrous economy after so many years of Soviet exploitation and Communist mismangement, desperately needs help to restore stability; (3) Soviet policy has demonstrated on many occasions that it will not tolerate too much liberalism in Poland nor the return of democracy to that country.

The past year has also been a year of ideological ferment within the whole Soviet bloc. News of this ideological ferment reaches us from Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, China and even from the Soviet Union where students and the new technocratic intelligentsia demonstrate that they are no longer prepared to accept as gospel the fallacies of Marxism, Leninism and Stalinism.

The liberalization of Poland has attained such a degree that the celebration of May 3, prohibited for years and replaced by July 10, the day of Poland's subjugation by the Soviet Union, is once more allowed. It has not been restored as a national day, but the Warsaw Government has declared that people may commemorate it privately.

In the Polish nation's struggle to achieve more freedom by means of evoluation, the eyes of her people are turned hopefully to the West, and especially to America. The date May 3 offers an opportunity for a proclamation not only of friendship and sympathy for Poland, but also of an American policy which can help Poland along her hazardous but courageous path to freedom and democracy.

Hate Material Sent Through United States Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert an article dealing with hate literature which is being sent through the United States mails. The article was written by Samuel Rubenstein, editor of the Beacon, the official publication of the order of Brith Abraham, one of the oldest Jewish fraternal orders in the United States, with a membership residing in 27 States.

The purpose of these hate sheets, which are flooding the country, is to foment trouble and arouse racial hatred toward Jews and other minority groups. The Jews of America are perturbed over this situation and feel that it is high time for our Government, particularly Congress, to adopt the necessary legis-

lation to forbid the use of United States mails for this purpose.

If pornographic literature and seditious publications cannot be distributed through the mail, why not place hate literature in the same category? Pitting race against race and inciting people against people is, to my mind, just as criminal and treasonous. It tends to divide the American people, instead of uniting them in these crucial times. What we need today is greater harmony, rather than hatred and mistrust of one another. Unity and harmony will help to see us through the present world crisis; hatred and mistrust only play right into the hands of the Communists.

Mr. Speaker, let us stop the use of United States mails for spreading race hatred and serving as a medium for hate propaganda. Use of the United States mails should be denied to demagogs, crackpots and rabblerousers who utilize it only for their sinister purposes. This can be done through legislation, and Congress is the place to start.

The article mentioned above reads as follows:

GRAND MASTER LAUNCHES DRIVE TO STOP MAILING PRIVILEGE OF HATE PAPERS

(By Samuel Rubenstein)

The flood of hate literature going through the mails the past few years is the best evidence that racism is raising its ugly head again in our country and did not die with the downfall of Hitler. Nearly a dozen years after the end of World War II, which most Americans thought would put an end to race hatred, we find ourselves back again with the same old tragic problem. Again we seek a way to clear from the air the poison of the hate mongers who began spreading their venom in the early 1930s.

Right at this moment more than a hundred hate publications are contaminating the country. These venomous sheets are just as trashy and just as dangerous as those which circulated so freely up to the beginning of Pearl Harbor. In addition, millions of letters and circulars, most of them appealing for funds for these so-called publishers, are also passing through the mails. And it appears, unquestionably, that they are getting results.

The end of Father Coughlin's "Social Justice" and his organized movement, which caused so much trouble throughout the country for a few brief years, has turned out merely an armed truce in the hate camp.

The war had been over with but two years when, in 1947, a character by the name of Conde J. McGinley, operating out of Union, N. J., started his hate sheet, called Common Sense. It has, McGinley says in his paper, a circulation of 100,000 copies. It is a semimonthly. He also holds fund drives. He must be financially succesful, for he has been in the hate business for 10 years.

McGinley cannot make a living out of his publication alone. He must have his angels. One of them is the most successful hatemonger of all, the so-called Rev. Gerald H. K. Smith. Smith began in the hate business almost 25 years ago. He is still in it. He not only runs the usual hate movement with its magazine, but even has a full grown political organization which, according to Smith's own sworn report to the Government, collected in 3 years, up to 1955, an average of $185,000 in donations. He has turned out many graduates from his school of hate. Among his pupils were Conde McGinley. He comes to the assistance of these pupils mostly through purchasing their literature in multiple thousand-dollar lots and seeing that they are sold.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, of the United States House of Representatives, in its report on neofascist and hate groups emphasizes that "antisemitism is the chief stock in trade of Common Sense publication, which now distortedly defines communism as a false face for Judaism."

Continuing, the committee added: "It is apparent that this publication represents a modern example of the racketeers who made a business out of the un-American hate propaganda during the 1930's."

The committee expressed much concern over this type of hate propaganda. In its report it strongly stated:

"Communism's present threat to the very survival of the United States and the rest of the free world has placed heavy burdens on the defenders of human freedom and dignity. The Committee on Un-American Activities is concerned to observe that this burden is being aggravated by certain individuals and organizations unscrupulously exploiting the menace of communism to promote other activities equally subversive and equally un-American. Such activities would destroy the very foundation work of the American Republic, if permitted to operate unnoticed and unchallenged * * * the organized hate group, which masquerades as a defender of our republican form of government, yet conducts hate campaigns against racial and religious minorities in the infamous tradition of the fascist dictatorship."

Openly, there seems to be no central controlling clique guiding the disseminators of race hatred. But we must not be too sure about that. It is not difficult to operate under cover in our country. Somewhere there might be a directing head or heads.

The same old techniques and the same old gimmicks have been dusted off and streamlined to catch the unwary in the net of race hatred and get their financial support. Communist tactics are of course the standby in enabling many of the racists to infiltrate legitimate rightwing and anti-Communist groups. Today, to shout communism is more effective than in the 1930's when there was so much mass unemployment. It is a tragedy, but nonetheless true, that the fear of communism, a genuine one, has enabled the race haters to scare millions into supporting their cause.

Many of the racists are outright criminals. One was a convicted check forger. This should be no surprise. The race hate movement is bound to attract those who represent the lowest level of human existence.

But most of the racists are not criminals. Many, like Joe McWilliams, the notorious rabble rouser from Yorkville, the Nazi stronghold in New York City in the 1930's, have passed out of the picture. But plenty of oldtimers are still around. They no longer have their storm troopers and no longer hold mass rallies. But they are as busy as ever in other ways. Instead, they run "news letters" and "intelligence" reports. They don't have to show public admiration for Hitler, particularly when he isn't around any more. But they still have the same tactic: Jews, Negroes, and Catholics are responsible for the woes of the world, and especially for Jews who are "conspiring" to bring about a Communist world.

Best of all, the race haters have discovered the value of direct mailing lists which are the easiest things in the world to buy today at a few cents a name.

These characters will continue to ply their terrible game until some legal way can be found to put them out of business, just as the Communists were.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Our remarkable Post Office Department performs a service whose value cannot be calculated in terms of dollars and cents. We only have to envision for a moment what civilized life would be without this service. But, unhappily, it has its dark sides, and one of these is that it permits all sorts of characters, at a fantastically cheap price, to spread the corroding poison of race hatred. These characters have been spreading their venom through the mails for about a quarter of a century. Brith Abraham is of the opinion that it is about time Congress does something about this.

The second-class mailing privilege was inaugurated to promote the first amendment, which is part of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution. Congress, in granting this privilege, specifically provided in the law that publications taking advantage of this privilege must serve an educational purpose. As a rule, this law must be stretched quite liberally by the postal authorities lest the right of free press be interfered with. The only publications barred from the mails are pornographic literature or advertising material sent out by ordinary business swindlers.

But is it not time to deal with those characters who make a profitable business of race hatred? Without the privilege of second-class mail they would be helpless.

We have before us as we write this a copy of the notorious hate sheet, Common Sense, a semimonthly published in Union, N. J., by the "hatemonger," Conde McGinley. McGinley's one and only hate seems to be the Jews. Nobody but a Jew is mentioned in Common Sense unless one is a friend of a Jew.

In the issue for January 1, Common Sense, a tabloid, devotes practically its entire issue to a story headlined "Proof Positive—Communism is Jewish From Start to Finish." Then, underneath is the subhead, "We Have Strived in This Issue to Prove Beyond a Shadow of Doubt That Communism Always Has Been Jewish, the Excerpts Herein Are From Their Own Writings—Books, Newspapers, Magazines—Meant Only for Jewish Eyes and Ears—Judge for Yourself." The story begins by quoting quite liberally from an article written in 1920 by Winston Churchill about Jewish Bolsheviks whom he calls "for the most part atheistic Jews." Then, after quoting from other articles, McGinley returns to the old standby of forgery "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion." Following this is a quote from an alleged booklet, "Jewish Anti-Communism," in which we learn the fiction: "Lenin, believed to be a gentile, was married to a Jewess, N. Kroupskaya, and contemporary anti-communist historians recorded that the couple spoke only Yiddish in their home."

In the January 5 issue of McGinley's hate sheet is an article, "No Christians available?" It is accompanied by a photo of the newly appointed ambassador to Italy, James D. Zellerbach, and the story states that he (Zellerbach) is a Zionist Jew like those who fill practically all important administrative positions of our Government.

As interpreted by the courts, the law is very plain on the question of libel. An entire people cannot be libelled. But McGinley, not being too smart, made the mistake of libelling an individual last year, no doubt on the theory that he would not sue. But the individual, a refugee rabbi from Berlin, Joachim Prinz of Newark, N. J., did sue. The rabbi was given a verdict of $30,000 by an all-Christian jury for being called a "Red" by McGinley's sheet. This verdict was recently sustained on appeal.

But such punitive measures are not very harmful. McGinley has plenty of backers. This oldtime admirer of Father Coughlin, who began in 1946 spewing forth his race hatred, is now on top of the dung heap of racist.

The hate mongers are not as numerous, perhaps, as they were in the 1930's. But

they are just as deadly. For with so much money around now, they are able to attract more supporters with bigger contributions.

Grand Master Irving Katcher expressed confidence that a congressional attempt is clearly in order to bar the hate publications from the mails, without, of course, violating the first amendment. It is these publications, not always profitable in themselves, by which the McGinley's and the Gerald H. K. Smith's garner their fat financial donations. As has already been noted, a publication must serve an educational purpose in order to enjoy the second-class mailing privilege. It should not be any too difficult to show that these sheets prove no such purpose. On the contrary, it can be proved that they do not by simply pointing to the report of the Committee on un-American Activities.

Brith Abraham, through its national publication (the Beacon), again and again has exposed "hate sheets." It objected to Father Coughlin's Social Justice publication. The Order, through its then grand master, Judge Herman Hoffman, filed a complaint with the Post Office Department against Social Justice. A short time thereafter, the publication was barred from the mails and folded up.

We also vividly recall how Brith Abraham put the searchlight on the activities of the Christian Front movement in the police department of the city of New York. Mayor La Guardia quickly stamped out this activity, warning that any policeman found to be a member of the Christian Front will be thrown off the force. The same Christian Front pattern began to make inroads in the fire department and the city's school system. The heads of these two respective departments quickly nipped the movement.

Grand Master Katcher is determined to put a stop to spreading "hate sheets" through the United States mail. He is seeking the aid of Members of Congress to amend the mailing privilege laws.

"Hate papers do not belong in the educational category," said the grand master. "Dividing race against race is un-American and does not contribute to the welfare of our country."

The Brooklyn Council for Social Planning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following proclamation issued on March 20, 1957, by the president of the Borough of Brooklyn, the Honorable John Cashmore, in recognition of the services rendered to Brooklyn by the Brooklyn Council for Social Planning:

PROCLAMATION, PRESIDENT OF BROOKLYN, CITY OF NEW YORK

Whereas the Brooklyn Council for Social Planning, established in 1933 to coordinate and direct the cooperative efforts of Brooklyn's many health and welfare agencies and organizations, has, in these 24 years, effectively enhanced the welfare of this vast community; and

Whereas the Brooklyn Council has constantly and consistently brought together the borough's hundreds of agencies and organizations to share information, to coordinate services, to avoid duplication of services, to study unmet needs, to plan together to develop new services and to mobilize resources to ensure the establishment of such new services; and

Whereas the Brooklyn Council has provided the connecting link between the borough's agencies and its citizens, and has spearheaded the stimulated action on topics of vital importance to the borough's welfare; and

Whereas the Brooklyn Council has gathered facts, prepared, published and distributed many widely used reports and brochures, and has served as a borough spokesman before public administrators and officials; and

Whereas now more than ever, changes taking place in the borough point to the need for strengthened channels of coordination and joint planning;

Now, therefore, I John Cashmore, president of the Borough of Brooklyn, in recognition of its past services and the promise it embodies of future significant contribution toward the betterment of the community, do hereby proclaim the week of April 7, 1957, as Brooklyn Council for Social Planning Week.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Borough of Brooklyn to be affixed this 20th day of March, 1957.

JOHN CASHMORE,
President of the Borough of Brooklyn.

Attest:

JOHN F. HAYES,
Assistant to the President.

Congressman Minshall Polls Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, on previous occasions I have sent questionnaires to the residents of Ohio's 23d Congressional District seeking their opinion on pertinent issues before the Congress. In early April of this year, I again mailed out 31,422 questionnaires—1 to approximately every 3 homes in my district. An unprecedented and amazing response of about 33 percent, or nearly 10,000 questionnaires were completed and returned.

I am highly pleased with this response, for it shows the intense interest the residents of the Ohio 23d District have in their Government. This percentage of return is nearly double that of any previous response I have had.

The results of this opinion poll follow:

1. Do you favor Congress authorizing the admission of a greater number of immigrants from all countries? Yes, 24 percent; no, 67 percent; no opinion, 9 percent.

2. Do you favor Federal aid for local school construction? Yes, 45 percent; no, 52 percent; no opinion, 3 percent.

3. Do you favor statehood for Alaska? Yes, 82 percent; no, 10 percent; no opinion 8 percent.

4. Do you favor statehood for Hawaii? Yes, 81 percent; no, 11 percent; no opinion, 8 percent.

5. Do you favor an increase in postal rates to place the Post Office Department on a self-sustaining basis? Yes, 79 percent; no, 16 percent; no opinion, 5 percent.

6. Would you favor a $20 billion national air-raid shelter construction program? Yes, 18 percent; no, 69 percent; no opinion, 13 percent.

7. Are you in agreement with the Eisenhower-Dulles foreign policy? Yes, 51 percent; no, 31 percent; no opinion, 18 percent.

8. Do you believe the voting age should be lowered from 21 to 18 years? Yes, 31 percent; no, 66 percent; no opinion, 33 percent.

9. Do you favor extending the present $1-an-hour minimum wage law to include retail stores and service establishments? Yes, 68 percent; no, 22 percent; no opinion, 10 percent.

10. To assist local communities in combating juvenile delinquency Congress has been asked to appropriate $3 million. Do you approve of this appropriation? Yes, 36 percent; no, 58 percent; no opinion, 6 percent.

11. Do you favor a protective tariff or quota on imports of foreign goods which compete with our own businesses? Yes, 60 percent; no, 32 percent; no opinion, 8 percent.

12. Do you believe we should continue our foreign aid program which calls for the expenditures of $4.3 billion in military and economic aid to our allies and free countries during the next fiscal year? Yes, 36 percent; no, 58 percent; no opinion, 6 percent.

13. Do you feel the United Nations deserves our continued support? Yes, 84 percent; no, 10 percent; no opinion, 6 percent.

14. In our effort to reduce the budget, what items do you think should be cut most? Please check four—

First choice: Foreign aid ☐
Second choice: Federal aid to agriculture ☐
Third choice: Federal housing and community development ☐
Fourth choice: Federal aid to States (aid to local public agencies, aid to needy, public health, etc.) ☐
Fifth choice: Veterans payments (nonservice-connected disability, pensions, etc.) ☐
Sixth choice: Federal aid to small business ☐
Seventh choice: Federal public works construction (dams, airports, buildings, interstate roads, etc.) ☐
Eighth choice: National defense ☐

Egypt Sneaking Into Gaza Under UNEF's Nose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article, written by Walter Eytan, Director-General of Israel's Foreign Ministry, which appeared in the Israel Digest of April 8, 1957:

EGYPT SNEAKING INTO GAZA UNDER UNEF'S NOSE

The situation in Gaza has become grim indeed. The Egyptians are creeping back—under the noses of the United Nations Emergency Force. The emergency force and its commanders know exactly what is going on; and they understand, like everyone else, that the Egyptians are up to no good. But the political directives from United Nations headquarters in New York make it impossible for the United Nations command on the spot to take effective counter-action. Indeed, they seem to be compelling the emergency force actually to cooperate in restoring Egyptian influence and rule.

What this influence and rule mean, everybody now knows. Egypt has for close on 9 years maintained a state of war against Israel. She has boasted of this openly all the time—and boasts of it still today. Yet the United Nations is helping Col. Abdel Nasser to resume control of Gaza, which during all these years was his main base for fedayeen raids into Israel, with death and destruction in their train.

From the start Egypt has brazenly violated her obligations as a member of the United Nations, yet today she is enjoying the United Nations' active help and support—in renewing, and very likely redoubling, her warfare against Israel. It is a grotesque situation. The law is proverbially an ass, but it should not be quite as asinine as this. This is legalism run riot. When we find the United Nations giving aid and comfort to a country which prides itself on maintaining a state of war against a fellow-member of the United Nations, it is almost as if we had reached 1984.

Egypt has long claimed, and still claims, belligerent rights—that is, the rights which international law concedes to a country at war. A country may, for example, in time of war, exercise a blockade against its enemy, if it can make this blockade effective. It is on this right enjoyed by a belligerent that Egypt bases her blockade measures against Israel in the Suez Canal, as well as her wider economic boycott.

LEGALLY, NEVER A WAR

In the legal sense, however, there was never war between Egypt and Israel, and in determining belligerent rights it is only the legal sense that counts. When the Egyptian Army invaded Israel in 1948 together with the other Arab armies, the Egyptian Government went out of its way to declare that it was not making war, but only taking "police action"—ostensibly to preserve law and order. Egypt never, in fact, declared war against Israel, though she proceeded to act as if she had.

When the Egyptian forces were finally routed, and the armistice agrement was signed in 1949; the warfare that had existed—that is, the de facto war—came to an end. This was explicitly confirmed by a decision of the Security Council of the United Nations. But Egypt paid no attention. She continued to claim belligerent rights and to wage war against Israel by all means short of actual invasion—though this did not prevent her from letting out a terrible squeal every time Israel took her at her word and answered in kind.

DOUBLE STANDARD IN WAR

There was never a country like Egypt for wanting to eat its cake and have it. It is all right for Egypt to fight Israel—by boycott, blockade and fedayeen, killing peaceable civilians by the score, and destroying property right and left; but it is not all right for Israel to defend herself. Israel's self-defense immediately becomes a "breach of the armistice agreement"—of the agreement which the Egyptians made null and void by their violations of it over many years.

All kinds of spurious claims are made against Israel in the name of this armistice agreement, almost every single article of which Egypt has, as a matter of deliberate policy, disregarded. Israel cannot tolerate this double standard, by which she is expected to respect an agreement which Egypt is free to dishonor.

The official view of Mr. Hammarskjold is that the armistice agreement entitles Egypt to return to Gaza. It is Israel's view that the agreement entiles Egypt to nothing at all, and that it has, in fact, thanks to Egypt's own actions, ceased to exist. If Egypt had had any respect for the armistice agreement, she should long ago have negotiated peace with Israel: the restoration of peace was one of the explicit, agreed aims of the armistice.

As things are, Egypt looks like coming back to Gaza, not in order to restore peace, but to renew her attacks against Israel's villages and farms.

As long as this self-styled belligerent basks in the favor of the United Nations, there is not the slightest prospect of peace in the Middle East. And, what is perhaps worse, the confidence of many small countries in the justice of the United Nations and its highest officers has been badly shaken, and perhaps altogether destroyed. No one can have much to hope for as long as Egypt can boast of maintaining war against Israel and yet find herself pampered by a United Nations supposedly dedicated to the pursuit of peace.

Murder Won't Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, April 25, the Washington Evening Star carried an article written by L. Edgar Prina entitled "Murder Won't Out," which concerns one of the most puzzling murder cases in history—that of the Grimes sisters in Chicago. It throws the spotlight, like no other story of the case has done, on the lack of cooperation and coordination among the official agencies involved. It also points up that in dropping the charges against the No. 1 suspect absolute reliance was placed upon medical conclusions which were based on the testimony of one lay witness.

I believe strongly that the best interests of the people of Chicago, Cook County, and the State of Illinois would be served if a special grand jury were convened to look into the handling of this controversial case by all the officials concerned. Coming in the wake of other mishandled medical examinations in the Peterson-Schuessler and Montgomery Ward Thorne cases, it would seem to me that some positive action should be vigorously pursued:

MURDER WON'T OUT—CHICAGO SEEMS TO WASH ITS HANDS OF GRIMMEST TEEN-AGE SLAYING

(By L. Edgar Prina)

CHICAGO.—There have been 192 unsolved murders in Chicago in the last 5 years. None of them compares, for gruesome mystery, with the Grimes case. Even out here, this one and its handling have been something to make people sit up and take notice.

The investigation into the deaths last winter of Patricia and Barbara Grimes has been marked by a running feud among the law-enforcement agencies of the area.

Today, more than 3 months after the event, the effort to effect a solution hangs on dead center.

Charges against the principal suspect have been dropped, and he has been ordered extradited to Florida to stand trial in another case.

Nothing further is in sight. The State of Illinois seems, in effect, to be washing its hands of the problem.

In the belief that such a situation is of interest and concern to good citizens anywhere, the Star sent this reporter to Chicago to sort out some of the strings of this strangely tangled web. I have talked with nearly all persons figuring in the investigation.

Here is the story—the factual background of one of the grimmest and most baffling murder cases of our day.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE CASE

It was a cold and blustery night, last Decembr 28, when Patricia Grimes, 13, and her sister Barbara, 15, set out from their little brick home in a lower-middle class section of the city to see Elvis Presley in Love Me Tender.

The theater was about 3 miles away. They had seen the film before. Friends say they had seen it 11 times. Their mother, Mrs. Loretta Grimes, insists this was only the second time.

The girls arrived at the theater at about 8 p. m. and remained until the end of the last run at 11:15. Two witnesses identified the sisters at the movie. One, a young bank clerk, told police he left at the same time the girls did.

He said they all walked in the same direction for several blocks and that youths in two different automobiles tried to pick the girls up. They just giggled and walked on, he said. It was about 11:30 when the witness last saw them. Under the city's curfew law, the Grimes girls should have been home at that time. They apparently were in no hurry to get there. Mrs. Grimes called the police to report her daughters missing at 2:53 a. m., December 29. A widely publicized search got underway immediately.

Bodies were found a month later

On January 22, almost a month later, the sisters' bodies were found. A laborer, out to buy the family groceries, was driving near the Cook County line at a place called Devils Hill when he saw what looked to him like two bodies lying just off the highway, behind a guardrail some 30 inches high.

Frightened, the man drove back to his house and asked his wife to come with him for a closer inspection. They found the nude and frozen bodies of Patricia and Barbara Grimes.

The local police were called, and they immediately notified the sheriff's office. Undersheriff Thomas Brennan raced to the scene and secured the area. The sheriff himself is Joseph D. Lohman, a member and former chairman of the National Capital Planning Commission in Washington, whose term as a commissioner expires next Tuesday. He called the coroner's office and the Chicago Police Crime Laboratory for technicians and photographers.

Walter E. McCarron, the coroner, was in Washington attending President Eisenhower's inaugural festivities. He returned to Chicago and called in three pathologists to conduct an autopsy. He also directed the State toxicologist to make an analysis of the contents of the victims' stomachs. Autopsies were performed the next day.

On the night of January 23, the sheriff's police got an immediate break in the case. They were told by an informant that the Grimes girls had been seen in a slum area restaurant in the company of an ex-hillbilly named Edward Lee (Bennie the Bum) Bedwell, and another, dark and swarthy, who might have been a Mexican.

Suspect is arrested

In what was hailed by the press as excellent police work, the sheriff's deputies interrogated the owners of the eating place, John and Minnie Duros, who said they saw Bennie and the Grimes sisters in their restaurant very early on January 6, a Sunday morning.

That would have been 9 days after the girls disappeared. Bennie had once worked for the Duroses as a dishwasher.

Besides girls Bennie had two known weaknesses: alcohol and movies. The deputies picked him up at the Star and Garter Theater, in the same slum area, viewing "20,000 Years in Sing Sing."

They took him back to Mr. and Mrs. Duros, who reproached him with an "I told you so." The couple had warned him earlier, they said, that the girls he had with him were the missing sisters. Bennie was locked up.

Two days went by, during which the prisoner made two incomplete confessions and repudiations. Then, on Saturday January 26, Bennie confessed verbally again. He said he met the girls January 7—the day after Mr. and Mrs. Duros claimed to have seen them together. Bennie said he encountered the sisters at a bar with another man, and the foursome set out on a week's debauch.

On the night of January 13, he said, after eating hotdogs and drinking beer with them, he and his male companion drove the Grimes sisters out to the forest preserves. When the girls belatedly resisted their advances, Bennie related, he and the other man knocked them out and undressed them. He (Bennie) then placed their bodies on the side of the road.

Reenacted crime

On January 26, Bennie also visited the scene of the crime and reenacted the death drama. Sheriff Lohman has a vivid recollection of this occasion.

On the way to the scene, he says, Bennie directed a car containing the sheriff and his top aids to within 150 feet of the spot marked X. There he got out of the car, asked for a flashlight, spotted some tall trees and, using these as a guide, led the party without hesitation to the exact point where the bodies had been found. At no stage, Sheriff Lohman says, did Bennie benefit by coaching.

On the way to the scene, Bennie had told the sheriff that at one of the county police stations the last two letters in the neon police sign were burned out the night he passed by with the girls on the way to the forest preserves. The sheriff and his party had not known this, and the lights were not out now.

The sheriff checked. The two letters had indeed been defective on January 13. There was a maintenance record in the file noting that a repair man had been called.

About midnight, Mr. Lohman called in States Attorney Benjamin Adamowski and, with his top aids and a stenographer present, Bennie's formal confession was taken.

Bennie's mother visits

Mr. Adamowski personally conducted the interrogation. After the confession, he told the press that unquestionably Bennie was 1 of the 2 men who killed the Grimes girls. He added that he had enough evidence for an indictment.

Mrs. Ethel Bradberry, Bennie's mother, came to visit him the day after the confession was announced. With her was a lawyer, David E. Bradshaw, vice chairman of the Young Democrats of Cook County. Earlier, Mrs. Bradberry had told newsmen her son was a no-good, shiftless bum. Now she asked him whether he committed the crime.

"Yes, Ma," Bennie replied, according to reporters and a deputy sheriff who were standing nearby.

Saying that she never thought a son of hers would do such a thing, the mother turned and departed. Mr. Bradshaw remained for awhile to talk with Bennie.

Two days later, after the toxicologist had reported that no meat or alcohol was found in the stomachs of the two bodies, and after word had leaked that the doctors had uncovered no evidence of sexual molestation, Bennie repudiated his confession. He charged that he had been beaten, stripped and threatened. But Mr. Lohman, probably the only doctor of philosophy sheriff in the country, was a jump ahead. He had called in two private physicians to examine the suspect after the confession. The doctors certified that there were no signs of mistreatment. Post-confession photographs of Bennie backed them up.

Inquest begins

The coroner's inquest had begun, meanwhile, the day before, on January 29. And on February 8, the formal report of the pathologists was made. After ruling out all other causes, this panel of doctors said the girls died of exposure to the cold. The coroner's jury then ruled on February 11 that the deaths were by murder.

On March 1, Mr. Adamowski announced that he was going to move that the charges against Bennie be dropped. He said he came to this decision after conferring with the pathologists a few days before in the "most enlightening and informative meeting I have ever attended."

The reason he gave was that the doctors had set the date of death with such uncanny certainty that Bennie's confession obviously was false. They had, in fact, established that the girls had died several days before anyone placed them in Bennie's company.

In reaching his decision, Mr. Adamowski rejected the testimony of more than 20 witnesses who told police they saw the Grimes girls alone together or with Bennie after the death date set by the doctors.

"Their testimony would carry considerable weight and would in a sense corroborate the sordid details (of Bennie's confession), if the date of death was uncertain," Mr. Adamowski said. "It is my honest conviction that these witnesses are mistaken."

Testimony hard to reject

Some of the testimony in question is of a sort not easy to reject. There is, for instance, that of three members of the Casey Jarzen family—operators of a drive-in on the road to the forest preserves where the bodies were found—and one of their employees, a waiter.

All four swear they saw the Grimes sisters, Bennie and another man in the restaurant late in the afternoon of January 11. They told of the girls' playing Elvis Presley records on the juke box. And the waiter, who said the girls told him they were sisters, informed police that the girl he identified from photographs as Patricia had the letters "PAT" sewn on her jacket.

This fact had not been disclosed by Mrs. Grimes when she gave police and newspapers a description of the clothing the girls were wearing the night they disappeared. The sheriff's investigators called her immediately. She confirmed that the letters were on the jacket.

Notwithstanding this type of evidence, Mr. Adamowski made it clear in his statement that he believed he could not obtain a conviction of Bennie in view of the doctors' conclusions. He said:

"These outstanding medical men, whose testimony I must rely upon when eventual trial, God willing, takes place, have told us that they are prepared to 'stake our professional reputations on our conclusions and findings.'"

Death set for December 28-29

Although it does not appear in any formal, signed report, the doctors hold that the sisters died about midnight December 28 or very early in the morning of December 29. Bennie, in his confession, had said he first met the girls January 7. His time clock at an industrial plant where he then worked was punched out at 12:30 a. m., December 29.

The charges were dropped on Bennie's 22d birthday, March 4. He was released and immediately rearrested and held on $100,000 bond on a Florida warrant charging him with the rape of a teen-age girl in that State. Last week Governor Stratton, of Illinois, ordered Bennie extradited to Florida where he already is under indictment. But Bennie currently remains in the Cook County jail, awaiting the outcome of further legal moves which he hopes will bar his extradition.

Warfare over case

The handling of the case in Chicago has provoked open warfare between the sheriff's office on the one hand, and those of the coroner and States' attorney on the other. No independent investigation of the affair has been able to get off the ground.

The foreman of the county grand jury sought to take up the case in February. He was told the jury's time was running out and therefore it would not be feasible to start such an inquiry.

A resolution introduced in the Illinois State Senate, calling for a 5-man committee to look into the matter, was defeated. The author of the resolution had charged that the law enforcement agencies "are withholding information from one another or are generally hurting the possibility of apprehension through noncooperation."

Sheriff Lohman, who is continuing the investigation, persists in the belief that Bennie was involved in the crime—he has so stated on numerous public and private occasions. He, too, has requested a special grand jury to look into the handling of the Grimes case by official agencies, but this plea was turned down flat in a note from Cook County Chief Justice Wilbert Crowley, who told him: "It would be prudent to consult your attorney on this matter."

There the case rests.

WHEN IT HAPPENED

The crucial issue in the Grimes murder mystery, all parties agree, is the time of death. The toxicologist and the three pathologists who conducted the autopsy say the girls died the night they disappeared, December 28-29. If this is so, it is difficult to see how Bennie could have been involved in the killings.

The contention that the Grimes sisters died that first night rests on two pieces of medical evidence. The first is the contents of the victims' stomachs. The second is the stage of menstrual cycle in which the autopsies showed the girls to have been at the time of death.

On both these points, the scientific findings of the medical men have significance only in the light of the testimony of Mrs. Grimes, the mother of the dead girls. The doctors can determine beyond doubt the contents of the stomachs and the stages of menstrual cycle. But the fixing of the date of death from this data depends, the doctors themselves make plain, on Mrs. Grimes' statements as to what the girls had eaten on the day they disappeared—and as to when the menstrual cycles of her daughters had begun.

This was evident at several stages of the inquiry.

Dr. W. J. R. Camp, the Illinois State toxicologist, noted in his formal report, for instance, that he found bits of fish, "probably tuna," sweet potatoes, small pieces of peanuts, and a trace of apple skin in Barbara's stomach, but nothing at all in Patricia's. He estimated time of digestion at about 4 hours.

Reported findings

Dr. Camp telephoned Coroner McCarron early in the morning of the day the inquest was opened to report his findings. Mr. McCarron, in his questioning of Mrs. Grimes that day, made a special point of asserting that he had just received the report—ap-

parently to bar speculation that the findings could have been made known to the girls' mother prior to the inquest.

At this point there was an interesting difference of opinion on the phrasing of Mr. McCarron's key question to Mrs. Grimes and whether it had the effect of "leading" her. Some newsmen present say they heard the coroner say to the witness, "You are a Catholic family—it was Friday—of course you had fish?"

The Chicago Sun-Times, which editorially accepts the doctors' thesis that the girls died the night they disappeared, quoted Mr. McCarron who himself is a Catholic, as saying:

"Of course, you had fish. It was Friday, wasn't it?"

The official transcript, however, states that after the coroner informed Mrs. Grimes that he wanted to know what the girls had eaten, he asked:

"On the night these children went to a show, this would be a Friday night, is that correct?"

Mother names foods

Mrs. Grimes then proceeded to list tuna fish, sweet and white potatoes mixed, chocolate chip cookies and a cola drink as the fare. She did not mention nuts, but said, under questioning, that she had a box of assorted chocolates in the house and did not know whether the girls ate any before leaving for the theater.

The mother had an explanation for the fact that no food particles were found in Patricia's stomach. Asked, according to the transcript, whether she paid particular attention "as to how much food" the younger girl ate, Mrs. Grimes said: "She didn't eat too much."

Again, a question exists as to whether Mrs. Grimes was led into giving this information. The Sun-Times quoted Mr. McCarron as first asking: "Did Barbara eat more than Patricia?"

In an interview with Mr. McCarron, who kept his personal attorney in attendance, this reporter was told that the peanuts that showed up in Barbara's stomach probably were from the Baby Ruth candy bar she is reported by a witness to have eaten at the theater the night she disappeared.

I reminded Mr. McCarron that this same witness reported that Patricia, whose stomach was found empty, also had eaten a Baby Ruth—and that each girl had a bag of buttered popcorn.

No popcorn found

No popcorn was found in the stomachs of either of the dead girls. Had they eaten it and died the same night, an hour or so later, the doctors concede that it would have turned up in the examination.

Mr. McCarron said simply he thought the witness was mistaken in her testimony as to what the sisters ate at the theater. The witness in question is a 15-year-old former classmate of Barbara's who sat with the Grimes girls during the movie. She has stuck by her story in spite of official skepticism by the coroner, State's attorney, and doctors. She has offered to take a lie detector test.

Mrs. Grimes also took issue with the testimony about the popcorn. At the inquest, she testified that Patricia never ate popcorn because the salt gave her toothaches.

Later, however, the mother of another young friend of the Grimes sisters told police that a few days before Christmas Patricia and Barbara came over to her house and that she fixed popcorn as a refreshment. She said all the children, including Patricia, ate it.

The final development on the food analysis came almost 3 weeks after the toxicologist's first report. On February 15, it was disclosed that Dr. Camp told Mr. McCarron (the coroner has no formal, signed report on the matter in his files) that he had discovered banana fibers and traces of nuts and berry seeds in Patricia's intestines.

Mrs. Grimes subsequently said she recalled that Patricia had eaten a banana split on the afternoon she disappeared.

So much for the food problem. On the matter of the menstrual cycles of the girls, the coroner's files also contain no formal report by the doctors. But the medical men and Mr. McCarron say Mrs. Grimes had a precise record of when each girl's cycle began. They say the medical examination showed that the dates she gave fitted exactly the menstrual stage reached by the sisters—assuming the death date was the night of December 28–29.

The doctors on the coroner's panel emphatically make that assumption. But Sheriff Lohman is not alone in challenging them. When the American Academy of Forensic Sciences met in Chicago recently, the Grimes case was a principal item of discussion. Dr. Richard Ford, head of the forensic (legal) medicine department at Harvard Medical School, told this reporter: "Anyone setting the time of death so precisely would have to have a crystal ball."

MORAL ISSUE

The question as to when the Grimes sisters died is an emotional one; it involves more than the matter of Bennie's guilt or innocence. It involves, to put it bluntly, a question as to what sort of girls these pathetic victims were.

Mrs. Grimes, 48, divorced her husband 6 years ago after a lengthy separation. Although Mr. Grimes contributes $30 a week to the family, she has had to work to support herself and 5 children. She even has worked a night shift at an industrial plant. It has been difficult for her to give the children the care and attention they may have needed.

"My girls were good girls. * * * They never were on West Madison Street, they had too much upbringing for that. * * * They never even knew where skid row was." Time and again, since Bennie's confession, Mrs. Grimes had made statements like these.

Bennie had stated, in the confession, that he had sex relations with Patricia over a period of days, and implied that his friend had been similarly favored by Barbara.

It was natural, then, that one of the most controversial points in the medical examination of the Grimes sisters should be the question as to whether they were sexually molested. This issue was not involved in establishing the cause of death. But it was obviously important in the police investigation.

Samples sent to lab

The three pathologists who conducted the autopsy were very firm on the subject. They said they had found no indication that the girls had engaged in sexual intercourse. The coroner told the press, in fact, that the autopsy had indicated that the Grimes sisters were virgins.

But then an odd thing happened. Dr. Jerry J. Kearns, one of the coroner's pathologists, sent samples taken from the bodies to the Chicago Police Crime Laboratory for a courtesy examination. The laboratory received 3 vials, 2 marked "Barbara Grimes," and the third, oddly, unlabeled. There apparently was a fourth vial, but it never got to the lab.

The police technicians, one of whom is the president of the Illinois State Society of Microscopy and a man who has worked on scores of rape cases, consider that they have established beyond doubt that Barbara had had sexual relations in the days before her death. They have shown the evidence to this reporter, and, they assured me, to the doctors who handled the autopsies. Scientifically speaking, they asserted, there is no possible doubt about the matter.

When Dr. Edwin F. Hirsch, one of the pathologists, was asked by me whether he had seen the police slides, he said: "I can't comment on that. That's a moral question."

The fact that the crime lab had sex evidence was first disclosed officially when Harry Glos, the coroner's chief investigator and the only nonmedical man to witness the autopsies, called a press conference February 14 to blast coverups in the case.

The doctors and Mr. McCarron, however, were adamant. Mr. Glos was fired. The doctors took the position that they would not engage in a controversy with "technicians." Their studies did not show evidence of sex activity, they insisted.

Medical inquiry closed

Mr. McCarron rejected suggestions that other pathologists be brought into the case and announced that the medical phase of the inquiry was closed.

Mr. McCarron the coroner says, "Like all Irishmen, I think with my heart instead of my head." He dislikes even to talk about the possibility that sex figured in the Grimes case. He becomes evasive and annoyed when questioned about it.

Back in February, after the doctors set the death date, Mr. McCarron asserted: "The scientists took the girls off Madison Street and put them into respectability, and that's the most important thing aside from solving this case."

To me, he said: "Those little girls are in heaven."

There was one cryptic paragraph in the autopsy report which apparently relates to the crime lab report:

"We do not deny or affirm having received information obtained by police investigators, but this information has no role in establishing the cause of death. To deny or to affirm would divulge information that is confidential."

PUZZLING ANGLES

The sheriff's investigators, in their efforts to square the pathologists' verdict of death on December 28–29 with other known facts of the case, keep running into puzzling problems.

Time continues to be the all-important element of the mystery. The girls ate supper the night they disappeared, then saw the movie through, according to witnesses, before they were killed. Yet the toxicologist's report sets 4 hours as the time since the food found in Barbara's system had been eaten.

This means that on the timetable accepted by the coroner and State's attorney, the sisters would have had to be picked up, driven to an outlying part of Cook County, undressed and killed—all within an hour or so after leaving the theater.

And how killed? This reporter asked the toxicologist, Dr. Camp, how the girls could have been so quickly rendered powerless and then brought to death, without there being any signs of struggle or beating or use of drugs. Dr. Camp replied merely that this is the most puzzling aspect of the case for the doctors.

"That is a terrific problem," he asserted.

Dr. Kearns says the sisters could have died of fright. That is what Mrs. Grimes says she believes. But Dr. Hirsch has another interesting idea. According to Mr. McCarron, this is the Hirsch supposition as related to him:

The girls were picked up by a couple of teen-age boys who drove them out to the forest preserves. Their advances rejected, they undressed the girls and put them out of the car—more as a practical joke than through fiendish cruelty. The girls walked along in the wintry wind and as they did the cold air acted as an anesthetic on them. They grew sleepy and, as no cars came by for them to hail, they stepped over the roadside

guardrail and lay down and fell asleep. There they froze to death.

Time major factor

Again, in the analysis of the sheriff's office, the time question offers an ever-mounting problem. If Dr. Hirsch is correct, the hour or so after the movie must have supplied sufficient time not only for the actions already enumerated—but time, too, for the girls to have died from the cold.

It is admittedly a difficult timetable to picture. In discussing it with this reporter, States Attorney Adamowski made a surprising statement. "I don't think," he said, "the girls went to the theater that night."

Mr. Adamowski is the only responsible official connected with the case to have advanced this suggestion; others have accepted the statements of eyewitnesses who claim to have been seated with the girls or immediately behind them.

If the girls did not attend the movie, of course, the strain on the officially accepted timetable would be greatly relieved.

"I don't think anyone has ever asked Mrs. Grimes whether the girls might have gone to the theater some other night that week," Mr. Adamowski said.

Later, this reporter did put that question to Mrs. Grimes. She told me December 28 was the first and only night her daughters ever went to that particular theater.

Mr. Adamowski, himself, never asked Mrs. Grimes that question. I asked the states attorney, in fact, whether he had ever questioned Mrs. Grimes on anything, in order to evaluate her testimony as a basis for the doctors' conclusions.

"No," said Mr. Adamowski simply, "I have not."

No decomposition

There is one other factor that has provoked a certain skepticism in the public's mind on the December 28–29 death date. The bodies were found to be in a well-preserved condition, with no signs of decomposition.

The Chicago Tribune, quoting one of the world's leading authorities on exposure and freezing of human beings, said the medical man asserted in an interview that it would take 8 to 10 hours for a person to freeze to death in temperatures around 20 to 24 degrees. That was the range at Chicago's Midway Airport in the hours around midnight December 28.

Other experts say a reading of 20 or lower is needed for freezing the body.

The official United States Weather Bureau records show that the temperatures at Midway Airport, which is 35 minutes by automobile from downtown Chicago, ranged from a high of 36 to a low of 20 on December 28, from 27 to 19 on December 29, and from 39 to 13 on December 30. There was 1 inch of snow on the ground in this 3-day period.

On the other hand, the range January 13, the day Bennie said he disposed of the bodies, was from 10 above to 3 below zero. For the next 4 days readings never got above 16 and hit a low of 7 below. Five inches of snow was on the ground in this period. Bennie's statement in his confession that it was "snowing and snow was on the ground" corresponded with the actual situation, January 13.

Dr. Camp, however, was not impressed by these statistics. He said it probably was colder in the forest preserves than at the airport and that if the ground was frozen it would have acted as a refrigerator.

Two good leads

Sheriff Lohman currently has two new leads to the Grimes mystery investigation. He believes either one could break the case wide open.

One concerns a scarf or babushka said by a witness to have been left by one of the Grimes sisters when they were in a drive-in restaurant with Bennie Bedwell and another man.

Mrs. Grimes concedes that the scarf bears a striking resemblance to a scarf in the Grimes home—1 of 2 she bought just before Christmas.

Laboratory tests on these scarfs and two others bought by the sheriff's office at the same shop already have shown that the scarf found in the restaurant and the one Mrs. Grimes turned over have similar foreign matter on them. The other scarfs do not. Additional laboratory analyses are being made in which fibers from rugs in the Grimes home and the girls' blankets are being compared with the foreign matter noted above.

The other "hot" lead concerns a friend of Bennie's, a woman, who says she drove him to within a block of the Grimes home several times last year, and saw Bennie and Patricia together.

Mr. Lohman believes this woman knows more than she has told, and his aids are trying to convince her she should cooperate fully.

Sheriff's witnesses listed

Among other witnesses the sheriff has are:

1. Three persons who, like the Duros couple, say they saw the girls, Bennie and a "Mexican" man in the Duros restaurant, January 6.

2. A bus driver and an elderly woman passenger who say they saws the girls on a West Madison Street bus January 2 or 3. They said one of the sisters stretched out on a seat (near the old woman) and the other kept running to the driver to ask him where Homan Avenue was and telling him to be sure to let her know when they came to it. The witnesses say the girls got out at Homan.

3. A tree surgeon, who stopped at a skid row joint, near Homan Avenue, for a couple of drinks January 5, told police he saw Bennie and the Grimes girls there. "Pat, where are my shoes?" one girl asked the other, he said. They had been dancing in their stocking feet. The witness said he sat within 3 feet of them.

4. A classmate of Barbara's said the Grimes girl showed her two wallet pictures of a boy "she called Eddie." The witness identified the pictures as those of Edward L. (Bennie) Bedwell. She said that Barbara told her "Eddie" was a hillbilly and that one of her sisters "took Eddie away" from her.

There is another factor, too, which makes the sheriff and his people reluctant to dismiss Bennie as a suspect. Lie detector tests indicate that he was implicated in the crime.

George W. Haney, the sheriff's lie detector consultant, is a former associate of Russell Chatham of Vienna, Va., one of the Nation's leading polygraph authorities.

"There was never any doubt in my mind that Bennie told the truth when he said he knew the Grimes sisters and disposed of their bodies," Mr. Haney says.

LAST WORDS

When Chicagoans talk about the Grimes case, some surprisingly contradictory statements result.

Mr. McCarron, the coroner, implied in an interview that Bennie had simply been given the third degree. "They kept him for a week and brainwashed him," this official said. "He would have confessed to anything. So would you—so would I."

Mr. Adamowski, the State's attorney, was asked in another interview whether he thought Bennie had been pressured into a confession. "No; he wasn't," came the reply.

The State's attorney's basic position is not hard to understand, however. He clearly feels that he could not secure a conviction with the testimony of his own medical experts against him. And a prosecutor, by the rules of the game, should not seek an indictment unless he believes he can convict.

Whether Bennie will be convicted of anything in Florida, of course, remains to be seen. The case there is similar in many respects to the one in Chicago from which he now appears safely extricated.

The Florida charge is that he raped a 13-year-old girl and held her prisoner in a trailer for 3 days. Another girl was similarly attacked and held by an unidentified friend of Bennie's, it is alleged.

Orders extradition

Governor Stratton, of Illinois, asserted in ordering the extradition that evidence produced at a special hearing on the matter showed that Bennie was in Florida at the time of the alleged crime (March 9, 1956) and that the girl identified Bennie as her attacker. The girl's mother, the Governor said, identified the suspect as the person who had requested permission to date her daughter after he had met her at a carnival where he worked as a roustabout.

Coroner, McCarron, on the other hand, pooh-poohs the idea that Bennie figured in the Florida case.

"He didn't have any more to do with that case than you did," Mr. McCarron told this reporter.

And so the mystery remains.

I interviewed Mrs. Grimes the other day in her home. It was strange to think that the State's attorney had never once bothered to talk with this woman on whose testimony Bennie's entire scientific alibi depended.

At the inquest Mrs. Grimes had embraced Bennie's mother and, according to the news reports, said: "I know your boy didn't do it."

Now she sat in her tiny livingroom, where she had been playing cards with three of the children and a neighbor. A big policeman, assigned to the house, read a newspaper on the sofa.

"I never said Bennie Bedwell didn't do it," Mrs. Grimes told me.

That's the way things have been going in Chicago.

A Monument to Garden City, Kans.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, the good people of Kansas have always been noted for their hospitality and friendliness extended to those visiting our State. I feel the article appearing in the May issue of the Reader's Digest is a typical reminder of the warm friendliness of the West, and is truly a monument to the fine people of Garden City for the part played by its citizenry in healing a stranger who came there sick in body and sicker in spirit. I would like to extend my remarks in the RECORD to include a copy of this article:

A MONUMENT FOR GARDEN CITY

(By Walker Winslow)

If "life certificates," like birth certificates, were issued, mine would have been given me by Garden City, Kans., in February 1952. This little city took me at a time when I was near death, not only physically but spiritually.

A deep feeling of depression gnawed at my mind as I drove down from the moun-

tains onto the plains of Kansas. There was melting snow on the straight, lonely highway; the wind was cold and dismal.

For more years of my life than I like to remember, I had been avoiding responsibility, eluding the routine difficulties of life and even justifying defeat by means of alcohol. My alcoholism had been a technique of living destructively and reducing the surface penalties to hangovers and remorse. Now, literally unable to use alcohol any longer, I suffered from a guilt that asserted itself in bleak depression. I was an isolated creature at bay in a hostile world. I felt that the world did not want me, that all men were against me.

I should have felt adventurous, for I was on my way to Topeka to get additional material for a book I was writing about Dr. C. F. Menninger, a great pioneer whose work had saved thousands of persons from the bogs of mental illness. Instead I was in despair, cynical, and bitter. I wondered how Menninger had managed to cling to the illusion of life's goodness for 91 years.

Suddenly I came to a slight curve in the road and was snapped out of my reverie. The car would not steer. Getting out, I found that the melting snow had splashed up and filled the undersides of the fenders with ice, clogging the wheels. In an hour, by using a screwdriver as an icepick, I managed to free the wheels, but I was exhausted.

I had trouble getting my breath as I drove on. Suddenly my ribs seemed to clench in like a closing fist, and a molten river of pain ran down my left arm. I got the car stopped and caught my breath. At that moment the gray face I saw in the rear-view mirror appeared to be turning blue. (Later I learned that I'd had what is called a coronary insufficiency—a temporarily inadequate supply of blood to the muscles of the heart.)

There wasn't a soul for miles; I had to drive on. A perverse will to survive must have got me to the next town. I can remember only thinking it ironic that its name should be Garden City and that there should be a sign bidding me welcome.

The next thing I remember is being helped into the small white residence of a young doctor. His family and some guests were about to have dinner. When I protested that I could wait, the doctor warned me not to talk. He practically carried me into a bedroom and laid me on the clean white spread, dirty shoes and all. His wife helped him get my coat and shirt off.

Skillfully he went about examining me. My exhaustion was so complete I simply wanted to let go; dying in this room seemed better than by the roadside. A pill was put under my tongue, and something was injected into a vein. After another injection the pain was gone, and so was consciousness.

I awakened in a hospital. There was an oxygen mask on my face, and the doctor was with me. Knowing he would have to stand good for my hospital bill if I couldn't, I lifted the mask and said, "There are some traveler's checks in my coat. You'd better let me sign some for you."

"Put that mask back on and forget about payment," he said gently. "Let me do the worrying."

Something in his manner made me impulsively hold out my hand to him. For a few moments he held the hand and then said gruffly, "You're among friends." I wanted to cry. It was as if I'd been welcomed back to life. A gentle Sister gave me a hypodermic and I went back to sleep.

When I awakened it was morning and the oxygen mask had been removed. There were flowers in the room. As soon as a nurse came in I asked her where they had come from. "Some of Dr. T.'s other patients," she said. When she asked me how I was feeling she remarked that everyone was pestering her to find out.

"I feel better," I said, "but why should all these people want to know how a stranger is feeling and send him flowers?"

"Word gets around," she said.

A good-natured Irish Sister came in with coffee. "You're exhausted, poor lad," she said with a jovial sympathy, "and this will give you a bit of warmth." She added, "I said a prayer for you last night and so did the other Sisters. We won't be forgetting you."

I felt stunned. I was experiencing spontaneous and warming evidences of friendship I'd thought impossible in modern life. And I was a complete stranger to all these people. When a nurse came with a hypodermic I told her I didn't want it. There was still pain, but I didn't want anything to obliterate the sense of security I now felt. She gave me the injection anyway.

The doctor came in and grinned. "You gave me a real scare yesterday," he said, "but in these cases there's not necessarily any permanent damage."

As he examined me he said he had put my car in his garage and had taken the liberty of packing a bag with the things I'd need at the hospital. "If you hold on where you are now," he added, "you can have visitors in a couple of days. The friends who were at my house when you came in want to call on you, and some of my patients want to meet you. You're going to be here at least two weeks, so enjoy yourself."

Even during the next 2 days, when visitors were still barred, several patients and some of their relatives stopped at my door to ask how I was and to leave me magazines, books and flowers. They showed a natural cordiality and sincere concern, and I could feel the strength of my spirit grow.

When I could have visitors my days were full. Callers were frequent. I had half a dozen invitations to dinner as soon as I was out of the hospital. Always there were flowers in abundance.

I was being given so much that it was a relief when I, too, had the opportunity to give. I had noticed a young man pacing the hall and, sensing his tension, I asked him in for a talk. He said his sister was in the last stages of leukemia but didn't know that she couldn't live long. She was beautiful and talented, just out of college and on the verge of a career. The brother was bitter that she should be taken and betrayed his bitterness to everyone he talked to.

"Does she have visitors?" I asked.

"Plenty," he said. "Idiots who have no idea of what is happening to her. They laugh and talk and let her tell them of her plans for the future."

I was surprised to hear myself telling him that if she died with her plans in full bloom and in an aura of love and friendship she would be fortunate. "The plan or dream is always greater than the realization," I heard myself say. "People are all for her now—she has hurt no one, competed with no one, created no jealousies. You can be grateful that she's not going out on the downbeat as so many do." A strange speech for me. A day or two later the brother came in again and this time he talked eagerly of his sister's plans.

For the few days that I stayed on in Garden City after I left the hospital, I felt as if I'd come home, as indeed I had—I'd rejoined my fellow men and now had a faith in and a love for human beings. In the past I had regarded professional men who chose small towns as people who were looking for a comfortable niche for mediocrity. Dr. T. made me change my mind about that; it was evident he'd sought a place where he could function best as a human being as well as a physician.

The doctor didn't think I should drive to Topeka, so I had a friend come for me. What to do with my car should have been a problem, but before it had a chance to become one a man who had been at Dr. T.'s the day I arrived said he had to make a trip to Topeka later and would drive it there for me. He said he didn't mind returning by train.

When I left Garden City I wished that I could have erected a monument to that small town. It would be simple—the figure of a gentle and concerned man with his hand extended in friendship. There would be a sign directing strangers to drive through the streets so that they could see happy, friendly people who could take in a stranger and make him one of them.

As I was driven toward Topeka I felt that I could now tell the story of Dr. C. F. Menninger with greater understanding. This humble and selfless man had founded a great organization for human betterment on the simple formula, "If we can love." It was a conjecture made in a faith that had been proved correct by his and his sons' belief in man. In Dr. T., I had met another physician of the great tradition, and a young one at that.

Apparently my heart had revolted at the bitter view I was taking of life. There is such a thing as organic wisdom. This is the wisdom that can sweeten the bitter, humble the arrogant, and make us receptive to truth, to the spirit of good will among men.

Employment of the Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the Members of the House will be interested in an essay on the employment of the handicapped which was submitted by Miss Virginia Trujillo, a student in the Antonito Public High School, Antonito, Colo. This essay won second place in the 1957 national essay contest conducted by the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped.

I congratulate Miss Trujillo on her prize-winning essay. I am indeed proud to represent the congressional district in which she lives.

Miss Trujillo will come to Washington on May 23, and will receive her award directly from President Eisenhower. I am happy to see her receive this recognition which she richly deserves. She has brought great honor, not only to herself, but to her school in Antonito, and to the entire State of Colorado.

The essay follows:

EMPLOYMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED: A COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

Carefully groping in the darkness, John Erickson finally found what he was looking for—the doorknob. He turned it slowly, almost fearfully, for this was the step he had dreaded to take for so long. This was the step which would lead him out of the security of the hospital and into the insecurity of the world.

John dreaded to go out into his community. He wondered, "How will my community receive me now? Will my old friends make me feel welcome? Will I be able to get a job here so I myself can support my family and not have to rely on aid from the Government? Or will my town think I am to-

tally unfit to do any kind of work because I am blind? Surely there must be some kind of work a fellow like me can do."

The knob turned and John stepped out of the hospital with its familiar antiseptic smell into the air with its fragrance of grass and flowers of spring. As he felt the warm sunshine on his sightless eyes, John thought bitterly, "Is this the same John Erickson who a few years ago was a successful salesman with the prettiest wife and smartest children in the neighborhood? Is this the same John Erickson who 4 years ago was up as a candidate for mayor and now is little better than the worm who crawls in the dirt not knowing where he is going?"

All this mental agony had come to John Erickson because he had gone to fight for his country, his community, his family, his ideals. All because some fellow had failed to check the pin on his hand grenade. With these thoughts John walked slowly, tapping his way toward the family car that his wife must drive everywhere now.

Yes, this was the same John Erickson. Why should he have changed? The only thing he had lost was his sight. He still had the qualities which make a man fight for a set of ideals, which make a man proud of his family, and a promising candidate for mayor. He still had the sense of responsibility and pride that he and not the taxpayers should support the John Ericksons. He still had that pride in his community that made him tell everyone, "Smithville, Iowa, my hometown, is the swellest place a fellow could ever want to live."

John Erickson still had those hopes and dreams. But most of all he still had the quality which is in every human being—a feeling of independence and the need of being wanted and appreciated. Yes, he was the same John Erickson. He was the same if his community would still give him a chance; if Smithville would help him get used to the sound of a tapping cane by making him an indispensable citizen with a wage-earning job.

Yes; John Erickson and the 28,000,000 other disabled persons in the United States need help, help from their communities so that they can again feel independent and appreciated. They need help to make all their hopes, dreams, and desires come true.

Is it financial help they need, or is it sympathy and consolation? They want none of these. A chance in fair competition for a job is what they need, not a kind word or a pitying glance. In other words, all a handicapped person wants is a chance to prove himself, a chance to prove that there is something he can still do to make himself a worthy community member.

But before being employed, many of the physically handicapped must have a chance to become rehabilitated, to become adjusted to their limitations of acivity imposed on them by crippling disease or accident. These people need to be tested for their aptitudes so they will know for which type of work they are best qualified. Then training in their field must be offered to them.

And who is to provide for these services? Where is John Erickson to turn for help?

Isn't it fitting that John, who lost his eyesight so that communities like his might be free, be helped by his community that he might be free? Should not the responsibility of rehabilitation to normal life through employment be the communities'? The same goes for the thousands of Johns who have been an active part of their neighborhood before becoming disabled.

Which other organized body is better suited to rehabilitate and employ handicapped persons than their own community? It is here that is "home" to the disabled; it is here that his heart is. Is it not logical that a handicapped person should prefer to work in his own community, with his friends than to go off to some factory where jobs are "made" for people with physical infirmities?

If to rehabilitate the handicapped is our aim, should not the community provide the tools? The small community is the only organized body small enough to take care of the thousands of disabled and give them the attention which such a person requires.

But what would happen if our communities neglect their responsibilities of rehabilitating and employing their handicapped?

The National Safety Council's compilations of statistics for the year 1953 indicates that there were 2 million accidents which caused a total production loss of 45 million man-days and a total cost in loss of wages, medical expenses, compensation benefits, and other administrative expenses of $1,650,000,000. If we add to this latter figure the so-called indirect accident costs of the loss of production time it raises the total estimated cost of accidents to the staggering total of $3,150,000,000 which the taxpayer must pay in higher taxes and higher prices. So it is vitally important for us as well as the handicapped that the communities shoulder their responsibility because full utilization of all our potential manpower is essential to the welfare and strength of our country at all times. If the handicapped are rehabilitated and given employment, the entire country will benefit. To quote President Eisenhower, "Rehabilitated persons, as a group, pay back in Federal income tax many times the cost of rehabilitation."

Neglecting the handicapped would not only result in the loss of millions of dollars and a great deal of manpower, but it would also result in the weakening of our Nation. There are some 28 million disabled persons in the United States. The majority of these persons are married and have children to care for. What happens if they are placed in institutions? If the family is the basic unit of society, the strength of our country rests on this. Therefore, if the family is no longer able to look to its head for financial support and security, it will lose its basic solidness. If this happens the community will be weakened and the strength of the United States of America shall crumble.

It is up to our communities to see that the disabled person is restored to his fullest physical, mental, social, and economic usefulness so that the United States may be able to withstand the powers that threaten it. We must realize that only the community can rehabilitate a handicapped person to his fullest capacity by employing him.

It is the responsibility of communities like Smithville, Iowa, to see that a white tipped cane can tap John Erickson's way to a useful job so that he may become a contributing citizen of an American community.

An Editor and Smalltown Businessman Looks for a Change in the Eisenhower-Benson Program To Aid the Family Farmer

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, there is a gentleman in my district, the editor of the Perham Enterprise-Bulletin, whose heart lies with the family farmer. As a small-town businessman, he fully understands the great potential of a good farm program for the whole family-farm community. In his editorials, he tangles with all the various aspects of the agricultural program, challenging and probing for solutions.

A recent editorial, April 25, was directed at the President's possible change in farm policy. Observations and suggestions in this editorial merit serious consideration. I, therefore, under unanimous consent, insert this studious editorial in the RECORD:

IKE SEEKS NEW FARM PLAN, WILL AID SMALL FARM

We would like you to read several quotations:

Quote No. 1: "The present farm program—the so-called flexible system adopted in 1954 is not working well in these areas. We have laws for disposal of surpluses under a subsidized arrangement for which the taxpayers pay. Then, when we get rid of those surpluses for a certain degree, the arbitrary provisions of the law operate, the price supports go up and you get more surpluses. Small farmers especially need help because of the cost-price squeeze, but that the present program doesn't work that way. The big farmers get the most."

Who said these things? President Dwight D. Eisenhower on April 17, 1957, as reported in the Minneapolis Tribune.

Quote No. 2: "The present parity (flexible) setup is a big operator's, city speculators bonanza. It gives the big operator and the small operator a 50–50 break—1 horse for the big operator and 1 rabbit for the small operator. * * * Currently the consumer is paying for production which is stored, destroyed, or given away and then paying high prices in the market place because these surpluses were removed to cause an artificially high price."

Who said these things: We did on August 4, 1955, in an editorial.

We are glad that President Eisenhower has come to the realization that Mr. Benson's choice of a farm program is for the birds. It has been apparent to folks out this way for some time that lowering prices paid for farm produce simply makes the farmer produce more to keep his volume up.

Both full parity and flexible support are bound to fail because they (for the most part) attempt to guarantee prices without regulating supply. Both aid the big producer while failing to effectively aid the small producer for whom they were ostensibly designed.

Now that the President is seeking a farm program that will, as he puts it, "Stand the test of time," we suggest he take a look at the one we have been advocating for a number of years. Under it the Government would pay the farmer a direct subsidy on his produce, scaled down as his production increases.

For instance—Pay 90 percent of parity on the first $5,000 produced; 85 percent on the second $5,000 produced; 80 percent on the third $5,000, and so on down until a total of $25,000 is reached. Production of any one farmer over $25,000 would not be subsidized at all.

Farm prices would be allowed to seek their own level in the markets, thus giving the consumer a break.

All Government purchases of surpluses would be eliminated.

As nearly as we have been able to ascertain, the above plan would subsidize less than half the farm production, leaving half of the market for the ambitious to fight over in the best of American tradition.

What do you think about it, Mr. President?

We think you are right in scouting around because in this day and age of hybrid seeds, high power fertilizers and potent insecticides, the soil bank will not bail out the flexible support program.

Britain Saves Money on Her Navy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like consent to insert in the RECORD a timely editorial appearing in the Chicago Tribune, Wednesday, May 1. The British continue to deserve the reputation of looking out for Britain as indicated by their current action with respect to expenditures in their budget for the coming year. It would seem that while we talk vociferously about cutting the budget for the United States the British are taking definite steps and are achieving their goal to reduce their budget and give their people some tax relief. In this particular instance, the United States would do well to follow the British so that we could give our people action and not talk.

BRITAIN SAVES MONEY ON HER NAVY

Britain intends in the year ahead to reduce her naval expenses by 10 percent. Eventually, the number of men in the naval service will be cut from the present 120,000 to 75,000. All but one of the biggest battleships are to be scrapped, and, when the transformation has been completed in 5 years, the British Navy will consist of half a dozen aircraft carriers and their auxiliary ships, together with a couple of hundred frigates to patrol the coasts and about 60 submarines.

The new British budget calls for spending less than $900 million on the navy. The new American budget calls for spending more than $10 billion on our Navy and the cost in the coming year is to be larger by several hundred million dollars than in the present year. Britain's Navy is going down while ours is going up.

Arthur Veysey, The Tribune's London correspondent, has figured that the number of men in our navy today is just about twice the expected strength 5 years hence of the British Army, Navy, and Air Force combined.

Possibly there are those in this country who will conclude that all this is just as it should be because it proves that the United States has replaced Britain as the world's leading naval power. Americans may well take pride in this achievement but they also may ask whether such vast superiority at enormous cost is altogether necessary.

Plainly the British have come to the conclusion that types of naval equipment, already obsolete in World War II, are of even less value today. There can be no quarrel with that thesis. Our own Navy has scrapped a good many of its old-fashioned ships and has almost all of its remaining battlewagons in mothballs.

And plainly, too, the British think that they will be just about as safe with a little navy as they would be with a much bigger one. This conclusion could have been reached in several ways. The British strategists may have decided that, in the atomic age, no fleet can offer much protection to an island within easy bombing and rocket range of an enemy on the continent of Europe; or the decision may have been founded on the assurance that the American fleet will do whatever a fleet can do to protect Britain and the American air bases on the island.

In fact, both lines of reasoning may have contributed to the result and the conclusion may well have been reinforced by estimates, revised downward, of the soviet capacity to take the offensive. Certainly since the Hungarian revolt it has been clear that the Soviet commanders cannot rely on the loyalty of the soldiers of the satellite countries and, in fact, would have to keep great numbers of Russian soldiers guarding lines of communication through the satellites to prevent sabotage.

At any rate, whatever the reasoning may have been, it is the American fleet that is steaming eastward in the Mediterranean, which, even in the years of Britain's military decline, has been regarded as Britain's special concern. Plainly the British are quite willing to have their interests in the Near and Middle East protected at American expense and risk. Because our recent administrations have been eager to assume these responsibilities and to impose corresponding burdens on our taxpayers, the British can feel safe in weakening their own military establishments on land and sea, to the advantage of the British taxpayer.

Tyranny and Brigandage in Collection of Alleged Delinquent Income Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the Jefferson Gazette. Mr. E. C. Lampson, the owner and editor of the Jefferson Gazette is a truly fine American, his father was reading clerk in the House of Representatives following the Civil War. Jefferson, Ohio, sent Senator Ben Wade and Congressman Joshua Giddings to the United States Congress. It is the town in which John Brown laid the cornerstone of the courthouse before going on to Harpers Ferry.

From the editorial of this fine northeastern Ohio newspaper, which is rated as one of the best newspapers of the country, we can heed that all is not well in the old homestead—or a way down east—or on the banks of the Wabash. It is a good advice to the administration that it better devote more time to mid-America and not so much to the Middle East, if we want to survive.

The editorial follows:

[From the Jefferson (Ohio) Gazette of April 30, 1957]

TYRANNY AND BRIGANDAGE IN COLLECTION OF ALLEGED DELINQUENT INCOME TAXES—AMERICAN CITIZENS ARE BRAZENLY DENIED THE PROTECTION OF THE COURTS—FEDERAL OFFICERS FLOUT THE BILL OF RIGHTS WITH IMPUNITY—AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. President: The brazen methods used by officers of the Federal Government in this 34th District and probably elsewhere in the United States, deserve your immediate condemnation.

If their wanton and unconstitutional acts in charging and persecuting citizens for alleged income tax delinquency has the approval of your administration, I shall regret the loyal support given you in the elections of 1952 and 1956. I am ashamed of my own Government.

I was shocked to read in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 25, 1957, the statement of the district director of IRS: "We have no special orders from Washington, but we have been receiving regular instructions about this from time to time." His effort was to justify the tyrannical methods used in collections of tax accounts. Proof of correctness is not always shown to the victims in advance. His remark was followed by the comment of William Horvath, assistant chief of the delinquent accounts, that: "But some taxpayers think we don't have the authority to do this, that we need a court order. That isn't true as they find out."

Mr. President: Has the protection of the Bill of Rights become a myth under the Eisenhower administration?

Have you been too much concerned with foreign aid to prevent American citizens being denied the protection of law and the Constitution, when some of them are charged without any proof offered by the agents of the Federal Government as criminals—tax evaders?

Under Ohio laws, to enter uninvited upon private property or to seize the same without due process, or to impound property even for States taxes delinquent is a trespass compounding a felony. Under Ohio laws, no delinquent State tax may be collected until due process of law provides the delinquent taxpayer with notice and reasonable time to contest or to make a voluntary settlement.

Under the Eisenhower administration the Internal Revenue executives and minor employees claim lawful authority without proof of the correctness of their claim to take a taxpayer's home, business, credits, or other properties without due process of law. He is not allowed opportunity to prove the Federal claim incorrect and unjust. Since when has the tenacles of this Federal tax octopus grown so large and so crushing that an American citizen faces certain damage if he fights an illegal tax claim? By whose authority is this cruel and unusual punishment inflicted with impunity by Federal employees?

According to the Cleveland Plain Dealer of April 25, 1957, in this 34th district, in 1956 there were 180 property seizures and 9,833 levies. Few if any such actions followed a court order. In each case Federal employees reported to superiors alleged bookkeeping charges that the taxpayers were delinquent. Each alleged delinquent was given a short notice with threats of levy on wages, salary, or other income, or to seize and sell your property or rights to property, if payment is not received within 10 days of the date of this notice. Does that mean 10 days before or 10 days after said date? A fourth-grader should write better English.

To seize a man's business, to padlock it merely to collect a few dollars, which the taxpayer may believe he does not owe the Government, is a monstrous misapplication of Federal power. To refuse said taxpayer his constitutional State and National rights of a day in court is worse than is done in Russia.

Many errors are made in the accounting department and by the taxpayer without intent to defraud. Until the department explains in a courteous manner its claim of debt, by what conceivable constitutional law can such gross imposition be made with impunity in our once-free United States of America?

PROOF OF THE CORRECTNESS OF MY CHARGES

There is no constitutional authority for an employee of the Income Tax Division to threaten or seize property, wages, or other possessions in payment of an alleged delinquent tax until proven in a court of law. No Federal employee has the right to demand payment of a controversial charge within an unreasonable period of time, nor to trespass upon, nor to impound, nor to seize, nor to

sell nor to damage in any manner the property or the reputation of any taxpayer without due process of law.

The now common practice of seizing and denying a taxpayer access to his own records is unconstitutional. The fourth amendment covers this statement, quoted in part: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated * * *"

It certainly is unreasonable to seize papers and records upon which the taxpayer must base his claim of error when the error was made by the department itself.

The much-abused fifth amendment amply provides against the abuse of power by Government officials and employees. It renders the seizure of wages, salary, income, or other property, without due process of law, a crime on the part of any officer or employee of the State or Nation. The fifth amendment provides that anyone charged with a crime must "be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, must be confronted with the witnesses against him, and must have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor and to have the assistance of counsel." These provisions, and others of the Bill of Rights, are flagrantly and boastfully flouted in the 34th District in Ohio.

The seventh article provides that where the value in controversy exceeds $20 the right of trial by jury shall be preserved. The officials of the 34th district claim the law under which they operate does not provide for trial by jury. If that be true, the said law is unconstitutional. Any tax collected under it by force is an illegal collection. A single penny taken more than the tax and costs is a theft or is taking private property without just compensation.

The vexatious delays in law for restoring rights and property prevent many from suing individuals who have assumed to charge, arrest, and punish alleged delinquent taxpayers without due process of law.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH CLEVELAND OFFICE

I am in receipt of a card demanding $9, alleged deficit in my 1956 income tax. No explanation accompanied the demand. But the card states, "Your computation of tax has been mathematically verified." If my account has been mathematically verified, why the discourteous demand? The card threatens "If payment is not received within 10 days from the date of this notice, your account will be placed in the hands of an internal revenue collection officer without further notice. Under the law he may levy on your wages, salary, or other income or seize or sell your property or rights to property to collect this account."

Your protestor is 81 years old. He has been the editor of a country newspaper for 61 years. He handled in that period many $100,000 accounts. He never has defaulted in any obligation, public or private.

Until recently no bill payable has been received by him that contained discourteous language. He finds the Gazette, through error made by some clerk in the Cleveland office, charged with $1,094.84 delinquency for 1956 in withholding taxes and social-security taxes paid for the employees of the Gazette Printing Co., Inc., Jefferson, Ohio.

The Cleveland office claims it never received the fourth quarterly report for 1956, form No. 941, yet it credits us with a payment of $626.88.

We have in our possession and will not give it up, without a court order, our check for $626.68, No. 2429, dated January 22, 1957, which check accompanied form 941 with the necessary papers to complete our 1956 account. Payment in full. We have since then paid the January, February, and March charges, totaling $1,556.88.

The Gazette Printing Co., Inc., is not indebted to the Federal Government for any taxes accruing prior to April 1, 1957.

Knowing we are on safe grounds if the Department is not an American gestapo, we have no cause to worry. The entry of our premises by the use of force by a Federal tax collector would make said person so entering "a trespasser, a thief, or a burglar." Ohio laws will be used if necessary. The Revolutionary War was fought on less grounds for revolt, Mr. President, than now exists in your administration when honest taxpayers are held delinquent and their property taken by agents of the income-tax division without due process of law.

Respectfully submitted.

CHET LAMPSON.

Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, May 3 is Polish National Day. It commemorates the anniversary of the enactment of Poland's democratic constitution on May 3, 1791.

At this crucial time in history when communism dominates half of Europe, it is essential that the United States and the free Western Powers give all possible support to the Polish cause for freedom and independence.

I do not believe it is the United States policy to incite uprisings behind the Iron Curtain against the Communist governments, for such a policy by itself while demonstrating the burning spirit of the people for freedom, results in the horrible destruction and the death of fighters and innocent women and children at the hands of overwhelming Soviet manpower and armaments. Such terror was witnessed recently both in Hungary and Poland.

Rather, our policy must be to raise our voices continually against this Soviet subjugation and even to offer material and economic aid to the Poles, if we can receive the assurances that such aid will indeed reach the Polish people and they are aware of its source. A private organization, the Ford Foundation, has recently announced a grant to Poland. It will be well for our Government to heed closely the effectiveness of this assistance as a possible guide for further United States efforts.

I believe there to be some validity in the argument that the Polish people, if given the proper moral and material tools, will better equip themselves for casting off Russian domination and regaining independence.

There is no question in the minds of the Kremlin that brave Poland stands firmly in the camp of the West. For Poland to cast such a die in the face of stark adversity, gives the free world an insight into the fibre of bravery and courage possessed by these people, who, since World War II have been denied their cultural and sacred freedom.

Let us not be cajoled into imagining that the Gomulka government is the government of the Polish people. This is merely a shabby compromise instigated at the direction of Moscow as an attempt to mollify a country whose free existence has been erased and sense of nationalism offended.

Although Poland may be relatively free as a nation in captivity by the Communists, the United States should settle for nothing less than the complete return of freedom to this and other countries, so that they may govern as they choose.

The Maligned Postman Deserves Better of Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following column by Bill Vaughan appeared in the Kansas City Star of April 13. I heartily agree with Mr. Vaughan's comments on the courteous and fine service performed by our friends and fellow citizens who give their working lives to the Post Office Department and efficient service to their fellow citizens.

THE MALIGNED POSTMAN DESERVES BETTER OF US

(By Bill Vaughan)

The Postoffice Department has been having a difficult time this week. Today, Saturday deliveries were eliminated, and other cutbacks may be put in force. There isn't enough money.

Congress, however, apparently has relented enough so that these reductions in service will be temporary.

Critics abound. There are people who send the editor grisly stories of how it took a letter 15 days to get from Philadelphia to Dayton, Ohio. Some patrons object to the design of new postage stamps on esthetic grounds. Others do not like to be addressed as "Occupant." We are told that the Post Office Department should employ more machines and fewer people. The post offices themselves, we are told, should look more like factories and less like Greek temples.

I will agree that it is ridiculous that we cannot operate a mail system geared to the needs of our citizens. This is the sort of thing that Americans like to laugh at in other countries. We are so proud of our technological superiority. When we are charged with cultural shortcomings we can always point out that at least you can make a telephone call, send a telegram or get a letter delivered in the United States more expeditiously than in lands which lack our Yankee know-how.

Perhaps it is good for our national soul to be told that other countries handle their mail better than we do. Conceit is the besetting sin of America. We go into hot wars on the assumption that the Japanese are unable to fly airplanes because their eyes are the wrong shape. And a comforting delusion at the start of the cold war was that Russia could never build the atomic bomb because it is a nation of dreamy peasants.

From both of these ideas we had rude awakenings.

So it may be a healthy thing for us to learn that other peoples get their mail as expeditiously as we do, or more so.

But, all this aside, I think it might be well to inject a few comments about our postal system that have nothing to do with its fiscal stability.

There were three letters from New York on my desk this morning. All were mailed yesterday. I have never experienced any of these grotesque delays in service which are being reported from time to time.

I have never found a rude or cranky person—beyond, that is, the normal amount of crankiness which is every freeborn American's natural right—at the window of any postoffice. On the contrary, I have been helped, advised, and coddled beyond anything due me.

Last Christmas I was in line behind a gentleman in overalls who lacked 15 cents of having enough money to mail a package. The young man at the window put it in out of his own pocket—with, of course, a promise from the customer to "drop it by some time."

I hope we get more efficient operation of our postal system. I hope, maybe, that we get machines—although I find them generally less agreeable than people, in favor of whom I tend to have a bias. I would even wish that post offices looked like factories instead of Greek temples, if that would help, even though the average American town needs at least one Greek temple. And where is it going to get one unless from the Government?

But I also hope that we never get so efficient that the man at the post office window won't take time to help us retie our packages and the mailman won't have enough interest to call out, "Got a letter from that kid of yours today."

Let's be efficient, let's save money (or spend more if necessary), but let's not lose our admiration for the wonderful people who get the mail through.

Colt's Peacemaker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, the State of Connecticut and the city of Hartford are famed for many things, not the least of which is the home of the Colt's Patent Fire Arms Manufacturing Co.

One of the famous Colt's products is the "six shooter," or "Peacemaker," a single-action revolver. This gun was dropped by Colt's during World War II but has been put back into production, and this has excited the gun collecting and shooting fraternity.

Without objection, I request permission to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an account of the six shooter's modern day comeback by Kenneth Scheibel of the Gannet News Service. This story has appeared widely in the Gannett newspapers, including the Hartford Times in my district. Here is how it appeared in the Utica (N. Y.) Daily Press:

FAMED COLT PEACEMAKER BLAZES TO NEW POPULARITY

(By Kenneth Scheibel)

WASHINGTON, March 25.—A famous American gun which blazed its way across the pages of early United States history is making a modern-day comeback.

It is the world-famed .45 caliber six shooter, or "Peacemaker," known as the gun that won the West. It is the product of Colt's Patent Fire Arms Co., Hartford, Conn.

Colt's official John A. Millington and associates are displaying the "Peacemaker" model at the annual meetings of the National Rifle Association here this week.

He said that the public's reaction to reintroduction of the gun has been amazing.

"We are about 30,000 orders behind," Millington declared, "even though we put on night shifts."

What is behind the interest in a gun developed in 1873?

Millington said shooters and gun collectors always felt the six-gun was a good gun. Colt's discontinued it in 1941, but resumed production on a limited basis in 1955.

"In the United States today, there is a nostalgic urge for the things of the past," Millington declared. He said this is true of automobiles, architecture, and clothing. With a grin, he said "and television and western movies have helped this trend."

According to figures cited by Millington, the gun business is booming. He said the company in some categories of sales registered a 357-percent increase in the last 6 months of 1956 compared with the first half of the year.

Colt's also is exhibiting at the National Rifle Association exhibit its new .357 magnum, called the "python." Millington described it as a gun "with a lotta power" which he said has excited collectors and sportsmen.

Sam Colt invented his first revolver in the 1830's. The war in Mexico created demand for them. Colt developed .44 caliber, six-shot revolvers for Gen. Zachary Taylor.

The Civil War found revolvers widely adopted as a side arm and later in the settling of the West they became almost standard dress, going by such names as "thumbbuster," "hawg laig," "equalizer," and "plowhandle."

Sam Colt died in 1862 at the age of 48 and in 1873 his gun was produced as the "Model P" for the Cavalry.

The "six gun" is a single action handgun which fires one round at a time and must be recocked by hand. Its chamber holds six shells. Each empty shell must be ejected by hand.

Many old models of the storied "peacemaker" have become collector's items worth thousands of dollars. Enhancing values are special ivory, pearl, or silver grips as well as fine engraving performed by master craftsmen. The age of the piece—the era in which it was produced—also is a factor in values of oldtime Colts.

Gov. Abraham Ribicoff recently accepted on behalf of the State of Connecticut a Colt's museum collection of its old models.

Alex Sachs Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Kansas City Times of April 25. All of us in the Kansas City area regret the retirement of Alex Sachs, who has been our outstanding postmaster since 1949. Public servants of Alex Sachs' great ability and charming personality are rare and valuable. We all wish Alex the best in his well-earned retirement.

The editorial follows:

ALEX SACHS RETIRES

New postmasters customarily attend meetings of postoffice employee organizations. Shortly after he was appointed Kansas City postmaster in 1949, Alex F. Sachs dutifully appeared at a gathering of the carriers group.

"Where are you going?" a sergeant at arms asked Sachs at the door.

"To the meeting," Sachs replied.

"Where do you work?" asked the sergeant.

"At the postoffice," said Sachs.

"What's your name?" inquired the sergeant.

"Alex Sachs," replied the new boss, and the sergeant retreated in confusion.

This was a perfectly normal incident, for the Kansas City postoffice is a big organization of 3,000 regular employees. But it couldn't have happened a few months later, for by then virtually every employee knew the boss by sight. Sachs moved about quietly from one department to the next until he was familiar with the routine. He soon became well acquainted with the postal manual, a book of regulations about 5 inches thick. He learned that you start planning for next Christmas on December 26.

The engineer turned postmaster has given calm direction to an operation that in the last 9 months handled 514,413,000 pieces of first class mail and 40,589,000 pounds of second and third class items. He never became a desk-pounder.

Now Alex Sachs is retiring to relieve the unavoidable pressures of the job on his health. Kansas City will wish its postmaster well.

Anniversary of the Adoption of the Polish Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful for the privilege of once again joining with my distinguished colleagues in the annual celebration commemorating the adoption of the Polish constitution, the date of which May 3, 1791, is one of the outstanding milestones in the evolution of democracy in Europe.

This Polish constitution closely follows our own form of representative government as initiated by our Founding Fathers. While we are still guarding the rights and privileges granted to us under our Constitution, the valiant anti-Communist Polish people have lost all rights, all privileges, all independence bestowed upon them 166 years ago, and have become an enslaved nation.

For centuries it has been the lot of the Polish people—foremost exponents of democratic ideals—to undergo bitter privation and persecution. We all know that to be the history of Poland—a history replete with constant struggle and sacrifice. The people of our great country, yours and mine, should be forever grateful to the Polish race for their many splendid contributions to liberty.

Today, in the hearts of millions of Polish people, those still behind the Iron Curtain and millions of our own Americans of Polish birth or descent, there

burns the light of freedom that will some day soon bring to Poland a new independence.

I am sure that with few exceptions the people today in Poland would if they could jubilantly join us in this celebration to commemorate the adoption of the Polish constitution and renounce Soviet Russia. Even the iron heel of Soviet Russia cannot prevent the Polish people from a silent and hopeful observance of the anniversary of their great day.

The Poles have never calculated costs when their national pride and existence were at stake. They will fight when there is not an apparent chance of winning. They are the perpetual upholders of the lost but ever-glorious cause: Polish freedom. Battles in the past against Poles have been won, but the war has never been won. There has always been a Poland, even if it existed temporarily only in their hearts.

I pray that some day soon the end will come to the incessant warfare, to the oppression of the small nations, to bloodshed and pain, to intolerance and greed that have frustrated all the attempts of establishing peace and freedom in the world, and have brought tragedy to the lives of countless millions. I pray that the alien regime now in Poland will be hurled out and liberty will again be restored to these courageous people.

This observance of Polish Constitution Day should be another occasion to reassure the subjugated people of Poland that the Government and the people of the United States are dedicated to their peaceful liberation from Soviet bondage.

To Arouse the Conscience of the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

CALL TO A PRAYER PILGRIMAGE FOR FREEDOM TO WASHINGTON, D. C., ON MAY 17, 1957

As we approach the third anniversary of the ruling of the United States Supreme Court against racially segregated public school systems, we invite all believers in the God-given concept of the brotherhood of man and in the American ideal of equality, to assemble, review the national scene, give thanks for the progress to date, and pray for the wiping out of the evils that still beset our Nation.

The May 17, 1954, ruling against State-imposed segregation came about in orderly fashion, through the courts, from the lowest to the highest. Our appeal was based upon the Constitution of the United States of America. It was made after 58 years of enduring the grossly unequal "separate-but-equal" doctrine laid down in 1896. It came after decades of patience and of reliance on morality and justice. It came slowly, step by step.

It came without violence, terror, or assassination. No bombs were thrown. No school shacks were burned down. No Jim Crow trains were dynamited. What was then the law of the land was not defied.

The Negro citizens of the land made the most of their circumstances. They got what education they could for their children. They made out with little or no public recreation. When they traveled they endured insult and physical assaults. They took such jobs as they could get at such wages as they were paid. They lived where they were herded. They were barred from the ballot boxes on election day. They abided by the kind of justice they received in the courts. They served their country in a Jim Crow army. They were victims of the bestial crime of lynching. However, this blanket of inequality and oppression did not completely smother the struggle for human rights. Time after time the challenge was met with steadfastness and courage, even in the face of disheartening odds. The valiant freedom fighters for civil rights became inspiring heroes for our time.

The May 17 decision, then, was a new emancipation. At last Negroes were to be recognized as citizens and the States were forbidden to set them off by law, solely because of race, in public education and elsewhere. In Montgomery the people caught the meaning of the hour and struck a mighty spiritual blow for human dignity.

On the public-school question, 9 States and the District of Columbia have either completed desegregation or have made a beginning. But 8 States have defied the Nation's highest Court and have refused to begin in good faith, with all deliberate speed, to comply with its ruling. In these States privately organized groups have exerted economic pressure upon Negro citizens who have simply asked obedience to the Supreme Court. Men and women have been fired from their jobs. Merchants have been refused credit and goods. Farmers have been denied loans.

The governments of these States have joined the assault on democracy by moving to put the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People out of business. While the NAACP is the declared target of these actions, the true victims are the white and Negro citizens who are thereby restricted in the exercise of their right to freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and petition, and freedom to seek redress of grievances through the courts.

In view of the historic role the association has played in the life of the American Negroes, the attack upon it becomes a very special and particular one upon the constitutional rights of Negro citizens. Abridging the basic rights of citizens is in itself a high crime; but depriving them of the agency through which they have sought, in the courts, to secure these very rights is shameful compounding of the felony. It makes a mockery of citizenship.

The law enforcement agencies of these States have permitted violence to be visited upon individuals and institutions which oppose segregation. Ministers have been arrested, threatened, and shot. Churches and homes have been bombed. Schoolchildren have been threatened by mobs.

Accompanying all this has been a campaign of racial slander of the most vicious and reprehensible nature, typified by characterization of the Negro as inherently criminal and diseased, and as a mental incompetent.

This defiance, this legislative harassment, this economic pressure, this slander and violence have been encouraged by public officials, including mayors, governors, attorneys general, and United States Senators.

At the Federal level the civil rights bill has been trimmed and delayed in the Congress by Members from the States where defiance of the Supreme Court is State policy. The avowed purpose is either to whittle it down to nothing, or to kill it altogether.

One hundred years ago, in the Dred Scott decision, it was held that the Constitution did not include Negroes in its protection of the rights of citizens. Even though a war was fought and the Constitution amended, some States today are seeking to wipe out history and to restore to force the Dred Scott decision of 1857.

In the words of Abraham Lincoln, this is a Nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." We believe its people treasure the heritage of equality before the law. They uphold this principle because they know that every man, whatever his race, religion, or station, must be free if our Nation is to remain strong.

We believe Americans are deeply religious and wish to order their lives and their country according to the great moral truths to be found in our common religious heritage.

As the Founding Americans prayed for strength and wisdom in the wilderness of a new land, as the slaves and their descendants prayed for emancipation and human dignity, as men of every color and clime in time of crisis have sought Divine guidance, so we now, in these troubled and momentous years, call upon all who love justice and dignity and liberty, who love their country, and who love mankind, to join in a prayer pilgrimage to Washington on May 17, 1957, where we shall renew our strength, communicate our unity, and rededicate our efforts, firmly but peaceably, to the attainment of freedom.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH,
President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, CIO.
REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING., JR.,
President, Southern Leaders Conference.
ROY WILKINS,
Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

SPECIAL NEW YORK CHURCH MOBILIZATION

Church mobilizer: The Reverend David N. Licorish, New York, N. Y.

New York City: The Reverend Claude L. Franklyn, chairman, New York Committee, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Bronx organizer: The Reverend George L. Payne, Bronx, N. Y.

Fares New York to Washington, D. C., and return: Bus, $5; train, $9.50.

Polish Constitution Day, May 3, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, we pause today to celebrate the 166th anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution May 3, 1791. This is an important date in the history of Poland. It marks the beginning of modern Poland with a limited monarchy, ministerial responsibility, and biennial parliaments. Much of the obstructive machinery of the old system was abolished and invidious class distinctions were done away with. Absolute religious toleration was established. No sooner was it adopted, however, than it was overthrown by the force of invading Russian armies. Since then, Poland has known

little freedom except for the period between the two World Wars. Today we look forward to the time when Poland may again know true freedom.

For the last 13 years, since the Red army "liberated" Poland from the Nazi forces, the Soviet Union has dominated the Polish government. It has been a Russian satellite. Soviet planners have directed the economy, leading the nation to near bankruptcy. The Polish economy was made completely dependent on Russia, both for markets and machinery parts. Production of consumer goods was curtailed in order to build more heavy machinery for exports to Soviet Russia. The people lost all incentive to work, for the benefits of their labor helped only their Soviet overlords. Communist attempts to collectivize the farms failed. It is reported that the independent-minded Polish peasants resisted collectivization so stubbornly that some 80 percent remained individual farmers despite all the pressures applied by the government. Russian teachers shaped the educational system to teach communism and stamp out the Polish love of liberty and Christian faith. But after 13 years it is manifestly clear that the most stringent Soviet efforts have failed completely. The vast majority of the Polish people are united in their hatred for Soviet oppression and Soviet communism. We have seen testimonies to this resistance in the Poznan uprising last June and in the revolution of October 1956.

Poland now stands in a perilous and uncertain position on the road between slavery and freedom. The question of whether the "nationalist" regime headed by Mr. Gomulka will further increase the freedoms of the Polish people or be swallowed up by the Soviet Union is one which none of us can answer now. Mr. Gomulka is a Communist and could not be classed as a champion of democracy by the wildest stretch of the imagination. He is not a new embodiment of the spirit of the constitution of 1791, except that he too appears to seek the independence of his native land from Russian control. Collectivization has been stopped, religious instruction is again given in the schools to those who desire it, and the Polish people supported his government in the semifree elections held this January. But Gomulka has signed an agreement with Russia that permits the continued stationing of Red troops on Polish soil and he is not seeking to renounce the Warsaw Pact. Still, it is reported that the Soviets are seeking to oust Gomulka and replace him with a lackey similar to the Hungarian, Janos Kadar.

The question of how much freedom Gomulka will really establish in Poland and whether he can continue to resist Soviet domination is a particularly difficult one for Americans today. The Gomulka regime has requested substantial foreign aid credits from the United States. If Russia reasserted her control over Poland, our aid would really be aid to Russia. On the other hand, many are convinced that if United States loans proved effective in relieving some of the most pressing economic difficulties in Poland today, it would enable the Gomulka government to break away from Russia to an even greater extent. This would give inspiration to the peoples living under all the other satellite governments of Eastern Europe. It could show a way to peaceful liberation, by evolution, however slow it may be.

Reports in the newspapers indicate that President Eisenhower favors granting a loan to the Gomulka regime, though a much smaller one than it has requested. All of us who love freedom and who have watched from afar the past oppression of the Polish people will join in the hope that if this step is taken, it will lead toward the eventual realization of full freedom for Poland.

Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 9, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow is Poland's national day, commemorating the anniversary of the adoption on May 3, 1791, of one of the first European constitutions based on democratic and progressive principles. Because of recent events in Poland and Hungary the celebration of Poland's national holiday assumes special importance this year.

Since the Poznan uprising in June and the bloodless Gomulka revoultion of last October, the whole basis of Soviet control in Poland has been challenged. When taken in conjunction with the heroic efforts of the Hungarian freedom fighters, these events assume major historical significance. Communist claims to have won the allegiance of the peoples of the subjugated nations of central and eastern Europe have been shown to be false.

For Poland, as for the other countries of eastern Europe, Communist rule has brought economic ruin; the forced collectivization of agriculture has resulted in dismal failure, and attempts to win the loyalty of the youth workers and intellectuals have been openly repudiated. It is obvious that the vast majority of Poles are wholeheartedly opposed to Soviet control of Poland's foreign policy, to Communist dictatorship as a form of government, and to the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. The present Warsaw government has brought a certain degree of liberalization and has sought to put Poland on a more equal footing in dealing with the Soviet Union. The path to a free and democratic Poland remains a long and hazardous one, but those who know the Polish people have no doubt that this is the path which they will courageously seek to follow.

It is of more than mere symbolic significance that the Soviets for years prohibited the celebration of Poland's national day on May 3, substituting for it the hated July 10 anniversary of Poland's subjugation by the Soviet Union. This year the present Warsaw government has not dared restore May 3 as a formal national holiday, but it has declared that the Polish people may commemorate it privately. This compromise is typical of the precarious balance which the Gomulka regime must maintain in its efforts to attain greater freedom and liberalization for Poland without provoking Russian antagonism beyond the breaking point.

Developments in Poland in this crucial period are of grave importance both for the West and for the Soviet Union. The continuing unrest and discontent in Poland indicate the demand for further reforms. Already collectivization of agriculture has ceased and 80 percent of the collective farms have been dissolved, craftsmen have been allowed to return to their private trades, and small shops under private operation are now permissible. The new leadership has also come to more satisfactory terms with the Catholic church; however, as the recently released Cardinal Wyszyski has pointed out the Polish people must show patience and endurance. Poland is still encircled by Soviet Army divisions, and the West is in no position to help the Poles achieve their aims by resort to armed force.

The Polish nation does, however, look to the West and particularly to America for political, moral and economic support. Continued interest on our part will bring nearer the long-awaited day of complete Polish liberation by peaceful means.

The Iron Curtain which has split Europe for over a decade shows clear signs of rusting away. The efforts of the Polish people to maintain constant pressure on the remaining Soviet bonds of slavery are being closely watched by the other subjugated peoples of Central and Eastern Europe. To aid these peoples in their difficult struggle for freedom the United States must follow a policy of constructive and imaginative leadership.

The War Against Our Immigration Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania, the Honorable FRANCIS E. WALTER, has to his very great credit the enactment of the so-called Walter-McCarran Act. In recent weeks, this law has been the target of many groups who would repeal our immigration law. Mr. WALTER himself has been the recipient of many unfair attacks by these people.

Mr. Speaker, in the April 20 issue of Human Events our colleague submitted an article entitled "The War Against Our Immigration Law." He stated that this drive to repeal our immigration law was spearheaded by Communists, their fellow travelers and others. Under leave to ex-

tend my remarks, I am including the article for insertion in the RECORD as it is a very important statement by a man who helped to write the law and whose only objective, as I see it, is to protect American citizens against unlimited immigration. This law must not be repealed.

THE WAR AGAINST OUR IMMIGRATION LAW

(By Hon. FRANCIS E. WALTER, of Pennsylvania)

Spearheaded by the Communists, their fellow travelers, congressional liberals and spokesmen for the so-called ethnic minority blocs, the assault on America's immigration system is increasing in intensity every month. Attempts to amend or abolish the Immigration and Nationality Act—generally referred to as the Walter-McCarran Act—have become standard operating procedure at every session of Congress since passage of the act in 1952.

In the closing hours of the Congress last year, those who are bent on wrecking our protective immigration system came within a hair's breadth of accomplishing their job of destruction. On the very last day of the session, Senators ARTHUR WATKINS and EVERETT DIRKSEN, in an unprecedented move, appended to a routine bill a series of amendments which would have demolished the national origins quota system and opened the floodgates. These amendments were rushed through the Senate without customary hearings and without committee reports.

In fact, these amendments had not even been printed when they were passed and sent to the House of Representatives—where the wheels had been greased to slip them by in the final rush before adjournment. Amendments of this sort are invariably sent to the appropriate committee before submission to the House. In this particular case, however, the amendments were sent over after the House Judiciary Committee had held its last meeting of the session. As chairman of the Immigration Subcommittee in the House, I was able to head off adoption of these amendments only by persistent effort as the clock was ticking off the closing moments of that body.

These amendments, which have again been introduced in the present Congress, contain provisions which would open every valve the Walter-McCarran Act furnishes for controlling the number and caliber of aliens gaining admission to our shores. If the provisions of these amendments are adopted, the net result will be (1) destruction of our national origins immigration system which gears the flow of immigration for maximum assimilation and for the preservation of our cultural integrity; (2) increase of total annual immigration from around 230,000 to well in excess of 600,000; and (3) emasculation of the chief screening and security safeguards of the present law.

Moreover, unless the rank and file of patriotic citizens—at the crossroads of America—demand of their Senators and Congressmen that they vote against these weakening amendments, they are likely to be adopted in response to the mounting clamor of leftist organizations.

The Committee on Un-American Activities recently disclosed that the Communist party has created over 180 organizations for the purpose of bringing grassroots pressure on the Congress to destroy the Walter-McCarran Act. At the recent convention of the Communist party in New York City, the destruction of this law was one of the two legislative objectives on which the twenty-odd-thousand Communist agents in this country were ordered to concentrate during this year.

The Walter-McCarran Immigration Act, the result of 4½ years of painstaking research and exhaustive hearings, represents the simplification and codifying of 148 different immigration and naturalization laws. It has two chief purposes: (1) To insure that the citizens of the United States—whatever their ancestry—will form a true nation, not a hodgepodge of unassimilated ethnic minority groups; and (2) to keep from our shores criminals, Communists, and other subversives.

To understand what danger lies in the current proposals to change this law, it is necessary to understand just what the Walter-McCarran Act provides, and the principles it embodies.

The Immigration and Nationality Act (Public Law 414, 82d Cong.) became law on June 26, 1952, over the veto of President Truman. Congress overrode Truman's veto by a vote of 278 to 113 in the House, and a vote of 57 to 26 in the Senate. As those figures suggest, the passage was a "bipartisan" effort. It was a faithful concensus of national sentiment on the subject of immigration.

Until Congress stamped its decisive approval on the Walter-McCarran Act, American immigration law was a snarl of separately enacted, and in many cases conflicting, statutes. Numerous injustices, such as racial exclusion, resulted from this tangle. On the other hand, many aliens were admitted who should have been kept out. One of the gravest weaknesses in our old laws was the fact that our immigration and naturalization policy were not coordinated. The result of this failing was that ethnic blocs grew up within our country, estranged from the society about them. Such enclaves are notoriously easy pickings for unscrupulous politicians, and often prove fertile ground for the seeds of Communist agitation.

The Communist question is, in many ways, the most serious that the Walter-McCarran Act is designed to handle. Prof. Louis Budenz testified before the Senate Immigration Subcommittee that the "general world pattern pursued by the Kremlin" shows that "* * * the direct responsibility shall be in the hands of aliens in any respective country in which operations are carried on. It is the fixed design of Moscow to employ aliens in the most responsible positions in every country. This assures that nostalgia and patriotism may be reduced to the minimum. * * * The native Communist leader, therefore, is always under the control of a superior, who is an alien, or an ex-alien, the latter having received his citizenship merely in order to serve the Kremlin more effectively."

This is, obviously, a common sense measure by the Communists. While I am convinced that the vast majority of our naturalized citizens are loyal Americans, I think it is apparent that immigrants coming to our shores with prior loyalties, can function as subversives with less emotional stress than native-born citizens. The shrewdness of the Communists in exploiting this fact is borne out by this startling information: analysis of approximately 5,000 of the more militant members of the Communist Party revealed that 91.5 percent were either of foreign birth, married to persons of foreign birth, or born of foreign parents. Over half traced their origins to Russia and the satellite countries. It is beyond question, therefore, that prior loyalties, in the form of cultural and emotional commitments, are used to advantage by the Communists.

To combat this grave danger, the Immigration and Nationality Act incorporated provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950, enabling immigration authorities to screen out subversive elements. The immigration law now provides for deportation of alien Communists, and cancellation of the citizenship of naturalized Communists who obtained citizenship fraudulently. It also tightens up procedures for screening out criminals, prostitutes, narcotic-addicts, and the like.

The method devised for achieving maximum assimilation of aliens admitted—and minimum politicking—is called the national origins quota system. This formula was introduced in the Immigration Act of 1924, and has been retained in the present law. It provides that the annual quota for any 1 of the 85 major quota areas shall equal one-sixth of 1 percent of the number of inhabitants of the United States, computed from the 1920 census, originating in that area. The total number of quota immigrants now admissible each year is 154,657. Additionally, a substantial number of nonquota immigrants are admitted each year. These include husbands, wives, and children of American citizens and natives of independent countries of the Western Hemisphere. There is no numerical limitation on the entrance of nonquota immigrants, and their numbers swell the ranks of immigrants coming to this country to well over 225,000 annually.

In the fiscal year 1956, the United States admitted 321,625 immigrants—people who took up permanent residence in this country. Of this number, 232,315 were admitted under our regular immigration laws and 89,310 were admitted under the so-called Refugee Relief Act, which is in reality only a device for admission of more aliens into this country through the back door. These figures represent substantial increases over fiscal year 1955, and the trend indicates that the pressure upon our immigration system will increase proportionately each year.

The national origins system is vilified, in the chant of the immigration hucksters, as racist, bigoted, and reactionary. These accusations are summed up in the classic phrase of the demagog bidding for minority bloc votes: the national origins system, it is charged, makes second-class citizens of immigrants.

All of these accusations are false. The Walter-McCarran Act is, in many essential respects, the most liberal immigration law in the world. The charge of racism is especially ludicrous. The truth is that this immigration statute removed, for the first time, racial bars to immigration. The quotas for Asiatic countries are now determined by the same formula as those for European countries, i. e., according to the proportion that their group in our country bears to the total population. Congressman WALTER H. JUDD, an acknowledged authority on the Far East, has said that "this law removes, at one stroke, the remaining racial discriminations in our nationality and immigration laws which have so greatly contributed to ill feeling in many parts of the world."

The culminating charge, that the national origins system creates second-class citizens, is the most hypocritical of all. A second-class citizen we are informed, is someone who is denied opportunities open to the rest of society, and who is thereby placed on unequal footing with his fellow citizens. The national origins system produces no such results. In fact, it is the expressed purpose of that system to make sure that all new citizens, by assimilation into society, are given equal opportunities, and are placed on an equal footing with everyone else. On the other hand, it is those who thrive on manipulated ethnic votes, who want, desperately, to create second-class citizens. These vote hucksters want to build up blocs whose interests are cut off from those of the country at large. Isolated from many of the main issues that are vital to the United States, these bocs are perfect material for the political demagog.

The political impulse behind many of the attacks on the national origins system can be seen when we inspect the proposed alternatives. The chief substitute which has, from time to time, been proposed is the unified quota system. Under this system, ad-

missions would not be decided on an automatic, mathematical basis. Rather, the power to determine admission would be vested in a commission, politically appointed. Such a change is roughly one from a government of laws to a government of men. It would instantly convert immigration from a policy conducted in the national interest to a policy directed by political greed—in which each pressure group would strive to make its particular influence felt, and in which the demagogs would attempt to jam through blocs of immigrants representing just so many captive votes. The national origins system is the only impartial method of quota allocations ever devised. In the explosive context of immigration, setting up a system free of political conniving is a major job in itself.

The national origins controversy boils down to this: Is there such a thing as the United States? Do the American people have a culture which unites them as a nation? If we are to judge by results, the answer to these questions has to be "yes." There is something about America which has made it great and strong, and which has made it and kept it free, although—in my opinion—it has nothing to do with race or superiority or inferiority. Rather, it is a matter of basic ideology, cultural attitudes, of a common heritage. That we are a nation of immigrants is indeed a part of that heritage, but the emphasis in that phrase is on the word "nation." We are immigrants who have fused into one people, with one national loyalty—to the United States of America.

This country can continue in its great traditions only if its citizens understand and believe in them. New citizens, therefore, must be brought in by a pattern and in degrees which will allow them to become a true part of American life. Immigration which contradicts this pattern or which exceeds those degrees is a disservice to the immigrant and our society alike.

As part of the clipping away of the national origins system, it is proposed that the base year—1920—chosen for establishing the total number of admissible quota immigrants, be changed to 1950. This one amendment, if enacted, would not only increase the quotas by about 85,000 annually, but would change the entire complexion of the cultural composition of immigration to this country. Because of numerous special enactments (such as the displaced persons law and the Refugee Relief Act) and a disproportionate use of quotas by natives of certain countries, the flow of immigration during the last several years has not been patterned to maintain the cultural balance of our population.

Another pending amendment is to apply the unused portion from large quotas to the waiting lists for small quotas. By completely rearranging the apportionment of visas, this proposal would further weaken the national origins system. Current attempts to alter the quota provisions relating to the Asia-Pacific triangle—by which orientals born in Western Hemisphere countries are chargeable to oriental quotas—would have the same effect. Another attempt to destroy the "national origins" system is the proposal that dependent colonies take over the unused quotas of their mother country. All of these proposals are thinly veiled attempts to wreck the national origins quota system, which is vital to the preservation of the basic cultural composition of our society. For that reason, they must be defeated.

The onslaught on or immigration laws is not limited to the national origins system. The tactic is to strike from many directions at once, with the hope that through sheer weight of numbers, some of the amendments will get through.

Here are some of the other proposals that have been introduced in the House and Senate:

1. It is proposed that a Board of Visa Appeals be established to review consular decisions granting or withholding visas, with its decisions in turn subject to judicial review. This means that immigration to the United States would assume the status of an adjudicable right of aliens, rather than a privilege.

2. Under the present law, the consular officers may refuse to issue a visa if they have reason to believe that an alien seeks to enter the United States for purposes detrimental to the welfare or security of the country. It is proposed that the consular officers be forced to establish in court their grounds for refusal. Again, this makes immigration a right, rather than privilege. It would also force the Government, at the demand of an alien, to disclose secret security information.

3. It is urged that broad discretionary power be vested in the Attorney General to admit aliens—outside the quotas—when he deems it in the public interest, and to permit aliens who have illegally entered the country to remain here permanently. The net effect of such provisions would be to open a huge gap in our immigration laws and to put a premium on illegal entry, when there are an estimated 3 to 5 million aliens illegally in the United States already.

4. The Walter-McCarran Act provides that an alien who has received, in the United States, pardon for a crime is exempt from deportation. It is proposed that this benefit include those pardoned for crimes by other countries. Such a provision, of course, would place power over immigration to the United States, in such cases, in the hands of foreign governments.

5. The present law stipulates that naturalized citizens who return to their homeland and establish residence for 3 years, or who establish residence in some other country for 5, lose their citizenship. It is proposed that such residence abroad should not be cause for loss of citizenship. The effect of this proposal would be to confer upon aliens the benefits of American citizenship, and then to permit them to evade the duties of citizenship.

Analysis of these and literally dozens of other pending amendments reveals a common thread: they all aim to subordinate the interests of the United States to the interests of other countries and their citizens. This is, in fact, the major theme of diatribes against the Walter-McCarran Act. It is asserted that Europe, Asia, and almost every country in the world, are suffering from too many people, and too little wealth. Therefore, they say, it is the "duty" of the United States to accept the population surplus of other nations, irrespective of their assimilability or our own population problems.

This is not the philosophy by which I have been guided in my career in the Congress. I believe that the first duty of an elected representative of the American people is to serve his own country. It is quite true that the population of the world, like the population of the United States, is expanding rapidly. Europe's surplus population alone is estimated at 79 million. The Far East is a vast sea of humanity with a combined population totaling almost a billion people. To suppose that the United States, through its immigration policy, can cure the problems presented by such masses of people is sheer folly. If we should open wide the floodgates to receive humanity's surplus, we would not improve the lot of the underprivileged countries of the world. We would only succeed in dragging ourselves down closer to their level.

While other nations of the world may, through envy or misunderstanding, want us to follow such a policy, they would suffer from it as much as we. For it is only as long as the United States remains strong and free that it can hold back the tide of communism. If we go under, they will go with us.

Rhode Island Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AIME J. FORAND
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, on May 4 Rhode Island will be celebrating the anniversary of its freedom. One hundred and eighty-one years ago the bells tolled for the brave people of Rhode Island, granting them their independence from their mother country, Great Britain.

In course of time, events are overlooked and personal sufferings unrelated. But, these brave colonists endured such inequities with a strong determination to shake themselves of this yoke. True to the tradition of democracy the people imposed their will upon the legislators of the time to act, and swiftly, to rid themselves of the rule of a tyrannical ancestor. It was on the 4th of May 1776, that the Rhode Island Assembly adopted the resolution renouncing allegiance to the British King. This act was the initial spark of freedom that fired the Congress of the United States to take similar action 2 months later.

Although Rhode Islanders have always been noted for their individual initiative and independence, the people of the State have stood together when they knew their cause was just. Rhode Island was the first of the 13 colonies to declare complete independence of Great Britain, and it was the last to ratify the Federal Constitution, refraining until it felt that certain inequities had been corrected.

The events which led up to these developments were hard pills to swallow by this little colony. Colonial resentment found expression in a series of incidents, many of which occurred in Rhode Island. As early as 1764 Newporters climaxed a riot with crewmen of the British schooner *St. John* by firing upon the vessel with cannons. The following year a Newport mob, angered by impressment of American seamen, seized and burned one of the boats of the British vessel *Maidstone*. Most famous in this series of incidents was the burning of the British revenue schooner *Gaspee*.

The colonial spirit of independency was the rock on which Britain's North American empire was finally wrecked. Accustomed for more than a generation to little or no taxation, and to nearly complete freedom in the management of their internal affairs, the colonists were disposed to resent every British attempt to strengthen colonial administration.

In 1774 Rhode Island gave support to the calling of the Continental Congress, naming as delegates the former political rivals Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward. In 1775, upon receipt of the news of Concord and Lexington, the general assembly created an army of observation—most of the troops later joined Washington's Continental Army. The same year the assembly commissioned its own navy, consisting of two units, to protect the colony's trade. Before the year was out, this force had attacked and

captured a vessel of the Royal Navy. On May 4, 1776, the Rhode Island General Assembly climaxed its program of resistance by formally declaring its freedom from Britain. This action, taken 2 months before the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia, made Rhode Island the first sovereign State established by Europeans in the New World.

Mr. Speaker, in keeping with our great past, Rhode Island will celebrate its second annual Heritage Week this year over a 10-day period, from May 3 to 12. Events honoring our historic inheritance are being scheduled and will include pageants, ceremonies, exhibits, and open-house invitations on a statewide scale, including many of our most treasured historic sites and shrines.

The heritage of Rhode Island is a continuing thing, a patrimony passed on from generation to generation. New honors, new accomplishments, new discoveries—all are based upon that devotion to liberty and integrity that was implicit in the founding of our State. The many industries that make Rhode Island renowned today had their beginnings in the humble crafts of our State's settlers. The culture of Rhode Island is the contribution of those made welcome by this State's tradition of freedom of conscience. Our schools and universities stem from the love of learning that distinguished Roger Williams and his followers.

Many illustrious names are woven into the fabric of Rhode Island history: Roger Williams, William Blackstone, John Clarke, and William Coddington, John and Moses Brown, Gen. Nathaniel Green, Stephen and Esek Hopkins, Oliver Hazard Perry, Gilbert Stuart, John Goddard, Peter Harrison, and Samuel Slater. These and many more have helped to make our Nation strong and secure and have contributed to its economy and culture.

Kentucky Judge Exposes "Legal Railroading" in Our Mental Hospitals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I have here a letter written to the Honorable Basil H. Pollitt by Lawrence S. Grauman, judge of the Jefferson circuit court of Louisville, Ky., which gives a vivid account of how people are arbitrarily committed to mental institutions without being given their constitutional right or "due process of law," and other practices which appear to be common throughout the Nation, judging from reports I have had, under which persons who are not insane are nevertheless confined in institutions or mental hospitals.

In view of the fact that I have introduced House Concurrent Resolution 98, now in the Rules Committee, which provides for a thorough investigation of all mental health programs being currently promoted, I believe the facts brought forth in Judge Grauman's letter will prove of interest to my colleagues, and to all others who are interested in protecting the rights of persons being thus "railroaded":

MAY 22, 1956.

The Honorable BASIL H. POLLITT,
DeLand, Fla.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of May 8, 1956, and read with interest the copy of the Cross which you enclosed.

You have requested a letter from me outlining the facts relative to situations which I have encountered as circuit judge where persons charged with being mentally ill are committed to State institutions without the safeguards provided for by law being followed.

Until 1954 all mental inquests were held in the criminal branch of the Jefferson circuit court (there being nine judges of the Jefferson cricuit court—5 common law, 2 chancery and 2 criminal). Some of the good citizens of Jefferson County interested in improving the conditions existing at our State mental institutions requested that the five common law judges alternate in presiding at mental inquests. In the spring of 1954 this new policy was inaugurated. I was astounded to find that a system was being used which did not afford due process to the defendants in the mental health cases. The Kentucky Revised Statutes provide for a presiding judge to appoint a member of the bar to represent and protect the interests of the defendant. KRS 202.050. The practice had been followed of appointing any attorney who happened to be in court the day the hearing came up, and thus the attorney had not previously conferred with the defendant to ascertain whether the defendant had a defense and wanted any witnesses summoned on his behalf.

KRS 202.130 provides that the presence of the defendant can be dispensed with if the oral testimony or the affidavits of two physicians who examined him contain the statement that they have examined him and that they believe his condition is such that it would be unsafe or unwise to bring him into court. I found that for an extended period of time prior to the common law judge presiding at the inquests defendants who were temporarily detained either in the psychiatric ward of the Louisville General Hospital or at the Central State Hospital in Jefferson County were never produced at the trial, but that either the two doctors who examined the defendant testified or sent affidavits that it would be unsafe or unwise to bring the defendant into court.

The Kentucky law provides for detention of the defendant pending a final trial where certain conditions exist, such as where a person has been arrested on a warrant based on an affidavit that the defendant is violent and dangerous; also where, in accordance with the statute, that person has been committed for 35 days for observation.

As a result of some newspaper publicity, I started receiving letters from inmates at Central State Hospital who claimed they had been committed without ever being personally summoned or personally present at the trial. I examined the files pertaining to some of these cases and was astonished to find that in many instances the defendant was not personally served and was not in court at the trial, but that the physician or person in charge of the defendant had been served. In a few instances I found that no process of any nature or description had been served on the physician or person having charge of the defendant or upon the defendant, and that the defendant had not been personally present at the trial.

After making an exhaustive research of the law, I came to the conclusion that even though the wording of the Kentucky statute warranted the interpretation that the defendant did not have to be personally served as long as the physician or person having him in charge and the nearest relative was served, a judgment rendered adjudicating the defendant to be a person of unsound mind under these circumstances, and where the defendant was not personally in court, was absolutely void—the defendant having been denied due process of law. I further came to the conclusion after reading numerous criminal cases, some from the Supreme Court of the United States, where an attorney had not been appointed in proper time to represent a defendant charged with crime, that unless the attorney appointed for the defendant in a mental inquest proceeding was appointed prior to the trial and actually went out and interviewed the defendant, the defendant was being denied due process of law.

KRS 202.120 dealing with the 35-day commitment for observation, provides that if within 30 days after admission by court order the institution finds that the person is insane (phychotic), a certificate to that effect shall be furnished and the inquest shall be held without appointing examiners (two physicians), who are appointed by the court, to examine the defendant. KRS 202.120 further provides: "And the court, instead of appointing examiners as provided for under KRS 202.100, shall admit as evidence the certificate above referred to in this subsection."

I have refused to permit any final hearing to be had where the evidence as to the defendant's mental illness was solely the certificate provided for by KRS 202.120, which certificate has generally been in the form of a joint affidavit of the two physicians from the mental hospital that the defendant is insane (psychotic). I do not see how an attorney appointed to represent a defendant could cross-examine a joint affidavit or a certificate, and therefore I believe that a defendant is being denied due process of law where he is not personally present in court and where the two doctors from the hospital where the defendant was committed for observation do not appear in person and give their testimony but send in a joint affidavit in the form of a certificate.

I personally believe that the presence of the defendant should not be dispensed with unless at least one doctor appears in person before the jury at the inquest and gives facts and not conclusions showing why it would be unsafe or unwise to bring the defendant into court.

I realize the difficult situation which confronts some of the honest, conscientious psychiatrists connected with either the Veterans' Administration Hospitals or the Central and other State hospitals. In many instances the defendant is violent and upset, and the service of a summons on the defendant might have an adverse effect and the interview of the defendant by an attorney appointed might excite the defendant. However, under the law a defendant is presumed to be sane until he is in a proper judicial proceeding adjudicated to be insane; and in view of the 14th amendment to the Federal Constitution, which provides that no person shall be denied his liberty without due process of law, I have consistently refused to permit any case to be tried before me unless the defendant was personally served or was present in court, and unless the attorney appointed to defend the defendant has had the opportunity to interview the defendant in person before the trial, and unless there is competent medical testimony given orally before the court and

the jury at the mental inquest proceeding. I am pleased to state that I have gotten cooperation from the psychiatrists at the Veterans' Hospital and from the superintendent at the Central State Hospital. However, from personal investigation I have found that there are numerous senile persons who have previously been committed to a State mental hospital where there has been absolutely no compliance with the due process of law clause and where such persons are not insane but troublesome and their children or other members or their families have been responsible for their incarceration in a State mental hospital.

I believe that the public is being alerted to the situations which have existed in the past with reference to defendants being adjudicated of unsound mind where such defendants were not accorded the protection of the due process clause, and that in the future there will be fewer instances of defendants being committed to mental institutions without the defendants' rights being securely guarded under the due process clause.

Unfortunately the victims of these situations where due process of law has been denied are generally humble people without influence and without finances, and therefore very little attention has been paid to their plight. I trust that you and your associates will pursue your efforts to safeguard the rights of those charged with being mentally ill and will thus bring about a better understanding of the strict requirements of the law and of both the Federal and State constitutions with reference to mental health proceedings.

Yours very truly,

LAWRENCE S. GRAUMAN,
Judge, Jefferson Circuit Court, Common Pleas Branch, Fifth Division.

We rest our case. A respected and eminent judge has spoken. Dynamite has exploded. Legal railroading is no longer a myth—it is an established fact. If you are interested in stopping legal railroading or wish to ask questions regarding Judge Grauman, send them to Basil H. Pollitt, editor of the Cross.

Address by Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, USN, Chief of Naval Operations, Before the English Speaking Union, London, England, Monday, April 1, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the House the address by Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, before the English Speaking Union in London, England, on April 1, 1957:

Ladies and gentlemen, it is an honor to be here. I have long looked forward to paying another visit to England.

I am here today as a sailor, but I would like to emphasize at the beginning that our defense team consists of an Army, a Navy, an Air Force, and the Marines. Each service is carefully balanced in relation to others.

The world is changing. Some of the changes are so far reaching that it is impossible to comprehend the full impact of all of them.

The world population, for example, is increasing at an unprecedented rate. It looks as if it may triple in the next hundred years.

Land frontiers of the world have all but disappeared. About the only areas on the surface of the earth which remain to challenge man's pioneering spirit and ingenuity in the years ahead are the oceans. Beyond that is the space above us.

The time may come, of course, when we may be able to pioneer on some other planet. But today our problem is to get along on this particular planet.

Technological change is accelerating. Land transportation, water transportation, and air transportation technology is progressing at a very rapid rate. The need to transport people and material among nations is expanding year by year.

At sea, our nuclear-powered submarine *Nautilus* cruised, on her first core, the equivalent of 24 Atlantic crossings, or 2½ times around the world, without refueling.

Guided and ballistic missiles are soon to become commonplace methods for delivery of destructive power—and times of delivery will be measured in minutes. Antiaircraft surface-to-air guided missiles already in operation have demonstrated phenomenal accuracy against aircraft targets.

The destructive power of weapons has increased tremendously. The world is haunted by the specter of a nuclear exchange between rival population centers.

Defense costs are rising steeply, yet satisfactory solutions to our security problems still seem far away.

More people, more speed and more destructive power have created among us a feeling of global claustrophobia. Many have become so mesmerized by the possibility of massive devastation that other more practical, and perhaps less futile, solutions to our problems are being overlooked.

In times like these, men are compelled to search for new and better answers to their problems. If enough of us search hard enough, better answers will surely be found, and perhaps not too far in the future.

In our search for better answers, we are mindful that certain things have not changed very much. I shall mention only a few.

First of all, geopraphy—the basic geography of this planet—has not changed very much. The mountains remain where they were. So do the deserts, the plains and the seas. Land areas constitute less than one-third of the surface of the earth. The water areas, covering the rest of the world, still remain relatively untouched.

Another thing which has not changed very much is human nature. People are land conscious.

People understand land problems more readily than they do sea problems. Most of the research and development talent of the human race is devoted to the solution of land problems. That portion of the total human effort available, which is devoted to sea matters, still remains very small.

Nevertheless, human liberty and national independence seem to bear some kind of relationship to an understanding of the sea. The British, more than any other people in the world, bear witness to the fact that sea consciousness and independence are related.

Today, from the interior of Asia, totalitarianism threatens the maritime world. Totalitarianism is again on the march. This threat has taken many forms over the years, as it alternately pressed against the maritime world and then receded. Communist totalitarianism is reaching out—seeking to subjugate more people and to control more territory. The cycle has begun again.

Consciously and sometimes unconsciously, the maritime world has united when threatened with totalitarian aggression. More often than not, this unity has been rather loose and informal. It has been a unity born of common ideals and common purposes, in the face of a common threat. It has been a common advance toward common goals.

Rarely have all members of this wonderful maritime federation proceeded along precisely the same path—or at the same rate—or in rigid cadence. Yet, the fact remains that this loose, informal maritime association has been, almost from the beginning, one of the most powerful, consistent and constructive influences in the history of civilization. No people on the face of the earth have contributed more to this freedom-maritime concept than have the British.

Continental-minded conquerors have long sought to subjugate these British Isles. None ever understood why the accomplishment of this should be so difficult. There may even be a few today who still do not understand. It is doubtful whether Napoleon ever understood how his losses at sea, far beyond his shores, were spinning a web from which he would never escape.

Hitler would probably have missed the point and been well pleased had he known after Dunkirk that your great Prime Minister had stripped these islands to reinforce the Middle East. There were perhaps, in those days too, many who would have placed less emphasis on striking the enemy in distant theaters and more on home defense installations. The free world owes much to the fact that such advice did not prevail.

New weapons and new techniques have increased the vulnerability of all types of installations. This is particularly true of fixed bases which can be acurately located well in advance of attack. We in the United States Navy are particularly concerned about the increased vulnerability of stationary bases which support our forces at sea. To us in the Navy this means greater emphasis on moving forces, such as mobile carrier striking forces, and less reliance on stationary bases for support.

New technologies have done something more. They have disinterred the ancient claim that a weapon has at last been found that will sweep surface ships from the seas.

This is, of course, an old story to sailors. For some reason or other, the development of a new weapon has almost invariably been accompanied by a claim that navies were finished.

To take only recent examples, in the 19th century, it was the rifled gun that was to do us in. Then it was the torpedo, the submarine, the airplane and the atomic bomb. Now the nuclear-powered submarine is the weapon that finally is to sink all ships at sea.

Let us not underestimate the threat of the nuclear-powered, missile-firing submarine. However, new weapons will also be put to work to assist the free world navies in controlling and using the seas. Instead of spelling the doom of navies, powerful new weapons invariably add to our strength at sea.

The need to use the oceans is greater today than ever before. The tonnage of material moved by sea continues to increase year after year. Over 99½ percent of the total world volume of trade moves by sea. Less than one-half of 1 percent moves by air.

Survival under attack depends on the ability of the free world to come quickly to the support of beleagured nations by sea—with modern, hard-hitting army, navy, and air force teams. The free world will continue to use the surface of the seas. The fact is that there can be no free world unless we do.

There can be no free world association unless its navies are kept up to date. Guns can no longer shoot down modern, high-flying planes. Guided missiles are needed. Navies must be equipped with the modern weapons and equipment needed to meet all threats at sea. Modern weapons and equipment are needed to cope with the innumerable tasks which navies must perform.

Modern weapons and equipment are costly. They weigh heavily on the economy of the richest nations.

The Royal Navy is to be congratulated on the steps it has taken, and will take, to maintain modern effectiveness. Modern devices, such as the new aircraft, Scimitar and

Sea Vixen; the guided missile, Sea Slug, and other modern devices of which we have heard encouraging reports, will all be needed in the future.

It is not easy, as I have found from painful experience, to make the decision to spend large portions of the funds available to a navy on new equipment. Nevertheless, it is a necessary decision.

We in the United States Navy are convinced that naval power will have a greater influence on the lives and affairs of nations in the years ahead than it has ever had in the past.

In the nuclear-missile age, even more than in the past, the side which commands the seas will not be defeated. The greatness of Britain bears testimony to her long appreciation of this fundamental principle.

Technologically, we in the United States Navy feel that we are now moving ahead, after an initial period when naval developments seemed to lag behind developments in land-based weapons. Many of the wonderful ideas which we are using in our new ships we owe to our colleagues in the Royal Navy.

Of particular significance are some of the contributions you have made to the effectiveness of our mobile carrier striking forces: steam catapults, the angled carrier deck, the mirror-landing system, to name a few.

We look forward to still more naval progress as the sea consciousness of the free world increases, as it surely will and must. All of us should develop the habit of looking ahead toward the seapower of the future, before our Communist competitors, who are learning fast about these things, take the oceans away from us. Everything possible must be done to interest more of the creative and industrial genius of our countries in the solution of oceanic problems.

Turning now to the specific problem of free world security in the nuclear-missile age, three things appear to be necessary:

First, our main defenses must be advanced as far toward the enemy threat as possible. In event of nuclear attack it is doubtful whether defensive weapons based in home territories can get into action soon enough or far enough away to provide good protection for vital areas.

The ocean areas of the world present opportunities to gain more time and space for defense. The location of ships at sea is generally unknown to an enemy. Ships must be searched for and located before they can be attacked. This takes extra time.

Ships are deployed away from home, away from population centers of the homeland, near possible trouble areas. This gives the free world extra space. The side which has extra time and space has a decisive advantage.

Next, offensive weapons must be deployed as close to the source of the threat as possible. This provides another significant time and space advantage in event of attack. It adds substantially to the weight of fire that can be delivered on target for a given expenditure of resources. This means superior economy of force, more attack capability for the amount of money expended.

Third, additional dispersal and meneuvering space must be found. The one remaining area of the world where space is relatively inexpensive, and where unlimited dispersal can be achieved without interfering with people, is the oceans of the world.

To insure that these vast ocean spaces remain available for the free world, we must be able to control them, use them, and deny them to our enemies. This requires a collective free world effort. No single free world nation can accomplish this vast assignment alone.

We in the United States Navy are convinced that an ever-increasing portion of the offensive and defensive power of the future must be deployed in the ocean spaces of the world. This applies to Soviet power as well as to free world power. One need only contemplate the tremendous Soviet naval program, and their persistent efforts to gain access to ice-free coastal areas, to conclude that they recognize this.

The Soviet naval building program was started at a time when they were short of everything, at a time when they were still rebuilding from World War II devastation. Their purpose is quite apparent. They propose to have the means to deny the free world use of the seas. If they ever gain that ability, they will have achieved their goal of world domination.

The Soviets are emphasizing submarine construction. They are building them in huge numbers. They apparently see in the submarine a means of launching guided missiles against the United States. They see in the submarine an opportunity to inflict terrible losses on free world shipping, perhaps even exceeding the accomplishments of Hitler's submarines, which destroyed millions of tons.

The large number of submarines in the Soviet Fleet are a grave menace today to the sea communications upon which our partnership depends.

In event of nuclear war, the power to survive the initial assault, the power to recover, the power to organize, the power to shift resources, and the power to carry on to victory depends on the ability of our navies to move on the seas, to control them and to bring tremendous power to bear where it is needed, when it is needed.

For over four centuries the leaders of England have brought independence, prosperity and security to their country through their incomparable understanding of the oceans. Today, when the ocean spaces clearly hold the key to the future, the free world continues to look to England's deep, historical knowledge of the sea for inspiration and guidance.

Those of the free world who understand these things must persist in their efforts to call attention to the importance of the oceans in this nuclear-missile age. Our greatest danger as free people lies in the failure to recognize our oceanic opportunities, rather than in lack of techniques or courage to deal with the enemy.

In the oceans will be found the mobility which we need to move with superior force to the aid of those among us who are threatened with aggression.

In the vastness of the oceans will be found the space to disperse and maneuver the powerful offensive-defensive complexes of the future.

In the oceans will be found the means of deterring or defeating nuclear aggression and the means of keeping local wars localized.

It is the oceans which bind together the tremendously superior power of the free world. The oceans bind the NATO alliance together. Without their use our great partnership cannot exist.

We in the United States Navy firmly believe that free world survival in the years ahead depends to a very large degree on the sea-consciousness of its peoples and governments. Through proper use of the oceans the free world can continue to confront the modern-day totalitarian with overwhelming force, overwhelming resources, better manpower, and better scientific and industrial talent. The oceans provide new opportunities for the solution of some of the most pressing problems of our time. They are the key to many of our future security problems, at a price we can afford to pay.

One of the hardest problems in the world is determining the proper balance to be maintained within a nation's military forces. This requires the best professional military experience and the best professional military judgment the Nation has available. My experience with this problem over a period of several years has impressed me with the tremendous contribution made by each of the military services to the overall defense effort. Each service has an indispensable, very specialized part to play. No single service can perform successfully without the help of the others. The military power of a nation rests in the united, balanced effort of all the services, each contributing its best in its own field, each supporting the others in their fields.

In the broader framework of all alliance, this team concept applies equally well. In it lies our best hope of safeguarding a free world which our oceanic strength makes possible.

Address of H. C. Rumble, Regional Director, Post Office Department, Cincinnati Region, on the Occasion of the Dedication of the New Post Office at Hebron, Ohio, April 24, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am enclosing an address given by Mr. H. C. Rumble, regional director, Post Office Department, Cincinnati region. This address was given at the dedication of the new post office at Hebron, Ohio, and I believe Mr. Rumble's remarks are worthwhile reading. I am sure he has set forth some facts that will be of interest, not only to Members of Congress, but to our entire citizenry:

Congressman J. HARRY McGREGOR, Mayor Hashor, Reverend Smith, District Operations Manager Risley, Assistant District Operations Manager Courtney, Ralph Bennett, national executive committeeman of the National League of Postmasters, distinguished guests, fellow postal workers, ladies and gentlemen and friends, this is far from the first time I have been called upon to make an address on a program dedicating a new post office or other postal facility. The novelty may have worn off but my feeling of pride of accomplishment which I share with each and every one of you remains undimmed. These occasions are always happy ones.

This new and beautiful post office in Hebron, Ohio, with its adequate work area, its platform and parking facilities, its excellent equipment, just didn't happen—it resulted from careful planning and sincere, intelligent and dedicated effort starting with Arthur E. Summerfield, our great Postmaster General. He has fulfilled the commission assigned him by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who asked him to improve postal services while effecting economies."

It would be unfair to your own Congressman J. HARRY McGREGOR and your Senators JOHN W. BRICKER and FRANK J. LAUSCHE if I failed to point out that the Nation's legislative bodies are responsible for keeping us in business by providing the necessary funds with which to operate the postal service, and I am confident that they are justly proud of this structure because it more adequately serves the constituents they so ably represent.

I feel very much at home here in Hebron, Ohio today. In fact, I feel much at home anywhere within the great Cincinnati postal region, where I have worked so many years.

The region embraces the great States of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, with 48,000 dedicated postal workers, 4,000 of whom are postmasters, all engaged in the great task of moving the mails promptly and efficiently for the 17 million people in the region.

I would like to take a little time today to tell you some of the facts about the decentralization of the Post Office Department. It began in Cincinnati November 24, 1953. On that date the Cincinnati regional office was established, the "pilot" region, after which 14 more regions were activated. All the regions have now been established, the latest in Wichita, Kans., in February 1956.

It has long been the argument of intelligent thinkers that the sprawling postal establishment reaching into every part of the Nation and its possessions and employing 520,000 people, could best be operated through decentralization. Webster's New International Dictionary mentions decentralization particularly of public affairs. In the case of the postal system the word specifically means "move out from a center." Until November 24, 1953, that center was in Washington, D. C. On that date, Postmaster General Summerfield, addressing some 1,200 postmasters of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, launched regionalization—the greatest revolutionary program in the postal service since the pony express. This decentralized management of the Post Office Department brings it right out to the individual post offices through Joseph Risley, my capable district operations manager and his staff, headquartered in Columbus, Ohio. It also brings the district transportation manager near to the scene of operation and all problems other than those of high policy, can be settled right at the scene of action, promptly and correctly.

Mr. Summerfield came to head the postal system in much the same manner as many of his predecessors. He had been the national chairman of his political party, the springboard for numerous postmasters general through the years. One might have expected him to follow the general policies of those whom he succeeded, yet the fact remains that under Arthur E. Summerfield there has been less politics in the postal service than during any period within my memory, and my service began over 45 years ago.

Only a short time ago the President nominated Mr. Summerfield for postmaster general for another 4-year term. He was promptly and unanimously confirmed, a great tribute to a great public servant, and mind you, praise came from both sides of the aisle for him. The Postmaster General is the only member of the President's Cabinet who has to be confirmed by the Senate.

Editorial comment throughout the Nation was highly favorable also. The President's decision serves as a strong endorsement of the program of Mr. Summerfield, who brought sound business management into the Department, which had been sadly devoid of modern business concepts for many years. The concept of decentralization was not now one of dictating to postmasters through the regional and district offices, but one of helpfulness to them. In the Cincinnati region there are nine district offices located as follows: Cleveland, Cincinnati, Toledo, and Columbus, Ohio; Louisville and Lexington, Ky.; Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, and Evansville, Ind. There are also 12 district transportation managers located strategically throughout the region. Each district office has a manager and assistant manager and appropriate staff, men who have been schooled in the postal service and selected carefully for postal assignments because of their knowledge of the operation of the postal service.

District managers are given a wide latitude of authority in helping solve operating problems. They are nearby to counsel with postmasters, to help them discover leaks in scheduling and use of man-hours which are sometimes costly unless corrected, and to work toward a common goal, more efficient operation of the postal service, which means better service to 1 million patrons, at lower costs.

I would be stating an untruth if I were to say that decentralization has never been the subject of criticism. Some of this criticism has been sincere but much of it stems from the natural inclination of resistance to change. We make no claim that our program is perfect or that it cannot be improved. We work constantly for improvement, otherwise our position would be untenable.

The charge that decentralization has made the postmaster impotent is simply untrue. On the contrary, decentralization has relieved postmasters of many time-consuming duties, and has given the postmaster time to assume active management and direction of his office and devote more time to our main business, that of handling your mail. We of the region are receiving many evidences of the appreciation on the part of postmasters of the effectiveness of regionalization. They understand fully that they are charged with the total responsibility for the operation of the postal service in their communities. However, they also understand that the regional officers stand ready and willing to help them with their problems at all times.

This new post office we are dedicating today should serve the community of Hebron, Ohio, well for years to come. From my own experience and from looking around here today, I know that its ample interior space is functionally designed for efficient handling of the mails. It has ample working space, ample lobby space, and is furnished so far as needful with the latest developments in mail-handling equipment.

You have reason to be proud of your new post office. So, too, it should be a matter of pride to your fellow citizens, Jesse Underwood & Associates, who built and leased this modern structure to the Post Office Department.

Now I'm wondering if you have given any thought to the symbolic significance of this new post office. In a very true sense, it symbolized the liberties with which all Americans are blessed. It does so because it represents in this community the United States postal service. Our postal service is one of the strongest foundation stones of those American liberties I've mentioned. So the Founding Fathers of the Republic intended it to be.

The postal service is a major branch of the Nation's communication system, whereby the free flow of information, public and private, continuously is maintained. And perhaps, needless to say, only an informed people long can remain free.

And this leads me to address to you a few remarks concerning postage rates, a subject about which you will hear often during the next few months.

You are no doubt aware that President Eisenhower on three occasions has earnestly requested of the Congress as a moderate increase in postal rates. This year he is again renewing that request, and the House of Representatives and the Senate both are entertaining bills in committee which, it is earnestly to be hoped, will be reported out of committee within the near future, discussed, and acted on favorably.

May I say to you that the Post Office Department is unique in that it sells its commodities and services not only at cost but actually below cost. How long could you folks here operate your business that way?

The 3-cent stamp is the cheapest commodity anywhere in the Nation today. It will carry your first-class letter to any destination in the United States of America and its possessions. It is the same service you paid 3 cents for in 1932. Meanwhile, per capita disposal income has risen over 300 percent. The wholesale price index is up 162 percent and the postal cost index is up 107 percent.

It now costs an average of 3.45 cents to carry a first-class letter. We plan to ask a postage increase on letter mail. This increase would cost the average family only a few cents a month. Our plan is to increase letter mail to 4 cents per ounce, postal cards 3 cents each and airmail letters to 7 cents per ounce. This increase I believe would provide the funds to more nearly meet the cost of the postal service.

Second-class mail is made up of newspapers and magazines. The Department is asking four annual increases in second-class rates of 15 percent, or 60 percent in 4 years. May I say that it now costs 5.6 cents a copy to distribute a widely known magazine with more than 2 million circulation. The postage paid by the publisher is 2.4 cents per copy or less than half the actual cost. The difference of 3.6 cents is paid by the taxpayers, and last fiscal year this difference cost the taxpayers $231 million on second-class mail alone.

Do I need to go further to convince you good people that the Department can never come close to balancing the Post Office budget until a rate increase is effected? Only the Congressmen can vote this increase, and it is encouraging to know that once we have supplied the public with the facts, they have expressed accord with the Department's proposal to increase rates by an overwhelming majority. Many newspapers and magazines have approved, even though it will mean a greater out-of-pocket expense for them.

The program of expanding physical facilities, of properly equipping present facilities can never be met on current department income. A tremendous building and expansion program is absolutely essential if we are to continue to provide physical quarters to handle the tremendous volume of mail which during the last fiscal year exceeded 56 billion pieces. This year almost 60 billion pieces of mail will be handled, and this is increasing every year by a percentage of from 3 to 4 percent.

Before concluding I'd like to refer to a phase of the postal business which has to do with the rapidly growing population in these United States which constantly poses the problem of keeping up with the Nation's growth. Cities and towns throughout Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky are growing like wildfire. Not a day passes but that we of the region receive requests from postmasters, patrons, Members of Congress and the United States Senate, farm groups, and civic clubs for numerous postal improvements. It is our earnest desire to furnish this improved service to keep pace with the growth of our region because the patrons have a right to good service. They expect it and we intend to give it to them.

During recent months we have dedicated new post offices in several cities and towns of our region, opened new classified stations and parcel-post annexes, and have installed heavy equipment, including conveyors, fork lifts, and other apparatus designed to move the mails faster and to make the job easier for our thousands of employees. To mention a few, we have recently opened new facilities in Fort Wayne, Ind., Mansfield, Ohio, New Bremen, Ohio, Doylestown, Ohio, Stowe, Ohio, Sandusky, Ohio, Columbus, Ohio, and Navarre, Ohio. We are preparing to dedicate new post offices in New Richmond, New Carlisle, and Blanchester, Ohio. Last fall we ded-

icated new facilities in Paducah and Hartford, Ky. There are many other places where we are dedicating new facilities too numerous to mention at this time.

Most of the new post offices and other facilities I mentioned above were built by private capital and are leased for a term of years by the Post Office Department. This way private investors retain title, the Department otbains quarters at a reasonable rental, and property remains on the tax duplicates and the owners pay taxes.

The Post Office Department is determined that postal patrons of this great Nation shall continue to have the best postal service in the entire world.

In an effort to operate within the annual budget allowed by Congress and to keep down a mounting deficit the Post Office Department since January 20, 1953, has introduced new principles of management, better work methods. It has improved working conditions, improved equipment so that our hundreds of thousands of employees may find their work more pleasant and be able to improve their daily production without overwork or undue fatigue.

Despite occasional comment to the contrary, it is not now or has it been the Department's policy to overwork anyone. We do believe that the Department and the postal patrons have a right to expect a reasonable day's work for a reasonable day's pay.

During 1955 the Department sponsored and succeeded in having Congress enact into law Public Law 68, which provided an average 8.2 percent pay increase for every postal employee and for a classification of all jobs within the Post Office Department, based on the principle of equal pay for equal work.

This salary increase, the new physical facilities about which I have just been talking, the constant extension of city and rural routes and the establishment of new routes, and the handling of ever increasing volume of mail plus new and improved equipment have all cost a great amount of money. Despite every effort to effect all reasonable economies and to institute a program of improved management—and this has been done, it has been impossible to make income from patrons in the form of postage equal expenses. It will continue to remain impossible until and unless a realistic and reasonable rate increase is voted by Congress. We hope it will be this year. If you believe our cause to be a fair and just one, may I say to you that you have a right, also a duty to inform your Congressmen and your Senators of your opinions.

I am not a native of the Cincinnati region. I am a transplanted Hawkeye. But may I say that I have lived with my family in Cincinnati since 1928. I claim citizenship in all three great States of Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio. During my years as a post office inspector, which began in 1928 and continued over a span of almost 28 years, I have traveled the great tri-State region, crossing and recrossing its wide and beautiful expanse many times. As a lease inspector for the Department, I handled leases in large cities, small cities, towns, and villages. I have come to know the postal employees and the people of the region as few people have an opportunity to do.

With the aid of these fine postal employees and the fine people who are our patrons, we of the region look forward with confidence to the future. The Cincinnati region has been called the first region. Going forward as a determined team it is our firm intention to make and keep it the first region in the Nation on any reasonable basis of comparison. This is not a boast. It is merely an expression of confidence in ourselves, in our employees, and in the public which we serve.

A Tribute to the American Cowboy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO KRUEGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, a sober and fitting tribute to the great contribution of America's most popular heroes is being advanced rapidly with the progress toward construction of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame at Oklahoma City, Okla.

There is little doubt that today the American cowboy, through the influence of the press and radio, and particularly because of television and motion pictures, is the best known figure on the American scene. A straight-shooting, hard-hitting, hard-working man in fact, he has readily become all this and more in fiction.

Such well-known men of the law as Wyatt Earp had their counterparts in the cowboy who quietly went about his work in helping mold the West into a great part of the Nation.

The National Cowboy Hall of Fame will pay honor to these men. It will be a museum for archives, artifacts, and other evidence of an era that has so enriched our American historical heritage, and a valuable contribution to the folklore of America, of material benefit to all citizens and scholars of the present and future.

Earlier this year the board of trustees of the Cowboy Hall of Fame adopted a resolution urging that it be designated a national shrine. It is my understanding legislation to accomplish this will shortly be introduced in the Congress.

At this point I desire to have printed the text of the resolution adopted by the hall of fame trustees, whose members include the Honorable John E. Davis, Governor of North Dakota, and Mr. Ray Schnell and Mr. Brooks Keogh, of North Dakota:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL COWBOY HALL OF FAME AND MUSEUM, JANUARY 5, 1957, AT PHOENIX, ARIZ.

Whereas the board of trustees of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Museum, a nonprofit foundation, having previously completed their organization with 2 members from each of the 17 Western States, with governors of those States sitting ex officio, did after careful investigation on April 15, 1955, select Oklahoma City, Okla., as the site of the permanent structure of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Museum; and

Whereas the board of trustees did, on November 11, 1955, dedicate at Oklahoma City the 37-acre site, provided by the people of the city of Oklahoma City and the State of Oklahoma; and

Whereas the people of Oklahoma, through private subscription, raised the equivalent of $1 million as their initial goal toward construction of the first unit of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Museum; and

Whereas citizens of the other 16 Western States now are undertaking by private subscription to raise an additional $4 million to complete a fitting shrine to men outstanding in opening and developing the West, with a museum for archives, artifacts, and other evidence of an era that so enriched our American historical heritage; and

Whereas the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Museum will be a valuable contribution to the folklore of America, of material benefit to all citizens and scholars of the present and future: Therefore be it

Resolved by the board of trustees, That the Congress of the United States be requested by resolution or other parliamentary means to memorialize and/or commend to the people of the United States, the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Museum as a national shrine, and that a copy of such engrossed resolution be made a part of permanent archives of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Museum.

The Board of Trustees: C. A. Reynolds, of Missouri, chairman; Albert K. Mitchell, of New Mexico, first vice chairman; Fred H. Dressler, of Nevada, second vice chairman; A. M. H. Swanson, of Texas, third vice chairman; Neeson P. Crow, of California; Chester Paxton, of Nebraska; Alan Rogers, of Washington; Fred Porter, Jr., of Arizona; R. J. Hofmann, of Wyoming; Ray Schnell, of North Dakota; Burt L. Hall, of South Dakota; F. H. Spencer, of Montana; Rex Bell, of Nevada; A. D. Brownfield, of New Mexico; Lowe P. Howell, of Arizona; Banks Keogh, of North Dakota; William M. Fencher, of Washington; Hal Cooper, of Oklahoma; Lee Sneed, of Oklahoma; E. H. Shoemaker, Jr., of Nebraska; Victor E. Anderson, of Nebraska, Governor; P. D. Ackerman, of Colorado; E. L. Mechern, of New Mexico, Governor; John D. Lewis, of Utah; A. Hugo Aronson, of Montana, Governor; Fred W. Heine, of Kansas; F. L. Fiomquist, of Idaho; Milward L. Tompson, of Wyoming, Governor; John E. Davis, of North Dakota, Governor; Ernest B. Ham, of South Dakota; Joe Foss, of South Dakota, Governor; K. Ross Tolle, of Montana; Irwin Mann, of Oregon; Robert D. Holmes, of Oregon, Governor; Harold J. Powers, of California; Charles H. Russell, of Nevada, Governor; Clyde Starr, of Idaho; Raymond Gary, of Oklahoma, Governor; Ernest W. McFarland, of Arizona, Governor; Roy J. Turner, of Oklahoma; George Docking, of Kansas, Governor; Albert D. Rosellini, of Washington, Governor; L. H. Strong, of Utah; Goodwin J. Knight, of California, Governor; Steve McNichols, of Colorado, Governor; Daniel I. J. Thornton, of Colorado; J. W. Joneston, Jr., of Oregon; Terry D. Clyde, of Utah,

OTC: Will Congress Be Mousetrapped?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, Congress is again being asked to approve United States membership in the OTC—Organization for Trade Cooperation.

Many of us have been told that the bill proposing such approval has been so amended since its first introduction 2 years ago that the OTC could not possibly deprive Congress of any of its au-

thority to regulate our foreign commerce or to determine our tariff and trade policies.

I for one do not believe that any amendments put on by the United States would have any lasting effect on the OTC. I have seen too much of the operations and methods of the State Department under the general agreement—GATT—to have any faith left in the fair words of those who are promoting the OTC. They have no intention of relinquishing their grip on our tariff and trade policies.

The State Department has not let go of a single disputed power under the Trade Agreements Act except under legislative compulsion and even then has contested every step of the way. When Congress said that section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act should be carried out, that is, quotas placed on agricultural imports if necessary, notwithstanding any foreign trade agreement, the State Department went to Geneva and asked GATT for permission on behalf of the United States to do what Congress had legislated to be done.

Have we not gone pretty far when the State Department recognizes GATT as the real umpire, above and beyond Congress? If Congress approves the OTC it will be on record agreeing with the State Department view.

In this connection, I, under unanimous consent, insert in the RECORD an analysis of the effect of the principal amendments to the OTC bill, H. R. 6630, prepared by O. R. Strackbein, who is chairman of the Nationwide Committee on Import-Export Policy. He has made a very close study of the OTC and the standing of any amendments or reservations attached by the United States:

OTC ONCE MORE—H. R. 6630

(Statement of O. R. Strackbein, chairman, the Nationwide Committee on Import-Export Policy, April 17, 1957)

A new OTC bill has been presented to Congress. It contains most of the amendments added to the original bill by the Ways and Means Committee in 1956. These amendments were designed to make the bill more palatable by setting up certain United States reservations.

In addition the new bill seeks to make the OTC seem still more harmless by setting up a body of advisers who would consult with the chief United States representative to the OTC.

All these reservations, safeguards, caveats, and multiple insulations merely demonstrate to what lengths the State Department and those of like mind will go in order to get this country into the OTC. They have all but thrown the baby out with the wash. They have gone to extremes to demonstrate the utter innocence of the OTC.

There is one thing wrong with these tactics. They are reminiscent of the fox in the movies who assumes a dozen different disguises to fool the lamb.

The conclusion is inevitable that if the OTC were to be as hobbled and helpless as this bill would seem to render it the State Department would not be interested in it. The United States would be better off without the handicaps that the bill would place on membership.

Why then do the State Department and the executive power bring this strapped papoose to Congress?

Answer that question and you also provide the reason why Congress should reject the whole deceptive bundle.

1. The amendments, reservations and caveats in the bill are only skin deep. They do not reach any of the provisions of the articles of agreement that would govern the OTC. The articles constituting the agreement are 21 in number and were signed in Geneva in 1955. The United States cannot unilaterally by amendments, reservations or otherwise change so much as a comma in these articles. This could only be done by reopening the agreement and renegotiating it with the other countries. This is not even proposed. Yet the articles of agreement as they now stand and as they would exist despite H. R. 6630 reservations would determine the setup of the OTC, its procedures, its powers and the methods of its amendment. One of the articles says that the OTC is to give full effect to the purposes and objectives of GATT.

2. The amendments, reservations and caveats in H. R. 6630 could in any case be washed off like so much oil from the skin. The State Department could either create situations or simply take advantage of developments that could be used to coerce Congress to back away from the reservations lest the United States offend the other members of the OTC.

Thus the amendments and reservations could be frittered away in a matter of 2 or 3 years and Congress would find the United States going along as an unfettered member of the OTC and doing its bidding from Geneva.

3. The OTC could vote itself into association with the United Nations as a specialized agency. One of the provisions (art. 11) specifically makes this possible. To meet this objection, H. R. 6630 says "it is the sense of Congress that the Organization for Trade Cooperation shall not be brought into a specialized agency relationship with the United Nations."

But should the OTC vote itself into membership nevertheless the United States could simply stand out in the rain until such time as the State Department succeeded in persuading Congress that it would be so much better if we just forgot about the reservation in H. R. 6630. The leadership of the free world of course would be at stake, and the honor of the United States would suffer unthinkably if we persisted in staying out in the cold.

4. The same would happen with respect to the understanding of Congress, as expressed in the bill, that the functions of the OTC would "be limited to the administration of GATT and facilitating intergovernmental cooperation solely in the field of trade * * *."

Obviously the understanding of Congress would be as good as 1 vote in 35. We must not build on the haughty assumption that the other countries will always go along with us.

How long would this understanding last if we were outvoted (possibly with a wink from the State Department) by the other members?

Considering how the State Department has interpreted the delegation of power under the Trade Agreements Act, it is easy to guess what would happen. That Department took a limited delegation of power conferred by the Trade Agreements Act and came out with greater and broader power than was left to Congress itself. If the Department so well succeeded in this effort on the strength of delegated power it is clear what it would do if Congress now acquiesced in such domination by approving the OTC.

Obviously, the mere understanding of Congress as set forth in the bill at any point would have no standing in the OTC because the State Department would not be in sympathy with it. Other countries look to that Department and not to Congress to set forth the position of the United States. There would be no one on hand to speak for Congress and the will of Congress would soon be forgotten.

Through H. R. 6630 the State Department is asking Congress quite obviously to have the grace to bow out and to stop bothering the Department with the protests and grievances of the people back home. After all, the conduct of foreign affairs is a very delicate business, and the heavy hand of democratic government can only spoil the finesse of the diplomats.

It will be said that it was precisely to avoid just such highhanded action by the State Department that H. R. 6630 provided for the appointment of an advisory committee which is to be representative of American labor, industry, agriculture, and the public and which is to advise and consult with the chief representative (to the OTC) on matters coming before the Organization for Trade Cooperation.

Unfortunately the memory is still fresh about previous boards and commissions appointed by the President to study and report on tariff and trade policy. There come to mind the Gordon Gray report of 1950, the study of the Bell Commission 2 years later, and then the Randall Commission of 1953–54.

These boards or commissions and their staffs were all heavily biased in the direction of the views held by the appointing power. Even the Randall Commission, which made some pretense at giving representation to the opposing view, was loaded 5 or 6 to 1 in favor of the predilections of the appointing power.

Let us, therefore, not be further insulted by such transparent offers of an advisory body representative of this or that group. The offer of an advisory committee as a safeguard against OTC usurpations is nothing more than bait for the gullible.

Of a piece with this sop is the proposed appointment of a chief United States representative to the OTC by the President. It is sufficient to note that, when representing the United States, this representative "shall at all times act in accordance with instructions of the President, transmitted to the chief representative by the President or in such manner as the President may direct. * * *"

The Constitution says that Congress shall regulate the foreign commerce of the United States. It shall also lay and collect duties (tariffs).

Where is Congress in this OTC scheme?

What in the bill may be the sense of Congress or the understanding of Congress will be a pale if not imperceptible image of its original after it is filtered through the brains of the advisory board, appointed by the President, through the chief representative appointed and instructed by the President, and then finally through the machinery and procedures of the OTC itself, sitting in Geneva.

The voice of the people back home, the industries, the producers, the farmers, and the workers, who complain about unfair import competition, will be muffled into deep silence. Oppressive futility will reward their efforts to be heard. Their right of petition, guaranteed under the Constitution for reasons that are sound and sufficient, will be a dead letter. Their right to vote for representatives to represent them in the national legislative body will be a useless gesture so far as tariffs and trade are concerned, because, under the proposed system, the Members of Congress would become mere appendages of an obsolete body.

5. Finally, H. R. 6630 (sec. 351 (c) (3)) says that nothing in this bill is to be construed as constituting approval or disapproval of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade).

This self-denying ordinance is a very odd type of disavowal. Keeping in mind that

the OTC would endeavor to give full effect to the objectives and purposes of GATT, how could Congress possibly approve United States membership in the OTC without subscribing to the very purpose of the organization? Unquestionably, by all rules of logic, by all sensible interpretation of rational human action and undobutedly in the belief of the State Department itself, approval of the OTC would also mean approval of GATT by Congress.

We cannot approve membership in the OTC which is dedicated explicitly to carry out the purposes and objectives of GATT, without approving GATT unless we should be admitted merely as observers; and that is neither the intent nor is there provision in the OTC articles of agreement for such limited membership.

Moreover, the State Department last year stoutly maintained before the Ways and Means Committee that GATT requires no approval by Congress to be legal.

Therefore the proposed amendment saying that approval of OTC would not constitute approval of GATT is the same as saying that approval of the OTC would not constitute approval of what in the eyes of the State Department needs no approval in any case.

The upshot is that approval of the OTC bill by Congress would, despite all the amendments and reservations written into the bill, represent the passage of effective power over our tariffs and trade from Congress to the executive and thence to the new international trade organization known as OTC.

So far as effective action in behalf of American producers, American farmers, American factories, miners, fisheries, and their workers, by the Congress is concerned, looking toward the preservation of their market, their employment, and their business under conditions of fair competition, Congress might as well close its doors.

In reply to these objections it is usually said that we already are a member of GATT, that we have GATT and that the executive branch already exercises the dominant role in the regulation of our foreign commerce.

This is true—only too true.

Then it is said that membership in the OTC would not change any of the existing situation.

This is not true. Congressional approval of the OTC would represent ratification by Congress of the executive usurpation of power and perpetuation of such usurped power.

Congress would be throwing the game.

At issue is more than the OTC, much more. At issue is a fundamental principle of our Government. The OTC bill is important because embodied in it is the congressional surrender document and because Congress is asked to sign it.

Congress is asked in H. R. 6630 to confirm the State Department in its extensive usurpations and to pass the powers of Congress into still more distant hands.

This is probably the last chance of Congress to reassert its position in this field and to insist on the authority to speak on behalf of the American people in matters vital to them. Therefore it is imperative that Congress spurn the surrender document that has been laid before it. It is an instrument, the OTC, fashioned in its origins and its ultimate objectives by an overweeningly ambitious executive bureaucracy that thirsts for power to make over America in the image of the bureaucratic concept of a planned and internationally controlled global economy.

An alerted Congress will know what to do. It will kill the OTC bill. It will not sign its own surrender document and its bill of abdication. On the contrary, it will keep open the door for the expression of changing sentiment in the country. That is its true function.

Congress and the International Atom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address which I made at the Atomic Industrial Forum Symposium on April 25, 1957, at the Plaza Hotel in New York City:

CONGRESS AND THE INTERNATINOAL ATOM

(By Hon. STERLING COLE, of New York)

Mr. Robbins, Commissioner Vance, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen of the forum, the forum has been formed now for just over 4 years and during this short period the forum has had an incredible growth. Where it started with 1 or 2 meetings a year, it is now fostering meetings even on the other side of the globe. It is a great pleasure to talk with a group of people who have shown such great dedication to the cause of developing the peaceful uses of the atom.

Your day long symposium on the international legal problems of atomic energy is but another milestone that you have passed in your steady march of progress.

Many of the problems which have been included on your agenda today are problems which are proper subjects for congressional attention. While it appears that the most desirable way to protect an American manufacturer or designer against the very remote possibility of a runaway in the reactor when it is installed and operated abroad is through an international convention, there may be a proper role for legislation in this sphere. The very first agreements for cooperation paid no attention at all to this problem. At the urging of the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation, the Atomic Energy Commission inserted into its agreements a clause that would hold the United States harmless for materials or services supplied to other nations. Although the Joint Committee has raised a question for some period there still has been no similar clause inserted into the agreements for cooperation which would protect the American supplier. Further persuasive efforts by the Joint Committee to have the agreements for cooperation protect the suppliers may be needed. If these efforts are not successful perhaps there should be a statutory requirement that the agreements require the cooperating nation to protect the American supplier, at least until such time as an international convention can resolve the basic problems in an overall manner.

Another problem which needs close examination by the Congress is that of foreign patents. It would seem that the Atomic Energy Commission has not been as alert to filing patents in other countries as it might have been. I do not say this in any derogatory sense since the United States Government might not have any interest in exploiting the rights abroad which arise out of inventions. Nevertheless, the failure to exploit these rights could seriously affect United States firms who want to go abroad. It is possible that this is something that can be taken care of by the Commission by straight administrative action. It is also possible that this could require legislative attention. The problem arises only with respect to those United States patents to which the Commission takes title but which the firms developing the ideas want to use abroad. The catch in the foreign patent situation is that failure to file may permit complete outsiders to file on United States-originated ideas and to block the development of United States ideas in reactors in the countries involved. I hope that any possible patent roadblock to the foreign development of atomic energy by United States firms can be quickly eliminated.

In view of the fact that all of the studies on the economics of atomic energy indicate that power from atomic energy is most likely to be economical when produced in foreign countries, the international picture plays a tremendously important part in the development of the domestic program. Even when reactors are first built abroad I doubt that they will be economic. The question, therefore, seems to me is very properly raised; namely, how do we get our reactors to be the ones which are built in other nations? Since we would be the first to obtain information which will let us know about the economics of such reactors, I would suggest that we subsidize the construction of advanced development reactors abroad. I would not have the subsidy complete but would limit the amount of subsidy to half of the additional cost of building those reactors over the cost of constructing conventional powerplants. Even then, I would suggest that we only put in funds which would be matched dollar for dollar by foreign governments. Also, I would expect the United States to have ready access to these reactors, not only for inspection and control, but for studying all of their technological and economic operations. It would be expected that the financial assistance would be given to the other nations only if the major component parts of the reactor were bought in the United States.

All of these matters are minor compared to the one great question before the Congress this session. This is the matter of the ratification of the International Atomic Energy Agency statute.

In many ways I look upon the International Agency as a close parallel to the forum. In its initial phase it is starting with about as many members on its board of governors as you had on your board of directors. It is starting out with about as many on its initial staff as were on the initial staff of the forum. In 4 years I believe the Agency will be playing as important a role in the international affairs of atomic energy as the forum is playing among the private interests in this great field.

Of course you know that the Agency received its start at President Eisenhower's famous speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 8, 1953. We have all followed it anxiously since that period and I have been extremely interested in watching the idea take root and flourish.

When the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 was under discussion, the joint committee wrote into the bill provisions of law enabling the United States to enter into agreements for coopertion in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Wanting to encourage the idea of the International Agency, we also included a section in the law which would permit the United States to enter into agreements for cooperation with the Agency once it had been approved by the Congress. I was very glad that the Congress accepted such a provision for it indicated general congressional approval of the idea of the Agency.

As the various drafts of the statute for the Agency were written, the Joint Committee received full information on the developments from the State Department. In July of 1955, just before the joint committee left to attend the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy at Geneva, Ambassador Moorehead Patterson came before us and told us about the draft as it had evolved to that point. During the 10th General Assembly of the United Nations, the 1st committee held considerable debate

on the method of formation of the Agency. The United States participated in this debate but, even more important, was one of the main leaders in the debate. A resolution, approving the idea of the International Agency and recommending that there be an International Conference called to consider the final draft of the Agency, was adopted by the General Assembly without opposition.

A 12-nation drafting session was held in Washington in the spring of 1956, during which time the ideas of India, Russia, Brazil, and many of the nations who were not participating, but who had made comments, were incorporated into the statute. The statute was approved by the drafting session without objection. After the drafting session, Ambassador James J. Wadsworth came before the committee and described the work that had been performed in perfecting the statute to that point.

Last fall the Conference on the Statute of the International Agency was held at the United Nations in New York. After a month of debates, directed both to the general and to the specific provisions of the statute, and during which time many further amendments were added to the statute, the statute was approved for ratification without objection by 81 nations. By the end of the period, during which the statute was open for signature, 80 of the participants in the Conference had signed. Ratifications have begun to be deposited with the United States. Russia's ratification is one of these.

I was fortunate to be able to attend the Conference as 1 of 4 congressional advisers to Ambassador Wadsworth. The other 3 advisers designated by the Congress were Congressman KILDAY and Sentors BRICKER and PASTORE.

During that Conference I had a remarkable opportunity to watch the other nations in their confidence of the future of atomic energy and of the Agency. I was amazed and delightfully surprised to find the overwhelming desire among all the nations to make the Agency a workable and sound organization for the international development and the future international control of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. More than anything else, at that Conference, I was impressed by the tremendous desire of all the nations involved to reach a common conclusion on the problems. Almost as great was the feeling that atomic energy will bring many great blessings to the peoples of the world.

Since the closing of the Conference on October 26, the Preparatory Commission has been busily at work getting ready for the First General Conference of the International Agency. In the Preparatory Commission, I am told, the same feeling has continued: the same unanimity of desire to get ahead; the same willingness to seek solution to common problems acceptable to all. It is against this background that I wish to begin discussing the future of the Atomic Energy Agency with you.

As you well know, the President, on March 22, transmitted the statute of the Agency to the Senate to be ratified as a treaty. This means that there must be 64 votes in favor of the statute. Thirty-three negative votes, or any major reservation, can kill the spirit of this Agency. I am taking this opportunity of bringing to your attention the fact that there is a very strong movement on in the Senate which would either modify or kill the statute.

For myself, I cannot agree with this movement. I believe that this Agency is a tremendous force for the future of our country, and for the future of the world.

First of all, I want very quickly to dispel the idea that this Agency will automatically be open to Red China. The 10th General Assembly limited the participation in the drafting of the Agency to the members of the United Nations and of its specialized agencies. This does not include Red China. The drafting session extended an invitation only to the National Republic of China and not to Red China, although the Soviet Union sought to change the invitations. A motion to remove the limitations in the statute requiring adherence by future members to the United Nations principles was overwhelmingly rejected by the International Conference. This motion was made primarily to permit Red China to become a member later on. The credentials of the National Republic of China were upheld on two different votes. Thus, there have been at least five separate occasions when the problem of Red China was considered. On all of them the position of the United States against the admission of Red China was maintained without any veto. A veto written into the statute would not be a desirable or satisfactory basis for the operations of this kind of an Agency.

Another complaint against the Agency is that the United States will be giving 5,000 or 20,000 kilograms of uranium enriched in uranium-233 to the Agency. So far no one has indicated that this material will be donated as a gift. Indeed, the statute contemplates that the Agency will pay for the services and materials received unless there is a special agreement to the contrary. The Atomic Energy Commission has already informed the joint committee that it does not believe that it has any statutory authority to give materials to the Agency. If, at any time in the future, it should be decided that the United States should make a gift of materials, the Commisison would seek to have that authority granted to it by Congress.

A further claim is that materials given to the Agency could be diverted and made into weapons. I do not believe that this would be the case. In the first place, the International Agency has provisions in its statute for the inspection and control of projects to which the Agency gives assistance. These provisions are almost identical with the provisions which are written into the bilateral agreements of the United States. However, they carry one additional safeguard that the United States bilaterals do not have. These Agency projects would carry a contractual basis for action by the United Nations in the event any diversion should be found. This contractual basis is, of course, missing from the United States bilaterals.

In the second place, Agency projects are limited to those projects which will be designed to implement the development of atomic energy for peaceful uses. A nation which wanted to divert the materials from these projects would find it dangerous and costly since they would have to devise ways to get around the rigid inspection and control provisions and to process materials which could be highly radioactive. Any nation that wanted to embark on a weapons program of its own could do so outside of the Agency. Indeed, many nations probably will start atomic energy programs of their own. The more nations that start their programs under the International Atomic Energy Agency, the fewer will be the nations which will have atomic programs which can be turned into military uses. Let there be no mistake about this. Uranium is one of the most abundant resources in the world. The knowledge if building reactors is not limited to any one country. Other countries will be able to obtain both the materials and information on how to use atomic energy from sources other than the United States. If they desire, they can use them for the military uses of atomic energy.

We can, and should, encourage those countries which are now beginning to get into the atomic energy program to devote themselves only to the peaceful uses.

Many have asked why we should join in with the Agency when we can achieve the same results through our own bilateral programs. I do not think we can achieve the same results. It was many of the small nations that first suggested that the International Agency be established through a conference. They did not want to have the Agency statute set up by the major powers and then forced on them.

They wanted to have a voice in the formation of the Agency and in its operation. The wisdom of letting them have this voice today has been shown by the many ways in which the statute of the International Agency has been bettered by the amendments offered in the Conference last fall. Also, it is part of their national pride that their atomic energy program will be drawn not from any one nation but from all of the nations of the world. There may be many nations in the world who because of their traditionally neutral positions, may prefer to receive assistance from the Agency instead of receiving further assistance from the United States. Such nations could include Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries.

Also, I should remind you that it was a small nation, Thailand, that suggested the amendment to the statute giving the Agency the authority to take over the inspection and control functions of the national program of any single nation.

Above and beyond all that can be achieved through the distribution of materials and information on the peaceful uses of the atom, there will be one outstanding accomplishment which can be obtained from the International Agency. This will be a period of learning about all of the problems—technical legal, psychological—of international inspection and control. The Agency was suggested at a time when neither the United States nor Russia was able to agree on an inspection and control plan for themselves for disarmament purposes. The Agency's operations can produce that technology and that confidence in international control which will lead to complete international control of atomic energy at an appropriate time later on.

There has been some objection raised to the ability of the Agency to furnish materials to Iron Curtain countries. I do not fear this authority. The Agency is not going to start on large grandiose plans. It can start out, however, furnishing radioisotopes for peaceful purposes. These radioisotopes could be used to help people behind the Iron Curtain control and cure diseases. Small research reactors containing amounts of materials militarily insignificant can help people behind the Iron Curtain learn about the bases of atomic energy. Since the International Agency was proposed as a means of winning the hearts and minds of peoples of the world, certainly there should be no disagreement that these activities of the Agency can, and should be, encouraged. Remember that the Iron Curtain countries requesting assistance for projects must also agree to appropriate inspection and control features. This kind of experience can be extremely valuable to the Agency and to the world in learning how the control systems operate behind the Iron Curtain. Later on there may be countries that will want other reactors of more advanced types. In considering those projects, as in considering any initial project, the board of governors of the Agency would have to consider the adequacy of the inspection and control systems which might be required, as well as the ability of the nation to comply with these features. This means that the basic responsibility would rely upon the board of governors to make this decision. We can, and I think we should, have confidence that the board of governors would make any such decision in the light of all of the known facts surrounding the project.

Thus far I have talked about the Agency in terms of meeting the arguments against it. It seems to me, however, that there is

much more to be gained by talking about the future than the Agency can make for the world. Of course it can provide a ground for the training of many scientists in many countries. Further than that, it can provide a central clearinghouse for the exchange of information. In the field of science such a clearinghouse is a great help since the thoughts of one person will frequently strike a sympathetic spark in the minds of others. The more scientists that can read and discuss the work of the leaders in other countries, the more quickly will this great potential be tapped for the good of all. In scientific fields you never know where a new and original thought will come from. Remember that the basic formula on which this field is founded came from an unknown examiner in the Swiss Patent Office. The more persons around the world who are able to study the problems of atomic energy, the sooner will this great energy be released for the benefit of all mankind.

Many of the commercial problems which will develop in this field can run into extremely complex legal situations unless there is one international agency which can help resolve the problems. I have already mentioned one of these fields. This is the problem of the manufacturer or supplier of materials or services to reactors built in foreign lands. One of the earliest tasks that the International Agency could undertake would be the calling of a convention which could draft an international treaty in which many of the difficult legal problems could be resolved to the advantage of all nations. The treaty could, indeed, give the Agency some administrative functions which the Agency cannot now undertake. This could include the administration of an indemnity fund such as the indemnity fund in the Anderson and Price bills now being considered by the joint committee. The treaty could cover extensive and difficult substantive and procedural questions in the unlikely event of such a runaway. Another natural problem for the Agency to work on would be international techniques for the disposal of waste radioactive gases and liquids in the atomic energy program. The problem of international control to radiation exposure could also be considered. I am sure that the Agency already has such projects in mind for its operation once it is established. These will be of great advantage to the United States or any nation seeking to sell its services in the international market. But above all, the great contribution that can be made by this Agency is in the development of the technology, the law, and the public acceptance of international control. This will not be achieved suddenly but gradually. The Agency cannot achieve this benefit if it has no materials at its command.

I cannot criticize those who want to study and understand the Agency thoroughly before the statute comes before the Senate for ratification action. I, too, have had a long period of studying the Agency. I do hope that once the study has been completed that the discussion of ratification will then proceed on the same high level of hope and faith for the whole world that has been evident in the discussions and international discussions of the Agency to date. President Eisenhower's proposal before the United Nations received worldwide acclaim. The negotiations on the statute have proceeded in the faith and hope that the Agency would come into being as soon as possible.

So far we have spent much effort and great sums of money in developing atomic weapons for waging war whenever we may be called on to defend our liberties and our shores. If the time ever comes when any nation should again have to fire an atomic weapon in anger, it will be a great tragedy.

In the words of Pope Pius XII:

"There will be no song of victory, only the inconsolable weeping of humanity, which in desolation will gaze upon the catastrophe brought on by its own folly."

Now is the time, while maintaining our armed strength, to devote our efforts as wholeheartedly to finding the ways in which to develop atomic energy for the peaceful benefits of all mankind. The only real way in which this can be done is under an international agency devoted to the resolution of international atomic energy problems through international law.

As we enter into the age of the international development of atomic energy, we must learn to have faith in the ideals and judgments of the free nations of the world. But we must remember that the free world—and indeed the whole world—looks to the United States for leadership in this great dilemma. To date the United States has exercised that leadership wisely and with restraint in the negotiations leading to the signing of the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency. As long as the United States continues to apply its ideals to this field in the same strong but reserved manner that it has, the United States will continue to supply the leadership of a foundering world. When this country shall begin to withdraw again unto itself, it will be only a nullity among the nations of the world.

Congress, after giving the statutes thorough consideration, should ratify the statute by an overwhelming vote. This will tell the other nations that we have faith in them and their peoples. This will also affirm the pledge given to the world by President Eisenhower to the General Assembly on December 8, 1953:

"The United States pledges before you—and therefore before the world—its determination to help solve the fearful atomic dilemma—to devote its entire heart and mind to find the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life."

All's Forgiven, Mr. Summerfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article by H. I. Phillips, entitled "All's Forgiven, Mr. Summerfield":

ALL'S FORGIVEN, MR. SUMMERFIELD, BUT PLEASE DON'T KEEP US AWAY FROM THE POST OFFICE AGAIN

(By H. I. Phillips)

Postmaster General SUMMERFIELD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Well, a lot of people, knowing your background as one of the country's biggest auto dealers, are for trading you in for a new model Postmaster General, less rugged, brighter, and with more comfortable features. Even with normal service resumed, Mr. and Mrs. John Q. Public are still sore. You might be the first Postmaster General to be nominated on the all-American team for unnecessary roughness.

It is a new experience for Americans to get shut out at a post-office window, although some are used to it at the $2 mutuels. The public finds it nice to think of a letter carrier as no longer a missing person.

CLOSE TO OUR HEARTS

You were not entirely to blame for the first "closed" sign in history on post-office windows, but to the average man and woman you seem a man who sees a Government post office in the same light as an auto salesroom. I guess you don't realize fully that a post office is an institution extra close to the hearts of the people. It is the one place that gives them a personal touch with Government. Mr. and Mrs. Public have always felt welcome there Saturday, even if they didn't want to mail a letter and just dropped in to try out one of those new ballpoint pens. You have no idea how those big "closed" signs hurt sentimentally. People are very fond of the mailman, too, and have come to regard him as a symbol of regular and reliable service. To millions of sick people watching from hospital or sickroom windows he is a messenger of comfort and hope. Likewise to mothers expecting a letter from a kid in service, and to all lovers everywhere.

Gosh, Mr. Summerfield, the letter carrier is just about the last of the vanishing Americans. The fast-disappearing human being who walks, the fellow who gets corns on his feet instead of his posterior, the worker who totes a heavy load uncomplainingly and never strikes because he is tired. Take him out of the American scene for a weekend and you become a villain in the public mind.

Well, it was a depressing interlude in the United States mail service and how about a new oversized postage stamp commemorating the boner? It could be a likeness of the Postmaster General on a white horse galloping full tilt into Congress as a sort of angry Lochinvar, against a background of post-office doors labeled "Closed." What is one more special stamp these days?

Yours,

ELMER.

Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to join all Americans of Polish descent in the celebration of the anniversary of the Polish Constitution.

One hundred and sixty-six years ago a group of patriotic, liberal, and far-seeing Polish leaders wanted to inaugurate a new era in Poland. They felt that some basic changes in the machinery of the government were needed; and to meet this imperative need they drafted a constitution. It was adopted, promulgated, and went into force on May 3 of 1791.

Since that year May 3 has been celebrated as Constitution Day, and the event has been regarded as a great landmark in Poland's fight for liberalism and for independence. The Constitution of 1791 was a liberal, democratic document, and as such it aimed to reduce the powers of the monarch without impairing the authority of the central government. By this constitution the government became one of limited, constitutional monarchy. It did away with the old class distinctions and class privileges, and guaranteed religious freedom. In this respect it embodied some of the ideas of the American Revolution, and also of the French Revolution. The constitution of course aimed at strengthening Poland by uniting all its citizens more firmly in de-

sense of its independence. In embracing these twin aims of liberalizing and strengthening the Polish Government, the constitution of 1791 was a major democratic instrument, and to this day it serves as a symbol to the Poles in their tireless struggle for freedom and independence. I heartily join all Americans of Polish descent in the celebration of the anniversary of this great and significant event, the Polish Constitution Day.

Paradise Dam Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARL CHUDOFF
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. CHUDOFF. Mr. Speaker, just below the town of Paradise, Mont., on the Clark Fork River, is the site for a high multi-purpose dam, the construction of which has been investigated by the Bureau of Reclamation. If built, Paradise Dam would impound an estimated 4,000,000 acre-feet of usuable storage and involve an addition of some 1,000,000 kilowatts of generating capacity. The Montana Power Co. has been granted a preliminary permit to investigate certain sites for power dams which would provide relatively little storage of water but which would conflict with and effectively preclude the construction of a high Paradise Dam.

I should like to bring to the attention of the House a letter and newspaper article which I have just received from Frances D. Logan, of Charlo, Mont., representing the Committee for Paradise Dam. In this letter the complaint is made that many kinds of pressures and restraints, including economic types and also press censorship, are being brought to bear against those who advocate the high Federal dam. The company referred to in the letter is, of course, the Montana Power Co.

The letter and newspaper article follow:

COMMITTEE FOR PARADISE DAM,
Charlo, Mont., April 23, 1957.

Hon. EARL CHUDOFF,
Chairman, Public Works and Resources Subcommittee, Committee on Government Operations, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHUDOFF: Thank you very much for sending me the reports of your subcommittee on Private Utilities' Organized Efforts To Influence the Secretary of the Interior, and Availability of Power To Public Preference Customers From Central Valley Project, the hearings on these matters, and also the hearings on upper Columbia River development. I trust you will excuse my tardy acknowledgment. My husband and I have been away from home, first attending the annual meeting of Northwest Public Power Association in Seattle, then our son's wedding in New York.

The situation we face here was described by Senator Lehman in the debate on the Niagara project, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for May 15, 1956, as an avalanche of propaganda. Presumably the avalanche is being manufactured according to the methods described by P. D. Brooks for the Ebasco presidents' meeting, page 382 of the hearings. We are suffering under the additional handicap of press censorship, operating over a long period of time, now for the first time to my knowledge openly admitted (see clipping).

We will use material from the reports and hearings as we find opportunities, in letters to the editor, limited to 300 words, which some county weeklies will run, in meetings as we can arrange them, by word of mouth, and if we can raise the necessary funds, by direct mail. We are operating on the assumption that you "can't fool all the people all of the time" if you can get the facts to them. The facts you have sent are important in the formation of judgments. We will do our best to make good use of them.

One very disturbing aspect of this controversy over whether we are to have a multipurpose Paradise Dam or two private power company's no-storage dams, is the large number of people who are afraid to come out publicly for the high dam. Company pressure has succeeded in creating fears of all kinds, from fear of losing a job and not being able to get another, to fear that credit will not be available, to fear that one's wife will no longer be invited to the best bridge parties, to fear of being called "Red." The effectiveness of the company's wide-angle public-relations campaign is incredible, and worrisome. However, I believe that slowly and quietly we are beginning to make some progress in making known the facts.

In that effort the material you have sent is very valuable, and we appreciate your help.

Sincerely yours,
FRANCES D. LOGAN
(For the Committee for Paradise Dam).

[From the Ronan (Mont.) Pioneer of April 4, 1957]

IN 'N' OUT OF FOCUS

(By Floyd Larson)

Last week, the newspapers of Sanders County published the results of a poll on Paradise Dam. The poll was in the form of ballots printed in the March 21 issues of the three papers. Of 213 votes cast, 153 favored Paradise; 57 opposed it; and 3 were undecided. Because of the implication of the poll and possible use that might be made of it by proponents of Paradise Dam, the following is a copy of a letter sent to the editors of the three Sanders County papers concerning this writer's reaction to the way the poll was conducted.

I have read with interest the results of the Paradise Dam poll conducted in the Sanders County papers but, as a newspaperman, I must question the validity of the poll and emphasis given it directly and by inference in your publications.

I'll not discuss my reasons for opposing the dam for after all they are one man's opinion; but I do think that your readers are entitled to know the shortcomings of your poll and how they affect the validity of the result so that when the proper time comes those results can be evaluated in proper perspective—which is that 148 persons out of 216 who volunteered their opinions favored Paradise.

To make more than this out of the poll is to overlook some of the following factors which are always included in the conduct of Gallup polls and other scientific public-opinion surveys.

On a voluntary basis, it is impossible to obtain a cross section of opinion representing population characteristics, economic levels, political creeds, religious creeds, and all the factors that are considered essential in creating a sample valid and acceptable for statistical projection.

It is impossible to eliminate padding of a poll by limiting a press run. Newsstand sales, borrowing of other copies and using the ballots therein is possible and a tempting opportunity when ballots for the poll are not required to be signed to eliminate duplication. Accepted practice in modern poll taking is to use an interviewer who follows a sampling pattern reflecting the community as outlined above.

Your papers carried no information in their stories on the poll to indicate whether or not any organized effort was conducted by groups interested in the poll question to get adherents to participate. In a voluntary poll such as the one you have conducted this is also possible and also another tempting opportunity to pad the poll. Whether such efforts occurred or not, makes little difference because that fact that such could have occurred definitely makes it of little value as a basis of saying that Sanders County residents favor Paradise Dam 3 to 1—you can only say, honestly that 3 out of every 4 who answered the poll, favor Paradise, which is quite a different story.

There are other factors which must be also considered before your poll can be given any status as a true reflection of sentiment on Paradise Dam in Sanders County. For example, was intention to make the poll known prior to publication? Who originated the idea? The editors? Those favoring Paradise? Those opposing it?

In conclusion as one newspaperman to another, do you feel that your poll—in view of your knowledge of scientific poll taking—was a fair sample of opinion and one that you can honestly project as representative of the opinions held by the majority of your readers?

I personally do not think the outcome of the poll will change my position on the issue nor of others who have formed their opinions—pro or con—on the issue. However, as a newspaperman, I do feel that such a poll conducted in this manner is poor journalism in that it will be used by Paradise proponents to influence undecided residents of Sanders County and adjacent areas. Instead of attempting to steer an objective course in the issue (which I believe was the motive behind your poll) you have unwittingly, through failure to use accepted polling practices, given aid to one side at the expense of the other.

Your papers I am sure are held in esteem by your readers and material printed in them have their acceptance as being valid. In the case of this poll you are misleading them if you do not call the shortcomings of this poll to their attention. I am sure that you will do this out of fairness to both sides and because of the importance of the issue involved to the people of Sanders County and western Montana.

For while we as newspapermen have the right and obligation to speak out editorially on issues of this kind, we also have the responsibility of doing everything humanly possible to protect our readers from information that can be subjected to misinterpretation because of its unsound origin.

Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AIME J. FORAND
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, men and women of every nationality with faith in democratic principles join with those people of Polish ancestry in commemorating the anniversary of the Polish constitution of the 3d of May. It is fitting that we pause a moment to pay tribute to a document that stands beside

our Declaration of Independence as a landmark in humanity's struggle for liberty.

Tomorrow is the 165th anniversary of the day in 1791 when the statesmen of Poland signed a constitution that inaugurated great reforms in Poland's Government. Equally impressive as the scope of the reforms was the bloodless manner in which they were carried out, indicative of the Poles as peacemakers without bloodshed rather than warmongers. This does not mean that they will turn from a fight for a cause they consider just. On the contrary, they are stouthearted people imbued with centuries of Christian doctrine, the dictate of their minds and energies.

In this generation the Polish people oppose the Communists at every turn and in every way that they can. Such opposition is to be encouraged and the people supported in their efforts to be free. The Poles cannot, of course, object in an organized way on a national level, but they can be given the comfort and assistance of the free world. The Polish-Americans of my State and of the country are their greatest source of encouragement and by their example may do much eventually to assist them in their quest for freedom. We hear reports from behind the Iron Curtain of the heroic action on the part of these people who refuse to bend to the oppressor's demands, and who refuse to accept slavery as a normal state of mankind. The process of freedom is very slow, and although today we do not hear of any violent revolutions in Poland, there are definite actions on the part of the Government of this country which are small tokens of assurance to the Polish people, and people of other nations, that are now being denied their God-given right of freedom. This tribute today I sincerely hope will reach the ears of all freedom-loving people everywhere for it is often said that the fires of freedom burn hottest among the oppressed.

In 1939 Poland made the world's first stand for liberty against the onslaughts of the Nazi might. But her strength could not avail against this great force, suplemented as it was by the Soviet stab in the back. In short, Poland suffered a new partition, and one far worse than any before. No people endured more, or resisted more defiantly than the Poles. When the circumstances of war made the Russians our allies, hope rose again in Polish hearts that Poland might yet be free. But, viewing the world since 1945 it became clear that one principal factor which frustrated the advance of the world toward peace, security, and progress is the activity of the Soviet Union. In every way Russia wantonly dissipated any hope for a world at peace and relieved of international tensions. And today they have advanced a new propaganda theme designed to conceal their real treacherous intentions, a theme entitled "Peaceful Coexistence." Try as they will the Soviet shift in policy will not divert the attention of America from its attachment to relief for the oppressed.

Mr. Speaker, in this world beset with atomic hypertension, and with the threat of global warfare let us take heart as we look to the courageousness of our Polish brethren. Let us redouble our efforts for peace in the world and the restoration of liberty and self-government to Poland and other freedom-loving nations now under Communist rule.

National Music Week in Trenton, N. J., Is Opened Again This Year by Villa Victoria Academy Program

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the Trenton Sunday Times-Advertiser reported in a major article on April 21, 1957, that Villa Victoria Academy has won wide renown for its music department. The academy's senior choir, under the direction of Sister Elizabeth Parente, M. P. F., has opened National Music Week in Trenton, N. J., since 1938. The choir is a veteran of radio, television, and concert stage. It has been the guest of six radio stations and several television stations, and has given concerts in New York City's Town Hall, in Philadelphia, Washington, Newark, Montclair, New Brunswick, and has appeared twice with the Trenton Symphony Orchestra. Recently recordings were made of the choir by RCA Victor. At a nationwide music festival held on the campus of Catholic University in Washington, D. C., the choir received highest ratings from Robert Hufstader, former director of the Juilliard School of Music.

Deeply interested and highly talented in the field of music, the choir's director, Sister Elizabeth Parente, has succeeded in developing a similar interest in many of her pupils. Several have received scholarships for their achievements in piano and voice and some have gone on to professional work.

Foundation of Villa Victoria Academy was due in great measure to the foresight of the late Most Reverend Thomas J. Walsh, S. D. T., J. C. D.

Villa Victoria Academy's 19th annual musicale, to be presented on May 4 and 5 at the War Memorial Building in Trenton, N. J., will open the way to a new era of musical education at the school.

The expansion of teaching facilities at Villa Victoria Academy is similar to the expansion of fine arts facilities at the University of Notre Dame, at Trinity College, in Washington, D. C., and elsewhere.

No less than other educators in the United States and abroad, Catholic educators, and the institutions they head, have always recognized the humanizing influence of the arts and their importance in the teaching process.

I include here the article from the Trenton Sunday Times-Advertiser of April 21, 1957:

ACADEMY'S MUSIC DEPARTMENT HAS WON NATIONWIDE HONORS

Villa Victoria Academy's 19th annual musicale, to be presented on May 4 and 5 at the War Memorial Building, will open the way to a new era of musical education at the school.

The entire proceeds of the event will be earmarked for a new music building on the River Road campus. Facilities at the school are no longer adequate to meet the demands of a rapidly expanding program of music, drama and art.

Villa Victoria has won wide renown for its music department. The Academy's senior choir, under the direction of Sister Elizabeth Parente, M. P. F., has opened National Music Week in Trenton since 1938. The choir, a veteran of radio, television and concert stage, has twice appeared with the Trenton Symphony Orchestra, performing works by Verdi, Debussy, Wagner and Beethoven. The choir has been the guest of six radio stations and several television stations, and has given concerts in New York City's Town Hall, in Philadelphia, Washington, Newark, Montclair, New Brunswick and Morristown. Recently recordings of choir selections were made by RCA Victor. At a nationwide music festival held on the campus of Catholic University in Washington, D. C., the choir received highest ratings from Robert Hufstader, former director of the Juilliard School of Music.

Sister Elizabeth Parente, deeply interested and highly talented in the field of music, has succeeded in developing a similar interest in many of her pupils. Several have received scholarships for their achievements in piano and voice and some have gone on to professional work. One of Sister Elizabeth Parente's former pupils made a debut in Carnegie Hall and another has toured the United States, Canada and South America with the Wagner Opera Company.

The new music building will rise on the campus of the Academy, a college preparatory boarding and day school for girls, on the bank of the Delaware River.

FORMER MOTHER HOUSE

The property, once an estate, was first used as a Mother House for the teaching order of nuns, the Religious Sisters Filippini, and became a school in 1933. The buildings and extensive grounds of the estate lend themselves admirably to school purposes. The spacious rooms of the old mansion have been converted into dormitories, classrooms and a well-equipped library. Nearby, another school building is furnished with every accessory for instruction. The gymnasium has been placed a short distance from the classrooms so that no sounds may disturb students while studying.

The nuns of the Filippini Sisterhood, whose order dates back to 1692, devoted themselves to teaching, first in Italy, and since 1910, in the United States. They are invested with full authority to teach all of the prescribed subjects and also to give vocal and instrumental instruction. The academy offers a classical course and unusual opportunities are provided in music, the dance, modern languages and Latin. Each year all girl graduates of the eighth grade in the diocese of Trenton are eligible to complete for the academy's victorian music scholarship and the Archbishop Walsh Memorial scholarship.

BISHOP STARTED SCHOOL

Foundation of the academy was due in great measure to the foresight of the late Most Reverend Thomas J. Walsh, S. D. T., J. C. D. Archbishop Walsh received most of his education in the United States, but went to Rome to complete his ecclesiastical studies. Returning to Trenton in 1918, he realized the inadequacy of the schools which had been established by Italian Catholics in the United States. When he was consecrated

Bishop of the diocese of Trenton, he determined to put into practice some of the ideas he had been formulating concerning the educational needs of the people. He sent to Rome for 20 teaching nuns who came to the United States and began to operate a training school for Italian-American teaching sisters in Trenton. The school was called Villa Victoria in honor of Mrs. Victoria Mary Pery Brady, wife of the New York philanthropist, James Cox Brady, who contributed the estate property and nearly half a million dollars for the founding of the school, Mr. Brady had purchased the estate from Harvey Fisk, internationally known banker of New York and this city, who had built it as a country home.

The training school for nuns was converted into a school for girls when Archbishop Walsh, who had been transferred to Newark, suggested that the sisters establish their mother house in Morristown. This house, known for many years as Villa Lucia, was renamed Villa Walsh on the 40th anniversary of the Archbishop's ordination.

"VICTORIANS" AID BENEFIT

Extensive preparations for the 1957 musicale are being handled by "The Victorians," a group of mothers of academy students. Mrs. Paul L. Fabian, general chairman, will be assisted by the following committee chairmen: Patrons, Mrs. James M. Cartlidge; boosters, Mrs. Julius C. Smoliga and Mrs. Robert A. Beikosky; tickets, Mrs. John J. Scheppe, Mrs. Charles V. Burkhauser, Mrs. Reynold Salvatore and Mrs. Ernest J. Taylor; publicity, Mrs. Vincent Cahill and Mrs. Herman Lavan; and special donations, Mrs. Marvin J. Riley. Mrs. Frank W. Hindley is serving as honorary chairman.

We Don't Take Dares

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an interesting editorial from the National Tribune, Stars and Stripes of May 2, 1957:

WE DON'T TAKE DARES

The heading for the following comment was inspired by a communication from a World War I veteran in Texas who offers a good argument in favor of pensions for the men of 1917–19. He is logical enough in setting forth his reasons why the group to which he belongs should receive special consideration at this time.

In his zeal, however, he took out on some of the other veterans' organizations, expressing the thought that they had failed to support the World War I men in their attempt to secure the passage of legislation beneficial to the veterans involved.

We have no quarrel with his attitude. We believe he is entitled to his views on the subject. However, in our opinion, he made one mistake. After expressing himself, he wrote, "Do you, the editor, dare to publish this article in your paper?"

Some 40 years ago the writer of this editorial had his first experience in newspaper work. He had the good fortune to work with some of the great newspapermen of that era, some whose names have become household words in the history of journalism.

Many letters from readers were received outlining their views on many subjects. One of the old gags was to dare the editor to print the letter in the hope that some freeater on the staff might accept the dare and print what might be of little argumentative value because he was dared to do it.

During the course of years we learned never to take a dare and consequently, at this stage of the game, we are not going to do so. We have written the veteran in question, complimenting him on the sound argument he sets forth and explaining why it would be necessary to delete his references to other veteran organizations.

In this connection it might be well to dwell on the history of the veterans' organizations in the hope that not only our contributor but others will understand why we do not feel that name calling of groups which do not seem to meet the wishes of other groups will result in anything beneficial to the veterans as a whole.

Shortly after the Civil War the Grand Army of the Republic was formed. It was composed of men who had served with the North in that bloody conflict. There were many of them and they banded together into a tight organization which was able not only to secure assistance for themselves and their dependents in the true tradition of America but also to control the politics of the Nation for many years. Happily, this control did not set back the country in any way—financially or otherwise.

The leaders of the Grand Army had the interests of the country at heart and by their strength were able to see to it that the United States grew prosperous during the 30 years that followed the close of the Civil War.

Then came the Spanish-American War. At the close of that 4-year struggle, veterans of the Spanish-American War formed organizations which later were merged into one great organization—the United Spanish War Veterans.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States also sprang from the war of 1898–1902 and both of these groups were well organized, following in the footsteps of their older comrades of the Grand Army. In due time they, too, were able to secure the passage of legislation beneficial to themselves and their dependents, never losing sight, however, of the larger needs of our country.

The surviving members of the Grand Army of the Republic and the veterans of the Spanish-American War worked together for a common purpose—to secure justice for themselves and to uphold the finest traditions of our country.

The country was at peace for many years until 1917 when the United States became engaged in the biggest war of its history. It was known then as the World War and it required nearly 5 million individuals to fill the ranks of fighting men before it was won.

In the spring of 1919, with splendid purpose, the American Legion was formed in Paris. Their eligibility rules permitted any veteran who had service prior to November 1918 to become a member.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars, whose ranks were always open to men who had served their country in time of war in "foreign lands or hostile waters," acquired a large number of members from the new group of veterans.

Here comes the hitch. Many important people in this country, some of them politicians, some of them big-business men, perhaps, realizing the power that the Grand Army of the Republic had wielded in the destiny of the Nation, and realizing, also, that here was the largest body of men who might ever band together in guiding the policy of the country, decided to take action.

What did they do? The old theory of warfare—"Divide and Conquer"—was resurrected and for many years, by hook or by crook, the newly formed group of the American Legion and the older organization of the Veterans of Foreign Wars were kept torn apart with petty fueds—setting one man against another until a time had come when it seemed impossible for men who had fought together in war to meet on a common ground.

It was a shrewd move and it worked. Not until 1936, when the VFW and the Legion got together on the World War I bonus were they able to secure the passage of legislation which made it unnecessary for the World War I veterans to wait years before they could secure the benefits of their bonus. So strong were the two groups that they were able to have this legislation passed over the veto of a popular President.

Happily, the two groups have become more closely allied and, with the exception of minor differences, the measures they propose to Congress in behalf of veterans seek the same ends.

Had it not been for the joint efforts of these two groups and the Disabled American Veterans, much of the benefits granted to our younger men of World War II and the Korean war might never have become law.

This shows what cooperation between the various veteran organizations can do and this is why we do not believe in denunciation when one group feels that the other group is working against it.

This, too, is why we have not taken the dare of our letter writer. We feel we are on the right track and that only through close partnership will the veterans of our wars, no matter what their organization may be called, secure the kind of legislation they want and deserve.

Racial Relations and the Courts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include two recent editorials from Virginia newspapers, the first, Clinton Revisited, from the Northern Virginia Daily, and the second, But in Mississippi, from the Richmond News Leader. The editorials follow:

CLINTON REVISITED

Does anyone remember Clinton, Tenn.?

It will be 6 months this week since the disorder that prompted the most threatening judicial action in modern times.

Last September, almost 9 months ago, the Federal district court at Knoxville, Tenn. issued an injunction which prohibited anyone from interfering with integration at the Clinton High School. Previously, the court had ordered that the high school be integrated.

This was a broad injunction which apparently was intended to run indefinitely.

On December 4, when the Clinton school had been reopened after racial disturbances, a group of segregationists on the sidewalk near the high school roughed up a preacher who was herding some Negro cildren into the formerly all-white high school. Immediately after the fracas, Clinton police arrested one man. The next day Federal marshals arrested 15 more persons.

These people were charged with violating the September injunction.

Another man was arrested and sentenced without jury trial to 30 days in jail. He was found guilty of criminal contempt of court. He dared to pass out pamphlets advocating segregation.

At the time the pamphleteer was sentenced on December 6 the Federal judge announced that the other 16 charged with violation of the injunction would be brought to trial within 10 days. They would be tried before the Federal judge who issued the injunction. They would be tried by that judge without any jury.

But what has happened? What has happened to the prompt trial of those who were brought into court in handcuffs charged with criminal contempt of the most sweeping, most outrageous court injunction in history?

A story last weekend told of the Government asking the court to deny the defendants' motion to dismiss the complaints. The story also stated: "The date for the trial has not yet been set."

In our view, the complaints should be dismissed and no trial date ever set. The injunction was denial of basic freedoms guaranteed Americans in the Constitution, a document which receives ever-diminishing governmental recognition.

In Clinton a disturbance of the peace on the sidewalks of the town has resulted in 16 persons being charged with criminal contempt of court. These persons were not parties to the original court case which resulted in the injunction. They did not misbehave in the court. They misbehaved, if found guilty, on the streets of the town.

The Federal injunction has unlimited implications. It forbids speaking or writing against integration in the Clinton High School. One man who distributed pamphlets protesting the action has been sentenced without jury trial to 30 days in jail. Others, after 6 months, still face criminal contempt of court charges.

Clinton, revisited after 6 months, still smells of obnoxious Federal court decrees.

BUT IN MISSISSIPPI?

Let us talk for a moment today of three tragic events of recent occurrence.

On the afternoon of February 16, Edward Rose, 36, a Negro building superintendent, was walking along the street with his wife, Dolores, 26, white, who was then pregnant with her fifth child. They were accosted by 4 white men, 1 of whom yelled "poor white trash" at the woman. When Rose protested, 2 of the men beat him to death while the other 2 held his wife and pinioned her arms.

On the evening of Monday, March 11, Alvin Palmer, a 17-year-old Negro high school student, was standing on a corner waiting for a bus. A gang of 15 white youths, ranging in age from 16 to 19, first sauntered past him and then turned and came back. One of the gang, alleged to be Joseph Schwartz, 17, then killed Palmer by crushing his head with a hammer. The boys subsequently told police they just "wanted to get a Negro."

On the night of Tuesday, April 24, another 17-year-old Negro youth, Curtis Bevins, was walking along a street. A car driven by an 18-year-old factory worker pulled up beside him. From the back seat of the car, police said, 19-year-old David Vandersteeg, white, fired a shotgun blast. A white girl, 17, was in the car with them. Bevins died shortly thereafter in a hospital.

What may be said of these events?

Rose was slain in Boston, young Palmer and young Bevins in Chicago.

Now, the crime of lynching ordinarily is thought of as the offense that is committed when a prisoner is taken from lawful custody and put to death by a mob. But in other times, when Tuskegee Institute used to keep a record of these things, lynching was defined to include any unprovoked slaying by reason of racial prejudice, committed by three or more persons.

Applying the same standard definition, we may make the point that the last 3 racial lynchings to occur in the United States have occurred within the past 3 months—1 in Boston, 2 in Chicago.

The northern press, which sent special correspondents to Mississippi when the Emmett Till case arose, has been strangely quiet about the slaying of Rose, Palmer, and Bevins. The New York Times, which gives prominent attention to every incident of racial violence in the South, seems to find these events not news fit to print. What is page 1 lynching in the South is merely routine homicide in the North.

The suggestion may well be renewed, as we see it, that our holier-than-thou critics beyond the Potomac look to their own problems before they undertake to instruct the South in handling its troubles down here.

Let's Stop This Shocking Waste of Scientific Manpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article in the May 1957 issue of Reader's Digest entitled "Let's Stop This Shocking Waste of Scientific Manpower" by Albert Q. Maisel.

In this article the author points out that the rapidly growing shortage of scientists and engineers is forcing cutbacks in military and civilian research programs and causing delays in the completion of urgent defense contracts, while the time and talents of thousands of our most skilled research and development minds are being squandered on useless and wasteful chores.

He points out that three times within the last year and a half this prodigal waste of manpower has been detailed and documented in testimony before congressional committees but that so far these wasteful practices continue.

The author notes that the working time of thousands of engineers and scientists serving in the Armed Forces is being wasted keeping meticulous and routine and probably useless records. He goes on to say:

About 5,000 draftees who are scientists and engineers, for example, are currently serving in the Army as privates and corporals, classified under a special scientific and professional personnel program. Theoretically, they are being utilized to relieve the pressing shortage of civilian scientists in our understaffed military research laboratories. In practice, however, the Army has not seen fit to release these men from routine chores, and half their time is wasted upon KP and other fatigue details, on compulsory attendance at training movies and marching in parades. At Fort Belvoir, Congressman CARL HINSHAW found an entire company of masters and doctors of science being removed from lab duty 2 days a week to swab pots, pick up cigarette butts, and stand guard.

At Fort Monmouth, 50 draftee engineers made a 9-month study of the Army's utilization of their time. Keeping meticulous records, they found that details having nothing to do with their specialized skills had consumed the amazing total of 31,872 hours. Less than 60 percent of their time on duty was left—in short and unpredictable snatches—for their professional assignments.

At Rossford Ordnance Depot, two half-idle engineer draftees applied for transfers. Their request was rejected "due to the critical shortage." A few days later, these same men were given the vitally important task of copying long lists of serial numbers from file cards onto sheets of paper.

It is my understanding that at the Rossford Ordnance Depot alone a consulting firm of engineers has been hired, for a staggering sum, to write specifications for small tools and equipment while only a few feet away sit several highly skilled college graduated engineers, who are wasting their time either doing nothing or performing useless menial routine jobs. Could this be the fault of some designing people among the civilian personnel who are more interested in building themselves an empire than they are in utilizing the talent at their disposal?

Let us either utilize the skills of these military personnel in the manner best suited to the interest of the United States or release them from service so that they can help to relieve the critical shortage of scientific manpower referred to by the author.

In this time of record defense spending we canont afford to waste anything—least of all precious scientific skills.

The article by Mr. Maisel follows:

LET'S STOP THIS SHOCKING WASTE OF SCIENTIFIC MANPOWER

(By Albert Q. Maisel)

A vast—and rapidly growing—shortage of scientists and engineers is forcing cutbacks in military and civilian research programs and causing critical delays in the completion of urgent defense contracts.

For lack of engineering manpower, such major manufacturers as Caterpillar Tractor and Sylvania Electric have had repeatedly to turn down invitations to bid on production of material for our Armed Forces. Raytheon, AlResearch Manufacturing and scores of other firms report intermittent slowdowns in new product development. The Radio Corporation of America is searching for at least 1,000 additional graduate engineers, General Electric for 2,300. In the Civil Aeronautics Administration 35 percent of the authorized science and engineering positions have been vacant. At Redstone Arsenal, the Army's principal missile research center, the shortage of civilian scientists has exceeded 40 percent.

Behind this mounting famine of scientific brainpower lies the fact that ever since 1950 our output of college-graduated engineers has been from 20 to 40 percent below the soaring needs of our expanding economy. This June our colleges and universities will graduate fewer than 40,000 young physicists, metallurgists, mathematicians and engineers—10,000 below the number needed to make up for deaths, retirements and the normal growth of industry and research.

Is there any way to ease this crucial shortage—right now? Indeed there is. Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, president of California Institute of Technology, pointed it out a year ago. "If we could improve by only 5 percent the efficiency of our utilization of the 600,000 engineers we already have," he declared, "we would add to the effective supply of engineering talent as much as all this year's new graduates."

But that is exactly what the Defense Department and many of our largest defense plants have not been doing. Instead, they have been squandering the time and talent of thousands of their most skilled research and development experts.

Worse yet: thousands of key men have been diverted from top priority research work to the wasteful job of luring away the scientific staffs of other defense plants, of civilian industries and college faculties, and even of the Defense Department's most important military research labs.

Most fantastic of all: the Pentagon has been fostering and financing this piratical raiding with millions of your tax dollars and mine. For the Army, Navy, and Air Force have been lavishly reimbursing their industrial contractors for the cost of thousands of pages of flamboyant want ads and hundreds of high-pressure recruiting teams.

Three times within the last year and a half this prodigal waste of money and manpower has been detailed and documented in testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy and the House Armed Services and Civil Service Committees. Members of these committees have repeatedly prodded the Defense Department to alter its talent-squandering policies. But the most wasteful practices continue unabated.

At Government expense, for example, west coast airplane and electronic plants have been flooding east coast newspapers with advertisements urging engineers to abandon their jobs in the land of slush and snow and head for sunny California. These ads promise full relocation expenses. Even dogs and cats have been crated and transported—with the taxpayer, of course, picking up the bill.

East-coast defense contractors have not taken this lying down. One large electronics manufacturer, for instance, has been using big space in newspapers all over the West for ads reading: "Are you homesick for fresh green spring, sparkling autumn, snowy winter? You can enjoy four-season living again—swimming, fishing, hunting, skating—and unique career opportunities too." In 1 year this tempting offer induced some 230 engineers, most of them originally migrants from the East, to pick up stakes for a second cross-country trek and a second round of Government-reimbursed relocation expenses.

To flush out additional prospects, military contractors have been sending swarms of recruiters to every scientific meeting. The 308 physicists who attended a recent meeting of the American Institute of Physics were besieged by more than 2,000 job offers. Out of 40,000 who went to a recent convention of electronic engineers, an estimatede 15,000 changed their positions before the sessions ended. "I was happy in my old job," explained one engineer, "but I just couldn't go home and tell my wife that I'd turned down an offer of a $2,500 increase."

What has all this shuffling and reshuffling been costing the taxpayer? With some 10,000 primary and subcontractors in the plane and missile field alone, the Pentagon has thus far been unable to supply congressional investigators with even an estimate of the total cost. But the Navy, in a spot check of 37 companies selected at random from among those doing most of their business with the Government, found that even this small group was running up total recruitment charges at the rate of nearly $9 million a year.

One contractor was spending $500,000 annually just for help-wanted advertising. Another firm's travel and moving expenses, which were charged back to the Pentagon, came to $540,000. A third firm spent $907,560 to recruit and relocate 193 engineers, but in the same period lost 134 engineers to other companies—thus scoring a net gain of only 59 men. For each engineer actually added to this plant's staff, the Treasury had to pay out $15,380.

Yet such fantastic hiring costs are only a fraction of the staggering waste. For these raids and counterraids have been drastically reducing the productivity of our existing scientific work force. Before 1950, only 3 to 4 percent of all scientists and engineers switched from one plant or laboratory to another in any given year. But last year the engineering turnover was more than 12 percent, while in airplane manufacturing the turnover rate soared to 17 percent. Throughout industry the time wasted between jobs and in becoming familiar with new assignments is now estimated to equal the full year's productivity of nearly 19,000 engineers and scientists.

To tap the only source of new scientific talent, defense contractors and other industrial firms have sent their headhunters stalking over every college campus. This spring 500 such squads descended upon Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to solicit the services of 1,200 prospective graduates. Columbia, Rensselaer, Cal Tech, Georgia Tech, and Carnegie Tech have been similarly overrun. Outstanding students often have 50 job offers to choose from, at $450 a month and up, plus fringe benefits. The result, unfortunately for the future of research, is that hundreds of the best brains abandon their plans for further study which would lead to advanced degrees. Thus, the country has been losing its future Einsteins, Fermis, and Tellers.

Nearly every Government engineering and research laboratory has had its work disrupted and delayed by the raiding. Last year alone, offers of jobs at salary increases of $1,500 to $15,000 induced over 9,300 engineers and scientists to resign from Federal positions. The quit rate in Government labs today is 50 percent higher than that of private industry and is rocketing rapidly upward. The new hire rate, on the other hand, is plummeting downward.

Ironically, it is in the laboratories of the Defense Department itself that Pentagon-subsidized personnel pirates have been wreaking their greatest havoc. The Army Engineer Corps has lost 2,000 of its civilian engineers and scientists in less than 2 years. At its Fort Belvoir Research and Development Laboratories, 1 out of every 5 of its budgeted scientific jobs is now vacant.

All three services have been desperately trying to compete with the free-spending recruiters from the defense plants. The Army engineers, for instance, made 1,164 offers of employment to civilian engineers during a recent 3-month period. They managed to hire only 52. Recruiting squads from the White Sands Proving Ground visited 74 colleges, but could induce only 47 young men to accept jobs.

While paying its contractors to wreck its own research staffs, and everyone else's as well, the Defense Department has also been wasting the working time of thousands of engineers and scientists still under its control. About 5,000 draftees who are scientists and engineers, for example, are currently serving in the Army as privates and corporals, classified under a special scientific and professional personnel program. Theoretically, they are being utilized to relieve the pressing shortage of civilian scientists in our understaffed military research laboratories. In practice, however, the Army has not seen fit to release these men from routine chores, and half their time is wasted upon KP and other fatigue details, on compulsory attendance at training movies and marching in parades. At Fort Belvoir Congressman CARL HINSHAW found an entire company of masters and doctors of science being removed from lab duty 2 days a week to swab pots, pick up cigarette butts and stand guard.

At Fort Monmouth, 50 draftee engineers made a 9-month study of the Army utilization of their time. Keeping meticulous records, they found that details having nothing to do with their specialized skills had consumed the amazing total of 31,872 hours. Less than 60 percent of their time on duty was left—in short and unpredictable snatches—for their professional assignments.

At Rossford Ordnance Depot, two half-idle engineer draftees applied for transfers. Their request was rejected "due to the critical shortage." A few days later, these same men were given the vitally important task of copying long lists of serial numbers from file cards onto sheets of paper.

What about the civilian engineers and physical scientists who still work for the services? In a recent survey Army investigators interviewed 4,000 engineers and scientists in 14 principal Army research centers. They discovered that nearly one-third of the working time of these experts was being consumed by duties that could be performed by office managers, draftsmen, laboratory assistants, bottle washers, stock clerks or messengers. The shocked investigators found that saving even half of this time—780 man-years—would make up for all the vacancies currently plaguing these Army labs.

Many large defense plants are as profligate as the Government in the misuse of scientists and engineers. A study by Booz Allen and Hamilton, management consultants, revealed that 41 percent of the scientists employed in 26 major companies were heavily burdened with such tasks as lettering on blueprints, compiling bibliographies and reports in longhand and performing repetitive calculations which could have been done by assistants.

The stock excuse for these practices is the claim that technical help is even harder to find than graduate engineers. But that alibi was punctured back in 1951 when an ad appeared in Seattle newspapers, reading: "Boeing will teach you drafting and pay while you learn. Must be able to do simple arithmetic." In the first 2 days 243 persons applied for the 6-week course, which has run to capacity ever since. Thanks to the graduates of this in-the-plant school, Boeing has trebled the proportion of semi-skilled helpers in its engineering departments and eased its shortage of engineers by at least 1,000.

By a similar plan, International Business Machines has so increased its use of technical helpers that their number now equals the combined total of its scientists and engineers. The result? The quit rate in its laboratories has fallen to less than one-sixth of the national average.

Some firms use machines to replace or aid men. Sperry Gyroscope Co., for instance, has 11 sets of electronic computers which work out in minutes the solutions to mathematical problems that formerly took scores of engineers weeks.

At Hughes Aircraft, an intensive program to improve working conditions has produced phenomenal increases in productivity. Instead of huge bull-pens, there are semi-private offices, each shared by 2 or 3 men doing related work. Instead of having to line up to obtain supplies, scientists are trusted to browse through self-service, super-market stock rooms. For every 3 engineers, there are 4 supporting technicians, clerks, and other aids. As a result, Hughes' quit rate has fallen far below the west-coast average, while engineering output has skyrocketed.

Unfortunately, instances like these are the exceptions. Far more typical are conditions reported at another plane plant where more than 1,100 engineers are crowded into a loft originally designed for 750. Another group works immediately above a wind tunnel, the noise level being 80 decibels and the summer temperature sometimes topping 100°. Two hundred additional engineers work on an open mezzanine, overlooking a metal-working shop where the noise tops that of a boiler factory. More than a third of this plant's engineering staff quit their jobs in 1956, the highest turnover in the entire airframe industry.

What can be done to eliminate this waste of talent? Must we resort to wartime controls—job freezes and wage freezes? Not at all. Our shortage of engineers and scientists could be immeasurably and immediately eased by a few simple changes in Defense Department policies.

A logical first step would be to release from military service the 5,000 draftee scientists and at least an equal number of ROTC engineers and scientists whose specialized skills are currently going almost unused. They could serve far better in defense production.

A second would be to eliminate the Defense Department's misuse of its civilian engineering force.

Third, the armed services could curb the destructive practice of personnel pirating, and save many millions of dollars besides, by stopping their lush subsidies for recruiting teams and switch-your-job ads. Compelled to pay their own hiring expenses, most defense contractors would find it far cheaper to train technical aides and to improve working conditions in order to hold on to the engineers and scientists they already have.

Finally, military procurement officials could provide an incentive, a reward, for efficient use of engineers by defense firms, just as they reward efficient manufacturing production with share-the-savings contracts.

None of these steps are the panaceas of visionaries unfamiliar with the scientific manpower problem. They have been repeatedly recommended by outstanding educators and industrialists, by professional societies of scientists and engineers, and by three successive congressional investigations. Only the public, which pays for the waste, has not been heard from. If its powerful voice rang out—in letters to the Secretary of Defense and the Members of Congress—our shocking waste of engineers and scientists would soon come to a halt.

Ambassadors of Good Will

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include therein the following editorial taken from the Camden (S. C.) Chronicle of April 26, 1957:

AMBASSADORS OF GOOD WILL

Camden families who took members of the Kingston, N. Y., high school choir into their homes report that the youngsters appeared very favorably impressed with Camden and the South.

This being true, Camden and our citizens now have some 78 good-will ambassadors who will, most assuredly, go back home and tell their families and friends, who will in their turn pass the word on along, that "southern hospitality" isn't just a figure of speech, and that some of the things the northern press is saying about this section of the country aren't true at all.

We have no idea as to how many thousands of dollars the trip set Tic-Tac President Clarence Rowland back, but we do know that there can be no price tag placed on the all-round good which will come of the visit.

Not only were the New York State students apparently very much pleased with what they saw and heard and the treatment they received on their visit here, but local citizens are firmly convinced that no finer and more talented group of youngsters could be found anywhere.

In its concert Wednesday night, the choir lived up to all advance billings, and even more. We cannot remember when we have seen a more appreciative audience. Said choir director Leonard Stine following the concert: "This audience is one of the most appreciative we have ever presented a program before." And the program was spellbinding. No wonder this splendid choir has gained national recognition.

The concert is over and the youngsters are gone, but the results of the visit will be far-reaching for years to come.

Thank you, Mr. Rowland. We can never repay you.

Happy Birthday, Industrial Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, this week is the 26th anniversary of the founding of one of the fine weekly newspapers of my district, the Industrial Press, of Ensley, Ala.

It is with much pride that I join with the editors and readers of the Press in paying tribute to this progressive home-community newspaper on its 26th birthday. Since it was founded on April 30, 1931, the Press has vigorously and energetically reported the weekly developments and occurrences of the western section of Birmingham and Jefferson County.

Mr. C. G. Thomason, the editor and publisher, is noted for his lively editorials and enlightening comments. His editorial policy is based on a quotation from Milton which he runs every week on his editorial page:

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all other liberties.

The Press, which has grown up with the western section of my county, endeavors to reflect the thinking of the fine citizens of that area. The newspaper is dedicated to a responsibility of service in the community and serves adequately and well as a community voice.

It is my pleasure, under leave heretofore granted, to insert an editorial which appeared in last week's issue of the Press, calling attention to its 26th birthday. The article follows:

TWENTY-SIXTH COMING UP—TUESDAY WILL BE BIRTHDAY FOR THE PRESS

Next Tuesday will mark the 26th anniversary of this newspaper.

As in previous years, it is again our privilege to express our thanks to the thousands of citizens in the western section whose loyalty and support have made possible the paper's continuous publication.

From its initial issue the paper has been dedicated to the constructive service of the citizens of all the communities that make up the western section of city and county. It has always been our hope that the dissemination of personal and organizational news from these communities would tend to bring them into a closer bond of friendship and cooperation. We hope we have succeeded.

Growth and development of a greater western section in recent years and months have been accepted as a still greater challenge by the Press.

May we ask a continuance of your cooperation, understanding and tolerance as we strive to meet this new challenge.

We hope you can be as proud of your home community paper as we are of our home folk—you.

Vocational Rehabilitation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I believe that our colleagues will agree that no program of the Federal Government represents a sounder investment on the part of the Amercan people than the vocational rehabilitation program. Last week at Jackson's Mill, W. Va., Region III of the National Rehabilitation Association—including West Virgina, Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky and Washington, D. C.—held its annual meeting. My colleague who represents the Sixth Congressional District of the "Mountain State" participated in the program. I am pleased to direct the attention of the House to the remarks made by the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD on Saturday noon, April 30, when he addressed the regional meeting.

Representative BYRD's remarks follow:

Ladies and gentlemen, in almost all health fields, but particularly perhaps in rehabilitation, the activity and leadership coming from voluntary associations serves to keep our Federal effort free of any hint of paternalism. Furthermore, as Americans, we can take pride in knowing that quite apart from all the points we make about the national economy and security, the basic drive behind vocational rehabilitation is one of simple humanity. The work you do saves millions of tax dollars and increases our productivity and national worth. There is no question about that. On the basis of a special study of persons rehabilitated during the 1953 fiscal year who were receiving some help from public relief agencies during rehabilitation, it is estimated that 13,000 disabled persons, about 20 percent of the total rehabilitated during the 1956 fiscal year, were dependent to some extent on public assistance either at the time of acceptance or during the process of rehabilitation. It is estimated that the cost of maintaining these 13,000 persons on public assistance for one year would be about $11.1 million. The cost of operating a basic rehabilitation program is estimated at $9.6 million.

The annual rate of earnings of the group of persons rehabilitated during the 1956 fiscal year who were receiving wages was estimated at $17.5 million before rehabilitation and $127.3 million the first year after rehabilitation.

Statistics show that rehabilitated persons pay back $10 for every $1 invested in rehabilitation.

The economic facts of rehabilitation give strong support to the proposition that vocational rehabilitation is an investment in human welfare that is completely self-liquidating. No program of the Government better illustrates the principle that the expenditure of effort and money to help people be-

come self-reliant and self-sustaining is not only proper and sound but is a prudent disbursement of public funds.

All of us, you in the field, the people in the State and Federal office of vocational rehabilitation, and Members of Congress, see the greatest rewards in terms of human lives. The true measure of your work is in terms of those children and adults who have learned to live again. That is a measure that, in the minds and hearts of all of us, transcends dollars and cents.

When we were discussing my appearance here today it was felt that the best way for me to make a contribution would be to talk about the point of view a legislator brings to bear on a subject like vocational rehabilitation. Point of view, of course, is largely a personal matter. Legislatures are made up of individuals who bring into them varied attitudes and equipment. But it is fair to think that there is such a thing as a legislative frame of mind, if I may use that phrase. In Congress, and in State legislatures, generally speaking, majority opinion evolves steadily, without many abrupt changes. In essence, this is because a legislature represents a people whose attitudes and opinions also evolve that way. As we go along, day-to-day, we hardly seem to be changing at all. But if we stop to take a backward look we will sometimes be surprised at how far we have come. In this context it might be instructive to review the situation in Congress and the Nation when the Vocational Rehabilitation Act had its rather modest birth in 1920.

At that time, or rather, during the hearings held by the 65th and 66th Congress in 1918 and 1919, the plans for Federal grants-in-aid to the States for vocational rehabilitation were presented as representing "social justice on the one hand, social economy on the other." Federal participation was presented as being nothing more than stimulating to the States. There was a great deal of interest throughout the country, on the part of industry, labor, State government, and private organizations. No one was sure, exactly, how big the problem was. Everyone knew that inaction was resulting in a tragic waste of lives. We don't today, see the alternative to this program in terms of disabled people out on the streets selling shoelaces or just plain begging, but that was the way they saw it then. There was, then, very little resistance to the idea in Congress. What resistance there was—and the printed hearings bear out that it was a sincere, thoughtful, high-minded resistance, with nothing arbitrary in it—took two phases. On the one hand was this problem: was Congress invading a territory better left to the States? What little experience there was in this respect concerned the land-grant colleges and the still new Office of Vocational Education. The proponents of the measure quite honestly expected Federal participation, in dollars, to remain small. They expected that State contributions would greatly outweigh Federal contributions. And great care was taken to see that actual administration would remain in State control.

The second type of question—I won't say objection—raised was whether or not the bill was too inclusive. The famous phrase "injured in industry or otherwise" raised a spectre of a program to retain at public expense practically the whole population. One representative, for example, wondered if this term might not be construed to include everyone who gets sick. The difficulties implicit in limiting the phraseology were illustrated by the case of an employee receiving a disabling injury while on the way to work. This was at the joint committee hearings in 1918 in it is significant to note that the Representative raising the question was not objecting to the bill. He was prepared to vote it out of committee favorably. But he was concerned with the problem of seeing it through the House and Senate, and getting it made into law. Then, as now, Congress needed facts with which to work. Proponents of the measure had the Members' sympathy, but sympathy was not enough. During those hearings in 1918, the members wanted facts. They wanted some idea of the scope of vocational disability. What was the dollar value of lost productivity? How many people actually needed vocational rehabilitation? In 1918 these questions could not be answered with any statistical certainty, but the committee heard a wealth of testimony on the situation in individual industries or in particluar areas. They could not get all the information they wanted, but they heard that other countries were doing more than we were, that the problem was widespread and grave, and that programs abroad, and isolated programs here, showed that handicapped persons could be helped to economic and spiritual self-sufficiency. The 65th Congress did not get to vote on the bill, but it was reintroduced in the 66th, and became law on June 2, 1920.

Passage of this act did not usher in any millenium, as we all know. It has been a long, hard pull. First you people in vocational rehabilitation had to build up your programs in the States. When you first started there was only a handful of people who knew something about the subject. You had to create a new discipline, build up a national pool of knowledge, invent new skills and then train people to use them. You also had to make friends, so to speak, or open lines of communication with various people in State and local governments, in industry and in labor. And, most importantly, you had somehow to reach the handicapped. You had to let them know you were there, and convince them that you had something worthwhile to offer. Over and above all this there has always been the problem of getting your program across to Congress and the State legislatures.

Generally, you have done a good job. Legislators want facts, as I said before, and a lot of them have been developed since those early days. Now you can give us the facts, facts which are pretty well irresistable on a dollar and cents basis.

In 1943, with passage of the Barden-LaFollette amendments to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, your movement closed the book on the chapter of ancient history and moved into an exciting future. It was in the succeeding decade that you were able to entertain the notion of caring for all the handicapped, no matter how severe their deficiencies.

Physical restoration: What a wonderful phrase that is. Every year saw new kinds of cares taken in hand for the first time. Counseling receded into the background as physical medicine advanced. And all parts worked together harmoniously. As physical medicine advanced, so did the science of prosthetics. At the same time there were developments of new jobs, or job skills, for the rehabilitees. The progress in physical medicine accompanied that of the rehabilitation center as a means of restoring the more severely handicapped. And the 1954 amendments will result in an even greater significance for the rehabilitation center. Sheltered workshops, too, have grown in importance, for you are restoring people now who cannot be expected to step right out into competitive employment. We can hope, and expect, that future legislation will help expand that part of the program.

Right now, the legislative pattern for the vocational rehabilitation program seems to me to be pretty adequate in its broad outlines. There are areas where it can be improved, or added to, of course. But it now seems to encompass the field, and it has about as much flexibility as legislation can have without becoming vague or indefinite. What we need now is more money for expansion, more rehabilitation centers, more sheltered workshops, and more trained personnel.

Now, in the 37 years since passage of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, I understand there have been great changes, evolutionary ones, in your thinking. Along with this has been the development, or cultivating, of local planning and responsibility.

Some of our present-day developments were dismissed in 1918 as highly unlikely. It was felt, for example, that private organizations would by their very nature be limited to small pilot studies. No one foresaw the present day's tremendous response to fund-raising campaigns of the voluntary health agencies. Then again, it was anticipated that rehabilitation work would require no new facilities. The sponsors of the act decried the possibility. And there has been one big change that has come about so slowly most of us never think of it. Back in the early twenties everyone discussing vocational rehabilitation operated on the tacit assumption that a great many cases were hopeless. In those days they were thinking mostly of injured persons in whom one faculty was lost or impaired, but who were still mostly sound—almost the entire emphasis was on developing vocational skill with what a man had left to him when he came to the agency. When vocational opportunities were discussed, there was a lot of talk about running bee farms or raising capons. They never contemplated the day—how could they contemplate the day?—when men who had lain for 20 years on their backs would be carried into hospitals on stretchers and would walk out to face a new life 6 months later.

There are quite a few people who have never had any personal, intimate knowledge of severely handicapped persons. They have seen them in the streets, perhaps, but this problem is pretty remote and impersonal. When we talk of the inspiring history of this movement, we know that to some it is just a matter of statistics. This is not a matter of heartlessness. How, without knowledge, can you look at a man, distinguishable only by some peculiarity in his gait, and appreciate the narrow margin between his present state and a vegetative existence? One doesn't begin to comprehend this field until he knows the "before and after" status of particular individuals. There is a tendency with some people to see, or hear of, a man rotting helplessly on a cot, and to think that his case is helpless. They would rather not think about him any more. It is too painful. They drop a penny in the hat and forget about him. But here, in a coal mining State, you won't find that apathy and indifference.

To every coal miner, and to everyone who knows the mines, severely crippling injuries have been far from remote. Men so crippled they would never work or walk again have been part of everyone's experience. The fear of becoming a hopeless cripple, even more than the fear of death, has haunted every coal miner. And no matter how safe the mines have become, they are still places of great hazards.

So here, in a coal mining State, where you have the greatest awareness of what being handicapped means, you will find the greatest appreciation of rehabilitation. And it is fiting that in these areas you find the greatest development in civilian rehabilitation, the most exciting and inspiring story of all with a remarkable display of courage, ingenuity, and humanity. The United Mine Workers have launched their own drive to wipe out the backlog of so-called hopeless cases. Although the initiative has come from the mine workers, they have not of course worked alone. They have received full cooperation from State and Federal agencies, and they have found rehabilitation

personnel and facilities ready to work with them.

Being a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I sometimes think that if we could adequately publicize this program abroad it would create a much better understanding of us among people in general over there. As a matter of fact, if we could adequately publicize it here in this country it would really wake the public up.

Judging by results, the rehabilitation program seems to operate on the assumption that no case is hopeless. The work we hear of today gives new meaning to the old phrase, "where there's life there's hope."

There has been a steadily growing tendency, reflected in legislation, to see the rehabilitative process whole; to see it as an integrated part of the entire complex of health service and facilities. The 10 beautiful hospitals built by the UMW will not be isolated centers—they are part of a new dynamic approach which aims for total health. If they are the forerunners of more and more local initiative, on the part of labor, industry, and community, the future of vocational rehabilitation may be brighter than any one of us thinks. The best thing about the initiative that comes from the base of the pyramid, rather than the tip, is that this is the best way to get new ideas into action, and to get brilliant new approaches.

At this point, I wish it were possible to predict what this Congress, and subsequent ones, are going to do about rehabilitation. Unfortunately, I do not have a crystal ball. But this much I can say: over the years congressional support of vocational rehabilitation has strengthened as our understanding has deepened. We see great progress in techniques, we see the State programs getting stronger and more far reaching. It would seem that we are now at one of those historical points where we can launch an all-out drive to bring this program within reach of every handicapped person in the United States.

On past evidence there will be no partisanship in approach to any bills relating to vocational rehabilitation. And just as we are certain of your unselfishness and concern for the general welfare, so can you be sure of our continued interest in your great work. The future is really up to you.

What Alabama Makes Makes Alabama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, this is Alabama Industry Week in my home State. We are celebrating it because we believe in the saying: "What Alabama Makes Makes Alabama."

As the whole Nation knows, Alabama is enjoying a tremendous industrial expansion. Entirely a rural area not long ago, our State is rapidly becoming urban with new factories and plants popping up almost daily. During 1956 at least 160 large industries were located or existing industries were materially expanded within the State. The new facilities provided 18,604 additional jobs in Alabama, which led the director of the Alabama Department of Industrial Relations, Eugene Wells, to boast with reason:

There is a job for every able-bodied man in Alabama who wants to work today.

While other Southern States are worried about a serious migratory problem in labor, Alabama is able to supply the jobs for its laborers which neighboring States are not. In fact, the creation of the 18,604 new industrial jobs in Alabama last year should show these average community gains, based upon a recent United States Chamber of Commerce report: 55,068 more persons, 20,836 more households, 19,906 more automobiles, 744 more retail stores, and 32,371 more workers employed in other industries.

Alabama industrial expansion announced in 1956 totaled $376,287,000—an all-time record in our State. This is certainly graphic proof of the confidence which industry has in Alabama. Mr. Roland L. Adams, president of the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce, calls this one of the very best selling points we have in attracting more and more industries to our great State.

So far this year, a total of 22 new plants or large expansion programs have been revealed. Mr. Pleas Looney, director of the Alabama planning and industrial development board, reports that the 1957 outlook is much brighter than it was this time in 1956 because of the development of Alabama's waterways system. Now seriously considering Alabama sites are a number of heavy type industries requiring an abundant water supply and low-cost barge transportation.

Alabama industry is truly in high gear. When the wheels of industry are humming, economic prosperity is here. The industries are happy, the workers are happy, the merchants are happy; all the State is happy.

It is thus with much pride that my State this week is celebrating Alabama Industry Days. This eighth annual observance, from April 29 through May 4, is under the sponsorship of the Associated Industries of Alabama.

Another outstanding organization which has certainly done its part in boosting local business is the Birmingham "committee of 100," which is 7½ years old today. It was organized in December 1949. During the previous 2 years, not a single new factory had located in Birmingham, the iron and coal center of the South. It was almost unbelievable but true. Overnight, 100 civic leaders set to work to woo new industry. The committee was overwhelmingly successful. It has since brought more than 100 major plants, warehouses, and district sales offices to Birmingham and Jefferson County. In 1956, 20 new plants were established in the county and 26 local companies expanded their facilities. The new industries added $74 million to the area's annual payroll.

In just 66 months, the Birmingham "committee of 100" has given the Birmingham area new and vital lifeblood. New factories mean new markets. A boon in industry is a boon to business in general.

On the occasion of Alabama Industry Week, I would like to salute the individual industries whose management has had the foresight to move to Alabama. I trust that their economic prosperity in our State will encourage other industries to follow.

In this connection, under leave heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, an article headlined "Why Does Industry Move to the South?" which appeared in the April 28, 1957, edition of the Birmingham News, one of the fine dailies in my district:

RESOURCES, LABOR, MARKET, ETC.: WHY DOES INDUSTRY MOVE TO THE SOUTH?—HERE'S WHAT A STUDY TURNED UP

Why is industry moving to Alabama and the South?

Two members of the industrial development department of Alabama Power Co. have spent considerable time studying that question. They were W. Cooper Green, Alabama Power vice president, and head of the department, and Ed Staub.

Here's the way they described the basic things that are luring industry southward:

1. LABOR

"The labor pool is deep enough to last for many years. Because of mechanization on the farm and the transition from cotton to livestock production, more and more people are available for industrial work. Also the modern trend by industrial management is to shift the back-breaking burden and human skill to machines. * * *

"Most of the big corporations that recently built plants in Alabama and the South were not searching primarily for cheap labor, but rather for a labor population that was young, quick to learn, and productive. Cheap labor in the South is a misnomer. * * * Industrialists have recognized that per unit of production, the workers in the South are on a par, and in many cases have proved superior to workers in other areas."

2. NATURAL RESOURCES

"In natural resources, the South has no equal and can match or excel any region in the Nation. The efficient utilization of these raw materials has barely begun.

"The South sells itself when it has this much to offer out of the Nation's storehouse:

"Seventy percent of the Nation's petroleum, 80 percent of all the natural gas, 61 percent of all navigable waterways, 35 percent of all potential waterpower east of the Rocky Mountains, 22 percent of all the coal, 75 percent of all the graphite, 40 percent of all commercial forest area, 40 percent of the phosphate rock, 100 percent of all the bauxite, and ample water supply. From this listing, it is little wonder that in the last 5 years, more than half of the Nation's new chemical plants have located south of the Mason-Dixon line."

3. MARKET

"Our area is the fastest growing market in the Nation for consumer goods. With each new factory the market grows. Someone has to supply this market, and foresighted industrialists will continue to locate branch plants at points of consumption. Per capita income in the Southeast has risen from $332 in 1940 to $1,292 in 1955, an increase of 301 percent.

"In Alabama it has risen from $268 to $1,181 during the same period, a rise of 340 percent. Saleswise the South * * * offers merchants and advertisers tremendous opportunities. * * *

"As industry continues to locate and expand in Alabama and the South * * * the result will be additional increase in per capita income, and a general rise in the economic level. This will mean a demand for products that must be satisfied. * * * It is cheaper to serve this new market by branch plants than by freights."

4. CLIMATE

"The South is endowed with a uniform climate that makes for good year-around working conditions."

5. WATER SUPPLY

"Alabama and the South are blessed by a plentiful supply of both ground and surface water * * * Alabama has more than 531 square miles of inland water area and 1,091 square miles of total water area."

6. TRANSPORTATION

"Alabama is geographically located in the very center of the southern market, and is the logical hub for shipments to the various distribution centers.

"The Warrior-Tombigbee-Mobile Waterway is luring new industries to its banks at a recordbreaking speed."

7. POWER AND ENERGY RESOURCES

"In Alabama and the South there is a plentiful supply of electric power with rates less than, or comparable to any other region. * * *

"Natural gas pipelines are all over Alabama and the South.

"Energy for industry is one of the least of our worries."

7. DECENTRALIZATION

"In this age of atomic power and threats of recession, industry is looking southward. There is room to expand here.

"If the national economy deflates, the South's new factories will be the last to sag because they are among the newest and most efficient in the Nation."

8. COOPERATION FROM THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH

"One thing you don't mark down on the budget sheet, but does show up in the final balance sheet is the friendliness and cooperative spirit on the part of existing industries, community leaders and citizens to incoming manufacturers."

9. NOTHING SELLS LIKE SUCCESS

"For every $1 million spent in new branch plants, the southern people have overmatched that with $15 million for expansion of already established plants.

"The years 1955 and 1956 saw more than $350 million worth of capital investment allocated for new industries and expansions of existing industries, in Alabama. Industry's plans point to another recordbreaking year for 1957."

A Thoughtful Man Looks at Mr. Eisenhower's Performance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents has a weekly column in a local newspaper. He is George Meyer, who writes for the Badger Enterprise. He is possessed of a charming spontaneity of style which does credit to his original and wide-ranging thoughts. Last week he wrote an article which I feel expresses the reactions of many of my constituents. Under leave to extend my remarks, I request permission to place in the RECORD, his very lucid column Scraps From Here and There from the Badger Enterprise of April 26:

SCRAPS FROM HERE AND THERE

(By George A. Meyer)

Usually in this column I try to make like a Congressman and say what I think most of you would like to have me say. That's because I'm a modest, peace-loving guy who would do practically anything to keep out of trouble. But once in a while I get a bullheaded streak and say what I please on an unpopular subject, without worrying whether anybody agrees with me or not. This just happens to be one of those rare occasions.

Last week I quoted Senator GOLDWATER as saying in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that this $72 billion budget of Ike's is a deplorable departure from the kind of leadership we've had during the past 4 years. Well, as a Congressman would say, let's take a look at the record. Or, as a former boss of mine used to say, "Let's get the dope, Kid, let's get the dope."

Eisenhower promised peace, parity, and prosperity in order to win the election in 1952, and what did we get? The first thing he did was to give away a large slice of our national wealth in the form of tidelands oil. It doesn't help to say it was no giveaway because the Government still gets a small royalty on part of it. We can't blame Ike too much. After he hocked his political future to buy votes, the only honest thing to do was to pay up.

Peace? Sure, if you favor peace at any price, peace based on bribes paid to Arab dictators, peace riding on a truce so shaky that it's liable to blow up in our faces any minute. What has become of the "millions for defense but not one cent for tribute" kind of peace? That's the kind where the flavor lasts.

It's all right to depend on the United Nations to settle disputes, but somebody must hold the line while the U. N. is getting it's equipment ready to move. No use holding back until there's no longer anything left to settle. The Berlin airlift and prompt action in Korea kept the Communists from taking over large areas of the free world. So what did the President do? Let the Reds off the hook in Korea, where they were bogged down, only to have them break out on a new front and gobble half of Indochina.

The action of this administration in offering Nasser help in building the Aswan Dam, then withdrawing that offer, brought on this whole Middle East crisis, which is still threatening to break out into global war at any time. It is on a par with all their other brink of war moves, and this brink location is getting to be not only uncomfortable but expensive. In every case, our Government has talked a good fight, then backed off and allowed the dictators to have their own way. If we depend on footwork instead of punching power to win our battles we'll be on the run for a long time, and this bout is not limited to a specific number of rounds.

Prosperity? Ike denounced the Truman administration as being wasteful and extravagant, promised to cut the budget, reduce taxes, reduce the national debt. He made a good start, then reversed the field. Since then his budgets have gone up steadily until his latest is the biggest peacetime budget in history. The national debt is at an alltime high, with bigger deficits in all departments of the Government. What tax cuts have been for the benefit of big business and folks in the higher income brackets. Wage increases granted labor have been added to the cost of national defense, industrial output including farm machinery and consumer goods, threefold. Big business has prospered magnificently, but the rest of the economy is far worse off than it was in 1952.

For 4 years he was against Federal housing, Federal aid to schools, and the soil bank. Then in 1956, in order to win reelection he was suddenly in favor of all three. He managed to stall Federal aid to schools until the lawmakers of the more prosperous States decided they would be better off without it. The future of that issue is still in doubt, but by advocating it he won a lot of votes last year, and that apparently was his main object.

He favored the soil bank in 1956 for the same reason, then when Congress passed a law containing the soil bank provisions, he promptly wrecked it. He did this by using the soil bank program for disaster relief, paying farmers for flooded or dried-out acres, and by fixing corn support prices to farmers who did not comply with soil bank regulations only slightly below the prices paid those who did comply. Under such a setup, producers could see no inducement for taking good land out of production. The natural result was a bigger crop and a bigger surplus sliding scale support program.

Higher price supports at the start, coupled with acreage controls, could have brought the surplus down to a point where it would be no burden, but apparently that was not what Eisenhower wanted. What he does want is to build up more and more surplus until the Government is forced to drop all price-support programs, and put the farmer at the mercy of finance and industry, just as they were up to about the year 1940.

He may succeed, but in so doing he may also wreck the health and welfare program. The additional millionaires he has created by his methods will hardly be able to maintain it and when the rank and file decide that it is easier to move than pay rent when we reach the point where tax delinquency is the rule rather than the exception, that program will collapse. We'll be lucky if the defense program doesn't collapse right along with it.

Eisenhower may be a great leader, but we didn't want to go in the direction he is leading us. Unless Congress wakes up, and soon, he will succeed in leading us back into economic slavery.

Most of us won't strain our eyes looking for a tax cut right away. What we would like is an income to pay taxes with. Gabriel Hauge, Ike's chief economic adviser (and he should know better because he hails from this poverty ridden district) says he hopes we may possibly get one by 1960. Which is probably a nice way of saying he hopes our votes will be for sale again in the next Presidential election.

We really don't mind eating crow. We're used to it, but we hate to have it sent to us direct from Washington, with directions printed on it yet. Like this story the caretaker at Ballard's used-car cemetery handed me. The Washington Biological Survey put metal bands on wild birds in order to study their migration habits. These bands were stamped "Wash. Biol. Surv." Not long after they got a letter from an angry taxpayer, like this: "Sirs, I shot one of your pet crows, and followed the instructions. I Washeed it, Bioled it, and Surved it, but it still tasted terrible. Are you sure you guys know what you're doing?"

The Late Senator Robert A. Taft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I am confident that the people of Ohio and of the Nation are gratified to learn that the portrait of the beloved late Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, is to be placed in the Senate reception room as 1 of the 5 outstanding Senators of the past.

We, of Ohio, were confident that Robert A. Taft was qualified for the honored selection. Indeed, we would have been

disappointed had his name not been selected. We knew him and loved him. We rejoiced when his conservative convictions which he refused to compromise won for him the admiration of all America in the campaign of 1950.

It has always been my personal belief that Senator Robert Taft could have obtained higher office had he been willing to modify some of his convictions. But, his position in the hearts of his fellow Americans would have been lowered.

His portrait in the Senate reception room, the life he lived, and the principles for which he stood, will serve as an inspiration to those who now, and in future years, will represent his State and his country and to the youth of America who wish to enlist their services and their lives in the campaign to keep America strong, free, and American.

The Day Congress Surrendered Unconditionally

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the New Republic on April 29, 1957:

THE DAY CONGRESS SURRENDERED UNCONDITIONALLY

(From a revised American history, published in 1987 by Harcourt-Harcourt)

Nineteen hundred and fifty-seven was the year the congressional revolt that failed. And the man who broke it was Dwight D. Eisenhower. It all began with "Summerfield's Rebellion." Summerfield, a Michigan automobile dealer who had observed at first-hand the success of union sitdown strikers in the thirties, became embroiled with Congress over a request for $47 million in additional funds for operation of the post offices. Although Summerfield had not been very successful in speeding up mail delivery, he was popular among Republicans because he painted mail boxes in patriotic colors.

When Congress refused to open its purse to Summerfield, he closed the post offices over weekends and sharply reduced mail service. Pension checks were delayed. Third-class mail advertisements of spring sales arrived after the sales were over. Within a week the sitdown strike had brought Congress to its knees.

Now this so impressed the White House that it immediately instructed the Bureau of the Budget to survey the entire Government and find out what other agencies could uses the Postmaster General's technique successfully. The study was carried out quickly, and though the Presidential order had been stamped top secret, Doris Fleeson printed it verbatim, and Drew Pearson added a few lines of his own. There were, naturally, some indignant mumblings from the Congress, but no outright revolt—not until, as a result of the Budget Bureau study, Mr. Eisenhower summoned the leaders of Congress to the White House and presented them with the following ultimatum:

Defense Department: Unless the proposals of the Department were pushed through Congress without change, the Strategic Air Command would henceforth be idle on weekends, which would start at noon on Thursday and end at noon on Monday.

Treasury: Unless Treasury's requests for appropriations were honored in full, the Secretary would withdraw all pennies, nickels, and dimes now in circulation, and mint no more.

State: Unless State got the funds it asked for, John Foster Dulles would stop giving interviews to employees of Time and Life, thus depriving the public of its only chance of finding out what American foreign policy really is.

Interior: The National Parks would be closed from June through September.

Agriculture: All price-support payments would cease immediately.

The President thereupon left for Georgia, and the stunned Congress met in extraordinary session to map its counter-strategy. There were weeks of debate; a few thought the President's proposals were a good thing; most didn't, and Congress, not knowing what else to do, went home. Summer came and went, the President became tanned and fit, the stock market slipped, but the Congress stood firm.

Finally, Mr. Eisenhower's advisers, who had got him into the fight in the first place, begged him to relent. Things could not go on this way. The President's unexpected response was so out of character, his aids would not believe their ears. "We shall fight," he said.

And then, as if the gods themselves could no longer abide the impasse, the President accidentally picked up a newspaper one morning and there found a suggestive story. It appears that one day a Republican Congressman struck up a conversation with Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, Democrat of California, in the House lobby. They were discussing a resolution the House had just passed, telling the President, in effect, to go cut his own budget. "How," asked the Republican of Mr. ROOSEVELT, "do you think your daddy would have reacted to such a resolution?" "I think I know what he would have done," replied the late President's son. "He would have sent back a very courteous note saying he'd be happy to tell Congress where to cut his budget. Then he'd have cut at least one project from the district of every House Member who voted for the resolution."

The effect on Mr. Eisenhower was electric. To the crew of the *Columbine*, now fit and tanned, there was flashed the red alert. Back to Washington flew the President. Within 24 hours, Congress and the country were informed: The extra $1.5 billion authorized by the Senate in the spring of 1957 for pork-barrel projects would be added to the $8 billion previously authorized (but unspent) for "rivers and harbors," and not 1 cent of the total figure would be expended by the Army Corps of Engineers—ever. No Sandy Lick Creek Dam at Brookville, Pa. No Mad River Dam in Connecticut. No Bruces Eddy Reservoir in Idaho. No LaQuinta Channel in Texas. Nothing.

The war was over. General Eisenhower received the congressional surrender in the Oval Room of the White House, in the presence of the Cabinet, the press, his brother Edgar, and the ex-King of Jordan, who happened to be passing through town.

Your Hidden Tax Boost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include therein the following editorial taken from the April 23, 1957, issue of the Rock Hill (S. C.) Evening Herald:

YOUR HIDDEN TAX BOOST

Was it a little tougher to pay Uncle Sam income tax this year?

If it was, here's a reason you may not have thought of:

Prices rose last year. So did many wages. But the personal income tax exemption you could claim for each dependent remained at $600.

This meant that, although your cost of supporting each dependent went up, the Government did not consider this in its allowance for exemptions. This amounted to a hidden tax boost.

The result was that, you received higher wages to help you keep up with higher living costs, the Government taxed part of it away.

Storm Over Budget Brews on Hill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks I include a discerning and appropriately written article by Marquis Childs entitled "Storm Over Budget Brews on Hill" appearing in the Washington Post and Times Herald of May 1, 1957.

It will be interesting to see if President Eisenhower will show, as stated in the article, more effort and determination in behalf of the essentials of his program than he has demonstrated during the past 4½ years. If so, he will have to evidence that leadership among his own party, not only in Congress, but with Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey. For the rollcall votes of this session show that a clear majority of the Pesident's own party (Republican) have consistently voted against his recommendations.

The test of leadership that faces the President is whether he can get his own party to follow and support him.

The article follows:

STORM OVER BUDGET BREWS ON HILL

(By Marquis Childs)

Democrats returning from the Easter recess are voicing their indignation over what they heard back home from prominent Republicans. This was no less than a demand that they, the Democrats, cut President Eisenhower's $72 billion budget or take the political rap for "big spending."

Those Democrats who have felt obligated to support foreign aid, school construction, and other measures Mr. Eisenhower has called for are beginning to ask why they should deliberately put themselves in the line of fire from the Republican right wing. The reaction to the stop-the-spending propaganda being lavishly poured out in many parts of the country is bad news for the President's program.

In Oregon, an advertisement in newspapers denounced the spending spree, demanding that Uncle Sam come to his senses and start living within the income we can afford. The advertisement was sponsored by six corporations, including the Hyster Co. of Portland, of which Ernest Swigert, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, is the head.

The advertisement, which quotes the President as saying he hopes Congress will cut the budget wherever it can, asks voters to write to Senators WAYNE MORSE and RICHARD NEUBERGER, and to Representative EDITH GREEN, all Democrats.

In other words, here were Republicans calling on Democrats to defeat the President on issues he has repeatedly said are vital. If there are to be any large budget cuts, they must come out of foreign aid or defense, and the President has said that cuts in aid will be damaging to American foreign policy.

This is a pattern that is becoming repetitious. Last year, in response to an urgent appeal from Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who said he spoke with the authority of the President in behalf of aid for Yugoslavia, NEUBERGER voted with the administration. Yet when he went back to Oregon some Republicans accused him of being pro-Communist because of his vote to give economic help to Marshal Tito.

Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, the Republican leader of the Senate, and Senator STYLES BRIDGES, chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, both opposed the President on aid for Yugoslavia.

The pattern, NEUBERGER and other Democrats complain, is one of having your cake and eating it, too. When NEUBERGER ran for the Senate in 1954, Senators GEORGE W. MALONE, of Nevada, and HENRY C. DWORSHAK, of Idaho, went into Oregon to campaign against him on a "back Ike" appeal. Yet the Congressional Quarterly record of votes for the 1956 session of Congress shows that NEUBERGER supported the President on foreign policy on 95 percent of all rollcalls, while the record for MALONE was 27 percent and for DWORSHAK 36 percent.

Shortly before Members of Congress went on their Easter holiday the House defeated an amendment which would have cut the appropriation to support international commissions in which the United States has an important role.

Of the 166 House Members who voted for the cut, 99 were Republicans and 67 were Democrats. Of the 205 who voted against the cut, 128 were Democrats and 77 Republicans. Speaker SAM RAYBURN sputtered indignantly that once again the Democrats had to come to the rescue of the Republican President.

Democratic leaders in both the Senate and House complain that there is little or no effort on either side of the Capitol to rally support for the President among the members of his own party. More often than not the attitude is one of indifference or private opposition to what the White House wants.

Returning from his golfing vacation at Augusta, Ga., the third play-rest-work interval since the first of the year, the President will have to face up to the revolt over the budget. In the words of one of his congressional critics, he will have to fish or cut bait. He will, in short, have to show more effort and determination in behalf of the essentials of his program than he has demonstrated during the past 4½ years.

Poland's National Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, May 3 commemorates the anniversary of the enactment of the first democratic constitution in Poland. Yet, today finds Poland struggling valiantly against the dominating fist of Soviet Communist Russia.

Under the handicap of this terrible tragedy, the people of Poland never cease fighting for their freedom. Their courageous uprising at Poznan last June, and the Polish October events, point up the fact that the rank and file of the Polish people will not rest until they are free again.

The United States can always be proud of the people of Poland and their descendants who settled in the United States. Their help in building this country to its present greatness can hardly be estimated in terms of statistics.

The people of Poland have proven conclusively, during the past year, that they can rise again and, by their demonstrations, wholeheartedly reject Soviet control of Poland and Communist dictatorship. All peoples of the free world will join in a frevent prayer on this anniversary that freedom for the people of Poland will not be too far in the future.

"National Origins" Should Be Kept in Immigration Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Saturday Evening Post of April 20, 1957:

"NATIONAL ORIGINS" SHOULD BE KEPT IN IMMIGRATION LAW

Those who oppose immigration laws based upon the national-origins system would burn the barn to roast the pig.

The national-origin system means that new arrivals to our shores would not upset the balance among racial and national groups which now exists. The system was adopted in 1924, after years of debate. It was described as sound democratic policy by Robert C. Alexander in last spring's issue of Law and Contemporary Problems, published at Duke University. Mr. Alexander was engaged from 1938 to 1954 in advising upon immigration and refugee matters in the State Department. The principal provisions of the 1924 law were codified in the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952 (the McCarran-Walter Act) after 5 years of public hearings and study.

President Truman appointed an executive commission which spent 2 months in organizing, one in listening to selected opponents of the act, and another in writing a report. The document was of tremendous propaganda value for the national committee to repeal the McCarran Act. It excited the interest of the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee, which attempted to extract from Abner Green, executive secretary of the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, an admission that he had a part in setting up the Committee To Repeal the McCarran Act. Green took the fifth amendment on every question relating to the committee.

Of course, there are many sincere opponents of the national-origins system. Most of their strength is in the big eastern and northern cities where most descendants of recent immigrants live. Support of the present system lies mostly in the people on the farms, in the villages, towns, and smaller cities.

We should open the door for as many worthy aliens as we can. But we must hold fast to our policy so that the cultural characteristics of our population will not be materially altered.

Taxation Without Representation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, on April 16 I offered an amendment to H. R. 6871 to cut the appropriation for United States contributions to international organizations. The amendment was tentatively adopted, but was later rejected on a rollcall vote.

In support of the amendment, I referred to a meeting of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization in New Delhi, India, at which time the United States contribution to UNESCO was raised, despite the opposition of the United States delegation.

The Boston Daily Record commented on this matter in an editorial appearing in the April 29 edition, and I desire to include the editorial as part of my remarks:

"UNCLE SUGAR" BECOMES "UNCLE SAP"

Representative GROSS, Republican, of Iowa, called the attention of his colleagues the other day to the manner in which the expenditures of the Federal Government are increased by international authority, without American consent and even over American objections.

There had been a conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in New Delhi, India, at which an increase in the American contribution to the expenses of the organization was proposed.

The American delegate objected strenuously to the imposition of new tax burdens upon the people of the United States, but the delegations of 27 nations supported it, with only 20 opposed.

Ironically, as Mr. GROSS observed, 6 of the nations voting against the United States on the matter are delinquent in their own UNESCO contributions.

The effect of the action is exactly what he suggested, that the nations which have not lived up to their own obligations have succeeded in shifting their burdens to the United States.

But Mr. GROSS notes an infinitely more offensive phase of the matter. What it all boils down to is this, as he remarked:

"In other words, 27 nations had the power to levy on American tax dollars."

The indignation of the Iowa Congressman is widely shared.

The UNESCO organization is highly controversial, and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has called it "by far the worst danger spot from the standpoint of disloyalty and subversive activity among Americans employed by international organizations."

But even if UNESCO is the useful organization its supporters believe it to be, it is still a gross imposition upon the American people that their tax burdens can be increased by the sole authority of an international body

in which our own country has only one voice among nearly half a hundred.

When nations that do not bother to pay their own share of the costs of UNESCO can and do pass the whole load over to the American people, then the old appellations of "Uncle Sugar" and "Uncle Sap" have new and unpleasant meanings.

The enormous and sometimes wasteful expenditures of our own Government are notorious, but at least they are made with the authority of the American people, however mistakenly.

This illuminating experience with UNECSO suggests that we are not so far as we thought from the days of the Boston Tea Party, when taxation without representation touched off the first bonfires of national indignation.

Max Abelman's 70th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the text of a resolution introduced in the New York State Legislature by Assemblyman Bernard Austin, of my district, in honor of Max Abelman, who celebrated his 70th birthday on January 26, 1957.

Mr. Abelman is one of Brooklyn's leading citizens and is often referred to as Brooklyn's ambassador of good will. The text of the resolution is as follows:

Concurrent resolution honoring Max Abelman, Brooklyn's ambassador of good will, upon the occasion of the 70th anniversary of his birthday

Whereas the Borough of Brookyln in the city of New York is proud of its many distinguished citizens in the realm of every human activity; and

Whereas by citation issued on October 5, 1949 by the Borough President of the said Borough, Brooklyn's favorite son Max Abelman was honored with the designation as "Brooklyn's ambassador of good will"; and

Whereas the 26th day of January 1957 will mark the 70th birthday of Max Abelman; and

Whereas by his lifelong devotion to the constructive endeavors of philanthropy and his zealous championship of the cause of civic betterment he has given expression to the highest ideals of Americanism and good citizenship; and

Whereas his dedicated and unremitting service to the cause of bringing about better understanding and reciprocal esteem among all people without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin was evidenced by the special diploma of honor awarded to him by the University of Manila, Republic of the Philippines, on December 8, 1955; and

Whereas the noble career of Max Abelman has been an inspiration to his fellow citizens not alone in Brooklyn but throughout the State of New York: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the members of the Legislature of the State of New York, on behalf of themselves and all of the people of the State, extend to Max Abelman their heartiest congratulations upon his forthcoming 70th birthday and their sincere wishes for many more years of good health and happiness; and it is further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution, suitably engrossed, be transmitted to Max Abelman.

The Last Days of Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, the following is a radio lecture delivered by Rev. Frank R. Jenkins, Clifton, Kans., over radio station KMAN of Manhattan, Kans., on The Last Days of Abraham Lincoln.

Reverend Jenkins has devoted much study on the life of Lincoln. I think that no one will question that he has now become an expert and authority on Abraham Lincoln. I recommend that the Members of Congress read this excellent presentation. It clearly indicates that Reverend Jenkins has a thorough knowledge of the subject of Abraham Lincoln.

The radio lecture follows:

THE LAST DAYS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

My friends. We deem it a privilege and a pleasure, for the opportunity, through the kindness of this station KMAN, to bring this vital message to you: a few bits of information which we have gathered and gleaned from the various sources, through study and research for 45 years, on this gruesome and vital subject, that has been resolved into an hour-long lecture, which has been delivered at various times and places.

It will be 92 years at 10 o'clock tonight, April 14, of this year, since the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

Please permit us to read two verses of a poem, which was his favorite.

"Oh, why should the spirit of mortal be proud?
Like a swift, fleeting meteor, a fast flying cloud,
A flash of the lightning, a break of the wave,
Man ceases from life, to his rest in the grave.

'Tis the wing of an eye, 'tis the draught of a breath,
From the blossom of life, to the paleness of death,
From the gilded saloon to the bier and the shroud:
Oh, why should the spirit of mortal be proud?"

Can we imagine anyone who would prize this gloomy poem entitled "The Vanity of Human Pride," written by William Knox? Yes; there was one who prized this homely poem. As someone has recently written, "If one should try to follow a single trait in his character, it would require a lifetime of study. For it is our desire to observe some of his activities on the 14th of April, the year of our Lord 1865. And just think that 1,865 years before, another young man, in the prime of His life, was nude and bleeding, and hanged on Calvary's Cross and prayed, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do," and soon "yielded up the ghost."

Our hero had gone through many Gethsemanes. And as Carl Sandburg, in a recent radio broadcast said, "No one but his Heavenly Father knew the hours of mental and spiritual anguish, which Abraham Lincoln passed through, many countless nights, alone, walking up and down, or upon his knees, in mental torture, in the rooms of his quarters in the White House, praying and agonizing with his Heavenly Father, to guide and direct him to find the solution to the seemingly, unsolvable, problem, how to end the years of strife, anger and sorrow."

Death had come into their home and removed 11-year-old Willie, which nearly prostrated the parents. But he carried on.

It was true that the Civil War had practically ended. While there were minor skirmishes, between small detachments of soldiers, of both sides, and General Sherman had about completed his campaign against General Johnson, the news of victory was momentarily expected.

The war had practically ended on Sunday, April 9, 1865, when General Grant and General Lee had signed the articles of unconditional surrender at Appomattox Courthouse in Virginia.

In Washington it was a time of rejoicing. Torchlight processions were held at night. Martial music from fife and drum corps and military brass bands, could be heard frequently.

President Lincoln was called upon for appearances and addresses at the various functions and gatherings—relative to celebrating the victory. Men in the blue, both black and white of face, and some in gray, were seen on the streets.

Easter Sunday was to be devoted for praise and thanksgiving, in the churches. First for the risen Savior, and next for the great victory in crushing human slavery and preservation of the union. And we think that many wonderful sermons and discourses were prepared to be delivered from the various pulpits. And then on Monday was to be a nationwide celebration for victory, and with the presence of President Lincoln and General Grant, the stars and stripes were again to be raised on battered Fort Sumter.

In letters of large type, was a sign which could be read from a distance both day and night, that was a passage of scripture, taken from Psalms and read: "This is the Lord's doing: And it is marvelous in our eyes."

It was on the new dome, and placed there under the direction of War Secretary, Edwin Stanton.

Such was the background for our drama. We can scarcely touch the events of April 14, 1865, the last day of his life.

Please pardon this explanation, and you will understand better his thoughts and inner life.

Subversives had threatened his life often. Even before his inauguration in March 1861.

His former law partner said of him that he was a fatalist and always said that his death would be by violence. This idea which he had, originated in his mind, when as a small boy he attended the church services at Pigeon Creek meeting house and other places of worship, and listened to backwoods Baptist preachers deliver their sermons on the doctrine of predestination and foreordination.

The late Dr. W. E. Barton said of him along that line. "While Abraham Lincoln was a devout believer in God the Father, and Jesus Christ as his guide and helper, he had no faith that any precaution of his, would avert whatever destiny was in store for him."

He once remarked to Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," that he did not expect that his life would be extended long after the ending of the Civil War.

Yet he said to others that he knew that God had a place and program for him to fulfill, and he had faith to believe that he would be permitted to carry it out.

Before proceeding, we wish to call the roll of those inspired by the devil to seek his life.

John Wilkes Booth, a drunken egotistic, former actor and dramatist, and also an acrobatic performer.

His activities and companions were among the subversives and the bar rats. He was shot by Sergeant Boston Corbett, a member of a military police squad, who had been

searching diligently for him for several days. He and Davey Harrold had hidden in a tobacco barn on the Richard Garrett farm in Virginia early in the morning of April 20. His suffering was excruciating to say the least. He is buried at the foot of his parents' grave in a cemetery in Baltimore, Md.

President Grant made this stipulation to his brother, Edwin, who requested that his brother's body be exhumed from a grave in an unused and unidentified prison cell around Washington. The reburial had to be done secretly and at midnight. Only the head sexton was present as witness, besides Edwin.

A magazine article has recently been written by one of the numerous debunkers claiming that Booth was never killed—it was someone else. What a mistake and misrepresentation. As soon as he died from his wounds at seven in the morning of April 20, 1865, prominent surgeons and doctors, on a steam launch, in a stream nearby, examined every inch of his body, and made proper certificates and affidavits confirming his identity. We have copies of their certificates. His relatives identified his body before the final burial.

We wish to say that the old Boston Corbett homestead is located in the Phoenix school district, 8 miles south and 2 east of Concordia, Kans.

Mrs. Mary Surratt, an owner of a saloon and tavern in Surrattsville, 10 miles south of Washington, D. C., and owned and operated a rooming house on corner of East 11th Street in Washington, a mother of a grown son and adult daughter, Anna.

She figured prominently in the assassination plot, regardless of the claims of the debunkers of her innocence and unjust execution.

She was hanged on July 9, 1865, from gallows erected in an abandoned military prison yard below Washington, D. C.

Lewis Powell or Payne, with additional aliases, a professional murderer and bank robber, who is said to have been hired to be one of Booth's main members of his gang, and who tried to kill Secretary William H. Seward, the night of the assassination, by stabbing him on his sickbed, was hanged the same time and on the same gallows, with Mrs. Surratt.

Davey Harrold, a brainless, shallow, young character, and was Booth's booze companion, and on account of his wide acquaintanceship with some of the drinkers and subversives of Virginia, Maryland, and in and around the city of Washington, was valuable to Booth on account of his pliable character. He was executed with Mrs. Surratt.

George Atzerodt, a mason and a plasterer from Tobaccoport near Washington. He loved his booze.

Thursday night, 2 weeks before the assassination Mrs. Surratt and Booth gave him a sum of money to pay for his room and board in the Kirkwood house, where Vice President Johnson had rooms. Also they furnished him with a large Bowie knife and revolver to kill Johnson. He was executed with Mrs. Surratt.

John Surratt, a son of Mary Surratt, a member of the secret service in the Confederacy. After the assassination of President Lincoln, disguising himself as a woman, he escaped to Canada, later went to Europe and joined the Swiss Zouaves of Rome. He changed his name, but was recognized by an acquaintance, who informed President Grant, who issued extradition papers for his arrest and return. But he again escaped and went to Egypt, where he was recaptured and returned to the United States, and tried before a military court, who found him guilty of being a spy and in the plot, but as his mother was executed for the same crime, he was released later.

Doctor Samuel Mudd, Lewis Spangler, Michael O'Laughlin, and Sam Arnold, were tried, and found guilty and sentenced to Jefferson Fortress, on Dry Tortugas Island in Florida. After serving 4 years, all with the exception of Sam Arnold, who died in prison, were released.

Lt. Cols. Jacob Thompson, Clement Clay, and Larry McDonald, of Toronto, Canada, were deeply involved, and price placed upon their heads, by authorities in the United States. They never ventured across the border to the United States, for had they taken this step, they would have received what they deserved. History should record them, as murderers in the plot. Lt. Col. George Y. Beals, a veritable Quantrill along the border. By the order of President Lincoln, he with a number of his cut throat, renegade band was captured, and all hanged. He was Booth's close friend.

Let us note some of the happenings to Lincoln on his last day.

In his early morning walk he greeted a group of men—Senator Charles Sumner in this group.

His talk later with General Harbord telling him of his dream a few, nights previous, while in his sleep he heard the sound of weeping coming from the rotunda in the Capitol. Looking in, he saw an assemblage of people gathered around the catafalque weeping. On the catafalque rested an open coffin. In it was himself. General Harbord replied and with some vehemence. "Mr. Lincoln, that is a premonition sent from God, and I plead earnestly with you, do not go near Ford's Theater tonight."

After his return from his walk, different groups came in to see him. Some for political business, others for friendly visit. To the first group he did not give much satisfaction, but resumed his visit with old friends and acquaintances from Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois.

Cabinet meeting was called for 11 o'clock. General Grant was to be the honored guest. The sentiment expressed by Lincoln to those present was gratefulness to God for his directing power and leadership in causing the war to cease.

In guiding us in the preservation of the Union, also in helping and blessing in the work of liberating an enslaved people. His prayer for peace was not only for the Nation but for the world.

As for the reconstruction program, he wanted the full support of his Cabinet. He was anxious for those present to work with him for a definite program, free of hate and revenge toward the people of the South. For they had suffered much. Continuing along that line, stating that there must be no reprisals and no executions, as there had been too many lives lost. "Now," said he, "as to the leaders, if you want to scare them off like sheep and run them out of the country, that would be all right, but I will not countenance nor consent to any public hangings."

He also mentioned about a dream that he had the night before. "I had this dream the night before the first battle of Bull Run, the night before the battle of Gettysburg, the eve before signing the emancipation proclamation, and last night. Now I do not think it is a portent of evil, but I think that it is an omen of good. We have not heard as yet the outcome of General Sherman's campaign against General Johnson, but I believe that it has been successful, and we can expect that report from him any time."

The dream as he described it was that "he was on a shapeless, swiftly vessel, alone, sailing rapidly toward a dark shore." Not much business to transact and the Cabinet adjourned (as for him, forever).

After the Cabinet meeting and before luncheon, a group of persons came in his office to see him and asked him if he did not fear the many threats made upon his life. He turned to his desk and opening a drawer lifted out a large bundle of letters tied with tape and holding them up he said, "All these letters threaten my life. But I am not fearful."

After luncheon he visited with more friends, and at 2 o'clock Mary sent word that it was time for their daily drive. He had requested that no guards were to ride with them that day. Leaning back in his seat, and resting his head on the top back, the conversation was something like this: "Mary, you and I have passed through a great deal, with the taking of Willie, and the hours of grief and anguish, not only because of this, but the awful war and its heartaches and sorrow, that we have borne with countless others. But through God's great mercy we are beginning to see the dawn through the dark clouds of night. Our Nation has been saved and the slaves emancipated. And I am thinking that if and when we complete the new term of the Presidency, perhaps moving to Chicago, or returning to Springfield, where I will resume my law profession until time of retirement But when we retire, I hope that you and I can visit the capitals of the world, but my greatest desire is to visit Palestine, where I can walk in the footprints of my Saviour."

The time is near at hand for our conclusion. So much must be omitted. President Lincoln was fatally wounded in the President's box in John Ford's theater at 10 o'clock. He died at 7:22 and 10 seconds on the morning of April 15, 1865.

He had been there with Mary. General and Mrs. Grant were invited as their guests with them in the box. But perceiving the plot, they left on the 6 o'clock passenger train for Burlington, N. J., to be overnight with their children.

Disappointed, Mary invited her friend, Miss Cora Harris, daughter of Senator Harris of New York, and her fiance, Major Harry Rathbone to be their guests at the theater to witness Jeremy Taylor's comedy, Our American Cousin.

The late Col. Henry G. Watterson of the Louisville Courier Journal, Louisville, Ky., said: "In that group tragedy left its mark. First, the assassination of President Lincoln, the mental derangement of Mary, the tragic death of Miss Harris shortly, by accident, the shooting of Major Rathbone, which was practically a duel."

The end came on a dismal, rainy, Saturday morning, the flags and bunting symbolizing victory, were now wet and bedraggled, as if in grief.

It had been an awful night of watching and anxiety, in the death chamber in the Peterson rooming house directly across from the theater. In the room at the time of his passing were doctors, Major General Barnes, Stone, Leal, and Robert. Dr. Phineas Gurley, pastor New York Avenue Presbyterian Church in Washington, attended faithfully by Lincoln and Mary a member, Lincoln was not a church member. Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, some members of the Cabinet, Edwin Stanton, and Gideon Wells, some Members of the Senate, including Charles Sumner, and Gideon Wells; some of the miliary. Vice President Johnson was not present. Prostrated, Mary in an adjoining room with friends. When he was pronounced dead, Secretary Stanton, with tears running down his cheeks, said, "Now he belongs to the ages."

How soon joy was changed to sorrow. Vice President Johnson was sworn in as President, at 9 o'clock, on that dismal, rainy, Saturday morning. Time will not permit to go into detail of the elaborate, funeral arrangements, beginning in the Capitol in Washington, with Doctor Phineas Gurley preaching the sermon, and Bishop Matthew Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a close friend of the President, leading in prayer, on April 19. On Friday morning, April 21, the sad cortege, by special train, made its way, stopping in Bal-

timore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York City, Albany, Buffalo, Syracuse, Rochester, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, Chicago, arriving in Springfield on May 2. On May 4, the hearse and procession made its way to Oak Ridge Cemetery, one-half mile distant from the Capitol. Prayers were offered by Rev. Albert Hale, and scripture reading by Rev. N. W. Minor, both Springfield pastors. Then was read the greatest of all Lincoln's State papers, his second inaugural. The funeral oration was delivered by Bishop Matthew Simpson, "a worthy tribute to a great man." The closing prayer was offered by Doctor Gurley. The bodies of the President and Little Willie were placed in a temporary vault. Truly that last service at the grave, and all present, was the most elaborate service and attendance that the Nation has ever seen.

Permit us to quote from the last paragraph from the late Henry G. Watterson's oration on Abraham Lincoln, as we saw and heard him on that memorable night, in the Kansas State College auditorium, in January 1908.

We will have to paraphrase this paragraph, as we do not have the exact copy of the wording.

"Born into the world like the babe of Bethlehem of lowly parentage, amid hardship and poverty. By unceasing labor and diligent application in striving for an education through the school of hard knocks."

Cherishing in his heart, while in youth, a secret ambition to free an enslaved people, fitting and equipping himself for this task, by perserverance and hard labor and study, in order to attain his goal, and as a result being elevated to the height as Chief Executive, at a time when it semed like the Nation would be dissolved.

Through the goodness and mercy of Almighty God, whose help he relied upon continually, brought about the preservation of our Nation, the striking off the shackles of an enslaved people, and making our Nation as one. It seems like to me that he was a leader like Moses and the prophets sent from God to perform a certain task, and having fulfilled that duty, like Enoch and Elijah, "He was not for God took him."

In conclusion, we wish to quote the last four clauses in Lincoln's memorable Gettysburg Address.

"That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom—and that the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

We thank you.

Low Tariffs and Reciprocal Trade Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILL E. NEAL

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, advocates of low tariffs and reciprocal trade agreements seem inclined to disregard the plight of small businesses that find it necessary to complain against the importation of foreign-made products. I hereby submit the petition signed by more than 500 employees of the O. Ames Co., Parkersburg, W. Va., decrying the fact that imported shovels and tools are making it necessary for them to limit production and thereby reduce employment in an old, established manufacturing institution that has provided steady employment to the workers of Parkersburg for many, many years.

As stated above, in addition to the names listed, more than 500 signatures have been appended to this petition, as hereby submitted for the benefit of Members of Congress who represent many areas of the United States where similar small industries are being adversely affected in like manner.

The petition follows:

We the undersigned, members of Local Union 1651, United Steelworkers of America, AFL–CIO, and employees of the O. Ames Co., in Parkersburg, W. Va., petition you to take some action in our behalf.

Our livelihood depends on our work at the O. Ames Co. Our principal product is the manufacture of shovels, and the sales and production of our company are being seriously affected by the importation of cheap and inferior quality German and Japanese shovels. These foreign shovels are produced with cheap labor and of inferior materials and are being sold in the United States at a price which is only two-thirds of the price for which our company can afford to sell their cheapest shovels. This has come about due to the fact that over the past few years the import duty on these foreign shovels has been reduced from approximately 30 to 7½ percent.

Our company is one of the larger companies in this area, employing over 800 employees. We are concerned about our welfare and our livelihood. We respectfully request that you take some action to have this import duty restored to its former 30 percent.

Yours very truly,

JAMES F. THOMAS.
CLINTON B. WILCOX.
LOUIS A. HERRES.
JOSEPH L. WILLIAMS.
PRESTON T. HOLDEN, Jr.

Bad Advice or Misinformation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an editorial taken from the April 25, 1957, issue of the Fort Mill (S. C.) Times.

BAD ADVICE OR MISINFORMATION?

"President Eisenhower is either getting some bad advice or has been misinformed about the plywood and textile industries, two of our State's biggest," said John S. Linton, president of the South Carolina State Chamber of Commerce, today.

Last Wednesday, President Eisenhower, at a press conference, referred to past and present troubles experienced by the two industries due to the lack of restrictions on Japanese imports, and indicated that industry compliments could possibly drive Japan into the arms of Soviet Russia.

"As a matter of record," said Linton, "the textile industry did not, as the President suggested, ask for increased tariffs on Japanese textiles. It did request that reasonable quotas be put on the volume of Japanese goods coming into the United States, and these have been arranged to the satisfaction of everyone concerned—including both Japanese and American textile industries—with the help of the State and Commerce Departments.

"On the other hand, the plywood industry currently doesn't know where it stands from day to day, what with boatload after boatload of cutrate Japanese plywood being landed on the west coast. The effect of this may be good for Japanese plywood mills, but the effect in this country has been a depressed market, unstable prices and short-time work. Actually, 7 plywood plants in South Carolina have had to shut down during the past 2 years because of foreign competition.

"Surely the President doesn't mean to imply that the plywood and textile industries will have to be sacrificed in order to meet the objects of our foreign policy," said Linton. "No one will disagree with the necessity of maintaining friendly and cooperative relations with the Japanese, but caution must be exercised so that certain segments of our economy are not considered expendable."

From our vantage point Mr. Linton's reasoning seems sound.

Resolutions Memorializing the Congress of the United States to Enact Legislation Placing Full Responsibility for Civil Defense on the Federal Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a resolution adopted on April 15, 1957 by the Massachusetts House of Representatives memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact legislation placing full responsibility for civil defense on the Federal Government.

I have always felt that civil defense was a primary part of our national defense, and was the responsibility of the Federal Government.

The resolution follows:

Whereas the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in his special message to the General Court of Massachusetts on January 14, 1957, stated: "I believe civil defense is primarily a Federal problem and should be directed nationally * * * I request the General Court to join with me in urging the Congress of the United States to redefine the responsibility of the State and Federal Government so that the operation of the civil defense program may be vested in the National Government"; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States is now considering H. R. 2125, 1957, which declares that it is the national policy that civil defense should be a Federal responsibility; and

Whereas it is imperative that if such a declaration of policy is to become effective it be implemented by appropriate statutory enactment which actually places full administrative responsibility in the National Government; and

Whereas the General Court concurs with the Governor in believing that the common defense of these United States is and must be a national responsibility: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts memorializes the Congress of the United States requesting that the Congress give early favorable consideration to H. R. 2125, or similar legislation declaring civil defense to be primarily a Federal responsibility, and through amendment of H. R. 2125, or other legislation, provide effective statutory implementation for such a declaration of policy; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the chairman of the House of Representatives' Committee on Government Operations, the chairman of the subcommittee of the Committee on Military Operations, and to each Member of Congress from this Commonwealth.

House of representatives, adopted, April 15, 1957.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE,
Clerk.

Senate, adopted in concurrence, April 17, 1957.

IRVING N. HAYDEN,
Clerk.

A true copy.
Attest:
[SEAL] EDWARD J. CRONIN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Congress Halts Land Grabbers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, the House recently approved legislation designed to limit and control military withdrawals of public lands. This action has met with enthusiastic approval on the part of those interested in the wise use of our public resources. As an evidence of this I would like to include as a part of my remarks two editorials from the Denver Post, of Denver, Colo. These editorials are loud in their praise of the action of the House in reasserting its jurisdiction over the public lands of the Nation.

Additionally, these editorials point out the credit that is due to our colleague, the Honorable CLAIR ENGLE, of California, in obtaining the passage of this important legislation. Finally, these editorials speak clearly on the value of this legislation and I recommend them to all who wish to understand the issues involved.

The editorials follow:

[From the Denver Post of April 25, 1957]

CONGRESS HALTS LAND GRABBERS—I

Congress may be going to clamp down on military land-grabbing and reassert its own constitutional authority over public lands, their uses and disposition. It is about time.

In the last 20 years, defense agencies have pyramided their holdings from 3 million acres in the United States to more than 30 million, including 17 million acres of public lands in continental United States. This is an area larger than the States of Ohio, Kentucky, or Tennessee—or 21 times the size of Delaware—plus a chunk of Alaska as big as Connecticut.

Now, under a House-passed bill pending in the Senate, the military land acquisition in parcels of more than 5,000 acres would have to be approved by Congress.

The overwhelming House vote was both a personal victory for Representative CLAIR ENGLE and another testimonial to his long and valuable service in the public interest. For 15 years, the northern California Democrat, who also served so nobly in the upper Colorado River storage project battle, has fought in Congress to get the military to reevaluate their property holdings, policies, and procedures.

Now ENGLE's House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee has documented defense land acquisitions as one of the most wasteful land grabs of all time. For example:

For a year and a half, ending in mid-1956, the military ticked off 5 more acres of public land with every minute of the day and night. And if applications for another 8.7 million acres had gone through, 11 acres would have been gobbled up during every minute of that 18-month period.

As of February 1956, a total of 49 temporary World War II military land withdrawals of 11.9 million acres in 10 States and Alaska were still in effect, although they were supposed to revert to the public domain no later than October 1952.

An Air Force board reported in October 1956, that 40 percent of the Air Force's 14.4 million acres were not even needed. These excess military lands equal a strip of land nearly three miles wide from New York to San Francisco.

The same board found 9 Air Force bombing or gunnery ranges, covering 5.1 million acres in 8 States, had been closed to hunting and fishing without justification. Another 6.7 million acres—enough to support 67,000 cattle and 420,000 sheep for a year—were closed to grazing and agriculture without justification on 12 other Air Force ranges.

More than 500 square miles of western Utah, held by the Wendover Bombing Range for 15 years, never has and never will be used because it is traversed by a major railroad, highway, pipelines, and a commercial air route.

More than 233 million acres of the oil-rich Continental Shelf off the Nation's shorelines are already withdrawn for military purposes, and another 140 million are sought. One of these alone would produce $250 million in oil royalties, but the Navy won't give it up and test missiles elsewhere. Instead, the Navy wants to extend its grip on this area when it already holds 16,000 square miles (13.8 million acres) of the Gulf of Mexico and controls or seeks a total of 236,000 square miles (198.7 million acres) off the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

A superballistics range 100 miles square was proposed on public lands near the bustling metropolis of Albuquerque, N. Mex., when remote, little-used lands were available—and finally substituted—on the Navaho Indian Reservation.

The Navy suddenly announced it was taking over a strip of land 20 to 30 miles wide and 150 miles long through a California national forest, but eventually went elsewhere.

To get all these lands, the military had only to ask the Interior Department for them, in the name of national security. When they were handed over, all activities were halted—grazing, mining, hunting and fishing, water development, conservation, etc.

All kinds of abuses followed; and when the lands had served their purpose, they reverted, not to the public domain but to the General Services Administration to be peddled as surplus.

For example, ENGLE's diligent committee found that during the deer season just ended at Camp Hill, Va., where only 97 Army personnel and 85 civilians are permanently assigned to a 77,000-acre base, a total of 6,250 persons were permitted to hunt—and 4,505 of them wore uniforms. At the Nellis-Tonopah Air Force range in Nevada, when 1,800,000 acres were released, the land was so contaminated with unexploded ordnance that it would cost $10 an acre to make it safe for ordinary civilian use.

These and other galloping excesses, at long last, have been exposed by ENGLE and his committee in an all-too-uncommon demonstration of congressional thoroughness and responsibility. A concluding editorial to follow will explain how his bill would restore congressional authority over the public lands which the military has so scandalously, and so obviously, abused.

[From The Denver Post of April 26, 1957]

THE LAND GRABBERS—II

When Congress let slip its constitutional powers over the 450 million public acres grabbed by the military, it committed an error that it is now trying to correct.

The military simply asked the Interior Department for whatever lands it wanted, and it got them—some 48,000 square miles in the United States and Alaska. Much of this land belonged to the public, but once the military moved in all other activities like grazing, mining and recreation were halted.

Sometimes the military apparently didn't even bother to ask before it took over huge chunks of public lands. This is indicated by a recent case in New Mexico where 440,000 acres were chopped out of the public domain for the McGregor guided missile range without any approval at all.

Now Congress is seeking to reestablish its authority to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations concerning public lands. Under a House-passed bill pending in the Senate, Congress would have to approve all military land acquisitions over 5,000 acres.

This long-overdue measure followed a comprehensive 2-year study by Representative CLAIR ENGLE and his Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Not only would the Engle committee bill correct all that, but also it would save untold millions of dollars in defense appropriations—the only place big budget cuts can be made.

Referring to a constructively critical Air Force study of its own land holdings, the Engle committee reported that resulting changes in Air Force land procedures will produce several millions of dollars of direct savings at the outset, and * * * tens of millions of dollars in savings in future operations.

In lauding the Air Force study, the Engle committee asserted that if the same self-analysis were to be applied throughout the Department of Defense we would make a considerable dent in the lump-sum automatic defense appropriation for real property acquisition and administration.

But so far the other defense agencies have failed to comply with an August, 1955, Defense Department directive ordering a thorough reappraisal of land needs and uses by the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

Besides arresting the military land stampede, the Engle committee bill would serve three important subsidiary purposes:

1. It would stop the use of military reservations as exclusive game and fish preserves for the high brass, and require compliance with State game and fish laws as to licensing, bag limits, and seasons.

2. It would develop a multiple-use land system on military ranges to permit grazing, prospecting, and other activities where they can be conducted safely with defense operations.

3. It would require that unneeded military lands revert to the public domain, not to the general services administration as surplus, unless the land character had been sub-

stantially changed, as by construction of an air strip.

Congressmen put added emphasis on the game-fish aspects of the Engle committee bill by singling out abuses in their own States. For example, Representative JOHNSON, of Wisconsin, charged that anything goes at 61,000-acre Camp McCoy—deer hunting by shining, shooting from cars, carrying loaded guns in vehicles, illegal slaughter of does and fawns during buck season—all in utter disregard of State laws.

In Colorado we are fortunate that our military commanders have been conservation-minded men intent on complying with State game laws. Some grazing has also been allowed. But still such large areas as the Lowry bombing range, Rocky Mountain arsenal and Pueblo ordnance depot grounds are strictly posted to the public and only the military can hunt the abundant antelope, deer, and birds on these lands.

Conservationists have long objected to this double standard in hunting and fishing—one for the public, one for the military. As Representative JOHNSON observed, it is particularly disturbing now when so many impressionable young people are just beginning to know and love the outdoors.

Now the public at large should likewise rally behind the efforts of the Engle committee to halt the military raiding of the public domain which poses such a dangerous threat to the shrinking wilderness areas future generations must depend upon.

A Statement of Conscience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the letter I am appending below as part of these remarks is an eloquent statement of conscience which needs no supporting brief.

The writer of this open letter, Dr. Lambert Davis, is an eminent person in the field of letters who resides in North Carolina:

AN OPEN LETTER

GOV. THOMAS B. STANLEY,
The Capitol, Richmond, Va.

SIR: I have received an invitation from you in the name of the Commonwealth of Virginia and the State chamber of commerce to attend a homecoming reception and dinner for distinguished Virginians as a part of the Jamestown Festival, with a request that I reply to your office.

I assume that I have receive the invitation because I, like Dr. Ulian B. Powell, of New York City, am listed in Who's Who in America as having been born in Virginia. I also assume that if, as happened in the case of Dr. Powell, it transpired that I was an American of Negro ancestry, you would delegate Mr. Verbon Kemp of the chamber of commerce to inform me that the invitation was a mistake. It is therefore not a true invitation, but an offer contingent upon my being able to prove Caucasian ancestry.

As it happens, I am, as far as I know, of Caucasian ancestry. And, if I may be allowed a boast, I think I have done the Commonwealth some service, in the 10 years (1928–38) that I was managing editor and editor of the Virginia Quarterly Review, which was and is the Commonwealth's most distinguished institutional contribution to the world of letters. And I might remark that it was not the policy of the Quarterly to ask any contributor to show proof of Caucasian ancestry. By the Quarterly's standards, distinguished literary achievement was in itself a sufficient qualification for appearance in the magazine.

Although I no longer live in Virginia, I think I have earned the right to take pride in the Commonwealth's achievements and to be critical of its shortcomings. And over the past few years I have watched with increasing alarm, despair, and anger the course that has been taken by the political leadership of Virginia, with you as titular head, in the face of one of the most momentous and complex issues of our time. When—as I well know—sober minds all over the South have looked to the Old Dominion for leadership, you have offered only the barren slogan of massive resistance, the tyrannical suppression of all local freedom, and a mass of witless obstructive legislation that is rightly doomed to the judicial scrapheap. And now you find yourself, on a great and solemn occasion in the history of the Commonwealth, in the ridiculous position of asserting, in effect, that being distinguished is an accomplishment possible only for people of Caucasian ancestry. You have succeeded in making the leadership of the Commonwealth both a stench and a laughing stock in the Nation.

I believe that I can best show my loyalty to the great traditions of Virginia by declining your invitation.

Regretfully,

LAMBERT DAVIS.

Poland's National Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 6, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, Congress has many times voiced its friendship toward and support of the Polish people on Poland's national holiday, May 3. For many years now these expressions have had to be made in terms of sympathy for a people subjected and oppressed.

This year we can look forward for the first time since the end of war with new hope for a new day in Poland. Poland is not free. But at least some of its bonds have been loosened.

In the economic sphere, several changes have taken place. It is reported that collectivization of agriculture has ceased and that 80 percent of the collective farms have been dissolved and land, machines, and livestock have been returned to the farmers. Individual enterprise on a reduced scale is apparently now permitted and in the past 2 months 20,000 small shops have been reopened.

A certain measure of religious freedom is also allowed. Catholic Cardinal Wyszenski has been released and in his sermons appeals to the Polish nation for patience and endurance.

Politically the Polish people have moved as far toward freedom as their Soviet Communist masters will allow.

This brave and determined people continue to demonstrate again and again their love of liberty and hatred of their Communist masters.

They demonstrated it in the Poznan uprisings in June in the demand for bread, freedom, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

They demonstrated it in the widespread expressions of sympathy for the Hungarians in their fight against their Soviet overlords. In every town and village in Poland committees were created for aid to Hungary, although the Polish people themselves have been in serious economic distress.

They demonstrated it when they turned to the West for economic succor, knowing well that such a policy would inevitably arouse the dangerous wrath of the Soviet Union.

The Polish people have dared to take such action although they are in the very nest of the Soviet Communists. Twenty-three divisions of Soviet troops are stationed in East Germany. Another 20 are in Hungary. Some eight are in Rumania and Czechoslovakia and large numbers of troops are in the eastern border of Poland itself.

In the Polish people's struggle to achieve more freedom through evolutionary means their eyes turn hopefully toward the West and especially toward the United States. They realize that in this era of the atom and hydrogen bombs a war of liberation could be a war of annihilation. They know that final freedom cannot therefore come through war. But they look to the West for that political, moral, and economic support which, with its constant pressure on the forces of oppression represented by the Soviet Union, will lead, we all hope, to a restoration of the whole range of Polish rights and liberties.

Our Nation's Budgetary Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, on April 7, 1954, it was my privilege to speak before the Republican Women's Conference meeting in Washington, D. C. At that time I spoke on the subject of the Republican record with respect to the management of our Nation's fiscal affairs. I recently had occasion to review the remarks that I made at that time. Those remarks are germane to the present-day consideration of our Nation's budgetary affairs. For the information of my colleagues in the House, I would like to include a portion of the remarks I made on April 7, 1954, before that very wonderful meeting of Republican women held in Washington, D. C.:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE DANIEL A. REED, CHAIRMAN, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE, APRIL 7, 1954

Tax reduction and reduced expenditures have been the traditional fiscal policy of the Republican Party as a formula for achieving a balanced budget and debt retirement. Under this formula, the Republican Party has

dedicated itself to a high standard of living for all the people under a peaceful, free enterprise system.

It was my privilege to serve as a Member of Congress immediately after World War I. In 1919 the national debt was $26 billion. Taxes were at their highest level in the history of the United States. Six or seven million persons were idle and relied for their sustenance on soup kitchens organized in our cities. The issue confronting the American people at that time was how could the Nation's productivity and employment be stimulated.

The Republican Party's answer to that problem was not to plunge the Nation into further deficit financing nor were tax increases resorted to in an effort to foster a welfare State.

The first thing the Republican Party did was to retrench and to eliminate nonessential Federal expenditures. Next in 1919–20, personal income taxes were reduced from 12 percent to 8 percent.

Again, in 1921–23, a cut was made in individual income taxes of married persons by increasing their personal exemption from $2,000 to $2,500 and the exemption for each dependent was increased by $200 to $400. In 1924 the tax rate was reduced from 8 percent to 6 percent; also the tax for 1923 was reduced 25 percent by the 1924 act.

Again in the 1926 Revenue Act for the years 1925–27, personal income taxes were reduced from 6 percent to 5 percent. The exemption for a single person was increased from $1,000 to $1,500 and the exemption for married couples was increased from $2,500 to $3,500. In 1928, for the year 1929, the rate was reduced from 5 percent to 4 percent on personal income taxes.

Did these tax reductions result in further deficit financing and additions to the national debt? Not at all. The 6 or 7 million idle people were put to work. One billion dollars each year 10 years was paid on the national debt. A great decade of prosperity was enjoyed by the people during this period of tax reduction. The budget was balanced each year for 10 years.

In addition to these income tax reductions of the 1920's, many excise taxes, which retarded business expansion and were such a nuisance to the consumer, were either reduced or repealed.

Thus by the reduction of Federal income taxes and war excise taxes in the post-World War I period, business was stimulated, prosperity resulted, the budget was balanced, and the national debt was reduced $10 billion in 10 years.

In the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury, that distinguished financier and statesman, the Honorable Andrew W. Mellon, once said as follows: "The Treasury Department has always contended that in the long run the taxation of income at moderate rates would be more productive than at very high rates. The soundness of this contention appears to have been borne out by the tax returns under the law of 1926, for both the calendar years 1925 and 1926."

However, we can look to a more recent period for another demonstration of this Republican tax philosophy successfully in operation. I refer to the Republican 80th Congress. In the fall of 1945, the Bureau of the Budget estimated that the administration would have a deficit of over $30 billion for the fiscal year 1946. The economic condition of the Nation was marred by increasing unemployment and the slowing down of business activity.

The issue then was how would we accomplish our objective of providing incentives for business expansion and to increase consumer purchasing power. The answer was partially supplied by the Revenue Act of 1945, which became effective January 1, 1946. It was then estimated that the revenue effect of this legislation would result in a loss exceeding $5 billion. Congress courageously passed the measure in spite of the estimated deficit of $30 billion. Mr. Truman did not veto the bill. This legislation gave relief to both individual and corporate taxpayers. The excess profits tax was repealed for 1946 and later years, and the capital stock tax was repealed. All of this tax reduction program of 1945 was done to forestall threatened economic recession.

Let us examine what happened to the Federal revenues under the stimulating effects of this tax reduction. Our tax receipts instead of being less than the previous year increased an additional $300 million and by 1948 the Federal revenues had increased by approximately $1.7 billion over 1946. Through this tax reduction a scheduled budgetary deficit was converted into a surplus of $754 million for the fiscal year 1947. In the Revenue Act of 1948, taxes were again reduced, and a surplus of $8.4 billion resulted for fiscal year 1948.

In short, the tax record of the 80th Congress reads succinctly as follows: Taxes were reduced $5 billion per year; the budget was balanced for the first time in 17 years; $7 billion was paid on the national debt; a surplus of $8.4 billion was left in the Treasury in 1948. I need not cite the tremendous boom that occurred simultaneously in our economy.

The dynamic qualities that can be fostered in an economy by a sound tax program have been demonstrated by developments in other countries of the world. Canada, Great Britain, and in fact most of the countries of free Europe, have launched a program of tax reduction. As these countries have cast aside their unsuccessful ventures in varying forms of controlled economies and socialism they have undertaken to lend impetus to private enterprise and to restore the fiscal stability of their respective governments through tax reduction. The theory behind this trend has been ably stated by the Honorable R. A. Butler, England's distinguished Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he said, "We must banish the hopeless feeling that extra effort is not worth while."

Concern has properly been expressed that a substantial reduction in the level of Government spending may produce a depressing influence on the national economy activity. In order to offset such a trend the suggestion has been made that a commensurate reduction in Federal taxation should either precede or occur simultaneously with the cut in expenditures. In this connection the following is quoted from an article by Sumner H. Slichter appearing in the Harper's magazine of February 1953. He states the following as the seventh point in the eight-point program to combat recession, and I quote:

"(7) Cut taxes: If individuals and business concerns raise their spending for goods as fast as the Government cuts its defense spending, the total demand for goods will not drop and there will be no recession. The Government can help individuals and business concerns to spend more by taking less from them in the form of taxes. Hence it is important that cuts in defense spending be promptly matched by cuts in taxes."

This wise counsel comes from one of the leading economists in our country who is the economic adviser to some of our Nation's largest businesses.

There is the documented record of the Republican fiscal policy at work. That is the Republican record of keeping faith with the American public by providing greater incentive for productive effort and successfully enhancing the level of our national economy. The greatest beneficiaries of these Republican measures have been the people of small incomes—wage earners, salaried men, and men operating small individual business enterprises.

This Republican policy is certainly a marked departure from the philosophy prevailing during the 20 years of Democratic rule, when 14 major revenue measures were enacted into law increasing taxes. It is a long overdue departure from the New and Fair Deal programs of tax and tax, spend and spend.

State Management of Local Programs Means a Federal Tax Cut Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, like many of my colleagues who were home in their legislative districts last week during the Easter recess, I have returned with renewed determination to do what I can as a Member of Congress to justify a major reduction in Federal taxes through the curtailment of unnecessary Government waste and spending.

The Democratic and Republican Parties alike, Mr. Speaker, had party platforms calling for such a cut in taxes, and to that purpose many Members like myself have introduced legislation. In my own case, I have been frank in stating I would not ask for consideration by the House Ways and Means Committee or support any measure to reduce the revenue of the Federal Treasury without prior assurance that cuts at least in an equal amount could be made in the budget. My own bill, H. R. 5997, would reduce, for example, the Federal revenue by $4.3 billion, nad that, consequently, has been my own goal for a budget cut.

During the Easter recess, I made several public speeches in my home State. In each of these I referred to the Federal grants-in-aid program as a source of long-range economy. I said something every Member of this House knows—that 25 percent of the amount of these grants goes toward Federal administrative and other costs on the national level. In other words, if the States collected and spent their own money, without the funds passing through the Federal Treasury and being appropriated by Congress through executive agencies back to the States and local interests, the recipients of the aid, as well as the taxpayers, would all be better off.

As an example, in my district the University of Washington at Seattle is the recipient of a number of Federal grants for research. These are for worthwhile projects. But my point is that if my State had the funds and the State legislature made the appropriations, I think everyone concerned would be better off. Everybody knows the closer to the people, the better the government, and as the trend increases of State dependence on Federal handouts we face a serious imbalance of local responsibility.

Now we are asked to authorize expenditures for State and local government aid for various programs to cost more than $5.5 billion, or $1 billion over fiscal 1957, which, in turn, was almost three-quarters of a billion dollars over the year before. Since 1948, these Federal grants to

States have been mounting every year. Where will it end?

The legislative proposals for fiscal 1958 include $211 million in new grants, together with a total of $6 million for previously authorized programs.

According to the May 1957 issue of Nation's Business, total aid of various kinds to State and local governments will amount to approximately $35 billion by July 1 of this year, since 1947.

Here are some of the programs Congress started last year, as outlined by the article just referred to in Nation's Business:

A water pollution control program this year will cost the taxpayers about $2 million. Next year it will cost $3 million.

A new Federal program of aid to municipalities for the construction of waste treatment facilities will result in drafts on the Treasury of $7 million this year. Next year the program will cost $62 million.

Grants-in-aid for the construction of health research facilities costing $1.6 million this year will take $8.4 million in fiscal 1958.

A program of local library services costing $2 million this year will require $3 million or more next year.

The National Science Foundation administers grants for certain research facilities which this year will cost $500,000, but which next year will take $2.8 million.

A program for the drainage of anthracite mines will cost taxpayers $1 million this year. The program will cost $2.5 million next year.

The $5.5 billion in Federal aid to States and communities in the year ahead basically takes three forms:

Grants-in-aid, at least 66 programs, which account for $5.3 billion.

Shared revenue, totaling $102.3 million.

Loans and repayable advances which total $126.3 million.

Mr. Speaker, I never hear any support in this Chamber for Federal intervention in State affairs; indeed, on the contrary, Members frequently express their opposition on the floor to Federal control.

I wonder if in the grants-in-aid programs, however, we do not overlook the means and look rather at the end. For most of the programs in themselves are worthy.

If Congress, however, directly allocated back to each respective State a percentage of the revenues collected by the Federal Government, with no strings attached, and said in so many words, "You decide and take care of your own needs," and, in short, said, "Grants to the States are at an end"—what a saving this would be to the taxpayers. What a blessing to the people.

My State of Washington gets back about $99 million out of the $848 million we pay through income taxes. If, as I believe, the cost amounts to $25 million of getting and giving our State's part of this aid, then what I mean becomes more apparent. With the $99 million plus $25 million available on the State level the State, unaided, could construct training facilities for medical and dental schools, make grants for health and other research available, plant its own trees, train welfare workers, teachers, and nurses, assist the unemployed, and finance other such programs and projects for itself. The local people, meanwhile, could decide for themselves what projects were desirable, and oversee how the programs were administered.

Mr. Speaker, there are many sources of Federal economy. Our congressional committees will examine into the details of requests of executive agencies and come up with plenty of suggestions where savings can be made. For myself I do not favor cutting normal functions of Government, nor the standard of compensation of Federal employees which should always equal that of private enterprise. Ample opportunity for reducing Government expenditures, it seems to me, exists without meat-ax cuts, and one of these avenues is in the elimination of the system of Federal grants to States. We can screen carefully foreign aid and our own Department of Defense. We can cut here and there, as we have been doing thus far this session, to the amount of $1 billion. But unless local and State government is to be superseded and become a mere puppet form of federally controlled local field administration, we should end completely the grants to States program. The resultant savings in taxpayers' dollars would be such as to guarantee a lasting cut in taxes for all time for all people.

Address by Hon. Morris F. de Castro, 40th Anniversary Celebration

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, on April 1, 1957, the people of the Virgin Islands celebrated the 40th anniversary of the transfer of the islands from the jurisdiction of Denmark to that of the United States.

The House took official notice of this anniversary at that time, but I should like to include in my remarks the main address given at the ceremonies held in St. Thomas on the first of April. This address was delivered by the Honorable Morris F. de Castro, former Governor of the islands, and I recommend this excellent talk to Members who have an interest in this offshore part of America.

ADDRESS BY HON. MORRIS F. DE CASTRO, CHAIRMAN OF THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS COMMITTEE, AT THE TRANSFER DAY PROGRAM HELD AT THE EMANCIPATION GARDEN, ST. THOMAS, V. I., APRIL 1, 1957

Mr. Chairman, Governor and Mrs. Walter Gordon, distinguished guests, and my fellow citizens of the Virgin Islands in St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John, for the honor and privilege—as I esteem the call to me to be—which Governor Gordon granted me to head the 40th anniversary celebrations throughout the Virgin Islands: I shall ever be grateful, I present my heartfelt thanks, Your Excellency.

GREETINGS

To celebrate these historic days with us, many of our friends from official Washington have been good enough to put aside their own business—even pressing engagements, I understand—and, in many instances, have traveled far. We appreciate very much the kindness. To each and every one in the offical party, and to the representative of the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Carl T. Junge, we extend a hearty welcome, yes, a welcome as warm and as pleasant as the famed Virgin Islands sunshine which drenches our gathering here today.

Particularly, I want to salute an old freind of these islands: the Ambassador of Denmark to the United States. Ambassador Kaufmann, we recall with much pleasure your visit to St. Thomas in July 1948 when you joined in our Freedom Centennial. We were happy to see you again in August 1952 in St. Croix to present, in the name of beloved Denmark, the replica collection of elaborate furnishings for the Government House on that island in commemoration of 1½ centuries of diplomatic relations between our respective countries.

It is good to have you here with us, Your Excellency. Please turn your steps frequently to these shores to renew with us those many ties that still remain between Denmark and the Virgin Islands. As our voices resound, Ambassador Kaufmann, in the traditional cheer "Hans Majestaet Kong Frederik den IX laenge leve"; we know that you join with our prayers for the continued well-being of our illustrious leader, President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

GRATITUDE TO COMMITTEE

I want to thank, particularly, Dr. Roy W. Bornn, who is today in Washington on urgent business, and Messrs. Henry Rohlsen and George Simmons, the chairmen of the three steering committees; as well as the active members of our committee: Commissioner Leon A. Mawson, Messrs. Adolph Gereau, J. Antonio Jarvis, Raphael Wheatley, and my one-time private secretary, Mr. Frederick A. Esannason. These officers have accomplished an effective translation of historic recapitulation into pageantry and praise and have crowned it with beauty and dignity. I know that you appreciate their work as much as I do.

Outstanding was the distant journey back into the nostalgic past, in which we were led by Mr. Jarvis yesterday, to stand in the presence of history as enacted with the changing of the guard over our island home 40 years ago. We do appreciate the fine planning and much effort—and particularly the genuine interest—which developed into delightful and remarkable focus the spontaneous outpouring of a people's gratitude to our sovereigns, past and present.

THANKS, EVERYONE

In this harmony of interests, we recognize and we congratulate the participating arms: the United States Navy, the insular government departments, our industries and other fields of private enterprise, and many others—some appearing in the programs and parades of yesterday and today—for their part in this impressive portrayal of the Virgin Islands success story of two score years.

GOLD OF THE ISLES

And, now, with your kind permission, I would like to discuss a few anniversary thoughts in the chatty "suppertime" style which we used some years ago. I would like to talk to you this morning about gold. Now, please do not look surprised; I am no longer the Commissioner of Finance, and I no longer prepare the revenue estimates. And I do not have any gold in the bank's vaults, either. So, just relax and hear me through, please. Since I have hardly done any public speaking over the past 3 years, I just had to find some familiar ground from which to sound off. That is why I have chosen gold—the well-known yellow metal, one of the heaviest substances known. I will endeavor to point out that gold, not exactly the raw ore, but its equivalent in cultural and material value, is being discovered and being developed every day in the Virgin Islands.

ITS ATTRIBUTES, SURELY

I understand that when Interior Secretary Seaton visited the Virgin Islands last December he received an application from a group of prospectors for mining rights at the newly opened national park on the island of St. John. I hope they find gold, or silver, or uranium, or even oil. But, my dear friends, the gold that I speak about—the treasure of the Virgin Islands of the United States—sparkles in the loveliness of our sunrise and sunset, in the panoramic splendor of our landscape and seascape, in the wonders of our climate, and in the peace and quietness here—so far removed from the roar of the concrete jungles.

Gold, pure and refined, gleams forth in our man's humanity to man, in the richness of our culture and character, in the ready hospitality among all Virgin Islanders. Golden too, I must add, is the absence from these shores of the ugly blotches of organized crime, of subversive movement, of racial discrimination. Thank God, that this is so.

OUR HERITAGE

We must repeatedly refine this precious ore by the constant cultivation of harmony and good will. These days of retrospect—yesterday and today—crowd us with fond memories of the gracious and gentle life of yesteryear. We are proud of those memories; for they represent the skein with which we fashion the rich fabric of our folkway. It is good that we maintain in our towns the Old World jewels of architecture; it is better when we embellish the refined taste in our morals; but we are at our very best when we can pass on this heritage to succeeding generations as theirs to keep and to increase. God grant that this will always be so.

PAYMENT IN GOLD

In gathering the notes for this talk, we visited our public library and found there a treasure trove of Virgin Islands material: many, many volumes dealing with the historical and the folk interest, drawn from a wide field of scholars, educators, government officials, and other writers.

We found in Zabriskie's account of the transfer, this incident which took place on a Saturday afternoon at 4 o'clock, on the last day of March 40 years ago, in the large diplomatic reception room of the State Department (State, War, and Navy Building), in the city of Washington. There the then Secretary of the Treasury, Wm. G. McAdoo, handed to Secretary of State Robert Lansing a Treasury warrant, representing $25 million in gold, and smilingly explained that he had brought the money in the form of a warrant because the actual gold coins would weigh nearly 48 tons, approximately 96,000 pounds, that is.

PROSPERING "POORHOUSE"

That incident was definitely not the first time, of course, that gold in substantial quantity jingled in Virgin Islands history. In bygone years, as you will recall from history, our cities and towns were used as sanctuary for freebooters in from the Spanish Main. Here they counted and shared the loot, we understand. March 31, 1917, was definitely not the last time that such bullion was linked up with our islands. A President of the United States once labeled our islands as "an effective poorhouse." That was unfortunately (?) tacked on to us back in 1931. Unfortunately or fortunately? Let us discuss the phrase in the light of what has transpired since.

We can venture this explanation: As part and parcel of our Nation we experience the rise and fall of the national economy. Therefore, when the lamented depression shook the country 2½ decades ago, it is quite understandable that the islands, too, as its miniature, had to bear the brunt of a damaged economy as well. That was the time of the classic proposal to Congress that Denmark be paid to take us back.

That remark, however sincerely meant or well intended, from the honored guest aboard the U. S. S. *Arizona* made us do things, and do them in a big hurry. For, since then, the poorhouse has paid off the mortgage, every cent of it. Yes, we have definitely done so. Official documents have proved that the internal-revenue taxes which have been paid into the Treasury of the United States on liquors produced in these islands have more than covered the total cost of the islands' government to the United States, including the purchase price of the islands from Denmark.

The mortgage settled, we next proceeded to prove that we would not be a liability to the United States. We installed modern conveniences to our little cottage, planted ornamentals, and tidied the spot spick and span. Yes, we built hotels, schools, hospitals, roads, increased public and private housing. We fashioned monuments to a people's indomitable will, courage, and persistence. You know what happened following that renovation, and still continues, before the paint was dry on our "Rooms to let" signboard, the world came hurrying over to register. So great is the crowd that continues to push up to our gates that we had better do something fast to save some room for our own children. And now we should like to extend a gracious invitation to the author of that disturbing phrase for him to return to spend his retirement years in the tranquil and prospering paradise of the Caribbean—the onetime poorhouse. Unfortunate or fortunate, disturbing or inspiring. What do you think now of that label of 1931 compared with communal results in the 26 years since, I will give my answer—President Hoover's 1931 "poorhouse" has been transformed during the administrations of President Roosevelt, President Truman, and President Eisenhower into the 1957 prospering "guesthouse."

OUR OWN HANDIWORK

In August 1953, I made a statement that, since the year 1950, total bank deposits in the Virgin Islands had increased $2,200,000 in that 2½-year period, imports into the Virgin Islands had increased by $2 million and exports by $300,000, and that travel statistics showed that 94,000 tourists visited St. Thomas and spent $4 million in the year 1952, and that 123,000 arrived during the following year and spent approximately $5,400,000.

But look what happened to these same indexes since that 1953 suppertime chat: Total bank deposits in the Virgin Islands, which were $6,475,669.49 on June 30, 1953, are shown on the published statements of the two banks in the Virgin Islands to be $16,806,928.84 on December 31, 1956, an increase of over $10 million in 3½ years. Total income taxes paid in the Virgin Islands in 1953 were $720,314.36. Total income taxes paid in the Virgin Islands in 1955 amounted to $1,059,631.61, and in 1956 income taxes increased to $1,549,309.68—or double the amount paid 3½ years ago.

Our tourist development board estimated that in 1953 visitors to the Virgin Islands, in the tourist economy of the islands, spent approximately $5,400,000. In 1956 gross tourist expenditures were estimated to be $11,645,988, again more than double the amount spent by tourists 3½ years ago. In 1952 total imports into the Virgin Islands were $11,162,880. In 1955 our imports jumped to $16,255,575, an increase of $4 million. During the same period exports from the Virgin Islands increased from $2,477,655 to $4,277,314, an increase of $2 million.

Do you care to listen to a few more startling comparisons? The assertion was made not so long ago, that Virgin Islanders are not industrious, not given to hard toil and sacrifice. Well, I looked for the facts and I found that in the year 1956 there were 8,138 workers in all the Virgin Islands covered by workmen's compensation, of whom—incidentally—4,345 were engaged in private, I repeat, in private employment and 1,793 in Government work. This figure represents nearly four times as many workers in private employment as in Government employment on these small islands where Government naturally combines all levels of city, county, State, and Federal activities. Let it be remembered, too, and let it be quoted widely, that the people of the Virgin Islands today raise more than 10 times the local revenues than they did 20 years ago, and 2¼ times the local taxes they raised 10 years ago. Here are the figures. In 1936, local revenues totaled $288,438; in 1946 local revenues had increased to $1,374,259.61; and in 1956, revenues from local taxes amounted to $2,911,775.08.

Unlike the bucanneers of old, we have not been trundling wheelbarrowsful of bullion down Main Street lately, nor are we paving the new waterfront highway with the heavy, yellow ingots. Yet, despite the pinch of poverty, felt here as elsewhere among our ill-housed and ill-fed citizens, grass is definitely not growing on Main Street • • • and that is not because of any water shortage either. And here's another fact: keeping pace with our economic advancement, we have been building steadily solid and lasting monuments—not alone of stone and of concrete—but of human resources as well in the health and well-being of our citizens, in the letters, and in the arts.

Dear friends, I am moved to bring to witness this Transfer Day, the firm faith of Virgin Islanders in the traditional American virtues of hard work, in thrift, in resourcefulness, and in our sturdy self-reliance. How very often, these days, we have to fall back on their support. Nevertheless, we are experiencing years of progress and, God helping us, we can look ahead with confidence.

GOVERNMENT HAS HELPED

Government has had no small chapter, of course, in this success story. I would like to pass on to you the definition given by Lincoln in his first inaugural address: "The legitimate object of Government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to be done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, in their separate and individual capacities."

We believe that no American—no one group of Americans—can truly prosper unless all Americans prosper. For we are one family made up of millions of Americans with the same hopes for a full and happy life. We believe that the slum, the outdated highway, the poor school system—deficiencies in health protection, the loss of a job, and the fear of poverty in old age—in fact any real injustice in the business of living—penalizes us all.

We know that our Government stands ready to help us to help ourselves and to do those things for us which we cannot so well do in our individual capacity. I strike into this record our full appreciation for the golden millions which the Federal Government has poured into our islands to equip us with modern sewerage systems, improved communications facilities, the very latest in hospital and school plants, in low-cost housing, airport, and highway construction, among the substantial physical improvements over the past decade. On the other hand, let us never undervalue or underestimate the many things, I have here recited in part only—which we, in the march of progress have done, and daily continue to do, for ourselves as we should, by intelligent planning, skill, and by the sweat of our brow.

PATRIOTISM, UNLIMITED

I listened very carefully a few weeks ago to my good friend, Col. Joseph A. Christmas, United States Air Force, the Selective Service officer in the Virgin Islands, as he was interviewed by the Women's League over radio station WSTA. Among his many remarks commending the spirit and valor of Virgin Islands servicemen, Colonel Christmas brought out the fact that there were approximately 544 volunteers of the 1,073 Virgin Islands servicemen processed through the local board, or roughly 50 percent of the total enlistments. I just had to point out that fact because, these days, we hear too little of the patriotism and sacrifice of Virgin Islanders; and hear far too much, these days, of the economic benefits which these islands receive from the Federal Government, although we receive such grant-in-aid at less than par, in many instances, along with the other Territories and certain States of the Union.

PROGRESS DEMANDS DEDICATION

Unhesitatingly, I wish to state my firm conviction that the people of these islands are well advanced in the application of the principles of American democracy and of self-government. We have a tremendous reservoir of leadership ability just waiting to be tapped. But, my friends, these times cry out loudly for more constructive suggestions. We need less complaints and less criticism of each other. Progress is not for the lazy and indolent. Progress demands character, it demands will, it demands dedication. Progress requires quiet decision, self-respect, and self-reliance.

Let us cherish our island home with a love that does not count sacrifice, a concern that thrives under constant and determined effort. Let us remember, you and I, that our child and our children's children will benefit or suffer by what we do today. The element of gold—here pure, there adulterated—has marked our progress over the 40 years, 1917 through 1957. Progress demands more than lip service or a more recitation of its elements. How well we have learned the lessons along the way. Have we profited well from the experience? We should be building foundations now under our castles-in-the-sky, if there they be, so that our next anniversary celebration, in 1967, may be truly golden in word and in deed.

THE HIGHER LEVEL

And so this morning, richly endowed as we are in the good things of the earth, in the fellowship of our neighbors and the closeness of our Nation, would it not be fitting for each of us to speak in prayer to the Father of the Nations to ask that He help us—and teach us—and receive our thanksgiving?

Might we not pray that He teach us? Teach us, and teach our leaders, to seek to understand the problems and needs of our people. Teach us how those problems may reach solution in wisdom, and how best those needs may be met. Teach us to require of all those who seek to lead us, and teach us too, to require of ourselves, these things: Integrity of purpose; the upright mind, selfless sacrifice, and the courage of the just. Teach us trust and hope and self-dependence. Teach us the security of faith.

THE ROAD AHEAD

Four decades ago, when old Dannebrog was replaced here by the Stars and Stripes, the United States stood on the brink of World War I. Today we celebrate this anniversary at a time when the nations seem to be gathered on the verge of a most serious catastrophe of our times. This sombering thought should bring us solemn pause. Today, as we meet here in peace and quietness, our statesmen are striving valiantly to settle international issues around the conference table rather than around the "watchfires of a hundred circling camps." Today the democratic countries, led by our Mother Country, and by our great President, are earnestly and eagerly seeking ways and means to keep the peace.

This is a serious moment. And it behooves us as good American citizens to be loyal to our country and flag and to the eminent principles for which they stand, to proclaim our faith in righteousness and justice, and to be proud to give ourselves in meeting the everyday needs of our Nation, by willing sacrifice. Thus we strengthen, likewise, our own homeland.

OUR COMMISSION

To each individual gathered here, and to those within the reach of my voice, I express, first, our satisfaction that you could join with us in reviewing this parade of events. Secondly, my great faith that you, each and every one of you, can contribute something to render more precious the social, economic, and political fabric of these islands so dear to us all. And, thirdly, that in so doing you will gain the satisfaction of knowing that you are moving along the high road of constructive progress on all fronts and not banding together to chieve the defensive or negative concept of mere physical security. When we place our desires and designs into proper perspective, to which we can attend right now, we would move into better position to celebrate the golden anniversary laden with achievements beyond our fondest dreams. It is a great faith that must march forward. With it we cannot stand still.

IN SUMMARY

In closing we wish to emphasize that a real, pulsing drive, adorned with deep human concern, has marked these Virgin Islands as the show-place of American democracy. Our gold is in our hearts and in our homes, and our monument not the shaft of stone, but a tower of true spiritual and cultural values and of great material accomplishments. From that viewpoint, and with these self-evident truth, we have surveyed with pardonable pride, yet with humility, these past 40 years.

It is well that we solemnly pledge, this instant, to build a stronger and better nation and home—of greater security and increasing prosperity for all. Working together for the common welfare is an American habit. Let us continue to cultivate and to keep that habit strong. We know that we have not failed to do our full share in this good work. We know what has been done. We know whither our goal. With sincere and unswerving dedication to the tasks ahead, with confidence in our ability to accomplish them, with abiding faith in Almighty God, we cannot fail—we shall not fail.

For the honor of appearing once again before you, my countrymen, thanks to each one of you.

God bless you all.

Poland's National Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, for the first time in many years, the Polish people will celebrate the birth of the freedom they once knew and is now lost to them. May 3 will mark the anniversary of a constitution devoted to democracy, adopted by Poland in 1871.

Although for long years, this constitution, symbol of freedom, has lain lifeless, recent months have brought changes and indications that the people of Poland may yet throw off the yoke of communism and once again cloak themselves with freedom and liberty. In this, God is on their side and ultimately the victory will be theirs.

The free world is again witnessing the course of communism: Hunger, starvation, the denial of every birthright of man, and inevitably, the struggle of the people to free themselves from its stranglehold. Our hopes are with the Polish people. They will win their freedom, we know.

The Cyprus Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, we are all concerned with the problem of Cyprus and its relation to American foreign policy. The recent conditional release of Archbishop Makarios, the spiritual and national leader of the people of Cyprus, has done much to improve the situation. I would like to draw the attention of the Congress to two statements prepared by the committee on the Cyprus question of the Cyprus Federation of America entitled "The Importance of the United Nations Debate" and "A Needless Tragedy." These statements appeared March 24, 1957, and April 12, 1957, respectively, in the international edition of the New Times:

[From the March 24, 1957, international air edition of the New York Times]

THE CYPRUS QUESTION—IMPORTANCE OF UNITED NATIONS DEBATE

(No. 9 in a series of statements as a public service to clarify the issues facing our Nation and the free world in the Cyprus question. Direct inquiries to: Committee on the Cyprus Question, 147 West 42d Street, New York 36, N. Y. Bibliography and research topics available upon request.)

The recent debate on the Cyprus question in the United Nations (February 18–22, 1957) was a big step forward for the people of Cyprus in their long struggle for freedom. It is the most important advance for the Cypriots since Great Britain occupied their island in 1878. The reasons for this are, among others, as follows:

1. It established once and for all that this was an international issue and that the United Nations has jurisdiction in the matter.

2. It demonstrated that the member nations are overwhelmingly behind the Cypriot struggle for independence. A reading of the various speeches clearly indicates almost unanimous support for the struggling people of Cyprus.

3. It recognized that the future of Cyprus rests with the sovereign people of Cyprus.

4. The suggestion of partition by Great Britain was strongly criticised and rejected as a solution by the member nations.

5. The Radcliffe constitutional proposal was rejected as a not-too-well disguised effort to maintain a colonial regime.

6. It recognized that the people of Cyprus are mature, highly civilized, and completely capable of governing themselves and that the excuse that they need training in self-government is simply an evasion.

7. It called for the resumption of direct negotiations between Great Britain and the people of Cyprus.

The United Nations debate brought worldwide attention to the struggle of this small nation for its freedom and made known the issues to a world sometimes too busy to acquaint itself with every international problem. The debate dramatized the fact that the Cyprus question is a needless quarrel and one filled with danger for the free world and that its just and quick solution is of extreme importance to the Western cause.

UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION

The resolution passed at the United Nations is of great importance to the people of Cyprus. The resolution reads:

"The General Assembly, having considered the question of Cyprus, believing that the solution of this problem requires an atmosphere of peace and freedom of expression, expresses the earnest desire that a peaceful, democratic, and just solution will be found in accord with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, and the hope that negotiations will be resumed and continued to this end."

This resolution was introduced by India, whose delegate, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, in his speech stressed that the issue here was one of self-determination for the people of Cyprus and that the responsibility for carrying out this principle lay on the United Kingdom in consultation with the people of Cyprus. He stated, in part, as follows: "The resolution we submitted does not provide a solution * * *. [It] places the responsibility for solution on those who today wield the power and the other partners in that solution are the peoples of the Island of Cyprus."

The interpretation of the resolution given by its sponsor and other member nations makes clear that the resumption of negotiations, contemplated by the resolution, were those which had been interrupted—namely, those between the British Government and Archbishop Makarios (October 4, 1955–March 6, 1956).

BRITISH MOVES TO SHOW GOOD FAITH

The following are some ways for Great Britain to show her good faith if she is sincerely interested in a democratic settlement:

1. Release Archbishop Makarios and resume negotiations.

2. Commute all death sentences.

3. Abolish the emergency regulations and restore all judicial guaranties. (The emergency regulations have resulted in serious cases of brutality by the British. See Time magazine, March 11, 1957, page 28.)

4. Abolish the two concentration camps—Kokkinotrimythia and Pyla—and free the more than 2,000 political prisoners and detainees.

5. Reopen the schools.

6. Replace the military governor with a civilian governor.

The necessary first step is the release of Archbishop Makarios, the elected national leader and representative of the Greek Cypriotes, and the resumption of negotiations with him. The recent offer of a truce by the EOKA rebels conditioned on the return of Makarios and the British reply thereto will be discussed in a subsequent statement.

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES

The role of the United States in this matter is clear. The historic American principle of self-determination should be supported by our Nation with vigor in the case of Cyprus. The United States has supported Great Britain in her contention that the Cyprus question could be settled privately outside the United Nations. We have a responsibility to ourselves and as the leaders of the free world to do all possible to urge the British Government to live up to its commitments.

Our State Department should press with all its energy, in accordance with the U. N. resolution on Cyprus, for an early and just solution to this problem. It should emphasize to the British Government that in this era we cannot condemn Soviet colonialism and at the same time condone British colonialism. The Soviet Union and her satellites are using British colonialism in Cyprus as a weapon against the United States and particularly against our new Middle East doctrine. How can we expect the nations of the Middle East to have faith in our pronouncements if we allow British colonialism to continue on Cyprus? If we are to succeed in adjusting to the new nationalism we must make it clear that Western diplomacy based on bullying is a thing of the past.

Our vote in the U. N. and our new assumption of responsibilities in the Middle East require active mediation on our part in the Cyprus problem. In the interest of American foreign policy our Government must do its best to see that the relevant parties, the United Kingdom and the people of Cyprus, resume their talks in an atmosphere of calm.

Stripped of all extraneous matters, the issue in Cyprus reduces itself to one problem; The British are imposing their will against an alien and self-conscious people through force. The release of Archbishop Makarios and the resumption of negotiations will do much to clear the air of rancor. The irony of the entire problem is that it is needless. A clear statement by Great Britain promising the right of self-determination at a definite time in the near future could halt the conflict overnight, strengthen NATO's southern flank, and erase a serious moral embarrassment for the West.

[From the April 12, 1957, international air edition of the New York Times]

THE CYPRUS QUESTION—A NEEDLESS TRAGEDY

(No. 10 in a series of statements as a public service to clarify the issues facing our Nation and the free world in the Cyprus question.)

The conditional release of Archbishop Makarios (he is still barred from Cyprus), and subsequent resignation of Lord Salisbury are interpreted as welcome signs of a new British attitude toward Cyprus. However, it remains to be seen whether it is a new attitude or simply a move to stifle the mounting opposition at home and abroad to Britain's use of naked force to control the Cypriotes. In the past few years we have witnessed a colossal blunder by our ally Great Britain in this matter. Not only has the Balkan alliance and the southeastern flank of NATO been shattered, but the United States has suffered acute embarrassment from the example of colonial oppression given by the British in Cyprus. These consequences are all the more regrettable because they are the result of a needless tragedy: the Cyprus question has always had and has now a solution in accordance with normal democratic principles which would fully protect western interests.

Ever since the close of World War II the British saw fit to employ every devise to impede an honorable settlement which would have preserved their military use of the island and would have given the Cypriotes their freedom. Since they have never colonized the island the British had to rely on divisive politics, i. e., stirring up hatred between the groups on Cyprus and between governments and then playing one off against the other. Finally the resolute drive of the Cypriote will toward freedom, caused British political manipulation to degenerate into the naked use of force in order to continue their rule.

RESIGNATION OF LORD SALISBURY

Possibly more important even than the release of Archbishop Markarios is the resignation from the British Cabinet of Lord Salisbury. Lord Salisbury, one of the leaders of Britain's aristocratic ruling class and one of the strongest advocates of force and repression to quell the Cypriotes' desire for freedom, resigned in protest at the release of the archbishop. His resignation is excellent news for the United States, as it indicates that the few back benchers in the Conservative Party can no longer dictate policy. It indicates that the Conservatives finally realize that a policy of rule by force, intimidation and terror cannot be successful against a peoples'—as in this case the Cypriotes—movement for freedom, and that the day when government could act without public sympathy is long past. As the London Observer said Sunday, March 31, 1957, Lord Salisbury's going may be the first blessing the Macmillan administration has enjoyed and that it may be the light at the end of a dark tunnel.

It is to the credit of Prime Minister Macmillan that he risked the wrath of the intransigent back benchers in his own party in an effort to extricate his nation from a policy which has reaped it no profit and has caused it such loss. This grant of praise is deserved even though one recognizes that the Conservative government has been under mounting pressure from British public opinion, the Labor Party, the United States, and from the world community. In any case let us hope that the magnitude of the British blunder will become a matter for historians and that this needless tragedy will be cut short.

NECESSARY STEPS TO A SETTLEMENT

The following steps, among others, by Britain would greatly speed a peaceful, democratic, and just solution in accordance with the United Nations resolution:

1. Full resumption by Archbishop Makarios in Cyprus of his duties as spiritual and national leader.

2. Replacement of military governor with civilian governor.

3. Halt all political hangings.

4. Abolish the two British concentration camps.

5. Halt all forms of brutality by the British security police.

6. In general, abolish all emergency regulations.

The important thing now is to have negotiations resumed. It is clear that the resumption of negotiations contemplated by the United Nations were the negotiations which took place between the British Government and Archbishop Makarios between October 4, 1955, and March 6, 1956, and which were unilaterally breached by Britain when a settlement was reported near.

ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES

With our assumption of new and added responsibilities in the Middle East area, Cyprus has become even more of an American problem than before. The United States is not faced in the Cyprus question with her usual postwar dilemma of supporting the colonial power versus a reactionary local government or the Communist-led aspirations of subjugated people. In the case of Cyprus human rights and political expediency combine. American self-interest is best served by a position designed to make the British Conservative government accept the compromise solution of a NATO base on Cyprus and self-determination for the people of Cyprus at some determinative time in the near future. If Britain accepts this compro-

mise it would go a long way to restrengthening NATO and the free world and help in reestablishing the normal functioning of the Balkan alliance.

The Transportation Tax Law Should Be Repealed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the Playground News, of Fort Walton Beach, Fla., April 18, 1957, which indicates some of the reasons why the citizens of Florida feel that the transportation tax law should be repealed.

My colleague, the Honorable A. S. HERLONG, Jr., has introduced a bill, H. R. 2867, to repeal the transportation tax law, sections 4261, 4262, 4271, 4272, and 4273, Internal Revenue Code of 1954. Some 40 bills, I am informed, have been introduced and are now awaiting action of the 85th Congress, relating to this subject.

Speaking in support of the bill, as shown in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 5, 1957, Mr. HERLONG said:

It is possible, through repeal of the taxes on transportation, to extend a measure of relief to each and every person and each and every business, without any serious loss of revenue to the Government. * * * the potential benefits to be gained by all consumers through the cumulative effect of lower prices at each stage of manufacture, wholesaling and retailing, are so great as to make any possible loss of revenue almost insignificant by comparison. * * * repeal of the taxes on transportation cannot safely be delayed, while immediate repeal would be in the best interest of all.

Another of my colleagues, the Honorable JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, author of H. R. 976, which seeks repeal of the transportation tax, in a speech in support of his bill and recorded in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 18, 1957, says:

The cost of transportation and the burden falls most heavily on those least able to afford it. * * * Transportation, more than any other factor, is part of everything this Nation uses or consumes. * * * Repeal of the transportation taxes would, therefore, benefit each and every person and the entire national economy.

The news article reads as follows:

RESOLUTION IS ADOPTED AT DESTIN MEETING—BOATSMEN ASSOCIATION SEEKS REPEAL OF TAX

At a meeting of the Florida Boatsmen Association, Inc., held at the Community Center Building in Destin, Fla., Saturday night, a spirited discussion centered on matters relating to taxation, license fees, and regulation of the fishing industry, President J. E. Brunson said.

James H. Wise, member of the legislature from Okaloosa County met with the association members for a discussion of pending legislation relating to fishing and boating, Brunson added.

"A number of bills have been introduced and are pending action of the legislature now in session in Tallahassee," he explained.

A resolution was adopted requesting the legislature to approve a concurrent resolution urging Congress to repeal the transportation tax. This tax, according to David W. Palmer, association counsel, who presented the resolution, has been the subject of much litigation, so much that it is no longer profitable to the Government as a revenue producing measure.

"It is a war measure," he said, "enacted in 1941, to deter people from riding the trains, planes, and boats and thereby give more room for transporting military personnel and equipment.

"Some 30 bills are now before Congress seeking repeal," he added. Ten State legislatures have already taken similar action seeking repeal.

"Many court decisions have held that the tax had been illegally collected on the movement of logs, earth, oil, ice, gravel, and persons making fishing and sightseeing trips. More than 100 associations, including the Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles and Kansas City, are supporting the repeal movement," Palmer said.

C. L. Kelly, secretary-treasurer, presented the resolution as follows:

"Whereas the Federal transportation tax is a discriminatory and unfair tax, imposed on those who in their business or profession are required to travel or transport goods, wares, and merchandise; and

"Whereas the courts have held that the tax, in a number of instances, was illegally collected and that said tax does not apply, under certain conditions, to various articles, commodities, persons and activities, such as the movement of logs, earth, oil, ice, gravel, fishing boats, etc.; and

"Whereas it appears from the remarks of Hon. ROBERT L. F. SIKES, as recorded in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 13, 1955, and May 31, 1955, that said tax has not been uniformly imposed but has been collected contrary to law; and

"Whereas large sums of said tax illegally collected have been refunded pursuant to court decree; and

"Whereas in Florida, because of our location, said tax imposed an unfair and undue burden on our citizens: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Florida Boatsmen Association, Inc., hereby petitions the Legislature of the State of Florida, now in session at Tallahassee, by appropriate concurrent resolution to request the Congress of the United States to repeal said transportation tax law; be it further

"Resolved, That said association hereby requests Members of the Congress from Florida to repeal said law; that a copy of this resolution be sent to Members of Congress from the State of Florida; be it further

"Resolved, That a copy hereof be released to the press to the end that due publicity be given the subject.

"Approved at Destin, Fla., this 13th day of April 1957.

"FLORIDA BOATSMEN
ASSOCIATION, INC.,
"By J. E. BRUNSON,
"President.

"Attest:
"C. L. KELLY,
"Secretary-Treasurer."

Attached to the above and foregoing resolution and transmitted to the State legislature in Tallahassee, Fla., was the following:

House Concurrent Resolution

A concurrent resolution requesting the Congress of the United States to repeal title 26 sections 3475 and 4261 of the Internal Revenue Code of the United States, which levies an excise tax on the transportation of property and persons within the United States

Whereas the Federal excise tax on transportation was for the most part levied as an emergency revenue measure for the conduct of World War II, and in the case of the tax on transportation of persons for the purpose of discouraging unnecessary civilian travel, and was not intended as a part of the permanent rate structure, and is no longer necessary because the emergency created by World War II and the problems peculiar to it have ceased to exist; and

Whereas the country's railroads, airlines, truck and bus companies and water carriers are caught between increased costs and rate competition among themselves and with unregulated and private transportation, and the transportation tax increases the prices the users of the for hire transportation services must pay, and makes the for-hire transportation agencies involuntary collectors of a tax which drives business to private operations; and

Whereas the for-hire transportation industry is essential to the national defense and the well being of this industry must be safeguarded from the unnecessary and disrupting influence of the transportation tax which prevents for-hire transportation agencies from being able to compete for their fair share of the available volume of traffic; and

Whereas the transportation tax is most unjust to the Nation's railroads which are especially essential to the national defense because they move the largest share of troops, equipment and vital supplies in times of war and national emergency; and

Whereas the transportation tax is costly for the carrier to collect and administer and thus adds to the total freight bill by increasing the carrier's overall costs, putting an extra burden upon the carrier and on the shipper through high rates; and

Whereas the transportation tax, because of its nature or application tends to become discriminatory as to communities and individuals, and restricts trade areas, thereby interfering with the free flow of commerce within the United States, and the State of Florida is particularly affected because its shippers must ship their commodities for long distances to reach markets; and

Whereas the transportation tax rate is a fixed percentage of the fare or freight rate, and is substantially increased without any increase in the tax rate every time it is necessary to increase passenger and freight rates; and

Whereas the for-hire transportation agencies are especially important to the State of Florida because Florida is an importer, i. e., more goods and people come into the State and remain than go out, and this means that the transportation tax adversely affects the State of Florida to a point approximating a lack of constitutional uniformity; and

Whereas the for-hire transportation agencies are essential to the well-being of the large tourist trade in the State of Florida and the State of Florida is especially interested in protecting and developing its vacation and tourist travel and cheaper transportation costs will aid in the accomplishment of this purpose; and

Whereas transportation is in no sense a luxury but is a vital necessity and there is, therefore, sound reason for distinguishing between the transportation taxes and other excise taxes that are imposed upon luxury items; and

Whereas the benefit the public in general will derive from the repeal of the transportation tax will far outweigh the loss of revenue to the Federal Government; and

Whereas there is presently pending before the Congress of the United States legislation which would repeal the tax on transportation of property and which would repeal the tax on transportation of persons: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Florida (the Senate concurring), That they be placed on record in favor of the repeal of the 3 percent Federal transportation tax on all commodities shipped, and the repeal of the 10 percent transportation tax on all passenger fares; and

Resolved, That this resolution be forwarded to Representative FORAND and the members of the House Subcommittee on Excise Taxes with the recommendation that serious consideration be given to supporting the repeal of excise taxes as applicable to the movement of people and goods via for-hire carriers; and

Resolved, That the members of the Florida delegation in Congress do all within their power to bring about the repeal of the Federal transportation tax, and be urged to pursue this matter as diligently as possible in order that the State of Florida might reap the benefits which would be forthcoming.

Mr. Speaker, in Florida this transportation tax has become a nuisance. Fishing boats were required to contribute an aggregate sum of about $100,000 to the United States Treasury Department as a transportation tax. After some 7 years of litigation, the courts have held that the tax was unlawfully collected and must be refunded—*Smith* v. *U. S.* (110 F. Supp. 892); *Walker et al.* v. *U. S.* (144 F. Supp. 440; affirmed 234 F. (2d) 910); *Davis* v. *U. S.* (235 F. (2d) 174); *Smith* v. *U. S.* (157 C. C. H. 9550 (5th Circuit), decided April 3, 1957).

As shown by my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 13, 1955, in some areas no effort was made to collect the tax. The court found that the tax varied in different localities. In some places the tax was collected at the rate of about 5 cents while under identical circumstances on other boats the tax was collected at the rate of 60 cents on a $5 fishing trip.

Because of the inherent nature of transportation, as legally defined, much travel and the movement of various commodities, goods, wares, and merchandise, have been held by the courts to be nontaxable. The unauthorized assessment and collection of the tax has resulted in considerable litigation throughout the United States with its attendant expenses to both the Government and the taxpayer. The most satisfactory solution to this problem is to repeal the transportation tax law.

The effort to expand the statute by administrative rulings to impose the tax on articles and activities not specified in the statute is not limited to fishing boats but includes such tonnage as wood—*Masonite* v. *Fly* (182 F. (2d) 934; 194 F. (2d) 257); building materials—*Earl* v. *Babler* (180 F. (2d) 1016); earth—*Ellis* v. *U. S.* (187 F. (2d) 698); stone—*Kerns* v. *U. S.* (204 F. (2d) 813); oil—*Jones* v. *Continental Oil* (141 F. (2d) 923); *Continental Oil* v. *Jones* (92 F. Supp. 927).

Now, I understand, in some places an effort is being made to collect the tax on sightseeing in disregard of a regulation expressly excluding sightseeing from the tax.

In view of the foregoing facts, H. R. 2867, legislation to repeal the transportation tax, should receive early consideration.

Maple T. Harl

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my deep sorrow for the passing of Maple T. Harl, a distinguished citizen of Colorado. Mr. Harl will be remembered in Washington for his outstanding service both as member and Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, but we who were honored to call him friend will remember him most for his unstinting service to his State and to his country. Death called him just when he was making preparation to terminate his service with the FDIC so that he might return to Colorado. Had this been possible he might have heard the tributes which must now echo in the place left empty by his passing.

For one who gave so much of himself in the service of others, there is little to say but that he will find a welcome in that land where service to others is an important key.

I should like also to include with my remarks the story of his passing and the editorial from the Daily Sentinel of Grand Junction, Colo.:

[From the Grand Junction (Colo.) Daily Sentinel of April 22, 1957]

MAPLE T. HARL

Of the many Coloradoans who have held high position in our Nation's Capital, none was more devoted to his home State than was Maple Harl, whose death occurred in that city last Wednesday. None was ever more ready to give of his time and energy and lend his influence where possible when a call went to him from Colorado. While his home was in Denver, no taint of sectionalism biased Maple Harl's efforts to advance the welfare of his home State. That many western Coloradoans early discovered whenever our section needed "a friend at court." His help was of inestimable value in our city's successful efforts to secure Walker Airfield and the Veterans' Hospital. But whether the project sought was big or little, Harl was ever ready with his assistance.

Maple Harl first went to Washington as a member and chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., a position to which he was appointed by President Truman. Testimony to his exceptional qualities as financier, banker and administrator was President Eisenhower's request that he stay on as a director of the board; from which post he was retiring late in the summer to return to his beloved Colorado when death came to him.

Mr. Harl was a director on the boards of many of our State's biggest business and financial institutions. As a member of the D. & R. G. W.'s board of directors perhaps he was best known to local residents among whom he had many personal friends who today join with countless others in all parts of the State in mourning the loss of this fine citizen.

[From the Grand Junction (Colo.) Daily Sentinel of April 18, 1957]

MAPLE T. HARL, COLORADO BOOSTER, DIES AT AGE 64

WASHINGTON.—The career of a great Colorado booster and builder ended here today with the death of Maple T. Harl, 64, financier and director of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation since 1945.

Mr. Harl died in Walter Reed Army Medical Center yesterday afternoon following a heart attack a few hours earlier.

The former Canon City newsboy, Denver banker, and director of many corporations, lived in Grand Junction at one time and was a faithful friend of the Western Slope when his influence was called for by friends of the region.

Walker Field and the veterans' hospital in Grand Junction mark two developments secured for the area with his help in high places.

Mr. Harl's body will lie in state in Washington until tomorrow, when it will be taken by train to Denver for burial.

Funeral services will be held Monday at Olinger's Funeral Home with interment in Fairmount cemetery, Denver.

A native of Marshall, Mo., Mr. Harl called Colorado his home for 51 years.

In an interview with the Daily Sentinel last February, Mr. Harl said he expected to leave Government service this fall.

"I'll never retire," he said at the time. "I plan to continue to be connected with the financial world in some way."

He was a member of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad board of directors and a board member of the United American Life Insurance Co. and the Glenn L. Martin Co. He was reelected to a new 3-year term as a director of the railroad only last week.

Mr. Harl was Colorado bank commissioner from 1939 until he came into the Federal service at the behest of then President Harry Truman and prior to that had been active in banking and investment circles in Colorado.

The FDIC director was a past national commander of the Disabled American Veterans and was active in the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars.

He was a trustee of Colorado Woman's College and a Mason.

Mr. Harl entered Walter Reed for treatment of an arthritic condition, a hangover from his service in Europe during World War I. He enlisted in the Army as a private and rose to the rank of major on the staff of the late Gen. John Pershing.

He is survived by his widow, a daughter, Mrs. Jean Stockmar of Denver, and three grandchildren.

The Honorable Barratt O'Hara's Diamond Jubilee Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I wish I could have attended BARRATT O'HARA'S diamond jubilee dinner in Chicago on Thursday, April 25. The warm-hearted, silver-haired gentleman from Illinois is down in my book as one of my unforgettable Congressmen and it does me no end of good to be in his company, to hear

him reminisce on his adventuresome and interesting life, to absorb his wholesome philosophy which ever accentuates his concern for the less fortunate in life.

We know Mr. O'HARA in the House today as our only Member who served in the Spanish-American War. Mere mention of his name electrifies the men of 1898 and their families when they assemble in my area. I thought I had some real experience in journalism until I really looked into the history of my colleague who is now beginning to say the Spirit of '76 is invincible. And who but the other House O'HARA, Republican JOSEPH PATRICK, of Minnesota, can cause House microphones to tremble in the manner of the Illinoisan?

BARRATT has been exceedingly kind to me. Somehow, I sense he has sort of an affection for me as he does all his colleagues. I like the way he treats his secretary, Marie Crowe, coauthor of a number of his books. BARRATT is happy at 75 and I am happy because he is.

Plea for the Public Defender

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, as a sponsor of legislation designed to provide adequate representation for indigent defendants in criminal cases in the United States courts—H. R. 3791—I was deeply interested in an article which appeared in the April 21 issue of the New York Times magazine. This article, entitled "Plea for the Public Defender," was written by Deputy Attorney General William P. Rogers. Mr. Rogers, in my opinion, has made a most effective statement of the case for the public-defender system, and I commend his article to our colleagues who are interested in steps which might help us more fully realize the ideal of our legal system—equal justice under law.

The article follows:

PLEA FOR THE PUBLIC DEFENDER

"Do you have a lawyer?"

This question is asked daily in criminal cases by judges in courts throughout the land. It poses no serious problem to those accused of crime who are able to afford a lawyer. But what about the large numbers of men and women who are charged with law violations and are not able to retain counsel because they haven't the money for the fee? What happens when they answer "No"?

The sixth amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that "in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right * * * to have the assistance of counsel for his defense." This provision safeguards human rights by recognizing that the average person is not sufficiently skilled in the law competently to defend himself against a criminal charge. It means that in all criminal proceedings, involving a felony, the Federal courts are without power or authority to deprive any person of his life or liberty unless he has counsel or expressly waives the assistance of counsel. To maintain fundamental fairness and right, due process of law imposes the same requirement on the States.

Certainly a person charged with crime who is unable because of poverty to employ counsel should be defended in all his rights as fully as is the accused who is able to engage a lawyer. Yet, as a Nation, what have we done to make meaningful for the poor and friendless this right to counsel?

The answer in all the Federal courts and in a great many State courts is that we rely wholly upon charity or the uncompensated services of lawyers to provide counsel for the indigent. A recent survey showed that only three States—Connecticut, Colorado, and Rhode Island—have a statewide public defender system. Including these States, public-defender offices have been established in only 31 cities. As a result of this poor showing, the effective assistance of counsel which should be provided is, in fact, too often left to chance.

Under the present generally prevalent system, when a defendant who wants a lawyer cannot afford one, it becomes the duty of the court to appoint counsel for him. Often a lawyer who happens to be in court is requested by the judge to assume the defense. In rural areas where the criminal calendar is relatively light, this practice may not impose a serious burden, although its does not necessarily insure that competent criminal lawyers are obtained in all cases.

In heavily populated areas, such as the southern district of New York where some 700 defense assignments are made each year in Federal court such a haphazard system would become hopelessly bogged down. There, the Legal Aid Society, a voluntary organization supported entirely by private funds, employs full-time private defenders to present accused indigents. Because of the competence of the service it provides, the court relies almost entirely on this source when making assignments. In other jurisdictions, however, members of the bar generally volunteer their services and, when called upon by the court, assume the defense without charge.

This frequently entails a heavy burden on the lawyers. An example was the respected Washington, D. C. lawyer of modest means who several years ago was appointed in a long conspiracy case involving many defendants. He finally had to mortgage his home to support his family and pay expenses during the trial, which lasted 8 months. It is a tribute to the bar that the courts have been able to find lawyers—often called upon again and again—who are willing to accept such assignments.

Another trouble with the system is that miscarriages of justice may occur because the poor have counsel assigned to them who are not fully competent to defend against criminal charges. The practice of criminal law is a highly specialized art. Young lawyers, without prior experience, often seek court assignments to gain trial experience. Sometimes they prove to be fine defense lawyers; sometimes they do not. In any event, as Mr. Justice Wiley Rutledge observed: "Serious criminal cases are not proper subject matter for legal apprentices, however capable and hardworking."

Moreover, it takes time, money, hard work, and skill to prepare a defense that will fully safeguard the rights of the accused. Unless a lawyer can be found who is willing to provide his own money as well as effort, thorough investigation of the facts may not be made, key witnesses who live at a distance may not be interviewed, and material evidence may not be procured to protect a penniless client.

While the competency of the defense under the present system is subject to question, an even more serious charge can be made. This concerns the technique of virtual extortion that a very few unscrupulous lawyers use. For these few, a person who cannot raise money for bail is always a likely target. He is in jail, perhaps for the first time, and is bewildered and scared.

Thereupon our "friend of the poor" makes his appearance. Preying on fears and uncertainties, the lawyer emphasizes the dire consequences which will follow unless the accused has someone to defend him. If the accused knows that the court will appoint counsel, the lawyer tells him, "Those fellows won't help you; they don't get paid, and therefore won't take an active interest in your case." Once the accused is persuaded to let such a lawyer take his case, pressure is brought to bear on him and on his friends and relatives to raise money, regardless of the sacrifice, to pay the lawyer's fee. While it should be emphasized that such practices are rare, they should not be permitted to occur at all.

The problem of securing adequate representation for the poor is by no means new. But with the growth of our population and economy it has become most serious. During the past 15 years approximately 35,000 criminal cases, on the average, were commenced each year in the Federal courts involving about 40,000 defendants. Those in daily contact with the courts state that, by conservative estimate, at least 1 out of every 8 defendants does not have the means to employ an attorney. On this basis, counsel are appointed to represent at least 5,000 defendants in the Federal courts yearly.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., has aptly likened this system to relying on a volunteer fire department. In this modern age with its great crowded cities, no one would think of entrusting the protection of life and property from the hazards of fire to any but a full-time, trained, and paid fire department. As a committee of the Judicial Conference of the United States, concerned with indigent litigants and headed by Judge Augustus N. Hand, reported in 1943:

"To call on lawyers constantly for unpaid service is unfair to them and any attempt to do so is almost bound to break down after a time. To distribute such assignments among a large number of attorneys in order to reduce the burden upon any one, is to entrust the representation of the defendant to attorneys who in many cases are not proficient in criminal trials, whatever their general ability, and who for one reason or another cannot be depended upon for an adequate defense. Too often under such circumstances the representation becomes little more than a form."

What is the remedy for this situation? Obviously, it is the establishment of some form of paid public defender system in all Federal as well as State courts.

There is at present in Congress a bill that has the endorsement of the Department of Justice, the Judicial Conference of the United States, and legal aid societies. If enacted, it would authorize the Federal district courts in large metropolitan centers to appoint public defenders either as full-time or part-time officers of the courts, as the volume of work requires. In less populated districts, where the court concludes that a public defender is not required, the court would be authorized to appoint counsel in particular cases and to pay reasonable compensation. In effect this would combine the best features of both the public defender and the assigned but compensated counsel systems.

It is difficult to say with certainty what a public defender system for the Federal courts would cost. The pending legislation would authorize a maximum annual salary of $10,000 for full-time public defenders and a payment of $35 per day with an annual ceiling of $5,000 in districts that appointed counsel for specific cases.

However, about 60 percent of the cases requiring a public defender are concentrated in a very few congested court districts. Pre-

sumably only these would require full-time public defenders. In the great majority of districts the work would be part-time on a case-to-case basis. The total Federal cost might not exceed $250,000 a year. To this would be added the costs of the plan in State courts.

In addition to insuring the full constitutional guaranty of a fair trial to the underprivileged, the public defender system would provide a number of other advantages.

If the accused had no real defense, the public defender would be expected honestly to advise him to plead guilty, thus avoiding the expense and time of an unnecessary trial. If the defendant had a good case, he would have the assurance of being defended by competent counsel who was being fairly compensated for his services. He would be represented by an attorney experienced in criminal practice and qualified fully to safeguard his legal and constitutional rights.

Another reason for establishing the office of public defender for the poor relates to shaping a prisoner's attitude toward society after he has been convicted and served his term in jail. It has been pointed out that the correctional process for a prisoner cannot begin to operate until the bitterness engendered in him by the legal process has been overcome. The poor and helpless prisoner who rightly believes that he was not adequately defended leaves the courtroom with a heart full of hate.

James V. Bennett, Director of the Bureau of Prisons, receives a constant flow of mail from inmates of Federal prisons alleging that they were deprived of counsel or that the assigned counsel was inadequate. A typical letter reads:

"I have been sentenced for 2 years and 3 years' probation. When I was judged, I was asked by my attorney to plead guilty. Please believe me, I didn't know, nor did anyone explain to me, the meaning of pleading guilty. I have never in my whole life committed any crime. Since I began serving this sentence I have learned that by pleading guilty I have committed myself to something that I was not aware of. This is understandable when you realize that I have had but 4 years of schooling and the ways of the courts were foreign to me."

A person who believes he has been wrongfully imprisoned many petition the court for redress. Many of these petitions filed by Federal prisoners are based upon a claimed denial of counsel or the allegation that assigned counsel was indifferent or not qualified.

While the public-defender system will not solve all of these problems, it will go a long way toward minimizing errors, misunderstandings, and injustices. In a number of States where the system has been in use for years, it has proved eminently successful.

Some objection to the plan comes from attorneys whose practice of criminal cases, they say, might be reduced. It would seem that, if these attorneys are deprived of clients who lack the money to pay for their services, the loss cannot be a great one.

Shortly before his death Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson expressed eloquently the principles that call upon us as a nation to adopt, in the interest of justice, a public-defender plan for the poor. He said:

"We believe in law as a growing and progressive science of civilized life, not as a closed doctrine like the law of the Medes and Persians. Our profession is dutybound to supply bold and imaginative leadership to bring and keep justice within the reach of persons in every condition of life, to devise processes better to secure men against false accusation and society against crime and violence, and to preserve not merely the form of constitutional government but the spirit of liberty under law as embodied in our Constitution."

Old Granddads Meet for Fellowship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 1, 1957

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, it is a fact that due to our great technological and medical progress, the number of our so-called elderly people is constantly increasing. This is all to the good, for the world can profit by their years of experience and worldly wisdom. Whatever the world has today is a heritage from the past, for which we are greatly indebted to our fathers and grandfathers.

I cannot help but feel that if we, of the present generation, would heed the words of wisdom of our grandfathers, which they gained through long years of solving their own problems, this would indeed be a far better world and many of the problems that we face, such as juvenile delinquency and other matters, could be resolved in the light of their experiences. Our elders are constantly proving their usefulness to us in innumerable ways, and we should profit from their valuable contributions to make this a better world.

On April 18, 1957, in the Evening Sun of Baltimore, Md., I noticed a very interesting article entitled "Old Granddads Meet for Fellowship," which I deem worthy of inclusion in the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include that article, which is as follows:

OLD GRANDDADS MEET FOR GOOD-FELLOWSHIP

To discuss the pastimes of grandfathership and share an evening with good companions, grandfathers from the Baltimore area assemble once a month at the VFW hall in Rossville, Md.

The Old Granddads Club of America, Rossville Council No. 1, was founded in September 1954, with a membership of 15 grandfathers who live in and around Rossville, a small community in eastern Baltimore County on the Philadelphia road.

Since then the membership rolls have swelled and now list 148 grandfathers, some coming from as far away as Anne Arundel County.

DISCUSS CLUB'S PROJECT

According to Carl Mohr, secretary of the Old Granddads Club, an average of about 50 members attend each meeting.

The members discuss current projects before the club and the many and varied problems arising from their relationships with their grandchildren.

The avowed purpose of the organization, as stated in its constitution is "* * * granddads of different stations of life may meet and discuss various topics that may create a better relationship between granddads and grandchildren, which may reduce in a way a great deal of unnecessary juvenile delinquency that now prevails."

HOLD ANNUAL PARTY

Each year the granddads throw a Christmas party for local children under 10 years old. It is exhausting and expensive, but well worth it, they feel. To raise the necessary funds, the club—whose dues are a dollar per year—sponsor oyster roasts, crab feasts, or ham suppers.

Howard E. Conners is president of the club; John A. Smith, vice president; Mr. Mohr, secretary; Vincent Arrigo, treasurer; William McClure, chaplain; and George Mohr, sergeant at arms.

The oldest grandfather in the club, Fred Kreisel, is 85; the youngest, less than half that. He is 42-year-old Robert C. Weeks.

Polish National Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, on this day 166 years ago, a great progressive and democratic document was signed. On May 3, 1791, the constitution of Poland was enacted. It was a logical product of the traditional allegiance of the Polish people to the principles of liberty and self-determination. This document has remained a cherished declaration of belief in justice and free expression down through the years, despite the encroachments attempted upon it by hostile forces. It is yet a constant reminder to the Polish Nation of Poland's heritage of freedom, a heritage that cannot be denied even by the oppressive force of brutal domination.

The commemoration of National Day provides us with an opportunity to pay homage to the Polish people who, moved by their love of freedom and independence, continue to strive unceasingly to live by the precepts of their constitution, to regain complete liberty from oppression, and to restore their highly valued ties with a Western community in full concord with their aspirations.

This past year's events in Poland have shown the unswerving determination of her people to regain that traditional freedom. "For God and Country" is the national motto of Poland, and to God and their country they dedicated their very lives. In the face of a stunning display of overwhelming force, the Polish people heroically—and alone—took the lead in demonstrating the total bankruptcy of Communist policies. By demanding bread and freedom they showed that communism has brought Poland to the brink of economic ruin. By demanding the end of the Communist collectivization experiment, they showed that communism has turned a nation once called the granary of Europe into a nation unable to feed her own people. By demanding freedom and the withdrawal of the Soviet Army, they showed the hatred and contempt inspired by Russia's military and political machine.

Today the celebration of National Day in the United States takes on an added meaning, for some measure of those freedoms have been won back by the heroic people of Poland. Economic aid has been sought and gained from the West; small shops are back in business in the cities and towns; forced collectivization of agriculture has ceased, and over 80 percent of the collective farms have been dissolved; and the Catholic Church, long the victim of Soviet-imposed tryanny,

has been freed of much of the restrictive pressure. Today, for the first time since the subjugation of Poland by the Soviet Union, the celebration of this date as National Day is permitted, although it may only be commemorated privately.

In the long view of history, the Communist system of government forced on Poland by the diabolical might of Russia is only transitory. Poland as a nation successfully opposed corruption of her principles of freedom in the past, and with her boundless devotion to liberty and democracy, will emerge victorious from Communist oppression. But she needs the encouragement and assistance of fredom lovers everywhere, and her history and record show that she deserves such encouragement and assistance.

When word of the Hungarian uprising reached the people of Poland, the nation as a whole manifested its complete sympathy and fullhearted assistance. In every Polish town and village a committee for "Help to Hungary" was formed. The people of Poland, though in dire economic straits themselves, thought well enough of the Hungarian battle for freedom to offer their own sorely needed food and clothing. We can hardly do less for Poland in its struggle out of enslavement.

Mr. Speaker, the United States has always championed the right of any people to choose their own system of government, for as Secretary of State Dulles has said, America must "encourage the evolution of freedom." Until the people of Poland regain their freedom, our own system of government is the less for it. The poet John Donne said it well: "Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind."

We must pledge ourselves, on this anniversary of the Polish Constitution, to the support of any nation striving to be free of oppression; and to the brave people of Poland we must dedicate our unrelenting efforts to bring freedom from human bondage.

William H. Stafford, Statesman

SPEECH
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the death of William H. Stafford of Milwaukee means that Wisconsin has lost one of its outstanding citizens. For 20 years he served as a Member of this body representing the people of the Fifth Congressional District of Wisconsin.

As a boy I recall the activities of Mr. Stafford as he was well known in Racine, my home city. A review of his work as a Member of this great body reveals that he was a sound legislator. He was not given to breezy demagogic orations but was content, as we say in Wisconsin, to "saw wood." He had a job to do in this body and he did it without fuss or fanfare. The fact that he was a member of the Appropriations and Military Affairs Committees, too, is evidence of the high regard which the leadership in this body considered him.

My early recollections of his activities here came as a result of his attitude and his vote against our entry into World War I. He followed the leadership of that great American, Senator Robert M. La Follette, Sr. I think it can be said Mr. Speaker, that time has vindicated the action of Mr. Stafford on that proposition.

After leaving this body, he returned to his home city, Milwaukee, where he practiced law for many years, in fact, I believe up until the time of his death.

The Republican Party of Wisconsin can be proud of the record that Bill Stafford made as a Member of this great body.

Theodore Roosevelt Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to request that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a concurrent resolution passed by the New York State Legislature on March 30, 1957, setting up a committee to work with the Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission, created by the United States Congress, for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of the great Theodore Roosevelt:

Resolution 64

Concurrent resolution creating a joint legislative committee to cooperate with the Federal Commission in honoring the memory of Theodore Roosevelt and celebrating the centennial anniversary of his birthday and making an appropriation for its expenses

Whereas the Congress of the United States has created the Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission of 15 members, including President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, and 4 Members of Congress from New York State; and

Whereas Theodore Roosevelt was born in New York State, grew up in New York State, and served as a member of the New York Assembly and as Governor of New York before going on to become President of the United States; and

Whereas the year 1958 is the centennial anniversary of the birth of the great Rough Rider; and

Whereas the State of New York is justly proud of her citizen who acquitted himself so well in war and peace; and

Whereas it is fitting and proper that the State of New York should cooperate with the Commission created by Congress in the celebration of the centennial anniversary of Theodore Roosevelt's birthday: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved (if the senate concur), That it is the sense of the legislature that the State of New York should cooperate and lend assistance to the successful celebration of the centennial anniversary of Theodore Roosevelt's birthday; and be it further

Resolved (if the Senate concur), That a joint legislative committee be and it is hereby created to serve until December 31, 1958, to be known as the joint legislative committee for the Theodore Roosevelt centennial. Such committee shall consist of 3 members of the senate, to be appointed by the temporary president of the senate; 3 members of the assembly, to be appointed by the speaker of the assembly. Any vacancy in the membership of the committee shall be filled by the officer authorized to make the original appointment. Such committee shall, at such time or times as may be appropriate: (a) attend, on behalf of the State of New York, at appropriate ceremonies or other occasions of the centennial celebration; (b) formally convey at such ceremonies and occasions the greetings and felicitations of the State of New York; and (c) extend suitable greetings and courtesies to representatives from the Congress of the United States and other persons who may participate in or attend the centennial celebration. Such committee is empowered otherwise to act on behalf of the State in the observance of the Roosevelt centennial. Such committee may request and shall receive from all public officers, departments, and agencies of the State and its political subdivisions such cooperation and assistance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purpose of this resolution; and be it further

Resolved (if the senate concur), That the sum of $10,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated from the contingent fund of the legislature for the necessary expenditures of such committee, payable on the audit and warrant of the comptroller on vouchers certified and approved by the chairman of the committee in the manner provided by law; and be it further

Resolved (if the senate concur), That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member of Congress duly elected from the State of New York.

By order of the assembly:
ANSLEY B. BORKOWSKI,
Clerk.

In senate, March 30, 1957, concurred in without amendment.

By order of the senate:
WILLIAM S. KING,
Secretary.

Clergymen Outline Spiritual Implications of Labor Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, three distinguished clergymen addressed the recent convention of the United Auto Workers Union on the spiritual, moral, and ethical implications of the labor movement. They were Msgr. George G. Higgins, director of the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; Rabbi Morris Adler, of Detroit; and Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, of Washington. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include excerpts from the addresses of these clergymen, reprinted in the April 20, 1957, issue of the AFL-CIO News:

THREE CLERGYMEN OUTLINE SPIRITUAL IMPLICATIONS OF LABOR MOVEMENT

Monsignor Higgins: "It is my firm conviction that the American labor movement, in spite of its current problems, is basically sound from the point of view of Christian

social ethics and, in spite of its many shortcomings, a tremendous influence for good within the American community.

"To our way of thinking, it has certainly justified the encouragement and support which the Catholic Church has given it over the years and which it will continue to give it.

"The labor movement at the present is confronted with a very serious crisis—perhaps the most serious in its entire history. It is basically a moral and spiritual crisis and one which has its roots within the labor movement itself.

"Generally speaking, in the past the labor movement could, with a certain amount of justification, blame its troubles on real or alleged enemies outside its own ranks.

"Be that as it may, the labor movement's principal enemies are today within the fold. Labor is now discovering that no particular class of people in society has a monopoly on virtue, not even the workers. If the belated discovery of this self-evident truth is temporarily causing the labor movement a certain amount of embarrassment and discomfiture, in the long run it will undoubtedly be good for its soul.

"Congressional investigations, ethical practices committees, public review boards * * * can accomplish very little unless the rank and file are convinced that they have a moral obligation to assume their full share of responsibility for the conduct of union affairs."

Rabbi Adler: "Two facts mark our age above all others; one, the enormous extension of power that man commands * * * the new dimension of destructiveness which has come into human life.

"The second fact is the smallness of this contracted world and the consequent interdependence of all its parts.

"That added power must be matched by heightened moral sensitivity and social responsibility.

"Will our social system incorporate the disciplines of a higher morality so that our advances in technology, and in the tapping of unlimited power, may serve man and his welfare rather than make man the serf of the machine, the captive of the very engines he himself has devised?

"Will our thinking be geared to the fast-moving tempo of our life or will we content ourselves with the platitudes of the past and the clichés of yesterday? Will we preserve 18th century mentalities in a 20th century world?

"No group in the entire fabric of American life has striven to meet these issues as honestly, as morally and as unflinchingly as labor, and the UAW in particular. From labor there have come to many of us outside of its ranks comfort and hope. For that I humbly thank you."

Bishop Oxnam: "Sometime ago I was talking to Governor (Thomas E.) Dewey. He was still governor. We were discussing an economic question and the governor said, 'Bishop, when a minister discusses economic questions, he is just plain fuzzy minded.'

"I said, 'Governor, you may be right, but * * * what the preachers wrote into the social beliefs of the churches in 1908, you wrote into the platform of the Republican Party in 1948. In other words, we were fuzzy minded just 40 years before you.'

"I am happy to say there isn't a belief in the churches as written in 1908 that is not today in the laws of the United States or in the practice of our social lives.

"It is one thing for a preacher to say, 'Our Father.' It is another to live up to the ethical implications that flow from that. * * * It is a little bit embarrassing as a churchman to be taught the meaning of solidarity of the human family * * * by the American labor movement."

In Commemoration of Poland's Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker and distinguished colleagues, tomorrow we pause to celebrate Polish Constitution Day. It was on May 3, 1791, that a new birth of freedom occurred in Poland, and each year freedom-loving Polish people commemorate this day, even though during the past 13 years in Poland they have been forced to do so in secrecy.

Polish Constitution Day means to the American people more than just another historic date. For indeed the Polish people have, throughout the years, become so intricate a part of the American Republic that an unshakable bond of friendship exists between the two countries. Some of our finest citizens are of Polish descent and they, along with others, have worked unceasingly to elevate our Nation to a position where today we stand foremost among the world's powers.

And, Mr. Speaker, today let us also remember those heroic Polish individuals, like Casimir Pulaski and others who took so outstanding a part in the American Revolutionary War and even sacrificed their lives for the cause of liberty on this continent. When we think of those great men, we can more deeply comprehend the dauntless spirit and invincible fortitude with which the patriots of Poland seem determined to shake off the Soviet yoke, and which have commanded the admiration of the entire world, including no doubt that of the Soviet tyrants themselves.

It was 13 years ago, Mr. Speaker, that the last vestige of freedom disappeared in Poland when the Soviet Army began its oppression of the people. Since that time, Poland and other victims of Soviet tyranny have looked to the West with hope and confidence that their freedom would be an important goal of the United Nations. Unfortunately, largely through reluctance of the Soviet Union, the United Nations has failed miserably in the execution of its solemn obligation of fostering the right of national self-determination among nations, and Poland together with other captive nations remains at this very moment a victim of gross neglect of duty on the part of the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker, we in the United States wish to see our freedom-seeking friends in Poland completely free from the chains of Communist bondage. We wish to see the sacred political right of national self-determination restored in Poland. The demands made last July by the Polish people for bread and freedom from Russian oppression were only one more positive indication that national self-determination is not enjoyed in that country.

Now it is true that the bloodless revolt against the Comumnist regime last July in Poznan did result in liberalized policies toward the populace. Poland is more independent of Moscow today than she was 1 year ago, and certain discernible traces of democracy can be found in the country, to the dismay of the Kremlin. But Mr. Speaker, the Polish people still have a Communist government—the same form of government that has kept the people in chains now for 13 years—and just as a goose is a goose, a fox is a fox, and a snake is a snake, so is communism communism, even though some propagandist might attach the prefix national before the term in order to further hoodwink the victims. What the people of Poland want and deserve, my friends, is democracy—not communism.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker and my distinguished colleagues, as we commemorate Poland's Constitution Day, let us remember that it is not kind words, but rather concrete action that brings freedom to suppressed nations. And I believe that one of our highest tributes to Poland would be the passage of a resolution by this body that condemns the Soviet Union for its unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of Poland, and at the same time calls upon the United Nations to take concrete action designed to restore to Poland and other captive nations the right of national self-determination.

Poland's Struggle for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, May 3 of each year marks the anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution of 1791, one of the first democratic documents of its kind in Europe and one of Poland's great contributions to the development of the concept of human freedom. On this occasion it has become customary for the Members of Congress to express the friendship of the American people toward the people of Poland and to wish for them the early liberation of their country from Communist oppression.

This year the hope for their liberation seems more realistic. A series of events which have taken place during the past year afford all freedom-loving people greater hope and encouragement in the struggle for Poland's freedom. The Poznan uprising last June, the bloodless revolt led by Gomulka last October, and the heroic Hungarian revolution, have demonstrated the total bankruptcy of communism and its influence in the eastern European satellite countries.

The requests for bread, freedom and the withdrawal of Russian troops from Poland only proved that communism has brought Poland and the other subjugated countries to a state of economic ruin and political enslavement. Of particular interest was the fact that the request for withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Polish territory emphasized in no uncertain terms that the Polish nation does not desire to be a part of the Soviet military bloc.

The events of last October have brought a certain degree of liberalization in Poland. The Gomulka government is seeking greater freedom for its people, independence from the Soviet Government, and a closer rapproachment with the West. At the same time, Russia is giving clear indications it will not tolerate a return of democracy in Poland. This perhaps may foreshadow a clash sometime in the future.

In this struggle of the Polish nation to achieve freedom, the eyes of its people are turned primarily toward America for encouragement, for friendship and for sympathetic understanding. It is, therefore, most appropriate to utilize this occasion of the anniversary of the Polish Constitution for expressing our solidarity with the people of Poland. To them and to their kinsmen in America, who have never forgotten them in their tragic plight under the yoke of communism, we send our heartfelt greetings and our best wishes that Poland will soon be truly liberated and join the family of nations as a free and independent nation.

Facts About the Confectionery Industry in Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to include a statement of facts about the confectionery industry in Massachusetts, which has been compiled by the New England Manufacturing Confectioners Association, 261 Franklin Street, Boston, Mass. This information will be of interest to each and every Member of the Congress.

The statement follows:

FACTS ABOUT THE CONFECTIONERY INDUSTRY IN MASSACHUSETTS

1. Confectionery manufacturing is one of the ten leading manufacturing industries in Massachusetts.

2. There are 155 manufacturing confectioners in Massachusetts, including 30 manufacturing wholesalers and 125 manufacturing retailers.

3. For many years Massachusetts ranked first in the manufacture of candy and still is the leading center for packaged chocolate candies.

4. The candy produced in Massachusetts has a retail value in excess of $180 million.

5. Massachusetts produces about 12 percent of all candy made in the United States with only Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York exceeding that percentage.

6. Capital invested in real estate, machinery, inventory, and other assets is in excess of $50 million (not including rented property which is quite substantial).

7. There are approximately 10,000 employed in the industry of whom 3,500 are men and 6,500 women.

8. The total payroll is in excess of $25 million. Wages are in line with prevailing rates of other industries.

9. Massachusetts candy manufacturers use millions of dollars of dairy and agricultural products produced or processed in part at least in Massachusetts: 9,500,000 pounds of milk, butter, eggs; 100 million pounds of sugar; 49 million pounds of corn sirup; 11 million pounds of peanuts; 3,200,000 pounds of tree nuts.

Massachusetts candy manufacturers also use vast quantities of fruits, flavoring materials from domestic sources, and cocoa beans, coconut, and other products grown in other parts of the world.

10. On the candy-consuming side of this picture, 83 million pounds with a retail sales value of $60 million are eaten annually in Massachusetts.

Solons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. DURHAM
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, it occurred to me that the Members of the House would be interested in seeing an editorial in my hometown paper, the Chapel Hill Weekly, written by Louis Graves, former owner and editor of the paper and now a special contributing editor. Mr. Graves has written of the derivation of the world "solon," and I think my colleagues will be interested in his editorial, which appeared in the April 30, 1957, issue of the Weekly:

SOLONS

You have noticed, of course, the frequent use of the word "solons" in the North Carolina newspapers. I do not see it in any of the 4 big city papers I read regularly, 2 from New York, 1 from Boston, and 1 from Baltimore. Whether or not it appears in papers in other parts of the country I don't know.

The word is used to mean the members of legislative bodies, Congress and the legislature, and almost always appears in the plural. Also, it almost always appears in a headline, not in the body of an article. The reason for its being desirable for a headline is that it is short: it serves as a substitute for Members of Congress or members of the legislature. As a headline word it is like Ike for Eisenhower or the President, or like probe for investigation.

I suppose there must be a great number of people who see the word "solons" in the newspaper without knowing where it came from, and it occurs to me to set down here a few lines of information about its source.

Solon was an Athenian statesman of six-hundred-and-something B. C. He was also a poet and a warrior, but his poetry and his military exploits were minor achievements. He is spoken of, when he is spoken of at all, as a lawgiver. Probably the members of our legislature would be pleased to know, when they see themselves called solons, that Solon was a reformer. He helped the peasants who were being defrauded by landholders, outlawed contracts in which a person's liberty might be pledged, and regulated the expenses of funerals and other functions. In general his reforms were a move toward moderate democracy.

I suppose that the two most famous lawgivers in history are Moses and Solon. Moses, on account of being in the Bible, is vastly the more famous of the two. The name Moses contains the same number of letters as the name Solon. This may prompt somebody to say: "Moses being as short a name as Solon, and the man Moses being so much better known than the man Solon, why don't the headline writers use the name Moses for members of legislative bodies? Examine carefully the spelling of the two names and you will see why. Moses ends with an s. To make it a plural the headline writer would have to add -es. So, the members of the legislature would be Moseses. That would be an impossible word for a headline.

I don't know what to suggest, but I do wish the newspapers that use the word "solons" day after day would find some substitute. It gets very tiresome.

New Hampshire Rejects Aid to Tito Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an article from the Manchester (N. H.) Union Leader containing the results of a recent poll on the aid to Tito program. The people polled by this great newspaper rejected completely the idea that we should be doing business with Communist Yugoslavia.

The article follows:

READERS OBJECT TO HELPING REDS, 1,657 TO 17—NEW HAMPSHIRE POLL RAPS TITO AID

The recent poll conducted by the Union Leader on the question of economic aid for Marshal Tito of Communist Yugoslavia shows that 99 percent of the ballots received expressed opposition to such aid.

Readers were asked to check one of the following alternatives: "I am opposed to further aid for Tito of Communist Yugoslavia" or "I am in favor of continued aid for Tito of Communist Yugoslavia."

ONLY 17 IN FAVOR

Of the 1,674 ballots received in the poll conducted on March 14, 15, 16, 18, and 19, only 17 persons expressed themselves as being in favor of aid for Tito.

The results are in sharp contrast with an earlier poll conducted by Representative PERKINS BASS in which he said a "surprising" 62.6 percent of those polled were in favor of aiding the Yugoslav dictator.

It is reported that Mr. BASS conducted his poll only in the 2d District. Results of the Union Leader poll in the 2d District show that 468 of 477 persons or 98.1 percent of those who sent in their ballots were opposed to aid for Tito.

Results from the 1st District show that 1,168 of the 1,176 ballots received, or 99.3 percent, were opposed to sending tax money to Red Yugoslavia.

All of the replies received from out of State were opposed to aid for Tito.

The grand total of 1,674 replies nearly equaled the almost 2,000 ballots returned in an earlier poll, protesting the proposed visit of Tito to the United States.

Issuance of Tax Writeoff Certificates to Idaho Power Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I received a letter from Mr. Clyde T. Ellis, general manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. Mr. Ellis's letter contains an excellent summary of the serious issues raised by the recent decision of the Office of Defense Mobilization, granting the Idaho Power Co. accelerated tax amortization certificates for two small dams on the Snake River.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the contents of this letter will be of great interest to my colleagues and I ask that it be included in the Appendix of the RECORD:

The letter follows:

NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC
COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., May 1, 1957.

Hon. AL ULLMAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ULLMAN: As you know, on April 25, 1957, the Office of Defense Mobilization granted Idaho Power Co., a Maine corporation, an accelerated tax amortization certificate on Brownlee and Oxbow Dams on the Snake River in the amount of $65,198,000.

This action, granting a Federal subsidy reward to the power company for killing the high Hells Canyon Dam and partially destroying a great natural resource simply cannot be tolerated by the American people. ODM's action should assure congressional passage of the Federal Hells Canyon legislation sponsored by Senator WAYNE MORSE (Oregon) and Representative GRACIE PFOST (Idaho), Representative AL ULLMAN (Oregon), Representative EDITH GREEN (Oregon), Representative LEE METCALF (Montana) or CHARLES PORTER (Oregon).

The Idaho Power Co. has asked for and hogged a $30.5 million interest-free loan to build two run-of-the-river runts on the Snake in lieu of the Federal Hells Canyon project. In applying for its Federal Power Commission licenses, the Idaho Power Co. testified and the America's Independent Electric Light and Power Companies stated in a million-dollar advertising campaign that Idaho Power Co.'s proposed plan would not cost the Nation's taxpayers a dime. This recent action by ODM is a contradiction of these statements and amounts to a serious charge, it seems to me. The interest-free Federal power company loan projected over the 50-year normal life of hydroelectric projects will give Idaho Power a total subsidy of $329.3 million, more than three times the cost of the two little dams.

The Congressional Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, under the chairmanship of Senator Harry BYRD (Virginia), completed a study of the rapid tax amortization program this past January, in which it concluded, "Rapid amortization is a form of government assistance to private manufacturers, or, bluntly, a subsidy". This same interpretation has been upheld in Federal Court and by the Federal Power Commission. Under the disguise of "defense" this Wall Street-controlled Maine corporation is seeking to justify its blatant raid on the Federal Treasury. In actuality, the Idaho Power Co. is sacrificing precious kilowatts needed for defense purposes, and has asked, and has been granted by ODM a subsidy from the American taxpayers' pocketbook to finance this sacrifice of the people's resource for its own gain.

The tax subisidies for Idaho Power flouts the entire purpose of the Defense Mobilization Act. The act's sole purpose was to induce business to construct for defense purposes that which it would not otherwise construct. Idaho Power's partial development and simultaneous partial destruction of the Snake River resource would thus be a subsidized betrayal of defense.

The high Hells Canyon project proposed by the Army Corps of Engineers and built by the Federal Government would not cost the taxpayers of America a cent. It has been proven over and over again that these highly feasible multiple purpose projects return the total Federal investment to the United States Treasury plus interest over a very short period of time and in the long run actually result in a profit for the Federal Government.

Moreover, the high Federal Hells Canyon Dam would produce 400,000 kilowatts more prime power than the Idaho Power Co. runts. To forever waste this precious resource would be an unforgiveable sin. Power from the Federal dam would cost consumers 2.7 mills per kilowatt-hour, whereas the cost from the Maine corporation's dams would be 6.69 mills per kilowatt-hour.

Additionally, the high Federal Hells Canyon Dam would provide 1.3 million acre-feet of flood control storage more than the Idaho Power's scheme, and 2.88 million acre-feet more usable storage capacity than the Idaho Power's dams.

Furthermore, vast low-grade phosphate deposits in Idaho would be developed for needed low-cost fertilizer if the Federal high dam is built. They cannot be developed with the less abundant, higher-cost power from the private development.

The $329.3 million ultimate subsidy for Idaho Power exceeds the cost of the two projects by $226,222,781. The estimated cost of Brownlee and Oxbow is $103,070,000. Thus we, the taxpayers, would be giving the Wall Street monopoly the dams, losing a high percent of the site's power potential, losing all the benefits and giving the company a big extra cash windfall besides.

Without the high Hells Canyon Dam and the other developments that should follow, the northwest faces an energy shortage that staggers the imagination. Already the Bonneville Power Administration, which markets the Federal wholesale power from the dams, has put a lid on the rural electric systems in their resale of power for larger uses.

The only answer to this unjustifiable outrage is for the Congress to immediately call up and pass the legislation authorizing a Federal high Hells Canyon Dam.

I urge you to seek immediate passage of the Federal high Hells Canyon bills.

Sincerely,

CLYDE T. ELLIS, *General Manager.*

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

What To Expect From Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following article from the May 1957 issue of the magazine Nation's Business entitled "What To Expect From Foreign Aid":

WHAT TO EXPECT FROM FOREIGN AID

(By Howard S. Piquet)

Congress soon must decide the wisdom of adding new billions to the $64 billion of American taxpayers' money which already has been made available to the world since the close of World War II.

The decision facing Congress is:

1. Should any or all of the more than 2,000 foreign-aid projects now under way be discontinued?

2. Should they be continued as they are?

3. Should they be modified, and how?

Much of the debate leading to the final decision will center around the question "How much?

This is not the only important question of interest to Americans.

One of our national weaknesses is failure to distinguish between the simple and the complex. We debate foreign aid as though we are dealing with simple aggregates that are either all good or all bad.

The fact is that foreign aid is not a simple—or even a single—issue. It is a bundle of issues as well as part of the much larger problem of foreign policy.

The question we really need to answer then is:

How far can we depend on foreign aid as an instrument of our foreign policy?

For the first time in 10 years we are making an intensive effort to answer that question. The Senate, through its Foreign Relations Committee and a special committee on foreign aid, has already released a number of the research reports being made under its auspices and has been holding hearings on them.

It is also sponsoring 10 on-the-spot surveys of our foreign-aid programs.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee is making its own studies.

The administration has sent a Citizens' Committee, headed by Benjamin Fairless, around the world to see what foreign aid is accomplishing. The Committee's report proposes that foreign-aid programs be continued at about their present levels, with greater emphasis upon the making of private investments.

Also, the President's International Development Board, headed by Eric Johnston, has recommended a large, long-range aid program for economic development.

The administration's proposals for next year's foreign aid program will be based upon some sort of compromise between these reports.

So it seems likely the American people will be committed to adding new billions to the $64 billion they have already made available to other countries. More than $49 billion of this has been outright grants and slightly less than $15 billion has been loans and credits. Through the past decade we have been helping other countries to the extent of slightly more than 1.8 percent of our gross national product.

It is reasonable that a people with this kind of continuing investment in foreign aid should ask such questions as:

What are we trying to do?

How could we do it better?

What's wrong now?

The basic answer to the first question is simple enough: We are trying to protect the United States.

THE PURPOSE

If it is true that the arc extending from the Aleutian Islands through Japan, Korea, Formosa, and southeast Asia is the western frontier of the free world, it follows that it must be defended militarily.

Because of the need for defending it, our foreign-aid programs, since 1950, have taken on more and more of a military complexion. Of the nearly $5 billion the administration asked for foreign aid last year, $3 billion was for direct military assistance and an additional $1 billion was to support the economies of countries whose military strength is essential to our own safety.

In only one area—Latin America—is economic aid larger than military aid. However, the total sums being spent in that part of the world are relatively small. About 36 percent of all nonmilitary aid currently goes to Asia and 29 percent to the Near East and Africa.

Almost one-half of direct and indirect military aid goes to Asiatic countries, principally in the Far East. One-fifth goes to Western Europe and about 15 percent to the Near East and Africa. Another 15 percent is not earmarked by region.

Unless military assistance can be justified in terms of the military security of the United States, it cannot be justified at all.

The cost of maintaining a Korean or free Chinese soldier is but a fraction of the cost of maintaining an American soldier.

Since it is the judgment of our military authorities that the nationals of these countries make excellent soldiers when properly equipped, we would be acting contrary to our own self-interest if we did not rely upon them as far as possible for military defense.

Much can be said for not including military assistance and defense support as a part of foriegn aid at all. What we spend to strengthen the military establishments of such countries as Korea and our NATO partners might more properly be considered as part of our military budget.

If these two items are viewed as part of the military budget, the magnitude of the foreign-aid problem shrinks enormously.

What is missing in much of our foreign-aid activity is an appreciation of the differences between the problems that we face in different parts of the world.

This can be illustrated by examining our foreign-aid programs within a given area, such as the Far East. What is appropriate in one country can be quite inappropriate in another.

In Korea, for example, our problem is almost entirely military. Korea is still in a state of suspended war. Her hopes rest upon the presence of American and other United Nations troops on her soil. Koreans feel that as long as these troops remain there, Korea will not be abandoned to the Communists should the latter decide to move again.

Without substantial economic aid for a long time to come it will not be possible for Korea to establish anything approaching a self-supporting civilian economy.

As long as it is our policy to maintain the present line of defense in the Pacific, the objective of our foreign policy in Korea is clear. Foreign aid, military and economic, is the key here.

In Formosa our intention from the start has been to prevent the island from going Communist. This has been accomplished.

As long as we intend to hold the present line of defense in the Pacific it is also necessary that the military defense of Formosa be assured. But since 1950 we have gone a long way in providing aid for other purposes. Whether we should be spending so much there, relative to other areas, is debatable. Economically, Formosa is relatively prosperous. The total volume of industrial production is 70 percent higher than the highest level that was reached under Japanese rule. If Formosa did not have to maintain so large a military establishment its economy could stand on its own feet.

In the Philippines, because of our unique relationship to that nation, whatever we do, or fail to do, there is maximized in importance throughout Asia.

Although the Filipinos are disposed to spend little of their own budget for defense, they are willing to provide military manpower if the United States will provide funds and equipment.

The natural wealth of the Philippines is great, but the people don't seem to be able to exploit it. In fact, top managerial skill is one of the country's most serious shortages. Here is an area where the United States can make a lasting contribution. On the capital investment side, there are serious obstacles, largely of the Filipinos' own making. Their tax system favors real estate, with the result that capital stays invested in land in preference to taking risks in industry.

The Philippines would undoubtedly welcome a great deal of aid from the United States. Because of our large military aid programs in Korea and Formosa, the level of aid that we give to the Philippines is a touchy question that needs to be examined at the highest levels.

Japan is probably the area most challenging to United States foreign policy. If she were to desert the free world our position in the Pacific would become practically untenable.

The islands lack resoruces and are overpopulated. Japan's existence depends upon her ability to sell manufactured goods to other countries to pay for the raw materials which she has to have.

At present Japan is relatively prosperous.

Fundamentally, however, the economy is in a precarious position. Economic recession elsewhere in the world would quickly be communicated to Japan. Similarly, action by other countries against the importation of Japanese merchandise could wreck her.

For these reasons, direct aid is not as important to our policy in Japan as elsewhere.

Most of the $3 million being spent there is to help organize Japanese-American productivity teams to improve the efficiency of Japanese industry. Our Military Establishment also provides jobs for many Japanese. However, the assistance that Japan wants, and needs, is access to raw materials and world markets.

Basically, the Japanese people are friendly to the United States. As victors in the war, we did not pillage and plunder, but helped them when they needed it most. This they remember.

Superimposed upon this floor of good will, however, is a coating of anti-Americanism which is partly of our own making. Intelligence and imagination on our part can eradicate this feeling. Obtuseness, however, could lead to disaster.

The Japanese have cooperated well in curtailing trade with the Communist bloc. However, when they see some of the countries of Western Europe trading with Red China they wonder why they should continue to cooperate—a feeling that is aggravated by the prohibitions against Japanese goods that these same countries are imposing.

At the same time, they smart under the criticism that they are not spending enough for military preparedness—notwithstanding the fact that only a decade ago the United States insisted that they write into their constitution a prohibition against rearmament.

Expansion of our foreign-aid program in Japan is not the answer to the problem. In fact, if we were to increase our aid there we might actually do as much harm as good.

What is needed is imaginative thinking—far more imaginative than we have shown under our present trade policy—to evolve means whereby the Western World would, in fact, absorb a larger quantity of Japanese goods. The Japanese would like to do the thing that we can best afford to see them do—diversify their exports more widely.

In Thailand, the people are prosperous. They are well fed and produce a sizable surplus of rice. They do not have great aptitude for industry and they are fervent in their love of independence, which they have never lost. There is some danger that if we encourage them to industrialize, the Thai people might, on the one hand, become less happy and, on the other, become a tastier morsel for aggression-minded dictators.

In India nationalism is intense. Whatever we do there must be done in such a way as to avoid giving any impression that we are trying to tell them what to do. As long as India does not line up with the Communist bloc, but maintains her own brand of democracy, we had better be thankful.

To try to improve the lot of the Indians via direct economic aid would be a most difficult undertaking.

But to stand ready to assist India by way of investments, with no strings attached, while recognizing the right of Indians to pursue their own way of life, might be the most important thing that we can do there. In any event, most of the foreign aid of the kind being given to Korea and Formosa would be out of place in India.

SOME MAJOR DIFFICULTIES

The United States has been intimately involved in world affairs for a relatively short time.

We should not be ashamed of what we have done internationally. We have progressed remarkably in 15 years. What we need now are the skills in foreign relations that normally come only after generations of experience. Foreign aid is a potent instrument, but it must be used carefully and with discrimination. Still, examination of our aid programs in the field raises certain fundamental questions. Until they are answered, other questions as to details seem minor.

1. Are we trying to do too much, too quickly?

As the report of the Fairless committee points out, more than 2,000 foreign-aid projects are underway at present. It is doubtful whether there are enough people in the United States who know enough about the countries concerned to administer so many projects effectively.

Instead of deciding upon the dollar volume of foreign aid and then trying to get as many good people as possible to man the posts needed to administer that size program, it might be better first to ascertain the number of qualified people available and to adjust the aid programs accordingly.

Even with excellent administrators, it is probable that a small number of larger projects in a foreign country would be more effective than a large number of smaller projects. When the number of competent people available is limited this observation becomes even more important.

2. The number of Americans in the field who really understand the problems of the countries in which they operate is limited

It is almost impossible to administer a foreign aid program effectively without an understanding of the people of the country where we are operating, of its history, its culture, and its language.

Our top-ranking people in the field appear to be well-qualified except possibly for the linguistic requirement. But, in the down-the-line jobs we need better qualified people.

This is not to criticize the individuals who occupy these posts because, for the most part, they are sincere, hard-working public servants. The purpose of the observation is to urge the establishment of training programs throughout the next decade to train the number of people that are needed.

3. Our representatives in the field tend to keep their sights too low

Unless those who are administering foreign aid programs are fully aware of what the United States is trying to do, it is almost inevitable that paper pushing will take the place of analytical thinking.

There is too much emphasis upon "how much?" and "how quickly?" and far too little upon the "how?" and the "why?"

The meeting of deadlines for the completion of individual projects is less important than a continuing, searching, analytical review of the effectiveness of the aid program, as a whole, in a given country.

4. In some countries our personnel is being rotated too rapidly

In a hardship post, such as Korea, the tour of duty of American personnel is approximately 18 months. It takes much longer than this to learn the day-to-day aspects of one's job, not to mention learning something about the country's history, culture, and language.

Rapid rotation makes it difficult to administer our programs effectively. Sometimes, in case of disagreement between the national of the country receiving aid and the American responsible for administering it, the former has only to wait a few months until an inexperienced American replacement appears.

Unless a substantial number of qualified Americans stay on the job and see the programs through, we are going to be plagued by indecision and inefficiency.

5. There is unnecessary delay in making funds available to our field staffs

At present it takes more than 6 months to allocate funds to our people in the field, even after Congress has appropriated the money.

On top of this Congress requires that all but 20 percent of the funds appropriated in any fiscal year must be spent in the first 10 months of the year.

This leaves a period of 4 months, or less, in which to spend the funds for an entire fiscal year. It would be difficult to evolve a system better calculated to encourage haste and waste.

6. There is too much centralization of detailed decision making in Washington

Even after funds have been allocated, most contracts must be approved in Washington.

This has the double disadvantage of delaying actual decision making and of discouraging competent people from wanting to remain in the field.

With competent people in the field there would seem to be little reason why, within broad limits, the field administrators should not be allowed considerable leeway in the making of decisions as to detail.

7. Nationals of the countries receiving aid should play a greater role in initial planning

Although in some countries the nationals are brought in to consult with Americans during the early stages of an aid program, this is not always the case.

As far as feasible this should be done in order that aid will be cooperative. It helps avoid the impression that the United States is trying to tell other countries what to do.

8. The American public is inadequately informed regarding conditions in the countries receiving aid

We have an extensive program for disseminating information abroad regarding the United States.

The United States Information Agency is not permitted, under the law, to disseminate information in the United States.

It is important that Americans know more about the problems of the countries where they are giving aid. In some instances the public is actually misinformed regarding the nature of the problem.

There would seem to be room for some private organization—some foundation perhaps—to enter this field on a purely educational basis. A propaganda machine and program would be dangerous.

Since World War II we have demonstrated that we can produce, and share, great quantities of wealth. What we have not demonstrated is realization that, in granting foreign aid, the most important question is not its volume. A smaller amount of aid, given in a way that cultivates cooperation and good will, is more effective than a larger amount administered mechanically.

Chicago Honors a Great Army Engineer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the address of Judge Walker Butler at the dinner in Chicago on April 23, 1957, of the Society of American Military Engineers honoring Gen. Paul Berrigan, as follows:

Distinguished gentlemen at the speaker's table, equally distinguished ladies and gentlemen out in the audience, it is a privilege to have the opportunity to say a few words at this gathering tonight. I had the same honor, a year ago, to speak at the meeting at which time this organization inducted into office General Berrigan as commander of this post.

As I look back at what has been developing and what has been done in the course of the past year, I rejoice, as I am sure you do, at the fact that we have finally been successful in awakening an adequate number of groups and individuals here in the Midwest as to the possibilities and the necessities presented by the waterway facilities of our immediate vicinity. Throughout our country, in fact, people are beginning to take note that here, in Chicagoland, we have, by reason of the natural location of the

city of Chicago at the junction of the Illinois Waterway and the Great Lakes system, tremendous possibilities of development that no other city in the world can possibly equal, if we just have the men, the energy, and the determination to make use of what nature has provided for us here.

YEAR OF GREAT PROGRESS

Looking back at this year, thinking over the numerous developments that have taken place since General Berrigan took office as president of this organization a year ago, I can't help but reflect, and I hope that the people of the Chicago area are aware, as those of us in this room are aware, of the tremendous good fortune that came to Chicago when Gen. Paul Berrigan was assigned to this division.

During the years gone past we have become accustomed to excellence in service, to enthusiasm and cooperation, and to leadership in planning from the men who have led the Corps of Engineers in the Middle West. But never in the history of this organization—or in the history of the Middle West—have we had a man occupying the top spot in the Corps of Engineers who has given so wholly of himself and who has produced so much in the way of results, as has General Berrigan. I am delighted to have the opportunity here tonight to voice that considered opinion.

I could talk of a half dozen instances, of which I have personal knowledge, that demonstrate the unexcelled cooperation provided by the general and his staff. I know there are many other instances you folks know about. I am thinking, for example, of one important instance. I am thinking of the fact that it became vitally important to the development of a deep water harbor at Lake Calumet, that something be done with reference to the program for dredging that had already been scheduled for something like a year and a half ahead. I think it was in the 1955 schedule—if I am not mistaken. At any rate, it was something like a year and a half away—and it was needed immediately. Any of you who have had experience, as I have had, of dealing with government—I don't mean Federal Government alone—I mean any government—to get them to revise a schedule that had finally been agreed upon by those in charge of scheduling operations, will understand the feeling of hopelessness we had in our ambition to try to advance that scheduling of the dredging by 6 months. Maybe, we thought, if we had a couple of miracles, we might advance it 7 months, perhaps even 8.

To sum up what might have been a long, long story: We had the unprecedented result of having that scheduling advanced the full 18 months, so that it started right then, when we needed it. There is just one man in this room tonight that I know of who is entitled to the lion's share for having done that tremendously important and vastly valuable thing for the people of all the Middle West—and that is the gentleman we are honoring here tonight, at the conclusion of his first year of service as president of this organization—General Berrigan.

CONTRIBUTION TO CAL-SAG

I have had other experiences with him. For example, when it became a question of the continuation of work on the Cal-Sag Channel, when that tremendously important job faced the possibility that it was about to be halted—if we didn't furnish local cooperation required by the 1946 Rivers and Harbors Act—there was only one solution which could be worked out. That was the necessity of going to the legislature at Springfield 5 minutes after they opened their doors. No, I guess it was 2 minutes. They hadn't the opportunity to find their seats when the bill was introduced that would provide for the issuance of $6 million in non-referendum bonds for the purpose of acquiring land needed for spoil sites—needed for the relocation of utilities, and the various other things specified by the Congress as the things that had to be done by local interests before the Congress would consider an application to continue Federal appropriations. The committee of Congress had made it plain that it must be done, and done now. In that emergency, again, we had the invaluable assistance of the gentleman we honor here tonight. We drafted him to go to Springfield with us. It was my very great pleasure to present him to my former colleagues, the members of the senate in the General Assembly of Illinois.

As I said to him later, when he finished speaking, he had so forcefully presented the facts and figures at his fingertips and so logically presented the entire problem that he had the unprecedented experience of walking off the witness stand in the senate chamber without any member asking a single question. That bill was one of the first passed by the 1957 session, and it was promptly signed by Governor Stratton. General Berrigan, I salute you, for the grand help you gave to the people of this community, who have been fighting all these years to get something done for the waterways.

COOPERATION IN PROBLEMS

I could talk about a number of other experiences that I have had with our guest. Those I have related are just two examples of the great fortune the people of our community have had in obtaining the leadership and the patient cooperation that this man has displayed, trying to solve the intricate problems we have had here in Chicago. Perhaps this could be best summed up with the statement that at long last we had found a leader who not only understood the many problems confronting us—because he had devoted hours and days and weeks to a study of those problems—but most of all we found a man who inspired confidence in the highest degree.

Those of us who aren't directly connected with the Corps of Engineers, those of us who have stood, as it were, on the sidelines, and over the years have tried to stir up some enthusiasm to get the thing done—because we felt primarily it was a crime to have that advantage given to this area by nature, and not have enough sense to make use of it, those of us who recognized what a tremendous factor the completed Cal-Sag Channel will be in strengthening our national defense—we have been mightily inspired and encouraged by the example of this man, quietly and without fanfare, who has fitted right into the team as if he belonged on it all the days of his life, within short order after his arrival in Chicago. It demonstrated to us that he not only has the academic skills of a top-flight engineer, but he has the willingness to work with people. He has the ambition to see something performed, to see a job done.

It is that kind of men, God knows, that we need—people who deal with public work, conscientiously and efficiently. So here tonight, I am delighted to have the chance to say these few words of appreciation to him for what he has done for our community, as well as for the country at large.

NEED FOR PUBLIC WORKS

I was very much interested, just a day or so ago, to read a comment that came from a man who ought to know what he is talking about, Maj. Gen. John Bragdon, retired. He is President Eisenhower's special assistant and coordinator on public works planning. He said, and you may have seen it in the papers last Saturday or Sunday, "Public works problems are among the major ones involved in the complexities arising from overlapping jurisdiction within the metropolitan areas; the tremendous and growing need for public works exists throughout the country."

He urged that comprehensive and long-range planning for public works should be undertaken by the governmental body closest to the people, to the maximum ability of local governments to finance them. From the standpoint of taxpayers who pay for these things, they ought to be delighted to have somebody working at this job who gets it done. General Bragdon quoted Department of Commerce figures of 1954, showing the estimated requriements of State and local public works at $204 billion, and went on to say: "If we had decided to catch up in 10 years, from the standpoint of State and local governments, they would have to be spending more than $20 billion a year on new public works. Actually, the current rate is far short of this." I have quoted that to you to give you some idea of the overall importance of the kind of things with which General Berrigan has been engaged.

The production and provision of public works to take care of the tremendously increased demands of a population which is growing by leaps and bounds is very necessary. While I am on this subject, I will not be digressing too much—certainly not too long—if I make this comment: Those of us who are interested in public service cannot help but run head-on into a situation that gives us a great deal of concern. All of us, of course, are interested in and have approved plans that permit one who has spent years of his life doing a good job to look forward to security when the time comes that he is no longer able to carry his full share of the load.

SHAME IN FORCED RETIREMENTS

What I have to say here could not possibly be interpreted as a diatribe against pension plans and retirement plans, and that sort of thing, but I become concerned, and I become confused, when I see plans that require mandatory retirement of men in the full flush of their youth, at the age of 50, 51, or 52 years, who, by reason of our Federal laws governing our Army personnel, are required to step down under a mandatory retirement system that takes out of circulation these men right at the peak of their performance. To my mind, that is one of the crying shames of the age—the fact that that sort of thing should be tolerated.

A man who has the opportunity to spend 30 years in the active practice of his profession—I am speaking particularly of engineers now—I talk about that because they certainly suffer most of all under this inequitable system. Why, my friends, there is a provision under this compulsory retirement system that permits 10 percent of veterinarians to be retained. Somebody told me that the Army had been mechanized, and, therefore, certainly I would be justified in believing that the role of veterinarians would be somewhat reduced in importance to what it was at the time this law was passed.

Yet, there is a provision for the retention of 10 percent of the veterinarians, doctors, chaplains, whose importance I won't minimize—or other medical services. But no such provision is made for the retention of an engineer who has devoted 30 years of his life to learning the problems, and how to conquer those problems which lie within his province.

TIME TO EFFECT CURE

To my mind, it is time that something be done to bring in effect a cure of that situation. It is a tragic thing, not only to the taxpayer who has paid for the development and the training of that man, but it is a tragic thing to the man himself. At the age of 51 or 52 years, he finds himself forcibly separated from the service at a time when he is not being sought by industry because he is over 45 years of age—the time when the only thing left to him is to go out and develop his own business from the ground up. That just doesn't make sense. It is time

something was done about it. It is time that those of us who have the privilege of standing up in public and talking about that subject should present the facts on an inconsistent and indefensible situation.

The Chief Executive of this country ought to issue an Executive order suspending the effect of that kind of compulsory retirement, during a time when the need for trained engineers is so great and the necessity is equally great for the development of public works—certainly the public works we are talking about are the very ones the Corps of Engineers and all other engineers are required to be interested in.

Some kind of provision must be made that the men who have 30 years of experience under their belt who have acquired the know-how through the hard knocks of practical experience and who, for my part, are mere youngsters of 50 years, shall not be tossed into the discard. The idea of telling us that these fellows who graduated from West Point in 1926 or 1927 should now be forcibly retired strikes me as one of the most wasteful suggestions in many a year. Tonight we ought to be thinking about that problem. We ought to be thinking about what we can do to make certain that the man who has just reached the peak of his performance shall be given the opportunity to continue to deliver the goods, in service to the American public.

NEED FOR MORE ENGINEERS

As you consider that, think about what a crime it is to permit a reduction in the number of those actively practicing engineering. My attention was called this morning to an item that appeared in one of the morning papers which I thought might be interesting to you. It is entitled "A Message From Moscow" and is quoted from the news agency Tass:

"There were nearly four times as many engineers and technicians in Russia in 1952 as there were 25 years ago."

It goes on to talk about the production of materials. The thing that struck me was that, over there, they are producing more and more engineers, and they are giving them the opportunity to serve. Over here, we are producing engineers, but when they reach the age of 51, 52, or 53 years, we say, "You may no longer serve. You have fulfilled your usefulness so far as the Corps of Engineers is concerned."

To my mind, that is something we ought to do something about.

Finally, I saw a quote the other day that I thought might bear repetition here tonight. If I sound to you like I am very enthusiastic over the opportunity that has been given me to be associated with General Berrigan, that is exactly the impression I want to leave with you. I would like to quote these few words from one of our great industrial leaders who spoke before a national forum just a few days ago. He was speaking about our general situation here in this country.

FUTURE NOT FOR LITTLE MEN

He said, "When I see our population doubling, and perhaps redoubling in a single century; when I see the standard of living rising all over the world; when I contemplate the enormous drain upon our natural resources in the coming century; when I witness man's first faltering steps in an atomic age; when I watch him seeking to penetrate outer space; when I see him trying to harness the rays of the sun; when I observe his determination to unlock (if he can) the ultimate secrets of the universe, such as the creation of matter out of energy; when I comprehend in short the boundlessness of his expectations, I do know one thing. The future is not for little men with little minds. It is not for men without vision, who fear progress. It is not for timid men who early were frightened by the story of Frankenstein. No. The future is for men who dare to have great expectations, and who, with the guidance and encouragement of all the people for whom they strive will also have the courage, the persistence, the wisdom, and the patience to transform those expectations into reality."

That, ladies and gentlemen, is the kind of man Gen. Paul Berrigan has shown himself to be since the day he arrived in our midst.

A Practicing Lawyer Looks at the Labor Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the thoughtful and informative remarks of the Honorable Joseph A. Jenkins, member of the National Labor Relations Board, before the Sixth Labor Law Institute of Southern Methodist University:

A PRACTICING LAWYER LOOKS AT THE LABOR BOARD

(Remarks of Joseph A. Jenkins, member, National Labor Relations Board, before the Sixth Labor Law Institute of Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.)

When, as an attorney in private practice, one of my cases was under consideration of a Government agency in Washington, the question often would flit through my mind: "What on earth can those people be doing with my case all this time?" So, when I came to Washington as a member of the National Labor Relations Board last month, that was one of the things that I had promised myself I would find out: Just what happens to a case before the National Labor Relations Board when it gets up to the Board in Washington? I would like to pass on to you something of what I have learned during my 29 days' tenure on the Board. And, if I appear to dwell on detail, please bear with me; I do so only to demonstrate the manner and amount of the attention and time which are devoted to the cases that are contested up to Board decision.

Of course, it is a hoary truism that time is of the first importance in labor-management relations. So, as a point of departure in my look at the Washington operations, it seemed a good idea to check on the time element in a few cases. I was sworn in on March 28. That afternoon cases for the Friday agenda were put on my desk. I participated in two decisions on March 29. For that reason I chose those first two decisions as a point of departure in examining Washington operations. While neither of these cases turned out to be average cases in the statistical sense, they do seem to be fairly typical of Board operations. One was an election case, and the other a secondary-boycott case.

The election case was with the agency 133 days from the time the petition was filed until the Board issued its decision, directing an election. However, for 20 days of this time, the case was more or less in cold storage, while unfair labor-practice charges which had been filed against the employer after the representation hearing were investigated. The charges were dismissed by the general counsel, so the case rolled on through the mill. But what I was primarily interested in was, How long was the case before the five-member Board? Counting from the time that the case was actually assigned to a Board member, after the charges had been dismissed, 58 days elapsed before the Board's formal decision was mailed to the parties. However, it should be noted that this case reversed an earlier precedent and laid down a new rule on bargaining units in wholesale operations. Breaking these 58 days down a bit further, 45 days were occupied in analyzing the issues in the record, reaching the initial decision by the five members, preparing a draft opinion and circulating the draft among the Board members. Eleven days later, all five Board members had approved the draft, and 2 days later the decision issued.

The secondary boycott case was technically pending before the Board in Washington 133 days. That dates from the day the trial examiner issued his intermediate report and recommended order. Thirty-one days later the parties had filed their exceptions and brief. The case was then ripe for the process of decision, but it hit a snag. It was 69 days before a Board legal assistant was available to begin work on it. Thereafter, 64 days elapsed between the time the actual work of deciding the case began and the issuance of decision. Of these 64 days, it took 44 days for reading the record, making a decision by the Board members and preparing a draft opinion in accordance with that decision. Twenty days after the draft opinion was circulated among the Board members, the decision issued. In connection with this case, it is an interesting sidelight to note the time which elapsed in the collateral proceeding for the injunction which the statute requires to be sought on secondary boycott complaints. This proceeding in the Federal district court extended over 136 days, from the filing of the petition to the court's decision on the issue of whether there was reasonable cause to believe that the union had violated the act.

Of course, neither of these cases is yet closed. The election ordered still must be held. And it is possible that it might yet spawn a flock of objections. The Board's order in the secondary boycott case has to be complied with or enforcement sought in the courts. Also, as I mentioned, these are not exactly average cases in terms of time. A check of official statistics shows a median average in 1956 for an unfair labor practice case was just a trifle under 365 days from filing of charge to Board decision, compared with 281 days for the secondary boycott case we've been following. Moreover, the statute requires that a priority be given to the investigation of boycott cases. On representation cases, the average for 1956 was about 90 days from petition to decision. Of course, in both these average figures, I am speaking of contested cases that are carried up to the Board in Washington, not those that are settled or disposed of in the field.

In mentioning these figures of days and months I would not want to leave you with a picture of the four Board members who were then on the job as sitting around in their swivel chairs waiting for these two cases to come to the boil of decision. For example, they handled a few other matters during the 133 days that the boycott case was in Washington: They issued decisions in 469 contested cases and in 169 others requiring formal Board decisions—a total of 638 cases in which the litigants had piled up a mere 113,642 pages of transcript, not counting the briefs, exceptions, and such supplemental reading material. Also, of course, during this same period the Board members had their free time to deal with the usual run of motions for reconsideration and the varied procedural matters that counsel, statutory requirements, and administrative due process can raise.

Having waded with me through this swamp of statistics, perhaps you will be willing to come a few steps more on the dry land of Board case-handling procedure. The grand central station for cases coming to the five-

member Board in Washington is the executive secretary's office. He is the Board's equivalent of a clerk of the court. But he has more responsibility for getting the cases through to decision than a court clerk ordinarily has. One of his minor jobs is assigning cases. I say "minor," because cases usually are assigned to the Board members by rotation. When a case arrives in the executive secretary's office it is seldom—if ever—ready for assignment because of the pending backlog.

An unfair labor practice case is transferred to the Board when the trial examiner issues his intermediate report. Of course, at that time it cannot be known whether the case will ever be assigned to the Board members for decision; however, most of them are. Only about 12 percent of the unfair labor practice cases that are carried to a hearing stop with the parties' acceptance of the trial examiner's findings. So the case has to await assignment until the General Counsel or the other parties file exceptions and supporting briefs. This seldom takes less than the 20 days allowed by the statute and sometimes considerable more as extensions of time are sought and granted for valid reasons.

At the first of this month, for example, the Board had 270 cases on assignment to the Board members and an additional 131 cases ready and waiting assignment. Fifty-one more were on hand, but not yet ready for assignment, and 15 of these were unfair labor practice cases which were expected to be closed by compliance with the trial examiners' recommendations.

Technically a case goes from the executive secretary to a Board member. Actually it goes to a legal assistant of the member. Each member has a staff of legal assistants—currently about 14 are attached to each member. As the rest of the world, they are divided into Indians and chiefs. Each Board member has a chief legal assistant and usually 2 or 3 supervisors. The rest are what you might call the frontline Indians. They are the men and women who have the job of wading through all those pages of transcript and briefs to find the pertinent parts and the essence of the case. As they go along, guided by the supervisors, they sort out the simple and the complex, the hard and the easy—the points that are well settled from those that have never been tackled before. After they have determined the issues of the case, then they must seek out the law covering these points. I am told that, once in a while in their researches, they even find two Board decisions on the same point which might be said to be inconsistent with each other. And I am told also that they are not shy about pointing out these apparent inconsistencies to the Board members.

The fruit of this effort is a case analysis memorandum, usually as brief as a brief and similarly interlaced with citations to the record, the briefs and the books. This memorandum accompanied by the record, the briefs and the other supplemental reading matter make their way up through the supervisor and the chief legal assistant to the desk of the Board member. After the Board member has digested this material, there is ordinarily a case conference consisting of the legal assistant, his supervisor, the chief legal assistant and the Board member. The member, if satisfied, then approves the memorandum for circulation to the other Board members. It is then that the real job of deciding the case begins.

After the individual members have had time to digest the case, it then goes on the Board's case agenda for concerted consideration. These meetings, customarily called 3 days a week, are marked by a thorough and exhaustive discussion of the case and its issues, and exchange of views. This is the time of decision, and the discussion culminates in the vote of the Board members. The legal assistant assigned to the case and his supervisor and the chiefs are present for this discussion. The legal assistant notes the reasoning upon which the case is decided, and prepares a draft of an opinion accordingly. Occasionally, 1 or 2 members may disagree with the majority's decision, or its rationale. The dissenting member—or one of them—then has one of his legal assistants prepare a draft of a dissenting opinion for approval. The dissenting opinion, of course, also circulates to all Board members. I am told that on some occasions such dissents have been so powerful as to dissolve the original majority into a dissenting minority. But I am sure that dissenting members rarely even hope for so much. I still have my first dissent ahead of me. The two cases I mentioned participating in were both unanimous decisions of all five members, as is the case with the great bulk of decisions.

This obviously is a time-consuming process. As a consequence, the Board follows it only in cases which present novel, important, or difficult issues. Otherwise, the 5-member Board would never be able to keep up with its caseload, which requires it to turn out decisions in more than 110 contested cases every 20 regular working days. One shortcut that the Board employs in cases which appear to be clearly controlled by well-established precedent is to have the legal assistant draft a tentative opinion under his individual member's direction instead of a case analysis memorandum. In representation cases, this has been carried a step further in what Board personnel call the "short form." This is a form on which has been printed the stock language of Board decisions with space provided for typing in the specific data relating to the particular case.

But probably the most important step the Board has taken to expedite cases was to establish 5 3-member panels, as permitted by the act. Each member is chairman of a panel. While each panel meets, the two remaining members are free to study cases for the Board's case agenda and his own panel and to carry on other necessary business of his office. Meanwhile, the process of deciding cases goes forward. However, here, as with all the other shortcuts I mention, any one Board member has the power in any case he sees fit to call it up for consideration at an agenda meeting of the full Board. The panels handle most of the cases which are clear-cut enough to be prepared originally in draft form rather than dealt with by the memorandum process.

But even with these aids and shortcuts in paperwork, I have still found during my brief tenure that a Board member has indeed a full day. Not only is it necessary to study the essential papers of the cases with great care and consult frequently with your legal assistants but it is a great necessity to consult informally with your fellow Board members in order to understand their points of view and to get the benefit of their thinking on the broad matters of policy and administration.

Board members do not work any 40-hour week. Usually it is necessary to take a briefcase full of papers home at night so as to have an opportunity to go over the intermediate reports and various briefs involved. Considering the vastness of the territory covered, the number of cases involved, and the complexities of the issues, it seems to me that the Board is doing a fair job of turning out its cases. Nevertheless, we are constantly seeking ways and means of improving our production while at the same time maintaining a high quality of work. Our policy is to turn out cases as fast as time permits, considering the built-in delays in the form of time for filing briefs, etc., and considering the limited funds and personnel at our disposal.

The mention of policy leads into another topic which I early found to be the subject of much discussion in Washington and which I would like also to discuss briefly with you today. That is the matter of the Board's jurisdiction. I am sure that there is a good deal of interest and concern among you gentlemen as to the impact and implication of the Supreme Court's recent decisions in the Guss case and its companion cases.[1] I can assure you that there is no less interest and concern in Washington.

As to the scope of these preemption decisions, I'd like to call your attention to the first appraisal of them by a State court which I saw just before I left Washington. The opinion was that of a trial court in Illinois, where the judge said in a picketing case involving a retail automobile dealers' association:

"It is my opinion from a reading of these cases that the entire field is preempted by Congress; it is preempted and the State courts lack jurisdiction. I think the National Labor Management Act provides a comprehensive system for dealing with labor relations and dealing with unfair labor practices affecting interstate commerce."[2]

The judge went on to say: "I think the National Labor Relations Board, either directly or indirectly, controls all of the alleged unfair labor practices that are alleged here and has exclusive jurisdiction to determine the issues in controversy. The questions of picketing, boycott activities, secondary boycott, consumer pressure, and economic pressure for the purpose of obtaining recognition or union-shop agreements are, in my opinion, either directly or indirectly recognized and dealt with by the national act."

From some experience in dealing with the uncertainties of legal interpretation, I will not undertake at this moment to say whether this State court's reading of the Guss case defines with precision either way the reaches of the Supreme Court's opinion.

Also it should be noted that, in delving into this highly controverted field, I am not undertaking to speak in any way for my colleagues on the National Labor Relations Board. I shall confine myself merely to mentioning some of the possible avenues of dealing with the no-man's land which the Supreme Court found to exist between the present Federal field of activity and the limits of State power to act.

There appear to be four major alternatives:

1. Congress can act to reduce the area of Federal preemption;
2. The Board itself can lower its jurisdictional standards to extend its field of action;
3. The no-man's land can continue pending legislative or administrative action; or
4. The States can act to fashion statutory machinery so that the Board can, within the limitations of the existing Federal law, cede jurisdiction.

The Supreme Court made it amply clear in the Guss opinion that the only thing decided in these cases was that Congress had occupied and thereby preempted the field of labor-management activities covered by the Taft-Hartley Act when such activities affect interstate commerce. The Court also made it equally clear that Congress could, if it chose, reduce the extent of its preemption. The Court noted that "Congress is free to change

---

[1] *P. S. Guss, d/b/a Photo Sound Products Manufacturing Co.* v. *Utah Labor Relations Board* (77 S. Ct. 598); *Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America, Local 427* v. *Fairlawn Meats, Inc.* (77 S. Ct. 604); *San Diego Building Trades Council* v. *Garmon* (77 S. Ct. 609).

[2] *Puckett Buick Co.* v. *International Brotherhood of Teamsters*, Circuit Court of Knox County, Ill., Chancery No. 16485, reported in Daily Labor Report (BNA) April 19, 1957 (Judge Burton A. Roeth).

the situation at will." In this situation, it seems to me that Congress, if it wishes to act, has at least four choices:

First, it could declare the States free to act whenever the national Board declines to assert jurisdiction.

Second, it could permit such State action if consistent with the Federal law.

Third, Congress could empower the national Board to cede jurisdiction to the States in certain cases without the current requirement of consistency.

Fourth, it could define the Federal jurisdiction more precisely, and expressly leave the remainder of the field to the States.

If there is no action by Congress, then, the national Board must ultimately decide whether or not it should take any action. The Board, of course, could lower its standards for asserting jurisdiction. However, this might raise 1 of 2 problems, or perhaps even both of them: The Board's handling of cases would be slowed down by the influx of new cases. Or, it would be necessary for the Board to go to Congress for additional funds to handle the added load of cases.

One of the principal evils of delay in law administration, of course, is that it actually weakens the force of the law. One party or another in effect often loses his rights by the long delay in their vindication. So, if delay in adjudication were the only problem arising from a lowering of the Board's jurisdictional standards, it has been suggested that this might be counteracted by wider use of the Board's discretionary power to seek Federal court injunctions against conduct which the general counsel has denominated an unfair labor practice in a formal complaint.

Which of these four major alternatives will be followed I do not pretend to know. However, this much is certain: To some managements and employees of companies which are too big for State and simultaneously too small for Federal coverage the current situation may well prove unbearable. For example, the Illinois case I referred to earlier involved 10 retail automobile dealers and 2 labor organizations who have been embroiled in a labor dispute marked by picketing since May 1956.

If the Board lowers its jurisdictional standards will it be able to act on time to extend the benefits of the statute to small employers plagued by secondary boycotts, or act on time to guard the rights of employees guaranteed by section 7 of the act?

To my mind the jurisdictional problem is one of grave national concern, and I sincerely hope that it will be worked out satisfactorily, as its solution will have a profound and lasting impact upon the lives of the citizens of these United States.

Property Rights Voided

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL BROWN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. BROWN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a timely editorial from the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle of Tuesday, April 30, 1957, which propounds the question, in view of the Supreme Court's decision in the Girard College case:

Does any citizen of the United States any longer have the right to dispose of his own private property as he sees fit?

The editorial follows:

PROPERTY RIGHTS VOIDED

The United States Supreme Court, as it is now constituted, seems bent on stripping the States and individuals of their most cherished and fundamental rights.

Pursuing its policy of forced integration, the Court has ruled that Philadelphia's Girard College cannot exclude Negroes although it was established from funds left in a will which specifically directed that the school be built for poor white boys.

The high tribunal said that the board of directors of City Trust of Philadelphia, which administers Girard College, is an agency of the State of Pennsylvania; therefore, the Court decided, the college must come under the terms of its desegregation edict.

It mattered not to the justices that Stephen Girard, who died in 1831, directed the city in his will to establish and operate the college with admission limited to poor white orphan boys.

What the Court has said, in effect, is that a will which was binding in 1831 is not binding today; that a citizen of the United States, indeed, cannot direct the disposition of his own property.

* * * * *

What are we coming to in this country when the judiciary usurps the right of private property?

It is noteworthy that this right was upheld, as it properly should have been, by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court which found itself reversed by the United States Court in upholding the will. In the State court's opinion it said:

"It is one of our most fundamental legal principles that an individual has the right to dispose of his own property by gift or will as he sees fit. This right is so much protected that a testator's direction will be enforced even though contrary to the general views of society."

Those who believe in constitutional government were astonished when the Supreme Court, in its desegregation edict, made a decision based on sociology rather than on law. They are appalled now to see the Court, in its Girard College ruling, nullify, in effect, the right of the individual to do what he wants with his own private property.

The possible far-reaching effects of this latest judicial decision are frightening.

* * * * *

In view of this decision, does any citizen of the United States any longer have the right to dispose of his own private property as he sees fit?

This time, the high Court hung its decision on the peg that this particular trusteeship constituted an official agency. Next time, it might decide that it doesn't need any peg at all—that a man's will must be administered according to the whim of the Court.

An Open Letter to Members of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include a very thought-provoking letter recently sent to me with the title "An Open Letter to Members of the Congress":

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have just read an interesting book—a prepublication copy of Eugene W. Castle's The Great Giveaway. It will be on the newsstands April 15 (published by the Regenery Co., of Chicago). It is a book which I most earnestly commend to the attention of every Member of the Congress.

This book is a factual discussion of the realities of foreign aid. Its theme is the foreign giveaway program, which big business, the big banking industry, big labor, and big government have exploited at the expense of the taxpayer; self-interest and self-aggrandizement which may mean the sacrifice of our national security.

Special interests and minority groups have been effective in putting over class legislation, but there is a rising ground swell of public protest, which at its crest will override special interests and minority self-seeking groups.

There is not only a grassroots rebellion against the unparalleled, recommended budget. A tax protest is in the making, as shown by the resolutions of 33 States for reconsideration of the Federal income tax, which will put the Boston Tea Party in the shade. It should completely revolutionize our tax structure and tax spending. It must, if we are to continue solvent as a nation. Mr. Castle has sensed the cause of this popular movement, and his book is a restrained, documented presentation of an all important national issue.

In the coming congressional elections the people will demand the right to be heard on the continuance of foreign aid. They will insist on immediate liquidation of all foreign giveaway programs.

The American people, regardless of party affiliations, want to end, and immediately, the squandering of their tax money on foreign aid. But they are not consulted as to their choice between continued suicidal spending, or reduction of taxes.

For a Government to borrow billions, as Mr. Castle points out, in order to give them away to foreign countries, is incredible folly.

Each year, patriotic members of the House vote for reduction and ending of foreign aid, only to have the "colossal super spenders"—a majority of the Senators, vote to increase the tax money to be spent without stint—money deducted from business, salary, wages or income.

Some Senators each year talk about reduction in foreign aid, but wind up voting for the free and unrestrained expenditure of tax money for such foreign aid.

"The time to close down Uncle Sam's Gift Shop is now," says Mr. Castle. After reading this book, I am sure you will agree with the author.

The question of foreign aid can only be answered by the Congress. Without appropriations, the giveaway will cease. The time has come to end the plundering of American taxpayers.

"What is mutual about the program of foreign aid?" asks Mr. Castle.

MSA in 1953 was transformed into FOA, to be liquidated in 1955. But, transformed again into ICA, it received a facelifting, and in 1956 another shot in the arm to the tune of $4 billion.

Gen. Patrick J. Hurley discovered and exposed the diversion of lend-lease equipment by Britain to our disadvantage—a fraud upon the American people and scandalous perversion of the intent of lend-lease. (Lohbeck: Patrick J. Hurley, The Regenery Co., Chicago, 1956).

The United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, a British Government owned institution, had been formed for the purpose of using American loans and American lend-lease supplies to establish an international trade monopoly throughout the Middle East, Africa and elsewhere.

Do you remember when we, in the United States, were unable to buy automobile tires during the war years, the British were selling

American lend-lease supplied tires in Iran? Just one example of British perfidy. There are many more.

We did sustain Britain, but now under her own steam, supplemented even by 40 billions of American aid, she apparently is not even a second-class power—a suppliant for handouts, waiver of interest payments on old loans, and a continual burden on American taxpayers, unless Congress puts a stop to Federal giveaway programs.

Mr. Castle cites the $6 billion worth of oil, gasoline, tanks, tractors, and all kinds of merchandise stored abroad during World War II. This we made available to the British at 10 cents on the dollar over a long period; but spending of any proceeds (which we will never receive) was restricted to the United Kingdom or some British possession.

Such disinterested observers as William Randolph Hearst, Jr., and Mrs. Norman Chandler, inform us there is no need for further foreign aid—countries abroad have never been so prosperous—but visionaries, such as Hoffman (out-Stassening Stassen), using White House visits for publicity propaganda, inform us that $200 billion over the next 5 years will be necessary for the administration program of "peaceful foreign aid."

In 1955, the FOA, under the discredited Stassen, in a single day gave away to the British $3 million worth of "fruit cocktails and canned pears, plus $6 million worth of fresh oranges, lemons and grapefruit, and cooked chicken, butter, cheese, milk, eggs." We not only, says Mr. Castle, announced the "come and get it for nothing" program, but we paid the freight for ocean transport. We aim to please.

Over $1 billion of MSR funds were used to finance the sale overseas of surplus United States agricultural commodities in the last 3 years. Who received the benefit of the bargain basement prices, asks Mr. Castel? Britain, of course.

Whether, through the "front door of dollar," or the barn door of "agricultural giveaway," we are squandering our national resources at the expense of the American taxpayer.

"The American people," says Mr. Castle, "have given of their treasure to support NATO in the staggering amount of $280 billion—equivalent to the total of the national debt."

Staggering. Yet true.

Since World War II, we have handed out the colossal sum of $55 billion, an amount equal it is estimated to the assessed value of the 13 biggest cities of this country.

The bookkeeping is so complex that last year there was the "lost" item of $363 million, but this didn't even cause a ripple of presidential concern. The Congress even doubled its appropriation, and, expenditures for additional public buildings, featuring a $56 million State Department annex, go on unrestrained. Incidentally, the administration budget contains new Federal programs, requiring, according to Senator BYRD, approximately $9 billion, of which some $2 billion would be spent during the coming fiscal year. Indefensible.

At home, MS, and its successors, continue to siphon out American tax dollars for the giveaway spending spree.

Investment by each Member of Congress in a copy of Mr. Castle's book, might bring invaluable results.

Some conclusions are inescapable:

1. Organizations, with world government as their objective, are insidiously striving for, and unless Congress acts under its legislative power, will ultimately be given the power to tax and spend to an unlimited extent. This would mean the loss of our national sovereignty.

2. Through passage of the Reciprocal Trade Act, the Congress virtually amended the Constitution of the United States, without conforming to the constitutional provisions for amendments, and thereby improperly delegated and transferred the constitutional responsibility of the legislative branch of Government.

3. Profligacy of giveaway programs has stifled the legitimate investment of private capital in other countries.

4. The socialistic program of boondoggling billions for Asia and Africa, and bundles of billions for Britain, was attempted in spite of the known political hazards, internal insecurity, lack of consumer purchasing power, which staved off the investment by private capital. Can our Government, by continuing to squander our national resources, do what private industry declined to do?

5. In the face of Federal governmental limitations at home, how can we justify ICA plans abroad for "improvement of transportation facilities, highways, powerplants, schools, public buildings and other public works, programs in industry, mining, fisheries, health, education, housing, irrigation and flood control"?

6. The major premise of FOA and ICA, namely, "the entire free world economy, is directly tied in with the rate of increase of production and consumption of the less developed countries" is fallacious. On the termination of FOA in 1955, it should never have been revived under its new name ICA. It is basically unsound.

7. The injunction against "entangling alliances" has been violated by the "cooperation programs" with some 60 or more foreign countries for "social betterment," to which has been pledged the full might of our Armed Forces.

8. Our material prosperity is linked—not with the underdeveloped countries of India and Africa, or even the British Isles, but is built around our own sparkplugs—autos, steel, building construction.

9. The time may not be far distant when we will be told how much we will have to contirbute to the rest of the world for social betterment, at the sacrifice of educational needs at home, and requirements of our own industry for construction and consumer goods.

10. The question I would like to place before the Congress is: Is not our inherent right to own property jeopardized and violated by taxation, when the money derived therefrom is expended on foreign giveaway programs?

Let us get back, and immediately, to constitutional government.

Very sincerely yours,

W. JEFFERSON DAVIS,
President, the American Academy of Public Affairs.

What You Get When You Get an Education and Is It Worth It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent article under the caption, "What You Get When You Get an Education and Is It Worth It?" by the Honorable Charles A. Duffield, of West Virginia, which appeared in a recent issue of the News Leader, published at Richwood, W. Va.

Judge Duffield's approach to this subject is somewhat unusual, but nevertheless effective in that it brings to the readers new vistas of what it means to have an education and what possibilities are open to those who take the time and expend the effort necessary to become educated.

The article follows:

WHAT YOU GET WHEN YOU GET AN EDUCATION AND IS IT WORTH IT?—HIGHLIGHTS OF A TALK BY CIRCUIT JUDGE CHARLES DUFFIELD BEFORE A GROUP OF WEBSTER COUNTY EDUCATORS AT CAMP CAESAR LAST WEEK

Looking to the Darwin theory of evolution, we find that our forefathers, or ancestors, once lived in caves, the cavemen. Those were the days of might making right. Only the strongest and best fitted survived. Prehistoric man sought the cave as his home, he was an individualist, seeking to live with his mate alone; he could not trust his neighbor, and he had no friends; the cave offered him protection from the elements and his enemies, and he gathered his living from the fruit of the trees and vines. Later he learned that he could more effectively use a club in killing wild game, or another caveman who might seek to take his cave, his food, or his companion. But he had to be constantly on the alert, lest he be killed or imposed upon by another more strong and cunning. He knew only the law of the jungle—take anything you are powerful enough to take—kill, with or without reason—survival being the only objective in life. Then one day Caveman A and Caveman B got together and agreed that neither was powerful enough to kill Caveman C, who had a better cave, a beautiful wife, so they thought, and a fat wild hog he had just killed, but the two of them together could murder C and take his earthly possessions. This they did, and as might be expected, even of cavemen, they shared the cave and the hog, and fought over the woman. And when other cavemen learned of this successful, though unholy combination, they began to associate themselves together for the common good. So in this manner, men learned of the benefits of association, education you might call it, and society began, as well as organized welfare.

The cradle of education is in the Garden of Eden. The giving of a command by one in authority, the first law of the land, and the man learning through experience the bitter way.

Education consists of a continuous process of learning. It begins at birth and ends with death.

When the baby in the basket begins to take notice of light and darkness, to associate things one with the other, to notice people, moving objects, etc., it is beginning its educative process. When it learns to sit up, crawl and walk, it is becoming educated. By the time the child enters the first grade it has acquired much education from its parents, brothers, sisters, playmates, and other people. These things it has learned by training, teaching, conversations, reading, observations, yes, and even from watching television.

Some of these out-of-school influences, both before entering school and afterward, have done much to shape the education of all of us.

Much of our education we have acquired out of the schoolroom, from our employers, employees, associates, and what we read and see. The educating process continues as long as life itself.

Education consists of learning to keep our emotions and passions within proper bounds.

How different most people would be without the advantage of an education. Without education we would be on a low level, scarcely better than beasts. Without education we

would be uncivilized—just like Mr. Caveman A and B, or their victim C. We would not control, or attempt to control, our emotions and passions toward our fellow man. Education tends to restrain people from violence toward others. Most of our more heinous crimes, such as rape and incest, are committed by the illiterate. The ability of civilized man, educated man, to keep his emotions within proper bounds, distinguishes him from the beast in the jungle. The educated man does not resort to claw and tooth to settle his differences with his fellow man, but he obeys the rules established by civil law. * * * That his problem might be settled in a peaceable manner. Uncontrolled emotions and unsubdued passions are a visible weakness, and in many instances the mark of an ignorant man.

Education consists of directing to good purpose energies and abilities which otherwise might be left dormant, or turned to selfish purpose.

Many men, although money makers, have not learned through the educative process, how to use their abilities, for money making alone does not spell education, and a man who is greedy, selfish, without consideration for the feelings and well-being of his fellowman, and ruthlessly runs him down in his mad scramble for the dollar, is not an educated man—he is not living, for man does not live by bread alone.

Education consists of learning, or adopting, an honest and satisfying philosophy of life, and finding a suitable field of work.

Education enables a man to find his proper place in life, the occupation or profession for which he is best suited, where he can be the most productive, spend his efforts for his own personal wellbeing, and as a true part and worthy asset of society. Every man can have a worthwhile and useful place in society if he possesses an average amount of intelligence, energy, ambition, character, and sincere desire to find that place. Without education he is nothing more than a hit-and-miss proposition, driftwood floating with the current of life.

Education consists of preparation for meeting and solving real problems.

Education is more than learning the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic. One can learn in school much about physics, chemistry, law, medicine, and engineering, but this is only part of the foundation of an educated person. One must also create and acquire a love for good music, art, and literature, for an appreciation of these will keep the mind and soul in tune.

As man becomes educated he will learn to be tolerant of the thoughts and views of others.

An educated man loses his prejudices against other races, religions, creeds and colors. As our society becomes closer knit, he will try to learn the problems of his fellow man, other races and nations, and before he criticizes and condemns, he will get, or try to get, all the true and pertinent facts. Yes, before he takes the other to task he will first walk in the moccasins of the other man.

Education will teach us to be humble, and a nation void of humility cannot be a happy nation. A proud, conceited, arrogant, and overbearing nations of people are digging their own national graves.

Education teaches man to be forgiving and even though it comes naturally to hate our enemies, and sometimes even wish to destroy them, the greater and broader a man's learning, the quicker and easier will he forgive the wrongs done him by others. Forgiving is not only educational, it is, in fact, divine, and for this lesson we are again reminded of the Man on the Cross, who although falsely accused, unlawfully tried, and condemned to be judicially murdered, in the midst of excruciating pain, torture and torment, was still mindful of the trouble and tribulations of others, and while He hung on the cross He forgave the sins and saved the soul of the thief who hung beside Him, and with the true spirit of an educated and righteous man, He looked to His Father in heaven and asked Him to forgive His executioners, for they knew not what they were doing.

Education consists of acquiring knowledge, skills and attitudes which assist one in maintaining good health, a reasonable amount of economic security, and genuine happiness in life.

One of the most important items in education is attitude, which is a state of mind, conscious or subconscious, toward a particular matter or person. One's attitude, or his feelings, toward his neighbor, members of his family, his employers or employees, his teacher, the state, his government, or society as a whole may be good and wholesome, or it may be poor and bad.

The Death of Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, in sharp contrast with some editorials berating the late Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, after he is dead and cannot fight back, comes this one from the Los Angeles Times of May 4, 1957.

To me, it is so well expressed, especially in the last few lines, that I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE DEATH OF SENATOR MCCARTHY

The death of JOE MCCARTHY has already set off the liberals. Before he is buried they are eager to find where his grave shall be and desecrate it. The British, curiously enough, the people we have been so busy saving from their own wrack, are most particularly vindictive.

HIS BRAVE DAYS

What was there about this rather gallant axman that set about half the world against him? In his brave days, we think, he did a lot of good. He showed that our State Department was pretty well seeded with Communist sympathizers. He did not root them all out, but he made the Department very uncomfortable for them. If there is a right or wrong about this Communist business, MCCARTHY certainly drew the line. After him everybody knew which bank of the Jordan he was standing on.

He made grave mistakes. His last inquisitions seemed to most people to be offensive. But on the whole he was right. He knew, either by instinct or through information, that there was something soft, if not decayed, in the State Department, and in other Departments too.

This was a disagreeable business, and it was very easy to hate MCCARTHY. A large faction of Romans hated Cicero when he took after Catiline and had him strangled. The same people rejoiced when Mark Antony sent after him and had his throat cut. This was a victory for liberalism, or so they said.

Until almost the end the Times supported Senator MCCARTHY in his disagreeable work—the rousting of Communists and their sympathizers. It is surely true that if he had not stormed against them many of them would not have been found out. He purged our Government of many men who should never have been in it.

And in all the uproar, something like a 12th century melee, there was nobody hurt who shouldn't have had a bruise.

We paraphrase an editorial we wrote 2½ years ago: There is no question about it (we said then): if MCCARTHY had not stormed and raged a good many of those dubious and dangerous people would still be practicing subversion in the subterranean levels of the bureaucracy, particularly in the State Department.

RIDING INTO THE FRAY

MCCARTHY was no hero, or at least we don't think he was. But he had the courage to ride into the dirty fray, into a battle wherein his opponents had no compunctions about fighting fairly, and take his lumps as he gave them. Senator Robert A. Taft, the great man of our generation, took a hard look at MCCARTHY and let him go—and he could have stopped him.

MCCARTHY made his mistakes after Taft died. They were silly mistakes, and he can't be forgiven for them, but they were honest mistakes. The man could be a fool, but he had guts. When Taft died MCCARTHY's judgment died with him.

And now that MCCARTHY himself is dead, and the self-accusing British execrate him, take another look around. Who is he who hated MCCARTHY so much who should be loved so much by the rest of us?

The Bureau of the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, at long last a distinguished columnist has struck at the wide powers of the Bureau of the Budget.

George E. Sokolsky is one of the most honored and influential columnists on the American scene today. His sound thinking and cold logic have merited the position which he occupies in the fourth estate.

In two recent articles, the latest of which I am directing to your attention, Mr. Sokolsky has pinpointed the real target for attack in the fight for economy and a return to constitutional government. I am not impressed with the suggestion to remove the head of the Bureau of the Budget. Another individual would be named head of the budget and the same old abuses and usurpation of power would continue.

The real way to fight is for a sufficient number of Members of Congress to dedicate themselves to curbing the unauthorized power being used by the Bureau of the Budget. Let us not kid ourselves. The reason the Bureau of the Budget exerts such power is because Congress allows the Bureau of the Budget to run wild and rampant.

All of us know that when a bill is returned from a department with the notation "Objection is interposed by the Bureau of the Budget," the proposed legislation is deader than the dodo bird. Some chairmen will not even allow their committees to consider legislation unless approved by the Bureau of the Budget.

During consideration of legislation on the floor of this body the question is frequently asked, "Does the Bureau of the Budget approve this legislation?"

It is about time that Congress reclaim its lost power and function as it is scheduled to function under the terms and language of the Constitution.

Delegation of power by the Congress through lack of assertion provides tacit consent for such abuses and is legally and morally wrong.

Mr. Sokolsky has pointed up these dangers in this splendid article. I hope it will not be the last he writes about the Bureau of the Budget and I do hope that some columnists, as prominent and respected as Mr. Sokolsky, will take the cue from him and get into the fight to educate the American people of the dangers confronting them. Too precious few people know of the effect the Bureau of the Budget has on their very lives, their very existence.

Here is Mr. Sokolsky's article from the pages of the New Orleans States:

WHERE DOES BUREAU GET ALL ITS AUTHORITY

(By George E. Sokolsky)

Before we all go broke, let us have a look at the Bureau of the Budget which has expanded itself far beyond the intention of Congress which created it.

According to the Constitution, all appropriations are to be made by Congress, originating in the House of Representatives. The Bureau of the Budget was created by Congress to assist Congress in gathering the data necessary for making appropriations.

So what happens? The Bureau extends itself into a forceful arm of Government, usurping powers which the Constitution gives to Congress and to no one else. Congress cannot delegate its authority over appropriations to the Bureau of the Budget, but because many Members of Congress are hard pressed and no good at simple arithmetic, they ask the experts in the Bureau of the Budget whether an idea for spending the taxpayer's money is good or bad and when the reply comes back: "The Bureau of the Budget interposes no objection," the item finds itself in the budget and the money gets spent.

Where does the Bureau of the Budget get the authority to interpose or not to interpose an objection? That is the question. Search high and low and you will find no such authority. That power lies in Congress and in Congress alone. It has not been delegated to the Bureau of the Budget. It cannot under the Constitution be delegated to the aforesaid Bureau.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that it is this Bureau which has come up with the $71.8 billion budget that suddenly has become sacrosanct and that the chosen representatives of the American people do not know how to cut.

Most suggestions during the past week or two for cutting the budget down to size have been political phonies to give the impression that something is being done about the budget while actually nothing is being done.

Why elect Members of Congress at all? Why go through the hocus pocus every 2 years of choosing Members of the House of Representatives when the most important task they perform, namely, controlling the expenditures of the government, is performed by a nonelected bureau of government, in no manner responsible to the people?

A Member of Congress wrote to me:

"Do you know that witnesses for the departments cannot voluntarily express opinions contrary to the views of the Bureau of the Budget?

"Do you know that after Congress has appropriated funds, the several departments, particularly the military, must again ask permission of the Bureau of the Budget to spend the money thus appropriated?

"Do you know that after Congress has authorized certain strength in the Defense Department, the Bureau of the Budget reviews the authorization and makes the determination as to what extent the authorization will be allowed?

"Do you know that the Bureau of the Budget maintains its own staff of engineers and experts which in practice and effect supersedes any similar staff or Congress?"

In both parties, the institution of the leadership has gained strength because the leadership can get favors from the White House which are no longer available to individual Senators and Representatives, most of whom can no more see President Eisenhower to talk to about home problems than they can discuss such matters with Queen Elizabeth.

Odd Arrangements for Glen Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert the following editorial which appeared in the April 24 issue of the Los Angeles Times. In view of my introduction of H. R. 6575, which proposes the repeal of the upper Colorado River project, I desire to give an opportunity to all the Members of this body to read this editorial by Constantine Halliburton.

HOLE IN HOOVER DAM—ODD ARRANGEMENTS FOR GLEN CANYON

(By Constantine Halliburton)

If the Bureau of Reclamation drilled a big hole in Hoover Dam, the water and power supplies of southern California, Arizona, and Nevada would suffer no more than they will if the Bureau follows its own plans for construction of the gigantic new $421 million dam and powerplant at Glen Canyon.

That may seem an extreme statement, but before substantiating it a few other situations pertinent to the Glen Canyon project, to stand on the Colorado River at the Utah-Arizona line, should be set forth.

When the Reclamation Bureau recently made public its specifications for the dam, water and power officials of California, Arizona, and Nevada jumped with fright. The Bureau plans called for letting down during construction of the dam as little as one-tenth the amount of water required by downstream users. Projects vital to the economy of the lower basin would be wrecked by such operations.

Various contingents hurried to Washington to get an explanation. California's emissaries were Northcutt Ely and Robert L. McCarty, special counsel for the Colorado River Board of California, and the board's chief engineer, Raymond Matthew. They were received by Assistant Secretary of the Interior Aandahl and Assistant Reclamation Commissioner Nielsen. What they learned left them not a little dismayed.

Neither Aandahl nor Nielsen had ever seen the Bureau's specifications for Glen Canyon Dam. In fact, the specifications, which were prepared by Bureau engineers in Denver, had not even been submitted to Reclamation Commissioner Dexheimer's office in Washington, nor to the office of Interior Secretary Seaton, for review. No one in Washington seemed to be aware that the plans violated Federal statutes and threatened every project and every power contract in the lower basin.

Plans for the start of a $421 million Federal project had gone out without the officials responsible for them even bothering to learn what was in them. Nielsen told Ely, McCarty, and Matthew he would send for the specifications which already had gone out for bids.

The next episode of the Glen Canyon drama was hardly less startling. The Bureau announced that bids for the main dam structure, to cost about $135 million alone, would be opened on April 11.

In the next breath the Bureau revealed that a board of engineers, not connected with the Government, had been named to review the specifications and report on them. But the engineers would not be able to meet before bids for the dam were opened.

And that is what happened.

What if the independent engineers reported that the Glen Canyon specifications were inadequate, that changes in design were necessary to provide a greater safety factor, that the type of dam specified was not suitable for the foundations at the site?

Did the Bureau know that the independent engineers would approve the plans, even through they had not yet seen them?

If the Bureau didn't know this, why didn't it hold up the opening of bids until the independent engineers had a chance to study the specifications? That was the procedure Congress demanded in the case of Hoover Dam, and the cost of Hoover Dam was greatly increased by changes made by the independent engineering board that passed on it.

According to the Bureau, the independent Glen Canyon board will not meet until late this month, but the bids are already opened. Drastic changes may have to be made in the specifications, and this would be costly for all concerned. At the very least, some specifications must be changed if Federal statutes are to be obeyed and Hoover Dam and other lower-basin projects are not to be damaged, or even wrecked.

Present Bureau plans call for the release of only 1,000 cubic feet per second from Glen Canyon during a part of the construction period and 3,000 during another part. The average requirements for projects below Glen Canyon are more than 10,000 cubic feet per second. Therefore, the Bureau plans to release only one-tenth to one-third of the water necessary to meet lower-basin contracts.

What's going to happen to Hoover Dam under such a scheme? Because of low water, Hoover Dam's power output is already cut about 40 percent. The more water captured by Glen Canyon, the more Lake Mead, back of Hoover Dam, will have to be drawn down, and right now Lake Mead is less than half full.

Colorado River Board Chairman Fred W. Simpson has demanded a meeting with Secretary Seaton on the whole matter. So have Arizona and Nevada officials. Only silence has come so far from Seaton.

One other phase of the case has water and power engineers deeply concerned. That is the bureau's design of Glen Canyon Dam. It would be about 700 feet high, almost as high as Hoover Dam, but it is designed as a thin arch type. Bureau officials admitted to Congress that the rock on which Glen would stand is weakly cemented together. Hoover Dam, much heavier than Glen would be, stands on solid granite many times stronger than the rock in Glen Canyon.

The 185-mile-long reservoir behind Glen Dam would hold 26 million acre-feet of

water. Independent engineers have told this writer that if Glen Canyon Dam should give way under this enormous pressure, all other projects below it, including Hoover Dam, would be wiped out, thousands of lives would be lost, and the lower basin of the river would be devastated.

One clue which might help to explain the peculiar actions of the bureau is in the law authorizing Glen Canyon. The dam is part of the gigantic upper Colorado River project consisting of 4 dams and 11 participating irrigation projects. The bureau has admitted that the participating projects could not pay for themselves.

This is where Glen Canyon Dam comes into the picture. It would be built several hundred miles downstream from the participating projects and none of the water stored behind it could be used for irrigation. But that stored water would be used to make hydro power, and the power revenues would be used to pay for the infeasible irrigation projects.

Who would buy Glen Canyon power? Why, the people of southern California mostly; the same people who would suffer the greatest if the bureau's Glen Canyon shenanigans are permitted to succeed.

Employment of the Handicapped: A Community Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. DEMPSEY
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, I am quite proud to announce to the Members of the House of Representatives that Miss Denny Sue Carlisle, of Albuquerque, N. Mex., placed third in the 1957 national essay contest of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped. This young lady's discussion of American public responsibility to employ the handicapped is an excellent presentation, one which all should have an opportunity to read. Therefore, I am inserting here a copy of her essay:

EMPLOYMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED, A COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

When I think of the physically handicapped, I am reminded of 2 years ago when I first began to work as a summer playground instructor. It was my first day on the job, and I was delighted to find several children waiting for me when I arrived on the school ground. I immediately noticed one little boy in a little red car. I thought it strange that he was not riding a bicycle like the other children, but I soon found out that Frankie couldn't ride a bike. He had been injured at birth and his legs never had developed as a normal boy's should. This proved, however, not to be a handicap to Frankie; he was the most active boy I had on the playground that summer. One of the things I learned was that he wanted no sympathy, and furthermore, he wanted to be treated like any other boy. He could walk on crutches, and he participated in dancing, singing games, and the other sports. I found him most helpful and a willing worker. He was always cheerful, and he added immensely to the atmosphere of the schoolroom. He was loved by his classmates, and his opinion was held in high esteem by all of them. I didn't see Frankie again until this year. I took my brother to his Boy Scout meeting one evening not long ago, and I noticed that Frankie was playing the bugle for the troop. Upon inquiry, I found that Frankie was an avid scouter who participated in practically every phase of scouting that was offered. I began to think of the days when Frankie will be applying for a job. Surely he will have no difficulty, because of his wonderful background and training. And by the time he is out of school, hiring the handicapped will be as normal as hiring anyone else. That is, if the community promotes this idea now. With all people there is a strong feeling of wanting to be a useful part of society. Probably one of the most important phases of growing up is the satisfaction that comes by being independent. In the normal course of events, we all grow up and take this much coveted place in society.

But the handicapped person, who is unable to find useful employment, must feel, I am sure, the same frustration felt by a child who is never allowed to become independent.

Fifty years ago, the fact that someone in the family was physically handicapped was something to be ashamed of, a sort of disgrace. No means of education were offered these people and it was believed that they would be better off dead. There were certainly no means of employing such people and they were hidden away in dark rooms of their homes, to waste away what might have been useful and fruitful lives.

But such was not the case with a certain young woman named Helen Keller. She was handicapped more than other handicapped people; she was deaf and blind. She not only learned to talk and read, but she paved the way for many others. Here was a woman who would not let an enormous handicap stand in her way.

But must we leave all the work to people like Helen Keller? You and I are working under a distinct advantage. We can read, write, talk, see, hear, walk, dance, and do many other things which are taken for granted. It is up to us, the people who make up the community, to see that the handicapped of our community are educated and employed and given the same advantages as the more fortunate.

It is the community's responsibility to make a survey of jobs and occupations that can be successfully pursued by various types of handicapped people. There are statistics at our fingertips. We, the businessmen and women of the community need only to call local agencies that are working for the advancement of the physically handicapped and offer our help.

The blind can be employed in innumerable jobs such as operators, typists, developers in the photography industry, silk screeners, and many other jobs that require skilled workers with hands and feet.

The person crippled in his legs is often quite proficient with his hands and can be employed in numberless occupations, such as music, vocational work, arts, crafts, dress designing, sewing, and manufacturing.

If the handicapped is well educated, there is no limit to the many opportunities in banking, business, teaching, and any other field where there is a need for specialized education.

Often rehabilitation and education are required to give the handicapped person confidence enough to go into gainful employment. We have many such schools and many graduates of them in our community today. It has been proved that the physically handicapped person is just as efficient, if not more so, than the physically normal one.

The employer who is courageous enough to set a precedent soon finds that not only his business has often gained in efficiency, but that his own sense of satisfaction in helping a fellow man has increased his personal self-respect and enjoyment of life.

We pride ourselves on advancing more rapidly than any other people before us. We have expanded and become bigger and better in business. We have research scientists constantly looking for newer and better living methods. We've become a highly advanced society of people, used to easier living, and constantly hoping for better things for the coming generations. Let's not forge ahead in every other field and leave our handicapped in that dark room. Let's advance with the times and employ the physically handicapped.

The only way that we can be sure that Frankie and his physically handicapped equals all over the Nation will be employed is for us as individuals and members of an alert community to do our best for this cause today.

You are your community.

You be the one to open the door for a handicapped person.

Yadkin Flood Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH J. SCOTT
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial taken from the Elkin Tribune, Thursday, April 25, 1957:

YADKIN FLOOD CONTROL—PROBLEM TAKES ON ADDED IMPORTANCE TO STATE AS WELL AS THIS SECTION

It is encouraging to learn the Yadkin flood-control project, which has been pretty much kicked around since it received its first real momentum after the disastrous August 14 flood of 1940, is once again in the limelight, having been removed from a purely local category to one of Statewide importance in securing new industry for North Carolina, and for providing water for a number of North Carolina cities, including Winston-Salem, Greensboro, and High Point.

As yet no actual move to construct a flood-control dam has been started, but a survey report from the Army Corps of Engineers and the question of a $160,000 appropriation will come before the Senate Commerce Committee within the next 3 weeks, and delegations from Elkin, North Wilkesboro and other affected areas along the river are organizing for trips to Washington and appearances before the committee. The National Rivers and Harbors Congress has classified the project A–1 and recommended immediate action.

As things now stand the cost of a dam on the Yadkin to assure flood control, would cost an estimated $9 million. And as we understand it, the backed-up waters would not affect the "Happy Valley" section of Caldwell County, which has played its part in blocking any effective flood control during the past 16 years.

Perhaps too many people who live without the Yadkin flood area, and to Members of Congress who make up the Senate Commerce Committee, news of floods along the Yadkin seem remote and unimportant. For it takes actual physical contact with a flood to reveal the terrific damage of water thundering down a valley to inundate and destroy countless millions of dollars in property and crops, as well as to claim lives.

It has been over 16 years since the Yadkin jumped its banks and wreaked untold dam-

age through the valley. But no man can say when it will do the same thing again. Perhaps tomorrow, perhaps next week, perhaps next year. But there can be little doubt that, as floods have come in the past, they will come in the future. And it has been estimated that due to the decrease in timber and ground coverage since 1940, should as much rain fall now as it did that year, the flood would crest 5 feet higher, which would put it on the main floors of many Elkin main-street stores. Only those of us who have experienced these floods know what such a thing can mean.

But we should remember that not only is flood control important simply to prevent the river from flooding the valley, but also as a long range project important to the future industrial growth of our State. Water is becoming more and more vital in many ways as recent dry spells have caused wells to fail and streams to slacken or run dry. A flood control dam on the Yadkin would conserve water and during dry spells make it available for industry and for the use of towns and cities.

Of course this newspaper, which has seen more than one flood sweep down the valley, is in favor heart and soul of flood-control measures that will remove the threat of catastrophe from above the valley's collective heads. And we hope that those in Washington in whose hands such control rests, will be able to gain a picture of the death, danger and destruction which a flood along this uncontrolled river entails.

On Cutting the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to present an editorial from the Arlington Times, a weekly newspaper published in the second district of the State of Washington. In this editorial, publisher Jack Carpenter, I believe, has outlined the problem that Congress faces in trying to cut the budget.

This Congress has embarked on a sincere and hard-working campaign to try to cut the fat from the Federal budget. We have pored over appropriation bills item by item and have cut where we believed cuts to be judicious. I know that if the American people realized fully the situation as described in the Times editorial, the decision as to whether the services asked for are worth the extra taxes paid could be made more easily by each citizen. This editorial gets to the point of the Government's financial operations and outlines in unvarnished terms the sacrifices necessary to achieve economy.

Text of the editorial is as follows:

YOUR SERVANTS GIVE ORDERS

We Americans are wont to kid ourselves about the principles of democracy, in which government functions by the consent of the governed; in which government officials are the servants of the people.

Yet the fact remains that while we elect certain officials, our Government has become a great despot.

This fact was made known to the average citizen during the past month in no uncertain terms, when the treasuries of business institutions and private citizens were drained almost white by the huge tax bill that almost freezes up business during the months of March and April each year.

Those tax statements each bear a threatening clause that tell the "master citizen" what will happen to him if he doesn't pungle up without delay.

However, when we get the bill paid and have time to think about how our Government gets that way, we find that the citizens who are doing the sweating over paying the bill are the cause of it all.

We clamor for economy in Government at one time, then when the legislature meets we send letters, telegrams, and hire lobbyists to get through legislation for projects that cost money.

We ask Federal and State aid for schools, for highways, for flood control, for buildings, etc., all of which we hope will bring the money from some other locality.

Right now the whole country is conscious of the huge Federal budget. Everybody is clamoring for a reduction in the budget, but the only place where we can all agree to reduce spending is in foreign aid.

Of course, we in Washington will not complain if some reductions are made in allotments for projects in California, or some other State, but for goodness sake don't cut any appropriations scheduled for Washington.

With that spirit prevalent, Mr. average citizen, you can rest assured the Federal, State, county, city, and school district budgets will continue to grow bigger, and after all those servants are only doing your bidding when they point the tax statement at you and say "pay up before April 15 or else."

Breaching Our Frontline

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY G. HASKELL, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. HASKELL. Mr. Speaker, the American people would like to see a substantial reduction in Federal expenditures in areas where reductions can safely and reasonably be made. I am convinced that there are many such areas. There are undoubtedly cuts that can safely be made in the funds requested by the State Department, but the $47 million reduction voted in the House just does not make sense.

An editorial in the Wilmington Morning News of May 2 points up the perilous gamble involved in this fantastic cut far better than I can. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include that editorial:

BREACHING OUR FRONTLINE

Do you agree with this statement?

"The United States has never fought a foreign war that could not have been avoided. Even though we were attacked, different policies and better diplomacy could have prevented war or kept us from being drawn in."

We don't know how true this is. It has been said, though, by great numbers of Americans during and after the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Spanish-American War, World Wars I and II, and the Korean war. And in each case there is at least a certain amount of truth in the statement. It is easy now to point out mistakes of omission or commission by Presidents Wilson, Roosevelt, and Truman and their Secretaries of State. If they hadn't made those mistakes, war might have been avoided.

But the American people, though quick to blame their leaders when it is too late, show suprising indifference before the fact. The war which our Government today is trying to prevent is world war III. The governmental machinery on which prevention depends consist of the State Department and the Foreign Service. Yet there is hardly an audible word of protest from the public when the House votes to cut the State Department budget by 26 percent.

Such a cut, in a time of rising costs, growing international problems and responsibilities, increasing danger, and expanded operations, might result in errors of omission or commission that would make world war III inevitable. In the heartfelt words of Secretary Dulles to a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Tuesday: "The total effect of these cuts would be to breach gravely the front line of our defense of peace and freedom in the world * * * a false economy, not compatible with the peace and security of the United States."

Is that what Americans want? They aren't saying it isn't. Mr. Dulles is telling us, in effect, that if the State Department is forced to cut back on personnel, on training, on foreign contacts an information, it is bound to make more mistakes and omissions and it may fail to prevent war. Once world war III starts, it will do no good to blame our leaders. But it is not too late to give them the tools to do the job they are trying to do.

Mr. Dulles did not confine himself to generalities. He gave a business-like report, showing how our operations have expanded and why they are necessary. He noted that in Washington alone State Department employees put in 119 man-years of unpaid overtime in the last 30 months. He noted that the Soviet Union has been rapidly enlarging its own diplomatic service, roughly doubling its personnel in the last 4 years. (If Russia doubled her army, would we want to reduce owns?)

Mr. Dulles concluded by saying: "The danger which could result from matters going wrong is becoming infinitely great; indeed, it surpasses human comprehension. * * * No investment that the people make in their Government pays so high a return as the modest investment required to maintain an efficient State Department and Foreign Service."

But it's up to the people of the United States. If they continue to seem indifferent, the cuts will stand and America's future will stand in jeopardy.

Address by Judge Walker Butler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Judge Walker Butler:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY JUDGE WALKER BUTLER AT SOCIETY OF AMERICAN MILITARY ENGINEERS DINNER MEETING ON TUESDAY, APRIL 23, 1957, AT THE WESTERN SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS BUILDING, CHICAGO, ILL.

Distinguished gentlemen at the speaker's table, equally distinguished ladies and gentlemen out in the audience, it is a privilege

to have the opportunity to say a few words at this gathering tonight. I had the same honor, a year ago, to speak at the meeting at which time this organization inducted into office General Berrigan as commander of this post. As I look back at what has been developing and what has been done in the course of the past year, I rejoice, as I am sure you do, at the fact that we have finally been successful in awakening an adequate number of groups and individuals here in the Midwest as to the possibilities and the necessities presented by the waterway facilities of our immediate vicinity. Throughout our country, in fact, people are beginning to take note that here, in Chicagoland, we have, by reason of the natural location of the city of Chicago at the junction of the Illinois Waterway and the Great Lakes system, tremendous possibilities of development that no other city in the world can possibly equal, if we just have the men, the energy, and the determination to make use of what nature has provided for us here.

Looking back at this year, thinking over the numerous developments that have taken place since General Berrigan took office as president of this organization a year ago, I can't help but reflect, and I hope that the people of the Chicago area are aware, as those of us in this room are aware, of the tremendous good fortune that came to Chicago when Gen. Paul Berrigan was assigned to this division. During the years gone past, we have become accustomed to excellence in service, to enthusiasm and cooperation, and to leadership in planning from the men who have led the Corps of Engineers in the Middle West. But never in the history of this organization—or in the history of the Middle West—have we had a man occupying the top spot in the Corps of Engineers who has given so wholly of himself and who has produced so much in the way of results, as has General Berrigan. I am delighted to have the opportunity here tonight to voice that considered opinion. I could talk of a half dozen instances, of which I have personal knowledge, that demonstrate the unexcelled cooperation provided by the general and his staff. I know there are many other instances you folks know about. I am thinking, for example, of one important instance. I am thinking of the fact that it became vitally important to the development of a deep-water harbor at Lake Calumet, that something be done with reference to the program for dredging that had already been scheduled for something like a year and a half ahead. I think it was in the 1958 schedule (if I am not mistaken). At any rate, it was something like a year and a half away—and it was needed immediately. Any of you who have had experience, as I have had, of dealing with government—I don't mean Federal Government alone, I mean any government—to get them to revise a schedule that had finally been agreed upon by those in charge of scheduling operations, will understand the feeling of hopelessness we had in our ambition to try to advance that scheduling of the dredging by 6 months. Maybe, we thought, if we had a couple of miracles, we might advance it 7 months, perhaps even 8.

To sum up what might have been a long, long story: We had the unprecedented result of having that scheduling advanced the full 18 months, so that it started right then, when we needed it. There is just one man in this room tonight that I know of who is entitled to the lion's share for having done that tremendously important and vastly valuable thing for the people of all the Middle West, and that is the gentleman we are honoring here tonight, at the conclusion of his first year of service as president of this organization—General Berrigan.

I have had other experiences with him. For example, when it became a question of the continuation of work on the Cal-Sag Channel, when that tremendously important job faced the possibility that it was about to be halted, if we didn't furnish local cooperation required by the 1946 Rivers and Harbors Act, there was only one solution which could be worked out. That was the necessity of going to the legislature at Springfield 5 minutes after they opened their doors. No; I guess it was 2 minutes. They hadn't the opportunity to find their seats when the bill was introduced that would provide for the issuance of $6 million in nonreferendum bonds for the purpose of acquiring land needed for spoil sites—needed for the relocation of utilities and the various other things specified by the Congress as the things that had to be done by local interests before the Congress would consider an application to continue Federal appropriations. The committee of Congress had made it plain that it must be done, and done now. In that emergency again we had the invaluable assistance of the gentleman we honor here tonight. We drafted him to go to Springfield with us. It was my very great pleasure to present him to my former colleagues, the members of the senate in the General Assembly of Illinois.

As I said to him later, when he finished speaking, he had so forcefully presented the facts and figures at his fingertips and so logically presented the entire problem that he had the unprecedented experience of walking off the witness stand in the senate chamber without any member asking a single question. That bill was one of the first passed by the 1957 session, and it was promptly signed by Governor Stratton. General Berrigan, I salute you for the grand help you gave to the people of this community, who have been fighting all these years to get something done for the waterways.

I could talk about a number of other experiences that I have had with our guest. Those I have related are just two examples of the great fortune the people of our community have had in obtaining the leadership and the patient cooperation that this man has displayed, trying to solve the intricate problems we have had here in Chicago. Perhaps this could be best summed up with the statement that at long last we had found a leader who not only understood the many problems confronting us—because he had devoted hours and days and weeks to a study of those problems—but most of all we found a man who inspired confidence in the highest degree.

Those of us who aren't directly connected with the Corps of Engineers, those of us who have stood, as it were, on the sidelines, and over the years have tried to stir up some enthusiasm to get the things done—because we felt primarily it was a crime to have that advantage given to this area by nature, and not have enough sense to make use of it, those of us who recognized what a tremendous factor the completed Cal-Sag Channel will be in strengthening our national defense—we have been mightily inspired and encouraged by the example of this man, quietly and without fanfare, who has fitted right into the team, as if he belonged upon it all the days of his life, within short order after his arrival in Chicago. It demonstrated to us that he not only has the academic skills of a top-flight engineer, but he has the willingness to work with people. He has the ambition to see something performed, to see a job done.

It is that kind of men, God knows, that we need—people who deal with public work, conscientiously and efficiently. So here tonight, I am delighted to have the chance to say these few words of appreciation to him for what he has done for our community, as well as for the country at large.

I was very much interested, just a day or so ago, to read a comment that came from a man who ought to know what he is talking about, Maj. Gen. John Bragdon, retired. He is President Eisenhower's special assistant and coordinator on public-works planning. He said—and you may have seen it in the papers last Saturday or Sunday: "Public-works problems are among the major ones involved in the complexities arising from overlapping jurisdictions within the metropolitan areas; the tremendous and growing need for public works exists throughout the country." He urged that comprehensive and long-range planning for public works should be undertaken by the governmental body closest to the people, to the maximum ability of local governments to finance them. From the standpoint of taxpayers who pay for these things, they ought to be delighted to have somebody working at this job who gets it done. General Bragdon quoted Department of Commerce figures of 1954 showing the estimated requirements of State and local public works at $204 billion, and went on to say: "If we had decided to catch up in 10 years, from the standpoint of State and local governments, they would have to be spending more than $20 billion a year on new public works. Actually, the current rate is far short of this." I have quoted that to you to give you some idea of the overall importance of the kind of things with which General Berrigan has been engaged.

The production and provision of public works to take care of the tremendously increased demands of a population which is growing by leaps and bounds is very necessary. While I am on this subject, I will not be digressing too much—certainly not too long—if I make this comment: Those of us who are interested in public service cannot help but run head on into a situation that gives us a great deal of concern. All of us, of course, are interested in and have approved plans that permit one who has spent years of his life doing a good job to look forward to security when the time comes that he is no longer able to carry his full share of the load.

What I have to say here could not possibly be interpreted as a diatribe against pension plans and retirement plans, and that sort of thing, but I become concerned, and I become confused, when I see plans that require mandatory retirement of men in the full flush of their youth, at the age of 50, 51, or 52 years, who, by reason of our Federal laws governing our Army personnel, are required to step down under a mandatory retirement system that takes out of circulation these men right at the peak of their performance. To my mind, that is one of the crying shames of the age—the fact that that sort of thing should be tolerated.

A man who has the opportunity to spend 30 years in the active practice of his profession—I am speaking particularly of engineers now—I talk about that because they certainly suffer most of all under this inequitable system. Why, my friends, there is a provision under this compulsory retirement system that permits 10 percent of veterinarians to be retained. Somebody told me that the Army had been mechanized, and therefore, cedtainly I would be justified in believing that the role of veterinarians would be somewhat reduced in importance to what it was at the time this law was passed. Yet, there is a provision for the retention of 10 percent of the veterinarians, doctors, chaplains, whose importance I won't minimize—or other medical services. But, no such provision is made for the retention of an engineer who has devoted 30 years of his life to learning the problems, and how to conquer those problems which lie within his province.

To my mind, it is time that something be done to bring in effect a cure of that situation. It is a tragic thing, not only to the taxpayer who has paid for the development and the training of that man, but it is a tragic thing to the man himself. At the age of 51 or 52 years, he finds himself forcibly separated from the service at a time when he is not being sought by industry because he

is over 45 years of age; the time when the only thing left to him is to go out and develop his own business from the ground up. That just doesn't make sense. It is time something was done about it. It is time that those of us who have the privilege of standing up in public and talking about that subject should present the facts on an inconsistent and indefensible situation.

The Chief Executive of this country ought to issue an executive order suspending the effect of that kind of compulsory retirement, during a time when the need for trained engineers is so great and the necessity is equally great for the development of public works—certainly the public works we are talking about are the very ones the Corps of Engineers and all other engineers are required to be interested in.

Some kind of provision must be made that the men who have 30 years of experience under their belt, who have acquired the know-how through the hard knocks of practical experience and who, for my part, are mere youngsters of 50 years, shall not be tossed into the discard. The idea of telling us that these fellows who graduated from West Point in 1926 or 1927 should now be forcibly retired strikes me as one of the most wasteful suggestions in many a year. Tonight, we ought to be thinking about that problem. We ought to be thinking about what we can do to make certain that the man who has just reached the peak of his performance shall be given the opportunity to continue to deliver the goods, in service to the American public.

As you consider that, think about what a crime it is to permit a reduction in the number of those actively practicing engineering. My attention was called this morning to an item that appeared in one of the morning papers which I thought might be interesting to you. It is entitled, "A Message from Moscow" and is quoted from the news agency Tass; "There were nearly four times as many engineers and technicians in Russia in 1952 as there were 25 years ago." It goes on to talk about the production of materials. The thing that struck me was that, over there, they are producing more and more engineers, and they are giving them the opportunity to serve. Over here, we are producing engineers, but when they reach the age of 51, 52, or 53 years, we say, "You may no longer serve. You have fulfilled your usefulness so far as the Corps of Engineers is concerned."

To my mind, that is something we ought to do something about.

Finally, I saw a quote the other day that I thought might bear repetition here tonight. If I sound to you like I am very enthusiastic over the opportunity that has been given me to be associated with General Berrigan, that is exactly the impression I want to leave with you. I would like to quote these few words from one of our great industrial leaders who spoke before a national forum just a few days ago. He was speaking about our general situation here in this country.

He said, "When I see our population doubling, and perhaps redoubling in a single century; when I see the standard of living rising all over the world; when I contemplate the enormous drain upon our natural resources in the coming century; when I witness man's first faltering steps in an atomic age; when I watch him seeking to penetrate outer space; when I see him trying to harness the rays of the sun; when I observe his determination to unlock (if he can) the ultimate secrets of the universe, such as the creation of matter out of energy; when I comprehend in short the boundlessness of his expectations, I do know one thing. The future is not for little men with little minds. It is not for men without vision, who fear progress. It is not for timid men who early were frightened by the story of Frankenstein. No. The future is for men who dare to have great expectations, and who, with the guidance and encouragement of all the people from whom they strive will also have the courage, the persistence, the wisdom, and the patience to transform those expectations into reality."

That ladies and gentlemen, is the kind of man Gen. Paul Berrigan has shown himself to be since the day he arrived in our midst.

Alabama Looks at Its Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD last week an article calling attention to the eighth annual observance of "Alabama Industry Days."

This Statewide observance from April 28 through May 4 put Alabama's industrial might on exhibit. It also afforded ample opportunity to review Alabama's rapid industrialization and the numerous economic advances which have resulted in recent years.

Expanding industry has revitalized our State's entire economy.

Alabama is fast becoming more urban than rural. But just as drought and insects once adversely affected the State's economy when it was based entirely on agriculture, other factors now sometimes cause changes in our industrial economy. However, our economy as a whole is now well balanced between agriculture and industry. In fact, industry itself is logically diversified in our State.

Alabama's present economy, therefore, is basically healthy and stable.

As an honest and forthright appraisal of our current economic condition, under leave heretofore granted, I insert in the RECORD an editorial from the Birmingham News, one of the South's greatest newspapers, entitled "Alabama Looks at Its Industry." The editorial appeared in the News on April 30, 1957:

ALABAMA LOOKS THIS WEEK AT ITS INDUSTRY

This week, April 28 through May 4, is being observed again throughout the State as Alabama Industry Days. Sponsored by the Associated Industries of Alabama, the University of Alabama, the Alabama Press Association, the Alabama Broadcasters Association, and the Alabama Junior Chamber of Commerce, this annual event is designed to help bring to all of our people a fuller understanding and appreciation of what industry means in our community and individual lives.

As in previous years, many Alabama manufacturing concerns this week are holding open house and conducting plant tours to give people an opportunity to see industry in action. In numerous cities and towns, retail merchants are featuring window and store displays, showing Alabama-made products. The story of Alabama industry and its progress is being given special emphasis by the press, radio, and television.

Alabamians will learn this week that industrial activity in the State is being maintained at a generally high level. The concensus of business leaders queried in a recent Associated Industries survey was that while 1957 will not be as good a year as 1956 in terms of profits, the volume of business will hold up satisfactorily.

Last year several of the State's major industries, notably steel, textiles and lumber, were beset with strikes and other temporary troubles, but even so total industrial activity, according to the University Bureau of Business Research, advanced over the previous year. Substantial gains, the bureau reported recently in its annual business survey, were made by many smaller but often faster-growing industrial lines. Impressive growth and vigor were shown by such industries as chemicals, aluminum, cement, machinery, transportation equipment, shipbuilding, and paper, pulp, and paperboard.

The rate of economic development varies in different years, but there are good reasons sustaining the belief that Alabama's industrial growth is continuing at a healthy pace. Our citizens will find much that is encouraging and gratifying in surveying the State's industrial scene during Alabama Industry Days.

Wilkesboro Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH J. SCOTT
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial taken from the Winston-Salem Journal, May 2, 1957:

THE WILKESBORO DAM

The new Army Corps of Engineers' report strongly recommending the Wilkesboro Dam plan for flood control on the Yadkin River should be approved by Congress. This would clear the way for action on an urgently needed flood control program in the upper Yadkin Basin which has been too long delayed.

The Wilkesboro project has been opposed by landowners having property in Wilkes and Caldwell Counties above the proposed dam site. They say it would inundate their land. The Corps' report takes cognizance of this opposition and says the dam now proposed has been designed to prevent any such inundation. Then the report compares the Wilkesboro Dam project with three alternate plans embracing multiple dams on tributaries to show that these projects are not economically feasible, because of high costs, and that they would provide less flood control and water resources benefits. The Wilkesboro project would cost much less, cover less ground, provide more benefits, be constructed much quicker, and cost less to operate and maintain.

The report re-emphasizes the urgent need for effective flood control in the Yadkin Valley. It shows that the annual average damage from floodwaters in the upper Yadkin Basin is $313,000. Industrial and commercial properties in the area subject to flooding exceeds $15 million, with a total employment of approximateley 2,000. The flood stage on the Wilkesboro gage is 12 feet, and from 1899 to 1955, this flood stage was equaled or exceeded in 6 years out of every 7. In the disastrous floods of 1940 the Wilkesboro gage reached 36.7 feet. Flood damage that year ran into the millions.

It seems obvious even to those not versed in hydraulic engineering that, in times of heavy rainfall in the mountainous terrain of Wilkes and Caldwell, the rapid and volumin-

ous flow of rain water down the hills of the Yadkin Valley could not be controlled by a few catch-basin dams on tributary streams. At such times much floodwater runs directly into the river. Small dams might well fit into an overall flood-control program, but some larger dams on the main river are essential for adequate regulation of stream flow.

The plan of the Army engineers is based on years of study. The Soil Conservation Service, which aided in a limited degree in the resurvey upon which the present corps report is based, says it neither agrees nor disagrees with the report findings. But an SCS study made in 1941 indicates that the small multiple dam plan would not afford adequate flood control for the valley.

Congress should accept the Wilkesboro Dam project as an important first step in the development of a comprehensive flood control, stream regulation, and water conservation program for the whole Yadkin Basin. In so doing it will prepare the way for the evolution of a State-Federal water control and use program which will protect not merely the interests of a few landowners in the valley, but the interests of all the 1,250,000 people who live in and near the Yadkin Basin in North Carolina.

Disabled American Veterans Oppose Veterans' Provisions of Housing Bill, H. R. 6659

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am including in the RECORD a letter addressed to me by the director of legislation of the Disabled American Veterans expressing opposition to the veterans' provisions of H. R. 6659. In this letter, the Disabled American Veterans has expressed opposition to the transfer of any part of the veterans' housing program from the Veterans' Administration to other agencies. The Disabled American Veterans is also opposed to using the trust fund of the national service life insurance program for the purchase of housing loans. The Disabled American Veterans' letter follows:

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS,
Washington, D. C., April 10, 1957.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TEAGUE: Your letter dated April 9, 1957, addressed to National Commander Joseph F. Burke, enclosing a copy of H. R. 6659 and requesting an expression of the views of this organization relative to the portion of the bill which affects the veterans' housing program, has been carefully considered.

Commander Burke is now in the Far West on official business and while he has not been consulted on the latest development in the matter of proposed legislation on the subject of housing for veterans I know from previous discussions with him and based on my knowledge of organization policy that I can speak for the commander on this important topic.

The Disabled American Veterans is opposed to H. R. 6659 and its provisions affecting veterans and their families and we cannot help but feel that the Banking and Currency Committee has infringed somewhat upon the jurisdictional prerogatives of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs in this matter. It seems to us that such a tendency, if followed to any notable extent by various congressional committees, could bring about a condition bordering on legislative chaos which would certainly not be to the advantage of veterandom. In other words, the DAV believes that your committee has and should be permitted to retain jurisdiction over proposed legislation affecting veterans and their dependents. This organization is opposed to raising the interest rate or attaining such result by indirection, opposed to using any part of the NSLI fund for housing loans or other extraneous purposes, and we are flatly against any move that would transfer functions of the Veterans' Administration to other agencies. Attached for your ready references are copies of my letter to you dated April 5, 1957, and my wire to Chairman Brent Spence of April 2, 1957.

Sincerely yours,
OMER W. CLARK,
National Director of Legislation.

Thomas E. Murray, Member of the Atomic Energy Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I would call to the attention of Members of the House an editorial which appeared in the New York Journal-American of Thursday, May 2, in which the publishers of that great newspaper express the hope that the President will reappoint Thomas E. Murray as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The editorial very wisely points out that "the members of this Commission, important as it is to our national security, should be men of the highest integrity, intellectual courage, and specialized knowledge."

The editorial refers to a letter which 10 members of the joint congressional Committee on Atomic Energy directed to the President urging the reappointment of Mr. Murray. As one of the signers of this letter, I would like to make it clear, as I have already done on the floor of the House, that we were not acting in an official committee capacity, but as individual Members who were aware of Mr. Murray's great contribution to our atomic energy program. Being among those Members of Congress who by our position on the joint committee follow this program most closely, we believe, as the Journal-American editorial states, that it is "in the interests of the common good to have on the Atomic Energy Commission a man of Mr. Murray's experience, brilliance, and honesty."

Thomas Murray has never permitted political considerations to interfere with his work on the Commission. His efforts have always been directed toward what he believed to be for the good of his country.

I certainly join the Journal-American in expressing the hope that the President will reappoint Mr. Murray.

The editorial to which I refer follows:

THOMAS E. MURRAY

The Atomic Energy Commission is a supremely important agency. This being so, its members should be men of the highest integrity, intellectual courage, and specialized knowledge to direct this Nation's nuclear development both for security in war and its uses in peace.

In our opinion Thomas E. Murray fulfills all these conditions.

Nor are we alone in that belief.

A letter has just been made public urging President Eisenhower to reappoint Commissioner Murray, whose term expires June 30. The letter was signed by all 10 Democratic members of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee and 1 Republican, Representative JAMES T. PATTERSON, of Connecticut. We think it reflects the views of many Americans.

There is a growing feeling in Washigton that Commissioner Murray will not be reappointed. The reasons for that opinion seem to be that he is a Democrat, that he is a holdover from the Truman administration, that he has become known as a dissenter and sometimes has opposed the policies of the present administration.

None of these reasons is valid.

As the letter signed by the Atomic Energy committeemen points out, Mr. Murray has never permitted political considerations to get in the way of "the common good of the United States."

His dissenting has always been in the direction of what he believes the common good to be.

In this connection we offer an excerpt from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 18, this year. Mr. Murray was credited by Representatives JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, and CHET HOLIFIELD, of California, as having been largely responsible for the development of the small A-weapons program, to which majority opinion was at first skeptical or indifferent.

We have not always been in agreement with Mr. Murray's views, nor have the Congressmen who support his reappointment. But we would like to ask: Is it not in the interest of the common good to have on the Atomic Energy Commission a man of his experience, brilliance, and honesty? Is not dissent by such a man often of more value than acquiescence?

It is our hope the prevailing feeling in Washington is wrong. It is our hope the President will reappoint Mr. Murray.

Fifteenth Anniversary of the Military District of Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Military District of Washington, United States Army, observed its 15th anniversary. Because of the holiday, the district is celebrating the anniversary today.

It is fitting and appropriate at this time for this House to recognize the responsibilities and accomplishments which the Military District of Washington has achieved over the past 15 years.

Although small in area, the district is responsible for many vitally important Army units, installations, and ceremonial functions in and around the Capital.

Headed by Maj. Gen. John G. Van Houten, the Military District of Washington is primarily responsible for the defense of metropolitan Washington and the extensive needs of the Department of Defense.

Military and civilian personnel working within the district should be thanked on this occasion for the faithful performance of their duties which have contributed greatly to the success of the command.

The installations within the command have demonstrated their interest in local community activities and have been responsible for establishing a feeling of mutual understanding between the military and civilian population.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I am happy to submit the following report of MDW's responsibilities for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

MDW To CELEBRATE 15TH ANNIVERSARY MAY 5

The Military District of Washington (MDW) will observe its 15th anniversary on May 5. Organized under that designation in 1942, it was established solely to meet the needs of the Nation's Capital. Before coming into being 15 years ago several other organizations existed from time to time but were more limited in scope and authority.

Today, MDW as it is commonly known, has two specific functions:

To provide a well-organized and responsible support in defense of the Capital in the event of an emergency, and

To perform the numerous services required by the Department of the Army in the Washington area.

Commanded by Maj. Gen. John G. Van Houten, MDW is limited geographically, but within this small area many installations, activities, and units of differing characteristics exist.

With its headquarters in building T-7 at Gravelly Point, (a 5-minute walk from Washington National Airport), MDW includes 6 counties in Virginia: Arlington, Fairfax, Prince William, Stafford, King George, and Westmoreland; 5 in Maryland: Calvert, Charles, Montgomery, Prince Georges, and St. Marys—including the District of Columbia.

Installations under MDW command include Fort Myer (home of the Army Chief of Staff Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, and Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Nathan F. Twining); Fort Lesley J. McNair, located in southwest Washington (home of the National War College and the Industrial College of the Armed Forces); and Cameron Station in Alexandria, Va., charged with the shipping of Government property, packing, crating, and shipping the household effects belonging to Armed Forces personnel. Also located here are a number of small technical units.

In addition, the headquarters is responsible for the First Arctic Test Center stationed in the far north at Fort Churchill, Manitoba, Canada, and has courts-martial jurisdiction over all military attachés abroad.

MDW's responsibilities are basically similar to those of the six continental Army commands. Its special responsibilities involve the Department of the Army and various other Government agencies.

Not to be confused with military districts established in all States and the District of Columbia which are charged with the administration of Reserve and National Guard recruiting activities, MDW is, for the most part, not directly concerned with these activities.

Some of the more important functions, as far as the public and the Capital are concerned, involve the Army's oldest regiment, the 3d "Old Guard" Infantry Regiment with headquarters at Fort Myer, and a battalion at Fort McNair.

This famous regiment is the ceremonial honor guard for the President and as such leads the inaugural parades. The 3d also participates in receptions for foreign dignitaries visiting Washington. Arrangements for arrivals and departures, which involve split-second timing, security measures, and traffic control—all rest on MDW.

One of the most impressive duties which soldiers of the 3d Infantry perform is the constant vigil at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Here specially selected men pace before the tomb night and day, rain or shine, 24 hours a day, 365 days a year.

Tens of thousands every year witness the changing of the guard at the tomb which occurs every hour on the hour.

The 3d is also responsible for honor guards in military funerals held at Arlington National Cemetery, the burial place of the Nation's heroes.

The United States Army Band—one of the country's outstanding military bands—makes it headquarters at Fort Meyer as does the newly created United States Army Chorus. MDW is responsible for the activities of both groups.

MDW, through its Headquarters Commandant, administers the vast complex operation of the world's largest office building—the Pentagon. It supervises the internal security guard forces of this and seven other defense building in the Washington area.

It also provides support for the capital's antiaircraft defense groups, the Army Map Service, the Army Command and Management School, the White House Motor Pool, and the White House Communications Center which receives and transmits information of the greatest importance to this country and the free world.

Under MDW control is the Third Transportation Co. (helicopter) stationed at Davison United States Army Airfield, adjoining Fort Belvoir. The Army aircraft at Davison range from small to large helicopters, from L-19 fixed-wing planes to multiengine Army planes.

Despite these many and varied functions, the Military District of Washington exists primarily to met Washington's defense needs. This is symbolized by its patch—the Washington Monument crossed by a large two-handed sword, an emblem of protection.

In the field of community relations, MDW has during the past year participated in a variety of programs aimed at bringing the Army and the public closer toegther for the betterment of mutual understanding.

Sunday ceremony parades, initiated by this headquarters to honor deserving national organizations, opened the summer season on April 15. The honored organization was the Daughters of the American Revolution, an organization with a membership of 182,000. A citation was presented to the DAR by the commanding general, MDW, honoring the society's high patriotic aims and achievements.

On April 18 the second in the series, honoring 4 Congressmen, veterans of World War II, was staged before a distinguished assemblage, including some 100 Members of the Senate and House. Secretary of Army Brucker highlighted the ceremony with the presentation of the Bronze Star Medals to the Congressmen veterans.

On May 6, 18,000 Girl Scouts were present at Fort Myer on the occasion of MDW's salute to their organization.

More than 60 nations were represented on June 3 when the Military District of Washington honored the military attachés of all embassies in Washington. Approximately 130 military attachés, their families, other embassy personnel and the general public attended.

On June 10, Eric Johnston, representing the motion-picture industry, received the salute of the troops in a parade honoring the Motion Picture Association of America.

Organizations so honored at the 3d Infantry Regiment's Sunday parades for the 1956 season are as follows:

April 15, Daughters of the American Revolution.
April 18, congressional award ceremony.
April 22, Inter-American Defense Board.
April 23, National Security Training Commission.
April 29, normal retirement.
May 6, Girl Scouts of America.
May 13, award of DSC.
May 27, normal retirement.
June 3, military attachés.
June 10, Motion Picture Association of America.
June 17, 4-H Clubs.
June 24, general officers retirement.
July 1, Armed Services Hospitality Committee.
July 15, Legion of Valor.
July 22, American Legion Boys Nation.
July 29, Chaplains Corps.
July 31, general officers retirement.
August 5, Kiwanis.
August 12, battalion retreat parade.
August 19, normal retirement.
August 26, regimental retreat parade.

The above ceremonies were in addition to routine retirement parades, both at Forts Meyer and McNair. In connection with retirement ceremonies, the most notable was the retirement of General Gruenther at Fort McNair. It is believed these parades admirably serve in fulfilling community relations objectives in a most effective way.

FORT CHURCHILL

Easily the highlight of the period was the International Geophysical Year rocketry project at Fort Churchill which ran through October and November. Approximately 230 visitors from all parts of the United States visited the rocket-launching site each day from August 13 to August 20. An officer was appointed to tell the visitors of the difficulties encountered during construction of the rocket site. Also, an officer from the IGY project talked to the visitors, telling them what the scientists hope to gain from the rocketry program. This program was established so that Fort Churchill could show, at least to a small portion of the American public, what the United States Army is doing away from the United States.

SPEAKERS

In line with the Chief of Staff's desire for maximum emphasis on "selling the Army" through the medium of officers qualified to speak before the public on the Army's programs, problems, and achievements, letters were sent to more than 40 representative civic, patriotic, professional and luncheon organizations in the Washington Metropolitan area, informing them of the availability of qualified speakers and the loan of selected Army films obtainable from MDW headquarters. As a result of these 40 queries, 37 speaking engagements were booked.

The most popular of the films loaned to various organizations were the "Nike Guards the Nation's Capital," "Diary of a Sergeant," "Guided Missiles," and "Military Use of Helicopters."

In addition to performing the normal duties required of any military headquarters, MDW provided full military honors for 2,267 funerals; 65 VIP arrivals and departures, 115 wreath-laying ceremonies; and 420 miscellaneous public events and ceremonies in 1956.

Address by Hon. John W. McCormack at the Democratic Banquet, National Guard Armory, Washington, D. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK], delivered an outstanding address at the Democratic banquet held at the National Guard Armory here in Washington last Saturday evening. In this address Mr. McCORMACK outlined forcibly and succinctly the real political issues of the day and he demonstrated by concrete examples the total lack of unity in the ranks of the Republican Party.

The full text of this fine speech follows:

We are honored and so glad to have with us this evening a great Democrat, a fighting Democrat, a man who steered our ship of state with vision, with firmness, with courage, a man who will go down in history as one of the great Americans of all times, our valued friend, former President Harry S. Truman.

Harry S. Truman assumed the grave responsibility of Chief Executive of our country, and the leader of the Free World on the death of another great American—the immortal Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The great humanitarian, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, gave to our country the leadership of hope and confidence that rehabilitated our country economically, politically and idealistically, from the depths of despair of the greatest depression of all times.

He also gave to our country the vision that saw and thwarted the evil designs of Hitler and nazism. He gave to the country and to the world the leadership that brought about victory in World War II.

The Democratic Party can point with justifiable pride to Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his great contributions in time of peace and in time of war.

Upon his death, Harry S. Truman assumed the office of President, and was elected in his own right in 1948 after one of the most amazing and spectacular campaigns in the political history of America.

During his service, the world faced with the menace of atheistic communism, Harry S. Truman met and faced the problems of his period of service in stopping and containing communism, in building America internally, and with a vision and courage that marks him as one of the greatest Americans of all times.

The world knew that while he was President, Harry S. Truman made his own decisions. The Communist and non-Communist world knew that when he made a decision, Harry S. Truman meant it.

There was no shifting from day to day or week to week on his part in the foreign policy of our country. He was firm without bullying. He was definite, consistent, courageous in his leadership, and in the making of policy in our national interest and in the carrying out of that policy.

During his service as President, the one man in the world that the evil-minded men in the Kremlin respected because they feared him, was Harry S. Truman.

Like Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic Party can point with justifiable pride to Harry S. Truman, the courageous President.

And Wednesday next, May 8, is his birthday anniversary.

I know I express your sentiments and those of millions of others in extending our congratulations to President Truman and in wishing him and Mrs. Truman many, many more years of continued happiness.

There are countless millions of Americans who wish we had Harry S. Truman, or one like him, in the White House today.

The 1956 campaign made political history in America. The political phenomenon was the election of a Republican President and a Democratic Congress.

Our candidate for President, Gov. Adlai Stevenson, made a great campaign, a courageous one, based on intellectual honesty. He avoided no issue. He stated his position clearly. He stuck by his position despite the political distortion of his views by the Republican campaigners. His intellectual honesty in discussing issues that others would avoid was an education to the American people of a beneficial nature. For example, his courage in stating his position on the indescribably destructive nuclear bombs, which position was distorted for votes by the opposition, was an illustration of the statesmanlike manner in which he conducted his campaign.

While he failed of election, he emerged therefrom the real victor, enjoying the respect and confidence of the American people.

For we now see his views, so courageously stated, deliberately distorted during the campaign by the Republican high command, are now being adopted by the present administration as the policy of our Government.

On a straight political level between the 2 great political parties, the results of the 1956 campaign show that the people prefer the Democratic Party over our political opposition.

We can look forward with confidence to a great Democratic victory in 1958 on the National, State, and local levels, and a complete victory in 1960 with the election of a Democratic President. There are definite signs why we can make that forecast. With a Republican President, the Democratic Congress on the national level is giving our country the visionary and constructive leadership so necessary for our national interest in the field of foreign affairs and for our best interest in the field of domestic affairs.

With Democratic Presidents of recent past—the Republican Party—even when in control of Congress, was a mere party of blind opposition.

That is not the intended and proper role of a political party under constitutional government. With a Republican President, the Democratic Party in Congress has performed its intended and proper duties—of constructively supporting when in agreement, and constructively opposing when in disagreement.

The people are aware of this leadership and approve it.

The Democratic Party is the part of progress—the party of the people. It is generally known, and growing rapidly, that big business and those who favor tight money conditions are the hidden and actual forces in control of our Government.

The economic groups and millions of Americans who are discriminated against and adversely affected by this nonelected hidden control—for example, the farmers, the small-businessmen, the homeowners, those who want our great public resources protected from selfish, private exploitation, and others—know they can only look to the Democratic Party to bring to them the consideration and the justice to which they are entitled. Before this Congress is over, under democratic leadership, legislation beneficial to them will be enacted into law.

Another sign is the evident fact that the Republican Party is sharply divided—that it is splitting into bitter groups and factions—incapable of giving the country responsible leadership so necessary in this trying period.

It is plain now that the old guarad and the Republican isolationists are no longer hibernating—they are no longer underground. It is also evident that a bitter fight for control of the Republican Party machinery with a view to the next Republican National Convention is going on and that the evidenced skirmishes of today will become the bitter battles of tomorrow, and this is most unfortunate at a time when national unity is vitally important.

As the people more and more realize this fact—appreciating that with such sharp division there cannot be responsible leadership in the Republican Party—and that the Democratic Party is giving responsible leadership, they will more and more turn to the Democratic Party as the party of responsible leadership and action.

For the Democratic Party is more organically united today than it has been for years—and that organic unity will grow and grow between now and the elections of 1958 and later—the presidential election of 1960.

In connection with this we must encourage in every way possible the organization work on the precinct level, the building up of all elements of the party, and particularly the building up of the women's organization, and, of vital importance, the building up of the Young Democratic organization and the attraction to our party of the youth of America.

On the question of the split in the Republican Party and its inability to function and serve the people in a responsible manner, pertinent and powerful evidence exists in support of the same.

For the rollcall records of the House for this session to date shows that the Republican Members of Congress are not supporting the recommendations of the President of the United States, the leader of their party.

It is very evident from a number of rollcalls in the House of Representatives that on recommendations made by the President, the great majority of his party are voting against him. In other words, the President goes one way—and the majority of his party in Congress goes the other way.

On April 4, 1957, rollcall No. 38 shows $204,000 was stricken from the budget estimate of the President in relation of the Office of Solicitor in the Department of Labor. This amount was necessary to carry out organic legislation of a beneficial nature. On that vote 241 Members voted in favor of the reduction and 171 against it. A breakdown of this rollcall shows that that 88 Democrats voted for the reduction and 129 Democrats against it. On the other hand, 153 Republicans voted for the reduction and only 42 against it. A vote against the reduction was a vote to support the budget estimate of the President.

On the same day, rollcall No. 40 was a vote on reducing the President's budget estimate by $136,000 in connection with carrying out laws relating to veterans' reemployment rights. That motion to reduce was defeated by a vote of 275 to 137, but the rollcall vote is very interesting on the Republican support in the House of Representatives of the recommendation of their leader. For the rollcall vote saw that only 30 Democrats voted for the reduction and 187 against. On the other hand, 107 Republicans voted for the reduction and 88 against.

On the same day there was another rollcall vote, No. 41, involving a reduction of $442,000 from the President's budget estimate for the Bureau of Employment Security. That reduction carried by a vote of 214 to 205. The rollcall breakdown shows that 72 Democrats voted for the reduction and 150 Democrats voted against it. On the other hand, 142 Republicans voted for the reduction and

against President Eisenhower's recommendation, and only 55 voted against it.

On the same day, rollcall No. 42 was an amendment to reduce grants to States for unemployment compensation by $12,186,000. That motion carried by a vote of 220 to 200. A breakdown of the voted shows that 64 Democrats voted for the reduction and 159 voted against it. There were 156 Republicans who voted for the reduction and only 41 against it.

On the same day there was rollcall No. 45 to reduce the appropriation for the Bureau of Labor Statistics by a sum of $346,000. That motion carried by a vote of 217 to 201. The breakdown shows that 83 Democrats voted for the reduction and 139 against, but 134 Republicans voted for the reduction and 62 against.

On rollcall No. 46, which was a motion to reduce by $21,000 the appropriation for the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor, this motion was defeated by a vote of 210 to 206. Its breakdown shows 61 Democrats voted for the reduction and 161 against. The rollcall vote shows 145 Republicans voted for the reduction and only 49 against.

On the same day there was rollcall No. 47 to reduce appropriations for the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor in the sum of $288,000. This is a very important activity. This motion carried by a vote of 214 to 205. The breakdown shows 72 Democrats voted for the reduction, and 150 Democrats voted against it. It shows that 142 Republicans voted for the reduction and only 55 against it.

Rollcall No. 49 was a motion to reduce in the sum of $1,482,000 appropriations for the Office of Education. If this had carried, appropriations in connection with the retarded and exceptional children of our country would have been wiped out. This motion to reduce was defeated by 1 vote, 207 to 206. The rollcall shows that 73 Democrats voted for the reduction and 146 voted against it. It also shows that 133 Republicans voted for the reduction and only 61 against it.

Rollcall No. 50 on the same day was a motion to strike out $50 million recommended by the President for grants to States in connection with the control of the pollution of our rivers and streams. This was defeated by a vote of 231 to 185. The rollcall shows that 35 Democrats voted for the reduction, but 186 Democrats voted against it. On this important rollcall 150 Republicans voted for the reduction and against their party leader's recommendation, and only 45 Republicans voted against it.

On April 17, 1957, there was roll call No. 64 which is a very interesting one which involves the field of foreign affairs. The bill making appropriations for the State Department was before the House. A motion was made to reduce the appropriation for contributions to international organizations in the sum of $7,039,958. That motion was defeated by a vote of 205 to 156. A breakdown of the roll call is very interesting—showing that 68 Democrats voted for the reduction and 131 voted against it. On the other hand, 98 Republicans voted for the reduction against their party leader's recommendation, and only 74 voted against it.

These series of roll call completely support the fact that the Republican Party is split—that the Republicans in Congress are not supporting their party leader, who is the President of the United States, and that the people cannot look to the Republican Party for responsible leadership. The evidence clearly shows that the constructive actions are on the part of the Democratic Party in Congress and that it is the party of responsibility.

We read in the papers in recent days that President Eisenhower, upon his return from his recent vacation in Georgia, was going to the country to fight for his budget recommendations. Instead of going to the country to fight for his budget recommendations, I might suggest that what the President should do, based upon actual roll call records, is to try and gain control of his own party in Congress, and to stop members of his own cabinet from rebelling against him.

It was only a few months ago that the Republicans under the leadership of Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, and the President remaining silent when he should have acted, that they thought they were politically smart. The trap was set for the Democrats in the President's budget but it has closed the teeth on the Republicans.

They were just too smart for their own good.

The leader of the Republican Party, as President, realizes that he must now go to the people in an effort to prevent a too sharp reduction in his budget recommendation and particularly in the field of foreign assistance. As political leader he let things drift; now as President he belatedly realizes that the situation has gotten beyond his control and he must fight to try to get back control of the situation.

But the roll call votes in the House of Representatives clearly show that the fight is in his own party, starting with the Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey. It will be interesting to see how successful the President will be in having his party in the Congress follow him.

The country is witnessing a President deserted by the great majority of his own party in the Congress. The country is watching the spectacle of this desertion by his own party at the outset of the President's second term, with the rebellion in his own party started by his own Secretary of Treasury. If any member of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's or Harry S. Truman's cabinet had done that, they would not have long remained a member of their cabinets.

It is fortunate that the country has a Democratic Congress at this time.

So, with the constructive action of the Democratic Party—coupled with the fueding and the lack of unity in the Republican Party—and with the fact that despite a Republican President the people can only look to the Democratic Party for responsible leadership—the prediction can be made with confidence of a great Democratic victory in 1958—and a complete victory with the election of a Democratic President in 1960.

Anthracite Week Proclamation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following proclamation by Mayor Luther M. Kniffen, of Wilkes-Barre declaring the week of May 6 through 11 to be set aside as Anthracite Week:

ANTHRACITE WEEK PROCLAMATION

Whereas the continuing welfare of this area depends upon the production of anthracite; and

Whereas greater Wilkes-Barre proudly continues its status as the anthracite capital of the world; and

Whereas high anthracite payrolls and high anthracite tonnage figures reflect the success of the community; and

Whereas anthracite is a clean, economical, and efficient fuel; Now, therefore,

I, Luther M. Kniffen, mayor of the city of Wilkes-Barre do declare the week of May 6 through 11 to be set aside as Anthracite Week, and I call upon the community to reflect the benefits of the anthracite industry which accrue to themselves individually and to the community collectively, and wherever possible and expedient to buy, burn, and boost anthracite.

LUTHER M. KNIFFEN, *Mayor.*

American Legion Opposes Veterans' Provisions of Housing Bill, H. R. 6659

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 6659, reported by the House Banking and Currency Committee and titled "The Housing Act of 1957," creates a veterans' housing program in FHA. It contains several amendments to the veterans' housing program under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, which is under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. H. R. 6659 also proposes to amend the National Service Life Insurance Act and use a part of the reserve fund of the national service life insurance program for investment in FHA veterans' preference 5 percent loans. The National Service Life Insurance Act is under the jurisdiction of the Veterans' Affairs Committee. The Veterans' Affairs Committee considered and rejected the proposals to use a portion of the national service life insurance fund for purchase of veterans' home mortgages early in the session.

The American Legion has expressed its opposition to the veterans' provisions of H. R. 6659. The position of the American Legion is outlined in the following letter which I have received:

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
April 9, 1957.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman, House Veterans' Affairs Committee, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN TEAGUE: The American Legion is deeply concerned over H. R. 6659, introduced on April 4, 1957, by Congressman SPENCE, after having been reported by the House Banking and Currency Committee. As you know, this act would be known as the Housing Act of 1957.

I realize this bill was not reported by the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, but I respectfully submit that the provisions of the bill, if enacted, will alter, change, or affect the veterans' housing program created by legislation over which your committee has jurisdiction.

The American Legion opposes any transfer of a veterans' program from the Veterans' Administration to the Federal Housing Administration. We believe also that all veterans would object to national service life insurance funds being used to underwrite or subsidize either VA or FHA programs at a 5 percent interest rate when their own program was turned down for a 5 percent interest rate. This could hardly be considered as consistent.

We realize this bill will not come before the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, but we do urgently request your help in protecting the Veterans' Administration program when H. R. 6659 is considered on the floor of the House.

Thanking you for any consideration you can extend to my request and with warm regards, I am,

Sincerely,

W. C. "DAN" DANIEL.

Food for Thought

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, a young constitutent of mine wrote to me recently about a problem which is plaguing a good many adult minds today—the question of continuing United States economic aid to other countries. Because Mary's question, in varying forms, is repeated so frequently in my daily mail, I am publishing my answer to her letter, feeling that it may be of general interest and may serve to offset some of the misinformation being circulated as the House prepares to take up the President's foreign aid program. Here is what I wrote to Mary:

DEAR MARY: It is certainly nice to have a letter from you and I shall do my best to answer the question you asked me. You would like to know why it is that this wonderful country of ours helps other countries by giving them food for their poor people when we ourselves in the United States need food as much as the other countries do.

Well, Mary, I think I can guess at what has prompted you to ask this question. You are probably thinking that the United States should first take care of its own needy before caring for those of other lands. But this, my dear, is exactly what your country has done.

First, let me explain that we in the United States are blessed with an overabundance of food, more than we can ever possibly hope to consume. Across the Nation, our storehouses are fairly bursting with wheat and other grains, with butter, meat and pork products, and with a great many other food commodities that can be preserved and stored. These are what you hear referred to as our "surplus foods."

It is these surpluses—for which we have no domestic markets big enough to exhaust them—that force down the prices our farmers receive for what they raise and this creates hard times for our farm families. So then, you might ask, why don't we just sell these surpluses to the foreign countries and let them feed their own people?

The chief answer to this is that these nations do not have United States dollars to pay for the foodstuffs they might wish to buy, while our American producers are unwilling to accept other nations' currency because it has no purchasing power in this country. In other words, you could not spend this foreign money at the corner store as you would our own nickels, dimes, and quarters.

So to help our own farmers to receive better prices for their products; to have this surplus food serve a useful purpose instead of going to waste and having to be destroyed; to aid the hungry people of many lands, including our own, and to save underprivileged countries from the false promises of communism to which people are sometimes tempted to turn when they are desperate and starving; to accomplish all these good things, your Congress, a few years ago, set up what is called the surplus food-distribution program.

This program authorizes the President of the United States, at his discretion, to use our surpluses to relieve hunger wherever it exists in the world.

But your Congress did not stop here, Mary. Or perhaps it would be more correct to say that it didn't just begin here. Because Congress first provided that the wants of our own people must be met before any food is sent abroad.

That is why we have, today, a school-lunch program in every one of our 48 States—a program that provides hot, nourishing meals daily to millions of American schoolchildren throughout the school year. And it is also why our charitable institutions and State welfare agencies are able to distribute tons and tons of free food annually to our own needy.

It might surprise you to know that just in the first 9 months of this fiscal year, from July 1, 1956, to March 31, 1957, West Virginia has received 5,800,000 pounds of surplus food for its school-lunch program; 2,900,000 pounds have been consumed in our State charitable institutions; and 22,900,000 pounds have been distributed to our needy through our State public-assistance program.

What do these surplus foods consist of? Included in the list are: Wheat flour and cornmeal; dairy products such as butter, cheese, and dry milk; pork products such as canned ham, pork in gravy, and luncheon meat; dried beans, rice, and fresh prunes; cottonseed oil, lard, shortening, and some sweetpotatoes. People can manage to subsist fairly well on the menus this list will provide.

So you see, Mary, we must never jump to conclusions, nor always believe all that we read and hear discussed until we have taken the trouble, as you have in this instance, to find out the facts for ourselves.

This great Nation of ours does, indeed, hold out a helping hand to hungry people of other lands—as I am sure you are proud and happy to have your country do. But let us never forget that at the same time that we give this aid to others, we are also serving our own interests. For by stamping out want and suffering wherever we find it, we help to prevent war as we prove to the world that democracy really works for all people.

That is what I have written to Mary, a young person who will one day have to uphold the ideals and traditions of our Nation as we do today. There are, of course, many other vital factors which must be taken into account as we weigh the pluses and minuses of the costly programs of foreign aid we have carried on since the end of World War II.

These programs have by no means been devoid of self-interest. They have contributed immeasurably to our own security and economic advancement. We must surely realize by now that our two oceans no longer present impenetrable barriers against Communist aggression and attack; and that since we must have a world market for the things we produce—or face an even worse economic depression than the one we experienced in the 1930's—we would not long survive as a free nation surrounced by hostile Communist satellites.

These are the unhappy facts we must face as Congress takes up the foreign-aid program for fiscal 1958. Nonetheless, it would seem to me that a more modest-aid program, accompanied by a sound foreign policy, wisely and temperately administered, is in order. For the American taxpayer cannot indefinitely continue to support the tremendous burden of the foreign military and economic aid programs we are presently carrying.

As Mary might have put it: How long shall we continue to help the people of other countries when we need some of this help for ourselves?

Customs Supervision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks I include a memorandum in justification of the proposed bill which is designed to prevent undue relaxation of customs supervision. In my extension of remarks, I also include a copy of the bill which I have introduced. The purpose of this bill is to more effectively protect the American people against the extensive smuggling into our country that is being carried on. This has particular reference to the smuggling into our country of narcotics, with its undermining effect. The passage of the bill will also have an important effect upon increased tariffs of our Government. In other words, the purpose of this bill is (1) to prevent smuggling; and (2) to enforce the tariff laws of our country.

The memorandum follows:

MEMORANDUM IN JUSTIFICATION OF BILL I HAVE INTRODUCED TODAY WHICH PREVENTS UNDUE RELAXATION OF CUSTOMS SUPERVISION

The primary purpose of the amendment proposed is to define more clearly the scope of administrative discretion to provide customs supervision of export-import activities which are by law subject to such supervision.

The need for the amendatory definition proposed has been made apparent by the way in which the Treasury Department and the Bureau of Customs have interpreted section 22 of the Customs Simplification Act of 1953. They have assumed a discretion to curtail essential supervisory functions which the law does not give. The actions taken thus far stand as a threat to survival of traditional safeguards heretofore deemed mandatory under the law. The integrity of those safeguards must be restored.

The section in question added a new provision to the tariff laws entitled "Customs Supervision" (sec. 646 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, 19 U. S. C. 1646a). It was enacted for the specific purpose of relieving the Treasury from having to change existing practice under the marking and comparable provisions of the law so as to conform to outstanding court decisions which had held such practices not in compliance with the supervision requirement.

It was made clear by both Houses that the limited purpose and intent of section 22 was to validate certain existing practices of which the Members of Congress had been informed in the course of hearings on the

section. Both the House and the Senate reported the section in the same wording it contained when introduced at the instance of the Treasury Department and when subsequently enacted. The Senate Committee on Finance stated on July 6, 1953 (S. Rept. 632 on H. R. 5877, 83d Cong., at p. 16):

"Section 22 adds a new provision to the Tariff Act of 1930 to permit the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to determine the degree of supervision by customs officers over activities which are required to be carried out under customs supervision. According to Treasury experts this ratifies and confirms existing practice. In many instances it has been impossible, because of limited budget and manpower, for the Treasury to conform rigidly to the laws interpreted by the courts as requiring constant and specific supervision of certain importing processes. By allowing a more efficient distribution of manpower this provision would make possible better supervision than is presently possible."

And on July 9, 1953, the House Committee on Ways and Means reported the provision with the following statement (H. R. Rept. 760 on H. R. 5877, 83d Cong., at p. 20):

"This section ratifies and confirms existing practice. It does not authorize relaxation of any safeguards against smuggling."

It is certain therefore that the Members of Congress intended by section 22 merely to confirm and ratify by statute the existing administrative practice in providing less than continuous Customs supervision for certain types of import activities ony. It is equally certain that the new provision was not intended as a partial repealer of long-standing statutory provisions requiring direct and immediate supervision and inspection by Customs of those activities most likely to involve danger of smuggling and frauds upon the revenue.

The foregoing definite statements of a legislative purpose to confirm existing practice, as disclosed by testifying "Treasury experts" to the Members of Congress, were made against a background of overt disclaimer by such experts of any thought of using the new section as authority for changes in practice with respect to customs supervision. More particularly, Treasury officials acquiesced emphatically in the stated position that section 22 was not a blanket provision to relax generally the degree of supervision required by law in connection with customs procedures. It would operate, they insisted, only to preserve such intermittent supervision as was already practiced with respect to marking and comparable activities which were directly affected by the adverse court decisions intended to be nullified by the new section. This appears most forcefully from the following colloquy on section 22 which occurred during the testimony given in 1951 hearings before the House Ways and Means Committee on the Customs Simplification Act (H. R. 1535, 82d Cong., August 8, 1951) at pages 183, 185–187:

"Mr. NICHOLS (Assistant General Counsel, Treasury Department). * * * The purpose * * * of this section is to ratify existing practice, and there is no immediate intention to effect any changes in existing practice.

* * * * *

"Mr. MILLS. Mr. Nichols, in the analysis, on page 40 you point out, 'For example, section 304 (c),' etc. I can well understand that it is not necessary or it should not be required that a man continue in supervision over the proper marking of goods after importation, but your use of the words 'For example' would lead me to believe that there are other situations where you are now required to keep a man in constant supervision of certain operations and certain acts under court decisions that you are attempting to remove here.

"Now, what are some of the other situations?

"Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Johnson will answer that.

"Mr. JOHNSON (Assistant to the Commissioner of Customs). The only court decisions we have are these two particular ones, but the supervision situations are numerous.

"For example, there is supervision of unlading a ship, that is, the taking off of the goods. Now, we feel that the supervision of the unlading, for example, of an oil tanker is very different from the unlading of a ship carrying packaged merchandise. The tanker needs a preliminary inspection, and then occasional visits to see that the cargo is going off in the normal fashion; whereas, for a package ship a man must be there to inspect every sling of packages that comes off the ship.

"Mr. MILLS. That is what I was getting at. You do not intend to relax the constant supervision in such a situation as the latter?

"Mr. JOHNSON. No, sir; but we do feel that adequate supervision of marking is merely such attendance of customs officers as will assure that the goods that were imported were all actually marked.

"Mr. MILLS. I can understand that.

"Mr. JOHNSON. The segregation of commingled merchandise, which we talked about earlier, is again something that does not require the constant presence of a customs officer.

"Mr. MILLS. But this relaxation would not mean that there would not be someone constantly in supervision—let me say it as we say it in Arkansas—of the unloading of a ship, where there are many and divers packages and items involved? You would still have constant supervision there?

"Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. And may I state, sir, that this does not propose any actual relaxation at all. It merely requests confirmation of the practice that has always existed, and which has been disapproved by the court in these two cases.

* * * * *

"Mr. NICHOLS. * * * I wanted to say, to clarify the question of changing existing practices, that we have no plan in mind to change existing practice with respect to the supervision required with respect to the marking requirements, or any other requirements. Obviously, we cannot see into the future and be sure that commercial practices will always remain the same, or, for that matter, that the legal requirements that we are enforcing in connection with this supervision will always remain the same.

"Mr. MILLS. Let me ask you a question right on this point, that I have been interested in for a long time.

"When shipments come from a country that engages in the legal traffic of opium and dope, and other items that are illegal in the United States, do you very carefully scrutinize the unloading and contents of such packages as may be on the ship from those countries?

"Mr. JOHNSON. We have a little informal terminology, in which we designate certain ships as 'hot' ships, and others just go without that designation.

* * * * *

"Mr. MILLS. And this section of the bill would not mean any relaxation or any letup in close supervision in those kinds of cases?

"Mr. JOHNSON. This has absolutely no relationship to enforcement work.

"Mr. MILLS. I knew in my own mind it did not, but I wanted the record to so indicate.

"Mr. COOPER. The fact is that nobody and nothing can come into this country without complying with the law of this country.

"Mr. NICHOLS. That is correct.

* * * * *

"Mr. KING. Who has the responsibility of supervising a ship's personnel when they leave the ship?

"Mr. JOHNSON. That is customs, sir. The customs mans the border. And in a big case, of course, there may be internal connections, and the customs and narcotics will then cooperate immediately on the same case."

Once the section under discussion in the foregoing passages became law, however, the Treasury Department accepted no such limited purpose in its interpretation of the authority granted by the new provision. Instead, the Department acted forthwith to make far-reaching changes in existing regulations so as to provide for relaxation generally of customs supervisory practices. The Simplification Act, which contained section 22, was enacted on August 8, 1953, effective September 7. On September 9, the Treasury Department promulgated a new general regulation which extends to every customs procedure required by law. With respect to all such procedures, the regulation authorizes supervision by customs officers to be by occasional verification whenever a principal customs field officer should so direct. The regulation reads (T. D. 53336, 18 Federal Register 5424–5425):

"PART 23—ENFORCEMENT OF CUSTOMS AND NAVIGATION LAWS

"10. In view of the addition of the new section 646 to the Tariff Act of 1930 by section 22, Customs Simplification Act of 1953, part 23 is amended by the addition at the end thereof of a new section 23.35 to read as follows:

" 'Sec. 23.35. Customs Supervision: Except as otherwise prescribed in the regulations of this chapter or by instructions from the office of the Secretary of the Treasury or the Bureau in particular cases, whenever any action or thing is required by the regulations of this chapter or by any provision of the customs or navigation laws to be done or maintained under the supervision of customs officers, such supervision shall be direct and continuous or, if the principal customs field officer shall determine that less intensive supervision will assure proper enforcement of the law and protection of the revenue, by such occasional verification as such officer shall direct. Nothing in this section shall be deemed to warrant any failure to direct and furnish a required supervision or to excuse any failure of a party in interest to comply with the prescribed procedures for obtaining any required supervision (sec. 624, 46 Stat. 759, sec. 22, 67 Stat. 520; 19 U. S. C. 1624, 1646).' "

This blanket provision was only the beginning. The Treasury has since used it to justify relaxation of customs supervision in numerous separate areas. For example, there is no longer any customs supervision of the lading of bonded oil. Signing of the ship's log by a lading inspector has been dispensed with entirely, and the entire operation is handled upon documents prepared by the importers themselves.

Other examples of relaxation of customs supervision occur in passing free of duty hundreds of thousands of mail packages without any examination by customs, in the export of merchandise for benefit of drawback without supervision, in merely spot-checking of passengers' baggage in certain instances, in allowing certification of exports from carriers' records without having the exports supervised by customs officers, in eliminating supervision of unlading of duty-free bulk cargo even though there is dutiable or general cargo on board or being discharged from the same vessel, in requiring the assignment of a single customs officer to perform all customs functions in connection with a vessel, or even a number of vessels at the same pier—a requirement which precludes any kind of real supervision over the operations involved. Further examples could be taken from virtually every phase of customs activities.

Some of the practices in curtailing customs supervision just noted, as well as others of the same character, were actually put into effect by the Bureau of Customs before and during the period when Congress was considering section 22 for enactment. But the Members of Congress were not apprised of the facts in this respect and were not made aware that section 22, if enacted, might be construed as a blanket approval of such practices. The section has been so construed by the administrative department. It is being looked upon as "blank check" authority to relax to an alarming degree the essential function of supervision and inspection by customs.

Nothing is more fundamental than that the customs service was established to supervise the activities of importers and exporters and to inspect the merchandise which enters and leaves this country. Congress has long realized and articulated in the basic legislation the importance to enforcement of the tariff laws of direct and active supervision by customs officers. The remarks of the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee in the 66th Congress, addressed to a drawback provision in the tariff laws, are highly pertinent (hearing on general tariff revision, p. 4199):

"* * * If you give discretionary power in the law, you may make this provision very ineffective, for you may get men in office who will disregard their duties, as is the case in many instances right now * * *. I do not want to see a law written that leaves these powers discretionary where they can be made mandatory and apply justly and equitably."

Congress has never indicated an intention to have the enforcement of the tariff laws depend entirely upon the supposed integrity of carriers, importers or exporters. Indeed, supervision and inspection of their activities have always been deemed essential. Even though customs officials temporarily stationed in a certain area have confidence in the reliability of personnel representing certain carriers, importing or exporting firms at that time, the law does not contemplate the relinquishment, on affirmation of good faith, of the historic duty to supervise. Personnel changes may come, both in the customs service and in the private companies subject to their inspection and supervision, but the overriding necessity for supervision remains. Congress did not intend section 22 to be a wholesale authorization to the administrative department to ignore its obligation to inspect and supervise. Yet the section has been construed, at the very worst, to supply the agency with a weapon to nullify or veto the tariff laws, and, at the very minimum, to provide the agency with a tailor-made alibi for laxity in enforcement of the law.

In addressing the House of Representatives on August 20, 1954, Congressman JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, expressed grave concern over the trend toward lax administration of the customs laws which had, even by then, become conspicuous:

"The Customs Bureau has, in recent years, extended the calculated-risk theory in connection with the supervision of the activities of carriers, importers, travelers, and others to an extent never contemplated by Congress when it passed the Tariff Act. Congress never planned that the barrier of customs protection should be made vulnerable by administrative relaxation of safeguards to an extent entirely out of keeping with the original intent.

"Packages arriving by mail are passed with only the briefest screening, and 95 percent of them receive no examination. Upon the arrival of vessels and aircraft only a spot-check examination is made of passengers' luggage. The physical searching of vessels and aircraft and other carriers has been lessened. The once vigorous routine of customs inspection is no longer vigorous or routine."

But with section 22 unmodified in the law, the administrative department has felt no compulsion to change the trend since Congressman MCCORMACK's warning. Administrative relaxation of customs supervisory functions has continued unabated and has even accelerated in many instances.

Amendment of section 22 is imperative therefore to confine section 22 to the purposes intended by the Congress when the provision was enacted and thereby to end the dangerous policy of calculated risk now followed widely in the administration of the customs laws under color of authority granted by the section as it stands at present.

A BILL TO AMEND THE TARIFF ACT OF 1930, AS AMENDED, SO AS TO PREVENT UNDUE RELAXATION OF CUSTOMS SUPERVISION AS A SAFEGUARD AGAINST SMUGGLING AND FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE REVENUE, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Be it enacted, etc., That section 646 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (U. S. C., 1956 Supp., title 19, sec. 1646a), as added by section 22 of the act of August 8, 1953 (67 Stat. 520), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 646. Customs supervision; restriction on administrative discretion.

"Wherever in this act any action or thing is required to be done or maintained under the supervision of customs officers, such supervision may be direct and continuous or by occasional verification as may be required by regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury, or, in the absence of such regulations for a particular case, as the principal customs officer concerned shall direct: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this section or elsewhere in this act shall be deemed to authorize regulations by the Secretary of the Treasury or directions by a principal customs officer or other administrative official which permit less than direct and continuous customs supervision of the boarding, unlading and lading of vessels, aircraft (whenever required by statute or regulation to report for customs treatment), and vehicles arriving from or departing for any foreign port or place or carrying foreign cargo; the examination of baggage and personal effects of persons (passengers and crews); the delivery of foreign cargo; the lading of in-bond oil for bunkers; and the lading, unlading and sealing of bonded stores; or which permit customs examination of fewer than 25 percent by number of the mail packages arriving in the United States from foreign ports or places; or which require any customs officer or employee to certify to the accuracy of records, reports, documents, or papers of any kind or description prepared in connection with any aspect of customs treatment of persons or goods, by entering his name and title thereon or otherwise, in any instance where his supervision of the activity subjet to customs treatment to be certified to has not been personal, direct and continuous."

Senator McCarthy: The Republic Has Lost a Stalwart Defender

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, countless millions of American citizens will agree with the thoughts stated in the following editorial from the Chicago Tribune of May 4, 1957:

A VALIANT FIGHTER

If Senator JOE MCCARTHY had been a Communist sympathizer or agent, given to invoking the fifth amendment, the chant would now be rising from every liberal minaret in the land that he was hounded to his death by false accusations. The cry would be heard that he was a victim of character assassination and that he was driven to death through persecution by insinuation.

We have heard these lamentations every time a Communist has dived out of a high window or jumped off a roof. When Harry Dexter White, the Communist agent in Henry Morgenthau's Treasury Department, died 4 days after he had been called before the House Committee on un-American activities, one liberal mouthpiece termed him the "victim of a special sort of tyranny" in the form of our modern American style inquisition.

When Laurence Duggan, former State Department official and director of the Institute of International Education, having been named as a Communist, catapulted to death from the window of his 16th floor office, copious tears were shed on the theory that an act of desperation had been occasioned by a groundless accusation.

The U. N. general counsel, Abraham H. Feller, like Alger Hiss a graduate of New Deal Washington, also exited life through a 12th floor window after the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee had become interested in the number of Communists who had moved into key U. N. posts. As usual, the liberal line was that he had been put under the strain of defending his associates against indiscriminate smears or exaggerated charges.

We have heard the same outcry again recently, when E. Herbert Norman, Canadian Ambassador to Egypt, jumped off the roof of a high building in Cairo, a few days after the same subcommittee had revived charges of his onetime Communist connections. The editorial tirade of one liberal organ in New York was launched on the note, "Whether Mr. Norman was literally driven to his death by the actions of Senator EASTLAND's Internal Security Subcommittee and its chief counsel, Robert Morris, may not be susceptible of proof." But—and you can easily fill in the rest.

We do not expect to hear the death of Senator MCCARTHY bemoaned in such terms. The Senator was no Communist; hence he was no hero to the liberals. He was a patriotic American and a determined opponent of Communists. And because of that he was made the target of the greatest organized smear campaign of our day. Every liberal commentator and newspaper lost no opportunity to vilify him. The White House palace guard plotted his ruin. The President singled him out for studied insults. His political enemies ganged up on him.

The term "McCarthyism" was coined to make him appear contemptible, but no sensitive lover of Moscow was ever pilloried with such violent animosity as was Senator MCCARTHY in the public hearings that revolved around the petty issue of a promotion that never materialized for a member of his staff who was drafted into the Army as a private.

There followed the lynching bee in the Senate which reached a predetermined judgment that Senator MCCARTHY's conduct was to be "condemned."

Even JOE MCCARTHY's honorable service as a marine in the Pacific war was questioned, and it was implied that somehow he was not entitled to the combat medals he had won. Insinuations were made that he was a tax evader, but, when the Internal Revenue Service completed its investigation, it was found that Senator MCCARTHY had overpaid his tax and was entitled to a refund.

No man in public life was ever persecuted and maligned because of his beliefs as was Senator MCCARTHY. All of the phony martyrs of "ordeal by slander" lumped together

never absorbed a fraction of the abuse that was visited on him. He took it all without a whimper and stuck to his guns. The Republic has lost a stalwart defender.

Resolution on Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution on the anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Republic of Lithuania:

At the observance of the 39th anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Republic of Lithuania, under the auspices of the Lithuanian American Council of Greater New York, on the 17th day of February 1957, at Webster Hall, New York City, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Whereas Lithuania, since the 13th century had been an independent kingdom and grand duchy, but in 1795 was partitioned between Russia and Prussia during a brief period in 1812 regained her independence and during subsequent revolts rose against Russia, again revolting in 1905, after a 40-year complete ban on all Lithuanian printing, during all of which time the spirit of freedom was never extinguished; and

Whereas the Lithuanian Taryba proclaimed the restoration of the independence of Lithuania in Vilnius, February 16, 1918; and

Whereas Lithuania during her two decades of independence demonstrated her ability to advance and prosper in all fields of endeavor, social, cultural, economic, and political; and

Whereas the people of Lithuania helped this country to establish its independence and then contributed toward its development; and

Whereas since June 1940, Soviet Russia has enslaved Lithuania, subjecting her people to brutal terror and oppression in her efforts to conquer all freedom-loving nations; and

Whereas the Government of the United States solemnly condemned the Soviet aggression against Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in a statement dated June 23, 1940, and refused to recognize the forcible annexation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union, and it continues to deal with the diplomatic and consular representatives who served the last independent governments of these states: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the United States, cast by destiny to lead mankind toward the goal of a just and lasting peace, should take the initiative in the United Nations in championing the cause of Lithuania and other enslaved nations; and be it further

Resolved, To call upon the United States Government to aid the people of Lithuania in restoring their freedom, human rights, and political independence; and be it further

Resolved, That we demand that the Soviet Union's armed forces, the Russian Communist Party, and terrorist police forces be withdrawn from Lithuania and other invaded countries and that their deported nationals be returned to the sanctity of their own homes; and be it finally

Resolved, That we express our thanks to the President of the United States and the Secretary of State for their many pronouncements and encouraging words that they will never abandon the captive nations, to Governor Harriman and the friends of Lithuania in the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives, and leaders of both Republican and Democratic Parties for their statements in their political platforms on liberation.

LITHUANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL OF GREATER NEW YORK,
STEPHEN BREDES, *President*.
DR. VLADAS VILIAMAS, *Secretary*.

A Fine Tribute to Congressman Victor L. Anfuso

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, a very fine tribute was paid recently to our distinguished colleague, the Honorable VICTOR L. ANFUSO, of New York, by one of the major New York metropolitan newspapers. In its issue of April 18, 1957, the Daily Mirror devoted its feature column, Only Human, to a biographical study of some of the highlights in the career of our colleague.

The feature, Only Human, ably written by Sidney Fields, is widely read in the New York metropolitan area. Leading citizens in this area consider it a signal honor to be the subject of this feature. Our colleague, Congressman ANFUSO, certainly deserves this honor.

Throughout his entire life, as well as during his service in Congress, ANFUSO has always shown a deep and abiding interest in little people. The plight of the postal workers and their families struggling to make ends meet, the problems of consumers battling with the high cost of living, the difficulties encountered by the farmers, the efforts of the people who labor in the big industrial areas to maintain a living wage and decent housing, the struggle for survival on the part of small-business people, the efforts of minority groups to obtain civil rights and liberties—all of these find a sympathetic response in ANFUSO's heart and a burning desire to be helpful in every way possible.

It is no wonder that he is popular with the masses of New York, who know him as their friend. It is no wonder that he is being widely mentioned as his party's nominee for the United States Senate in the 1958 election. VICTOR ANFUSO is a great public servant, one who recognizes that public office is a public trust. He is a sincere spokesman and an able representative of the people of his district.

Mr. Speaker, I consider it a privilege to insert this article about our colleague in the RECORD and commend it to the attention of the Members of both Houses:

ONLY HUMAN
(By Sidney Fields)

The closest Congressman VICTOR ANFUSO ever got to a farm was peddling vegetables when he was a kid in Brooklyn. And he now has a flowerpot in front of his home. But he's one of the more articulate members of the House Agriculture Committee.

"Someone on that committee should represent the viewpoint of the city and the consumer," he says. "Until I was appointed it was filled with men representing particular interests, like potatoes, corn, cotton."

It was his idea to strengthen the committee by creating a permanent watchdog group for the consumers. He was made chairman of the Permanent Consumers Subcommittee, which makes its first preliminary report next week, and will ask such questions as:

Why did farm income drop in the last 10 years while food prices zoomed?

What causes the big spread in prices for eggs, poultry, milk, bread, coffee between the source and the housewife?

What effect does the trading-stamp craze have on food prices?

"It seems the consumers and farmers are in a squeeze," say ANFUSO. "We'd like to know why."

Stocky, dapper, 52, VICTOR L'EPISCOPO ANFUSO represents the 440,000 people of the Eighth Congressional District in Brooklyn, which covers Williamsburgh, Greenpoint, and Bushwick, where he lives with his family. He has twin sons, Francis and Joseph, 8; 2 daughters, Marianina, 13, and Diana, 22, a schoolteacher; and his eldest son, Victor, Jr., is a St. John's law student.

ANFUSO comes from Gagliano Castelferrato, Sicily, a name bigger than the town's population. He was the younger of 5, and when he was 9, his father, a shoemaker, died. So the family migrated to Brooklyn. He had his first brush with education when he and his shoeshine box were picked up by a truant officer.

"Who explained that here kids have to go to school," ANFUSO says. "So I worked after school."

He peddled fruit and vegetables from a pushcart and wagon and was a furniture salesman in his brother's store when he attended law school at night. He opened his office above the store when he passed his bar exams. At 23 he became a candidate for the New York State Assembly and had 1 big street corner speech broken up by opposition hoodlums.

"The next day they put a gun in my ribs and ordered me to quit," he recalls. "I didn't. I looked like a sure winner on election day until the last district reported 495 votes for my opponent and zero votes for me. Rigged. That lost the election for me by 21 votes."

He built a successful law practice, organized the Italian Board of Guardians to curb delinquency, served in political intelligence with the OSS in Italy during the war, and was elected to Congress in 1950. Redistricting wiped out his seat in 1952. He was appointed a city magistrate in January 1954 and, when he ran for Congress again, resigned from the bench the following August.

"There was nothing in the law that said I had to resign," he said, "but ethics told me I should."

He was elected and relected again last year. In Congress he's best known for his efforts in behalf of minorities, and postal employees, having won them their first big raise—$600. ANFUSO insists they still aren't paid according to the service they give us.

"Unlike other Federal Departments, the Postmaster General thinks the Post Office should be run at a profit," he says. "That's wrong and that's taking it out on the postal workers."

Right now his big job is the Consumers Subcommittee, whose coming inquiries should cause a stir. One, directed at the three-hundred-odd trading stamp companies, wants to know if stamps increase food prices; why the gifts redeemed by stamps are listed at retail prices but bought by the companies in vast quantities at low wholesale prices, and why the companies pay taxes only on the 60 percent of the stamps redeemed, not the 100 percent sold.

"We've also found that food prices have jumped 24 percent while farm income dro-

ped 16 percent from 1946 to 1956," says ANFUSO. "There seems to be an unnecessary increase in processing and wholesaling. The answers we get should be very interesting."

Navy Discrimination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to invite the attention of the House to two newspaper stories which tell the plight of a career Navy family which has been discriminated against because of an unfortunate circumstance.

The story involves a Navy commander who was retired after almost 30 years' active service and who was subsequently involved in an incident which resulted in the death of another man. After the officer was sentenced to 5 years in the penitentiary, the Navy retaliated by obtaining the President's approval to drop the commander from the retired rolls, thus wiping out the retirement pay on which his wife and two minor children depend.

The authority under which the Navy took this action, Mr. Speaker, is contained in a little-used section of the Uniform Code of Military Justice which states that the President "may" drop officers from the rolls if they are convicted by a civilian court. As one of those who served on the House Armed Service Subcommittee which originally reported the Uniform Code, I doubt that it was the intention of Congress to penalize the families of retired officers.

In fact, it has been pointed out in the past that retired officers should be subject only to the same judicial processes as the ordinary civilian.

Only recently the House Veterans' Affairs Committee and the Senate Finance Committee reported legislation touching on this problem. Both committees stated that to deny a man his retired pay because of a conviction by a civilian court "would be imposing an additional penalty."

The disability pensions of disabled veterans are not similarly affected, and, since retired pay is earned and not a gratuity, it is difficult to understand how the Navy reached the decision it made in this case. Particularly, since the officer's family is made to suffer. There can be no doubt that the family is discriminated against when we acknowledge the fact that the same action could not be taken against the family of a disabled veteran in similar circumstances.

Mr. Speaker, I know all Members will want to read the details of this case, and I insert herewith stories which appeared in the Washington Star of April 28 under the byline of Mary McGrory, one of the Star's top-feature writers, and another which appeared in the Army Navy Air Force Journal on April 27. I also am including a journal editorial which questions the wisdom of this action and points up the injustice suffered by the wife and children.

I am in complete agreement with the Journal editorial's statement that—

Whatever course the Navy takes, it should keep in mind that retired pay is earned pay and that Armed Forces morale will be shattered if military personnel learn that this benefit can be wiped out with the stroke of a pen.

The articles and editorial follow:

[From the Washington Evening Star of April 28, 1957]

RUEGERS HOPE TO WIN BACK KILLED PENSION

(By Mary McGrory)

An Alexandria Navy wife is hopeful that President Eisenhower will reconsider his action cutting off her husband's service pension.

The trouble that Mrs. R. B. Rueger is in began on New Year's Eve, 1955, when she and her husband, a retired naval officer, were running a benefit turkey shoot in their Franconia, Va., farm.

On that night her husband shot and killed Leonard Dodson, a Fairfax County neighbor. The shooting followed a scene and fight, in which Rueger, who is described by his family as "a very quiet man," was, according to his wife, badly beaten by Dodson and his friends.

Rueger, who had risen from the ranks to become a commander in the Navy, pleaded guilty to voluntary manslaughter in Fairfax Circuit Court and was sentenced to 5 years at hard labor by Judge Arthur W. Sinclair, who said he considered Rueger excellent probation material because of his unblemished 29-year Navy service.

By this time the Ruegers, who between them have 5 children, the eldest 22 and the youngest 10, were beginning to worry some about money. Most of their life savings went to meet a $15,000 out-of-court settlement of a suit for $25,000 brought against them by the widow of Leonard Dodson.

PLANNED TO START OVER

Because of high feeling in the countryside, they gave up their farm in Franconia and moved into Presidential Gardens apartments. Mrs. Rueger, a slight blond who wears the toreador pants and the kerchief-over-pin curls of a teen-ager, began the bus trips to Richmond to the Virginia State Penitentiary for visits that are permitted families of prisoners every other weekend.

The prospects, while not bright, were not hopeless. With his monthly pension of $438 as a stake, they planned to start over again. Rueger is eligible for parole in November. His wife says that although he only went through the first year of high school, he was found to have the highest I. Q. in the history of the prison, and that he has been given his high-school diploma.

But new trouble came to the Ruegers last September in the form of a letter from Vice Admiral J. L. Holloway, Jr., Chief of Naval Personnel, informing Mr. Rueger that recommendation would be made to the President to have him dropped from the rolls of the Navy.

Enclosed in the letter was a resignation blank. The letter pointed out that a possible advantage in separation by acceptance of resignation as against discharge is that "the factual case of your separation will not appear on the face of the discharge orders." By signing, Rueger would forfeit all benefits earned during his service career.

Rueger appealed, as was his privilege, the Navy action claiming he was no longer in the Navy. So did his wife, in repeated letters.

NOTIFIED OF ORDER

But on April 11 of this year, Rueger was notified that the President had signed an order dropping him from the rolls and that he was to consider the letter his discharge. This means the end of the monthly pension.

It has meant that Mrs. Rueger, who never had a job in her life has enrolled in business school, learning typing and shorthand. It will probably mean that 10-year-old Robert Rueger, Jr., will have to be withdrawn from Linton Hall Military Academy.

"In time, I'll know just what it means," says Mrs. Rueger. "We had planned on that pension to start again—that was our only hope of surviving."

Mrs. Rueger has appealed her husband's case to the House Armed Service Committee, which, according to the Army-Navy-Air Force Journal, has asked the Navy to review the matter.

The journal explains that under the terms of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, the President may, although it is not mandatory, drop from the rolls any commissioned officer sentenced to a prison term by a civil court.

According to the Journal, the authority is permissive and seldom used. The Army recalls only one case, still pending, when it was invoked, the Air Force never has used it, and the Marine Corps can recall no such case in the past 5 years. The Navy, however, has used it in 5 cases in the past 10 years.

Two congressional committees have stated that "to deprive a man of his retirement pay because of imprisonment would be imposing an additional penalty."

[From the Army-Navy-Air Force Journal of April 27, 1957]

PRESIDENT'S ACTION STRIPS RETIREMENT BENEFITS FROM NAVAL OFFICER'S FAMILY

President Eisenhower—acting on the advice of the United States Navy—has signed papers which spell the end to financial security for a 40-year-old Navy wife and her two minor children.

The calamity is the second misfortune to befall the family in the last 16 months.

Prior to 1956, the father, mother, and 5 children (2 of whom are serving in the Armed Forces) constituted an average American family. Their only worries were the minor problems which occasionally confront all families.

The father was retired in the summer of 1955 after almost 30 years' service in the United States Navy, during which time he rose through the enlisted, warrant officer and officer grades to the rank of commander. His earned retirement assured his family an income for the rest of their lives—or so they thought.

Four months after he left the Navy (with commendations attesting to his many years of faithful, loyal, and honorable service), the officer became involved in an incident which resulted in the death of another man and in the commander's conviction for manslaughter. He was sentenced to 5 years in a Federal penitentiary.

The family converted almost all of their personal property and life savings into cash—a sum of $15,000—which was turned over to the widow of the deceased man as partial restitution for her loss.

Now began a new way of life for the family.

The Navy wife moved into a small apartment with her 2 youngest children, a girl, now 17, and a boy, now 10, attending military school. An older daughter is employed and two older sons are serving in the Navy and Marine Corps.

To prepare herself for a job to supplement the family income and help gain back some of the lost savings, the mother entered a business school where she studies during the week while her children are at school.

The only bright spot in her new role was the knowledge that her husband's retired pay would enable her to keep her family together—fed, clothed, and in school—until his return. If his incarceration ran the full 5 years, she knew, he would be 53 when re-

leased and would stand little chance of finding a job.

On weekends, as she traveled to the penitentiary in a distant city, she tried to concentrate on this one pleasant aspect of the future—the fact that her husband's retired pay would permit them to make a fresh start when his confinement ends.

Then, 6 months ago, a new blow fell.

The Navy informed her husband that it was contemplating action to drop him from the retired rolls and sever his retirement pay. As an alternative, he was advised, he could submit his resignation under conditions other than honorable, forfeiting all benefits earned during his service career.

Under the terms of the Uniform Code of Mililtary Justice, the President may, although it is not mandatory, drop from the rolls any commissioned officer "who is sentenced to confinement in a Federal or State penitentiary or correctional institution after having been found guilty of an offense by a court other than a court-martial or other military court, and whose sentence has become final."

The authority is permissive, and Pentagon sources indicate that it has been seldom used. No separate records are kept on the subject, but the Air Force states that it has never used the authority, the Army recalls only 1 case (which is still pending), the Marine Corps says it would have to carefully research all its records to give a complete answer, but can recall no such case in the last 5 years. The Navy, on the other hand, knows of a least "5 such cases" in the last 10 years in which it has obtained the President's approval to drop officers from the rolls under this authority.

In the case of the commander convicted of manslaughter, he refused to resign and pleaded with the Secretary of the Navy not to drop him from the retired rolls. However, the Navy in a letter dated April 11 and signed by a minor official, has now advised him that "the President of the United States dropped you from the rolls of the United States Navy effective March 8, 1957."

The letter continues, "You will not be issued a certificate of discharge; this letter is to be considered to serve in lieu thereof."

Curiously, on the very date on which the Navy letter was written, a committee of the United States Senate was having printed a report which states in part that to deprive a man of his retirement pay because of imprisonment "would be imposing an additional penalty." Only a few days earlier, the House Veterans Affairs Committee made the same statement.

Both reports cover legislation—since approved by the Congress and now at the White House—which bans pension payments to veterans and widows receiving nonservice connected disability if they are incarcerated in prisons for more than 60 days. However, the ban is in effect only from the 61st day until the prisoner is released.

Furthermore, the new law permits the Veterans' Administration to apportion and pay to the wife and children of a veteran the pension which he would be eligible to receive if he had not been imprisoned.

In reporting the legislation to their respective Houses of the Congress, both committees said this: "In the case of compensation for a service-connected disability the committee is of the opinion that that is an entirely different benefit, based on disability, and to deprive a man of his service-connected compensation would be imposing an additional penalty. The same is true of retirement pay which is paid on an entirely different basis from pension."

The wife of the former Navy commander has appealed to Chairman CARL VINSON, Democrat, Georgia, of the House Armed Services Committee for help. Both she and her husband believe that the President's action imposes double punishment and that, in addition, it penalizes the wife and children.

The House Armed Services Committee has asked the Navy to take another look at the case. This review is now in process.

[From the Army Navy Air Force Journal]

PENALIZING RETIRED'S FAMILY

There is some question that President Eisenhower may not be personally aware of the hardships which will result for the wife and children of a career Navy officer who has been dropped from the retired rolls because he is serving a prison sentence for manslaughter (see story).

Had he known that two committees of the Congress have only recently stated the philosophy that withdrawal of an imprisoned man's retirement pay "would be imposing an additional penalty" on the man, the President might have turned down the Navy's recommendation.

Had he known that, in effect, he was penalizing the wife and children of the officer concerned, he might have turned down the recommendation on that basis alone.

Although there is permissive authority in the law for the President's action, argument can be raised that the law places retired members of the Armed Forces in double jeopardy. There also is strong argument, and ample evidence in congressional hearings to back it up, that military retired pay is "earned pay" which the Government has no legal, certainly no moral, right to take away.

Congressional committees have reiterated year after year that the low salaries of military men and women are compensated for in part by the United States Government's contribution to their retirement fund.

Another argument against the Navy's case and the President's action is that imprisonment does not affect the service-connected disability pay of veterans. They continue to receive such pay both during confinement and after they are released. It is noteworthy, too, that many of those on the disability rolls have only a few days, weeks, or months of service to their credit.

This, then constitutes a double standard. It means that a career officer who has devoted 30 years to serving his country can lose even those benefits which he has earned if he is convicted of a crime. The disabled veteran who commits the same type of crime continues to enjoy the full benefit of his disability pay.

Whatever course the Navy takes, it should keep in mind that retired pay is "earned pay" and that Armed Forces morale will be shattered if military personnel learn that this benefit can be wiped out with the stroke of a pen.

Israel Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement commemorating Israel Independence Day:

ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE DAY

May 6 is the ninth anniversary of Israel's independence. It is a day that symbolizes Jewish achievement. Within 9 years the ideal of Zionism has been transformed from the planning stage to actuality. To create a nation and an army within such a short space of time is a near miracle. Israel has struggled against great odds, but has proved that she could survive pressures from the Arabs on the one hand and from the Great Powers on the other. I would like to congratulate Israel on this happy anniversary.

Like America, Israel is a nation of pioneers, a nation of diverse origins, held together by a common faith and beliefs. Politically and strategically, too, the interests of Israel and the United States run parallel. Politically, both nations are opposed to Communist infiltration in the Middle East, while their mutual interests demand strategic cooperation.

It is now more than ever necessary for the United States to close ranks with Israel. As Britain has withdrawn from Suez, and British prestige in the Middle East has diminished, it has become clear that the United States must assume Britain's former role. And keeping the region on the side of the free world will require military and political as well as ideological and economic strength. If war comes to the Middle East, America must have allies and points of support. Under such conditions, Israel may well prove to be one of America's most important assets in the Middle East.

At Munich, Chamberlain saw only the risks associated with participating in little wars and forgot that as England abandoned strong points it was more and more exposed to the danger of a world war. America must not make the same error. America must support the outposts of the West such as Israel, whose security and integrity are essential to American strategic interests and to American strategic needs. Traditionally, the United States has been on the side of the underdog. Israel is a small, democratic nation which has opted for freedom and needs American support for survival. The United States cannot afford to abandon Israel and the values and achievements which it represents.

No Time To Back Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a timely and well considered editorial, No Time To Back Out, appearing in the May 3, 1957, issue of the Catholic Standard, Washington's archdiocesan newspaper. The editorial will state, among other things, "But there can be no further concessions without surrender."

The editorial follows:

NO TIME TO BACK OUT

Perhaps the present crisis in Jordan, or another in the continuing waves of crises there, will provide a final showdown on our Middle East doctrine. We have guaranteed the integrity and independence of the countries there against Red aggression and subversion. We could not do less. Anything less would be surrender of the Middle East to the Reds, and the Middle East is the handle to all Europe.

If the showdown comes, let us face it with courage and decision. For it is only courage and decision that will win. In this test of force, if Russia persists in her efforts, it is only courage that will prevail and save the Middle East as well as Europe and ourselves.

Naturally, we must expect unfair and bitter opprobrium from the Reds and their allies for supporting the only stand that will stop them. We shall be called every vile epithet and accused of every crime of which the Reds are guilty because we have thwarted them. But we can also expect some fair criticism from the French and English because we have been sucked into the vacuum caused by our halt of their activities in Egypt. This criticism must be borne, for prescinding from how we got into the vacuum we must occupy it or give it to the Reds. Our French and English allies certainly grant that.

This is preeminently a time for solidarity in our citizenry and all those devoted to freedom. We have done everything possible to prevent war without yielding the whole world to the Reds, and it can be argued that we have jeopardized the world by our extensive concessions. But there can be no further concessions without surrender. We cannot back out without getting shot in the back.

Fred Crawford's Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, during my recent illness I was informed of the untimely passing of our former colleague, Fred Crawford, of Michigan. His death was a tremendous shock to me. Fred Crawford and I served together on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and during that time I acquired a great deal of respect for his thinking and approach to matters coming before our committee.

Mr. Crawford was vitally interested in the Territories of our Nation, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam. He had visited each of these Territories on a number of occasions to better understand and appreciate the problems and ultimate desires of their people. He strongly supported statehood for Alaska and Hawaii and self-government for the people of the other Territories. He devoted his energies and time to render all assistance possible in bringing about such realization at the earliest possible opportunity.

In addition, Mr. Crawford was very familiar with my area, having resided in Colorado in his earlier years. During his residence in Colorado, he had traveled extensively throughout the Western States and had acquired a thorough and extensive knowledge and understanding of the potential development of our resources and their ultimate benefit to the national progress.

Since his retirement from public life, Fred Crawford frequently visited the Capitol and seldom failed to stop by for a chat. I greatly enjoyed our visits and discussions on matters of mutual interest.

Mrs. Aspinall and I should like at this time to extend to his widow and son our heartfelt sympathies in their great loss. I would also like to include as a part of my remarks Senator Gruening's letter of recent date to the Washington Post and Times Herald on the service of Fred Crawford.

The letter follows:

FRED CRAWFORD'S SERVICE

Fred L. Crawford, who died suddenly April 13, was for 18 years a member of Congress, representing the Eighth Michigan District from 1934 to 1952.

From his first term he was a member of the House Committee on Insular Affairs. His service in Congress was unusual in that he continued to serve on committees dealing with the United States Territories and island possessions. Most Members of Congress understandably aspire to committees related to the interests of their districts, which helps their standing back home.

Fred Crawford, however, early developed a keen sympathy for the problems of the disadvantaged people of the outlying areas and stayed with them.

It was somewhat ironic that when, after several years as the ranking Republican member fo the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, his party captured the 83d Congress, and he would have, for the first time, been that committee's chairman, he had been defeated in the primary.

At that time he had visited every territory and island possession several times and was more familiar with their needs and problems than an Member of Congress.

This familiarity and his innate sensibilities enable him to contribute mightily to the goals he believed in, the maximum of self-government attainable for Uncle Sam's dependent areas, goals which corresponded with their own aspirations.

He played a major part in securing for Puerto Rico the precise status that its people wanted, neither statehood nor independence, but as an associated free state. For Guam and the Virgin Islands he helped secure acts which greatly increased their measure of home rule.

For our only two incorporated territories, Alaska and Hawaii, inchoate states, by definition of the Supreme Court in the so-called insular cases of half a century ago, he sought the implicity promised statehood to which their citizens have long aspired.

Fred Crawford did not lose one whit of his interest in these causes when he retired to his farm on the outskirts of the District in January of 1953. He bore his defeat the previous fall philosophically and in the best of spirit, fully aware that his preoccupation with the outlying American areas had not helped but had actually hurt him with his constituents.

"I knew it wouldn't help me out in Saginaw, and it didn't, but I would do it again if I had it to do over," he remarked cheerfully at the time.

Fred Crawford spent the last days of his life volunteering his time to visit some of his former colleagues to present to them his view of the desirability of supporting statehood for Alaska.

Alaskans, many of whom got to know him personally, will remember him gratefully.

ERNEST GRUENING.

WASHINGTON.

Who Should Pay the Postal Deficit?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, I live in the Mount Washington community in my Congressional District. The area is served by a fine weekly newspaper, the Mount Washington Press, edited and managed by Mr. Arnold H. Nichols.

The Mount Washington Press, in its April 18 edition, carried a front page editorial by Mr. Nichols entitled, "Who Should Pay the Postal Deficit?" It is the best and most comprehensive analysis of this vital problem facing the Congress that I have read.

I am, therefore, asking that this fine editorial be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that all of my colleagues may have the benefit of Mr. Nichols' thinking.

The editorial follows:

WHO SHOULD PAY THE POSTAL DEFICIT?

Since the establishment of the United States Post Office the citizens and businesses of these States have received excellent postal service under a Government agency which operates under the laws prescribed by the United States Congress. In the past few years we have seen changes that have doubled the cost of first class letter mail, and postal cards. There have been substantial increases in third class (bulk or advertising mail) postal rates and fourth class (merchandise mail) postal rates as well as changes and restriction in the use of third and fourth class mail. Yet, in the past 78 years the only increase in second class (newspapers, magazines) postal rates has been a moderate raise in the cost of sending such mail outside of the county of publication.

Recently Congress has been playing cat and mouse with a deficiency appropriation for the Postal Department. First the appropriation was cut and then, when an appropriation was approved it was less than enough to operate the post office at its usual pace.

The postal deficit is primarily due to the fact that second class mail (newspapers and magazines) is carried at a loss * * * a big loss. Recent studies have proven that letter mail makes a little margin for the post office. Even bulk mail (advertising) carries its own weight and fourth class (parcel post) almost pays its way.

We have what is probably the best postal system in the world as regards speed and service. Some of the methods used, particularly the bookkeeping systems, are reputed to be outmoded but this doesn't seem to hinder the delivery of mail.

It seems to us (and we feel we have a right to express strong feelings, for in the past 19 years we have personally mailed scores of tons of second and third class mail) that Congress should either accept the fact that postal rates are inadequate and order our taxes to pay the difference or get off the fence between the tax-paying public and the powerful lobby which wishes to maintain the status quo of second class postal rates.

Why is it that Congress has refused to even consider placing the postal load where it belongs when President Eisenhower, in his first State of the Nation message, over 4 years ago, made the recommendation that second class rates be revised to a more realistic status?

The source of the opposition can be from only two directions * * * lobbys and influences of the big magazine interests and the misguided pressure of small newspapers within the local congressional districts who think an increase in second-class postal rates might cost them money.

To make the newspapers' position first we can eliminate most large daily papers since their circulation is primarily by means other than direct mail. The surburban and rural weekly papers usually use the post office as the most important and least expensive part of their circulation departments. The reason is simple.

Assume that a rural county seat newspaper has 3,000 subscribers within the county and it is approximately the size of this edition * * * The most that could be charged for postage on a single edition would be about $3.50. If there are towns within the county which do not have city delivery there is no charge at all for the subscribers in that town so long as the newspaper separates the free in country from the chargeable copies which are delivered by mounted routes, rural routes, and star routes. There are thousands of rural newspapers throughout the country which pay only a couple of dollars a week for their entire local (county) delivery.

Much of this may be justified in the light of public service in rural counties, yet the rates could be doubled or trebled without danger to the economy of any moderately healthy weekly newspaper. A few more subscribers or a few pennies increase in subscription rate or a few more inches of advertising would pay the difference and, at the same time, put the post office on a stable basis.

Now, let's take the other beneficiary of the second-class postal rates—the national magazines. Here is big business being subsidized by tax funds. Here is competition for the local newspaper, rural weekly or daily, the local radio or television station. Here is a subsidy-supported business which is receiving the benefits of a law passed while the Indian wars were in progress. In those days our Government was interested in public information and wished to encourage the publication of news and information to our widely scattered populace.

There were no telephones, very little telegraph, radio was unheard of and TV hadn't even been dreamed of. Congressmen were anxious for their constituents to know what they were doing.

So the postal law was approved which allowed the acceptance of printed matter with a regular interval of publication, addressed to paid subscribers, at postal rates which would encourage the printers to go into the newspaper and publication business. The rates were low even for 1879 * * * 1 cent per pound for delivery within the county and if the subscriber would walk to the post office once a week he could receive it without charge to the publisher. Copies addressed to subscribers outside of the county could be mailed at the rate of 1½ cents per pound for the reading portion and at a rate up to 7 cents per pound for the advertising portion dependent upon the distance sent.

Briefly and simply this is the original basis for second-class postal rates. A basis which was equitable 78 years ago. Until 1952 it remained the same. Then a revision was made which, over a 3-year period, raised the rate for copies mailed outside of the county 30 percent but using the original method of computation.

As a result of this a large national magazine recently (April) published an edition of nearly 400 pages (2 pounds and 3 ounces) and allowed the United States Post Office to deliver it to almost 4½ million subscribers at a cost for the reading portion of less than 2 cents per pound (your average letter costs about 30 times this rate). This magazine took in over $4,500,000 in advertising on this edition.

In 1879 there were no automatic presses. Neither were there tremendous industries and businesses which would make possible a 4½ million single edition of a magazine.

In 1879 the average publisher printed on a press which was powered by the printer's meager breakfast. He was interested in profits, of course, because he wished to eat better, just as many weekly publishers do today. But, in 1789 a printer was a career man who was dedicated to the local community.

Times have changed. The ancient provisions of the second-class mailing privilege (and that is what it is called) should be brought up to date. The ancient subsidization of the local printer who was willing to publish a weekly newspaper has now become subsidization of big business. Today the small publisher will do better by paying a more equitable postal rate as long as the large magazines do the same.

The grassroots publisher needs a change. The national magazines enjoy the old rates. Congressman * * * which side of the fence looks best?

High Hopes for Cuts in Federal Spending Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following article from the Shelbyville (Ind.) News:

REPORT FROM CONGRESSMAN HARVEY—SEES HIGH HOPES FOR CUTS IN FEDERAL SPENDING BUDGET

Growing sentiment in Congress favoring a reduction of between $4 billion and $5 billion in the proposed Federal budget for the fiscal year starting July 1, is seen by Congressman RALPH HARVEY, of Indiana's 10th Congressional District.

In a telephone interview from his Washington office, Congressman HARVEY told the News that he had high hopes for such a reduction in the proposed $71.8 billion Federal budget for the coming fiscal year—the largest in United States peacetime history.

Back in Washington following the Easter holiday, Representative HARVEY whose district includes Shelby and nine other Hoosier counties, said that he had found very genuine interest in the budget situation in meetings held with constituents while home on vacation. He also said he had received a goodly amount of mail from voters of his district regarding budget reduction.

"Encouraging cuts amounting to about $1 billion in the budget" already have been approved by the House of Representatives, Representative HARVEY pointed out, and he said he had high hopes that total reductions amounting to between $4 billion and $5 billion will be made by Congress within the next few weeks.

Asked in what general categories of the proposed budget he thought cuts could be made, together with the approximate amounts in each, the Congressman said he believed reductions could total $2 billion or more in defense appropriations; $1 billion or more in foreign aid, and the rest of it, $1 billion or more, in a whole series of domestic appropriations.

While expressing the belief that as much as $5 billion can be cut from the proposed spending budget for the new year, Representative HARVEY described as unrealistic any hopes for cuts of as much as 20 or 30 percent.

In the matter of Federal tax reduction, the Hoosier Congressman told the News that "I do not think we should contemplate a tax cut unless the budget is cut deeply enough to safely provide for such action."

Retirement of the huge Federal debt—amounting to approximately $275 billion—"should be given priority over any tax reduction," Representative HARVEY declared. He pointed out that America's taxpayers now are paying more than $7 billion annually just to pay the interest on the national debt. "I am more concerned over this situation than anything else," he said. "I believe we should plan for debt reduction, perhaps paying about 2 percent of the debt principal each year over the next 50 years." Representative HARVEY expressed fear that if debt reduction is not actually provided for on a regular annual basis, the Nation will sink into a financial abyss from which there can be no return.

"When government contributes to deficit financing it also contributes to inflation," he asserted. He added, however, that "there is also an inflationary force in the free bargaining rights of industry and labor." Each time there is a new round of wage increases, Representative HARVEY said, without an accompanying increase in productivity, the American dollar loses some more of its value. "Private business, as well as Government," he said, "is responsible for the inflationary spiral which has hurt us all."

Pan American Airways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I request unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a statement from the Wall Street Journal of recent date concerning the Pan American Airways. It has been thought by some that Pan American Airways ties with Latin lines costs the Government tax money. The CAB recently ordered an inquiry into the United States carrier's relationships with South American airlines, and the following article by staff reporter of the Wall Street Journal refutes that viewpoint. I feel that it is worthy of being reprinted in the RECORD:

NEW YORK.—Pan American World Airways has been saving money for United States taxpayers through its relationships with affiliated Latin American airlines, John S. Woodbridge, Pan American's controller, said. The ties have not added to the airline's subsidy bill, he stated.

Mr. Woodbridge made the statement when asked about the company's position in regard to a general inquiry into Pan American's accounting recently ordered by the Civil Aeronautics Board. He said that in the past 3 years alone, the big United States carrier has received $10 million from the affiliated airlines in the form of commissions, fees, dividends, and interest.

On March 8 the CAB issued an order instituting a general investigation of Pan American's bookkeeping in regard to its relationships with such affiliated carriers as Aerovias Nacionales de Colombia (Avianca), Panair do Brasil, and Compania Mexicana de Aviacion (CMA), in which Pan American holds a minority stock interest.

Numerous other affiliations with airline, service, hotel, or real-estate concerns were cited for investigation in the order. Some of the accounting to be examined dates back to 1938, when the Civil Aeronautics Board was established. The Board said it wanted to see whether there had been a proper distribution of revenues and expenses among the affiliates, and to determine whether the public interest had been adveresely affected.

On March 20 the Board issued another order, reopening the Transatlantic Final Mail Rate Case for 1954 which is now before the

District of Columbia Appeals Court for review. The Board again talked about accounting procedures and audits, and said that from 1946 through 1953 Pan American's properly recognizable expense may have been overstated by as much as $6,500,000. The Board also cited other instances where the big airline might have been lax in charging sufficient expenses against affiliates. But it noted that Pan American had yet to be heard, and that it was possible the questionable areas in the company's accounting may have already been compensated for to some extent in other mail-rate cases.

Mr. Woodbridge noted the main isue in the CAB investigation seems to be whether Pan American's transaction with its foreign-flag affiliates has resulted in any extra subsidy burden on American taxpayers.

"I'm certain that this investigation will prove exactly the opposite," the PAA comptroller declared, adding that the company welcomes the investigation.

Mr. Woodbridge said that Pan American had saved money by sharing operating bases with the affiliates and by doing maintenance and overhaul work for them at fair prices which absorbed considerable of Pan American's overhead costs and thus reduced its own maintenance and overhaul expenses. He claimed that Pan American had fostered the growth of these Latin American carriers, and that they now were feeders of traffic into Pan American's air network.

Books of the larger affiliated companies are audited by Price, Waterhouse & Co. Others have local auditors or use the services of Pan American's internal auditors.

Next step in the CAB proceedings in regard to Pan American will probably be a request by the Board to the appeals court to remand the transatlantic mail case to the Board for further examination. It is understood Pan American will not object to this procedure, although reserving its position that the CAB has no legal right to reopen the case.

Don't Be Fooled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Steuben Republican, published at Angola, Ind., by Edward D. Willis and Henry E. Willis, brings forcefully to mind again the fact of the continuing danger to this country from communistic activities. Knowing that this is a matter of concern to all patriotic Americans, under leave to extend my remarks, I include it herewith:

DON'T BE FOOLED

Just because the Communist Party has not been so belligerent in recent months is no indication that they have changed their overall aim and are now friends with the West or respect our might. This "change of pace" is one of the many tricks in the bag of master Communists. They always like to keep the other fellow guessing. And just when we are tired of it all and want to settle down in a peaceful situation is just the time they will appear to be our close friend so we will slide into the false security of wishful thinking.

One thing is certain: The members of the Communist hierarchy have never for a moment given up their eventual aim at world domination. This master plan of dictatorship is aimed directly at the United States because they realize that we, as the strongest country on the face of the earth, must be overcome before they can achieve their goal.

So be alert, America, and be strong. The consequence if we are not? Ask the Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, Lithuanians, and any of the others who have fallen under Russian domination. They will leave all possessions behind and even risk their lives to get from behind the Iron Curtain.

Oddfellow's Tribute to Tomb of Unknown Soldier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN DOWDY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday, May 5, 1957, the International Order of Oddfellows held its 23d pilgrimage to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington Cemetery. Wreaths were laid for the sovereign grand lodge and many of the grand lodges.

Sovereign Grand Master L. S. Bridges, of Louisiana, delivered the main address on this occasion.

I ask unanimous consent that this Oddfellows' tribute may be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD:

Officers and members of the sovereign grand lodge, officers and members of the international association of Rebekah assemblies, distinguished guests, madam president, international association of ladies' auxiliaries, patriarchs militant, general commanding officers, chevaliers, ladies, and friends, it is a great pleasure and a high honor for me to be here and represent the Oddfellows and Rebekahs of the world in this sacred ceremony. I admit that it is exceedingly difficult for me to speak the sentiments of your hearts, but in my feeble way I hope I shall be able to put words together which will convey your thoughts, and express your feelings toward this sacred moment. The warm inspiration I receive from your presence gives greater strength to my faith in you, in your philosophies of life, and in the principles you live daily. Your faith has brought you here today to do homage to the Unknown Soldier and the men of Arlington. May you never become so engrossed in your daily living that you see no time for expression of faith in these dead.

There has been, and will always be a time for people to express their faith—faith in God, faith in one's fellow man, faith in the future of America. It is upon this faith that Americans have built, and will continue to build, a great nation—strong in people, strong in wealth, strong in industry, strong in Christianity. Those of us who read history become thrilled at the progress of our great nation, but we become disheartened when we read how the faith of American people is being shaken by conflicts which challenge the American way of life these soldiers died to preserve. Between the America of yesterday and the America of tomorrow, stands our generation. To us has fallen the duty of preserving the honor, the strength, and the glory these men gave to the America of today.

In meeting the conflicts which have challenged our way of life, America has always produced and used men of great renown, many whose faces are found in historical galleries, and who have left mighty histories of welfare and fearlessness on the pages of time. All down through the years men have enlisted in the struggle for freedom and have stood before America's altars as recruits in the fight for the liberty Americans have always loved. Struggles to maintain it have been demonstrated many times on the battlefields. Men of spiritual forces and purity of purpose have uttered it from the political and religious platforms.

"God grants liberty only to those who love it, and who are always ready to guard and defend it," are famous words expressed by the great statesman, Daniel Webster, at the laying of the cornerstone of Bunker Hill Monument in 1825. No doubt having this feeling in his heart, Webster then foresaw very far into the future when liberty and freedom of God-fearing people would again be challenged, and when men who loved peace above all principles, would have to lay down their lives in defense of such a cause. Today, we come face to face with this true vision as it has become a reality.

Early history has insisted that victory in battle or war belonged to better generals, Caesar, Napoleon, Mussolini, Stalin, Hitler, and others, because they had military genius, superior skill, and judgment. But this is not true today, for victory in war depends upon the genius of the nations involved. The peoples of these nations all fight in the battle. Preparation for the course of victory does not begin in military camps or in military headquarters, but it starts far back in the schoolrooms and on the playgrounds, in the way people live, work together, and achieve individuality and personal independence. Preparation for victory goes on in the nation's streets, in the offices, in the factories, in the legislatures, in the planning rooms, and in all other great institutions, before it is brought to the battlefield to be fought by the men in the trenches—the common soldiers. Such victories have been fought, and, as a result, the mortal remains of thousands of soldiers are now lying at rest in the bosom of the earth.

One main reason we have come here today is to pay tribute to the fighting men who fought a struggle between liberty and imperialism. It was not until some 7½ million men, the pride of many nations, had laid down their lives that America realized what a catastrophe the fighting men had faced on the battlefront.

A second reason we are here is not only to pay tribute to those who fought our battles, but to offer a prayer from our hearts in thanksgiving for the hour when the guns were silenced on the battlefield, and the roar of the cannons were heard no more.

Let us consecrate our lives anew to the cause for which these men of Arlington gave their lives: To resolve that our Nation shall never be devastated by the god of war; that henceforth this Nation, along with others, shall live in peace and harmony: And that human greed for power and riches shall never again demand the sacrifice of human life.

This Unknown Soldier is a representation of the thousands of men who died for liberty and freedom. He lies in this narrow cell of stone that guards his body, while his soul now rests in that spirit called America. His tomb is an expression of our respect and an acknowledgment of our great debt to all men who died for our country and its safety. We do not know the name of the soldier who is buried here, or what his exploits were. But we know that, as a symbol, he stands for the many great deeds of men and women in the ranks who constitute the most important factors in our victories. We must have a higher regard for these, who with infinite patience and unselfish zeal fought our battle. They knew the value of sacrifice. They looked upon mankind from the viewpoint of human sympathy. They knew that the true

gage of man is not his rank or his wealth, or distinction in life, but what principles he holds in his heart.

Year after year men of all walks of life stand here, as we now stand, and hear great men in world's affairs reiterate these words of Abraham Lincoln, "We here highly resolve that these deal shall not have died in vain." Today, we can also hear plainly rising in our ears this declaration of President Harding, "There must be, there shall be, the commanding voice of a conscious civilization against armed warfare." Yes, it is such war which robbed this soldier of life and name and brought death to comrades of all nations.

Day after day the Nation pours out its heart of pride and glory for this nameless American. From the time the first crash of the minute gun roared its knell for the dead from the shadow of Washington Monument, people have come to pay him honor. They have lined the streets and have flowed like a tide over the slopes about his burial place, in order to exemplify a pride far beyond the reach of shouting and clamor for this nameless soldier who died for honor of a great flag. The glamor and greed of men to gain the world cannot hush the voice of this American soldier. He was not afraid to fight for the triumph of the right and reign of these freemen.

The millions of past and future members of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows will never be able to pay even a small portion of the debt of gratitude to these fighting men of Arlington. As a fraternity, we may be privileged to pass through the banks of humanity and travel between the human borders of the way of victory this great Nation has made for itself, we may be able to band together in one great organization and carry on our humanitarian activities, we may call ourselves soldiers and patriarchs, who never shirk from the responsibility of rendering a service to the needy, but there is one thing we can never do, and that is follow in this soldier's footprints, which are so indelibly marked upon the soil of this great country, and upon the soils of other nations under whose flag he fought. A desire to defend democracy, freedom, and preserve peace was so deeply embedded in his heart and soul that within him was set a restlessness which only death satisfied.

The principle of our great fraternity is the measure these men of Arlington used in aiding nations to extend the influence and teachings of the Golden Rule and to imbue the rising generations with the sacred truth of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Their efforts and supreme sacrifices have won the plaudits of generation after generation and those yet to come. This fraternity is one institution privileged to come and pay tribute to those who paid the supreme sacrifice, and as members, we are imbued with the responsibility to see that their sacrifices are not all in vain. We must not rest peacefully and expect love of freedom to imbed itself in the hearts of all peoples. It should be our highest aim to lift the love of freedom to a higher plain, where its power may be seen and felt by all mankind.

The best in man must be the greatest concern of each one present here, and in these strenous times, we must promote the freedom we enjoy by putting into practical effect friendship, love, and truth. We must not build for pleasure or temporary pride only, but for the health and morals, the welfare and prosperity of the future as well.

In bringing my part of this ceremony to a close, may I thank you Odd Fellows, and Rebekahs, and friends for giving me this respectful and patient audience. As we go our separate ways now, may we be aroused to spiritual action to build for all mankind a temple crowned with the garlands of affection, with a foundation stone laid on that freedom, which though "crushed to earth shall rise again." May our hearts which are always throbbing for the cause of suffering humanity, be draped with the insignia of love. May we join hands with that mighty band that no man can number whose banners of kindness float in the sunlight that gilds the deep gorges of the earth and waves in the breeze that kisses the mountain peaks. Let us triumph in victories and be able to sing loudly with the voices of angels, friendship has won her laurels; love has subdued the world; freedom, the mighty, now prevails.

Senator Joseph McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, the people of Wisconsin and the Nation have today paid their respect to the memory of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy whose death occurred last Thursday. His passing marks the end of a chapter in American history. His firm belief in the dangers of communism and the threat of that doctrine to democratic principles moved him to wage a powerful campaign that carried the American public to a feverish pitch as millions spent countless hours watching his activities on television. McCarthy, convinced of the dangers of communism awakened America to the extent of those dangers.

I will not say more on the subject of his controversial methods. Much has been said and written in the days since his death, by leaders of nations, by his colleagues, his friends, and his enemies. Senator McCarthy had a singular place in the thoughts of the people of the 15th District of Ohio. The following editorials, the first from the Marietta (Ohio) Times of May 4, 1957, and the second from the Zanesville (Ohio) Signal of the same date, are illustrative, and I commend the authors for their thoughtful approach and treatment:

[From the Marietta (Ohio) Times of May 4, 1957]

TUMULTUOUS CAREER ENDS

Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin, was probably the most controversial figure in this country in a generation. A relentless hunter of Communists in the Government, his methods and the results he obtained divided the people into two camps. One of these proclaimed him the symbol of Americanism and gave him highest praise and commendation. To the other he was the symbol of witch-hunting frenzy and it stamped him as a ruthless destroyer of reputations.

For 4 years Senator MCCARTHY was the key figure in the investigation of Reds, as chairman of the Senate Investigations Subcommittee. His probing stirred the country as he pointed out Communists in more or less responsible positions in the Government. His activity along this line culminated in his big controversy with high Pentagon officials, including the then Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens, when MCCARTHY charged that the Pentagon was coddling Communists.

This hearing led to an investigation in 1954 by a special Senate committee, which filed charges against the Wisconsin Senator. The Senate followed with a vote of condemnation of Senator MCCARTHY, based on the committee report. It found him guilty of obstructing the constitutional processes of the Senate and of breaching senatorial ethics, offenses that meant little to most people.

Since this censure Senator MCCARTHY had fallen into the background. Once a dominant figure in the Senate, he had been relegated to a position of comparative obscurity. In the eyes of many fellow Senators and his political and other enemies he had been discredited. Perhaps he violated the rules of the Senate and was ruthless in his prosecutions, as they maintain. But in the opinion of millions of citizens he performed a most valuable service by his fight against communism, in which he showed no favor to the high or the low.

Senator MCCARTHY'S tumultuous career ended when he was only 47 years of age, but he will long be remembered for his bold, vigorous, and effective effort to make his country safer.

[From the Zanesville (Ohio) Signal of May 4, 1957]

CONTROVERSIAL AMERICAN

Anyone who would permit prejudice against Senator MCCARTHY to blind himself to the Wisconsin Republican's useful service to his country is being unfair to himself as well as the memory of the Senator.

Thoughful Americans today are mourning the untimely end of his controversial career. Although there are many who disagreed with his methods, there are few truly patriotic citizens who will question his objectives.

In his zeal to expose communism, the Senator frequently spoke for the sake of newspaper headlines without fully documenting his statements. Thus the word "smear" became widely used to describe his tactics.

As it turned out, a few were smeared unfairly; a great many others who were smeared deserved more than they got. It was amusing that the more leftwing his victims, the more they complained of the Senator's meat-ax methods.

More ruthless tactics in the hands of Communists have been used time and again to advance their political aims and a great many people were happy to see them get at least a mild dose of their own medicine, even at the expense of an occasionally innocent bystander.

It seems fairly well established that few of the so-called innocents were completely so; the majority of the people mentioned as Reds or fellow-travelers by Senator MCCARTHY turned out to be so closely associated with traitors as to deserve a certain amount of tarring with the same stick.

Senator MCCARTHY'S name will be remembered for years to come; not only as a symbol of the witch-hunt tactics his opponents accused him of, but also as an example of a man who recognized communism for what it is—a serious menace to the American way of life as well as the peace of the world.

Methods Were Questioned but Not Patriotism of Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VINCENT J. DELLAY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. DELLAY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of Senator JOSPEH

R. MCCARTHY, by inserting in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial from the Hudson Dispatch of May 4, 1957, which so aptly expresses my feelings:

METHODS WERE QUESTIONED BUT NOT PATRIOTISM OF SENATOR MCCARTHY

While his critics, and many of them were bitterly so, questioned the methods used by United States Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin, they did not asperse his patriotism.

No man can become such a controversial figure in American life as did he without making many opponents and even enemies.

For the 6 years between 1950 when he spearheaded a senatorial subcommittee probing the Army, until the end of the presidential campaign on November 6, 1956, there was no national figure that caused so much discussion, so much praise, and so much invective.

But the former Marine Corps captain was prepared to stand abuse, for he realized that when one pulls no punches that he must expect to absorb counterattacks with equanimity.

When he died at the age of 47 in Bethesda Naval Hospital, Maryland, Thursday night, the career of one of the Nation's most vigorous opponents of communism ended.

In 1954 Senator MCCARTHY reached the peak of his political career in the battle with Army officials.

He charged that they were seeking to cover up subversives. They, in turn, accused him of browbeating witnesses and misleading statements.

Through the medium of TV millions of Americans sat with him through the Senate investigation that followed his own. They became familiar with his interruptions—"Mr. Chairman * * * point of order."

Growing out of that investigation was a Senate inquiry into his conduct and a vote of condemnation against him. That was the beginning of his eclipse.

His health then began to decline more obviously. His muscular frame—he was once a promising amateur boxer—puffed out with fat which he later lost by a rigid diet.

Acute hepatitis was the illness that killed him.

The onetime farm boy from Appleton, Wis., had gone a long way. "JOE" MCCARTHY—he liked to be called "JOE"—became a name mentioned in almost every household.

Often mentioned in his heyday as a possible presidental candidate—he would have been the first Roman Catholic to receive the GOP nomination—Senator MCCARTHY locked horns with two Presidents. Democrat Harry S. Truman sought to brush him aside as, in Mr. Truman's words, "a pathological case." Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower supported Mr. MCCARTHY for reelection in 1952, though without visible enthusiasm, and later treated him with an icy disdain which undoubtedly was a factor in the Senator's political eclipse.

Not many statesmen, in so brief a time in the national limelight, project into the English language of our country a new word. Like the late President Warren G. Harding, whose coined word, "normalcy," found its way into the dictionary. So the word, "McCarthyism," was coined through the Senator's vigor and daring in championing the cause of Americanism versus communism. It was, however, coined by his enemies rather than by his friends, and bore a disparaging connotation to some and a glorification of their hero to those staunch and loyal backers of the intrepid Wisconsin Republican.

Who will now take up the gonfalon that dropped from the hands of the champion fighter? Is there any Member of the Senate who could grip the imagination as did Senator MCCARTHY in his all-out battle against Communists and all they represent?

Mortgage Bankers Association Opposes Veterans' Provisions of Housing Bill, H. R. 6659

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am including in the RECORD a letter addressed to me dated April 11, 1957, from the Mortgage Bankers Association expressing disagreement with the provisions of H. R. 6659 affecting veterans' housing. The Mortgage Bankers Association has specifically expressed opposition to the FHA veterans' preference section of the bill, the proposal to use part of the trust fund of the national service life insurance program for the purchase of 5 percent FHA veterans' preference mortgages, and the proposal to fix limits on charges, fees, and discounts. The letter of April 11, 1957, follows:

MORTGAGE BANKERS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
Washington, D. C. April 11, 1957.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TEAGUE: I have your letter of April 9 which requests my views on those parts of H. R. 6659, as reported by the House Committee on Banking and Currency, which relate to the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, as amended, and the National Service Life Insurance Act.

Since a representative of this association has testified regarding these matters both before the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, of which you are chairman, and before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, I can, in replying to your letter, set forth the position of the Mortgage Bankers Association of America on the various points.

Section 103 of H. R. 6659, as reported, amends section 203 of the National Housing Act and would authorize within the Federal Housing Administration a new program of sales housing insurance for veterans. The Mortgage Bankers Association of America has for many years been opposed to special insurance programs within the FHA. We have stated our position on this matter on many occasions and before various committees of Congress.

In testifying before your own committee on January 30 of this year, Mr. Robert Tharpe, who represented the association, pointed out that our association had supported an extension of the GI home-loan program for veterans of World War II and that the association now recommended a general lowering of FHA downpayments so that there would be within the FHA a means of meeting the needs of veterans for home loans when the present program for veterans of World War II expires. Mr. Tharpe recommended against any special program in FHA limited to veterans.

In testifying before the Subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee on March 6, 1957, Mr. Tharpe specifically pointed out that while either the provisions of H. R. 3602 or H. R. 2584 would be acceptable to the association, those bills contemplated no special title or program within the FHA for veterans, but rather a general revision of FHA requirements for all borrowers.

Thus, it would be the recommendation of this association that the provisions of section 103 of H. R. 6659 be deleted and in lieu thereof a proposal be substituted which would reduce FHA downpayment requirements generally. It is our opinion that such a change would be much more advantageous to veteran borrowers and to the economy of the country as a whole than the creation of any special program within the FHA for use only by veterans. In addition, may I point out certain of the subsections of section 103 which in our opinion are particularly objectionable—namely, the subsection which authorizes the FHA Commissioner to establish maximum sales prices for houses insured under the new proposal, the subsection which gives to a subsequent purchaser all the benefits which a veteran would have under the section and the subsection extending the privileges available to veterans under the proposed FHA program beyond the date now fixed for the expiration of the VA home-loan-guaranty program for World War II veterans.

The establishment of sales prices is an idea totally foreign to the statute under which FHA is functioning. Also, we can see no reason why someone who purchases a home from a veteran should be relieved from the obligation of paying insurance premiums which all other borrowers pay for home loans insured by the Federal Housing Administration.

The subsection which would extend the new program beyond the present expiration date of the GI home-loan-guaranty program for veterans of World War II seems particularly unfortunate. It would seem to us that testimony before your own committee has made it very clear that the provisions for termination, as now provided in legislation approved by your own committee and passed by the Congress, ought to be adhered to.

There are two other sections of H. R. 6659 with which we wholeheartedly disagree and which we will urge be eliminated.

Section 205 authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to invest up to $1 billion of the national service life-insurance fund in veterans' mortgage loans which would be insured by FHA under the new proposal. In testifying before your committee, Mr. Tharpe clearly pointed out the reasons why, in our opinion, such a proposal is not in the best interests of veterans nor of the Government, and in testifying before the subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee, Mr. Tharpe repeated this conclusion and pointed out further that the association agreed entirely with the remarks of Mr. W. Randolph Burgess, Under Secretary of the Treasury, which he made before your committee on February 6, 1957.

Section 503 directs the Federal Housing Commissioner and the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to fix limits on charges, fees, and discounts imposed in connection with housing financed under the National Housing Act or the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. I recognize that this matter of discounts is a perplexing problem to the Congress; nevertheless, the Congress attempted once before to legislate on this matter, and the legislation was very similar to that proposed in H. R. 6659. The experience with the legislation was so unsatisfactorily that the FHA Commissioner and the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs urged Congress to repeal this legislation, and the Congress did so. Of course, this association has always been opposed to discount controls as being neither in the best interests of veteran borrowers nor other borrowers; but it would seem to us that, even if you disregarded the advice of lenders on this matter as being prejudiced, it would be extremely foolish to repeat again an error which was recognized as such by all parties who were concerned with its administration.

While we regret having to disagree with the many members of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, with whom we have always had the friendliest of relations, in this instance we believe that the provisions referred to of the bill the committee has reported are in error. We are in entire agreement with what we understand to be the decision of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to endeavor to have these provisions deleted from the bill, and to provide as a substitute an amendment along the lines of H. R. 3602 or H. R. 2584.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN F. AUSTIN, Jr.,
President, T. J. Bettes Co.,
Houston, Tex.

Educational Activities of Special Interest to the Armed Services

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an exchange of letters between the Special Subcommittee on Donable Property of which I am chairman and the Comptroller General of the United States.

The special subcommittee has before it a number of bills which would extend the donation of surplus property to many additional groups and activities including fire-fighting organizations, community organizations, tax-supported public recreation agencies, State defense forces, publicly owned water and sewer districts, 4-H Clubs, Youth Camps, first aid crews, and so forth.

The Secretary of Defense has heretofore determined under a provision of law that a number of groups, institutions, and so forth, are "educational activities of special interest to the armed services" and has donated surplus property to them.

Since the volume of donations by the Secretary of Defense has been considerable and the possible inclusion of other donees under existing bills would greatly add to the donable program, the Special Committee on Donable Property thought it advisable to request the Comptroller General for a clarifying decision as to authority for the inclusion of existing donees and the extent to which he can include others. The letters follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
OFFICE OF THE MAJORITY LEADER,
Washington, D. C., February 5, 1957.

Hon. JOSEPH CAMPBELL,
Comptroller General of the United States, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CAMPBELL: The attention of the Special Subcommittee on Donable Property of the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, has been called to interpretations of section 203 (j) (2) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act, Public Law 152, 81st Congress, as now in effect, with reference to which your opinion is requested.

The following questions are respectfully submitted to you by the Special Subcommittee on Donable Property for your consideration and interpretation:

1. Are the activities listed in the directive, No. 4160.10 and amendments, of the Secretary of Defense eligible donees within the intent of the statute?

2. If not, which qualify as donees within your interpretation?

3. If so, what limitations would be applicable with respect to additional donees?

However, in construing the above Public Law the subcommittee has no intention of confining you to the above questions in requesting your interpretation.

The main purpose of this request is to have a determination as to whether or not the Department of Defense has made administrative interpretations which have included organizations that are not authorized by law or are contrary to the intent of Congress.

If not, what are the limitations to the inclusion of other similar organizations, national, regional, or local, so that they will not have to resort to legislative processes?

The following language will be noted in section 203 (j) (2), as now in effect:

"In the case of surplus property under the control of the Department of Defense, the Secretary of Defense shall determine whether such property is usable and necessary for educational activities which are of special interest to the armed services, such as maritime academies or military, naval, Air Force, or Coast Guard preparatory schools * * *."

You will also note in the same subdivision the authority of the Secretary to make certain determinations in relation to the above.

There is herewith enclosed a copy of Department of Defense Directive dated April 27, 1953, No. 4160.10; Directive Transmittal of June 23, 1954, No. 54–69; Directive Transmittal 54–77 dated July 23, 1954; Directive Transmittal No. 55–83 dated June 22, 1955; Directives System Transmittal No. 4160.10–ch. 4, dated June 18, 1956; Directives System Transmittal No. 4160.10–ch. 5 dated June 28, 1956, and Directives System Transmittal No. 4160.10–ch. 6, dated September 13, 1956.

Your attention is particularly directed to organizations such as contained in Department of Defense Directive Transmittal of June 23, 1954, No. 54–69, and Department of Defense Directive Transmittal dated September 13, 1956, No. 4160.10–ch. 6, and similar organizations, and whether or not under Public Law 152, as amended, such action can be administratively taken by the Department of Defense.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Chairman, Special Subcommittee on Donable Property of the Committee on Government Operations.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Admiral Farragut Academy, Pine Beach, N. J.

Admiral Farragut Academy, St. Petersburg, Fla.

Allen Military Academy, Bryan, Tex.

Augusta Military Academy, Fort Defiance, Va.

Bolles School, Jacksonville, Fla.

Bordentown Military Institute, Bordentown, N. J.

Brown Military Academy, San Diego, Calif.

California Maritime Academy, Vallejo, Calif.

Camp Fire Girls, Inc., 16 East 48th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Castle Heights Military Academy, Lenanon, Tenn.

Columbia Military Academy, Columbia, Tenn.

Culver Military Academy, Culver, Ind.

Fishburne Military School, Waynesboro, Va.

Fork Union Military Academy, Fork Union, Va.

Georgia Military Academy, College Park, Ga.

Georgia Military College, Milledgeville, Ga.

Gordon Military College, Barnesville, Ga.

Greenbrier Military School, Lewisburg, W. Va.

Howe Military School, Howe, Ind.

Kamehameha School for Boys, Honolulu, T. H.

Kemper Military School, Boonville, Mo.

Kentucky Military Institute, Lyndon, Ky.

LaSalle Military Academy, Oakdale, Long Island, N. Y.

Maine Maritime Academy, Castine, Maine.

Marion Institute, Marion, Ala.

Marmion Military Academy, Aurora, Ill.

Massachusetts Maritime Academy, State Pier, Buzzards Bay, Mass.

Massanutten Military Academy, Woodstock, Va.

Missouri Military Academy, Mexico, Mo.

Morgan Park Military Academy, Chicago, Ill.

National Headquarters, Civil Air Patrol, Inc., Bolling Air Force Base, Washington, D. C.

National Headquarters, Boy Scouts of America, New Brunswick, N. J.

National Headquarters, Girl Scouts of America, 155 East 44th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

New Mexico Military Institute, Roswell, N. Mex.

New York Military Academy, Cornwall-on-Hudson, N. Y.

New York State Maritime Academy, Fort Schuyler, Bronx, New York, N. Y.

Northwestern Military and Naval Academy, Walworth, Wis.

Oak Ridge Military Institute, Oak Ridge, N. C.

Oklahoma Military Academy, Claremore, Okla.

Pennsylvania Military Preparatory School, Chester, Pa.

Porter Military Academy, Charleston, S. C.

Riverside Military Academy, Gainesville, Ga.

Sewanee Military Academy, Sewanee, Tenn.

Shattuck School, Faribault, Minn.

Staunton Military Academy, Staunton, Va.

St. John's Military Academy, Delafield, Wis.

St. Joseph's College and Military Academy, Hays, Kans.

St. Thomas Military Academy, St. Paul, Minn.

Tabor Academy, Marion, Mass.

Tennessee Military Institute, Sweetwater, Tenn.

Texas Military Institute, San Antonio, Tex.

The Manlius School, Manlius, N. Y.

Valley Forge Military Academy, Wayne, Pa.

Wentworth Military Academy, Lexington, Mo.

Western Military Academy, Alton, Ill.

Boys' Clubs of America, Inc., 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. (added September 13, 1956) (Department of Defense Directive No. 4160.10–Ch 6).

COMPTROLLER GENREAL
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, April 9, 1957.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Chairman, Special Subcommittee on Donable Property,
Committee on Government Operations,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This refers to your letter of February 5, 1957, and enclosures, concerning Department of Defense interpretations of section 203 (j) (2) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act, as amended, and requesting our opinion as to whether the administrative interpretations include as eligible donees of surplus property under control of the Department organ-

izations that are not authorized by law or are contrary to the intent of Congress.

Subsection 203 (j) (3) of the original Federal Property and Administrative Services Act (63 Stat. 387) provided in pertinent part as follows:

"In the case of surplus property under the control of the National Military Establishment, the Secretary of Defense shall determine whether such property is usable and necessary for educational activities which are of special interest to the armed services, such as maritime academies or military, naval, Air Force, or Coast Guard preparatory schools. * * *"

This subsection was renumbered "203 (j) (2)" and the language was reenacted without change, except for the substitution of "Department of Defense" for "National Military Establishment" by the act of July 3, 1956 (70 Stat. 493). A further sentence of the section authorizes the allocation of the surplus property determined usable and necessary for such purposes for transfer by the Administrator of General Services to the appropriate State agency for distribution to such educational activities.

Designations of eligible donees are set forth in Department of Defense Directive 4160.10, a copy of which you enclosed with your letter, and our attention is directed particularly to such organizations as Camp Fire Girls, Inc., Boys' Clubs of America, Inc., and similar organizations. The similar organizations designated in the directive are national headquarters, Boy Scouts of America, and national headquarters, Girl Scouts of America. The dates of original designation of these organizations are as follows: Boy Scouts, May 12, 1951; Girl Scouts, March 6, 1952; Camp Fire Girls, June 23, 1954; and Boys' Clubs of America, September 13, 1956.

You submit the following specific questions for our consideration:

"1. Are the activities listed in the directive, No. 4160.10, and amendments, of the Secretary of Defense eligible donees within the intent of the statute?

"2. If not, which qualify as donees within your interpretation?

"3. If so, what limitations would be applicable with respect to additional donees?"

The specific illustrations enumerated in section 203 (j) (2) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, gives rise to doubt as to the propriety of including, as eligible donees, organizations such as indicated above. However, the matter must now be considered in the light of the principle that a contemporaneous construction given an act of Congress, while not controlling entitled to great weight and should not be overturned except for cogent reasons. See *Brown* v. *United States* (113 U. S. 568); *Great Northern Ry. Co.* v. *United States* (315 U. S. 262). Also, it has been held that an administrative construction of a statutory provision—not required to be charged by the legislature—must be deemed to have received legislative approval by a reenactment of such provision without material change. *McCaughn* v. *Hershey Chocolate Co.* (283 U. S. 488); *Helvering* v. *Reynolds Co.* (306 U. S. 110); *National Labor Relations Board* v. *Gullett Gin Co.* (340 U. S. 361). Designations of the organizations, with the exception of the administrative designation on September 13, 1956, of Boys' Clubs of America, were a matter of record of which the congressional committees were apprised before reenacting the legislation without material change. Thus, on pages 48 to 52 of the hearing before the Subcommittee on Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate, 84th Congress on S. 3693 (S. 1527 and H. R. 7227)—the latter of which bills became the act of July 3, 1956, referred to above—the committee was advised of the designation by the Department of Defense of the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts of America and Camp Fire Girls as eligible donees. On such pages there were incorporated into the record the listing in detail of these and other organizations designated as eligible as well as the regulations of the military departments under the involved provision of law. Also, on page 15 of Senate report 2267 on H. R. 7227, there is quoted a letter of the Department of Defense reporting that donations were being made to 46 schools and educational activities designated as being of special interest to the Department. The fact that organizations such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts of America and the Camp Fire Girls were considered as eligible donees was brought to the attention of the Congress on numerous earlier occasions. See in this connection, page 16, hearing before the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate, on H. R. 3322 and S. 1004, 84th Congress, April 21, 1955; page 321, hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Donable Property of the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, on H. R. 3322, 84th Congress, February 15, 17, and 21, 1955; pages 94 and 96, of the February 1955 report to the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government prepared by the Task Force on Use and Disposal of Federal Surplus Property; and page 224, Donable Surplus Property Program Hearings before a subcommiteee of the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, 83d Congress, April 20, 21, 23, and 24, 1953. In view of the rules of statutory construction referred to above and the circumstances here involved we conclude that the designations by the Department of Defense of Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls as eligible donees are within the intent of the statute as now in effect. Also, since Boys' Clubs conduct educational activities (*Boys' Club of Detroit* v. *Pakula* (69 N. W. 2d 348)), and otherwise appears to be similar in purpose to the aforementioned organizations, the designation of such organization appears proper. Accordingly, your first question is answered in the affirmative.

The second question, being based upon a negative reply to the first, does not require consideration.

Your third question concerns limitations applicable to additional donees, and the question as hereinabove quoted is restated and enlarged in your letter as "What are the limitations to the inclusion of other similar organizations, national, regional, or local, so that they will not have to resort to legislative processes?"

Inasmuch as the words of the statute "such as maritime academies or military, naval, Air Force, or Coast Guard preparatory schools" are not, for the reasons heretofore discussed, viewed as precluding noninstitutional-type organizations, the limitations to the inclusion of other similar organizations would appear to be the facts of each particular case. Thus, where the facts regarding the activities of an organization would reasonably support a conclusion that it was engaged in educational activities, and such activities are deemed by the Secretary of Defense to be of special interest to the armed services because the activities of the organization are designed to develop the minds, bodies, and character of young people in qualities that reasonably might be expected to contribute to their usefulness in the defense of the Nation, or for other reasons, an administrative designation of such organization as an eligible donee would meet the requirements of the statute. The national, regional, or local aspects of an organization, except as to administrative problems which might arise as a result thereof, would not appear to be determinative. Your third question is answered accordingly.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH CAMPBELL,
Comptroller General of the United States.

Postal Emergency May Bring Rate Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, the problem of the operation of the Post Office Department is back with us again. It has always been my contention that this Department should be self-sustaining. Those who use the service should pay for it. There is no logical reason why this Department of the Government should be operated continuously upon a deficit basis. Now that the country seems to have awakened to the deplorable fiscal situation and apparently realizes the necessity for retrenchment and economy in Government, I am very much in hope that the Congress will enact a postal increase bill which will put this Department upon a sound basis. Such a bill is now under consideration in the appropriate committees of the House and Senat. As one of the minority who supported such legislation last year, I should like to see a reversal of the unfortunate failure of that bill to pass.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith a very timely editorial from my hometown newspaper, the Chronicle-Star and Moss Point Advertiser of Pascagoula, Miss.

The editorial is as follows:

POSTAL EMERGENCY MAY BRING RATE ACTION

The unusual—perhaps hasty would be a better word—manner in which Congress acted to grant the Post Office Department a $41 million appropriation so it could resume normal operation may have a healthy effect.

The nationwide publicity and furor created by Postmaster General Summerfield's action in curtailing services may point up the need to—

1. Trim postal services to fit revenues, or

2. Increase postal rates to a point where revenues will offset operating costs.

The Department has been operating with a constantly increasing deficit which for this fiscal year will probably find expenses more than a half billion dollars in excess of revenues.

It is probably true that if the Department modernized its mail-handling practices and generally streamlined operations, money could be saved. We are years behind Great Britain in mechanization of mail handling.

But nevertheless, the fact stands that there has been no substantial increase in postal rates for the past 25 years. In 1932 the first-class letter rate was the same as it is today—3 cents. Some small increases have been made in other rates but not enough to even dent the difference between cost of handling mail 25 years ago and today.

Summerfield—and predecessors—have for years appealed for rate increases.

But Congress has consistently turned a deaf ear as the deficit continues to mount.

Taxpayers aren't being saved any money because Congress refuses to raise rates. If there is a half-million dollar deficit, who pays it?

You're right, the taxpayer. It is reflected in the national budget they underwrite with income and a host of other Federal taxes.

Who gets the major benefit of the low postal rates?

A small group comparatively speaking—who are heavy users of postal services, par-

ticularly in the second- and third-class categories.

The average American writes perhaps a hundred or so letters a year. Most rarely, or never, use the second- and third-class mails. An increase in the first-class letter rate from 3 to 4 cents would mean, then, that the average American would find his mailing expenses upped by about $1 annually.

We are not maintaining the Post Office Department should be a profit-making business. It is a service the citizen has a right to expect from his Government.

But it was never meant to be a subsidy for some business operations—as it now is.

In refusing to increase rates Congress is maintaining a fat subsidy for a few at the expense of many.

A Permanent U. N. Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the concurrent resolution offered by my colleagues last Thursday to create a permanent U. N. force, I ask unanimous consent to have entered in the RECORD some observations on the need of such action by a constituent of mine, John D. Rockwell, of Mount Pleasant, Iowa. Mr. Rockwell is a student of government and devotes a considerable amount of time and energy to keeping peace in the world. I respectfully direct the attention of my collegaues to Mr. Rockwell's observations which concur in principle with the concurrent resolution. Mr. Rockwell's remarks follow:

It is vital that the United States at this time inaugurate the creation of a standing army by the United Nations.

A permanent force, second to none, supported by all member nations, according to their wealth and population.

To see that the will of the majority is honored by the recalcitrant few.

To see that every people has the right of unfettered self-determination as to the form of government it wishes to pursue.

To see that the will of the majority of the United Nations is carried out in all places and by all peoples.

This army should be under a supreme commander responsible only to the United Nations. He should be of the same caliber as Gen. Douglas MacArthur or Field Marshal Montgomery. The troops should be drawn evenly at so many per 1,000 population of member countries. It would be best if these troops served a 20-year or career hitch at sufficient salary to make such a career attractive and with adequate retirement pay and 30-day rotational leave per year. This United Nations army should include all the various services of modern warfare, answerable to the supreme commander.

It should be plain to anyone that such an army supported by at least 50 nations would eventually constitute a defense force per nation at a cost much below that of 50 such individual defense forces. Worldwide bases would be readily available everywhere. Short of war, such an organization might enforce its will upon an offending nation by complete ostracism. This would include the blockade, without an exchange of ideas or trade—legal or illegal; a complete blackout and a serevance of all relations by member nations. Such nation, upon indicating a desire to rejoin, should be forced to undergo a period of probation or limited privilege.

Man From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, April 6, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, a good friend of the United States and a great fighter against communism, President Ngo Dinh Diem, of Vietnam, will arrive in Washington on Wednesday for a state visit. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have printed in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues a most interesting article about President Diem written by Foster Hailey and appearing in the New York Times Sunday magazine yesterday, May 5.

The article follows:

MAN FROM VIETNAM—PRESIDENT DIEM, ARRIVING HERE FOR A VISIT, IS THAT NATION'S SYMBOL OF INDEPENDENCE

(By Foster Hailey)

TOKYO.—The stocky man in the long black gown and flat black cap bent anxiously for a moment over his Secretary of State for Agrarian Reform, who lay on a gravel walk in the fairgrounds at Benmethout in south-central Vietnam clutching a bleeding side and left arm.

"They have shot me," murmured Do Van Cung.

There could be no doubt in the mind of President Ngo Dinh Diem last February 22 for whom the bullet had been intended. Had the assailant's automatic pistol not jammed after that one wild shot, the United States probably would not this week be greeting its distinguished Asian guest.

It was the first time since Mr. Diem became President of the Republic of Vietnam a year ago last October, that an attempt had been made to assassinate him. But there was no hint in his manner that he was perturbed. He stood for a moment, reported Le Journal d'Extrême-Orient of Saigon, "watching the crowd around him with his sharp and heavy look in an attitude of the most striking impassibility." Five minutes later, in a firm voice, he began his prepared talk. "Dear compatriots * * *."

All through the remainder of the hot morning he walked through dusty compounds and buildings to the fair with no added escort, chain-smoking cigarettes and chatting amiably with booth attendants and members of his entourage.

It was not the first time Mr. Diem had shown that high degree of courage that Ernest Hemingway once defined as "grace under pressure." And not just physical courage, but spiritual and moral courage as well. When he believes a course is right for himself and for his country he will defy the world, and has.

When he was under heavy compulsion from the Western Powers 2 years ago to agree to implementation of the Geneva accord for elections in all of Vietnam, he told a representative of his main foreign supporter—the United States Government—that he would not even go through the motions of discussing the matter with the Communists.

Washington was afraid that meant a renewal of war with the Communist north and let it be known publicly that it was displeased with his attitude. He still said "No."

Had an election been held in 1955, there is little doubt the Communists would have won. Ho Chi Minh, the Communist leader in Hanoi, was then—as he had been since 1945—the one great symbol of independence for the larger part of the people of Vietnam. Today President Diem is that symbol, the undisputed leader of one of the most promising old-young countries of southeast Asia.

President Diem has achieved that position in less than 3 years. It was only on June 26, 1954, that he returned from Paris to Vietnam after 4 years' voluntary exile—and 21 years out of public life—with a delegation from Chief of State Bao Dai of full military and civilian power.

There were few who gave Mr. Diem a chance of saving anything from the wreckage of his country. Dienbienphu had just been overrun by the Communists. The French were in full retreat. Ho Chi Minh was the national hero.

Mr. Diem had an army of 200,000 men, but it was poorly armed, only half trained, and French-led. Saigon and the Medong River Delta were under the control of the Binh Xuyen, a gang of river bandits who controlled the opium trade and prostitution in the Vietnamese capital.

Several times during the next few months he took the field with loyal troops against the Binh Xuyen. And by May 1955 he was able to announce his victory and tell of his hopes and plans for his country. The principal one was full independence.

With the military struggle behind him, Mr. Diem proceeded to consolidate his leadership by keeping his promises to his people. He promised land reform—and instituted it. He promised to eliminate every vestige of French rule—and did.

Events have proved that what the Vietnamese needed and wanted was a leader who pledged no allegiance to any one except themselves, one in whom they could put their trust and on whose honesty and integrity they could rely. They had followed Ho Chi Minh because, until Mr. Diem came along, they had been offered no other choice.

Almost as important, perhaps, is the fact that the President is an indefatigable traveler who has visited every part of the Republic since his assumption of office, shaking hands, mingling with the people, and speaking eloquently but simply to the crowds that turn out everywhere to greet him. Practically all of Vietnam's 12 million inhabitants must feel that they know him personally.

Mr. Diem's life would indicate that almost from the time he was old enough to think coherently leadership of an independent Vietnam had been his dream. He was born at Hue, capital of the then empire of Annam, January 3, 1901. He was the third son of Ngo Dinh Kha, minister and counselor to Emperior Than Thai, father of Dao Dai. Annam was a protectorate in the complex of protectorates, princely states and colonies that made up French Indochina.

He entered the mandarinate (a corps of high civil servants) on graduation from the school of administration at Hue, and at 32 was named Minister of Interior in the Annam Govefnment. When the French blocked his attempts at reform he resigned.

Although he was out of office, his abilities were so well recognized that he received several invitations during the war and the

immediate postwar years to join various governments. Bao Dai twice offered him posts—once in a puppet government under the Japanese and later under the French. Ngo Dinh Diem would have no part of either.

Ho Chi Minh—whom Mr. Diem says he has known, disliked and distrusted since 1929—also offered him a place in the government he set up after the war, after first holding Mr. Diem under arrest for 6 months. Mr. Diem spurned that offer, too.

Seeing no hope at home, with Ho Chi Minh's Vietminh ruling the countryside and Bao Dai dividing his time between big-game hunting in the highlands and bathing on the French Riviera, Ngo Dinh Diem left Vietnam in 1950 to plead his country's cause in the world's capitals.

He visited Japan and the Philippines and then went to the United States, where he lived for several months, with his headquarters at Maryknoll Seminary in Lakewood, N. J. He went on to Belgium in 1953, and then to France. When Bao Dai called him to his Riviera villa in June 1954, he was ready to accept the forlorn chance offered.

President Diem is unusual among Asian leaders. He is, first, a devout Roman Catholic. He also is a celibate. When still in his teens he considered becoming a priest, and took a vow of chastity which he renews daily by laying a spray of flowers on the shrine of the Virgin in the private chapel of Din Doch Lap (Independence Palace), where he lives.

He is also one of the hardest working government officials in the East or West, putting in a normal working day of 16 hours. He still finds time to study government, economics, and history, and to pursue his hobbies of hunting, photography, horseback riding, and rose culture.

Finally, he is one of the most Western-minded of Asian leaders. Some of this trait probably is attributable to his two close American friends and advisers. One if Wolf Ladejinsky, the controversial Russian-born economist and land-reform expert, whom President Diem hired as his personal adviser when Mr. Ladejinsky finally was forced to resign from United States Government service in 1955. Many of the reforms President Diem has sponsored in the last 2 years undoubtedly had their genesis in the breakfast conferences he holds with Mr. Ladejinsky 2 or 3 times a week.

The other American closest to him is Dr. Wesley R. Fishel, a young Michigan State College professor who heads a Michigan State advisory group to Vietnam. The group is helping the Government set up a modern taxation system and institute other reforms.

Another close friend and admirer is Lt. Gen. John H. O'Daniel, former head of the United States military assistance advisory group in Vietnam. General O'Daniel was almost alone among United States officials in retaining faith through the dark days of 1954 and 1955 that President Diem could bring order out of chaos and establish a stable government.

The President is not without critics. One complaint heard frequently from his countrymen is that he relies too much on his family for advice. One of his four living brothers is gazetted as his political adviser. Another is Ambassador to London. A third is Roman Catholic Bishop of the province of Vinh Long. An elder brother, who was a provincial governor, under the French, was killed by guerrillas in 1945.

Other criticisms heard are that President Diem insists on handling too many affairs himself, thus delaying important decisions, and that he had not moved rapidly enough in extending democratic elections. All provincial governors, for instance, still are appointed as in colonial days.

But Mr. Diem is in only the second year of 5-year term as President. His goal is a prosperous and united Vietnam by the time his term is over. He feels that the Chinese-supported Communist regime in northern Vietnam cannot survive. All information from there is that the people are restive. They know that in the south their fellows are freer and far better off. Diem has the patience to wait until the people of the north find intolerable the way of life that communism offers them.

Meanwhile he is striving with the help of about $200 million a year in United States aid and his own untiring efforts to raise the educational level of his people and give them land and a life of peace. A happy man on his own land is a poor prospect for communism, he says.

Dilemma of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, one of the students who is a guest of mine this week as a participant in the "Week in Washington" project which I sponsor in cooperation with the Citizenship Clearing House of the State University of Iowa, is Larry Popofsky, of Oskaloosa, Iowa, a junior at the State university. Mr. Popofsky has the distinction of winning the Hancher public speaking contest at the university last month and on the basis of this award he was chosen to represent Iowa at the Northern Oratorical League contest at the University of Minnesota last Friday. His address, "Dilemma of Democracy," has a message for each of us, and under leave to extend my remarks, I ask consent that it be printed in the RECORD. The address follows:

DILEMMA OF DEMOCRACY

(By Larry Popofsky)

During the bleak days at the outset of the Civil War, when chaos gripped our Nation's capital and indecision stifled positive action, Abraham Lincoln asked in anguish, "Must a government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?"

Caught in a maze of conflicting forces which threatened national solidarity, President Lincoln found himself confronted by the great dilemma of democracy, a dilemma which becomes especially crucial when our national security is in jeopardy.

Today, as in Lincoln's time, the security of our Nation is ominously threatened. The new conditions created by the great world wars and the growing menace of thermonuclear weapons has erased the certitude of safety upon which we have so long relied. Militant international communism has also jarred Americans out of their 19th century idealistic lethargy and into an awareness of the impending struggle for existence.

In the wake of this great struggle, the dilemma of democracy has once again dramatically come to the fore. Let's look at the nature of this dilemma. Our American system of government is dedicated to the task of ensuring to all its citizens the fundamental freedoms, such as free speech. But can these rights be maintained when our Nation's security—its very existence—is under attack by radical forces both outside and within our own borders? In the past we have successfully faced the challenge of the right and the left without resorting to any unusual methods of suppression. But the present danger has appeared so critical that we have been unwilling to rely on our traditional institutional safeguards and have adopted a new set of suppressive measures. The rationale for these new actions is clear enough. Everyone is aware of the dangers we are compelled to face. Certainly we will not passively watch our Nation's governmental system crumble under radical onslaughts. Therefore, in the name of preserving our liberties and the form of government which makes these freedoms possible, we have found justification for suppressing radical groups.

Suppressive measures in a democracy, however, can be a double edged sword. While it is true that with slashes of this sword some of these forces inimical to our national security may be obliterated, yet at the same time the individual liberties of our citizens may suffer irreparable damage. During the past few years the all-pervasive craving for security, born in an era of blind emotionalism and unreasoning fear, has prompted Americans to seize that sword of suppression, heedless of the nature of the weapon.

Armed with a rationale for their use, we have watched Congress pass a series of laws designed to give us security from the threat of internal communism. The first was the Internal Security Act, passed over President Truman's veto in 1950. Its outstanding provision is the requirement that all Communist-front organizations register with the Government and face regulation. In 1954 Congress passed the Communist Control Act, which prohibits members of the party from seeking places on election ballots and thus, for all practical purposes, outlaws the party. Similar provisions can be found in the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act and the Taft-Hartley labor law.

The executive branch of the Government also has taken actions designed to promote security. These actions have assumed the form of far-flung loyalty-security programs and vigorous enforcement of antisubversive legislation.

As a result of these legislative and administrative acts, the fundamental rights cherished by Americans since 1776 have suffered a gradual erosion which today poses a greater threat to our Nation's security than that we have been trying to combat. President Truman recognized this threat when in vetoing the Internal Security Act he charged that such a measure was simply not necessary to meet questionable demands for national security and that its consequences would be dangerous to our freedoms.

These consequences have been appalling. The public scene has been characterized by the spectacle of perjury trials, charges of disloyalty based on the assumption of guilt by association, and a program of prosecution lacking such essential procedural safeguards as the right of a person to know and confront his accuser. The congressional investigating committee, a modern form of the inquisition, has been placed outside the guaranties of the Bill of Rights. Justice William O. Douglas, in a cryptic view of the situation, said, "Critical evidence may be the word of an unknown witness who is a paragon of veracity, a knave, or the village idiot."

The cumulative effect engendered by these laws has permeated almost every phase of American society. In Washington reporters complain of the inaccessibility of information and the infrequency of press conferences. In the realm of academic freedom the American Association of University Professors has censured 10 major university administrations, including 2 this week, for failing to observe recognized standards of academic freedom and tenure. Even the attitude of the average American citizen toward our basic freedoms has materially

changed. A study by Samuel Stouffer disclosed that while at the height of World War II only a quarter of the American people favored suppression of mild Socialist journals, today that view is shared by almost half of the population.

How does all this relate to the great dilemma of democracy? It means that in vainly grasping for security at any cost we have seriously endangered our individual liberties. The delicate balance between national security requirements and the needs of individual liberty has been seriously thrown out of kilter in America by these actions and the environment they have created.

The phrase "delicate balance," however, gives us a clue to the solution of our dilemma. The answer is not simply one horn or the other. Individual liberty and national security do not of necessity form an incompatible dichotomy. Both are needed for democracy to function properly in the present world crisis. The dilemma can only be resolved by achieving what Aristotle termed the golden mean. We cannot continue a futile search for absolute security for in so doing we endanger the very core of the democratic system. Nor can we expect to achieve absolute freedom. That such absolutes are attainable is the great delusion of our age, the delusion of the disciples of Karl Marx at one end of the political spectrum, and of the thin-lipped men of the right at the other.

The gravest fault in the present system is not the attempt to provide adequate security, but rather the failure to test proposed measures of security by the yardstick of long-established guaranties of freedom of the individual. The answer is not the abolition of security programs but a drastic revision bringing them within their proper historical context. We must reverse those legislative acts which infringe on our liberties and once again rely on long-standing laws to protect us, such as the Conspiracy Act of 1861. We must again place our loyalty programs on a sound basis and provide the normal constitutional safeguards to all those accused. We must rid ourselves of the psychology of fear and suspicion which has eaten away at our democratic system like acid.

These things can never be done unless we the people understand the dilemma of democracy and insist that a balanced relationship be reestablished. The power of an enlightened citizenry cognizant of the full meaning of democracy is tremendous. Often in the past it has been just such a sentiment among an aroused people which has halted what they considered to be unwise changes in our sacred traditions. This happened in 1937 when President Roosevelt's Court reorganization bill was defeated because of the moral resentment expressed by the great mass of people outraged by the proposal.

But for us to exercise this tremendous influence in the cause of preserving our liberties, we must regain our confidence in the solidarity of American institutions and traditions and overcome our indifference to the fate of those institutions. Only by faith in our democratic processes and an alertness to their preservation can we obtain the best possible security—the only real security compatible with our beliefs.

We must, above all, realize, as Adlai Stevenson has said, we cannot protect ourselves from our enemies by building barricades made of the broken cornerstones of free institutions."

The question which President Lincoln posed in 1860 does not present an unanswerable dilemma. Today, as always, the solution lies in the valley of the golden mean between the jagged edges of tyranny and anarchy. We can and must have both security and freedom.

United States Savings and Loan League Opposes Veterans' Provisions of Housing Bill, H. R. 6659

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am including in the RECORD, a letter dated April 10, 1957, from the United States Savings and Loan League expressing opposition to any shift of the veterans' program away from the Veterans' Administration. The league is also opposed to using the reserves of the national service life insurance program for the purchase of FHA veterans' preference mortgages. The letter of April 10, 1957, follows:

UNITED STATES SAVINGS AND LOAN LEAGUE,
Chicago, Ill., April 10, 1957.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN TEAGUE: In response to your letter of April 9, I am happy to indicate the position of the United States Savings and Loan League with respect to the veterans' sections of H. R. 6659. In general the league opposes the veterans' sections and endorses the position taken by your committee April 9.

Specifically, the United States League is opposed to any shift of the veterans' program away from the Veterans' Administration. While the establishment of a veterans' section under the FHA might technically leave the veterans' loan program undisturbed, as a practical matter it amounts to the same thing as placing the loan guaranty program under the FHA. The history of the operation of Government agencies on this point is only too clear. Thus we emphatically oppose section 103 (c), beginning on page 3 of the bill.

The league position with respect to National Service Life Insurance funds was stated before the House Banking Committee as follows:

"The league is opposed to the use of NSLI funds, primarily on the grounds that NSLI reserves are currently invested in Government securities, the sale of which would cause further tightness in money markets and largely defeat the objective of improving the flow of home financing. Further, the league shares the apprehension of other groups about using veterans' life insurance funds for various special purposes."

Thus the league is quite definitely opposed to section 205, beginning on page 16 of the bill.

The provision regarding control of discounts was added subsequent to the league's appearance before the committee. The league views discounts as a method of adjusting yields on fixed interest rate loans to market conditions, and does not look upon them as an illegal or improper device. There are such tremendous practical and administrative problems to discount control that even with the flexibility provided in that section we seriously doubt that the result will be worthwhile.

We realize, of course, that your committee has acted on the interest rate question, but we feel that any discussion of the veterans' home loan program should include our reiteration that an increase in the interest rate to 5 percent is the only truly effective way to rejuvenate the veterans' home loan progrom. We also believe that it is the simplest, fairest, and most economic method. Incidentally, the 58 percent increase in applications for FHA loans between December and February is an indication that the increase in the FHA rate has resulted in an actual increase in loan volume.

We hope that you and your committee will successfully oppose the various veterans' sections of the housing bill.

Sincerely yours,

STEPHEN SLIPHER,
Staff Vice President.

Why Poland Should Be Helped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following statement sets out clearly and concisely some of the reasons why special consideration should be given to the problem of Poland's fight for freedom from the Communist dictators.

In this morning's news dispatches from abroad, a report again comes that a revolution is now fomenting in certain areas of Poland.

The Polish American Congress, in the following report, sets out practical reasons why aid should be given to this struggling nation at this time:

WHY POLAND SHOULD BE HELPED—A STATEMENT BY THE POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS

Since the October upheaval in Warsaw, when, in the wave of unrest and discontent of the population, Polish Communists recognized the urgency of needed economic and political reforms, American sympathy for Poland has been growing rapidly. From humanitarian and, to some extent, diplomatic views, at least 90 percent of American press and radio and television commentators favor technical and economic help for Poland. However, in this gratifying wave of sympathy for the Polish people, a sense of apprehension could be detected. One question is being frequently asked: Whether, while helping Poland, we would at the same time strengthen the Soviet Union and communism?

The answer to this question is an emphatic "No," for the following reasons:

1. The Polish people are painfully aware of the fact that Communist concepts of economy and industrial planning have brought them to the brink of disaster. The Communists themselves accepted this truth by retreating from such spheres of economic activities as the collectivization of farms which has been brought to a standstill, and complete socialization of small private enterprises which has been abandoned.

These two examples prove beyond doubt that the Polish people have forced Communists to a considerable retreat from stubborn entrenchment in Marxist-Leninist theories and practices. And this is only the beginning. Given more time, and moral as well as material support, the Poles will eventually go farther on the road to complete independence.

2. Polish national interests, historic evolvement, as well as cultural and spiritual ties

with western civilization, clash with Communist designs for world domination. Polish implacable hostility toward communism in general and toward Russian colonialism in particular is a proven fact of history.

There is no danger, that by helping Poland economically we would be strengthening communism and the Soviet Union. On the contrary, stronger and more independent Poland would mean a gradual retreat of communism in central and east Europe and would effectively oppose Russian designs for conquest.

Another argument is being set forth even by people whose sympathy toward Poland is sincere, that there is a great risk involved in helping the Polish people now. They say that American aid for Poland would provoke Russian wrath against the Poles. They add that the Polish people have already aroused Russian antagonism to a breaking point.

Let us bear in mind, therefore, that the Poles are well aware of the risk. They are willing to take it. The very fact that they asked us for help instead of begging the Kremlin for handouts, proves beyond doubt that Poland wants to return to the western family of nations where her national birth placed her a thousand years ago. The Poles have already taken a risk by turning to the West. It should be evaluated as a calculated risk. They are risking far more in turning to us than we are risking in granting them help.

The stakes are high and worth the chance both for Poland and for the United States. In the long view of history, the Communist system of government forced on Poland by the might of Russian army is only transitory. Poland, as a nation, successfully opposed russification in the past and, with her boundless devotion to freedom and democracy, will emerge victorious from Communist oppression. But she needs our help and fully deserves to be helped in her hour of dire need.

Finally, some aspects of Poland's foreign policy are being used in arguments against a large-scale help. We should remember that Poland's current foreign policy is not of her own choice. It has been linked to Russia with full consent and support of the Western Powers at Yalta. Poland is not yet able to follow an independent course in foreign affairs. This can develop only in accordance with the amount of material and moral help that Poland could get from the West.

The T–44

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Army last week adopted the new lightweight T–44 Springfield Armory developed rifle to replace the Garand M–1 as the standard shoulder piece for ground troops. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have printed in the RECORD an editorial on the Army's rifle decision taken from the Springfield (Mass.) Union on May 3. The editorial points out that the awarding of substantial orders for the production of the new rifle at the Springfield Armory would be the logical development of the T–44's creation at that installation.

The editorial follows:

THE T–44

Springfield maintains its identity as the matrix of the standard infantry shoulder weapon with the Army's acceptance of the T–44 as the basic small arm of United States ground forces. The T–44, a light automatic rifle, was designed at Springfield Armory. Eventually it will replace the M–1, or Garand, which supplemented the old .30-caliber Springfield rifle, both of these famed weapons having been the products of our armory designers, and both having contributed to this city's economy through local manufacture of a large part of the Army's supply.

What the T–44 will mean to Springfield economically is conjectural, in a sense, but Representative EDWARD P. BOLLING says that it looks good for the armory to maintain its 2,500-man work level. In view of some employment cutbacks and alarming but disproved indications that more might be in store, the prospect is encouraging.

No one wants the return of wartime conditions that swelled the Springfield payroll to over 6,000 during the Korean struggle. At the same time, the armory, as an integral factor of the city's prosperity, is an essential establishment. A body of skilled labor has been built up over the years and, of course, it can be maintained only by adequate employment. To dissipate it by the near-cessation of manufacture, as was contemplated last year, would be to weaken the national defense, since we must assume that as long as wars are fought the men on the ground will do much of the fighting, in spite of predictions of full push-button warfare. Ground forces fight largely with rifles.

The results of exhaustive tests indicate that they will have an excellent rifle in the T–44, which proved superior to the Belgian and other models in the extensive trials that preceded the Army's decision to adopt it. It is light, shoots 20 rounds with one pull of the trigger, and is effective under all climatic conditions. It will become the basic weapon of infantrymen in NATO forces, as well as those of the United States. The award of substantial orders for its production to the Springfield Armory would be the logical development of its creation at that installation.

Milepost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, we live at a pace that sometimes causes us to forget the simple and wonderful pleasures. One of these is fishing. In the district I represent fishing is a major sport enjoyed by young and old. One appreciative fisherman is Charles V. Stanton, editor of the News-Review of Roseburg. His editorial of April 27, 1957, entitled "A Fisherman Is Born," tells well a story which is as old as time itself.

The editorial follows:

A FISHERMAN IS BORN

(By Charles V. Stanton)

He wasn't very big—but, then, no one is big at 10 years of age.

Maybe, though, if he were a little bigger he wouldn't feel so much like he was going to burst. It was awfully hard to keep all that pride in a 10-year-old body, especially as he caressed, as he did now, the shiny, new fishing rod and its companion reel.

Dad had brought them to him last night after he'd gone to bed.

Dad had come into the bedroom, turned on the light, and then from behind his back brought out the fiber case with the new rod, the box with the reel, and the spool of line.

"Tomorrow," Dad said, "is the first day of fishing season. You've never had your own outfit. You've always used one of my old ones. So this one is yours. It's brand-new. You must take care of it.

"And tomorrow you may go fishing alone. I know that the creek over on the back of the farm isn't as big as the river where you and I have fished together, but there are fish in the creek and you may go there by yourself. Your mother will have a lunch ready for you and you may go right after breakfast."

Then Dad had gravely shaken hands, voiced a hearty "good luck," turned out the light, and departed.

THE SEASON OPENER

He hadn't slept much. Lying there in the dark, he had removed the rod from its case and fondled it time and again. He had spun the reel, trying click and drag. As soon as daylight came, he had roused to wind the new line onto the reel.

Mother, at breakfast time, hadn't taken too kindly to the idea of his traipsing off clear across the farm to fish by himself, but Dad had settled that.

"Bud and I opened the season together last year," Dad reminded her. "I can't get out today, but there's no reason Bud should stay home. He knows how to fish and he knows how to take care of himself. He'll be O. K."

Now he was off by himself, the first time he had ever fished alone. He carried the new outfit carefully as he crossed the fields and familiar woods on the way to the creek that came out of the mountains to flow through the woodlot and meadows.

Soon he would be there. He knew just the pool.

He would stop well back from the creek. He would take a worm from the can he had filled in the barnyard and would loop the worm on the hook.

He recalled how Dad had shown him the way to put on the worm, carefully making loops that weren't regular, because that wouldn't be natural, and keeping the hook, particularly the point, hidden.

Then he would bend low and slip up very quietly to the water, just like Dad had taught him to do, and he would drop the worm into the pool right near an overhanging limb, keeping himself hidden behind the old stump, and he would be sure and make no sudden movement until he had his fish hooked.

A DAY TO REMEMBER

And after he had fished out the pool, he would move on down to where the creek went through the rock cut that he always called the gorge. It really wasn't a gorge at all—just a place where the stream had cut through a small rise in the land.

He and Dad sat there one day and ate their lunch and Dad had pointed out to him how the creek had once gone a long way around the rise, and how it had taken many, many years for the little stream to wear away a grain of sand at a time until it had made the shorter course.

And Dad had told him something he only half understood, that sometimes a person must have a lot of patience to fight against obstacles in life, but if he just kept working away, never stopping, always pushing ahead to his objective, he was sure to succeed; but to remember the stream had to work hard and for a long time.

And as he thought back to what Dad had told him he wished that Dad was along now—or did he?

He sure had a swell dad. Dad understood. He understood that a 10-year-old was grown up. Well, maybe not quite grown up, but almost. And he understood that there were times when a man needed to get off by himself. He understood, too, that there's a lot

of difference between your own fishing outfit and a hand me down.

Now trudging along the trail, almost in sight of the water with excitement rising, there was realization that this would be a day to remember.

Dad sometimes said something about a day being a milepost. This must be what he meant.

Veterans of Foreign Wars Opposes Veterans' Provisions of Housing Bill, H. R. 6659

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter from Veterans of Foreign Wars expressing opposition to the veterans' provisions of H. R. 6659. VFW has pointed out that the organization is opposed to any legislation which threatens the dismemberment of the Veterans' Administration by transferring a veterans' benefit program to another Federal agency. Opposition of the Veterans of Foreign Wars to H. R. 6659 is based on the concern of that organization that the bill is an indirect method of raising interest rates on veterans' housing.

The letter which I have received from the Veterans of Foreign Wars follows:

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., April 29, 1957.

Re H. R. 6659.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I regret the delay in answering your inquiry concerning the above-captioned bill which has been reported by the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

This bill, H. R. 6659, would, no doubt, have an appeal to some veterans who have not carefully thought it through. However, in my opinion, which is supported by our professional staff in Washington, the bill poses a threat to future congressional committee jurisdiction over veterans housing legislation, as well as a threat toward the ultimate transfer of the administration of the veterans' home-loan program from the Veterans' Administration to the Federal Housing Administration.

The VFW will be unable to support H. R. 6659 largely for the reasons stated in the preceding paragraph. In addition, the bill, while offering some preferences to veterans in obtaining FHA insured loans, indirectly increases interest rates to veterans from 4½ to 5 percent. It occurs to me and to our staff that this indirect increase in the interest rate constitutes one of the major objections to the legislation.

The national organization of the Veterans of Foreign Wars has had longstanding policies supporting jurisdiction by the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs over legislation specifically affecting veterans and the dependents of veterans; opposing any legislation which threatens the dismemberment of the Veterans' Administration by transferring the administration of veteran-benefit programs to other agencies; and has opposed specifically any further increase in the interest rate applicable to GI loans for veterans.

Trusting this information answers your inquiry and assuring you that we are continuing our support of your bill to expand and liberalize the direct-loan program for veterans which has been approved by the House of Representatives, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

COOPER T. HOLT,
Commander in Chief.

Broader Facilities Needed in Texas for Mentally Retarded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, the Fort Worth Star Telegram has rendered a significant public service in the printing of a series of articles by Blair Justice on the increasingly important, but little understood problem of retarded children.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting four articles in which Mr. Justice has performed a very sensitive work in portraying the problems of educational facilities and public acceptance and understanding of these children.

THE TRAINABLE—I: MUCH BROADER FACILITIES NEEDED IN TEXAS FOR MENTALLY RETARDED

(By Blair Justice)

The child looking at you in the adjacent picture is a mongoloid. He is what people call mentally retarded. His name is Donnie Biser and he lives at 4324 Donnelly with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. LaVerne Biser. He his a normal 9-year-old sister named Carol Sue and an normal 6-year-old brother named Roland.

Donnie is just one of a number of mentally retarded children who will appear in pictures and stories in the Star-Telegram in coming days.

All will be named. Their parents want it that way. They want society to become aware and, if possible, to accept these children, these victims of mental retardation.

Just what is mental retardation? As the term will be used in this series, it means a brain that has been damaged or impeded in its growth, or for any reason is deficient. Retardation can result before birth—from any of approximately 100 causes including certain diseases, authorities report.

CAUSE IS NOT KNOWN

Donnie is called a mongoloid because his slant eyes and facial features resemble those of the Mongolians of Asia. No one knows specifically why children are born with such a condition.

But the fact is that, like other mentally retarded children, they are born; they are a part of society and there is a decision to be made as to what to do with them.

If you find the subject or pictures "depressing," then the decision will have to be made by others willing to face these children.

As you can see, Donnie has a broad, flat face and coarse features. He also has a thick tongue, stubby fingers, and short arms and legs (all characteristics of mongoloids).

Mongoloids are not representative of all mentally retarded children. Other boys and girls with mental impairment have no physical manifestations of it at all. Some even are extremely attractive and beautiful children. These also will be pictured and written about.

BILL WOULD AID THEM

Why a series on any of these children?

One of the reasons is this: In the next few weeks, perhaps even in the next several days, the legislature of this State has a decision to make. And it is your decision just as much as it is the people who represent you in Austin.

A bill has been introduced to provide public-school funds for mentally retarded children in the so-called trainable group.

There are many interpretations of what trainable means, but it is generally accepted as meaning children who cannot learn (many can never learn to read, write or work any arithmetic). Their I. Q.'s are believed to be between about 25 and 50.

What most can learn is training in self-care, getting along with people, and a limited amount of usefulness to others.

The State already provides Gilmer-Aikin funds to local school districts for the so-called educable mentally retarded. These children, authorities say, can learn up to fifth or sixth grade subject matter by the time they are 16 or 17 years old. Their I. Q.'s are accepted as being between about 50 and 70.

HALF CHRONOLOGICAL AGE

Donnie is one example of the mentally retarded children believed to be in the trainable category.

Donnie's mental age, his mother says, has been tested as being between 3 and 4. That means his behavior and thoughts are roughly analagous to those of a normal child about 3½ years old. Donnie's chronological age is 7½.

Since he can do just about half of what an average 7½-year-old child can do (in test situations), Donnie's I. Q. is estimated somewhere between about 0 and 50 (100 is taken as average).

Unlike the educable child, Donnie and the so-called trainable are never expected to be able to support themselves or be self-sustaining members of society. The best the authorities can tell, these children will reach a mental age of between 3 and 7 at maturity.

EDUCABLE MOST NUMEROUS

Now, the trainable do not constitute the biggest percent of the mentally retarded. The educable are most numerous, according to authorities. (There is yet a third, smaller category called the custodial. These are below the trainable and may be so helpless that the term human vegetable is applied to them by some people.)

The trainable are numerous enough (an estimated 19,970 in Texas) to make training them a fairly costly item to the people of Texas.

But the cost is probably not the major consideration. More important, many authorities believe, are the implications of this proposed legislative action—not only to the trainable but to all retarded children; not only to parents of the retarded but to all of the community.

WON'T TAKE SIDES

This series will neither support nor oppose the legislation concerning the trainable. It will, however, confine itself as much as is feasible to the trainable since it is these children on whom a decision must be made.

The emphasis will be on individual persons, by name and address. What may be said about the children mentioned may not apply to other mentally retarded even in the same group.

If there is one point the best informed authorities seem to agree upon it is this: No two cases of mental retardation are alike. The mentally retarded, like people more

fortunate, are individuals with individual differences.

THE TRAINABLE—II: TEXANS MUST MAKE CHOICE, THROUGH LEGISLATURE, FOR MENTALLY RETARDED

(By Blair Justice)

The boy whose picture you see with this story has learned to recognize his name, which is David Lee Roberts. He is now learning his address, which is 2412 South Jones. David is 7½.

Roger Gilliland, Jr., who will be seen later, is a 17-year-old boy who takes great pride in learning at school this year how to tie his shoestrings.

Jimmy Wrinkle, 16, has learned to talk in sentences. Five years ago when he entered his class his speech was limited to single words, "always whispered," according to his teacher.

These three boys are mentally retarded. Their levels of retardation are believed to be spaced between the severest and the mildest groups. The mentally retarded group in which they are classified is called the trainable.

IN PILOT CLASS

It is for children such as these that a bill is before the funds for special classes.

At present Roger and David are in classes at the Children's Opportunity Center, 3208 Ivey, and Jimmy is in a pilot class at West Van Zandt Elementary School.

The State's Gilmer-Aikin school funds are not available under present law either to the Opportunity Center or the West Van Zandt class for the trainable.

The same applies to the TCU Speech Clinic, where a third program for trainable children is offered in Fort Worth. Donnie Biser, the 7½-year-old mongoloid pictured in the first of these stories, attends classes there.

Roger, Jimmy, David Lee, and Donnie are examples of how those families with children of impaired mentality are coming forward in Texas wanting to know what society is going to do with them.

ON ALL LEVELS

The State is rapidly coming face to face with its mentally retarded—not only the trainable but those on all levels.

Regardless of whether society wishes to keep these children hidden or out of special public-school classes, the fact remains that they are stepping out into the open and are growing in number.

"It is safe to assume that there were almost twice as many mentally retarded children born in 1954 as there were in 1940."

Those are the words of the Board of Texas State Hospitals and Special Schools in its proposed capital budget before the legislature. The board is talking about Texas when it says twice as many mentally retarded are being born.

The reason for the increase is the fact there are twice as many births of all types now.

WHAT TO DO

Where to put the retarded? What to do with—or for—them?

The Austin State School has an 18 month waiting list of applications. These are from parents and guardians who believe institutional care is best for their mentally retarded children.

The big majority of parents try to keep their retarded at home. An estimated 80 percent of the retarded are outside institutions. And parents are coming forward seeking help for their children on a community level.

Each year the problem, both on the State and local level, becomes greater. Besides the rapid increase in birth rate, there are at least two other major factors:

1. New drugs and improved medical care are helping the mentally retarded live longer. Some of these children are particularly susceptible to infections, which formerly killed many in youth. Now antibiotics kill the infections.

2. More and more parents of mentally retarded children are banding together in organizations. They are demanding more care and services for their children.

RECOGNIZING SERVICES

A demand for bigger institutions has resulted from the fact that more parents are recognizing the improved services offered at State residential schools.

The special schools board says 300 new beds are needed for each of the next 10 years. Including auxiliary facilities the cost would be $10 million.

A nursery unit is proposed for housing severely retarded infants who become major problems at home.

"Texas is one of the few States that is not providing services to this group," says the board.

Of the 3,000 beds requested in the next 10 years, 1,000 are proposed for a unit in the Fort Worth-Dallas area in 1961.

State authorities contend that regardless of what action the legislature takes on providing local programs for the trainable, the need for State institutions is not going to diminish.

This series cannot possibly touch on the whole problem of mental retardation in Texas. It is too vast. By concentrating on action proposed for the trainable, it is hoped that some light is thrown on all retarded children in Texas.

Just how many are there of these trainable children?

The truthful answer is: Nobody knows.

The reason why will be in the next story.

THE TRAINABLE—III: MANY RETARDED JUST BEGINNING TO EDGE OUT OF BACK ROOM AND ATTIC

(By Blair Justice)

Until a few years ago Monte Young, now 12, was pretty much an unknown child.

Even if his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Homer Young, of 4210 Broadway Avenue, had no qualms about people seeing that he was a mongoloid, there was no place for Monte to go.

He couldn't go to school; his IQ was less than half that of the average child. He couldn't go to a special public-school class; there weren't any (there is a small one now).

He couldn't run and play with other children. His coordination was too poor and he was shy and timid.

He couldn't go talk with people. His speech was limited to a few single words and sounds.

So Monte mostly stayed at home. Unknown.

WHY NUMBERS NOT KNOWN

This is one of the major reasons why nobody knows how many mentally retarded children there are—particularly how many trainable and custodial (those most likely to stay out of sight of society).

As Walter Jacob points out in New Hope for the Retarded Child, there has never been an accurate and complete census of the number of mentally retarded of any kind.

How could there be? For years society's stigma was so strong that countless children (not Monte, but many others) were kept in attics and back rooms from fear someone might know they existed. Some are still there, authorities feel.

The estimate—or perhaps it should be called a guesstimate—of the National Association for Retarded Children is that 30 persons in every 1,000 are mentally retarded. Four of these 30 are believed to be in the trainable or semidependent group.

CARE FOR THEMSELVES

The trainable are those whose brains have been damaged or lack potential to the extent that the child cannot master such things as reading, writing, and arithmetic. They can be trained, most authorities believe, how to take care of their personal needs, how to be useful around or under close supervision and how to get along with themselves and others.

The Texas State Department of Education told a legislative hearing on the trainable bill that there are an estimated 19,970 of these children in the State, out of a total scholastic population of 1,997,000.

Fort Worth has about 3.4 percent of the State's scholastic population. This would give the Fort Worth area about 678 trainable children.

School authorities here feel this figure is too high. It is based on the assumption that 1 percent of the population is in the trainable mentally retarded group. There is no way of proving or disproving this, lacking a comprehensive census and an accurate means of diagnosing and classifying the mentally retarded.

FIVE HUNDRED ON ROLLS

This much is known: The Fort Worth Council for Retarded Children has on its rolls the names of 500 families in which at least 1 member is mentally retarded.

Only a year or so ago the roster listed 300 names. The increase came simply from people hearing and reading about the council. How many more there are is anyone's guess. No one knows how many of the present 500 are trainable.

Concrete evidence does exist, however, of how mental retardation compares in prevalence with other permanent afflictions, such as rheumatic heart disease, cerebral palsy, paralytic polio, deafness, blindness, epilepsy.

The State of Washington recently completed a census of handicapped children found in seven school districts. Mental retardation ranked first in every district, accounting for nearly three times as many children as any other handicap, exclusive of emotional disturbance.

NOT MENTAL ILLNESS

Mental retardation, it should be noted, is not the same thing as mental illness. Mental illness involves a disturbance in emotions and feelings and the ability of a person to adjust to his environment.

In mental illness there is often nothing wrong with the person's brain as far as its capacity and potential are concerned. In fact, the mentally ill person may be of high intelligence.

In mental retardation the brain is limited and the intelligence below normal. The brain has been damaged, impeded in its growth, or inherently lacks potential. There may be nothing at all wrong with the way it works in its limited sphere.

Some of the causes of retardation (there are supposed to be up to 100) will be discussed in later stories.

HOW MUCH FROM SCHOOLS

A more immediate question is, How far down in intelligence and potential are the public schools to go in their responsibility toward the individual and society?

Where does education and training, in a vocational sense, stop and custodial care in the classroom begin?

There are a number of questions such as these being asked in connection with the legislative bill to put the trainable in the public school classroom. There are a number of answers being given.

This series will try to explore both questions and answers, but to do so it must go to the people involved—to the educators, the parents of the retarded, to the retarded themselves, the community, the legislators, school administrators, the teachers, the people at the Austin State School, physicians, and mental retardation authorities.

THE TRAINABLE—IV: LAW SAYS ALL CHILDREN ENTITLED TO EDUCATION, INCLUDING RETARDED

(By Blair Justice)

If you walked into a public-school classroom and found that only 3 of the pupils—some as old as 16—were capable of writing their name, what would you think?

What if you found that more than half of this class of 9 had received instructions for 5 years and that still only 3 could count to 10?

Would you think that these children couldn't be educated and the public schools had no business with them?

Some Texas school administrations are privately questioning whether mentally retarded children who cannot be taught to read, write, or work arithmetic should be put in the public-school classroom.

PERSONAL NEEDS

The mentally retarded group called the trainable are such children. Authorities feel most can be trained to take care of their personal needs, to behave in an acceptable manner, and to be useful to a limited extent. But the authorities don't believe the children have the mentality to master the three R's.

The class mentioned at the start of this story is not a hypothetical one. It exists at West Van Zandt Elementary School, and the teacher, believing there is more to education than the 3 R's, frankly admits that after 5 years only 1 of her original 5 pupils can write her name without a copy to go by.

Other questions also are being asked in connection with the bill before the legislature providing State funds for special public-school classes for the trainable.

SCHOOL RESPONSIBILITY

Is it right that the time and effort of public schools be diverted toward children who are not ever expected to contribute to society?

Let Ray Graham, assistant superintendent of public instruction for the State of Illinois, answer that one. He has visited the trainable class at West Van Zandt.

Schools, he said, have a responsibility not only to the community and society but also to the individual and his family.

"How can one accept a belief in the American way of life without seeing that the school helps to maintain family unity when it helps with a problem of this kind?" he asks.

"I am convinced that the schools can supplement the home in training these children; the trainable child can improve in his ability to help himself, to care partially for himself, to work and play with others, to speak better, to listen better, to use his hands more effectively, live happily in a small group and inoffensively in larger groups."

ALL ENTITLED

And then there is the individual. What are his rights? What is the school's responsibility toward him?

The school law of the State of Texas in article 2902 states: "All children, without regard to color, over 6 years of age and under 18 years of age * * * shall be entitled to the benefit of the public-school fund for that year." (Note the "All" and the word "entitled.")

Says Chris J. DeProspo, professor of education at the City College of New York: "Thus it would seem to be the function of education in a democracy to insure that all children be given equal educational opportunities."

And what is the view of Dr. J. W. Edgar, commissioner of education for Texas? "Personally," he stated, "it is my opinion that trainable children shou'd have, through public support, full opportunity to develop their potential."

But another question being asked is: Instead of all this effort in behalf of the trainable, who can't contribute to society, why isn't more done in the way of special classes for the gifted who can contribute?

ALL ARE IMPORTANT

Graham's comments: "The democratic philosophy toward children or toward schools will not play one group against another * * * all children are important, and each child is important. There shall be no attempt to classify 'the sheep and the goats.'"

And here is the answer of a man who has a mentally retarded child himself, Dr. E. L. Pross, chairman of speech, drama, and radio in TCU's fine arts department:

"It would behoove the parents of the gifted to seek action for their children just as we are doing for ours." (The gifted are considered to have IQ's above 130.)

Some critics of the legislative action being sought for the trainable speak of it in terms of parent pressure.

"What's wrong with parent pressure?" asks Pross. "Legislation in this country comes only after a need is demonstrated. Who is better qualified than parents to demonstrate a need for this? We live with the problem 24 hours a day."

WEAK CASE

"Every parent who has a child who is atypical is interested in doing something to help him—whether the child is atypical because of polio or any other handicap, including mental retardation.

"We have a weak case in that our children are not likely to contribute to society. We must stand in line and wait. But as a taxpayer, I don't see why my child should be denied facilities just because he has an IQ below 50. There's nothing magic about that line."

(Under State law, handicapped children who are crippled, blind, deaf, or have speech defects are eligible for special education classes supported by the State.)

AMVETS Opposes Veterans' Provisions of Housing Bill, H. R. 6659

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, AMVETS has expressed its opposition to the veterans' provisions of the housing bill, H. R. 6659. AMVETS has expressed its conclusion that the bill will not in any manner serve the best interests of veterans and has specifically expressed its opposition to use of the reserve fund of the National Service Life Insurance program for the purchase of mortgages under the FHA veterans' preference program proposed by H. R. 6659. AMVETS has also expressed its opposition to those portions of H. R. 6659 which interfere with the operation of the veterans' housing program under the Veterans' Administration.

The letter from AMVETS to me follows:

AMVETS,
Washington, D. C., April 11, 1957.

The Honorable OLIN E. TEAGUE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TEAGUE: This is in response to your letter of April 9, 1957, wherein you request AMVETS' views on those portions of H. R. 6659 affecting housing for veterans.

We have studied carefully the provisions of H. R. 6659 as it relates to veterans and have reached the firm conclusion that this legislation will not in any manner serve the best interests of veterans. Rather, it would have the practical effect of destroying the sound veterans housing program already established and being administered by the Veterans' Administration. AMVETS, therefore, must register its vigorous opposition to the so-called veterans preference provisions of this measure.

As you know, AMVETS, in concert with other major veterans organizations, have consistently opposed any increase in the interest rate on veterans home loans. The Committee on Veterans' Affairs has on two occasions this year rejected proposals to accomplish this purpose. Nonetheless, we are now confronted with a bill that will indirectly accomplish this unwarranted purpose. Even more objectionable is the fact that veterans must pay the higher interest rate under a program that lacks the safeguards and advantages of the program being administered by the Veterans' Administration.

In analyzing H. R. 6659, we note that section 205 would authorize the use of $1 billion of national service life insurance funds for the purchase of mortgages under the proposed FHA veterans preference program. It is inconceivable that the Congress of the United States would authorize the use of these funds, admittedly the property of veteran policyholders, for the purchase of 5-percent FHA mortgages when the 4½-percent Veterans' Administration guaranteed-loan program is in need of additional investment capital.

In the report accompanying H. R. 6659, the Banking and Currency Committee has emphasized that they have no intention of interfering in any way with the operation of the GI loan program. This philosophy, while commendable, is certainly not implicit in H. R. 6659. Any veteran who received an FHA veterans preference loan would, under the proposed legislation, be barred from any entitlement under the GI home-loan program. This provision most certainly interferes with the Veterans' Administration program.

In conclusion, Mr. TEAGUE, we of AMVETS reiterate our opposition to the veterans provisions contained in H. R. 6659. We earnestly solicit your active opposition to this measure and your support of an effective substitute that would liberalize FHA-insured loans for all citizens.

Sincerely yours,

DOMINICK L. STRADA,
National Commander.

Statement by Davis Y. Paschall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, the Governor of Virginia has recently appointed Dr. Davis Y. Paschall as State superintendent of public instruction to succeed Dr. Dowell J. Howard, whose death on February 23 was a grievous loss to public education in Virginia and the Nation. I believe that Governor Stanley, in making what he termed "possibly the most important appointment of my administra-

tion" was very fortunate in his choice of Dr. Paschall, who has served in the State department of education for 10 years successively as assistant supervisor of secondary education, supervisor of elementary education, associate director of instruction, and director of teacher education. Thus he brings to the top post in Virginia schools a thorough understanding of the State school system, sound professional training, unusual vision, and the conviction that a sound program of public free-school education must be based upon the fundamental tools of learning—reading, writing, and numbers.

Dr. Paschall received his early education in the schools of Lunenburg County, Va., where he lived on a farm. He has bachelors of arts and master of arts degrees from the College of William and Mary and earned his doctorate at the University of Virginia. He began his professional career as a classroom teacher and principal in the public schools of Virginia.

During World War II he served in the United States Navy as a communications officer aboard a a fleet minesweeper and later in the office of the Chief of Naval Operations. Upon his release from military service, he became field representative of the United States Office of Education for Virginia and then came to the State department of education.

Dr. Paschall is the recipient of the Sullivan award given in recognition of meritorious service to one's fellow man. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi, and Phi Delta Kappa.

He is active in community and civil affairs and is a past president of the Kiwanis Club, past zone governor of Ruritan national, and past district deputy grand master of the 27th Masonic district. He is married, has two children, and teaches an adult Bible class in the First Baptist Church in Richmond.

When Dr. Paschall accepted his appointment he issued the following statement, setting out his philosophy and general views on education, which is one of the finest statements on this subject that I have read:

STATEMENT BY DAVIS Y. PASCHALL

In acceptance of this appointment, I am overwhelmed by a deep sense of humility. It was my high privilege to know and work closely with Dr. Dowell Howard for the past 10 years. His integrity, devotion to duty, and outstanding contribution to education are increasingly felt under the sustained impact of his untimely passing.

I subscribe to the belief he held that we must constantly stress the fundamentals as the foundation of education. Those students planning to enter college should receive proper preparation for such entrance, and those leaving school for active life should be able to obtain in high school practical training of value to them in their field of work.

However much may be said for what should be taught, the effectiveness of instruction is determined by the quality of teaching. The most important essential for any school is that dedicated teacher who really cares and inspires in students a zeal to work, to think and learn; who encourages a respect for thrift, a love of country, a reverence for things spiritual, an appreciation of loyalty, and a sense of gratitude for noble sacrifice—that teacher who sees the old church at Jamestown, the ramparts at Yorktown, the Indian raid sites in the Southwest, and the quiet at Appomattox as mute memorials of sacrificial gallantry to those who valued some things more highly than personal security. To such a teacher we can trust our destiny.

Virginia has an efficient school system. I have visited classrooms from Lee to Accomac, and sincerely believe that we have an able and dedicated body of teachers, supervisors, and school administrators. I feel, however, that what is being done can always be improved, and in seeking this improvement lies our challenge. This challenge can be met if we can muster the wisdom on each problem to recognize those things that can be changed and those that cannot.

Our great school system has been realized through the hopes, efforts, and support of the people. I have a profound faith in the representatives of the people—the legislature and the governor—and our State board of education.

In these crucial times I am deeply aware of the unusually grave responsibility involved in this position. The fact that the problems are deep and complex is all the more reason that we should face them with intelligent study and avoid hasty decisions.

We can meet these problems if we will dispel unwarranted fears and the type of pessimism that lulls us into a do-nothing state of what's the use? We can meet them if we will earnestly strive for a consecrated bond of unity throughout this Commonwealth in the cause of education; if we will display the courage of dedicated conviction; and bring to bear the discipline of reason in all our deliberations.

In reflection on my experience as a farm boy in Lunenburg County, I recall my father's statement when we hitched the mules for a long day in the tobacco field: "Today, we will walk humbly and plow a straight furrow." This, with the help of divine providence, I shall endeavor to do.

The Farm Program—The $12 Billion Failure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the following article, which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of May 6, is most thought-provoking, and I thought it would be of interest to my colleagues. The article follows:

THE $12 BILLION FAILURE

When a Secretary of Agriculture calls 25 years and nearly $12 billion worth of Federal farm programs a failure, it is time for Congress and the country to sit up and take notice.

And that is exactly what Mr. Benson is saying. "These costs undoubtedly would be borne willingly if the program solved the problems, but the problems have not been solved." In particular, he observes, this tremendous expenditure has made little or no contribution to the problem of low-income farmers, in whose name farm programs are frequently defended.

Mr. Benson is not advocating the immediate jettisoning of all Government aid to agriculture; in fact he has not yet explained in detail what revisions he will ask. But he is serving notice, in the most emphatic terms, that unless the United States begins to take a realistic attitude toward farming, the problems will magnify and multiply.

Various forces have combined to cause the failure of Federal intervention in agriculture. One is a technological revolution which has robbed the parity formula of meaning; it is useless to try to compare the highly mechanized, highly fertilized farm of 1957 with the bucolic tract of 1913. This same revolution has also made a mockery of Government acreage controls; per-acre output rises year after year despite the most stringent limitations on the number of acres planted.

But an even more basic reason is the assumption of farm legislators and administrators over the years that they could defy, indefinitely and with impunity, the laws of the market place. The classic instance was the continuation for neary 10 years after World War II of the rigid 90 percent of parity price support system which had been introduced as a wartime measure to spur maximum production of basic crops for war needs.

What happened was what was bound to happen. The time came when these increasingly costly rigid price supports no longer supported farm prices. The surpluses they generated grew so great that prices started tumbling; the prop collapsed under the weight of the burden it was supposed to prop.

Under Mr. Benson, the Agriculture Department wrung from a reluctant Congress as much change as was then politically possible—the substitution of flexible supports within a range of 75 to 90 percent of parity. No one contended that this was anything more than a step toward balancing supply and demand. Still, it was a helpful step; the accumulation of Government gluts began to taper off.

Yet the limited range of flexibility contains its own seeds of failure. The support level goes down when the crops are in surplus, but it goes up as the surpluses are disposed of. This is what now threatens; as supports head back to 90 percent, a new stimulus will be given to overproduction and new surpluses created.

For this vicious circle Mr. Benson claims no doctrinaire solution. Certainly he does not think the soil bank is either a practical or a moral answer; a program which subsidizes nonproduction is contrary to our tradition. He does believe the direction must be toward much lower price supports and away from tight production controls.

In other words, the goal must be a gradual return to a free market in agriculture. No other conclusion, indeed, is possible. Government intervention has been tried for a generation and it doesn't work.

This plain fact may still not move the Members of the congressional farm bloc; they have been ignoring facts for years. But it is a sign of hope that a Secretary of Agriculture has the courage to tell the truth about agriculture.

The Nation, perhaps, could afford this $12 billion. It cannot longer afford laws—and lawmakers—bent on building bigger failures for the future.

Pay Raises for Their Workers Sought by Los Angeles County Postmasters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles County Postmasters Association

is representative of post offices of all sizes—small, medium, and large. It thus speaks authoritatively comprising, as it does, a cross section of our entire postal system. Many Congressmen and Senators have received a letter from the association recommending increases in pay for postal workers and giving cogent reasons for the recommendation. For the benefit of my colleagues who may not have received the letter, its text is as follows:

'At their regular monthly meeting on March 14, 1957, the Los Angeles County Postmasters Association unanimously approved a motion directing a special committee to address a letter to the chairmen and all members of the Senate and House Post Office and Civil Service Committees informing them of the serious situation existing in practically all post offices in southern California which is becoming more and more acute.

Practically all postmasters in southern California are confronted with a very serious problem that definitely jeopardizes the future of the postal service, is costly, and is very inefficient. This same problem has affected most Government agencies, even the Armed Forces, to an alarming degree. Man cannot live and support a family on loyalty alone; and we cannot expect to recruit competent, loyal, intelligent employees on the meager salary received in comparison with industry, city, county, and State positions. We are getting what we pay for; therefore we experience a 33-percent turnover. In all the cities we have checked, policemen and firemen start in at a salary exceeding the top grade of a clerk or carrier, and have a 20-year retirement plan.

It is the unanimous opinion of the Los Angeles County Postmasters Association of the National Association of Postmasters of the United States that a thorough study of the salary structure should be made immediately to rectify the glaring inequities in order that the postal service will have a definite program to offer to reach the class of citizen that will be a credit to our Government. With this in mind we offer the following suggestions:

1. Today substitutes receive all the fringe benefits allowed regulars, and receive more money; therefore there is no incentive in accepting a regular status. In fact, they actually take a pay cut when appointed regular. It is therefore suggested that the regular position be advanced to the place of respect formerly held, one that substitutes will again look forward to accepting. It is recommended that the starting grade of a regular be raised sufficiently above the corresponding substitute grade to create an incentive to work for.

2. It is suggested that serious study be given to cost of living increases, or area wage, through a wage board such as is now in effect in industry. It is understood that a bill relative to this has been introduced by Congresswoman ST. GEORGE. It must be obvious that salaries on a national scale produce terrific inequalities. The salary received here could have only half the value of the same amount paid in other parts of the Nation.

Many, many words have been used regarding efficiency or inefficiency, economy, etc., but we in the field know that the vast turnover we experience is both costly and inefficient. Until the inequalities existing in our competition with industry, city, and county are corrected, it will continue so. Not alone is the cost a factor, but what is worse is the decline of the high esteem the public has held of the postal service. We cannot long continue to offer excuses for complaints that mount up daily—the patience of the public can be strained only so far. We feel that this is the most vital issue in the post office today, to so set up a salary schedule that we can get young people of intelligence and loyalty eager to become postal employees as a life career. Then, and only then, can we give the service to which the patrons are entitled. It is a tragedy that we pay such a meager salary to the men who, day in and day out, work for the greatest service organization in existence. As vital representatives of our Government, they deserve better treatment. We should endeavor to get the best we can procure of our citizens to carry out this task, and not the leftovers. The time for action is now. Let us not wait until the service reaches an alltime low.

Letter From F. C. Olander

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I submit herewith for the attention of my colleagues a letter from Mr. F. C. Olander, of Watsonville, Calif., under date of April 10. I consider that Mr. Olander has given an excellent account of the problems facing small business.

The letter follows:

OLANDER'S,
Watsonville, Calif., April 10, 1957.

Hon. CHARLES GUBSER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GUBSER: It has come to my atten that the Congress contemplates a change in the Fair Labor Standards Act so that the minimum wage for the retail industry would be $1 an hour and that the maximum workweek would be 40 hours per week.

It is true that this proposed amendment at present will apply only to the larger stores, but so did the Federal Unemployment Tax Act start with exemptions for 8 or less employees, and is now down to 4 or more employees. Our State sales tax started at 1 percent, if I remember correctly, and is now 3 percent, and, with the county now assessing another 1 percent, we have the grand total of 4 percent, and Lord knows when this will end.

At the present time, on sales tax alone we are receiving this money, taking time on every sale to collect the proper amount, holding it for 30 to 90 days, and then accounting for it to the State gratis. In addition, if we make an error, we are subject to not only payment, but a penalty is added. Likewise, if we are as much as a day late in reporting and remitting, a 10-percent penalty is added. I know; it happened to me.

I have owned and operated a retail store here in Watsonville for 23 years this month and employ from 5 to 12 people, depending on the season. I have always believed that independent business could and should stand on its own two feet, and that what we lack in huge capital resources, low-cost multiple chainstore advertising rates, carload purchasing power, etc., could be pretty well balanced by personalized attention to our customers and our business; but after examining year after year our increasing costs of operation, increased taxes of all sorts from Government to personal property, and the bookkeeping expenses of collecting and accounting for employees' income tax, unemployment tax, sales tax, to name only a very few, plus the necessity of instituting health and accident benefit plans, and so on, I am now beginning to conclude that we are rapidly reaching the point where, unless some very intelligent thought and consideration, not to mention tax relief, is accorded us, and soon, stores such as mine and its counterparts throughout the Nation will be as extinct as the proverbial dodo bird, either through inability to shoulder the load or in voluntary closing, which has happened recently in our town as well as throughout the country, due simply to the fact that there is insufficient remuneration for the amount of capital invested and the long hours of work necessary to operate successfully.

In short, even though the volume of sales has increased steadily year after year, the increased labor, taxes, and other costs, such as freight, telephone, advertising, supplies, and practically everything else, have increased out of proportion to the profits from these increased sales.

It may be of interest to note that in the so-called soft-goods lines the ratio of selling price to wholesalers' cost is still pegged at almost exactly the same margin as it was some 20 years ago. For example, goods costing $15 to $15.75 per dozen still retail at $1.98 in most stores; $22.50 per dozen at $2.98; $30 at $3.98, and so on, due almost entirely to hesitation of the smaller independent retailer to break these pricing methods in the face of chainstore competition who can and will maintain this ratio as long as is necessary to finally throttle independent competition. But let your independent retailer drop out of the picture, and I wonder how long it will take the large chains to revise this percentage to reflect present-day costs in their retail prices, and at what cost to the consumer.

I feel that I must apologize for this very lengthy letter, and I assure you that it was not intended as such at the start, but I sincerely hope that you and your constituents will keep the problems of the smaller retailer firmly in mind as the aforementioned as well as other legislation comes up.

Very sincerely yours,

F. C. OLANDER.

A Salty Objection to Mr. Summerfield's Rate Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the appalling fact is that no studies have been made of the potential impact of the rate increases under consideration by the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. The Postmaster General strongly endorses the increases but he gives us no information about their economic effect on users of the mails. The increases are a step into darkness and the result may be tragic or near-tragic for many small businesses. The following well-written letter is one of many I have received from small firms which rely on third-class mail:

SALTWATER FARM, INC.,
Damariscotta, Maine, April 22, 1957

Hon. CHARLES O. PORTER,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have a very simple way of estimating the damage which would

befall this business if the Summerfield rate bill is enacted.

We operate a mail-order business in live lobsters and clams as well as a number of tinned seafoods. It is a small business; it appeals to a specialized group of people who like seafood and like to cook it themselves.

Saltwater Farm was incorporated and began business on May 1, 1949, with an initial capital of $735 and one employee in a building rented for $1 for 3 months (shortly after the conclusion of the rental the building fell into the Damariscotta River, an event which explains the level of rent). The corporation now has its own offices, a shipping plant, and a separate storage plant, as indicated on the letterhead at left, with a regular weekly payroll of 12 to 14 the year round plus additional temporary help at busy seasons.

Audited financial statements reveal that the net profit of the corporation is less than 3 percent of sales, and that the net profit per thousand mailings has averaged $17.04.

Enactment of the 2½-cent rate would cut our net by 58 percent. Enactment of the 2-cent rate would cut our net by 29 percent.

I do not suggest that we would be driven out of business by such rates. In the past 8 years we have survived hurricanes, railroad strikes, 30-below weather, railway express strikes, and many other different kinds of crises. I think that we would stay in business out of pure cussedness.

I would not be interested, however, in staying in a business of perishable luxury foods for a margin of less than 2 percent. I should be forced, therefore, to eliminate all temporary help and at least 6 and possibly 7 jobs here. This reduction would be paralleled by the loss of 1 or 2 jobs at the company which makes our barrels, plus 1 lobster buyer, and other curtailments in the ice company, and so on. I would be reluctant to do this but I think it would be forced on us. I have four hungry mouths and minds at home and cannot, therefore, be much interested in operating a philanthropic institution for the greater glory of Mr. Summerfield.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not a believer in subsidies. If the Post Office Department finds it can't handle third-class mail at a rate economically sound for both mailers and the Post Office Department, I am not going to yell for a handout. But if the Post Office Department can't handle it, then they ought to let me know so that I can save the expense of list maintenance, geographical arrangement, facing slips, postage meter rental, tying machines, and all the other costly items which we must maintain in order to perform all the functions which the Post Office Department requires for third-class mail.

A word or two about this embargo business. Only a word or two because it is so appallingly bad that it's hard to talk about it and keep one's temper. We were planning a mailing in early June; we had to order envelopes, photography, printing, arrange temporary help, and do all the things necessary to bring a mailing to the point when it's ready for the post office. As soon as we have that done we turn right around and try to plan Christmas. If the Postmaster General retains the power to embargo a class of mail any time the whim overtakes him, we might just as well either give up or go on to the reduced basis right away. Supposing the Postmaster General gets a 5-cent, first-class rate and embargoes third-class mail some sunny afternoon in October. We should be faced with the choice of spending $35 more per thousand in order to make $17.04 or not mail at all, thus throwing away thousands of dollars of printing and getting stuck with thousands of dollars of inventory. It is not only intolerable; it's downright silly.

I rejoice to learn of your interest in this situation. If things like this Summerfield business keep on happening up there in Washington I am likely to vote Democratic, or at least split my ticket. You would recognize how seriously I regard the situation by putting such a statement in writing in Lincoln County, where a man can rob a bank, violate the Mann Act, and maybe even eat a South African rock lobster tail and not be considered to have any fundamental defect in his character, until he leaves the Republican Party.

Faithfully yours,

EDWARD A. MYERS.

Hope Springs Eternal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER S. BARING
OF NEVADA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, when I visited Reno, Nev., during the Easter recess of Congress, a sermon was delivered by my sister, Rev. Marjorie L. Baring, which impressed me as being particularly thought provoking. Because of the numerous favorable comments which this sermon has received, I should like to submit a copy of its contents to the RECORD.

The sermon follows:

HOPE SPRINGS ETERNAL

(Easter Sunday sermon by Rev. Marjorie L. Baring)

The message of Easter is a message of hope. I believe that we will all agree that if ever anything appeared dark and hopeless, from the standpoint of worldly circumstances, it was the day when our Saviour underwent the experience of crucifixion. To His disciples who had followed Him faithfully, this sorrowful event must have appeared to be a tragic and ignoble end to their beloved Master's mission. If ever there were despair and discouragement in the hearts of men, it must have been on that day known to Christian followers as Good Friday, when He whom we worship as the Light of the World, climbed the hill to Calvary on the darkest day in earth's history.

This hopeless picture, however, was not the end of the Christian narrative, despite what appearances might have indicated. Good Friday was a climax, really, to a glorious fulfillment that was yet to come. Perhaps you have wondered why the day which commemorates our Lord's crucifixion should be designated as Good Friday. I believe that for us, as students of the truth, there is a lesson to be gained therein, for beyond this day of sorrow, disappointment, and utter despair, lay a day which marked the beginning of an era of hope, promise, and fulfillment. With the resurrection of the Master Jesus on Easter morn, the light of truth returned to the world more resplendent than ever, for a knowledge of eternal life was born in the minds of men. Yes; the light of the world had returned, just as He had promised, and the darkness of Good Friday was dispelled.

Had it not been for Good Friday, there could have been no true realization of the renewal of life, on Easter, and men's minds may have remained in darkness. It would be well for us to remember that out of every trying experience which comes to us, no matter how dark and difficult it may seem, the circumstance carries within itself some element of good. If a lesson is gained from an experience, no matter how painful, then there is an element of good in it. Furthermore, the way that we react to an experience indicates the extent of our spiritual growth.

If it were possible for us to grow into a greater understanding without having to undergo painful experiences, it would be wonderful, but unfortunately mankind does not tend to learn and grow in this manner. Had the world truly believed the message of eteral life which Jesus came to convey, there probably would have been no need for Him to undergo the experience of death, in order to prove the everlastings of life. If we, ourselves, could learn the truth about life, and the purpose of our being here, without having to endure the process of learning by experience, we would be fortunate, indeed. If our minds were totally attuned to God, and our attention turned to introspection, meditation, and prayer, our lives would be devoid of suffering and pain. However, it is because man's attention is not wholly fixed upon God and the realities of His kingdom, that man is forced to learn about life through the school of hard knocks and unhappy experiences. Many times, it is through bitter experience, heartbreak, and desperation that we are brought to center our attention upon God.

Actually, we have come to this earth for the sole and express purpose of becoming aware of our divine nature, and our existence in the everlasting life of God. The purpose of our earthly incarnation is to learn who and what we are. It is through the experiences which come to us in life that we gain this understanding. Experiences are the lessons by which we are ultimately taught the spiritual truths of God. Mankind seldom learns through the experience of pleasure. It is usually through suffering and hardship that man's mind is forced to seek for God, and it is usually in anguish or in desperation that man looks to God for deliverance.

Although experience is the means by which we learn our lessons, sometimes we do not learn enough with just a single sorrow. It is sometimes necessary for the lesson to be repeated over and over again, the circumstances becoming more painful with each repetition, until our lesson is finally gained. Only when the lesson is etched into our hearts, or burned into our minds, or when it becomes a conscious awareness within our being, do we truly rise to a point of spiritual understanding.

Many times we hear people say, "I can't understand why this particular situation has come into my life over and over again." Actually, we will meet the same lesson repeatedly, until our reaction to the experience is such that we will be freed from its recurrence in our lives. If we ask, "Why has this happened to me?" it is evidence that we still have not learned the lesson which the experience offered to us to learn.

Let us take for an example an individual who has had unfortunate experiences in marriage. Simply by divorcing one's husband or wife as an escape from an unpleasant condition does not free the individual from that particular problem. Entering into marriage with someone else might bring the very same condition into one's life again until the necessary inner change has been made within the individual. Only when a change of consciousness has occurred can we finish with a particular lesson or experience, no matter how many changes we may make in our outer conditions or circumstances.

The person who fails in business may continue to undergo that experience again and again, until his state of consciousness is changed. When something happens within him, when he gains a consciousness of success rather than failure, he will no longer be subjected to the experience of defeat.

The individual who has had the experience of great sorrow in his or her life, and who has given way to grief and despair, is liable to meet similar trying situations and circum-

stances, until the attitude of grief and despondency is overcome.

We see then that the experiences of our earthly lives come to us for one purpose. They are the means by which we grow in spiritual understanding. The lessons which come to us by way of experience provide us with the means by which we grow in spiritual stature. We could go on until the end of time, so to speak, reading all of the spiritual books that have ever been printed, and yet possess no real and actual wisdom. A knowledge of spiritual principles is one thing and the ability to exercise them and put them into practice is quite another. Until we demonstrate in our lives the knowledge which we have gained in our minds we do not in any wise possess true wisdom. The possession of wisdom is the outgrowth of putting into practice the knowledge which we have gained, and we acquire this wisdom through the experiences which we undergo.

Not until we can look at every experience, no matter how difficult or seemingly heartbreaking, and recognize in it an opportunity for growth and the means by which we arrive at some element of good, are we freed from meeting the condition again. When we eventually can look upon every experience impersonally, as a spectator looks upon an event or happening, or as a mathematician looks upon a problem to be solved, then we will be free from the effects of so-called bitter experiences. Only as we become detached from a problem can we cease to be involved in it. Now we may say, "That is easier said than done." Yes, this is true, for the only way that it can be done is by discovering who we are. Only when this spiritual secret has been revealed to us can we overcome the problems and experiences which come to us to be solved.

When we truly know and understand that the God who lives in us can never be caught in the realm of things, we have reached a high degree of spiritual understanding. The God who lives in us is greater than any human circumstance. The God who lives in us, the true Thinker, is greater than any human thought—or any human fear. The God who lives in us is unaffected by any outward appearance or circumstance, and is incapable of being touched by suffering, inharmony, sorrow, deprivation or even death.

In seeking a text for tonight's sermon, I chose the subject, Hope Springs Eternal, which is taken from the immortal words of Alexander Pope in his Essay on Man, which reads, "Hope springs eternal in the human breast—Man never is, but always to be, blest." We are not referring here to that kind of hope which is akin to wishful thinking. Frankly, I do not believe that there is anything more discouraging to a practitioner of truth, after working with someone to overcome a certain difficulty or problem, to have that individual reply, "Well, I hope you are right,"—or, "I hope God will answer my prayer." This kind of hope reflects a negative state of mind. It carries with it an element of doubt. The kind of hope that I am speaking of here tonight is that hopeful state of mind which looks to the light, even in the appearance of abject darkness.

The hope which springs eternal (or the hope which springs eternal in the human breast) is a quality of divinity—something which is an eternal quality in the heart of man. There is something deep down, within us, which causes us to look up and beyond the condition of despair—to look beyond the crucifixion to the ressurrection. This quality of hope is the Divine Promise from within which silently whispers to the mind that in spite of the darkness of appearances, some good will come from the experience. It is that attitude of hope which convinces the mind that regardless of seeming difficulties, there is a way out of every adverse circumstance. It is only when we turn from this quality of hope, and listen to the discouraging arguments of the mind, that we suffer.

The eternal quality of hope leads us out from the cloud, and into the sunshine. This kind of hope expresses a positive, and not a negative, state of mind. It affirms the truth of God's goodness, regardless of the negative appearance. It sees God's presence in the midst of any and all indications to the contrary. It keeps its vision placed upon the true and the real, and it lives on in man's heart, inspiring him to press onward and upward toward the light. The seed, planted in darkness, grows up toward the light. We grow through the darkness of earth's trials into the light of God. While the spiritual growing pains may not always be easy, they are tempered when we do not allow the light of hope to dim. Hope such as this anticipates the dawn, after blackest night; the blossoming and flowering of spring, after winter's cold sleep; and the glory of eternal Life, beyond the shadow of death.

Yes, the message of Easter is a message of hope—hope in eternal life. The Master Jesus brought to the world a message of life and hope and immortality. By His exemplification of the victory of life over death, man was lifted out of ignorance into the Light of Life. By pointing to the eternal Spirit of God in all men, Jesus delivered mankind out of darkness into a new level of spirtual enlightenment and understanding, expressed by the Apostle Paul in the words, "Christ in you, the hope of glory." He further states, "That being justified by His grace (the grace of Jesus Christ), we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life."

St. John tells us that "God is love." This love of God is within us. Love springs eternal, or eternally, just as hope springs eternally, in the human breast. Love "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." The Spirit of Christ in us, is our hope of glory. May each one of us who has been awakened to the Inner Christ, go forth to meet each new experience which comes to us in the spirit of Easter—in the resurrected consciousness—the consciousness which is filled with a knowledge of hope and triumph and life eternal.

Perspective of Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would call the attention of the Members to a splendid anthology Perspective of Germany, just published by Intercultural Publications, Inc., in cooperation with the Atlantic Monthly. The anthology presents a cross section of Germany's postwar activity in the fields of art, music, and literature, as well as notes on German history by President Theodor Heuss, an article on Germany Today and Tomorrow, by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, a piece on German scientific method by Werner Heisenberg, and observations on the political situation by Peter von Zahn, who is widely known in Washington for his reports on the American Political Scene for the German radio network.

Included is a section of beautifully done color reproductions of current German work in the field of art, sculpture, and architecture.

The Perspective series has previously concerned itself with anthologies on India, 1953; Holland and Belgium, 1954; Japan, 1955; Greece, 1955; Brazil, 1956; Indonesia, 1956; and the Arab World, 1956. Its publication is made possible through grants from the Ford Foundation to Intercultural Publications, Inc., a nonprofit corporation.

Perspective of Germany gives Americans a sense of the remarkable recovery made by Western Germany from the ruins of 1945, not merely in the material sphere, but in the cultural sphere as well.

Chancellor Adenauer concludes his contribution with this sentence:

I hope from the bottom of my heart that the Germany of tomorrow will be a unified and free Germany, able to perform important functions within the European union and making its full contribution to the peace and welfare of the whole world.

Americans everywhere will wish to join the chancellor in that hope.

Perspective of Germany is obtainable through Intercultural Publications, Inc., 60 East 42d Street, New York 17, N. Y., and can also be obtained at most bookshops and drugstores.

Governor Landon States That Rules and Regulations of the Federal Communications Commission Should Be Modernized

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted by the House, I am including a statement of Alf M. Landon, of Kansas, former Governor of our State. This statement was submitted by Governor Landon before a Senate Small Business Committee on April 29, 1957. Governor Landon calls attention to the needs of modification of rules of the Commission in respect to the operation of daytime radio stations throughout the country. Governor Landon's statement follows:

I am Alf M. Landon, of Topeka, Kans. I am the owner of fulltime Radio Station WREN, of Topeka, which operates on the regional channel of 1250 kilocycles with power of 5,000 watts. I also own a daytime-only station at Liberal, Kans. (KSCB) which operates on the class III regional channel of 1270 kilocycles with 1,000 watts. KSCB was built and went on the air in 1948. I have been a resident of Kansas since my boyhood and served two terms as Governor of the State. I have been active civicly and politically for many years.

I have been a member of the Daytime Broadcasters Association since it was first organized in January of 1954 because I feel that the aims and objectives of the organization seeking fixed and extended hours for the operation of the Nation's daytime radio stations are in keeping with the great need for additional radio broadcast service on the local level. I regret that I am unable to at-

tend the Senate Small Business Committee hearing in person to make this statement.

The State of Kansas has a population of 2 million people and we are served by a total of 46 standard AM radio broadcast stations. Twenty of these 46 stations are licensed by the Federal Communications Commission to broadcast only from local sunrise to local sunset. Sixteen of our Kansas daytime-only stations are located in communities that have no other standard broadcast facility on the local level. In these 16 communities, there is a blackout on local radio service when the sun goes down.

Liberal, Kans., is located near the Oklahoma-Kansas border in Seward County in southwest Kansas. The news and information as well as the many public service programs broadcast over KSCB is of vital interest and importance to the people of southwest Kansas and part of the Oklahoma Panhandle.

The rules and regulations of the Federal Communications Commission under which we are forced to operate today are basically the same as they were when first adopted some 25 years ago. Then, there were only some 600 radio broadcast stations serving the entire United States. Now there are over 3,000 stations serving the Nation. Forty percent of these 3,000 stations are licensed to operate during the daytime only.

The radio listening habits of people have changed during this quarter of a century. Many people much prefer a local radio service, a local radio service with stable hours of operation. What kind of a business is it that can adequately serve the people by having their hours of doing business changed every month throughout the year? It is Government's business to keep atuned to the needs of our people and then to administer our Nation's resources accordingly.

The daytime radio stations of the United States have tried for years to get the Federal Communications Commission to consider this matter of hours of operation, with an open mind, and the possible modernization of their rules and regulations to better serve in the public interest, convenience, and necessity.

The present rules of the Commission are antiquated and archaic, serving the large vested interests in the radio broadcast industry and not the public interest. My little daytime radio station at Liberal, Kans., is typical of over 700 other daytime stations throughout the United States which represent the only local radio advertising medium which hundreds of local merchants can economically afford to use. Practically all of the advertisers on KSCB at Liberal are small businesses. Any advertiser is reluctant to buy time and try to establish a radio advertising program in the late afternoon or early morning at times when he cannot establish the audience the year around. I heartily endorse the petition now before the FCC requesting the year-round fixed hours of 5 a. m. to 7 p. m. for the daytime radio stations. It is a step in the right direction to better serve the absolute needs of several million people in small cities and communities throughout our Nation.

I sincerely hope that the Senate Select Committee on Small Business will take the necessary steps to bring about prompt action on the part of the Federal Communications Commission and a solution to this problem which directly affects thousands of small businesses in America including both the small daytime radio stations and the small businesses which depend upon them as an advertising medium. A positive, affirmative solution to this problem by the granting of fixed and extended hours of operation for daytime stations is also in the best public interest. What little interference that might be caused in certain areas during the 2 or 3 winter months would more than be outweighed by the tremendous additional service that would thus be rendered to thousands and even millions of people on the local level.

It's Time To Curb the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I present herewith an editorial which appeared in the Wednesday, May 1, 1957, issue of the Shreveport Times. The editorial speaks for itself and is as follows:

IT'S TIME TO CURB THE SUPREME COURT

It's about time for Congress to start drawing up some constitutional amendments defining and limiting the United States Supreme Court to the authority and responsibilities obviously intended for it by the writers of the Federal Constitution, and perhaps also to draw up some new legislation along the same line for the lesser Federal courts, all of which come under congressional jurisdiction.

Unless the Federal judiciary is curbed in this way, it seems likely that basic American freedom will simply be crumbled into meaningless dust by Federal court decisions, particularly at the highest level.

Two decisions handed down by the Supreme Court Monday—one dealing with integration and one with questioning of suspects concerning their part in or knowledge of Communist activities—may be law and may be constitutional. But, if so, they also demonstrate very clearly the need for something to be done by Congress both constitutionally and legislatively in connection with the Federal judiciary.

In one decision, the Supreme Court ruled that Girard College in Philadelphia, a privately financed institution which never has received a penny of municipal, county, or State money, could not deny admission to Negroes, although all of its operating money is from bequests left by a man who specified in his will that the institution was to be operated solely for "poor, white, male orphans."

Girard College was created through money left by Stephen Girard, who died in 1831. He designated the City Council of Philadelphia as administrator of funds for the college. In time the City Council of Philadelphia became so rotten that the State legislature stepped in and created an organization called the Board of City Trusts to administer any trust funds left to the city of Philadelphia.

Members of the board were to be and are appointed by the Board of Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia. Most of the members are businessmen, plus a few municipal officials. It administers two or three small trusts in addition to the Girard College funds, but the latter constitute its only big activity.

(Incidentally, part of Mr. Girard's original fortune consisted of 210,000 acres of Louisiana land in the vicinity of Monroe. About one-third of his estate was left to various charitable projects in New Orleans.)

The Supreme Court now has held, in effect, that Mr. Girard did not have a right to leave his money to charity of his own designation and in manner of his own desire. It contends that since the present administrative body of the college was set up by the State legislature, the college is an educational agency of the State and thus is subject to the Supreme Court's decision that no person may be excluded from a school because he is a Negro.

That is certainly farfetched and roundabout argument, even though it may be legally correct. If the Supreme Court can destroy charitable intent established by a man more than 125 years ago through the technicality that somewhere along the line a State legislature assumed authority to rearrange administration of a portion of his estate, why should the Court not go a step farther and rule on any or all charitable bequests by any individual?

Why should it not say that a man cannot bequeath money to the cancer fund unless he bequeathes money to the polio fund, since both are for the benefit of mankind?

There is another point: In many cities—including Shreveport to a small extent—there have been movements to establish special trusts to which persons of wealth could leave money, to be used for public welfare, with designation by the donor as to how the money was to be used. The Supreme Court seems to have ruled, in effect, that this cannot be done except under certain conditions of social philosophy established by the Court without benefit of statute or approval by the people.

In another decision Monday, the Court ruled that aliens who are being deported cannot be compelled to answer questions about their Communist activities or associations. In other words, if the Communists sneak some spies into the country under the immigration laws and they are discovered, the FBI cannot try to compel these spies to give information as to their activities. Aliens are not citizens of the United States and aliens being deported have no claim upon the United States or its rights or freedom or liberties.

The Supreme Court says that what it has done is in accord with the Constitution. Obviously it is high time to do something about either the Constitution or the Court.

How Much Money?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include and commend to the attention of the Members an article entitled "How Much Money?" which appears in the March 1957 issue of the Progressive.

This article, written by Dr. Seymour E. Harris, chairman of the department of economics at Harvard University, deals with one of the most vital issues of our day. Dr. Harris is well equipped to write on this issue of monetary policy. He is one of this country's outstanding economists. He is the author of countless economic texts as well as a history of the Federal Reserve System. But Dr. Harris is more than just an academic theorist. He is a man who speaks out on the great social issues of the day. I sincerely hope that Dr. Harris' analysis of the monetary issue will receive the careful study it deserves by the Members of this body.

The article follows:

HOW MUCH MONEY?

(By Seymour E. Harris)

How much money do we need? Who should control the supply? These questions

recur explosively throughout all our history—and are very much with us again today. In the great debates over the Second Bank of the United States in Andrew Jackson's day of the 1830's; in the second quarter of the 19th century, the era of the Bimetallists and the Greenbackers; in 1920–21, the year of the Wall Street conspiracy, in the years of the great depression, when President Hoover would reduce the supply of money drastically by cutting expenditures and increasing taxes and Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon would liquidate labor, liquidate stocks, liquidate the farmers * * * when the people get an inflation brainstorm, and finally now in 1957 when the Government, fearful of inflation, is trying to get interest rates up—in all these years the crucial issue has been, How much money and who should control the supply?

Why so much concern over the supply of money? The answer is that in a modern economy the supply of money determines to a great extent the volume of output and its distribution. Without money the employer is unable to hire workers and the consumer is unable to buy goods and services. If the supply is inadequate, there is less money to speed the movement of goods, and prices tend to fall. Falling prices brought on by deficiencies of money is one disease that the capitalist system cannot long endure; for then the businessman loses money and reacts by laying off workers, who in turn spend less, with the result that largr losses are incurred with further reduction of jobs.

Over all our history the so-called inflationists—those who demand more money and prefer the danger of inflation (rising prices) to the danger of deflation (falling prices)—seem to have had considerable success. In 150 years our monetary supplies increased by 3,500 times compared with rises of 400 times for national income and 28 times for population. (Money, by the way, includes not only paper money and coins but also deposits in banks which are subject to check. In fact, the last is by far the most important and accounts for most transactions.)

The Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Reserve Open Market Committee are entrusted with the responsibility of controlling the supply of money. Their technique consists of two devices: (1) open-market operations to increase the cash reserves of member banks, which in turn largely determine the amount of money the banks create by lending; and (2) manipulation of the rediscount rate, a tool used to force member banks to borrow from the Reserve bank at higher rates in inflationary periods and thus induce them to discourage borrowing by themselves making loans at higher rates.

In the 1956–57 debate over monetary policy, the Democratic Party generally has been critical of the restrictive policy of the Federal Reserve, and the Republicans generally support this policy. This is consistent with their roles in American history. The Democratic Party has always been the party of the little man, the debtor, the worker seeking a job or access to a new business through the use of credit. The Republicans have been in command in the great deflations of American history. In 1866–93 commodity prices declined by 43 percent. The Republicans were in power in all but 4 of these years. In the record deflation of 1929–32, it was President Hoover who was in the White House.

The interparty difference in monetary policy stems from a fundamental difference in ideology: The Republicans are the party of property and savings, whereas the Democrats are the party of jobs and protector of the debtor class. It is this latter group which is injured when prices fall, for it is forced to pay its debts when money is scarce—in dollars of higher purchasing power than those it borrowed.

Since the great depression the Democrats have tended to stress the objective of rising output more than price stability. This does not mean they do not want a stable monetary unit. Far from it. But they are also aware that the attainment of a rising output may necessarily be accompanied by some inflation. Then a choice has to be made. They are ready to pay the price of a modest dose of inflation, say a 3-percent increase of output annually against a 1-percent increase in prices—a proportion not greatly out of line with the history of the last 8 years. But they would be most unhappy with an inflation of, say 5 percent for each 1-percent rise in output.

Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey has often commented that the large rise of prices in the years 1939–42 resulted in robbery of savers. He has promised many times that this would not prevail under the Republicans. But his is not exactly a fair appraisal. The great inflations have been war-induced and are not the product of any one party's economics or ideology.

For example, expenditures in the course of 4 major mobilizations accounted for $528 billion, or 65 percent of all Federal expenditures over 163 years. In this same period, war or associated outlays absorbed $656 billion, or 80.5 percent of all Federal outlays. Moreover, 3 major wars account for 92 percent of the peak debt. In wartime, with its concentrated need of resources and the slow expansion of tax receipts, the Government has to depend heavily on monetary expansion to pay its bills, thus creating inflation. (The banks manufacture money which they lend to the Government to pay its bills.)

In early 1955, the Eisenhower administration embarked on its hard-money crusade. This was a surprise, for in both December 1952 and March 1953 the Federal Reserve Open Market Committee had found no sign of inflation. In looking back, I find no inflationary dangers justifying strong anti-inflationary measures. The price level had been surprisingly stable for 2 years; the Federal Reserve had reduced margins on stock market loans, thus encouraging speculation—a policy scarcely to be expected in an inflationary period; and despite later claims of dangerous accumulations of inventories, I could find little evidence of such a trend.

Why then did the administration suddenly find it necessary to increase the yield on Government securities by a greater percentage than in the previous 7 years? Why did the Federal Reserve at this time support the Treasury's hard-money policy? The answer lies partly in the events of recent history and partly in the views and attitudes of the new manager of the national debt, Randolph Burgess, Under Secretary of the Treasury.

Burgess has been one of the leading bankers in the country. He had been in the forefront of the groups fighting for what they called a free market for securities. This school believed that the Government had been issuing excessive supplies of money for years in order to keep long-term Government bonds at a price which would yield only 2 percent. Whenever the price tended to fall below what corresponded to a 2 percent yield, the Federal Reserve, under orders from the Treasury, would bolster the price of Treasury securities through the issue of additional money. But since the issuance of money was involved, this meant not only that the price of bonds was maintained but also that inflation was encouraged. Indeed, in 1951 under pressure from financial groups and others fearing the inflationary effects of these policies, an accord had been signed by the Treasury and Federal Reserve.

It has not always been clear just what this accord meant. To some, including Burgess and the President, it has apparently meant the independence of the Federal Reserve from Treasury control or, as the President has said, an independent Federal Reserve. This has not been my interpretation. The accord meant to me merely that the interests of the Treasury were not to determine monetary policy. Rather the Federal Reserve, the Treasury, the Housing Administration, and other interested agencies would determine policy on the basis of the best interests of the Nation.

The Accord also implied that monetary policy once more was to be flexible; that is, rates were to move up in periods of inflation and down in periods of depression. Hence monetary supplies would decline in periods of rising prices and increase in deflationary periods. But the idea that the Federal Reserve was to be independent strikes me as absurd. Once we admit that the Government has a responsibility for the health of the economy, we cannot subscribe to the theory of independence. The Federal Reserve, then, has to work out common policies with other branches of the Government to achieve such objectives as stability, growth, and equity.

Burgess seemed to believe in the independence theory; but in 1953 he appeared to take the lead in pressing the Federal Reserve into establishing a so-called free market for money. By offering securities at higher rates of interest, he hoped to induce investors to take more securities and thus make the security market independent of the issue of more money and free it from dependence on buying by the banks, a process which in turn resulted in increased supplies of money.

Despite the hard money policy, the Treasury failed to achieve one of its major objectives. In the years 1952–54, the banks continued to hold on to securities, and the Treasury was less successful in getting the banks to dispose of and the public to purchase them than the Democratic administration had been in the years 1945–52, when there was no recourse to a policy of higher rates.

In general, the Eisenhower administration depended much more on monetary policy than had the Truman administration. This is easily explained. The Democratic Party has always been more disposed to depend upon Government to stabilize the economy and help it grow than has the Republican Party. Since the potent weapons for control of the economic system are fiscal and monetary policy, and since fiscal policy implies the application of tax and spending policies to stabilize and stimulate the economy, the Republicans would be more disposed to use monetary policy—especially where monetary policy is interpreted as following the laws of supply and demand. Indeed, the originators of modern monetary policy in this country were the Democrats who established the Federal Reserve System over Republican opposition. But by the 1950's the Democrats had deflated monetary policy as a sharp weapon and were concentrating on fiscal policy.

By 1955 the leading Democrats had learned the lessons that Keynes, Hansen, and others had been preaching for a generation. In an able report the subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report in 1955 said without quibble that the Government should spend more and tax less in periods of depression and spend less and tax more in periods of inflation. This committee also made it clear that fiscal policy is more effective when it places greater dependence upon income and similar taxes that automatically respond to changing economic conditions. The income tax is to be preferred to excise or property taxes not only on grounds of equity but also because it moderates economic fluctuations. For example, the fact that in the recent rising prosperity the yield of the productive income tax rose in response to higher incomes meant

that the inflationary trend was automatically checked to some extent because potential spending power was drained off by taxes.

Contrast these views with those of Secretary Humphrey and his friends. According to the Secretary, unless Federal expenditures are cut substantially in the years to come, we shall have a depression that will make our hair curl. He would resign, he said, should the Government resort to deficit financing in order to cope with depression. But the modern economist favors tax cuts when the economy is declining, with the result that more money is left in the hands of the public and spending is increased just when it is needed. The Secretary subscribes to an entirely different theory: when the economy is unusually prosperous so that a budgetary surplus is in prospect, taxes should be cut. Thus, the Secretary argues that when consumer spending is already too high, we should provide opportunities for the public to spend even more.

It is no wonder that the administration's anti-inflationary policies have not been highly successful. It depended excessively on the weaker weapon, and it did not even use this weapon effectively. In a way this was fortunate; for had it succeeded in its aims, it undoubtedly would have deflated the economy. In 1953–54 the administration drastically cut public expenditures and also introduced a hard-money policy. This was more than the economy could take, for both policies reduced spending; and in 15 months we experienced a decline of $15 billion of income instead of the expected $15 billion rise. This $30 billion error led the administration to reverse its monetary policy.

But in 1956, the Federal Reserve introduced a dear money policy once more. This time there were signs of inflation: the state of the stock market, the scarcity of raw materials, the wage-price spiral, and the large rise of prices in industrial markets which would have been much more serious in the absence of the decline in farm prices. Much more concerned with inflation than with the possibility of unemployment, the administration directed its major effort, as might be expected, on a rise of rediscount rates and attempts to keep reserves of member banks low. The objective was to raise the price of money—the rate of interest—and thus discourage borrowing and keep the supply of money from rising. Indeed, from 1953 on, the authorities were successful in keeping the supply of money down. In the first Eisenhower administration, it rose only about one-third as much as the relative rise in gross national product (GNP). This is an unusually slow rate of increase in the supply of money, and therefore one may be surprised that the economy moved ahead as well as it did in these years.

Failures of monetary policy rather than successes were responsible for this result. What happened was that as the Federal Reserve restrained the commercial banks, other financial institutions expanded at a dizzy rate. Insurance companies, finance companies, savings and loan associations, and especially the Federal credit agencies increased their activities enormously. In fact, from 1952 to fiscal year 1958 (estimated) loans and guaranties of Federal institutions will be no less than from $40 to $85 billion, an increase of 112 percent. Apparently the Federal Reserve did not let the various Federal agencies like the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans' Administration in on the secret that they were forcing retrenchment. It was fortunate indeed that these branches of the Government were not on speaking terms. If they had been, our gross national product would be considerably less than the present $412 billion.

Perhaps the most important issue involved is the wisdom of a dear money policy. The objective, of course, is to increase the price of money in order to keep down the supply. But a reduction in the supply of money incites protests from those who are pinched by the resulting reduction of money, absolute or relative. The Government suffers, as is evident in the price paid for borrowed money. Secretary Humphrey admits that the rate of interest on Treasury issues rose from 2.49 to 2.67 percent in 1956. The cost of financing the national debt rose from $6.5 billion in fiscal year 1953 to an estimated $7.35 billion dollars in fiscal year 1958 (year ending June 30, 1958). With the public debt roughly equal in these years, the rise in interest charges becomes roughly 13 percent. Another way of looking at the problem is to compare the rates in vogue before the present administration came in with the long-term rate at the end of 1956: the rise was about seven-tenths of 1 percent, or a rise of 25 percent from the 1952 rate of 2.7 percent. That means once the entire debt is subject to refinancing at present rates, the cost of financing the rise in the same debt would be up about two billion dollars (average maturities are about 4 years).

This is an embarrassing development for a government which came to power on an economy program. A major increase of close to $1 billion a year, which might well rise to $2 billion, is to be found in the cost of financing the national debt. This is the administration that refused until recently to allow significant increases on the civil benefits budget despite the growth of the economy and the rise of prices. Another source of embarrassment is that the rise in rates has been concentrated on the large investors. Small investors, purchasers of E bonds, receive the same interest they did in 1952. Yet a purchaser of these bonds in 1944 would receive back in dollars of stable purchasing power 60 percent of what he invested (aside from the interest) and his compensation in higher interest rates would be only the slight increase granted in 1952. He receives no compensation for the rise in prices or the increase of interest rates of about 25 percent since 1952.

The large borrower is relatively unhurt by the increase in rates and the restraints on the manufacture of money. Large corporations have large surpluses and liquid balances and, moreover, have access to the capital market. Small borrowers—including farmers, home builders, and small businessmen—not only pay much higher rates from the beginning. They are the ones most likely to be squeezed out once the supplies of cash become scarce.

Many students raise the question whether the way out is credit restriction through higher rates. Inflationary pressures arise not only as a result of increases in the supply of money in relation to limited supplies of labor and raw materials and other factors of production, but also as rising wage rates followed by rising prices bring inflation directly. In response to the pressure of rising output and the wage-price spiral, the supply of money somehow responds. The history of the last few years suggests that the monetary authority finds it most difficult to withhold money under these conditions. Perhaps what is necessary is a more conservative wage-price policy. The rise of wages should be tied, for the economy as a whole, to rising productivity, and price rises should be related to the actual increases in costs.

In summary, monetary policy since 1952 has been no great success. In the first place, it was used clumsily in 1953. Second, the failure or incapacity to deal with the financial intermediaries has largely nullified its effects. Third, too great a burden was put upon monetary policy, in part because of unwillingness to make adequate use of fiscal policy and in part because of the inflationary effects of other Federal policies. Fourth, even when rates have risen, the authorities time and again, both in 1953 and 1957, have refused to assume the responsibility: they were merely reflecting market conditions, they insisted. Fifth, they have shown little concern over the inequities involved in rising rates. When some flexibility of money rates is needed, the managers of our economy must assume some responsibility for assuring the Nation that the effects will not be a diversion of capital to speculators against home builders and municipal authorities forced to borrow to build schools.

Social Justice Award to Senator Herbert H. Lehman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested and I am pleased to insert in the RECORD the following thoughtful and studied speech by former Governor and Senator Herbert H. Lehman made by him on the occasion of his acceptance of the social justice award of the Religion and Labor Foundation, Inc., at a luncheon held at the Sheraton-Astor Hotel in New York on Wednesday, April 24, 1957. It is as follows:

Thank you for your award. I appreciate it deeply. I know it to be a recognition not of me, personally, but rather of the principles with which I have been identified through the years. These principles have supported me more than I have supported them.

I am sure that all of you here today acknowledge these same principles. Indeed, the organization under whose sponsorship we are assembled is dedicated to translating these principles into a program of educational action.

Of course, action is the true test of principles. It is easy enough to pay compliments or to give lip service to liberal principles. But these principles have on meaning unless they can be translated into specific decisions and actions, in specific situations.

The subject of intergroup relations, to which this Foundation is dedicated, presents one of today's greatest challenges. To meet this challenge—of conflict and threats of conflict—many decisions and actions are called for.

Recent major developments in the field of civil rights and in the field of labor relations, among others, confront us with many hard questions which, in themselves, constitute a test of our principles.

Let me recite just few of these questions.

Are we for the total elimination of segregation in housing as well as in public schools? Are we, of the North, prepared to abolish segregation patterns in residential areas in our cities? Are we willing to make the walls of Harlem come tumbling down—and the walls of all Harlems in all cities?

Are we ready to fight for truly full equality for all those now being discriminated against, and for the elimination of all forms of segregation and discrimination?

The American people will have to answer these questions in the months ahead. Our national leaders will have to answer them. We liberals will have to answer them.

Hard questions are coming up, too, with regard to organized labor and its relationship to the general public—questions which arise from last year's hearings of the Douglas subcommittee, as well as from this year's

more highly publicized hearings of the McClellan committee.

What should the public do to help labor clean house, and to keep a clean house, both with regard to union operating funds, and to union pension and welfare funds?

What should the public do about those labor unions which are not democratically controlled, and which are, in fact, under the total dominion of self-perpetuating cliques and hierarchies?

These are only two questions out of many in this field which call for sober study, consideration, and reply.

All these questions and many others are arising as a result of concrete events and developments. The events are asking the questions. The questions are not political. In fact, they are scarcely heard at all in the political or public arena where such questions are rarely asked and never answered. Indeed the general public is largely unaware of both the questions and the answers.

The public's lack of awareness is the real danger. It has been said before—and I say again today—that one of our great national handicaps lies in the fact that today the general public is in the grip of an unjustified complacency—living in a dream world of peace, security, and prosperity.

Many, if not most, Americans, act as if they lived in isolation booths like those on the $64,000 Question program. The national atmosphere is heavy with lethargy and escapism. The chief emphasis of today is on not worrying about what might happen tomorrow.

Who is to blame for this apathetic spirit among our people?

Our political leaders, in both political parties, can be given some share of the blame. Most of them do not lead. They follow. They follow the polls—the Gallup and the Roper polls—and the Trendex and the Nielsen ratings.

Madison Avenue, and all it represents, including the radio and television industries, has had a considerable part in bringing about the present situation.

The merchandising, sloganizing, and commercializing techniques developed on Madison Avenue have now been ingrained into almost every phase of organized life in America—politics, education, recreation, even religion.

Packaging has become a national mania, for ideas as well as for commodities.

And in regard to ideas and proposals for action in all fields, the warning sign has gone up: Beware of inciting controversy. "Controversial" has become a word of damnation.

Successful conduct is being defined as safe conduct. Be all things to all men. Appear bold and courageous, but at the same time appear to be cautious, conciliatory, and peaceloving. It does not matter what you are, but only what you appear to be.

Perhaps the picture I have drawn is too harsh. But it reflects a true and steadily developing condition.

I want to emphasize that my remarks today are without political intent. They are nonpartisan.

The faults I have mentioned are too deep to be ascribed to any one administration or political party. If one party and one group of leaders bear a greater share of the blame, it is merely a question of proportion. My protest is against the whole.

I believe that what is mainly lacking from the spirit of these times, and from our conduct of social, political, economic, and foreign affairs, is a true sense of purpose and direction. We really do not know where we are going, or why. The protection of the status quo has become a major motive of our national policy. We theoretically favor some changes, but are unwilling to do anything or to take any risks to bring them about.

Thus, abroad, we have been less a leader of decision and action than a merchant of compromise and delay.

In most situations, our national tactic is to avoid responsibility for action and to urge our friends and allies to delay and postpone action, even in the most intolerable of situations, in the hope that, in time, the situation will resolve itself. Usually the situation does not resolve itself. Usually it grows worse and eventually confronts us, and the world, with a crisis.

Up to now, America has been able to avoid a true resolution of the many crises which have gripped and shook the world—in Indochina, Formosa, Hungary, Suez, and Sinai. Temporary truces and other standstill arrangements have helped ease the crises. But definitive solutions have been postponed, along with the inevitable and still-scheduled days of reckoning.

The overall result for us in almost every such crisis was to sacrifice a little more of our prestige and of the respect in which we were held in the world.

The cause of freedom and democracy has thereby suffered. The purposes of totalitarianism and tyranny have thereby advanced.

Recently we brought all our influence and power to bear against Israel to force a return to the status quo in the Middle East. We did this in the name of law and order, despite the fact that the status quo was a condition completely characterized by illegality and disorder.

What was the purpose behind our policy? Our officials said it was a moral purpose, to support the U. N. But it was a moral purpose to support the dictator Nasser, and his ally, Soviet Russia, in their murderous designs against free and democratic Israel? Was it a moral purpose to restore to Egypt the power to blockade Israel in the Suez Canal, and to guarantee to Nasser and the Kremlin final authority over the canal?

I say that this is morality turned upside down and inside out.

Usually our policy has been on the negative side. Less and less do we apply the totality of our power and influence for any leading purpose. Occasionally, as in the recent case of Israel and Britain and France, we do turn our power on our friends, but seldom on our enemies.

How shall the cause of freedom and democracy prevail; how shall the great principles to which we adhere prevail, if this be the attitude and policy of the United States?

Meanwhile, we are wasting the most precious thing left us in the world today—time and opportunity.

Why is all this so? I have a theory. I have already suggested that the trouble with our policy, both at home and abroad, is that it reflects no central purpose or design. I would say further that our policy has no firm core of morality or moral purpose.

If our present policies had such a moral core, it would transform everything.

Abroad, it would range us immutably on the side of freedom and democracy. The United States would have a realistic and flexible foreign policy without its being either devious or unpredictable.

If our domestic policy had a firm moral core, there would be no question concerning the future course of events in the field of civil rights. The executive and the legislative branches would then surely rally, despite all practical obstacles and opposition, to the aid of the judicial branch in pressing for the rule of law and the supremacy of human rights over all other considerations.

Victory would then soon come in the struggle for the right to vote, for the right to be free of the fear of lynching and mob violence, for the right of equal opportunity in employment and in education, and for all the rights enjoyed by all other American citizens, under the Constitution of the United States.

All of this would happen, in my judgment, if the Government and the general public advocated and supported a civil-rights policy centrally influenced by moral purpose.

If public policy toward labor had a firm moral core, there would be no miscalled right-to-work laws, which are, in fact punitive statutes designed to weaken and cripple labor unions. And to help cure the abuses within the labor movement, labor would not be afraid to ask Congress to set up statutory safeguards to help protect labor unions against the betrayals of the dishonest and the unscrupulous, and to help promote democratic practices within the unions.

I believe that today labor is understandably loath to make such proposals since it can be realistically anticipated that any labor legislation passed by this Congress would contain repressive provisions aimed not at helping labor, but at strangling and destroying it.

This situation would not obtain if our people, as a whole, had a dynamic and prevailing moral purpose.

If the executive and the legislative branches of the Government had such a prevailing moral purpose, an adequate priority would be given to the wholesale revision of that un-American and inhuman immigration and citizenship law, the McCarran-Walter Act.

Within recent days, the mere threat of delay in the delivery of mail was enough to spread screaming black headlines across the Nation and to force an emergency appropriation by Congress. Yet the delay of months and years in the emigration of parents and children from abroad to join their loved ones in this country, a delay resulting from the McCarran-Walter Act, gets little national attention, and no action whatever by Congress.

Yes, in these and other ways the policies of our Government show the lack of a moral core.

Of course, I do not think that moral purpose is gone from the hearts of the American people. Moral purpose is still the keynote of our national heritage, tradition, and culture.

In no western land is the tradition and spirit of the Judaic-Christian way of life more deeply ingrained than in ours. The original settlers of this continent broke the wilderness with the ax in one hand and the Bible in the other. Moral purpose was as much law as that written onto the statute books. The greatness of America was its conscience, as well as its freedom and the precepts of democracy.

The Declaration of Independence affirmed that men were free and equal in accordance with moral law, that the rights of men were unalianable and derived not from governments, or magistrates, but from the Creator of us all.

All men are equal before the law, equal in dignity, equal in their intrinsic worth, equal in their rights and basic immunities.

This heritage was built into the foundation stones of our Nation by such morally minded men as William Bradford of Plymouth Colony, Roger Williams of Rhode Island, William Penn of Pennsylvania, John Adams, one of the fathers of the Revolution, George Washington, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln—to name but a few.

This is the heritage of America, richer than the land, richer than the resources, richer than the worth of wealth derived from industry, agriculture or commerce.

This heritage grew out of the unique concept defined in the law of Moses and further set forth in the teachings of Christ and Paul and Peter.

These concepts and teachings have a present-day meaning for the issue of civil rights, the rights of labor, immigration, and many others.

We would do well to compare our spiritual traditions with some of our present practices, and to find in our traditions a new source of strength and support for our efforts as we face the challenge of the present and the future.

There is still time to mobilize our strength and regroup our forces for the tests which lie ahead, both at home, and abroad.

We must have faith in ourselves, but most of all in our purposes.

If we dare in all of our purposes, we will surely succeed in some of them.

This I Believe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it was my good fortune to attend on the night of Sunday, May 5, 1957, the dinner of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York.

The dinner was the occasion of the presentation of the 1957 Albert Einstein commemorative awards.

The awards committees were made up of distinguished men and women of national and international accomplishments and fame. They made excellent choices of outstanding personalities who have contributed much to the welfare of our contemporary world.

In his capacity of toastmaster of the dinner, former New York State attorney general, the Honorable Nathaniel L. Goldstein, presented each of the award winners to Dr. Samuel Belkin, president of the Yeshiva University, who, in turn, made the awards.

The award for accomplishment in the humanities went to Edward R. Murrow, commentator and television producer; in citizenship, to Ambassador John Hay Whitney; in arts, to Actor Paul Muni; in science, to physics professors, Dr. Tsung Dao Lee and Dr. Chen Ning Yang; and in medicine, to Dr. Samuel Levine.

All of the recipients of the awards responded with pertinent remarks of appreciation.

Appropriately enough, each took occasion to pay tribute to that great humanitarian and scientist, Albert Einstein, whose name is borne by our newest but already great college of medicine.

The highlight of the evening were the remarks of Mr. Murrow. Though brief, they were pointed and thought provoking. I am pleased to set them forth in full, as follows:

THIS I BELIEVE

President Belkin, distinguished guests, and friends, you have done me great honor; and, as Shakespeare said, "Beggar that I am, I am even poor in thanks."

To have his name linked, however remotely, with that of Professor Einstein is honor enough for any reporter. "A hundred times every day I remind myself that my inner and outer life are based on the labors of other men, living and dead. And that I must exert myself in order to give in the same measure as I have received, and am still receiving." Those words were Albert Einstein's, but he spoke, I think, for every worthy man and woman who deals with information in the mass media. To him a disinterested love for facts was not enough. He had to care about the bearing of those facts on hopes, fears, and destiny. He realized that fear, bigotry, and intolerance will not command the land unless most of us are silent accomplices.

By "freedom" he understood social conditions of such a kind that the expression of opinions, and assertions about general and particular matters of knowledge, will not involve dangers or serious disadvantages for him who expresses them. He believed in what might be called a reign of reason, which most of us have enjoyed, without buttressing its foundations.

Professor Einstein would, I think, have agreed with Milton, who said: "If the waters of truth flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition." He was conscious of the truth of what Lord Acton wrote in 1877: "There are in our day many educated men who think it right to persecute." There are indeed many men in our day who so believe.

Perhaps you will permit me a personal digression in order to apologize for my lack of formal attire. It is not due to persecution, or lack of a dinner jacket, but rather to the fact that I have but just come from a television program where such clothing would have been inappropriate. I am without embarrassment, and seek refuge in another quotation from Professor Einstein: "It would be a sad situation if the bag was better than the meat wrapped in it." Now that we have disposed of the bag, we may examine whether the "meat" can find words to say what he feels rather deeply.

You will not expect me to discourse upon Professor Einstein's scientific accomplishments; nor yet to expound upon the brilliant prospects that lie in the future for the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University. It is the first medical school under Jewish auspices established in the United States. It was established to meet a need, and we are all aware of the desperate and urgent nature of that need.

Even at my advanced age, I have applied for admission to the Albert Einstein College of Medicine. That is only a slight exaggeration, for I did not actually try the patience of the admissions officer—merely asked for the application form for admission. It is a most revealing and, I suggest, important and unprecedented document. I am not asked to state my race; no questions are asked about my religion or nationality; no photograph is requested; the college is not curious as to my parent's birthplace; I am not required to give my mother's maiden name. You will have difficulty in finding a similar application form from any other institution of higher learning in this land. They are interested in what academic trails I have followed, and where I propose to go; interested in my qualifications rather than my ancestors. This, I suggest, is the essence of that overworked and often distorted phrase, "academic freedom." We have rather come to believe that it applies only to professors. In fact it means the right of scholars to pursue the truth wherever it may lead them; to search out the great teachers and to sit at their feet at any institution in the whole academic community. That is the real history and meaning of the migration of scholars from the Middle Ages to the present time.

Not all such migrations have been voluntary. There was a movement from Germany to this country that began in 1934. I should like to tell you a little about it, because I know the details—they have not heretofore been published, and even a brief recital of the facts will suffice to illustrate that the Albert Einstein College of Medicine is in the mainstream of a noble tradition.

When Hitler and his henchmen chopped off the highest branches of the German academic tree, those scholars sought exile in many countries. There was established in this country a small committee, to aid in the placement of these scholars in American universities. It included such names as Alfred Cohn, Ben Flexner, Fred Styne, Stephen Duggan, Alvin Johnson, Livingstone Farand, and others.

It was my privilege to prepare lists of the displaced German scholars, to circulate them to American universities, and then to go before the committee with applications for considerable sums of money to finance the first few years of their residence in this country. Several scores of professors came, and became part of our academic communities from Seattle to Boston.

All but an insignificant portion of the money we raised, from individuals, came from Jewish sources. The majority of the active members of the committee were Jews. In presenting applications to the committee I was never once asked: "Is this man a Jew?" The only questions were: "Is he a competent scholar of standing or promise?" and, "Are his services sought by an American college or university?" and finally, almost half of those we financed were pure Aryans even under Hitler's definition. They were men who, like their Jewish colleagues, refused to bend.

In those days—more than 20 years ago—we used to talk of the cross-fertilization of cultures that might result from this migration, and hope that American students would be stimulated. These men and women represented every academic discipline, and I have been fortunate enough to see the human dividends that have been produced by their labors. In north Africa, in Normandy, and in Korea I have talked with young Americans in uniform, asked them whether they had been to college, if so where? And had they happened to have a course under Professor X. Many times I have seen tired, tense faces come alive with memories of the classroom or seminar, and heard the remark: "He's the one who really started me reading," or, "He taught be to doubt," or "That's the one who really stretched my horizon." I can only add that my own small part in this operation has given me more satisfaction than anything I have ever done.

As I understand it, this award is in the general area of the humanities. In radio and television circles that's a pretty highbrow term. And yet the mass media must be concerned with it. It was Joseph Wood Krutch who said: "The humanities, as opposed to the sciences, are concerned with whatever is important to man, but cannot be measured, and is not susceptible to valid experiment."

So radio and television must concern themselves with the humanities, unless they choose to limit themselves to the function of entertainment. Television is growing so fast that those in charge of it have hardly time to administer it well, let alone to think of its place in civilization. If these instruments are to survive, they must strengthen and affirm the values that are the essence of our civilization. This being true, it is not enough to entertain the greatest numbers; there must also be full appreciation of our historic heritage, wise understanding of our institutions and traditions, familiarity with our classics in literature and the arts, and persistent attention to our ethical principles.

I am well aware that the bulk of the money that pays for television and radio comes from a relatively small number of corporations. Hence the thinking of the executives in these corporations will have a profound influence on what happens in television and radio. And that is saying that

they will greatly influence and could possibly directly influence the course of our civilization. And it is insisting that they cannot abdicate this responsibility by assigning it to an advertising agency.

We now know that our civilization can be snuffed out overnight. We know that while we ourselves did not create it, we ourselves can lose it. It is committed to us. We also know that we can save ourselves from nuclear destruction by buying a different civilization, one that does not include our values of freedom, or cherish like ours the dignity of the individual. We know we are not making this bargain.

We value our civilization. So we begin to know that we value it, if we are not to lose it. But if we are going to survive as a Nation and a civilization, we must do so consciously. This means that the mass media must pay more attention to the humanities.

The humanist is one who cares, and is preoccupied with what is worth caring about. Another characteristic of the humanist is that he is preoccupied with the mystery of personality. People for him are always persons, and in these days that often makes him lonely. Preoccupation with science turns persons into people—a statistic on a chart—tendencies and "characteristics symbolized by curves neatly drawn on graphs." The humanist is concerned not with manipulation, but with understanding. He is interested not only in events, but in character.

All too often in radio and television audiences are conceived and treated as people, not as persons. Quantitative response is, consequently, made the measure of quality. There is a willingness and, indeed, eagerness to answer the questions, What? And how? But not enough attention is paid to the Why?

T. S. Eliot said: "Teach us to care and not to care." "Teach us to sit still." It might be helpful if those who control television and radio would sit still for a bit and attempt to discover what it is they care about. They have great belief in the power and future of their instruments.

But all true belief is rooted in doubt, and there is not enough doubt in high places in the field of mass communications. There is a disposition to take us for what we are, and that in turn is likely to keep us where we are. If these devices are to be used in an effort to entertain all of the people all of the time, then we have come perilously close to discovering the real opiate of the people. If in dealing with events we concentrate on "what" and "how" and ignore the "why," then we are not really searching for anything.

Our commercial television and radio systems appear to be the alternative to State-operated and financed communications. By and large, we have freer speech, more information than any State-operated system. We have vastly more money to spend. The system is practically universal. It is, for the individual, both a privilege and a peril. And it is, for those who finance the system and those who select the programs, a responsibility in the field of communications never before borne by such a small group of men and corporations. I think it was Bernard Shaw who said: "You must get what you want, or you will come to want what you get."

I am sending this check for $1,000 to Mr. Alan Paton in South Africa. As most of you probably know, 150 men and women were arrested in South Africa on December 5, 1956, and charged with treason for their outspoken, complete, but nonviolent opposition to their government's apartheid program. Among those arrested are clergymen, teachers, and professors. The defendants are of all races and of many religious and political beliefs.

Mr. Paton himself is currently a defendant in the magistrate's court in Durban on a charge tht he took part in a public meeting at which native Africans were present without obtaining the prior consent of the city's mayor. In other words, the "crime" with which Mr. Paton is charged is that he attended and spoke at a meeting not unlike the meeting at which we are here gathered tonight. Funds are needed for the legal defense, and I venture to think that Professor Einstein would have approved the use of this fund for that purpose.

Oregon Economy Suffers From Tight Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the present tight money policy being pursued by this administration has adversely affected many segments of our economy. Adequate testimony to the disastrous effect of this unfortunate policy on the district which I represent and on the State of Oregon in general is provided by some very significant figures which I have recently examined.

According to the Oregon State Unemployment Compensation Commission, "payments to insured unemployed reached $3,700,000 for the highest March in 20 years' history of the State unemployment compensation commission." The commission's bulletin continues by pointing out that in the State of Oregon there are currently "some 48,100 persons still without work, about 6,000 more than a year ago."

The same depressing picture is presented by considering current bank debits as reported by a publication of the University of Oregon, the Oregon Business Review. As bank debits are generally regarded as good indicators of current business activity, I think the figures for the Second Congressional District are significant:

	Number of banks reporting	Debits, February 1957	Debits, January 1957	Debits, February 1956	February 1957 compared with—	
					January 1957	February 1956
Upper Columbia River (The Dalles, Hood River, etc.)	9	22,439,289	28,041,546	23,126,455	−20.0	−3.0
Pendleton area	8	22,201,611	31,363,539	23,175,022	−29.2	−4.2
Central Oregon (Bend, Prineville, Redmond, etc.)	5	19,000,036	22,676,408	22,029,003	−16.2	−13.8
Klamath Falls, Lakeview area	5	21,945,107	30,871,816	26,613,227	−28.9	−17.5
Baker, La Grande area	8	19,627,249	25,747,871	21,124,123	−23.8	−7.1
Burns, Ontario, Nyssa	5	16,198,184	21,268,001	16,353,099	−23.8	−1.0

Reports of two banks in Baker County, which is included in my district and in which county I live, indicate the same trend. The First National Bank of Baker reported that demand deposits of individuals, partnerships, and corporations at the close of business on April 10, 1956, were $6,256,151.14. In a similar report for the close of business on March 14, 1957, this same item was listed at $5,945,599.33. Thus, demand deposits were down over $300,000.

The report of the First National Bank of Halfway, also in Baker County, showed a similar situation. At the close of business on April 10, 1956, demand deposits of individuals, partnerships, and corporations were listed as $642,020.88. A similar report for March 14, 1957, showed this figure had dropped to $592,470.27, or a drop of almost $50,000.

New unemployment applications in Baker County reflect the same unfortunate situation. During the month of March the Baker office of the State Unemployment Compensation Commission reported that there were 102 new applications filed as compared with only 50 filed 1 year ago. I cannot help but note that reports of the two banks in Baker County, which is the area in which Idaho Power Co. is constructing Brownlee Dam, indicate that the much heralded prosperity supposedly resulting from Idaho Power Co.'s activities does not exist.

Continuance of the present tight-money policy can only lead to further aggravation of an already unhealthy economic situation. The State of Oregon and the Second Congressional District can no longer continue to endure the form of economic strangulation which it is now experiencing.

Reliance on H-Bomb and Its Dangers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an educational and challenging article written by Hon. Thomas E. Murray, member of the Atomic Energy Commission, and appearing in the May 6, 1957, issue of Life magazine.

Commissioner Murray is one of the best qualified persons in the world to discuss the important question which is the subject matter of his article. This article and the views of Commissioner Murray as expressed therein should be read, studied, and analyzed as extensively as possible.

The article follows:

RELIANCE ON H-BOMB AND ITS DANGERS—THE MILITARY USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY

(By Thomas E. Murray)

The recent British white paper on defense dramatically thrust into the forum of public argument the central issue of our times—the

military uses of nuclear energy. It also defined the major focus of argument in this sentence: "The free world is today mainly dependent for its protection upon the nuclear capacity of the United States."

Will the United States be strong enough to assume the staggering burden thus quietly imposed upon it? Are we moving, with sufficient sureness and speed, toward the development of a nuclear capacity that will be adequate in all respects for the protection of the free world? These are the grave questions that have now been opened to public discussion. I shall argue that the structure of our defense policies needs revision if we are to discharge successfully the full range of military responsibilities that we now bear.

The protection of the free world absolutely demands that two dangers be avoided. One danger is the so-called war of survival, waged with the immense new thermonuclear weapons. It is altogether possible, as I shall explain, that no nation would survive such a war. In order to avoid this danger the United States has hitherto laid heavy emphasis on the production of megaton bombs. The hope has been that this air-nuclear-retaliatory capacity will deter an enemy attack massive enough to launch us into a war of survival.

However, this heavy emphasis on megaton bombs has itself created the second danger, namely, the possibility of piecemeal defeat at the hands of international communism. We know that the enemy has made hydrogen bombs. We must suppose he has a megaton stockpile. The umbrella of a nuclear stalemate has been raised over the earth. For all we know, the enemy may have assisted in raising the umbrella precisely in order to provide a cover for a program of cautious aggression. In any case, we can be sure that in the perilous safety of its shade he will continue to act according to his nature, as a criminal outlaw. It is not likely that his outlawry will be so outrageous as to pull down the umbrella upon himself and upon us in a common ruin. But there will be minor outrages, as there have been. Since megaton bombs are designed only for desperate uses, the danger is that in moments of minor outrage our only recourse will be to moral indignation.

That is to say, we shall be defeated on each successive occasion when a minor aggression occurs, as in Hungary. Moral indignation is no substitute for the ability to protect by force the decencies of human life. Whatever the value of the big umbrella, we urgently need to have that decent, nicely calculated measure of nuclear force, valid as a threat and valid in use, which will deter or halt the minor aggressions of an enemy who in the ultimate instance will yield to no other suasion than force.

Sudden destruction or slow defeat—both of these alternatives must be ruled out with all the certainty that human prudence can achieve. The ruin of the physical fabric of civilization is too awesome a prospect to contemplate. Even more intolerable is the prospect of enforced submission to the injustice of creeping Communist domination. The problem is to find the path of policy that will lead us between these dreadful alternatives.

The presently prevailing policy of emphasis on megaton weapons may have saved us from sudden destruction—so far. But if we are to avoid the risk of slow defeat, we now need a new policy of emphasis on small nuclear weapons. The urgent demand of the moment is for a program of rational nuclear armament. I have been using this phrase to describe a structure of policies that will result in a stockpile that exhibits a properly adjusted balance between large and small nuclear weapons—all manufactured with an eye to their military usefulnesses, as these are calculated in the light of Communist military intentions.

A PATH TO PEACE WITH JUSTICE

Admittedly, perils lurk on both sides of the path of military and moral reason to which I am pointing. Nonetheless, though the path is lined with perils, at least it is not headed straight for them. It can lead us to that measure of military security that may legitimately be hoped for in a world where total security has become a vain dream. Moreover, it can also lead us toward the moral goal described by President Eisenhower in his second inaugural—"the building of a peace with justice in a world where moral law prevails."

Four factors have hitherto diverted us from the path of rational nuclear armament.

The first factor was technological. In the whole course of World War II the allied air forces let loose upon the enemy 1.5 million tons (one and a half megatons) of explosives. After the experiment at Eniwetok in November 1952, we had the secret of a weapon whose explosive force surpassed by many times the total World War II megatonnage. Weapons technology had hit upon an open end. The realization was quickly reached that there are no necessary practical limits to the megaton size of H-bombs.

As an engineer, I understand the seduction exerted by a technological open end. It is the instinct of technology to exploit the maximum possibilities of every discovery. Weapons technology could not have been expected to control its own instinct; the control should have been imposed on it by military policy, which judges the usefulness of weapons.

But here the second factor entered. Weapons technology seemed now to have fulfilled the military planner's perennial dream of the irresistible weapon. In particular, the H-bomb seemed to be the ideal weapon with which to justify the doctrine of strategic air attack and thus to furnish warrant for the dominance of the air arm. So it happened that military policy, under the spell of its own dream, fell captive to the technology that seemed to have realized it.

The captivity was reinforced by the third factor—the impact of world events. For instance, Korea made real the threat of Communist world domination; and it raised the specter of a general war. In response, America had to be made strong. However, it was not a question of acquiring limited strength for limited wars. Korea created a popular revulsion against the very idea of limited war. A kind of abstract strength was wanted—the kind of absolute strength that would match the supreme threat of world domination. This abstract strength could now be given very concrete definition in terms of the H-bomb. Further emphasis was thus laid on the production of these absolute weapons.

The fourth factor furnished the final emphasis—the powerful factor of costs. The general public is likely to assume that a big bomb must cost more than a small bomb. Moreover, given the plentiful supply of uranium ore out of which bombs are made, the popular assumption might be that we have by this time manufactured a complete collection of nuclear weapons, adapted to all possible uses—big weapons, and small ones, and middle-sized ones, all stocked and shining on the shelves.

The matter is not so simple. The cost of weapons involves not only money and materials but also a factor called efficiency in the use of materials. There is no lack of uranium ore; but there is only a limited number of the plants in which the ore is processed into fissionable materials. Our existent industrial complex for this purpose represents roughly a capital investment of $6.7 billion. In consequence we have only a limited amount of weapons-making material. Here the factor of efficiency enters.

A given quantity of material can be utilized in such a way as to produce a very large explosion. The same quantity of material can also be used in another way, to produce a smaller explosion. If the efficiency of a weapon is to be measured in terms of the ratio between the quantity of fissionable material used and the explosive results obtained, it is obvious that the small weapon is less efficient than the big one. Consequently, the small weapon is also proportionately more costly, in terms both of material and of dollars.

These four factors, therefore—the technological open end, the dream of the irresistible strategic weapon, the desire for abstract strength, and the factor of costs—have hitherto combined together to weight the scales of policy heavily in favor of the big cheap bomb.

What has been the military value of this emphasis? What military uses are served by these huge weapons, and by the possession of quantities of them? Are there limits to their usefulness? Are there consequently limits to the military value of a constantly enlarging stockpile of them? These are the next questions.

The multimegaton H-bomb was born in a vacuum of military strategy. No one had antecedently determined its uses. After the event, the vacuum was filled with confusion. The confusion is not surprising. The multimegaton bomb fits badly, if at all, the standards of military usefulness hitherto accepted. It is by nature a weapon of mass destruction. If you except certain special targets, such as a fleet at sea, it will perform least efficiently against classical military objectives—troops in the field or in reserve, aircraft aloft, supplies, communications. It will destroy airfields, at the price of slaughtering the civilian population in the area. It will be altogether efficient in annihilating beyond repair the industrial and human potential of great cities. But this terrible efficiency is linked to no reasonable military usefulness. Most theorists today agree that the destruction of industrial potential would make little, if any, sense in a multimegaton war, which would be a war of sudden catastrophe, not of slow attrition.

IF DETERRENCE SHOULD FAIL

The multimegaton weapon, therefore, had to create its own strategy. It is the old strategy of deterrence and retaliation; but now this strategy has all the newness of the new kind of weapon that gives it military substance. The military value of the strategy lies in the intrinsic link between deterrence and retaliation. "These weapons will either deter you or smash you"—so runs the reasoning. If there is any doubt about the intention of pursuing the second alternative if the first fails, the reasoning trails off thus: "These weapons will deter you—I hope; if not, you win." But this is the classic formula for a bluff.

America certainly does not wish to rest its national security on a bluff. Therefore, the complementary concepts of deterrence and retaliation are a strategy for war. They cannot simply be accounted a strategy for preventing war. The multimegaton weapons in our arsenal are designed for use. Has anyone defined the conditions of necessity under which they will come into use? I do not know. However, to pursue the argument about their usefulness, I shall assume that the conditions are one day fulfilled. Nuclear deterrence has failed. The Strategic Air Command is unleashed. It represents retaliation by multimegaton weapons, used in quantities, directed at the destruction of the enemy. We are precipitated into the war of survival.

That is to say, we are hurled into the midst of absurdity. In the whole doctrine and history of war in the civilized world it is a first principle that survival should never be made the issue in war. Whenever the principle has been violated (in World Wars

I and II), the result has been the climactic disaster of war, namely, the failure of war to achieve its political and moral ends, which are peace with justice. In the air-nuclear age this ancient principle has acquired all the evidence of an axiom. To put the question, who will survive, we or they, to the arbitrament of full-scale nuclear warfare is to decide that nobody shall survive, neither we nor they.

It might be that the belligerents could survive the almost immeasurable physical destruction and colossal loss of life immediately resultant from the blast and fire effects of great thermonuclear weapons used in quantities. It might even be that some of them could survive the effects of what is called external radiation (the immediate radiation from one multimegaton bomb alone will expose the population in approximately 7,000 square miles of territory to dangerous levels of external radiation). But under the conditions of unimaginable horror created by our hypothesis the word "survival" has already lost almost all its meaning. And what litttle meaning remains vanishes when one comes to what is called internal radiation from substances in the fallout.

One of these substances is strontium-90, a radioactive product of nuclear fission that causes bone cancer if it is absorbed in sufficient quantity by the human skeleton. At the moment, by official American acknowledgment, strontium 90 equivalent to 30 megatons of nuclear fission energy has been shot into the stratosphere as a result of test explosions. From the total quantity sent aloft so far, some 3 to 10 units of strontium 90 will be deposited in human bones—particularly children's bones—over large areas of the earth.

ABSURDITY OF WAR OF SURVIVAL

These amounts probably are not hazardous to health. But they afford a standard of measurement. The 10 units are one-tenth of the maximum concentration considered acceptable for the general population, with its large numbers of children, by the National Committee on Radiation Protection and Measurement and also by the International Commission on Radiological Protection.

How many megatons would be exploded in a full-scale nuclear war of survival? Let us say that ground bursts releasing 3,500 megatons of fission energy would sufficiently fill out the concept of destruction that would be the shared aim of both belligerents. The consequence for the inhabitants of the belligerent countries would be a strontium level in human bones of the order of 50 times the maximum considered acceptable. Moreover, some of this lethal substance would settle slowly and relatively evenly over the remainder of the earth. It would find its way from the soil into human bones, producing strontium concentrations that would be between 2 and 6 times a maximum considered acceptable for the general population. A whole generation, embracing tens of millions of people, in Russia, in the United States, in all the countries of the world, would be affected.

The figures I have used might have to be altered somewhat with the progress of scientific work. Some variation in the figures does not greatly matter. What matters is that some figures have to be put into the concept, war of survival, in order to test its realism. And when a set of not unreasonable figures is used, the concept blows apart into patent absurdity.

The inherent absurdity of a multimegation war sets limits to the military usefulness of immense thermonuclear weapons. In consequence, limits are also set to the validity of the strategy based on these weapons. Deterrence-retaliation may, if you wish, be called a strategy of survival—but only as long as the deterrence works, as long as it sustains the nuclear stalemate.

We must therefore have an arsenal of multimegation weapons sufficiently large to give the strategy built upon them its own limited kind of validity. But this arsenal need only be a limited one. There is a limit, set by the absurdity of a war of survival, beyond which these absolute weapons become absolutely useless.

The military value of the giant H-bomb is also limited from another point of view. It is not a fit means of retaliation against limited military aggressions supported by conventional or small nuclear arms. Instead of repressing a limited and localized aggression its use would tend to provoke the expansion of hostilities in the direction of that fearsome absurdity, the war of survival. But these limits, set to its retaliatory value, likewise affect its deterrent value. The strategy of deterrence-retaliation, as given military substance only by multimegation bombs, is no adequate guaranty of the security of the free world against some military version of Communist "salami tactics."

We come now to a more manageable military problem. There are issues, short of the impossible issue of survival, which may have to be settled by arms. Broadly, they are issues of justice, the classical issues of war. They are always limited issues. And limited war is the legal institution available as a last resort for their settlement. In its political and moral meaning war is man's ultimately resolute declaration of his fixed and firm purpose—that he will have peace indeed but only with justice. What then of our preparedness to wage war, in civilized fashion, for limited aims, by limited means?

A GAGE OF SOVIET INTENTIONS

Some people seem to grow nervous when the question is raised in this form, under reference to justice, reason, and the values of the civilized tradition. The trouble is, they say, that the free world faces an immoral enemy. Recently, for instance, Mr. Donald A. Quarles, now Deputy Secretary of Defense, gave warning that "* * * it would be unwise in planning for the security of our country to rely on the morality or even the rationality of potential enemies. We must still have security even if others resort to immoral and irrational acts. These have always been truisms but the stark facts of this air atomic age give them vastly greater force."

This distorts the whole military and moral question. Obviously it would be absurd to place any reliance on Soviet morality. But the problem is not whether we should rely on Soviet moral synicism but whether we can diagnose Soviet military intentions. From the fact that the Soviet Union is immoral does it follow that a massive air-nuclear attack upon the United States is likely? And how likely is it? And what would security mean, if the irrational event were to occur? In terms of the stark facts of the air-atomic age—especially the facts about radioactive fallout—would security be achieved by proportionately massive megation retaliation against the Soviet Union? There are the things we would like to know.

More pertinently, an appeal to the truism that the enemy is immoral will not justify an idolatrous worship of air-nuclear-retaliatory power based on greater numbers of megation bombs. Similarly, a war in outer space, waged by nuclear missiles, may be a technological possibility. Is it therefore a military likelihood? And is it more likely than a war on the Turkish border? We cannot aim to be secure against every possible contingency, but only against the more likely contingencies. The problem is to make a realistic calculation of what the immoral enemy is likely to do, and then to have on hand the measure and kind of force that will be militarily necessary or useful in stopping him from doing it. This is our military duty: It is likewise our moral duty. Between the two duties there is no divorce.

To assist in performing both duties we have the stark facts of the air-atomic age. We also have the fact that Soviet military policy has a Communist premise, and that Soviet leaders are capable of primitive logic. The premise was stated by Mr. Khrushchev when, speaking with all the seriousness of the Marxist-Leninist faith in the dialectic of history (a faith not born of alcohol nor blurred by it), he said. "We will bury you." I presume that he has no wish to spoil his own pleasure on the occasion by finding himself in the same grave. It is a fair conclusion that he does not intend to dig the grave with several thousand megatons of fission energy.

Do not Soviet scientists know as much as we do about radio-active hazards? Are not Soviet strategists using the criterion of contamination levels in order to test the validity of their strategies of nuclear attack, and also to test the realism of American threats of retaliation? If there are any doubts about affirmative answers to these questions, it would be greatly in our national interest to clear them up as soon as possible.

There is therefore a tenet of Communist ideology on which we can rely. The Communist revolution clearly wishes to put an end to the history of imperialist-reactionary-bourgeois capitalism. But it does not wish to put an end to all history—and therefore to the Communist revolution itself. If the Communist believes that the future belongs to him, can he wish to cancel it out? Unless indeed he be not only immoral but altogether mad. And in this case, how do you deter a madman, intent on chaos, by threatening him with the chaos that he wants?

The Communist norm of morality—the success of the revolution—is not civilized. But it affords us a realistic, and safe enough, premise of military policy. From it I would conclude that Communist invasions of the order of right and justice will be limited. The exchange of an unlimited megatonnage of fission energy occupies no visible place in the Communist strategy of world domination. A classless society of bone-cancer patients would hardly satisfy the dreams of Marxist messianism.

SMALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS NEEDED

Our central problem therefore is to deter limited aggressions and to retaliate by effective but limited force, if deterrence fails. The question is, what have we got in the way of small nuclear weapons to fulfill this limited military mission of deterernce and retaliation?

There is little public information on this subject. Perhaps, consequently, there is a considerable amount of public misapprehension. The extent to which our rigid security regulations have had the happy result of slowing down Soviet nuclear developments (which in any case they cannot stop) is a matter of conjecture. On the other hand it could be argued that they have had the unhappy result of rendering our nuclear armament program unmanageable by informed and responsible public opinion. Moreover, their enforcement at times goes to extremes even within high Government circles. For instance, some months ago, I wished to convey certain factual information about the present and future composition of our nuclear stockpile to certain members of the National Security Council. But it was ruled that they had no need to know the facts I wished to present.

However, some general information is on record in the press. On February 5, 1957, Senators SYMINGTON, KEFAUVER, and FLANDERS met as a task force of the Senate Armed Services Committee in public session. Frank H. Higgins, an Assistant Secretary of the Army, and Lt. Gen. Carter B. Magruder, Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, appeared before them.

As reported by Joseph L. Myler, in the Washington Daily News, Mr. Higgins said that the job of equipping the Army with small atomic weapons is progressing very nicely. But he added that it is largely a development program still. General Magruder is quoted as agreeing that it will be 3 to 5 years before the Army has enough tactical atomic weapons to reduce the use of conventional ammunition in war by as much as 25 percent.

The nuclear weapons spectrum in its fully sweep is the support of the four basic military missions of the American Armed Forces, defined by President Eisenhower in his budget message of January 1957. Only one of these missions, the first, necessarily calls for a stockpile of multimegaton weapons. This mission is "to maintain ready nuclear-air-retaliatory forces so strong that they will deter a potential aggressor from initiating an attack." The other three missions, for their highest efficiency, rest heavily on a vast arsenal of nuclear weapons in the smaller range. The tens of thousands of small weapons which I recommended as necessary or desirable (on April 12, 1956, in testimony before the Subcommittee on Control and Reduction of Armaments of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee) would not exceed the requirements of these three missions—the defense of the continental United States, the waging of ground war by the Army, and the control of the seas.

The Armed Forces cannot fulfill these three military missions with a development program. The immediate need, therefore, is to move the small-weapons program out of the development phase into the phase of large-scale production.

HIGH COST OF SMALL WEAPONS

This will be somewhat costly. The major requirement would be more fissionable materials. This in turn would require an expansion of our present industrial facilities. The size of the new investment in plants would depend upon the extent to which the output of our existent plants is directed away from large weapons into the needed small-weapons program. In any case, the money spent would be well spent if its amount were measured against the demands of military security and also against the amount now being spent on other defense programs.

If the small-weapons program is to be moved into the large-scale production phase, the first thing needed is some important change in the sequence and order of our interrelated policies. At present the order is inverted. Military policy has allowed itself to be too greatly determined by technology. And the factor of costs, in alliance with technological factors, has unduly determined the emphasis in the weapons program. But this is to turn the structure of policy upside down.

I do not underestimate the value of technology or the importance of costs. But I do not think that these things should come first in the order of value and importance. Military policy should come first. At present it requires an extensive production program of small weapons. Budgetary policy should be subordinated to effective execution of this military policy. And technology should be the servant and not the master in the military house. The structure of policy should be turned right side up.

The whole foregoing argument about weapons policies has been cast in pragmatic terms. I have been concerned to uncover policies that will work best for America's security and that of the free world. The problem is a practical one; but it does not therefore cease to be a moral problem. Morality is anchored in reality. Often before this I have argued for the governance of our weapons program by a moral norm ("what is right in terms of the civilized tradition of just warfare"). But the premise of this moral argument has always been a prior practical argument—that the program should be governed by military values ("what is necessary or useful in terms of the likely contingencies of actual warfare," within the supposition of responsible military theory—that military usefulness is not to be defined in terms of sheer slaughter, destruction, and terror).

The military duty of the United States is success in the face of international communism. But the moral duty of the United States is always justice in the sight of God. There need be no conflict between these two duties. One cannot, of course, say that whatever is just will be successful. But one can say that whatever is not just will somehow fail to succeed. In the matter of nuclear war the validity of the latter assertion is easily tested. The civilized tradition has always declared that an unlimited and indiscriminate use of force in warfare is unjust. The facts of the nuclear age now declare that such a use of force would be unsuccessful. The success it would achieve, the sheer destruction it would wreak, would be at best useless to the belligerent and at worst disastrous to humanity.

It is within the factual circumstances of the nuclear age, wherein justice is the duty as well as success, that I make my proposals for a program of rational nuclear armament. Will this program fulfill God's purpose for the world, to which America has pledged itself—in reverent participation—the building of peace with justice in a world where moral law prevails? That, I believe, is not the question. To the extent that it is Christian this Nation knows that it is not required to fulfill God's purposes on this earth. It is only required to be faithful to them.

Connecticut May 3 Observance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, at Hartford, Conn., yesterday afternoon in the Bushnell Memorial Auditorium under the sponsorship of the Polish-American Congress, District of Connecticut, there assembled nearly 2,000 people in observance of the Polish Constitution of May 3. The diversified program was opened by Attorney Stanley Grudzinski, executive vice president, who extended greetings and made most appropriate opening remarks. This was followed by brilliant singing of our national anthem and the Polish anthem by Mr. L. J. Daum. The invocation was then intoned by Father Kukuc and then Rev. M. Karwacki, president of the Polish-American Congress addressed the large audience.

Many children, in native costumes of Poland, taught by Felician Sisters, then entranced the crowd with a stirring performance of dancing and drills. It was then my honor and privilege to address the assemblage in English and in Polish. These remarks were followed by outstanding vocal renditions by the Choir Polonia, a fine group of young ladies and young men as well as older ladies and men, all recent arrivals in the United States who, on May 19th will celebrate the fifth anniversary of their singing choir. The next action on the program was the reading of a resolution by Mr. Grudzinski, attached and made part of these remarks, which was loudly and unanimously endorsed and passed by the thousands in the hall.

For more than a half-hour movies taken in Poland during a recent visit by Mr. Joseph Alecks were shown to the appreciative audience. We were aghast at scenes of remnants of concentration camps and gas chambers where many valiant Poles were murdered. We particularly observed the obvious need of food and clothing in the pictures taken of curious crowds of youngsters and old folks who for the first time looked at an American. The primitive means of harvesting a hay crop impressed each viewer with the need of farm implements and equipment.

Mr. Speaker, during my address I stressed my opinion "that it would be the best investment of $100 million that our Government ever made if we granted economic aid to Poland to that amount in contrast to the billions that have been given in foreign aid since Poland was first blitzed in September 1939." The subsequent showing of the movies of which I had no previous knowledge though I know Mr. Alecks and the pictures he took at random following the Poznan uprisings were not made for any propaganda purposes, these emphasized the dire need for food, clothing, medicines and better and more effective farm equipment than scythes and sickles and old hand-rakes to make and harvest hay crops. I wish it would have been possible for all the Members of this House to have viewed these authentic movies of freedom-loving and freedom-seeking and freedom-determined Poles and I am convinced that each would join in an endorsement of the resolution adopted at the 166th anniversary of the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791. The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION

We, the people, assembled on May 5, 1957, at the Bushnell Memorial Hall in Hartford, Conn., under the sponsorship of the Polish American Congress, District of Connecticut, observing solemnly the glorious anniversary of the Polish Constitution of the 3d of May and deeply conscious of the indelible imprint of this magnificent day upon all dedicated to the belief that life without liberty demands boundless sacrifice; now therefore,

We here assembled believing in this supreme principle bow in gratitude to the heroic people of Poznan and to the magnificent resurgence of the Polish Nation and to its courage in the face of hopeless odds; we congratulate them on this great day on their bloodless revolution; we call upon the free world and in particular the United States to further solidify the gains of liberty in Poland as follows:

1. By giving maximum economic aid to Poland and the Polish people now.

2. By insisting that the aid given must reach the Polish masses.

3. By insisting upon maximum concessions from the authorities in Poland to allow economic aid in all its forms, adequately supervised, free of burdensome duties, to reach the impoverished masses.

4. By recognizing the role of the Catholic Church in Poland and Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski in the Polish struggle for freedom.

5. By recognizing that Polish territories were ravaged and plundered through the centuries; that its rightful owners were re-

settled with the sword, the Nazi furnace and the concentration camps; that the lands now having reverted to its rightful owners, the world must spare the spectacle of a new resettlement by war, Nazi type furnaces and concentration camps.

6. By recognizing that the moral strength of the Polish people will be supported by guaranteeing the Polish people the undisturbed possession forever of traditional Polish territories.

Unanimously adopted at Hartford, Conn., this 5th day of May 1957.

Maple T. Harl

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues from Colorado, and the other Members of the House who have paid tribute to the memory of Maple T. Harl. I was indeed shocked and saddened when I learned of his untimely passing.

I knew Maple Harl for many years and valued his friendship most highly. He considered himself a constituent of mine, as he formerly lived in Canon City in my district. His father was pastor of the First Baptist Church of that city for many years, and an outstanding religious leader of Colorado.

I always enjoyed seeing Maple Harl. He was a delightful person with whom to visit. He had an unfailing sense of humor and had a cheerful outlook on life. He was widely and favorably known. His many business interests brought him into contact with people in every walk of life.

When he was called to Washington to become Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, he achieved his greatest eminence. It was a popular appointment, and his abilities were immediately recognized. He did an outstanding job as Chairman and Director of FDIC, and enjoyed the confidence of everyone who did business with this important Agency.

Mrs. Chenoweth joins me in extending our sincere sympathy to Mrs. Harl and the other members of the family.

I include an editorial from the Denver Post on Maple Harl which expresses the sentiments of all who knew him:

MAPLE T. HARL

"Mape" Harl had a talent for lasting friendship and a passion for sound banks. The two qualities ennobled the man to many people; and his death at 64 leaves a void wider and deeper than general public familiarity with Mr. Harl's name and works would suggest.

Not only a good citizen and an effective director of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Mr. Harl was a canny and trusted politician. He was a confident of Harry S. Truman, in fact and not by legend. And he helped steer H. S. T. around some of the boobytraps planted in the path of the little man who was marked for political extinction in 1948 but who fooled 'em all.

Although long active in the Democratic Party of Colorado and of the Nation, President Eisenhower reappointed him to a 2-year term on the FDIC after Mr. Harl submitted his resignation as the agency's Chairman in 1953. And the lifelong Coloradan was kept on the FDIC board by a second reappointment in 1955—a further tribute to his integrity and fairness as an individual, and his devotion to a banking system free of taint and sound in character.

Maple Talbott Harl was an inconspicuous and still influential force for good in this country. His career added luster to the contributions that citizens of Colorado have made in the Nation's behalf.

Rules and Regulations of Federal Communications Commission Should Be Modernized To Better Serve the Public Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted me by the House, I am including the testimony of Ralph L. Weir, Jr., delivered before the Senate Select Committee on Small Business where the question of daytime radio problems is under consideration. Mr. Weir is the owner and operator of radio station KJCK in Junction City, Kans.

Mr. Weir makes a convincing statement on behalf of the daytime radio broadcasters. I am sure Members will be interested in reading his testimony.

The testimony follows:

I am Ralph L. Weir, Jr., of Junction City, Kans. I am the owner and operator of KJCK, a 1,000-watt, daytime radio station operating on the regional frequency of 1,420 kilocycles. KJCK began broadcasting on May 15, 1949.

It is with extreme humility that I stand before you today. Being an electrical engineer by education and a small-business man by profession, I can only trust that the strength of my conviction and the sincerity of my testimony exceed my deficiency as a speaker.

First, let me relate a case history that will serve to illustrate how important local radio service can be to a community. This experience is by no means unique, it has been repeated literally hundreds of times in hundreds of communities, involving thousands—yes, even millions of people.

During the Kansas flood in July 1951 KJCK maintained continuous operation 24 hours a day for approximately 90 hours. We did this because rural telephones were inoperative. Farms throughout the whole area were isolated by floodwaters. Long-distance telephone service was discontinued. Several small communities near us were completely isolated. The rural electric power was off. Part of the time our local power was interrupted.

There was no radio entertainment during this period. KJCK was strictly a communication medium. Constant reports were given as to the scope of the floodwaters. The location of rainfall and the anticipated results were given. Areas were advised to evacuate; and how and where to accomplish this. Volunteer help was recruited for specific jobs at critical points as they arose. The military post of Fort Riley, Kans., adjacent to Junction City, depended on KJCK to communicate to their personnel throughout the area, and they were so informed.

Gentlemen, I mention this merely to emphasize the importance of the local aspect of radio; the immediate close touch of radio from mouth to ear, so vital to this age when time is so important.

Now, let's get squarely to this matter of fixed hours of operation. I prefer to say fixed adequate hours of operation. Last week, Junction City held its annual merchants exposition. As usual, the exposition opened with a parade. However, this year the parade was scheduled to begin at 6:30 p. m. It began about 6:40 p. m. Well, you guessed it, gentlemen, 7 p. m. found the parade half ended and my play-by-play announcer apologizing to our audience as he signed the station off the air. Can I build faith and dependability that way?

As you are familiar, the central part of the United States is all too often a victim of that meteorological phenomenon known as the tornado. Our State weather bureau is quite competent and immediately issues special weather warnings to us by telephone. These warnings are nearly always issued late in the afternoon. A radio station that signs off from 5 p. m. in January to 8 p. m. in July cannot establish definite, consistent listening habits. As a result, a daytime radio station's listeners are in a constant state of confusion as to how to receive these important weather bulletins. To me this becomes a serious disservice to the public, who have learned over a period of years that they cannot depend on their local radio station to be on the air at a given time day in and day out.

Many radio stations maintain auxiliary power supplies, extra studio program lines and other emergency operating equipment at a cost of thousands of dollars in order to insure dependable, consistent service under the most adverse circumstances. This is the very code of every broadcaster. But doesn't all of this sound ridiculous in the face of the daytime broadcast station who plays hop, skip, and jump every month of the year with his broadcast hours?

It does not matter what cross section of our community we analyze, they all live according to a fixed pattern. Day after day they wake up very nearly the same time, eat breakfast the same time, leave for work the same time. They want their local news the same time every morning. They want to know what the temperature is outside, if it will rain today, or snow, or freeze their crops or their children. Will the country school buses be running after last night's storm? They want to know this at 6 o'clock or 7 o'clock. Eight o'clock is too late. The children, 6 years old, or 7 or 8, are already out in the cold trudging down the road. Here are the signatures of over a thousand people who want their local radio station to have consistent broadcasting hours, so they can get information when they need it, from 5 in the morning until 7 at night. I did not go out and solicit these signatures; every one of them stopped by my headquarters and signed voluntarily, and during a 3-day period. This, from a town of 15,000 people. I also have four letters, each representing a different segment of our farm people in Kansas. They are as frustrated and confused as my local listeners from chasing KJCK's program schedule around the calendar. I could have had the signature of every responsible person in town. This story could be repeated in each one of the more than 700 communities whose local radio service consists of one daytime radio station.

I believe radio advertising is a vital and necessary tool to the successful operation of the small town business of today. During December, the very month when local radio advertising is needed the most by our local merchants, most daytime radio stations sign on the air at 8 o'clock in the morning or even

8:30. I submit, 8 o'clock is later than the workingman goes to work. These same radio stations must sign off the air at 5 o'clock or even 4:45 in the afternoon in December. Again the workingman is just finishing his day's work. And the same thing holds true for the large number of workingwomen. The fact is, the majority of the local merchant's customers cannot possibly hear a radio sales message in December. The same conditions prevail only to a slightly lesser degree in October and November, and in January and February. How long could any retailer stay in business if he changed his store hours 12 times every year?

What chance does a local merchant have to become familiar with, much less to utilize the powerful advertising value of radio under conditions like these? The cardinal rule in advertising is consistency. Gentlemen, consistency is an unknown word in a daytime radio station.

Our more powerful neighbors in the distant large cities are giving service from early morning until late at night on a consistent basis. It would seem logical that this constant pull centered about the big city would be no small factor in the tendency for small community buyers to commute to large cities to shop; the result, increased hardship on the small local merchant.

It has been said that radio is a technical medium, that certain conditions of ground conductivity and sky-wave reflections, etc., make it impossible to do anything for the daytimer. As a communication engineer, I am not totally ignorant of these terms. That it is a complicated problem I will readily agree, and a solution for which I will not presume to present. However, it has always seemed undemocratic and inconsistent with our great American heritage of equal opportunity for a few select radio stations, who are licensed to operate with maximum power, to have their giant radio signal protected five times as much as all the other radio stations. It is not the American way to have 2 standards governing different segments of 1 industry. Some immediate relief could be given by a reexamination of the true service rendered by all radio stations. Another avenue of approach which seems technically feasible would be 9 or even 8 kilocycles separation of broadcast stations, instead of the present 10 kilocycles separation. This proposal is consistent with the advancement of the modern radio receiver during the past 20 years.

Gentlemen, there is a practical, workable solution which will provide fixed, adequate hours of operation for daytime broadcast stations. I sincerely ask the Senate Select Committee on Small Business to take appropriate action to initiate provision for fixed hours of operation for daytime broadcast stations from 5 o'clock in the morning to 7 o'clock in the evening. Thank you.

Polish National Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, this year's observance of Polish Independence Day, May 3, 1957, was an occasion for considerable gratification. For the first time since the end of World War II, Poland has been able to wrest from the repressive Soviet Government a measure of autonomy. Difficult as it is for us to observe clearly through the fog of censorship still hampering free communications from behind the Soviet front, a few facts have emerged.

The Gomulka government, with a measure of support from the Polish people in the October uprising, seems firmly established. It is being treated by the Soviet Government, at least outwardly, more as an equal than any other nation among the Soviet satellites.

From the world's point of view, several other facts have become apparent. One is that the unrelenting pressure of propaganda and the constant emphasis upon military force have not produced in the Polish people the attitude of gullibility and fear that the Soviet Government expected. Another very important point to remember if we wish to understand the whole situation in the Soviet bloc is that the very people upon whom the success of the Communist philosophy depends—the working people and the peasants—are the people who are disillusioned about communism.

The granting of permission this year to celebrate the enactment of the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791, may seem a small gesture, but it is a significant symbol of Poland's new hope. Poland's valiant and bloody struggle, over the past century and a half, for her place among the nations of Europe, the still fresh memory of the hundreds of thousands annihilated in World War II and in the postwar Soviet despotism, and the bitter economic lessons of hunger and deprivation, all these have left the Polish people more determined than ever to achieve a destiny of self-respect and self-determination.

This anniversary was not an occasion for loud and superficial merrymaking. It was, rather, a day for serious deliberation on the problems which Poland faces in her changing role. Americans congratulate the Polish people on their first steps since the Stalin era toward a better future. People of the free nations everywhere must earnestly consider Poland's pressing political and economic problems. We must decide how best to help the Polish people on the thorny road toward their place among us.

Foreign-Aid Perspective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial from the New York Times, New York, N. Y., on Sunday, May 5, 1957, entitled "Foreign-Aid Perspective":

FOREIGN-AID PERSPECTIVE

It is a good thing to get an occasional change of emphasis in the discussion of our foreign-aid policies. We are always confronted with billion-dollar totals, percentage cuts, proposed or made, and what adds up to a sort of "numbers game" that characterizes budget debate.

A good example of such a shift was given, in one field, by Dr. Howard Rusk, of the New York University-Bellevue Medical Center, when he pointed out to the American Pharmaceutical Association last week that in the course of the past 15 years the point 4 projects in the field of worldwide health have cost Americans less than a penny a month per person. If we could just visualize that in some way, our perspective would be changed.

Suppose we could just drop in every month one penny designated for aid in the health field. And then suppose we could see what is being accomplished. Statistics are often cold-blooded things. But when we learn that infant mortality in a given area has been cut to one-half the previous rate we ought somehow to be able to realize that a given mother in a given village will see her children live instead of die. That makes a vast difference to her—that penny a month—and it ought to make a difference to us.

No aspect of our foreign aid program, Dr. Rusk declared, has bought so much for so little. And at no point can help be better given because it is instantly translated into human needs and the solution of human problems. Dr. Rusk noted the anomaly of a world in which really good health was enjoyed by a relatively few and stated that such a world could not be politically stable.

It is important to realize, however, that the techniques of public-health progress have been so greatly improved, the tools so sharpened, that the few have an opportunity now to render a unique service to the many. This is, after all, the real criterion for an aid program. How well does it serve? This goes deeper than the question of totals, percentages, and economies. It gets to the basis of how people in this world can live with each other and how those who are truly needy can be helped.

Devastating Effects of Hard Money, High Interest Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, over the past year in my encounters with represenatives of the administration and officials of the Federal Reserve Board I have tried to dissuade them from pursuing their harmful hard money policies. Time and time again I have tried to show them that their higher interest rates were increasing costs and hence prices, and that this was certainly not the way to fight inflation as they claimed they were doing. In support of my contention is the report of the Wall Street Journal of March 13, which reports that gas, electricity, and telephone bills are going up all across the country due to the fact that during 1955 and 1956 utilities had to offer higher and higher interest rates to borrow funds needed for expansion. This means that over the next 20 to 30 years, regardless of whether prices rise or fall, or whether money is cheap or dear consumers will be saddled with the higher electric, gas and telephone rates brought about by the hard money policy of 1955–56.

What would you think of a doctor who prescribed aspirin every day for 30 years to cure a 10-day cold?

Mr. Speaker, I have also tried to convince the hard money enthusiasts that their fire was hitting innocent bystanders who had little or nothing to do with the inflationary pressures that monetary curbs were supposed to be combating. I have yet to see a big corporation whose expansion plans have been affected by the rise in interest rates or by their inability to obtain credit. In contrast, however, is the picture of small businesses being squeezed out at an unprecedented rate. The Wall Street Journal, March 13, reports that small-business failures are at a 17-year high. For the past 4 weeks small-business failures have exceeded pre-World War II—that means depression—levels. The total number of failures for the week ended March 7 was the highest since April 10, 1940. Yet Chairman MARTIN continues to insist that come what may he will go on resisting inflation, because that as he sees it is the Nation's key problem. And Chairman MARTIN adds that small-business bankruptcies, the lack of schoolrooms and moderate priced housing notwithstanding, he will continue to rely on the open market as the most effective mechanism for allocating the restricted supply of credit that the Federal Reserve chooses to make available. How long will it be before these disastrous policies cause irreversible damage to the health and structure of our economy?

Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD the two articles from Wall Street Journal which I cited above:

UTILITIES SEEK NEW RATE INCREASES AS BORROWING COSTS RISE—MOST REGULATORY COMMISSIONS ARE SYMPATHETIC—VERMONT SOUNDS A NOTE OF CAUTION

(By Carter Henderson)

The tight money market of the past 2 years is about to raise a little mischief with consumers' electricity, telephone, and gas bills.

That's the major finding of a Wall Street Journal survey of well over half of the Nation's public-service commissions, the agencies charged with regulating utility rates.

During 1955 and 1956, utilities had to offer steadily rising interest rates to borrow funds needed for expansion. Now interest rates generally are showing signs of leveling off. But utility borrowing costs still are holding at high levels—at times, even pushing slightly higher. Minnesota Power & Light Co. on Monday sold $12 million of bonds at an interest cost of 4.64 percent. Last week, Columbus & Southern Ohio Electric Co. sold $16 million of similarly rated securities at an interest rate of 4.465 percent.

A GROWING ROLE

If they are to expand to meet demand for service, utilities must continue to borrow. As higher borrowing costs play a growing role in utility financial statements, public service commissions are lending a more sympathetic ear to requests for higher electricity, gas, and telephone rates.

Down in the sunny Southwest, for example, L. W. Leibrand, chairman of the New Mexico Public Service Commission, says, "We are aware of the increasing cost utilities must pay for new money and realize it can have a most definite effect upon rate payers if the condition continues."

A few hundred miles due east, Ray C. Jones, chairman of the Corporation Commission of Oklahoma, says, "We give consideration to the cost of money in fixing rates, and although no utility has asked for a rate increase recently, we are anticipating them in view of the continued increased cost of money."

These comments mirror the sentiments of more than three-quarters of the 36 State and Federal commissions interviewed.

There can be little doubt that utilities will be a big factor in the money market for months and years to come. Frederick R. Kappel, president of American Telephone & Telegraph Co., says the giant Bell System will need an average of $125 million a month from investors this year to help finance its gigantic 1957 expansion program estimated at $2.5 billion. A. T. & T. already has announced it's hitting the market with $250 million of bonds on March 26.

TWO HUNDRED AND TEN MILLION DOLLARS A MONTH

As for the electric utilities, Donald S. Kennedy, president of the Edison Electric Institute, predicts they'll spend an average of $4 billion a year for the next decade and need some $2.5 billion a year or an average of $210 million a month in th form of fresh capital.

Utilities rely on a whole kitbag of economic crowbars when attempting to pry rate increases out of the commissions. But the unflagging rise in interst rates has given this single lever more prying power than it's had for quite some time.

Late last year, to mention one example, the Maryland Public Service Commission permitted Cumberland & Allegheny Gas Co., a subsidiary of Columbia Gas System, Inc., to raise its prices by 25 percent to yield between $98,329 and $120,854 in additional net return.

The commission's decision followed testimony by Morton Lewis, assistant treasurer of Columbia Gas, who spelled out how Cumberland & Allegheny's costs were climbing—including its borrowing costs which had risen by about 25 percent in 15 months.

A few weeks ago, Public Service Company of New Hampshire informed the State Utility Commission and its customers that it needed a $600,000 increase in annual revenues that would raise residential electricity bills by an average of about 20 cents a month. Avery R. Schiller, president, says the company wants the higher revenues because it "must earn at least 5.65 percent in order to have the reasonable credit standing in today's tight-money market needed to attract new capital for expansion without paying exorbitant interest and dividends."

INTEREST COSTS CITED

Federal Power Commission Chairman Jerome K. Kuykendall says, "We have several applications pending for rate increases in which current interest costs are cited." One of thse is a $24,300,000 increase requested by Tennessee Gas Transmission Co., headquartered in Houston and operator of the Nation's biggest pipeline system.

The company says the higher rates, which might eventually raise customer's gas bills in 13 States, are needed to offset increases in wages, taxes, depreciation, natural gas prices—and stiffer borrowing costs. Tennessee Gas told the FPC that from 1955 to late 1956 it had to increase the yield on new cumulative convertible second preferred stock from 4.65 to 5.17 percent, debenture rates went from 4.03 to 4.66 percent and bond interest fees spurted from 3.8 to 4.64 percent.

Luckily for consumers, the impact of a utility's higher borrowing costs is being softened—for the present, at least—by the fact that utilities sold big amounts of debt securities when interest rates were lower, and by tax considerations.

Utilities are continually in the money market and, over the years, have sold billions of dollars worth of securities at interest rates considerably lower than those prevailing today. These cheaper loans, that often run for decades, hold down a utility's overall borrowing costs.

Taxes are important, too. The interest a utility pays on borrowed money is an allowable tax deduction, so the Government, in effect, absorbs part of the impact of higher borrowing costs.

Public service commissions are overwhelmingly in favor of allowing utilities to pass on their higher borrowing expenses to consumers, to be sure. But one commission hints at what may happen if rates later decline.

P. M. Schuchart, director of the Florida commission's public utilities department says, "Whether borrowing costs go up or down, we will recognize them as a legitimate operating expense."

The Vermont Public Service Commission comes up with a word of caution to utilities. "It's the rate payer who must pay the freight when higher rates of return are granted," says Oscar L. Shepard, commission chairman, "and I believe it to be imperative for utility company officials to give serious thought before they embark upon a too ambitious program of plant expansion, expecting utility commissions to accede to demands for higher rates to pay for such programs."

BUSINESS FAILURES AT 17-YEAR HIGH

NEW YORK.—Commercial and industrial failure climbed in the week ended March 7 to a 17-year high, according to Dun and Bradstreet, Inc. The total of 327 was well ahead of the 284 reported for the preceeding week and far more than the 268 in the like week a year ago and the 258 in 1955. Failures have remained above pre-World War II levels for the past 4 weeks, and the latest weeks total was the highest since the period ended April 10, 1940.

Congressman Glen Lipscomb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. LIPSCOMB] was praised by Columnist George Todt in the April 19, 1957, issue of the Valley Times of California's San Fernando Valley. As Mr. Todt's article points out, the gentleman from California has saved the taxpayers a considerable sum of money by his courageous and forthright action in ferreting out waste and inefficiency in the Federal Government.

The article follows:

GEORGE TODT'S OPINION

"If it is not true it is very well invented."—Giordano Bruno.

If this Nation had a few more courageous young Congressmen like GLEN LIPSCOMB, of California's 24th Congressional District—men who are not afraid to take on sancrosanct sacred cows when the occasion warrants doing so—we would all be considerably better off.

This quiet young man has just exploded the myth of the infallible public opinion poll. He didn't spar, feint, or dodge about his business. Just quietly collected his facts on an incredible foreign aid poll he had reason to be suspicious about. It seems the boys were putting out the information that 9 out of 10 taxpayers named Joe Doakes were

straining at the leash to continue foreign aid handouts around the globe. This notion didn't square with Mr. LIPSCOMB's mail count—which had been running 2 to 1 against giveaways.

It was the International Cooperation Administration, to be exact, which seemed to be the fountainhead of knowledge in this instance. Public support was at an all-time high they were saying in some inspired Washington newspaper accounts. Particularly after the terrific public relations impact on the American public of one Jawaharlal Nehru of India. This struck the young California legislator as perhaps spreading it on just a little too thick. His curiosity became aroused and he commenced to ask some direct questions at the horse's mouth.

After an appropriate amount of runaround—and incidental hogwash, gobbledygook, and mumbo-jumbo of varying descriptions—the truth finally came out. And what did the Congresman find? Lo and behold. Talk about embarrasment and red faces. Well, the dear old State Department was really in a tizzy about it all, because—you've guessed it—State had dipped into a secret hush-hush fund and paid for this little rodger-dodger all on their own. Only—curses—nobody was supposed to find the blamed thing out. Oh, well, keep a stiff upper lip and all that sort of thing, ole boy, ole boy. And better luck next time.

What makes this particular poll look so silly after the smoke was cleared away stems from the fact that it was based on only 1,300 people questioned. This is supposed to give an accurate account of the opinions of more than 100 millions of registered voters in our Nation. Could anything be more ludicrous than this? How come this little batch of 1,300 were found to be 90 percent in favor of foreign aid? Isn't it odd, though? Where can you really find figures like that anywhere in America today? How about asking the next 10 people you meet?

In Mr. LIPSCOMB's own district he found that 61 percent were against foreign aid in a questionnaire he supplied his constituents; only 39 percent were for overseas handouts. In Wisconsin Representative LAWRENCE SMITH, found 64 percent against foreign aid. Representative HARRISON, in West Virginia, reported 78 percent against. Representative MCGREGOR, of Ohio, came up with 57 percent nixing the controversial item. Compare this with the poll—bought and paid for by the State Department—which claims 90 percent of us are pleading to pay more taxes so that the British and others of our worldwide friends may be allowed to cut theirs. Ho hum, and what hot weather we're having in January these days.

Oh well, this poll conducted by the National Opinion Research Center in this particular instance is hardly more difficult to believe than the recent Gallup poll which insisted that 74 percent of those it questioned of the GOP were modern Republicans. Mr. Gallup allowed conservative Republicans a trifling 18 percent and guessed that 8 percent didn't know what they were supposed to be. It would be interesting to know if Mr. Gallup's cross section of the Republican population even included as many as 1,300 souls. What was his basis of determination as to just who should get his questionnaires? How was it done?

Here is another sacrosanct "sacred cow" which ought to be fully investigated by the Senate Investigating Committee in Washington. Not only the Gallup poll, but others like it. There is something fishy here. The American people are being increasingly asked to accept the Gallup poll, and others, as a basis for legislation in this Nation. If this Princeton product was completely devoid of political overtones, it might be a good thing—but dangerous, nevertheless. For you can prove anything by figures.

When we look behind the scenes, we find Dr. George Gallup, a confirmed liberal in his outlook, surrounded by fellow liberals—and he has yet to give a conservative finding in any of the readings I have ever looked at. Never a 50–50 break, as one might expect. Always the findings are heavily weighted toward the liberal left—and no exceptions.

How come this has turned into another "sacred cow," Senators? Couldn't we just check this one out for the record? How about a little look-see in this important propaganda area? Hmmm?

Legislative Oversight Subcommittee Outlines Scope of Its Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to advise, for the information of the Members of the Congress, an outline of the scope of the work by the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce by the committee, Thursday, April 18, 1957.

Pursuant to our suggestion, Mr. Speaker, at the time the resolution authorizing the work of our Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce was being considered, I announced the appointment of a special subcommittee for this work on March 6, 1957. I am enclosing herewith a copy of the announcement in order that we may have a continuity of the delopment of this program and the appointment of the committee.

The special subcommittee has functions as outlined in section 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. Each standing legislative committee of the House was given the responsibility of exercising continuous watchfulness and appraising the administration of the laws of the agencies of Government within the jurisdiction of the committee. The work was referred to in that act as "legislative oversight." The term, according to Webster's, means "watchful care or supervision."

I named our colleague, the Honorable MORGAN M. MOULDER, as chairman of the special subcommittee. Mr. MOULDER was the next Member in seniority on our committee whom I had not designated as a chairman of an important subcommittee and with important work to do. I, therefore, want to make it perfectly clear, Mr. Speaker, that he as an able member of our committee and in whom I and other members have utmost confidence was the logical and appropriate selection for the chairmanship of this important work.

We selected eight other members of our committee, whose names are included in the attached statement, all outstanding, able and experienced members.

In addition, our colleague, Mr. WOLVERTON, the ranking minority member of the committee, and I, as chairman of the committee, are active members and who will assist in this important undertaking. On April 18 the committee met and thoroughly discussed this program and a desire to do a good and objective job.

I agreed to the scope of its work that we should undertake. I include a copy of this outline as announced by Mr. MOULDER, chairman of the subcommittee, at this time:

MARCH 6, 1957.

OREN HARRIS, Democrat, Arkansas, chairman, House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, today announced the appointment of a special subcommittee to review, study, and examine the execution of the laws by the administrative and independent agencies of the Government within the jurisdiction of the committee.

Section 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, which is included in the rules of the House of Representatives, provides that to assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws each standing committee of the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution of the laws by the administrative agencies of the Government within the jurisdiction of the committee.

In addition, House Resolution 99, 85th Congress, authorizes the committee to investigate and study the administration and enforcement by departments and agencies of the Government of provisions of law relating to subjects which are within the jurisdiction of such committee.

In the consideration of the resolution by the House of Representatives on February 5, 1957, Speaker RAYBURN, former chairman of the committee, stated: "I trust that the gentleman will set up a subcommittee, and I think under the broad authority of this resolution he has that authority, to go into the administration of each and every one of these laws to see whether or not the law as we intended it is being carried out or whether a great many of these laws are being repealed or revamped by those who administer them."

Chairman HARRIS and Mr. WOLVERTON will be ex officio members of the subcommittee, with voting privileges.

The membership of the subcommittee is as follows:

Special Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight: MORGAN M. MOULDER, Democrat, Missouri, chairman; JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, Democrat, Mississippi; PETER F. MACK, Democrat, Illinois; JOHN J. FLYNT, JR., Democrat, Georgia; JOHN E. MOSS, Democrat, California; JOSEPH P. O'HARA, Republican, Minnesota; ROBERT HALE, Republican, Maine; JOHN W. HESELTON, Republican, Massachusetts; JOHN B. BENNETT, Republican, Michigan.

APRIL 18, 1957.

Representative MORGAN M. MOULDER, chairman of the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, announced that in executive session today the subcommittee had adopted, with the approval of Committee Chairman OREN HARRIS, the following outline of the scope of the subcommittee's activities:

PURPOSES

To examine the execution of the laws by the administrative agencies, administering laws within the legislative jurisdiction of the committee, to see whether or not the law as Congress intended in its enactment has been and is being carried out or whether it has been and is being repealed or revamped by those who administer it.

DUAL APPROACH

1. Whether the law has been and is being faithfully executed by the agency in the public interest.

2. Whether the law and the statutory standards it contains have been and are be-

ing interpreted by rule, or internal procedures, to enlarge the area of regulation beyond that intended, and to administer it through procedures not intended by the Congress.

AGENCIES TO BE EXAMINED

1. Civil Aeronautics Administration, Civil Aeronautics Board, Federal Communications Commission, Federal Power Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Food and Drug Administration, Interstate Commerce Commission, Securities and Exchange Commission.

2. Bureau of Standards, National Institutes of Health, National Science Foundation, Weather Bureau.

3. Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, Office of Alien Property, Public Health Service, Railroad Retirement Board, and other agencies within legislative jurisdiction of the committee.

SUBJECTS TO BE CONSIDERED

1. Review and analysis of the law and amendments, and intent of the Congress when enacted.

2. Area of the field regulated by each law, changing circumstances and growth of the field since enactment.

3. Consideration of the legislative standards in the law to determine whether they can be drafted in more precise terms with the view of reducing administrative discretion.

4. Consideration of rules and regulations issued by the agency under the discretionary delegations, reconciliation with statutory standards and legislative intent, manner in which rules have been applied in practice.

5. Administrative interpretations and practices apart from formal rules and regulations, public notice of such interpretations and practices, extent to which in fact administration is by internal interpretations as distinct from published rules.

6. Judicial decisions on the administration of the law by the agency, the statutory standards, rules and regulations, and administrative interpretation; enlargement of area of regulation supported by the decisions.

7. Enforcement of statute, rules, and regulations.

8. Organization of agency.

(a) Independence and bipartisanship of Commission, as intended in its creation; identification of the regulators with the regulated.

(b) Personnel: Experience, relationship to agency policy, status under civil service.

(c) Workload, distribution of personnel as to statutory duties or on duties assumed through administrative interpretations, coordination with State and other regulatory agencies, trade or industry enforcement groups.

New Head of AVC Direct Descendant of Soldier Under Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am proud and happy to announce to the House the election of W. Robert Ming, Jr., a distinguished constituent in the second district of Illinois, as chairman of the American Veterans Committee. Mr. Ming is the first Negro in the United States to become the national head of an organization of the character of AVC, which has a membership of 27,000 and chapters both in the North and the South.

For myself as a member of AVC, and for all the men and women of the great and democratically integrated district that I have the honor to represent, I commend AVC for its action and congratulate this fine and dedicated organization on its good fortune in having as its national head a veteran of the high character and outstanding ability of Bob Ming.

I am extending my remarks to include excerpts from an article in the Chicago Tribune of May 4, 1957 by the brilliant Negro writer, Roi Ottley, as follows:

"My election demonstrates the fact that race is an irrelevancy in the organization," Ming said. "However, I believe the group was not unmindful of the impact the election of a Negro would have, particularly abroad.

"I hope this development will serve, if only in a small measure, to demonstrate further the real movement in the United States toward racial integration. I hope, too, it will encourage young Negroes to prepare and compete more and more in the mainstream of the American community."

Ming led the successful fight in 1949 to expel Communists from the veterans committee.

As chairman of the national board and executive committee, he will be the organization's spokesman. He also will supervise the executive offices and major commissions, and head fund raising drives and membership promotions.

"The organization will give close scrutiny to social and political problems in an effort to formulate positions which will be consistent with the ideals and aspirations of the American people," Ming said.

Ming, a former assistant attorney general of Illinois, was born in Chicago, May 7, 1911, the son of a municipal employee, now retired and a direct descendant of a Revolutionary War soldier. He attended Englewood High School, Crane Junior College, and in 1931 entered the University of Chicago Law School.

He was the first Negro elected to the Order of Coif, an honorary group at the university limited to 10 students of the top 10 percent of a class. He also was elected to the board of editors of the Law Review, the first Negro to achieve this distinction.

GETS DEGREE IN 1933

He graduated in 1933 with a doctor of laws degree. He taught at Howard University, Washington, D. C., and afterward joined the faculty of the University of Chicago Law School.

Ming, a member of the Chicago Bar Association and Cook County Bar Association, now is a senior member of the firm of Moore, Ming & Leighton.

He is married to the former Irvena Harvey, a social worker, and lives in the Kenwood-Hyde Park area.

Small Business Needs More Than Election Campaign Promises

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, during the political campaigns of 1956 it was recognized that small business needed help. It was recognized that small business needed tax relief. It was recognized that small business needed help in securing credit and capital for survival and growth. Therefore, promises were made that the needed help would be forthcoming.

On May 16, 1956, I addressed the House and included in my statement on that occasion an abundance of statistics dramatizing the fact that the status of small business had been rapidly deteriorating. Some of these statistics were so shocking that many persons in responsible positions expressed concern about the situation. In fact, within 2 weeks President Eisenhower manifested a concern about the situation. On May 31, 1956, he appointed a Cabinet Committee on Small Business to investigate the economic conditions of small business enterprises and the policies of the Federal Government that could relate to the establishment and growth of small businesses. In that connection the President said that this newly established committee should keep the Federal Government "fully abreast of developments that affect small businesses. Its programs and policies aimed at assisting small business should be carefully reviewed at this time with the object of strengthening them where necessary, and of making recommendations for steps that will provide such enterprises with additional constructive assistance."

On August 7, 1956, the President's Cabinet Committee on Small Business made a report. In that period of national political campaigning that report was widely publicized. It contained statements looking with favor upon and recommending consideration of proposals providing tax relief for small business. The report contained a number of other proposals for helping small business. The President announced his favorable reaction to those proposals.

In the period of August, September, and October 1956, spokesmen for the administration of the Federal Government gave assurances that ways and means for providing tax relief and other helps to small business were under consideration and would be put forward at an early date.

I believe it is time to review and compare the administration's performances with those promises. When we do that we find that those promises have not been fulfilled. Perhaps they have been encased and stored away in the museums for safekeeping to be brought forth again in 1958 and in 1960 to be polished and held out to small business as new hopes on those occasions. However, I venture to predict that the administration and its helpers on Madison Avenue will find that the Barnum philosophy will not be successful when they attempt to apply it to small business. Small business is aware of what is happening to it. It is watching this administration. In 1958 and in 1960 it will not be fooled by the dusted-off, polished-up, promises that were used in 1956. Small business will know that those promises were not fulfilled. Indeed, "small business is up in arms these days" about the failure of this administration to live up to its

promises of 1956. In that connection I refer to an article by John Harriman which was published in the Boston Daily Globe Thursday, April 18, 1957. That article is entitled "Brushoff in Washington Angers Small Business." It is as follows:

BRUSHOFF IN WASHINGTON ANGERS SMALL BUSINESS

(By John Harriman)

Small business is up in arms these days.

It is bitter over the deal it has received in Washington. It is deeply concerned over its future, and worried enough about the present.

And it is more than a little sick of having to listen to political platitudes and the old malarky which, in the words of a Business Week article last summer "put small business on a pedestal along with motherhood and purity on Pennsylvania Avenue," while doing nothing to solve its problems.

PROFITS DOWN TO LESS THAN 3 PERCENT

The fears of the future of small businessmen arise from a few quite startling figures.

Last year corporations doing over $100 million in sales, showed an average net on sales of 7 percent.

Those with sales of $10 million earned 5 percent.

But companies doing less than $1 million showed only 2.7 percent, and those doing less than $250,000 earned only 2.3 percent.

It need hardly be pointed out how vulnerable these smaller companies with their low margin are to any decline. Indeed, it might be argued that the plight of these smaller concerns is a perhaps not generally recognized Achilles heel to the whole economy.

Back of this situation are several factors. The habit of big corporations in recent years of granting wage increases, and passing the cost along to the public in price boosts. Small business, selling as a rule in tight, price-competitive markets, must meet the wage increase without being able to boost its price.

The fact that smaller businesses as a rule do not have the wherewithal to put huge sums into new, laborsaving machines, which might help hold down their costs.

And because smaller businesses do not often control their own sources of raw material, and in buying raw materials must hence too often pay the big corporation piper.

HUMPHREY PLUS NAM AND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

All during the last political campaign, small business listened to the most lovely promises. It listened, too, to a report to President Eisenhower by the Cabinet Committee on Small Business. And it read with interest the two-volume report on its problems by the Joint Economic Committee.

As a result, small business had expected that at least some of the recommendations by these various agencies would be adopted—most specifically that which would reduce the income tax rate on the first $25,000 of corporate income.

But Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey gave the coup de grace to this hope in testimony before the Senate Finance Committee last month when he asked the continuation of the present tax rate and added that the decision must be made in 10 days, leaving no time for "study" of the small business problem.

Mr. Humphrey, who works strong magic in Congress, was supported by the stand of the National Association of Manufacturers, and the United States Chamber of Commerce. These organizations took the position that they did not wish to see the rate on small business reduced until all taxes were reduced.

This, to small business, was the final straw, the most unkind cut of all. Particularly the action of the NAM. That organization has always maintained that it represented small business interests as well as that of the big corporations. But right now small-business men are saying, "maybe."

Some Views on Senator Joe McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, George Sokolsky, one of the leading columnists in the United States knew Senator McCARTHY intimately. His appraisal of the man is set forth in his column for last Saturday:

[From the Washington Post of May 4, 1957]

Much has been written and said about Senator JOE MCCARTHY during the past several days while he lay dying and when he finally went to his Maker.

I knew JOE intimately and favorably. No matter how men may differ about him, I always knew that JOE MCCARTHY had no interest other than the welfare of his country. He firmly believed that all Communists had to be traitors and he set out to find them. He was successful in some measure, but he also suffered from a sense of failure because he knew that agencies of Government and high officials protected men and women whom they should have despised. He sought for motives and often reached the conclusion that many men were fearful that their own mistakes would be exposed; he felt that fear and vanity rather than ideological positions played a great part in determining men's attitudes toward him and his work.

We often discussed the brutal force of the opposition to him and this he never understood, because he could not believe that some of his opponents wanted to protect Communists. He never understood the Army fight upon him because he held that it was the Army's first duty to protect this country from Communists and traitors. I was present at the notorious luncheon in New York when MCCARTHY, Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens, and his counsel, John Adams, lunched and drank and cavorted throughout an afternoon. What came out at the McCARTHY-Army hearings was never the whole story nor had the various versions of the Cohn-Schine episodes anything to do with the situation at all. And I can say, from firsthand knowledge, that Bob Stevens had little or nothing to do with the effort to destroy MCCARTHY.

This was a political maneuver to eliminate MCCARTHY's importance, to kill his influence as an American citizen, to make his name abhorrent and to frighten off any Senator, journalist, or radio commentator who chose to support him or his cause. So far as JOE MCCARTHY was concerned the maneuver succeeded to a startling degree.

Those who engaged in it—and their names came out during the hearings—knew JOE's characteristics; they knew that he was gentle and aggressive; rough in the fight and forgiving immediately afterward; humble in his heart but giving the impression of cantankerousness. They also knew that while he appeared to be hale and even physically powerful, he was not a strong man, suffering physical pain, sometimes so much pain that he had to give way to it.

They knew all his weaknesses, for some of them had, since he came to the Senate, acted as though they were his close personal friends. They left him bitter, disillusioned, hurt. He was hounded to death by those who would not forget and could not forgive. He was a lonely man among his associates and he often wondered who were his friends.

He and Jeannie adopted a little girl and that brought JOE a happiness which he had not ever known before. There can be no question that he regarded the 1958 election as a problem because he realized the forces that would be pitted against him. He believed that he would ultimately win that election and he said that he did not fear his opponent, Walter Kohler, but there can be no question that he recognized that he would have to take on the entire Eisenhower administration, the modern Republicans, the Committee for an Effective Congress, the money that would be raised against him in New York by the mysterious Arthur Goldsmith, the Communists, their fellow travelers and dupes. It meant a fight—a terrific fight and his health was ebbing away.

It is often said that you can only really know a man if you live with him. I did not live with JOE under one roof, but there were times when we saw much of each other and when I was intimately concerned with his effort to drive the Communists from American life. As an American, as a Jew, as an anti-Communist, I can proudly say that JOE MCCARTHY was my friend and that I have never encountered an opponent of his who equaled him in patriotism and courage. God bless his soul and forgive those who sent him to his death.

[From the Boston Herald]

IMPOSSIBLE TO SEE HIM CLEAR

It is impossible to see JOSEPH RAYMOND MCCARTHY clear, for the smoke of his battlefields still hangs about him even in death. All we can know is that something extraordinary has passed from the American scene, and if it was a good thing or a bad thing those who come along after us will have to decide. None today, as we have said, can honestly balance that account with JOSEPH MCCARTHY. He was spectacularly great for something, and for what that was we must wait a time of greater objectivity.

[From the Philadelphia Bulletin]

WAR ON REDS TO GO ON

Death has removed from the American political scene one of its most picturesque and vehement actors. MCCARTHY was as able as he was active in his prime. He was astute, vigorous and relentless. Doubtless many share his view that to stamp out the termites who work secretly to undermine our Government it is necessary to deal harshly not only with the guilty but with the suspected. Despite the passing of the chief huntsman in political circles, the warfare on the Red underground will go on. It is regrettable that Senator MCCARTHY did not live to attend ultimately the funeral of the Communist Party in the United States.

[From the Daily News and the Daily Mirror]

ABSOLUTELY TOP-DRAWER

He was a complete patriot. He alerted the American people to the criminal Communist conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States. Though he made occasional mistakes, we think he was a great man, and that the Nation's loss is correspondingly great. A man is often measured by the enemies he makes. Judging from his choice assortment of characters, both here and abroad, who hated and feared Senator MCCARTHY, he was absolutely top-drawer.

[From the Daily Mirror]

MAN WHO DID NOT RETREAT

Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY was a young giant of our times. Communists and leftists hated him because they feared him. Millions of patriotic Americans loved him. Many were puzzled by his tactics, but none by his purpose. He struck hard at a time when powerhouse punching was needed. Sometimes the swings were wild. We criticized him for his means, never for his ends. Perhaps he was unwise to take on the United States Army brass, but that battle, if it accomplished nothing else, ended any lingering, vestigial tolerance of communism in the Armed Forces. He was a man who did not retreat. He was fearless. America has lost a warrior. The war toward which he contributed so much goes on.

[From the Chicago Tribune]

TARGET OF SMEAR CAMPAIGN

Senator MCCARTHY was a patriotic American and a determined opponent of Communists. And because of that he was made the target of the greatest organized smear campaign of our day. Every "liberal" commentator and newspaper lost no opportunity to vilify him. The White House palace guard plotted his ruin. The President singled him out for studied insults. No man in public life was ever persecuted and maligned because of his beliefs as was Senator MCCARTHY. He took it all without a whimper and stuck to his guns. The Republic has lost a stalwart defender.

[From the Star-Ledger]

DEBATE MAY LAST FOR YEARS

The debate may go on for many years before a conclusive judgment of his value can be arrived at. While controversy rages over his political activity, there can be no questions of the man's unique spirit and courage, which knew no bounds. If some of his enemies thought of him as a would-be dictator, those who knew him were aware of a deep sense of humor that would not have permitted himself to accept blind adulation and the trappings of a dictatorship. He was not one-tenth as calculating in his methods as his enemies feared him to be.

[From the Free Press]

NEVER ANY GRAY TONES

There were never any gray tones where Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY was concerned. Reaction to him was either sharply black or white, depending upon how people felt about the issues in which he became involved, and the methods he employed in connection with them. If we could distill the essence of his philosophy, and for the moment disregard reckless methods, we might find the purest patriotism. For the moment, we are willing to recognize that sincerity, letting time and history's perspective arrive at what judgments they may.

[From the Canadian Press, Toronto, Canada]

SMEAR ATTACK CHARGED

TORONTO, May 3 (Canadian Press).—Ronald Gostick, director of the Canadian Anti-Communist League, said in a statement today that the death of Senator MCCARTHY was attributable to a general breakdown in his health brought on by the smear attack launched against him by the leftwing and liberal press and propagandists in recent years.

In a telegram to Mrs. MCCARTHY, Mr. Gostick said the Senator's death had come as a great shock to anti-Communist and Christian patriots in Canada.

[From the Journal-American]

SABER-SLASHING WARRIOR

In the death of Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY the forces of freedom in the United States have lost a fierce and valiant warrior. He was a saber-slashing warrior. Riding the steed of dedication he sounded the alarm and pressed the battle against Communists, fellow-travelers and anti-anti-Communists wherever it led. Neither prestige nor influence deterred JOE MCCARTHY, neither slander nor scorn swerved him. Where he saw his duty, he did not parry; he charged. In this era no other man was more admired or more vilified. There were times when his saber swings were misdirected. But these few occasions were inevitable. His enemies sought to pervert and disgrace his motives. The warrior from Wisconsin had only one motive and he never deviated from it. It was to smash the Communist conspiracy.

STATEMENTS BY SENATOR JAVITS AND SENATOR RUSSELL

Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican of New York: The death of so young a Senator of such strong convictions is truly sad. It should be our hope and aim that in the national interest the warnings of Communist subtlety and duplicity uttered by Senator MCCARTHY will long survive the controversy about his methods of investigation. My deepest sympathy goes out to Mrs. McCarthy.

Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Democrat of Georgia: I deplore the untimely passing of Senator MCCARTHY and extend my deepest sympathy to his family. He was a controversial figure and I often disagreed with him, but his word was as good as his bond and he could always be depended upon to do what he said he would do. He was forthright in expression and no one had trouble in knowing his views on any matter.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, May 3, 1957]

VALIANT WARRIOR

In the death of Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY the forces of freedom in the United States have lost a fierce and valiant fighter.

He was a saber-slashing warrior. Riding the steed of dedication he sounded the alarm and pressed the battle against Communists, fellow-travelers and anti-anti-Communists wherever it led.

Neither prestige nor influence deterred JOE MCCARTHY, neither slander nor scorn swerved him. Where he saw his duty, he did not parry; he charged.

In this era no other man was more admired or more vilified. There were times when his saber swings were misdirected. But these few occasions were inevitable in a nature so intensely committed to the anti-Communist cause, and to a man of his burning patriotism.

His enemies coined the word "McCarthyism"—straight out of the Communist propaganda machine—as a brand name of disrepute. JOE MCCARTHY seized it and turned it against them.

His enemies sought to pervert and disgrace his motives. The warrior from Wisconsin had only one motive and he never deviated from it.

It was to smash the Communist conspiracy.

We on this newspaper have lost a friend. His country has lost a champion of liberty.

He served it well.

A TRIBUTE FROM THE WISCONSIN STATE LEGISLATURE—LEGISLATURE PAUSES TO PRAY

MADISON, WIS., May 3.—Both houses of the Wisconsin Legislature paused in prayer briefly today for Senator MCCARTHY.

The Rev. Donovan Palmquist, pastor of Central Lutheran Church here, delivered the prayer in both houses.

He asked God to "raise up from among the citizens of this State a God-fearing servant to serve as our Senator, one who will continue to protect and preserve the rights of this free country and who will serve as leader of the truth, equality, justice and peace for the world."

Mr. Palmquist continued:

We thank God for the life of Senator MCCARTHY and for his contribution to the American way of life. We thank Thee for him as a fighter of communism, defender of free speech, and as one who was concerned about the needs of people not only in Wisconsin but throughout the world.

[From the Kenosha (Wis.) Evening News]

JOE—COURAGEOUS, CONTROVERSIAL

The death of Senator JOSEPH RAYMOND MCCARTHY brings to an end one of the most flaming political careers in the history of this State and the Nation. His death, however will not end the controversy between those who charged him with opportunism and driving ambition and those who defended him as the outstanding champion of anticommunism.

JOE'S career was a strange one—from 1950 to 1954 at least half of the public rated him as one of the ablest men in Congress, one of the most courageous of public servants. Then came the Senate vote of condemnation in November 1954, and his virtual eclipse as a national political leader, no longer a man to be quoted on national issues of the day, as though he were identified forever with a lost cause.

Even during the peak of his career as a fervent apostle of American nationalism, Senator MCCARTHY often was not given his due. His method of approach to the problems of the military and communism split the country. Yet there were few men of his stature, few ready to stand up and fight, and among his supporters was the great conservative, Robert Taft.

It will long be remembered that Senator MCCARTHY was touched with greatness, for his influence was felt for a number of years in many political battles in many States and arenas. It was not odd that JOE in recent years was not in the good graces of President Eisenhower, for the military has a way of rapping the fingers of any person who makes a bare-knuckle attack upon its citadel. It is well to remember that it was Senator MCCARTHY who lambasted Gen. George E. Marshall, Eisenhower's patron in the Army.

What we all can be sure of in Senator MCCARTHY'S career is that he was a man with determination, patience, and courage such as possessed by few men in or out of public office. In the face of bitter newspaper and other criticism, he stuck to his guns. Though at times he was generally denounced, his resignation demanded, he kept right on wading in.

Someday the JOE MCCARTHY story will be told adequately, and it seems to us that it will show he was able to rise above self-interest when the national interest was at stake—when it counted the most.

There are a good many Kenoshans who are going to miss having Fighting JOE as their spokesman in Congress. There are others who will say he was not constructive, but friend and foe deplore his death at the comparatively young age 48. He may not rank with the highest statesmen, Clay, Webster, Calhoun, LA FOLLETTE, Taft, but he will not be soon forgotten, either.

Arab Torrent of Hate Keeps Rolling On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following excerpts from press and radio further point up the necessity of a se-

curity pact with Israel. These excerpts appeared in the Israel Digest of April 8, 1957.

The excerpts follow:

ARAB TORRENT OF HATE KEEPS ROLLING ON

EGYPTIANS RETURNING TO GAZA

"Reliable sources report that preparations are now going forward for the return of the Egyptian Army to the Gaza strip. This move will be part of the Egyptian plan to restore the situation in the strip to what it was in October 1956." (Radio Beirut, March 20.)

"Official Egyptian circles refuse to comment on the various reports that have been circulated according to which the Egyptian Government proposed to Mr. Bunche that it would not send its army to Gaza * * * Egypt cannot possibly make such a promise; on the contrary, reports point to the preparations now being made to have the Palestinian Army of Egypt take over the positions it previously occupied in the Gaza strip." (Radio Beirut, March 21.)

ARABS MUST CRUSH ISRAEL

"The Arab people of Kuwait have started to move forward, to stand side by side with the Arabs of the gulf and to unite their struggle with the rest of the Arabs. The Arab States must triumph over imperialism and its underlings and crush Israel—and thus achieve their desired supreme unity." (Voice of the Arabs, Cairo, March 5.)

NO ISRAEL SHIP SHALL PASS

"Freedom of passage for Jewish vessels in the Gulf of Aqaba means a threat to the existence of the Arab nation. We have to be cautious and alert in the face of every attempt to transform UNEF into a conquering force, and against the internationalization of the Gulf of Aqaba and the Gaza strip. If such a thing were to occur, it would be similar to the disaster of Palestine." (Ikhsan el-Jabri, chairman of the Syrian Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee over Radio Ramallah, Jordan, March 5.)

"Saudi forces are being stationed on the island of Sanafir and, with heavy guns, are threatening any Israel vessel seeking to pass through the Straits of Tiran." (Radio Cairo, March 8.)

Suleiman el-Nabulsi, the Prime Minister of Jordan stated, as reported over Damascus Radio said: "The Arabs have the right to close the gulf or open it to shipping according to their own wishes * * *. No state has the right to send ships through the Aqaba Gulf without Arab permission." (Radio Cairo, March 7.)

WE ARE ISRAEL'S ENEMIES

"News of Egypt's announcement that she was reinstituting her administration in Gaza passed like a violent storm in the foreign press * * * It accused President Nasser of trying to restore the previous situation, allowing him to renew the war against Israel and to turn the Suez Canal into a bargaining point against the world. It also said that President Nasser is playing with dynamite and that he is determined to expose Israel to fedayeen raids. To all this we answer: We believe that Israel is the source of evil in the Middle East and in all the world, and, before the eyes and ears of the world we say openly, We are Israel's enemies." (Al-Jihad, Jordan Daily, March 17.)

"UNEF is bound to hand over the Gaza strip to the Arabs without any of the imaginary conditions envisaged by Israel. The Jewish dream of freedom of navigation is one thing—the existence of a state of war between the Arabs and Israel is another." (Falastin, Jordan Daily, March 6.)

TOMORROW WE WILL REGAIN PALESTINE

"Tomorrow, with the help of Allah, Palestine will be regained * * * and the unity of the Arab state will be completed." (Al Bilad, Jordan Daily, March 11.)

On the same day, the Jordan daily Al Bilad, also commemorating the revolt, said: "At this hour we recall in our blessing, King Hussein. We beseech God to watch over King Hussein as a treasure for the Arab world. May his hands and the hands of his brethren regain Palestine." (Al Bilad, Jordan daily, March 11.)

WE WILL SOLVE THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

"What can the world expect from a state of gangsters? * * * All we have said should be quite clear. Every conflict between the Arabs and Israel will be solved neither by East or West, but by the Arabs themselves." (Al Jihad, Jordan daily, March 3.)

"I was glad at the Israeli departure from the Gaza strip, and because of the disappearance of the heavy shadow from over the beloved city. But what hurt my soul was that the Jews left in fulfillment of the U. N. Assembly resolutions. My rejoicing would have been greater had their departure been the result of a decisive battle with the Arabs." (Al Dif'a, Jordan daily, March 10.)

NASSER TO JORDAN STUDENTS

In a speech to Jordan students who came to greet him in Cairo after Israel's withdrawal from Gaza, Col. Abdel Nasser said: "Arab nationalism is the ammunition * * * which we shall use against Zionist hopes * * * Arab nationalism is the main ammunition in our long battle against zionism and imperialism."

Before and after the speech, Nasser was greeted with cries of "Long live Nasser, long live Gaza, Israel must be destroyed." (Al Ahram and Al Dif'a, Cario and Jordan dailies, respectively, March 10.)

A Cargo-Handling Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, the Marine Digest of April 27 published an excellent article by S. G. Hayman of the Alaska Steamship Co. which operates vessels between Alaska and the United States. The article describes one method by which this company is constantly improving its service to meet the transportation needs of Alaska. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include it herewith:

A CARGO-HANDLING REVOLUTION

(By S. G. Hayman)

SEATTLE.—Nearby, expansive Alaska, long vital in the development of the Northwest, is a force that is forging new forms in transportation. Here within a few short years the shackles of piece-by-piece cargo handling, practically unchallenged since ocean shipping began, have been broken. Another freedom from drudgery is realized by labor and shippers who receive a marked improvement in service.

Both the structure and variety of the Northland combine in formidable fashion to frustrate surface transport. Alaska's 590,000 square miles sweep from western Canada to the shores of Siberia and high into the frigid Arctic. While its 26,000-mile coastline would more than skirt the earth at the equator, vast areas are frozen up much of the year.

Population is scattered in small villages except for 2 cities of about 30,000 and 70,000 and a half-dozen towns up to 10,000. North of the Alaska Peninsula the shores recede so gradually, water depth within reasonable reach of land is insufficient for ship terminal construction. So cargoes must be lightered in and out. But with ice conditions making more than seasonal employment impossible, there's an almost general lack of lighterage equipment. This, with the severity of weather throughout the area, frequently forces interruptions in cargo operations. Elsewhere terminal facilities are largely inadequate for ocean vessels.

Even salmon behavior serves to complicate the picture. Much of the pack is caught and canned in waters outside of the regular southeastern and southwestern runs. A good season here, a bad one there or an overall good or bad year—is unpredictable for this major seafood product which develops the only substantial southbound cargo and then sufficient for volume movement only a couple months a year. When the run is heavy, prompt receipt of extra cans is necessary to pack the fish which then must be moved out readily to keep the canneries from becoming blocked. Of course when the natives can salmon, they can't work cargo, and that develops a tight labor situation.

A DIFFICULT SERVICE

Little wonder that over 60 steamship lines have come and gone from this trade since the United States picked up Alaska from Russia for a paltry $7,200,000 on March 30, 1867. There is only one oldtimer serving the territory, Alaska Steamship Co., whose grandfather rights go back to 1895, the year they staked their claim to southeastern Alaska service with the 136-foot 450-ton steamer *Willapa*.

However, grandfather rights and trade claims are of doubtful value here since certificates of convenience and necessity aren't necessary and anyone can get into the act if he can finance an operation. But there's no stampede to get in. Reference to congressional committee report on Alaska problems, part III, July 22, 24, and November 21, 1947, sheds more light on this. Mr. George Talmadge of the United States Maritime Commission, responding to a question from Congressman Willis W. Bradley, said, "Sir, I personally asked at least 25 principle steamship companies if they could possibly be induced, under any circumstances, to enter the Alaska trade. Replies ranged from a horse laugh to 'nuts'. That generally is considered one of the least desirable trades anyone would want to be in."

But the Alaska Line has stuck to it and for over 40 years has served all Alaska, but what now is even more significant, theirs is probably the most highly containerized ocean-going steamship operation today. It's in this field of containerization that Alaska Steamship, which serves Alaska exclusively, has made its mark. They have developed a highly versatile container program which has proved remarkably successful on this difficult run.

SKINNER AND EDDY BUY

Actually the trade has not always been so rigorous for Alaska Steamship. In 1908 it came under control of Kennecott Copper Corp., which had shortly before acquired extensive copper properties in the Prince William Sound area, principally at Latouche and inland at Kennecott. The output of these mines provided a constant backlog of tonnage from about 1910 to 1938, when the ore petered out. Then the one-way haul element began to bear heavily on the Alaska Line as it did on other carriers. Kennecott started looking for a purchaser of the steam-

ship company now no longer an integral part of its mining activity. In 1944, while the line was under the War Shipping Administration as was all United States ocean transport during World War II, the Skinner & Eddy Corp., of Seattle, acquired the capital stock.

By the time the Government returned the Alaskan operation to strictly private account in late 1948, other trades had been on that basis for 2 years. Maritime administrators were concerned about the ability of private Alaska carriers to carry on in the face of appalling wartime increases in operating costs. Four didn't: Santa Ana Steamship Co., Alaska Transportation Co., Alaska Freight Express Corp., and Northland Transportation Co.

LENGTHY RESEARCH PROGRAM

It was with this background that in 1949 Alaska Steamship Co. began its cargo-handling research program. Four years and much study and experimentation later, a decision was reached to initiate a container program. Already evolved was a basic container that would not overtax the limited facilities of most Alaskan ports and one that would stow readily aboard ship. Of 60-cubic-foot capacity this 3-foot-5-inch high crib or unit as it was dubbed is collapsible, of simple wood fabrication, structurally a buildup of a regular 4- by 6-foot cargo board with a plywood top which is strapped in place. This was designed for shipper loading for sealed movement to consignee. The initial order called for 1,500. They cost about $23 each.

To augment the crib a second container named gard of 144-cubic-foot capacity—6 feet 5¾ inches long, 4 feet 3⅝ inches wide, and 6 feet 9¾ inches high—was also developed. This corrugated iron carrier of weatherproof construction has legs for forklift handling and rings on top for sling hooks. It is now used for dock-to-dock transport of mail and highly pilferable and fragile cargo. Five hundred gards were ordered. They cost about $215 each.

SHIPPERS QUICK TO USE

The service was advertised and in May 1953 the first volume movement of container cargo sailed from Seattle on the motorship *Susitna*, a 6,000 headweight ton C1–MAV–1. Her trip to Ketchikan, Wrangell, Petersburg, Juneau, Haines, Skagway, and Sitka followed the route the Willapa had blazed for the line 58 years before.

"This new service caught on so fast, it has been nip and tuck keeping up with shipper demand for units," W. J. Manahan, company general traffic manager, relates. "We unload them from delivering carrier by forklift—20 tons in about 15 minutes."

The shipper saves equipment time. He benefits as does the steamship company from the nonbreak bulk feature which eliminates multiple manual individual handlings and cuts the potential for pilferage, loss, and damage. "A significant 45-percent reduction in claims on container cargo has resulted at the same time packaging and marking requirements were reduced," Manahan points out.

Another 1,500 cribs were ordered later in 1953. Today a crew of 10 men is required to keep the 17,000 cribs now employed in condition, and the service is still expanding. Although their use heretofore has been largely by Seattle shippers, this month through arrangements with the Northern Pacific Railway, the Alaska Line now also makes cribs available to Portland merchants at no extra cost. That suggests their possible use by a yet greater number of shippers from a wider geographical area.

This original Alaska Steamship Company service now reaches throughout Alaska from Ketchikan in the southeast to Nome in the northwest, including interior points served in connection with the Alaska Railroad and Alaska truckers.

With the expedited handling of cargo in containers, the physical impossibility of working more than two hatches at a time at most Alaska docks because of their size is no longer so serious a problem.

MANY ADAPTATIONS

The forklift truck is the muscles of the operation ashore as well as aboard ship where cribs and gards are intermingled because of their complementary size. These containers are lifted on and off the vessel by conventional ship's gear. Its waterproof construction makes the gard optional deck cargo; the crib is carried below. Ships' holds have been paved flush with cargo mats and other irregularities are squared off to facilitate stowage. On company Libertys this includes the installation of especially designed pontoon orlop decks over the shaft alleys in Nos. 4 and 5 holds.

An empty gard weighs about 1,300 pounds. Cribs, which take about 325 pounds, are carried collapsed in which form they are picked up by shippers.

Lack of forklift equipment does not deter merchants; their interest in crib service has lead them to improvise. Some skid them onto their trucks. Others use hand-pallet jacks. Still others may fill cribs while they are set up and in position on their delivering vehicles.

A brief tour of Pier 42, the Alaska Steamship Seattle terminal, reflects the cargo-handling revolution. Four-deep tiers of cribs line the two 900-foot transit buildings. Empties are stacked in the 5-acre open storage area. Actually piece-by-piece handling of packaged cargo for the major Alaskan ports is fast becoming a thing of the past. But considering the great variety of cargo handled and the number of whistlestops served by Alaska Steamship, you can count on it, they will never reach 100 percent containerization.

On any sailing an Alaska liner may tote 10 to 20 automobiles, a road grader, 2 or 3 tractors, a few to a few hundred thousand feet of lumber, a fishing boat and several pleasure craft. Dredge buckets or a dredge itself, mill and mine equipment, cannery machines or a herd of cattle, even a donkey or two are not uncommon. As yet they haven't found a way to crib these and they don't expect to. But they are well along on a second major container program that is just a few months younger than their crib operation.

TRAILER VAN SERVICE

In August 1953 under arrangements with Garrison Fast Freight, Inc., a motor carrier in Washington State and Alaska, Alaska Steamship Co. started a through trailer van service between Seattle and Fairbanks, the Territory's second largest city and a key interior defense center. Forty-foot dry and refrigerated cargo trailer vans of 2,000 cubic foot capacity were put to use.

To provide electricity for the refrigerator and heater equipment, necessary outlets were installed aboard ship as were permanent trailer rests at the after ends of No. 2 and 4 hatches and portable rests alongside these and No. 3. Thereafter on each Tuesday's Liberty sailing for Valdez, where over-the-highway haul to destination begins, up to 12 trailers were carried, 3 each on Nos. 2 and 4 hatch covers and 2 on either side of these and No. 3. The vans are lifted on and off by the ship's 50-ton and 30-ton heavy lift booms at Nos. 2 and 4, respectively. A tractor assists in positioning those carried alongside No. 3.

Increasing demand for this type transport suggested heavy-lift gear for No. 5. So in line with Alaska Line philosophy, "If you need something new, make it," they designed a new stayless, quadral pyramid-shaped mizzen mast and their repair division fabricated and installed 1 on each of the 3 Libertys maintaining weekly sailings to southwestern Alaska. This included a 30-ton heavy lift boom at No. 5 and essential trailer rests. That raised to 17 the 40-foot trailer van capacity of the Liberty.

DOUBLE DECKING

The next project was to add 24-foot dry and reefer cargo vans for on-deck transport on the eight company C1–MAV–1's. Before the first of this year Alaska Line officials could foresee further expansion beyond the then present capacity of their ships. With no other way out than up, that's where they went. Double decking of 24-foot vans of 1,200 cubic foot capacity began in December and an appreciably greater van carrying capacity for both C1–MAV–1's: and Libertys is indicated.

For the first few years this Alaska Steamship van service was geared to requirements for fast through transport of military cargo from Seattle to northern installations. The commercial cargo van service provided did not include pickup in Seattle although store-door delivery was uniform. Now pickup service has been added for perishable commodities through new Garrison tariffs, effective January 11, that include Anchorage and Fairbanks, Alaska's largest cities. This promises to further expand the demand for van transport, which now is routed to Seward for Alaska Railroad piggyback movement to destination. Final delivery continues to be by truck tractor.

Already identified as one of the most highly containerized operations under the American flag, the Alaska Line has shown what can be done with nonspecial purpose vessels. They attribute the overall success to flexibility. "We have containers capable of meeting the limitations indicated by the characteristics of the trade and size and facilities of all Alaskan cities," Manahan says.

A secondary reason for the growth and a product of the container program itself is the regularity of sailings. "While we lose about 40 percent in stowage we make up for that in faster turnaround," Manahan points out, "and we give regular service which attracts business."

PLANS FOR FUTURE

Two Alaska liners a week sail from Seattle for the southwestern Alaska rail belt and one a week for southeastern Alaska. Other areas receive service as cargo volume dictates and during open navigation. Vessels are scheduled for points as far north as Kotzebue, above the Arctic Circle. Altogether in 1956 the Alaska Line made 171 commercial voyages to the Northland. In addition they operated three ships in the distant early warning supply operation for the account of the Government.

In the August 17, 1956, issue of the Dispatcher, J. R. Robertson, vice president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, said: "Top engineers point to Alaska Steamship Co.'s container program as the direction in which all cargo operations are going to move in the future."

Since the Alaska Line's container operation was instituted in 1953, the White Pass and Yukon Route and Union Steamships, Ltd., have set up container services. Other foreign and American lines are now closely studying Alaska's operation.

The next move for Alaska Steamship Co. is not now apparent, but the momentum their container service has already developed suggests expansion beyond the capabilities of their present fleet of 5 Libertys and 8 C1–MAV–1's. Anticipating this development, the company engaged a transportation expert, who for 3 years studied the merits of constructing special purpose trainships for the major traffic run between Seattle and the Alaska rail belt.

Plans were drawn, bids invited but all were rejected and the company turned from the trainship concept. In making this decision last December, D. E. Skinner, president of the line, confirmed that the company was con-

tinuing its research for a more satisfactory type of nonbreak bulk service.

Whatever they come up with, Alaska Line has already made some remarkable contributions to transportation technology and shippers are benefiting, not only from improved service, but from substantial savings from freight rate schedules that have not been materially changed since 1954.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

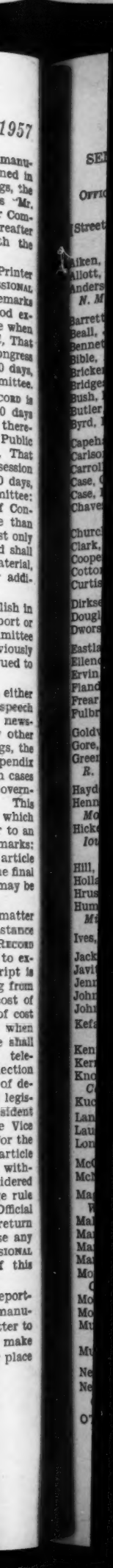

Appendix

Cogitation, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD L. JACKSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Wall Street Journal:

COGITATION, INC.—HOW A CALIFORNIA FIRM TAKES IN MILLIONS FOR FEET-ON-DESK THINKING—IT BROODS ABOUT BERYLLIUM, MOCK AIR BATTLES, CHINESE DIETS, AT YOUR EXPENSE—THE MATING OF THE MISSILES

(By Gordon McKibben)

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.—Checking in for a day's work, a young doctor of philosophy sporting a crewcut and a yellow sport shirt sits down, lights his pipe, props his feet on a desk, and shuts his eyes.

A normal working day has begun at RAND Corp. The man is thinking. Thinking fast and furious, and far into the future. And since you're paying his salary, you can hope he's outthinking the Russians.

In a search for America's strangest corporation, RAND would be a company to consider. Aside from one exotic project, instructing human and electronic brains how to intercept a Soviet air attack, the corporation is exclusively devoted to thinking. It thinks entirely at the taxpayers' expense, for its only customers are the Air Force and the Atomic Energy Commission. It is isolated from the harsh competitive world, where most companies can lose money as well as make it, by cost-plus-6-percent contracts. Yet it pays no dividends to anyone; the 6 percent is happily reinvested in more thinking.

"TECHNIQUE IN SYNTHESIS"

RAND's thought-production line calls upon a staff as diverse as you'll ever encounter outside a university. More than 800 political scientists, sociologists, economists, engineers, chemists, physicists, and assorted other braintrusters work for the corporation, pooling their talents in what H. Rowan Gaither, board chairman, calls a technique in synthesis. The company's contracts this year will amount to more than $23 million.

RAND's executives contend they'll save the taxpayers far more than that sum, for their principal business is to advise Air Force generals how to prepare for tomorrow's wars without bankrupting the Nation. As Brownlee Haydon, chief of technical communications, puts it: "Our job is to see that the Air Force gets the best possible weapons and uses the best methods of operations at the least possible cost."

They are considering fighters and bombers which may not be built for years; thinking up new ways to help the Infantry with planes and missiles; worrying about how to defend this Nation against sneak attack; pondering the nature of the enemy.

How well are they succeding? It's impossible to provide a complete answer, for the tests of their work will come in the future, and much of it is now wrapped in the darkest secrecy.

About all one can say for sure is that RAND Corp. is engaged in astonishingly varied studies—ranging from metallurgy to military tactics to the mood and muscle of Red China. And some of these may have eventual impact upon many a more orthodox United States business enterprise.

GROWTH OF TITANIUM

As the classic example of this, RAND officials cite titanium. Nearly a decade ago RAND thinkers decided this was a promising metal for stresses of a supersonic age, and sponsored research at Battelle Memorial Institute in Columbus, Ohio, which demonstrated they were right. In 1948, exactly 3 pounds of titanium sponge, primary form of the metal, were produced; this year industry sources estimate output will top 50 million pounds. Companies such as Du Pont, National Distillers Products Corp., and Titanium Metals Corporation of America have invested millions in the new industry.

Now along comes RAND with optimistic things to say about beryllium, a metal even lighter and in some ways stronger than titanium, sharing titanium's resistance to heat, and perhaps with even more spectacular possibilities for use in piloted aircraft and in missiles.

Right now beryllium, like titanium 10 years ago, is just another element on the atomic chart, a whitish metal, fearfully expensive, with little commercial use except in alloys with other metals. But the RAND research team headed by a structural engineer, Dr. George A. Hoffman, has decided it has a potentially spectacular future in aircraft. The team concluded a plane made mostly of beryllium would weigh about half as much as today's basically aluminum plane. Such a craft, carrying the same amount of fuel and the same payload, would fly 40 percent farther without refueling. Or, if the same distance were flown, 1 pound of payload could be added for every pound of beryllium used in the plane—because that pound of beryllium would substitute for 2 pounds of aluminum.

LONG-RUN SAVINGS

Economists on the team have calculated that the "worth in use" of such a substitution would, over the life of a plane, range up to $1,000 a pound. This would pay off, they contend, even though the initial cost of a beryllium airliner or warcraft is likely to remain extremely high. They figure that even after production of the metal is fully developed, beryllium may cost up to $200 per pound installed in aircraft structures. This compares to about $20 to $40 for the installed cost of aluminum in planes today. The long-run operational savings would make the metal particularly desirable for huge, long-distance aircraft, they contend.

Dr. Hoffman claims the RAND study punctures an old theory that beryllium's high cost dooms it forever as a practical metal. Skeptics have also said that the present scarcity of beryl ore, from which beryllium is extracted, is an insurmountable obstacle. But the team concluded that excellent deposits exist in this country, especially South Carolina, and in such foreign sources as South America. Dr. Hoffman declares that as demand develops sufficient ore will be discovered, as has happened with once scarce uranium ore.

It would be feasible to use beryllium in certain parts of a plane today, according to RAND. But they would have to be nonmoving parts which could be cast. To produce sheet, or extrusions, additional basic research is required to overcome the metal's lack of ductility. RAND is urging the Government and industry to step up the attack upon this problem. Still another hurdle, toxicity of the metal's dust, can be overcome by modern industrial safety measures, it predicts.

A WORLD OF PRETENSE

Some of RAND's best brains dwell in a world of pretense—a world of violence in which the casualities are often shocking but so far purely imaginary. They are conducting an endless series of mock air battles by feeding complex data into a huge, flashing analog computer. The object: To discover, by bloodless trial and error, the best combination of men, weapons, and tactics to crush an enemy.

Take this typical "battle." The scene and time: Around Greenland, 1970. An enemy striking force of 400 planes is flying over the North Pole on a line for Boston and New York. A United States force of 275 planes is put into the air immediately, and another 100 planes are held back as reserves. Thirty-six ground defense crews in the far North immediately swing into action. Visibility is excellent; a full moon and clear skies. These and many other factors are translated mathematically into terms the computer can digest. The speeds, range, and armaments of American and enemy craft of 1970, for instance, must be supplied—on the basis of Air Force data and intelligence reports. Once the battle terms are fed to the computer, it reveals in a few seconds how the fight came out.

If New York is wiped out, the scientists try again. Indeed, hundreds of versions of this same basic battle are fought out. Men in RAND's operations division jiggle the terms a bit each time, allowing a few more planes to the enemy here, a different combination of interceptors and ground fire there.

RAND's Dr. Willis H. Ware suggests business firms could well use the same sort of techniques to work out the best solutions for their risk-taking ventures of the future. "You could make a mathematical model of the economy—or at least that section of it you deal with in your business. Then you'd let your junior executives play with it. You could test them by feeding their ideas into the computer—without actually risking any money. It would even be possible to set things up so the junior executives wouldn't even realize it was a game instead of the real thing."

BOEING'S CONTRACT

A nasty idea, perhaps. But the fact is that RAND Corp. is not particularly intent on being nice to people; on the contrary, its officials often feel obligated to be exceedingly difficult. One of them cites this example: Not long after World War II ended, the Air Force awarded Boeing Airplane Co. the contract for this Nation's present heavy bomber, the B–52.

Exact diminesions of the sky giant had not been definitely fixed, however. Boeing submitted plans. RAND advised the Air Force the projected craft was too heavy. Boeing's engineers went back to their drawing boards and created a slenderized B–52 whose weight dropped nearly one-third. With fuel and load, it now weighs something above 400,000 pounds. And because weight is a fairly accurate determinant of cost, the price dropped about one-third, too; the price tag is now about $8 million, counting extras.

RAND boasts it saved taxpayers another tidy sum when two manufacturers gunning for Air Force contracts designed separate missiles. RAND researchers decided a single missile would do the job—and shocked all parties involved by recommending that the front end of one missile be mated to the back end of its competitor. The Air Force concurred.

How does it happen that the Air Force listens to such schemes suggested by economizing eggheads?

In the first place, they asked for it. RAND actually began life as an Army Air Force project in 1946, when Gen. H. H. "Hap" Arnold decided to gamble $10 million to retain a nucleus of top scientists for air warfare research.

RAND'S NAME

RAND gets its name, incidentally, from a contraction of the words "research and development," although the oldest story making the rounds at the company still insists that the letters actually mean "research and no development."

General Arnold, according to Mr. Haydon, listed one condition on the scientists' use of the $10 million: They were to get as far away as possible from Washington and its red tape.

The scientists moved into a tiny sealed-off corner of the huge Douglas Aircraft Corp. plant in Santa Monica, Calif., some 3,000 miles from the Nation's Capital. After about 3 years they got quarters of their own in downtown Santa Monica. Some of RAND's top officials, including F. R. Collbohm, president, are former Douglas officals.

RAND researchers are a young lot, averaging 34 or 35 years of age. They come to RAND for many reasons.

"Lots of variety here. There's something different to work on every day," says Gene Jacobs, 28, a mathematician who works as a programer in the computer area.

William Micks, a 38-year-old structural engineer from Texas, remarks: "I like the fact there are no laboratories here. You're not tempted to run around and test out an idea in labs every hour or so. Instead, you're forced to think things through and this tends to keep you from getting sidetracked."

Mr. Micks and most of his colleagues do their heavy thinking amid park-like surroundings at RAND's handsome Santa Monica headquarters building, a few hundred yards from famed "Muscle Beach" and its continuous display of "Mr. America" brawn. But the company also maintains offices in Washington, D. C., Dayton, Ohio, Lexington, Mass., and Weisbaden, Germany.

Working out of RAND's Washington office, a group of Chinese economists has reached some tentative conclusions on the Chinese economy.

Among these: China is producing less food today than it was in the prewar years, before 1937. Rice production has not increased significantly in recent years, and the Chinese Communist government may be forced to persuade the people to change ancient dietary habits and switch from rice to coarser, cheaper grains such as wheat.

The report compares China's first 5-year plan with neighbor India. China is spending about 44 percent of total investment upon industry, and only 8 percent on projects to raise food supply, housing, and clothing. In direct contrast, India is spending about 44 percent of her 5-year plan investment to increase production of food and other consumer welfare items, with only 14 percent going for industry.

Why should the Air Force care?

"Because the Air Force asks RAND to engage in long-range and broad research. After all, informed estimates of the state of China's economy in 1970 may be extremely useful in future military planning," Dr. Oleg Hoeffding, RAND economist, answers. While intensive study of China is new at RAND, the company's social scientists have for years studied Soviet Russia.

TRAINING TECHNICIANS

Beyond the realm of pure thought, RAND does have one down-to-earth problem—training technicians how to alert the Nation against enemy air attack. The company, under a $13 million Air Force contract, is helping to set up the SAGE (semiautomatic ground environment) air-defense program.

SAGE will replace present manual operations in which men at remote radar stations watch radar screens to establish speed, altitude, and direction of unidentified planes. When such planes are spotted, the radar operators must guide United States interceptor planes to contact with the potential enemy.

Under the SAGE system computers will watch the radar screens and report what they see. A human monitor must still decide whether the plane is friendly and whether to scramble, which means to send out the interceptors. If interceptors do go aloft, the computers instantly come up with all the information needed by the pilots. This is passed along by the human monitors whom RAND is training.

Coal Industry Week Might Be Better Than Month—But Let's Have One

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Coal Industry Week Might Be Better Than Month—But Let's Have One" which appeared in the April 28, 1957, issue of the Madisonville Messenger of Madisonville, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

COAL INDUSTRY WEEK MIGHT BE BETTER THAN MONTH—BUT LET'S HAVE ONE

Appalachian Coals, Inc., the big Cincinnati marketing agency, has again called the industry's attention to the need for a national coal industry month. The idea, of course, would be to stage on such an occasion a full-scale promotion of the Black Diamond, and to remind the Nation of its great dependence upon this basic fuel in peacetime and wartime alike.

Ten months ago—in June 1956—ACI in its bulletin pointed out that in the memory of veteran coal people no such commemorative idea has ever been promoted to recognize publicly the importance of the coal industry to the welfare of the Nation. Yet there are more special days and weeks and months than the calendar has to offer. Of these, many have no more justification than can be accorded a publicity man's efforts to earn his pay.

The ACI Bulletin 10 months ago pressed its point like this:

"Yet here is a basic and indispensable commodity—coal—its uses and future unknown to millions of Americans, its problems frequently distorted in the public thinking, and its amazing and growing contribution to the world's highest material scale of living generally overlooked.

"So let's have a National Coal Industry Month proclaimed, perhaps by the President himself, and noted by a joint congressional resolution. Governors of the 22 coal-producing States will wish to make their contribution, and the dozen leading coal States will appropriately set aside a day of that month for recognition at the capital."

The big Cincinnati coal agency thinks the time may be appropriate now to reactivate the idea, for Bituminous Coal Institute has been revamped and is now operating full force throughout coal's territory.

It has been suggested, too, that it might be better to limit the annual celebration to a week, instead of a month. A lot of observance can be packed into a week, without a doubt, and the shorter time would permit greater concentration of publicity efforts.

As for the time for staging such a Bituminous Coal Industry Week or Month, mid-September has been suggested. It has been suggested, too, that the objectives of the special observance include the following:

To explain the contributions of the coal industry to daily life.

To tell America of the value of the coal industry to the country, and to encourage the proper use of solid fuels.

To enhance appreciation of coal and coal products, and of the contributions of the coal industry to the Nation's progress and economy.

To encourage all coal men to tell the story of the coal industry to their communities.

To publicize coal and coal products.

To promote international good will for the benefit of the coal industry, and to create a greater acceptance and use of, and broaden the markets for, coal products.

Draw national attention to the value of coal as the source of heat and power for our economy.

To promote further understanding of the positive values the coal industry brings the American family.

To call the attention of business enterprise, as well as the public, to the services performed by the coal industry.

To promote the proper use of coal.

Hopkins County, other coal-producing areas in Kentucky, and the Frankfort government could really do a fine job of coal promotion should the coal week or month idea be adopted. It seems to us the opportunity is too great to overlook—this chance to remind the Nation anew of its vast dependence upon this basic fuel.

The story of coal has features which in our opinion would catch the public imagination in a great way.

National Savings and Loan League Opposes Veterans' Provisions of Housing Bill, H. R. 6659

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD a letter addressed to me on April 17, 1957, by the National Savings and Loan League, expressing opposition to any merger of the FHA and VA loan programs. These views are expressed in connection with H. R. 6659, the proposed Housing Act of 1957, which would create a veterans' preference program in FHA and use a portion of the national service life insurance trust fund for the purchase of FHA veterans' preference home loans.

The letter dated April 17, 1957, from the National Savings and Loan League follows:

NATIONAL SAVINGS AND LOAN LEAGUE,
Washington, D. C., April 17, 1957.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TEAGUE: We appreciate your giving us the opportunity to express our views relative to the provisions of H. R. 5659 which affect veterans' housing.

As the record will show, we appeared before the Subcommittee on Housing earlier this year in opposition to use of the national service life insurance fund in the housing program, and in opposition to any merger of the FHA and VA loan program. We stated then that the VA loan program should be permitted to terminate upon a gradual basis rather than the abrupt termination as now provided, with the veteran whose eligibility has finally expired being treated the same as any other housing consumer.

I trust the above is adequately responsive to your communication of April 9.

Sincerely yours,
W. FRANKLIN MORRISON,
Chairman, Legislation Committee.

Hearings Before the Senate Rackets Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. CARRIGG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Charles Mercer of the Associated Press in connection with recent hearings before the Senate Rackets Committee:

(By Charles Mercer)

NEW YORK.—Newspapermen frequently upbraid television for failure to give extensive coverage to important news. Here at last is an opportunity to praise a work of fine initiative in TV reporting which should serve as a model to stations and viewers throughout the country.

The biggest news in Scranton, Pa., of this past fortnight has been the Senate Rackets Committee hearings on union violence. Thanks to the efforts of station WDAU–TV, an affiliate of CBS, Scranton television viewers should be thoroughly informed on the hearings.

On April 16, 17, and 18 station WDAU–TV presented 14,500 feet of sound film of the Washington hearings during 8 hours of preempted commercial program time. In other words, the station felt it was more important that its viewers be well informed on a vital local matter than that the station should harvest the financial returns of that time from advertisers.

Just as long as the Senate committee focuses on Scranton, WDAU–TV will continue to perform the same complete coverage, says Station General Manager Vance Eckersley.

It was a big project for a single television station, though it did have the hearty cooperation of the CBS news department in Washington. Here is how it worked under the direction of the station's news director, Tom Powell, with the cooperation of network Washington news chiefs:

A four-man WDAU–TV camera crew did a running sound film of the hearings in the Senate Office Building caucus room. The job of processing and editing the film was divided between laboratory facilities in Washington and the station laboratory in Scranton.

A WDAU courier was kept busy hurrying the reels of film to the airport where each of the five regular daily flights from Washington to Scranton was utilized to speed the reels to their destination. At Scranton Airport another courier rushed the film to the newsroom.

To handle the extensive footage two special daily shows were arranged—both in commercial time. The first was at 6:30 p. m. in the evening when there was a half-hour program of the day's highlights. At 11:30 p. m. commercial time of 2 hours was preempted to run the entire day's hearings. Throughout the day there were special bulletins and regular news telecasts.

Powell, in charge of the operation in Washington, capped the over-all coverage with an exclusive interview with Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN, committee chairman.

As far as can be learned from network sources, this is the most complete television coverage of a national news story ever achieved by a local station. WDAU–TV was aided, of course, in having reasonably convenient air transportation from the news source.

Here's an example for other stations if such an opportunity should present itself. WDAU–TV spokesmen say they feel rewarded for their efforts by the realization they have performed a public service. WDAU–TV viewers say they feel rewarded in the knowledge that they have a station which is on its toes and trying to meet the interests of its public.

Radioactive Fallout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the recent announcement regarding the forthcoming public hearings by a special subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on the question of radioactive fallout from nuclear weapons explosions and its effects on man. The hearings are scheduled for May 27–29 and June 3–7, with the possibility of going over into the week of June 10 for public witnesses.

It is my hope that these hearings will lead to a better understanding of a problem that has become the subject of serious concern to the Congress and the people of this country. Such understanding is essential, in my opinion, to the development of sound national policies and to the maintenance of good relations with our friends and allies throughout the world.

I will announce in a few days a detailed agenda describing the subject areas to be covered and a list of witnesses who have been invited to testify before the special Subcommittee on Radiation.

The announcement follows:

A special subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy will hold public hearings on the problem of radioactive fallout from nuclear weapons explosions beginning May 27 and extending through June 7, it was announced today. Representative CHET HOLIFIELD, Democrat, California, has been named chairman of the subcommittee.

The hearings will cover in detail the whole fallout cycle from its inception in the detonation of nuclear weapons, through its dissemination in the atmosphere and descent to the earth, and finally to its uptake and effects on human beings, animals, and vegetation. Experts from the major scientific areas involved will be invited to present testimony before the committee. The hearings will also be open to public witnesses who wish to appear or submit a statement for the record.

Among the topics of particular interest to be discussed at the hearings are the questions of how much radioactive debris is being scattered throughout the atmosphere by nuclear weapons, the genetic effects of radiation and their meaning for future generations, the relationship of strontium 90 uptake in the human body to bone cancer and leukemia, and the effects of radiation on human longevity. Discussion will include the phenomenon of radiation damage, how it is measured, and how tolerance standards are established. Following discussion of these matters, an attempt will be made to see what projections can be made of the effects of continued testing of nuclear weapons at various rates.

In commenting on the forthcoming hearings, Representative HOLIFIELD stated:

"I am hopeful that the coming hearings will serve to give us all, both Congress and the public at large, a better understanding of the fallout question and will help clear up existing confusion over the character and dimensions of the problem. The joint committee has for some months been preparing for the hearings and has been consulting with experts from the major fields affected in order to develop a useful framework for the hearings. I believe this preparation will be useful in insuring that we cover the ground thoroughly and objectively.

"One of the major problems in previous discussions," he said, "has been that the Congress and the public have been snowed under by a welter of uncoordinated information and scientific terminology without having an adequate frame of reference for their guidance. Chief purpose of the hearings," he added, "is to provide such a frame of reference through presentation of scientific information in a form which is readily understandable to the layman as well as the scientist. We also wish to determine," he said, "what research work is being done in this field by the AEC and others, and whether the present level of this research effort is adequate."

Representative HOLIFIELD concluded by stating:

"I believe the forthcoming hearings should provide a valuable basis for future discussion of associated problems involving matters of the highest national importance, including proposals for cessation or limitation of our nuclear weapon tests. The hearings should also provide excellent background information for separate hearings being planned by the joint committee on radiation injuries to workers and workmen's compensation. Once a thorough base of understanding is laid," he added, "the Congress and the public should be in a much better position to evaluate the pertinent considerations and to develop sound national policies. It is toward this objective that the hearings are directed."

Those wishing to appear before the committee or to submit a statement for the record should contact the committee staff in room F–88, the Capitol, so that the necessary arrangements may be made.

Federal Housing Administration Opposes Veterans' Provisions of Housing Bill, H. R. 6659

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, during the next few days the House will vote on H. R. 6659, the Housing Act of 1957, which proposes to create an FHA veterans' preference program. I am including in the RECORD a letter dated April 16, 1957, addressed to me by Mr. Norman P. Mason, Commissioner of Federal Housing Administration, regarding the veterans' provisions of H. R. 6659. Mr. Mason has stated that the Federal Housing Administration opposes the proposed special-preference program for veterans and is vigorously opposed to the use of any portion of the national service life insurance reserves or any other Government trust fund for the purchase of real estate mortgages. Mr. Mason has also stated that the administration is opposed to the attempt to control discounts on FHA and VA guaranteed loans.

Mr. Mason's letter of April 16, 1957, follows:

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., April 16, 1957.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TEAGUE: I appreciate your inquiry of April 9 on H. R. 6659, and the opportunity it gives us of discussing the creation of a veterans' preference housing program in FHA.

As you know, the administration's housing proposals are contained in H. R. 5611, upon which we testified before the House Banking and Currency Subcommittee on Housing in March. We proposed a liberalization of FHA's downpayment requirements in our home mortgage programs. We made this proposal in order to reduce the downpayment required for families purchasing homes in the moderately priced categories. Also, as Mr. Cole pointed out, we felt that this discretionary authority enabling the FHA Commissioner to reduce downpayments would allow the building industry to plan ahead toward the expiration of the veterans' home-loan guaranty program for World War II veterans, which terminates in July 1958. We feel that the availability of the more liberal terms would go far toward easing adjustments in the building and mortgage lending industries occasioned by the expiration of the veterans' program and toward offsetting any adverse impact on the economy which might occur.

We are opposed to a special preference program for veterans in FHA. Rather we believe the mortgage insurance programs in FHA should be available to all prospective home owners on equal terms.

We are also vigorously opposed to the use of any portion of the National Service Life Insurance Reserves, or any other Government trust fund, such as the civil-service retirement fund to which Federal employees contribute a part of their earnings, for the purchase of real-estate mortgages. Mr. Cole's statement setting forth the administration's position in this matter is contained on page 732 of the hearings before the Subcommittee on Houing of the House Committee on Banking and Currency. Also the minority views beginning on page 67 of the committee report on H. R. 6659 provide a forceful and complete statement as to why the National Service Life Insurance Reserves or any other Government trust fund should not be utilized for special purposes such as the purchase of home mortgages.

I would like to also point out that the administration is opposed to the attempted control of discounts on FHA insured and veterans' guaranteed loans. Our testimony beginning on page 733 of the Housing Subcommittee hearings of March 15, 1957, clearly set forth our experience with discount controls under the Housing Act of 1950 and points out our reasons for objecting to their reactment in legislation.

Sincerely yours,
NORMAN P. MASON, *Commissioner.*

Study of Hebrew Language by Foreign Service Officers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I have been informed by Deputy Under Secretary of State Loy W. Henderson that the Foreign Service Institute of the State Department will henceforth recognize Israel on a par with other nations in the Middle East as an area of specialized study for diplomatic and consular officers.

Officers of the State Department representing this country in the foreign capitals of the world, take specialized language courses and orientation courses in order to prepare them for the areas in which they are to serve. Such courses are given at the Foreign Service Institute in Washington and at appropriate universities here and abroad.

I learned that there was no provision for the study of Hebrew in the list of 18 foreign languages taught to Foreign Service officers and that Israel was not included as an area of specialization in the Middle East. By areas of specialization is meant those nations within an area considered sufficiently important in this country to be made the subject of intensive study of their history and traditions by candidates for foreign service. The present areas of specialization in the Middle East are Turkish, Greek, Persian, and Arabic.

Foreign Service officers specializing in the Israel area will now take their course of study at an appropriate institution in the United States. The Department will also recommend the study of Hebrew to its diplomatic and consular officers presently in Israel.

I learned that the Foreign Service officers who represent this country in Israel are required to take a year of orientation courses, under Arab teachers, at the branch school of the Foreign Service Institute attached to the University of Beirut, Lebanon.

I brought these matters to the attention of the State Department and they became the subject of several discussions which I held with Mr. Henderson. The discussions led to the receipt of the following letter incorporating these and other changes in the curriculum of the Foreign Service Institute:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 9, 1957.

DEAR MR. FARBSTEIN: You will recall the discussion which took place in my office on March 28, during the course of which you expressed certain views with respect to various programs of the Foreign Service Institute to representatives of the Institute and to myself.

Following that discussion a careful study has been made of the programs in which you displayed particular interest and I am pleased to outline the following specific actions which the Foreign Service Institute is initiating in order to make sure that Israeli aspirations and problems are given objective, adequate and balanced treatment and consideration in all seminars, lectures, and discussions relating to international affairs:

1. A review is being made of the segments of the orientation, basic and other Foreign Service Institute courses dealing with Near Eastern customs, institutions, and political philosophies and these segments will be modified and revised in case lack of objectivity or accuracy is found.

2. A program of intensive language training in Hebrew and Israeli area specialization will be offered to a limited number of Foreign Service officers so that there will be available to the Department and to the Foreign Service officers who have a deep cultural, historical, and political understanding of Israeli problems. Hebrew will thus become the fifth language of specialization in the Near Eastern area, the others being Greek, Turkish, Persian, and Arabic. It is the intention of the Institute that during the immediate future, at least, this language and area specialization work will be carried on in an appropriate institution in the United States.

3. Efforts will be intensified to encourage personnel attached to our embassy and consulates in Israel to study Hebrew under our field programs.

Sincerely,
LOY W. HENDERSON,
Deputy Under Secretary for Administration.

Ninth Anniversary of the Independence of Israel

SPEECH
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join my colleagues in paying tribute to a courageous people on the ninth anniversary of the founding of Israel. There are so many who have contributed so much to the growth of this small nation, which represents a haven for the oppressed from throughout much of the world.

Nine years ago the victors in a great World War looked with horror on the results of an aberration which had cost the lives of 6 million Jews. Americans are proud to have had a part in the founding of a haven for these persecuted people, and in the growth of this small new nation which has come so far in a

short time. It is indeed a small nation by American standards, one with few resources except its people, and there are truly too many of these for the size of the land. But it has been the sweat and labor of these people which has gradually transformed the desert lands into fertile acres.

But in these 9 years the way has been hard. There have been wars and constant threats to Israel's independence. Only the strength of the people of this nation has allowed the country to stand in the fact of its sworn enemies. At times the path has been hard and discouraging but the people have persevered and progressed.

The country is virtually surrounded by enemies, but I hope that the friendship of Americans has been a ray of hope and encouragement through these hard years. I think it important that this anniversary of Israel's independence be marked with renewed assurances from this country of the friendship and hopes that stream from these shores to that small nation on the Mediterranean Sea. The world should know of the admiration and support from those who love and cherish freedom for the free State of Israel.

The way ahead is not free of shadows. The sworn enemies of this new land are not content to have this country continue to grow. But the people who are now passed on and many thousands more have made Israel grow from a desert to an oasis and there are hundreds of thousands more who will work for the preservation of this courageous nation.

I join my many fellow Americans in sending greetings to Israel and to its people who have the admiration, friendship, and hopes of freedom-loving peoples around the world. May this free state continue its progress and may its people—so long persecuted and attackled—find peace and prosperity for themselves and those to follow them.

Frank Todd Meacham, Chattanooga's Acting Postmaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Frank Todd Meacham, the acting postmaster at Chattanooga, Tenn., may have been a spectacular official, but he also was an efficient official and I wish to include in my remarks a report in the Chattanooga Times commenting favorably on his services:

MEACHAM'S SECOND POSTER CLOSES 46-DAY REPUTATION

Frank Todd Meacham, Chattanooga's acting postmaster for the past 46 days, has acquired quite a reputation in that short time as a sign painter, but unknown to most, he has done quite a job also in coordinating post office activities.

This latter job has been so good, in fact, that Chattanooga now is considered the top post office for efficiency in the Tennessee-Alabama-Mississippi region, according to figures for the mail handled per man-hour.

And at least two delegations from other first-class offices in the area have visited here to see how he did it.

This is how:

Shortly after taking office, Meacham "organized" the postal staff. The staff members, or vice presidents, are assistant postmaster Leonard Shipley; Paul Igou, superintendent of mails; C. E. Coppinger, assistant superintendent of mails; L. G. Boydston, general foreman; L. R. Griffitts, superintendent of delivery and collections, and W. A. Gann, superintendent of window service.

These six men have a total of 212 years' experience in the post office and they were delegated authority and responsibility for its operation.

Meacham, who turns over the acting postmaster's job today to O. M. (Mickey) Spence, has acted as moderator over the staff meetings, which are held about once a week.

"Probably no other post office in the region operates this way," Meacham says.

In addition to the organizing, Meacham has filled a number of vacancies on the staff in the various substations and at the main office and this obviously has helped the efficiency of the organization.

These are the things for which he has received little publicity.

The signs are a different thing.

He put up his first sign some time ago criticizing a Democratic Congress, for failing to appropriate enough money to run the post offices. Postal service was curtailed for awhile for lack of funds.

Yesterday another poster went up and was in the lobby of the post office again today.

The latest one pictures a decapitated Meacham with the headchopping tool labeled the Hatch Axe, an obvious reference to the Hatch Act, which forbids Government workers such as postmasters to engage in politics.

This law is one of Meacham's pet hates. He long has been active in Republican Party patronage in this area.

Also on the poster is a poke at President Eisenhower. In a circle, apparently representing a campaign button, are the words: "I Like Edgar," an obvious reference to the criticism from the President's brother, Edgar Eisenhower, of the 1958 budget.

There also are some references to Congressmen J. B. FRAZIER, of Tennessee, and CARL ALBERT, of Oklahoma, both Democrats.

Spence has indicated he plans to continue Meacham's methods for the post office operations. Whether this includes the signs remains to be seen.

They Deserve It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a poem written by Mr. Henry Kravetz, formerly a constituent from Chelsea, Mass., which I know will be of interest to the postal employees, the Post Office Department, and the public:

THEY DESERVE IT

He may be your neighbor
He may be mine.
That man serves America
Rain or shine.
Pouch stooped his shoulders
While pacing the trail
Toil United States Postman!
Deliver your mail.

Uniform of gray resembles his day
Years a prey, to time and space—
Hours to assort, report,
Deliver and case.
Your messenger of progress
Does not grumble or sigh.
Yes sir, is the answer!
Your carriers reply—

In battle for an existence
Fall-in at dawn!
Discharge your duties
Soldier without a gun.
The day you retire
Junior will take your place.
Spare him from hardship!
Sunshine shall greet his days.

How meager is his compensation
To meet the requirements of the day.
Show him due consideration
By an increase in pay.
Who will come to his rescue?
Who will hear his muffled voice?
Generosity to your own America!
Destiny makes our choice.

—*Henry Kravetz.*

WEST PALM BEACH, FLA.

Today We Account for Another Year—And Look Ahead to More Crusading

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and to include an editorial which appeared in the Nashville Tennessean on April 28, 1957. This great newspaper has passed another milestone of public responsibility and over the years has covered in great detail a number of events which were of particular interest to the State of Tennessee and the entire Nation.

The editorial mentions a number of news events for which this daily newspaper crusaded over the past year. I think it will be of interest to Members of this great body and I commend it to their attention.

The editorial follows:

TODAY WE ACCOUNT FOR ANOTHER YEAR—AND LOOK AHEAD TO MORE CRUSADING

The trouble with newspapers today, one of the grand old men of American journalism said recently, is that they "do not campaign for a cause."

The author of that complaint is Mr. Herbert Bayard Swope, who was editor of the late New York World when it passed from the scene as one of the great American papers of the last generation.

"Newspapers generally," he complained, "are forgetting that they are the public conscience. No one is on the job to crusade."

To that indictment the Nashville Tennessean respectfully demurs.

It may be that in this day and time crusading papers are the exception when they should be the rule. If so, this democratic Nation is the poorer for that.

But there are exceptions. Recall, for example, the brilliant work the Chicago Daily News did last year in exposing the fantastic frauds of State Auditor Orville Hodge. Or the brave and persevering undercover probe of teamsters and public officials by the Portland Oregonian. Or the skillful solution of the Mad Bomber case by the New York Journal-American.

AFTER 20 YEARS

It is not our purpose here today, however, to discuss the American press generally. We write, instead, out of a sense of public responsibility, of one newspaper—this one.

And we do so in keeping with a custom—inaugurated by the late Silliman Evans—of making an annual accounting to our readers. This we do in April because it was in this month—20 years ago—that the Nashville Tennessean came under its present ownership.

Whether this accounting establishes our newspaper as an exception to Mr. Swope's blanket criticism is for our readers to say. But candor compels us to say that it is our purpose to make the Tennessean a crusading newspaper.

THE PUBLIC CONSCIENCE

We do so because, contrary to Mr. Swope's view, and along with more than a few others, we find it impossible to forget that a newspaper is "the public conscience."

As we understand and play our role, it does not end with printing the bare, surface facts of events in this turbulent world.

It is our mission in democracy, we believe, to dig deeply for the underlying meaning, to reveal error and wrongdoing, deceit, and mischief. It is up to us not just to protect, but to assure the public's right to know about public matters. It is our responsibility to see that justice prevails over injustice and equity stands in place of privilege.

In the last year—as in those preceding it—that credo has led the Tennessean into championing many public causes. Some have been big ones and some extremely small. Some fights we have won and others we have lost.

ROTTEN BOROUGHS IN TENNESSEE

But more important, it seems to us, we have quit no cause—large or small—that we thought was worth fighting for. Nor will we now.

Today, for instance, we find ourselves embattled over an issue as great as any that has engaged us in the past—State legislative reapportionment.

With no reapportionment since 1901, Tennessee today has a situation as bad as the rotten boroughs of England, and threatening to become worse. A vote for a member of the State house of representatives from Moore County today counts 28 times as much as a vote from Anderson County, to cite just one example. What will happen to democracy if that trend continues is frighteningly obvious.

In this crusade, we find ourselves in the unhappy position of opposing the stanch supporters we have had for many years in the smaller counties. But, as in many other instances, we feel we must continue this fight for fair representation lest democracy be destroyed at its very base—the ballot box.

And too much progress has been made at the ballot box to grow fainthearted now. Though less dramatic than our long campaign against the poll tax, the subsequent efforts to encourage use of the free vote that had been won in that fight bore healthy fruit last year when more Tennesseans than ever before went to the ballot box.

CLOSE TO A MILLION

The 939,404 votes cast in the presidential election were not far short of the goal of 1 million we set when the poll tax was abolished. And particularly gratifying were the 96,302 votes cast in Davidson County—an increase of 150 percent over the 39,985 votes cast just 8 years earlier.

It was one of our disappointments, of course, that the Democratic candidates we supported in the presidential election were not victorious.

But we have no apologies to make for our failure to succumb to the strange spell that led many of our contemporaries of the American press to treat the Eisenhower administration as if it could do no wrong.

And there is no little satisfaction in the knowledge that at the same time the Republican President was increasing his 1952 majority in both Tennessee and the Nation, the Democratic ticket again outpolled the GOP's indispensable man and heir-apparent NIXON in the 3 congressional districts in our circulation area—and by 13,000 more votes than in 1952.

GOODBY, MR. ROSS

Just as our scrutiny of the Eisenhower administration did not begin with the election campaign, it did not end there.

It was early this year that we called for the resignation of Assistant Defense Secretary Robert Tripp Ross after a reporter for the Tennessean had found sworn records firmly establishing his connection with clothing companies holding large defense contracts.

Although protesting our findings as an error, Mr. Ross soon quit while under congressional investigation. That investigation continues. Meanwhile Comptroller General Joseph Campbell has blasted the contracts as repugnant to public policy.

A MESS EXPOSED

Another congressional investigation with a local flavor is that involving the corruption-ridden teamsters union.

Long before this scandal broke upon the national scene, stories and editorials in the Tennessean had exposed domination of the Nashville local by ex-convicts and had reported the indifference of Dave Beck and Jimmy Hoffa to the conditions here.

Now the Tennessean's accounts of what has gone on within the deep, dark, inner sanctum of the local here are in the hands of the Senate investigating committee and Senator MCCLELLAN has referred to a possible probe of conditions in Nashville.

Regardless of what the Senators do, this newspaper will continue its own probing, and will continue to give its support to courageous and law-abiding teamsters fighting to clean up the mess that has sickened them no less than it has the general public and the vast majority of all union members.

IN DEFENSE OF TVA

Before leaving the national scene in this account, we would call attention to the fight we have waged longest there—the campaign in behalf of TVA.

Although the TVA is now almost 25 years old, its enemies have never relented in their attacks upon it and today—with encouragement from the White House—feel nearer than ever to their cherished dream of wrecking it. Because we know their vicious propaganda to be false and their pressure on Congress to be selfishly motivated, we continue to crusade for this great democratic institution which has benefited the entire Nation.

Among Tennessee issues during the past year, none has been more important or more sensitive than that of school segregation and racial relations.

Here, we have fought for sanity. For respect for law and human rights.

We exposed John Kasper for what he is. A rabble-rousing racist who called upon the people of Clinton and the whole South to shed blood rather than accept the decree of the Supreme Court, he was shown to be an apostle of the mad Fascist poet, Ezra Pound. And contrary to his newfound hatred of other races, he was shown to have been their intimate associate for years in New York.

In finding the path of reason, Tennessee and the South deserve better leadership than Kasper and his kind offer. It is our aim not only to encourage that better leadership in others but to try to provide it ourselves.

FLIGHT FROM TENNESSEE

No less important to Tennessee's future is industrial progress. When the Chicago Tribune recently complained that Southern "hillbillies" were besmirching the fair name of its general "skid row," we sent a reporter there to cover the same ground. He found there was some justification for what the Tribune reported, though it had been twisted beyond recognition.

That, however, did not matter so much as the discovery that Chicago is attracting thousands of Tennesseans every year for the simple reason that there are no jobs for them at home. It is our hope that our continuing series of stories and editorials will awaken Tennessee to the losses it is sustaining this way and speed the concerted action needed if we are to keep our most valuable resource—our people—at home.

TOWARD ONE GOVERNMENT

Locally, the issue that transcends all others at the moment is the dramatic effort to unify our community under a single metropolitan government.

After years of urging fewer instead of more governmental units as the answer to our metropolitan problems, we have shared with others the gratification over progress achieved in recent months. Today, our community is within sight of one of the greatest urban advances in the history of American municipal government.

The fight is not going to be easy from here on in, but, for our part, we are in it to stay.

AND STILL OTHER CAUSES

And the same is true in respect to other causes in which we have been active:

The polio vaccination drive.

The struggle against politicians who would deny the people their right to know about how their own government is run.

The fight for more local support of education in Tennessee and for more equitable sharing of State school funds.

The campaign against highway-traffic deaths, which decreased 16 percent last year under a dynamic new safety commissioner who replaced a misfit whose ouster we had long urged.

The battle against the outdated and unworkable personalty tax.

There are other causes that have occupied our attention in the last year. And there are still others, we know, that will emerge during the next year, though now unforeseen.

From all of these come the crusades of one newspaper which through success and failure tries, in its own corner, to prove worthy of its role as the public conscience.

In this spirit, we present this report of accountability to those we would serve—our readers.

National Association of Home Builders Opposes Veterans' Provisions of Housing Bill, H. R. 6659

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on April 11, 1957, I received a letter from the National Association of Home Builders expressing opposition to the provisions of H. R. 6659 affecting veterans. Specifically, the National Association of Home Builders has expressed opposition to the use of the reserves of the national service life insurance funds for the purchase of FHA veterans' preference loans. The National Association of Home Builders has also expressed concern regarding the section proposing to control discounts. In lieu of a veterans' preference program in Federal Housing Administration, the National Association of Home Builders urges a liberalized FHA program which will provide an opportunity for the purchase of a home to veterans and nonveterans alike.

The letter of the National Association of Home Builders dated April 11, 1957, follows:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOME BUILDERS,
Washington, D. C., April 11, 1957.

The Honorable OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman, House Veterans Affairs Committee, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TEAGUE: This is in response to your request for our views on H. R. 6659.

As I advised the Subcommittee on Housing of the House Banking and Currency Committee in my testimony, we believe there should be a single downpayment system in the FHA for veterans and nonveterans alike. As the legislation authorizing guaranty of loans for World War II veterans comes to an end, it is, in our opinion, vitally important that a mortgage financing device be provided which would remove the distinction between veterans and nonveterans and provide to all an opportunity to acquire a home on practicable terms.

We strongly believe and urge that the required FHA downpayments should be reduced through adoption of a loan-to-value schedule of 98 percent of the first $10,000 of value; plus 92 percent of the next $5,000; plus 75 percent of the excess with a maximum mortgage of $25,000. Since the GI interest rate has not been adjusted so that the VA loan guaranty program can again become effective, then it seems to us that prompt action in this direction is of even greater importance.

H. R. 6659 recognizes the desirability of lowering FHA downpayments but does so effectively only for veterans for whom its downpayment schedule approximates that we have suggested for general use. We disagree with the proposal for preferential treatment for veterans as part of the revision of the FHA downpayment requirements. An overall amendment to the FHA part of the bill adopting our suggested schedule would remove all reason for introduction of any new program designed especially for veterans.

We believe that use of the established FNMA special assistance function is far preferable than resort to the reserve of the national service life insurance fund. Whether FNMA special assistance or NSLI reserves are used, the Treasury would have to sell bonds to raise the required funds and at rates above those presently carried by NSLI bonds. If the purpose of suggesting use of NSLI funds for mortgages is to obtain for the fund the higher rate of interest on mortgages, we suggest this can be better accomplished by issuing new bonds at today's higher rates.

On discounts, we cannot agree that they should be controlled because we do not believe there is any feasible way to control them. The Housing Subcommittee last year recognized that discounts in some degree are unavoidable. The proposal to require FHA and VA to prescribe limits will have the effect only (1) of placing impossible administrative burdens on these agencies, and (2) making adherence to the strict letter of regulations and the law extremely difficult for the average builder and lender conscientiously trying to use these financing systems.

Sincerely,
GEO. S. GOODYEAR, *President.*

Symbol of Resistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by my good friend, Mr. Elmer A. Rogers, a sincere patriot and veteran, with whom I served in the United States Coast Guard Reserve:

SYMBOL OF RESISTANCE

What is more appropriate than to adopt a symbol for loyalty day, on this, its 10th anniversary?

We looked back through history and found that the American colonists widely used the rattlesnake symbol with appropriate slogans, in various forms and designs, as a warning to tyrants.

A flag with the rattlesnake theme, was the standard of the South Carolina navy. One of its variants was the emblem of the Culpepper minutemen of Virginia; and still another, the coiled rattlesnake superimposed on a plain yellow field, bearing at its base the words, "Don't Tread on Me," was known as the Gadsden flag, and was presented by Col. Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina to the Continental Congress on February 8, 1776, as a protest against Lord North's treatment of the colonists.

It was designated as the flag of the American Navy, and was flown by Commodore Esek Hopkins on the flagship *Alfred*, on its expedition to the Bahamas in 1776.

One writer of the time quaintly stated that as the rattlesnake's eye exceeded in brightness that of any other animal, and she had no eyelids, she might therefore be esteemed a symbol of vigilance; that inasmuch as she never began an attack, nor, when once engaged, ever surrendered, she was therefore an emblem of magnanimity and true courage.

Probably the deadly bite of the rattler, however, which was foremost in the minds of its designers, and the threatening slogan, "Don't Tread on Me," added further significance to the design.

This is an opportune time to revive the rattlesnake flag as—

A symbol:

A symbol of resistance against communism and all isms repugnant to our form of government;

A symbol of resistance against tyranny, autocracy and oppression;

A symbol of resistance against being pushed around, here and everywhere.

On this occasion, it gives me great pleasure to present to you, a miniature of the rattlesnake flag—it is an American heritage—do display it prominently.

ELMER A. ROGERS.

Loyalty parade breakfast, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Savoy Plaza, April 27, 1957.

First United States Jet Engine Developed in Lynn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting article which appeared in the Boston Sunday Herald on May 5, 1957:

FIRST UNITED STATES JET ENGINE DEVELOPED IN LYNN—HIGH ALTITUDE FLIGHT BEGUN BY GE ALSO

Today, aviation is among the biggest and most dynamic segments of the New England economy. At least, there are substantial indications that this is the case. But the mere fact that no one can prove or disapprove this statement indicates that New Englanders have not identified and promoted their vital contributions to the Nation's top employer.

Nearby Lynn, Mass., which only last year adopted the slogan "Lynn—Birthplace of America's jet age" offers a good example of this tendency. Lynn has turned to aviation so quietly that its importance as an aviation center is not generally known.

It was in 1918—just 15 years after the Wright brothers' first flight—that a group of General Electric engineers from Lynn took the world's first supercharger to the top of Pikes Peak in Colorado where it was successfully tested. And so a new era in aviation was born in Lynn as this device, which makes possible high altitude flight in piston engine aircraft, became a reality.

Then, 16 years ago, Lynn actually became the birthplace of America's jet age when, in a secret corner of the River Works, America's first jet engine was developed by General Electric Co. These two historic aviation events, both of which took place in what was once the shoe center of the Nation, symbolizes New England's plight in the air age.

Because New England aviation products leave the area on flatcars rather than runways, there is a lack of identification with the aircraft industry.

Today, statistics which describe the aviation industry in New England are surprising in their magnitude. For example, aviation employs over 75,000 people in New England. This compares to 20,000 just 5 years ago. In addition, the total number of New England firms producing aircraft parts and products is over 2,600. This is one-eighth of the national total in an area only one-twentieth of the country.

Many companies which are making important aviation contributions suffer from a similar lack of identification with the industry. General Electric is a typical example having developed both the turbo super-

charger and the American jet engine. GE is not generally identified with the aircraft industry in New England, and yet over half of the 20,000 employees on its Lynn and Everett payroll earn their living from aviation.

GE's aircraft accessory turbine department, which is headquartered in Lynn, is a case in point. This department developed and now produces the revolutionary pneumatic equipment which supplies all electric and hydraulic power for the Boeing B–52 bomber. With over 2,600 employees and more than 500,000 square feet of floorspace, this department is nearing completion of the modernization of its facility, now evaluated at over $10 million in the historic River Works—once an important lighting and motor center.

The extremely high technical content of this department's product line, which also includes starters, fuel pumps, rocket and missile accessories (in addition to turbosuperchargers) makes New England an ideal locale for this business. But because these products leave the area by rail, and because they lack the glamor of the airframes themselves, the River Works operation is not identified with the aviation industry.

Aviation is a big business which is growing fast in New England, but it has developed so quietly that many have not noticed its size or its importance to the local economy. But New England's contribution to aviation demands a kind of ingenuity that is characteristic of the region as Yankee skills turn to the sky.

Advice on the Matter of Budget Cutting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 18, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked permission to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which I have received from a constituent whose judgment I value very highly, John Knecht, of Rapid City, S. Dak.

Mr. Knecht has had many years of business experience, is a very successful businessman himself, and his concise manner in which he reviews the problem of taxes and spending is worth the time of every Member to read. His letter reads as follows:

I want to give you my advice on the matter of budget-cutting, which, as I see it, is a hot issue in Washington today. I thought a few opinions from the people you represent might help.

First of all, it seems to me, we have about reached our limit in taxation and also of any ways to tax anything more that can bring any additional revenue. It is my opinion that there is one place in particular that I am interested in. First, that is, we are forming too many new agencies that require additional expense in maintaining health problems, etc., making all kinds of records of things that are not necessary. At the same time they are interfering with business and nearly every avenue that you can think of, and every turn is built on an expensive basis and they are retiring programs in any ordinary manner. If we continue adding various agencies of all types to our country from Washington instead of the States, we are going to wind up with no free country.

I think the people of a State or a community should work out their own salvation, except in a few larger things that are impossible for the community to advance. When I go to any function in our city, we are always surrounded with a lot of Government employees that have been working up through Washington and then some of them on through the State. In other words, to make it simple, we are just getting too much regimentation to be good for the country. If we continue to use every tax dollar that we can find in any place, what will we do if we run into a few emergencies that have to be done in case of war or a severe depression?

I wish to say the State of South Dakota, in my opinion, has been handled more efficiently than any State in the Union, considering our population and income of any State in the Union. This should give you fellows quite an opportunity to point out a few things of economy which have been done in our own State and working out successfully in the end.

I am also trying to tell you that the people of this country are thinking in the same terms. They may not write you, but I meet a good many people and everyone's sentiment practically to the last man, only the Government employees exempt, agree with this idea that we must do something to reduce our budget and reduce our expenses. None of these people, as well as myself, are interested not so much in the immediate reduction of taxes, but to curtail the spending and build a little reserve for emergencies that may arise later on.

Bureau of the Budget Opposes Veterans' Provisions of Housing Bill, H. R. 6659

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 6659, the proposed Housing Act of 1957, was drafted by the Banking and Currency Committee after that committee had held general hearings on housing problems. Hearings have not been held specifically on H. R. 6659. Since H. R. 6659 contains a number of provisions relating to veterans' housing, which is under the jurisdiction of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, I requested the Bureau of the Budget and other interested agencies and groups to comment on the specific provisions of H. R. 6659. In a letter dated April 17, 1957, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget has advised that enactment of H. R. 6659 would not be in accord with the program of the President. Specific objections have been raised to the proposed veterans' preference section under FHA and the proposal to use a portion of the national service life insurance trust fund for the purchase of FHA veterans' preference home mortgages.

The letter from the Bureau of the Budget dated April 17, 1957, follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,
Washington, D. C., April 17, 1957.

Hon. OLIN D. TEAGUE,
Chairman, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your letter of April 9, 1957, requesting the views of the Bureau of the Budget on certain provisions of H. R. 6659, "To extend and amend laws relating to the provision and improvement of housing, to improve the availability of mortgage credit, and for other purposes," insofar as the bill relates to veterans' housing benefits.

Section 103 (c) of this bill would establish a veterans' preference system within the FHA mortgage insurance program. Downpayment requirements for veterans would be equal to half of the requirements for other home purchasers and the insurance premium (currently one-half of 1 percent) would be waived. Insurance claims on veterans' defaulted loans would be paid from a revolving fund maintained by appropriations and operating income. World War II veterans' preference entitlement would extend beyond the July 25, 1958, termination date according to the length of the veteran's service, but not more than 4 years.

By July 25, 1958, the World War II loan-guaranty program will have been in effect for 12 years. Since loan benefits beyond that date could have no important relation to the program's basic purpose of helping veterans readjust to civilian life, the Bureau of the Budget believes that the extension contemplated in H. R. 6659 is not warranted. The objective of the administration is rather to maintain an effective benefit program during the remainder of the designated readjustment period.

As you know, the current effectiveness of the Veterans' Administration loan-guaranty program is being seriously impaired by a scarcity of private mortgage funds at 4½ percent interest. Heavy competition for funds throughout the economy has resulted in generally higher rates of interest, while the rate on veterans' guaranteed loans is held at 4½ percent by law. To restore veterans to a better competitive position in the mortgage market, the President has recommended that the maximum interest on guaranteed loans be increased to 5 percent.

Section 103 (c) of H. R. 6659 is apparently intended in part as a substitute for the action proposed by the President. The Bureau of the Budget does not believe that the substitute would be of greater immediate benefit to veterans. The interest rate would be 5 percent in either case. While special downpayment requirements would apply to veterans under the proposed bill, the requirements under the current Veterans' Administration program are even more liberal. Veterans would receive no new benefit from the proposed waiver of insurance premiums since the Veterans' Administration currently makes no charge for its guaranty.

While section 103 (c) does not afford veterans any immediate advantages which would not result at least equally from a realistic interest rate on Veterans' Administration guaranteed loans, the proposal would involve serious disadvantages to the Government. It would not merely alter the existing veterans' housing benefit but would establish an entirely new program which would be administered simultaneously with the continuing Veterans' Administration program. Furthermore, by exempting veterans from payment of regular FHA insurance premiums, the bill would establish a precedent which could, by later extensions, gradually undermine the insurance system. In addition, the new veterans' benefit would be set up as an integral part of a permanent housing program and would accordingly intensify existing pressures for indefinite continuation of the veterans' benefit without regard to its basic readjustment purpose. This aspect of section 103 (c) is especially serious, since the same section would initiate the extension process by continuing World War II entitlement up to 4 years beyond the established readjustment period.

In the earlier years of the World War II loan-guaranty program, a strong case was

made by several commissions for administrative merger of the Veterans' Administration and FHA programs in order to promote greater efficiency and more effective coordination of activities affecting Government housing policy. At this date, little, if any, net gain would result for the World War II program. However, the proposal may be worth serious consideration for the Korean conflict veterans' program which continues until 1965, but even in this case consolidation should not be used as a device for unwarranted extension of veterans' benefits.

To increase the availability of FHA insurance benefits to prospective home buyers, both veterans and nonveterans, the President has recommended permanent authority to liberalize FHA loan terms. It is believed that this comprehensive approach will best serve the future needs of home purchasers, the housing industry, and the national economy in general.

Section 205 of the bill would provide for investment of $1 billion of national service life insurance trust fund reserves in mortgages insured by the FHA under the veterans' preference system. This provision would have the same basic effect as an equivalent expansion of the veterans' direct loan program. That program currently operates on a revolving fund basis with money borrowed from Treasury.

The ultimate source of loan funds would be the same under section 205 as under the present direct loan program. If trust fund reserves were withdrawn from their normal investment in Government securities, the Treasury would have to replace them by borrowing from the public. Thus, the economic effect and the impact on the Treasury's debt management problem would be substantially the same as if the money for loans came from the budget accounts, as it now does. The bill would merely require much more complex administrative procedures to obtain money from the Treasury. However, the volume of such funds and the related Treasury borrowing from the public would be multiplied. In addition, use of Federal credit resources on the proposed large scale for purchase of veterans' mortgages would involve the Government in heavy competition with the private money market.

Enactment of section 205 also would serve as a precedent for the similar use of other large trust funds such as the Railroad Retirement trust fund, the old-age and survivors' insurance trust fund, and the civil service retirement trust fund. The moneys in these trust funds are by law set aside for special purposes, and the Government has a heavy responsibility as trustee. Questions have been raised in the past about the handling of these funds even while they are invested in Treasury securities. The proposed use of trust fund reserves for housing loans to veterans would undoubtedly reopen discussion of this kind and tend to impair public confidence in the integrity of the fund.

The provisions of section 205 should also be considered in relation to the requirements of our national economy. The Government's contribution toward preserving a sound and stable economy must be made mainly through its fiscal and credit policies. As you no doubt know, there are many new programs which the Government is under heavy pressure to undertake and which must be reconciled with the Government's budgetary and fiscal policies. The budget for 1958 postpones various construction programs until a later date in order to avoid increasing competition for labor, materials, and equipment. In view of the general economic situation and the budget situation in particular, it is of utmost importance that the Government not undertake programs from either the budget or the trust accounts which involve further credit expansion unless they are clearly necessary.

In view of the above considerations and other undesirable features of the bill which are not related solely to veterans, enactment of H. R. 6659, in its present form, would not be in accord with the program of the President.

Sincerely yours,

PERCIVAL BRUNDAGE, *Director.*

Ready for Disaster?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting article on the progress made by the Business and Defense Services Administration in 3 years since its initiation, which appeared in the May 6, 1957, issue of Steel, the metalworking weekly.

The article follows:

READY FOR DISASTER?—MORE COMPANIES ARE MAKING PLANS FOR EMERGENCIES—HERE, 38 TOP EXECUTIVES TELL YOU HOW TO GET STARTED—PERSONNEL REPLACEMENTS, RECORD PROTECTION ARE BASIC

Has a flood ever cut off your plant from its suppliers? Are you in an earthquake area? Has your source of power ever been shut off? Have you ever had a major fire?

What would you do if your plant, a customer's or a supplier's, were partially destroyed by enemy attack?

Full report: In February, 38 top executives met in Washington to exchange ideas on how to continue production in the event of an enemy attack. Their conclusions are relevant to any disaster (accidental or man-made) which might strike your plant.

The full report is available from Commerce Department field offices. It represents the results of the industrial defense program initiated 3 years ago by the Business and Defense Services Administration.

Problems: Here are the areas you should consider if your plant (or company) is to be ready for any emergency: 1. Who's responsible for your planning? 2. Is your plan in writing? 3. How are you storing vital records? 4. Who takes over if key management personnel are not available? 5. Do you have an alternate company headquarters? 6. Can you quickly assess any damage? 7. Are emergency finances available? 8. How are your facilities protected? 9. Are they dispersed? 10. Are they underground?

Progress: H. B. McCoy, BDSA Administrator, believes much progress has been made. Large corporations in particular have been doing a good job. BDSA would like some of their thinking to filter down to smaller manufacturers.

Conference participants included: Aluminum Company of America, American Machine & Foundry Co., Boeing Airplane Co., Chrysler Corp., Cincinnati Milling Machine Co., Ford Motor Co., General Electric Co., Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., Koppers Co., Inc., Mueller Brass Co., Raytheon Manufacturing Co., Reynolds Metals Co., Sperry Rand Corp., Stromberg-Carlson Co., Thompson Products, Inc., Timken Roller Bearing Co., United States Steel Corp., Western Electric Co., and Westinghouse Electric Corp.

Responsibility: Most of those firms have committees to coordinate emergency planning. In a typical setup, the production vice president is chairman. Department representatives report on their planning to an industrial defense coordinator. Multiplant corporations have members from each plant on such a committee.

Implementation: The plan must be in writing to provide a basis for periodic checks on progress. Warning: Avoid the tendency to sit back and relax once the plan is on paper. You may fail to implement it properly.

With the plan comes the safe storage of company records. United States Steel Corp.'s mine X is one answer. Other firms are using commercial bombproof shelters in nontarget areas.

Replacements: "When the captain is killed, the lieutenant steps in; when the lieutenant is killed, the sergeant • • •." Sixteen of the companies represented at the conference have set up replacement schedules for management personnel; some lines of succession extend through lower echelons to supervisory personnel.

Several of the firms are tying their management development programs to schemes for succession in an emergency. The lists are confidential and subject to review at least once a year. One firm has placed copies of its list in 4 widely scattered sections of the country; all top executives have been advised where they are, although only the chairman, the president and 1 vice president know its content.

Ten companies have established alternate headquarters. Some are locating them near record storage centers. One firm picked its president's home because it's in a nontarget area.

Damage? You can set up a center into which damage assessment can be done with electronic computer data. You might want to locate a company plane in a safe area to be used only in an emergency for aerial reconnaissance. People living near your plant might be asked to report to you on damage if your headquarters is in another city.

You may need to set up technical teams to survey damage on a moment's notice.

You and your employees need money, too. One firm has 16 reporting centers for employees. They are supplied with $25 and $100 checks. For its corporate needs, securities are ready in secret nontarget vaults.

Protection: The rehearsal of shutdown procedures is fundamental to plant protection. Some firms have built shelter stations for personnel near the plant.

Most of the firms at the conference are using dispersion of new plant facilities as a tool. The economics of plant dispersion is a subject in itself, say these experts, but the chance of locating in a target area is considered when expansion plans are made.

What It Means To Be an American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine has sent me a somewhat unusual and, I think, valuable and timely statement of what it means to be an American. The statement is short, clear, and positive and will, I think, strike a responsive cord in many Members of the House. I am glad to present it in the RECORD:

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE AN AMERICAN

I do not choose to be a common man.
It is my right to be uncommon—if I can.
I seek opportunity—not security.
I do not wish to be a kept citizen, humbled and dulled by having the state look after me.
I want to take the calculated risk; to dream and to build; to fail and to succeed.
I refuse to barter incentive for dole.
I prefer the challenges of life to the guaranteed existence; the thrill of fulfillment to the stale calm of utopia.
I will not trade freedom for beneficence nor my dignity for a handout.
I will never cower before any master nor bend to any threat.
It is my heritage to stand erect, proud, and unafraid, to think and act for myself, enjoy the benefit of my creation and to face the world boldly and say, "This I have done."
All this is what it means to be an American.

Thomas E. Murray

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I ask to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the May 2 issue of the New York Journal-American. The same editorial was also carried by the Los Angeles Examiner.

This editorial from a great metropolitan newspaper indicates the concern which many people have regarding the reappointment of Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray.

The concept of the commission-type of administration for quasijudicial, quasilegislative agencies of Government can only remain valuable as long as men of strong and independent viewpoints are appointed to these important posts. The value of a commission is found in the fearless proposals and independent judgments finally being welded into a policy by majority decision. When this contribution of ideas and judgments from men of different backgrounds of education, experience, and wisdom becomes a nullity because of timidity, indifference, or fear of nonconformity to a dominant member of a commission, then indeed do we see the subversion of the original concept of multimember administrative method.

Congress in its wisdom has legislated a five-man Commission to direct the policy of the most important agency of Government to be formed in the past 100 years, the Atomic Energy Commission. During the past 5 years this Commission has gradually been destroyed by the resignation of capable men, the long-time sickness of one of its members and the failure of the President to fill vacancies with strong men and his failure to reappoint men with outstanding records such as we see in the case of Commissioner Thomas E. Murray.

Eleven members of the eighteen members of the Senate and House Joint Committee on Atomic Energy have publicly announced their confidence and appreciation of the great contribution of Commissioner Murray during the 7 years he has served as a Commissioner. These 11 members have not always agreed with Mr. Murray but they know of his great devotion and great contributions to the success of the atomic energy program. Because they believe that the reappointment of Mr. Murray is most important to the national interest, they have recommended to President Eisenhower by letter that he be reappointed. It is to be hoped that the President will weigh carefully the vital issues which are involved in this matter. Certainly the members of the joint committee will be greatly concerned with the decision.

THOMAS E. MURRAY

The Atomic Energy Commission is a supremely important agency. This being so, its members should be men of the highest integrity, intellectual courage, and specialized knowledge to direct this Nation's nuclear development both for security in war and its uses in peace.

In our opinion Thomas E. Murray fulfills all these conditions.

Nor are we alone in that belief.

A letter has just been made public urging President Eisenhower to reappoint Commissioner Murray, whose term expires June 30. The letter was signed by all 10 Democratic members of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee and 1 Republican, Representative JAMES P. PATTERSON, of Connecticut. We think it reflects the views of many Americans.

There is a growing feeling in Washington that Commissioner Murray will not be reappointed. The reasons for that opinion seem to be that he is a Democrat, that he is a holdover from the Truman administration, that he has become known as a dissenter and sometimes has opposed the policies of the present administration.

None of these reasons is valid.

As the letter signed by the Atomic Energy committeemen points out, Mr. Murray has never permitted political considerations to get in the way of the common good of the United States.

His dissenting has always been in the direction of what he believes the common good to be.

In this connection we offer an excerpt from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 18, this year. Mr. Murray was credited by Representatives JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, and CHET HOLIFIELD, of California, as having been largely responsible for the development of the small A-weapons program, to which majority opinion was at first skeptical or indifferent.

We have not always been in agreement with Mr. Murray's views, nor have the Congressmen who support his reappointment. But we would like to ask: Is it not in the interest of the common good to have on the Atomic Energy Commission a man of his experience, brilliance, and honesty? Is not dissent by such a man often of more value than acquiescence?

It is our hope the prevailing feeling in Washington is wrong. It is our hope the President will reappoint Mr. Murray.

Are Jews Sympathetic to Communism?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, the attached article, Are Jews Sympathetic to Communism? written by Rabbi M. J. Merritt, executive director of the Los Angeles Chapter of the American Jewish League Against Communism, Inc., is submitted by request for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

ARE JEWS SYMPATHETIC TO COMMUNISM?

With montonous frequency I am asked, "Why are so many men and women born in the Jewish fold active in and sympathetic to the Communist cause?" The question stems from the parade of witnesses called before the committee investigating infiltration in the Government, education, entertainment, communications, labor—in brief in almost every phase of American life and activity. The public has taken note of the published names of a preponderant number of these witnesses—names that plainly suggest a Jewish origin. That has led to the question posed.

It is a natural question and deserves an answer. But before the question can be answered intelligently it will not be going far afield to inquire into the causes that made for the rise of communism to strength and influence and the causes, too, that have contributed to its decline.

Communism stood at the peak of its popularity in the United States and counted its most numerous membership and generous financial support in the years that immediately followed the economic breakdown of 1929 and the simultaneous rise of Hitler to power. In the years of misery, privation, hopelessness, and distress that bore down so heavily on the lives of millions in America, communism seemed to stand out like a beacon in a world growing progressively darker. Thousands succumbed to the Communist propaganda that the cycle of boom and bust was implicit in the system of free enterprise to which the Western world was wedded and the Communist indictment that capitalism was bankrupt. Millions were ready to listen to the advocates of a system that brashly offered relief from unimaginable distress and proclaimed that it had the key to enonomic stability.

Communism made the most of that passionate, almost agonized yearning for relief. I remember well the eagerness with which people listened to the Communist claim that in the collective farm the problem of the tiller of the soil was solved and that in a controlled economy and the state-owned industry, communism had abolished the haunting dread of unemployment. Thousands of sensitive souls and bewildered visionaries were completely taken in and became members of the Communist Party. Among these thousands were a considerable number of men and women born in the Jewish fold.

Rarely in modern times have so many men and women been convinced that greed and selfishness were the villains that were blocking the path of human progress and that the greatest need of our day was a new order that would exorcise these evils from which society was suffering. They believed that a new order releasing human energies, would purge society of its ills and bring civilization to full flower. Communism claimed that it had the plan and held the key to that goldren future in the classless society that was a realization of the dream of brotherhood. Thousands of starry-eyed sentimentalists flocked to the party and gave it moral and financial support. A liberal number of men and women born in the Jewish fold were among them.

This, too, was the period when Hitler and nazism had come to power and imposed their will on the German people, reduced to poverty and privation by allied intransigence and uncontrolled inflation. While a shocked and nerveless world looked on Hitler proceeded to demonstrate that the doom he had publicly proclaimed for liberals as well as Jews was not an empty threat. The fury

of the storm troopers was unleashed. The shrieks of the victims of Hitler's savage and inhuman cruelties rose to Heaven as Hitler proceeded methodically to carry out his threat to exterminate Jews wherever he gained control. A shocked world spent its indignation in feeble protests that the Nazis studiously ignored.

Communism was the only disciplined force in the world that stood up to Hitler and declared open war to the end on nazism. Thousands of liberals and Jews in the Western World found that challenge and resistance good, became members of the party and gave it moral and financial support. And it would have been strange indeed if with the spectre of annihilation confronting them Jews had not joined the party in large numbers and put themselves wholeheartedly at its service.

These are the reasons that in a few short years brought communism out of the shadows into the sunlight, swelled its ranks to 100,000 members, with approximately 2 million fellow travelers willing to do the party's bidding and won for it an unnumbered host of sympathizers in the United States.

As circumstances brought communism in the United States to prestige and power, so circumstances have played an important part in depleting its membership and reducing its influence. First came the Hitler-Stalin pact that sparked the Second World War and exposed the shame of the Communist vow that it was committed to fight Hitler and nazism to the death. Thousands of liberals and Jews shocked at this change of line and disillusioned by this cynical alliance deserted the party, resentful at the deceit that had been practiced on them.

Then came the revelation that the paradise of the proletariat was a fraud. A ruthless dictator decreed the death of more than 6 million peasants who resisted the policy of collective farms and withheld their harvest quotas from the Communist masters. The urban toiler began to resent the gulf that stretched between the luxurious life of the ruling clique and the sweating masses. And the factory worker found himself denied every right that workers had fought and suffered to win in the Western World. Thousands who had flocked to the standards of communism in the delusion that communism had forged the key to a proletarian paradise could not stomach this revelation and defected. And along the defectors was the standard quota of men and women born in the Jewish fold.

There are always a goodly number of amateurs who rush to associate themselves with the new, novel and ballyhooed movement, persuaded that it represents the wave of the future. But amateurs learn by experience. When it became generally known that communism was not a panacea for social and economic ills, that its advocacy of peace was blatantly insincere, that to gain its evil ends, it not merely condoned but counseled deceit, cruelty, the breaking of every solemn covenant and contempt for every ethical principle and that it was nothing more or less than a criminal conspiracy directed to world conquest, the amateurs defected by the thousand, among them the standard number of Jews.

Today, according to the latest listing of the FBI, the roster of devoted, dedicated hard-core Communists in the United States has shrunk to a little more than 23,000 members. And if the tabulation of the FBI is correct, that for every dedicated and devoted Communist there are 10 fellow-travelers ready to do the Communist bidding, there are some 230,000 men and women in the United States at the beck and call of communism. In the ranks of the loyal, devoted, and dedicated Communists are to be found the usual quota of individuals, who are failures and frustrated. And of these, too, there are number of men and women born in the Jewish fold.

My point has been to show why Jews were drawn in numbers into communism and why in numbers they defected. And in the greatly diminished number of hard-core and dedicated Communists who remain, there is a relatively modest quota of men and women born in the Jewish fold. There are two things characteristic of Jews. In whatever field they enter they are intense, articulate, and conspicuous. To the ill-concealed disquiet of the rank and file of their coreligionists, these hard-core Communists, born in the Jewish fold, are not only intense, articulate, conspicuous but have demonstrated a talent for leadership that makes them stand out like a sore thumb. They have given the completely erroneous impression that a major number of Jews are Communists. As a matter of fact, these hard-core Communists, born in the Jewish fold, and their fellow-traveling reserves, represent less than one-half of 1 percent of the 5 million Jews of America. The unswerving loyalty of the vast and overwhelming majority of American Jews and their steadfast devotion to the American way of life is attested by their sacrifices in every war in which the United States has been engaged and the significant contributions they have made to a great and prosperous America.

It is a matter of record that followers of other faiths have proven equally susceptible to the Communist appeal and permitted themselves to be used as tools, dupes, and innocent collaborators of Communist projects and objectives. We have no better example of the readiness of men and women, irrespective of faith, to support causes favorable to communism, then the present desperate effort of American Communists to defeat the Internal Security Act of 1950. This is one of the most effective laws passed by the Congress to cripple the Communist conspiracy in the United States. This law makes it mandatory for the Communist Party in the United States and pro-Communist organizations, too, to register and file annual reports with the Attorney General of all Communist-action groups and all Communist-front organizations.

Communism senses in this law a threat to its very existence. It is marshalling every resource available to defeat it. It is appealing as never before to the ultra liberals, the starry eyed, and the dupes to join it in the effort to void this law. On September 14 there was filed with the Supreme Court of the United States a brief as amici curiae, signed by 360 individuals requesting the Supreme Court to void the Internal Security Act of 1950. This brief was signed by men and women representative of the clergy, education, medicine, politics, the arts, social service, and business. The great majority of the signers could not by any stretch of the imagination be called Communists or fellow travelers.

As in almost every instance when petitions favorable to communism have been drawn up, signed, and presented to the powers that be, the initiators are Communists and the rank and file of the signers are innocent collaborators. An analysis of the signers of this brief will show that the number of Jewish signers is negligible compared to the signers of other faiths. Ninety-four of the signers of the brief are men of the cloth. Six are rabbis and 88 are representatives of the several branches of protestantism—Unitarians, Methodists, Episcopalians, etc. Practically the same ratio applies to the doctors, educators, social workers, and the arts represented among the signers. It is clear that if non-Communist but poorly informed Jews have been led to support Communist projects and objectives the same is true to an equal or even greater extent of non-Jews.

I have already given the general reasons that, bound up with historic circumstances, brought non-Jews and Jews in appreciable numbers into communism. But with extraordinary cleverness communism found Jews susceptible to special appeals. If there is one dominant passion that has stamped itself on Jewish life and tradition, it has been the passion for social justice. From the days of the prophets Jews have been the pathbreakers in the cause of social justice, and they have never abated the ardent dream of the coming of a time when the practice of social justice would banish the ills of poverty and privilege and social and economic injustice from the world.

Here communism was ready with a honeyed appeal. "Look," said the Communist propagandist, "look about you in the world. Has your age-old dream of social justice been realized? Has economic and social injustice been banished? Two thousand years have passed, and these ills are still rampant in the world. When communism has come to power and is dominant in the world, it is fundamental to our policy to put your dream of social justice into practice." Jews fell for that appeal, and these devoted Communists and willing fellow travelers born in the Jewish fold refuse to admit the patent fraud manifest in the gulf that stretches between the privileged few at the top and at the bottom the toiler chained to his job and the tortured millions condemned to the living death of the concentration camps.

Again, no single group has for so many centuries been made the victim of persecution and discrimination as the Jew. For centuries the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe were treated as outcasts and pariahs, and even when Jews in the Western World were privileged to bask in the sunshine of equal political and economic opportunity they were still made to feel the smart of social and personal discrimination.

Communism made a clever and moving appeal to Jews. It set itself up as the sworn foe of every type of discrimination in the world—racial, social, color, and religious discrimination. Jews fell for that pose, too, and there are still many who accept the Communist ideology and are ranked among the fellow travelers who refuse to admit the patent fraud of discrimination practiced against the remnants of the Russian bourgeoisie, discrimination practiced against all who refuse to conform to the Communist mold.

Again the specious claims that communism made impressed and won a following among Jews. Communists have consistently claimed that they abolished the pale of settlement, that hated ghetto in which millions of Jews were crowded and where they were subjected to every hampering and humiliating restriction, a plight that stirred the sympathy of their coreligionists throughout the world, to say nothing of the burden it put on their generosity. Communism made the specious claim that it made all these restrictions null and void, that it put a summary end to the pogroms of the Black Hundreds and that it put the Jew on a par with every other Russian citizen. The truth is that it was the Duma of the Kerensky regime, the democratic regime destroyed by Lenin, that issued the decrees liberating the Jews of Russia. And there is positive evidence that far from rooting out prejudice and ill treatment of Jews as communism has boasted, communism still tolerates anti-Semitism in Soviet Russia and the satellites.

In the face of the documented evidence proving the fraud in the special appeal communism has made to Jews, it becomes difficult to explain the loyalty and devotion of those men and women born in the Jewish fold who still remain faithful to the Communist cause. Is it to be explained by that characteristic weakness in human nature that when individuals have once been per-

suaded to give themselves unreservedly to a cause and to make that cause part and parcel of their lives, that even when they have been deceived, they find that it is impossible to admit that they have been fooled?

By a vast majority American Jews have refused to be enmeshed in the spider web of communism. By a vast majority American Jews are familiar enough with the records to know that communism has broken every solemn agreement it has made with the free world and that it is basically untrustworthy. By a vast majority American Jews see the gulf that stretches between Communist promise and practice. By a vast majority American Jews condemn a cause that stands for slavery and atheism.

The American Jewish League Against Communism is the articulate voice of that impressive majority. The league insists that Jews in communism represent the very antithesis of what the Jewish people have stood for from the beginning of recorded history. For it may not be forgotten that religion as the world knows and values it, constitutes the Jew's supreme gift to humanity. As interpreters of God and goodness, from Moses to Jesus, we have been accorded a significant place in history as contributors to the world's spiritual wealth. The league holds that Jews would be recreant to what is best in their past if they did not take their place in the ranks of those determined that the ideals of truth, justice, mercy, faith, and freedom shall not be supplanted by communism's cynical concepts of falsehood, cruelty, injustice, double-dealing, and slavery.

The league is the articulate voice of the overwhelming majority of coreligionists who abominate these renegades as the rankest ingrates. For the Jews of America are wholeheartedly appreciative that here as in no other land or time or place do they share with fellow citizens the rich blessings of the fairest, happiest, most rewarding land under the sun.

They are appreciative of the fact that America has been for us a house through whose open windows has poured the sunshine of opportunity that only the free spirit can create—sunshine that some twisted Jewish individuals would exchange for the murky shadows of the police state. Here the human dignity that has added a quality of grace to rich achievement, some fuzzy-minded creatures in our midst would barter away for the deadening slavery of a robot regime. Here the full well-rounded serviceable life that democracy has made possible for our people, deluded and misguided creatures born in our fold would have us change for the lock-step existence that marks the life behind the Iron Curtain.

Relatively few as these renegades are the league does not ignore them. The league has taken the lead in condemning, repudiating and rooting them out whenever and wherever they are found. We believe that it is our duty to speak out frankly in detestation of these creatures at a time when not only for our country but for the free world there can be only one way for Americans. We believe that it is necessary that we publicly declare that Jews who speak and work for an atheistic and conspiratorial foreign power are enemies not only of their own people but also of their country.

And by tradition we are the bearers, too, of a heartening message to the free world. We are a people old in experience. We have been privileged to watch the waxing and the waning of many a formidable earthly power. Again and again we have witnessed power-mad dictatorships go down to destruction because of defiance of the eternal principles of right. And now that the free world stands at a fateful crossroads on the highway of history, we register the conviction that the cherished values and ideals of which our prophets were the champions will prevail against the powers of darkness.

National Association of Real Estate Boards Opposes Veterans' Provisions of Housing Bill, H. R. 6659

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on April 6, 1957, I received a letter from the National Association of Real Estate Boards opposing the authorization of a veterans' preference program in FHA. The National Association of Real Estate Boards has expressed the fear that an FHA veterans' preference program in Federal Housing Administration would not be actuarially and economically sound and would distort the fundamental purpose of Federal Housing Administration.

The letter dated April 6, 1957, from the National Association of Real Estate Boards follows:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
REAL ESTATE BOARDS,
Washington, D. C., April 6, 1957.

Re FHA-veterans' preference program.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TEAGUE: I am enclosing herewith a copy of a press release of the National Association of Real Estate Boards which reflects the official position of our organization with respect to the housing bill recently approved by the House Banking and Currency Committee.

Your attention is respectfully invited to that part of the release which expresses opposition to the special veterans' preference program recommended by the House Banking and Currency Committee as part of the FHA mortgage insurance system.

The realtors' Washington committee was influenced in arriving at its decision in opposition to the proposed FHA-veterans' program by the following considerations:

In our opinion the only justification for a veterans' home-loan program, such as that provided by the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, is to assist the veteran in making his readjustment to civilian life. The dislocation of wartime service resulted in certain disadvantages to the returning veteran in matters such as education, housing, employment, etc. The Congress decreed that the Servicemen's Readjustment Act would be the medium through which this assistance or readjustment was to be brought about. The act of 1944 has served well this purpose.

With respect to housing, an extension of the program for World War II veterans, whether it be through the act of 1944 or the FHA system, can be justified only on the basis of the need for further readjustment for these World War II veterans most of whom left the service 10 and 11 years ago. We respectfully submit that the readjustment factors which motivated the original 1944 act no longer obtain for the veterans of World War II.

Also, we submit that were the readjustment requirements not met, that the only proper medium through which readjustment in housing matters should continue is the Veterans' Administration administering laws shaped by the deliberations of the committees of the Congress having jurisdiction over veterans' legislation.

The veterans' home-loan program is a benefit program and the philosophy underlying its functions is distinct from that underlying the FHA mortgage insurance system. The latter is essentially an actuarially and economically sound mortgage insurance system. It should not be distorted to serve a purpose fundamentally alien to it, i. e., veterans' readjustment to civilian life.

However, the veterans' home-loan guaranty-program has pointed the way toward a more liberal conception of home financing. The Congress, rather than creating a veterans' program with more liberal terms than those provided nonveterans, should set itself to the task of shaping a liberal FHA program for all the American people. A preference in downpayment requirements for World War II veterans under FHA is unnecessary when one comprehends the absence of the readjustment factors which motivated the 1944 act. It must be emphasized that these World War II veterans for many years now have reached and enjoyed income levels higher than nonveterans of the same age brackets.

We have not mentioned the Korean veterans in this letter because the Servicemen's Readjustment Act for this group continues until 1965. For this group the present relative scarcity in mortgage money results at most in a temporary deferral of home acquisition.

We strongly urge that the House Veterans' Affairs Committee conduct a hearing at an early date to determine the committee's position with respect to a legislative provision which is clearly one of its own jurisdiction. Realizing your personal views on this subject, we are hopeful that you will undertake an amendment to the housing bill which would reject the FHA-veterans section and substitute a liberal homeownership program for all our people.

Should you schedule a public hearing on this subject, we would greatly appreciate an opportunity to appear and testify.

With kindest personal regards, I am,
Sincerely yours,
JOHN C. WILLIAMSON, *Director.*

The Cheyenne River Rehabilitation Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the editorial in the May 1 issue of the Mobridge (S. Dak.) Tribune, which gives some of the picture of the value of the Cheyenne River rehabilitation program.

Since Congress established this program as something of a pilot plant or testing grounds for a new program which is administered by the tribe itself, I am sure the following editorial will be of interest:

SUPERINTENDENT SPEAKS ON REHAB

The series of articles published in the Minneapolis Tribune by Carl T. Rowan, The First Are Last, has caused considerable comment throughout the West River area relative to many of the problems encountered by the Indian people.

Noralf Nesset, superintendent of the Cheyenne agency, who is in a position to be intimately acquainted with the rehabilitation

program as it affects both the Indian and the community, believes that although Rowan may have highlighted some of the negative aspects it is well that the unfavorable features be brought to light.

On the other hand, Nesset pointed out in his monthly news bulletin progress of a people must be conditioned by a positive approach.

Nesset criticized the articles for omitting the forward-looking programs in operation within the Indian Bureau. At Cheyenne River, for instance, the future of a boy or girl completing high school can be very bright, depending to a great extent upon that individual's ability or initiative. Under the tribal rehabilitation program, a student can select a college of his choice where he can get his expenses paid to complete a college education. If the person does not have a high-school education, he may qualify for a grant to take vocational training where his expenses while attending the trade school will be paid. All that is required in the above two programs is that the individual maintain passing grades and that his conduct conform with accepted standards.

In the field of education the Bureau of Indian Affairs has inaugurated many programs that are several years ahead of public schools. Their qualifications for teachers greatly exceed the requirements in the average public school with a 4-year college degree needed to teach in the Indian Service. Recognition of this fact has resulted in the Cheyenne River Boarding School being admitted to membership in the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools recently.

"The well-rounded program of our present school curriculum stresses not only a strong academic program, but offers an excellent guidance program, practical training in the vocational fields, encourages development in social behavior, and continually emphasizes the adjustments needed in the cultural aspects of living in a dominantly white society," Nesset brought out. "Education in its broad phases is undoubtedly the answer to correcting the many undesirable conditions reported by Rowan. However, education is a slow process and involves not only the Indian people but the entire community, county, and State in which the Indian people reside," he concluded.

"The general public," he warned, "cannot just shrug its shoulders and say the Indian is a Government responsibility. It must actively offer assistance to the development of a people who are its first citizens but have been redelegated, as Rowan points out, to its last consideration."

The Public Power Issue Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Santa Monica (Calif.) Evening Outlook of Wednesday, May 1, 1957:

THE PUBLIC POWER ISSUE AGAIN

In the hue and cry over cutting the Eisenhower budget, little attention has been paid to the program of some congressional Democrats to give the Federal Government the sole right to develop atomic power for peacetime uses. At present, under the power policies of the Eisenhower administration, the Federal Government is helping private industry to build atomic power plants. The Democrats, led by Representative CLARENCE CANNON of Missouri, chairman of the powerful House Appropriations Committee, want to stop this policy and substitute a direct Government program, which would use Federal funds to build atomic energy plants and keep them under Federal ownership and operation.

If Democrats like Representative CANNON could prevent private industry from ever building atomic energy plants, the Federal Government would someday hold a monopoly over atomic power for all uses.

However, the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Lewis L. Strauss, is not in sympathy with this objective and has consistently held out for the development of atomic power for peacetime uses by private industry. Representative CANNON criticizes the Strauss plan, declaring that our leadership in atomic power is threatened by the very slow development taking place, as compared with that in Great Britain and Russia. He wants the Government to spend $400 million to build several reactors at Government installations, contending that this will give us world leadership.

A more needless appropriation would be hard to imagine. This country is doing all right in developing atomic energy for peacetime uses, as fast as is economically feasible. Our situation is not like that of Britain, which has hitherto depended on a backward and hopelessly pampered coal industry, and which is seeking desperately to develop atomic power as her best hope of modernizing her entire industrial plant to meet world competition. In this country we are under no such urgency, but it is safe to predict that rising fuel and labor costs will sooner or later force private industry to turn to atomic energy for power, and when that day arrives, its development will be far more rapid through private enterprise than would be the case under Government ownership. Unless we want state socialism in this country, we had better not listen to the siren song of Representative CANNON and his kind.

If Not Needed, Breckinridge Should Be Sold

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "If Not Needed, Breckinridge Should Be Sold," which appeared in the May 1, 1957, issue of the Courier-Journal, of Louisville, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

IF NOT NEEDED, BRECKINRIDGE SHOULD BE SOLD

The Army, like other branches of the Armed Forces, has a tough problem on its hands in the case of its deactivated camps. There are dozens of these camps scattered across the country, like Camp Breckinridge here in Kentucky, eating up maintenance money and serving no immediate purpose. Yet the Armed Forces are reluctant to get rid of them, and it is easy to see why.

Right now these camps are only a burden on the Army's limited budget, since it costs money even to keep a deactivated camp. But in the event of a national emergency requiring rapid expansion of the Armed Forces, these deactivated camps would perform an invaluable service as reception centers through which incoming troops could be routed to training camps or active units. And the cost of maintaining these camps now is piddling compared to the cost of building new camps from scratch, as might be necessary if the deactivated camps were turned back for civilian use.

THE ARMY OF THE FUTURE

Yet there are reasons for believing that a great many of these deactivated camps can now be safely abandoned. The reorganization of Army combat units to meet the demands of atomic warfare indicates clearly that the Army of the future will be relatively small compared to the Army of 1941–45. It will depend more heavily on organized professional units or trained reserves, with less emphasis on recruited, raw manpower, and will have less need, therefore, for many large reception centers and training camps.

These facts lend logical support to the repeated requests from the people of Union County that Camp Breckenridge either be used or abandoned. In use, the camp is the source of considerable business for the people of the area. But deactivated it is a drag on the county's economy. It is not productive. Its huge acreage is removed from county tax rolls. And the land can be used neither for industry nor farming. Naturally, the people would like to see it returned to civilian use and possible productivity if the Army does not have reasonable expectations of using it.

STRONG CASE CAN BE MADE

And they have good reasons for their publicly stated doubts that the camp will ever again be essential for rapid expansion of the Army. The Kentucky area, they point out, has reception-center facilities at Fort Knox and Fort Campbell that could be used in the event of an emergency, and the general area contains several other deactivated camps that could be opened in case of necessity.

We would not presume to tell the Army how it should use its various installations, or to second-guess its future needs for emergency facilities. We do suggest that a strong case can be made for closing Camp Breckinridge and handing it back to civilian use. And unless the Army can make a stronger case for its continuance, we think it should be closed.

Ocean Travelers Save Time by Changing Planes in Boston

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting article on overseas travel:

OCEAN TRAVELERS SAVE TIME BY CHANGING PLANES IN BOSTON

Why should inbound transatlantic passengers traveling to points beyond Boston transplane here for the south and west rather than go on to Idlewild Airport in New York?

James O'Brien, chief customs inspector at Boston airport has this answer:

"Inbound planes generally arrive here in the early morning hours. The planes, generally are on the ground an hour for public health and immigration clearance and refueling. The flight to Idlewild takes from 50 minutes to 2 hours, depending upon weather and air traffic.

"Once at Idlewild, it takes a passenger from 1 to 3 hours to go through Government agency clearances. Another hour is consumed in traveling by bus to LaGuardia for domestic flights. Sometimes a passenger wastes as much as 7 hours in the New York area alone.

"At Boston, once we get the baggage, we can clear a planeload—the average is 75 persons per plane—in 40 minutes. It takes only a few minutes more to walk to the domestic area and only a few minutes more to board a flight out of here. Why go to New York?"

New Albany, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WINFIELD K. DENTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. DENTON. Mr. Speaker, in the April 20, 1957, issue of the Saturday Evening Post there appeared an article by Jerome Ellison, entitled "Relief for Strangled Cities."

This article describes the courage and resoluteness by which Mayor C. Pralle Erni, of New Albany, Ind., dealt with a problem which is confronting many cities in this country. Mayor Erni is one of the most able, conscientious, and dedicated city executives in the United States, and I believe that this description of the way in which he solved this problem will be of interest to citizens and civic leaders everywhere.

Under permission to extend my remarks, I am very pleased to include the article mentioned:

RELIEF FOR STRANGLED CITIES—A TOWN THAT DOUBLED ITS SIZE OVERNIGHT UNDER A UNIQUE INDIANA LAW SHOWS HOW TAX-STARVED MUNICIPALITIES CAN PROVIDE FOR SERVICE-HUNGRY CITIZENS

(By Jerome Ellison)

Down on a scenic bend of the Ohio River, along the stretch where Indiana nudges Kentucky, there's a town called New Albany, until last year known chiefly for its romantic memories of steamboat days. Its mayor is a 6-foot 2-inch, 240-pound ex-football player named C. Pralle—pronounced "prawl"—Erni. Today, because of the mayor's bold use of a new State law to help cash-starved cities, New Albany is watched by city fathers in distant places. Perhaps, they think, the town and its scrappy head man can show them the way to municipal solvency.

The mayor himself has little doubt of the matter. After a giant beech tree toppled during a storm last autumn and cleft his house neatly in two—at a point a few feet from where he was sleeping—he figures he must have been spared for something, and it must have been for this.

"This" refers to one of the most spectacular municipal annexation moves of the decade. New Albany, in a single action of its city council, doubled its size, taxable property, and revenue potential—and astonishingly, left almost everybody happy about it.

That the world should be interested is not surprising. Everywhere city administrators are trapped between embattled fringe dwellers fighting "encroachment" of growing towns and beleaguered cities asked to render more service for less tax. American cities have been struggling, since World War II, to crack their shells and grow. In 1955 more than 500 cities with over 5,000 population—1 out of every 5 in the land—annexed an average of 0.7 square mile each. The trend spans the Nation—annexing cities included Fairfield, Ala., and Mankato, Minn.; Cranford, N. J., and Redwood City, Calif.

To come to grips with this and other city problems, the Council of State Governments has instituted a metropolitan areas study. The director of research for this study, John C. Bollens, says annexation problems are largely unsolved. He queried the 180 cities which in 1955 annexed more than a quarter of a square mile, concerning conditions on their boundaries. It was found that in only one-third of the cases was water supply satisfactory in the bordering territory. Sewage disposal was adequate in only about 1 case in 10. Less than a fifth of the fringe areas had sufficient service in garbage disposal, zoning, fire protection, street maintenance, drainage and police protection. Four-fifths of the areas annexed will not pay their way in the immediate future; the benefits will be felt in better management and sanitation for the whole area.

Three out of five cities, however, are still struggling against outmoded law and private custom to achieve needed expansion. The proceedings of the American Society of Planning Officials contain the flat statement that "most States do not have laws which permit normal expansion of cities." Last year's assembly of 1,300 members of the Municipal Finance Officers Association was told that boundary restrictions constituted a "prime barrier to the solution of many local financial problems."

So it's small wonder that Indiana's new boundary-busting statute drew nationwide attention. In the first few weeks after the new law was passed, inquiries were received from 46 States, a dozen cities and 3 overseas lands. The mail brings a stream of inquiries as to how it's working out, and the shining example of how it works is the aforementioned river town, New Albany.

"Something had to happen, that's certain," says New Albany's mayor. "Before the annexation, our situation was getting desperate." In income of its citizens, New Albany ranked in the bottom fourth of cities over 15,000, in a State which stands close to the United States average. With a "taxable per capita" figure of $775, it was the poorest city in its size class. Things were getting worse, not better. Between 1930 and 1950, while Indiana's population was growing 21 percent and the Nation's increased 23 percent, New Albany grew only 13 percent, while its taxable property diminished 1 percent. Downtown blight was gnawing further into the tax base, with parking lots spotting the shopping area where stores used to be.

Meanwhile there were ever more demands on the city's services. Fire runs and police coverage were furnished on a grudging good-will basis to fringe-area citizens who weren't paying taxes for them. Outlying garbage-removal contractors were using city streets and dumps without kicking in for the city kitty. The sewer-building program was so far behind that the mayor had to endure a stomach-turning session with health officers at the State capitol on the subject of raw sewage in local streams and ditches. City buildings were in such disrepair that this reporter, on his first visit, mistook the city hall for a partly abandoned warehouse. Transfer of pupils from the country schools to city schools was an increasing trend. Though out-of-district parents paid tuition, they paid it only while their child was in attendance, while the whole principle of free public education depends upon tax support at all times. In sum, the city was probably going to need a lot more money than it could get.

The only solution Pralle Erni could see would be to take in the fringe area, which was properly a part of the social and industrial city, and let it share the tax load. But this was an almost quixotic notion. The archaic Indiana law made it so easy to block annexations of territory to cities that almost none had taken place in the State for two decades.

Meanwhile, events were shaping up at Indiana's capital that were to produce important changes. State Senator John Van Ness, of Valparaiso, had asked the Indiana Economic Council to study the annexation problem and come up with new proposals. The council, under its director, John Melett, and State planning engineer, T. W. Schulenberg, produced a bill which if made into law, would break up the logjam. With a readiness that surprised almost everyone, the 1955 legislature passed it.

Mayor Erni was quick to see in the new statute exactly the weapon he had been needing. He seized it and he pounced

In order to appreciate his strategy—and to shed light on a problem nearly universal with growing cities—we'll inquire as to why a new law was necessary.

The thing that annoyed Van Ness—and city planners and subdividers all over the State—was that under the old law "one or more persons" could convert an annexation attempt into such a legal stalemate that in the language of the economic council's report, "everybody concerned became thoroughly frustrated."

Usually, the mere threat of court action was enough to forestall needed annexations. The New Albany affair of 1948 was typical. In that year, one segment of the fringe area had announced plans to set itself up as a separate village. Mayor Erni and his council saw at once that if this happened, the city's planned growth would be blocked. Acting promptly, they let it be known that they would annex the area at their next meeting.

On the appointed night the hall was jammed. A room meant to seat 150 was packed with 250 sit-patters and 150 standees, with an overflow crowd of 100 hotheaded citizens outside. Names were called; broad, unsupported statements made; tempers ran high in a hot 3-hour meeting. One Horatius after another stepped out on the bridge to throw back the invaders with the charge that the city "just wanted more taxes, but had nothing to give for them." The mayor was accused—by a citizen who hadn't heard that he'd just reduced his own salary—of wanting the new land just so that he could get his pay raised, as head of a larger city, from $4,500 to $5,500. In the end, the city council bulled it through and passed the annexation 6 to 1. But feeling was so intense that the council knew they couldn't carry out the annexation without going to court. So a 2-year truce was agreed upon—you don't incorporate and we won't annex.

Cities all over the State were similarly straitjacketed. It was, the economic council reported tartly, utter nonsense. The council conceded that "while there is no doubt that the individual in the fringe area has certain rights," no one should assume that "those rights deserve absolute protection irrespective of the needs of the community."

The keynote of the council's report was that "demands for municipal services grow with the whole area, not in proportion to the city's population alone." Traffic, recreation, schools, police, fire protection, sanitation, zoning, planning, and public health are matters concerning the entire metropolitan community. "For several decades," the report went on, "the cities of Indiana have been lagging behind their suburban counterparts. Dozens of large cities are surrounded by new developments—residential, commercial, and industrial—but most efforts to take in those areas have been defeated. Herein lies the paradox. Cities

are growing, but their boundaries cannot be changed."

Did other States have similar problems? A study revealed that several States, notably those granting home-rule charters to their cities, allowed annexation without recourse by residents on the land. This had led to abuses. Certain Texas cities had posted their limits far out on open prairies. At the other extreme were States allowing annexation only by popular vote in the annexed area. Everywhere, the States were beginning to feel a need for change. Some of them—notably Michigan, Virginia, California—had set up commissions to study the problem.

The Indiana Economic Council laid down six principles, several of them borrowed from Virginia court opinions, that may prove to be a Magna Carta for cramped cities:

1. Every annexation should be in the long-term best interest of the city and of the territory annexed.

2. The annexed area should be urban in character, an economic and social part of the city.

3. The terms must be fair.

4. The city shall be able to provide municipal services in a reasonable time after annexation.

5. If the area is undeveloped, it should be needed for the future development of the city.

6. The annexation must form a compact area abutting the city.

The new Indiana bill proposed that annexation be made possible by simple majority action of a city council. Instead of "one or more," it would require "a majority of the freeholders, or freeholders of 75 percent of the land, whichever is the lesser number" to remonstrate. There was to be no legal dallying. Courts were required to rule on remonstrances within 60 days as to their sufficiency, and without delay as to whether they were sustained or denied. The measure passed the legislature hands down. And Pralle Erni, who had been in close touch, serving a term as president of the Indiana Municipal League, was ready to try it out.

Though he had known many a good fight in his day, the 60-year-old New Albany mayor was not a man you would pick to become an outstanding battler for a prorgessive cause. Conservative in demeanor, bulging in contour, he looks a little like an oversize, clean-shaven, slightly out-of-sorts Saint Nicholas. Erni was born in the 1890's at Eighth and Spring Streets, New Albany, where the old family house still stands. His father was a physician, director of a cement company, and a member of the city council.

C. Pralle Erni went to Indiana University—where he played football in 1914 and 1915—as a premedical student; then changed his mind and switched to geology. He joined the Navy in 1916, was first a pilot, then engineering officer, and was discharged in 1919. He knocked around the oil fields of the Southwest for a time, learning the principles of canny investment. Ultimately he opened an office as geological consutlant in Cleveland, but never gave anything other than New Albany, Ind., as his permanent home address.

Erni's first adventure in politics was as campaign manager for an up-and-coming congressional aspirant named Sherman Minton in 1920. Minton got licked, but made such a good showing that his manager, as a reward, was allowed to run for State representative. That was the year of the Harding Republican landslide, and ever since then Erni has considered 13 a lucky number. He won by 13 votes, was assigned seat No. 13, and was 1 of 13 Democrats in the State house of representatives.

In 1937 New Albany was flooded, and Erni threw himself into the fight, finally victorious, to build the great Ohio River flood wall. Minton went on and up in Democratic politics, and then to the Supreme Court of the United States. Judge Minton, after retiring for medical reasons, has lately returned to New Albany; Erni recently went up to Indianapolis to help dedicate a bust of him for the State capitol.

It was in 1947 that Erni, finding himself the owner of a local hotel—now run by nephew Joe Erni—and content with his investments, first decided to run for mayor. For a Democrat, in a county which normally turns in a Republican plurality of around 1,000, there was a certain political hazard.

New Albany had fallen on evil days of brawling and gangsters. Just the year before, the local chamber of commerce secretary had been knifed for suggesting a clean-up of gambling. The incumbent mayor, deeply involved, had committed suicide. Erni campaigned on a platform of economy and clean government. He won his first term by 33 votes, a second term in 1951 by 400 votes, a third term in 1955 by 1,700 votes. He married during his first term; his wife died—a tragedy that left a deep mark—during his third.

Whatever favor Erni may have acquired locally he needed during the annexation scrap. Though his prestige is unquestioned, his local reputation is a study in contradictions. Some, insisting he's short-tempered and vindictive, tell about the time he had 2 eminently respectable coal merchants thrown into jail and held there all 1 long night. Discussing the incident with the mayor, this writer noted no vindictiveness. "They'd been operating overweight trucks on city streets," the mayor said matter-of-factly.

Erni sometimes displays a most unpoliticianlike disinterest in the limelight. It took this reporter 3 trips to New Albany to nail down 1 good interview. Though the mayor is a Moose, an Eagle, a Presbyterian, and a member of Red Men, and the American Legion, he's seldom seen at their functions. As voters, local Republican businessmen jump party fences to run up Erni's pluralities. As chamber of commerce members, many of the same men are irked with him for turning down their pet project, a measure to invest $20,000 in professional, areawide planning. When the proposal hit a 3-to-3 tie in city council (1 member being absent), Erni, exercising the mayor's right to vote in ties, killed it on economy grounds.

The mayor's obsession with economy is legendary. A story is told of a councilman who, infected by the mayor's thrifty zeal, called for a cut in the fee of the town clock winder from the 1900 scale of $50 dollars a year to $25. Citing downtown shabbiness and litter, citizens have suggested that economy isn't everything, but the mayor continues to trim. Street repairs are paid for out of parking-meter pennies. Erni's fury at the coal trucks was roused by the fact that they broke up the pavement and it cost money to fix it. On the other hand, he's locally famous for private generosity, and once made the city an interest-free advance of $13,000—lucky 13—to get its Ohio flood-wall financing over the hump.

About the only point everybody agrees on is that Pralle Erni has grown accustomed to having his own way. "If there's one thing the mayor hates and despises," a friend of long standing told me, "it's opposition."

In the annexation move he was to find plenty, some of it deep-rooted in the city's history. Incorporated in 1813—lucky—New Albany's first fame was supplied by its boats. Here were built some of the great river boats of history and legend—*The Glendy Burke*, set to song by Stephen Foster, and the mighty *Robert E. Lee*, most famous of all the river steamboats, which steamed upriver from New Orleans to St. Louis in a breath-taking 3 days, 18 hours, 14 minutes, a record still unbroken. John B. Ford, whose name survives in *Libbey-Owens-Ford*, in 1867 produced the first usable plate glass in New Albany and installed it in a local tailor shop. Boat-building ended with the railroad era and the glass industry moved out, but others came in. A big plywood factory was opened in 1901. One of the pioneer prefab-housing firms hung out its shingle during the 1930's. Furniture, clothing, fertilizer, and machinery plants sprang up.

These factories all stood outside the city limits. Together they normally hired 6,000 people and paid out $23 million a year in wages. A group of electric companies, attracted by cheap barge coal and plentiful water, was erecting a huge new $50 million generating plant on the river nearby. Owners of some of these establishments had enjoyed freedom from city taxes for half a century. How would they react to being asked, for the first time, to pay up?

By now Erni knew the importance of preparing the ground. He sounded out the chamber of commerce and the big electric company. Both came through with unexpectedly warm support. He approached representatives of the Silver Hills-Crestview Civic Association, representing the community's largest and most influential suburban areas. The fringe-area population had grown and its sanitation had deteriorated since 1948. Erni's arguments for annexation looked better now than they ever had before. The mayor reached a point where he thought it feasible for the council to act.

It was a daring, almost radical ordinance that the New Albany city council passed one steaming day in mid-July 1956. In one stroke it more than doubled the city's area, from 4.5 square miles to 10.9. It hiked the population from 32,000 to 40,000. Assessed valuation—somewhat less than a third of actual value—was boosted from $25 million to $34 million, with $15 million more to come when they finished the electric plant. All the sensitive areas were taken in, including aristocratic Silver Hills and suburban Slate Run Road, the plywood, fertilizer, prefab, and machinery factories and the new generating plant.

Some of these interests the mayor had already sought out and persuaded, but Erni had been too long in politics not to know the difference between a promise made and a promise kept. Besides, important elements remained uncommitted. The law allowed 30 days for objectors, if there were any, to proclaim their intention and test their strength.

Opposition was in action within 48 hours. A folder titled "Information on Annexation" was in circulation throughout the fringe area. It denied the wisdom of annexation and questioned the integrity of those who endorsed it. The circular was accompanied by a remonstrance-petition form and a plea that property owners sign it, which they were doing by the score. Why annex to gain fire, sanitary, school, and library services, it asked? Most fire policies provided for paying for runs outside the city limits. As for sewers, what assurance was there that the city would ever get around to extending them, and besides, weren't septic tanks just as good? City authorities might gobble up school taxes for years and not provide new facilities. The same for garbage collection; and to annex in order to use the library was silly, when a nonresident card could be had for $2.

Erni promptly took over the mike at the local radio station and went on the air. Fire runs for fees are not the rights of citizens, he thundered, but courtesies extended by city taxpayers. Such courtesies, and others, like use of the library and access to the city dump, could be withdrawn for a cause, such as economy. Unless the city built trunk sewers for the fringes, it would only be a matter of time until the State board of health would compel property own-

ers to build both sewers and disposal plants, and pay for them. To build disposal facilities for the whole area, as part of one city, was by far the most satisfactory way. And be not misled about the school situation, Erni admonished. Of course, consolidation of city and outlying school districts would not in itself provide new space. But it would make for more efficient use of the old. New classroom space was scheduled for completion within the year, he said, and entire new schools could be had, with annexation, in 3 years. Finally, annexed property owners, through city zoning regulations, would have protection against some unregulated and possibly noxious enterprise starting up next door. The immediate tax rise after annexation would not be great. The total tax burden in the long run would be less with annexation. "Don't sign that petition!" Erni roared. "If you've already signed it, have your name removed! Stand by your city! Protect her future!"

The pith of his talk was boiled down to fifteen questions and answers, which were printed in the papers and distributed as handbills. Forms were provided for canceling remonstrance signatures.

Erni now went after the authors of the remonstrance manifesto. The opposition's circular was traced to a duplicating machine in a certain company. Erni wrote to the company's president, asking if it was corporation policy to oppose the annexation. The president replied that it was not, and Erni made the letter public. This wiped out the last pocket of real resistance. Signatures on the remonstrance petition began to be expunged faster than they were added. On the thirtieth day the annexation became law. In the fierce competition among cities to attract new industry, the historic river town had suddenly become a formidable contender. Besides fuel, water, and skill, it could offer a tax rate made lower by being shared by all who used the city.

If complaints were to come, one would expect them from those destined to receive the largest tax bill—the corporate owners of the big new powerplant. Here, events exactly reversed the usual pattern. Both before and after the annexation, the electric power people were, in a quiet way, boosters of the idea. Their representatives are willing to let it be understood that this was due to unsullied community spirit, and surely there was an element of that. But anyone could see that, sooner or later, property near the city was going to be taxed by some future or existing unit of local government. Economical New Albany was the better 'ole.

The strangest twist of all, perhaps, was what happened to residential fringe dwellers' taxes. Everybody was ready to accept something of a rise, in view of the additional services. They may actually be lower. The overall city tax rate—civil city tax, school tax, county tax, township tax, library tax, State tax—is expected to be $4.90—last year: $4.68—as compared with the $5.50 a hundred township taxes before the annexation. Even with a sharp hike, property owners would be better off than anywhere else in the State, taxwise. The average per capita local tax in the State's 535 cities and towns is $26.98; New Albany's is $14.17.

Other annexations indicate that the freeze on city growth is over in Indiana. Princeton, Kokomo, Bloomington, Bedford, Shelbyville, and Fort Wayne have all taken on new bits of territory without notable strife. Though the hand of the cities is stronger, remonstrance can still be successful. Terre Haute tried to take in adjacent Harrison Township last summer, and there was vigorous opposition. Remonstrators failed to muster sufficient signatures, appealed, and the case is still in court. Industries around Lafayette have so far resisted annexation, substituting, in place of taxes, a program of paying for city services on contract.

Though still cautious, somewhat fearful of city councils' tendencies toward indiscriminate tax grabbing, industry's early response to the new law has been one of reserved hospitality. There's a general acceptance that wherever one goes one must pay one's freight, and that the only question is: What's a fair share? On the side of the States, the voices of the supreme courts of Kentucky and—in almost the same words—Arkansas ring ever louder: "Who goes to live, produce or operate in territory adjacent to a city does so at his peril, for it is the nature of cities to grow."

Mayor Erni sums up his advice in 13 lucky words: "Do it big. If you try to do it piecemeal, you are licked."

Address by Senor Pedro Gual Villalbí

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the more important portions of an address of Senor Pedro Gual-Villalbí, president of the National Economic Council of Spain, who was appointed Minister without portfolio in the general Spanish Cabinet reorganization of February 25, 1957. The address was delivered in Barcelona on March 11, 1957.

Sénor Gual divided the development of the Spanish economy since the end of the Civil War in 1939 into three stages. The first he described as a period of recovery from the war; the second, from about 1950 to the present, he characterized as one of economic expansion:

We started on the road to industrialization; we began to set up plans for the mechanization of agriculture. INI (the National Institute of Industry), which was one of the essential factors in our productive economy, was established. There was a multiplication of economic and social bodies which were administered as autonomous groups, even though many of them obtained their principal resources from the Spanish Government budget. Meanwhile private initiative was not excessively inhibited, and the number of firms and activities multiplied, thus contributing to expansion. With an economy of scarce resources, with a negative balance of trade * * * the only thing that could be done in order to effect an expansionist policy was to increase the volume of money and credit. But expansion of money and credit is inflation, and inflation has an impact on the foreign value and the purchasing power of currency, that is, on prices. And although we had an inflation which could be called moderate and to some extent controlled, we could not avoid the unfavorable consequences of an inflationary process.

I do not criticize this expansionist policy; much less do I justify it. I condone it for two reasons: First, because it was natural for us to allow ourselves to be impressed and led astray by the theories brilliantly presented by the most authoritative economists, as well as by the shining accomplishments achieved in some countries. * * *

But these expansionary processes, especially when based on artificial resources, must come to an end. Inevitably something happens which stops the expansion. In our case, it has been a combination of circumstances; first, the poor crops, and the freezes which completed the disintegration of our trade balance by depriving us of our main exports. At the same time our industrial exports were also declining because countries to which we had been able to export during World War II and postwar were becoming industrialized and were on the way to normality. The independence of Morocco also obliged us to dispose of funds and to adopt measures to protect our economic interests in our enclaves. Internally, the implementation of a wage policy was obviously the cause of certain disturbances.

This combination of circumstances, and others less apparent, were as a clarion call or alert signaling the necessity of a change in economic policy. Thus began the third phase, now prevailing.

This new economic policy is forcibly characterized by moderation and selection. In economics, as in everything else, it is impossible to run at full speed forever; it is necessary from time to time to stop for a breather, or at least to reduce speed. * * * We have perhaps been running too fast and now you will see, by reading between the lines of the recent ministerial statement, a policy of moderation and discrimination.

This does not mean that we are going to apply the brakes violently to the economy, much less that we are going to back up. We are merely going to slow down the pace. We are going to do so to harmonize our economy with our actual resources. You all realize that there are disparities: The growth and multiplication of productive activity is not in accord with our power resources; stoppages are bound to appear, implying sudden paralyzation of our activities. Similarly, we have increased purchasing power, but without a parallel supply of goods it is eliminated by the rise in prices.

The obvious disparity between power and raw material resources and our industrial establishment now calls for a slower pace just as the movement for the increase of the people's purchasing power has now to proceed at a slower rate in order to maintain equilibrium.

Now is the time. The important objective is equilibrium and discrimination. The Government contemplates an investment policy which will channel investments to the most productive applications, by keeping a sharp watch on production, not controlling it, but advising it, so that production will be oriented toward the most vital sector. The Government is trying to devote substantial attention to the problem of the supply of raw materials, keeping in mind, of course, the supply of consumer goods needed to sustain the people. We want to maintain the purchasing power of our currency. In sum, to build up an economic policy of balance and discrimination. This should be done with the calm which confidence and conviction gives, with the slowness which I would say is advisable when one wants firm and secure decisions.

* * * * *

During the expansionary phase, as usually happens, to cover an excessive demand, obsolete machinery and equipment are called into use and are of some service. Similarly, new elements, some improvised, some of doubtful value, enter the business field. Hastily built structures are put up, mixing healthy economic elements with others improvised, even questionable; attracted by the business boom, which fill the economic atmosphere with doubtful and delicate characteristics.

Because they lead to confusion, it is necessary to put an end to this dangerous state of affairs; a pruning operation is called for. Pruning is always less impressive than harvesting, but it is necessary in order to assure the harvesting of future crops. * * * At this time it is necessary in Spain to pull down hastily built structures, to exercise discrimination, and to look toward the establish-

ment of economic equilibrium, which implies an evident sacrifice for some, those who have entered the world of business and now will find themselves eliminated. These people will speak ill of our situation, and will naturally feel the hurt which they suffer; but we will run a great risk if a methodical, conscientious, even scientific pruning operation is not undertaken by the administration with the appropriate advice of its economic bodies.

* * * * *

I repeat that Spain is not suffering a serious illness. Spain is experiencing a difficult juncture * * * our sickness is not organic, because it does not affect the social and economic structure of Spain; it is purely functional, nonchronic, temporary. Our productive machine is intact and even expanding. There are some disturbances in the market mechanism, but they are easily soluble. We might say that our economy is in a slight dip * * * the first thing for us to do is to give our will and conviction to the desire of overcoming this difficulty.

* * * * *

One of the present problems of greatest apparent concern is the monetary problem, the problem of our currency, which is naturally related to monetary theory and policy. Sometimes complete freedom entails capital flight which aggravates the difficulty * * *. Several months ago there was a drop in the international value of the peseta, which gave rise to the hysteria which generally accompanies sudden changes. I was then asked, and since becoming Minister I am asked with greater insistence, if the Government is going to devalue the peseta. * * * I wish to speak clearly on this matter.

* * * * *

The Government does not consider it necessary to devaluate but the question arises as to whether we will keep the present exchange rate system. * * * We are still using a system of multiple-exchange rates, which is a flexible monetary system used for well-meaning objectives of economic policy with discriminatory purposes through which certain imports can be favored, certain exports fostered, etc. If at the present time it is advisable to continue this policy is a matter to be determined by the Government.

What would the rate of exchange be? I would say that it is in the mind of the Government and in my own, that our present intention is to revitalize our economy, cure if necessary, purify it, whatever is necessary to speed up the rhythm of our productive structive * * *. We wish to give the impression domestically and internationally that our objective is to win confidence by means of a fair and carefully considered policy, of an increase of our wealth, and of a good administration * * *. Then our natural and logical aspiration is * * * the revaluation of the peseta, achieved by means of a "hygienization" of the economy.

Democrats' Statistical Nonsense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD an editorial which appears in today's New York Times, exposing for what it is some of the misinformation being spread by the advisory council of the Democratic National Committee under the guise of facts:

STATISTICS AND NONSENSE

If we were to sum up in one sentence our reaction to the declaration on the economic policies of the Eisenhower administration just issued by the Advisory Council of the Democratic National Committee, then we would have to put it this way:

"Rarely, if ever, has any presumably responsible group issued a formal statement of comparable length containing so many accusations ranging from the unsubstantiated and unprovable through the dubious to the untrue and the ridiculous."

The council places itself in a thoroughly untenable position before it has completed its first short paragraph. For it starts out with these two unbelievable generalizations: (1) "Today * * * our fiscal affairs are approaching a crisis," and (2) "the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer."

That paragraph, regrettably, sets the tone for most of what is to follow.

From that point the council goes on to declare, without offering the slightest shadow of proof, that small increases in wages are [being] used as excuses for large increases in prices and that these increases in prices are reflected in a steadily increasing cost of living, which has reached new alltime highs in each of the last 5 months. There are quite a number of other accusations, but since all of them are cut from the same bolt of cloth we shall confine ourselves to commenting briefly on the foregoing typically irresponsible allegations.

To begin with, what does the council mean when it says the country is approaching a fiscal crisis? Does the fact that there are differences of opinion as to whether the budget is too large, not too large, or not large enough—differences that will be found among individuals of both parties—indicate something critically wrong with the present situation? And would the Nation's finances be strengthened by unbalancing the budget and returning to a policy of cheap money and tax relief for favored groups, which seems to be what the council is backhandedly proposing as an alternative if it is proposing anything at all?

The fact is that, while the proposed Federal budget for the coming year is a very large budget, it rests on the largest and most productive economy in the Nation's history. For 2 years, moreover, we have balanced our Federal expenditures by receipts with something to spare, and we are now apparently headed toward a third successive balanced budget. That is as many times as the budget was balanced in the entire preceding 25 years. Moreover, it was accomplished under an administration that gave the Nation, 2 years back, the biggest tax reduction in history.

Has big business been using small wage increases as an excuse to exploit the public through higher prices? Why doesn't the council tell us just what has happened to wages under the Eisenhower administration? Why doesn't it give the public the figures that are easily available that show hourly earnings in manufacturing up from $1.67 in 1952 to $2.05 at the present time? Or average weekly earnings that have risen from $67.97 in 1952 to $82 today, an increase in a little more than 4 years of roughly 21 percent?

As to the nonsensical observation that the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer, the fact is that 69.8 percent of the national income in 1956 went to wage and salary earners, and only 9.8 percent to those who derive their income from interest, rent, and dividends.

The statement that the cost of living has reached new highs now each month for 5 months is merely an up-dated version of that popular statistical hoax as it was employed in the election campaign last year. Obviously, once the cost of living figure reached a new postwar high a few months ago, any further increases meant another new high. But who is responsible for the fact that living costs reached their present plateau? Consumer prices have risen, since 1946, all told, from roughly 78 to almost 119, or 41 points. But 37 of those points were accounted for before Mr. Eisenhower came to office, only 4 since the end of 1952. In other words, talk about new highs for the cost of living is neither more nor less than an attempt to confuse the fact that while the costs of living rose 47.5 percent under Mr. Truman in the 7 years 1946–52, their rise during the nearly 4½ years of Mr. Eisenhower's administration has been 3½ percent.

The Gradual Weakening of NATO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, many of us are viewing with great concern the gradual weakening of NATO and the spread of neutralism among the free nations, particularly those located in the European theater.

The economic plight of our great ally in the past two World Wars, Great Britain, has resulted in the announcement on April 12 that she was cutting her armed forces in hafl, would in a very few years terminate the draft and would sharply reduce her armament production. We can expect other members of NATO to follow suit. We are faced with the temptation to do likewise and relax our present strong military position. This might involve the withdrawal of forces and the relinquishing of valuable overseas military bases and at this point Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I ask to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from a Los Angeles paper, the Mirror News. This editorial was written by Editor Virgil Pinkley who, in addition to being a great editor, is a world traveler and distinguished news commentator on the radio.

OVERSEAS BASES ESSENTIAL—RED EFFORTS AGAINST NATO—MOSCOW'S BLACKMAILING—SCANDINAVIA STANDS FIRM

(By Virgil Pinkley)

Trying to get America out of oversea bases continues to be a prime objective of Russia.

In addition, we face related problems on Okinawa and in the Philippines. Further, Moscow is trying to frighten and blackmail Norway and Denmark on the issue of guided missile bases as was demonstrated this week.

Moscow reasons quite logically that if United States forces ever left foreign bases we probably never would return short of another global war. It would take months and years and fantastic expense to reoccupy these bases if they were not in our hands. Our withdrawal would cut lines of communications and supply and eliminate our vast depots.

For 7 years the Kremlin has striven mightily to break up NATO because Red military leaders look upon this entire organization in Scandinavia, Western Europe, Italy, Iberia, the Mediterranean, Greece, and Turkey as one gigantic American-Western Allies base. This area swinging around Russia like an arc

to the west and south contains thousands of air, naval, and rocket or missile bases. From them could come nuclear weapons of retaliation. It would be virtually impossible for the Soviets to knock out all these bases even in enormous surprise attacks. Weather alone would dictate otherwise.

STRONG POINTS FEARED BY RUSS

Moscow fears and respects these strong points we and our allies hold and man. Most of them were brought into being by the military grabs and aggressive power politics played by the Soviets during the closing phases of the last war and the years immediately following. The capture, suppression, and occupation of the slave states behind the Iron Curtain made free nations understand the peril of ruthless communism used to the hilt by the Russians in a modern and terrible form of imperialism.

The Soviets would love to get us out of European bases and then induce us to leave ones now occupied in Britain, Spain, north Africa, Saudi Arabia, and Iceland. If this happened, Europe, the Mediterranean, Africa, and the Middle East would lie helpless before the might of Russia's massed and mobilized 171 Red army divisions, the world's largest jet air force of more than 20,000 planes, a frightening submarine fleet of more than 500, a mighty arsenal of nuclear weapons and power politics.

These Red forces would be operating on interior lines of communication. The Kremlin could mass divisions and planes along a frontier and makes demands in political, economic, military, and even territorial fields.

What would stand before the rulers of the Kremlin? In most instances little or nothing. America in that event would lie between the Atlantic and the Pacific. We could not stave off Russian aerial and guided missile attacks if they were launched against us. We now know the hard way through experience that no nation, especially a large power with world trade and responsibilities, can be isolated or go it alone.

GIVING UP BASES RANK FOLLY

The most costly mistake we could make for our security and that of much of the world would be to abandon these overseas bases. It would be rank folly and utter stupidity.

Even in these days of strategic air forces, nuclear bombs, and warheads and intercontinental rockets or missiles, we need these overseas bases. They are paramount. Their being is the strongest possible brake on overt military action by the men who rule the Communist world from behind the walls of the Kremlin. Our strong points in foreign lands are like NATO—instruments of defense and for security. If we are forced into war, they can become powerful offensive springboards enabling full use of our growing inventory of military hardware.

If any administration or Congress proposed to eliminate these bases or cut down on their maintenance, the public should raise an outcry which continued until common sense returned to Washington. There is no likelihood of any such action now or in the immediate future. In view of the Russian deeds in Hungary and the Middle East, the menace we have faced continues.

This past week, Premier Bulganin sent strongly worded and blunt communications to the Prime Ministers of Norway and Denmark, threatening all kinds of dire results if guided-missile bases are established on the territory of either sovereign nation. Neither of these fine, brave, little countries has reacted in a frightened way. Each is a stanch member of NATO and has airbases which can be used by NATO. Further, naval forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have maneuvered in their territorial waters and off their coasts.

DENMARK, NORWAY STAND FAST

It was the act of a brave, courageous nation, ruled by the principles of justice for Russia, with its 220 million population, to try and scare 4,500,000 Danes and 3,500,000 Norwegians. Moscow knows, as does the world, that Norway and Denmark have no aggressive military aspirations. Each country is devoutly democratic and dedicated to working for peace. There are only limited military forces in these Scandinavian nations, whereas Russia has the world's largest military machine mobilized. This is not to say that the Soviet juggernaut is necessarily the best or that Russia and the slave states could outproduce the free world.

The Kremlin keeps reminding Norway that there are 120 miles of frontier between Russia and that country. Also, that Soviet jet bombers could reach Copenhagen in less than 30 minutes.

Despite the huffing and puffing of the big Red bear, our friends and allies in Denmark and Norway are standing fast. Their adherence to NATO is greater today than ever.

When the world situation is considered from almost any aspect, it is obvious that our overseas bases are essential. They must be held at all costs now and for a long, long time to come.

Polish Constitution Day

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, at this time we join the Polish-Americans throughout the country in celebrating the 166th anniversary of Constitution Day. We look back at the brief period of freedom which the Polish people experienced under the Constitution of 1791 and we look forward to the day when they will again know individual liberty.

A limited monarchy was established in the spring of 1791 along with a biennial parliament and religious toleration. The old class distinctions that helped make life so difficult for the poorer people of the land were abolished. It looked like the dawn of a new day for Poland when she would join the growing ranks of democracies. But that same year a Russian army marched into Poland and erased all these advances. And it was not until the end of the First World War that Poland regained true independence and again began to control her own destiny. Hitler's invasion in 1939 put an end to this. The Soviet Red Army merely replaced it with another harsh rule by a foreign dictator.

Since the workers' revolt at Poznan last summer and the October uprising, the Polish people and the entire free world have regained hope that Poland may soon be free. But our optimism over the new liberties that appear to have been extended to the people and Gomulka's attempt at Polish independence should be tempered with realism. There is still strong Soviet influence over the Polish Government that has signed an agreement permitting the continued stationing of the Red army on Polish soil. Likewise, Poland remains a member of the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact. Besides this, the Gomulka government is a Communist government and its ability to continue to resist Soviet pressure is not at all certain. The future of Polish independence and liberty for the individual is truly perilous. The United States should, therefore, seek to strengthen the forces of freedom in Poland in every appropriate way, in order that it may move further away from Soviet Communist control.

It is my fondest hope that May 3 will soon be celebrated in Poland with the same freedom and independence as we enjoy here in the United States of America.

The Integrity of the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Washington Post of May 7, 1957]

THE INTEGRITY OF THE BUDGET

(By Walter Lippmann)

After the President returned from his Easter holiday in Augusta, the White House made it known that he will now campaign for his budget. It will be hard work. For while many a President has had to fight for his budget, President Eisenhower is in a specially difficult position.

He has to defend a budget which his principal financial adviser and he himself have discredited. It is this attack by the administration itself on the administration's budget which has unloosed the popular demand for big cuts in the expenditures. The President has now to reverse, or at least to arrest, a very strong tide of public opinion. He will probably consider himself fortunate if he can hold the cutting below $3 billion.

The President's position is weak because the integrity of the budget which he transmitted to Congress in January has been irreparably damaged by Secretary Humphrey, by Under Secretary Burgess, by the President's own hesitation, by the open opposition of Mr. KNOWLAND. Except for a handful of Eisenhower Republicans, all of them uncertain as to whether President Eisenhower is really with them, the President's budget has no active defenders.

It is not because the budget is so bad or because it imposes an intolerable burden on the taxpayers. The budget is quite consistent with the pledges in the platform on which the President was reelected last autumn. The items for foreign aid are no more than a part of the bill for the foreign policy which the country approved when it reelected Eisenhower. But a serious thing has happened. It is that the administration has destroyed confidence in the country that the budget has been competently and responsibly prepared.

The budget law fixes upon the President the responsibility for deciding what estimated expenditures and proposed appropriations are necessary in his judgment for the support of the Government. The prin-

ciple of the law lies in the words "necessary in his judgment." The law assumes, quite correctly, that the Chief Executive is in a better position than is anyone else, anyone in Congress, for example, to judge what funds are necessary for the conduct of the Government and the carrying out of the laws which Congress has enacted.

This does not mean that the President's determination of the amounts is final. It is not final. The last word is with Congress. But it does mean that in making a final decision, Congress shall have before it—so that it can act responsibly—the best judgment of the executive branch of the Government.

In the handling of the budget, the administration has violated the spirit and the intent, if not the letter, of the budget law. It has sent to Congress a budget which the Treasury has denounced as too big by several billion dollars. Thus Congress and the country have been told by the President's principal financial advisers that they should not trust what is supposed to be the President's budget—that Congress and the country shall not believe that all the funds are "necessary" which the President's budget says are necessary.

This has meant a breakdown of the Presidential budget system, and from this breakdown stems the rebellion which threatens not only the President's legislative program but also his foreign policy.

Senator LYNDON JOHNSON told the Senate last week that "the American people are giving us a clear and firm mandate to cut the administration's budget. Anyone who doubts that statement can have his doubts resolved quickly by traveling through his home State." There is no doubt that the popular mandate to cut the budget is strong. But is it also a clear mandate? How can it be clear when there is no one, literally no one, who is now in a position to explain the budget expertly and responsibly?

The budget, as Senator JOHNSON remarked later on in his speech, is 1,125 pages in length. It took a year to prepare it. Four hundred persons worked on it. It cost, just to prepare the budget document itself, $4 million. Having been completed, and as soon as it was transmitted, the document was discredited by the Secretary of the Treasury and irresolutely defended by the President. There can be no clear mandate under these conditions. There is instead the great loss of confidence in the budget which has encouraged everyone to attack any activity of the Government which for one reason or other he does not approve of.

How is confidence in the integrity of the budget to be restored? Not, we may be sure, by the usual generalities about peace and progress. There is no easy way to restore confidence, and at bottom everything depends upon whether the President has now acquired the convictions about his own budget which he did not have 3 months ago.

For unless the President has convictions that he has a sound budget—be it the present budget or a new one proposed in its place—the country will not have confidence in the budget, and every debatable item will be in jeopardy.

The Public Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I recently wrote the Director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress requesting information as to our gross public debt, and the interest paid thereon during the past several years.

Under date of April 22, 1957, I received a memorandum from the Legislative Reference Service in connection with the public debt interest paid and computed interest rate from 1949–57, which I herewith include in my extension of remarks.

The information follows:

Gross public debt, interest paid and computed interest rate, 1949–57

[Dollar amounts in millions]

Fiscal year ending June 30, except as indicated	Total gross debt (at end of period)	Interest on public debt (during period)	Computed annual rate of interest on marketable issues (at end of period)			
			Bills	Certificates	Notes	Treasury bonds
1949	$252,770	($5,339)	1.176	1.225	1.375	2.313
1949 (January–June)		2,922				
1950	257,357	5,750	1.187	1.163	1.344	2.322
1951	255,222	5,613	1.569	1.875	1.390	2.327
1952	259,105	5,859	1.711	1.875	1.560	2.317
1952 (as of Dec. 31)	267,391	[1] 2,966	1.915	1.897	1.755	2.320
Total, January 1949–December 1952		23,110				
1953 (as of June 30)	266,071	[2] 3,542	2.254	2.319	1.754	2.342
1954	271,260	6,382	.843	1.928	1.838	2.440
1955	274,374	6,370	1.539	1.173	1.846	2.480
1956	272,751	6,787	2.654	2.625	2.075	2.485
1957 (Mar. 31)	274,999	4,011	3.261	3.320	2.380	2.482
Total January 1953–March 1957		27,092				

[1] July–December.
[2] January–June.

Source: U. S. Treasury Department Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of the Finances, 1949 and 1956; Treasury Bulletin; Daily Statement of the U. S. Treasury, Mar. 29, 1957.

The Camel's Nose Under the School Tent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, no one has done a better job exposing the twisted and unreliable facts that have been spread for 25 years favoring Federal aid to education than Roger A. Freeman, whose article follows.

Mr. Freeman was formerly research director of the Education Committee of the United States Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Since most of our information in favor of Federal aid to education comes from the Federal Government itself—it is the source of figures, propaganda, publicity on a nationwide scale—it is important that we hear from responsible research personnel who know the contrary facts favoring the States and the people as the responsible source of education.

The article follows:

THE CAMEL'S NOSE UNDER THE SCHOOL TENT

(By Roger A. Freeman)

(Mr. Freeman, formerly research director of the Education Committee of the United States Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, was one of the committee of four assigned by the Committee for the Whole House Conference on Education to prepare an advance factual report on school finance and Federal aid. This article is condensed from an address before the Civic Federation, Chicago, October 31, 1956.)

The crisis in educational accomplishments in the United States has been observed by many persons. President Harold W. Dodds, of Princeton University, for instance, has said: "High-school graduates no longer have as firm a grasp on the basic three R's—with all that they imply—as they had a quarter century ago."

Three out of every four freshmen entering the University of Nebraska in the fall of 1955 were not prepared for regular college English courses.

Rudolph Flesch's Why Johnny Can't Read remained on the best-seller list for 37 weeks.

History has become a thing of the past in many public schools; geography, an unknown and uninhabited territory.

U. S. News & World Report relates: "Many students [in European countries, including Russia] at 16 have acquired an education that compares with that of an American college graduate of 20 or 22 years."

The educational testing service at Princeton found that 71 percent of a group of prospective teachers of elementary arithmetic have a long-standing hatred of the subject. They drop it in high school as soon as allowed, avoid it in college, and return to teach another generation to detest it.

In the past 5 years, engineering degrees fell to less than half in the United States while the Soviet Union was doubling its output of engineers.

Many see this crisis as due only to a lack of funds. And they feel that this can be cured by Federal aid.

FIVE FALLACIES

The case for more finances for the public schools is commonly based on five beliefs:

1. The schools are being discriminated against in the allocation of public funds.

The fact is that education has for many years been the largest item of public expenditure in the United States, next to national defense. Comprising about one-third of all State and local government expenditures, it is gaining on the other public services. Between 1900 and 1955 public school enrollment doubled, but school costs in price-adjusted dollars increased more than 12 times. The plain fact is that school funds have consistently risen faster than enrollment and are continuing to do so. The schools are not being discriminated against.

2. The schools are now receiving a smaller share of the national income than they used to.

The fact is that expenditures for public education in 1955 were 3.8 percent of the

national income—4.6 percent, if we leave out war-connected expenditures—as compared with 1.5 percent in 1900. The United States spends not only more money but also a larger share of the national income on education than any other country of record, according to the World Survey of Education by the United Nations.

3. The shortages of teachers and classrooms are getting worse and the schools are falling behind.

The fact is that the number of teachers in the public schools has consistently risen faster than the number of pupils. The teacher-pupil ratio has been:
teacher-pupil ratio has been 1:36.7 in 1900, 1:30.1 in 1930, 1:26.9 in 1955.

Much of the teacher shortage is due to inefficient use of the available teachers. We have tended to limit rather than extend the services of good teachers, in contrast to other professions. Despite the declining financial rewards of a college education as compared with the manual trades over recent decades, teaching has been doing better than other professions in attracting candidates; and last year only 1.2 percent of teachers in public schools left to accept other employment.

As to classrooms, there are many serious shortages all over the Nation, but they can and will be met if we will avoid waiting for Santa Claus or Uncle Sam to provide them.

4. The schools are being managed efficiently and are giving the most education for every dollar—but they are not getting enough dollars.

Since we are investing more money in education than in any other public undertaking except national defense, we should seek the cause of unfavorable results in how the money is being spent rather than in the amount we are spending. Dr. Clarence H. Faust, president of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, recently said that, as compared to the need for buildings and teachers and money for expenses, our school system "needs even more to find ways of making better and more effective use of its resources for the major purposes of education." Many communities are not willing to tax themselves more heavily for what today's schools are giving their children, yet nonpublic schools—despite their tuition charges—have been expanding three times faster than public-school enrollment.

5. The States and communities lack the fiscal capacity to take care of the school needs. Federal aid is necessary to provide adequate school support.

The fact is that there is no Federal aid except that taken from within the borders of the 48 States. The Education Committee of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations found no State economically unable to support an adequate school system, and concluded that Federal aid is not necessary either for current operating expenses for public schools or for capital expenditures for new school facilities. At the White House Conference on Education, the advance factual report of the committee of four on school finance and Federal aid was altered before it was laid before the participants, with some of the questions changed in such a manner as to make it difficult to vote against Federal aid. Yet the 1,800 conference participants found that no State represented has a demonstrated financial incapacity to build the schools it will need during the next 5 years. Though the citizens of even the low-income States are not anxious to receive Federal school aid, the Governor of prosperous New York pronounced in favor of Federal aid.

It appears that the sponsors of Federal aid have far more in mind than the $400-million-a-year initial program proposed. Their real purpose is to get a foot in the door, to get the principle of Federal responsibility for the schools established, and then prove in subsequent years that the amounts were far too small. Beardsley Ruml has already proposed that the Federal Government contribute $3½ billion or more a year to the schools.

REGULATION ACCOMPANIES SUBSIDY

It would be naive to assume that the Federal Government would spend several billion dollars a year for any purpose and have nothing to say on how the money is to be spent. Sooner or later Federal administrators would suggest that schools conform to their ideas of how they should be organized and administered. This is what has happened in all other major Federal grant-in-aid programs, as the amounts increased. History teaches that political power inevitably follows the power over the purse.

Judicial opinion has already been expressed on this point, as a matter of fact. The United States Supreme Court, in 1942, proclaimed:

"It is hardly lack of due process for the Government to regulate that which it subsidizes." [1]

A FATEFUL STEP

Federal aid in even small amounts, then, is but the first and fateful step in the nationalization of the public schools. And the dominant philosophy among these school administrators is just the opposite of improvement in educational standards and a restoration of learning in the schools. Instead, it is less emphasis on teaching the basic skills and more hours devoted to the social graces.

E. Smythe Gambrell, as president of the American Bar Association, last year declared his belief that Federal aid to the public schools could ultimately bring the destruction of freedom in this country; that it would be nothing short of a national calamity for the public schools to become dependent upon Federal aid.

President Eisenhower, while the head of Columbia University, once said about the proposal for Federal aid for schools: "Unless we are careful, even the great and necessary educational processes in our country will become yet another vehicle by which the believers in paternalism, if not outright socialism, will gain still additional power for the Central Government. * * * Very frankly, I firmly believe that the army of persons who urge greater and greater centralization of authority and greater and greater dependence upon the Federal Treasury are really more dangerous to our form of government than any external threat that can possibly be arrayed against us. I realize that many of the people urging such practices attempt to surround their particular proposal with fancied safeguards to protect the future freedom of the individual. My own conviction is that the very fact that they feel the need to surround their proposal with legal safeguards is in itself a cogent argument for the defeat of the proposal."

Again, in 1956, President Eisenhower warned of "the growth of a swollen bureaucratic monster government in Washington, in whose shadow our State and local governments will ultimately wither and die."

So while we hasten to attempt to cure the educational plight we are now in, we must not in our concern about a competitive race with Russia take steps making tragic prophecy of Abraham Lincoln's warning that "if this country is ever destroyed, it will be from within." What we must guard against is perhaps not so much the Soviets as our own tendency to yield to expediency instead of facing up to problems.

[1] U. S. Supreme Court, *Wickard* v. *Filburn* (317 U. S. 111, p. 131, October 1942).

Murray Should Stay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial which was printed in the magazine America in their issue of May 1957.

As it becomes known throughout our Nation that there apparently is no intention on the part of the President to reappoint Mr. Thomas E. Murray to the Atomic Energy Commission there is a growing wave of concern.

The fact that his 7 years of valuable service to the American people is being ignored and brushed aside, the fact that his great devotion to the welfare of humanity as shown by the high moral and spiritual content of his public statements is shocking to the sensibilities of our people.

The editorial follows:

MURRAY SHOULD STAY

We feel sure that President Eisenhower, despite the apparent abruptness of his remark at an April 17 news conference, is not going to brush aside the extraordinary written appeal of 11 of the 18 members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. These legislators asked the President to reappoint Thomas E. Murray to the Atomic Energy Commission when his term expires June 30. The President told a reporter he had not seen the letter and that executive appointments were his responsibility. No one will quarrel with the President on that, but if in the exercise of that responsibility he fails to give very serious thought to Mr. Murray's reappointment, somebody has evidently failed to brief him on a matter of immense concern to the Nation in the tortured realm of nuclear affairs. This review goes along with the estimate of Representative JOHN W. MCCORMACK, House Democratic leader, who said April 18 that there would be "joy and happiness in the Kremlin" if the President fails to keep Mr. Murray in the AEC. Indeed the Kremlin must recognize the cogency of Mr. Murray's constant plea for rational nuclear defense. We have enough big bombs, he says. Prepare rather for the needs of Soviet-inspired limited war, where we shall have to defend ourselves and our allies with a stockpile of small atomic tactical weapons.

What lies behind the seeming coldness of the President to Mr. Murray's reappointment? Warren Unna, AEC reporter for the Washington Post, gives some of the background in a May Atlantic article, "Dissension in the AEC." He writes:

"Although Murray is anxious to remain on the Commission, few people in Washington think that President Eisenhower will reappoint him to another 5-year term, or that [Adm. Lewis L.] Strauss [AEC Chairman] would tolerate it even if the President should get such a notion. Murray has been the only Commissioner to speak out whenever he is persuaded something alien to the public interest is going on behind the AEC's secrecy-protected doors."

Reporter Unna concludes that "once dissenter Murray passes from the atomic scene, the healthy give-and-take in determining AEC policy will pass with him."

If there was ever a time when give-and-take was needed in the crucial area of United States plans for nuclear defense and deterrence, it is now. Policies for the defense of the free world against Soviet aggression are doomed to be worked out in a charged atmosphere of propaganda, economic pressures, and worldwide fear of nuclear hazards. Typical of the dark clouds of uncertainty which loom over all discussions of the H-bomb are the openly contradictory estimates of the dangers of radiation issued in late April by missionary Albert Schweitzer and AEC chemist Willard F. Libby. People want to know where the truth lies. They will be a lot more likely to find out if Thomas E. Murray is on the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. Murray may or may not be reappointed when his term expires this June. If he is, we can confidently expect him to continue the profound public statements he has regularly issued. (See Morality and Security—The Forgotten Equation in America, December 1, 1956, pp. 258–262.) If he fails of reappointment, he has left one final summary of his balanced, nonpartisan thinking on atomic matters in the May 6 issue of Life magazine. In our opinion this essay makes more sense than anything we have yet read on our contemporary nuclear dilemma. Its author should stay on the Commission. This is no partisan plea. Like the Life article, it just makes sense.

Mentally Retarded Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under previously granted leave to extend my remarks, I include two extremely thought-provoking articles written by Blair Justice, of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram.

These articles appeared as part of a series on the subject of mentally retarded children. In these particular installments, Mr. Justice writes with deep insight of the effect produced by mental retardation upon the parents and families of these afflicted children.

The articles follow:

THE TRAINABLE—V: RETARDATION—IT HITS HOPES FOR THE CHILDREN FIRST, THEN COME PARENTS

(By Blair Justice)

"Death and illness, the average persons expects—no one, I guess, ever expects mental retardation of their child."

These are the words of Mrs. Herman Jones, whose husband is an Austin attorney. The Joneses didn't expect retardation of their child, but they got it.

It happened to their family just as it has happened to many other well-educated, unsuspecting people—people who are productive in society and had hopes their children would be, too.

"We went through the business of wondering what we had done to cause such a thing to happen," said Mrs. Jones.

"You see, it strikes you at about every vulnerable spot. It hits your hopes for your children, first, and your hopes for your husband and yourself. It hits your pride and it consumes emotional and physical energies and financial resources.

"It reflects itself in your other children who get the idea that they, too, are inferior. It makes you wonder what caused this to happen."

NORMAL DAUGHTER

The Joneses' retarded child is named Harris. He is 11 years old and now is in the Austin State School. The couple have a normal daughter, age 16.

"I wasn't aware of my child's mental deficiency," Mrs. Jones said, "until he was about 6 years old. I'd spent the previous years thinking of Harris as cerebral palsied—getting accustomed to the fact that he would never handle himself physically as other children, but having hopes that with determination, medical skill and prayers he could live a life not too different from a boy who had had polio. Except, of course, his speech was affected. Even that, I thought, would come eventually."

Mrs. Jones took Harris, after a long series of doctors, to a specialist in neurology and psychiatry. He told her that Harris would never grow beyond a mental age of 3 years.

"Later, I told my husband and he didn't say anything. He just looked at me straight."

Harris was being treated then at the Cerebral Palsy Center in Austin, which Mrs. Jones helped organize. The doctors at the center told her they didn't think the boy would benefit from further treatment there.

"Then," she said, "I had a visiting teacher from the Austin public schools come to our house and she was a sweet, understanding woman and we were straightforward with one another except we didn't touch upon the business of could he learn and could he retain what he learned—not for a long while."

SHUT OUT OTHER CHILD

And all this time there was the other child, the normal daughter.

"From the time I knew Harris was handicapped," Mrs. Jones stated, "almost until the time he went to the Austin State School, I shut her out.

"It was a ridiculous thing and I was aware of it, but I had no control. The one child needed help so desperately and I was convinced that time would run out so my energies were channeled, thrust, poured out on him. * * * We had gone to the Kabat-Kaiser Institute for Neuro-Muscular Diseases in Washington for 3 months and were supposed to return for several months of every year, but the exchequer dried up."

And all the time there was the need to keep going, to smile and talk with people, to go through the acts of living.

"Our house," she said, "was one to which few people ever came. You could almost cut the gloom. My daughter brought no one home because the children at school said, 'Your brother can't talk or walk or do anything.'

MISERABLE MEAL

"Once my sister and her husband came from Houston and brought a couple who had been in the University of Texas with all of us. They ate with us.

"I was cook, feeder of Harris, and hostess. It was a miserable meal because, try as my guests did, they couldn't keep their glassily horrified eyes off my child."

And all the time there was the helpless child and his silence.

"Here was a child," the mother said, "a part of one's being and spirit and there was no way of communicating—no way that this child and you could ever talk about anything, or differ, or know what was in the other's mind. And it would always be so.

"Then there was always the idea that stayed with me by day and woke me in the morning. What will happen to this child in case I died first? It was a persistent, eating idea and the memory of it even now will pull my nerves to the surface.

"And it is a universal, unceasing thought of parents of mentally retarded children. One by one, they tick off their relatives on their fingers and one by one, the parent realizes that probably none would care for a mentally retarded child.

"IT'S BONDAGE

"It is bondage."

This is one mother's story. It could have come from any of a hundred others. Mrs. Jones was not selected for the purpose of focusing attention on her and her family's problem—the problem, in essence, is the same in many families of the retarded. She was picked because she is a former newspaper reporter and she can describe what it is like to have a retarded child.

In the next story there will be others who also will help describe to those more fortunate what it is like.

And still there is the question: Why is it important to know?

THE TRAINABLE—VI: FOR EVERY MENTALLY RETARDED PERSON, LIVES OF 10 OTHERS ARE AFFECTED

(By Blair Justice)

"Patricia Ann was a very attractive baby and appeared outwardly normal at birth."

This is the way it begins in many families; this is the way it began for the George A. Parkers. Parker is a Fort Worth attorney, and this is his story:

"She was small and her slow mental development seemed almost in keeping with her physical progress."

The couple were concerned about their baby—this was their first—so they visited their family doctor.

"He allayed our fears with comments that children progressed at different rates and that there was no real cause for concern."

EXAMINATION SUGGESTED

But the worry recurred.

"By the time she was 3 years old, she had fallen behind to the extent that we were definitely concerned.

"Our family doctor recommended she be examined by a child specialist in whom he had great confidence and we obtained an appointment.

"In the meantime we started reading books on mental retardation."

The specialist diagnosed Patricia Ann as definitely retarded.

"He stated he knew nothing that could be done to restore her to normalcy and recommended that we consider private or public institutional care."

But the Parkers, as is natural with parents in such distress, could not accept the doctor's statement or his recommendation.

"The statement that medical science had not progressed to the point where it could cure the apparent injury to the brain just could not be accepted," Parker said.

DIAGNOSIS CONFIRMED

So the couple took Patricia Ann to Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, to the children's clinic there.

"If any help could be found, this was said to be the place."

But the original diagnosis was confirmed and there was nothing that could be done.

"No operation was recommended, no special medicines. She was condemned to mental retardation."

The Parkers went home and "our feeling of frustration seemed unbearable. We prayed; our close friends and relatives also prayed.

"We devoted a great deal of time to working with the child; we avoided social engagements and stayed to ourselves pretty much."

When Patricia Ann was 7, the Parkers enrolled her in a small private school for the retarded "in a beautiful country setting in Virginia."

"She is happy and comfortable, she is well taken care of and we feel we've done the best we can for her and for the rest of our family."

TWO NORMAL CHILDREN

Patricia Ann is now 18. The Parkers, who moved here from Washington, have a normal 13-year-old-son, John, and a normal 5-year-old daughter, Deborah Gay. The family lives at 2548 Walsh Court.

Although Patricia Ann is too old to qualify for any special classes in the public schools the legislature might provide, Parker has been active in support of the bill. He is president of the Fort Worth Council for Retarded Children.

Parents of the retarded—of which the Fort Worth Council is primarily composed—say they don't want sympathy for themselves. They want help for their children.

But the children are not all who are involved in the problem of retardation.

"* * * for every mentally retarded person the lives of 10 other people are affected," says the Board for Texas Hospitals and Special Schools.

NO HELP FOR OTHERS

No one is proposing that help, in the form of direct aid or financial support, be given the 10 other people affected by each case of retardation. But these people, authorities say, must be understood just as their children must be if the whole problem of retardation is to be helped.

Some self-styled realists discount the trainable bill before the legislature simply as a product of "pressure from parents, who are emotional about the subject."

The same critics, who say their view is detached and objective, ask:

"What would these classes be worth when you compare all the time and money put into them with the small amount of return you can expect from these children? The trainable will never be able to contribute."

Most authorities admit this is true. But, they ask, what about the return society loses from parents whose productivity is lowered by anxiety over the lack of opportunities for their retarded child?

GREATEST PROBLEM

"In terms of the total number of persons affected, the cost to society in care and loss of productivity and in terms of lifelong suffering to individuals and their families, mental retardation is one of the greatest single public health and social problems in the United States."

This also is from the hospitals and special schools board. It applies not only to the children but to parents and all affected.

Many of these parents are people of high intelligence and great potential. Their emotions and feelings are real, not only to them, but to society, which can be the loser as much as they.

But can classes for the trainable help, both the child and his parents?

In the next stories there will be before-and-after pictures of specific children who have been in these classes, classes that do not receive school allotments from the State.

Veterans' Administration Opposes Veterans' Provisions of Housing Bill, H. R. 6659

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, since the House Banking and Currency Committee did not hold hearings on H. R. 6659, the Veterans' Administration was not afforded an opportunity to comment on the specific provisions of the bill. In order that the views of that agency could be known as to those provisions of H. R. 6659 which specifically affect programs under the jurisdiction of the Veterans' Affairs Committee and administered by the Veterans' Administration, I have requested the Veterans' Administration to file a report on those portions of H. R. 6659 affecting veterans. The report of the Veterans' Administration is included herewith. The Veterans' Administration has stated that it is strongly opposed to the proposed veterans' preference program and the diversion of national service life insurance funds into FHA veterans' housing mortgages.

The report of the Veterans' Administration on H. R. 6659 follows:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS,
Washington, D. C., April 17, 1957.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TEAGUE: This will refer to your request of April 9, 1957, for the comments of the Veterans' Administration on H. R. 6659, 85th Congress, a bill to extend and amend laws relating to the provision and improvement of housing, to improve the availability of mortgage credit, and for other purposes. H. R. 6659, which was reported by the Committee on Banking and Currency on April 8, 1957, would be cited as the "Housing Act of 1957."

The provisions of this bill which would directly affect the operations of the Veterans' Administration are indicated in the analysis which is attached hereto and made a part of this report. In brief, this measure would (a) establish a new veterans' preference program under the jurisdiction of the Federal Housing Administration for the purpose of insuring home loans on liberal terms to persons eligible under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act for loan benefits but who have not heretofore obtained a home or farmhouse loan, (b) provide additional funds to the Federal National Mortgage Association for secondary market operations and special assistance purchases, (c) authorize the investment of not over $1 billion of the national service life insurance fund in FHA veterans' mortgages secured by property in areas of private capital shortage, (d) extend the voluntary home mortgage credit program for approximately 2 years, and (e) direct the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans' Administratoin to control discounts on FHA-insured, and VA-guaranteed, mortgages, respectively.

With reference to the proposed FHA veterans' preference program, it should first be noted that no benefits would be afforded veterans thereunder which could not be provided simply by increasing the interest rate on GI guaranteed and direct loans under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, from 4½ to 5 percent. Thus, in the final analysis, it would appear that the proposed FHA veterans' preference program is merely an indirect method of increasing the interest rate on veterans' loans. If the interest rate on GI loans were to be increased to 5 percent, as recommended by the administration, such loans would become competitive with FHA loans in the mortgage market and thereby enable veterans to obtain 5-percent loan financing while effectively retaining the protections afforded by the Servicemen's Readjustment Act and the implementing regulations of the Veterans' Administration.

A very basic policy consideration is raised by the proposed FHA veterans' preference program as to whether veterans' benefits should be concentrated in one agency, or scattered among a number of agencies. The legislative background of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act shows that there were those who urged that certain of the proposed benefits contained therein should be administered by other agencies. However, by placing all the basic programs of the act in the Veterans' Administration, the Congress adhered to the well-established policy of unifying veterans' benefits in a single agency. The Congress also recognized that the various basic programs under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act were so interrelated, with a common objective, as to require that they all be administered together.

These principles are believed to be as applicable today as when the Servicemen's Readjustment Act was enacted, and no sound reason is observed for now making an exception of the loan-guaranty provisions of the act, by placing outside of the jurisdiction of the Veterans' Administration a home-loan program intended to afford preferential treatment to veterans. It is believed desirable that an activity concerned with the investments of millions of veterans be administered by an agency which is necessarily alert to developments affecting their particular welfare, rather than by an agency which is responsible for a program of financial assistance for the general population.

Under the bill the Veterans' Administration would prepare certificates of eligibility for veterans desiring to obtain a loan under the FHA provisions, would maintain a staff to process the cases in which veterans do manage to obtain 4½-percent loans for guaranty, and would operate the direct loan program. It is apparent that the creation of 2 veterans' loan programs instead of 1 would present administrative difficulties and produce a divided administration which runs counter to the purpose of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act to provide efficient, and prompt but sympathetic service to veterans through unified direction of activities.

In addition to the extra expense involved in the maintenance of separate staffs within the FHA and VA for veterans' loan purposes, it should be pointed out that no saving to the Government could be anticipated by the administration of a veterans' loan program by FHA rather than VA.

Apart from considerations of basic administrative policy and economy, there is also for consideration the fact that, since very few veterans' 4½-percent guaranty loans would be made, the consequence of the FHA veterans' preference proposal is a dilution of the benefits now available. For example, downpayments on veterans' loans under the proposal, although one-half of that prescribed for nonveterans, would be substantially in excess of the maximum downpayments now required by Veterans' Administration regulations. In addition, it should be noted that there is no assured protection under the proposed veterans' program against the charging of sales prices which are in excess of the property's market value. Under the FHA system there is no sales-price limitation. The FHA limit is on the amount of the loan, with the buyer paying the difference between the sales price and the loan maximum in cash. It is natural for builders to endeavor to price their property at a level which would reimburse them for all costs involved, including discounts. Although under the bill the FHA Commissioner may establish a maximum sales price, this authority is discretionary only. Under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, a veteran may not pay more than the reasonable value of the property.

Among other considerations incident to the disparity between the advantages afforded by the Servicemen's Readjustment Act and those under the proposed veterans' preference program are the special pro-

cedures afforded to temporarily distressed mortgagors and the restoration of entitlement where property secured by loans has been taken from the mortgagor through no fault of his own (through condemnation proceedings, for example). It should also be noted that the payment of defaulted claims in cash under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act is a substantial inducement for lenders to enter into the Veterans' Administration loan-guaranty program. Payments of claims in debentures as proposed would undoubtedly deter some lenders from making loans to veterans who otherwise would do so.

In a report to your committee dated January 23, 1957, on H. R. 21, 85th Congress, the Veterans' Administration stated its opposition to the investment of a portion of the national service life-insurance fund in veterans' mortgages. The comments of the Veterans' Administration with respect to that measure are equally applicable to the provisions of section 205 of the subject bill which is similar in purpose. The mentioned report, which has been reproduced as Committee Print No. 10, is enclosed herewith for the convenience of the committee. It should also be noted that the requirement that the national service life-insurance fund be invested in mortgages on property located in geographic areas of serious private capital shortage within reasonable discount limits necessitates a distinction between reasonable and unreasonable discounts for mortgages originating on various terms, under various conditions, and in various geographic areas. Such a distinction, which would be required in connection with section 503 of the bill providing for the control of discounts, would be very difficult to draw in any case, but it would be almost impossible to determine with any degree of fairness what is a "reasonable" discount on 4½-percent loans in a market involving FHA housing loans bearing a 5-percent interest rate. In this connection the attention of the committee is again called to the Veterans' Administration report to the committee on H. R. 21, which included an analysis of a proposal in section 2 of the bill to control discounts.

The Veterans' Administration would have no objection to the provision in section 502 of the bill extending the voluntary home-mortgage credit program until July 31, 1959. It is noted that the Administration recommended a 3-year extension for this program.

For the foregoing reasons the Veterans' Administration is strongly opposed to the proposed veterans' preference program and the diversion of national service life-insurance funds into FHA veterans' housing mortgages.

Advice has been received from the Bureau of the Budget that there would be no objection to the submission of this report to the committee.

Sincerely yours,

H. V. HIGLEY,
Administrator.

The Indian's Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the so-called Indian problem is as old as the Nation and our policies have undergone many changes with the result that confusion seems to be the only consistent characteristic. The House will be interested in an article by George H. Dunne in the January 4, 1957, issue of the Commonweal, entitled "The Indian's Dilemma."

I was particularly interested in the proposals to encourage the individual initiative through Indian corporations administered by Indians to provide educational and economic opportunities for Indians. This idea parallels the provisions of H. R. 6943, my bill to provide for the establishment of a Minnesota Indian Administration for just such purposes.

Mr. Speaker, I also include a recent newsletter outlining some of the principal purposes of this bill:

THE INDIAN'S DILEMMA

(By George H. Dunne)

From time to time what is known as the "Indian problem" escapes from the prosaic and cloudy obscurity of statistical figures, Government reports, sociological analyses and impinges itself upon public consciousness with tragic and dramatic clarity in an incident like the death of Ira B. Hayes. One of the immortals of Mount Suribachi, he survived the terrors of blood-bathed Iwo Jima to die on a black night in January 1955, alone beneath the stars and desolate, on the cold desert near Phoenix, Ariz., a victim, the coroner said, of alcohol and exposure, a victim, more penetrating observers say, of the unresolved Indian problem.

After his return from war, Hayes could not find any life for himself on the reservation, any cultural pattern with which to integrate himself. There was nothing there to make life meaningful. On the other hand, he was totally unprepared to face life off the reservation. The record shows that Hayes made repeated efforts to integrate himself with the white man's off-the-reservation world and, alternately, as many efforts to discover on the reservation some form of living that had meaning. He who helped conquer Iwo Jima could not conquer frustration. Defeated, he lay down in the desert sands to die.

This is the real Indian problem which is, at the same time, a dilemma: On the one hand, the reservation does not offer a form of life with which the Indian can integrate and thus find himself; on the other hand, the Indian is almost totally unprepared to integrate imself with life off the reservation.

This is what created the problem: The white man destroyed Indian culture and failed to supply a substitute. As a result, the Indian moves in a cultural vacuum like a lost soul, condemned to wander forever in a meaningless void, at odds with the universe. Rare individuals manage to triumph over the insuperable odds which confront them; but for most it is a situation which leads to frustration and despair. It is, in point of fact, leading to the destruction of Indians on a grand scale.

What brought the Indians to this pass? All the muddled, often contradictory, policies which have characterized the Government's handling of the Indian problem over the years. First, we effectively destroyed the American Indian's way of life. Next, we isolated him on lonely reservations, making it impossible for him to integrate himself with the white man's way of life. Then, through the General Allotment Act of 1887, we authorized the division of tribal lands into individual parcels which, after a 25-year period of Government trusteeship, were patented in fee simple and made alienable. The Indian was, of course, totally unprepared for this step which by 1933 had led to the passing to white ownership of 91 million of the 138 million acres of land held by Indians in 1887. So, in 1933 we reversed our policy. Through the policies incorporated in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 we reinforced the reservation system, reestablished the principle of tribal ownership and sovereignty, discouraged talk of integration, and then, with a paternal smile, told the Indian he was now free to seek his own destiny. Having zagged in that direction until 1952 we are now, under the present administration, once more zigging in the opposite direction. The talk now is of withdrawal and of termination.

It is small wonder that the Indian is bewildered. Seek his own destiny where? Within the framework of his own culture which has been destroyed beyond possibility of revival? Within the framework of the paleface's culture which is not ready to accept him and which he is not prepared to accept?

The Indians once had a culture which, although primitive in character, enabled them to establish satisfactory relationships with their neighbor, with the world around them, and with the supernatural elements which, however erroneously they conceived them, they knew to be a part of the universe in which they lived. In their tribal, family, and social relations they had developed certain cultural values which enabled them satisfactorily to come to terms with their environment. The white man destroyed that environment and in the process destroyed the Indian culture related to it.

Twenty-seven years ago I heard an Indian chief describe with somber eloquence the gradual destruction of his people's culture. He was of the Coeur d'Alene tribe in Idaho. He was replying to the Catholic bishop who had just scolded the assembled members of the tribe for their failure to appreciate all that the white man's government was doing for them. His face stern as though carved in granite, his voice rich as the tones of a violincello, the chief recited the hundred years of infamous history during which extermination alternated with exploitation as a substitute for policy. With magnificent imagery he described the free way of life which had been destroyed by the white man and his government. In the end he affirmed that the only thing of value he and his people had received from the white man was his faith in the one true God, a gift brought by the Blackrobe. Now even this gift, he concluded bitterly, was being stolen out of the hearts of young Indians under the influence of the cheap bars, cheap movie houses, cheap dance halls in the white man's towns on the fringes of the reservation. When the chief had finished the bishop cleared his throat—and went home.

The other alternative proposed to the Indian, that he work out his destiny within the framework of the white man's culture, is not without its irony. Integration presupposes a readiness on the part of whites to receive the Indian into their cities, neighborhoods, schools, churches, shops, factories, laboratories. This is the key to the problem. Indians feel that whites do not want them. So again we find racial arrogance, the white man's idolatrous and degrading worship of the whiteness of his own skin, at the root of another one of our pressing national problems.

On the other hand, the Indians are not themselves prepared to find a way of life within the framework of the predominant culture of the white man. A great gulf separates the ancient ways of the Indian from our culture. Some Indians have bridged that gulf, chiefly those who have had a great deal of education. But they are relatively few. It is almost impossible for the average Indian to understand the white man's attitude towards the State, society, family, taxes, property, capital, labor, work and its motivations, money, religion and other essential elements of our culture. At the moment, for example, the most popular religion on the San Carlos Apache Reservation, despite long established Catholic and Lutheran missions both boasting numerically respectable memberships, is composed of a strange and

sad mixture of Catholic, Protestant and medicine man practices and beliefs. This is symbolic of the confusion in the midst of which the Indian lives as a result of the breakdown of his own culture and our failure to give him a satisfactory substitute.

The solutions proposed for the problem vary according as their proponents are more impressed by one or the other horn of the Indian's dilemma. Some urge a policy of withdrawal in two directions. Let the Government leave the Indians strictly alone. Let the Indians, having nothing to do with the white man's government or society, turn back to their own cultural milieu and find fulfillment in the preservation of their own primitive religious values, economic order, and social organization.

But for most tribes their way of life is destroyed beyond possibility of revival. It is not a question of whether they might prefer the world of yesterday to that of today. Whether it is more delightful to shoot a buffalo or to drive a tractor is for them an academic question. The buffalo are gone. If the Indians had not sold Manhattan Island to the Dutch; if the Dutch had not been followed by the English and the English by their rebellious colonists, the Americans; if millions of white men, lured by the promise of a new world, had not left their homes across the sea; if electricity had not been discovered nor the steam and combustion engines invented; if the march of history could have been halted 200 years ago, the state of the question would be quite different. But these, and thousands of other pertinent events, did happen. These facts and the conditions of living that have resulted from them constitute the real world with which we and the Indians must cope and within which we and they must live.

It may be possible for a small tribe such as the Hopi, which has succeeded in maintaining a kind of splendid isolation from the surrounding world down through the years, to live within its past. It is not possible for the larger tribes, many of whose cultural values were to begin with less durable, to isolate themselves. Even had their own culture not been destroyed, stark economic facts would prevent isolation. The reservations are simply incapable of supporting all the members of the tribe. A Stanford research study shows, for example, that with full development of reservation resources the San Carlos Apache Reservation in Arizona would still be unable adequately to support all members of the tribe.

Another approach to the problem is that of Oliver La Farge, longtime friend of the Indians and president of the Association on American Indian Affairs. Apparently chiefly concerned with the preservation of tribal entity, he opposes any weakening of tribal sovereignty and holds in anathema any policy which appears to him to lead in the direction of Government withdrawal or termination of the reservation system. All Indians recognize La Farge's proven friendship, but not all agree with him. They say the reservation is chiefly responsible for destroying the Indian as an individual. The reservation system is one of paternalism which makes the individual utterly dependent upon the Bureau of Indian Affairs and upon the tribal council. As they function under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the reservations constitute islands of state socialism in a society organized around the principle of free enterprise. The Indian owns nothing. The tribe owns everything. The habits and attitudes almost inevitably engendered by the very nature of the reservation system unfit the Indian for survival in our highly competitive society, in which, for better or for worse, the virtues of initiative, self-reliance, energy, and thrift are of paramount importance.

Those Indian leaders knew what they were doing who, like Crazy Horse, Sioux conqueror of Custer, long resisted bitterly every effort, whether of blandishment, threat, or force, to persuade them to bring their people into the shadows of the forts and surrender them to the paternal care of the Government. Before white treachery and cruelty drove the Sioux into rebellion, Crazy Horse, as a boy, had witnessed the corrosive effects upon Indian character of this mode of life. In the end he was forced by the sufferings of his harried and starving people to yield. Before he sank, an Indian Caesar, beneath the bloody knives of grinning jackals of treachery, he had already learned to regret his decision. For in the encampments assigned them outside the Army posts where Indians sat in idleness waiting Government handouts of food, clothing, tobacco, he watched the disintegration of character rapidly setting in. Crazy Horse was glad to die. Better death than decay.

If the reservation system is itself responsible for the evils which are destroying the Indian, the answer to the problem would seem obvious: abolish the reservation system. There are some who advocate such a course, among them those who would like to get their hands on mineral and land resources belonging to the tribes.

The problem is not so easily resolved. Indians, generally speaking, have over the years become so dependent upon the Indian agencies, so unaccustomed to rely upon themselves, that they cannot conceive of any other form of survival. Any suggestion of doing away with the paternalistic system fills them with terror. For much the same reason they oppose desperately any measure which seems to them to threaten tribal entity. With so much of his own culture destroyed, the Indian feels secure only to the extent that he can identify himself with his tribe. This is why he supports tribal ownership of land and all the other features of tribal sovereignty.

This is the attitude of probably the majority of Indians. They can hardly be blamed. With the buffalo gone from the plains, with hunger gnawing at their vitals, with the icy fingers of winter rattling their bones, the followers of Crazy Horse could not be blamed for begging him to give up. Surrender to paternalism had become the only means of survival. Now, however, it becomes increasingly evident that paternalism is only a more subtle form of death. It preserves the body, but destroys the soul.

An increasing number of enlightened Indian leaders realize this. They are aware that the attitude of the majority must be changed and this now deeply ingrained dependence broken down if the Indian is to solve his problem. These men are devoted to ancestral traditions and tribal ties. But they want Indians who are free to own their own homes, till their own soil on or off the reservation; and also free to move into American cities and enter fully into the business, labor, professional, and intellectual life of these communities.

Clearly this aim implies the end of the reservation system as presently constituted. The reservations must go. But they must not go until the Indians have been adequately prepared. The abandonment of paternalism must be a gradual process and must be carried out in such a way that the many legal and moral obligations which the Government has incurred, and so often violated, are scrupulously fulfilled. It is wrong to condemn out of hand every governmental policy which leads toward withdrawal, but it is right to scrutinize closely every such policy. It must be clear that the policy is not inspired by the desire to shirk responsibilities, but rather by the resolve to carry them out fully and in a way that best serves the American Indian.

If there is any one key to the problem, it is education. White communities must be educated to welcome Indians as neighbors. The Indian must be educated to the inevitability and desirability of integration. There can be no question of forcing integration upon him. He must be free to choose his own path. But persuasive efforts must be made to convince him that the present path of reservation paternalism leads but to the grave.

This educational task will not be easy. Who can blame the Indian who wants nothing to do with the paleface's culture? He has vivid memories of limitless wrongs. The scars are still livid. Can the Apache, whose people never practiced scalping, forget the bounties on Apache scalps collected by white men? Or the Sioux forget the unspeakable desecration of the bodies of their murdered wives and daughters? It will not be easy, with these memories still living, to persuade the Indian to merge with the white man's society; but, especially with the younger generation, it will not be impossible. This educational task will best be achieved by Indian leaders themselves.

Most important of all, the younger generations must be given an education that will equip them to enter fully into the mainstream of American life. They must be educated to understand and to cope with the problems of living engendered by a society organized around the principles of political freedom, socially regulated freedom of enterprise, private property, individual initiative.

This will be the most difficult task. The difficulty does not lie in any deficiency of intelligence on the part of the Indians, but in determining what kind of education is needed. Vocational schools may equip Indians to repair automobiles, build radio sets, drive tractors. But what kind of curricula and what sort of pedagogy is required to equip the Indian to understand and to evaluate the operative principles of the dominant culture which surrounds him and to enable him to weave into the fabric of his own psychology the positive values of that culture? What type of education will enable him, while preserving whatever of positive value remains of his Indian heritage, to become an integral part of American society?

What of the reservations themselves? What should ultimately be done with them? It should be kept in mind that they belong to the Indians. More exactly, they belong to the Indian tribes. Most Indians feel that the tribal land base must be maintained, else the tribes will disappear as entities. Even those who feel that the preservation of tribal entity is less important than the preservation of the individual from decay would be slow to advocate division of the land. Indians on the whole are scarcely more prepared to assume this responsibility today than they were at the time of the Allotment Act of 1887.

A proposal that is winning constantly stronger support is that each reservation, with all of its property holdings, be incorporated, each member of the tribe becoming a shareholder. One of the most earnest advocates of this plan is Thomas Shiya. He is not himself an Indian, but he served for several years as manager of the San Carlos Apache tribal enterprises, and from this vantage point he acquired first-hand knowledge of the Indian problem. In a recent speech, Mr. Shiya described this plan:

"Let's visualize, them, a corporation, owned by Indian stockholders who elect their board of directors, who will hire qualified management to operate the corporation for the profit of the Indian. Whether the Indian continues to live on the land or moves anywhere else to live, he continues to hold his share of the corporation stock and receives his share of dividends.

"The corporation will act as any land-holding corporation in America. Its responsibil-

ities on the land are economic. The other public responsibilities such as education, law and order, health, welfare, etc., will be delegated to Government agencies already serving the rest of the people in the country, State, and Nation. * * *

"To continue Federal responsibilities but to free Indians from Federal bureaucracy, the corporation will be responsible to three or more private citizens as trustees. These trustees, successful and experienced leaders of unimpeachable character * * * would oversee management in the operation of corporation affairs on behalf of the Indian stockholder."

In his speech Mr. Shiya outlined other details of this plan which he terms one of "trust management" and which he believes would "open the way to all the incentives, rewards, and goals that make America the leading economic nation of the world. The Indian as an individual, rather than the tribe, becomes important and foremost, the family can own its own home on its own land, public-school education can be put to use on Indian land, and, above all, Indian land becomes integrated with the Nation's economy—an asset rather than a liability."

There are many others who also believe that in this direction alone lies hope for the Indian. They admit freely that such a transformation of the reservations will involve casualties; but they argue that almost any solution of the problem would cause fewer casualties than does the reservation system itself. It is hoped that with such a transformation there will be fewer tragedies like that of Ira B. Hayes and more Indians equipped to come to terms with the world in which they live. The advocates of this trust-management idea fully realize that such a transformation will require long preparation. First must come the educational project and its implementation. This will take time. Yet, in the opinion of serious observers, there is no time to lose.

Meeting Discusses Indian Enterprises

(By Congressman Fred Marshall)

The recess of the Congress gave us an opportunity this week to hold a highly interesting and informative meeting with officials of the Bureau of Indian Affaifs to discuss the problems of Minnesota's Indian citizens.

Discussion centered on the economic conditions which are largely responsible for many of the other problems encountered by our Indian population. Indian representatives. Bureau officials, and Members of Congress at the meeting agreed that steady family income must be the basic consideration in any program.

A bill which I introduced at the request of Minnesota Indian councils after a long period of study and consultation was discussed in some detail, since its provisions reflect the practical problems facing the Indians of our State.

The bill would create a Minnesota Indian Administration which would bring the Indians themselves into cooperation with the State and Federal Governments in promoting activities that would help them build a stable economy and provide family income.

The administration would undertake activities such as land-use planning, research on marketing of Indian products, establishment of commercial enterprises, encouragement of private investment in Indian enterprises, road building, educational assistance, and improved housing.

Most of these activities are authorized under existing law, and some programs are now in effect and making progress. However, the Bureau explained that the great demand for services in Indian areas throughout the country and the limited funds and personnel available have hampered any intensive activity.

It was admitted that remarkable progress has been made among the Indians of Minnesota and that the Minnesota Chippewas are probably among those best able to move forward more rapidly in taking over their own affairs. This is the goal desired by the Indians themselves, and they ought to be encouraged in every way possible to assume their rightful place as first-class citizens.

The paternalism which too often characterized the activities of our Government in dealing with Indian problems failed in many serious respects, and it is obviously time to help the Indians help themselves. Their resources in Minnesota are plentiful but pitifully underdeveloped.

Our primary purpose is to assist in sound development of these resources so that self-sustaining enterprises will provide year-round employment. Such employment would of itself help to meet education and housing needs just as it does in other communities.

Some progress has been made in reforestation efforts and the principle of sustained-yield management is being applied to the timber harvest. But this is only one important element in the Indian economy and the success achieved with limited funds and limited personnel is an indication of what might be done in other areas.

Trained technicians are needed among the Indian people themselves and an expanded program of vocational education to give them the skills needed in modern undertakings would be an important step forward. The Bureau outlined plans for such a program and we hope it will be carried out as promptly and effectively as possible.

Industries based on Indian arts, harvesting of wild fruits, and charcoal production are all possible but require technical and business training. The capital investment in most of these enterprises would be small but the steady employment provided in production and distribution would be an important supplement to the seasonal timber and fishing industries.

The improved highways to be built under the new program are expected to bring many more tourists into our north country and the Indians should be in a position to provide resort and motel facilities and other services travelers expect.

The important point is that we must help the Indians take advantage of the potential which is theirs so they themselves can build a self-sufficient economy based on ownership and productive effort.

Addresses Delivered by Hon. John W. McCormack, Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Jr., and Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, at Bataan-Corregidor Memorial Dinner, Washington, May 6, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, last night we witnessed a great event when a memorial dinner was held at the Mayflower Hotel to commemorate the 15th anniversary of Bataan and Corregidor. The speeches delivered are food for thought. Two of our colleagues, the Honorable John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, and the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Jr., also of Massachusetts, were conferred one of the highest decorations of the Philippine Government—the Philippine Legion of Honor in the degree of Commander. This shows that the Philippines does not forget its friends. It is an excellent attribute for any action to give recognition to those who have served it. This the Philippines has done and continues doing.

There is a message in General Romulo's speech that we should all heed. It is a message that will help us in the solution of national and international problems facing our Nation. At the same time, the speeches by Majority Floor Leader McCormack and Minority Floor Leader Martin convey to the Filipino people our gratitude for their loyalty to democratic ideals and their unswerving determination to continue fighting for such ideals. Those who doubt America's abiding faith in democracy should have been at the Mayflower Hotel last night and should have witnessed that wonderful friendship between two nations of two different races. It was both uplifting and encouraging.

The following are the citations:

Award of the Philippine Legion of Honor (Commander)

By direction of the President, pursuant to paragraph 2e, section I, AFPR G 131–051, this headquarters, dated January 21, 1954, the Philippine Legion of Honor in the degree of Commander is hereby awarded to: Majority Floor Leader John W. McCormack, of the United States House of Representatives, for exceptional and distinguished service to the Republic of the Philippines as a legislator and statesman. Majority Floor Leader John W. McCormack, as one of the stanch champions of the cause of Philippine independence, voted for the legislation which granted first autonomy and subsequently the complete independence of the Philippines. He has consistently shown a sympathetic and abiding interest in Philippine affairs and supported such legislation as the Philippine War Damage Act and other important rehabilitation and trade measures for this country. A courageous and farsighted liberal, he sponsored the historic resolution that pledged the United States to support the freedom of colonial peoples. His assistance and counsels have always been available to Philippine representatives to the United States of America. By his invaluable service, Majority Floor Leader John W. McCormack affirmed himself as a true friend of the Filipino people.

By order of the Secretary of National Defense:

Alfonso Arellano,
Lieutenant General, AFP,
Chief of Staff.

Award of the Philippine Legion of Honor (Commander)

By direction of the President, pursuant to paragraph 2e, section I, AFPR G 131–051, this headquarters, dated January 21, 1954, the Philippine Legion of Honor in the degree of Commander is hereby awarded to: Minority Floor Leader Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of the United States House of Representatives, for distinguished service to the Republic of the Philippines as a legislator and statesman. Minority Floor Leader Joseph W. Martin, Jr., has shown through the years consistent friendly interest in the Philippines, as the former Speaker, and as the incumbent minority floor leader of the United States House of Representatives. He showed sympathetic understanding of a people's love of freedom by voting for the legislation which ultimately granted complete independence to the Phil-

ippines. He is a friend and counselor to the Philippine representatives to the United States of America whose task he has made easier by his invaluable assistance and cooperation in the enactment of legislation for Philippine veterans, the Philippine War Damage Act, rehabilitation and trade measures, and other important legislations for the Philippines. Minority Floor Leader JOSEPH W. MARTIN's invaluable service is a manifestation of his continuing and lively interest in the welfare of the Filipino people.

By order of the Secretary of National Defense:

ALFONSO ARELLANO,
Lieutenant General, AFP, Chief of Staff.

Following is the speech of Minority Floor Leader MARTIN:

REMARKS OF JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., MINORITY LEADER, UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UPON RECEIVING THE DECORATION CONFERRED ON HIM BY THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT—LEGION OF HONOR WITH THE RANK OF COMMANDER—AT THE BATAAN-CORREGIDOR MEMORIAL DINNER, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 6, 1957

General Romulo, Mr. Justices, members of the Cabinet, my colleagues of the Senate and the House, ladies and gentlemen, I am grateful to your government for this honor. I treasure it because it is a symbol of the friendship that links our two countries as allies united by a common ideology. I welcome it as a token of your pepole's appreciation of the collective wisdom of our Congress in passing such legislation as has shown to the world America's faith in the ability of the Filipino people to govern themselves. In all humility, I accept it with the expression of my profound gratitude to President Garcia and the Filipino people. In compliance with our Constitution, I will deposit this decoration with the State Department until Congress has passed a law authorizing its acceptance.

When we look back at Philippine-American relationship one central fact stands out. It is that we have faced together many problems, some of them apparently insoluble, a number of them affecting fundamentally the relations between our two countries. There were times when certain irritants seemed to make it impossible for us to come to a solution. There has not been one single instance, however, when after a mutual exchange of ideas, after negotiations had been conducted by the leaders of our two peoples, when we did not come to a satisfactory solution mutually accepted by both our countries without the impairment of the dignity and honor of either. We have lived together in good faith and good will.

I believe this is a lesson from which the world can profit. Where there is honesty and justice and mutual respect there is real friendship. This is what has united our two peoples. To this we owe that unforgettable Filipino loyalty shown in Bataan and Corregidor. I do not believe anything can destroy or undermine the friendship of our two countries. It was born out of mutual loyalty, your loyalty to us, and our loyalty to you. We may make mistakes. You may also makes mistakes. We are far from perfect. What counts, however, is not the errors but the sincere desire that is evinced by you and by us to admit those errors and to correct them.

We look with pride at the progress achieved by your people. A recent instance of this is the vitality of your democracy. When your great leader, the late lamented President Magsaysay suddenly died in an airplane crash, his unexpected disappearance from the Philippine scene as its head of state could have caused an upheaval similar to that which has happened in other countries when faced by a similar emergency. To the credit of your people no such upheaval took place. You followed the even tenor of your democratic ways. Your Vice President took over and it is a tribute to him and to your country that he is carrying on in a manner that shows your maturity as a nation imbued with democratic ideals.

To President Garcia who has announced his avowed policy to fight communism and neutralism and to strengthen the relationship between our two countries goes my best wishes for a successful administration. I know he can count on the same cooperation from America as his predecessor. To you, Mr. Ambassador, serving your people here in Washington in a manner that has won the admiration, the affection and respect of all of us, my deep appreciation for this award which, in behalf of your Government, you have so generously conferred on me tonight.

Perhaps nothing can characterize the effectiveness of your work as Philippine Ambassador more appropriately than to recall what the late Vice President Barkley once said when as Foreign Secretary of your Government you came to Washington in 1950. At a luncheon at the Capitol which he gave in your honor he quipped—"When Churchill or Romulo come to Washington we should double the guard at Fort Knox."

Mr. Barkley, of course, was indulging in a little humor, for which he was so famous. But it did illustrate the aggressiveness and the effectiveness of a great Ambassador's representation of a great country. General Romulo is one of the strongest forces for freedom in our world today. A hero in war, General Romulo has continued his outstanding service to his country in peace. May the good Lord spare him to serve his nation for many years to come.

Again thank you, Mr. Ambassador, for this award which will be one of my most cherished possessions as long as life shall last.

Following is the speech of Majority Floor Leader MCCORMACK:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE HONORABLE JOHN W. MCCORMACK, MAJORITY FLOOR LEADER, UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UPON RECEIVING THE DECORATION CONFERRED ON HIM BY THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT—LEGION OF HONOR WITH THE RANK OF COMMANDER—AT THE BATAAN-CORREGIDOR MEMORIAL DINNER, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, MAY 6, 1957

General Romulo, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Justices, members of the Cabinet, my colleagues of the Senate and the House, ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply touched and honored by the citation and I only hope, in all humility, that I will continue to deserve it. I receive the award conscious of the fact that the collective action of my colleagues in the House of Representatives made possible the legislation mentioned in the citation. I accept the award coming as it does from a people with whom I am happy to have been associated through the years both by political persuasions and by religious ties. I accept this award on behalf of my constituents without whose support this would never have been possible. They, too, share my admiration and affection for the Filipino people. Thank you, General Romulo, and please convey my appreciation to President Garcia and to the Filipino people for this honor that they have conferred upon me. I will deposit the decoration with the Department of State and will accept it when Congress gives me its approval. The honor and the decoration will always be one of my treasured possessions.

It is true that my relationship with the Filipino people has been a close and happy one. I hold them in high regard because of their loyalty to the ideals of freedom and democracy. I admire them also for their religious faith. With their representative here in Washington, Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, I am linked by close personal ties of friendship and esteem. Wherever there are men and women throughout the world who love liberty, General Romulo is deeply admired and respected. I respect him for his devoted service to his people. In the House, when he was our colleague as Resident Commissioner, he fought for the Philippine Rehabilitation Act and for the Philippine Trade Act, to get, through them, as much as he could, the best concessions for his people. The cause of the Filipino veterans he espoused with vigor and determination. He has come to me time and again to expound the side of the Philippines on matters before the House. In the United Nations, he has won world acclaim. He is a patriot and a statesman and the Philippines must be proud to have a spokesman of his character and ability.

I see in this award, Mr. Ambassador, a veritable symbol of the lasting friendship between the Filipino and American peoples. It is a friendship which has been tested time and again in fruitful collaboration since the beginning of the century. It was sealed in blood on the European battlefields of World War I, on the historic battlefields of World War II, in Bataan and Corregidor, and on the battlefields of Korea in the United Nations collective action against the Red Chinese and North Korean aggressors. It has been tested in the halls of the United Nations where, led by General Romulo in the Security Council, the Philippine fights for the cause of non-self-governing countries as well as for the cause of the underdeveloped areas of the world. This is a cause that it is the traditional American policy to follow. It was reiterated in a joint resolution which it was my privilege to sponsor on the floor of the House last year, and unanimously approved.

Against this background of friendship, we are gathered here tonight to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the fall of Bataan and Corregidor. Too much has been said about the fact that Bataan and Corregidor were a defeat. They were a defeat of the flesh, which could no longer endure the onslaught of superior arms and superior numbers. But they were, on the other hand, a victory of the unconquerable spirit of man. This man was of both East and West, fighting side by side for an ideal that he believed in, that he had hoped to pass on to his children with undiminished vigor. His action was the very heart of courage, as Walter Lippmann called it.

And we can pay tribute to his memory not by what we say here, but by what we do now and in the future to secure for the men, women, and children, who are his heirs the permanent blessings of a life with justice and a life free from want and poverty and conflict, a worldwide regime that not only passively respects but militantly fights for human rights.

This is the transcendental achievement we are called upon to do. The world has progressed immeasurably since the middle ages, indeed since the 19th century. But while there are parts of the world which live in peace and contentment, the rest of the world subsists in conditions of misery, squalor, and fear.

Asia and Africa are two vast continents seething with unrest and ferment. Their peoples are engaged in the historic struggle of man for liberty and political and economic freedom. Since the end of World War II, we have seen 19 of these countries emerge as free and independent states, jealous of their rights and responsibilities. They are engaged in the momentous struggle of nation building, and they will no longer be denied the fruits of the renaissance, however late in coming. It is for the free world to see to it that they gain and share in the economic largesse of the earth, lest they

fall for the blandishments of a godless communism.

Already, in September 1953, the United States announced its atoms-for-peace plan before the General Assembly of the United Nations. That was a momentous decision in this mid-20th century. It is calculated to bring, not the scourge of total destruction upon mankind, but the benefits of technology and science, to the less fortunate people and the underdeveloped areas of the world, so that they may begin to know the blessings of economic prosperity. Until this is done, our battle against hunger and poverty is not won, and Bataan and Corregidor would simply be a dim memory of the past.

Our friendship for your people we have shown in many tangible ways. Recently our government decided to make the Philippines the nuclear research center in Asia. This decision was made in favor of your country despite the insistence of several other countries in Asia that they be favored with such a center. This was a decision that revealed not only our friendship for the Philippines but our faith in your ability and competence to undertake such a great project. This means that we have selected you for leadership in your section of the world on a subject of paramount importance to all humanity such as nuclear research. This, aside from the fact that we have entered into a bilateral agreement with you to provide you with an atomic reactor.

When we passed the Philippine Rehabilitation Act, it was in the full knowledge that the United States has never paid any war claims in the past even to our own fellow countrymen devastated by our civil war. But this we did for you as a small token of our gratitude for your loyalty. True, it is far from adequate, it is certainly not meant as a compensation, but considering that we have never done it in the past, you can understand that it was really a sincere recognition, no matter how insignificant, of what was done by those whose memory we honor tonight.

When you came to us, as President Magsaysay's special envoy, to ask for the extension of the philippine Trade Act and later, when you appealed to us for the approval of the revised Philippine Trade Act, despite the pressure of other important legislation pending then in Congress, preferential attention was given your plea. The Philippine Trade Act was enacted by us in 1946 because we thought you needed it to cushion the economic effects of independence. When you came to us 10 years later to ask for modification that would benefit your people, Congress readily met your views. I can mention other instances wherein we Americans have consistently shown our interest in and friendship for the Philippines. I am citing these few examples out of others that I need not belabor here because tonight is also a night of remembrance and of recollection to recall Philippine loyalty to the United States and United States loyalty to the Philippines, friendship—real friendship and loyalty between our two countries. This is also explained by the fact that we worship the same God and we believe in the spiritual and moral values which an atheistic ideology such as communism rejects and proscribes. Indeed, our battle, ladies and gentlemen, is not merely a battle for the mundane and material things of the earth. It is far more than that. Our battle is really in the realm of the spirit. It is a struggle for men's minds and men's hearts. It is a pitting of ideas against the Communist ideology, the core of which is world domination and the enslavement of man. We have no doubt that our democratic ideals—that man is endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—are the superior ones. We have no doubt that democracy, which extols the dignity of man and the paramountcy of his well-being, and that Government is the servant and not the master, will triumph in the end against an ideology that will keep him forever shackled as a slave, a mere pawn. Because this is the heart of our belief, we must strive to give life to it without letup, and in an affirmative and dynamic manner.

The American people are committed to the defense of human rights and freedom. Such a dedication was epitomized by the grant of independence to the Philippines in 1946. And to pursue these ideals, the United States has forged an alliance with many countries of the Free World. This alliance is meant not for aggression, but for self-defense, and for self-preservation enabling nations and peoples, large or small, to attain their national objectives in accordance with their cultures under governments of law in a world of peace. We still give the enemy no reason to miscalculate.

The leaders of the free world have shown the courage to stand and be counted with the forces of freedom. Such a leader was the late lamented Filipino patriot, Ramon Magsaysay. The free world has lost a fearless leader dedicated to the democratic cause. His life was short, but it was a full life dedicated as it was to the service of the common man who loved him and whom he loved.

It is fortunate that his successor is a man as uncompromising in his determination to fight communism and neutralism, no less farsighted, and no less idealistic, and who quickly and effectively dispelled the fear that was expressed in some quarters after Magsaysay's tragic death, that the Philippines might go neutral or drift into the Communist orbit. President Carlos P. Garcia has taken over the duties of President under constitutional processes, bringing to his new office a wealth of experience in the service of his people. He pledged shortly after assuming the office of the presidency, "I can only tell you I shall carry out every item of the Magsaysay program to its full realization." The free world can count on him, as it counted on Magsaysay. He is a stanch champion of freedom just as Magsaysay was. As the real friendship of our two countries continued and was strengthened, under the late president, so will it continue to strengthen under President Garcia. It can be said without contradiction that our relationship is more than friendship—that the family relationship of brothers exists between our countries and our peoples.

Men died on Bataan and Corregidor, but the cause for which they fought lives on. Magsaysay fought for such a cause; Garcia is fighting for it himself; and men who have known the blessings of liberty will forever fight for it. I associate myself with the stirring words that:

"Bataan has fallen, but the spirit that made it stand—a beacon to all the world—cannot fail. * * * Our defeat is our victory."

Let us make that victory permanent and with an unfaltering trust in an Almighty, we cannot fail.

Following is General Romulo's speech:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY GEN. CARLOS P. ROMULO AT THE BATAAN-CORREGIDOR MEMORIAL DINNER, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, MAY 6, 1957

We have lived through half a generation since the glory of Bataan and the martyrdom of Corregidor. We have survived a great war, and several lesser wars, and the overhanging threat of a future conflagration. We have survived victory, and we have even survived "this peace of mutual terror" that followed victory.

Tonight we meet once again to recall the inner meaning of the blood brotherhood between the American people and the Filipino people that was sealed on that little peninsula and on that little rock whose names are enshrined in the histories of both our countries.

The rhythm of these annual remembrances was broken this year by the tragedy that befell our people. A son of the Philippines, a warrior in the cause of human freedom and understanding, died suddenly at the very height of his career, before his work was done.

A few moments ago I asked you to rise with me and stand in silent tribute to the memory of a great man, Ramon Magsaysay. Many noble words have been uttered about President Magsaysay, and perhaps each of us repeated them in our hearts just now. But I would add to all of these another word of tribute, which President Magsaysay might have been proudest to hear—a tribute to my people, and to yours. And it is this:

Ours is a young Republic. We have enjoyed our independence hardly 11 years. Yet, when the duly elected President, the darling of the masses of his countrymen, met sudden death, in all the outpouring of grief and bewilderment there was never a moment of faltering in the orderly processes of our governmental machinery. The duly elected Vice President, Carlos P. Garcia, took office in keeping with the Constitution of the Philippines, and quietly and efficiently assumed the duties of Chief Magistrate of our Republic.

As a member of the diplomatic corps, it would hardly be proper for me to suggest to you the names of the many nations—some of them much larger than the Philippines, some of them much longer experienced in the ways of self-government—where such an orderly transition would not have occurred. Fortunately for my diplomatic standing, you can all name such countries for yourselves.

I need only tell you that I am proud of the way in which my countrymen in the Philippines demonstrated the vitality of their devotion to constitutional government, the maturity of their political philosophy, and the stability of their political understanding. In time of stress the true nature of a man or a nation shows itself. We have gone through such a time, our people have shown their wisdom, their restraint, and their solidity.

We have, in sum, met our national affliction just as, on occasion in the past, you have met yours in the United States. The reason for this is that, on top of our own cultural heritage as Filipinos, on top of the faith and culture we acquired from the Spaniards, we in the Philippines took to our hearts the democratic ideals, the respect for constitutional law, and the desire for orderly government, which are today the hallmarks of both the American and Philippine democracies. What we have learned from you, we have learned well.

Today, we can perhaps begin to repay our philosophical debt to America. There was a time, in the past, when we were the learners and you the teachers. Now, in our new world of nations rapidly arising from the somnolence and colonial subjugation of past centuries, we may be able to convey to you a message that can help you understand and sympathize with those whose understanding and sympathy you need to win.

So, on this anniversary of Bataan and Corregidor, I ask you to look ahead with me for the next 10 or 15 years, rather than back at the past we know so well.

The United States, as the leader of the free world, now finds itself involved in the political turmoil and deep social and economic problems of peoples in places that had only recently been terra incognita for you. The Middle East is on your doorstep. Your sailors and marines spend their pay in Beirut because you choose to exercise the deterrent power of a show of force to maintain peace. Your newspapers shriek to the editorial skies because your diplomats cannot speak the languages of Laos, or Indonesia, or Ghana—

for suddenly such countries have become important to you.

At the precise moment when the world has been shrunk to the size of an orange by the rapidity of transportation and communication, at the very time when a creeping contagion called communism spreads out over the face of this tiny globe, there has come the awakening of the sleeping giants all over the world—the peoples who have thrown off the shackles of alien rule and have chosen to master their own destinies.

Asia and Africa are afire with a new nationalism. This powerful force, which in a different incarnation gave Europe its bloodiest centuries and its most magnificent civilizations, can now do the same, one or the other, in the rich and vast continents peopled by human beings in the billions.

Your survival—and that of freedom itself—depends on your capacity to recognize what is happening in the world; and, having recognized the nature of the upheaval, on your ability to act with wisdom and imagination.

I do not tell you this in a critical mood. I talk to you as a true and loyal friend. I tell you this because I truly believe that the fate of every person who believes as you do, the fate of every nation committed to the cause of freedom, is bound up in the actions of the United States of America. If you should choose unwisely, if you should make a false move in the battle for men's minds and souls and bodies, if you should betray yourselves and your principles, if you should lose the cold war either on the battlefield or at the conference table, then the whole free world will go tumbling down with you. We are all intertwined in our mutual responsibilities, and precisely because you carry the load of leadership you must take with good grace, and with deep thought, the friendly opinions of the rest of the free world.

Your President traveled virtually from his sickbed to meet personally with the heads of 20 Latin American States. Your Vice President traipsed all over Africa shaking hands with tomorrow. Your Secretary of State has visited more than 40 countries in his search for peace and friendship. Your Senators and Congressmen also travel all over the world to get firsthand information about other countries and peoples. These are the signs of your recognition of the strange new ways in which America must show her leadership.

They are good signs, but they are essentially outward symbols. What the New World of new nations look for, even more than symbols, is evidence of American understanding, of American acceptance, of American recognition of their equality in the society of man.

And that is where the Philippines enters the picture, beyond the great tradition of intimate friendship that has been built up between our two peoples over the past half century. The fact that, in your one great adventure into colonialism, you retreated almost before you began, has been a powerful weapon in your arsenal of democracy. You came to the Philippines, you saw, but you did not conquer. Instead, you worked with us, and learned with us, and out of the relationship emerged your promise to help us achieve and assure our independence. That promise went through the purification of fire 15 years ago tonight. And in 1946 the promise came true.

That piece of history has been a tower of strength in your dealings with other colonial nations. For they recognized that America was different from the other western nations, different in that it had no need or desire to become an empire.

I believe this piece of history was one of the most important reasons why, during the past decade, the new and subtle imperialism of Communist Russia made no greater headway than it has so far. But we are familiar enough with the weaknesses of the human character to know that recollection of the past does not long survive. In the minds of the new peoples of the Eastern World, the test is not yesterday and not tomorrow, but today.

At this very moment, the nature and quality of American friendship with the Philippines is under test. The scrutiny exists among my own people, quite naturally, but it is even more acute among the billion human beings whose ultimate choice may determine the outcome of the struggle between freedom and democracy, on the one hand, and slavery, tyranny, and totalitarianism on the other.

They are asking the questions now. They are demanding the answers. And the very power of their numbers, the very strength of their strategic locations, requires that their questions be answered.

Since they are suspicious of all outsiders, injured as they have too often been by their contacts with foreigners in past generations, they do not take you on faith, as we of the Philippines have learned to do. They are waiting to see whether all the years of mutual loyalty between two friends from different worlds, the Americans and the Filipinos, can be marred by misunderstanding. They are waiting to see whether the United States will maintain an absolute respect for the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines. This is fundamental. They are waiting to see whether the relationship between our two countries will continue to be that of equals or whether there will be an unwitting deterioration into a semblance of the master slave relationship that exists between the Soviet Union and her so-called friends—whom we call, more accurately, her satellites or even her colonies.

For our part, I need not assure you that we wish nothing more and nothing less than equality. We wish this in our own behalf and in your behalf as well. The Philippines gladly chooses the title of friend and ally; it honors you as well as it honors us. We will never accept the title of colony or satellite; it would dishonor you and degrade us.

I do not believe the choice will ever have to be made. I repeat, I am confident, knowing you as I do, that no such choice will ever be made. That there are differences of opinion between us is natural and even healthy. That occasionally our tempers rise is normal. The unity of friendship, the comradeship of alliance, does not impose on you or on us the necessity to be silent, or to accept that with which we do not agree. It imposes on us—on each of us—the loyalty that comes with candor, with forthrightness, and with integrity. That is the kind of friendship that has grown between our two peoples, and it is the only kind of friendship worth having.

The next decade will test that friendship. Because it is a strong friendship, the test will make it all the stronger. That is what I believe. I hope you believe it, too.

For I say to you that what is at stake is something even more precious than the land I love, the Philippines—and more precious than your own beloved country, the United States. What is at stake is the very future of the human race. Only if the East and the West can truly meet on an equal footing, only if you can show your respect for the national sovereignty, the aspirations, the needs, and the problems of the nations that have just been reborn, only if you can adjust to the revolution of the 20th century, can the human race hope to achieve the liberty, the prosperity, the happiness that is the dream of civilized man.

The men who died on Bataan and Corregidor offered that which was most precious to them—their own lives—on the altar of human freedom and human friendship. We who survive have an obligation to them that cries out to be repaid. We owe them the continuation of the battle. We owe them the never-ending pledge to carry on until all the peoples of the earth see the birth of a new freedom, a new brotherhood, and a new and lasting peace.

No Changes Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Camden (S. C.) News of May 2, 1957:

NO CHANGES NEEDED

Josephine Ripley, Washington correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, in a dispatch to her paper, says that Congress is not believed to be in any mood for a drastic overhauling of the Nation's immigration laws.

The correspondent also reports observers see no fundamental change in immigration theory on either side of Capitol Hill. Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, coauthor of the present McCarran-Walter Act, is in a strategic position as chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration to oppose any efforts to change the law, the correspondent says.

However, in an article in Human Events, Mr. WALTER tells of the intensive effort being made to alter the law. He says:

"Spearheaded by the Communists, their fellow travelers, congressional liberals, and spokesmen for the so-called ethnic minority blocs, the assault on America's immigration system is increasing in intensity every month. Attempts to amend or abolish the Immigration and Nationality Act—generally referred to as the Walter-McCarran Act—have become standard operating procedure at every session of Congress since passage of the act in 1952.

"In the closing hours of the Congress last year, those who are bent on wrecking our protective immigration system came within a hair's breath of accomplishing their job of destruction. On the very last day of the session, Senators ARTHUR WATKINS and EVERETT DIRKSEN, in an unprecedented move, appended to a routine bill a series of amendments which would have demolished the national origins quota system and opened the floodgates."

Mr. WALTER, because of the fact that he was chairman of the Immigration Subcommittee in the House was able to head off adoption of these amendments.

These amendments have been introduced again at the present session and Mr. WALTER warns that unless the rank and file of patriotic citizens—at the crossroads of America—demand of their Senators and Congressmen that they vote against these weakening amendments, they are likely to be adopted in response to the mounting clamor of leftist organizations.

Mr. WALTER points out that the Committee on Un-American Activities recently disclosed that the Communist Party has created over 180 organizations for the purpose of bringing grassroots pressure on the Congress to destroy the Walter-McCarran Act. At the recent convention of the Communist Party in New York City, the destruction of this law was 1 of the 2 legislative objectives on which the twenty-odd thousand Communist agents in this country were ordered to concentrate during this year."

There is no need whatever for any tampering with the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act. It is the best immigration law this country ever had and it was the result of 4½ years of exhaustive hearings and painstaking research.

It would be well for every one to let his or her Congressman and Senators know that they want no tampering with this law.

Low Dam Subsidy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the editor of the Record Courier in Baker, Oreg., Mr. Byron C. Brinton, is a man who has long been dedicated to sound development of our great natural resource heritage. His knowledge and courage have done much to alert the people of the Pacific Northwest to the continuing encroachment upon their resources by the private power monopoly.

An editorial which appeared in the May 2 edition of the Record Courier is, I believe, a fine example of the excellent material which Mr. Brinton consistently presents in his paper. I commend it to my colleagues and ask that it be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

LOW DAM SUBSIDY

Alarming as is the indefensible quick-right-off subsidy to the Idaho Power Co. by the administration, it is only one of a whole series of questionable public concessions to the private utility in return for what?—in return for the resource crime of wasting a high storage damsite.

But if the IPCO subsidy by ODM last week did nothing else it will dramatize the reality that authorization of Hells Canyon high dam now will not cost the taxpayers money—it will save them money.

There is ample evidence now, with testimony on end, that the defense writeoff is a direct subsidy. Senator BYRD, Secretary Humphrey, and many others have openly attacked the accelerated amortization subsidy as the worst form or public giveaway. We have in fact in the IPCO case a Dixon-Yates deal under another name. The false pretense used by the power company and administration support for low dams and for the low dam license has been completely uncovered and the claim "without cost to the taxpayers" has become a malicious myth. Tied into the entire prearranged deal is also the myth that IPCO low dams would pay millions in taxes, because the very operation of the ODM certificate calls for tax deduction.

SUBSIDY EXPLAINED

It might be well to outline how the IPCO subsidy will work. The company in fixing electric rates charges its entire costs, its taxes, its return on investment and all other profits and expenses. The consumers thus pay for the dam through high-cost power, and in addition pay the IPCO taxes in full. Now comes IPCO with its subsidy certificate, allowing amortization at greater than normal rates on its investment. The company thus intercepts the tax which the consumer has paid. Instead of going into the Federal Treasury, the millions of dollars becomes, "cash generation," in the very words of President Roach of the IPCO, and is used by the company as part of the financing of the low dams and begins to earn a return for the company but which cash costs the company no interest.

Then to make up the deficit for not having received the taxes, the Federal Government either raises the taxes on everyone else or borrows the money at interest and the taxpayers ultimately pay both the tax and the added interest.

There is some contention that the company, after the quick amortization is over, will then pay taxes at a higher rate in the distant future. But through refinancing, revaluation, sale, merger, bookkeeping losses, or otherwise, this likely would never come to pass. But if it did, the company would have had interest-free public money. Folks paying interest on real estate know that interest is in the long haul equal to the cost of the real estate. Nevertheless, if IPCO ever pays Uncle Sam the forgiven taxes on the low dam its only source of revenue is from the rate payers and the rates would be raised accordingly. The rate payer whose money was shortcircuited into the dams in the first place would then pay a second time. But there is no assurance the tax would ever be paid by IPCO at all as the deferral certificate is not a contract or a note—it is an outright deduction and current tax forgiveness.

VALUE COMPARED

It is like a gigantic green stamp which a housewife could go out and reclaim in the form of a low-dam premium.

We have seen various calculations of the amount of the IPCO subsidy. Apparently it will total $30.5 million over a period of 5 years. Over 50-year life of the project, assuming reinvestment of its interest-free loan, it would be worth $329 million or about the cost of the high dam. With interest, it would cost the Government directly about $50 million. But the public will never own the low dams. Instead it will have lost the dam site, lost the 400,000 kilowatts in power which a high dam would have added, lost the 3 million acres of additional flood control, lost the recreation value of a high dam reservoir, lost the million acres of irrigation assistance revenue, lost the saving in low-cost power.

The people we have talked to regard this ODM action a perversion of public responsibility and the company's defense of its subsidy as a positive indication its self-interest supersedes its public interest. IPCO's whole low-dam scheme becomes questionable in the disillusioned eye of its once supporters.

LOSS RECOVERABLE

At this time it is well to call attention to another point. While much money may be now invested in Brownlee, much of that investment (in railroad bridge, access, reservoir area acquisition—and no doubt 100 percent of the electrical facilities if any are on order—together with new transmission lines) could be salvaged 100 percent if the Government were to substitute a high dam at the Hells Canyon site and which would flood to the identical shoreline of the Brownlee project. This is a point that Congress can well keep in mind when it considers the Hells Canyon authorization during May.

The net loss because of the unfortunate administration error in licensing a low dam will be such that the superior output of a high dam project can earn the cost back in very few years of operation.

We thus come to the situation where the high dam will not cost the public—it will save the public money. Promptly authorized and work begun (extensive access roads could be started at once) the high dam could absorb the Brownlee working force—and many more—for a longer period of gainful employment. (Nor will regular IPCO crews likely go unemployed.)

This situation, combined with the fact that the Snake River has not yet been permanently diverted at Brownlee, would compel the most serious consideration to support the high dam authorization at this time.

Nasser's Provocations and Violations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following recent speech by Prof. Alfred J. Hotz, department of political science, Western Reserve University, to the Cleveland Heights, Ohio, City Club which deals with international law violations of General Nasser of Egypt. Now that American ships are paying tribute to the nationalized Suez Canal Administration it is well to remember how far our policies of drift and inaction in the Middle East have permitted the Egyptian dictator to depart from the six principles agreed upon by the United Nations. The lack of a firm American policy in the Middle East, as Professor Hotz demonstrates, has resulted in repeated concessions to Egypt. We must stop this policy of appeasement.

The speech follows:

NASSER'S PROVOCATIONS AND VIOLATIONS

General Nasser, since his ascent to dictatorial power, has been a consistent violator of international law and justice, and a constant provocateur against the peace and security of the Middle East. Originally, his aggressive imperialism was directed solely against the little state of Israel, but, since his abrupt seizure of the Suez Canal, this Arab Hitler has directed his aggressive designs against the entire Western World.

In his constant pressure against Israel, Nasser has clearly violated international law. His total disregard of the 1949 armistice agreements manifested itself in three forms: (1) Nasser continued his declaration of "belligerency," which legally he has no right to do; (2) he denied the right of "innocent passage" through the Gulf of Aqaba; (3) he launched rapacious guerrilla war, through his fedayeen raiders, against Israel territory.

Nasser's denial to Israel of "free passage" through the Suez Canal is unquestionably a violation of international law. Article I of the Constantinople convention [1888], which governs the international obligations of Egypt, states clearly that Egypt shall never subject the canal "to the exercise of the right of blockade." When Nasser defended his interference on the inherent right of self-defense guaranteed in article X of the Constantinople convention, he conveniently neglected to apply article XI of the same treaty, which further declared that this right of defense for Egypt "shall not interfere with the free use of the canal."

Moreover, Nasser has continued to defy the Security Council resolution [September 1, 1951] which declared that Egypt's closure of the canal to Israel "cannot in the prevailing circumstances be justified on the grounds that it is necessary for self-defense." The Security Council further declared that

the sanctions applied by Egypt to ships of other nations which visited Israeli ports represented "unjustified interference with the rights of nations to navigate the seas and to trade freely with one another, including the Arab States and Israel."

Thus, the Eisenhower administration, led by the legalist-moralist Secretary Dulles, should have exposed Nasser as a violator of international law. But, instead, the Eisenhower-Dulles team has invariably applied a double legal standard, favorable to dictator Nasser. Moreover, this dual legal standard has been compounded by a double moral standard when President Eisenhower severely critized British-French-Israeli military action, taken in defense of their national interests. Never once has the administration exposed the Arab imperialist aggressions against the Western World .

Indeed, no American censure was directed against Nasser's deliberate sabotage of the Suez Canal last November. His scuttling of ships to block passage was not a military action, but a political action designed to grant him the leverage of economic blackmail, not solely against Britain and France, but as well against West Europe's economy. Nasser's calculated delay in not permitting the U. N. salvage operations to commence, until all British-French troops were totally withdrawn from the Port Said area was actually contrary to the General Assembly resolution of November 23, which declared that the condition for restoring the Suez to operation was a mere "cease-fire," and not total withdrawal.

Later Nasser continued his obstructive design against the western economy by adding still another condition—that of total withdrawal of Israel troops from Gaza and the Sharm el Sheikh region. Thus this Arab Hitler refused to permit the final lifting of the *Edgar Bonnet* in late February until total Israeli withdrawal, yet his key objective was to employ the nonopening of the Suez as political blackmail and as an economic bargaining point against the West.

Finally, and most important from the long-range viewpoint, Nasser has irrevocably declared a politico-economic war against the West to add to his persistent belligerency against Israel. In his March 29 memorandum on the future operations of the Suez Canal Dictator Nasser crassly dictated the terms, on a take it or leave it basis. The complete defiance of the Security Council's six principles, passed unanimously on October 13, 1956, demonstrates beyond a question of a doubt his violations of international law and his provocations against western interests.

First, the Nasser plan was a unilateral proposal and has none of the multilateral attributes of an international treaty. He thereby unilaterally revoked the Constantinople Treaty (1888) and denied the six principles established by the U. N. Security Council.

Second, Nasser declared that the new Suez Canal regime would be solely and exclusively under Egyptian sovereignty, thereby violating the vital third principle which clearly states that the "operation of the canal should be insulated from the politics of any country," meaning Egypt.

Third, his declaration that Egypt alone would decide the future determination of tolls violates the fourth principle, which solemnly states that the fixing of tolls and charges should be decided by agreement between Egypt and the users of the canal.

Fourth, the Nasser declaration that Egypt will have the final say as to the procedures whereby differences that may arise between the users and the new Canal Authority shall be settled indicates beyond a question of a doubt Nasser's determination to dictate to the West. Freedom of passage through the Suez Canal, formerly guaranteed by an international treaty, presently means freedom for Nasser to control passage and thereby to pressure the West in the future.

Nasser's firm grip on the jugular vein of West European economy bodes ill for the future. No nation is more responsible for this dangerous situation than was the United States. Since the fateful seizure of the canal on July 26, 1956, the Eisenhower-Dulles administration has consistently failed to adequately support British-French national interests, as well as the vital security interests of Israel. We have through either stupidity or duplicity built up the power posture of the Arab Hitler.

I have serious doubts that our inept administration will take a strong stand or make a sound legal and moral case against Nasser's new Suez Canal proposals. Having undermined the British-French bargaining position, and having abdicated the position of our own leadership of the Western World, no reversal of appeasement of the Arab dictator is conceivable.

Such is the tragedy of the purported triumph of the so-called legal and moral Eisenhower-Dulles team. Should we not remind ourselves of Victor Hugo's prophetic warning, "Ah justice, what crimes are committed in thy name."

Syria Celebrates 11th Anniversary of Evacuation Day, April 17

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I came back from the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, Indonesia, I announced that I would address the United States Congress each time there was an anniversary of 1 of the 29 participating nations on friendly terms with the United States. April 17, 1957, marks the 11th anniversary of evacuation day in Syria, and I rise to felicitate that country in observance of that event.

I would like to congratulate the people of Syria, His Excellency Shukri al-Quawwatli, President of the Republic of Syria, and His Excellency Dr. Farid Zeineddine, Ambassador of Syria, upon the celebration of evacuation day.

Determined to have their freedom and independence, the period in Syrian history from 1920 to 1946 was that of a desperate and bitter national struggle. Making full use of the special circumstances of the Second World War, Syria succeeded in obtaining recognition of her complete independence and in achieving the evacuation of all foreign troops from the country. The death knell of imperialism was tolled when on April 17, 1946, the United Nations approved by a large majority of votes the evacuation of all foreign troops from Syria.

Syria has ably participated in international politics. The Syrian Government in 1945 joined the Allied cause. Following this she was invited to participate in the San Francisco Conference where she signed the Charter of the United Nations as one of the first members of that body, achieving thereby the status of a free and fully sovereign state.

Syria has made notable contributions to culture and civilization. In the course of many centuries, she has produced eminent poets, men of letters, jurists, historians, scientists, and journalists who made great contributions to world culture. Syria has also transmitted to the West the philosophy and sciences of the ancient world, serving thereby as a bridge over which the cultures of the ancient Greeks, Persians, Romans, and Indians passed to Europe and America.

It is to be hoped that those forces attempting to dissuade Syria from continuing to follow the ideals of democracy will not prevail and that she will once again be a strong ally of our country.

Will TVA Take a Mile?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of Sunday, May 5, 1957, entitled "Will TVA Take a Mile?" This is an excellent editorial and poses a very proper question to the proponents of TVA expansion. I wonder if these proponents will state for the record just what they believe the limits to the TVA should be, if any.

WILL TVA TAKE A MILE?

United States Senator STYLES BRIDGES, New Hampshire Republican, wants to shorten the leash on the Tennessee Valley Authority. For about a year now, TVA has had tacit O. K. from Capitol Hill to go ahead and build powerplants without even so much as a by-your-leave from the House or Senate. Prior to that time it had to ask Congress' permission.

Senator BRIDGES wants to put TVA back on that basis. Otherwise, he warns:

"Before we know it, TVA may be spreading all over the country. It was established and has been financed with the taxpayers' money. I think Congress wants to keep a check on what TVA is doing."

Congressmen from the TVA area were shocked at the suggestion. It is unnecessary to put that restriction on this Federal agency, they argue. Senator LISTER HILL, Alabama Democrat, says it is ridiculous to think that TVA has any inclination to expand its service area.

So the big argument over TVA this year boils down to this:

"If you give an inch, will it take a mile?"

Well, as Al Smith used to say, let's take a look at the record.

TVA went into business when Congress passed an act authorizing it back in 1933. A look at that charter shows that the authority to go into the power business was almost an afterthought. Congress went on for 11 pages describing, in the preamble of the act, what TVA could do in the course of harnessing the Tennessee River.

These passages dealt with flood control, reforestation, navigation, agricultural and industrial development and national defense. Not until page 12 is there any mention at all about generating electric power.

Now, TVA is the biggest power producer in the world. It turns out most of its power from steam plants, not from dams on the Tennessee River and the streams that feed it.

By 1953, its coal-burning steam plants were generating 17 billion kilowatt-hours of power a year. By contrast, its 30 dams were producing a mere 13,500,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electric power.

Its web of powerlines now cover 80,000 square miles of hills, rivers, and forests in seven States. That area is twice as big as the Tennessee Valley itself.

To get back to the original question. Would this giant Federal utility take a mile if you gave it an inch?

If history is any criterion, the answer is "And how."

Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I came back from the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, Indonesia, I announced that I would address the United States Congress on the occasion of the celebration of an anniversary of each of the 29 participating nations on friendly terms with the United States. April 28, 1957, marks the fifth anniversary of the signing of the peace treaties between the United States and Japan. In observance of this event, I wish to extend my sincere felicitations to the people of Japan, Emperor Hirohito, and the Honorable Takeso Shimoda, chargé d'affaires ad interim of Japan.

Japan has made great strides along the road to freedom and democracy. In the years since the termination of the Second World War, she has adopted a new approach in the realm of government and accordingly has enacted a new democratic constitution based upon the principle of human rights. Political democracy has brought about many valuable changes.

Looking back over the years since the end of the war, Japan can take pride in her amazing recovery from the havoc wrought by that unhappy conflict. In coming to grips with her many problems and in realization of her goals, Japan recognized that stabilization of national life is indispensable to the attainment of real independence. Economically, Japan has set her feet soundly in the paths of progress and it is reasonable to expect that her economic advance will be accelerated. The Government of Japan although aware of the marked progress the nation has made in production and foreign trade, wisely urges the direction of further efforts toward raising living standards and expanding foreign trade by bringing about a balanced development of industrial activities and various fields of national life.

Japan's international position has been elevated and its responsibilities have increased as a result of the materialization of its entry into the United Nations. Acting Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Nobusuke Kishi in a speech on February 4, 1957, aptly described the significance of this event when he said:

It is now up to Japan to build up its material and moral strength to a level befitting such position and responsibilities.

In building up the nation's strength, the postwar inclination toward an attitude of depending on others must be eliminated and a spirit of independence and self-reliance must be developed.

The fundamental objective of Japan's foreign policy, agrees Mr. Kishi, "should be to contribute to world peace and prosperity, with the United Nations as the nucleus."

The avowed basis of Japan's foreign policy is cooperation with the democratic nations, and assures that "special attention will be given to the furtherance of mutual understanding and cooperation with the United States."

Japanese-American cooperation is the keynote of Japan's foreign policy—

States Mr. Kishi—

for there exists a communist of interests and objectives in a large measure between the two countries regarding political and economic affairs as well as defense.

Again I salute the Japanese people at this time and wish for them continued peace and prosperity.

Revealing Facts From Harvey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Camden (S. C.) Chronicle of May 3, 1957:

REVEALING FACTS FROM HARVEY

Paul Harvey, the Chronicle's columnist, came up with a most revealing appraisal of the bugs in our foreign-aid program in Wednesday's paper.

Said Mr. Harvey:

"You and I (American taxpayers) are paying tuition and all expenses for the sons of wealthy Persians attending the American universities; in Portugal our dollars have built a 6-lane highway 15 miles long connecting Lisbon with the gambling resort of Estoril.

"We have bought dress suits for Grecian undertakers and built public baths for Egyptian camel drivers, we have, in the name of foreign aid, sent stage comedies to France, opera singers to Italy, drama groups to Germany.

"We have sent millions to help Nehru's Indians while neglecting our own American Indians, we have built an Italian village nobody wants to live in and an Iranian road that leads nowhere.

"In the name of foreign aid, King Saud is building a superhighway connecting his summer and winter palaces and took home from his recent United States visit 100 gold-plated Cadillacs.

"The 300 million we sent to Norway she applied to her national debt, 100 million to Denmark was applied the same way."

If what Mr. Harvey says is true, and it must be based on facts or he'd end up in a libel suit, it appears that our record national budget should be slashed the hardest in the foreign-aid department.

The United States should not continue playing Santa Claus to nations which do not appreciate our help and which laugh up their sleeves at us.

It seems ironic now that President Eisenhower should have uttered these words in 1952 while seeking the presidency for the first time:

"The United States cannot be an Atlas—it cannot, by its financial sacrifices, carry all other nations in the world on its shoulders. We should stop giveaway programs."

He Believed in America First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial taken from the May 4–5, 1957, issue of the Bangor Daily News, Maine's largest newspaper:

HE BELIEVED IN AMERICA FIRST

It is significant that the words most commonly used in the tributes paid to the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy were:

Courageous, sincere, and fighter.

The former Wisconsin farm boy who rose to heights in the United States Senate was all these things. He was also a patriot, a believer in America first. This is not fashionable among the one-worlder type of so-called liberals. To their way of thinking, it is all right for other nations to be nationalistic but not for the United States. And there are many nonliberals in our midst who are wishy-washy in their Americanism. In these perilous times the Nation needs among its leaders militant patriots like Joe McCarthy.

Senator JENNER, of Indiana, best summed up what Senator McCarthy's death meant to the Nation. He said:

"America has lost a fighting patriot, a courageous man who was willing to pay the price for his convictions and for his country."

It is true that Joe McCarthy's zeal sometimes led him into mistakes. It is also true that his tactics were rough. But he saw what others didn't see or, seeing, dared not tackle—the insidious infiltration of communism into our Government. Sneaky traitors, fellow travelers, and leftist dupes of the Reds wormed their way into strategic offices—positions where they could wield subtle influence or spy through keyholes for Moscow.

Joe McCarthy exposed the Red fester. He aroused public opinion and his sleeping colleagues in Congress. A housecleaning followed. Not a complete one, for as McCarthy's political star dimmed, so did the anti-Red probe. But he did his best. The Nation will have only itself to blame if it lapses once again into what could be a fatal complacency toward communism.

The Wisconsin Senator was a controversial figure. But his bitterest critics were more interested in saving the hides of suspected associates than in the security of America. Between the two, we'll take Joe McCarthy.

His neighbors in Washington saw him not as a wicked "witch hunter," but as "a regular Joe," a "friendly neighbor," and "a true-hearted American."

We have an idea that the bereaved Mrs. McCarthy will treasure these tributes above all others.

What Price Economy and Efficiency?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include the April 25, 1957, issue of the Yardstick, containing the well-considered views written by Msgr. George G. Higgins, director, social action department NCWC, entitled "What Price Economy and Efficiency?"

The article follows:

WHAT PRICE ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY?

(By Msgr. George G. Higgins, director, social action department, NCWC.)

The AFL-CIO Government Employees Council—representing a number of Federal employee unions with a membership of approximately 600,000 Government workers—will sponsor an important legislative rally in Washington, May 14 and 15. After a briefing session at a downtown auditorium, representatives of the various white-collar, blue-collar and postal employee unions affiliated with the Council will spend a day-and-a-half lobbying for classified and postal pay raises, annuity increases for retired Federal workers, and a union recognition bill.

Whether by coincidence or by design, this rally was announced shortly after the Department of Justice—in a brief filed with the United States Court of Claims in Washington—flatly took the position that Government workers are, in effect, a class apart, that they cannot expect to be treated like the employees of private industry in the field of wages, hours, and working conditions.

The Justice Department's brief was filed in answer to a test suit by a group of postal clerks in the Court of Claims, seeking overtime payments for extra time spent in studying postal sorting "schemes."

FUNDAMENTALLY UNSOUND

As the son of a postal supervisor and the brother of a postal clerk, I would not care to express an opinion on the merits of this particular case for fear of seeming to be prejudiced. On the other hand, regardless of how the case is eventually decided by the Court of Claims, it must be said—in all honesty and clearly aside from partisan politics—that the labor relations philosophy expressed in the Justice Department's brief is fundamentally unsound.

The director of the AFL-CIO Government Employees Council, Thomas G. Walters, was not exaggerating when he curtly dismissed the brief as "a throwback to the horse-and-buggy days." Mr. Walters and several of his associates in the Government Employees Council, have also made the point that the Justice Department's brief dramatically highlights the need for a comprehensive labor-management relations law in Government service. Their point is well taken.

The gist of the Justice Department's brief is that Government efficiency and economy (rather than social justice or the prevailing labor standards of private industry or the standards of Federal labor legislation) must be the determining, if not the only, norm in establishing rates of pay and conditions of work for Government employees.

RED HERRING

What does this mean in practice?

In the language of the brief, it means first of all that "the basic rights of labor—the right to strike and the right to bargain collectively—cannot be afforded Federal employees consistently with the Federal obligation to the taxpayer to operate the Federal administration economically and efficiently." This is obviously a red herring. For it is a well known fact that Government employees' unions explicitly waive the right to strike in their constitutions.

Secondly, the "efficiency and economy" philosophy of labor relations means, for example, that "if Congress desires that, insofar as it is possible, all workers in this country work only 8 hours a day, nevertheless Congress could, in its concern for Federal expenditures, require and validly provide that Federal employees work 10 hours a day."

Thirdly, the archaic labor relations philosophy expressed in the Justice Department's brief means that "the economical administration of Government precludes the immediate and total adoption by Congress of schemes such as automatic cost of living increases based on the consumer price index."

DANGEROUS FALLACY

Ditto for all of the other progressive labor standards adopted in recent years by private industry and/or enacted by Federal legislation. According to the Justice Department, in the case of Federal employees these improvements (which are lumped together in the brief under the heading of the present-day philosophy of labor law) "must either bow to or be balanced with considerations of economy and efficiency in Government."

In our opinion, this is a very dangerous fallacy and one that ought to be publicly repudiated by the administration at the earliest opportunity. It means, in the final analysis, that the Federal Government is above the moral law and is not bound by the rules of justice and equity in the field of labor relations.

The weakness of this philosophy of labor relations can be readily illustrated by a few simple examples. If the Federal Government can require its employees to work 10 hours a day, why not 12 or 14 hours? Why not 6 days a week instead of 5? Moreover, if Government economy is to be the principal, if not the only, norm in establishing labor standards in the Federal service, why not reduce the wages of Federal employees to the standards which prevailed 25 or 50 years ago?

OBVIOUS ANSWER

The obvious answer to these questions—prescinding, for the moment, from considerations of justice and equity—is that the majority of Government employees would refuse to accept these conditions.

In other words, if the efficiency and economy theory of labor relations were to be carried to its logical conclusion, the Federal Government would completely destroy the morale of its employees and eventually force them out of Government service in droves. What price economy and efficiency. And what a way to destroy the reputation of the United States Government as a symbol of justice and a bulwark of human rights and human dignity.

Welcome, Channel 5

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the recent decision by the Federal Communications Commission awarding TV channel 5 in Boston to the Boston Herald-Traveler imposes upon that newspaper a great responsibility because it now enters into an additional media of mass communication beyond its present field of two newspapers and radio station WHDH. I am sure that the Herald-Traveler will meet this challenge, and in this connection I would like to have printed in the RECORD the following editorial taken from the very distinguished newspaper, the Christian Science Monitor, published in Boston on April 30, 1957, and entitled "Welcome, Channel 5":

WELCOME, CHANNEL 5

May we add our congratulations to those which have come from all parts of the greater Boston community to the Boston Herald-Traveler for its great new opportunity and responsibility in the allocation of channel 5 TV.

Boston has long needed a third commercial television outlet to join the 2 effective stations which operate channels 4 and 7 and the Lowell Cooperative Broadcasting Foundation in its noncommercial operation of channel 2. The new channel will help Boston get more of the worthwhile programs which competitive pressures have sometimes kept off existing channels.

We are confident that in operating channel 5 the Herald-Traveler will perform a genuine community service. Channel 5 should add the best TV programs available from national sources to the outstanding sports coverage, frequent newcasts, and good variety of music now supplied by radio station WHDH.

In recent years the Herald-Traveler has distinguished itself in many ways. It has won a notable succession of Pulitzer prizes for editorials and has crusaded vigorously in its news pages.

All these things are good auguries for an effective and responsible operation of channel 5. More power to the undertaking.

Liberation Day—Ethiopia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I returned from the Bandung Conference, I announced that I would address from the floor of Congress each one of the participating countries, except the Communist ones, on friendly terms with the United States. On May 5, 1957, Ethiopia celebrated her 16th anniversary of Liberation Day. I wish to send greetings to the Ethiopian people, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, and His Excellency Yilma Deressa, Ambassador of Ethiopia, in honor of that occasion.

The sovereign state of Ethiopia has enjoyed independence from time immemorial. Ethiopia was a great power from the beginning of recorded history. The holocaust of tyranny and totalitarianism in the years preceding the Second World War forced the Government to take refuge outside its own territory. Italian control was never recognized by Ethiopia nor the United States.

Emperor Selassie was one of the few men of courage who read correctly the

signs of those turbulent times. He cautioned the free world to resist the advance of totalitarianism and pled with the world to rally its forces to stop unwarranted aggression. While the free world turned deaf ears to his cry, the forces of nazism and fascism pursued their deadly course.

Alone against a towering enemy, Ethiopia fought valiantly for its life, and for the first time in 3,000 years Ethiopia lost her independence.

On May 5, 1941, 5 years after occupation forces had taken over Addis Ababa, Emperor Selassie reentered his country. One of his first official acts was to call upon his people to follow Christian principles and forgo acts of revenge against the tens of thousands of Italians who had been trapped by the liberation forces.

In the years since liberation, Ethiopia has tenaciously bent her energies toward the reestablishment of the country and the continuation of forward-looking projects which had been interrupted by the invasion and occupation.

Ethiopia and the United States have passed the midcentury mark in the history of their diplomatic relations. Friendly and cooperative relations with the United States in full support of the principle of collective security are the bases of Ethiopia's foreign policy.

Ethiopia can look with pride upon its record. I salute this nation of stalwart people and pray for them continued peace and prosperity as they go forward into a new year of national life.

Courage of Victims Is Inspiring

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Pageland (S. C.) Journal of April 18, 1957:

COURAGE OF VICTIMS IS INSPIRING

When disaster struck this region last week, it chose to return to a place it previously had visited when, a couple of years ago, one of the most severe hailstorms in recent years stripped a pathway from the Kershaw-Chesterfield County line across Chesterfield into Marlboro and beyond to the eastward. Scars of that earlier wound still are visible in places, dead pine trees that didn't recover, roofs of buildings still perforated, dents in automobiles and broken glass in many places. Yet through the same area last Monday night traveled another visitor, a terrifying tornado that dipped at random across several counties, leveling whatever lay in its path, disintegrating millions of dollars' worth of property and endangering lives all along the way.

For many years the scars of this severe blow will be visible, because destruction ranged from complete in the case of scores of homes and small buildings, to minor damage in the unexplainable instances that are part of the reasons tornados are considered freaks. Wide swaths were cut through thick stands of pines and hardwoods, clipping huge trunks in two as if they were playthings made of paper, destroying buildings that had stood for scores of years against the worst the elements could offer. These things do not vanish overnight.

To offset in large part the wanton destruction, there is ample evidence that the deep wells of courage that made the State and Nation great by carving it from wilderness still have not run dry. The immediate response to the challenge of the tornado was action: what was lost must be rebuilt, what was broken must be repaired. All who have seen the work done by the victims in so short a time are impressed with the immediacy and high purpose of their efforts.

While all the neighbors of the people of Jefferson, Cheraw, Wallace, and other sections the tornado visited in the fading light last Monday, April 8, extend sincerest sympathy for their plight, they also admire and envy the toughness and determination their reaction makes so obvious, and give thanks with them that no lives were claimed by the destroying winds.

Suspending Application of Certain Laws With Respect to Personnel Employed by Committee on Ways and Means

SPEECH
OF
HON. B. F. SISK
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do this in view of some circumstances that arose last year with reference to the employment of certain people on the staff by the Committee on Ways and Means. There were certain charges of a possible conflict of interest. At this time I should like to ask any member of the Committee on Ways and Means to comment with reference to the position of the committee in the event they find that such conflict of interest may exist.

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISK. I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, first of all I want to commend the gentleman from California [Mr. SISK] for being on his toes as usual. He always does a good job in looking after the welfare of his constituents.

In the instant case, I can assure him that the Committee on Ways and Means and also the subcommittees are mindful of the factors involved in this particular resolution. Also I can give the gentleman assurance that the matter relating to this particular resolution, or to which this particular resolution relates, has been thoroughly investigated by the chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Trade Policy, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS], and no improper action was found.

The facts are simply these, Mr. Speaker, Due to the nature of the work involved in the investigations made by the Committee on Ways and Means on taxes and tariffs, it is most difficult to get qualified men to come work for the committee for a matter of only a few months. We must take people from the field who have a vast knowledge of the particular subject we are investigating. Naturally, they have a rather lucrative practice and dislike very much to take the chance of the conflict of interest statute depriving them of their future livelihood just for the sake of working for the committee for possibly 2 or 3 months. For that reason it is necessary for us to seek the enactment of a resolution such as this in order to protect these people and at the same time provide our committee with the type of help we need. I trust the gentleman will accept that explanation.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate very much the explanation made by the distinguished gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FORAND]. I realize the need for these specialists and, of course, with his statement that conflicts of interest such as may have developed possibly in the past will not develop in the future, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

Israeli Independence Day

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, yesterday Israel celebrated the ninth anniversary of its independence. May 6 is a date that truly symbolizes a great Jewish accomplishment. Within 9 years the ideal of Zionism has been transformed from dream to reality. During these 9 difficult years of existence Israel has struggled, but she has won, thanks to the skill of her leaders and the tenacity of her population. Both the Arabs and the great powers have exerted strong pressures on Israel, but in spite of them Israel has survived and flourishes. I salute Israel on this happy anniversary.

Israel, like America, is a nation of pioneers and a people of diverse origins. Both nations are devoted to democracy and both nations oppose the impending threat of communism in the Middle East. As America's bulwark against the Soviet threat, Israel deserves and will obtain America's fullest support.

Israel is more than ever important for the defense of the United States and the West in the Middle East, since Britain has evacuated Suez and since British standing the Middle East has declined. The United States is now assuming Britain's former role, and in order to do so it needs all the friends it can find at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. If war should break out in the Middle East, the United States must have bases and allies. Under these circumstances, Israel might turn out to be one of America's most important footholds in the Middle East.

It is therefore a clear necessity for the United States to support Israel out of strategic interest and strategic need. Also the United States has traditionally opposed aggression and supported the

weaker side in international disputes. Moreover, Israel represents the only center of western culture in an area which must be westernized. Israel is the spearhead of cultural revolution in the Middle East and when peace comes to that region Israel can serve as instructor and tutor and example to the surrounding Moslem nations.

Israel has declared for the side of the free world, for democracy, for the western cause; the United States must not and cannot abandon Israel nor the values and accomplishments for which Israel stands.

Irrigation, Power, and Flood-Control Projects Under ICA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, this report shows in detail the irrigation, power, and flood-control projects for which this country has either spent or obligated funds from April 3, 1948, through December 31, 1956. It will show that we have obligated $355,800,000 for 197 projects in 46 different foreign countries. This list was compiled by the ICA and the projects range from a few thousand to many millions of dollars. These projects once started, must be seen through to completion and will cost many more millions of dollars. It is my understanding that just recently several more projects were authorized and money obligated for projects in Formosa and other Far Eastern countries.

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that if this country is able to spend $355,800,000 in irrigation and power projects from Ethiopia to Vietnam, we can afford to be a little more generous toward some of the irrigation, reclamation, power, and flood-control projects in our own country. These projects at home are an investment in the future of a great, dynamic, growing America.

I beseech the generosity of my colleagues in approaching this serious problem in these days when we are trying our best to cut the Federal spending. An irrigation project overseas pays no return to the United States; while an irrigation project in our own country pays back its cost in full to the Treasury over a period of years. In addition it adds new wealth to our Nation. It brings in new industry and new taxes for our expanding economy.

I trust my colleagues will examine the 197 projects on irrigation, reclamation, and power in the 46 different foreign countries. If you will do that, I am sure you will feel a little more kindly toward some of the projects urgently needed in our own country:

TABLE I.—*Summary of ICA or predecessor agencies' obligations for irrigation, reclamation (including flood control), and power projects, cumulative, Apr. 3, 1948–Dec. 31, 1956*

[Millions of dollars]

Program	Table in which detail is shown	Obligations as of Dec. 31, 1956
ICA and predecessor agencies' programs total		$355.8
Inactive programs:		
European industrial projects	II	97.8
European overseas territory projects	III	4.1
Continuing programs:		
Far East projects	IV	115.7
Near East and south Asia projects	V	117.1
Africa	VI	1.0
Latin America	VII	10.5
Europe	VIII	9.6

Source: International Cooperation Administration Office of Statistics and Reports Apr. 24, 1957.

TABLE II.—*European industrial projects:*[1] *ICA or predecessor agencies' obligations for irrigation, reclamation, and power projects by country and project, Apr. 3, 1948–Dec. 31, 1956*

[Thousands of dollars]

Country and project	Cumulative total through Dec. 31, 1956	July 1, 1954, through Dec. 31, 1956	Prior to fiscal year 1955
Europe total	$97,838	−$2,285	$100,123
Denmark	3,317		3,317
Steam electric station (60,000 kilowatts) at Kynby	3,317		3,317
France	17,879	−150	18,029
Extension of the Office du Niger irrigation project in French West Africa	1,191		1,191
Thermal electric powerplant at Dechy (120,000 kilowatts)	11,921	−127	12,048
Boiler for steam electric station at Arrighi (100,000 kilowatts)	2,444		2,444
Boiler equipment for steam electric unit at Nantes Chevire (100,000 kilowatts)	1,801	−4	1,805
Boiler equipment for 2d steam electric station at Arrighi (100,000 kilowatts)	522	−19	541
Iceland	4,857	−4	4,861
Expansion of hydroelectric plant on Sog River	3,890	−1	3,891
Expansion of hydroelectric plant on Laxa River	967	−3	970
Italy	59,979	−2,131	62,110
Steam electric station (50,000 kilowatts) at Genoa	5,510	−159	5,669
Steam electric station (60,000 kilowatts) at Palermo	5,730	−336	6,066
Turbo-generator with 60,000 kilowatts capacity to serve northern Italy	6,092	−138	6,230
Turbo-generator (50,000 kilowatts) at Genoa for Societa Edison, Milan	6,111	−58	6,169
Turbo-generator (50,000 kilowatts) near Turin for Societa Idroelettrica Piemonte	5,937	−159	6,096
Steam electric station (60,000 kilowatts) at Civitavecchia Rome	5,608	−502	6,110
Steam electric station (60,000 kilowatts) at Naples	6,014	−83	6,097
Steam electric station (100,000 kilowatts) at Piacenza	10,357	−162	10,519
Steam electric station (30,000 kilowatts) at Naples	3,280	−69	3,349
Steam electric plant (120,000 kilowatts) near Tavazzano for STEL	2,478	−102	2,580
Addition to steam-electric plant (30,000 kilowatts) at Turin	2,862	−363	3,225
Netherlands	3,092		3,092
Thermal powerplant (124,000 kilowatts) on the Amer River	3,092		3,092
Portugal	897		897
Irrigation and power development in the Sorraia Valley and plains of Villa Franca	897		897
Spain	7,300		7,300
Thermal powerplant at Burcena	3,650		3,650
Thermal powerplant at Escatron	3,650		3,650
International	517		517
Austro-German hydroelectric powerplant at Braunau on Inn River	517		517

[1] This special program, in which certain procurement authorizations issued by ECA and MSA were identified with various European projects, was particularly active during the Marshall plan period from 1949 to 1952. The last projects added to this program were the 2 thermal power projects for Spain authorized in June 1954. This table shows the current status, as of Dec. 31, 1956, of the obligations originally entered into during that earlier period.

Source: International Cooperation Administration, Office of Statistics and Reports, Apr. 26, 1957.

TABLE III.—*European overseas territories: ICA or predecessor agencies' obligations for irrigation, reclamation, and power projects as of Dec. 31, 1956*

[Thousands of dollars]

Area and project	Cumulative total as of Dec. 31, 1956	July 1, 1954, through Dec. 31, 1956	Total prior to fiscal year 1955
Total	$4,084	−$228	$4,312
Belgian territories	38		38
Belgian Congo soil survey	38		38
French territories	535		535
French soil conservation program, Algeria	535		535
Netherlands territories	1,084	−212	1,296
"Eysvoogel plan" land reclamation, Surinam	1,084	−212	1,296
United Kingdom territories	2,427	−16	2,443
Power station, Malta	2,203	−16	2,219
Mid-Clarendon irrigation project, Jamaica	175		175
Construction of reservoirs, British Somaliland	32		32
Antierosion and reclamation, Cyprus	17		17

GENERAL NOTE.—This program, in which ECA utilized European program funds to finance directly specific projects in the overseas territories of European countries, was active in fiscal years 1950 and 1951. This table shows the current status, as of Dec. 31, 1956, of the obligations originally entered into during that earlier period.

Source: International Cooperation Administration, Office of Statistics and Reports, Apr 26, 1957.

TABLE IV.—*Far East program—ICA or predecessor agencies' obligations for irrigation, reclamation, and power projects, by country and type of project, June 5, 1950–Dec. 31, 1956* [1]

COUNTRY AND PROJECT—CUMULATIVE TOTAL THROUGH DEC. 31, 1956 [Thousands of dollars]	
Far East, total	$115,728
Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam	1,316
Irrigation and reclamation	859
Thermal power generation	457
Cambodia	852
Irrigation and drainage development	852
China (Taiwan)	44,854
Tien-leng hydro power station	4,082
Tien-leng (peaking) hydro power station	590
Li-wu hydro power stations	1,478
URAI hydro power station	457
Sun-Moon (peaking) power station	674
Pei Pu thermal power station	396
Sun-Shan thermal power station	78
Taiwan Power Co., thermal	462
Peng-hu thermal power station	38
Nan-pu thermal power stations	5,958
Nan-pu thermal, second unit	4,955
Thermal power generation	1,571
Power transmission and distribution	10,850
Irrigation and reclamation	180
Farm reclamation	75
Deep well improvement	124
Land and water resources	433
Primary system improvement	2,785
Shihmen multipurpose dam	4,014
Shen-ao thermal	2,000
Lung-Chien hydro	2,527
Wusheh hydro dam	1,127
Indonesian Republic	772
Land development and conservation	653
Soil conservation and land utilization	119
Korea	51,361
Thermal power developments (Seoul, Pusan, Sanchok)	28,200
Hwachon hydropower plant	7,104

TABLE IV.—*Far East program*—Continued

Korea—Continued	
Flood control	$550
Irrigation and land reclamation [1]	5,649
Hydro-exploratory survey	450
Power rehabilitation engineering services	1,077
Thermal powerplant transmission lines	2,559
Forest and watershed management	697
Rehabilitation of Yongwol and Tangin-Ri thermal	1,460
Rehabilitation of Chong-Dyong Dam	2,000
Rehabilitation and improvement, electric-power-distribution system	1,500
Rehabilitation of Unam powerplant	115
Laos	102
Powerplant survey	50
Powerplant extension	52
Philippines	11,145
Water-resources-planning development	158
Irrigation—pump	1,223
Irrigation—gravity (rehabilitation)	518
Irrigation—gravity (new systems)	4,367
Soil conservation	239
Land development	411
Flood control	2,178
Meralco power	2,045
Electric-power survey	6
Thailand	4,848
Irrigation and reclamation	2,807
Power-system survey and rural power	1,128
Tank irrigation	180
Northeast ground-water development	733
Vietnam	478
Irrigation and drainage	177
Reforestation and erosion control	154
Electric-power development	147

[1] UNKRA field of responsibility prior to fiscal year 1955.

TABLE V.—*Near East and south Asia ICA or predecessor agencies' obligations for irrigation, reclamation, and power projects by country and type of project July 1, 1951–Dec. 31, 1956*

COUNTRY AND PROJECT—CUMULATIVE TOTAL THROUGH DEC. 31, 1956 [Thousands of dollars]	
Near East and south Asia Total	$117,098
Afghanistan	1,463
Helmand Valley development	1,466
Ceylon	1,834
Irrigation and land development	1,834
Egypt [1]	3,977
Underground water survey	314
Agricultural drainage	220
Drainage investigation improvements	29
Land and water utilization	109
Land reclamation and development (Abis area)	2,337
Land reclamation and development (Earis Qasta area)	968
Greece [2]	12,521
Thermal electric plant in Eubean Gulf territory 80,000 kilowatts)	7,040
Electric transmission, transformation, and distribution from Eubean Gulf territory station	198
Electric transmission, transformation, and distribution out of Agra plant	83
Electric transmission, transformation, and distribution out of Ladhon plant	129
Hydroelectric plant (5,000 kilowatts) at Louros	42
Electric transmission, transformation, and distribution out of Louros plant	3
Owner-engineer services to Greek Government on Greek electric power program	4,996
Advisory group on land and water development	30
India	40,286
Ground water irrigation	18,700
River valley development	8,134
Groundwater exploration	4,106
Water resources survey	489
Technical services water resources and power development	348
Rihand Valley development	6,427
Rajasthan power facilities	1,065
Flood control	352
Bokaro thermal plant	85
Development of forest research and desert afforestation	499
Technical assistance in irrigation research institute	81
Iran	2,790
Golpayegan Dam	137
Kuhrang Tunnel	50
Land use survey	200
Karkheh Dam construction	158
Ghanat construction	143
River basin survey	222
Irrigation Bongah	95
Zayandeh Rud Basin	42
Deep wells—Yezd area (for irrigation)	150
Development of Khuzistan Plains	425
Shiraz powerplant	488
Karaj Dam construction	680

TABLE V.—*Near East and south Asia*—Con.

Iraq	251
Range improvement	33
Irrigation construction design	206
Irrigation and drainage laboratory	12
Israel	187
Water resources	162
Irrigation development	25
Jordan	5,069
Range management and groundwater development	165
Yarmouk Jordan Valley	1,327
General Wadi development	1,771
Wadi Dhuleil	12
Ground water conservation	125
Forestry and soil conservation	1,122
Land and water resources	547
Lebanon	1,416
Irrigation	99
Litani River	470
Kasmie construction	565
Water reconnaissance survey	282
Nepal	244
Rapti Valley survey	12
Sirsia irrigation projects	45
Ground water irrigation	95
River irrigation survey	13
Tilawe River irrigation	79
Pakistan	27,178
Bolan Dam	75
Makhidham reclamation	780
Ground water exploration and tube wells	200
Gangse-Kebadak irrigation	2,115
Soil and water conservation	222
Taunsa barrage	6,195
Soil and water conservation Baluchistan (Sailaba)	130
Soil and water conservation (range and pasture)	55
Punjab ground water survey	4,950
Water resources advisory	197
Karnafuli multipurpose (power and communications)	12,259
Turkey [2]	19,869
Sariyar hydroelectric power project	12,534
Bosphorous aerial transmission line—overland transmission line	7,335

[1] Data are cumulative through June 30, 1956. Report for later date not received.

[2] All projects listed, except the last entry, were originally authorized under ECA and MSA as part of the industrial-projects program. The data shown represent the current status, as of Dec. 31, 1956, of the obligations made by ICA's predecessor agencies.

[3] The Turkish projects were originally authorized under ECA and MSA as part of the industrial-projects program. The data shown include small additional amounts authorized under ICA.

TABLE VI.—*Africa—ICA or predecessor agencies' obligations for irrigation, reclamation, and power projects, by country and type of project, July 1, 1951–Dec. 31, 1956*

COUNTRY AND PROJECT—CUMULATIVE THROUGH DEC. 31, 1956	
[Thousands of dollars]	
Africa total	$977
Ethiopia	547
Water resources survey	147
Well drilling (for irrigation)	400

TABLE VI.—*Africa*—Continued

Liberia	116
Forest conservation	96
Range management	20
Libya	53
Ground water and mineral development	34
Irrigation development	8
Range development	11
Overseas territories	261
Gold Coast—United Kingdom	229
Land planning and soil conservation	229
Somaliland—United Kingdom	32
Irrigation program	32

TABLE VII.—*Latin American program—ICA or predecessor agencies' obligations for irrigation, reclamation, and power projects, by country and type of project July 1, 1951–Dec. 31, 1956*

COUNTRY AND PROJECT—CUMULATIVE THROUGH DEC. 31, 1956	
[Thousands of dollars]	
Latin America total	$10,509
Chile	267
Water utilization	100
Water conservation	25
Soil conservation	78
Reforestation and soil and water conservation	32
Water utilization	32
Colombia	40
Power resource development	40
El Salvador	14
Land and water resources development	14
Guatemala	1,670
Rural development (clearing, land preparation)	923
Rural development (small irrigation works)	54
Rural development (including land development)	693
Haiti [1]	8,364
Development of Artibonite Valley	2,300
Irrigation—Leogene	110
National irrigation development program	120
Clearing lands Grand'Anse	5,397
Development of Quartier-Morin Plain	209
Watershed control	228
Honduras	103
Land and water resources	103
Nicaragua	45
Land and water resources (reclamation)	45
Panama	6
Water resources development	6

[1] Data are cumulative through June 30, 1956. Detailed report for later date not received.

TABLE VIII.—*Europe—ICA or predecessor agency obligations for irrigation, reclamation, and power projects, by country and type of project, July 1, 1953–Dec. 31, 1956*

COUNTRY AND PROJECT—CUMULATIVE THROUGH DEC. 31, 1956	
[Thousands of dollars]	
Europe total	$9,580
Spain [1]	9,468
Thermal powerplant boilers, Cadiz, Malaya, Almeria	3,610
Electric power, fiscal year 1956 "Bottleneck items"	3,892
Electric power, fiscal year 1956 "Construction equipment"	1,936
Soil conservation specialist	13
Irrigation and reclamation specialists	13
Reforestation mechanization specialists	4
Yugoslavia	112
Soil improvement	38
Power	74

[1] Data are as of June 30, 1956.

A Free Poland

SPEECH

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, as news reaches us of increased unrest in Poland, punctuated by reports of new rioting over this past weekend, we realize how significant a link in the chain of freedom lies in Poland.

During the past year the Polish people have demonstrated to the world the failure of Communist policy to provide for the well-being of the people held in its grip; the failure of Communist policy in developing the potential of the individual; the failure of Communist policy to govern others by the use of force and terror.

May 3 was a significant day in Polish history, commemorating, as it did, the anniversary of the enactment of one of the first of European democratic and progressive constitutions brought to life on that date in 1791. This day has never been forgotten, and it is a mark—a dramatic mark—of the deathless will to freedom of the Polish people that through their own efforts they have succeeded in loosening to a degree the yoke of Soviet domination, so much so that in this year private celebrations of the significant May 3 date were permitted.

In helping Poland now, as I believe our Government must, we are understandably taking a calculated risk, but our risk is minute indeed in comparison to the risk the Polish people themselves are taking in turning to the United States. We cannot refuse to act out of a paralysis of fear. It could be that the very help we give Poland would be one of the greatest blows struck for liberty. It could be the step toward a bloodless divorce from Soviet control, and it could demonstrate that the concern of the United States for an interest in people

as people is a traditional mark of our own freedom, thus puncturing Soviet propaganda that the West cares nothing for people, only for money.

A Hoosier Nonconformist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to set forth in the RECORD an article from the Los Angeles Times of April 3, 1957, a favorable appraisal of Senator WILLIAM JENNER, of Indiana:

A HOOSIER NONCONFORMIST
(By Holmes Alexander)

"In any but our conformist age," said a New York Times book review on March 17, "it would compliment a man to say that his opinions were currently unfashionable."

For a nonconformist who seldom draws compliments from the New York Times or the rest of the conformist press, there is Senator WILLIAM JENNER, Republican, of Indiana, a man whose unfashionable ideas are not nearly so unstylish as they used to be.

At this time of year with schoolchildren and their gaping elders paying the annual pilgrimage to Washington, D. C., the denizen is often asked for sightseeing advice. What shrine to visit? What restaurant to try? What Senator to hear make a speech in the famous citadel of our American liberties?

Next time somebody asks me, I'm going to recommend BILL JENNER. He's not so celebrated or notorious or so awe-inspiring or chummy as some of his colleagues who could be named, but JENNER has a bagful of qualities which typical American tourists would long remember to their benefit.

It's safe to say that nobody who hears JENNER speak will ever forget his palm-slapping, foot-stamping, finger-wagging way of oratory. It's certain that he is a well-turned, handsome, energetic, and compelling personality. You either like him or you don't. You burst out laughing or you turn away scandalized at his audacious, outrageous thrusts at the sacred cows and the sacrosanct institutions.

The man's a headache in many places around town, but he's nobody's bore, and, despite the effete criticism by the conformists, he's nobody's boor. He's a lawyer's lawyer and a razzle-dazzle debater.

These traits, though warm and gratifying, are not what the tourists would find most edifying. JENNER has a gift which Americans down through the years have unfailingly appreciated.

Like Mark Twain, like Will Rogers, like H. L. Mencken, this Hoosier politico can spot a phony and can recognize hokum by instinct. If you watch him down there in the Senate, well he may remind you of the legendary willow branch which old folks say is the only infallible finder of underground water. JENNER never misses the subterranean flow of ideological bilge water. He reacts like a Geiger counter to those hidden deposits of buncombe in which our political range is so prolific.

For example, not long ago JENNER made a long, serious analysis of the Eisenhower doctrine, in the midst of which he commenced a comic, singsong rendition of the following quotation:

"I cannot help but dream out loud a little here. The Tigris and Euphrates Valley can be made to bloom as it did in the times of Babylon and Nineveh. Israel can be made the land of milk and honey—Ethiopia—has 65,000 square miles of land just exactly like the Corn Belt of northern Illinois—self-liquidating projects—will come so fast that we will not recognize the world in which we now live."

A world dreamer? Yes, JENNER was quoting Harry Truman. JENNER was showing his bent-double colleagues that globalissimo under any party label is just as preposterous.

Several years ago the social-security law prevented funds from going to any State which made public the names of persons on the relief rolls. The bleeding hearts argued that disclosure would humiliate the recipients. JENNER scoffed at these crocodile tears and argued that disclosure would not embarrass anybody except the freeloaders and the bureaucratic empire builders.

The law was changed and 20 States availed themselves of the right to publish the relief rolls for the taxpayers to see.

It is imperative in our freethinking way of life and politics to tolerate the nonconformist unless he is a clear and present danger to our existence. Many liberals to this day are intolerant of JENNER and the anti-Communists but are sympathetic almost to the point of collusion with the Communists.

JENNER is serenely impervious to their criticism. He regards himself not as a leader of thought but as being politically representative of his sovereign State. Indiana has been electing him to public office since 1934.

The Senator, now in his third term and up for reelection next year, says that Hoosiers are commonsense Americans who put their country and its ideals of individualism ahead of worldism, welfare, and superstatism.

JENNER voted and spoke against the administration budget as well as against the Eisenhower doctrine, which he regards as a useless entanglement. He found that 4 of the 9 Indiana Republicans in the House of Representatives voted to return the budget to Ike for cutting. And 3 of these 9 Republicans sided against the administration on the doctrine. It is unusual for any House Members to oppose a popular, reelected administration.

These figures indicate to JENNER that close-to-the-people Congressmen are falling away from the new Republicanism. They are coming JENNER's way and this illustrates the moral lesson of being kind to nonconformists. This time next year the intellectual fashions may change.

Something Has To Give

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Rock Hill (S. C.) Evening Herald of May 3, 1957:

SOMETHING HAS TO GIVE

Many economists say business is not as good this year as they had expected.

The economists say business spending for improvements and expansion is running about $1 billion a year behind expectations. Inventory buying is running about $2 billion a year behind forecasts. Home building has dropped at the rate of nearly $1 billion a year. New car sales are lagging at the rate of $1 billion to $2 billion a year.

The drop in business amounts to between 1 and 2 percent of the total value of goods and services produced per year (gross national product). Economists say this drop is not large, but is enough to be felt. However, they say the chance of a real recession is unlikely—because Federal Government spending is rising strongly.

That Government spending is financed by tax dollars which come out of your pocketbooks and ours. Maybe, if the Government didn't take so many of our dollars in taxes, we'd have more money to spend, ourselves, and business might not be slumping.

Connecticut Flood Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a statement made today before the Appropriations Subcommittee for Public Works by William S. Wise, director, Connecticut State Water Commission. The chairman of the water commission is former Congressman from the First District Herman P. Kopplemann. This fine comprehensive request merits most earnest consideration.

The statement follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, the people of Connecticut—as individuals, as communities, and as a State—are making a magnificent recovery from the catastrophic floods of August and October 1955.

The task was of unparalleled magnitude. Never before in Connecticut history had natural disasters taken so tragic a toll of human life and resulted in such enormous property damage. Never before had so many people been left homeless and out of work, so many bridges and roads destroyed, and so many business and industrial firms damaged.

Connecticut is determined to prevent or at least greatly reduce the damages from any such disastrous floods in the future.

A special flood session of the Connecticut General Assembly in November 1955, authorized expenditures of approximately $70 million to start a recovery program.

The State has given great assistance to flood municipalities which would have been left in serious financial difficulties if they had been forced to shoulder alone the full burden of recovery. The State is replacing municipal bridges, roads, buildings, and fire equipment; it is reimbursing local communities for tax losses; it is building public housing and guaranteeing low-interest, long-term housing mortgages for families which lost their homes in the floods; it is assisting in planning and redevelopment so that from the wreckage of this disaster can rise a finer Connecticut than that which stood before the floods came; it is undertaking flood-control planning and projects; it is carrying out dam inspection and stream encroachment programs.

The present session of the General Assembly is considering a $8,275,000 program that will implement the work that has thus far been done. The water resources and flood control committee of the general assembly has reported favorably on the author-

zation of $5 million for flood-control facilities, $3 million for beach and shore erosion control, $100,000 for studies in flood control, $150,000 for the setting of stream encroachment limits along waterways, and $25,000 for inventory and supervision of dams. This program is aimed at trying to keep ravaging floodwaters from the people and also in trying to keep people away from the floodwaters.

Connecticut is thus meeting the complex problems facing it with courage, with determination, with faith in the future, and with large appropriations.

To effectively implement this program and to protect the State from future floods, however, Connecticut needs both financial and technical help from the Federal Government. The Federal Government, from both precedence and experience, has the responsibility for flood-control projects. In many instances, the control of floods in river valleys must be undertaken on an interstate basis and can be solved only by large and expensive projects. No State can carry by itself the full burden of flood protection.

Over the years Connecticut has more than shouldered its share of the national taxation load and helped less fortunate States. For every thousand dollars Connecticut has contributed in Federal taxes during the past 25 years, it has received back $49.92—the second smallest return of any State in the Nation.

Now the time has come when we in Connecticut need Federal help to protect our homes, our loved ones, and our economic life. There should be no hesitancy in meeting these needs. Here are Connecticut's urgent requirements for the coming fiscal year:

NAUGATUCK RIVER, MAD RIVER FLOOD CONTROL

The New England division of the Army engineers has been of incalculable help to Connecticut. With dispatch and in accordance with sound engineering principles, it has studied and proposed certain measures for implementing the State's flood-control program. The outstanding phase of this work is the recommendation and location of flood-control reservoirs to keep some of the flood waters away from our people. We request all possible financial help to carry forward these projects which are so greatly needed to protect the State. We ask for the coming year only such sums as the Army engineers believe can be spent wisely, effectively, and efficiently. The following are a few items in this category:

The Thomaston Dam, which will protect many sections of the vital industrial Naugatuck Valley, was started last year. The Army engineers have determined that $2,900,000 will be needed to carry on this work effectively during the next year.

Three other small reservoirs have been proposed to reduce the flood waters entering the cities of Torrington and Winsted. The Hall Meadow Brook Dam located above Torrington on the West Branch of the Naugatuck River, the East Branch Dam on the East Branch of the Naugatuck River above Torrington, and the Mad River Dam above Winsted all have been found to be economically justified. None of these dams has yet been authorized by Congress. We ask the Congress to authorize these projects immediately and to provide funds in the amount of $100,000 for each dam in order to proceed with further studies and the preparation of plans for the construction.

We urgently request that a total of $3,200,000 be provided for carrying on the needed flood-control dams in the Naugatuck River and Mad River Valleys.

CONNECTICUT RIVER FLOOD-CONTROL PROGRAM

The comprehensive flood-control program for the Connecticut River was set up some years ago, and five flood-control reservoirs in this program are in various stages of construction. It is necessary to provide funds for proceeding with the program involving the following reservoirs: Otter Brook Dam in New Hampshire, $2 million; North Hartland Dam in Vermont, $1 million; North Springfield Dam in Vermont, $1,300,000; Ball Mountain Dam in Vermont, $1,300,000; Townshend Dam in Vermont, $1,300,000.

We urgently request that $6,900,000 be provided to carry on these projects during the coming year.

THAMES RIVER FLOOD-CONTROL PROGRAM

The Thames River flood-control program was laid out a number of years ago. The disastrous floods of 1955 pointed up the need to carry out measures to control the floods in this valley, and the projects are now in various stages of construction, planning, and design. The dams and the amounts of money involved are as follows: Hodges Village Dam in Massachusetts, $1,860,000; Buffumville Dam in Massachusetts, $1,117,000; East Brimfield Dam in Massachusetts, $1,500,000; and Westville Dam in Massachusetts, $100,000.

We urgently request that $4,577,000 be made available in order to carry on the program in the Thames River Valley.

BUSH-M'CORMACK PROJECTS

Congress authorized the so-called Bush-McCormack projects in an effort to push along more rapidly much-needed projects following the disastrous 1955 floods. The Army engineers indicate that there are approximately 10 possible Bush-McCormack projects in Connecticut. The studies thus far have indicated that at the present time the plans have been prepared for 2 of these projects in Torrington; 1 on the east branch of the Naugatuck River and the other on the west branch. Federal funds are available for carrying out these projects.

We urgently request that Congress provide funds in sufficient amounts to continue the construction of the needed Bush-McCormack projects and those projects of the small flood-control nature.

HURRICANE PROTECTION FUNDS

Because of the frequency of severe storms along the Connecticut and New England coast, many of hurricane severity, a study has been underway aimed at providing reasonable protection for certain vulnerable areas. During the past year the efforts of the Army engineers have been concentrated in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. There are a number of areas along the Connecticut shore in which certain protective measures are needed. Studies, therefore, should be undertaken at the earliest possible date.

We urgently request that sufficient funds be made available to continue the hurricane protection studies along the Connecticut shore.

HARBOR IMPROVEMENT

Connecticut, like any other progressive State, wishes to develop its harbors to serve the needs of the State. New Haven Harbor was improved some years ago. There is one section of the harbor, referred to as the Quinnipiac River section, which still needs to be completed. It is requested, therefore, that $575,000 be made available to complete this project.

Bridgeport Harbor should be deepened from its present 30 feet to 35 feet. All indications point to the fact that this is an economical project. We, therefore, request Congress to authorize the deepening of Bridgeport Harbor and also to provide funds in the amount of $100,000 to proceed with the detailed studies and plans for this project.

We request that $675,000 be provided for harbor-improvement work in Connecticut.

BEACH-EROSION CONTROL

It is quite likely that the present session of the general assembly will authorize a State expenditure of $3 million to continue beach and shore erosion-control work in cooperation with the Army engineers. This program has been laid out in accordance with the wishes of the various towns involved and includes 25 projects spread along the shoreline. Studies indicate that Federal funds totaling $294,000 are justified at 6 projects. These projects are at Greenwich Point in Greenwich, Cumings Park and Cove Island in Stamford, Calf Pasture Beach in Norwalk, Woodmont Shore in Milford, and Lighthouse Point in New Haven. Actually, funds for Woodmont Shore were made available by Congress last year, but the project could not be carried out during the present year and, therefore, reverted. It is requested that these funds be reappropriated.

The groin at Guilford was completed during the present year and it is requested that the Federal Government's share of the cost of this groin in the amount of $20,000 be appropriated.

We urgently request that $314,000 be provided to carry out this phase of the shore erosion-control program.

Congress has not yet authorized the projects in several of the areas along the Connecticut shoreline. It is, therefore, requested that Congress authorize the projects in all Connecticut areas so that the necessary funds can be provided for carrying them out.

NORTHEAST FLOOD STUDIES AND SMALL PROJECTS

As indicated previously, the Army engineers have done an outstanding job in making their northeast flood studies during the past year.

It is requested that funds be provided to continue these studies to the point where comprehensive programs and recommendations can be made to relieve the conditions in this very important area.

Awards Presented by the Maryland State Council, American Jewish Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, we who have the honor of being Members of the Congress of the United States are concerned with the enactment of laws. Indelibly carved in solid marble over the entrance to the Supreme Court are the words "Equal justice under law," and we are constantly being reminded that ours is a government of law and not of men. The importance of a proper respect of law is being inculcated in our young people in order that they may become good American citizens. If we stop to consider, we cannot help but realize that the first laws were God-given when He gave the Ten Commandments to Moses on Mount Sinai.

Recently the great Cecil B. DeMille gave the world further evidence of his incomparable genius in the epic motion picture The Ten Commandments, which I am sure all of you have seen and been deeply moved by the graphic and reverential portrayal of the greatest of events in the world.

In recognition of the superb achievement of Cecil B. DeMille in making this incomparable picture and thereby reminding the world of God's basic laws, it is altogether fitting and proper that many organizations have taken affirma-

tive action in expressing their respective collective appreciation.

Mr. Louis E. Shecter, a very well known and highly respected fellow Baltimorean, who is chairman of the awards committee of the Maryland State Council, American Jewish Congress, on April 30, 1957, presented a plaque to this great artist. On that occasion he made stirring addresses when plaques were presented, not only to Cecil B. DeMille but also to Mr. Barney Balaban for having made possible the production of that great picture. A third plaque was awarded to a very civic-minded Baltimorean, Solomon Rogers, Esq., a well-known and highly respected member of the Baltimore bar, for his leadership in the communal life of our city.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I deem it a privilege to insert the above three salutes made by Mr. Louis E. Shecter:

REMARKS OF LOUIS E. SHECTER, CHAIRMAN, AWARDS COMMITTEE, MARYLAND STATE COUNCIL, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS ON PRESENTATION OF PLAQUE TO CECIL B. DEMILLE, APRIL 30, AT BLUE CREST, BALTIMORE, MD.

In the course of a long history, the Jewish creative genius, preeminently religious, has proved capable of dramatizing its sweet and bitter memories. The tragedy of Egyptian bondage is recited in the Bible and in the Haggadah with beauty and inspiration. And it is the Haggadah which tells us:

"In every generation, every man is obligated to look upon himself as though he himself had gone out of Egypt."

And now, in the 20th century, we find that a great Christian, the fabulous Cecil B. DeMille, has infused his magnificent talent into the production of The Ten Commandments so as to produce for many millions of us a sense of personal participation in the agony of Egyptian bondage and in the joy and triumph of liberation. And we are wondering whether Mr. DeMille accomplished this with or without the four festive cups.

It is fitting that all Americans, of all races and creeds, applaud the monumental artistry of Cecil B. DeMille's breathtaking direction in The Ten Commandments. But it is particularly appropriate that this saga of Moses, the great lawgiver, be recognized by the American Jewish Congress, an organization dedicated to preserving and attaining human rights through the agency of law. This congress was founded 35 years ago to carry on the fight for the precious liberties guaranteed us in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and to make them endure through the medium of law. If there is one dominant philosophy in the congress creed, it is our faith in accomplishment by law. There is no figure in Jewish history who supplies the congress with more enriching inspiration than Moses, the lawgiver—Moše Rabbin. What could then be more appropriate today—when the shocking pages of the Egyptian past are being rewritten by a new and even more vicious kind of a Pharaoh—than that we of the congress draw new strength and new hope from the stirring drama of Moses.

The black record of Egypt's persecution, imprisonment, and deportation of the Jewish community of Egypt is now tragically spread on the pages of our times.

That record shows that since November 20,000 members of the Jewish community have been driven from Egypt after being imprisoned and deprived of their property and personal belongings. With few exceptions, those remaining in the country have been deprived by every means of earning a livelihood. They have been dismissed from all posts in public service; they have been denied the right to practice their professions; their businesses and bank accounts have been confiscated. Even the seizure of hostages from families leaving the country, so as to silence those driven out, has been part of this scheme of terror. It has now become clear that this deliberate liquidation of the Jewish residents of Egypt had been carefully planned under the direction and guidance of ex-Nazis, followers of Hitler, now attached to Nasser's regime.

It is rather shameful that the United Nations has not allowed a single word of public reproof of Nasser for calculated destruction of a defenseless community. Nor has any great nation expressed more than a mild and ambiguous concern.

The American Jewish Congress condemns this continuing campaign of violence, and oppression by the Government of Egypt against its Jewish community, in violation of the moral standards of all civilized lands and in violation of international law. To end such persecution, effective action must be taken both by the United States and the United Nations.

If there is one thing The Ten Commandments brings out, it is that the fight against dictators never ends. The struggle for freedom is continuous, and this great lesson of history is pointed up for us with graphic force by the newest DeMille production.

Cecil B. DeMille's rich canvas portrays Egypt's assault on human dignity with an impact that adds even greater stature to the DeMille reputation as a sublime artist. No painter, sculptor, or creative artist in the theater or the motion picture has ever made such a vast contribution to the culture of his times as DeMille. And today with The Ten Commandments he has produced for the world a magnificence that is difficult to describe with mere words.

Cecil B. DeMille has created through the medium of motion-picture art a heartwarming and exalting religious experience that far surpasses any of the achievements of even the great Michelangelo.

You have never crossed the Red Sea until you have crossed it with Cecil B. DeMille. You have never been as genuinely stirred by Moses as when he stands before Rameses, in the picture, and exclaims, "Thus, sayest the Lord God of Israel, let my people go."

In a world where so few struggle for their ideals, the American Jewish Congress is proud to honor an inspired leader who has given many of us the courage and the spirit to fight for what is right and decent.

Mr. DeMille, the congress treasures this opportunity to express the gratefulness of right-thinking men and women for a work of art which we consider your masterpiece.

We are deeply honored and thrilled that you have had the kindness to travel 6,000 miles to be with us tonight. To say that your visit is an unforgetable privilege is to express very mildly our feeling on this occasion. For your service to mankind it is our genuine pleasure to present to you the Stephen Wise plaque. How magnificent that the founder of our organization who has left us a blessed memory of dedication to freedom should be participating tonight in this salute to you.

I will read the inscription:

"Maryland State Council of American Jewish Congress salutes Cecil B. DeMille as the outstandingly brilliant producer of 1956 whose genius has given the world The Ten Commandments, the most inspiring film of the year. April 30, 1957."

Mr. DeMille, you have given us the kind of spiritual lift that comes once in a lifetime. Allow us to give you this modest expression of our gratitude.

REMARKS BY LOUIS E. SHECTER, CHAIRMAN, AWARDS COMMITTEE, MARYLAND STATE COUNCIL, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, ON PRESENTATION OF PLAQUE TO BARNEY BALABAN, APRIL 30, 1957, AT BLUE CREST, BALTIMORE, MD.

Mr. Balaban is not the run-of-the-mill businessman trapped in a cage of self-importance. He is a charitable man. He is a patriot. He is a devoted husband and father. He is the kind of a human being who will take time out from a busy day to listen to a little boy sing a chanukah song.

In honoring Mr. Balaban, the congress is honoring itself.

The inscription reads as follows: "The Stephen Wise Medallion, Maryland State Council, American Jewish Congress, honors Barney Balaban for distinguished administrative leadership which made possible the production of Cecil B. DeMille's The Ten Commandments, the most inspiring film of 1956. April 30, 1957."

It is our pleasure to present the award to Cecil B. DeMille who will receive it on behalf of Barney Balaban.

REMARKS BY LOUIS E. SHECTER, CHAIRMAN, AWARDS COMMITTEE, MARYLAND STATE COUNCIL, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, PRESENTATION OF PLAQUE TO SOLOMON ROGERS, APRIL 30, 1957, AT BLUE CREST, BALTIMORE, MD.

This whole idea of giving tablets started with Moses. He gave the tablets with The Ten Commandments to the children of Israel. Tonight, we are reversing the order. The children of Israel, as symbolized by the American Jewish Congress, are giving a tablet, or as we call it nowadays, a plaque, to Solomon Rogers. You only have to look at the past and evaluate experience in terms of community advances to realize that the contributions in patience and understanding and statesmanship by Solomon Rogers have been important. In one of the most exciting periods in the history of our people and our country, Solomon Rogers has made it his business to serve loyally—without any thought of self-glorification.

If testimony were needed as to the quality of his leadership, I am confident most of us here could give eloquent testimony as to his innumerable contributions. So, because we need no proof of Sol's unwavering dedication to genuine ideals and values, my major purpose tonight is to encourage others to give of themselves as Solomon Rogers does.

Ours is a proud Jewish community. We have men and women of stature, whose unstinted energies and generous hearts have brought distinction to our city. In the congress itself we have had giants, who have given towering strength to our cause. Among our leaders have been the brilliant and magnetic Judge Simon E. Sobeloff; the liberal-minded and persuasive Sidney Hollander; our beloved Rabbi Samuel Rosenblatt, with his warmth of personality and fervent convictions; the able former Congressman Daniel Ellison, whose leadership was so vigorous. And there were others, many others. And in this entire galaxy of Baltimoreans who have given vibrant leadership to the Congress and many other causes, I would have to place Solomon Rogers high up on the list.

He was my predecessor as president of the congress and I am indebted to him for encouraging me in liberal thinking. Solomon Rogers is a leader who doesn't handpick his activities. It is amazing to me how he finds

time to devote himself as intensely as he does to the Associated Jewish Charities-Jewish Welfare Fund, to the Baltimore Jewish Council, to the National Administrative Committee of the congress, to Levindale, to Chizuk Amno, to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, to the American-Israel Society, and the Jewish Theological Seminary.

It looks like some of Sol's talent has rubbed off on his lovely wife. Fortunately, for the Congress and many other important organizations, Mrs. Solomon Rogers is now giving direction on many vital fronts.

I know that Henry, and Nolan and other members of the Rogers family share with us the pleasure of this occasion. Your chairman was kind enough to mention that for the last 25 years, I have been chairman of the Man of the Year Awards of the Advertising Club of Baltimore. In that capacity it has been my opportunity to make awards to men and women of high purpose and outstanding achievement—great doctors, famous judges, able businessmen, men like our own Judge Sobeloff, Governor McKeldin and Dr. Alfred Blalock. In all those presentations, there has never been an award that has given me more personal gratification than tonight's salute to Solomon Rogers.

With all our hearts, we of the Congress thank you for your support, for your work and for your friendship.

As a long-time colleague and close personal friend, and as chairman of the Awards Committee, I am delighted to make this presentation. Allow me to read the wording:

"Stephen S. Wise Medallion, 1957 Maryland State Council, American Jewish Congress honors Solomon Rogers for his dynamic leadership and loyal dedication to the enrichment of the religious and civic and communal life of our city. Baltimore, Md., April 30, 1957."

With heartfelt good wishes we present you with this gift.

Time for Its Ratification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, two of Washington's newspapers have given strong editorial support for ratification by the United States Senate of the treaty to create an International Atomic Energy Agency.

On May 4 the Washington Evening Star editorialized Time for Its Ratification, and on today, May 6, the Washington Post, in its lead editorial, referred to The Senate and the Atom.

In my opinion, no treaty has ever been submitted to the Senate in the entire history of our country which offers greater promise for the economic stability, well-being, and peace of the world as does the one which would create and give substance to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The editorials follow:

[From the Washington Evening Star of May 4, 1957]

TIME FOR ITS RATIFICATION

It is difficult to understand why there should be any American opposition to the projected International Atomic Energy Agency. Yet several Senators apparently intend to fight hard against it now that it is about to be subjected to hearings before the Foreign Relations Committee. Some of them apparently feel that the statute's ratification would start an American giveaway of fissionable materials, and others seem to fear that it would somehow enable the Communist world to get the jump on us in the field of nuclear weapons.

But this is an unjustified, oversuspicious frame of mind. For the IAEA, which has been agreed upon by no fewer than 80 nations, is an enterprise designed exclusively to promote the peaceful uses of the atom on a realistic and carefully supervised basis. The author of the idea is our own country, which has been the prime mover in the long and exhaustive negotiations that ended successfully last year with unanimous adoption of the statute—negotiations in which the Soviet Union, after first having taken a negative attitude, was finally persuaded to cooperate. No giveaway is involved, nor will the Agency's opeations require any exchange of military secrets or otherwise help countries behind the Iron Curtain to acquire a weapons advantage over us.

Actually, once it begins operating, the Agency will be governed by very strict rules and regulations. Its prime task will be to expedite nuclear progress throughout the world—civilian progress of a kind that will place major stress on industrial power, agricultural improvements, and special undertakings aimed at bettering human health. Accordingly, among other things, it will promote the spread of nonmilitary atomic knowledge and act as a bank for fissionable material to be contributed by the uranium-producing countries, including Russia and the United States. This material, in turn, will be allocated—generally through a leasing arrangement—to nations that can meet elaborate standards showing that they are fully qualified to receive and make good use of it. As for the supervisory machinery, it will include a thorough system of continuous inspection to afford adequate protection against the diversion of any project into military channels.

All this should serve to reassure those Members of the Senate who may be hesitant about ratifying the IAEA's statute. What needs to be kept in mind, above all, is that the Agency, although it cannot be expected to accomplish overnight miracles, is full of unique promise for the whole world. Certainly, if it is administered nad supported with steady vigor and unanimity, it can hardly fail to bring about, slowly but surely, a striking improvement in the material well-being of peoples everywhere. More than that, in a larger sense, it is ideally designed to foster mutual trust and international collaboration of a kind that could go far toward bringing about real disarmament and a decent global peace.

It is for such reasons as these that President Eisenhower has appealed for early ratification of this potentially great undertaking. The Soviet version of parliament has already acted affirmatively on the matter, and since the project is primarily the brainchild of the United States, our Senate should do the same thing with as little delay as possible. To do otherwise, to abandon what we ourselves started, would be to commit a kind of infanticide that would shock the world.

[From the Washington Post of May 6, 1957]

THE SENATE AND THE ATOM

If a clincher is required for the many persuasive reasons for early United States ratification of the International Atomic Energy Agency statute, the Soviet Union has supplied one. Russia long ago dropped its hostile attitude toward President Eisenhower's 1953 proposal for creation of the world agency to promote peaceful uses of the atom. Now it has become the first of the major powers to ratify the agreement signed by some 80 nations last fall. Byelorussia, Rumania, Guatemala, and Switzerland also have assented to the accord.

Does Moscow's swift embrace of the international atoms-for-peace program mean that the Kremlin believes Russia will reap great benefits from the proposed exchange of atomic energy materials and the fruits of research? Of course it does—but not because the agency it likely to give Russia or her satellites any new advantage in atomic development, peaceful or otherwise. The Soviet Union is already the world's second greatest producer of fissionable materials and has demonstrated that it is far along in superweapon development and well equipped for the most advanced research.

The Soviet Union reversed its position on world pooling of peaceful atomic materials and know-how because of the tremendous enthusiasm which the smaller and less developed nations of the world have shown for the proposal from the time of the President's historic address to the United Nations on December 8, 1953. In that speech, Mr. Eisenhower brought the delegates to their feet in thunderous applause when he pledged the United States "to devote its entire heart and mind to find the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life." The Indonesian representative to the Assembly, Mr. Sudjarwo, seemed to speak for the great majority of the members when he responded that the President had "interpreted the deeply felt desire of mankind throughout the world to redress the appalling situation in which the world found itself in this atomic era."

The Soviet Union could not afford to turn its back on that great groundswell of hope that a way had been found to lessen and perhaps eventually to end the threat of a nuclear holocaust. The United States cannot afford such a course, either, especially since it was this country that first developed atomic weapons, first used them in war, and, in consequence, has so far led the search for controls and ways to divert the atom to peaceful purposes.

The International Atomic Energy Agency would not, of course, be a disarmament agency, although one of its goals is to siphon off atomic materials and commit them to peaceful uses. It would not be an atomic armament inspection agency, although nations which it provided with uranium for power, industrial and medical purposes would be required to submit to checkups and safeguards against diversions for military use. Quite beyond the commercial and other advantages to the United States from international accords on atomic development, the great contribution that IAEA can make, as Representative STERLING COLE recently observed, "is in the development of the technology, the law, and the public acceptance of international control."

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will begin hearings shortly on the statute establishing the Agency. There are fears that the Senate may try to cripple the agreement with various restrictions or even to deny its consent to ratification. Such a course would be unthinkable. Even though the United States already has extended nonmilitary atomic development assistance to many friendly nations on a bilateral basis and presumably could continue to do so, the rejection of the carefully safeguarded IAEA statute by the Senate would all but end American leadership in the highly successful atoms-for-peace effort. It would give substance to small power fears that this major power, at least, is primarily concerned with atoms for war. It would hand the Soviet Union a priceless propaganda advantage. And rejection, far from somehow safeguarding American atomic resources and skills, would only intensify efforts of the

Soviet bloc to dominate world developments in this area.

Uranium is one of the world's most plentiful elements. The knowledge of how it and other materials may be fissioned or fused to produce energy and useful isotopes is already widespread and will soon be universal. Is the United States going to be part of a worldwide effort to channelize this awful knowledge in the ways of peace? Or is it going to stand aside and let other nations grapple with the fateful question that America itself wrote in the Hiroshima sky in 1945? That is the question before the Senate. There is only one proper answer.

Republican "Lipservice" to Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is high time that the Republican administration appointed to positions in the Department of Commerce, persons who have an understanding of the basic problems of small business.

During the past week the press has quoted Assistant Commerce Secretary Frederick H. Mueller as stating that bad management is the cause of most small-business failures.

The following letter, dated April 24, 1957, written to President Eisenhower by George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, is worthy of the attention of our colleagues:

Hon. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
President of the United States,
White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: A report appeared in the press a day or two ago that: "Assistant Commerce Secretary Frederick H. Mueller yesterday blamed bad management for most small-business failures."

He is further reported as stating: "Most failures are management failures—persons who started in business without the knowledge or ability to succeeed." Mr. Mueller is also credited in the press story with expressing his opinion on what he believes to be contributing causes for small business failures, and he further stated it is his contention that small business is healthy.

Mr. President, this does not check with the findings we receive through our nationwide membership, comprised exclusively of independent business and professional men—nor does the statement as to their healthy position check with statements emanating from well known national syndicated columnists, and further, it does not check with the editorial thinking expressed in a national leading weekly periodical. It may also be found that a close check with most Members of Congress will confirm their contention too that small business is far from being healthy.

Our principal concern is that the charge made by the Assistant Secretary of Commerce is the same old line of bunk as to the contributing cause for the failure of small business being due to bad management.

Now let us look at the record of what we have found to be the principal causes for failure in the ranks of small business.

1. It was publicly stated before a Senate committee in February 1947 by the then Assistant Attorney General that for 35 years or more the administrations had merely given "lipservice" to the enforcement of the antitrust laws.

2. Review the actions of a Government agency in 1936 as it applied to a contract relationship existing between a big rubber producer and a large merchandiser. That contract disclosed the reasons for the inability of efficient independent retailers and producers in that industry to compete in fair competition in the open market, resulting in the failure of thousands of independent retailers and hundreds of producers. Such failures were not due to bad business management, but, on the other hand, they were due to violation of the antitrust laws.

3. When the Robinson-Patman Act was made a law of the land, independent business of all descriptions looked upon that law as the Magna Carta that would protect efficient independent business against ever increasing unfair competition. Independent business of all descriptions was sadly disappointed as a result of the failure of the Federal Trade Commission to vigorously enforce this major law, and particularly in their failure to follow up Commission orders where violations had taken place.

4. We now refer to the "basing point system" which was organized by certain large industries, and which system was eventually nullified by the United States Supreme Court. Either efficient small business played along with that system or they were out of business. So there was no bad management in that respect on the part of small business.

5. Is the Under Secretary of Commerce aware of the increasing concentration and the merger trend in our Nation's industry? Surely the administration is well aware of this when they recommended amendments to the antitrust laws, which proposal is wholeheartedly supported by Nation's small business. In this respect, we urgently made this recommendation during a White House conference with your economic adviser, Dr. Burns, on July 5, 1956. This merger trend in our economy has resulted in a most serious and unhealthy situation for small business, both at the production and distribution level.

Mr. President, let us sum this communication up in plain, understandable words—and here it is.

It's ridiculous to make the charge as it applies to small business, that failures are due to bad management. The principal cause for these failures is the result of unfair competitive conditions due primarily to the failure of the Federal Government to vigorously enforce the laws on the statute books, which were set up to bring fair competition in the open market.

Is it any wonder that the mounting opinion in the ranks of small business is that the Department of Commerce as a whole does not speak and act in the best interest of small business?

Let us go one step further. We know that just a few years back we were called upon, through a long-distance call, by a representative of one of the leading newspaper chains throughout the Nation. They advised they had discovered a release issued by the so-called Small Business Section of the Department of Commerce, in which a recommendation was made, in substance, for a suspension or modification of antitrust laws. This call was made from Washington, D. C., to me in San Francisco while I was in that city. They desired to know what our position would be, and our answer was that we would definitely oppose any such action.

It would strike us, solely in the interest of small business of this Nation, that if the Department of Commerce is to be truly representative of all segments of our business economy—then it's about time, Mr. President, some people are appointed to the high positions in that Department who have a common understanding of the basic problems of small business. From the record as it now stands it would appear to us that the Department of Commerce operates wholly in the interest of big business.

We hope and trust that this plea will not be in vain as small business today is facing a life or death struggle to maintain their rightful position in our economy.

Sincerely,

GEORGE J. BURGER.

Welcome to a Great Asian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Cleveland Press on Monday, May 6, carried a very inspiring tribute to President Ngo Dinh Diem of the Republic of Vietnam in the form of an editorial. The title of that editorial is "This Visitor From the Orient Deserves Respect of Americans." In this editorial the Cleveland Press cites the highlights of the record made by President Ngo Dinh Diem in support of freedom and preserving the independence of his own country. It points out that his secret weapon, if he does in fact have one, is fearlessness. It concludes on the note that we can count upon President Diem to stand by his word and to uphold any understandings that may be reached while he is here with us. I know President Diem personally and have had an opportunity to talk with him while visiting in Vietnam 18 months ago. He is in every sense of the word a true ally of the United States and a tried and proven friend of the cause of peace and freedom. Because of the interest I know Members of Congress have in this outstanding Asian leader, I insert this editorial under leave previously obtained.

The editorial follows:

THIS VISITOR FROM THE ORIENT DESERVES RESPECT OF AMERICANS

President Ngo Dinh Diem of the courageous Republic of Vietnam arrives in Washington Wednesday at the invitation of President Eisenhower.

All the honors and respect Americans may bestow on this capable but self-effacing Asian leader will be fully deserved. In the 3 years he has headed his struggling state, he has proved himself an uncompromising friend of the United States and an implacable foe of communism.

The 1954 Geneva parley that carved up Vietnam, a la Korea, opened the way for relatively easy Communist conquest. Had South Vietnam fallen then, as many were predicting, a vast area of southeast Asia might well be under Red tyranny today.

But with the odds heavily against him, President—then Premier—Diem set his course toward the twin goals of freedom for his country along Christian, democratic lines, and resolute opposition to the Communist menace. His secret weapon, if any, is fearlessness.

Today, South Vietnam is the haven for 900,000 of his countrymen who fled from the Communist north to prove President Diem's theory that multitudes of Asians are not resigned to any Communist takeover.

Unlike some other state visitors we have had from his part of the world, Ngo Dinh Diem can be counted upon to stand by his word and uphold any understandings that may be reached while he is here.

The Waste—The Cruelty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include the following article from the June 1957 issue of Popular Dogs. The article describes wasteful and cruel conditions in our meatpacking houses, which make necessary the enactment of effective humane slaughtering legislation now pending in the House and Senate. The article follows:

THE WASTE—THE CRUELTY

Even if I were not concerned with the enormous American tragedy of cruelty to our domesticated animals which clothe and feed us, the great tragedy of waste would be shocking. I am deeply concerned with both. In 1951 I wrote on the High Cost of Indifference and quoted that it is estimated the loss of meat at that time (it has increased) would fill a cattle car more than 10 miles long with animals which have died through neglect and injury during transportation to market. Another article, The Cruelty Is Worse Than the Waste, pictured some of the unfortunate animals which lived. Study these pictures and then write your Congressmen urging them to support the humane slaughtering bill. Write at once as the bill is to come up in this session of Congress.

In later issues, we hope to bring you the names of the meatpackers that fought this humane bill, and also the Members of Congress who voted against it.

Pigs are jerked off their feet, hauled high by a chain around one leg (the leg often broken in the process) and sent struggling on an overhead trolley to the "sticker" who thrusts a knife into the animal's throat. Although it bleeds to death, the screams of terror before and of pain after are constant—the fully conscious animal's struggle causes welts and dislocation of bones—then dead or alive, the pigs are dropped into the scalding vats.

Cattle are smashed on the head by a pole axe to render them "unconscious," but the terrified animal attempts to avoid the blows and too often the eyes and the nose are smashed first.

Why are meatpacking houses fighting this humane bill? It is true that the majority of slaughterers of the United States will not change their uncivilized methods unless they are compelled to do so by law.

Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY of Minnesota, who introduced slaughter bill, S. 1497, states: "It is time that we in the United States faced the fact that we trail behind much of the world in adoption of approved and humane practices in the slaughter of food animals. What we are asking in this legislation is already accepted and in use in many other countries. We pride ourselves in being advanced in technology; we should be just as advanced in humane regard for handling and treatment of animals."

Says Senator RICHARD C. NEUBERGER of Oregon: "Slaughter methods now almost universally used in American packing plants cause intense suffering and are grossly cruel. Practical and economical methods of killing animals humanely are available. It appears that the packing industry cannot or will not end the cruelty without legislation which will require all packers to act simultaneously."

Congressman WILLIAM A. DAWSON of Utah who introduced to the House bill H. R. 3029, says, "America has a fine tradition of extending kindness to the unprotected, of exerting its strength to protect the weak. Despite this tradition, millions of animals annually are killed in the United States under conditions that would shock and outrage the average citizen."

Telegraph and write your congressmen today. If you do not know their names, your nearest newspaper or the county courthouse will furnish the information.

ONE SLAUGHTERHOUSE OF THOUSANDS

The following excerpts are from a report of the SPCA:

"Witnesses reported that calves were being thrown, dropped and kicked from vans at a local slaughterhouse. We found a mixed load of cows, pigs and calves ready to be unloaded. They had been purchased the day before at an auction in New Jersey. The rectums of all were bleeding from the sharp pointed, sawed-off canes that are used as prods.

"Two cows had fallen in the truck, being skinned by the hoofs of standing animals. There were no unloading ramps at the slaughterhouse and no tail gate on the truck; thus animals were forced to jump or be pushed to a slippery concrete platform where many fell and were injured. They stood quivering in fear at the edge of the truck before being pushed off.

"A young exhausted pig was prodded off and fell to the platform breaking her two front legs. The slaughterer started to pick her up by a hind leg to drag her to the killing floor to be shackled, but we stopped him and insisted that she be shot where she lay. We made certain (for that load) that each calf was lifted out of the truck and placed on the platform.

"Our agent has now been on hand daily at 7 a. m. to check incoming loads. The use of canes and electric prods has been discontinued by this slaughterhouse personnel. Employees commented that unloading is much easier.

"However, the improvement does not affect the cattle in transit to the slaughterer. On another morning we saw a van arrive in which an aged cow was down and we found the driver about to use an electric prod on her rectum to get her to her feet. We had her shot where she lay. Another shipment contained 7 cows, 2 bulls, and 10 calves. Two calves had fallen and their legs were caught and sticking through the slats of the gate. Another shipment contained an old cow, blind in one eye and with back covered with inflamed, red bruises. We had her shot at once.

"At another slaughterhouse we found a boar (a male pig) with a gaping wound in his side. There were bony cows with cuts and bruises on their backs, which had been shipped from an area near Buffalo. Several had fallen.

"At 7 p. m. trucks were lined up waiting to be unloaded. Calves and cows in mixed loads were sent sliding, sprawling, and falling down the ramp, a 40° incline of slippery concrete. Calves were thrown and landed in a fallen position. They were promptly kicked to a standing posture and a wire tag was stapled through the ear. If an animal was stubborn it was prodded in the rectum, struck with steel wire cutters on the back, or the tail was pinched with wire cutters.

"Handlers seemed to derive a sadistic delight out of their ability to make the terrified, confused animals leap with pain. A rabbit in a crate was hurled 20 feet from a truck to a pen. Chickens were overcrowded in crates to the point of suffocation. Dogs and puppies also are auctioned here and we have been buying them for 25 cents and 50 cents with a contribution given us for this purpose by one of our members * * *.

"At 10:30 p. m. (three and one-half hours after arrival) the animals to be auctioned are forced into a ring, were bid on by packers and then begin their weary journey to the slaughterhouse. The loading continued until after 2 a. m."

Humane workers work long, weary hours with small pay to lighten the agonizing ordeals of the journey to the death houses of our domesticated animals. If you cannot visit an auction market to watch and supervise the unloading and loading of animals, the very least one can do is to send a regular contribution to humane societies whose workers will do this difficult and nauseous task.

One of the worst cruelties is the separation from mothers of calves too young to eat and drink. Thousands of "bob" calves are forced to starve for several days while truckers and auctioneers beat them periodically into activity before they wind up in the slaughterhouse. Trucks with loose boards, nails, and upright braces cause torn hides, bruises, and fractured ribs. Partitions should separate the large animals from young small animals. It is still common to see small animals loaded underneath large animals while in transit. Clubs, whips, steel prods, and prods with nails should be banned.

If Congress passes humane slaughter legislation at this session, much will be accomplished to lessen the suffering of food animals.

Interfaith Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a letter from our friend and former colleague, Hon. Dewey Short, Assistant Secretary of the Army—Civil-Military Affairs—writing me as Government chairman of the Interfaith Committee, and in connection with making May 14, Washington, D. C.'s first Interfaith Day, a success. I am very glad to note that Assistant Secretary of the Army, Dewey Short, is the Government chairman of the Interfaith Committee this year. This activity is a great contribution toward creating and cementing understanding and unity among our people. Everyone should cooperate in every way possible toward the success of this fine activity.

In connection with the events that will take place on May 14 in relation to participation in the celebration of Interfaith Day, the day's activities will close with a professional ball game played in its honor. As Assistant Secretary Short well said in his letter, "Since baseball is a living embodiment of American democracy in action," I am pleased to note that

a game will take place that evening between the Washington Senators and the White Sox; also, that this baseball game has been arranged for in honor of Interfaith Day through the cooperation of the Washington Senators.

I hope that all persons will properly celebrate Interfaith Day, which will take place May 14, and enter into its spirit; that as many persons as possible will attend the baseball game, which will take place the evening of May 14.

Arabs Step Up Raids From Gaza and Jordan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following letter written by Ambassador Abba Eban, permanent representative of Israel to the United Nations, to the President of the Security Council on April 5, 1957.

The letter follows:

ARABS STEP UP RAIDS FROM GAZA, JORDAN

Ambassador Abba Eban, permanent representative of Israel to the United Nations, addressed the following letter to the President of the Security Council on April 5, 1957:

"I have the honor to bring to your attention the following cases of infiltration and marauding from the Gaza strip into Israel that have occurred since my communication of March 13, 1957:

"1. On March 10, a group of marauders attempted to break into Mefalsim village near the Gaza border. One of them was killed by the watchmen of the village.

"2. On the same day a marauder from the Gaza strip was arrested near Kissufim by Israel security forces.

"3. On March 12 two marauders from Gaza were arrested near Nirim by Israel security forces.

"4. On March 12, a flock of sheep was stolen from Kissufim by marauders from the Gaza strip.

"5. On the same day two marauders were arrested near Nir Am by Israel security forces.

"6. Again on March 13 another marauder from Gaza was arrested in the vicinity of Nir Yitzhak.

"7. On March 14, a group of infiltrators from the Gaza strip crossed into Israel and reaped 40 dunams of wheat from the fields of Kfar Aza.

"8. On March 15 infiltrators from the Gaza strip stole 50 sacks of grain from Nirim village.

"9. On March 17 a tractor from Nahal Oz struck a freshly laid mine on a well-traversed road near the village. Two farmers in the tractor escaped injury, but their vehicle was wrecked. The tracks of four barefooted men led to the Gaza strip.

"10. On the same day three more plastic antivehicle mines were found in the proximity of the first mine.

"11. On March 18 infiltrators from Gaza stole a stand of corn in the fields of Mefalsim village.

"12. On March 22 a plastic mine of Czech manufacture was discovered on a dirt road near Nirim in the vicinity of the Gaza strip. The road is in constant use.

"13. In the night of March 22 the watchmen of the Ruhama settlement repelled an attack by four marauders. In the morning it was found that the village fence had been broken in three places. Tracks of the marauders led to the Gaza strip.

"14. On the night of March 23 infiltrators stole 12 goats from Dagan village. Tracks led to the Gaza strip.

"15. On March 24 infiltrators stole 3 calves from Shuval.

"16. On the night of March 25 infiltrators stole irrigation pipes from the fields of Ein Hashlosha.

"17. In the same night infiltrators from Gaza stole livestock from the village of Tekuma.

"18. On March 27, 400 meters of irrigation pipes were stolen from the settlement of Nirim by infiltrators whose tracks led to the Gaza strip.

"19. On the same day a heard of sheep was stolen from the settlement of Shdema by infiltrators whose tracks led to the Gaza strip.

"The continuation of marauding and infiltration from the Gaza strip into Israel is a matter which my Government cannot avoid viewing with extreme concern. Experience has shown that incidents which at first sight appear to be relatively unimportant, such as infiltration and marauding for purposes of theft and robbery, are the invariable preludes to serious outbreaks of violence and terror throughout the area.

"I have the honor to request that this letter be circulated among all members of the United Nations."

FURTHER RAIDS AND VIOLATIONS

Since Mr. Eban's letter was delivered, the following armistice violations, raids, and border incursions were reported:

April 3: An infiltrator from the Gaza strip was taken prisoner near Mefalsim.

April 4: Three Syrian soldiers penetrated the border at the village of Dardara. After an exchange of fire with Israel border guards, they withdraw.

Five Jordanian infiltrators fired on a group of Israel soldiers south of Ashdot Ya'acov. One Israel soldier was wounded.

April 8: A Syrian outpost fired on a new bridge south of Lake Hule.

A Syrian outpost fired on an Israel patrol south of Galilee. The fire was not returned.

A Syrian outpost opened automatic fire for 20 minutes on the village of Ashmorah; there were no casualties.

An infiltrator from Gaza was taken prisoner near Kfar Aza.

Infiltrators from Jordan kidnaped an Israel Arab shepherd near Wadi Ara and took him and 140 head of sheep across the border.

One hundred Arabs crossed the border west of Shear Yashur and attempted to steal crops before they were driven off.

A Syrian outpost fired on workers near Beit Guvrim. The fire was not returned.

New York State Democratic Delegation Protests Compliance With Saudi Arabia's Religious Discrimination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD a letter addressed to the President of the United States by 15 members of the New York State Democratic delegation, protesting compliance with Saudi Arabia's religious discrimination, and the reply from Assistant Secretary Robert C. Hill, for the Secretary of State. The texts of the letters follow:

APRIL 10, 1957.

Hon. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
President of the United States,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We, the undersigned Members of Congress, are greatly disturbed that the renewal agreement with Saudi Arabia for use of the air base at Dhahran carries with it the tacit compliance to discrimination against American citizens of varying religious faiths. For example, United States Army personnel of Jewish faith are disqualified from being stationed at the base. At the Dhahran base United States chaplains cannot wear the insignia crosses denoting their status as Christian chaplains. Such religious services as are conducted at the base are done in secrecy.

While the position could legally be defended that an alien sovereign state, as an attribute of its sovereignty, may determine when an American is persona non grata and cannot enter, is it not equally true that the United States can, if it wishes, refuse to concede to conditions which are contrary to explicit constitutional provisions, as well as contrary to its own moral standards? Our history is replete with incidents where we, as a country, have refused to concede to intolerable conditions which other sovereigns have sought to impose upon us as a price of continued diplomatic negotiations.

In a comparable situation President Wilson argued that the price of yielding was too great. He said that "America is not a mere body of traders; it is a body of freedom" and that the greatness of America "is moral not material" and that we must "square our politics with our principles."

Again, John W. Foster, grandfather of the present Secretary of State, when American Minister to St. Petersburg, made this point unmistakably clear in writing to the acting Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs:

"The Secretary of State instructs me to state to your Excellency that in the presence of the fact that an American citizen has been ordered to leave Russia on no other ground than that he is the professor of a particular creed or the holder of certain religious views, it becomes the duty of the Government of the United States, which impartially seeks to protect all of its citizens of whateevr origin or faith * * * to protest * * * insofar as the regulations for the expulsion of foreign Jews from Russia affects America citizens, it is an unjust reflection upon American Jews as a class and a discrimination which cannot be acquiesced in by my Government."

In accepting the conditions laid down by Saudi Arabia in the name of expediency, are we not asserting that the end justifies the means and are we not placing ourselves in the position of suppliants for the favors of Saudi Arabia when we accept conditions which are contrary to American principles?

May we respectfully ask that you address yourself to this matter so that necessary diplomatic negotiations with other nations are consonant with our principles at home. We cannot in defense of our position maintain one set of principles for internal policy and another set for the conduct of our foreign policy abroad.

Sincerely yours,

EMANUEL CELLER

(FOR VICTOR L. ANFUSO, CHARLES A. BUCKLEY, JAMES J. DELANEY, ISIDORE DOLLINGER, LEONARD FARBSTEIN, JAMES C. HEALEY, LESTER HOLTZMAN, EDNA F. KELLY, EUGENE J. KEOGH, ABRAHAM J. MULTER, JOHN J. ROONEY, ALFRED E. SANTANGELO, LUDWIG TELLER, HERBERT ZELENKO).

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 30, 1957.

The Honorable EMANUEL CELLER,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CELLER: I am pleased to provide a further reply to your letter of April 10 to the President concerning Saudi Arabian restrictions affecting the stationing of United States personnel at the Dhahran Airfield.

The recent negotiations with Saudi Arabia were aimed at an extension of the 1951 agreement covering rights of the United States at the airfield, which are important to our worldwide defense requirements. The text of the 1951 agreement was not at issue.

The problem of the admission of persons of the Jewish faith into Saudi Arabia is one related to the visa regulations of that country. These regulations, as you mention, are an attribute of sovereignty.

The United States, of course, does not condone practices by foreign governments which discriminate among American citizens on the basis of religious faith. In previous representations and during the recent discussions with Saudi Arabian officials, we have clearly set forth our special concern over the practices of the Saudi Arabian Government to which you refer. We will continue to exert these efforts on behalf of acceptance by Saudi Arabia of American principles in matters of this nature affecting American citizens. We have not deviated, and will not deviate, from the traditional American position.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT C. HILL,
Assistant Secretary
(For the Secretary of State).

St. Lawrence Seaway Tends To Increase Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, our increased budget is caused by a number of factors, not the least of which is the tendency of cost estimates to be unrealistic and unreliable. The St. Lawrence seaway project offers a good example of how estimates on multimillion dollar projects often prove untrustworthy.

For more than a half century there has been a strong demand by many groups for the construction of canals and locks which would open the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes to more shipping. During my first term in Congress I was a member of the Public Works Committee which for several months heard testimony on the St. Lawrence seaway project. Groups favorable to it naturally magnified its value and minimized its cost. Both political parties sponsored it. It was apparent to me that the cost would far exceed the estimate, and I stated this publicly. Lobbyists for this project, who were many and well paid and experienced in their profession, attacked me for my statements.

During the 2 years I was on the Public Works Committee, the bill was not reported out of that committee. It became law, however, in 1954. The cost of those parts of the project which the United States will build was estimated to be $66,815,000. Now the cost is estimated to be $133 million and an additional authorization is being asked of Congress. Frankly, it is going to cost far more than this. The cities on the Great Lakes ports are requesting Government authorization to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars for the deepening of their harbors in order to accommodate ships of deeper draft.

At the time of the drive to get public backing for the building of the seaway, it was represented that Indiana and most of the other States would be greatly and directly benefited by this project. It was also stated that the toll charges would pay for the canal and so the St. Lawrence seaway would cost the American people nothing. It is now admitted that if tolls are set high enough to pay for the project they will discourage traffic and be self-defeating. We can have high tolls and little traffic, or low tolls and heavy traffic; but the total revenue, in either case, will not meet the yearly costs if the seaway is to be self-liquidating as it was approved. Funds to make up any deficit can only come from one source—the Federal Government.

The person in charge of the drive to get the authorization of the St. Lawrence seaway was N. R. Danielian, a hard worker and one of the most capable lobbyists I have known. During the time I was a member, great pressure was brought to bear on the Public Works Committee to approve this project. Interested parties held meetings in the Seventh District to create support for it. They told Seventh District voters how cheap this project would be, the great benefits the district would derive from it, and how it would pay for itself. Now the people are realizing the cold facts. I will now quote Mr. N. R. Danielian, president, Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association, and chairman, Users' Committee on St. Lawrence Seaway Tolls. This is the same man who was the chief lobbyist for the project. I am quoting from a speech made by Mr. Danielian in Cleveland, Ohio, on April 5, 1957:

> Thus, one of the first misconceptions we must set aside is that this new waterway will bring a bonanza to everybody by and of itself, just because it is there. It will bring great advantages if and to the extent that it lowers transportation costs. Will it do that?
>
> The answer should be definitely "Yes" in the Great Lakes coastal areas, such as the North Shore of Ohio * * * for most goods, Pittsburgh, as of now, would still find it cheaper to trade via Baltimore; Cincinnati probably so. Columbus and Dayton and Youngstown may be marginal.
>
> Because such a wide belt across New York, Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Illinois is marginal as between the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence tributary area and east and gulf coasts, the level of tolls will have a definite effect upon amount of traffic through the seaway and commercial activity in the Great Lakes ports.

As for the tolls from the seaway paying its costs, he stated:

> If any attempt is made to set tolls so high as to collect $28 million a year from the users right off the bat it will as surely dry up traffic as I stand here, and there will be neither traffic nor revenues commensurate with expectations.

On the basis of present-day cost estimates, it will require over $28 million to meet the annual requirements, an increase of some 75 percent over 1954 estimates.

Yes, the cold facts are now coming to the American people. The St. Lawrence seaway will only directly benefit a small area. Its costs will be many times its original estimate. Its tolls will not pay for its construction and maintenance.

I do not question that the seaway will be beneficial to some. Perhaps the seaway is even worth its cost. Perhaps the American people would have backed this project even if they had known the true facts, but the sad part is that the estimated cost was misleading. Incidentally, cost estimates for the Canadian share of the project have also risen sharply. Why have the costs risen? Partly, construction costs are higher than they were a few years ago. Partly, the increase is due to changes and additions made in the plans. Nevertheless, it is typical of how projects once approved expand and become more costly and force increases in Government spending.

Should Richer States Help Poorer States?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Clarence Poe, senior editor and board chairman, has written a timely and thoughtful editorial which will appear in the June issue of the Progressive Farmer. It is addressed to Senators and Representatives in Congress and I feel it will be of great interest to all Members, whether representing rural or urban constituencies. The editorial is as follows:

SHOULD RICHER STATES HELP POORER STATES?

(By Clarence Poe)

To Our Senators and Representatives in Congress:

Right now there is a tremendous demand for reducing expenditures of the Federal Government. And we agree that in many respects they should be reduced. In many quarters there has been waste. In others, inefficiency. In others, too much political spending. Too many men have been given office to pay party debts. Unjustifiably expensive projects for rivers, harbors, and public buildings may be cited.

But on the other hand, the United States Government has spread education and scientific research. It has helped build hospitals and schools. It has furthered justice through its promotion of the general welfare and its protection of our Bill of Rights. It has given labor its rights and has protected capital from confiscatory legislation. It has stretched the hand of Christian charity to the veteran, the unemployed, the sick, and handicapped, the aged and deserving poor.

Such are the two aspects of Government spending. One is bad. The other is not.

But we now seem to have a nationwide movement which seems about to say, "All Federal spending is bad. And what Federal spending is not bad should be done not by the Federal Government but by the States.

Let's shift all possible spending burdens to the States." (And to the States might often mean the very poorest rural counties in these very poorest States.)

Burdensome as we know present tax policies are and anxious as we are to promote all sound economy and efficiency, it seems only fair and reasonable to present and answer two questions:

What kinds of Government spending should be reduced?

What classes of Federal spending should be shifted to the States and counties?

1. The first big fact we run up against is that an overwhelming proportion of our $70 billion Federal budget—about $45 billion—goes for preparations for war. The next biggest item is a result of past wars—$7½ billion for interest on war debts and $5 billion for war veterans. These two together make nearly $58 billion of our $71 billion Federal budget. By all odds, therefore, the No. 1 way to reduce taxes should be by doing more to prevent war and instead insure sound programs for international disarmament and world peace.

2. As the richest Nation on earth we are not likely spending too much for health or for the care of the sick, aged, unemployed, and incapacitated. "To hear the needy when he crieth, the poor also and him that hath no helper"—this should always be one of the major objectives of Government if we are to call ourselves a Christian nation.

3. Nor are we doing enough for education and scientific research by which we can increase wealth and industrial production, safeguard peace, and conquer many diseases not yet under control. We should not be willing to stay behind Russia of which Chester Bowles has just reported:

"A public education system has been developed which seeks to give every Soviet student as much training as he can profitably absorb from first grade through graduate school. Soviet universities are now graduating twice as many qualified scientists and engineers as our own each year."

But what we now wish to consider mainly is the proposal to shift the burden of what are wise and necessary expenses of government from the Federal Government and throw this burden more and more on the States. This would certainly be all right if the 48 States were equally able to bear these burdens. But is it fair when our per capita income ranges from $873 in agricultural Mississippi to more than $2,000 in several of our greatest manufacturing States? Would not the inevitable result be to lighten the burden on the States most able to provide the needed revenues and increase the burden on States least able to pay for needed services?

The 1956 figures we have also show the United States per capita income as $2,010 for nonfarm people and $889 for farm people. And in two-thirds of our States, more than one-third of the population is rural, while in 18 the majority of the population is rural. If an inequitably heavy burden per person or per dollar of income is placed on these largely rural States what may we expect? Should we not have depressed areas with a poorly educated people, a people without adequate medical and hospital service, a people where absence of scientific research and higher education handicaps all talent, a region where the sick, aged, and incapacitated are not adequately taken care of—and will not this mean a sore spot in America which will hurt the Nation as a whole and all American business? Is it not just for the Federal Government to help in these matters? And will not the richer States themselves be benefited by helping poorer States to develop the full capabilities of their people and to maintain adequately high standards of buying power, living, and progress? We think they would.

As for the justice of the proposal, let's consider some basic facts. Have not our farmers as customers of industry contributed greatly to the income and prosperity of both urban manufacturers and urban labor? Are or are not farmers justified when we hear them saying such things as this:

"Up to about 50 years ago the money the farmer received for his crops and livestock remained largely in his own State. He bought no automobiles, trucks, tractors, tires, or farm machinery from distant States. He depended on wagons, trucks, and plows made in his own State. Now the larger part of the things he buys comes from distant States. His patronage helps maintain or enrich both the manufacturers and laborers in distant areas. He is not complaining about this but he does want it recognized.

"Quick and easy transportation by automobiles, railroads, trucks, and airplanes have made all America one industrial unit—not 48 industrial units separated by tariff boundaries that hold the income of each State inside the borders of that State. Our relatively unorganized farmers cannot fix prices of our labor or our products. But we do buy the products of urban labor and business which largely fix their own prices and labor costs. So we wind up with a reported $889 national average income for farm people and $2,010 for other groups. To us therefore it seems that the wealth or well-being which farmers have helped create has spread all over America. We are glad it has, but we do think we should not now have an excessive burden put upon us when it comes to maintaining the agencies of modern civilization—schools, health services, hospitals, and scientific research."

Another fact to remember is this: without proper educational opportunity the people who either leave the farms for urban areas or remain on the farms cannot give America the intelligent citizenship which is essential for good government. In our opinion there is no better safeguard against communism in America than equal educational advantages and the feeling that the rich help bear in proper degree the heavier burdens of the less fortunate poor. "One nation indivisible with liberty and justice for all" is the proud claim we make—and what does this mean if not a universal concern for the rights and welfare of the individual, whether in a rich State or a poor State? If we give our youth everywhere the conviction that America means equality of opportunity there will be small chance for communism to flourish among us. There will be a stronger support for what we call "Free Enterprise" and "the American Way of Life."

In urging greater consideration for our poorer rural States we do not appeal solely to our great manufacturers and capitalists. We appeal also to the workers in our labor organizations. They can have the sympathy of our farming population only if they help support equality of opportunity as represented by our modern schools, colleges, research, health services, and the care of the aged and needy wherever they are. Few will deny that our industrial interests have benefited from the Government help given by tariff, ratemaking, and other special advantages. Nor will anyone deny that minimum wage laws, collective bargaining, unemployment compensation, and other forms of labor legislation have likewise helped increase the incomes of industrial workers. Should not both groups therefore be willing to help share the burdens which our poorer rural States and counties must carry?

American business will suffer more by neglecting rural America than by helping it. For rural America has something unique to contribute to American life today just as it had in the days of our fathers and grandfathers. The independence of the individual farmer is a part of the Nation's strength. The farm as a wholesome place to rear children must be seen against the increasing juvenile delinquency in our cities. The farm as a source of leadership for business and industry and government must not be overlooked. Religion itself is involved because a large proportion of our ministers and religious leaders come from rural districts. And unless we adequately train the talent in country districts—the men that the America of tomorrow will need for science, medicine, education, industry, and peace—the loss to the Nation in all these fields will be tragic.

Our richer States should remember how, when World War II began, a shockingly large percent of our rural State draftees had to be rejected because of educational or physical deficiencies. And this condition still continues to an extent truly alarming. The safety of all America in case of another war, both of rich States and poor, may depend upon our having a thoroughly qualified wartime population both from rural and urban States.

Address by Jerry Voorhis, Executive Director of the Cooperative League of the United States of America, to the 23d Annual Meeting of the Louisiana Credit Union League, Alexandria, La., April 27, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BROOKS HAYS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, recently Hon. Jerry Voorhis, a former Member of the House, and one of the Nation's outstanding authorities on credit union operations, delivered a splendid speech on this subject to the Louisiana Credit Union League. Under leave to extend my remarks I include his address, as follows:

ADDRESS OF JERRY VOORHIS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE 23D ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LOUISIANA CREDIT UNION LEAGUE, ALEXANDRIA, LA., APRIL 27, 1957

The noblest and deepest of all our ideals are those which flow from our religious faith. It was for the sake of their religious faith that the pilgrims and puritans settled in Massachusetts, and the Catholics in Maryland. Because they would not abandon the faith in which they believed the Acadians came to Louisiana and planted the seeds of the rich and varied culture which this great State now possesses. America owes her inspiration to religious faith.

In 18th century France a new ideal for human society began to move through the minds of people. That ideal came to be summed up in these words—liberty, equality, fraternity. It spread across Europe with the armies of France. It crossed the seas to America and was written in words of living, challenging truth by Thomas Jefferson into our Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among them are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that to to protect these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Those words inspired a ragged, ill-fed Army under George Washington to win a long war against the greatest colonial power of the

time. They rang around the world and to this day they bring hope of dignity and a better day to struggling peoples in every part of the globe. For the ideal of the Declaration of Independence and of the French statement of the Rights of Man is an ideal fundamental to human life. It is an ideal which all the might of Russian tanks and all the cleverness of Communist indoctrination has not killed and never will kill in the minds of the brave Hungarian people. It is the ideal of the dignity of man, of the right of all people to be free because they owe final allegiance only to God, and derive all other loyalties—to family, community group, or nation—from that final loyalty to God. It is the ideal of the fraternity and brotherhood of people like you and me and the billions of others like us in the world. And in America, I think, we have come closer to it than has ever been done elsewhere in the world's history.

For nearly 2,000 years the most profound influence on the social, economic, and political life of man has been one simple phrase. It was given us as a Commandment by our Lord. He said then and He has been saying ever since: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." This was His central social teaching, second only to the First Commandment to love God with all one's heart and soul and mind. How well we have kept it is a question. But there can be no question at all that it has been the guiding light for those who have sought to build better communities, better societies, and a better world.

The courage and vision of Columbus, the willingness to endure hardship of those who sought liberty to follow their chosen faith, the insight of Rousseau and Jefferson into the fundamental facts of human relationships—and over and above and beyond all these the Great Commandment to love our neighbors as ourselves, and to practice fraternity and mutual aid—these have been the ideals which have inspired the mind of America and shaped the development of all her best institutions. Credit unions, for example.

As our own 20th century dawned the United States of America was a young giant of a nation, possessed of very great natural resources, populated by a creative, dynamic, ingenious people, and above all blessed with a deep spiritual heritage and a large and generous soul.

There followed in the 20th century two World Wars. Partly as a result of the demands of these wars but more fundamentally because of the organizing and inventive genius that had developed among our people, America's might, her productive power, her wealth, her world leadership grew by leaps and bounds.

But along with all this tremendous material progress there have come about certain changes in our country's life which should cause every one of us to stop and think. All through our early history it was the free land frontier that virtually guaranteed freedom and opportunity to every reasonably ambitious American family, because the frontier offered economic independence to people. Today that frontier is gone and people have to make opportunity and gain freedom and build their own institutions that can take the place of the land in giving them economic independence. America was once a land of many, many small businesses each with a reasonably equal chance to grow and expand. Today we are a nation of a comparatively few gigantic businesses which draw the smaller ones more and more into their orbits and—perhaps without even intending to do so—make the smaller businesses that survive depend on the great ones.

The House Small Business Committee, headed by Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN, recently showed that our 500 biggest corporations, each with assets of over $100 million, owned 51½ percent of all manufacturing assets in 1952, but had boosted this percentage to 57 percent in 1955. From 1953 to 1955 there was a net loss of 19,000 manufacturing companies in the country. If present trends continue, the committee asserted, these 500 firms will own all the Nation's factories by 1976.

We owe much to our great corporations. They have almost deluged us with a flow of useful and enjoyable goods. But this should not blind us to the fact that the people as a whole, the millions of us, are in danger of losing our feeling that we can take part in guiding the destiny of our country. We are in danger of losing our feeling of being responsible for economic decisions that can really affect the welfare of our families, our communities, and our Nation. The people are in danger of losing these things because they are losing their chance to exercise responsible ownership over part—even a small part—of our country's economic system.

Therefore, the most important single thing that any of us can do for our Nation's life today is to help restore this responsibility, this feeling of having a part in making significant economic decisions, this feeling that part of American economic life belongs to me, as one of the average citizens of our country. This is exactly what credit unions do.

We face across the world sinister forces committed to an opposite idea. The forces of world communism are committed to bigness and to concentration of power. The threat of communism cannot be destroyed by building our own kind of bigness and concentrated power.

But there is one thing which we possess which Russia lacks and which every Communist country and every dictatorship country of every sort will always lack. That something is here in this meeting tonight and in other meetings like it all over our country. That something is a free people, a people free enough and wise enough to use their freedom to solve their problems and build their economic strength and security together, voluntarily. In the contest between our way of life and the Russian way of life the one thing we need most and the one thing that will best assure our ultimate victory is a demonstration that in this world of bigness and of scientific and production marvels it is still possible in America to have not only a government but a political and social and economic system of, by, and for the people.

The way to do this is well known. It is as old as man. It is as young as America. It has run like a silver thread through all our history. It is with us here tonight.

What is that way? Let me read it to you from the policies of CUNA, established by the national directors of the Credit Union National Association and amended to May 1956. Article 1 of these policies is called "objectives," and the first, second, and fourth of these objectives read as follows:

(a) To advance, encourage, and foster the principles and practices of cooperative pooling and use of the credit and financial resources of average salaried and income groups.

(b) To exemplify the ideals of the equality of man, freedom of opportunity, and unselfish cooperation by their practical application in the control and use of credit and financial resources.

(d) To afford all persons an opportunity to have a direct voice in the control of all public financial and economic affairs.

Everything I have been saying in this speech is summed up really in these three brief statements. The first of them talks about the cooperative pooling and use of the credit and financial resources of average Americans. And the second one tells the reason for doing this—because the ideals of equality, freedom, and unselfish cooperation demand it.

The story of credit unions is the story of how by the simple application of the principle of mutual aid more than 8 million families in the United States and 10 million in North America have been able to accumulate their savings together, to borrow from and pay interest to themselves, and thus to accumulate assets of more than $3 billion in their own names. Credit unions have proven the safest place for people to put their money. Ninety-six percent of credit unions survived the financial crisis of 1929. The highest percentage for any other kind of lending institution was 68 percent. The figures show that even as to that small percentages of credit unions that have had to be liquidated, their members and depositors have received back in the overall more than a 100 percent of the money they put in. These figures are for Federal credit unions. During the past couple of years when every other institution including even the United States Government has been sharply raising interest rates, credit unions alone have stood against this trend and so far as I know have not raised their interest rates at all. Despite this fact in one State alone in 1956 credit unions returned in patronage refunds to their borrowers almost $2 million.

If this practical application of a great ideal is worth working for, it is also worth contributing something to.

I believe you have under consideration at this meeting a revised dues structure for the Louisiana Credit Union League. I hope very earnestly that the delegates will look favorably upon that proposal.

Now, the fourth objective set forth by the national directors of CUNA reads like this: "To afford all persons an opportunity to have a direct voice in the control of all public, financial, and economic affairs." There in one sentence is a statement of what I said a while ago was the most important economic need of our country today. But this right of the people to an opportunity for a direct voice in the control of public, financial, and economic affairs, is under attack today. It is under attack in many ways by forces very powerful and very well financed and very clever. An evidence of that attack is the pamphlet entitled "Credit Unions" put out by a special committee of the National Tax Equality Association.

This pamphlet complains because the percentage of the small-loan business which credit unions provide has increased faster than the percentage done by some other types of lending agencies. What is not said in this pamphlet is that the increase in credit-union business has been largely at the expense of the very worst type of usurious money lenders. Whereas, other legitimate and reputable money lending institutions have increased just about as fast as credit unions. Another thing that is not said is that it was credit unions which demonstrated to the banks of this country the practicability of serving the people adequately with personal and family loans. Before credit unions became important, banks made hardly any such small loans. Today, they make a great number of them, because credit unions showed the way. Instead of attacking credit unions, the banks of this country ought to be praising them. Many of our best bankers do exactly that.

Let no one deceive himself that these attacks upon institutions like credit unions or similar forms of enterprise are going to diminish in intensity in the immediate future no matter what you may do. Least of all will they diminish if any of us attempt to deny the faith that is in us or attempt to represent our institutions as something other than what they are.

We are not against large-scale modern industry or finance. But if we are to have a vital democratic society true to the ideals of

our country, we must have institutions like credit unions to go along with large-scale industry and business. And it is quite indefensible for the other lending institutions of this country, which now have, at the very least, between 82 and 85 percent of the small-loan business, to insist they should have every bit of it by attempting to use political means of attack on credit unions.

The forces which are now seeking to eliminate the competition of credit unions and other types of mutual businesses like them would naturally prefer to pick us off one at a time. Credit unions might or might not be their first target. But once credit unions were isolated and their natural allies weakened, their politically organized competitors would hit credit unions all the harder. It is a false hope to think that isolation can help in a situation like this.

The only way to stop attacks on credit unions would be to stop their growth.

This would be a crime, not only against the credit-union movement but against the welfare of our country. This is why the only thing I personally or the cooperative league desires in connection with the credit-union movement is that it continue to grow and expand and succeed in bringing more and broader benefits to more and more people who need them. I would say the same thing, of course, about any other kind of the democratic voluntary people's institutions.

There is an utterly false and un-American idea abroad today. Clever propaganda is actually trying to establish the idea that there is something wrong or queer about it when groups of people join together to do something for themselves instead of depending upon big government or big industry or big finance to do it for them. We are being told we should be dependent on bigness. This idea is wrong. It is contrary to the traditions of our country. Nothing, in fact, could be further away from the traditions of our country than the idea that the people should be dependent. Credit unions are in business to make them independent, and credit-union experience stands like a rock against the false idea I just described. Those who know the fruits of the people's economic independence and who will defend the right of all people to serve themselves through mutual-aid user-controlled economic institutions will not give up this fight. The future of the American ideal depends on our winning that fight.

Every great movement among the people must pass through three stages of development. The first is the stage of beginnings when the movement is small and weak and regarded by those outside it as a sort of harmless dream of idealists. But in the second stage the movement begins to gain real strength. Its growth becomes more rapid. It begins to actually change conditions that were wrong and to bring its benefits to substantial numbers of people. It is in this second stage of development that the enemies of the movement begin to attack it in earnest in the hope of destroying it or at least stopping its growth before it reaches the third stage, which is the stage of general acceptance as a valued part of the life of a nation or society.

The credit-union movement is in the second stage of its development right now. It is at the fork in the road. One fork leads downhill. It is the easy one to take. It is the road whose signpost says: "Stay small. Don't grow any more. Don't challenge your big competitors any farther." The other fork in the road leads uphill. It is the hard one to take. Its signpost says: "Build more credit unions and build them stronger and broader and better. Grow and keep on growing, for your influence is good and your challenge is good, even for your competitors."

I have no doubt which one of these roads you people in Louisiana are going to choose. You will choose the uphill road, I know. You will choose it because it is right for you to do so. But as you make that decision remember that it will require dedication and hard work. It will require devotion to your ideal of mutual aid among people. It will require a willingness to stand against attack, never run away from it.

All these requirements I know you will fulfill.

Ideals are the dynamic of all human progress. They are the lasting values in human societies. They are the values we must never neglect in this atomic age, if we are to hope to be, in any degree, the masters of our destiny.

The Late Dr. Dowell J. Howard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, early this year the Commonwealth of Virginia lost an outstanding, loyal, dedicated, Christian servant.

The death of Dr. Dowell J. Howard, State superintendent of public instruction in Virginia, on February 23, is mourned not only by those with whom he was closely associated in Virginia but also by educators throughout the Nation. In his passing, education has lost a beloved and esteemed leader.

Dr. Howard's entire career was in the field of education. A native of Maryland, he received his B. S. and D. Sc. degrees from the University of Maryland and his M. S. degree from Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

He came to Virginia early in his career to serve 37 years in various educational positions, as a teacher and principal in the public schools and later in administrative positions in the State department of education.

Throughout his career, Dr. Howard never lost sight of the goal to which he aspired—to spend his life and energy in the betterment of educational opportunities for all the children of all the people—not only in Virginia but in the Nation. He was a calm, straight thinking individual with a firm belief that the people of his State to whom the schools belonged would in the end have the right judgment in the determination of school policy. In his last report as superintendent of public instruction he stated his conviction that—

It is important that we avoid diversion from the fundamental purposes and progress of a sound system of education for the children of Virginia. * * * Problems will not be solved by sudden and emotional decisions but only through the exercise of reason and intelligence. * * * Whatever the crises, whatever the challenge, whenever and however met, it will be met by the people. It is our wish that they have right judgment in all things.

He possessed the rare ability to inspire devotion and steadfast loyalty in those who worked with him. His personal relationships were marked by consideration for those around him and a deep sense of the dignity and worth of the individual.

The children of Virginia bowed their heads in sorrow at the passing of this man. Their feeling is typified in the words spoken by the young vice president of the Virginia association, Future Homemakers of America, at a memorial service for Dr. Howard:

We are joined together in sincerest feelings of humility as we honor the memory of Dr. Howard who gave the utmost of sympathy, understanding, and helpfulness during his lifetime to the present and future well-being of the boys and girls of Virginia.

The NAM Plan for Income Tax Reduction Perpetuates Discrimination Against the Self-Employed, Milwaukee Attorney Argues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Members of this House who are concerned about income tax relief for the self-employed will be interested, I believe, in the following analysis prepared by an able Milwaukee lawyer, Richard H. Tyrell, Esq. Mr. Tyrell argues that the 5-year plan for income tax reduction put forward by the National Association of Manufacturers Taxation Committee is deficient because it perpetuates the present discrimination against self-employed citizens. Before any general reduction of rates on a substantial scale occurs, this discriminatory treatment should be ended:

COMMENTS ON OBJECTIVES OF KEOGH-JENKINS BILL IN RELATION TO NAM'S 5-YEAR PLAN FOR INCOME TAX REDUCTION

(By Richard H. Tyrrell)

Reference is made to the December 1956 booklet of the NAM Taxation Committee in support of the 5-year plan for income tax reduction.

This booklet restates the committee's position upon the so-called self-employed plan. I wish to refer to those things which I consider illogical and inconsistent in the NAM committee's position and which I think weaken its advocacy of the 5-year plan. I intend my comments to be constructive.

The overall objectivs of the 5-year plan are important and vital to our national economy. The plan is presented under the heading "Facing the Issue of Income Tax Discrimination."

I think that the Congress should first "face the issue" of income tax discrimination as it now exists between two groups of taxpayers—one group (by far the larger) consists of employees (including officers) of incorporated business, the second group consists of self-employed small business and professional people who, by choice or circumstance, go it alone.

The employee group (including officers) for years have enjoyed deferred compensation plans, profit sharing plans, stock option plans, pension and retirement programs, by which taxation of the income presently earned by the employer (actually by the employees, as I shall attempt to show later)

A PRECEDENT

14th amendment, other States or communi-

admission to the college. They met all quali-

but earmarked for the employees is postponed until a later date—usually until retirement. This has been done by means of what the NAM committee calls "gadget relief" (pp. 14–15) as applied to attempts of the self-employed to seek similar benefits.

A very large percentage of the income taxpayers of this country, having obtained this gadget relief, now through the effective mouthpiece of NAM: "One healthy result, however, of all the charges and countercharges about tax loopholes, gimmicks, and special privileges, is the growing realization among tax authorities that the core of the problem is the rates, and that the most direct and equitable means of tax relief is to reduce rates. It is now generally agreed that introduction of special devices instead of reducing rates simply whittles away the revenue by reducing the base of taxable income" (pp. 14–15).

And the self-employed plan (designed to give the self-employed some relief comparable to that enjoyed by corporate employees—including officers—opens an area for further "gadget relief."

This plan is opposed by NAM not because of lack of sympathy for the motivation, but because it is simply another means for avoiding the issue of the burden of excessive rates of income tax on middle and high incomes. Enactment of such legislation would inevitably postpone the time when the basic issue could be met (p. 15).

In other words, the group of employees of incorporated businesses (by far the larger group), having obtained relief for itself (and apparently without concern for the resulting reduction in tax base), now cites the burdens of the ungadgeted self-employed to point up the issue of the burden of excessive rates. Why should they be the whipping boy?

The NAM proposal for overall reduction in tax rates is of course meritorious but why should that plan freeze the discrimination against the self-employed, many of whose members must of necessity soon retire.

Suppose that the NAM 5-year plan is put into effect. Is it likely, or possible, that during the 5 years, or at its termination when the rate reduction is in full effect, that all of the thousands of deferred compensation plans, profit-sharing plans, and the like now in effect, are going to be eliminated? If not, the discrimination against the self-employed will simply be frozen.

Industrial managements have said time and time again that in order to obtain and retain competent personnel it is necessary in these days of high taxes to provide stock options and profit sharing and pensions because a salary increase in dollars means nothing. These plans are admittedly plans for additional compensation for services presently rendered but to be received and taxed later when incomes are lower and retirement exemptions are greater.

Attention is invited in this connection to the statement on page 16 of the NAM booklet that employees under company pension plans are not now entitled to deduct their contributions to such plans. That is only grammatically true, for, as above shown, they are not presently paying a tax upon that portion of their compensation which is paid by the company—not to them, but to a fund for their future benefit. That is the essence of the plan for the self-employed (Keogh-Jenkins bill, for instance) who have no employer's staff to work out and administer a retirement program for them.

NAM also fears the self-employed plan because "as a matter of normal business, the insurance companies would bring out a variety of retirement annuity plans designed to appeal to various segments of the population" (p. 15). Industry has made wide use of insurance companies in funding and otherwise financing its own gadget relief plans and apparently has done so because of the financial stability and economical administration offered by such companies. The NAM statement merely emphasizes its disregard of the real discrimination that now exists between groups whose members are otherwise equally burdened by the excessive income tax rates.

I submit that the NAM article on the self-employed plan is summed up by the statement that "now that we incorporated businesses have obtained our tax gadgets, tax gadgeting has gone far enough, even though discrimination results to the self-employed segment of the country's earners; therefore give everybody income tax relief by reducing rates but preserve for us the gadgets already achieved."

Congress should first adopt the Keogh-Jenkins bill and then adopt the NAM 5-year plan.

The So-Called Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the so-called civil rights legislation which is now being considered by the House Committee on Rules. I have previously stated to the House my reasons for objecting to this legislation which I believe is a violation of States rights and the chief purpose of which is to satisfy the wishes of a minority of our citizens for political purposes.

Each day I am more confirmed in my opposition to this so-called civil rights legislation. I read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of yesterday the extension of remarks of two of our colleagues concerning a recent ruling by the United States Supreme Court which emphasizes the fears those of us living in the Deep South have about what will happen in our section of the country if civil rights legislation is passed. I refer to the ruling by the Supreme Court which held that Negroes are being unconstitutionally excluded from Girard College in Philadelphia, Pa. Girard College, which is not supported by public funds, was set up 125 years ago and has been maintained ever since by a private trust fund donated by a wealthy Philadelphian, Stephen Girard. In his will, Mr. Girard specified that his money should be used to provide a school for "poor male white orphans."

I note with grave concern that the Supreme Court has held that since Girard College's board of directors is an agency of the State of Pennsylvania, that even though the board was acting as a trustee for the Girard trust fund, it cannot refuse to admit Negroes because that amounts to discrimination by the State.

I am not a lawyer, but it seems to me that this ruling by the Supreme Court has set a dangerous precedent in denying a man the right to dispose of his own money as he sees fit.

In the present-day atmosphere of centralization of money control and thought control in the Federal Government, I intend to oppose this trend in every proper manner possible. Certainly, if the so-called civil rights legislation were passed denying our citizens the right of trial by jury and subjecting us to the increasingly bewildering interpretation of our laws by the Federal courts, those of us who live in the Deep South can foresee grave and almost limitless dangers ahead.

I am pleased to present the complete story of the Girard College case as it appeared in the U. S. News & World Report in its issue of May 10, 1957:

NEW TANGLE OVER INTEGRATION—SUPREME COURT RAISES QUESTIONS OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

(Are some private schools now going to be compelled to admit Negro students? This is just one of the questions that are being asked as a result of the latest ruling on racial integration by the United States Supreme Court. Doubts about many charitable trusts also are created. Here is what this ruling is—and what it may mean.)

A ruling by the United States Supreme Court is raising some new questions about racial integration.

The Court last week held that Negroes are being unconstitutionally excluded from Girdard College in Philadelphia, Pa.

What brings up the questions is this: Until the Court ruling, Girard College was regarded as a private institution. And it was assumed—even after the Supreme Court outlawed segregation in public schools 3 years ago—that races could continue to be separated in private schools.

NO PUBLIC MONEY

Girard College is not supported by public funds. It was set up 125 years ago, and has been maintained ever since, by a private trust fund donated by a wealthy Philadelphian, Stephen Girard. In his will, Mr. Girard specified that his money should be used to provide a school for "poor male white orphans."

The Supreme Court held, however, that Girard College's board of directors "is an agency of the State of Pennsylvania." Therefore, the Court said, "even though the board was acting as a trustee" for the Girard trust funds, its refusal to admit Negroes amounts to "discrimination by the State." Text of the Court's ruling appears on page 56.

Now, as a result of this ruling, it is being asked:

How far is this judicial reasoning likely to be extended?

What other schools now considered to be private may be held to have a public character? Will those schools also be required to integrate?

What about private schools which may be set up in some Southern States in an attempt to avoid mixed public schools? Will they be forbidden to segregate the races?

MORE THAN RACIAL

It is not only racial discrimination that is considered to be involved in this Supreme Court ruling. Many private schools restrict admission on other grounds—such as religious faith. The question here is: Would such schools, if found to have some official trustee, be required to throw open their doors to all applicants?

Doubts created by the Supreme Court ruling are not limited merely to schools. Lawyers are asking:

What about other types of trust funds which provide benefits to people of a certain race or religion to the exclusion of other races or religions?

If the trustees of such funds are found to be agencies of the State by extension of the Supreme Court reasoning, will the restrictive clauses of such trust provisions be set aside?

A PRECEDENT

Some lawyers are saying that the Supreme Court has set a dangerous precedent in denying a man's right to dispose of his own money as he sees fit. This was suggested by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in its ruling on the Girard case which the Federal Court overturned.

Holding that Negroes could be excluded from Girard College, the Pennsylvania court said:

"Subject, of course, to compliance with all applicable laws, it is one of our most fundamental legal principles that an individual has the right to dispose of his own property by gift or will as he sees fit; indeed this right is so much protected that a testator's directions may be enforced even though contrary to the general view of society, and however arbitrary, unwise, intolerant, discriminatory or ignoble his exercise of that right may be. He is entitled to his idiosyncrasies and even to his prejudices."

What stirs so many questions about other schools and other trusts is the line of reasoning indicated in the United States Supreme Court decision.

Attorneys for Girard's board of directors stress that no tax money is used by Girard College. Its money came from the estate of Stephen Girard, a French-born sailor who came to Philadelphia in 1777 and built up an immense fortune as a merchant and banker. When he died in 1831, he left the bulk of his $7-million estate for Girard College.

As trustee for the college fund, Mr. Girard designated the city of Philadelphia.

SCHOOL'S ADMINISTRATORS

Since 1869, the trust has been administered by a board of directors of City Trusts of the City of Philadelphia, which administers all charitable trusts confided to the city—numbering about 90. Board members include the mayor, the president of the city council, and 12 other citizens appointed by courts.

Under this direction, the value of the trust has grown to about $98 million, and the school has grown to an enrollment of more than 1,000 youngsters.

All Girard pupils have been white. But, in 1954, admission was sought for two Negro youngsters, William A. Foust and Robert Felder. The board refused them admission because they are Negroes.

The position taken by the board was that, in administering the college, it was acting in a private role as a fiduciary for the trust—not as an agent of the State. Therefore, it said, it was bound to observe Mr. Girard's ban against Negro pupils.

The board also maintained that the 14th amendment, as applied by the United States Supreme Court to forbid segregation by a State agency, does not apply to a board which is carrying out a private trust.

STATE COURT'S VIEW

Pennsylvania's Supreme Court upheld the board's position, saying:

"The beneficiaries of the charity of Stephen Girard are not being determined by the State of Pennsylvania, nor by the city of Philadelphia, nor by this court, but solely by Girard himself in the exercise of his undoubted right to dispose of his property by will, and, in so doing, to say, within the bounds of the law, who shall enjoy its benefits."

Attorneys arguing for admission of the two Negro youngsters, however, maintained that, "in every sense of the word, it is municipal or State power which is being exercised by the board of directors of City Trusts when it administers Girard College and when it rejects Negroes from that college on the basis of their race."

It was suggested by these attorneys that, if Girard College were exempted from the 14th amendment, other States or communities might escape mixed schools by administering segregated private schools under some similar sort of trusteeship.

The view adopted by the United States Supreme Court was that Girard's board is indeed a State agency, and therefore is subject to the 14th amendment.

No oral arguments were heard by the Federal Court in reaching its decision, and it issued only a brief ruling which did not detail its reasoning.

ALL TRUSTS AFFECTED?

Now, pondering that brief ruling, lawyers, private school boards and trustees throughout the country are wondering where the decision may eventually lead.

Lawyers point out that enforcement of charitable trusts is generally the responsibility of a State attorney general, and that trustees are commonly named by State courts.

Some ask whether this might be construed to mean that virtually all trusts are enforced by State agencies—and whether this would mean that no discriminatory clause in any trust provision could be enforced.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court gave an indication of how far such an interpretation might reach by commenting that private trusts for charitable purposes "abound in overwhelming numbers." It said:

"We have charitable trusts for ministers of various church denominations, for foreign missions, for churches, priests, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, whites, Negroes, for relief of the Indians, for widows or orphan children of Masons or other fraternities, for sectarian old-folks homes, orphanages and so on.

"Certainly no one would contend that a donor or a testator could not establish a charity, the beneficiaries of which were to be those whom he designated—persons of any prescribed race, creed, or color, or however otherwise differentiated."

ALTERNATIVES

In the case of Girard College, lawyers suggest that three possible courses now lie open:

A Pennsylvania court might appoint a new trustee—one not connected with the city.

Negroes may be admitted to Girard.

If courts conclude that neither of these courses would legally fulfill the trust, the money would revert to the State or Federal Government for development of inland waterways—as Mr. Girard's will provided. In that case, the school would be closed.

In any case, a lot of people are left to wonder how far the United States Supreme Court will go in the elimination of segregation and whether private schools will be integrated next.

LATEST RULING BY UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT ON SCHOOL SEGREGATION

Following is the text of the ruling by the United States Supreme Court in the Girard College case, handed down on April 29, 1957:

"PENNSYLVANIA VERSUS BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF CITY TRUSTS OF PHILADELPHIA

"Per curiam: * * * Stephen Girard, by a will probated in 1831, left a fund in trust for the erection, maintenance, and operation of a 'college.' The will provided that the college was to admit 'as many poor white male orphans, between the ages of 6 and 10 years, as the said income shall be adequate to maintain.' The will named as trustee the city of Philadelphia. The provisions of the will were carried out by the State and city and the college was opened in 1848. Since 1869, by virtue of an act of the Pennsylvania Legislature, the trust has been administered and the college operated by the 'Board of Directors of City Trusts of the City of Philadelphia.' * * *

"In February 1954 the petitioners [William A.] Foust and [Robert] Felder applied for admission to the college. They met all qualifications except that they were Negroes. For this reason the board refused to admit them. They petitioned the Orphan's Court of Philadelphia County for an order directing the board to admit them, alleging that their exclusion because of race violated the 14th amendment to the Constitution. The State of Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia joined in the suit also contending the board's action violated the 14th amendment. The orphan's court rejected the constitutional contention and refused to order the applicants' admission. * * * This was affirmed by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

"The board which operates Girard College is an agency of the State of Pennsylvania. Therefore, even though the board was acting as a trustee, its refusal to admit Foust and Felder to the college because they were Negroes was discrimination by the State. Such discrimination is forbidden by the 14th amendment. * * * Accordingly, the judgment of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania is reversed and the cause is remanded for further proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion."

Israel's Independence Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, it gives me pleasure to be able to give the people of Israel this message of encouragement and hope, despite the present dark and threatening clouds of possible further conflict in the strategicaly important and oil rich Middle East. The State of Israel is here not only because Theodor Herzel and others conceived it, but because the drift of history made it inevitable.

At any rate, the State of Israel, recognized as such by President Truman within a few hours of its proclamation, admitted to the United Nations a year later, and carrying a population of about 2 million souls, is a fact. Israel began life 9 eventful years ago, fighting to survive. Today she is still fighting for her very life in one way or another, and with God's help, no force will be able to dislodge her.

The reason I have high hopes for a bright future for Israel is that she is a bastion and bulwark against the atheistic forces of evil communism and is, therefore, the natural and spiritual ally and kin of the United States, of western democracy, and of freedom. Also, very recent events in the United States point to a better and more sympathetic understanding in the near future, of the necessity of closer cooperation between these two genuinely democratic and freedom loving nations. We must never forget that God is the source of our strength. We look with reverence to that sacred spot on Palestine's soil, remembering that from Zion went forth the law, and the word of God from Jerusalem. We proclaim the same divine truths today, which notwithstanding the changes of time, have remained our heritage and which no powers of persecution or tyranny by the vile and venal communistic forces can destroy.

Polish Independence Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, 1791, the Polish people, in freedom-loving tradition, adopted one of the first European democratic constitutions.

In their heroic struggle to maintain their freedom, we in America feel a close kindredness. This bond was early established by such men as Tadeusz Kosciuszko, the Polish general and national hero who came to America in 1777 to aid the cause of American independence. Despite its own economic plight, the Polish nation—continuing its firm alliance with the cause of freedom and democracy—extended a helping hand to Hungary in her resistance to the strangling hold of Communist oppression.

On the 166th anniversary of Polish independence, we pay humble tribute to these courageous people, and we take this opportunity, also, to salute our own loyal citizens of Polish descent. For Poland's example, democracy is eternally grateful.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

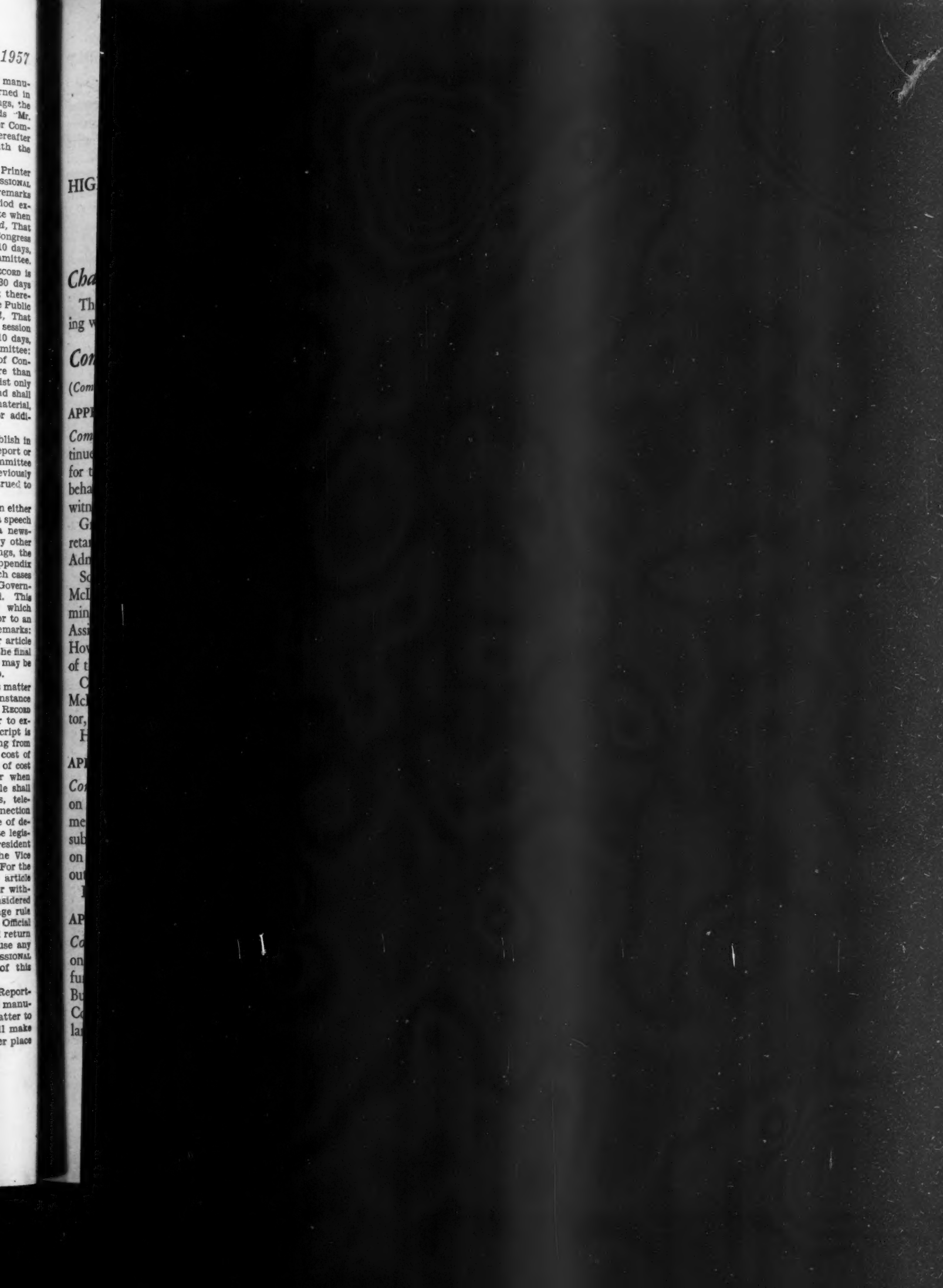

f of Angelo
Judiciary.

of Edward
o the Com-

f of Akemi
e Judiciary.

ef of Pepi
Judiciary.
lvania:
ef of Josef
Stanislawa
Judiciary.
st):
f of Char-
ee on the

Bok Dong
diciary.

f of Ken-
Commit-

ed a peti-
N. Y. and
Govern-
priations.

The I

EXTE

HON

IN THE SE

We

Mr. MAR
I ask unani
in the Appe
which I del
vention of
merce of Io
4, on the s
Business."
There be
was ordere
as follows:

THE

(Address by
Iowa, befo
Junior Ch
Waterloo,

Mr. Chairm
Junior Chan
a great plea
tonight. Th
are no differ
ization—the
terest and t
members in
junior chan
and the citi
your knowle
you are doin
areas in wh
understatem
cant contri
many worth
carry throug
you care en
work for it
sincerely co
and your se

I am goin
ahead for bu
ticipate in t
nity, the fu
interest.

You and I
for my brie
ipate activel
and I am en
in governme
cerns the ble
ness and gov
of today gov
together in
tion general
both. When
detriment o
to do what
when a bu
monopoly th
flow of comm

There are
ernment ha
ness operati
have had a
abuses that
a Member o
the Governm
of the subc
Subcommitt
ment. We

Appendix

The Road Ahead for Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOS. E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered before the annual convention of the Junior Chambers of Commerce of Iowa at Waterloo, Iowa, on May 4, on the subject, The Road Ahead for Business."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ROAD AHEAD FOR BUSINESS

(Address by THOS. E. MARTIN, Republican, Iowa, before the annual convention of the Junior Chambers of Commerce of Iowa, Waterloo, Iowa, May 4, 1957)

Mr. Chairman and my good friends of the Junior Chambers of Commerce of Iowa, it is a great pleasure to address your convention tonight. The many communities of Iowa are no different from any firm or any organization—they need the enthusiasm, the interest and the new blood of their younger members in order to stay alive. Through the junior chambers of commerce, the towns and the cities of Iowa benefit greatly from your knowledge and your services. To say you are doing an outstanding service for the areas in which you live would be a gross understatement. You are making a significant contribution, not only through the many worthwhile projects you initiate and carry through, but also by the very fact that you care enough about your community to work for it through your organization. I sincerely congratulate you on your interest and your service.

I am going to talk to you about "the road ahead for business." Since most of you participate in the business life of your community, the future road of business is of real interest.

You and I have a common meeting place for my brief remarks tonight. You participate actively in the business world of today and I am employed as one of your servants in government. Our mutual interest concerns the blending of these two forces—business and government. In the complex world of today government and business are thrown together in a variety of ways. That association generally works to the great benefit of both. Whenever the association works to the detriment of business, it behooves all of us to do what we can to improve matters and when a business group has organized a monopoly that restricts trade and the free flow of commerce, Government must step in.

There are other instances where the Government has undertaken competitive business operations that are not warranted. I have had a firsthand view of some of the abuses that have occurred. When I became a Member of the Senate, I was assigned to the Government Operations Committee. One of the subcommittees of that group is the Subcommittee on Reorganization of Government. We have been holding hearings and investigating the recommendations and findings of the second Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government—the Hoover Commission—headed by a truly great native Iowan, former President Hoover.

In almost 2 years of committee hearings on the report of both the first and the second Hoover Commission, I've seen the work of the various junior chambers of commerce, all across the country. It is my impression that in many, many areas the junior chamber was one of the first—and often the very first—organization to put its weight behind the recommendations of the Hoover Commissions. For that interest and public service, I sincerely congratulate you. In turning your efforts toward one of the great tasks facing our people today—that of reorganizing certain portions of our Government—you are fulfilling one of the public services for which the junior chamber of commerce was founded.

National defense, security, and the general public interest sometimes justify active conduct of limited business operations by the Government, but in my service on the Subcommittee To Study the Findings of the Hoover Commission, I have seen a great number of instances where Government has violated its proper role in relation to business. To emphasize this point, allow me to pass on to you some of my observations.

It is impossible to make a precise estimate of the number and type of private enterprises into which Government has extended itself in the last several years. We did discover, however, that within the Department of Defense alone, the total number of commercial and industrial-type facilities that were owned by the Government exceeded 2,500. Our subcommittee was told by the Hoover Commission that on the 31st of December 1954, there were 47 categories of this type of enterprise that the Defense Department was operating. The list is far too long to enumerate now, but let me call off a few of them for you. Each of these is an instance where the Government actually owned and operated the business: A clothing manufacturing plant, a paint factory, an ice-cream plant, an eyeglass manufacturing firm, a furniture repair shop, a cement mixing plant, a tree and garden nursery, a coffee roasting business, an airline, a steamship line and a railroad. The estimates were that the total Government capital involved probably exceeded $15 billion. I believe your conclusion is the same as mine.

It is easy to see how the Government became involved in these businesses. Because of exceptional circumstances—an economic emergency or perhaps the emergency of war—the Government became involved in areas usually reserved for private enterprise. But the continuance in business by Government long after the emergency had passed is a different matter. In 1954, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Government operations found that from 1929 to 1948 public wealth had grown 287.5 percent while private wealth had increased only 78.7 percent. In 1929 the public wealth represented only 15 percent of the total national wealth, but in 1948 the public wealth amounted to 27.3 percent of the total national wealth. These figures occasioned this comment from one of the Government leaders in Washington: This is not creeping socialism—it's galloping along at a very fast pace.

There are many reasons why this is an unfortunate trend—why this trend must be stopped. In the first place it violates the basic principles of our Government. Without any question, our Constitution places protective and regulatory functions in the Federal Government rather than the right to produce goods and services. Government is not supposed to compete with private business.

Secondly, the competition that is established between private business and Government is not only a breach of principle, but it is decidedly unfair. As you very well know, one of the items that is highly important in establishing a record in business is the ability to keep production costs at a minimum. The businessman who keeps his costs below his competitors has a better chance to establish a lower cost for his product. When business and Government are the competitors however, Government has certain advantages on its side. For example, Government business enterprises are usually relieved of many important charges private business must pay—charges like taxes, interest, depreciation, a full payroll and fringe benefits to personnel. I'm certain if your competitor were allowed to ignore these charges you would consider the competition highly one-sided, yet when Government is doing the competing, it enters the economic battle with these built-in advantages.

There are two possible reasons why Government has continued in these business activities. I have little patience with either of them. One reason is the natural resistance to change of great size and magnitude in established operations. It certainly is easier to let things ride, but we can't afford to ignore any fundamental disregard of principles. The other reason is that the advocates of Government in business sincerely believe Government can do a better job than private enterprise. Such persons haven't read their history lessons carefully enough. They don't understand the philosophy of our Constitution, our Government or our people.

I'm proud to report to you this evening that in Washington we are doing something about this breach of principle. In the last 2 years the Defense Department alone has closed down 359 Government businesses, and action by other agencies brings the total closed down to almost 500. Each of these 500 examples is an instance wherein the Government formerly operated a business—operated it in direct competition with private business—operated it to such an extent that in some cases it gained a monopoly because private business couldn't compete and had to fold up—but in each of the 500 cases the Federal Government is now out of private business and free enterprise has gained what it should not have lost. I'm proud of the job we've done in the past 5 years. It's sheer nonsense to find the Government involved in making bread, mixing cement or repairing furniture. But a great deal remains to be done. We find special pockets of resistance whenever we start to translate a recommendation into a concrete removal of Government from a specific business field. We will continue the fight to keep Government where it should be. And we welcome the support of such fine groups as the junior chambers of commerce.

I may have given you the idea that Government should never be involved with business matters. That would be a mistaken idea. There are certain areas where Government and business can work together closely,

hand in hand, to the mutual benefit of both. One such area was aptly defined by President Eisenhower in his economic report for 1956. I would like to quote a few sentences from that report because the President puts his finger squarely on one of the most important segments of our economy:

"Government can strengthen competitive markets by helping small and medium sized businesses overcome impediments to their expansion. In our modern economy with its heavy capital requirements, high taxes and emphasis on national markets, small concerns are subject to serious handicaps in many lines of endeavor. Yet the continuance of small and medium sized businesses, and their ability to prosper and grow, are vital to the Nation's welfare. * * * When the Government helps smaller concerns to overcome some of the hindrances to their growth, it is acting in the interests of the whole economy."

It is not my role this evening to make a partisan speech to you, but I would like to cite the record of the past five years in relation to the program to help the small businesses of the country. I'm certain you remember, as I do, the many charges that flew back and forth across the country last November to the effect that the small businessman has been the forgotten man. No speech on the future of business in our country can be complete without a recitation of some of the accomplishments in this field in the last five years.

The Government agency that is tied most directly with the small businesses of the country is the Small Business Administration. This agency, created in 1953, is the first agency in our country's history that is devoted exclusively to aiding the small businesses of the country. The functions of the Small Business Administration can be summarized into four categories:

1. To provide financial assistance and counseling.

2. To provide procurement assistance to small firms.

3. To secure for small business management and technical assistance.

4. To provide disaster loans for small businesses.

The SBA is most noted for the financial loans and assistance it provides for the small-business communities of our Nation. One thing that is highly significant is the procedural pattern of the Small Business Administration in this field. True to the principles we conceive to be basic to our economy, the SBA does not compete with private banks. It is not the function of this Government agency to compete directly with private banks for loans to small business. Rather, it is an auxiliary force—one that works with banks to the eventual betterment of the business climate of the country. Two-thirds of all loans made through the SBA are accomplished in cooperation with participating banks. I am particularly proud of the record in this field made in the State of Iowa. Without encumbering you with figures, I would like to cite the record to prove that in Iowa the SBA and the private banks are working together in a model pattern of private and Government cooperation. From the time the Small Business Administration was created until the 31st of March 1957 the SBA had approved a total of 173 loans for the State of Iowa, totaling $5,301,202. Of those 173 loans, only 20 of them were direct loans, made solely by the Small Business Administration; 80 loans were made whereby the banks nad the SBA participated jointly immediately and another 73 loans were made whereby the bank made the loan for the first portion of the term and the Small Business Administration will come into the loan picture for the latter portion of the loan term. These figures are doubly important when you realize that years ago under the RFC approximately one-third of the loans were participating loans and the other two-thirds were made solely by the Government agency. Under the SBA, nationwide, about 70 percent of the loans are made in cooperation with banks. But in Iowa, from the time the SBA started until the 31st of March this year, 88.4 percent of the loans were participating. That means that of all the loans made under the auspices of this Government agency, 7 out of 8 of them are made in cooperation with private banks. As I indicated before, this is the model pattern of cooperation between Government and private business. In Iowa it works the way it should work.

The second function of the Small Business Administration is to assist small businesses in gaining a fair share of Government contracts. There are two reasons for this policy. In the first place, it seems axiomatic that a thriving and successful small-business community is the common denominator to a successful American economy. Our system of free enterprise depends on both small and large business. By making certain the small businesses of the country receive their proportionate share of Government contracts we are helping to assure ourselves of a healthy economy. Secondly, in the event of a national-defense emergency, it is necessary that the small businesses of the country are ready for full mobilization. History makes it abundantly clear that in the event of such an emergency the country needs the efficiency and ingenuity of the small-business man.

The third function of the Small Business Administration is to provide management and technical assistance for the small businesses of the country. The significance of this assistance is highlighted by figures from Dunn and Bradstreet indicating that 86 percent of business failures are due to poor management. I'm certain you are acutely aware of one fact: today, the businessman is competing in a highly complex business world of accounting practices, cost controls, time and motion studies, and a great variety of similar business practices and studies. The SBA's program to grant technical assistance and managerial aids to small-business men puts him on a more nearly equal footing with his big brother.

The Small Business Administration operates this program in a variety of ways. Booklets and pamphlets are made available, courses are offered in conjunction with colleges and universities and a new products program is conducted by the SBA.

Of course, the effectiveness of Government in this program is decidedly limited. The Small Business Administration, and the top officials of the executive branch of Government, realize that such a program must be entirely voluntary in nature. Certainly you don't want the Government to step in and tell you how to run your business. But the SBA makes this information available if you desire it. This area is one in which the junior chambers of commerce might make a significant contribution to their business communities.

The fourth function of the SBA is one that fortunately we haven't needed to a great extent in Iowa. This is the function of providing disaster loans to small businesses. Since its inception in 1953, the small business administration has made a total of 9 disaster loans in Iowa, totaling slightly over $125,000. Of course, we are fortunate that we haven't had to request a large number of such loans—like the 1 year total of $5 million for Connecticut, but it is good to known this service exists if we do need it.

I have spent some time discussing the SBA with you. I feel this agency of Government is entirely worthy of praise and consideration. I'm proud of the job it is doing. For that reason, I am one of the cosponsors of legislation currently before the Senate which would make the SBA a permanent organization. I believe that certain definite advantages would result if we could make this arm of Government permanent. For example, I believe the agency would be able to attract more competent personnel if it were permanent. Furthermore, I believe the private banks around the country would be more willing to participate with the SBA if they knew it was permanent. This confidence would spread to businessmen also. In short, the Small Business Administration is doing a splendid job and I want to see it continue its program of aiding and assisting the small businesses of the country.

The small businesses of the country, and particularly those of Iowa, are making a great contribution to the economy of the country. They have shared the burdens that accompany economic or international crises. And they have contributed significantly to the strength of the peacetime economy of our country. Small business asks no special favors from this or any administration. It asks only to be allowed to grow in an atmosphere of free economy and fair competition. With all the power at my command I shall continue to work toward this goal.

Ninth Anniversary of Independence of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of the independence of Israel, there was a commemorative dinner held in Washington by the women's division, American Jewish Congress. The gathering was addressed by the Ambassador of France to the United States, Hervi Alphand; by the Ambassador from Israel to the United States, Abba Eban, and by myself.

The occasion of the dinner of the American-Jewish Congress demonstrated three points which are so vital on this anniversary, first, that Israel has performed its mission of being a haven for oppressed Jews from everywhere, its doors being wide open to persecuted Jews from wherever they may come; second, Israel's able and heroic efforts to secure its national integrity and make the country viable; and, third, that Israel is a firm ally of the United States in the struggle of the free peoples of the world.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the speech which I made upon that occasion.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE WOMEN'S DIVISION, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, NATIONAL CONVENTION, SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 6

The vital question for us as a government is United States-Israel relations and their effect on the maintenance of peace and security in the Mideast. On this, the ninth anniversary of the establishment of Israel, we note that Israel has met every funda-

mental challenge which has been extended to her.

It preserved its existence against the aggression of the neighboring Arab States—1948–49.

It met the initial challenge of absorbing the harassed and persecuted Jews from many areas of the world—from the D. P. camps, Iraq, Yemen, North Africa, Europe, even from behind the Iron Curtain—and is still meeting that challenge today. Israel's security and integrity had to be preserved so that never again, as happened in the dreadful time of Hitler's barbarism, should Jews find that they have no place to go, suffering death and extermination because they had no refuge. There is now a refuge, and this refuge is proving equal to its mission; help is, of course, needed but the structure is there of hope, not hopelessness, as before.

United States-Israel relations are much improved. Economic aid for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, not yet allocated to Israel, has been under negotiation since Israel's forces evacuated Gaza and Sinai. This will, I am confident, within the next few months, result in Israel's receiving the same amount of economic aid it received in the fiscal year 1956. United States technical assistance is being restored to the level it had before the October 1956 hostilities and will continue. The program of supplying agricultural commodities under Public Law 480 is also going forward and I understand the Export-Import Bank loan mission under Lynn Stambaugh will go out in July. Finally, Representative Richards and his mission have just been in Israel on the Eisenhower doctrine but neither Israel nor our Government has as yet announced a policy.

The value of Israel's contribution to the peace and security of the free world can be seen from its policy in the recent Jordan crisis. Israel's sensible, hands-off action contributed greatly to the solution of what might have been the start of world war III. Israel made no threats and took no action to deepen the crisis. Yet the mere fact of Israel's presence on Jordan's border—and its strength—appears to have been an important factor in restraining Egypt and Syria from aggressive action there which would inevitably have involved others and put in jeopardy the survival of Jordan itself as a country.

Now, as to Israel's security and integrity—its security and integrity depend upon two factors. First, is it economically practical? And second, will it be submerged by some form of forceful attack from the outside? Now as to its economic viability, it is making great strides ahead. It still has a very serious imbalance in its foreign exchange position, but this is attributable primarily to the blockade, boycott, and other unfriendly economic actions by the Arab States which surround it and which are its natural market. It might well be pointed out that the Arab States are passing up the chance for tremendous economic boons, for Israel is a great manufacturer of inexpensive goods which could contribute greatly to enhancing their own standards of living. Some peaceful understanding with Israel—which Israel has consistently proposed—and an end to Arab intransigence would solve the Palestine-Arab refugee problem, make the Jordan River waters available for irrigation to Israel and its neighbors, relieve both of heavy military phases of it. I think the chances priceless and technical assistance for a reflowering of the Middle East.

As to military security, I think Israel has shown its capability for meeting challenges in the action which took place in the Sinai desert, and I am speaking now only of the military phases of it. I think the chances are now excellent that transit of Israeli shipping through the Gulf of Aqaba will be secured by international means and, indeed, with the support of the United States which I believe to be indispensable in that regard—and which should be forthcoming.

I think in the Suez Canal there is going to be a real struggle. But there the whole Western World has a struggle. I strongly advocate the fact that the free world take vigorous and effective measures to seek and to back our friends in seeking alternate routes for moving Mideast oil to Europe and bypassing the Suez Canal. Because I think the Suez Canal is the Achilles' heel of Colonel Nasser, who represents, in my opinion, practically a stalking horse for everything that the Communists want to accomplish in the Middle East.

As for the Gaza strip, I think the U. N. emergency forces are serving a real purpose there. Now what happened there in admitting the Egyptians to civilian control and of the joining of certain Arab police on the Gaza strip border with Israel is not to the liking of many of us, including myself. But I think the important thing is that the UNEF is there and remains there and our determination must be to keep it there, because it does seem to be doing a fairly practical job or restraining infiltration raids across the border into Israel.

In short, I think Israel will live, survive, be successful and do its job; and I have tried to outline some of the things that we need to do in commemoration of this great anniversary in helping Israel. Beyond everything else, let us not forget that our support both financial—which includes the United States Government and individual Americans—and moral must continue to be forthcoming for considerable time to insure what we aspired to for Israel—its security and independence; its ability to perform its mission for harassed and persecuted Jews everywhere, and its continued cooperation as a strong ally of the free world.

Pilgrimage to the Alamo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, there is no shrine that is closer to the hearts of Texans than the Alamo. For more than a century, it has served as a constant source of inspiration.

Every year, during Fiesta Week in San Antonio, there is a pilgrimage to the Alamo. This year the speaker was Maj. Gen. H. L. Grills, commander of Lackland Air Force Base.

General Grills did a superlative job of capturing the spirit which has made the Alamo a permanent part of American history. I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. H. L. GRILLS, COMMANDER, LACKLAND AIR FORCE BASE, TEX., AT THE PILGRIMAGE TO THE ALAMO, APRIL 22, 1957

I am grateful for the privilege of participating in this 1957 observance of a rite which has been practiced during fiesta week to an extent that it has developed the stature of a tradition here in San Antonio. Over the years I have constructed for myself something which I call "a claim on Texas citizenship"—a claim based on the fact of my marriage to a Texas woman and to the fact that 2 of my 3 children were born in Texas. It has been a temptation for me to carry the presumptuousness even further—there should be some way in which I could relate my Tennessee origin to Davy Crockett and his Tennessee boys, and thereby establish for myself a proprietary interest in the fame which the defenders of the Alamo created for themselves. I am afraid, however, that such an attempt on my part would affront the feelings of even my closest friends among you—and with good reason, for it is now widely conceded that those personal attributes possessed by the members of the Alamo garrison produced a result which cannot remain the exclusive property of San Antonians, of Bexar Countians, nor even of Texans. The saga of the Alamo now belongs to American history—and all Americans must be allowed to share the pride of Texans in it. It stands for all Americans as an example of that ultimate spiritual attainment which is achieved only by those who prove their willingness to give "the last full measure of devotion" to a cause in which they believe.

In further support of my contention that this consecrated spot must be considered a national shrine, let me point out that, since its earliest beginnings, the destiny of Texas has been shaped by forces assembled from widely separated external points—and Texas shows itself today as a distillation of many influences drawn together by some supernatural arrangement. Its character today is a refinement of many human qualities brought to it by the forebears of its present citizenry.

Its original colonial economy now bolstered by oil, gas, cattle, cotton, sulfur, magnesium, and the many manufactured products made possible by these commodities—its frontier lawlessness long since subdued by regard for order and insistence upon an environment of individual dignity and mutual respect—its pioneer simplicity and necessarily narrow intellectual horizons now replaced by technological development and cultural appreciation reflecting a breadth of interest universal in scope—its openhanded welcome to newcomers and its equality of opportunity having attracted outsiders in such numbers that its population now possesses a truly composite quality—its early provincialism having given way to a highly developed sense of national and international responsibility—Texas is now able, with genuine self-assurance, to share generously its magnificent heritage of which the Alamo is the keystone.

The history of the siege of the Alamo needs no recounting here. Most Americans, as well as all Texans, are familiar with that history—familiar with that meagerness of fact which inevitably resulted from the violence of human conflict in which the defending garrison died to a man—familiar also with that mass of legend which likewise inevitably grew out of that display of fanatic courage. With the passage of time, reality has undoubtedly been embroidered by imagination to an extent that any attempt today to completely separate fact from fiction would be an impossible undertaking. We can be sure, however, that, for every legendary invention, for every enlargement of fact, there occurred here a matching courageous reality which will remain forever buried beneath the dust of this plaza and in the sepulchers of those who died here. We know that history provides no comparable example of collective dedication to a common purpose. There is little, if anything, that we might say here to increase the stature of those embattled men who lived out their last desperate hours together—their sacrifice speaks for itself. Nothing can ever dim the glory with which they have surrounded themselves. They stand far beyond the reach of any who might endeavor to detract from the honor which accrues to them.

We may, however, find inspiration in a consideration of the factors which possibly influenced them to place their lives upon the altar of conviction. We can, I believe, derive spiritual benefit from a search for the answers to questions which undoubtedly have been asked with much repetition through these intervening 121 years—questions which concern the thinking, the objectives, the faith, the sense of obligation possessed by these heroic figures.

What, for example, encouraged these men to choose to fight a battle of position rather than to wage a campaign of maneuver when they knew that they were greatly outnumbered and outgunned? What prompted them to select as a battleground a site where the greater weight of local sympathy lay with the enemy? Why did the gallant detachment of 32 from Gonzales—knowing that timely aid to the beleaguered garrison from other sources was highly unlikely, if not impossible—knowing also the strength of Santa Ana's forces and the inherent weaknesses of the Alamo as a fortress—why did these courageous men unhesitatingly sign their own death warrants when it was apparent that their assistance in the fight could not of itself influence the final result? Why did the leaders of the garrison, in the face of that certain annihilation guaranteed by the enemy's flag of "no quarter," refuse the avenue of surrender when their brothers-in-arms in other locations had availed themselves of that privilege in less fatal circumstances? Perhaps they intuitively understood that they alone could insure the survival of the new Texas Nation—the nation whose independence had been so recently declared at the convention in Washington-on-the-Brazos that they themselves were unaware of the declaration. One wonders if they were encouraged by a belief that for them, for their families, and their friends, Texas was the land of promise—promise which has been fulfilled so repeatedly in the intervening years. To what extent were they persuaded by the determination of Jim Bowie, who wrote: "I will die in these ditches before I will give up to the enemy"—or by the character of J. B. Bonham, a gentle and cultured man who had no background of experience in the practice of violence, but who insisted on returning to the Alamo and to his death in order that he might inform his friends of his failure to obtain assistance? Perhaps they were simply influenced by a conviction—a conviction only vaguely understood—that a man must preserve his own self-respect and the good opinion of his associates—even though forfeiture of his life is a necessary part of this achievement.

These speculations as to motive lead us to no exact conclusion, of course. The hopes, the aspirations, and the ideals which guided these men into an eternity of honored glory cannot now be accurately assessed and assigned. We can believe, however, that the strength of each one of them generated additional strength in all of the others—that in losing their lives together their individual weaknesses were subjected to a process of sublimation which achieved for every one of them an enduring state of grace.

As we are gathered here in this twilight—in the long shadows of this sunset—at this place of sacrifice—on this hallowed ground—we can, if we listen carefully, hear the echo of their voices. The voice of Travis as he said: "I shall never retreat or surrender. Let everyone who will stay here and die with me, step across this line." And the voice of the stricken Bowie saying. "Boys I can't make it by myself, but I'd appreciate it if some of you would give me a hand over the line." Then the voice of Crockett: "I don't like to be hemmed up in here. I think we ought to march outside and die in the open air." And finally, voices in unison—a collective voice reverberating down the long corriders of time and saying: "For God and Texas. Victory or death."

These voices assure us that this sacred structure, all that remains of what was once a mission, later a fortress, and now a shrine, may crumble into dust; but, as a monument to valor, its symbolism will forever remain rooted in the hearts and minds of men.

United States Participation in Brussels World's Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "An Empty Pavilion?" published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of May 5, 1957. The editorial bespeaks the necessity of the full appropriation requested being granted for United States participation at the Brussels Fair.

The Universal and International Exhibition of Brussels, which will open next spring, will be the first world's fair since the New York World's Fair of 1939–40. Some 35 million people are expected to attend, and more than 40 nations will participate. American participation in this fair will not only offer an opportunity for those coming to the capital city of one of our NATO allies to gain a better appreciation of our people, our culture, and our industry, but will also present an opportunity to contrast United States enterprise with that of the Soviet Union—that is, if the funds necessary for United States participation in this endeavor are forthcoming with a minimum of delay. This is one project as to which we are not asked to outspend the Soviets; as a matter of fact, an American expenditure of $15 million will suffice, as against the Soviet's $50 million effort. But to meet the Communist challenge, and a challenge it is, because the Soviet pavilion will be next to ours, we must at least be prepared to spend this fraction of the amount the Soviets are willing to put forth. To do less is to accept a decision by default.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EMPTY PAVILION?

The Soviet Union is spending more than $50 million on its participation in the Brussels World's Fair to be held next year. Congress last year authorized the United States to join in the exhibition with the understanding that the expense would approximate $15 million. For a starter, $4 million was appropriated. Now the construction of the American pavilion is under way, plans have been laid for appropriate scientific and cultural exhibits and for participation by various representatives of the American performing arts. The energetic United States Commissioner General for the Fair, Howard S. Cullman, believes he san do as well as the Russians on his smaller budget.

But, with the opening date less than a year away, the House proposes to limit funds to two-thirds of the sum that had been counted upon. The result, if the Senate is unable to rectify the situation, will be a beautiful pavilion in Brussels emblazoned with the seal of the United States above the door—and little or nothing inside. It is too late already to shift funds from pavilion construction to other needs. If Congress does not provide adequate cash to sustain a creditable American presentation, it would be better, we think, to abandon the venture altogether.

Address by Hon. Edward Martin of Pennsylvania to Convention of International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Blacksmiths

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered in Philadelphia yesterday afternoon to the convention of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Blacksmiths.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE CONVENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BOILERMAKERS AND BLACKSMITHS IN THE BELLEVUE-STRATFORD HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, MAY 7, 1957

It is an honor to greet this great organization of free Americans, meeting in the city of Philadelphia, the birthplace of our liberty and independence.

Here was established a government based upon the dignity and freedom of the individual. It is the first government in world history which derives its just power from the consent of the governed.

How long that concept of government will continue depends upon the interest we take in our government. Eternal vigilance has been described as the price of liberty. No group in America has a greater interest in the size of government, the cost of government, and the overall fiscal problems of our Nation than those sehted here in this room.

Let us look at some facts. It is well known that the great burden of taxes in our country is borne by those in the low income brackets. This includes the skilled craftsman, the tradesman, the small-business man, the professional man, and the farmer.

The fact is that out of every hundred dollars you earn you turn back to Federal, State, and local government more than $30 in taxes. Three-fourths of every Federal income tax dollar is paid by men earning less than $6,000 per year. If we took every dollar from those with income taxes of more than $50,000 per year, it would only be enough to operate the Federal Government for less than a month. That shows how much economy in government means to you and to your family.

Why has government become so expensive? Why has the cost of government, Federal, State, and local combined, jumped from $13.5 billion a year 25 years ago to the present figure of $109.5 billion, an increase of

more than 700 percent. Take Federal spending alone. In 1932 the cost of operating the Federal Government was $5,125 million. The current budget calls for the expenditure of nearly $72 billion.

One reason for this great increase is that the Federal and State Governments are financing a great variety of activities that formerly were the responsibility of local government, and depended upon the self-reliance and initiative of the people in their home communities.

As an example let me cite the big increase in so-called grants-in-aid from Washington to the States. In the early twenties $100 million dollars a year in Federal funds were paid in grants to the States. This has now increased to $4 billion. With each grant there goes a measure of Federal control—chipping away at the powers and functions of State and local government, and increasing centralization of authority in the Washington bureaucracy.

There are now employed by the local, State and Federal Government more than eight million people. This does not include the Armed Services. The number of Federal Job holders has jumped from 600,000 to about 2,400,000 in 25 years, or about 4 times. The Federal payroll is $1 billion per month. It is now greater than the combined payrolls of all our steel mills or railroads in the United States.

Here is another fact. One American out of five, men, women and children, gets a check at regular intervals from Uncle Sam.

When we established Social Security in the United States the proponents said it would entirely do away with relief rolls. What is the result? We are now in the peak of great prosperity and what do we find? Five and one-half million Americans are on relief and last year it cost over $3 billion.

Another great reason for the alarming rise in the cost of Government is the constant demand from organized pressure groups for appropriations for their pet projects, for new and expanded functions of Government, for sectional advantage and for every conceivable form of spending.

That same sort of pressure must now be exerted in support of economy. If we are to achieve Government at lower cost we must develop a demand for economy, so strong and so insistent, that no one in the executive or legislative branches of Government will dare to ignore or oppose it.

There is no doubt in my mind that the drive for economy in Government can succeed if it is supported by the power and strength of organizations like this. You men are interested in keeping our economy strong. You are interested in maintaining the American standard of living—and you know that excessive spending by Government means burdensome taxes and reduced take-home pay.

The American living standard is the highest in the world because our workers and our industry have brought productivity to the highest level in the world. In our free enterprise system, which is the pride of free men everywhere, it takes a capital investment of $12,500 in order to provide a job for an American workman. Government never created any wealth or a job for anyone—and never can. Invested capital must be put to work in productive enterprise to make jobs, and capital for investment comes from our savings.

We must be continuously mindful of increasing our national productivity in order to enjoy the fruits of our labors under our great American free enterprise system. Increased production is the strength of our Nation and the key to prosperity. We are all mindful of the fact that during the past 20 years we have increased our national productivity over 35 percent per man hour. This has been accomplished under the free enterprise system by more efficient methods for our workers, better tools in the hands of our craftsman, and greater know-how by management. These accomplishments require a capital investment of dollars in the hands of individuals, and not in the coffers of Government.

It has been estimated that in the next 20 years it will be necessary to provide 20 million new jobs to care for the needs of our growing population. Government cannot do this. It will have to be done by courageous and resourceful individuals, willing to risk their savings in new and expanded enterprises. That is the only way we can create increased opportunities for gainful employment.

Let us watch the dangers confronting us. One of the greatest of these dangers is inflation or the loss of the purchasing power of the dollar. The greatest causes of inflation are taxes and burdensome debt, both private and governmental. Inflation, high taxes, deficit governmental finances, big government debt, and big centralized government have destroyed more nations than invading armies. They will destroy more countries than the most horrible bomb that could be invented.

Let us bear this in mind. No nation, regardless of how rich it may be in natural resources, can live if it must pay taxes which destroy initiative and the private-enterprise plan of economy. Let us never forget that the free-enterprise economy plan has done more to advance our living standards and our cultural and spiritual attainments than all our vast natural resources.

There are many systems of government that advocate some form of socialism. Let us look at some of the results. After 40 years, the Soviet type of communism has produced a living standard only one-tenth as high as that of the United States. The so-called Swedish welfare state has produced a living standard only one-third as high as the United States. In England, where nationalization of basic industries has continued for 12 years, the living standard is about one-half what it is in the United States.

We can have a strong and prosperous America if we work for three important objectives:

1. Labor must be gainfully employed at wage scales adequate to maintain the American standard of living.

2. The farmer must have a profitable market for his product.

3. The investor in industry must have a fair return on his investment.

If these objectives are achieved, and if they are strengthened by efficiency and economy in Government, I have no fear for the future of the United States. Above all, we must approach our problems in the American way, with courage, determination, and patriotism.

People-to-People Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, all of us who have served in the House have developed a deep respect and affection for Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas. He is now serving as Chairman of the Committee for the Handicapped, People-to-People Program.

At a recent meeting of 47 representatives of various People-to-People Committees, General Maas secured the adoption of a resolution. For the benefit of the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that his resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY MAJ. GEN. MELVIN J. MAAS, USMC (RETIRED), CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE FOR THE HANDICAPPED, PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PROGRAM [1]

Whereas the People-to-People Program after some seven months has become organized and has already made and is making a significant contribution; and

Whereas this has been made possible by the assistance and helpfulness of the Director and staff of the USIA; and

Whereas this assistance has been rendered without any strings or without any attempt at dictation but only in the spirit of helpfulness: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That participants in the People-to-People Program here present express their deep appreciation to the Director and staff of USIA for their great assistance in helping the program get a start.

[1] Approved unanimously by 47 representatives of various People-to-People Committees attending the short course "World Ideological Conflict" in Washington, April 8–12, 1957, under auspices of the People-to-People Program.

Australian Cloud-Seeding Experiments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix to the RECORD a table listing the results of cloud-seeding experiments conducted by the Division of Radiophysics at Sydney, Australia.

It is interesting to note that in this summary both precipitation and dissipation have been effected under certain conditions and methods. In any discussion of weather or cloud modification, the effects of cloud retardation and thus of storm retardation are of considerable interest as well as the effect of increasing the precipitation.

Operations in America have also been able to produce dissipation and have thus opened interesting fields of study in the possibility of abatement of storms. Operation Skyfire, conducted by the Forest Service, seeks to determine if storms might be modified to reduce lightning, one of the major causes of Forest Fires in our western States.

Cloud modification opens vast fields. The need is great for basic research both to the increase and decrease of the effects of clouds. Information, such as that contained in this report, is both enlightening and interesting, and contributes to our understanding of the problems involved.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Summary of results of seeding experiments

[Height is given in feet, temperature in degrees centigrade, and time interval in minutes]

Date	Cloud					Seeding level	Results	Time interval from seeding to precipitation at base	Remarks
	Type	Base		Top					
		Height	Temperature	Height	Temperature				
Oct. 15, 1953	Cumulus	7,000	+4.5	13,000	−8	(1)	Moderate rain to ground	25	Only 3 clouds in area over fires. Unseeded clouds unchanged throughout experiment.
Oct. 10, 1953	do	3,000	+4	7,000	−2.5	(1)	Nil		Minimum temperature in cloud −4° C. A few drizzle drops at base soon after seeding.
Do	do	3,000	+4	7,000	−2.5	(1)	Dissipated		Dissipated rapidly 20 minutes after seeding.
Oct. 23, 1953	do	3,500	+2.5	7,000	−4	(1)	Moderate rain to ground	12	Two clouds seeded. Unseeded clouds in area also rained.
Feb. 16, 1954	do	3,000	+20	15,000	−5	(1)	Heavy rain to ground	20	Rain heaviest 25 minutes after seeding. Ceased 10 minutes later. Control clouds did not rain.
Mar. 15, 1955	do	6,500	+5	15,000	−7	10,000	Very light rain to ground	22	Faint radar echo. Large drizzle drops.
May 4, 1955	do	4,000	+6	12,000	−12	10,500	Heavy rain to ground	16	Radar echo in cloud in 12 minutes. Heavy rain to ground 26 minutes. Control clouds did not rain.
May 18, 1955	do	6,500	−2	10,000	−11	9,400	Dissipated		Dissipated almost immediately. Minimum temperature in cloud −5° C.
May 19, 1955	Layer strato-cumulus	4,500	0	8,500	−6	8,500	Drizzle	40	Slight drizzle, not to ground.
June 16, 1955	Layer alto-cumulus	8,000	+2	13,000	−7	12,500	Light to moderate rain	20	Mostly light rain. Unknown whether it reached ground.
June 23, 1955	Cumulus	3,500	+3	9,500	−9	8,600	Light rain	20	Light rain inside cloud 13 minutes after seeding, at base 7 minutes later. Did not reach ground.
Do	do	3,500	+3	9,500	−9	8,000	Dissipated		Commenced to dissipate 17 minutes after seeding. Nearly gone 6 minutes later.
June 28, 1955	do	4,000	+1	12,000	−14	10,000	Light rain	10	Faint radar echo at 9,000 feet 7 minutes after seeding. Visible rain at base 3 minutes later.
July 16, 1955	Layer strato-cumulus	4,300	0	6,200	−4.5	5,500	Nil		No change 30 minutes after seeding.
July 26, 1955	Layer alto-cumulus	10,000	−8	12,500	−12	12,000	Light rain	20–50	Rained only in line of seeding. Delay 20 minutes at deepest end, 50 minutes at other. Not to ground.
Aug. 3, 1955	Cumulus	5,000	0	12,000	−13	(1)	Dissipated		Dissipated rapidly 18 minutes after seeding.
Aug. 4, 1955	do	3,500	+5	9,000	−8	(1)	Nil		No change in 35 minutes.
Sept. 8, 1955	Layer strato-cumulus	5,000	+2	10,000	−6	(1)	Moderate to heavy rain	19	Rain accompanies by lowering of base.
Sept. 16, 1955	Layer alto-cumulus	10,200	−3	10,700	−4.5	10,500	Nil		No change in 35 minutes.
Do	Cumulus	7,000	+5	14,500	−6	12,500	Heavy rain to ground	9	Trace of radar echo soon after seeding. Other clouds in area also rained heavily.
Oct. 20, 1955	Cumulus	5,000	+13	14,000	−6	(1)	Moderate rain to ground	24	Base lowering 13 minutes after seeding. Rain widespread below cloud 12 minutes later.
Nov. 9, 1955	do	9,000	+9.5	20,000	−11	(1)	Very heavy rain to ground	14	Faint radar echo 11 minutes after seeding.
Nov. 11, 1955	do	5,000	0	15,000	−11	(1)	Light rain to ground	26	
Nov. 15, 1955	do	8,000	+12	18,000	−6	(1)	Very heavy rain to ground	24	Control cloud through bigger rained 10 minutes later and not as heavily as seeded cloud.
Nov. 23, 1955	do	6,500	+12	20,000	−14	(1)	Nil		No change observed in 50 minutes.
Jan. 11, 1956	do	5,000	+12	16,000	−10	(1)	Moderate rain to ground	30	
Jan. 19, 1956	do	7,500	+9	20,000	−14	(1)	Light rain to ground	23	Moderate rain developed 28 minutes after seeding and lasted 7 minutes.
Feb. 15, 1956	do	5,500	+12	20,000	−16	(1)	Dissipated		Base lowered 18 minutes after seeding. Cloud dissipated 30 minutes after seeding.
Feb. 16, 1956	do	6,000	+8	17,000	−12	(1)	Heavy rain to ground	20	Light rain 20 minutes after seeding, became heavy 15 minutes later.
Feb. 19, 1956	do	6,000	+11	12,000	−2	(1)	Nil		Cloud base lowered but otherwise no change.
Feb. 25, 1956	do	7,000	+12	17,000	−9	(1)	Heavy rain	22	Light rain 22 minutes after seeding. Heavy 8 minutes later. Still raining 45 minutes after seeding.
Mar. 7, 1956	do	3,000	+19	20,000	−10	(1)	Moderate rain to ground	22	
Apr. 18, 1956	do	3,800	+4	9,000	−6	(1)	Dissipated		Commenced to dissipate slowly 27 minutes after seeding. Control clouds did not change.
Do	do	5,000	+2	9,000	−6	(1)	do		Started to dissipate 5 minutes after seeding.
Apr. 21, 1956	do	2,700	+3	8,000	−7	(1)	Drizzle	18	Only drizzle fell from seeded cloud. Control clouds remained unchanged.

[1] At base.

NOTE.—From the experiments reported it seems clear that silver iodide is an effective agent for inducing precipitation in supercooled clouds whose temperatures are less than −5° C. The time taken to release precipitation is usually some 20 to 25 minutes after seeding in the case of a cumulus cloud, but may be longer in the case of layer clouds. The question as to whether the precipitation will reach the ground, clearly depends on the quantity released, the height of cloud base above the terrain, and the dryness of the air between. In most cases however any reasonably deep cloud that was seeded produced rain that reached the ground. It is of interest to note that these conclusions are very similar to those of Squires and Smith (1949) in relation to the effect of seeding supercooled clouds with dry ice.

Source: Extract from the Use of Silver Iodide for Seeding Individual Clouds, by J. Warner and S. Twomey, Division of Radiophysics, C. S. I. R. O., Sydney, Australia. TELLUS—vol. 8, No. 4; November 1956.

Polish Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAT McNAMARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, 166 years ago the people of Poland, indeed the people of the whole civilized world, witnessed an event of greatest importance—the enactment of one of the first truly democratic constitutions on the continent of Europe.

The Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791, is a most remarkable document. It bears eloquent testimony to the undying spirit of freedom and justice that was the hallmark of Polish history throughout all ages.

In this country of ours we have millions of people of Polish descent. It is only fitting for us to congratulate them on this anniversary of that great historical document and to express to them—and through them to the people of Poland—the sincere friendship we have always felt toward the Polish nation.

Poland today, however, is not yet free, but I have no doubt that some day soon it will be free. The Polish people have demonstrated on innumerable occasions that they will never consent to live in slavery. They have risen again and again against their various oppressors, and in the face of great odds they have brought forth victory. Only last year they rose again, and solely through the strength of their courage and determination they shook to the roots the power of their Communist masters.

There will be yet many difficult days ahead. But I am certain that with the help of God the undying will of the Polish people to be free again will ultimately win out.

Mr. President, last Sunday in New York Michigan's Governor, Mennen Williams, delivered an address on the observance of Polish Constitution Day. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY GOV. G. MENNEN WILLIAMS, OF MICHIGAN, OBSERVANCE OF POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY, 69TH REGIMENT ARMORY, NEW YORK, N. Y., MAY 5, 1957

Dziekuje Panie Prezesie Wazeter, Wielebni Duchowni, Panie Generale Sosnkowski, Drodzy Polacy, it's a great pleasure and honor to be invited by you to spend this national holiday in your company. I want to share with you in your pride, and your love for Poland; and I want to participate in your fight, and in your hopes, on this great anniversary in Polish history—an anniversary that is dear to the whole democratic world, to the cause of Christianity, and of tolerance, and of progress in human rights, everywhere.

My good friend Mayor Robert F. Wagner has issued a special proclamation for this occasion, commemorating May 3 as the date of the signing of Poland's constitution of 1791. In his proclamation, Mayor Wagner refers to that constitution as: "One of the world's greatest documents of freedom—then, as now, a symbol of the ideals of democracy and liberty—which came into being just 14 years after the signing of our own Declaration of Independence."

In Michigan, we have similar observances, and I am proud to be the Governor of a State where we have so many good citizens, and great leaders, who trace their ancestry to Polish parents.

But one cannot speak of the constitution of May 3—or of our American Polonia—without looking also at the Poland of today, in the world of today, to discover the lessons of history, and find out what duties destiny has put before us.

Let us think of Poland of May 1791, and then let us think of Poland of May 1957.

In 1791, Poland was hemmed in between two countries where absolutism and oppression reigned, and it was then that Poland lit the torch of democracy in Europe, proclaiming equality, social justice, and the rights of freedom. The light from this torch reached oppressed peoples far outside her borders—in Russia, and in Germany, in fact, everywhere. It was a dangerous light in 1791—and it is no less dangerous today—dangerous to oppressors, and dangerous to dictators.

In 1791, invaders were quick to act, to extinguish that light of freedom. They got together and wiped Poland off the map of Europe, because these ideals of freedom would otherwise have meant the death of their own power.

It is the same today.

Light is a powerful weapon against those who rule in darkness.

A few months ago a new revolution started in Poland. It is not over yet. It will not be over for a long time. The people of Poland marched to the barricades of Poznan, demanding liberty—demanding independence. Again the torch burst into flame—and again its light reached into many nations—a threat to oppression and dictatorship—today, as in 1791.

Shall Poland again be crucified for having the courage and inspiration to stand up for human rights, for herself and for her neighbors?

That is the question before decent men and women everywhere—today, as in 1791. That is why the cause of Poland today is the cause of the whole civilized world—the cause of Christianity—today, as it was before.

As an American, I say this to my fellow Americans: Whenever and wherever there is a struggle for liberty and justice, there is our cause—there is our struggle—there is being decided the fate of the American people, and the fate of all good people everywhere. And there must we do our part.

It is our sacred duty to help and participate, not just because Poland and other countries once helped us—not merely because Poles came to our country, to do their part to make us great, and to die to help us keep our freedom—but rather because the entire world is peopled by children of the same God, and there can be no happiness, no freedom, while oppression and misery prevail. Freedom is indivisible. We cannot be truly free as long as anyone anywhere is denied freedom.

To help Poland in her fight for freedom is to fight for our own freedom—and that is why we have opened our doors and our hearts to millions of displaced persons, and extended our assistance to millions abroad who are in need of our aid.

In a sense, all Poland today is a displaced nation. The Red delegates in the United Nations do not represent the Polish people—nor do the Communist bosses, there, represent the Polish people.

Recently, during negotiations to extend material assistance to Poland, our Government declared that Poland is a friendly nation. That was necessary to remove certain legislative restrictions—but, in fact, Poland is and always has been a friendly nation—friendly to us, just as we have been friendly to Poland.

The Poles themselves are the Polish nation. Their nation is a thousand years old—and the Poles are the same today as always: Poland is the average Pole, the true, the Polish Pole—who has only friendship and good will toward us. Their masters from the Kremlin are not the Poles—and we should not think of them as such.

In this I agree with my good friend, Governor Harriman, when he said the other day that "correctly administered assistance from America might well be decisive in helping these Polish people, who are overwhelmingly opposed to the Kremlin and to communism," so that they will not be forced to depend exclusively upon the Soviets for their economy.

This has been the position taken by such great leaders of American opinion as my colleague across the Hudson River, Governor Robert Meyner, of New Jersey, who has called for aid to Poland, and asked that America open her doors to refugees from Soviet terrorism.

This is the position that has been taken by Senator THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, the chairman of our Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and by such men as Senators KENNEDY, HUMPHREY, MANSFIELD, and RUSSELL.

All of these men have, I am sure, been moved to even greater vigor in this cause, due to the inspiring example of such great Polish-American statesmen as Governor Muskie, of Maine, and Congressman GORDON, of Illinois, who is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

As your Polish American Congress put it in a declaration 3 months ago, "the gains made toward freedom in Poland must be recognized and the Polish people must be encouraged to continue" in their effort to throw off Communist rule.

One of the best ways to help—when we see friends in distress—is to aid, with money, and with food, so that hungry and distressed people, like those in Poland today, will have courage to continue their battle. That is the least that we can do—and we must be sure that what we do is enough to meet the need, for in addition to her own people, Poland has today 500,000 repatriates from Russia and Siberia, who must be cared for, and to whose needs the democratic world must not turn its back.

We must always remember that the voice of Poland to which we are responding today is the voice of the Poland that had the courage to say "No" to Hitler in 1939—that had the magificent courage to say "No" to Khrushchev in 1956. This was the essence of the spirit of Poland in 1791—and this is the spirit of Poland today. The Poles who then came up with their constitution of May 3—166 years ago—proclaiming freedom and independence, did not expect a blessing from St. Petersburg or from Berlin. They knew what was coming to them. The Poles knew in 1939 what to expect for themselves and their children, from Hitler and his Nazis. They knew last fall what to expect from the slave masters of the Kremlin—and yet they acted. There is no power on earth that can destroy the spirit of free men; and there is no power in the universe that will forgive us, if we fail to help and uphold that spirit, so far as it is within our strength to do so.

Thus do I see the connection between May 1791 and May 1957.

Administration leaders have talked about liberation for Poland—and many speeches have been made about that subject. But action is what is needed, not speeches, not slogans.

There is much to be done.

The powerful voice of America ought to be uplifted in the halls of the United Nations, to demand that Russia restore to Poland the right to free elections, unhampered by Communist terrorism. The solemn words of international treaties demand these rights for the Polish people—and it is the duty of our diplomats, and of our Government, to make those rights meaningful.

My congratulations to you for the work which your organization has done and is doing. You have provided a rallying point not only for American Polonia, but for all freedom-loving men. I particularly congratulate you for the assistance which you have lately extended to that great spiritual leader, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, who suffered deprivation and imprisonment in the cause of freedom, and who in a few days will visit the Vatican for the first time in years, as a free man and as the representative of the conscience of the whole world. And I know that you will continue to give him the support which he so much needs, to make the cause of freedom prevail.

In my State of Michigan I have many thousand of friends of Polish extraction—including some, like my State auditor general, Frank Szymanski, Congressman Thaddeus Machowicz, Congressman John Lesinski, and Congressman John Dingell, who have risen to positions of exalted leadership in the affairs of our whole country. I have come to esteem and to love them—and I have even managed to learn a few words of their Pplish language. So, I am going to finish my greetings in that language—and if my accent is not perfect, the thought comes from my heart: "Niech Zyje Wolna, demokratyczna, niepodlegla, wielka, Polska."

Address by Dr. Howard L. Bevis at Dedication of the University of Arkansas Medical Center, Little Rock, Ark.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech delivered by Dr. Howard L. Bevis at the dedication of the University of Arkansas Medical Center in Little Rock on April 25, 1957.

Dr. Bevis is Chairman of the National Committee for the Development of Scientists and Engineers. I believe that Members of the Senate will be interested in his comments on the problems which have arisen as a result of the shortage of scientific manpower.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY DR. HOWARD L. BEVIS, CHAIRMAN, THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS, DEDICATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS MEDICAL CENTER, LITTLE ROCK, ARK., APRIL 25, 1957

I appreciate the opportunity to be here with you today and take part in the dedication of your university's fine new medical center. It is an enduring monument to the vision and spirit and energies of the people of Arkansas. Future generations can look with great pride to Dr. Caldwell and those who have worked with him to make this possible.

We are here today considering a common problem—the development of scientific manpower, manpower which is as necessary to the progress of medicine and medical research as it is to our national security, to our rising standard of living, and to our continued technological leadership in the world.

Medical research today is at the molecular level. It can no longer be separated from research in the physical sciences. The physical sciences are so interwoven into every aspect of modern medical research that the distinction between biology, medicine, and the physical sciences is fast being wiped out.

The American Medical Association, in the AMA Journal of August 1956, made this significant declaration:

"Medicine is in itself not a science, but rather a collection of the applications of chemistry, physics, and mathematics in biology. * * * Future knowledge must come not only from study of the content and structure of metabolic components, but also from exploration of the physical factors that control organization of these components in the cell and its environment. Thus, though there is no medical science, medicine does provide the 'commons-hall' for all science."

And Dr. Detley Bronk, president of the National Academy of Sciences and a member of our national committee, expressed it this way: "Why is it that a person who studies the heart action of a frog is a zoologist, while one who studies the heart action of a man is a physiologist?"

The unity of science today is such that when the doctor enters the operating room, or carries his skill to the bedside of the sick, he is supported by physicists, mathematicians, biochemists, reactor engineers, agronomists—all the vast array of highly trained people who make up the Nation's scientific and technological complex.

By releasing atomic energy, the physicist has touched off countless medical advances. The mere byproducts of atomic energy have provided tools for medical research which may prove as valuable in the future as the microscope has been in the past. Radioisotopes are being used, for example, in the diagnosis and treatment of cancer, vascular diseases of the heart, the brain, the eyes, and other parts of the body. Internal use of isotopes is being studied as a substitute for exploratory surgery.

The work of the mathematician pervades all modern research. It is present in physics, in biochemistry, in engineering. The National Institutes of Health, for example, are buying an electronic computer to solve, through mathematics, the intricate and changing equations involved in their health research.

Metallurgists have their place in medical research, developing new metals for use in nucleonics, and for the production of the extremely sensitive yet durable instruments of modern medicine.

Without engineers, the reactors which make possible atomic energy and its byproducts could not have been built, the "cobalt bomb" for treating cancer would not exist, and other essential electronics instruments would not be possible. The doctor is the human engineer.

One of the most dramatic medical stories of our time is that of penicillin. Penicillin was made possible by the work of agricultural scientists in the Department of Agriculture's research laboratory at Peoria, Ill. Along with penicillin, agricultural research over the country has produced other powerful antibiotics—streptomycin, aureomycin, chloromycetin, terramycin, and more.

The past 10 years have come to be known as the "age of the biochemist"—the indispensable leader in discovering and codifying the secrets of metabolism and the biological processes.

Even the astronomer, searching into outer space, paradoxically must return to the structure of the atom and contributes to medical research.

Supporting these creative specialists are a host of technicians of all kinds—in the laboratories and factories, at the drawing boards and testing benches. As never before, we see the unity of science demonstrated for us, day by day.

Your primary concern, of course, is with medical education.

On the President's Committee we have a responsibility in all the broad fields of scientific and technological education. As the essential unity of the biological, the medical, and the physical sciences is operationally established, our common goal is made ever clearer.

The need for medical manpower—for general practice and for research—is rising along with the Nation's requirements for other trained manpower. Within the past 25 years, the number of graduates from the medical schools has increased 45 percent—from 4,735 in 1930–31 to 6,845 in 1955–56. This is a large percentage increase. But the ratio of doctors to total population has remained relatively stable since 1920. Dr. James A. Shannon, director of the National Institutes of Health, recently named the training of adequate manpower as a priority in the program for strengthening medical research. He struck this note of alarm: "Despite unparalleled need for a vigorous effort in this field," he said, "research is not flourishing. The number of younger men of top caliber who aspire to research and teaching careers in medical schools is inadequate."

It is small consolation to say that this is part of the general picture across the Nation—that the supply of doctors, scientists, engineers and other trained professionals has not kept pace with demand. We do not have a great deal of information on supply and demand in the scientific manpower field. The problem is, in fact, one of the most talked about and yet one of the poorest documented problems of our time. But even with the limited information we have, we know that the major cause of America's current shortage of scientific manpower is not a decrease in supply. The cause is the tremendous increase in demand. Note this:

The United States labor force has grown by five times since 1870. Employment in science and technology has increased by 85 times, or 17 times as fast. The supply of engineers today is actually much larger than it was before World War II. It is increasing every year.

Yet there is a shortage in supply. The shortage has its roots in the low birth rates of the 1930's. This "lean generation" has now reached college age. During the next 10 years there will be an actual decrease in the number of male workers in the 25–34 year age group. At the same time, total population and total labor force will be rising.

In contrast to the immediate problem of shortage, we have had to look ahead to another kind of problem—the massive increase in school and college enrollment that will reach its peak in the 1970's. The middle and late 1960's will bring a tremendous upsurge in America's college-age population. The number of births in the United States has been rising sharply since 1945. College enrollments are expected to double by 1970.

Thus our National Committee—and you as well—faces a problem that has a double stress. We must move now to meet shortages. Simultaneously, we must plan and act to provide teachers and facilities able to handle this future enrollment without lowering America's educational standards.

Here are some of the things the committee has done: Current labor demands can be met only from the current labor supply. Consequently, our Committee took up early in its work the matter of utilization—of using effectively the scientific manpower we have. First we moved to increase the supply and improve the use of technicians, the vital supporting personnel for scientists and engineers. Our program calls for expanded training, greater recognition, systematic upgrading, on-job training, and opportunities for additional education of these vital aids to progress. A committee task force under the direction of Dr. Eric Walker, president of Pennsylvania State University, and the Committee's vice chairman, is going into selected industrial communities. The task force will assist in the development of local action programs, and will assemble and "codify" tested methods for conserving engineering manpower.

To meet the longer range problem—the increase in school and college enrollments—the Committee has turned first to the need for improving the teaching in mathematics and the sciences. The training of modern-day scientists and engineers does not begin in college or even in senior high school. Educators agree that mathematics and science training should start in the elementary grades. A group of specialists in elementary and secondary school education studied the problem for the Committee. They found that far more young people have capacity for careers in science and technology than are currently entering these fields. They found evidence that current enrollment in science and mathematics courses would be adequate if the quality of instruction were improved and the number of dropouts reduced. The group produced a broad program of action that joins the forces of educators, professional societies, industry and labor, and the entire community.

A companion problem to the need for an early start in science training is the need for identifying at an early age those young people with an aptitude for science and engineering. The Committee has had a preliminary study made on identification and guidance of such young people.

I have mentioned that early attention was given to increasing the use of technicians. This immediate problem led us into a long-range problem—the need for a midway point in United States education between high school and college. We have become convinced that there is need for a proper recognition of 2-year training in higher education. The Committee is working for uniform recognition of technical institutes, for the strengthening of technical institute curriculums, and for the encouragement of junior and community colleges.

Over the country, many States and communities have set up their own organizations for improving education in science and mathematics; for attracting young people to the sciences; for training more technicians; for taking other steps to meet the nation's present and future requirements for scientific manpower.

President Eisenhower, in establishing our Committee, wisely recognized that the problem is not a job that can be solved by Government alone. It is a task—I quote the President's words—that "requires for its solution the power and concerted action of citizens and citizens' groups organized to act effectively."

That is the basic charter of the Committee. We are an action group. But our objective is action in the community—among private organizations concerned with the education, training, and employment of scientific personnel.

In a very real sense, then, the Committee's work is your work. Our Committee sitting in Washington cannot by itself do very much about the national problem.

Improvement of training in science and mathematics, greater recognition for the teacher, better job opportunities for young people, conservation of scientific manpower—these are steps that must be carried out in your schools, in your laboratories, in your industrial plants. The final results will come through hometown organization, which requires hometown leadership. For this we look to you—as educators, as members of the professions, as industrial and civic leaders.

The committee stands ready to help you. We can provide some of the tools. We can tell you what others are doing.

So—go back home and start the ball rolling. That is the way things get done in America.

Dorothy McCullough Lee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an informative article, from the Washington Post and Times Herald of April 28, 1957, about the distinguished public career of Mrs. Dorothy McCullough Lee, former Mayor of Portland, Oreg., and now Chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

The article, which is entitled "Feminine Official Is No Feminist," by Eileen Summers, of the staff of the Washington Post and Times Herald.

This sketch of the public service of Dorothy McCullough Lee points out that she is "the highest paid woman member of the Eisenhower administration." I am pleased that Miss Summers' article quotes extensively from comments about Mrs. Lee by my wife, Maurine. Although Mrs. Lee is a Republican and my wife is a Democrat, Mrs. Neuberger campaigned extensively for Mrs. Lee's reelection as Mayor of Portland because of the latter's record for integrity in the field of law enforcement and enlightened government generally.

Mrs. Lee and her husband, W. Scott Lee, now reside in the District of Columbia, because of Mrs. Lee's position with the Federal Government. I ask unanimous consent that the entire article from the Washington Post and Times Herald appear in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESENTING CHAIRMAN LEE—FEMININE OFFICIAL IS NO FEMINIST

(By Eileen Summers)

The highest paid woman member of the Eisenhower administration has about her an ante bellum aura of fragility.

Dorothy McCullough Lee, Chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board at a salary of $20,000 per year, is hyperfeminine. But while her blue eyes may harbor a faraway expression, there has been nothing dreamyeyed about her approach to any of the jobs she has handled in 28 years of public service.

Her previous jobs took her all the way from a law office in Portland, Oreg., to the State legislature for 15 years, back to racket-ridden Portland as its first woman mayor, and thence to the United States Parole Board.

She joined the Subversive Activities Control Board in September 1956. She backs away from any discussion of the criticism aimed at the Federal loyalty-security program by former Board member Harry Cain, but she does have decided views on the function and record of the five-member, bipartisan Board itself, established under the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

Mrs. Lee maintains quietly but firmly that the Board justifies its existence. "Its procedures are fair and the Board's work makes it possible for the American people to be given legal proof that certain organizations are Communist dominated or Communist infiltrated."

Mrs. Lee would like to see many more women run for public office, but is decidedly not a feminist.

"Keep your femininity but develop immunity to personal criticism," she advises young women considering taking the plunge into public life. "Don't take defeat at the polls as a personal failure. Men don't."

Probably one of the highest compliments paid her comes from another woman—and a Democrat. Maurine Neuberger, wife of United States Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, was serving in 1952 in the Oregon State Legislature with her husband. Both of them campaigned for Mrs. Lee's reelection as mayor of Portland. Says Mrs. Neuberger: "She's very easy to work with. And she observed the bipartisan spirit required of the mayor's office so closely that I thought of her not as a Republican but as a fine administrator."

Mrs. Neuberger adds: "My husband and I believe if she had been reelected then, we wouldn't now be watching the disclosures of labor and city hall rackets in Portland."

Mrs. Lee's interest in public affairs dates back to the days when she was a 12-year-old, living in Washington. Her father, a naval officer, was Assistant Surgeon General at the time and young Dorothy used to risk parental displeasure by skipping her homework in favor of watching congressional debates on women's suffrage.

She dismisses as of no consequence the theory that women won't support other women for public office as well she may. It was, after all, a group of Portland women engaged in civic good works who persuaded her when she was 26 and just starting out in her own law office to run for the Oregon State Legislature as a member of the lower house.

She served in both houses for a total of 15 years, and for another 5 as public utilities commissioner of Portland, before winning the mayoralty at the age of 46. She didn't have a platform, she says, unless it was the promise: "I will enforce the law." And that she did. Gambling and other rackets that had aroused the citizenry suffered a marked decline in health during her administration but she disavows any suggestion that she's a reformer.

"I just try to run a good, businesslike administration free of corruption," she says. "If that is reform, so be it. But I'm no Carrie Nation bent on changing the world."

How did she go about cleaning up Portland? It was very simple, she insists. "I enforced the law as I had promised. The charter gave me the power to choose my own chief of police. I picked a tried and true man for the job and periodically changed the personnel of the vice squad."

There was no swooping down, she says. "We just looked at enterprises operating illegally and gave them a week's notice to close down. They did. The people running them knew from my record that I meant what I said."

Her appointment to the United States Board of Parole came in August 1953, following her defeat for reelection as mayor. She traveled all over the country to Federal prisons, hearing applications for parole, and has a few ideas of her own about possible explanations for intermittent outbreaks of prison riots—mostly State—in recent years.

Overcrowding, with resultant tension, may be an important factor in these riots, she believes. So is the personality of the prison warden. "Some wardens are able to maintain discipline, yet preserve a comparatively relaxed atmosphere. A lot depends on the warden's attitude toward the prisoners. If he believes they can be salvaged, the men will become aware of this and he will be able to inspire some of them with the same belief." Characteristically, Mrs. Lee adds, hastily: "But I'm not a prison expert."

With her to Washington came her husband, W. Scott Lee, and her two adopted children—David Scott Lee, now at George Washington University, and Priscilla, a sophomore at the University of Maryland. Her husband, an oil company executive, was able to transfer to the Washington office and has always been an enthusiastic supporter of her career.

It is the function of the Subversive Activities Control Board to determine whether an organization is, as charged by the Attorney General, a Communist-action group, a Communist-infiltrated group, Mrs. Lee explains.

Members of the Board move about the country to hear evidence from both sides. A verbatim transcript of each day's hearings—they are public—goes to each member of the Board, and when all the evidence is in the Board sits as a body to consider it.

If an organization is classified "Communist action" and loses or does not make an appeal from the board's decision, its officers and members must register with the Attorney General's Office and such persons become ineligible for Federal Government or defense plant jobs, says Mrs. Lee. "If it is designated Communist front the officers and the organization must register."

In defense of the board Mrs. Lee points out: "A tremendous amount of thought went into the drafting of the law by which it was established. Constitutional lawyers and a special subcommittee of the American Bar Association studied it. All the due processes of law safeguards are there."

Those safeguards include the right of counsel on both sides to cross-examine witnesses, to appeal the board's decision up to the Supreme Court, and for an individual or organization to petition for a new hearing at a later date to have their name removed from the Attorney General's list. She adds:

"Our job is to disclose subversive organizations. We don't investigate them—that is the FBI's job. This board is not prejudiced; we don't judge any case on what the Attorney General says about it but by what he and his witness can prove about it."

Much of Mrs. Lee's time during the first few months was taken up with a review of

the Federal Government's case against the Communist Party of the United States. The board, after hearing all the evidence, had named it a Communist-action group. The 15,000 pages of testimony, plus Communist literature introduced as exhibits, kept her reading until the small hours, many a night.

Visitors At the National Presbyterian Church

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, attendance at the various churches in the United States is very encouraging. People are not only attending their own churches, but when they are in other communities they attend churches of those communities.

In March of this year, Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, pastor of the National Presbyterian Church, became interested in the number of visitors attending the church. He asked the visitors to sign a card indicating their churches. It showed, on a single Sunday, 393 from other churches. 32 denominations were represented, and they were from more than two-thirds of the States of the Union, as well as many foreign countries.

The division as to denominations is most interesting, and I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the list showing the number of visitors from each denomination on a single Sunday.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Denominations and number of visitors' cards

Presbyterian	163
Methodist	83
Lutheran	21
Episcopalian	17
Roman Catholic	6
Jewish	4
Congregational	21
Baptist	31
Church of England	3
United Presbyterian	4
Protestant of Germany	1
Independent	1
Reformed	5
Evangelical and Reformed	4
Disciples of Christ	7
Bible Church	1
Latter-day Saints	2
Russian Orthodox	1
Universalist	1
Free Evangelicals	1
Christian Science	2
Evangelical United Brethren	2
Free Methodists	2
Hindu	1
Unitarian	1
Mission Covenant	1
Pentecostal	1
United Church of Canada	3
Christian Missionary Alliance	1
Mennonite	1
Nazarine	1
Community Church	1
Total	393

Budgetary Headaches in the Kremlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Budgetary Headaches in the Kremlin," written by C. L. Sulzberger, and printed in the New York Times of May 6, 1957.

The article demonstrates that far from being behind the Russians in terms of defense, we have been ahead of them.

The New Look in our defense came several years before that of the Russians, who are now endeavoring to revise their weight of armament of 175 divisions in the same direction.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUDGETARY HEADACHES IN THE KREMLIN

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

OXFORD, England, May 5.—The entire world seem plagued by budget troubles. We in the United States are acutely familiar with this exasperating problem. A drive to trim expenses threatens to cut dangerously into defense and foreign aid appropriations. In Britain the urge to economize has already revolutionized military planning. And, during last week's NATO meeting, Bonn echoed both Washington's debate and London's decision.

To reduce taxes appeals to crisis-wearied citizens of the West. But we are not alone with such sentiments. Similar impulses have begun to strain the fabric of Soviet empire. The U. S. S. R.'s own industrial schedule is becoming overextended. And its fiscal system finds it increasingly difficult to meet Kremlin commitments abroad. The truculent satellites are commencing to cost Russia heavily in raw materials, manufactured goods, and gold.

This does not imply that the Communist empire has started to falter. Nevertheless, it is experiencing expensive surprises. These could most easily be alleviated if the West curtails assistance to uncommitted nations and cripples its already minimal defenses. For, then, Moscow might also ease off on foreign aid and arms.

Even before the Polish and Hungarian upheavals the U. S. S. R. was heavily extended. Its disguised military budget remains huge. Its capital investment plan has been found too ambitious. And despite all claims of Soviet statisticians living standards remain abysmally low.

NEW OBLIGATIONS ABROAD

During the past 6 months Moscow had to increase its obligations in Eastern Europe by about 8 billion rubles ($2 billion at official exchange rates). Two billion one hundred million rubles in Polish debts were canceled for obvious political reasons while new loans and credits of 1,100,000,000 were offered to appease Warsaw. East Germany's contribution for upkeep of Soviet garrisons has been halved. This adds a new charge of almost 1,500,000,000 rubles annually to Moscow's treasury. Furthermore, since October Russia has had to give ravaged Hungary perhaps 1 billion rubles.

Apart from these unexpected imperial expenditures, Russia has other bills to meet. The Hungarian revolt probably cost Budapest a billion dollars in dangers. Resulting emigration cut available factory labor by perhaps 10 percent.

Satellite investment plans failed to meet their targets. Vociferous demands for wage increases have had to be met in part. Therefore, the U. S. S. R. was able to extract from its empire fewer imports than anticipated and was required to export more goods. This has drained Russia's material stocks and gold.

In an effort to counter our own assistance to underdeveloped lands, the U. S. S. R. has pledged itself heavily in non-Communist nations like Egypt, India, Afghanistan, and Syria. Furthermore, the Soviet armaments outlay continues prodigious. Imagine the Kremlin's perplexity to meet requirements of nuclear defense while still maintaining 175 divisions.

Despite boasts of their economists, despite impressive industrialization, and despite a massive harvest, the Russian people are poor. In simple things like meat and dairy products they are no better off than 30 years ago.

The U. S. S. R. will not be able to attain goals fixed for 1960 in the current 5-year plan. Nineteen hundred and fifty-six saw a lower rate of increase in industrial output than any year since 1946. The momentum of expansion has slackened. As a result the Kremlin is desperately trying to do what our own budget trimmers seek—but on a higher scale and with less reserves.

STEPS TAKEN AT HOME

Khrushchev has decreed administrative decentralization to stimulate initiative and curtail duplication. Even more important Moscow had to take the ignoble step of canceling bond obligations. Issues which began to fall due this year have simply been erased. Once more Soviet citizens lost their savings. Scheduled 1957 repayments of loans amounted to about $4 billion. In a decade this annual charge would have doubled. Now some three-fourths of the entire internal debt—about $65 billion—has been officially forgotten.

No Government with a healthy economy would dream of such drastic steps. Yet Moscow is still faced with a serious dilemma. Either it will have to curtail capital expansion and satellite aid; or it will have to reduce the military power and external adventures that now make Russia so dangerous.

This is one reason for efforts to launch another peace offensive. It is strongly in Soviet interest to restore tranquillity to the world and thus to obtain a breathing spell. Such tranquility, of course, would also be desirable in the West. Nobody likes to live on the brink of war. But any worthwhile settlement must be carefully negotiated. Before beginning negotiations the democracies should be certain they are both united and strong. It would clearly be folly to precede diplomatic talks with a wave of budget-cutting, defense, and overseas aid reductions. One doesn't throw away one's best cards before the game has started.

Property Rights Voided

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in

the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Property Rights Voided," which was published in the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle of April 30, 1957. The editorial discusses the recent decision of the Supreme Court invalidating the 131-year-old will of Mr. Stephen Girard, of Philadelphia.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROPERTY RIGHTS VOIDED

The United States Supreme Court, as it is now constituted, seems bent on stripping the States and individuals of their most cherished and fundamental rights.

Pursuing its policy of forced integration, the court has ruled that Philadelphia's Girard College cannot exclude Negroes although it was established from funds left in a will which specifically directed that the school be built for poor white boys.

The high tribunal said that the board of directors of City Trust of Philadelphia, which administers Girard College, is an agency of the State of Pennsylvania; therefore, the court decided, the college must come under the terms of its desegregation edict.

It mattered not to the Justices that Stephen Girard, who died in 1831, directed the city in his will to establish and operate the college with admission limited to poor white orphan boys.

What the court has said, in effect, is that a will which was binding in 1831 is not binding today; that a citizen of the United States, indeed, cannot direct the disposition of his own property.

What are we coming to in this country when the judiciary usurps the right of private property?

It is noteworthy that this right was upheld, as it properly should have been, by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court which found itself reversed by the United States Court in upholding the will. In the State court's opinion it said:

"It is one of our most fundamental legal principles that an individual has the right to dispose of his own property by gift or will as he sees fit. This right is so much protected that a testator's direction will be enforced even though contrary to the general views of society."

Those who believe in constitutional government were astonished when the Supreme Court, in its desegregation edict, made a decision based on sociology rather than on law. They are appalled now to see the court, in its Girard College ruling, nullify, in effect, the right of the individual to do what he wants with his own private property.

The possible far-reaching effects of this latest judicial decision are frightening.

In view of this decision, does any citizen of the United States any longer have the right to dispose of his own private property as he sees fit?

This time, the high court hung its decision on the peg that this particular trusteeship constituted an official agency. Next time, it might decide that it doesn't need any peg at all—that a man's will must be administered according to the whim of the court.

Minnesota Mother of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, we in Minnesota have been very proud of one of our native sons, Gen. Lauris Norstad, who is presently the Commander of NATO Forces in Europe.

General Norstad's mother, Mrs. Marie Norstad, has been recently named Minnesota Mother of the Year. All five of Mrs. Norstad's children are outstanding citizens.

The Minneapolis Sunday Tribune and the St. Paul Sunday Pioneer Press of April 21 honored Mrs. Norstad with two outstanding articles.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these two articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Paul Sunday Pioneer Press of April 21, 1957]

SONS INCLUDE NATO CHIEF—MRS. NORSTAD STATE MOTHER OF 1957

(By Gordon Richmond)

Mrs. Marie Norstad, of Red Wing, mother of five children, including Gen. Lauris Norstad, NATO commander, Saturday was named Minnesota mother of the year.

White haired, 77-year-old Mrs. Norstad is the widow of Rev. Martin Norstad, a Lutheran minister who served pastorates in St. Paul, Minneapolis, Red Wing, Jewell, Iowa, and Chicago. They met when he attended the seminary at Red Wing.

Looking back over the years, she said Saturday:

"We have enjoyed life despite its ups and downs. We couldn't have been happier.

"I can tell you no rules for bringing up a family. Every mother with five children has different problems."

One of her sons, with whom she is now staying, Rev. Frederic M. Norstad, 8501 Thomas Street South, Bloomington, professor of theology at Luther Theological Seminary, said:

"One of the things I recall best of our family life was the calmness and relaxed feeling. There was little nervous tension."

The other children are Victor Norstad, a Minneapolis printer; Mrs. Marie Ernster, wife of a Chicago research chemist, and Robert Norstad, Seattle, a manufacturer's representative. There are 11 grandchildren.

She said her most famous son, General Norstad, was a quiet and inquisitive boy.

He and his father made the first radio set in Red Wing. When Lauris got it to work, she recalled, he ran up to the church to tell his dad. The preacher and the choir were practicing, but Lauris' news ended rehearsals.

"I never pushed the children for special attainments," she said. "And we let them make their own choice of careers."

Her husband died in 1946. He was a hospital and jail chaplain here from 1907 to 1911.

"The considerateness of my children is what makes life worth living now," she said.

The entire family will have a reunion June 9 at St. Olaf College when General Norstad receives a doctor's degree.

In announcing her choice, Mrs. E. H. Kopplin, of Litchfield, State chairman of the American Mothers committee, said:

"Mrs. Norstad was selected mother of the year because she has been a successful mother, as evidenced by the character and achievements of her individual children, and she has exemplified in her life and conduct the precepts of the Golden Rule."

[From the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune of April 21, 1957]

NATO CHIEF'S MOM IS STATE MOTHER OF YEAR

(By Ed Magnuson)

Mrs. Martin Norstad, a slight 77-year-old mother of five—including the supreme commander of NATO—has been named Minnesota's 1957 mother of the year.

Widow of a former Red Wing Lutheran pastor, Mrs. Norstad has been living recently in the Bloomington home of a son, the Reverend Fredric M. Norstad, 8501 Thomas Avenue South.

Announcement of Mrs. Norstad's selection was made by Mrs. E. H. Kopplin, Litchfield, State chairman of the American Mothers Committee. Mrs. Norstad will be considered for the national mother of the year award.

A woman who talks little but laughs often, Mrs. Norstad says she is very proud of her children, who include:

Lauris, 50, a Minneapolis-born officer who became an Air Force brigadier general at 35 and now directs the 15-nation forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization from its Paris headquarters.

Fredric, 45, a professor of theology at Lutheran Theological Seminary in St. Paul and former director of the Luthern Welfare Society of Minnesota.

Robert, 42, a manufacturer's representative for Carborundum Co. in Seattle, Wash.

Victor, 53, a printer for Walkup Typesetting Co., Minneapolis, who lives at 3451 24th Avenue South.

Mrs. Marie Ernster, 47, wife of a research chemist in Chicago.

The selecting committee said Mrs. Norstad was chosen because of the "character and achievements of her children" and her "courage, cheerfulness, patience, affection, kindness, understanding, and homemaking ability."

Her role as a minister's wife and her following of the Golden Rule also were cited.

Mrs. Norstad grew up in Red Wing and met her husband when he was a student at a theological seminary there.

The family then moved frequently as Mr. Norstad served successively as pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Minneapolis, chaplain of various institutions in St. Paul, pastor of parishes in Jewell, Iowa, and Red Wing, officer synodical headquarters in Minneapolis, pastor of Faith Lutheran Church in Chicago and rector of Lutheran Deaconess Hospital in Chicago.

Since the death of her husband in 1946, Mrs. Norstad has lived in the homes of her children, getting special enjoyment out of her 11 grandchildren.

Fredric describes his mother as a person whose interests always were centered in her family and in the church.

"She's always been so calm and relaxed," he adds. "And she has a good sense of humor. I don't think many families have laughed as much as we have."

Mrs. Norstad, who has white hair and still keeps up with current events through newspapers and magazines, expresses great surprise at the honor she's been given.

"I've just been so lucky to have such good children," she says.

"Oh, yes, they had their scraps and arguments like other children and I guess they thought I was pretty stern at times, but they never got into any real trouble."

She said she believes there is a middle ground that must be reached in bringing up children. Many parents today, she thinks, are too lenient and give their children too many material things.

She said Lauris, who is called "Lol" in the family, was a quiet youngster she never would have guessed might grow up to become famous.

"I used to have to urge him to go out and play," she recalls. "He would find things to make and he used to like to sit and read. I certainly was surprised when he decided to go into the Air Force."

She did not object to his choice of a career, however, and she avidly reads anything published about him.

She indicated she is looking forward eagerly to a family reunion in June—the first in 11 years—when the general will come to Minnesota to accept an honorary doctor's degree from St. Olaf College in Northfield.

New Hospital Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "New Hospital Aid Possible," which appeared in the April 24 issue of the Devils Lake (N. Dak.) Journal.

The editors of the Journal support my bill S. 380, which would facilitate hospital construction in Indian areas.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW HOSPITAL AID POSSIBLE

In a matter of weeks first earth will be turned for the construction of an addition to the Mercy Hospital.

It will represent the next major improvement for Devils Lake, which is completing the construction of 3 public schools and 1 parochial school and a new J. C. Penney Building.

While Devils Lake makes plans for increasing its hospital facilities, it could well obtain further assistance in financing the addition under bills submitted in Congress by the Montana delegation.

They provide grants to assist in the construction of community hospitals to serve both Indians and non-Indians.

Inasmuch as the local hospital has been used by both races since the closing of the one at Fort Totten, it would seem to qualify for assistance under the proposal, which would authorize the Federal Government to chip in to help build community facilities, instead of continuing to build Indian hospitals.

Because the Indians have no hospital at Fort Totten and they are too far away from Becourt, headquarters for the agency, most of them logically come to Devils Lake for care and treatment.

Mercy Hospital apparently qualifies for assistance under the Hill-Burton aid to aid in the construction of hospital facilities. Under the proposed bill, it could qualify for an additional grant based upon the percentage of use of the hospital by Indians.

Closing of the Fort Totten hospital has had its effect on the overcrowding at Mercy. Indian people, with their lower standards of living, are more susceptible to illness and they contibute more than their share of patients, when compared to their numbers.

Hospital services, therefore, are more important for them, relatively, than for the non-Indian population. With the difficulty of staffing an Indian hospital, it is perhaps as economical for the Public Health Service now responsible for providing medical facilities for Indians, to cooperate with existing hospital facilities in the community.

At one time the Indians favored retention of their own hospital, but since it has been closed, the Public Health Service apparently has no intention of reopening it.

It is only fair, as proposed by the Federal measure, that the Government contribute to the construction of facilities. As wards of the Government, Indians are entitled to medical care and they are treated under a Federal arrangement.

Some health officials see the bill as a real step forward not only for improvement of health and hospital services for the Indian but also for their integration into the life of the community.

Such a provision would bear watching by local hospital officials. They might still be able to get help with the financing of their addition, which costs a lot of money, hospitals being among the most expensive type of facility to build.

Statement by Adm. Frederick J. Bell, United States Navy Retired, Before Subcommittee on Labor of Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement delivered by Adm. Frederick J. Bell, United States Navy, retired, executive vice president of the National Automobile Dealers Association, before the Subcommittee on Labor of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, on February 28, 1957.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF FREDERICK J. BELL, REAR ADMIRAL, UNITED STATES NAVY, RETIRED, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL AUTOMOBILE DEALERS ASSOCIATION, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, FEBRUARY 28, 1957

Mr. Chairman, the National Automobile Dealers Association consists of approximately 30,000 members out of the some 39,000 new car and truck dealers in the United States. Our members are engaged in selling goods and services in their respective communities to local consumers. Our membership extends into every State and every congressional district in the United States.

It is our view that wages should be earned—not legislated.

Our members, the backbone of America's small business free enterprisers, are apprehensive that the expression "free, competitive enterprise" may well be destroyed of all meaning, and be replaced by a Government-controlled form of enterprise that is neither free nor competitive.

I'm not here to plead the inability or the lack of desire of an automobile dealer to pay a living wage to all of his employees—a wage that is directly in line with conditions within the local market in which he operates. Obviously, the words that the gentlemen of the trade unions so frequently use—sweat shop conditions, substandard wages, and so on—do not apply to the franchised automobile dealers of America who, as I said earlier, represent in every community across the country the very essence of a small business free enterpriser.

You will find in him the man who heads up your local community chest and charity drives. You will find in him a good churchman and a sound, solid, civic leader.

His average capital investment is $100,000 and he gives employment on the average to 16 people.

I might add that on the basis of figures just completed, the members of NADA during 1956, the men who sold the vast majority of the 6 million new passenger cars that were bought in America during the year, had a profit for the entire year of eight-tenths of 1 percent (on sales) before taxes. I'm not here to cry poor mouth or to plead inability. I do wont to point out, however, that the profit picture of the retail automobile industry as a whole might well create concern on the part of any economist or businessman or government leader, because of the extent of the impact of the automobile industry on the national economy.

This typical, average, small-business man to whom I'm referring—civic leader and stalwart citizen—is a very rugged individualist, jealous of the rights of an individual, determined to preserve to the fullest possible extent the rights of individuals which he feels are inherent in the Constitution and in the Bill of Rights. He is equally determined that he will, insofar as he is able, fight to protect the rights of the State where he lives and in which he carries on his business.

A further injection of the Federal Government into matters that are properly and historically local or State in character is abhorrent to this citizen. In his mind it represents many "isms," but not "Americanism." In his mind it is directly contrary to his teachings and his beliefs in free markets for free men, the free and uncontrolled workings of the marketplace, and he wonders just how far the Federal Government will go in further encroaching on the rights of an individual, the rights of a community, the rights of a State, before we begin to lose all semblance of the political and economic fabric with which America has been built.

By no means does this indicate that he's the type of man who either fears change or who faces the future by looking constantly over his shoulder at the past. I know of no group of men in any business who perform in a more dynamic atmosphere of competition than the men who sell those American necessities, the automobile and the truck.

There are two grounds for our opposition to an extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act to the retail trade. The first is general in nature and is applicable to not only our retail business, but applies generally to all retail business.

The second justification which will be developed upon the conclusion of the first, deals solely with our own industry.

EXTENSION OF FEDERAL REGULATIONS INTO RETAILING IS BOTH UNDESIRABLE AND UNNECESSARY

In the absence of Federal interference and regulation the fact remains that average wages in retailing have generally kept pace with the rise of wage rates in other sectors of the economy. At the same time hours of work have continued to decline in retailing as in other industries. Also, payrolls have more than kept pace with gross sales.

In 1948 payrolls accounted for 10.4 percent of sales as compared with 10.8 percent in 1954. It is apparent that extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act to retailing under these circumstances is unwarranted. To do so would constitute further Federal encroachment into an area of economic activity which is local in nature. If regulation and control is desirable or necessary, the States have both the authority and the responsibility for taking the necessary action.

Wage differentials among the various States are considerable. To impose one uniform Federal wage standard on the entire Nation would result in inequities in some areas and would serve no purpose in others.

It is important to recognize the distinction between the activity of manufacturers of merchandise and the retail merchants of these products.

This distinction between manufacturing and retailing is already recognized by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Whether independent or part of a chain, a retailer normally serves a local community and rarely crosses a State line.

As a rule, the retailer takes the final and ultimate step in commerce. His is the face-to-face contact with the consumer. This local characteristic of retailing should be the controlling factor in the present question and this feature clearly indicates that it is inappropriate to extend Federal regulation to retailing.

INEQUITIES WILL RESULT IF THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT IS APPLIED TO RETAIL ESTABLISHMENTS

It has not been established that an extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act to retailing establishments will increase productivity per employee. The reverse seems to be indicated.

The practical problems involved in complying with the law would constitute an unreasonable burden to those engaged in retailing. This burden would be greater than in many other industries because of the complex wage structure that prevails in retail trade where bonuses, commissions, and other special forms of compensation prevail. To determine regular hourly rate of pay would require each establishment covered by the law to employ the services of an expert in this field. Limitation of operations to a 40-hour week, coupled with an increased pay burden for time in addition to the 40-hour week, are unrealistic when applied to a business dependent upon the good will and convenience of the general public for its existence.

Application of the Fair Labor Standards Act as a result of imposing an arbitrary standard based on annual total sales will result in inequities and will discourage growth within the industry.

TO EXTEND COVERAGE OF THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT TO RETAIL AUTOMOBILE DEALERS WOULD BE UNREALISTIC AND RUINOUS

Traditionally, NADA has opposed legislation which would limit or diminish the existing retail and service establishment exemption and extend Federal wage and hour coverage to franchised automobile and truck dealers. We have taken this position because such limitation or extension of coverage would create discriminations and impose inequities.

The overwhelming majority of retail automobile dealers are local, small-business men.

The typical franchised automobile dealer engages in the folowing activities:

(a) He sells new motor vehicles, as well as used vehicles which are accepted in trade, and parts, tires, batteries, and accessories. Today the ratio of used vehicle sales to new vehicle sales is approximately 2 to 1.

(b) He engages in repairing automobiles, trucks and farm tractors.

(c) He services motor vehicles and in this connection some operate a gasoline filling station, grease and wash racks.

Practically all of the retail dealer's customers are ultimate consumers in his community. These customers are both private, public and business users of motor vehicles.

The principal work force of an automobile dealer is composed generally of salesmen, repair mechanics, servicemen and clerical workers.

The typical retail automobile dealer does not come under the present law by virtue of the retail and service establishment exemption. A suggested legislative proposal, however, would extend the coverage to dealers with a gross annual business in excess of $500,000, or to persons employed in firms with fire or more establishments. Also, those dealers who did over 25 percent of their business with business users would not be exempt regardless of the total volume of business done. Such extension of coverage would have discriminatory effects. These proposals would place some dealers under the wage and hour standards of the law and exempt others, untwithstanding the fact that exempt and non-exempt dealers may be located in the same community, be in keen competition with each other, use the same type of labor, and employ pay practices which are similar if not identical.

If the $500,000 standard is applied to automobile dealers, 61.7 percent of the dealers of the country would be subject to the minimum wage and overtime requirements of the law. Most of these are dealers who sell the more popular lines of automobiles because they have the largest dollar volume of business. This would mean that mechanics, servicemen and other employees of such dealers would come under the coverage of the law, while the same classification of employees of dealers in other lines of cars, who have-a lower volume of business, would not come under the law's coverage. Hourly earnings and pay rates of automobile mechanics, servicemen, etc., are substantially the same in any given particular locality, irrespective of the size of the dealer's establishment where the mechanics or servicemen may work. Hence, the unfairness of a $500,000 classification as applied to automobile dealers is immediately apparent.

Moreover, in operating rapair shops and service stations, automobile dealers are also in direct competition with independent garages and filling stations which do not sell motor vehicles, and most of whom would be exempt. Because the dealer is selling a high unit cost product he may be made subject to the act notwithstanding that he has only a few employees and a small place of business. On the other hand, other retail and service establishments having larger places of business and more employees would be exempt because they sell low unit cost products.

The Small Business Administration takes cognizance of the fact that automobile dealers sell a high price per unit item and therefore cannot be classified in the same category with retailers in general. With respect to automobile dealers who qualify for loans from this Adminstration, a test of $2 million total gross annual sales is used in determining whether the business is small whereas the test applied to other retailers generally is only half that amount.

The business-use test which the proposed legislation injects is one that was rejected by Congress in 1949—and for very good reason. It certainly makes little sense to say that a sale of an automobile to a private householder is retail while the sale of a similar automobile to a local grocer for use in his business is not retail.

Because of the nature of the services which the automobile dealer renders in most communities, he is required to offer such services to the public during 6 days of the week. These services are an indispensable part of local transportation, and the local community is vitally dependent upon them.

It would be virtually impossible to limit the work of the dealer's employees to 40 hours a week, as contemplated by the objectives of the law. Most dealers' establishments are too small to introduce a shift system of employment. Hence, most dealers would have to pay overtime penalties on a regular basis.

It is significant to note that while discharging this responsibility of serving the needs and desires of the owners of 60 million automobiles and trucks, the average weekly hours of employment in 1956 by automobile dealers was 43.8 hours and the average hourly earning was $1.81 per hour. This is the highest average hourly rate paid in all of the retail trades, except in eating and drinking establishments, where tips play a major factor. This is almost a 6-percent reduction in the average weekly hours worked since 1945. For the same period the average hourly wage rate rose 88 percent. This has been done voluntarily by automobile dealers without the compulsion of either Federal or State laws.

The foregoing is true, whether the individual dealer does an annual volume of business of over or under $500,000. The $500,000 limitation, therefore, is irrelevant to the question of whether the automobile dealer should be exempt from the law.

Furthermore, the application of the overtime provisions to employees of the automobile dealer would be extremely burdensome because of the difficulty of computing overtime pay for the automobile mechanic who, in many communities, receives a guaranteed minimum rate, plus a piece rate, plus incentive bonuses. This difficulty was clearly demonstrated in our industry during the period prior to the 1949 amendments, when many dealers were regarded by the Department of Labor as covered by the law. During this period, many dealers made an attempt to comply with the law, but found that their attorneys and accountants were unable to advise them definitely as to how overtime should be computed.

Penalties for violation of the Fair Labor Standards Act are very severe, since they provide for retroactive double liability plus attorney's fees and criminal punishment. An employer who is to be made subject to the act should be apprised of the fact in clear and unambiguous terms. To impose upon him the impossible task of determining whether his business is one affecting commerce is to fail to inform him of his responsibilities and punish him for violations of which he is unaware.

As heretofore pointed out the retail automobile dealer is a local businessman and we oppose the extension of the act to him because of the local character of the business he operates. The law as originally written was intended to exempt him. As President Roosevelt stated in proposing minimum-wage legislation to Congress in 1937: "There are many purely local pursuits and services which no Federal legislation can effectively cover."

Then Senator Black (now Mr. Justice Black), the sponsor of the legislation in the Senate, expressed the same view when he said: "Businesses of a purely local type which serve a particular local community, and which do not send their products into the streams of interstate commerce, can be better regulated by the laws of communities and of the States in which the business units operate."

The franchised automobile and truck dealers' establishments are typical of the local businesses referred to in these quotations. The dealer is required to adjust himself to the demands of his community, whether it be agricultural, mining, or industrial, and regardless of its size. In selling and servicing cars he is furnishing essential transportation services in his local community.

Conditions vary greatly from community to community, and local working conditions cannot be made uniform by a single national standard. Therefore, the impact of the proposal to extend the law to retail automobile dealers would vary greatly between different communities.

THERE IS NO NEED TO EXTEND COVERAGE TO AUTOMOBILE DEALERS

Within the retail trades automobile dealers paid the highest average wages of all of the major 11 groups in which the Bureau of the Census divides retail trade. They also paid higher average wages in establishments with annual sales below $100,000 than the comparable wages that were paid in the largest units selling general merchandise. The most current data in this area is for the year 1954.

The highest wages in retailing were paid by the automotive group. Average weekly wages in this group were 25 percent higher than for all retailing, when eating or drink-

ing places are excluded, and 50 percent higher than in general merchandise, the group of retail establishments with the lowest wages.

Even with the position of automobile dealers within the retailing industry being as high as it is, there is nonetheless a variance in average weekly wages paid of $41.39 in one State to $89.37 in another.

I'm informed by our researchers that within 10 years 90 percent of the job openings for young people will be in the field of sales and service rather than in production and manufacturing.

Recognizing that many, many thousands of these young men and women will seek and receive employment by the small-business men who comprise our membership, NADA is expanding as rapidly as possible its services in the field of good business management and good human relations. It is our belief that it is the duty of business, small as well as large, to accept the obligation and the responsibility for creating ever better job opportunities. I repeat, we think that is our job; not the job of the Federal Government.

In summary, the small-business men whom I have the honor of representing, men who are engaged in a very vigorous form of intracity and intrastate commerce, oppose any further extension of the Federal Government into the matters that are and must remain local and State affairs. Dedicated in the future to improving the economic climate of all America, to which they have made so vital a contribution in the past; willing to take their chances of success or failure in a rugged, competitive business; violently opposed to special privileges for any person or any group, they will continue to reject as un-American, undemocratic, unwise, and unsound, any action by their Government that would deprive the States of their historic rights or that would place the individual, regardless of where he might live or the type of work that he might perform, in the position of operating under governmental controls, Federal strangle holds that might well become increasingly oppressive.

CONCLUSION

The extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act to embrace the retailing industry will not necessarily increase productivity nor will it provide the ability of the retail industry to pay higher wages. High wages which are the result of increased productivity produce a better standard of living. Both high wages and a better standard of living rest upon the freedo mof American industry to grow and expand in a climate unrestrained and unimpeded by restrictions and regulations.

For the foregoing reasons, the National Automobile Dealers Association vigorously oppose the enactment of any proposal which would extend the coverage of the present law and respectfully urges that the retail and service establishment exemption in the Fair Labor Standards Act be preserved in its present form.

Testimony of Judge Emile Lemelin Before Congressional Subcommittee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the May 6 issue of the Manchester (N. H.) Union Leader newspaper entitled "New Hampshire Jurist Flays Reds." The article reviews testimony given to a congressional committee by Judge Emile Lemelin, of Manchester, N. H., who is the presiding justice over the Hillsborough County Probate Court.

Judge Lemelin is a highly respected citizen of my State, and he is a keen student of national and international affairs. I commend him for his straightforward opinion on our international relations, especially as to our handling of Russia and her satellites. I recommend this article to my colleagues and I believe his opinion is worthy of national attention.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW HAMPSHIRE JURIST FLAYS REDS

When a Queen City probate judge stepped up at Laconia a short while ago to talk to a congressional subcommittee, the Washington visitors were in for a surprise.

Where the liberal view had been aired, here was a vigorous, outspoken opponent of softness toward communism or Communists. The speaker, Judge Emile Lemelin, was flatly against any American-aid money whatever to any nation under Communist rule, such as Yugoslavia. His was a realistic appraisal of how to fight the Red menace.

Because what he had to say was of great importance, we are presenting extended extracts from his address:

"I think we shall agree that the proper role of the United States in the United Nations and other international organizations should, like our American foreign policy, be dictated by enlightened self-interest; and I also believe it to be generally understood that the success or failure of the role we play in the United Nations should, like the success or failure of our foreign policy, be judged by its results.

"Applying that test, I am forced to the conclusion that we have consistently failed in our many and repeated attempts to attain our main objective, which, to my mind, is, or should be, to prevent the further spread of communism throughout the world. Were I forced to venture a guess as to the major underlying cause of our failures in this respect, I would give it as my considered opinion that such cause is to be found in the inability or blind refusal on the part of too many of our leading statesmen to recognize communism for what it really is and Communists for what they really are.

"For more than a decade, we have been engaged in a cold war with the Soviet Union and its satellites at a current cost to the American taxpayers of some forty-odd billion dollars a year. We are justified in doing this because we must at all cost remain strong if the Communist threat is to be averted. I firmly believe that if we are still free men today, we owe it to our defense program. In this respect I feel that we have been successful. This policy of military strength must be continued as long as the threat remains.

"Where we have failed, however, is in our attempt to reduce or minimize, if not actually eliminate, the Communist threat itself.

"During the past decade or so, communism has taken over China, a part of Korea, half of Indochina, thus imposing its despotic rule on 40 percent of the population of the world so that Communist leaders everywhere are now gleefully boasting that they are well on their way toward attaining their main objective, which is to conquer the world.

"If we don't react at once and effectively to this dangerous situation, our western civilization stands a fair chance of being totally destroyed within the next decade or, at least, within the next generation.

"In the face of this threat, the need of the hour is a strong, resourceful, effective, and, especially, uncompromising leadership.

"Recent United Nations history shows that the Soviet Government has repeatedly used and abused its veto power. Our first step should therefore be to seek an amendment to the United Nations Charter which would modify and curtail such veto power.

History also tells us that the Soviet Government and the satellite countries have abused our hospitality by using the United Nations headquarters in New York City as a springboard from which they could practice intimidation, sabotage, and espionage throughout our beloved country. They should immediately be formally notified that unless they abandon such tactics, the American people will insist that the United Nations headquarters be removed from our shores, preferably to some isolated island, if they should ignore our warnings, then we should not hesitate to act accordingly.

"Recent history further shows that treaties, conventions and agreements entered into by the Soviets or their satellites are absolutely worthless, and that Communists consistently honor them more in the breach than in the compliance. For that reason, we should stop chasing rainbows in the false hope that somehow, sometime, somewhere, we may reach an agreement with them whereby communism and Western civilization may coexist in a peaceful and prosperous world. Such dreams are futile because the essential aim of communism is world conquest by force and violence, if necessary.

"Duplicity, conspiracy, treachery, intimidation, murder and mass murders are their favorite weapons. Having no conscience, denying the very existence of God, they have neither moral standard nor sense of honor and decency.

"Under those circumstances, international agreements and treaties should be made enforceable by international law. To allow nations to disregard their treaty obligations with impunity and immunity can only result in disrespect for, and the general breakdown of all international law.

"Finally, we should at all times make a distinction between Communist governments and the peoples over whom they rule. We should encourage in every possible way all internal movements within Communist enslaved countries tending to rid those countries of their ruthless and barbarous tyrants. We should never, under any circumstances, give financial, economic or military aid to any Communistic government, nor should we under any circumstances undertake to help feed or clothe any people living under Communist rule. To do so would inevitably strengthen communism itself."

A New Approach to Mutual Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, a few days ago the Honorable Douglas Dillon, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, discussed the Mutual Security program before the American Assembly at Arden House.

In his talk he pointed out the number of studies that have been made of that program. All of them, he notes, are

agreed on two basic points. The first is that the continuation of a mutual-security program is in the best interests of the United States and that we will have to maintain such a program for a long time to come.

The second point on which all these studies agree is the need for greater clarity in defining the mutual-security program and its objectives.

That there is widespread confusion as to the nature of the program and the amounts involved is, I think, undeniable. For example, probably all of us have heard from persons who apparently believe that the budget proposes to give away billions in economic and technical assistance to other nations. Actually, as Mr. Dillon makes clear, most of the economic aid proposed will be given in the form of loans which might eventually reach some $750 million a year. In addition, something less than $500 million would be used to cover administrative expenses, technical assistance and contributions to such international activities as the International Children's Fund and aid to refugees. This $500 million contrasts with a total request for the mutual-security program of $4 billion.

Mr. President, I believe that Senators who have not seen the full text of Mr. Dillon's talk will be very much interested in it, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A NEW APPROACH TO MUTUAL SECURITY

(Address by the Honorable Douglas Dillon, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Before the American Assembly, Arden House, Harriman, N. Y., May 2, 1957)

During the past year our programs of mutual security have been going through a period of critical reexamination. The complexity of these programs has made them difficult for the American people to understand. There has grown up in many quarters the mistaken impression that the United States, in an attempt to please foreign countries and without adequate thought for its own best interests, has been busy giving away some $4 billion a year of our taxpayers' money.

Of course, nothing could be further from the truth, but there is no denying that this is what foreign aid means to many Americans.

There has also grown up in some quarters a feeling that our economic-aid programs may not have been administered in the most effective manner possible; that there may have been unnecessary waste in the use of Government funds abroad.

All this has led to a widespread and thoroughgoing review of our programs for mutual security. This is as it should be, for these are complex and costly programs.

Studies have been made by a Presidential commission, a presidential advisory board, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, a special Senate committee, and by the interested executive agencies of the Government. Universities, business groups, and research institutions have been studying and debating the subject. This current meeting of the American Assembly is but one of many serious attempts by groups of private citizens to find the right answer to this question which is so important to the future of the American people.

In short, this effort at reappraisal has involved not only officials in Washington, but also a great many of our most distinguished private citizens, of whom some of the wisest are in this room tonight.

It is our hope that as a result of all this interest, both public and private, the way can be found to redefine, clarify, and simplify the program so that all our people can have confidence that we are pursuing the right objectives in the right way.

Are there any general guidelines that we can draw from all this study and thought? Is there any real consensus? The answer is certainly "Yes." Two general conclusions are found in all the reports and studies; they are sometimes expressed with greater or lesser vigor but they are always present.

First, and most important, there is agreement that the continuation of a mutual-security program is in the best interests of the United States, and that we will have to maintain such a program for a long time to come. So long as international communism exists in its present form, challenging our very existence, either by direct military threats or by economic penetration and subversion; so long as the explosive demands for economic progress in the underdeveloped countries threaten the very existence of free and democratic institutions in those countries, we must maintain some form of mutual-security program.

The second general conclusion of all the studies is that there is need for greater clarity in defining what the mutual-security program actually is. Both the objectives of the program and the ways in which we move to achieve these objectives must be widely understood by the American people or the program itself will not be supported.

What is the reason for all this confusion about the mutual-security program? The answer is simple. We have in the past lumped tightly together under the heading of "Mutual Security," a bundle of diverse programs, a package with a broad variety of contents.

For example, during the last 6 years mutual security has meant 44,000 artillery pieces, 40,000 tanks and combat vehicles, and 7,000 aircraft for the military forces of our allies.

It has meant loans to build dams, roads, and harbors.

It has also meant technical assistance, such as telling people how to plow, or how to kill mosquitoes so as to avoid malaria.

All of these things, involving an expenditure of approximately $4 billion, have been lumped together in our budget. It has been difficult, if not impossible, for the American people to know just what part of these funds were going for military purposes, what part for long-term capital development, and what part for technical assistance or for meeting unforeseeable emergencies.

In view of the complexities of this program, it is easy to understand why there is public confusion. Our major efforts are now being devoted to finding a better way to present the program so as to clearly explain its purposes to the American people, while at the same time assigning major responsibility for the various parts of the program to the agencies which should have that responsibility.

The general lines of this new approach were first announced by Secretary of State Dulles on April 8 in his testimony before the special Senate committee. The President will send the completed proposal to the Congress later this month. Tonight I would like to give you a brief review of our current thinking.

First, let us look at the military portion of the mutual-security program. It is by far the largest. It includes 2 kinds of funds.

The first is for military hardware—the actual guns, tanks, planes, etc., which we put into the hands of the Koreans, the Vietnamese, the Nationalist Chinese, the Turks, and our other military allies.

The second kind of funds are those required to help those countries who maintain, for our common security, military forces larger than they could otherwise support. This second form of aid is called defense support. A good example of defense support is the economic assistance we provide to Korea to assist in maintaining the 20 divisions of Korean troops which are such an important part of our joint defense against the Chinese Communist threat.

About $2 billion, or half of the present mutual-security appropriation, goes for military hardware. Just under a billion dollars a year is required for defense support. None of this billion-dollar figure goes to our NATO allies in Western Europe. All of it goes to those of our allies who are maintaining military forces larger than they themselves can support. Thus we see that approximately $3 billion a year, or three-quarters of our mutual-security program, goes for military purposes.

All of this military assistance, whatever it takes to equip and maintain strong forces, is an integral part of the defense of the free world and serves the purpose of deterring Communist attack. Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, put the matter plainly last year when he said: "The military aid program is part and parcel of the United States Defense Department program. The expenditures abroad in support of our alliances do not differ in purpose, scope, and objective from our own military expenditures. * * * The fact that that part of our program was not included in the Defense Department budget is more a matter of procedure and administration than of substance."

What we intend to do now is to change the procedure. Henceforth, we wish to place all funds for foreign military assistance in the Defense Department budget where they can be recognized for what they really are, part of the United States military security program. We will recommend that this sum of approximately three billion dollars be taken out of the Mutual Security appropriation bill and be added to the funds which the Defense Department has already requested for the Armed Forces of the United States.

It is the Defense Department that must make the military decision as to how many divisions equipped with American arms are needed to defend the Republic of Korea and other places where we and our Allies are facing Communist troops. It seems only plain common sense for the Defense Department to justify to the Congress, and so to the American people, the cost of equipping and maintaining these divisions.

On the other hand, the Defense Department is not organized to do the actual day-to-day administering of the defense support funds required to maintain these allied troops. Although their purpose is purely military, these funds are a form of economic assistance. This assistance can best be administered in the field by the same organization which handles other forms of economic assistance. Therefore, it is proposed that the administration of these defense support funds be carried out in the field by the ICA, the International Cooperation Administration, which presently administers all United States economic assistance abroad.

Now let us turn to the purely economic side of the mutual-security program which goes primarily to help the underdeveloped countries of the world. One may ask why should we, the United States, be concerned with their economic progress.

All of the studies which have been made during the past year agree that it is vitally important for the United States to cooperate and assist in the economic development of these countries, whether or not they are allied to us militarily.

It is not hard to see why this is in the national interest of the United States when one considers the revolutionary changes that are

taking place in Asia and Africa today. There are 700 million people in the 19 new nations which have come into being since the end of World War II, ranging in population from India, with nearly 400 million, to Libya, with slightly more than 1 million. Most of these people, and millions of others in older countries, exist under primitive and backward economic conditions, but modern communications have brought them the knowledge that other people on their planet live in far greater comfort and happiness. So these peoples are pressing their governments to bring them economic improvement and to do it rapidly.

If these underdeveloped countries find themselves unable to move toward fulfillment of their economic aspirations under free and democratic conditions, there is real danger of their falling into some form of totalitarianism under which the people would be forcibly deprived of goods and freedom in an effort to achieve the goals of the State. This is the solution offered throughout the underdeveloped regions by the Communists. They say that their system, and only their system, can bring about the rapid economic improvement so much desired. And they are accompanying this propaganda attack by an active campaign of economic penetration and subversion which poses a continuing threat to the stability and peace of these vast and highly populated regions of the world.

It seems clear that the national interest of the United States would be best protected in a world in which free institutions predominate, and in which popular aspirations for material improvement and social change can be met by free and democratic governments without recourse to forceful means.

Therefore it is in our interest to do what we can to help the underdeveloped peoples along, and so to make it easier for them to resist the Communist drive. At the same time their advance will help them to participate increasingly in world trade to the benefit of all, including the United States. However, our main motive in extending this sort of assistance is, I think, to further our own enlightened self-interest by helping to maintain a peacefully advancing world in which free and democratic institutions can flourish.

We believe that the best development comes through private capital, domestic and foreign. But within the regions we are talking about there is simply not enough private capital available to do the basic things that must be done. Technical skills are also lacking.

Our part is to supplement this dearth of capital and knowhow. Our effort is bound to be small compared to those of the countries themselves, but we can help to stimulate the growth process until such time as private capital and the increasing resources of the people can take over. This, however, can only be a long-haul proposition. Good business demands that we adopt the methods most suitable for long-term operations.

Therefore, the Administration intends to propose the establishment within the ICA of an economic development fund which would be an agency of the United States similar to the Export-Import Bank.

Instead of the present method of setting dollar figures for assistance to each country every year in advance, instead of creating projects in Washington for construction all over the world, we would expect foreign governments to develop sound projects themselves, and to apply for loans to cover the costs of these projects. We would have the time carefully to consider and examine the plans for each project because we would no longer be operating on only a year-to-year basis. After thorough study, we would decide each case on its merits.

Loans would be granted only in cases where there was assurance that the project would be carried out competently and where there was reasonable promise that it would contribute directly or indirectly toward the growth of the productive capacity of the recipient country.

The economic development fund would not compete with the World Bank, the Export-Import Bank, or with private sources of capital. Indeed, we contemplate that it would make no loans until assurance had been received that the projects could not obtain financing either from other public institutions or from private sources.

The economic development fund would differ from the World Bank in that projects would not necessarily have to develop the foreign exchange required for prompt repayment in dollars. It is probable that many of the loans from the development fund would be repayable largely in the currency of the borrowing country. For example, a loan to India might be repaid in rupees.

But this repayment in local currency would not rule out possible eventual repayment in dollars. For instance, suppose the fund makes a loan to an underdeveloped country repayable in local currency over a period of, say, 15 or 20 years. After the loan has been repaid this money might well be loaned again to the same Government, but we could reasonably hope that the economic situation of that country would have so improved that it would be possible for this second loan to be repaid at least partly in dollars. In this way the great bulk of such foreign currency loans could eventually be repaid in dollars.

The vital feature of the economic development fund, differentiating it from the present method of operation, is that it would have continuing and flexible authority to operate on a worldwide basis in the same way the Export-Import Bank now does. It would not have to be authorized all over again each year. Thus, it could plan ahead in the same way that a businessman, a banker, a university president, or a farmer can plan ahead. This should result in far more efficient and effective use of United States funds.

The Export-Import Bank can only make loans for the specific purpose of promoting United States exports. Its loans must be repayable in dollars. The new fund would complement the operations of the Export-Import Bank, and of the World Bank. It would be empowered to make subordinated loans to support projects favored by these two institutions.

As Secretary Dulles has said, it is our view that loans by the new fund may eventually amount to some $750 million a year. During the next fiscal year, however, as the fund gets into operation they could be expected to be considerably smaller.

Aside from these funds for military purposes and for economic development, there remains something less than $500 million dollars out of the $4 billion mutual security program total. These funds would be used to cover administrative expenses, the costs of the technical assistance program, and our contributions to international activities such as the international children's fund and aid to refugees. They would also cover such emergency grants as might be found necessary and a strictly limited amount of capital assistance for those countries needing help and unable to contract further loans of any sort.

The important point in all this is that the American people should know that what we are proposing to use, both for technical assistance and in all other cases where grants will still be necessary, comes to something less than $500 million a year, a small percentage of the overall amounts involved in our national budget.

By this new program, the basic outlines of which I have just described, we hope to accomplish three things.

First, by centering budgetary responsibility for the military portion of the program in the Defense Department where it belongs, we will ensure that our military programs are as economical as possible consistent with the national security.

Secondly, by putting our economic development largely on a loan basis, administered in a business-like manner over the long term, we will provide more effective and economical use of these funds so that the American people can be satisfied that they are not being wasted.

Third, and most important, we will clearly show to all our people just what their money is being spent for and why.

By such methods as these—and in my belief only by such methods—can we hope to continue, at maximum usefulness, a reasonable program of mutual security. In closing I would like to leave one final reminder: This program is a vital ingredient of the platform of security from which true peace will someday come.

Death of Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the broadcast by Fulton Lewis, Jr., on May 2, 1957, regarding the death of Senator McCarthy.

There being no objection, the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST, MAY 2, 1957

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, this is Fulton Lewis, Jr., speaking from the Mutual studios in Washington, D. C. I'll have the news for you in just a moment.

The controversial Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, no longer is controversial tonight.

The Senator died at 6:02 p. m. at Bethesda Naval Hospital, after 4 days of hospitalization for acute hepatitis. He entered the hospital on Sunday, and had failed to show any improvement since he went there. He began running a temperature elevation again today, and at 5 p. m. the hospital issued a bulletin which stated that the Senator had failed to show any improvement during the day, and the temperature elevation had increased. The bulletin added that Senator McCarthy "still is considered to be seriously ill."

The disease which struck him down did so with dramatic suddenness. As of recent weeks in the teamsters' investigation, he seemed subdued, but otherwise, pretty much himself. He has not been looking well, but that is largely because of the fact that a year ago, he decided he was carrying too much weight, and went on a diet which resulted in a cut down of about 30 to 40 pounds.

He has done little socializing for some time, because of the baby girl, Tierney, whom he and Mrs. McCarthy adopted, and who was the apple of his eye. If the world could have seen the supposedly sinister Joseph McCarthy carrying that baby around in his arms, or dancing capers to make her smile, they would have understood an entirely different person than the one who has been painted to the American people by his political and ideological enemies.

Probably no man in my memory in public life has ever had such a divided public as this one. Half the world hated him; the

other worshiped him. He was a dedicated man, with a dragon to slay, and that dragon was communism. It was against the teachings of his church, and against his tenets of Americanism, and he loved both of them, almost fanatically.

And therein lay his destruction, as all who have dared take up the public cudgels against communism have met their downfall. They are instantly marked for destruction, and the destruction is inevitable.

The forces that combined to first oppose, and then destroy Joe McCarthy—and they succeeded today—were respectable people, people of position—people with pasts, who were afraid that unless Joe McCarthy was destroyed, they themselves, sooner or later, would be exposed and disgraced.

That was the truth behind the Army-McCarthy hearings. Joe McCarthy was the front man, in digging into the skeletons of the armed services. That was his crime—that, and no more.

The forces that were behind Senator FLANDERS, of Vermont, in the charges which he brought and later apologized for, were the shadowy, sneaky figures of an outfit that called itself, profanely, the Committee for an Effective Congress.

The backing and the inspiration was made up of people with fear; people who felt that Senator Joe McCarthy would get them, unless they got him. And so they did.

Since the Senator no longer needs defense, I wish to say, ladies and gentlemen, that I have never seen such a shocking exhibition of distorted reporting and reportorial untruth, as I witnessed throughout the coverage of the Army-McCarthy hearings.

It was a journalistic lynching party, spurred on by powerful and frightened groups, who were in for the kill—the objective was to discredit a man whom they feared as much as death itself.

The pressure which they generated was such that any reporter who dared try to tell the truth as to what was going on, as I did, was boycotted through sponsors, harassed by defamation, held up to scorn and ridicule, and all but crucified himself.

And the same was true of the Members of the Congress, particularly the Members of the United States Senate, who were stampeded into passing judgment on him.

That was the beginning of the long, slow death of Joe McCarthy, which finally was consummated in the loneliness of a hospital room at 6:02 p. m. tonight.

That, he took to heart, and he had reason to, because most of those who voted for the censure of Senator McCarthy did so, with the guilty knowledge that they were playing the role of a Pontius Pilate. They were afraid of the public clamor; afraid of the columnists who had their own reasons for joining in the lynch mob; afraid of the power of influential, supposedly respectable individuals, some of whom were in the mob for their own self-protection, others of whom merely prated and parroted the cliches that they heard from their golfing companions.

Never, in 35 years of reporting, have I seen such an organized lynching as was given to the junior Senator from Wisconsin, and I have no hesitancy in sitting here at this microphone and saying so, forever and forever.

Senator McCarthy was a much softer personality than anyone was ever willing to allow. I knew him. I saw many of those manifestations.

I asked him once whether his mother—who could barely speak understandable English—had lived to see him elected to the Senate. He said no, and he was glad, because she wouldn't have understood it. The height of her pride in her son came when he was elected Justice of the Peace. That, he said, she could comprehend. That was within the scope of her world. The idea of being a Senator would frighten her. It was too big.

Jeannie Kerr, the secretary who was converted to his Catholicism from a Presbyterian, in order to marry him, was at his bedside as he passed away. What happens to the adopted baby girl, Tierney, nobody knows, because I believe the adoption is subject to a 1-year probation period which has not run, and what happens to Jeannie is a question, too, because there are no pensions for Senator's widows.

Perhaps some memorial trust fund will be set up, by those who believed in the fighting Senator who dared tackle the impossible, and paid for it with his life. There certainly should be, and every member of the United States Senate who voted for the censure of the junior Senator from Wisconsin should contribute to that memorial fund, from his own pocket.

The White House itself might well do the same, because its persistent snubs and rebuffs did their part to bring this end of today. They hurt. I could see them hurt. Joe McCarthy tried to brush them over, but they cut, and they were unnecessary. More than that, they were ill-bred.

They have won. The forces that feared McCarthy have had their way. But I venture to believe that the mark he has left behind him will last a lot longer than they.

Senator KARL MUNDT, of South Dakota, has just said that Senator McCarthy's death "takes out of the American political arena a courageous fighter against communism and a stalwart advocate of our traditional American concepts."

News of the death reached the Capitol after most lawmakers had gone home. Its flags, however, were immediately lowered to half mast.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial from the April 25, 1957, issue of the Anderson (S. C.) Free Press. The editorial is entitled, "The Dangers of Federal Aid to Education." In addition, I ask unanimous consent to have printed, following this editorial, comments from several other newspapers across the country on the subject of Federal aid to education.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DANGERS OF FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Strong opposition to Federal aid to education has been voiced by United States Senator STROM THURMOND of South Carolina. Terming the administration's proposed program as far more dangerous than other important measures now under consideration, THURMOND expressed his views on the subject recently during a network TV panel discussion in which he participated on April 14 with Senator CLIFFORD CASE (Democrat, New Jersey), and again this week when he spoke before an open forum meeting in Oconee County. It is significant that THURMOND's opinions coincide with a cross-section of the Nation's newspapers.

The Senator from South Carolina bases his argument against Federal aid to education on several important points which we present here. First, the field of education has not been delegated to the Federal Government in the Constitution. Therefore, there is no basis for the Government to participate in school operation. While there have been some violations of this through the Smith-Hughes Act and land grant colleges, only 3 percent of the aid to education is presently contributed by the Government, 40 percent is paid by the States, and 57 percent by the school districts.

Second, the Federal Government has no legal jurisdiction over the schools. Operation of schools is a local matter reserved for the States and the people. And third, Federal aid will inevitably lead to Federal control of the Nation's school systems.

THURMOND has pointed out that when Smith-Hughes went into effect the original program was set up for the purpose of training mechanics. However, it gradually went further into agriculture, home economics and the like. Today it issues a book containing 108 pages of regulations which provide that plans of the State shall be approved by the governor.

The Senator has predicted that when Federal Government goes into school construction, there will be no control on a local or State level. Should the Government go further and contribute to teachers' salaries, sooner or later it will step in and prescribe the school curriculum.

"This is the way in which Hitler and Mussolini gained control of Germany and Russia," THURMOND warns.

The Senator emphasizes the fact that the States are presently meeting their school responsibility and have not asked for Government aid. In this connection he refers to Congressman GWINN, of New York, who made the statement that not a single governor, a single legislator, or a single school board member has come before the House Education Committee asking for aid.

Of equal significance is the fact that the Nation's classroom shortage was placed at 340,000 3 years ago by the Secretary of the Health, Education, and Welfare Department, but the shortage in 1956 was estimated by the Office of Education at only 159,000. This is a reduction of 57 percent in a matter of 3 years' time, showing that the States are continuing to meet their needs and indicating that within 2 or 3 years the classroom shortage will be completely wiped out. It is THURMOND'S opinion that the school-construction program would be progressing more rapidly at present if it were not for agitation for Federal aid.

Although segregation is not mentioned in connection with the proposed Federal-aid program, Senator THURMOND believes that it would be a matter of only a few years before segregated schools would be barred from participating in the program. If there is no power of amendment attached to the bill, what will happen, THURMOND questions. Suppose someone would demand a ruling on segregated schools. It is logical to assume that under such a Government setup the ruling would be denied. The South would then be putting hundreds of millions of dollars into the Federal Treasury and getting nothing back.

That Senator THURMOND'S views on Federal aid to education are widely shared is evideht from editorial comments of numerous United States newspapers (carried elsewhere in the Free Press) whose editors are clear thinking and genuinely concerned for the welfare of the Nation's school systems. We believe all citizens who examine this program carefully will see the many dangers involved.

WHAT OTHER PAPERS SAY

El Paso (Tex.) Herald Post: "For instance, in the first year of President Eisenhower's proposed Federal 'aid' program, the budget included $20 million for 'helping' the States plan how to build schools. It will include $1

million for 'administration,' which is what the Government will keep for doing its own redtape on this program.

"Moreover, the Office of Education, which will hand out this dole to the school districts, has raised its budget $2,230,000 for next year. That's some more 'administration.'

"The home folks can build their own schools cheaper, faster, and better, and exactly according to their own needs. They know what the needs are. Uncle Sam proposes a sweeping overall program. He will do a slower, less effective job, and charge the home folks more for it."

Haverhill (Mass.) Gazette: "Massachusetts is consistently classified among the so-called richer States and, therefore, in a Federal-aid program consistently pays out more than it receives.

"But if Federal aid was distributed among the States in precise proportion with the contribution of each, the States would still lose money. Washington does not collect money in Massachusetts, handle it in the Capital, and return the amount that is collected. The mere business of bureaucratic administration means that some of the money sticks in Washington. The Federal-aid game is one that the States simply cannot win."

Knoxville News-Sentinel: "The people who best know the actual needs are the residents of the school districts. And however these schoolrooms are built the people in the school districts are going to pay for them in taxes. The cost will be high if the money makes the round trip to Washington.

"For instance, in the first year of President Eisenhower's proposed Federal 'aid' program, the budget includes $20 million for 'helping' the States to plan how to build schools. And it will include $1 million for 'administration,' which is what the Government will keep for doing its own redtape on this program."

"Moreover, the Office of Education, which will hand out this dole to the school districts, has raised its budget $2,230,000 for next year. That's some more 'administration.'

"The home folks not only can build their own schools cheaper, faster, and better, but exactly according to their own needs. They know what the needs are. Uncle Sam proposes a sweeping, overall program. He will do a slower, less effective job, and charge the home folks more for it."

Omaha World-Herald: "Into this picture now strolls Uncle Sam, jingling in his pockets the $74 billion or so he takes every year from his taxpayers. Magnanimously he offers to return a couple of billion of this amount to the people who have paid it to him, to enable them to build schoolhouses. "And," adds the journal writer, "it is a tempting proposal even to self-reliant communities. Government, Federal, and State, has got us in such a fix that Government aid, Federal or State, begins to look like welcome beneficience."

The writer concludes:

"But somehow it strikes us like the beneficence of the croupier who having cleaned your pockets at the casino graciously gives you carfare home."

Sheridan (Wyo.) Press: "In its paper, Washington Report, the United States Chamber of Commerce has come up with statistical report that says 16 States, plus the District of Columbia, would provide about $100 million annually to build 3,326 classrooms in 32 other States.

"New York State would be the biggest contributor under the administration's school-construction bill. Its tax share would be $48,122,000 and it would receive only $15,765,000 in construction aid. The difference, $32,357,000, will build 1,709 classrooms in other States.

"Chief beneficiary, according to the Chamber of Commerce, would be North Carolina. Its tax payment would be $4,125,000 and it would receive $14,615,000 in aid. The $10,490,000 gain would build 350 classrooms.

"Wyoming, too, would be a beneficiary. The national chamber's figures show Wyoming's tax share would be $469,000, and it would receive in school construction aid an amount totaling $674,000. The different of $205,000 would, according to the chamber's figures, mean seven classrooms paid for by other States.

"The first impression, of course, is to get the hand out for the handout. After all, whenever a State stands to get back more in taxes from the Federal Government than it puts in, it should probably commence a push for the pot of gold.

"On the other hand though, Wyoming ought to be able to build twice as many classrooms by keeping its $469,000 tax share at home. It kind of looks like Wyoming could lose seven federally financed classrooms in the end, but have more of its own.

"And that's one of the certain things about Federal aid—somebody's going to get it in the end."

Salisbury (Md.) Times: "Over in Cambridge this week Senator GLENN BEALL reminded his audience that the Federal Government never gives you anything. You pay for it; I pay for it.

" 'And remember, too, it's a long walk to Washington and back, and every dollar that makes the trip comes back to you or your community quite a bit slimmer.'

"Senator BEALL was speaking in generalities, but his remarks tie with a report of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States."

Tallahassee (Fla.) Democrat: "Who knows what about the actual needs of the Nation for more classrooms?

"The President has asked Congress for $1.3 billion in Federal aid for school construction over the next 4 years. The administration's bill is based on a critical classroom shortage.

"Against this is the statement of the United States Chamber of Commerce to a House committee conducting hearings on the bill. The chamber's position is that:

" 'It is the concensus of business in this country that the States and their communities are responsible for, and able to finance the development of the school systems required by their citizens.' "

Jackson (Miss.) Clarion-Ledger: "The chairman of the United States Chamber of Commerce Committee on Education may not have been speaking for Mississippi but he voiced prevailing Mississippi conviction and opinion when he warned a House Education Subcommittee that Federal aid for school construction is 'unwise and unnecessary,' and that it 'would lead inevitably to the transformation of public education from a State and local function education to one increasingly directed by the Federal Government.'

Those are two basic reasons why most Mississippi citizens and taxpayers, most Senators and Representatives from Mississippi, like most of those from other Southern States, oppose this Federal school-aid proposal.

This informed and earnest United States Chamber of Commerce official also voiced the conviction of most Mississippi businessmen when he declared to the House Education subcommittee, "It is consensus of business in this country that the States and their communities are responsible for, and able to finance, the development of the school systems required by their citizens."

Many Congressmen probably heard or read those declarations, and some of them may be influenced by these statements when they vote on the issue.

The Arizona Republic: "The clamor for Federal aid for schools is based on several false assumptions, some of which are pointed out by the Freeman magazine in its March issue. The false assumptions and facts follow:

"Assumption: 'The schools are being discriminated against in the allocation of public funds.' Fact: School funds have risen faster than enrollments. Between 1900 and 1955 the public school enrollment doubled, while school costs rose 43 times in actual dollars, or 12 times in price-adjusted dollars.

"Assumption: 'The schools are receiving a smaller part of the national income than they used to.' Fact: In 1900 public education took 1.5 of the national income. In 1955 it took 4.6 percent. The World Survey of Education, made by the United Nations, shows that the United States spends both more money and a larger share of its national income on schools than any other country.

"Assumption: 'The States and communities can't afford to build more schools. The Federal Government must do it.' Fact: The Federal Government can get money only from the taxpayers. Federal aid, like foreign aid, is paid for by all of us. More than 1,800 participants at the White House Conference on Education last year approved a report saying, 'No State represented has a demonstrated financial incapacity to build the schools it will need during the next 5 years.'

"The administration bill to give a $1.3 billion to the Nation's schools is in trouble. A lot of people are taking a good look at it, for the first time, and they aren't liking what they see. Here's an excellent place to stop the big spending of the big government in Washington. There is no real need for Federal aid to schools, despite such pressure groups as Mrs. Stough represents. Even if there were it would be a mistake to let a Federal bureaucracy in Washington take over this stronghold of community responsibility in the United States."

San Diego (Calif.), Tribune: "One of the most enduring fallacies is that you can get something for nothing. It's as old as time, yet as fresh as any still unhatched scheme to finance something with so-called Federal aid."

"We say 'so-called' and put more quotes around 'aid' for some enlightening reasons.

"The simple fact is that the Federal Government, to begin with doesn't have a dime of its own to give back to the States. The money it ladles out first comes from the taxpayers in the 48 States and the territories.

"To borrow an apt description of this transaction, coined by the New Jersey Taxpayers' Association, it is 'round-trip money.'

"And just as a taxpayer can't take a trip to Washington and back for free, neither can his money. It is estimated that as much as 25 percent 'brokerage' is kept for the questionable privilege of having our money taken on this junket to Washington and back.

"If things keep on as they have been going, by 1975 the Federal Government will be collecting 84.5 percent of all taxes; the State governments, 15.5 percent, and local governments, nothing.

"In viewing this enormous circulation of money between the States and Washington and back again. We may paraphrase a wartime question: 'Is this trip necessary?' "

Brazil's "Population Explosion" and Our Latin American Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in our concern with foreign policy in the case of Europe, Asia, and Africa, we too

often ignore the importance of our relations with Latin America. Yet the products of South American and Central American nations play an impressive role in the United States economy, and our neighbors to the south provide a vast and largely unrealized market for American goods and services. We must recognize that continued support of economic development in this area benefits not only the people of these nations, but the populace of the United States as well.

In two recent speeches before the Commonwealth Club of California, in San Francisco, Charles A. Gauld, lecturer and assistant editor of the unique monthly Hispanic American Report, published by Stanford University, pointed out the opportunities and difficulties facing one South American country, Brazil, and outlined steps which the United States might take to further assist Latin America.

Mr. Gauld is particularly well qualified to discuss this topic. He studied Latin American affairs at Stanford University and the University of California, and for 4 years he served as a specialist in this field at the Library of Congress. He has traveled widely in South America, and his writings on this subject have appeared in major United States publications.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that two addresses by Mr. Gauld—entitled "Will Brazil's 'Population Explosion' Make the 21st Century Brazil's—Or Will It Mean 'Chinafication'?" and "What's Wrong With Our Latin American Policies?"—be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILL BRAZIL'S "POPULATION EXPLOSION" MAKE THE 21ST CENTURY BRAZIL'S—OR WILL IT MEAN "CHINAFICATION"?

(From an address by Charles Gauld, lecturer, Hispanic American Studies, Stanford University, delivered before the Commonwealth Club of California, San Francisco, March 11, 1957.)

An American spending years in Latin America is tempted to for get how fortunate we have been in our geography and in being colonized from the most advanced parts of Europe.

What if the hardy Portuguese pioneers who colonized Brazil had colonized North America instead—and left Brazil to the tardy English and other northern Europeans?

"JUDGE NOT, LEST * * *"

It is unfair to draw to many adverse comparisons—we enjoy one of the largest pieces of one of the world's best climatic zones. It is hard for us sometimes to imagine what that advantage is. We inherited a continent of great resources of fertile soils and homogenous forests.

Guesses vary as to whether Brazil is at the stage of economic development the United States was in a century ago or merely 50 years past.

Can we fairly ask whether Latin American social and economic problems, and certain effects such as corruption, are aspects of problems to governments everywhere? The big question is the percentage of the national income that goes down the ratholes of graft, waste, nepotism, and padded payrolls.

Are Latin American problems such as corruption, due like some of our own to insufficient parental discipline, lack of adequate Sunday schools, and other such matters?

GROWING PAINS—OR RUIN

Is Brazil literally a young, potentially powerful giant, suffering growing pains? Or is it a not too healthy older civilization in a young country being rapidly ruined by deforestation and erosion?

Is Brazil becoming a kind of United States in Latin America or is uncontrollable overpopulation slowly dooming Brazil to become a kind of overpopulated weakling like India and China?

Will the colorful three-way melting pot of tolerant and amiable Brazil crystallize in a new creative civilization next century? Some of my Brazilian friends hope that the next century will be theirs.

WILL GROWTH BE DISASTER?

A Stanford graduate now in Brazil writes that, despite size, this country does not have a large effective population. Too great a proportion are slum dwellers, contributing little. There is a real population explosion in Brazil. Most Brazilians are optimistic about this growth, not realizing that population can be a disaster, that Brazil can become another China instead of another United States. * * * Educational and economic growth is not keeping pace.

We think we are having a tough time here producing enough schools and other things, but the same thing is happening in Brazil. Rio today has some 2,700,000 people; São Paulo claims 3 million.

Brazil has superb natural resources, but development of them is not as fast as many Brazilians have hoped.

"BEGGAR ON A GOLD MINE"

Brazil has been likened to a beggar sitting on a vast diversified mine, with enormous resources of iron, manganese, diamonds, gold, emeralds, and strategic and critical materials of all kinds that we need. We hope we can help develop their resources under a mutually advantageous basis.

But these portents are menaced by synthetics. The quartz crystal used in World War II and currently in radar came largely from Brazil until synthetics came along. The Brazilian economy is perched precariously on one leg of coffee exports.

In Brazil there are 20 "cow colleges" and they are not half full; yet Brazil is overwhelmingly a rural country. It is tragic more is not being done to educate the people.

In Latin America as a whole 6 million babies are born each year. Brazil is one-third of Latin America in area and population and in this growth.

LACK OF EDUCATION

The tragedy of these millions of babies is that only about half of them go to school, and they get not more than 3 or 4 years of a very sketchy primary education.

Many Brazilians say that most Americans greatly exaggerate the Communist menace in the world, but it is disturbing to the American observer to see so many intellectuals, and others who should know better, dabbling in communism. The top Brazilian painter and the top architect are Communists, and cannot visit the United States.

Americans tend to overoptimism on reading of Brazil's resources, and overpessimism after exasperating experiences in Brazil.

Why are there only 10,000 Americans in Brazil and I estimate only 2,500 Brazilians in the United States?

Brazil is the great unknown republic largely because Brazilians write few books and are lax in disseminating them; also the low level of education and of universities and libraries. There is a paucity of professional men.

MORE TOURISTS, EXCHANGE FELLOWS

Only 10,000 American tourists visit Brazil each year. If there were more, the gulf between our two countries could be more easily bridged. One thing that would help would be more exchange fellowships between the two countries. Stanford since its very beginning has had a great interest in Brazilian studies. David Starr Jordan was a pioneer in this.

One of the best ways in which some are helping to bridge the differences is through education and religion. Brazil does not produce her own clergy. Catholics and Protestants alike have mostly come from abroad.

The Protestant church is growing faster in Brazil than in any other country. This has stimulated the old church to do better.

Many Catholic orders in the United States are turning more and more to Brazil. There is no important church in the United States that is not doing something useful in that country.

ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS FROM FLOOR

Question (Carter Collins): "Aren't Brazil's resources adequate to support population equal to China?"

Answer: "Unfortunately most of Brazil is in tropical zone. Cut down a section of jungle and you have some of the most leached out, worn out soil on the globe. Five percent of Brazilian soil is estimated to be fertile, 10 to 15 percent fair. I don't see how it could support a big population, with a high living standard."

Question: (E. L. C. Heims): "Is relationship between Brazil and Argentina friendly and cooperative?"

Answer: "Peron's successors have invited Brazil to discuss a South Atlantic pact. But there remains an Argentinian phobia about invasion and Argentina has never built roads to Chile and Brazil."

Question: "What about the World Bank financed steel plant?"

Answer: "The national steel mill in Brazil, between Rio and Sao Paulo, is ideally situated for water supply and distribution but some think it should have been closer to the iron mines. It is now producing a million tons a year and President Kubitschek hopes to double that in the next five years. We helped back the steel mill partly out of gratitude for President Vargas' cooperation in World War II."

Question: "Twelve years ago, twenty-five thousand Brazilians were fighting in Italy as part of the United States Army. Has this military cooperation strengthened the bond between the two nations?"

Answer: "Very much so. The most American element in Brazil is the Air Force. Brazil is the world's number two nation in airlines. Many young men in the Brazilian Air Force received training at California, Stanford and U. C. L. A."

Question: (Stuart R. Ward): "How important to United States in event of World War III?"

Answer: "Minerals could be of immense value. Brazilian Navy and Air Force could do a great deal of patrol work.

Question: (James B. Bullock): "Brazil's attitude to foreign capital?"

Answer: "Brazilian Government has some of the most favorable laws in the world towards everything except oil. Oil is a government monopoly, but Americans are helping build the oil industry."

Question: (John M. Koffman): "Freedom of religion?"

Answer: "Complete—all religions are tolerated. In the cities people swarm to the swarms and to philosophical discussion, especially if it is called philosophy rather than religion."

Question: "Would Communists like to gain control of Brazil?"

Answer: "Yes—if for no other reason than to embarrass United States—but for great resources too. There is a very active Commu-

nist party. Leaders are popular with the hungry and dissatisfied masses."

Question: (Carlos B. Lastreto): "Which trans-Andes railroad is reputed as the highest engineering feat?"

Answer: "The highest railroad in the New World is 15,000 feet line from Lima to the American copper mines in Central Andes around Oroya. Brazilian railroads run through difficult mountains, as Percival Farquhar learned to his cost when he invested $200 million of European capital in the effort to tie Brazil together by rail."

WHAT'S WRONG WITH OUR LATIN AMERICAN POLICIES?

(Summary of an address by Charles A. Gauld of Stanford University, delivered March 28, 1957, before the international relations section of the Commonwealth Club of California in San Francisco)

United States policies of the good neighbor and good partner are quite good but could of course, like every program, be improved. One way would be to add an informed neighbor policy on both sides of the Tropic of Cancer along which a deep gulf of differences and misinformation exists.

Both North and Latin America need to work harder to educate citizens to understand how many common problems we need to solve. Among the gravest problems little understood are loss of topsoil and forest resources through destructive use by ignorant farmers. Even the well-educated, rich United States of America has failed to inform a majority of its citizens thoroughly about scientific farming and forestry. Education is an even graver need than better diet in Latin America. There barely half the children receive any schooling. Of the half which does, only a small minority gets beyond the fourth grade. Most children quit after perhaps 3 years of poor, ineffectual, impractical primary schooling. They become ignorant, unproductive, embittered adults often ripe for dictatorship or communism.

Too much of our good partner policy is run by Madison Avenue admen not specialists on Latin America. Too many technical missions go to Latin America poorly informed on the republics. Too many officials of our Department of State and point 4 are so busy pushing papers and unsnarling bureaucratic redtape they fail to read the unique monthly Hispanic American Report edited by Stanford Prof. Ronald Hilton, now in its 10th year. A dismaying number of officials of major United States corporations making big investments and profits in Latin America also claim to be too busy to be well informed.

The Pentagon has since 1945 been pressing the poverty-stricken republics to waste a third or more of their inadequate Federal budgets on arms. Money is taken from underpaid, scarce teachers, nurses and public health and public works projects for arms often used against democratic movements, as in Colombia, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic.

Our Export-Import and World Banks are right in lending sizable sums to sound projects to improve transportation and increase hydroelectric and other power projects basic to the rapid growth of cities and industries. These however bring appalling problems of water and food supply, education, health and sanitation which our point 4 technicians are working to alleviate. They may never be solved, merely made less worse in view of the population explosion. Many republics are increasing by 3 percent a year. Some 6,500,000 babies a year are being born in our neighboring nations. Latin America may become a kind of American India, or China.

A. P. Giannini on a visit to south Brazil about 1946 found a pattern of homesteads and a rising middle class permitting social, economic, and political democracy. He saw similarly favorable climatic, soil, and social conditions in few other areas in Latin America. No wonder much of Latin America is too unstable to attract much United States capital, which still faces double taxation. Amazing diversity from primitive aboriginal Andean millions in misery to a small rich class with sophistication and fine architecture exists. The builders of United States skyscrapers and of the new Arizona State capitol would do well to employ some of Brazil's world famous architects.

Civic clubs should urge our Senators and Congressmen to continue studying ways to tighten up practicality and efficiency in the spending of our $30 million annual point 4 aid in Latin America. Congressional and private reports are constantly appearing. A congressional probe in 1956 critized these programs, perhaps excessively. We have many able, dedicated officials despite the stultifying effects of bureaucratic fear of initiative and of congressional persecution. The report of Dr. James G. Maddox on technical assistance of United States religious groups in Latin America implied what is well known to veteran observers like Dr. John B. Griffing, adviser to Nelson Rockefeller's useful, practical projects. Griffing says a dollar spent by dedicated missionaries equals two or three dollars spent by point 4 and many more spent by lax Latin American officials. The latter are accustomed to excessive graft and political featherbedding such as bankrupts State railroads and other Government enterprises.

Despite our differences in this hemisphere, we get along better than any similarly large area on earth as scholars like J. Fred Rippy, Hubert Herring, and William L. Schurz note in recent books. We of the United States of America should be charitable in judging Latin America, remembering how favored we are in climate, soil, resources, and our colonization from the technically and morally advanced lands of northwestern Europe. Today only about 20 percent of Latin Americans enjoy 20th century standards of living and education. We can help them raise their standards and strengthen economies and democracies.

Associated Press Award to William Zadick, of Montana, for Excellence in News Photography

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Associated Press Managing Editors Association recently announced the winners of their annual national contest for excellence in news photography.

I am extremely pleased to learn that this year's winner is William Zadick, a close personal friend of mine, and city editor of the Great Falls Tribune, Great Falls, Mont. Zadick's protograph, Cowpoke's Dilemma, shows a rodeo rider tumbling head down from a bucking horse at the North Montana State Fair in August 1956 at Great Falls.

Zadick's picture was selected from 100 photographs submitted by staff photographers of the Associated Press member paper. He describes his prize-winning shot as a lucky shot. The Tribune's city editor is being somewhat modest as to his skill. Readers of the Great Falls Tribune are well aware of William Zadick's fine work in newspaper photography.

I join with Bill's many friends in congratulating him on this well-deserved recognition of his contributions to the field of journalism.

I ask unanimous consent that two articles from Montana newspapers, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Great Falls (Mont.) Tribune of May 4, 1957]

TOP NEWS PHOTO—CITY EDITOR OF TRIBUNE WINS AWARD

NEW YORK.—The Associated Press Managing Editors Association Friday announced William Zadick, city editor of the Great Falls Tribune, as winner of its annual national contest for excellence in news photography.

Zadick's photograph, Cowpoke's Dilemma, shows a rodeo rider tumbling head down from a bucking horse at the North Montana State Fair in August 1956 at Great Falls.

Selection of Zadick's picture from more than 100 photographs submitted by staff photographers of Associated Press member papers was made by a panel of 3 judges.

The judges were George Beebe, managing editor of the Miami Herald; William J. Foote, managing editor of the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, and Samuel Day, managing editor of the New York Journal-American.

Zadick was awarded $100 and his name was engraved on a permanent plaque in the lobby of the executive offices of the Associated Press.

Zadick Friday described his prize-winning picture as a lucky shot.

He said the honor of the award is equally the Tribune's.

GOVERNOR CONGRATULATES

HELENA.—Gov. J. Hugo Aronson Friday sent a congratulatory letter to William Zadick, city editor of the Great Falls Tribune, for Zadick's national award-winning news photograph.

Aronson conveyed his congratulations as governor and as a personal friend. He told Zadick, "We are all extremely proud of you.

"Of course, we here in Montana have known about and recognized your talents for a long time but we certainly are glad the rest of the country now knows what a good job you have been doing," Aronson wrote.

[From the Montana Standard, Butte, Mont., of May 4, 1957]

FALLS MAN WINS NATIONAL HONOR

NEW YORK.—The Associated Press Managing Editors Association of the Great Falls, Mont., Tribune, Friday announced William Zadick as winner of its annual national contest for excellence in news photography.

Zadick's photo "Cowpoke's Dilemma" shows a rodeo rider tumbling head down from a bucking horse at the North Montana State Fair in August 1956.

Selection of Zadick's picture from more than 100 photos submitted by staff photographers of Associated Press member papers was made by a panel of three judges.

The judges were George Beebe, managing editor of the Miami Herald; William J. Foote, managing editor of the Hartford, Conn., Courant; and Samuel Day, managing editor of the New York Journal-American.

Zadick was awarded $100 and his name was engraved on a permanent plaque in the lobby of the executive offices of the Associated Press.

HELENA, MONT.—William Zadick, Great Falls, Mont., Tribune city editor, Friday described as a "lucky shot" his picture "Cow-

poke's Dilemma," national winner of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association annual contest for excellence in news photography.

Zadick was taking pictures for the Great Falls Tribune at the 1956 North Montana State Fair when he got the picture of a rodeo rider tumbling head down from a bucking horse.

Montana Gov. J. Hugo Aronson congratulated Zadick as governor and as a "personal friend." He told Zadick, "We are all extremely proud of you."

In Great Falls, Zadick also commented that the "honor is equally the Tribune's."

Facing a Nuclear Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from The Washington Evening Star by the noted columnist, Mr. Thomas L. Stokes, in which he points out that the administration, in its policy of reluctancy, may again lose an opportunity to seize the initiative in working out a plan with other nations for the abandonment of further nuclear tests.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FACING A NUCLEAR OPPORTUNITY—CHANCE TO RETRIEVE OURSELVES SEEN IN URGE FOR H-BOMB LIMITATION

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

Ever so often history seems to come full circle and offer humankind a chance to retrieve itself.

It has been a quick swing this time, only a dozen years, come August 6, since we dropped that atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Three days later, August 9, will be the 12th anniversary of the second one on Nagasaki; and 5 days later, August 14, Japan surrendered.

Now comes a visitor from Japan, Prof. Masatoshi Matsushita, rector of a Christian college in Tokyo, representing Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi. He asked Secretary of State Dulles if we won't please abandon tests of nuclear weapons. Sorry, can't oblige just now, replied our Secretary.

But the professor is used to "No." He got it in England where he saw Prime Minister Macmillan and Winston Churchill. He asked that Britain abandon tests scheduled for Christmas Island off China. While he was away, his country got all stirred up over Soviet Russian nuclear tests in Siberia. Japanese scientists, in the belief the Russian tests are contaminating the atmosphere over Japan, urged housewives to boil drinking water and to wash fresh fruit as a precaution.

The day after Professor Matsushita saw Secretary Dulles we saw on our television screens news pictures showing crowds parading about Tokyo to protest nuclear tests. Strangely enough the banners they carried and their shouting condemned the British and us, but not Russia. That might suggest Communist inspiration for the demonstrations.

But, unfortunately, we are vulnerable for such exploitation, by Russia or whomever, and especially where Japan is concerned. We are the natural target. For it was our bombs that fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki to start a new era of fear in the world. Since then the world has figuratively huddled under the awful shadow of the mushroom cloud. Even if another bomb never goes off, the tests by ourselves and Russia and Britain could injure the human race and coming generations because of the radioactive fallout. Or so some scientists tell us.

In expiation, it would seem we should be leading a crusade to abandon nuclear tests, in fact, should have been leading one a long time ago, as was suggested, indeed, in the 1956 presidential campaign by Adlai Stevenson. Once again he advocated stopping hydrogen-bomb tests this week after a visit with Professor Matsushita, who saw the 1952–56 Democratic presidential candidate in Chicago on his way to San Francisco and back home to Japan.

We have let Russia get the jump on us with proposals to stop atomic-bomb tests and, a long time ago, to outlaw the atomic bomb. Whatever her motives, and we are suspicious, she obviously is making headway in the battle for men's minds, while we hold back and let her seize the initiative.

Clearly, she is capitalizing on the current London conferences on disarmament. At least our representative, Harold Stassen, reported here to Secretary Dulles and to President Eisenhower in Augusta that he regards Russia's intentions on disarmament as serious this time.

Why couldn't Secretary Dulles and the President have been dramatizing our position before the world? We have presented proposals to limit production of fissionable materials to peacetime use, starting April 1, next year, if an inspection system is in effect, and are ready to make some compromises on inspection. We also have proposed a gradual reduction in nonnuclear weapons and in armed forces.

A dramatic offer by the President to stop nuclear tests might restore to us the initiative that we seem to have lost in recent weeks and months. Meanwhile, we could go ahead working slowly in the necessarily secret negotiations in London to get long-range agreement with Russia on disarmament, nuclear weapons and all.

It is too bad that the President did not seize the occasion of the Japanese professor's visit. We have assumed a standoffish and suspicious attitude, fettered by our fears, constantly cautious and noncommittal, negative instead of positive. No longer are we the bold nation which the world had come to expect, and which our heritage beckons us to be.

Even as a ragged collection of colonies hovering along our Atlantic coast so many years ago now, we were able to say the things in our Declaration of Independence that went all over the world, and inspired men all over the world, and then again, a few years later, to create a symbol for men everywhere in our Constitution.

Why are we so afraid to be ourselves now?

Housewives Share Food Cost Blame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the May 8, 1957, Washington Post, the headline of which is "Housewives Share Food Cost Blame."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOUSEWIVES SHARE FOOD COST BLAME—OFFICIAL CITES DEMAND FOR STAMPS, PARKING LOTS, AND PACKAGING

Part of the blame for the high cost of groceries may rest on the housewife herself, Department of Agriculture marketing experts told Congress yesterday.

Consumer demand for such things as grocery store parking lots, trading stamps and prepackaged foods has almost transformed American shopping habits since World War II, they reported.

Testifying at the start of an Agriculture subcommittee inquiry into reasons for the size of the family food bill, Omer W. Herrmann, Deputy Administrator of the Agricultural Marketing Service, said:

"Customers are more and more being attracted into retail stores by convenience and service.

"It is under such circumstances that retailers, in particular, look for new promotional techniques to attract and keep customers.

"It was in such a setting as this that the use of trading stamp plans began to grow by leaps and bounds after 1953."

But he also stated consumers are eating more and better food than before the war.

Against these figures, however, Herrmann reported that the farmer's share of the retail cost of food products has dropped from a postwar high of 53 percent in 1945 to 40 percent in 1956.

The farmer gets the biggest share of the retail cost of food on unprocessed commodities like eggs, poultry and meat—from 58 to 69 percent.

Herrmann testified that the food marketing "spread"—or the cost of marketing food products—has risen from $9 billion in 1940 to $34 billion last year. Much of the increase has gone into packaging and processing, and higher labor and transportation costs.

New built-in services added to the marketing since 1940 now cost the consumer about $6 billion a year more, Herrmann said.

Herrmann said corporate profits before taxes of food processors, distributors and retailers have grown substantially since 1945, but profits as a percentage of sales have been going down.

Corporate profits before taxes in 1955 were about 6 percent of the total food marketing bill. After taxes they were about 2½ percent.

Farm Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the farmers of Maryland have always shown a keen desire to till their fields with a minimum of government regulation and interference. Therefore, it was only natural for them to give overwhelming support to the farm program advocated last year by Secretary of Agriculture Benson, and I feel sure that they will now approve Mr. Benson's efforts to gain still greater flexibility in agricultural legislation. A fine editorial on these current plans of the Secretary was published in

the May 4, 1957, edition of the New York Times, and I now ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CLASS (FARM) LEGISLATION

Secretary of Agriculture Benson has chosen a propitious moment for launching his long-planned drive for a reform of farm price controls, particularly the mandatory price supports applying in the case of the so-called "basic commodities."

At a time when the country is more economy-minded than it has been at any previous time in recent years, it is to be hoped that Mr. Benson's views on this question, outlined in a letter to Senator ELLENDER, may receive the serious public attention to which they are entitled. Price supports on these particular crops are mandatory, and in all cases except that of tobacco must be raised as supplies decline. The support level—that is the level at which the Government is prepared to take the commodity off the hands of the producer—may at no time go below 75 percent of parity, and may rise automatically to as high as 90 percent.

Mr. Benson's basic position is that price supports are still too high and too inflexible. In support of this position he argues, as follows:

1. A program that merely seeks to achieve a certain price level for commodities holds out a false goal if there is no market, or only a very limited market, for such commodities at these artificially achieved prices.

2. Policy objectives should seek to maximize farm income, and this can be accomplished on a permanent basis only by policies designed to enable the farmer to sell his product in the market.

3. Despite the fact that the Government has twice been bailed out from the consequences of ill-considered high-level support policies by wars, the cost to the taxpayer to date has been $11.7 billions.

4. Finally, though the price support program has, in its uneconomic way, helped the politically powerful and generally well-to-do producers of a small handful of favored crops (and even encouraged them to produce a good part of the time for sale not to the market but to the Government itself) the tragic fact is that, in the words of Mr. Benson, "it has made little or no contribution to the problem of the low-income farmers, in whose name farm programs are frequently defended."

No one, probably, will be so unrealistic as to assume that Congress will accept without a contest Mr. Benson's proposal to make price controls of the basic farm commodities more flexible and more discretionary. We hope, therefore, that the administration will not relax its efforts to keep before the public this fourth and last argument by Secretary Benson. We have an idea that public demand for reform will prevail if people can be made to understand that the system of mandatory price supports for a small handful of commodities is strictly class legislation and does not affect the fortunes of the farmers who are most seriously in need of help.

Pitfalls of Civil Rights Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Pitfalls of Civil Rights Bills," from the April 26, 1957, issue of the Waycross (Ga.) Journal-Herald.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PITFALLS OF CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS

The apparent dangers of the civil rights (so-called) bills are now being admitted even by some Members of Congress who formerly appeared to be in favor of the proposed measures.

Presumably it has dawned on many lawmakers that, in effect, the bills would infringe on the civil rights of all Americans in an attempt to protect alleged infringements on the rights of one group.

Indeed, it seems that the term "civil rights" is being much misused these days.

All decent, law-abiding people believe in civil rights. These are rights contained in our constitution and they are for all people regardless of race, color or creed.

We are told that the proposals now before Congress would permit the jailing of citizens without the normal judicial procedures guaranteed in the Constitution. This would be done through contempt citations and other proceedings.

Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL said recently: "Highhanded and drastic legislative action in this field must be weighed well in the light of its effect upon the rights of the States and the sum total of the liberties of all of the American people."

The measures are, of course, aimed at the South but, make no mistake, they would encroach on the rights of all States and all citizens.

We here in the South must continue to work for understanding and good relations between the races. If we permit violence and let lawlessness go unchecked, we are inviting Federal interference.

But we do not believe that conditions in the South or elsewhere today justify the measures that have been placed before the Congress.

It is our hope that the bills will receive a careful and thoughtful examination from all lawmakers. Their shortcomings should be clear to one and all.

The Image of George Norris

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a column from the Chattanooga Times of April 15 about George Norris, whose dream of the Tennessee Valley Authority became the worldwide symbol of democracy in action. Mr. Norris, as Mr. Stokes points out, throughout his career fought for the best interests of the great mass of people.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE IMAGE OF GEORGE W. NORRIS
(By Thomas L. Stokes)

WASHINGTON.—We may take it for granted that true greatness is eternal, but there do come times when it gets obscured as the people lower their standards and go chasing off after strange new gods which usually prove to be phantoms.

For reasons which are obvious, these are hardly times that would be kindly disposed to such a man as the late, great Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska. This rugged battler for what Abraham Lincoln called the common people belongs back in another day—in the day when his big dream, the TVA, was acceptable and not creeping socialism.

He is being projected into this materialistic era because he is on the list being considered by a Senate committee named to select the five outstanding Senators in our history. Their portraits will be hung in the reception room just off the Senate Chamber.

Like other prophets and dreamers, he is without honor among some of his own people in his State. He always was. They are represented in the Senate today in CARL T. CURTIS, a Republican. CURTIS has asked to be given advance notice of the identity of the chosen five, not, he explains, for purposes of a veto but just so that he might not be caught unawares. This comes, one would suppose, in a category of senatorial courtesy.

Antagonism to Senator Norris existed when he was here with us, for he always was fighting powerful forces in his advocacy of measures to improve the living and the security of our rank-and-file citizens.

These measures included not only TVA, but those to protect labor and its rights, such as the Norris-La Guardia Act to prevent injunctions by which labor unions had been destroyed, and his constitutional amendment to abolish "lameduck" sessions of Congress when Members who had already been defeated were vulnerable prey for all sorts of selfish interests.

Because of all the causes with which he was belligerently associated in his day, as a Republican and later as an Independent, the thought of George W. Norris is disturbing to some in the seats of power in Government and business today. Most especially, he is an offending reminder of the memorial he left behind in the great TVA project which means so much to so many people in our Southeast.

He is a reminder, too, of the still bigger dream with which he inspired some who still are around—the dream of similar integrated public development of all our great river valleys by the Government so that our rivers would be harnessed for protection against floods, for production of low-cost power, for navigation, for irrigation, and reclamation.

Some headway was made toward this dream by Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. Now it is being blasted by the present administration. By something called the partnership policy, this administration is dealing out choice sites in our public domain to big private utilities in a manner that will disrupt basinwide development and thus will not reach the full potential to protect the public interest.

If this is not done right now, it will be forever wrong. For there is no going back. We are seeing basinwide development shattered in the mighty Columbia in the Pacific Northwest, and efforts being plotted elsewhere.

My memory of George Norris goes way back to the beginning of his dream when, for a decade or more, he was trying to get Congress to authorize Government operation of a leftover World War I Government dam and nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals, Ala.

He was thwarted by Presidents Hoover and Coolidge, but President Roosevelt espoused his dream, broadened the project to embrace the whole Tennessee system. And in the wake of the Federal Trade Commission's revelation of the financial shenanigans of great utility combines, TVA was approved by Congress.

But the moneychangers are back in the temple of government and they are effective.

Memory goes back to the last time I saw Norris. It was in the spring of 1944, a few months before his death. We sat talking on

the side porch of the home in McCook, Nebr., where he had lived for 60 years.

He told of the worldwide interest in TVA. From all over the globe people wrote to him, and some came to McCook to see him. In the few days before, he had seen an engineer from China and a woman from France who was writing a book about TVA.

His idea has been exported all over the world. In fact, we are lending money to some 20 other nations, either directly or through the International Bank, for TVA's. They are monuments to an American idea.

But we have abandoned the idea here. For us it is now "creeping socialism" if it is done in the United States.

George Norris ought to be among the five great Senators. But it really won't matter much if his picture doesn't hang in the Senate. It surely wouldn't matter to him. He was a simple and unaffected person to whom such things mattered so little. His image is in the minds and hearts of people all over the world.

The Conservative Conscience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Intermountain and Alameda Enterprise, a newspaper published in Pocatello, Idaho, on May 2, 1957. The editorial was written by Mr. Perry Swisher, a distinguished Idaho journalist and Republican. It emphatically opposes "the further centralization of economic power, the further stultifying of small competitive enterprise, and the further commingling of public policies and private utilities, which are beginning to characterize the Eisenhower administration."

After praising the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] for his opposition to the administration's tax writeoff for the Idaho Power Co., and the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] for his efforts to obtain a reappraisal of the oil depletion allowance, the editorial concludes by expressing the hope that the Senate may once again provide the Federal Government with a vigorous conscience as it did in the days of Borah, Nye, Norris, and LaFollette.

It is significant that the author of this editorial is a leading Republican member of the Idaho State Legislature.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SIGNS OF LIFE

Virginia's Senator HARRY BYRD inclines to be so one track on the subject of budget balancing that he is most sparing in his votes for any Federal projects. Certainly you couldn't classify him as a public-power man.

While he was being consistent, the Senator must have shocked the Idaho Power Co. this week when he attacked as "indefensible" the Eisenhower administration's $29,250,000 tax writeoff for the Idaho utility. This was criticism from an unexpected direction.

THE CONSERVATIVE CONSCIENCE

And, a few weeks ago, Senator JOHN WILLIAMS, of Delaware, a Republican who is scarcely a raving liberal, tried to get consideration for cutting the superflush oil companies' depletion allowance from 27½ percent down to 20 percent. A noble gesture, but one need only scan the list of contributors to senatorial campaigns to know why he failed.

The actions of BYRD and WILLIAMS are heartening in a Congress that began by deciding it couldn't afford to provide tax relief for the casualty-filled world of small business.

If the Eisenhower administration has an obvious weakness (aside from such less obvious weaknesses as the way a colossal budget was dumped mish-mash on Congress, and its untranslatable Middle East policy), it is favoritism to super-big business, to big oil, and to electric utilities.

THE 1920'S, ONLY SMOOTHER

When the special favors handed out by Federal agencies are too much for conservatives like BYRD and WILLIAMS to swallow, it is politically high time that the President looked to the specific record of modern Republicanism in the executive department. It may be these special favors—they smack of the 1920's—that make it so hard for Mr. Eisenhower to define modern Republicanism except in the most general terms.

We do not favor political vendettas against big business and utilities simply because they are big or intrinsically monopolies. Nor do we discount the place of private utilities like Idaho Power in the generation and sale of electricity.

But we emphatically do oppose the further centralization of economic power, the further stultifying of small competitive enterprise, and the further commingling of public policies with private utilities, which are beginning to characterize the Eisenhower administration.

We like our conservative Democrats impartially conservative, like BYRD, and we vastly prefer our Republicans Lincolnian if the Eisenhower regency now setting policy is a sample of modern Republicanism.

After a long stagnation, the Senate seems to be showing signs of life, and may once again provide the Federal Government with a vigorous conscience as it did in the days of Borah, Nye, Norris, and La Follette.

Review of the Book Entitled "The Enemy at His Back"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a review of the book entitled "The Enemy at His Back," written by Elizabeth Churchill Brown. The review was written by Sister M. Margaret Patricia, and was published in the Wanderer on October 25, 1956.

There being no objection, the review was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ELIZABETH CHURCHILL BROWN, THE ENEMY AT HIS BACK—NEW YORK: A FREE ENTERPRISE PUBLICATION DISTRIBUTED BY THE BOOKMAILER, 1956

(By Sister M. Margaret Patricia)

This is a slow-paced, indestructibly argued exposure of obscene dishonesty. This book is carefully researched and meticulously documented. If all the perfidies that can be cataloged from 1939 to 1956 (yes, yesterday) were argued and exposed, documented and distributed no easy task, this last) the world, I fear, would not contain all the books.

This is a first book, and its writing was absolutely necessary to the little woman who had suddenly comprehended the meaning of the enemy at the American GI's back. As the whole sun is pictured in a tiny drop of water, the whole world scheme is revealed in this one narrative.

Oh, I know what the members of old IPR, now regathering under the auspices of World Peace Foundation and World Affairs Council, will do with this book. They will make mincemeat of it, not for its logic, not for its documentation, not for its import—for its composition and rhetoric. I'll beat them to this and in doing so I will assert that the very style, so reprehensible to those who, using Rockefeller, Carnegie, Gianninni, and Ford moneys, can employ the most skilled mechanics of rhetoric, indexmakers, and typists, unconsciously does poetic justice to the subject of this selected sentence:

"Our obstreperous 'boy,' Mr. Grew, got his feet in even more hot water when, as Acting Secretary of State, he dipped his fingers into the propaganda machine and gummed up the works for a short minute."

Lattimore will swoon over that; Bisson will walk out. Professor Fairbank will ask Mrs. Fairbank what she thinks of this—on second thought, I'll bet he won't.

The Nation won't carry advertisements for this book alongside Agnes Smedley's memoirs of Stilwell's Chinese hero. (The effect of the "Khrushchev" technique reminds us of a game of hide and seek, when the one who is "it" calls out, "Come out, come out, wherever you are." Allee Allee, outs in free.")

Out here in California we have memories of hydraulic mining. (It may come back; Calaveras County is leaping again—not that everlasting frog.) By hydraulic mining one of our hills can be lowered in an afternoon and turned into a pile of smooth, round granite stones that look like gigantic potatoes. The method of placer mining suggests itself as a figure to show the meaning of Liz Brown's book. She has exposed the men who, one day in midcentury when a mountain was lowered, held the nozzle of the eroding hose. She does not describe the hose or trace its hydraulic power to the source, but she includes in the appendix one excerpt from the diary of Prince Konoya—who was surrounded and whose work was destroyed by the IPR. Do not read it running; read it on your knees:

"In the first place, there has been a notable ascendance of Soviet Russia in world politics. In the light of her recent activities in Europe, we must judge that she has not abandoned the hope of bolshevising the whole world. * * * With regard to internal affairs, potentially dangerous factors include the rapid deterioration of the people's living conditions, increase in the voice of the laboring classes, rise of pro-Soviet feelings as enmity against America and Britain increases, attempts by an extremist group in the military to achieve radical changes in internal politics, activities of younger bureaucrats sympathetic with that group, and disguised activities of the Communists behind the military bureaucrats.

"A majority of younger officers seems to think that the present form of the Japanese Government is compatible with communism—a conception which, in any opinion, constitutes the basis of the radical thought of the military. The Communists are influencing them with the theory that, even under communism, Japan can maintain the Tenno system. I have now come to seriously doubt whether the whole series of events from the Manchurian incident to the present war have not been what they have pur-

posefully planned. It is a well-known fact that they openly declared the aim of the Manchurian war was to achieve drastic reforms in domestic affairs. A central figure of theirs also declared that the longer the China incident continues, the better, for otherwise the intended reform would not be accomplished. Of course, the reform aimed at by the military may not necessarily be a Communist revolution, but the group of bureaucrats and civilians (both left and right) who are in close collaboration with the military are definitely intending to bring about such a revolution. In the light of this conclusion, I now realize that I have, during the last 10 years, come across many events the meaning of which I did not then fully appreciate. (As) prime minister twice during that period, and overeager to bring about national unity by accepting as much as possible of the doctrine advocated by those radical elements, I failed to perceive the true intentions hidden behind their arguments. I do not pretend to find any excuse for my shortsightedness, but I feel responsible for it.

"In the last few months, the slogan 'Hundred Million Die Together' has become increasingly louder, seemingly among the rightwing people but it has its real basis in the activities of the Communists.

"Under such circumstances, the longer we continue the war the greater will be the danger of revolution. We should, therefore, stop the war as soon as possible" (p. 226f).

And remember "Fear not, little flock, I have overcome the world," means "Fear not," but it does not mean "work not" or "fight not."

Problems of Taxation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Time To Stop the Wild Party," from the April 25, 1957, issue of the Jeff Davis County Ledger, of Hazlehurst, Ga.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TIME TO STOP THE WILD PARTY

Even though Senators TALMADGE and RUSSELL, and Congresswoman IRIS BLITCH, the three people whom we of the Eighth District are largely dependent on to fight our battles in Washington, are hammering away at the very serious tax problem, and undoubtedly are receiving some help from their confreres, the road is long and hard.

For taxation has gotten out of hand. President Eisenhower and his pet group of Republicans, joined by an alarming number of Democrats, have gone "hog wild" and are having an orgy of spending, and planning more. Since the end of the fiscal year 1954-55 there has been a recurring policy to increase Federal spending as fast as revenues rise, with no leeway for tax reduction (in appreciable amount) or retirement of debts.

"It gives me great concern to reflect on the fact that over 10 percent of the national budget or 7¼ billion annually, now goes for interest alone on the Federal debt which, as of next June 30, will total $270.6 billion," the junior Senator from Georgia said Monday. "The people are deeply concerned over the fact that Federal taxes of $72.1 billion during the current fiscal year are sapping up more than one-sixth of everything every citizen produces in goods and services. (Gross National Production, 1956–1957, estimated $412 billion). This does not count or include State and local taxes," he declared.

President Eisenhower has recommended to the Congress that it create 18 more spending programs. Yet, already the tax bite takes one out of every three dollars earned by corporations and individuals in this country. The Federal Government gets over two-thirds of the tax dollar.

Now, in peacetime, the budget is far in excess of any wartime budget we have ever had and it is getting bigger and bigger every year. The purchasing power of the dollar continues its downward plunge which has already brought the cost of living to the highest point on record.

Competent authorities tell us that much waste and duplication in Government operations can be eliminated. The Federal budget as proposed calls for too much spending and must be cut to reason.

Thomas Jefferson warned "were we directed from Washington when to sow, and when to reap, we should soon want bread." Jefferson knew that when people turned from self-reliance to dependence on the Government to solve their problems they were inviting trouble. The wisdom of a Jefferson should be heeded.

The one way to control the spenders is to take the money away from them. That is what our Senators and Congresswoman know and that is what they are trying to do. Senator TALMADGE outlined five steps which he feels are necessary to restore Federal fiscal responsibility. He thinks the National Congress should:

1. Eliminate nonessential Federal spending.
2. Press for a systematic beginning on debt reduction and outlaw deficit spending.
3. Adopt new legislation guaranteeing better budgetary control.
4. Institute a reduction in Federal income taxes of at least 10 percent to restore incentive and to stimulate new job opportunities.
5. Halt encroachment by the Federal Government on the revenue sources of the States.

We believe that our people of the Eighth District are greatly concerned over the rising tide of spending and the ever-increasing taxes. We think they are back of our Representatives at the Capital. We sincerely wish and hope many of them will write Senators RUSSELL and TALMADGE and Congresswoman BLITCH commending them for their stand and cheering them to continue the good work.

Small Dams Halt Floods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, in the last month 6 inches of rain fell on northeast Oklahoma's Double Creek Valley in 10 days. That much rain once would have flooded 2,000 acres of farmland. That much rain was enough to test the network of six small upstream dams built there under the soil conservation program. The Tulsa World reports that the small dams did their flood prevention work perfectly.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the World article describing the effectiveness of one of our small watershed programs.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Tulsa Daily World of April 30, 1957]

SMALL DAMS HALT FLOODS—DOUBLE CREEK VALLEY PROJECT SHOWS RESULTS

RAMONA, April 29.—Farmers in the Double Creek Valley here had waited 3 years to see if the Government's network of small upstream dams would hold back the raging waters once it rained enough to send the creek on a rampage.

The test came late last week when more than 6 inches of rain were dumped on the Double Creek Watershed in 10 days and it was still raining Monday. In previous years that much water would have flooded 2,000 acres in the valley, destroying crops on more than 40 farms.

DAMS HALT FLOODS

But this time there was no flood. The dams held back the water. Farmer Elwood Eden, who has lost whole crops to floods before, said Monday "The creek hasn't run over half bank full at any time during the rains."

Fay Redman, retired mail carrier, said, "The water would have been over the highway north of Ramona if those dams hadn't been there."

Farmer James Little said he believed he would have had "more than 800 acres on his farm flooded if it hadn't been for the dams." Floyd Short, who farms on the bank of the creek, added, "There's no question about the detention dams holding the water back."

CAN SLEEP AT NIGHT

Farmer Floyd Hand was enthusiastic about the dams. "We can sleep at night now when it rains, since the flood hazard is removed and we don't have to worry about losing our crops."

Some farmers were skeptical about the small dams working when the Soil Conservation Service and the Caney Valley Soil Conservation District started building the Double Creek flood-prevention project 3 years ago.

The last of 6 dams, with a combined capacity of 7,000 acre-feet of storage, was completed in January 1956. There hadn't been enough rain until last week to prove their value.

CREDIT GOES TO DAMS

Charlie Kilpatrick, Soil Conservation Service, Bartlesville, said that all the credit for prevention of a flood on Double Creek cannot go to the detention dams.

"A good share must go to the good land treatment being applied to land by farmers on the uplands, all part of the overall flood-prevention program," he said.

He pointed to more than 19,000 acres of properly managed native grass and 2,558 acres of pasture planting to give the land a cover against water and soil losses; 200 farm ponds, 5,000 acres of legumes, and miles of terraces which have been built as part of the flood-prevention plan.

Prayer Is Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have on many occasions on the floor of the Sen-

ate pointed out the need for the invocation of divine guidance for the solution of our personal and national problems.

In this connection, I should like to recall that back in 1941, a half year before Pearl Harbor, I arranged for the printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the text of an article which was carried in the March issue of the Reader's Digest of that year.

Since then, I have had many occasions to refer to this article, and many readers of the RECORD have likewise referred to it.

Because of the widespread interest in it, because it is more valid today than ever before, in view of the problems facing our Nation, I ask unanimous consent that this article, entitled "Prayer Is Power," by the famed scientist, Dr. Alexis Carrel, be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Reader's Digest of March 1941]

PRAYER IS POWER

(By Alexis Carrel, M. D.)

Prayer is not only worship; it is also an invisible emanation of man's worshiping spirit—the most powerful form of energy that one can generate. The influence of prayer on the human mind and body is as demonstrable as that of secreting glands. Its results can be measured in terms of increased physical buoyancy, greater intellectual vigor, moral stamina, and a deeper understanding of the realities underlying human relationships.

If you make a habit of sincere prayer, your life will be very noticeably and profoundly altered. Prayer stamps with its indelible mark our actions and demeanor. A tranquillity of bearing, a facial and bodily repose, are observed in those whose inner lives are thus enriched. Within the depths of consciousness a flame kindles. And man sees himself. He discovers his selfishness, his silly pride, his fears, his greeds, his blunder. He develop a sense of moral obligation, intellectual humility. Thus begins a journey of the soul toward the realm of grace.

Prayer is a force as real as terrestrial gravity. As a physician I have seen men, after all other therapy had failed, lifted out of disease and melancholy by the serene effort of prayer. It is the only power in the world that seems to overcome the so-called laws of nature; the occasions on which prayer has dramatically done this have been termed "miracles." But a constant, quieter miracle takes place hourly in the hearts of men and women who have discovered that prayer supplies them with a steady flow of sustaining power in their daily lives.

Too many people regard prayer as a formalized routine of words, a refuge for weaklings, or a childish petition for material things. We sadly undervalue prayer when we conceive it in these terms, just as we should underestimate rain by describing it as something that fills the bird bath in our garden. Properly understood, prayer is a mature activity indispensable to the fullest development of personality—the ultimate integration of man's highest faculties. Only in prayer do we achieve that complete and harmonious assembly of body, mind, and spirit which gives the frail human reed its unshakable strength.

The words, "Ask and it shall be given to you," have been verified by the experience of humanity. True, prayer may not restore the dead child to life or bring relief from physical pain. But prayer, like radium, is a source of luminous, self-generating energy.

How does prayer fortify us with so much dynamic power? To answer this question (admittedly outside the jurisdiction of science) I must point out that all prayers have one thing in common. The triumphant hosannas of a great oratorio, or the humble supplication of an Iroquois hunter begging for luck in the chase, demonstrate the same truth: That human beings seek to augment their finite energy by addressing themselves to the infinite source of all energy. When we pray we link ourselves with the inexhaustible motive power that spins the universe. We ask that a part of this power be apportioned to our needs. Even in asking, our human deficiencies are filled and we arise strengthened and repaired.

But we must never summon God merely for the gratification of our whims. We derive most power from prayer when we use it not as a petition but as a supplication that we may become more like him. Prayer should be regarded as practice of the presence of God. An old peasant was seated alone in the last pew of the village church. "What are you waiting for?" he was asked; and he answered, "I am looking at Him and He is looking at me." Man prays not only that God should remember him, but also that he should remember God.

How can prayer be defined? Prayer is the effort of man to reach God, to commune with an invisible being, creator of all things, supreme wisdom, truth, beauty, and strength, father, and redeemer of each man. This goal of prayer always remains hidden to intelligence. For both language and thought fail when we attempt to describe God.

We do know, however, that whenever we address God in fervent prayer we change both soul and body for the better. It could not happen that any man or woman could pray for a single moment without some good result. "No man ever prayed," said Emerson, "without learning something."

One can pray everywhere. In the streets, the subway, the office, the shop, the school, as well as in the solitude of one's own room or among the crowd in a church. There is no prescribed posture, time, or place.

"Think of God more often than you breathe," said Epictetus the Stoic. In order really to mold personality, prayer must become a habit. It is meaningless to pray in the morning and to live like a barbarian the remainder of the day. True prayer is a way of life, the truest life is literally a way of prayer.

The best prayers are like the improvizations of gifted lovers, always about the same thing yet never twice the same. We cannot all be as creative in prayer as St. Theresa or Bernard of Clairvaux, both of whom poured their adoration into words of mystical beauty. Fortunately, we do not need their eloquence; our slightest impulse to prayer is recognized by God. Even if we are pitifully dumb, or if our tongues are overlaid with vanity or deceit, our meager syllables of praise are acceptable to Him, and He showers us with strengthening manifestations of His love.

Today as never before prayer is a binding necessity in the lives of men and nations. The lack of emphasis on the religious sense has brought the world to the edge of destruction. Our deepest source of power and perfection has been left miserably undeveloped. Prayer, the basic exercise of the spirit, must be actively practiced in our private lives. The neglected soul of man must be made strong enough to assert itself once more. For if the power of prayer is again released and used in the lives of common men and women; if the spirit declares its aims clearly and boldly, there is yet hope that our prayers for a better world will be answered.

Mrs. Hazel Abel, Former Senator From Nebraska, Named Mother of 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, a great honor has come not only to this body, but, likewise, to the State of Nebraska, in the naming, as American Mother of 1957, of Mrs. Hazel Abel, who served in the Senate in 1954.

I ask unanimous consent that an article from the Washington Evening Star of May 7, 1957, may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MRS. ABEL, EX-SENATOR, NAMED MOTHER OF 1957

NEW YORK, May 7.—Mrs. Hazel Abel of Lincoln, Nebr., 68-year-old former United States Senator and construction company president, was named American mother of 1957 today.

The announcement was made by Mrs. Daniel A. Poling, president of the American Mothers Committee, Inc., at the opening of the group's annual mothers' conference.

Mrs. Abel is a widow with five children—four daughters and one son. She had six grandsons.

Mothers of the year from every State, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico competed for the national title. A committee jury chose the winner.

"Hazel Abel's work embraces many fields—church and religious organizations, education, civic and welfare groups, and above them all stands out her work with youth," the announcement said.

"She has been awakening thousands everywhere to all the known causes of juvenile delinquency, and has been stimulating communities to study and put into effect modern ways of prevention. In her own State she is responsible for new interests in a statewide juvenile probation system, improved courts for children and recodification of Nebraska's children's laws."

Mrs. Abel was born in Plattsmouth, Nebr., and has lived in that State all her life. She met her late husband, George Abel, when the two were students at the University of Nebraska.

After graduation he started a construction company with $100 in savings. The business grew to a large firm.

When Mr. Abel died in 1937, his wife took over as company president. She ran the business for 15 years. Then she turned it over to her only son.

Mrs. Abel was elected to a short term in the United States Senate after the death of Senator Dwight Griswold in 1954, and served from November, 1954, to January, 1955.

Next Friday she will be honored as the American Mother of 1957 at the annual awards luncheon of the mothers committee at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I share in the expression of pride and appreciation that this honor has come to the State of Nebraska. Mrs. Hazel Abel was a distinguished Member of this body.

She has been named American Mother of the Year. I wish to congratulate her and to express my feeling of pride that this honor has come to her and to our State.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. I should like to associate myself, Mr. President, with the felicitations extended by the two Senators from Nebraska. Mrs. Hazel Abel is a neighbor of ours, in South Dakota. I have known her for a long time. She served with distinction as a Member of the Senate.

I was visiting with the South Dakota Mother of the Year, Mrs. Hans Sorenson, of South Dakota, in my office this week. She expressed her high regard for this outstanding American lady.

I join in congratulating our neighbors in Nebraska.

Mr. HRUSKA. I should like to thank the Senator from South Dakota.

Problems of Integration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Latest Court Edict Very Dangerous," from the Metropolitan Herald, of Atlanta, Ga.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LATEST COURT EDICT VERY DANGEROUS

The United States Supreme Court reached a new low in making law this week by ruling that a racially segregated school in Philadelphia, operated with funds left in trust by a private citizen for "poor white male orphans," must admit Negro students.

In its latest seizure of power the Supreme Court overruled the Philadelphia Orphans' Court, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, precedent of 108 years and the right of a private citizen to spend his money as he saw fit for the youth of the land.

The case involved a suit brought in the name of two Negro boys, obviously by the NAACP. They sought entrance into the school established in 1848 under the terms of a will by Stephen Girard, a wealthy Philadelphia citizen, who left $2 million in trust to set up and operate a school for "poor white male orphans."

For 109 years the terms of the will had been met. The school had been operated for "poor white male orphans." Since 1869 the school has been under the direction of a board of directors called City Trust, as trustees, which includes some city officials.

Because some city officials had a part in the direction of the school, as trustees, although no tax money was spent in its operation, the Supreme Court ruled that the "Negroes were discriminated by the State" in violation of the Court's recently amended 14th amendment.

Since the Court ruled that Negroes were being discriminated against by the terms of the will, it stands to reason that a suit brought in the name of females would result in a ruling that it also discriminated against females.

Obviously this ruling means that a person, in the future, will not be able to set up trust funds for the education of children of any particular race or creed. It's ruling, in effect, means that a person can no longer spend his or her money to assist and help with the education of any particular segment of our population. In practically every State the State board of education has some control, however limited, over private and religious educational institutions. It may be in the matter of fire safety, accreditation, etc., but regardless of how limited, such institutions would be under some "control" of a State agency, thus the 14th amendment, as amended by the Supreme Court, would control.

We wonder how many more illegal decisions this group of justices will proclaim before the rank and the file of American citizens wake up to the fact that our highest court is undermining constitutional government and replacing it with a system based on judicial decrees.

Death of Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Clifford Ward and published in the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel of May 3, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOOD EVENING

(By Clifford B. Ward)

The man who was lynched atop Capitol Hill by the 20th century nightriders of political intolerance is dead.

They whipped him, they scourged him, and they strung him up, leaving him to die the slow but possibly willing death of a man who has taken more than even the strongest can bear.

It has happened many times in the past and will happen again, in spite of all the protestations of brotherhood, in spite of all the drumbeats for tolerance of differences, in spite of all the protestations against abuse of people whose ideas aren't acceptable.

What was done to Senator Joseph McCarthy should never have been done to any human being, but it was. Today, his enemies who are honest must be quietly rejoicing, while his admirers quietly mourn.

WHO WAS THIS MAN?

Who was this horrible man, whom the Senate of the United States censured, whom two Presidents of the United States snubbed, and whose name was used as a synonym for something evil? What was his crime?

He was an American lad from a Midwest farm State, who thought that if he worked and studied hard enough he might become a lawyer in record time, which he did, and possibly become a judge in record time, which he also did. He was a kid who thought that he, like everyone else in health, had a duty to fight for his country and he went to war, not as a desk clerk in Washington, but as a marine in the field of battle.

He saw action, won medals and picked up steel fragments in a knee, but all this was later to be poohpoohed by enemies whose only contact with battlefields and wars were through reading about them or seeing them in newsreels.

FOUGHT BARE KNUCKLED

They had the effrontery to call him a coward. They had the effrontery to imply that his wounds were the fabrications of a liar. He came home to be elected Senator by the sovereign citizens of a sovereign State, and he was on his way, until he began fighting communism and Communists bare knuckled. From then on, he was in trouble.

He discovered that a slurring remark about the United States in this New World of ours is something to evoke applause, but a damaging statement about the new experiment in tyranny emanating from the Kremlin is something to be hissed.

His was a losing fight and his enemies got him as they got Martin Dies, as they got Whittaker Chambers, as they got everyone who stood up to them and fought.

There were things wrong with Senator McCarthy. He had a man's heavy beard that grew too fast on a face that was meant for a football lineman. He talked with a halting, bumbling timber that made his vocal assaults sound like those of a Sherman tank. He hadn't been taught at an eastern boarding school to call a lie an equivocation. He bluntly tagged it "a lie," and its author, "a liar."

NOT TAUGHT MODERN GRACES

He had never been taught that the modern graces call for being nice to enemies when talking to them but to get them from behind. He just doubled up his fist and smacked them in the face. For that he was called boorish and crude. Possibly he was. He drank whisky when he felt like it and never thought to lie about it. He used profanity now and then and believed that maybe in the circle of men, while it wasn't approvable, it wasn't criminal.

There wasn't much they didn't do to Senator McCarthy. They belittled his war record. They scoffed at his medals and his injuries. They tried to say that he was a crook and he made those who said so eat their words. They accused him of income-tax evasion and the Treasury gave the lie to this by sending him a tax refund. They even tried to alienate his wife by the lie that he was a homosexual. They even tried to say that he was a Huey Long, bent upon being a new political boss of the United States.

Senator McCarthy discovered what most people discover, that life is a battlefield and that not all soldiers retire from it in a field of glory. To him, death was an honorable discharge. He retired from battle, knowing one thing that not even his enemies could deny, namely, that he never ran from a fight. May he be in the hands of better friends than he found here.

Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, Mo.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STUART SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, for more than 20 years the city of St. Louis, in cooperation with the National Park Service and the Federal Government, has been working to develop the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in the heart of St. Louis.

Because of the national interest in this matter, and because of the Federal responsibility in regard to the Memorial, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled, "Why Not a Second Miracle?" from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of April 26 be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY NOT A SECOND MIRACLE?

St. Louis is getting weary, mighty weary, of the delay and the foot dragging which so far have prevented a real start on the national memorial on the riverfront. Delay can become atrophy. And atrophy can kill.

Twenty years have passed since the site was cleared, and the National Park Service has had a staff here most of that time. Yet what is there to show for this? Some interior decorating and a few coats of paint on the old courthouse.

Obviously, the war was a genuine reason for holding back. But the war has been over for a dozen years, and in those years Pittsburgh has redeveloped its Diamond Triangle, New York has built its great new convention center, and Philadelphia has made long strides in the redevelopment based on Independence Hall—all with Federal aid.

Even though the latest dash of cold water for St. Louis comes from Washington in the form of a statement that National Park Service officials fear it may be too expensive to put the riverfront railroad tracks in a tunnel, we doubt that the frustration of this magnificent project really stems from the National Capital.

Our congressional representatives have been active. They obtained an appropriation, and they are ready to ask that more of it be allocated to the railroad tunnel, if that really should be necessary. But after 7 months of negotiations between the National Park Service, the city, and the railroads, nobody seems to know what a tunnel will cost. That information now is expected from a firm of Chicago consultants.

Why is it taking so long to get up-to-date cost figures on a tunnel that was planned years ago? How long has it been since Harold Ickes said: "The tracks must go"?

Why is the old proposal of the railroads for an open cut being revived? Why are we getting another crop of public relations stories about diverting the riverfront to other uses, including a white-elephant stadium? That is all "old stuff," except perhaps the line that people so love to watch trains that it would be a shame to force them into a tunnel—as though one could not watch them approaching and leaving that tunnel.

Frankly, we suspect that most of the causes of delay are centered here in St. Louis. Part of the fault may be attributed to lethargy; part of it seems to be more serious. Fortunately, however, the year-in, year-out champions of the Saarinen plan for the riverfront—the splendid plan which emerged from the competition for which St. Louis businessmen raised $250,000—have found new and energetic allies in the St. Louis chapter of the American Institute of Architects.

These men know how much is being done elsewhere on a grand scale. They know the obstacles here. And they are determined to get them out of the way. If they succeed, nobody will be happier than the members of the local staff of the National Park Service. They find no fun in sitting on their hands.

There are other groups in this community which could—and should—give their powerful support to the architects and to our Senators and Representatives.

The railroads—and they owe very much to St. Louis—could provide a stimulant by announcing their eagerness to get on with the tunnel.

The chamber of commerce could help by knocking down pettifogging objections and calling for full speed ahead.

The city government—which has sacrificed 20 years of taxes on the site, not to mention the bond money used to clear it—could revitalize its demand for the completion of the park. To borrow a phrase from the late "Big Bill" Thompson, it is time to "throw away the hammer and get a horn."

Better still, there is a home-bred example for St. Louis to follow. The community should take the same approach to the riverfront that it took to smoke elimination. If one miracle could be worked overnight, why not another?

Death of Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel of May 4, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOSEPH MCCARTHY, GREAT AMERICAN

In the death of Wisconsin Senator Joseph R. McCarthy America loses perhaps its most dynamic and uncompromisingly outspoken personality since Teddy Roosevelt. Even the Senator's most bitter foes would agree that there never was anything static about Joe McCarthy. Even they would also be obliged to agree that he kept the issue of Communist infiltration in America (unfounded bugaboo they termed it) more dramatically in the public eye than any other person.

Indeed, in this Senator McCarthy became an international figure and a national issue, during the height of his career from 1950 to 1954, in which as chairman of the Senate Un-American Activities Committee and in the public forum, he took on all comers, including two President of the United States.

So volatile and uncompromising a personality as Joe McCarthy, projected into the national prominence that was destined to be his on the issue of communism, could not help but win both profound and loyal friends, as well as fierce enemies. No man ever fought more courageously and earnestly in the Senate for the things he deemed right.

His zeal and unfailing courage and adamant refusal to compromise and dispose of cases of alleged complicity with, or softness toward, Communist infiltration here, "quietly and diplomatically" brought him in conflict with the high and the mighty, including two Presidents and the Senate, which censured him on the grounds that he "acted contrary to senatorial ethics and tended to bring the Senate into disrepute and dishonor" and for "intemperate abuse" of Brig. Gen. Ralph Zwicker.

McCarthy accused former President Truman and others in the Truman administration of keeping top subversives in the Government after the FBI had warned them that these traitors were spying against their Government.

And he accused President Eisenhower of congratulating Senators who hampered "the exposure of communism" and of putting up "a shrinking show of weakness toward Red Chinese who are torturing and brainwashing American uniformed men."

Senator McCarthy's controversy with those high in the Government waxed most bitter in his committee's investigation of Communist infiltration in the Army, when they came to the rescue of Maj. Irving Peress and General Zwicker, who were called before the Senate committee. When McCarthy asked Major Peress about charges he had been a Communist and had attended a Communist leadership school, Peress declined to answer any questions concerning his Communist connections, taking refuge behind the fifth amendment, when because of his refusal to give any explanation of the charges, Senator McCarthy declared that Peress should be court-martialed. He was 3 days later given an honorable discharge instead. And when General Zwicker was called before the committee and questioned about the Peress honorable discharge, Secretary of the Army Stevens issued a resounding defense of Zwicker and an intemperate denunciation of McCarthy.

McCarthy also gained the ill will of the Eisenhower administration for criticizing it for retaining such men as John Paton Davies in the State Department after the McCarran committee, headed by the late Democratic Senator Pat McCarran, charged that "John Paton Davies, Jr., testified falsely before the subcommittee in denying he recommended to the Central Intelligence Agency that it employ, utilize, and rely upon certain individuals having Communist association and connections."

Senator McCarthy's rise to worldwide fame was distinctly in the American tradition that no one in America can be born so humble as not to have the hope of rising as high as his talents and ambitions merit. A Wisconsin farm boy and 1 of 7 children, he was early initiated to the rigors of hard farmwork and his early educational advantages were very limited. He worked in a grocery store to enable him to get a high-school education and applied himself so zealously that he completed the 4-year course in 1 year, which prompted the principal to refer to him as "the irresistible force who overcame the immovable object."

In so inescapably alerting his country to the grave menace of the worldwide Communist conspiracy, Senator McCarthy rendered the Nation an invaluable service. His stature will rise with the passing of time just like that of the five Senators honored by the Senate the other day—Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Robert La Follette, and Robert A. Taft, all of whom also had been unmercifully abused.

May his great and untiring soul enjoy the repose that it so justly merits.

Extra Dividends From Acreage Reserve Land

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanmous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Extra Dividends From Acreage Reserve Land," published in the Dakota Farmer of May 4, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXTRA DIVIDENDS FROM ACREAGE RESERVE LAND

Widely scattered though it is, a big acreage of good Dakota cropland will go cropless this coming season to satisfy requirements of the Federal acreage reserve program.. Neither cropped nor grazed, it will comprise what popularly is termed "idle acres."

Idle, perhaps, but not unattended. While acreage reserve regulations say that noxious weeds must be controlled, many forward-looking farmers will not be content to let it go at that. They've thought of ways to improve that land even while receiving pay for keeping it out of crop production.

How land may be improved depends on individual farm situations. Ranking high among intentions are means of conserving moisture, destorying weeds, improving tilth, adopting or revising crop rotation methods, preparing for tree plantings, and building up plant food reserves through green manuring or summer fallow.

FALLOW HAS DISADVANTAGES

Whether summer fallow should be preferred is being questioned by many farmers. Summer fallow is a first thought in many areas, but there is this also to be considered: the possibility of loss of soil through wind and water action. High winds scouring dry soil or a flash rain on black or bare fallow can be much more serious than the loss of a high-yielding crop.

Rather than using black summer fallow, some farmers will keep their acreage reserve on the same land for 3 years. This will give them a 10 percent higher payment over the established rates for the second and third years.

During the first and second years, weeds will be controlled by spraying or clipping. The third year will call for planting a green manure crop or fallowing by stubble-mulching. Other farmers will plant the acreage reserve to grass to build up the soil over a 3-year period.

SOLVE WEED PROBLEMS

Farmers with noxious weed problems may find in the acreage program an excellent opportunity to rid themselves of the pests even while receiving pay for keeping the land out of production. Terms of the program call for controlling noxious weeds. Some farmers will go further by arranging to retire tracts where noxious weeds have been especially troublesome. Likewise, some will concentrate on getting rid of wild oats and other annual weeds.

If a farm has bad patches of leafy spurge, quack grass, creeping jenny, Canada or sow thistle, what better time to attack with chemicals and intensive cultivation? In effect, the Government money will help pay for weed eradication.

One farmer we know probably represents the thinking of many others when he says he'll work his idle acres into a regular crop rotation. His notion is that there'll probably be some kind of a Federal program to cut wheat and corn—and maybe cash feed grain—production for some time to come. He's thinking ahead in terms of shifting from cash grain to pasture, hay, and feed crops to support more livestock.

PREPARING NEW PASTURE

Some idle acres will be planted to grasses and legumes, not for harvest or grazing in the current crop year, but for plowing down as green manure or for pasture and hay next year if the same piece of land isn't designated as wheat or corn acreage reserve. This is a likely proposal, for such planting probably should be protected from grazing the first season anyway.

If increased livestock is contemplated, these acres planted to legumes now would work in naturally. For some, extra acres in grasses and legumes would provide better feed assurance for present livestock holdings.

Some may feel, like James Pfeiffer of Eddy County, that it pays to plant legumes if for no other reason than for the soil benefits from nitrogen and organic matter.

Acres out of crop production will be far from idle on some farms where contouring, terracing, grassed waterway construction, or gully control should be done. These are lasting improvements, as both William Robbie of Bon Homme County and Stan Johnson of Davison County are quick to point out on their own farms.

Again, such acreage will be partially paying its way even while major conservation projects get under way.

IDEAL FOR TREES

If farm plans call for more trees—field shelterbelts, for example—an ideal situation may develop. To get agricultural conservation program help on 1958 plantings, a site first must be fallowed, be cleaned of weeds, and be approved by a Soil Conservation Service representative. This could be acreage reserve land.

Summer fallow has been an established practice for many years in parts of Dakota. Moisture conservation, better fertility, and weed control are the objectives. The trouble with summer fallow, as generally practiced, however, is that land is exposed to blowing. Now even the value of black fallow as a moisture-conserving device is being questioned.

More and more farmers think their land should not go through a summer unprotected. Adequate cover not only protects land from blowing but also against washing during heavy rains. The greater part of the washing process starts when raindrops blast loose particles of soil. Cover breaks the force of the falling raindrop, shatters large drops into small ones that trickle slowly to the ground.

In addition, cover helps prevent raindrop splash from sealing the pores of the soil. This permits water to soak into the ground more rapidly. Living and dead cover slows down runoff. Each blade, leaf and stem acts as a tiny check dam which catches and holds soil particles that the water is carrying off.

BIG EVAPORATION LOSS

Thirty-two years of black summer fallow tests at the United States Northern Great Plains Field Station at Mandan show that 80 percent of the moisture over a normal fallow period of 21 months is lost, largely because of evaporation.

In a typical 21-month period, 32 percent or 2.16 inches was saved out of a total of 6.76 inches received in the first 8 months, August to April. In the following 5 months, April to August, when 8.60 inches of moisture fell, 18 percent or 1.58 inches were stored in the top 6 feet of soil. In the next 8 months, August to April again, only 10 percent or .71 of an inch was stored out of a total of 6.93 inches received.

This land normally was plowed on June 1 and was kept black or bare. Runoff was small, weed growth was kept at a minimum and took little moisture. Moisture penetration to deeper than 6 feet was slight, so evaporation caused most of the loss. Only 4.45 inches of the 22.31 inches that fell were saved.

Summer fallow can be carried out on acreage reserve and other land by other means than leaving the land bare, however. Some types of tilage implements will conserve moisture to a greater extent while still preventing wind losses. Soil cloddiness, surface roughness, and crop residues are important factors.

SUBTILLAGE BEST

Residues, such as crop stubble, stalks, or weeds are best handled in many places with a sweep-type implement, because this cuts under the material and leaves it in an erect position which is most effective against wind. The greatest surface roughness can be created by a lister. If residues are meager or absent, the plow, under some soil moisture conditions, is a good implement for creating a rough, cloddy surface.

The next best implement would be a properly angled, one-way disk which leaves the residue in a partial standing position. It is advisable to use a sweep-type implement for the second and third operation after the one-way, to keep the residue on top and not pulverize the soil.

In this connection, an experiment carried out three fallow seasons is of interest. When the average rainfall during April to September amounted to 12.42 inches, the runoff on bare disked ground amounted to 1.97 inches, as compared with 1.39 inches when 2 tons of straw were disked in and with six-tenths of an inch when 2 tons of straw were subtilled. In the same experiment, 13.04 tons of soil were lost per acre on bare disked land, as compared with 6.24 tons when 2 tons of straw were disked in and with ninety-seven one-hundredths of a ton when the land was subtilled.

BENEFITS BEYOND PAYMENTS

All of this is by way of saying that, while most Dakota farmers deplore having to take good acreage out of wheat and corn production, some farmers will realize a measure of benefit beyond their acreage reserve payments. These will include those farmers who've felt that soil-improving practices were needed but couldn't afford not to farm to the limit every season.

In making the best of an acreage-reduction situation, they also may reap several side benefits of lasting importance in their farming business.

Young Indians Seek Wider Horizons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Indian Students Do Not Plan To Return to Reservation," which was published in the Mitchell (S. Dak.) Daily Republic of April 2, 1957.

The article, which was written by Les Helgeland, State editor of the Daily Republic, is the result of surveys conducted among the Indian people of South Dakota, and gives some illuminating first-hand responses from some Indian students.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDIAN STUDENTS DO NOT PLAN TO RETURN TO RESERVATIONS

(By Les Helgeland)

FORT THOMPSON, S. DAK.—Indian youths attending the youth conference here last week were almost unanimously agreed that they would not return to the reservation after they complete their education.

In surveys made by the Daily Republic and the University of South Dakota Institute of Indian Studies, the more than 100 young people attending the conference indicated that they planned to leave the reservation after they had finished their education.

Those who m[illegible]e exceptions were those who thought that some industry should be

brought to the reservations and were willing to go back to the reservation provided that they could secure good employment in those industries.

But even the attraction of good money and better living conditions on the reservation did not appear to be an inducement to return to live on the reservation.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH DAKOTA SURVEY SHOWS SENTIMENT

A survey by the University of South Dakota group revealed that more than half of the young people answering their questionnaire would not return to live on the reservation even though they were to secure good pay for working there.

One Fort Thompson youth answered, "I think that I will probably finish high school and then start farming on the reservation."

Interesting was the fact that many of them doubted that there would be any reservation to return to. One youth, Bernard Drapeau, of Fort Thompson, said he questioned whether such a thing as a reservation would exist but added that he might return to the Crow Creek Reservation if some industry were brought to the reservation.

Mary Jane Eagle, of Fort Thompson, one of the young people selected for outstanding leadership during the conference, gave a "no" and "yes" answer to whether or not she plans to return to the reservation after she completes her education. She said, "It will depend on whether or not there is still a reservation. I would like to come back to my people and help them if I could."

Another Fort Thompson youth, 18-year-old Emery Loudner, of Fort Thompson, is of the opinion that the reservation will be a thing of the past. He says he plans to return to the reservation only for visits.

Where does he plan to go if not to the reservation? His answer: "Anywhere, but the reservation."

Loudner has hopes of going into engineering or teaching. He's a senior at Gann Valley High School this year.

Another youth said he wasn't planning to return to the reservation. "There's nothing to return for or to," he said.

Another student answered, "I plan to get out among the whites."

Wilhelmina Shields, of Fort Thompson, said, "No, I don't plan to return to the reservation. I hope someday to have a beauty shop of my own after finishing a course in beauty culture. I hope to establish my shop far enough away so I won't always be running back to the reservation."

Melvin Clifford, 17-year-old Pine Ridge student, said that he plans to return to the reservation only if he can get enough land to run a sizable herd.

STUDENTS SEE SOUTHWEST REHABILITATION

Sherman Cochran, 18-year-old student at Flandreau Indian Vocational High School, is another of those who makes no plans to return to the reservation. Cochran was 1 of the 2 Flandreau school students who were sent on a trip into the Los Angeles and other Southwestern States to study living conditions of Indian people and their rehabilitation.

Clarence St. Arnaud, of Austin, Minn., a senior at Immaculate Conception Mission, at Stephan, says that he has the ambition to continue his education and to enter the priesthood. He's among those who plans to return to the reservation.

The youth said, "Yes; if I reach my goal, I may be appointed to return to work with my people."

Shirley Apple, of Rapid City, a student at Holy Rosary Mission, at Pine Ridge, has hopes of continuing her education in medicine. She also hopes to return to the reservation to "help my people."

Likewise, June Crawford, a senior at Flandreau Indian School, plans to return to the reservation as a teacher—if reservations continue. She plans to get a degree in home economics.

Those are only samplings of opinions of the young persons attending the conference, but indicate the near unanimous views of this group of people—those in school and those already out of school.

They don't want to return to the reservation. They want to integrate themselves into the so-called "white man's community."

Opportunities for Continuing Study After College in the Fields of International Relations, the Social Sciences, and Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, a few days ago I received a letter from the American Association of University Women regarding certain matters of great importance to the welfare of this Nation. Generally, the letter urges favorable action on the administration's recommendations for funds for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, the international educational exchange program, the United States Information Agency, and the mutual-security program.

This group, Mr. President, is one of the outstanding women's groups in America. Its recommendations deserve careful attention.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION
OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN,
Washington, D. C., April 19, 1957.

Senator JOHN SPARKMAN,
Senate Committee on Foreign Relations,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR SPARKMAN: The American Association of University Women, an organization of 140,000 women college graduates, is organized into 1,366 branches throughout the 48 States, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Alaska, and Guam, and offers to its members the opportunity for continuing study after college in the fields of international relations, the social sciences, and education.

By convention directives, the AAUW supports economy in Government but we also believe that irresponsible cutting of the budget such as is advocated in current propaganda against the administration's budget proposals can jeopardize our Nation's well-being. We believe such cutting would represent in many instances false economy which at best would leave current problems unresolved, and which at worst could lead to multiplication of future expenditures and even endanger our national security.

Specifically, we strongly urge the Senate to restore the $36 million proposed by the administration as this country's contribution to international organizations including the United Nations. We recommend that funds earmarked for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, the International Educational Exchange Program, and other cultural exchange activities be appropriated as submitted in the budget and that the program of the United States Information Agency not be crippled by indiscriminate slashing. It is our belief that these activities are a United States contribution toward world peace, hence an integral and indispensable part of our foreign policy, not to be endangered by budget cutting.

We support the President in his belief that the $4,400,000,000 asked for the Mutual Security Program is the minimum for the next fiscal year in terms of the safety of the world; we regard it as cheap insurance for our own safety.

We support the budget requested by the Office of Education. Our studies have convinced us that the Office cannot effectively serve the American people without the sums requested.

We believe the appropriation of Federal funds to assist the States in school construction is essential.

We regard the full sums requested by the Women's Bureau and such agencies as the Food and Drug Administration to be warranted, for the constantly increasing demands for services from such agencies require increased budgets.

Sincerely,

DR. KATE HEVNER MUELLER,
Chairman, Education Committee, AAUW.
DR. MERIBETH CAMERON,
Chairman, International Relations Committee, AAUW.
Mrs. GERTRUDE HOUK FARISS,
Chairman, Status of Women Committee, AAUW.
DR. JANET MACDONALD,
Chairman, Social Studies Committee, AAUW.
ISABEL H. KIDENEY
Mrs. James W. Kideney,
Chairman, Legislative Program Committee, AAUW.

The Middle-Point Stones of the Mason-Dixon Line

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD T. MILLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, in these days when so much of our attention is of necessity focused on grave problems of the present and future, it is well to pause occasionally and let our thoughts dwell on important events in the past. By so doing we may relax a little and at the same time draw renewed inspiration from our history.

The General Assembly of Maryland at its recent session passed a joint resolution—Senate Joint Resolution No. 30—which recalls dramatic events of colonial days and a controversy finally determined by the decision of a British court which has had a profound impact upon the development of at least 3 or our original 13 States.

It is rather startling to realize that had that decision been reversed the site of the great city of Philadelphia would be today within the boundaries of the State of Maryland. The crucial middle point

stones of the Mason-Dixon line still stand at the border of the district I am honored to represent where they were placed nearly 200 years ago. Our former colleague, Senator George L. Radcliffe, and the various historical societies and interested citizens, who have been active in preserving our ancient monuments are to be congratulated for performing a truly valuable public service. Likewise, we and posterity are indebted to those who have labored and expended large sums to restore some of our most cherished shrines. Notable among these is famous Old Trinity Church, in Dorchester County, Md., built about 1680, the full restoration of which is rapidly approaching completion as a result of the generous and painstaking efforts of Col. and Mrs. Edgar W. Garbisch.

Shortly after Old Trinity was built, a branch or Chapel of Ease was erected on Taylor's Island, for many years one of the most active and prosperous maritime sections of tidewater Maryland. This chapel now is also being repaired and restored by one of the organizations headed by Senator Radcliffe.

Much of the history-making controversy involving the Middle Stone and whether or not Taylor's Island was in fact an island, revolved around the parish and area of Old Trinity. Likewise the chapel was prominently involved in dramatic historical events, especially when the middle stone was being placed and during the War of 1812.

But for the untimely death of one of our great citizens, Fred W. C. Webb of Salisbury, Md., the Middle Stone doubtless would have been appropriately featured before this as a shrine marking the beginning of the world-famous Mason and Dixon's line. It was a project near to his heart.

Joint Resolution No. 30 succinctly outlines this interesting chapter of colonial history.

Under leave granted it is herewith included:

Senate Joint Resolution 30

Senate joint resolution requesting the proper preservation of the so-called middle point marking the boundary between Maryland and Delaware

Within the boundary lines of Wicomico County, there are two ancient stone monuments placed at the middle point of the historical Mason-Dixon survey circa 1760 and 1768.

These monuments and the Mason-Dixon line itself are enduring testimony to the long continued, and at times acrimonious, controversy between the Lords Baltimore and the William Penn family over the determination of boundary lines between the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and also between Maryland and what is now the State of Delaware. This controversy was dramatic in nature and highly momentous in result. Large areas of territory were involved in these disputes before the Mason-Dixon line, which is the most famous State boundary line in the United States, was finally agreed upon prior to the Revolutionary War.

The far-reaching nature of this controversy is evidenced by the fact that had Lord Baltimore's contention been sustained as to what should be the correct boundary line, a large portion of Pennsylvania, including the site of the city of Philadelphia, would today be part of the State of Maryland.

As part of the larger controversy, there was also a long and protracted difference of opinion over the selection of the middle point, now called the middle stone, between the Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic Ocean for the purpose of determining the southwest corner of what is now the State of Delaware. In this dispute, the Penn family claimed that Taylor's Island in Dorchester County and the waters between Taylor's Island and the mainland of the Eastern Shore should be considered as a portion of the mainland. In the course of that controversy, a large map, the original of which is now in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, showed clearly that Taylor's Island actually was an island. This map was prepared in the year 1751 by Lord Baltimore and the Penn family.

If that controversy had been settled favorably to Lord Baltimore's claim, the boundary line between the States of Maryland and Delaware would today be approximately 2 miles to the east of its present location.

No effort could or should be made today to change the present boundary lines, but the great historic significance of the result of this controversy should be suitably noted and marked.

The United States Government recently has made resurveys and relocations of the Mason-Dixon line between the States of Maryland and Delaware, including the so-called Middle Stone, which marks the southwest corner of the State of Delaware.

Efforts should be made to feature this Middle Stone and other points closely involved in the dispute involving recognition of the crucial role played in the controversy by Taylor's Island. On this island, the Chapel of Ease, now standing and being restored by various contributors, was the local center of the discussion. This chapel was a branch of Old Trinity Church, built about the year 1680 and now in process of most careful restoration by Mrs. Edgar W. Garbish. As part of any such restoration work, it is the hope of the General Assembly of Maryland that the Wicomico County Historical Society will give its hearty assistance. This society, since the year 1933 has had as its primary express purpose the preservation of the heritage culture and historic relics and monuments of Maryland's colonial background. The Senate hopes also that the Sussex County Archeological and Historical Association, in the State of Delaware, will lend its assistance in this project.

The site on which the two monuments at Middle Point are located is part of a privately owned farmland some distance from a public road so that access to the monuments is only by the indulgence of the owners of the land. It is the hope of the Senate of Maryland that they will be made more easily accessible; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the General Assembly of Maryland, That the Wicomico County Historical Society, The Dorchester County Historical Society, and the Sussex County Archeological and Historical Association use their good offices to acquire from the owners of the land on which Middle Point is situated, a right-of-way or easement from the nearest public road of sufficient area to allow the construction of suitable protective devices around Middle Point; and be it further

Resolved, That in this work the joint action be enlisted of the State archivist of Delaware, the chief engineer of the highway department of the State of Delaware, and the board of natural resources of the State of Maryland, which board is authorized and empowered to accept funds from any organizations, corporations, or any individual, and to expend such funds in cooperation with authorized agencies of the State of Delaware; and be it further

Resolved, That efforts should be made by the two States to erect suitable monuments around middle stone, securing the necessary land therefor, and also that some marker or other form of recognition should be set upon historic Taylor's Island at the Chapel of Ease; and be it further

Resolved, That the State roads commission of Maryland be requested to place a suitable historic marker at one or more points along the highways of Maryland calling attention to the location of the historic significance of the two monuments at middle point; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state of Maryland be directed to send copies of this resolution under the great seal of the State of Maryland to the governors of the States of Maryland and Delaware and the Maryland Historical Society, the Wicomico County Historical Society, the Dorchester County Historical Society, the Sussex County Acheological and Historical Association, the chief engineer of the Highway Department of the State of Delaware and the State Roads Commission of Maryland.

The Aviation World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, Dave Johnson is a veteran Idaho newspaperman, and probably the foremost writer on aviation in my State. His column in the Idaho Statesman of Boise is entitled "The Aviation World" and is widely read. Dave is a war veteran and an officer in the Air National Guard.

On April 22 of this year, Dave's column in the Statesman reflected something of the philosophical concern which the World War II bomber pilot must feel as the pushbutton age threatens a holocaust many times greater than any he had witnessed.

I ask unanimous consent to have this well-written and thought-provoking column printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AVIATION WORLD
(By Dave Johnson)

The briefing was over and the lights on the map clicked off and the room itself flared into brilliance. The air was flat and wet and the cigarette smoke drifted in layers, dispelling around the opened door with a rush as they went out. Even the tropical steam blowing over the cliffs from the pounding surf felt good, after the briefing room.

The trucks were waiting and he tossed his parachute in with a jingling of buckles, clambered over the tailboard and went to the front of the vehicle. The others followed and they sat silently as the truck groaned and whined over the network of island roads to the field. In the darkness the headlights flitted from open space to tropical growth and the tension built up in him until in desperation he lighted a cigarette he didn't want and smoked deeply.

He hated trucks, and these quiet rides to flight line. If you could just walk from the briefing, a few steps, and be with the airplane. But the jerking, swaying truck ride,

with legs cramped back to avoid the parachutes piled along the center of the floor, was an agonizing, slow introduction to something that should move swiftly.

There was a peculiar smell in the truck. The sweat and dried salt in little white patterns on his flying suit mingled its odor with leather and a faint metallic tang from the heavily oiled automatic pistol stuck under his left arm. It was a smell that was familiar, and one that was part of the profession and at times it spoke of fellowship when they returned and crowded into intelligence. But sometimes it was a beginning.

The line was dark. The bulk of the B–29 was a shadowy substance, and suddenly a flashlight gleamed in the nose section and Birch, the bombardier, busied himself briefly and the light winked out but the aircraft had come alive. The 11 of them formed a human chain and lockstepped around the propellers, pulling them through to check each cylinder of the 4 engines for liquid lock. They counted the revolutions as they swung the propellers through and he remembered the day his father took him to a county fair and an Army pilot flew, and men started the airplane by swinging on the wooden propeller. He had a chance then to go for a ride but he squirmed and twisted and panted so trying to make up his mind that his father pulled him away and they went home.

They had the briefing at the plane, lined up in a row, rigidly at attention. The airplane commander went through the same routine ditching procedure, who does what, the parachute check, with each man cinching up his neighbor.

The start was easy. Number 2 coughed great quantities of smoke and flame and the ground crew moved uneasily forward with the carbonic gas bottles, but it settled down and ran smoothly.

All over the field the same thing occurred as the minute hand on hundreds of wristwatches crept over luminous dials. Position lights glowed and the four-engined monsters trundled into a long weaving line around the perimeter of the field and into takeoff position.

He moved the throttles forward and the aircraft gathered speed. They plunged into the night and the bomber stream unfolded behind and ahead of them. The B–29 thundered over the cliffs and there was a luminescent glimpse of the surf and they roared north to the Empire of Japan.

There was a lurid glow spreading over the nose of the airplane and a crackling, rippling blanket of purple electricity spread back around the cockpit. "I don't like that a damned bit," he murmured on the interphone and heard a laugh from the bombardier who sat in the middle of it all. They went to power condition two and the St. Elmo's fire vanished, rain drummed ferociously on the glass, and then there was nothing ahead but night.

The rendezvous was over a jewel-like island in a sparkling blue sea shortly after dawn. They gathered in the bombers and formed up the group and swept on to Tokyo.

Not a bomb was to fall. It was a show of strength. They were to see what they had done in the months past. The city was strangely hard to see at first. There was no skyline. It looked like a plain of red dust. Hardly stone remained on stone. An isolated white structure towered above the burned rubble. These were fleeting glimpses caught as he kept in the formation and tried at the same time to see. Another took the wheel later and he studied the city. Stark obliteration. Nothing.

Years later there is a frantic seeking to avoid the human element. They talk now about reentry problems, or how to keep a guided missile from turning to a cinder as it enters the atmosphere above a target after a flight through space. The horrors that could be wrought in an instant are fantastic compared to the simple destruction of a city through days and nights of pounding with conventional weapons.

The sweat that smelled in the truck en route to the flight line was produced of hours of wrenching and pulling at the controls of a lumbering bomber. The new odor is likely to be the acid breath of a tortured conscience as someone depresses a button and the down count to a new zero hour begins.

Mothers of Yesteryear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Mothers of Yesteryear," which was published in the Dakota Farmer of May 4, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

MOTHERS OF YESTERYEAR

This Mother's Day, 1957, as we look across our greening Dakota prairies dotted with modern farms, let us pay tribute to the pioneer mother. Undaunted, she faced backbreaking labor, extremes of weather, and terrifying loneliness. With sturdy self-confidence and strong religious faith, she madedo with what she had to create a comfortable home for her family and to unite with others to develop a thriving community.

Think on her, as you motor in swift comfort on a crisscross of pavement. She jolted in a stagecoach down the faint prairie trail; jounced in a buckboard behind oxen on the unbroken plains; tramped tedious miles behind a covered wagon, or sloshed through shallow fords and scrambled up the slippery banks.

In every direction lay this same land—flat or rolling, sandy or mucky—it was hers for the choosing.

TRAVELING TO DAKOTA

A minister coming to serve communities in the Missouri Valley in 1866, wrote in his letters home: "The roads between the towns, to which I traveled, were lined with grass, often 10 feet high. To avoid mud in the summer, I would go up the Missouri and skirt the bluffs until they turned up for the James River, and then go for miles through the tall grass. It was higher than my head when I stood up in my carriage.

"My compass was a sighting point on the river when entering the grass, and a straight trail afterward. Dry matches in my pocket were my fireguard in the spring and autumn months."

Mrs. Lola Lindbo, Billings County, describes the experiences of her husband's mother, a pioneer of 1882, who came into the Dakotas from Minnesota: "Seven covered wagons started together with all their personal belongings stowed away inside. Andrew's mother walked all the way from Canby to the homesteading site, 30 miles northwest of Watertown. On the way one of the wagons tipped over as it lurched through a rock-strewn stream, but little damage was done. With all hands helping, it was no time at all before the wagon had been pulled out and again was on its way westward. When the group found the spot to settle, everyone slept in the shelter of the wagons and camped out as best they could until living quarters could be built."

Mrs. Emma Franke, McCook County, tells of the wedding journey of Aunt Jennie Larson: "Christian Larson homsteaded just east of Bridgewater in 1878. In 1880, he returned to the Wisconsin farm to claim his bride, Jennie Hansen. The wedding festivities lasted for 3 days and 2 nights; guests gossiped of Indian uprisings and warned the young couple of the dangers they must face.

"Laughing at all fears, the newlyweds loaded household possessions on wagons, and followed by their livestock, the caravan started the slow, tedious, and seemingly endless, journey to the West. Their first sight of Sioux Falls was not impressive; just a few shacks perched along the banks of the Sioux River. Beyond, as far as you could see in any direction, the tall grass waved in the sun. Not a tree broke the horizon. Just a few crude buildings and dugouts in the side hills marked the path of men."

EARLY HOMES OF SOD

Building that first home on the Dakota prairies was never an easy thing. Most early settlers had very little money. Some families lived in dugouts, a few in frame shacks, but the majority put up sod houses.

Aunt Jennie Larson was one of the fortunate ones. As Mrs. Franke relates: "They had $30 to buy materials for their house and other buildings—but $30 went quite a ways. Aunt Jennie and her husband put up a homesteader's shack, a foundation with one large room, which was enclosed by nailing the boards on the inside instead of the outside of the framework. Out of money then, they couldn't finish the house that first summer. Jennie became quite expert at nailing the boards back into place when the heavy winds blew them in."

With few barriers, the Dakota winds did have great sweep. Mrs. Gerhard Hanson, the daughter of an early Brookings County minister, writes: "I remember the awful winds that swept everything that was loose. One day a bed tick filled with straw landed right in our dooryard. It had traveled, unharmed, for a mile from our neighbor's place."

No door or window ever faced the north in these early homes. Why give the piercing cold a chance to find a vulnerable spot? Sod houses were a foot and a half thick in wall width by the time the sod strips had been cut from the prairie and laid up without mortar. Inside, the house was warm and cozy in winter and cool in summer.

Boards were laid for the roof and covered with tar paper. Often the sod strips laid over the tar paper would begin to sprout with roots growing down into the ceiling of the room. Some homemakers covered these ceilings inside with flour sacks or muslin material nailed to the rafters. After the walls had settled, the inside black dirt walls could be plastered.

INSIDE THE HOUSE

A commonly used cookstove was a burner something like an ordinary wash boiler, made of sheet iron with the bottom riveted on. This contraption was placed on top of the stove after the stove lids had been removed. The boiler section was filled with hay or flax, and then turned upside down and the fuel was ignited. The draft from the pipe would keep the fire burning and the ashes would drop into the firebox of the stove. It is said that it did a splendid job of cooking, but it kept mother busy trying to keep food prepared for a big family.

Mrs. Lindbo describes: "Flax straw seemed to burn best; in fact, if the stove was filled tight enough, it would hold fire all night.

"Andrew tells that fire got started in the roof of their sod hut while they were eating breakfast one morning. Since there was no water handy, Andrew's father grabbed the milk crocks from the shelf and doused the flames with milk."

The supply of water was and continues to be a problem for Dakota folks. Art Adrian, Turner County, tells: "My mother, Elizabeth Buller, was the oldest of nine children. Her father died when she was 15, and she had to work hard to help her mother keep the family together. She pulled water from a well using a rope and bucket. It was almost impossible in the winter."

Pioneer families never knew when they would have extra folks to make comfortable. Arthur J. Landon, now of Ward County, relates: "We had a good well on our place and there was a pretty good road going past between Watertown and Sisseton, so the soldiers who were stationed at Fort Sisseton used to stop for water and give their mules a drink."

Vast space often lay between communities, and many a settler went to bed on a stormy night leaving a lighted kerosene lantern in his window to guide weary travelers in snow and rain.

Only a very lucky pioneer homemaker had a floor of matched tongue-and-groove flooring. Many families lived on the dirt with rag rugs over paper as a floor covering; some had wide board flooring.

FACING TROUBLES

Those first years in a sod hut were often bitter ones. Hail came the summer of 1880 to damage the crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes. The famous snows of the winter of 1880 lasted late into spring. Families were forced to break ice on the sloughs each day for water in the house and for the livestock. The holes were carefully covered so that they would not freeze so hard before the next day. Food became scarce, and the coffee grinder was used to grind corn and wheat for bread. Steps had to be cut through the huge snowbanks to get into the cattlesheds and down to the door of the house.

From the recollections of Mrs. Hanson come these memories of her mother's work in times of sorrow. "Mother's custom was to make the floral pieces for each funeral. She had several nice house plants to help her out in the winter. Two arbor vitae trees always supplied the greens for the wreath or cross which she would fashion. Many times, mother's wreath was the only floral tribute.

"Father had a case of homeopathic medicine and a 'Doctor Book' which was eagerly searched for advice. We were quite used to having someone come to the door in the dead of night to ask for aid.

"Mother, too, became quite efficient at putting drops of aconite, belladonna, nux vomica, and such medicines, on sugar lumps. The lumps were then dissolved in a glass of water, and administered at intervals by the teaspoonful.

"She made a nourishing soup or 'kavringer' (rusks) to send when folks were ailing. Many times the relatives would come back and ask that she make some more because it was the only thing the patient could eat."

Thus, through good times and bad times, the pioneer family managed to survive and thrive, bequeathing a rich heritage of stubborn determination to the Dakota of today. On this Mother's Day then, we salute the mothers of yesteryear.

If I Were the Parent of a Teen-Ager

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following essay:

IF I WERE THE PARENT OF A TEEN-AGER

(By Raymond W. Petkus, De LaSalle High School, senior, first prize (boy))

A child approaching the difficult period of adolescence has within him potentialities of becoming a useful citizen or a dangerous criminal. He may become the next President of our country or another Dillinger. What will he be? A tree swaying in the breeze or a solid oak with roots firmly in the ground?

A teen-ager desiring acceptance, knows not whether to join the ball team or the gang. The wise youngster would naturally select the team as a means of acquiring recognition. But what of the adolescent that joins the gang?

He is an affected individual who tries to win the admiration and attention of the gang by means of a bad reputation. He desires approval of the group and, at the same time, strives for independence. There is little place, however, for the egotistical and immature teenager.

If I were the parent of a teenager, I would keep his emotions controlled and directed. To make sure he is not depressed by life's sorrows, stampeded into premature and dangerous actions, or made cynical by the strange contradictions every day affords, I would bring the facts of everyday life together, assorting, sifting, and interpreting them to him so that he may form a real sense of values.

The need for affection is felt by teenagers; I would see to it that my child has ample opportunity for giving and receiving affection. I would fulfill his longing for companionship, understanding and acceptance, and respect his desires.

Teen-agers, whether they are timid, quarrelsome, boastful, or self-conscious, are usually victims of insecurity. I would insure security by including my child in the thoughts and plans of the family, thus assuring him that he belongs and is appreciated.

Serious conflicts within an adolescent—caused by lack of spiritual development—curtail his future happiness. I would take particular interest in the spiritual development of my child, as this bears directly on his character. And I believe that the family circle is the best place for establishing religious ideals, instilling reverence for God, respect for all His creatures, and appreciation of the moral laws.

If I were the parent of a teen-ager, I would develop him emotionally, give him affection and security, and above all, establish in him religious ideals. The teenager, having a mature outlook on life, would not fall prey to the infamous gangs that roam the streets of the city; on the contrary, he would have a fertile mind which, if developed, would be instrumental in the betterment of himself, the community, and the Nation.

The Voice of the People Against Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. GWINN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker the great majority of the witnesses heard and statements filed in 1,300 pages of testimony before our subcommittee of the House Education Committee were against Federal aid to school construction.

Yet, the subcommittee, before the testimony was printed and before the committee had any opportunity to read it, voted out a bill providing $500 million a year for 4 years, or a total of $2 billion.

The Committee of the Whole should reject it, but it will no doubt vote out a bill for $300 million a year for 5 years, or a total of $1,500,000,000.

This means, if divided among some 60,000 school districts, that each district will get one-sixth of a schoolroom, or about 5 seats per district.

Obviously, this legislation is—as it has been charged over and over—intended by the proponents, to be nothing but a "camel's nose in the tent." It amounts to dishonesty to talk about meeting an emergency, a shortage of classrooms, by any such proposed legislation.

It shows that the people who need schoolrooms—and there is a need—could not have petitioned the Congress for such an inadequate program. Indeed, this is not the people's demand.

The Government itself is the propagandist for this Federal aid. It estimated the shortages, or guessed at them. Then it became its own publicity agent to drum up support for its own programs and to establish the idea that there was an emergency the people could not meet for themsleves. This bill is positive proof that the Government itself believes the people cannot manage their own affairs for themselves.

The United States Office of Education representatives testified that the efforts of the people for their own children were inadequate, and that they should be compelled by Government in Washington to do more. Instead of using the word "compulsion," they often substituted the words "stimulate the States by the Federal Government" to do what they should do in the judgment of Washington.

Our own Government itself has become the public fomenter of the people. It prepared this legislation and sent it by messenger to the Congress to carry out—not the people's wishes, not the Congress' measures—but its own compulsions over the people with regard to their education. And it spent the people's tax money to propagandize its own programs at the expense of the people, and at the expense of our children.

It proposes to weaken some of the districts by taking their money from them and rewarding other districts according to the Government's own formulas of favoritism in return for votes.

In this business the great overweaning, powerful, pretending Government brings its own satellites to its support. For example, there is marched into formation one of the greatest lobbies; viz., The National Education Association. It has advocated, in season and out, for at least 25 years, Federal aid to education.

Then there is the Council of Chief State School Officers. Then follow in line various groups of Government employees, beneficiaries of Government or public grants and aids, subsidies, or tax exemptions. Government maintains its power by bringing to its support those having a beneficial or natural tendency to help each other to stay on the gravy train.

There is no evidence of a rank-and-file support for this legislation. The hier-

archy of the CIO–AFL officialdom, and the hierarchy of the parent-teachers association (but not the rank and file in either organization) testified for this legislation.

Aside from those above-mentioned groups, the people were all against it; that is, businessmen, doctors, farmers, bankers, taxpayers, school-board members, the American Legion, great numbers of patriotic societies from one end of the country to the other, chambers of commerce, taxpayers' associations, industrial councils, women's clubs, and the rank and file of such organizations. They reported their opposition in a great number of meetings across the country.

The statements filed also reported rank-and-file opposition at the grassroots. The character of this opposition is quoted below. Many individual school-board members testified and filed statements in opposition; so did State and county school-board members.

Fear of control by the Federal Government was general and outspoken. There was bitterness, too, that the Federal Government should try to shove Federal aid down the throats of the people whether they wanted it or not.

They insisted that they, the parents, the producers of all the wealth of the country, are taking care of their children and are building the necessary schoolrooms for an increasing population. The school taxes, they said, are very burdensome, much more burdensome than they should be because of the intolerable and inexcusable Federal taxes.

NO SCHOOL DISTRICT ASKED FOR FEDERAL AID

It should be noted that not a single school district out of some 62,969 sent a representative to plead in favor of Federal aid to education because it was too poor to meet its own need with local and State aid.

BANKER'S TESTIMONY AUGMENTED

Mr. William M. Adams, of the Investment Bankers Association of America, advised the Subcommittee on Education after his testimony that the sale of school bonds had jumped upward again. He wrote:

The sale of school bonds (i. e., bonds for the construction of public elementary and secondary schools) during the period from October 1, 1956, through March 31, 1957, have included over 1,397 issues aggregating over $1,124,245,000. If this amount is increased by the approximately 30 percent of total school construction funds ordinarily obtained from sources other than the bond financing, the school bond sales during this 6 months' period should provide school construction of about $1,606,064,000, which at the usual estimate of $30,000 per classroom would provide over 53,500 classrooms.

If the next 6 months of actual school bond sales is as good as the last 6 months, then money will be raised for 107,000 classrooms. Add that to the 69,200 classrooms financed prior to October 1, 1956, and scheduled on that date to be built during the school year 1956–57, and we have all told 176,200 classrooms, or 17,200 more classrooms than the 159,000 classrooms which the United States Office of Education itself guessed or estimated would be needed for the school year 1956–57.

The Investment Bankers Association reports that school bond sales are running nearly double those for last year, and each month shows an accelerating rate of school bond financing. If there was a schoolroom shortage last year, that is October 1, 1956, when the United States Office of Education collected its estimates or guesses, then the increased bond sales by the States themselves have far exceeded the proposed additional $300 million to be furnished by the Federal Government. This shows that the States themselves are meeting the need. The States are making the Federal Government's efforts look picayune, which they are.

THE AMERICAN LEGION OPPOSED AFTER CONSIDERATION THROUGHOUT THE STATES

Mr. Richard C. Cadwallader, a member of the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, pointed out that—

The tremendous scope of the youth and educational activities of the American Legion in about 18 programs have given it an insight and an informed opinion based on experience with the elementary and secondary schools in each of the several States through its 17,000 posts and the American Legion Auxiliary and have earned it the right to speak authoritatively on this matter.

He went on:

One of the primary objectives of the American Legion is to teach an understanding * * * of our American philosophy of government. * * * The American Legion believes that real freedom for the individual cannot be safeguarded unless the power of government is decentralized and restrained. * * * Federal aid is not the way to get good schools * * * the respective States have the capacity to meet their educational requirements if they wish to do so * * * it would seem impossible to have Federal aid * * * without at least the minimum of Federal control * * * and it invites the danger that in time the Federal agencies will want to prescribe the curricula, textbooks, other instructional materials, teacher qualifications, methods, and standards * * * and accounting and fiscal procedures. * * * History indicates that once Federal appropriations are made for any purpose, the tendency is for the affected groups to lobby for their continuation * * * the expenditures by States and local governments for education are already the largest and most expensive of any of their activities * * * State and local activities need no stimulating.

The conclusion of the American Legion is that—

Any objective analysis of the public-school system of the local communities * * * will inevitably lead to the conclusion that the pending proposals for Federal usurpation of the prerogatives of local school districts is unnecessary, unreasonable, unsound, and dangerous to the preservation of local vitality and initiative * * * if it should pass it would represent a tragic attack on the sovereignty of the States, the welfare of our people, our freedom as a nation, and our economic stability. * * * Above all, it would represent a surrender to the basic collectivist philosophy of communism. * * * The American Legion urges the Congress to reject * * * proposals to appropriate any Federal funds to general public education in elementary or secondary schools.

THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS, INC., OPPOSE

Pointing out that this program is held out to cover an emergency—to cure a temporary schoolroom shortage, the statement of the doctors showed that this is pure deception. They pointed out that last year, Dr. William G. Carr, executive secretary of the National Education Association testified before the Senate committee that—

As long as our schools are cut off from the most powerful and efficient and productive form of taxation that we have (Federal taxation, of course) so long will they fail to receive a reasonable share of the great wealth and income of our country.

Does this sound temporary? They go on to quote Dr. John K. Norton, head of the department of educational administration at Teachers College, Columbia University, who said:

Even if $500 million (a year) were voted for school building aid, it would represent only a first step toward adequate Federal participation in the financial support of education in the United States.

To the planners, the emergency is always permanent.

Once the new educational bureaucracy has established its foothold in the Federal Government, the bureaucratic employees will perpetuate themselves in their jobs by employing statistics to prove the existence of new emergencies—

To show Federal control, the doctors cited an 108-page booklet, Administration of Vocational Education, and a sentence on page 4 which reads:

Each State is required to submit a plan which must meet with the approval of the Federal Office of Education.

THE AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION

Mr. John C. Lynn, legislative director of this largest farm organization with a membership of 1,600,000 farm families in 48 States, said:

We recognize the problem * * * we are convinced that the people in the local counties and communities, we have farm bureaus in 2,600 of these 3,000 counties in the United States, can do this job * * * the result of intervention by the Federal Government could be to stymie initiative on the part of local people who will get the impression that if they wait long enough, the all-powerful Federal Government will come in and assist them. * * * Even though this legislation is labeled a temporary measure, we know from long experience that there is nothing so permanent as a temporary Federal program. Federal aid to education will certainly be followed by Federal intervention. * * * I cannot read pages 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 without getting the impression that there is a tremendous amount of control there in every opportunity under the provisions of this bill for the Federal Government or Commissioner of Education to dictate who is qualified personnel.

The Virginia Farm Bureau's executive secretary, Mr. M. A. Hubbard, testified that—

Our Farm Bureau members have continued to express firm and undiminished opposition to Federal aid to education.

The Massachusetts Farm Bureau, Inc., sent its executive secretary, Mr. Carlton I. Pickett, who testified in part:

When the School Building Assistance Act expires on June 30, 1959, it is estimated that about $525 million in school construction in Massachusetts will have been approved and built * * * our century old * * * school foundation program will continue * * * the foundation is there to see that every last

child in Massachusetts gets a required standard of education and the State must help any city or town to provide it * * * my group flatly holds suspect the encroachment of big Federal Government as a solution to all local problems.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE TAXPAYERS ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES AND OKLAHOMA PUBLIC EXPENDITURES COUNCIL

Mr. Steve Stahl, executive vice president and representative of both organizations, made the trip to Washington to tell the subcommittee that Oklahoma does not need Federal aid to education and he carried a fistful of facts. Among them was the information that underprivileged Oklahoma has increased its school revenues by 50 percent in 5 years, raised teacher salaries by one-third, increased school-bond issues more than 300 percent. The Evening World-Herald of Omaha, Nebr., March 23, commenting on Mr. Stahl's testimony in an editorial entitled "Throw the Bum Out," recounted an old familiar story:

"A man who goes to Washington to reject a handout from Uncle Sam might expect at least a courteous hearing. * * * But Mr. Stahl ran into 2 hours of heckling * * * they interrupted his prepared statement at every comma with scathing questions," wrote Allan Cromley of the Daily Oklahoman Washington bureau. * * * Mr. Stahl finally sat down, thoroughly frustrated, much of his typewritten statement unread. * * * Back home * * * he reported to his fellow Oklahomans that people who go to Washington with a tincup in their hand are welcomed royally, while those who don't want anything are given the "bum's rush." We hope Mr. Stahl is not too disheartened, and that others will be encouraged to join in his fight. The day may come when the "bum's rush" will be given to those who deserve it.

Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc., sent Mr. Edward J. Steimel, its executive director, to testify about the financial capacity of the State of Louisiana, district by district, for meeting its school-construction needs and of the willingness of the people to do that. He summarized:

I present information to show clearly that Louisiana—one of the poorest States according to the administration bill—not only does not need Federal aid but has unused bonding capacity after meeting its needs to equal almost one-third the total 4-year appropriation in the administration bill.

Mr. Steimel read a newspaper report quoting the assistant superintendent of schools of Louisiana as saying:

Louisiana can support her schools without Federal aid * * * of course, we would take it * * * but the control issue is very much present.

Connecticut Public Expenditures Council's executive director, Mr. Carter W. Atkins, showed that Connecticut was producing "a surplus of 547 classrooms for the school year starting September 1959 and a surplus of 521 for 1960. Connecticut has been and is now taking care of its school building needs without Federal aid. There is not the slightest doubt that it can and will continue to do so."

The Southern States Industrial Council was represented by Mr. Tyre Taylor, who stated this was an organization of industrial and business concerns in 16 southern States from Maryland to Texas, including Virginia, West Virginia, and Oklahoma:

The council opposes Federal aid to education, including Federal aid to school construction * * * because public education is a matter which should be controlled by the States and localities and not by the Central Government. We think the Federal Government is already too big * * * and that what is needed is some regard for the provision of the Constitution reserving the rights that are not delegated to the Federal Government to the States or to the people * * *. The council believes that Federal aid for schools, in whatever amount and however applied, and irrespective of the number and kind of so-called safeguards adopted, is the first step toward the nationalization of the schools * * * assuming the need * * * the States and localities are in a far better position to supply it than is the Federal Government—quoting Senator BYRD—"which is mortgaged to the hilt."

The United States Chamber of Commerce, was represented by Mr. Thomas A. Ballantine, chairman of the committee on education, and Dr. John R. Miles, manager of the education department. Mr. Ballantine testified in detail and Mr. John S. Coleman, president of the chamber of commerce, showed in a letter that as a result of a series of legislative clinics, and discussing this Federal-aid issue with thousands of businessmen, it was the overwhelming consensus of every group that—

The States and their communities are responsible for, and able to, finance the development of the school systems required of their citizens.

The national chamber regards as unwise and unnecessary the legislation now being considered by this committee * * * neither local reports nor the research of the national chamber indicates that an emergency now exists which would justify nationwide Federal intervention in the construction of school facilities * * * our investigations indicate * * * that no critical national shortage in classrooms has been or can be demonstrated to exist.

The New Jersey Chamber of Commerce spokesman was Mr. Leonard E. Best of the education committee. He pointed out that—

New Jersey does not need Federal aid, since it is one of the highest spenders on education among the 48 States.

Indicating that New Jersey does not want Federal aid, Mr. Best said:

In fiscal year 1955 Federal funds for education cost New Jersey $2.93 for each dollar received * * *. Federal tax relinquishment would provide a permanent source of Federal aid for school construction without the danger of Federal control over education * * * and would render unnecessary the creation of a Federal unit to administer the program.

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association, Inc., said:

There is no gainsaying the fact that much of the drive for Federal school aid comes from those who think the funds will be devoted * * * to equalization between the States. Most of the funds would not be used for such equalization.

They reported:

Of the $3.3 billion distributed in Federal aid programs in fiscal 1956, only 23 percent was channeled into the stream of equalization. The rest—77 percent—merely took a roundtrip to and from Washington.

The Illinois Chamber of Commerce was represented by Mr. Joseph W. Cavataio, who described in detail the Illinois need and the school problems commission recommendations to meet the need. He summarized by saying:

Illinois plans and is able to take care of its own problems.

The Wisconsin State Chamber of Commerce general manager, Mr. Frank A. Hausheer, said:

The job can and will be completed by those who know Wisconsin's needs best—State and local governments working in concert with the citizenry * * * we do not want this assistance at the expense of our neighbors * * * may not aid be solicited next to provide funds for school maintenance and teachers' salaries?

The Sheboygan County Taxpayers Association and Sheboygan Falls Chamber of Commerce, Wisconsin, was represented by Mr. Andrew J. Houwers, vice president of the former and president of the Sheboygan Falls School Board. He left with the subcommittee a study made to refute a national study purporting to show Wisconsin deficient in its ability to finance school construction. Wisconsin amended its constitution to liberalize local school-debt limitations and "recognizes its responsibilities toward its children. I believe your function is to develop that recognition and willingness in the States that may be lagging. Handing out Federal aid will not do it," he said.

The Ohio State Chamber of Commerce research director, Mr. Arch D. Schultz, presented a 61-page booklet, Facts About Ohio Schools, by Dr. C. J. Botte, of the research department, and a legislative report, Financing Ohio's Public Schools. Both indicate that Ohio can and will solve its own school problems.

The West Virginia Chamber of Commerce managing director, Mr. H. A. Stansbury, said:

The estimates of need are grossly exaggerated * * * 42 percent of the total present enrollment are housed in schoolrooms less than a dozen years old * * * the program continues during the current school year with $3,800,000 of county bond funds in hand on July 1, 1956, with $2,066,000 of such bonds having been approved and issued subsequently, and with more than $6 million of current or special revenues budgeted for buildings all of which adds up to another $12 million being expended by the 55 county school boards for school construction during the 1956–57 school year. The people of West Virginia are fully facing up to the responsibilities * * * of building their own schools without Federal help.

The Empire—New York—State Chamber of Commerce witness was Mr. Phillip C. Wolz, chairman of their education commitee. Mr. Wolz has been a commissioner of education in Rochester, N. Y., for 14 years and past president of the New York School Boards Association, Inc., so he speaks with experience and research knowledge of his subject. He points out that:

One of the bills you have under consideration proposes to make available $15.7 million of Federal funds that we do not need for school buildings that we are going to build anyway. To get the $15.7 million you propose to impose a tax of $48.1 mil-

lion upon our citizens as our share of the $325 million program. * * * In order to qualify for the aid we do not need we are required to appropriate an additional $32.4 million in matching funds. * * * Last calendar year the residents of our State spent $282,569,800 which was used to build 4,660 classrooms in 366 projects. * * * The whole proposal is a political hoax as far as providing additional education facilities for New York. Under the terms of this bill we would be able to provide 309 additional classrooms, which would cost us, under the tax burden we would be called upon to assume, $155,700 per classroom. * * * Without the benefit of Federal aid we are providing classrooms at an average cost of $51,000 * * * the aid formula * * * perpetuates the fiction that through such Federal aid the States with the highest per capita income contribute heavily to the needs of other States. * * * The fact is * * * that less than one-third of these funds actually will be channeled from some States to others, while more than two-thirds just makes a round trip to Washington and back * * * and they shrink on the trip, as the cost of administration is deducted.

A supplemental statement by the department of governmental affairs of the Empire State Chamber of Commerce, in answer to specific questions of mine, showed that all New York school districts are able to meet their own needs.

The New York State Federation of Women's Clubs' president, Mrs. William S. Shary, testified that 15 States do not levy a corporation income tax and 13 of these do not levy a personal income tax either—16 other States although they tax their own industry, will grant 5- to 15-year business tax exemptions to firms in New York and elsewhere which move to or expand within their borders. She said:

If tax money is collected in New York and spent for schools in other States, it would enable those States to build their schools partly at our expense and thus keep their own taxes low. * * * They use the lure of those low taxes to induce taxpaying, jobmaking business and industry to move from New York State. * * * Another danger * * * it could lead to Federal control * * * as in vocational education as set forth in House Document No. 529 of the 75th Congress * * * (this) "federally supported program has to a considerable degree become a federally dictated program * * *" until it is demonstrated that other States have exerted similar effort, there is no justification for a Federal aid bill which would take millions of dollars away from the people of New York and give to other States.

The Defenders of the American Constitution, represented by Lt. Gen. Pedro DelValle, and the Constitution Party of Virginia, represented by Mr. B. M. Miller, were opposed. They feared control and felt the States were willing and able to do their own school-construction jobs.

Mrs. Edith Stafford, president of the Los Angeles School Board of Education, and Mrs. Ruth C. Cole, member of the Board of Education of Los Angeles, Calif., reported:

We have a very great building program * * * we may be taxing ourselves more than other States are doing. Is it fair to be called upon to support programs in other States?

Mr. Carruthers A. Coleman, member of the Fayette County (Ky.) Board of Education:

The Fayette County Board of Education has gone on record as opposed to any further extension of Federal aid in the common school education system of our country * * * we have a * * * problem * * * we intend to settle it in our own State in our own way. * * * We feel the State of Kentucky has the means within its boundaries to furnish the kind of education its people want * * * and the kind of education which has produced some of our country's greatest people * * * some of whom never had any schoolroom at all * * * it is not our intention to shirk * * * responsibility * * * nor is it our intention to abdicate these powers by seeking Federal aid.

Mrs. Earl Maughmer, Jr., secretary, board of education, Houston, Tex., testified:

The Texas official delegation to the White House Conference on Education went on record unanimously in opposition to Federal aid to education. * * * We in Houston have * * * been passing enough bond issues * * * for school construction.

Mr. George P. Whitman, Jr., chairman, State School Building Authority of Georgia, and Mr. John Sims, director, State school building authority, State of Georgia, said:

We have either under construction or completed at the present time 14,461 schoolrooms and our present needs are 5,340 which we estimate will cost the State of Georgia approximately $88 million beyond the $200 million program we already have financed. Now, we plan to finance that program ourselves. I speak for the State board of education and the State administration. We do not believe in Federal aid to education in Georgia * * * we believe that when we come up with our hands out to Washington * * * that who controls the pocketbook controls the operation in the end.

Mr. Louis H. Schimmel, president, board of education, Pontiac, Mich., after explaining a unique plan for financing schools by the State of Michigan, said:

I feel that every State should make the effort to demonstrate that it is doing all it can to solve its own problem, such as Michigan has done; and if they do that, they may discover, as Michigan has, that they can do the job without any outside assistance.

The only evidence we have on the hearing record from any local school boards or districts is that they do not want or need Federal aid to school construction.

It is significant that when a resolution in favor of Federal aid to school construction was presented to the National School Boards Association meeting in Atlantic City, N. J., in February 1957 it was tabled by a 4-to-1 vote. This association is made up for the most part of nonprofessionals. They are the local officials whom the people elect or appoint to manage and finance the school districts in which they found the money for classroom construction.

In addition to the witnesses who appeared in opposition, the following national organizations and individuals entered statements on the hearing record of our committee in opposition to more Federal aid to school construction:

The National Association of Manufacturers' statement said, in part:

The heart of the matter is whether the financing, direction, and control of the public-school system shall remain in State and local hands, close to the people and responsive to their wishes and needs, or shall eventually be transferred to a central government authority.

The inadequate case for Federal aid they cited as follows:

The increase of school-age population is commonly cited to justify general Federal aid. The inference is that the school-age population has far outrun the growth in economic capacity. If it were true that the population as a whole were increasing faster than the Nation's economic capacity to grow, the result would be a declining standard of living. But this is not true. Nor is it true that the recent increase of school-age population has outrun our economic growth. The following figures show the relative increase of personal income and of children aged 5 to 17 years from 1950 to 1955. For this comparison, the States are ranked according to per capita personal income:

	Personal income[1]		School-age population, 5 to 17[2]	
	Increase 1950–55	Percent increase	Increase 1950–55	Percent increase
Highest quartile	$44,296,000	38.0	3,527,000	30.0
2d quartile	15,542,000	32.0	1,394,000	21.6
3d quartile	9,272,000	30.6	957,000	19.0
Lowest quartile	9,517,000	33.8	809,000	11.2

[1] Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business, August 1956.
[2] Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports, Series P–25, No. 151, Feb. 11, 1957.

Whether we take the 12 States with highest per capita incomes or the 12 States with the lowest per capita incomes, the figures show that income has increased faster than children. The 12 lowest income States have had the smallest increase of school-age population, both absolutely and relatively, and they have had next to the highest rate of increase in personal incomes. This group of States is coming ahead fast. The relatively small increase of school-age population is to be accounted for in part by the heavy migration out of these States in the preceding census decade. In the period 1940–50, the 12 States with highest per capita income in 1940 gained 4,595,000, and the 12 States with lowest per capita income in 1940 lost 3,032,000.[1] The relative shift continued to 1955. In the period 1950–55, the highest income States gained 7,308,000 and the lowest income States gained only 841,000. In the whole discussion of need and capacity there has been a confusion of two quite different things. * * *

The entire statistical case for Federal aid has been built on Circular 490 (of the United States Office of Education). The estimate of 80,000 classrooms needed to provide for excess enrollment and 79,000 rooms needed to replace unsatisfactory facilities, which has been set out in the statements of Secretary Marion Folsom to congressional committees and the press, is based on the data in this circular. In view of the irregularities and internal inconsistencies of the figures in this basic document, it is impossible to accept them for the purpose of proving statistical magnitudes.

The National Society Daughters of the American Revolution; the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies—100; and the Thirty-first Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, Inc.—18, inserted their resolutions in opposition to Federal aid to school construction in the hearing record with accompanying letters.

[1] Study Committee Report on Federal Responsibility in the Field of Education, p. 131.

Listed by States, the following statements in opposition to Federal aid to school construction were entered in the record:

Alabama State Chamber of Commerce, quoting State Superintendent of Education: "We do not know how many school classrooms are in use in Alabama."

Arizona Farm Bureau Federation.

Dr. George S. Benson, president, Harding College, Searcy, Ark.

California School Boards Association.

California Taxpayers Association.

Facts in Education, Inc., Pasadena, Calif.

Educational News Service, Fullerton, Calif.

C. T. Richardson, teacher, San Mateo, Calif.

California State Chamber of Commerce.

California Farm Bureau Federation.

Colorado Public Expenditures Council.

Colorado Farm Bureau, Denver.

El Paso County Republican Women's Club, Colorado Springs, Colo.

Connecticut Chamber of Commerce.

Karl E. Brandt, Wilmington, Del.

Georgia State Chamber of Commerce.

Associated Taxpayers of Idaho, Mr. Max Yost, executive manager: "the above information clearly shows Idaho does not need Federal aid for construction of * * * school facilities."

Taxpayers Federation of Illinois.

Illinois PTA Study Group.

We, the People, Mr. Harry T. Everingham, vice president, Chicago.

Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Inc., Chicago, Ill.

Indiana Legislature, memorial of, against.

Dr. D. L. Sharp, Anderson, Ind.

Henry Weis Mfg. Co., Inc., Elkhart, Ind., Mr. Paul W. Kerr, president representing.

Indiana State and Indianapolis Chambers of Commerce.

Iowa Taxpayers Association, Mr. Lyle R. Mercer, president: "Iowa has the borrowing capacity to finance the construction of these 550 classrooms, and many more."

Sioux City Journal Tribune editorial February 13, 1957: But Either Way the Richer States Lose. Same February 14, 1957, Woodbury Co., Taxpayers Conference Against.

Kansas State Chamber of Commerce.

Associated Industries of Kentucky, Inc., Mr. Rayburn Watkins, managing director: "Here are the facts that demonstrate * * * Kentucky not only can, but * * * already has faced up to its * * * problems."

Mrs. Paul L. Young, Kentucky teacher.

Free Men Speak, Mr. Kent Courtney, editor, New Orleans, La.

Madison Parish Farm Bureau, Tallulah, La.

Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, Inc.

Louisiana Farm Bureau Federation.

Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce, La.

Baltimore, Md., Association of Commerce.

Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations.

Greater Lansing Chamber of Commerce, Michigan.

Citizens Research Council of Michigan.

Detroit Board of Commerce, Michigan.

Missouri State Chamber of Commerce: "State is creating a temporary school building construction fund to demonstrate that Missouri is able, ready, and willing to take care of its own school construction shortages without any control, interference, or assistance from Washington."

Missouri Public Expenditures Survey.

Mississippi: Telegrams from Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin; Mr. Louis Alford, chairman, State educational finance committee; Mr. Wm. B. Neal, director of finance, State educational finance commission, Jackson, Miss.: "All districts can meet needs with State aid. * * * Federal aid not needed."

Mississippi Daughters of the American Revolution.

Mississippi Economic Council.

Clarion (Miss.) Ledger and Daily News editorial, March 17, 1957, the Folly of Federal Aid.

Montana Taxpayers Association, Mr. S. Keith Anderson, executive secretary, lists unused bonding capacity and comments: "Needs have not been great enough to put before the people for their vote."

Bozeman Chamber of Commerce, Montana.

Chamber of Commerce, North Platte, Nebr.

Hastings (Nebr.) Chamber of Commerce.

Nebraska Citizens Council, Inc.

Nevada, Ely White Pine Chamber of Commerce.

New Jersey Taxpayers Association, Inc.

Kingston Area Chamber of Commerce, Kingston, N. Y.

Glens Falls Chamber of Commerce, New York.

Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, Inc., New York.

North Carolina, Chatham Motors, Inc., Siler City.

McDaniels Lewis of McDaniels Lewis & Co., supporting Investment Bankers Association testimony, Greensboro, N. C.

Mooresville Chamber of Commerce, Inc., Mooresville, N. C.

Editorials, the Plain Dealer, January 29, 1957, Too Costly; February 7, 1957, They'd Have To Take It (Ohio).

National Federation of Independent Farm Organizations, Lucas, Ohio.

Editorials, Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, January 31, 1957, Congress Well Advised To Kill School Bill; Columbus (Ohio) Citizen, January 29, 1957, More Schools, at More Cost.

Oklahoma City Times, March 5, 1957, editorial, The Federal Aiders' Sorry Case.

Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce.

Pennsylvania Farmers Association, Mr. G. A. Biggs, president, Lemoyne, Pa.

Editorials in Catholic Standard and Times, by Archbishop John F. O'Hara, Philadelphia.

Mr. Graham Miller, Meriod, Pa.

Indiana (Pa.) Chamber of Commerce.

Associated Industries of Rhode Island, Inc.

South Carolina's Governor, George Bell Timmerman, Jr., made a strong statement against Federal aid.

Sumter (S. C.) Chamber of Commerce.

South Carolina Chamber of Commerce.

Governor Price Daniel, of Texas, a telegram and memorial of legislature against.

Angelina County Chamber of Commerce, Lufkin, Tex.

Catholic State League of Texas.

Texas Manufacturers Association.

Anderson County Chamber of Commerce, Palestine, Tex.

East Texas Chamber of Commerce.

West Texas Chamber of Commerce.

Utah Taxpayers Association, Mr. M. H. Harris, executive secretary: "Report of the Utah Conference on Education * * * and informed opinion is that Utah can and will take care of her own school building needs."

Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, Utah.

Virginia's Gov. Thomas B. Stanley opposed.

Virginia, Arlington School Board member, Mrs. Helen S. Lane.

Virginia teacher, Suzanne R. Dickson, Falls Church, Va.

West Virginia, Southern Coal Producers, Charleston, Mr. Walter R. Thurmond, secretary: "Disturbed by huge budget * * * (it is) outside province of Federal Government and need for school construction has been tremendously exaggerated. * * * Governor Underwood * * * said what West Virginia needed was not a tremendous building program so much as it needed improved teaching."

Wyoming, Gov. Milward L. Simpson, and a joint memorial of the State Legislature of Wyoming, against.

Casper (Wyo.) Chamber of Commerce.

In addition to these witnesses and statements of record before the Subcommittee on Education, there have come to me letters, editorials, reports, and telegrams from individuals and organizations in about 40 States in opposition to more Federal aid to school construction. I have received more than 200 letters urging reduction of the $71.8 billion budget, many of them growing out of this Federal aid controversy.

Governor Timmerman, of South Carolina, in flatly refusing Federal aid to schools is outraged by Washington which he says is possessed "with a blind prejudice against representative government, with which the moguls of centralization go left-winging along in a frenzied rush to outdo the other side of the Iron Curtain in nationalizing everything presently involving a free people's choice." Referring to the quickie questionnaire the United States Office of Education put out to prove that the generous, and most-kind Uncle Sam taxpayers' own money, should build our classrooms, he said:

> The figure 1953 (classrooms needed reported on Circular 490 of the U. S. Office of Education) is not a statistic of a shortage that is not being met. * * * In no sense does it reflect a need for Federal aid * * * it is an estimate of a need which was being met. We in South Carolina are opposed to Federal aid for education.

His testimony describes what he calls the guess-estimate figures and how, if the questions answered by the States did not suit the United States Office of Education, it fired back the questionnaire maybe to someone who would give the United States Office the kind of answer it wanted. This is one case in point. It happened in other States. Some of these were North Carolina, South Carolina, Colorado, Michigan, West Virginia, and Oklahoma.

A copy of a letter from the superintendent of Pinal County schools, Superior, Wis., to the president of the American Association of School Administrators, March 20, 1957, confirms the suspicion that some pressure was put on school superintendents to report maximum need which would result in a panic starter:

> I do know that our own State department of public instruction used its best persuasive powers to encourage local superintendents to paint as dark a picture of the school housing situation as possible here in Arizona. This was done with the avowed purpose of encouraging Federal aid for school building and at the same time establishing as high a claim as possible on any Federal funds that might be set aside for school building. * * * If the United States Chamber of Commerce has challenged the veracity of some of these statistics and of some school men by inference, perhaps you should be a bit careful calling their hand. It just could be that they could prove their position. * * * When it comes to inflating a minor fact into a mountain of fancy, our brothers in education do not have any trouble holding their own with a California real estate salesman or even Arizona dude wranglers.

GOVERNORS AND SOME LEGISLATURES HAVE SAID "NO"

Gov. James E. Folsom, of Alabama, a so-called poor State, is strictly opposed, saying:

Federal school aid would mean they'd try to control our schools.

Gov. William G. Stratton, of Illinois, publicly declared:

We do not need Federal aid for schools in Illinois.

Gov. Price Daniel, of Texas, in his message:

I shall continue to fight with all the vigor at my command against further encroachment by the Federal Government upon the rights of our State and our people.

In a telegram to me he said:

Texas is meeting the problem * * * without reliance or help from Washington.

The Texas Legislature has memorialized Congress in opposition to Federal aid to school construction.

Gov. Harold Handley, of Indiana, told the legislature that the shortage of classrooms is not as critical as the advocates of Federal aid to education have indicated:

We are providing these new classrooms twice as fast as the advocates of Federalized education say we should be building them.

The Indiana Legislature memorialized Congress against this legislation.

Gov. Milward L. Simpson, of Wyoming:

We do not need any more Federal aid to education, and memorialized their legislature against Federal aid.

Gov. Thomas B. Stanley, of Virginia, said in New York, February 2, 1957:

I am vigorously opposed to any Federal-aid program in this field under whatever guise it may be offered. The States and localities are capable of meeting their needs at much greater economy to the taxpayer without Federal aid or intervention in building and operating their public schools.

The late Congressman Lesinski, of Detroit, Mich., a former chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, said as chairman of the committee when it refused to vote out a bill:

It is impossible to draft a general Federal-aid bill which will not contain a great degree of Federal control over local school systems. * * * I am convinced, after the hard study we have put to the question, that no acceptable bill preventing Federal domination of local schools can be drawn. I reluctantly come to that conclusion, but I had to face the facts.

The weight of the evidence on the hearing record, by the citizens who must pay the bills, and the sentiment expressed in messages to me from all over this country, is against further Federal aid to school construction. It is not needed. It is not wanted.

Let us reduce the budget instead of raising it. Let the people back home, who want freedom, manage their own schools.

Those who have not testified may want to tell their Congressmen and Senators their position in this matter.

Mentally Retarded Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including 4 articles written by Blair Justice and published by the Fort Worth Star Telegram as part of the noteworthy series on mentally retarded children. In these articles, Mr. Justice explores the difficult environmental adaptations confronting these children.

The articles follow:

THE TRAINABLE—VII: TWO BOYS ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY, FIND HAPPINESS IN ACHIEVEMENT

(By Blair Justice)

"Cullom bathes and dresses himself. He can tie his shoes and shine them. He fixes his own breakfast on Saturday and Sunday—fries bacon, eggs, and butters his toast."

Mrs. Sue Jones, of 407 N. W. 12th St., was talking about her grandson whose guardian she is.

Cullom Jones is 14 years old and for 5 years has been in a locally supported class for trainable mentally retarded children at West Van Zandt Elementary School, University and W. Lancaster.

When last tested, Cullom's I. Q. was believed to be about 41 (the "average" child's I. Q. is around 100).

"He shows a sense of responsibility now and consideration for me," continued Mrs. Jones.

PRESENTED PROBLEMS

"He mows lawns in the neighborhood and baby sits for 50 cents an hour. He goes to the Boys' Club alone—about six blocks from home—and works under supervision making models of boats and airplanes.

"He can walk alone to Sunday school, which is about five blocks away.

"I don't consider him a problem but a real joy."

Cullom Jones was not always a joy to his grandmother. Five years ago he presented problems.

When his teacher, Mrs. Lelia Siemoneit, first took charge of Cullom and four other retarded children still with her, this is the way she said he was:

His coordination was so poor he was afraid of steps and would hold on to the rail with both hands when using a stairway.

His speech was limited to single words; he used no sentences.

He couldn't follow directions.

He was stubborn and hard to discipline; he possessed a great fear complex and cried easily.

RESPECTS AUTHORITY

The picture a parent or guardian has of his child and the picture that the child's teacher has is different in many cases. This applies to so-called normal pupils as well as the retarded children being presented here.

Cullom's grandmother frankly says that 5 years and more ago the boy was in fact hard to discipline and did have a bad temper.

Now, says Mrs. Siemoneit, the boy respects "proper authority and has a sweet disposition. He has overcome his fear complex and is very lovable.

"His coordination is greatly improved and he walks upright up and down stairs. His attention span is long enough to listen to stories, music and watch picture shows.

"His speech is greatly improved and he talks in sentences. He follows directions well and he can take messages to different rooms in the school," said the teacher.

This is a before-and-after vignette on one of the original five children who started in the trainable class when it was first organized by the Fort Worth Independent School District.

Here is another child, Monte Young:

Unlike Cullom, Monte has physical manifestations of his retardation. He is a mongoloid. Like Cullom—and most other retarded children in the trainable group—he had problems with speech, coordination and behavior, shyness in his case.

(It should be remembered that when a brain is damaged or improperly developed, as is the case in mental retardation, then more than just intelligence is likely to be affected. The brain areas believed to control speech and motor function—coordination—may also be involved.)

Monte, says Mrs. Siemoneit, "respects authority now and comes in the room by himself, most of the time hugging his teacher's neck." (Mongoloids, some authorities generalize, are likely to be affectionate.)

TIMIDITY OVERCOME

"He plays games well and square dances. He listens well to stories and music. He can say his name and many words," said the teacher.

Monte can take care of his personal needs now and go on errands to the school office, Mrs. Siemoneit added.

When he first joined the class, the teacher said he was—

"So timid and shy he would stand outside the schoolroom door until he was led in.

"Afraid of steps because of poor coordination.

"Had an attention span of practically zero.

"Had no speech in class, uttered only 'boo-boobooboo.'

"Had to be assisted in toileting."

At home, according to Mrs. Siemoneit, who gets reports from Monte's mother, "he now talks all of the time in sentences. He gets much pleasure out of watching television.

"BOTH BOYS HAPPY

"He can now bathe, dry himself and use powder. He can dress himself and buckle his shoes. He is helpful around home, carries out trash, looks in the oven to see if bread is done, pops his own popcorn, fixes his own cereal, refills the sugar bowl when it is empty, fries sausage, helps his mother in the kitchen.

"He can also mow the lawn under supervision. He behaves perfectly in church and respects his own and neighbor's property."

Monte, 12, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Homer Young, 4210 Broadway Ave. He has 2 older normal brothers and 1 older, normal sister.

These achievements, when compared with those of an average child the same age as Cullom and Monte, may appear small. But to the boys' families, they are enormous.

What they mean to the boys themselves can only be measured by the happiness that each seems now to possess.

THE TRAINABLE—VIII: ACTIVITY LIMITED, BUT RETARDED MASTER LIVING WITHIN ONE CIRCLE

(By Blair Justice)

What is the aim of education?

Are classes for trainable mentally retarded children just "baby sitting" as some critics—including some teachers of the so-called normal—charge?

The second question can't be answered without an answer to the first.

Here's what Dr. Elise Martens has said on the subject as chief of the department of exceptional children and youth in the United States Office of Education:

"Education for the mentally retarded is not different in its aim from education for any group of children.

"This aim is to teach the individual how to live better; to teach him to use all his capacities; to teach him to become a useful and contented member of the social group.

"The aim is always to make him a better and more efficient member of the group in which he lives."

HAPPY AND CAPABLE

The group in which the trainable child lives is largely confined to his family or to the residential school (institution) at which he might be enrolled.

Because he has less than half the intelligence and capacity of the "average" child, his world is necessarily limited. But he can become more useful and efficient within that world.

Here is how Jean Backes, 16, an original member of the trainable class at West Van Zandt Elementary School, has become more useful and efficient:

"Jean washes dishes thoroughly," says her half sister, Miss Margaret Heron, a checker at a supermarket. "She can prepare herself a meal from easy-to-cook food. She takes deep interest in chores around home. She sanded and varnished apple boxes for book cases." (Her class does handicraft work.)

Jean lives with her sister and mother, Mrs. Gussie Backes, at 2737 Merrimac.

"She is a happy child and affords mother and me much joy," the sister said.

"She has become capable of staying alone. She has a deep interest in movies on television and she dances to—and tries to sing—some of the musicals."

HELPFUL TO OTHERS

Jean has a paralysis on the right side, which affects her speech.

Again, what she can do now may not appear significant when compared with the performance of an average child her age.

But take a look, from the viewpoint of her teacher, at Jean Backes 5 years ago:

"She didn't respect proper authority," according to Mrs. Lelia Siemoneit's case history on her. "She giggled a lot, she tried to discipline classmates.

"Her coordination was very poor; she displayed little interest in anything. She used single words, which were hard to understand. She couldn't follow direction and she didn't get along well with classmates. She did have a good sense of rhythm."

The 1957 Jean Backes, according to Mrs. Siemoneit's report, is like this:

"She respects proper authority and she has gained a lot of self-control. She handles herself well and is very active. She shows much interest in stories and music and picture shows.

"Jean's speech has improved, but she is still difficult to understand. She does use sentences.

"She follows directions well and she gets along with classmates much better. She is a wonderful room helper. She is helpful to less capable children."

HEED CAUTIONS

Jean, said Mrs. Siemoneit, also can write her name without a copy and recognizes 15 to 20 sentence strips, although these things are not considered among the most practical needs of the trainable child.

Jean Backes rides unassisted on a public bus to school, as does John Castro, 12, of 2512 Pearl, who even transfers en route. John is another of the original five in the trainable class.

When the world of the retarded child is expanded to the world of public conveyances and crowds, it is necessary for him to be trained to cope with it.

Jean and John and others in their class of nine recognize such words as "Stop," "Go," "Walk," "Exit," and five can tell their teacher what each means.

The children in the West Van Zandt class also are given practice in recognizing—and saying—other simple words such as dog, cat, sheep, horse, school, slow, pig, rabbit, baby, cow. Two in the class show no recognition of any of the words.

Jimmy Wrinkle, 16-year-old mongoloid son of Mr. and Mrs. Vivion Wrinkle, of Axle, can do down a list of a dozen such words without missing more than 1 or 2. He also is an original member of the class.

MUSIC GREAT HELP

Jimmy, as do 1 or 2 other boys in the class, makes himself a litle money on Saturdays performing small tasks. He wraps coathangers at a cleaning establishment.

Jimmy also is a good square dancer, his teacher says. The trainable do considerable dancing and listening to records and this may partially explain the belief of some that such classes are simply baby sitting and entertainment to relieve tired mothers at home.

Mrs. Siemoneit, whose original five children couldn't even perform London Bridge 5 years ago, thinks that promenading, Virginia Reeling and doing the schottische develops coordination—something most of the trainable need badly.

The dances also give training in following directions and doing things in proper order.

As for listening quietly to music, part of being useful is knowing how to entertain oneself.

THE TRAINABLE—IX: EXPERTS APPRAISE ENVIRONMENTS BEST SUITED FOR RETARDED CHILDREN

(By Blair Justice)

Where is the best place for the trainable mentally retarded child?

Most authorities believe the retarded child, like any other, is an individual and what is perferable for one may not be for another.

One trainable child might respond best in a public school atmosphere. Mingling with normal pupils in the corridor, restroom, lunchroom, and playground might not hamper him in the least.

For another the more sheltered environment of a children's opportunity center might be more suitable.

There, during school hours, he would associate only with his kind (except for teachers and visitors). Meeting and mixing with others more fortunate would come only after hours in his neighborhood and wherever his family might take him.

A THIRD CHOICE

There is yet a third environment that is open to the retarded child, the trainable child in this case.

This is the environment of a residential school, private or State. The trainable constitutes approximately 65 percent of the admissions at the Austin State School, one of the four State institutions in Texas to which the retarded are admitted. (The other three are the Austin State School Farm Colony, Mexia State School, and Abilene State Hospital.)

As of last June, admission records show there were 200 persons from Tarrant County in the 4 institutions, and about 65 percent are assumed to be in the trainable group (the "middle" group, made up of cases that fall between the most retarded group and the least retarded group).

If the trainable are to be given greater opportunities through State support, a number of authorities think some decision should be made as to which of the three environments is best for the biggest number of trainable children.

A $60,911 study has been started by the University of Texas to help in this decision.

Under the supervision of the educational psychology department, the study will compare the advantages of each of the three environments: public school facilities, local segregated facilities, and State residential centers.

Children's Opportunity Centers fall under local segregated facilities. Fort Worth has one at 3208 Ivey; the one to be used in the study is the Austin Children's Opportunity Center.

The immediate problem to be investigated in the study is the feasibility of including the trainable child in the public school program.

A bill is before the legislature to include the trainable in school funds received by local districts for classes for "exceptional children"—meaning handicapped children who cannot attend regular classes.

PUBLIC SCHOOL CLASSES

Many persons assume that under this bill classes for the trainable would be in public school buildings.

Senator Bracewell of Houston, one of the authors of the bill, says there is nothing in the law under which the trainable would be included requiring that classes be established in public school buildings.

This is one reason that it is important to study the trainable child in an atmosphere outside the public school building.

This series so far has presented a look at some members of the trainable class at West Van Zandt Elementary School. This class, under the direction of the special education program of the Fort Worth Public Schools, is financed strictly by local tax money and cannot, under present law, draw State support from the so-called Gilmer-Aiken funds.

Only a 2½-year study such as the one being directed by Dr. John R. Peck at the University of Texas can come, even close to an answer in comparing the public school classroom, the Opportunity Center atmosphere and the State residential school.

This series will make no attempt at concluding which is best for the trainable child. Such conclusions can be made only in a controlled study—one in which all factors but the atmosphere are essentially the same—conducted by authorities in mental retardation.

However, since the Children's Opportunity Center here provides programs for the largest group of trainable children in Fort Worth, it will be useful to take a look at some of them.

THE TRAINABLE X: BEHAVIOR FIRST MAJOR PROBLEM WITH SOME RETARDED CHILDREN

(By Blair Justice)

Judy Ann Shipp, now 9, threw her shoes out of the window of the Red Cross station wagon taking her to the Children's Opportunity Center. She bit and pinched the volunteer driver.

David Lee Roberts, now 7, was so hyperactive that he couldn't sit still in class for even a few minutes. He was constantly on the move in the classroom and seemed not to listen when spoken to.

These are reports from the files of the Children's Opportunity Center, 3208 Ivey, on 2 of the 46 boys and girls attending classes there for the trainable mentally retarded.

This, according to case summaries, is the way the two were when they started attending classes.

This is not the way Judy and David are today.

The two were picked to illustrate a vital part of the training of middle group retarded children (the group between the least and most retarded cases).

Training for children such as Judy and David so often must start with helping the child's behavior.

If society's stigma against the retarded is to be broken, authorities feel that certainly behavior of the child must be made as acceptable as possible.

This, of course, is not the only reason that emphasis is placed on behavior in training of retarded children.

OBSTREPEROUS CASE

In 1954 Judy Ann, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William F. Shipp of 2807 Rosen, was enrolled at the Opportunity Center as a mongoloid child with no previous training.

She was provided transportation to and from home by the American Red Cross Motor Corps.

"Judy was loud and obstreperous in the station wagon," her case summary reports.

"Red Cross displayed pure courage in line of action when the volunteers made it to school with her. She threw her shoes out of the window, she hollered, bit, pinched, and hit.

"She used the uproar method of getting attention. This, of course, continued in the class group. It was terribly effective.

"We used isolation and consistent discipline. * * * She was shown love and security no matter how negative her actions.

"It took 6 months before she responded."

That was the 1954 Judy Ann Shipp.

This, according to her case summary, is Judy now:

"She sits as an attentive member of the class and can perform with her hands, can follow directions and get along with other children.

NOW ATTENTIVE, HAPPY

"She cares about it all—Judy is happy. The teacher's patience and understanding have been rewarded. The volunteers have been paid in 24-carat fees. And the parents? Just as no one can place an estimate on the depth of their problem, no one can measure the magnitude of their joy and appreciation."

Many of the trainable are called hyperactive, David Lee's designation when he entered the Opportunity Center in September 1955. This description is most frequently applied in so-called brain-injured cases, a vague term that medical authorities in mental retardation refuse to use. The hyperactivity is believed to be a product of injury or damage to the brain.

David Lee began having convulsions at 3 months of age and still is on medication, which has spaced the seizures to about 1 every 14 weeks, according to his files.

When his parents, Mr. and Mr. B. L. Roberts, of 2412 South Jones, were asked what they wanted most in the way of improvement in their child, they replied: "Self control, obedience, and getting along with other children."

David, who has no physical manifestations of retardation, could not profit from training at the center as long as he failed to sit still and listen to the teacher.

Slowly David has reached the point of being able to sit still.

"Self-control continues to be a problem," his file says, "but his negative attitude has changed so that instead of being on the move to avoid following directions or participating, we know that he is now so interested that he is quick to accept a situation, learn it, and quickly move on to another project."

David's IQ is believed to be on the borderline—considered arbitrary by some—accepted as separating the trainable from the educable mentally retarded. The trainable are considered to have IQ's below approximately 50 (but no lower than 25 or 30) and the educable, IQ's above 50 (but not higher than 70 or 75).

Parents of David and Judy, as well as parents of all children at the center, receive periodic report cards on their sons and daughters.

No effort is made to grade the child. A summary is provided in attitudes and behavior and skills (music, speech, motor coordination, habits in self-help, and others).

Children's Opportunity Center, which has grown from 2 mothers working with 6 retarded children in classes held in a garage in 1953, is supported by the United Fund, tuitions and direct contributions.

Its white one-story frame building is provided by the Fort Worth Independent School District.

Address by Secretary Benson at Minot, N. Dak., May 7, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OTTO KRUEGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, in no State of the Nation are the problems of agriculture of more concern than in North Dakota. None has an economy which is so dependent on the condition of its farmers. Today these farmers, and in particular the wheat farmer, face a real crisis. While the answer to their problems has not yet been advanced, the nature of them has been clearly stated. Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, in a speech delivered last night in Minot, N. Dak., before a gathering of the Greater North Dakota Association, summed up the problems, particularly those of the wheat farmer. Because this is something of concern to all the Members, herewith is the text of Secretary Benson's address:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE EZRA TAFT BENSON BEFORE GREATER NORTH DAKOTA ASSOCIATION OF NORTH DAKOTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, MINOT, N. DAK., MAY 7, 1957

This opportunity to meet with you of the Greater North Dakota Association is not only a privilege. It is a challenge—and I welcome it.

I like the aims of your organization. You speak of North Dakota as a land of new frontiers. Your eyes and your hopes are fixed on the future.

It is about the future prosperity of your agriculture that I want to talk with you tonight. Of all the States, none depends more on agriculture as the source of its wealth than does North Dakota. You lead the Nation in the production of hard red spring wheat, durum wheat, barley, flaxseed, and rye. The plain fact is that North Dakota can be prosperous only when its farmers are prosperous.

With increased income from wheat, potatoes, dairy products, and other sources your realized net income per farm in 1956 was 12 percent higher than in 1955—and 41 percent higher than in 1954.

You are not out of the woods but things are looking up.

I hope in my address tonight first to impress upon you that we in the Department of Agriculture—deeply—sincerely—earnestly—want to serve you and all the farm people of this land, and secondly to share with you some thoughts about how all of us, working together, can help to develop the expanding, prosperous, and free agriculture we all seek.

We must not hesitate to talk facts frankly and honestly.

I am aware that Government actions in Washington—no matter how sound, well-intentioned, and calmly reasoned they appear to us—sometimes increase blood pressures out here in the Middle West and elsewhere.

Permit me to report a few vital facts.

Prices received by farmers have turned upward and today are 3 percent above a year ago. The high prices of the war and postwar periods were due to war and the insatiable demands of war. They were not due to price support at 90 percent of parity. Much of the time prices were above the support level.

Farm real-estate values in North Dakota are now at an alltime peak, 11 percent above the level which prevailed when the present administration came into office. Evidently a good many North Dakota farmers feel confident of the future.

Sixty percent of the much-advertised decline in the parity ratio took place before the present administration took office. Ninety percent of the decline took place while high rigid wartime price supports were in effect.

The much-publicized decline in net farm income began 10 years ago. Incomes have declined every year since then but two. One was the wartime year, 1951; the other year of peace, 1956. Last year net farm income rose 4 percent. A further modest increase is expected this year, 1957.

The peak of net farm income was reached in 1947. Gross cash farm income from marketings is higher today than it was 10 years ago. The reduction in net income is a result of higher costs, not lower gross income.

I know that farm people are in a price-cost squeeze, and I do not minimize its difficulties. I farmed myself out in Idaho during the period after World War I and I know from personal experience what it means to be squeezed by rising costs.

Some things farmers need always to remember. A Government warehouse is not a market. Once a commodity gets into a Government warehouse there are only three things you can do with it—force it into the domestic market, which lowers the price structure; get rid of it abroad, which may upset delicate international relationships; or let it spoil, which the American people will not condone.

Tonight I want to talk about the road ahead for agriculture, and primarily about wheat, which brings in 40 percent of North Dakota's farm income.

To use a well-understood phrase, "Let's get down to cases."

About 2 weeks ago, the Department of Agriculture announced the minimum national average support price for 1958-crop wheat in the 36-State commercial area at $1.78 per bushel, if quotas are approved.

Though the wheat carryover is being reduced this year by more than 100 million bushels, it is still tremendous. The wheat supply for the 1958–59 wheat-marketing year is now estimated at 41.8 percent above the normal supply. Under the law, if the total supply is more than 30 percent above the normal supply, a support level of 75 percent of parity is indicated. This figures out to be the minimum national average support of $1.78 per bushel.

Some people have asked, Why not continue price support on wheat at the $2 level applied to the 1956 and 1957 crops?

Price supports for wheat at levels which have prevailed in the past have had a trial. They have not produced conditions satisfactory to many farmers.

Support levels of the past have stimulated unneeded production. Last year, 1 out of every 3 wheat farmers in the United States considered it profitable to plant more than his wheat allotment, and did so. More than 100 million bushels of wheat were produced on farms which exceeded their allotments. In most cases this occurred on farms with small allotments, which are permitted to grow up to 15 acres without penalty. Many of these farms were in areas not naturally well adapted to wheat, where added wheat production should not be encouraged. In come cases, large producers found the price sufficiently attractive so that they deliberate-

ly overplanted their allotments and paid a penalty of $1.12 per bushel. The overplanting of allotments weakens the effectiveness of controls. Overplanting diverts wheat production to uneconomic areas. Specialized, adapted areas like North Dakota lose out. During the past quarter century, North Dakota's share of the Nation's wheat acreage has fallen from 15.3 to 12.4 percent.

Support levels of the past have encouraged continued wheat production in areas, such as parts of the western Great Plains, which normally should be in grass. These lands were plowed and seeded to wheat with the high prices and abundant moisture of the war and postwar years. High price supports have kept these areas in wheat. This has often worked to the disadvantage of the farmers themselves in these areas. Certainly it has worked to the disadvantage of wheat producers in efficient areas like North Dakota.

The level of price support has been a major incentive for overplanting allotments, for planting merely to protect existing allotments and for excessive stimulation of yields.

Support at recent levels has been very costly. Presently we are subsidizing wheat at a rate of about 80 cents a bushel in order to reach the world market. Speaking in terms of programs for supporting prices and raising farm incomes, those for wheat have been the most expensive the Department has had. The net realized cost of the wheat programs this past year were the highest in history, $530 million. This can be compared with gross receipts from wheat marketings last year of $1,742,000.

These costs undoubtedly would be accepted willingly if they were solving the problem.

For all commodities legally subject to formula pricing, supports are being set at the level indicated by the formula in the basic legislation. Wheat is not being singled out either for favorable or unfavorable treatment.

During this past year there have been times when wheat sold well above the loan. This is now true for some grades and classes in North Dakota. It may well be true again; the administration views price supports as a floor above which prices may be expected to rise, not as a ceiling which holds them down.

We set the support level at $1.78 because it was indicated by the law and because it is in the best longtime interest of wheat farmers.

North Dakota wheat farmers may be interested in prices received by their Canadian neighbors just across the border. There are several interesting comparisons. One is that the United States price runs more than half a dollar above the Canadian price. Another is that the United States wheat grower already knows the support price for the crop to be grown in 1958 while the Canadian wheat farmer does not yet know what he finally will receive for the crop he grew in 1955.

I know how well actions of the Department of Agriculture are publicized in this area when these actions are considered unfavorable to wheat farmers. Just for the record, let me enumerate some of the actions the Department has taken with respect to wheat, beyond any requirements of law, which have been helpful to wheat farmers.

We cooperate with the North Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station in developing Langdon, Yuma, Ramsey, Towner, and Sentry, the new rust-resisting or rust-tolerant varieties of durum wheat now seeded in this area.

We liberalize the grade specifications for supporting wheat, permitting loans on wheat which would not ordinarily have qualified for the loan. This meant added dollars in the pockets of wheat farmers.

We purchased bins to make storage space available to wheat farmers, and privoded low-cost credit for farmers to build their own storage. Thus more wheat farmers were given an opportunity to take advantage of the loan.

We have in operation a subsidy program for wheat exports which, for liberality, is not approached for any other commodity. This year we are exporting approximately 475 million bushels of wheat, the third highest level in history. Wheat exports are subsidized by the United States Government, a subsidy not required by law under present conditions but put into operation administratively by the Department of Agriculture.

We recommended, and the Congress enacted, Public Law 480, to dispose of surpluses. Under this law we have programed the export movement of more than 600 million bushels of wheat.

We put into effect a wheat-export program which utilizes the facilities of the private trade and has had the effect of boosting the domestic price of wheat.

We recommended and the Congress enacted a soil bank program. The acreage reserve part of the soil bank is a temporary, emergency program that was made necessary by the shortcomings of production controls. In effect, it pays wheat farmers for acreage reductions which, it was originally contemplated, would be made without compensation under the acreage allotment and price support program. The 1956 wheat acreage reserve program resulted in payments to North Dakota wheat farmers which totaled about $13 million. This year's wheat acreage reserve payments in North Dakota are expected to total about $21 million.

We permitted wheat farmers in drought areas to graze their wheat acreage reserve land, thus enabling them to maintain basic breeding herds.

If you do not hear enough about actions of the Department of Agriculture which are favorable to wheat farmers, it is not because these actions are nonexistent. It is because in the Northern Great Plains you are subjected to a barrage of carefully prepared propaganda. You hear most of what is bad and little of what is good. I grant everyone a full right to his own opinion. I ask only that the people study all the facts, not just one side of the story, before they form their opinions.

I shall lay before you as clearly as I can the economic and legislative situation as it pertains to wheat.

But first let me say that farm policy with respect to wheat is confronted with a new dimension. The new dimension is a revolution of farm technology. Since the beginning of World War II the man-hours needed to produce 100 bushels of wheat dropped from 67 to only 26. Yields per acre have increased around 25 percent. The onrush of technology has outmoded earlier ideas about production control and price policy. Effective restrictions on production are now virtually impossible with the type of controls acceptable in a democratic society.

The basic ideas in governing farm legislation were laid down before World War II before the technological revolution had reached anything like its present magnitude. The Agricultural Act of 1954 eliminated price support at 90 percent of parity as a mandatory requirement, but retained it as an objective. It retained all the machinery of acreage allotments and marketing quotas, with the intention of reducing the supply so as to achieve price supports at 90 percent of parity. The Agricultural Act of 1954 was a forward step, but not a very long step, toward a program that would relax restrictions on wheat farmers and regain market opportunities.

The Agricultural Act of 1956 defended the changes made in 1954 and added the soil bank. But the main ideas embodied in basic farm legislation are still the ones hammered out a quarter of a century ago to meet the problems of a general depression before the technological revolution had fully developed.

Let us see how this legislation works out for wheat in today's world.

First, what are the chances for increased wheat allotments? If 90 percent of parity remains the price-support goal, as it is at present, with rigid formulas as in the old law, it is impossible to foresee the time when total acreage allotments will exceed the 1957 level. This is the prospect in spite of the soil bank and in spite of surplus disposal programs.

A high price is not a satisfactory single objective for farm program. Farmers are interested in income which takes account of volume as well as price. It is income, not price, that farmers spend.

The prospective carryover of wheat at the end of the present marketing year is 906 million bushels. If we were not to harvest a single bushel of wheat in 1957, there would still be nearly enough for a full year's needs. The supply is so great that if it were not for the minimum national allotment the 1958 acreage would be forced down by the formula in the law to 23 million instead of 55 million acres.

When the 55-million-acre minimum allotment was originally enacted, it was expected that this would produce our domestic requirements. But, with acreage limited and price supports at an inducement level, farmers chose their best land and used modern technology to increase yields per acre. The 55-million-acre minimum now produces enough wheat for both our domestic and export needs, allowing very little opportunity to reduce surpluses.

Foreign nations, thinking about bread for their teeming millions, look at our high price and restrictions on production. They then expand wheat production even on rocky hillsides, while wheat production on our fertile prairies is prohibited. From 1925–29 to 1954–56, United States wheat production increased 18 percent, while production in the rest of the world increased 42 percent. And much of the United States production during 1954–56 went into storage or was exported with the assistance of Government programs.

Back in 1925–29, before the control program, wheat brought in 7.5 percent of cash farm receipts in the United States. After nearly a quarter century of controls and supports, this percentage had fallen to 6.1 percent.

Many wheat farms have too small an allotment to be efficient or to earn a satisfactory income. Advancing technology makes it possible—indeed, almost imperative—for small wheat farmers to increase their acreage. But this will be practically impossible so long as we restrict production in an effort to achieve a high level of price support.

And what are the chances of price supports being increased under governing legislation?

With modern methods, the 55-million-acre minimum national allotment can be expected to produce so much wheat, despite the soil bank and the surplus-disposal program, as to keep the support level far below 90 percent of parity for as far ahead as we can see.

That all this poses a serious problem for wheatgrowers, I am well aware. Wheat farmers are being subjected to the forces generated by the technological revolution. Their markets are burdened by surpluses which result at least in part from past wartime programs continued in peacetime. They produce a commodity which is declining in per capita consumption. They are sharply restricted in the acres of wheat they can grow. The prices they pay have gone up and the prices they receive have come down. Other countries have captured most of the growth in the world wheat market.

Farmers have the established right, in cooperation with Government, to undertake programs which increase the price of their products if they wish to do so. As much as

any other group, they have the moral right to influence supply and price in what they deem to be their own interest. They are entitled to the sympathetic help of their Government in meeting their economic problems, the same as any other group. These rights have been fought for and have been won. I applaud and defend the victory.

My question is this: Is it wise to use their hard-won rights in behalf of a program which imposes irksome controls in an effort to reach what seems to be an unobtainable price objective? Particularly is this question appropriate with respect to a program which has lost markets and stimulated production in many countries abroad and in areas not well adapted to wheat at home.

In our present difficulties, all kinds of remedies will be put forward. Some of these remedies would make what are called production payments to wheat farmers from the Federal Treasury. Others would divide the domestic market from the world market.

Still others would move—to the degree that it can be accomplished—toward more freedom to produce and toward prices that are more competitive. Such a price would shift out of wheat production some of those areas which have other and better opportunities. It would open outlets for feed wheat. It would broaden markets generally. It would curb uneconomic expansion of wheat production abroad by indicating to foreign nations that we intend to produce wheat, and to sell it.

Together with revisions of the price-support and production-control machinery, we must continue and strengthen program to aid wheat exports, to bring about needed changes in land use, to provide needed credit, and to reduce the costs of production. Thus we can help lift the problems of the farmers who produce the staff of life.

Wheat farmers should ask themselves earnestly and honestly whether a program of restriction and scarcity can possibly mean as much to them in the long run as a program involving more freedom to plant and more freedom for market growth.

I have given you no slogans. I have promised no cure-all, no secret weapon. I have chartered no easy solution to the problems of wheat producers. There are none. Some paths are merely less difficult than others.

My counsel is this: As wheat farmers choose the path they propose to follow, they should take account of where the path leads as well as how pleasant they may find the first step.

Another chapter of the continuing debate on farm policy lies ahead of us. Debates on farm policy, like the old kerosene lamp, sometimes generate about as much heat as they do light. It is my hope that we can have a little more light and a little less heat.

Farm people are the salt of the earth. They have sound judgment. They can be trusted with the facts. The job is to see that they get them. It is of utmost importance that they do. May God speed the day when decision is based on sound judgment and sound judgment is based on fact.

Inequity Rules the Soil Bank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the periodic reports of the Department of Agriculture on participation in the soil bank make startling reading. For example, a study of the figures for 1957 acreage reserve signups through April 5, 1957, and conservation reserve signups through March 15, 1957, reveals that one State, Kansas, with a population of 2,060,000, stands to receive more money for this crop year than 25 other States, having a population of over 70 million people.

Based on signups through the dates mentioned, the figure for maximum benefits for Kansas is $86,798,281. Here are the maximum payment and population figures for 25 other States:

	Payments	Population
Rhode Island		845,000
New Hampshire	$4,145	557,000
Vermont	35,302	378,000
Nevada	76,037	225,000
Maine	191,719	905,000
West Virginia	273,775	2,002,000
Wyoming	843,891	306,000
Delaware	934,728	387,000
Massachusetts	967,923	5,016,000
New Jersey	1,432,993	5,420,000
Connecticut	1,619,442	2,241,000
Maryland	2,349,825	2,669,000
Florida	2,403,230	3,452,000
Utah	2,803,074	781,000
Virginia	3,330,904	3,579,000
Oregon	3,478,832	1,669,000
Pennsylvania	4,043,307	11,159,000
New York	4,352,217	16,124,000
Idaho	5,236,647	609,000
Arizona	6,256,266	890,000
Washington	6,485,135	2,570,000
Montana	9,362,452	633,000
Wisconsin	9,489,356	3,694,000
New Mexico	9,296,043	795,000
Tennessee	9,869,508	3,417,000
Total	85,136,751	70,408,000

Using the same reports, we find the following to be the 16 highest States in monetary benefits available for this crop year:

Kansas	$86,798,281
Texas	80,366,125
Nebraska	45,001,702
Iowa	34,687,663
Missouri	25,943,538
North Dakota	25,806,897
Oklahoma	25,283,976
Colorado	25,161,337
Georgia	22,351,640
South Dakota	22,043,141
Ohio	19,448,200
Illinois	19,242,740
Indiana	18,860,806
Mississippi	18,586,157
North Carolina	18,423,353
Alabama	17,642,587
Subtotal	505,648,143

As the total for the entire United States is $686,465,646, it will be seen that one-third of the States stand to receive 74 percent of the money.

Let us add eight more States:

Minnesota	$16,576,387
California	15,227,083
South Carolina	15,225,822
Arkansas	14,673,712
Michigan	12,962,615
Louisiana	11,040,579
Kentucky	9,974,554
Tennessee	9,869,508
Grand total	611,198,403

Thus, it is shown that one-half of the States are eligible for 89 percent of the benefits.

If I Were the Parent of a Teen-Ager

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following essay:

IF I WERE THE PARENT OF A TEEN-AGER

(By Phyllis Marciniak, St. Joseph High School, junior, first prize (girl))

Today many parents are frantically attempting to establish better relationship between themselves and their teen-age offspring. Flanked by numerous current articles, they are endeavoring to undertake this belated project for fear that their teen-agers have already fallen subject to that threatening and dreaded malignant social cancer—delinquency. Unfortunately, the efforts of some parents seem doomed to failure simply because they are much too late. How can this tragic picture be averted?

In my estimation, teen-age training should begin, not at 13 or 16 but in the flexible years of infancy. From then on there should be a watchful concentration on the proper bringing up.

If I were the parent of a teen-ager, I would primarily desire to become my child's friend, someone to whom my son or daughter could come freely with his fears and troubles, as well as his accomplishments. I would always find time to help him iron out his difficulties and praise him for his triumphs. Tender, loving care would be bestowed on him at the earliest possible age. That time-worn maxim, "Spare the rod and spoil the child," contains an abundance of truth, but would be employed only in cases of serious and deliberate disobediences. Other small punishments would be meted out in accordance with the degree of misdeeds. My child would automatically develop love and respect for his parents, if he were piloted by a firm but kindly hand.

Another basic fundamental which would accent my child's rearing would be love of God and, consequently, love of neighbor. Religious instruction would be of prime importance in my home, if I want my child to possess a strong sense of morals, high Christian ideals, and an unprejudiced tolerance of persons of any race, religion, or creed. The unity of my family would be assured, because the members would go to church together every Sunday.

It is this unity in the family that would be all important in teen training. Besides giving the teen a sense of security, it would make him want to stay at home and enjoy an evening with the family, rather than roam the streets and perhaps engage in acts of vandalism.

Provisions would also be made for social recreation right at home. My child's choice friends would always find a "welcome mat" on my doorstep. If my teen desired outside recreation, he would be taught to make a wise choice of places, with the right companions.

Harmony between parent and child would further be developed by family excursions. Sharing the same experiences helps immeasurably to keep the family together.

My dream for a happy and God-fearing family is to make it a united, self-sufficient unit. This oneness could be likened to the atom, certainly an important unit of structure in this day and age. The nucleus would

be the love and respect the teen-ager has for God, his parents, and his fellow men. The electrons rotating around the nucleus would be the incidents and experiences, both joyful and tearful, which enrich family life. Thus, the family, like the atom, would be a loving, perfect whole.

Much Credit Is Due Arthur Summerfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, now that your mail deliveries are back to normal, like all good Americans you like to have the facts. I believe that right now is a good time to make public the following facts and figures.

There is one outstanding fact which must be considered above all, which is that the Postmaster General has only 4.3 percent of the appropriated funds over which he has full control, the other 95.7 percent must be expended in accordance with specific directives in laws which Congress has previously passed.

Now let us ponder over these following facts and figures.

How much does the Post Office Department spend in a year? About $3,250,000,000; 78.4 percent for postal employees' salaries and fringe benefits set by Congress; 15.5 percent for transportation of mail set by Government agencies; 1.8 percent for rents, utilities, and communications set by FCC; only 4.3 percent left for controllable items over which the Department really exercises any control—use money to print stamps, buy trucks, pens for 38,000 post offices, and hundreds of other items needed to operate post offices.

Why did the Post Office Department need additional funds? To give accustomed service; none of this money to pay past bills. Three reason why it is costing more to give the American people the mail service they deserve, expect, and pay for: First, more mail than estimated by about a billion pieces. And this increased volume of mail does not provide funds to operate the Post Office Department since all revenues go directly to the Treasury Department; second, increased mail service to 1.3 million new homes; and, third, higher wages to employees by law.

All three of these reasons beyond control of the Department.

Has the Post Office Department ever asked for more money before? Yes; but only once in past 4 years. In 1956 needed and got $166 million more, of which $150 million was for pay increases under Public Law 68, effective March 1, 1955; the remaining $16 million is the only supplemental appropriation the Department has received in 4 years for additional operating expenses. However, in 2 other years spent less: In 1954 turned back $105 million; in 1955 turned back almost $50 million.

Post Office Department

Fiscal year	Supplemental appropriation for operating funds	Surplus funds returned to Treasury
1947	$93,000,000	
1948	172,700,000	
1949	140,800,000	
1950	71,400,000	
1951	29,400,000	
1952	250,000	
1953		$83,574,247
1954		108,724,572
1955		42,903,628
1956	16,000,000	
1957	41,000,000	

Are you cutting costs in the Post Office Department? Yes; now carrying 20 percent more mail with fewer employees than 6 years ago.

How many postal employees are there? In 1952, 523,757; 1955, 511,613; 1956, 508,587.

How is mail volume increasing? In 1952, 49.9 billion pieces; 1956, 56.4 billion pieces; 1957, estimated, 58.8 billion pieces; 1958, estimated, 59.7 billion pieces.

Is the Post Office Department satisfied with mail service today? Of course not; better than it was but still not good enough.

What is the Post Office Department doing to improve service? Spending over $4 million this year alone on research; set up first Office of Research and Engineering in history; working with 9 engineering firms and Bureau of Standards; developing mechanical and electronic devices to speed mail through post offices; over 1,500 obsolete post offices replaced in past 4 years with new ones built by private capital. Objective: Next day delivery of mail anywhere in the United States.

The Soil Bank—An Expensive and Disappointing Experiment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, evidence is accumulating that the costly soil-bank plan is a failure. When viewed from the standpoint of its original purpose, results have been disappointing to its sponsors, and many of the farmers it was supposed to help have found scant attraction in it. In short, it is becoming clear that the soil bank is unworkable, inequitable, and unproductive of benefits to agriculture generally.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an article appearing in the May issue of Nation's Business—only one of many which have been published recently in responsible newspapers and national magazines—pointing up some of the defects in this expensive experiment. The article follows:

WHY FARM PLAN WON'T WORK—SOIL-BANK IDEA USING UP $600 MILLION IN TAX MONEY, HOLDS LITTLE HOPE FOR RESULTS

(By Charles B. Seib)

The Government soil bank, in its first full year of operation, already gives evidence of being far from a smashing success.

This plan pays farmers in cash for depositing part of their farmland with the Government in the form of a nonproducing reserve. Although the bank has cut into production of the surplus crops it covers, it is also clear that:

It is an extremely expensive device.

It will have no more than a temporary restraint on mounting farm production unless it is constantly made bigger and costlier.

Some farmers are being treated unfairly—getting less soil-bank acreage or less generous payments than other farmers.

Some farmers are treating the Government unfairly—using the soil-bank program in ways its authors never envisioned.

The fact is, it is hard to find anyone in Washington who will go far in praising the program. The general line of comments is: "Well, it may do some good—temporarily. But we certainly have no faith in it as it now stands for the long run."

A major aspect of the farm problem is to find means of adjusting farm output to levels that will yield satisfactory prices to farmers—prices in line with the cost of farm production.

The soil-bank program was put forward as a new tool to promote such an adjustment.

It was recognized that even if successful, the adjustment would be only temporary—would buy time for other fundamental adjustments.

It was, even among its stanchest supporters, advocated as at best a step in the right direction.

As a tool, its limitations are becoming increasingly apparent. The outlook for its success is less than bright even if the program were to work effectively to achieve its intent of reducing crop acreage.

By the end of 1957, about $1 billion of the taxpayers' money will have been paid out to farmers under the soil-bank program—upward of $20 for every American household. Here is an interim report on how it operates and some of the headaches and complaints being encountered by the men who are trying to make it work.

WHAT IS IT?

The soil bank is a device designed to withdraw farmland from production in order to cut down on farm surpluses which now tie up more than $8 billion in Federal funds, cost $1 million a day to store, and which depress farm prices. A secondary purpose is to increase soil fertility by conservation and soil-rebuilding practices.

Under the soil-bank law, the Agriculture Department can spend up to $1.2 billion a year on the program. The bank actually has two parts. The first is an acreage reserve program of $750 million, for acreage actually taken out of production of six specific crops—wheat, upland cotton, corn, tobacco, peanuts, and rice. Because peanut supply and demand are in balance, the Agriculture Department has not included that crop in this year's program. The second part is a conservation reserve program of up to $450 million, for payments to farmers who contract to devote part of their general cropland for 3 to 15 years to grass, trees, water storage, or other long-range conservation uses.

The acreage reserve part of the program is the more important one so far as choking off current production is concerned. Under it, farmers receive an amount equal, in theory at least, to the profit they would have made by cropping the land taken out of production, plus a small bonus that was designed to encourage participation. A complex system

of State and county prices, based on average local yields, determines the per acre payment to farmers.

WHAT IS IT COSTING?

Because the maximum participation has not been achieved, the program will probably cost less than $1 billion this year. That includes an estimated 68 million administrative cost. This fact has permitted the President to tell Congress it can cut $254 million from the budget request. Last year, when the program got off to a late start, it cost $260 million. (One department official said recently, about last year's experience: "We could have done better if they'd just given us the money and told us to spread it among the farmers.") Of course, no one can estimate how much the soil bank is saving by reducing the cost of price support and other Federal farm programs.

The latest reports from the field give this picture of the 1957 program. More than 21.3 million acres have been signed up for the acreage reserve in close to 1 million separate agreements. (Some farmers have several contracts, so less than that number of farmers are involved.) If these cooperating farmers comply with all regulations, they will receive this year, for taking this 21.3 million acres out of production of 5 basic crops, more than $600 million. The withdrawn acreage breaks down into 12.8 million acres of wheat, 5.2 million acres of corn, 3 million acres of cotton, 216,000 acres of rice, and 80,000 acres of tobacco.

The conservation reserve has a later closing for signing than does the acreage reserve, and the sign-up is far less complete. The most recent Agriculture Department report showed nearly 4.8 million acres already put into the program under contracts with some 56,600 farmers. For installing long-term soil and water conservation practices or wildlife habitat improvement measures, these farmers will receive this year an estimated $32.7 million to offset up to 80 percent of the installation costs. In addition, if they stick with the program, they'll receive this year and each succeeding year another $42.3 million in rental payments. Final figures on the conservation reserve are expected to be substantially higher than these interim figures.

WHAT ARE HEADACHES?

The problems fall into two main classes—difficulties inherent in the concept of the soil bank and operational difficulties encountered in putting it into effect.

Probably the most basic objection to the concept of the soil bank is the ease with which productivity per acre can be increased by modern scientific farming methods. This prevents any system of acreage control from being an effective production control for more than a brief period, experts assert. This objection was heard from virtually every official consulted in researching this article—even from key officials within the Agriculture Department.

"It simply can't work," a top Department official directly concerned with the soil bank declared in a remarkable burst of off-the-record frankness. "They've taken a production control method already proven a flop in the allotment program and given it a new twist. There's no question but that it will fail as a curb on production in the long run."

No responsible official will say just how much production the soil bank is choking off. Agriculture Department experts say the soil bank will cut United States cropland in production this year to the lowest point since the mid 1930's. They earlier made rough guesses that for 1957 the bank would cut wheat production 175 million to 225 million bushels, cotton, 2.25 million to 2.5 million bales, corn by 175 million to 225 million bushels, rice by 450 million to 560 million pounds, and tobacco by 130 million to 160 million pounds.

But now some officials admit these estimates may turn out to be on the high side. Even if they should turn out to be correct, Department officials fear, the drop may be only temporary—until the farmers get the knack of using their manpower, machinery, fertilizer, and other production items to turn out more and more on the acres not in the soil bank.

The alternative would then be to enlarge the program still more, making it still more expensive.

"The soil bank," declares a spokesman for the National Grange, "will provide some automatic conservation, although not really on a selective or intelligent basis. But as for reducing production—I doubt it. Take a farmer who normally raises 100 acres of wheat, and who goes into the soil bank for 10 acres. I'll gamble every time on his ability, within a year or two, to produce as much on the 90 acres not in the soil bank as he was producing on the 100 acres before."

Another basic fear expressed by the program's administrators is that the soil bank, in cutting into some surpluses, will merely increase other surpluses—surpluses of crops not covered by the acreage reserve.

The acreage reserve in 1957, as noted, covers only five basic crops. It does not cover feed crops, which are also in surplus supply. Under present regulations it is possible for many farmers, particularly those who customarily allow part of their land to lie fallow each year anyhow, to put the land they have withdrawn from production under the soil bank.

For example, a farmer in the Northwest with a 200 acre farm customarily puts 100 acres into wheat and allows the other 100 acres to lie fallow, alternating the planted and fallow acreage each year. He decides to go into the soil bank for 50 acres of wheat, which would leave him only 50 acres still in wheat production. But he can designate as his soil bank wheat acreage half of the 100 acres that he planned to fallow. Then he can put into other crops the 50 acres of productive land he has withdrawn from wheat.

This situation is at least partly responsible for the unusual trends reported in a recent Agriculture Department survey of prospective plantings for 1957. The report predicted that corn plantings would be the smallest in 70 years and spring wheat plantings the smallest on record. But at the same time, it also disclosed that barley plantings would be almost one third above average and nine per cent above last year, while sorghums would be three fourths above average and up 23 percent from 1956.

Buried deep in this report are revealing sentences: "The barley acreage in North Dakota and Montana is expected to increase 20 percent and 31 percent respectively * * *. Increases over 1956 are also expected in other Western States."

Department officials are now looking for a way to tie up the specific acreage withdrawn from production under the soil bank, to avoid this switching to other crops. The law as it now stands makes the present practice legal. This danger that the soil bank will encourage new surpluses in nonbank crops is strengthening the demand of some farm organizations that feed grains and all other surplus crops be included in the soil bank. Of course, this, too, would make for an enormously expanded, expensive program. John Stephenson, a Washington State wheat farmer and a leader in the National Association of Wheat Growers, was recently quoted in the Christian Science Monitor:

"The program defeats its own purpose of an overall reduction in grain supplies. In the heavier production areas, where a cutback in acreage would really make some dent on surpluses, the payments are not high enough to enable the farmer to participate. In the light production areas, the soil bank serves as a crop insurance program for the continuance of uneconomical wheat farms. In the intermediate production areas, the compensation the participating farmer receives comes in two parts—an acreage reserve payment for leaving acreage out of wheat production and the payment he gets for the sale of alternate crops produced on the same acreage. These alternate crops—generally barley or alfalfa—in turn glut the market the soil bank was established to help in the first place, since wheat has to compete with other grains in the feed market."

Still another production problem is this: Even if the soil bank succeeds in cutting surpluses of some crops, this could merely create new headaches. As the surpluses drop, prices will rise, and the Government would likely have to bid higher and higher for soil bank land to prevent new overproduction and surpluses.

Here are some other aspects of the soil bank which raise questions about its value:

1. The soil bank is frequently a depository for poor land. Most Department officials concede that the farmers who participate put their least productive land into the acreage reserve—the sloping, gravelly, worn out or otherwise marginal land that's the least economical to farm. Department officials point out that payments to the farmer are based to some degree on the productivity of the land he takes out of production.

2. The eventual productivity of the idle land is increased. The Agriculture Department cites this as an advantage of the program in its promotional literature; its leaflets to farmers urge participation, among other reasons, because of "increased future productivity capacity for land removed from production. No crops except those that conserve the soil may be grown." This is all well and good, but it means more productivity on the total farm the next year. This could be such a serious problem, if farmers annually change the acres they put in the soil bank, that the Department offers a 10 percent bonus each year for keeping the same land in the bank.

3. The soil bank is being used for private financial gain in ways the administration or Congress never envisioned: There have been reports, for example, that some investors are buying up farms, putting them entirely into the soil bank, and coming out ahead on the rental payments from the Government. The Agriculture Department concedes this is probably being done—reports show almost one-fifth of the 56,600 conservation reserve contracts are for entire farms—but argues that "a farm is a farm, and it doesn't matter who owns it, as long as it is out of production."

More seriously, some farmers are using the the soil bank to get payments on land they were just about ready to stop planting anyhow. For example, many elderly farmers are reported to be taking advantage of the plan either to withdraw entirely from farming or to cut back on their workload. Chances were that, in many cases, they would have withdrawn or cut back their planting even without the soil bank. This way they're getting paid for it. Reports also indicate that some farmers with sons called to service have found the program a heaven-sent means of getting payment on land they would have been forced to stop cultivating anyhow.

4. The soil bank has been widely used as a form of free, sure-fire crop insurance: The Agriculture Department promotes it that way. Among the advantages claimed for the program in a recent Department publication is this: "Protection against crop failure. Farmers who put land in the acreage reserve will receive payments based on normal yields from these acres even though drought or some other natural disaster lowers production on other land."

There is no question that many farmers in the drought area seized upon the 1956 soil-bank program as a type of crop insurance. Under it, they were able to collect a normal return on at least part of their land, despite the beating they took from Mother Nature. Farmer Edgar Ulbright, of Brewster, Minn., an enthusiastic supporter of the soil bank, recently told a touring House Appropriations Subcommittee:

"It's cheapest insurance you can get."

The insurance is good not only against drought but against frost, insects, plant diseases, and other typical agricultural calamities.

5. There's a strong tendency to view the soil bank as a supplementary price support or even as a relief program. Some Congressmen have tried to pump out soil-bank money to more farmers by adding other types of crops to the acreage reserve—feed grains, soybeans, flaxseed, even grazing land. After the administration ordered some additional cuts in farm price guaranties early this year, there was an immediate move in Congress to tack on to the soil bank a subsidy program for other crops that might have cost an additional $500 million to $1 billion a year.

6. The administration of the program has hurt many farmers. Differences in the per acre rent payment between neighboring counties and neighboring States have caused many complaints. During the hastily set-up 1956 program, there was almost war between North and South Dakota. A South Dakota stabilization and conservation committee set the appraised yield figure for one county lower than a North Dakota county committee set it for a county just across the State line.

Southern cotton representatives complain that too much of the soil-bank outlay is going to Midwestern corn and wheat growers. "No national farm program makes sense," the Atlanta Constitution recently said in an editorial, "when a State such as Georgia is allocated less than $11 million for cotton acreage while Kansas is allowed more than $81 million for wheat."

WHAT IS THE OUTLOOK?

As of the moment, the administration is talking about a 1958 soil-bank program on the same scale as this year. It may propose some changes—for example, some Agriculture Department officials feel that legislation may be needed to block farmers from using land withdrawn for the soil bank to produce other crops in already heavy supply. More important, there will be tremendous pressures in Congress to expand the bank. And all of the major farm organizations have proposals for changes—some overhauling administration of the program, some restricting it, some enlarging it.

Human Depletion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT ZELENKO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, on April 15 I introduced H. R. 6912, a bill to provide a tax reduction for the depletion of human resources.

The necessity for such a measure has long been recognized by many outstanding citizens.

One of the sources of my inspiration has come from the thoughts of Mr. Eric Sevareid, one of the great news analysts and commentators of this generation, which appeared in an article in the Reporter dated January 24, 1957, and reads as follows:

HUMAN DEPLETION
(By Eric Sevareid)

No doubt the fact that the little quarterly slip marked "Bureau of Internal Revenue" lies on the desk has something to do with it, but we can't get the image of Joe Louis out of our mind: The greatest fighter of them all shoving into subways because he can't afford a taxi or a car. Joe Louis owes the Government over a million dollars in taxes. He isn't sure exactly how much; neither is the Government. And his is not the only such uncertain equation. This is one of the great shocks of adulthood, anyway—finding that even figures aren't exact, but have to be interpreted and guessed at, like a cubist painting. So don't feel guilty if you aren't quite sure what your tax bill should be. The august Government isn't either.

Well, there is Joe, shoving into the subway, which we figure he can manage all right, and there is the Government figuring they might let Joe have the first $10,000 he earns each year to live on and take everything over that for the rest of his working life. So hail Joe Louis, Federal tax ward No. 1, pensioned off by the Government, not to quit work but to go on working. As it is, Joe's tax bill gets bigger each year because of the interest charges, and every year Joe's strength and abilities to meet the bill get smaller. An open-ended vicious circle that has to be closed, like the vacuum in the Middle East.

Maybe all boxers, writers, dancers, actors, singers, and others whose sole capital is youth, energy, or inspiration ought to have a new deal from the tax office. Something like the 27-percent depreciation allowance the oilmen get on the premise that oil wells exhaust themselves in time. It's the same with all the above-mentioned individuals; a man has just so many fights, performances, or books in him. The well of his spirit or his strength is depreciating all the time, every year that passes. But he doesn't get a 27-percent writeoff enabling him to pass his twilight years in a cozy 48-room bungalow with 12-car garage attached, as they do in Texas.

It's all very mysterious. As close as we can figure it out, the effect of the tax system is to encourage the investment of capital, not its expenditure, which is what life is all about, especially the expenditure of sweat, skills, and talents. Under the tax system, additional expenditure of these precious capital holdings brings, not additional return, but declining return. The Government doesn't say, "Give and ye shall receive." It says, "Get and ye shall get still more." Somewhere along the line, Government got mixed up and decided that human tissues last like iron while machinery wears out like human tissues. That's why a machine gets a depreciation allowance in its tax bill and your nerve ends don't.

Of course, people like boxers or writers or singers get into tax trouble for another reason. Figuring your taxes as you go along has become a complicated business and they just aren't businessmen. Their business is boxing and writing and singing and if they're worth their keep to society, their minds are on their business, all the time. And that's where society ought to keep their minds. They can't balance a personal checkbook, anyway, and in the ideal society wouldn't be expected to. As things are, thousands of them end up in a tax mess. Like Joe Louis.

Or like William Saroyan; Saroyan is one of the most celebrated, and—some think—most gifted of American writers. Saroyan isn't on the civil-service rolls, hasn't taken any Government loyalty test, but he works for the Government—full time. As fast as he can produce them in his shack on the California beach, his poems, his stories, his memories and dreams are collected by the Government. For taxes.

But he has his moments. He hung a wacky, worthless smudge of oils called a painting in his shack one day. The gimlet-eyed revenue agent paid his regular call, pointed to the canvas and said, "What's that worth?" "Ten thousand," said Saroyan. "We'll have to take it," said the agent. "Monster," said Saroyan with the best imitation of a sob he could produce at the moment.

Seafarers Union Urges Protection for American Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. SHELLY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I ask that two resolutions adopted by the Seafarers International Union of North America at their recent Biennial Convention in San Francisco be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD immediately following these remarks.

The resolutions, expressing the sense of the Seafarers Union that the legitimate interests of certain of our domestic industries and their employees are not now properly protected against injurious competition from abroad, are a strong indication of increasing resentment in many sectors of American life. I know personally that this union was among the original supporters of the reciprocal-trade principle, as I was myself. I believe that their basic attitude has not changed. However, these resolutions are a sign of dissatisfaction with the way in which the administration of our reciprocal-trade agreements by the executive agencies concerned has been twisted to a point where it appears that reciprocity is forgotten and the interests of foreign competitors rather than American industry hold first claim on those responsible for our foreign-trade relations.

My own experience on the several occasions when I have taken up the problems of various domestic industries with the present administration bear out the need for a reappraisal of our foreign-trade policy. I sincerely hope that corrective action will be taken within the administration so that United States interests will not be completely disregarded and that Congress will not be forced to act to put a stop to pro-foreign discrimination in import-export trade negotiations and agreements.

The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTION NO. 3 RE ORGANIZATION FOR TRADE COOPERATION (OTC)

Whereas the conditions under which imports are admitted to this country are of vital importance to all who are employed in the production of goods or in providing services with which imports compete, because wages and working conditions in other countries are generally inferior to those prevailing in the United States, and in some instances shamefully inferior; and

Whereas the control or regulation of import trade determines in great degree the

extent of injury that may be inflicted on the American worker by unfair foreign competition; and

Whereas it is, therefore, of the utmost importance where and in whose hands such control or regulation is lodged; and

Whereas Congress is empowered by the Constitution of our country to regulate foreign commerce and to lay and collect duties (tariffs); and

Whereas Congress is an elective body and is therefore responsive to the people who elect the Members; and

Whereas the United States has signed an international agreement to set up the Organization for Trade Cooperation, known as the OTC, subject to approval by Congress; and

Whereas such Organization would administer the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, known as GATT, and would give full effect to the purposes and objectives of GATT; and

Whereas among these objectives is the objectionable one of abolishing and banning the use of import quotas no less than the renunciation of any means of regulating foreign trade by any method other than the imposition of import duties; and

Whereas the so-called 50–50 cargo law could easily be interpreted as a restriction on trade and therefore in violation of GATT should a member nation of GATT challenge that law; and

Whereas any such decision by GATT could be by majority vote of the 35 members, with the United States having only 1 vote; and

Whereas United States membership in the OTC would in such case and in many other instances of foreign disagreement with United States trade policies deprive Congress for all practical purposes of its authority to regulate our foreign commerce: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Seafarers International Union of North America, AFL–CIO, in convention assembled, That the Seafarers International Union strongly oppose congressional approval of United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation, and do hereby call on the Congress to defeat any bill proposing such membership and to recapture its constitutional function to regulate our foreign commerce; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be widely publicized and forwarded to all Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, President Meany of the CIO–AFL, Andrew Biemiller, director of the legislation, AFL–CIO, plus all State federations of labor and the maritime trades department of the AFL–CIO urging their support.

RESOLUTION 4 RE H. R. 2815, IMPORT QUOTAS

Whereas foreign competition, if not properly regulated, may inflict great damage upon the workers in American industry and service trades, such as shipping, by reason of the lower wages and less favorable working conditions prevailing in other countries;

Whereas experience has shown that the regulation of imports by the tariff alone is not satisfactory because imports often come from foreign sources that differ widely in cost and price levels with the result that a given tariff rate while effective with respect to the imports from one or more countries may be wholly inadequate when applied to imports from low-wage-cost countries;

Whereas an import quota properly designed can be used to share our domestic market equitably with imports, thus permitting a maximum of trade without exposing our workers to the injury inflicted on them by unfair and inadequately regulated import competition;

Whereas an import quota bill has been introduced into Congress containing provisions that call for sharing the domestic market on an equitable basis with imports but presenting the progressive capture of our market by imports, thus driving out, destroying or severely crippling our own producers and visiting upon their employees unemployment, lay-offs, reduction of take-home pay, and similar undesirable consequences;

Whereas such import quota bill offers an incentive to foreign producers to raise the wages paid to their workmen, thus narrowing the wage gap and therefore the competitive gap between foreign countries and the United States;

Whereas said bill would reestablish the supremacy of Congress in the regulation of our foreign commerce, as provided in the Constitution of our country, and prevent such powers from becoming vested in an international trade organization: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Seafarers International Union assembled in its eighth biennial convention:

(1) Urge the passage by Congress of import quota legislation as embodied in H. R. 2815, known as the Lanham bill; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be widely publicized and forwarded to all Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, President Meany of the AFL–CIO, Andrew Biemiller, director of the legislation, AFL–CIO, plus all State federations of labor, and the maritime trades department of the AFL–CIO, urging their support.

Are We Getting Our Money's Worth Out of Foreign Aid?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following address made by Mr. Edward S. Van Rensselaer who is Research Director of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report. This speech, entitled "Are We Getting Our Money's Worth Out of Foreign Aid?" was made before the Detroit Economic Club on April 22, 1957.

ARE WE GETTING OUR MONEY'S WORTH OUT OF FOREIGN AID?

(Address made by Mr. Bernard S. Van Rensselaer at the weekly luncheon of the Detroit Economic Club, April 22, 1957)

I deeply appreciate this opportunity to discuss with you one of the most difficult and controversial problems confronting our Nation—our efforts to assist three-quarters of the world with American financial and material resources.

For, like it or not, that is exactly what we are trying to do.

To travel here I boarded an airplane in Washington, D. C. at 2:40 p. m. yesterday. I arrived in Detroit 3½ hours later. In that very brief space of time our Federal Government spent $1,500,000 for military and economic aid to foreign countries.

I mention this because I think it illustrates two of our national characteristics. We move fast, and we do things in a big way.

In little more than 100 years we overcame every imaginable kind of human and material obstacle and forged a bright new world from millions of square miles of tangled wilderness and open plains. By faith and relentless efforts we created a new way of life and made it the best mankind could offer.

We believe so much in this way of life that we have fought for it in nearly every part of the globe. American cemeteries in many countries are moving evidence that Americans, more than any other people, have proved it really is a small world.

With the highest of motives and with our usual superabundance of energy and optimism, we are today contributing to the economies and welfare of some 60 countries. For a time at least, ours is a necessary mission. Foreign aid has become, in just 10 short years, an important part of our foreign policy. We are now so deeply committed that we simply cannot pull out in the foreseeable future.

This entire program is being conducted with a great sense of urgency. We are constantly led to believe that if we don't move fast the roof will fall in—that only our dollars can save the world from communism. If large sums of money are squandered, it's unfortunate—but the Communist threat must be overcome.

At this point, however, the situation loses focus. We're told in effect that we can only fight communism successfully if we lift up all the underdeveloped areas of the world by their bootstraps, and change their ways of life, and make them over into what we think they should be. Thus the idealism and emotions of a generous people become involved and practical considerations tend to be brushed aside.

I personally believe very strongly in the principles of American aid to needy countries. But this must be done within our own ability to pay the bill and administer the program efficiently. It must also be kept within the capacity of the recipient countries to absorb and make good use of what we give them.

And we must be realistic and admit frankly that we have a self-interest motive: Specifically, gaining and holding trustworthy friends in the family of free nations.

When we first launched a formal program of assistance to other nations, back in 1947, our primary concern was the relief and rehabilitation of war-torn Europe. We poured money and materials and technological know-how into the area, and in a very short time our European friends were back on their feet.

Then we branched out—into the Middle East, Africa, Southeast Asia, the Far East, and Latin America. We approached this worldwide undertaking with the same formula that had worked so well in Europe—do it big and do it fast. And here we ran into trouble. The old formula didn't work any more.

It is obvious now that the methods that had rescued Europe simply could not produce the same results in the arid deserts of North Africa and the teeming areas of Southeast Asia and the remote back country of Latin America. Our efforts to do big things in a hurry in underdeveloped countries has resulted in chaos, confusion, and dollars down the drain.

Unfortunately, this lesson remains unlearned within the high councils of foreign aid planning in Washington. Evidence of this abounds in thousands of pagees of congressional reports and transcripts of hearings.

Between July 1, 1945, and September 30, 1956, the United States paid out $56.8 billion for military and economic assistance to other nations. Besides this staggering sum, $10 billion more had been appropriated by Congress but was still unspent. For fiscal year 1957 Congress granted $3.75 billion for foreign aid, both military and nonmilitary. For fiscal 1958 the President is asking a foreign aid budget of $4 billion, a modest increase over the current year.

In addition to all this, we have provided overseas aid totaling $2 billion in the form of surplus agricultural commodities.

I do not intend to comment on the purely military phase of foreign aid. This is a highly technical and complicated program which the average layman if not qualified to discuss. When the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff tell us that our national security will suffer unless we continue to provide military hardware, training, and logistical support at present level, we are in no position to argue, and few members of Congress care to assume the responsibility of trimming military aid dollars in the face of such authoritative pronouncements.

However, I think the American taxpayer is directly concerned when military aid becomes interwoven with economic aid, when civilian planners are allowed to influence the programing and day-by-day conduct of military assistance, and when complicated economic projects are disguised in military garb.

The need for a clear-cut separation between these two basic forms of foreign aid is strikingly illustrated by a half-billion dollar project to rehabilitate and expand the British Royal Air Force.

In 1953 and 1954 hundreds of millions of American dollars were committed to add new aircraft to the RAF. It was known that these planes, when and if they were finally delivered, would be greatly inferior to the supersonic planes then in production in this country and in Russia. But the effect of this grant-in-aid to the RAF was to release British Government funds to subsidize the development and production of commercial jet aircraft in competition with American air frame and engine manufacturers.

In short, what purported to be purely a military program was actually a fiscal maneuver to ladle more American dollars into the British economy and fortify that nation's budget. For this the then Director of Mutual Security and his economic planners were really responsible. Furthermore, Congress was not fully informed about the nature of this transaction when the funds were requested. It's quite probable, that if Congress had known all the facts, it would have refused to grant the necessary funds. But as it turned out, the disguise worked—and as usual, the American taxpayer paid the bill.

Even disregarding military assistance entirely, our present economic aid program is vastly more complex and far-reaching than anything contemplated under the original Marshall Plan 10 years ago. Economic aid today includes point 4 activities; the economic development of backward countries; a nebulous sort of thing called defense support; budget support; and the sale of surplus agricultural commodities for local currency which is then returned in the form of grants or loans.

Regardless of the terminology and sometimes confusing categories, it all adds up to one thing—economic assistance on a grand scale. In one form or another, this program covers more than 2,000 projects in virtually every field of human activity as well as all kinds of commodities, services, and even United States Treasury checks. No less than 8,000 persons are employed by the Government to plan and administer this program.

What do these people do to keep busy? Sometimes even Government officials wonder. An official visitor to one of our Asian missions reports that he asked an attractive young woman the nature of her assignment. She explained that she was revising the third reader for the local schools. The visitor expressed in the project and asked if she had any help. "Oh, yes," she replied, "I have nine assistants."

Here are other examples of what we are providing for a large part of the world: Engineering and technical services; factories; dams; power stations; highways; the procurement, transport, and distribution of huge quantities of machinery and basic commodities such as food, raw materials, fabricated steel, medicines, and hospital equipment; and railway rolling stock.

Obviously a program of such magnitude involving the expenditure of vast sums of money—not to mention the welfare of millions of people abroad—requires a high degree of careful planning and efficient management if it is to operate successfully.

Is this what we're getting? Let me illustrate the kind of careful planning that goes into our foreign-aid program:

A few years ago it was discovered that out of a $14 million allocation for the country of Burma, only $8 million had been obligated by June 1. Only 30 days remained before the fiscal year would end. Following standard procedure, a rush meeting was called to discuss new ways to commit the remaining $6 million without delay. I attended this meeting.

After several possible projects were discussed and summarily dismissed, one of the planners present suggested importing blacksmith equipment into Burma. Someone quickly pointed out that you couldn't put much of a dent in $6 million with these items. But the planner had big things in mind; he wanted enough blacksmith equipment to put a complete unit in every town and village in the country. This, he said, would use up a million dollars or more.

But one of those present opposed the idea. Rather cynically, he asked his colleague: "What are you trying to do, shoe every elephant in Burma?"

This little story, however, has a happy ending. Eventually enough projects were improvised to commit all of the $6 million before the fiscal deadline and it was spared the fate of lying around gathering dust in the Federal Treasury.

Now I think we will all concede that in any large institutionalized undertaking, whether private business or government, we must expect a certain percentage of human error. It's inescapable. But the disturbing fact is that available evidence of bad planning and mismanagement in our foreign-aid program transcends anything that might reasonably be expected or forgiven. This is all a matter of public record. And the sad truth is that we were making the same costly mistakes in 1956 that we made in 1952, indicating that somewhere along the line of command there is an inability or unwillingness to learn from experience.

The brief history of American foreign aid provides a lesson in itself in the intricacies of bureaucratic nomenclature. We started with Economic Cooperation Administration, progressed through the Mutual Security Agency, the Technical Cooperation Administration, and the Foreign Operations Administration to what we now call the International Cooperation Administration.

But while the titles have changed, there have been too few new faces on the policy-making and planning level, except at the very top. In the past 7 years the economic-aid program has had five directors. None has been on the job more than 2½ years and one stayed for only a few months.

Repeated congressional investigations of our foreign-aid program have failed to turn up anything resembling a well-defined governing policy. And so we sometimes find ourselves offering aid before it is even requested. Or on occasion being forced to sell the need for economic aid to the recipient country when it becomes obvious to our aid planners that the Nation we are dealing with just doesn't know what is good for it.

It's a matter of record that some of the countries which accepted our aid were so little interested in the grand projects we had planned for them that they failed to contribute their agreed share of the cost and frequently benevolent, generous old Uncle Sam wound up paying the entire bill.

Now let me quote from the findings of a congressional subcommittee: "A 1954 United States contribution of $300,000 to the agricultural services in Brazil was held up for 2 years because Brazil failed to make a matching contribution. Another $150,000 set aside in 1952 for a rural education program was carried over as an expended item year after year because the Brazilian Government never put any matching funds into the program."

Does this sound like the reaction of governments sincerely interested in the kind of projects we were promoting?

This penchant of ours for picking up the tab, this apparent overanxiety to demonstrate to one and all that we are ready, willing, and able to foot the bill for everything from blacksmith tools to hydroelectric projects, runs sharply counter to the fundamental concept of foreign aid: that our mission is to help others help themselves, and to cement lasting international friendships in the bargain.

It is difficult, indeed, to reconcile this concept with a policy of helping those who haven't asked for help simply in the hope that after they receive what we can give them, they will be everlastingly grateful because they will see what they have been missing.

I have strong doubts, however, that we encouraged this reaction when we helped construct sugar plants in Iran, where there is little sugar, and when we helped erect cotton mills in Korea, where there is no native cotton, and when we helped put up flour mills in Korea and Formosa, where there is little or no wheat.

We have constructed industrial plants, but failed to install the needed power. In Iran we helped finance a textile factory. We spent some $500,000 for American-made looms and installed them in the plant. Unfortunately, the looms required high-grade cotton—of which there was very little—and skilled operators and maintenance helpers—of whom there were none available in the native population. But we installed a half-million dollars' worth of looms anyway, then didn't provide the power machinery to run them.

The deplorable situation in Iran, as you know, has been widely explored by Congress. Perhaps you are not aware, however, that in 4 years the Industry Division of our foreign-aid mission there had six directors. In order, they were: a weaving technician; a fishery expert; a retired industrial consultant who had never been overseas before; a former investment counselor; a graduate forester; and a mechanical engineer who specialized in engine design.

Little wonder, then, that our foreign-aid planners, when taken to task, have defended many of our projects, technical and otherwise, solely on political grounds when economic justification was impossible.

I believe the evidence is clear—and you may have reached the same conclusion as you watched the development of our foreign-aid program—that the planners and theorists in the State Department and the International Cooperation Administration have been too preoccupied with the outflow of dollars and too little concerned with the things for which the dollars are spent.

A big program isn't necessarily a worthwhile program, just as a big budget isn't necessarily a justifiable one. This, too, is a lesson still unlearned in many Washington offices. Can the tax-paying public think otherwise when a member of our aid mission in Pakistan is reproved for planning a limited technical education project which his superiors rejected on the grounds it was too modest? In this particular case, the planner was assured that his idea would be aproved if he expanded it to national scale.

Unfortunately for Congress and the country-at-large, the true cost of this free-

wheeling, irresponsible approach to a program of tremendous scope, the true cost of mismanagement and lack of direction and just plain bungling is extremely difficult to compute. It shouldn't be, but it is. There is a startling scarcity of reliable information available to those trying to bring the entire program under close scrutiny and review.

Early last January, the Comptroller General of the United States wrote a letter to the Director of the International Cooperation Administration enclosing a General Accounting Office memorandum calling attention to certain operational deficiencies in the economic aid program and suggesting remedial action. Among other things the memorandum stated that ICA had asked for new appropriations to meet the expenses of specified projects, although funds previously allocated to these same projects had not been fully used or even obligated. The memorandum also observed that there were no systematic records in ICA to enable anyone to say how or why aid levels were established in Washington for given countries or projects. It further noted that ICA's presentations to Congress in support of appropriation requests were inadequate and that ICA headquarters failed to maintain sufficient information regarding the progress of field projects and the use of funds.

After a lapse of 3 months during which ICA paid no attention to the letter and memorandum of the Comptroller General beyond an acknowledgement of their receipt, the matter came to the notice of the Hardy Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations which opened public hearings. The Director of the International Cooperation Administration testified that he had instructed his people to reply to the Comptroller General within 2 months and was surprised to learn that it had not been done.

This is indicative of the difficulties that confront Congress and the public in obtaining reliable information regarding the foreign aid program.

Congress is disturbed by this situation, as it should be. My good friend, Representative GEORGE MEADER of Ann Arbor, and others are calling for a top-to-bottom review of our foreign aid structure. This concern in Congress is pushed forward by each new committee report unearthing new instances of waste and chaotic conditions in this program.

Let me read a particularly significant passage from a report issued only a few months ago by the House Government Operations Committee. Here is what the committee concluded after questioning the top policymakers in the International Cooperation Administration:

"The overwhelming reluctance which key ICA officials have displayed in laying their cards on the table before this subcommittee, indeed the apparent intent of some of the principal witnesses to snow the subcommittee under with irrelevant and gratuitous side issues, has shaken the subcommittee's confidence in the soundness of the reports on which Congress has based its judgments of the entire foreign aid operation."

That's tough talk. And not to be taken lightly. These are the views of some 30 Members of the House of Representatives, a bipartisan cross section basing its conclusions on documented evidence and direct testimony from the administrators of our foreign-aid program.

In the light of such authoritative opinion, I for one am not inclined to laugh off the remark of one government official of a country in which we have spent many hundreds of millions of dollars, to the effect that American aid projects were "wasteful but"—and get this—"inoffensive indulgences." In this man's mind we were literally tossing our money out the window, but we weren't hurting anybody, so what's the harm? Nor am I disposed to applaud the comment of a foreign aid official, still on the job with ICA, who said, in referring to a last-minute obligation of aid funds, "We told them we would give them the money. What difference does it make how it's spent?"

I hope, in these few minutes, that I have been able to convey to you my grave concern with our foreign-aid program, even though in many instances this program has performed a useful service. Some of our technical assistance projects have yielded excellent results; the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt training programs have proved truly useful; and I have nothing but admiration for our anti-malaria project in a number of nations. I also wish to pay tribute to many able and dedicated people in the program, from the rank of mission chief down the line.

As I noted earlier, we are committed indefinitely to a foreign assistance operation of substantial proportions. We can't abandon it—but we can—in fact, we must—improve it.

What we need most today is a realistic recognition by all concerned—and that includes every American taxpayer—that our assistance was never intended to be perpetual, that the indiscriminate expenditure of dollars in one country after another on projects that are too costly on one side and unwanted or inappropriate on the other can only lead to a state of mutual distrust and frustration.

Our original conception of foreign aid was to help others help themselves, and then let them stand on their own feet. It's a splendid idea; and it's high time we put it into practice.

I profoundly believe that unless we quickly and vigorously overhaul the foreign-aid machinery we have put into motion, work the kinks out of an engine that has been lubricated too often with too many American dollars, we will find ourselves saddled with an international WPA of frightening dimensions, with all its implications of State socialism and economic imperialism and with a fantastic bureaucracy of reckless planners and irresponsible spenders.

The effect of such a state of affairs upon our foreign relations would be nothing short of disastrous. And in these days of uncertainty and international tensions, it's a disaster we cannot afford to risk.

The foreign-aid program is 10 years old. The Marshall plan, in spite of waste and mismanagement, had happy results. The emergency was met and dealt with. Since then, under the pressure of other emergencies, a new set of programs has blossomed all over the world. The end has not been reached.

This program has taken on the characteristics of a mushrooming improvisation. It seems to be impelled in part by the noblest motives and in part by an apparent belief that enough dollars, enough dams, enough power plants, and enough steel mills, if provided rapidly wherever there is poverty, illiteracy, brutality, corruption, and suspicion, will somehow save the souls of men and rescue the world for our type of democracy. Of course, this isn't true. Nevertheless, we are permitting ourselves to be pressured into the continuing expansion of a program that has already gotten out of control and has exceeded the ability of its administrators to manage it properly.

This country has always been, and I pray always will be, ready to assist other less fortunate countries in realizing their legitimate aspirations and improving their lot. But we cannot live in a dream world, and many things we would like to see accomplished in other parts of the globe will take a long time and must be done bit by bit within the capacities of the struggling nations to carry their own load. They can be helped—but not permanently subsidized. What we are doing at present encourages a spirit of dependence rather than independence among a number of young countries that have only recently thrown off their colonial ties and are just learning to stand on their own feet. This can defeat our purpose by embittering the people we are trying to help. As a high Pakistan official told one of our economic aid officials when he learned of the size of our prospective staff in his country, "We have just got rid of the British because we didn't like to have them ordering our lives, and we have no intention of permitting the Americans to move in and replace them."

It's time to create rigid policy framework for our foreign-aid program and stay within it. Let's commit ourselves to a useful and sensible point 4 program doing a few significant things in each country. Let's assist in industrial development within realistic limitations, to the extent that hard-bitten judgment justifies a given project from our point of view as well as the other fellow's. And when I say hard-bitten, I mean the reasoned opinion of experts, not dreamers or promoters. Let's cut out grants-in-aid except in the most unusual circumstances, remembering when we lend that loans beyond a certain point can break a country, not make it. Let's stop, or at least reduce, a lot of the so-called budget support which is advancing rather than controlling inflation. When we decide to render such support, let's do it in a straightforward and businesslike manner.

Management is another problem. Foreign aid is the greatest merchant banking and engineering business in the world. There are few commercial banks in this country big enough to handle all of ICA's banking business. As in any vast enterprise, the need here is for practical, realistic, experienced management. Until the invaluable asset of sound administration is added, we cannot hope to wipe out the waste and extravagance which has beset this program for 10 years.

A final word. We have not sought leadership in this troubled world. It has been forced upon us, and to the best of our ability we have tried to respond to the call. We have made mistakes and we have absorbed a lot of criticism, but when the chips were down we did our best—and I think every one of us has the right to be proud of the part the United States has played to bring about a better world.

But I sometimes wonder if we haven't been a little oversold on our duties to the rest of the world and if, perhaps, we might not be entitled to a greater degree of cooperation from some of the people we are trying to help. I would like to regard it as a two-way street, with our representatives, both here and abroad, acting just a little bit tougher in defending the interests of Uncle Sam and the American taxpayers.

We must discard, once and for all, the notion that foreign aid can ever become a substitute for diplomacy and a realistic foreign policy. We cannot hope to win respect or affection by ever being jockeyed into a position of paying tribute, bribery, or even blackmail to accomplish our objectives. After all, we are dealing with some very realistic and tough-minded people. We'll help them out, but we don't want to be exploited and we don't want our generosity to be regarded as a sign of weakness. Let's encourage stiffer trading on the part of our own people, to insure that what is good for the rest of the world is in fact good for the United States.

Programs like foreign aid never remain static; they expand or contract; they improve or deteriorate. If our economic-aid program continues on its present course, I believe the ultimate results will be most unhappy for every one concerned, and the cost will be terrifying.

Our real hope for reforms in the foreign-aid program rests in the application of the

democratic process. It is everyone's business. To the extent that opinions exist, they should be expressed to those in authority. In so doing, it is my firm belief that a great service will be rendered both to the United States and to the world.

Ira E. Bennett: Last Editorial on "Architect of the Constitution"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in a stirring eulogy of Ira E. Bennett, former consultant of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, of which I am a member, Senator THOMAS E. MARTIN, of Iowa, in the RECORD of April 10, 1957, mentioned that Mr. Bennett had written his last editorial in bed shortly before his death.

As one closely associated with Mr. Bennett over a period of years, I came to know him and his works well. He was one of the greatest exponents of the Constitution of the United States—a subject to which he devoted a lifetime of study and on which he has written extensively.

It is notably fitting that his last editorial, supplied me by his widow, Mabel Fyler Bennett, concerned James Madison, the distinguished Virginian, described by Mr. Bennett as the "Architect of the Constitution". Published in the March 1957 issue of the National Republic, a well-known magazine of the Nation's Capital, of which he was managing editor, this editorial stands as the uniquely appropriate end of one of the great editorial careers of our time.

Under leaves granted to extend, I include the editorial:

ARCHITECT OF THE CONSTITUTION

To the month of March is due the immortal honor of presenting to the world one of the men who established for all time the liberty of Americans in this country. He was James Madison, born at Port Conway in King George County, Va., March 16, 1751. He began college life at Princeton in 1769 and was graduated in 1771. Apparently he then expected to become a teacher under John Witherspoon, studying theology and Hebrew, but the Revolution was already stirring, and Madison soon entered into politics. He drafted the constitution of Virginia and served in the Continental Congress during much of the war.

Virginia and Maryland could not agree to questions affecting the Potomac River. A conference under the Articles of Confederation was held at Mount Vernon and Alexandria in March 1785. Several questions relating to the regulation of commerce led to a conference at Annapolis in 1786, and this led to the Constitution Convention at Philadelphia in 1787. In April 1787 Madison wrote to George Washington an outline of his opinion that no confederacy could endure unless it acted directly upon individuals. This letter was the basis of the Virginia plan presented to the convention by Edmund Randolph, and it is still the heart and soul of the American Constitution.

No one in the convention equaled Madison in tireless attention to details. He spoke frequently and made innumerable notes which were published in three volumes by Congress in 1843. The most important influence in promoting popular approval of the Constitution was The Federalist, a series of 85 papers, of which 20 were certainly written by Madison, and probably 9 more. Others who wrote in the series were John Jay and Alexander Hamilton. The now-famed document stands as the best attainable contribution to the American philosophy of government.

When ratification was in doubt, Madison promised to do his best to secure passage of the Bill of Rights. He selected 10 fundamental amendments and they were ratified. They include certain rights and immunities, but these were already the heritage of Americans under the Declaration of Independence. The United States Congress and the States are prohibited from violating rights already conferred.

Madison lived until 1856. His service as fourth President was severely criticized because he believed that economic pressure alone upon the United Kingdom would prevent another war, but British forces entered the Capital in August 1814, and set the Capitol on fire while Madison retired to Leesburg, Va., without seriously fighting. Yet, despite this inglorious record, the name and fame of James Madison will stand as a glorious memorial of "the more perfect Union" that establishes the liberty and independence of the United States.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, the pages of history show that in periods of world crisis some men are mysteriously inspired to rise above the crowd and, often at great personal sacrifice, provide leadership needed to preserve the security and advance the welfare of their fellow men.

Such a man, in our times, was the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

When he died May 2 he was in the prime of life. He had gained success and had every reason to anticipate years of happiness with his beloved wife and daughter. However, destiny decided otherwise. In many respects he was a man of genius, certainly a man of great personal courage, a man apart, one of those rare persons who seem to be on earth with a special, if dangerous, mission.

Fate sent him to the United States Senate at a time when our Nation was slipping into the sinister grip of a fearful force of evil—atheistic communism. Unforgivably, and to our shame, this false ideology was nourished, even helped to world power with American blood and American gold. In its most charitable light, the evil nature of communism and its masters must have been grievously misunderstood by those then in high office who elevated fellow travelers to places of prestige in our Government.

Patriots tried to sound an alarm but they were quickly crushed. But Joe McCarthy was an extraordinary man and he cherished an extraordinary love for America. He risked his life for this Nation in a terrible World War, and arriving on the Washington scene saw the danger, accepted the challenge, and fought with all his might. He refused to be crushed, even when stoned by persons from whom he had a right to expect assistance.

Finally, deserted by colleagues who in conscience should have shared his concern over this treasonable subversion, his spirit was broken. I can well imagine that Joe McCarthy died of a broken heart. Possibly, he did not realize it, but I believe his mission was accomplished; his special assignment completed. He aroused America from complacency and put us on guard. I sincerely hope that this courageous man from Wisconsin will not have died in vain.

Interest-Free Loan to Idaho Power Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, this week's issue of Labor, dated May 11, carries an excellent editorial pointing out clearly exactly what is involved in the recent fast tax writeoff granted to the Idaho Power Co. for 2 of the 3 dams which it seeks to construct as an inadequate substitute for the high Hells Canyon Dam which I—and a number of my colleagues—have proposed and for which we are fighting. Under unanimous consent I include this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THEFT FROM TAXPAYERS TO ENRICH POWER TRUST

President Eisenhower was right in saying it's immoral for a labor leader to take an interest-free loan from his union, Senator WAYNE MORSE said the other day. But, he asked, is it any more moral for the Government to give a far bigger interest-free loan to a power trust company, at the expense of the taxpayers?

MORSE was talking in the Senate about the "rapid writeoff" which, as Labor reported last week, the administration granted to the Idaho Power Co. He recalled that the Federal Power Commission in 1953, before it was "packed" by Ike, "characterized these tax writeoffs as follows:

"That has the precise effect of a grant by our Government of an interest-free loan."

In the case of Idaho Power, MORSE said, this loan will be about $30 million. By having the use of this interest-free Government money for at least 50 years, the company will make extra profits totaling $339 million, the Senator declared.

Those huge figures, MORSE pointed out, dwarf the approximately $300,000 "loan" teamster chief Beck is charged with taking from his union. Isn't the giver of the far bigger interest-free loan, from money "stolen from the taxpayers," he asked, even more immoral than the taker of the smaller loan from money belonging to labor union members?

MORSE recalled that the Eisenhower administration gave away the Snake River to Idaho Power for construction of two low private dams, and thus blocked construction of a high public Hells Canyon Dam which

would provide far more electric power and flood control. At the time it was claimed that "this plan will save the taxpayers money," because the company would pay for its dams. "But now the cat is out of the bag," the Senator said. "The United States Treasury will subsidize those inadequate private dams."

MORSE pointed out that the Senate Finance Committee was starting hearings on rapid writeoff tax subsidies to utilities, and had asked the administration to hold off its decision in the Idaho Power case until the issue was aired at these hearings.

Nevertheless, MORSE said, the administration acted. "They wanted to jump the gun. They wanted to get ahead of the Senate committee," he pointed out.

"As with all the other administration actions in the Hells Canyon case, the grant of the taxpayers' money to Idaho Power has been characterized by an unwholesome rush to bull the giveaway through. The repeated acts of favoritism to Idaho Power bring to mind the series of actions to put across the Dixon-Yates deal.

"The record of the administration on Hells Canyon," MORSE added, "shows utter bias against full public development and for private underdevelopment that wastes resources. The administration has shown again and again that it has no use for facts, no interest in the merits of the issue—only political expediency, sellout, and immorality."

Some other Senators and Congressmen condemned the rapid writeoff subsidy to Idaho Power in equally strong words. The smelly situation, they pointed out, it seems to Labor, has lessons for the public and for Congress.

For the public, the lesson is this: The outcry against a few labor leaders who enrich themselves at the expense of the members of their unions is justified, but don't let it divert your attention entirely from an administration which far more lavishly enriches special private interests at public expense.

The lesson for Congress is this: The Senate Interior Committee has approved a bill which would authorize construction of the high public dam in Hells Canyon, and thus stop construction of the inadequate low private dams. By passing that bill, Congress can wipe out the Snake River giveaway and the interest-free loan to Idaho Power—and open the way for full development of natural resources vital to the Pacific Northwest.

Last Full Measure of Devotion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER M. MUMMA
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared on the front page of the Lebanon (Pa.) Daily News on the occassion of the passing of Senator McCarthy. This newspaper was always intensely interested in the late Senator's efforts to apprise the country of the communistic infiltration into our American institutions.

The editorial follows:

[From the Lebanon (Pa.) Daily News of May 3, 1957]

LAST FULL MEASURE OF DEVOTION

The tragic death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy yesterday might have gone down in history as a great day for international communism and a black one for the cause of freedom.

But such was not the case. Senator McCarthy was once the most courageous and valiant fighter against the Red conspiracy throughout the length and breadth of the free world. But Senator McCarthy did not die on May 2, 1957. Senator McCarthy's spirit, his will to live, his selfless devotion to his native land was assassinated nearly 3 years ago on that infamous day in 1954 when the United States Senate voted to censure him for being too vigorous in his efforts to keep the Stars and Stripes flying above the hammer and sickle.

When those Senators, whose adherents included Dave Beck's counsel, the erstwhile and not lamented Jim Duff of Pennsylvania, voted to censure their colleague, they might just as well have signed his death warrant. For from that day on his vigor began to fade, his health to decline. Those Senators should now feel smugly proud.

Of course, there will be those who will say that Senator McCarthy was not the first foe of communism to have been subjected to a smear campaign by the egg-headed apologists for that evil doctrine. There can be no denying that. But McCarthy was the only one to have been crucified by the very body which should have given him its strongest support—the United States Senate. And like President Andrew Johnson, who was impeached by an equally irresponsible Senate, he never recovered from the blow.

He devoted all his strength to battle the enemies of his beloved country. But he was betrayed by his fellow Senators. And now he has given his last full measure of devotion.

More than any other individual, Senator McCarthy focused the spotlight on the hideous menace of communism and the real motives of the criminals and traitors who hide behind the fifth amendment.

For that, this Nation owes him an undying debt. He will be mourned by all who prefer Red, White and Blue to unadulterated Red.

But despite his death, the United States will continue to flourish. In times of crisis, America has never failed to produce patriots who have been equal to the task. This land of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, of Patrick Henry and Nathan Hale, of Paul Revere and Joseph McCarthy will keep on bringing forth sons to whom the cause of liberty is a sacred trust.

Whenever the Stars and Stripes are lowered to half mast, they rise again to wave majestically in their unchallenged grandeur.

If I Were the Parent of a Teen-Ager

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following essay:

IF I WERE THE PARENT OF A TEEN-AGER

(By Larry Petri, Kelly High School, sophomore, second prize (boy))

A firm understanding of the principles of righteousness, the difference between right and wrong, and a respect for authority, all should begin in the home before a baby takes his first step. A young child is like a block of putty; you can mold it into any shape or form when fresh, but let it go too long and get settled and then try to give it a new twist. When I said a respect for authority, I took it for granted that the boy or girl has firm religious training. A respect for authority is not only an instilled fear of God; it also concerns the necessity for an adolescent to obey the laws that are made for his own good and protection. If a teenager breaks these laws, he should get and expect punishment. This would be one of the first principles which I would teach my boy or girl.

In my opinion, there are a lot of beliefs about the handling of teenagers in our time that are wrong. I have read articles in which the author states that parents are not supposed to punish or restrict their child in any way or else they will turn out to be frustrated individuals. If a child deserves punishment, he should get it; for as the saying goes, "Give them an inch and they'll take a mile." Firmness, guidance, love and understanding should be inseparable components in the attitude of a parent with his child. No matter how rich or poor the parents are, the material things that are bestowed upon a child should be earned and deserved, through good behavior, respectability, and helpfulness rather than lavishly bestowed upon the child solely because income permits. To cite an example, a teenager of mine will get the use of the family car only after he has proven to me that he is able to assume full responsibility for his actions.

Like one of Leonardo Da Vinci's great masterpieces, into which his diligent efforts poured all but the breath of life, a child at the hands of a master, using these same efforts and loving guidance, can blossom forth into something comparable to a work of art.

Communist Effort to Discredit Dr. Schweitzer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I have today received a letter from Mr. Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review, which, together with my reply, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues and clear-thinking friends.

The kind of tactics disclosed in Mr. Cousin's letter need to be the subject of constant alertness on the part of all those of liberal and progressive thought.

It is equally important that fair-minded critics should not be deluded into false accusations, as has too often happened in the past.

The letter follows:

THE SATURDAY REVIEW,
New York, N. Y., May 6, 1957.

The Honorable JAMES ROOSEVELT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ROOSEVELT: Friends of Dr. Albert Schweitzer in this country are deeply distressed at the way the Communist Daily Worker has exploited his statement about nuclear testing in an obvious effort to serve its own cause. I was shocked to learn, for example, that the Daily Worker published excerpts from the Schweitzer statement on its front page, and has sent copies of that issue to all Members of Congress.

What the Daily Worker neglected to say is that Dr. Schweitzer considers communism the greatest danger faced by the world's peo-

ples today. It has neglected to say that he believes communism to be an unscrupulous attempt to dominate the world's peoples. And in calling upon people to send protests to President Eisenhower and Members of Congress against nuclear testing, the Daily Worker said nothing to Members of the Communist Party about writing or wiring to the Kremlin. In fact, there is not a single reference to the fact of hydrogen bomb testing by Soviet Russia, or to the fact that the Soviet leaders have resisted for themsleves the same unilateral measures which the Communists have been urging on the United States.

What is even more significant is that the Daily Worker omitted that part of the text from Dr. Schweitzer's declaration which recognizes the need for enforceable provisions if any ban on nuclear testing is to work. Dr. Schweitzer wrote that "there must be guaranties preventing the agreement from being signed by anyone intending to win important tactical advantages foreseen only by him."

So that you may see the difference between the two versions, I am taking the liberty of sending in a few days the full text of Dr. Schweitzer's statement as it will appear in the Saturday Review for May 18.

I trust you will not allow the merit of Dr. Schweitzer's statement to be diminished by the exploitation of his name by the Daily Worker. What he has to say is based on a lifetime devoted to the moral community of men.

Sincerely,

NORMAN COUSINS.

MAY 8, 1957.

Mr. NORMAN COUSINS,
Editor, the Saturday Review,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. COUSINS: Thank you very much for your letter of May 6. I join with you in your dismay at the unwarranted and shameful use of Dr. Albert Schweitzer's words on the important topic of nuclear testing.

Unfortunately, this is an old Communist trick which people perhaps have forgotten. You do a great service in calling it to the public attention.

The Communists have all too frequently attempted to attach themselves to honest and liberal points of view, hoping, I suppose, to get some emotional credit from those whose idealism outruns their analytic perspective.

It is a misfortune that in many cases, otherwise wholly worthwile purposes have been fatally damaged by unsolicited and unwanted Communist support. One may wonder at times whether this in itself is perhaps not done deliberately.

Very sincerely yours,

JAMES ROOSEVELT.

The Story of Professional Football

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a short résumé of professional football compiled by Mr. Bert Bell, commissioner of the National Football League.

Bert Bell has been commissioner of the National Football League since 1946. He has been connected with football since his father played this game with the University of Pennsylvania in 1883. Because of his belief that the public in general knows little of professional football, the following brief was prepared on the little publicized organization of the National Football League:

A FEW WORDS ABOUT COMMISSIONER BELL

Football has been the life work of Bert Bell who has, since 1946, been commissioner of the National Football League. This is a heritage handed down to him by his father who played football at the University of Pennsylvania in 1883 and 1884. The elder Bell was next in seniority to Walter Camp on the college football rules committee when Mr. Camp was chairman of that committee. He served as attorney general of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania under Gov. John K. Tener who was president of the National Baseball League from 1913 to 1916. Commissioner Bell's brother, John C. Bell, is now associate justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

Following in his father's footsteps, Bert Bell also played football at the University of Pennsylvania He was captain of the team and played in the Rose Bowl.

After graduating, Mr. Bell coached at Pennsylvania and Temple University and later coached and owned the Philadelphia Eagles. The majority interest in the Philadelphia Eagles was, at that time, held by 3 wealthy men who, after losing about $80,000 in 3 years, decided to retire from professional football. Mr. Bell was able to purchase the club at auction.

In those days, there were 4 top teams and 6 poor teams in the league. The former were the New York Giants, Chicago Bears, Green Bay Packers and the Washington Redskins (formerly the Boston team). From 1933 to 1946, the championship was almost always won by one of these four top clubs. The other six teams usually won only 2 or 3 or 4 games each year. There was no real competition between the top teams and the poor teams because good college football players all wanted to play with the winning clubs, irrespective of the amount of salary offered by the poorer clubs.

Commissioner Bell recalls that in 1939, his Philadelphia team played Brooklyn to 100,000 empty seast in the Philadelphia Municopal Stadium. The advance sale of tickets had brought in only $1,100 plus. Then it rained the day of the game and the few spectators who put in an appearance sat in the press box.

It is of particular interest to recall that in 1938, the payroll of Mr. Bell's Philadelphia Eagles was less than $30,000 annually, whereas today, the average annual payroll of each of the 12 national league clubs is approximately $300,000.

Subsequently, Mr. Bell proposed the player-selection system and the league approved this plan for equalizing the strength of the teams. This system, which is in effect today, makes every game a hard-fought, thrilling, competitive contest, the outcome of which can never be forecast with any accuracy.

Of equal importance to the success of professional football, according to the Commissioner, is the reserve clause which reserves to the club the player's services under a one year contract with a one year option in the club on the player's services . If at the end of the year the player does not sign a new contract and plays out the option, he then becomes a free agent. The success of this type of contract and reserve clause is due entirely to the fact that the club assists the player in securing a position with a future where he can work while playing football; and also helps him financially and otherwise, thus keeping the player satisfied.

Commissioner Bell is convinced from his many years of experience that the player selection system and the reserve clause are absolutely vital to the existence of professional football as we know it today. He believes that the surest way to maintain the keen competitive spirit that permeates every club and every player is to continue the highly successful methods now used to equalize player strength among the 12 league teams.

Commissioner Bell also believes that little is actually known by the public or by the fans of the nation at large about the structure of professional football today. Due to the apparent confusion in thinking, he believes the time has come to set forth in some detail the precise type of organization which is the National Football League, and the constantly increasing contribution which it is making to the enjoyment by the public of this truly American sport.

Mr. Bell has served as Commissioner of the National Football League from 1946 to date, and on January 29, 1954 was given a new contract for 12 years thereafter.

JOE LABRUM,
Director of Publicity,
National Football League.

BALA-CYNWYD, PA., May 1957.

THE STORY OF PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL IN SUMMARY

(By Bert Bell, commissioner)

The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that professional football is subject to the antitrust laws, but that baseball is not.

This recent decision jeopardizes the continued existence of professional football in that it raises questions as to the legality under the antitrust laws of both the player selection system and the reserve clause. If either of these were held to be an unreasonable restraint of trade, organized football, the highly competitive and colorful sport that we know today, would come to an end. It would inevitably revert to its former state when four top clubs won most of the games and the public refused to support the poor teams which were unable to acquire good players, even though the poor teams offered the players more money.

The National Football League was organized in 1921. Its offices are now located in suburban Philadelphia. Member clubs are: Baltimore Colts, Chicago Bears, Chicago Cardinals, Cleveland Brown, Detroit Lions, Green Bay Packers, Los Angeles Rams, New York Giants, Philadelphia Eagles, Pittsburgh Steelers, San Francisco 49ers, Washington Redskins.

Some years ago, it became obvious that to prevent the ultimate destruction of professional football (42 clubs had gone out of business since formation of the league in 1921), methods had to be devised which would stimulate competition by enabling the less successful clubs to engage and retain for a reasonable length of time, the services of the better college players.

The methods adopted, which have worked successfully over the past 11 years, are (a) the annual player selection system, commonly known as the "draft," and (b) the reserve clause.

(a) The player selection system: Unlike baseball, professional football has no farm system or minor league affiliations. It makes use of an annual player selection meeting at which players are selected by the various member clubs.

Before the selection meeting is held each year, each club sends a questionnaire and/or talks by telephone to each player in whom it is interested. Among other questions, the club asks each player if he desires to play for that club if it should choose him. A player who does not care to play with a particular club is rarely selected by that club. This is natural, because football requires genuine competitive spirit

and the desire of each player to win for his team. In other words, the competitive spirit with which the player has been imbued in college, must be sustained throughout his professional football career.

Briefly, the actual selection of players operates in any given year in this manner:

The team which finishes the season in last place in the league is the team which is given the first choice of the players at the next annual selection meeting. The selection round proceeds until the league champion has made the last choice. Each team selects one player per round continuing in the same order. That is, the last place team chooses first and the first place team chooses last until all eligible players have been selected. Thus each year the teams are "re-equalized," making for keener competition among teams, better games, greater spectator enthusiasm, (100 percent increase in attendance since 1945), and greater income for the player which, incidentally, over the past 11 years has increased on the average approximately 300 percent. Today, the average salary of a league football player, who devotes approximately 7 months full time and 3 months part time to his business occupation, is between $8,500 and $9,000 per season.

The recent experience of the Baltimore Colts provide a good illustration of the benefits of the player selection system. Formerly, this club had a miserable record of wins and losses. It lost about $600,000 in 5 years, 4 of which years were spent in the All-America Conference (1 year in Miami and 3 years in Baltimore) and 1 in the National Football League. Through proper scouting and the player selection system, the Baltimore club—being at or near the bottom of the league—received first, second, third or fourth choice of the college talent. The club was thereby enabled to obtain the services of such outstanding players as Shaw, Ameche, Dupre, and others. Today, Baltimore can compete on even terms with any other team in the league.

The competitiveness among teams produced by the player selection system makes the outcome of any league game as unpredictable as next month's weather. Many will recall a 1955 game between the Chicago Bears and the Cardinals. The Bears, who had won 6 straight games, were overwhelming favorites to defeat the Cardinals who had won only 3 out of 9 games. Yet the final score was 58 to 14—in favor of the Cardinals.

(b) The reserve clause: After a club selects a player, he and his club agree to a contract for 1 season with an option on the player's services for only 1 additional season. If, at the end of the first season, the player does not desire to enter into a new contract, his only obligation under the reserve clause is to play for one more season (the option year) for that team. After that he becomes a free agent.

As a general rule, prior to the beginning of the second season the club and player negotiate a new contract. The football player's contract, in my opinion, is the best in any sport from the standpoint of the player. It places him in a strong bargaining position.

There are many reasons why the reserve clause is necessary to the continued existence of professional football.

In football, competitive spirit and teamwork are the principal factors for success and are achieved only after lengthy periods of practice and play with 1 team under 1 system. For example, a quarterback or any other specialist transferring from one club to another in all probability will not reach his maximum value to the succeeding club for an entire season. The intricacy of play patterns and signals, the talents of his teammates, and the timing of play executions are not quickly learned. Unless a club can count on the services of a player for at least two seasons, it cannot develop a great team, and great teams are necessary to the continued success of the player and the sport.

POLICIES REGARDING PLAYERS

1 system. For example, a quarterback or that a college football player may not be approached to play professional football until 4 years after he first enters college; that is, until his class has graduated. With regard to the case of a high-school football player who drops out of high school or graduates therefrom and fails to enter college, such a player will not be permitted to sign a league contract until at least 1 year after the date of graduation of his high-school class.

Neither, perhaps, is it realized that in the National Football League, human relations are considered to be of great importance. Every year, I consider it a part of my responsibility to personally tell all players that the securing of a job is of first importance and that in conjunction with his playing football, he should make every effort to establish himself in a business or professional career. To this end, each individual club assists those players who are either temporarily or permanently relocating their homes, and helps them to become established in a gainful occupation in the city where they are to play. With the widespread publicity that a player receives, especially in the city in which his club is located, he is able to make greater headway than might otherwise be the case toward furthering himself in a future business career. Actually, this year over 30 percent of National Football League players are working in the city where they play.

Professional football is not a business for the player; it is a means of establishing himself in business. Certainly, in my opinion, it is not a business within the meaning of that term as used in connection with the antitrust laws. Of the 396 players in the National Football League last year, the average term of service was less than 3½ years. To reiterate, players use their football prowess to pave the way, both financially and public relationswise, to permanent and usually successful business or professional careers.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

Professional football is chiefly an avocation. The vast majority of the club owners earn their livelihoods in other businesses exclusively. The combined gross receipts of the 12 league clubs in 1956 were approximately $10½ million. The 12 clubs netted approximately $600,000, an average of about $50,000 per club. The most successful club, the Detroit Lions, last season (1956) enjoyed 6 sellouts at home with over 50,000 spectators per game. Their gross receipts from ticket sales at home, their receipts on the road and preseason games, from radio and TV rights, etc., were approximately $2 million, but net profit amounted to only $119,483.22.

The Federal Government in 1956 collected more than $900,000 in admission taxes on professional football games—approximately 33 percent more than the combined net income of the 12 clubs comprising the National Football League.

The 12 league teams annually raise over a half million dollars for charity. The proceeds of 25 of the 36 preseason games played last season by members of the National Football League benefited charitable causes.

Each club of the National Football League rents its stadium, none owns one. No club even has control over the concessions in the park in which its team plays. Only one club that I know of participates in concessions.

The only major professional football league in existence today other than the National Football League is the Canadian League. The National Football League has no minor league affiliations and has never had any affiliation with the now defunct former rival, the All-America Football Conference. Nor has our league ever had any affiliation with the Canadian League. However, our teams do compete with Canada for college players.

PLAYER SELECTION SYSTEM AND RESERVE CLAUSE VITAL

In conclusion, I should like to repeat my firm conviction which is based on many years of experience in both college and professional football—that the player selection system and the reserve clause are absolutely vital to the very existence of this sport as we know it today. It is in the best interests of the public, the player and the team, which interests, incidentally, are inseparable, that the keen competitive spirit that permeates every club and every good player, be continued through the employment of the highly successful methods now used to equalize and maintain player strength among the 12 league teams.

Mr. Speaker, there are 46 additional pages in this brochure. These pages contain analyses of the Court's decisions involving football, baseball and boxing, prepared by the National Football League's Washington counsel, Clinton M. Hester. Also included are the complete text of these Court decisions and of the conclusions of the House Judiciary Antitrust Subcommittee based on extensive hearings conducted by that subcommittee in 1952 on professional baseball and a full study of the reserve clause used by that sport. The subcommittee, which was headed by House Judiciary Committee Chairman EMANUEL CELLER, concluded in its report that baseball could not operate successfully without some form of reserve clause.

Broadcast Concerning a Colleague

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to the following broadcast concerning my distinguished colleague, the Honorable HERBERT ZELENKO, made recently by Eric Sevareid, noted CBS radio and news analyst. Due to the widespread interest in Mr. ZELENKO's bill, H. R. 6912, I thought my colleagues would enjoy the transcript:

CBS RADIO NEWS ANALYSIS, MAY 3, 1957

(By Eric Sevareid)

Good evening. Representative HERBERT ZELENKO, of New York City, is a chipper man of 50, not much given to dark broodings on the mortality of man, for all that Grant's Tomb lies within his district; but years as a lawyer representing the side of human organisms injured while in contact with inanimate machinery have produced in Mr. ZELENKO misgivings about the respective values government places upon human bodies and machines.

Mr. ZELENKO, it appears, was privately pondering this strange inequity about the time we were publicly doing the same, via this microphone, last January, wondering out loud why the tax laws which allow a depletion allowance for an oil well and depreciation writeoffs for a truck or a tractor, refuse to acknowledge that the human body, the

only capital equipment most of us own, depreciates just as surely, is depleted in its earning capacity just as remorselessly with each passing year.

Ergo—H. R. 6912, a bill, introduced by Mr. ZELENKO, I quote, "to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide an income tax deduction for depletion of human recources."

It is a short bill, a simple bill, and for hard working people of 45 or over, a sweet bill; what it say, in effect is this: At the age of 45 anyone who earns may deduct 1 percent of his earned income, for income-tax purposes, at age 46, 2 percent, and so on, up to 50 percent of his earned income but no further; a modest accommodation for human depletion compared with the 27½ per year that an oil well operator can often get for the depletion of his oil.

As we were saying last January the effect of the tax system seems to be to encourage the investment of capital, not its expenditure, which is what life is all about, especially the expenditure of sweat, skills, and talents. Under the tax system, additional expenditure of these precious capital holdings brings, not growing returns, but declining returns.

Mr. ZELENKO appears to agree; he is arguing in Congress that his bill would encourage those of the middle age and over to work more, not less, to stay longer on their jobs. Well, economists may scoff; the Treasury may throw up its hands in horror, but Mr. ZELENKO is in dead earnest. And so, incidentally, are some 85 newspapers that have published editorials endorsing his scheme; so are some 4,000 citizens who have flooded his office with approving mail, including 1 petition from Buffalo signed with 300 names.

The Ways and Means Committee has pigeonholed the bill, plans to have no hearings on it at all; but ZELENKO is not discouraged. "I'm an amateur at legislation," he says, "but I have a notion this idea is so simple, so appealing and so fair it could snowball over the country."

This is Eric Sevareid in Washington.

Manpower Crisis in Federal Labs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DeWITT S. HYDE
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include excerpts from an article written by Joseph A. Grand, chairman, professional relations and status committee, Washington section of the American Chemical Society. This article appeared in the April 1 issue of Chemical and Engineering News:

MANPOWER CRISIS IN FEDERAL LABS
(By Joseph A. Grand)

Government laboratories are losing out in the keen competition for scarce scientific manpower. The critical situation now facing Government labs results from two things:

The Federal service is not obtaining its fair share of new science graduates.

It is unable to retain a considerable portion of its better scientific personnel.

How serious is the problem? As one offical of a prominent Government laboratory put it—"We are withering on the vine, and if we don't get help soon, we will be dead." This is an extreme view, and the seriousness of the situation varies with the character of the employment. Defense Department laboratories, employing a higher percentage of physical scientists and engineers, undoubtedly feel the pinch more severely than other departmental laboratories.

Compared with industry figures, the hiring and separations statistics for Federal scientists do not indicate an alarming turnover rate. However, considerations of quality and source of employees tell a different story. Influx of new graduates into Government service, vital new blood in the lifeline of a laboratory, is a mere trickle. One recent survey shows that 75 percent of the industrial firms surveyed reported 25 percent acceptance of employment offers to scientific personnel. Another survey shows that 27 percent of the firms reported 50 percent acceptance. The Federal Government acceptance rate is only about 10 percent.

MORALE PROBLEMS

The prestige of many Government laboratories is built around a hard core of senior scientists hired on a highly selective basis in less inflationary years. In general, these men are devoted to their work, and salary has not been the predominant consideration. But, in recent years, with rapid inflation, their relative economic position has become painfully clear to them. Today, approximately one-third of the total separations of scientific employees from the Government are senior grade personnel.

The combination of high quality employees leaving and lack of young graduates generates a lower morale and lower productivity. The prestige and sense of dedication of the Federal scientist that held him to his job possibly more than anything else can be sensibly dulled. The obvious end point of this reaction is the loss of scientific leadership and prestige of the Government laboratory and its ultimate demoralisation.

What has caused this aggravated condition? Fundamentally, the scientific manpower shortage is to blame. The immediate cause is the disparity of pay scales for professional employees in the Federal Government and in industry.

Some contend that the fringe benefits of Federal service—retirement, insurance, liberal vacation, and sick leave—tend to lessen this differential in pay. In addition, the prestige of Federal service, stability of employment, association with senior scientists, excellence of equipment, and nature of work may be presented as "fringe-fringe" benefits tending to lower the differential.

To both the young graduate and the professional pondering separation from Government service, these benefits are not too difficult to evaluate. Many of today's industrial giants have fringe benefits similar to the Federal Government plus such extras as medical and health insurance and profit-sharing or stock-purchase plans. News of private industry's modern laboratories and equipment punctuates nearly every issue of C. & E. N. The ability of industrial scientists is well attested by their publications in scientific journals.

CIVIL SERVICE VIEWS

Phillip Young, retiring Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, recognized Government's present lethargy with respect to fringe benefits when he said before the Engineers Joint Council, "Whereas the Government was once considered a leader in this field, private industry has been moving ahead in recent years faster than we have."

It should seem conclusive that if Government laboratories are to compete with industry in recruitment and retention of professional personnel, they must compete with comparable pay.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

Immediate interim legislation is needed to remove the present pay inequities. This would call for hearings in Congress now. For long range, permanent legislation a study group or subcommittee should be set up.

This problem of the growing discrepancy between Government salaries for scientists and those paid by private industry must be solved either by the Federal administration or Congress, or both. Unless Members of Congress and top administration officials are made aware of the facts and the need to correct a situation leading to deterioration in the quality of research in Government agencies, nothing will be done. It is becoming evident that unless this situation is corrected, the welfare of our Nation can be jeopardized.

Effect of Appopriations Cut on International Educational Exchange Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, some of us who are particularly interested in the Near East and Africa have analyzed the effect of the appropriations cut on the international educational exchange activities in that area. Into this picture has come a letter from two American surgeons who volunteer to go out to a section of Africa, where there are no surgeons available, for 4 months a year, if transportation and living expenses can be arranged. This is but one instance of which there are many.

It seems a tragedy that this infinitely valuable program of international exchange must be curtailed just when the needs of the Near East and Africa for professionals of all kinds are so great. Not only will the department be unable to expand its exchanges as planned, but it will be forced by the appropriations cut to reduce its present program in this vital area by some 26 percent.

Dollar programs in the Near East and Africa will be at 67 percent below the requested level and 26 percent below the current level. Programs in 27 of the 32 countries in this area are operated solely with dollar funds since foreign currencies are available in only 5 countries of this area. Most of the remaining 27 countries are on the African Continent. In spite of plans to double the program with Africa, where an increase is badly needed, the program will have to be cut below the current level.

Funds were requested to bring 590 influential leaders and specialists to the United States from this area. This number will have to be reduced to 222. No leaders can be brought from Uganda, Tanganyika, Somalia, Liberia, the Belgian Congo, or the African Trust Territories. Reductions in many critical countries will also be necessary. Exchanges with Ghana will be reduced from 25 to 10, the Sudan from 14 to 5, Tunisia from 23 to 6, Morocco from 28 to 9. Only 3 leaders from Israel, 5

from Jordan, 4 from Libya, and 4 from Lebanon can be financed.

As to the exchange of students, 212 fewer grants than planned can be awarded for study in the United States. No students would be brought from Ghana, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Tanganyika, Ugantia, or Yemen. Only 8 can be brought from Iran, 5 from Morocco, 3 from the Sudan, 8 from Syria, and 6 from Tunisia.

One hundred and four fewer teachers and professors can be exchanged than were planned. The Department's program to assist Ghana and other newly independent countries in their educational programs must be curtailed. Leader and specialist exchanges will be similarly reduced.

H. M. Baggarly, Editor and Publisher of the Tulia, Tex., Herald, Named Nation's Top Columnist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding weekly newspapers in our great country is published in Tulia, Swisher County, Tex., which is located in the 18th Congressional District of Texas that I have the honor to represent.

The editor and publisher of the Tulia Herald is Mr. H. M. Baggarly who has been named the Nation's top columnist in the 1957 Better Newspaper Contest. He will receive the award at the fifth annual session of the National Editorial Association in San Francisco in early June. This fine newspaper has, for 5 successive years, been recognized for editorial, column and news writing by the journalism department of Texas Technological College at Lubbock, Tex. The selection this year of Mr. Baggarly's "Town Topics" column, as the Nation's best from 1,900 entries, is distinct and warranted recognition of his journalistic ability and integrity. In every instance he approaches fearlessly and honestly the great issues of the day which confront Swisher County, the State of Texas and the United States. He further invokes his readers to the same consideration.

Mr. Baggarly is a native of Swisher County and his late parents were among the earliest Panhandle settlers. They built the first home in the community of Happy, Tex., and were instrumental in the establishment of that city. Mr. Baggarly is a gentleman of broad and varied talents and of strong character and judgment. He is a graduate of the University of Missouri and of West Texas State College in Canyon, Tex. He is an accomplished musician, a brilliant and understanding teacher, and he served with distinction as a Naval officer in World War II. His progressive outlook has been apparent in all of his undertakings and the reputation of his newspaper is firmly established as a sentinel for, and a protector of, the principles which are our democratic heritage. I take occasion to add my own congratulations to Mr. Baggarly and the Tulia Herald for this merited award, and I commend this son of Texas to this body as an example of real Americanism in its finest sense.

Woolen and Worsted Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a statement of the Wool Manufacturers Council of the Northern Textile Association, Boston, Mass., together with a memorandum on the subject of woolen and worsted imports.

I believe that the Members will find this information on a matter of great importance to the American people, not only very interesting but also most illuminating.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF WOOL MANUFACTURERS COUNCIL NORTHERN TEXTILE ASSOCIATION, BOSTON, MASS., ON WOOLEN AND WORSTED IMPORTS

Increased imports of foreign woolen and worsted fabrics seriously aggravate the depressed conditions which have beset the wool textile industry of the United States for the past 10 years.

New England's woolen and worsted mills, despite prolonged and severe hardships, still produce more than half of the woolen and worsted fabrics of the United States, employ 40,000 textile workers in 170 mills scattered through cities and towns in all 6 New England States.

During the past 10 years, since import duties were slashed, total imports of low-wage foreign goods have increased by more than 800 percent, and are frequently so concentrated in certain types of fabrics that they absorb the greater share of the United States market. Such import concentrations depress fabric prices, wipe out mill profits, cause serious losses and unemployment, and eventually drive many American mills out of business.

Hundreds of American mills have been forced to liquidate and over 100,000 wool textile jobs have been lost in the past decade. During this period, when half of the weaving capacity of the United States has been lost, the principal foreign producers of woolens and worsteds have enjoyed a growing market in the United States. The Japanese have built a woolen and worsted industry which now operates almost twice as many looms as the United States. In the past 3 years Japan has increased its imports of woolens and worsteds to the United States by 650 percent.

The New England mills have borne the brunt of an attack which comes from many countries in increasing amounts. While United States imports of English wool fabrics have increased since 1954 from 50 percent in certain categories to 120 percent in other categories, Italy has increased her share of the United States market by even greater amounts, and United States imports of Japanese medium-priced goods have increased by over 600 percent, and imports of higher-priced fabrics by over 1200 percent.

In 1956 imports of lightweight woolen and worsted fabrics equaled about 60 percent of total United States production of such fabrics. Imports of these fabrics have almost doubled since 1954.

In certain types of quality goods, imports have risen from one-half to almost two-thirds of the domestic production of similar cloth. Many of the mills which a few years ago produced these fabrics are now out of business. The remaining mills are threatened, and losses are severe. While American production and employment in these types of goods has fallen by one-third, imports have increased by 3½ times.

Import duties on woolens and worsteds were cut by various amounts from 28.5 percent to 44.4 percent 10 years ago. As a result of tariff-cutting sessions with foreign low-wage producers, the duties on higher-priced woolens which require more labor to produce, have been cut by even greater amounts, thus discriminating even further against American labor and in favor of the lowest-wage foreign producers who pay wages as low as 12 cents an hour.

The woolen and worsted industry, suffering from serious readjustment problems, losses and unemployment, has been required to carry an undue burden of unfair competition from abroad. Among the textile industries, woolen and worsted imports are relatively 3 times greater than cotton imports, and 10 times greater than in synthetic textiles. Compared to many growing and prosperous nontextile industries, woolens and worsteds, like other textiles, bear a wholly disproportionate burden of imports.

A comprehensive program should immediately be undertaken by the Federal Government to bring about a curtailment of woolen and worsted imports, with particular reference to import ceilings on individual types of fabrics to prevent harmful concentrations.

WOOLEN-WORSTED IMPORTS AND DOMESTIC PRODUCTION

I. INCREASED IMPORTS—CLOTH

1. 1947–56: Imports have risen 800 percent in the past 10 years, while domestic production has been cut 40 percent, with the closing of over 250 mills and the permanent loss of over 100,000 jobs.

All principal wool-cloth-producing nations have increased imports into the United States.

2. 1954–56: Since 1954 imports have jumped by 92 percent, broken down as follows:

	Percent
Japan	648
United Kingdom	60
Italy	109
Other	74

3. The share of imports enjoyed by Japan has increased fourfold—from 4 percent of all imports in 1954 to 16 percent in 1956. In certain categories of goods she currently (1956) holds up to 43.4 percent of the import market. United Kingdom has dropped from from 67 to 56 percent. Italy's share has increased slightly from 10 to 11 percent.

4. Concentrations:

(a) Overall: Imports of all apparel fabrics amount to 7 percent of domestic production compared to six-tenths of 1 percent 10 years ago. This is much too high for a declining industry.

(b) Comparisons: Woolen-worsted imports as a percent of domestic production are 3 times greater than cottons, 10 times greater than synthetics, and 10 times greater than automobiles and steel products.

(c) Categories: Increasing imports of wool fabrics concentrate in certain categories with alarming trends for the higher value and

finer goods. Lightweight fabric imports (under 9 ounces) constitute 57 percent of total United States production of such fabrics.

	Square yards
Imports	23,473,000
Production	40,879,000

Sixty-two percent of all imports are concentrated in fabrics weighing 8 ounces or less per square yard.

Ninety-three percent of all imports are valued at over $2 per pound and 34 percent over $4 per pound.

It has been estimated that in quality fabrics imports constitute two-thirds of domestic production.

The extent of concentrations is not fully understood because of lack of comparative information on imports and domestic production. This need must be met.

(d) Trends: Japan has increased her exports of medium-value goods ($2–$4) by 641 percent since 1954, and of high-value fabrics (over $4) by 1,288 percent.

Italy and the United Kingdom, on the other hand, have increased imports in the $2–$4 bracket by a greater amount than in the over $4 bracket.

II. TARIFF REDUCTIONS

As a result of the Trade Agreements negotiations, ad valorem duties on woolens and worsteds have been reduced by 50 percent to 58.4 percent, depending upon value, and the specific duties have, in addition, been reduced by 25 percent.

1. Discrimination: Duty reductions have discriminated against the higher value fabrics with a higher labor content upon which original ad valorem duties were higher than for lower value fabrics. For example: On fabrics valued at more than $2 per pound, the ad valorem duty has been reduced from 60 percent to 25 percent, whereas the duties on lower value fabrics have been reduced from 50 percent and 55 percent, to 25 percent.

The same kind of discrimination against higher value yarns has also been pursued, with reductions up to 70 percent in some cases. Substantial cuts have also been made in pile fabrics, wearing apparel, wool blankets and similar articles.

2. Geneva reservation: The Geneva reservation of 1947 applies only to woolen and worsted fabrics, and then only after imports equal 5 percent by weight of the average annual United States production. Not only is the allowable amount too high, but despite the language of the reservation, nothing is done to prevent concentrations of imports in certain categories of goods within the allowable 5 percent. The higher duty of 45 percent does not apply until near the end of the year when the total of 5 percent has been landed. The result is that in the beginning of each year, the duty is automatically cut by 44 percent.

III. DOMESTIC INDUSTRY

1. United States: The severe decline in the woolen and worsted industry hardly needs repeating. Machinery capacity has been cut in half, employment has declined by over 51 percent, and hundreds of mills and thousands of jobs have been permanently lost. During the same period, foreign producers have increased their exports to the United States of woolens and worsteds, and Japan has built a new woolen and worsted industry with almost twice as many looms as the United States.

2. New England: New England has suffered the greatest unemployment and damage, although she still produces one half of the woolens and worsteds of the country, and still employs approximately 40,000 workers in 170 woolen and worsted mills in the area.

New England wool manufacturers urge that a comprehensive program be undertaken immediately by the Federal Government to bring about a curtailment of woolen and worsted imports, with particular reference to import ceilings on individual types of fabrics to prevent harmful concentrations.

Humane Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, it is encouraging to note that four of my distinguished colleagues, in the course of a visit to the Dominican Republic, formed the same favorable impressions of the broad, humanitarian policies of Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, LL. D., that have been entertained by numerous United States leaders and citizens throughout the last 27 years. My colleagues discovered what the highest officials in our Army, Navy, and Air Force have known, namely, that good will, cooperation, and friendship are among the best ideals of the Dominican Government now headed by President Hector B. Trujillo Molina.

The gentlemen from the United States Congress visited the Susua colony which was established as a place of sanctuary for refugees from Nazi terror during and after World War II. The new Deputy in the Dominican National Congress is Mr. Alfred Rosenzweig, a Jewish immigrant, who is prominent in his home community. This member declared that he was happy about his new fatherland and delighted to be able to share in the splendid Dominican program of national reconstruction. This plan was described in the records of the United States Congress on Monday, June 13, 1955, under the meaningful title, "Twenty-five Years of Peace and Prosperity in the Dominican Republic."

It is right to add that the Dominican authorities, in their desire to help in Western Hemisphere defense, have been willing to permit missile-range installations on Dominican territory. Recently, equipment for a loran, important for navigation, was also installed. These are a few of the many acts of good will and affirmative action that continue to inspire confidence among the people of the United States and the rest of the free world with respect to the sound leadership and high statesmanship which have been noticeable in the Dominican Republic.

In other lands, there is bankruptcy with some consequent burdens on the United States taxpayers. The Dominican Government not only maintains order, but also constantly forges ahead. The result is that this friendly nation is an asset, not a liability in the current world crisis.

I am happy to see that the views of my distinguished colleagues support my own position on this important subject. It is for this reason that I am glad to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and those who want to keep abreast of the facts, the experience described in the following United Press report which was published on April 25, 1957, in the Diario Las Américas, Washington, D. C., and Miami, Fla. The article follows:

JEWISH REFUGEE ELECTED DEPUTY BY DOMINICANS

CIUDAD TRUJILLO, April 24.—Alfred Rosenzweig, a Jewish immigrant who is manager of a colony of fugitives from Germany's Nazi persecution, was elected member of the Chamber of Deputies. Rosenzweig, naturalized Dominican, will represent the District of the Sosua Agricultural Colony, on the northern coast of the country.

The new deputy is at present entertaining four Jewish Members of the United States House of Representatives, who are visiting the Dominican Republic. He believes he is the only Jewish refugee who has won a seat in Parliament in predominantly Catholic Latin America.

In regard to his election, he affirmed that "it is proof of a complete absence of any form of discrimination in the Dominican Republic. I must point out that the great majority of the people who elected me are devout Catholics."

Rosenzweig declared he is proud of his new fatherland and of Israel "and even more," he added, "of participating in the great Dominican program of national reconstruction planned by Generalissimo Trujillo."

The Sosua colony was established by Generalissimo Rafael L. Trujillo, on a zone of more than 3,000 hectars. Thousands of fugitives from Nazi Germany found refuge there during and after World War II.

The United States Congressmen, EARL CHUDOFF, ISIDORE DOLLINGER, SAMUEL FRIEDEL, and HERBERT ZELENKO, all of Jewish origin, delivered a declaration in which they praise the Dominican Government for the opportunity given the Jewish refugees to restart their life in the Dominican Republic, especially in the case of Jews driven out by Egypt immediately after last year's Suez Canal events. In regard to it, they bring out the contrast with the United States attitude which, according to what they said, closed its doors to those Jews.

Later, Trujillo told the Congressmen that the only Jews not admitted in the Dominican Republic are those affiliated to communism.

Foster Wheeler Plant at Wilkes-Barre Plans To Expand Facilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Record of May 3, 1957, which discusses the Foster Wheeler plant and its plans for expansion:

Some of those in the know say they will not be astonished if Foster Wheeler before much longer carries out plans for further expansion. When Kenneth L. Walker, works manager, was asked about the prospect, he said that the Mountaintop plant is now operating at maximum capacity with 500 workers on a payroll amounting to $2½ million annually.

The occasion for posing the question was the receipt by Foster Wheeler of an order from the Luzerne Electric Division of the United Gas Improvement Co. for construction of a large capacity boiler for the addition to

the electric company's powerplant at Hunlock Creek.

It is no secret that plans have been drawn for expansion of the Foster Wheeler Mountaintop plant. Quotations on construction have been tabled for the time, but management is said to have embraced the view that, with an increased volume of work let out to subcontract, expansion sooner or later is all but inevitable. This evidence of industrial enterprise and attending progress is gratifying.

Sixteenth Antiaircraft Artillery Battalion, Fort Banks, Winthrop, Mass., Rated Best in the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, Boston, Mass., would be a suicide target for enemy planes.

Moscow knows it.

For it is no military secret that Boston is defended against air attack by the Nation's best antiaircraft artillery gun battalion, with headquarters at Fort Banks, Winthrop, Mass., commanding the entrance to Boston Harbor.

The 16th Antiaircraft Artillery is a crack outfit with uncanny skill and superb morale.

It not only stands ready round the clock to sweep from the skies any hostile craft that may invade the air space over Boston but has already made a clean sweep of all the honors in competition with other antiaircraft gun battalions that guard our major cities.

The competition was held at various firing ranges throughout the country during 1956. The 16th Battalion accomplished its recordbreaking scores at Camp Wellfleet on Cape Cod. There the radar-directed 90-millimeter guns fired at sleeve targets towed by bomber-type aircraft and at radio-controlled target planes three different times during 1956.

The lowest high battalion score, or high battery score, racked up by the 16th Antiaircraft Artillery was 98.33.

The entire 16th Battalion was honored at a review held at Suffolk Downs on April 1. At that time Maj. Gen. Raleigh R. Hendrix, Deputy Commanding General of the Army Air Defense Command, presented a commendation ribbon to Major McManus. The battalion received a large trophy to mark its achievements, while each battery in the battalion received a unit achievement award for its part in the battalion's success.

To Col. David B. Routh, who was recently reassigned to the Washington, D. C., area, to Lt. Col. William B. Beavers, Artillery, commanding, and to all the officers and men of "the sky-sweeping 16th," we offer the Nation's congratulations.

For the RECORD, under unanimous consent, I include from the Boston Globe of March 26, 1957, the story of the 16th's high-caliber proficiency. It certainly is a triple-A outfit, that merits national recognition and national praise:

A No. 1 IN THE AAA—16TH IS BEST BY TEST—OUTSCORES ENTIRE NATION

Everybody at Fort Banks, Winthrop, knew it before, but yesterday it became official: The 16th is the fastest, smoothest and most accurate outfit in the whole Army Antiaircraft Command.

This was no mere local assertion, but an official announcement from Command headquarters in Colorado Springs, Colo., yesterday, which recognized the 16th AAA Battalion, Fort Banks, as the best in the business.

It was based on practice firings among all United States-based AAA units during 1956.

The 16th won top position in all three judging categories, and two of its batteries won the Nation's top spot in service practice and the Army training test.

The battalion fires 90-millimeter guns, four to a battery, on distance and speed calculations made by radar. In the competition it fired at a rate of better than 16 rounds every 20 seconds.

The battalion's scores were: Service practice, 98.33; Army training test, 98.66; combined score, 98.50. Its nearest competitor was the 451st, which scored 97.59 in the service practice.

Two of the 16th's batteries were high in the Nation: Battery B, Fort Dawes, Winthrop, 99.70 in the test, and Battery D, Newton, 98.87, service practice.

The battalion is commanded by Maj. Vincent J. McManus of Brooklyn, N. Y.

On April 1 a review of the battalion will be held at Suffolk Downs racetrack, where 900 troops will attend as Maj. Gen. Raleigh R. Hendrix, deputy commander of Antiaircraft Command, will present the award to the battalion and Batteries B and D.

Resolution Adopted by Conservative Youth Association of Brooklyn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Conservative Youth Association of Brooklyn, N. Y., has sent me a copy of the resolution adopted at a formal meeting held on May 5, 1957, and I submit it herewith to my colleagues:

Whereas communism has spread its ugly tentacles over the whole world, and even our beloved country has not been spared this curse; and

Whereas our Government was duped into recognizing the atheistic Government of Russia, which conspires to impose itself on the world; and

Whereas many of our own citizens have espoused the doctrine of Bolshevistic communism and similar doctrines, which would destroy the freedom and integrity of the individual, and are militant in their support of these doctrines even to the point of subverting our Government; and

Whereas other investigations had failed to bring the Communist conspiracy in our Government into the scrutinizing light of public opinion; and

Whereas exceptional courage was required to uncover those who had betrayed the Nation they served, and to bear the vilification of the enemy and the misguided; and

Whereas in the face of many obstacles the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy did reveal the extent of the Communist infiltration in our Government; and

Whereas because of his love of freedom and country, he willingly saw his own name and motives vilified; Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That the Conservative Youth Association expresses its profound sorrow over the loss the Nation and the world has suffered because of his untimely death. The Conservative Youth Association sincerely advocates that others in the Senate and other branches of the Government carry on the work of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy—the work of patriotism and God.

Mayor Bernard J. Berry To Lead Jersey City in Celebrating 75th Anniversary of the Founding of Congregation Sons of Israel on May 19, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, nothing gives me greater pleasure than to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time a most interesting letter from Mayor Bernard J. Berry, of Jersey City, N. J., in which Mayor Berry tells the fascinating story of the vigorous growth of Congregation Sons of Israel and the proper influence for good its members have exerted in the community over the past 75 years.

Mayor Berry's letter follows. I congratulate Mayor Berry and Congregation Sons of Israel for their outstanding record in this regard:

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR,
CITY HALL,
Jersey City, N. J., May 3, 1957.

Hon. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI,
Member of Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Congregation Sons of Israel, 294 Grove Street, Jersey City, N. J., the first and oldest orthodox synagogue in Jersey City and Hudson County, will celebrate its 75th anniversary on Sunday, May 19, 1957, at which time the early founders and pioneers of the congregation will be honored.

The members of the synagogue and many friends of the community of Jersey City and Hudson County will on this day assemble at the synagogue, and thereafter, to the Jewish Community Center, to pay tribute, with prayer supplication to the sacred memory of the first Jewish orthodox settlers of Jersey City who have laid the foundation for true orthodox Jewish spiritual and cultural life in the entire county of Hudson.

The growth of Congregation Sons of Israel parallels the growth of Jewish communal life in Jersey City. At the cradle of orthodoxy in this community, the congregation was the center of Jewish spiritual and religious life since the early days of the 1880's when it was first founded in the downtown area of Jersey City. Many of our present-day leaders in the synagogues and philanthropic institutions are descendants of the founders of Congregation Sons of Israel.

The synagogue was organized in 1880. Its official name was then: Chevrah Bnei Israel. Later it was changed to its present name of: Congregation Sons of Israel.

The first services of the congregation were held in the private homes of the members. As the membership grew larger the congregation purchased its first house of worship, in the year of 1888 at 181–183 First Street, corner Grove Street. In the year of 1918 the present structure at 294 Grove Street was purchased.

The spiritual leader of the synagogue is Rabbi Zvi H. Shurin. Under his leadership the congregation continues to serve devotedly the religious needs of young and old of the congregation. Its spiritual guidance exceeds beyond the boundary of the downtown community. The Congregation Sons of Israel always was and is a fortress of religious and spiritual life for the members of the Jewish faith of Jersey City.

The president of the congregation is Mr. David Seidman, of 258 Barrow Street, a very devoted and pious member of the Jewish faith.

May I ask that you see to it that the above facts are placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD?

Thanking you for your cooperation and assistance and with every best wish, I am,

Sincerely,

BERNARD J. BERRY,
Mayor.

Henry Walser, of Hazleton, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Hazleton Plain Speaker of April 30, 1957, on the passing of Henry Walser, who was an outstanding citizen, businessman and publisher in Hazleton for many years:

With the death of Henry Walser this morning, Hazleton has lost a citizen with an outstanding record of community service.

As publisher of The Plain Speaker—Standard-Sentinel and president of the First National Bank, he was a man whose work will long be remembered.

Certainly his foremost achievement was in newspaper publishing. A man of vision and enthusiasm he brought Hazleton its first Associated Press news service, and provided the most modern equipment to speed its printing and distribution.

The effect a newspaper has on community progress is something which cannot be measured. But we know that Henry Walser's influence did much to make Hazleton a bigger and better place in which to live.

As a banker he helped to stimulate the economic growth and development of Hazleton.

As a citizen he served ably in elective positions in the city and county although he long ago retired from active participation.

He gave service in other fields such as the board of trustees of the State Hospital and the Public Library. During World War II, he gave many hours to his duties as chairman of Draft Board No. 2.

In the cultural progress of Hazleton his influence was important and when the legitimate stage provided the only means of entertainment, he brought the Nation's finest productions here during the years he managed the Grand Opera House.

His stature in the newspaper publishing field proved that from small cities can come the leaders of a great industry and the Associated Press long since paid tribute to him as a man who helped make it the great organization it is today.

As an employer he was revered by the men and women who will ever honor him for his honesty and fair treatment.

As a banker he combined sound policies with a helpful hand.

No greater tribute can be paid a man than to say he did so much for the town in which he lived. Truly he helped to weave a pattern of progress for Hazleton.

Sparks Into the U. S. S. R.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

SPARKS INTO THE U. S. S. R.—THE STORY OF RADIO LIBERATION

Radio Liberation began its work on March 1, 1953, from studios in Munich and by means of one 10-kilowatt transmitter in Lampertheim, Germany. At first, there was one 20-minute program, repeated 12 hours a day.

In the last 3 years, Radio Liberation has upped its transmitting facilities to 11 at diverse spots on the globe to blanket the U. S. S. R. and its total daily (transmitting) time to 228 hours, to be available to Soviet citizens whenever and wherever they dare and can listen. From broadcasting only in the Russian tongue, Radio Liberation has branched out to speaking in 17 languages used in the U. S. S. R.: Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaidjanian, Tatar, Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmen. Ossetin, Adyge-Kabardin, Karachay-Balkar, Chechen-Ingush, Avar and Kumyk.

Ten minutes after it went on the air, Radio Liberation was jammed by the Soviets. As Radio Liberation stepped up its activity, the Soviets responded with ever-heavier jammings. Today hundreds of jamming stations, spreading from the western edges of Czechoslovakia and Poland eastward over the entire Communist orbit to Siberia, try to black out the message of Radio Liberation. On the whole, they fail.

Radio Liberation has combatted the jammers through technical improvement of antenna design and through flexible transmitter operation. To its transmitting facilities in West Germany it has added transmitters in the Far East. Radio Liberation has blanketed the U. S. S. R. from several directions, weaving in between the jammers.

This policy has paid off. Extensive long-range monitoring from a half a dozen points on the periphery of the U. S. S. R. has demonstrated that Radio Liberation delivers an intelligible signal to almost all parts of the vast country. And direct confirmation of this fact has come from Soviet citizens themselves. * * *

Here is some of the evidence:

From time to time, travelers with a knowledge of the Russian language come to Radio Liberation to volunteer their impressions of the country and its people. Most often they are prompted to contact Radio Liberation because they have happened upon persons who have reported to them that listening to Radio Liberation and other Western broadcasts is a daily habit. The Western travelers to the U. S. S. R. provide the staff of Radio Liberation with valuable information—how many listen in the Soviet Union—how the programs are getting through—and general listener reaction * * *.

A young Russian, now a political refugee in the West, reports that he heard Radio Liberation while he was a soldier with the Soviet occupation forces in East Germany. Together with two other members of his tank crew, he listened over the tank's receiver * * *.

Another Soviet soldier, now also in the West, heard Radio Liberation while stationed in Hungary. The station had been guardedly talked about by other members of his unit * * *.

In Vilna, the capital of Soviet-annexed Lithuania, a number of people listen to Radio Liberation. This is the testimony of an elderly woman whom the Soviets recently permitted to emigrate.

Sometimes anti-Soviet individuals hear of Radio Liberation from the Soviet police itself. One man, recently freed from a concentration camp in Soviet Moldavia, reports that his police interrogator was the first to ask him if he had ever heard of the station. When he replied that he was glad it existed, he was given 3 days' special punishment.

Soviet concentration camp inmates particularly welcome Radio Liberation's programs and take comfort and hope from them. A German recently released from the notorious Vorkuta camp in the Arctic Circle has reported that since the strike some prisoners are allowed to visit outside the camp zone and consequently could hear some foreign broadcasts. The German was told by a Russian prisoner who had begun to enjoy the visiting privileges that he had heard Radio Liberation and found its programs well informed on conditions in the Soviet Union * * *.

The German's report confirmed and elaborated on one made in 1954 by a Greek who had also been confined at Vorkuta. The testimony of the German and the Greek together indicate that Radio Liberation had been heard almost continuously for at least a year and a half in that explosive prison camp.

Not only at northerly Vorkuta, but in concentration camps deep in Soviet central Asia, Radio Liberation seems to be a force. A Hungarian released from a camp in Kazakhstan described how he and Russian inmates heard the station completely free of jamming, although there was occasional fading. Hearing anti-Soviet broadcasts, the prisoners declared, was like being treated to a glass of vodka.

In Stalin's own home territory, in Soviet Georgia, Radio Liberation is well known, according to borders crossers into Iran.

A 26-year-old bear tamer, Viktor Iljinsky, traveling with a Soviet circus in West Europe, escaped from the circus train at Aachen, Germany, January 26, 1956, and told of listening nightly to Radio Liberation after the show as the circus traveled.

Letters have been arriving for several years. This alone is noteworthy.

The volume of letters is not large. Certain trends, however, stand out clearly.

Some letters reflect the official Soviet propaganda line. There are warnings: "You are traitors to the Russian people and it is none of your business to bemoan Russia," writes a locksmith from Tambov. "If you traitors are thinking of again fighting the country of the Soviets, you will be given what you deserve. This time we shall be merciless." * * *

On the anti-Soviet side, one group of letters is cautious and only establishes contact. An anonymous post card came in from Minsk, hailing one of Radio Liberation's humorous commentators on Soviet life. Others ask Radio Liberation for signs that their cryptic message has arrived: "If you receive this letter, I beseech you urgently to sing to me your favorite song, We Met by Chance." * * * A Ukrainian living in Poland writes to the

cover address the names and locations of churches that have been defaced and destroyed. A woman from the Baltic sadly infers that her father and mother have been liquidated. A loquacious youngster from Kharkov describes the misery of peasants on the farms, hints that a new aristocracy of privilege is waxing fat in the U. S. S. R., makes fun of Soviet propaganda films, and prophesies that a man of his political leanings will probably wind up in Siberia. And a man writing from Lvov discreetly warns Radio Liberation staff members that "they had better not succumb to the blandishments of the Soviet redefection. Life here goes on as before, and nothing new has been added since you left." * * * "Many thanks for your dear letters," reads a post card. "Your relatives will be very grateful that you are young and strong enough to do intensive work for yourself and the everyday good," says a letter evidently approving the political programs of Radio Liberation.

All told, some 150 former residents of the USSR conceive, organize, and present Radio Liberation's programs to its vast and secretive audience. Each staff member has a personal history—and a profound personal insight based on that history—which enables him to speak in terms and tones convincing and compelling to listeners in U. S. S. R. Hundreds more contribute to the programing as free-lance writers and speakers.

These key members of Radio Liberation's Munich staff receive assistance from a small group of Americans who have an expert knowledge of the U. S. S. R. and a background of experience in information work. Radio Liberation's technical staff in Europe and the Far East is in a position to draw on the services of a group of American technical specialists in communications who have helped to design, set up, and operate the elaborate transmitting equipment which carries the words and spirit of the emigre broadcasting staff deep into the U. S. S. R.

WHO'S BEHIND IT?—THE HISTORY

Radio Liberation got its start in 1950.

That year a group of eminent Americans surveyed the cold war scene and found an appalling instance of neglect: No major or concerted attempt had been made to enlist the loyalties and passions of the anti-Soviet exiles from, and the anti-Soviet residents in, the U. S. S. R. against the Kremlin. An almost inexhaustible reservoir of political energy lay untapped, stagnant. No single-minded effort had been launched to appeal to the spirit that had led millions of U. S. S. R. citizens to desert from the Soviet Army and administration during World War II, and to choose the most desperate of alternatives—temporary alliance with Hitler—because they so terribly needed and wanted an alternative, any alternative at all to sovietism.

All the free world's energy in the cold war had been spent either on containing Soviet power or on encouraging aloofness from it, as in neutralism. The representative cast of characters in the cold war drama had not been assembled; the restive peoples of the U. S. S. R. had not been asked to choose. If they were offered an alternative to straight Soviet domination, how would they decide? Like the millions who deserted to the Vlasov cause in World War II? The initiators of Radio Liberation were determined to find out whether what they believed was true—that many citizens of the U. S. S. R. would, even if only by listening to foreign-originated and forbidden broadcasts, take their chances on freedom.

Out of this determination grew the American Committee for Liberation, with headquarters at 6 East 45th Street in New York. AmComLib, as it quickly became known, undertook two major efforts: First, to rally the emigration from the U. S. S. R.; and, second, to enable the emigration to speak to its countrymen in the U. S. S. R.

Setting up Radio Liberation entailed complex preparation not encountered by the ordinary broadcasting operation. The emigration from the U. S. S. R., scattered over many nations, had to be brought into cooperation with the venture, in order to give the broadcasts authority. The ablest emigres in the writing and broadcasting fields had to be located and teamed up as a station staff in order to give the programs quality. Negotiations had to be pursued with foreign governments for the location of studio and transmitter facilities on their soil.

Radio Liberation's effort has inevitably appeared to parallel that of the old Free Europe Committee, even though AmComLib is and always has been a completely independent venture and there is no duplication of mission or effort in their respective activities. The Free Europe Committee sponsored Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts to the Eastern European satellites in their languages, but not to the U. S. S. R. AmComLib, however, is the sponsor of Radio Liberation, which broadcasts to the peoples of the U. S. S. R. in their many tongues.

RADIO LIBERATION'S BACKERS TODAY

President of AmComLib is Howland H. Sargeant, a well-known American public servant and former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.

Mr. Sargeant is assisted by a small American staff of experts in Soviet affairs, broadcasting, radio engineering, and administration.

The trustees of AmComLib represent a spectrum of American business, scholarly and professional interests. They include: Mrs. Oscar Ahlgren, former president of the American Federation of Women's Clubs; John R. Burton, New York banker; William Henry Chamberlin, author of Russia's Iron Age, and other books on the Soviet Union, contributor to the Wall Street Journal, and other newspapers; Charles Edison, former Secretary of the Navy and former Governor of New Jersey; J. Peter Grace, chairman of the board, W. R. Grace & Co.; Allen Grover, vice president, Time, Inc.; H. J. Heinz II, president, H. J. Heinz & Co.; Isaac Don Levine, authority on Soviet affairs and author of the first major biography of Stalin; Eugene Lyons, author of Assignment in Utopia and Our Secret Allies, profound studies of the Soviet Union, and senior editor of Reader's Digest; Dr. John W. Studebaker, former United States Commissioner of Education; Reginald T. Townsend, former vice president and director of the advertising firm of Lennen & Mitchell; William L. White, editor, author, and publisher of the Emporia Gazette; Philip H. Willkie, president and attorney of the Rushville (Ind.) National Bank, onetime member of the Indiana Legislature.

UNIVERSAL SUPPORT FOR RADIO LIBERATION

To those who may wonder whether a positive American contribution to foreign affairs is often only the work of a few dedicated individuals, without genuine backing from the United States public, and especially without agreement from the thinking public in most of the non-Communist world's countries, it may be heartening to know that Radio Liberation has received wide support from distinguished individuals from many countries, not only the United States, but from churchmen, teachers, scientists, labor leaders, journalists, and statesmen everywhere.

United States Vice President RICHARD NIXON and the United States Republican floor leader in the Senate, WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND have spoken over Radio Liberation to the peoples of the U. S. S. R.

So has Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

So have United States Gen. Omar Bradley, Argentine publisher Alberto Gainza Paz, and American publisher Bennett Cerf. Russian-born Alexandra Tolstoy and many other well-known exiles from the U. S. S. R. sat at Radio Liberation's microphones.

So has the chief of the British Labor Party, Hugh Gaitskell.

Here are others, from many countries: Andre Lafond, France; Ahmed Ben Salah, Tunisia; Mohammed A. Khatib, Pakistan; Igor Gouzenko, U. S. S. R.-Canada; Henry Peyre, France-United States of America; Rene Fuelop-Miller, Hungary-United States of America; Ignazio Silone, Italy; Albert Gamus, France; Jacques Maritain, France-United States of America; Eller Jensen, Denmark; Robert Bothereau, France; Sir William Lawther, Great Britain; W. H. Auden, Great Britain-United States of America; T. Nishimaki, Japan; John T. Tettegah, Gold Coast; Italio Viglianese, Italy.

Harold Willis Dodds, president of Princeton University; Henry T. Heald, former chancellor of New York University, now president of the Ford Foundation; George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College; Millicent C. McIntosh, president of Barnard College; and many other outstanding American educators have addressed messages to the peoples of the U. S. S. R. over Radio Liberation.

Among the scientists who have spoken over the station are Vannevar Bush, Nobel prize winner H. J. Muller (who worked at Moscow University from 1933 to 1937); Nobel prize winner Wendell M. Stanley; bridge designer David B. Steinmann; biologist Conway Zirkle, aeronautical pioneer Igor Sikorsky, and many more.

Among labor leaders whose voices have been heard in the U. S. S. R. through Radio Liberation are George Meany, president AFL-CIO, Jacob Potofsky, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; David Dubinsky, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Charles J. McGowan, president of the Boilermakers, Blacksmiths, and Shipbuilders International; Walter Reuther, etc.

American writers whose messages have been used by Radio Liberation are too numerous to permit more than mere sampling of their names: John Dos Passos, Joseph Wood Krutch, and Lionel Trilling.

Among the American journalists who have endorsed Radio Liberation, David Lawrence singled out the unique feature when he wrote: "Unlike those broadcasting on other projects which (in the U. S. S. R.) are recognized as 'foreign,' the speakers on Radio Liberation use such terms as 'we Russians' or 'we Ukrainians' and when they criticize the Soviet system, they do it as members of the family and fellow citizens—not as outsiders."

Roscoe Drummond declared: "Radio Liberation cafries the story of freedom where freedom is in chains. This group counts itself the greatest possible friend of the Russian people because it is 'dedicated to the liberation of all mankind from the scourge of Soviet power.'"

Office of Defense Mobilization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, three times within the last 2 weeks we have observed the Office of Defense Mobilization engage in activities and practices unrelated to the national security and contrary to the public interest. Just yesterday the Secretary of the Treasury,

George M. Humphrey, criticized the fast tax writeoff program which has been made possible only through the action of the Office of Defense Mobilization. The specific grant of authority just last week to the Idaho Power Commission to enjoy quick amortization of its investment on the low-level dams to be built in Hell's Canyon was as gross an abuse of authority as has been conducted by the present administration since its inception. It also appears that the ODM and the Treasury Department—separated only by the White House grounds—fail to communicate with each other.

This independent office, apparently independent of good judgment and elementary thinking, recently declared that oil imports to the United States should be curtailed in the interest of the national security, when just exactly the opposite is true. The American national security is imperiled by the dissipation of its domestic oil reserves when abundant supplies are available in other parts of the world for delivery to the United States. As a matter of fact, the Office of Defense Mobilization has established itself as an oil tariff commission, protecting the high prices of domestic producers of oil at the cost of the American consuming public.

The latest activity of the Office of Defense Mobilization took place when that Office purportedly for the administration threw its support behind the natural gas bill to "protect the consumers against unreasonable price increases" when the proposed legislation seeks to do just exactly the opposite. The proposed legislation would limit and freeze authority of the inert Federal Power Commission to a total inertia. The only purpose of the pending legislation is to seek complete pricing freedom to raise natural-gas prices at the expense of millions of consumers, principally in northern cities.

On these three counts alone, it is quite evident that the Office of Defense Mobilization has been selected to do this administration's "dirty work." It has stretched the once sacred term of "national security" to do the bidding of the steel, private power, and the oil and gas industries. The Office should be abolished, and its functions should be placed in the Defense Department on a "standby" basis.

If I Were the Parent of a Teen-Ager

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following essay:

IF I WERE THE PARENT OF A TEEN-AGER
(By Mary McInerney, Visitation High School, senior, second prize (girl))

If I were the parent of a teen-ager, I would try to make our home his favorite place—a place that would give him love and security. I would let him bring his friends home, and I would welcome them when they came. I would take an interest in his outside activities. If, for instance, he had a favorite sport that he liked to participate in, I would try to know something about it so that I could discuss it with him. Or, if my daughter were interested in sewing, I would try to know something about sewing, too.

I would give my teen-ager certain responsibilities. This would make him feel that he was an important part of our home.

I would not limit my interests to my home and thus become a one-sided person. I would take part in community affairs. I would take an interest in current novels. This would keep me up-to-date and aid me in advising my children. I would read good books and urge my children to develop good reading habits.

I would take an interest in my personal appearance. Teenagers do not expect their parents to be glamorous, but they like to be proud of them.

I'd try to remember that my teen-ager is an individual who has thoughts and ideas of his own. I would try to teach him that he is just as good as anyone else, but not better. I'd try to give him a certain amount of privacy. I wouldn't try to keep him tied to my apron strings. I'd let him make his own decisions, and, if he had a job, I'd let him manage his own money. I'd encourage him to be self-sufficient, but I'd let him know that if he ever needed help or advice, he could depend on me.

I'd try to make my teen-ager a responsible person, one who would accept his duties and rights and appreciate them. I'd show him his responsibilities and encourage him to accept them. I could best show him his civic duties by being a good citizen. I could show him his duties to his family by accepting my own duties to my family.

Finally, I would try to make him aware of his primal duty—the one he owes to God. I'd try to be a good example; I would practice my religion. If we had God in our home, we would have a common end—to serve Him better. He would unite us and a united home is an indestructible one.

The Freezing of International Boundaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAURENCE CURTIS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, a farsighted editorial in the Boston Herald of May 6, 1957, draws attention to the problem resulting from the freezing of international boundaries.

To appreciate the importance of the problem, one need only consider what the present state of the world would be had this policy prevailed over periods of past history.

Believing that this problem should receive wide consideration, I ask that this editorial be printed as part of my remarks. It reads as follows:

One of the paradoxes of our atomic age is the way the political map has been frozen. Now that we have the capacity to blow nations and even continents off the map we dare not move so much as a single border marker in the desert.

Not since the days of the Holy Alliance has the status quo been so jealously insisted upon.

The prime example, of course, is the Middle East, where the big powers have lately expended great efforts to restore and/or maintain frontiers which in Disraeli's time would certainly have been abandoned or redrawn.

Israel's present borders are absurd and Jordon has no real excuse for existing at all, but we dare not face the consequences of changing either.

The same situation prevails in many other areas. Where the free world borders the Communist world there is a special rigidity. The division of Korea at the 38th parallel and of Indochina at the 17th makes no sense geographically, economically, or politically, but we are stuck with these demarcations so long as the cold war stays cold. The same is true of the East-West split in Germany.

In colonial disputes we are more ambivalent. The United States continues to show a nominal sympathy for subject peoples who seek self-rule. But we no longer insist on the principle of self-determination, particularly where doing so would threaten our allies or provoke an open revolution. We dare not.

Last Tuesday the United Nations received a report from a special envoy on the Kashmir issue. His verdict: After 10 years India and Pakistan are no closer to an agreement on the disputed area, which means that a totally irrational cease-fire line will continue to divide it. More recently still a deputation representing the Council of Organization of American States has been rushed to the scene of a border dispute between Honduras and Nicaragua with the purpose, not of helping to redraw the frontier according to right and justice, but of stopping the dispute at all cost and fixing the line where it is.

The freeze is definitely on. Nothing must change. No nation, large or small, with good motive or bad, must be allowed to upset the applecart.

In a way this is not too bad. If the threat of all-out nuclear war is making the West walk on tiptoe, it is also curbing the expansionist urge of the Communists. For the time being, at least, major as well as minor aggresions are ruled out. And, as a peaceful nation with no territorial ambitions, the United States stands to gain greatly by such a moratorium.

The trouble is, however, that the world can't be made to stand still. Nations grow and diminish. People's attitudes and needs change. And sooner or later something is going to have to give. If we try to hold the line too firmly, we may merely be building up for an explosion.

We are carrying out a holding action now, because we seem to have no other choice. But somehow we must make ourselves another one, because the status quo cannot be maintained forever. We must find a way to accommodate normal growth and even conflict in our society. The present holding action is merely buying time. The real challenge of peace keeping has still to be met.

Peaceful Applications of Atomic Energy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 6, 1957, our colleague, Hon. CARL T. DURHAM, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, delivered an address to the North Carolina Pharmaceutical Association at its annual convention in Charlotte, N. C. His address was entitled "Peaceful Applications of Atomic Energy."

We are all familiar with the valuable public service of our distinguished colleague in the field of developing an atomic-energy program. It occurs to me, therefore, that the Members of this body, as well as the public generally, will find the address of Mr. DURHAM to be of great interest and value.

The address follows:

PEACEFUL APPLICATIONS OF ATOMIC ENERGY

(Remarks by the Honorable CARL T. DURHAM, chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, before the North Carolina Pharmaceutical Association, Charlotte, N. C., May 6, 1957)

It's good to be back here again with you today. I remember my last visit with great pleasure, and I am honored that you have asked me to join you once again. As an old-time pharmacist myself I might say that I couldn't feel more at home than in the present company.

There was a time when a speaker could get up and talk for a few minutes about the peaceful applications of atomic energy and sit down again with confidence that he had said all there was to say. Today this same subject has become so vast in scope that a speaker is tempted to ask himself: "Where do I begin?"

The advances which have been made in peaceful applications of atomic energy in the last few years have been nothing short of extraordinary. I think most people who aren't familiar with the atomic-energy business would be amazed at the large number and variety of ways in which the atom is being put to use to better the lives of all of us and to promote the economic well-being of this country.

This large-scale development of the peacetime atom has not happened by accident. It has been the result of much hard work and effort by thousands of scientists, engineers, and technicians working under a program of cooperation between industry and Government. I think this cooperative arrangement between Government and industry has in general worked very well in the past, and I am confident that continued cooperation of this sort will yield increasingly large dividends in the years to come.

Among the various areas of peacetime atomic development, I suppose the greatest attention in recent years has been focused on the field of atomic power and of nuclear propulsion for naval vessels. This is only natural and appropriate in view of their importance to our future economy and our relations with other countries abroad. But while the public spotlight has been directed primarily on these areas, there has been a quiet revolution going on with regard to development of other peaceful uses of atomic energy which may in the long run prove equally important. It is to these other areas of peacetime atomic development that I would like to direct a few remarks today. I would like to mention especially the growing uses of radioisotopes, the so-called byproducts of our atomic reactors.

Isotopes have been called the wonder tool of the atomic age, and well they might be. In the past several years there has been a dramatic upsurge in the number and variety of things for which they are being used. Existing applications include everything from clinical examination to oil drilling, from agricultural experiments to spot-checking welds, and the surface has just been scratched.

The annual savings to American industry through the use of isotopes is already estimated at something like a third of a billion dollars, and increased savings are confidently predicted in future years as more and more uses are developed. It is entirely possible that over the long run these savings and benefits from the use of isotopes will more than repay the huge investment we have made in our atomic-energy program.

I thought you might be interested today in hearing about a few of the things which are being done with isotopes in the field of medicine and in the pharmaceutical field. It would be hard to describe in dollars and cents just how much benefit we are getting out of our experiments in this area. You can't very well measure in material terms the essentially priceless knowledge we are gaining on how the body functions, on earlier and better diagnosis of human ailments, and on more effective treatment of these ailments. The only certainty is that the benefits are very large in terms of relieving human suffering and of adding to the productive life of thousands of individuals. As a measure of the number of people being affected by these new techniques, it has recently been estimated by the Atomic Energy Commission that between 800,000 and 1 million persons are being diagnosed or treated with radioisotopes each year by some 1,500 hospitals and private physicians.

As pharmacists, you are, of course, particularly concerned with new procedures which are being employed in the medical and pharmaceutical fields. Many of you are probably already aware that considerable research activity is going on at the present time with drugs which have been tagged with radioactive compounds. Much of the current experimentation is of a preliminary nature and is aimed at finding out more about the distribution of the body's metabolism and its special characteristics. Of necessity, most of the experiments are being done on animals, but in some areas, at least, advances in research have made it possible to begin experiments with human volunteers. Such is the case with radioactive iodine, which is administered to thyroid patients to measure iodine uptake in the thyroid gland and to arrest excessive thyroid activity in some cases. Scientists at the Abbott Laboratory and at the Hanford atomic facility have been doing interesting research work in this area, which has resulted in a number of fundamental discoveries about thyroid metabolism. It is interesting to note in this connection that 10 years ago only one thyroid hormone was known to medical science, whereas today as a result of these experiments several additional types of hormones have been discovered.

Similar experiments are being conducted with radioactive iodine on older people whose hearts have become overburdened through overactive thyroid conditions. While study in this area is still in a preliminary phase, there is hope that through utilization of such techniques life may be prolonged for older persons who would ordinarily succumb to heart attacks occasioned by strains placed on the heart by thyroid conditions. Incidentally, such treatment is not recommended for younger persons or for young women of childbearing age in view of possible deleterious results.

Speaking about older people, interesting experiments utilizing atomic tracing techniques are being carried on with regard to the aging process or what makes people grow old. These studies are carried on in a field called geriatrics, which I find from my Webster's dictionary means old age and its diseases. It doesn't take much imagination to visualize the importance to individuals and to the Nation at large, if through these studies of the body's functions and the aging process, we can gain some clue as to how to extend the effective life of man and slow down the inevitable process of deterioration of the body which comes with old age. Of course, I always have believed in the quotation from the Bible which says "Honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long upon the land." But it wouldn't hurt if we knew a little more about the physical processes of the body as well.

Some firms are currently experimenting with a radioactive-labeled tranquilizer with a view to finding out more about the actions of such tranquilizers and their effect on the human system. Work is also being carried out on tagged T. B. drugs. Most of these experiments have been carried out on animals, but some experimentation is now being tried out on human beings.

At the Argonne National Laboratory outside Chicago, scientists have set up what they call an "isotope farm," which is devoted to a study of the life process of plants through means of irradiation. No attempt is being made at Argonne to develop genetic mutations in plants through successive generations. Primary emphasis is on finding how plants synthesize drugs through a study of the alkaloids which are produced as a result of plant irradiation. It is hoped that these studies may some day give us a lead on how chemical reactions in drug-producing plants come about. Once we learn this, we may be on the track of how to produce some of these drugs synthetically, which cannot be done under conventional techniques.

You are all undoubtedly familiar with the problem of sterilizing drugs for public consumption, but you may be interested to know that new techniques involving sterilization by irradiation are now being studied by several drug firms. As you know, certain drugs are most difficult to sterilize by the conventional heat process, and there is always the packaging problem to contend with. Now, using atomic accelerators, laboratories will be able to sterilize these drugs right in their containers through high-level irradiation. Although accelerators are most commonly used for this type of treatment, there is no reason why smaller, less bulky, irradiation sources developed as byproducts of our atomic reactors cannot, in some instances, be used for the same purpose.

Finally, just a word about progress which is being made on the dread disease of leukemia through utilization of atomic techniques. No one pretends that medical science has yet found the complete answer to this terrible scourge. But some success has been achieved in preliminary experiments in which patients have been given radioactive phosphorus orally. While this process has not achieved a permanent arrestation of the disease in any of the cases so far treated, it has, in some instances, resulted in temporary alleviation and the extension of the victim's life span by several years. A chief advantage of this technique is that it is much easier to administer the X-ray treatments and is a good deal cheaper as well.

It is sometimes hard to realize that just a scant few years ago only select members of the scientific community and a few outsiders were much concerned with the peacetime uses of isotopes, and then only in an abstract sort of way. Today, with the rapid advancement of atomic techniques and particularly the mass production of isotopes, people by the thousands are becoming acquainted with this area of knowledge. A typical example is our pharmaceutical laboratories where the use of isotopes is becoming almost routine and commonplace. As more private firms come into the business and as more and more uses are developed for these new techniques, we can expect to see a rapid expansion of activity. Perhaps some of you have already felt the impact of the new technology in your businesses. I think it behooves all of us to keep up with the developments in this field and to lend encouragement to an effort which holds much promise for the future of mankind.

Thank you, once again, for asking me to join you today. It has been a pleasure to be with you.

Unjust Immigration Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, when I was home over the Easter recess, a number of persons and committees called upon me regarding the necessity of amending and repealing the inequities of the present immigration law.

The Judiciary Committee of the House is now considering this legislation and I hope we can get favorable action in a short time so that the changes in this law can become effective before adjournment in August.

The following is an article from the Gary Post-Tribune, setting out one of the thousands of inequities and hardships the present law inflicts upon so many of our citizens.

[From the Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune of April 29, 1957]

IMMIGRATION LAW FORCES GARY DAD OVERSEAS TO SEE FAMILY—WAR VET SAYS QUOTA SETUP BAD

United States immigration laws are forcing a Gary steelworker to travel almost 5,000 miles to visit his two sons and daughter in Yugoslavia.

Alexander Elich of 933 West 11th Avenue has complained about his plight to Indiana Senators WILLIAM JENNER and HOMER E. CAPEHART.

Elich wrote both Senators that "something is radically wrong with our immigration laws when a man cannot bring his own children into this country."

SUPPORTS TWO FAMILIES

Elich, a veteran of World War II and an American citizen since 1943, told the Senators that the separation of his family has been heartbreaking and very expensive. He pointed out he has to support two families—himself and his wife here in Gary and his sons and daughter in Yugoslavia.

Elich said if his sons and daughter had been allowed to join him here in America they would now be contributing the American economy and he would not have to send money to Yugoslavia for their care.

"How can United States senators continue condoning year after year the assigning of so many thousands of quota numbers to Britain and Ireland where they are not used and are wasted while denying people like myself the chance to bring our own sons and daughters to this country?" Elich's letter asked of both senators.

Elich continued: "I implore you to correct this injustice in our laws and to throw your influence behind President Eisenhower's program for liberalization of the antiquated, discriminatory immigration laws.

HITS 1920 BASIS

"We do not drive a 1920 car. Why have immigration quotas based on the 1920 census when we have censuses from 1930, 1940, 1950 and are about ready for one in 1960?" asked Elich.

Elich told JENNER and CAPEHART that Indiana residents are "fed up" with the present immigration laws.

Elich has lived in America since 1934. When his wife joined him here in 1954, his sons were more than 21 years old and nonquota immigrants. Their age puts them in the fourth preference category. The list of sons and daughters like those of Elich's waiting to enter the country under this classification is so long that the category of the four preference is marked "unavailable."

The Yugoslav quota of 933 is halved by mortgages under the displaced persons law.

An example of the immigration quota system which distresses Elich is the fact that Great Britain (assigned 65,361 numbers) and Ireland (with its 17,756 numbers) have used only about one-third of their quotas while other countries (with small quota numbers) have long lists of persons waiting to enter the country.

Elich, preparing for his May journey to Yugoslavia, told the Indiana lawmakers, "I believe that my sons will never come to the United States unless our immigration laws are changed. The third preference is oversubscribed and persons long registered in the fourth preference are considered only after those in the third preference are taken care of."

Discontent Noted Among Czechoslovak Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article, datelined Prague, Czechoslovakia, which appeared in the New York Times of May 4, 1957, which discloses that there apparently is discontent among the reds in that country:

REDS OF SLOVAKIA NOTE DISCONTENT—POLISH AND HUNGARIAN RISINGS SAID TO HAVE HAD A DEEPLY UNSETTLING INFLUENCE

PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, April 29.—Further disclosures on hidden but evidently widespread discontent among Czechoslovak Communists have been made here.

Final resolutions of a three-day Slovak Communist Party conference concluded in Bratislava yesterday were published today. The resolutions and speeches made during the conference by party leaders made clear that the Polish and Hungarian revolts last year had had a deeply unsettling influence on Czechoslovak Communists.

Some Communists here, according to a resolution, have come to think that "democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat are diametrically opposed." And these critics wanted more democracy.

The unrest has not been restricted to party members. The Slovak party, which is a branch of the nation-wide Czechoslovak Communist party, announced that the "greatest danger, in addition to revisionism, is the bourgeois nationalist influence of a nationalistic ideology among workers."

NATIONALISM ASSAILED

Thinly veiled warnings indicated that there had been a revival of Slovak nationalism seeking to pull away from a national union with the Czechs. During World War II the Nazi established an autonomous Slovak state under Andre Hlinka, whose followers now have been accused of seeking to infiltrate the state and economic apparatus and literature.

One clue to the possible cause of the renewed separatist feeling came in complaints about membership of the Slovak party. Its first secretary, Karel Bacilek, said "only 35.5 percent are industrial workers." Farmers apparently were even more reluctant to join since M. Bacilek said 528 village party organizations were without a single farmer member, and 674 others had only one or two farmers in them.

The remainder of the Slovak Communists were intellectuals, administrative employes and party functionaries. Since Slovakia is predominantly an agricultural region, this means that the party and bureaucracy must be nearly synonymous.

POLISH EXAMPLE EYED

In essence, the critics apparently have been making the same demands for liberalization that led to the crisis in Poland. However, this clamoring has been well concealed under an opaque cover of intraparty secrecy in Czechoslovakia so that the rest of the country has heard next to nothing about this subsurface debate.

It was announced that "measures for improvement" had been taken in the Slovak Writers Union and the outspoken Slovak literary weekly Kulturalny Zivot, both of which had been criticized for "wrong attitudes."

There was no indication that top-ranking Czech or Slovak Communists had been caught up in the spirit of turbulence. The Slovak conference confirmed all its party's politburo members in office without change. Nor were any personnel changes foreshadowed in the upper ranks of the parent Czechoslovak party.

Private Enterprise Is Invited To Offer a Slum-Clearance Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article on slum clearance that appeared in the New York Times, issue of May 8, 1957. The article invites private enterprise to offer a slum-clearance plan:

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IS INVITED TO OFFER A SLUM-CLEARANCE PLAN

(By Albert L. Kraus)

BUFFALO, May 7.—Albert M. Cole, Federal Housing Administrator, invited private enterprise today to offer "any feasible plan" to help overcome urban blight. He said the problem was by far the most important one facing the economy in years to come.

If all the Treasury's funds were used to help solve the problem, he told the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, there wouldn't be enough money to do the job.

Mr. Cole told the association's 37th annual convention that the Federal Government already had obligated almost $900 million for urban renewal with 433 projects either underway or in the late stages of planning. But, he said, the growth of slums is outpacing the Nation's ability to keep up with the problems.

The pertinent question, he said, is to what extent private enterprise can remake the cities it created.

THREE IMPORTANT OMISSIONS

Mr. Cole said compromise housing legislation scheduled to be debated in Congress today benefited from "three important omissions which I think good."

Omission of the use of National Service Life Insurance reserves to purchase mortgages for veterans, he said, would help preserve the integrity not only of the insurance fund but of all other Government trust funds.

Omission or the veterans mortgage program from Federal Housing Administration

procedures, he said would avoid administrative difficulties and remove from the FHA's responsibilities the difficulty of trying to administer price controls.

Omission of efforts to control price discounts on fixed-interest-rate mortgages, he said, was realistic. "So long as we have fixed-interest rates, there will always be discounts or premiums," he declared.

VIEWS DIFFER

George S. Goodyear, president of the National Association of Home Builders, and Thomas E. Lovejoy, Jr., president of the Manhattan Life Insurance Co., took opposite views of the effect of credit restraint on house building.

Mr. Goodyear accused the Federal Reserve Board of blithely pursuing a tight money policy and permitting housing starts to decline. "Our population," he said, "is growing faster than the vision of our leaders. Wedding bells are ringing louder than the carpenter's hammer."

By 1965, he forecasts, the Nation's population would hit 193 million with the worst housing shortage in all our history.

Mr. Lovejoy said that except for the years between the 1920's and now, the demand for funds to finance industrial growth had always exceeded the savings available for investment.

A BETTER JOB

"This has spoiled some of our people, including the builders, who in the last 8 to 12 months have had to learn how to operate under conditions where interest rates are higher," he said. "Many of these builders will survive, and those that do will learn how to do a better job than they did under conditions where interest rates were easier."

He forecast some easing of interest rates in the last half of 1957, with a possible lowering of mortgage rates.

Is Foreign Aid a One-Way Street?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, May 1, the Cleveland News carried an editorial which asks the question: Is Foreign Aid a One-Way Street? That editorial points up that our foreign-aid programs are going sour with the American people because some foreign governments have come to demand that no conditions be attached to our gifts. The American people are willing to help those who try to help themselves, but they will not long tolerate demands made by ungracious and undependable beneficiaries. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the editorial:

IS FOREIGN AID A ONE-WAY STREET?

The News carried a headline yesterday: "Jordan Wants Cash, Not Ike's Doctrine," which explained a lot.

The Associated Press story then went on to say that Jordan "indicated it will accept an offer of $10 million in United States economic aid as long as it doesn't commit the Arab nation to the Eisenhower doctrine."

Any idea that American financial assistance is actually buying friendship and loyalty is pretty well demolished by this attitude of the Jordan Government, which is quite typical of the position of most of those countries accepting our money.

It seems to us that fairness and a sense of gratitude would call for some favorable response from recipient governments. There should be an obligation to reciprocate, if only in a promise to be helpful and cooperative.

It is not enough for Jordan to say that it is against communism. In accepting a gift of $10 million, which even in these days of reckless spending is a sizable sum, the United States was entitled to expect more than a gruff demand that no conditions be attached to the gift.

It is this one-sided philosophy and lack of appreciation that is souring the American public and Congress on the foreign assistance program. The American Government has no desire or intention of interfering in the internal affairs of the governments it helps, but the extent of the aid warrants something in return. And that we are not getting.

Signs and Roadside Protection on the Interstate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, with the widespread interest in the preservation of the beauty of the new national highways to be constructed, I believe it is timely to call the attention of my colleagues to an article published in the May 1957 issue of the American Motorist:

SIGNS AND ROADSIDE PROTECTION ON THE INTERSTATE—CONGRESS IS JUSTIFIED IN PROTECTING ITS HIGHWAY INVESTMENT, SAYS AAA PRESIDENT HARRY I. KIRK

Protection of the roadsides of the 41,000-mile National System of Interstate and Defense Highways against billboards and other types of commercial blight was provided for in several bills introduced in Congress not long ago. The new Federal Highway Administrator, Bertram D. Tallamy, was prepared to present to Congress a program outlining the views of the United States Bureau of Public Roads as to how the Federal Government can best protect the roadsides of this nationwide highway network.

The American Automobile Association, long an advocate of State and local action for roadside protection, is now urging Federal action to protect the Interstate System from billboards, uncontrolled commercial development, and unlimited access from side roads.

A statement issued by AAA President Harry I. Kirk, of Chicago, stressed that while ethetics and ability for motorists to enjoy the scenery were involved, there is an equally important dollars-and-cents consideration in protecting the huge investments being made in highway construction. He said:

PRESIDENT KIRK'S STATEMENT

"In view of the fact that highway user taxes, collected by the Federal Government, will pay for 90 percent of the cost of this interstate network, the Congress is fully justified in protecting the billions of dollars invested in these highways. Long and bitter experience has demonstrated that it is economically unsound to invest large sums in highway construction unless the roadsides are protected against blight that destroys a major part of roads capacity, safety, efficiency and enjoyment.

"Unregulated development along the roadsides, including uncontrolled erection of billboards, adversely affects the State, the community and the motorist. The highway user, whose taxes pay for the huge costs of highway modernization, has every right to demand not only safeguards for his investment in the highway itself but also adequate roadside protection."

Meanwhile, the AAA and its affiliated clubs continue to push for State and local action to preserve the roadsides on all highways, pointing out that favorable action by Congress on the interstate system would protect only 41,000 miles out of the Nation's total of 3,400,000 miles of roads and streets.

The national motoring body's booklet, Roadside Protection—A Study of the Problem and Suggested Approaches to Betterment, is a standard work in this field. In addition to stressing the need for adequate roadside protection, the AAA booklet points out the various ways by which this objective can be accomplished—wide highway rights-of-way, acquisition of special easements, highway zoning and so on.

SUPPORT BY UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Since the AAA booklet was published, the United States Supreme Court has upheld, in the strongest possible language, the right of Government, to make and enforce regulations in the interest of better appearance in addition to those aimed at contributing in other ways to the public welfare.

In the case of Berman v. Parker, Justice William O. Douglas, speaking for the Court, said: "The concept of the public welfare is broad and inclusive. * * * The values it represents are spiritual as well as physical, asthetic as well as monetary. It is within the power of the legislature to determine that the community should be beautiful as well as healthy, spacious as well as clean, well balanced as well as carefully patrolled."

AAA's action extending its roadside policy to the Interstate System through Federal action followed on the heels of announced intention of the Outdoor Advertising Association of America to battle against congressional action limiting billboards along these national expressways. Following is the way in which the AAA has summarized the major aspects of planned roadside development:

"The roadside is the most neglected aspect of the highway problem today. Yet it has a major bearing not only on the appearance of the route, but on the level of safety and traffic efficiency of the highway itself.

"Back in the horse-and-buggy and Stanley Steamer days, no one cared particularly if an enterprising huckster painted a farmer's barn and covered one side with a Bull Durham ad. Later—roughly in the era marked by the rise and fall of the Model T—there were loud outcries at the tendency of the sign painters to erect their boards at points of greatest scenic beauty.

"But the alarm of those who wanted to see unspoiled the Nation that the roads had opened to them was mild compared with the shock suffered by highway economists and the traffic analysts when they evaluated the cost of uncontrolled roadsides. The chaos and confusion along main-traveled ways does more than offend the eye. With roadside businesses of one sort or another crowding the highway on both sides, the outer lanes become glutted with stop-and-go traffic. What was designed as a high-speed highway becomes a low-speed congested road, with its outer lanes veritable invitations to disaster.

"But what can you do when the highway reaches such a condition? To widen it has become impossible; the cost of acquiring the property so intensely used for business has become prohibitive. So highway departments have been taking the only way out: they up and build a new, modern highway in an entirely different location. The old highway becomes a ghost road, the flourishing roadside businesses die on the vine.

Everybody loses—particularly we motorists who are paying our billions in taxes for road-building."

Advertisers don't lose out in this protection against unsightly signs and overly conspicuous and distracting billboards, motorists assert. They have the benefit of good newspapers and magazines for advertising, as well as television, radio, and the United States mail services.

No Comfort Here

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, many misguided, good-intentioned people are insisting daily that the Congress enact the so-called Federal aid school construction bill. They fail to understand that there is no such thing as a Federal handout. No money comes from Washington unless and until it has first been extracted from the people back home, tolled heavily by the Federal Government and then posted back to the States and localities with stringent conditions attached. For every $100 passed down to the States, it cost the taxpayers approximately $140. This is a heavy toll to pay for Federal handouts: give up local control and initiative plus handling charges of one-third.

There is no such thing as Federal aid without Federal control. Federal aid is inevitably followed by Federal control as night follows day. There appeared in the Lynchburg News, Lynchburg, Va., of May 7, an outstanding editorial which points out the Federal control problem. It is entitled "No Comfort Here." The editorial is as follows:

NO COMFORT HERE

The Education Committee of the House of Representatives has defeated the Roosevelt amendment putting an antisegregation provision in the current big Federal school construction bill. This amendment would have denied any of the billions of Federal funds appropriated to any State of any school district in a State not conforming to some bureaucrat's idea of what constituted acceptance of the Supreme Court's antisegregation ruling.

The defeat of this first outright attempt at Federal control of public education will bring no comfort to those who have recognized from the beginning the threat of such control inherent in all Federal aid, because they know that there is no such thing as Federal aid without Federal control. They know, too, that those who attempt to persuade them otherwise are attempting to delude them or are deluding themselves, and they are not to be taken in by the fate of the Roosevelt amendment. They well understand—in fact, it is openly admitted—that the reason for its defeat is not opposition to Federal control but fear that such a naked display of the power of those who hold the purse strings would be to defeat the whole big spending project. The action of the committee was simply a parliamentary device to remove obstacles to passage and not a vote of conviction.

There is another and a far more important reason why opponents of Federal control of education are not reassured by this initial defeat of an overt attempt at its exercise. Even if the defeat in committee is followed by defeat on the floor and the bill goes through without amendment they know well that it means nothing. It means nothing because there will be nothing in the way of the introduction later of a separate bill fashioned on the lines of the Roosevelt amendment. That is will be introduced at this or at another session of the Congress no one can doubt. That it will pass there is grave danger. If defeated it will be by a filibuster. The one coming up now will be regrettable enough and defensible only on the ground of necessity.

It might be fortunate for opponents of another spending spree if some such amendment as that offered by the California ROOSEVELT were to pass. It might bring about the defeat of the whole bill, as some of its supporters fear and as it did last year. The only way to stop deficit financing is to stop big spending and the only way to avoid Federal control of education is to reject Federal bribes to the States to surrender State controls.

Hypocrisy Unlimited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Cleveland Plain Dealer of May 1 carried a most enlightening editorial on the latest propaganda campaign being carried on throughout the world by the international Communist conspiracy. It rightly points out that international communism has been scoring propaganda successes in vital areas that may well spell the difference between war and peace. It underscores the hypocrisy of the Russian leaders and points out that a hypocrite who believes his own lies and is able to persuade others to believe them can be dangerous.

I recommend this editorial to the reading of anyone who has been deluded into believing in that the threat of international communism to the survival of our way of life has subsided or that Russian propaganda is not an effective instrument in support of their many intrigues.

Under leave granted, I insert the editorial on hypocrisy unlimited:

HYPOCRISY UNLIMITED

In recent weeks the Kremlin has made no attempt to disguise the hypocrisy which is a major ingredient of its foreign policy. To understand how this works, it might be well to recall the dictionary definition of a hypocrite: "One who pretends to be what he is not; one who pretends to be better than he really is, or pious, virtuous, etc., without really being so."

In general, hypocrites evoke only loathing and contempt, and sometimes pity, because others see through their pretenses. But a hypocrite who believes his own lies, and its able to persuade others to believe them, can be dangerous.

So it is with international communism. Its leaders evidently believe they can fool some of the people some of the time. Thus, they are currently engaged in a vicious attack on the United States, claiming that we are responsible for bringing the threat of war to the Near East. It is only necessary to recall, however, that it was the Communists who fomented trouble in that part of the world by supplying arms to Egypt and Syria and sending infiltrators into Jordan. King Hussein himself has blamed Jordan's internal troubles on international communism and has rejected the Kremlin's claims that Jordan has "become the object of imperialist intrigues."

But still the Kremlin continues to rant and rave about American imperialists plotting aggression against Jordan.

As another example, the Kremlin is conducting a worldwide propaganda campaign to outlaw atomic weapons. Simultaneously it has been conducting a series of atomic tests in Siberia. The extent to which the Red propaganda has been successful is shown by the numerous protests in Britain and elsewhere against the projected British atomic tests in the Indian Ocean. Have the same protesters protested against the Russian atomic tests? If so, we haven't heard about it.

A recent Associated Press dispatch from London noted that Premier Bulganin's "let's be friends" note to Prime Minister Macmillan has scored "a tremendous propaganda success" in Britain. This is another example of the fact that people are inclined to believe what they want to believe. The people of Britain, as well as of the rest of the free world, want peace. So when the Kremlin says there should be no obstacle to peaceful coexistence they would like to believe that is true.

There is, however, one obstacle to peaceful coexistence, and one only, and that is the Kremlin's promotion of international communism and the intrigues that go with it. As long as this truth is recognized, the Kremlin will not be able to fool all of the people all of the time.

The United States and Its Costly Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in his column, Wall Street, U. S. A., Donald I. Rogers, business and financial editor of the New York Herald Tribune, discusses the unprofitable excise taxes on transportation and freight in the following words:

THE UNITED STATES AND ITS COSTLY TAX

Ever hear of a tax that actually costs the Government money—a tax which, instead of producing profitable revenue for Uncle Sam, virtually creates a loss in income? Such a tax has been in existence since 1941, has been renewed every year since, and is being pushed for renewal again.

It's the excise tax on transportation—10 percent on passenger transportation for hire and 3 percent on freight transportation for hire.

These taxes were enacted as emergency wartime levies. The need for revenue at that time was all-important; the vast increases in taxable incomes of individuals and corporations, which were to accompany the war effort and subsequent wage and price inflation, were not, at that time in sight, nor contemplated.

Besides being another graphic illustration of the fact that there's no such thing as a

temporary tax, this particular one is apparently uneconomic and unprofitable.

FIGURES BACK ARGUMENT

The public transportation carriers have worked up some figures, all but one based on actual reports, to show just how uneconomic this tax has become. They point out that:

Receipts from the excise taxes on the transportation of property (freight) last year amounted to $450 million.

Reduction in income-tax receipts from the common carriers of freight last year amounted to $202,500,000.

With only a slightly awkward method of bookkeeping, you subtract the loss in revenue from the excise tax receipts and come up with a figure of $247,500,000 for net receipts, last year. That is the "net" figure received by the Government in taxes based on the movement of freight. The net is reduced because in 1956 the carriers paid $202,500,000 less in taxes than they paid in 1955.

The Bureau of Public Roads estimates that a cost of service the total private untaxed highway transportation of freight last year came to $4,308,000,000.

The railroads estimate that, if they were not taxed, they would recapture a fifth of this $4,308,000,000—or, $861,600,000. This is the only "estimated" figure in the study and it is held by some experts to be a conservative one.

Following out the exercise, the carriers point out that on this recaptured business they would have to pay an income tax of $271,400,000—which is $24 million more than the net receipts for 1956 operations.

Thus it is concluded that by imposing the excise taxes—these temporary taxes levied to raise emergency funds—the Government is cheating itself out of at least $24 million.

There may be other industries which, being forced to levy excise taxes on their services, are actually producing less revenue for Uncle Sam than they might if freed from the tax yoke. For the sake of the exercise, then, here are the railroad's figures:

[Figures in millions]

Receipts from excise tax on transportation of freight 1956	$450.0
Reduction in income tax receipts in 1956 from 1955	202.5
Net receipts from rail freight	247.5
Total private untaxed highway transportation, at cost of service	4,308.0
Rails would recapture at least ⅕th	861.6
Increase in income tax	271.4
Net increase in Federal revenue	23.9

Mr. Speaker, Mr. ROGERS has well stated this argument for repeal of these taxes, if not outright, then in stages as proposed by the Montana congressional delegation.

Our bill would cut the discriminatory 3-percent tax on freight bills to 2 percent on July 1, 1957, to 1 percent on July 1, 1958, and repeal it altogether on July 1, 1959. The tax on shipment of coal and oil also would go on July 1, 1959.

As Mr. ROGERS points out, excise taxes on transportation and freight were imposed during World War II as temporary taxes to discourage unnecessary travel and freight shipments.

The two taxes bring in about $700 million a year; and even with a $72 billion budget, that is a lot of money. The administration is going to object to cutting a tax that brings in that amount of money in a year when the balancing of the budget may depend on about that amount of income. But the fact that we need the revenue is no reason for continuing a tax that is on its face an unjust tax. When something is bad it should go.

The impact of the freight tax is especially great on Montana, where we are suffering from high freight rates. The imposition of a tax as a percentage of an unjustly high freight bill results in what amounts to another discriminatory freight rate increase.

These taxes are injuring the economy of our Nation and are multiplying the inequities of our present system of freight and passenger rates. Both should be repealed.

United States Taxpayers Needn't Envy Relief Given British

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article:

UNITED STATES TAXPAYERS NEEDN'T ENVY RELIEF GIVEN BRITISH

(By Sylvia Porter)

"Britain is drastically overhauling her defense budget, is saving money, and is cutting taxes for everybody, particularly for the middle- and upper-income classes. * * *

"But in our country? Here, the Federal budget is bigger than ever, and here the income-tax load stays at monstrous levels. We haven't had an income-tax cut since 1954, and all we're getting now is vague promises of relief if the budget can be slashed. * * *

"We, Uncle Sam's unlucky suckers, are paying the taxes to save the world while our allies hand their people tax cuts."

TAX SHAKES

Surely, you have heard or read something along the lines of the above in the past couple of weeks. I have and since, along with millions of others, I've been having the tax shakes since April 15. I've listened to the refrain with understandable interest.

But in addition to listening, I have been searching for facts.

And, as a result of my digging I suggest it is high time some of today's loose talk about Britain's 1957–58 tax reductions be put into proper perspective.

There are lots of reasons to be glad you are a citizen of the United States and not Britain today—and not the least of the financial reasons is the comparative income-tax burden.

The tax relief Britain is handing her citizens today is really picayune, and for the average British worker it's not much more than a psychological boost.

NEW PROGRAM

Britain could cut and cut and cut income taxes, and her citizens still wouldn't be in nearly as favorable a position as you are—and that goes whether your job pays you $5,000 or $50,000.

Want the proof? Here it is from a compilation the United States Treasury worked out for me.

Under the new tax program of Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Peter Thorneycroft, single persons or married couples with no dependents in the $5,000 and under bracket get no income tax cut at all.

The single person earning $3,000 will pay $657 in income taxes, $169 more than the single person in the same circumstances here.

The married couple with no dependents earning $3,000 will pay $538, or $178 more than a comparable couple here.

At the $5,000 level these same Britishers will owe $1,318 and $1,199, respectively—again hundreds of dollars more than comparable Americans.

At the $10,000 level income taxes are being reduced in Britain, but when you see what people in this bracket and above still will owe, you'll envy your British cousins no more.

A single Britisher with no dependents will owe $3,566—a full $1,130 more than his American counterpart.

A married couple with no dependents will owe $3,398—a full $1,510 more than the same couple in our land.

A married couple with two dependents will owe $3,002—a full $1,410 more than a similar family in America.

DRAMATIC GAPS

And the higher the income bracket, the more dramatic the gaps between the level of income taxes in Britain and the United States. At the $50,000 mark, for instance, the married British couple pays almost $16,000 more in income taxes than the married American couple.

Of course, we not only pay Federal income taxes but also State and local taxes of all types. British citizens, though, are hit by all sorts of extras, too. And we can't even begin to appreciate the burden of their sales taxes and credit curbs. They're rough—real, real rough.

Naturally, I want an income tax cut as soon as I can get it—and so do you. Naturally, I'll welcome even a modest reduction Jan. 1, 1958—and so will you.

But while we're working toward this, let's not weep any crocodile tears over how unlucky we are in comparison with Britain's taxpayers. The above facts may not help you recover any faster from your April 15 tax jitters, but maybe they will make you feel less sorry for yourself.

Saving the Planes' Engines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor, Boston, Mass., on Friday, May 3, 1957, entitled "Saving the Plane's Engines":

SAVING THE PLANE'S ENGINES

Reports that President Eisenhower is prepared to do battle for his program are heartening. It will be especially helpful if he can continue to underscore the essence of the budget question: Savings can be made, but they should be made where they will not imperil the security and well-being of the United States.

The figure the President used in his talk to the National Council of the League of Women Voters is illuminating. He modernized the ship of state into the form of an airplane. Then he said the owner-passengers might decide they could get along without some furnishings, even without a navigator or an extra fuel tank.

They might go even further, thinking they could do without one of the engines—so called foreign aid. Foreign aid is like an engine, he pointed out, in that it provides a margin of safety. It lessens the danger of having to land in unfavorable terrain. Similarly foreign aid helps combat communism, reduces the chance of Americans becoming isolated in a hostile world and having to fight alone in defense of their own shores. He concluded with the eloquent plea: "So let's make all the savings we can in the carpets and the chairs and the extra personnel and all the rest of the things that we have been demanding, wherever we think it is safe and just and fair among ourselves to do it. But let's not throw away the engines of this ship of state."

Congress can very well insist that the engine of foreign aid be efficiently operated. The President conceded that mistakes had been made; the program is being conducted by human beings. Congress could well look into the fuel mixture—the proportion of economic to military aid. At present one is not adequately distinguished from the other.

Congress could reasonably ask whether the $600 million a year going to Korea is most advantageously spent. Two-thirds of it is to maintain the ROK Army which has taken the place of American troops that were withdrawn. Should that be cut? The remainder is not very effective in making South Korea a showcase of democracy in Asia. Should that be increased? Congress also could take a hard look at the $350 million allotted to Nationalist China and the sums which subsidize various undemocratic regimes.

Two decisions Congress should make. First, it should decide whether the United States should refuse to accept leadership of the free world, drop all the new obligations it has assumed, and withdraw into a fortress America position. If it can't bring itself to create such an obvious opportunity for aggressive communism, then it should try to determine what foreign aid is necessary and effective in combating communism and maintaining American security.

If this last function is to be carried out, the ship of state will require that foreign-aid engine. And let's not pretend that the way to make it efficient is to drop it or a good share of its essential parts.

South's Hall of Fame for the Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Hubert F. Lee, editor, Dixie Business, the voice of southern progress, Decatur, Ga., has called my attention to his nominations of the seven distinguished citizens of the South who have been added to the South's Hall of Fame for the Living, an honor group from which the man (or woman) of the South is elected each year.

Among those selected is a distinguished and grand citizen of Austin, Commodore E. H. Perry. Commodore Perry was nominated by the distinguished majority leader of the United States Senate, Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON. All of us who know Commodore Perry recognize that he not only merits this recognition but it is our hope and feeling that he should be chosen as the man of the South.

For the information of the Members of the House, I submit the announcement contained in the encore edition of Dixie Business which describes the seven persons who were chosen for the South's Hall of Fame for the Living:

SOUTH'S HALL OF FAME FOR THE LIVING

The editors of Dixie Business have selected seven for the South's Hall of Fame for the Living. This honor group, limited to 200 living men and women, makes up the list from which the Man of the South is elected each year.

The seven for 1957 includes:

Harry G. Hastings, chairman, H. G. Hastings & Co., Atlanta, for half a century a leader in advocating diversification for farmers' farm income. He was a sparkplug in the Hen, Cow and Hog program of the early twenties. The South today is profiting by the work of such men as Mr. Hastings.

Thomas C. Law, Law & Co., president, board trustees Scottish Rite Hospital and past district governor of Rotary. He is Brother Scottish Rite to Masons over the Nation as he has been accorded most all honors of Scottish Rite Masonry, including 33-degree inspector general and sovereign grand inspector general of Georgia. He served as illustrious potentate of Yaarab Temple and was imperial potentate in 1941. He pioneered in the field of industrial chemistry and research.

W. R. Turner, Cordele Sash, Door & Lumber Co., Cordele, is a Silver Beaver Scouter, a founder of Chehaw Council, Boy Scouts. He has helped many youths get an education and been a wheelhorse in civic affairs. He encourages his employees to help on civic undertakings and gives them time off with pay while engaged in various projects.

Commodore E. H. Perry, Austin, Tex., was awarded the Gold Good Citizenship Medal by the Patrick Henry Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, on February 20, 1957. This is the same medal presented to Senator Walter F. George December 17, 1956, at Albany, Ga., when Senator George was given the Man of the South for 1956 citation. Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON nominated Commodore Perry.

Daniel J. Haughton, executive vice president of Lockheed Aircraft Corp., Los Angeles, who was for 5 years head of the Georgia Division of Lockheed at Marietta, Ga. Mr. Haughton was nominated by a Lockheed employee, W. J. Patterson, in which he wrote: "I know of no one better qualified to take the place on the Hall of Fame list of the late Glenn L. Martin than Mr. Haughton, who is a straight shooter and a real leader of men." W. J. Patterson signed my application when I petitioned to join the Masons, so his nomination would get top consideration and priority with the editors of Dixie Business.

One of the newspapers in Los Angeles asked the Associated Press for the story about Mr. Haughton being named. It moved all the way across the continent, Atlanta to New York and then westward. Mr. Haughton was born in Alabama. His nomination was seconded by such men as C. E. Woolman, pioneer aviation leader who heads Delta-Southern and is on the Hall of Fame list himself.

A. B. Simpson, vice chairman, National Bank of Commerce, Houston. Mr. Simpson was nominated in 1951 by Art Baum, and Associate Editor of the Saturday Evening Post. Mr. Simpson has been instrumental in helping build Houston into its present greatness.

William A. Smith, Houston, heads the William A. Smith Construction Co. and has built more railroad mileage than any living man. He is also chairman of the Citizens State Bank, is a big independent oil operator and rancher and has been in the forefront for everything helpful for many years.

Once named to the South's Hall of Fame for the Living, a man or woman is eligible all the years of his or her life to be elected man (or woman) of the South if they should ever get the most votes.

C. N. Martin, Sr., head of the Atlanta's Suburban Reporter and of the Martin-Johnson Printing Company, East Point, was one of the first named when the first roll was selected in 1949.

The 1957 poll to elect the 12th Man of the South is thus launched.

Foreign Aid Pays Dividends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial from the Concord Monitor, Concord, N. H., on Thursday, May 2, 1957, entitled "Foreign Aid Pays Dividends":

FOREIGN AID PAYS DIVIDENDS

The situation in Jordan has some lessons for those in this country who would slash foreign aid, so-called.

Foreign aid is divided between what is called military aid and what is called economic aid. Of the two the greater part is military aid.

In Jordan the British, in the past, had provided foreign aid, and particularly military foreign aid. The British had built up the tough Jordanian Bedouin Army of 18,000 soldiers.

In the crisis which has just occurred, in which the Communists tried to take over the Jordanian Government, the Jordanian king had to rely upon this army created with foreign aid to preserve his kingdom and keep Jordan from falling into the hands of the Communists, or being partitioned between its Arab and Israeli neighbors.

To help Jordan the United States proclaimed the rights of Jordan to noninterference from its neighbors, sent the Sixth Fleet to the eastern Mediterranean to emphasize the sincerity of its proclamation, and offered Jordan $10 million of economic aid, with no strings attached.

But had there been no Jordanian Army to support the King in putting down rebellion or aggression the United States would have been powerless.

The foreign-aid investment in the military in Jordan has paid handsome dividends. It has done so in other lands. In the Philippines it was the United States-aided Philippine Army which has put down the Communist Huks. It is the United States-aided Korean Army which has kept South Korea free. It is the same story in country after country.

These local armies have helped to keep the peace in many of the nations around the earth, at far less cost than had the United States or the United Nations put troops into them. Moreover, reliance upon local armies rather than upon foreign troops, our own or those of some other nation, has helped in itself to lessen international tensions.

Every nation needs an armed force of sufficient size to police its own territory and protect its borders. Such forces are potentially available if there should be a general war, just as the National Guard is in this

country. But by and of themselves they are not primarily forces of aggression, and are not so suspected to anything like the extent to which foreign troops are under such suspicions.

In Jordan the relationship of military and economic aid has also been made apparent in the recent crisis. The economic aid which we have now provided will help stabilize the nation's economy and lessen the possibility of further attempts at rebellion or aggression. It will help keep Jordan solvent, and it cannot remain solvent without such aid at this time.

Jordan lies between Syria and Egypt. They are the two most Communist-dominated nations in the Mideast. Had the Communist-Egyptian-Syrian coup in Jordan succeeded, a contiguous axis, Communist dominated, would have come into being and would have split the Arab Mideast in two.

Now there is some hope of not only keeping Jordan from Communist domination, but of lessening such domination in Syria and Egypt. The concept of nonaggression in the region has been strengthened. This having been done, there is greater hope of diplomatic negotiation of corrections to the many problems which plague the area, on the Suez, on the internationalization of the Gulf of Aqaba, on the correction of borders, on the rehabilitation of displaced persons, on sounder development of the several nations with greater trade between them and the rest of the world,. and on other matters important to the peace of the world.

A king who has kept his head upon his shoulders, with the aid of a tiny but well trained army of 18,000 made possible by foreign aid, plus a forthright position taken by the United States independent of the United Nations, or even of the Eisenhower doctrine, has confounded Moscow, Cairo, and Damascus and stopped a potential war

---

Shaping the Textile Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, F. E. Grier, of Greenwood, S. C., is one of the greatest presidents any American manufacturers association ever had. He has done a magnificent job as president of the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute. We are all proud of his great work and doubly proud of his genuine Americanism. The following address by Mr. Grier will be of interest to every Member of the Congress:

SHAPING THE TEXTILE FUTURE

(Address by President F. E. Grier at the eighth annual meeting of American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, Palm Beach, Fla., April 4, 1957.)

Members and guests of American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, I take pleasure in welcoming you to this eighth annual meeting of the organization.

I believe it is entirely accurate to say that the 12-month period now coming to an end has been a significant year in the history of the United States textile industry and of ACMI. I am deeply grateful for the honor of having had a place at the helm during this this eventful time.

To everybody who helped achieve the accomplishments of this year, I express personal thanks. Our entire industry is indebted beyond measure to those leaders who put in long and often frustrating hours at emergency meetings in Washington; to committee chairmen and members; to the people of the ACMI staff; to our good friends in the Congress; to officials of Government; and to good friends in allied industries and associations, a number of whom I am glad to see with us today.

Without equivocation, I want to put it on the record that my work as ACMI's president during the past year has been a real eye opener to me. It corroborated what I have believed for a long time—that the investment a member makes in paying his ACMI dues is a very high yield investment indeed.

It is an inspiring experience to see this great organization at work on many fronts, giving leadership and exerting beneficial influence literally from coast to coast, in many different areas of interest and activity.

As your president, I was privileged to take part in numerous operations about which you will learn in more detail as the meeting progresses and from reading the excellent committee reports accepted by our board yesterday. Time does not allow anywhere near the kind of complete discussion of their work that they deserve, but I do wish to pay special tribute to our committees.

Made up of management people, these groups give unselfishly of their time and talents. The success of their work, carried forward from year to year and given continuity by the institute staff, adds up to real dollar savings for all textile manufacturing plants. Consider, for example, the outstanding job being done by our cotton committee in preserving orderly marketing of cotton and waging a never-ending battle to uphold the integrity of sound, official cotton standards.

The tax committee's achievements over the last few years have been substantial. Their annual tax seminars, incidentally, should be especially commended.

When you come to all the problems of international trade and the effort to cope with unfair competition from overseas, you find the foreign trade committee on the firing line. Or when legislation that may have important effects on our mills is introduced in Congress the national affairs committee arranges for presentation of testimony and in other ways insures that the textile manufacturer's position is made known.

Members of the research and technical service committee work closely with Government and private research agencies in tackling raw material and processing problems. Again, realizing the necessity of better cooperation between the industry and textile education, the education committee has embarked on a program with textile school deans aimed at helping turn out the qualified graduates whom many of our plants, laboratories, and offices need so badly these days.

Much of the effectiveness of the work of these and other committees and, in fact, much of the success of ACMI in its overall program operations, depends on how vocal our organization is—and by vocal I mean the authority and scope of our official voice. That is why the functions of our public relations committee and staff personnel are of highest importance. In this connection, I am pleased to report to our membership that in acocrdance with instructions given us a year ago, we have staffed and put into operation a broad program of public relations for our industry. In the opinion of many of us this program will become increasingly important to our industry as time goes by. Shortly following my remarks this newest activity of ACMI will be presented to you in some detail.

The audit, budget and finance, membership, and national cotton council committees concentrate on internal affairs of the institute and ACMI's relationships with other organizations. The traffic committee coordinates our relations with the traffic department activities in Atlanta which have provided the industry with cumulative annual freight savings estimated in the neighborhood of $20 million. The work of our committee on statistics, which has taken on increased significance each year, will be discussed in more detail shortly. Our representatives on the general arbitration council of the textile industry and on the board of appeals render valuable service.

Over and beyond all these varied activities which I have just barely highlighted, we see AMIC as the one instrument whereby textile manufacturers throughout the length and breadth of the land can pool their talents and consolidate their forces in order to cope with mutual problems—whatever they may be—confronting the vast majority of mills. This national organization, made up of those who spin, weave, and finish textile goods, provides not only a forum for arriving at unified points of view; it is also an agency for action.

ACMI can command almost incredible resources in energy, brainpower, and experience, as I found out for myself this past year. It also provides us with avenues for tremendously valuable liaison and collaboration with other national groups. I can tell you, likewise, that our institute has valuable international standing.

In that regard, I wish to mention the Munich Conference of the International Federation of Textile Industries which I attended last summer. It was most helpful to me to obtain the views of leaders of overseas textile industries firsthand. I strongly recommend that ACMI participate consistently in such international textile gatherings. Our industry is certainly not an island unto itself, as we all learned once again from the events of the last year. We cannot afford to navigate blind. We are open to economic storms from all parts of the globe and must, therefore, remain constantly on watch.

The past year saw two concrete and favorable developments in the realm of foreign trade: (1) Agreement on a 5-year quota arrangement controlling imports from Japan, and (2) beginning of equalization fee payments on our cotton textile exports as a partial offset for the raw cotton export sales program.

It is a great satisfaction to realize that the Japanese threat to our payrolls, sales, and investments has been substantially relieved. On the other hand, we are encouraged by our Government's recognition in its export equalization fee program, of the need for maintaining our cotton-textile exports. We should continue to play our traditional role in world textile markets. Every reasonable concept of foreign trade indicates that this should be the case. We have the world's most efficient and diversified textile production, catering to virtually every need and every taste. Furthermore, we are the world's leading producers of cotton and manmade fiber. Everything considered, it is just as natural for us to be net textile exporters as for us to be net cotton exporters.

Of course, there is much more work to be done in the foreign-trade field before United States textile exports can move into overseas markets as easily as foreign textiles come into this country. On the import side, there is no way to predict just when international economic and political interests, operating through GATT, will try to funnel huge textile imports into the United States from other overseas areas.

Beyond the cotton-textile import problem lies, also, the problem of imports of manmade fiber fabrics and apparel. So far there has been no great rise in imports of this kind, but we must be ready to move fast and vigorously to rectify any such situation that might arise. The precedent established in the cotton textile arrangement with Japan will stand us in good stead if and when we have to deal with the manmade fiber fabric import problem.

As a matter of fact, my own feeling is that perhaps the greatest significance of ACMI's foreign-trade achievements of the past year lies in how they were brought about, in the face of overwhelming odds. They climaxed many months of hard and, at times, seemingly hopeless work. They meant, first of all, getting clear understandings and solid positions within our industry; then enlisting the aid of allies in business and agriculture; then winning the support of many people in Washington who had either been uninterested in or opposed to the course we were taking. Indeed, our effort involved modifying a direction in official executive policy at the highest levels in Washington, a policy set by doctrines in force more than 20 years.

The concept of quantity limitations as a remedy for excessive textile imports has now at last been firmly established. Tariffs alone are clearly not the answer to Asiatic competition.

What we saw in the last 2 years or so was all branches and segments of our farflung industry working together as never before to solve a vital, mutual problem. We witnessed the establishment of understandings and working relationships among raw cotton, textile, and garment industries to a degree not previously considered possible. I am convinced that the experience we gained and the unity we achieved can similarly be brought to bear on other urgent problems. We now know beyond doubt that we have within the framework of our organization, through intelligent planning and effort, the means to influence the destiny of our great industry.

Now that the import problem has been alleviated, we find ourselves face to face with other basic, deepseated troubles which for years have plagued textile manufacturers: depressed prices; subnormal profits; inadequate new capital for maintaining a proper rate of machinery replacement and plant expansion, inadequate earnings for the sort of research, product development and sales promotion that we must have if our products are to attract their historic share of the consumer dollar. These are difficulties that come readily to mind. No doubt, you could add to the list without much prompting.

No doubt, also, you will agree that in the final analysis all these troubles are tied to one fundamental question, and that is: How can we, as individual companies, arrive at a more orderly, more aggressive, more intelligent system of producing, promoting and selling our products?

During the hectic years since World War II ended, the structure of our industry has changed radically. The changes have been so swift and confusing that even those who have spent a lifetime in the trade find it hard to measure their effects, or guess the future significance of these changes. I am convinced we must start now to research these trends more wisely, more scientifically, and in much more detail.

One of the noteworthy changes is the sharp decline in the industry's spindleage. For the last 30 years, spindleage has been dropping off steadily. In just the past 10 years, 2.2 million spindles were scrapped.

Of course, an increase in output per spindle has offset this loss in numbers. This is partly the result of modernized and new-type equipment. But more important has been the extension of running time. In 1956, for instance, spindles averaged 6,172 hours of running time—more than double the rate of 1926. Even a short 10 years ago spindles averaged only 4,843 hours of operation per year. In short, the industry's production has been approaching ceiling limits, since even a 6-day week with 3 full shifts can yield only 7,200 hours on a 50-week-per-year basis.

This is the kind of trend which I fear many of us are overlooking as a guidepost. It seems to me that too many people in the trade are haunted by the tragic upheavals of the twenties and thirties. Many of us seem inclined today, in efforts to solve current problems, to apply methods and practices which may have been valid enough in the thirties, but are not geared to present conditions. My feeling is that manufacturing and merchandising policies ought to be based on the fact that potential overproduction is vanishing. There is no good reason why markets and profits should not reflect this better balance between the forces of supply and demand.

My definite impression is that the pipelines between the grey mills and retail outlets are rapidly emptying. The short-range prospects for market improvement are favorable. For the longer outlook, there is also reason for optimism. The decline in productive capacity that I spoke of has been a sound adjustment. Also, it is a favorable fact that population in the United States continues to grow very rapidly, as does consumer income.

In the years just ahead there is no reason why textile profits should not be at least comparable to the average rate earned in other American manufacturing industries. A healthy industry in a free society must be a profitable industry. Indeed, if we are to continue supplying the expanding textile needs of the American consumer, if we are to provide a dynamic market for American cotton, if we are to be equipped and ready to turn out the production that a military crisis would entail, it is essential that we become a reasonably profitable industry. That is the only way in which we can safeguard the futures of our employees and contribute substantially to the progress of the communities in which they live.

We face, for the first time during peace in a generation, the opportunity to create a profitable textile industry in the United States. This could be our best chance in many years to climb to the level of reasonable earnings and stability where practically all other major industries of the American economy have been established for many years now.

This is the time—today, this very hour—to think soberly of what we as individual businessmen can do to gain that level. I am sure that we must put into positive use, for the common good, much more market research, economic analysis, and statistical forecasting. Our progress along these lines, as a total industry group, strikes me as all too slow and haphazard up to now, certainly not in line with other major industries.

True enough, certain companies are moving far out in front with new ideas about packaging and advertising and retailing their products so as to capitalize on sales outlets which were never dreamed of a few years ago. They are the exceptions to the rule, however. The big need, as I see it, is for the industry as a whole to gear its developmental laboratories and production operations much more precisely to market trends.

No longer can we afford to expand facilities faster than market conditions justify. The time is long gone when we dared just grind out goods, store them in warehouses and then, later on, do our market planning on the basis of rumor, hunch, and financial pressures. If it's dangerous to blind ourselves to what's going on overseas, there is much greater danger in bulldozing along blindly here at home.

To earn money consistently this industry must be market conscious as well as production conscious. In that development—and it is on its way—I am convinced our industrywide organization can play a more significant role.

The urgent necessity of events has forced us to spend practically all of my year in office fighting a desperate defensive action against Japanese imports. We did succeed at last in stabilizing that situation. But when ACMI's history is written, I covet for my administration most of all a note of constructive advance. To that end I want to tell you briefly what I recommended to the ACMI board of directors yesterday afternoon and something of my thinking in connection with that recommendation. I proposed:

1. The creation of an economic research division, within ACMI, to be given full-time responsibility for the development and advancement of a much broader program of economic and statistical service to our industry than we have known heretofore.

2. The establishment of a new, high-level committee, composed of some of our industry's top leaders and thinkers, to be known as the economic policy committee. The purpose of this committee will be to give to the new economic research division of ACMI, and to the rest of the staff, careful guidance and direction regarding the types of information needed by the industry, procedures for getting the facts and, most important, methods of disseminating the information to the industry and to the public in a forceful, meaningful way.

While some expansion of professional staff, as well as some staff reorganization, is involved in this recommendation, it is not indicated nor proposed that dues be increased. Our existing financial structure will be adequate for the time being.

The purpose of this expansion may be stated briefly as follows: To help individual members of our industry increase profits through more intelligent and intensive use of industry statistics and economic analyses along the lines already successfully employed by other major industries.

We are fortunate in being able to build this new program on the foundation of the long-established, highly useful ACMI statistical service program, inherited from our predecessor organizations, and developed and expanded through the years by William Shymanski, under the guidance of our committee on statistics. According to our thinking this statistical program would be given added significance as it becomes geared to a broader concept.

Both as individual textile management and as an industry we have lagged far behind other important industries in getting, analyzing and using pertinent facts about our own products and our markets. Certainly we are terribly behind in our ability to analyze economic facts and trends, and apply our findings as a factor in making individual judgments.

Obviously we cannot expect any miracles from this or any other program that ACMI might conceive in this field, because in the final analysis each of us as individual managements will make the decisions that add up to our successes or failures. But it is my firm conviction that such a program—carefully planned, carefully and painstakingly executed and then presented to our industry in the most meaningful manner possible—will provide each of us with a new set of tools for use in the more intelligent planning of our operations.

The moment is most opportune for such a program. The trends of spindleage and population have already been mentioned in this regard.

It is our objective to coordinate closely with our counterparts engaged in the manufacture of products from man-made fiber. Thus we should have the advantage of a more complete picture.

It is foolish for us to accept the notion that the textile industry is doomed to a below-average earnings status; that we cannot offer to our employees and stockholders a future comparable to that offered by other major industries; that we cannot share proportionately in our Nation's expansion. We can do something about it ourselves.

Let us go forward with confidence and imagination, with determination and unity of spirit.

Statement of Hon. Robert C. Byrd Before Senate Committee on Banking and Currency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of our colleagues the following statement which I presented on April 12, 1957, to the Subcommittee on Production and Stabilization of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency during the recent hearings on area assistance and redevelopment:

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT C. BYRD, PRESENTED TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRODUCTION AND STABILIZATION OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Mr. Chairman and honorable members of the Subcommittee on Production and Stabilization, I appreciate and am grateful for the opportunity to appear before this subcommittee to present testimony in support of the bill, S. 964, which has been introduced by the distinguished Senator from Illinois, for the purpose of establishing an effective program to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in certain economically depressed areas. Specifically, the areas to be benefited are those urban and rural areas that have been experiencing continuing low income, and continuing unemployment and underemployment—areas in which local initiative and enterprise cannot be drawn upon to alleviate the economic distress.

As the Representative to Congress from West Virginia's Sixth District, I can vouch for the urgency and justification of the program of assistance proposed under the Douglas bill. In my opinion, the measures proposed in this bill will displace the despair, the want, and the suffering overtaking the many unemployed areas in my State.

The bill, in brief, would accomplish the following:

1. Creation of an area redevelopment administration, under the supervision of an administrator, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Authorization to administrator for establishment of local and regional committees.

2. Assistance to industrial areas which have had unemployment of not less than (1) 12 percent of labor force for preceding 1-year period, (2) 8 percent for 15 months in preceding 18-month period, or (3) 6 percent for 8 months in each of preceding 2 years.

3. Assistance to rural areas having largest number and percentage of low-income families and a condition of substantial and persistent unemployment or underemployment.

4. Loans: Administrator to make loans for financing (a) purchase or development of land for industrial usage; (b) construction or rehabilitation of plants or facilities; (c) purchase of machinery or equipment. Loans shall bear interest at 0.5 percent per annum, shall not exceed 75 percent of total project cost, or extend beyond 40 years. Authorization of $100 million for industrial redevelopment loans and $100 million for projects in rural redevelopment areas.

5. Public facility loans and grants:

(a) Authorization of $75 million to administrator for public facility loans. Such loans shall not exceed 75 percent of aggregate cost with interest equal to rate paid by administrator on funds obtained from the Secretary of Treasury, plus 0.5 percent per annum.

(b) Authorization of $50 million to administrator for making grants for public facilities if funds not otherwise available.

6. Authorization of $4.5 million to administrator for technical assistance to redevelopment areas.

7. Declaration of policy to be followed by governmental agencies to award procurement contracts to redevelopment areas.

8. Housing and Home Finance Agency authorized to use slum clearance and urban renewal projects in redevelopment areas for industrial and commercial rebuilding without regard to existing residential requirements for such projects.

The necessity and need for legislation to carry out the program outlined above has been succinctly stated by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in reporting out similar legislation during the 84th Congress. That committee, in its report on July 12, 1956, stated (S. Rept. No. 2555, p. 2):

"More than 10 years ago Congress recognized the continuing responsibility of the Federal Government to utilize its resources in order to establish conditions which would assure that maximum employment, production, and purchasing power would prevail throughout the United States. It did so through the enactment of the Employment Act of 1946 (Public Law 304, 79th Cong.).

"Nevertheless, a large number of communities within the United States has failed to share in the prosperity that has generally prevailed throughout the country during recent years. Regardless of the cause, the fact is that many labor market areas have been classified as suffering from substantial labor surpluses continuously since 1951, when the Labor Department stated its current labor market classification system. During most of this time the rest of the Nation enjoyed economic growth, prosperity, and stability."

The findings made by the committee are reflected in many areas within my State of West Virginia. Because today our Nation as a whole is experiencing full employment and economic prosperity, we are prone to disregard or to be indifferent to the fact that some areas of our country have been facing the problem of continuous unemployment because of the loss or decline of a major industry. While the term, "depressed local labor market," is comparatively new, the existence of such markets, however, has been a problem recurring many times in our American economy. For example, the ghost towns arising from abandoned mines are a well-known part of the history of our West. The plain and simple difference, however, is that today there are so many factors that go to make up the economic climate of each and every labor-market area. The local methods resorted to in the past cannot always be employed today to resuscitate an economically distressed area.

Since the early days of World War II, the Department of Labor's Bureau of Employment Security has been studying labor-surplus areas. As you know, the Bureau surveys at bimonthly intervals 149 mapor labor-market areas—each consisting of a central city or cities and the surrounding territory within a reasonable commuting distance. The area takes its name from the central city or cities, but may have many other communities within its boundaries. Each major labor-market area has at least a central city with a population of 50,000 or more. These 149 areas account for about 33 million nonagricultural wage and salaried workers—nearly 70 percent of the Nation's total. The Bureau also reports on smaller areas in a special listing. These are the areas with a labor force of not less than 15,000, of which the nonagricultural employment must be at least 8,000.

Since May 1955 the 149 major areas surveyed by the Bureau have been grouped into 6 major labor-supply categories, according to the relative adequacy of labor supply. Nineteen of the major labor-market areas are today confronted with labor surpluses, and 57 smaller areas at the beginning of the year were classified as having a relatively substantial labor surplus.

In my State of West Virginia, our capital, Charleston, is classified as a major area of substantial labor surplus, and classified as smaller areas are Beckley, Fairmont, Logan, Point Pleasant-Gallipolis, Ronceverte-White Sulphur Springs, and Welch. The population of West Virginia in these labor-surplus areas numbers 787,400—or 39 percent of the entire population of the State. The 1 major and 6 smaller labor-surplus areas in the State cover 15 of its 55 counties. All these areas have been continuously included in the Department of Labor's labor-surplus classification since March 1954 and some, since March 1952. Over and above these specified areas, there are many other areas of labor surplus in West Virginia. The labor force in these areas does not come within the classification set by the Department and, therefore, such areas are not surveyed by the Bureau of Employment Security. The reason for the labor surplus in West Virginia can be traced to the long-depressed coal-mining industry.

The facts responsible for the decline of the coal industry are well known, and since World War II various congressional bodies have made studies of the condition of the industry. The findings and reports of these studies have only confirmed the known existence of the factors responsible for the industry's decline. The important factors, for example, have been the dieselization by the railroads, the imports of huge quantities of residual oil, and mechanization in the coal industry itself. The following tabulation shows production and employment in West Virginia's bituminous coal industry since 1947, the peak year in coal production:

Year	Short tons	Average number of men working daily
		Thous.
1948	168,862	131.7
1949	122,610	120.0
1950	144,116	117.5
1951	163,310	118.9
1952	141,713	108.9
1953	134,105	92.1
1954	116,251	71.3
1955	139,168	70.4
1956	155,507	75.8

Although the figures on employment in West Virginia's coal mining areas show an increase for 1956, the employment picture is not bright. The seriousness of West Virginia's employment problem is emphasized by the fact that from 1950 to 1954 while the population of the United States increased by an estimated 6.3 percent the population of West Virginia declined by an estimated 2.9 percent.

As of June 30, 1956, the total number of persons in West Virginia receiving commodities on welfare, as certified by the State department of public assistance, was 250,136, exclusive of school lunches, institutions, and summer camps. In January of this year the number of persons eligible for such commodities was 209,556. In February the number increased to 214,526. In other words, almost 11 percent of the population of my State is keeping body and soul together by means of Government surplus food.

In my opinion, these facts are convincing proof that the methods and practices employed thus far have failed to alter the continuing economic distress prevalent in the areas that will be reached if the legislation here under consideration is enacted.

I am not unmindful of the objections to this proposed legislation—a principal one being that the measure characterizes an act

of the welfare state. Such objections are without merit. Do we not have many Federal domestic programs with economic or social objectives, for which we make provision each year in our appropriations? Permit me to name a few: the price-support program; the agricultural-conservation program under which farmers are paid for compliance with specified practices; the Sugar Act program—most of the cost of which consists in payments to cane and beet producers who meet specified conditions; the rural-electrification program; farm ownership loans. There are aids to business, such as assistance to air navigation, grants-in-aid for airports, airmail subsidy payments, the President's fund under the Defense Production Act of 1950 for loans and other costs in financing an expansion of productive capacity for strategic metals. There are aids to veterans in the form of compensation and pensions, education and training, and hospital and medical care. There are loans and grants for housing construction and for slum clearance and urban renewal projects. There are grants to the States for public assistance and administrative costs; for maternal and child welfare; for programs of public health service; for highways; for school-lunch programs.

The direct beneficiaries under many of the above economic and social programs are limited in number and small in comparison to our entire population. This fact has not served to lessen or obscure the responsibility of the Federal Government to provide these necessary forms of assistance. The legislation here under consideration is no less important than any of the above programs.

In my opinion, the problem is one of such importance as to warrant the establishment of a single agency to coordinate all the Federal aids that may be called upon to assist and support local efforts. A single agency will encourage, strengthen, and assist local efforts. The needs of the distressed area can be better evaluated through a single agency, with the result that the necessary assistance will be coordinated so as to effectuate the greater national interest, in keeping with the Employment Act of 1946, which states: "It is the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government to coordinate and utilize all of its plans, functions, and resources for the purpose of creating and maintaining maximum employment."

It appears to me that the comprehensive program envisaged under the Douglas bill will do much to stimulate local efforts.

I particularly give my endorsement to the provisions for assistance to rural redevelopment areas. So far as farming in West Virginia is concerned, for the most part the farms are too small to provide a satisfactory family income. Insufficient capital and the topography of the State make impractical the use of many labor-saving devices, and many farm families are necessarily dependent upon some off-farm employment. I receive many letters from constituents in rural areas who are not able to take advantage of the existing farm-loan programs because their farms are not large enough or are not sufficiently productive to provide the necessary security for such loans. The Douglas bill will overcome many problems in these areas, and it will permit the needed economic improvements so long necessary in the many small rural communities of my State.

I might also direct your attention to the disheartening experiences of other persons who have written to me concerning their applications for small-business loans to undertake new business ventures aimed at improving the local economic situation. Their requests have been turned down simply because an unemployed mining town is not the kind of security upon which money is loaned.

I am in favor of the proposed provision urging Federal procurement agencies to award contracts in redevelopment areas. The Senate Committee on Education and Public Welfare called attention in its report of July 12, 1956, to the effectiveness of the ODM manpower policy No. 4, which was announced in 1952 for the purpose of focusing attention on the desirability of awarding contracts in surplus-labor areas. The report points out that for the first 9 months of the fiscal year 1956 the total volume of supply procurement contracts placed in areas with surplus manpower totaled $2,700,000—not even 1 percent of the total volume of supply procurement contracts.

The facts set out above are some of the reasons why I feel that the Douglas bill or similar legislation must be enacted now if we are to meet the problem of labor-surplus areas. I sincerely hope that this subcommittee will consider the matter favorably.

The Economic Plight of Our Farm People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHIL WEAVER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to again call to the attention of the membership of the House, the serious economic plight in which our farm people find themselves today. This is true not only in Nebraska, where our basic industry is agriculture, but it is also true in every other farm State of the Nation.

Benson's decision to lower the support prices for wheat is in line with his theory that lower support prices on all crops will gradually decrease production and eliminate surpluses. This premise is absolutely false and contrary to the laws of human nature. With certain fixed expenses to the farmer that are high, along with continually increased costs of the many services he must buy for himself and his family, the burden rests squarely on the shoulders of the farmer to meet this situation. Lower prices and increased costs will not reduce surpluses. Quantity will be the objective, instead of quality, and the net result—a further deflation of our entire farm industry.

For your information, legislative resolution 22, which was passed by the Legislature of Nebraska on May 2, 1957, by a vote of 31 to 1, is quoted below. The sentiments expressed by this resolution properly reflect the sentiments of the majority of citizens of the first congressional district and of my State:

Legislative Resolution 22

Whereas farm operating costs have risen continuously for several years, resulting in the placing of farmers, including wheat growers, in a serious financial position; and

Whereas the proposed reduction in the wheat price support level will have serious and disastrous impact not only upon farmers but also upon urban people and all who serve the farmers as merchants in every town and village in Nebraska; and

Whereas the loss of farm income is already being felt in most trade areas in this State; and

Whereas the cost of living has continued to rise despite repeated lowering of support prices of agricultural products, indicating that lower support prices will not produce a lower cost of living; and

Whereas Nebraska wheat growers have had to reduce their wheat acreage by one-fourth since wheat acreage allotments became effective with the 1954 crop and have been in effect each year thereafter; and

Whereas the average price received by Nebraska farmers for a bushel of wheat has declined by 23 cents per bushel, or about 10 percent, from 1947 to 1956; and

Whereas the Secretary of Agriculture has announced a further reduction of 22 cents per bushel in the minimum national average support rate for 1958 crop wheat at $1.78 per bushel, compared to $2 per bushel for 1957 crop wheat; and

Whereas this reduction in the 1958 price support rate on wheat combined with the reduced wheat acreage allotments will result in a very serious reduction in Nebraska farm income at a time when the costs of producing wheat have been gradually increasing, thereby unduly penalizing Nebraska farmers; and

Whereas the theory of the Secretary of Agriculture that reduced price support levels will discourage agricultural production is false, the actual effect being to increase production; and

Whereas Nebraska hard red winter wheat has earned an enviable reputation throughout grain and milling industry circles in the United States and has been in exceptional demand for blending with other wheats in the production of flour for bread; and

Whereas history shows many farmers of Nebraska normally plant more wheat in periods of dry years and since there is no surplus of the high-quality milling wheat produced in Nebraska: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the members of the Nebraska Legislature in 68th Session assembled:

1. That the Nebraska Legislature go on record in protest of the reduction of 22 cents per bushel on the 1958 wheat support rate.

2. That the Secretary of Agriculture be requested to consider these factors in setting the State wheat acreage allotments for Nebraska in 1958.

3. That a copy of this resolution be transmitted by the Clerk of the Legislature to the Secretary of Agriculture and to each Member from Nebraska in the Congress of the United States.

DWIGHT W. BURNEY,
President of the Legislature.

I, Hugo F. Srb, hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of Legislative Resolution No. 22, which was passed by the Legislature of Nebraska in 68th regular session on the 2d day of May 1957.

HUGO F. SRB,
Clerk of the Legislature.

The Soil Bank Grab

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LeROY H. ANDERSON
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON of Montana. Mr. Speaker, the Montana congressional delegation is introducing legislation to put a $10,000 annual limit on soil bank payments to individuals. The maximum payable to any producer in 1 year for participation in the acreage-reserve program would be $5,000, with a like limitation for participation in the conservation-reserve program.

BASIC FAULT REVEALED

I should like at this point to print the editorial appearing in the Western Farm Life, issue of April 15, 1957, which reveals how nonresident firms can under present regulations gain huge benefits from landholdings in connection with the program. The editorial follows:

A recent Washington, D. C., announcement reveals a Kansas enterprise received a check for $61,000 for placing 10,000 acres of Colorado wheatland in the soil bank. This was the largest payment made under the soil bank in 1956.

This transaction represents the basic fault of the Government program. We would like to see some Washington official try to explain how this $61,000 payment is aiding the so-called "family-sized farm" we heard so much about during election campaigns. The fact that the money was paid to a Kansas enterprise for Colorado wheatland is proof that the money did not go to a farm family in need; a family unable to make a living from the soil they till.

It is one thing to be taxed to give agricultural charity in the form of soil bank payments to a man who could not make enough money to feed his family. It is something quite different to give $61,000 worth of charity to someone who isn't even living on the land.

We wonder just how long our city cousins will hold still for this sort of thing; how long will it be before the city clerk or office worker making $4,000–$5,000 per year demands that his legislator stop voting for taxes which gave a poor wheat farmer $61,000.

Isn't it time for a limit on payments? Wouldn't this $61,000 have done a lot more good for agriculture in Colorado if 12 farmers had got $5,000 each instead of one farmer getting $61,000? Why should any farmer or anyone else be guaranteed more than the average family income, which is about $5,000? Some may even question the latter figure.

Payments to people who actually lived in Colorado ranged from a low of $20 to a high of $13,068 in 1956. The average payment was $669. The average number of acres placed in the reserve in Colorado was 140 acres.

It's time farmers and ranchers demand some system for placing a ceiling on farm payments. If farmers, ranchers and their organizations don't do it themselves, their city cousins are going to wake up one of these days and do it for them. Whom do you think will give agriculture a better deal?

A Legacy From McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the following article by David Lawrence is worthy of the attention of all Americans:

A LEGACY FROM MCCARTHY—SENATOR LEFT CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES IT MAY REQUIRE YEARS TO RESOLVE

(By David Lawrence)

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy is gone—but he has left behind a legacy of controversial issues that it may take years to resolve.

The Wisconsin Senator was a relentless fighter for what he believed to be right. He might have won the censure battle in the Senate in 1954 if, while under severe strain during the proceedings, he had not tactlessly antagonized many Senators who were disposed to be objective about the issue.

For the Senate was dealing with a delicate question—the right of free speech in Congress uninhibited by threats of punishment. Never in the history of the Senate had any Member been censured for expressing his opinions, no matter how distasteful or unpopular they were. The Senate finally abandoned the word "censure" with its historical connotation of punishment and substituted the milder word "condemn." Even so, the Senate resolution set a bad precedent of interference with free speech. For to condemn a man because of the opinions he expresses is what has been called "McCarthyism at its worst."

If ever a man was hounded to death because of his beliefs, it was Senator McCarthy. His health was impaired by the strain and tension arising out of the tactics and methods of his enemies. They ganged up on him from the days when they saw he was making headway with his crusade against communism in Government. The Communist newspaper, the Daily Worker, in New York was the first to give persistent publicity to the word "McCarthyism."

There was no limit to the innuendoes, baseless charges, and whispering campaigns directed against Senator McCarthy in an effort to discredit him. For it was assumed by many of his opponents that, if McCarthy, the man, were discredited, the whole drive against Communists in the Government would collapse.

Some strange chapters remain yet to be fully explained. One is the vicious spread of rumors that Senator McCarthy had cheated on his Federal income tax returns, though it turned out in the end that the Treasury Department owed him money and sent him a refund check for overpayment of his taxes. Yet, before the Internal Revenue Bureau could complete its investigation, the campaign to maneuver McCarthy into a public hearing in which his enemies would have a chance to impugn his honesty was participated in by a Senate subcommittee consisting mostly of his opponents. Although McCarthy was reelected Senator by the people of Wisconsin in November 1952, after his refusal to testify before that same committee, his opponents in 1954 nevertheless used that refusal—which had occurred in a previous teerm of office—as a basis for the start of censure proceedings.

Another episode, still unexplained, is the case of Paul H. Hughes, who posed as a member of McCarthy's staff and, over a period of several months, collected big sums of money from various sources high up among the so-called "liberals" with the promise of "revelations" derogatory to McCarthy personally. At any moment during that long period, the fact that Hughes was not an employee of any congressional committee could have been established through the careful inquiries of an alert newspaper man. But the record in the perjury case that followed in the courts reveals a paradoxical example of McCarthyism in reverse. So is the current persecution of Scott McLeod, once a close friend of McCarthy and a stalwart fighter against communism in the Government, who has been nominated by President Eisenhower to be Ambassador to Ireland. Vice President NIXON has also been a victim of the same kind of tactics by the so-called liberals, who in 1952 spread false accusations about him.

Senator McCarthy made many errors in judgment, sometimes lost his temper, and at times ignored the counsel of his best friends. He didn't, however, mind fair criticism. This correspondent in his dispatches at the time expressed strong disapproval of the Wisconsin Senator's attacks on General Marshall and of the ill-mannered treatment given General Zwicker at a committee hearing, and denounced McCarthy's break with President Eisenhower as a grave blunder. Looking back at all aspects of the tragic controversy, however, this writer remains convinced that it was most important to the cause of true liberalism in America to defend the right of a Senator to express himself freely rather than to see him deprived of that privilege by the coercive action of those who disagreed with his views. Principle is too often disregarded under the stress of emotion, inside as well as outside of legislative bodies.

Senator McCarthy's great contribution, of course, was to dramatize the necessity for a vigorous battle against Communist infiltration. The record shows a sad neglect by the State Department in the 1940's of the intrigue carried on there. This was repeatedly called to the Department's attention in confidential communications from Senate committees and in FBI reports long before the Wisconsin Senator in 1950 brought the fight out into the open.

Incidentally, even after death, they still vilify McCarthy in Great Britain. Yet, had there been in the British Parliament only a fraction of the alertness which was generated by the Wisconsin Senator's crusade here, the treason of Burgess and MacLean and the transmission of atomic secrets to the Soviets by Klaus Fuchs—who had been "cleared" for work in an American laboratory by British officials—might never have occurred. Indeed, the whole history of the "cold war," with its costly budgets, might then have been different.

Time, of course, changes many things. It sometimes makes martyrs out of men who were pilloried during their lifetime. The elder Robert La Follette, Senator from Wisconsin, also refused to testify before a Senate committee. He was being investigated because of public speeches—regarded by many people as traitorous—which he made while America was engaged in World War I. The two houses of the Wisconsin legislature—controlled by his own party—formally called on the United States Senate to expel him. But the Senate took no action. Only last week, the elder La Follette was selected by a Senate committee to be 1 of the 5 in the Senate's "Hall of Fame." The lapse of time seems to furnish a different perspective on the record of Wisconsin Senators and maybe, many years hence, history will repeat itself.

Radio Moscow's "tribute" to Senator McCarthy is to denounce him as responsible for "the preparation of new military ventures by the United States." To have helped alert America to the menace of communism is to have earned Moscow's hatred—which is the most eloquent epitaph that could be written for Joe McCarthy.

USIA on the Spot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an interesting editorial published in the New York World-Telegram and Sun of Tuesday, May 7, 1957. From all the circumstances heretofore developed in the House of Representatives with regard to the United States Information Agency this seems like an

editorial which should be brought to the attention of Mr. Arthur Larson, the Administrator of that Agency. Those of us who want an efficient, sensible USIA have been alarmed at the inadequacy and the unrealistic expensive programs of that Agency.

The editorial follows:

USIA ON THE SPOT

Congress has put the United States Information Agency on the spot. That is where it belongs.

Nobody familiar with the foreign situation doubts the need for our Government to tell the facts about American life and American policy to peoples abroad. That would be true in any case. It is far more essential now, because the Kremlin and its agents everywhere are doing so much to poison the minds of the world against us.

Just why the United States—which has poured out $62 billion in foreign aid since the war—has been unable to get a sympathetic hearing is not altogether clear. After all, our deeds are supposed to have been the best propaganda. And when it comes to words, we are supposed to be the world's best experts in advertising.

Whatever the other reasons, one at least is obvious to those who have studied the operations of USIA abroad. It has been trying to buy quick results with large budgets, many employees, and multiple grandiose programs, but with no clear target and no adequate check.

Most of the testimony of administration officials has been beside the point. It has been a repetition that the job needs to be done, rather than an objective appraisal of how the job is being done. There is the same old illusion that more men and more money is the answer.

We are convinced of the opposite. Smaller staffs, concentrating on fewer projects, operating somewhat like the much smaller but more successful British Information Service, should produce better results.

We agree with Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, a recognized expert in foreign relations and one who recognizes fully the need for telling the American story abroad. He proposes that USIA be made an integral part of the State Department under an Assistant Secretary. He suggests that, in preparation for this transfer, USIA spending plans be cut below the $105 million agreed upon by the House, which is 25 percent under the administration's request.

We want the USIA saved. Unless it can be reformed soon, Congress under taxpayer pressure is likely to wipe it out altogether in 2 or 3 years.

Meritorious Civilian Service Award to Edward J. Long

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, it has been my privilege as well as that of many of my colleagues, particularly from the New York City area, to meet with representatives of the employees of the New York Naval Shipyard. One of the most active of the committee who has presented the problems of the employees to us is Edward J. Long. He has performed outstanding service on behalf of his coworkers and the Department of the Navy and has received the Meritorious Civilian Service Award from the United States Navy in appreciation of his services.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to include the text of the award presented to Mr. Edward J. Long:

NEW YORK NAVAL SHIPYARD,
February 18, 1957.

From: Commander, New York Naval Shipyard.
To: Edward J. Long, leadingman electronics mechanic, check No. 67-4002.
Subject: Meritorious civilian service award.
Enclosed: (1) Meritorious civilian service certificate; (2) meritorious civilian service lapel emblem.

1. The incentive awards committee has recommended that you be given special recognition for the exemplary manner in which you supervised the cryptographic repair and supply facility of the New York Naval Shipyard.

2. This assignment, which is a top secret function of the Navy Department, encompassed a responsibility of tremendous magnitude with which you were concerned for approximately the past 4 years. You have consistently been the guiding and directing force behind the efficient and economical supply, maintenance, repair and installation of cryptographic equipment on numerous vessels of the Atlantic Fleet and Shore Commands within the Third Naval District. You have greatly contributed toward enabling the cryptographic repair and supply facility to meet immediate and urgent commitments with an absolute minimum of military or civilian supervision. Because of your superior knowledge, perpetual drive and ingenuity, you have been able to successfully carry out various modifications on cryptographic equipment as requested by the Bureau of Ships in a minimum of time and at reasonable cost despite a shortage of manpower.

3. Your performance in this project of significant importance has produced extraordinary results of great value to the Navy Department and the shipyard and are deserving of special recognition. I therefore take great pleasure in presenting you with the second highest honorary award bestowed by the Navy, the meritorious civilian service award.

4. A copy of this letter will be filed in your official personnel folder.

L. A. KNISKERN,
Rear Admiral United States Navy,
Commander, New York Naval Shipyard.

Max Abelman, Brooklyn's Ambassador of Good Will

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article, written by Madeleine H. Loeb, about one of Brooklyn's ablest citizens, Max Abelman:

MAX ABELMAN, BROOKLYN'S AMBASSADOR OF GOOD WILL, STARTS 70TH YEAR BY PARTICIPATING IN DIAL-A-THON FOR FEDERATION OF JEWISH PHILANTHROPIES ANNUAL APPEAL

(By Madeleine H. Loeb)

Max Abelman, officially designated as Brooklyn's ambassador of good will, just celebrated his threescore and 10 years with a capital F—for Flatbush, fund-raising and the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. Turned 70 on January 26, 1957, he was on hand the following week to participate in the final Dial-a-Thon telephone marathon to help raise $18,100,000 for federation's annual appeal to help maintain its 116 member agencies in Greater New York, Westchester, and Nassau Counties.

Commuting from Brooklyn to federation headquarters, 130 East 59th Street, Manhattan, where he manned one of the 40 telephones installed to call in pledges and contributions, Max Abelman truly lived up to his surname, and proved himself to be an able man as one of the most persuasive fund-raisers in federation history and someone who played an active role in its development.

The federation campaign goal did not perturb Mr. Abelman, who has devoted 50 years to fund-raising for good causes in general, and federation's institutions in particular. Twenty years ago, when the Jewish Federation of Brooklyn Charities merged with the New York Federation, thus bringing the number of institutions in the federation family to its current 116, Mr. Abelman had already established himself in the Brooklyn picture, both as an administrator and fund-raiser, and was called in by the late Felix M. Warburg, who was first president of the newly formed Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, to help in its organization and fund raising. Mr. Abelman had made a reputation by netting $1 million in pledges in 1 night for the Brooklyn federation, with Fritz Kreisler, the prominent violinist as one of the stars willing to volunteer his services.

According to Brooklyn records, Mr. Abelman has raised more than $100 million in the borough during the past 50 years. At one event he organized for 44 banking institutions at the Brooklyn Academy of Music during a Liberty bond drive, he chalked up a collection of $43,900,000 in Government bonds in 1 evening by staging a tableaux and having the leading opera stars and celebrities of that era sell kisses for a good cause.

Mr. Abelman's career goes back to his association with the father of the founder of Abraham & Straus and to another well-known Brooklynite, Nathan S. Jonas, who was president of the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities. He persuaded Mr. Abelman to help in organizing the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities and the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn, where he served as executive director of the Brooklyn federation for 14 years. Through Mr. Jonas he became associated with the Manufacturers Trust Co. Here again, during the 1920's he planned elaborate events with the leading opera stars of the "Met," and including one instance when he had an orchestra of 200 and some of the greatest voices of the opera world vying with live canaries singing throughout the room.

On the philanthropic side, he was instrumental in founding the Big Brother and Big Sister movement with such noted personages as the late Mrs. Madeline Borg, founder of the Federation Women's Division and its only woman president, the late Lady Armstrong and Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson and working in other interfaith activities in which he brought together such religious personages as the late Bishop Manning, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Cardinal Hayes.

In 1932 until his retirement in 1954, Mr. Abelman served as secretary to the president, secretary to the Board of Trustees, and public relations director at the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn. During his tenure there he was instrumental in getting Albert Cugat, brother of noted "rhumba king," Xavier Cugat, to design special murals depicting the children of many nations for which Mr. Abelman had secured a $20,000 donation from Mr. and Mrs. Louis M. Rabinowitz. He

received testimonial letters and visits from such noted persons as the late Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, and such nationally known political figures as Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and Senator Herbert H. Lehman.

On the Army side, he received the support of such Generals as George C. Marshall, Omar N. Bradley, and Walter Bedell Smith.

On the Navy side, he interested Vice Adms. Louis E. Denfeld, Walter S. Delaney (retired) and H. Roscoe Hillenkoetter. Such internationally known personalities as Viscount and Lady Halifax, Lord Marley, Jan Masaryk, Carlos P. Romulo and Ralph C. Bunche also were included among his supporters.

A new honor was conferred on Max Abelman on December 8, 1955, when he received a special diploma of honor from the University of Manila in the Philippines personally presented by Ambassador Romulo for creating better understanding and reciprocal esteem among all people without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. He was responsible for having Philippine doctors complete their residencies and internships in New York and Brooklyn hospitals.

A grandfather of two, Mr. Abelman made a resolution on his 70th birthday to pass on his tradition of tolerance and philanthropy "even unto the third generation." He wants to continue being active in Brooklyn and in Federation, where he has participated in every annual "Dial-A-Thon." And as he phrased it, as his "life began" at 70.

"I want to do a kind act to each one each day."

Life in Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Sydney Gruson, which appeared in the New York Times on May 8, 1957, describing life in present-day Poland:

POLES GRUMBLING OVER SLOW GAINS—WOMEN IN WARSAW'S QUEUES WAITING FOR SCARCE BUTTER TYPIFY NATION'S TASK

(By Sydney Gruson)

WARSAW, May 7.—A young mother engaged in the eternal queue's chatter outside a delicatessen shop in Nowy Swiat said, "Maybe it will be better after a while."

"For you young people perhaps," replied an old woman, "but not for me. I haven't much time left."

It was a little after 1 p. m. They had been waiting with a hundred others since 11 a. m., protected from the cold drizzle only because the delicatessen is in an arcade. All over Warsaw there have been similar queues, and presumably similar conversations, for nearly 2 weeks.

The queues are for butter. Butter has suddenly become a symbol of the discontent, malaise and impatience of the people of this weary capital. At best butter is difficult to find. Sometimes it is impossible. According to reports, things are no better in the countryside.

No one knows why butter has disappeared from the shops. Lacking an official explanation, people make up their own in the increasing bitterness over the difficult economic situation.

LOTS OF WHYS IN POLAND

"Why is there no butter?" a reporter asked as he took a place in the queue.

"Why?" replied a woman. "That's what we ask. There are lots of whys in Poland."

The answer that a taxi driver gave was the one most frequently heard—and the one that made least sense.

"It's gone for the festival," said the taxi driver. "The festival" was not further identified, but he meant the gathering of youth planned for Moscow in July. This was the kind of remark heard all the time in Poland during the worst days of the Stalinist era. Its popping up again was a measure of the disillusionment setting in here.

The taxi driver, chortling, recited a couplet in another comment on the situation. "Staline, Staline, oddaj swinie," he said. Translated, it goes, "Stalin, Stalin, return our pigs," another hangover of the not so long ago when whatever evil befell Poles was attributed to the Russians.

Some people say butter is short in Warsaw because great quantities have been sent to Poznan and other western areas to quiet workers' unrest there. Another explanation of the streets is that peasants now find it more profitable to sell milk than to make butter.

Many people go back to a speech made some months ago by Wladyslaw Gomulka, who became the hero of the people of the queues when he defied the Russians last October and was restored as the Polish Communists' First Secretary. In that speech M. Gromulka advised the Poles to save butter imports by eating lard. Now some people say butter is being deliberately withheld to make people buy up lard supplies.

Not only butter has been short recently. There is difficulty in getting meat as well, and sometimes vegetables and even milk, though peasants now are paid 2 zlotys (8 cents) a liter for it instead of the 90 groszy (3½ cents) paid when milk deliveries were compulsory.

PATIENCE WEARING THIN

A hard life has become increasingly harder, people say, though no one contends he is worse off economically than before M. Gomulka came back. Thankful though they are for the increased freedoms that M. Gomulka symbolizes, the Poles seem less and less inclined to heed his pleas for patience and sacrifices in return for hope of a better life in the still unsighted future.

This impatience tinged with despair, most noticeable among the women who must work and tend houses as well, has seeped into industrial workers. No other explanation is possible for the spate of strikes and strike threats with which the government and the ruling Communist party have been faced in the last 2 months.

"Before we had no money and could not talk," said a middle-aged engineer. "Now we have no money but we can talk. That is better of course"—and the sentence trailed off.

It is in the queues and among the underpaid workers that the credit of confidence given to M. Gomulka last October is running out. How to check the run is a problem for which no one seems to have a solution at this moment.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Appendix

The Tower of Babel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an address delivered by me before the Daughters of the American Revolution on April 16, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TOWER OF BABEL

SUMMARY

The American people have erected a government within a government which bears no resemblance to that established in the Constitution.

The success of the English people in compelling their rules to operate under law came from their insistence on imposing restraints on his spending through the Parliament which represented them.

We must do honor to these early Members of Parliament. It was not easy to tell the Kings they could not collect taxes, and spend money, as they liked, but must take only such taxes, only for such purposes, as Parliament decreed. They knew the rack, the screw, and the executioner's block were the penalty of failure.

Parliamentary resistance to the Stuart kings ended in clear establishment of two principles: Legislative control of the purse and legislative control of the sword. The Constitutional Convention made these principles the foundation of our Constitution. Congress alone was given power to set taxes, and to decide by statute for what purposes the money must be spent. Congress alone had power to raise and support armed forces, and to decide when and if they should be used in war.

Twenty-five years ago the American people and their Congress surrendered the power of the purse, to the ancient bait of an emergency. When Congress gave the executive branch money for emergencies, it in effect let the executive branch spend as it wished. All limits were off. But to abandon limits on spending, through statutory restraints, is to surrender the power of the purse. Unlimited government is here.

The growth in the national budget from $7 billion in fiscal 1934 to $72 billion for the coming year measures the growth of our Tower of Babel.

Today we face a greater danger. In the Middle East resolution, Congress gave the President a virtual blank check for use of American Armed Forces. This is surrender of the other crucial element in government by law, the power of the sword.

In addition, the President has the power, by the foreign-aid legislation, and the precedent of the Korean war, to assign American fighting men to the command of international agencies.

Will any fighting forces be left to guard America if we wish to go our own way, regardless of the majority in the United Nations?

"I am willing to devote the rest of my life to demolishing any and every attempt to destroy American sovereignty by putting American fighting men under any military command other than the United States," said Senator JENNER.

Congress and the American people working together can demolish our Tower of Babel, and make sure that government shall never again, on our soil, grow higher than the law.

TEXT

It is always a pleasure for me to speak before the Daughters of the American Revolution both here in Washington and in Indiana.

We are concerned over the same dangers to our country.

Americans love their country.

Our patriotism has, so far, been free of that cynicism which corrodes love of country when government has, for too long, been an instrument to exploit the people.

I know you were pleased, as I was, to read recently how the greatest traffic jam in the history of Washington was caused by the presence, at Haines Point, of three little sailing ships, replicas of the ships which sailed the stormy Atlantic, 350 years ago.

On the Saturday morning on which the *Susan Constant* was first open to the public, an official of the bus company called the police department and said, "You don't know what you're in for."

It seems as if everyone in Washington had started out to see these three gallant ships on which the little band of intrepid voyagers landed on the shores of Virginia to plant the seeds of the American Republic.

Americans also love their Constitution.

You would have to travel far to find a document more difficult to understand. Even the most brilliant lawyers have disputed over its meaning. The Constitution relies on no drama, emotion, rhetoric, slogans, or any attempt to win the mind by arts noble or vulgar.

It is as free from ornamentation as a Greek temple. Yet, the American people understand their Constitution, with the insight that love intuitively brings.

Last January we, in Congress, were asked to vote the President a new grant of powers called the Middle East resolution. Most of the supporting arguments dealt with talk of communism, the Arabs, oil.

But the people who wrote me were not bothered by side issues. Their letters said this measure would take control of the Armed Forces from Congress, and they were against it. They wanted Congress, and Congress alone, to make the decision on whether or not their sons were to be sent to war. A vivid awareness of the architectural form of government established in our Constitution, is deep in the minds and hearts of our people.

BUILDING OUR TOWER OF BABEL

How, then, can we explain the fact that, in the last 25 years, we have erected, on American soil, a new government—within a government, which bears no relation, whatever, to the Republic laid down in the Constitution.

The answer is simple.

A handful of people saw, in the great depression, a chance to carry out in secret their revolutionary plans to change our governmental system from American liberty to the strong, centralized executive of Continental Europe.

Under cover of relief and welfare, they built up our monstrous executive establishment. The people were too stunned to resist. Just when their hold might have been weakened by public disillusionment, the war gave the planners vast new opportunities to extend their rule. With the end of the war they turned to global welfare, as the best method of perpetuating reckless spending. They built their power even higher on a global basis.

Like the descendants of Noah, in Genesis, they said, "Go to, let us build us a city, and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.

"And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the children of men builded.

"And the Lord said, behold the people is one and they have all one language * * * and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do.

"Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech.

"So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth, and they left off to build the city.

"Therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth."

Here is the perfect model of the centralized control tower, which all ambitious self-seekers set out to erect, whenever the bonds of society are loosed. Our Tower of Babel operates behind a curtain of almost complete secrecy, but our people know well that its builders are trying to build a tower whose top may reach unto heaven.

Our people know nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do, unless this Tower of Babel, like the other one, is cut down to the ground and its builders scattered abroad upon the face of the earth.

The Lord finally destroyed the earlier Tower of Babel, and confounded the language of the builders. The Bible tells us none of the details, but I am sure the Tower was not demolished until brave men appeared ready to do the work of the Lord, though the timid said, "It is too late to destroy the Tower of Babel.

"Its top has reached to heaven.

"Nothing can restrain its rulers from that which they have imagined to do."

WHAT DOES THE CONSTITUTION MEAN TO OUR TIME?

A handful of men built our present-day Tower of Babel, and a handful of men can destroy it. But we cannot destroy the Tower of Babel if we do nothing. We must gird our wills to destroy this monument to men's arrogance. We must laugh in disdain at their claims that they are "the wave of the future," that bigness is "here to stay" and so we might as well get in on the ground floor.

Those are only the incantations chanted by their medicine men, to make us afraid to use the strength with which we could destroy them.

We must have courage. But we must also have wisdom, if we are to destroy this tower in our midst. On what ground can we take our stand to dismantle our Tower of Babel? You will say, "We must take our stand on the Constitution." With that, of course, I wholly agree, but I must ask another question, "What does the Constitution mean to us today?"

It is not enough for us to chant incantations to the good old days. The Constitution comes out of the political struggles of the 17th and 18th centuries. We have been taught to understand it, in terms of Charles the First, George the Third, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson.

But do we understand the meaning of the Constitution for the 20th century? Of course, we do not believe the nonsense that our Constitution is now outmoded, because people used to travel in stagecoaches and sailing ships, and now they travel in jet planes.

The Constitution is concerned with eternal principles. It was made for the ages. It is almost completely free from restrictions which bind it to the problems of the day. But let us not forget the law of life. Human beings are not permitted to lean on the wisdom of the past, to meet a crisis of their time. They must be willing to work as hard, to preserve that wisdom, as their forefathers worked to distill it from their own painful experience.

Americans of our generation are not going to save our Constitution and hand it on, unimpaired, to succeeding generations, unless they achieve the devotion of the men who signed the Declaration of Independence, and dedicated to their country their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

We are not going to preserve our Constitution, through the world political crisis, unless we also reach the high level of intelligence which our revolutionary leaders needed, to create out of English experience, an even more perfect instrument for liberty under law.

THE SEPARATION OF POWERS TODAY

The grand design of our Constitution rests on the principle of the separation of powers.

What does that mean today?

In civics class we learn the Federal Government is divided into three branches, legislative, executive, and judicial, and each is independent of, and coequal to, the others. Logically that is true, but logic gives us nothing of the political wisdom in that principle we call the separation of powers.

Only history can tell us why the idea is so important, how much it cost our forefathers to establish it, and in what way it is important to us today.

The executive must be stronger than any individual in the city, State, or the Nation. Only the English-speaking people found the way to bring executive power under restraint. They knew the chief executive could not be deprived of police power. So it must be deprived of some equally important power. They chose the power to tax. The English took the power to tax away from the men who controlled the armies, and set up a body, representative of the people, to study the country's needs and decide when the head of state could collect tax funds and how much. Obviously, they soon had to decide what he could and could not spend the money for.

Parliamentary control of the purse, defining, by statute, the purposes for which tax funds may be spent, established that political miracle, government under law.

THE HEROIC RESISTANCE OF PARLIAMENT

Let us never forget what we owe to those early Members of Parliament. They had to tell their King he was not going to spend money for what he wanted, but only for what the Parliament told him he could spend it for.

Henry VIII was not a docile man. Those members of Parliament who told Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I they were not going to do as they liked knew the rack, the screw, and the executioner's block awaited them if they failed. When the Members of the Continental Congress dedicated their lives to winning independence for the Colonies, they were not using literary phrases.

The hangman's noose was the price of failure.

Our Constitution embodied the two heroic victories of the English Parliament over their power-seeking Kings in provisions that the Congress should lay all taxes and make the laws governing how they were spent, and also that the Congress should have complete control of the money for the Armed Forces, and of the decision whether to send our men into war.

In 1795 James Madison wrote—and I quote:

"Of all the enemies to public liberty, war is, perhaps, the most to be dreaded, because it comprises and develops the germ of every other. * * *

"War is the parent of armies; from these proceed debts and taxes; and armies, debts, and taxes are the known instruments for bringing the many under the domination of the few. * * *

"The Constitution expressly and exclusively vests in the Legislature the power of declaring a state of war, * * * the power of raising armies, * * * the power of creating offices. * * *

"A delegation of such powers (to the President) would have struck not only at the fabric of our Constitution but at the foundation of all well-organized and well-checked governments.

"The separation of the power of declaring war from that of conducting it is wisely contrived to exclude the danger of its being declared for the sake of its being conducted.

"The separation of the power of raising armies from the power of commanding them is intended to prevent the raising of armies for the sake of commanding them.

"The separation of the power of creating offices from that of filling them is an essential guard against the temptation to create offices for the sake of gratifying favorites or multiplying dependence."

These are the tables of the law of American liberty.

WE THE PEOPLE SURRENDERED POWER OVER THE PURSE

From 1789 to the mid-20th century, American Presidents adhered to the letter and the spirit of our two great political safeguards—congressional control of the purse, and congressional control of the sword. We should stop blaming our President for the loss of our liberty. It is time to point the finger where it belongs. We, the people, through our representatives in Congress, had full power to stop it. Our power to preserve our institutions was given us in trust, in the Constitution.

We had no moral right to surrender that responsibility. But we did. What did we do? We fell victims to a simple trick. We were asked to vote large sums of money to the President for an emergency, and we swallowed the bait.

By voting emergency spending laws, Congress said to the executive branch:

"We have just voted to free you entirely from the restrictions of government under law.

"We have made the law so elastic, so shapeless and formless, that it has no limits.

"Go as far as you like."

President Roosevelt's budget for his first year, in the aftermath of the great depression, was for not quite $7 billion. Our proposed budget for fiscal 1958 is $72 billion. Every step in the growth of Government spending, from not quite $7 billion to $72 billion, is the result of that 1933 decision to surrender to the executive branch the hardwon power of the people, through their Congress, to lay down the law to their Government.

Every brick and stone in our Tower of Babel was put there with our help. We gave the builders the right to use our money as they wished, in spite of the painful efforts made by the English-speaking people over the centuries, to keep governments from spending as they liked.

Our Tower of Babel rose until its top reached the sky. It builders won the vast invisible powers that come from unlimited spending money.

DID WE SURRENDER THE POWER OF THE SWORD?

But, today, we face a new and greater danger.

Let me come back to the Middle East resolution. The resolution was called, frankly, an undated declaration of war. It was, in my opinion, an admission by the Congress that the President's authority over our military forces is no longer limited to the executive duty to carry out policy. It is now expanded to include the most precious of all legislative responsibilities—the right to decide whether or not our country should go to war.

Now let us be honest. This means unlimited government is here.

In 1933, the executive branch was freed from legislative restraints on spending. In 1957, the executive branch was freed from legislative restrains on the use of military force.

Congress, which first surrendered the power of the purse, has now surrendered the power of the sword.

The surrender of the power to decide on war was surrender of the great achievement of the supporters of Parliament in 1688, the keystone of limited government. This achievement was embodied in our Constitution, by agreement so universal that it is hardly mentioned at all.

Still the story is not complete.

Congress, also, added to the Middle East resolution, an amendment authorizing the President of the United States to give men and money to the United Nations emergency forces. Now what does this mean in terms of the law?

It is not the business of Congress to decide a President is, or is not, trustworthy. The legislature's duty is to define limits on power which apply to all.

The law does not vary for persons.

WHAT LIMITS REMAIN ON THE POWER OF THE SWORD?

What are the limits in the expression "United Nations emergency force?"

The answer is, that there are no limits—except those which, some day, may be set by the United Nations Security Council, including—you remember—the Soviet Union.

But that is not all.

The Mutual Aid Authorization Act gives the President power to transfer members of our Armed Forces, as well as civilian officials, to serve any international agency, as he decides.

What has been going on under this provision? We do not know.

You will remember how hard your society worked to find out how the President had transferred American soil at Norfolk to NATO.

Of course, the law says the assignment of American fighting men is only for peacetime, but the fighting in Korea was not war. It was a police action, that is peace.

All the killing of our men serving under United Nations military action, will be called peace.

UNDER WHAT AUTHORITY DOES THE PRESIDENT NOW ACT?

One more point.

You remember that in 1950, the President of the United States agreed to act for the United Nations in command of the United Nations forces fighting in Korea. He then proceeded to incorporate our fighting men into the United Nations forces.

Everything about this series of actions suggests careful advance preparation. We have never had a debate in Congress over the constitutional questions involved in this series of moves.

Does the President have authority, under the Constitution, to put our fighting men into a United Nations force? What constitutional protections go with them, when they are so transferred? When the President of the United States serves as an agent of the United Nations, or, as they say, when he changes to a United Nations hat, is he still bound by the limits set by the Constitution? Or does he acquire strange new powers without any limits in law? Now, I am certain our Presidents have had no slightest intention of violating the Constitution.

But we have had some able, ruthless Machiavellian men high up in the American Government who do not always tell our Presidents where they are going, by their apparently simple moves.

For better or worse, the Korean precedent still stands.

As I read this combination of moves, the American President can now direct our Armed Forces to any end, without any constitutional limitations and, furthermore, can direct them as an agent of the United Nations where he, himself, is not bound by the Constitution.

AMERICA'S THIRD CRUSADE

Is there hidden, somewhere, in the Middle East resolution and its counterparts, a plan for America's third crusade? Are we to send American youth to serve in multinational military units all over the earth, prepared to fight, at a moment's notice, any people who resist the peace the United Nations elects for them?

We speak with indignation of the children's crusade of the middle ages in which the boys and girls of Europe set out for the Holy Land, to fight the infidel, but were waylaid and robbed, beaten and enslaved by greedy men, before they could reach their destination. Where are the fighting men who will bear the brunt of this third crusade under the United Nations? Today they are in our high schools, studying algebra, practicing football, cramming for examinations in current events, getting together a little money to buy records, or take their girls to a dance.

If America is embarking on another crusade, to make the world safe for the United Nations, it will be a children's crusade.

I hope the American people will insist that Congress cut Government spending to the bone, and chain it once again with the chains of the law.

WHO WILL DEFEND OUR COUNTRY?

But our security as a Nation is more precious than our prosperity. Our children are infinitely more precious than our wealth.

If an American President can order American fighting men to serve in the United Nations fighting units, where will our national defense be 10 years from now? Who will protect the United States?

Will we have fighting forces to defend us, if we choose American answers which go against the decisions of the United Nations, including Soviet Russia and its satellites?

The builders of the Tower of Babel have taken from us more wealth than was dreamed of by any conqueror of the past. But if they take our right to defend ourselves, that will be infinitely more terrible. If they take our children, and put them into United Nations forces, under a United Nations command, above our Congress and the Constitution, that will be the end.

I am willing to devote the rest of my life to demolishing any and every attempt to destroy American sovereignty by putting American fighting men under any military command other than that of the United States.

THE ISSUE IS THE SOVEREIGN POWER

Control of armed forces is the sovereign power. Our Constitution put this power in the hands of Congress, as trustees of the American people. Not one of us can rest until that power is returned. Our Tower of Babel must be razed to the ground, if we are to live again by the laws of our forefathers. If Congress and the people work together, they can restore our fundamental law.

Congress can put our Federal Government under limits again, when Members of Congress are the spokesmen for an angry and tireless people, determined to save America. They will cut down our Tower of Babel and make sure government shall never again, on our soil, grow higher than the law.

This uprising of the American people can save our earnings and accumulated wealth from being scattered to the four winds, in the name of global welfare.

But infinitely more important, Daughters of the American Revolution, it can save our sons from being left to die on some distant field of battle, in the service of ruthless power, under a United Nations flag, in the name of a so-called United Nations peace.

Needs in Higher Education in New York State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excerpt from a recent statement by the board of regents of the University of the State of New York on meeting the needs in higher education in New York State.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Two-year comprehensive community colleges, characterized by low cost to the student, geographical availability and direct responsiveness to community needs, offering both transfer and technical-terminal programs, are considered to be the best single means of (a) accommodating future demands for higher education, (b) embracing the increasing heterogeneity of abilities represented in the students graduating from the secondary schools, and (c) providing the education necessary for an emerging group of semiprofessional occupations. Community colleges have a meaning and a competence in their own right They can provide, as well as technical-terminal education, competent preprofessional and general education instruction.

As the first interim report of the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School suggests, "The growth of community and junior colleges is a significant development of our educational system in this century and is probably the next logical step in filling in and rounding out our educational system."

Career Service Awards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, the National Civil Service League presented its third annual career service awards at a dinner on Monday evening, May 6.

The career service awards were presented to 10 career employees of the Federal Government. These men exemplify in an outstanding manner the highest characteristics of the career service.

It is fortunate that we have so many outstanding men and women of exceptional ability who are willing to devote their life in service to the administrative operation of the Governmnet. Those in executive and legislative positions and our citizens generally are indebted to these dedicated people, who carry on the affairs of our Government with but one thought, namely, the improvement of the operation of our Government.

The career service awards this year were given to Mr. Dan B. Dyer, United States Air Force; Mr. John Fanning, Department of Defense; Dr. Harold A. Fidler, United States Atomic Energy Commission; Mr. Henry J. Holtzclaw, Department of the Treasury; Mr. George P. Larrick, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Mr. Schuyler Lowe, Government of the District of Columbia; Mr. John W. Macy, Jr., United States Civil Service Commission; Mr. Lawrence J. Powers, General Accounting Office; Mr. William Rountree, Department of State; and Mr. Roy D. Schlegel, Post Office Department.

The address of the evening was given by Hon. Meyer Kestnbaum, Special Assistant to the President, who spoke on the Career Administrators in Government Service, and urged that the Federal Government do more to recognize and compensate its top career officials on a basis more commensurate with their skill, ability, and competence.

I ask unanimous consent that the address by Mr. Meyer Kestnbaum be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CAREER ADMINISTRATORS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

The 10 career employees who are honored each year by the National Civil Service League are symbols of the devotion and competence of many thousands of our Government career employees. It is most appropriate that those of us who are assembled here representing widely different fields of endeavor should indicate by our presence that these awards are made in the name of the entire community. In publicizing these awards Look magazine renders a useful public service.

Allow me to offer a bit of personal testimony. I have found as have many other businessmen who have come to Washington that the large majority of those who choose Government employment as a career have a high sense of dedication. Our Government is fortunate in having so many men and women of exceptional ability who put their minds

and their hearts into their work, frequently under circumstances that their counterparts in business would find extremely discouraging.

That there are people in Government with only mediocre ability and with a minimum of interest in what they are doing I have no doubt. We have them in business, in the professions and in every other walk of life. I believe it is true that in business there is greater pressure on us than there is in Government to identify people with ability, to assign them to jobs to which they are best suited, to provide them with incentives and to reward them for accomplishment. Business faces fewer impediments in correcting mistakes. There are times when I feel that in the effort to provide safeguards for the security of Government employees we tend to be more concerned with protecting mediocre workers than with giving proper recognition to those who have exceptional ability. This could have serious consequences. To the extent that it is true it should be corrected. I am convinced that in all fields, including business and the professions, we have not been sufficiently conscious of the disparity between excellence and mediocrity.

It is because I have come to have such great respect for the ability of the men with whom I have worked that I venture to offer some observations this evening on the increasing importance of the functions that are being carried on by Government and the increasing need for trained and competent career administrators in the Government service.

We must recognize to begin with that we live in a world that is changing very rapidly. There are two factors which are in themselves interrelated and which are largely responsible for this change. I have in mind particularly the very rapid rate of economic development which has been made possible by scientific and technological progress and the drastic rearrangement of the political relationships that existed up to a very short time ago. These changes have had a profound effect on government in every country in the world. There are very few problems in the modern world which are beyond the purview of government. In most countries governments are exercising a larger degree of control over economic activity. We are fortunate in the United States of America in that policies of government are developed through the democratic process and are made effective to a large degree through nongovernmental institutions. Nevertheless, it is true in our country, as in every other country in the world, that people are showing an increasing disposition to look to government for the solution of economic and social problems.

I judge from reading the newspapers that some of our people and some of our legislators are beginning to wonder how much government we can afford. How much larger can government grow without changing the basic character of our society? I doubt that anyone knows the answer to that question but I should like to advance a few ideas.

There are certain functions essential to society and which can be carried on only by government. There was a time early in our history when many of our wisest people felt that operations of the National Government should be limited to these functions. This philosophy was expressed in the dictum "That government governs best which governs least."

However, it became clear early in our history and it has become increasingly clear during the last quarter of a century that there are certain services which advance the health and security of our society and the growth and stability of our economy which are not capable of being performed effectively by private means. There has been a marked change in our concept as to the range and extent of activities that are appropriately carried on by government, but I do not believe that the American people are less interested than were our forefathers in individual freedom and independence or in seeing to it that government action does not destroy private initiative. The Commission on Intergovernmental Relations expressed this view as follows:

"Assuming efficient and responsible government at all levels—National, State, and local—we should seek to divide our civic responsibilities so that we:

"Leave to private initiative all the functions that citizens can perform privately; use the level of government closest to the community for all public functions it can handle; utilize cooperative intergovernmental arrangements where appropriate to attain economical performance and popular approval; reserve national action for residual participation where State and local governments are not fully adequate, and for the continuing responsibilities that only the National Government can undertake."

It seems to me unrealistic to assume that the functions of the National Government will become less significant in the future. The ordinary activities of government will certainly go on and many of them will continue to expand. The increasing population and the growth and complexity of our economy makes this inevitable. But government should not be required to provide services that could well be managed by private means nor should a government which aims to be responsive to the needs of all the people accumulate too many programs which are designed to benefit special groups in our society. It seems to me that as new programs of vital importance are developed we must scrutinize and rationalize existing programs so that the total burden of government does not become too great.

There are some popular misconceptions about the power of government to manage or support the economy. In the final analysis it is not the government which supports the economy, it is the economy which supports the government.

The wise administration of government, particularly in a democracy, confronts us with a great challenge. Where are we to find in sufficient numbers the people who have the education, the training and the competence to administer the intricate processes of government? How will we keep them interested in government services in the face of the increasingly intense competition for administrative ability? It seems clear to me that in government as in every other activity we must make better use of the people that we have.

During the next few decades we shall see the greatest upgrading of skills that has ever occurred in history. Through the process of mechanization we have greatly reduced the need for unskilled labor. We are in the process of reducing the need for many types of clerical work, but as this process continues we have greater need for people with administrative ability who can think and plan and organize. Our failure to develop these people in sufficient numbers would severely limit our ability to perform satisfactorily the complex functions of government.

It is my judgment that in at least 9 out of 10 cases our top career officials have succeeded to their positions through a series of circumstances, that when taken together are unrelated, except in one respect—and that is, in each case the individual had potential and was a devoted and capable person, that he had the personal desire and courage to push a job through to completion and to come up with a sound answer to the problems which confronted him. Because of these capabilities on the part of many career people, we have had the good fortune to developed a group of well-qualified people in our top career jobs.

However, we have never had enough competent career people for top jobs. In 1946 when Dan Bell, whom many of you now know as the president of the American Security & Trust Co., here in Washington, left the Government service, after 35 years, he was asked by another longtime career man, "What do you consider the one most important thing the Government can do to improve itself in the personnel field?" Bell's reply was that to his mind the single most important thing needed in the Federal Government is the development of a good second man behind each topman, qualified and trained to act in his absence, and to move in when the topman moved out. It was 11 years ago that a career employee who worked himself up from a stenographer and bookkeeper to become Director of the Bureau of the Budget and Under Secretary of the Treasury, made this statement.

To do what Mr. Bell felt was needed would require the Civil Service Commission and the departments and agencies to make a conscious effort to select people with potential administrative ability and see to it that they receive the broad training and experience necessary to fit them to be top career managers. Actually Dan Bell's proposal of 11 years ago was never carried through on an organized basis, even though our need for well-trained career administrators and managers has increased.

At the same time the need in private business for capable managers has been constantly increasing. This has created a tough competitive market for people who are competent administrators. As a result many career people have left Government service for opportunities offered in industry and business. These people are hard to replace and their successors will be even harder to replace as time goes on. Their competence and skill in governmental affairs acquired after years of service and represent a real investment on the part of the individual and the Government.

It is difficult to generalize on why people do what they do. However, it is fair to say that had the Federal Government done more to recognize and compensate its top career officials on a basis more commensurate with their skills and abilities and competence that our chances of recruitment would be better and fewer career employees would look to private business for greater rewards.

What I have endeavored to suggest thus far is that because of social and economic changes the role of government in modern society has become increasingly important. This is particularly true in the United States because we have assumed a new position in world affairs. As our responsibilities increase, we will have to improve all the processes of government. We foresee a greater need than ever before for highly trained and highly skilled career administrators.

Now it seems to me that when we look at these facts we must—unless we have our heads in the sand—ask ourselves how we can meet the challenge that this situation and the future of our country place before us.

It is clear that this is a problem which cannot be met by any small group or by any simple program. The challenge extends to the Congress, to our people, in fact to democracy itself. The problems of government are never permanently solved.

We do know that if we are to improve the processes of government, we must pay more attention to the people who are administering these processes.

I am sure that many of you here tonight have thought long and hard about the problems involved in the recruitment development and wise use of our Government's people. Since I have been extremely interested in these same problems, I am aware that there are many different ideas about how we should meet them. However, there is one thing about which I am certain, and that is that we cannot successfully meet our great

responsibilities if we are afraid to tackle our problems.

It is clear that our civil-service system is not now geared to recruit, develop and facilitate the best use of top career administrators. I want to say again that we are fortunate in the number of career people of great devotion and ability now in our service. But I must say also that we should not, in the face of our experience and knowledge of the future, continue to rely on chance to develop their successors. Also, that we cannot in any sense get the full benefit of the experience and abilities of our top career people under a system which does not provide adequate recognition of their value. The present civil-service system tends to induce people to stay rooted in one job and in one agency. Also the personnel laws and regulations tend to impede more flexible use of people.

We have to decide how we will meet the problems that challenge our success in the future. Can anything be done and if so what, by whom and how.

One positive and constructive proposal has been made to improve the position of the Government in relation to top career administrators. The Hoover Commission, as you all know, proposed the establishment of a senior civil service group. The basic objective of this proposal was to establish a system for identifying men and women of exceptional capacity within the Government. Today there is no such system. The objectives of the proposal were "to always have at hand in the Government a designated group of highly qualified administrators whose competence, integrity, and faithfulness have been amply demonstrated" and "to make the civil service more attractive to able men and women." Today we have no system that will meet these objectives. The Hoover Commission went on and outlined what is believed should be the basic features of the senior civil service.

The President endorsed these Hoover Commission proposals in principle.

As was to be expected, the Hoover Commission's recommendation for a senior civil service and the President's endorsement of the principles and objectives of the recommendation stimulated a great deal of discussion of the problem.

I am sure that you will agree with me that the thinking of the Hoover Commission and its task force was in the right direction. Naturally many questions have been raised about the feasibility or need for the senior civil service. Many points of view expressed about the proposal and the President's statement clearly indicated misunderstanding of the proposals themselves and in many instances a lack of appreciation of the real need for improvement in this area.

This is not to say that some of the objections and fears expressed were without validity. It was helpful to have them expressed for they stimulated some important modifications of the original proposal.

To be sure that we understood the problems involved and the objections and fears expressed, an all-day meeting of top officials both career and noncareer was held to examine all aspects of the proposal and to see if a workable proposal could be developed. Among the career people were those who had voiced the strongest objections to the senior civil service idea. One encouraging fact, which really made the meeting worthwhile, is that so far as I know no one has yet, in all of the discussion of the recommendation, said that the objectives are not sound.

In our discussion many proper objections were made to certain features of the senior civil service proposal. However, there was and is unanimous recognition that improvements can be made both in our career civil service system and in the proposals of the Hoover Commission.

One of the fortunate things which came out of the discussion was, we found, that the connotation of the title "Senior Civil Service" placed the wrong emphasis on the kind of a program that it was agreed is really needed. This then led to the development of the term "career executive program" which is a more accurate description of what is contemplated.

The concept of a career executive program which developed out of our discussion is, that whatever is done to improve our recruitment, selection development and use of career employees should be accomplished as an integral part of our civil service system and not superimposed upon it. This means that our career civil service system must be improved with respect to the selection, development, and use of career personnel which means that the system needs some basic overhauling.

To meet our problem of a continuous supply of competent people for top career posts, the system will, of course, have to put greater emphasis on the qualification requirements for appointment, the development through training and experience of employees with outstanding potential, and the requirements for promotion to the top career positions. Also, it is clear that the standards for selection of career executive must be such that the people so designated are recognized as exemplifying the highest kind of professional spirit and competence; that their experience is such that they can be expected to deal effectively with the gigantic problems of government. They are deserving of proper recognition. Recognition might and should include a status which recognizes the personal competence of the individual, salaries which are more in line with the heavy responsibilities they carry, and possibly other forms of recognition might be developed. Although these ideas are by no means a total approach to the problem, I think they reflect some of the thinking behind the proposed Executive order now in the process of clearance with your departments and agencies. Specifically, the order would establish a Career Executive Board. This Board would report directly to the Civil Service Commission and would have the responsibility of developing a full proposal for a career executive program.

The Career Executive Board when established would be made up of outstanding men who have many years experience in the service of the Government and are fully familiar with the management problems and needs of the Government and with the career service. The recommendations of this Board should represent a good beginning, but the problem is one which cannot be solved by administrative decision alone.

To make the career service and the career executive program really effective will require the full cooperation of the Congress, the executive departments and agencies, and career employees themselves. My role tonight is a simple one. I ask that you consider the fact that the development of a sound career executive program can greatly improve the effectiveness of the Government in carrying out its tremendous tasks. A sound plan directed to that end seems to me essential. If accepted, it will offer greater opportunities for the development and recognition of top career administrators than has ever before been possible.

High Cost of Going to College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Dr. Benjamin Fine entitled "High Cost of Going to College Is Causing Concern Among Students and Schools," which appeared in the New York Times on May 5, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HIGH COST OF GOING TO COLLEGE IS CAUSING CONCERN AMONG STUDENTS AND SCHOOLS

(By Benjamin Fine)

The cost of going to college has doubled since 1940, a recent survey by the United States Office of Education points out. A student attending a typical public college will pay $1,500 for the academic year, while an average private-school student must be prepared to pay $2,000. This compares with $747 at the public college and $1,023 for the private-college undergraduate about 15 years ago.

The study, conducted by Dr. Ernest V. Hollis of the education office, found that 10 percent of the students came from families with annual incomes of less than $3,000. The average family in the lowest income group devoted one-fifth of its income to sending its child through college.

The families themselves supplied 41 percent of the money for the college students; 29 percent came from students' own savings, while students earned 17 percent after entering college; the remainder came from miscellaneous sources. Two-thirds of the men and one-half of the women worked while getting their degrees.

The high cost of a college education was considered in some detail last week by the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School. Some 300 educators and laymen attended the regional conference held at New York University. One question cut across much of the discussion: How can the colleges meet the spiraling operating expenses? And this was matched with the corollary question: How can the students pay the soaring tuition fees?

Many colleges now charge from $800 to $1,000 for tuition, compared with half that amount 10 or 15 years ago. Even so, the colleges are barely keeping out of the red. The tuition pays for less than 50 percent of the cost to the college of educating a student.

TOO HIGH FOR MANY

An immediate danger has arisen. The high tuition fees, together with record costs for room, board, and incidentals, are freezing out potentially gifted boys and girls. Tuition and other costs at a good women's college can cost about $2,500 a year. Multiply that by 4, and the family must raise $10,000 to pay for the education of 1 member of the family. The rate for the education of a boy in a men's college is just about the same as in the women's colleges.

A study of 25 typical colleges and universities, made by this department, shows that

a growing number of officials are concerned at the upward trend.

This is the way the tuition fees (in some instances including room and board) have been increased in the last 10 years. It will be noticed that many colleges plan another round of raises this fall.

Institution	1946–47	1956–57	1957–58
Barnard College	$500	$900	$900
Brandeis University	[1] 500	800	900
Brown University	[2] 523	[2] 950	[2] 1,050
Columbia University	450	950	950
Connecticut College	[2] 1,450	[2] 1,950	[2] 2,100
Cornell University	[2] 530	[2] 1,000	[2] 1,100
Duke University	[2] 420	[3] 600	[3] 800
Franklin and Marshall College	450	730	800
Lehigh University	600	1,000	1,000
Mount Holyoke College	[2] 1,200	[2] 1,950	[2] 1,950
New York University	440	800	900
Oberlin College	450	750	750
University of Pennsylvania	[2] 495	[2] 1,035	[2] 1,150
Princeton University	[2] 560	[2] 1,000	[2] 1,200
Radcliffe College	450	1,000	1,000
Smith College	[2] 1,230	[2] 1,900	[2] 1,900
Stanford University	498	750	750
Syracuse University	500	900	900
Tulane University	[2] 400	[2] 650	[2] 750
Wellesley College	[2] 1,250	[2] 1,900	[2] 1,900
Yale University	500	1,000	1,100

[1] For 1948–49, when university opened.
[2] Figure includes fees.
[3] Figure includes room and board.

Of course, it can be said that this only shows we live in an inflationary era, that while the cost of college has increased 100 percent since before the war, so have other costs and, indeed, incomes.

But today a broader spectrum of the population has become accustomed to the idea of going to college. The lower the income of a college student's family, the larger is the proportion required for tuition. If qualified students are frozen out of college because of financial problems the Nation will be the loser.

In addition, there has apparently been a lag in the colleges' investment income. This has not kept up with rising costs, so a higher portion of the colleges' income has had to come out of tuition fees. This places an additional burden on the student.

Here is what some of the college officials say about the high tuition fees:

Dr. John U. Munro, director of financial aid center, Harvard College: "We feel there is a serious danger that high tuition rates will discourage many good students from applying. The health of our democratic process requires that the colleges discover ways of keeping their doors open to young people of talent, even though they lack the means to pay the bills."

Dr. Millicent C. McIntosh, president, Barnard College: "There certainly is a great danger that high tuition rates are already making it impossible for qualified students to attend Barnard. Many students have been turned away because they do not have financial resources and we cannot give them scholarship aid. This is true of approximately one-third of this year's applicants."

GROWING STUDENT AID

Smith College makes another point: Present fees are not as high in dollar value as the fees were in 1949–50. Nearly 20 percent of the students today receive scholarship aid at Smith. At Yeshiva University in New York City, the ratio is even higher, with 75 percent receiving some financial help from the institution.

As tuition rates go up, the cost to the college of its scholarship program will increase, too. A vicious circle has been created: Higher tuition brings in more revenue; but in turn, this revenue must be used to subsidize student scholarships.

Dr. Abram L. Sachar, president of Brandeis University, notes that 40 percent of its total academic income goes for student scholarships. Nor is this an unusual proportion. Other colleges report an even higher percentage. One-fifth of the student body at Connecticut College receives help this term; the average scholarship award is $1,200 a year. Another 35 percent work on the campus; their earnings during the school year amount to $30,000. Also, students at Connecticut College, as elsewhere, may apply for loans, at low interest rates, repayable after graduation.

HARVARD EXAMPLE

Harvard University typifies the rising costs in a good Ivy League college. Ten years ago the tuition rate was $400. Now it is $1,000. The fee covers half the cost of the individual student's education. Harvard has just begun a 3-year campaign to raise $82,500,000. This will provide funds to add to the faculty, increase their salaries, strengthen the scholarship program, and in other ways meet the needs of rising prices. Today Harvard awards $1,850,000 a year in financial aid to 1,500 undergraduate students.

In 1949–50 Columbia University charged $12.50 a point, $375 a year. This has now jumped to $950. Income from fees in 1939–40 was $2,625,223. Today it is close to $9 million.

But the operating costs have more than eaten up this increase. A building constructed in the midtwenties cost 12.62 per square foot. The same building today would cost $63 per square foot. Fifteen years ago the university paid $194,207 out of general income for retirement benefits. In 1954–55 this had jumped to $746,628. During this same period, building and grounds maintenance charge increased from $905,732 to $1,998,854.

Library costs have jumped from $490,830 to $1,277,421 in 15 years. Despite the tripled increase of tuition fees, the university must seek outside funds to keep out of the red.

What is the answer? Educators have advanced, different solutions. All agree, though, that more money must be made available for higher education. They likewise agree that tuition fees cannot go much higher and still retain the democratic concept that has made higher education so distinctive in this country.

More corporate gifts are needed. More help from alumni and friends of the colleges must be obtained. Even that will not be sufficient to meet the problems. It may be necessary to provide the colleges with substantial State and Federal building and scholarship aid.

Welcome to the President of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, today we have a welcome visitor, the President of Vietnam.

The New York Times in an editorial has summed up what I believe to be the sentiments of most informed Americans toward President Diem. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WELCOME, PRESIDENT DIEM

In Washington today our country has the pleasure of welcoming the head of one of the youngest of republics, Vietnam. President Diem's accomplishments in these past 2 years will assure him admiration and respect. We hope that he also can feel the friendly warmth of our reception as we greet a good friend.

Just a month before leaving for this country President Diem signed a further ordinance to strengthen the hand of his Land Reform Council and thus again to advance the movement through which he has been able to effect the resettlement of thousands of persons on their own land. The measures that he has taken have been practical as well as imaginative.

It will be a mistake if this trip is interpreted as just another visit to obtain more American aid. President Diem can show solid results for the help that has been given. He has no reason to appear as a supplicant. He is rather a substantial partner in a going enterprise on behalf of freemen in his country and in ours. We honor him and make him doubly welcome on that account.

Tours of Dizzie Gillespie and His Jazz Band

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by me, which was in reply to an open letter from the editor of the Progress-Examiner of Orleans, Ind., in regard to the tours of Dizzie Gillespie and his jazz band, who were sent abroad as part of our Government's program to represent American culture.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FROM THE OFFICE OF SENATOR WILLIAM E. JENNER

Senator JENNER published some additional details of the world tour of Dizzie Gillespie and his jazz band under the American State Department for the improvement of international cultural relations. The Senator's statement was in reply to an open letter from the editor of the Progress-Examiner of Orleans, Ind., who asked Senator JENNER "why our tax money should be spent to pay a band leader more money than we pay our President to take his boys on a world tour."

Senator JENNER's letter follows:

APRIL 18, 1957.

The EDITOR, PROGRESS EXAMINER,
Orleans, Ind.

DEAR SIR: It is a great pleasure for me to give you and your readers fuller information about the tours of Dizzie Gillespie and his jazz band as part of our Government's program for the cultural enlightenment of foreign nations.

Your figure of $84,381 is not the full story of the cost. Mr. Gillespie and his band were sent on two world tours, one to the Near East and Africa, the other to Latin America. The $84,381 is the net cost of the Near East-African tour, but the tour also collected $16,400 from the sale of tickets. This income did not, like other Government receipts, go into the general fund of the Treasury to be spent only through new appropriations of Congress. It was paid directly to the project, which cost $100,838.55 for the Near East alone.

Let me give you a few of the items paid for by our Government on the Near East and African tour. We paid $511.90 for in-

oculations. That is $25 apiece. We paid $727.15 for passports and $887 for insurance. The booking agent was paid $5,000. We also sent with the band a lecturer, who was paid $1,905.13. His job was to lecture to the people who had come to hear jazz bands, about jazz as an art, but he spoke only English.

Mr. Gillespie's tour to Latin Amercian cost another $40,500 net. I do not know how much should be added for receipts from ticket sales, which went to the project instead of the Treasury. Altogether the tour gave away $35,000 worth of free tickets, plus other thousands for lunches and receptions.

In Argentina, on this trip to improve cultural relations with foreign countries, Mr. Gillespie dressed as a gaucho, and rode a horse through the streets of Buenos Aires. The State Department representative did not think that behavior interfered at all with Mr. Gillespie's contribution to cultural understanding with Latin America.

Instead, the State Department representative explained, Mr. Gillespie was extremely generous with young musicians, especially in Turkey, and gave a trumpet to a leading Turkish artist.

The Middle East and African tour naturally included Yugoslavia in this program of cultural exchange.

Some of the figures are a little confusing, but the program paid $19,000 a year for a general manager.

We are getting close to the total, but we still have to add the cost of overhead in USIA, and the State Department, and the time of our Embassy staff in the countries the jazz players visited.

This money comes from what is called the President's special international program, but the State Department is in charge of its operation, through the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

The fund has had $9,704,300 so far, all of which is committed. The State Department is asking for $3,100,000 for 1958. This is an increase of $795,700 so they can send cultural programs to Poland and Hungary.

Much of the entertainment sent abroad by our State Department has been jazz bands. Wilbur de Paris and his Dixieland jazz band were sent to the independence celebration at Ghana. First the Department gave the cost of his tour as $26,600, but they later changed the figure to $65,000.

Of the 4 bands sent to Latin America, 3 were Negro.

A number of American Indians were also sent abroad to represent American culture.

Among the touring theatrical companies was one giving Porgy and Bess. This did have an all-Negro cast, it is true, but I doubt if it represented American Negro culture. The play, made from a very fine book, changed the emphasis to adultery, criminality, and slums. Many Negroes were very offended, and the papers carried stories of the anger of Moscow audiences at the choice of play.

It came out that some of these Negro performers were sent abroad to offset the effect of pamphlets published by USIA commenting on the poverty and slum conditions of Negroes in America.

So far as I know, nothing has been said to suggest the large number of hard-working, prosperous, successful Negro businessmen, professional men, and wage workers in the United States.

This program for cultural exchange is an outgrowth of the Geneva Summit Conference. At the time I said I thought the Geneva Conference was a catastrophic setback to American military power. I did not know we planned to send jazz musicians in place of military aid for national independence.

We could not find any way to use the majestic power of America to give a little help to the Hungarians when they were fighting for their freedom, but now that their struggles are over, we are going to send them Dizzie Gillespie or another jazz band.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM E. JENNER.

Authority to the Tennessee Valley Authority To Issue Bonds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD several editorials and articles commenting on S. 1855, a bill which I introduced, and which authorizes the Tennessee Valley Authority to issue revenue bonds to finance its necessary power expenses.

There being no objection, the editorials and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Louisville Courier-Journal of April 21, 1957]

SENATOR COOPER'S FINANCING BILL OFFERS COMPROMISE ON TVA

With an eye to the political realities of Washington today, Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER has introduced a TVA self-financing bill that must be considered a serious attempt at compromise. It will not force TVA out of business, as opponents of the agency, including some of the President's closest advisers, would like. Nor does it give TVA the fiscal flexibility that its administrators would like to have in order to insure expanding production to meet increasing demands for power.

Like most compromises, it is likely to please no one very much. The Cooper bill would permit TVA to issue up to $750 million in revenue bonds at one time. Enemies of TVA would like to see this permissible amount cut in half. The Cooper bill would require TVA to consult with the Treasury Department before issuing revenue bonds, in order to coordinate the issue with other Government issues, but would permit the Treasury to delay action only 90 days. The bill supported last year by the Bureau of the Budget, and usually considered the expression of TVA enemies within the administration, would have given the Budget Bureau veto power over TVA bond proposals.

THE EFFECT ON KENTUCKY

To this extent, at least, the Cooper proposal must be considered more lenient than many TVA supporters had feared. At the same time, it continues financing requirements that neither friends nor officials of TVA like. For example, it requires TVA to finance future power generation with revenue bonds, on which the current governmental rate of interest is to be paid; and at the same time, TVA would be required to repay to the Treasury all money invested in power generation by the Government, and to repay it at the same rate of interest as is paid on the revenue bonds.

The Kerr bill, favored by friends of TVA, would require payment of interest on the Government investment in power facilities, but would discontinue repayment of investment principal. The Cooper bill makes a gesture toward TVA, however, by permitting the agency to defer interest payments to the Government for any 2-year period in the event of natural or economic difficulties resulting in a serious curtailment of power distribution.

There is one section of the Cooper bill, unfortunately, that will be a sizable disappointment to a lot of Kentuckians; that is the section forbidding TVA to use any bond money outside of the region it now serves. This, of course, is a bow in the direction of TVA foes who have for years sought a law setting forth the precise territory that TVA may serve with electricity, and forbidding it to go outside these boundaries.

No responsible spokesman for TVA proposes to increase the service area of the agency. But many Kentuckyians have been working for many years to get TVA power for their towns or rural cooperatives. TVA lines, for example, extend to within 20 miles of Middlesboro, where many citizens have been fighting for 20 years to get TVA power for their city. Civil leaders in the Green River Valley have for years insisted that it would be more economical for TVA to build steam plants in the Green River Valley, with its huge deposits of coal, than to ship Green River coal all the way to Tennessee steam plants.

IKE IS THE BIG QUESTION

Such developments will be made all but impossible by the limitations on the use of bond money as proposed by Senator COOPER. TVA could, of course, use current revenues to extend its lines into areas now seeking its power. But the repayment sections of the Cooper bill would limit the availability of revenues to such an extent that little money would be left for expansion.

The big question about the Cooper bill now, however, is how the President and his administration leaders in Congress are going to regard the measure when it begins its struggle through Congress. If it is given administration blessing, friends of TVA will probably go along, for though it is not the bill that TVA supporters would like, it is a bill TVA can live with. If, on the other hand, the President takes a hands-off attitude, and permits the bill to be attacked and amended by the forces around Presidential Adviser Sherman Adams, the friends of TVA will have to gird themselves for another fight.

[From the Louisville Courier-Journal of May 2, 1957]

SENATOR COOPER SEEKS TO EASE THE STRAINS OF TVA'S DOUBLE LIFE

Since its inception almost 25 years ago, the Tennessee Valley Authority has lived a double life—loved at home and attacked abroad. To the people who have benefited by its farm, fertilizer, reforestation, and municipal development programs, or who have seen their way of life changed by its low-cost power, TVA is the perfect example of Government-citizen cooperation. To private power spokesmen and those who are unfamiliar with the way it works, the agency represents the threats and evils of creeping socialism.

Congress has for many years reflected this national split personality. Thus TVA finds itself one day furnishing low-cost power to vital atomic-energy plants at savings of millions of dollars to the Government. The next day it finds itself threatened by that same Government with slow starvation, as Congress refuses to appropriate funds to generate more power. At home, it is besieged with requests for power from customers living along the fringe of TVA territory, while in Congress attempts are being made to limit or even diminish TVA's service area.

Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER knows the difficulty of legislating in this confused field. He, too, is caught in the fight over TVA. There are counties throughout southern

Kentucky where the people want TVA power, and have asked Senator COOPER to help them get it. But the leader of Senator COOPER's party, President Eisenhower, has himself damned TVA as an example of creeping socialism, and tried to reduce its territory through the infamous Dixon-Yates contract.

Therefore, when Senator COOPER warns TVA-area Congressmen that they must be willing to compromise in their fight for TVA, he knows whereof he speaks. And it seems to us that his bill to give TVA self-financing power, offers about as good a compromise as we can hope for at this time, the temper of the administration being what it is. In return for the power to issue revenue bonds (up to $750 million) for power-generating purposes, the Cooper bill would limit TVA to its present service territory by forbidding the use of revenue-bond money to provide power outside the present service area.

This is far less than friends of TVA would like. But it is far more than the foes of TVA would prefer, and TVA foes, it has been repeatedly demonstrated, have a great deal of influence around the White House. They have been increasingly able, in recent years, to deny TVA Government funds for producing power needed for its present area, and at the same time deny the agency the right to provide its own financing through revenue bonds. The Cooper bill offers a middle ground between these two groups that deserves the consideration of Congress.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of April 28, 1957]

COMPROMISE ON TVA

Senator COOPER has proposed a constructive compromise between the plans of the Budget Bureau and the Tennessee Valley Authority for revenue bond financing of TVA's new powerplant requirements. The Cooper bill, on which hearings will be held soon, involves a postponement of some of the basic decisions that need to be made on regularizing the Authority's finances. But it would go far toward assuring TVA's ability to stand on its own feet and would help to eliminate the perennial debate over the future of this proven and immensely valuable agency.

To allay fears that self-financing authority for TVA might result in unchecked expansion of its power service area, the Cooper bill would limit initial bonding authority to $750 million, or enough for about 5 years. It also would provide that proceeds from these bonds could be used only for providing power within TVA's present area. In addition, the Treasury would have the right to control the issuance and recall, within 90-day periods, of TVA bonds.

Of equal importance the Cooper bill provides for payment of interest on the $1 billion Federal investment in TVA's power facilities, in addition to the continuing repayment of that investment to a level of some $750 million. This seems to be a rather generous stopping point, but the figure would be subject to further congressional review in 5 years.

TVA's tax status ought also to be reviewed, but this might well be done separately as part of a general overhaul of the exemptions provided for all Federal properties and enterprises. We hope the Senate and House Public Work Committee will give the Cooper compromise earnest attention as a first step toward establishing the Authority once and for all on a permanent, financially sound basis. The prime need is to enable the TVA to meet the legitimate requirements of the area through its own resources without having to combat the knives of those groups which still seek to destroy it.

[From the New York Times of May 2, 1957]

SENATOR COOPER'S SOLUTION OF THE ISSUE OVER TVA

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, May 1.—For a number of years construction by the Tennessee Valley Authority of steam plants to supply power for public sale has had the approval of Congress. But resistance at the Capitol to this type of TVA facility has grown from a small minority opinion to a strong opposition and one that can no longer be identified as merely conservative.

This situation has led Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, of Kentucky, to propose a compromise between (a) the advocates of unlimited expansion of TVA's power facilities and geographical scope, and (b) those who wish either to prevent further expansion or reverse the process.

Under the Cooper plan TVA would be permitted to finance additional power facilities, but the proceeds of this financing would be limited to their construction and use in TVA's geographical area. "My purpose," said Senator COOPER to his colleagues, "is to avoid a repetition of the fruitless and frustrating stalemate over the future of TVA that has had no constructive results. I hope a decision can be reached with due recognition of the great contribution TVA has made and is making."

THE FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS

The financing phase of the Cooper bill would permit the authority to meet future increases in demand from its present service territory and to maintain an integrated power system. The measure continues TVA responsibility for repayment of the Federal investment in its power facilities, provides a reasonable rate of interest on the unpaid portion of this investment, and seeks to make the agency self-sufficient as a Government corporation.

The sponsor of this measure, in his two separate terms as a Senator, has steadily endeavored to persuade Congressmen of both major parties that TVA is vital to the region and should be allowed logical expansion. This led him in 1954 to oppose the Dixon-Yates contract that had the President's approval, and warn General Eisenhower on aspects to the contract that soon plunged the administration into a controversy from which the President eventually was obliged to order a retreat. In the course of that effort COOPER became persona non grata at the White House to the point where he was rebuffed by the staff in an attempt to give his reasons to the President in person.

Defeated in 1954, COOPER, after a tour of duty as Ambassador to India, was again elected in 1956 and came back to the Senate to pursue his consistent course with respect to the TVA.

RELIANCE ON STEAM PLANTS

These are some of the points in his compromise of the views of the congressional blocs that are embattled over the future of TVA.

When hydro-power development through dams reached its limits, TVA turned to steam plants to meet a power demand in its area that has grown vastly in the last 8 years. (Incidentally, Federal atomic and other installations now absorb one-half of the total capacity of the agency.)

Steam must now supply two-thirds of TVA's generating capacity, and this will require substantial new plant construction. But since 1950 Congress has shown an increasing unwillingness to make the necessary appropriations. That is due in part to the feeling in other regions that TVA has lifted the valley States to an econmic status which makes them able to dispense with Federal appropriations.

A $750 MILLION FUND

But by 1954 TVA had demonstrated ability to repay the Treasury on a 40-year basis, and capacity to operate efficiently in meeting the needs of the service area. These prospective needs for the 5 years following the winer of 1959–60 call for new construction to care for an increase of 750,000 kilowatts annually at a total cost limited to $750 million.

Five years after the spring of 1960 TVA may return to Congress to request further financing and a broader area of operation. By that time Congress will have had ample opportunity to appraise the results of the Cooper bill.

To assist coordination with other Government issues TVA must consult the Treasury before offering bonds—other bills give the Treasury supervision—but the Treasury will have 90 days to determine the dates of issue, recall and maturity.

TVA'S TRANSITION

There are more features of the Cooper measure, but those listed above, and the limitation of expanded TVA service to its geographical area, are the major provisions. They are eloquent of the transition of TVA from the day in the thirties when, asked by Justice McReynolds whether a steam plant would be used to generate power for independent sale, John Lord O'Brian responded for the Government that, as he viewed the law, steam plants could be used only as a standby against a breakdown of hydro facilities.

But since that exchange Congress has regularly allowed TVA to make an ever-widening interpretation of its legal permissive.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of May 5, 1957]

EXPANSION OF THE TVA

For some time now the Tennessee Valley Authority has found itself in pressing need of expanding its facilities if the increasing demand for power in this region is going to be met. Waterpower, the TVA's original source of energy, has had to be supplemented several times over by steam generating plants. But such is the growth of the valley's industry, including Federal atomic plants, that by 1960 demand will outrun supply unless action is taken at this session of Congress.

The TVA is now established as a permanent institution essential to the economy of a large region. There is no question about that. But there is a very important question as to how much bigger it will grow and how that growth is to be financed. There has been a congressional deadlock on this subject for the last 2 years.

Now Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, of Kentucky, has proposed a compromise bill which would make the TVA self-sufficient as a Government corporation. The Cooper bill would authorize the TVA to sell up to $750 million worth of bonds for construction purposes over 5 years and permit it to ask Congress for further authorization if it did well with the first. This provision would give the Authority the necessary flexibility by freeing it from yearly congressional action. It would also free the taxpayer from continued demands to subsidize the project further.

At the same time the bill would limit the expansion of the TVA to its present geographical territory, and safeguard private enterprise from unlimited encroachment by a Government agency. The bill would authorize a vertical expansion, so to speak, but not a horizontal one.

Since the TVA has become the sole supplier of electricity in the Tennessee Valley, it has

to assume the responsibility for meeting its power demands. But it should not assume any similar responsibility outside it. That is the sense of the Cooper bill. It represents a fair and reasonable solution to a pressing problem.

The Delaware Channel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in this morning's Philadelphia Enquirer entitled "False Economy on Delaware Channel." The editorial points out the very real need for an additional appropriation of $7.5 million to complete the channel to a depth of 40 feet, as called for by the policy adopted by the Congress, a matter with respect to which the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN] and I have just had the pleasure of testifying before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

FALSE ECONOMY ON DELAWARE CHANNEL

The difference between the $16,500,000 which Army engineers estimate is needed for Delaware River channel improvements in the coming year, and the $9 million included in the President's budget—is $7,500,000.

Greater Philadelphia spokesmen, led by Mayor Richardson Dilworth and Harry G. Schad, put up a vigorous battle for that extra $7,500,000 before the House Appropriations Subcommittee yesterday.

That fight should now be carried to the White House, for either the President is being badly informed, or not being informed at all, on the real needs of Delaware Valley, United States of America.

By administration spending standards, $7,500,000 is small change. Scores of projects, of less value to the Nation, could be named which carry sums far larger. What is most important, penny pinching on the appropriation now will merely increase the cost of dredging the authorized 40-foot channel later on.

For inexplicable reasons, the White House and Budget Bureau proposed only $9 million for dredging the channel to an interim depth of 35 feet. As Mayor Dilworth made plain, such action will be shortsighted, because deepening the channel between Philadelphia and Trenton involves removal of a rock ledge. As he points out, it will be expensive and wasteful to drill away that ledge to a 35-foot depth, and then later bring back the same drilling equipment to cut another 5 feet deeper. To do the whole job at once would be economical—and in line with the obvious needs of the river, and the great industrial complex of which it is the heart.

The House committee was shown evidence of a great influx of new industries, including the planned new plant of the Phoenix Iron & Steel Co., near Burlington, which would sorely need a 40-foot channel.

Ours is a strange world. And there are strange ideas in Washington, D. C. Let the Communists point a finger at any little country on earth, and we are quick to find vast sums to save it. We are pouring $50 million a year, for example, into far-off Laos.

Maybe if Red submarines instead of ore boats were moving into Delaware Bay, the Budget Bureau might bestir itself to find the money for a channel which Delaware Valley's industries—most of them defense industries—obviously need.

The American West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON ALLOTT
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, last Thursday the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] and other friends of the West discussed on the floor of the Senate an article in the current Harper's magazine by Prof. Walter Prescott Webb, historian at the University of Texas.

Dr. Webb chose as his topic the American West, a subject about which he revealed a profound ignorance. Perhaps the professor, in his pursuit of history, has completely lost touch with the present. At any rate, he has strung together an amazing collection of biased hypotheses about the West, has recited a string of inaccurate facts, and then has leaped to wild generalities.

The Phoenix (Ariz.) Gazette suggests that the professor has been out of touch with reality since the turn of the century. At any rate, I am confident that any of the professor's history students who strayed as far away from the facts in an examination paper as the professor himself did in Harper's would be rewarded only with an "F" for his efforts.

A number of newspapers in the West have done a superb job of pointing out fact after fact as to which the professor has been wide of the mark.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article on the subject by Nello Cassai, outstanding reporter for the Denver Post, and a regional writer for Newsweek magazine; an editorial from the Denver Post; and an editorial from the Phoenix Gazette.

There being no objection, the article and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Denver Post of April 28, 1957]

OASIS CIVILIZATION—HISTORIAN BRANDS WEST DESERT

(By Nello Cassai)

The American West is full of negatives, short on positives.

It produces comparatively few important men, has little interesting history, and by some standards is a depressed region.

Westerners have developed a talent for taking something small and blowing it up to giant size, as a photographer blows up a photograph.

So says a historian, Dr. Walter Prescott Webb, University of Texas history professor, in the May issue of Harper's magazine.

The reason for all of this, explains Dr. Webb, is that the West has been shaped by the great American desert.

He says Westerners have ben trying to deny existence of the desert ever since the name was striken from the maps when settlement began after the Civil War.

"It has hardly been mentioned in polite western society since, and never by the chambers of commerce," he adds "the West today is virtually an oasis civilization * * *.

"The chambers of commerce would not be pleased if we referred to such oases of elevation as Denver, Boulder, and Rapida City; of such river oases as Santa Fe and El Paso; of the pring-made oasis of San Antonio; of the manmade oasis of Boulder City, Nev.; or the well-based (and probably temporary) oasis of Lubbock, Tex."

The article discusses at length the growing shortage of municipal water in leading western cities.

Dr. Webb defines the West as that area west of a line drawn north from the southern tip of Texas. He devides the 17 States within that region into 8 desert States in the center and 9 desert rim States.

In the center are Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming.

On the eastern rim are Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota. On the western rim are California, Oregon, and Washington.

"The desert," says Dr. Webb, "permeates the plains, climbs to all but the highest mountain peaks, dwells continuously in the valleys, and plunges down the Pacific slope to argue with the sea."

"The heart of the West," he continues "is a desert, unqualified and absolute."

Dr. Webb listed what the West hasn't got, including the following negatives: Water, timber, cities, industry, labor, Negroes. Practically all the timber is in east Texas, Oklahoma, and the three Pacific States.

These are his positives: Land, grass, minerals, natural wonders, Indians, Orientals.

This historian says the West is the home of four-fifths of the surviving Indians, four-fifths of the Japanese, and three-fifths of the Chinese in this country.

[From the Sunday Denver Post of April 28, 1957]

US DESERT RATS IS DOING O. K.

Listen, Dr. Walter Prescott Webb, historian of the University of Texas, you better take off your glasses and your Ph. D. You've picked yourself a fight.

We read what you said about the Rocky Mountain States in the May issue of Harper's magazine, Doc. We don't mind your twitting us because we are so young that we don't have any history you think is worth writing about. We'll outgrow that.

It seems to us that a historian without any history to write about ought to put his typewriter away and go out picking Texas bluebonnets or counting oil wells. But not you, Doc. Oh, no. You were determined to write something about the Mountain States.

So you decide to turn economist and geographer and impose on the editors of Harper's your own version of that hoary, old canard that the West is nothing but one vast desert, fit for neither man nor beast.

Whatsthematter, Doc? You got dyspepsia? Did you get taken in one of those Las Vegas crap games?

Of course, you admit that the Mountain States—Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona—can't qualify for the dictionary definition of a true desert, a place with less than 10 inches of rainfall a year.

But you are a man of determination, Doc. You have a thesis to try to put over. To heck with technicalities. You'll write your own definitions. You'll go Zebulon Pike one better. He called the Great Plains the Great American Desert. You'll expand the desert to take in all of the Mountain States. Texans do things in a big way.

It is too bad, Doc, that you coudn't find the average rainfall of the Mountain States in your reference books. If you had, you

might not have gone so far off the deep end.

But you say you couldn't find the figures so you took the average rainfall in a few cities in the Mountain States and came up with your own guess that the average for the entire region is only 12 inches a year.

Now it is a shady practice, doc, to use averages the way you do. Colorado's average rainfall, in case you want to know, is 16½ inches or 37½ percent more than your system gives us credit for.

Approximately 30 percent of Colorado gets more than 20 inches of precipitation a year, and some mountain areas get more than 40 inches. But to you all of the eight States are desert. Your figures prove it. You didn't even concede the existence of our vast national forests or our fertile valleys—like the Yampa.

Of course, by your method, doc, you could average the Mojave Desert with the Mississippi Delta and prove both places are short of water.

For the sake of argument, doc, let's say you are right, that the mountain region from Mexico to Canada is nothing but a desert dotted by Joshua trees and infested with sidewinders. How about your claim that our desert environment has ground us down economically?

You think we are miserable desert rats, doc, because banks of the eight Mountain States have assets of only $6 billion as compared with the $25 billion for the banks of Texas and California.

You look at the bank assets, doc; we'll look at personal income as a better barometer of economic prosperity. In 1955 personal income in the eight Mountain States ranged from a low of $1,430 per capita in New Mexico to a high of $2,434 in Nevada. The average for the United States as a whole was $1,847.

Colorado's income that year was $1,764 per capita which happened, doc, to be higher than the per capita income of 26 other States—including Texas and all other States of the Deep South. Colorado did better than such places of bountiful rainfall as Iowa, Minnesota, Vermont, and West Virginia.

Come clean, doc. Admit that desert or no desert, we are booming right along; that our income is growing faster than the income of the country as a whole. If you must worry about economic distress, doc, why not concern yourself with the $946 per capita income in Mississippi or the $1,181 income in Alabama.

And, doc, you really give us a laugh when you write that people shun the mountain States because of the desert Remember? You tried to prove this bit of invention by citing the fact that the mountain States have less than 6 million people as compared with 20 million in Texas and California.

Guess you haven't been in Albuquerque lately, doc. It is the fastest growing city in the United States.

As a self-appointed economist you know, doc, that industries make for large populations and we are just beginning to get industrialized. That's why we also are beginning to get urbanized, although you, doc, in your preverse way, want to believe urbanization is a result of people fleeing from the desert to a few oasis waterholes.

What you may not know is that the population of the United States has increased 24 percent since World War II but the population of the mountain States has spurted 39½ percent.

Does that sound as if people are shying away from the mountain States because of the desert? Incidentally, the mountain States have been growing percentagewise in population faster than Texas and just as fast as California.

You may have a point, doc, in upbraiding us for not producing more men of distinction. If you say only 16.7 percent of the persons listed in Who's Who are from the West although we have 22 percent of the population, we will take your word for it.

We won't try to excuse ourselves by pleading that we have been so busy taming the country and building our cities that we have not had time to participate in the pursuits which normally lead to recognition in the sanctified pages of Who's Who.

No. We have been remiss—but so have a lot of nondesert States which shall be nameless. We hope to do better in the future. We are developing cultural centers—at Taos, N. Mex., for example, and at Aspen and Central City, Colo. We are strengthening our educational institutions. There is every prospect that within a few years a good share of the men of achievement in the field of aviation will be products of the United States Air Academy in Colorado.

We don't mind, doc, when you say our hopeless struggle to conquer the desert has made us screwballs who try crazy ideas like rainmaking.

We are a hopeful and resourceful (we hope) people. We will try anything. But your slur that we are an unimportant region because there never was a battle of national significance in the mountain States seems an unnecessary insult.

We might remind you, a historian, doc, that there was a fracas down in northern New Mexico in 1862 which was called the Battle of Glorieta Pass.

Seems some Texans had marched up the Rio Grande, captured Albuquerque and Santa Fe and were threatening to add the west, including California's gold mines, to the Confederacy. After the Glorieta melee the Texans managed to retreat safely back home.

Of course, this was a conflict of only regimental size and since the Texans lost we suppose it was insignificant, although some northern historians have termed it the "Gettysburg of the Southwest."

If the Texans had won, doc, we imagine you would have considered it of national importance. To chide us because the Texans failed to turn Glorieta into a significant master stroke, sets some kind of new record for faultfinding.

Even the late Bernard DeVoto, for many years the west-baiter for Harper's, never went that far, doc. What a grouch.

[From the Phoenix Gazette of April 30, 1957]

AN INSULT TO ARIZONA AND THE WEST

A great many people in the Western States will challenge the intent and content of an article in the current issue of Harper's magazine—and they should. Rarely has any quality periodical published a more misinformed, misleading and prejudiced article than that which appears this month in Harper's under the title, "The American West—Perpetual Mirage."

The author is Walter Prescott Webb, a Texas historian and educator who, unlike most Texans, can't even find much that is good in his own State. That is his business. But when he misrepresents other Western States, including Arizona, in a national magazine, then his business becomes our business.

Clearly, Webb has a grudge against the West. Why this should be we don't know. But nothing else could possibly explain why a man who enjoys a reputation as scholar and historian would stoop to such distortions of fact as he does in the Harper's article.

The whole purpose of this amazing performance appears to be a personal necessity for "proof" that the West, and particularly its desert States, is an area of no importance or significance, sparse in population, resources, ingenuity, and competent individuals. This is quite an order, of course, and Webb is forced to use almost every type of misrepresentation in pulling it off. Perhaps the most amazing thing about the entire performance is its publication by an outstanding national magazine.

Having created a neat but not-very-original hypothesis, based on what he makes sound like a personal discovery, Webb fits his conclusions to his prejudices in such manner that anyone reading the piece without prior knowledge of the West would believe it to be a terrible region in which to live, work or play. The hypothesis? That much of the West is a desert. The conclusions? That because we live in an arid region which is "repelling to people and repulsive to wealth in nearly all forms" we produce comparatively few important men, have little interesting history and, by Webb's standards, occupy a "depressed region."

The author's sources of research for this piece of misrepresentation would be amusing if they were not ridiculous. To support his untenable position, he cites two major points. One is that in examining 10 standard school history texts, he found they devoted more space to the East than to the West. Secondly, he cites the fact that under the letter B in the current Who's Who, only 8 percent of the listed names have any connection with the West.

Even on the basis of his own flimsy evidence, Webb is wrong. Either he doesn't know or avoided mentioning that the publishers of Who's Who long ago had to issue a special volume, Who's Who in the West, which contains the names of thousands of distinguished westerners. A recent edition runs to almost 900 pages.

Webb gives the same type of treatment to the resources, history, industry, and cities of the West, grouping all of these in a category which he terms "negatives" and largely ignoring the great growth which Arizona and other Western States have experienced in the past decade. There is no mention of the Nation's largest single source of raw materials for atomic energy. Despite the fact that Arizona has the largest Ponderosa pine forest in the Nation and produced almost 13 billion board feet of lumber last year, we are told that we have no timber. Our copper production is brushed aside with the statement that miners long ago removed an irreplaceable resource.

Webb has spent too many years in cloistered academic halls. His entire article sounds like something that might have been written at the turn of the century. We suggest that he get out and have a look at the region which supports him. Even such deep-rooted prejudice as his might succumb if exposed to the virile, growing influence of the modern West.

Appeal to Youth by Sports Emissaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a column entitled "Sports Emissaries Reach World Youth," written by Malvina Lindsay.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPORTS EMISSARIES REACH WORLD YOUTH

(By Malvina Lindsay)

Youth throughout the critical areas of the world is now the main target of nations or political systems that are trying to win friends for the future. This country's

sports ambassadors—world-famed athletes sent abroad on good-will missions—have been having dramatic success in getting to foreign peoples a new image of young America.

These Olympic champions have been reaching the masses in Southeast Asia, Africa, and other places as no other public Western figures have been able to do. Sent under the auspices of the State Department's International Educational Exchange Service, they balance the work of the exchange leaders and specialists who reach the educated adults.

Yet despite the tremendous success these athletes have had in fostering good will for this country and in changing the prevailing unfavorable image of American youth, this phase of diplomacy will be curtailed substantially if the drastic cuts of the House of Representatives in the appropriations for the exchange program stand.

Also reduced will be the exchange of leaders and specialists, generally regarded as one of the most effective foreign relations programs this country operates.

In the congressional economy drive the activities of some sports missions have been ridiculed and distorted. But nothing has been said of the fact that half a dozen countries in 1956 participated for the first time in the Olympic games as a result of technical assistance in coaching that the United States provided at their request. These nations, mostly new ones, received a great boost in self-confidence as a result of this, and have shown a gratitude and good will to this country such as no military or financial assistance could buy.

Here is one example of what a sports ambassador accomplished: Jack Davis, world champion hurdler, visited 67 communities in Africa at about the time Vice President NIXON was there, though as Davis points out, they "traveled in different circles." Davis met with school children and teachers in large audiences. He demonstrated American field and track techniques, lectured, and was photographed with native athletes and would-be athletes. Articulate, personable, and modest, he won such a following that in places young Africans were carrying placards with Jack Davis advice, as "Jack Davis says 'go back to school.'"

Another sports ambassador, Mal Whitfield, middle-distance runner, met a severe test before 60,000 natives of the Congo who awaited him in an amphitheater. After he ran they insisted there was magic in his spiked shoes. He took off his shoes and ran barefoot—just as fast. He still has sore feet.

A goodwill athlete who had spectacular success in southeast Asia is Dr. Sammy Lee, Olympic diving champion. Dr. Lee is the embodiment of the American story. Of Korean ancestry, he is an ear, nose, and throat specialist of Santa Ana, Calif., and was a major in the United States Army. Hundreds of thousands of Asians turned out to hear him tell the story of his life. Recently the Los Angeles Sales Executive Club named him salesman of the year for his contribution in "selling * * * the basic principles, ideals, and true significance of the American way of life."

Sports is a field in which many countries are begging for technical assistance. Many new nations are almost starting from scratch to develop athletic activities for their youth. They feel such programs will not only develop the bodies of their young people but give them outlet for energy that in many places finds expression in rioting.

This type of assistance generates more good will than any other because there are no political strings or suspicions attached.

Also the goodwill visits of athletes build bonds with groups that will provide the leaders of tomorrow. The Nation should not muff its opportunity to use to the fullest both these avenues of people-to-people diplomacy.

Proxy Fights and Stock Raids

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Proxy Fights and Stock Raids," by George Sokolsky, which appeared in the April 1 issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROXY FIGHTS AND STOCK RAIDS
(By George E. Sokolsky)

Whoever owns the shares of a company or enough of them to constitute control, can select the management of the enterprise. There may be a century or more of tradition behind those who imagined themselves in control, but they or their ancestors made the choice of borrowing from the public by selling the shares of the company to the general public, and when they took that step they limited their rights in their own business. Therefore from the standpoint of strict legality, the founder of a business has no ground for complaint if those whose only participation in a business was to buy some shares, unite to deprive him of his pride and joy whenever they can.

The tax laws have played a destructive role in the fast vanishing family-owned enterprises. It is dangerous to the heirs of an owner of a family business for the senior to hold onto his entire ownership, as he might leave his widow and children without sufficient cash to meet the inheritance tax on his death. Often a man sells off the whole or a part of his business for tax purposes. This is a direct application of the Marxian method of destroying capitalism as developed over the years in American tax laws. Some men solve this problem by leaving their businesses to a foundation which is more a legalistic than a moral solution because ultimately most foundations fall into the hands of professionals who expend their fortunes on other purposes than might have been desired or even designated.

So we have the picture of a man laboring through the best years of his life to erect a productive business enterprise with his own money, ingenuity, and initiative, facing a proxy fight during which newcomers, aliens or very recent Americans, ruthlessly seek to take over his enterprise and often succeed by methods rarely employed in this country since the days of the robber barons, Jay Gould and Jim Fisk.

This situation has been dramatized by the activities of Leopold Silberstein to take over Fairbanks-Morse, an operation which involves all the gambits of the takeover. However, the Silberstein enterprise is only one and not really the most significant although Silberstein and some of his associates and hired hands are as dramatic as Max Reinhardt and should really be in the theater. Silberstein focused attention upon himself and his activities by hiring a galaxy of press agents and fixers who attracted as much attention to themselves as to their principal. The number of companies taken over by proxy fights or by attrition leading to virtual abandonment is large and presents a very ugly picture.

It is pretty well known that certain investment underwriters in Wall Street, favorably known for their stability, have moved into the field of stock-market manipulation with a view to raiding and taking over well-established companies that are attending to their own business.

"Strike suit" lawyers, who used to read balance sheets to discover whether there was not a profitable lawsuit in an error of management or a smaller dividend, now look forward to the organization of raiding syndicates. Management suddenly finds itself with new partners, men of uncertain status and probity, men who are even known to have criminal records.

And there is nothing that can be done about it under the present laws, so far as one can judge from what is being done either by SEC or by the Attorney General's office.

The question really is: What should be done? And, as many of the raided companies are engaged in the national defense, this is a matter of national importance.

Proposed Limitation on Fast Tax Amortization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, the Wall Street Journal of May 8, 1957, carried a story entitled "Humphrey Backs Byrd Bill to Limit Fast Writeoffs to Defense Needs."

Some of the views of Secretary Humphrey with reference to these rapid tax writeoffs on selected and favored industries are most interesting.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HUMPHREY BACKS BYRD BILL TO LIMIT FAST WRITEOFFS TO DEFENSE NEEDS—TREASURY CHIEF CITES REVENUE LOSS, ASKS TAX CUTS FOR ALL, NOT JUST A FEW GROUPS

WASHINGTON.—Treasury Secretary Humphrey strongly supported legislation to limit 5-year amortization for tax purposes to facilities that are strictly for defense.

He testified as the Senate Finance Committee opened hearings on a bill by Chairman BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, to cut back the emergency rapid writeoff program solely to "new defense items" only—items used in the defense program and for which existing production facilities are inadequate.

The Treasury chief estimated that fast amortization certificates issued since November 1950 would cost the Government roughly $3 billion extra in interest charges paid on money borrowed to replace the revenue deferred under the tax certificates.

More important, he said, a broad fast writeoff program tends to stimulate inflation and to give some industries or some companies unfair advantages over others. He added that the Byrd bill seemed in line with present administration policy of confining fast writeoffs to a very few industries.

TAX CUTS URGED

Mr. Humphrey conceded that current high tax rates make it difficult for many industries to save money or raise money for modernization and expansion, and declared that tax cuts should be made as soon as soundly possible. He again warned that tax reduction for favored groups would only postpone the day when general tax cuts could be voted.

Mr. Humphrey sidestepped questions from Mr. BYRD and Senator ANDERSON, Democrat, of New Mexico, for his views on the writeoff permit recently granted Idaho Power Co. for its Snake River dams. He said he believed these would be barred under the administration's present standards for tax certificates, but there were special circumstances in this case, and Defense Mobilizer Gordon Gray had better explain these to the committee himself.

Mr. Gray is scheduled to testify when the hearings resume tomorrow. He has explained that the Idaho Power Co. applications were filed in August 1953, long before the electric power expansion goal was closed, and that when the Government closed that goal it allowed for eventual approval of the Idaho Power Co. applications.

The Office of Defense Mobilization already has closed all but 8 of the 229 expansion goals set up since the Korean war to encourage production of defense-needed items and construction and expansion of production capacity for defense-related goods. Only Monday it ended fast amortization for new oceangoing tankers. Moreover, Mr. Gray has said that 5 of the 8 goals still open—steam turbines, steel castings, strategic mica substitutes, nickel, and roll-on-roll-off ships—are being studied to see whether they can be ended.

THREE GOALS UNTOUCHED

Mr. Gray has said he would not tamper with the three other expansion goals—construction of new research and development laboratories, new production facilities for goods to be procured by the military or Atomic Energy Commission, and a recently opened program to spur the expansion of output of liquid oxygen and liquid nitrogen, both used in guided missiles.

Recently Mr. Gray told a press conference he could see no disagreement between his own objectives and those of the Byrd bill. However, he said it might not be wise to remove ODM's power to reopen programs not strictly in the military category if a future need arose.

A similar argument was advanced by another witness before the Finance Committee, Stuart G. Tipton, president of the Air Transport Association. He argued that the Byrd bill would rule out pending applications for fast writeoffs on some $1.4 billion for 400 new jet transports which would be badly needed by the Defense Department in times of mobilization. He said ODM had agreed to consider reopening the aircraft goal. "The temporary postponement of full tax collection on these new aircraft is truly the best national defense bargain the Government could possibly obtain," Mr. Tipton stated.

He urged the bill be amended to authorize rapid amortization where the military mobilization requirements plus rock-bottom civilian needs exceed available supplies.

SUBSIDY TO PRIVATE POWER ALLEGED

The Byrd bill was supported by spokesmen for the National Rural Electric Cooperatives Association and the Virginia Association of Electric Cooperatives. They claimed the present program gives an unwarranted subsidy to private-power companies.

In his statement, Mr. Humphrey said that from November 1950 to March 20, 1957, almost 22,000 fast write-off certificates had been issued. Total cost of the projects involved was almost $39 billion, and about $23 billion of this or about 60 percent was made eligible for 5-year amortization, he told the committee.

He estimated the revenue lag from these certificates would be over $5 billion a year through 1960, and that the interest cost to the Government, over the entire period of the lag in tax collections, will be roughly $3 billion.

"Some degree of defense mobilization on a substantial scale may be essential for years to come," he declared. "But expansion of our growth, our basic defense capacity, except for a few very special items, cannot be separated from the broad base of our productive capacity.

"Artificial stimulants may well become artificial controls. Because rapid amortization is not applied universally, it could create a competitive imbalance in the sound, vigorous growth of our free economy. It is not the American way."

Mr. Humphrey said there were many industries whose production would be needed in war but whose continued expansion would be required by America's increasing population and productivity, even without war. He insisted these industries should not get tax help, and that such help should be confined to the few cases where facilities are required only for defense purposes.

Senator MARTIN, of Pennsylvania, ranking Republican on the committee, said he fully agreed with Mr. Humphrey and Senator BYRD. He said he was surprised at the cost cited by Mr. Humphrey.

Mr. BYRD again attacked the Idaho Power certificate, saying he could see no justification for rapid amortization for utilities. "They are guaranteed a profit," he argued, "and in this instance, construction already had started without this guaranty."

Senator ANDERSON said the utilities would have to raise billions of dollars in coming years for expansion. "Are we going to get a bill for fast amortization of all that?" he said.

"Not if I can help it," Mr. Humphreys replied. "Not if you pass my bill," said Mr. BYRD.

One Hundredth Anniversary of Oregon's Admission to the Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in the year 1959, the State of Oregon will celebrate its 100th anniversary.

On February 14, 1859, Oregon was officially admitted to the Union as the first member of our Nation from the vast Pacific Northwest.

Extensive preparations are underway for a fitting observance of this great historic event in the annals of our country.

I have received from Mr. Morrie L. Sharp, secretary of the Oregon Centennial Commission, an article from the Oregon Journal, of Portland, Oreg., published on April 4, 1957, which summarizes some of the plans already underway to commemorate Oregon's admission to the field of stars in our flag.

Members of the Oregon State Centennial Commission, in addition to Mr. Sharp, are Anthony Brandenthaler, of Baker, a lumberman, as chairman; Bruce Bishop, editor of the International Woodworker; and Mr. Jack B. Lively, an attorney of Springfield, Oreg. These men are doing a capable job to prepare well in advance for the vast influx of tourists who will help residents of Oregon to celebrate Oregon's statehood.

For the information of the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that the article from the Oregon Journal be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CENTENNIAL SHAPES UP ON DRAWING BOARD—P–I SAID LIKELY SITE FOR 1959 CENTENNIAL

STATEHOUSE, SALEM, February 28.—A rehabilitated Pacific International building would provide the only facility available for housing the 1959 Oregon Centennial Exposition, members of the legislature were informed Wednesday night.

Anthony Brandenthaler, chairman of the centennial commission, said cost of rehabilitating the P–I building would be $500,000. This would be less than the amount which would have to be paid in rent if a similar structure was available.

Brandenthaler further stated that if contrary to present understanding, assurance could be made that the E–R Center or any other suitable facilities could be made available in time for the centennial commission's use, the new facility would receive thorough consideration of the centennial commission.

He added that this proposal was only offered to the legislature as a suggestion. This would be the largest expense of the $1,100,000 which will be requested from the State.

Of this amount $150,000 would be set aside to help establish fairs, rodeos, and other local events throughout the State put on even better centennial year programs as an increased tourist attraction.

Research into similar exhibitions in other cities has indicated that a conservative profit of $2,500,000 could be expected from the exposition and trade fair. Profit would go into the general fund.

Work on the P–I building would make the roof and bleachers safe along with other construction which could be used by the P–I for the next 20 years.

Originally plans called for a tie-in with the Portland E–R center. The P–I, however, has the needed 400,000 square feet of exhibit space, an arena holding 7,000 persons, and parking for 5,000 cars.

Brandenthaler said the Lewis and Clark exposition in 1905 received an appropriation of $500,000. Based on today's dollar and Oregon's population, a comparable grant would be $6 million.

Other members of the commission appearing were Morrie Sharp, Bruce Bishop, and Jack B. Lively.

Sharp, executive of the Oregon Journal advertising department, said a conservative estimate of the publicity which would result from an exposition would be $6 million. This is equal to the amount spent by the State Highway Department in 20 years' time.

He pointed out that according to advise from the convention committee of the chamber of commerce, plans for Oregon's centennial should be announced at the earliest possible date in order for the State to receive full benefit of attracting national conventions in 1959. Most of these groups plan for their meetings at least 2 years in advance.

Morrie Sharp added that a leading tour service with 33,000 offices or agents all over the world advise that plans should be announced during June of this year to receive a listing in their 1958 traffic books which are used as the basis of their assisting tourists in planning 1959 trips.

Additional tie-in advertising of Northwest companies and firms doing business in the region would add to the publicity value.

The plans include construction of an aqua-center grandstand seating 15,000 people for water sport and boating events and also a 10-acre midway.

The aqua center which many feel will prove an important additional drawing power would not have been feasible in connection with other sites that had received serious

consideration by the Portland E-R Commission.

Bruce Bishop, editor of the International Woodworker, said labor was solidly behind the exposition because it would bring in investors who would look over the region and see the opportunities available. This happened when persons visited the Northwest for the first time to see the Lewis and Clark exposition.

Jim Mount of Pacific National Advertising, said Oregon now gets 1 million visiting cars filled with tourists each year. An exposition could double this figure, he said, by providing something special for those who normally would not come to the Northwest.

Conservative estimates indicate that Oregon should double it tourist trade during the centennial year providing a major centennial exposition is put on and other recognized local events throughout the State conduct centennial improved versions of their particular show.

This would mean the expenditure of an additional $140 million of tourist money throughout the State and swell the highway department's collection of gas tax from tourists about $2,500,000.

Promotion of Oregon's industrial potential would be given a great boost by the fair, said Lively, Springfield attorney. He added that this was the time to show what the State had to offer.

Celebrations in other cities of Oregon would benefit from the exposition attraction to tourists, said Lively.

The commission also announced that it had received assurances from several departments of the Federal Government that they would participate in the proposed Regional Exposition and Trade Fair in 1959. Chairman Brandenthaler while in Washington, D. C., on two different occasions during the past year, called upon the Department of Commerce, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Department of the Interior and officials of the Army and Navy and was advised of their interest and desire to cooperate in bringing exhibits, which they would erect and staff at Oregon's Centennial.

These exhibits would include the outstanding features of the displays that have been built for the Trade Fairs of Paris, Rome, Brussels, and South American countries, by the Department of Commerce. In addition the Office of Technical Services of the Department has promised to provide an outstanding exhibit of new technological developments, similar to that which was provided at regional New England Exposition at Boston last year. It is probable that up to 100,000 square feet of exhibit space in the exposition building and an additional 100,000 square feet of outdoor space will be utilized to provide the Federal exhibits now assured.

Popularity and Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a column entitled "Popularity and Power," written by Walter Lippmann, dealing with the relations between the President and Congress.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POPULARITY AND POWER
(By Walter Lippmann)

The President has been at a loss to understand why after his enormous victory in November, he has run into such heavy opposition in Congress. His majority, he seems to think, was a national mandate from the people which ought to be obeyed not only by the Republicans in Congress but by the responsible Democrats as well. Yet, in fact, there is virtually no connection between the popular vote for Eisenhower in November and what the Congress is willing to vote for now.

The Republicans in Congress are led by men like Mr. KNOWLAND and Mr. BRIDGES who are opposed to the President on many of the critical issues of the budget and of foreign policy. The Eisenhower Republicans, as Senator FRANCIS CASE put it, are those who greatly admire President Eisenhower and resolve most of their doubts in his favor. They are a small minority. The Democrats, who gave the President such effective support after they won control of Congress in 1954, are now a partisan opposition preparing for the congressional elections of 1958. In Congress today the practical politicians who manage the two parties are acting on the assumption that the voters will not punish them if they oppose the President and will not reward them if they support him.

Thus, despite his great personal majority, the President has no party behind him, and he finds himself unable to translate his popularity into the hard cash of practical political power.

In the famous broadcast of February 29, 1956, when, after his recovery from his heart attack, he explained his decision to run for a second term, the President was already concerned with this problem. He knew he had not succeeded as he had hoped to, in rallying the Republicans behind him. "The work," he said, "that I set out 4 years ago to do has not yet reached the state of development and fruition that I then hoped could be accomplished within the period of a single term in this office." What was this uncompleted work? It was the conversion of the Republican Party to what it has since become the fashion to call Modern Republicanism to a program, as he put it in his broadcast, that "adapts governmental methods to changing industrial, economic, and social conditions."

He thought that he had not brought about this adaptation because 4 years were not a long enough time, and that he could bring it about in his second term. But, as a matter of fact, his political power is declining, not increasing, and he faces more trouble to drum up support now than he did in his first term.

The decline of his power is no doubt connected with the fact that he can never run again. But why is it that he has not been able to translate his great personal popularity into effective political power? Franklin Roosevelt became the undisputed leader of the Democratic Party in his first term. Why did not President Eisenhower?

There are, it seems to me, two main reasons.

The first is that he has never understood, or at least has never been willing to believe in, the measures by which practical politicians translate popularity into power. He has wanted to remake the Republican Party in the fifties as Roosevelt remade the Democratic Party in the middle thirties. But he has never been willing to break the eggs that are needed for the omelet. He has hoped that the Republicans who did not share his views would have a change of heart, that his own sincerity and geniality would win them over. He has never been willing to do what practical political leaders have to do, which is to fill the posts of command with men who share their views, to defend and to reward their supporters, and to put out or put down their opponents.

He has thought of himself as accomplishing his hopes for the Republican Party by standing above that party. From that eminence he would by the radiation of his popularity change the course of American political history. This image of the Presidency has in fact done much to increase his personal popularity. He has kept aloof from the controveries which arouse opposition and cause unpopularity.

But, though it has increased his popularity, it has diminished his influence. For men do not follow leaders who do not lead, and they do not care to be shot at while their commanders are appeasing their foes.

The second big reason why he has not succeeded in becoming the leader of a regenerated party is that, quite sincerely and genuinely, he has incompatible objectives. He would like to be a modern Republican in promoting welfare measures and an internationalist in foreign policy. But he would also like to be somewhere between Secretary Humphrey and Senator BYRD when it comes to paying for modern Republicanism.

On the one hand he would like, as he said in his acceptance speech to the San Francisco convention, to make the Republicans "the party of the future" and to meet the "new kinds of challenge to Federal and local governments: water supply, highways, health, housing, power development and peaceful uses of atomic energy. With two-thirds of us living in big cities, questions of urban organization and redevelopment must be given high priority. Highest of all, perhaps, will be the priority of first-class education to meet the demands of our swiftly growing school-age population."

But while meeting these big challenges, he would like at the same time to reduce rather than to expand the functions of the Federal Government to avoid somehow the rise in Federal expenditures which is unavoidable if the challenges are to be met.

This incompatibility within his own philosophy has come to a head in the present budget. As presented, the budget reflects a cautious and moderate attempt to meet the challenges and to act like the modern Republican Party which he desires. But as this means money, and therefore a big budget, it runs counter to the other side of his philosophy. As a result, he presented a modern Republican budget and then did not defend it against its unmodern Republican critics.

It is not easy for him to have his cake with George Humphrey and also to eat it with Arthur Larson.

Farm Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, yesterday I called the attention of the Senate and of persons who may be interested to an excellent editorial from the New York Times on the ideas which have been expressed recently by Secretary of Agriculture Benson on farm legislation. At that time, I mentioned that Maryland's support of Mr. Benson's plans has stemmed, in large part, from the independent nature of our Free State farmers. Now I have another expression of support of Mr. Benson's actions. It is from the

Baltimore Sunday Sun, a newspaper with a tradition of "thinking" independently. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BLUNT MR. BENSON

Secretary Benson acts increasingly like the right man in the right place at the right time. He is presiding over the Department of Agriculture just as the price-support policies of the last two decades come to their biggest crisis. And he is as nonpolitical a politician as has frequented Washington in a generation. Which means he is free to tell the bald and awkward truth without political fear or favor. That he is doing.

The awkward truth about the farm programs has been that Government supports brought out more produce than the market would absorb at the support price. The only way to deal with the resultant surplus (since dropping the price was politically unacceptable) was rigid Government controls of production. But as Secretary Benson says in a letter to Senator ELLENDER, farmers will not accept, legislators will not vote, and in practice administrators cannot impose the kind of controls which would be necessary to bring production into line with markets.

What, then, is the alternative? Mr. Benson isn't prepared right now to prescribe one. Certainly he doesn't proclaim himself among those students of the farm economy who insist with increasing confidence that the only reliable surplus-cutting device is the free play of prices in the open market. Even now any approach to this Spartan discipline is probably not in the political picture.

But the Benson letter comes at a time when the public shows quite an unusual interest in budgetary economies. Skillfully pitched to this new interest is the Secretary's reminder that net losses on the farm programs since 1932 have totaled some $11.7 billion, "but the problem has not been solved." Mr. Benson speaks, too, just after the big fight on new corn subsidies which split the corn farmers away from the cotton farmers in one of the major rifts in congressional farm bloc history. With its self-confidence shaken by this internal feuding, the farm bloc may be in a mood contrite enough to hear factual arguments against which it closed its ears in the years of arrogant unity.

As we say, right now Mr. Benson has no public answers of his own. But it is something to have phrased the questions at once so bluntly and so sharply.

Seven Hundred and Thirty-six Dollars and Forty-seven Cents for a Kansas Farm—One Dollar and Thirty-seven Cents for a New Hampshire Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the more one studies the Department of Agriculture reports of participation in the soil bank the more one is forced to the conclusion that it is being proved an unfair and unworkable experiment.

For the information of the House, I have consolidated available data on acreage reserve and conservation reserve signups for this year. The following table is based on the Department of Agriculture report of acreage reserve contracts signed through April 5, 1957, and the May 7, 1957, report of conservation reserve contracts signed through April 15, 1957:

State	Acreage reserve maximum payments	Conservation reserve maximum payments	Total
Alabama	$16,943,347	$1,227,000	$18,170,347
Arizona	6,209,976	162,000	6,371,976
Arkansas	14,027,678	1,263,000	15,290,678
California	14,834,556	526,000	15,359,556
Colorado	22,196,696	5,097,000	27,293,696
Connecticut	1,618,688	3,000	1,621,688
Delaware	917,074	35,000	952,074
Florida	1,565,691	968,000	2,533,691
Georgia	19,225,091	4,186,000	23,411,091
Idaho	4,916,880	608,000	5,524,880
Illinois	19,058,244	439,000	19,497,244
Indiana	18,661,043	634,000	19,295,043
Iowa	34,246,487	1,168,000	35,414,487
Kansas	84,811,159	3,689,000	88,500,159
Kentucky	9,622,338	698,000	10,320,338
Louisiana	10,906,870	235,000	11,141,870
Maine		677,000	677,000
Maryland	2,168,335	307,000	2,475,335
Massachusetts	964,847	15,000	979,847
Michigan	12,214,339	1,866,000	14,080,339
Minnesota	11,947,455	8,513,000	20,460,455
Mississippi	17,992,392	1,100,000	19,092,392
Missouri	24,207,921	3,637,000	27,984,921
Montana	8,775,620	1,179,000	9,954,620
Nebraska	44,583,257	1,668,000	46,251,257
Nevada	76,037		76,037
New Hampshire	279	14,000	14,279
New Jersey	1,375,441	136,000	1,511,441
New Mexico	2,610,900	7,335,000	9,945,900
New York	3,417,454	2,223,000	5,640,454
North Carolina	17,842,584	779,000	18,621,584
North Dakota	21,333,021	7,460,000	28,793,021
Ohio	19,250,801	699,000	19,949,801
Oklahoma	22,360,361	5,645,000	28,005,361
Oregon	3,157,523	1,069,000	4,226,523
Pennsylvania	3,862,702	626,000	4,488,702
Rhode Island			
South Carolina	13,726,068	1,892,000	15,618,068
South Dakota	15,972,521	6,947,000	22,919,521
Tennessee	8,774,959	1,502,000	10,276,959
Texas	54,924,190	27,277,000	82,201,190
Utah	1,873,328	1,208,000	3,081,328
Vermont	2,099	51,000	53,099
Virginia	3,262,171	144,000	3,406,171
Washington	6,364,748	352,000	6,716,748
West Virginia	266,110	18,000	284,110
Wisconsin	7,619,951	2,670,000	10,289,951
Wyoming	689,857	371,000	1,060,857
Total	611,469,089	108,317,000	719,786,089

How much does this mean to the average farmer? By all accounts, millions of average farmers have found nothing of interest or profit in the soil bank, and have passed it by. If we allocate arbitrarily the 1957 soil bank benefit payments among all the farms of the Nation, irrespective of actual participation in the soil bank, however, we find the following sharp variations in indicated benefits:

State	Number of farms [1]	Average
Alabama	176,956	102.68
Arizona	9,321	683.61
Arkansas	145,076	105.39
California	123,075	124.79
Colorado	40,749	669.80
Connecticut	12,753	127.16
Delaware	6,297	151.19
Florida	57,543	44.03
Georgia	165,523	141.43
Idaho	38,740	142.61
Illinois	175,543	111.06
Indiana	153,593	125.62
Iowa	192,933	183.55
Kansas	120,167	736.47
Kentucky	193,487	53.33
Louisiana	111,127	100.26
Maine	25,368	26.97
Maryland	32,500	76.16
Massachusetts	17,361	56.43
Michigan	138,922	101.35
Minnesota	165,225	123.93
Mississippi	215,915	88.42
Missouri	201,614	138.55
Montana	33,061	301.09
Nebraska	100,846	458.63
Nevada	2,857	26.61
New Hampshire	10,411	1.37
New Jersey	22,686	66.62
New Mexico	21,070	472.04
New York	105,714	53.35
North Carolina	267,906	69.50
North Dakota	61,943	464.83
Ohio	177,074	112.66
Oklahoma	118,979	235.38
Oregon	54,441	77.63
Pennsylvania	128,876	34.82
Rhode Island	2,004	
South Carolina	124,203	125.74
South Dakota	62,520	366.59
Tennessee	203,149	50.58
Texas	292,947	280.60
Utah	22,826	134.99
Vermont	15,981	3.32
Virginia	136,416	24.96
Washington	65,175	103.05
West Virginia	68,583	4.14
Wisconsin	153,558	67.01
Wyoming	11,402	93.04

[1] 1954 agriculture census.

On this basis, we might ponder the relative worth of the labors of the Kansas farmer, $736.47, and the New Hampshire farmer, $1.37.

Hon. Leonor K. Sullivan, of Missouri

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, the State of Missouri and our great Nation are fortunate in having Mrs. LEONOR SULLIVAN as a Representative in Congress. We in Missouri are proud of our first woman Member of Congress and we know that every Member of this great lawmaking body has the highest respect for her great character and ability. She is rightfully recognized as one of the most outstanding women of this Congress, and I know I am speaking for the entire delegation from Missouri when I say we are proud of her record in Congress and as being one of our most outstanding leaders in the State of Missouri.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. SULLIVAN was recently invited to speak at a meeting in the assembly hall of the University of Missouri, and the following editorial printed by the Columbia Missourian, a nonpartisan journalism school newspaper, is an example of the recognition of her ability and understanding of national affairs:

[From the Columbia Missourian of April 26, 1957]

LITTLE LEADERSHIP

Mrs. LEONOR SULLIVAN, Missouri Congresswoman for the Third District, defined the problem of Presidential leadership rather well in a speech before the Columbia chapter of the American Association of University Women Tuesday night. The AAUW deserves thanks for bringing such an articulate and informative spokesman to Columbia.

What Mrs. SULLIVAN said is unusually true, when we remember that her examination of the President's lack of leadership did not

proceed on a partisan basis. Hers was a criticism frequently made in varying forms by representatives of left, middle, and right political positions. The present legislative situation in Congress would no doubt be changed were Eisenhower to stand behind his program. We can think of at least three situations in which this could be true.

One of them is that of the United States Information Agency, which is having a pretty rough time now from Senators and Representatives who show by their comments they do not understand USIA's function.

They object to its cultural exhibits, to the Voice of America broadcasts, to the personnel who run the organization, claiming as usual that they are incompetents who could not get a job elsewhere. And the charges are usually just about this in general.

Certainly USIA could probably use some tightening of its budget. We seriously question the value of a Government news agency taking over the function of the existing wire services abroad, or producing a motion picture with an anti-Communist slant to be shown in the United States as well as elsewhere.

The President puts up a feeble defense of this propaganda program, usually at his press conference. He no doubt thinks this is adequate. But from the going over USIA suffers in the hands of Congress, Eisenhower comments seem to mean little.

Similar things are true in the case of foreign aid, which as Mrs. SULLIVAN pointed out, any Representative in Washington can slash dangerously without hearing a peep from the interests in his constituency. The President knows this. Yet he and the Secretary of the Treasury tell Congress to go ahead and cut the budget. No strong defense of foreign aid has been forthcoming at the time when it is needed most.

The President could also have spoken out for his own Cabinet officer during the recent woes of the Post Office. But Postmaster General Summerfield was the one whose voice was heard and who took the action to get money from Congress.

Only after the Saturday without mail did the public learn that the President had agreed to the action beforehand. He could at least have helped Summerfield with more than private assurances.

Delegation of powers works well in the Army when directed by a skilled soldier such as Dwight Eisenhower. He also has the ability to lead in government, especially after nearly 5 years' experience. If this Congress is going to enact any progressive legislation, it will take more Presidential leadership than we have now.

Highway Accidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, one of the most serious problems faced by our country today is the ever-increasing toll taken in highway accidents.

A good writer and a good cartoonist can be every effective weapons against this killer. Two such men are Tom Horner and Ned White, of the Akron Beacon Journal. Recently the National Safety Council presented the National Safety Council public-interest award for exceptional service to safety to Tom Horner, Beacon Journal editorial writer. Mr. Horner is the second newspaperman in the United States to receive this award. It is usually awarded to newspapers.

The award went to Horner not only for his work in the newspaper field but also for his numerous talks and years of work in the safety effort. He started his crusade when his son was hit by a car on March 23, 1945. His editorials are widely reprinted and distributed by the thousands.

Ten years later, to the day, Horner was named Akron's first safety man of the year in recognition of his decade of safety effort. In February of this year he was the recipient of the Freedoms Foundation's top award for his July 4 patriotic editorial. Three days later he and his paper were awarded the Christopher medal for the annual Christmas Eve family prayer page.

Ned White, Beacon Journal editorial page artist, and the Beacon Journal were also presented with plaques by the National Safety Council at the third annual mayor's safety conference. Mr. White, who has had many of his safety cartoons reprinted and distributed, received his award for honorable mention in the annual Christmas safety cartoon contest sponsored by the National Safety Council. The cartoon, Slippery When Wet, depicted gasoline and alcohol mixed on an icy highway. The Beacon Journal's was for publishing the prize-winning cartoon.

The following editorials by Tom Horner, After Walking Together, Their Shoes Now Are Empty, and Losing a War, are examples of his fine work in a field to which the Congress may someday be forced to turn their attention, if the various States do not enact adequate traffic safety legislation:

AFTER WALKING TOGETHER, THEIR SHOES NOW ARE EMPTY

(By Tom Horner)

In life and in death—they walked together.

The small, scuffed shoes of a little boy.

The big, well-worn shoes of an aged man.

Together they walked through sunshine and rain—then stepped across the brink into eternity.

They were together often, this boy of 2 and this man 70 years older, in a bond of firm friendship and understanding that so often links the very young and the very old.

The boy's shoes are comparatively new. They're scuffed, as all little boys' shoes are scuffed, even with few wearings. But these were kept for special occasions, such as holidays.

Sometimes he wore his old shoes, with the toes turning up, from kicking at stones, and with deep creases across the toe which come from running and climbing. Sometimes he wore a pair of faded blue, worn tennis shoes, with the white shoestrings turned to gray.

The man's shoes were his only pair, soft and comfortable. He kept them polished and shining. They had been half soled; the heels are slightly run over.

Little Shoes and Big Shoes. Every day—and sometimes many times a day—Little Shoes raced from his home across the lawn and up onto the porch where Big Shoes waited, resting in a chair or swinging in the porch swing. Many times Little Shoes danced impatiently, waiting for Big Shoes to come outdoors.

Then Little Shoes would rest quietly while Big Shoes told of faraway places, of the many things to see in the city and in the country. Of man's work in field and factory. Of games to play, and dancing and parties.

Many questions—about sun and stars, wind and rain, grass and flowers, poured from Little Shoes. And for each question Big Shoes had a patient answer.

Most of all, Big Shoes and Little Shoes liked to walk together.

The slow, long steps of the man, the hurried 3-for-1 steps of the little boy, trotting to keep up, pausing when the man paused.

And a small hand grasping tightly and confidently the rough, calloused hand, grown too old to work.

And a small brown dog, running beside them, ahead of them.

Their route never varied. Big Shoes would pick up his cane, take the small boy by the hand and together they would start up Raymond Street from the place where their homes stand side by side. The boy always walked on the inside, away from the street and away from automobiles.

There are walls beside the walk, where a boy could balance; there is an unpaved driveway that must be crossed carefully. There are neighbors and children to greet.

At the corner of Raymond Street and Euclid Avenue, where the Centenary Methodist Church stands, they turned west. There, because of a bend in the street, it seems that the cars coming down the hill might run right over the sidewalk. But always they turned and followed the street. This part of the walk always left both Big Shoes and Little Shoes a bit frightened and they hurried to get to the place where the walk straightened out.

That is near Mrs. Bell's house—and Mrs. Bell is Little Shoes mother's cousin. Sometimes Little Shoes came here for cookies.

Then they turned down Mallison Street and walked along the oak-shaded sidewalk toward Wooster Avenue. There's a boat in the yard across the street that Little Shoes wanted to inspect more closely, but Big Shoes said "No," because it was across the street.

Little Shoes liked to walk under those big oak trees; he liked the rustle of the leaves and the shafts of sunlight that filtered through.

There are boys on Mallison who have a tent and sometimes Big Shoes would wait, while Little Shoes peered into its darkness.

Then on to Wooster Avenue, where they turned left again. Many times they would go even more slowly here, and listen to students playing the piano for their teacher. Or they would stop and watch the big trucks roar along the street.

In front of the Wooster Avenue Methodist Church is another wall that Little Shoes liked to walk on. But Big Shoes always cautioned his small friend to keep off the grass.

And finally, they turned up Raymond Street toward home. Big Shoes a little weary, for the circuit is a long walk for a man of 72. And Little Shoes, full of vigor, ready to make a dozen trips.

This was a safe route. No streets to cross. No hazards to catch a small boy and an elderly man unaware.

Then, on the Labor Day afternoon, Little Shoes and Big Shoes started their regular walk a little late. The boy was wearing his new shoes.

It was after five. Suppers would be ready soon. They spoke to friends as they walked along. The little brown dog was with them. Mrs. Bell, sitting on her porch at 544 Euclid, saw them pass.

Only a few feet further up the street, this man and this boy kept a rendezvous.

A car came down the Euclid Avenue hill. Witnesses said it was moving fast. The driver said another car pulled out of Mallison Street, striking his car and putting it out of control.

Up over the curb, the car plunged toward the man and the little boy. Mrs. Bell screamed.

And then there was Big Shoes, lying on the sidewalk and the lawn, his cane knocked from his hand, and the small boy torn from his protecting grasp.

And there was Little Shoes, crumpled up near a rosebush. His shoes had been torn from his feet and lay several yards away from his quiet and still form.

On the record, Donald Dandridge, aged 2, and large for his age, was Akron's first Labor Day holiday traffic victim of 1956—the 25th person to die in traffic in Akron this year.

Within 24 hours, William Starks, 72, became the 26th traffic victim.

Big Shoes—Little Shoes—
Both are empty shoes, now.

LOSING A WAR

The United States is losing a war.

This is a serious indictment against a Nation which has never lost a war against a foreign enemy. This is an indictment which should stir 170 million Americans into action.

The enemy we face is not a foreign invader. Our enemy is carelessness and recklessness in traffic.

We're losing the war against traffic. And traffic is killing Americans, young and old, at the rate of nearly 110 daily. Last year, 40,000 American lives were sacrified uselessly to traffic.

Paul Jones, public relations director of the National Safety Council, has called upon business and industry to devote special attention and effort to the winning of this war on our own streets and highways, just as business and industry have always helped to win our other battles. Industry already is helping with off-the-job safety programs in connection with industrial safety efforts.

Business and industry already sponsor many safety programs outside their establishments and factories such as safety councils, safety committees of various kinds and nationwide traffic safety campaigns. Typical of the latter is the voluntary motor vehicle inspection program, which has been provided motorists in the Greater Akron area for almost a decade by the automobile dealers and garagemen, in association with the safety council of the chamber of commerce.

Business and industry can do more by bringing their safety-trained experts and their safety techniques into direct application to traffic safety.

Most urgently needed are important weapons for the war which the lawmakers, not businessmen and industrialists must provide. At city and State levels there is immediate need for laws which will enable enforcement officers to keep unsafe drivers and unsafe cars off the streets and highways, and for laws that will permit only competent drivers to be licensed.

If we are to win the war against traffic, driver training should be compulsory for every high-school graduate.

Moreover, our lawmakers in city councils and State legislatures should provide adequate funds to insure good enforcement.

Business and industry will do their part, we are sure. We wish we could be equally confident concerning the lawmakers.

Foreign Aid Economy Begins at Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Chicago Daily Tribune of May 7, 1957:

FOREIGN AID ECONOMY BEGINS AT HOME

Under the prodding of Representative GLEN P. LIPSCOMB, Republican of California, the State Department has taken a step in the direction of economy. It has discontinued one strand in its spending from a million dollar a year "overseas emergency fund," administered without public accounting by the Secretary of State. We applaud this step, for which Representative LIPSCOMB doubtless deserves most of the credit, even though the economy takes effect not in Baluchistan, Britain, or Borneo, but right here in Chicago.

For 14 years the State Department has had the National Public Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago under contract to provide reports on what the public thinks. One recent question, which has excited much comment and some controversy, ran, "Do you think we should or should not continue to send economic aid—like machinery and supplies—to countries which have agreed to stand with us against Communist aggression?" After 1,300 heads had been counted, it was concluded by some, more active wishers than thinkers, that the great majority of Americans favor the foreign aid program.

Representative LIPSCOMB felt that spending from the privy purse of the Secretary of State for statistics to use for domestic propaganda is not a proper expense. The State Department has moved to make the whole question more or less moot by discontinuing the program. Fortunately for it, it has other means of ascertaining public opinion.

In fact, we are pleased to volunteer, free, the following:

1. In a free country with a representative legislature, and with an unfettered right of petition, Congress can tell the State Department a good deal about public opinion. So can the press.

2. When the State Department is entrusted with a million dollars for overseas emergency use, the public does not want any part of the appropriation spent on self-serving publicity maneuvers.

3. If answers to a poll are to have any reliability, the questions should not be leading questions with a marked slant. Questions like the one quoted above, or like "Do you or do you not favor continuing to shovel money out the window?" do not yield valid statistics.

4. The continuance or noncontinuance of any Government spending program should not depend in any marked degree upon a head count of 1,300 unidentified persons.

This expression of opinion is offered the State Department without charge.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, in the few short days since the death of Senator McCarthy the press has been filled with articles and editorials concerning his life and his stormy career. The following is an editorial which appeared in the Daily Jeffersonian of Cambridge, Ohio, on May 6, 1957. It is an excellent commentary upon the controversial Senator from Wisconsin.

MCCARTHY POUNDED HIS THEME WITHOUT REST

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, one of the most disputed figures in 20th century American politics, may have put an indelible mark upon our history in that brief span of years when his star flashed bright.

Gone from the scene at an early 47, he unquestionably will be the subject of major controversy among the historians as he was among his contemporaries at the height of his power.

Power is the right word. From 1950, when a timely anti-Communist talk catapulted him suddenly to center stage as a fighter against American Reds, until 1954, when the Senate condemned his tactics, he stood as one of the most powerful Senators seen in America.

In that period he ripped and flailed at Federal agencies, declaring his determination to root out communism in Government. He charged that not only preceding Democratic presidents but Mr. Truman and then the Senator's fellow Republican, President Eisenhower, were soft in assailing the Reds.

His rough-and-tumble tactics, his bristling energy won him hosts of friends in the Nation who appeared deeply troubled then over the menace of communism without our borders.

These same maneuvers, however, brought down on his head a ceaseless barrage of criticism—undoubtedly from many true Communists but also from countless others who believed the Senator's attacks were destroying the reputations of innocent men and actually helping communism by creating confusion and generating a kind of mental civil war in America.

In 1953, Mr. Eisenhower's first year in office and McCarthy's first as chairman of a Senate committee investigating communism, the Senator reached the zenith of his power. Running the group with what amounted at times to one-man rule, he pounded his theme without rest.

He learned at this time that he had enemies not only within the country but far and wide around the globe.

But by 1954, though no one realized it at first, this comet-like figure was starting a downward spin. Challenged by the administration in the celebrated Army-McCarthy hearings, he struggled through months of bitter fighting under the glare of television.

The censensus was that he lost both stature and momentum in that battle.

In November that year the Senate studied his tactics as a Senator and ended by roundly condemning him. From then on, he slowly sank from public view. His power crumbled, and he became almost a forgotten man.

But no one who looks back on the years 1950–54 would dare to hazard that he will not be remembered for the swath he cut through American affairs in that troubled time.

OTC and the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENDERSON LANHAM
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, since the State Department signed the Articles of Agreement on the OTC—Organization for Trade Cooperation—in Geneva in 1955 and the subsequent submission of the OTC to Congress for approval, a sharp controversy has developed over

the position that would be occupied by the OTC should it actually be set up. The signature of the Articles of Agreement was simply a formality and United States membership in the OTC was made subject to congressional approval.

The last Congress failed to act on the OTC but hearings were held before the House Committee on Ways and Means. The opposition contended that approval of OTC membership would in fact place great powers into the hands of the Organization—OTC—sitting in Geneva at the expense of the authority of our own Congress to regulate the foreign commerce of the United States. The United States, it was pointed out, would have only one vote. Should all present GATT members join the OTC, this country would have only 1 vote out of a total of 35.

The supporters of the OTC, on the other hand, claimed that the OTC would have no supranational powers; that in fact it would have no powers that are not now being exercised under GATT—General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—and that OTC would merely provide GATT with an administrative arm.

On its part the opposition cited article 11 of the OTC articles of agreement as showing the real intent and direction of our proposed participation in the OTC. Article 11 provides that the OTC may be brought into relationship with the United Nations as a specialized agency. This could not be done so far as the United States is concerned without our own consent; and the Ways and Means Committee last year amended the bill that proposed OTC membership by providing that only Congress could give the consent of the United States.

However, the position of the United States would not be the ruling consideration. The OTC could bring itself under the U. N. "by an agreement approved by the assembly"—article 11 (b) OTC articles of agreement.

What does this mean? How would the OTC make an agreement with the U. N. to become a specialized agency thereof? The answer is to be found in article 5 of the articles of agreement—that is, a clue to the answer is to be found there, not a definitive answer.

Article 5 says:

The assembly (of OTC) shall establish its own rules of procedure.

Therefore the OTC could make an agreement with the U. N. by a procedure not yet known or established and such agreement could be approved by the OTC under procedures not yet known or established.

Thus it is obvious that the OTC could become a specialized agency of the U. N. without the consent of the United States unless procedures not yet adopted and the character of which must remain unknown until they are adopted, would make this impossible. This is most unlikely.

It could, of course, be said that the United States would not be obligated to recognize the subsidiary relationship of the OTC to the U. N.; but it is not difficult to foresee the position into which this would place us.

The outcome of such issues is often determined by the atmosphere under which particular steps are taken. With the other members favorable to the U. N. link and with our own State Department strongly inclined in that direction, the leverage on Congress would be very powerful.

As a sample of the climate in this matter nothing could be more revealing than a resolution recently adopted by the United Nations. There is no indication that the American representative to the U. N. either abstained or voted against the resolution. I call attention to the third numbered paragraph. It says the General Assembly of the U. N. "looks forward to the establishment of the Organization for Trade Cooperation and urges states members of the United Nations and members of the specialized agencies to act with a view to approving the agreement establishing the Organization for Trade Cooperation."

This affords a fair idea of the real intent with respect to the OTC and the real trend toward bringing the regulation of international commerce under the sway of the United Nations.

It will take more than executive denials in the United States to overcome the impression already created and thus confirmed by this U. N. resolution as to the underlying intent of the OTC. It is one thing for the Secretary of State to come before a committee of Congress and deny what appear to be clear implications of the intent of the OTC. It is something quite different to get the unguarded revelation of what is really in the minds of the moving forces behind the OTC.

In view of the great interest in the question of what would be the real status of the OTC if it were set up, I include the U. N. resolution referred to, as follows:

UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND EXPANSION OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

On February 20, 1957, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution (55 in favor, 7 against, and 4 abstentions). The substantive part of the resolution reads as follows:

"1. Urges the governments of member states to continue their efforts to reduce existing barriers to international trade in a mutually satisfactory manner for the purpose of expanding sucIf trade at the fastest feasible rate and, in particular:

(a) To continue to work toward this objective through the international organizations which are working successfully for the expansion of world trade, and to continue to avail themselves of services offered in the field of trade by these organizations;

"(b) To reduce or remove restrictions and/or discrimination with regard to trade and payments as soon as their balance-of-payments and reserve positions permit, having due regard to the special problems arising from the economic development needs of the less developed countries;

"(c) To conduct their trade policies with due regard to their possible harmful effects on the economies of other countries, especially countries which are dependent on exports of relatively few commodities;

"(d) To follow internal economic, monetary and fiscal policies which promote high levels of production, employment and investment, keeping in mind the relationship between such internal policies and the possibilities of expanding world trade;

"2. Endorses Economic and Social Council Resolution 614 (XXII) of August 9, 1956, and requests the council to continue to give particular attention to developments in the field of international trade;

"3. Looks forward with interest to the establishment of the Organization for Trade Cooperation and urges states members of the United Nations and members of the specialized agencies to act with a view to approving the agreement establishing the Organization for Trade Cooperation."

Source: United Nations press release GA/1450, February 20, 1957.

Housing Act of 1957

SPEECH

OF

HON. B. F. SISK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6659) to extend and amend laws relating to the provision and improvement of housing, to improve the availability of mortgage credit, and for other purposes.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, as I suggested a moment ago when the gentleman from Kentucky yielded to me, I had proposed to offer this amendment, because I felt it was a good amendment. The reason given by the ranking minority member of the Banking and Currency Committee for opposing this I do not believe is wholly in line with at least the statements that I heard from my home State with reference to the time that it takes to prepare these applications.

As I understand, out there the State legislature had to take certain action, and the procedure was moving along for the setting up and the preparation of plans for this college housing and the financing. The action taken by the State was predicated upon the belief that they would receive this money at 2.78 percent, and that was prior to March 15 and prior to the consideration of these bills.

But the thing is that they did not get their final applications in until sometime in April and, therefore, are going to be precluded from enjoying the type of financing on which they had theretofore worked their plans out. That is in line with the plans that they had been working on over a period of time.

I just feel that changing this date to May 10 is simply an equitable and fair way to grant to these institutions and to the States where it has to do with States, a fair and orderly way of setting up their program.

I still insist as I said a little while ago that what we are doing here is to make this retroactive, and in doing so we have upset plans that have been in preparation for months in connection with this college housing.

I certainly feel that if the Congress wishes to deal fairly with these people that we should make this date May 10, as has been proposed in the amendment. I think the gentleman from New York mentioned the fact a little while ago about whether or not I would support some subsidy with reference to this housing. So far as I am personally concerned I think that it is in line with some things that we have done here from time to time when we have given some assistance in the way of subsidies to higher education. I know there are a number of proposals with reference to assisting in the education and the training of engineers, of scientists, and of specialists in all fields; and I personally feel it might be a good proposition if we did not increase the interest rate at all, or that we grant the difference between the 2.78 and whatever the interest rate may be fixed at as a subsidy to these institutions. I think that it would be in the interest of the country and of the people, and of the boys and girls who will be educated in these schools.

But in view of the fact that most of us felt that that was not a proposition that we could get through the House at the present time I do feel in justice to these institutions that the date of May 10 is the only fair date. As I say, my own State, and I am sure this is true in other States, they have been working on these plans for a long time on the basis of 2.78 interest, and the cutoff date should not be earlier than May 10.

Mr. COAD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISK. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. COAD. In other words, if the date is changed to May 10 this particular loan that has already been filed will get in on the 2.78-percent rate?

Mr. SISK. That is correct as I understand it. I do not know the exact date of the filings that have occurred out there, but they were worked out before they knew what the provisions of this bill would be. It is to protect long-range planning going back many months before there was any kind of a bill proposed.

Mr. COAD. The very fact they have been filed will result in the previous date taking care of them?

Mr. SISK. Yes.

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISK. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Chairman, I support the pending amendment. I have a letter here, and I do not know whether the gentleman quoted from it in his remarks or not, from the Governor of the State of California which indicates that the change in date authorizing the increase in rate affecting a long-range plan for additional student facilities in the State colleges of California will amount to $2 million in added cost, that the student body would increase from 47,000 students to 76,000 students in 1967.

Mr. SISK. I thank the gentleman.

Harry S. Truman

SPEECH
OF
HON. PAUL C. JONES
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend our colleague the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CHRISTOPHER] for obtaining this time in which Members may pay a tribute to his most distinguished constituent and our fellow Missourian, Harry Truman, on this his 73d birthday.

I am glad to join with the gentleman from Missouri and my other colleagues in extending felicitations and best wishes to President Truman and to wish for him many more years of happiness, good fortune, and service.

It has been my good fortune to have known President Truman over a long period of years. I well remember his first visit to my hometown of Kennett, during his first campaign for the United States Senate, to which he was elected in 1934. He spent a good part of the noon hour visiting with my father at our newspaper office, and at the conclusion of that visit we were both convinced that here was a man who would devote himself to public service. From that time on he had the support of both my father and myself, as well as the newspaper which we published.

Outside of his own Jackson County, I doubt if there was any section of Missouri where Senator Truman was held in greater esteem, or where he had more close and devoted friends than in the 10th Congressional District, particularly in the extreme Bootheel section. The feeling was mutual as indicated by the fact that even after he became President, he came back to Caruthersville to attend the American Legion district fair, just as he had done each year beginning in 1934.

Harry Truman has always found time for his friends.

I have never known a man who I believed was more sincere in his desire to do those things which he believed were in the best interest of all the people. He has always taken his obligations seriously, and while I have not always concurred in his views on matters of domestic policy, I have never doubted his sincerity in attempting to implement every promise and every pledge made in the platform of the Democratic Party. For after all, Harry Truman has always been a "party" man and I believe that he felt as keenly as any individual possibly could, his obligation as the leader of the Democratic Party.

Honest, sincere, loyal, courageous, firm, direct, frank, energetic, and indefatigable, are only some of the adjectives which might be used in characterizing this man, whose name will undoubtedly go down in history as one of the great leaders of this Nation. I will always believe that Harry Truman was a man of destiny.

Many are apt to judge a man who has been active in politics solely on his political record, and I have no apologies to make on the political record which has been made by this great man who on many occasions which have been enumerated countless times, has proven himself not only an astute politician, but a statesman of the first order.

However, I think it well to go behind that record, and look into the more intimate life of the man as he has traveled along life's highway. How does he measure up as a husband and as a father? Can you recollect any man in public life who has more clearly demonstrated by his every act his concern and devotion for every member of his family, than has Harry Truman?

Throughout the years, both before, during, and after having served as President of the United States, Harry Truman has demonstrated his reliance upon divine guidance. Church attendance has been a part of his life since childhood.

We, who are members of the Masonic fraternity appreciate his dedicated service throughout the year. Even those who are not entirely familiar with the Masonic order know that no man could have been selected by his brothers to serve as the grand master of the Grand Lodge of Missouri without having survived the closest scrutiny that is possible for man to undergo. Not only has he attained all of the honors that are conferred on Master Masons, including the coveted 33d degree, but he has served with distinction in the Masonic order since 1909.

Yes, to me, Harry Truman has measured up to every criteria that might be suggested. He is the kind of man that anyone can feel honored to call a friend in every sense of the word.

These are some of the reasons why I am most happy, for myself, and for his many other friends throughout the district which I am privileged to represent, to extend congratulations and felicitations on this day, and to wish for President Truman and his family all of God's blessings which they so richly deserve.

Water Diversion From the Great Lakes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID S. DENNISON, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. DENNISON. Mr. Speaker, it is a great honor and privilege to represent the 11th District of Ohio, probably the fastest growing and most rapidly developing industrial area in the United States. Much of our growth and prosperity and the welfare of several million people in the 11th district and throughout the State of Ohio is closely identified with the Great Lakes, particularly Lake Erie. Any plan to alter or change the

water level of these lakes poses a distinct threat to Ohio and to all the States bordering on the Great Lakes. We must be concerned by any move by an individual State or community to divert the waters of the lakes for any purpose until such time as we can establish an overall authority to determine the rights and to protect the interests of all the States concerned with the Great Lakes. The attitude of the people of the 11th Ohio District is expressed in the following resolution passed by the council of the city of Ashtabula, Ohio, opposing additional diversion at this time of water from the Great Lakes and from Lake Erie:

Resolution 4467

Resolution opposing legislation for the additional diversion at this time of Lake Erie waters by upstream users

Whereas the Congress of the United States has legislation pending in the Senate and House of Representatives for the additional diversion of waters from the Great Lakes and Lake Erie; and

Whereas the proposed diversion is detrimental to the Great Lakes States and affects the sovereignty rights of all of the Great Lakes States, and threatens to deprive the Great Lakes States and their citizens of their property without due process of law: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Council of the City of Ashtabula:

SECTION 1. That it opposes the additional diversion at this time of Lake Erie waters by upstream users, and urges the President of the United States, the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives to oppose the passage of any legislation for additional diversion of Lake Erie and other Great Lakes waters for upstream users.

SEC. 2. That the clerk of council be and she is hereby directed to forward copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, and to Senator JOHN BRICKER, Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE, DAVID S. DENNISON, Member of Congress, and MICHAEL KIRWAN, Member of Congress.

CLIFFORD R. KADON,
President of Council.

Adopted April 22, 1957.
Attest:

NELMA I. RINTO,
Clerk.

Approved:

NED V. COLLANDER,
City Manager.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of Resolution 4467, adopted by the Council of the City of Ashtabula, Ohio, April 22, 1957.

NELMA I. RINTO,
Clerk of Council.

Manpower Crisis in Federal Labs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a letter from a friend and constituent of mine, Mr. Hugh B. Summers, Jr., of Lake City, Fla., who has called to my attention an interesting article entitled "Manpower Crisis in Federal Labs," by Joseph A. Grand, which was published in the April issue of Chemical and Engineering News.

This article is of such great importance that I am pleased to include it at this point in the RECORD, and I hope all my colleagues have an opportunity to read it thoroughly. This manpower crisis in the Federal labs of our country is so acute that Congress should certainly take remedial steps immediately. The complete article follows:

MANPOWER CRISIS IN FEDERAL LABS—LOW GOVERNMENT SALARIES TEMPT SCIENTISTS TO TAKE INDUSTRIAL JOBS, DISCOURAGE NEW SCIENCE GRADUATES FROM ENTERING FEDERAL SERVICE

(By Joseph A. Grand, chairman, professional relations and status committee, Washington section of the American Chemical Society)

Government laboratories are losing out in the keen competition for scarce scientific manpower. The critical situation now facing Government labs results from two things:

The Federal service is not obtaining its fair share of new science graduates.

It is unable to retain a considerable portion of its better scientific personnel.

How serious is the problem? As one official of a prominent Government laboratory put it, "We are withering on the vine, and if we don't get help soon, we will be dead." This is an extreme view, and the seriousness of the situation varies with the character of the employment. Defense Department laboratories, employing a higher percentage of physical scientists and engineers, undoubtedly feel the pinch more severely than other departmental laboratories.

Compared with industry figures, the hiring and separations statistics for Federal scientists do not indicate an alarming turnover rate. However, considerations of quality and source of employees tell a different story. Influx of new graduates into Government service, vital new blood in the lifeline of a laboratory, is a mere trickle. One recent survey shows that 75 percent of the industrial firms surveyed reported 25 percent acceptance of employment offers to scientific personnel. Another survey shows that 27 percent of the firms reported 50 percent acceptance. The Federal Government acceptance rate is only about 10 percent.

MORALE PROBLEMS

The prestige of many Government laboratories is built around a hard core of senior scientists hired on a highly selective basis in less inflationary years. In general, these men are devoted to their work, and salary has not been the predominant consideration. But, in recent years, with rapid inflation, their relative economic position has become painfully clear to them. Today, approximately one-third of the total separations of scientific employees from the Government are senior grade personnel.

The combination of high quality employees leaving and lack of young graduates generates a lower morale and lower productivity. The prestige and sense of dedication of the Federal scientist that held him to his job possibly more than anything else can be sensibly dulled. The obvious end point of this reaction is the loss of scientific leadership and prestige of the Government laboratory and its ultimate demoralization.

What has caused this aggravated condition? Fundamentally, the scientific manpower shortage is to blame. The immediate cause is the disparity of pay scales for professional employees in the Federal Government and in industry.

A recent Government study compares salaries for professional employees in industry with the corresponding civil service grade designations. (See table below:)

Industry pays scientists higher salaries than Government for comparable work

Government grade classification	Average salary in industry	Government salary	
		Minimum	Maximum
GS–5	$5,200	$3,670	$4,480
GS–7	6,000	4,525	5,335
GS–9	6,750	5,440	6,250
GS–11	8,400	6,390	7,467
GS–12	9,500	7,570	8,645
GS–13	11,200	8,990	10,065
GS–14	13,300	10,320	11,395
GS–15	15,500	11,610	12,690

The grade classification GS–5 corresponds to a junior chemist or chemical engineer, or other scientific designation (a bachelor of science degree and no professional experience); GS–7 corresponds to assistant chemist (master of science degree or equivalent in experience); GS–11 corresponds to chemist (doctor of philosophy degree or equivalent in experience).

The discrepancy in salaries between industry and Government is obvious on comparing the industry average with the Government maximum. Disregarding fringe benefits, Government salaries are approximately $700 to $3,000 per year lower.

These data very closely parallel those reported by the special survey committee of the engineers joint council. This report, Professional Income of Engineers, 1956, issued in January 1957, shows salaries of engineers by year of entry into the profession. In this study, comparison of median pay of engineers engaged in research and development with median pay of engineers in the Federal Government shows that the Government engineer makes $575 to $3,350 less per year.

FRINGE BENEFITS

Some contend that the fringe benefits of Federal service—retirement, insurance, liberal vacation, and sick leave—tend to lessen this differential in pay. In addition, the prestige of Federal service, stability of employment, association with senior scientists, excellence of equipment, and nature of work may be presented as "fringe-fringe" benefits tending to lower the differential.

To both the young graduate and the professional pondering separation from Government service, these benefits are not too difficult to evaluate. Many of today's industrial giants have fringe benefits similar to the Federal Government plus such extras as medical and health insurance and profit-sharing or stock-purchase plans. News of private industry's modern laboratories and equipment punctuates nearly every issue of C. & E. N. The ability of industrial scientists is well attested by their publications in scientific journals.

CIVIL SERVICE VIEWS

Philip Young, retired Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, recognized Government's present lethargy with respect to fringe benefits when he said before the Engineers Joint Council, "Whereas the Government was once considered a leader in this field, private industry has been moving ahead in recent years faster than we have."

In the concluding paragraph of his speech on January 17, Young said, "Now I agree heartily with the executive officer of the National Institutes of Health who recently said, 'I do not believe poverty is any more a necessary condition of dedication to science than it is of dedication to the sale of life insurance.' But the sense of dedication is a necessary condition to a fully satisfying career in the Federal service—and I know that is very widely felt. There is a special appeal in the nature and importance of the pressing scientific and technical problems before the Government, and in the contributions of Federal engineers

and scientists to the Nation's welfare and security that is its own reward. And this has never been as true as it is today, in this age of unprecedented scientific and technological progress."

These remarks are only too true. The difficulty is that the Government does not exercise a monopoly on this sense of dedication.

For the past 3 years, the Defense Department alone has passed out over $1.5 billion of research money annually to private companies. Many professional employees have left the Federal service for industrial employment in a similar capacity but with increased pay on projects financed with those funds. The growth of industrial laboratories, aided by Federal funds, and the attrition of Government laboratories is an important recruiting factor.

It should seem conclusive at this point that if Government laboratories are to compete with industry in recruitment and retention of professional personnel, they must compete with comparable pay.

WHAT'S BEING DONE

A problem with such an obvious solution would be expected to draw considerable attention and action. Action means legislation enacted by Congress and concurred in by the administration. The problem has drawn attention but no such action.

As a result of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee hearings in the past Congress on supergrade positions, Representative CHARLES S. GUBSER (Republican of California) and Representative JOHN E. MOSS (Democrat of California), saw the need for legislation. Bills introduced by these gentlemen in the 84th Congress (H. R. 12054 and H. R. 12055) died without hearings.

In the new Congress, Representatives GUBSER and MOSS introduced improved versions of their previous bills. These bills (H. R. 2803 and H. R. 2804) call for increased pay, and, in addition, would set up a separate scientific and professional Civil Service classification. In the Senate, Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, (Democrat of South Carolina) has introduced a similar bill, (S. 1326). All these bills have been referred to the respective Post Office and Civil Service Committees.

The executive branch of the Government has also initiated action. Last year President Eisenhower appointed the White House Committee on Engineers and Scientists for Federal Government programs to study the recruitment, retention, and use of scientists and engineers in the Government. Committee studies were to be pointed toward immediate executive and legislative action by Congress. So far, no public announcement of findings has been made.

The Defense Advisory Committee on Professional and Technical Compensation (the so-called Cordiner Committee), headed by Ralph J. Cordiner, president of General Electric, was appointed by Secretary Charles E. Wilson to study military and civilian pay problems in the Defense Department. The Washington press reports that the Cordiner Committee has recommended pay raises from $500 to $3,000 a year for all employees (not professionals alone) in Civil Service grades GS-7 and up. These newspaper accounts report that the administration is cool to the proposals and variously say that Secretary Wilson will order the report shelved or will refer the Cordiner suggestions to the Cabinet and to the President.

The Civil Service Commission opposes a separate scientific and professional classification act and also opposes a general pay raise. The Civil Service Commission desires further study of Federal pay policy that might result in a flexible wage system that could meet rapidly changing conditions in manpower shortage fields. This view was indicated by Commissioner Young in his speech before the Engineers Joint Council.

LEGISLATIVE OUTLOOK

The outlook for passage of legislation is bleak at the moment but could be changed to a rosier hue. In its efforts to fight inflation the administration has generally opposed pay raises. Faced by a lack of administration support or strong urgings from their voting constituents, Congress appears somewhat apathetic toward the bills already introduced. Representative TOM MURRAY, Democrat, of Tennessee, Chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, has said that the appointment of two new Civil Service Commissioners will delay hearings by his group for several months.

Two slight rays of hope:

Senator JOHNSTON'S announcement that his committee will hold hearings in the next 4 months.

President Eisenhower's statement in his budget message to Congress that pay legislation for scientific employees should await completition of the Cordiner study.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

Immediate interim legislation is needed to remove the present pay inequities. This would call for hearings in Congress now. For long-range, permanent legislation a study group or subcommittee should be set up.

This problem of the growing discrepancy between Government salaries for scientists and those paid by private industry must be solved either by the Federal administration or Congress or both. Unless Members of Congress and top administration officials are made aware of the facts and the need to correct a situation leading to deterioration in the quality of research in Government agencies, nothing will be done. It is becoming evident that unless this situation is corrected, the welfare of our Nation can be jeopardized.

Information on the problem has been made readily available from time to time by the various scientific societies, including the American Chemical Society. Not only is it a privilege, but it is a duty of citizens to advise their representatives regarding their views, supported by as much factual evidence as possible. One of the marks of the professional man is a serious concern with such civic responsibilities.

The plight of Government scientists presents a compelling opportunity for members of the scientific professions to demonstrate their concern with professional responsibilities and the status of their professions. Rather than complain about the lack of status, each should now take some action to prove his sincerity.

Federal Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. JENNER. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in Human Events, of Washington, D. C., for March 16, 1957.

My purpose in writing the article was to point out that the spending oligarchy in Government uses foreign aid, as WPA used relief funds, to make a political machine or superparty, which operates in our congressional districts above both parties, to elect or defeat candidates for Congress in accordance with their support of Government spending, and in complete disregard of whether they truly represent their constituents.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW YOU CAN STOP BIG SPENDING—CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT THE BASTION OF LIMITED GOVERNMENT

(By Senator WILLIAM E. JENNER, Republican, of Indiana)

The American Government served the interests of the people when it was limited government, operating within restraints set by the Constitution. But the American Government does not now need to serve the national interest. It is today an unrestrained oligarchy whose ability to ignore Congress and the Constitution comes from spending your money.

Our great mistake is our naive assumption that we have the same Government today that we had from 1789 to 1932. We do not have the same Government or anything remotely like it. The American Government of today bears almost no relationship to the one we knew from 1789 to 1932.

This new American Government has one objective—to keep itself in power by spending. Its objective is the same today as it was in the days of Harry Hopkins—tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect.

We canont understand the political crisis of today unless we understand how completely our Government has been transformed. The three-part Federal Government of the Constitution is still there, but something new has been added. A vast engine of political and police power has been built up, in and around and above the old Federal executive branch. The names of the old-line agencies are the familiar trusted facade behind which this new Leviathan can operate, almost invisible to Congress and the press.

The strength of this new governing machine can be measured by its resources. It controls at least one quarter of our entire national wealth. It converts at least one quarter of our earnings into political and police power over you and me. The primary aim of this monstrous growth is to secure its stream of tribute, and to keep the voters from protesting effectively.

We have wasted a great deal of precious time, denouncing Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and Dwight Eisenhower, for the growth of this Frankenstein's monster. We are not going to put an end to a political tidal wave, which has swept over five continents, merely by denouncing individuals. The trend to strong central government is worldwide, and it springs from two world wars and the lure of Socialist big government. I believe American political leaders could have resisted that trend and helped the rest of the world to erect bulkheads against the erosion of liberty. But it is not too late.

Let us now forget the reasons for bitterness and put our minds on the important question—how can Americans use their magnificent heritage of good government, and their long experience with liberty, to put their own house in order, and to offer once again a model to which the rest of the world will turn in hope?

We must start with our foreign policy.

Foreign policy has been, since the war, the most appealing way to continue big spending and to render the opposition helpless to resist the machine for which spending provides the fuel. Foreign policy is the postwar WPA of the Socialist planners, except that postwar spending is geared to the high levels we were conditioned to accept by the war propaganda.

Our foreign policy today is a series of outlets, sometimes called "ratholes," carefully planned to help the spenders keep on spending. The Republicans saw this clearly 13 years ago.

In June 1943, the State Department published the proposed text of the first gigantic postwar spending program—that for UNRRA. Senator Vandenberg read the proposal and found it was planned as an executive agreement, to bypass the Senate. He wrote to Senator McNary as follows:

"It seems to me that this draft agreement involves the broadest possible commitments for the future * * * and leaves us (as usual) to pay the bills without any adequate control over what the bills ought to be. I think this is clearly a preview of the method by which the President and the State Department intend to bypass Congress in general, and the Senate in particular, in settling every possible international war and postwar issue by the use of mere executive agreements."

A few days later Vandenberg wrote: "As it was originally drawn, this draft agreement pledged our total resources to whatever illimitable scheme for relief and rehabilitation all around the world our New Deal crystal gazers might desire to pursue * * *. The draft * * * clearly intended that there should be no interference with this worldwide prospectus as it might be conceived by Roosevelt, Lehman, Hopkins & Co., until that long last moment when Congress would be presented with a fait accompli. At that late hour it would be next to impossible for Congress to do anything except acquiesce."

Why did the spending continue if the design was so clear, nearly 14 years ago? It is all so simple. Every time one spending program became a little spotted and frayed at the edges it was closed out, and a glittering new spending program was brought forward.

These new models for waste of American money are not trotted out to impress Congress. They are trotted out to be put on the propaganda conveyor belts, leading out into every State, to the women's clubs, the churches, the colleges, the unions, the press and radio. This "show" is managed by experts in what is called "the engineering of consent," who know how to keep the viewers happy, and how to make taxpaying almost painless.

Obviously Members of Congress know their districts are being saturation-bombed by these flying squadrons. But they have no money or staff or patronage to counterattack.

The spenders in the executive branch know the Congressmen will be either converted or defeated by their mass propaganda. So why worry?

Now this adds up to one simple fact. We shall never rid ourselves of big spending or big Government by arguments that the money is wasted. The money is not wasted. Every dollar the spenders can get is spent to very good purpose from their point of view. Like WPA money, it buys political support for big spending. It builds up vested interests and the vested interests carry on the campaigns for more spending. What could be more logical than that?

Now, you will say that "foreign aid" cannot affect domestic elections. But that is where words fool you. Most of the foreign aid money is spent to buy products which are important politically—wheat, coal, radio, engineering, shipping and many others.

I have pointed out many times, that our hidden absolute Government operates independent of the legislative, executive or judicial branches set up in the Constitution.

To understand what we have to fight—we must add one more diagram showing the change in our political system.

Our two-party system has not been abolished. It has simply been enveloped by something much more powerful. The spending oligarchy in Government operates as a political superparty, by its ability to direct this constant stream of invisible propaganda into our political districts. The political parties try to operate as in the past, by vigorous local organization, all unaware of the hidden forces which pull down the constitutionalists, and push upward the men who have sold their birthright.

The only political power in the Nation stronger than this colossus on the Potomac with its $70 billion a year is the congressional district. The voters can end its power in their own congressional district any time they take the trouble.

The spenders will not cut spending of their own free will. It is your problem to organize so that no man can be nominated in your congressional district unless he has pledged himself to cut spending where it hurts—where the vested interests will punish him for taking away their easy money. But he must have protection against their wrath. Only you can give it to him.

Such an uprising will succeed if our angry people combine by congressional districts and State party organizations, to make sure party nominations go only to men who are truly devoted to the Constitution, and who are ready to fight spending in all the forms the spenders love to devise.

Members of Congress either have no power, or they have the greatest political power in the Nation. Senators and Representatives have no power of their own. Their only power is what they get from their active constituents.

When his constituents have been brainwashed by the spenders into believing foreign aid is an elixir guaranteed to cure all illnesses, a Senator or Congressman has no power and no influence. He is like an ambassador, all dressed up in uniform and gold braid, whose country has been taken over by subversion. He must go over to the enemy, or resign.

Congress is powerless, or very powerful. It will be very powerful only if the men sent to Washington as representatives are the front line of an angry, determined, well-organized, and devoted band of patriots, working together to make each district into a fortress fighting to the bitter end in defense of American liberty.

Award to Women in Radio and TV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article in the May 1957 issue of McCall's magazine entitled "Seven Women in Radio and TV Win the McCall's Mike." One of the women honored by this magazine owns and operates the radio station in Pierre, S. Dak., which is the capital of our great State. She is Ida McNeil. Ida is an institution in Pierre, and her reports to her friends and neighbors in this ranching area of South Dakota are eagerly awaited. It is significant that only a couple of years ago a celebration was held at which hundreds of people turned out to honor this lady. I am happy to join with her many friends in rejoicing over this latest honor which has been bestowed upon her in being selected by McCall's as the "radio executive, service to the community in general."

I have been informed by the Public Printer that the article is estimated to make approximately 2¼ pages of the RECORD at a cost of $173.25. Notwithstanding the cost, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEVEN WOMEN IN RADIO AND TV WIN THE McCALL'S MIKE

The top award of McCall's seven annual presentations to American women in radio and television goes this year to a young woman whose untiring efforts, both on television and off, helped conquer one of the worst outbreaks of polio in our Nation's history—Miss Lee Phillip, of Chicago.

Last July when Chicago, almost overnight, found itself in the panic of a polio epidemic, Lee Phillip telephoned Dr. Herman Bundesen, president of the board of health. She was willing to turn over her television program on station WBBM–TV every day, full time if necessary, to fight the fear and ignorance that was keeping thousands of children from getting Salk vaccine.

At 5:30 that same afternoon Dr. Bundesen appeared on Miss Phillip's 15-minute program, explained the problem that faced the city, and to demonstrate the ease of the Salk inoculation gave Lee Phillip a vaccination in front of the TV camera.

Next day Lee joined a mobile unit of the board of health and traveled from neighborhood to neighborhood assisting with vaccinations. She personally helped inoculate more than 1,000 children. Every day her program kept people posted about the location of the mobile units and those sections of the city that most needed the vaccine.

By the end of August what had threatened to be Chicago's worst epidemic of polio had turned into what may very well be its last epidemic.

"To you belongs a great deal of the credit," Dr. Bundesen wrote Miss Phillip.

Seven years ago Lee Phillip, a bacteriology major at Northwestern University, even in her idlest moments did not dream of a television career. The summer of her graduation from college, however, her father asked her if she would help him out in one of a chain of florist shops he owns in the Chicago area. When the local florists needed someone to make a television appearance Mr. Phillip suggested his daughter. "I guess I was the only one he felt he could spare from the shop," Lee says.

The station, WBKB (now WBBM–TV), invited her back for more appearances and then offered her a job as an announcer. It was a strange life for the girl who had spent her previous 4 years looking through a microscope.

At 8:55 a. m. she signed the station on and said a short prayer. Through the morning at 15-minute intervals she read announcements, station breaks, and commercial. At noon she broadcast the news. At 2:00 she conducted a sewing circle. At 4:30 she interviewed guests. At 5:45 she took her women viewers "shopping." Then after a quick dinner she returned to the studio to broadcast a weather report.

When station WBKB became WBBM–TV Lee decided to concentrate on her shopping program, which by this time had thousands of followers. Shopping with Miss Lee, a pleasant chatty show for women, might have continued to be a pleasant chatty show without too much serious purpose if Lee Phillip had not been the kind of person she is. The granddaughter of a Quaker minister, she has a profound belief in people's desire and capacity to help one another. Soon she had

her busy housewives doing things they never dreamed they had time for. Just before Christmas, 1955, almost 4,000 of them made dolls for children in hospitals and orphanages. Chicago's Animal Welfare League, which often had a hard time placing its more unusual tenants, was invited to bring animals to Miss Lee's program. An abandoned sheep was promptly adopted by an orphanage, a deodorized skunk by a boy scout troop. Although a kitten and a boxer dog each disrupted the show (the kitten by getting lost, the dog by knocking down a wall of scenery), Chicago has fewer unwanted animals these days.

Thanks to Lee's enthusiastic efforts, finding homes for Negro orphans has become an important project for thousands of women who did not even know that the problem existed before. And through her efforts a small orphanage in Haiti receives vitally needed gifts each month.

Nobody was surprised when Lee Phillip made her extraordinary effort to fight the polio menace. It seemed only natural that this young woman should, in the words of McCall's judge, Mrs. John G. Lee, president of the League of Women Voters, offer her services for a critical need at a crucial moment and for a cause which had great educational as well as great human value."

Executive, service to the community in general:. The lives of most of the residents of the sparsely settled Dakota prairie—where telephones and mail deliveries are few—have been made more secure by the matter-of-fact voice of Mrs. Ida McNeil, owner of Radio Station KGFX in Pierre, S. Dak. The personal impact of her broadcasts is so great that her listeners, among them Governor Joe Foss and Mayor A. E. Munck of Pierre, refer to her affectionately as "Mrs. Pierre."

From a studio in her house Mrs. McNeil brings to her isolated listeners news of their friends, relatives, and neighbors on a program called Party Line. In 1923 a patient at St. Mary's Hospital said to her, "Mother hasn't a telephone. Won't you please broadcast news about me so she'll know I'm getting better?" Since then Mrs. McNeil has been announcing the condition of patients regularly four times a day on weekdays and once on Sundays. She tells who was admitted, who was discharged, who is doing nicely, and who isn't. She lists births and deaths, sends messages for patients ("Will Neighbor Brown please feed the cattle?"), appeals for blood donors when they are needed. The Benedictine Sisters, who operate the hospital, report that more than 96,000 patients have benefited from her broadcasts. "Our prayers and intentions are that when Mrs. McNeil reaches the gates of Heaven, she will be met by the Divine Master with open arms," wrote Sister Rose Marie. " 'For what you have done for the least of these, my brethren, you have done to Me.' "

Mrs. McNeil not only owns KGFX—she is the operator, business manager, announcer, newscaster, program director and advertising solicitor. Her only full-time paid employee is an engineer. She is on the air 8 hours a day and spends another 6 on paperwork and selling advertising. This schedule is tough, she admits, but she still finds time to bake an occasional cake.

She started in radio when she married a railway conductor who had been tinkering with radio since the days when it was just a novelty. Forty-one years ago he established an amateur station, the twelfth licensed by the Federal Government. When Dana McNeil was away on his run he would take a radio along, and his wife would broadcast to him news of the family and community.

There were eavesdroppers, and soon Mrs. McNeil was getting requests to broadcast announcements to isolated ranch families. As her audience grew, she began to include weather forecasts and hospital news. The hobby turned into a full-time job, and in 1932 Mrs. McNeil decided to make it pay by putting it on a commercial basis. Many a worried young husband would learn for the first time from Mrs. McNeil that he had become a father. "Bring a coat and an extra blanket for the baby," she'd advise him.

Clyde Donaldson, United Press correspondent in Pierre, describes Mrs. McNeil's operation as more than just a radio station. "In a ranchland where neighbors are few and distances are great," he says, "it is a social force."

Executive, service primarily for women: Fan mail is nothing new for a successful woman's television program, but the letters received by Mrs. Marian O'Brien of KETC, a small educational television station in St. Louis, Mo., would startle anyone not acquainted with her program, Ladies First.

A typical letter reads: "For the first time in my life I made perfect hollandaise sauce yesterday, thanks to you.

"I should love having the Ten Elements of a Confession Story that you spoke of this evening. I promise to send you another manuscript soon. Do you think people would be interested in blood banks?

"Your receipes are especially appealing to my husband."

Mrs. O'Brien's success story began on September 1, 1955, when she went on the air with a cookery show, A Pinch of Salt, aimed at Girl Scouts. She demonstrated the use of modern mixes and packaged foods in preparing traditional dishes. The response from unsuspected listeners was unbelievable.

"I feel that she's a friend whom I could depend upon for anything," wrote one woman. "She's the kind of person I would like to have for a neighbor," affirmed another.

Producer W. Robert Miller subsequently organized an hour's evening program (Thursday, 8:30 p. m.) for Mrs. O'Brien that incorporated not only her cooking hints but also a workshop for writers.

"Mrs. O'Brien had conducted a creative writing class at the YWCA and adult classes for a long time," Bob Miller explains. "We thought we'd find out if it's true that every woman wants to be a writer. We're ready to say now that they all do—as long as Marian O'Brien will direct them."

Mrs. O'Brien, besides being an expert cook, is a successful writer. Her articles and stories have appeared in many magazines. Her generous professional advice to her hopeful listeners through their television sets, as well as criticisms of manuscripts they submit to her, have resulted in many sold manuscripts. This particularly pleases Mrs. O'Brien.

"My real purpose," she says, "is to get the housewife away from the dishpan. Writing is a wonderful outlet, as well as a source of additional income, for the woman whose main energies are devoted to making a home and rearing a family."

On the air she is apt to prod the housewife into creative effort by saying: "Personally, I write from 9 to 12 * * * help or no help, dirty dishes in the sink or no, I'm at the typewriter * * * and somehow, oddly enough, the dishes always seem to get washed and most of the dust does eventually get picked up. You try it too."

Of the more than 170 listeners who began her writing course, only 1 dropped out—because of sickness in the family. The St. Louis area has seen fathers baby-sitting while the mothers meet at one another's houses to follow the show in groups.

Marian O'Brien has proved one thing to herself and the public: The country is filled with young housewives who not only want to improve their cooking but who have always wanted to write and need only the encouragement to try.

Executive, service primarily for youth: Over WRC–TV, Washington, D. C., not long ago, a teen-age Jewish boy, speaking earnestly into the microphone, charged the churches and schools with frequently playing at tolerance and understanding when social feeling has not kept them perfectly unbiased.

A teen-age girl, seated at the long polished table, agreed with him. "It is the subtle prejudice," she said with disarming candor, "that is displayed often by friends, teachers or [school] principals that you may come across."

"What's being said in the house at the dinner table * * * when the parents are * * * conversing," added a Negro high-school girl, "* * * will show their * * * prejudice clearly."

The four teen-agers, the moderator (Bette Jerome) and a special guest (Dr. Leonard P. Aries, executive director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews) were that week's panel members of Teen Talk, a lively and provocative discussion program that each Sunday at 12:30 to 1 p. m. offers to a large television audience the thoughtful, worthwhile and often surprising conversation of young people.

Teen Talk is the brain child of its producer, Sophie Altman, Washington housewife and the mother of four children. A graduate of Wellesley College and Yale Law School, Mrs. Altman some time ago decided that trouble between parent and teen-ager stems from the lack of real communication. Parents, she felt, do not take their children's worries and rationalizations seriously enough, or else they dismiss the teen-ager as a rebellious, unreceptive member of society, difficult to control.

The teen-ager, on the other hand, thinks Mrs. Altman, too often considers his parents inflexible, old-fashioned, and unwilling to accept him on his true emotional level.

"Teen Talk," explains Mrs. Altman, "gives the teen-agers a chance to discuss problems important to themselves. Comparing their experiences with one another over television and evaluating those experiences emphasizes to them and to their parents that their problems are not unique but common to most families. There is comfort and security in knowing your difficulties are universal and that you are not being picked upon as the exclusive victim of family society."

In preparing the show Mrs. Altman arranges for prebroadcast discussions with the panel and supplies the moderator with questions and material to insure against any sags in interest or good topics during the broadcast.

Subjects that have received frank handling by the young panelists of late have touched on problems arising from broken homes, careers, marriages, driving, the selection of friends and dates, health, politics, popularity, school grievances, clothes, discipline, allowances, friendships, manners, interfaith dating, delinquency, the need for faith, and the extremely explosive issue in the District of Columbia—school integration.

Broadcaster, service to the community in general: When city councilmen of Baltimore, Md., burn the midnight oil over figures and facts it doesn't necessarily mean they're planning a new ordinance. There is a good chance they are simply boning up for an appearance on WMAR–TV's program, City Council Report.

Mrs. Elise Kemper, the program moderator, is always more than a match for the councilmen. An officer of the Women's Civic League, she and her colleagues attend council hearings on proposed measures (these proposed ordinances become her program topics), check back newspaper files for councilmen's past points of view, unearth parallel situations in other cities and, when they can, make sure that councilmen directly con-

cerned with issues under discussion are among her three guests every Tuesday, 5 to 5:15 p. m. Guest rotation permits every councilman to appear on the show at least once during the series.

"The people who elected these men should see them in action," says Mrs. Kemper.

To arouse interest in city government, Mrs. Kemper also invites her listeners to attend council meetings and tells them what buses to take to get to the city hall. Her television summaries are masterpieces in terms of how proposals under discussion affect the public and what the people can and should do in order that their opinions be considered by the council.

Elise Kemper, Vassar graduate, had her own 1-woman radio show, "Sally at the Switchboard," which, beginning in 1934, she wrote, produced and acted in. In World War II she became Chairman of Radio Publicity for the Womanpower Commission of the Maryland Employment Bureau. Its purpose: to get women out of nonessential industry into war jobs. Personnel directors of the 250 large war plants around Baltimore reckon that she persuaded 81,000 women into war industry—including, adds Mrs. Kemper, not only the cooks of her friends but her own as well.

Mrs. Kemper has been credited by both the mayor and the city councilmen with stimulating public interest in the activities of Baltimore's lawmakers, which in turn, has made for more effective legislation for the benefit of the community. Her constant publicizing of the Baltimore Council meetings has resulted in a highly attentive and productive lawmaking body in the city, as well as an informed public.

As moderator, her handling of the councilmen is skillful and diplomatic, politely interrupting when one member attempts to dominate or begins to bore. Her pertinent questions hold the main subject on the track and also pack plenty of substantial material into her 15-minute program.

One grateful listener wrote: "We Americans, particularly in large cities, have almost completely lost personal contact with the people we elect to handle our affairs. Hardly anyone goes to a council meeting nowadays. * * * Your program has now brought the council and department heads into our homes; made them human beings, not mere names."

Broadcaster, service to women: Breaking through the sound barrier is no more dangerous than jumping a horse. This, at least, is the opinion of Del Vina Wheeldon, whose program, It's a Woman's World, is broadcast from 1:30 to 2 p. m. Monday through Friday on Cincinnati's radio station WCKY.

Just a year ago this month Del Vina (as she is known to her listeners) strapped herself into an Air Force jet and was flown at 630 miles an hour over Lake Erie at an altitude of 48,000 feet, then was dropped through the sonic barrier when the plane went into a dive. She was the first woman ever to have been a passenger on a flight of this type.

The trip was not just a stunt. For a long time it had disturbed Del Vina that Air Force enlistments and reenlistments were falling off because mothers thought jet flying was too dangerous for their sons. "It seems to me," she wrote the Continental Air Defense Command, "that with all the responsibilities the Air Force has for our national protection, it shouldn't have to worry about frightened mothers." She didn't know much about the problems of the Air Force herself, she continued, and she doubted that other housewives did either.

So she proposed a series of broadcasts in which she would dramatize for all women the safety factors, the degree of training and preparation of airmen, and she would start by flying through the sound barrier herself. "If this is done by a woman who is a housewife (in private life she is Mrs. R. G. Wheeldon), and I can explain all the details of how I was prepared for it," she said, "I don't see how women can fail to realize their fears are in error."

The Air Force took her up on her offer, and last May 12 she made her flight. "The only thing I was worried about," she said later, "was that I wouldn't get back in time for my hair appointment that afternoon."

In the broadcasts which followed, Del Vina attacked the doubts of Air Force men and their families. Day after day she pointed to the increased safety of jet flying, the importance of our Air Force as a means of staving off war, the pride with which young men can wear the Air Force uniform, the opportunities for future careers. And for the taxpayers, she noted that the failure of Air Force specialists to reenlist is costing us $2 billion a year.

The Air Force was so impressed with Del Vina's scripts that it had reprints made and circulated for recruiting purposes. Other women in radio and television were encouraged to follow Del Vina's lead. She was the only woman awarded the Air Force Association's citation of honor last year, and Gen. Nathan F. Twining, United States Air Force Chief of Staff, congratulated her on the reassurance she had given to American women.

"We are extremely proud of you," said Col. Barney Oldfield, Director of Information Services for the Continental Air Defense Command, "both for the lengths to which you were willing to go and for the series of constructive public-service broadcasts which resulted."

"If the Air Force can get the full understanding and support of the women of America," wrote Bernard M. Baruch, "both it and the country will be benefited. You are certainly doing your share." There were hundreds of letters, too, from mothers, pilots, and prospective draftees thanking her for the reassurance she had given them.

"She made Cincinnati women wake up and think," is the boast of her station. There are few in her tremendous daily audience who would not wholeheartedly agree.

Broadcaster, service primarily for youth: Few educators or child psychologists have entered the field of broadcasting with a more solid background, knowledge or intelligence than Miss Helen Parkhurst, who conducts the weekly half-hour program "Growing Pains" on the Westinghouse broadcasting stations. And few have won such enthusiastic recognition among both teachers and a constantly widening audience. Miss Parkhurst is genuinely an expert—a fact which is clearly reflected in her programs.

"Growing Pains" is a unique program by and about youth. It operates on the premise that there is more good than bad in the youth of America and that delinquency is but one of many youth problems. Miss Parkhurst spotlights the many hopes, ambitions, frustrations and exaltations of the millions of boys and girls groping through those perilous years before adulthood.

Each week 4 or 5 youngsters are brought before the microphone to engage in conversation on topics uppermost in their minds: What do teenagers really think about their parents, about sex, about juvenile delinquency? What do Negro boys and girls have to say about life in the United States? What do Jewish children say about the problems of minority groups? How does a girl from Indiana differ in her outlook from another girl in Boston, New York or Pittsburgh?

The teenagers are not rehearsed, nor are they even briefed beforehand on the subject under discussion. The result—frank and refreshing opinions. While directing the conversations Miss Parkhurst never editorializes or preaches; she merely leads the participants to their own conclusions. Through a better understanding of why, the listeners are able to come to their own conclusions too.

The reaction to "Growing Pains" has astounded even Miss Parkhurst. In Pittsburgh, for example, recordings of her programs have been taken to PTA's, women's clubs and other discussion groups. The Cleveland Board of Education has used them in classroom discussions. Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, uses them on a regular basis in its College of Education.

Miss Parkhurst's mail is an uninterrupted flow of praise. "I have never heard a dramatization of teen-age problems which was more effective," one of the letters reads. "It is good to hear young people act out of conviction and personal pride," says another. And a third: "A true source of absorbing information from original Americans."

Miss Parkhurst is no stranger to radio and television. She won 4 awards in 1949 and 1950 for her program Child's World. Her World of Sound program was named the year's best by the Grolier Society in 1953. In educational circles she is best known as the founder of the laboratory plan for elementary education—later known as the Dalton plan. Her book Education in the Dalton Plan, which was written in 1922, has been published in 14 languages, and only recently it was used in Italy as the basis for an educational reform. She was the founder and for 25 years the head of the Children's University School in New York, later to become the Dalton School. And she is the only American educator after whom a European school has been named—the Helen Parkhurst Dalton School in Rotterdam, the Netherlands.

Growing Pains is broadcast by stations WBZ–WBZA in Boston and Springfield, Mass.; KDKA in Pittsburgh; KYW in Cleveland; WOWO in Fort Wayne; and KEX in Portland, Oreg. Other stations carrying it are WNYC in New York, WPWT in Philadelphia, WXPN at the University of Pennsylvania, WOSU at Ohio State University, and WBAA at Purdue University.

THE JUDGES

Fairfax M. Cone, president, Foote, Cone & Belding.

Miss Bette Doolittle, chairman, National Public Relations Committee, American Women in Radio and Television, Inc.

Wendell H. Ford, president, United States Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Mrs. John G. Lee, president, League of Women Voters of the United States.

Otis Lee Wiese, editor and publisher, McCall's.

The Grand Manner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Lancaster (S. C.) News of May 6, 1957:

THE GRAND MANNER

If a well-dressed gentleman began walking the streets of Lancaster soliciting funds to build swimming pools, badminton courts, beach houses, and all the other luxuries of civilization for personnel of the United States Information Agency in such farflung places as Moscow, Rangoon, Accra, and Laos, it would not be long before some member of the chamber of commerce called the police.

Yet, this is just a sample of what this overblown agency thinks the American taxpayer

should provide for employees living abroad and engaged in the arduous task of selling the American way of life to the citizens of other nations. Such foolishness cannot be justified unless it is the purpose of the USIA to convince other peoples that the taxpayer in the United States is, in fact, a millionaire and that the funds of Uncle Sam are truly inexhaustible.

Such a conception of this country is as dangerous as it is wrong. Pride of purse is just as offensive to citizens of other lands as were the regal trappings of empire in the old days of colonial expansion. If the USIA cannot find personnel willing to adapt themselves to conditions as they find them in foreign countries, then it is doubtful that the message this agency is trying to deliver will ever be effective.

Some doubt as to the usefulness of the USIA as presently constituted has already arisen in Congress. The House cut $35 million from the USIA budget requests and the Senate may lop off some more. Senator MIKE MANSFIELD thinks another $20 million or so can be pruned from what's left.

During a recent hearing before a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, Representative ROONEY, of New York, went into details of a request by the USIA for $260,000 for recreational facilities. Said Representative ROONEY:

"We find such items as construction of a tennis court at Basra, Iraq, the construction of a hall for movies and indoor games and dancing and tennis in Rangoon, Burma—that one to the extent of $19,500—a rest center for our Moscow people, a swimming pool, two more tennis courts with floodlights, provision for dancing and cards at Vientiane, Laos, at a cost of $27,000.

"You want to build a clubhouse in Belgrade with a swimming pool at Kabul. At Warsaw you want to provide for such outdoor activities as badminton, basketball, baseball, volley ball, and softball. You want a swimming pool at Asuncion, Paraguay * * * you want a beachhouse at Accra on the Gold Coast * * * a swimming pool in Calcutta * * * a beach hut and cabanas at Madras * * * four tennis courts and sporting equipment at New Delhi * * * another tennis court at Kuwait * * * another swimming pool and tennis and volley ball and badminton courts at Monrovia.

"I am wondering," said Representative ROONEY to the USIA representative, "if this recreation could not be deferred."

"It could be, sir," replied the witness, "But I do not think it should be."

Well, we have news for the USIA. A lot of us taxpayers have deferred indefinitely any swimming pools, beachhouses, badminton courts and card rooms. We are living like natives here in America and finding life bearable.

More Soil-Bank Inequity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the report of the Department of Agriculture, dated May 7, 1957, summarizing contract commitments for the conservation reserve of the soil bank, estimates that the 1957 obligations of the Federal Government for annual and practice payments in the conservation reserve will total $108,317,000.

When we study the figures for individual States, we find that Texas, with a population of 7,700,000 in the 1950 census, stands to receive $27,277,000—more than the estimated payments to be due 37 other States having a total population of 121 million.

Texas is understandably proud of its right, acquired on admission to the Union, to divide itself into up to five separate States, at its discretion. On this basis, it might be that Texas would expect to receive as much in cash benefits as five other States. Can it be said, though that a program is economically sound and equitable when one State acquires claim to a greater payment than the combined amounts expected to be due 37 other States?

Here are the Department of Agriculture figures for the 37 States and for Texas:

Rhode Island	----------
Nevada	Less than $500
Connecticut	3,000
New Hampshire	14,000
Massachusetts	15,000
West Virginia	18,000
Delaware	35,000
Vermont	51,000
New Jersey	136,000
Virginia	144,000
Arizona	162,000
Louisiana	235,000
Maryland	307,000
Washington	352,000
Wyoming	371,000
Illinois	439,000
California	525,000
Idaho	608,000
Pennsylvania	626,000
Indiana	634,000
Maine	677,000
Kentucky	698,000
Ohio	699,000
North Carolina	779,000
Florida	968,000
Oregon	1,069,000
Mississippi	1,100,000
Iowa	1,168,000
Montana	1,179,000
Utah	1,208,000
Alabama	1,227,000
Arkansas	1,263,000
Tennessee	1,502,000
Nebraska	1,668,000
Michigan	1,866,000
South Carolina	1,892,000
New York	2,223,000
Total	25,861,000
Texas	27,277,000

Gregory Herman, Ukrainian Leader and Educator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news story which appeared in the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader-Evening News of May 6, 1957, relating to the death of Gregory Herman, one-time Wilkes-Barre educator and more recently an official of the Ukrainian National Association:

Gregory Herman, supreme secretary of Ukrainian National Association and former Coughlin and GAR High School teacher, died in Bergen Pines Hospital, Bergen County, N. J., Sunday afternoon, after suffering a stroke. He was 61.

Funeral will be held from the Jarema Funeral Home, 129 East Seventh Street, New York City, on Wednesday morning with a requiem mass at 10 at St. Gorge's Ukrainian Catholic Church, 22 East Seventh Street, New York City. Interment in Calvary Cemetery, New York City.

A former resident of 9 East Jackson Street, Mr. Herman had resided in New Jersey 8 years. Long active in fraternal, civic and education affairs, he resigned from the city school system in 1949 to accept the national presidency of the Ukrainian National Association, an international fraternal organization of more than 65,000 members with headquarters in Jersey City.

In 1950 he was elected supreme secretary and served in that capacity to the time of his death. For many years before moving to New Jersey, Mr. Herman was a vice president of the organization.

Born in the Ukraine, Mr. Herman was brought to Wilkes-Barre at the age of 12 by his parents. He attended Wilkes-Barre city schools and was a graduate of Coughlin High School. He received the bachelor of philosophy degree from Lafayette College and later pursued graduate work at Columbia University, where he received the degree of master of science in economics.

A veteran of World War I, Mr. Herman was for many years a member and officer of the Organized Reserves. Long an advocate of adult education, Mr. Herman served as instructor in languages and folklore in the Adult Education Center of Wilkes-Barre Y. M. C. A.

Surviving are his wife; three children, Ann Marie and Catherine, both graduates of College Misericordia and now teaching in the public schools of Lodi, N. J., and Gregory, Jr., Lakes Charles, La.; father, Peter Herman; sister, Mrs. Catherine Lukacz, and brother, Dmitro, all of Wilkes-Barre.

Postal Pay Poses Recruiting Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK M. KARSTEN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. KARSTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Mr. Robert W. Morehead, Jr., which was published in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat on April 26, 1957:

POSTAL PAY POSES RECRUITING PROBLEM

To the EDITOR:

Bills have been introduced in the present Congress to give postal workers a much needed increase in salary. During the past salary campaigns the postal workers have been called "Treasury raiders" and other equally unjustified epithets.

Spokesmen of the powerful United States chambers of commerce have attacked the proposed increases as being unjustified and not in the public's interest. The threat has been broadcast that a raise in postal salaries would bring about devastating inflation.

The ridiculous charge has been made that postal increases would be the signal for all labor to seek like increases. High officials in government have used their positions of trust to create a wrong impression. The so-called deficit of the Post Office Department has been heralded far and wide as some extremely vicious monster, with the cloaked insinuation it is the fault of postal employees.

It is true the Post Office Department does not pay its full way. However, the question can be asked, what Government agency does operate in the "black"? It is my contention that the postal deficit is not related to the responsibility of the Congress and the Post Office Department to pay its skilled workers a fair and living wage. Why is it the Post Office Department and its employees are singled out for all this lambasting about the deficit?

Since 1939 post office clerks, carriers, and clerks in the Postal Transportation Service have received salary advances averaging less than 91 percent. Please compare the weekly percentage increase in other fields of employment for the same period of time: printing industry, 294 percent; petroleum and coal products, 329 percent; manufacturing, 282 percent; steel, 358 percent; automotive, 301 percent; machinery workers, 324 percent; and class 1 railroads, 278 percent. Does this comparison look as if postal workers are Treasury raiders? The postal workers, through their employee organizations, are only making a desperate effort to maintain a bare existence in these days of ever-rising costs.

The Heller committee of the University of California has made an intensive study of earnings required to provide a commonly accepted standard of living. The study shows it takes an income of $5,849.67 a year to maintain a home and provide a modest living for a family of 4. The entrance basic salary of postal clerks and carriers is $3,660 and after 7 years of satisfactory service advances to $4,410. The conclusion drawn from the committee report is that postal workers are some $1,400 short of being able to maintain a modest living. Can it be truthfully stated the postal workers are overpaid? Can it be said they are making unreasonable requests when they ask for an upward adjustment in salaries?

The Post Office Department is finding it increasingly difficult to recruit help, and, or to retain the services of those already on the payroll. The postmaster of St. Louis has recently found it necessary to circularize his postal area in an effort to secure recruits. Every day finds skilled, experienced employees leaving the postal service to return to private industry. They give as explanation the unsatisfactory working conditions in the Post Office Department and the necessity to obtain better wages. Business has long since realized that the organization and maintenance of a personnel staff trained to do the job efficiently, and given pay and working conditions adequate to maintain high morale and a low turnover rate, are economically sound.

ROBERT W. MOREHEAD, Jr.

What and Why of McCarthy Stop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, George Todt in his column on May 7, makes some pertinent observations regarding the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including his article:

WHAT AND WHY OF MCCARTHY STOP

"Strange—is it not?—that of the myriads who
Before us passed the door of darkness through,
Not one returns to tell us of the road
Which to discover we must travel too."
—*Omar Khayyam, Rubaiyat.*

Brave Horatius is dead and who will arise now to defend the bridge which leads into the heart of Rome, itself? Who will keep the Red foe in play? Who will speak up again?

Whatever else his enemies and detractors may have said of him, none can deny that Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, was a fighter for American principles as he believed them to be according to his conscience. No pacifist, he. Here was a warrior. He will be missed.

Whether we agreed or disagreed with the stormy petrel of the Senate, we ought to recognize that the controversy and conflict of viewpoints he aroused was a very healthy thing for all of us. Until he came on the scene, we had heard the word from a little bird in the White House that any fears of Communist infiltration into our Government was only a red herring. Before the junior Senator from Wisconsin had finished with that red herring, however, the odor from it convinced most of us that there was something rotten several thousand miles due west from Denmark.

Senator McCarthy was going great guns in his battle against Communist influences inside Government until he stubbed his toe at Fort Monmouth, N. J., a United States Army Signal Corps center. At this point, the controversial Gallup poll—certainly no McCarthy supporter—was forced to admit that he commanded the approval of 70 percent of the Protestant and 85 percent of the Catholic population in the United States for his gallant fight against the Reds.

But his attempt to investigate the suspicious situation at Fort Monmouth proved his Waterloo. Powerful forces stirred themselves into frenzied action behind the scenes. What went on exactly has never been revealed. But in the end we learned that some mysterious powers convinced President Eisenhower that his executive authority was being challenged by Mr. McCarthy. The President seized the gantlet reputed to have been thrown down to him by the Senator. The war was on. McCarthy was charged with having attempted to get an easy berth in the Army for a former employee, Pvt. G. David Schine. The hunt for Reds was over.

McCarthy's strategic mistake—and it was one I pointed out repeatedly as a television commentator at the time—was permitting himself to go on trial for the better part of a year on such a silly charge in the first place. He was on the overwhelming offensive—the Nation was behind him in his efforts to ferret out the Reds in high places—and he ought never to have permitted his crusade to have been halted and himself to be placed on the defensive. In doing so, he permitted the opposition to turn the proceedings into a boring, even ludicrous, repetition of trivialities which finally wore out the patience of the nationwide audience, the public.

When the time was deemed ripe—when the public was at last so weary with calculated asininities that it no longer cared who was right or wrong in the case—the censure movement against Senator McCarthy was slipped over with ease. That was the quite obvious purpose of the tiresome marathon from the start.

What McCarthy should have done when the Army charges were revealed against him ought to have been simply to ignore them. Had he treated them with derision, had he gone right ahead with his offensive against the Communists, he might have won. The public, itself, might conceivably have come to his rescue, had he continued his crusade against the Nation's enemies instead of grinding to a halt to defend himself on know-nothing charges which were essentially stupid.

The most astonishing part of this whole silly mess centering around Fort Monmouth is that Senator McCarthy was apparently dead right in this instance. That there was espionage of the most serious nature going on there at the time—and for some years previously—can hardly be questioned any longer. Anyone in doubt ought to look at page 8449 of the United States CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 31, 1956, under the remarks of Representative CLARE HOFFMAN, Republican, of Michigan.

There we learn from a Russian translator of American documents in Moscow spy headquarters that thousands of important classified papers from Fort Monmouth had been handled by himself personally. More thousands came from the laboratories of the Radio Corporation of America we were told by the Russian "Andriyeve." All this was discussed in my column August 13, 14, and 15 last year. An investigation of Fort Monmouth seems to have been very much in order. But instead Senator McCarthy got censured. How about this?

Jury System, States Rights for Congress To Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Nashville Banner of May 6, 1957. The editorial is one which warrants the attention of the entire membership since it deals with responsibility of the Congress in our system of government:

JEFFERSON ON FUNDAMENTALS: JURY SYSTEM, STATES RIGHTS FOR CONGRESS TO GUARD

Presumably even the liberals have heard of Thomas Jefferson—for periodically and variously they celebrate his birthday, usually in the name of raising campaign funds. They should find out more about Jefferson; could profitably study some of his writings as a man who knew considerable about government, and States rights whose sovereignty he urgently championed.

In his first annual message to Congress, as third President of the United States, he discussed among other things the judiciary. He said, speaking to Congress, remember:

"The judiciary system of the United States, and especially that portion of it recently erected, will of course present itself to the contemplation of Congress, and, that they may be able to judge of the proportion which the institution bears to the business it has to perform, I have caused to be procured from the several States and now lay before Congress an exact statement of all the causes decided since the first establishment of the courts.

"And while on the judiciary organization it will be worthy of your consideration whether the protection of the inestimable institution of juries has been extended to all the cases

involving the security of our persons and property."

Obviously Jefferson did not regard the inestimable institution of juries as something to be shunted—by administrative or legislative option—to a sidetrack. Government-by-injunction hadn't been invented yet. The Constitution was new; the Bill of Rights was newer, and Congress wasn't to learn for several generations that States rights were just a reactionary figment of Dixiecrat imagination.

He had more than that to say, partciularly about keeping the lines of Government within their respective areas. He warned against complication, burdensome encumbrance, and trespass, saying:

"When we consider that this Government is charged with the external and mutual relations only of these States; that the States themselves have principal care of our persons, our property, and our reputation, constituting the great field of human concerns, we may well doubt whether our organization is not too complicated, too expensive; whether offices and officers have not been multiplied unnecessarily and sometimes injuriously to the service they were meant to provide.

"Considering the general tendency to multiply offices and dependencies and to increase expense to the ultimate term of burden which the citizen can bear, it behooves us to avail ourselves of every occasion which presents itself for taking off the surcharge, that it never may be seen here that after leaving to labor the smallest portion of its earnings on which it can subsist, Government shall itself consume the whole residue of what it was instituted to guard."

Jefferson was known for his strict construction of the Constitution. His followers usually were called the Democratic-Republicans.

It is time the Democratic-Republicans started following his precepts again.

Senator Joe McCarthy

SPEECH
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to pay my tribute to Senator JOE MCCARTHY.

I have known the Senator, and his lovely and gallant wife, ever since I first came to Congress. I looked upon them as friends.

Whatever anyone may think of Senator MCCARTHY'S methods, no one can deny his patriotism or his courage. In an age of chiselers and opportunists, he had preserved and he used the power of righteous indignation. He alerted many to the dangers in our midst and saved our country from many traitors who, fearing him, slunk into the dark recesses from where they safely spewed their venom and filth on him, but did not dare attack our country openly.

Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, the ancients who told us that we could die of a broken heart were not so wrong. Perhaps hatred can break a heart, and evil thoughts may kill as easily as mere physical ills. Edmond Rostand, the French poet who wrote about Napoleon's son, makes his hero say this on his deathbed:

Too many people wanted my death, and I die by being killed in too many hearts.

JOE MCCARTHY is now before the Judge of us all. That Judge is just and He will understand.

The National Cowboy Hall of Fame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, plans are well underway for construction of a National Cowboy Hall of Fame in Oklahoma City, Okla.

Young and old alike thrill with the excitement and romance of the early West. The American cowboy is not only a colorful part of American history, but he was an essential figure in the development of the frontier that has now become the heartland of this great Nation.

Rugged individualism, personal determination and initiative were qualities which, combined with good old-fashioned hard work, enabled men of vision to build the West.

The National Cowboy Hall of Fame will honor the great cattlemen and other outstanding pioneers who worked for the progress and created the tradition of the West. Honorees will include working cowboys, cattlemen, pioneers, rodeo cowboys, trailblazers, and others deemed worthy by the trustees of the national organization.

The standards established by the trustees are: Honorees must be outstanding Americans, prominent in the development of the West, or in perpetuating the traditions of the western country. They may be nominated by historical, livestock and rodeo associations and other groups, or by individuals, and must be recommended to the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and elected by its trustees.

The first five men chosen fulfill all these qualifications. They are:

Theodore Roosevelt—rancher in the Dakotas and later United States President.

Will Rogers—a man who never let the world forget that he was a cowboy.

Charles Russell—Montana artist known for his paintings of the frontier West.

Charles Goodnight—a real pioneer of Texas' range cattle industry and foremost traildriver.

Jake McClure—working cowboy of New Mexico, rodeo champion and judge.

The National Cowboy Hall of Fame has been chartered as a nonprofit corporation. National trustees have been appointed in each of the 17 Western States, including the governors as ex-officio trustees.

The site of the Hall of Fame and Museum is a triangular piece of land which combines prairie flatness and wooded hills. It is located along United States Highways 66 and 77 and is within easy reach of all traveling Americans.

A million dollars has already been subscribed so that construction of the project is assured. However, five times that amount is the goal of the trustees. The memorial must be properly symbolic of an era which has made our Nation great and provided our heritage of courage and freedom.

The inspiration of the early West must be preserved and perpetuated to coming generations of American youth. The Cowboy Hall of Fame and Museum has this very worthwhile objective. The prayer of Dr. G. Raymond Campbell, pastor, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Oklahoma City, Okla., at the site dedication on November 11, 1955, reflects the great value of this project. The prayer reads as follows:

Oh, Thou God of the open plains, who never made a man you didn't love, we pray that You will hallow this place in the memory of men of the saddle, that the best of the past can be carried into the future.

If sometimes, someone should imagine, up here on this hill, that he has caught just a whiff of the smell of bacon frying over an open fire, or the bubble of coffee boiling over onto coals of the fire, or the creak of a tired saddle, and the evening lowing of cattle off in the distance, we'll thank You, Lord.

And if some still night when the moon is full, someone should think that he hears again the soft breath of a harmonica, or the sound of a man quietly humming to himself, then we'll believe, like those men who were riding herd 2,000 years ago, that the angels have come mighty close to earth again.

It is in the memory of the men who built this West, we ask You to dedicate this place. And, Lord, up there on the high range where the grass is always green and a man's horse never gets tired, we pray that the boys are happy with what we are doing here. Amen.

The Public's Right To Know

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "The Public's Right To Know" which appeared in the Belleville (Ill.) News-Democrat on May 7, 1957. The editorial was written by the Honorable Robert L. Kern, publisher of the News-Democrat, and a zealous advocate of the public's right to know how public officials conduct public business:

THE PUBLIC'S RIGHT TO KNOW

The public has the right to know what public officials are doing with the public's business, when they do it.

Seldom has that right been more flagrantly abused than in the Civil Aeronautics Board's handling of the Northeast Airlines case, and seldom has the need for open decisions arrived at been more clearly demonstrated.

The CAB, a public agency established to serve the public interest in control of aviation, met in private last August 2 and voted 3 to 2 to grant Northeast Airlines a big juicy plum—the New York-Miami passenger route for which Delta Airlines also made application.

The decision was highly improper—not necessarily on its merit, but for the reason that it was adopted in the presence of a score of interested men and behind doors barred to the public and the public's representatives, the press.

To make matters worse, the secret decision was not immediately announced but held under covers for more than a week. It was finally made public on August 10.

In the meantime, through one device or another, some people were permitted to peek under the covers, arrogate themselves a proprietary interest in a public affair, and use it to their own pecuniary advantage.

On August 3 there was a flurry of trading in Northeast Airlines stock which brought quick, handsome profits to the privileged few. As the story is now unfolding before a Senate committee, it is a glaring example of an abuse of public office that should not be tolerated.

Private discussion may be necessary before a decision of this kind is arrived at. But when action is taken the public should be represented in order that it may be fully informed as soon as possible.

Bureaucrats frequently try to argue otherwise, and sometimes they invoke in all sincerity what they believe to be the best interests of the public. But in reality they are merely trying to rationalize their own private or bureaucratic interests.

The Northeast Airlines case makes it plain that public officials have no right to abridge the public's right to know. Congress should take whatever action is necessary to make this principle stick throughout the Federal Government.

Herbert Hoover, Senator Byrd, and Mr. People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert the following editorial by Joseph R. Jahraus, of the Laguna Beach Lumber Co., which appeared in the Laguna Beach paper. In view of the fact that it is an open letter to Mr. Congressman, I would like to give all the Members of Congress an apportunity to read it:

HERBERT HOOVER, SENATOR BYRD, AND MR. PEOPLE

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: You have of course heard of Herbert Hoover, Senator BYRD, and a family, 170 million strong named people? Yes? Then let's go on from there.

You say you are in favor of economy in Government and deplore deficit spending. Herbert Hoover, a former President, was assigned a big job by a Democratic administration to point out the way to a safe economy and a commonsense way of doing Government business. You applauded his findings with words. Whatever happened to his recommendations? If they had been adopted even in part this Nation would be on a sound financial basis.

You have also heard of Senator BYRD, of Virginia? Perhaps he carries the idea of thrift and commonsense in Government spending to the extreme. We would not know about that. But we do know this: His people, in his home State, keep on sending him back to Washington. Apparently his sound business ideas have lost him no votes. So what are you afraid of?

Last but not least, have you heard of Mr. and Mrs. United States? They live here, try to earn their living and have listened to political mouthings about a balanced budget, economy in Government, reduced taxes and a lot of other words. They were fine words.

But Mr. and Mrs. United States are sick of words. Sick of supporting a panhandling world on their backs in the name of freedom; sick and angered at the veiled blackmail of going Communist if such and such is not given them. Mr. and Mrs. United States are tired of having their purses rifled in the name of international harmony. They are tired of being taxed and taxed and taxed and spent and spent and spent into a worse and worse financial condition.

And do not tell us, Mr. Congressman, that it is not so. Try buying groceries, shoes, clothing, paying for a house and having more and more tax, open or concealed taken from one paycheck. And you will see, Mr. Congressman, why Mr. and Mrs. United States want no more words about reduced spending from you; nor do they want any more reasons why a reduction in the budget or taxes must be put off another year.

They want it now, Mr. Congressman. Listen to 170 million Mr. and Mrs. United States and forget about pressure groups, international or domestic.

Put that sensitive ear of yours to the ground Mr. Congressman and you will hear sounds that may inspire you to do exactly what your conscience has been telling you to do all along.

LAGUNA BEACH LUMBER CO.

Israel's Independence Day

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, on this ninth anniversary of Israel's independence, I would like to congratulate her on the completion of another successful year.

Not only has Israel managed to maintain her frontiers intact and to repel hostile guerrilla raiders, but she has recently made great strides in the development of industry and agriculture, which are of greatest importance to her national existence. Of special interest is the continual progress Israel is making in developing her own lands.

Between 1948 and 1955 the cultivated area under irrigation has tripled. The Israeli Government has established a centralized national water authority which implements and supervises the execution of irrigation projects. Large sums from Israeli development funds and from foreign aid have been invested in irrigation projects all over Israel. The Lake Huleh power and irrigation project has opened thousands of acres for cultivation in northern Israel; the pipeline completed in 1955 to carry the waters of the Yarkon River near Tel Aviv to the arid tracts of the Negev is a great step forward. This pipeline will supply much of the Negev—a desert before the establishment of Israel—with sufficient water to enable Israeli pioneers in that region to be self-sufficient in food.

To assure most efficient use of the newly irrigated land, the Israeli Government has encouraged the growth of farmer's federations, agricultural cooperatives, producers' associations, and a citrus fruit control and marketing board. When Israel's agricultural plans are completed, she should once more merit the name of "a land of milk and honey," as it was known in Bible times.

To permit Israel to complete her agricultural planning, the United States must continue to give technical assistance to her, for economic self-sufficiency and high levels of food production will assure the survival of a brave new Middle East nation.

Racial Subsidy: An American Indian Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO KRUEGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, a curious situation has arisen as the result of measures pending before the Congress. It has been outlined in very clear terms in an article by Robert Cory, in the Minot (N. Dak.) Daily News of May 4, 1957. I might say S. 574 to which he refers in his article is a companion to my own H. R. 3634. Mr. Cory's article is deserving of study for it explains some of the problems which arise in considering legislation affecting the American Indian:

"TUMBLING AROUND THESE PRAIRIES

(By Robert Cory)

One finds it possible to sympathize with the predicament of professional friends of the Indians who say they are against racial subsidy.

A large segment of these professionals has been jockeyed into the position of attacking Senate bill 574, now in the United States Senate, on this ground. The situation is now embarrassing because it appears to put the group on record as opposing racial subsidy in one case, while advocating it in another.

S. 574 was introduced on behalf of the States of Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. It has the backing of State welfare, educational, and health agencies in those States. It aims to write into law a principle of Federal reimbursement for which these States have been contending.

Whenever the Federal Government contracts with these States, or with their State agencies, institutions, and political subdivisions to furnish services to Indian people, this bill would require the Government to pay the actual cost. Payment would be made regardless of where the Indian people re-

side, and it would make the State agency or local political subdivision the judge of who is an Indian and who is not.

Most of the professional friends of the Indians who are opposing this bill, it seems, are expressing themselves as strongly in favor of a so-called point 4 program for Indian people and Indian communities to provide them with special economic assistance. Somehow it did not occur to them that if S. 574 is a racial subsidy measure, it will be hard to convince anyone that the point 4 program isn't.

Professional friends of the Indians, and I do not use the word "professional" in a derogatory sense, continually become enmeshed in the unrealism of their theories about what's good for Indian people.

Their involvement may be regarded as typical of what happens to some of the best social action groups when they become ideological rather than practical in their approach to human problems.

Everyone knows that for 150 years the Federal Government has acknowledged that it has a special, legally implemented obligation toward Indian people. Everyone knows that for a long, long time special subsidies of one kind or another have been an important part of Federal policy. Everyone also knows that this remains true today, inevitably, and that the Government's peculiar protective responsibility has not yet been discharged. The job remains unfinished. That being the case, the racial subsidy argument, as directed against the kind of legislation we are talking about, has a slightly humorous aspect.

Many professional friends of the Indians, if they do not live in ivory towers, nevertheless are so far away from the scene of operations in Indian affairs that they are dependent on channels for information. Frequently they obtain a mistaken view of what is happening in the field.

Professionals tend to depend on other professionals for news and interpretation, and the channels most accessible to them are, in the final analysis, fed by professional sources within the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The inevitable prejudice and one-sidedness of such sources affects the judgment of the Indian's friends.

For example, a worthy organization known as the American Association of Indian Affairs in New York has gained the mistaken impression that there is a "growing discontent among Western States over their obligation to provide services to Indians just as they do for other citizens." The AAIA thinks that S. 574 is an expression of that discontent.

Somehow, it is clear, the AAIA has been misinformed. Observers close to the situation inside Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Wisconsin know there is no growing discontent or resentment of that sort. Instead, there is a growing desire to see Indian people have equality of opportunity and equality of services. There is a desire to increase the incentive of young people to wade into the mainstream of American life.

This desire, it is evident, has been awakened by an intelligent observation of need. A considerable amount of heavy thinking has been done by welfare workers, educators, and health officers. With more realism and more humanitarian purpose than the professionals in the Indian Bureau have been able to see, or willing to acknowledge, they have wrestled with the Indian problem in all its local ramifications. These local ponderers-of-the-problem have come up with the conviction that the best practical answer is to be found in full Federal reimbursement for "actual cost" during the remainder of the transition period for Indians, and they have embodied this principle in S. 574.

The people of the Four-State Declaration see Indian incentive stifled by segregated services on reservations. They find the Federal Bureau too quick and too eager to unload responsibility for any Indian who has the courage to move. Usually the Indian relocatee has no other domicile of reference than the reservation. This is a great handicap to him when his condition becomes distressed in an outside community where he has not lived long enough to establish legal residence for welfare purposes. Usually he has no family doctor, no home school district, no home county where he belongs. Instead of being able to refer inquirers to a place in Michigan or West Virginia, where perchance another distressed newcomer might have relatives or friends to vouch for him, or a home county to acknowledge him as one of its own, the Indian has only the reservation for reference. To get help he has little choice but return there.

No, it just isn't so that S. 574 was drafted by a bunch of selfish, penny-pinching county and State officials who are promoting racial discrimination.

The bill had its origin in the thinking of a conscientious group of professional social-service workers, educators, and concerned State officials. Their objective was to devise a plan by which Indian people would have the greatest freedom of movement, the best chances of social acceptance, and access with no browbeating questions asked to the same welfare offices, hospitals, and schools to which other people go. These local professionals, who understand the problems involved as well as anybody, just got sick and tired of the redtape, the evasions, the quibbling—and lack of clear-cut contractual arrangements—encountered so frequently in giving service to Indian clients, and they are asking for a new approach.

By and large, we would say, the people who handle welfare, health, and educational services in the States of Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin are just as well trained, just as professional in their thinking, just as interested in Indian people, and just as free from race prejudice as the professionals in the Bureau, or the professional friends of Indians on the outside. They believe sincerely that the plan presented in S. 574 would work to the benefit of Indian people, as well as to the benefit of the public generally, and that it would minimize the racial factor involved in a very complex situation.

Unfortunately the social workers, educators, employment counselors and other public officials backing the four-State declaration and S. 574 do not maintain pipeline connections through which their thoughts, feelings, and observations are channeled to friends-of-the-Indian societies in New York and elsewhere. The channels of intergroup communication just do not run that way, and the understanding of friends of the Indians is the poorer because of it. These workers in the States—who have not set themselves up as being friends of the Indians publicly, though they are—constitute a professional group whose views have not been sought.

Yet it is these people, working at local and State levels of government, who will have to be taken into counsel, and whose help will be needed at every turn, if Indians really are to be assured all along the line of services on the same basis on which other citizens receive them.

The fact is overlooked that these people, in their daily work, already are leading their non-Indian constituents toward a more intelligent appreciation and acceptance of Indians at every level of community life. They can be, and to some extent already are, a functioning liaison between Indian citizens in transition and the off-the-reservation Indians.

A Bleak School on a Hillside Makes the Case of Federal Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following article which appeared in the Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky., April 24, 1957:

A BLEAK SCHOOL ON A HILLSIDE MAKES THE CASE OF FEDERAL AID

We can't feel a flicker of resentment at the verdict of a visiting Congressman on a school building he saw in Martin County. He called it a disgrace to the State of Kentucky.

In view of the circumstances under which the inspection was made, we would change this description only by saying that it is a disgrace to the United States.

For the point is that two Members of Congress—West Virginia's Representative CLEVELAND BAILEY, who made the remark, and Kentucky's Seventh District Representative CARL PERKINS—were in east Kentucky to gather evidence on the need of Federal aid for building public schools.

They found plenty. Much of it has a tragic tone. Even Mr. PERKINS, who naturally knows the eastern hill country, was touched by many a sight. The school in question, near the county seat of Inez, was the typical horror picture—an unsealed structure of rough boards, the cracks reinforced only by thin wooden strips.

It was like a neighboring school which brought the same sort of discouraging comment, with roofs and walls creviced to the winds and rains, cardboard replacing window panes and shutting out light, the interior a place of chill that defied the old stoves on bleak days.

Mr. BAILEY had a remark that goes to the heart of the problem. "Nothing short of a new structure would be adequate," he was quoted as saying.

TAX RESOURCES TOO SMALL

And this is the point. If Martin County called on all its resources, taxing beyond the limit, it could get but a small part of the money needed. Here is a county, 1 of 30 or more in Kentucky, which by dint of the utmost straining, could not begin to cope with its problem.

Yet people live there. They go out from the poor counties to make up the population and the level of productivity and of social and economic contribution elsewhere. They must needs be educated not only for a local destiny but for participation in America's future. Since 1950 Martin County has lost population steadily.

The county has but two small industries. Little more than 1 percent of its workers are in industrial employment. It has only 919 farms, of an average 74.2 acres, and no recorded urban population. The total value of land and buildings is listed in a gazetteer as $2,919,000. Ninety-eight percent of Martin's farms reported in 1949 an income of less than $600 each.

This is an extreme example, to be sure, but we insist that it illustrates the point of Federal aid in addition to State aid. Most of the east Kentucky counties visited Monday by the Congressmen could not get $50 a year per pupil even by raising tax assessment

to a full 100 percent and applying double the maximum tax rate..

Martin County's average per capita income in 1953, by calculation of the University of Kentucky's Bureau of Business Research, was $368. Around 90 of the 120 counties that year had per capita income of less than $1,000.

How else in these circumstances are the needs of children, which add up to the needs of the State and Nation—how else are they to be served than by direct aid?

THE STATE STRAINS, TOO

It is not to be forgotten that the State government, by tax raises and by grace of a general national prosperity, has been enabled recently to increase its contributions to public schools by more than $20 million a year. The new minimum foundation program increases State support. But there is in Kentucky a pressing need of 10,200 new or reconstructed classrooms, as State Superintendent Martin told Congress.

We are not picking on Martin County. We are only explaining, by the dramatic illustration provided by the single county, how the need of Federal aid for school building comes to pass.

We are not making out a case for subsidy for our people as a way of life, but only to show that Federal aid is a means to an end—and that this end is hope.

We believe that unless conditions are remedied, it will be as Representative CARL PERKINS said, a bar to any hope of industrialization or any other development of resources. What could be calculated more effectively to discourage developers than such schools?

The main resource of the area, the people, is sound. They have spirit, they have courage, they have strong community feeling. Kentuckians of Martin County recall most vividly how the high school at Inez (population 500), twice has won the State basketball championship, taking on all comers though lacking full replacement for the starting five. This means more than an athletic contest. It means basic stamina that deserves a better break from the Nation which we like to believe it typifies.

Matching Fund Lure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID S. DENNISON, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. DENNISON. Mr. Speaker, if any real and lasting progress is to be made in cutting the budget it is up to all of us, the people at home, State officials, and Members of Congress, to take a long, hard look at local projects. We must begin to stop making commitments which have to be paid for later and force Federal expenditures. It is time the Federal Government stops tempting the States and local communities with "matching fund" bait. The following editorial from the Conneaut News-Herald, at Conneaut, Ohio, emphasizes what can be done in this direction:

MATCHING FUND LURE

Federal offers to bear half the expense of projects have a fatal fascination for State and local governments.

Even when local authorities know they only are getting their own money back, they find it almost impossible to resist a Federal proposal that the State match funds provided by the United States to build a road, or a schoolhouse, or to finance some welfare payment.

The result of this matching procedure is that the State frequently has to raise additional money it would not otherwise be spending in order to qualify as a recipient of the Federal aid.

And the poor taxpayer pays twice, once to the Federal Government to help provide its share of the fund-splitting project and once to the State or local government for its half.

What looks like a bargain, therefore, often results in a boosting of taxes on the State or local level.

One State finally has decided to do something about the situation in which the Federal Government constantly is dangling tempting offers before it to pay half the cost, if you'll match our contribution.

The Nebraska State Legislature, by a vote of 38 to 3, has adopted a resolution calling on the Federal Government to curtail grants-in-aid which call for matching State funds.

If a few more States would take similar action the custom of the Federal Government making contributions to State projects on a matching basis might be cut down materially.

The temptation of getting half of something paid for by the Federal Government is strong enough to tempt State legislature into appropriating money for projects they might otherwise turn down.

When you launch a project you wouldn't otherwise undertake just because the Federal Government will pay half the cost, you really aren't getting much of a bargain.

It took real courage for the Nebraska Legislature to take a stand against accepting Federal handouts. It is the kind of courage which will be necessary to cut State and Federal spending down to a reasonable level.

Henry Walser, of Hazleton, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent of May 5, 1957, on the passing of Henry Walser, outstanding civic leader, businessman, and publisher:

SPLENDID RECORD LEFT BY PUBLISHER WALSER

Another of that wonderful brand of publishers who came up through the ranks of the printing trade was taken from us last week.

That was in the death of Henry Walser, one of the owners and long a guiding hand of the Hazleton Plain Speaker and the Standard-Sentinel—the two newspapers of character and integrity which serve so well the lower end of Luzerne County.

On the credit side is the fact that Mr. Walser was permitted 81 fine years before he was taken and now also it is fortunate that his son, Frank, long trained and long active, is prepared to take over in his stead.

But the community will miss him for, in addition to his newspapers, Mr. Walser was active also as a banker and community leader.

He left a splendid record.

Union Favors Partnership Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert the following editorial which appeared in the March 30 issue of the Chico Enterprise-Record:

UNION FAVORS PARTNERSHIP PLAN

Local 1245 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL–CIO), which represents some 14,500 northern California electrical workers, this week joined the ranks of organizations and citizens in favor of President Eisenhower's "partnership plan" for development of the Trinity River project's electric power.

In a statement received by the Enterprise-Record from Business Manager Ronald T. Weakley at the local's Oakland headquarters, the union vigorously criticizes public power advocates and expresses grave concern over the welfare of utility workers and their families "each time governmental agencies invade the private power industry."

Demonstrating that the union is not in sympathy with the preference customers so favored lately by Republican Senator KUCHEL and Democratic Congressman CLAIR ENGLE, the union statement frankly indicates a preference for private industry as regards the factors of "wages, working conditions and safety." The union's statement said:

"Our members, who make their living by serving the public and are employed by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., work under collective bargaining agreements covering wages, working conditions and other employee benefits.

"The services rendered by our members is taken for granted by the general public although these employees maintain 24-hour service under all sorts of weather conditions and hazards. We have never had a strike on these properties and our contract negotiations and industrial relations activities are not headline material for the press.

"We are seriously concerned over the possibility of the Federal Government building and operating the power facilities involved in the Trinity River project.

"Public power advocates seem to ignore the fact that the economic welfare of thousands of utility workers and their families is affected each time governmental agencies invade the private power industry.

"Public (governmental) agencies generally do not allow and usually prohibit the right of free organization for collective bargaining and the right of contract. These are guaranteed by law, however, in the case of the regulated private power industry.

"Our experience has shown that some preference customers (public-power cities, etc.) who distribute and sell power through public agencies have little regard for their employees when it comes to wages, working conditions, and safety.

"Should the Federal Government build and market the Trinity power facilities, there is no guaranty that the expansion of public power to more preference customers will carry with it the protection for employees now covered by contracts in private industry * * *.

"Private (partnership) development of the power facilities on the Trinity project will provide additional employment for our members and will protect their right to en-

gage in collective bargaining under legal contracts.

"Our examination of the partnership plan and existing State public utilities commission regulations leads us to believe that the welfare of the general public and thousands of workers engaged in public service in private industry will be best served by Congress adopting the partnership plan for the Trinity River project."

The electrical workers union is well aware that some other unions do not share its views against public power and its socialistic concepts. But the electrical workers are equally aware that, under similar circumstances in their own working fields, the other unions would doubtless react as the electrical union has reacted.

For example, let someone introduce legislation for socialization of the automobile-manufacturing industry and you would shortly hear Walter Reuther's union taking the stand against governmental encroachment * * * let Congress begin consideration of a plan for governmental operation of the construction industry and the union carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers, roofers, etc., would be among the stoutest opponents of socialization.

It is a simple matter of American economic philosophy and the principles of democracy. The progress and well-being of labor, business, industry, and the people as a whole have always been based on the concepts of free enterprise. And it shall ever be so.

Nobody gains but the so-called preference customers when the Government invades private industry.

We Need An Adequate Airlift

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to insert in the RECORD the following editorial from the March 1957 Airborne Quarterly entitled "Good Strategy Needs Adequate Airlift," which points up one of the serious gaps in our national defense as conceived and carried out by the present Secretary of Defense.

Unless adequate strategic and tactical airlift is provided, we will not have an airborne Army able to put out small wars whenever they flare up in any part of the world and our own citizens and our allies will be greatly endangered.

GOOD STRATEGY NEEDS ADEQUATE AIRLIFT

With all due respect to the Secretary of Defense, we must conclude that he meant to use the words "concepts of strategy" in his ruling that tactical and strategic airlift are adequate in the light of currently approved strategic concepts.

A concept is an abstract general idea or notion. We hope that our current strategy is more than just a strategic abstract notion.

The joint chiefs of staff have a 3-inch-thick strategic war plan. Some say that it is based on a magic formula that one plane plus one nuclear bomb equals one enemy city. Those brilliant men know the definition of strategy, and know that destruction of cities does not win wars.

Strategy is the art of concentrating superior combat power in a theater of operations at the required time and place, and under conditions which will favor defeat or destruction of the enemy's armed forces in battle.

Strategy should not be confused with conduct of war or with tactics, because these are shaped by the strategy adopted to achieve a given end.

The given end, in our mind, is to guard our national security against every obvious threat; and against any other threat which is not presently manifest but which might develop in the next few years.

At the moment, the principal threat to our national security is general nuclear war. The corollary threat is the piecemeal loss of friendly nations of the free world to Soviet domination.

We have successfully deterred a general nuclear war these past 10 years by superiority in airpower and the quantity and quality of our great nuclear bombs.

Now, we are told by defense leaders that this superiority has either disappeared or is likely to disappear in the very near future. A general nuclear war between Russia and the free world could result in the virtual destruction of both, with China emerging as the dominant world power. That is extreemely distasteful to Russia.

Defense leaders seem to be veering toward a feeling that the air-plus-nuclear power of Russia and the free world acts as a mutual deterrent to general nuclear war for the time being.

The corollary threat to our national security is becoming increasingly dangerous. From the depths of the Kremlin, Russia is concentrating every effort toward absorbing the small nations of the free world by any means short of general war.

Russian strategy increases the likelihood of small wars. Therefore, our strategy should be directed toward deterring small wars; and toward suppressing small wars promptly if they do break out, lest they lead to the general war both Russia and the free world are trying to avoid.

Should a small war start, we must be able to concentrate superior combat power in any distant theater of operations chosen by the enemy. We must have the capability of delivering that concentration in time and under conditions which will insure defeat or destruction of the enemy's armed forces in battle.

The ability to do just that is what is meant by strategy. But, note particularly, successful strategy in this day of supersonic speed and missile marvels requires almost comparable speed in delivering adequate force to achieve defeat or destruction of the enemy's forces in battle. Anything less invites general nuclear war.

Speed is the essence of small-war deterrent strategy. We cannot maintain forces-in-being in every possible danger spot. The most we can do is to support forces such as those of NATO and SEATO to delay an enemy for a few days until we can reinforce them to a point of superiority.

Reinforcements must be delivered in a matter of hours—not days or weeks.

That calls for airlift—and brings us back to the dictum of the Secretary of Defense that tactical and strategic airlift are adequate in the light of currently approved concepts of strategy.

Strategic airlift in war is the capability of the Air Force to deliver men and materiel administratively to airfields reasonably close to the locale of a war.

Tactical airlift in war is the capability of the Air Force to deliver airborne units directly to the field of battle and drop them; and to transport air-transportable troops via assault-type aircraft to airheads in the battle area.

We have amassed tremendous resources in the strategic airlift category. They could be overwhelmingly superior with the inclusion of the giant Douglas C-132 turboprop transport capable of carrying 200,000 pounds a distance of 3,500 miles at 450 miles per hour. But there are rumors that C-132 production may be limited to only a few planes.

Strategic airlift adequacy is not sufficient in itself to make any strategy for small-war deterrence successful. It must be supplemented with adequate tactical airlift to deliver fighting men and their battle hardware quickly—ever so quickly—direct to the battleground.

The Secretary of Defense thinks that both tactical and strategic airlift are adequate. There are plenty of well-informed opinions that tactical airlift is definitely insufficient to counter speedily a small war in an area where the Air Force or the Navy could not be utilized effectively.

The Navy's 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean probably kept Russia from physically entering the recent Middle East fighting. Without the fleet, could our strategic and tactical airlift, combined, have delivered adequate men and materiel within 48 hours? If it could, all the people of the free world should know it. Think how that would have raised world morale.

But, if it couldn't, it's up to Congress to make certain that airlift is made adequate to deter small wars, or to suppress the next one within a matter of hours.

Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply moved by a letter which I received a short time ago from Mr. David Gimbel of Brooklyn, N. Y. Mr. Gimbel enclosed with his letter a poem entitled "Hope" which he had written and dedicated to me. Needless to say I deeply appreciate the kind sentiments he has expressed and am grateful for his thoughtfulness.

However, I would like to take this opportunity to once again state that the impetus for my interest in starting a program of assistance for mentally retarded children originated with a group of parents of such children in my own State of Rhode Island. Their discussions with me coupled with a speech by His Excellency Archbishop Richard J. Cushing of Boston, which I had read several years ago, caused me to explore the possibility of inaugurating Federal assistance for these exceptional children as Archbishop Cushing has called them. It is certainly heartwarming to know that this Federal action provided the spark which ignited the blaze of interest and action presently found throughout the country in this vital field. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the letter and the poem from Mr. David Gimbel.

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY,
Providence, R. I.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I wish to express my sincere thanks to you for your effort, devotion, and relentless courage in behalf of the mentally retarded children of America. It is people like you who are bringing hope into the lives of their parents who have all but given up to find a way out of their wilderness of confusion. For today we are witnessing the dawn of a new era of hope.

Only a short while ago, these unfortunate children were merely classed as the untouchables of this great country of ours. Yet, in spite of our great humanitarian endeavors for the peoples of the world we somehow by passed this most pressing problem. Consciously or unconsciously, until people like you, Mr. Congressman, and that great and wonderful man, His Excellency Archbishop Richard J. Cushing, began to push away the clouds so that the first rays of light could begin to penetrate this mass of darkness that these children and their parents have lived under since our Creator first put man upon this earth.

The hope that you have instilled into our hearts will give us parents the strength to bring a better and a more fruitful day into the lives of the most innocent children of God. We are all so deeply grateful to you.

With my sincere devotion,

DAVID GIMBEL.

DEDICATED TO CONGRESSMAN JOHN E. FOGARTY, A MAN WHO IS BRINGING HOPE INTO THE LIVES OF EVERY PARENT WHO HAS A CHILD WHO IS EITHER MENTALLY OR PHYSICALLY AFFLICTED

HOPE

(By David Gimbel)

Hope in thy heart is a heavenly peace
Hold on to it always, Oh, never do cease
For 'tis filled with the brilliance and soft as the light
And its magic can brighten thy darkest of night.

Hope will stand by you in moments of despair
And guide thee to safety when no one would dare,
It can open all doors even rusty and tight
And stop every wrong to make it a right.

Hope is a treasure that people are seeking
And sometimes t'is lost when tyrants are speaking,
Yet the hope in thy soul can rekindle that flame
Thy heart will cry out, for that is hope's game.

Hope is the rainbow in everyone's prayer
So search for it always, if you really care,
For without it, what's left, only emptiness and sorrow
So never give up that hope of tomorrow.

The Problem of Retarded Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include four articles which appeared in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram as part of a series on the problem of retarded children. The author in these articles explains some of the things that are being done to cope with this problem:

THE TRAINABLE—XI: SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT AND USEFULNESS TWO MAIN OBJECTIVES OF RETARDED

(By Blair Justice)

Every weekday morning about 8:45 an attractive mother drives up to the Springdale Elementary School grounds in Riverside with 2 of her 3 children.

At the 2-story brick building on the front of the campus 13-year-old Ann Gilliland steps out.

At the 1-story frame structure at the rear of the grounds, the mother's 17-year-old son, Roger, Jr., leaves the car.

This routine is no different from that repeated at schools all over the city except for one thing: Roger and Ann have smaller heads than the rest of the children leaving mothers' care.

They are what mental retardation authorities call microcephalics (micro means small, cephalic pertains to the head).

Ann attends special education classes at Springdale Elementary for the educable mentally retarded (those whose retardation is believed to be mildest).

CLASS AT CENTER

Roger is in a class at the Children's Opportunity Center, which offers programs for the trainable mentally retarded (those whose retardation is believed to be between the mildest group—the educable—and the severest—the custodial).

Mr. and Mrs. Rogert I. Gilliland, Sr., of 4317 Beall also have a normal 14-year-old daughter, Bette Carol, who attends Meadowbrook Junior High School. Gilliland is district manager of a minerals and chemical firm.

It is not unknown for retardation of the microcephalic type to occur twice in a family.

"We didn't think it happened twice," said Mrs. Gilliland in discussing the couple's reaction to their second microcephalic child, "but it does."

Dr. George A. Jervis, director of Laboratories for Letchworth Village in Thiells, N. Y., states that there are two kinds of microcephaly. One kind can be due, he said, to exogenous factors such as fetal infection and other causes originating outside the human body, over which neither parent nor victim has control.

BOTH ARE HELPED

Regardless of the cause, the Gilliands faced the fact that they had two small-headed, retarded children and proceeded to see what they could do to help them.

Ann is helped by being taught all that school and mental retardation authorities believe the educable mentally retarded can learn (up to 5th or 6th grade subject matter).

Roger is being helped by the training offered the teen-age class of 10 at the Opportunity Center, which is financed by the United Fund, tuition from parents and direct contributions.

Since social adjustment and usefulness (to self and others) are two of the biggest objectives of this training, here are excerpts from Roger's case summary showing his accomplishments in those two areas:

"He came to us (in 1953) as a child who refused to participate in any classroom activity. He had what might be termed a completely negative attitude. * * * He seemed preoccupied, was hostile in his attitude when he was urged to participate. 'No' was the only response.

"The teacher knew Roger was capable of carrying out activities and completing tasks if only we could elicit his interest. All the known techniques of motivation were used and consistent, patient training was continued month after month."

ACCEPTED ONE AT TIME

Slowly, the report continues, Roger accepted "one and then another of his group. He sporadically joined in the classroom activities."

This year Roger has responded to work in arts and crafts (making of hotplate pads, potholders, ashtrays and other articles) and demonstrates growth in getting along with other people. * * *"

Roger can be financially useful to himself to the extent of mowing neighborhood lawns.

"He keeps his own money, is extremely cautious in lending it to anyone, buys such articles as interest him. * * * We feel Roger will accept vocational training that will enable him to contribute to his support when he is an adult," concludes the summary.

How do the teachers succeed in drawing the retarded from the shell they may be in; how are the teen-agers, the oldest and final group in training classes, taught usefulness and social adjustment?

Here is a glimpse at the routine at the Opportunity Center: Every morning each child removes his wraps and puts them in the proper place. Room care chores are performed. The teacher greets the pupils with "Good morning. How are you?"

Each pupil repeats the greeting to another. Two are given the task of walking around to every class member and shaking hands while saying the greeting.

HEALTH INSPECTION

After repeating a flag salute, a health inspection is held in which each pupil is given the chance the inspect the care of hair, face, hands, fingernails, and teeth of others.

Next comes practice in each pupil repeating his name and address (a help in case he gets lost), the days of the week, in recognizing "everyday words" (stop, go, danger, stay out, poison, wet paint, wait, bus stop, right, left, boys, girls, exit, up, down) and in counting.

Next comes a 30-minute physical activity period (basketball, volley ball on the outside or musical games, horseshoes, or bean bag inside). After that the pupils listen to a recorded story. Next, there is practice on the alphabet and workbooks (color and cutting).

A craft period follows, then table setting for lunch. After lunch and rest period comes such practical activities as homemaking for girls and woodwork for boys. The pupils leave at 2:30 p. m., assisting smaller children to cars.

Opportunity Center is a team effort. Its director, Mrs. B. E. Dowd, and other staff members are assisted by volunteers from eight groups. Forty-six volunteers serve regular hours.

There is also an opportunity center recently opened at Arlington.

THE TRAINABLE—XII: SEVERE SPEECH PROBLEMS BEING OVERCOME IN SPECIAL TCU CLINIC

(By Blair Justice)

When Donnie Biser, the mongoloid boy pictured with the first story in this series, entered the TCU Speech Clinic last year he could say from 20 to 30 words.

Not all of these words, which were simple nouns like "mama" and "daddy," were spoken clearly by the 6-year-old Donnie.

Without language a child has a hard time. He has trouble letting his mother know where he hurts when he has a stomachache. He has trouble expressing how much or how little he has in the way of mental resources and potential.

Not all the trainable, including Donnie, have such a severe speech problem. But many have one to the extent that the first thing a mother requests in improvement of her child is: "Give him speech." Mrs. LaVerne Biser was one of these mothers.

CLINIC IS UNIQUE

Donnie is now using phrases instead of relying on single words. Examples: "I'll do it." "What's that?" "Who's that?"

Mrs. Dorothy Bell, director of the clinic, and other speech therapists are specifically concerned with the development of language in the mentally retarded child.

The clinic's program for the mentally retarded is a joint project sponsored by the Hogg Foundation at the University of Texas, TCU, and the Fort Worth Council for Retarded Children.

"The clinic is conducting somewhat of a unique study. To our knowledge this is the first project of any magnitude to see if the lower I. Q. child can benefit from speech

therapy and be given language and speech," said Dr. E. L. Pross, head of speech-drama-radio in the fine arts department at TCU.

The clinic already knows that orthodox methods in speech therapy—those that help normal and educable mentally retarded children—do not give satisfactory results with the trainable mentally retarded and those with more severe retardation.

The therapists are attempting to find out which methods work best. Dr. Pross said it is hoped a manual or book can be published on the findings of the 2-year study.

One of the questions the study is concerned with is this: If a retarded child, a 7- or 8-year-old boy, has a mental age of 3 or 3½, then why isn't he talking more, since an average child of that age does have speech?

Authorities have found that there can be a diversity between mental age and speech age. That is, the age the child has speech may not coincide with how he ranks mentally in age (mental age is a figure based on IQ and how old the child is).

Here are some tentative findings of the clinic's study, according to Mrs. Bell, bearing on this question:

(1) Emotional problems play a large part in the development of speech and the lack of it in the retarded.

(2) Aphasia is more prevalent than believed. Aphasia is the loss or impairment of the power to use or understand speech.

It results most frequently from assumed lesions (damage or injury) in the brain that affect the areas supposedly responsible for those things necessary for speech—such as associating certain sounds and symbols (words) with objects and thoughts.

(3) Environmental deprivation can affect the rate at which the retarded child develops speech. An environment that is so lacking in material and emotional needs of the child can retard his speech, authorities believe.

TECHNIQUES EVALUATED

The TCU clinic is finding these techniques valuable in giving the trainable better speech: amplified sound, singing, choral reading, action games, role playing, creative dramatics, story telling, drama practice in "life experiences."

There are five monogoloids, including Donnie, in the TCU trainable class. Mrs. Biser says improvement in speech has helped her son in this way:

"He's happier now that he can say words and phrases than when he had to use motions and gestures. We can now understand just about all that he wants from what he says.

"His social relations also are better," said Mrs. Biser. "Other people can understand him easier. Interaction with his older sister and young brother is improved."

Since the retarded, like the normal, require recreation as well as work, a playroom has been established at the clinic. Also, Mrs. Pauline G. Martin, special program director of the Fort Worth City Recreation Department, has been working with Mrs. Bell in training the retarded children in activities involving rhythm, tumbling, baton twirling and singing.

The trainable from TCU performed at the opening session last week of the Southwest District Recreation Conference at Hotel Texas.

PROGRAM COOPERATIVE

This is another example of the joint and cooperative nature of the projects to develop the trainable.

Another, more recent, is the Occupational Training Center for the retarded at 1508 Hemphill. In this building, lent by the Amon G. Carter Foundation, is a vocational program designed to prepare for small jobs the retarded who can accept such training.

Many of these jobs will necessarily be under close supervision in a sheltered environment.

Financing the workshop are funds from an anonymous donor, from the Federal Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Convair Contrib Club and the Fort Worth Council for Retarded Children.

Assisting in preparing the workshop are civic clubs and a TCU fraternity, under the supervision of Mrs. Beverly Bradbury, head of the workshop. The workshop is sponsored by the Retarded Children Council and integrated with the group's Children's Opportunity Center.

THE TRAINABLE—XIII: FAMILY OF RETARDED CHILD FACES FINANCIAL TROUBLES

(By Blair Justice)

"I am writing for some information about the State school," began the letter from the mother. "We have a retarded child of 13.

"She has been attending public school classes but has about reached her peak in these classes. We have been told that she should be placed in a home or training school and the sooner the better for her. There is a private school here but the cost is way above what we could afford to pay."

This is one of dozens of inquiring letters that arrive each week at the Austin State School, one of Texas' four residential centers for the mentally retarded. The Austin school is the admission unit for the other three.

FACTORS INVOLVED

Though an estimated 80 percent of all retarded persons remain in their community throughout their lives, the demand—and need—for institutional care is big enough to cause an 18-month waiting list at the Austin State School and a crowded condition there.

"Few children are placed in institutions just because they are mentally retarded," said Raymond W. Vowell, superintendent, in a speech here before the Fort Worth Council for Retarded Children.

"In each case there are additional complications we call 'plus factors.' These include: mental retardation plus breakdown in health of the mother, mental retardation plus mother having to work to support the family, M. R. plus delinquent tendencies, M. R. plus dependency, M. R. plus broken home, M. R. plus conflict between siblings, M. R. plus no training opportunities in the community * * *."

Here was the M. R.-plus case of the mother writing for information:

"We also have another child that is 6," she stated. "I have been taking the older child to and from school and as we have one car it is so hard on me to take my husband to work, my little girl to school, go after her and then back for my husband."

MOTHER PUZZLED

"It is almost more than I can do as I had a major operation in December. * * *

"Things are so now I cannot get a job, not even a part-time one, as there is no bus service for the retarded child."

And from another mother, with the "plus factor" of marital trouble:

"I am writing you about my child Michael who is now 7 years old and is retarded. * * * His daddy deserted us about 3 years ago and I remarried and have been a year but this marriage is also ending. * * *

"I love Michael so much and I want to do what is best for him. I have another child 4 who is normal in every way * * * my nerves are about shot * * * I can't trust him to walk to school alone and I know I will have to go to work and there's hardly anyone I can get to keep him as he just won't mind. * * *

"Could you advise me in any way * * * I am so confused I don't know where to turn."

For those parents who conceive of the State residential centers as frightening places, let one statement from Vowell's speech be heard:

"The modern State institution is better than is popularly supposed. In some ways it offers more than the average home can give. Medical and nursing services provide for illness. Specialized training and education are designed to develop whatever capacities the child possesses. There is a planned recreation program. The child has plenty of companions with the same handicap, which encourages socialization. He does not have to compete with brighter children. He develops a sense of belonging. He becomes a part of the group and not apart from it. He can be successful in competition."

FAMILY MUST DECIDE

But this is not a sales talk for State schools. As Vowell said in his speech, "each child and each family are different" and no one can say what is best for all. The decision is the family's.

"Parents who send their child to an institution," he said, "love him as much as parents who keep their children at home. It is not a question of love or duty, but of expediency. What is best for all concerned"—for the child, the family, society?

Vowell mentioned specialized training and education. The State school does not take children, lock them in dormitories, and offer them only custodial care. There are no locked doors and the institution is what its name says—a school. Admittedly, there are those whose retardation is so severe they cannot profit from classes, but these are a minority.

On the campus of the State school—and it does look like a campus—are two brick buildings used strictly for classes. Academic school is provided for the least retarded, the educable. A training school is available to children in the middle retardation group, the trainable.

Just as in the West Van Zandt Elementary School class for the trainable and the Opportunity Center here, there are certain criteria for admission. For the trainable program the child must be ambulatory, toilet trained, and have a mental age of at least 2 years and 5 months.

Classes for the trainable resemble in nature those offered in Fort Worth. Objectives are similar: To enrich the child's life by training him in the area of social adjustment, self-care, economic usefulness, language development, physical training, and arts and crafts. Mrs. Margaret Oliver, who is working on her doctorate in education, is school principal.

Every week the pupil sends a letter home to his parents telling them what he has been doing in class. If the child can't write or adequately express himself, the teacher does it, putting down what the pupil asks her to.

This is a letter from one of the trainable pupils, Charlie Phillip Bennett, 17, son of Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Bennett of Seminole:

"DEAR MOTHER AND DAD AND TERRY: We were so glad to get your valentines. I gave each of the boys one. Mrs. Pate (the teacher) asked if I had rather give them to girls. I told her, no, I did not like girls. But we drew names of the girls and they did for us, so I had to get a valentine from a girl after all * * * We had a real dress up party. We have so many things for parties * * *

"Right now I am cleaning out the top of the piano. We hid some of the stuff left over in the top * * * We have not fried the new popcorn yet, but we will this week. Mrs. Pate said if we were real nice she would not wait until Friday for our party this week." (The class has snacks on Fridays to train the pupils in chores and for entertainment.)

Charlie entered the State school 2 years ago Friday.

THE TRAINABLE—XIV: STATE SCHOOL FOUND BEST FOR RETARDED PAIR

(By Blair Justice)

Jack Holland, dean of men at the University of Texas, and his wife have two mentally retarded children. And like most parents of the retarded, they have a story to tell of how they searched for what was best for their children.

Their story is one of parents who finally decided that it was best for both family and the retarded son and daughter to have the retarded pair live at the Austin State School and attend classes for the trainable there.

The Hollands have a normal 7-year-old son, Jeffrey.

The decision to place Barbara, nearly 15, and Darwin 11, in the State school did not come quickly. The couple tried a number of things for both before enrolling them as residential pupils at the school.

CENTERS STILL NEEDED

Their story is told because authorities do not want parents of retarded children to feel that public-school classes for the trainable will be a panacea if the bill before the legislature passes. They want parents to realize that it won't be in the best interest of all the trainable to attend special school classes in their own community.

There will still be the need for State residential centers. Some authorities feel that regional centers across Texas would come closer to answering the needs of the biggest number of trainable than would special public-school classes.

State Senator Willis, of Fort Worth, one of the authors of the bill for special classes, is also pushing efforts to get a residential school built in the Fort Worth-Dallas area.

Holland feels the regional school system is best if there must be a choice as to which the State is to invest in. His feeling is based on long and painful experience in searching for what he and his wife now believe is best for their two retarded children. They know that what is best for their children may not be best for all others.

TRUTH FINALLY TOLD

Fifteen years ago when Barbara was born not much was being said—or was known—about mental retardation. No doctor told the Hollands, or probably had any way of knowing, that the little girl's cortex (part of the brain) apparently was damaged.

When she wasn't talking by the time she was 3, the parents were concerned, but their doctor wasn't prepared to say the child was retarded.

As is so often the case, Barbara's coordination was poor and this also was alarming. Finally Holland was told he and his wife had a retarded child.

But to the young, hopeful, well-educated couple this was hard to accept. They tried Barbara in regular public schools when she came of age. This, of course, failed.

All the time people were advising the Hollands on ways to improve the child's coordination and to improve the child (a teacher, Holland said, told the couple: "Your child is just spoiled and stubborn"). Someone said glutanic acid was good for a retarded child, so that was tried. Art and sewing lessons were tried. Even a bicycle was rigged up in a stationary position in attempt to improve Barbara's footwork.

IT CAN HAPPEN TWICE

But by then the Hollands had their second child, Darwin. They didn't think it could happen again in a thousand years, but it did; Darwin, too, was retarded. Holland said he was told the boy's occipital lobe was damaged.

Darwin was born in Fort Worth, Holland's birthplace. Holland was with Convair from 1943 to 1946.

The boy didn't walk until he was 20 months old. Like Barbara before him, the parents tried him in private kindergartens. Barbara was enrolled in the public schools special education program after a bill was passed including the educable mentally retarded among handicapped children eligible for classes supported by Gilmer-Aiken funds.

She remained 4 years. Finally, Holland said, he realized she was not going to profit from the educable classes (although her I. Q. at one time, the father said, was tested at 60—in the educable range).

"It was hard—oh, how hard—to accept that at most our little girl was only trainable * * * to accept she would never read or write. She'd love to do both. I'd go in and find her sitting cross-legged on her bed pretending to read one of her little books. But she could only look at the pictures."

A SIMILAR STORY

Darwin also was tried in classes for the educable (his I. Q. was believed to be around 50), but it was a similar story.

"He began to regress. He liked to succeed but he couldn't. He couldn't compete successfully. His chief asset was his pleasant disposition. He began to lose it," said the dean.

It could be said that perhaps the Holland children never belonged among the educable. Holland himself realized that what they needed were the simple mechanics of living—self-care, learning to live with some grace and usefulness. The educable retarded are taught elementary academic subjects.

Barbara and Darwin next were tried in the trainable program at the Austin State School on a day basis. They lived at home.

But there was a problem with the normal child, Jeffrey, who shared a bedroom with Darwin. The two retarded children loved their brother so much they wanted to watch everything he did, Holland said.

NORMAL CHILD AFFECTED

Jeffrey, who wanted privacy occasionally, began asking permission to go and visit friends whenever he arrived home in the afternoon from school. He developed a tic in his eye, Holland said, and this was interpreted as a sign of stress.

On October 25, 1955, a memorable day for the Hollands, both Barbara and Darwin were enrolled as residential students at the State school. No longer did they come home at night. The two do come home on weekends, holidays, and summers.

The 45-year-old dean and his wife hope that with the training there, some day Barbara can come home to live and make herself useful to her mother in housework and Darwin can tend a garden and care for the lawn.

Roger Williams and Rhode Island's Contribution to Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a speech delivered by Dr. Carl R. Woodward, president of the University of Rhode Island on May 2, 1957. The occasion for this speech was a celebration commemorating the anniversary of Rhode Island Independence Day which was jointly sponsored by the Washington alumni of Brown University, Providence College, and the University of Rhode Island. The commemorative exercises were held before the statue of Roger Williams in Statuary Hall here in the Nation's Capitol.

Rhode Islanders living in the Washington area were deeply honored by having such an illustrious educator as Dr. Woodward deliver the principal address. The subject of his talk, Roger Williams and Rhode Island's Contribution to Democracy, was particularly appropriate and I personally found his remarks to be both pointed and interesting. As all my colleagues must know, we Rhode Islanders take justifiable pride in the fact that our State declared its complete independence of England and the Crown on May 4, 1776—2 months before similar action was taken by the United States of America.

Dr. Woodward in his talk ties this world-shattering declaration of political freedom to the earlier establishment of religious freedom by Roger Williams over a century before. I know that many of my colleagues here in the House of Represenatives will find Dr. Woodward's remarks very informative, particularly his comparative analysis between Roger Williams and Thomas Jefferson. He has used a somewhat different approach in paying tribute to the memory of the founder of the State of Rhode Island and one which I thought to be very effective:

ROGER WILLIAMS AND RHODE ISLAND'S CONTRIBUTION TO DEMOCRACY

(Remarks of President Carl R. Woodward, University of Rhode Island, at the ceremony in Statuary Hall, Washington, D. C., May 2, 1957, in recognition of Rhode Island Independence Day)

This is an occasion of unique significance. The alumni of our Rhode Island colleges and universities are gathered with the representatives of our State in the National Congress to pay tribute to the memory of the founder of our State and to commemorate an event in the life of our State which marks a milestone in American history.

It is altogether appropriate that the alumni of Brown University, Providence College, and the University of Rhode Island who live and work in this vicinity should join in this observance. The State of Rhode Island has been described as "a body of water surrounded by educational institutions." Even as the campuses of our colleges at home fringe the shores of Narragansett Bay, here their sons and daughters surround the National Capitol, and an occasion like this makes us conscious of the role they are playing in the Nation's business. I think we can agree that the alumni of no group of institutions have a more notable cause for such an assembly. For it was no less an authority than the historian George Bancroft who wrote: "More ideas which have become national have emanated from the little colony of Rhode Island than from any other." In the formulation and development of these ideas, Roger Williams played a more vital part than any other of Rhode Island's heroes of peace or of war.

In the light of such a record and such a tribute, you will understand why I consider it a high privilege to be invited to participate in these ceremonies. I associate this gathering in my mind with a somewhat similar experience when, 13 years ago this month, I was asked to be spokesman for a group of scientists and educators at the grave of another pioneer of liberty—Thomas Jefferson, at

Monticello. And I am reminded that Roger Williams and Thomas Jefferson, who lived in different centuries, and were so widely different in background and temperament, nevertheless, had many points in common.

Roger Williams was born in England of Puritan parents about 1603. Soon after his graduation from Cambridge University in 1627, he took orders in the Church of England and went as chaplain to the house of an English nobleman. In that turbulent period of English history, it is not surprising that a young man reared in a Puritan atmosphere should have fretted under the discipline of the established order and protested the formality and the restrictions of the Anglican church. Soon after his marriage in 1629, he decided to separate from the Church of England, and 2 years later he came to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The crossing of the Atlantic didn't change his nonconformist nature. His revolt against the Anglican Church abroad was followed by his revolt against the discipline of the church-state he found in the new land, and in 1635 he was ordered by the Massachusetts general court to depart from the colony. With courageous adherence to principle, he accepted banishment into the wintry wilderness rather than submit to authority that denied freedom to the individual. A refugee from the very haven of liberty he had hopefully sought, he turned to the shores of Narragansett Bay. And in this accident of history (or was it the hand of Providence?), Rhode Island was born. And the name of Roger Williams, more than any other in the American tradition, has become the lasting symbol of religious and political liberty—twin freedoms given expression in two priceless documents—Rhode Island's Royal Charter of 1664 and Rhode Island's Declaration of Independence of May 4, 1776.

There are numerous things about our State House in Providence that intrigue me—its magnificent architectural design, its massive marble dome, the statue of the independent man, and Gilbert Stuart's portrait of Washington. But to me the feature which stands out above all others is the inscription carved in marble on the facade—the burning words from the royal charter secured through the joint efforts of Roger Williams and his friend, Dr. John Clarke:

"To hold forth a lively experiment—that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained with full liberty in religious concernments!"

Here was the declaration of religious liberty which found expression in the founding of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

Hand in hand with religious liberty is political liberty. In this instance the seeds of religious liberty a century later yielded, as their fruits, political liberty. On May 4, 1776, the General Assembly of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations meeting in Newport adopted an act of separation from the British Government, declaring in part:

"Whereas in all States existing by compact protection and allegiance are reciprocal, the latter being only due in consequence of the former; And, whereas George the Third, King of Britain, forgetting his dignity, * * * and entirely departing from the duties and character of a good king—instead of protecting is endeavoring to destroy the good people of this colony, and of all the united colonies by sending fleets and armies to America to confiscate our property and spread fire, sword, and desolation throughout our country—in order to compel us to submit to the most debasing and detestable tyranny whereby we are obliged by necessity and it becomes our highest duty to use every means, with which God and nature have furnished us, in support of our invaluable rights, and privileges; to oppose that power which is exerted only for our destruction."

It is of special interest to us, here assembled today, that the person who drafted this great document and moved its adoption, was Jonathan Arnold, the great-great-grandfather of the senior United States Senator from our State, the Honorable THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN.

I think of the inscription on the front of our statehouse, and this passage from our Declaration of Independence as being in the same category with the words of Thomas Jefferson encircling the statue of that great patriot in the Jefferson Memorial here in Washington, "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

We think of both Williams and Jefferson, each in his own peculiar way, as pioneers in carrying the torch of liberty to the frontiers of the New World; each was an architect in building the structure of American democracy. Both were rebels against tyranny—Jefferson against tyranny over the mind of man; Williams against tyranny over man's spirit, his soul, and his conscience. Williams created a sensation when in 1644 he published his Bloudy Tenent of Persecution; Jefferson became an advocate basically of the same cause when, while serving in the Virginia Assembly during the Revolution, he drafted the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom. Historically, in the popular tradition, Jefferson is identified as the founder of democracy, spell it with or without a capital letter as you will. Williams, on the other hand, though living a century earlier, has been described as "the irrepressible Democrat."

Both were concerned with the welfare of the common man; both worked to raise the status of members of a less privileged race. Williams for months at a stretch chose to live with the Indians, enduring the hardship of the primitive wigwam, better to understand and to aid the red man toward a richer life. Jefferson, though heir to the institution of slavery, despised it, and all his life sought to ameliorate its vicious influence. In 1778 he introduced in the Virginia Assembly and secured the passage of an act to prohibit the importation of Negro slaves into Virginia.

Both Williams and Jefferson, in a sense, were educators. While living with the Indians, Williams made a special effort to learn their language, and his Key to the Language of America, printed in London in 1643, 7 years after the founding of Providence, was the first book on the Indian language to be published in English. Williams knew that literature is basically the story of life, and he knew that any education of the Indians would have to be done in terms of the common denominator of language. While apparently the major purpose of this classic work was to provide an avenue for reaching their souls, the book which became widely used as a manual, proved to be an effective instrument for the encouragement of trade. By this means also Williams sought to promote permanent peaceful relations between the Indian and the white man, but in this his hopes were only partly realized. Furthermore, as founder of the Baptist denomination, Roger Williams gave impetus to a religious movement which produced one of America's nine colonial colleges, the College of Rhode Island, now Brown University, chartered in 1764.

A century and a half later, Jefferson's contributions to education reflected some of the same elements but took a different form. His Notes on the State of Virginia published in 1785, was a classic which described the resources, both economic and human, of the Old Dominion, comparable in a way with Williams' Key. A graduate of the College of William and Mary, America's second oldest colonial college, Jefferson became the father of the University of Virginia, an achievement which he seems to have valued above that of the Presidency of the United States itself.

It is one of the unique coincidences of American history, but not surprising, that the colony founded by Roger Williams should have taken the lead in severing the ties with the crown, and that the Newport Declaration of Independence sponsored by Jonathan Arnold, should have antedated by 2 months the famous Declaration at Philadelphia penned by Thomas Jefferson.

To what extent Jefferson's career was influenced by the life of Roger Williams is not clear. I have been unable to find any record of Jefferson ever having referred specifically to Roger Williams. It is a fair surmise, however, that directly or indirectly the latter's writings and example may have played a major role in shaping Jefferson's philosophy.

Here and there one detects a striking similarity between some of Williams' writings and certain passages in the Declaration of Independence. For example, Williams asserted that "the sovereign, original, and foundation of civil power lies in the people"; "a people may erect and establish what form of government seems to them most meet for their civil condition"; and "such governments as are by them erected and established, have no more power, nor for no longer time, than * * * the people * * * shall betrust them with." Government thus was to Roger Williams the agent of the people, created by them to serve the common weal, and endowed only with such powers as by them granted.

"God requireth not an uniformity of religion," wrote Williams, and throughout his life he defended the right of all men to worship as they might please. Not the power of government, but only "the Sword of God's Spirit, the Word of God, could be used with any hope of success against error."

The parallel course of the two men's careers extends also into the realm of statesmanship. Williams served as President of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations; Jefferson was Governor of Virginia before becoming President of the United States. Williams, the untiring advocate of democracy and undivided freedom, was also the practical statesman and man of affairs. He it was who, through peaceful negotiations, secured a generous grant of land from the Indians, then sought and obtained from the English Parliament a charter confirming to the inhabitants title to the land and the authority to form a government. During its early years the settlement at Providence managed its affairs on the basis of his proposals for government, and when the four settlements in Rhode Island organized a federal commonwealth in 1647 they did so under his guidance.

In thus bringing the four settlements into one colony, Williams demonstrated the principle that liberty and union go hand in hand—that liberty can be preserved and guaranteed only through the strength of concerted thought and united effort. Hence, in the example of colonial Rhode Island was the seed of the national motto "e pluribus unum." Herein also was demonstrated the great principle of "Liberty and Union" immortalized by Daniel Webster in this very hall, a principle which was put to its most crucial test nearly a century ago. Refined in the crucible of the War Between the States, it remains our surest rule of action in discharging our God-given responsibility of the present day to preserve, protect and defend the institutions of democracy for the sake of freedom-loving people everywhere.

In this mission the courage and the devotion of Roger Williams and of the Rhode Island patriots who followed him will ever be an inspiration to our highest endeavor.

Questionnaire Results From Michigan's Sixth District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to include the results of a questionnaire sent to more than 12,000 families in Michigan's Sixth Congressional Disrict. A return of slightly more than 20 percent indicates, I believe, the intense interest of these citizens in their Government.

I further believe, Mr. Speaker, that Members will be interested in the response to these questions. While I recognize that this method of measuring public opinion is subject to some limitation, nevertheless, I would point out that agreement on six of the questions exceeded 70 percent.

Great interest in many of these questions was further indicated by a tremendous number of accompanying letters and comments. One of the most frequently mentioned items concerned postal rates. As the tabulation indicates, people support a general increase, but they are emphatic in their demand that third-class mail pay its proper share of postal expenses. In the area of foreign aid, though the vote is favorable to its continuance, people want intelligent and effective use of their money. Also, it was interesting to me to note the strong opposition to a tax cut that would unbalance the budget.

The general conclusion seems clear that people of Michigan's Sixth District continue to have great confidence in President Eisenhower and his administration's policies.

The results of the questionnaire are as follows:

Do you favor:

1. Reduction of the budget even if it means curtailing or eliminating worthy Federal services and projects? Yes, 58 percent; no, 38 percent; no opinion, 4 percent.
2. Reduced taxes for:
   (a) Small business. Yes, 32 percent.
   (b) Individuals. Yes, 31 percent.
   (c) Everyone across the board. Yes, 14 percent.
   (d) No one at this time. Yes, 41 percent.
3. Reduction of taxes even though it would unbalance the budget? Yes, 16 percent; no, 81 percent; no opinion, 3 percent.
4. Lowering the eligibility age for social-security benefits? Yes, 38 percent; no, 57 percent; no opinion, 5 percent.
5. Eligibility for social-security benefits regardless of income? Yes, 43 percent; no, 49 percent; no opinion, 8 percent.
6. Legislation to safeguard union welfare funds? Yes, 92 percent; no, 4 percent; no opinion, 4 percent.
7. Increasing postal rates for all classes of mail to reduce the postal deficit (now approximately $464 million annually)? Yes, 81 percent; no, 17 percent; no opinion, 2 percent.
8. Federal aid for school construction? Yes, 45 percent; no, 51 percent; no opinion, 4 percent.
9. Enactment of the President's proposed civil-rights legislation? Yes, 55 percent; no, 19 percent; no opinion, 25 percent.
10. The administration's farm policies in general? Yes, 52 percent; no, 15 percent; no opinion, 33 percent.
11. Liberalizing immigration laws? Yes, 21 percent; no, 66 percent; no opinion, 13 percent.
12. Conferences by the President with heads of unfriendly nations? Yes, 67 percent; no, 22 percent; no opinion, 11 percent.
13. Continued reliance on the U. N. in the Middle East crisis? Yes, 82 percent; no, 12 percent; no opinion, 6 percent.
14. Continuing foreign aid as a means of resisting communism? Yes, 58 percent; no, 35 percent; no opinion, 7 percent.
15. Do you approve of the manner in which the President has been handling our foreign affairs? Yes, 77 percent; no, 17 percent; no opinion, 6 percent.
16. Do you approve, in general, the domestic policies of President Eisenhower? Yes, 83 percent; no, 13 percent; no opinion, 4 percent.

Equalization of Retirement Benefits—Further Confirmation of the Congressional Intent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, I should like once more briefly to refer to H. R. 689, a bill which I introduced on January 3, 1957, and which is entitled "A bill to clarify paragraph 4 of section 15 of the Pay Readjustment Act of 1942, 56th Statutes, page 368." On February 14, 1957, I gave the House a résumé of the bill, emphasizing its intent simply to clarify the intent of Congress as plainly expressed both in 1942 and again in 1949, an intent which has become both frustrated and confused by conflicting administrative and judicial interpretations. On April 8, 1957, I referred once more to the bill and, with the permission of the House, introduced into the RECORD a letter of March 30, 1957, from former Senator and former Governor of Colorado Edwin C. Johnson, supporting fully my aims in introducing this measure with the authority and prestige of the man who was Senate sponsor of the original act in 1942, and a member of the conference committee which wrote the final draft thereof. It is again my privilege, Mr. Speaker, with the consent of the House, to bring still another important evidence of the correctness of my stand on this matter to the attention of the Members.

Serving on that same conference committe in 1942 with Senator Johnson was another distinguished Member of the Congress, former Representative Dow W. Harter, of Ohio, presently an eminent lawyer in the national capital, and head of his law firm of Harter, Calhoun, Lishman, and Williams. Mr. Harter's comments are in the form of a letter to myself, dated May 6, 1957. They are particularly valuable to this House in view both of Mr. Harter's personal close association with the legislation under discussion in its formative stages, and of his careful review and study of the whole matter, done on his own initiative upon learning of the current effort to restore the original intent of the Congress as expressed in the 1942 act of which he was one of the authors. Mr. Harter has brought to this study the same thoroughness and conscientious attention which he is known to have devoted to the legislative tasks with which he was charged during his membership in the Congress. His review, as quoted in his letter, reaffirms the only real issue to be resolved in the area of Reserve retirement equalization; namely, the intent of Congress, so often stated in so many enactments, that there should be no discrimination between Regular officers and Reserve officers with comparable military service.

Mr. Harter's letter follows:

HARTER, CALHOUN, LISHMAN & WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C., May 6, 1957.

Re equalization of retirement benefits, H. R. 689, 85th Congress, 1st session.

Hon. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, Jr.,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HUDDLESTON: Since last talking with you about your bill, H. R. 689, I have devoted a considerable amount of time to a study of its background in the Pay Readjustment Act of 1942 and the Career Compensation Act of 1949. I have also read the three cases in which decisions were rendered on the same subject by the United States Court of Claims. Those cases are *Danielson* v. *United States* (decided February 5, 1952, 121 C. Cls. 533), *Berry* v. *United States* (decided October 7, 1952, 123 Ct. Cls. 530), and *Reynolds* v. *United States* (decided May 5, 1953, 125 Ct. Cls. 108).

It is difficult for me to reconcile the opinions in these cases, and the confusion is such that unquestionably there should be clarification of the Pay Readjustment Act of 1942, approved June 16, 1942, referred to as 56th Statutes, page 367, and also known as title 37, United States Code, section 115. Your bill, H. R. 689, introduced in the present session of the 85th Congress, evidently will accomplish that clarification.

I have read the conference reports on the 1942 act, one dated May 25, 1942, and the second, June 9, after the recommitment of the bill in the House on May 27. I was a member of both conferences and signed both reports. These conference agreements both contain paragraph 4 of section 15 of Public Law 607, 77th Congress, and in each report on page 15 thereof, the statement of the Managers on the part of the House say, as follows:

"Section 15 of the House amendment contained a provision providing that the retired pay of officers hereafter retired under any provision of law and who served in the military or naval forces prior to November 12, 1918, should be 75 percent of active duty pay. The Senate bill contained no similar provision. The conference agreement adopts the House provision."

When the 1942 act was under consideration in Congress, members thereof, particularly those who served on the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate and House, were extremely conscious of the lack of officer personnel to train and lead the tremendous Army that was being drafted and recruited. We well knew that the complement of Regular officers available, while in the main highly competent, was totally insufficient in numbers to officer the tremendous force the United States was called upon to put in the field. We were familiar with the training

program in the colleges and schools, of the ROTC officers and the other training activities dealing with giving Reserve officers adequate and worthwhile training.

I am confident all Members of Congress realized the vast majority of officers in World War II must come from civilian life and that because of the needs of the Nation in this behalf, all officers of the United States whether Regular, National Guard, or Reserve should be treated equally. There was much comment upon this among Members of Congress at the time of the enactment of this law in May and June 1942. After reviewing the passage of this legislation, it is definitely my opinion that it was the intent of the House of Representatives, the conferees, and the Congress itself that there should be no discrimination between Regular officers and Reserve officers with comparable military service.

It is to be hoped that your bill (H. R. 689), which would clarify this situation, will be promptly enacted by Congress.

Very truly yours,

DOW W. HARTER.

Address by Hon. Stuart Symington, of Missouri, at Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address presented by the Honorable STUART SYMINGTON at the annual Greater Wilkes-Barre Chamber of Commerce dinner held in Wilkes-Barre on Tuesday evening, May 7, 1957:

It is clear where this administration can save billions of dollars annually in the Federal budget if it is really sincere in its desire to make these reductions.

In a talk on the floor of the House, last Thursday, the distinguished majority leader, the Honorable JOHN MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, stated: "An analysis of the various stock fund statements in the 1958 budget (Department of Defense) shows great duplication and triplication and even quadruplication in the stock items covered by the funds."

Any true unification of the services would result in at least partial elimination of some of this triplication. It would, as Dr. Henry Kissinger wrote recently, reduce the claim of each service to have "capability for total war."

Let me repeat again that the amount of money this service rivalry is costing the taxpayer is almost unbelievable.

People indirectly connected with the administration believe that even under the present structural conditions of the Pentagon Building, billions can be saved by improvements in the manpower picture alone.

One of the Nation's great industrialists, Ralph Cordiner, president of the General Electric Co., who heads a Committee appointed more than a year ago to analyze the manpower problems of the Department of Defense, has announced that there would be ultimate savings of up to $5 billion a year, plus a 15 percent improvement in combat capability, if the manpower recommendations of his Committee were adopted.

Only recently those of us who believe great savings can be made in the Federal Budget received powerful support. Sunday before last, Chairman GEORGE MAHON, of the Military Affairs Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, urged that President Eisenhower initiate a drive for real unification of the Armed Forces.

Representative MAHON said service rivalry "has now gotten out of hand. It's very unwholesome and very wasteful and I think something has got to be done about it."

MAHON added that legislation probably would be required and that President Eisenhower could provide the impetus, if he could find the time to take a personal interest in the problem.

I say "Amen" to this opinion from one of the most experienced and informed Members of Congress with respect to the military budget. Congressman MAHON has been on this Military Subcommittee for over 17 years.

First, on January 16, the President said, "this is a carefully balanced budget—well adapted to the needs of the present and the future."

On January 17, however, his own Secretary of the Treasury said, "There are a lot of places in this budget that can be cut."

On January 24, the President then shifted. He said: "Congress has the duty to cut the budget."

But later, on April 3, the President said there was no chance for a substantial cut such as $2 billion.

But the very same day, Assistant Secretary Burgess of the Treasury Department stated he believed the budget should be cut 2 to 3 billion dollars.

Later, the President was reported as saying the budget was right and he intended to fight for it.

But only this morning, on the radio, it was stated that a compromise was to be made; and that the administration would be willing to cut $500 million out of the foreign aid program.

Now I ask you: What is a Member of Congress to think?

Obviously the Congress is at sea as to where, and to just what extent, the President believes a particular department should be reduced.

But we do have some guidance from some of our Members. Based on Representative MCCORMACK's remarks, Congressman MAHON's position, and statements made on a telecast last night by Chairman RUSSELL, of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and above all, the conclusions of the administration's own Cordiner Manpower Committee, it is clear a tremendous amount can be saved for the American taxpayer annually if the administration will go through with those savings that can be made without any sacrifice whatever to national security.

According to one of our outstanding military associations, however, the Air Force Association, the Bureau of the Budget has turned back as unsatisfactory the Defense Departments' draft of legislation designed to put the Cordiner proposals into operation.

This action was taken, according to Mr. John P. Henebry, president of that association, in the face of assurances by Secretary Wilson that the proposed legislation would require no increase in the defense budget already submitted to Congress.

Further, the proposed legislation was rejected with the knowledge that it represented the unanimous opinion of the Secretary of Defense, the Secretaries of the three military departments, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as an essential contribution to the Nation's defense.

Let me emphasize that this is not a problem of the Air Force alone—but one which impacts equally upon the combat effectiveness of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines.

I, for one, am not averse to manpower management suggestions from one of the world's greatest industrial experts, designed to save $5 billion, with no decrease whatever in our military strength; and at this session I intend to introduce legislation to that end. In fact, I already have such legislation in draft status.

We owe it to ourselves and to the Nation to countenance no further delays in carrying out a program for maximum utilization of military manpower at minimum cost.

Congressman Long's Fight for Food and Drug Administration's Appropriation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

HOUSEWIVES UNITED,
Washington, D. C., April 28, 1957.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LONG: If every housewife in your district could know of the splendid work you did in the House when you helped restore the funds to the Food and Drug Administration, you would reap a deserved harvest of thanks and votes.

This is to express the appreciation of our organization—strictly amateur, but so deadly in earnest you would scarcely believe—for what you did.

FLORENCE C. KERR,
Legislative Chairman.

HOUSEWIVES UNITED,
Washington, D. C., April 25, 1957.

The EDITOR,
The Alexandria Town Talk,
Alexandria, La.

DEAR SIR: Members of the Washington group of Housewives United (an unpaid lobby of housewives for housewives) would like, through your paper, to congratulate the housewives in the Eighth District of Louisiana on the fine work their Congressman, the Honorable GEORGE S. LONG, did for them recently in the House of Representatives in Washington, D. C.

It was during debate on the floor of the House: The question was whether or not to accept the amendment made by Representative CHARLES R. JONAS, of North Carolina, to cut the requested appropriation of the Food and Drug Administration by $1,327,000.

As wives and mothers who run our households on budgets, we are quite economy-minded ourselves. But we are not for economy at all costs. And we were not for economy then at the expense of the health and well-being of our families. There were other places where we felt the Federal budget might be cut, but not in the Food and Drug Administration.

The FDA is, of course, the only Federal agency we have to protect us from filthy and contaminated food, dangerous drugs, quack apparatus, and economic cheats. Also, because of the terrific increase in the number of new drugs and powerful chemicals and new techniques of food processing, there has never been a time when there was so much for the FDA to do—or so many people to do it for.

And yet, although the volume and complexity of the job have increased tremendously, the FDA has been operating approximately on a prewar budget. Always mindful of the taxpayer, this agency has asked for small sums (as Government figures go), with no "padding."

But Congress, in the last 10 years, has cut even this small budget several times, so that the danger point was reached years

ago. In spite of valiant efforts by FDA personnel, the American people have not been getting the protection they should have. More scientists, more inspectors, better laboratories are desperately needed now.

Your Representative, Mr. LONG, knew these things. And on March 26 he made a fine speech in Congress in favor of giving the FDA the appropriation asked for (which had already been approved by the President's Bureau of the Budget and by the House Appropriations Committee).

In the end, your Congressman's point of view won out. The requested appropriation was granted.

We know that Mr. LONG's constituents must be very proud.

And housewives all over the country should be grateful to these constituents who sent him to Washington.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. LOUIS B. WRIGHT,
President.
Mrs. ROBERT Y. KERR,
Legislative Chairman.

P. S.: The cost of this protection that the FDA wants to give us is less than 6 cents per person per year—less than the price of a comic book; less than the price of a Sunday newspaper.

The Evanston Meeting of the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I had the honor recently of attending as a guest speaker the mock assembly of the United Nations held in Evanston, Ill. This was the first adult mock proceedings held in the United States that I know of, and I found it to be a faithful reproduction of the actual operation of the General Assembly. This demonstration of the inner workings of the U. N. had the basic goal of self-education of the participants, rather than announcement of resolutions regarding international relations. This was a very significant contribution to public appreciation of the policies and programs of this world forum.

Under leave to extend my remarks I am including the following excerpts from the April 17 Christian Science Monitor article describing this meeting:

The results will almost certainly be studied, and probably duplicated, by communities elsewhere, for the "Evanston U. N.," as local participants described it, is considered a full success.

It has shown the community the nature of the United Nation's problems. It has presented an insight into the natural limitations of a world forum operating without its own military might. Moreover, it has acted as a spur to Evanstonians to search out and consider the viewpoints and backgrounds of distant lands.

To the Northwestern University professor who remarked that "this type of meeting could not have happened here 5 years ago," the "Evanston U. N." is also an important milestone. It is proof, he explained, that the United Nations, now has become an "American" institution.

To residents of this high-income, Republican, North Shore community, he observed, the United Nations once was a protégé of the Democrats. Then a Republican administration took office, accepted the U. N. and worked with it through crisis and calm.

* * * * *

No one knows the hours spent in gathering background data before the first plenary session opened in the vast Evanston Township High School March 22. This preparatory work even included several trips to New York. But everyone was in agreement concerning at least one thing—every minute had been worth the enjoyment obtained. They would have preferred to spend even more time.

* * * * *

When a mock U. N. meeting or political convention is set up by a university, there is a supervisory framework and a body of potential delegates ready at hand. Evanston had neither of these things.

Such project organizers as Mrs. Culler, Mrs. William Lems, Mrs. Franz Plunder, Eric Grimwade, and Emily Hollingsworth could only guess from suggestions or hints from their friends who would be enthusiastic about participating in a mock U. N. session. When, after hours on the phone, they found someone who would like to take part, they had no idea how effective a delegate he or she would be.

Business in Evanston and Chicago went on as usual. Delegates to the "Evanston U. N." could work as delegates only after hours and they received no credits or merit points for their efforts.

* * * * *

When Mrs. George B. Wendt, a delegate from Hungary, broke down while denouncing an Australian resolution on the Near East, denounced the Kadar Government, and asked for asylum in the United States, she did so with a realism that momentarily frightened the Assembly. They assumed, for a few seconds, that she was suffering from "mike-fright." Even as other Hungarian delegates seized a microphone to charge her with conspiring with the West, Mrs. Wendt returned smiling, to be interviewed by WNUR-FM, a student radio station.

But the electrifying potential that was tangible here throughout the weeks of deliberations arose not from Soviet-American tensions, but out of the emotions stirred by the issue over Gaza and Suez and Aqaba. Even before a set of U. N. flags were hunted down, borrowed (from International Harvester Co.), and set up for the first formal sessions in the Evanston gym, spokesmen for the opposing forces there had made it apparent that the "Evanston model U. N." would have overtones of the real thing.

* * * * *

Opinion is still sharply divided as to whether this insertion of reality into the meetings was a help or a hindrance. Those who favor it believe that it added to the impetus of a month-long probe of distant world happenings.

Those opposed argue that it forced one particular issue into an unnatural focus and diverted delegates from a reasoned appraisal of international problems. Both camps agree, however, that in a university town less than an hour away from consular offices of most of the large nations of the globe, it is unlikely that this type of meeting can avoid some involvement with the world of professional propaganda and diplomacy.

* * * * *

As adopted, the Evanston U. N. resolution on the Middle East requests the Secretary-General to call a conference to negotiate a permanent peace in the Middle East. Members of the conference would include Arab nations and Israel as well as the permanent members of the U. N. Security Council. Its aim would include free transit for goods and persons throughout the area, and a U. N.-led program of development of the economic resources of the region. The Arab nations, excluding Egypt which abstained, voted against the resolution.

In its resolution regarding a world police force, Evanston delegates urged the earmarking, by the contributing nations, of a security force of troops not in excess of 1 million men, plus the recruitment, as individuals, of a U. N. guard force of 2,500. No one nation would supply more than 4 percent of the security forces.

The Evanston resolution on financial aid to undeveloped lands is perhaps its most ambitious pronouncement. It calls for a commission to formulate a broad new plan of aid on a scale commensurate with the pressing needs of the world, giving particular attention to methods for obtaining increasing capital. It calls on member U. N. nations to make voluntary contributions for these purposes of one-twentieth of 1 percent of their national incomes and recommends that ways be opened for individuals to purchase bonds to finance development work.

Edgar F. Kaiser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call attention to the address of my colleague, the gentleman from West Virginia, the Honorable CLEVELAND M. BAILEY, on the occasion of his presentation of a plaque to Mr. Edgar F. Kaiser, the adopted son of West Virginia. The presentation was made on May 4, 1957, at the Son and Daughter Banquet of the West Virginia Society of the District of Columbia, which was held in the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D. C. Representative BAILEY's address follows:

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE CLEVELAND M. BAILEY, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE WEST VIRGINIA SOCIETY OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ON PRESENTATION OF A PLAQUE TO EDGAR F. KAISER, ADOPTED SON OF WEST VIRGINIA, ON MAY 4, 1957

Mr. President, my colleagues in the Congress, other honored guests, officers and members of the West Virginia Society of the District of Columbia, fellow West Virginians:

The task assigned me tonight is a distinct pleasure. Knowing, as I do, the vast potentials of my State in the way of natural and human resources and of its susceptibility to industrial development, I speak for every West Virginian when I say, "We welcome with open arms" the presence in our State of the world-wide Kaiser affiliated companies.

The decision of this great concern, with its farflung network of industries to locate one of their major operations at Ravenswood, W. Va., was indeed a godsend to the lagging economy of my State which at the time was staggering under the loss of markets for its vast producttion of bituminous coal. Others of its industries were menaced by foreign imports. The situation in 1954 was one of gloom and despair.

Today our major industry, coal, has picked up some export business and is getting back to normal. A smile has replaced the look of despair in the face of our industrial leaders. I attribute this to the realization on the part of giant industrial concerns like this one that there are great possibilities in West Virginia. Now that the Kaiser industries has, so to speak, "broken the ice", we may

well expect others to take advantage of our great resources and available labor supply.

The Kaiser aluminum organization is investing in Ravenswood, W. Va., $200 million for the construction of facilities which will include a fully integrated reduction plant, a sheet mill, and a foil rolling mill.

During the first phase of construction, they are employing 800 West Virginians. These three plants will be completed in 1958.

When the project is completed, they expect to have 6,000 West Virginia employees to operate the facility.

As of today, the total number of employees in the Kaiser aluminum is 18,000. When the 6,000 West Virginians are added next year, the total will be 24,000 persons. A fourth of their entire organization will be composed of West Virginia residents.

In 1947, when Kaiser first entered the aluminum field, their net sales were $45 million; their net earnings were $5 million. In 1956, their net sales were $300 million, with net earnings of $38 million.

When completed, this facility will burn 1,660,000 tons of West Virginia bituminous coal annually. This will greatly stabilize our coal industry, give us added purchasing power, and stimulate business generally.

The man our society seeks to honor tonight is Edgar F. Kaiser. The name, Henry J. Kaiser, is a household name throughout the Nation. Our honored guest is, as we quite often say in West Virginia, "a chip off the old block." He is one of the Nation's youngest major industrialists, possesses all of the business acumen, energy, and devotion to accomplishment that has characterized his famous father, Henry J. Kaiser.

At 48, he is responsible for the overall day-to-day operations of a billion-dollar industrial organization—the worldwide Kaiser affiliated companies.

Responsibility came to Edgar Kaiser at an early age. He was one of the "kids" of whom an Army engineer referred when he said, "Kaiser won at Bonneville because his kids were too green to know when they were licked."

The Kaiser organization, fresh from participation in the building of Hoover Dam, was warned that the raging waters of the Columbia were a different story. The native Indians had a legend that no man would ever walk across the Columbia. Government engineers were doubtful that a dam could be built. However, the "kids" plowed ahead. Twenty-five-year-old Edgar Kaiser was project manager for the construction of the main spillway. The river was diverted into half its channel in order that the dam could be built one-half at a time. Bonneville was completed in 4 years, 1 year ahead of schedule.

Edgar Kaiser's next giant step, at 34, was shipbuilding, through which the Kaiser organization gained further international renown by producing more vessels than any other shipbuilder in history—faster and cheaper than they had ever been built before. The Kaiser shipyards constructed 1,490 ships during World War II—approximately one-third of the entire United States merchant shipping—turning them out in as short a time as 4½ days from keel laying to launching. In the building of 819 Liberty ships alone, Kaiser saved more than one-third of the average time required by other Liberty shipbuilders.

The three Pacific Northwest yards in the Portland area, under the general managership of Edgar Kaiser, had the additional job of producing 50 small aircraft carriers to take the offensive against submarines and also carry the war to the Japanese-held islands in the Pacific. The carriers were launched at the phenomenal rate of one a week. Admiral Howard Vickery of the United States Maritime Commission called the Portland yard not only the finest in the United States, but in the entire world. Britain's Winston Churchill declared that the baby flattops were the most effective instrument in destroying the submarine menace.

When the Kaiser organization went into the automotive business in 1945, Edgar Kaiser, then 37, became general manager of the company's giant plant at Willow Run, Mich. He later assumed the presidency of the firm to become one of the youngest chief executives in the Nation's automobile industry.

The infant motorcar company found it virtually impossible to buy steel and other necessities on the open market and literally scoured the world for materials with which to make the 18,000 parts, which comprised their first passenger car, Mr. Kaiser recalls, and I quote:

"We pioneered the first extensive use of bartering in the auto business. For instance, a radiator firm could not obtain enough copper to supply us regularly; the copper producer was unable to increase output because he needed additional natural gas; the gas company could not deliver because it was unable to obtain steel pipe; and steel companies lacked pig iron to make the pipe because their blast furnaces were short on coke. So, we began a series of bartering transactions, first finding a supply of coke for the steel producers, then trading our way up the line, and eventually getting the radiators we needed."

In June 1955 Edgar Kaiser appeared before a Senate judiciary subcommittee investigating the vast share of the automobile industry held by General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler. Although a major producer of commercial vehicles and sole manufacturer of the world-famous Jeep, Kaiser-Willys had produced only a small percentage of the passenger cars sold in 1954. Despite this, Mr. Kaiser said, "So long as you have the competition that exists today, there is no need to limit the size of automobile manufacturing companies."

An editorial in the Times, of Toledo, Ohio, hometown of Willys Motors, commented: "* * * Mr. Kaiser was the industrial statesman, standing firmly on the American free-enterprise system, and did not cry for governmental restrictions on his competitors to give him a bigger place in the market."

Egdar Kaiser, the eldest of Henry Kaiser's 2 sons, was born July 29, 1908, at Spokane, Wash., 2 years after his father had come west. His first part-time job in the Kaiser organization, while he still was in high school at Oakland, Calif., was issuing material slips to trucks delivering sand and gravel on a paving project.

In July 1955 he returned to the sand and gravel plant at Radum, Calif., during its 25th anniversary. The local newspapers said editorially: "If the Kaiser organization needed an emissary to win friends, he was present in Edgar Kaiser. * * * His manner of speaking was earnest, sincere, with a naturalness, a magnetic power, which instantly won him acclaim, made people who had never seen him before feel they were lifelong friends. * * * It was the simplicity of his presentation which made his message so personal, so deeply convincing."

Edgar Kaiser attended the University of California, majoring in economics, but left college in 1930 just one-half year short of obtaining his degree in order to accept a position as superintendent for a natural-gas pipeline project linking Kansas to the Southwest oil fields, which was followed by a similar job on a pipeline from Cut Bank to Butte, Mont. When the Kaiser organization joined the Six Companies, Inc., in the mammoth joint venture of its time—Hoover Dam—he cut his teeth in dam building as boss of an excavation crew.

Today, among his major offices, he is president and director of Kaiser Industries Corp., Henry J. Kaiser Co. and its operating divisions—Kaiser Engineers and Sand & Gravel, Henry J. Kaiser Construction Co., Kaiser Engineers International, Inc., Henry J. Kaiser Co. (Canada), Ltd., and Willys Motors, Inc.; a vice president and director of Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. and Kaiser Steel Corp.; a vice president of Permanente Cement Co., Kaiser Gypsum Co., Inc., Glacier Sand & Gravel Co., Permanente Steamship Corp., and Kaiser Community Homes; vice chairman of the board of Kaiser Center, Inc.; a director of Industrias Kaiser Argentina, S. A., and Kaiser Aircraft & Electronics Corp.; and a trustee and president of Kaiser Foundation.

He is a director of the Automobile Manufacturers Association of Detroit, a life member of the Automobile Old Timers, New York, and the Washtenau Historical Society, Ann Arbor, Mich.; a trustee of the A. M. A. Automotive Safety Foundation, and the San Francisco Bay Area Council; the Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art, and a member of the following clubs and associations: Arlington Club, Portland, Oreg.; American Society of Civil Engineers, New York; Big C. Society, University of California; Claremont Country Club, Oakland, Calif.; Chi Psi Fraternity; Commonwealth Club of California, San Francisco; Detroit Club, Detroit; the Recess Club, New York; the Newcomen Society of England, American branch, Automotive Engineers, New York; Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, New York; and the Toledo, Ohio, Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Kaiser was married to the former Sue Mead in Washington, D. C., in August 1932. They are the parents of six children: Carlyn (Mrs. Raymond D. Wehle, of Honolulu, T. H.); Becky Ann, a student at Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.; and Gretchen Fosburgh, Edgar F., Jr., Henry Mead, and Kim John, who reside at the Kaiser home at Lafayette, Calif.

The West Virginia Society of the District of Columbia wishes at this time to add just one more honor to the score or more you have already acquired in your eventful career. We wish to make you one of us. It is with this thought in mind that our society has asked me to welcome you as an adopted son of West Virginia by presenting you this plaque in appreciation of your personal achievements, and the accomplishments of the vast industrial empire you so ably administer.

May I assure you of our deep appreciation. Our thoughts and best wishes will always be for our adopted son.

A "Hard" Line

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 11, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I think that all of my colleagues should read the editorial comment in the Washington Post and Times Herald today on the administration's announced attitude toward pay increases for Government employees. Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that the editorial be printed:

A "HARD" LINE

With consumer prices still creeping steadily upward, this is not a time for "soft" wage settlements which tend to feed the inflationary spiral. But this does not mean that employees should not be reasonably protected from the diminution of their buying power, nor does it suggest that the Federal Government or any other large employer

ought to ask one group of employees to man the gates against inflation alone.

The administration's announced determination to resist any move for a general pay increase for Federal classified and postal workers seems not to take into account some elementary considerations of justice and fair play, to say nothing of the requirements of a sound wage policy. Since the last basic salary increase for classified and postal employees 2 years ago, living costs have risen about 4 percent. Average manufacturing salaries have climbed more than 11 percent (and some of this rise doubtless augmented inflationary pressures and might well have been held to a more modest level).

The Government has been obliged to recognize these pressures in its pay scales for the so-called per diem workers, whose salaries are adjusted to the prevailing rates for similar work in private industry. In consequence, a number of inequities have crept into the Federal pay structure, including situations in which classified supervisors receive less than their per diem subordinates. In 10 years, average per diem salaries have risen 72 percent, classified salaries 54 percent, and postal salaries 57 percent. In general the per diem workers have thus fared much better and have been kept more in line, salarywise, with their brothers in private industry. Even so, as the administration concedes, some adjustments are required immediately to attract qualified technically trained persons in the present competitive market for certain skills.

The administration appears to be taking an unnecessarily hard line in rejecting out of hand any kind of general Federal pay adjustment. The cost could well be accommodated in the budget despite the thin surplus which is envisaged. Congress ought to exercise great caution, of course, and try to see that Federal wages at least follow—and do not lead—the price-wage parade. But if the Government is to follow President Eisenhower's oft-stated principle that Federal workers should be treated as well as the employees of progressive private industry, some increase for classified and postal employees appears to be in order.

Depletion Allowance Urged for Shale Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, the Congress will, or at least it is my hope that the Congress will, be hearing a good deal in the days ahead about depletion allowance for shale oil; a depletion allowance like that now enjoyed by the petroleum industry for the conversion of shale into useful petroleum products and other hydrocarbon products as well.

The Governors of the Western States, meeting in convention in Reno, Nev., adopted a resolution favoring the granting of this depletion allowance. In addition, the dangerous and troubled conditions in the Mideast have given a heightened interest to domestic self-sufficiency in petroleum and petroleum by-products.

Another example might be the recent opening of a privately financed oil shale conversion pilot plant in western Colorado. This is a pilot plant which many hope will become the forerunner of a great new industry.

Thus, to provide a concise and competent guide for future reference in this area, I should like to include in my remarks an article on this subject, written by Roscoe Fleming, of Denver, Colo., for the Christian Science Monitor of May 7, 1957. I recommend this to the Members as a most helpful report on an important subject.

The article follows:

DEPLETION ALLOWANCE URGED FOR SHALE OIL

(By Roscoe Fleming)

DENVER.—The Western Conference of Governors, at the motion of Colorado's young Governor, Stephen L. R. McNicholas, has asked Congress to extend the depletion allowance tax privilege of the petroleum industry to oil made from shale.

Depletion allowance means that petroleum producers can set aside as tax-free 27.5 percent of gross income from their oil, not to exceed 50 percent of net, after charging off all exploration development and production costs. It is variously estimated to net oil producers up to $2 billion yearly, and it results in oil corporations paying about one-half the income tax, overall, that is paid by other corporations.

Under the present law it is not enjoyed by potential shale-oil producers, even though shale oil would compete for the same gasoline and other markets.

COST ESTIMATED

Shale producers generally enjoy a 5-percent depletion allowance. Under some interpretations of the law, shale-oil producers might enjoy a 15-percent one. But the margin is still great enough so that petroleum producers still enjoy a great advantage over their embryo competitor.

Some economists think this advantage is great enough so that if it were wiped out, the beginning date for a commercial United States shale-oil industry might be moved up as much as 5 years.

Even as things are now, it is variously estimated that a gallon of gasoline made from shale in a commercial-sized operation would cost only from 2 to 4 cents more than a gallon made from petroleum.

Governor McNichols is realistic enough to know that a Congress in which the oil industry is so evidently powerful is not about to reduce the oil industry's depletion allowance despite the battle put up to that end by Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois; JOHN A. CARROLL, Democrat, of Colorado; and JOHN J. WILLIAMS, Republican, of Delaware. So he put the motion instead to extend the oil industry's tax allowance to shale-oil production.

The ever-increasing estimates of the Nation's shale-oil reserves under 1,500 square miles of Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah, he said, now have reached the astronomical figure of 1¼ trillion barrels. This is enough to supply the Nation's anticipated oil requirements for 100 years; it is more than 60 times the United States petroleum reserves.

Economists estimate that a shale-oil industry supplying 2 million barrels daily in western Colorado would mean a new population there of 500,000 persons. This has proved a will-o'-the-wisp for a half century.

RESERVES DIVIDED UP

But under the Eisenhower administration and former Interior Secretary Douglas McKay, the $17 million Government research and pilot-plant project at Rifle, Colo., was closed last June 30 at the insistence of the private petroleum industry, which told the Government it was ready to take over.

A score of major oil companies or of interests affiliated with them have practically divided up the richest shale reserves, those which were in private ownership already before the Government retained the rest under the Minerals Leasing Act of 1920. Only one company, however, has made a major move in the direction of production.

This is Union Oil of California, which on May 18 will dedicate its $5 million research and pilot-plant retorting project at Grand Valley, Colo. The huge retort can process up to 480 tons of shale a day from the company's nearby mine in the "mahogany ledge" of richest shale. The company's reserves are estimated at 5 billion barrels of oil in this ledge alone, underlying about 40,000 acres.

The retort is of new design in which a "rock pump" forces the crushed shale up into a heated zone where the oil content is vaporized. The spent shale is still loaded with enough carbon to be burned to produce the heat which vaporizes the incoming shale, and so on.

The retort has already processed several thousand tons of shale with results which company experts say are satisfactory. However, the refining problem remains to be tackled, and this is the more complex because refining requires water, of which western Colorado is short.

SPOT REFINING

Some refining on the spot is required because crude shale oil is as viscid as molasses at ordinary temperatures and will not flow through a pipeline unless heated to nearly 100 degrees, which is clearly impracticable. It resembles a low-grade crude petroleum loaded with impurities. These are, however, potential chemical resources of great value.

For example, one estimate is that a shale-oil industry producing 2 million barrels of oil daily would also produce, as byproducts, 3,700 tons of ammonia daily, 1,700 tons of sulphur, 47,000 tons of coke, and a billion cubic feet of refinery gas.

Governor McNichols also maintains, however, that the Government's program to lead the way to a fuel supply derived from solid minerals such as coal and shale was instituted when Hitler's submarines were sinking tankers off the American coast and that the Suez crisis has shown that abandonment of the program was a dire mistake.

He says that the rapid beginning of a domestic fuel industry based on shale is in the national interest and that a tax amortization equal to that of oil is more than justified from the standpoint of national defense.

Another pioneer program financed by private industry is also operating now at the Denver Research Institute of the University of Denver, under Drs. Shirley Johnson and Charles Prien. This is financed by $250,000 from the Shale Oil Corp., of Los Angeles, which owns the American rights to the so-called Aspeco patents, held in Sweden, on a new method of retorting oil from shale. A pilot plant now in operation is capable of handling 24 tons of shale daily.

In this process, the crushed shale is tumbled in revolving steel drums such as the "classifiers" of the mining industry but in which ceramic balls heated to 1,000 degrees are tumbled with the shale. The oil comes off as vapor, and is cooled and reduced to liquid in another chamber alongside.

Meanwhile, the spent shale is routed back to keep the fires which heat the ceramic balls and also preheat the incoming shale. It still has enough carbon content to produce a high heat.

The economics of this process is described as advantageous enough to produce crude shale oil at the lowest cost yet.

Immigration Situation Cries for Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from the Hartford Courant of May 8 regarding the stagnant status of this Nation's immigration policy.

For many years I have been working for and advocating a more liberal immigration policy. As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee I have traveled throughout Europe and I have seen the damages of our stringent immigration regulaiton; damages to morale, damages to our international relations, damages to our prestige.

Recently I introduced legislation to admit some 50,000 more Hungarian refugees who are looking toward America for the freedom and opportunity which they lost at the hands of Communist terrorism in their homeland. The inequities in the McCarran-Walter law cry for correction. It is long past time that changes in our immigration policy were made. The following editorial forcefully supports this view:

LET'S HAVE SOME ACTION ON THE IMMIGRATION LAW

The visit of Italian Ambassador Manlio Brosio to Connecticut has spotlighted again the unfair and shortsighted provisions of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. Signor Brosio spoke to the General Assembly the day before the last shipload of some 1,042 refugees admitted under emergency regulations sailed past the Statue of Liberty into New York Harbor. The coincidence was not planned, for the Ambassador was more concerned with a continuing injustice—the effect of the national-origins quota system on immigration from Italy and other south European and Mediterranean countries.

He did not consider it as a political matter, of course. Italy's concern is her own problems, including a million and a half unemployed. But the nations that face the discrimination written into the immigration law are sensitive to it. And anyone who examines the provisions learns quickly that the law needs change. So President Eisenhower recommended in January, as he has in the past, that the law be corrected. He wants the present allowable annual intake of immigrants to be doubled—the economy can easily absorb that number—and he wants changes so that unused quotas can be shifted. Regrettably, it looks as if congressional roadblocks, including the formidable FRANCIS E. WALTER, Democratic House chairman of the legislative committee that has the proposals, are as strong as ever.

About two-thirds of the people of Connecticut stem from forebears who came 100 years ago or less from every section of the world. This State is conscious of the tremendous contributions they have made to our economy, to our culture. Today, when the State is in the grip of a tight labor market, it could use help, particularly skilled help. But it is denied skilled men from abroad by the McCarran-Walter Act.

Why should the national-origins quota system be changed? Put aside the suggestion that it is demeaning because it spreads the smell of racial theory. Note instead how senseless it is when we have a bulk quota of 154,000, of which some 60,000 numbers each year expire unused. Why aren't they used? Because they are reserved for West European countries where people are relatively content and don't want to emigrate. Elsewhere thousands clamor for a chance to come to this country. But they are blocked by the tiny quotas.

The episode of the Hungarian refugees who have become entangled in the hard set immigration policy is a stain on the American tradition. Thousands of Hungarian freedom fighters remain trapped in European camps, without much hope or promise. We have still to regularize the status of almost 25,000 Hungarians who were admitted. But these are fresh issues, still strong in popular support. We need also an awakening to the basically wrong national-origins system, and to the delaying tactics of Congressman WALTER. Pierce J. Gerety, former deputy administrator of the refugee program, recently warned here that American good will is being dissipated. The Italian immigration issue, fixed in circumstances that few Americans care to recall, is only one in which prompt and forthright correction is needed.

Our Share of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, within the near future we are going to be called upon to consider here upon the floor of the House the foreign aid appropriation bill. It will call for something like $4 billion and must come from the pockets of the taxpayers of this country. We in Illinois have certainly been called upon to pay through the nose for not only this program, but the many other so-called Federal-aid programs. The Peoria Journal Star in their editorial of Tuesday, May 7, points up what our foreign-aid program to date has cost each one of the individual taxpayers of my own hometown, Peoria, which is confronted with all the multitude of problems faced by other local communities throughout the Nation. We would do well to take the time to add up this staggering cost as reflected in these figures and let our conscience be our guide when the time comes for us to cast our vote on the foreign aid bill.

The editorial follows:

OUR SHARE OF FOREIGN AID

Retiring Councilman Robert McCord, singing his swan song a week ago, said that lack of finances was the principal problem facing the city of Peoria.

Mr. McCord didn't say that Peorians weren't paying enough in the form of taxes. He simply expressed the wish that more of the taxes they paid might go for local projects instead of into Federal and State coffers.

One of the places where Peoria tax money goes is into the foreign-aid program of the United States. During the last 17 years residents of this city have paid something like $130 million into the foreign-aid program. That kind of money would have accomplished a lot of the projects which this community needs.

The $130 million figure is reached by multiplying the $865 which the Library of Congress estimates is the share of each Illinois man, woman, and child of the total foreign-aid cost of $130,350,032,000 by the estimated 115,000 population of the city of Peoria. Illinois residents have paid more than the national average into the foreign-aid pot because the average Federal tax payment of residents of this State is greater than that of the Nation as a whole.

No one will claim that the entire foreign-aid program has been wasted although the value of much of the result is debatable. Nor will Peoria claim that this city has not received direct benefit from the giving of assistance to foreign lands. Some of the money has come back to us in wages paid by industrial plants which have profited by orders received from countries which have been foreign-aid recipients.

The $130 billion foreign-aid total includes lend-lease during World War II and grants and loans to foreign nations since the end of that conflict. Illinois share of the total payment was $7,535,857,996, of which $3,027,065,996 came from downstate.

Following the 1-percent formula, which is about Peoria's share of the national total, the 1957 $4,400,000,000 foreign-aid budget being asked by President Eisenhower would cost this community approximately $44,000,000. That's enough money to make us want our representatives in Congress to take an extremely careful look at past results before casting their votes on the request.

More Scholars Express Views

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, today I am presenting the views of three students of American Government who responded to my survey of opinion on the wisdom of the 22d amendment.

In undertaking this survey I asked the American Historical Society and the American Political Science Association to provide me with a representative list of scholars whose opinions I could solicit. I am proud to report that one of our colleagues, Congressman GEORGE MCGOVERN, of South Dakota, was included in the list provided by the American Historical Society. Prior to his successful campaign for a seat in Congress last year Congressman MCGOVERN had a distinguished academic career. He graduated from Dakota Wesleyan University with bachelor of arts degree, and later received his master's and doctorate of philosophy degrees from Northwestern University. Subsequently he was a professor of history and government at Dakota Wesleyan University for 3 years.

We are fortunate, indeed, to have in our midst a person who is at once a profound student of American history and an adept in the arts of practical politics.

The other replies I am including today came from Dr. Carl B. Swisher, of the political science department of Johns Hopkins University, and Dr. Clarence A. Berdahl, of the University of Illinois department of political science. The three replies follow:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., April 11, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN UDALL: I am gratified to receive your letter of April 18 inviting me to submit a personal opinion as to your proposed repeal of the 22d amendment. Permit me to say at the outset that I was opposed to this restrictive amendment at the time it was offered, and I have not changed my evaluation.

My basic reason for opposing the two-term limitation of the Presidency is the very real practical danger that it could deprive us of needed leadership at a time when a shift in the Presidency would jeopardize our national security. Notwithstanding its commonplace usage, there is still a measure of truth in the warning against "trading horses in the middle of the stream." I believe, for example, that had President Lincoln been spared assassination and had he been elected for a third term, he might have steered the Nation away from some of the tragic excesses of the post-Civil War years. I believe with equal certainty that the election of President Roosevelt to a third term in 1940 was an essential part in the eventual victory of the allied powers over the Nazi scourge.

On a more theoretical plane, I favor the repeal of the two-term limitation of the Presidency because such a restriction weakens the operation of our democratic process. If the people are wise enough to elect a President, are they not also wise enough to know when a President should be voted out of power? If the voters do not have sufficient wisdom to recognize when a President has served his useful purposes, how can we trust the institution of free elections in any circumstance?

There is the further argument against the two-term limitation which you develop in your own statement that such a limitation weakens the political influence of a President in his second term. Several able observers have already noted a decline in President Eisenhower's "hold" on his own party Members in the Congress which may be attributed in part to the feeling that the President will not be a factor in the next Presidential election.

I wish you every success in your efforts to bring about the repeal of the 22d amendment.

Sincerely yours,
GEORGE MCGOVERN.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
Baltimore, Md., April 22, 1957.

The Honorable STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. UDALL: This is in reply to your request for an opinion on the advisability of repealing the 22d amendment to the Constitution. I agree with the implication in House Joint Resolution 182 that during the past two decades we have handled badly the problem of time limits on the presidential term. I believe that the tradition limiting each President to two consecutive terms was a sound one and that it should have been disregarded only under the most extreme circumstances. From the point of view of hindsight I think we made a mistake in reelecting President Roosevelt to a third term in 1940, and that the country would have been better off with a new President who by one reelection might have been able to serve through the war and the war settlement down to 1949 without the awkward transition which came with President Roosevelt's illness and death. I think we made a countermistake in adoption of the 22d amendment forbidding under any circumstances the reelection to this killing office of any President for more than two consecutive terms, thereby to some unmeasured extent limiting the political power of each reelected President by partial sterilization during his second term.

However, in view of the fact that the 22d amendment is now a part of the Constitution and that the arguments against multiple terms are as sound now as ever before, I doubt the advisability of repealing the amendment without very careful consideration. Repeal would do more than obliterate the amendment itself. It would devitalize what remains of the tradition against service for more than two consecutive terms and carry with it an implication of approval of continued reelection of "indispensable" Presidents—an approval that ought to be given only under most unusual circumstances. Currently I see no man in either of our major parties whose genius for democratic leadership and capacity for survival under great pressure seem likely to make desirable a further departure from the principle that the period of presidential service shall be limited. While I think it unfortunate that the political power of President Eisenhower should be currently limited by the knowledge that he cannot constitutionally be reelected for a third term—if it is so limited, and the cause-and-effect evidence is less clear than I had expected it to be—the price is one that we may have to pay for the unwise abandonment of the third-term tradition in 1940 and the adoption of the 22d amendment in 1951.

Deeply involved in the problem here under consideration is the fact that our Constitution is in every sense a constitution and not merely a code of law subject to change according to the whims of the moment. It is for this reason that we have been able to function since 1789 with only 22 constitutional amendments. Only in the instance of the 18th amendment have we used the amending process to import statutory material, which in that instance we had to eliminate by still another amendment. Such mistakes should be kept at a minimum. Now that we have the 22d amendment, the repeal of which would imply much more in the way of approval of multiple terms than many of us would wish to give, I am inclined to believe that we should live with the amendment and make the best of it. If we were to hit a crisis so great that the services of an incumbent President became absolutely indispensable, we could move with phenomenal speed to get the amendment out of the way. But the theory of indispensability is always suspect, and I doubt the advisability of taking now a step that would be interpreted as giving far more than I believe the people want to give in the way of approval of reelection for multiple consecutive terms.

Very sincerely yours,
CARL B. SWISHER.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS,
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
Urbana, Ill., April 24, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN UDALL: I have noticed the views of a number of my political science colleagues on the third-term amendment, and I am pleased that most of them are against this amendment and in favor of its repeal. I should like to add a brief statement about the adoption of this amendment, which very few seem to notice, but which seems to me to be very important. The point is that on final passage in the House, on March 21, 1947, the recorded vote was 81–29. That vote of 81 in favor of the amendment was more than two-thirds of the vote cast, but was 65 less than two-thirds of a quorum, the very minimum required by the Constitution. In fact, the total vote cast in the House on that amendment (110) is 108 less than a quorum.

It seems to me, therefore, that the amendment was not constitutionally adopted at all, and that, had a case been brought soon after this action by the House, the Supreme Court would probably have held it unconstitutional. I am aware that the courts do not generally go behind the record, but in this case the record is clear. In fact, a member made the point of no quorum and then withdrew it, but gallery correspondents noticed and reported the obvious lack of a quorum. Now that ratification has been achieved, however, and everybody assumes the amendment to be a part of the Constitution, I suppose the courts might refuse to hold otherwise; but even so, there is surely good argument against the amendment in this rather high-handed procedure of its adoption.

Sincerely yours,
CLARENCE A. BERDAHL,
Professor of Political Science.

Cartoon Prize Is Little's Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, leave having been obtained, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial appearing in the Nashville Tennessean May 7, 1957, relative to a local cartoonist having been selected as the Pulitzer prizewinner of 1956 for the best newspaper cartoon.

Mr. Tom Little, cartoonist for the Nashville Tennessean, has received many awards for his outstanding work in his field and it is indeed fitting that he was awarded the Pulitzer prize for the best newspaper cartoon in 1956.

In view of the fact that Mr. Little has drawn many political cartoons during the last 25 years which have received national attention, I deem it appropriate to call it to the attention of the Nation, and to the Members of Congress, through this medium that a distinguished southern cartoonist, the Honorable Tom Little, of the Nashville Tennessean, has received this outstanding award for 1956.

The editorial follows:

TOP CARTOON PRIZE IS LITTLE'S REWARD

That the best newspaper cartoon for 1956 was drawn by Tom Little, of this newspaper, is attested by his selection for the Pulitzer prize.

Many other honors have been bestowed upon this brilliant artist, but this is the most coveted one of them all. It is the hallmark of excellence in the national field, and in this case tribute to his public service as well as his rare skill at the drawing board.

When in the early part of last year, Tom Little sat down to use his crayon to stimulate the lagging Salk vaccine program he was moved only by the need to drive home a message that was all important. He was thinking in terms of children who were left unprotected from polio through no fault of their own. He felt the need of an appeal to thoughtless parents.

The cartoon he drew carried the title: "Wonder Why My Parents Didn't Give Me

Salk Shots?" It depicted a crippled child with braces on his legs watching other children at play. It opened the eyes of many persons, millions of them perhaps. For not only was this word-picture used to blanket Tennessee, with happy results, it was soon in nationwide demand.

For Tom Little this was a labor of love, for it dealt with something close to his heart. It proved again that the man who pulled no punches in political warfare had a soft spot in his heart for the unfortunate and underprivileged, and especially the children who are so dependent on the help and understanding of adults.

The message that was thus sent out by an artist's hand carried far indeed, and in this respect alone the rewards were gratifying even before the Pulitzer award was announced.

Looking back upon his beginnings, Mr. Little recalls his association, as a youth, with Carey Orr, who was then cartoonist of the Tennessean. He was quick to profit by Mr. Orr's instruction and guidance, and when he took over the editorial-page position he was equipped for his work.

For some 20 years his bold drawings have stamped him as one of the most effective and imaginative cartoonists in the land. And much of his success can be attributed to the firm foundations that were laid as a practical newspaperman who found the police round fascinating and later on, the busy city desk a challenge.

Evolving his own techniques after serious experimentation, he chose the lithograph crayon as the best medium for presenting an uncluttered cartoon which carried an impact. Many of his political cartoons, those including the Roosevelt era as well as the Eisenhower regime, have been classics. He originated, for instance, the idea of Governor Thomas Dewey of New York as the little man on the wedding cake, and was unimpressed when warned by Republican political leaders in New York that this was an affront to "the next President of the United States."

In the give-and-take of politics, he believes in calling a spade by that name and this he has done with forthrightness and courage.

Not only have the Little cartoons been among the most widely copied, he has been singled out for distinction on numerous occasions. There was the Headliners' Award for the best cartoon for 1947, two Freedom Foundation citations, three National Safety Council awards, and the Christopher award sponsored by a national organization of the Catholic Church.

For Tom Little's associates on this newspaper, there is pride and satisfaction over the distinction that has come to him and we are sure that feeling is shared by his friends in Tennessee and those over the Nation who know him personally or by his works. The sincerity of his endeavors and the scope of his unique artistry have given him his due niche in the cartoonists' hall of fame, where he has every reason to feel very much at home.

No One Is Better

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, shortly before he died, the Honorable J. Mark Wilcox, a former distinguished Floridian and a Member of this body, wrote the following poem which I would like to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Mrs. Wilcox, who is presently residing in my congressional district, was in my office not long ago, and it is through her thoughtfulness that I have this poem available for all to read.

The poem follows:

NO ONE IS BETTER
(By J. Mark Wilcox)

Why do we change our choice of friends as often as the weather?
Why don't we bury selfishness and try to get together?
Why don't we understand, at least, that we are here on earth—
Not to be better than the rest—but just of equal worth.
If we are more intelligent than somebody or the other—
It is only by the grace of God to help us help a brother.
And if we gather wealth and fame—much less is the excuse to keep—
Our talent to ourselves for our own selfish use
Because these talents are the gifts that come from our Creator
And our responsibility is ever so much greater.

The Will of Mr. Girard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, we have again witnessed just how far the so-called Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States will go in trying to bring about amalgamation of the races and the destruction of our way of life in this great country.

I refer to the decision in the so-called Girard case. This decision was commented on very forcefully in the editorials appearing on Friday, May 3, 1957, in the Richmond News-Leader, and on Sunday, May 5, 1957, in the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

The editors of these two papers are men of outstanding ability, and I commend to the Members of the House of Representatives these two editorials in the hope that they will be read and digested, and in the further hope that at least a majority of the Members will realize what is happening in this country and what will happen to the individuals in this country if the iniquitous civil-rights legislation is passed.

I planned to insert both of these editorials at this point in the RECORD, but the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] has already inserted the Times-Dispatch editorial entitled "The Law Is Stretched Again." I therefore include herewith the splendid editorial from the News-Leader:

THE WILL OF MR. GIRARD

On the day after Christmas of 1831, a man named Stephen Girard died in Philadelphia. He was a native of Bordeaux who had accumulated great wealth in the New World. Toward the end of his life, men remembered him as a lame, rather pathetic figure, blind in one eye, who stumbled about the streets of Philadelphia, the target of stones and jeers from urchins who mocked him.

But when he died—and this was in 1831—he left $6 million in trust for the establishment of a school (he termed it a college) for the education of "poor white male orphans." This was in 1831 (there is a purpose in repeating the date); it was 37 years before the 14th amendment became part of the Constitution, 126 years before the Supreme Court of the United States convened this past Monday.

And on this past Monday, the Supreme Court of the United States—by a unanimous opinion—reached back 126 years to thwart the will of Stephen Girard. It was his misfortune, ruled the Court, not to have read the works of Gunnar Myrdal; Mr. Girard could not know, in 1826, when he wrote his will, or in 1831, when he died, that he must not "turn back the clock to 1868 or 1896"; this frugal French immigrant was untutored in the new sociology. The clear provisions of his will—as presently administered—were ruled a violation of the 14th amendment, which Mr. Girard never saw.

After Stephen Girard's death, Girard College was in fact established, but the institution fell upon hard times. Ultimately, its administration was turned over to trustees appointed by the board of city trusts. It is today a thriving institution, not dependent in any way upon tax funds. In the words of the Philadelphia Bulletin, it is an institution that has been doing "outstanding work for more than a century."

But the misfortune of Girard College was that downtown Philadelphia began to deteriorate around it. The neighborhood declined, and a year or so ago two Negro youths sought, by compulsory court process, to force their way in. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court, by a 5 to 1 decision last November, refused to void the will of Stephen Girard. The Pennsylvania court said this:

"It is one of our most fundamental legal principles that an individual has a right to dispose of his property by gift or will as he sees fit. This right is so much protected that a testator's directions will be enforced even though contrary to the general views of society. * * *

"The question narrows down, then, to the contention that the trust is not a private trust but that it comes under the State-action rule because the city of Philadelphia administers the trust. But * * * the fact is that the school is solely responsible for its own policies and management. Its employees are not employees of the city, but of the trust estate. All provisions of the will show that this was not intended to be a public school. Therefore, the situation is not to be confused with the United States Supreme Court's segregation cases."

But on Monday, the Supreme Court thus confused the situation. On Monday, the Supreme Court ruthlessly jettisoned this most fundamental legal principle that a man may dispose of his own property as he sees fit. On Monday, the high court coolly asserted that "the board which operates Girard College is an agency of the State of Pennsylvania," and therefore, "even though the board was acting as trustee, its refusal to admit Foust and Felder to the college because they were Negroes was discrimination by the State." And racial separation, though never prohibited to the States by the Constitution, has been prohibited to the States by the Supreme Court since May 17, 1954. See *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, said the Court, 347 U. S. 483.

This bland decree of the Court, in some respects, goes farther than the Court ever has gone before. It violates some of the most sacred principles of chancery law and State-Federal jurisprudence. It intrudes upon long-established rules by which the States alone fix their laws of descent and distribution. It imposes upon a will probated in

1831 a constitutional amendment ratified in 1868 as amended by the Supreme Court in 1954.

It is possible, of course, though it is not likely for political reasons, that the Philadelphia Board of Trusts will render the Court's opinion moot simply by abandoning its trusteeship. But if this should happen, and new trustees should be appointed, the far-reaching damage done by the Court's decision on Monday will remain. What the Court ruled is that not even the dead are safe from the social dicta of an integrationist high tribunal; not even the most sacred obligations of trustee or fiduciary may rise above the whims of judges determined to forsake old law for a new sociology.

Farm Bureau Favors Trinity Partnership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert the following editorial which appeared in the April 25 issue of the Chico Enterprise-Record.

FARM BUREAU FAVORS TRINITY PARTNERSHIP

The California Farm Bureau—presenting the case of "the man with the shovel"—has taken a firm stand in favor of use of President Eisenhower's partnership plan as regards the power aspects of the Trinity River project.

The "man with the shovel" is the irrigating farmer. The farm bureau says the farmer is primarily interested in two things: "The first is sufficient water at a reasonable price for the operation of his farm. The second is sufficient power, also at a reasonable cost, to operate his pumps."

On behalf of those farmers—of which there are many thousands in California—the farm bureau offers well-founded facts and opinions which should carry considerable weight with Representative CLAIR ENGLE and Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL, who thus far have opposed Secretary of Interior Seaton's recommendation for use of Ike's partnership plan on Trinity.

In a policy statement in the April issue of California Farm Bureau Monthly, the farm bureau says:

"Cooperative construction and operation of the Trinity River project (P. G. & E. and Federal Government using the partnership plan) would accomplish several beneficial results. It would firm up the generation of Central Valley power and make better use of available water. It would place a more solid foundation under the generation of power and use of water in irrigation toward the encouragement of long-range planning of agricultural progress. It would create the basis for unified production of electrical power and make available constant supplies at lowest possible prices.

"In the sale of Federal power, it is a well-known fact that such power is first offered to preference customers at substantially lower rates than are charged users buying from private utilities. There appears to be a feeling that, because power is sold by the Government, it is less expensive to produce. This is a misapprehension. Power-production costs are substantially the same, no matter what organization or agency produces it. The difference lies in the fact that the Government pays no taxes. As a matter of fact, Government powerplants are built with tax money. Actually, general taxpayers in California and the entire Nation foot the bill for the difference in price. This amounts to a subsidized electrical service to certain buyers which resell the power to individual users at a cost lower than they could buy it from private industry. Consequently, the difference in the cost of the so-called cheap Government power and the cost of production of that power is paid for by the taxpayers of the State and the Nation.

"Among those taxpayers are farmers, using the power purchased at established rates, to pump their irrigation water and operate their equipment. They are bearing a portion of the tax load which rightfully belongs to the 'preferred' customers.

"It may be recalled that the Federal Government is at present serving certain preference customers. This situation is acceptable as long as these customers are United States Government installations. The situation becomes unacceptable, however, when municipalities resell Government power to private customers at rates cheaper than it could have been purchased from the power industry. This creates a condition of competition between private industry and the Federal Government.

"The situation becomes additionally unacceptable when the Government seeks to add to its power facilities, through the construction and operation of installations such as the proposed facility at Trinity River, and then further enters the competitive power field by seeking to find additional preference customers for Federal power. This practice is not in keeping with American principles and is adverse to the best interests of the people.

"Preference practices give special advantages to a very small minority at the expense of the majority. This is unjustifiable discrimination. Since public power is produced with taxpayers' money, and since public-power installations are not taxed, taxpayers themselves become the losers in the operation of public powerplants.

"Under partnership proposals made in connection with the Trinity River project, the Federal Government would make an immediate saving of $55 million in construction costs alone. This could be made available for the further development of irrigation in the Central Valley. In addition, $3,500,000 yearly paid by the private utility for falling water, plus $2,700,000 each year on the Trinity power facilities would greatly reduce the need for Government money in the construction and operation of the project and would represent a saving to the taxpayers."

We believe those statements by the farm bureau admirably point up the basic point that the farmers of California are not in favor of paying taxes to provide special power price benefits for the so-called "preference" customers. The farmers have their own electrical bills to pay, so they are not eager to pay part of another man's bill, even though the other man may, in the eyes of Representative ENGLE and Senator KUCHEL, be considered a "preference" customer.

President Eisenhower's "partnership" plan operates on the basis of economy in Federal spending and fair treatment of all taxpayers.

Letter From Dr. Francis B. Sayre, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. DURHAM
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to insert a letter which I have received from Dr. Francis B. Sayre, Jr., dean of Washington Cathedral:

WASHINGTON CATHEDRAL,
May 2, 1957.

The Honorable CARL T. DURHAM,
Joint Committee on Atomic Energy,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DURHAM: I have recently seen a copy of the letter which the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy wrote to the President urging the reappointment of Mr. Thomas E. Murray to the Atomic Energy Commission. I hope that the fact the President has taken no action means that he is giving careful and favorable consideration to the letter your committee has written. I would like to associate myself with the views expressed in your letter and to say that from my point of view Mr. Murray has brought a sense of moral responsibility and religious sensitivity to the exercise of his duties in a remarkable way. Although he is not a member of the church I have the honor to represent I have come to have the highest respect for his public utterances and his service to the American people.

It is my hope, too, that the President will see fit to reappoint Mr. Murray.

Faithfully yours,

FRANCIS B. SAYRE, Jr.,
Dean.

Decision on Nashville VA Hospital of National Concern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, leave having been granted to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include herein an editorial appearing in the Nashville Tennessean under date of May 7, 1957, relative to the construction of a Veterans' Administration hospital at Nashville to cost in the neighborhood of $10,500,000.

The location of this hospital is being debated in Nashville by a number of interested parties. The present Veterans' Administrator, the Honorable A. V. Higley, has stated that the hospital should be located on property presently owned by the Veterans' Administration. Many members of the medical profession and the former Chief Medical Director for the Veterans' Administration, Dr. Paul B. Magnuson, has taken the position that this hospital should be located near the Vanderbilt University Hospital, located several miles distant from the site selected by Mr. Higley.

Dr. Magnuson suggests that the location of the hospital in the proximity of Vanderbilt University is of such broad import as to warrant national as well as regional concern. I believe that the question of locating this hospital is of national concern, and I, therefore, commend the reading of this editorial to the Members of the House and other officials in Washington charged with the responsibility of locating this hospital for the veterans in this area of the country.

The editorial follows:

DECISION ON NASHVILLE'S VA HOSPITAL OF NATIONAL CONCERN

Dr. Paul B. Magnuson, a former Chief Medical Director for the Veterans' Administration, has focused timely attention on a situation of the utmost importance to Davidson County by challenging a recent decision to construct a $10,500,000 permanent hospital for veterans at the hospital's present site on White Bridge Road.

Indeed, Dr. Magnuson's charge that "bureaucrats and professional veterans" are attempting to sabotage plans to locate the hospital in the proximity of Vanderbilt University is of such broad import as to warrant national, as well as regional, concern.

For the former VA Medical Chief declares this decision to be a breach of a policy developed more than 10 years ago for the express and sole purpose of rendering better medical service to veterans.

Thus, he sees the decision regarding the Nashville hospital as the beginning of a return to the conditions prevailing before 1947, when the veterans hospitals of this Nation not only left much to be desired, but were downright disgraceful to a Nation which ought to be concerned about the welfare of those who fought its battles.

And those conditions are too fresh on too many minds to be lightly regarded. Too many remember how Gen. Omar Bradley, then Veterans' Administrator, was maligned and abused by "bureaucrats and professional veterans" when he put the policies of which Dr. Magnuson speaks into effect.

General Bradley, shocked by the state of veterans hospitals, set about to upgrade them by entering into what became known as "deans committee" agreements with reputable medical schools. Under these agreements, faculty members of medical schools provide most of the medical services to the various VA hospitals. The veterans hospital in Nashville is one of these, and Vanderbilt University is the medical school providing the services.

But General Bradley did not place this progressive policy into effect without a fight. Standardized resolutions prepared by the national headquarters of veterans organizations—notable among them, the American Legion—heaped scorn upon an outstanding soldier who had served with distinction.

The new policy he instituted called for the location of veterans' hospitals, when new ones were to be constructed in the proximity of the medical schools providing the services. Until the recent decision, this policy has been followed as closely as is economically feasible.

And it is interesting to note that just before this latest decision, veterans' organizations in Nashville again bombarded Congressmen with standardized resolutions which, for all practical purposes, were identical in language. The decision was first made to locate Nashville's veterans hospital near Vanderbilt; the pressure went on, then suddenly the decision was reversed.

Mr. A. V. Higley, present Veterans' Administrator and himself a former American Legion big shot, has said the additional $1 million to $1,500,000 it will cost to construct the hospital near Vanderbilt was a major consideration in the policy change. Dr. Magnuson, though, says the decision was conceived in stupidity.

He insists that the additional amount can be recaptured through a multitude of savings which would be apparent with location of the hospital near Vanderbilt. To this, Mr. Higley blandly replies:

"I can't go to the Bureau of the Budget and ask for $1 million more on the basis that we would get it back in savings over a period of 30 to 40 years."

This, incidentally, would seem to be the crux of the whole affair. Mr. Higley is concerned more with the expedient of short-sighted economy which might satisfy a budget-cutting craze currently in vogue, than in true economy.

In any event, a thorough airing of Dr. Magnuson's charge is in order. It is important—not only to Nashville but to the Nation—that false economy not be used as a lever to justify turning our Veterans' Administration hospitals back to the political whims of bureaucrats and professional veterans.

Tampa Harbor Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege today to represent the people of the First District and the State of Florida before the Subcommittee on Public Works of the House Appropriations Committee. Continuation of the great Tampa Harbor development project was the purpose of this appearance. I was happy to be joined by two representatives of the Hillsborough County Port Authority, Mr. Norman S. Brown, attorney, and Mr. J. B. Colbert, member of the board. It was my contention that, above all, this project had demonstrated the wise action of the committee and the Congress in first appropriations for the project. This has been ably demonstrated through growth of the harbor traffic upon beginning of the development; greatly increased local participation and investment of private capital; development by the port authority beyond commitments to this committee and a greatly increased ratio of benefit to cost over the last year. I would include my full remarks at this time for the information of the Members to be used when action is taken on the project.

The remarks follow:

REMARKS OF HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS, APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 8, 1957

Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to come before this committee again and represent the people of the First District of Florida. Together with Representatives of the area it is my pleasure to both report on the progress made in the development of the Tampa Harbor project and to request your continued interest in this valuable improvement and approval of the appropriation for work during fiscal 1958.

This harbor project serves a very substantial portion of the entire State of Florida. The port of Tampa is a port of increasing commercial importance. This committee evidenced its awareness of this fact last year when it appropriated in the 1957 budget $4 million for the continuation of work on this project. This amount was $1½ million more than that recommended by the President.

When I appeared with representatives of the Tampa Port Authority before the Bureau of the Budget in the fall of 1956 we requested $3½ million to be included in the 1958 budget for the continuance of work on this project. That request was founded upon advice from the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, that this sum could be economically utilized in fiscal year 1958 to continue work on the project at the same rate of completion as was being done in fiscal 1957. From a total economic viewpoint there would be sound reasons for confining this plea to your committee in that amount. This sum, if included in fiscal 1958, would permit the completion of a usable segment of the project and would provide the necessary deep water for well over half of the volume of tonnage entering the port of Tampa. The Tampa Port Authority has estimated that if this sum were appropriated the direct annual savings which would become reality in the latter part of fiscal 1958 would exceed $1½ million per year. Estimates of the engineers do not vary substantially from this estimate of the port authority. However, local interests share with me the belief that requests for funds this year should be moderate in amount to the end that all of the pressing appropriation problems confronting this committee may be better solved. I, for one, have insisted every reasonable economy should be exercised in consideration of all budget items, from the national viewpoint. For that reason I am requesting this committee to include in fiscal 1958 appropriations only the sum of $2¼ million. This will permit completion during fiscal 1958 of a usable segment of the channel up to the Hooker's Point Terminal in Tampa and substantial economic benefits will be immediately realized. I am informed by the Chief of Engineers work can continue on the project without interruption during the entire fiscal year and be performed in the most economic manner.

I particularly invite the attention of the committee to the schedule of completion of the various segments of the entire project. The sum of $2,225,000 which has been requested will permit work to continue so that Hillsboro Bay channels will be completed at a total estimated cost of $1,670,000 and Egmont Bar and Mullet Key channels will be completed at a total estimated cost of $340,000. Contracts have been let and could be broken only at financial loss on this segment. Present scheduling of the Government Hopper Dredge also calls for this time schedule. Work will be commenced in the latter part of fiscal 1958 on Ybor and Sparkman channels. These latter two channels are the channels serving the upper part of the city of Tampa proper.

The development of Tampa harbor and benefits to the community are entirely dependent upon the growth of trade and the growth of the community itself. In both cases the figures of activity over the past few years have far exceeded the conservative estimates presented to you and earlier to the Bureau of the Budget. It is a matter of pride to point out the successful growth resultant, in great part, from the interest and appropriation granted by your committee and the Congress.

The port of Tampa is showing a continual steady increase in port tonnage. All previous estimates of this increase have been shown to be too conservative to accurately show the future use of the port. In 1954, the port of Tampa had a total tonnage of 9,813,000 tons. In 1955, this tonnage had increased to 10,656,000 tons. In 1956, it will be evidenced that the port tonnage has increased over 13 percent over 1955 to approximately 12,250,000 tons (exact figures have not yet been compiled). These increases are considerably in excess of the 7.6 percent annual increase upon which port tonnage was projected by the Port Authority and is far in excess of the Army Engineers' estimate made in 1948. The increase 1955 over 1954, is in excess of 8½ percent; and the increase, 1956 over 1955, is in excess of 13 percent. Using 8½ percent, although already known to be too conservative, as the annual rate of increase, the estimated port tonnage in 1959 will be 15 million tons solely from normal growth of the State of Florida and the 5

congressional districts served by Tampa harbor.

However, at the beginning of 1956 it was known that within the next 3 years, that is, 1956–1959, there would be additional port tonnage from new industries of a total of approximately 3,500,000 tons. This would consist of approximately 2,500,000 tons of petroleum products; coal of 750,000 tons for a new electric generating plant using coal for fuel; and other products of 250,000 tons. The 1956 figures have already begun to reflect a small part of these new industries as is apparent in the increase to 13 percent over 1955. It is therefore not at all speculative to revise upward the old figures and estimate that port tonnage in 1959 may well reach 18 million to 19 million tons.

All this is indicative of the fact that the phenomenal growth of the port of Tampa shows that what at one time may have been considered unrealistic is in fact becoming a reality. Even a cursory consideration of evidence this growth is steadily increasing and that new and important industries are moving into the area served by the port of Tampa show that the estimated port tonnage in 1959 is still most conservative.

Each year the facts are substantiating this anticipated and expected growth. For example, the port of Tampa is the fifth-ranking port in the United States in coastal car unloadings (based on information compiled and furnished by the port division of the American Association of Railroads). In 1956, car unloading totaled 62,614. This was a 22-percent increase over 1955 or 11,148 cars. It is significant that this is a greater increase than the four ports having more car unloadings. Not only is the port of Tampa increasing nationally, the total car unloadings for Tampa totaled more than the combined total for Mobile, Pensacola, Miami, Port Everglades, Jacksonville, Savannah and Charleston.

The continual and steady growth of the port of Tampa is an anticipated certainty. Since the start of the harbor project in January 1955 over $9 million in new and improved port facilities, including piers, wharves, bulkheads, privately dredged channels and turning basins, bulk cargo loading, unloading and storage facilities for oil and other petroleum products, phosphate and chemical products, grain and other commodities have been developed. And, since January 1955 over $95 million in new deep water industrial construction has been started or definitely committed.

Specific industries that have taken advantage of the many growing trade and facilities features offered by port development includes:

Schlitz Brewing Co., Export Brewery under construction with a capacity of 1 million barrels per year.

Southland Petroleum Co., 30,000-barrel gasoline refinery.

Tampa Electric Co., 125,000-kilowatt generating plant.

Florida Power Corp., 125,000-kilowatt generating plant.

American Cable Co., a $5 million plant completed in 1956 now announcing a 60-percent expansion program.

New terminal facilities of the Texas Co., Pure Oil Co., Ingram Oil Co., Tampa Terminals, Inc., Illinois Grain Corp., and the Tampa Molasses Co.

Petroleum tonnage has been increasing at approximately 10 percent each year and in 1955 totaled 4,945,000 tons. Since 1950 the phosphate tonnage (and over 75 percent of phosphate produced in the world is produced within the radius of 80 miles of this port) that passed through the Port of Tampa has increased 38 percent and in 1955 totaled 3,339,000 tons. Already it has been shown that the Tampa Port tonnage for 1955 increased over 8½ percent over 1954 and the 1956 tonnage increased over 13 percent over 1955. Coupled with the increasing industrial growth and demand for products is the steadily increasing population served by the Port of Tampa.

The usage of the Port of Tampa by coastwise trade is also increasing rapidly. In the 5-year period, 1949–1954, the average annual increase in tonnage was 9.1 percent. Projecting a growth of 5 percent per year over the 1954 tonnage of 5,477,000 tons shows that there would be coastwise trade in 1959 of over 7 million tons. This again is an entirely reasonable projection of growth, and as a matter of fact, it is obviously conservative when the factors of new industry and growing population alone are taken into account. I wish to call the Committee's attention again to the estimated annual port tonnage in 1959 of at least 15 million tons. The phenomenal growth of this area make this estimate really a near certainty. Using this basis of annual tonnage of 15 million, the direct economic benefits and annual savings resulting from completion of this harbor project will be approximately $2,880,000. Using the criteria used by the Corps of Engineers in their determination of benefit-cost ratio would give the project an unusually high benefit-cost ratio of 6 to 1. This is not a bold estimate. For example, the Army Engineers in 1954 estimated the benefit-cost ratio to be 2.25 to 1—in October 1956 this was increased by the Corps of Engineers to 3.2 to 1.

The Port of Tampa is one serving 25 counties in Florida and 5 congressional districts. The benefits of this service in this large area extend to a population estimated in excess of 1,520,000 as of July 11, 1956, an increase of 13 percent over the estimated population of July 1, 1954. The estimated population of the Tampa-St. Petersburg metropolitan area is in excess of 578,000.

At the time of authorization of this project and in previous appearances before this committee it has been pointed out that Tampa Harbor is the only sizeable port between Norfolk, Va., and New Orleans, La., having a channel less than 32 feet in depth. This handicap has existed and serves to bring out the vitally important fact that at the same time the port of Tampa has more tonnage than any harbor from Norfolk to Mobile.

I respectfully submit these facts to the committee and urge that you approve the budgetary request of $2,250,000. By this appropriation, which I again point out is the least amount that can economically be utilized for orderly programing of the work now underway, continued growth of a rapidly expanding area of our country will be assured. Through the high cost-benefit ratio of the project the national interest will be served in providing a channel of project depth and width to the city of Tampa and the State of Florida.

The American Assembly—Report on Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. VORYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, the American Assembly, conceived by President Eisenhower when he was president of Columbia University, has conducted for 5 years a series of nonpartisan meetings of selected representatives from the professions, the universities, business, labor, agriculture, and government to discuss public questions. Meetings are held at Arden House, Harriman, N. Y., under the auspices of Columbia University. Dr. Henry M. Wriston is executive director. The 11th American Assembly met from May 2 to May 5. The subject was International Stability and Progress. I was honored to be among the six participants. At the end the following final report was issued. I believe it is an important and useful analysis of the problems and proposed solutions involved in our foreign aid program:

FINAL REPORT OF THE 11TH AMERICAN ASSEMBLY

(The participants in the 11th American Assembly reviewed as a group the following statement at the close of their discussions. Although there was general agreement on the final report, it is not the practice of the American Assembly for participants to affix their signatures; and it should not be assumed that every participant necessarily subscribes to every recommendation included in the statement.)

PREAMBLE

In the mid-20th century, the United States finds itself in a position of unprecedented prosperity and power. It is inescapably involved in a world of rapid change which tests our institutions and basic values, and threatens our survival.

The most pressing danger comes from Soviet power combined with Red China and the international Communist movement they dominate. This threat is backed by an increasingly powerful military apparatus, and by a combination of political, military, economic, and psychological instruments.

A major challenge arises from the emergence into independent nationhood of hundreds of millions of people in Asia and Africa. These peoples have a passion for independence and self-respect and acutely resent remnants of colonialism; they are responsive to nationalism, in some cases extreme and irrational, and they seek ways of escaping conditions of dire poverty, often aggravated by population pressure. This challenge would be formidable by itself, but is intensified by Soviet efforts to subvert these nations.

In this situation, there is bipartisan support for the use of American resources and energies to back an affirmative foreign policy. That policy needs many instruments: diplomacy, the United Nations, military strength, alliances, international information programs, and economic measures. The actions of private business, religious and charitable organizations, universities, foundations, and individual citizens are also vitally important to the carrying out of foreign policy.

Among the instruments of foreign policy, programs of military, economic, and technical assistance have a major role. In the period since the war they have been effectively employed to meet many changing situations. They have proved a sound investment of American resources, contributing to increased strength for the free world and helping to reduce world tension.

This year a major reappraisal has been undertaken in order to modify policies and adapt methods to the altering situations in which the United States finds itself. There is need for fresh public understanding both of objectives and methods in the situation which now confronts us and is likely to confront us in the next few years.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. The United States interest in foreign assistance

1. For the foreseeable future the United States must continue to employ military, economic, and technical assistance as instruments of foreign policy. In view of the continuing military threat of Soviet and Red Chinese imperialism, the most immediate na-

tional interest involved and the one responsible for the magnitude of the program is our security interest. Foreign assistance serves other major and enduring interests—political independence, stability, and economic progress, especially in the new nations of Asia and Africa. Such independence, stability, and progress will reduce the danger of international conflict and permit the evolution of these new nations as peaceful and constructive members of the world community. These programs will also serve to expand international trade and private investment and thus help our own Nation as well as others. It is thus clear that foreign assistance is based on the positive interests of the United States; at the same time it accords with the humanitarian impulses of the American people.

B. The role of military assistance

2. Military assistance accounts for the great bulk of our current foreign-aid expenditures. Arms alone constitute well over half the total. Other support for foreign military efforts, defense support, represents an additional one quarter. Yet military assistance altogether is less than one-tenth as large as our domestic defense expenditures.

3. The United States needs formal allies and prospective military associates to deal with the danger of general or of limited war. Notwithstanding weapons developments, collective arrangements will remain an indispensable part of the effort to deter and if necessary to defeat aggression. The maintenance of overseas bases is now one of the essential elements of this common defense.

4. Assistance both in arms and in defense support is well justified adding more to collective free world strength than could a similar additional expenditure for our national defense establishment.

5. In some less stable countries the support through American assistance of an adequate military force may be essential to the achievement of reasonable political stability as well as defense against external aggression. In addition, useful byproducts of military assistance and training may be the development of skills, both mechanical and administrative, and the improvement of basic facilities. At the same time, measures must be taken to meet situations where military forces divert so large a portion of local resources as to create serious political and social problems and retard economic development. Where the forces cannot safely be reduced, defense support assistance should be used to supplement the local resources, but the possibility of reducing force levels without jeopardizing security should also be carefully explored.

6. Apart from strengthening weak countries and providing an additional deterrent to limited and general war, military assistance can, in exceptional cases, be used in aid of other foreign policy objectives, such as forestalling Soviet infiltration or subversion. Care must be taken not to encourage local armaments races or to aggravate regional international tensions.

C. Governmental assistance for economic development

7. Expenditures designed directly to promote economic development now account for less than one-eighth of total foreign aid expenditures, apart from special agricultural-commodity programs.

8. Orderly economic progress in independent underdeveloped countries accords with the political, security, and economic interests of the United States. Such progress serves as a bulwark against international communism, and in the long run will help to assure that the role of the new nations in world affairs will be increasingly constructive. While no nation has an inherent right to assistance from the United States merely because it is underdeveloped, the promotion of sound economic development should be an accepted element of American foreign policy.

9. Development is a highly complex and necessarily slow process. Nations are at many different stages of political, social, and economic evolution, and the needs and opportunities for promoting their development vary accordingly. Ultimately, the success of a development program depends in large part upon the execution and administration by the government and institutions of the underdeveloped countries. In some cases, technical assistance in education, public health, agricultural, and industrial skills, or in publiv and private administration merits the top priority. In others, capital requirements are urgent and exceed the capacity of local savings or normal foreign borrowing. The development of a pool of skilled and professional manpower, however, tends to encourage the accumulation of local savings, even though perhaps inadequately at the start. In still others, the needs for financial capital are being adequately met from private sources. An effective program requires a general definition of objectives and criteria, but must then be built up in the light of the actual conditions in each country being considered for possible assistance.

10. Alliance with the United States should not be a prerequisite for development assistance; the important thing is the will of a nation to develop its resources and defend its independence. The present uncommitted countries include some of the most important nations of Asia, whose orderly evolution and long-run orientation are crucial to American interests. Hope in these countries for achieving economic and social progress in a reasonable time and within a constitutional framework is a dominant political objective. It would be folly for the United States to leave totalitarianism as their only apparent way out of poverty and hopelessness, or the Soviet bloc as their only source of assistance. The fact that a country has undertaken the additional obligations involved in the alliance system is a proper element to be taken into account in determining the amount and character of the assistance.

11. Any United States assistance program must be geared to the long run. It takes years to carry out an economic development program; it may take several years to complete individual projects. The prospect of continuing outside support may encourage leadership in the countries involved to make the difficult decisions required for an effective process of development. For these reasons, the legislative and administrative arrangements for development assistance should give assurance of continuity. The American Assembly strongly favors the establishment of some kind of development loan fund, with an authorization covering several years. On condition that arrangements are made to insure that such a fund is managed as an integral part of our foreign-assistance program, there are several alternative possibilities for its fiscal administration. These could include existing institutions like the Export-Import Bank or new institutions of corporate character. At the very minimum, there should be a clear declaration of congressional intent on continuity, coupled with authority to make commitments covering several years on individual projects.

12. Since successful economic development is wealth-producing, assistance for such development should, over a period of time, create the ability to repay. It should normally be on a loan basis. On the other hand, many underdeveloped countries are unable to anticipate with assurance the ability to repay on usual terms. Development assistance should, therefore, be sufficiently flexible to permit loans on long terms or with repayment in local currency. While such repayment poses some problems, the loan technique has some advantage in encouraging the use of economic standards in planning development projects. The terms of development assistance should complement and strengthen the possibilities for loans on normal terms and for private investment, and not compete with or undermine them.

13. If the United States continues to generate agricultural supplies beyond the demands of normal markets, they should be used in conjunction with other assistance for promoting foreign economic development, with continued care to avoid disrupting normal markets.

14. Formal declarations of political alinement should not be made a condition of receiving development assistance. On the other hand, it is both proper and necessary to negotiate conditions concerning the soundness of individual development projects or economic policies required for the success of the program.

15. Presently available evidence suggests that the magnitude of development assistance should certainly be no lower and probably higher than present expenditure levels for this purpose (now roughly $500 million per annum including the estimated share of defense support contributing to these objectives). More reliable estimates of the needs would have to be based on a country-by-country review. The United States should be prepared to provide a substantially higher amount in future years if it can be effectively used for these purposes.

16. It is likewise not possible to set in advance a fixed duration for development assistance, but it will certainly be necessary in some form for many years to come. No country should be led to expect development assistance in perpetuity. Certain countries are now at a stage where little beyond technical assistance could be usefully employed, and conditions permitting true development programs may evolve only after several years. In other cases development has already sufficiently progressed so that a rapid reduction of such assistance can be envisaged in the near future. In each case the planning should look to the earliest possible tapering off of such assistance through the creation of conditions conducive to broadly based domestic saving and investment and normal foreign capital financing.

D. Economic assistance for special purposes

17. Apart from defense support and development assistance, economic assistance in limited amounts is also justifiable for other purposes—for example, to secure some specific advantage to the United States, to meet political crises, or to cope with natural disasters. Experience has shown that the timely provision of such assistance in adequate amounts can be critical to the continued independence of friendly nations. Requirements for such assistance cannot always be foreseen accurately; consequently considerable flexibility must be given the administration in the management of resources provided for such assistance.

18. In cases such as Yugoslavia and Poland the fact that the regimes are Communist should not preclude the giving of assistance where this might help increase the independence of such countries or the degree of human freedom within them.

E. Technical assistance

19. Technical assistance expenditures, both bilateral and through the United Nations, now amount to about $150 million per year. The value of a well-conducted technical assistance program has been fully demonstrated. Such programs should be continued and expanded, especially in the newly emerging nations. More satisfactory arrangements should be made in order to attract to these activities qualified administrative and technical manpower in sufficient numbers, with suitable personal qualities

and training and aptitudes for working in various environments as effective representatives of the United States. The United States should be prepared to employ suitably qualified foreign nationals in these programs. Technical assistance through the United Nations and its specialized agencies has several advantages, notably the ability to draw on a larger manpower base. We should encourage the gradual expansion of these United Nations programs and be prepared to continue sharing in their cost and seeking improvements in their administration.

F. Countering Soviet initiatives

20. In the last few years, the Soviets have sought to counter our programs by themselves using trade, loans, and military and technical assistance as important instruments of their foreign policy. The best general means of minimizing the effectiveness of these moves is a constructive program of our own. It would be unwise to invite blackmail or attempts to induce the United States to bid against the Soviet Union. The United States should, however, have the ability to deal with such moves by countermeasures in particular cases.

G. The role of private enterprise

21. Private enterprise already plays a major part in promoting foreign economic development and strengthening the international economic order through trade, investment, patent licensing, management contracts, and other means. The United States Government is also making substantial use of private business and educational and other institutions in the aid program. These trends should be encouraged. With respect to foreign investment, tax incentives and guaranty arrangements are of real value. One possibility in connection with a developmental fund lies in further expanding joint public and private financing arrangements, both in the United States and in the recipient countries; this should be carefully explored. Moreover, while not making revision of foreign governmental attitudes toward private enterprise a condition of economic assistance, much greater efforts should be made, both by Government and by private organizations to encourage an appreciation that progressive private enterprise methods offer the best long-range prospects of sound economic development, while strengthening the democratic foundations of societies.

H. Organization and administration

22. Proposals now being put forward by the administration seek a sharper distinction between military and economic assistance, in order to clarify at home and abroad the objectives of the program. This purpose is sound. At the same time, it must be recognized that in underdeveloped countries receiving military assistance, any line drawn between defense support and development assistance is necessarily arbitrary. More important, it must be recognized that political, military, and economic developments in any country are interrelated and that American policy and programs must be an integrated whole. It is therefore essential to strengthen the decisionmaking and coordinating arrangements within the United States Government, especially if military assistance and defense support are transferred to the defense budget, and to ensure that all aspects of foreign assistance, both in programing and in execution, conform to a consistent line of foreign policy.

23. Efforts should be made to ensure maximum participation by other advanced countries in promoting economic development in underdeveloped countries. Where circumstances make it desirable, regional coordinating arrangements involving both supplying and recipient countries should be encouraged.

24. The administration of the assistance programs in the United States Government requires a new sense of purpose and a new spirit of drive, energy, and imagination as well as clarification of objectives and methods. No fresh approach will be meaningful without this spirit in its administration. Only thus can persons of exceptional qualifications be attracted to the program. Nor can its administration be successful over the long term without a corps of properly trained personnel with real career opportunities, including status in the Foreign Service.

I. United States costs and benefits

25. Foreign assistance as a whole accounts for only about 1 percent of our gross national product today, as compared with over 2 percent in the peak year of 1949. Moreover, three-fourths of the total is for military purposes and must be appraised in terms similar to our domestic defense program. The program as a whole does not impose unreasonable strains on our total resources or on any important segment of the American economy. The contribution of foreign assistance to export markets, to increasing raw-material supplies, and to the general strengthening of the world economy constitutes at least a partial offset to the direct economic costs.

26. At the same time, national security costs as a whole, including foreign assistance, are mainly responsible for a total national budget and corresponding tax burden which bear heavily on the American people. The main hope of lightening these burdens lies in promoting world conditions which would permit a reduction of military expenditures, and foreign assistance is one of the most important means of bringing about such conditions. Meanwhile, no unnecessary expenditure can be permitted and no opportunity should be lost for tightening up methods of program making and administration to eliminate any avoidable waste. The objectives and methods of foreign assistance can be clarified and competent administration assured. The benefits of these programs to American interests greatly outweigh their cost. That cost is part of the inescapable price of an American foreign policy calculated to promote our deepest interest as a nation.

The Romance of Remembering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues an address by George E. Stringfellow, imperial chief rabban, AAONMS before the Feast of the Paschal Lamb Ceremonial, Rose Croix Chapter of New York City, AASR, Valley of New York, Sheraton-Astor Hotel, New York, April 18, 1957.

THE ROMANCE OF REMEMBERING

We commemorate tonight the important events of that other memorable Thursday when Jesus and his disciples were gathered at the last supper.

"This do in remembrance of me," said Jesus, as he offered the bread and the wine to those who were gathered around him. Through 2,000 years of history we have remembered the sacrifice that is symbolized by that simple ceremony.

We are here to remember God and to pay tribute to our brethren who have departed from our midst. Through the solemn ritual we have observed here, we have brought to our remembrance their contributions and the part they took in perpetuating the spiritual beliefs and high principles for which our fraternity stands. With ceremony and mysticism we have emphasized their importance and idealized the meaning of this occasion.

Memory by nature is romantic. Unpleasant and sorrowful experiences have a way of being softened by the passage of time. While the happy occurrences are enhanced and stand out clearly in our thoughts. Time seems to give a glamor to past events, whether they are within our own experience or in ancient history.

We remember Egypt for its wealth and its kings. The pyramids are a symbol of a once fabulous civilization.

We remember ancient Greece as devoted to wisdom and beauty. The temples and the statues are left to remind us that it too was once a great civilization.

We remember Rome for its leaders and its lawmakers who contributed much to the art of government. But its glory too is gone. There remain only the ruins to give clue to its far-reaching influence.

Those are the things we remember—the romance and the beauty. Those civilizations had potentialities for greatness and indestructability. They attained great world influence. But, they reached a certain peak in their glory and crumbled because of despotism, slavery, greed, and corruption.

Our civilization, and I speak now of our country, has potentialities for lasting greatness as evidenced by its rapid development into a powerful leader among the nations of the world. However, remembering the fate of past civilizations, we might ask ourselves, Will our Nation also collapse after reaching a level beyond which it cannot rise? Will it, in the romantic imaginings of future generations, be only a memory of speed, machine, and production?

Because it was built on a spiritual foundation, I believe that our Nation will endure and will fulfill its responsibility of leadership.

We must ever remember that ours is a country founded upon the ideals of the Old and New Testaments, by people who took their Bible seriously. We must remember that the men and women who came to our shores in search of religious and economic freedom were bound together by a spiritual thread that no hardship could sever. That thread has been the warp on which the whole pattern of our Nation was built. It is no accident that on our Liberty Bell the words "Proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof" are to be found in the Old Testament Book of Leviticus.

It was that faith in God, as emphasized in our Bible, that gave our forefathers the courage to fight for independence and to win in spite of overwhelming odds.

From that faith came the almost divine wisdom that gave us our Constitution which for 170 years has assured us the right of "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

That faith was the light which guided our leaders during the dark days of the Civil War.

That same faith today will help us overcome the danger of communism which is threatening the world. The Communists fear the power of belief in God and assert that it must be exterminated before communism can be safe. By their own admission we have in our possession a spiritual weapon which can be used against this ideology which denies God, enslaves man, creates hate, and brings about devastation in the human soul.

As Christians and Jews and as Masons we believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. This is a phrase we hear often in the rituals of our order. Its

simplest interpretation can be made in the words of Jesus when he said, "A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another."

This is what gives significance to Maundy Thursday. This is why we are here tonight—to remember and to heed with renewed spirit the commandment to "Love one another."

If we should practice that admonition, it might well be the solution to the ills and problems of the modern world. That may sound vicionary, but it isn't impossible if we follow Jesus' teachings and his example.

His love inspired love in those around Him. There was little reason for a strict orthodox Jew like James to associate with a despised tax collector like Matthew. Yet, when they became friends of Jesus, they inevitably became friends of each other. A rought fisherman like Peter had little in common with a refined scholar like Nathaniel, but they were drawn together by their mutual friendship with Jesus. And so it was that the love one showed for another, touched someone else and like the ripples on the water reached unseen shores as a result of one point of contact.

To love one another is the motivating spirit of our brotherhood. Our example could be the pebble that could start the ripple of friendship spreading among ourselves, our neighbors, our business associates, our Government officials, and finally, through the leaders of other nations, touch foreign shores.

If the spirit of brotherhood were practiced in the affairs of individuals and of nations, the unrest which now disturbs the world would disappear.

It would create a better understanding. It would protect the weak from the strong. It would eliminate selfishness and greed. We would have peace and goodwill in national and international affairs. The world would thus be a better place in which to live.

And so I say unto you, "Love one another."

Patriots' Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am happy to be accorded the privilege of inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two addresses which were made on Cambridge Common, in that Massachusetts city, on Patriots' Day, April 20, 1957.

The first address was delivered by Charles N. Collatos, a former commander of the Massachusetts Department of the American Legion, who is now a national executive committeeman of that organization. Following his remarks, a scroll from the mayor of Boston was delivered from horseback to the Honorable Edward J. Sullivan, mayor of Cambridge, by an equestrian representing William Dawes. The second address contains the comments of Mayor Sullivan at the time of the presentation of the scroll. It is my thought that the activities of this most recent celebration of a day of deep meaning for all Americans will be or interest to my colleagues in the United States House of Representatives.

The addresses follow:

PATRIOTS' DAY

(Address by Charles N. Collatos)

It is indeed an honor for me to appear at the hallowed birthplace of America, the Cambridge Common, to accompany you in retrospect on this historic occasion.

We are not chauvinists, but it is incumbent upon us to reacquaint ourselves from time to time with our glorious heritage, lest in the haste of our existence we forget not only our station in life, but where we are headed.

In the course of the 182 years from the midnight ride of Paul Revere to the present day, the United States has grown from infancy to full maturity among nations. This growth has not been an easy one. We have had periods of prosperity, years of depression, turmoil, strife and war.

Fortunately for the United States, every age has produced great Americans, whether they were in the field of government, combat, literature or letters. These men, through their writings, their actions, and their ideals have served as guides in their respective eras.

During our humble beginning, God graced our land with many patriotic leaders. We cannot truly recite their achievements. They are written on every page of our history, and the monuments of our growth and advancement are all about us. Our churches, our schools, and universities, and our benevolent institutions, which beautify every town and hamlet, and look out from every hillside, testify to the value our people place upon religious teaching, upon advanced education, and upon deeds of charity.

The true glory of our Nation is not in the magnificence of its mansions, not in the beautiful creations of art lavished on its public buildings, not in costly libraries and galleries of pictures, not in the number or wealth of its cities, but a country where the crown and glory of the people are in common schools, where the voice of prayer goes heavenward, where the people have that most precious gift—faith in God.

This is our heritage—handed down to us through the blood, the tears, and the sweat of our ancestors—to keep our way of life we must work with the grim determination of the early patriots, so that America will continue to be a land of plenty, with equal rights to life, freedom, and the pursuit of happiness.

PEOPLE OF CAMBRIDGE

(Address by Edward J. Sullivan)

We have just witnessed a reproduction of a familiar scene—a scene that took place here close to 2 centuries ago—the arrival of William Dawes to warn the colonists of the approach of the British.

Today, on historic Cambridge common, we gather to participate in the annual Patriots' Day ceremonies, and as we do so we cannot help but realize the tremendous debt we owe that handful of gallant farmers who went forth to battle to protect the things they loved most dearly—their homes and their loved ones.

By their bravery and by their courage, they set the stage for the building of a great and glorious nation—and it is indeed a pity they could not be present today to gaze upon the fruits of their efforts.

Down through generation after generation the fortitude and heroism of the men of 1775 have been instilled into those who followed.

Many times since have the Stars and Stripes of Old Glory been carried into battle—never as an oppressor but always in defense—and just as many times they emerged victorious.

The example set by our heroes of yesteryear has been religiously followed.

For that example let us ever continue to pay undying tribute to their memory.

United States Prestige at New Low as Lodge Charts Foreign Policy Course in U. N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, one newspaper which has steadfastly refused to cover up for the failures and shortcomings of the United Nations is the Standard-Times, of New Bedford, Mass. This outstanding newspaper on numerous occasions has set the record straight concerning the U. N.

On May 3, the Standard-Times published a critical and revealing analysis on how American foreign policy has been entrusted to this international organization. Written by staff writer Edward B. Simmons, I commend the article to the attention of my colleagues:

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., May 3.—To a degree never equaled by any nation, the United States has entrusted its foreign policy to an international organization, the United Nations.

Dependence on the U. N. has grown steadily. Last week, Secretary of State Dulles made it virtually complete when he turned over to the U. N. the United States-Egypt negotiations on the Suez Canal.

Today the problems in which American security is most vitally involved are in U. N. keeping—Eastern Europe, the Middle East, the Suez Canal, even trade with Communist China.

Three aspects of this gamble on the U. N. warrant particular emphasis:

The placing of America's stake in U. N. hands was a personal project of Henry Cabot Lodge, United States Ambassador to the U. N. Lodge is credited by associates with "the important achievement" of persuading the Eisenhower administration to "shape United States foreign policy more and more around the U. N."

As representative of the most powerful free Nation, Lodge has become, under the new policy, the No. 1 spokesman for the West in the cold war with Communist Russia.

The prestige and security of the free world have suffered greatly since United States policy was channeled through the U. N. Never were they at a lower point.

No one disputes Lodge's role in persuading President Eisenhower and, through him, the State Department to rely almost exclusively on the U. N.

What the United States Ambassador's associates say is in accord with the opinion of other observers and newspapermen closest to the Washington–U. N. pipeline. Lodge, himself, has replied to questions about the extent of his influence by pointing out that he has a direct telephone to the White House.

SALESMEN FOR U. N.

Lodge has been an all-out salesman for the U. N. since he acquired the unprecedented double title of ambassador and cabinet member 4 years ago. He has coined a number of Madison Avenue-type slogans to further his campaign.

"First and foremost, the U. N. has stood, and still stands—between us and world war III," has been his favorite for years.

Others are—"The U. N.-Peace for One Thin Dime.

"The U. N. Is Safe Because There Is Nothing to Spy On.

"The U. N.'s Heroic Use of Armed Forces in Korea."

Ambassador Lodge's influence on the President seems to have begun to take effect in October 1955, when he visited Eisenhower while the President was convalescing from his heart attack in Colorado. Lodge gave a "glowing report" on the U. N.

Within a few weeks, United States policy began taking a U. N. hue, particularly on the Israel-Egypt dispute, which had reached a critical stage by March 1956.

RIDING A WAVE

The trend to the U. N. and Lodge's part in it, became increasingly evident through 1956. By last December, Milt Freudenheim, U. N. correspondent of the Knight chain of newspapers published in Chicago, Detroit, Miami, and Akron, was writing:

"Lodge is riding a wave of history to a destination of great potential advantage for himself and perhaps for United States influence."

The first part of that statement has stood up.

Lodge has gained great personal publicity from his role as No. 1 spokesman for United States policy and hence the free world's, at the U. N.

Describing himself as a rough and tumble debater, he has increased the virulence of his hard-hitting speeches at U. N. deliberations.

A TOURIST ATTRACTION

Shortly before the revolt in Hungary, Lodge described how he used the U. N. loudspeaker again and again to nail Communist distortions on the spot * * * to expose to world opinion the brutal Red techniques, wartime atrocities, slave labor, and colossal lie.

As recently as last March he was referring to the Soviet as "assassin of human liberty * * * fantastic travesty on truth * * * blatantly false * * * conspirators by force and fraud."

This rough talk has not gone down well with other U. N. delegates, but it has made Lodge one of the biggest tourist attractions, as veteran AP correspondent Max Harrelson described it.

"He never fails to delight the public galleries, mostly American," wrote Harrelson.

While Lodge's own advantage has risen, that of the United States has sunk under the new policy of dependence on the U. N.

DEVELOPMENTS LISTED

Developments include the following:

Ambassador Lodge took instant action against Britain, France, and Israel in the invasion of Egypt but waited until too late for support of the freedom fighters in Hungary.

Britain, held up to scorn and stripped of prestige by U. N. indictment at United States request, has begun a drastic military cutback, adding immensely to the United States burden. France, likewise rebuffed, is reported ready to follow suit.

The double standard of the U. N. was emphasized as Lodge urged sanctions against Israel but not against the Soviet Union, aggressor in Hungary.

Lodge has called for giving a try to the Nasser plan for operation of the Suez Canal, which virtually ignores U. N. recommendations and is opposed by United States allies, Britain and France;

The Egypt-Israel border is again the scene of aggressive forays; the Middle East is in dangerous ferment;

The United States has backed down on a cardinal principle of free navigation after affirming it in the U. N. for the Gulf of Aqaba, through Lodge.

Lodge is not disturbed by the record.

BEGINNING TO PAY OFF

"I believe our reliance on the U. N. has begun to pay off," he said last month. "If the U. N. had not existed, we might well be at war today."

Although Lodge is not, nominally, the source of United States foreign policy, he has great leeway in interpreting and explaining it.

"Whoever represents the United States (at the U. N.) has a lot to do with making the U. N. succeed," he said.

It is pertinent, therefore, to contrast the United States Ambassador's reactions to two situations—the Anglo-French invasion of the Suez Canal Zone and the revolt in Hungary.

The canal crisis developed October 30, 1956. Lodge demanded, and got, action that same day in the U. N.

DELAYED ON HUNGARY

Fighting in the Hungary revolt broke out October 24.

Not until the night of November 4, 12 days later, did the United States Ambassador ask for and obtain passage of a resolve requesting withdrawal of Soviet troops and arranging to send U. N. observers.

During the procrastination, the Free Government of Hungary had come and gone—under a Soviet curtain of bullets.

The Free Government of Hungary, meantime, twice had requested aid from the U. N., not military aid, but condemnation of the Soviet, moral support, and observers.

Lodge, as the No. 1 spokesman for the free world in the U. N., followed this schedule:

October 27: "Urgent and important to examine the Hungary question.

October 28: "Urgent and important"; got U. N. to put issue on agenda; offered no plan, called for consideration "in the light of developments."

October 29: Security Council discussed other items.

November 1: Premier Nagy of Free Hungary cabled for help.

November 2: Nagy again cabled for help; Lodge said "use of armed might by Soviet is shocking"; called for ascertaining the facts; offered no plan. Delegate from Cuba said facts were clear, asked immediate action. None taken.

November 3: Lodge told Security Council there were "serious questions regarding the accuracy of Soviet assertions"; introduced a resolution but joined in voting for a 48-hour delay for negotiations.

November 4: Lodge resolution vetoed by Soviet in Security Council.

November 4 (night): Lodge resolution passed by General Assembly.

November 8: U. N. Secretary-General requested permission of puppet Hungary government to send observers. Denied permission. None sent.

GOT ORAL SYMPATHY

During the 12 days of delay in acting on Hungary's case, the Freedom Fighters of Hungary received considerable oral sympathy from Ambassador Lodge.

Two American correspondents who were on the scene in Hungary have described how stunned and embittered the Freedom Fighters were at the discrepancy between Lodge's remarks to the U. N. and his lack of action to support them.

Endre Marton, of the Associated Press, told the annual A. P. meeting last month that Hungarian patriots could not understand why the United States Ambassador to the U. N. was asking for more information when correspondents, as well as the United States Embassy, were cabling hour-by-hour reports.

John MacCormac, of the New York Times, wrote that patriots bitterly referred to Voice of America, and Radio Free Europe broadcasts quoting Lodge's sentiments on the "need to assist the brave people of Hungary."

RECORD A GOOD ONE

Lodge's handling of the Hungarian crisis brought a rebuke from Life magazine, which stated editorially that time was the critical factor, but the United States spokesman had not been prepared to do anything.

Lodge thought otherwise.

"The record is not a sorry one," he stated, retorting to Life's assertion that it had been. "The record is a good one."

Today, the United States 6th Fleet is on an emergency mission to the eastern Mediterranean to preserve order if possible.

Freedom-aspiring peoples of the Soviet satellite nations are embittered toward the United States and the U. N. because they feel they were abandoned.

Friendship, at untold cost to the American taxpayer, is being openly bought among Arab nations—$10 million for King Hussein, of Jordan, $50 million for King Saud, of Saudi Arabia.

The Suez Canal is at Nasser's disposal.

Britain and France, oldest of United States allies, have found themselves frustrated in the U. N. by a United States-Russian voting alliance.

An Afro-Asian bloc of nations with no diplomatic prestige and virtually no military power is dictating to the U. N.

This is the realistic record produced by Ambassador Lodge, with United States prestige at a new low and American foreign policy dictated by the U. N.

Wheat Price Cut Draws Fire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include an article which appeared in the Topeka Daily Capital under date of May 5, 1957. Since Secretary Benson's announcement of April 19, which cut our wheat acreage and dropped the price supports on wheat by 22 cents, I have continued to receive heavy mail in protest to this measure. I believe the following article further illuminates the very unhappy situation affecting the wheat producers of the High Plains area:

WHEAT PRICE CUT DRAWS FIRE

(By Jerry Fetterolf)

Three of Kansas' four major farm organizations this week protested strongly the 22-cent drop to $1.78 for the 1957 wheat price supports which was announced by Secretary of Agriculture Benson.

Presidents of the Kansas Farm Bureau, the Kansas Grange, the Kansas Farmers Union, and the Kansas Wheat Growers Association gave telephone and written statements to the capital during the week.

The majority reaction of opposition came as farmers in the heavy wheat-producing areas of western Kansas faced probability of a cropless year in 1957 because of drought in the fall of 1956.

Three of the four presidents commented that prices the farmer pays for his machinery, seed, and commodities apparently are rising, while his income is being lowered.

Harry C. Colglazier, of Larned, master of the State grange, said he believes decreasing the support level on wheat is a serious threat to the prosperity of agriculture in the Great Plains area.

"I think it is entirely uncalled for in the face of soil-bank reductions and as far as the farmer is concerned, everything else is going

up while his prices go down," Colglazier said.

Colglazier explained that this year many of the 1 million farmers in the United States who farm less than 15 acres will raise more wheat on that amount than a quarter section in the drought area will produce.

He referred to regulations which permit farmers to plant less than 15 acres without restrictions. He said that by intensive farming methods not feasible in western Kansas, more wheat can be raised per acre than is raised on the open western Kansas land.

"If Benson doesn't know rainfall made his soil bank work, someone should tell him," Colglazier said.

"The fact these farmers in the drought last fall were unable to get their wheat sowed leaves them with less this spring than they would have got under the old support price, now the support is dropped. If it had rained last fall, the soil bank would have been no help," he added.

R. L. Patterson, of Oxford, president of the Kansas Wheat Growers Association, commented that a short crop is in forecast since only half of the allotted acreage for Kansas actually was seeded because of drought conditions last fall. Some of the crop that was planted has been hurt percentagewise by the mosaic which came in the cool cloudy weather early this spring.

"This cut in support prices is the most disastrous thing we could have happen to us," he said.

"It will bankrupt the small farmer. The price actually should be going up in this kind of a situation rather than going down," he said.

Asked if he thought the short supply of wheat in forecast would help keep the price well above the support level, Patterson said he did not think it will. He believes the millers and bakers who want good quality wheat with the proper glutinous properties will pay the usual premium, but he thinks the premium still will be only a little more than the support price.

Average quality wheat will sell at support levels, Patterson believes.

"The philosophy being applied just won't work," he commented.

Farmers Union president Martin Byrne of Topeka issued a written statement blasting the support price drop and calling on President Eisenhower to rescind Secretary Benson's action. Byrne said economic factors affecting wheat are no different than when Benson set wheat supports at $2 a year ago.

"Benson's action to cut wheat farmer's income takes the top 11 percent of the wheat price way from him. This is the slice of wheat price that clothes and feeds the wheat farmers' families. It has the same effect on the farmer as it would have on the small-business man who would reduce his price tags by 11 percent without a corresponding cut in costs of wholesale price levels.

"We intend to fight this issue," he added.

W. I. Boone of Eureka, president of the Kansas Farm Bureau, issued the minority reaction among the farm spokesmen.

After commenting that the 1958 wheat crop as announced by Secretary Benson is based on law and the only basis on which the price could have been set, Boone noted that "if Congress had not intended that the level of supply should be the principal factor in determining loan price supports, it would have not so provided in the law."

"The $1.78 is a minimum. If the supply, or parity, on July 1, 1958, justifies a higher support price, it can be so announced at that time," he said.

He added:

"Maintaining the rate of payment for the 1958 wheat acreage reserve phase of the soil bank at the same level as in 1957, plus a vigorous export effort will result in a higher market price for quality wheat than the support price. That has been true this year. The fact that less than 20 percent of the 1956 crop is still under loan on the take-over date indicates that something other than the loan price has been the determining factor in the market value."

The Jenkins-Keogh Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD an article appearing in the Massachusetts Law Quarterly for March of 1957, which was authored by my close friend and an outstanding member of the Boston bar, Joseph F. O'Connell, Jr.

I believe that the Congress could well profit by what Mr. O'Connell has to say on the Jenkins-Keogh bill now pending before the House Committee on Ways and Means:

THE JENKINS-KEOGH BILL—A BUSINESSLIKE APPROACH TO RETIREMENT BENEFITS FOR SELF-EMPLOYED LAWYERS PENDING IN CONGRESS

(By Joseph F. O'Connell, Jr.)

The American Bar Association, under the leadership of President David F. Maxwell, has made the support of this bill (H. R. 9 and 10—two identical bills) a major project of the association.

As a member of the house of delegates I urge all of the members of the bar to support it with letters or telegrams to the Ways and Means Committee and the Massachusetts delegation to Congress.

It is not merely a lawyer's bill but rather applies to the more than 10 million self-employed people in this country in every form of activity who are trying to support themselves and provide for their retirement.

Local groups of self-employed such as realtors, doctors, salesmen, etc., will shortly be formed and will be known as the American Thrift Assembly designed to cause the enactment of this bill, and this group will be spearheaded by the American Bar Association.

Lawyers were brought in under social security which benefits, while of questioned value, certainly are not adequate, and the Jenkins-Keogh bill would certainly provide the necessary retirement fund.

I insert below summary of the bill as issued by the Thrift Assembly and the ABA:

"The Jenkins-Keogh bill—as amended in the House Ways and Means Committee—allows a self-employed person to deduct from gross income each year a limited amount of earned income contributed by him by a restricted retirement fund or paid in as premiums to purchase a restricted retirement annuity contract. He can deduct annually up to $5,000 or 10 percent of earned income, whichever is less, but not more than a total of $100,000 during his lifetime. There is a 5-year carryover of unused exclusions.

"An individual who has reached age 55 before the effective date is allowed to deduct an additional amount, to help him build up an adequate interest in the fund or obtain more than a token annuity. In his case, the normal deduction limit is increased by the lesser of $500 or 1 percent of his earned income, multiplied by the number of years his age exceeds 55 (with a maximum average credit of 20 years).

"On attaining age 65, or earlier under certain conditions, he'll get back his contributions to the fund plus their accumulated earnings in one of three ways elected by him: (1) a lump sum; (2) annual, quarterly, or monthly installments over a period of years; or (3) one or more single premium life annuity contracts."

The income of a professional man usually rises slowly in early years, advances rapidly to a peak where it stays for a few years, then declines gradually. The problem we face in these days of steep income taxes is how to lay something aside from those peak earning years to provide for ourselves and our families.

For those of us who are self-employed there exist no ready-made retirement programs. Present tax laws render them unworkable. At the same time, millions of our fellow citizens find present income tax laws help them retire. Working for others rather than for themselves, they participate in employees' pension plans.

As you know, moneys paid into these trusteed or insured plans by an employer are deemed a business expense and constitute a tax deduction for the employer. More important to the employee is the fact that he does not have to pay any income tax on his company's contribution, or the increments thereto, until the benefits actually are paid out.

For instance, if Mr. A, an officer of corporation X, draws a salary of $20,000 a year and corporation X pays into its qualified employees' trust each year for Mr. A the sum of $3,000, the taxable income of Mr. A is not thereby increased to $23,000. Mr. A pays income taxes only upon $20,000. The $3,000 paid to the employees' trust for Mr. A's benefit is not a part of his taxable income until he actually receives it, plus interest earnings, from the trust some years later—usually after his days of high earned income are past. The same is true of a clerk in the office or a workman in the plant. These employed persons are having moneys paid into a trust for them and they do not currently pay taxes on such sums.

But 10 million self-employed taxpayers have no such tax-deferment right. When we work for ourselves, we are denied equivalent assistance toward retirement.

High taxes and high living costs make it difficult for the self-employed man or woman—you yourself—to create an old-age reitrement fund out of current income.

This is true of lawyers and doctors, farmers, small-business men, dentists, accountants—altogether some 1 million private citizens. For a long time now they and we have proposed legislation to amend the tax laws so that the self-employed might achieve a measure of equality to establish individual retirement programs similar to pension plans that grant tax deferment and retirement benefits to employees.

In the last Congress, the Jenkins-Keogh bill—the Individual Retirement Act of 1955—was introduced to help you and all self-employed people set aside a part of earnings for retirement. It sought to secure for you tax-deferment privileges long available to those who work for others but denied those who work for themselves.

Jenkins-Keogh had bipartisan backing. Leading spokesmen for both political parties publicly endorsed its underlying principle. The glaring inequity it seeks to adjust has not a single responsible apologist. (The Secretary of the Treasury grants that present revenue laws are unfair to the self-employed.) The house of delegates of the American Bar Association and many State and local bar associations were strongly behind it. Yet the bill died in the Ways and Means Committee.

As a member of the ABA house of delegates, I join Mr. O'Connell in his recommendation to all self-employed lawyers to communicate to the House Ways and Means

Committee and the Massachusetts Members of both Houses their support of the Jenkins-Keogh bill to provide them with the opportunity of an adequate voluntary retirement plan if they wish to take advantage of it.

At the meeting of the executive committee of the Massachusetts Bar Association on March 13, 1957, following an advance notice of the substance of the Jenkins-Keogh bill, it was considered, and the committee voted unanimously to support it.

FRANK W. GRINNELL,
Secretary.

What Did We Buy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, what has happened to the good old-fashioned phrases of the past? I have in mind, particularly, the one "Charity begins at home." We are in the throes of discussions of the various supplemental, deficency, and new appropriations, and every day we are reminded by the people in our districts: "Cut, reduce, show some regard for financial stability of Government." Within the next few weeks there will be presented to us the "pork barrel" of them all—foreign aid. I trust that we will carefully consider the effect of the continuance of a program which to date has failed to produce appreciable results. It is our primary duty to give the American taxpayer a break.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the New York Mirror of May 9, 1957:

WHAT DID WE BUY?

Senator JOHN KENNEDY is a delightful human being, an excellent orator, and a candidate for the Presidency and one would like to say, amen, to his highly humanitarian sentiments about giving the American taxpayers' money to Poland and other places.

But the thought comes that maybe we ought to keep some of that money right here at home.

Senator KENNEDY was talking before the Overseas Press Club at their annual shindig which has now become one of the outstanding events among journalists in this city, particularly those who specialize in foreign affairs.

Last Sunday, Senator WILLIAM KNOWLAND, speaking here before the American Jewish League Against Communism, said that he would give no more money to Tito.

The real problem is that we have poured $62 billion into this foreign-aid business and what have we got for it?

We have just given Jordan $10 million with no strings attached.

We have been offering the Arabs $200 million and sent a special emissary out there to beg them to take the dough and most of them refused to see him.

They would like to get our money, but secretly. They seem to be ashamed to be associated with us.

There is much sentiment in this country to help the revolutionists in Hungary and Poland. Then let us help the revolutionists, if we have to help anybody.

Why help the Communist governments of these countries?

Why help the so-called national Communists, who are Communists, nonetheless?

If Gomulka could oust Khrushchev, would Gomulka be less a Communist?

Would he reject the basic Marxist-Leninist doctrine that the capitalist countries must be destroyed, and the one that must surely be destroyed is the United States?

It would seem that our foreign-aid program needs rethinking and rethinking thoroughly.

Letter to the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial, which appeared in the Washington Daily News of May 9, 1957:

LETTER TO IKE

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We read on the front pages you are planning a couple of TV speeches to explain the $71,800,000,000 budget to us taxpayers.

It is a formidable undertaking, Mr. President, and we wish you luck.

And having, as always, a friendly feeling toward you, we offer a tip.

Which is: If you want to save some of the pieces of the United States Information Agency, talk to someone besides Arthur Larson when you write that section of your speech.

We know you picked Mr. Larson as Chief of the USIA but we don't know why. He is a personable and articulate gentleman, of fine poise and presence. He's a writer of books, a professor of law and his record as Assistant Secretary of Labor seemed good. We hear he's a whingding of a speech writer.

But really, Mr. President, what Mr. Larson doesn't know about the USIA is getting your administration into trouble.

He was before a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee yesterday and didn't look good.

He was asked how many USIA employees here in Washington were "engaged in gathering, reporting, editing, and processing news." Mr. Larson didn't know.

Apparently he thought he could bowl the Senators into the aisle by mentioning what a prodigious job the USIA did in correcting the Soviet propaganda distortions in the Autherine Lucy case. But when Senators asked exactly what did USIA do, Mr. Larson didn't know. Reminded them he hadn't been in the USIA at that time. Better he hadn't mentioned it.

Mr. Larson wrote a book titled "A Republican Looks at His Party." We hear tell you read it and liked it. It has become the bible of what is called modern Republicanism.

Know what we think, Mr. President? We think a lot of your budgetmakers were reading Mr. Larson's book when they should have been reading the election returns. Most of us who voted for you favor less Government spending, not more.

Arthur Larson's role as Mr. Modern Republican doesn't set well.

Did you read the news article in our paper the other day? The one which reported that Mr. Larson didn't vote in the last election? Hadn't voted in five primaries and general elections in which he had been eligible to vote since he registered in Pittsburgh in August 1954.

A modern Republican who doesn't know how to vote is on a par with a United States information chief who doesn't know how to inform.

Raises the blisters on the backs of precinct workers trying to get out the vote.

Recent Decision in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia Again Rules Congress Has Power To Investigate Communist Party and Those Who Are Members Thereof

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to place the full text of rulings of the court in the recently decided case of United States of America against Alden Whitman.

I believe that the distinguished judge of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, Washington, D. C., makes some interesting and indicative comments in his rulings which I am sure will be of immediate interest to every Member of this great legislative body.

As a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, I am pleased to be able to present the full text of this recent court decision to you and all my other colleagues:

MAY 3, 1957.

Hon. EDWARD M. CURRAN,
United States District Court,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR JUDGE CURRAN: I would very much appreciate receiving a copy of the decision, if possible, in the case wherein Alden Whitman was convicted of contempt of Congress.

If there is any charge, please advise me.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

CLYDE DOYLE,
Member of Congress.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT,
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
Washington, May 8, 1957.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: Pursuant to the request in your letter of May 3, 1957, there is transmitted herewith copy of the court's ruling in the case of *United States v. Alden Whitman.*

With windest regards and best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

EDWARD M. CURRAN,
Judge.

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—UNITED STATES OF AMERICA *v.* ALDEN WHITMAN, DEFENDANT—CRIMINAL ACTION NO. 1213–56

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 9, 1957.*

The above-entitled cause came on for further trial before the Honorable Edward M. Curran, District court judge, at 10 a. m.

Appearance: William Hitz, Esq., assistant United States attorney, for the Government; Thurman Arnold, Esq. and Gerhard P. Van Arkel, Esq., for the defendant.

RULING OF THE COURT

The COURT. I am ready to rule now.

The resolution, Senate Resolution 366 of the 81st Congress, 2d session, provided that the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, was authorized and directed to make a complete and continuing study and investigation of (1) the administration, operation, and enforcement of the Internal Security Act of 1950; (2) the administration, operation, and enforcement of other laws relating to espionage, sabotage, and the protection of the internal security of the United States, and (3) the extent, nature, and effect of subversive activities in the United States, its Territories and possessions, including but not limited to espionage, sabotage, and infiltration, by persons who are or who may be under the domination of the foreign government or organizations controlling the world Communist movement or any other movement seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence.

The Congress of the United States has the power to investigate the history of the Communist Party, and in this connection it has the power to determine who are members of the Communist Party. The committee has the power to investigate the growth or the decline of the Communist Party and its numerical strength at various times as part of an inquiry into the extent of the activities of the Communist Party and the legislative means that might be appropriate for dealing with such activities.

Inquiry as to the number of persons who are Communists and who they were between 1935 and 1948 was pertinent to such investigation. If the committee of the Senate is denied the opportunity of ascertaining the present and past membership of the Communist Party, it might well be stymied in making the proper recommendations to the Congress of the United States. This court, therefore, holds that the resolution authorized the committee to ask the questions asked the defendant in the particular context in which the committee propounded them and the questions were pertinent to a valid legislative purpose. I, therefore, find the defendant guilty. The case will be referred to the probation officer for a report, but I will defer the imposition of sentence until the Watkins case is decided.

Mr. HITZ. Would Your Honor indicate how you rule on each count?

The COURT. Guilty on all counts.

(Whereupon, at 3 p. m., the matter was concluded.)

What Has Become of the Force and Effect of Article X of Our Constitution?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply disturbed at the recent decision of our Supreme Court of the United States which has laid down the rule that no State may deny a person admission to the bar of that State merely because he or she refuses to answer questions as to their Communist affiliations. What has become of the force and effect of article X of our Constitution?

It seems to me that the character committee of the local State system should have full jurisdiction with respect to a determination as to the good moral character of the applicants for admission to the bar of their respective State. I cannot believe that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States was ever intended to be more than the limits which statute has defined to it as a final arbiter.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the column of John O'Donnell dated May 8, 1957:

CAPITOL STUFF

(By John O'Donnell)

WASHINGTON, May 8.—Without getting the deep attention it deserved, our distinguished Supreme Court has handed down an important decision which prohibits the sovereign States (in this case California) from deciding whether Commies or former Commies shall be permitted to practice law in their courts.

In California, one Raphael Konigsberger was turned down by the State bar association and by the California State Supreme Court on his application for admission to the bar. The State's highest court ruled that Konigsberger, by refusing to answer questions about Communist affiliations, had failed to demonstrate that he was a person of good moral character and had failed to show that he did not advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

That ended it so far as the sovereign State of California was concerned, but the Supreme Court in Washington last Monday reversed the decision.

Now if this had happened 2 years ago, there would have been a violent flap in the Senate dovecote. The followers of the late Senator McCarthy would have roared against the coddling of admitted Commies. The southerners, to whom the sovereign rights of the States is precious, would have screamed their denunciation of this imposition of Federal powers to nullify a ruling by the highest court of a sovereign State. This is particularly true because the ruling was a judgment of the loyalty of members of the bar who would appear before the State courts.

In cold fact, this decision is as significant as the antisegregation ruling which still disturbs the Nation, politically and socially. Three Justices denounced it and their names and reasons are important.

THE JUSTICES WHO DISSENTED

The powerful dissenting opinion was written by Eisenhower-appointed Justice John Marshall Harlan, of New York. Truman-appointed Justice Tom Clark, of Texas, went along with Harlan. Roosevelt-appointed Justice Felix Frankfurter also dissented, but for reasons of his own. He held there was no constitutional issue involved.

Justice Frankfurter sharply rapped his associates with the admonition: "Due regard for the rightful independence of State governments, which should actuate Federal courts, requires that they scrupulously confine their own jurisdiction to the precise limits which the statute has defined." In other words, don't horn in where it is none of our business.

F. D. R.'s first appointee to the high bench, Justice Hugo Black, wrote the majority opinion in both the Californian Konigsberg appeal and its twin brother, the case of New Mexico's Rudolph Schware, another law student barred from admission to the bar by his State.

WHERE TO BE SLOW TO ENTER

Eisenhower's most recent appointee, Justice Charles Evans Whittaker, did not participate in either decision since he was not a member of the Court when the cases were argued. The important development was the difference in legal thinking between the four followers of Justice Black—Chief Justice Warren and Justices Douglas, Burton, and Brennan—and the opposing Harlan-Frankfurter-Clark school of thought.

Justice Harlan was sharp and direct in his dissent. He wrote:

"This case involves an area of Federal-State relations—the right of States to establish and administer standard of admissions to their bars—into which this Court should be especially slow and reluctant to enter. * * *

"In doing what it is doing here, this Court steps outside its proper role as the final arbiter and acts instead as if it were a super State court of appeals."

All the distinguished judges agreed that the facts of the case were that California law orders that no person be admitted to the practice of law who advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States or the State of California by force or violence. The burden of proof is on the applicant to show that he is of good moral character and loyal.

THE SUMMING UP BY HARLAN

There was no question about Konigsberg's stubborn refusal to answer questions about his Commie tieups. The Supreme Court majority opinion, written by Justice Black, correctly (if not realistically) points out that there was no evidence to show that Konigsberg was not of a good moral character.

To my mind, Justice Harlan slashed the bleeding-heart reasoning of Justice Black to shreds in summing up the case:

"A State may refuse admission to its bar to an applicant, no matter how sincere, who refuses to answer questions which are reasonably relevant to his qualifications. The opinion of the Court does not question this; it solves the problem by denying that it exists. But what the Court has really done is to impose on California the Court's own notions of public policy and judgment. For me, today's decision represents an unacceptable intrusion into a matter of State concern. I dissent."

Passing of An Artist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT P. MORANO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest bassos of all time passed away last night. The death of my friend, Ezio Pinza, of Stanford, Conn., is not only a great personal loss to me, it is a loss to the world of culture, to the millions he made happy by his thrilling voice, to the thousands who knew him and admired him, and most of all, a grievous loss to the devoted family who loved him.

Ezio Pinza was born an Italian. He was born with the sparkle and the fervor, the love of life and the penchant for song that so characterizes this nationality. In his singing it was easy to detect the strong character of the man. For it was not only God's gift of song that made Pinza great. Through his singing the man's whole being was expressed, his pride in his family and his adopted Nation; his strength of character and his love for humanity, especially the poor and the underprivileged.

Pinza gloried for many years as the Metropolitan Opera's leading basso. His

voice and performance was never paralleled. In later years, although his voice declined with age, it never lost its resonant quality and he was soon to adapt to a new art form, and his characterization of Emile D'Beque in South Pacific transformed him into the idol of millions.

Ezio Pinza is gone. But as long as music lives, he will be remembered.

Remarks of Hon. Sam Rayburn, of Texas, at the Jefferson-Jackson Dinner in Salem, Ohio, on May 4, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it was my very great honor to have you, the Speaker, in my district to speak to my constituents on Saturday night, May 4. I am proud and privileged to put the remarks you made at that time in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF HON. SAM RAYBURN AT JEFFERSON-JACKSON DINNER IN SALEM, OHIO, ON MAY 4, 1957

I am happy to be in the great State of Ohio again. It has been my privilege to visit Ohio many times, and I have found its people sane, sound, patriotic people. Many of the great names in our history have come out of Ohio. It is a State rich, not only in people, but in soil and industry.

I am immensely pleased that it is my privilege to be in the district represented by your very able and energetic Congressman, WAYNE HAYS. He has character, he has ability, he has industry. If the people of this district will reelect him many times in the future, he will not only be an honor to the district, but he will make such an outstanding record in the Congress that not only this district, but all of Ohio, will be proud of this son.

I am happy that you people are giving this dinner in honor of your Congressman, WAYNE HAYS. It is a testimonial richly deserved. I appointed him as a member of the United States Commission to NATO, and there he was honored by being made chairman of the conference. By word of mouth and by letter I received word of the great job he did as chairman of that most important conference. It is an honor that comes to few men, and to know that he did such a wonderful job makes me, along with you, happy to help do him this splendid honor.

We Democrats demonstrated for 20 years that we could have a program, and we knew how to put it into effect. In 20 years, under Roosevelt and Truman, we made a record of legislative accomplishments unequaled by any 20 years in American history. We demonstrated to the people of America that we were their friend and had their interests at heart.

As my friend, and the great Democratic leader in the House of Representatives, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, has so eloquently said, "The Democratic Party is the party with a heart." The Republican Party has not changed in 100 years; yea, it has not changed since Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic Party, and Alexander Hamilton, the founder of the Republican Party, struggled in the Cabinet of the great Washington.

The Jeffersonian theory was, and the Democratic theory and practice now is, that the way to make the country prosperous is to make the man at the base, the man who works with his brain and his brawn, in the stores, factories, on the farms and the marts of trade, more prosperous. If these people are reasonably prosperous and have a buying power, that prosperity goes from the bottom to the top.

We are witnessing an administration now that is true to their ancient faith. It is the day when bigness is promoted. It is the day of merger and consolidation, encouraged by everyone in the present Republican administration, from the President down.

I said that the Democratic Party is the party with a heart. To prove this, all you have to do is to look at what we have done for the aged and the poor. Social security was a Democratic product. Old-age assistance was a Democratic product. Under the expansions we have made in these laws, thousands upon thousands of American citizens are living in decency when they could not have had the bread of life if it had not been for the Democratic Party.

Let's look backward for a moment. In 1932, the last year of the Hoover administration, the total net income of all the farmers of the United States was $1,800,000,000. Under our laws, and our administrations, we raised the farm income to more than $15 billion. It has taken the Republicans 4 years to reduce the income of the farmers of the United States more than $4½ billion.

A great many Republicans want to make Ezra Taft Benson the scapegoat and not blame the head of the administration. Mr. Eisenhower appointed Mr. Benson as Secretary of Agriculture and has kept him in that place all this time, and the acts of this administration that have brought disaster, poverty, and bankruptcy to many of our farm families must be laid at the door of President Eisenhower.

During the campaign of 1952, Candidate Eisenhower pledged the American farmers 100 percent of parity in the market place, but after he became President he endorsed, advocated and pleaded for a flexible price support from 75 percent to 90 percent.

Millions were unemployed when we came into power in 1933, and before our administration closed 62½ million men and women were gainfully employed at reasonable wages and decent working conditions.

After 12 years under Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, the national income of the United States had sunk to $39 billion. We were accused of spending the country into bankruptcy, but in the 20 years we were in power, the national income rose to more than $280 billion.

Talk about spending, President Eisenhower has just presented the biggest budget ever presented in peacetime in the history of our country. There is too much fat in this budget, and I pledge you that the Democratic Congress is going to remove from it, in my opinion, somewhere from 3 to 5 billion dollars. We are not going to cut recklessly, but in a sane, sound way without hurting our country, and we are going to select carefully those parts of the budget which can be cut, and when we cut the budget these billions of dollars, we are not only going to take that load off the taxpayers of the country, but we are going to give that savings back to the people of the country in the form of tax reduction.

The Republicans went over the land railing at the foreign policy of the United States. They indicated they were going to rip the Truman-Acheson policy up by the roots and bring in a great imaginative foreign policy. They have conducted the foreign affairs of this Government in such a fashion that today, I am sad to say, I believe we have fewer friends in the world than we ever had before.

The world wanted us to be its leader. I fear that they believe now we have faltered and failed.

We cannot lay the failures of this foreign policy at the door of Mr. Dulles alone. The President of the United States, under the Constitution, is head of our foreign affairs, and any failure in this must be laid at the door of President Eisenhower.

We Democrats believe that those in places of responsibility should be able enough, and bold enough, to assume the responsibility for the acts of the Administration.

They said our program of 20 years was leading the country into socialism. They indicated they were going to rip our laws up by the roots and have a new dynamic program of their own. I have said this a great many times, and I am going to repeat it tonight. I challenge them to show where anybody in this Administration, from the President down, has advocated the repeal of a single law we passed in the 20 years we were in power. If the Democratic Party was socialistic in putting these laws on the statute books, then the Republican Administration is equally socialistic for letting them remain.

Mr. Eisenhower said that one of the reasons he was a candidate again was because the Republican Party needed rebuilding so badly. That is one statement that he had made in which, we, as Democrats, and a vast majority of the American people, are in accord.

The great phase has been coined by Mr. Eisenhower, and that is "Modern Republicanism." Modern Republicanism is such a phrase that it would sound like somebody was going to make modern antiques.

Rebuilding this Republican Party, and making it a party of the people will be a bigger undertaking than building the Aswan Dam. It will be a bigger project than damming all the streams and building the upper Colorado, Fryingpan, and Hells Canyon Dams all piled into one.

The Republican Party boasts of the prosperity of the country. When and where was the foundation laid? It was laid under a Democratic administration.

Let me repeat, we took this country in 1933, when it had a national income of $39 billion, and raised it to more than $280 billion. That is the foundation well laid by Democratic administrations, and the force and power that we gave it has carried the country on to even greater heights.

The Republican Party cannot claim the credit, therefore, for the prosperity that exists today.

So, I come back as I began. The Democratic Party is, has been, and will be, the party of the people and for all the people.

The Republican Party will remain what it is, and has been, the party of preferred privileged.

The American people are entitled to a leader in the White House who leads, and they do not want a Government administered by a staff that directs the President.

Republicans say they are the party of the future—well, if the Republican Party is to have a future they must in some way have the American people forget their past.

The Democratic Party fulfills its promises and carries out its pledges. The Republican Party makes promises and pledges and forgets them after elections.

Mr. Eisenhower carried the country by the biggest majority that any presidential candidate had ever carried it by, yet the Republican Party itself was so unpopular that they were defeated at the congressional elections, and the Democrats now control the Senate and the House of Representatives. I predict that, with the bungling and the ineptness being shown by this administration, the 1958 Congressional elections will return a bigger majority for the Democrats in the Senate and in the House of Representatives than we have at this time.

H. R. 6659, the Housing Act, and Home Building in the San Francisco Bay Area

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, aside from the national importance of legislation to stimulate the home-building industry, which has been discussed at great length during the debate on H. R. 6659, I want to stress the critical situation the construction industry faces in the San Francisco Bay area right at this moment as a result of the tight-money market and the inability to obtain investment money at reasonable interest rates. I am sure that the San Francisco crisis is multiplied many times over throughout the Nation, but I want to cite the experience in my own area on which I have some depressing figures.

A recent San Francisco newspaper article gives a graphic picture of the situation in its opening paragraph, using a figure of speech particularly appropriate to the local area. The article says and I quote: "Bay area home building, a mainstay of the big boom, has begun to look like a tract house hit by an earthquake." I have been watching the local home building decline from month to month for some time now, and it begins to look to me as if the recent California earthquake would have been a blessing if it had hit Washington instead and shaken the administration loose from its complacent attachment to the disastrous tight money, high interest policy which it deliberately set in motion and which is directly responsible for the predicament home builders and buyers are now in.

March in California normally signals the beginning of a spring construction boom, even in a bad year. But this year bay area contractors started construction of fewer houses than in any March in the past decade, and this is in the face of an increasing demand for reasonably priced housing caused by our heavy population increase. According to the Department of Labor, "the normal spring upturn in the bay area was almost completely absent." As a matter of fact March 1957 building permits were 45 percent under those issued in the same month in 1956, and barely exceeded the February total which is a slow winter month.

The result of this is not only to deny new homes to people who are crying for a decent place to live, and to place contractors, particularly the smaller operators with small resources, into a very bad position financially, but to cause heavy unemployment among construction workers at a time when they normally expect to find steady work after the winter layoffs. As an example, of approximately 4,200 carpenters in the San Francisco Bay area, almost 25 percent are out of work. Unemployment insurance claims in the area for March rose 11 percent over the February total due almost entirely to the lack of home building. If we translate that from the cold figures into terms of what it means to individuals and to their families it is not a pretty story. What it amounts to is that the administration's tight money policy forces a tighten-the-belt policy on the man who cannot find work at his trade and on his wife and children. The bankers and investment interests do not complain, but then they are getting fat on high interest rates for every type of investment and don't have to depend on a weekly pay envelope for food and clothing.

I certainly favor the provisions of this proposed legislation which will liberalize down-payment requirements on FHA loans as a means of stimulating home building. I am also in favor of the provisions of the bill which will attempt to limit the outrageous discounts and service charges lenders are now demanding in order to boost their interest return far above the 5 percent permitted by the law. I am not certain, however, that H. R. 6659 as it now stands will loosen the money market sufficiently to provide the stimulation the home construction industry needs to bring the annual rate of new home building up to the 2 million per year level needed. The present rate of less than 900,000 per year is far from enough, and is directly traceable to the unwillingness of the money lenders to invest until they can force interest rates even higher than they now are. They are indulging in a form of blackmail and I strongly believe that Congress should be prepared to take action to break up the conspiracy. It seems to me that we should consider giving to the Federal Housing Authority and the Veterans' Administration increased authority to conduct a direct loan program in any area where private investment money is not made available in adequate amounts at the present legal interest rates and without excessive discounts, fees and charges. I do not believe it would be necessary to actually use this authority to any great extent, since the mere fact that it was there would, I am convinced, prove to the big banking and investment interests that we mean business. It would be accepted as evidence that the Congress does not condone nor intend to put up with the present administration's high interest tight money policies.

Mr. Speaker, such a proposal would bring back to the FHA and VA money markets the funds that are now being withheld by forcing prospective home buyers to borrow in the so-called free market where they must pay from 6 to 7 percent. It would serve effective notice on the money lenders and their policy-making friends in the administration that, although they may be in the saddle in the White House and the Treasury, we will not allow their profiteering to be saddled on the people of this country.

Under unanimous consent, I insert the article from the San Francisco Daily News of April 22, to which I have referred, in the RECORD following these remarks and submit it for that purpose:

BAY AREA'S BOOM IN HOME BUILDING NEARING COLLAPSE

(By Stephen Warshaw)

Bay area home building, a mainstay of the big boom, has begun to look like a tract house hit by an earthquake.

The housing industry has the highest unemployment and is suffering the sharpest declines of any major industry here or across the Nation.

Primary reason is shortage of mortgage money; but the bankers and other lenders blamed for tight money have begun to snap back: "It's not our fault. The market for new housing is crippled anyway. Demand is down."

Whatever the cause, the question is whether any economic force is able to put Humpty Dumpty together again. The effects of the shattered boom in housing have begun to slow up business generally:

Of the 4,200 bay area carpenters, almost 25 percent are unemployed, according to union officials.

Their contention is supported by the California Department of Employment. Bay area unemployment-insurance claims increased by 11 percent from February to March, rising to 30,300. The cause of the increase, in a month when employment normally rises, is the failing housing industry, said H. W. Stewart, department director.

Bay area contractors started fewer houses in March than in any other March of the past decade.

The number of building permits slumped to 2,261. That was 45 percent less than in 1956, and barely 3 percent higher than in February, although construction normally rises sharply when spring arrives.

"The normal spring upturn (in the bay area), said the United States Department of Labor, "was almost completely absent."

While some builders find themselves unable to build or finance houses at a rate high enough to stay in business, they're also finding it necessary to choke off a large portion of the present market; construction costs continue to rise.

The bay area council demonstrates this through a set of plans it sends out periodically for bidding. The plans are for a conventional rustic redwood house of 1,020 square feet. It has three bedrooms and one bath.

In 1951 the house could be built for $8.96 a square foot. By 1954 the price had risen to $9.27 a square foot and last year it was $9.99. Today the price has taken another big jump; it is $10.54 a square foot.

"We're not building for poorer people, without much money to put down on housing," said a top official of the District Council of Carpenters. "There isn't one tract going now. You can't get a house for less than $14,000."

At the same time, there is no end of rising production costs in sight. More than 35,000 northern California construction workers will find $7.20 more in their paychecks this week. The rise was won in a 5-year contract signed last week by the District Council of Laborers and the Associated General Contractors.

Then, too, the carpenters, among the most skilled and best-paid construction workers, will receive another increase in June. It'll come under a 3-year contract signed in 1956 and, with fringe benefits, will increase their payroll by about 10 percent.

"Not many of us are going bankrupt, if any at all," said a spokesman for the contractors.

"We just aren't building. We saved ourselves only because we all decided to lay low, beginning last fall."

The contractors say the bankers must release more mortgage money at lower interest rates, or the economy will begin its

feared decline. The bankers say they are not holding enough deposits to increase mortgages, that the free market has forced interest rates higher.

It is now almost impossible to get a GI loan, although Congress has refused to raise the 4½ percent interest rate. Most conventional loans are going for from 6 to 7 percent. In addition, as the News pointed out last winter, hidden discounts in mortgages raise the price of money far higher.

Nationally, the median price of a house has climbed relentlessly from $12,300 in 1954 to $13,700 in 1955 to a probable $15,500 in 1957, say the analysts.

The entire cutback has been in the middle to low income section of the market, largely supplied by the big builder who is dependent on FHA and VA financing.

By contrast, the market for conventionally financed housing has held steady. The proportion of starts for houses over $15,000 has climbed from 27 percent in 1954 to almost 60 percent this year.

Moreover, this State's struggle with its Cal-Vet loans—which go for a low 3 percent interest to California veterans only—proves that demand continues to ride high.

In February 16,000 veterans were waiting for the loans. Now 24,000, more than 11,000 of them in the bay area, are jamming Cal-Vet offices in the search for financing.

Memorial by Missouri Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I am including a resolution passed by the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri on May 2, 1957, as follows:

SENATE RESOLUTION 97

Whereas we, the elected representatives of the people of Missouri have carefully observed the effect of high Federal tax rates on individuals and business and we are deeply concerned over the obvious effects thereof; and

Whereas highly progressive income-tax rates have made the accumulation of personal-venture capital virtually impossible and have destroyed the incentive for individuals to invest in new and untried business ventures; and

Whereas high Federal taxes are the basic cause of many mergers which are slowly but surely absorbing the middle-sized company with its independent management, and concentrating business and economic power in the hands of large corporations; and

Whereas small corporations and small individual businessmen and women are finding it impossible to retain sufficient profits after payment of taxes, to permit reasonable and healthy growth; and

Whereas the Federal Government is dominating almost every field of taxation, and taking more and more away from our citizens and leaving State and local governments in a most difficult financial condition; and

Whereas the highly progressive income tax with rates ranging up to 91 percent is in fact confiscation of income and through high estate and gift taxes we have confiscation of property as well, which philosophy is repugnant to Americans, with the result that the equitable collection of taxes is impossible; and

Whereas to make available venture capital, to restore the incentive to engage in new job-creating enterprises, to give small business the opportunity to prosper and grow, to stop the trend toward concentration of industry, to restore the personal right to dispose of property by gift or at death without penalty, to enable the States to assume the responsibilities which are rightfully theirs is of utmost importance to all Americans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, That—

SECTION 1. We respectfully recommend for immediate consideration by Congres the following:

1. Substantial reduction of the combined normal and surtax rates on personal income.

2. Tax relief for small corporations to permit normal and healthy growth.

3. Reduction of Federal, estate, and gift taxes.

4. Reduction in the expenditures being made by the Federal Government.

SEC. 2. The secretary of the senate is hereby directed to forward copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, and to all the Members of Congress from the State of Missouri.

I, Joseph A. Bauer, secretary of the senate, do hereby certify the above and foregoing to be a full, true and complete copy of Senate Resolution No. 97, offered into and adopted by the senate on May 2, 1957, as fully as the same appears of record in my office.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the Senate of the State of Missouri this 2d day of May 1957.

JOSEPH A. BAUER,
Secretary of the Senate, 69th General Assembly.

American Labor and Industry Must Be Protected

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker and my other distinguished colleagues, today I introduced in the Congress a revised import-quota bill based upon an entirely new formula that is designed to provide our domestic industries, at long last, with protection from low-priced, foreign-made products that undersell our own wares and hence inflict injury upon American labor and free enterprise. This bill, which I refer to as a self-liberalizing quota bill, is the result of months and months, and even years, of intensive study, and I believe that if this body enacts the measure into law it will provide a long-sought solution for our domestic industries and the great American labor force that constantly face injury from imports.

Mr. Speaker, this self-liberalizing quota idea is unique in certain respects, and I believe that a comprehensive explanation should be made of the measure here at the outset. Therefore, I have prepared the following justification statement:

JUSTIFICATION FOR A SELF-LIBERALIZING QUOTA BILL

As opposed to free trade there are various restrictive practices which are used to curtail imports especially if excessive imports of a special type tend to injure a domestic industry producing a like commodity.

Under the trade liberalization movement initiated by the United States in cutting tariffs under the various reciprocal trade agreements acts as well as by the progressive reduction of 15 percent of tariffs as of January 1, 1955, there are certain specific safeguards in the tariff law to protect American producers of commodities imported in excess or in quantities injurious to domestic producers of similar or competitive products. These consist of the escape and injury clauses as well as the newer appeal procedure to the Office of Defense Mobilization under section 7 of the Trade Agreements Act on the grounds of defense essentiality.

Opposition to excessive imports of various commodities has been crystallized in various proposed bills dealing with restrictions of imports. Generally these bills are of various types:

First. All products or a selected list of products are placed on an absolute quota of imports.

Second. An import is established as a percentage of United States consumption. This percentage changes according to the commodity.

Third. A variable quota is allowed, based on the relative productive cost in areas of so-called cheap labor. In other words, a quota or added tariff is added to offset the low labor cost of imports.

Fourth. Our current tariff law, with a few quota exceptions for agricultural commodities, allows for an additional tariff levy to be assessed if it can be proved that excessive imports tend to injure a domestic producer of a like or competitive product.

In general, these quota proposals go contrary to the concept of the progressive and expanding economy of the United States with its ever-increasing needs for imports. The growing gross national product here at home and abroad takes cognizance of the fact that increasing consumption and industrial expansion cause an increasing and progressive expansion of international trade. Certainly if we wish to export, and no one can gainsay that fact, we must also be prepared to import.

It is not in the area of raw materials but primarily in the field of manufactured items which we import, that injury results wherever imports of certain commodities in excess of our consuming needs tend to displace domestically produced goods of a similar or competitive nature.

In general, our import system has worked very well during the postwar years. Under the provisions of our tariff law certain specific procedures have been originated by which domestic producers can have a restriction put on imports by an increase in tariffs. Of the various appeals against injury, or applications for relief by the addition of increased tariffs, the Tariff Commission and the Office of Defense Mobilization have actu-

ally granted an increase in tariffs in a few notable cases—namely bicycles and Swiss watches. In many other cases these applications for relief have been disallowed after finding has been made, subsequent to hearings held on the subject, that imports have been such as not to injure domestic producers of like products.

The problems of excessive imports in some fields are gaining in intensity and many domestic producers are becoming alarmed at the continued tendency of imports increasing due to the progressive lowering of tariffs. Currently, quite a few of our industries are beginning to complain that excessive imports continue to injure their domestic industries. If the trend continues, the net result may be a permanent cessation of domestic production of such commodities. The continuing deleterious results are already very evident in those areas of our country producing textiles, fabricated rubber products, bicycle, woodscrews, ball bearings, firearms, watches, pins, needles, copper and brass mill products as well as wire mill products, and plywoods.

Singly, our industries are told that they are not being injured as badly as they imagine; that they should diversify or retrain their workers for other occupations. Most of this is wishful thinking. The mere fact that many qualified and trained workers leave one industry and find employment in another does not guarantee the survival of the industry driven to the wall by excessive imports. The time has come when relief must not be given when it is too late or when the factory has been closed, the workers dispersed, and the resultant blight has settled on a community. The time to give collective relief against excessive imports is when the applications for relief pour into the Tariff Commission so as to offset the continuing injury or to safeguard industry's future.

American businessmen can sense a trend long before the actual reality materializes. Our Government should be alive to these trends and actively assist our businessmen in keeping their businesses progressive and profitable by prohibiting excessive imports that could seriously dislocate domestic industry.

It seems to me that the time has come to reappraise the import situation and readjust imports not by cutting or raising tariffs, but by a realistic and positive approach, namely by studying the quantity and volume of imports over a period of years and then deciding on a definite procedure to be followed. This procedure should be one not merely to protect affected industries at present, but rather should it be a positive one that will also foresee possible injury in other areas and hence will eliminate injury or difficulties before they actually arise.

It has been proved time and again that raising tariffs is not the best method of curtailing imports. Foreign traders merely find ways of exporting either cheaper products or others on which profits can be made. The direct result is that there is a continuous round of United States industries being injured in some fashion or other by excessive imports. The trend seems to be toward a progressive increase in imports year by year with a resultant injury to an increasing list of our industries which cannot compete with commodities from so-called "low cost" areas.

In trade there is one concept which makes for stability, namely the ability to know beforehand what quantity can be imported or exported aside from considering the various imponderables of exchange difficulties, changeable tastes in commodities, labor costs and so forth. Stability is created when producers in our country can know definitely what percentage of their market can be assigned to imports. Whether this percentage of our market is large or small assist the foreign trader to lay his plans accordingly and at the same time allow the domestic producer enough time either to add new lines or to retrain workers who might be displaced by imports.

It is this aspect which is central to my bill concerning self-liberalizing quotas.

In this bill the pattern of imports is placed on the traditional basis; that is, an average is computed on a 5-year basis; this average takes into consideration the fluctuations inherent during such a period.

The recommendation of the bill is that the average for calendar years 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, and 1954 shall be the import total for calendar year 1958; average for 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, and 1955 shall be the import total for 1959; average for 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, and 1956 shall be the import total for 1960. Since most imports have gradually increased over the years the import total for the new calendar year cannot be as small as the initial year or as large as the final year for which statistics are available—namely, 1956. Each year the import total rises.

Yet in every instance where a domestic producer has asked for relief from the Tariff Commission or the Office of Defense Mobilization by means of an increase in the tariff rate, so as to curtail imports, the result is achieved much more easily, because the yearly import average is now less than the total imports causing distress in our domestic production of that commodity.

Forward planning can take place because the published import figures can be used to figure import totals several years in advance. At the same time these totals show a small upward trend so that foreign trades can look forward to a slow expansion of trade.

The bill provides a method of relief in cases where shortages or sudden demand in case of a preparedness emergency create a need for additional imports or where domestic production is insufficient to take care of the increased needs.

The proof for stating that shortages actually exist is undoubtedly much easier to obtain for under this radical new procedure whenever there is an apparent need and hearings are called it will be much easier to establish whether unused productive capacity exists in this country or not. In other words, whenever an apparent need arises our businessmen will automatically be alerted or if such productive capacity does not exist either to take steps to expand or to import. Importations may be equally difficult to obtain, but certainly a much greater opportunity will be given to establish American subsidiaries or complementary industries in foreign countries.

Allow me to give a position or concrete example of the reason for this self-liberalizing quota bill, the procedural working out of its provisions and the possible end results.

Let us take a group of commodities such as brass-mill products in which categories there is currently an importation much to the detriment of American industry and out of all proportion to our needs.

In fact imports are creating havoc in many of our smaller fabricating plants, especially in seamless tubing. In this latter instance imports rose from 321,000 pounds of unalloyed tubing in 1950 to 21,374,000 pounds in 1956. In alloyed tubing the increase was from 1,629,000 pounds in 1950 to 23,884,000 pounds in 1956.

The position as it obtains for brass mill products since 1950 in 1,000 pounds is as follows:

Year	United States brass mill shipment	Imports	Percent
1950	2,553,500	30,680	1.20
1951	2,460,100	29,035	1.18
1952	2,552,197	56,099	2.19
1953	2,627,936	46,032	1.75
1954	2,067,754	50,633	2.44
1955	2,532,074	72,067	2.84
1956	2,219,800	86,513	3.89

No wonder there is alarm amongst brass mill fabricators when imports within a period of 6 years are more than 3 times the 1950 importation rate.

The ratio of imports to United States mill shipments should be carried further for the 2 major types—unalloyed and alloyed—in 1,000 pounds.

Total brass mill products—Unalloyed copper

[Copper content]

Year	United States mill shipments	Imports	Percent
1950	890,200	18,246	2.049
1951	782,100	14,946	1.911
1952	735,350	22,161	3.013
1953	719,986	12,213	1.696
1954	726,421	17,538	2.414
1955	888,309	32,840	3.696
1956	826,794	39,176	4.738

Total brass mill products—Alloyed copper

[Metal weight]

Year	United States mill shipments	Imports	Percent
1950	1,663,300	12,434	0.747
1951	1,678,000	14,089	.839
1952	1,816,617	33,938	1.867
1953	1,907,950	33,819	1.772
1954	1,341,333	33,095	2.467
1955	1,643,765	39,227	2.386
1956	1,393,668	47,327	3.398

Ordinarily, it might be said that when the overall consumption picture of cop-

per products in the United States is considered that domestic producers of brass mill products are not hurt by imports of similar or competitive products since imports constitute rather a small percentage of United States consumption totals.

It is when the breakdown of imports concerns the manufacturers of small fabricators that the trend or pattern of injury is very apparent.

Consider seamless tubing made of unalloyed copper—copper content. In a 6-year period imports increased by 73 times. An enormous increase of this nature is bound to have repercussions in the brass-fabricating industry.

Total seamless tubing—Unalloyed copper

[Copper content in thousands of pounds]

Year	United States mill shipments	Imports	Percent
1950	466,531	321	0.068
1951	361,698	921	.254
1952	319,761	5,122	1.601
1953	340,806	1,126	.330
1954	386,068	5,097	1.32
1955	461,489	10,315	2.235
1956	429,910	21,374	4.971

Consider the comparison to United States mill shipment of seamless tubing made of alloyed copper. During the 6-year period imports have increased 15-fold with the greatest increase in the last 3 years.

Total seamless tubing—Alloyed copper

[Metal weight in thousands of pounds]

Year	United States mill shipments	Imports	Percent
1950	175,100	1,629	0.930
1951	173,500	1,883	1,085
1952	196,260	881	.448
1953	210,371	7,277	3.460
1954	144,841	15,156	10.463
1955	168,110	20,707	12.317
1956	163,479	23,884	14.609

In copper wire mill products the picture is slightly different—imports have increased only threefold over the same period of time yet the increase is within the last 2 years. It may be that the trend is toward increased importations in this category of import commodities with the resultant detriment to United States fabricators of the same product.

Copper wire mill products

[Copper content in thousands of pounds]

Year	United States mill shipments	Imports	Percent
1950	1,426,600	6,066	0.425
1951	1,371,000	4,599	.335
1952	1,370,077	5,565	.406
1953	1,394,631	1,709	.122
1954	1,275,201	3,450	.270
1955	1,555,579	10,284	.661
1956	1,620,319	19,373	1.195

It seems evident that if the trend of importations of alloyed and unalloyed brass mill products is upward in such a substantial fashion, that it may be axiomatic to assume that imports of wire will also increase with injurious results to our domestic wire mills.

Furthermore, it has been evident in the many applications filed with the Tariff Commission or with the Office of Defense Mobilization for relief from excessive imports that when foreign exporters discover that their actions may have possible injurious repercussions on some segment of American industry that before relief has been granted to the injured domestic industry the trade emphasis has been rapidly shifted to some other industry where profits can be made rapidly. It may be stated categorically that foreign exporting industries have been able to shift production in profitable categories much more readily than have their counterparts in American productive industries. This capacity for shifting production should be assessed dispassionately because it can do irreparable harm to many unsuspecting segments of our industries.

It is this competitive shifting factor that will be obviated in my self-liberalizing quota bill. The injury caused by shifting from one profitable category to another cannot take place because obvious limits to excessive imports are automatically set by law.

The method of assessing the self-liberalizing quota for each commodity will work in the following fashion. Let us take the example of the commodity in which imports tend to injure a domestic industry—namely the two types of seamless tubing in brass mill products—alloyed and unalloyed, mentioned before.

Seamless tubing—Unalloyed—Copper content

[Thousands of pounds]

Imports were:	
1950	321
1951	921
1952	5,122
1953	1,126
1954	5,097
Total	12,587

Average yearly imports for the 5-year period amount to 2,517,400 pounds. The annual import quota for calendar 1958 should be 2,517,400 pounds—this compares with the import total of 21,374,000 pounds in 1956 or 11.77 percent.

The same method of computation is used to arrive at the 1959 quota:

Imports were:	
1951	921
1952	5,122
1953	1,126
1954	5,097
1955	10,315
Total	22,581

Average yearly imports for the 5-year period amount to 4,516,200 pounds. The annual import quota for calendar 1959 should be 4,516,200 pounds—this compares with the import total of 21,376,000 pounds in 1956 or 21.12 percent—the quota increases automatically.

Similarly the 1960 quota is as follows:

Imports were:	
1952	5,122
1953	1,126
1954	5,097
1955	10,315
1956	21,374
Total	43,034

Average annual imports for the 5-year period amount to 8,606,800 pounds.

Thus the annual import quota for calendar 1960 should be 8,606,800 pounds—this compares with the import total of 21,374,000 pounds in 1956 or 40.26 percent—again a sizable increase, but one that is foreseen and planned for.

Similarly the quotas for 1961 onward can be computed with a sliding or self-liberalizing scale coming into being. The percentage rises slowly but it is a planned increase and American industry has 3 years to plan ahead. It cannot be proved conclusively, but the percentage increase might just be enough to allow our imports of any commodity to comprise a fair share of our growing needs of our expanding economy.

In the alloyed type of seamless tubing of brass mill products—metal weight—the quotas will be:

1958: 5,365,200 pounds or 22.46 percent of 1956 imports of 23,884,000 pounds.

1959: 9,180,800 pounds or 38.43 percent of 1956 imports.

1960: 13,581,000 pounds or 56.86 percent of 1956 imports.

The percentage increases year by year yet relief is granted within the next 3 years so as to help our domestic industry to adjust itself without the deleterious effects so evident in uncontrolled imports resulting from our current free-trade concept.

Now before this revolutionary idea of a self-liberalizing quota is accepted there is bound to be a spate of opposition as to the impracticability of accounting procedures. the enormous addition of staff, the impossibility of assessing penalties against those countries deliberately exceeding their fair quota share, the tampering with American foreign economic policy set by the State Department, possible repercussion from foreign governments resulting in quotas against our exports, international difficulties created in the international balance of payments due to the inability of foreign governments to earn sufficient dollar exchange by exports to the United States, the vociferous battle cry that our present tariff system is the best in the world and works the most good for the greater majority of our people and so forth. One could take the opposing ideas 1 by 1 and disprove them but that is unnecessary since we are now establishing a more positive approach to imports. Hitherto we have had the negative accent by which injury has to be proved before our ponderous tariff administrative machinery can give relief to affected industries. Now the positive aspect will be stressed. Whenever a need for certain commodities shows that existing supplies in the United States are insufficient to satisfy demands, our domestic industry can either take care of that by adding productive capacity or a relaxation of the import quota can be announced. Administratively it is far easier to relax quotas than to make them more stringent by increasing tariffs.

As to international repercussions—most foreign countries exercise some sort of export control and could immediately enforce their own export share on their nationals without adding the burden to our Customs Bureau.

In any event the controls exercised by our Commerce Department can be worked out: they are not administratively infeasible. Surely our Tariff Commission should be able to come up with lists of import commodities that are directly competitive with domestically produced items so that the impact of this new idea and its relative effect on the economies of other nations can be assessed?

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

The Herbert Norman Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in view of the understandable and wide interest in the subject, I request permission to insert in the RECORD a series of articles dealing with the Norman case in order that this information might be made available to the Members.

The articles follow:

WANTED: THE WHOLE NORMAN STORY

(By Herbert A. Philbrick)

The tidal wave of hysteria now flooding the Cairo-Ottawa-Washington leftwing axis suggests that there are strong undercurrents in the case of the late Edgerton Herbert Norman, Canadian Ambassador to Egypt, whose suicide on April 4 created an international incident.

President Eisenhower, who has been thoroughly briefed about the case, firmly and wisely indicated that in the interest of good American-Canadian relations the matter should be dropped. But it is apparent from the frenzied demands made by irresponsible international leftwing factions that an attempt is being made to create a controversy involving our own Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and to fan flames of ill will to white heat.

It is also clear that the target of the leftwing manufactured controversy is the Senate subcommittee's chief counsel, Judge Robert Morris, though his ability, integrity, and fairness have gained him widespread respect and admiration in legal and congressional circles, and with the public at large.

Stripped of hysterical leftwing propaganda, these are the essential facts:

There was nothing different or unusual in the press release issued by the Senate Subcommittee dealing with the testimony of John K. Emmerson, counselor of the United States Embassy and containing mention of Edgerton Herbert Norman. This release was like any other routine release made by the subcommittee since it began investigations of subversive activities several years ago. Furthermore, there was nothing unusual in the fact that the name of a Canadian happened to turn up in the course of a routine probe.

The Communist international conspiracy is truly international in character. It has no respect for national boundaries, as has already been shown in a number of previous cases revealed by the Senate Subcommittee wherein the names of British, Canadian, Chinese, Japanese and other foreigners have played a much more prominent part than did the name of Norman.

Edgerton Herbert Norman first came to senatorial attention in the 1951–52 investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations and its allied publication Amerasia.

The Senate Judiciary Committee found that "the IPR (Institute of Pacific Relations) was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American Far Eastern policies toward Communist objectives," and also that "members of the small core of officials and staff members who controlled IPR were either Communists or pro-Communists."

The committee further found that the Communist Party of the United States and Soviet officials considered the IPR as "an instrument of Communist policy, propaganda, and military intelligence." The magazine Amerasia was cited as a Communist controlled publication which was "so closely linked with the IPR system that the IPR family ordinarily treated it as simply another of their own publications."

In the huge mass of documents, letters, and other material studied in the IPR-Amerasia probe, the name of E. Herbert Norman appeared a large number of times. He was also found to have been the executive secretary of the Canadian Friends of the Chinese People, an affiliate of the American Friends of the Chinese People, which organization was long before cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front.

When Frederick Vanderbilt Field, who had served as a member of the editorial board of Amerasia, was called before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, he refused—on ground of possible self-incrimination—to reveal the nature of his dealings and relationships with Norman.

In the summer of 1951, Dr. Karl August Wittfogel, a former member of the Communist Party, testified under oath that he had known Norman personally as a fellow member of a Communist study group in 1938. Later it became known that in February 1940, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police had received information from an undercover agent that Norman was a member of the Communist Party. All of this information, and much more, has long been a matter of public record.

The odd thing about the Norman suicide is that it occurred after the testimony of John K. Emmerson was released by the Senate Subcommittee, although—as the State Department has emphasized—Emmerson's testimony contained "no adverse references to any Canadian official." There was nothing, in fact, in the subcommittee's press release that would cause any stable individual to commit suicide.

This situation is the cause of much puzzlement. A possible explanation is—as some reliable sources have indicated—that other investigative agencies of other governments were interested in Ambassador Norman's activities.

If the suicide had any connection with the current Senate Internal Security Subcommittee probe, it could be because Norman feared that there was still further, but as yet unpublicized, evidence concerning him. Some members of the Canadian Parliament seem to suspect that such information exists and that knowledge of it is a possible motive for Canadian Secretary for External Affairs Lester Pearson's threat to cut off Canada's transmittal of security information to the United States.

It is extremely important to note that thus far all information released by the Senate Subcommittee relating to Edgerton Herbert Norman was obtained in the United States because of his affiliation with Communist organizations and his attendance in Communist study groups here.

However, if the highly emotional international pink set are going to persist in their attacks on the United States Senate's efforts to uncover and publicize the nature and extent of Soviet and pro-Soviet activities in this country, then the whole Norman story should be told.

In addition, all facts known to the Canadian and British governments of the Communist associations and activities of any their citizens while in the United States should be disclosed to the proper American authorities, including the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which has rendered invaluable services to our country and to the free world.

[From the Niagara Falls Gazette of April 18, 1957]

MANY QUESTIONS UNANSWERED IN CASE OF HERBERT NORMAN

(By Paul Martin)

WASHINGTON.—Undercover investigation is proceeding on three continents in the strange case of Herbert Norman, the Canadian Ambassador who committed suicide in Egypt.

A lot of circumstances have not been explained. There has been a great deal of emotional talk in this case, but few facts. Here are the facts, insofar as they are available for publication:

WHO WAS NORMAN?

First, who was Norman?

Records of the Canadian Embassy show that Edgerton Herbert Norman was born September 1, 1909, at Karuizawa, Japan, the son of a Canadian missionary of the United Church.

Norman obtained bachelor of arts degrees at the University of Toronto, 1933, and Cambridge, England, 1935. Then he went to Harvard for 3 years on a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship arranged by friends in the Institute of Pacific Relations. He got master of arts and doctor of philosophy degrees in 1938.

He worked in 1938–39 at the international secretariat of the IPR in New York City doing research and writing. He was regarded as an able writer and brilliant scholar.

Norman joined the External Affairs Department (foreign office) of the Canadian Government in July 1939. He was sent to Tokyo as a language officer. Interned in Japan during World War II, he was returned to Ottawa in the 1943 exchange of Axis and Allied diplomats.

After V–J Day Norman was sent back to Tokyo as chief of the Canadian mission attached to the SCAP headquarters of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Allied Commander, Pacific.

Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, MacArthur's intelligence chief, says Norman was there as Canadian Minister in the period 1946 to 1950.

The Canadian Embassy says Norman was in Ottawa 1950–53. He served briefly in 1951 as Canadian delegate to the United Nations in New York.

REASSIGNED TO CAIRO

He was appointed High Commissioner to New Zealand in June 1953. During the Suez controversy, the Canadian Department of External Affairs reassigned Norman to be Canadian Ambassador to Egypt and Minister to Lebanon.

His assignment to the Middle East was made in August 1956. The Canadian Embassy says Norman did not arrive in Cairo

to present his credentials until after the British-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt, October 29–November 6.

Norman apparently was in Beirut, Lebanon, when the attack occurred. In Beirut he visited in the home of John K. Emmerson, deputy chief of the United States Embassy. Norman and Emmerson were friends in Japan both before and after World War II.

The Canadian Embassy says Norman was married on August 31, 1936, to the former Irene Clark, of Hamilton, Ontario. They had no children.

Norman killed himself April 4 by jumping from the roof of a nine-story apartment building on the banks of the Nile. Cairo police pronounced it suicide.

WHY DID HE DIE?

Why did Norman kill himself?

Insofar as the facts are publicly available, no one really knows.

The Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Lester B. Pearson, told Parliament he died as a result of overwork and "a feeling of renewed persecution."

Pearson blamed it on the release March 14 and 21 of information by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the United States Senate indicating that Norman was a Communist.

Cairo police found two suicide notes in Norman's pockets. The notes are supposed to run to 14 or 15 lines each, but only a line or two have been released from each. Neither one makes any mention of the Senate committee.

One to his wife said: "I kiss your feet and I beg you to forgive me for what I am doing."

The other to his friend Brynolf Eng, Swedish Ambassador to Cairo, said: "I have no option. I must kill myself for I live without hope."

These notes are in the hands of the Egyptian police, who are said to have called in handwriting experts to examine them. If the rest of the notes could be released, they might shed some light on the case.

CONSIDERED KEYMAN

Norman had been in Egypt no longer than 5 months when he died. Before that, he had served 3 years in New Zealand, not regarded as a hardship post in the diplomatic service.

In the critical days following the Anglo-French invasion, Norman apparently was a key source of diplomatic intelligence to the British Commonwealth from Cairo.

British, Australians, New Zealanders, and the French had withdrawn their diplomats. Norman's reports on the situation in Egypt are said to have been furnished by the Canadian Government to certain other nations.

Why was Norman sent to Egypt at this particular time by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs?

"We regarded him as a top man, and considered it a very difficult spot," said a Canadian Embassy spokesman.

HOW DID IT START?

How did the security charges against Norman originate?

His name came to public attention first during Senate investigations of the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1951–52.

The committee took public testimony from 66 witnesses. It examined 20,000 documents. The hearing record ran to more than 5,000 pages.

At the end, the committee stated in an official report on July 2, 1952:

"The IPR has been considered by the American Communist Party and by Soviet officials as an instrument of Communist policy, propaganda, and military intelligence. Members of the small core of officials and staff members who controlled IPR were either Communist or pro-Communist.

"Many of the persons active in and around the Institute of Pacific Relations and in part, though not exclusively, Owen Lattimore, Edward C. Carter, Frederick V. Field, T. A. Bisson, Lawrence K. Rosinger, and Maxwell Stewart, knowingly and deliberately used the language of books and articles which they wrote or edited in an attempt to influence the American public by means of pro-Communist or pro-Soviet content of such writings."

Louis Budenz, former editor of the Communist newspaper, the Daily Worker, called IPR the little red schoolhouse for teaching certain people in Washington how to think with the Soviet Union in the Far East.

IPR issued publications called Pacific Affairs and Far Eastern Survey. It had connections with the magazine Amerasia which was the subject of an FBI raid and Government security investigation in 1945.

An international organization, IPR had councils in 10 countries, including the United States, Canada, Britain, France, Australia, India, New Zealand, Japan, Pakistan, and the Philippines.

General Willoughby, MacArthur's intelligence chief in the postwar occupation of Japan, testified that the Japanese branch of IPR was a spy ring for Russian Communists.

Norman's name came up when Dr. Karl August Wittfogel, of New York, head of the Chinese history project at Columbia University, testified under oath at a hearing on August 7, 1951.

He was questioned by Robert Morris, chief counsel of the Senate subcommittee and a former New York judge.

Wittfogel said he had remained in Germany around World War I, and became a Socialist student. He joined the Communist Party in 1920, was a fee-paying member until Hitler came to power in 1933, when "I disagreed with the party."

Wittfogel said he had remained, psychologically speaking, on the periphery of the party since. He told about a Communist study group of students which he taught in 1938. He said Norman was a member.

The pleasant young man was a student in the Japanese department at Columbia. His name was Herbert Norman.

Morris: "To your knowledge, did he know it was a Communist study group?"

Wittfogel: "Yes, it was obvious."

Morris: "Was it obvious therefore that he was a Communist?"

Wittfogel: "Yes."

MENTIONED IN LETTERS

A letter to Owen Lattimore from Edward C. Carter dated May 30, 1940, was entered in the record.

Carter was secretary general of the international IPR. The committee identified Lattimore in its 1952 report as "a conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy."

The letter said:

"Herbert Norman was in the office about a fortnight ago on the eve of his sailing for Tokyo as a language officer in the Canadian Legation. He is very eager to continue active contact with the institute and in the field of Japanese political history."

A memo to Carter from William H. Holland, an executive officer of IPR, dated September 5, 1940. It said in part:

"Phil is leaving tonight. * * * Phil will be in Japan from about September 18 to October 6, and can be reached care of the Japanese IPR. Any very secret messages might be sent him care of Herbert Norman at the Canadian Legation."

These were the references to Norman which appeared in the published hearings of the Senate committee for the month of August 1951.

[From the Niagara Falls Gazette of April 19, 1957]

WAS NORMAN EXONERATED BY CANADA?

(By Paul Martin)

WASHINGTON.—The Herbert Norman case developed into an international affair after the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee released new documents March 14 and 21 indicating that he was a Communist.

Norman was the Canadian Ambassador who committed suicide in Egypt on April 4. The Senate documents concerned the interrogation of John K. Emmerson, a United States Foreign Service officer stationed in Beirut, Lebanon.

In the course of these hearings, Robert Morris, chief counsel of the subcommittee, told the Senators: "We have quite a few security reports which have a great deal of information to the effect that he [Norman] is a Communist."

Dispatches from Ottawa since have claimed that Norman was twice investigated and twice cleared of these same charges by the Canadian Government in 1951.

HOW WAS HE CLEARED?

Although the Canadians say their methods are superior to those in the United States, and that all security matters are kept confidential in Canada, the procedure is similar in at least one respect.

That is, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (similar to the FBI) conduct an investigation and turn over unevaluated material to the head of the government department concerned.

It usually takes the FBI from 2 to 6 months to conduct a full field investigation and make a report of information on personnel security cases.

The cabinet officer of the department involved then makes the final decision on whether or not an individual is suitable for government employment in positions affecting the national security.

In the Norman case, the Canadian Embassy says, the decision to clear Norman was made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Lester B. Pearson, acting with his deputy and department security officer.

The deputy at the time was A. D. P. Heeney, who is now being recalled as Canadian Ambassador to the United States.

On August 9, 1951, 2 days after Prof. Karl August Wittfogel testified before the Senate committee that Norman was a Communist, the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa issued a press release to this effect:

"Mr. Norman was subject to the normal security investigation by the appropriation authorities of the Canadian Government * * *. As a result, Mr. Norman was given a clean bill of health, and he, therefore, remains a trusted and valuable official of the department."

One week later, after examining the transcript of the Senate hearings containing the Wittfogel testimony, Pearson issued a statement under his own name which said in part:

"We emphasized our complete confidence in Mr. Norman and requested that the congressional subcommittee be informed of this fact, and of our regret and annoyance that his name had been dragged into their hearings by their counsel on the basis of an unimpressive and unsubstantiated allegation by a former Communist."

WHO ASKED QUESTION?

When new allegations concerning Norman were released in the Emmerson hearings last month, Pearson said on March 15 they should be treated with the contempt they deserve. In a protest to the State Department, Heeney called them irresponsible.

Morris told the Senate committee on March 21:

"I have since spoken to Wittfogel, since last week, and he said that to this day no official of the Canadian Government has ever called him up or asked him whether or not any of his testimony was in fact accurate."

During the hearing, Morris asked Emmerson: "Did he ever say—that is, Mr. Norman—in connection with the conversation he had with you, did he say that he had been asked whether or not he had ever been a member of the Communits Party?"

Emmerson: "I do not recall that he said that. I think he spoke in very general terms about charges having been made against him * * * and that he had gone through a period of investigation and had been cleared."

Morris: "We asked the State Department if the decision of the Canadian Government ever was to the effect that Norman had been a Communist, and that he is no longer one. The Department informed us that has never been the effect of any advice given to them by the Canadian Government.

"It would be two entirely different things, Senator, if the answer was 'Yes, he was a Communist, but he has reformed.' That would be very different from saying, 'No, this was never true.'"

The Canadian Government previously called the charges "irresponsible." On April 12, Pearson made a partial acknowledgment to the House of Commons in Ottawa.

Pearson said that Norman had associated openly in his university days with persons believed to be Communists, that he made no secret of it, that the Government knew this when the Foreign Office hired Norman in 1939.

John Diefenbaker, leader of the Progressive-Conservative opposition, posed this question:

"Will the Minister say that the allegations before the subcommittee of the United States Senate on March 12 and 21 specifically were untrue, unjustified, and had no basis in fact?"

"I've made my statement," Pearson replied. "I will stand on that."

An editorial columnist in the Toronto Globe and Mail said on April 12:

"The Canadian Government has it within its power to lay out, point by point, the facts upon which it decided in 1951 that Norman's loyalty and integrity were in all respects beyond doubt. It has not only failed to do so, but it has refused to do so."

WHAT UNITED STATES INTEREST

While Pearson said the Canadian Government has "more than once complained about methods employed by that subcommittee in releasing names of Canadians," the United States Government has more than once had cause for misgivings about the security "clearances" of allies.

Dr. Allan Nunn May and Bruna Pontecorvo received Canadian clearances into the United States, and Dr. Klaus Fuchs had a British clearance. All subsequently were found to have engaged in atomic espionage for the Soviet Union.

Guy Burgess and Donald MacLean, the British diplomats who are now behind the Iron Curtain, also had security clearance. Burgess served as second secretary of the British Embassy in Washington; MacLean served in Washington and Cairo.

Both went to school at Cambridge, England. Investigation since they fled to Russia has shown that each had Communist sympathies in college.

[From the Niagara Falls Gazette of April 20, 1957]

NORMAN CASE PROBE SHEER COINCIDENCE

(By Paul Martin)

WASHINGTON.—Since the Canadian Government "cleared" Herbert Norman in 1951, why was the Norman case reopened this year by the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee?

The answer is sheer coincidence. The committee wasn't investigating Norman, the Canadian Ambassador who committed suicide in Egypt. It was looking into "suspicious activities" of certain American diplomats.

An investigator was going through the old Harry Dexter White papers at the Treasury. He came on an interesting dispatch to the State Department from Yenan, China, in 1944 signed by John K. Emmerson.

Yenan was headquarters for the Chinese Communists and their "Eighth Route Army" during World War II. Emmerson was an American Foreign Service officer who served there with a "United States observers' mission."

Emmerson joined the Foreign Service in 1936. He spent most of the next 10 years in the Far East, in Japan, and China. He was investigated by the State Department under Dean Acheson in 1952 on security charges and cleared.

One of the charges involved the disappearance of a secret document from the United States Embassy in Moscow at a time when Emmerson was stationed there in 1947–49, while Gen. Walter Bedell Smith was Ambassador.

FRIENDS IN JAPAN

Emmersan and Norman were friends in Japan before and after World War II. Norman furnished an affidavit which was used to help clear Emmerson in his security hearing at the State Department.

Chinese Communists at Yenan had an organization called the Japanese People's Emancipation League, headed by a Japanese Communist named Okano.

Emmerson urged in a report to the State Department dated November 7, 1944, that the United States Government make use of Okano and the Japanese Emancipation League in the war and subsequent occupation of Japan.

He said in his dispatch that the league was democratic and it is not identified with the Communist Party. He suggested that chapters be formed among Japanese prisoners or internees in the United States, Australia, India, and other countries.

Recently, when the Senate committee started looking for Emmerson, they found he was now assigned as deputy chief of the United States mission in Lebanon. They were looking for him because "it seemed to us," an investigator said, "there was a general drift of 'old China hands' to the Middle East."

This area had a new importance because the United States was proclaiming the Eisenhower doctrine to protect the oil-rich Middle East against already encroaching communism, by use of American troops if necessary.

Emmerson appeared as a witness before the Senate committee on March 12. He asked to come back on March 21 to amplify his testimony and make certain changes in the record.

OBSERVER MISSION

The witness told how the United States Government had established an observer mission at Yenan during the war.

Emmerson said this was following a trip which former Vice President Henry A. Wallace made to China in 1944. He also said the United States mission to the Chinese Communists was established with the consent of Chiang Kai-shek, head of the Chinese Government.

J. G. Sourwine, associate counsel, asked: "Do you know, Mr. Emmerson, that * * * Chiang Kai-shek sent for the American Ambassador to protest this mission to Yenan?"

Emmerson said he did not. Sourwine produced what he said was a classified State Department record which had been seized among the Amerasia papers in New York.

It showed that Chiang Kai-shek had told United States Ambassador Patrick Hurley:

"With regard to the domestic problem of Chinese Communists, our Government [United States] should fully sympathize with and support China. The attitude we assume may result very seriously for China. In urging the Chinese Government to resolve its differences with the Communists, we are only strengthening the Communists.

"When we ask that China agree to demands of the Communists, it is the same as asking China to surrender unconditionally to a group known to be under the influence of a foreign government [the Soviet Union]. * * * The Communists are growing arrogant and refuse to go on with negotiations since our observer group arrived in Yenan."

COMMUNIST GROUP

When questioned about his 1944 report that the Japanese Emancipation League was not identified with the Communist Party, Emmerson testified that the league "obviously was a Communist organization, and that was completely known to me at the time."

Robert Morris, chief counsel, pointed out: "But there was nowhere you say so in that document. * * * Do you think the Japanese Communists would dispense and propagate democratic ideas?"

Emmerson: "Certainly not basically. * * * There were many people at the time who spoke in favor of coalition governments. * * * I think there was a general feeling * * * that collaboration with the Communists was possible."

Morris: "Don't you think, in retrospect, at least, to have Japanese Communists work in American occupation with the military government would be a hazardous thing?"

Emmerson: "I do, indeed."

In his 1944 report, Emmerson said "preparations are being made to send agents directly to Japan from this [Yenan] area." He told the committee the "OSS had an operation in Yenan," and "they were engaged in activities of this kind."

The Office of Strategic Services, OSS, was a supersecret wartime espionage operation of the United States Government. Investigations since the war have shown it was heavily infiltrated by Communists. It was the predecessor of the present-day Central Intelligence Agency.

Emmerson returned to Washington in February 1945 on orders of the theater commander to present his ideas to the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee.

OBTAINS DATA

He brought back a number of propaganda materials of the Japanese Emancipation League—charts, pamphlets, leaflets—plus some letters from the Japanese Communist leader Okano to a Japanese in America.

Morris. "Was that Fujii Shuji? He was a Communist."

Emmerson said he did not know Fujii was a Communist at the time. He found Fujii working for an OSS group in New York City. When called by the committee to answer Communist questions in 1956 Fujii, an American citizen, took the fifth amendment.

Japanese Communists in Yenan all got back to Japan after the war, Emmerson said. He wasn't sure how they got there. Their leader, Okano, may have been flown by United States Army plane to North China and Korea.

"Then he proceeded and arrived in Japan with a great fanfare and publicity," Emmerson related.

Morris: "The Japanese Communist Party today, the main blood, is supplied by Japanese prisoners who have been trained by the Communists in Siberia and sent back to Japan. * * * The NKVD man who recruited most of them has now been sent to Japan. * * * They are now making up the Communist underground."

The Emmerson hearing had gone on in this vein for some time before the name of Herbert Norman, the Canadian, ever came up.

[From the Niagara Falls Gazette of April 22, 1957]

FRIENDSHIP WITH NORMAN RECOUNTED

(By Paul Martin)

WASHINGTON.—John K. Emmerson told the Senate Internal Security Committee how he went to Japan immediately after the surrender in 1945 to work in the headquarters of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, supreme Allied commander.

Emmerson is the United States Foreign Service officer who recommended that the allies make use of Communists in their occupation of Japan. He was asked about the release of Japanese Communist leaders from a prison camp outside Tokyo.

Eugene H. Dooman, of Litchfield, Conn., who served during the war as chairman of the Far East Subcommittee of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee in Washington, testified previously about the affair.

SEEN AIDING REDS

Dooman said the effect of having Japanese Communist leaders driven through the streets of Tokyo in United States Army staff cars from supreme headquarters was to add 100,000 new members to the Japanese Communist Party.

Emmerson gave this account in his testimony on March 12 and 21:

"At the time, Mr. Herbert Norman, a Canadian diplomat, was working in Counter Intelligence Corps." He said Norman was in the research and analysis section. "We heard there were some Japanese Communists in a prison camp just outside Tokyo."

"Under orders from CIC, he and I together, in an Army vehicle, went to the prison camp to find out whether in fact these prisoners were there.

"We discovered * * * there were two very prominent Japanese Communists, Mr. Shiga and Tokuda. After talking briefly to these prisoners, we returned to headquarters and reported this * * * it was arranged that military cars from CIC should go out to prison.

"Again Mr. Norman and I went out, since we spoke Japanese * * * prisoners were placed in the cars and were brought to headquarters where they were interrogated."

A few days later the Japanese Communists were released from prison under a general amnesty order from MacArthur's headquarters.

NORMAN ENTERS CASE

This was the first reference in the proceeding to Herbert Norman, the Canadian Ambassador who committed suicide in Egypt on April 4.

Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, MacArthur's intelligence chief, identified Norman as chief of the Canadian mission attached to MacArthur's headquarters in Japan during the occupation 1946–50.

Robert Morris, chief counsel of the Senate committee, asked Emmerson: "Do you have any knowledge that Mr. Norman, the man you talked about, was a Communist?"

Emmerson: "I had no knowledge whatsoever."

Morris: "* * * we have quite a few security reports which have a great deal of information to the effect he is a Communist.

"A professor of his, a man who was a Communist teacher at the time, has testified that while he was teaching a study group at Columbia, one of his students in this Communist group was a Herbert Norman, the man we have been talking about. He was the man who made the trip with you at that time. You had, you say, no idea he was a Communist?"

Emmerson: "I had no reason to think he was a Communist either then or now. He is presently Canadian Ambassador to Egypt."

Emmerson said Norman also was accredited as Canadian Minister to Lebanon.

This is the first knowledge to the committee that the Canadian Department of External Affairs had shifted Noman from remote New Zealand, into the critical Middle East.

An investigator asked: "Do you happen to know if he was in Egypt when Donald Maclean was over there?"

Emmerson: "No, he just arrived in Egypt the end of October the past year."

Emmerson said Norman had been cleared by the Canadian Government in 1951. "I understand there was a press release to that effect."

Senator WATKINS: "I assume he had been cleared or else they do not know anything about these charges against him, if they send him over there now."

WATKINS: "Are you and he friends?"

Emmerson: "I have known him since about 1940."

HAD LEFTIST INTEREST

He described Norman as a "person of liberal ideas; he was interested in left-wing movements in Japan."

The committee wanted to know how Norman happened to get in touch with Emmerson in Beirut last fall. At the time, Emmerson was deputy chief of the United States mission in Lebanon.

In his March 12 testimony, Emmerson said he supposed it was through mutual friends. "We have never corresponded," he said. He met Norman very briefly in Beirut on October 27, 1956, the day he said Norman arrived there. "I was leaving the same day for the United States."

However, when he came back to testify on March 21, Emmerson said he had received a letter from Norman saying he was coming to Lebanon, and that Emmerson had replied to Norman in New Zealand.

It developed that Emmerson had recently been in Israel. He seemed quite anxious to get in touch with Norman. He sent word to that effect through the Canadian Chargé d'Affairs in Beirut.

Emmerson also sent a note to the Normans; he was on the telephone early the morning of October 27; his wife went down to meet the boat when it docked at 8 a. m.

The Normans came to their home. They spent around 2 hours over cocktails and lunch. Among other things, they discussed their mutual-security clearances.

Jenner: "Did he say anything about the reasons why he happened to be assigned to the Middle East at that particular time, whether or not he was pleased?"

Emmerson: "He was very pleased, extremely pleased * * * he was intensely interested in the situation in Egypt, in the Nasser regime and what was going to come out of all this."

Jenner: "Did he pass any opinion upon the problems confronting the world in the Middle East at that time?"

Emmerson: "He was extremely concerned about developments, about the danger of an explosion taking place * * * as a matter of fact, I believe the outbreak occurred while he was in Beirut."

Watkins: "Did you discuss the part that Russia was attempting to play in the Mideast?"

Emmerson: "I'm sure we did * * * that is the one thing in Beirut that concerned us most, the penetration of the Communists."

Morris: "You answered all questions fully?"

Emmerson: "Well, I answered them. I certainly did not divulge any classified information."

Sourwine: "Did you make any report to the State Department on your conference with Mr. Norman?"

Emmerson: "I did not make any report. I considered this was a social occasion."

[From the Niagara Falls Gazette of April 23, 1957]

WAS NORMAN COMMUNIST?—DATA GIVEN

(By Paul Martin)

WASHINGTON.—Was Herbert Norman, the Canadian Ambassador who committed suicide in Egypt, a Communist?

The United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee says it received direct testimony and security reports to the effect that he was.

The Canadian Government, on the other hand, has furnished very little information on the subject.

The most that Lester B. Pearson, Canadian Foreign Minister, has been willing to say is that Norman associated during college days with persons believed to be Communists.

Pearson on April 10 threatened to cut off the exchange of all security information between appropriate agencies of the United States and Canada unless such information were kept from congressional committees.

When the case developed into an international incident, the Senate committee compiled a transcript of all references in its files to Herbert Norman.

These cover a period of 15 or more years from his marriage in 1935 through the time Norman served in General MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo in the postwar occupation of Japan.

INTELLIGENCE AGENT

Robert Morris, committee counsel, put in the record of the Emmerson hearings what he called a United States Government executive agency security report.

He said this was prepared during World War II at a time when "there was an effort being made to have Norman given the assignment of being liaison between Canada and United States intelligence."

This would have made Norman liaison between the Office of Strategic Services, a supersecret United States Government wartime espionage and counterintelligence operation He was not appointed to the position.

Another effort along these lines, involving access to military information, was said to have occurred during the Korean war, 1950-53. The circumstances are not clear.

CANADIAN SPY RING

The record of the Emmerson hearings states:

"Counsel then read from a United States Government executive agency security report which indicated that Dr. E. Herbert Norman had been recalled from Japan when his Government discovered certain Communist connections, specifically with Israel Halperin, a Canadian citizen of Russian parentage, who was one of the principals implicated in the exposed Soviet military intelligence operation in Canada."

Morris: "You will remember, Senator JENNER, when you tried to have Gouzenko testify, that the Canadian authorities would not let you ask any questions whatever about anyone who was a Canadian personality."

Igor Gouzenko is the Russian code clerk who fled the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, taking certain documents with him, which helped to expose the Soviet spy apparatus in North America.

Eleven Canadians were found guilty of espionage for Russia. Dr. Alan Nunn May, who had been cleared by the Canadians for atomic work in the United States, was convicted in a British court and sentenced to 10 years.

The 1946 report of the Royal Canadian Commission states:

"There exists in Canada a fifth column organized and directed by Russian agents in Canada and Russia; within the fifth column there are several spy rings.

"Membership in Communist organizations or a sympathy toward Communist ideologies

was the primary force which caused these agents to agree to do the acts referred to in their individual cases."

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

There are additional references to Herbert Norman in the files of the Senate committee:

Norman went to school at Harvard and Columbia. He worked for the Institute of Pacific Relations in New York, 1938–39, until he joined the Canadian diplomatic service and was sent to Tokyo.

Reading from the executive agency report, Morris said:

"One of the witnesses at the marriage of Norman to Laura Irene Clark on August 31, 1935, was C. P. H. Holmes, who has been identified as Charles P. H. Holmes, born in Japan in 1910 and known as a Communist and active in the Communist underground in Ottawa."

Direct testimony by Dr. Karl August Wittfogel, head of the Chinese history project at Columbia University, that Norman "was a student of his in a Communist group" in 1938.

Morris: "When we looked into it we further learned that Herbert Norman was secretary of an organization called the American Friend of the Chinese People, which was also a Communist organization. They formed a Canadian affiliate called the Canadian Friends of the Chinese People, and Norman was the executive secretary.

"I thought that very significant because on these Communist-front organizations, Senator, generally the executive secretary is someone they can trust."

Another security reference: "The report further indicated that Norman was identified in February of 1940 as a member of the Communist Party."

WAR PERIOD

Norman was in Tokyo, was interned, and sent back to Ottawa.

The security report said that when Tsuru Shigato, a Japanese instructor at Harvard, was apprehended for repatriation purposes in 1942, the FBI was approached by Norman who represented himself as on "official and highly confidential business of the Canadian Government" in an effort to take custody of Tsuru's belongings.

Among the belongings was a complete record of the Nye munitions investigations, largely prepared by Alger Hiss. Also a letter relating to a series of studies being promoted at Harvard by Tsuru of American capitalist from "Marxist viewpoint." One of the papers was American Imperialism, by E. H. Norman.

"Norman later admitted to FBI agents that his was only a personal interest, and that he was not representing the Canadian Government as stated."

POSTWAR ERA, 1945–50

(Norman served in Tokyo as chief of the Canadian mission at General MacArthur's headquarters between V–J Day, 1945, and the Korean war in 1950.)

Thomas A. Bisson, of Berkeley, Calif., appeared as a witness before the Senate committee on March 31, 1952.

Bisson was associate editor of the IPR publication, Pacific Affairs. He was also connected with American magazine, which was the subject of Government security investigation in 1945. He was identified as a Communist by one or more duly sworn witnesses before the committee.

Bisson said he took a trip to Chinese Communist headquarters at Yenan, China, where he spoke at a mass meeting in 1946 along with Philip Jaffe and Owen Lattimore.

He met with Herbert Norman in Tokyo. Bisson read from a letter of August 21, 1946, in which he had said:

"I wrote Harold Quigley recently suggesting that he with Mariam Farley, Herbert Norman, and yourself might organize an informal study group in Toyko to meet occasionally with some of the Japanese who might take the lead in a new Japanese council of the IPR."

COMMUNIST INSTRUMENT

The Senate committee in its 1952 report said the IPR "has been considered by the American Communist Party and by Soviet officials as an instrument of Communist policy, propaganda, and military intelligence."

Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, MacArthur's intelligence chief, testified that the Japanese branch of IPR was a "spy ring for Russian Communists."

The committee identified Owen Lattimore as "a conscious articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy."

Exhibits showing Norman's contributions to Amerasia magazine and IPR publications Far Eastern Survey and Pacific Affairs. He had 4 articles in Amerasia in 1937–38, 6 articles in the Survey between 1939–45, and 6 in Pacific Affairs 1943–47.

Interrogation from the Emmerson testimony:

Morris: "Do you know a Dr. Chi?"

Emmerson said he did not.

Morris: "He and Herbert Norman, according to our records, were closely associated in Japan."

(The committee identified Dr. Ch'Ao-Ting Chi in its IPR report as an active staff member of IPR and a member of the comintern apparatus. Elizabeth Bentley named Chi as a Communist.)

Morris: "Did you meet Owen Lattimore in Japan?"

Emmerson: "I met Owen Lattimore."

Morris: "He was also close to Norman and Chi."

Testimony from Owen Lattimore as follows:

Morris: "When did you last see Mr. Norman?"

Lattimore: "In 1947, at a meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Stratford, England."

Morris: "Did you meet Mr. Norman in Japan?"

Lattimore: "I met him in Japan in the winter of 1945–46."

Morris: "On how many occasions did you meet him in Japan?"

Lattimore: "Fairly frequently. I don't recall."

The Age in Which We Live

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT RAINS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an outstanding speech by an outstanding public servant, the Honorable P. O. Davis, director, extension service, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Ala., which I commend to my colleagues as most interesting:

THE AGE IN WHICH WE LIVE

(Remarks by P. O. Davis, Director, API Extension Service, Auburn, at District IV meeting of Home Demonstration Club Women, Birmingham-Southern College, April 16, 1957)

In the United States (but not in the world) you and I are now living in the most wonderful age of mankind to date. It's an age of abundance for every individual and for every family that takes advantage of opportunities available, except for disaster or misfortune.

It's an age in which American people are living longer at a higher level and with less drudgery, with indications that our standard of living will continue upward, being limited only by our capacity to think and to do.

With machines and power each family represented here is now being served by the equivalent of 50 to 100 human slaves a century ago. These mechanical slaves are changing our habits, our thinking, our attitudes, our ways, our problems, and our opportunities. We have more time for leisure along with more materials.

We have all of these things because of change; and much of our change stems from our research in industry, in agriculture, and in home economics.

Because farmers have received and applied research in their operations production per farm worker in the United States is now double what it was 40 years ago. With about the same acreage in crops farmers are producing more than enough food and fiber for our needs at home plus all that we are able to export; and also troublesome surpluses.

It's also an age of problems. Farmers—your husbands and sons and brothers—are now confronted with very difficult problems. These problems are bigger in economics than they are in science and engineering, but they can be solved; and they will be solved.

Net income of United States farmers reached its peak of all years in 1948 with a total of $17.2 billion. Last year the net was down to $11.5 billion; and 81 percent of the decline was due to rising costs.

This, of course, is vital to you because as net farm income goes down so go your opportunities for doing what you want to do in your homes and for your children. Home demonstration work has a major challenge in this.

Farmers are being forced to change their types of farming. In Alabama the major change is from crops to animals with feed for them; and this shift calls for much more know-how, additional capital, more power, and more equipment.

Miss Lucile Mallette told me that you want me to talk more about changes in homes and in living as related to our cooperative program in home economics. Introductory to this I'll mention a few important factors.

First, we are a growing Nation. United States population 40 years ago was 100 million; 10 years ago it was 141 million. It is now 170 million. Our total population is now increasing daily by 7,000 people while our farm population declines each day by 1,500. The annual increase is about the Alabama total.

Obviously the trend to smaller families has been reversed. Young people who were in families of 3 children now expect 4 of their own.

People are marrying younger. The average marriage age in 1940 was 21.2 years for women and 24.6 years for men. It's now 20 years for women and 23 for men with indications that by 1965 it will be 19 for women and 22 for men.

People are living longer. The average span of life now is about 65 years for men and 70 for women. By 1965 it is expected to be 70 for men and 75 for women. We have many more young people and still more older people.

We have more children and young people in schools and colleges; and we'll have still more tomorrow if we can provide the facilities for them. One American in each 4 is in school today, the total being 41.5 million.

This rise in our educational level is in response to individual needs for training for the opportunities around us for earning a living and the best use of what is earned.

But we do not have enough trained people. We need in agriculture 15,000 new trained people each year, but only 8,500 received their degrees in agricultural sciences

last year. The problem in industry is much bigger and just as acute.

The need for trained personnel in home economics—particularly trained for home demonstration work—is acute in Alabama, and all over the Nation. They are needed, too, by the teaching profession and in industry.

A degree in home economics offers a double future—a profession or a wife and mother—building and maintaining an American family with true American ideals which, to me, is the choice opportunity of all.

More people are at work at higher wages. This total has tripled in 100 years, now being 66 million; and a third of them are women.

Farm people are earning more in nonfarm employment. The 1950 census showed that 2 families of each 5 had 1 or more members of the family fully employed off the farm. And many more nonfarm people are living in the country. Some of them live 30 miles or more from their work and commute daily.

We are living in a money economy. Commercial farming has largely replaced domestic farming. Money needs of farmers are big in capital, in operation, and in living.

Children have much bigger opportunities for travel and for learning by more contacts and by radio, TV, and other means. All family life is changed by these things.

We are in an age of tension and worries about nuclear weapons, about debts, about accidents due to machines on farms, on highways, in homes; and about other things.

All of our economic and material changes have their counterparts in farm homes. Both science and engineering have caused repercussions in farm kitchens equal to, or probably greater than, any other spot in our total economy.

Our grandmothers operated in scantily equipped kitchens separate from the main house; but look at our modern kitchens. Thirty years ago the average housewife spent 5 to 6 hours per day in her kitchen preparing food. It is now half as much.

Human servants are almost gone. Only 1 percent of all United States families now have full-time servants; and the portion with servants of any kind dropped by half the last 15 years.

Farm people are living in a bigger community and over a wider area. A trip 50 miles from home was an event for our grandmothers, but now 100 miles is commonplace with us.

Radio, television, and other engineering achievements are accepted as essentials to us in our way of life, but unknown to them.

All of these things are reflected in home-demonstration work—in each home, in each club, each county, and at the district and State levels.

Instead of having a very simple program based upon the necessities of life, as was true two generations ago, we now have a program in home-demonstration work based upon current and future needs of farm families living much more abundantly in a complicated age; and geared to attain a higher and better standard of living in every way.

Indeed we are going forward and on a rising plane.

No longer does the home-demonstration agent do all the planning and all of the activating. Officers and members of clubs are essential in wise planning and in efficient application of the plans with the valuable help of leaders and otherwise. Real teamwork is indispensable and mutually beneficial.

More of the members are becoming leaders in order that the program itself, in all of its parts, may be extended effectively into every home and to every family willing to take advantage of it and participate in it.

By retrospection I recall that home-demonstration work in Alabama began with tomato-canning clubs in two counties—Pike and Walker. They were little and the program was simple. They were engaged in producing and preserving food, realizing that the history of mankind has been that of a hungry animal searching for food—for more food and for better food.

Then came clothing because food and clothes are the first two essentials of civilized people. The third, housing, followed. This trio became the basis for the home-demonstration program as is now true in the main.

But the Nation grew and the economy expanded. Living is increasingly complicated. Government became more important; and now home-demonstration clubs are keenly interested in all laws and their administration.

As both a capitalist and a worker the farmer is vitally concerned with money matters, with economics, with industry, with banking, with labor, and with many other factors and forces.

We have become a nation of employees—people working largely for big industry and for big government. This has changed our thinking and our loyalties. Only farmers remain as a big group of independent thinkers.

Labor unions grew in numbers, in influence, and in power. They now have some 16 million or more members. As they succeed with their goal of higher wages, without an increase in production, farmers must pay more for what they buy which reduces their net income.

This continues to challenge farmers themselves for more organization of their own which they have in the farm bureau.

Yes, the home-demonstration program now includes the entire social and economic life relating to farm people and to all others. This is why the modern home-demonstration program must be broad and comprehensive with a clear understanding of it by all members—all thinking, all studying, and all working together for mutual good.

As we meet, think, study, and talk together about home-demonstration work we improve our plans and our structure for the future. To do this certain basic principles must guide us in our program of action. Among them:

1. It must be by local people and for local people to meet their needs and aspirations this year and in the future.

2. It must recognize the fact that all human activity is significant only for what it does for people; and, in particular, what it stimulates people to do for themselves.

3. It must be based on full use of facts before decisions because "He is well armed who is armed with facts."

4. It must recognize—and we must always believe—that the American farm is the finest place in the world to live, to work, and to rear a family of fine American citizens.

5. We must continue to believe that the great aim of the Extension Service is to: "Develop finer families; living in better homes; on more productive farms; in more progressive communities."

6. It must be with a firm determination to do these things under and in behalf of the American form of government—a true democracy based upon the principles of Christianity.

In all of our building we must not forget that "unless the Lord build the house those who toil thereon toil in vain."

The Destiny of Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

THE DESTINY OF LATIN AMERICA

(By Most Rev. Philip M. Hannan, J. C. D., D. D., auxiliary bishop of Washington, at the Washington general assembly, fourth degree, Knights of Columbus, Pan American dinner, April 25, 1957)

There is obviously a decisive destiny awaiting the great group of nations which is known, unlike any other group, under the name of a culture rather than a place, Latin America. The title indicates the supremacy of the spirit in the life of these peoples. The word "Latin" signifies their devotion to the ideals of faith and freedom which are the basis of what was called Latin, and latterly, western civilization. Latin America is more a spirit than a set of boundaries and divisions. One of the distinguished presidents of Latin America acknowledged this recently when he said, "All material efforts, all political activity are nothing without faith."

It was this spirit which has succeeded in blending the genius and cultures of so many national and racial groups into a common civilization. More than any other continent or large nation in the world, Latin America has incorporated the widely diverse strains of Europe, Africa, the Near East with those of its native peoples into a common life. This was an enormous achievement, never sufficiently recognized especially by those who pride themselves on a national order and homogeneity which was established by exterminating the native population. The extent of this achievement, I think, is best seen from the reverse side of the picture, from a Spanish writer lamenting the fall of the Spanish Empire, "And the (Spanish) Empire, born as a pomegranate bursting forth and dispersing its grains of life throughout a continent, died also as a pomegranate strewing the continent with its grains in helpless dispersion, to be pecked at will by the eagles of power."

But contrary to the lament of the Spanish writer, Latin America has developed a unity, a cohesion that is today better appreciated because better known. This unity has developed because of the principles of faith animating these diverse peoples. Although they had, understandably, pride in their national origin, they had greater pride in their loyalty to God; though they were proud of their conquests, they knew that the sword always deferred to the cross. For their proudest boast was not that they were the sons of Spaniards or Frenchmen or Basques or the Incas, but sons of God.

This spirit, born of faith and freedom, has evolved an organization, the Organization of American States, which could well serve as the pattern for a world organization. The OAS is the oldest and most successful international organization in existence today. By its direct and indirect influence it has achieved close cooperation in many fields of common interest such as health, defense, and culture which are as necessary as they are unspectacular.

But the most important achievements have been in regulating international relations. It has prevented wars, despite the international frictions spawned by the vast diversity of backgrounds and huge resources at stake. The Christ of the Andes and Christ on Corcovado are not simply monuments to the principles of international conduct by Chile, Argentina, and Brazil but of all Latin America.

Furthermore, it has fostered an impregnable defense against atheistic totalitarianism. In World War II while nations in northern Surope found ready reasons for not engaging in the war against the Nazis, the unendangered nations of South America sent large contingents of troops and volunteeers. In the war in Korea against the Red menace, again distant Latin America responded while the more instantly threatened lands were often laggard in their response. It was this same spirit which presented to the world the stirring spectacle of a small land, Guatemala, expelling its Red traitors while the older lands were still wringing their hands in futile indecision about the problem of red infiltration.

But above all, it was this spirit of allegiance to the principles of faith and freedom that have been most decisive in international bodies. Despite petty domestic quarrels that somehow burgeon among neighbors, the Latin American countries have shown at the United Nations an unyielding and resolute resistance to Red tyranny and infamy. Without any prearranged concurrence and without the contrivance of strategy, they have rallied to the cause of Christian civilization even more than those nations which once were considered the source of that civilization. They have been, with their corporate strength, the conscience of the U. N. and the inspiration of the newer lands of the world, which see in them, strong in spirit, their example of independence and moral responsibility. Although Latin America has the faults that are the common heritage of those born of Adam, it always prefers principles to prejudice and never lets rancor of past wrongs dictate a course of vengeance instead of virtue. Latin America has proven its right to its name, for whenever a principle has been at stake, it has voted on the side of God and not human passions.

I wish to emphasize that I am not stating that Latin America is to be congratulated because it agrees with the stand of North America or with the United States. Very generally it has. But this agreement does not thereby make it right or wrong. Latin America is to be congratulated for its contribution to the welfare of the world not simply because they have generally sided with us but because they have sided with God. We rejoice not simply because they were with us but because they were with God and we were proud to be with them.

There is need for a continuing fruitful partnership between Latin America and North America—a combination that recognizes the same principles and profits from the Latin philosophy, organizational ability and engineering prowess of all. As one of your Ambassadors stated succinctly, "You say that time is money. To us, time is life." May I suggest that both ideas can be combined. We can learn from each other, we can cooperate to build the Christian world that alone can survive if we maintain our trust and faith in God. That faith alone will give us the humility to learn and to profit from the wisdom of our neighbors. That faith alone will give us the spirit of forgiveness and sense of humor which comes from an appreciation of our shortcomings that will make us avoid the disasters of pride. That faith will enable both of us to see the wisdom as well as the duty of contributing what we have to the welfare of the other.

The United States, which owes so much to the spirit of friendliness and cooperation of its neighbors to the south should have the same regard for their economic health as they have for that of the rest of the world. Possibly, because we have felt so secure in the loyalty of our neighbors, we have failed to heed their need. But it is certainly a strange and baffling policy which contributes to practically every quarter of the world, including a billion dollars to Yugoslavia in the hope that it will not be used against us, but deals so parsimoniously and grudgingly with the nations that have dwelt in peace with us and have always been our stanch ally in times of trouble and common danger. Certainly the lives of 170 million good neighbors, possessing great stores of riches necessary for our welfare, should demand more financial help than half of what was given to Korea. And if we lack the charity to move us to action, at least we should follow the counsel of self-interest and nature; for nature has made us complementary, not competitive. We need the coffee, the sugar cane, the oil, the minerals of our neighbors. Our neighbors need our resources to help them develop, so that foreign help will not bring foreign ideologies.

In this day when the mechanical age has brought us not only closer together but brought dangerous ideas with commerce, we need a respect, on our part, of the modern implications of the Monroe Doctrine. That doctrine was proclaimed primarily for the defense of this country, and secondarily for the defense of our neighbors. It was based on trust of our neighbors, a trust that was well founded and kept, as well as a distrust of ideologies from outside the hemisphere. That danger is greater to us today than ever it was in the time of President Monroe when the fastest boat from Europe required 6 weeks to cross the ocean. And if we wish to continue to enjoy the security of this family of nations we should give more heed to the needs of the members. There is only one way to prove our right to this brotherhood under God—by sharing more of our resources; "For how can we say that we love God whom we do not see if we love not our neighbor whom we see."

If we are true to the ideals of our common faith, if we are true to the spirit of freedom that has been our heritage, we shall fulfill in our day the dreams of the great discoverer who labored to bring forth a new world. We can produce a dynamic newness of life, sprung from this Easter season that will invigorate the world. We we must remain steadfast to the inspiration of the discoverer who recorded his aspiration by calling the first land of the continent he touched, El Salvador, the only country in the world named after the Saviour. If we remain true to our Saviour, all the Americas shall complete the mission predicted by one of our great pioneering archbishops, Archbishop Ireland, "That mission is to prepare the world, by example and moral influence, for the universal reign of human liberty and human rights. America does not live for herself alone; the destinies of humanity are in her keeping."

The Late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial about the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy which appeared in the May 8 issue of the Fond du Lac, Wis., Commonwealth-Reporter:

WE ARE PECULIAR

Americans have a peculiar way of talking about people after they are dead and buried.

Joseph R. McCarthy had very many faults and they were emphasized because of the high position he occupied in the American system of government.

Had he been an ordinary citizen we might never have heard of him. He could have met his friends on the street and argued and charged just as he did in the United States Senate. None would have thought much about it. Mr. McCarthy would have been just an ordinary citizen.

That is why we feel sorry for Mr. McCarthy. We sincerely believe that he vigorously attempted to do what he thought was right. His tactics certainly were wrong. "Fighting Bob" La Follette was hated intensely during World War I, but today they have nominated him for the congressional hall of fame. He deserves that recognition along with other good Americans who at that time did not follow the hysteria of the common herd.

There is one thing that we liked about Joe McCarthy more than anything else—he was a self-dedicated human. He was dedicated to his church and to his country.

We liked the sermon that was delivered at Senator McCarthy's funeral in Appleton. "No man is perfect. Senator McCarthy had faults, and I am sure that he would be the first to admit it. May Almighty God be good to him."

It is easy to say things about a man after he is dead and buried. That is the trouble with Americans.

There were other things in the sermon which was delivered in Appleton:

"People expect that the honorable men directing our Government are infallible, which is far from the truth. Mistakes therefore can be made and are made. Instead of criticizing them. we should get down on our knees every day and pray God to direct and guide them. They need this help. Pray, do not condemn them."

There always is the argument that humans should be sufficiently strong. If they were, all would be living a perfect life.

Steps are underway in the United States Senate to expunge from the record a resolution censuring Senator McCarthy in connection with his self-promoted Communists-in-government investigation.

We hope the action never will be taken. It is sort of hypocritical to expunge from the record after death something you said about a man when he was alive.

American Mother of the Year in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

AMERICAN MOTHER OF THE YEAR IN EUROPE

RAMSTEIN, GERMANY. — The American Mother of the Year in Europe—chosen by popular vote of Americans and their families in Europe and the United Kingdom—is Mrs. Delia E. Stover, wife of an Air Force sergeant stationed here and mother of four adopted children—an Eskimo boy, a full-blooded Indian boy from the Yukon Reser-

vation in Alaska, and two twin German girls.

The American Weekend, family newspaper published for Americans overseas, made the selection today, after thousands of American families in Europe chose Mrs. Stover from among 300 contestants nominated by readers.

Mrs. Stover, wife of M. Sgt. Dalton B. Stover, who has 17 years of military service behind him, wins a trip back to her home in Jefferson City, Mo., where her father, Earl W. Jenkins, was once mayor, and over $5,000 in prizes.

She was chosen by American Weekend readers on the basis of being an outstanding service wife and mother.

In addition to being a leader in American community activities in Europe, Mrs. Stover, who holds a degree in commercial law, and who once worked with Vivian Truman, brother of the then Vice President of the United States, in 1952 adopted a little Eskimo boy while the Stovers lived in a trailer in Anchorage, Alaska. Two weeks later they adopted another son, a full-blooded Indian boy, from an orphanage in Palmer, Alaska.

The twin German girls were adopted by the Stovers last week. They'll all be home from Europe in about 18 months.

"Dee" Stover has a special word about hubby Dalton. "He's a wonderful guy. He's backed me up with his support and faith in everything I've tried to do. Without him, I could have done very little."

The Stovers are cookbook collectors and both love to cook. They bake their own bread and have a reputation as gourmets. Mrs. Stover has been working diligently on the committee which organized the Ramstein's (Germany) Day Nursery school and the newly opened Air Force base nursery. She stepped down last month from the presidency of the Ramstein Noncommissioned Officers' Wives' Club to devote more of her time to the two nursery projects.

Law of the Land in England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article appearing in the March 1957 issue of the Freeman, written by Edgar Bissantz:

"The poorest man may in his cottage bid defiance to all the forces of the Crown. It may be frail, its roof may shake; the wind may blow through it; the storms may enter; the rain may enter; but the King of England cannot enter; all his forces dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement." (William Pitt (Earl of Chatham), speech in the House of Commons, 1760.)

For the farmers of England, both owners and tenants, the proud old boast that an Englishman's home is his castle is as dead as Old Parr. It was killed by the drastic Agriculture Act of 1947.

In return for the beguiling promise of guaranteed prices and assured markets for farm products through price fixing, grants, and subsidies, the act saddled English and Welsh farmers with Government authority to pry into and direct every detail of their activities—all in the name of good estate management and good husbandry. Its enactment was, of course, a long step toward the Socialist dream of nationalized land and regimented farming; and, ultimately, the extension of the dangerous precedent to the control of every kind of business. It should have been repealed long ago.

By putting the English farmer in humiliating subjection to arbitrary controls from which there is no appeal to courts of British justice or to judge and jury, the act created opportunities for corruption, favoritism, and tyranny. It has produced an unhealthy climate of fear and suspicion that is making docile peasants of the farmers and bullying cads of men in government. Year by year the farmers become more dependent upon the paternalistic state and less disposed to stand up for their inherent rights as freemen. The spirit of healthy independence, high ambitions, faith in oneself declines. Discouraged farmers leave the land and the number of small holdings and farmworkers decreases.

Buried within the act's 118 pages of complex provisions are inordinate powers to control, direct, disgrace, and evict the English farmer, putting him effectively under the thumb of the Minister of Agriculture and his executive agents. The Ministry of Agriculture, with 10,000 employees spending 10 million pounds annually, is considered to be one of the most inefficient bureaus in Britain. A former Minister resigned after the disclosures of the scandalous Crichel Down land case.

FORMER HAS NO DEFENSE

Regardless of the intent of those who conceived such controls, the effect is to break the English farmers' will to manage their own affairs, and gradually to tighten a noose around them until one planned collective farming operation under a government werkbund is achieved.

Against these absolute powers—which should never be given to any man—the small farmer has no defense. Under the dictatorial provisions of the act, the farmer's only rights are the right to make representations to the Minister, and the right to have his case referred to the agricultural land tribunal comprised of three government appointees closely tied to the Ministry of Agriculture.

Few small farmers have the knowledge or enough capital to defend their farms properly against a bureaucratic runaround. Others are unwilling to endure the indignity of going before any smug tribunal humbly to beg for the right to occupy their own property. So, in its dealings with them, the Ministry of Agriculture is virtually invulnerable.

HOW POWER IS USED

The autocratic powers in the act are real, and they are used. During wartime the Ministry, through its county committees, evicted more than 10,000 farmers; it took over 6,684 farms; it held not less than 354,609 acres of land. Today the Ministry still holds about 230,000 acres in England and Wales. Since the war, over 4,000 farmers have been placed under supervision and 376 have been evicted.

There was no way of knowing how many others have been threatened, intimidated, or otherwise pushed around by arrogant agents, nor how much the act has been used to accomplish ends other than the pretext of good husbandry. Of this Lord Linlithgow observed: "One of the most informative criticisms I have heard is this: Before a man is dispossessed he must be guilty of two things. First, he must be guilty of bad farming; and secondly, he must be guilty of a lack of friends in the district." It takes little imagination to see the countless ways in which the absolute power of the county agricultural committees may be used for favoritism, spite, or personal gain.

Having no hope of aid, the victims simply fade away in a shroud of official silence. Sympathetic neighbors who would like to help them are afraid to express their indignation, for fear of attracting the ill will of a powerful committee, which could retaliate with ruinous supervision of their own farms. A number of the unfortunate farmers, broken by supervision and ejection from their homes, have committed suicide; others were thrown into prison for daring to refuse direction; farmer George Walden, of Hichen Stoke, Hampshire, was gassed and shot to death by the police when he resisted eviction.

AN ENTRENCHED BUREAUCRACY

An objective investigation of the farm situation seems to be virtually impossible in England, where the status quo is so strongly guarded by existing law and custom. The setup of such investigations as have been made from time to time always made certain that nothing more than superficial suggestions for patching up existing Government procedures might be offered. Furthermore, acceptance of any recommendations is left to the discretion of the Minister of Agriculture—proposals for reforms which do not suit the Ministry simply are ignored. Any chance that the power of direction and dispossession of farmers by the Minister of Agriculture might be called into question is ruled out in advance by directives given to the investigating committees.

One might imagine some wild-eyed Marxian to be the big brother who wields the whip of dispossession over the farmers of England. On the contrary, the present Minister of Agriculture is Mr. D. Heathcote Amory, a product of Eton and Oxford, and formerly a conservative M. P. Evidently he shares the common belief that it is somehow better for the "right" people to take responsible positions and administer the Socialists' program for them, than to let the Socialists do it themselves. Thus English Conservatives frequently lend their prestige to bureaucratic controls of which they really disapprove, thereby helping establish them almost beyond hope of revocation.

England has an enormous job to do in agriculture. It needs to scrap its tyrannous Agriculture Act; it needs to clean out a miserable swarm of Socialist-minded people who run Government bureaus with Conservative fronts for their collectivist schemes; it needs to get rid of costly committees and ubiquitous "experts" now plaguing the independent farmers; it needs to revive faith in the power of persuasion, not compulsion; it needs to restore the rights and property of those who have suffered dispossession under the Agriculture Act; it needs to realize that free farmers and the free operation of the law of demand and supply can regulate its agricultural production better and cheaper than "the man from Whitehall"; and it needs to understand that there can be no refuge of freedom for any of its people if the property rights of individuals are not respected.

Above all, England needs to revive the ability to see clear and present danger in small encroachments upon individual freedom. "Liberty is never safe except where the average man feels resentment toward every oppressive act of government, whether it affects him or not."

The 10th of May: Rumania's Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 10, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, today, May 10, is the national holiday of the

Rumanian people. It is fitting that again this year we remember the three great events which are celebrated on that date, and pay tribute to the fortitude and courage of Rumanians everywhere.

After more than a thousand years of strife and sacrifice, national unity was attained, and freedom and independence secured. May 10 stands for that achievement, and is the day chosen for celebrating their national holiday. Today Rumanians at home are forcibly prevented from outward celebration, but their will remains unbroken.

During their long history Rumanians have always stood up against invaders and they have battled against hordes of barbarians pouring into Europe from the east. They have also fought against the forces of the Ottoman Empire.

Some 500 years ago the Turks succeeded in overcoming by their superior numbers the defenders of freedom. The same thing happened a few years ago when the dark forces of communism swallowed up the people of Rumania.

But the will of the Rumanian nation was not broken. In recognition of the people's drive for freedom, the Rumanian principalities received a special status—as autonomous states—in which the Turks could not interfere. Mircea the Elder, Vlad the Impaler, Stephen the Great, Michael the Brave, John the Fierce are names of brave Rumanian rulers who have fought in the past for independence and unity.

On May 10, 1866, the Rumanian dynasty was founded with the proclamation of Charles, Prince of Hohenzollern-Signaringen, as Prince of Rumania. This event marked the successful outcome of the nation's long struggle to acquire the right of electing as sovereign a member of one of the western nonneighboring reigning families, thus ending rivalries among native candidates to the throne. It was the beginning of a prosperous and glorious reign for Charles the First.

May 10, 1877, just 11 years later, the principality of Rumania proclaimed her independence by severing the outdated bonds which lined her with the Ottoman Empire. This independence had to be fought out on the battlefields south of the Danube, where the young Rumanian Army, as an ally of Russia, played a noteworthy part in the defeat of the Turkish forces. The Congress of Berlin of 1878 confirmed Rumania's independence and conferred Europe's official recognition, a bright page in the country's dreary history, though marred unfortunately by the loss of Bessarabia, cynically wrenched by Czar Alexander II and his Government from the ally who had helped them obtain the victory over the Turks.

And May 10, 1881, Charles I was crowned King of Rumania by the will of his people. Thus opened a prosperous era lasting over six decades for the Rumanian nation. Its apex was attained when national unity within the historical boundaries was reached after World War I. Rumania had now become a factor of peace and equilibrium in southeast Europe.

During these many years, Rumanians have cherished the 10th of May as their national holiday. This date remains the symbol of Rumanian permanence and perseverance through years of hardship to reach the end of freedom and well-being.

The consciousness of the Rumanian people, concerning their unity and independence, is the result of centuries of sacrifices. Today this consciousness remains intact. It cannot be destroyed by either brutality, lies, or oppression.

The Communist regime has attempted to tear this sacred day from Rumania's proud history. Today, in Rumania, any demonstration of independence is banned. Rumanians no longer can sing their national anthem, nor can they raise the flag on their independence day.

In order to try and alter the significance of this day, celebrations were shifted from the 10th to the 9th of May, the anniversary of a Soviet victory. Although flags are now raised on May 9, Rumanians celebrate in their hearts the following day, patiently awaiting the day when freedom is restored to them.

Through these dark years of Communist domination, the Rumanian people have kept alive their courage and their faith. They know that freedom cannot be destroyed.

The United States does not accept as permanent enslavement of eastern European peoples but looks forward with them to the day when they will again live in freedom and independence. On this historic day we join with Rumanians everywhere as we raise our hearts in prayer to Almighty God that He may hasten the day when the flag of freedom may once more fly over Rumania.

Rumanian National Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement made by me on the occasion of Rumanian National Day, which is being observed today, May 10:

RUMANIAN NATIONAL DAY

(Statement by the Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD, of Pennsylvania)

Today, May 10, is an important day in Rumanian history, and the anniversary of Rumanian independence. It is a pleasure to record this anniversary of Rumanian independence and to hope for the speedy liberation of the Rumanian people from Soviet enslavement.

Rumanian history is a gloomy chronicle of oppression, lightened by short periods of freedom and progress. Unfortunately, Rumania is now passing through one of its darkest periods; the ordinary Rumanian citizen of the present time is suffering from as vicious tyranny as any which exploited his ancestors. One of the most oppressive and farreaching Soviet policies is that of high-speed industrialization.

Rumania has been transformed into a captive Soviet industrial colony. What this means is that individual citizens have been deprived of their capital—much of it saved with great effort over many years—by planned inflation and heavy taxation for reinvestment in industry—all for the benefit of the U. S. S. R. Such systematic tactics of pillaging one sector of the Rumanian economy have drawn off huge sums to be misused and wasted in others. The unemployment and underemployment of prewar days have been converted—with the aid of all the totalitarian techniques, and trapping—secret police, concentration camps, forced labor, daily production norms—into a specious full employment, where many work with a pistol at their heads to fulfill quotas, or attain production goals of demented 5-year plans which only result in economic dislocation or counterfeit industrial diversification. Any advantage which might be gained by employing huge numbers of serf-laborers and technicians is canceled by the financial demands of a huge party bureaucracy, with its press and propaganda apparatus, and its military and police auxiliaries with their disregard for human values and, indeed, human lives. Rumanian consumers find difficulty in purchasing the simplest needs of human existence—sufficient foodstuffs, warm clothing, and adequate shelter—all because the production of Rumanian industry is constantly diverted to the Soviet Union and because faulty and dogmatic Communist economic planning insists on determining in advance—in minute detail—the allocations and uses of thousands of products, a superhuman task which results in breakdowns, bottlenecks, and every sort of economic confusion. Poor planning, reliance on outmoded and disproved economic theory, is compounded by reparations payments to the U. S. S. R., forced adherence to Soviet trade agreements which drain off consumer goods, and bestow high salaries on useless and overpaid Russian "advisers." While Soviet soldiers hold the Rumanian sheep still, Soviet technicians and administrators fleece the unfortunate animal of all it has.

Americans everywhere hope for the rebirth of Rumanian freedom and happier days in the future for Rumanian workers, craftsmen, and businessmen. We hope for a more wholesome and better life for the Rumanian people.

Birmingham Is Taking Stock of Its Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, for the past few days I have been inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD various news articles and editorial comment concerning Birmingham's Committee of One Hundred and the role of this great organization in the expansion of the industrial economy of Alabama.

The Committee of One Hundred is recognized throughout the State as playing a major role in the improvement of the life and welfare of our people. Although concerned primarily with the development of the Birmingham district, its effects are felt all over Alabama.

Under leave heretofore granted, it is my privilege to insert in the CONGRES-

SIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared a few days ago in the Decatur Daily. Although Decatur is located in the Tennessee Valley, 100 miles north of Birmingham, its people readily recognize the importance of the Committee of One Hundred to the future growth of our State.

The editorial follows:

BIRMINGHAM IS TAKING STOCK OF ITS GROWTH

Back in 1949 the civic and industrial leaders of Birmingham took stock of themselves and of their city. After some soul searching, they formed a Committee of One Hundred, put up $500,000 given by 309 businesses and individuals for advertising the advantages of Birmingham to the Nation. They planned to spend $100,000 a year for 5 years.

In January 1957 they took stock and found that more than 200 plants, warehouses, home and district sales offices have been located in Birmingham or have expanded facilities, representing a $200 million investment, 18,000 new jobs, and payrolls have increased more than $18 million.

This is wonderful news to all of Alabama, for it means that our entire State has and will continue to benefit from this aggressive planning on the part of Birmingham's leaders.

Birmingham, we are sure, feels just like the cities in the Tennessee Valley who have their own aggressive plans and who think first of the valley and secondly of Alabama. If we can't locate an industrial plant, a warehouse, home or district sales office in the Tennessee Valley, then we heartily recommend some other location in Alabama. We know no dividing lines in this State. In the building of Alabama we build ourselves. We hope the next 5 years of life for the Committee of One Hundred will be even more brilliant, more productive, for not only Birmingham but the whole State is benefiting every day of every year from this aggressive sales promotion.

New VA Hospital Belongs Near Medical Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an editorial from the Nashville Banner under date of May 7, 1957.

Subsequent to the decision of the Honorable H. V. Higley, Veterans' Administrator, and other authorities within the agency, to locate the new Veterans' Administration hospital on the site of the present regional office hospital, on Whites Bridge Road, near Nashville, members of the medical profession and others, including Dr. Paul B. Magnuson, former Medical Director for the Veterans' Administration, have expressed the opinion that the new medical facilities should be located near Vanderbilt University Hospital rather than the selected site.

I feel this is a matter of national concern and importance, involving the future medical care and treatment of many disabled former servicemen and servicewomen of our country.

It is my desire to bring this editorial to the attention of the entire membership:

PATIENTS' WELFARE UPPERMOST—NEW VA HOSPITAL BELONGS NEAR MEDICAL CENTER

Maximum benefits for patients at the proposed new veterans' hospital replacing Thayer were the considerations uppermost in the urgent suggestion to build it near this city's medical center. And for that a site has been available in the area of the Vanderbilt University School of Medicine. It still is available. As emphasized again by Dr. Paul Magnuson, former VA Medical Director, it still is the desirable and recommended location.

Notwithstanding these facts of manifest bearing on a logical site, Washington spokesmen again have indicated that VA Administrator Harvey Higley is adhering to his announced decision to build the new facility at the present White Bridge Road location, simply replacing old buildings with new. That would fail to correct one major disadvantage; and in the judgment of many qualified to evaluate the basic considerations, any ostensible saving thereby accomplished would be in the long run a very expensive economy.

It is not a matter to be decided by circumstances either of prejudice or pressure, but by the question, singularly, of what actually is better for the welfare of the patients themselves.

That consideration dictated the policy more than a decade ago adopted by the Veterans' Administration, of building these institutions adjacent to medical centers. As Dr. Magnuson has reminded, the purpose of that was for ready access to these, so that specialists could easily be called in as consultants on any case.

As the Banner observed from the outset, and reiterated 2 months ago: "That certainly is no innovation in Veterans' Administration thinking. It embodies no new idea of VA-community relationships bearing on maximum efficiency and benefits. It accords, indeed, with the policy established by Gen. Omar Bradley when he was Veterans' Administrator, and who recognized the importance of it as both practical and basic to the welfare of the veterans such an institution serves."

It is just as practical and basic now—yea, essential in the Nashville facility as elsewhere; simply to assure the best of care, for men who have offered their lives in the service of their country. The Banner repeats that is not a narrow consideration on which any bargain price can be put, or subject to dictates prejudicial to the utmost in lifesaving advantages sought in their behalf.

Why should the facility planned for middle Tennessee be the exception to a rule invoked for these institutions in general? The answer is, of course, it should not.

Ten Commandments for Parents and Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article, Ten Commandments for Parents and Children, written by constituents of mine, Rabbi and Mrs. William M. Kramer.

The article follows:

TEN COMMANDMENTS FOR PARENTS AND CHILDREN

(By Rabbi and Mrs. William M. Kramer)

TEN COMMANDMENTS FOR CHILDREN

I. Thou shalt not cause one parent to turn against the other.

II. Remember thy parents have the same rights as thou hast to enjoy life, secure rest, and to have the fruits of their labor.

III. Thou shalt not ignore thy parents' experience and wisdom.

IV. Thou shalt share in the responsibilities and labor of the family according to thy ability and according to the need.

V. Thy brother and thy sister shall be thy friend and not thy rival.

VI. Thy behavior before thy teacher and in the community shall not bring reproach upon thy family.

VII. Thou shalt respect the privacy of thy father and thy mother and thy sister and thy brother.

VIII. Thou shalt not reveal the secrets of thy household, nor shalt thou bring gossip within thy gates.

IX. Thou shalt observe the routine of thy household and need not to be reminded of thy daily tasks.

X. Thou shalt learn diligently thy faith, observe its commandments, and attend its worship that thou mayest be worthy of good marriage, be the doer of good deeds, merit love and give love generously.

TEN COMMANDMENTS FOR PARENTS

I. Thou shalt strive to banish fear and anxiety from thy gates and invite love and security within thy portals.

II. Thou shalt see thy child as a personality to be released, not as a possession to be retained, praising his accomplishments, judging them according to his youth and his gifts.

III. Thou shalt honor and cherish thy mate and thyself so that love permeates the household and adorns its inhabitants.

IV. Thou shalt train up thy child to respect himself but in so doing not feel rejected by thee.

V. Thou shalt not be cowardly or overindulgent lest thy child knows not the bounds of decency and good behavior.

VI. When thou art vexed with the ways of childhood remember, then, the days of thy youth.

VII. Thou shalt help thy child love beauty, uphold truth, walk in friendship, and serve his nation.

VIII. Thou shalt make thy home thy child's home wherein his friends are welcome guests.

IX. Thou shalt not exploit, nor compete with thy child for gain or for pride or for any selfish end, nor visit upon him thy parents' shortcomings toward thee.

X. Thou shalt teach thy child diligently thy faith, to observe its commandments and attend its worship, prepare him for marriage, and the doing of good deeds.

Polish Constitution Day

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, another year has passed, and while the people of Poland have again reiterated their plea for freedom during the Poznan uprisings, which occurred last year, they remain

substantially in subjugation by a government which seeks to suppress their liberties. However, due to their brave resistance, the Polish people have achieved a greater degree of self-government and freedom than they have since becoming a satellite country.

So on this anniversary of Poland's constitution, May 3, 1957, we not only commemorate the former independence of Poland, but we watch with interest the progress she has made in attaining a greater measure of freedom after so many years in which self-government was impossible.

We must hope that during the days ahead the spirit of the Polish people will restore a complete freedom which can only be achieved through a free government.

Southern Research Institute Grows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, the people of the Ninth Congressional District are proud of the Southern Research Institute, one of our oustanding nonprofit scientific research organizations. We have watched it grow in the few years of its existence and have been pleased to note its continued expansion of services to the economy of the Southeast.

All of Alabama and, indeed, the Southland, has benefited from the foresightedness of Mr. Thomas W. Martin, chairman of the board of the Alabama Power Co., and the other founders of the Southern Research Institute. It has over the past years fulfilled a vital need in the rapidly expanding industrial economy of our section.

Under leave heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Mobile Register a few days ago concerning the Southern Research Institute. Mobile is 250 miles from Birmingham, but its people recognize the value of this institution to scientific research in Alabama:

SOUTHERN RESEARCH INSTITUTE GROWS

In a current special issue of its bulletin, the Southern Research Institute located in Birmingham and operated on a nonprofit basis, reveals that 1956 was a year of notable growth for it.

Thomas W. Martin, chairman of its board of trustees, relates in a concise review of its progress that the institute is about to complete a new administration building on the site of its earliest operations in scientific research.

"With the completion of this unit (part of which will be used initially for engineering research), the institute will have some 90,000 square feet of laboratory space in modern, well-equipped buildings," Mr. Martin points out.

"We expect to begin construction on still another laboratory building in the first half of 1957."

Of the expansion in research activity and technical personnel, he says:

"The technical staff is now carrying on the largest volume of research in the institute's history. During 1956 the institute served 96 industrial research sponsors in 21 States, 13 agencies of the Federal Government and several philanthropic foundations. * * * There is every reason to believe that a substantial increase in sponsored research programs lies immediately ahead."

He pointed to an increase of more than 35 percent in the number of employees as impressive illustration of the institute's rapid growth during 1956.

The Southern Research Institute has served an important need from the time it was founded. Its valuable service in scientific research may be expected to expand consistently in the future. Alabama and the South are fortunate to be its home.

Henry Clay Wins Position of Honor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Henry Clay Wins Position of Honor," which appeared in the May 6 issue of the Madisonville Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky.:

HENRY CLAY WINS POSITION OF HONOR

Kentuckians were pleased, naturally, at the selection of Henry Clay as 1 of the 5 outstanding Senators of all time. The selection was a chore of the first magnitude, as we said in previous comment, and it required a mountain of work and listening to another mountain of advice to arrive at a decision.

The other four Senators named by a special committee of which Senator KENNEDY was chairman: Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts; John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Robert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin; and Robert Taft, of Ohio.

The portraits of all five, as has been stated in the news columns, will be hung in the Senate reception room in Washington, with Kentucky's Henry Clay receiving the position of honor. Appearing in this editorial is a picture of the Henry Clay Statue in the Statuary Hall of the Capitol in Washington.

Henry Clay, born in Virginia in 1777 and a citizen of Kentucky 20 years later, was first elected to the United States Senate in 1806, before he reached his 30th birthday. He served as a Member in spite of a constitutional requirement that Members of the Senate should be 30 years of age. In the years to follow he served in both House and Senate, during most of his service in the House as Speaker.

Clay's record as Speaker of the House stood for many years and was broken only recently by the present Speaker, SAM RAYBURN, of Texas. As Senator MORTON, at the time a Member of the House, said in an address on the occasion:

"After holding the record for 100 years, Kentucky is obliged to yield to Texas."

We do not have the space here to recount the details of Henry Clay's career. He formulated and championed what was called the American system, based on a protective tariff for the Nation's infant industries. He was an advocate of aggression in the War of 1812 with England, and he was one of the commissioners who concluded the peace. Clay also was closely identified with the great compromise, a movement of 1850 which was the last important adjustment before the dispute between North and South erupted into war.

Clay, as students know, failed in his great ambition—a desire to reach the presidency, for which he was a candidate three times.

Henry Clay's memory is kept alive in many ways, among them the preservation of his home, Ashland, as one of the State's shines. College students from Hopkins and all other counties, in Lexington pursuing their education, visit Ashland and also read of Henry Clay and his times in the quiet of the public library.

The Clay family is one of the largest in Kentucky, and many members of the family have rendered outstanding service to Kentucky and the Nation over the years. All Kentuckians who are mindful of the honor which Senator KENNEDY and his associates have conferred upon the Clay name and upon the State chosen by Henry Clay for his home and career, will note with interest the news developments which will follow the announcement of the committee's selections.

The noted statesman and orator died in 1852, 105 years ago. To the many honors conferred upon him in his lifetime, this new one is added.

Secretary Benson Praised for Surplus Disposal Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago, I heard on the floor of the House accusations against officials of the Department of Agriculture for not having disposed of more of our surpluses abroad. In the light of evidence now available, nothing but praise should be given to Secretary Benson and his Department for the monumental surplus-disposal program they have carried out abroad.

This fiscal year our farm exports will be about $4½ billion—the highest year in history. This is almost $1 billion more than last year, representing the fourth successive year of increasing farm exports.

Yesterday, at the exhibit on moving surpluses and expanding foreign markets in the patio of the Department of Agriculture, Secretary Benson made the following comments which summarize some of these surplus-disposal accomplishments:

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE EZRA TAFT BENSON AT EXHIBIT ON MOVING SURPLUSES AND EXPANDING FOREIGN MARKETS, IN PATIO, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, MAY 9, 1957

It gives me great pleasure to welcome our distinguished guests and all of you to the opening of this exhibit. We are especially honored to have with us Members of the Congress and friends from the diplomatic corps of other countries.

We have an interesting and gratifying story to tell. I am sure that if you were to hear of an overstocked merchant in private business who, in an oversupplied market, nevertheless succeeded in reducing his inventory without crippling his business or jeopardizing the price structure—I am sure you would say this was an accomplishment of note. What the Department of Agricul-

ture has done in its surplus disposal operations over the past few years is equally noteworthy.

Before we tell that story, however, I want to take this opportunity to pay a warm and sincere tribute to the devoted men and women and organizations who have helped make the story possible—who have helped us distribute our excess abundance at home and abroad. To each and every one I express the appreciation of agriculture, of Government, and of a multitude of people—especially our farmers. I feel sure you have God's blessing in this noble work.

I think it is a noteworthy fact that we have moved out of storage and into use nearly $9 billion worth of farm surpluses through special programs in the past 4 years.

It is noteworthy that we have been able to hang up the "sold out" sign for a sizable list of commodities, including cottonseed oil, cottonseed meal, hay and pasture seeds, soybeans, linseed oil, and tung oil.

It is noteworthy that stocks of grain sorghums, rice, barley, butter, dried milk, and wool have been reduced to low levels.

It is noteworthy that United States farm exports have risen to the highest level in history. In this present fiscal year the total value of our farm exports will be about $4½ billion—almost $1 billion more than in 1955–56. This is the fourth successive year of increasing farm exports.

We have "swapped" a billion dollars worth of farm surpluses for strategic foreign materials and other defense needs.

We have sold agricultural exports for foreign currencies to 31 friendly nations—because they were short of dollars. New markets have thereby been opened. Many of these should later develop into dollar sales outlets because we have created a desire for our products abroad.

We are tooled up today to promote American agricultural exports much better than ever before. We have our agricultural attachés working in principal countries of the world. We have marketing specialists going out on special foreign assignments. We have special export programs. We have our export prices down to where they are competitive. World consumers are becoming increasingly prosperous and represent a better market—and we are making our farm products known to them through trade fairs and other promotions.

Yes, all this is indeed worthy of note.

In February 1956, the Commodity Credit Corporation had an investment in farm products of about $8.9 billion. By June 30, the CCC investment is expected to be down to about $7.5 billion. But this tells only part of the story. Without our successful disposal programs, the CCC investment might now be more than twice its present total.

This reduction in CCC surplus stocks is unique in that it is being accomplished in a world buyer's market. Twice before CCC inventories were greatly reduced—during World War II and during the Korean emergency—both wartime "seller's markets." In both these periods our surplus food and fiber were an important war resource. In both periods prices were rising and markets were expanding.

Today we are liquidating our stocks when there is no such emergency demand. Though it is true that Europe has been temporarily caught with short supplies of wheat and oil crops and the stoppage of traffic in the Sues has caused some shifts in import patterns, on the whole, this has been and remains a "buyer's market."

We increased CCC disposals of all kind from $520 million in fiscal 1953 to $2,723 million in fiscal 1956. In the current fiscal year disposals will reach the staggering total of nearly $4 billion—almost 8 times as much as in fiscal 1953.

How is the job being done? We have developed special distribution programs, such as the sales for foreign currencies and barter transactions I have mentioned. But, above all, we are emphasizing more and more exports for dollars. Our dollar sales now account for approximately two-thirds of all CCC disposals. Furthermore, the Corporation is recovering about 71 cents on the dollar from its dollar sales.

We are selling nearly all of our commodities on a competitive-bid basis. We have timed our programs so they will not interfere with agricultural seasons. We have coordinated the sales policy and operations of eight Commodity Stabilization Service offices throughout the country.

The result—and I am proud of it—is this: We are moving our inventory in an orderly manner and without adverse effect on domestic or world market prices.

This, obviously, is the best way to dispose of our surpluses. But where we are not able to sell or barter we feel strongly our responsibility to make constructive use of the abundance with which we have been blessed. Food is produced to go into stomachs, not into wasteful storage. So we have given away some of our surplus—donated foods to persons both in this country and abroad who don't get these foods, or who do not get enough of them. In the past year we've found good use in this way for nearly 3 billion pounds of our surplus foods.

We've initiated a special milk program to help reduce the surplus by making more milk available to our children.

I could bring you glownig accounts from teachers about what the milk program has meant. They have told us in some cases that the health of the children has improved, absenteeism has been cut down, and classroom accomplishment has been increased. More children are learning that milk tastes good. Today's program is helping to build tomorrow's market.

This is the same sound concept on which our national school-lunch program is so firmly founded. Every day nearly 11 million children take part in this program. It has become an important aid to their health and well-being. Every year it makes a market for nearly $500 million worth of farm products—a market which will continue into the future, continuing to grow.

I repeat, we in the Department and all of us interested in agriculurte owe our thanks to those who have helped make such a fine record for all these programs, the school-lunch supervisors and managers in this country, and the United States voluntary relief agencies for their magnificent work in distributing food to the needy abroad.

And surely I would be remiss if I did not pay a sincere tribute to the excellent performance of American industry in helping to expand markets for our agricultural abundance. The men and women of industry are the professional marketers of farm products. We in the Department of Agriculture have been happy to cooperate with industry. We have been glad to play the minor rather than the major role, to be the junior partner so to speak. We applaud American industry for what it has done. We say frankly that the improvement in the surplus situation is due largely to industry's accomplishments, and that the national economy is more secure because of the aggressive helpfulness with which industry has tackled its part of the job.

Finally, let me pay my sincere respects to the Members of Congress. They have provided legislation—the tools, you might say—for carrying out the great distribution job we are doing today. The surplus disposal legislation, the return of the agricultural attachés to this Department, the new opportunities being created for building bigger markets—these and the continuing programs that we administer represent the well-considered desires of Congress and the people.

By means of imaginative, bold market promotion, the foundation has been laid for larger outlets for United States farm products abroad and at home. We still have far to go. But I believe we have passed the peak of our surplus difficulties.

We look forward with hope—and with the knowledge that people in a large part of the world know better the products of our land.

School Aid—The Unfounded Argument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting an editorial from the Wall Street Journal on the subject of Federal aid to education. It contains some interesting factual data.

The editorial follows:

THE UNFOUNDED ARGUMENT

Senator KNOWLAND, the Republican minority leader, had this to say about President Eisenhower's 4-year, $2 billion Federal aid to schools plan:

"My practical knowledge of Washington leads me to the conclusion that nothing terminates in 4 years. And I have never seen the Federal Government contribute money without wanting to exercise control."

There, in a nutshell, is the most cogent argument against the Federal aid school program.

It is, however, an argument that a great many people say can and should be discounted where a great need exists. And, proponents of Federal aid say, a great need for school construction does exist, and the burden of meeting the need is greater than the States and local communities can possibly bear without access to the Federal purse. Even Mr. Eisenhower, in his message to Congress on the school program, said: "It cannot now be said, realistically, that the States and communities will meet the need."

To meet this "need," Mr. Eisenhower proposed these steps, among others: Federal grants for school construction at the rate of $325 million for 4 years, or a total of $1.3 billion; authorization of $750 million over 4 years for Federal purchase of local school construction bonds when school districts cannot market them at reasonable interest rates.

We have no idea how Mr. Eisenhower's advisers arrived at these exact figures about what is needed if the Nation's public school system is not to fall part.

But we know that the figures are wrong, for we know that the starting point for the figures is wrong. And that point of departure is that the States and communities either will not or cannot meet their own responsibilities.

Realistically, it can be said—and proved—that the responsibility is being met. The Investment Bankers Association's statistical bulletin reports that for the 9-month period ending March 31 last, school bonds totaling $1,500,000,000 were sold by States and local communities, an alltime record.

Now, how does that compare to previous years? There are no exactly comparable figures, but the Federal Reserve Board's statistics on State and local government bonds sold for education purposes are close enough.

And for like 9-month periods, the picture looks like this: 1946–47, $136 million; 1949–50, $412 million; 1952–53, $778 million; 1955–56, $1.1 billion. These increasing expenditures for schools, as the IBA shows, on March 31 reached $1.5 billion.

Nor is that all; States, counties, municipalities, townships, and school districts all over the Nation were authorized by the voters in the first 3 months to spend $209 million for education, some of which bonds have not yet gone to market. And bond elections scheduled by taxpayers through November and already scheduled for yea or nay by the voters is another total of $429 million for education bond issues. Some will be rejected—and that is also a responsibility of the local taxpayers who know best what they need.

We hope somebody will put all these figures on the congressional blackboard where everybody can see them. For we think the figures will answer for a long time to come the unfounded argument about the need for Federal aid because the people back home are doing little or nothing to meet responsibilities that are theirs.

Ballistic Missiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LeROY H. ANDERSON
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON of Montana. Mr. Speaker, last night's paper quotes the President as being opposed to the Army development of intermediate range ballistic missiles because the Army would "have to request observation of the enemy situation" and "the only way the Army could find out is from the Air Force. This puts the Army squarely into the Air Force's business."

If you don't stop to think about it, this may seem plausible. If you do stop to think, you will realize that it doesn't make sense. I am sure the President realizes that our armed services integrate their efforts in many ways and that one of these has always been in the matter of intelligence and observation. Certainly, the President must know that the Air Force has responsibility for major air reconnaissance for the Army. The Air Force provides the air photos and reconnaissance for long-range artillery fire. Yet I have never seen where this has caused the Air Force to stake out any claim to develop, control, and operate the artillery. Reconnaissance and air photos of enemy front lines and bunkers are obtained for the Army by the Air Force, but I have never seen any of their personnel operating our mortars or putting a satchel or pole charge in a bunker embrasure. The Air Force is not automatically the monarch of all it surveys.

The Army has done a splendid job in the development of the missile, Jupiter, and should not be hamstrung in their efforts to continue its development and use. I think the Congress should go into the matter very thoroughly, checking on the charge that this is a move to turn the missile development over to General Motors as was done with tanks when Chrysler contracts were canceled and General Motors given the breaks. The Congress needs to determine whether the Air Force is seeking to take advantage of the fact that it has many of its spokesmen in high places in the administration. The Congress should determine whether or not a little competition between the services and a little more free enterprise might not be a good thing in developing the best missiles that can be had, at a time when the degree of success may determine the survival of our way of life.

This is too big a question to cover in this brief discussion, as there are many questions and the right answers are needed to insure survival of our country. I am asking that you reserve your decision until the facts can be brought out. Do not be swayed by a superficial off-the-cuff statement which begs the fundamental issues.

All Eyes Are Turning Down Pensacola Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the Nation has reason to be proud of the fine historical background which is associated with Pensacola and northwest Florida. This recorded history dates from August 15, 1559, when Don Tristan de Luna landed his Spanish colonists in Florida at Pensacola in an attempt to establish a permanent settlement.

House Concurrent Resolution 117, which I introduced, commemorates this event, and has received the approval of the distinguished House Committee on the Judiciary, and will very soon be placed on the House Calendar. An identical resolution passed the House in the closing days of the last session, but was not acted on in the Senate.

Our pride in northwest Florida is not limited to historical background. Present developments are equally significant. A very fine editorial which effectively points out these facts was published recently in the Florida Times-Union from the pen of Caleb J. King, Jr., editorial page editor of that newspaper.

I take the liberty of including it in the RECORD at this point.

The editorial follows:

ALL EYES ARE TURNING DOWN PENSACOLA WAY

Federal participation in the 400th anniversary celebration to be staged in Pensacola 2 years hence would draw national attention to the project, and Representative BOB SIKES is sponsoring a resolution in the House of Representatives seeking such support from the Government in Washington.

The resolution says that on August 15, 1559, Don Tristan de Luna landed Spanish colonists at Pensacola. This feat of exploration and discovery often has been described as the first attempt to found a European settlement in Florida.

Federal participation in the event would not be difficult, inasmuch as there are a number of Government installations in northwest Florida from which personnel could be drawn to take part in the program. In Pensacola itself is the naval airbase, one of the first of its kind in the Nation. Nearby are Eglin Field and the Tyndall Airbase which have bulked large in the growth of that region.

In less than a quarter of a century, Fort Walton Beach, the center of much of the Air Force activity, has forged ahead from a mere recreation resort to a sizable city, an expansion which is also reflected in the growth of Panama City. Congressman SIKES' own Crestview also has felt the beneficial effects of this activity.

But if Pensacola is the capital of Armed Forces aerial expansion in that area, it is also the hub of an upsurge in industrial development. A day hardly passes that the Times-Union (on the stands at 6 a. m. in Chestview) doesn't announce that another industry has chosen Escambia County and its environs as the site for a new plant.

The national emblems which have flown over that city include the Spanish, French, Confederate, British, and American, but it is the latter flag, of course, under which Pensacola has prospered.

It is for the same reason that de Luna came in 1559 that industry is coming to Pensacola. Its land-locked harbor is described as the best on that section of the gulf coast, affording ready access to the world's trade routes. Santa Rosa Island, lying only a short distance off the mainland, adds to the value of this natural harbor.

As an outstanding testimony that such a thing as regionalism doesn't exist in Florida, the entire populace of the State should join in dynamic support of Federal participation in the celebration at Pensacola, a city which is a living symbol of the expression "New South." This would be a worthy means of declaring the leadership Florida is taking in a region of great potential growth.

Rumanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure and pride, touched with sadness, that I join in paying tribute to Rumanian Independence Day.

I join in this occasion with pleasure because it affords me the opportunity to express my admiration and esteem for the Rumanians who have contributed so much to the making of our world today, and those who remain firm in their love for freedom though imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain.

I join in this occasion with pride based on contacts in my home city of Rochester, N. Y., with many fine American citizens of Rumanian descent. They have contributed much to the progress of this city, as they have done in many cities across the country, enriching our national life with the particular traits and attributes which mark those of Rumanian extraction.

I join in this occasion with sadness because the people of Rumania, though

steadfastly clinging to their belief in liberty, are now denied any measure of that freedom which is the inherent right of every man. Yet, my confidence in the will of these people to be free is unbounded. The overlords of the international Communist conspiracy are learning this lesson well.

It is fitting, on the occasion of Rumanian Independence Day this year, that we in America look back on the many accomplishments of this Nation. But more than that, we in America are concerned with the present and future of these fine people.

To those behind the Iron Curtain we send our greetings and our fervent prayers for a brighter future. May the day be not too distant when these noble people will once more join with the United States and her friends in the family of free nations.

The Postal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Mr. W. C. Burton, which appeared in a recent issue of the Greensboro Daily News, is worthy of the attention of our colleagues:

PINCH THE POST OFFICE IF YOU DARE

(By W. C. Burton)

Let's open up the parcel-post window and the registered-mail window, along with the stamp and money-order windows, and ventilate this United States postal-service question. Let's permit some fresh air and reason, and some pretty strong feelings in the bargain, to play upon the subject for a while.

I don't know very much about the inner and intricate workings of the United States Post Office Department, so I can speak freely. And I can certainly speak with deep feeling. I have had my say about the post office once before, and what I said was, in essence, this: Don't mess around with the postal service; it's just about the best and most valuable and most important service that the Government has to offer.

I have such a mighty respect and such a powerful affection for the postal service that I always stand rigidly at attention and lick a stamp, as a sort of salute, a silent tribute, whenever its name is mentioned in my hearing.

It is my great daily adventure to go down to the post office every day; some days I go 2 or 3 times, to unlock my post-office box and see what the boys have stuffed into it. The novelty of this simple act never wears thin for me. What will be inside? A letter from some friend across the State or across the Nation? Will the box contain that tantalizing little rectangle of colored cardboard bearing the legend, "Call for package"? Will it hold an offer from someone who wants to send me, bless his generous heart, genuine hand-painted, wrinkleproof $5 neckties for a mere $1 apiece, 6 for $5? I am not immune even to those blandishments.

Each morning the daily paper is there, the tidings of all the known world wrapped in a few folds of newsprint and waiting for me in my post-office box, just because the post-office people are so nice and obliging that they place it there, without fail, early every day. At least once a week a check reposes in the box. The familiar envelope winks at me cordially through the numbered glass window long before I can insert and turn the key in the Yale lock. What a happy little cubicle the post-office box is on such occasions. Then I skip merrily from the post office to the bank, where I can make good most of the checks I wrote the week before.

And the magazines, the gay, colorful, fascinating magazines which sometimes seem to swell the box to bursting. And Christmas cards and Easter cards and birthday cards and all sorts of things, not to mention that most enthralling of all forms of literature, catalogs, all kinds of catalogs. Of course, it is true and it is only fair to mention it—the monthly bills are placed in my post-office box, too, but, then, nothing is perfect. We have to accept the bitter with the sweet.

Oh, I'll tell you, no man stands higher in my esteem than the fellow who invented the post office. He is a great hero in my private hall of fame, a tremendously large-hearted benefactor whose statue should grace every public park, public school, and pool-room.

Well, you can see how I feel about the United States postal service and you can understand how I blanch at the very thought that somebody is going to pinch the post office.

Now, Mr. Summerfield, I don't know you and I'm not taking up for you. What you did before you managed to wind up on the winning side and get this job you've got, I don't know. And, not meaning to be impertinent, I don't care. I guess you have done some good things and some bad ones. I like the new ballpoint pens. I like some of the new commonsense regulations on class matter. (When a dime-store label was regarded as a true voucher of a parcel's contents but the same assurance in a sender's own hand wouldn't do—boy, that was always ridiculous.)

I don't know what you did with all that money, Mr. Summerfield. Maybe you spent most of it wisely. I don't know. I doubt it, but I don't know. I know you must have spent several thousand dollars getting tacky little paper signs printed and put over the doors of your post offices—when the same wording "United States Post Office" was already emblazoned a block's length across the buildings, carved in granite or cast in bronze. Now that, in itself, Mr. Summerfield, is a prime example of a pretty silly way to run a post-office department.

The United States postal service has always been a superlative service, sometimes almost superhuman in its efficiency and persistence. I haven't noticed any spectacular changes that made me exclaim, "Boy, that little old Arthur Summerfield is really a crackerjack little old Postmaster General."

So, as I say, I'm not taking up for you, Mr. Summerfield. I'm taking up for the hundreds of thousands of post-office employees, the clerks, the carriers, the sorters, and fillers-out of forms; all the people who carry out this diverse and wonderful and far-reaching service so infallibly day after day, and will continue to do so though Summerfields may come and Summerfields may go with the winters of other times and terms.

I was in our post office here in our town the other day, and I noticed the glue in the old gluepot was mighty thin. I suspect that you are just watering the last administration's glue, Mr. Summerfield, and that kind of economy is not going to get you anywhere.

The boys in our post office have kept right on giving the same courteous, old faithful accommodations, economy or no economy. The other day I got a call-for-package card in my box. I presented it at the window. The clerk said "You haven't got a package—your wife phoned and said you'd better have the right front tire on the car checked; it's getting flat." That's the kind of service that no deficit can cut.

I don't think a stamp hike is the answer, either. We lost that bulwark of the American way of life, the penny post card. Must we surrender that engrained institution, the 3-cent stamp?

Look at it this way: The postal service is the Government's greatest, most amazing service to the greatest number of people. It pays much of its own way, besides giving free rent to the customs, internal revenue, 1 or 2 farm agencies, the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines.

Come on, Congress. With the very possible exception of Mr. Summerfield's salary, I am calling for pay raises and fresh glue all around.

Write It Off

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, it is about time that this country has taken a realistic approach to the real cost of the quick tax writeoff program haphazardly operated by the Office of Defense Mobilization to grant quick tax writeoffs to special friends of the administration.

In view of the current drive for a tax reduction for all taxpaying segments of the economy there is a very definite prospect that all tax writeoffs granted at this time will result in permanent tax loss to the Treasury of the United States.

Although Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey has complained about the tax loss resulting from quick tax amortization and states that it has no fair or logical end, it was interesting to note in the insertion recently made in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, that companies with which the Secretary's M. C. Hanna Co. is associated directly or by interlocking directorates, have received a bountiful share of quick tax writeoff certificates exceeding $1 billion. Although rumors persist that the Secretary will soon be leaving his public post, it is my guess that his departure from public life will not occur until adequate arrangements are established for an additional quota of so-called essential writeoff certificates to the steel industry, which apparently cannot do anything without getting a special tax benefit.

The following editorial in the Washington Post of today entitled "Write It Off," is directly on point:

WRITE IT OFF

The fast tax writeoff has no proper place in a peacetime economy. In a mixed economy like that at present, this special inducement should be available only where it is essential to support a specific defense production goal. This has been the general philosophy which has lately prevailed, for the most part, in the administration of the rapid aamortization program set up for the Korean emergency.

Senator BYRD proposes to reinforce the curtailment on the fast tax writeoff by law. President Eisenhower and Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey support the Byrd pro-

posal in principle. But Defense Mobilizer Gordon Gray would like to retain a fuller measure of administrative flexibility so that the quick writeoff would be available on standby to meet sudden defense needs.

Quite aside from the substantial cost to the Treasury of rapid amortization, which could be justified in an emergency, the evil of this program is that it cannot possibly be applied equitably and invites an unending series of pressures from various industries for tickets on the gravy train. The most determined administration of the present law is bound to break down under some of these pressures—as, seemingly, in the case of the Idaho Power Co. which has been granted fast writeoff certificates for its dams to be built in lieu of the Hells Canyon project, on the justification that the same benefits were earlier given to others.

Such a policy, as Secretary Humphrey notes, has no fair or logical end. For this reason, we think the temptations inherent in standby authority ought to be removed by law. If a real emergency arose, a new program could and would be quickly provided by Congress.

A Tribute to Rumanians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, for Rumanians May 10 is a great national holiday. On this day in the year 1866 Prince Charles arrived in Bucharest where he took the oath to the Constitution. Eleven years later on the same day Rumania proclaimed her complete independence from Turkey, and a short time thereafter heroically won that independence on the battlefield. And then, on the same date at the close of World War I, Bessarabia, Transylvania, and Bukovina were finally united with Rumania.

Americans of Rumanian origin have good reason, therefore, to commemorate the anniversary of these great landmarks in history. Unfortunately, not all Rumanians can celebrate this national holiday in freedom, for as you all know this once happy and prosperous people are now ruthlessly suppressed beneath the boot of the Communist tyrant. During this past decade, however, the Rumanians have had to adjust to this tyranny and live their lives as best they could under unnatural conditions. Recent reports from Bucharest indicate that the hardships visited upon Rumania by the Communists have been great, but nonetheless the people persist in survival.

Politically, Rumania continues to be dominated by the Soviet-imposed dictatorship of the Communist Party. Elections in February, staged in the Soviet manner, demonstrated the totality of Communist control. Dissent was impossible for the 10,800,000 voters who went to the polls.

Nor has Rumania's economy been spared the disastrous consequences of Soviet control. Fertile and oil-rich Rumania is being exhausted by her Communist masters. Savings by the people have been repeatedly wiped out by currency devaluations. Mounting inflation has put the cost of consumer goods beyond the reach of the workers. Food costs are high, and currency is evaluated at an unrealistic rate of exchange so that the meager earnings of the worker have no sensible relationship to actual purchasing power.

And yet, despite this continuing state of general depression, Rumanians have not succumbed to despair. A recent report from Bucharest by a skilled American correspondent related that the Rumanian capital was a joy after living in Moscow. Neither Communist trappings nor thinly concealed poverty could rob Bucharest, he said, of its cosmopolitan air. Resources of personal attire are shoddy and few, he wrote, but Rumanian women dress in taste and style unknown in Moscow. He reported also that residents of Bucharest, despite their present despondency, show an animation rarely seen in the stolid faces of Moscovites.

It is a hopeful sign that Rumanians are weathering the storm of Communist oppression. They are a hardy people, long used to oppression under the Turks. Our hopes and prayers go out to them that their national spirit shall never be broken. So long as they hold fast to this spirit, the soul of the nation will live. And so long as the nation lives, there is always hope for freedom and independence.

President Ngo Dinh Diem, of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my personal pleasure over the visit to our Nation's Capital by President Ngo Dinh Diem, of Vietnam, and to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the achievements of this outstanding democratic leader of southeast Asia.

In 1953 and again in 1955, I had the opportunity to study the situation in Vietnam as a member of special study missions to that country. I vividly recall the black outlook and the almost insurmountable problems which faced President Diem when he took his office.

Because I well realize the gravity of the crisis which he has weathered, I am particularly impressed by the remarkable progress achieved by Vietnam under his leadership.

Whereas just 3 years ago apathy, disorder, and depression prevailed in that land, today Vietnam is playing a vigorous and a vital role in stemming the tide of communism in southeast Asia. Inspired by the courageous leadership of President Diem, the people of Vietnam—with the constructive aid of their loyal friends in the United States—have not only managed to solve many of their pressing internal problems but they have in addition offered a brilliant example to the other peoples of Asia.

In recognizing the vital role which President Diem has played in these impressive developments, I also want to express my deep respect for President Diem whose modesty, stanch belief in the victory of the cause of truth and freedom, undaunted courage and tremendous effort have helped to write a new and a bright page in the history of his people and of his country.

The Weak Case of Alger Hiss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Alger Hiss is now offering excuses and they are weak ones for his conviction as a perjurer. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the following editorial entitled "Popular Emotional Aberrations":

POPULAR EMOTIONAL ABERRATIONS

Alger Hiss has written a book called "In the Court of Public Opinion" in which he lays his conviction for perjury to popular emotional aberrations—a $10 phrase meaning everybody was so mixed up they went off half-cocked and sent him to jail.

We suppose this could happen; but let's see how Mr. Hiss says it occurred:

First, there was a plot in 1948 by the Republicans on the House Un-American Activities Committee to strike at the Democrats by disgracing Mr. Hiss and thus discrediting the New Deal, the Yalta agreement, and the United Nations. The handful of Republicans aroused feeling against him by deliberately heightening an anti-Communist climate of public opinion. This, Mr. Hiss says, created such pressures that the Democrats tried and judged him, and some jurors were openly hostile and some lobbied with fellow jurors against him. Whittaker Chambers lied and the FBI gathered evidence and questioned people improperly. Thomas F. Murphy, a Democrat, prosecuted him unfairly and Judge Goddard, a Republican, prevented Mr. Hiss from having an unbiased trial. And the jury, Democrats and Republicans, convicted him.

Thus was began as a plot by some Republicans on a House committee to make trouble for a Democratic administration was so successful that the Democrats joined in the hue and cry, and the judicial system of the Nation—from the district court in New York through the appellate court and up to the Supreme Court—was so taken in by the GOP that Mr. Hiss became a sacrifice to the popular emotional aberrations of the time. It was just politics.

Well, we suppose all that could happen, too. But let's see what did happen. Mr. Hiss had a number of defense lawyers there to present his side; the judge and the jurors saw all the evidence in the case and Mr. Hiss was convicted. He appealed his case and a court of appeals (three Federal judges) upheld the conviction. And the United States Supreme Court twice found no grounds to review the second trial conviction and Mr. Hiss served his time for perjury for denying that he had engaged in Communist espionage.

Though he exercised every right that safeguards a man on trial and every appeal that safeguards a convicted man from judicial

error, Mr. Hiss has a right also to appeal to the court of public opinion.

We don't think that he has helped his case very much, though, by attacking a judicial system that protected him from both bias and error on the ground that emotion swayed both jurors and judges. In the last analysis, the misfortunes of Alger Hiss were caused only by Alger Hiss.

Budget Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of May 5 emphasizing the importance of not permitting the very necessary pursuit of economy in Government to impair the operation of the national-defense programs:

BUDGET FIGHT

The big fight over the 1958 budget is now well underway, and the big danger is that Congress will cut it in the wrong places and for the wrong reasons. The President, belatedly, to be sure, is showing increasing signs of concern that his budget will be unwisely slashed; and a few of the "Eisenhower Republicans" in the Senate—there are not many of them, at best—are rallying round to his defense.

That the $71.8 billion budget should have occasioned cries of anguish from conservatives in both parties is hardly a surprise, as it is the largest in peacetime history. But so is our gross national product, and so are the demands on Government.

Nevertheless, there unquestionably is water that can be squeezed out of this budget, and the President implicitly admits this even as he defends the budget as a whole with welcome vigor and new-found conviction. But it is essential for the welfare and the very security of this Nation that the cuts not be made haphazardly, thoughtlessly, or for political reasons, as too many Members of Congress are apparently inclined to do.

For instance, mutual aid provides a tempting target. As the President noted the other day in his talk to representatives of that most useful organization, the League of Women Voters, "foreign aid doesn't have any pressure group in any Congressman's district. It is something that has to depend on the intelligence of the American people, and not on selfish interest." Indiscriminate or across-the-board cuts in this $4.4 billion program would be the worst kind of economy, ultimately leading to larger expenditures than ever.

While similar caution should also be applied to the $38 billion allocated to the Defense Department, here it would seem that some effective squeezing might be done without harm to anything but the pride of one or another of the military services. It is difficult for laymen to pinpoint possible economies in anything so technical as a defense budget; but we note that even so careful a man as Representative MAHON, of Texas, chairman of the House Military Appropriations Subcommittee, declared a week ago that the unwholesome and very wasteful rivalry among Army, Navy, and Air Force had gotten out of hand and was leading to constant demands for more money, more programs, and more duplications, particularly in the missiles field. Here might be a good place to take a second, third, or even a fourth look with an eye to effecting economies without risking weakness.

As the President has said, Congress itself could through orderly legislative action curtail some large expenditures that are now required by law. We would suggest that unwise and uneconomic farm supports should be placed in this category. Whether budgeted or not large-scale capital improvements much better suited to a time of depression than to an era of ultraprosperity could be slashed without harm to the national economy, such as the pork-barrel omnibus rivers and harbors bill, amounting to $1.5 billion, that was recently passed by the Senate and is now in the House. We would also point to the gigantic Fryingpan-Arkansas reclamation project, just approved by the Senate Interior Committee, that would take water from one side of the Rocky Mountains and put it on the other for irrigation and other purposes at tremendous public cost. We have not noticed that Congress is in any hurry to adopt badly needed reform budgeting and accounting procedure as recommended by the Hoover Commission, though the suggested improvements would undoubtedly in the long run save hundreds of millions of dollars.

Economies could and should be made, but they ought to be made in areas where the Nation can afford to make them, and with sufficient care so that no essential national interest will be seriously impaired. This is a harder job to do than to make sweeping reductions for political effect; but it is a job that can be done.

Navigation and Use of the Suez Canal a Brilliant Legal Argument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, considerable lipservice has been paid to our reliance upon international law as a rule of conduct between nations. Is it not strange therefore that we find our own Government and others, too, who have failed to challenge the legality of the Egyptian nationalization decree.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I am including a speech of Hon. George A. Finch, prominent member of the Washington bar and known throughout the United States for his knowledge of international law, delivered before the American Society of International Law in Washington on April 25. For the Members of this House who are lawyers, I am sure that they will find this presentation by Mr. Finch extremely interesting:

NAVIGATION AND USE OF THE SUEZ CANAL

(By George A. Finch, president of the Inter-American Academy of Comparative and International Law)

When the American Society of International Law was founded 51 years ago to promote the establishment and maintenance of international relations on the basis of law and justice there were many more skeptics than believers in that aspiration. Today world opinion is overwhelmingly opposed to the use of armed force to settle international disputes, certainly to the point that an offer of peaceful settlement should be made and refused before nations draw the sword in their legitimate right of self-defense. President Eisenhower's condemnation of the armed attack upon Egypt last fall represented an official expression of this generally accepted opinion; but the provocation for that attack continues to be the most imminent threat to the maintenance of peace on the basis of law and justice.

The aggression at the Suez Canal was triggered on July 26 last by the precipitate and legally unjustifiable act of the President of Egypt purporting to nationalize the Suez Canal Co. The decree transferred to the Egyptian Government all the company's assets, rights, and obligations and dissolved "all the organizations and committees that now operate its management" (art. I). The canal itself was, of course, the most valuable asset of the company. In plain language, the concession under which the canal was built and has been successfully operated for 88 out of a definitely agreed term of 99 years, to the mutual benefit and advantage of both parties to the concession contract, was arbitrarily abrogated, the company was dissolved, and its property confiscated by the Egyptian Government.

The offer of the Egyptian Government, if carried out in good faith, to indemnify the stockholders in accordance with the value of the shares shown in the closing quotations of the Paris Stock Exchange on the day preceding the confiscation was inadequate. It did not take into account the worth of the unexpired term of the concession, and no assurances were given as to the time or method of payment of the proposed compensation. The confiscation decree specified only that "the payment of said indemnity shall be effected after the nation has taken delivery of all the assets and properties of the nationalized company." An offer to indemnify the owners from the proceeds of their own property might properly be considered unjust enrichment of the expropriator according to our legal standards.

The concession provides that at its expiration, when the Egyptian Government might lawfully resume possession of the canal it would be the responsibility of the Government "to take over all materials and supplies used in the company's maritime service and in return to pay the company the value to be fixed, either by amicable agreement or on the basis of an opinion of experts" (art. XVI). The Egyptian Government cannot relieve itself of that responsibility by unlawfully terminating the concession.

There is no proper analogy of the so-called nationalization of the Suez Canal and the nationalization laws of other countries duly enacted incident to social and economic reforms. The Suez Canal is so impressed with an international public use that it was not subject to the exercise of the right of eminent domain for purely internal purposes by any party to the Convention of Constantinople of 1888. In a tripartite statement issued at London on August 2 the Governments of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States officially asserted that "the Universal Suez Canal Co. has always had an international character in terms of its shareholders, directors, and operating personnel, and in terms of its responsibility to assure the efficient functioning as an international waterway of the Suez Canal. In 1888 all the great powers then principally concerned with the international character of the canal and its free, open, and secure use without discrimination joined in the treaty and convention of Constantinople.

"This provided for the benefit of all the world that the international character of the canal would be perpetuated for all time, irrespective of the expiration of the concession of the Universal Suez Canal Company. As recently as October 1954," the statement continued, "Egypt recognized that the Suez Canal is 'a waterway economically, commercially, and strategically of international im-

portance,' and renewed its determination to uphold the Convention of 1888." [1]

The circumstances under which the canal was seized and the reasons given for its seizure fail to bring this so-called act of nationalization within the sphere of what may be considered justified governmental action to promote internal social and economic reform. The record shows that the Egyptian decree of July 26, 1956, was an act of retaliation against the Governments of Great Britain and the United States for their declination to extend financial help to Egypt to build the high dam on the Nile River at Aswan, and the seizure of the canal was for the purpose of providing Egypt with substitute finances to build the dam.

The concession stipulates that "disputes which arise between the Egyptian Government and the company will be placed before local courts and decided according to the laws of the country." The record is devoid of any evidence that the Egyptian Government took any action in its courts against the company as a preliminary step to the abrogation of the concession.

The impact of the arbitrary action of the Egyptian Government upon those who still believe in the validity of contracts made by sovereigns is sought to be minimized by arguing that the nationalization applied only to the company and not to the canal. No one has ever contended that the Suez Canal Company is of any nationality other than Egyptian. The decree of nationalization refers to the company as already being an "Egyptian stock company." Why, then, the decree of nationalization if it was to apply to the company alone?

The argument is likewise untenable in the light of President Nasser's speech at the time he announced his decree of July 26. "This canal is an Egyptian canal. * * * Today, citizens," he declared, "our rights in the Suez Canal have been restored to us after 100 years." Again, "The Suez Canal was built for the sake of Egypt and for its benefit; * * * today, our wealth has been restored to us." [2]

Communist admirers and supporters of President Nasser attempt to maintain that his action was no breach of international law on the ground that the treatment of the company was a purely internal Egyptian matter over which that Government had exclusive control as a sovereign nation. In the view of this speaker, that position is also inadmissible. It is not a rule of international law that sovereignty confers immunity to violate international obligations. Sovereignty imposes duties as well as rights, including the exercise of good faith in the fulfillment of contracts legally made by governments with private concessionaires, as well as in the observance of the obligations of solemn treaties.

"Every nation, on being received, at her own request, into the circle of civilized governments, must understand that she not only attains rights of sovereignty and the dignity of national character, but that she binds herself also to the strict and faithful observance of all those principles, laws, and usages which have obtained currency among civilized states. * * * No community can be allowed to enjoy the benefit of national character in modern times without submitting to all the duties which that character imposes." [3]

Germany relied upon the same argument to justify on the ground of sovereignty her refusal to allow the steamship *Wimbledon* to pass through the Kiel Canal. The Kiel Canal was built by Germany within German territory, and it was conceded before the Treaty of Versailles that the canal was an internal canal under the exclusive control of the territorial sovereign. On the application of several governments parties to the Treaty of Versailles, who invoked article 380 of that treaty, the Permanent Court of International Justice decided against Germany's contention, holding:

"The Court declines to see in the conclusion of any treaty by which a state undertakes to perform or refrain from performing a particular act an abandonment of its sovereignty. No doubt any convention of this kind places a restriction upon the exercise of the sovereign rights of the state, in the sense that it requires them to be exercised in a certain way. But the right of entering into international engagements is an attribute of state sovereignty." [4]

Notwithstanding the repeated disclaimers of the Egyptian Government that it has no intention to disregard the obligations of the Treaty of Constantinople of 1888, it is impossible to separate the legal issues raised by the cancellation of the company's concession, under the circumstances and for the reasons given for that act, from the relevant provisions of the convention.

The antecedents of that convention date back to the war between Russian and Turkey of 1877–78. At that time the Suez Canal was in Turkish—and therefore belligerent—territory. The Institute of International Law, at its session at Zurich on September 13, 1877, appointed a committee to study the methods by which the canal might regularly and finally be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the common law of war. Following the recommendations of that committee, the institute, at its session at Brussels on September 4, 1879, adopted a resolution which declared: "It is of general interest to all nations that the maintenance and use of the Suez Canal for all kinds of communications shall be protected as much as possible by conventional international law." The resolution proposed "that States unite with a view to avoiding as much as possible any measure which may damage or put in danger the canal and its appendages even in case of war." [5]

The Convention of Constantinople, eventually concluded in 1888, follows closely the recommendations of the institute. The preamble states the intention of the signatories to establish, "by a conventional act, a definite system intended to guarantee, at all times and to all the powers, the free use of the Suez Maritime Canal, and thus to complete the system under which the navigation of this canal has been placed" by the firman of the Sultan, dated February 23, 1866. It refers to the convention as "sanctioning the concessions" of the khedive of Egypt. In addition to stipulating for the free use of the canal "in time of war as in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war, without distinction of flag," the convention provides for the neutrality of the canal in time of war.

The convention requires the Egyptian Government, within the limits of its powers, to take the necessary measures for enforcing the execution of the treaty (art. IX), and charges the agents of the other signatory powers in Egypt "to see that it is carried out" (art. VIII). Oppenheim classifies the Treaty of Constantinople as "a pure law-making treaty," and he construes article VIII as establishing an international commission "for the supervision of the execution of that treaty." [6]

In flat contradiction of the pretensions of President Nasser that "the Suez Canal was built for the sake of Egypt and for its benefit," article XII of the Convention of Constantinople provides:

"The high contracting parties, by application of the principle of equality as regards free use of the canal, a principle which forms one of the bases of the present treaty, agree that none of them shall seek, with respect to the canal, territorial or commercial advantages or privileges in any international arrangements that may be concluded."

It is submitted that the Egyptian Government cannot within the accepted principles of international law applicable to the interpretation of the convention abrogate the international arrangements under which the canal was built and has been operated and protected for the last 88 years in order to subvert the canal to her own internal advantage. The motive of "territorial or commercial advantages or privileges," to repeat the words of article XII, for the abrogation of the international arrangements with the Suez Canal Co., sanctioned by the Treaty of Constantinople, is conclusively shown in President Nasser's speech announcing the so-called decree of nationalization. In addition to his braggadocio, already quoted, he linked the nationalization of the company with the building of "a strong and dignified Egypt, the Arab Egypt," industrialized and capable of competing with those who "used to suck our blood, our rights, and take them." "Citizens, today," he declared, "we are conscious of accomplishing glories and achieving true dignity. Sovereignty in Egypt will belong only to her sons."

The pretensions of President Nasser were answered by the three powers in their London statement of August 2, in which they said:

"They do not question the right of Egypt to enjoy and exercise all powers of a fully sovereign and independent nation, including the generally recognized right, under appropriate conditions, to nationalize assets, not impressed with an international interest, which are subject to its political authority. But the present action involves far more than a simple act of nationalization. It involves the arbitrary and unilateral seizure by one nation of an international agency which has the responsibility to maintain and to operate the Suez Canal so that all the signatories to, and beneficiaires of, the treaty of 1888 can effectively enjoy the use of an international waterway upon which the economy, commerce, and security of much of the world depends. This seizure is the more serious in its implications because it avowedly was made for the purpose of enabling the Government of Egypt to make the canal serve the purely national purposes of the Egyptian Government, rather than the international purpose established by the Convention of 1888." [7]

The Egyptian defiance of international obligations is violative of another longstanding principle of international law. The Declaration of London of January 17, 1871, states: "It is an essential principle of the law of nations that no power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty, nor modify the stipulation thereof, unless with the consent of the contracting powers by means of an amicable arrangement."

The United States is not a party to either the canal concession or the treaty of 1888, but both stipulate for the free and equal use of the canal by all nations. Under international law that stipulation enures to the benefit of nonsignatories. [8] On the day following the publication of the Egyptian nationalization decree the United States Department of State made public an announcement in which it was said that "the seizure of the installations of the Suez Canal Company carries far-reaching implications. It affects the nations whose economies depend upon the products which move through this international waterway and the maritime countries as well as the owners of the Company itself." [9]

There has been no direct challenge to the international legality of the Egyptian na-

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

tionalization decree as it affects the property rights of the Company. All steps taken have been directed toward a negotiated political settlement with Egypt. The provisions of the United Nations Charter for the settlement of legal questions have not been invoked. Are the governments of the West no longer able or willing to speak in defense of the rights of private property? The decline of western support of this fundamental human right was pointed out by the Chairman of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in 1952. Mr. Charles Malik, of Lebanon, the Chairman of the Commission for that year, wrote:

"The concept of property and its ownership is at the heart of the great ideological conflict of the present day. It was not only the Communist representatives who riddled this concept with questions and doubts, a goodly portion of the non-Communist world had itself succumbed to these doubts. A study of this particular debate will reveal the extent to which the non-Communist world has been communistically softened and frightened. It seems incredible that in these economic matters, which reflect, indeed, much more than mere economic divergencies, the Western World is so divided on itself as to be incapable of presenting a common front against communism." [10]

According to the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council may recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment of any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. It is specifically provided that in making recommendations the Security Council should "take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice" (art. 36). Legal disputes are defined by the corresponding provision of the Court's staute to include disputes concerning (a) the interpretation of a treaty, (b) any question of international law, (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation, and (d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for such a breach (art. 36).

It is immaterial, in our view, when the Security Council recommends what it considers the appropriate method of peaceful settlement, that any or all of the members of the United Nations involved in the dispute should have accepted the so-called optional clause incorporated in article 36 of the statute of the Court. The first paragraph of that article reads: "The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the Charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force."

President's Nasser's refusal to agree to a political settlement and the failure to bring him to the bar of international justice before the principal judicial organ of the United Nations permitted him to stand before the world as an innocent party. The ill-considered policy of the governments of Great Britain and France, in resorting to force and not to legal remedies after the peaceful political overtures to President Nasser were rejected, subjected them instead of Egypt to condemnation by the United Nations and the world at large.

It cannot be denied that the Suez Canal dispute in all of its elements falls squarely within the definition of justiciable disputes laid down in the United Nations Charter. A refusal by Egypt to comply with a recommendation of the Security Council to refer the dispute in its several aspects to judicial settlement by the International Court of Justice would have kept the stigma of aggression where it originated and properly belongs, namely, upon those who seized the Suez Canal in violation of the obligations of an international contract and treaty.

It is logical to ask, what might have happened if Egypt refused to appear before the International Court or to accept a decision of the Court adverse to her position? In such case, in my opinion, the complaining states would have met the requirements of world opinion for the maintenance of international relations on the basis of law and justice, the object to which this society is dedicated. The same force of public opinion could be relied upon to support such sanctions as might be deemed to be necessary by the United Nations to fulfill its most important function, that of removing threats to world peace.

---

[1] The Suez Canal Problem, Department of State publication 6392, p. 34.

[2] The Suez Canal Problem, ibid., pp. 25–30.

[3] Instruction of Secretary of State Daniel Webster to the United States Minister to Mexico, April 15, 1842, 1 Moore, International Law Digest, p. 5.

[4] World Court Reports, edited by Manley O. Hudson, vol. 1, p. 175.

[5] See Resolutions of the Institue of International Law, New York: Oxford University Press, 1916, pp. 23–24.

[6] International Law, vol. I (1905), pp. 495, 567.

[7] The Suez Canal Problem, ibid., p. 35.

[8] Phillimore, International Law, 46–49 (third edition).

[9] The Suez Canal Problem, ibid, p. 32.

[10] United Nations Bulletin, Sept. 1, 1952, pp. 248–253.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Huge Tax Windfall for Idaho Power Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a letter from the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association telling how the Idaho Power Co. is about to get a huge windfall from the Federal Government in the form of accelerated tax amortization conferring on that company an interest-free loan of about $30.5 million, and enabling it to collect a total subsidy of $329 million for the construction of the Brownlee and Oxbow Dams. That figure will, of course, be 3 times in excess of their total cost and far in excess of the $308 million which would be required for full Federal development.

It is interesting to note that the president of the Idaho Power Co. said that the dam was to be constructed with the money of Idaho Power and without a cent of cost to the taxpayers of the United States.

It now appears, however, that his words did not reflect the real situation at all. But rather, that the pure capitalistic enterprise of which he thought so much is to be diluted with the taxpayers' money. It is not necessary to say that it would be better that this pure capitalistic enterprise, if it must be carried out to the detriment of the people of the Northwest and of the United States, be carried out without dilution and not have one socialized cent of the money of the Government of the United States or its taxpayers in to corrupt its great capitalistic purpose. I insert a letter giving the full facts and hope that the people of the United States and the Congress of this great country will give some attention to a big steal which is going on in the Northwest.

The letter follows:

NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., April 29, 1957.

DEAR MEMBER OF CONGRESS: Attached is a copy of a small pamphlet which a number of organizations have had produced for the purpose of summarizing the issues and the facts in the struggle of our organizations to prevent the Idaho Power Co. from destroying almost half of the power potential and other major benefits to be had from Federal construction of Hells Canyon Dam.

Since this pamphlet was prepared two absolutely incredible developments have taken place, the developments in strange juxtaposition. (1) On April 24 the Federal Power Commission authorized the Idaho Power Co. to issue $40 million in short-term promissory notes to finance the construction of its dog-in-the-manger, run-of-the-river runt dams on the Snake River. (2) On April 25, the following day, the Office of Defense Mobilization issued accelerated tax amortization certificates to the power company, thereby granting to that company an interest-free loan of $30,500,000 and enabling it to collect a total subsidy of $329 million for the construction of Brownlee and Oxbow Dams, three times their total cost. This $329 million subsidy contrasts brutally with the $308 million investment required for full Federal development, an investment which is not a subsidy but repayable in full with interest.

Under oath, during the Federal Power Commission hearings, R. P. Parry, president of the Idaho Power Co. said: "The applicant is here before you asking the privilege of constructing solely with its own money and without one cent of cost to the taxpayers of the United States a great multipurpose project * * *."

In advertisements published all over America, the power companies boasted that they would save taxpayers $465 million and that "they (private power companies) don't have to wait for an act of Congress or for tax money from the Treasury." (See Saturday Evening Post, May 26, 1956, p. 16.)

That the Office of Defense Mobilization would approve this subsidy on the basis of applications pending since 1953, applications for two projects whose relationship to defense is so remote that it has never been used by the company as a justification for FPC licensing almost defies belief.

There is no justification in the world for destroying close to half the potential benefits of the middle Snake River with a $329 million public subsidy when by the investment of $308 million, repayable with interest, and without subsidy, we can have full development, low-cost power, maximum flood control, and development of low-cost phosphate fertilizers.

Nor is there any reason why the people, or, it seems to me, the Congress, should tolerate the kind of interagency collusion which has led to this revolting deal.

We urge you most strongly to press for quick committee action on the Morse-Pfost and other similar bills, get them to the floor, and by a vote of approval tear this black and infamous page from the history of this Nation.

Sincerely,

CLYDE T. ELLIS,
General Manager.

Rumanian National Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, today Americans everywhere join with Americans of Rumanian descent in celebrating a significant date in the annnals of the history of the Rumanian people. In 3 separate years May 10 was the date on which major steps were taken to obtain greater measures of liberty for the Rumanian people. On May 10, 1866, a liberal constitution was adopted. On May 10, 1877, a convention was signed with Russia which recognized Rumania's desire for a greater degree of freedom and self-rule. On May 10, 1881, the complete sovereignty of the Rumanian people was finally established.

On this May 10, while American Rumanians may look back with justifiable pride at the freedom which their brothers in Rumania once fought for and won, they can only look ahead in the hope that freedom once attained may return to the Rumanian people now suffering oppression.

At this time it serves us well to reevaluate the plight of a people who yearn for liberty but who suffer the shackles of tyranny and to reexamine our resolve that the integrity and freedom of the Rumanian people will be returned.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Address by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California, at American Legion Founders Day Luncheon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the speech I delivered on last Saturday, in St. Louis, Mo., at the American Legion Founders Day luncheon, commemorating the founding of the American Legion.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY UNITED STATES SENATOR WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, AMERICAN LEGION FOUNDERS DAY LUNCHEON, ST. LOUIS, MO., MAY 11, 1957

Comrade Commander, today we commemorate the founding of American Legion in this city in 1919.

This organization of 3 million has made notable contributions to our Nation in both war and peace.

As Americans it is important that we take sufficient time to review the past, examine the present, and try to plan for the future.

It was Lincoln, in his house divided speech, who said:

"If we but knew where we are and whither we are tending we could better judge what to do and how to do it."

It is time for us to rededicate ourselves to a renewed faith in our free way of life.

We must not take our constitutional form of government or our free enterprise system for granted. Neither fall into the category of something that can be locked in a safe deposit box and kept forever secure. Each generation must be prepared to make the necessary sacrifices to maintain them that our Founding Fathers were prepared to make in the first instance.

Other nations have been or now are larger in land area, in population, and in natural resources. Yet they have not been able to give to their people the freedom and the standard of living Americans have enjoyed.

As important as is the productive capacity of our Nation and its military strength, these are not the factors which alone could preserve our freedom or enable us to maintain a free world of freemen. The inner strength of America has not been its great cities, its huge industrial plants, its extended transportation systems, or its variety of natural resources as important as these are.

The factor which made America an inspiration to the rest of the world grew out of our Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the spiritual values which the founders of our Republic recognized and by which they were guided.

We have recognized that there is a higher moral law to which governments are also accountable. We have humbly acknowledged the divine inspiration which has made and preserved us as a Nation.

We have read of and been inspired by the action of George Washington in kneeling in prayer during the dark days of Valley Forge and of Lincoln doing the same during his lonely vigil in the White House during the darkest days of the Civil War.

The priceless ingredient for our people has been our constitutional form of government which guarantees our religious, personal, and economic freedom.

We must never dilute our constitutional guaranties whereby human freedom would be compromised with totalitarian tyranny in any form of world government.

America is still the authentic revolution. The flame of freedom which was struck at Concord and Lexington still is an inspiration to the enslaved behind the Iron Curtain.

But it is also an ageless lesson that no outsiders can win independence for a people. They must be willing to pay the price in blood and resources to gain their own freedom.

We do recognize, however, that when freedom is destroyed anywhere a bit of freedom is destroyed everywhere.

Nations can die while delegates talk. Last year the General Assembly of the United Nations passed 10 resolutions in 76 days of debate. All that while freedom was being strangled to death in Hungary. With callous indifference the Soviet Union placed itself above the higher moral law of God as well as above its obligations under the United Nations Charter.

No international organization can long endure with a double standard of international morality.

Are the obligations and the mandates of the United Nations to be applicable to the democratic nations but not to the totalitarian powers? To the law-abiding but not to the outlaw nations? To the small and weak countries but not to the big and strong? What kind of justice is this? Are we building on quicksand? What kind of a foundation is this for constructing a system of international law and order based on justice?

We serve no useful purpose if we hide the facts. To the contrary by ignoring them and failing to seek remedies, we may endanger the safety of this Republic and freemen everywhere.

For many decades the men in the Kremlin have preached the doctrine that the free world contains the seeds of its own destruction. It is far more likely, I believe, that the Communist world contains the seeds of its own destruction.

Hungary was but the latest in the indications that, even under totalitarian police rule and the brainwashing of a whole generation, the spark of freedom still lived and was capable of lighting a fire that endangered the whole monolithic structure of Communist tyranny.

After the Hungarian experience, how much reliance can the Soviet Union place in the armed forces of the other captive nations if freedom is ever within their reach? How can they have faith in Communist indoctrination when young students were the leaders of the Hungarian rebellion?

Within the past several weeks the rulers in the Kremlin have sought to intimidate Norway, Denmark, Greece, and Iceland.

The Soviet Union has not changed its long-term strategic onbjective. The destruction of human freedom everywhere.

They will be relentless in seeking to destroy our institutions. Fortified by our faith in God, we must be determined that our way of life will be preserved.

Hungary has also taught the world that unless an independent government or revolutionary movement can function for several weeks or months it is difficult for outside friends to assist.

Had the British redcoats crushed the first American rebellion in a week and captured the leaders (as happened in Budapest), there would have been no time for France and our other friends abroad to come to our aid.

Sooner or later there will be another Hungary. Will the free world be better prepared to strike a blow for freedom? Will the United Nations be prepared to do more than talk and pass 10 resolutions?

It may come this year or next in Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Albania, North Korea, China, Poland, or in Hungary again.

Indeed it may even come in the Soviet Union where the people of Russia were the first victims of the godless Communist tyranny.

During the week Nagy was the legal head of the Hungarian Government what a difference it would have made if the United Nations had sent in observers: If based on the first United Nations resolution the friends of freedom abroad had sent the freedom fighters bazookas and grenades rather than more resolutions of sympathy.

Or is the policy of the United Nations and the free world now to be that we will throw water on the embers of freedom and revolt against tyranny and that we will finance Communist economic and political systems so that the slaves will be more content with their masters?

I believe we are at one of the great crucial turning points of history.

International communism which 40 years ago imposed its will upon the people of Russia has in the meantime, by conquest, subversion, and international blackmail, extended its power to where over 900 million people are enslaved behind the Iron Curtain.

Probably not as much as 10 percent of that number can be considered hard-core Communist Party members.

Never before in history have so few imposed their ruthless totalitarian will upon so many human beings.

Since the fall of Dienbienphu in 1953 international communism has added no territory and no people to its monolithic structure.

Since 1953, within the Communist Empire cracks have beeen showing up which are of great significance.

1. The riots in East Germany and East Berlin.

2. Restlessness in Poland leading to the Poznan outbreak and the temporary attempt to placate the liberty-loving Poles with a "respectable Communist regime," as if in fact there could be such an unlikely monstrosity.

3. The Hungarian revolt with its lesson that unarmed people can rise up, seize arms, drive out a secret police control and can only be destroyed when divisions of a foreign power are used to crush a victory the Hungarian freedom fighters had already won.

4. The strains and stresses, economic and otherwise, within Communist China, some of which were reported last Sunday morning.

5. The repudiation of $65 billion worth of Soviet Union bonds which is not only indicative of fiscal problems within the U. S. S. R. but a reemphasis, if any is needed, that Soviet commitments are not worth the paper upon which they are written.

6. The failure of the established agricultural and industrial programs in the Soviet Union and in most of the captive states.

Responsible men and women, in and out of government, must ask themselves these questions:

Would the world be a better place in which to live if the godless international Communist tyranny should disintegrate? Can communism's political system endure if its economic base collapses? Can even a ruthless police state hold its people in subjugation if their economy cannot produce the minimum requirements of food, clothing, housing, and a modest number of consumer goods?

At such a time it does not make sense to me that the United States and our free allies would embark upon a program to rescue the Communist world from its own evil shortcomings.

While the communist world is reaching a crisis in its economic and political life it is now proposed:

1. That our allies open wider the doors of trade in both strategic and nonstrategic materials to Communist nations.

2. We assume the burden of supplying agricultural supplies to the Polish Communist regime so they can better concentrate on supplying strategic coal and uranium to the Soviet Union as well as other production which will strengthen the Soviet economy, and hence its totalitarian government.

It is proposed that we take $100 million of American assets and make them available to the Communist government of Gomulka while the government is making loans available to the Communist North Vietnamese of Ho Chi Minh and the Chinese Communist of Mao Tse-tung.

We have already contributed over $1,200,000,000 to sustain Tito-type communism in Yugoslavia. It is now about to be announced that we will send more jet fighting planes to Communist Yugoslavia.

We have many good and stout allies (Free China on Formosa, Korea, Turkey, Pakistan, Vietnam, Thailand, and the Philippine Republic) that need more jet planes. All of them should have a priority over Tito's Yugoslavia.

I do not favor taxing the American people to support Communist economic or political systems abroad.

It was Lincoln who said: "Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history * * * the fiery trial through which we pass will light us down to the latest generation. We, yes, even we here, have the power and bear the responsibility * * * in giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free * * * we shall nobly save or meanly lose this last best hope on earth."

Rumania's Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement commemorating the anniversary of Rumanian Independence Day.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RUMANIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

On this 10th of May, Rumania's national unity and Independence Day, I should like to pay a warm tribute to the heroic and unfortunate Rumanian people, who for 12 years now have been bearing the criminal yoke of Soviet slavery.

After a long period in history during which the Rumanians, descendents of Roman colonists established by Emperor Trajan in the second century of our era, at the eastern gates of Europe, have performed a noble task as guardians of European freedom and Christianity, they achieved their political organization as independent principalities in the 13th century. Through their spirit of resistance and Christian faith they managed to survive long centuries of ruthless invasions from the east. At the moment of the Crusades this Latin outpost on the eastern borders of Europe made a steady contribution to the fight against the barbarians. This resistance of the Rumanian principalities against the advance of the Turks after the fall of Constantinople, succeeded in preserving to a certain extent their independence. Although forced to pay tribute to the Ottoman Empire, they were not occupied by the Turks and continued to be ruled by their own national Christian dynasties.

It was this role in the defense of Europe which was eventually recognized, in the full reestablishment of Rumania's independence, by the Treaties of Paris in 1856 and that of Berlin in 1878.

But the existence of a free Rumania has always meant a serious obstacle in the way of the Russian imperialist drive to the west. Indeed, since the 18th century, when Russia reached the borders of Europe, the greatest danger for the Rumanian national existence has been Russian aggression and invasion under changing guises, even under that of friendship. One should not forget that Rumania has been invaded 13 times by the Russians, who annexed the eastern part of the country, now constituting the Moldavian Soviet Republic. Today the entire nation of 20 million suffers under the Soviet imposed Communist tyranny. The ordeal of the Rumanian people under the ruthless foreign occupation of Soviet communism, their economic exploitation and deprivation of elemental human rights and liberties, are now a matter of record. On the other hand, through the Soviet political-military pressure Rumania has been transformed against the will of its people into a satellite base for the aggressive schemes of Moscow.

We cannot rest indifferent in the face of injustice and tyranny. We must proclaim our sympathy with the enslaved Rumanians and think of the best ways for helping them recover their liberty. It is both the honor and the enlightened interest of this nation which command us to follow such a course. We should not forget that destruction of freedom in other lands means ultimately a direct threat to our own freedom and security.

Tenth Anniversary of the National Student Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, this year marks the 10th anniversary of the United States National Student Association, one of our most dynamic youth organizations. A brief look at the 10-year record of USNSA is proof enough of its expanded program of education and service to our educational community.

It was a great pleasure for me to contribute a special article to the association's student government bulletin, in its anniversary issue. My theme, Students Today—Statesmen Tomorrow, is particularly significant at a time when, more than ever before, student government is looked to for the molding of tomorrow's statesmen.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STUDENTS TODAY—STATESMEN TOMORROW

(By Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, senior United States Senator from Wisconsin)

This, the 10th anniversary of the United States National Student Association, is a highly significant juncture in American life. It is a time when we see our student movement taking on new meanings and challenges.

We find ourselves in a constant state of flux here at home and abroad. We are witnessing and we welcome unparalleled advancements for the benefit of mankind.

Yet, we see in the dark background a brutal, hostile ideology dedicated to world domination. Against this backdrop, in an era of progress and development otherwise, we are striving to hold secure the previous values of our democratic society, and at the same time help other freedom-loving countries preserve these principles.

The future is, of course, uncertain. News breaks daily from the four corners of the world, news which in one way or another ultimately affects our Nation. Yet, in pondering what lies ahead for America, I am encouraged by a great faith in America. Part of that faith is the deep confidence that our rising young leaders will meet the test of shouldering tomorrow's burdens. I know that my great expectations for the younger generation will not be disappointed.

USNSA SETS THE PACE—ITS MANIFOLD CONTRIBUTION TO OUR NATIONAL WELFARE

The performance of our United States National Student Association helps sustain my faith in youth. The record of the association over the past decade speaks for itself, and is proof enough of the fine caliber of our young adults. Intellectually and spiritually, USNSA members deserve recognition as general spokesmen for American youth.

On the homefront, USNSA has spearheaded basic improvements in all aspects of campus life, promoting the cultural, social, and physical welfare of students. Member student bodies have joined together to tackle mutual problems and to stimulate democratic student government. Most important, USNSA brings us a dynamic, articulate student voice in national affairs. It exhibits a collective alertness to "what's going on" generally, as well as to the new horizons of American education. What better way of supplementing student civic responsibility and offering vast educational opportunities?

MEETING THE PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION

As we are all aware, the problems of American education itself are not becoming any simpler. These problems pose a real challenge to student leadership and to the USNSA.

The numbers of college eligibles are growing by leaps and bounds. How will we cope with the expected 4,500,000 college entrants of 1965? Furthermore, our more complex society requires an increase in the amount of knowledge. And this in turn demands a great expansion of our educational programs.

Student government, therefore, with USNSA carrying the ball, will have to take a new look at policy and programs. Such issues as student economic welfare, antidiscrimination, maintenance of high educational standards, academic freedom, balancing of liberal and specialized training—these are but a few of the areas demanding thoughtful reappraisal.

WORTHY WORLDWIDE ACTIVITIES

Internationally, USNSA has further proved invaluable in closing the ties among young peoples throughout the world—the ties that will help bind the confidence and good will of future foreign leaders. USNSA relations with other national student agencies offer one of the best organized means we have to promote youth fellowship and to foster a true understanding of other modes of life.

The free exchange of ideas and a spirit of "working together" on mutual youth problems are the ideals of international cooperation. USNSA work with the World University, the Foreign Student Leadership Project, International Student Relations Seminars, and student travel programs, all deserve the widest support toward this goal.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDENT LEADER

I would like to underscore one function of USNSA, which in my mind warrants top priority at this time—development of youth leadership.

As a United States Senator, I have learned the so-called ingredients of a public servant. And speaking from experience, may I emphasize the tremendous importance of a taste of university leadership for anyone aspiring to a career in government or politics.

It has often occurred to me how fortunate our college folks, my prospective colleagues of the 90th or 100th Congress, are in the limitless opportunities to partake of student government. But are enough taking advantage of them?

In this day and age, when a year seems to pass like a minute, it is not a long hop from student government to its counterpart at the local, State or national level. And there are certain principles guiding the student body president, USNSA worker, Senator, and Congressman which remain relatively fixed.

What are such yardsticks? The power of factual expression, a give-and-take spirit in solving controversial questions, sound reasoning and constructive thinking, continuity of worthy purpose, underlined by strict adherence to democratic principles of self-government and by genuine dedication to what is best for the largest number, these all add up to the making of a statesman. To become a part of public life also requires a knowledge of the democratic philosophy and group process.

The extent to which our aspirant can fulfill this recipe and can achieve his or her fullest potential for effective leadership in adult life, may depend on his or her start up the Government rung during college.

VITAL ROLE OF USNSA

And this is where USNSA comes in, to serve as one of our best catalysts for responsible student leadership. Stimulating an awareness among youth as to their obligations in student government, and urging followup participation, these are challenging goals for USNSA.

Student government is a facet of American college life, which is probably relatively unique, in contrast to most foreign counterparts. In few, if any, other countries has so much freedom been given to students by school administrators, in handling their own affairs. And our young people have certainly lived up to the responsibilities given them.

But more remains to be accomplished. In the face of increasing enrollments, heightened scholastic competition, and struggle to make the top of the class, there may be a serious tendency to play down constructive extracurricular activity, or may I say co-curricular work (a much better reference for an important endeavor).

Scholastic pursuits are understandably intensified in an age when technical and scientific skills are constantly being improved upon and when technical achievement has become essential to our national security.

NEED FOR EXPERIENCE IN STUDENT GOVERNMENT

Yet, in trying to prepare students for society and shape the total young man or woman, we must be on guard against allowing extreme specialization to encroach on other basic educational needs. And student government is such a need—every bit related to the heart of the education process. All college life is a laboratory in individual development. Leadership responsibilities are as integral to forming the well-rounded person as success in his or her curriculum.

How effective is the engineer, physicist, or nuclear scientist, who cannot adequately express his theories, or who is not open to the ideas and suggestions of others?

Not only might society lose out here, but the individual might be cheated in reaching his or her optimum capacity. Higher education actually fails if it does not sufficiently train young people for the mature adult role in all phases of community life.

EXPERIMENTING IN HUMAN RELATIONS

Thus, the prestige and place of student government require a new emphasis. Earlier, I mentioned the development of statesmanlike qualities, associated with early experience in government. May I add that work on behalf of the campus and campus community is an experiment in practical human relations. Participation in student affairs can help deepen spiritual insight, sharpen perception, and strengthen habits of moral action. These qualities together with other teachings of the group process mark the finer-type American citizen.

Without encouragement of a new philosophy toward student government and campus affairs, student leadership can take on a wheels-for-wheels sake stigma. And this kind of attitude could easily breed apathy and disdain for all activities. This, coupled with an exclusive back-to-the-books movement, could seriously undermine the whole concept of democratic student government for which the Nation has long stood.

AVOIDING STALE, STATIC APPROACHES

I am sure that USNSA officers are also concerned about preventing the status quo germ from hitting local student body programs. In many instances, apathy for co-curricular affairs is due to a dire lack of new ideas and lack of some imagination in implementing programs. Simply going through the motions of static-type government is no fun, no matter what level it is on.

Every student group should evolve in purpose, policy, and program. There is something wrong if it drifts along in the same way, year after year. We in Congress likewise require new ways of approaching and solving the comparable problems that may come before us each year. Consequently, we must continually reappraise our policies.

KEY QUESTIONS TO ASK

Thus, student body cabinet officers and USNSA leaders should ask themselves these questions frequently: Are the real student problems being tackled? Is the leadership doing as much as it can on behalf of student welfare?

Such brainstorming sessions can be extremely helpful. And I can attest to the validity of experience in this technique by the Wisconsin Student Association, of the University of Wisconsin in my own State.

CONCLUSION

USNSA's capacity for democratic responsibility appears to be an almost limitless one. And the scope of its work and interest is helping to meet the demands on every front of American life.

I have here devoted some attention basically to only one aspect of the student movement—student government and the crucial need for leadership training. Yet, perhaps these factors constitute one of the cores of real student citizenship. And success in them will certainly help set the quality of tomorrow's American statesmen.

Hats off to USNSA as it looks ahead to the new challenges for young America.

British Labor Reports Finances

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an informative article from the Washington Sunday Star of April 14, 1957, entitled "British Labor Reports Finances." The author of the article is George W. Oakes, eminent American journalist and writer, who is presently residing temporarily in Great Britain, where he was educated.

This article is particularly pertinent today, because it describes the methods and laws regulating the manner in which British trade unions report their finances and funds for the benefit of their membership and the general public. Recent disclosures of alleged financial irregularities in some labor organizations in the United States have focused attention on this problem. While not necessarily endorsing all the regulatory measures provided for in England, I think it important that Members of Congress should have the facts on the reporting procedures which govern trade-union funds in a friendly nation allied with us and in which democratic and free government prevails.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the article by Mr. George W. Oakes appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PUBLICITY AND PARSIMONY—BRITISH LABOR REPORTS FINANCES

(The recent Senate disclosures of the financial operations in the Teamsters Union has stirred public interest in the possibility of Federal regulation of the handling of union funds. Here is a report on how union labor finances are publicized and spent in Great Britain.)

(By George W. Oakes)

LONDON.—British trade unions representing 90 percent of the 8.5 million organized workers register with the Government and publish, for the benefit of their own members and the public, a complete accounting of their finances.

Anyone can inspect the financial statement of any registered union at the offices of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies (a Government body) on payment of a 35-cent fee. Or a summary of this financial data as shown in the registrar's annual trade-union report can be obtained for 42 cents from Her Majesty's Stationery Office, the British equivalent

of the United States Government Printing Office.

The Trade Union Act of 1871 gave unions the right to register, and no subsequent legislation has made this provision obligatory. But the attractions of public registration, including the right to sue or to be sued and certain tax and trustee advantages are so important that registration has become almost universal. Once a union is registered, it must file a copy of its audited annual financial statement as a public record. In submitting its accounts to the Registrar of Friendly Societies, the union as a normal procedure calls attention to defalcations or misuse of funds, which occur frequently in small amounts. The registrar then decides what corrective action should be taken.

DUES AVERAGE 15 CENTS A WEEK

In 1955, trade union members, who contribute an average of 15 cents a week each to their unions, subscribed some $56 million to cover annual operating expenses.

What proportion of the annual expenses of a British union is paid out in salaries? The 1955 report of Britain's largest union—the Transport and General Workers with 1.3 million members—shows expenditures of £2,727,597, of which £670,334 were charged to salaries for 568 full-time officers. But of the total for staff salaries, less than 10 percent was paid to national officers and the central office staff.

British trade union leaders have always been paid modestly, even on the basis of the British wage scale and cost of living. Only 3 or 4 leaders in the entire British trade-union movement get more than $6,000 a year, the salary of the general secretary of the Trades Union Congress.

The secretaries (chief permanent officials) of most of the large unions would fall in the $2,800–$5,600-a-year bracket. It's estimated that the secretaries of Britain's two biggest unions with one-fifth of all union members—the Transport Workers and Engineering—probably receive saleries of about $5,000 and $2,800, respectively. And the Transport Workers' secretary is actually labor's No. 1 official. In fact the Mineworkers' leader gets only about a third more than the top earnings of a man in the pits.

There is a historic reason for the modest salaries of top union leaders. The British labor movement was voluntary in origin and strongly influenced by principles of religious nonconformism. For years labor organizers contributed their services for the welfare of their fellow workers.

Labor leaders still don't thing it right that they should earn much more or live much better than the rank and file. Nor would the workers be agreeable to high salaries paid out of their dues.

Expense accounts are closely controlled. While a national leader isn't expected to stay in a third-rate hotel, the members don't intend that he shall accustom himself to the same standard of comfort as the employers or even the government officials with whom he deals.

RAISES RECRUITING PROBLEMS

This traditional attitude has in the post-war years markedly reduced the appeal of union office to able young workingmen. Union organization has particularly suffered at the local level. Workers earning $36 to $39 a week aren't interested in local union salaries of $33 a week. It is widely believed that unless salaries and expense accounts are revised to meet the rising cost of living, the caliber of trade union leadership is likely to deteriorate, despite the impulse for service.

A start toward an upward revision may be implicit in the raising of union dues in line with the general inflation. For example, the Transport Workers this year increased their weekly contribution by 50 percent to 14 cents a week—just double the 1939 figure.

How are the funds of the unions invested? The Amalgamated Engineering Union, with the largest resources, had in 1955 assets of £11,586,146 of which nearly half consisted of government securities. Loan and mortgages on members' houses amounted to £3,352,212, and cash £2,014,489.

The financial statements of other big unions reveal an equally high proportion of funds invested in government and municipal bonds. There are no legal restrictions on union investments, however.

The major trade unions in Britain have since 1913 maintained separate funds for political purposes toward which those members who wish may contribute. Nearly 7 million union members contribute an average of about 20 cents a year. These resources are listed separately from the industrial funds in the publicly filed statements.

Fifth Amendment Mutes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article by C. P. Ives, published in the Morning Sun of May 13, 1957, entitled "Monday Morning View."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MONDAY MORNING VIEW
(By P. Ives)

FIFTH-AMENDMENT MUTES

One of my favorite fictional characters is the young matron of liberal leanings who was advertising for a babysitter. There were several applicants, and the young matron had trouble making a decision.

Then a day or two after her last interview, she happened to spot a familiar name in the news. A woman subpenaed to a congressional investigation of interstate kidnaping had declined to testify on the ground that the fifth amendment privileged her against incriminating herself. The woman was one of the babysitter applicants.

For many people this would have been the best reason in the world for immediately crossing this particular name off the list of possible babysitters. But it was not that easy for the young liberal matron.

First of all there was her long liberal indoctrination in the notion that a totally innocent person might take the fifth because, though aware of his innocence, he was afraid that a crooked or overzealous prosecutor might frame him.

Then there was the other liberal argument about the man who, though totally innocent, was afraid that if he testified he might have to bring in the names of others, and so become that abhorrent thing, an informer in the service of law and order.

Finally, there was the climaxing and conclusive liberal argument that to refuse employment to a fifth amendment mute was to punish a person for availing himself of a constitutional privilege, and so downright subversive in itself.

But somehow these propositions sounded less persuasive to the young matron with her own baby's safety at stake than they had sounded in liberal bull sessions and in the editorial discussion of the leftish weeklies. For the first time in her life, the young matron found herself doing some political thinking of her own.

She started with the timorous speculation that perhaps the Bill of Rights was intended to comfort the decent and the law-abiding as well as the uncandid, the criminal, the subversive. From that she went on to the somewhat more confident hypothesis that the life of her baby and her own pursuit of happiness were possibly as precious in the constitutional context as the liberty of the fifth amendment mute.

Little by little over a period of weeks the young matron in this way propelled herself out of the murky liberal side eddy and into the main stream of the race's wisdom in these matters as it had run deep and true for a thousand years. And she began to encounter the great formulations of the elemental law which the liberals had so largely excluded from their discussions of the fifth.

There was, for instance, Professor Wigmore's magisterial statement in his famous book on evidence: "It has now been recognized as a fundamental maxim that the public * * * has a right to every man's evidence. * * * Any exemptions which may exist are * * * so many derogations from a positive general rule. * * *

"Whoever is impelled to evade or resent [the duty to give evidence] should retire from the society of organized and civilized communities and become a hermit. He is not a desirable member of society. He who will live by society must let society live by him, when it requires to. * * *"

And then there was the United States Supreme Court dictum, no longer ago than 1937: "Justice * * * would not perish if the accused were subject to a duty to respond to orderly inquiry."

But though the Supreme Court (including its liberals) was talking that way only 20 years ago it did not actually advocate an end of the fifth amendment immunity. And since the immunity remains—and undoubtedly should remain—in the Constitution, wasn't our young matron under constitutional obligation to reject unfavorable inferences about the would-be baby-sitter who pleaded the fifth in the kidnaping inquiry?

Not at all, as the Supreme Court has also suggested in a leading fifth amendment case: "If [the witness] secure legal immunity from prosecution, the possible impairment of his good name is a penalty which it is reasonable he should be compelled to pay for the common good."

I like to think that the young matron, now a few years older and her baby safely in the hands of a nonfifth sitter, was an onlooker at last week's House Un-American Activities Committee hearings on communism in Maryland. During a recess, one of her friends rushes up in a passion over the fact that one of the fifth amendment witnesses is being discussed unfavorably by bystanders in the corridor.

"Don't you think it's just simply plain absolutely Fascist for people to draw bad conclusions from the claim of a constitutional privilege?" asks the young matron's friend.

"No," says the young matron.

Death of High Talking Chief Tuiasosopo Mariota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, during my official visit to the central and western Pacific areas in 1954 I had the pleas-

ure of spending some 3 days on the island of Samoa. On this occasion I met many interesting personalities and some outstanding friends of the United States of America. Undoubtedly, one of our most influential friends was High Talking Chief Tuiasosopo Mariota who, at that time, was President of the Senate of American Samoa. During my visits with this outstanding leader of the Samoans, and friend of the United States of America, I was greatly impressed by his attributes of leadership and ability. I have met very few men in my lifetime who, in such a short time, have made such a profound impression upon me. His nobility of character, his understanding of the differences between our ways of life, and his personal desire that we should better understand each other and live together in close bonds of friendship and citizenship were most pleasing to me.

It is with sincere regret that I have learned of his passing on Samoa on March 3, 1957. He will be sorely missed by his people and by those public servants of the United States charged with the administration of governmental affairs in this distant flag area of our country.

I am pleased to place with my personal remarks, a well-written obituary of this outstanding citizen of the Pacific and copies of messages received by his family at the time of his death.

The matters follow:

THE DEATH OF HIGH TALKING CHIEF TUIASOSOPO MARIOTA

At 25 minutes after 12 noon of last Sunday, March 3, 1957, High Talking Chief Tuiasosopo Mariota died at the Samoan Hospital following an extended period of ill health which sent him with Mrs. Tuiasosopo to Honolulu in search of medical assistance.

Contrary to Samoan practices, funeral rites were postponed pending the arrival of the deceased's eldest son who was aboard the United States Coast Guard cutter which docked at Pago Pago Harbor the following Monday afternoon. At midday on Monday, March 4, 1957, the remains of the Honorable Tuiasosopo was removed to his residence at Fagatogo to await the arrival of his son. Throughout Monday night several choirs paid tribute by singing hymns of condolence for the bereaved according to the custom of the Samoan people.

At 9 o'clock Tuesday morning, March 5, 1957, the funeral services were held at the Fagatogo Chapel of the Congregational Church of Jesus in Samoa, with Elder Pene presiding. The service was attended by His Excellency the Governor and official party, the chief judge, president of the senate, speaker of the house of representatives, representatives of the council of paramount chiefs, high chiefs and talking chiefs, members of the clergy, members of the bereaved family, and friends which filled the chapel to overflowing. The principal speakers were His Excellency the Governor, his honor the chief judge, Senator Tufele, and Pastor Fa'asuka Lutu who delivered the sermon. The Governor, chief judge, and Senator Tufele spoke in tribute to the late Honorable Tuiasosopo who, with unceasing efforts and unbounded energy, gave of himself to his country and its government. Following are excerpts from the chief judge's speech:

"We are here gathered today to pay tribute to one of the most outstanding sons of Samoa. Tuisosopo is truly the founder of the third branch of the government—the legislative branch.

"American Samoa is indebted to the late Honorable Tuiasosopo for much of her political progress during his 16 years of service. He gave unstintingly for his country and his death is lamented by many."

Having concluded with the first portion of the service, the remains of the high talking chief was carried by pallbearers in the funeral procession to the site of his eternal resting place at Leivi Ifilos, where the last portion of the burial service was held. The late Honorable Tuiasosopo was laid to rest with full honors complete with a three volley salute fired by a police honor guard, taps, and the government flag at half-mast. At the completion of the funeral service, the flag was then flown again at full-mast.

HIS EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Tuiasosopo was born on March 16, 1905, at the village of Fagatogo and was christened Mariota. His parents were High Talking Chief Tuiasosopo-Samia-Motumotu, and Mere. At the age of 6 years, Mariota entered the Government school. Earlier in his school life, Mariota manifested those traits which later characterized the late Tuiasosopo—intelligence, industriousness, perseverance, courage, and friendliness.

Early manifestations of these traits together contributed to his superior performance at school, and he ranked at the top of his class throughout his entire school life. He graduated from the ninth grade at the tender age of 14 years—a remarkable feat when compared with the present-day ninth-grade graduates. At graduation Mariota was cited for outstanding good conduct, industriousness, general knowledge, his grasp and application of gardening principles and for his garden of flowering plants, planted on the school grounds: His interest in plant life and flowering plants in particular continued, for his home is surrounded by a variety of plants of varying hues and scents. Soon after graduation, the entire graduation class entered a competitive examination to fill a single vacant job with the customs office of the government. By elimination, only Mariota and one other classmate reached the final round. The final round proved difficult because both contestants were outstanding. The decision was reached shortly after an oral examination and Mariota was awarded the job which he held for many years prior to entering upon the next phase of his life, his political career.

A SAMOAN LEADER

On October 5, 1932, Mariota registered the title of Tuiasosopo Mariota with the registry of titles, and celebrated the initiation according to Samoan custom on the following December 25. Unlike the ordinary successor to a Matai title, he did not understudy the older chiefs nor serve a tour of apprenticeship. However, almost from the very outset of his career as a Matai, he gained the respect of the older chiefs and talking chiefs—an advantage which he later effectively utilized to put aright on an equitable basis some of the Samoan practices which the privileged few reluctantly gave up for the benefit of all concernted. As his reputation of being a Samoan leader grew, he commanded more and more the respect of a large segment of the Samoan populace in both local and general issues where the welfare of the Samoan people as a whole was at stake.

A CHURCH LEADER

Tuiasosopo was appointed a deacon of the Congregational Church of Jesus in Samoa in December of 1942 and was elected general treasurer of the Congregational Church in August of 1951 for a 2-year term. He was later reelected with an overwhelming vote of confidence for an additional 2 years. Being one of the fathers of the locally founded church, his knowledge of both local and world matters made him one of the strongest leaders of the church.

A POLITICAL LEADER

Until 1945 when a general convention of representatives of Tutuila and Manu'a convened at the Poyer School to consider the issue of whether or not a civil form of government should be adopted for American Samoa—then administered by the Navy Department through a Naval Governor residing at Pago Pago—Tuiasosopo did not actively enter the local political scene.

During and immediately following the convention, Tuiasosopo began to show promise of the stellar local political future before him. His interest in western civilization coupled with his profound concern for the welfare of his people and his concern about the effects of the imminent tide of western technology, compelled his to devour and learn in the shortest possible time all that there was to learn about governments from any and all available sources of information. His attitudes and activities in the role of a political leader stand as a testimonial to his concern for the welfare of his people.

Tuiasosopo was instrumental in founding the Legislature of American Samoa. In 1948 he was the first speaker of the first house of representatives and he continued to hold the chair during the second legislature. He relinquished the speaker's chair to assume the first presidency of the senate of the third legislature. Although he did not return to the senate presidency in the fourth and fifth legislatures, being the foremost local political leader of his time, he continued to give of himself without measure to the cause of his government and people.

He was twice selected as an American Samoan delegate to the First and Second South Pacific Conferences held at Suva, Fiji Islands, in 1950, and in Noumea, New Caledonia, in 1953. On both occasions he was recognized as one of the outstanding leaders of the indigenous peoples of the southern Pacific. As the sagacious leader of an indigenous people, he was accorded deference at the Second South Pacific Conference, the unofficial title of spokesman for all the peoples represented at the conference was conferred upon him. During plenary sessions, however, he served as the senior delegate of the delegations from all United States administered territories represented. He was a member of the conference steering committee, representing United States territories. In 1953 Tuiasosopo sponsored the legislative resolution requesting the appointment of a constitutional drafting committee to draft a territorial constitution. He presided over the sessions of the constitution committee until the expiration of his term as the senate president. During his tenure of office the draft bill of rights, which includes protective provision for Samoan lands, customs, and social organization, was completed.

A COMMERCIAL LEADER

In February 1946 Tuiasosopo was appointed as general manager of the Samoan Industries. He directed the affairs of the Samoan Industries until his untimely death. Under his management, the Samoan Industries developed into a recognized marketing agency for the products of the Samoan handicraft producers. He made several trips to Fiji and the Hawaiian Islands in search of marketing outlets for the products of the Samoan producers. While on business trips he simultaneously served very successfully in the dual capacities of good-will ambassador for the people of American Samoa. Through his astute management and diligent efforts, the ordinary stay-at-home Samoan artisan became an independent income earner through the efforts of the Samoan Industries.

A FAMILY HEAD

As a family head, he managed his family and its affairs on the principles of Christianity and good government. Labor and family responsibilities are divided amongst and delegated to family members according to capabilities. He administered the affairs of the family with kindliness and patience.

In the father's role, he taught his children to be courteous, honest, and diligent. In reprimanding the children for wrongs committed, he tells of some applicable incident, quotes the Bible, or cites one of the well-known world figures, but seldom used the rod to convey to the errant child that which is more desirable than the wrong committed. He taught his family to be frugal in money matters and to plan for the uncertain future.

THE MAN THAT HE WAS

Tuiasosopo will be long remembered by his many friends to be "the friend who enjoyed being with friends." He enjoyed singing old songs learned at school such as "B-i-n-g-o Bingo was his name," and his joy and laughter often became catching. He enjoyed doing things for his friends and often spent his own money for things he enjoyed and thought that his friends would also enjoy. He often went out of his way to lend a helping hand to a needy friend. He was always courteous, respectful, and dignified. He believed that outward manifestations tend to reveal the inner man. He feared no one for he always had a good word for everyone. He neither begrudged nor was jealous of another's fortune, attainments, or accomplishments, for he firmly believed that only a man with a weak mind would assume such characteristics.

HIS HEIRS

Tuiasosopo Mariota was married to Venise of Amanave on December 1931. They had six children—4 girls and 2 boys. He is survived by his spouse, Venise; daughter, Mere, aged 24, married, a graduate of Geneva College in Beaver Falls, Pa., who is currently teaching on the faculty of the high school of American Samoa; son Mariota, aged 22, now serving with the United States Army prior to re-entering college in the United States after his 2-year duty; son Palauni (Brown), aged 19, graduate of the high school of American Samoa and currently a freshman at the University of Oregon. Tuiasosopo Mariota has one brother who is the eldest, and two sisters now living.

MESSAGE OF SYMPATHY RECEIVED BY THE TUIASOSOPO FAMILY

MARCH 14, 1957.

Mrs. VENISE TUIASOSOPO and Family,
Fagatogo, American Samoa.

DEAR VENISE: The Director of the Office of Territories, Department of the Interior, has asked that I extend to you and family their deepest regret and sympathy on the death of Tuiasosopo. As you know, this Government shares in the sentiments expressed in the message, a copy of which is attached herewith.

Sincerely,

PETER TALI COLEMAN,
Governor.

GOVERNOR, AMERICAN SAMOA:

Please extend to members Tuiasosopos family our deepest regret and sympathy upon his death. He achieved for himself through hard work and ability a notable position of leadership in the government of American Samoa. His contribution to that government will stand as his memorial.

LAUSI,
Director, Interior Department, Office of Territories.

Hon. PETER TALI COLEMAN,
Governor of American Samoa,
Pago Pago, American Samoa:

My heartfelt condolences to Chief Tuiasosopos family and the people of Samoa. I am grived to learn of his death.

SAMUEL WILDER KING,
Governor of Hawaii.

Hon. PETER T. COLEMAN,
Governor of American Samoa,
Pago Pago, American Samoa:

Please pass to Tuiasosopo family: Mrs. Lowe joins me in sincerest sympathy to you all in the loss of husband, father, and leader of Samoa. His work in helping bring self-government to American Samoa will be remembered in the history of the Territory.

RICHARD BARRETT LOWE,
Governor of Guam.

The Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, is it not about time that we get down to business in our committees and get the President's program passed. The row over the budget has the American people very much upset. My own opinion is that if the people could get the facts, matters would calm down. There are certain folks, however, who make it their business to continually misrepresent the situation, and I do mean misrepresent, because they do not give all the facts. This Government of ours is indeed big business. The executive branch of the Government, after the Congress appropriates the funds, executes the affairs of the Government and, pursuant to the outline arrived at, the funds are disposed of. Will the Congress assume the responsibility of cutting anything out of the military or defense funds? Will the Congress assume the responsibility in its final act to cut any of the so-called mutual-security funds? Both of these particular factors go to the question of national security.

I know that every rational person realizes that we have a 50-cent dollar, but many of them do not realize that we have a national income of some $338 billion, and that national income in no small respect is the result of Government's spending in the national defense.

The President of the United States is shortly to make two national talks over the radio. He undoubtedly will bring out the significant facts that we have already stated, and others, that make this budget, in comparison with our national income, the smallest in years.

Folks have been comparing this income with times back when the dollar was a hundred-cent dollar, and before we had the tremendous interest charges, and veterans charges, which have resulted from the Second World War. The wealth of this Nation has increased enormously since that time, as has also our population, and we have become the mightiest power on earth, economically and militarily, and we have the largest per capita income by far, and our taxes, while high, are very much lower than the taxes in Britain and elsewhere.

I was very much interested in reading an article written by David Lawrence entitled "Facts—Not Distortions." I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From U. S. News & World Report of May 17, 1957]

FACTS—NOT DISTORTIONS

(By David Lawrence)

Many people who have been talking about the Federal budget lately have been expressing views based on misinformation.

The public has been given the impression, for example, that there is something unprecedented about the budget submitted last January by the President.

What are the real facts and their true significance?

Fact No. 1: It was in the year 1953 that we had the biggest Federal budget since World War II ended—not in 1957. The amount was $74.3 billion for 1953. The budget prepared by President Eisenhower for the fiscal year 1958 is $71.8 billion.

Fact No. 2: Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey did not disavow the President's budget and say, as was reported in the press on January 16 last, that, if it were adopted, we would have "a depression that will curl your hair." What he did say was this:

"I think this budget as now drawn has been prepared with the very greatest care, and I think that it is the best that we can possibly do right now. * * * I don't think there is anything in sight at the moment that can be done better than is now proposed in this budget, but I think we ought to improve it as time goes on."

Later on, in the same press conference, Mr. Humphrey was asked whether "there is any hope anywhere in the world situation that you can do any cutting in defense spending in the next few years." Mr. Humphrey's answer was that he would "certainly deplore the day that we thought we couldn't ever reduce expenditures of this terrific amount." He then added that, if "over a long period of time" it wasn't done, he would predict "a depression that will curl your hair."

The foregoing did not imply in the slightest any criticism of the administraton or its competency in handling the budget. It was an answer to a specific question on armaments—something that has been giving concern to statesmen throughout the world as reflected recently in the comments of Prime Minister Macmillan, Premier Mollet, and Chancellor Adenauer.

Fact No. 3: The Soviet Government, in effect, regulates nowadays the size of our Federal budget by stirring up trouble all over the world and menacing our safety and that of our allies. Unless we are willing to appropriate money for adequate armament and yet at the same time spend what really are relatively small sums for insurance—through projects of the psychological-warfare type which can reach the hearts and minds of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain and the peoples of other countries that may become our allies—we shall not be moving toward a worldwide reduction of armament expense. We shall instead be placing ourselves at the mercy of the men in the Kremlin.

Fact No. 4: Spending has been rising in America not merely inside but outside the Federal Government. Total spending of all kinds in the United States—public and private—has gone up from $363 billion in 1953 to $412.4 billion in 1956. Much of this is due to the effect of inflation.

Fact No. 5: State and local governments—which spent a total of $24.9 billion in 1953—actually spent $32.8 billion in 1956. Certainly nobody in the Eisenhower administration can be blamed for this.

Fact No. 6: While many people have been talking glibly about waste and extravagance,

the real culprit, inflation, has been largely ignored. Thus, the Federal budget went from $64.6 billion in the fiscal year 1955 to $71.8 billion for fiscal year 1958. This is a jump of more than $7 billion in only 3 years, but the same budgets, in terms of the purchasing power of 1940 dollars, showed a rise from $30.1 billion to only $30.9 billion.

Fact No. 7: Comparing the actual 1953 budget with the one now proposed for 1958, we find that national security and defense expenditures have come down, due to the ending of the Korean war, from $52.6 billion to $45.8 billion. Foreign aid and military assistance abroad are included in this category, and there has been relatively little change in their amounts for several years. In fact, for 1958 they are less.

Fact No. 8: The nondefense expenses for 1953 amounted to $21.7 billion. This total now has risen to $26 billion for 1958. But the increase is due primarily to appropriations for farm aid, for veterans' benefits, higher interest rates on the public debt, health, and other programs enacted by Congress during the last 4 years by overwhelming votes of both parties. Congress must repeal these laws if it wants these expenditures eliminated. The President has to recognize their legal existence when he makes up a budget for the ensuing year.

The American people cannot afford the irresponsible tactics of those committees of Congress which are applying a meat-ax to the budget. There are always some economies that can be made, but the sooner the budget is taken out of politics and reviewed on its merits in a bipartisan way, the happier will be the result for our country. The sounder, too, will our national economy be in this dangerous era of international friction.

Address by Secretary of Agriculture Benson Before American Cotton Shippers Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a most outstanding and able address delivered by Hon. Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, before the American Cotton Shippers Association in New Orleands, La., April 26, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE EZRA TAFT BENSON BEFORE THE AMERICAN COTTON SHIPPERS ASSOCIATION, NEW ORLEANS, LA., APRIL 26, 1957

I am delighted to take part in this meeting. As one who has learned to love the South, I have a deep personal interest in the welfare of cotton producers and in the agriculture of this great region.

Recent developments in cotton have led to a degree of optimism regarding the future of your industry. Certainly there are readily visible signs of improvement. Exports this year may total 7 million bales or more, in contrast with last year's 2.2 million. The cotton carryover is expected to total around 12 million bales at the end of this season, down 2.5 million bales from a year ago. The soil bank is expected to reduce supplies further during the years ahead, and move us toward a more reasonable level of carryover.

I wish these developments were indicative of genuine long-range improved prospects for the cotton industry. I do not believe this to be the case so long as governing basic legislation is retained. The improvements we have seen are the results of costly, temporary programs such as surplus disposal and the acreage reserve part of the soil bank. First-aid programs are necessary. But the cotton program may require more than first aid; it may require surgery as well.

The basic intent of present cotton legislation is to provide price support at 90 percent of parity when supply is in reasonable balance with demand. Under present laws 90 percent of parity price support is not a mandatory requirement but is retained as a goal. The only reason that price supports for cotton are now less than 90 percent of parity is the heavy supply situation.

The special programs of surplus removal and the soil bank will, with the existing formulas in the law, have the effect of boosting the price of cotton back to 90 percent of parity as soon as surpluses are moved. Controls will continue in an effort to keep supports at that level. Evidence is that the high price supports will lose markets and that controls will be less than properly effective.

Is the cotton program, therefore, because of the price-support requirement in the basic law, committed to continuous production controls, loss of markets for cotton, and continuous surplus disposal operations? If this be true, would it not be well to reexamine the price-support objective? This is the question I wish to lay before you.

We are in the midst of great scientific changes. A technological explosion is occurring on American farms. Production per worker has doubled in the last 15 years. Cotton production per acre has increased 65 percent. This creates a new dimension in farm policy and makes it virtually impossible to curtail agricultural output with the type of controls acceptable in our society.

The agricultural revolution is the blind spot in present farm price-support policy.

Cotton farmers are being subjected to the forces generated by this technological revolution. They are adjusting from wartime to peacetime demands. Their markets are burdened by surpluses which result at least in part from past legislation. Obviously, cotton farmers must be protected from the harsh price effects which would result from their exposed economic position, their weak bargaining power and their abundant capacity to produce. This is a proper function of government. But our efforts should be such as to help our farmers rather than hinder them.

With the reduction of surpluses, cotton farmers will feel that acreage allotments should be increased, and will present that view with considerable logic and with increasing vigor. Under present law, however, increased allotments for cotton are unlikely despite surplus reduction. If the governing legislation is retained, even assuming no advance from present levels of technology, it is difficult to foresee the time when total acreage allotments for cotton will exceed the 1957 level. As you know, Congress has established minimum acreage allotments for cotton of 17.6 million acres for each of the years 1957 and 1958. Based on the present law, the 1959 acreage allotment could be in the neighborhood of 14 million acres. Hence, under present law, disappointment awaits many farm families.

Farmers have the established legal right to undertake programs which increase the price of cotton if they wish to do so. As much as any other group, they have the moral right to influence supply and price in what they deem to be their own interest. They are entitled to the sympathetic help of their Government in meeting their economic problems, the same as any other group. These rights have been fought for and have been won. I applaud and defend the victory.

My question is this: Is it wise to use these hard-won rights in behalf of a program which has the long-run effect of losing markets, restricting farmers' rights to make their own decisions, and reducing the income of cotton farmers?

Consider these stubborn facts:

Twenty-five years ago, before the acreage control program, cotton grew on more than 40 million acres of United States farmland. This year the allotment is 17.6 million acres. Three million acres of that allotment have gone into the soil bank. The actual acres of cotton produced this year seem likely to be about one-third as many as before the control program began.

Twenty-five years ago, before American cotton growers began to hold the price umbrella for foreign cotton producers, cotton production abroad totaled 11 million bales. This past year foreign cotton production was twice as great, 25 million bales.

World production of synthetic fibers has increased during the past 25 years from an insignificant quantity to an equivalent of more than 14 million bales, an amount larger than the 1956 United States cotton crop. Most of the growth in the world market, resulting from increased population and increased per capita consumption, has gone to foreign cotton and to manmade fibers. This growth has been marked. The worldwide per capita increase in consumption of all fibers during the past 20 years was from 8.2 pounds to 9.6 pounds. And the world population during this period increased by approximately 500 million persons.

Undoubtedly production of manmade fibers would have increased and foreign cotton production would have risen during the past 25 years even if there had been no program to restirct supplies and raise prices in the United States. But it is equally certain that the cotton program served to encourage our competition and speed its expansion.

For years it was claimed that cotton producers would accept the adjustment principle, and would keep supplies in line in order to receive the specified level of price support. Yet production has not been held in line. On an acreage calculated, in accordance with law, to produce 10 million bales, cotton production the last 2 years totaled 14.7 and 13.3 million bales, respectively. Carryover reached an all-time high, approximately a full year's needs.

For years it was claimed that the cotton program cost the Government nothing, since supplies were held in line with markets. But the Commodity Credit Corporation is now selling cotton for export at 6 to 7 cents below the domestic price. Net cost to the Corporation is greater than that because of storage costs and the fact that the cotton was acquired at higher than present prices. On 9,297,339 bales thus sold during the last 15 months, the Corporation experienced a net realized loss of $535 million, or close to $60 a bale. This coming year we shall have to charge against the cotton program not only the coming year's loss on exports but the cotton acreage reserve program which will cost approximately $150 million.

Costs are showing up now because we report realized losses when the cotton is disposed of, not when it was acquired. Much of the cotton we are now moving was acquired years ago. Costs are high because cotton production was much stimulated by a prolonged series of incentive prices—incentives supplied first by the market place and then by law. They are high because cotton has been priced out of the market and because

production continues heavy despite controls. Costs are high because we have been spared the wars which cut the cost of earlier liquidations.

The American people will gladly undertake costs of great magnitude in order to solve a problem, but not merely to carry it indefinitely. With formulas in governing legislation, costs seem likely to continue high with little progress toward a permanent solution.

While the growth in their markets has largely been captured by the competition, cotton farmers have been restricted in their decisions as to management of their farms.

Controls breed controls. Cotton production has been restrained from moving to the most efficient farms. Allotments to individual farms, whether based on history or on tillable cropland, depart to a considerable degree from considerations of equity. All these matters are irksome to farmers.

It is extremely difficult to fit nearly a million diverse cotton operations into a pattern based on a legal formula.

Cotton producers and agriculture in general should not sacrifice the efficient use of agricultural resources on the altar of price support. To do so would discredit price supports, which are a useful stabilizing stabilizing tool. As matters now stand, cotton growers are operating on a part capacity basis. Some producers have continued planting marginal acres to cotton for the main purpose of maintaining their historical acreage base.

With acreage controlled, producers have simply fed the land more fertilizer, used more insecticides, and used other devices to produce almost as much cotton as before on far fewer acres.

Not only have we kept marginal land in cotton, we have kept marginal producers in cotton, hurting both themselves and cotton-growers in general. The result is to push up the national average unit cost of production of cotton to a level which handicaps American cotton in competing effectively against foreign cotton and synthetics.

Some marginal producers, of course, have withdrawn from cotton production. Some took jobs in the expanding industries of the South. Others went into the production of meat animals, dairy products, poultry, eggs, and other commodities. By and large, those who got out of marginal cotton production have improved their situation.

The decline of cotton has had many secondary effects. Small towns and trade centers which once serviced 40 million acres of cotton now service 15 million. Some of our transportation facilities are no longer needed. Employment opportunities for local labor in the cotton industry have been reduced. The cottonseed industry has suffered.

Tradesmen have seen Government, in possession of practically the entire cotton carryover, forced to take over more and more of the marketing functions. We are deeply concerned about the effects of the present program on the cotton marketing system. One of our objectives is to avoid disrupting normal operations any more than absolutely necessary. I assure you that we will keep the entire situation under continuing review during the 1957–58 marketing year. Any long-range cotton program must be based on keeping the merchandising of cotton in the hands of the people who best know how to do that job—the private trade.

What has been the cause of the difficulties experienced by farmers, rural tradesmen, and the cotton trade generally?

The major cause is that for many years, agricultural legislation has focused on a single objective, a high level of price support.

The legislative goal of a high support price based on the so-called parity, a weak measuring rod, ignores the fact that cotton farmers are interested in net income, not just price per pound. And it is income that farmers spend, not price. Net income is the result of price times production minus costs.

Present legislation seeks to maintain the support price per pound through drastic restrictions on the right to produce and market. Inevitably this raises production costs per pound. The long-run result of reduced volume and higher unit costs of production is to reduce net income.

Back in 1929, before we embraced the single objective of high price supports, cotton lint brought in 13.4 percent of our farm income. Last year cotton brought in only 7.5 percent of our fram income.

Twice the cotton program has been rescued by war. Were it not for that fact, its shortcomings would have been highlighted long before now. Carryover built up to 13 million bales before World War II, and was substantially reduced following the end of the war. Carryover built up again prior to the Korean war, and the demands of war pulled down our stocks. From 1952 to 1956 we experienced the greatest inventory buildup of all time. This buildup is now being liquidated at tremendous cost, in a time of peace and abundance instead of a time of war and scarcity.

With the passage of time, the original concepts of the cotton program have been eroded away.

The original cotton program was developed in the depths of the depression. Heroic measures were needed in those days; I am not finding fault with the emergency programs developed to meet what was indeed a desperate situation. The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 provided price support at 52 to 75 percent of parity. The adjustment principle, that is the idea that production should be held in line as a condition of receiving price support, was widely accepted by cotton producers.

But let us see what has happened since that time. The price support level was raised from 52 to 75 to 85 to 90 to 92.5 percent of parity. Now, under present law, as soon as sufficient stocks are moved, supports must be at 90 percent of parity, an incentive price which has lost us much of our historic and potential market and if retained would lose still more.

Not only has the law been written with a high price support requirement; special provisions have been enacted that result in overshooting the price target, with attendant stimulation of production and loss of markets. Here are some of cotton's fringe benefits which have proved to be disadvantageous rather than beneficial; I shall mention them only briefly:

The provision, restricted to cotton and peanuts, that the price support cannot be reduced below 90 percent of parity until supplies exceed 108 percent of normal. For other basic commodities the price drops below 90 percent of parity when supplies exceed 102 percent of normal.

The requirement that price support and parity be based on seven-eighths inch Middling grade, which results in support prices about 5 percent higher than would otherwise be the case if it were based on the average quality of the crop.

Set asides, which force higher supports than in the absence of such provisions.

Dual parity, which has in the past required the use of old or modernized parity, whichever was higher.

The provision that support prices must be announced before planting time and must be raised before harvest if parity and supply conditions warrant, but cannot be reduced even though parity might fall or the supply increase.

The effect of all these special provisions is to raise the support price for cotton. In the immediate short run, other things being equal, such increases would be expected to increase the incomes of cotton farmers. But other things are not equal. When a program has continued for as many years as the cotton program, then we are dealing with long-run, not short-run relationships.

We have all heard the argument that the price of raw cotton is so small a part of the finished product that the price of cotton could be increased sharply without reducing consumer purchases. One trouble with this argument is that often it is the spinner rather than the ultimate consumer who chooses the fiber going into a given product, and the spinner will shift to the most economical source of supply with a relatively small differential. For many products, the competition between cotton and man-made fibers is definitely on the basis of price.

The argument has been offered that cotton consumption bears no relationship to price. The refutation of this argument lies not in theory, not in highly refined statistical analysis, but in this simple hard fact: Over a period of years, operating with a high support requirement, we have lost markets and our competitors, by underbidding us, have gained them.

Laws now on the books were enacted with the intent of helping cotton farmers. My comments are aimed not at the intent but at the result.

I have mentioned how the provisions regarding cotton price supports have been sprung in the direction of higher price support requirements. Now let me enumerate the provisions by which the controls have been sprung in the direction of reduced effectiveness:

Minimum national allotments. For 1957 the cotton acreage allotment which would be required, by formula in the way, to adjust supplies to normal, is 3.9 million acres. Yet the law provides a minimum allotment of 17.6 million acres, 4½ times the level actually needed.

Minimum individual allotments. The law provides that 100,000 acres must be added to the national allotment for this purpose.

Checking compliance on the basis of harvested instead of planted acres.

Use of an out-of-date 5-year average, with no adjustment for trends, in determining yields for computing the acreage needed to produce a normal supply.

Permission to grow any other crop on acres diverted out of cotton, which shifts the burden to producers of other crops.

While these provisions give cotton farmers some immediate relief from the tight restrictions which would otherwise be necessary, they postpone the day when farmers can look for the surplus burden to be lifted.

We have all heard the argument that a reduction in the level of price support will result in increased cotton production by causing farmers to plant more acres as they strive to maintain income. I know of no competent research which supports this view. And I am impressed with the fact that when the Congress really wanted increased production, as during the war, supports were raised, not lowered. When reduced production really was wanted, as for potatoes some years ago, supports were reduced and then eliminated, not raised.

What the relaxation of production controls really means is this: Farmers will not accept, the Congress will not enact, and from a practical standpoint, the executive branch cannot enforce the kind of production controls which would be necessary to balance supply with demand at the price objective specified in law.

We have tried to legislate scarcity, and have found that this is extremely difficult to do. Might it not be well, then, to learn how to live with the blessings of abundance?

In the early years, the cotton program was an emergency measure, developed to meet a severe depression. This measure has gradually been replaced by a program with a high

price objective and weak controls. The original vehicle was gradually overhauled and given a more powerful motor but weaker brakes. No wonder it is hard to keep on the road!

Upland cotton, with a high support requirement, has experienced declining acreage. Extra long staple cotton, meanwhile, has adopted a low price objective and has been experiencing increased acreage. Growers of extra long staple cotton advocated legislation, which the Congress enacted, setting the level of price support at 75 percent of parity. Allotments for 1957 are about twice as great as in 1956.

There is a growing realization that the program for upland cotton is in deep trouble. There is much casting about for alternative remedies.

A two-price plan is sometimes suggested. Under such a plan domestic cotton would sell at a high price and cotton for export would sell at a lower price.

Technicians and authorities who study such plans raise a number of troublesome problems, among them this one: If domestic cotton continues high in price, manmade fibers are further encouraged in our big market—the market here at home.

Another proposed remedy is a production payment plan, with cotton selling at or near a competitive level and with a payment to cotton farmers, from the Treasury, making up the difference between the market price and the price objective. Authorities also raise a number of difficult problems about such proposals. Do cotton farmers want to be dependent upon the Congress, annually, for highly visible appropriations which might equal half or more of their net income? It would be well to recall some basic arithmetic. Farmers now total only 13 percent of the population and only 1 farmer out of 5 produces cotton.

Responsibility for enacting legislation lies with the Congress. The Department of Agriculture, as an agency of the executive branch, has responsibility to point out difficulties in administering the law, and to counsel with the Congress regarding their solution.

Certainly, when alternatives are considered, we should consider the possibility of permitting our cotton farmers more freedom to farm. Certainly we should consider the desirability of moving in the direction of being more competitive price-wise.

Cotton must be priced right if it is going to sell.

We might liken the cotton industry to a stool which needs three legs to stand upright—quality, merchandising and realistic pricing. It cannot stand permanently on just two legs no matter how strong they are built.

It won't be easy to win back our markets. Markets lost over a period of 25 years are not regained overnight. A quarter century of sheltered existence is poor conditioning for the rough-and-tumble of market competition.

But the markets are there if we go after them.

Our present per capita consumption of cotton here in the United States is about 26 pounds per year. In the free foreign world per capita consumption is only about 6 pounds. If foreign consumption could be increased by only 2 pounds—the equivalent of one bed sheet, or one pair of overalls—it would create a new market for about 7 million bales annually.

Rather than being lulled into complacency by the favorable developments of recent months—increased exports and reduced carryover—we should use this time to reexamine the basic law. We must not wait until, having disposed of surplus number one, we have built up surplus number two. We must not wait with making changes until they are forced upon us. We should make use of the next few years, while we have the soil bank and the surplus disposal programs, to make a transition to a program which is more in the interest of our cotton farmers.

The Agricultural Act of 1954 was a necessary forward step. It established a beachhead of rationality in setting of price support levels. No one ever maintained that it was an answer to all our farm problems. The Agricultural Act of 1956 successfully defended the ground gained in 1954 and in addition provided weapons for dealing directly with our heavy stocks.

We should now reexamine basic legislation regarding cotton and other basic crops. I applaud the wide review of this subject now being made throughout the South by the American Farm Bureau Federation in cooperation with the State Farm Bureaus.

My first speech on cotton after becoming Secretary of Agriculture was given at Cleveland, Miss., on May 21, 1953, before the Delta Council. At that time I had this to say:

"I have been rather critical of some of our present farm programs. But this is not because I think present programs give the farmer too much. No; my concern is that they give the farmer too little.

"They give the farmer too little because they do not build markets to put products into use at fair prices.

"They give the farmer too little because they do not permit desirable adjustments to take place in our farm economy which will place the farmer on a sounder footing.

"They give the farmer too little because they fail to provide adequate incentive for self-initiative and help-help upon the part of the grower, the handler, the processor, and the end distributors.

"They give the farmer too little because at times they price such commodities as wheat and cotton out of world markets.

"They give the farmer too little because they tend to hold a price umbrella over synthetic and substitute products which in turn take over our farm markets."

That was 4 years ago. I have said these things, many, many times. I reaffirm them before you today.

My purpose is to add to cotton markets, increase the net income of cotton farmers, liberalize their opportunity to make their own decisions and protect their hard-won rights for equality of bargaining power. I do not want to take anything away from cotton farmers; I merely want cotton farmers to ask themselves earnestly and honestly whether a program of restriction and scarcity can possibly mean as much to them in the long run as a program involving more freedom to plant and more freedom for market growth.

The future of the cotton industry depends on how that question is answered.

Importance of Delaware River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, last week, on May 9, a fellow Member of Congress, the Honorable WILLARD S. CURTIN, who represents the Eighth Pennsylvania District, Bucks and Lehigh Counties, delivered a statement before the House Appropriations Committee with reference to the importance of the Delaware River in the economy of our Nation.

Representative CURTIN presented such a splendid statement that I should like to bring it to the attention of all of my colleagues in the Senate, and therefore ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I appear before you today in reference to the appropriation to proceed with the deepening of the Delaware River channel between Philadelphia, Pa., and Trenton, N. J.

The amount requested for this work for the fiscal year 1958 was $16,500,000 but in the proposed budget estimate, this amount has been reduced by the Budget Director to $9 million.

I feel that this is a subject on which I am qualified to speak, since my Congressional District consists of Bucks and Lehigh Counties in Pennsylvania and I live in Morrisville, Pa., which is a borough directly across the Delaware River from Trenton, N. J. I, therefore, feel that I have some knowledge on this particular problem which may be of some benefit to the committee, since navigation on the Delaware River between Trenton and Philadelphia is on the portion of the said river which is on the boundary of Bucks County and is a subject in which I have been vitally interested for many years.

I have been very much in sympathy with the economy actions of your Appropriations Committee and have voted in favor of all of the appropriation bills wherein the appropriations have been reduced from the amounts requested by the Budget Director. My record will also show that I have voted in favor of many of the further cuts as proposed on the floor of the House, since I firmly believe that this Government should practice all economies which can be effected without jeopardizing fundamental governmental functions.

However, I do not think that my present appearance before you, with the request that the appropriation for the deepening of the Delaware River channel be restored to the original request of $16,500,000, rather than the $9 million as proposed by the Budget Director, is inconsistent with my position as to economy. This deepening of the Delaware River is a capital outlay for which the Government will get a return on its money, which is far different, in my opinion, from many of the other expenditures which have been authorized.

The Delaware is one of the world's great estuarial harbors. Already, it is the leading port of the United States in the handling of import tonnage, and it stands second only to New York in total waterborne commerce.

As a harbor, the Delaware reaches from the open sea from Cape May, N. J., Cape Henlopen Del., north to Morrisville, Pa., and Trenton, N. J.—a distance of 132 protected miles. But, as a first-class international seaport—capable of handling all types of cargo vessels—the harbor's vast potential has been only partly realized, because its 40-foot channel ends abruptly at the southern end of Philadedphia. This leaves 37 miles at the upper end of the harbor in urgent need of modernization and improvement.

During the fiscal year of 1956, the Federal Government collected approximately $75.1 billion in tax receipts. Of this amount the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware—the States that surround the Delaware Port area—contributed $8.5 billion, or better than 11.3 percent of the total budget.

The tidal Delaware flows past more than 8,600 different manufacturing plants, most of which are located in the highly industrialized cities of Wilmington, Del., Camden and Trenton, N. J., and Philadelphia and

Chester, Pa. Deep water all the way to Trenwill make accessible for industrialization 58 miles of shoreline now available for industrialization along the upper Delaware, where a lack of deep-water access has prevented the maximum industrialization of this area.

The Congress of the United States in August 1954, recognized the urgency of this matter when it passed legislation authorizing the deepening of the upper Delaware, with a 40-foot channel.

Private industry has already invested its resources in an unprecedented expansion of the region on the strength of this authorization, and there is substantial evidence that the expansion is only in its initial stage. Several large industries have already located on the upper reaches of the Delaware, and more are in process of construction, or are planned. A multi-million-dollar plant of the National Gypsum Co. at Burlington, N. J., designed to handle 350,000 tons of raw materials annually, the Fairless Works of the United States Steel Co. at Morrisville, Pa., with its vast potential output possibility, and the Meenan Oil Co. at Levittown, Pa., making use of the Delaware River in the distribution of several million gallons of product annually, are all new industries will contribute to the economic welfare of the area. In addition thereto, Phoneix Iron & Steel Co. has acquired 1,000 acres of ground in the Burlington area, and the Wood Conversion Co. recently announced plans for the construction of a multi-million-dollar shoreside manufacturing plant in the same area. Many other industries are also canvassing the possibilities of the area, but their final decisions are awaiting the opening of the area to the full benefits of low-cost ocean transportation.

This area between Philadelphia and Trenton is attractive to industry, not only because of its location on a waterway, but also because of its availability to the markets in the area, the accessibility to railway lines, the abundance of skilled labor, and the availability of land. However, the development of this land and the improvement of the economy of the area, with its consequent increase in taxes to the Federal Treasury, is being held up because of the difficulty of navigation between Philadelphia and Trenton. Ships now bringing raw products to the plants are, in many cases, compelled to either partially unload in Philadelphia or to not initially load the vessel with maximum cargo. Because of the present depth of the channel, fully laden, large freighters cannot use the channel until it is made deeper and more safe. One of the dangers of navigation is located at the Delair Bridge, at Delair, N. J., which is an old-fashioned bridge having a span of but 110 feet, and, in addition thereto, the channel turns within the area of the said span. Some of the largest of the cargo ships presently using this channel have a 90-foot beam, and others are somewhat smaller. Consequently, the ships of this size going through this narrow span and having to make a turn in the process find it an extremely hazardous undertaking, and the shipowners will not permit their ships to use this channel of the upper Delaware at all after dark and, during daylight hours, only at such times as they can buck the tide in each direction. As a consequence, the use of the channel is materially restricted. A 40-foot channel with a modern bridge having a wider span at this point will eliminate this restriction.

In addition to the above, the size of cargo ships is increasing, so that a 40-foot channel is essential if such ships can use the channel, and such ships must use the channel if the industries located along the shoreline are to get economical rates. A survey by the National Federation of American Shipping shows that the trend is for larger and deeper draft vessels for economic reasons. Maj. Gen. Emerson C. Itschner, Chief of the Corps of Army Engineers, has said, "The move toward deeper draft, larger deep-sea supertankers and ore carriers, and the outlook for increased transportation of the commodities they carry, has created a pressing demand for correspondingly deeper and improved channels in major seaports."

Below Philadelphia, where a 40-foot-channel project has existed for many years, industries of all types and sizes have located at the water's edge, and the ratio of such industry above and below Philadelphia is convincing proof of the need for the same.

All of the above should indicate the need for the rapid completion of this work. The project is estimated to cost approximately $110 million and the hoped for construction period was 5 years. The monetary benefits after completion are estimated at $8,450,000 annually, as compared to annual charges of $4,000,370. The resultant benefit-to-cost ratio is 1.93 to 1, which certainly shows that the prompt completion of this project is just good business. The Philadelphia district engineer has stated that for the fiscal year of 1958, $16,500,000 could be economically utilized with the equipment on the site; the Bureau of the Budget has recommended an appropriation of $9 million, following an initial appropriation of $6 million authorized for expenditure during 1957. If the annual average appropriation for the first 2 years of construction will prevail, it will take 14 years to complete the project, rather than 5 years, and this slow rate of construction will correspondingly slow up the rate to which the revenue—the taxes from industries located and to be located along this stretch of the Delaware—can be realized. Of the money planned for expenditure from the 1958 fiscal year appropriation is the sum of $1,950,000 toward the improving of the Delair Bridge, which would leave $7,050,000 for other deepening expenses. (The entire cost for the work at this bridge will be $11 million.) The equipment is now in the river and available for use, and if appropriations are such that this equipment can be utilized to its upmost, the job will be finished in a less period and the return to the Government in the form of taxes will be sooner realized.

The channel to be dredged should be dredged to the full depth of 40 feet as the work is done. There is now some argument that an initial 35-foot channel be dredged to Trenton, to be followed by a 40-foot channel as commerce increases. This is not sound reasoning. There is much rock to be cut out of this channel, and cutting rock under water to a certain depth and then going back and cutting a few more feet from the same rock at a later date is just not economical.

With the modern trend in ship construction, a 40-foot channel is vitally necessary if this waterway is to be used to its full and best advantage. The two-step procedure only adds to the cost by postponing just that much longer the adequate and complete use of the channel.

Also, in terms of our national defense in this age of nuclear warfare, when every day brings forth a new international crisis, the Delaware River port area, because of its diversified industrial power and geographical location, is the keystone in the Nation's arsenal for defense.

In addition to the foregoing, the deeper channel would be beneficial in many supplemental respects.

1. It would decrease the pollution of the stream by causing a faster flow of more water;

2. It would be a factor in flood control by permitting faster runoff of high water;

3. The dredge material will help build up the shoreline.

In view of the foregoing, I would respectfully urge the committee to increase this appropriation for the fiscal year 1958 to $16,500,000.

News From the AFL–CIO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech delivered on April 27, 1957, by William F. Schnitzler before the District of Columbia Central Labor Union.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF A SPEECH BY AFL–CIO SECRETARY-TREASURER WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY DINNER OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CENTRAL LABOR UNION

It gives me a great deal of personal pleasure to extend the warm best wishes of the officers and members of the AFL–CIO to the members of the Central Labor Union of the District of Columbia on your 60th anniversary.

Sixty years, as men reckon hours, is a long, long time. And in those 60 years' you, here in the capital of our Nation, have accomplished a tremendous amount. The status of the worker of 1957 and that of the worker 60 years ago is immeasurably different and immeasurably better.

I suppose there are some who say that the members of the District of Columbia Central Labor Union—that all of American labor—should be satisfied. Ours is the largest single trade union movement in the world; our contracts are the best in the world. The wage standards, the hours, the working conditions enjoyed by our members stand head and shoulders above any others.

But we are not satisfied. We know that so long as any worker is denied the benefits and the protection of a trade union, then our job is far from completed.

We know that so long as poverty exists, either in this country or anywhere in the world, then the American labor movement has its work cut out for it.

We know that want and misery and exploitation and injustice must be eliminated from the face of the globe. And we are dedicated to this tremendous job—a job that must, in time, be accomplished.

And in going about our tasks, the central labor bodies in our cities and States can play a tremendous role—can contribute immeasurably to our success; for success we must have, and success we will have.

I want to also add a word of praise of another trade union instrumentality, which is also 60 years old—The Trades Unionist, which was founded in 1896, and which has done a continually fine job of reporting the news and the position of the trade union movement.

A labor newspaper has a tremendously important role to play in our movement. It must fill the vacuum created by the commercial daily press which has today unfortunately concluded that only sensationalism is news. Once upon a time, you know, an American newspaper would consider that 50 years of wedded bliss was worth a story. Today, it is the sensational divorce case that grabs the headlines.

Once upon a time, Local Boy Makese Good was considered a news story. Today, Local Boy Goes Bad is what makes the headlines.

So, I suppose we should not be surprised when the daily press ignores the countless thousands of contract settlements, accomplished through the ordinary, everyday, smooth-working mechanics of collective

bargaining and concentrates on the isolated instances in which collective bargaining breaks down and labor resorts to its ancient, honorable, and only weapon—the strike.

So it is vitally necessary that we have, as an integrated part of the labor movement, the labor press which reports to the card-carrying union member the truth about the activities of his own union and of his brothers and sisters in the labor movement.

It is only fair to say that here in Washington, the daily newspapers are of a higher grade than in most of the metropolitan centers in the United States. I recall that, during the biggest work stoppage in the District in recent years—the streetcar and bus strike—the press did honestly and adequately report the union's position and the union's repeated offer to arbitrate the dispute and to keep the buses and streetcars running.

But even in the Washington newspapers, there seems too little room to report the kind of activities in which you are engaged on a day-by-day basis—the basic trade-union activities of bettering wages, hours, and working conditions, and the equally important activities in which you are engaged in your endeavors to make this a better and a stronger community.

It seems to me that just as soon as the merger of this central body and the Industrial Union Council is completed—and the deadline for merger is, as you know, December 5, 1957—that you will be in an even better and stronger position, that you will be able to do even more to improve the conditions of the workers you represent and of the general public.

There is much that needs to be done in this beautiful Capital City of the United States; much that can only be done when we achieve home rule in the District of Columbia.

I am well aware of the outstanding record achieved by certain Members of Congress, who have served with honor on the District of Columbia Committees of the House and Senate.

Your speaker tonight, Senator WAYNE MORSE, one of the greatest liberals who ever served in the Senate of the United States, has repeatedly advocated and fought for legislation which this community badly needs.

But with all due regard to Senator MORSE and to his colleagues, I say to you that the District of Columbia will not achieve the legislation it badly needs and badly wants until its citizens are taken out of the second-class category and are given the right and privilege which every American citizen must have—the ballot.

We cannot expect that Members of Congress, whose first interest and major duty is to the Nation as a whole, and their own constituency in particular, to devote the proper time, the proper interest, the proper enthusiasm to the affairs of the District. Certainly, officials elected by the residents of the District and responsible to the residents of the District, would be more responsive to the needs of the District.

The AFL–CIO considers home rule for the District of Columbia and a full voting franchise for its residents to be a vital legislative necessity. We know that you do too. I promise you that we shall continue our struggle to achieve that goal, until we reach that goal.

Some of the legislation which is now pending in Congress and which this area badly needs is languishing simply because the folks here and their neighbors are unable to vote and therefore unable to bring righteous pressure to bear on the lawmakers.

Take a look at the slums that lie almost in the shadow of the Capitol of the United States. Senator MORSE vividly brought this to the attention of the public just a few weeks ago.

But the slums have been here a long time, Senator, and so has the Congress.

But we still don't have any action. We still have the disease-breeding, crime-breeding slums that disgrace this fair city.

I know that the 15 million members of the AFL–CIO everywhere in America will continue to point with shame at these slums and at those throughout America until we get the action we need; until we get to the stage where America is building the 2 million new housing units a year that she really needs.

We won't get action, of course, so long as some on Capitol Hill believe that public statements about economy and secret votes in favor of their own pork-barrel projects will get them votes.

The unholy alliance of the ultraconservatives on both sides of the legislative aisle is endangering legislation which is vital to all America and they are doing it to the battle cry of economy at any cost.

The pennywise, pound-foolish Members of Congress should know—and I am sure they do know—that they can balance the budget with ease and still give America the legislative projects it needs by just plugging up the loopholes in our tax structure which have been especially created to aid the very wealthy and the very powerful. Equality of taxation, not foolish economies, is the answer to balancing the budget.

And during this period in which some of our legislators are taking very good care of the very few who already have much of this world's wealth, they are ignoring the plight of the underprivileged in our own country, those who live on substandard wages.

Today, 20 million Americans are denied the minimum protection provided by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Why, the minimum wage law that now prevails in the District of Columbia is a crying shame. First of all, it only covers women and minors, and, secondly, the minimum wage it provides bears no realistic resemblance to the economic facts of life today.

I am sure that a united labor movement in the District of Columbia, whose members are informed of the facts through a responsible labor newspaper, can help tremendously in bringing a decent minimum wage level to this city and throughout America.

There are many, many topics I would like to discuss with you tonight but time will not permit. There are two matters which I do want to discuss, however—the question of corruption, which is occupying so much of our time these days, and the question of civil rights—the great moral issue of our time.

I am proud—justifiably proud—of the civil rights record of the American labor movement. We have done much to open the doors to equality of opportunity to men and women of all races.

But I am not blind. I know that the civil rights record of the trade union movement is not all good. I know that there are some places in this land of ours where the prejudices of our members are no better than the prejudices of the general public.

We in the AFL–CIO have said in our constitution that all workers, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, are entitled to the full rights of trade union membership and of equality of trade union representation.

That is not an idle statement. So long as I am an official of the American labor movement, it will never be a dead letter statement.

We shall continue our unceasing efforts, in calmness and in reasonableness, to wipe out the twin evils of segregation and discrimination which blot the banner of democracy in the United States.

We expect that every union of the AFL–CIO and every local of every union will examine its own record and eliminate from its own area of activity any vestige of undemocratic acts.

We shall be successful, for right and morality and decency are on our side.

I also want to speak to you for a few moments about the problems of corruption. It is in many ways similar to the problem of communism which the trade union movement met and conquered through democratic means and through an aroused membership.

Today, the labor movement is beset by another parasite—the racketeer—who has also infiltrated our ranks. We are meeting this problem with diligence, with practical commonsense, with stern action and without panic.

We know that the number of corrupt individuals in the American labor movement is indeed tiny. We know as well that even one rotten apple is one too many.

There are some, of course, who will seek to seize upon the current investigations by Government agencies of these racketeers—who have infiltrated management as well as labor—and upon the continuing efforts of the trade union movement to keep its ranks clean as an excuse for legislation, designed to destroy the labor movement itself.

We shall not be destroyed.

We know that the labor movement is of such monumental benefit to workers and their families, and the Nation as a whole, that we will not allow it to become the victim of either misguided zealots, who would cure cancer by amputating every limb upon which a pimple grows, nor will we allow the labor movement to be destroyed by its enemies who seize upon any provocation to restore the "open shop" through which employers are able to bring wages down to the starvation point.

But we shall wipe out corruption in our own ranks as we believe industry should do in their ranks.

I am sure in the months ahead, as you learn of the continuing actions of the trade-union movement to eliminate this bad element while at the very same moment protecting the rights of workers to decent, clean unions which adequately and correctly represent their best interests, you will agree that our actions have been stern and thorough and have demonstrated due regard for the democratic rights of the individual.

And I suggest that you keep in mind, as you read these probe stories, an editorial which apepars in the February 26 issue of the New York Times. That editorial applauded the Senate committee's determination to get to the bottom of labor wrongdoing, and then sounded this word of caution:

"The day-by-day display of questionable conduct, without comparable evidence of commendable behavior, is bound to give an impression of union operations as a whole that is far removed from actuality. * * *

"The AFL–CIO's recently promulgated code of ethics and the forthright action it has already taken against affiliates charged with violations give additional evidence of labor's rectitude."

I suggest as well that you keep in mind President Eisenhower's observation of Thursday, when he said: "Corruption on the part of a few should not obscure the fact that the vast majority of those connected with organized labor are decent and honest Americans and that responsible labor leadership is moving speedily toward protecting their members from any such abuses, as far as their means permit. The American labor movement must be free to pursue efforts to achieve social and economic gains which in the past have benefited the Nation as a whole."

The President is right. Every decent and honest trade unionist—and they are the majority—resents deeply the insult ot trade

unionism which has been perpetrated by those few individuals who have proven themselves unworthy of the posts they hold.

The decent trade unionists, all over the country, are rising in righteous indignation against these few who have disgraced them.

For the AFL–CIO is determined to keep labor clean. It is a task we approach with a clear knowledge of the enormity of the problem but with just as clear a knowledge that this is a job that must—and will—be done.

It is because of our determination that the labor movement must be scrupulously clean that President Meany last Thursday immediately expressed our general agreement with President's Eisenhower's proposal for legislation in this field.

I think we should keep in mind, however, that the AFL–CIO has long favored legislation which is far more sweeping and would be far more effective than the pending administration bill for full disclosure of welfare fund operations.

And I think we also ought to remember that the very business interests which supported President Eisenhower in the last election are opposed to the kind of legislation we seek and which the President has just endorsed.

In fact, the delay and stalling which has to date blocked passage of the welfare disclosure law we seek, has been the work of the business and financial interests who do not want this kind of legislation.

In our opinion, the only reason for opposing this measure is corruption. Honest men want this kind of a law. We want it. We intend to get it.

Today, as you celebrate your 60th birthday, you stand on the threshold of great opportunity and challenge. I am sure as I review the record of your accomplishments during the last threescore years, that you will be worthy of the responsibility and capable of meeting the challenge.

I am sure of this because you have always been true to the motto of the trade union movement—that motto which is really our way of life—"What's good for America is good for organized labor."

Atomic Power Reactors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the Honorable JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, of Pennsylvania, who is a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, recently gave some good advice to the Nation. This was mentioned in an editorial in the Washington (Pa.) Reporter of April 29, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NO NEED FOR PANIC

Representative VAN ZANDT, of Pennsylvania, who is a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, recently gave Congress and the country some good advice.

He warned against being panicked into spending orgies for atomic-power reactors, and added that coal is likely to be the cheapest fuel for electric-power production for a very long time to come.

This makes sense for a number of reasons. For one thing, our reserves of coal are, to all practical purposes, virtually limitless. For another, our coal industry and its highly paid labor force are the most efficient in the world. For still another, the amount of coal needed to produce a given amount of power has steadily declined, due to research and engineering achievements by the industry itself and by the enterprises which produce and use coal-burning generators. For still another, many unanswered questions and unsolved problems remain in the new field of electrical generation from atomic energy, and these demand a vast amount of time, study, and experiment.

The atoms-for-peace program should and will go ahead. But maximum results at minimum expense will follow from an orderly program—not a never-mind-the-cost crash program at the expense of taxpayers.

Report on the 1957 Nuclear Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from a thorough and informative paper by John H. Davidson, of Portland, Oreg., entitled "Report on the 1957 Nuclear Congress."

Mr. Davidson, an outstanding researcher and economist, presented this discussion before the American Society of Civil Engineers in Portland on April 18, 1957. He is affiliated with Ivan Bloch & Associates, noted industrial engineers, and he and his firm have undertaken a complete study of manufacturing expansion possibilities in Oregon, at the request of Gov. Robert D. Holmes of our State.

In this paper Mr. Davidson analyzes the possibilities inherent in the vast and expanding field of nuclear energy. Because the length of the presentation precludes its entire content being included in the RECORD, I ask that certain cogent and significant excerpts be printed.

It is extremely important to note that Mr. Davidson specifies the cost of power from atomic sources to be as high as 34 mills per kilowatt-hour and presently not lower than 7 mills. He contrasts this with the economical Bonneville power rate from Columbia River dams of only 2 mills. Of course, Mr. Davidson also warns that nuclear energy may eventually be competitive with fossil fuels which must be transported long distances.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT ON THE 1957 NUCLEAR CONGRESS

(By John H. Davidson, of Ivan Bloch & Associates, for American Society of Civil Engineers, Portland, Oreg., April 18, 1957)

INTRODUCTORY

It would be extremely misleading for me to pose as an expert on nuclear physics so at the very beginning I will point out that my primary purpose this evening is to act as a reporter on the 1957 Nuclear Congress that I recently attended in Philadelphia, and to perhaps present a summary view of the nuclear energy field.

The 1957 Nuclear Congress included: Third International Atomic Exposition; Second Nuclear Engineering and Science Conference; Fifth Hot Laboratories and Equipment Conference; Fifth Atomic Energy in Industry Conference.

The latter meeting was my chief objective and notes from some of its sessions constitute part of the material that I have for presentation this evening.

I attended this meeting at the request of Governor Holmes as part of his industrial development program in which the firm of IBA is participating. Material collected at this congress is being used to provide orientation to Oregon's proposed industrial development program.

What I have to say can be conveniently divided into four sections:

1. A complete explanation of nuclear energy—in 5 minutes or less.
2. Prospects for nuclear power in Oregon and the Nation.
3. Other potentials in the nuclear field in Oregon and the Nation.
4. A long-range outlook.

I. NUCLEAR ENERGY REVIEW

Information sources seem to be divided in opinion when presenting descriptions of nuclear energy applications—the newspapers and similar media frequently oversimplify the problems, and yet many of the technical journals assume that we poor engineers have had time to study up on fundamentals. In case your reading has been restricted to the newspapers I will try to provide a 5-minute review of nuclear energy.

You might have noticed that up to now I haven't used the term "atomic energy" (unless I have lapsed into my old habits), but have always spoken in terms of "nuclear energy." This points up the first fundamental concept—that the nucleus of the atom is the source of the reaction.

As you will recall, atoms are composed of a nucleus circled by various numbers of electrons. Almost all of the atom's weight is contained in the nucleus. This nucleus is composed of both protons and neutrons. These two particles have almost the same weight, with the main difference between them being that the proton carries a positive electric charge and the neutron carries none.

The number of protons is balanced by the number of orbital electrons. Since the electrons carry a negative charge, the atom is electrically neutral.

The number of protons (or electrons) is the atomic number and is an indicator of the chemical characteristics of the atom. Hydrogen, for instance, has atomic No. 1 and uranium has atomic No. 92. Since the atomic weight is mostly in the nucleus, we must look to it to determine a particular atom's weight. In the case of hydrogen, the atomic weight is 1-plus a small fraction. Uranium has various atomic weights, such as U^{233}, U^{235}, and U^{238}.

Obviously, there are various numbers of neutrons in the nucleus of the uranium atom. This isn't peculiar to uranium, but even occurs in such lowly atoms as carbon. The significant factor about some types of uranium is that the weight bears such a relationship to the number of electrons and protons that it is unstable and will fission.

The process can be compared to a drop of water on an oily surface. If the drop of water is too big to be stable, you can tap the surface and it will split into two drops. You can tap the uranium atom by throwing a neutron at it. If it is U^{235}, it might split into barium and krypton, plus a couple of neutrons, plus some energy. It might split into a number of combinations, but the important point to observe is that the sum of the weights of the new atoms and neutrons is less than the previous total. The differ-

ence in weight has been converted to energy. It should also be noted that the fission gave off more neutrons than triggered it—on the average, each fission gives off 2.5 neutrons. If the first fission occurs in the center of a block of U^{235}, each of the neutrons given off will probably hit other nuclei and they will fission. Thus, the number of fissions will increase in a geometric progression, each adding energy, so that in microseconds you have an explosion.

This is the atom bomb. In describing it I have described uncontrolled nuclear energy and demonstrated the fission process. Several more concepts can be wrung from this description. First, you will note that the chain reaction would not have occurred unless more than one neutron had been captured by the block of uranium. Obviously, if the block is too small, the first neutrons released might have sneaked by the other atoms and escaped—and the bomb would have been a dud. This illustrates critical mass—a term that the experts bandy about.

A peculiarity of U^{235} is that it can most easily capture neutrons of a certain rather low speed. Since this speed is considerably less than the speed of emission from fission, some means of slowing down the neutrons is desirable. This is the function of a moderator. It provides a cushion for the neutrons to bounce against, thus slowing them down without capturing them. Water and carbon are both used as moderators.

* * * * *

Uranium 235 is the only naturally occurring material that is capable of fissioning upon neutron bombardment. This is unfortunate since it is only one one-hundred-and-fortieth as plentiful as uranium 238 and it is very difficult to separate the two. However, uranium 238 and in addition, thorium, can both be altered into atoms that are fissionable. The transmutation process for each is similar and consists of the original atom being supplied with a neutron, then decaying (by spontaneous emission of electrons) into an atom that will fission as readily as U–235. This process is called breeding and can be accomplished in a reactor while it is also being used to generate heat for power. The products of this breeding are U–233 from thorium, or plutonium from U–238. The breeding process was only recently determined to be possible and offers possibilities of greatly reduced fuel costs.

* * * * *

With this background we can now look at some of the nuclear energy possibilities in the Nation and in Oregon.

II. NUCLEAR POWER

Power from nuclear energy has captured the imagination of the world. Part of this feeling is probably due to the possible glamour surrounding the concept of a practically weightless fuel. Forward-thinking people, though, realize that on a statistical basis the tremendous increase of power requirements in the world will exhaust our supplies of more conventional energy in a comparatively short time.

To put the discussion of nuclear energy into perspective I think it is important to take a few minutes to look at the world energy situation.

The general picture is that per capita energy requirements will increase even more rapidly than world population—with the two combining to cause an almost explosive increase in energy requirements. In the last half of this century it is expected that the people of the world will use as much energy as they have since the year 1. In the United States it is expected that the energy requirements will more than triple their present value by the year 2000.

I have some statistics that indicate the relationship between various world fuel sources. Of the nonrenewable sources, fossil fuels have a rank of 30 compared to nuclear fuels with a rank of 575. The renewable sources, consisting of wood and organic materials, water power, and effective recovery from solar heat collectors, amounts to a rank of about .08 a year. In other words the renewable amounts to the total fossil fuels every 375 years. If we could collect all the solar energy falling on the earth's surface it would each year amount to six times the world's total supply of nuclear fuels.

There is little point in trying to estimate just when the world will run out of these fuels, but it has been estimated that the economically obtainable fossil fuels in the United States will be exhausted by the end of this century if we don't supplement them with nuclear fuels. In some parts of the world, and England is an example, it is already difficult to find economically attractive fossil fuels and it is necessary for the British to turn to rather primitive types of nuclear reactors because there just isn't time for them to develop better ones.

The English nuclear energy program probably received an undue amount of attention at the Philadelphia Nuclear Congress. Throughout the conference I heard the rather defensive statement that "We are not losing our leadership in nuclear energy just because we aren't outbuilding the British." Along with this was the comment that "technical and development costs are both much higher than were anticipated a few years ago."

Based on various lectures and speeches which I heard, our present nuclear energy situation might be further summed up in the following statements:

1. Reactors now on United States drafting boards will probably be much more economical to operate than the present English models.

2. We should cooperate with European nations whenever possible in order to exercise our technology (and also for humanitarian reasons).

3. We should continue and expand our present research and demonstration program to determine the best types of reactors.

4. Presently developed reactors cannot compete with fossil fuel plants in most areas of the United States.

5. Really economical operation of nuclear powerplants in the United States will not occur until we have better methods of processing spent fuel, and greater credit can be given to byproducts.

6. Reactor development will require a variety of new materials including special metals, instruments, and fuel materials. In addition, there will be a market for many conventional materials required in the processing of the new materials.

7. Widespread use of nucelar reactors in this country is still a number of years away and reactors won't be in great demand until present fuel costs increase, or reactor costs drastically decrease.

8. Propulsion of ships will be among the first economical uses to which nuclear energy might be put.

* * * * *

From these costs it is obvious why we don't want a reactor in Oregon for a while yet. As long as it is available, 2-mill hydro power looks mighty good. However, power agencies are even now looking at conventional thermal plants as a means of alleviating the foreseeable power shortages. As our power needs increase and our upstream storage sites are underdeveloped, the time when the area will need thermal power is rapidly approaching.

When this time does arrive, nuclear energy might be particularly desirable as our source of thermal energy because of its practically negligible transportation requirements. Because of this transportation factor its feasibility, as compared with fossil fuels, will be greatly enhanced.

In anticipation of a nuclear energy installation, the Pacific Power & Light Co. has recently purchased an extensive site near Hanford as a site for a future plant. Other PNW power companies, too, have been engaged in nuclear energy study groups.

III. OTHER POSSIBILITIES

Although I have restricted my discussion entirely to power up to this time, there is another whole field of nuclear development. This is the utilization of radioactivity. It is important in the field of radiation processing of food, chemicals, plastics, drugs, medical and surgical equipment. This processing will include sterilization and the altering of chemical structure or physical properties of materials. Radiation of plastics to improve their physical properties is one of the most likely immediate applications. Radioactive materials also have important uses as tracers and as a source of rays or particles for inspection and measurement purposes.

Additional opportunities in the nuclear field (we might call them satellite opportunities) include the production and supply of special metals, instruments, and fuel materials. The disposal of radioactive waste materials will also provide industrial opportunities in some areas.

Members of the nuclear congress expressed the view that radiation processing of food and chemicals has apparently suffered some setbacks during the last few years. It was pointed out that the side effects (such as creation of unpleasant odors or taste) produced in food by radiation have not been overcome.

The future of radiation processing of food was thought to depend upon controlling side effects, bringing the price down, and convincing the housewife that radiation processing is safe. This latter point was considered quite important because we now have good preservative methods, low costs and a wide variety of foods without radiation. Two avenues of approach that were indicated were the use of low-level radiation for pasteurization instead of sterilization, and high-level radiation deliberately to change flavor. The advantage of pasteurization would be to prolong the shelf-life of food. Meat, for instance, which can only be stored in a refrigerator for a few days, could be stored for weeks under ordinary home refrigeration after low-level radiation. Low-level radiation would not produce side effects and would entail an inexpensive process.

Mike Ready

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very excellent broadcast by Tris Coffin on May 8, 1957.

There being no objection, the transcript of the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A newspaper morgue is not a good place to hunt for greatness. You are misled by yellowed clippings and headlines. They are only the hollow echo of yesterday's noise.

By this test—how much space a newspaper gives each name in the hurried, frantic rush of news—Al Capone would be a greater man that Dr. Albert Schweitzer.

No, in this search for greatness, the seeker must go elsewhere. He must look into the small and forgotten lanes where his candidates have walked, and find what was left behind. Was it joy or tears? Was it ashes or flowers? Was it gentle, loving affection for other men, or was it the crude passions of power and hate?

Last Thursday, in the quietness of the night, a great man died. There was no splutter of bulletins at his passing, no roosting of reporters to dig up quotes. His name was Mike Ready, and he was a priest. That was the way he thought of himself, although he was a bishop.

The measure of his greatness was that Father Ready had a heart, a clear mind, and courage. He loved people. Their tears, their struggles were his. All the oppressed and unfortunate were his children.

He lived in a dangerous and confused age. In it were intolerance, depression, and mass killing; it was never quite free of fear and want.

Father Ready became secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, his offices were here in Washington, when the stain of bigotry darkened America. The awful flames of fiery crosses, symbol of the Ku Klux Klan, burned on lawns and hillsides across the land. The white sheeted, masked cowards paraded the streets. Their members sat in Congress.

Mike Ready rallied men of all faiths to break this rotten grip on our society. Quietly, he helped turn America away in disgust from rule by demagogs and brutal mobs. This experience shaped a love of freedom and tolerance that guided his life.

Father Ready was one of the first to speak out against the obscene persecution of Jews by a strange little man named Hitler; against the crude and ugly stamping out of religious freedom in Russia. He attacked what he called the brutal denial of justice to millions by the new dictators of Europe.

But there was something else about him. Wherever you sit and talk to people who knew him, their faces light up. They use such words as "kindly, gentle, thoughtful." There was the aged Negress, a servant, who could neither read nor write. She would find excuses to come into his presence, for, as she said, "Father Ready is a good man." And there is the man I saw in the Capitol. He was not of Bishop Ready's faith. But his eyes filled with tears, and he said simply, "Mike Ready was a Dr. Schweitzer; perhaps an even greater man."

Part of Mike Ready's age was lost in the depression—the melancholy lines before soup kitchens, empty freight cars loaded with gaunt hoboes looking for jobs and a bite to eat. There was hunger and want in a land of plenty. Father Ready said this was not just or fair. He was a crusader for social justice in the pulpit, on Capitol Hill, and at the White House. He said: "Society has a responsibility to establish a social program of checks and balances so that man's dignity can be guarded and the common good best served. No man can be indifferent to the moral and economic conditions under which our citizens live."

He was an early friend of labor unions, saying: "Christ, the workman toiling in honorable labor at the humble carpenter's bench at Nazareth, established the dignity of man as a laborer. * * * The power of unionism to unite worker with worker in the battle for justice is based on spiritual brotherhood."

And he said: "Greed for material good degrades mankind." This was a part of his creed to "teach truth fearlessly."

Father Ready's hope for man was expressed simply at President Roosevelt's third inaugural: "Inspire him to persevere in promoting justice and halting iniquity. Deign mercifully to reward his strivings and desires for peace."

Mr. Roosevelt's four freedom's—of speech, of religion, from want, from fear—might have been written by Father Ready.

Long before the holocaust of war was ended, Father Ready said thoughtfully: "Our work is not over until the great human needs left in the ruins are met. There will be 10 million homeless, deserted refugees. We must find a useful life for them."

With an energy that seemed almost superhuman he aroused churchmen and statesmen, and through them the conscience of America. He told an assistant, "We'll stir every county in America." When others were tired and frustrated, he would say gently: "Don't be discouraged. We've got to keep pushing. This must be done."

And it was done. Gifts of clothing, food, money, jobs poured out from an aroused country. The Government accepted his recommendations for a displaced persons program.

Today there are literally millions scattered over the globe leading useful lives because of Mike Ready. This is true greatness.

This is Tris Coffin reporting from Washington.

Milk Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, in the St. Paul, Minn., Pioneer Press of yesterday, May 12, there appeared a fine article written by Mr. Alfred D. Stedman. It deals with the dairy industry and the problems of the dairy producer. It is a very thought-provoking article, and I should like to call it to the attention of all Members of the Senate. Therefore, I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GAP IN UNITED STATES PLAN

(By Alfred D. Stedman)

A gap is opened by a Federal contradiction on milk prices in the Washington plan of making further reductions in Government farm price supports.

Repeal of legal requirements for a specified minimum of farm price props would apply to milk going into manufactured dairy products, largely produced here in the Midwest. The Government's documentation of its costs in making supports stick includes a billion dollars spent since 1932 in buying butter and cheese, more than 380 million of it last year.

But as yet the Government is not changing policies that are reflected in great disparity in prices of fluid milk for the table as between the Midwest and the East and South. High prices in the latter discourage milk drinking, back up surpluses into manufacturing and kite United States buying costs.

The Government isn't backward about asking a lowering of grain price supports that would require Midwest agriculture to supply cheaper feed to high-price milk areas. But what is it doing about milk in those favored places?

Of course, what the Government can do will always be limited by transportation costs that give local producers a natural advantage in any market.

But within those limits, what is the Government doing? How far is it adapting its price policies to swift scientific advances in sanitary handling, refrigerating, transporting, concentrating, and packaging of milk? What is it doing to help move good milk into consumption?

The available evidence points to Government acts of commission or omission as a cause of much pain in the Dairy Belt. So far as good milk is concerned, the United States Department of Agriculture hasn't tried to breathe the breath of life into constitutional guaranties of freedom of interstate commerce. Federal meat inspection has been assuring such freedom to good meat for half a century. USDA inspection soon will be doing the same for good poultry. But a bill introduced years ago by Representative AUGUST H. ANDRESEN, of Minnesota, proposed to do this for milk by making the United States Public Health Service's voluntary standards compulsory. Now there is pending a more detailed bill by Representative LESTER R. JOHNSON, of Wisconson, to achieve that aim. But the Department hasn't seen fit to give its blessing to these bills.

Seizing advantage of that default, States and municipalities and the Washington, D. C., government itself are barring good milk by a maze of sanitary milk barriers.

Back of these walls, State authorities and the United States Government, through Federal milk orders, have run up monopoly prices of milk. These are raised far above levels that would be competitive with the Midwest as measured by our prices plus cost of hauling and merchandising.

A double standard of milk prices results—high within the milk barriers, low outside of them. In the Capital City of Washington, prices paid farmers for milk sold for drinking were in April $6.62 a hundred pounds—$2.75, or 70 percent, above Twin Cities prices. In New York City under Federal order, prices ranged up to $6.28, or 60 percent above ours. Behind State barriers, prices in Jacksonville were $7.19, or nearly 90 percent, in Savannah were nearly 80 percent, and in Erie and Hartford were over 60 percent higher than ours.

Under such pricing, only this West-North-Central region, a low-cost milk-producing area, shows a decline in milk output since 1940. The high-cost South Atlantic region shows the biggest increase of nearly 40 percent. Government pricing is helping to shift milk farming out of low-cost into high-cost areas at the consumers' expense.

If United States policy is to call for competitive pricing, why not apply it to milk? Our dairying withers under a double standard of low prices here and high ones elsewhere.

Construction of Brownlee Dam Is Pushed by Idaho Power Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY DWORSHAK

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, the New York Times on Sunday, May 12,

1957, published an article written by Mr. Lawrence E. Davies, reporting on the construction progress of Brownlee Dam, the first of 3 hydroelectric projects on the Snake River, which the Federal Power Commission has licensed the Idaho Power Co. to build. Mr. Davies, in my opinion, has been most objective in his dispatch.

To me, the significance of his on-the-spot observation is the disclosure that the construction of Browlee Dam is being pursued vigorously and with a determination to put much needed electrical energy on the line for the Pacific Northwest power pool by next year.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSTRUCTION OF BROWNLEE DAM IS PUSHED BY IDAHO POWER CO.—SENATE VOTE DUE ON HELLS CANYON—BILL FOR A FEDERAL HIGH DAM STILL MUST GET BY HOUSE AND PRESIDENTIAL VETO

(By Lawrence E. Davies)

HOMESTEAD, OREG., May 11.—The dice are about to be thrown in a multimillion-dollar gamble. It is for preferred position in a battle over natural resources.

The focal point is a few miles above this hamlet on the Snake River, on the Oregon-Idaho border. A $63 million hydroelectric power dam is being constructed by the Idaho Power Co. It has the blessing of the Federal Power Commission and the Eisenhower administration.

For 10 years, advocates of public power have been campaigning for Federal development of the Snake, a principal tributary of the Nation's champion power-producing river, the Columbia.

They are staking their final hopes on action by Congress. They expect the Senate to vote by the end of this month on a bill to authorize the building of a high dam by the Federal Government in Hells Canyon, downstream from this point.

Should the Senate reverse its stand of last year against a Federal dam and be followed by the House of Representatives, the measure still would have to hurdle a possible Presidential veto.

APPEALED TO PRESIDENT

Public power spokesmen have appealed to President Eisenhower to throw his support to a Federal Hells Canyon project.

The situation is complicated by several factors. Among them is a plan of the Army Corps of Engineers to restudy the resource program for the middle Snake area. Another is uncertainty over the Interior Department's attitude toward construction of other projects downstream from Hells Canyon. The building of some proposed dams would flood out others.

Democrats of the Pacific Northwest have labeled the situation as "chaotic." Some of them see a major problem in winning support from a group of Southern Democrats for a high dam. The South is not considered enthusiastic over voting large Federal sums to enable the Pacific Northwest to continue wooing industry with low-cost power.

The Idaho Power Co. began 18 months ago to gamble on defeat of this measure and all other efforts to block private development. It already assertedly has spent close to $25 million on construction of Brownlee, the first of three dams in its program approved by the Federal Power Commission. It is firmly committed, moreover, to an almost equal expenditure for powerhouse equipment, such as transformers and waterwheel.

The Supreme Court this spring gave Idaho Power reason for new assurance that its gamble would pay off. The court refused to review an Appellate Court decision that the company held a valid license to go ahead with its Hells Canyon program.

Since then the Senate Interior Committee has approved a Democratic bill introduced by Senators WAYNE MORSE and RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, of Oregon, with some two dozen cosigners, proposing a $320 million outlay for a high Federal dam at Hells Canyon. A similar bill was beaten in the Senate last year, 51 to 41. Public power adherents concede privately that if the measure loses again, the practical effect is the end of their long fight.

BROWNLEE DAM FIRST STEP

They view with anger the first fiscal manifestation of the prolonged controversy—the Brownlee Dam project, being gouged out of solid rock 15 miles upstream from Homestead. Just above this town, and 12½ miles below Brownlee, preliminary preparations are being made to start Oxbow, the second of the Idaho Power dams. It is expected to be under way late this fall or early next spring.

The third dam in the utility's series must be started by the late fall of 1961, under terms of the license granted by the Federal Power Commission. It is planned for a site 23 miles below Oxbow, at approximately the place where public power supporters want the high Federal dam placed. This is in the wilder part of the deepest river gorge on the North American Continent.

Cattle graze on mountains far above the Snake as a crew of 1,000 workmen, with drills, dynamite, earth-moving and steel-fabricating equipment, keeps the Brownlee project on schedule. It is designed to put 4 power generators with a rated capacity of 360,400 kilowatts "on the line" by November 1958.

Brownlee's ultimate capacity is put at 540,600 kilowatts, somewhat greater than that of Bonneville, the big Federal dam on the main stem of the Columbia above Portland.

At this time much of the Brownlee Dam is not in view. It lies under the surface of the river. Preliminary to the beginning of construction, cofferdams were put in above and below the dam site and a tunnel almost a half mile long was cut through the solid rock of a stream bank to divert the waters.

The Snake for a time flowed through this tunnel from above the upper cofferdam to a point just downstream from the lower blockade. This left the dam site itself free of water. It enabled workmen of the Morrison-Knudson Co., which holds the construction contract, to clean the silt from the river bed. They excavated to a point 115 feet below the stream bed to bedrock, then poured liquid cement under pressure to seal the bedrock floor.

On top of this was begun the construction of a clay core for the dam to prevent the seepage of water through the structure. This core will rise slopingly to the top of the dam, 395 feet high. On both sides of it, basalt rock, blasted out of the promontories banking the river and washed down by hydraulic pressure, will complete a dam a quarter of a mile thick at the base and narrowing to 30 feet at the crest.

Unseasonably high water in February forced a change in plans. The diversion tunnel, 40 feet high and 28 feet wide, could not handle the full flow of the river. Now a third of the water continues down the river channel, covering the dam site. The work of building up the dam from its base has been deferred until about July 1 to await a lower water period.

STEEL PLATES TO LINE TUNNEL

Meanwhile, boilermakers in a steel-fabricating plant are welding steel plates into sections 24 feet in diameter. These are to be inserted as linings in tunnels through which water will drop from above the dam into turbines below it.

A shelf has been hewn out of a mountain's face for the powerplant with its turbines and generators. Switchyards will occupy a three-level terraced site, likewise being cut out of rock. From these yards power will be transferred to transmission lines, which are under construction.

An experimental electrical fish barrier has been built to trap game and commercial, as well as "trash" fish as they head upstream through the diversion tunnel. This is part of a $300,000 facility the power company was directed to provide. It is in addition to a $250,000 contribution by the company for a study of fish spawning habits in the middle Snake by the Federal Fish and Wildlife Service and State Agencies.

Last month in this trap 608 miles from the Pacific Ocean, three steelhead were caught. The rest of the catch embraced 5 whitefish and 1 rainbow trout, plus 37 "trash" fish—suckers, chiselmouths, and squawfish. In 2 weeks last October, 2 chinook salmon, 7 steelhead, and 80 whitefish were trapped, along with 3,223 suckers and several other "trash" fish.

This has not been accepted, however, as conclusive evidence that salmon and steelhead do not swim this far upstream from the ocean to spawn. In the research the fish are taken out of the trap by an automatic device, lifted into tank trucks and carted several miles upstream, unless a load consists wholly of "trash" fish. In that event they are buried, by agreement with fishing interests.

The power company's licenses for its three dams also require it to contribute $60,000 for a study of recreation possibilities in the three-dam area by the National Park Service. It is to provide $12,000 for archeological excavation work in cooperation with the Smithsonian Institution.

There was a year of hearings and 20,000 pages of testimony prior to the granting of the 3-dam license to Idaho Power by the Federal Power Commission in August 1955. It gave the Nation a mixed idea of the relative merits of claims by the proponents and enemies of a high dam.

The National Hell's Canyon Association and its supporters called the 722-foot-high Federal dam a necessity if the Pacific Northwest was to achieve its highest ultimate economic development. It meant the continuance, they argued, of "cheap" power. This project, estimated to cost $400 million in contrast to $135 million for the three private enterprise dams, was branded "socialistic" and money-wasting by opponents. They pointed to the $10 million a year that Idaho Power Company would be paying in taxes.

The financial aspects have drawn attention and caused argument with the recent disclosure that the Office of Defense Mobilization had granted the utility a fast tax write-off for the Brownlee and Oxbow Dams.

This meant that during the first 5 years of construction of the two installations, while expenses were unusually heavy, the company could take larger than normal deductions for depreciation and make them up in tax returns in later years.

SAVINGS SAID TO TOP COST

According to critics of the company, this could mean a saving to it of hundreds of millions of dollars, or more than the dams would cost. Thomas E. Roach, president of the utility, called this merely an exercise in mathematics. He said that regardless of what amount could be saved the company was obligated under the law to take full advantage of whatever legitimate means of reducing expenses were available.

"We may find it will not be advantageous to us to use the accelerated tax amortization certificates," Mr. Roach asserted. "In the Revenue Act of 1954 Congress provided some additional formulas for figuring depreciation. We may choose one of these, under section 167 of the Revenue Code, instead of

working under the ODM certificates provided by the 1951 act."

The company has increased its own estimates of its three-dam capacity. Mr. Roach said that for $135 million, which is slightly above the earlier intended expenditures for the three dams, it would be possible to give the Oxbow powerplant a generating capacity at first of 190,000 kilowatts instead of 151,000, as scheduled. Ultimately, he asserted, the utility would have an installed capacity in the three plants of 1,350,000 to 1,500,000 kilowatts. At first it would be about 820,000 kilowatts.

This would be in the neighborhood of the initial estimated capacity of the proposed high Federal dam at Hells Canyon. The high dam proponents have contended, however, that a high dam would greatly firm up the power generation at downstream powerplants on the Snake and Columbia and would therefore be an indispensable key to the proper regulation of the whole Columbia River System.

TWO STATES SWITCH STANDS

Officially, both Oregon and Washington have switched positions on the high Hells Canyon project. Under Republican governors, the States officially opposed it. Since the election last fall of Robert D. Holmes, a Democrat, as Governor of Oregon, and Albert D. Rosellini, a Democrat, as Governor of Washington, the States have intervened in Washington hearings as proponents of a high dam.

Idaho, through Gov. Robert E. Smylie, a Republican, opposes the high dam on the ground it would take water needed by Idaho farmers for irrigation purposes upstream and would disrupt the economy of southern Idaho. Pacific Northwest Democrats interpreted the 1956 election results as a mandate against administration giveaway of natural resources and in favor of a high Federal dam. Republicans hotly challenge this conclusion.

Idaho Power spokesmen resent application of the term "low dam" to any of its three projects. Brownlee, for example, at a height of 395 feet, will exceed by 50 percent the height of either the the Dalles or Chief Joseph Dam, concrete structures on the main stem of the Columbia.

In the rock-fill dam category, according to Idaho Power, Brownlee officially will be 1 foot lower than Miboro Dam on the Sho River in Japan. Completed last year, Miboro has been called the world's highest rock-fill dam, although there is some dispute over nomenclature.

Oxbow, as planned, would rise 205 feet and the company's Hells Canyon Dam 320 feet, or nearly twice as high as Niagara Falls.

LEGAL OBSTACLE IN OREGON

In its gamble to push construction of its three-dam series, the Idaho Power Co. failed to surmount an obstacle, real or not, posed by the failure of the Oregon Hydroelectric Commission to grant it a State license. The Oregon State Supreme Court this week heard argument on the question whether the utility had violated Oregon law.

The company was indicted last August by a Baker County Grand Jury for ivolating the law by failing to get a license to block the Snake River. This indictment was dismissed by the Baker County Circuit Court, but the State appealed.

The utility contends that the Federal license is all it needs on a navigable stream. Before taking a gamble, Mr. Roach asserted, the company satisfied itself that its legal position was bulletproof.

Since the suit was filed, the situation has been further complicated by a move of the high-dam supporters to take the Oregon phase out of the hands of the hydroelectric commission and to give it to the State water resources board for determination. The board has set May 22 for a hearing.

An Accelerated Domestic Atomic Power Program

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has recently concluded hearings required by section 202 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, and also on bills calling for Federal indemnification for atomic energy users. We have listened with a great deal of interest to honest and sincere persons from the Atomic Energy Commission, industry, labor, universities, and many others, giving us their opinions concerning the development and state of the atomic art and possible ways to encourage greater utilization of this vast new energy for the betterment of all our fellowmen.

Throughout these hearings, there were many suggestions that we should further accelerate the development of atomic power demonstration facilities in the United States. Let us look briefly at these suggestions; but, while doing so we must keep the picture in proper focus and not lose perspective of the economics involved in reactor development. It must be emphasized and reemphasized that the United States, at the present time, is not in critical need of additional electric generating capacity.

There is no immediate shortage of conventional fuels to supply steam for electric generating equipment. This I know because I have the privilege of representing an important coal-producing area of the country. The situation could conceivably change in decades to come. It is possible that the chemical properties of fossil fuels may be so valuable that it will be relatively uneconomic to continue burning them up simply as a source of heat.

In spite of the fact our electric energy requirements have been doubling each decade for almost half a century, our Nation's electric companies have had no substantial difficulty in meeting this need. I might say, by way of parenthesis, it is interesting to note the only areas in this country where there has been a recurring shortage of power are those served primarily by a couple of well-known Federal power programs.

Atomic electric power is not yet competitive on an economic basis with conventional power in this country. In various other parts of the world, however, atomic power is already competitive, or very close to it because of the high cost of conventional fuels. One of my colleagues on the joint committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. COLE], recently introduced H. R. 5694, part of which would encourage construction of reactors by American firms in these foreign areas. Such foreign construction would supply valuable information as to improvements in reactor concept and design that would more quickly lead to economically competitive atomic powerplants in this country.

As beneficial as this section of H. R. 5694 would be, there may b a need for reactors to be constructed in the United States. Domestic reactors would serve as large-scale laboratories to supply information as to our own particular technical requirements. They would also serve as training grounds for the future scientists and engineers which we so desperately need.

There should be little doubt that the atomic power demonstration program now being undertaken by the Atomic Energy Commission and the various private development activities will lead to our desired goal of economic atomic power on a time scale dictated by normal industrial needs.

On the other hand, for noneconomic reasons of national prestige in the eyes of the world there is a need for us to maintain and extend our world leadership in atomic affairs. Such leadership would not be particularly meaningful, though, if measured solely in terms of installed kilowatts. The leadership of this Nation should be measured in terms of broad and varied technological development and application. To use the kilowatt measurement would be like saying that, if Russia produced more model T Ford's today than the United States produces 1957 models, then America is falling behind in the automotive race.

We must not be stampeded into a crash program of Federal reactor construction to meet the grandiose claims of other nations. Rather, let us approach this question with the same foresight and considered determination which has proved so helpful in meeting other production problems in the past. The economic history of this country as compared with other countries of the world should be proof enough that the American system of free enterprise is the best method of getting the job done.

Let me site a graphic example of how another facet of the atomic business has benefited by the Government's encouragement of private enterprise. The exploration, discovery and mining of uranium ore has been accomplished by private enterprise with only minimum interference, but maximum encouragement by the Government. This progressive policy has resulted in a uranium mining and processing industry which is second to none in the world today. We can rightfully expect a similar program of encouraging the development of civilian atomic power reactors by private enterprise to produce the same beneficial results.

Mr. Speaker, for this reason, I introduced a bill designed to further encourage the development of civilian atomic power reactors by industrial firms, electric companies, and local agencies. This proposal will in no way conflict with H. R. 5694. I sincerely believe the gentleman from New York and I are in agreement on the methods which we feel should be utilized to meet the challenge which atomic energy represents. The challenge which is also stated in section 1 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 that the development, use and control of atomic energy shall be directed so as to promote world peace, improve the

general welfare, increase the standard of living, and strengthen free competition in private enterprise.

Last year the House considered a bill—H. R. 12061, 84th Congress—to accelerate the atomic-power program, and, after debate, and after certain amendments had been adopted, I introduced a motion to recommit the bill to committee, which carried. I stated then that I was not satisfied with the bill in its form at that time, and that I believed it needed further study.

Since then I have listened to considerable testimony on this subject, and have given the matter considerable thought and study. Today I introduced a bill which I believe provides the proper basis for authorizing an accelerated civilian atomic-power program.

I have prepared a digest of this bill which I would like to have printed in the RECORD at this point:

Section 1 states that the act may be cited as the "Accelerated Civilian Atomic Power Act of 1957."

Section 2 adds a new definition to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954. It defines the term "incremental cost" as the difference between the estimated capital cost of the construction of an electric-power-generating plant using fossil fuels and the estimated capital cost of one using atomic fuels of the same thermal capacity in the same locality.

Section 3 (a) amends the Atomic Energy Act by inserting a new chapter 19 entitled "Accelerated Civilian Atomic Power Program," which contains sections 241, 242, and 243, with appropriate redesignations of certain chapter and section numbers.

Section 241 states the purpose and policy of the chapter.

Subsection 242 (a) provides for research and development assistance to the civilian power-reactor program. This subsection gives additional statutory authorization for the Commission to enter into contracts with persons for the conduct of research and development activities required in the construction of prototype power-reactor facilities and is intended to accelerate Commission efforts and assistance under the AEC power demonstration reactor program. The bill provides for private ownership of such facilities, unless the expenditure of funds by the Commission for research and development activities on the facility exceeds the expenditure made by the contracting person.

Subsection 242 (b) provides that the expenditure of Commission funds for assistance to projects initiated under subsection (a) shall not exceed the incremental cost of the facility, as defined in section 2 of this bill.

Subsection 242 (c) authorizes the Commission to proceed with an advanced design and development program for construction of reactor facilities to be capable of producing not more than 50,000 kilowatts of electricity. The facilities authorized by this subsection shall be constructed at AEC production sites, and the electric energy generated shall be used by the Commission. The bill authorizes to be appropriated $100 million to carry out the provisions and purposes of this subsection.

Subsection 242 (d) authorizes the Commission to construct any supporting facilities, such as reprocessing facilities, necessary for the program.

Subsection 242 (e) provides that information as to the amount of financial assistance provided by the Commission for research and development activities under this program shall be disclosed and made public.

Section 243 (a) provides that this chapter shall not operate to impair or interfere with the atomic weapons production program or the AEC reactor demonstration program.

Section 243 (b) provides that the facilities authorized under section 242 (c) shall be sold to the highest responsible bidder after they have been in operation for a period of 15 years.

Section 3 (b) amends the table of contents to the Atomic Energy Act to reflect the amendments of section 3 (a) of the bill.

Section 4 amends the Internal Revenue Code to include atomic power reactor demonstration facilities constructed under section 104 or under this chapter in the definition of "emergency facilities" and thus eligible for possible tax amortization deductions. The Atomic Energy Commission is designated as the certifying authority, and the adjusted basis is limited to the amount certified by the Commission as being necessary to achieve the purposes and policies of this bill.

I would also like to add a few words about the philosophy and the purpose behind my bill.

This bill is intended to provide for a civilian atomic power acceleration program in a manner which will not discourage private enterprise and initiative in this field. The bill does not provide authorization for construction of large-scale power reactors, because I believe that this is the proper province for private enterprise. But the bill does provide for research and development assistance to the civilian power reactor program. This is intended to reinforce the Commission's authority to continue and accelerate its efforts under the AEC power demonstration program.

The bill also authorizes the Commission to proceed with an advanced reactor design and development program by constructing comparatively small-scale reactors capable of producing not more than 50,000 kilowatts of electricity, to be constructed at AEC production sites. The bill authorizes an appropriation of $100 million for this purpose.

Therefore, my bill is somewhat similar to the bill considered by the Congress during the last session—H. R. 12061, 84th Congress—providing for a civilian atomic power acceleration program with the following significant differences:

First. It authorizes construction only of advanced design and development facilities, and not large-scale facilities.

Second. It authorizes and encourages the Commission to continue and redouble its efforts under the power reactor demonstration program to assist private industry in the development of both small- and large-scale atomic power reactor facilities.

Third. It authorizes the appropriation of $100 million rather than $400 million. It is contemplated that the appropriations would be spread over a 5-year period, or at the average rate of $20 million per year.

Fourth. It contains certain protective amendments adopted by the House of Representatives during the debate on the bill last year. However, it does not require that the AEC obtain proposals from private industry before undertaking construction of advanced design and development facilities, because it is not contemplated that the Government-sponsored advanced design small-scale construction program will conflict with the private industry program, but rather will assist it by exploring new fields.

In addition, the bill provides for an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code to include atomic power reactor demonstration facilities in the definition of "emergency facilities" and thus eligible for possible tax amortization deductions. This amendment to the Internal Revenue Code is of a limited nature and applies only to the facilities qualifying under this program. Since the evidence before our committee has demonstrated conclusively that construction of atomic power reactors is unprofitable and uneconomical at this stage, and since the national interest requires accelerated effort in this field, it seems clear to me that this limited tax relief is justifiable and in the public interest.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize again that my bill is intended to provide for acceleration of the atomic-power program without, at the same time, discouraging efforts by private enterprise in this field. It provides for increased assistance to private enterprise, and authorizes Government construction of reactor facilities of advanced design and their development.

The bill which I have introduced today meets, I believe, the objections to last year's bill and will, I hope, provide the basis for sound compromise in this field. It does not authorize a "crash" program involving expensive large-scale governmental construction which is not necessary in this country at this time, but it does provide for a more long-range program with a definite part to play by both private industry and Government. My bill is intended, as I stated earlier, to supplement the bill introduced by my colleague from New York [Mr. COLE], H. R. 5694, which provides assistance for construction of reactors for installation abroad. My bill provides for similar assistance and encouragement to an accelerated domestic atomic power program.

I hope that this bill will provide a basis for compromise and agreement among the many different views of the many distinguished Members of the Congress who have given thought and study to these problems. I believe it sufficiently protects the interests of the coal industry, the private and public utility groups, that it should aid the private reactor manufacturers, and that it is clearly in the national interest by authorizing a balanced, long-range program for the development of atomic power, with resulting benefits to all our citizens and the peoples of the free world.

June Meeting of the International Labor Organization in Geneva

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IRVING M. IVES

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by C. L. Sulzberger, which appeared in the New York Times of Monday, April 22, concerning the June meeting of the In-

ternational Labor Organization in Geneva, which will consider problems arising out of forces of automation and atomic energy. I commend this article to the Members of the Congress in order to acquaint them with the important matters to be considered by the ILO this year.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IS CIVILIZATION EXPLODING FROM WITHIN?

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

PARIS, April 21.—The dizzy speed with which mechanical techniques are now developing leads many serious thinkers to wonder if they may not soon exceed human capacity to absorb them. Quite apart from permanent threats of nuclear war there exists a fear that peacetime civilization is itself exploding from within.

The twin forces of automation and atomic energy are racing to revolutionize production. Unless these processes are carefully guided they may eventually strain the entire fabric of society. In such a case man will at last have produced a Frankenstein monster.

Such problems, still looming but dimly, are to be discussed next June when the 77 member nations of the International Labor Organization meet in Geneva. The purpose of their conference is to analyze the implications, socially, politically, economically, and industrially, of new productive methods.

David A. Morse, director general of ILO, has prepared a lengthy report on the subject. This gives some indication of how immense may be the ramifications as nuclear energy replaces traditional fuels and machines take over jobs hitherto held by men.

It has often been assumed atomic power will enable backward nations to jump rapidly into the 20th century by huge exploitation projects. But Morse points out the possibility that the gap between developed and underdeveloped lands may, on the contrary, be widened. How, for example, can teeming India handle automation? Says Morse: "Particularly where underemployment and unemployment are a chronic and serious problem, technological change seems to complicate the problems of development and to threaten the whole structure of social stability."

MECHANIZATION OF ALL LEVELS

Already mechanical devices have intruded into almost every aspect of wage-earning fro managerial and white-collar positions down to heavy labor. Fourteen glass-blowing machines, each operated by 1 worker, now produce 90 percent of the light bulbs used in the United States. In the Soviet Union a fully automatic plant makes aluminum pistons for heavy truck engines. No human hands intervene throughout the process. At one British refinery six men per shift can now distill 5½ million gallons of crude oil every day.

Morse warns that "as the pace of technological change quickens there is always a danger that the gap between the better-paid workers and the worst-paid workers within any one country will be widened." Some students have suggested that, as machines take over, men may drastically reduce their working hours. But, says Morse, "it can never be truly productive to have more people than necessary doing any job."

He ventures the frightening prediction that "with time there will be no unskilled workers." Furthermore, white collar employment is menaced. Morse forecasts: "The displacement of the routine clerical worker by the computer. The greatest potential for automation lies in office work." Another development is that "with atomic energy and automation together, the employer has increasing freedom in locating his plant.

What will men do with the leisure offered by machinery? What will be the effect on social security requirements? Says Morse: "New forms of protection may be needed for older workers in stranded communities who cannot find employment there and who cannot reasonably be expected to move elsewhere. New types of income maintenance may have to be provided for workers moving or undergoing retraining."

CHANGES IN LABOR'S STRUCTURE

Collective bargaining and union organization in the free world may ultimately be altered. Morse concedes: "Both union jurisdictions and internal union organization will be affected * * *. It may mean a smaller number of unions, each with larger membership and increasing emphasis on industry-wide bargaining. * * * The machinery of collective negotiation * * * may have to be overhauled."

The implications of these changes cannot yet be more than remotely understood. Morse himself argues it is probable overall employment will not decline but will actually increase as production races forward.

This is hopeful speculation. But how will the imbalance be righted between advanced, automated nations and those still steeped in feudalism?

And there exists a problem even more fundamental. Thomas Malthus, and 18th-century economist, conceived the disquieting theory that mankind must eventually starve because population augments in geometrical ratio whereas subsistence augments only in arithmetical ratio. So far Malthus seems to have been wrong.

But what will happen when we find ourselves faced with another Malthusian puzzle? Supposing production totally outstrips practical absorptive capacities, that increasing idle men are unable to use up the leisure or products machines make for them? If the atom doesn't destroy us first, can automation eventually produce us into a state of stultification?

The Desert Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Do You Live in a Desert?—That's What Texas Historian Declares in Article in Harper's Magazine."

The editorial was published in the Park County News, of Livingston, Mont., and was written by my good friend, Fred Martin. It deals with an article published in Harper's magazine, and written by a man from Texas by the name of Webb, who wrote something about the desert in the West and the effect the desert has had on the development of our section of the country.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DO YOU LIVE IN A DESERT? THAT'S WHAT TEXAS HISTORIAN DECLARES IN ARTICLE IN HARPER'S MAGAZINE

Back in about 1927 Garett Garett in a Saturday Evening Post article described a portion of Montana as "A pain in the Northwest"; then in 1934 Tugwell said at Glasgow and Wolf Point that residents of northeastern Montana should either abandon their homes or resettle elsewhere.

But in 1941 when the Japs attacked Pearl Harbor and the Nation was in peril, Daniels County in northeastern Montana, Prairie County in southeast Montana and Judith Basin County in central Montana set the pace for the Nation in the sale of war bonds; yes, Montana, during World War II, had the highest per capita purchases, based on income, of any State in the Union.

Montana isn't perfect, and a loyal Montanan would be the first one to admit it, but it makes one's blood boil when some history professor, glutted with glittering generalities, pops off with an idea and wins acceptance of it to the point that sophisticated (should know better) editors of a New York magazine publish his generalization.

All of this steam developed after reading Walter Prescott Webb's The American West, Perpetual Mirage, in the May issue of Harper's magazine. This Webb, billed as "The West's leading historian," is distinguished professor of history at the University of Texas, author of The Great Frontier and The Story of the Texas Rangers and is writing a history of the American West for Harper & Bros.' New American Nation Series.

According to Webb the Intermountain States of Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico, plus portions of North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, California, Oregon, and a touch of Washington constitute "a desert, unqualified and absolute."

Now, Texas or Texans can brag to their heart's content, but one wonders if this pipe-dreaming historian who makes such reckless statements ever visited Yellowstone or Glacier Parks or, if he did, how he could so glibly state: "He (Uncle Sam) owns it (federally owned lands in the West) mainly because nobody wanted it. Here he established the national parks and forests."

We think Webb made one statement which he should apply to himself. Here it is: "Westerners have developed a talent for taking something small and blowing it up to giant size, as a photographer blows up a photograph."

The West is young. It hasn't had a chance to live down the vicious mistakes of mistreating Indians, ignoring the obvious and sensible conservation practices that go with scanty rainfall, failing to hold back the runoff which is its right and fighting the exploitation from outside, of which it has been the victim. But, the historians up to now, have sugarcoated the truth, just as this exaggerating Texas has distorted it.

We do not pretent to speak for the West—just the territory in which we live. The apex of that territory is the center of Yellowstone Park, from whence springs the rivers that flow north, south, east, and west. Webb, in our opinion, sells the people of the West and of this area short—he's just as wrong as was Tugwell 24 years ago and Garett Garett 30 years ago.

Postal Driving Course

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, there has been considerable controversy recently concerning various operations of the Post Office Department, but there is one project which, it seems, ought to receive unanimous approval. This program,

which has been inaugurated in the Baltimore post office, where William F. Laukaitis is the acting postmaster, is designed to cut down the safety hazards and the costly expenses which can result from the handling of postal vehicles by inexperienced drivers. To make sure that efficient drivers are at the wheels of the Post Office Department's trucks and cars, the Baltimore office is conducting a driver-training program. This project was described in the May 10, 1957, edition of the Baltimore Sun, and I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the Sun article be printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POSTAL DRIVING COURSE SLATED

Driver training for new employees of the Baltimore Post Office will begin today, acting Postmaster William F. Laukaitis announced yesterday.

The instruction will be given on the road around the lake in Clifton Park, runs to begin at 10 a. m. and continue until 4:30 o'clock.

The new drivers first will handle the vehicles on the open road, then will be drilled in parking, backing, and distance judging.

TESTS TO BE GIVEN

Later, with the trainer beside him, the new employee will try out his vehicle in traffic on the streets. Tests will be given before he is allowed to handle the car alone.

Mr. Laukaitis said that so far as he knows the Baltimore Post Office is the only one in the Nation to inaugurate such a training program.

He said he hoped the instruction would help cut the accident toll and added he believed it would benefit both the Post Office employees and other drivers and pedestrians.

Fred G. Taylor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the Oregonian of May 5, 1957, describing the distinguished career in journalism of Fred G. Taylor, who died in Portland 10 days ago. Mr. Taylor was the labor editor of the Oregonian. In that controversial and difficult position, he established a standard for fairness and equity which was rarely challenged by either side to labor-management problems. Mr. Taylor was the kind of man who has given to American journalism some of its highest aims and most favorable traditions. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial tribute to him appear in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRED G. TAYLOR

Fred G. Taylor, whose career of nearly half a century as a newspaperman has ended, spent a great part of his life as a chronicler of controversy. Yet he kept the full confidence of his news sources, on whatever side they might be, by following the simple formula of all good reporters: Get all the facts and present them fairly.

He was held in high esteem at city hall, where, for 20 years, he represented this newspaper—and where the unwary might fall into political traps—and by both labor and management, whose differences he covered for 13 years as labor editor. Everyone with whom he dealt soon learned to be frank with Fred, realizing that he would not swallow propaganda and would tell a true story honestly. Some of them had so much faith in him that they would talk to no one else if he were not in the office.

Mr. Taylor was a salty character whose gruff exterior and pungent comments covered a kind spirit of high good humor. Copy boys, at first slightly frightened of him, soon called him "Judge" and "Sarge" along with the rest of us. These terms of affection stemmed from his dignified appearance and his service in the Marine Corps in World War I.

Fred will be sadly missed by the staff of this newspaper which he served for 43 years. The greater tribute to him as a man and reporter, however, is that hundreds of others on all sides of the controversies he covered will mourn his death as sincerely as we do.

The Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, today we plan to debate on the floor of the Senate the appropriation bill for the Treasury and Post Office Departments. In that connection I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of May 9, 1957, entitled "Let House Kill Tax on First-Class Mail."

This editorial, from the leading Republican newspaper in southeastern Pennsylvania, reads briefly in part as follows:

It is time to repudiate the notion of Postmaster General Summerfield that the United States Post Office can be run like a "business." It cannot, any more than fire departments, police departments, and other essential government services can be made to "pay their way."

Mr. President, I think this editorial is a significant indication of attitude with respect to the Post Office Department and the Postmaster General from one of the leading newspapers, which has always supported President Eisenhower. I renew my request for unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET HOUSE KILL TAX ON FIRST-CLASS MAIL

If this Congress is sincere about cutting taxes—not boosting them—it will swiftly reject the proposal of the House Post Office Committee to levy a 1-cent tax on first-class mail.

It is time to repudiate the notion of Postmaster General Summerfield that the United States Post Office can be run like a business. It cannot, any more than fire departments, police departments, and other essential government services can be made to pay their way.

Let's face it. If the Post Office were to be run as a business, it would quickly cut out all its nonpaying services. That means it would have to abolish:

All third- and fourth-class post offices (they run at a loss), rural free delivery, star-route delivery, registry, post cards, money orders, post-office sales of United States savings bonds, and free registry for Government departments.

Because the Post Office has been primarily a service institution, as Benjamin Franklin believed it should be—and as other leading Postmasters General have felt over the years—it has been rendering other services which, on a business basis, lose money. For example:

It sells documentary stamps, migratory-bird tax stamps, provides services for the United States Civil Service, reports alien addresses, serves the Census Bureau, provides free mail for the blind, and even collects customs and parcel fees for the United States Customs Service.

Yet it is proposed, now, to tax first-class mail—which is the only class of mail which is showing a profit.

This, at a time when Congress is engaged in a search for ways to cut taxes, not increase them. Obviously, this tax will fall most heavily upon lower income brackets, and upon business users of first-class mail.

Even with projected rate increases for other classes of mail, it is not proposed to make them pay their way. Only the class of mail used by the vast majority of Americans is thus singled out.

We hope the entire House will reject the report of the Post Office Committee, and call its proposal by the right name: A tax increase.

Past Presidents' Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill to designate April 30 of each year to be known as Past Presidents' Day and this measure is pending before the House Judiciary Committee. In this connection and to indicate the local public interest in this bill, I am inserting here in the RECORD a proclamation issued by the mayor of the city of Miami which adequately expresses the purpose of my resolution. The proclamation reads as follows:

Whereas the Presidents of the United States of America have been men of high integrity and ability, bringing to the post of Chief Executive the quality of leadership that has made our Nation admired and respected throughout the world; and

Whereas the accomplishments of each of our Presidents have accelerated the progress and development of our Nation, contributed to the general public welfare and have been of historic world importance; and

Whereas it is fitting that one day of each year be designated to honor those who have so ably led our Nation in peace and in war;

Now, therefore, I, Randall N. Christmas, mayor of the city of Miami, Fla., do hereby proclaim April 30, 1957, the anniversary of

the inauguration of our first President, George Washington, as Past Presidents' Day in Miami.

In observance thereof I urge all citizens of Miami to consider the heavy responsibilities borne by our past Presidents and the sacrifices they have made in guiding the Nation.

In witness whereof I hereunto set my hand and cause the seal of the city of Miami to be affixed.

Done in the office of the mayor of the city of Miami, Fla., this the 22d day of April, 1957.

[SEAL] RANDALL N. CHRISTMAS,
Mayor.

Summer Jobs and the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the New York Mirror of today entitled "Looking for a Job?" which I think bears not only upon summer jobs but upon the budget, for it shows we shall have about 1.2 million new jobs this summer, with 68 million Americans gainfully employed.

I reemphasize, Mr. President, the fact that it is not alone what we spend which counts, but what we make. In order to make, we have to spend. All Americans know that. Our budget, even if allowed in full, is down to a point where it represents 16 percent of the gross national product, as compared to a budget representing 20 percent of the gross national product 2 short years ago. So, Mr. President, the doleful lamentations to the contrary, we are making real progress. It is high time we became realistic on the subject of the budget, and recognize that we get what we pay for.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOOKING FOR A JOB?

This is the season when hundreds of thousands of young American girls and boys are thinking about and planning for summer jobs.

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell has some good news for them, and some advice, to which we'll add some of our own.

His glad tidings are that there will be a vast increase in the number of available jobs.

There'll be 700,000 more farm jobs. Following are the increases he figures in other endeavors—construction industries, 287,000; highways and streets, 45,000; resorts, 50,000; canning and preserving, 50,000; gas stations, 24,000; tobacco stemming and redrying, 30,000.

All told, in all fields, all ages, about 68 million Americans will be gainfully employed. They will be more efficient, and create more real wealth, than would be possible in any communistic workers' paradise.

They will be spurred by the incentive of personal gain, than which there is no greater. Despite our taxation, they'll be working largely for themselves, not for the intangible glory of the state. They'll be increasing, or getting for the first time, a share in a true people's capitalism.

Youngsters, students, first-job holders should begin right now to look for the work they want.

Your local office of the State Employment Service can help. (Consult your telephone book under "New York, State of —.") These offices also can supply you with a copy of the Labor Department's valuable Job Guide for Young Workers.

Many young people will face the problem of whether to continue their schooling or not.

Secretary Mitchell's sound advice to them is—keep hitting the books—whether in high school, college, junior college, or technical school.

"Today's economy," says Mitchell, "places a bigger premium than ever before on education, training, and adequate preparation for employment. This will be even more true in the years ahead as technological changes continue and our industries become increasingly complex."

Our 2 cents' worth of added advice is: Pursue the hard subjects—mathematics in all its branches, physics, chemistry.

Don't be repelled just by the idea of the precise and exact sciences. Find out about them. Talk with your teachers. Get one of the so-called popular books about mathematics. Learn what fun the subject can be, what new worlds it holds the key to, how it will make all your thinking more orderly.

And remember, the next many years are going to belong to the trained scientist, engineer, technician, researcher. You can be any one or combination of these—and still not neglect the all-important English, historical, social, and linguistic studies that go to make up a whole, well-rounded personality.

Just a few more observations, and we'll call this end of lecture. Whatever job you take, temporary or steady, study its possibilities carefully. Study its future. Consider where you'll be 10 or 20 years from now. Then, when you take the job give it the old try—both for your employer's good and your own. By all means, get the most you can for your skills and services, but give your employer an even break, or better than an even break.

Don't hate the boss, even if he seems to deserve it. Try to understand his problems. You'll be a boss yourself some day. If you see how something can be done better, don't hesitate to speak up. Maybe all your ideas won't be practical, but it will be remembered that you had ideas. In any job, ideas are more valuable than materials or power.

Honesty, hard work, and ambition are often scoffed at, but they endure long after the scoffers have faded away.

These virtues are targets of scorn in decadent societies. Ours is not a decadent society. It is vigorous, dynamic, growing. It is at the beginning of a new material age of discovery through nuclear power, electronics, automation, synthesization.

It's your privilege to be a part of it; your responsibility—to make sure that man's spiritual guideposts remain fast during an unfolding era of physical wonders.

The Plight of Civil Service Retirees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "An Inequity of Time," which appeared in the St. Petersburg Times on May 6, 1957, pertaining to the plight in which our civil service retirees now find themselves due to the high cost of living.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN INEQUITY OF TIME

One of the most unfortunate facts about our Congress is that deserving legislation is frequently lost in the blizzard of bills.

At the last session, a most deserving group suffered from this fact—retired civil employees of the Federal Government, many of whom live in this area.

These public servants of the past have suffered because their pensions have been debilitated by the 51-cent dollar. Even more unjust, they paid 6 percent of their wages in sound dollars toward these pensions. These payments aided considerably in creating the civil service retirement fund, which now has assets of some $7 billion.

Many Congressmen seem to be aware—vaguely—that this country is doing an injustice to those who served it.

A measure to give them relief by increased annuity payments passed the Senate last session but never got to the floor of the House.

This year some 59 companion bills have been introduced in the House thus far, most providing for a general increase of 25 to 30 percent. (Such legislation would not affect those now in Government service, who have their own new pension plan.)

These elders of the Federal Government are not seeking undeserved gain; they simply want to live out their days with enough food and shelter and medical care to maintain human dignity, as do we all.

The House Post Office and Civil Service Committee should make sure this legislation gets to the voting stage. You, the average citizen, might help by writing the committee and demanding justice for this deserving, though lobbyless, group.

The Game of Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, evidently those who paid $100 a plate to attend the Democratic dinner this year got short changed. Frank R. Kent, in his syndicated column in the Washington Sunday Star for May 12, points out that all the big guns gathered for that dinner failed to make much of a political explosion.

In this column Democratic Barrage Seen As Flop, Mr. Kent reports that, although the flow of criticism went on like a flooded creek, there was little of a constructive nature brought to light by Harry Truman, Adlai Stevenson, or Dean Acheson. It was, I thought, highly significant that a number of prominent Democrats in Congress failed to attend the dinner.

Because this column cogently points out the failure of the Democratic Party to inspire leadership, or to map constructive programs on major Government policy, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, so that the people of

America can be reassured that the leadership of the Eisenhower administration continues strong and steady, and that Republican policies guide our country surely and safely.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GAME OF POLITICS

(By Frank R. Kent)

DEMOCRATIC BARRAGE SEEN AS FLOP

It is interesting to note that the recent effort of Democratic Chairman Paul Butler to discredit and deride President Eisenhower fell rather dismally flat. As the fair-minded and temperate Washington Star said of the whole performance, there were "no hits, no runs, and no errors." In brief, an exceedingly dull ball game, with the stars, such as ex-President Truman, ex-Secretary of State Acheson, and ex-candidate Adlai Stevenson, repetitious, unwitty, and unconstructive, with the exceedingly mediocre and labor-ridden Gov. "Soapy" Williams, of Michigan, making the best speech, which is not saying much.

Leaders LYNDON JOHNSON, of the Senate, and Speaker SAM RAYBURN, of the House, were conspicuously absent. There was considerable disappointment among the New Deal-Fair Deal journalistic and television commentators who had expected some pretty hot gunfire that would put administration spokesmen on the defensive and enable them to generate a really effective attack. The net result seems to be that this long-planned and concentrated Democratic attack has been singularly ineffective, and the administration reply will be more forceful than had the Democrats put on a better show. As it was, Mr. Acheson and Mr. Stevenson exhibited a personal bitterness hard to reconcile with their high character and Mr. Truman publicly admitted that Mrs. Truman had rebuked him for his petty references to the number of days Mr. Eisenhower had been absent from the White House.

Thus, it is true that the President's political enemies have utterly failed to make an effective assault upon either his foreign or domestic policies. On the contrary they have not presented a convincing case against him. They have exhibited both malice and bitterness but when called upon for constructive alternatives they have completely failed to respond. It is rare, indeed, in the political history of the country that the opposition party has been so destitute of alternatives on domestic policy or so devoid of a constructive suggestion in our foreign relations. There is, of course, criticism and denunciation but when asked, as Mr. Stevenson was on a Meet the Press television panel a few days ago, exactly what he would have done before or exactly what he would do now, his answer was vague to the point of incoherence.

And so were Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson, and the gifted "Soapy" Williams, aided by the noble Walter Reuther, and all the rest. Unanimously they agreed that Mr. Eisenhower's fiscal policies were bad, that his budget was a mess, that he had alienated all of our allies abroad and generally botched everything up pretty badly. But, what to do about them now or what they would have done about them to start with they are, without exception, so muddy and murky that no sense can be made out of what they say at all. It is now almost officially announced that the President will take his case to the people, not in 1 long televised address but in 4 short ones. That seems a good idea, because regardless of the flatness of the Democratic attack he needs very much to explain his budget to the people and his attitude toward it. There are other things, too, which need explanation, such as the Middle East policy and our attitude toward Red China. No doubt they can be explained, but it is not wise to let the explanations lag or the misrepresentations stay too long in the public mind.

In addition, there is unquestionably a desire among the people to hear more of and more directly from the President. They are not worried about his playing golf nor about his frequent absences from the White House. They know he is not neglecting his job, but they want to hear him say so. The press conferences are too short and not too well reported—except in a few newspapers. There are too many unimportant questions asked in which they are not interested. That is why this idea of 4 short television addresses instead of just 1 long one is a sound one. They will not—and should not—take the place of the press conferences, but they will supplement them, and they will quiet a lot of rumors and reports that emanate from Democratic publications and propagandists. One of these reports which seems well founded is that the President is soon to lose by resignation the two strongest members of his Cabinet—Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey and Secretary of Defense Wilson. Both of these have served the President and the country well. In particular, Secretary Wilson has sustained a lot of undeserved criticism and abuse. From this he has emerged with the general liking and respect even of his critics. The people generally are entitled to know why and when these two fine officials are retiring and whom, if anyone, the President has in view to succeed them.

Aid to Higher Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Cry in Darkness," which was published in the April 18, 1957, issue of the Beachcomber, the school paper of the Palm Beach Junior College at Lake Park, Fla.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CRY IN DARKNESS

Night has crept upon half of the earth and in particular, the part which in this country happens to be situated. A dying, weakened cry is heard coming from a weakened, dying mind. This mind and many millions like it are decaying because the horizon on which they were born faded into twilight and into dark without a chance for development in stark, bright sunlight where it should have blossomed. The next step in the downfall of thought is complete chaos and a state of oblivion.

Why did this unfortunate conflict begin? Because our Government failed to meet the demands, the questions, and the educational possibilities of its students.

The students, too many in number, were literally starved. Their morsels consists of tiny bits of learning, but the morsels are meager high-school facilities and overcrowded conditions often denied at the threshold of the college campus.

To curb this situation a United States Senator, CLIFFORD CASE, of New Jersey, is proposing a bill to Congress right now to aid higher education, the type of education we are engaging in today—at the junior college level.

Urging that the Federal Government set up a grants-in-aid to States policy the Senator proposes funds up to one-third of the cost of building and equipping campus structures to States that wish to participate in this education expansion of junior colleges.

As we at PBJC are aware, 2 big advantages are found in the 2-year curriculum. First, 2 years of college credit are given for the final 2 years, and a terminal education is acquired for general education and vocational activity. A junior college is a cultural and community institution.

It is frightening to realize that many of our talented young people will be denied equal opportunity to study in universities. They will miss out on the kind of life they must have. The President's Commission on Higher Education in 1947 reported that "at least 49 percent of our population has the mental ability to complete 14 years of schooling with a curriculum of general and vocational studies that should lead either to gainful employment or to further study at a more advanced level."

The rounding out of our educational system is inevitable. Of the system President Eisenhower has expressed it this way, "I firmly believe that more education than that obtained in high school must be brought to every community and locality in such a way that every young person regardless of his means or lack of means can go to school for a minimum of 2 additional years."

There are 26 States that have laws to provide for community junior colleges and 16 States are aided for this purpose. The Federal Government, if possible, will help the States meet future demands.

The darkness prevails. Light can come; it must come. It is the only way to solve this fierce, educational problem. The junior college is the prevalent means of piercing the deep. Until the leaders act, space is black. The voice cries now in a lessened tone; it is barely audible.

A Bill To Assist the Cotton Textile Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK M. COFFIN

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. COFFIN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill designed to assist the hard-pressed cotton textile industry in its present crisis. This bill, originally introduced by the senior Senator from Maine, seeks to make cotton available to the textile industry at prices which would allow it to regain the level of cotton exports maintained from 1947 to 1952. The provisions of the bill apply to cotton textiles for export only.

For some time, it has been apparent that the textile industry, not only in Maine and New England, but, indeed, along the entire Eastern seaboard, was in the throes of a downward economic spiral brought on not merely by the ordinary forces of competition, but by the fact that our mills were losing their market at home and abroad to exports from other countries who had the double advantage of unbelievably low labor

rates and a much more favorable price for raw cotton.

I have made strenuous efforts to urge sensible administrative solutions to both the immediate crisis and the long-range problem through the executive branch. On April 15, I wrote to the White House as follows:

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In recent weeks Maine has achieved the dubious distinction of becoming one of the foremost centers of industrial crisis in the country.

There are probably other areas where more people are unemployed and where more firms have closed shop. But there is none where the shutdowns will have a greater effect on the economy of the region. The closing of the Androscoggin division in Lewiston, the York division in Saco, the rumors concerning closing of the Hill division in Lewiston and the Edwards division in Augusta, all of the Bates Manufacturing Co., the temporary shutdown of the Sample Shipyard in Boothbay Harbor, and the unnoticed closing of many small grocery stores and other small businesses add up to the paradox of crisis in a time of record high spending, high cost of living, and general prosperity.

This is the first time in our history where the economy of an entire area is thrown into jeopardy by continued positive governmental stimulation of competing countries through making cotton available to those countries at lower prices than prices at which our manufacturers can buy. Hence there is a governmental responsibility to take remedial action. But the great question of specific remedy has not been solved. Until it is solved, Maine officials in Augusta and Washington, the Federal Government, and the Congress lack any clear idea as to what we should do.

Until a solution is agreed upon, there will be no chance of timely remedial action. Everyone will be marching off in different directions. It is my suggestion that manufacturers, labor leaders, congressional delegations from textile areas, and specialists from the Departments of State, Commerce, and Agriculture meet to discuss the following questions:

1. What is the best "crash program" that can be devised to prevent the human suffering resulting from unemployment now and in the immediate future?

(a) Can and should import quotas be imposed?

(b) Can defense and other governmental contracts be routed to textile firms which are in trouble?

(c) Can and should the Government stockpile standard items to keep the industry alive until a more permanent solution is achieved?

(d) Can and should the escape-clause provision be used to increase tariffs?

(e) Is there any possibility of using Public Law 480, relating to disposal of surplus commodities, to help?

(f) Is there any possibility of a short-range subsidy program for manufacturers?

2. What is the soundest long range program to remove unreasonable competitive disadvantages from the textile industry?

(a) Should the domestic manufacturers be be enabled to buy cotton at the world market price and thus be placed, as far as cost of materials is concerned, on the same basis as their foreign competitors? If so, what kind of program would be the most workable?

(b) Should such treatment be confined to cotton bought by domestic manufacturers for export purposes only?

(c) Should intensive efforts be made to develop markets for textile products in countries which have not hitherto been able or inclined to become large users?

(d) Should our foreign economic aid program place more stress on clothing and fabrics than it has heretofore?

To my knowledge there has not been a concerted effort on the part of the industry, labor, committees of Congress, and the Executive department to find answers to these problems. In such thinking lies the solution to both the immediate emergency and the long range problems. Such action should be taken immediately.

I realize the heavy burdens of your office. However, this is a problem of such immediate and grave concern to thousands of families that I hope you will provide the necessary leadership by initiating such a conference.

Respectfully,

FRANK M. COFFIN,
Member of Congress.

The reply I received from Jack Z. Anderson, Administrative Assistant to the President, indicated that although the administration was aware of the textile problem, it felt that the self-imposed limitation on imports by Japan, together with certain other routine efforts to assist local organizations and agencies, were all that could be accomplished at the present time. He concluded by saying:

In view of these efforts, there seems little to be gained at this time by a meeting such as you suggest. I can assure you, however, that your proposal will be kept in mind should such a meeting be desirable at a future date.

Subsequently, I was advised by Mr. Anderson to confer with the Secretary of Commerce regarding this critical problem. This I intend to do.

The sands of time to avoid great hardship posed by the immediate crisis are running out. I am, therefore, introducing this bill with the profound hope that it, together with all other similar proposals, will be studied by the appropriate committee with the utmost seriousness and that it will serve as a catalyst for focussing congressional attention on this problem which began as a sectional problem and can now truly be said to be a national problem. This is a field in which we need to do a great deal of creative thinking and reexamine some of our past approaches. It is my hope that Members of this House may pool their thoughts in this matter and enable us to pursue a course of action that will put an end to the increasing number of mills which are closing, as well as place the entire industry on a more stable and firm long range basis.

Crisis in the Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "One More Crisis in the Post Office," published in the Philadelphia Inquirer of May 11, 1957. The editorial concerns the so-called crisis in the Post Office Department, and I desire all Senators to have the benefit of the interesting information which it contains.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONE MORE CRISIS IN THE POST OFFICE

The United States Post Office seems to leap from crisis to crisis.

Postmaster General Summerfield now tells Congress he must have not only the $3,250,000,000 budgeted for his Department, but an additional $70 million to $90 million.

Summerfield says this extra money is needed because of unexpected increases in the volume of mail. Unfortunately, he also couples his request with more threats—to slash postal services on July 1, unless Congress quickly gives him his way.

Pass over that highhanded attitude. Let us, instead, ask why the Post Office Department used to get along under previous Postmasters General without crises, threats, and shutdowns? Why, particularly, is the Post Office worse off than ever financially?

President Eisenhower put his finger on part of the answer when he told Congress in January 1955: "The financial problems of the postal service result in a large measure from lack of a positive program leading toward a well-defined fiscal goal."

That is, much of the Post Office's money trouble stems from failure to recognize frankly that it is an organization dedicated to service for the public, and not primarily a moneymaking institution set up to pay its way. As the President also said:

"Certain services which are performed by the Post Office are general welfare services. The cost of such services should not be borne by the users of the mails."

Yet we now find the House Post Office Committee boosting rates on first-class mail—which shows a profit—by more than $300 million a year, while it boosts rates on third-class mail (much of it "junk mail") by only $128 million a year though third-class mail shows a deficit of nearly $200 million.

Many believe that if the cost of subsidizing rural routes, congressional mail, and other services were deducted—the Post Office would not run a deficit today.

Thus the big question is not whether Summerfield should have the extra money he asks. Maybe he should. The big question is whether Congress will finally settle the question whether the Post Office is primarily a service or a business—and decide which services should be paid for by mail users, and which out of general taxation.

Not until that decision is made will there be an end to the recurrent financial crisis in the Post Office.

Award to Youth Wants To Know Television Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, on April 16, 1957, the Peabody Advisory Board of the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism at the University of Georgia announced the conferral of its annual

award upon the outstanding television and radio programs.

I was pleased to learn, as I know the Senators who have had the occasion to appear on the program will be, that one of the awards was given to Youth Wants To Know. The program was founded and is produced by Theodore Granik.

Recognition is particularly due this program because it has long advocated the importance of the exposure of young people to the major issues confronting us today. The program has long and consistently presented eminent authorities in the fields of government, politics, finance, foreign affairs, the arts, the sciences. Although I leave the sciences to the last, I do so only for the purposes of emphasis, because Youth Wants To Know has done a great service in bringing to the forefront the critical shortage of scientific personnel in industry and research, and no program series has done more in actually showcasing scientific personalities in order to stimulate young people into entering scientific study and pursuits.

Indicating the ever-increasing stature of Youth Wants To Know, it is now produced in cooperation with the National Education Association.

I therefore ask unanimous consent that the Peabody citation be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the award was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it known that the George Foster Peabody television award is hereby presented to Youth Wants to Know (National Broadcasting Co.), as the outstanding youth and children's program for 1956 (a commendable television response to its obligations to the citizen of tomorrow—questions and questioners—reveal an intelligence and a development by today's young people which are indeed heartening—effectively combines news, education, and entertainment) upon recommendation of the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism, University of Georgia, and the Peabody advisory board, by authority of the regents of the university system of Georgia.

JOHN E. DREWRY,
Dean of School of Journalism.
RHEE CERF,
Chairman of Peabody Board.
APRIL 16, 1957.

Poland's Economic Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the follwing editorial from the Washington Post on the subject of Poland's economic problems:

It is fortunate that the State Department and the Polish delegation in Washington seem to be coming closer together on terms of the sale and loan to Poland. The Warsaw government needs to obtain enough surplus wheat from the United States—along with cotton, fats, and a limited amount of mining machinery—to stabilize the economy and end forced deliveries of grain. The United States has a great stake in helping make more freedom in Poland possible.

Canada's complaint that the arrangement for selling wheat to Poland on credit would upset her wheat export market is understandable but nevertheless parochial. It may well be a now-or-never situation with respect to redemption of American promises of help to liberated countries—which, in Poland's case, means buttressing the economy so as to lessen dependence upon the Soviet Union and so as to encourage political freedoms. Although Canada can help Poland, she could hardly furnish Poland all the wheat she needs on terms the Poles could meet. Perhaps it will be possibe to work out plans, in the process of keeping Canada informed of the negotiations, whereby Poland will buy more heavily from Canada in the future. Meanwhile, the urgency justifies extraordinary efforts by the administration.

It would be unfortunate to allow the recent visit to Peking by Polish Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz to divert attention from this urgency. Not too surprisingly, the Poles take a different view of the role of Communist China from that of many Americans. It is scarcely remarkable that the Poles, hemmed in on both sides by Soviet troops, believe that they must maintain a front of solidarity with Russia and China in foreign affairs.

But it is the domestic affairs that count. Here the Chinese reportedly have been of great help to the Gomulka regime in counseling Poland to follow its own course and confirm its independence in action. This squares with China's own independence of Russia. The Chinese profess adherence to the same god, Marx, and there are many common interests between Peking and Moscow. But the Chinese also consider themselves the equals of the Russians, and they do not hesitate to diverge when it suits their purposes.

Every bit of independence from the Kremlin helps to reduce the dimensions of the Communist monolith, even when, as in the case of China, it does not eliminate frictions with the United States. If Poland can be encouraged to find its own "road to socialism"—to strengthen political freedoms, end forced grain deliveries, and establish a free agricultural market—that road may well lead to new directions. The substance of what is done is the significant consideration; Americans ought to be sophisticated enough not to care what the system is called.

The Positive Side of Race Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, all of us are only too well aware that the Soviet propaganda mills make ready grist of each and every reported incident of race relations differences in our country. We are aware, too, that here at home, in race relations as well as in other matters, it is the negative which tends to make the news.

For these reasons, I think it is important to bring to the attention of my colleagues and, through the medium of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, to the attention of my fellow Americans, an interesting accomplishment on the positive side of race relations taking place in Concord Park, Bucks County, Pa.

Time alone will tell whether the events now taking place at Concord Park may not prove to be even more historic than the battle waged at another Concord in 1775.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a news article from the New York Times of Sunday, March 10, 1957, entitled "Suburb Breaks Racial Barrier." The article is a detailed account of a positive contribution made in the environs of Philadelphia to the establishment of better racial relations through the successful functioning on a commercial basis of a housing project which is completely integrated.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUBURB BREAKS RACIAL BARRIER—NEW PRIVATE HOUSING PROJECT AT PHILADELPHIA INTEGRATES NEGROES AND WHITES—NO INCIDENTS OCCUR—NOT A FAMILY HAS MOVED FROM COLONY THAT IDEALS AND TENACITY BUILT

(By Thomas W. Ennis)

Segregation in private housing is being successfully challenged in a suburb of Philadelphia.

That Negro and white families can be good neighbors is being proved in an interracial colony of ranch homes nearing completion at Trevose in Bucks County.

The project, Concord Park, is attracting nationwide attention as the first privately built residential development in which open occupancy has become a reality.

Its sponsors say that Concord Park is disproving certain shibboleths regarding racially mixed housing. Opponents of interracial housing usually make these points:

Negroes and whites do not mix.

Negroes and other minorities will spoil a neighborhood and lower the social status of white families.

Realty values decline whenever Negroes move into a white neighborhood.

Concord Park has broken the pattern of segregation in new private housing in the Philadelphia area. There, as in other metropolitan centers, the postwar housing boom has been mostly all white.

ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY THOUSAND HOMES BUILT

Out of about 140,000 new homes built in the area between 1946 and 1953 only 1,044, or less than 1 percent of the total, were sold to Negroes, who make up 20 percent of Philadelphia's population of almost 2,500,000.

And none of the thousands of homes recently built in Levittown and in Fairless Hills in Bucks County was sold to a Negro.

Concord Park did not spring up overnight. It is the result of years of preparation carried on in spite of difficulties.

It is largely the creation of one man, Morris Milgram. He joined his father-in-law's Philadelphia building concern in 1947, when he was 30 years old, on the condition that when he learned enough about building he would be permitted to build housing without racial restrictions.

Philadelphia was ready for such housing. An article on Concord Park in a recent issue of the Interracial Review, published by the Catholic Interracial Council, noted that the traditions of liberty and opportunity that were a part of Philadelphia were mocked by racial barriers.

In 1952 when Mr. Milgram announced his plans for an interracial community he was confronted with cynicism, disbelief and antagonism. Contractors, bankers, real estate men and even those who had been urging open-occupancy housing predicted disaster. Financial loss, professional ruin

and public stigma were forcefully mentioned, and violence and community strife were foreseen.

FIFTY ACRES CHOSEN

But Mr. Milgram, as tenacious as he is idealistic, went ahead. He was joined in the summer of 1953 by George E. Otto, a home builder in Philadelphia and a leader in the Society of Friends. In 9 months they raised $150,000 working capital from 65 stockholders, including a group of Quakers.

Fifty acres of farmland just beyond the northeast city limits in Trevose were acquired. The site was carefully chosen to minimize community resistance.

After a long search for mortgage financing—some 40 lending institutions turned the builder down—financing for the first section of about 30 homes was obtained from the Bowery Savings Bank of New York. Additional funds were later provided by the People's National Bank & Trust Co., of Langhorne, Pa.

When the development opened in August 1954, people flocked to see the model house—a 3-bedroom ranch home priced at $11,990. Within 6 weeks, Mr. Milgram says, he could have sold 5 homes to Negroes for every 1 sold to a white. He faced the prospect of turning the development into an all-Negro community.

When it was made clear to white buyers that they could not count on a white-only community, many lost interest. The Milgram organization worked hard to find white buyers. They mailed letters to groups that were associated with humanitarian causes; the project was advertised steadily; friends of Concord Park, not necessarily buyers, were asked to sell the idea, and expert salesmen experienced in interracial housing were hired to boost sales to white families.

These efforts brought enough white purchasers to integrate the first 30 of the 139 homes on a 50–50 basis, but it still did not produce a steady flow of white home seekers.

FAMILIES GET ALONG

To secure enough white buyers Mr. Milgram reluctantly set a quota of 55 percent white families to 45 percent Negroes. It was later found that white buyers would not buy without assurance that Negroes would be in a minority. Mr. Milgram does not like the occupancy quota—which is a form of discrimination—but he says that the alternative would have been a nearly all-Negro community. This has been the fate of other open-occupancy projects.

All except 5 of the 139 homes in Concord Park have been sold. The remaining houses are to be sold to white families under the quota system. The 3-bedroom basic house now is priced at $12,690. A 4-bedroom house with an extra lavatory and a playroom is selling at $14,350.

No family has moved out of Concord Park. There has been no vandalism and no incidents. The children play together. The parents join in community enterprises, such as building a playground and setting up a baby-sitting pool, and do not differ in the degree of friendliness from families in other residential communities.

The success of Concord Park may result in racially integrated housing sooner than many experts have predicted, according to a study of the community made by the Institute for Urban Studies of the University of Pennsylvania.

The study found that white buyers in Concord Park vary in occupation from truckdrivers to college instructors. They were classified in these categories: 37.5 percent professional, 25 percent skilled workers, and 21 percent semiskilled workers. The average family income is $5,998. About one-third of the white wives work.

The Negro families have an average yearly income of $6,361, and 50 percent of the wives are employed. Of the Negro men, 26 percent are semiskilled workers, 18.5 percent are in the professions, another 18.5 percent are clerical workers.

The report noted that among white buyers "there is no excess at all of idealists or crusaders." About 70 percent belong only to church groups, unions, or professional societies.

The Milgram organization is building a development of contemporary homes called Greenbelt Knoll, within the limits of Philadelphia, at Holme Avenue, about a mile east of Route 1. The houses are priced at $18,850 to $23,950. About two-thirds of the 19 are being sold to white families. Dr. Nathaniel Duff, a well-known Negro physician in Philadelphia, is one of the Negro buyers.

Mr. Otto is president of Concord Park Homes, Inc., the building organization, and Mr. Milgram is vice president. Dr. Duff is a director, as is the Reverend William A. Gray, of Bright Hope Baptist Church in Philadelphia.

Wheat for Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Chalmers M. Roberts of the Washington Post on the subject of American wheat for Poland:

POLICY SWITCH: POLISH WHEAT DEAL HERE MAY END FORCED DELIVERIES FROM PEASANTS

(By Chalmers M. Roberts)

After more than 7 weeks of negotiations here between State Department and Polish authorities, American officials now believe they can supply enough wheat to enable the Gomulka regime to scrap the Communist practice of forced grain deliveries from the peasants.

The latest plan is to offer the Poles $35 million worth of surplus wheat, about half of what the Poles say they need for a stockpile that would make the farm policy switch possible this summer.

The Poles would like to get from the United States 1 million metric tons of wheat, which they figure would cost about $70 million at world prices. However, American officials believe deliveries already promised Poland by the Soviet Union and agreed purchases from Canada will adequately supply the difference.

Under the latest American plan, the Poles would get, in addition to the wheat, about $35 million in cotton to keep their textile plants going and $10 million in fats and oils for human consumption. A $15-million Export-Import Bank loan, financed by money from President Eisenhower's emergency fund, would cover shipping costs and purchase of some coal-mining machinery.

The total of this program comes to about $95 million, figured at world prices, or close to $120 million at domestic prices, which are higher for farm products because of the farm price support program. The $95-million figure is about $20 million more than the United States recently offered the Poles.

Another idea under discussion has been a triangular deal that would send American wheat to West Germany for resale to the Poles. The Poles, however, say they want to avoid a deal with the Germans, with whom they have no diplomatic relations, although they say they might accept a deal via the French. American officials now say the triangular proposal is both "difficult and troublesome."

The Poles say they want an American agreement on wheat by May so the end of forced deliveries can be assured by the July-August harvest period. If the switch works out, the Polish farmers will be permitted to sell all their grains on the free market for the first time since communism came to Poland.

Such a change in Polish agriculture would strengthen farm support for the National Communist regime of Wladislaw Gomulka, the Poles feel.

American officials, however, believe that while it would stablize the Gomulka regime, it also would be likely to hasten other fundamental changes in the Polish brand of communism. They do not think the Soviet Union would intervene in Poland to prevent such a switch as long as Gomulka keeps Poland within the Warsaw military pact and professes loyalty to world communism.

One difficult aspect of the wheat deal is the possible effect it might have on Polish purchases from Canada. The Canadians already aroused over what they consider the dumping of American surplus wheat in their traditional markets have been selling wheat to Poland for 3 years on credit, but repayable in hard currency.

The Canadians have been kept informed of the Polish-American negotiations, but so far there has been no proposal for a joint Canadian-American project to supply the wheat.

Latest estimates are that the Polish-American talks may take another couple of weeks.

Supreme Court Writes Another New Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the St. Petersburg Independent, Wednesday, May 8, and the Tampa Tribune on May 7, an interesting and enlightening editorial on the Stephen Girard case which points out graphically the broad implications of this ruling if it is carried to its illogical extreme.

The editorials follow:

[From the St. Petersburg Independent of May 8, 1957]

COURT WRITES A NEW LAW

The latest edict of the United States Supreme Court which broke the will of Stephen Girard to further the cause of racial integration will reverberate in areas not limited to the South.

Privately endowed colleges as well as religious groups which operate educational institutions may well be required to revise their administrative organizations to avoid the implications of the Court's latest decision.

The Florida Legislature has already taken note of the Court's ruling and has killed two bills which were designed to lift the standards of private colleges and secondary schools in Florida. The State board of control had asked that such institutions be chartered and regulated by the State to protect the public against fraud. However, the lawmakers quickly decided that this arrangement might open private schools to racial integration. As a result the bills have been laid to rest.

The Court's decision involves Stephen Girard who left his estate to provide a school

for poor male white orphans. He designated the city of Philadelphia as the trustees of the college fund. Girard College was started with the $7 million fund which has now grown to $98 million. Not one dime of tax money has ever been used for the institution during the 125 years of its existence.

Three years ago two Negro students applied for admittance to the college. The case went up through the courts which upheld Girard's right to dispose of his money as he saw fit. That is, until the issue reached the United States Supreme Court whose inclinations to rewrite the laws of the land according to the sociological and psychological bent of its members is well known.

Although neither Pennsylvania nor the city of Philadelphia contributes tax funds to the college, the High Court ruled since the board of directors of the institution are an agency of the State of Pennsylvania the barrier against Negro students was unconstitutional under the 14th amendment.

Obviously, the ruling will affect any private college administered by a board of trustees having anything to do with the State. And it will affect those private schools which restrict admission on other grounds such as religious faith, if these, too, have State-appointed trustees.

It follows then that any private educational institution working on any public grant or public moneys will come under the racial dictates of the United States Supreme Court.

In its zeal to integrate everything in sight, the Court has all but destroyed basic property rights and a man's right to dispose of his own money as he sees fit. It is a question now of just how far the members of the Court are ready to go in recreating American society, its institutions, its economy, and its government in its own image.

Apparently there is no end.

[From the Tampa Morning Tribune of May 7, 1957]

STAY IN THE CLOISTER

In the widening wake of the United States Supreme Court's decision in the Girard College case, it becomes clearer daily that repercussions from the ruling will echo through the South for years to come and may, indeed, reverse a trend among private schools of higher learning.

Some private colleges, in their understandable zeal for improvement, have been going to the statehouse for help; some of them have been getting it. The lure of State dollars has become increasingly powerful, and in time our private schools have seemed destined to become hybrids, operating partly from their own funds and partly in the public domain.

The Girard decision, however, should remind private colleges indirectly but surely that the search for public subsidy threatens their privacy, their individuality, which after all is their best stock in trade in a time of assembly-line education.

The meaning of the Girard case is plain to see (unless the Court should reverse itself on rehearing, which seems unlikely). It was underscored by the unanimous decision. The Court held that a State agency (Pennsylvania, in this instance) cannot racially restrict entrance to a school under its regulation, even though such restrictions were demanded in the will of the school's founder and sole benefactor.

This ruling, which, in effect, cracked the will of Stephen Girard more than a century after it was written, was made even though the State of Pennsylvania hadn't put a dime into Girard College.

The Court simply held that a State cannot racially segregate in any schools under its control, public or private. If this was the opinion where State funds weren't at issue, how much more surely may we anticipate the Court's view on schools which have a line into the public purse.

The significance reaches beyond the racial question in education. If a private school wants to stay clear of the threat of government intervention, it must shy clear of State agencies. To keep its virginity, it must stay off the public streets. Private colleges had best stay in the cloister.

The Florida Legislature is already reacting predictably to the Girard decision.

Two bills were before a house committee to charter and regulate nearly all private secondary schools and colleges. The purpose, outlined by the State board of control, was to prevent fraud and raise standards.

Both were killed by the committee after Representative Emory Cross, of Alachua, said he didn't want the Court "encroaching on both the public and private schools."

Consideration was postponed on a second measure to regulate private schools from grades 1 to 12.

The legislative casualty list is not yet complete as we see it. In the senate appropriations committee is a bill by Miami's Senator Joe Eaton to provide a State subsidy of $400 per Florida student for accredited, degree-granting private institutions in the State.

Such a subsidy we cannot support, especially in the light of the Girard decision. Florida has already made some grants to private education, but the time has come to draw the line. In the next generation it may be particularly important to offer a choice between public universities, subject to the intervention and perhaps the caprice of the Federal Government, and private schools, whose policies will we trust and pray remain nobody's business but their own.

We are by no means arguing the merits of public versus private education, one way or the other. We are simply contending that each system should go its own way and maintain its particular traditions and advantages. There is a need for both, and the cause of education would suffer if public and private education became so intermixed as to become unrecognizable.

First Negro Presidential Assistant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, E. Frederic Morrow, the first Negro to serve as a member of the executive staff of a President of the United States, is the subject of an illustrated article published in Ebony magazine for May 1957. We are proud of the fine record which he has made in public life and particularly of the way in which he assisted Vice President NIXON on his recent visit to Africa. Mr. Morrow was born and raised in Hackensack, N. J., and attended Hackensack schools and Bowdoin College. He is an alumnus of the Rutgers University School of Law.

Mr. Morrow joined the staff of Hon. Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce, serving in a liaison capacity with other agencies. He became a member of President Eisenhower's staff in July 1955. In 1952 he met the President, and served as a special consultant on his campaign train.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article concerning this distinguished American.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHITE HOUSE ADMINISTRATOR—E. FREDERIC MORROW IS FIRST NEGRO TO SERVE ON EXECUTIVE STAFF OF AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT

The first Negro to serve on the executive staff of a President of the United States, E. Frederic Morrow is one of the ablest members of the hand-picked Eisenhower team. As administrative officer of the Special Projects Group, the 48-year-old lawyer has earned a series of glowing commendations from President Eisenhower for his work as a White House aide and an effective spokesman for the administration.

Morrow's main job on the Presidential staff is to take care of the administrative and budgetary problems of the Special Projects Group, which consists of the Council of Economic Foreign Policy and the officers of two special assistants to the President and the special Presidential consultant on public-works planning.

The brilliant bachelor also allocates office space in the huge Executive Office Building, which is located across the street from the White House. He is responsible for the 46,000 square feet of office space in the building, which houses 1,200 persons on 5 floors.

Occasionally, Morrow finds it necessary to correct a widespread belief that he is the Presidential adviser on racial relations. The Rutgers-trained lawyer, emphatically opposed to Negro experts or race specialists in government, says: "I made it clear when I accepted this job that I would not be a special adviser on racial problems."

President Eisenhower has backed him up. In a personal letter, the President wrote: "I am again deeply touched by your sincerity and high sense of dedication to the service of all the people of our country. We are proud of you—and I assure you that never for one minute did any one of us consider you a guinea pig. From the beginning you have merited and won our respect and admiration."

PAGED BY WHITE HOUSE, AID CAUSES UPROAR IN GOLF CLUB

Suave, easy-going and knowledgeable, E. Frederic Morrow operates from a large, high-ceilinged office in the Executive Office Building. He likes his job and finds it immensely exciting. "I have a lot of fun," he says.

When the President sets up a new commission, Morrow swings into action immediately to find office space for the personnel. If no space is available in his building, he improvises. Confronted with the problem of housing the Hungarian Relief Committee, Morrow leased two floors in a brand-new office building. The committee staff, under Morrow's supervision, occupied the floors over a weekend.

Occasionally, Morrow has a hard time convincing people that he is really a member of the President's executive staff. While playing golf on a course near Chicago last October, he received a long-distance call from Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams and was paged. When he answered the page, officials of the club thought he was joking or crazy. At first, they refused to allow him to accept the call. Morrow, who assumed the call was important, shouted: "Let me take the call and you can call the FBI later if you think I'm a phony." Adams ordered him to take the next plane to Washington. "What's up?" Morrow asked. "The President wants to take you to the World Series," Adams answered.

Mrs. Fred A. Kueppers, of St. Paul, Minn., National Catholic Mother of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Mom of Year Grandma Again," published in the St. Paul Dispatch of May 10, 1957, and also an article entitled "Top Catholic Mother is St. Paulite," published in the Minneapolis Star of May 10, 1957.

The articles relate to the naming of Mrs. Fred A. Kueppers, of St. Paul, Minn., as the National Catholic Mother of the Year. We are all proud that Mrs. Kueppers was selected as the outstanding Catholic Mother for 1957.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Paul Dispatch of May 10, 1957]

SEVENTH TIME—MOM OF YEAR GRANDMA AGAIN

St. Paul's national Catholic mother of the year, Mrs. Fred A. Kueppers of 833 Portland, became a grandmother for the seventh time early today—only hours after announcement of her national honor.

The energetic, gray-haired little mother of 10 children bustled between housekeeping chores and telephone calls from well-wishers in her large 10-room house today.

"In a word, I'm almost bushed," Mrs. Kueppers said.

She said she was awakened shortly after 4 a. m. today by a telephone call from St. Joseph's Hospital where her son, Charles II, and his wife, the former Patricia Door of Minneapolis, had their first child.

"The baby weighs 5 pounds, 8 ounces and both she and her mother are doing fine," Mrs. Kueppers reported. "They are naming the baby Margaret Ann—after the daughter we lost in a plane crash in 1947."

Mrs. Kuepper's selection as Catholic mother of the year was announced officially late Thursday.

However, she confided that she was told of her selection April 26 by Archbishop William O. Brady of the St. Paul diocese.

"I had let the children know," the 53-year-old Mrs. Kueppers said, "and they've been fairly bursting trying to keep the secret this long—but they all did."

She and her attorney husband attended church at St. Luke's, as they do daily, shortly before 7 a. m.

"Fred took off for the office fast today," Mrs. Kueppers laughed. "I'm trying to do my usual work."

[From the Minneapolis Star of May 10, 1957]

TOP CATHOLIC MOTHER IS ST. PAULITE

A St. Paul woman today was named national Catholic mother of the year.

Mrs. Fred A. Kueppers, mother of eight living children, was selected by a committee for National Catholic Family Life Conference, Washington.

The announcement stated "Mrs. Kueppers won the unanimous vote of the committee by an amazing combination of talent.

"Cheerful and loyal, generous and sympathetic, courageous and selfless, quiet and humble, self-disciplined and detached, these virtues and more, but the basis for the decision to select Mrs. Kueppers for this national honor was her ability to devote so much time to her church and community and still be an extraordinary success as a Christian mother and wife."

Mrs. Kueppers is the wife of a St. Paul attorney who is a past president of Ramsey County Bar Association.

The Kueppers children are: Mrs. Richard Wheeler, Bloomington; Frank, St. Paul, accountant; Fred A., Jr., law student; Sister Laurence (Susan), Order of St. Joseph of Carondolet; Barbara, student at College of St. Catherine; Theodore and Robert, students at Cretin High School; William, pupil at St. Luke's grade school. Two children died.

Mrs. Kueppers helped inaugurate May Day Family Rosary procession, annual event in St. Paul since 1949. She was executive secretary of Cana Retreat movement for 11 years. With her husband, Mrs. Kueppers was co-chairman of National Catholic Family Life convention in St. Paul in 1955.

Mrs. Kueppers has just completed a 3-year term as president of St. Paul Deanery's Council of Catholic Women.

Active over the years in 13 other Catholic groups, Mrs. Kueppers also has been a member of the board of the family nursing service of Community Chest Health Council, active in Red Cross and Heart Fund drives and in St. Paul Civic Opera Guild.

Currently, she is first vice president and family life chairman of Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women.

A native of St. Paul, she is a daughter of the late Theodore Michel, president and chairman of the board of Union Brass & Metal Manufacturing Co. She attended St. Joseph's Academy and College of St. Catherine.

The Spry One

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Chester, S. C., Reporter of May 1, 1957:

THE SPRY ONE

When Dick Richards left Washington in mid-March to carry the Eisenhower doctrine to the Middle East as the President's Special Ambassador, many people felt he had been given an impossible assignment. Tension and ill-feeling were running so high that no plan of action for his mission could be worked out in advance. His job was to play by ear, improvising the tune as he went along.

In an important sense, this was reversion to old-fashioned diplomacy in which a nation's future rode on the personal integrity and ability of an Ambassador. In an age of rapid communication, quick consultation and air transportation, representatives of nations are rarely isolated from their governments long enough to make it necessary for them to shoulder the burden of decision.

But the Middle East mission was recognized from the beginning as one in which decisions had to be made on the spot, quietly and quickly, by a man who could be trusted to say and do the right thing. When Dick Richards was picked for this job, President Eisenhower paid unusual tribute to his unique qualifications.

In a message urging him to accept the assignment, the President said: "Personally, I do not believe there is any other person in the United States as well qualified as yourself to carry out the particularly sensitive and vitally important missions he (Secretary Dulles) has in mind."

The general feeling in Washington now is that Dick Richards has pulled the fat out of the fire for the United States and its allies and that the explosive Middle East is finding strong reassurance in the Eisenhower doctrine. The real story of how this has been done may be a long time in the telling. Time magazine reports this week that President Eisenhower and the State Department have been both surprised and pleased with Dick Richards' success.

The article notes that Ambassador Richards has lost 10 pounds in his 6 weeks of negotiation and appeared tired. But his energy and enthusiasm seem not to have flagged. In Addis Ababa the Ethiopians call him "the spry one," a characterization which his friends here can appreciate and his former political opponents respect.

The Changing Concept of Soviet Imperialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, on May 6, 1957, the Czechoslovak National Council held a conference in the city of Washington. Its sessions were presided over by my good and valued friend, Col. Joseph Triner, of Chicago, who is president of the organization.

In response to an invitation from him, I addressed the luncheon meeting of the conference.

I ask unanimous consent that the remarks I made on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHANGING CONCEPT OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM

(Address by Senator ROMAN L. HRUSKA, of Nebraska)

In speaking about Soviet imperialism one should always be mindful of the old French proverb, roughly translated, which means: "The more it changes, the more it remains the same." Soviet imperialism for the last few years has been trying to assume the mask of a sheep, but you don't have to look far to see its fangs, its talons, and its pointed tongue.

Let me review with you some of the things that have taken place in the last 10 years. By means of imperialism, the Soviet Empire has expanded from what it was at the end of World War II, a relatively small country, smaller than the Russia of the Czars; with 160 million people, to what it is today—a formidable dominion reaching from the Adriatic Sea, across the heartland of Europe to the China Sea and imprisoning therein 900 million human beings. The growth of this imperialistic colossus has been gradual, unremitting, and incessant. It continued despite its profession for peaceful coexistence during 1955 and 1956. Let me read to you from the significant address of Nikita Khrushchev, addressing the 20th congress

of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on February 17, 1956:

"There is no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the sharp aggravation of class struggle connected with this are inevitable. But the forms of social revolution vary. It is not true that we regard violence and civil war as the only way to remake society."

And then again he said: "Leninism teaches us that the ruling classes will not surrender their power voluntarily. And the greater or lesser degree of intensity which the struggle may assume, the use or the nonuse of violence in the transition to socialism, depends on the resistance of the exploiters, on whether the exploiting class itself resorts to violence, rather than on the proletariat."

It is obvious that when Khrushchev says this he means that if we submit weakly we won't be destroyed but that if we resist Sovietization, violence awaits us. Let me quote further from Mr. Krushchev:

"The historical situation has undergone radical changes which make possible a new approach to the question. The forces of socialism and democracy (his term for the Soviet Union) have grown immeasurably throughout the world, and capitalism has become much weaker. The mighty camp of socialism, with its population of over 900 million, is growing and gaining in strength."

Does this sound like the language of a man who is foregoing further conquests? In fact, he took the mask off completely later on when he said that communism will conquer the world and it will complete its conquest before the 20th century has run its course.

This is sort of a Mein Kampf. All the future plans of the Soviet Union are constantly laid before us. They are all there if we will but look at them. But the distressing thing is that either we don't look at them or if we do we see something that just isn't there. I am a member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. During the 6 years of its existence it has uncovered an abundance of evidence that indicates that there are people in the United States—people who look and act in every way like Americans but who are at heart dedicated Soviet agents. It is their job to keep us from recognizing the hard, cold facts about the Soviet Union and its imperialism about which we talk here.

There are many people who would have us believe that peaceful coexistence is possible; that we should accept the formal and diplomatic utterances of Soviet representatives at their face value. There are people who will tell us that Red China should be admitted to the United Nations and gain recognition by the United States Government because if we do that it will then behave and that it will be possible for us to effect what they call a general overall Far East settlement. Don't they realize that if we recognize Red China and allow it into the United Nations that whatever resistance there is to Soviet imperialism on the mainland of China, on the island of Formosa, on the other offshore islands and throughout Southeast Asia will crumble and Red China will be able to move on to new and further conquests? Here in the United States, the Chinese Delegation to the United Nations the Chinese Embassy and its various consulates throughout the country will be staffed not by friendly Chinese, as they are now, but by hundreds of Chinese Communists disseminating their propaganda and doing everything possible to undermine the existence of our wonderful country. And yet there are people who would have us overlook these things, who would blatantly tell us that if we recognize Red China, then in some kind of a mysterious way we can then be able to achieve what they call an overall peace in Asia. These are pious wishes without foundation and in fact voiced by people who do not know the significance of what they are saying. At the same time Mr. Khrushchev, in addressing the Communist delegation assembled in Moscow, proclaims that the Communist goal is the dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of a worldwide Communist society. He goes on to say that this will be effectuated by means which can be adopted to the degree of assistance encountered in the free world and that these means include violence when that is necessary.

Let us be mindful of this when we engage in our discussions about the changing concept of Soviet imperialism. The changes are changes in tactics alone. The goal remains the same, and never let us fool ourselves on this elemental fact.

Philippines Have Unique Political Value to the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, recently there has come to my attention an article written by the veteran commentator on international affairs, Mr. Edgar Ansel Mowrer, right after the tragic death of President Magsaysay, of the Philippines, which points up better than I have seen elsewhere the completely unique position the Filipino people hold in Asia because of the fact that they belong to both the West and the East. Also the extraordinary opportunity which the United States and the Philippines, working together, have to convince the peoples of Asia not that they should join the West, but that it would be to their great advantage to adopt and steadfastly adhere to the fundamental principles on which the best things in Western civilization were founded and which are universal and have proved so beneficial in the Philippines.

The article underlines the view of a study mission from the Committee on Foreign Affairs which visited the Philippines and other Asian countries 18 months ago. It reported as follows:

The Philippines is the single best evidence of United States accomplishments in helping with the progressive evolution of free and democratic governments in the Far East.

The study mission believes that both Americans and Filipinos could tell more dramatically and effectively in Asia the story of the progressive development of their relations—from overlordship to trusteeship, to full independence, to voluntary partnership. It is the story not of extravagant promises but of solid performance—precisely the kind of evolution that millions of other Asians need and want for themselves in their relations with the West.

It is devoutly to be hoped that the successor to President Magsaysay to be chosen this fall will have the same deep understanding of this crucial role the Philippines have to play, and will have the qualities of strength and attractive leadership to enable him to play the role well.

The article by Mr. Mowrer follows:

PHILIPPINES HAVE UNIQUE POLITICAL VALUE TO UNITED STATES

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

The death of the Filipino President, the magnificent Ramon Magsaysay, has caused not only sorrow in Washington, but a certain dismay. It is not that the Philippine Republic has not other capable men. Among strong candidates, Americans rate the new President Garcia first.

But there are Jose Laurel, puppet President under the Japanese; the perennial Claro M. Recto, whose basic anti-Americanism wits here ascribe to the fact of his having two American sons-in-law; Manila's Mayor Arsenio Lacson; Senators Gil Puyat and Emanuel Pelaes; among liberals, Jose Yulo, Eugenio Perez, and Cornelio Villareal are given chances.

Certain is one thing: Washington recognizes fully that the choice of a new President this fall is one for Filipinos alone.

Nonetheless, the coming presidential election among our close allies is recognized as of great importance. For the Philippine Republic occupies a special place not only in American policy but in the world.

Filipinos immediately point to the American bases upon Philippine territory as making the islands almost indispensable to United States defense against communism. Here they seem—in Washington eyes—to be both right and wrong.

Certainly, those bases are an essential part of the defense not only of the United States but of the entire free world including the Philippines, at the present time. That is why President Eisenhower had been looking forward to settling the base disputes at the time of President Magsaysay's visit to Washington this coming June.

With nothing but the question of American courts left to decide, Mr. Eisenhower had no doubt that he and the distinguished visitor would reach speedy agreement.

VALUE DIMINISHING

But, strange as it may sound to Philippine ears, the military bases are no longer the central fact in American-Philippine relations. Modern technique seems to be making closeup military, air, and naval bases anywhere, less and less important. This holds for bases in Europe and Africa just as much as for those in Asia.

American planners are already pointing to the extreme vulnerability of such advanced positions and suggesting that at some future time they may be too exposed to possible attack to be desirable.

Certainly, if and when the intercontinental guided missile of enormous range becomes common, the military value of the Philippine Islands to the United States will shrink enormously, even though the United States Armed Forces may still wish to maintain small advanced posts there.

Today, the chief importance of the Philippines is no longer military but political. Here is the explanation:

The nations, according to this view, are gradually crystallizing not into Wendell Willkie's one world, but into three.

On one side are the imperialist Communists, shaken by the Hungarian revolt, surely, but still monolithic in policy.

On the other side is the Western World, an expression that is more spiritual than geographic since it includes peoples everywhere that subscribe to a specific western outlook on life.

Between the two, and existing independently thanks only to their rivalry, is a third, new, emergent Asian-African world of recently liberated peoples inclined to neutralism, eager to achieve western power and wealth, but chary of, sometimes hostile to,

the western way of life. This world emerged clearly during the famous Bandung Conference.

CATALYST NATION

Now the Eisenhower administration has been struggling to prevent this triple crystallization from becoming too definite, since it hopes for a single world order within the United Nations which can attenuate national rivalries and make peace secure. Therefore, it gives particular value to what might be called catalyst peoples.

Of these the Filipinos, Asian in origin, western by history and education, are outstanding. Washington appreciates enormously the role of the Filipinos in preventing the Bandung Conference from becoming completely antiwestern and neutralist. It considers that President Magsaysay did a service not only to his own country and to the United States but to the entire world in keeping one foot in the western, the other in the Asian-African world.

Therefore American interest in the coming Filipino election centers principally on one issue: Will the new Filipino president continue to be the bridge, like Magsaysay, or will he slump back into some neutralist Asia for the Asians attitude, the result of which will be an increase of international tensions and of the danger of major war?

It Couldn't Be Worse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Chester (S. C.) News of May 2, 1957:

IT COULDN'T BE WORSE

There are all manner of programs for major revision of the Federal tax system—a system which almost literally grew like Topsy, and which almost everyone finds unfair or unsatisfactory in some particular or other. One of the most thoroughly reasoned and documented of these programs was made public about 2 years ago by the National Association of Manufacturers. The arguments and evidence are gathered in a booklet entitled "Facing the Issue of Income Tax Discrimination," of which an expanded and revised edition was published last December.

The primary goal of the program is to reduce the tax rates which impede economic growth and thus act as a barrier to the creation of new opportunities and new jobs. Over a 5-year period, if this program was followed, both individual and corporate income tax rates would be gradually reduced, until a top rate of 35 percent was achieved. In the view of the NAM economists, the "rates lie at the root of nearly all our tax difficulties." Those rates now reach 50 percent at $16,000 of taxable individual income, and go on to 91 percent. The maximum corporate rate is 52 percent.

The booklet observes: "For many years, the question of fairness in income taxation has been avoided by a sort of socialistic smokescreen—the relation of taxpaying capacity with what people have, instead of what they produce." This has obscured "the fact that high discriminatory rates of income tax harass, penalize and block the efforts of those whose work and investments are the source of the nation's economic strength." The weight of the tax can vividly be illustrated by the popular TV program The $64,000 Question. If a single person was to actually net $64,000 after Federal taxes, his gross prize would have to be about $450,000.

The booklet disputes the illusion that the present progressive income tax rates are necessary from the revenue standpoint. The progressive rates (which begin after the basic rate of 20 percent) produce only about 17 percent of total revenue from the individual income tax. All the rest, or 83 percent, is derived from the basic rate—which is paid by all income taxpayers, including those in the very lowest taxable bracket. The booklet also summons statistics to show that the present income tax system is proportionately most discriminatory, and most unfair, to people in the middle income brackets, and to the smaller businesses which need venture capital to grow.

It is obvious that, if people and enterprize could keep more money after paying their taxes, more money would flow through the whole economy, and Government's tax revenues would increase as a result of that. The booklet presents a computation of what its authors believe would happen in the fifth calendar year if the five-year gradual reduction plan were followed. According to this, gains in Federal tax revenue, brought about largely by increased industrial activity of all kinds, would amount to $13,867,000,000. Losses, due to reduced rates, would amount to $12,897,000,000. The excess of gains over losses—or the net gain to the Government—would thus be $970,000,000.

The booklet is a detailed and comprehensive work. Only a few highlights can be covered in a brief summary. But the plan it presents is clearly a bold and challenging one, deserving of thorough consideration by Congress.

Colorado Farmers' Home Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. HILL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, during the past few years the farmers of Colorado have been faced with a serious drought situation that has created many difficulties in their operation. One of the best sources of assistance to these farmers has been the Farmers' Home Administration, which has handled thousands of loans to farmers in Colorado during fiscal years 1955, 1956, and 1957.

Recently at a meeting held at Lamar, Colo., the opponents of this administration have attempted to create a false impression that the Farmers' Home Administration in Colorado was not carrying out its responsibilities properly.

When Farmers' Home Administration loans are made, repayments are scheduled in accordance with the borrower's estimated repayment ability, and most borrowers are able to make their payments on or ahead of schedule. However, when borrowers are unable to make scheduled payments because of conditions beyond their control, such as drought, it is the policy of Farmers' Home Administration to continue the loan even through the borrower may be delinquent, if he is making reasonable progress and there are prospects of eventual success. Each case is considered on its merit and Colorado field officials have been instructed to provide all possible assistance to borrower families in an effort to solve their difficulties and avoid liquidation. In a few instances, due to price-cost relationships, some farm units are not of sufficient size to permit a financially sound operation. In cases cases the opportunities for the family to acquire additional land resources are completely explored.

In no case have untimely collections forced a farmer out of business and in a few cases where liquidation has been necessary, it was the result of the borrower failing to properly account for security property or the proceeds from the sale thereof.

As a result of the unfair and unwarranted criticism of the Farmers' Home Administration in Colorado there has come to my desk many spontaneous commendations from farmer organizations and interested individuals who are closely acquainted with the operation of the Farmers' Home Administration in Colorado.

On April 17, 1957, the board of control of the Colorado Cattlemen's Association adopted the following resolution:

The board of control of the Colorado Cattlemen's Association, since 1955, has followed the administration policies of the Farmers' Home Administration very closely, and after a review of the Colorado's financial report of the administration since 1955, feels that the Farmers' Home Administration officials should be highly complimented for an excellent job done in fulfilling objectives as set forth by law. We are also of the unanimous opinion that all Farmers' Home Administration borrowers have been given every opportunity to fulfill their loan obligations and that all qualified applicants have been approved that in any way warranted approval.

On May 6, 1957, I received the following letter from the president of the Colorado Farm Bureau:

The Honorable WILLIAM S. HILL,
United States Representative,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR BILL: With all the publicity in the press recently regarding FHA, I thought a little private investigation might be in order, and these are the results.

First, the county offices I visited are well caught up with their processing of loans, and there seems to be general satisfaction, but as always there are a few dissidents—very few, however.

I visited the State office, and their work is well in hand, plenty of money for emergency loans, but short on real estate and development money—in fact out—also out of private money for insured loans. I also talked with several borrowers, and they are generally very well pleased.

From my vantage point, the Administrator and his staff seem to be doing an exceptionally good job, in spite of criticism in the press. There seems to be very, very little basis for that or any other criticism.

I could not refrain from dropping this note because of the adverse criticism we have seen lately.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR L. ANDERSEN,
President, Colorado Farm Bureau.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include as part of my remarks

2 newspaper articles from the Record Stockman dated April 25 and May 9, 1957, 1 article from the Denver Post dated April 25, 1957, and 1 from the Loveland Reporter-Herald dated April 23, 1957, together with a list of the loans handled by the Colorado Farmers' Home Administration since July 1, 1954:

[From the Denver Record Stockman of April 25, 1957]

SHARP DISAGREEMENT ERUPTS OVER FHA EFFICIENCY

Sharp disagreement over efficiency of the Farmers' Home Administration's loan program in Colorado erupted this week when Gov. Steve McNichols charged "fear of reprisals" and Government redtape have curtailed Federal credit relief for blizzard and drought stricken farmers in eastern Colorado.

In refuting the Governor's charges, Leavitt Booth, State FHA director, said Tuesday no State official has contacted his office for information, the FHA has had no chance to explain its extensive program, and that the Governor is misinformed.

Much-needed relief in eastern and southeastern Colorado has been held up by delays in negotiation of loans, the Governor declared.

Sparking the criticism was a conference held in Lamar Friday, attended by State and Federal farm officials, bankers, and landowners from 13 Colorado counties, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Kansas.

In a Monday press conference, Governor McNichols said, "It is apparent to me that we have at last convinced officials of the United States Department of Agriculture that loan agencies are not working effectively."

The Governor quoted Kenneth Scott, head of the USDA's credit services, as saying that some type of investigation into dissatisfaction between applicants and agencies is needed.

"County committees stated at the meeting that their recommendations have been ignored in many instances and reviewed so many times that the crop-growing season is gone and there is no reason to make loan applications."

Charges made by farmers at the Lamar meeting that the FHA has denied loans, delayed applications, and applied tough collection policies in southeastern Colorado, were denied emphatically Tuesday by Booth.

Booth pointed out that 1,573 emergency loans have been made in eastern Colorado since July 1 for $5,437,386, adding that 2,714 emergency loans were made from July 1, 1955, through December 31, 1956, for $9,067,382 in 22 eastern Colorado counties.

"Aside from handling the largest loan program in FHA history in Colorado, county office personnel in eastern Colorado processed 24,444 feed applications for a total of 286,330 tons of roughage, and 261,622,842 pounds of grain in that period," Booth declared.

"Every farmer and rancher showing a sincere desire to stay on his land has been given that opportunity by the FHA," Booth said. "Charges brought against FHA personnel were uttered without fact," he added.

"Since the blizzard, we have had only one application from eastern Colorado for services and it has been processed. Liquidations have been extremely few and most often they occur when the farmer wants to quit farming.

"All FHA personnel in Colorado, numbering 297, have tried hard to serve people affected by the March blizzard and they have turned in a magnificant performance. They should be commended for their work rather than questioned on honesty and integrity," Booth added.

After hearing complaints at Lamar, Governor McNichols said there is enough legislation and laws are broad enough to cover the credit needs. "If the Government can't or won't do it, let's find out. Whatever it takes, we'll do it.

"It doesn't take a mental giant to see what's going on. County men should have authority to make decisions and solve these problems. I've been unhappy at reluctance of the people to state their problems. If there are any reprisals, I'd like to know about them. If they don't know what real trouble is, they'll find out," the Governor declared.

"It would seem advisable before making statements critical of a program to find out what the program is doing," Booth stated. He added that it is regular procedure for the USDA to review operations of various programs.

Suggestions made by the crowd at the Lamar meeting included a long-term loan program—which Booth says the FHA has in effect—and complete payment for cattle lost in the blizzard.

James Morrow, of Raton, N. Mex., said a group of cattlemen in the Raton area has proposed that the Government pay the full price to owners for cattle lost in the blizzard.

After the Lamar meeting, the Colorado Cattlemen's Association informed Ezra Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, and the Colorado congressional delegation that its board of control feels FHA officials should be complimented for an excellent job in fulfilling objectives of the program as set forth by law.

"We are of the unanimous opinion that all FHA borrowers have been given every opportunity to fulfill loan obligations and that all qualified applicants have been approved when warranting approval," the CCA statement added.

[From the Denver Record Stockman of May 9, 1957]

MISINTERPRETATION CHARGED IN FHA TESTIMONY AT LAMAR

A county Farmers Home Administration committeeman charged this week that his remarks at the recent meeting in Lamar on FHA loan policies were misinterpreted by some daily newspapers in the State. Joel Fletcher of Agate, an Elbert County FHA committee member, said he tried to give the impression at the meeting that the FHA is doing a good job, but some of the daily papers said committeemen were critical of FHA policies.

"My statement was that officials of the FHA are well-qualified men who are trying their best to administer and carry out the loan program to the best of their ability, and that they are giving honest consideration to each loan and applicant who applies," Fletcher told the Record Stockman.

"I did say that if Mr. Scott (Kenneth Scott, director of Agricultural Credit Services for the United States Department of Agriculture in Washington) and Mr. Booth (Leavitt Booth, State FHA director) had confidence in county committeemen, they should not take the opportunity to review their work too much and should accept their recommendations without review after review," Fletcher continued.

"These remaraks were meant to be helpful and constructive. However, some newspapers said I thought committees were being bypassed, and that I had no confidence in the State committee, or Booth," he added.

"This is not true," Fletcher explained. "We work harmoniously together."

Fletcher said he was the only active committeeman who spoke at the Lamar meeting, although another speaker, Francis Guthrie of Calhan, had served as an FHA committeeman 8 or 9 years ago.

As a result of dissatisfaction expressed with FHA loan policies in Colorado at the Lamar meeting, two studies have been launched by Federal and State officials.

Robert Hall of Scott's office and Floyd Moon, chief of FHA program operations, continued their study this week and are expected to issue a report shortly. A committee named by Gov. Steve McNichols held an organizational meeting in Denver Tuesday to map plans for its investigation.

[From the Denver Post of April 25, 1957]

UNITED STATES FARM LOAN INQUIRY SLATED FOR COLORADO

(By Barnet Nover)

WASHINGTON, April 25.—An Agriculture Department troubleshooter will be sent to eastern Colorado next week to investigate operations of the Farmers' Home Administration (FHA).

The decision to send an investigator was announced Thursday by Kenneth L. Scott, Director of Agriculture Credit Services of the United States Agriculture Department.

Chosen for the assignment is Robert Hall, a retired Department of Agriculture employee whom Scott described as having a lifetime of experience in the farm credit field.

Scott attended a meeting in Lamar, Colo., last week at which Governor McNichols, other State officials and farmers and ranchers criticized the FHA.

FHA operations were bound up in redtape, the critics said, with farmers being driven to the wall through a rigid application of the credit program and because of ill-timed foreclosures.

At the same time, the point was made that some farmers hesitated to speak their mind for the fear of reprisals by FHA officials.

Scott denied reports he told the Lamar meeting that the FHA program was not working well in Colorado. What he had said at Lamar, Scott said, was that this appeared to be the feeling of some of the farmers and ranchers at the meeting.

Scott said he has the greatest confidence in the sincerity of Leavitt A. Booth, FHA director for Colorado.

He said he is convinced that the FHA is doing the best it can in the face of a complicated overlay of laws involving farm credit and the multiplication of procedural regulations.

ALLOTT BILL FAVORED

He said the Department favored a proposal by Senator Allott of Colorado, embodied in a bill recently introduced in the Senate to overhaul and simplify farm credit legislation.

The Farmers' Home Administration is the Federal Government's principal loan agency for farmers and stockmen.

Its principal function is to grant loans to eligible persons after they have exhausted possibilities of getting credit from private agencies. Each county has its own FHA committee, with their work administered from the State offices in Denver.

[From the Loveland (Colo.) Reporter-Herald of April 23, 1957]

FHA HEAD DISPUTES GOVERNOR'S CLAIM RED TAPE SNARLS AID

DENVER.—Colorado Governor McNichols declared—and quickly was disputed—Monday that Federal red tape and fears of reprisal for any complaint have hampered relief for drouth and storm-plagued great plains farmers.

Levitt Booth, Colorado director of the Farmers' Home Administration, retorted sharply that the Governor was not informed and cited statistics on FHA operations in the State.

McNichols referred to a 13-county farm credit meeting held at his request last Friday at Lamar in southeastern Colorado.

The conference was attended by farmers and ranchers, bankers, and officials of State and Federal agencies, including some from neighboring States.

One of those present was Kenneth Scott, chief farm credit executive for the United States Agriculture Department.

"I was delighted to have Mr. Scott say he is going to send some of his top investigators out here to go into the matter of why there is so much dissatisfaction between applicants and agencies," McNichols said at a news conference Monday.

"It appears a lot of these people have been discouraged by official red tape from even attempting to get aid. They've been very timid about making their feelings known for fear of reprisals by administrators."

Booth, replying in an interview, said the FHA since last July 1 has made 1,573 emergency loans totaling $5,437,386 to farmers and ranchers in 22 drought-stricken counties of eastern Colorado. He added that local FHA committees involved 286,330 tons of hay and more than 261,600,000 pounds of grain.

"These people are in desperate trouble," Both declared, "and yet they are being used as pawns on a political chessboard. Programs to help distressed people should always be above politics."

Booth said he invited McNichols at the Lamar meeting to review FHA operations in Colorado "and no one from his office has contacted me since." He said a check at the county level indicated no State official had sought information on how the FHA program was working.

"It would seem advisable that before making statements critical of a program, one would find out what the program is doing," Booth said.

The FHA staff in Colorado is responsible for "keeping the farmer and rancher on the land more than anyone else during this drouth," he claimed. "It has saved thousands by keeping them in business."

Farmers' Home Administration, State of Colorado

Type of loan	Number	Amount	Repayments
July 1, 1954, to June 30, 1955:			
Operating loans	1,300	$2,742,100	
Emergency	894	1,652,805	
Special livestock	229	2,508,945	
Farmownership	25	312,261	
Soil and water	86	521,113	
Total	2,534	7,737,244	$7,382,861
July 1, 1955, to June 30, 1956:			
Operating	1,281	3,078,045	
Emergency	924	3,380,972	
Special livestock	167	1,719,130	
Fur	1	24,450	
Farmownership	25	343,145	
Soil and water	42	183,550	
Total	2,440	8,729,292	7,510,591
July 1, 1956, to Dec. 31, 1956:			
Operating	564	1,302,290	
Emergency	264	586,445	
Special livestock	58	674,615	
Farmownership	14	315,860	
Farm housing	3	25,100	
Soil and water	19	129,820	
Total	922	3,034,130	
Jan. 1 to Mar. 31, all loans	1,079	4,262,006	
Total, Mar. 31, 1957	2,001	7,296,136	7,170,928

Feed program

	Hay		Grain	
	Number	Tons	Number	Pounds
1954: Applications approved	500	16,645	880	10,857,820
1955-56: Applications approved			4,820	56,108,604
1957:				
Applications received	7,890	429,122	14,554	310,503,148
Applications approved	7,213	286,330	14,089	261,622,842

Military-Civilian Cooperation in Times of Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, the floods in northwest Louisiana are now largely on their way to the Gulf. The waters in the Red River are beginning to recede and lands under water are now re-emerging as dry lands. Hundreds of thousands of acres of fertile land has been inundated by the terrible floods which arose in Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado, and Arkansas and which had to be channeled through Louisiana to reach the sea.

The damage in our State has been heavy. It will run up into millions of dollars. Fortunately, loss of life was prevented and, of course, our people are happy over this fact. Damage to homes, farms and to cattle, however, was very heavy and the results will be compiled in the days that lie ahead.

During the course of the flood the military organizations in northwest Louisiana came to the rescue of those in distress. They furnished personnel and leadership to fight the floods, to retain the waters within the confines of the levees of Red River, and to aid in reducing damage to property and in preventing loss of life. Our people are most grateful to these organizations.

The Barksdale Air Force Base at Bossier City, La., leads the list in furnishing manpower to battle these angry, swirling waters. It furnished 1,200 men to fight around the clock, sandbagging levees, patrolling, working tirelessly to prevent more serious damage to our people.

The enginers and other forces from Fort Polk sent men into the troubled area. Some of these men worked until they were almost ready to drop from exhaustion. Northwest Louisiana ROTC units and the 199th Infantry Regiment of the National Guard were also in the midst of this fight against these dirty, ugly floodwaters.

These agencies supplemented the efforts of our local people. Of course our local people were fighting for their own survival and the help which came from these military units was friendly hands reaching out to local people in distress. The Shreveport Journal, of Shreveport, La., in its may 9, 1957, issue has a very nicely written editorial entitled "New Bonds of Military-Civilian Friendship" and I present this editorial for insertion herewith:

NEW BONDS OF MILITARY-CIVILIAN FRIENDSHIP

Members of military units have distinguished themselves in battling the floodwaters of Red River in northwest and central Louisiana during the past week.

Troops who fought side-by-side with civilians to curb the river's rampage included hundreds of airmen from Barksdale Air Force Base, soldiers from Fort Polk, National Guardsmen from Louisiana's 199th Infantry Regiment, and cadets from the Reserve Officers Training Corps unit at Northwestern State College.

To Barksdale Air Force Base goes a special measure of commendation, for it was this huge military installation which furnished three shifts totaling several hundred airmen for an around-the-clock battle against torrents of angry, swirling waters.

Without the combined efforts of all the military personnel there is little doubt that thousands of acres of farmlands now safe and dry would have been inundated and their crops destroyed. Citizens of the little towns of East Point, Powhatan, and Clarence have firsthand knowledge of the troops' courage and fighting spirit, for it was these communities which came closest to devastation.

North Louisianians have always been proud of Barksdale Air Force Base and its officers and men. This latest demonstration of community allegiance on the part of Barksdale's personnel can only strengthen the bonds of friendship linking the civilian and military elements of our citizenship. Similarly, the soldiers of Fort Polk, the troops of the 199th Infantry Regiment of the National Guard, and the cadets of Northwestern's ROTC unit have won new esteem in the eyes of their communities.

On behalf of all citizens of northwest and central Louisiana, the Journal proudly expresses appreciation to the officers and men of the military who have participated in the fight against the floodwaters. Shreveport and the other towns and cities along Red River will not forget their valiant service.

Poland's Constitution of 1791

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of May 2,

1957, commemorating the Polish Constitution of 1791:

For the first time since the Communists seized control of Poland, the Third of May (the equivalent of America's Fourth of July) will not go unnoted in Poland, according to reports from Warsaw.

The historical anniversary, commemorating the signing of the Constitution of 1791, is due to be reinstated in the Polish calendar. Whether the observance will be along traditional lines or the occasion will be celebrated as one of the so-called May education day remains to be seen tomorrow.

In any event, the fact that any observance is permitted is a significant step, for no mention was made of the Third of May for more than a decade, except by Poles in exile or in the privacy of home in the enslaved country itself.

The change emphasizes the progress that has been made since the uprising at Poznan which gave the country a taste of freedom. The regime in Warsaw is still communistic, but it has weakened its ties with Moscow and relieved the pressure on the home front.

The Third of May celebration, if it materializes as anticipated, will be additional evidence that Poland may be on the road back to freedom. Progress necessarily has been slow, but anything that happens raises hopes that the land of Pulaski and Kosciuszko may one day cast off the yoke entirely and take its place in the family of free nations

We may be certain any observance of the Third of May will be a hard dose for the gang in the Kremlin to swallow. Moscow has left no stone unturned to destroy the idealism of the Polish Constitution, a document which blazed the way for freedom on the continent of Europe.

The situation in Poland today is far from clear, but even an occasional shaft of light is an improvement over the darkness that has prevailed so long.

The New School of Aviation Medicine, Brooks Air Force Base, San Antonio, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL J. KILDAY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, formal ground breaking ceremonies at the new School of Aviation Medicine, Brooks Air Force Base, San Antonio, Tex., were held on May 10, 1957.

A distinguished group of specialists in aviation medicine was present, as well as high-ranking officers of the Air Force.

This was a most significant occasion for aviation medicine and for the Air Force. Provision of adequate physical facilities for research and instruction in the effects of flight upon the human who operates aircraft, is recognition that, even in this modern time, men are of primary importance.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an address made by me on that occasion:

The breaking of ground for the new facilities of the School of Aviation Medicine is a significant occasion. It is an occasion long delayed; and, in my opinion, unnecessarily delayed.

Since the Congress authorized these new facilities there have been a number of projects for research and development involving much larger sums of money which have been authorized, begun, and completed, and the facility placed in operation long ago.

Practically everyone concerned with national defense is conscious of the fact that there has been a tendency, in the past, complacently to accept a national-defense policy based upon the concepts of the last preceding war.

But since the close of World War II there has been a sincere desire to create a national-defense policy and maintain our armed services not subjected to that very serious deficiency. Therefore, emphasis has been placed upon research and development. The Congress has been most generous in providing authorization and appropriations for research and development. However, emphasis has been placed upon the development and production of machines. But all activity, including military activity, must be based upon the fact that even in these modern times things are done by men as well as by machines.

Perhaps it is not unusual that the emphasis has gone to machines rather than to men.

In our time, we are witnessing the second industrial revolution. The first industrial revolution occurred in the latter half of the 18th century in England. A series of important inventions turned England into a modern manufacturing nation. Some of those inventions were brought to our country at the close of the 18th century. The War of 1812 cut off the importation of manufactured products from abroad and stimulated manufacturing in this country.

However, another war in our own country was required before the full effect of the industrial revolution reached the United States. Our own Civil War created a demand by the Army for machines, clothing, blankets, and the munitions of war. The agrarian America of 1860 found it necessary to industrialize in order to meet the demand for those commodities now regarded as relatively simple. Before 1860, there were no great American cities; by 1900, 33 percent of our people were living in cities of 8,000 or more.

It is significant that the impact of the first industrial revolution was felt in the United States as a result of the Civil War, the most destructive war known to history until that time.

The second industrial revolution has come about because of the Second World War, the most destructive in the history of modern civilization. That war demanded the production not only of the basic commodities common to the Civil War, but required them in much larger quantities and of a far more complicated nature. The necessities of the situation produced the invention of tools and machines for the more rapid production of everything needed for the prosecution of war. Except in the field of medicine little attention, in retrospect, was devoted to the most important element of a war machine—the man behind the weapon.

It is not strange therefore that we now find industry and the minds of men intrigued by machines and gadgets. Technology, electroncis, and automation absorb the thoughts and the efforts of all.

The first industrial revolution was based upon the invention of machines which permitted production through the use of fewer men. No doubt, fear existed then that men would not be required for production and unemployment would ensue. At the beginning of the new second industrial revolution stark fear of mass unemployment was again expressed because of the development and use of modern machines and automation. It is now apparent that automation will not result in the elimination of men any more than did the invention of machines at an earlier time.

The American people, by wishful thinking, have in the past, and undoubtedly will continue in the future to look forward to a push-button war. Their thoughts are consumed with the ideas of guided and unmanned missiles, electronic brains, univacs, automatic computers, and mechanical fox-hole diggers. They understandably would like to live in a fool's paradise of a war which will be bloodless for ourselves but most destructive to the enemy.

Should that day ever come, war would be abandoned as a means of settling disputes or acquiring advantage since the nation with that power would automatically exercise world domination. It would be nice to think that that day might come and come quickly, so long as we held that position. But profiting by the lessons of history, we cannot be so sanguine as to believe that the time has arrived when men of ill will will permit the abolition of war.

In order to eliminate certain tasks heretofore performed by men, these new inventions in the field of war have enhanced rather than eliminated the need for men—but men of great technical skill. These weapons and inventions have brought with them new problems which demand solution. Man's capacity to cope with supersonic speeds of aircraft, greater altitudes, flight in the stratosphere, to name but a few, present new problems for solution. The effect of these speeds and altitudes upon the human body will be studied here in this School of Aviation Medicine. These new buildings, providing more space and greater facilities, will permit the men of science who labor here to keep abreast of the human factor in all of these new problems and complications.

No doubt in the not too distant future, aircraft will be propelled by nuclear energy, bringing even additional problems of the effect upon the human who operates them. All of these matters will be studied here. Not only will they be studied here, but the knowledge acquired will be passed on to the student body which assembles here.

Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent since World War II in providing laboratories, wind tunnels, and all of the most modern facilities for testing the machines of flight. During that time, the School of Aviation Medicine has been restricted to physical properties built for it in 1928, crowded into quarters totally inadequate for its needs, and preventing any thought of expansion.

Notwithstanding these physical handicaps, the staff, faculty, and student body of the School of Aviation Medicine have carried on, and in a remarkable manner, kept abreast in this most important field. All of us here today congratulate them upon their outstanding achievements under such inadequate conditions.

Here we see the beginning of new physical properties for the School of Aviation Medicine which will eliminate those handicaps. Here we see the beginning of a new era in the development of the second industrial revolution—the importance of man and the effects of environment upon man.

The man in the air will have the confidence and knowledge that his welfare, his safety, and his ability to perform his assigned mission, will have received the most thorough study and research that modern science is capable of providing.

This is a happy occasion for Gen. Dan C. Ogle, Surgeon General of the Air Force; Gen. Harry G. Armstrong, his predecessor; Gen. Otis O. Benson, commander, School of Aviation Medicine; and all of those who have worked with them through the years in

seeking quarters which will be adequate for their most important assignments. I congratulate them and all others who have had a part in making this occasion possible.

And may I say to the Air Force, as the Member of Congress from this district, that we rejoice with you on this happy occasion—we bid you welcome, we pledge to you our support and assistance at all times, and in all things which may be helpful to you.

Problems of Law in Civil Aviation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able address delivered by Mr. James R. Durfee, Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, at the annual law banquet, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis., May 8, 1957. I recommend it to all law schools and lawyers in the country.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the article is estimated to make 3½ pages of the RECORD, at a cost of $269.50.

I also ask unanimous consent that the accompanying letter from the Civil Aeronautics Board, signed by the Chief of the Office of Congressional Liaison and Public Information, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROBLEMS OF LAW IN CIVIL AVIATION

(An address by James R. Durfee, Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board, to the annual law banquet, Marquette University Law School, May 8, 1957, Wisconsin Club, Milwaukee, Wis.)

I appreciate the opportunity your invitation has given me to come back to my home State today for a short visit among old friends.

The invitation came at a particularly opportune moment, almost exactly 1 year after I took up my new duties as Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, when I was taking stock of my own reactions to the many and varied new experiences my work has brought me.

One of the things I should like to do tonight is to discuss with you the differences between the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Civil Aeronautics Administration, and I assure you that there are major differences despite the similarity of their names. One of the constant sources of confusion in Washington, and I am sure elsewhere in the country, is the extent to which these agencies are identified in the public mind.

A curious feature of this confusion, and perhaps an explanation for it, is that originally the board and the administration were one and the same organization. In 1938 when Congress passed the Civil Aeronautics Act it established a Civil Aeronautics Authority which performed most of the work now divided between the board and the Administration. This authority—which, incidentally, had the same initials as the administration now has—CAA—was an almost exact counterpart to the ICC which has a similar plenary authority over rail transportation.

The present setup of agencies regulating air transportation was substantially established in reorganization plans submitted to Congress by President Roosevelt in 1940. In general this plan made the administrator responsible for all functions relating to the enforcement and policing of the safety provisions of the act and of the safety rules and regulations established by the Civil Aeronautics Board. The board was assigned the tasks of economic and safety regulation.

To make this distinction a little clearer, let me give you some examples. It is the Board's responsibility to establish standards by which the "airworthiness" of aircraft is determined; and it is the Administrator's responsibility to certify aircraft as airworthy under those standards. It is the Board's responsibility to fix standards for licensing pilots; it is the Administrator's responsibility to examine and test pilots to decide whether they measure up to the standards in much the same way as drivers are tested for licenses—but with far more stringent standards. It is the Board's responsibility to set up the traffic rules for flying planes; it is the Administrator's job to supply the traffic cops and to keep the traffic moving. It is the Board's job to decide, from an economic standpoint, which airlines should fly where; it is the Administrator's responsibility to check regularly to assure that those airlines operate over their routes safely.

This difference in jobs, of course, requires an entirely different type of organization for each. The CAA is a vast operating organization—of about 18,000 employees at present—with professional people of all types engaged in inspecting, testing, planning, research, design, and control—with a network of offices and employees spread throughout the country working on airports, controlling air traffic, examining pilots, mechanics, and schools, and doing research on the problems related to its different jobs.

The Board (the CAB) is a small organization of about 600, just about one thirtieth of the size of CAA, centered largely in Washington with a staff of specialists of a different sort—economists and accountants, engineers, hearing examiners, and lawyers—devoted to helping the Board formulate rules and regulations and arrive at decisions, by gathering information, holding hearings, and advising the Board.

The authority of the Administration is vested in one office—that of the Administrator who exercises a normal executive control. The authority of the Board is vested in a 5-man body—and I should add, a bipartisan 5-man body—acting by majority vote. The Administration is part of the Department of Commerce, directly responsible to the Secretary of Commerce and through the Secretary, to the President. It is an executive agency. The Board is responsible to the Congress and is independent of direct executive control in all except the initial appointment of the members.

Now I have reviewed these distinctions between the Board and the administration partly just to straighten out the differences between them in your minds, to give you some idea of the kind of agency I work for in Washington. I also had another purpose in mind, however, namely, to put some flesh on the bones of the main topic I want to talk to you about tonight—the difference between purely administrative executive agencies of the Government and the independent regulatory agencies, the so-called "quasi-legislative, quasi-judicial" commissions.

These two agencies—the CAA and the CAB—epitomize a distinction, a distribution of Government functions, that runs through our whole system of government today on both the Federal and State levels. It is not, I hasten to add, a hard and fast distinction, for the business of government isn't parceled out among agencies according to some theoretical master plan.

The Board, for example, as one of its important duties, has the job of advising the President on the aviation-economic implications of route awards in the international field. Obviously this job, which regularly entails participation with the State Department by the Board in negotiations with foreign governments over the exchange of air routes, is not of the sort that we normally think of a regulatory commission engaging in. By and large, however, the Board fits the classic notion of a regulatory commission with delegated legislative powers and the CAA, the notion of an executive agency with ministerial administrative powers.

The distinction between the independent regulatory agencies and executive agencies is not a new one to the lawyer—in fact, the underlying concepts already have a "hornbook" quality about them even though much of the doctrine of administrative law has evolved in our own lifetimes. The concept of the independent regulatory agency has been with us in Wisconsin since 1874 with the creation of the original Railroad Commission, predecessor to the present Public Service Commission of Wisconsin. In the Federal Government the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1887 marked the first real Federal independent regulatory agency.

I have noticed in my reading of late, and in speeches I have heard, an increasing tendency to ignore the distinction between independent regulatory agencies and executive agencies—a tendency to ignore the vital differences in the character of their work that require an entirely different approach to their tasks. The point I want to bring home tonight is that these differences are being subjected to a subtle and unfortunate erosion, partly at the hands of members of the bar itself and partly at the hands of other professional interest groups.

I am not talking here of the constant—and I might say, welcome—constructive criticism and constructive legislation that helps the administrative agency do its job and serve the Nation more efficiently and fairly. The administrative process and the regulatory agencies need a constant airing of their methods and objectives if they are not to stagnate and become ineffectual, or to grow beyond our concepts of constitutional government.

We are all familiar with the long and often bitter battle to make the courts take over this function of regulation—a battle which has, by and large, been decided in favor of administrative independence, subject to court review of action or conduct which, as some have put it, is ultra vires.

But this battle was hardly over, with the passage of a Federal Administrative Procedure Act, which did not materially expand the function of judicial review, when efforts broke out on new fronts to stifle regulatory independence. Efforts are made to have Congress withdraw the limited quasi-legislative powers delegated to the regulatory agencies. Other efforts are made to concentrate control of regulatory functions in the executive branch of the Government.

What makes these counterthrusts against the regulatory process seem so anomalous is that despite the difference in objective, both schools of thought express their aims in virtually identical terminology. Both groups speak broadly of attaining a more efficient service of the public interest that will be more responsive to the popular will.

In detail, however, the expressions of these two groups reflect a considerable divergence in objective. The exponents of greater executive concentration say there is excessive emphasis by regulatory agencies on formal, judicial-like procedures. The exponents of greater congressional control

speak of the inadequate protection of procedural rights that the present administrative process provides. Those favoring congressional control emphasize the oppressive exercise of unfettered administrative power; while those favoring executive concentration speak of the inability of multiheaded, independent agencies to act effectively or obtain popular support for their programs.

In reciting these criticisms of the administrative process, I do not mean to suggest that the exponents of either of these approaches to Government intend to destroy the regulatory process. On the contrary, I think their criticism flows from an honest and well-intentioned desire to improve the Government—to make it more responsive to the needs and desires of the Nation, to assure greater protection of individual rights, to do the Government's work more efficiently—all laudable objectives. The problem lies, I think, in the overemphasis in each case of a different one of these sometimes conflicting objectives.

But before I elaborate on this problem I want to tell you something more about the relations of the Civil Aeronautics Board with the Congress and with the Chief Executive—relationships that are by and large typical of those of all the independent Federal agencies. When you realize the nature of these relationships and when you realize how extensive they are, I am sure you will all agree with me that the independent regulatory agencies are far from being a "headless 'fourth branch' of the Government" and, more important, are far from being unaccountable repositories of unfettered power.

The record shows that while the Civil Aeronautics Board is independent in voting and in exercising the broad discretionary powers vested in it, it renders a strict and regular accounting of its stewardship—a strict accounting for its program, its expenditures, and the results of its work.

In these days when the newspapers are so full of controversy about the size of the Federal budget and so full of reports demanding that the President of the Congress should trim the budget, it should be obvious that the purse string is a potent instrument of control in the hands of the President and the Congress over the activities of every Federal agency and department.

In addition, each year there are numerous appearances by the Board members or its staff before the Commerce Committees of both Houses, again in review of past actions and in consideration of the dozens of bills introduced each year contemplating the modification of the statutory scheme under which the Board operates.

Each year special problems arise which are the subject of searching scrutiny by Congress. For example, a Senate Investigating Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee, headed by Senator JACKSON, of Washington, is now conducting public hearings on an unfortunate premature "leak" of information about a Board decision last summer in order to check on the adequacy of the Board's information security measures and to determine whether stronger legislation is needed to prevent unauthorized disclosure of Board proceedings in process.

Last year a House subcommittee under Representative CELLER, of New York, held extensive hearings on antitrust aspects of the Board's record while other committees of both Houses considered proposals for a pervasive change in the basic statute under which the CAB operates. The Commerce Committee of the House conducted extensive investigation of the Board's safety regulations following the Grand Canyon accident last year and again this year after the recent tragic air accidents in New York and California. As Chairman of the Board I have testified 11 times within the past year before congressional committees on board matters.

In hundreds of instances each year Members of Congress appear formally before hearings of the Board to urge the interests of their constituents in cases pending before the Board. And in literally thousands of instances the Board is queried by congressional letters or phone calls to explain or justify its decisions its policies and programs. This evidences a proper and careful concern by the Congress in the conduct of the powers delegated by it to regulatory agencies.

With this constant review of the Board's work by Congress and by the President I must admit that I am somewhat amused when I read about the unfettered discretionary power that the Board, as an independent agency, supposedly exercises. And with the constant congressional attention that is focused on the Board's functioning, I have a similar reaction to suggestions that "The technique of direct legislative supervision has largely been neglected." (Prof. Schwartz, Legislative Oversight: Control of Administrative Agencies, 43 A. B. A. J. 19, 20 (1957)).

From the Boards' experience with congressional and Executive supervision, as I have summarized it here, but by no means exhaustively, I think it is simply incorrect to think of the independent regulatory agencies as being in any sense "unaccountable." The Board, and all the other independent regulatory agencies, are held strictly accountable to Congress from whom we derive our powers.

Does all this review impair the independence of the agencies? In a sense it obviously does. We on the regulatory agencies always know that if we were to embark on some foolish course, Congress is ready to pin our ears back. We always know that the President, with the prestige of his office, can criticize our programs or our decisions with a very powerful impact.

But in a very real sense these limitations on regulatory independence are nothing more than the limitations of responsibility in handling a public trust which, in the last analysis, we are nevertheless free to carry out and defend independently.

Now you may well ask at this point, after I have outlined the large extent of supervision of the Board, why I am concerned with proposals for greatly extended executive supervision or constant legislative intervention. The answer is simple. Both of these notions go far beyond what I have outlined as the existing measure of control.

Both ideas contemplate the direct intervention of legislative or executive control in the decision-making process, either by a general curtailment of the discretion of the independent regulatory agencies (called canalization of delegated power) or by vesting final authority outside the agencies for the dictation of specific results in individual cases.

Perhaps we can bring these problems into somewhat better focus if we consider for a moment exactly what the regulatory agency does in acting under its enabling statute. Other students of the process have said it far better than I, so let me refer to the words of Justice Jackson in *Federal Trade Commission* v. *Ruberoid*, decided in 1952, where in a dissenting opinion he gave what I consider to be one of the clearest and most realistic descriptions of the process I have ever seen:

"It may help clarify the proper administrative function * * * to think of the legislation as unfinished law which the administrative body must complete before it is ready for application. In a very real sense the legislation does not bring to a close the making of the law. The Congress is not able or willing to finish the task of prescribing a positive and precise legal right or duty by eliminating all further choice between policies, expediences or conflicting guides; and so leaves the rounding out of its command to another smaller and specialized agency. It is characteristic of such legislation that it does not undertake to declare an end result in particular cases but rather undertakes to control the processes in the administrator's mind by which he shall reach results. * * * It attempts no more than to indicate generally the outside limits of the ultimate result and to set out matters about which the administrator must think when he is determining what within those confines the compulsion in a particular case ought to be" (343 U. S. 470, 485–86).

Professor Davis, in the introduction to his treatise on administrative law, outlined some of the reasons for the trend to this broad type of lawmaking that vests regulatory agencies with this peculiar status and authority:

"The fundamental reason for resort to the administrative process is the undertaking by the Government of tasks which from a strictly practical standpoint can best be performed through that process.

"The legislative process and the judicial process, which are the principal alternatives to the administrative process, frequently fall short of providing what is needed. A legislative body is at its best in determining the direction of major policy. It is ill-suited for handling masses of detail, or for applying to shifting and continuing problems the ideas supplied by scientists or other professional advisers."

From my experience with the Civil Aeronautics Board I would say that the rationale of these quotations is especially apropos to the functions of the Board. I think it is true that none of the regulatory agencies have had to concern themselves more exclusively than has the Board with purely legislative type work, the issuance of route certificates or franchises to airlines, ratemaking, the granting of subsidies, the regulation of competition and the encouragement of new aviation businesses, work which is policymaking of the highest order having an almost determinative bearing on the development of an industry.

I think, at the same time, that the Board's experience demonstrates the wisdom of the original broad legislative grant of power to the Board and suggests the possible danger of extensive "canalization" of delegations of power. Let me again try with some examples.

The Congress gave the Board plenary authority over new route authorizations in 1938, after granting "grandfather rights" to existing operators. Aside from the customary public convenience and necessity standards adapted from older laws, the Congress gave the Board no guide to the resolution of elementary problems such as the extent of competition to be allowed except in the Statement of Policy in the Act which provided that the Board should consider to be in the public interest—and I quote: "Competition to the extent necessary to assure the sound development of an air transportation system properly adapted to the needs of the foreign and domestic commerce of the United States, of the Postal Service, and of the national defense."

These general mandates the Board had to fashion into a workable policy. And it has had to apply this policy—or perhaps I should say policies, since there have been changes—to widely varying conditions that have prevailed in the airline business since 1938.

Naturally while the industry was heavily subsidized with Government funds, the Board was especially cautious in authorizing competition that would have been nothing more than a drain on the Federal Treasury. But with the tremendous expansion in the air travel market since the beginning of the Korean War, an entirely different approach was called for. An approach that

emphasized the need for improvement in the quality and quantity of service, which, seemingly, only competition could bring. And an approach which recognized the concurrent need to strengthen and balance the overall air transportation system, a result that could only be accomplished by authorizing some of the smaller and weaker carriers, which were in some instances still subsidized, to participate in the major air travel markets.

The wisest of legislators would have been hard put to develop specific directions to the Board—for authorizing competition under the changing circumstances that the Board has faced since 1938. One of the major purposes for the creation of the administrative body exercising legislative powers under Congressional supervision was to bring flexibility to legislation to meet just the type of problem I describe.

It would be a tremendous task and burden for Congress to legislate a specific and workable program for such a situation; and it seems clear that the national interest precludes Congress from attempting to do the job when it has so many even graver responsibilities to which its attention must be devoted.

This short example I have given you of the creative demands on the regulatory agency only begins to suggest the legislative problems the Civil Aeronautics Board has met in the 19 years of its existence. Since its inception new aeronautical enterprises undreamed of in 1938 have sprung up and taken their place with the pioneers.

To name some of the major ones that have arisen in commercial transportation, there are the all-cargo carriers such as Flying Tiger which serves Milwaukee on an east-west route going to both coasts. There are the irregular or supplemental carriers, which are still before the Board in the last stages of a definitive investigation into their role. There are the air freight forwarders. There are the local service carriers, such as North Central and Ozark which provide service to and from Milwaukee for numerous smaller communities in the Midwest. And, there are our international carriers, which today carry most of the global commerce of the world.

The challenge which, for example, the local service carriers present, a challenge which is the subject of intense study by the Board at this very time, is perhaps as great or greater than that of the trunkline carriers in 1938. The Board faces this challenge of adequate local air service and has faced it since the Second World War, with no specific direction from Congress and no change in the original statute except for the grant of permanent certification by Congress in 1954.

These problems are not subject to an a priori congressional fiat. The needs of each of these carriers including their need for subsidy, the needs of each city they serve, and numerous other elements must be weighed in the balance if we are to achieve a healthy local service system bringing air transportation to the maximum number of communities in the United States with a minimum subsidy cost to the taxpayer.

Awaiting us just over the horizon are problems of still greater magnitude with the advent of what has come to be called the "jet age"—problems that will require us to reexamine the fundamental predicates of the economic and safety structure of air transportation in the United States and throughout the world.

Again, these problems cannot be met with a priori legislative assumptions—but neither can they await the inauguration of widespread commercial flights for by that time it will be too late. These are the kind of problems the independent regulatory commission is designed to cope with.

In discussing this concept of independent execution of a broad mandate I have concentrated exclusively on the experience of the Civil Aeronautics Board, but I would venture to say that each of the other six independent Federal regulatory agencies could match these examples from their experience and their prospects—the ICC, for example, in coping with the problem of declining passenger volume in the rail field; the FCC in coping with the advent of television, or the FPC in coping with the problems of regulation of the production and transmission of natural gas and of further power development throughout the country.

The dynamic forces at play in all these areas will certainly test the vitality of the independent regulatory process and will undoubtedly strain the process at certain points. Congressional intervention will undoubtedly be necessary on occasion to direct the efforts of these agencies and the refinement of procedural techniques will undoubtedly continue.

In the last analysis, however, the process wil best meet the demands on it if given the discretion within a broad outline determined by Congress, to proceed empirically, fashioning methods and remedies as it goes along and as conditions change.

In the face of the experience of the Board in the past 19 years, and of other agencies in the past 30 to 40 years, a return to narrower delegations of authority would be a retrogression that would threaten the continuation of effective Government regulation. While improvements in techniques of congressional supervision may be needed, "canalization" of authority is not one of them.

Let me summarize now some of the major points I have made on this subject of broad delegations versus specific delegations. If the commissions are to bear the responsibility for regulation in the various business fields, they need authority commensurate with that responsibility. If Congress is really going to delegate power—to free itself of the burdensome details once it has defined the basic policy objectives—it must delegate sufficient authority so that the agency can really choose the course best suited to the public interest without constantly asking for additional legislation.

In short, if the business of government is to progress, freeing Congress for the consideration of major policies and the supervision of delegated authority, the direction must be away from "canalization" of delegated powers. I think it may even be safe to hazard the opinion that increased "canalization" of legislative authority, except where needed in order to correct an administrative policy, is inconsistent with the important objectives of legislative oversight, for inevitably, the filling in of legislative detail deprives Congress and the legislatures of the time needed to devote to basic policy examination and reexamination.

In my enthusiasm to deal with this question of legislative oversight I have allowed myself very little time to discuss the countertrend I mentioned earlier, the trend toward executive concentration or domination. Perhaps it really isn't necessary to discuss this problem in front of a group of lawyers, for if it can be said that many American lawyers distrust the administrative exercise of legislative power, they abhor the very thought of the executive branch of the Government exercising a similar authority. Congress is even more adamant on this subject than is the legal profession.

It may be true, as critics of the independent commission movement have said, that executive agencies could conduct some of this regulatory business more efficiently than a commission. An executive agency could undoubtedly match a commission-type agency for "expertise." It could probably gather facts and information just as effectively. It may even be that a regulatory program would have greater support with the prestige of the President's high office behind it.

The fact remains that the independent commissions are exercising legislative, not executive or judicial powers. Recent history in some foreign countries has reinforced the historical belief in this country that the Executive should not exercise legislative power. Congress is not going to give those powers over to the Executive, nor will it, I am sure, ever prefer the Executive decision-making process to the deliberative process of the independent commission with its hearing procedures and decisions on the record.

On many occasions, of course, Congress has delegated broad authority to executive agencies, particularly under the emergency War Powers. But as I have said, the fact remains that as a general rule, Congress will not deliver its legislative authority to the Executive even if it could constitutionally do this.

Perhaps the prevailing political situation in Washington provides another key to the understanding of this proposition, aside from any constitutional barriers. The responsibilities delegated to the commissions must be exercised in season and out, when Congress is in session and when it is not, and whether the White House and Congress are controlled by the same party or not. A Congress of one party will, I presume, never freely entrust its legislative powers to an Executive of another party if it has any alternative. It will—and perhaps somewhat reluctantly at times—entrust some of these powers to a bipartisan Commission responsible to the Congress.

This mention of the relation of independent commissions to the Executive gives me an opportunity to bring up an aside that is nevertheless very close to my heart. I am sure that everyone here knows that I am a Republican. I am proud of it and both proud and happy to have been appointed by the Eisenhower administration to my present post with the Civil Aeronautics Board. I bring to that post the ideals and principles which have governed my whole lifetime. But this does not alter my realization and conviction that the President has appointed me to a bipartisan legislative body that draws its power from, and is responsible to, the Congress. I think all of the members of all independent commissions must listen to what the President has to say and give it serious consideration—just as Congress itself listens to the President when he sends up his legislative and budget programs and the various other messages he submits. This is not political servility. It is the very essence of responsibility.

However, just as Congress retains its freedom to act as it sees fit after it hears the President, so do the members of the independent commissions in their exercise of the legislative powers which they get from Congress.

I think that I have said enough now to convey to you my basic ideas on this subject of independent commissions. Before I close, though, I should like to hit one more relevant point. All of the lawyers here are familiar with the classic description of the independent commission which says that these commissions exercise quasi-legislative, quasi-judicial and quasi-executive powers. You see that the word "quasi" is in there in each part of the description. The dictionary says that "quasi" means "as if" or "in a sense." I suppose it has been used in the description I have just given you to mean "like" or "similar to."

There may be some truth to that kind of a description of administrative powers and I know that I often use the word "quasi-judicial" as a shorthand description of the Board's decisional process in route cases. But the description makes me a little "queasy"—intellectually queasy.

Justice Jackson described the use of the word "quasi" as a "smooth cover which we draw over our confusion as we might use a counterpane to conceal a disordered bed," and I would alter this slightly to say that the word "quasi" in this context is an intellectual counterpane used to conceal disordered thinking. The truth is that the independent regulatory commissions are legislative, pure and simple, exercising delegated legislative powers.

They may follow judicial procedures in exercising their legislative powers, they may have judicial duties and executive duties incidentally, but the essence of the commission statute—the reason for its being—is the legislative power granted. Maybe it would help our thinking some if we borrowed a descriptive term from the lawyer's office which to my mind gives a pretty good idea of what a commission is—and that term is "junior partner." The commissions are legislative junior partners, giving a responsible position in the firm with considerable leeway in making decisions but always subject to the senior partner's ultimate supervision and authority where needed.

I have brought you this message tonight, on a subject that is probably far from the daily interests of most of you, because I feel that there is a real need, throughout the Bar and not just among administrative practitioners, for a better understanding of the administrative process. I have only touched upon one of the host of problems in this field, but it is an important one because of the emphasis on this problem in the American Bar Association's general program. I am convinced, as a former trial lawyer myself, that as fuller understanding of the value of the administrative process to our Government increases among lawyers, we shall see the legal profession turn its attention away from efforts to cripple or destroy this process, to efforts to improve it. That will be a good day for both our profession and the regulatory agencies. Still more important, it will be a good day for the people of this country in their constant search for better government.

CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD,
Washington, May 7, 1957.

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MAGNUSON: With no intent to impose unnecessarily on your time, I call to your attention the enclosed speech to be delivered tomorrow by Chairman Durfee.

In it he expresses his philosophy of the Federal regulatory agency as an arm of the Congress—a conviction which he brought to the Board a year ago and which he has practiced and affirmed in his Federal experience

I believe his text will be interesting to a Member of Congress who is concerned with the regulation of civil aviation.

With best wishes,

WILLIAM KLOEPFER, Jr.,
Chief, Office of Congressional Liaison and Public Information.

Operation Remember

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak on something that gives me great pleasure and satisfaction. On May 2, the Navy League sponsored one of the finest and most appropriate tributes we can expect to see—Operation Remember. Operation Remember was dedicated to the people who have made it possible for us to continue to enjoy the way of life which has made the United States the most prosperous, strongest, freest, and finest country this world has ever seen. Dedicated to those who led and fought to protect our spiritual, moral, and intellectual heritages, it served to revive knowledge of the great service to mankind these men performed.

Though a general tribute, the occasion was specifically directed toward the tremenodus accomplishments of the leaders and men of the United States Navy and the United States Marine Corps. The group assembled could not but refresh our memories to the fact that our balanced fleet—ships, naval aviation, and Marine landing forces—serves the Nation as the bulwark of our defense.

I was particularly impressed by three addresses delivered on the occasion of Operation Remember. The one given by Mr. Gates, the Secretary of the Navy, was a stirring recital of the victories of the Pacific by the Navy and Marines. He recalled vividly the tremendous contribution made to our country by those who led, whether sergeant or admiral, the greatest exploitation of seapower known to man. Admiral Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, paid homage to the leaders of World War II who not only led us to victory but, in addition, trained and developed the leaders who today assure that we have the strongest and best naval protection for our country. General Pate, Commandant of the Marine Corps, recalled how Guadalcanal was the turning point of World War II and marked the flow of tide toward victory. How, in that subsequent battles, the Navy and Marines proved the value of the functional fleet. He emphasized the high state of readiness today, as always, of the Navy and Marine Corps. He pointed out the cooling effect the 6th Fleet had on the war temperatures recently generated in the Middle East.

These speeches pointed up the fact that we have a safeguard to our safety in the United States Navy and the United States Marine Corps. So that we are, in the future, assured of the maximum protection for our country, we must remember that maintenance of the balanced fleet is our guaranty of an adequate defense to attacks of any and all types wherever they may be launched.

I would like to add that the dinner chairman of Operation Remember, Rear Adm. John J. Bergen, United States Naval Reserve, was elected the national president of the Navy League during this recent meeting. I am certain that under the able and distinguished leadership of Admiral Bergen the Navy League will continue to perform the great public service of keeping us aware of the tremendous value to our Nation of strong naval power through the vehicle of the balanced fleet.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD the three outstanding addresses I have mentioned:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF THE NAVY GATES, BANQUET, 55TH ANNUAL CONVENTION, NAVY LEAGUE, WALDORF-ASTORIA

This is Operation Remember.

Today, the jungle grows high over Guadalcanal.

A lone fisherman walks Omaha Beach.

Anzio is rebuilt.

Espiritu Santo means only its English translation, and Truk is a lonely atoll.

The world forgets quickly.

Men who were there remember, and there were millions of them. Those who were there will never forget:

The flares of the early torpedo attacks.

The hastily built beer places, that came later.

The smell of the dead.

The jungle rot of the Solomons.

The perfection of the German, the Kamakaze.

The stories grown better with the years.

The friendships, deeper than any.

The bridge games that changed as a regular member did not return.

The bloody beaches of Tarawa.

The thrill of the Halsey "get moving tonight" dispatches.

The careful planning of Spruance.

The confidence instilled by the brilliance and calm of Nimitz.

The fleet lit up by Mitscher whom the pilots loved.

The dream of a lifetime when Oldendorf crossed the T at Surigao.

The flag at Iwo.

The boys in the water.

The names *Enterprise, Lex, Yorktown, South Dakota, Salt Lake City, Boise, O'Bannon, Barb.*

Those of Vandergrift, Howling Mad Smith, McCain, Butch O'Hara, Killer Kane, Erskine, and Cates.

Those of Coral Sea and Midway.

The six Marine divisions.

"Scratch one flat top."

"The Slot."

"Send us more Japs."

The turkey shoot.

The "Can-do-Will-do-Did" Seabees.

The Nazis, the Nips.

Greater East Asia company, prosperity sphere.

The rising sun, the swastika.

Those who were there say "these things I have lived"—"These days taught me love of God."

These days brought out of the smoke and death of Pearl Harbor the greatest force on earth, the ingenuity and resources of America produced the greatest power ever devised, and the United States of America rode the airways and the seaways of the earth.

These forces were led by men—men trained for years—men who existed for such an emergency. It was their reason for being—the reason for their services to exist. Let us never forget the purpose of the military is to fight and win wars.

Many of these men are here—combat and the strain of war took many of their contemporaries.

They are the epitome of the most priceless commodity of freedom—leadership.

We are inclined these days, as a result of some of our experiences in war to think primarily of victory in terms of quantitative superiority of men, ships, and planes; in resources, money and munitions.

Remember the trojan response from mine, factory, and farm; a cardinal factor in naval success.

The amazing wartime production of ships, planes, and guns. The genius of our engineers, scientists, mechanics, and laborers.

Military success is likewise dependent more and more on new developments and new techniques, more especially nowadays on achievements in science and engineering.

Remember the superiority of carrier warfare, which spearheaded the war in the Pacific. One of the great achievements in the history of modern warfare.

Amphibious forces perfected to a degree hitherto unimaginable.

Incomparable submarine forces—which almost singlehandedly strangled the Japanese.

Fantastically flexible and responsive logistic forces—underway replenishment.

The birth of the hunter-killer teams—sighted sub sank same.

The birth of underwater demolition—the frog man.

Fantastically ingenious indeed are these techniques and developments. Just as are those of the atom, the missile, and the jet.

The United States and the free world likewise is richly endowed by natural resources. The world has never seen the like of our wealth and productivity.

Yet, these material things pale into relative unimportance without leadership. The inspirational leadership of a sergeant directing a squad of marines or the brilliant leadership of an admiral directing a task force. This is the essential ingredient above all else to victory.

Those here tonight are representative of the leadership which led our country in its exploitation of global seapower to a degree unmatched at any other time in history. They are representative of the men who filled the ranks and manned the ships in the magnificent manner required, which characterized our World War II Navy.

Throughout the war, their leaderhip employed our balanced fleets in such a manner as to exploit fully the ability of the Navy to concentrate naval power at any desired point in such a manner as to overwhelm the defense at the point of contact. This leadership demonstrated the capability of seapower to make use of the principles of mobility, concentration, and economy of force, to a degree approaching the ultimate. Modern weapons are changing the appearance and the means of application; the principles of applications are unchanged. These principles guide our leaders of today—Radford, 30-Knot Burke, Pate. They will guide our leaders of tomorrow.

Thus, they have played a vital part not only in history, but in the future—which is full of promise, because of the strength and will of all the free people of the Western World, an oceanic confederacy cemented together by seapower.

For your contributions to the glorious past and the bright future, we thank you and we salute you.

REMARKS BY ADMIRAL BURKE, THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS, OPERATION REMEMBER, NEW YORK, N. Y., MAY 2, 1957

This is a memorable occasion. It is the first time that the people who have played so important a part in developing the spirit and effectiveness and soul of the Navy—the things on which the traditions of the Navy are founded—have ever been gathered together in one spot.

Ever since the United States has been a nation—the Navy has been in the forefront—the bulwark of the Nation's security. This has been true throughout our entire history. It is true now.

The fleet commanders of the Navy are deployed across the seven seas today—protecting the interests of the United States—supporting United States policy. They are carrying on the traditions they have had instilled in them in the course of their naval careers.

You in this audience must take great interest and pride in these commanders—because these commanders were trained and developed by you. Under your leadership and guidance they gained their habits of thought—their habit of service—their willingness to put ship first and their own interests second. They were taught this in the small Navy of the years before World War II—under you.

Under you they gained their experience in combat. They were taught to think in battle. They learned their combat lessons—they learned their traditions from their predecessors—from you.

There are others who also taught traditions—and valor—and devotion to duty—others who are not here among us. It is of those people of whom I would now speak.

I speak of men like Cassin Young—Butch O'Hare—Mush Morton—Dan Callaghan and the thousands of others—officers and men of the United States Navy—who gave their lives in the line of duty. These men—all of them—are part of the priceless tradition from which our Navy proudly draws its strength today. Our destroyers carry some of their names—but if we had a fleet of a thousand destroyers we could not begin to honor them all.

It is more than a ship's name that makes these men live in our memories. It is their deeds. It is what they believed. It is what they stood for—what they fought for—what they died for. They are the heart and soul of the integrity of our country. They are the well spring of the strength—the integrity—of our Navy.

It is in this tradition—forced by those who fell in battle at sea—that Navy men of the past—Navy men of today—and Navy men for all time to come—cheerfully dedicate their lives to their God and to their country—to their ship and to their shipmates—to the cause of human freedom and the cause of all humanity. Mere men can give no more. Honorable men can give no less.

In a spirit of great pride and deep humility—let us salute our shipmates—who met death at sea—in defense of the United States—and in the finest tradition of the naval service.

REMARKS BY GEN. R. MCC. PATE, USMC, COMMANDANT OF THE MARINE CORPS, AT THE 55TH ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE NAVY LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES, MAY 2, 1957, NEW YORK CITY

Distinguished guests, gentlemen, I don't believe that I have felt so much like a "J. O." since I was in fact a second lieutenant. In looking over the lists of honored guests, I have made the rough computation that, if all had been able to be present the group would have represented a galaxy of 297 stars—on one side of the collar! Of far greater significance, they represent an aggregate of some 2,765 years of devoted and distinguished service to our Nation.

The Navy League is due the thanks of all of us for making available the occasion of their 55th Annual Banquet to honor these distinguished Americans. This has been too long delayed. I am pleased that a great organization like the Navy League has moved forward to see that this was done and I am honored to participate.

It is a wonderful experience to be able to see again—in person—so many of my old friends and comrades-in-arms, the inspiring leaders of World War II.

Seeing them brings back a flood of memories. Many events are in the passing parade, but one predominates. All of these great men here had a hand in it, in one way or another. The planning of some made it possible; others carried it into execution; still others moved the tide of battle forward on the wave of this initial success. I will never forget it. This was the battle that turned the course of the war in the Pacific: Guadalcanal.

To me that victory was the greatest moment of World War II. It was vindication for the devoted band of marines who had insisted, through the years of uneasy peace, that amphibious assault was possible; it was justification for their Navy colleagues who had believed them, and who assisted in developing the doctrine that carried United States forces successfully onto enemy shores the world over.

Guadalcanal was a high moment in the history of our Nation; it was a test of men, of doctrine, a service, and a Nation. They all proved worthy.

To the world, Guadalcanal proved the flexibility and efficiency of the functional fleet; it demonstrated the great professional lesson that flexible forces, balanced, completely ready forces, can seize the fleeting opportunities of war and turn them to our Nation's advantage. This we must remember.

Such a force cannot be improvised. Where improvisation was attempted, history is replete with failure. The force must exist. The force must be ready—on a day-to-day basis.

Tonight I can assure you that the Marine Corps and Navy are in a high state of readiness. New men and new weapons are being incorporated into a balanced fleet with its fleet Marine forces. They are bound together by a common doctrine, tested and found successful in the wars of the past—and under constant reexamination and development in the light of events of the present and our knowledge of the future.

I speak for the Marine Corps when I say we view our place with double pride—pride in the fleet as an instrument of national policy, and pride in our own contribution.

I know of no more effective instrument of national policy than the 6th Fleet with its Marines in the eastern Mediterranian. It is a tangible symbol of our national interest in that troubled area. And it is there now—for all the world to see and note.

Those of us who still serve on the active list are mindful of what these men have left to us by way of example. They have shown us high courage, judgment, vast professional knowledge. Most of all, I feel that we are indebted to them for their clear example of integrity—that quality of moral soundness, absolute honesty, and pure devotion to duty and country. This has made our country great, our Navy great, our Marine Corps great, and it has made these great men. Thos of us who follow them are much in their debt.

This we will remember.

Tampa Harbor Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, appearing before the Subcommittee on Public Works of the House of Representatives on Wednesday, May 8, in addition to myself were representatives of the Hillsborough County Port Authority, Mr. J. B. Colbert, director, and Mr. Norman S. Brown, attorney, speaking in behalf of the request for $2.25 million to be used in fiscal 1957–58 continuing work on the Tampa Harbor project. The brief presented by the group is a remarkable presentation disclosing the phenomenal growth of the port of Tampa and the area it serves. I ask inclusion of a part of that report in the RECORD at this time so that the Members may learn of the development of this public-works project that is so well qualified, so graphi-

cally demonstrates the impact on the community, of this worthy project, and which demonstrates great willingness on the part of the community to cooperate with this Congress. This is a striking example of the good that results from congressional support of a sound harbor project.

Further, Mr. Speaker, the Hillsborough County Port Authority has, in my opinion, done an outstanding job of community service. They have served diligently both the community and the Congress in meeting the demands made upon them for services and in presenting a planned and productive program of growth for this great harbor. I would further include extracts from the brief of that authority presented to the committee today and which is an excellent analysis of both the growth of the great west coast of Florida and the needs of the area in regard to continuation of the development of the port of Tampa, Fla. From this presentation, I am sure, a full understanding of the phenomenal results of the Tampa Harbor project can be learned:

The Hillsborough County Port Authority and the Florida communities served by Tampa Harbor are deeply grateful for the action of last year which led to the appropriation by the Congress of $4 million to continue the Tampa Harbor project.

The port of Tampa is the major port of fabulous Florida. This port in many ways is exceeding the tremendous growth of the area which it serves. The port of Tampa continues to be one of the most rapidly growing ports in the United States—and this rapid expansion had its genesis in the knowledge of the start of this project in January of 1955.

This fact is mentioned to the end that you may better understand our request for appropriations for fiscal year 1957–58. The sum of $2,250,000 is being requested for the continuance of the Tampa Harbor project in fiscal year 1958.

The requested sum of $2,250,000 is the amount recommended by the President in his budget message for fiscal year 1958. The Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army, has advised us approximately $3½ million could be economically utilized in the performance of work on the continuance of this project in fiscal year 1958. This would continue the rate of work performance at the same level as that of fiscal year 1957.

We realize, however, the tremendous task confronting your committee in meeting the appropriation demands for our entire Nation. We are perfectly willing to accept the judgment of the committee in this matter and accept the recommended appropriation of $2¼ million.

It is emphasized that the forecasts of growth which we have submitted to you each year for the past few years have in truth and fact been too conservative as demonstrated by the actual happening of events.

This again is the case this year. The actual increase in new and additional port facilities, in industrial additions and the increasing utilization of the port have in actuality substantially exceeded the estimates which were presented to you in July of 1955. The necessity for the rapid completion of usable segments of the project coextensively with completion of these new port facilities becomes increasingly imperative.

I. CURRENT STATUS OF PROJECT

1. Estimated total cost, $13,196,000: The outstanding modifications to the Tampa Harbor project were authorized in the 1950 River, Harbor, and Flood Control Act (see H. Doc. No. 268, 81st Cong., 2d sess.). Generally, this authorizes deepening the 54 miles of existing main ship channels from an actual depth of 27 to 30 feet to a minimum depth of 34 feet, and widening channels from a minimum existing width of 300 to a minimum width of 400 feet. Estimated total cost of the project has been increased from $10,800,000 to $12,196,000. Attached is a chart showing the various channels, cuts and turning basins with the Corps of Engineers' cost estimates for each of the various segments of the project. This increase in project cost is almost entirely due to the increased cost of dredging which is being generally encountered throughout the United States.

2. Already appropriated, $4,977,000—already spent, $4,857,000: Fiscal year 1956 Congress appropriated $977,000 for this project and for fiscal year 1957 appropriated $4 million. The latter appropriation was $1½ million more than was initially recommended by the engineers and recommended by the Bureau of the Budget. The additional $1½ million was appropriated due to the fact that between the time of the recommendation of the Budget Bureau and of the engineers work proceeded at a greatly accelerated pace which was completely unanticipated. The Senate Appropriations Committee was advised of this fact and upon the recommendation of the Chief of Engineers increased the appropriation to $4 million so that work on the project could continue throughout the fiscal year 1957. Had this appropriation not been made work would have been interrupted. The $4,977,000 so far appropriated has been expended as follows (these are estimates of the port authority and have not been confirmed by the Corps of Engineers—who we understand have submitted detailed information in this regard):

	Fiscal year ending—		Total
	June 30, 1956	June 30, 1957	
Tampa Bay channels	$785,000	$2,315,000	$3,100,000
Egmont Bar and Mullet Key channels	280,000	[1] 550,000	830,000
Plans and engineering	130,000	75,000	205,000
Supervision and administration	87,000	174,000	261,000
Hillsboro channels	----------	600,000	600,000

[1] Includes supervision and administration.

As may be seen the status of the project is as follows:

1. Tampa Bay channels were completed during the fiscal year 1956–57.

2. The work on Egmont Bar channel and Mullet Key Cut which is being performed by United States Government hopper dredge is approximately two-thirds completed. That is, work remains to be performed in fiscal 1958 of total cost of $340,000. This will complete this segment of the project.

3. A contract was let in January 1957 covering all work to be performed on Hillsboro Channel in the total amount of $2,377,814. As of July 1, 1957, work will remain to be performed having a total cost including supervision and administration of approximately $1,670,000. This is proposed to be done in fiscal year 1958 and the estimated completion date is April 1958. This will complete the project up to Hooker's Point (i. e., the port authority terminal). This will provide immediate direct economic benefits and relief to shippers and tankers using the newly renovated port authority dock which provides 2,000 feet of berthing space with 34 feet of depth.

4. Requested: Amendment of completion schedule; to complete usable segments of channel to upper Tampa Harbor:

The port authority respectfully requests that the phases of the project be completed in the following order of priority:

1. First complete Egmont Channel; Mullet Key Cut and the Tampa Bay channels.
2. Hillsboro Channel.
3. Sparkman Channel and Ybor turning basin.
4. Port Tampa Channel and Port Tampa turning basin.
5. Alafia River.
6. Hillsboro River.

(Under the original recommendation items 1 and 2 were the same and items 5 and 6 had the same relative positions. Items 3 and 4 were relatively as follows:

(3. Enlarge Port Tampa channels.

(4. Enlarge Sparkman Channel and Ybor turning basin.

(5. Enlarge Port Tampa turning basin.)

The reasons an amendment of the completion schedule is requested are as follows:

(1) There has been a substantial change in conditions since the original recommendation was made to the district engineer some 3 years ago. This essentially is due to the fact that since the original recommendation was made over $9 million in new port facilities have been undertaken or committed and over $90 million in new industrial facilities requiring deep water have been undertaken or committed; the volume of traffic not only has substantially increased but economic savings have correspondingly increased.

(2) This is the most economical schedule of completion. A contract has been let which will complete the Tampa Harbor project through the Hillsboro channels (i. e., items 1 and 2 above). Obviously, it would be better to leave the equipment on site and proceed with the dredging operations through Sparkman Channel and Ybor turning basin which are approximately 1.5 miles in length.

(3) This completion schedule will immediately provide a completed usable segment of the project—and this will be provided to not only the greatest affected volume of tonnage but also to the greatest number of vessels, shippers, affected members of the public as well as to the Department of Defense.

In 1955 Port Tampa handled 37 percent of the tonnage of petroleum—63 percent being handled in the upper harbor. (Port Tampa, 1,830,000 tons; upper harbor 3,115,000 tons.) In 1955 Port Tampa handled 46 percent of the phosphate, i. e., 1,563,000 of 3,399,000 tons.

(4) The port authority estimates that the completion of this segment of the channel (i. e., Egmont, Mullet Key, Tampa Bay, Hillsboro, Sparkman, and Ybor Channels) will immediately effect approximately $1½ million in calculable annual benefits.

II. REQUESTED FOR 1957–58: APPROPRIATION OF $2,250,000

The sum of $2,250,000 is requested for the continuance of work on the project for fiscal year 1957–58. This is the sum recommended by the President. This sum would be spent as follows:

1. Completion of work upon the Egmont Bar Channel and Mullet Key Cut by Government hopper dredge ($340,000). It is our understanding that this is in accordance with the plans of the Engineers. It is understood that availability of United States Government hopper dredge permits the scheduling of such dredge for the performance of all of the incompleted work on these two channels.

2. The remaining part of the funds to be used in discharging the obligations under the contract currently being let on Tampa Bay channels ($1,670,000).

3. The remaining appropriated funds ($240,000) would be spent on work performed on the Sparkman-Ybor Channels during May and June 1958.

We wish to emphasize that this sum contemplates the use of only one dredge under private contract work and it also contemplates that no advance of funds would be made during the current fiscal year.

III. JUSTIFICATION OF APPROPRIATION

1. The tremendous growth of the port of Tampa: 3 years ago, and each year since that time, we have advised you and testified before you that the start of this project would unquestionably "trigger off" an unprecedented growth of the port of Tampa. That the shallow and inadequate channels of the port of Tampa impose a tremendous economic burden upon our port, which is not borne by any other major port in the United States or by any sizeable port in the South Atlantic or Gulf of Mexico. Events have more than amply substantiated that statement. The port of Tampa is the major marine gateway into "fabulous Florida." The tremendous growth of the State of Florida, is, of course, one of the major contributing factors to the growth of the port of Tampa. But this is only one of the reasons for the tremendous growth of this port.

We still believe, and so believing urge upon you, that the start of the Tampa harbor project has been the single greatest contributing factor to the tremendous growth of the port of Tampa. We hope that this factor of growth will be given the same consideration by you this year as you have in the past. We urge that these growth factors clearly indicate and strongly justify appropriation of sufficient funds to keep work proceeding apace and with unbroken continuity.

2. Nineteen hundred and fifty-six export and coastal rail car unloadings—Tampa, fifth largest port in the Nation—1956 export and coastal car unloadings—Tampa is fifth ranking United States port: The port of Tampa in 1956 had a total of 62,614 export and coastal carloads unloading (except coke and coal). It is the fifth ranking United States port in this regard. Tampa's 1956 car unloadings exceeded 1955 by 22 percent (11,148 cars).

The growing national commercial importance of the port of Tampa is seen by comparing the 10 ranking United States ports in 1956 rail car unloadings.

Port in order of rank	1956 number of car unloadings	1956 increase (or decrease) over 1955 cars	1956 percent increase (or decrease) over 1955
(1) New York	209,608	9,610	5
(2) New Orleans	119,529	4,168	4
(3) Baltimore	99,208	4,893	5
(4) Galveston	90,188	13,643	18
(5) Tampa	62,614	11,148	22
(6) Philadelphia	58,954	2,854	5
(7) Hampton Roads	57,163	(−5,758)	(−9)
(8) Portland, Oreg	56,932	12,792	29
(9) San Francisco	47,993	785	2
(10) Houston	42,096	3,897	10

NOTE.—PT Rept. 6A, sheet 17, Association American Railroads.

For the first quarter of 1957 the car unloadings at the port of Tampa continued at a growing pace of a total of 16,677 cars—an increase over first quarter 1956 of 1,434 cars, or approximately 10 percent.

The port of Tampa is increasingly becoming the marine hub of the Southeastern United States. Its commercial importance as a port in the Southeastern United States is evidenced by the fact that its total 1956 car unloadings exceeded the combined 1956 car unloadings of Charleston, Savannah, Jacksonville, Port Everglades, Miami, Pensacola, and Mobile—and the Tampa increase in cars unloaded in 1956 over 1955 exceeded the combined increase of the compared ports.

Port	1956 number of car unloadings	1956 increase (or decrease) over 1955	1956 percent of increase (or decrease) over 1955
Tampa	62,614	11,148	22
Mobile	23,689	6,885	41
Pensacola	3,430	455	15
Miami	3,234	(−665)	(−17)
Port Everglades	2,048	530	35
Jacksonville	5,634	1,134	24
Savannah	14,125	(−849)	(−6)
Charleston	9,764	568	6

These car unloadings at the port of Tampa largely comprise bulk commodities—the water transportation of which is receiving severe economic penalties due to "light loading" and "delay time" caused by the present shallow channels. This emphasizes the necessity of completing the Tampa Harbor project with all reasonable speed.

We think it particularly pertinent with reference to increased usage of the port and utilization of its facilities that this is an increase of over 800 percent over the corresponding period of 1940—it is by far the most substantial increase of any South Atlantic or gulf port for this period of time.

3. Fiscal year 1956 customs receipts, $3,897,000, up 39 percent over fiscal year 1955. Foreign commerce, too, is increasing at an accelerated pace—and at a rate in excess of our forecast of prior years.

Customs receipts of the port of Tampa for the fiscal year 1955 totaled $3,896,932. An increase of $1,104,000 over 1954. Or to express it differently, customs receipts for 1955 were up over 39 percent over 1954.

Customs collections for the first 8 months of fiscal year 1957 total $3,587,675. It would indicate that for fiscal year 1957 they may reach or exceed $5 million. Another indication of the growing commercial importance of this port—an increase over 1950 customs collections of over 250 percent.

Foreign and domestic commercial interests even more than the home folks are aware of and inquiring into the tremendous growth and potentialities of the port of Tampa.

The customs value of goods imported from nations of free Europe through the Tampa district totaled $37,670,000 in 1955. This was greater than the value of such goods imported through the districts of Mobile and New Orleans combined. This tremendous growth is not a shift in emphasis from our larger sister ports; it is essentially to meet the demands for these foreign products made by the area served by the port of Tampa.

This continued increase in customs collections evidences the fact that imports into the port of Tampa are becoming increasingly diversified in nature and of much higher value. In 1956 foreign imports (exclusive of petroleum products) exceeded over 500,000 tons comprised of 58 different classifications of general cargo.

4. 1955 port tonnage, 10,656,000 tons, up 8½ percent over 1954; 1956 port tonnage; 12,265,000 tons, up 13.1 percent over 1955. In 1955, 10,656,046 tons of cargo passed through the port of Tampa.

This was the largest tonnage that ever moved through, the port of Tampa in a single year. This represents an increase of approximately 850,000 tons over the port tonnage for 1954 and was an increase of over 8½ percent over the year 1954.

Based upon preliminary estimates, which in prior years have proven reasonably accurate, the port authority calculates 1956 tonnage to be 12,265,000 tons, an increase of 13.1 percent over 1955.

We mention this, as we have in our prior appearances before you, calculated prospective port tonnage upon the bases of an increase in port tonnage of 7.6 percent annual increase. We now consider that too conservative as in each of the past 3 years port tonnage has increased over 8½ percent per year over the preceding year. In this regard you will note from the following comparative port statistics of the compared ports Tampa is increasing the utilization and useage of its port tremendously. It is the largest port lying between Hampton Roads and Mobile. Its growth continues unabated.

Comparative port statistics

Present channel depth	Date deepened	Prior channel depth	1950 national port ranking	1940 port tonnage	1950 port tonnage	1955 port tonnage	1940 custom collection	1956 fiscal year customs collected
		Feet						
Tampa	27 to 30 feet, 1936	27	23	3,953,724	7,517,476	10,656,046	$1,799,531	$3,896,932
Mobile	36 feet, 1954	32	22	4,900,000	7,233,103	15,483,028	1,058,501	1,223,445
Jacksonville	34 feet, 1951	30	34	3,112,958	4,159,074	6,475,048	1,283,931	2,878,809
Savannah	34 feet, 1953	30	39	3,880,120	3,471,199	(1)	2,441,156	4,000,000
Everglades	35 feet, 1930	None	56	876,727	1,866,552	2,884,256	337,838	1,332,435
Panama City	32 feet, 1949	27	72	939,707	1,040,606	1,253,523	148	3,805
Pensacola	32 feet, 1934	30	74	651,041	447,506	702,091	20,475	33,970

[1] Not known.

5. Over $9 million new port facilities since January 1955: Since the apparent assured start of this project in January 1955 over $9 million in new and improved port facilities have been undertaken by private interests. This is an additional $3,500,000 in new port facilities since our appearance before you last year. These new port facilities include piers, wharves, bulkheads, privately dredged channels and turning basins, bulk cargo loading, unloading and storage facilities for oil and other petroleum products, phosphate and chemical products, molasses, grain, and other commodities.

We submit that this is clear and present evidence of the fact that the local community served by this port is aware of its responsibility and is fulfilling that responsibility.

These new port facilities include:

Florida Power Corp.: Dredging over 5,000 yards of new channel with turning basin to 34-foot depth; bulkheading, docking and petroleum discharge facilities. Total cost, $4,500,000 (increase of $1,800,000 since last year).

Tampa Electric Co.: Dredging new channel to Black Point to 30-foot depth (docking and unloading facilities fill), $500,000.

Atlantic Coast Line Railroad: Improving Port Tampa Terminal by widening slip 107 feet for distance of 1,500 feet and dredging slip to depth of 35 feet, relocating piers, bulkheads, road and railroad tracks, $850,000.

Illinois Grain Corp.: Grain elevators, wharf and mechanized unloading facilities.

Tampa Terminals, Inc.: Construction of phosphate storage silos, wharf loading and unloading facilities.

Tampa Sand & Material Co.: 1,000 feet bulkheading on Ybor Channel.

Tampa Molasses Co.: Molasses terminal and storage facilities.

Ingram Oil Co.: Oil terminal facilities.
Texas Co.: New storage tanks.
Pure Oil Co.: Oil terminal facilities.
Republic Oil: New storage tanks.
Gulf Oil Co.: New storage tanks.
Shell Oil Co.: New loading facilities.
Hillsborough County Port Authority: Renovation of 1,000 foot dock, dredging to depth 34 feet, 2,000 feet berthing space.

6. Over $95 million new "deep water" industrial construction—Since January 1955: We advised you last year (May 1956) that since January of 1955 over $70 million in new "deep water" industrial construction had been undertaken—that is, construction by new industries or expanding industries requiring as a part of their operation deepwater sites or deepwater shipping facilities.

Since last year an additional $25 million in new deep water industrial construction has been undertaken. A total of $95 million of industrial construction utilizing the increased depth to be provided by completion of the harbor project.

It is anticipated that the industrial dispersal requirements of the Defense Appropriation Act of 1956 will in immediate future years result in more industries of this nature moving into the port area. General Electric Corp. and Minneapolis-Honeywell Corp. have commenced construction of large plants in the area served by the port.

Requirements of the Defense Department itself are requiring greater utilization of port facilities. It is our understanding that petroleum storage facilities of the Air Force are being substantially increased at Tampa. The details of this information are readily available to you.

None of these very substantial expenditures are included in the above amount of $95 million. All of this is indicative of the increasing utilization of this port and of the necessity for providing it with channel facilities permitting use of modern vessels.

These new industries include:

Schlitz Brewing Co.: Export brewery, capacity 1 million barrels per year.

Southland Petroleum Co.: 30,000 barrel gasoline refinery and manufacture of attendant byproducts.

Tampa Electric Co.: 125,000-kilowatt generating plant.

Florida Power Corp.: 125,000-kilowatt generating plant.

American Cable Co.: Cable manufacturing plant (completed in 1956 at a cost of approximately $5 million. The company in October 1956 announced a 60-percent plant expansion program.

Dibbs Aluminium Products Corp.: New manufacturing plant.

Ingram Oil Co.: Oil terminal facilities.

Texas Co.: New asphalt plant.

Pure Oil Co.: Oil terminal facilities.

Tampa Terminals, Inc.: New phosphate terminal, storage loading and unloading facilities.

Illinois Grain Corp.: Marine grain elevator and terminal facilities.

Tampa Molasses Co.: Molasses loading and storage.

There are others, these are the principal starts. If desired, data concerning each can be furnished to you—or the same may be obtained from the United States engineers to whom it has been given.

7. Proposed port facilities and industrial construction. As presented to you last year there is approximately $5 million in proposed additional port facility construction. Surveys and studies for which are now underway. This is both public and private construction. The port authority is now in the process of completing 35 acres of new dredged-channel-front industrial acreage.

It is reasonable to assume that a substantial part of this proposed new port-facility construction will be undertaken.

In speaking of new industrial construction the trend of new industries to Florida and to this section of Florida is truly so fabulous that a projection of its use would be so fantastic as to be unbelievable. As a matter of fact, what has occurred in the past 2 years could not be believably forecast 3 years ago. The inescapable fact is that both established and new industries, as well as prospective industries, in the formation of their plans and in the determination of their business moves are depending upon the speedy completion of the Tampa Harbor project. As you have in the past, we know that you will give your thoughtful consideration to this most important factor.

8. Population served by Tampa Harbor, July 1956, 1,520,000 persons—up 13 percent over July 1954: The population of 25 counties served by the port of Tampa was estimated at in excess of 1,520,000 as of July 1, 1956. An increase of over 13 percent over the July 1, 1954, estimate. It was estimated that at July 1, 1956, the city of Tampa had a population of 250,000—an increase of over 10 percent over its population at July 1, 1954.

The estimated population of the Tampa-St. Petersburg metropolitan area is 578,347. These estimates were made using standards and criteria generally approved by the United States Census Bureau and the same criteria were used for making both estimates.

The nonagricultural employment of Hillsborough County for the month of June 1956 totaled 86,900 persons, an increase of 8 percent over the 80,400 persons so employed in the preceding period of 1955.

All of these establishments are reflecting regular and steady increases in employment. In this regard, we submitted to you the results of a survey conducted last year by the Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce showing over one-third of the businesses and manufacturers were users of the port.

IV. 1956 BENEFIT-COST RATIO: 3.2 TO 1

1. Annual savings, $1,513,000—up 57 percent over 1955: The Corps of Engineers in October of 1956 estimated the benefit-cost ratio of the Tampa Harbor project to be 3.2 to 1. This is based on 1955 port tonnage and on the revised estimate of a total project cost of $12 million and direct annual benefits $1,512,900. The Corps of Engineers estimate that the annual benefits to be derived upon completion of the port of Tampa and main Tampa ship channels are as follows:

	United States engineers 1950 project document estimate	United States engineers Oct. 1, 1956, estimate based on 1955 tonnage	Port authority 1956 estimate based on 1955 tonnage
Savings from reduced layover time, tankers	$123,000	$601,500	$601,500
Savings from reduced layover time, dry-cargo vessels	90,000	256,000	256,000
Savings from increased loadings, petroleum products	163,000	454,400	1,021,440
Alafia River: Savings from elimination of rail line haul costs	108,300	191,000	191,000
Total annual savings	495,300	1,512,900	2,069,440
B/C ratio		3.2 to 1	4.3 to 1

We believe it particularly noteworthy that the Corps of Engineers submitted to you last year a benefit-cost ratio of 2.25 to 1 based upon a project cost of $11 million and annual benefits of $966,400. In 1 year the estimated annual benefits have increased 53 percent. In other words, even though the cost of the project is increasing with generally increasing costs this is more than offset by the increase in annual benefits to be derived, so that the benefit-cost ratio is becoming more favorable each year. We think this worthy of your consideration as being indicative of the necessity for a prompt completion of the project.

The port authority estimates the direct annual benefits based upon 1955 figures to be $2,069,940. The criteria and standards used in making this estimate are those used by the Corps of Engineers. The evaluated annual benefits are the same as the engineers with the one exception "savings from increased loadings petroleum products." The port authority estimates that this amount is $1,021,440 rather than $464,400, as estimated by the United States Engineers. The basis of calculation is based upon an actual survey, tanker by tanker, of the tankers using the port in 1953 and 1954. This survey was eliminated in 1955. However, there is no change in the factual circumstances and those facts ascertained by the survey would be true. Upon this basis of annual benefits of $2,069,940 the benefit-cost ratio is 4.3 to 1. An increase in benefit-cost ratio in the past year of 39 percent. This is an increase in annual benefits of over 400 percent over the 1950 estimates by the engineers of $495,300. We believe these figures briefly and dramatically show the immense benefit to the port area that will be brought by the completion of the project. This evidences the need for rapid completion of this project.

V. ELIMINATION OF MARINE HAZARDS

We have heretofore submitted to the district engineers, Corps of Engineers, a survey of marine casualties occurring in Tampa Harbor and which were attributable in whole or in part to the inadequate channels of Tampa Harbor. The increasing traffic in the port is correspondingly increasing the dangers that are involved. In the past 15 months there have occurred the most costly collisions and marine casualties in the history of the port.

The completion of the project will most substantially lessen these marine risks.

VI. PROSPECTIVE PORT USAGE

In 1959: 17 million tons—benefit-cost ratio, 6 to 1: The port authority estimates that the annual tonnage of the port of Tampa in 1959 will exceed 17 million tons. This estimate is based upon two factors:

1. That the normal business of the port will continue to grow at the rate of 8.5 percent per year over the previous year for the next 3 years. This gives an estimated normal port tonnage for 1959 of 15,667,000 tons. As mentioned, we believe this to be conservative as the rate of growth each year for the past 5 years has exceeded this figure. For example, 1956 tonnage exceeded 1955 by over 13 percent, and the first quarter of 1957 has exceeded the first quarter of 1956 in excess of this amount. March of 1957 produced the largest volume of port traffic both in tonnage and number of ship entries ever enjoyed by the port of Tampa; over 225 merchant vessels with a total tonnage of approximately 1,200,000 tons.

2. In 1959 there will be 1,750,000 additional tons of commodities required by new industrial plants now under construction, as follows: Coal, 750,000 tons; petroleum 750,000 tons. This projection does not include the tonnage that will be produced by the proposed Southland Refinery. This does not include the potential tonnage that will be produced by the 1,000-acre planned industrial site of the Tampa Chamber of Commerce.

Proposed, as well as started, new industries and facilities by 1959 will increase port usage by 3,800,000 tons, as follows:

	Tons
Petroleum	2,486,000
Coal	750,000
Other products	650,000

Upon this basis it is entirely realistic to anticipate a maximum utilization of the port in 1959 of approximately 19 million tons.

This analysis of prospective port growth and usage is also substantiated by examination of the principal factors contributing to port usage.

(A) Rate of growth by known port usage factors.

1. Petroleum.—In 1959, 7,374,000 tons: In prior years we have advised you that the normal annual increase in tonnage of petroleum and its products would approximate 10 percent each year (e. g., see last year's brief, p. 25).

Actual experience indicates this to be accurate. In 1955 petroleum tonnage totaled 4,945,000 tons. The experience in 1956 continues to indicate that this projection is realistic.

This projection does not include or give any weight to the increased tonnage resulting from location of Southland Oil Refinery adjacent to Black Point in the upper harbor. Reasonableness of the projection is seen in the new industries and facilities and known oil terminal expansion plans heretofore set forth in detail.

2. Phosphate.—In 1959, 4,712,000 tons: In 1955 there were 3,399,000 tons of phosphate which passed through the port of Tampa. This is an increase of 38 percent in the past 5 years. Based upon known factors, including new and improved storage, loading and terminal facilities and known waterborne plans for phosphate, a projected increase of 8.5 percent per year is believed realistic and the attainable fact. On this basis, in 1959 the tonnage of phosphate will be 4,712,000 tons. This is embodied in the projection of 1959 tonnage of 15 million tons. It is important to note that the above projected 1959 tonnages for petroleum and phosphate when combined maintain the historic ratio of 75 percent to 80 percent of total port tonnage. Experience during part of 1956 indicates the above projection to be accurate.

3. Coastwise trade.—In 1959, 8,427,000 tons: Last year we estimated a projected growth of coastwise trade of 5.1 percent each year for 5 years using 1954 as the base year; that is, a 1959 coastwise tonnage of 7,024,000 tons. It is apparent that this estimate is too low. In the 5-year period 1949–1954 the average annual increase in coastwise tonnage was 9.1 percent. In 1955 tonnage totaled 6,071,000 tons—an increase over 1954 of 10.8 percent. Based upon the known factors of normal growth it is believed 9 percent is an accurate basis of projection. Using the 1954 tonnage of 5,477,000 tons as the base the 1959 coastwise tonnage will total 8,427,000 tons.

4. Latin-American trade—1959, 981,000 tons: Last year we estimated 1959 Latin-American tonnage to be 981,000 tons. This is based on an average annual increase of 44.3 percent. The 1956 tonnage has not yet been compiled; our preliminary estimate indicates this projection to be sound.

The port authority is now sponsoring a special project study of Latin-American trade. The increasing interest in Tampa as a marine gateway to Latin America further substantiates this projection.

(B) 1959 benefit-cost ratio, 6 to 1—Direct annual savings, $2,878,600: Based upon an estimated tonnage in 1959 of 15 million tons, of which petroleum accounts for 7,374,000 tons and phosphate 4,712,000 tons, direct annual savings would total $2,048,000 based upon the direct annual savings as estimated by the United States engineers for the year 1955 (e. g., $1,512,900, see supra). This savings is calculated as follows: Savings from reduced layover time, tankers—$909,000; savings from increased loadings, petroleum products—$691,918; the other figures of the engineers are accepted on a current basis although it is known that they are inadequate based upon 15 million tons.

Based upon the savings from increased loadings of petroleum products as computed by the port authority ($1,522,000), the total annual savings would be $2,787,600.

It is to be noted that the benefit-cost ratio in one instance would be 4.3 to 1 and in the other instance (using port authority estimate) 6 to 1.

CONCLUSION

We appreciate the understanding of our situation and of our problem which you have demonstrated in the past. Our appreciation of the assistance which you have given us in the past we believe is best evidenced by the tremendous growth and investment in new port facilities and in new deep water industries.

We also realize the problems confronting your committee. Namely, the complex problem of determining the amount of public works appropriations within budgetary limitations for the fiscal year 1958. As we have stated before, we stand perfectly willing to have the comparative merits of our project as a navigation project determined upon any external criteria applied with equal force to other navigation projects.

We urgently request that you recommend for the fiscal year 1957–58 the appropriation of not less than $2,250,000 for this project to the end that the project may go forward on a sound and economical basis and provide a completed usable segment of the project within the fiscal year 1958.

The members of the Hillsborough County Port Authority who are the local governing body having jurisdiction over this project are as follows: J. M. Ingram, chairman; James L. Ferman, vice chairman; Richard E. Knight, secretary; W. J. Barritt, Jr., J. B. Colbert, Jack P. Fitzgerald, manager.

Hazleton (Pa.) Chamber of Commerce Wins Top Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following lead article from the Hazleton Plain Speaker of May 8, 1957, which states that the Hazleton job opportunities for its men earned the top award in a community development contest:

HAZLETON WINS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CONTEST—EFFORTS TO BUILD NEW WORK OPPORTUNITIES IN AREA CITED

Greater Hazleton's campaign to increase job opportunities for its men earned the top award yesterday in a statewide contest on community development.

This city, which was entered in competition by the Greater Hazleton Chamber of Commerce, won over such cities as Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Allentown, Wilkes-Barre, and Scranton.

Hazleton's first prize of $1,500 for achievements in 1956 was awarded in the top class of Pennsylvania's second annual community development contest, Communities of 25,000 and Over Population.

PRESENTATION PLANNED

Certificates of achievement will be presented to community leaders and representatives of sponsoring organizations at a luncheon in Harrisburg, May 27. Later, a ceremony will be held in this city for presentation of the cash award and an aluminum plaque citing the community's accomplishments.

OTHER WINNERS

Other winners in the class A division (for cities of over 25,000 population) were announced by the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce as follows:

Second prize of $1,000: Washington. This award will be matched by West Penn Power Co., raising Washington's winnings to $2,000.

Third prize of $750: Uniontown. Matched by West Penn Power Co., making Uniontown's winnings $1,500.

Fourth prize of $500: Erie.

Honorable mentions in class A were given to Allentown, Lancaster, Reading, and Williamsport.

Carlisle was the winner in the class B division for communities with a 10,000 to 25,000 population.

CONCRETE RECOGNITION

Wilbur J. Evans, local chamber president, remarked that "It is always pleasant to secure recognition for a good job well done. In this particular instance we of the chamber of commerce feel it is especially gratifying because it is concrete recognition by an outside agency of the tremendous efforts and accomplishments by the people of our community."

President Evans added that winning this award will not only encourage further efforts but will give our area additional publicity and spread the name of Hazelton throughout the State and entire Nation.

"To all of those people who have had a part in winning this award," he stated, "we want to again extend our thanks and congratulations."

The contest is sponsored by the State chamber of commerce, Bell Telephone Co., State Commerce Department, Pennsylvania Electric Association, State Farm Bureau Federation, Pennsylvania Gas Association, Pennsylvania Motor Truck Association, and the Pennsylvania Natural Gas Men's Association.

SIX PROJECTS ENTERED

The local chamber of commerce submitted six projects for the calendar year 1956:

1. Formation of a planned industrial park, a $740,000 industrial fund-raising effort.
2. The "operation trees" campaign.
3. Dime-a-week campaign, with a goal of $25,000, and its successor, Can-Do.
4. Secure airline service to Hazelton Municipal Airport.
5. Construction of a general purpose factory building to secure jobs for men.
6. Development of job opportunities.

Included in the above projects were these area communities: Hazleton, West Hazleton, Conyngham, Beaver Meadows, Weatherly, McAdoo, and the following townships: Black Creek, Butler, Conyngham, Hazle, Sugarloaf, Banks, Lausanne, Lehigh, Kidder, Packer, Delano, East Union, North Union, Kline, and Rush.

THIRTEEN COSPONSORS

Thirteen regional organizations participated as cosponsors of the Greater Hazleton entry in the statewide contest.

These organizations and their entering officials:

Southside Playground Association, Richard M. Parsons, president.

Arthur Street Playground Association, Irene T. Dobra, chairman of the landscape committee.

Twelfth Ward Community Association, Charles Schadder, president.

Thirteenth Ward Civic and Social Club, C. J. Humenick, secretary.

Anthracite Council of Girl Scouts, Inc., Mrs. Philip Herbert, president.

Girl Scouts of Troop 12, Drums, Mrs. John S. Williams, leader.

Greater Hazleton Chamber of Commerce, Wilbur J. Evans, president.

Boy Scouts of America, Anthracite Council, Inc., H. J. Peterson, scout executive.

Weatherly Rotary Club, John Timko, secretary.

Weatherly Boy Scouts, John Koehler.

Weatherly Flower Club, Mrs. Robert Kunkle.

Hazleton Garden Club, Mrs. Karl H. Young, president.

Bureau of Employment Security, Pennsylvania State Employment Service, Joseph J. Garrity, manager.

In addition, the participation of all organizations active in the Can-Do program was considered as a factor in the final decision.

THE HIGHEST COMPLIMENT

Dr. Edgar L. Dessen, president of Can-Do, remarked last night that the award, the highest commendation in the State of Pennsylvania for community improvement, is "the highest compliment that could possibly be given to our loyal and hard-working citizens."

Rivers Bridge Confederate Memorial Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to have included in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech the Honorable W. J. BRYAN DORN, a Representative in Congress from South Carolina, made at the 81st annual celebration of Rivers Bridge Confederate Memorial Association in South Carolina on May 10, 1957.

This speech was made on Confederate Memorial Day and the Battle of Rivers Bridge occurred at the end of the Civil War when a handful of southern soldiers held off more than three divisions of Union troops.

The speech follows:

ADDRESS BY WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 81ST ANNUAL CELEBRATION OF RIVERS BRIDGE CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION, MAY 10, 1957

It is fitting and proper that you, now and forever, honor the brave and gallant men who fought here at Rivers Bridge for a cause they believed to be right and just. The Confederate soldier faced overwhelming odds for 4 years because he believed in the principle of States rights and local self-government. While finally losing on the battlefield, his efforts were crowned with success in staving off for nearly 100 years the autocratic Federal dictatorship now looming menacingly on the horizon. The men at Rivers Bridge were dedicated men. They were courageous, independent, self-reliant. They sacrificed everything—their homes, their lives, their fortunes in an all-out effort against unconstitutional usurpation. We, the grandsons and granddaughters of these brave men, will do no less today in upholding the principles and ideals for which they fought and died.

In a sense, the War Between the States was a renewal of the Revolutionary War. In the Revolution, the American patriots were fighting against the autocratic power of King George III. The South, in the Confederate War, was fighting against what they believed to be usurpation of States rights and individual liberty by an autocratic, powerful Federal Government. It was a continuation of the long struggle for local government against autocracy. This is a never-ending struggle. Liberty is something that has to be won, defended, and fought for over and over again. Basic and fundamental principles of government and political philosophy never change. They are the same "yesterday, today, and forever."

In America today, we see a renewal, on a large scale, of the fight against centralization and federalism. The stakes today are higher than in 1861. The same fundamental issues are involved. The revolution today will be peaceful but no less determined. It will be fought out in the State legislatures and the halls of Congress, before the Supreme Court, and by television, radio, the press, and in the hearts and minds of individual citizens. It is not a sectional fight today between the North and South, but it is a battle between those, on one hand, who believe in a strong nationalist, socialist state, and those, on the other hand, who believe in States rights and a maximum of individual liberty. At stake today is trial by jury, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of the press, and the time-honored principles and ideals so paramount in previous revolutions and struggles for freedom. We must fight today, by peaceful means, just as our forefathers fought in the Revolution and as our grandfathers fought in the cause of the Confederacy. The fate of the entire free world rests on the outcome of our efforts. Federal encroachment, for a while, was a creeping encroachment. It was often intangible and little noticed by the average citizen, but today it is open and is moving at a fantastic pace.

We have, in 20 years, seen the Federal budget go from $6,150,000,000 to a proposed budget of 72 billion for the fiscal year 1958. We have seen those on the Federal payroll increase from 876,600 in 1937 to 2,407,491 today. There has been no such increase in the national income nor in the increase of our population. In 1937 the population of the United States was 128 million. Today our population is estimated at 168 million—an increase of only 33 percent. The Federal budget, on the other hand, has increased by 1,050 percent over 20 years ago. The interest on the national debt today is greater than the entire Federal budget 20 years ago. We, the taxpayers, are paying the colossal sum of over $7 billion on the money that we owe during this fiscal year.

The departments and agencies of the Federal Government are writing 90 percent of the legislation today or are making rules and regulations with the full force and intent of law. The direct representatives of the people are being bypassed and subjected to propaganda by these ever-growing agencies of the Federal Government. The taxpayer's money is being spent to propagandize him of the glories of the welfare state. The American citizen is being subjected to a barrage of propaganda extolling the virtues of the Federal autocracy. The people are being led into a socialistic pit of no return. The moral character of our people is being undermined by excessive taxation to support this Federal army of national and international spenders—professional spenders who have done nothing in 20 years but spend the money of the once-sovereign American citizen. In the name of fighting communism, the Federal Government is adopting socialistic and communistic methods. This centralized authority is pretending to stop a disease by spreading more of that same disease—the plague of international socialism. While wasting billions of dollars abroad in a futile effort to stop advancing communism, we are adopting Marxist doctrines through the back door here at home and subjecting our people to unprecedented regimentation.

Almost every Federal department and many of the committee reports of Congress justify their actions in the name of opposing communism. It seems that all Russia has to do to get this Federal bureaucracy to adopt many of its methods is to criticize our Constitution and our way of life. Already, Government is extracting from the American people, on the average, nearly 35 cents on every dollar that they earn. We are, therefore, one-third of the way to national socialism or communism because we are forced to work one-third of the time to support the Federal hierocracy. The danger point will be reached in a few years when the Federal Government starts extracting from our people 50 percent of their income. The French people rose in revolution against Louis XVI when his autocratic dictatorship took from the people 50 percent of their earnings.

The present civil-rights bill before the Congress is aimed at the rights of the States and our individual liberties. I do believe our forefathers, in their heroic struggle of 1861–65, postponed the day of Federal encroachment until recent times. The advocates of centralization are today making another all-out effort. Today the South is again opposing this centralization. We are being aided by patriotic Americans in every State of the American Union. Our numbers are daily increasing, and I am optimistic of some measure of success. The present civil-rights bill is another attempt to circumvent our Constitution and our legal processes to please the Communist and Socialist propagandists. This bill proposes to deny trial by jury in civil-rights cases and substitute trial by commissions or by Federal judges. It proposes to harass our people and our local and State law-enforcement agencies. It would create a Federal gestapo within the Attorney General's office to intimidate our people.

I want to remind the descendants of those brave men who fought here at Rivers Bridge and my fellow South Carolinians whose forebears followed Wade Hampton that the civil-rights bill now before your Congress would create a Federal commission appointed by the President to investigate unwritten charges of discrimination, a Federal commission empowered to subpena citizens to appear hundreds of miles away in a strange city to answer vague and unfounded charges. These charges could be brought against you by word of mouth without the identity of the accuser becoming known. The bill plainly states that anyone about to engage in an attempt to discriminate can be brought before the Commission or into the Federal courts. This bill would create another Assistant Attorney General with a staff of assistants charged solely with investigating charges of discrimination and tampering with the election laws of certain sovereign American States. This type of legislation is being strongly advocated by pseudoliberals who claim to champion the cause of minority groups and the underprivileged. I believe we in the South and in other sections of our country of a like mind are the real, true liberals. We believe in the principles and ideals of Thomas Jefferson. We believe, with him, that the least governed are the best governed. We share his fears about the power of the Supreme Court and a centralized Federal Government. As true liberals, we are fighting to preserve the liberties of our people, the sovereignty of our States, and local self-government.

The so-called liberal of today is advocating more Federal authority and is supporting every decision of the Supreme Court. He is a phony liberal who seeks to take away from the people and add to the already bloated Federal autocracy. In all the history of the world, when power was placed in the hands of a few men, it was at the expense of

the power of the people and, I might add, it was principally at the expense of the underprivileged and the minority races. When excessive taxation is wrung from the people and the money placed in the hands of dictators, the people lose their freedom. Likewise, in all history no liquidation or persecution of peoples could take place until first the machinery of persecution was placed in the hands of one or a few men.

This civil rights bill before Congress today, if enacted, could create the very means through which, someday, the minorities in America could be persecuted or even liquidated. No minority or religious sect in America can be persecuted or liquidated as long as we have a maximum of local authority and States rights. No mass persecution or widespread race discrimination has taken place in world history where there was local self-government and States rights. It has only taken place through dictators, centralized authority, and in the name of the "divine right of kings." Yes, we in the South are the true liberals who are fighting today to save minority races and minority religious groups and minority sections from the dictatorial machinery of a Federal Himmler. History will prove that where the machinery for a federal dictatorship was set up, the iron-fisted dictator would soon follow as night follows the day. The Spanish Inquisition in Spain, St. Bartholomew's massacre in France, the persecutions of the Church of England and Rome could never have taken place unless there was a strong federal authority.

This should be a warning today to many of our church leaders who are supporting a Socialist state, the Supreme Court, Federal aid to education, and this civil rights legislation. Make no mistake about it. If this civil rights bill passes, if the Supreme Court usurps more power, if Federal aid to education comes, the man, too, will come and will persecute the minorities in America who are advocating this type of legislation. Hitler posed as a friend of labor and of the people, but when the machinery was placed in his hands alone, he destroyed labor and wrecked the German Republic. Right here let me make it crystal clear that there was no persecution of the various Christian faiths in Germany until Hitler abolished the states in Germany and made the German Reichstag a rubberstamp Congress. Many church leaders in his early rise supported Hitler and his wild dreams of Socialist plenty—only to find themselves later in concentration camps for attempting religious freedom. The same can happen in America to our church leaders, to our minority races, if local government and the sovereignty of the States is seized by the Federal Government. Once firmly entrenched in power with a ruthless gestapo at his bidding, Hitler turned the power of his federalized state against a minority race of people. Without local government and state government, they were liquidated in the most horrible and inhumane way.

Joseph Stalin spent years consolidating the power of his federal state and then ruthlessly liquidated millions of southern Russians and herded minority peoples into the slave-labor camps of Siberia. Mussolini followed the same course when wielding absolute power from his headquarters in Rome. With individual liberty, local government and States rights, these millions would have been alive today. If we are successful in our fight to keep local government and States rights, we will be saving our people from religious persecution and our minority races from the fate of their brothers in foreign lands.

We must exert every effort today, before it is too late, for our constitutional processes, for the proper balance in our form of Government between the Federal Government and the States, between the Congress and the executive, and between the people and the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is interpreting into the Constitution and reading into the law things that were never intended by the Congress or the people. Americans everywhere are becoming alarmed at the usurpation of power by the Supreme Court. The Pennsylvania sedition case, the New York City school case, and, the other day, the Philadelphia private school case are enough to shock Americans in every State and in every section. The people are looking to their duly elected Representatives to curb the power of the Supreme Court, executive branch of the Government, and this new international monster—the Charter of the United Nations. I hasten to assure you that your South Carolina delegation in the Congress is fighting night and day, long and hard, to curb and to forestall this sinister Federal authority. We of the South represent only 100 votes in the United States House of Representatives. If we are to be successful, we must gain support in other sections. I believe with our united efforts, support is forthcoming.

Federal aid to education, though supported by some well-meaning people, is an octopus in disguise. With Federal aid, eventually will come Federal control of education and the youth of our land. This is a familiar road followed by Hitler, Goebbels, Mussolini, and Stalin. Every dictator since the beginning of time saw the absolute necessity of controlling education to further his dictatorial ambitions. They were as afraid of locally controlled education as they were the plague. If we are to remain a free Nation, we must preserve local control of our schools.

Every American State in this Union today is in better financial condition than the Federal Government. If the great State of South Carolina, one of the poorest in the Union, can build this magnificent school system that we see around us, surely Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois can build their own schools. Any community that builds its own schools and solves its own education problems will grow morally and spiritually. Local government will be strengthened, our people will have more pride in themselves, and confidence in their ability to solve their own problems. This, in turn, will strengthen the Republic. Federal aid to education would strike the final blow to the America as we have known it. America is great today because of its different sections, of its different people, and because of its difference of opinion, and even diverse political philosophy. If America ever begins to look and act in a single pattern, America will cease to be a great Nation. The American body politic will become a rubberstamp without willpower or courage—to be used by the Washington autocracy, to further their own ambitions. My admonition to you today, my fellow countrymen, is to oppose with united effort this civil-rights legislation, Federal aid to education, this stupendous budget and Federal encroachment, just as those heroes so valiantly fought here at Rivers Bridge.

Our struggle today is greater, more far-reaching, and more important than theirs. If we lose America and the free world, we will be plunged backward 1,000 years into medieval darkness. We should zealously guard freedom of speech, trial by jury; freedom of choice, freedom of the press, and religious liberty. To preserve these basic freedoms guaranteed to us in the Bill of Rights, we must save our Constitution given to us by the Founding Fathers of this Republic. To save this great document, we must first preserve the integrity and sovereignty of the several States. We in the South have been plagued for generations by a negative psychology. I see signs of our beloved South going today from the negative to the positive. We are on the offensive. We know that the freedom of our sons and daughters depends upon the outcome of our battle today. The destiny of America itself hangs in the balance. The southern people fought for the South in the War Between the States. The southern people today are fighting for America.

We in the South are in the forefront in this desperate struggle today to preserve not just the southern way of life but to preserve the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the American way of life, not just for the South but for every single one of the 48 American States who have flourished under that same Constitution. Yes, this fight goes beyond the borders of the South, the Middle West, or the Union, but it extends and beckons to the whole free world. Our fight is the battle of free peoples everywhere—Europe, Asia, the Philippines and beyond the Seven Seas of the world. Totalitarianism, dictatorship and centralization is on the march. This is no time for appeasement or compromise or for adopting just a little regimentation or a little centralization. We must draw the line. The die is cast. We must save all of our freedom or lose all of our freedom.

I am proud that I was born a South Carolinian. I am proud that my great-great grandfather was a captain in the Revolutionary War. I am proud that my grandfather volunteered in the war for southern independence, fought in the first battle at Manassas and was surrendered at Appomattox Court House. I am glad that you have permitted me a humble part in this, the greatest fight of all—to protect and pass on this palladium of liberty—the America of today. I solemnly promise you today to tell the glorious South Carolina story. We in South Carolina and in the South do have a different philosophy. It is the philosophy needed to bolster the sagging courage of free men. This is an age of public relations, advertising, and salesmanship. Let us advertise our political philosophy. In this offensive we are now waging, let us all be ambassadors of good will, ambassadors of the American way of life, and ambassadors of Constitutional government. Let us resell to the Nation and the world individual liberty and local self-government.

The South played a leading role in the War of the Revolution. A southerner, Thomas Jefferson, wrote the Declaration of Independence. A southerner, George Washington, led the American armies to victory. Again, it was a southern leadership that prevailed in the Constitutional Convention under its president, George Washington, ably assisted by Madison and Monroe. George Mason of Virginia was the author of our sacred Bill of Rights. In the formative years of our Republic, great southern justices molded the Supreme Court into an instrumentality of justice and protector of States rights and the people's liberty. Edward Rutledge of South Carolina as Chief Justice and John Marshall of Virginia won the admiration of the true exponents of freedom. In the early history of the Republic during its most trying years, steady southern heads guided the Ship of State—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Calhoun, Clay, Andrew Jackson, Monroe, James K. Polk and many others. We southerners are proud of the early American patriots. We are just as proud of Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Wade Hampton and the courageous men who followed the cause of the Confederacy. With their blood in our veins, with our great heritage, with these traditions and with the spirit of the men who fought here at Rivers Bridge, and the fidelity of those who are here today preserving the memory of this event, the South can and will be successful.

The Nation's Older Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to call the attention of our colleagues in the House to a series of studies recently issued by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the Senate, which deals with a problem of growing concern to the whole Nation.

People are living longer today and while we all rejoice that this is so, it is nevertheless creating problems to which we as a nation must face up sooner or later. Both Congress and our State governments are giving increased and continuing attention to these problems as the plight of growing numbers of our older citizens taxes to the utmost the social and economic resources of almost every community.

In West Virginia, individuals 65 years of age and older represented 7.6 percent of the State's total population in 1954. This was one percentage point under the national average, according to figures contained in a series of Studies of the Aged and Aging, compiled by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, released this past December.

In 1900, according to this same source, the average life expectance of boy babies at birth was 46 years; by 1954, they could expect to live 67 years. Girls born in 1900 could look forward to reaching the ripe old age of 48; by 1954, this had increased to 73 years.

By the same token, out of a total population of 76 million Americans in 1900, only 3.1 million, or 4.1 percent, were 65 years of age or older. By 1955, with the total population swelled to 165.2 million, this older age group had increased to 14.1 million, or 8.6 percent; and by 1975 it is estimated that some 20.7 million, or 9.3 percent of the total population will have reached or passed their 65th birthdays. If West Virginoa continues to follow the national trend, in 20 years from now at least 8.3 percent of the State's population will be in this older age group.

What this could mean in terms of West Virginia's present and future economy, and the Nation's, can best be explained by some of the further facts set forth in the Senate Committee's studies.

Most importantly to be noted, it seems to me, is the fact that the increased years of life granted us will be spent in enforced and unproductive retirement if current hiring trends are continued. Age restrictions now bar many older workers from substantial gainful employment. Recent Department of Labor surveys reveal that in 5 of 7 large cities checked, more than half the job openings listed with the employment offices in the month of April had upper age restrictions—starting in a significant number of instances at age 35.

In June 1956, a period of comparatively high employment, the Labor Department's monthly survey showed that nearly 40 percent of the unemployment insurance claimants in the United States were 45 years of age or over. Census data for the full year 1955 reveals that the average monthly unemployment rates were higher for older workers than they were for the younger age groups; that these older workers had more spells of unemployment; and that the jobless periods were of longer duration for them than for their younger competitors.

It follows, of course, that as their earning capacity diminishes, the purchasing power of these older citizens proportionately declines. This not only tends to have a restrictive effect upon business conditions, but it also taxes the resources of the local community to meet the greatly intensified special needs—for housing, sustenance, medical care, hospital services and recreational opportunities of the older individual.

Old-age and survivors insurance under title II of the Social Security Act is already helping to lift some of the burden of their care from the back of the local community. It is helping many to meet their own needs, in part at least, and thus to enjoy the independence, the dignity and the self-respect which are the rightful properties of those in their sunset years.

But for too many more, with no other sources of income, the low minimum benefit of $30 or $40 a month now being paid under the OASI program is insufficient to provide the bare necessities of even a substandard existence when the recipient is in good health. When illness strikes—as it is so likely to do among older people—the situation becomes hopeless. No recourse is left save to ask for public assistance. And with due credit and great admiration for those who administer our present public-assistance programs, I am nevertheless compelled to protest the humiliations, indignities and often the injustices forced upon the hapless recipients of public aid by the restrictive laws imposed in a majority of our States.

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY exactly expressed my sentiments in one of his recent vibrant speeches on the Senate floor when he said:

> To me, the practice of forcing an older person to sign over his little home that he has spent most of his life acquiring (and if this is not thrift, what is?) as a condition of receiving aid in time of need is an abomination.

In West Virginia, the public-assistance program has recently had to be cut back because of the demands upon its resources of the growing numbers of the needy aged, the blind, the physically handicapped and the dependent children who must have help to survive.

The extent of the problem and its growing proportions, it would seem to me, can only be solved by congressional action which would merge the resources of this richest of all nations so that those in the less prosperous areas of the country may have help equal to that available in the wealthier communities. Surely what we are trying to do for the underprivileged peoples of other lands, is worth trying to do for our own at home.

In subsequent issues of Keenotes, I shall tell you about what Congress is planning upon doing, and about the bills which I and many of my colleagues are introducing to meet this serious and continuing challenge to the Nation—the problems of our older citizens.

The Sight Conservation and Blind Work of Lions International

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, the International Association of Lions Clubs—more familiarly known as Lions International—this year celebrates the 40th anniversary of its founding. Through its 563,000 members, who belong to 13,000 clubs in the United States and 80 other countries across the face of the globe, this great service club organization has made Lionism synonymous with grassroots neighborliness and kindly helpfulness in every corner of the free world.

It is not my purpose here to list the many activities which Lions Clubs have adopted in their program of community and personal service. They now sponsor more Boy and Girl Scout troops than any other civic or service organization. They finance and encourage hundreds of Little League baseball teams; they provide athletic and recreational equipment for thousands of schools and orphanages, camps and playgrounds. In county fairs, agricultural exhibits, livestock tours, land-conservation projects, and rural health programs, the emblem and hand of the Lions is increasingly prominent. Last year alone this great fraternity of civic-minded men sponsored 170,230 activities dealing directly with the health, improvement, betterment, education, and welfare of the towns and cities in which they live.

Great as this contribution to their communities, their nations, and the wide world may be, I believe that the greatest single service to humanity by the men of Lions International is in the field of sight.

Ever since its founding in 1917, the association has made the conservation of sight and rehabilitation of the blind a major project. Every one of the 13,000 clubs in lionism has a sight conservation and work for the blind committee, constantly alert to help those living in the world of perpetual darkness. In thousands of communities here and abroad Lions have provided sight-testing equipment for schools and free clinics, instituted better school lighting, purchased countless eye glasses for needy children and adults, established blind persons in business, promoted the sale of blind-made merchandise and in a thousand and one ways have made life more normal and livable for those afflicted with the threat or tragedy of blindness.

Permit me to spotlight a few of the major projects which this great association of kindly men has fostered.

At Little Rock, in the State of Arkansas, the Lions Clubs of that region operate a rehabilitation center which teaches newly blind persons to live with their handicap. The housewife learns to keep house and care for her family, children learn good health and personal habits, the aged are given courses in weaving, woodwork and other handicrafts. Through this agency, and Lions-promoted State cooperation, Arkansas has become a leader in its work for the sightless.

The Lions of Massachusetts have established the Massachusetts Lions Eye Research Fund and have raised sufficient funds in the past few years to provide financial assistance in the form of grants or fellowships to doctors working in the field of research to discover the causes and cures of blindness.

In Iowa, the Iowa Lions Sight Conservation Foundation operates the Lions Eye Bank at the State University Hospital and has restored sight to scores of persons through surgery, treatment and corneal transplants.

The Lions of Ohio, through the Ohio Lions Eye Research Board, have provided funds for laboratory research into the causes and cures of blindness. Plans are underway for an ophthalmic institute where diagnosis, therapy, and surgical rehabilitation will be available to the needy.

In California, Lions coordinate the work of all agencies in the State which serve the blind. The San Diego Lions Club developed the banks braille writer—a pocket-sized machine which is the braille typewriter for students and professionals. Hundreds of Lions Clubs throughout the world have purchased these machines for blind persons in their communities. The Monterrey Park Lions Club created the miniature white cane, used by Lions as a lapel pin in their fund-raising activities for blind aid.

In Florida, where many clubs are leaders in blind work, the Winter Haven club recently designed a series of tests for school students which promises to revolutionize testing of eyes in the lower grades.

The Lions of New York State have been pioneers in the eye bank and corneal transplant movement. The Buffalo Eye Bank and Research Society, sponsored and financed by Lions, operates in the field of research, surgery, and corrective treatments. The Sight Conservation Society of Northeastern New York is carrying on an intensive program in the treatment of glaucoma and other blinding diseases.

In Illinois the Hadley School for the Blind, financed and directed largely by the Lions of Illinois, distribute free correspondence courses in braille, together with braille texts, magazines, and books, to blind people in all 48 States and many foreign countries.

Michigan is famous for Leader Dogs for the Blind at Rochester, a training school for guide dogs which is supported solely by contributions of the Michigan Lions.

The list is endless; every State has some phase of blind work or sight conservation which it supports, and it was to this unselfish humanitarian service which President Eisenhower referred when he wired the Lions of Washington, D. C., recently:

> Congratulations to you upon the dedication of your Eye Bank and Research Foundation. This is another practical expression of your concept of broad service to the Nation and to your fellowmen around the world.

ORIGIN OF THE WHITE CANE

A blind man crossing a street in Peoria, Ill., more than 25 years ago gave birth to the idea of the Lions white cane—a symbol of blindness and a protection for the blind, in every civilized country of the world. Caught in a swirl of traffic, the blind man desperately tapped his black cane on the pavement, appealing for the consideration that busy drivers did not know he needed.

George A. Bonham, then president of the Peoria Lions Club, saw the incident. There must be, he said, some way in which this blind man and scores of other Peorians in his predicament could warn motorists of their blindness. Suddenly the idea came; why not paint the cane white, with a red band, and let the blind man hold it out when he crossed a street. The Peoria Lions approved the idea, white canes were made and distributed, and the Peoria City Council adopted an ordinance giving the bearers the right-of-way at crossings.

Furnishing white canes without expense to the blind promptly became an international activity of the Lions. Ninety percent of the 190,000 sightless adults in the United States have received canes from their local Lions clubs; every State in the Union has adopted legislation making the Lions white canes an official protective symbol for the blind. Last year 19,555 white canes were distributed as new equipment or replacements, and thousands of blind persons owe their safety and their lives to the respect which this Lions-conceived symbol of blindness commands.

WHITE CANE WEEK

Man's love for his fellow man, translated into the rich flood of kindness and helpfulness pouring from the hearts and hands of over half a million Lions, is a manifestation of human desire to aid the halt, the sick and, above all, the blind. To memorialize that great contribution in the field of blind work and sight conservation, Lions International White Cane Week has been established in the United States to be observed each year, during the month of September. Its celebration will serve as a lasting tribute to the continuing contribution that Lions clubs are making to this important phase of our national health and welfare.

A Look at the Forest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, sometimes I think we forget that this is a Government, as Lincoln said, "of the people." We act as if it was a Government of bureaus, agencies, and departments. The current budget discussion has served the useful purpose of reminding us that the people have the last say—and are really using it. It is possible that after the "shouting and tumult dies" it may be the people crying out for economy who will ultimately decide the budget issue. The following editorial from the Marion Star elaborates on this possibility much better than I can, and I suggest it as recommended reading for every Member of Congress:

A LOOK AT THE FOREST

People who work in Washington and get their ideas ready-made from Government sources say they cannot understand what is causing so much criticism of Federal spending.

They point to charts and records to prove that nothing is out of the ordinary; that criticism is not justified.

President Eisenhower has been advised to go over the heads of the Congressmen hacking at his $71.8 billion budget, to explain to the people why it cannot be cut.

But in a weird mixup of timing, the White House has queered Mr. Eisenhower's appeal in advance by announcing that he, himself, has just trimmed 520 million off his 4.4 billion foreign-aid request.

That is exactly what millions of Americans who do not work in Washington and do not have the Washington point of view think should be done about the budget as a whole—that it should be pruned of billions, because it would do no harm to anyone except the direct beneficiaries of public spending.

This is the thing Washingtonians cannot understand. This is the forest they cannot see for the trees that block their view. They are spenders. They have lost touch with taxpayers.

The American people are in the throes of a psychological reaction from too much public spending too long sustained by too many hopes that have not been realized.

It may have been disillusionment about the Middle East that set off the reaction. It may have been the cumulative resentment of confiscatory taxes in peacetime. It may have been realization that their 1952 hopes about curbing Government spending with a change of administration had turned sour.

It probably was a combination of all these things. But it set off a reaction that was spontaneous and nationwide. The American people suddenly were in no mood to take Washington's word for it any longer that everything proposed in Washington was indispensable and untouchable.

Politically, the reaction is being misread as a revolt against Dwight Eisenhower and his governing group. That is a too-easy explanation—a politician's malicious explanation.

The revolt is against Government that grows so big the servant has become the master. The revolt is against the credo that dollars are a substitute for prudence, self-reliance and earning a penny by saving a penny.

Politics is sometimes defined as the art of the possible. Any politician who misreads what is possible in dealing with the people's revolt against Federal spending which budgetmakers call untouchable is in for a teeth-rattling jolt.

A Tribute to Rumanians on Their National Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the 10th of May is a day of national dedication for Rumanians. It symbolizes the fulfillment of the aspirations of all Rumanians for nationhood and independence.

Today Rumania has been deprived of her national independence. The oppressive hand of communism has imposed uniformity throughout the entire state. Dissent is not tolerated in the political life of the nation. The economy has been drained of its vitality in the service of Moscow. And Rumania's colorful cultural life has been reduced to the lowest norm of Marxist-Leninist ideology. All creative writing in Rumania has been compelled to conform to the narrow limits prescribed by the Communist leaders.

Scientia House is the instrument of Communist literary tyranny in Rumania and the ideological fountainhead of Rumanian communism. It is the headquarters of the Ministry of Education and culture and the leading Rumanian Communist newspaper, Scientia. It is also the state publishing house for political literature. Head of the 6,500 shock troops on this ideological front employed at Scientia House is Miron Constantinescu, the Minister of Education and Culture and the acknowledged chief theoretician of Rumanian communism.

The production of propaganda by Scientia House is considerable. It is estimated that every day 2 million copies of newspapers are published. Scientia alone has a circulation of 1 million. Scientia House also publishes 170,000 pamphlets, booklets, and periodicals in an average working day. Everything is published in strict conformity with the line laid down by the leaders of the Rumanian Communist Party.

One cannot help wondering whether the Rumanians can maintain their cultural identity under this avalanche of Communist propaganda. Indeed, the great challenge for Rumanians in the future lies in this cultural area; for once the sense of cultural uniqueness has been destroyed and supplanted by the alien concepts of communism the way is then prepared for the broader attack on the idea of nationality and nationhood.

But Rumanians have known subjugation and national suppression by a foreign power before. They survived that tyranny, and they shall survive the present one.

On this anniversary of Rumanian independence let us, therefore, join with freemen everywhere in solemn resolution to oppose Communist imperialism with all the strength within us. Let us also join with all friends of Rumania in an expression of regard for the Rumanian people that their hopes and aspirations for freedom shall one day be fulfilled.

It Could Happen Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, reports of foreign submarine activity off the coast of Florida again point up the need for the proposed Florida barge canal which would cross the State from the gulf to the Atlantic. Had there been such a canal during World War II the loss of shipping would have been reduced tremendously. As it was, many ships and tankers went down off the Florida coast due to enemy action. In this connection, I wish to insert a timely editorial from the Ocala Star Banner, Ocala, Fla. The editorial follows:

IT COULD HAPPEN HERE

Drew Pearson, in his column dated April 11, made mention of the presence of foreign submarines off the coast of Florida in the neighborhood of Cape Canaveral. At that time Pearson said:

"Since these are not subs of any allied nation, such as England and France, the conclusion is unescapable that they are Russian, and that they are lying off Florida to watch for and spy on the first intercontinental missile, which presumably is to be fired soon."

United States military and naval authorities gave no confirmation of the presence of Russian subs off the coast of Florida. However, there was some official comment that there was nothing to prevent enemy subs lying off the coast of continental United States.

But what amounts to official confirmation for the Pearson report came the other day from Senator BRIDGES, Republican, New Hampshire, who gave out a statement that Russian subs may be prowling off Florida coasts in an attempt to watch United States missile experiments.

BRIDGES, who is a senior member of the Senate Armed Services and Appropriations Committees, mentioned the Pearson report, indirectly, and commented:

"They were not ours or our allies. If the submarines are in this vicinity and they are Russian it may well be that they are watching our progress on the first ICBM. I am confident that the Navy is pretty well alert to the submarine menace."

Yes, we can have every confidence that the Navy is "pretty well alert to the submarine menace" now, but it was also alert to this "menace" during World War II, and what happened?

Shipping losses due to enemy action along the gulf coast and South Atlantic waters, totaled 53 vessels; 29 American tankers and 11 foreign tankers; 13 dry cargo vessels of American and foreign register. The total value of ships and cargo lost was $89,700,000.

Submarines will be a greater menace to coastwise shipping if another war comes than they were in the last war. Why? Because it is estimated that Russia alone has upwards of 500 modern submarines.

In his report to the President, on the subject of the Florida barge canal in May 1951, Robert A. Lovett, Deputy Secretary of Defense, said this in connection with shipping losses during the war:

"During World War II, many cargo ships and tankers were lost off the coast of Florida due to enemy action. Many of the cargoes that were lost would and could have moved by barge or small freighter had the barge canal been in existence at that time. The saving in lives, ships, and valuable and critical cargoes would have been great. Similar and comparable savings would also accrue in future national emergencies if the canal is in operation * * *"

It is believed the economic benefits of a barge canal across Florida will justify opening the canal. But what of the defense benefits?

In revising upward the economic benefits of the Florida canal, surely the United States Engineers will also upgrade the benefits to national defense. With the canal open in time of war, a protected waterway would be provided for the transport of dry and tanker cargoes from the gulf coast across Florida to the North Atlantic seaboard, and shipping losses from submarine attack would be reduced.

What happened, in the sinking of tanker and cargo vessels, in Gulf and South Atlantic waters, could happen again, and a heavier toll would be taken, if cargo and tanker vessels were exposed to attack by Russian submarines along the Gulf and South Atlantic coasts.

There Must Be an End to It—An Editorial by Max Ascoli

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, in the May 16 issue of the Reporter appears this outstanding editorial by the Reporter editor, Max Ascoli, concerning a matter every Congressman will find urgent and important because it relates to the survival of the human race. The editorial follows:

THERE MUST BE AN END TO IT

This is nuclear weapons season. The Soviet Union has already at least seven tests of nuclear weapons to its credit; the United States will have a new series of tests from the middle of this month to the beginning of September; and, within the next few months, Britain will find out how powerful its H-bomb is. This is also the season when the protests against nuclear weapons have been forceful as never before. Albert Schweitzer has spoken; so have the leading German atomic scientists, and, through official and unofficial channels, the people of Japan. Atomic scientists or

geneticists may disagree among themselves about the amount of man-made radiation a human being can safely absorb. But the Japanese have some valid reasons for thinking they have been exposed well beyond the tolerable limit.

The article that follows is a case study of some of the happenings in Nevada and neighboring Utah as a result of the continental tests the Atomic Energy Commission has been conducting since 1951. During some of the testing periods, particularly that of 1953, life was quite rough for several thousand citizens of those two States. It was rough on the AEC too, and particularly on the men it sent into and around the test site. These men did not know—in fact, could not know—a great deal of what they needed to know about the vagaries of winds and fallout. It was partly because adequate knowledge was not available that the Nevada tests were decided on, and competent men were stationed there to keep a check on the results. These men frequently blundered. More than once the measures they took to forewarn the people of the area about the dangers of radiation proved inadequate. Yet, for all their blunders and their inadequacies, these public servants deserve only compassion.

Of course it is not for laymen to judge whether, or to what extent, the Nevada tests brought enlarged knowledge of low-yield atomic weapons. Our ignorance and our curiosity are well protected by the Government's policy of classifying what may be beyond the reach of our understanding anyway. But the case of the Nevada tests proves that the AEC has frequently used the strictures of the security regulations to cover up its failures to give adequate protection or warning to a sizable number of people in the region. We like to assume that the intentions of the AEC and its men in Nevada have always been of the best, and that the AEC had no responsibility for the harm that some people allege they suffered. But for the many little acts of uncandor in covering up probably inevitable miscalculations, for a tendency to gloss over with public-relations blandishments the evidence of its failures—for this the AEC must be held accountable. An all-powerful Government agency too frequently is tempted to use the cloak of secrecy to shield the ignorance rather than the knowledge of the men in the know.

THE ATOM RUSH

Yet once more we should be compassionate in passing judgment on the behavior of the men working for the AEC, from the highest to the lowest. The cloak of secrecy they wear must be excruciatingly heavy, for it imposes on these unfortunate men—particularly those at the top—too great a burden both of certainty and of doubt. Perhaps no one who has had the secret of the atom entrusted to him by his own genius or by chance of official appointment, has escaped being, somehow, marked for life.

The technicalities of atomic science must be the least oppressive part of the burden. At present, knowledge of the atom, its promises and threats, is becoming only too accessible. Atomic secrecy—even of the most advanced kind—has a built-in time limit. This consideration cannot contribute to make life particularly easy for the custodians of our Nation's atomic secrets. Moreover these men, who powers within their own agency are frighteningly unchecked, can scarcely resist formidable pressure from outside.

War and peace seem equally hell-bent on going the atomic way. Our Government is supposed to be producing—and of course testing—the biggest and most powerful weapons of massive retaliation, together with the tiniest pocket-sized bullets or missiles. We hear about atom-powered surface vessels, airplanes, and motor cars—and the appalling part of the story is that within a few years most of these gadgets will be with us. The AEC may or may not deserve to be criticized for not having pushed hard enough the development of atomic power at home and abroad. But certainly no authoritative scientist denies that, as of now, atomic reactors are rather hazardous things. Actually, until the time comes when atomic reactors are safer, and a way is found for the harmless disposal of atomic waste, those men may be correct who say that the peaceful atom is at least as dangerous to the human race as the weapons tests.

We of our generation have a vivid picture in our minds of the gold rush as something full of color, and adventure and rowdiness. But if the atom rush is not slowed down somehow, then only a negligible number of human beings in negligible lands may live to have a dim memory of it.

If the atom is such a danger to humanity—a danger that makes the prospect of any gain from it somewhat ludicrous—then we may ask, Why so much secrecy? Why don't the hapless men responsible for our atomic program speak more frankly, more candidly, so that the atom may, in all truth, be tamed and made to work for peace?

Never, perhaps, has the opportunity been as great as it is now, for never has the danger been so obvious and so vigorously denounced by so many different people at the same time. The major threat, of course, is not in a runaway program of atoms for peace. Rather, it is in the fact that, as Britain has shown, the American New Look on atomic armament has proved contagious.

If the sovereignty of a nation is to be real, it must be guaranteed and testified to by that nation's capacity to produce—for defense and offense—nuclear weapons of its own. This is just about what the British white paper said. As the destructive power of nuclear weapons—no matter whether of the A or H variety—is pretty well known, the practical peacetime evidence of sovereignty is the capacity to produce an atomic test. Britain, at the very moment it acknowledges that it can no longer be counted as a major nation, puts its reliance for its own defense on nuclear weapons, and—mutation or no mutation, Japan or no Japan—stubbornly sticks to its decision to test its first hydrogen bomb.

There was a time when many of us honestly believed that our country could keep for an indefinite number of years what we thought was the absolute secret of the atom bomb. With a flattery somewhat unbecoming his true greatness, Winston Churchill repeatedly told us that in our monopoly lay the only guaranty of peace. Then came the second phase, when Russia acquired the secret of the atom bomb, and proved it with its own tests. We are now in a third phase, and Britain, with its armament programs and its tests, is showing the way to other nations. There are nearly a hundred nations in the world, each claiming sovereignty.

IN THE FOURTH DIMENSION

Perhaps we needed to reach this point, this particular turn in history, when the vista of what the future might have for us is so clear—though by no means irrevocable—and seen by so many. The more nations have atomic weapons of their own, the more tests there will be. The more nations place reliance on fission or fusion weapons, the greater the chance that the detonation of the first atomic weapon—not in a test but in earnest—will be followed by much louder ones.

In fact, all nuclear-weapons tests, no matter how tiny the weapon, are acts of hostility against mankind. For practical purposes and in order to reach some standstill agreement with Soviet Russia before too many other nations go atomic, we may distinguish between H- and A-weapons, strategic and tactical, or dirty and clean bombs. But the difference is of quantity rather than of quality; for every atomic explosion, no matter how controlled and clean, produces results that go beyond the reaches of peace and of time. This weapon, for which Einstein provided the formula, truly operates in the fourth dimension. The rays and the patricles it releases, even when the detonation is only for testing purposes, are brought by the winds and by the rotation of the earth well beyond the boundaries of the nation that has exploded it. The same rays and particles keep showing up at later times, their power of destruction frequently multiplied.

The little that can be known about the atomic tests in Nevada makes an oppressive, nightmarish story. Yet we can be sure that they were the best, the most responsibly supervised tests ever. No evil men were involved. The thing itself is evil.

The remedy? Of course there is a remedy. An old man in equatorial Africa has said the word. The leading German scientists have said the same word. The word is "No." No cooperation on the part of any man who can deny his skill—not to speak of his enthusiasm—to this insane, unending race. No cooperation on the part of anyone who may have acquired even a microscopic fragment of truth and does not by keeping silent, want to trade it in for a share of guilt.

Our national leaders have fallen into a rather trying mannerism: They never speak of liberty without saying the blessings of liberty. They should know that liberty is seldom a blessing. When it is exercised at its best, it can be a great and risky load. There are enough men with a passion for liberty everywhere—in the United States, in equatorial Africa, in Germany, in Japan, maybe even in Soviet Russia—men courageous enough to bring this mad business to an end.

Foster Mother Honored for Aid to Retarded Boy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like consent to have my commendation of Mrs. Randolph G. Lavine, 8825 9th Street, Oak Lawn, Ill., inserted in the RECORD. Mrs. Lavine's actions in caring for a retarded child show that she possesses the fine qualities of womanhood, motherhood, devotion, religious principles, patience, all of which make her an example to others.

As the father of eight, when I look back, it seems that everything has struck us by lightning—one child fell out of a tree and broke her hip—another was knocked flat by an automobile and when I saw her, she looked like a war casualty. Another was stricken with polio. I could relate other happenings. In being a parent a person realizes the importance of the qualities which Mrs. Lavine manifests.

Today we realize that the health, education, and welfare of our children reflects the type of training and the principles instilled in our children at home. We are cognizant too that retarded or exception children need special care.

The Washington Evening Star of May 10 had the following to say about Mrs. Lavine:

FOSTER MOTHER HONORED FOR AID TO RETARDED BOY

CHICAGO, May 10.—A young mother, who reared a foster son who was deaf, unable to speak, and believed mentally retarded, was honored yesterday for the "miracle of her achievement."

Ten years ago Mrs. Ann Lavine heard a radio plea for foster homes. She was 25 and the mother of 2 young sons but she offered a home for another child, preferably a girl.

She got instead a 5-year-old boy, deaf and mute. Mrs. Lavine said she believed almost immediately the child was not deaf.

"He seemed to hear me when I called," she said. "He'd perk up and look around."

Gradually, over the years, she taught him to talk.

"I'd take him around the house," Mrs. Lavine said, "pointing out many things, calling them by name—the way you would with an infant."

RESULTS SHOW

Her devotion to her foster son began to pay off. Soon he was able to quit the special classes he attended and enroll in a regular school. He showed a notable artistic talent. He became a good student and athlete.

In addition to the foster son, now a healthy, normal 15-year-old, the Lavines have 3 sons of their own, 8, 12, and 14, and 2 other foster sons.

Mrs. Lavine, in addition to running the house and mothering her five boys, is busdriver, scorekeeper, first-aid technician, and bat boy for the neighborhood baseball team in suburban Oak Lawn.

Her husband Rudolph, an aircraft engineer, beamed happily yesterday as his wife was chosen "foster mother of the year" in Cook County by the county commissioners and county department of welfare. She was among 17 finalists.

Her winning citation said, in part:

"With a 10-year investment of your precious gifts of mothering, you have transformed this child's life into a bright inspiring miracle of unbelievable progress and normal development which has confounded, surprised, and pleased a variety of medical specialists, an outstanding children's hospital, psychologists, psychiatrists, schoolteachers, and others—but not yourself, for you never wavered in the quiet belief of the power of a mother's love."

The Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, apparently, there is a race between certain liberals in the Congress and the Supreme Court of the United States to see which one can completely federalize, nationalize, and socialize this country. All that is necessary to assure the attainment of their goal is for good men to do nothing at this time.

It is alarming to me to see the so-called Supreme Court day after day take over new fields of jurisprudence and to take from the States one by one jurisdiction that was and has been historically theirs exclusively. Apparently, there is no end to what the Court will do and how far it will go. Nothing is sacred nor permanent judicially speaking; previous Court rulings and precedents mean nothing; and constitutional guarantees are not worth the paper upon which they are written so long as we are dominated by a capricious, irresponsible, erratic and giddy Supreme Court, a majority of whose members are determined to wipe out every vestige of State sovereignty, individual liberty and to foist upon the people of this country their individual sociological political philosophy regardless of its legality or constitutionality. I fervently hope that the people of this great Nation will awaken to the dangers that are about to engulf us before it is too late.

Every opinion held by the so-called Supreme Court brings new pronouncement of sociological philosophy. Monday, May 6, was another blot upon the horizon. Its two opinions dealing with States rights were the subject of a very fine editorial appearing in the Richmond News Leader on Thursday, May 9, 1957, entitled "The High Court Keeps on Course" and also one entitled "Not for Ladies." In the Friday, May 10, 1957, issue of the Richmond Times-Dispatch there appeared an equally good editorial entitled "Another State's Right Usurped." These editorials point out cogently the path the Supreme Court is chartering. I commend the editors for their splendid analysis of the distortions of the Court and I recommend to the Members of the House that they read with care these editorials and act before it is too late:

[From the Richmond News Leader of May 9, 1957]

THE HIGH COURT KEEPS ON COURSE

This past Monday, the Supreme Court of the United States continued its studied campaign to obliterate the States of the American Union. In two opinions, both relating to the admission of lawyers to State bars, the Court again encroached deeply upon powers and prerogatives of the States.

The first case came from New Mexico, where the State board of law examiners had refused to approve an application from one Rudolph Schware. The second case came from California, where the State committee of bar examiners had made a like ruling against one Raphael Konigsberg. In each case, the State supreme court had upheld the action of the examiners. On Monday, the United States Supreme Court reversed both State courts, and ordered the applicants admitted to bar examinations.

These cases are of the keenest importance. It was just a year ago, in the Griffin case, that the Supreme Court undertook a gross invasion of the long-established rights of the States to fix their own requirements for State appellate proceedings. Now, in the Schware and Konigsberg decisions, the Court has pushed its attack upon State judicial process still further. Monday's decisions are important not only to lawyers; they are of the highest significance to every person interested in the structure of his government.

Hearings in the Schware case established these facts: That Schware, over a period of 6 to 7 years during a period of responsible adulthood, had belonged to the Communist Party; that at various times he had employed aliases; that he had been arrested at least two times on suspicion of criminal syndicalism. Schware's known membership in the Communist Party terminated in 1940. Since then, he had lived what appeared to be an exemplary life; a number of witnesses testified, during the 1954 hearings, to his good character.

The New Mexico bar examiners, it may be fairly assumed, were as able as any Supreme Court Judges to deduct 1940 from 1954 and conclude that 14 years had elapsed since Schware had been a member of the Communist Party. They were able to judge for themselves the weight to be given the testimonials in the applicant's behalf. And their conclusion was that Schware's moral fitness to become a member of the New Mexico bar had not been sufficiently demonstrated.

Now, what is the rule on these matters? Mr. Justice Frankfurter, in a concurring opinion on Monday, set forth the guiding principles splendidly. "Admission to practice in a State and before its courts necessarily belongs to that State." Of course, he added, "legislation laying down general conditions of an arbitrary or discriminatory character may, like other legislation, fall afoul of the 14th amendment." But was the Supreme Court here concerned with such arbitrary State legislation? Not at all. "A very different question is presented," said Frankfurter, "when this Court is asked to review the exercise of judgment in refusing admission to the bar in an individual case, such as we have here." Then he said:

"It is beyond this Court's function to act as overseer of a particular result of the procedure established by a particular State for admission to its bar. No doubt satisfaction of the requirement of moral character involves an exercise of delicate judgment on the part of those who reach a conclusion, having heard and seen the applicant for admission, a judgment of which it may be said, as it was of 'many honest and sensible judgments' in a different context, that it expresses 'an intuition of experience which outruns analysis and sums up many unnamed and tangled impressions; impressions which may lie beneath consciousness without losing their worth' [citing 204 U. S. 585, 598]. Especially in this realm it is not our business to substitute our judgment for the State's judgment—for it is the State in all the panoply of its powers that is under review when the action of its Supreme Court is under review."

But having voiced this clear statement of what was not the Court's business, Frankfurter proceeded to make the Schware case the Court's business. He proceeded to do what he had said must not be done—that is, to substitute the Court's judgment for the State's judgment. New Mexico's action, he asserted, offended the dictates of reason. Whose dictates of reason? Why, Mr. Justice Frankfurter's dictates of reason. Therefore, New Mexico's action violated the due process clauses of the 14th amendment, and was unconstitutional.

The Konigsberg case was an even more flagrant substitution of the High Court's judgment for the State's judgment. The California rule is that an applicant for the State bar must be prepared to show that he does not advocate the overthrow of State or Federal Government by force. Konigsberg, an outspoken leftwinger, had been tentatively identified by a witness as a person who had attended Communist meetings in 1941. This testimony against him obviously had limited value; opposed to this frail evidence, moreover, were a number of affidavits to Konigsberg's good character.

But when the California bar examiners attempted to question Konigsberg, he stubbornly refused to answer their inquiries. Standing on the single, naked statement that he did not, never had, and never would advocate the overthrow of Government by violence, Konigsberg invoked the first amendment and made evasive speeches. Time after time, the California examiners, pa-

tiently offered the applicant a fair opportunity to establish his fitness to become a member of the bar. And time after time, Konigsberg brushed aside the questions. But a majority of the Supreme Court held this lack of candor could not be considered. Konigsberg had been denied due process. California had violated the Constitution.

It is not necessary for this newspaper to criticize the Supreme Court's opinion in the Konigsberg case. Mr. Justice Harlan dissented. Let him speak at length:

"Whatever might be the conclusions to be drawn were we sitting as State judges, I am unable to understand how on this record it can be said that California violated the Federal Constitution by refusing to admit petitioner to the bar. * * * We have here a case where a State bar committee was prevented by an applicant from discharging its statutory responsibilities in further investigating the applicant's qualifications. The petitioneer's refusal to answer questions in order to dispel doubts conscientiously entertained by the committee as to his qualifications under a valid-statutory test can, it seems to me, derive no support from the 14th amendment.

"The principle here involved is so self-evident that I should have thought it would be accepted without discussion. * * * It is not only that we, on the basis of a bare printed record and with no opportunity to hear and observe the applicant, are in no such position as the State bar committee was to determine in fact the applicant was sincere and has a good moral character. Even were we not so disadvantaged, to make such a determination is not our function in reviewing State judgments under the Constitution. Moreover, resolution of this factual question is wholly irrelevant to the case before us, since it seems to me altogether beyond question that a State may refuse admission to its bar to an applicant, no matter how sincere, who refuses to answer questions which are reasonably relevant to his qualifications and which do not invade a constitutionally privileged area. The opinion of the Court does not really question this; it solves the problem by denying that it exists.

"But what the Court has really done, I think, is simply to impose on California its own notions of public policy and judgment. For me, today's decision represents an unacceptable intrusion into a matter of State concern.

"For these reasons I dissent."

If a State no longer can fix standards of propriety and fitness for its teachers (as in the Slochower case a year ago); if a State no longer can operate its public schools so as to avoid domestic strife (as in the school segregation cases); if a State no longer can establish its own rules for appellate proceedings (as in the Griffin case); if a State no longer can pass upon the fitness of prospective lawyers who would become officers of State courts—what, then, if left to the States?

Mr. Justice Harlan called the Konigsberg decision "an unacceptable intrusion into a matter of State concern." He said the court had wrongfully imposed "its own notions of public policy" upon a State. That is exactly what this newspaper has been saying for the past 3 years. When the mere "notions" of judges are permitted to overcome fundamental law, great violence is done to our most vital institutions. Surely an apathetic people, outside the South, must soon awake to the disaster overtaking them.

[From the Richmond News Leader of May 9, 1957]

NOT FOR LADIES

Monday's twin decisions of the United States Supreme Court, involving applicants for the bar who were deemed unfit by State agencies, recalls a decision by the Supreme Court in 1873, when a Mrs. Bradwell, in Illinois, sought to be admitted to the bar. Her contention was that under the new 14th amendment, the State of Illinois could not discriminate against her by reason of sex.

The very idea of a woman's practicing law almost unnerved the High Tribunal. Miller wrote the Court's opinion. Bradley wrote a concurring opinion. Swayne and Field concurred with Bradley. Chief Justice Chase dissented from the judgment of the Court and from all the opinions.

Bradley said, among other things: "The natural and proper timidity and delicacy which belongs to the female sex evidently unfits it for many of the occasions of civil life. * * * The harmony, not to say the identity, of interests and views which belong, or should belong, to the family institution is repugnant to the idea of a woman adopting a distinct and independent career from that of her husband."

In any event, said the Court, it was the right of Illinois to fix limits upon the practice of law in Illinois. That was what the 14th amendment meant 5 years after its adoption, when judges were a great deal closer to its meaning than they are today.

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch of May 10, 1957]

ANOTHER STATE'S RIGHT USURPED

The United States Supreme Court on Monday reversed the judgments of New Mexico and California courts which had upheld the refusal of their respective bar examiners to grant licenses to applicants.

The New Mexico examiners' refusal was based on the ground of applicant's past membership in the Communist Party. In the California case, the application was rejected because applicant, among other reasons, had failed to prove that he did not advocate violent overthrow of the Government.

The Supreme Court's decision in the first case was 8 to 0, in the second, 5 to 4.

Both decisions were hailed by the National Lawyers Guild, which had filed a brief in support of the California applicant.

In case No. 1 the unanimous decision (in which Justice Whittaker did not participate) is debatable. The applicant had joined the Young Communist League in 1932, and later the party, but had left it in 1940, and volunteered as a paratrooper in 1944.

The question, to which the State examiners found a negative answer, is whether a young man affiliated with the Communist Party for 8 years may be assumed to have embraced the ethical principles underlying "government by law" American style as opposed to "government by men," a la Moscow.

The examiners undoubtedly considered the possibility that, in the more than 15 years since his quitting the party, the applicant might have adjured his prior convictions. But they decided not to take a chance.

They played it safe in the interests of the people of New Mexico—their paramount responsibility transcending whatever consideration they may have had for the applicant as an individual.

In the California case, a former Communist, Mrs. Alice Bennett, had told a State legislative investigating committee that she had seen the Austrian-born applicant at meetings of a Communist cell in 1941. When asked about his party affiliations by the California examiners, applicant had refused to answer on the ground that the question intruded on right of speech and belief guaranteed by the Federal Constitution.

Whatever the merits and professional qualifications of the two young men here involved, this is another instance where the United States Supreme Court has flagrantly usurped the right of States to apply their own discretionary standards.

This was made clear by Justice Harlan, in dissenting from the California decision. Harlan charged that, by its majority decision, the Supreme Court had "imposed on California its own notions of public policy and judgment"—a usurpation of State sovereignty "representing an unacceptable intrusion into a matter of State concern."

The right to join the Communist Party, and the right not to reply to questions concerning party affiliations may be guaranteed by the Constitution.

But the Constitution does not guarantee the right to practice law in State courts.

The discretionary power to decide whether or not that right should be granted is vested in boards of examiners, acting for the States.

Now the United States Supreme Court has denied that right. But it is at least somewhat reassuring to have one of its justices rebuke his colleagues for their trespass.

Edward P. Morgan Wins Peabody Award for Radio Reporting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON CANFIELD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, I include an article by Mr. Lawrence Laurent, of the Washington Post, concerning Mr. Edward P. Morgan, who recently won the Peabody award for radio reporting. Mr. Morgan is widely known among the Members of Congress.

In addition to this signal honor, I think it is well to point out that Mr. Morgan is also held in high esteem by his colleagues of the Radio-Television Correspondents' Galleries. This is evidenced by the fact that he was recently elected vice chairman of the executive committee which governs the galleries:

Radio, the medium of immediacy, has taken some odd turns since the development of television. One of the main developments for radio has been the wide expansion of the news, music, and sports formula.

In the news part of the formula, there have been two key developments. First, there is the news, every hour on the hour, a form of headline reporting usually done by a staff announcer and in which more questions are raised than are answered.

The collateral development has been the emphasis on commentary, a term which has become a euphemism for coloration of news to suit a particular point of view.

Because of the recent developments in radio news, this department was particularly pleased with the recent announcement by the George Foster Peabody awards committee. The Peabody awards are generally considered the highest in radio and TV, roughly equivalent in electronic journalism to the Pulitzer prize for work in the printed medium.

As the winner of its award for radio news, the Peabody committee chose a middle-of-the-road reporter who is sponsored by a labor union. The winner was Edward P. Morgan, soft-spoken and never hysterical reporter for the American Broadcasting Co. (Edward P. Morgan and the news is broadcast at 7 p. m., Monday through Friday, and is heard in Washington on WMAL radio.)

The citation which accompanied the award to Morgan reads:

"Mr. Morgan's daily 15-minute program of hard news and commentary has developed a wide public acceptance because of the skill and brilliance of its presentation. * * * Mr. Morgan, as an experienced reporter, gives the news and his independent interpretations in accordance with the highest traditions of radio journalism."

More pleasing to Morgan, personally, were the Peabody committee's words about his sponsors:

"Notable is the circumstance that the AFL-CIO, as his sponsors, bring this public service to the radio audience without any suggestion of special pleading or propaganda."

This independence has been in particular evidence in recent weeks. Many radio reporters ignored the Senate hearings on the powerful oil industry. Morgan made a point of reading from transcripts of the hearings, night after night.

Morgan came to radio in 1951 after 19 years of reporting for newspapers and a press association and writing for magazines. He was in Mexico for the United Press in 1940 and scooped his fellow reporters on the assassination of Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky.

He covered news in Honolulu and at posts in Europe. He was with the Fifth Army when American troops captured Rome in 1944 and he was in London when that city felt the effects of Hitler's V–2 rockets.

After World War II, he reported the fighting between the Jews and British in Tel Aviv.

Before Ed Morgan returned to the United States in 1950, he felt the tug of destiny from the movie industry.

In Italy, a movie producer decided that Morgan was just the man to portray not 1 but 2 roles in a film, Teresa. He enacted the part of a wounded soldier and the part of a priest on a bicycle.

In the final version of the film, Morgan was seen on the screen for nearly 2 seconds.

Loss of Jury Trial and States Rights Inherent in H. R. 6127

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, today I appeared before the Rules Committee in opposition to H. R. 6127, an evil bill that is stirring alarm in the South and in other parts of the Nation.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert the following statement into the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, FOURTH DISTRICT, ALABAMA, BEFORE THE HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE MAY 13, 1957

Mr. Chairman, on many another occasion, I have taken an unwavering stand in opposition to the various bills collectively referred to as proposed civil rights bills. Before this committee, however, I will confine my remarks to the single piece of legislation now pending before you. That measure is H. R. 6127 and I strongly urge rejection of it by this committee.

This bill, if reported favorably by this committee and enacted into law, would tend to abrogate certain precious rights of the citizens of this country while it would provide for no benefit above what our citizens now possess. Among the privileges bound to suffer should this measure ever reach passage are the right to trial by jury and the right of the States to govern themselves insofar as possible. To take away these, Mr. Chairman, would be to annul something of value. And what would be left in the stead of these valuable rights? This bill would pave the way for disgruntled persons or organizations to pour allegations of civil rights complaints into a special commission. And this bill makes sure these complaints would be legion in number. It allows an open-end appropriation for providing for those making allegations. When subpenaed as witnesses, they would receive generous expense accounts. In effect, a sort of left-wing secret service corps, snooping into all parts of the country, would be hired at taxpayers' expense. Most of the allegations would be without basis of fact, as a perusal of recent history will indicate. Out of 13,000 civil rights complaints received in 1947, for instance, only 4 convictions were obtained. In another year—1940—prosecutions were recommended in only 12 out of 8,000 civil rights complaints. The allegations in the great majority of cases were not bona fide, but they were numerous. This bill would spawn an even greater deluge of complaints.

And while the persons or organizations making the allegations of civil-rights complaints are well provided for, what of the intended victim of the allegations? This bill gives little thought to the accused. He must move quickly, without regard to family or business, to the site of the hearing to face his accusers. He must pay the way of any witnesses he himself might need in defense, and the expense thereunto could conceivably reach large proportions.

The Attorney General, under this proposed legislation, would become the powerful monarch of a teeming kingdom of an admittedly inestimable number of assistants and clerical workers. When an amendment was offered in the Committee on the Judiciary that the proposed Commission on Civil Rights not spend more than $300,000 during the 2 years of operation provided for in the bill, the amendment was defeated. As those who made the thoughtful minority report on this bill point out, the premise for the defeat of this amendment must have been that this Commission in 2 years would cost the American taxpayers far in excess of $300,000. And it is fallacy to believe that the Commission would be allowed to slide into oblivion at the end of the 2 years specified; the professional liberals and minority pressure groups who have pushed this bill will never allow it.

Mr. Chairman, this bill would allow the Attorney General czarlike powers of law through injunction. Proceedings would be initiated against boards of education, election officials, and law-enforcement agencies throughout the States, counties, cities, and towns of our Nation. The usurpation of States' rights would be more perilously near complete than ever before. Citizens, it is understating to say, will not abide the abolishment of their rights, including the safeguard of their right to trial by jury.

I submit that the right of jury trial even now is in jeopardy, without the added perils inherent in H. R. 6127. As evidence of this, let us consider the Clinton, Tenn., situation. In February of this year, the Department of Justice quietly moved to substitute the words "the United States" for the names of members of the local school board as party to a suit in Federal Court. By this action the 17 defendants arrested for allegedly hindering the Federal injunction at Clinton could have been deprived of a jury trial and put in jail as unfairly as if they were living in some totalitarian country. That is the way of the Federal injunction; it has unlimited implications. But according to press reports, the United States District Judge in the Clinton case now has yielded to the wave of public indignation through the country. He has ruled that the 16 men, charged with criminal contempt of the most sweeping, most outrageous court injunction in history, may have a jury trial. This case shows what can happen—what would have happened had not the people risen in anger—when the jury trial right is threatened.

The people of this country are quick to stand up for the right of trial by jury. Likewise, they will speak quickly for the rights of their own States to supervise law-enforcement agencies, to keep the law and order, and to maintain elections in accordance with State laws and in harmony with the United States Constitution.

The bill before this committee brings to my mind the historic address made before the Senate of the United States a half-century ago by one of Alabama's illustrious sons, the Honorable John T. Morgan. A resolution came before the Senate aimed at giving Congress jurisdiction to determine whether certain persons, especially Negroes, were being denied the right to vote. During discussion that such a resolution might become an enactment, Senator Morgan rose to speak. His words echo down time's corridor with resounding relevance. "It is too plain for argument," he said, "that such a measure would abolish the State as to all its rightful sovereign powers, and would remand it to the condition of our organized Territories, all of whose laws may be replaced by Congress and all of whose officials may be placed under the power of appointment and removal by the President." That is my argument against the bill before you today.

The individual States rights to handle their own local problems would be wrested from them by the ever more powerful Federal Government.

This is an ill-conceived bill, it brashly impinges on time-honored individual rights, while adding nothing to existing rights. It opens the taxpayers' purse to pour out an undetermined sum of money, while giving no promise of evident returns. It is simply another attempt by northern liberals to gain support of certain minority groups, using the South as their scapegoat.

As a forceful statement in objection to the far-reaching dictatorial legislation this committee is now considering, I submit the following editorial which appeared in the Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser on May 6, 1957:

THE CLINTON JUDGE COMES DOWN OFF IT

United States District Judge Robert L. Taylor's ruling that the 17 persons accused of stirring up integration trouble in Clinton, Tenn., may have jury trials, is clearly in retreat.

After the Clinton High School was ordered integrated, Judge Taylor issued a blanket injunction which was widely denounced as judicial tyranny; he enjoined anyone, anywhere from doing anything contrary to his decree against the school board.

So broad was the injunction, it embraced, at least according to Judge Taylor, all criticism, however peaceful, all objections that the law was wrong and should be reversed. This left Clinton under an imperial law with one man as prosecutor, judge, and jury.

The 17 arrested were charged with criminal contempt of court, on grounds they violated Taylor's permanent injunction. Protests were heard from all sides of the race question, including the following questions asked by a Washington attorney in the Washington Evening Star:

"Where is the statute, constitutionally passed by Congress, which defines the crime of which they stand accused?

"Where is the statute, constitutionally passed by Congress, which gives any court

jurisdiction over anyone and everyone who he thinks might disagree with his decrees?

"Where is the presentment or indictment by a grand jury accusing these men of violating what law?

"What are the limits of this power. If a judge, without a law, can sentence a man to 30 days in jail, can he also hang him?

"By what authority of law does he enforce the 14th amendment against private parties who are not parties to the suit before his court?

"If the courts can create such jurisdiction and powers for themselves, what other powers may they assume?"

Others joined in, including the New York Times' respected constitutional authority, Arthur Krock. They pointed to the evolution of barriers against judicial tyranny, the Bloody Assizes under James II in England, the Magna Carta, down to our own Bill of Rights and Constitution.

Under such fire, Judge Taylor has relented and agreed to a jury trial. Which is simply a way of confessing that his injunction was invalid, and passing the buck.

All this illustrates the danger of increasing the powers of the judiciary under the proposed civil-rights legislation. Good men may not abuse the powers, but as the Washington lawyer noted, there is always the danger of judges who "confuse themselves with the gods."

Rear Adm. George Dufek Proposes Permanent United States Airbase in Antarctic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the foremost authorities in the world on the subject of Antarctica has recently returned from an expedition there. He is to be applauded for proposing a permanent American airbase there. I have long urged our Government to take some positive action with respect to the Antarctic and I was happy to read about Admiral Dufek's proposal in an article appearing in the Evening Star on April 25:

Rear Adm. George J. Dufek, commander of Operation Deepfreeze, yesterday urged construction of a permanent American Air Base at McMurdo Sound in Antarctica at a cost of between $50 million and $60 million.

"We can open up the Antarctic for keeps," Admiral Dufek told a luncheon at the National Press Club.

"I have been over the area and airmen and scientists tell me an airfield can be constructed there within 4 or 5 years. It would have all the modern controls, including GCA (ground controlled approach) and housing.

"We are presently in the same situation in Antarctica as we were 25 years ago in the Arctic. Now the Arctic is a heavily traveled area. The great circle routes are the same. I see no reason as a private citizen, why we should not go ahead and get a 5-year jump on the project."

ICE UNRELIABLE

Admiral Dufek explained that the ice field now used for landing large transport planes at McMurdo Sound is impermanent. The ice is not always there, and if it goes away soon, we will have no place to land our large aircraft, Admiral Dufek declared.

The explorer also advocated establishment of a permanent agency of the Government to guide American policy on polar matters and act as a repository for all data and information on the Arctic and Antarctic regions. He explained that Defense Department support of the International Geophysical Year ends in 1959 and, after that, he knows of no plans for continuing exploration or scientific work at the South Pole.

He said the Antarctic is getting colder. With Washington enduring a plus 88 degree day yesterday, he said Antarctica was having minus 88 weather.

But the 18 Americans who are spending the Antarctic winter on the exact spot of the South Pole will endure temperatures of as low as 120 degrees below zero.

Reserve Officers' Retirement Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, there is a real need for enactment of the Sparkman-Jackson-Huddleston bill (S. 1085) which would specifically include Reserve officers for retirement pay under the Pay Readjustment Act of 1942.

The latter bill referred to "any officer" who served in World War I as well as World War II and "is eligible for retirement." The current interpretation of the term "officer" to signify only Regular Army officers is unreasonable and unjust.

As an example of what type officer is being excluded by this discrimination against Reserve officers, I cite the case of an officer friend of mine. This officer has 43 years' creditable service for pay purposes. He served actively from 1912 to 1915 on the Mexican border, from 1917 to 1919 with the AEF in World War I, from 1942 to 1945 in World War II, and from 1952 to 1955 during the Korean crisis. During all in-between periods he was active in the Reserve Corps. He received the Legion of Merit in World War II. He was considered "essential" when recalled in 1952. At that time, at the age of 54, he gave up an excellent position as a top executive. He came back at age 57 to start, in effect, a new career. This type of uprooting and consequential readjustment to civilian life is a type of sacrifice unique to the Reserve officer in the Army.

Those officers, who maintained Active Reserve status between World Wars I and II, worked against odds to do so, and without compensation.

In interpreting the Pay Readjustment Act of 1942, officers who were cadets at West Point during World War I, have just been ruled eligible on the basis that "any service" qualifies them, yet the term "any officer" is not interpreted to mean any officer other than Regulars.

I urge the enactment of the Sparkman-Jackson-Huddleston bill so that the inequitable situation, whereby the Reserve officer is excluded from the officer class, will be remedied.

Federal School Aid—Do the States Want It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the membership of the House is aware of the fact that the Committee on Education and Labor voted on May 9, 1957, to report H. R. 1, Federal aid to school construction, to the House. Before this bill is considered by the House, I urge my colleagues to read Federal School Aid—Do the States Want It?

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the above-named article from the May 13, 1957, edition of Time:

FEDERAL SCHOOL AID—DO THE STATES WANT IT?

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Of all the items in President Eisenhower's domestic program, few seem less likely to succeed than Federal aid for school construction. But would the defeat of this proposal be as great a calamity as its backers insist? Last week Time surveyed the 48 States to find out. The answer: No. Though the Nation as a whole must keep building classrooms faster than ever before, a surprisingly big proportion of the States do not need—or do not want—any help from the Government.)

THE DESPERATE

Even among the States that hope for Federal aid, only seven seem to qualify for the critical list. The Alabama Legislature, for instance, has called the condition of its school buildings appalling. According to the latest available figures (1953), 726 had no artificial light, 960 no water, 375 no toilets. To build the $300 million worth of classrooms needed by 1960, says Superintendent of Education Austin Meadows, Alabama most urgently needs Federal money.

Wealthy California faces quite a different sort of problem: The staggering shift and growth of population make it impossible to keep pace with the classroom shortage. Though the State has appropriated $675 million for school construction in the last 10 years, it will need a whopping $3½ billion more by 1970. Arizona has a similar population problem, but the legislature has consistently refused to do anything to aid construction. Result: Most educators, desperate, hope for Federal aid.

If New Mexico does not get Federal aid, says Assistant Superintendent Floyd Santistevan, the State will probably be able to raise only $5 million of the $25 million it will need by 1960, and practically every community will have a hopeless educational problem. In West Virginia, only 3 out of 55 counties have kept their school buildings up to par; the rest have either been unable or unwilling to foot the bill. Rhode Island, which says it needs between $60 million and $70 million in the next 4 years, also has a crisis. (Example: Pawtucket recently had to close temporarily 9 out of 23 schools as too dangerous to use.) In Kentucky, almost all of the 220 districts have already reached the maximum tax rate allowed by State law. Though the 1956 legislature appropriated more than $54 million to help districts maintain certain minimum standards of quality, only a small part of the amount was earmarked for construction—in spite of the fact that 200,000 children now go to schools with no inside plumbing or central heating. Without outside help, say Kentucky officials,

the State will be able to raise less than half of the $350 million it will need by 1960.

THE WORRIED AND THE WILLING

In other States that want Federal aid, the picture is not nearly so black. Arkansas' 423 districts have been spending a total of $6 million a year on construction, but they will have to up the ante to $78 million to take care of 1960's student load. On the other hand, overcrowding and the necessity for double shifts are not yet serious problems, and the various district have still not used up their bonding capacity.

Maine estimates that it should raise $41 million in the next 3 years, but it has already taken some impressive steps on its own. Main's School Building Authority has the power to build schools, then rent them back to poor districts at nominal rates. The legislature is considering a plan to award construction grants to school systems on the basis of per capita income and need. Actually, Maine's problem is pretty well limited to 5 or 6 heavily populated counties in the south.

Pennsylvania has so far done an outstanding job in keeping up with its school needs. But, says Superintendent of Public Instruction Charles Boehm, it must have Federal aid in the future. "Our foreseeable needs in the next decade will require an expenditure of more than $1 billion. If Pennsylvania should raise taxes to increase school construction, it will be unable to compete successfully with its neighbors." Oregon is also reluctant to raise its taxes and the State house of representatives has come out in favor of Federal aid.

Though North Carolina says it needs Federal aid, a $50 million bond issue voted in 1953 has kept the State in fair shape. But even though it has been building about 2,000 classrooms a year, it still needs 2,800 more. Oklahoma, which has already received $80 million in Federal aid for federally impacted areas, would not be averse to taking more. But this is largely so because the legislature has no plans to meet the classroom shortage. Speaking for Minnesota, Commissioner of Education Dean Schweickhard says: "Without Federal aid, we'd struggle along. But we wouldn't get the job done as fast."

THE DIVIDED

In Kansas, farmers who have happily accepted soil-bank subsidies and drought relief from Washington are opposed to Federal aid. But education officials say that unless the legislature removes bond limitations from local districts or unless the United States Government steps in, Kansas will fall $75 million short of what it will need by 1961. Utah is even more widely split. The State's Education Association hired an independent research agency to make a poll, found that 80 percent of the people wanted Federal aid. But a respected group called the Utah Committee on Education came to the conclusion that all foreseeable school building needs can be met from existing sources of revenue. True enough, there are districts where classes are held in hallways and gymnasiums, but of 40 school districts, only 10 have reached their bond limit, and there are State emergency funds available to help those. Nevertheless, the educators are definitely after Federal aid.

In spite of strong opposition in the legislature to Federal aid, Wyoming's educators also want help. But some of them admit that the State may be able to take care of its own needs. Says superintendent Velma Linford: "Yes, we are able, but I'm not sure we'll do it." Vermont's Swedish-born Governor Joseph Johnson flatly says that Vermont can and is taking care of its own school needs. But Commissioner of Education A. John Holden, Jr., thinks that Federal aid is just the thing to give extra help to the most needy districts.

In New Hampshire, where only a quarter of the communities have exhausted their bonding capacity, Gov. Lane Dwinell is inclined to favor Federal aid just to get over the hump. But the legislature has adopted a resolution asking Congress to refrain from enacting new grant-in-aid programs. Though Nevada is lukewarm to Federal aid, it will accept the money if it is offered. Iowa officials think that it can afford a State-aid program big enough to take care of its needs. Unfortunately, the wealthier areas are unwilling to take on the burdens of the poor, so Iowa may find Federal aid its only solution.

Florida's Gov. LeRoy Collins placed bebefore the legislature a 2-year $92 million program to take care of the State's immediate needs. But this does not touch the backlog of $85 million needed for classroom replacement. While the Governor is against Federal aid ("There is really no sound reason why the States shouldn't handle the problem"), State School Superintendent Thomas D. Bailey is for it. The various counties, says he, may well have enough bonding capacity to wipe out the backlog, but they are not going to do it.

South Dakota's Senate passed a resolution opposing Federal aid; the house let it die. In Tennessee the State education association has come out for Federal aid, but the legislature failed to pass a resolution authorizing the State to take it. Missouri, which will need to spend $185 million by 1960, is also divided. Educators favor Federal aid, but the senate is now considering a bill to enable the State to make sizable (up to $250,000) loans to districts at 2 percent interest in order to make sure the Federal Government will not "enter our Missouri school picture with controls and meddling."

THE SELF-SUFFICIENT

The rest of the 48 States not only feel confident they can take care of themselves; a good many just don't want outside help. In Delaware even the educators admit that the $400,000 the State would probably get from present Federal-aid proposals would look slightly silly alongside the $44 million school-construction plan now before the State house of representatives. Since 1949 the legislature has appropriated $100 million for buildings, and still only 2 out of 102 districts have exhausted their bonding capacity.

Colorado estimates that its local districts must dig up $35 million a year for 4 years to take care of their building needs. But last year the State raised more than $37 million, and Commissioner of Education H. Grant Vest has "not the remotest doubt that Colorado can build all we need without recourse to Federal aid." Idaho reports no critical problem; the State department of education is sure that it has ample resources available for needed construction. In neither Wisconsin nor Michigan has any community reached its bonding capacity. In Louisiana only 12 out of 64 parish school systems seem unable to meet their needs over the next 5 years. Of these, only two are in critical condition. Louisiana's main problem is not a shortage of classrooms but of qualified teachers, a problem Federal aid will not touch.

The Washington Legislature has passed a $52 million bond issue to be matched with $60 million from local communities. Though Washington officials do not think they will be able to go it alone indefinitely, most agree that Federal aid is not needed now. In Connecticut only three communities have applied for hardship grants from the State board of education, and the legislature now has a plan before it to put up at least half the cost of local construction. Mississippi, which would probably get $3 back for every dollar it paid out in taxes on any Federal-aid bill, is darkly suspicious that the Government will attach strings to its handouts. Gov. J. P. Coleman believes that the State can take care of its own building program.

In a speech to his legislature, Texas Gov. Price Daniel summed up the sentiment of his State: "Texas should have the finest school system in the Nation, and this should be accomplished with Texas money." In spite of serious shortages in New York City and on Long Island, New York officials are not at all worried about raising the more than $1.5 billion the State will need by 1960. But New York—like Massachusetts and New Jersey—has another reason for being cool to Federal aid: it would have to pay out far more to support a National program than it would get back.

If only the legislature in Ohio would take action, says Assistant Director W. Dwight Darling of the department of education, Ohio could handily take care of its needs. This year a legislative service commission report declared that "regardless of what may be the actual school enrollment in 1960 * * * the $1,000,400,000 of uncommitted debt capacity present in Ohio's school districts is far more than enough to supply the needs."

THE OPPOSED

If Montana voters approve a constitutional amendment to allow districts to increase their bonding limit, the State will have no trouble. Says Superintendent of Public Instruction Harriet Miller: "Until we exhaust our resources and abilities, we should not ask for Federal help." South Carolina, which has put up 8,000 classrooms since 1951, neither needs nor wants Federal help. In 1955 both North Dakota and Nebraska school officials went on record for the White House Conference on Education as definitely opposed to it.

In spite of the pro-Federal-aid efforts of the Illinois Education Association, Illinois officialdom does not want Federal aid. In Virginia, not a single county or city has exhausted its bonding capacity, and from Gov. Thomas Stanley and Senator HARRY BYRD on down, most political leaders vigorously oppose help from the Government. In Maryland, the most serious classroom shortage is in Baltimore county, but even there educators are looking not to the United States but to the State for the funds they need.

In Georgia, which is now completing a 5-year, $261 million building program, both Gov. Marvin Griffin and Senator HERMAN TALMADGE are against Federal aid. State Superintendent of Schools M. D. Collins has endorsed it because he thinks it would hasten school construction. "Georgia," says he, "is certainly capable of financing its own school program, but it would have to be on a long-term basis, say 20 years. The question is whether Georgia wants to take on such an obligation."

Though the powerful Indiana State Teachers Association has endorsed Federal aid, Gov. Harold Handley and his elected superintendent of public instruction, Wilbur Young, do not want it. According to their estimates, the State needs to build somewhere around 1,600 classrooms a year, has actually built more than that since 1955. Says Governor Handley: "I am opposed to Federal aid for the primary reason that we can take care of ourselves." Adds Superintendent Young: "We can do it better, we can do it cheaper, and surrender none of our rights in the process."

Antarctic Valuable to United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, Rear Adm. George J. Dufek, who has recently

returned from Operation Deep Freeze in the Antarctic, believes that the Antarctic Continent is of value to the United States, according to an article by Winzola McLendon appearing in the Washington Post and Times Herald on May 3, 1957.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include it herewith:

(By Winzola McLendon)

"Today the Antarctic is a question mark," Rear Adm. George J. Dufek—author of Operation Deep Freeze and the first American to set foot on the South Pole—told the Society of Sponsors of the United States Navy yesterday.

But, in 5 or 10 years the Antarctic should prove itself, the admiral said. In his speech, which followed a luncheon in the ballroom of the Mayflower Hotel, he gave his answer to the often-asked question, "Of what value is the Antarctic to the United States?"

There are three values, he told his audience of some 350 sponsors (all are ladies who have christened a combatant ship of the United States Navy). These are (1) economic, (2) strategic, and (3) scientific.

At the present time, the economic values are practically nil, the explorer said. Tracings of gold, silver, and other precious minerals have been found. But, it would cost too much to mine them at the present time. With nuclear power, the minerals can and probably will be mined in later years.

"I will pass over the strategic value," said the admiral, "because I get in trouble with the Defense Department when I don't."

The scientific values are tremendous, he said. Right now, there are seven bases in the Antarctic where scientists are wintered in. They are part of the third international geophysical year in which 60 nations are participating. As part of the international scientific survey, there are stations throughout the world.

Eventually we will have 60 weather stations in the Antarctic. And weathermen say that they will be able to give 6 months in advance forecasts. They also predict they will be able to control weather someday.

Coal Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KEITH THOMSON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. THOMSON of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, on May 6, I introduced H. R. 7253 to increase the acreage of coal lands that can be held by a lessee or permittee in a single State, from 5,120 acres to 20,480 acres. I believe that the enactment of this legislation is essential if the coal industry in the Western States is to properly develop and make its full contribution to the national economy. At a meeting of the Western Governors Mining Advisory Council, held at Reno, Nev., April 24 and 25, 1957, the following resolution was adopted:

COAL

Coal production in Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Washington, Montana, and Wyoming has suffered a sharp decline during the past 10 years. The greater part of this decline has resulted from the shift of the major railroad companies from coal to diesel fuel for their motive power.

Coal is a vital force of energy. Power companies in the West are looking for suitable areas to establish generating plants and should be given, on a State and Federal level, all legitimate assistance available.

The Council recommends that:

1. The Government give equal consideration to all available energy resources before deciding which is to be the source of generating power in any given area.

2. The States foster and the Federal Government assist in establishing research centers to develop better uses of coal and its byproducts.

3. The Leasing Act of February 25, 1920, be amended to permit any one person, association or corporation to lease not more than 20,480 acres of Federal coal lands. The present acreage limitation on such leases is far too small to meet modern requirements for large-scale coal-mining operations.

4. Quota limitation upon oil imports be diligently reviewed by the responsible Government agencies under existing statutes providing for such studies.

The Conference of Western Governors, which was attended by 9 of the governors of the 11 Western States, unanimously approved this recommendation. I believe this further points out the necessity of early enactment of H. R. 7253.

Government Employees' Right to Vote Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill which I call the "Government employees' right-to-vote bill."

This bill, H. R. 7385, provides that Federal Government employees should be given the opportunity to vote in person in national, State and local elections. In order to enable them to do so, each such employee is to be excused from duty, without loss of pay or deduction from his annual leave, for a period of not less than 2 hours, but not to exceed 4 hours.

The bill further provides that Government employees, who maintain voting residence in another State or area beyond the commuting distance from their place of employment, shall be excused for a maximum of 1 day for the purpose of voting, unless they are able to vote by absentee ballot.

The purpose of my bill is to encourage as many of our citizens as possible to exercise their rights of citizenship on election days and to utilize these rights by voting as free citizens according to the dictates of their conscience. It is both deplorable and very disturbing that far too many of our citizens fail to perform their citizenship duties on election day. In the last few presidential elections only about 50 to 60 percent of those entitled to vote in the United States actually went to the polls, and even fewer than that have voted in the off-year congressional elections.

Voting is a privilege as well as a right which we should not ignore. The greater the participation of our citizenship on election day, the more we shall be able to maintain this country as a true citadel of democracy. When millions stay away from the polls, it shows a lack of interest in the problems and welfare of our Nation. If this trend continues, it may prove dangerous to our form of government and our way of life.

The people of this country should be encouraged to cast their ballots, and the Government should be the first to do so by enabling its employees to vote in person. The Federal Government has a moral obligation to encourage good citizenship by affording its employees sufficient time off to cast their ballots on election day. Unfortunately, during the presidential election last November no allowances were made for voting on the part of Government agencies and many of their employees failed to exercise this right because of a lack of time. In the Brooklyn Navy Yard, located in my Congressional District, there were numerous complaints and many of the shipyard workers were incensed over the situation. The same, I understand, was true in other Government establishments in various parts of the country.

Mr. Speaker, I feel it is of utmost importance that Government employees be given sufficient time off to exercise their sacred duties as American citizens. Give them the opportunity to lead the parade to the polls on election day. It is for the good of our Nation and its future.

The text of my bill is as follows:

A bill to provide that certain Government officers and employees shall have sufficient time to vote in elections

Be it enacted, etc., That, in order to enable officers and employees in the executive branch of the Government to vote in person in National, State, and local elections, each such officer or employee shall be excused from duty, without loss of pay or deduction from his annual leave, for a period not less than 2 hours, but not to exceed 4 hours.

SEC. 2. Employees holding voting residence beyond commuting distance from their duty stations shall be excused not to exceed 1 day for the purpose of voting, unless voting by absentee ballot is permitted.

Senator Joseph McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WINT SMITH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, a great many articles have appeared in the press as to what the passing of Senator Joe McCarthy meant to America. As the years go on I am sure a great deal more will be written.

It is quite evident that even in death Senator McCarthy remains a highly controversial figure. To many of us we believe he will be looked upon in future years as a genuine American patriot who saw danger signals for his country and tried to stamp out these dangers.

No one will ever say Senator McCarthy did not possess strong opinions and a will to carry them out. He had a great heart, true faith, and ready hands—also a rapier-like tongue to chastise and ridicule those whom he believed to be enemies of his country's well-being.

But throughout history men of opinion and a will have been persecuted. Socrates, drinking the hemlock—and Martin Luther tacking his thesis on the church door. Little men passing pious resolutions for political expediency never yet have dimmed the luster of real patriots. Who knows but in after years patriotic pilgrims may go to Appleton, Wis., to pay homage to the memory of Senator McCarthy and May 2, the day of his death, will be celebrated as Patriot's Day—in opposition to May 1, world communism day.

I append hereto a tribute to Senator Joseph McCarthy by Charles A. Walsh, of Concordia, Kans., which appeared in the Downs News, Downs, Kans.:

SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY

(Tribute by Charles A. Walsh, Concordia, Kans.)

In a world which has lost its understanding of the concepts of right and wrong, truth and error, good and evil, and seeks only to adjust itself to what is expedient, a man like Senator McCarthy is a living contradiction of such Machiavellianism. The man of faith in a world of unbelief is more than an oddity; he is its mortal enemy. The man of faith and courage in a world crawling with cowardly toaders, has the sword of Damocles hanging over his head. The plain, blunt man, who loves his country, in a groveling world of sycophants, kneeling at the altar of such illusionary gods as the United Nations, is subject to persecution and hounding as a reactionary barbarian.

Senator McCarthy not only had the ability, but the courage to uphold to the face of the unbelieving and cowardly world, the mirror of its errors, sins, and offenses. The great men of his age were not pleased with these reflected likenesses. They could not forgive him beause the images they saw made them appear as fumblers and dunces. Their errors and stupidities were naked before the world. This was his great offense. The intellectuals, internationalists, and "certified gentlemen" were so outraged and cut to the heart, that they must destroy him. For those of us who understood the nature of this controversy, it was, indeed, a horrible thing to watch the sibilating hatred and foaming at the mouth, as it were, of those he called to account for their stupidities and errors. We saw them as they spat at their tormentor the most reckless and unfounded calumnies and slanders, and taunted him as an irresponsible demagog.

As a young Senator, Joseph McCarthy looked out on America after the Second World War, dismayed and appalled by the thought that after we had expended $300 billion in treasure, and suffered a million casualties, the world was rapidly falling into the clutches of atheistic communism. He understood, as all sensible men must know, that the military might of the United States, which was great enough to overcome all opposition, had been betrayed by its officials. He was intrigued, no less appalled, by this and was determined to uncover the men responsible. To this task he dedicated himself and his life. From the very start he understood the consequences of his mission. He knew that he would call down upon himself, not only the damnation of the Communist world, but the insults, threats, and abuse of all of their associates, fellow travelers, and dopes. He withstood all of this abuse with the heroism of a truly great man. He saw and understood. Others might also see, and understand, but would not have the courage or dedication to make the sacrifice necessary to preserve their country and its liberties.

Now that he is dead, I am wondering if during his last days and hours, he was not grieved by the thought, which would suggest that the battles which he had fought had all been lost and that the country which he loved, might be finally engulfed in the torrent of atheistic communism. When the virtues of moral courage and patriotism come out of the storm cellars once more the stature and greatness of this man will be manifest. In many respects, Senator McCarthy may be likened with the great English martyr, lawyer, and statesman, St. Thomas More, who was an uncompromising, dedicated man, who harkened to the voice of conscience.

The Visit of Hon. Robert Briscoe, Lord Mayor of Dublin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, you will recall with pleasure the visit of the Honorable Robert Briscoe, lord mayor of Dublin, Ireland, on March 26 last, when through your kindness about 200 Members of this body were accorded the opportunity of meeting him in your private office.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following interesting article published in the New York Post of Sunday, May 12, 1957, concerning Mr. Briscoe's visit to this country:

MR. BRISCOE: HE FOUND ONLY FRIENDLY FACES

Every day of the week, without moving a muscle, Robert Briscoe brings off the neatest trick of three centuries.

The only agility required for the execution of this trick is to sit perfectly still and be the first Jewish lord mayor of Dublin since that office was established in 1641.

Unfortunately, no one has been inclined to let Mayor Briscoe sit still from the moment he was elected.

He has, in fact, just completed a tour of this country during which he visited 40 cities, attended an estimated 200 public functions and private banquets, signed over 5,000 autographs, shook over 20,000 hands and blinked at 10,000 flashbulbs—a schedule that left him 6 hours of free time in 2 months.

When he returns to Ireland next week, he will take with him a memento of his visit that is the most remarkable tribute to the unique duality of his position.

"It's a wonderful thing," said the Mayor, relaxing in his Waldorf Towers suite with a favorite cigar. "From one end of this country to the other I didn't see a single frowning face."

It was an experience few men are apt to share or even believe. But the mere notion of a Jewish mayor of Dublin—a city that is 93 percent Catholic and 100 percent Irish—dissolves all frowns into complaisant smiles. It's a heart-warming cartoon that defies the caption writers.

There is one joke current since Briscoe's arrival here that runs like this:

Two Jews stood side by side, at the St. Patrick's Day parade, beaming fondly at Mayor Briscoe in the reviewing stand.

"He's one of ours," said the first.

"Yes," said the other, "and where else could it happen but in America."

It happened in Dublin, of course, on June 25, 1956. Briscoe and incumbent Dennis Larkin were tied with 19 votes each in the council. In accordance with tradition, the names of the two candidates were dropped into the council clerk's bowler hat.

In the tense hush that followed, the clerk reached into his derby and pulled out a historic plum. Brisco was the new mayor of Dublin. The council chamber rang with cheers. It is reported that one councilman solemnly arose and said in a choked voice: "Now he belongs to the agents."

Briscoe's own view of this extraordinary climax to an extraordinary career is philosophically tempered.

"I never wanted to be mayor," he said. "I hadn't any ambitions for the position. I felt there were so many others who were able and who would be happy at getting it.

A young man when moved by certain events develops his own sort of reaction. And then begins a spiral of circumstances begetting further circumstance. You begin to climb the ladder with full knowledge that you might fall down. Your convictions become more solid. I had to carry out the proper attitude. If you feel something is wrong in principle, you must do something about it.

Events were moving quite dramatically during Briscoe's youth in Dublin. He had been born there in 1895, 35 years after his grandparents emigrated from Lithuania. His father was a prospering furniture dealer.

Briscoe studied languages at the St. Andrew's School and Trinity College in his native city. Then he went to Berlin to take up electrical engineering and commerce. He was an amateur boxer and a lover of good Gaelic football at college.

At 20, he crossed the Atlantic to take an export-import job in New Jersey. But a year later he was caught up in the spiral of circumstances that led to his present eminence.

After the Easter uprising of 1916, he returned to Ireland and obtained a commission in the Irish Republican Army from Gen. Michael Collins. His knowledge of languages led Eamon De Valera to single him out for the job of smuggling guns and ammunition from the Continent.

In 1923, De Valera sent him back to the States to raise money for the IRA. It was a frustrating mission.

"I used to stand on an orange crate at Columbus Circle and plead for pennies for Ireland." Meanwhile he lived on pennies himself, in a small unfurnished room. "I didn't even have enough money for a downpayment on a bed."

Briscoe, along with several other IRA members, presently found more comfortable quarters. In a daring coup, they invaded and seized the Irish Free State Consulate in Manhattan. There they remained entrenched for a week before they were driven out by a harassed police bomb squad.

In 1926, Briscoe joined De Valera's new party, Fianna Fail (soldiers of destiny) as a founding member. The following year he was elected to the Dail Eireann, the Irish Parliament, where he has held a seat ever since.

Over two decades, he continued his double identity. He remained active as the only Jew in Irish politics. At the same time he became an ardent promoter of Zionism, and a leader in Jewish charities. He built up a thriving interest in the manufacture of Irish textiles and established a flourishing kosher meatpacking business.

He married Lillian Isaacs, of Dublin, and blessed the union with 4 sons and 3 daughters. His eldest daughter, Joan, is now an Ontario physician. His oldest son, Abraham

William, is a pilot with KLM Airlines. His son, Joseph, is a Dublin dentist.

Invitations began pouring in from the States from the time Briscoe was elected, for the dual causes of Irish tourism and Jewish charity. America, like the two apocryphal spectators at the St. Patrick's Day parade, was ready to claim him for its own.

The duties of the Lord Mayor of Dublin have been described as more ceremonial than functional. But Briscoe is nonetheless concerned about his lengthy absence from office.

"No Member of Parliament has ever been accorded such a long leave of absence," he said with a momentary seriousness in his humorous eyes. "If you're absent more than 10 weeks, you can forfeit your job. But the council recognized that my mission was of great importance."

Briscoe will leave for Ireland on Wednesday, a day after the departure of his wife and son Joseph, who accompanied him here. Back in Dublin, he said, some formidable problems await him.

"Like most large cities anywhere," he said, "we have to wage a war on slumdom. We need better housing for the working classes. Dublin is a very old city that has doubled its population in less than a lifetime. We now have over half a million people to provide for.

"We need new roads to ease the traffic congestion. There is a need for hospital facilities and adequate fire protection and water supply." (It might have been Bob Wagner talking.)

As a Member of Parliament, he keeps an eye on the big picture as well.

"In Ireland," he said, "we have a very serious unemployment problem. The great task is how to find work for people and stem our heavy emigration. The Fianna Fail is a conservative nationalist party that combines elements of your Democrats and modern Republicans. It includes social legislation that apparently both your parties accept.

"We are trying to change an agricultural country into one that is self-sufficient, with a balanced economy, with well-developed industries."

But at 62, Briscoe indicated he is willing to relinquish the commissions of progress to younger men.

"I'm not looking for the usual 3-year tenure as mayor," he said. "I've served my country in a variety of ways for over 40 years, since 1917. I'd like a little spare time now to indulge in my favorite pastimes—fishing and target-pistol practice.

"My state of mind at the moment is inclined toward rest—affected, if you like, by this rugged tour."

Aside from its rugged aspects, Briscoe considers the tour a huge success.

"It's like being in the ring for 10 rounds," he said. "When it's all over you don't know what you did wrong until your manager tells you."

His manager, Irving Rockmore, answered the implied question with an utterly serene smile. For millions of Americans, Briscoe could do no wrong. What he did do was to leave a trail of delightful confusion from here to California.

In Governor Harriman's mansion, he had matzoh ball soup on the first Seder night, as the first course of a dinner catered for 70 persons by a kosher restaurant: "The whole house was kosher."

The Notre Dame Alumni Association went to the utmost lengths to serve him a dinner that was in strict accordance with Orthodox Jewish dietary laws.

In St. Louis, moist-eyed citizens hastily organized the Robert Briscoe Club—members have to be either Irish or Jewish.

In Chicago, politicians at a dinner for Briscoe confided happily: "This is the first time we've ever been able to to get the Irish together in this town."

In San Francisco the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the ancient order of B'nai B'rith joined forces to organize a special new "Brisco" tour for vacationers: Dublin and Tel Aviv, by air.

Passover and Purim greeting cards flooded in on him from all over the country. Most of them, the mayor says, came from Irishmen. "My great hope," he added, "is that someday Tel Aviv will elect an Irish mayor."

Briscoe proudly displayed honorary doctor of laws degrees from three Catholic universities. One of them, from John Carroll University, included a citation that quoted from the Reverend James Laynez, himself a Jew and one of the founding fathers of the Society of Jesus:

"May our God never permit that the favor of kings, the flattery of nobles, the prejudices of nationalism, the conceit of private judgment, or disdain for another's flesh as though one's own were compounded of different and finer clay, should cloud our recognition of the bonds of union and esteem which ought to govern the relations of the Society of Jesus with one of Jewish stock."

Briscoe denied rumors that he was planning to settle here after his term of office expires. "I have no designs on any spot in America," he said. "Having loved my own country all my life, I look forward to my permanent rest in the little Jewish graveyard in Dublin."

But before he goes to any rest, permanent or temporary, the Jewish lord mayor of Dublin is apt to be a very busy man.

Seaboard & Western Becomes First Airline To Complete 10 Years of Continuous Transatlantic All-Cargo Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news item:

SEABOARD & WESTERN BECOMES FIRST AIRLINE TO COMPLETE 10 YEARS OF CONTINUOUS TRANSATLANTIC ALL-CARGO SERVICE

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Seaboard & Western Airlines today became the first airline to complete 10 years of continuous transatlantic all-cargo service. Two giant Seaboard Super-Constellation freighters crossing the North Atlantic on scheduled flights in both directions signaled a decade of growth which has seen an increase of over 500 percent in transatlantic air trade since 1947, the company reported.

The only scheduled transatlantc all-cargo airline, Seaboard initiated operations on May 10, 1947, with one DC–4. Today it operates a fleet of 10 Super-Constellations and 3 DC–4's. In the 10-year span its aircraft have flown 48,247,700 revenue-miles while logging over 8,700 ocean crossings. Seaboard has grown from an initial investment of $150,000 to a publicly owned company with a net worth of over $8,100,000. Its common stock is listed on the American Stock Exchange in New York.

"Transatlantic air freight will assume an even greater position in international trade during the next decade," Arthur V. Norden, Seaboard's executive vice president, stated. "Traditionally, all forms of transportation eventually carry more goods than people. In the present state of development of air transportation, the carriage of people far exceeds the carriage of cargo. Ultimately, however, air freight will exceed greatly passenger air travel. Marked progress in this direction has been made in the last year. Transatlantic air freight will grow at an even faster rate in the next 10 years."

Since the start of its scheduled service, Seaboard's air freight volume has grown substantially. In the first year of this service, Seaboard traffic increased 62 percent. During the first 3 months of 1957, historically slow months in transatlantic air cargo movements, it increased 78 percent.

Mr. Norden pointed out that in 1956, transatlantic freight traffic by all carriers increased 28 percent. During the first quarter of 1957, the industry's traffic figures show an increase of 20 percent. Tonnage for 1957 is expected to increase by 33 percent, he said.

Seaboard's first flight, from Newark (N. J.) Airport to Shannon, Ireland; Geneva, Switzerland; and Milan, Italy; carried a load of 14,000 pounds of wearing apparel, aircraft parts and other American manufactures.

Manufacturers and merchants began to learn the basic economy of distribution cost made possible by transatlantic air transportation: (1) Reduced inventories, warehousing and handling; (2) less risk and lower insurance costs; (3) greater turnover of capital investment; (4) reduced requirements for bank loans with resultant lower costs for credit financing; (5) increased sales at peak seasonal demand.

All of these added up to increased business volume and greater profits. As a result, the early trickle of merchandise moved by air developed into a volume airlift of many different commodities.

In its first decade, Seaboard airlifted a large variety of commodities in bulk, including livestock, tropical animals, textiles, wearing apparel, optical goods, chemicals, photograph equipment, electronic and electrical equipment and parts, production machinery and machine tools, furs and hides, pharmaceuticals, glassware, business and office machinery, machine, aircraft and automotive parts and household furnishings. The company pioneered the movement of such commodities as elephants, domestic and foreign automobiles, small airplanes, helicopters, 19-ton electronic computers, and multiton ship's parts.

A leader in the history of international airlift, Seaboard inaugurated the commercial airlifts in connection with the Berlin airlift in 1948 and the Pacific airlift in support of the Korean war in 1950. During the Korean situation, Seaboard flew more than 30,400,000 pounds of military supplies, mail and personnel on the 6,700-mile transpacific route between the United States and Japan.

The airline presently operates six scheduled all-cargo flights weekly in both directions across the Atlantic. Five of these are made with Super Constellation freighters, the fastest and largest commercial all-cargo aircraft. The company, operating from New York, serves Gander, Shannon, London, Glasgow, Amsterdam, Brussels, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Dusseldorf, Stuttgart, Nuremberg, Munich, Paris, Geneva, and Zurich.

Employment of the Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, in recent years there has been increasing rec-

ognition of the fact that handicapped persons may still take their proper places in society if they are given the opportunity to hold jobs for which they are fit. As part of this program of encouraging employers to consider the handicapped, the Wisconsin Governor's Committee on the Employment of the Physically Handicapped annually sponsors an essay contest among high-school students. This year's winner, Mary Louise Stanley, of Eau Claire Senior High School, writes significantly, "All the handicapped person needs is the opportunity to assume his place in society and to make the best of whatever he does." Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert her entire essay in the RECORD.

The essay follows:

EMPLOYMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED A COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

(By Mary Louise Stanley)

It happens so quickly, so very quickly. It may be a blinding flash, a sharp blast, and the scream of a mutilated soldier. One moment a child has a bad fever and complains of stiffness, the next moment he is crippled for life by polio. The driver of the car sees the bright, blinding headlights of an approaching car, and then hears the doctor saying the fatal sentence "You'll never walk again." These events happen so swiftly and yet their effects remain forever. So often a life is ruined because a faculty is impaired. We hear these things with heavy hearts and then we forget about the unfortunate people. Well, why should we worry about our handicapped brother? Why should we be concerned about someone's wasted life?

It happens so quickly. It could be anyone, any of us or any of our loved ones. So many of the handicapped people today were once normal, healthy people leading a happy, active life who fell prey to a cruel stroke of fate. Eight hundred thousand people meet such fates each year. Who knows who the next 800,000 may be? Each of us has a personal interest in the welfare of the handicapped man. Each of us must realize the duty he has and do his share.

Mere pity is useless. Pity will not build up the shattered life of a disabled man or woman. A quarter or a half dollar will not restore his pride of accomplishment. Tears and contributions alone cannot help the handicapped person to find his place in society. The handicapped must be able to hold his head up knowing that he is a useful human being playing his role in life. In order to do so he must have an occupation in which he may use his abilities unhampered by his disabilities. This titanic undertaking of rehabilitation is in the hands of every citizen of every community.

But, what can we do?

The employer's role in rehabilitation is the greatest in importance. In his hands lies the ability to accept or reject disabled workers. It is far too easy to say no. How can one tell if the person is capable enough to be on the payroll? Other employers experienced with handicapped workers have found the quality and amount of production of these employees equal to the standards of the nonhandicapped. Handicapped people are not only willing to work but grateful for the opportunity to do so. Rarely are the blind, crippled, or otherwise impaired payroll free riders. These men and women are willing to give their all to their job.

In our modern age of machines, full use of all faculties is not really necessary. A factory provides many opportunities for the disabled. A good personality is something that may be found in handicapped people as well as those in perfect condition. A charming manner is a great asset to a clerical or sales department as well as it is a necessity to a receptionist. Writers, world leaders, entertainers, inventors, educators, even great musicians have come from the ranks of the physically handicapepd. Who has not heard names such as Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Jane Froman, Helen Keller, Sarah Bernhardt? Names of men and women who have transcended the barriers of physical defects to achieve immortal greatness. Even the greatest composer this world has known, Ludwig von Beethoven, wrote many of his masterpieces after he became deaf. All the handicapped person needs is the opportunity to assume his place in society and to make the best of whatever he does.

The majority of us may be tempted to shrug off our responsibilities. We have no way of providing jobs for the handicapped. What can we do? We, as citizens, have the mighty weapon of public opinion to wield. Our duty is to restore the confidence of the handicapped in their abilities. Our opinions can influence employers to give occupational opportunities to the disabled. We can tell the world of the abilities of the handicapped worker and make them realize that the abilities are far more important than the disabilities. No one has the right to look down on his fellow man because of a physical defect.

It happens so very quickly. Very little time is necessary to handicap a man or a woman for life. The rehabilitation process requires a great deal of time. One man, one company, one organization cannot carry out the task of providing employment for the handicapped. It is only when every man, every company and every organization of a community work together to provide an occupation and a new life for the handicapped that rehabilitation may be successfully executed. It is our responsibility as citizens to work together to help our fellow man.

Prayer by Father Manton at Breakfast Honoring Lord Mayor Robert Briscoe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMMET F. BYRNE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a most unusual prayer given by Father Manton at Governor Furcolo's recent breakfast for the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Robert Briscoe, in Boston. The prayer was printed in the Boston Globe.

Although I did not come from Dublin I am not a synthetic Irishman. My mother was a Murphy and came from Cork and my father came from Donegal. It was my pleasure to meet the Mayor of Dublin a few years ago when I was in Ireland.

The prayer follows:

Almighty God, our good and gracious Father, we find ourselves a bit bewildered this morning. You know that the first President of the Irish Republic was a Protestant; the present Lord Mayor of Dublin is a Jew; the Lakes of Killarney belong to a Yank and the historians keep hissing in our ears that St. Patrick was a Frenchman. Please, keep the blackthorns from becoming bamboo.

Help us this morning to hold high the brimming cup of hospitality to a good and great man and to greet him not as a stranger but as a treasured friend. And while he is over here, make him in the best sense of the word a fair-weather friend, with none of those "soft" days they sometimes have in Ireland, where, of course, it never rains—those are only silver harp strings coming down—just a few drops of Holy Water sprinkled on the windshield. Deign to give him serene and mellow weather so that he will go back as bright and fresh as the colors in the Book of Kells.

And, dear God, stay the man up with monumental patience as he heroically endures a hundred toastmasters, who will gaily imagine that the very filling in their teeth are fragments of the Blarney Stone, as they ring out all the obvious changes on a Jewish mayor of Dublin. Help the poor man not to be "banquet weary" of all these glib attempts to paint a green beard on Moses, or by the end he will be seeing little "Lepra Cohens."

Deliver him, O Lord, this real Irishman who risked his life for the land he loved, from any professional Irishman with an angle. There are mercifully very few, but spare him from these, the sham shamrocks, the bogus bog-trotters, the synthetic Sinn Feiners and especially the psycho-Patricks who love too loudly through a green haze an Ireland that never was.

Instead let him meet our wonderful, best, the many genuine practical people who appreciate that the purpose of this trip is not merely the wearin' of the green, but the sharin' of the green by touring in Ireland and by trading with Ireland.

Finally, Dear God, bless this man, our friend, and this meal, our food, and today let the blessing come down even on the English muffin and the orange juice, so that having broken our fast at the top of the mornin', we may rise thanking you from the bottom of our hearts. Amen.

Fluoridation Strategy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN TABER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, without the slightest degree of taking a position on the subject, I am submitting for printing in the RECORD a speech delivered by George Calingaert, professor of chemistry at Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, N. Y., with reference to the fluoridation situation. I believe that the article should serve a useful purpose and that those of us who do not know about it would be glad to hear what an experienced chemist has to say.

The speech follows:

FLUORIDATION STRATEGY

(Address by George Calingaert, professor of chemistry, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, N. Y.)

"PTA meeting tonight in school auditorium. After the presentation of the new bylaws, the president will introduce a local dentist, who will give a brief talk on dental hygiene."

It sounds innocuous enough. What could be better than for parents to hear some sound professional advice on dental hygiene for school-age children? In most cases, however, what actually takes place is quite different: the dentist says nothing about the daily care of children's teeth, or about good and bad dietary practices for children whose teeth are in the formative stage.

Instead he delivers an emotional speech on the number of draftees who have bad teeth, and on how we ought to buttress our national defense by—of all things—adding fluoride to our drinking water supplies.

The listeners are under the impression that they are hearing the personal, considered opinion of a dentist of their own community. Actually what is being presented to them is a canned speech, prepared by a clever propagandists. We are indebted to the Honorable Charles P. Nelson for having made the speech available to the public by introducing it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 84th Congress, 2d session, as Extension of Remarks, on June 5, 1956, under the title: "Fluoridation, a Vital Defense Measure."

Instead of a temperate and clear discussion of the scientific and legal aspects of the problem, this document is a sad example of emotional appeal calculated to evade the real issue. Briefly, the thesis is that too many draftees have bad teeth, and that this situation could be remedied to a large extent by adding fluoride to the public water distribution systems. Appeal is made for support of this plan by making it a patriotic duty: "Shall we stand shoulder with the Department of Defense, the United States Army, the United States Navy, the United States Air Force, the American Legion, and 22 million Americans throughout the length and breadth of our land, who sincerely believe that strengthening our defenses with fluoridation is in the public interest?"

And by making derogatory statements about the opponents of this measure:

"We are letting what the Hartford Courant has called 'one of the greatest aggregations of quacks and medical phonies in history' scare us out of solving our No. 1 military problem, rejections for dental defects."

"As we listen to these people rant and rave against what the Department of Defense has called 'a public health asset;' as we listen to them try to break down our confidence in American institutions."

Actually, the whole issue of fluoridation hinges on a number of points which are carefully avoided in this canned speech.

1. Many dental, medical, and scientific authorities challenge the much advertised tests of fluoridation, on the grounds that the information collected was inadequate and incorrectly interpreted, and that the stated conclusions are not supported by the evidence.

2. Despite all the categorical statements to the contrary, there is no proof that the continuous ingestion of fluoride will not lead to some trouble in at least a small percentage of our population.

3. Even if such proof existed, there would still be no justification for forcing 7 people out of 8 to take this unnecessary medication on the grounds that it might be beneficial to the 8th person.

4. If fluoride is beneficial to children 3 to 14 years old, as alleged, putting it in the city water supply would not control individual dosage; some children would not get enough to benefit from the treatment, and some would get more than the safe dose.

5. The proposed method of treatment neglects completely about one-third of our population, the farmers, who have individual or local sources of water supply.

6. There are several alternate methods of supplying fluoride to children (tablets, solution, fluoridated salt, topical application, toothpaste) each of which has the advantage of constituting a freely chosen and personally prescribed treatment.

7. Confusion is deliberately created when fluoridation is likened to vaccination and to chlorination of water. Vaccination is a necessary protection against a communicable disease, which dental caries is not. Chlorination is necessary to make unsafe water safe for human consumption; fluoridation does not make water better, but is merely a device for distributing someone's pet medication haphazardly to the few it might help, and indiscriminately to the many others.

None of these issues is faced squarely in this canned speech. The emotional appeal to parents of schoolchildren is much preferred: parents have been urged to accept "on faith" the statements of the dentists, and thus to forego their right and responsibility to know the facts and make their own decision.

The only sound response to this insidious propaganda is to bring this issue out into the open, and to make clear to the people that the issue is not whether or not fluoride is good for the teeth of growing children, but whether we shall permit a group of well-meaning but ill-advised do-gooders to force the whole population to consume daily a substance which is most likely to be harmful to some, and which is conceded even by the proponents of fluoridation to be of no benefit to over 85 percent of our population.

Address of Vice President Richard Nixon at De Pauw University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Vice President of the United States delivered a most interesting address last Saturday at De Pauw University. The university bestowed an honorary degree upon him for his outstanding service on behalf of our country.

I agree with the Vice President's statement that consideration should be given toward the allowance of tax deductions for tuitions and fees paid to institutions of higher learning. Early in this session, I introduced H. R. 231 to provide for such deductions which would particularly benefit our private universities and colleges who are having difficulties at the present time.

I urge my colleagues to read the Vice President's remarks with the hope that some action may be taken soon to meet the problem he has discussed.

The address follows:

REMARKS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY DAY LUNCHEON, DE PAUW UNIVERSITY, GREENCASTLE, IND., MAY 11, 1957

The United States is facing a major crisis in the field of higher education. It is essential for our national survival that we continue to maintain the military and industrial superiority which we presently have over the Communist bloc nations. We cannot do this unless our colleges and universities produce both the skilled technicians and the enlightened leaders the Nation needs.

The Soviet Union has recognized this fact by embarking on a program of mass higher education which is frightening both in its basic philosophy and its size. As evidence of the extent of their efforts, it is estimated that 60 percent of the Soviet college graduates each year are in the natural and physical science fields, as compared with approximately 13 percent in the United States. In actual numbers, 53,000 scientific and technical students were graduated in the Soviet Union in 1956, while there were only 38,000 in the United States.

It is estimated that our college population will be twice as large 10 years from now as it is today. To meet this problem, we will need new physical facilities and more teachers.

The task of obtaining and keeping good teachers in our colleges and universities is becoming increasingly more difficult. A dedicated teacher does not expect to earn as much in his chosen profession as he would in another field requiring similar qualifications. But he must have, and is entitled to, compensation which will enable him to maintain the standards which his position requires.

At the present time the average salary of all teachers in private colleges and universities in the United States is only $4,700 per year. We can see how inadequate this is when we compare it with the $5,500 which is the average pay for all industrial workers in the city of Flint, Mich. Unless steps are taken to remedy this situation, we can only expect that both the quality and number of those who choose teaching as a profession will deteriorate.

The answer to the overall problem is not simply in expanding tax-supported colleges and universities. Since 42 percent of all college graduates come from private schools, it is obvious that we need both types of institutions to meet the need. It would be a tragedy of the first magniude if tax-supported State institutions were to gradually drive the private colleges and universities out of existence.

I am particularly concerned about the future of the smaller private colleges and universities of which DePauw is such an outstanding example. I am prejudiced in their favor because I attended one. But, in addition, I believe that they occupy a vitally important role in our National educational system.

Both the larger State institutions and the smaller colleges have their strong points. In considering the advantages offered by the smaller college, perhaps the outstanding one is that the student can have intimate and personal contact with the teacher. In the larger institutions, classes, particularly in the first 2 years, are so large that virtually no class discussion is possible and there is practically no personal relationship between teacher and student. In the smaller institution, instruction is essentially individual and personal. The student has the opportunity to discuss problems directly with his professor. And the teacher has more opportunity to liberate and stimulate the student's mind so that he will be able to rise to the pinnacle of his creative ability. The teacher can encourage an attitude of mind and a desire to think which better prepares the student to enter society with a desire to be of service. The small college also offers a religious emphasis which is usually lacking in the larger State institutions.

And as long as we have strong privately-supported colleges and universities as well as State institutions, we will not run the risk of Government domination and control which might develop if higher education was completely dependent upon the State and Federals Governments.

Providing the necessary support for private colleges and universities is becoming increasingly difficult. The answer will not be found by enrolling more students who can pay tuitions. On the average, tuitions provide ony one-half of the total cost of a college education.

Nor is the answer to be found is raising tuitions. They are already so high that too many qualified students are unable to get a higher education. One recent survey disclosed that 40 percent of the students in the top 5 percent of their high school classes did not go on to college. The United States cannot continue to afford this tragic waste of talent and ability.

Direct Federal aid to private colleges and universities is both unlikely and in many

respects undesirable. There is always the risk that such aid could impair the independent integrity which is so essential for a private institution to maintain.

Contributions from individuals are increasingly difficult to obtain because of high income tax rates. I believe that when the fiscal situation of the Federal Government is such that we can afford a reduction in taxes we should give the most serious consideration to provisions which would encourage such contributions, as well as to various plans which have been suggested for allowing tuitions and fees of both public and private institutions to be treated as tax deductions.

A major new source of endowment income for private institutions must come from corporations and other business enterprises who are competing today for the graduates the colleges are producing. Such contributions should be considered just as important an item of business expense as an investment in basic research.

Today our Nation is faced with an adversary intent on controlling the minds of men. This challenge cannot be met solely with technological developments or weapons or sheer good will. But it must be met with ideas. The smaller college can help to give us the potential leaders who have the character and desire for service, and who have the purpose, direction, and ideals with a moral and spiritual basis. Smaller colleges have produced many of our great leaders in the past and they merit the support of all Americans so that they may continue in their important and vital mission.

That Mess in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I wonder if anyone can figure out what is going on in the White House these days. It was reported in the press of Wednesday, May 8, that President Eisenhower was going to bat again for his record peacetime budget. The following newspaper article by Francis Stephenson was carried in the New York Daily News under that date:

IKE SET TO GO ON AIR TO BUDGE THE BUDGET

(By Francis Stephenson)

WASHINGTON, May 8.—President Eisenhower said today he probably will make two radio-TV speeches to the Nation in behalf of his harassed budget and legislative programs.

He confirmed at his press conference that Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey has wanted to get back to private business for 2 years. He said Humphrey has not resigned but "I do know that sooner or later Secretary Humphrey has to go."

Also, he said certain others in the Cabinet have been giving him "very cogent, urgent reasons why they should leave." Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson has been hinting he would resign soon.

NO COMMENT ON ANDERSON

The President refused to comment on speculation that Robert Anderson, of Texas, former Deputy Secretary of Defense, would succeed Humphrey.

As for the possibility Humphrey's successor might change the administration's "tight money" policy, he said emphatically:

"The monetary policy of this Government is mine, and no one underneath me is going to change my policy."

Once more Ike emphasized he knew of "no difference whatsoever" between himself and Humphrey on the budget.

Going to bat again for his record peacetime $71.8 billion budget, the President said any big cuts in spending would mean a slash in the $38 billion defense appropriations.

"You are not going to cut national defense markedly," he contended, "until you have eased tensions in the world."

Ike said funds for the State Department, mutual aid, technical aid, and the information service—all under severe attack in Congress—were put in the budget "to wage the peace so you can finally tackle the defense item and make cuts in the budget that this country really is looking forward to with great longing."

"Now, that is not going to be done in a hurry," he said, "but we have got to aim at real cuts in this budget."

Now, in this morning's New York Times we find that our former colleague, Sherman Adams, who served in this House for one term, in the 79th Congress, and who is now assistant to the President, has made the statement that President Eisenhower's budget can be cut by $2 billion without detriment.

The following article by Allen Drury was on the front page this morning:

ADAMS SAYS BUDGET CAN BE CUT TWO BILLION WITHOUT DETRIMENT

(By Allen Drury)

WASHINGTON, May 12.—Sherman Adams, the assistant to the President, said today that the budget could be cut as much as $2 billion without interfering with the quality of the services by the Government.

Mr. Adams' statement came as the Senate prepared to take up this week its first two appropriations bills for the fiscal year 1958. They are the Treasury-Post Office bill and the bill for State, Justice, and Commerce Departments.

The House already has trimmed $1,200,000,000 from eight appropriations bills, and there are strong indications that the Senate may be in a similar economizing mood.

The President's assistant appeared with Representative KENNETH B. KEATING, Republican, of upstate New York, on a television program for transmission on New York stations.

Mr. Adams defended General Eisenhower's request for $71,800,000,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1. But he said the administration was as anxious to find places to trim as was Congress. He added, "We won't ask you to do it; we will do it ourselves as we already are."

He said it was "pretty difficult to say just exactly where you are coming out, but I think the magnitude of the cut in the vicinity of a $1,500,000,000 to $2 billion will not interfere with the quality of the services, nor the ability of the administration to carry out those services."

Beyond that, Mr. Adams said, "it depends, as you well know, on the items themselves and the judgment on whether or not those reductions applied to that item will interfere unnecessarily with the services.

"As a matter of fact, as you know, here is a case of whether the Congress is going to cut in the right places. It very well could be that those cuts would be made in the places where it would have a rather considerable effect."

The President's budget provides for spending $71,800 million, but asks for new appropriations of $73,300 million. Representative KEATING asked Mr. Adams specifically about the $71,800 million spending figure.

Mr. Adams said the administration's request for funds for foreign military and economic aid could be "reduced somewhat." But he warned that it must not be allowed to go below "what will give our administration the opportunity to carry out this program for the benefit of the defense and security of this Republic."

The administration originally requested $4,400 million for foreign aid. This figure was subsequently cut by President Eisenhower to $3,800 million.

Four Groups Hit Federal School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to present for consideration by the Members of Congress an editorial entitled "Four Groups Hit Federal School Aid" which appeared in the Tuesday, May 7, 1957, issue of the Shreveport Times, Shreveport, La. The editorial follows:

FOUR GROUPS HIT FEDERAL SCHOOL AID

Four great national organizations have presented powerful cases against the pending Federal aid to school-construction legislation, cases based on simple facts and logical conclusions and not on guesses and emotional interpretations.

These four organizations are the American Legion, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the Investment Bankers Association of America, and the United States Chamber of Commerce. Each in its opposition covers the whole subject of Federal aid, but each also emphasizes some certain phase of the reasons why such legislation should be defeated.

Each of the organizations presented its case in testimony by an official representative before the General Education Subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor.

Testimony from the United States Chamber of Commerce especially dealt with flaws and misstatements of facts in arguments being used by proponents of the Federal-aid legislation. The American Farm Bureau emphasized the importance of home responsibility for home-school systems. The Investment Bankers Association of America—made up of the financing organizations which handle public-school bonds—revealed startling facts concerning the upsurge in school construction throughout the Nation under financing by local school districts. The American Legion gave especial stress to the fact that Federal aid inevitably must weaken the American way of life itself through destruction of local responsibility.

The Legion's case was presented to the congressional subcommittee by Richard C. Cadwallader of Baton Rouge, a member of the national Americanism committee of the American Legion. He cited first of all the Legion's resolution at its Los Angeles convention last September which reiterated the Legion's stand on Federal aid to education, the resolution being passed without a dissenting vote. It said, in part:

"1. That the State and local government ought to, can, and should assume and take care of primary and secondary school needs.

"2. That under the Constitution of the United States, the full responsibility and authority (including financing) over the

education of our children is reserved to the several States respectively and to the people in local communities.

"3. That the States and local communities have the capacity to meet the financial requirements for education.

"4. That the National Government should avoid interference, control, or direction in educational processes or programs of the respective States, either directly or indirectly, or by grants-in-aid, appropriation, curriculum, or program control, or by action of any agency, branch, or department of the United States Government."

Mr. Cadwallader then stated the Legion's view that "if substantial financial support is provided to local public schools by the Federal Government, local community interest and responsibility will diminish."

"The wealth of the Nation," the Legion case continued, "is to be found in the States. In most instances, this wealth is as available to the States as to the National Government. Generally speaking, all taxes come from the same pocket. Sending tax dollars to Washington, which are intended for local use, merely increases overhead and administrative costs and adds to the size of the Federal bureaucracy."

The Legion's case further pointed out that such assistance could not be administered through the States and achieve the objectives sought by Federal aid "without imposing important and unwanted conditions." Further, the Legion said, through Mr. Cadwallader:

"Federal funds for general public education could place in the hands of those in political authority the power to transform our whole way of life. The opportunity which would be opened up for the imposition of requirements as to what would be taught is frightening."

A major weakness in the whole Federal aid theory, that it would penalize self-sufficient local school districts, and a major danger, that Federal aid would destroy the initiative and self-reliance of these districts by forcing them to take more and more State and Federal aid, made up another part of the Legion's case.

The facts presented by these four organizations—and the nature of the organizations—create a case that should make Congress realize that the pending legislation should be defeated. The Legion is a cross-section of everybody in every State. The Farm Bureau Federation is the world's largest organization of farmers. The investment bankers know public school fiscal conditions better than any other organization. The United States Chamber of Commerce is made up of chambers of commerce all over the Nation, most of them in the smaller cities and towns. Together, the four groups are a solid cross-section of American life.

Rumanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, fourscore years ago today—on May 10, 1877—Rumania became a fully independent state.

I draw this anniversary to the attention of this House because as Americans we cannot but feel a common bond with all peoples who are struggling to attain national freedom. The Rumanian people today are once again under the subjection of an alien power, yet the spirit of liberty burns as brightly in their hearts as it ever did.

The United States has a responsibility to work unceasingly for the liberation of Rumania and its neighbors behind the Iron Curtain. For too long we have either mouthed slogans or uttered threats. It is time for us to put forward a positive program.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops would be the best possible step toward restoration of Rumania's freedom and independence. I believe that the United States should offer to draw back its troops to the Rhine on condition that Russia withdraw its forces to its own borders and with the understanding that the entire area between the Rhine and the Soviet Union would be demilitarized. It seems to me that we have nothing to lose by such a proposal and everything to gain.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that before another May 10 comes around, the people of Rumania will have renewed assurance that in their determination to be free they have the unwavering support of the United States.

Christian Citizenship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter that won a top award by Miss Ellen Lucille Heacock in a contest conducted by the Christian Endeavor World. Miss Ellen Lucille Heacock is a student at West Denver High School, where her letter was judged the outstanding one submitted in this contest. The letter was addressed A Letter To My Congressman.

Miss Heacock has been active in the Christian Endeavor leadership and held many offices. Denver is proud that she has received this recognition. The letter is as follows:

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: Today's teen-agers are faced with many serious problems—problems such as communism, racial prejudices, juvenile delinquency, dope, and alcohol. The world is giving us these problems and demanding an answer to them from the teen-agers. We fully realize the seriousness of them. We acknowledge the fact that our lives are directly affected by them, whether they be international, national, or local problems.

Communism is one of the problems that concern not only teen-agers but people everywhere. This is an especially big problem to Christians because the Communists don't believe in God. The few that know Him are forbidden to worship Him. We are deeply humble that we live in a country that is willing to fight against such human oppression. We feel it is our obligation to God and mankind, not only to fight to free these people from communistic domination, but to share with them our wonderful message of peace and joy with Christ. With Christian love and perseverance we can make this a world filled with peace and the love of Christ.

We have another problem in the United States that is of major concern to most of us. This problem is racial segregation and prejudice. God is no respecter of race or color. Then why should we be? We are disobeying the command to "love one another" when we refuse to associate with people whose skin is a different color than ours, whose speech is accented, whose customs are different than ours. Love is the answer to this problem. When we have brotherly love for people of different races we have an understanding of them and their problems. Instead of forcing them to accept our way of life we must make them feel welcome and wanted. We teen-agers have many opportunities each day to spread Christian love to both the new and old Americans of different races. With Christ's help, we can all do our part to end racial strife.

Juvenile delinquency is a problem that has plagued people through all ages. It seems to have reached its height with our age. Why do so many young people use dope, drink alcohol, and smoke? Why do they destroy public and private property? And why do they steal? Poor home conditions, unbalanced emotions, and bad influences are the answers, say some people. The main cause of juvenile delinquency is a lack of Christ in the teen-ager's life. It is our responsibility to let Christ's light shine through us to them. We needn't shun these teenagers because they have gone astray at one time. Instead we should befriend them and try to guide them in a straight path. We have a responsibility to show these teenagers that they don't have to smoke and drink to act grown-up, that they don't have to use dope to be one of the crowd. We have a responsibility to prove to them that by being a Christian they can rise to greater heights than they ever dreamed of.

Yes, Mr. Congressman, we teen-agers are faced with these problems and many others. We realize that we have many responsibilities to our God and to our world in accepting them. Our acceptance of these responsibilities will affect people of all nations and of all races. If we can bring Christ into the lives of non-Christians we will eventually wipe these problems off the face of the earth. It is our responsibility to let others know of Christ and of the wonderful peace He brings to those who love Him. When others learn of this there will be no communistic domination. There will be no racial prejudices. There will be no teen-ager vandalism.

How we handle these responsibilities and problems will not only affect our generation, but it will affect the future generations of the world. We can pave the way to a peaceful world, but we have to train our children to follow and maintain the road of peace. Just as we have come to know Jesus Christ through our parents' guidance, so we must train our children to know Him. Only in this way can peace be truly preserved.

Just how will we handle these problems? We have many things to contribute toward solving these problems. We have education, a high standard of living, and a free Government with which to work. All of these tools are worthless without Christian love, understanding, energy, and perseverance. In the hands of non-Christians these tools could become weapons of war. Therefore we Christian teen-agers must put forth every effort we have to overcome these problems that are facing us.

Yes, today's teen-agers are faced with many problems. We realize that we cannot make this a better Christian world by ourselves. Just as America's foundation is a faith in God, so we are accepting the challenge to make the foundation of the world a faith and trust in God. We are thankful for the

Christian leaders of our country and pray that we might follow in their footsteps. It is with God's help that our leaders function now and it is our earnest desire that He will always help those, who like you, help govern America. Mr. Congressman, we teen-agers realize that it is only with God's help that we will be able to fulfill this challenge which we have accepted.

Yours in His service,

ELLEN LUCILLE HEACOCK.

The Gerry Murphy Case: In Defense of American Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following reply to the remarks of my distinguished colleague from Louisiana, Representative GEORGE S. LONG, which appeared on page 5322 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for April 17 of this year:

On April 17 my distinguished friend and colleague, Representative LONG, of Louisiana, again saw fit to address remarks to the House concerning the Gerry Murphy case. Like Mr. LONG, it was not my intention to enter into a controversy regarding the case. In fact, after the Department of State sent to the Dominican Government its biting rejection of that Government's explanation of the circumstances of Murphy's death, I did not believe there remained an issue to debate.

In unequivocal terms the Department of State branded the Dominican tale a pack of lies. It is a mystery to me why my esteemed colleague, in his lengthy remarks on the case, chose to ignore completely the damning evidence submitted by our own investigative authorities. Perhaps he, or his expert advisors, inadvertently overlooked in their research the crucial State Department note—although on April 8 I called attention to the text of the note which appears in the Appendix of the March 25 RECORD. I beg to remind him of its indisputable contents.

The State Department note states: First, that De la Maza's suicide letter was in fact not written by De la Maza; second, that information available to the United States Government, contrary to the report of the Dominican attorney general, indicates that Gerry Murphy was well acquainted with high Dominican officials, among them Brig. Gen. Arturo R. Espaillat—who denies knowing Gerry; and, third, that Murphy's income while in the Dominican Republic must have exceeded the $350 per month salary which the Dominican attorney general states he earned as a copilot for the Dominican Aviation Co.

It was certainly the privilege of my distinguished senior colleague to doubt the contentions I held regarding the veracity of Dominican authorities when I first presented Gerry Murphy's case to the House. Assuredly the accusations I leveled at the government of a friendly nation were startling indeed. Most Americans have learned, as Mr. LONG tell us, that Communists "are not at all concerned with truth, decency, morality and justice." It comes a lot harder to accept the lamentable fact that a presumably friendly government and ally is engaging in the same contemptible un-Christian tactics we have come to associate with the Communists.

In any case, my distinguished colleague no longer need base his judgments on what he terms my intemperate remarks. He now has the expert testimony of the FBI confirming my original contention: that is, the Dominican Government fabricated, even to the point of sacrificing the life of yet another victim, the whole ridiculous story of Gerry's murder and De la Maza's suicide. The question remaining is what dark secret led the Dominican officials to resort to murder and monstrous lies in order to cover up their deeds.

Mr. LONG would have the House believe that some insidious Communist plot is behind what he calls the unprecedented smear and vilification campaign being waged against the Government of the Dominican Republic. He further suggests that I am, albeit unwittingly, serving the Communist cause. Does, then, the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana mean to imply that the FBI and the Department of State are also serving the Communist cause? I am sure he will agree that it was not in my power to persuade the FBI to declare the alleged De la Maza letter a forgery. Nor by any stretch of imagination could I have prevailed upon the Department of State to declare that evidence in its possession contradicts the Dominican attorney general's report. If we are to follow my learned colleague's reasoning to its logical conclusion, then the Department of State and the FBI are also serving the Communist cause.

We will not serve the cause of freedom by closing our eyes, in the name of anticommunism, to the treacherous machinations of the Trujillo regime. I would remind my esteemed colleague of the wisdom set forth in the Biblical admonition:

Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free.

We must not be afraid to face the truth about the Trujillo dictatorship simply because Trujillo has managed to cloak his viciousness with the respectability of anticommunism. Anticommunism, while a virtue, does not bring with it the privilege of abusing every other positive virtue which gives democracy its strength and makes it worth preserving from communism.

I come now to a particularly perturbing section of my esteemed colleague's remarks. He takes young Gerry Murphy to task for the part he appears to have played in the kidnapping of Jesus de Galindez.

Mr. Murphy—or the memory of Mr. Murphy—

Says Mr. LONG,

does not come to us with clean hands. We are a law-abiding people. As such we cannot be too concerned with what did or did not happen to Mr. Gerry Murphy.

This strikes me as very strange reasoning from several angles. The gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], by condemning Gerry's character in most abusive fashion, appears to accept the theory that Gerry had a part in the abduction of Jesus de Galindez. If so, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], must then accept the complicity of officials of the Dominican Republic in a conspiracy to kidnap a man right in the heart of New York. That being the case, my colleague's vituperative assertions about Gerry Murphy must also be meant for the Government of the Dominician Republic, which engineered the criminal conspiracy. Why does my esteemed colleague plead the Dominician case so eloquently while mercilessly condemning a young American citizen?

On the other hand, if the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], does not accept the thesis that Trujillo's thugs engineered a kidnaping on United States soil and Gerry played a part in it, then we are left without a key to Gerry's disappearance. In which case it becomes even more difficult to understand the gentleman from Louisiana's [Mr. LONG] advice to me to forget Murphy because he was, according to my colleague, "a wanton character" for the part he played in the kidnaping. I submit that my distinguished friend cannot have it both ways.

Whether Gerald Murphy did or did not, knowingly or unknowingly, play a role in the mysterious disappearance of Galindez is not the point. I beg to remind my esteemed colleague that both the precepts of Christianity and of our system of jurisprudence do not judge a man guilty without trial. Moreover, Gerald Murphy, as a citizen of the United States, was entitled to the protection of our laws. I submit that whatever Gerry's crimes, he was entitled to a fair trial. He was entitled to something more Christian than the jungle law apparently prevailing in the Dominican Republic. I am convinced that my friend who represents the great State of Louisana would exert all his power to secure American justice for one of his constituents should a foreign government take the law into its own hands in gangster fashion.

As for the matter of the damages paid to the parents of Gerry Murphy, ostensibly by the family of De la Maza—once again I refer my colleague to the note from the United States Department of State to the Government of the Dominican Republic. De la Maza's suicide note, it states, was not written by De la Maza. Somebody forged that note to make it appear that De la Maza had murdered Gerry. Why should the family of the man sacrificed on the altar of Trujillo's egomania pay damages to the Murphy family for a murder he never committed? Where is our sense of justice? Are we to hide it under the cloak of anticommunism?

My distinguished and learned colleague concludes his remarkable address with a plea for not meddling in the affairs of a neighboring country. He says:

What business is it of ours as to what type of government the people of the Dominican Republic have, or in which manner their

government operates, so long as that government and its operations presents no danger to our own rights?

I am glad he added the qualifying phrase, "so long as that government and its operations presents no danger to our own rights." In the case of the twin disappearances of Galindez and Murphy, our investigative agencies have unearthed some startling information about Trujillo's bold and criminal operations in our country. I am certain that Mr. LONG would agree that murder of United States citizens and residents, and their kidnaping and intimidation, does constitute a danger to our rights. It is unthinkable that a foreign government carry on its brutal machinations in our peaceful country. It is equally inconceivable that we accept in a supine manner the bold-faced lies of a foreign government because it purports to be anti-Communist.

The Government of the Dominican Republic has lied to the United States Government. The Department of State has declared, and I quote:

In view of the foregoing observations and other evidence which it has developed within its domestic jurisdiction, the Government of the United States considers the case of Gerald Lester Murphy as unsolved. The Dominican Government is urgently requested to reopen and vigorously pursue its investigation of the disappearance of this citizen of the United States.

Trujillo's answer to the note was to stick by his original trumped-up nonsense. He claims the De la Maza note to be authentic on the basis of the judgment of a Spanish authority he had brought to the Dominican Republic from Spain. Whose testimony is likely to be credible, the FBI's or a handpicked Spanish expert? Trujillo clings to the story that Murphy was not acquainted with any high Dominican officials. The FBI states otherwise. Trujillo reiterates that Murphy's salary while in the Dominican Republic was $350 per month. The FBI found Murphy's income far exceeded the amount Dominican authorities will admit.

As I stated earlier in the case, I do not propose that we go in and clean the vipers out of the Dominican Government. But we can see to it that they do not make so bold as to carry on their sordid intrigues within our territory or against our citizens.

Recently a first healthy step was taken. The Department of State on May 1 sent to the Senate the nomination of Joseph F. Farland to replace Ambassador Peiffer in the Dominican Republic. Mr. Farland, I understand, besides possessing a law degree, served as an FBI agent from 1942 to 1944. In view of the present situation, I would say his experience should serve him in good stead.

A second step to strengthen our resolve to stand for justice in our dealings with the Dominican Republic has been the nomination of Dick Rubottom as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. For 8 months the position was vacant. It is a good thing that someone in the Department will now be in a position to assume responsibility for events in the vital Caribbean area.

I appreciate the interest shown by the gentleman from Louisiana. His interest, I feel sure, will lead him to reconsider his position, once he has had an opportunity to learn the facts. If more Congressmen can be informed about the Gerry Murphy case, a vital change may occur in our foreign policy in Latin America: The United States may once again assume its rightful role as the champion of the oppressed and as the Nation where government by consent of the governed and justice under law are revered and held as an example for all the world.

Moral Issues Involved in the Use of Nuclear Weapons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, recently the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCORMACK], made a recommendation here on the floor of the House for the reappointment of the Honorable Thomas E. Murray as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper article written by Mr. J. J. Gilbert:

NUCLEAR ENERGY HAS MORAL ANGLE—MR. MURRAY'S EXPIRING TERM WITH AEC HAS REVIVED THE ISSUE

(By J. J. Gilbert)

WASHINGTON, N. C.—Moral issues involved in the use of nuclear weapons are being brought prominently to public attention here.

Significant in this regard is the imminent expiration of the term of Thomas E. Murray as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission. For years Mr. Murray has insisted on raising the moral issues associated with the use of nuclear weapons.

HAS STRESSED MORAL ISSUES

Members of Congress have taken the unusual and perhaps unprecedented course of recommending to President Eisenhower that he be reappointed. Ten members, Senators and Representatives, of the 18-member Joint (Senate and House) Committee on Atomic Energy have joined in this recommendation. Mr. Murray, himself, has let it be known that he would like to be reappointed.

An interesting fact is that while Washington has come to think of Mr. Murray in connection with the moral aspects of nuclear weapons, he could very well be the most practical member the AEC has ever had. He is widely recognized as an engineer and businessman, and he personally holds some 200 patents.

Moreover, while he is usually associated with the moral issues of nuclear war, much, if not most, of what he has said and written has to do with the most practical military features of nuclear warfare. While he recognizes the deterrent value of large weapons, he has called for greater emphasis on the smaller weapons adaptable to limited wars.

Mr. Murray's argument is that massive nuclear weapons are so horrible in their results that the world just can't afford to indulge in an all-out nuclear war.

Meanwhile, an aggressor, appreciating this fact as well as we do, can conquer the world piecemeal, through small localized aggressions. Aggressors might be stopped if small nuclear weapons were available to use against them.

Legislators who have urged Mr. Murray's reappointment have stressed his courage, his efforts to avoid political partisanship, and his advocacy of the common good as the criterion in making policy decisions.

Mr. Murray has for years advocated wider public understanding of the hazards associated with radioactive fall out. Here again his arguments are being brought once more to mind, by warnings and protests emanating from numerous diverse sources.

His concern for the threat posed by nuclear weapons has also led Mr. Murray to advocate greatly increased efforts to develop peaceful uses of atomic energy, particularly atomic electric power.

He has repeatedly warned that our present programs for the development of industrial atomic power are not adequate and that steps to accelerate its development are urgently needed.

Earlier this year, in testimony before Congress, he again proposed measures designed to rectify the deficiencies in our present program.

One of the most recent utterances of Pope Pius XII on this topic has been an urging that scientists of all nations expend their efforts to put nuclear energy to work in the service of men, instead of engaging in "this exhausting and costly race to death." This appeal was contained in a message which the Holy Father gave to Japan's Minister Matsushita, who called upon the Pontiff in the interests of limiting the dangers of nuclear tests and warfare.

The Pope's latest remarks recall to mind that there has long been one in this country who has given serious and expert thought to these problems. Mr. Murray is that one.

Nasser and Saud in Mideast Drama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following articles by Joseph Alsop, which appeared in his syndicated columns throughout the Nation on May 6 and May 8, 1957. Both articles were written from Beirut, Lebanon. He repeats what I have been saying since 1955. Will the State Department pay any attention now?

[From the New York Herald Tribune of May 6, 1957]

NASSER, SAUD IN MIDEAST DRAMA—ARABIA, PLOTTED AGAINST, STOPS FINANCING PLOTS; NOW REDS DO IT

(By Joseph Alsop)

BEIRUT, LEBANON.—The latest and not the least extraordinary scene in the vast Middle Eastern drama has now been played in holy Mecca, according to deeply interesting and apparently authentic recent reports.

The cause of the scene was King Saud of Saudi Arabia's discovery that the Egyptian military attaché in his capital was briskly engaged in organizing and financing armed leftwing terrorist activities ultimately di-

rected against the Saudi Arabian Government. King Saud's emotions, on learning of this latest manifestation of the loyal affection of his Egyptian ally, can be easily imagined.

Because of his discovery King Saud refused to receive Egypt's President Nasser when Nasser wished to confer with him about the Jordan crisis. He was too busy, he said, making his devotions in Mecca. Therefore Nasser sent his satellite, Syrian President Shukri Kuwatly, whom Saud particularly likes, to conciliate the Arabian King by all means possible.

The means adopted was not to deny the activities of the Egyptian military attaché, which were undeniable. Instead, Nasser's knowledge of those activities was passionately denied.

In part, at least, the grand denial scene was played in the very shadow of the sacred Kaaba, where King Saud had gone to pray. And at one point, apparently, an Egyptian member of the delegation accompanying President Kuwatly actually clutched the Kaaba's great embroidered curtain, to give force to his oath that Egypt's right hand knew not what Egypt's left hand did.

The episode so completely belongs to the ornate tradition of Middle Eastern politics that its hard practical significance may perhaps escape attention. But it has the very greatest and hardest practical significance all the same.

The discovery of Egyptian military attaché in full career as a left-wing terrorist organizer is not the truly significant feature. Indeed, this has become almost a monthly occurence in this part of the world. Already there have been similar episodes, usually with such melodramatic trimmings as the disclosure of large bomb or dynamite caches in the Egyptian officer's possession, in Libya, the Sudan, and Lebanon. And in Jordan, the Egyptian military attaché, Fuad Hilal, was well known to be a leading organizer of the plot against King Hussein.

The real point of the marvelous scene in Mecca was, rather, the sharp emphasis it gave to a major reversal of role that is deeply affecting the whole Middle Eastern political situation.

It was not so long ago—as late as last September in fact—when Egypt's military attachés and other agents were working, all over the Middle East, in closest collaboration with the Saudi Arabian embassies. Not to put too fine a point upon it, Saudi Arabian money was everywhere being used to finance Egyptian political and propaganda activities. Furthermore, the largest share of King Saud's dollars was going to extreme left-wing Arab nationalists, and particularly to the Communist-linked Baathists, in Syria and Jordan.

Very probably, indeed, the terrorist bands which the Egyptian military attaché was training and equipping in Saudi Arabia were originally intended for export. They were only turned against King Saud himself when the King finally grasped the danger to his own Government of the pro-Egyptian Leftist and revolutionary activity that his dollars were paying for in so many other countries.

This important awakening occurred last October. But it is now abundantly clear that when King Saud turned off the tap of his oil-earned dollars, the Egyptians at once called on the masters of the Kremlin, who turned on the tap of their rubles. The same underground, terrorist, pro-Egyptian activity that was once financed by Saudi Arabia is now financed by the Soviet Union.

This raises two kinds of questions. First, the changed relationship between King Saud and Nasser, like the Jordanian crisis, raises the gravest questions about the future of Nasser's quadripartite Arab alliance of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. Second, Nasser's vastly increased dependence on the Soviets raises even graver questions about the extent to which he can still be considered a free agent. But answers can only be attempted in a subsequent report.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of May 8, 1957]

IS EGYPT TO BE A SOVIET CLIENT-STATE?

(By Joseph Alsop)

BEIRUT.—Egypt's President Nasser, who is still for good or ill the biggest figure in the Arab world, is plainly approaching his final choice between East and West.

He will either strengthen his anchor to windward—the bearable relations with America he has always been careful to maintain. Or he will cast off the anchor altogether, rapidly steering Egypt toward a new status as an open Soviet client-state. The moment of choice between these alternatives has been greatly hastened by the defeat of the Egyptian plot to take over little Jordan, and perhaps too by the Syrian elections.

Some hope for, some fear this moment. King Saud of Saudi Arabia, for instance, is one of those who fear it. He now knows the true, undying loyalty of his old friend, the Egyptian dictator. He has just discovered Nasser's military attaché in Arabia organizing terrorist activities against the Arabian Government.

But the great flood of oil money has washed away the old Arabian tribal loyalties. It has changed the whole structure of Arabian society. It has made King Saud much more vulnerable than most people suppose to the kind of propaganda and underground attack Nasser knows so well how to organize. Hence King Saud is not at all anxious to hear his own name heading the list of villains of Nasser's powerful "Voice of the Arabs."

For these reasons, King Saud has just sent young King Hussein of Jordan home again from Arabia with what amounts to half a flea in his ear. In particular, Saud refused Hussein's urgent invitation to join an active combination against the left-wing nationalist, pro-Egyptian groups which are now working with the Communists in all the Arab countries.

But King Saud is still supporting King Hussein. He is still America's friend. He has not altered his crucial decision, reached last October, to withdraw his rich financial support from the Egyptian network of subsidized agents, terrorists, and "nationalist" Arab politicians. Hence King Saud will hardly escape if Nasser finally decides to go all the way with the Kremlin.

There are those who argue that Nasser has chosen the Kremlin already but just has not bothered to tell the American Ambassador in Cairo about it. Some signs, such as the renewed publication of a Cairo paper by the allegedly suppressed Egyptian Communist Party, certainly hint that Nasser is no longer a free agent. Most serious of all, he is now accepting Soviet rubles instead of Saudi dollars to finance his agent and propaganda net in the Arab world.

Yet there are still several important things to be said about Nasser's choice. In the first place Nasser has a legitimate complaint against the American policymakers in this matter.

American policy has never firmly supported or firmly opposed the western allies in the Middle East. American dealings with Egypt have alternated appeasement and humiliation with dizzying frivolity. In the short space of 5 months, we have gone from Secretary Dulles' exhibition of brinksmanship in the rejection of the Aswan Dam scheme, all the way to President Eisenhower's trust in Divine Providence and the U. N. in the climactic stage of the Suez crisis.

Until the Jordanian drama, therefore, Nasser was never plainly notified that the United States, as leader of the West, would not indefinitely stand for his making political capital by the simple method of kicking the West in the belly. On the contrary, Nasser has been allowed to suppose, and he has supposed, that the United States would stand for almost anything if he only refrained from kicking the Arabian-American Oil Co. in the belly.

If this confusion had been early removed from Nasser's mind, he might not have edged so far toward a Soviet choice. To be sure, Nasser gains cheap personal prestige by sponsoring and leading Communist-linked, violently antiwestern movements in other Arab countries. But the suffering masses of Egypt do not gain a piastre.

The position is clearer than ever now, since the Suez crisis has placed so many inflamed issues on the dust heap of accomplished facts. All Egypt's practical national interests are on the side of a truly neutral policy, which would include friendship with the West and eventually help from the West. The only obstacle is Nasser's activity beyond his own borders.

The last stage of the Suez crisis was of course the golden opportunity for the American policymakers. But even now it just might not be too late to persuade Nasser to make the wiser choice.

Looks Like the Reds Plan Long Antarctic Stay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article by Jim Lucas, Scripps-Howard staff writer, in which he points out that apparently the Russians plan to stay in the Antarctic for a long time. It would seem that the United States ought to have some long-range plans with respect to that part of the world also:

[From the Washington Daily News of March 28, 1957]

LOOKS LIKE THE REDS PLAN LONG ANTARCTIC STAY

(By Jim G. Lucas)

The Russians have installed the first dial telephone system in the Antarctic. For their bases there, they also brought rugs and wall paper, indicating they were settling down for an indefinite stay.

This was learned today from members of the U. S. Navy's Antarctic Operation Deep Freeze.

Rear Adm. George Dufek, Deep Freeze commander, described his latest trip to the region as "the toughest yet." It was his third.

COULD CONTROL ROUTES

Russian headquarters is at Mirny, 2,000 miles from Australia. From their base there, and outlying posts, the Russians could control the sea routes around the Cape of Good Hope—routes of crucial military importance if the Suez and Panama Canals should be closed.

The Russians' main base, spread over an area of several miles, is hooked up by dial telephone with the other posts. They even boast a central exchange.

The Russians are participating in observance of the International Geophysical Year along with other powers. So far, cooperation has been good. Admiral Dufek has visited

the Russian ships and they returned the call. The Russians wanted the honor of setting up the first South Polar camp, but yielded gracefully when the United States was named.

UNITED STATES WILL LEAVE

Though the United States has spent $55 million so far as its part in observing the Geophysical Year apparently we have no intention of remaining in the Antarctic. Admiral Dufek recently announced that Little America would not be maintained as a permanent installation. In all, the United States has seven Antarctic bases, but all are considered temporary.

The Australians are considerably concerned about the indications that the Russians are there to stay. Russian airbases soon will accommodate planes from Moscow, with a final staging base in Australia. The Australian Government has consented to this temporary arrangement. They fear now that the Russians will ask to make this a permanent deal, using it for commercial purposes.

Reports from Canberra also reflect Australian fears that the Soviets hope to establish submarine bases in the Antarctic.

NO CLAIMS

Neither the United States nor Russia recognizes any claims to sovereignty in this area. Control of the frozen continent has never been established. If the matter of possession ever came to a test, however, Uncle Sam could be expected to make a strong bid.

Interest in the Antarctic is threefold—scientific, strategic, and economic. Admiral Dufek has discounted any immediate strategic importance. In speeches in New Zealand, he also stated he felt it was of little economic importance, claiming that minerals—largely coal and gold—detected there are of low quality. However, he pointed out that only two-tenths of 1 percent of the polar area has been surveyed, and that casually.

Cut the Budget and Reduce Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to insert in the RECORD an address I delivered over WHK radio station, Cleveland, on April 20, titled "Cut the Budget and Reduce Taxes":

The real news in Washington is the budget proposed by the President and the reaction of Congress. Immediate reaction of Congress to the largest peacetime budget in our history was unfavorable. Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey appeared to be in agreement with the consensus in Congress because he made a public statement to the effect that the President's budget was too high. Another feature is that vested interests have been busily at work trying to make sure that their pet projects will not be cut by Congress.

The end result is that Congress is more economy-minded this year than usual. This is good news for the overburdened taxpayer. The drive for economy and efficiency in Government is long overdue.

After a most careful study of the proposed budget and taking part in debates in the House, I conclude that the present methods being used to cut the budget will not produce the substantial results the people are looking for. An examination of the budget will show that 63 percent of the tax dollar goes for what are generally called national-defense purposes.

In the world in which we live, our national defense can no longer be predicated on the belief that we are separated from most of the world by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Today our national defense takes on global dimensions because we cannot escape the hard, cold fact that the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans are no longer effective barriers for possible invaders or aggressors.

The global dimensions which have been added to our national defense policy have been imposed by the worldwide threat of Russian communism.

The experts responsible for the defense of our country tell us that the possibilities of war in the future demand that we be fully prepared to meet the enemy anywhere in the world. Added is the realization that freedom's cause cannot be defended by the United States alone and that all nations of the world that believe in freedom must do their part in defense of it. That is the real reason why we initiated programs of foreign, economic, and military aid.

I believe that the tremendous sacrifices which the American people have made over the past 10 years in support of our peacetime national defense program are now beginning to bear fruit. There is no doubt that the Communists are in a weaker position today than they have been in many years. Many countries of the free world are becoming more able to defend themselves. Many of the countries enslaved within the Russian empire are showing a determination to throw off their chains of slavery and to oust the Russian Communists who occupy their soil. There are also signs of uncertainty and confusion within the Kremlin itself. The Russian overlords are faced with tremendous internal problems which they cannot solve except by the application of the most ruthless tyranny and despotism over the people. But the Russian Communists have not abandoned their goal of world conquest.

Since 63 percent of our national budget is spent for purposes of defending our own free way of life, the question before the Eisenhower administration is whether it feels we can coexist in safety with the Russian Communists or whether we must continue on with programs calculated to defeat the conspiracy of communism.

This decision must be made before we can realistically and honestly expect a reduction in the national budget and thereby a substantial reduction in taxes. Any substantial reduction in taxes can only be done by a substantial reduction in the funds now being expended for our national defense program.

The administration has not yet made up its mind on this basic question. On the one hand, the Department of State is engaging in activities which afford the Russians the breathing spell they so badly need.

I refer to a story which appeared in the Washington Evening Star last November to the effect that the Department of State had sent a message to the Kremlin assuring it that the Government of the United States did not favor governments unfriendly to communism on the borders of the Soviet Union. According to this newspaper, this message was sent right at the peak of the Hungarian freedom revolution—a revolution of all the Hungarian people which was anti-Communist in nature and sought a free democratic government of the Hungarian people. Shortly after this message the Kremlin sent Red Army reinforcements into Hungary to destroy the great victory won by the Hungarian patriots. Such activities as this, and I presure the Washington Evening Star is accurately reporting the facts, does not weaken communism, but gives it the breathing spell that it so badly needs.

There is increasing talk in Washington that the so-called summit meeting at Geneva ended up in a secret understanding between the Russians and the United States that a status quo would be acceptable to both. Such a status quo would allow the Communists to keep the many nations and millions of people which it now holds in bondage. Such a commitment, if given, would prevent the United States from taking any steps whatever to help the patriotic forces behind the Iron Curtain. These rumors are gaining increasing credence because of the failure of our Government to do anything effective by way of the United Nations or on its own to help the heroic people of Hungary in their fight for freedom.

I remind you again that about $42 billion are included in the budget sent to Congress by President Eisenhower to cover his estimated cost for our national defense program. I repeat our national defense program is calculated to defend our free way of life against the conspiracy of communism and to help all other nations who are willing to fight for their freedom and independence. To put it bluntly it would appear that the Department of State wants to make a deal with the Russians and the Department of Defense understands the threat of communism to our free way of life and insists upon an everready defense force to meet any possible Communist aggression. Before Congress can make any substantial cut in our national budget, I believe we must have a national policy on communism.

At the moment Congress does not have a clear idea of what our national policy is in this respect. You have a right to expect consistency from the administration in Washington. You are asked to put up $42 billion next year to defend our free way of life against communism, then you have a right to demand a clear and sharp national policy which prohibits any deals with the Communists and excludes any programs or actions whatever which would tend to give the Communists a breathing spell.

If it is our national policy to work toward the elimination of communism as a threat to world peace, then I would ask whether or not our Defense Establishment has been modernized to conform with latest scientific advances. I have in mind the intercontinental guided missiles which are capable of carrying atomic warheads, aircraft that exceed the speed of sound, and electronic devices unheard of 10 years ago.

Modernization of our Defense Establishment cannot take place overnight. We must maintain at all times the capability to completely defeat any enemy who would make the foolish mistake of attempting aggression against the United States. This means that we must have in being a military force with the capability to win and win quickly. Modernization must bring economies with increased defense efficiency.

It is important that all of us bear in mind that 63 percent of our tax dollar goes for our national defense program. To make any deals with the Russian Communists is to deny the need for 63 percent of our national budget. Unless we have a clear national policy on communism, the American taxpayer will be burdened for years to come.

It's Time To Expunge This Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Honorable Goodwyn H. Harris, Jr., attorney, Mans-

field, La., I submit an editorial appearing in the Thursday, May 9, 1957, issue of the Shreveport Times, Shreveport, La. The editorial is entitled "It's Time To Expunge This Resolution" and is as follows:

IT'S TIME TO EXPUNGE THIS RESOLUTION

Senator GEORGE MALONE, of Nevada, has asked the United States Senate to expunge from its records the resolution it voted a few years ago condemning Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, for attacks he made on other Senators in Senate floor speeches. Senator MALONE made his request in the Senate yesterday.

The condemnation of Senator McCarthy should be expunged from the record—not because Senator McCarthy is dead but because passage of the resolution was wrong from the start. It was an act of Senators taken in heat, thoughtlessly, without regard to the true import or consequences of what they were doing, and without proper cause.

The resolution sometimes is referred to as a "censure" action, but the Senate removed the word "censure" from the original version before passing it. Even in the political heat and emotions and passions that reigned at the time, there were heads sufficiently level to realize that no resolution of actual "censure" should be passed. So, "condemned" was substituted for "censure."

That did not in any way change the wrong of the action. It was a technical point which some Senators used to soothe their own consciences. They would have done better to have obeyed those consciences to begin with and refused to pass any such resolution.

Senator McCarthy said things on the floor of the Senate about other Senators that might well have been left unsaid. Senators have done that throughout the years from the first session of this legislative body. But they were not censured or condemned by official Senate resolution.

The Senate always has recognized that its floor is a forum of free speech, so much so that Senators are immune from any type of legal action for anything said on the Senate floor, libelous or otherwise. A Senate which constitutionally and by statute has made itself immune from legal action for what its Members may say about people outside the Senate should not complain about what Senators say of other Senators inside the Senate.

Senator McCarthy may have spoken in bad taste and ill grace at times. Certainly he spoke in anger on some occasions, anger incited through hounding by his political enemies and those who, intentionally or unintentionally, did so much during that period of American history to aid and further the Communist cause in its objective of destroying the American form of government by force.

None of these things justified a resolution of censure or condemnation. Even if things he said were untrue—and in most instances any contention of untruthfulness would be a matter of individual opinion—he still had the right constitutionally and statutorially to say them in the Senate and he still acted under precedent established by many a previous Member of Congress on back to the days of Daniel Webster.

Daniel Webster denounced the War of 1912 and denounced the Senators who voted in favor of it and to support it with taxation. He refused to vote taxes for it. He was not censured. On the contrary, only a few days ago, he was selected by the present United States Senate as one of five "great dead Senators of all time" whose portraits will hang in a Senate lobby.

The late Robert M. La Follette, Sr., of Wisconsin—McCarthy's State—denounced the First World War and did everything he could to block legislation to support it and to prevent America's youth from fighting in it. He was, in effect, "tried" by his own State legislature while a United States Senator. That legislature demanded that the United States Senate expel him. He refused to appear before a Senate committee to answer charges which were, in effect, that he was following the course of a traitor to his country. He was not censured or condemned by resolutions. A few days ago, like Daniel Webster, he was selected as one of the five great Senators of all time.

One of the "counts" in the Senate's condemnation of Senator McCarthy was that he refused to testify before a Senate committee, and that this was "slight" and "insult" to the Senate itself. Senator La Follette made the same refusal—in arrogant manner. Other Senators through past decades have refused. None were censured or condemned—only McCarthy.

Even if Senator McCarthy had been 100 percent wrong in everything he said and did during his entire meteorlike career in attacking Communists and their friends and dupes—and certainly he was not wrong except in some matters of personal judgment and action—he still had the right and, under precedent, the privilege of saying everything that he said on the Senate floor without retaliation from the Senate as a whole.

It is because of these things, because of the deep principles of Americanism involved, that the Senate's resolution condemning the Wisconsin Senator should be expunged from the record.

Mr. Helicopter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD an article from the May 8 New Haven Register on Igor I. Sikorsky, a pioneer in the field of aeronautics.

Mr. Sikorsky has dedicated his entire working life toward the perfection of the helicopter. It was through his tireless efforts that the helicopter has emerged as a popular, reliable, and even indispensable machine to the United States both in peace and war. Today the helicopter is continually called upon to perform daring and heroic rescue feats, and if it were not for the modern development of the helicopter, such service would never have been realized. The aircraft industry will sorely miss Mr. Sikorsky's active participation in it but I hope that his wealth of knowledge on the subject, his technical expertness, and keen imagination will be often utilized in the future.

The article follows:

CAREER OF BRILLIANT PIONEER SPANS HISTORY OF POWERED FLIGHT

BRIDGEPORT.—Igor I. Sikorsky, aeronautical pioneer and founder of the aircraft firm which bears his name, retires this month from active duty as engineering manager of the Sikorsky Aircraft division of United Aircraft Corp. He will, however, be retained by the corporation as a consultant for an unspecified time.

Sikorsky, 68 on May 25, has had an active career spanning the entire history of powered flight. Known today throughout the world as "Mr. Helicopter," Sikorsky's career includes pioneering efforts as designer, builder, and pilot of the world's first multiengine aircraft; designer, builder, and pilot of the first modern all-metal transport airplane; designer and builder of flying boats which blazed transoceanic air routes; and designer, builder, and pilot of the first successful helicopter in the Western Hemisphere.

BUILT MODELS AS BOY

The son of a psychology professor, Sikorsky was born in Kiev, Russia, on May 25, 1889. As a lad, thanks largely to the influence of his mother, a doctor, and his father, Sikorsky showed great interest in contemporary sciences—particularly aviation. While still a schoolboy, he built and flew several model aircraft made from tissue paper and strips of bamboo.

A youthful tour of Germany in the company of his father, during which he first heard of the Wright Brothers and came in detailed contact with the work of Count Zeppelin, more or less settled the question of what career Sikorsky was to follow.

He graduated from the Petrograd Naval College, studied engineering in Paris, returned to Kiev and entered the Mechanical Engineering College of the Polytechnical Institute in 1907. But in 1909, his young mind full of aviation, Sikorsky went back to Paris, then the aeronautical center of Europe, to learn what he could of the budding science.

While in Paris he became known to many of the men who later were to make great names in aviation—Bleriot, Feber, and others. Despite advice to the contrary from these and other experienced men, Sikorsky announced plans to build a helicopter. And so, having learned all he could of aviation as it was then known in Europe, he bought a 25-horsepower Anzani engine and went home to Kiev to begin building the aircraft of his first love, a helicopter.

The helicopter failed, as did its successor. Power was lacking; not enough was known of the rotary-wing art. Sikorsky then turned his attention to fixed-wing aircraft.

FIRST SUCCESS

First success came with the S–2, the second fixed-wing plane of his design and construction. In the S–5, Sikorsky had an aircraft which won him national recognition as well as an FAI license No. 64. His S–6–A received the highest award at the 1912 Moscow aviation exhibition, and in the fall of that year, won for its young designer, builder, and pilot first prize in the military competition at Petrograd.

Sikorsky's success in 1912 led to a position as head of the aviation subsidiary of the Russian Baltic Railroad Car Works. In this position, as a result of a mosquito-clogged carburetor and subsequent engine failure, Sikorsky conceived the idea of an aircraft having more than one engine—a most radical idea for the times. With the blessings of his parent company, he embarked on an engineering project which gave the world its first multiengined airplane—the four-engined *The Grand*. The revolutionary aircraft featured such things as an enclosed cabin, a lavatory, upholstered chairs, and an exterior catwalk where passengers might take a turn about in the air.

The Grand was followed by still a larger aircraft which, in military versions, proved the most successful bomber to see service in World War I. But, as it did to many things, the Red Revolution put an end to Sikorsky's career in Russian aviation. He gave up a considerable personal fortune and fled to France, where he was commissioned to build a bomber for Allied service. The aircraft was still on the drawing board when the armistice was signed and Sikorsky, after casting about in vain for a position in French aviation, headed for the United States.

He was surprised and disappointed to find postwar aviation in the United States on the wane. After a fruitless search for some posi-

tion in aviation, Sikorsky resorted to teaching and lecturing in New York, mostly to fellow emigres. Finally, in 1923, a group of his students who knew of his reputation in prewar Russia, pooled their meager resources and launched Sikorsky on his first American venture—the Sikorsky Aero Engineering Corp.

FUND SHORTAGES

First aircraft built by the young and financially insecure concern was the S–29A (for America), a twin-engine, all-metal transport which proved a forerunner of the modern airliner. Despite periodic bouts with a shortage of funds, a number of aircraft followed including the twin-engine S–38 amphibian with which Pan American Airways blazed trails to Central and South America. Coincident with success of the S–38 was an opportunity for Sikorsky's company to become a subsidiary of United Aircraft in 1929.

Sikorsky's association with United gave aviation an unsurpassed series of flying boats which for years were outstanding record aircraft. In the S–42, air trails were blazed to Hawaii and the Orient. The S–44 for years held the blue ribbon for the latest transatlantic passage. All Sikorsky aircraft of the time were known for ease of handling and luxurious comfort.

In 1937, with two careers behind him, Sikorsky turned again to the helicopter. From time to time, throughout the years, he had taken out an occasional patent on some phase of helicopter design. And during the years, he had taken exhaustive notes—jotting down his ideas, the results of tests, sketches of possible designs.

HELICOPTER SUCCESS

Finally, on September 14, 1939, Sikorsky whirled his VS–300 a few feet off the ground to give the Western Hemisphere its first successful helicopter. Within 2 years of rapid development, Sikorsky and his VS–300 had broken all the world's helicopter records. During these evolutionary years, he tried practically all possible configurations settling, finally, on the single main rotor, with torque-compensating tail rotor, design which is characteristic of all Sikorsky helicopters.

Military contracts followed VS–300, and in 1943 the R–4 was ordered into production, the first such helicopter in the world.

Since R–4, 9 Sikorsky helicopters have been introduced, including the S–51, the S–55, the S–58, the turbine-powered S–59, and the mammoth twin-engine record-holding S–56.

Unquestioned leadership in rotary-wing aeronautics, plus outstanding contributions to contemporary life, have brought Sikorsky many honors and awards. He has received honorary degrees from Yale University, Wesleyan University, Lehigh University, Northeastern University, Rhode Island State College, University of Pittsburgh, and Florida Southern College.

He was elected an honorary fellow of the Institute of the Aeronautical Sciences, an honorary fellow of the American Helicopter Society, a fellow in the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, and to various honorary positions in several scientific and professional fraternities.

HONORED BY INDUSTRY

On behalf of the entire helicopter industry, Sikorsky received the Collier Trophy for 1950, presented by Harry S. Truman.

In 1954 he was named winner of the John Scott award, presented annually by the city of Philadelphia. He was also named recipient of the James Watt international medal for 1955, presented by the Institution of Mechanical Engineers of Great Britain.

In 1952 Thomas K. Finletter, then Secretary of the Air Force, presented Sikorsky the national defense transportation award and dubbed him "Mr. Helicopter."

In making the award, Finletter likened Sikorsky to the Wrights, Santos-Dumont, and Count Zeppelin, and said, "He (Sikorsky) is a milestone in the history of aviation, an equal giant and pioneer. Look upon him well and remember him."

A Small But Rare Triumph

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles Times of May 12, 1957, contained an editorial pointing up the successful efforts of our colleague, the gentleman from California, Mr. LIPSCOMB, in bringing about economy in the Federal Government. As the editorial declares, Congressman LIPSCOMB's hard work and persistence has resulted in a benefit to the Nation's taxpayers.

The gentleman from California was assisted in his efforts in bringing to light the public opinion poll conducted by the State Department by Mr. Robert Hartmann, chief of the Los Angeles Times, Washington bureau.

Mr. Hartmann is recognized as one of the Nation's outstanding journalists. He not only assisted Congressman LIPSCOMB in bringing the facts concerning Federal inefficiency to light, but he aided in the complete investigation of this matter. He deserves real credit for his dedication to the public interest in exposing Government waste.

I wish to join the editorial writers of the Los Angeles Times in paying tribute to my distinguished colleague, Mr. LIPSCOMB, who not only talks about economy in Government, but who has done something positive to help effect economy.

The editorial follows:

A SMALL BUT RARE TRIUMPH

The $43,000 spent this year surreptitiously by the State Department for a privately conducted public opinion poll, which Representative GLEN LIPSCOMB, Republican, of Los Angeles, has succeeded in cutting from future Federal budgets, seems a small sum compared to the billions at issue in the current debate.

ESSENTIAL FUNCTIONS?

Yet this curious case, happily concluded in a rare triumph for the taxpayers, illustrates in miniature most of the things that are wrong with our swollen Federal Government and the fallacy of claims that spending can't be cut without eliminating "essential" functions.

After the California Congressman discovered this tiny hole in the dike and put his finger on it, further exploration by the Times Washington Bureau established that more than $600,000 had leaked through it during 14 years without public accounting for a penny.

Laying aside, for the moment, the merits of the foreign aid program which costs about $4 billion a year and the reliability of a poll which, after sampling 1,300 persons, concluded that 90 percent of the American people favor foreign aid, consider these facts which have now been conceded:

POLLING DEAL

First, and most important, the State Department didn't really need what it bought. The most conclusive proof of this was its alacrity in terminating the polling deal when discovered. No one can complain about our foreign policymakers wanting to keep abreast of United States public opinion, but they are not immured. Last year they spent $888,111 on domestic travel, which is said to broaden the mind. Moreover, the Department hires a dozen public studies experts of its own at some $72,500 a year, who listen to radio-TV pundits, read current magazines and clip daily newspapers, even subscribing to one published west of Kansas City.

Second, since nobody at the State Department dared ask Congress for $43,000 more each year as poll money, the interested parties brazenly tapped a secret $1 million-a-year fund given the Secretary under the intriguing title of "Emergencies in the Diplomatic and Consular Service." This fund never has to be accounted for in public, for reasons one might wish to know more about. Since it is another classified subject closed to press inquiries, however, nobody missed the money for 14 years until some foreign aid bureaucrat became a little too bold.

Third, having purchased unnecessary data with unauthorized funds unbeknown to Congress and the taxpayers, the poll findings were passed around by the State Department and were used by the International Cooperation Administration for a dubious and possibly illegal purpose, to propagandize its own program and payroll in the controversial foreign aid budget debate.

PERFECT EXAMPLE

As Representative LIPSCOMB said, "This is a perfect example of how entrenched spenders go about perpetuating themselves in the Federal bureaucracy in spite of the will of Congress and the people."

It is also a perfect example for any Congressman who really wants to cut the budget instead of just making speeches about it. Perhaps some of LIPSCOMB's colleagues will now be moved to demand public answers to such corollary questions as these:

How many more such $43,000 items, useless relics of a bygone "emergency era" when Congress wrote blank checks by the gross, are still hidden in the $71,800,000,000 Eisenhower budget?

How many more unaudited million-dollar funds have past Congresses complacently transferred to executive agencies to use as they please, even to contradict or convert congressional critics?

What else besides polls has Secretary Dulles' $1 million-a-year fund for "Emergencies in the Diplomatic and Consular Service," continued in next year's budget, been used to pay for?

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

Appendix

Hells Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most gratifying aspects of the long fight which has been waged in support of Federal construction of the high dam at Hells Canyon has been the unwavering support of the people of the Pacific Northwest. Certainly the most impressive demonstration of that support is to be found in the results of last November's election. Yet, I think, equally significant has been the steadfastness of that support as indicated by the constant stream of letters which come into my office calling for early congressional approval of this important project.

I believe my colleagues will find it highly informative to consider a few of these and so, under unanimous consent, I ask to have these letters included in my remarks.

The letters follow:

REEDSPORT, OREG., *April 29, 1957.*

Representative AL ULLMAN.

DEAR SIR: I think that the high dam of Hells Canyon is one of the most important issues before Congress and hope that you will give this your full support.

I think that such issues should come before the voters, thus preventing a giveaway by an appointive officer and also relieve Congress of so politically potent a decision.

Respectfully,

MILOM GRIFFITH.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION
TRADES COUNCIL,
Eugene, Oreg., April 24, 1957.

Hon. AL ULLMAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ULLMAN: It was our opinion that on November 6, 1956, the people wanted a full development program of the rivers of this Northwest. The people so indicated when they marched to the ballot box on November 6. We believe the Congress should now deliver in accordance with the wishes of the people and the question of the Hells Canyon Dam is up to the Congress—no one else.

We cannot conceive of our Congressmen letting us down by permitting legislation on this issue which will provide less than the high dam at Hells Canyon. We appeal to you to carry out the mandate of the people and to assist in this fight by talking to your coworkers in the House and Senate and asking them to support you in this vital phase of legislation which the people have sent you to Washington to enact.

This, Mr. Representative and Mr. Senator, Mr. Speaker and Mr. President is not politics—this is economics. Without the Hells Canyon our Northwest suffers severely. Please, may we have your support until the Hells Canyon bill becomes a reality? Thanking you in advance, we are,

Yours very truly,

JOE L. WILLIS, *Secretary.*

BAKER, OREG., *April 24, 1957.*

Congressman AL ULLMAN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ULLMAN: In answer to a plea of the Oregon Labor Press of April 19 asking each laborer who supported you before to do it again in your fight to save Hells Canyon Dam from plunder.

Teddy Roosevelt rescued our natural resources from plunder. Right now our need for another Teddy is much greater than it was then.

Thank you, Congressman ULLMAN, for what you have already done for Hells Canyon Dam.

Sincerely yours,

LLOYD WIRTH.

COUNTY OF MULTNOMAH,
OFFICE OF THE CONSTABLE,
Portland, Oreg., April 23, 1957.

Hon. AL ULLMAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ULLMAN: We, the undersigned members of the constable's office for Multnomah County, Portland, Oreg., urge you to spare no effort in securing passage of the Hells Canyon Dam bill.

Without the Federal high dam, our region will have no opportunities for industrial expansion, no new jobs or new markets.

The Federal high dam at Hells Canyon is the only means left to us to protect our region from permanent affliction of high-priced power from other sources.

The outcome of the Hells Canyon vote in Congress will determine once and for all the economic future of our entire region. We urge its passage.

Yours truly,

John Bain, constable, A. U. Runola, chief, Roy F. Garrison, Scott W. Bennett, Charles Edwards, E. J. Nesbitt, G. J. Van Hoomissen, James Callan, John F. Erickson, Geo. M. Ferguson, Vernon J. Oberg, Harry J. Grant, Melvin S. Komp, Delbert Carrell, Grant W. James.

WOODBURN, OREG., *May 3, 1957.*

Hon. AL ULLMAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: We defeated Douglas McKay because we were opposed to private power—we wanted public power—Hells Canyon. We are standing back of all those who are for what the people voted for.

Sincerely and respectfully,

SIDNEY E. HARRIS.

JEWELL, OREG., *April 26, 1957.*

Representative AL ULLMAN.

DEAR SIR: We want the high Hells Canyon Dam. Let's build our West, not give it away. Let's have the high Hells Canyon Dam, not 3 low dams.

JOHN JEPPEAM.
ENAR JEPPEAM.

SPOKANE PUBLIC FORUM RESOLUTION

SPOKANE, WASH., *April 20, 1957.*

Whereas the Federal Power Commission, apparently more interested in big dividends for the private-power monopoly than it is in Government power at cost for industry and economical service in the home, continues its policy of obstructing the building of the multiple-purpose dam at Hells Canyon for the people; and

Whereas Grand Coulee Dam, meeting the same opposition of the monopoly-power-propaganda barons, was finally built and put in production for the betterment of all: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Spokane Public Forum go on record at this critical time, calling upon the merchants, the people, and all organizations interested in the full development and expansion of our resources here in the new Northwest to get in the harness working for the high dam in Hells Canyon.

JOSEPH E. NESBITT,
President.
MARY J. WELSH,
Secretary.

HILLSBORO, OREG., *April 22, 1957.*

Hon. AL ULLMAN,
Congressman.

DEAR SIR: I think it's about time this administration does some things for the common people, the voters who put them in office. I know Republicans that want High Dam at Hells Canyon and these politicians are letting the people down who helped vote them in office. So let's have Hells Canyon High Dam.

Thanks.

JAS. E. WOLFORD.

THE DALLES, OREG., *May 3, 1957.*

Hon. AL ULLMAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Possibly for the last time, this May the Congress will consider Federal construction of the Hells Canyon Dam.

Through all the controversy, Hells Canyon Dam has retained eminence as the proper unit in the orderly and comprehensive development of the Columbia-Snake Rivers.

It still represents maximum water storage for flood control.

It still represents maximum power development, at site and for downstream benefit.

It still represents lower per-kilowatt-hour power cost.

Hells Canyon Dam still represents maximum advantage to the Northwest, and thus to the Nation as a whole, for maximum assistance in economic development of an industrial economy to supplement our present basic agriculture and timber economy.

Thousands of us, the little people of the Northwest, look to you and to the Congressional delegations of the Northwestern States to safeguard our interests, to promote our economic welfare, to demand and to fight for comprehensive development of our resources to the maximum benefit in the public interest.

This trust you can discharge by unified effort to return to the orderly and comprehensive development of our great asset, the Columbia-Snake Rivers in its next logical step—authorization of Hells Canyon Dam.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT WELTY,
Consulting Engineer.

WASHINGTON PUBLIC UTILITY DISTRICTS' ASSOCIATION,
Seattle, Wash., April 30, 1957.

Hon. AL ULLMAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ULLMAN: Congress should take affirmative action on the authorization of the high Hells Canyon Dam on the Snake River or the Pacific Northwest and the Nation will lose this valuable water-storage site forever. The height of hypocrisy was reached by the Idaho Power Co. in their program of wasting the river for their own interest by the certification for rapid amortization of their plants. Surely this should prove to Congress what is going on.

The Hells Canyon legislation must be brought to the floors of both the House of Representatives and the Senate in order that a definite vote can take place on this issue because of its national importance. We feel that you as a Member of Congress from the Pacific Northwest are well acquainted with the issues involved.

It is time that a decision be made on this issue. We feel that the people of the Pacific Northwest, as well as the Nation, are entitled to such decision.

We urge your support to move ahead as rapidly and as far as possible to save this river.

Sincerely yours,
CLYDE RIDDELL, *President.*

FERNHILL GRANGE, No. 592,
Rainier, Oreg.

RESOLUTION IN FAVOR OF A HIGH HELLS CANYON DAM

Whereas it is a known fact that the lower Columbia is in need of more adequate flood control. We have seen our friends and neighbors work day and night on dikes trying to save their homes, farms, and businesses. At times many have suffered severe losses due to the lack of flood control; and

Whereas there is a great need of a greater supply of low-priced power to bring more industry to the Northwest and to keep the industry we now have operating on a full year-round basis; and

Whereas the impounded lake behind a high Hells Canyon Dam would firm up the interruptible power of all lower dams during the low-water period which now slows our industries and keeps out new ones; and

Whereas it is evident that the program of the Idaho Power Co. on the Snake River is not intended to promote either flood control or power priced low enough to attract industry to the Northwest: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Fernhill Grange, No. 592, go on record favoring the high Hells Canyon Dam on the Snake River; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Senators Wayne Morse and Richard Neuberger; Representatives Walter Norblad, Edith Green, Charles Porter, and Al Ullman; Senator Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson; Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn; and President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Respectfully yours,
W. W. KIMBLE, *Master.*
LUCILLE KIMBLE, *Secretary.*

The above resolution was adopted by the Columbia County Pomona Grange, No. 18, at their regular meeting May 4, 1957.

JERRY FILDES, *Master.*
FAYE TARBELL, *Secretary.*

DIXIE GRANGE RESOLUTION

Whereas it is clearly evident that the decision rendered by the Federal Power Commission (FPC) on the high Federal dam at Hells Canyon on Snake River was purely political instead of engineering wise; and

Whereas there was extreme political pressure exerted on several Members of the Senate the last time a Hells Canyon bill was presented to the Senate; and

Whereas the wishes of the majority of the people of the area were clearly indicated at the last congressional election; and

Whereas the benefits of a proper river basin development program has been clearly proven by the operation of the Norris Dam of the TVA these past 11 years; and

Whereas this area, and the whole Nation, is in drastic need of the benefits derived from the low-cost power such a project would provide: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Dixie Grange, No. 843, Baker County, Oreg., assembled in regular session on the 1st day of May 1957, do urge that the Congressmen hold a nonpartisan caucus to adopt a majority program in support of a high Hells Canyon Dam, and full comprehensive development of the Columbia River system: And we further

Resolve, That the entire delegation petition the national administration to remove all opposition to storage projects as a policy, and to immediately unite with the people of the Northwest region in the development of our uncontrolled rivers for storage and power.

GRACE STORIE,
Master.
[SEAL] MARGARET GRIFFITH,
Secretary.

BLACHLY, OREG., *May 2, 1957.*

Representative AL ULLMAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In accordance with a motion passed by Triangle Grange No. 533 of Blachly, Oreg., we are writing you to urge that you use your influence in obtaining a high dam at Hells Canyon instead of the three pitifully inadequate dams for which the Federal Power Commission has granted a license to the Idaho Power Co. to build.

We feel that the incomparable Hells Canyon Dam site should be fully developed. The tremendous potential of this site can work for the betterment of the Pacific Northwest in bringing in new industries thus helping the economy of the entire western section of our country. With plenty of water storage as provided by a high dam, we would not be subject to our annual "brownout" periods.

Hoping you will give this your attention.

Yours truly,
TRIANGLE GRANGE, No. 533,
LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE,
JOSEPH T. BALLF,
PHILIP HUTT,
GEORGE PENNOCK,
Master.
LEONA JOHNSON,
[SEAL] *Secretary.*

CHETCO GRANGE No. 765,
Harbor, Oreg., April 25, 1957.

Hon. AL ULLMAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Due to the fact that the Hells Canyon Dam bill will be up for a final vote in the United States Senate about May 15, our grange feels that we should definitely take a firm stand on this problem that is so vital to the Pacific Northwest.

The Chetco Grange's executive committee hereby passes a resolution of being in favor of the high dam in Hells Canyon.

We feel the people of the Pacific Northwest will definitely be standing a terrific loss if the Federal Power Commission carries through with their plans to grant the Idaho Power Co. the right to build three pitifully, wholly inadequate, nuisance dams in Hells Canyon.

The Hells Canyon damsite is one of the great damsites of the world, let's not give it away.

Yours very truly,
JOE ZUMPFE, *Master.*
VIRGEL L. CLARK,
BENJAMIN C. JONES,
CLYDE BRAYNARD.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
VALE GRANGE 696,
Vale, Oreg., April 22, 1957.

Representative AL ULLMAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas it has come to our attention that there is still an opportunity of saving Hells Canyon for the people of the Pacific Northwest; and

Whereas this high Federal Hells Canyon Dam is urgently needed and wanted by the majority of the people, industry and farmers of the Pacific Northwest; and

Whereas this Hells Canyon Dam, like Bonneville, would pay for itself and not cost the taxpayers a dollar in the long run; and

Whereas this is admittedly the best undeveloped, multipurpose dam site left in the United States; and

Whereas the tremendous potential of this dam site is on the verge of being wasted on pitifully inadequate development: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Vale Grange No. 696 goes on record as urgently requesting all forward looking United States Senators and Representatives to do all they can to save this dam site for the people of America.

L. H. JACOBSON, *Master.*
ALLAN F. WESTCOTT,
WM. G. ROSS,
RUBY GIRVIN,
Secretary pro tempore.

A Republican Farmer Looks at His Party's Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I was interested to find in the Washington Post and Times Herald of May 7 a very illuminating letter from a Republican farmer in Lititz, Pa. Because I feel this example of growing unrest and dissatisfaction on the part of Republican farmers with the Eisenhower-Benson farm program, and the administration's policies in general, should be given wide publicity, I have requested permission to insert the letter in the RECORD:

FARMER IN THE ATTIC

I am a conservative Republican farmer who has heard much about the New Look in our Republican administration in Washington. Yet this New Look involves the following facts:

The family farmer is treated like a stepchild by the Republican administration. He gets a scrubbing and a clean shirt before the election and then afterward is kicked back to the third-floor attic.

I know that any industry that has to depend on politics for its existence is in a sorry state, but why can't the politicians leave us alone?

What has happened to the large sums of money paid to the cheese manufacturers as a bonus that was neither turned over to the farmer nor the consumer?

What has happened to the large grain combine that sold the Government rodent-infested wheat for shipment to France and Italy which they refused?

What has happened to the grain firms who were short in their inventory of Government grain? What has happened to the real-estate operators who rented Army buildings and then re-leased them to the Department of Agriculture at three times the rent paid to the Department of Defense?

What has happened to the feed mills that bought dried milk and resold it to the farmer for calf meal without any discount for the lower price the Government sold it to them?

What has happened to the millions of dollars of cottonseed cake sold to big ranchers at half price, while the family farmer paid the full price?

These and many other instances prove that the Department of Agriculture in the past 4 years has been the biggest source of racketeering and misappropriation of Federal funds of any agency in Washington.

This is the New Look in the Republican Party. This is the liberal approach to our farming problem.

S. GERALD DARLINGTON,
Lititz, Pa.

Povilas Zadeikis, Lithuanian Envoy, Dies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following obituary from the Washington Post of Monday, May 13, 1957, on the death of Povilas Zadeikis, Lithuanian envoy to the United States, in Washington:

Povilas Zadeikis, 70, Lithuanian envoy to the United States and symbol of resistance to Soviet and Nazi oppression, died of a heart attack Saturday at Emergency Hospital.

He was stricken at the Lithuanian Legation, 2622 16th Street NW., where he had lived since becoming Minister here in 1935.

Mr. Zadeikis had had no government to report to since 1940, when Russia first invaded his country. But through 3 years of German occupation and the 13 years since Lithuania was again swallowed up by the Soviet Union he was persistently optimistic.

"Mr. Zadeikis never lost his faith," a Legation spokesman said yesterday. "He believed all the time that Lithuania would be free again."

Backed by an American policy which never recognized Soviet annexation, the Legation continued operating with funds deposited in this country by the Lithuanian Government before the occupation.

Mr. Zadeikis used his position to make public more aware of his country's plight.

There was no announcement of a successor to Mr. Zadeikis. Details are to be worked out between the State Department and S. Lozoraitis, chief of Lithuanian diplomatic services abroad and Minister to the Vatican.

Mr. Zadeikis was born on his father's farm in Lithuania, then part of the czarist empire. He became an army reserve officer shortly after graduation from the Imperial University at St. Petersburg in 1912.

He fought against Germany during World War I and in its aftermath helped stave off Lithuania's aggressive neighbors. He served with the Lithuanian mission to Leningrad in 1918 and was defense minister the following year.

In 1920, Mr. Zadeikis made his first vist to the United States, helping to sell $2 million worth of bonds to finance his country's successful drive to complete freedom. Later he was the first consul in Chicago and consul general in New York.

Surviving are his wife, Mary, and a daughter, Mirga Zita, both of whom lived at the Legation.

Friends may call at the Legation from noon to 10 p. m. Tuesday and Wednesday. Requiem Mass will be offered at 10 a. m. Thursday at St. Matthew's Cathedral, Rhode Island Avenue near Connecticut Avenue NW. Burial will be in Mount Olivet Cemetery.

He Was a Fighter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I am happy for this opportunity to include in the RECORD a letter from the recording secretary of Division No. 1 of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Omaha, Nebr. With the letter was an editorial from the Omaha World-Herald on the late Senator Joseph McCarthy. I would commend both items to the attention of my colleagues.

ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS
IN AMERICA,
Omaha, Nebr.

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM,
Representative, State of Nebraska,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CUNNINGHAM: At the regular meeting of Division No. 1, Ancient Order of Hibernians, Omaha, Nebr., a motion was unanimously passed to send the attached editorial to you entitled "He Was a Fighter." As you will read, this editorial from the Omaha World-Herald of May 4 speaks out clearly on Senator Joseph McCarthy.

We respectfully request that this editorial be entered into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the United States as a tribute to this great Catholic, Irish-American patriot, who has done more to alert America to Godless communism than anyone else in our times.

We of the Hibernians wish to go on record before the world as standing side by side with him in his fight.

Let's offset the "censure" or "condemnation" or "social outcast" label by entering this editorial tribute into the official records. We are confident that before God and man, history will record Joe McCarthy as a real champion.

Sincerely,

JERRY HASSETT,
Recording Secretary.

HE WAS A FIGHTER

In an era when most politicians were polite, dull, ineffectual, and prone to compromise, Joe McCarthy stood out spectacularly.

He was rough and tough. He once started to apologize to the Senate for what he called his bluntness, but what began as an apology ended with the ringing declaration that no matter how he said things he meant 'em.

It has been said that he made enemies unnecessarily, and perhaps in a few cases he did. But most of his enemies he made intentionally. He smoked out the odd and unlovely breed of Americans he called anti-anti-Communists, people who professed to dislike communism, but who hated and feared Communist hunters far more. He pinned the label "fifth-amendment Communists" on suspected subversives who dodged questions before congressional committees.

In his pursuit of Communists in Government, Senator McCarthy was ruthless, even savage. Sometimes his bludgeoning had unexpected results, as when he assailed the Army in the Peress case and disclosed that Army Secretary Stevens had been a pathetic blunderer.

Senator McCarthy's Red hunting drove the so-called liberals in this country to a pitch of fury not equaled in our time. Almost daily they burned him at the stake over the air or in their newspaper columns. They attacked his war record, which was honorable. They blasted his income tax returns, which were found to be in order. They started a whispering campaign about his personal habits, which collapsed because it wasn't true.

To Americans on the sidelines the fury lavished on a lone Senator was an amazing phenomenon. Why was there such unreasoning hatred of the country's most prominent Red-hunter? His enemies said they hated his methods, but it seemed obvious that many of them simply did not want his methods to be successful.

In the end, his own colleagues broke Joe McCarthy. The vote to censure adopted by a majority of the Senate amounted to the lynching of a political nonconformist. The actual charges were petty, and many Senators admitted it. As one of them put it, "We were out to get the so-and-so and we got him."

Once in a while McCarthy flared back into the headlines, as when the White House put him on the social blacklist, shortly before his death. But his fellow Senators had killed his spirit and had taken the fight out of him. Considering that Joe McCarthy had more fight than most of the rest of the Senate put together, that was quite an accomplishment.

Senator Joseph McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like to have consent to place in the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Southtown Economist on May 5 regarding the passing of my colleague in the Senate, Joseph R. McCarthy.

The editorial is a most realistic appraisal of the Senator from Wisconsin. Americans everywhere can indeed be grateful to him for bringing to the people's attention the threat at our door and inside our door.

I was present when Joe McCarthy addressed the South Side luncheon held last year in connection with the automobile show.

The editorial follows:

SENATOR MCCARTHY

Passing of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin takes from the world scene an indomitable force that long will be missed. More than any other person of modern times, Joe McCarthy awakened the Na-

tion and those overseas to the insidious and never-ending effort of the Kremlin to enslave free peoples under the Communist yoke.

In doing so he had to be as ruthless in attacking the enemies of mankind as they have been ruthless. The Reds, in and out of Government, concentrated their attack on him in the typical communistic fashion of destroying any and all who would dare challenge their aims and methods.

Senator McCarthy's colleagues in the Senate now assert he was a martyr in the cause of a free America and a free world. Failure on the part of his fellows to support him undermined his strength.

Because it realized Joe McCarthy was making a valiant and almost singlehanded fight in behalf of the United States and its institutions, the Southtown Economist invited him to address the South Side luncheon held last year in connection with the current automobile show. We are glad we did, and we mourn with millions of others the loss of a great and true American.

Statement of Representative George McGovern, of South Dakota, Before the Consumer Study Subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the following statement made by Hon. GEORGE MCGOVERN, of South Dakota, before the Consumer Study Subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture seems to me to have particular interest to Representatives from every variety of district.

Congressman MCGOVERN has so clearly highlighted the problem and put it in such a straightforward and simple fashion that I feel sure many of my colleagues will not only enjoy it but want to use it in preparing their own thinking and in giving full encouragement to the Consumer Study Subcommittee under the able leadership of Chairman ANFUSO.

The full text of the statement follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of this committee, before submitting my brief statement for your consideration, allow me to say that I personally consider the formation of this Consumer Study Subcommittee as one of the most constructive actions yet to take place during this session of Congress. I deem it a personal privilege to appear before you.

My first official legislative act as a new Member of the United States House of Representatives was to propose an investigation into the cost of living, with particular attention to the spread between farm prices and consumer prices. The cost of living has increased for the seventh consecutive month in April, and may I add that each successive increase represented a new record high.

After many talks with persons from all walks of life in and out of my State, I came to Washington believing that Congress perform a sorely needed service to the American people if it would appoint a distinguished group of Congressmen such as this subcommittee to look into the ever-rising cost of living. Specifically, people of my area want to learn why there has been an ever-widening spread between retail prices and prices farmers receive. Why haven't food prices come down along with farm prices?

The fact that this subcommittee is already at work on this subject is not only gratifying to me, but to the people of my State. And I am sure that what is true in my State, in this respect, is true in others, as well. The American people, as you know, are pretty much of a like mind on money, economy, and values. They want their money's worth, whether it's in Government programs or a purchase at the grocery store. And they have the right to expect it.

Americans are an inherently honest, fair-minded people. They can be depended upon to make the right decision when the facts are laid before them.

I regret to say that the facts on food costs have not been given to the American people in recent years; instead, this Nation has witnessed a deliberate campaign to turn the urban consuming public against the farmers who produce the food and fiber that have made this country the best fed and best clothed in the world.

I am grateful to note, therefore, Mr. Chairman, that in your introduction to this subcommittee's recent report on Food Cost Trends, the first objective of this group, as stated, is a study of "The cost of living and, with respect to agricultural products, the share which the farmer gets of the consumer dollar and how it compares with other costs, i. e., wages for labor, profits for middleman, retailer, etc."

May I say in all sincerity that in my opinion, this group will have made a great and lasting contribution to public knowledge if it dispels the myth that leads the urban consumer to believe that farm prices have caused high food prices. Even in the face of drastically falling farm prices, this falsehood has been perpetuated. Why?

It seems highly probable that at least part of the answer can be found in the balance sheets and profit statements of our biggest food processing and distributing chains.

Back in 1947, as you may recall, hard spring wheat was bringing as much as $3 per bushel. Bread was selling at 14 cents a pound. In 1955, wheat sold for $2 a bushel and a pound loaf of bread carried a 21-cent price tag.

Surely, no one in good conscience can blame the farmer for one-third of an increase in bread prices, while the farmer is taking a price cut himself amounting to one-third for the wheat he produces. Yet, this has been done.

I want to make one thing clear. I am not against business profits. I believe, as all of you do, in the profit system. But I do object when an industry showing a rapidly rising profit structure permits the blame for rising prices to be shifted to farmers who have not been sharing in the prosperity boon of recent years.

In the 1957 Agricultural Outlook Chartbook, published by the United States Department of Agriculture, the following report was made:

[Percent]

Net profits, as percentage of sales	1952	1955	Change
46 food-processing companies	1.6	2.2	[1] 37
5 wholesale food distributors	.7	.9	29
8 retail food chains	.8	1.0	25

[1] Up.

This same publication also reported that profits of the food corporations after taxes rose an average of 33 percent in the 1952 to 1955 period.

On the other hand, the President's Council of Economic Advisers reported that during the 1952–56 period, the wholesale price index of farm commodities fell 18 percent and net farm income dropped 23 percent.

Looking at the April 1957 edition of Economic Indicators, published by the President's Council of Economic Advisers, I note that in the period from 1951 to 1957, farm operators' net income fell 27 percent, while during the same period of time, the retail price of food paid by consumers rose 1 percent.

May I also point out that the farmer's share of the consumer food dollar has suffered a tremendous drop in the last 10 years. Looking back to 1947, the farmer's average yearly share of the consumer's food dollar was 51 cents; in 1952, it was 47 cents; in 1955, 41 cents; and last year it dropped to an average of 40 cents.

Again citing the 1957 Agricultural Outlook Chartbook, may I report the following:

	1932	1956	Change
			Percent
Marketing charges, index	114	121	[1] 6
Farm value, index	103	83	[2] 19
Farmer's share of consumer dollar (cents)	47	40	[2] 15

[1] Up.
[2] Down.

We have egg receipts in our files, Mr. Chairman, showing that our South Dakota farmers have been receiving anywhere from 21 cents to 26 cents a dozen for their eggs. I don't have to remind you gentlemen that in Washington and other large urban centers, eggs are selling at retail at a figure three times this amount.

May I quote to you now a letter from one of my constituents who tells a story, not of eggs, but of wheat and flour. This letter is dated May 6, 1957. It reads:

"DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am a grocery merchant. And I see that Benson pegged the wheat price at $1.78 a bushel. We have been buying flour at $3.60 to $3.90 a 50-pound sack. Now they ask us $4.50 for the same flour and freight from Sioux City, Iowa."

This letter has been quoted in full. The merchant is located at Dante, S. Dak.

Mr. Chairman, I have the deepest confidence in this committee. I am looking forward to the reports that this group will make in the coming months, knowing that through diligent work, you will set the record straight on food price costs. I believe that in so doing, you will earn the everlasting gratitude of farmers and the American consuming public.

Rumanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on May 10, 1877, Rumania proclaimed herself a fully independent state, the event occurring about a hundred yars after America issued its Declaration of Independence. We in the United States are fortunate because on the Fourth of July we can celebrate with parades, fireworks, oratory, and other public demonstrations by which we express our joy and thankfulness that we are free people, governing ourselves through officials of our own choosing. Rumanians, and the other once independent nations now enslaved by Soviet Russia, cannot mark their national holidays by such celebrations. But these people do, I am

sure, commemorate the event quietly with a hope that in the future they will be able to celebrate not only the historical date of their independence but also the day they are liberated from the tyranny of Russian rule.

Throughout history Rumania has withstood the onslaught of alien aggressors, but through the strong Christian faith and patriotic spirit of its people, won independence. These same qualities will lead them to triumph over their present oppression. But it will take more than just the spirit of the people; aid must come from other directions. We have established an excellent example recently by our offer to extend economic aid to Poland; if the program succeeds there, the Rumanians and other enslaved nations will take heart and might follow the same route to freedom. We in America must stand ready to support the Rumanian people in the determination to regain their independence.

A Citizen Views Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable conjecture over the fate of the foreign-aid program which soon will come to the floor of the House of Representatives for debate and vote. There appears to be a strong body of opinion which holds that top priority must be given to reducing the President's $71.8-billion budget for fiscal year 1958, and that deep slashes in the $4.4 billion proposed for foreign aid is a justifiable means of reaching this goal.

Most Members of Congress have realized since the budget controversy developed that defense spending and foreign aid would be the logical targets for those bent upon making substantial cuts in the Federal budget. It has been widely stated that reduced expenditures for foreign aid would win overwhelming support of our citizenry, particularly if these cuts result in lower taxes.

No solid or persuasive case has yet been made for continuing the broad assistance programs in which the United States has been engaged since the end of World War II. To many, including myself, it is most distressing that the President has done so little to dramatize the effectiveness of these programs and the necessity of their continuation.

But in hinterland, Mr. Speaker, there are many who have put serious thought to this problem and who have come to logical and intelligent conclusions. It is with pride that I submit the following letter from a constituent of mine, Mr. J. T. Bertsch, of Toledo, Ohio. I hope that all of my colleagues in the House will find time to read this communication, for I am sure they will agree that it sets forth with clarity and real perceptive the case for our continued assistance to underdeveloped nations of the world.

TOLEDO, OHIO, *April 15, 1957.*
Hon. THOMAS LUDLOW ASHLEY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: With so much emphasis being placed upon reducing Federal expenditures there seems to be a very real danger that some of the more important items will be sacrificed unnecessarily. One of the most vulnerable is foreign aid. It is conceded that the question of foreign aid should be given careful scrutiny and particularly the motives for extending financial help must be examined.

In the first place it seems desirable to separate military and economic aid. Some of us would discontinue military aid entirely, but regardless of that position all major studies of the question suggest some degree of separation which would place the burden of defending military aid to Congress upon the Defense Department and free economic planning from the pressure of military considerations.

Second, it is realized that stable, democratic governments in the world's underdeveloped countries depend upon a rate of growth that can offer hope of satisfying the new aspirations of the world's ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed people. National development programs are a constructive channel for the force of nationalism, which might otherwise find expression in external aggression. For them, the decision as to who receives aid should not be based upon whether it will make a friend, but upon whether the recipient can and will use effectively. Its nature, amount, and duration must be enough to put the economy upon the basis of self-sustaining growth.

Finally, the channels through which aid is given must be considered. An international agency such as the U. N. or the World Bank has merit because it can draw upon the technical as well as the capital resources of all member nations. Development aid so channeled could not be used as a bribe for supporting either the western or the Soviet blocs. Any loyalty which was formed would be to the world community as a whole. It also has been suggested that the conditions necessary to make development capital effective would be imposed with less suspicion of ulterior motives by an international agency.

May I invite your consideration of the subject along these lines.

Yours truly,

J. T. BERTSCH.

On Another Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. T. RUTHERFORD
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Daily News:

ON ANOTHER FIELD

It was a rather wet, foggy morning, last Sunday in the Ardennes Forest of France, as well as at Gettysburg.

No one noticed the gray-clad shade of Gen. Robert E. Lee and the blue-faded wraith of Gen. Gebrge C. Meade jeeping leisurely over the historic battleground in amiable conversation.

"And this," said General Meade to General Lee, "is where Von Rundstedt massed the cream of the German Army for a last-ditch counterattack that Christmas of 1944."

"Yes," said General Lee. "He had alined his forces to the south there along the 50 miles from Monschau Forest to Trier. This was his desperate, final attempt to change the whole course of the war."

"What about General Eisenhower's intelligence?" asked General Meade.

"It was completely in the dark," said General Lee, "when the Germans' Sixth Armored Army rushed in. The Allied defense was thin and the Germans hit in two columns. On the north they carved out a salient 10 miles wide and 6 miles deep. Their southern column, executing a pincers movement over that way, penetrated 5 miles. That was the opening of what they called the Battle of the Bulge."

"Where was General Montgomery?" asked General Meade.

"He was tidying up the battle area and massing to protect Antwerp—to the rear."

"So the Germans broke through," said General Meade, shaking his head.

"They did, indeed," said General Lee.

"An absolutely monstrous thing," said General Meade.

"I would have sacked them both," said General Lee.

"You're so right, Bob," said General Meade. And the two shades—old soldiers once bitter rivals—solemnly shook hands in agreement at last.

Grassroots Opinion on Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, Chairman THOMAS S. GORDON, of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and Congressman A. S. J. CARNAHAN, chairman of a subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee, are to be congratulated on inaugurating the hearing policy which has met with favorable response and highly productive grassroots information on our foreign aid problem.

On next Monday, May 20, a subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a 1-day hearing in the great industrial Calumet region of Indiana, sounding out public opinion of foreign aid and other matters pertaining to our international problems.

The following editorial by H. B. Snyder, editor of the Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune, illustrates the reaction this subcommittee has been receiving in the several localities which have already been visited for hearings:

CONGRESS ASKS THE PEOPLE

The arrival of a congressional committee in a city is not always a happy occasion. Frequently committee members go out to the hinterland to probe unsavory situations. Indiana is to be visited by a Capitol Hill group seeking the sordid details on our highway scandals. It will be no occasion for jubilation.

A different sort of visit will be that of a House subcommittee to Gary on Monday, May 20. It should be a pleasing as well as informative occasion for both subcommittee members and residents of the Calumet district.

The subcommittee, from the House Foreign Affairs group, will have an opportunity to

learn what Lake County folks are thinking about overseas and foreign relations. And Lake County people will have opportunity to learn how a congressional committee conducts its business.

Hearings on the foreign aid program generally are conducted in the Capitol in Washington. Witnesses include representatives of major national organizations, the top brass of these groups. It is a rare occasion when a hearing develops any grassroots sentiment on the economic assistance program, the question of military aid to our overseas allies or our U. N. associations.

A House subcommittee did venture up into New England last winter. Hearings were held in the small town of Laconia, N. H. It was the first time a Foreign Affairs Subcommittee had gone on tour, but members were highly enthusiastic over the results.

So the group has taken its "road show" on other trips. One was made to Miami, Fla., and another to St. Louis and Kansas City, Mo. There will be a flight out to Boise, Idaho, for a hearing May 18, and then the stop in Gary on the way back to Washington.

The committee has been learning what people think. It has heard housewives, teachers, businessmen, judges, refugees. In Kansas City a former public official, Harry S. Truman, was a witness but for the most part the people heard have been just ordinary folks.

Thus far the committee has been somewhat surprised at the results. "The American people are away in advance of where we think they are on foreign policy," says Chairman A. S. J. CARNAHAN, Democrat, of Missouri. One writer commented that the committee "made the happy discovery that, although the internationalism may come to the grassroots with a flavor of reluctance or resignation, it is there just the same."

Through the suggestion of Representative RAY J. MADDEN and cooperation of the League of Women Voters, the subcommittee will visit Gary. It is a desirable extension in the group's travels. By the time they get here, the legislators will have sampled opinion in New England and the South, in the Prairie States and the Northwest. In the Calumet, they will test the feeling of an industrial center, but also one with strong nationality groups.

It will be possible, during the subcommittee's brief stay here, for it to hear all who might want to be heard. But an effort will be made to let the group hear from a good cross section of Calumet opinion. And when the legislators resume their deliberations in Washington, they should be much better prepared to act wisely on issues concerned with our foreign relations.

Where There Is Vision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include an address by Maj. Gen. E. C. Itschner, the Chief of Engineers, before the annual meeting of the Delta Council at Cleveland, Miss., on May 9. The Delta Council is one of the keystones to agricultural and industrial development in the Midsouth, and the gentlemen who speak at its annual meetings are always outstanding leaders in fields of significance to the Nation as a whole as well as to the South. General Itschner, as Chief of Engineers, is truly one of the country's foremost experts on flood control and water resources development. His discussion of the importance of vision in dealing with water resources problems demands the careful attention of all of us.

The address follows:

WHERE THERE IS VISION

The Book of Proverbs was traditionally ascribed to King Solomon but it is now generally regarded as a composite work completed about 250 B. C. Whatever the origin, none denies that it contains many wise maxims. Among them is one which I shall use as my theme today. It is the 29th chapter of Proverbs, the 18th verse.

"Where there is no vision, the people perish; but he that keepeth the law, happy is he."

This implies two injunctions: to exercise vision, which is active, and to keep the law, which is passive. And the penalty for failure to have vision is to perish. To keep the law is to keep nature's law as well as God's law. Ancient civilizations, like those of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys, and the North African colonies that fed Rome, perished because their people, or their conquerors, lacked the vision to keep nature's laws affecting water.

Last autumn I flew over a part of Iran, the country that was called Persia when most of us went to school, south of the capital city, Teheran. Centuries ago a Persian poet walked some 200 miles across that land, and he described how not once did he step from beneath the shade of trees which grew along the irrigation ditches. He told about flowers and fields full of grain and melons. As I passed overhead, I searched, but could see only one shadow—that of the plane on the hard desert floor. Two hours later we came to green fields and orchards in the irrigated land surrounding Baghdad, on the Tigris River. Having seen how badly water was needed and lacking in the region, I expected to find the Tigris little but a dried stream bed. Instead, there below us was a large river. Then I understood why the valleys that gave birth to the earliest civilizations, provided sustenance to ancient Babylon, and prospered until its irrigation works were deliberately destroyed by the grandchildren of Genghis Khan, are now, save for isolated spots, a barren desert. The reason is simple: The modern inhabitants are utilizing only a small fraction of the water that flows through that parched land. Until the last few years, they definitely have not had vision, and lacking vision, they have all but perished. However, they are now constructing huge water resource development projects so as to restore the great civilization that once was theirs.

Yet it is not any lack of awareness of the problems that has caused this failure to make the best use of what God has given us. On the contrary, since the dawn of civilization people have shared the fear of flood and the dread of drought, and they have recognized the necessity of navigation. Time and man's inventive genius have added a requirement for the generation of electricity and other related water uses.

Nature can be severe, unrelenting, ruthless, cruel. Too much water, raging on its destructive way, creates in man the fear expressed by the honest old counselor, Gonzalo, in the first act of Shakespeare's The Tempest, when he cried:

"Now would I give a thousand furlongs of sea for an acre of barren ground—long heath, broom, furze, anything. The wills above be done. But I would fain die a dry death."

While not so inspired as either the scribes of the Bible or the Bard of Avon, an old Negro expressed this same feeling during the 1937 floods at Louisville, Ky. When one of our boats attempted to rescue him, he steadfastly refused to leave his cottage. Later, in a final sweep, another rescue boat cruised by his home in the dark. A flashlight picked him out, on his knees astride the peaked roof, some precious possession clutched in his arms, praying:

"Oh Lawd," he prayed, "send me a angel. An don't send me no amachuah" (amateur)—"send me Noah!"

I doubt if many Army engineers could qualify as angels, but we did have a kind of ark that rescued the old man.

On the other hand, nature can be benevolent. In spite of occasional destructive floods, we look upon our rivers, lakes and ocean perimeters as great benefits to mankind. Civilizations have flourished only where there has been water, and they have been successful and enduring only to the extent that they have been properly engineered.

Engineering is the science which guides and controls nature so that it will best serve the needs of man. Engineers have learned that they can accomplish their objectives most satisfactorily if they work with nature, rather than stand squarely in its path. An excellent example may be found in the Mississippi River cutoffs, where pilot cuts were dredged across the narrow necks formed by the meanders of the river. Engineers were thus merely doing something nature itself would have done in time. When the pilot cut was completed, and nature saw what man was trying to accomplish, she bent her shoulder to the task and widened and deepened the cut. When completed, she seemed to accept the improvement, although, like a restless child, she continuously had to be restrained and disciplined.

In our own country the Corps of Engineers has been charged with a large share of the responsibility of keeping nature's laws affecting water. Our first great water challenge was the Mississippi, where we began work 187 years ago, initially in the interest of improving navigation. After the damaging floods of 1849–50 Congress passed laws by which all unsold swamplands were granted to the States for sale, funds from which were to be applied to State and local drainage, reclamation, and flood-control projects. Lack of coordination between States killed possible success.

Concern over floods grew, but flood control remained a State and local responsibility, and was dealt with piecemeal and generally ineffectively. Nature will be tamed only by efforts on a scale commensurate with her own great forces. Learning that, the people turned to the greatest counterforce they could command—the resources of the National Government—for assistance. Our vision in dealing with the mighty forces of the lower Mississippi did not become broad, or nationwide in scope, or comprehensive in character until our own time—until, in 1928, the United States came to grips realistically with the problem.

In the Yazoo Basin, a similar pattern has been followed. I think there is no place in the United States where the people labored harder to solve water problems by their own efforts. For many years individual planters attempted to protect their lands, but they found nature an overpowering and merciless adversary. They formed levee boards and drainage districts, and invested $25 million or more of their own money, only to discover that the problem was far too big and complex for efforts of even that grand scale. So here, as in the Nation at large, the resources of the National Government were called in.

In order to obtain some background information on the Yazoo River, so that I could better understand your problems, I asked my staff to mark the important parts of Con-

gressman FRANK SMITH's book, the Yazoo River. I found the first 2 or 3 marked pages so interesting that I went back and read the book from cover to cover. I learned that yours is a history in which you can take great pride, and I was amazed to read how great a part in it your river has played.

But the present and future are far more important to you than your glorious past. You are sharing in a period of great economic expansion. Our population is increasing at an unprecedented rate. The pressures of growth in this Nation and in the Mississippi Valley are tremendous.

We are definitely entering a new era of economic development in the valley. It is most intense in the lower 250 miles of the river, but it is extending rapidly into this magnificent delta and beyond. It is evident here that industry and agriculture are developing side by side. No longer is it solely an agricultural economy of cotton, as you well know. Diversification will be an element of future planning probably to even a greater degree than we now can conceive it. Mechanization will increase. Industry, attracted by nature's gifts, water, climate, living space, will absorb available labor and bring in many more people. Vision and courage will be necessary to meet the challenge of these fast-developing trends.

This is a period of great progress in the construction of industrial and commercial facilities and all other major construction for the advancement of our living. These facilities are enormous users of water and polluters of rivers. In this tremendous, growing, vital age our water-resources program must keep pace.

As factories rise in formerly pastoral valleys, and suburbs spread out over the countryside, flood hazards increase and water supplies often become critically short. Community leaders are made sharply aware of the importance of both flood protection and abundant water supply to industrial expansion and community life. Problems of stream pollution become acute in many areas. In some valleys domestic water use is curtailed; water must be brought from great distances through expensive facilities; the cost rises and a small segment of the serious national water problem is introduced suddenly and unexpectedly into the life of a community. Finally, the floods and hurricanes of the past few years dramatically show how such local problems are linked with problems national in scope.

We cannot hold back these expansion forces while leisurely resolving our water resource problems or, as many intelligent people propose, waiting for an economic recession to occur when it would be opportune to take up the slack with an accelerated public works program. Water resource development and flood control projects are vitally dependent upon their proper timing. They easily can be too late and become too expensive to undertake, because of the encroachments of our expanding population and booming economy.

Capital investment is a proper expenditure for our people and our Government to make in the interest of this generation, but it is even worthier when it is done to preserve our resources for future generations. Oh, I know it is considered smart to belittle and degrade by the term "pork barrel" such sound investments in water resource development. Nevertheless, we are now engaged in a gigantic water resource development program. The Corps of Engineers' portion alone consists of about 3,000 projects, some of which are groupings of many project units within a given river basin. All the work in the Alluvial Valley of the Mississippi River, including the work in the Yazoo Basin, for example, is lumped as one project.

An individual project starts out slowly with a mobilization period and then accelerates until it nears completion, when it tapers off and progress is slow until the project is completed. We can visualize the overall water resource development program in exactly the same way. It is presently well past the formulation stage and considerably on its way, at a relatively fast rate, toward ultimate solution. There is so much work to be accomplished, I visualize this very active period as continuing for many years. Of course the problem will never be completely solved, but eventually—scarcely in our lifetime—we are certain to get all the major rivers under control. Such a stage has been reached in parts of Europe, and essentially so on the main stem of our Tennessee River. Of course, even when the program has been completed, it will be necessary to maintain and operate the component projects. With the proper amount of repair, and replacement of metal and other materials that deteriorate with age, the engineering works we are now building should last literally for centuries. So the water resource development program will someday decrease, but that day is far off. Our current need is to increase the rate at which this vital development is being accomplished.

But while much planning has been done and many policies have been promulgated, the program is a flexible one, responsive to the changing needs of the people. For instance, the recent droughts in wide areas of the country have demonstrated the great need for more storage of water. Consequently, the omnibus bill now before Congress, and already passed by the Senate, provides for the inclusion of planned storage in Federal reservoir projects for present or anticipated future demand for municipal or industrial water supply.

Another area in which the Corps has recently become interested is hurricane damage along our coasts and what can be done economically to reduce or prevent losses caused by hurricane-induced tides or wave damage. We are making good progress in this study, with solutions to the problem in some localities already recommended.

Still another area of increased interest is the recreational potentialities of our reservoirs. Recreational benefits have provided an unexpectedly large dividend upon our investment in the four dams in the upper Yazoo Basin. Annual visitors to Sardis are well over half a million, and recreational benefits are actually exceeding the planned and primary flood-control benefits in money value. Grenada is already an even greater attraction, with over 800,000 recreationists in 1956. Arkabutla has become a fisherman's paradise. Enid approaches half a million mandays of recreational water use. Our experience with these reservoirs has added support to the belief that recreational benefits should be included in justifying future projects. Legislation to this effect is now being considered in Congress.

The question of cost sharing is always a troublesome one. There are honest differences of opinion as to what share of these improvements should be local and what share Federal. These are problems to which the Congress should give attention, since only by legislation can this controversial problem be solved. But regardless of how the costs are shared there is no sounder investment our Nation can make than in the water-resource field.

The Yazoo Basin has shared in this gigantic water-resource development and flood-control program. Much has been accomplished; a large program is under construction, and more remains to be done. As you know the four completed reservoirs in northern Mississippi are capable of holding back floodwaters from the upper Yazoo. While backwater from the Mississippi is still a problem, generally speaking, the danger from the big river has been greatly reduced. We are busily at work constructing levees and channel improvement in the delta flatlands. About half the estimated $180 million cost of the Yazoo Basin segment of the lower Mississippi River project has already been spent.

Major construction in the Yazoo Basin will continue for a number of years. After that considerable effort will be needed to improve, extend, and maintain these works. Meanwhile you will develop this safeguarded land not only with diversified farming, fertilizing, and restoring the soil, but by nurturing a whole new economy which is developing and will spread. This new economy must be adapted to new mechanized methods to fully support and realize the benefits of these water-resources developments.

Let us recall the parable of the talents. You remember how the servant who received 5 talents from his master traded with them and made them 10; the servant who got 2 talents doubled them. But the servant who had only 1, hid it in the earth and returned but the 1 to his master. And his lord took away the 1 talent and gave it to him who had 10.

The Delta Council, together with the Mississippi State College Experiment Station and other agencies, has won deserved national recognition. This has come from coordinating work and educating the people of the region toward full and effective use of their natural resources. This investment in water resources development is a modern version of the Biblical parable of the talents. Certainly you have not buried your talents in the ground.

We can sense the greater feeling of security which people now have, within the valley and even far beyond, concerning the progress which your forces and ours have made in this region over the last 28 years. We believe that confidence in the protection against main-stem floods is well based and warranted. But we should not be complacent, nor should we assume the full job is done. As a matter of fact the lands in your delta are only partly protected. Large floods on the main stem can back up into the Yazoo Basin. The backwater project has not been started and even the headwater plan of protection is only 48 percent complete. Should large floods occur those who get wet would find little comfort in finding that the main-line levees held.

So today, in dealing with the elemental forces of water, our vision is broad and our method of controlling these forces has been proven. Where once we thought the Mississippi flood control and navigation systems as geographical entities within themselves, we now regard them as but one unit of a vast integrated system embracing a major part of the Nation. You are part of a great, interconnected water transportation system embracing the Great Lakes, the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Ohio, the Intracoastal Waterways of the gulf and the Atlantic. Industries, welded together by low-cost water transportation, will reach from Montreal and Duluth to Port Isabel on the Mexican border; from Pittsburgh to Sioux City. These developments will have two outlets to the seas, past New Orleans and through the St. Lawrence. Already work is underway or under consideration which will provide feeder lines into this system.

This is the fruit of vision—applied vision. Such a concept was bound to come slowly in the days when our country was sparsely peopled. But the enormous increase in population which has more than doubled since 1900, and the geometric increase in water consumption, now six times that of 1900, have forced water problems and their solutions upon us in a veritable deluge.

Water resources once developed must be exploited for maximum use. Before waterborne commerce can expand on this vast, new navigation system to the seven seas, it first must be generated by initiative and invest-

ment in the communities having access to the system. The growth of industry visitation is coupled with how well pollution is controlled, fishing and hunting preserves maintained and expanded, and water recreation protected.

Here you have an abundance of water for all purposes, including agriculture; a beautiful and fertile land where people of vision live. What more could one want? The country is growing fast. About 1975 its population will approximate 225 million. What better place than the delta country could these millions select for their homes? Diversified agriculture and industry will, I predict, produce the soundest kind of homegrown economy and increasing prosperity in this valley.

For decades we have sat at a table putting together the jigsaw puzzle of water resources on the map of the United States. We progressed from the smallest levee boards and drainage districts and isolated emergency projects, through interstate and multi-State cooperation and cost sharing with the Federal Government, to our present-day concept of a national approach. The big picture emerges. Where do we go from here?

Keep multiplying your talents and put them to work. Obey the laws of nature and turn them to your use.

Where there is vision, the people perish not, but shall live; and he that keepeth the law, happy is he.

The Panama Canal Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution by the Panama Canal Society of Florida as well as supporting data on the Panama Canal problem:

RESOLUTIONS RE PANAMA CANAL

THE PANAMA CANAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA,
St. Petersburg, Fla., January 16, 1957.

Whereas the Panama Canal situation has been dangerously simmering for over 2 years without constructive results; and

Whereas the inadequacy of the Panama Canal to meet increasing traffic requirements has become more and more acute and the absolute need for a speedy determination of the overall subject is of the most vital importance; and

Whereas there is developing a determined movement to force the Congress into authorizing a sea-level canal and to which radical change practically all engineers familiar with local Canal Zone conditions are unalterably opposed as a dangerous and costly experiment not warranted or supported by experience gained over 42 years of Panama Canal operation and maintenance: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Panama Canal Society of Florida at its annual reunion at St. Petersburg, January 15–16, 1957, as follows:

1. That the society respectfully and most earnestly urges the Congress of the United States to enact, without further delay, legislation providing for the creation of an independent Interoceanic Canals Commission to study and review all the problems involved in the matter of increased capacity for the canal, with recommendations in the premises.

2. That copies of this resolution be furnished the press and the Members of Congress.

3. That copies of this resolution also be furnished each of the 2,400 former members of the original canal construction force now comprising the membership of the Panama Canal Societies located throughout the United States, with the request that these members utilize every opportunity to support in the public press and through their congressional Representatives the action recommended in this resolution.

TROY HAYES,
President.
MRS. LUCILLE S. JUDD,
Secretary.

H. R. 4774, to create the Interoceanic Canals Commission, was introduced by Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD on February 14, 1957, and we earnestly solicit your support of the bill.

ANDREW W. DEWLING,
Past President,
Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C.

PANAMA CANAL PROBLEM: STATUS, SEPTEMBER 1956

1. Congress:

(a) No action by either the Senate or the House was taken on important canal measures before the 84th Congress. Indications are that new measures will be introduced in the next Congress to replace S. 766 (Martin bill) and H. R. 3335 (Thompson bill), 84th Congress, to create an Interoceanic Canals Commission, also S. 2167 (Magnuson bill) and its companion measures in the House to make certain changes in the administration of the canal enterprise.

(b) Legislative cognizance over interoceanic canal problems in the Senate is exercised by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, of which Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, of Washington, is chairman, and Senator JOHN W. BRICKER, of Ohio, is minority leader; in the House by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, of which Representative HERBERT C. BONNER, of North Carolina, is chairman, and Representative THOR C. TOLLEFSON, of Washington is minority leader (see Congressional Directory).

2. Principal issues:

(a) The preponderant judgment of experienced engineers and others, including atomic warfare experts, is that the best canal for the transit of vessels economically practicable of achievement would not be supplied by the sea-level project advocated by the canal authorities in 1947.

(b) The recently retiring Governor of the Canal Zone, in May 1956, advocated the 1947 sea-level project— a proposal of a small engineering group that the Congress and the President did not accept when submitted in 1947 and since then has been increasingly challenged on many grounds by eminent engineers and others of broad experience.

(c) Pending authorization of major increase in transit capacity and operational improvements, Canal Zone authorities have proceeded with a repair and alteration program for existing structures to enlarge dependable capacity—a work that, while nonbasic in treatment of symptoms, possesses merit as an alternative to a major improvement, the implementing of which is long overdue.

(d) At the meeting of the Presidents of American States in Panama, July 21–22, 1956, there was some discussion of additional canals via Nicaragua and Colombia.

(e) The Suez crisis of July 26, 1956 has served further to focus world attention on the Panama Canal, especially its diplomatic implications.

3. Evaluation:

(a) More than 10 years' delay, coupled with confusion of issues and with failure of routine officials to clarify them, still serves to prevent constructive thinking and enlightened discussion in the national press.

(b) In April 1956 the Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute printed An Engineer's Evaluation of Isthmian Canal Policy, by E. S. Randolph, former principal engineer of the Panama Canal, in which the author supported the Terminal Lake solution and opposed the sea level. It was republished in remarks of Representative FRANCIS E. DORN, of New York, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix of April 18, 1956.

(c) On June 1, 1956, Economic Council Paper, volume XI, No. 2, published an analysis, What More Will America Give Away at Panama? by Earl Harding, in which he carried forward his series of clarifying statements on key issues of the canal question.

(d) In the House, Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD, of Pennsylvania, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix of May 29, 1956, recorded an extremely able historical summary of significant events in Panama Canal history, which included the 1906 "battle of the levels" and an acocunt of the 1906–08 discussions of the Pacific-lock location.

(e) In the Senate, Senator THOMAS E. MARTIN, of Iowa, made two important statements:

(1) The first on June 4, 1956, quoting the 1954 memorandum to the Congress and including several excerpts of letters from some experienced engineers not signatory to that memorandum.

(2) The second on June 21, quoting an important declassified 1944 report of Gov. Glen E. Edgerton in which he approved the Terminal Lake-Third Locks plan in principle. General Edgerton was Governor when the Terminal Lake solution was being developed.

(f) Thus, the canal question is still exactly where it was 50 years ago in 1906—in a debate over the type, with many experienced canal engineers urging the economical and operationally superior Terminal Lake-Third Locks proposal and other, for reasons not primarily related to operations, urging a canal type of unproven value and astronomical cost at ocean level. Moreover, in event of a sea-level project, Panama would inevitably demand a new treaty with a huge indemnity and a still greater annuity—matters of paramount import that appear to have been overlooked in the 1947 studies.

4. Documentation:

(a) An extensive bibliography on Isthmian Canal policy, prepared by Representative CLARK W. THOMPSON, of Texas, was published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix of March 23, 1955.

(b) Subsequent issues of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD contain additional articles and statements of importance.

(c) A report on Panama Canal: The Sea-Level Project and National Security, prepared by a committee of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress of which Henry H. Buckman is chairman, was ordered published as a House document, 84th Congress.

(d) Annual reports of the governor and annual audit reports of the comptroller general starting in 1952 supply useful information on the administration of the Panama Canal Company and the Canal Zone Government.

(e) Canal Zone officials, as far as known, have not produced a single comprehensive statement on basic issues but the recent governor in May 1956 urged pressing studies of possible improvements in the existing waterway until a sea-level canal is built, clearly revealing the strategy of sea-level advocates of opposing any major change in the present canal.

5. Conclusions:

(a) The history of the Panama Canal since 1931 establishes that problems in major planning will not be properly resolved by routine canal officials nor by harassed administrators in the executive departments who depend on canal officials for advice.

(b) It is apparent that a limited routine official group is determined, if at all possible, to bring about the ultimate authorization of a new ocean-level canal, regardless of costs and consequences. These costs and these consequences have never been adequately presented to the Congress.

(c) Present programs to increase dependable capacity, regardless of the elements that may rightly be justified, are serving to delay consideration of the fundamental problem until a time arrives for certain advocates to launch another drive for foisting a sea-level canal upon an unsuspecting public and a Congress with its guards down.

(d) The vital importance of a simpler, operationally superior, and vastly less costly plan makes imperative a sustained effort on the part of all who favor national solvency and low-transit tolls.

(e) The situation at Panama, which has been revealingly unfolded over recent years, has resulted in a vacuum in leadership on fundamental questions, with attention presently focused on the Isthmus of Panama by the Suez crisis.

(f) Unless the United States meets the pending situation with an American commission, there is certainty of demands for an international commission, with all the hazards its recommendations would imply.

(g) As repeatedly stated by leading authorities, the best means for an adequate resolution of the canal problem is by an independent Interoceanic Canals Commission under Congressional authorization, and composed of qualified men who will not be dominated by partisan politics or departmental pressures.

6. Suggestions for helping:

(a) Become acquainted (1) with recent canal literature in libraries, (2) with current happenings as reported in the newspapers, and (3) with the record being made in Congress. Upon request your Congressman will gladly furnish pertinent information that from time to time appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

(b) Watch for magazine and newspaper articles on canal questions, and write letters to editors setting forth significant facts, commending when they are right and pointing out fallacies when they are wrong.

(c) Seek candidates for Congress in your area, if practicable, during the coming campaign, and discuss the canal problem, warning of the pitfalls.

(d) Establish and maintain contact with your Senators and Representatives, keeping them informed of developments.

(e) Check on membership of both Senate and House committees as listed frequently in the Congressional Directory at present and after organization of the 85th Congress, and establish contact with them; the Congress is the ultimate authority to determine the Isthmian Canal policy; its Members welcome reliable information from all sources.

Copies of clippings, letters written, and suggestions will be appreciated—when necessary, by airmail.

W. R. MCCANN.

HOPEWELL, VA., *September 30, 1956.*

Our State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Chesterfield (S. C.) Advertiser of May 9, 1957:

OUR STATE

The following facts from J. M. Eleazer's Seen Along the Roadside, makes us feel proud to be counted as South Carolinians:

South Carolina is a small State. Yet I wonder if any State could stack up historic "firsts" comparable to the list of 45 our district agent, A. H. Ward of Aiken, has compiled for South Carolina?

Here are a few of them:

First museum in America; first chamber of commerce; first man to pilot a steamship across the Atlantic; first long railroad; first train to carry mail; oldest railway junction in world; first submarine ever built; first musical society; first State hospital for the mentally ill; first orphans home; first monument to women; largest earthen dam; first agricultural society; first Bible society; first YMCA in America; first girls 4-H Club work; first Home Demonstration club; first Negro school; first public library; first special library building; first to observe Memorial Day; first normal training school; first inoculation given for smallpox; first native American to receive degree as doctor of medicine; first monument erected to slaves; first high school with military feature; country's first botanical gardens; first to erect statute to Indian; first in textiles; its rivers carry more water into the Atlantic than any other State; first hydroelectric plant; has highest percentage of native born Americans; history's mightiest industrial enterprise, the Savannah River project; the first county fair; and so on.

Now stand a little more erect when you walk among men. Proud, not haughty.

A Young General

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. PAT JENNINGS

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the Members to a special celebration that is taking place tomorrow in Scott County, Va., in the Ninth Congressional District.

Wednesday, May 15, is the 111th birthday of Virginia's only surviving veteran of the Confederate Army, Gen. John Salling. An appropriate observance of this occasion is planned for him at his home, Slant, Va., and I know that you, Mr. Speaker, and every Member of the Congress, join me in wishing the general a happy birthday and many more years of health and happiness.

The birthday celebration is being sponsored this year by the Civitan Club of Gate City with Mr. C. G. Quillen in charge of arrangements. The Gate City High School Band will furnish appropriate music; an address is scheduled by the Honorable E. T. Carter, judge of the circuit court, who is also representing the Governor of Virginia; and the area director of War Veterans' Claims, Col. George Blankenbeckler will also speak. Naturally, a huge birthday cake is to be provided for the general.

At my invitation in behalf of the Gate City Civitan Club, each branch of our military forces will send a representative to the celebration. It is, indeed, fitting that the Army, Air Force, and Navy join in observing General Salling's 111th birthday and thus pay tribute to all those Americans who served their cause in the War Between the States.

May I add, too, that this birthday celebration during Armed Forces Week, May 13–19, is a unique addition to this annual observance of the role our military forces play in our daily lives in providing national security. I commend the Army, Air Force, and Navy for honoring General Salling, a living symbol of America, with their representatives.

Mr. Speaker, the 84th Congress authorized the striking of a special medal of honor of the surviving veterans of the War Between the States. It was a pleasure last fall to join in the presentation of the medal to General Salling in a ceremony at his home, and I wish to report to you that General Salling was obviously pleased by this special recognition of the Congress.

General Salling is 1 of the 3 surviving Confederate Army veterans. He has been privileged in his life span to watch this Nation grow from the despair of an internal conflict to a position as the most powerful on earth. In the observance tomorrow of his 111th birthday, we find opportunity to recall the events that have taken place since the War Between the States and to resolve that our Nation, now strong and united, shall continue its growth and progress.

The Bristol Herald-Courier, of Bristol, Va., published a brief editorial last year on the occasion of General Salling's 110th birthday. Its sentiments are appropriate today:

A YOUNG GENERAL

Gen. John Salling might be classed as an old man, but the simple fact that he's 110 today seems to have done little to dim his spirit, his sense of humor or his love of life.

His greatest concern, so he told a reporter, is to find some help for his farming enterprise. Of course, General Salling isn't able to be up and around himself, but he still maintains an interest in his holdings.

In addition, he's looking forward to greeting a great many friends today. And he'll receive a shirt to go with other effects and provide him with a complete uniform.

All this indicates that years, alone, do not make age. Before we label a man or woman as old, we must consider how they, themselves, consider such a classification.

As long as the spirit is young and the mind alert, youth remains.

With that, we'll simply wish General Salling a happy birthday. He's lived 110 years, but he's not old yet. In fact, we doubt if he'll ever be so described.

D. C. Transit Arbitration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DEMPSEY

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an address

delivered by Attorney O. Roy Chalk before the District of Columbia Bar Association on Tuesday, April 9, 1957, entitled "A Lawyer Businessman Looks at Arbitration":

A LAWYER BUSINESSMAN LOOKS AT ARBITRATION

(Address delivered before District of Columbia Bar Association, April 9, 1957, by O. Roy Chalk)

Mr. President, distinguished members of the bench, members of the District of Columbia Bar Association, and honored guests, I am indeed happy to be with you this evening, and it pleases me greatly that you would listen to my opinions on the subject of arbitration.

As a lawyer, and as a businessman, I fully appreciate the inherent dangers as well as the incalculable benefits which may accrue to both parties in the arbitration of a labor dispute. Tonight I would like to talk briefly about my recent role as employer, businessman, lawyer, in the field of labor arbitration. My experience in th's area has been somewhat limited. But as a result of the fairly concentrated effort to which I was subjected during the past 6 months, it is possible that I may have gained an insight on certain questions and facets of the subject which might be a matter of interest to attorneys likewise concerned.

The story of the D. C. Transit negotiations between management and union representatives of labor, and the gradual evolvement of a settlement contract, continually hinged upon the controversial question of arbitration. Also, prior to the D. C. Transit negotiations—and referring to the unfortunate situation which existed between the former owners of the transit system of the District of Columbia and the representatives of union labor—the same controversial subject of arbitration was a key issue and brought about an incident causing a most calamitous impact upon and inconvenience to the mass of transit riders comprising the greater portion of the Washington public. Recital of a few of the highlights in the sequence of events might be an enlightening method of viewing the aspects of labor arbitration as I saw it then, and as I see it today. I shall therefore attempt to relate a few significant facts and give you my observations and opinions on those facts as they happened.

A very brief word regarding the strike of 1955, a strike which lasted for 52 days and caused hundreds of thousands of members of the public, members of the Government, members of the union, and members of the transit company untold grief. Although I do not know the same of my own knowledge, it has been said that the basic cause of that unfortunate situation was the refusal on behalf of the transit company to concede a formula for arbitration which would satisfy the union and eliminate the possibility of future strikes and economic warfare. My observation on the happenings of events of this nature is that, when they relate to a public utility, I am completely in accord with the instinctive thinking of the public and with the expressions of Members of Congress and the Government to the effect that employers and employees of such a public utility industry have a peculiar responsibility to observe and must devise a method of settling their disputes without interruption of service to the public—even more so is this true in the District of Columbia, where the vital functions of our Federal Government are performed.

Let me point out now that the basic difference between the thinking of management and labor during the 1955 period was that management contended the arbitration clause in its contract related only to arbitration of grievances and the interpretation of existing contracts. On the other hand, labor contended that the arbitration clause in the old contract created the right on the part of labor to demand that in the event a new contract did not develop as a result of collective bargaining, then in that event arbitration should take over the process and determine the terms of the new contract.

Concerning this distinction between arbitrating grievances and interpretations of existing contracts, and arbitrating the terms of a new contract, permit me to make this observation: arbitration dealing with grievances and with interpretations of existing contracts poses, as I see it, very few problems of complexity and magnitude. In most cases these problems vary inversely with the perceptiveness of the attorneys engaged in drafting the documents. The clearer the provisions of the contract are drawn, the less likely will arbitration become necessary to resolve differences of fundamental import. The more precise and comprehensive the document, the less the likelihood of disagreement and the need for the arbitrative process. Many employers now accept arbitration as the terminal point for the grievance procedure. There is, however, a much more limited acceptance by employers in the determination of the terms of new agreements. Perhaps the reason for the expanding use of the arbitration process is the fact that no more desirable or effective means of resolving labor disputes has yet been suggested. What is more important is the fact that arbitration avoids, for both parties, the immediate economic loss resulting from work stoppages. Where industry, such as the transit industry, involves the element of essential public service, stoppage for any reason is reprehensible. A public utility must maintain continuity of public service, regardless of the assertions of either management or labor. The general welfare of the public in a crisis involving such essential public service is paramount to and supersedes the problems of management or labor, or both. It is hoped that the year 1955 marked the end of an era of selfish concern—or, shall we say—selfish lack of concern of groups, as well as individuals, for the rights of the public in labor disputes.

To continue with the sequence of events, I now refer you to the period shortly before August 15, 1956: about 2 weeks prior to the acquisition of title by the D. C. Transit System of the assets of the Capital Transit Co., collective bargaining had commenced between Local 689 of the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, represented by its president, Mr. Walter Bierwagen, and the newly created D. C. Transit System, Inc., represented by myself. These negotiations were conducted on a remarkably peaceful basis. From the very inception, until the final conclusion, the cooperative attitude of both sides resulted in the most friendly discussions that it has ever been the privilege of labor and management negotiators to enjoy. Harsh and bitter words were notable by their complete absence. There seemed to be a willingness on the part of both sides to discuss and attempt to understand the other fellow's point of view. Although differences of opinion were sharp and clear and, for a time, uncompromising, the maintenance of a friendly, talking climate became the true secret of bringing about an accord which was eventually applauded by both sides.

As you know, the big issue in the negotiations concerned itself with the arbitration of new contracts. What was to be done when the new contract expired, assuming that union and management could not come to mutually satisfactory terms at that time? Both sides agreed with the concept that arbitration could be the answer, eliminating intemperate impact upon the public. The point of disagreement, however, was the determination as to when, where, and how arbitration should enter into the collective-bargaining picture. At what point to start, and, when started, at what point to end? What ground rules and criteria were to be observed? What were the limits, if there were to be any limits? Would there be a range within which arbitration would operate? Would there be a range outside of which arbitration would not operate? These were just a few of the questions which consumed hours, days, and sleepless nights of friendly debate.

It should be a matter of interest to briefly describe a number of the ground rules suggested by these questions, and the arguments pro and con which developed during the discussions.

The first ground rule which was suggested by management was the criteria of ability to pay. This criteria has been used much as a game by both management and labor during recent years, depending at a particular time on whether it was to the advantage of one side or the other to advance the same. In the discussions which preceded the D. C. Transit negotiations with labor, in a different industry (the steel industry), it was labor that urged ability to pay as a criteria upon which negotiators should base their conclusions. And it was management, whose profits at the time were quite substantial, that advanced an indignant and negative reply in stating that ability to pay had nothing to do with the issues. In complete reverse of this play of the game and returning now to the D. C. Transit picture, where profits were not a question but their probable absence constituted a serious problem, it was management's contention that ability to pay should have a great deal to do with the ultimate decision, affecting the future costs of labor. It was labor's contention that ability to pay had nothing to do with a worker's earnings. In rebuttal, it was the contention of management that its position was unique * * * that as a public utility it should not be considered in the same fashion as an ordinary industry; that because of the essential nature of the services which it performed, it had been granted by the Congress of the United States a special franchise which in and of itself had set up the criteria which established the concept of ability to earn and its resultant parallel, ability to pay. It was claimed by management that this concept was paramount in determining matters relating to the economic future of the transit system. Congress had stated in the franchise that its concept of a fair rate of return was 6½ percent of either the rate base or on gross operating revenues. Therefore, said management, a board of arbitrators should not impose a condition upon management which would cause it to earn less than a 6½-percent return. At the proper time, after or prior to the conclusion of the present contract, it is the intention of management to advance this criteria before a board of arbitration, in the event the same will not have been conceded by labor at a subsequent negotiation.

Another interesting question upon which both sides dwelt for considerable length of time, involved the subject of reasonable negotiation range. It was the contention of management that arbitration was a last resort and that collective bargaining should continue until both sides were within a negotiating range of an amount to be determined (such as $500,000 or $1 million, etc.). Management contended that there were limits to the range which should be left to arbitration. For examplee: If the union seeks a 25 cents per hour increase and the company offers a 5 cents per hour increase, is that range too great to be left to arbitration? Management advanced the argument that submission of the complete original range to arbitration would actually make arbitration a substitute for collective bargaining—which was never intended.

It seems to me that wide-open arbitration on original issues will assuredly result in one or both parties neglecting the bargaining process and seeking arbitration as a point of beginning rather than as an alternative conclusion. Management's suggested solution to this reasoning was the establishment of a predetermined reasonable range by pressing diligently the process of collective bargaining before resorting to arbitration. This procedure would tend to encourage, rather than discourage, labor and management to attempt to strive for agreement. It is the intention of management at any subsequent negotiation of a new contract to advance the principle of reasonable negotiating range.

A third question of importance, which was one of the pivotal arguments in the recent discussions involving arbitration, was the geographic sources of members of an arbitration group. It was the contention of management that in a public utility affecting a particular locality, it was essential that at least two or more members of the impartial arbitrating group be residents geographically in or near the area where the public services were performed. It was the contention of labor that this was an unfair limitation. The question has not at yet been resolved, for it is the intention of management at a subsequent negotiation and a subsequent arbitration to submit this as a fair and proper ground rule for future contracts involving arbitration. Whether either party may suffer materially when geographic limitations are imposed with respect to the composition of the arbitration group, remains to be seen. Certainly, labor and its problems of public relations are matters essentially local in nature; certainly there is benefit to be derived from familiarity with the circumstances surrounding the problems that are subject to arbitration. On the other hand, labor contended that locality has no monopoly on objectivity and that familiarity with problems in a given type of enterprise without regard to geographic limitation is an element to be considered along with familiarity with local circumstances in selecting an impartial arbitrator.

The three ground rules which I have just described to you: (a) Establishment of criteria for arbitrators, such as "ability to pay"; (b) consideration of a "reasonable negotiating range"; (c) determining the geographical limitations on members comprising the board of arbitration, are typical of some of the practical problems of a labor negotiation involving the subject of arbitration. I could, of course, enumerate additional perplexing problems, but these should suffice to illustrate my typical views as a businessman-lawyer.

May I say, in conclusion, that one of the prime factors in bringing about an amicable solution to the deliberations involving the D. C. Transit System with the union, was the Herculean efforts of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and its 3 outstanding mediators who, together with the president of the union and myself, actually constituted a friendly board of 5 arbitrators. Commissioners Donohoo, Lee, and Holden deserve a hearty vote of thanks—not only from management and the union, but from the community at large. Their performance as impartial men of open mind and good will was sufficient to convince me that the Federal facilities for the settlement of disputes by arbitration should be greatly encouraged and extended, particularly where a public utility and the public interest are seriously or critically involved. Certainly they deserve a fair trial by both management and labor.

May I say thank you again for having me here tonight.

Guy H. Jenkins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, on May 4 the State of Michigan lost her most able and beloved writer on politics and Government affairs in the passing of Guy H. Jenkins, State capitol correspondent for the Booth newspapers of Michigan.

For three decades Mr. Jenkins had written news and interpreted developments for his newspapers in such a manner that he had become an institution and a legendary figure in his own time. I am certain most of the members of the Michigan delegation to this House knew him and his work and that most of them agree with me. There have been a large number of tributes to his memory from State and National figures.

Although the significance of Mr. Jenkins' life and work is beyond measure to the people of Michigan, I feel that the best effort in this direction was a story written by one of his associates, Mr. William C. Kulsea, and an editorial, both of which were published in the Flint (Mich.) Journal on May 6. Under leave granted by the House, I insert these articles in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the Flint (Mich.) Journal of May 6, 1957]

GUY H. JENKINS

Michigan journalism lost one of its ablest and most picturesque figures in the death of Guy H. Jenkins, chief of the Lansing bureau of the Flint Journal and associated Booth newspapers. He was the dean of the correspondents there. None was better versed in State politics nor better informed on Michigan government.

He was distinguished for his integrity as well as his competence. His writing was colorful, but he never strayed from fact. In many instances politicians who had been critics came to respect him and even seek his counsel. This was true of several governors, including both major parties.

His fearlessness, his sense of humor, and his vast knowledge set him apart. He was fascinating company and had a great capacity for friendship and loyalty. There was real significance in the honorary degree accorded him by the University of Michigan.

Guy Jenkins was a rare newspaperman, a fine citizen, and a beloved colleague.

We will miss him personally and in our columns.

[From the Flint (Mich.) Journal of May 6, 1957]

STATE NEWSPAPER FIELD LOSES TOP HAND IN JENKINS

(By William Kulsea)

LANSING.—The Michigan newspaper field has lost a top hand.

Guy H. Jenkins, 69, chief of the Lansing bureau of the Booth newspapers, died Saturday after covering State politics and government for 30 years.

Few will forget Jenkins—the tall, straight man with the thick crown of steel-gray hair; the play of storm and sunshine on his face, the fury of his deep voice scolding the mudder in public office; the reporter to whom newspaper work was a priestly mission, to be done with purpose and dignity.

He broke into the business in 1908 on the forerunner of the Saginaw News. Eighteen years later he began to climb the stairs and walk the corridors of the statehouse and over the years became as much a part of State government as the statue of Austin Blair on the capitol lawn.

Jenkins never just got a story; he swarmed all over it, and made it truly his. His articles were not echoes sung by press agents. He always went out and got his own, from the headman and seldom took "No" for an answer. He was inquisitive and prying and to the end was poking a forefinger into every stuffed shirt that came along.

"Get the guts of the story," he said. "Start it and finish it, and send it out. That's all."

In his stories he packed more meaning into one paragraph than most reporters do in a page of copy. He didn't know anything about fine writing, or care about it and over the years faced almost daily a series of developments without cluttering his mind with literary fancies to obscure the facts. He just went around asking questions, and when he sat down to write he was full of facts.

His roaring voice gave some the impression he was a volcano on two legs, but those who knew him well were aware of a soft streak that raced through his body. He raged at official corruption but months later, when the dishonest politician was on his way to prison, Jenkins worried about his family and their welfare.

Once, for months, he wrote items about excessive telephone bills legislators were running up at taxpayers' expense. He was asked why he was concerned since the cost was minor, compared to other spending.

"If you tell the people what the small chiselers are doing, the big chiselers in government will know you're watching them," he said. "It may keep them from really getting their hands in the public kitty."

For a quarter century, Jenkins wrote a weekly political article for his eight newspapers. It recited the inside, outside and underside of political life and became "must" reading for politicians.

No subject, political, governmental or economic, was too big for Jenkins. He dealt with them all in print and in corridor conversations, and even governors and presidential candidates listened when he spoke. Never a detached observer but always a passionate participant, often warmly partisan, Jenkins cut with his rapier of words into all corners of Michigan government.

With some governors, both Republican and Democrat, he was ever in joyous antagonism. He knew them all personally, from the late Alex Groesbeck to the present, and often shouted in anger when he felt they weren't doing the right thing. He counted Democrats Frank Murphy and William Comstock and Republican Harry F. Kelly as his favorite chief executives.

Jenkins was at his best in political talk, and his chief weapon was a phenomenal memory. He recalled dates and incidents back to the 1920's and beyond on the spur of the moment.

A few years ago a young reporter asked him about legislation adopted in the early 1930's.

Jenkins, drawing deeply on his homemade cigarette, named the month and the year the bill was passed, the introducer, how and why it passed the House and the Senate and what eventually happened to the bill's author.

One reporter, obviously awed, commented: "Guy, what was the color of his tie?"

Over the years Jenkins taught himself and others fundamentals in the newspaper business.

He always held that a newspaperman is only as good as his source of information. If a public official says he was misquoted, the reporter hasn't got a leg to stand on. Or a newspaper reporter is important only when he has a newspaper behind him. The good reporter is good only because he has a newspaper that will print his stories. Let him quit his job, and he'll be welcome as poison.

Sometime after Warren Harding became President, Jenkins dropped out of the newspaper business for a year or two to sell trucks in Saginaw. But he came back.

"I was never happy in any other business," he said.

He left many friends in the newspaper, political, and business fields. He knew Harlow H. Curtice, president of General Motors Corp.; George M. Humphrey, Secretary of Treasury, and Federal Judge Frank Picard, as well as he knew Bill, the capital parking lot attendant. He advised the late Arthur H. Vandenburg, Michigan Senator mentioned for the Presidency several times, and held confidential talks with GOP Presidential aspirant Thomas Dewey during the 1940's.

Jenkins went to his first national political convention back in 1936 and covered the annual national governors' conferences regularly up to 3 years ago. He drew heavily on these for knowledge about mental health and relayed much of his information to legislators, who enacted into law some of his ideas.

Jenkins had his triumphs, as triumphs are rated in the newspaper business. He had more, too—the knowledge that his coworkers regarded him as a newspaperman's newspaperman. There's no greater tribute than that in this business.

He never sought the applause of his critics, but his greatest legacy as a reporter is found in the many people who disagreed with him yet respected him.

In his later years, he had many lucrative offers from private business to leave journalism, but he denied them all, for his loyalty to the newspapers he worked for was more important than anything else.

What Gives, Mr. Benson?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, the recent decision by Secretary of Agriculture Mr. Benson to cut the price support for wheat has prompted an editorial comment by the Nebraska Farmer, a newspaper widely read on Nebraska farms and respected for its editorial voice throughout the State. I would like to include the editorial in the RECORD at this time.

WHAT GIVES, MR. BENSON?

Secretary of Agriculture Benson certainly didn't make any friends among the wheatgrowers for himself or his party when he cut the price support of wheat for 1958 to $1.78 a bushel. This compares with $2 a bushel for the 1956 and 1957 crops.

Wheat farmers, as well as all other agricultural producers, are going through a price-cost squeeze. This hammering down further of the price which is tied to Federal marketing quotas will hurt wheat farmers that much more.

Some of Benson's policies just don't add up. On one hand through some USDA agencies, he is extending financial assistance to small wheat farmers, and with the other hand he cuts the price of the commodity they produce.

Benson's policies have been out of tune with the basic philosophy of the Eisenhower administration. And yet the President seems to go along with Mr. Benson.

Nebraska's 1958 allotment was set at 3,228,377 acres. This is slightly below the 3,234,827 acres allotted for 1957.

Before this reduction becomes operative, the marketing quotas must be approved by at least two-thirds of the wheatgrowers in 36 designated commercial wheat-producing States.

The 22-cent reduction in the support rate was not expected. Many farm leaders felt that since there was a reduction in our wheat surpluses this past year there would be little change from the current rate.

This year's rate, set a year ago at $1.86, was raised to $2 because, Mr. Benson said, we were working out of our surplus problem in wheat.

The new 1958 rate is the lowest parity figure that can be used under the Eisenhower administration's flexible price-support system. The law specifies that supports must range between 75 and 90 percent. The new rate is 75 percent of parity.

The referendum is to be held June 20. If growers reject quotas, the 55-million-acre-planting allotments would remain in effect. However, price supports would be reduced to 45 percent of parity or about $1.19 a bushel.

Farmers wouldn't have to comply with allotments. However, only those who did would be eligible for the $1.19 support rate.

Benson's program could clip another $198 million off the national agricultural income just on wheat alone.

James H. Godtfring, of Wilkes-Barre, Retires From YMCA Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Record of May 11, 1957, which comments on the retirement from YMCA work of Mr. James H. Godtfring:

For about 15 years James H. Godtfring has served the Wilkes-Barre YMCA as general secretary. Having reached the age of retirement, he is about to relinquish his post. The YMCA and the organizations allied with it in carrying out a community program of wide scope will be losing an able leader and a wise counselor.

During his tenure the Wilkes-Barre Central YMCA has greatly extended its activities, for Mr. Godtfring was personally instrumental in fostering and establishing the Memorial, North, and Back Mountain branches. His achievements covered an even broader field in the direct work of the Y. Examples are the YMCA Industrial Management Club, the Toastmasters' Club. The latter has served as an inspiration to other organizations and other communities.

If we take into account his service to Y's in other States prior to coming to Wilkes-Barre, it can be said that James Godtfring has lived his life for the YMCA. His achievements in our own area have crowned a career which was auspicious even in the earlier years. He is widely known in Wyoming Valley as a leader in one of the most useful of fields, the service of youth and the upbuilding of character.

Statement on Proposed Amendment to H. R. 6127

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I place in the RECORD a statement I presented to the Rules Committee this morning, May 14, with respect to an amendment I propose to offer to H. R. 6127 when it comes to the floor:

STATEMENT BEFORE THE RULES COMMITTEE BY HON. JOHN H. RAY OF NEW YORK

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate very much the opportunity to present a proposed amendment to H. R. 6127.

The portions of that bill which I would amend are in parts III and IV which authorize the Attorney General to sue in the Federal courts for injunctive relief. The amendment I propose would not let him proceed in the Federal court if a plain, adequate and speedy remedy is available in the State court.

To accomplish that purpose, I suggest striking out the words "or other" in line 12 on page 10 and the same words in lines 12 and 13 on page 12. Then I would add at the end of line 12 on page 10 and at the end of line 13 on page 12 the following sentence:

"The district courts shall not exercise jurisdiction in proceedings authorized by this section if a plain, speedy, and efficient remedy may be had in the courts of the State or Territory in which the party aggrieved resided at the time the cause of action arose."

It will be noted that my amendment does not affect the Attorney General's authority to disregard administrative remedies. Cutting out the words "or other" would, however, make it clear that he cannot disregard judicial remedies, and the new sentence expressly prevents his proceeding in the Federal court if State laws provide a plain, speedy, and adequate remedy.

The idea for the proposed amendment came from section 1342 of title 28 of the United States Code which forbids the Federal courts to grant injunctions in certain cases otherwise within their jurisdiction "if a plain, speedy, and efficient remedy may be had in the State courts. It has been on the books for about 30 years and it has worked well. Prior law had permitted many utilities to go into the Federal courts for injunctive relief when they thought their property was being confiscated by an order of a State regulatory commission. In those cases the basic issue arose under the 14th amendment and companies had almost made it a habit to move immediately into Federal courts. This procedure aroused much controversy and finally Congress enacted the language above

quoted. Now the companies merely proceed directly in the State court, or, if they start in the Federal court, must show that the remedy available in the court does not meet the specifications above stated.

I think the clarification and simplification of the definitions and the remedies for violation of civil rights are matters of first importance. They are long overdue. I think the Supreme Court, in the Virginia school decisions was particularly wise in recognizing that the segregation problem must be left largely in the hands of the States, and that they must proceed with deliberate speed.

The amendment I propose is consistent with those decisions. It recognizes the sovereignty of the States and preserves the right of the States to declare and enforce rights of their citizens. It provides a remedy in the Federal court where the States do not make such provision.

Beyond the fact that the amendment provides a practical procedure which will greatly improve H. R. 6127, I think it has broader and perhaps more important merits.

In my home State, New York, we have comprehensive and adequate remedies for any interferences with registration and voting. Many other States have corresponding statutes. As the bill now stands, there is a serious question as to whether or not its passage would enable an Attorney General to bypass those statutes.

The question as to whether or not Congress, if it were to enact H. R. 6127, would preempt the field, has been presented fully to this committee and I need only to say here that I, too, see the danger and that I believe the amendment I propose would avoid that danger.

In the next place, if the Congress finds it necessary to enact legislation to clarify and provide remedies for violation of civil rights in other fields, the legislation adopted can, and I hope it will, protect the sovereignty of States by including a provision such as I am proposing here today. The clarification and definition of civil rights and the provision of remedies for violation of those rights is one of the most important questions ahead of us and it has many facets.

If Congress is now to enact legislation in the field covered by H. R. 6127, it will be setting a precedent for that series which lies ahead and I believe that the amendment I propose, or its equivalent, should be a part of any such legislation.

It is my purpose to offer the amendment on the floor and my reason for bringing it to the attention of this committee is to add another reason, if one is needed, for reporting H. R. 6127 under an open rule.

Address of Superior Court Judge Robert E. Woodside at Testimonial Dinner to Judge John S. Fine at the Mayfair Supper Club on April 1, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. CARRIGG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of Superior Court Judge Robert E. Woodside at a testimonial dinner to Judge John S. Fine at the Mayfair Supper Club on April 1, 1957:

Reverend clergy, Governor Fine, ladies, and gentlemen, this is a great day for Luzerne County. The turnpike connecting this area to the port of Philadelphia represents the opening of a new era in the development of this county. The importance of this highway to the industrial development of the community and to the welfare of its people cannot be overestimated. Just as the waterways developed the great seaports, and the railroads developed strategically located inland cities, so will the superhighways of our generation develop great communities of the future. It is not to be supposed that these highways will replace the waterways or the railroads whose importance to the economic welfare of the country will remain for many years to come. It is to be supposed, however, that the communities bypassed by the superhighways will develop no faster than the areas untouched by railroads a generation or two ago.

John S. Fine, who has long loved Luzerne County, foresaw the importance of this highway to the future of this community. Without his keen interest, enthusiastic support and determined efforts this road would have been delayed for decades, and the present generation of people in this community would have lost the opportunity to regain its position of leadership as a great industrial area of the State.

The world will little note nor long remember what was said today at the official opening of the turnpike but this State and its people will never forget that John S. Fine was the father of this northeast extension of the Pennsylvania Turnpike.

Governor Fine should be a proud man. There is always a feeling of satisfaction in a great accomplishment. There is justifiable pride in seeing a dream brought to realization. There is justifiable pride in a parent seeing a child graduate from high school. Such things are accomplished only through sacrifice and persistent effort. Today the efforts that John Fine put into his dream of a superhighway joining this county to Philadelphia is realized. He is the father of this turnpike. It is his baby. The people of this area should be forever grateful to him for it.

Most people are fond of their home community, but John Fine seems to have a special love for his community. Whenever he could, with fairness, help this county by securing from the State better roads, or better bridges, or better hospitals, or new opportunities for employment, he did it.

I recall, particularly, when the location of a new penal institution to be constructed for the housing of defective delinquents was under consideration. Pointing out that it would give several hundred jobs to the community as well as benefit business, he argued effectively that it should be placed in this area where competent help was available.

While talking about prisons I should like to digress just a few minutes to mention the role which Governor Fine played in the settlement of prison riots. You remember the wave of riots which was sweeping the country. Coddling the rioters fostered new riots until they had swept through over a score of States and finally broke out in Pennsylvania. It was the firm stand taken by Governor Fine in Pennsylvania that not only solved the problem in this State, but ended the wave of riots throughout the country. When prisoners learned that they would be punished for rioting and attacking guards the riots stopped. In the four years since that time there have been fewer prison riots in this country than there were during the four months prior thereto. Governor Fine showed courage far beyond that exhibited by some local officials and by high officials of other States who were willing to have the State accept dictation from its imprisoned hoodlums.

Following the settlement of the riots a penal program was adopted and a new code of laws enacted in Pennsylvania which was the envy of the other States. Since then many States have patterned a revision of their own penal system after the system adopted here under the leadership of Governor Fine.

Praising the accomplishments of John Fine at this meeting is certainly carrying coals to Wilkes-Barre—to localize and modernize an ancient saying. All of you have seen at firsthand the interest of John Fine in this community. You who know him best are aware of the courage which he exhibits when in a position of trust, and the sympathy and understanding which he shows for all the people whenever he has an opportunity to assist them either individually or collectively.

There were many accomplishments in his administration, but the one with which we are concerned tonight is the construction of the turnpike.

The Pennsylvania Turnpike Northeast Extension Act was signed by Gov. John S. Fine on September 27, 1951. It was introduced at his suggestion in the house of representatives as house bill 1484 by Vincent F. Gutendorf and James J. Jump, of Wilkes-Barre; William P. Kohl, of the second legislative district; John J. Mikula, of Hazleton; Harold E. Flack, of Dallas, and Leonard A. Najaka, of Glen Lyon, on June 20, 1951, and passed the legislature, without a dissenting vote.

There was much work to be done in getting the turnpike started. Investment concerns had to be convinced that it would be profitable, traffic surveys had to be made to prove the necessity, engineering services were required. It was only as a result of Governor Fine's continued demand for immediate action that brought the early realization of his dream.

On July 28, 1953, Gov. John S. Fine signed a second bill which would have extended the turnpike to the New Jersey line where Governor Driscoll agreed to have the New Jersey turnpike constructed to New York City.

Another spur was to be constructed to the Susquehanna River north of Harrisburg leading into that city. Had it not been for financing difficulties completely beyond his control these roads would now be nearing completion.

The present administration has announced it is opposed to the extension of the Pennsylvania Turnpike System. Thus, these superhighways so vital to the welfare of the people of this community will now be long delayed, if not forever lost to them.

Because of the liberal aid which the Federal Government is giving, there is the hope that, in addition to the turnpike, modern highways will find their way into this community, but as yet these are mere dreams. Many of the roads being talked about are but paper highways roughly sketched on the map for further consideration at some future date. If this area had been forced to wait for the construction of these roads industries which will now be attracted to this area would have long since settled along the present turnpike extending from Chicago to New York, and this community would have been bypassed during this critical period.

Were it not for Governor Fine only obsolete roads would wind their way along the river, around the mountains, and through the towns in and out of this county. But now one of the greatest highways in the world will take people and produce to and from this county.

The Pennsylvania Turnpike law provides that eventually the turnpike will be free from toll. This has always been the intent of the State, but to free these roads from tolls at this time would be a mistake. Taking the money from motor funds of either the State or Federal Government in order to free the tollroads would of necessity delay the construction of other highways connecting this community with New York and

the West, and extending elsewhere throughout this Commonwealth. We need roads too badly to exhaust the motor funds of the Federal or State governments to pay the bondholders of the turnpike. These funds must be used at this time for the construction of new highways.

It must be remembered that little can be accomplished under the Federal highway system in the next few years. Even the presently planned interstate superhighways will not all be constructed within the next 15 years. This community could not have afforded to wait for this Federal road program. The community which has superhighways available years before other communities, as you now do, will have an economic advantage which cannot be overcome in our times by the cities waiting for superhighways to come to their door.

It might be well to note here briefly the first great turnpike of this Commonwealth. It was built in 1794 for a distance of 66 miles from Philadelphia to Lancaster. About 12 years earlier a lottery had been authorized to raise money for improving roads and the Schuylkill River, but little could be done with the sum thus raised. In 1791 the Society for Promoting the Improvement of Roads and Inland Navigation in Pennsylvania surveyed the road to Lancaster, and reported that a toll road should have a prosperous future. Thereupon, the Philadelphia & Lancaster Turnpike Co. was organized and 1,000 shares were sold at $300 each. The turnpike was paved with stone the whole way and overlaid with gravel so it is never obstructed during the most severe weather.

As a result of this highway the city of Lancaster developed rapidly as a great inland city of this Commonwealth. Although the road was not profitable to the stockholders at first, grossing only $14,000 in 1799, and $25,000 in 1803, most of which was needed to keep the highway in repairs, it did have much to do with the development of both Philadelphia and Lancaster and the adjoining territory. Later it did become profitable. It paid dividends as high as $72 a share until the railroads obtained the hauling business and the dividends of the turnpike company went down to 25 cents a share. In the early 1900's the Philadelphia-Paoli Turnpike was sold for $8,000. Then as a result of the development of automobiles this part of the highway was finally sold to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in 1917 for $165,000.

Just as that highway developed the communities of that area during the early part of the 19th century so will this turnpike develop this community. For its building the people of this area should be forever grateful to John S. Fine.

Keeping America Strong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, we were honored to have Mr. Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., the chairman of the board of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., as one of the principal speakers at the annual meeting of the Delta Council on May 9 at Cleveland, Miss. The Delta Council is one of the foremost agricultural and civic development organizations in the South, and Mr. Firestone's address, devoted to the fundamental importance of our free-enterprise system, not only to the progress of our country, but to the peace and progress of the world as well, is of significance to all of us. Under unanimous consent, I include Mr. Firestone's address before the Delta Council:

Governor White, President Percy, members of the Delta Council, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, it is a very great pleasure for me to be here with you today. I am honored, indeed, to have been invited to have lunch with you, and to talk with you about matters which have a common interest for all of us who are in agriculture and industry.

Some people regard agriculture and industry as separate and apart from each other. Personally, I do not agree. To me, their objectives are mutual and identical.

The farmer is just as much a businessman as one who runs a rubber factory. He is basically a manufacturer. And just like any other manufacturer, his job is to produce goods. You know, the word "factory" comes from the Latin word "factus," which means to make or to do. And surely the farmer is busily engaged in making and doing many things. In reality, the farm is simply a factory without a roof.

Fundamentally, there is not much difference between farming and making tires. Both the agricultural industry and the rubber industry are largely dependent on the fruits of the earth for their operations.

The farmers take sun and soil and seed, mix them with fertilizer and water and, with the aid of manpower and machinery manufacture food and feed and fiber.

We take cotton, rayon, or nylon, all of which originate in the earth; natural rubber, which is, of course, an agricultural product, or synthetic rubber, the ingredients of which come out of the ground; mix them with such products of nature as sulfur, zinc oxide, and carbon black, and with the help of manpower and machinery, turn out tires.

Here in the delta area, you have recently embarked on a program of diversification which has led in several different directions. Many delta farmers are now producing cattle, small grains, and soybeans in place of cotton. However, at present your greatest emphasis is being placed on the need for attracting industries to the delta area in an effort to balance your heretofore predominantly agricultural economy with industrial installations.

I am sure that you must have many advantages here in the delta country which will appeal to manufacturers in certain lines of business. However, not all industries require the same facilities. For example, when we of the Firestone organization find it necessary to establish a new manufacturing plant, we are restricted to localities which have very large resources of highly skilled labor, enormous supplies of water, favorable tax laws, reasonable land values, acceptable railroad rates and facilities, extensive networks of good highways and other considerations too numerous to mention. On the other hand, there are many industries which do not need such large numbers of skilled workers, such huge supplies of water or some of the other items which I have enumerated. Therefore, it seems to me that you must examine your natural facilities, make an accurate and realistic appraisal of what you have to offer and concentrate on those industries which can economically and profitably utilize your natural assets.

More than 20 years ago, we of the Firestone organization recognized the strategic importance of this area. When we decided to establish a plant in the South, we made a careful investigation of all of the facilities then available. We selected Memphis as the site of our new plant, because while other localities offered many advantages, Memphis had a large number of highly skilled craftsmen, so vital to our type of business. And, because we realized that the South was making rapid progress and because we felt that this progress would accelerate even faster in the years to come, we bought enough land in Memphis to allow for expansion of our plant there for many years to come.

So, therefore, while we have, nearby, ample facilities for the foreseeable future, we believe that there are many industrial concerns in the United States who might profit by our experience and establish plants or other industrial operations in this general area. And, I am sure that the many and obvious advantages which you in the delta country have to offer will prove most attractive to industries of many and diverse kinds.

We of Firestone are proud to be your neighbors and we will be delighted to help in any way we can such as, for example, acting as a reference if those with whom you talk want confirmation of the economy and efficiency of industrial operations in this general area.

As one who shares with you the responsibilities of farm and factory, I am keenly aware of the many problems and difficulties which we face in these troubled times of cold wars and hot words. Today, however, I want to talk to you about a subject of far greater fundamental importance than the irritations and annoyances which beset the daily lives of those engaged in agriculture and industry. I refer to the necessity of keeping America strong by preserving and defending the very source of her strength.

What is the source of America's strength?

It lies in our three fundamental freedoms, spiritual, political and economic, each one complementing and reinforcing the strength of the other. I believe that it is highly improbable that we could have progressed as a nation along any one of these three lines unless we had developed simultaneously along the other two.

The tremendous abundance of our natural resources, the superior intelligence and transcendent skills of our people, our republican form of government, our religious freedom and the absence of powerful neighbors that might threaten our security, have all been important factors in making and keeping America strong. But there are other countries that have possessed these advantages to a greater or lesser degree.

Surely, then, one of the great sources of America's strength lies in our economic system, which we call individual competitive free enterprise. And that is what each and every one of us must intensify our individual efforts to preserve and defend.

Our country has been forced by circumstances into a position of world leadership. All eyes are upon us. What we say and what we do influence the whole world. We are the chief proponents of the individual competitive free enterprise system. If we weaken our support of this successful economic system, all the other free nations of the world will crash with us. But if we retain strong economically, if we not only defend but also extend free enterprise, we shall keep our country so strong that none will dare to attack us or those who stand with us on the side of freedom. Therefore, it is apparent that the peace of the world, perhaps even the fate of the world, depends upon the efforts we make to keep America strong.

If we have any doubt that America's system of competitive free enterprise is the real source of her strength, we have only to think back to the early days of American history. The early colonists knew before they left Europe that they literally would have to hack their new homes out of virgin forests and that they would be greatly outnumbered in fighting savage tribes. They

knew that they faced years of backbreaking toil and constant danger before they could establish themselves. Nevertheless, they came, because they could no longer tolerate the tyranny and oppression of the old world.

Some came to worship God in their own ways. Others came to escape political punishment. Still others came to seek their fortunes. But, whatever their motives, all came to gain freedom of one kind or another. Consequently, it is not surprising that they valued above all else their right to personal liberty. They had an unshakable belief in the power of individual initiative.

To our forefathers, freedom was a heritage so precious that without it life was not worth living. So firmly did they implant this idea into the minds and hearts of their descendants that many years later, when the United States took its place among the nations of the world, safeguards for human liberties were woven into the very fabric of the law of the land. They established a republican form of government. And they laid down the rules for its operation in a living document called the Constitution. They laid the cornerstone of a new economic system, based upon individual competitive free enterprise. The rules for its operation were recorded in the first 10 amendments to the Constitution, which we call the Bills of Rights. In effect, they made it possible for every person to go as far as his will and his skill permit, provided that he does not deprive his fellowman of the same right.

As the years passed and as the United States great stronger politically and economically, people in other countries regarded America as a land of opportunity. They saw over here a country in which individual initiative was fostered and encouraged. Millions upon millions of them left their homes in foreign lands, where life was regimented and opportunities restricted, and came to our hospitable shores. And, today, millions more wish with all their hearts that they were over here instead of over there.

Yes, the great source of America's strength is our system of competitive free enterprise. We know it, but so do our enemies. And, as you would naturally expect, those who seek to destroy our power and our prosperity are concentrating their attacks on this keystone of our success. They know that if it collapses, the entire structure will fall.

Today, approximately one-half of the cost of Government is being spent for national defense. For the current fiscal year, the appropriations for the United States Army, Navy, and Air Force total about $35 billion. I cannot tell you whether this huge sum of money is too much or too little. But I can tell you that no army, no navy, no air force, however large and efficient it may be, can protect the minds and hearts of the American people against the poisonous propaganda which is being fed to them.

The only protection against this form of attack is a determined and continuous counterattack, a barrage of truth which will completely nullify the bombardment of falsehoods to which the American people are being constantly subjected.

We in America must guard against taking liberty for granted and regarding it as a natural state of man. We must face the fact that there are forces at work which are striving to deprive us of those fundamental rights for which so many brave men have fought and died. They seek to return us to those dark days when our people were subject to the whims of tyrants.

The origin of these forces lies in foreign lands where people live in poverty, in misery, and in fear. They come from countries which call themselves democracies, but where a citizen may not own land or select his own job. He may not be tried by a jury of his peers. He may not stay away from work without good and sufficient reason. He may not employ anyone to work for him. He does not have freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, or freedom of religion, and his press and radio are censored by his government.

Surely, with a knowledge of these facts, the American people are too wise, too alert, and too intelligent to be taken in by the promises and propaganda of alien doctrines, no matter how subtle or clever they may be. However, this belief in our strength may, in fact, be our weakness. Many of our people simply do not realize that liberty is not a permanent possession but must be cherished and protected.

We must always remember that an integral part of the American character is forever to seek improvements. Americans are never satisfied.

They are always looking for ways and means to improve their lives, their fortunes, their jobs and their Government. That is one reason why we have been such a progressive and successful Nation. But, on the other hand, this same restless spirit may make their minds susceptible to the false promises which are so lavishly made by the disciples of economic systems that seem, at first glance, to offer greater benefits to a greater number of people.

Unfortunately, some Americans do not consider the source of these promises. They do not remember that these highly touted economic systems have failed miserably in the past in countries where they have been tried. They do not realize that the security which these systems allegedly offer must be paid for by giving up many of the privileges which we Americans believe are the basic rights of man.

Nobody in this world is more secure than a man in a penitentiary. He is fed, clothed, and housed. But he is not free to go and come as he pleases. He is watched, guarded, and disciplined. There are millions of people in other lands who have that same kind of security. But we Americans have always believed that the only real security lies in liberty and opportunity.

In recent years, propaganda mills both here and abroad have been grinding out misleading promises. As a result, an increasing number of people are led to believe that we should have a paternalistic form of Government on which they can lean for security. This is a challenge to business, and it is the high responsibility of business to give convincing evidence that real and lasting security can be more soundly acquired through the American system of competitive free enterprise.

Frankly, I did not come here today to convince you of the worth of our competitive system of free enterprise, or of the superiority of our American way of life. As businessmen, I know that you already believe in both. Rather, my purpose is to urge that you personally carry on a crusade to keep America strong. Each one of us should use every means at our command to remind the people of the United States that no other economic system can compare with ours in providing more of the good things of life for more people.

Now, I have no doubt that you will ask: "What can we do about it?" I shall try to answer that question.

Primarily, it seems to me that we waste entirely too much time selling each other on the superiority of competitive free enterprise. With whom do we usually discuss the subject? The chances are that we talk about it principally with our fellow club members and our friends and associates whose lives run parallel to our own. But do we try to get our ideas over to our employees? Do we talk them over with our children, with Boy Scout troops, with YMCA members, or with farm-youth organizations? Do we meet and talk with women's clubs, with the teachers of our children and with church leaders? If we are not doing all these things, and more, we are not helping to keep America strong.

The next question which you will probably ask is: "What shall we tell them?" Frankly, there is much to tell.

First, the United States, although it is a relatively new country, has a higher degree of culture than any other nation. This is exactly contrary to the propaganda which is being poured into the minds and hearts of our people so forcefully and so relentlessly. But the facts are that with less than 7 percent of the population of the world, we have more young people in high schools and colleges, more musical and literary organizations, more libraries and more distribution of the written and spoken word than all of the other 93 percent combined.

Second, we have the highest standard of living in the world. We are better fed, better clothed, and better housed than any other people on earth. Our health as a nation is unparalleled and it is constantly improving. Our life span grows longer every year.

Third, we hold a position of moral and spiritual leadership. We have more hospitals, more charitable institutions and, probably, more churches per capita than any other country. After fighting and winning two world wars, which cost hundreds of thousands of lives and hundreds of billions of dollars, we gained neither additional territory nor domination over any other country. On the contrary, we helped friend and foe alike to regain political, economic, sociological, and spiritual health without asking any favors in return. Can any other nation match this record of generosity and understanding?

Fourth, from a standpoint of material possessions, we Americans have more luxuries, more comforts, and more conveniences than anyone else. Free-enterprise America has 1 automobile for every 3 of its citizens. Great Britain has 1 for every 15. Communist Russia has 1 for every 600. Under free enterprice, there is 1 radio for every 2 Americans. There is 1 for every 5 Britons. Under communism there is 1 for every 33 Russians.

One out of every three people in free enterprise America has a telephone, compared with 1 out of 7 in Great Britain and 1 out of 188 in Communist Russia. Even more startling comparisons could be made in such commodities as washing machines, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, electric lights, food, clothing, and almost any other item which contributes to the happiness or welfare of mankind.

Fifth, let us point out that America's system of individual competitive free enterprise is tried and proven successful, whereas other systems are either untried experiments or downright failures. During World War II, free enterprise America turned out more war materials than all the rest of the allied nations combined. Under the impetus and incentive of war, companies which fought each other in good old-fashioned sales competition in peacetime pooled their resources and worked together as a well integrated team to multiply the output of war materials. Compare that system with the methods used in totalitarian countries, where government control of production restricts the number of enterprises and, consequently, results in a shortage of industrial capacity in time of emergency. It was America that furnished much of the materials for our allies, as well as for our own Armed Forces. Without those materials, the nations united with us might have been conquered by our common enemies.

Sixth, let us set the record straight about the matter of profits. Let us correct that idea which has been spread by soapbox orators, wily subversives, and well-meaning but misled reformers that the workers get

the smallest share of the income which manufacturing produces and that the owners get fabulous amounts.

Let us tell them that, actually, out of every dollar of sales made by manufacturers, 49 cents go for materials and supplies, of which 36 to 46 cents go to the workers who produce those materials. Nine cents go for taxes, of which 4 cents are paid to Government employees. Six cents go for depreciation, maintenance, repairs, and interest; 2 cents for advertising; and 1 cent for research. That leaves 33 cents from the sales dollar of which the employees get 29 cents. The remaining 4 cents are profits, of which 2 cents are set aside for tomorrow's jobs by reserves to buy new machines and to expand the business. The remaining 2 cents are paid to the stockholders who are the owners of the machines, the tools, and the factory buildings which are used by the workers to increase their earning power. All told, approximately 85 cents out of every dollar of sales by manufacturers go for salaries and wages.

Seventh, let us tell the real facts about who owns American business. Let us correct the impression that it is owned by a mere handful of individuals. Let us point out that under some other economic systems, industries are owned by the government. Over here industries are owned by the people. Every one of the 70 million Americans who has a savings account, each of the 115 million who has a life insurance policy, and each of the 9 million who has shares of stock or industrial bonds owns, directly or indirectly, a part of American industry. All of them have a stake in American business and they should be among the first to insist that business concerns make profits. Otherwise, their savings accounts, their life insurance policies, and their securities will be of little value. Anything that hurts business hurts them, personally and individually, because they are an integral part of business.

How necessary it is to get this story over is shown by a survey among teachers of social studies and clergymen of various faiths throughout the Nation, made a few years ago. The members of these professions believed that only about 70 percent of the wages and salaries and 30 percent of the income from dividends, interest and rents were paid to people who earned less than $5,000 a year. On the contrary, a national income study made by the Bureau of Economic Research of the University of Notre Dame, shows that 90 percent of all wages and salaries, nearly 70 percent of dividends and interest and 83 percent of income from rents were paid to those earning under $5,000 a year.

This same study shows that, after payment of Federal taxes, only 5½ percent of wages and salaries, 17 percent of all dividends and interest and 9½ percent of income from rents goes to those earning more than $5,000 a year. If people with above-average education, such as teachers of social studies and clergymen, can be so far wrong, imagine how completely misinformed the average American must be about this all-important distribution of national income.

Eighth, let us be realistic. Let us stop talking about the good old days, which really may not have been as good as some thought they were. Let us try to win friends and influence the people who really count. Let us stop telling each other how good our economic system is and start telling those who have some doubts about it. Let us show them that we are playing on the same team, the freedom team, and that we and they must work together if we are to win the all-important game of survival in which our individual, personal liberties are the stakes.

We have all got to realize that we are living in a new and different kind of world. We have never before found it necessary to take an active personal part in defending our way of life.

But times have changed. Today, we must reinforce the faith of our people in the American way of life. We are faced with the greatest competitive battle in history. It is a battle between those who believe in the American way of life and those who seek to destroy it. But competition is no stranger to us. We thrive on it. It is the very lifeblood of free enterprise. All of us in this room, and thousands more like us, know how to fight and win against competition. Consequently, the only thing we have to guard against is that we shall be lulled into a false sense of security and that we shall fail to realize the necessity of joining in this crusade.

If individually, we devote the same thought and energy toward waging and winning this battle of economic principles as we have in the past devoted to winning the battle for business survival, I say to you that there is no power on the face of the earth which can destroy the American system of individual competitive free enterprise. By each doing our part, we can and will succeed in keeping America strong.

Counties in Rural Development Program Report Solid Achievements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to have inserted in the RECORD the following article from the March issue of Tennessee Farm and Home Science, a publication of the College of Agriculture Experiment Station Extension Service of the University of Tennessee. I believe this will be of interest to many of the readers of the RECORD:

COUNTIES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM REPORT SOLID ACHIEVEMENTS

Tennessee's pilot counties in the rural development program are making definite and encouraging progress in carrying out their plans of action.

Grainger, Hardin, and Macon Counties had the work underway for a little more than a year. Marion and Houston Counties have only recently been named as pilot counties, and are now in the process of appointing committees, studying their problems and opportunities, and making a plan of work.

The program is one designed to bring together all organizational, business, educational, apd individual resources to deal with the problem of resource development for greater economic opportunity within the county. Guiding the program and advising with county committees is a State steering committee, made up of representatives of the University of Tennessee Agricultural Extension Service, College of Agriculture, and Experiment Station; State departments of agriculture, conservation, education, forestry, vocational education, employment and health; community development sponsoring groups; TVA; industrial development commission; Farm Bureau; State Grange; Soil Conservation Service; Agricultural Stabilization Committee; Farmers' Home Administration; Farm Credit Administration; and others.

Each county participating has also named a rural development committee to determine the local program and guide it achievement. Subcommittees handle specific fields of work. The University of Tennessee Agricultural Extension Service was requested to give continuing leadership to the program on a county and State basis.

GRAINGER ACHIEVEMENTS

Grainger County's achievements to date include a partial survey of land classes and uses; surveys and contacts concerning desirable industries; appropriations for new schools and school additions; workings at the county park; preparation of a county and city dump area; emphasis on home gardens; leader training meetings; countywide fall cleanup campaign; Christmas lighting contest and tours; plans for an intensive family living survey; supervised recreation programs; a demonstration home emphasizing good home management principles; arrangements for a county health clinic; setting of 125 additional acres of strawberries; a bond issue for a safe and adequate water supply for the county-seat town; a new telephone system. An outstanding achievement, the county committee reports, is the development of a strong cooperative spirit on the part of all local agency representatives and local leaders. Plans for the coming year and additional long-range plans are now being completed.

MACON REPORTS MANY PROJECTS

Macon County reports the initiation of several activities in 1956 that would not have been attempted without the committee action. A new trades class was started at the high school. Since the school was crowded, and there was no money for a new building, the school board gave 5 vacant 1-room school buildings, and the materials from these were either used or sold to buy other materials for a building for the trades classes.

A labor survey was conducted by volunteers, and a factory secured which employs 500 women and 100 men. Work is going forward on getting new strawberry acreage planted and arranging for a fresh market; working up a grade A egg route; helping with farm credit problems. Schools have been held for farmers in farm management, dairying, animal husbandry, and poultry.

In general, the county reports, the rural-development program has created interest, brought out leadership, and stimulated the income of Macon County in many ways.

HARDIN MAKES PROGRESS

Hardin County reports extension of electric service; work toward establishing 2 industrial plants in the county (1 a pulp mill to provide a market for the county's timber resources; placement of 2 trades teachers in county high schools; organization of 8 additional rural communities; organization of an agricultural council to discuss and plan agricultural projects at monthly meetings; promotion of home gardens; promotion of new cash crops such as okra, pepper, beans, popcorn, strawberries, and sorghum; acceleration of soil mapping; health surveys, and resulting progress in health practices; expansion of rural library service; new telephone service; beginning of a meat-type hog program through placing of registered sires in different communities; food preservation demonstrations; promotion of egg-laying projects; help with additional FHA loans.

NEW COUNTIES ENTHUSIASTIC

Just entering the program, Marion County reports organization of its county committee and subcommittees. "There has been excellent cooperation," the committee reports.

Houston County says that the county's leadership "accepted the challenge of the Rural Development Program enthusiastically." Committee findings are being studied to chart a definite course of development for the entire county. "This will mean the use of every citizen to develop constructively all

resources to make better incomes now and assure a continued better way of life for generations yet unborn." The real work is yet to be done, Houston County says, but "the door of opportunity is open."

The work being done in these five counties is establishing a pattern that can benefit other counties, believe those who are participating. Seldom on such a broad scale have people and their organizations so united their thinking, their knowledge, and their efforts to find out where they are, and what they have to work with, and then chart a course to reach goals possible to them by working together, say members of the county and State committees.

Passport Racket Springs Into Open

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Stroudsburg (Pa.) Record of May 10, 1957:

PASSPORT RACKET SPRINGS INTO OPEN

WASHINGTON, May 9.—A report exposing an international passport racket that illegally feeds Chinese Communist Government agents into the United States will explode into open congressional hearings here soon.

Now in the hands of worried Immigration and Justice Department officials, this document will lay bare the activities of a ring of citizenship brokers in Hong Kong, selling fake United States entry papers for $3,000 a head. The Red Chinese Government, says the report, is the broker's best customer.

The crooked brokers utilize the derivative citizenship provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act (McCarran-Walter law) to draft their false papers. These provisions permit any child of an American citizens, regardless of that child's color, creed, or birthplace, to enter the United States outside and beyond regular immigration quotas.

PLANNED PROGRAM

Once inside the United States, according to the report, the Red agents engage in a planned Communist program with three separate aims:

1. Destruction of all restrictions imposed on foreign immigration into the United States, and repeal of the entire Immigration and Nationality Act.

2. Creation of Communist cells in the Chinatowns which make up a part of more than a score of United States cities, and of cities in other countries.

3. Extortion, to compel the approximately 16 million overseas Chinese in 50 countries around the world to send cash to families, or "investment brokers," inside Communist China.

The liberal McCarran-Walter Act which controls foreign immigration into the United States does not bar a foreigner from entering the country simply because he or she comes from a Communist-controlled state.

Once such a foreign child wins admission to this country, it is eligible at the proper time to apply for citizenship papers and remain here permanently.

More than 100 so-called citizenship brokers acting as agents for fraudulent claimants to American passports have been identified by the Hong Kong United States consulate general and the British Crown Colony police. Prosecution of such brokers for fraud—no other way is possible—has increased in recent months. Nevertheless, according to figures on file, no sooner is one ring of brokers smashed by police, than another springs into existence.

The fraud brokers establish contact with Chinese whom the Communist Chinese Government wishes to send to America, and provide them with false Chinese-American families living in the United States. Then, the brokers carefully coach the applicants to face examination by United States consular agents. They are so skillful, and so thorough, according to the report, that they actually match blood types of the applicants with that of "mothers" and "fathers" in America. Since American investigators are not permitted to go behind the Chinese Communist Bamboo Curtain, issuance of passports depends on documents.

"Hong Kong is today the most active staging point in the world for illegal Chinese immigration to the United States and Canada," said the report now in the hands of authorities. "Unscrupulous citizenship brokers, with the assistance of undercover representatives in Red China and America, have been fraudulently processing Chinese into the United States as bona fide citizens.

"This for an average of $500, with a balance of $2,500 payable upon approved entry."

The traffic in illegal Chinese entries began originally with the sumggling of so-called relatives by Chinese merchants, laundrymen, etc. to use as workers or servants. Since the Communist conquest of the China mainland, however, the Red rulers have used the device to infiltrate agents by the hundred.

Many such illegal entrants into the United States join subversive movements. Some such subversives come over at the express orders, and by arrangement, of the Communist government; others are blackmailed into subversion after arrival in the United States.

Immigration authorities have found in recent months that these immigrants concentrate in work aimed at complete destruction of all bars against flooding immigration into the United States. This foreign-instigated campaign proved so effective last year that forces campaigning for amendments wrecking the McCarran-Walter actually won their adoption in the United States Senate. Representative WALTER, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, managed to block similar House action as the clock ticked away closing moments of the 1956 session of Congress.

These amendments have been reintroduced this year, and a nip-and-tuck battle over their enactment will be waged in Congress. Forces defending the existing liberal immigration laws have organized to fight subversive programs aimed at the law. The American Legion and numerous other patriotic societies have asked voters everywhere to write and telegraph their representative in Congress, demanding a vote to preserve immigration law as it stands today.

Proposals To Import Natural Gas Threaten Domestic Fuel Markets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, in defense of America's fuel industries, I addressed the House on April 11 to point out the dangers inherent in the threat to import natural gas into the United States. In the intervening weeks I have discussed the problem with a number of my colleagues and am happy to note that there is a widespread sympathy for the coal miner, the railroad worker, and other segments of our populace who would suffer the direct economic impact if this gas were to invade our fuel markets.

I was particularly pleased that the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BAILEY] took the floor on April 17 to express his concern over the applications of the international pipeline groups that are now before the Federal Power Commission. As one of the leading authorities in Congress on international trade, Congressman BAILEY very eloquently pointed out the perilous implications contained in these applications; at the same time he testified against any philosophy that would permit sacrifice of American jobs for the sake of quick profits for foreign investors.

Today hearings on the several applications to import Canadian gas will be resumed before the Federal Power Commission. While it is expected that the Commission will exercise its clear public duty and give consideration to all of the ramifications of this highly complex issue, Congress must be reminded that the Commission lacks explicit authority with which to act decisively on behalf of the American public at large on such problems. The only standard contained in the act is a provision in section 3 requiring that the Commission authorize importation of natural gas unless it find that such proposals "will not be consistent with the public interest." This directive is entirely too vague and indefinite. I am convinced that the Commission needs a legislative mandate from the Congress to consider such other factors as the potential damage to the economy of the United States, including losses to the coal and railroad industries, unemployment, and overall effect on the national defense.

While I am hopeful that these matters will be taken into consideration by the FPC in the present case, I nevertheless feel that Congress should not delay in amending the Natural Gas Act so as to require consideration of these necessary factors in the public interest. I am therefore today introducing a bill which would amend section 3 of the act in this manner:

That section 3 of the Natural Gas Act is amended by inserting between the second and third sentences thereof a new sentence as follows: "It shall not be deemed to be consistent with the public interest to authorize the exportation or importation of natural gas in any case where the Commission finds that such exportation or importation will result in economic dislocation, unemployment, or injury to competing fuel industries of the United States."

I also call attention to an excerpt from the opinion of the Federal Power Commission in the basic Northwest gas cases defining policies on importation of natural gas June 16, 1954. It follows:

The Pacific Northwest is the one remaining large area of this country with a great need for natural gas but which is still without this highly desirable fuel and raw material. It is a section where great indus-

trial expansion has occurred and is still in progress, and one which has played and continues to occupy a very important role in the national defense. The record amply demonstrates that it has a real desire and need for natural gas.

The Natural Gas Act imposes upon this Commission the duty to protect the American public in all possible respects through the regulation and control of the transmission and wholesale sale of natural gas. It is most essential that the domestic consumers and much of the industry in any area into which natural gas is introduced be reasonably assured of a firm supply, so far as is possible through such regulation and control. We would fail in our duty if we did not jealously retain and exercise our full legal powers to this end. Therefore, in granting an application under section 3 of the act for the importation of natural gas, the Commission must not fail to give the fullest possible protection to all the prospective consumers.

Such protection would not be afforded to any segment of the American people if its sole source of essential natural gas were through importation from a foreign country without some intergovernmental agreement assuring the continued adequacy of its supply. Otherwise, all control over the production, allocation, and transportation to our border of such natural gas would be in the hands of agencies of foreign governments, whose primary interest would of necessity always be in the needs and advantages of their own people, and whose judgments and actions would be essentially dependent upon public opinion within that country, rather than upon the interests of American consumers. Regardless of any long and cherished friendly relations with any neighbor nation able to supply such area with natural gas, it would not be in the public interest to permit the importation of its gas as the sole source for the consumers in need of an uninterruptible supply at a reasonable price, which should always be assured by this Commission to the full extent of its powers.

That quotation, Mr. Speaker, is inserted in the RECORD at this time as a reminder to the Commission, to Members of Congress, to potential customers of the proposed pipelines, and to the American public. The quotation is official warning from the Federal Power Commission that to permit United States consumers to become dependent upon a foreign source of fuel supply would be irrational and hazardous. My amendment to section 3 of the Natural Gas Act removes the possibility of any misinterpretation of that philosophy expressed by the Commission in June 1954. I trust that the amendment will be quickly adopted in order that the Commission will have this precept as a positive guide for its decision on the applications now before it.

Salute to Bill Streit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, today at this very hour the Birmingham, Ala., Kiwanis Club is honoring Bill Streit, at a surprise luncheon in Birmingham. This luncheon is in recognition of his splendid contribution to sports in the United States and throughout the world for the past 53 years. In view of Bill Streit's lifetime of activity in athletics, first as an outstanding participant in his youth, and later on as an actively interested coach, referee, and promoter, I believe it is entirely fitting, as his Congressman, to tell you something of this good man, and to ask the Members of the House to join with the Birmingham Kiwanis Club, as well as his friends and admirers throughout Alabama and the United States, in paying tribute to this fine American.

In the years 1904–05, Bill Streit first distinguished himself as a track star and as a tackle on the football team while a student at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Ala. Later, while attending Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Va., Mr. Streit was chosen by his teammates as captain of both the track and the football teams.

In 1924, as well as in the next two succeeding Olympics in 1928 and 1932, Bill Streit served with distinction as the manager of the United States wrestling team during the international Olympic games. He was the first American to be accorded the honor of selection as vice president of the international wrestling commission.

Having continued his active contribution to the international Olympics during the intervening years, he was wisely chosen as a member of the executive committee of the international Olympics for the games in 1948 and 1952. Only last year, he attended the 1956 Olympics in Australia as an unusually interested onlooker.

In addition, Bill Streit has made a significant contribution, locally and nationally, to the cause of sports over these years. This is amply evidenced by his able service from 1933 to the present time as the chairman and referee of the annual southeastern conference college track meet held in Birmingham. He has also for many years been president of the southeastern amateur athletic union.

While subtracting nothing from these richly deserved honors, I believe they serve more to point up and emphasize the even greater contributions Bill Streit has made in the betterment of our international relationships with foreign nations through the promotion of sports and athletic contests, and the significant influence he has had on the health and wholesome living of young Americans everywhere.

While all our citizens of Birmingham, which is Bill Streit's hometown, are genuinely proud to call him our own, his dedicated service and leadership rightfully make him a citizen of the Nation and of the world.

I therefore am privileged to pay my deepest respects to Mr. Streit, along with the members of the Kiwanis Club, and some 30 to 40 of his other sports-loving friends throughout the United States who, without Mr. Streit's knowledge, are in Birmingham to honor their friend today and to pay tribute for the rich contribution he has made toward a better America and a better world.

Oklahoma Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the great State of Oklahoma is having a birthday this year. She is 50 years old. Her progress at her midcentury mark is unparalleled in the history of our country.

We want one and all to come to our birthday party. This party will continue until November 16, which is Statehood Day. We have the accommodations for you. Within the past few years we have developed the finest recreational facilities in the United States. We have the most modern lodges, cabins, and playground facilities to be found anywhere. The result is that our lakes and parks are attracting more visitors than any recreation areas in the country.

In the June issue of American Mercury, Henry Carlton Jones describes Oklahoma's new look in a most interesting article. I hope you will read it and decide to spend your vacation in Oklahoma. The article follows:

OKLAHOMA ENTERPRISE: A NEW LOOK

(By Henry Carlton Jones)

If you've never visited Oklahoma and picture it in your mind as a semiarid region, you're in for a surprise. Oklahoma today is dotted from border to border with a system of large and small manmade lakes They range in size from huge 95,000 acre Lake Texoma to little fellows of only a few hundred acres. But most of Oklahoma's 13 State park lakes cover several thousand acres. And the fishing is superb.

But the unusual aspect of Oklahoma's emergence from an almost arid State to a playground of sparkling waters is the series of six big ultramodern, State-owned resort lodges on the banks of these lakes.

All of them were built without a cent of expense to Oklahoma taxpayers.

Other States own resorts, lodges and similar enterprises, but, unlike Oklahoma, all these States have built and support their resorts through taxes. Oklahoma's lodges and resorts were financed through the sale of self-liquidating bonds to private investment firms. The lodges and concessions are leased to professional resort and hotel operators who know their business and run them with a smooth efficiency. Prices are reasonable and accommodations are luxurious

In about 20 years or so the original cost of these Oklahoma luxury resorts will have been completely liquidated, the bonds will be retired, and the State will own the lodges, free of indebtedness.

First of the Oklahoma lodges was the one at Lake Murray, opened to the public in 1949 during the administration of Governor Roy J. Turner. This one was frankly an experiment and came only after several years of debating and doubt. But finally, the Oklahoma State Planning and Resources Board got the green light from the legislature and self-liquidating bonds were sold to cover cost of constructing the 26-room lodge and 78 cottages. The main lodge building was built of native stone and timber but was of the new modern, functional type of architecture with wide expanses of glass facing the lake. It was strategically placed on a point of land jutting out between 2 fingers of the 7,000-acre lake.

Its setting was especially fortunate. Located in the rolling Arbuckle Mountains a few miles from Ardmore, in southern Oklahoma, it is midway between Oklahoma City and Dallas, Tex., a distance of about 110 miles each way, and it was an instant success. It is still hard to tell whether Oklahomans or Texans like Lake Murray Lodge best, because they use it in about equal numbers.

The venture has been so successful that the lodge has recently been increased to 55 rooms, all air-conditioned, the dining room has been enlarged to seat 500, and a convention hall seating 700 has been added. There is also a large swimming pool, a total of 86 cottages now, many with two bedrooms, numerous campsites, and picnic areas, and an extensive dockage and boating area for fishermen and water enthusiasts.

Total cost of the Lake Murray Lodge, including the recent enlargement runs well past $1 million, and its bonds are being retired on schedule out of earnings.

But elaborate as it is, the Lake Murray Lodge is already being topped by newer Oklahoma lodges. The one at Lake Texoma, completed May 1956, contains 106 air-conditioned rooms, has an extra 20-room fisherman's lodge, 80 cottages, huge dining room, an enormous swimming pool, wide paths, and community convention area.

The Texoma Lodge cost a total of $2,029,042 and it, like the first venture, was financed by sale of self-retired bonds sold to investors, mostly located in eastern money centers.

Lake Texoma sprawls over 95,000 acres in southeastern Oklahoma and was created by impounding the waters of the Red River, Washita River, Pennington Creek, and several smaller streams. The dam—fourth largest dirt-fill dam in the world—is located just over the line in Texas, but practically all the lake is on Oklahoma territory and is flanked on the Oklahoma side by 2,600-acre Texoma State park where the lodge is located.

And, while you may find it hard to believe such figures, data supplied by the United States Corps of Engineers, who operate the dam project, show that Lake Texoma broke the alltime national attendance record in 1956 with 7,461,000 visitors. The visitors to all the Oklahoma lakes numbered 16,153,400 in 1956.

Completed and opened to the public in May 1956 was the Quartz Mountain State Park Lodge, near the town of Altus, in southwestern Oklahoma. This big lake, about the size of Lake Murray's 7,000 acres, is located in a park of 11,000 acres.

The Quartz Mountain Lodge cost $718,000 and consists of a 46-room air-conditioned main lodge structure, plus ten 2-bedroom cottages, dining room to seat 200, large swimming pool and the usual camping and boating facilities. This is in the heart of the oldtime Comanche Indian country and there are many historic spots of interest in the area. The lake is blue and deep and is well stocked with bass, crappies, and other pan fish.

Another big lodge is the new 104-room structure in Lake Sequoyah State Park on the banks of Fort Gibson Reservoir, a 20,000 acre expanse of clear blue water fed by Grand River, one of Oklahoma's best fishing streams. In addition to the air-conditioned lodge there are 50 cottages plus a 20-room fisherman's lodge, a big swimming pool, and convention facilities.

This park is a few miles northeast of Muskogee in east central Oklahoma in the historic Cookson Hills country, once a hangout of outlaws in Oklahoma's rowdy and fancy-free past. Cost of the Sequoyah Lodge was about $1,600,858. It opened in midsummer 1956. The State park in which it is located covers 2,600 acres set aside as a game preserve and deer are plentiful there.

Smallest of the park lodges in the Oklahoma system is the one at Roman Nose State Park, near Watonga, about 70 miles northwest of Oklahoma City. This lodge contains only 20 rooms and has 4 cottages.

It opened in April 1956, and plans are already being made to double its size. This park takes its name after Chief Roman Nose of the Cheyennes who once made the canyons of the park area his winter tribal headquarters. The lake here is small, slightly lass than 100 acres, but it is fed by several springs, providing water that is cold enough for the lake to be stocked with trout in addition to bass.

Bonds have recently been sold and contracts let for the sixth of Oklahoma's lodges in Tenkiller State Park near Tahlequah. This lodge will cost $582,000 and will contain 47 air-conditioned rooms, 4 duplex cabins; and picnic areas will furnish 50 outdoor fireplaces and numerous camp sites. Plans include a dining room for 200 persons and the usual big outdoor swimming pool.

Tenkiller, if one may make a choice, is probably the most scenic of the 13 Oklahoma State lakes. It was created by damming the rock-lined, fast-running Illinois River, one of America's most famous small-mouth bass streams, and the water is well over 100 feet deep in many of its narrow necks and channels. The water of the lake is a sparkling blue green and, with the pine-clad hills surrounding it, this lake is a vacationist's delight. In 1955, even without the lodge, Tenkiller attracted 1,348,500 visitors, again using official records of the United States Corps of Engineers who operate the reservoir.

Total cost of these 6 lodge projects exceeds $7,200,000 and the chances are that none of them would have been built if tax money had been required to build them.

Fifteen years ago Oklahoma's tourist industry consisted chiefly of those travellers who were, unavoidably, compelled to cross the State and who had no inclination or particular incentive to linger.

But now Oklahoma boasts over 1,000 square miles of lake water and claims to be second only to Minnesota in the amount of inland fishing water. Since the construction of these big lakes and their luxury lodges, tourists and vacationists have discovered Oklahoma as a new playground and are coming in swarms. And thousands of Oklahomans who used to go to other States for their vacations are now enjoying the attractions of their own State.

How did all this happen? Who thought it up?

Not any one man. Several persons, in fact a lot of Oklahomans played a part in the creation of the new Oklahoma, but probably the most potent influence and the strongest voice advocating these developments has been Oklahoma City publisher E. K. Gaylord, owner of the Daily Oklahoman and Oklahoma City Times.

Several years ago Mr. Gaylord, who is a spry gentleman in his early 80's and still the active head of his publishing empire, pointed out a fact to Oklahomans that few of them had realized and many found hard to believe.

"Oklahoma," said Mr. Gaylord, "has more rivers and streams inside its border than any other State in the Union * * * yet we have very little usable water because we allow it to run into Oklahoma on one side and run out on the other."

Then he asked a simple question. "Why not stop some of this water in Oklahoma?" He advocated damming certain streams and creating lakes for flood-control purposes, to reduce soil erosion and for irrigation.

Mr. Gaylord assigned staff members on his paper to prepare articles about Oklahoma's possibilities as a tourist center * * * if there was water. He dug into the chances of bringing new industries to Oklahoma * * * if there was water. R. G. Miller, columnist for Mr. Gaylord's Times, thumped his drums for years on the same subject and was one of the early advocates of a State-owned resort lodge. Nobody, at that time, dreamed there was a chance of having more than one.

Eventually wheels turned. Legislation was enacted in Washington and in Oklahoma. One big lake after another was built and with the lakes came the more urgent need for public accommodations.

Lake Murray Lodge was first. Now there are six. If Oklahoma will build lodges in its seven other State parks remains to be seen.

But if the investors continue to want Oklahoma bonds the chances are that still more lodges will be built. Like most new enterprises the newest lodges have had a few troubles but their operators and the officials of the State Planning and Resources Board are confident they will become successes like their predecessor at Lake Murray.

Address by Hon. Alan Bible Before Jacksonian Democratic Club, Easton, Pa., May 8, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

SPEECH BY HON. ALAN BIBLE, OF NEVADA, AT THE 61ST ANNUAL BANQUET, JACKSONIAN DEMOCRATIC CLUB, EASTON, PA., MAY 8, 1957

Mr. Chairman and fellow Democrats, it's a pleasure to be here tonight. Democrats all over the Nation have been joining the past few weeks in Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners, and it always gives me a great deal of pleasure to delve into the historical past of our party and pause to reexamine the basic concepts of our Democracy as created by Jefferson and Jackson.

I want to compliment you of the 15th Congressional District here in Pennsylvania for recognizing that in this great Democratic Party of ours we need honest, capable leadership. You have demonstrated this by electing my good friend, FRANCIS E. WALTER, to the United States Congress for 13 consecutive terms.

Your Congressman is a great Democrat, one who recognizes the many troublesome problems facing our Nation today. You should also take pride that your Congressman, along with my illustrious predecessor, the late Senator Pat McCarran, of Nevada, like some of our great political forefathers, had the courage and foresight to go forward with a complete codification of our complex immigration laws, resulting in what we now know as the Walter-McCarran Act.

In this regard you might be interested in knowing that Senator McCarran always laughingly said that when anyone praised the immigration law it was called the Walter-McCarran Act; but when they cussed it out, which was the more usual attitude, it was referred to as the McCarran-Walter Act.

Whatever one may call it—it stands as the product of the fortitude of two strong men—strong in that they stood up against violent pressures and antagonisms from all sides.

Few people understood what these two men were trying to do, or what they did—namely, to bring order out of chaos by putting together the many hundreds of amendments, all affecting our immigration laws, so that our system might operate as it was

intended to do—which was to protect this great country from conquest by immigration—the inevitable result had our doors been thrown wide open to all of those who sought to come here.

Through all of our history, we have welcomed immigrants who came to make America their home and become a part of all it means. They came because they believed in our form of government. They did not come here to destroy it, as was the intention of many individuals and certainly of some other countries, anxious to bend us to their will.

It was good that some recognized the possibility of the internal destruction of this great democracy, if the Communist design of patient planting of their agents here among us could have been carried to the ultimate.

Thank God for farsighted men who will bear the scorn and pressures, rather than take one chance on sacrificing the freedom this country has enjoyed since Thomas Jefferson and his kind molded this fine Government some one hundred and eighty years ago.

It is imperative that we, as Democrats, support men for election who have such constructive ideas, those who can examine present-day policies—and offer the leadership and intelligence that will stand through the years.

Men, such as Thomas Jefferson, the founder of our democracy; and Andrew Jackson, soldier, lawyer, and statesman—were men of action.

It has been said: Few men write their own epitaphs, but it was like Thomas Jefferson to do so—and from the long inventory of his honors and achievements, he selected three items by which he wished to be judged by his Maker and fellowman. He discarded all the honors that had been conferred upon him, ignored all the offices he had filled, and simply inscribed upon his tomb, the fact that he had written the Declaration of Independence and the Virginia Statute for Religious Liberty, and had founded the University of Virginia.

In making this selection, Jefferson showed remarkable insight into his own character and estimated with remarkable accuracy the verdict of posterity upon his public services.

It has been said of Andrew Jackson, that he taught the people to rule. Jackson believed "It is better in the long run that the people should rule themselves badly, than that another should rule them well." Here he expressed true democracy.

In Jackson's era, the people had still not learned to rule. They made many grievous mistakes, but they made a great step upward when they wrested the powers of government from the hands of the few and placed them where they belonged in a democracy—in the hands of many.

Jackson, in winning the Presidency, admonished the people that it was not the prerequisite of any favored class or condition of society, but that the humblest might aspire to it and achieve it by merit alone.

Jackson was the incarnation of a popular hope, the realization of a popular ambition. He was, to the people, a demonstration. The people had learned to rule.

We have a solid foundation for all America, in Jefferson's Declaration of Independence; and we have now, and have always had, men in the Democratic Party, willing to give this type of advanced leadership.

I have great faith in the American people. We all make mistakes, and most of us properly acknowledge them. I am also firm in my belief that the mistake made by the voters in electing a Republican President in 1956 is now being recognized and will be rectified in 1960. In the meantime, we need to strengthen our Congress with men who will not kowtow and acquiesce to a vacillating leadership.

One only needs to read the headlines in the daily papers to recognize the type of leadership the Republican Party is offering America today. Often, the confusing and conflicting remarks of the Republican leaders offer more laughs than the comic strips.

Over the past weekend, while the President was teeing off on 3 different golf course in 3 different States—on 3 different days—congressional leaders of his own party, the Republican Party, were teeing off on their own party's Republican platform and legislative program as advanced by their own Republican President.

Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, Republican of Arizona, was the first to tee off—and he did this on the all-time high, peacetime budget, advanced by his party's leader, President Eisenhower. Republican GOLDWATER said he was against this topheavy budget and would oppose unnecessary expenditures. He went a little further, in an essay on modern Republicanism, in one of the Nation's leading magazines. He stated therein that in 1953, Republican Party philosophy was referred to as "dynamic Republicanism." That was followed by "progressive conservatism," which was followed by "middle of the road," and now is known as "modern Republicanism." He referred to these Madison Avenue catch phrases as "meaningless platitudes," and continued that it was impossible for a political party to remain vigorous and strong if it is constantly plagued by shadings and changes in its philosophy and purpose.

Senator WILLIAM KNOWLAND, Republican minority leader in the Senate, was not to be outdone. Sparked by this beautiful mashie shot of GOLDWATER's, he immediately picked up his club and teed off on President Eisenhower's Federal aid-to-education program, declaring it was not needed now, even though he, along with other Republicans, were espousing the great need for this national program when they sought the voters' support at the last election.

Meade Alcorn, recently named chairman of the Republican National Committee, and the President's personal choice for the post—was teeing off at a western conference of Republican leaders in Salt Lake City. He stated that it was high time the Republicans in Congress and in the Nation joined together and sold the Eisenhower farm policy to the farmers of America. Apparently Mr. Alcorn did not realize that Republican Secretary of Agriculture, EZRA TAFT BENSON, had teed off a few days earlier and stated he was not satisfied with the way and manner the agriculture policy was working. Well, I don't know many farmers that are satisfied either.

I want to tell you here tonight, the Madison Avenue advertising boys did the greatest selling job in their careers when they sold a Republican platform—now one of unfilled promises—and a Republican President to the people of this Nation.

Of course, all the boys in the advertising game were after was that 15 and 2 percent commission.

The American people are now seeing what can happen when they bite on an advertising gimmick that favors a form of government offering coupon clipping and giveaways to only the favored business interests of our Nation.

We Democrats have in the past and now stand for a program of giving equal opportunities to all—and I believe the majority of voters are sick and tired of receiving Republican packages of void and unredeemable promises.

I think we owe a vote of thanks to the President's brother Edgar, who while recently visiting the Nation's Capital and his brother, enlightened the American voters further on the White House palace guard and the extravagant budget. In fact I'm told on reliable authority—that "I Like Edgar" buttons are now more popular than "I Like Ike" buttons.

Gov. Orville Freeman, of Minnesota, stated the President was going on the radio to defend his alltime high budget—and the Republicans in Congress had made a request of the networks for equal time.

Personally, I'm looking forward to this radio talk. If the President can give a fresh and vigorous viewpoint for the need of this budget—one without contradiction—I'm certain we all will welcome the explanation.

As you remember, when our great Democratic Congressman and House Speaker, SAM RAYBURN, received the President's budget, he was told, as were other Congressmen, that Members should examine the budget and make cuts if they could find unnecessary expenditures.

Republican Secretary Humphrey stated that if it wasn't cut we'd have a depression that would curl our hair. The House of Representatives, in all seriousness, and realizing the American taxpayer was in no mood for foolish expenditures—after much study, called on the President, to make recommendations in cutting his proposed expenditures.

Following several days and many news articles, the President was quoted as saying at his regular press conference, and I quote, "I tell you it is futile to talk about the United States keeping up the position it must keep up in the world, and measurably sticking to the programs that have already been adopted in the United States, or have been agreed to be necessary, and cut the budget severely."

Now, less than 2 weeks later, the President notified the Congress that the budget could be cut approximately a billion and a half dollars.

I sincerely hope the people of the Nation are following these quotes—this on and off again policy of modern Republicanism. I would welcome a third explanation—although I feel it hardly necessary—for this 85th Democratic Congress, that is now charged with holding the pursestrings, has already and will continue to make sizable cuts.

This Democratic Congress recognizes where the money is going—and where it comes from; and, in spite of the pleas from the Republican executive branch of the Government, they intend to tighten the pursestrings.

We Democrats recognize good American citizens have never refused a just budget, particularly if they thought the money was being spent wisely and on worthy projects for building a greater Nation.

We need to tell our people that the Republican Party leaders who told us they would economize, who would end growing bureaucracy, who couldn't fathom large Government budgets—have at long last caught on—and are expanding in a wreckless and disastrous fashion.

A very eminent and distinguished gentelman, speaking up in Paterson, N. J., a few years back, had this to say: "I don't know what the amount of taxes represents when we talk of $70 billion. Is that this room full of bills, or is it three truck loads? I don't know. But I do know this—we can't afford what we're spending and stay strong enough to lead the world to peace."

Yes, that was Candidate Eisenhower speaking in 1952. Well, it is apparent to Congress that he still doesn't realize how much money this is—for he is now asking for more—and this, mind you, in peacetime.

We need to tell the voters of America that this party, so concerned with growing bureaucracy, is now employing more people than ever, with 2½ million on Government payrolls, exclusive of the military—just a slight increase of 46,000 employees over the last calendar year.

In January of 1957 the Government had the biggest payroll ever, a monthly payroll of $1 billion. It also had an increase for

the month of nearly 3,500 employees. It is no wonder the President finds it necessary to defend his budget—for I can tell you that few Democratic Members of Congress will come to his defense.

It was interesting for me to learn that the first general tax laid down by the United States in 1798, a tax calling for payment of a special levy on houses and windows—led to the Fries rebellion—known then as the liberty insurrection, and that this rebellion was actually opposed by residents of your fine city of Easton. These residents did not go along with the views of the leaders of the rebellion, who thought the tax was being collected to finance a war with France.

I hope you all remember these famous remarks which were made 4 years ago, and I quote: "Certainly I know that we must find a substitute for the purely temporary business of bolstering the free nations through annual handouts, that get neither permanent nor real friends"—that was Candidate Eisenhower speaking—however, now we are led to believe by this administration that we should finance practically every nation on the face of the globe.

Four long years have elapsed since this classic statement was made and we're still in the same boat. Only now we have added some 19 nations to our coattails who formerly were not receiving foreign-aid assistance.

The Republican Party, despite President Eisenhower's victory in November, remains a sectional party. It does not have the nationwide responsibilities or accountability to the voters as a whole. A sectional party can promise the voters the moon with a fence around it, as long as it doesn't offend the voters of its own particular region. It can say anything that is expedient, with a blithe disregard for the consequences.

The Democratic Party does not and will not have that advantage. We cannot compete with the Republicans on the basis of promises. But, we can outperform the Republicans—and as long as we do this, the promises that we do make will ring in the ears of the voter with conviction.

The 84th Congress, under the leadership of LYNDON JOHNSON and SAM RAYBURN, was a Congress of performance. I sometimes feel that one of our major errors last fall was a failure to exploit the record of the 84th Congress and drive it home to the American people.

It was the Congress that passed the dollar minimum wage.

It was the Congress that lowered the retirement age for women.

It was the Congress that provided disability payments to our workingmen at age of 50.

It was the Congress that increased Federal payments for assistance to the aged, blind, and dependent children.

It was the Congress that enacted the highway bill—after deleting Republican efforts designed to provide a windfall for the favored few.

It was the Congress that kept public housing alive despite the best efforts of the Republicans to kill it.

These were only a few of the achievements. But they serve as the basis for my confidence that the 85th Congress—still in Democratic hands—will go on to even greater performance.

A political party must always face up to the problems of the present and the future. But its proposals will always have greater appeal when the American people realize and know that it has performed in the past.

We've been moving rather cautiously so far in this session of Congress, but we've found out many things that will give us the energy and ammuntion for exposing the unstable policies offered by our opponents.

Yes, we've been untangling the maze of figures and policies, and we're ready for action.

I predict as I stand here tonight that the 85th Democratic Congress will not let the American public down.

We have exercised patience—awaiting sane leadership from the executive branch of Government—without success.

We shall now tee off on our own, and continue to formulate legislation that will guide America onward.

A Bill To Preserve the Distinctive Character of Military Uniforms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL J. KILDAY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, military men should be proud of the uniform they wear. It is a symbol to all that the individual follows the honored profession of arms in our country's defense.

Since the close of World War II, it has not always been possible for the men in uniform to feel that pride. This has come about because surplus or excess stores of uniforms have been sold upon the open market. Instead of being the pride of his honored profession the military man has seen his uniform used as work clothing or worn by those engaged in menial tasks. This has been particularly true of the Army uniform.

Rather recently the Air Force has adopted its blue uniform. None of those uniforms have thus far been disposed of on the open market. The Army is in the process of converting to its new green uniforms. The Marines are currently planning uniform changes.

This is the proper time to take steps to preserve the distinctive character of all the uniforms of our armed services.

I have today offered a bill, the purpose of which is to prevent the disposal of military uniforms to persons not authorized to wear the same until all distinctive markings and insignia have been removed and the distinctive character thereof termined by dying such uniforms black.

I believe that my bill will promote the morale and pride of the armed services by preventing the misuse of their distinctive uniforms. It will minimize the desire for the change in uniform shades and material which comes about from the use of the uniform by others than members of our armed services.

My bill reads as follows:

A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, concerning the sale or disposal of uniforms

Be it enacted, etc., That section 771 of title 10, United States Code is amended—

(1) By inserting the designation "(a)" before the words "Except as otherwise provided by law"; and

(2) By adding the following new subsection:

"(b) Prior to the disposal by sale or otherwise, except to persons authorized to wear the uniform or distinctive parts of the uniform of the Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps, the Secretary of the military department concerned, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Defense, shall cause to be removed from such uniforms, or parts thereof, including blouses, shirts, jackets, overcoats, hats, caps, or any other type of clothing worn as an outer garment, distinctive insignia, including buttons, chevrons, unit designations, and all other insignia or distinctive marks; and in addition, all such uniforms or parts thereof, shall be dyed black."

Retarded Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under previously granted leave to extend my remarks, I am enclosing three articles which appeared in the Fort Worth Star Telegram. The articles were written by Blair Justice and comprise the conclusion of a series he has written on the subject of retarded children.

The articles follow:

CAUSES OF RETARDATION MAY GIVE SOME ANSWERS TOWARD PREVENTION

(By Blair Justice)

Prevention is the magic word in the vocabulary of mental retardation authorities, regardless of whether you're talking about the trainable or any group of the retarded.

The hope for the future lies in finding ways to prevent retardation from afflicting 3 of every 100 births (assuming that figure is correct).

Can it be done? Can ways be found?

There is no categorical answer.

It's true that more and more cases of certain types of retardation are being prevented. It's also true that many others cannot be prevented until science determines the causes.

DEFEATIST ATTITUDE

Some people tend to have a defeatist attitude toward retardation. Privately they emphasize their impression that the biggest percentage of retardation is inherited. And they ask, what can you do about that? How can you remake genes, the carriers of heredity?

It is wrong to say that heredity causes no cases of retardation. But it is also wrong, the best informed medical authorities contend, to say that heredity is responsible for the majority of retarded cases and that nothing therefore can be done.

Some authorities blame a discredited study published in 1912 for leading scientific thought astray on the subject of retardation and heredity. This was the story of The Kallikak Family.

A social worker presumed to trace the descendants of a Revolutionary War soldier named Martin Kallikak who had children by both a "subnormal" barmaid and by his legal wife, who was normal.

The findings: Those making up the first family tree generally turned out to be poor and dull, those descending from the legal union were bright, solid citizens. The conclusion: Retardation is inherited and passed on from generation to generation.

ERRONEOUS CONCLUSION

Authorities who have gone back and examined The Kallikak Family have found that it was not a scientific study, that environmental differences in the two family trees were not taken into consideration and that people who concluded from it that retardation is necessarily hereditary were just indudiging in a popular misconception.

"More recent studies have brought to light ample evidence to prove that more than half of all cases of mental retardation come from causes which have nothing to do with inheritance," states Walter Jacob, director of the Training School at Vineland, N. J.

What are some of these causes, and can they be prevented?

Scientists say many can. These include certain (1) causes before birth—German measles, hepatitis, and other diseases infecting the pregnant mother; (2) causes during birth—long and difficult labor, very rapid delivery, difficult forceps delivery; (3) causes after birth—inflammation of the brain from complications of whooping cough, chicken pox, measles, or polio.

MANY CAUSES UNKNOWN

Even so, Dr. Herman Yannet lists a whopping 35 percent of retardation causes as "unknown," and these, he believes, are prenatal in origin. Dr. Yannet, on the staff of Southbury Training School, Southbury, Conn., and Yale University, is the author of Advances in Pediatrics.

As for causes definitely hereditary, some authorities feel that minds should not be closed on the possibility that even these may someday be subject to moderation by science.

"It used to be supposed that hereditary factors were immutable (unchangeable). Although we haven't yet come up with ways to change the genes themselves, we are developing ways in which the undesirable manifestations may be mitigated," says Elizabeth M. Boggs, Ph. D., a vice president of the National Association for Retarded Children.

"A tendency to diabetes," continues Dr. Boggs, "is certainly hereditary and yet the worst effects of this disease can now be offset by insulin treatment.

"It appears that we may be able to develop comparable treatments for certain effects of a mental nature which are genetically determined."

DREAD OF PARENTS

It is one of the ironies of society that it is disrespectable to have weak genes causing slow wit or dullness yet it is perfectly respectable to inherit constitutional factors that predispose one to a weak stomach or diabetes.

Dr. Gretchen Hermann Runge, pediatrician at the Austin State School whose husband and father are also physicians, mentioned at least two major problems that the average practicing physician encounters in connection with mental retardation.

1. Concerned parents want a definite, conclusive answer as to whether their child is or is not retarded and this is not always possible to give, particularly right at brith of the child. "In the largest percent of the cases," says Dr. Runge, "you can't tell right away."

2. Even after the physician decides in his own mind a child is retarded, "he hates to tell the parents"—like anyone else, he doesn't particularly want to be the one to break the news. "He may hold out too high hopes to them," she said.

This series has not dwelt on the causes of retardation because the fact remains that there are an estimated 19,970 trainable mentally retarded children of school age in Texas. The question is not what caused them to get that way but what is to be done for them.

CONTACT WITH RETARDED INCREASES TOLERANCE, PATIENCE, LOVE IN OTHERS

(By Blair Justice)

The father turned his head away before answering. He loked out the window and said, "I do believe some good has come of our having retarded children.

"My wife and I know a lot more about patience and tolerance and love than we could have ever understood if we hadn't had these children."

A mother with a mongoloid son and two normal children said:

"Having a retarded brother hasn't hurt my other children. I think it will make them better persons in the long run. It will make them more tolerant of people less fortunate than themselves."

And from a doctor at the Austin State School:

"Retardation can draw a family closer together. Why? Because the other children have to make sacrifices and extra provisions. Any time you have something in a family that teaches members unselfishness you draw them closer together."

NOTHING TO DO WITH IT

Finally, from a State legislator: "I have never been able to understand people who are superior or self-righteous about being normal. I try always to remember that I had nothing to do with the fortunate fact that I am normal."

Because this series has tried to avoid anonymity on any phase of retardation, the people who made these statements will be named. They are: Jack Holland, dean of men at the University of Texas; Mrs. LaVerne Biser, of 4324 Donnelly; Dr. Gretchen Runge; and Representative Howard Green, of Fort Worth, who is coauthor of the house bill for trainable classes.

Dr. Runge and Green had no retarded children of their own. But the doctor has noticed tolerance, love, and understanding in the makeup of normal brothers and sisters of the retarded at the Austin State School.

She has watched these brothers and sisters during visits at the State school and she has seen in them tolerance and understanding not just toward their retarded sibling but toward people in general.

Perhaps some psychiatrists have theories on the tolerance, patience, and understanding displayed by many of those in close contact with a retarded child. Freudians probably could point to all sorts of psychological or mental mechanisms employed: Sublimation, transference, rationalization and, as one physician (not a psychiatrist) explained it—"overcompensation."

CHARACTERISTICS THERE

Regardless of what the root of these qualities of character is—and regardless of why they are manifested—the fact remains that they appear to be present in many of the parents and siblings of the retarded. Many seem to speak with a softer voice and extend a kinder hand.

A reaction that could be described as "overcompensation," authorities say, may be part of the picture when sympathy, compassion, and attention are overdone—sometimes to the detriment of the potential of the retarded child and the welfare of the normal sibling.

Since parents are individuals and families differ, no generalization can be made as to how they will react to retardation.

Mrs. Gussie Backers, of 2737 Merrimac, whose 16-year-old daughter Jean is in the West Van Zandt Elementary School class for the trainable, states she was worried about her daughter's illness or affliction but wasn't frustrated. "We all loved her, never tried to hide her, took her to public gatherings. I made no difference in the children (the mother also has a normal daughter) except she required a little more care physically. Jean has never embarrassed me or caused me not to have company in my home or have a full social life."

The degree of care, of course, will depend in large part on the degree of retardation and physical involvement. Jean has a paralysis on the right side but has coordination to the extent that she can dance and help with household chores.

DIFFERENT REACTIONS

Parents also react differently in their expression of tolerance, love, and understanding.

Mr. and Mrs. Alvin T. Hughes of 932 East Arlington are the parents of an 8-year-old retarded boy, "Bunny." While taking the son to doctors' offices and clinics, Mrs. Hughes noticed other retarded children and thought that maybe some of these might need care outside of their home.

About 2½ years ago, she read a story in the Star-Telegram about a retarded child who had been abandoned. Mrs. Hughes called authorities about taking the child but relatives had already provided him a home.

She was told, however, that there was another retarded boy who needed a home. The Hugheses welcomed him with open arms. Soon there were others taken in and the family began to grow until now the couple are caring for six retarded children.

Mr. and Mrs. Hughes moved to a larger house but are now looking for even a bigger home so more children can be cared for. With the help of one maid, Mrs. Hughes gives care to the children, most of whom are custodial cases, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Hughes works at Convair. The couple's nonprofit project is called Sunshine Haven.

ANOTHER HELPER

Mrs. Lawrence E. Stocker of 2306 Sixth Avenue, is another who has reached out to help the retarded of others. She teaches and trains so-called brain-injured children in her home and is working with Dr. Paul Moore of Northwestern University, on a study of these children.

Parents see the blessings of having a retarded child in different ways.

This is the way James R. MacPherson, who is working on his doctorate at the University of Texas, and his wife look upon their 8-year-old retarded son, Bruce:

"In a sense you can love your retarded child longer. Ours will always be a child no matter how old he is. He's a sweet child and will probably always remain innocent."

For others the age of innocence passes so quickly.

PHILOSOPHY, PRACTICAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN PLANS FOR RETARDED

(By Blair Justice)

The proposal to make trainable mentally retarded children eligible for State-supported classes for the handicapped in local school districts still has several hurdles to mount.

The senate passed Tuesday an amended version of the original bill. Proponents hope to get the bill converted to its original form before final legislative action.

A trainable bill in the house is not expected to be considered in committee before 15 to 20 days, said Representative Sandahl of Austin, bill sponsor. He estimated it would take another week before the house as a whole would consider the proposal.

This series has two concluding points to touch upon:

1. The philosophy of the bill for the trainable that will become law if the legislature gives final approval;

2. The practical problems that local school district will face.

TRAINABLE EXCLUDED

In a democracy it is the theory that laws are supposed to be just and discriminate against none.

In 1949, when the 51st legislature wrote into law the right of mentally retarded children to attend State-supported local school classes for the handicapped, many thought that meant the trainable as well as the educable.

Since that time educators have established a more definitive demarcation between the trainable and the educable. Because the 1949 law used the words "any child of educable mind," it was later decided that this did not include the trainable mentally retarded.

Hence, any child who could not learn such things as reading, writing and arithmetic was excluded from special education classes supported by the State.

This shut the door on the retarded child who could learn such things as self-care, social adjustment and usefulness to himself and others. Whether such things are "education" and such children the responsibility of the schools is a point already discussed.

BILL INSERTS WORD

Regardless of whose responsibility they are, proponents of classes for the trainable contended that in this country a person's rights are not measured by his potential. They say all persons, no matter what their mentality, should have equal opportunity to develop their potential, no matter how small.

This is one "philosophy" of the house bill admitting the trainable to State-supported classes for the handicapped.

All the bill does is to insert the word "trainable" in the already existing law making mentally retarded children eligible for special education classes.

Twenty-four States now have laws providing funds for trainable programs in public schools. In 19 the decision to establish the program is left up to the local school district.

Almost every law has what could be called the "practical side." The Texas bill for the trainable is not without practical problems. But there are those who say that the problem of implementing a law is one thing and the question of whether a law should exist, for the sake of justice and fairness, is another.

LOCAL MATTERS

Many of these practical problems would fall on the local school districts and in some cases could be so insurmountable as to make classes for the trainable impossible. But these would be matters for local citizens, not a State law, to decide.

If schools were not dependent on things like taxes and teachers, the problems of opening special classes for the trainable would be greatly reduced.

But schools do rely on teachers and taxes and such practical problems as these would have to be faced:

1. Classes for the trainable are comparatively expensive and allotments from the State would not likely cover the costs in all districts.

2. Certified special education teachers are scarce. Inducements in the form of bonuses often must be offered to obtain them.

3. No provisions are being considered by the State for helping local school districts set up, or pay for needed psychological and diagnostic facilities to determine which children are trainable and which aren't.

NO ANSWERS YET

4. If State department of education figures are correct, schools in Texas are failing to take care of vast numbers of the educable mentally retarded. If a local district has just so much money for classes for the mentally handicapped, are the educable or trainable to come first?

These are some of the problems school administrators foresee and as yet cannot answer.

There are other problems which will probably be answered for them by the Texas Education Agency and other authorities if legislation providing classes for the trainable passes both chambers.

These include: How long are the trainable to be trained and when are they to be "graduated" by the schools? Must the trainable mentally retarded be put in regular public school buildings? Can classes for them be held in separate facilities, where there will be no intermingling with normal pupils?

Some authorities say the cost would be the biggest problem in most school districts.

TEACHER SHORTAGE

Figures from the Fort Worth public schools show that the class for the trainable at West Van Zandt Elementary School, supported strictly by local taxes, costs approximately $5,000 a year. The breakdown per pupil is estimated at $500 a year. The average for the education of normal pupils in the elementary school division is $227.84. (But this is on the basis of thousands more pupils and larger classes).

State Department of Education data show that if the trainable were admitted to State-supported classes, the average paid a local school district would be $4,003 per unit. However, this is figuring the State bears 84 percent of the cost and the local district 16 percent (which would be true in a Statewide average). In a big city school district such as Fort Worth, the local district bears about 50 percent of the cost in special education, it was estimated here.

Other authorities contend the shortage of teachers would be the biggest problem; still others say lack of psychological and screening facilities would be the biggest.

Senators Bracewell of Houston and Aikin of Paris, two of the authors of the trainable bill, do not exclude the possibility of the need, and necessity, for local tax money, direct contributions and fees to supplement State funds for classes for the trainable.

Senator Aikin looks upon the cost question this way:

"If only a few children a year in each district are developed to the extent that they won't have to become wards of the State, the program will pay for itself."

But the true question is, say those supporting the legislation, which is more important at this point, cost estimates or the right of a child?

Representative Green, of Fort Worth, who is supporting the trainable bill of Representative Sandahl has a philosophy toward the rights of the retarded that can be summed up this way:

"There, but for the grace of God, go I."

Speech by Hon. Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia, at the Banquet of the Hampton Roads Maritime Association, Norfolk, Va., May 9, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, the senior Senator from the Commonwealth of Virginia, Hon. HARRY F. BYRD, on May 9, 1957, delivered a memorable address before the Hampton Roads Maritime Association in Norfolk, Va. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following complete text of his address.

I commend Senator BYRD in the highest terms upon the forthright and courageous manner in which he pointed out the dangers and evils of the iniquitous so-called civil rights bills now pending:

Now I am going to speak about civil rights, and especially about civil rights bills pending in Congress. This is a matter of tremendous consequence to all of us.

There are 15 or 20 of these civil rights bills, and while I regret to say so, this is punitive legislation to punish the South. That's all it is. Their purpose is to punish us because we will not submit to the Federal Government in Washington—or may I say the Supreme Court—when we believe what we are doing is eminently constitutional, and to follow their bidding would destroy our public-school system.

One of these bills is especially offensive, and I shall submit my discussion to that one. It would establish in Washington a special bureau which would send its grants into the South and originate suits against southerners. They could go anywhere, of course. They could go to the North, the East, and the West. There have been riots and hangings outside the South. But this is an anti-South bureau.

When its agents originate cases against southern people they would be tried in Federal courts without jury, subjected to contempt of court proceedings, and so forth.

I often think of those great Virginians who established our form of government—Jefferson, Madison, and Mason—on the basis that States were sovereign, and that the Federal Government should have no power except that delegated to it by the States, and it could be withdrawn by constitutional amendment.

I wonder what those great men would think of a Federal bureau established to go into Southern States originating suits against their citizens as punishment for conforming with State constitutions and laws.

What have we done to deserve this treatment? We have fought for constitutional democracy. We fought for it in 1860. We fought to the last ditch with the most conspicuous bravery in human history. Finally, in defeat by sheer numbers, we won everlasting world esteem.

We took our defeat with fortitude as we went through the terrible days of reconstruction. As I watch us handing out billions to defeated nations of World War II, I think of the kind of Marshall plan the carpetbaggers brought into the South to aid our reconstruction.

Since the War Between the States, as before, no section of the country has contributed more, in any respect, to the defense of the United States than the South. Yet we are to be punished because we disagree with Federal decree singularly designed to destroy the oldest way of life in the Nation.

Let me be frank, we southerners are fighting this thing with our backs to the wall, but what we lack in numbers we make up in our determination and will to protect our Southern States and the welfare of our people. We know that our form of government cannot exist over the years if States are to be mere provinces of a central government.

I never expected to see the day when the Attorney General of the United States appeared before Congress and requested the right to abolish in civil rights cases the inherent privilege that Anglo-Saxons have enjoyed for centuries—trial by a jury of our peers.

I joined with the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND] and the junior

Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] in introducing S. 1735, a bill to amend title 18, United States Code.

This bill simply guarantees the right of trial by jury in criminal contempt cases except, of course, when the contempt is committed in the presence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere directly with the administration of justice. It gives to all the same right to jury trial in criminal contempts as is presently granted by the code in labor disputes.

Our bill has been castigated by the Department of Justice as an attempt "to emasculate" the President's "program" by "deceptive appeals for the protection of the right to jury trial."

Regardless of the intentions of Senator EASTLAND, Senator THURMOND, and myself, it is charged—and I might add the innuendo is that our intention is subtle, devious, and evil—"this is a dangerously deceptive proposal." It is said to be "a clever device to nullify the proposed civil rights legislation."

On April 5 last, Mr. Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, addressed the ninth annual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, the subject of which, it seems, was mainly a criticism of our bill and the reasons why he did not want or like jury trials.

His opening sentence stated that enactment of the President's program would give to the Government, for the first time, the authority necessary for effectual enforcement of federally guaranteed civil rights.

Mr. Olney believes that the existing legal tools available do not permit the Department effective action. He wants to abolish jury trial for speed and remove any uncertainty of conviction. Time and again the Department's attention has been called to the numerous existing civil rights statutes on the books, both civil and criminal, the existence of which the Department is well aware. Yet, these extraordinary remedies are demanded, without the safeguards in the Bill of Rights. The truth of the matter is this: As to the criminal statutes, the Department will have none of them because they are placed under the burden of proving their cases in conformance with proper criminal processes. Proof is too hard, they claim. The Department wants quick convictions through Federal judges—not juries which have always and historically stood between the prosecutor and the defendant.

Speed is the order of the day with no accountability.

Mr. Olney complains that juries do not convict, and that there are too many acquittals. What has happend to our great maxims of innocent until proved guilty?

The advocates of these civil-rights measures say that the injunction provides a quick, "tailormade" remedy in this area. It is true that constitutional safeguards provided in judy trials make the punishment of an act as a crime a slower process.

Constitutional guaranties do render action in the democratic process slower, more cumbersome than actions by totalitarian states. Yet, should any constitutional guaranty be surrendered for the sake of quickness and ease?

We should remember that the Founding Fathers established constitutional guaranties because they loathed bureaucratic and judicial tyranny.

The proponents of these measures also say that the injunctive remedy will be free of prejudice and bias, sometimes shown by local juries. But, they fail to take into account the situation and possible prejudice of the judge.

In plain words, the Attorney General and his aids are not willing to trust their so-called civil rights to jury trial and say that juries may be too prejudiced to render decisions in accordance with the oaths they take. They want to make Federal judges, appointed by recommendation of the Federal Attorney General, the judge and the prosecutor from whose decisions there can be no appeal in contempt proceedings.

I am reliably informed that a Federal judge stated from the bench before hearing evidence or arguments on an integration case that he was inclined "to throw the whole case out of the window." This he did by reading a decision prepared before the hearing.

This judge further said from the bench, "The integration problem will never be resolved in Virginia until we have a different political leadership." This remark evidently had reference to the coming campaign when the effort will be made to elect a Republican Governor of Virginia.

Had Judge Hoffman rendered his decision in an orderly and judicial fashion, I would have no word of criticism, but to decide before hearing arguments and make bombastic and political statements from the bench is not the way to conduct judicial procedure.

We vest great power in our judges and expect decisions to be rendered after due hearings and without prejudice or predetermination.

Judge Hoffman must have known that he was dealing with a very explosive subject and that such a display of arrogance and prejudice from the bench could not fail to cause bitter resentment and inflame public opinion.

This is the greatest democracy in the history of the world. It has grown to this position in the brief span of 160 years, and with only 6 percent of the world's population. This could not have been achieved without the form of government bequeathed us as a sacred heritage by our forefathers.

Strike down the power of States to control their own affairs, and concentrate all power in Washington, and you strike at the heart of what makes this Nation great.

To me the decision of the Supreme Court abolishing segregation and compelling integration in States and local public school systems was a vicious and destructive invasion of States rights.

It set aside all previous decisions by the Supreme Court on the subject, including the 1928 decision by Chief Justice Taft, a great and learned man and a former President of the United States, who held segregation was constitutional if separate equal facilities were provided. I don't want to say anything personal about the present Supreme Court, which repealed the Taft decision, but if I must choose between a decision rendered by the late Chief Justice Taft or by Chief Justice Warren, it doesn't take me long to make the decision.

Again, in 1896, the Supreme Court rendered a decision approving equal but separate public schools. So, we have over 100 years of approval of various Supreme Courts then existing of segregated schools. Has this present Supreme Court all the ability that our great Justices through the long years have lacked?

This vicious recent decision did violence to State constitutions and laws, and even to Federal laws which provided segregation in the District of Columbia schools. It influenced 101 Members of the United States Congress to take the unprecedented action of signing a solemn manifesto holding that the decision was an illegal usurpation of power.

It would strike down a way of life in the United States which has been developed over a period of 160 years and, if enforced, it will destroy our great public school system.

I have had the great privilege of representing Virginians in various capacities for 40 years. I think I know something about conditions in Virginia. In my judgment, integration cannot be enforced in a majority of Virginia communities, I do not believe it is favored in any of them. How can we operate a public school system in Virginia when a majority of the communities have withdrawn? A little deeper in the South no communities will participate in an integrated system.

Let's be sure we understand the situation. Virginia has been selected by the NAACP and the Federal Government for their first onslaught. There are several reasons for this choice. In Virginia we have some communities where integration offers little problem. They believe if Virginia can be forced to surrender, it would have great effect on the fighting spirit in the rest of the South. No Federal suits have been started in South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, and other Southern States.

As in the War Between the States, Virginia will be the first battleground. It should be noted that these school suits have already been started in Virginia. They have chosen to wage war on Virginia because they think our communities are divided. I think they will learn their mistake.

But there is an ordeal ahead. In my judgment, we have the courage and the fortitude to meet the challenge. We are already fighting, and we shall continue to fight to preserve our public school system, and that is precisely the objective of the laws recently passed by the Virginia General Assembly.

We are fighting, too, to preserve States rights which the vicious Supreme Court decision would destroy. We are facing a situation which is not only more serious than anything we have known in our day, but more serious than anything since the War Between the States. Our cause is right, and I pray we will meet our great responsibilities with calm but strong determination—but we must not let one act of personal violence mar our record for law and order.

I wish to make another observation. We hear it said that a Supreme Court decision, illegal and vicious or not, should be obeyed without question. To those who say we must, without protest, obey this Supreme Court decision, let me name just a few great Americans of the past who commented on this same subject:

Lincoln said at Chicago, July 10, 1858, speaking of the Supreme Court decision in the Dred-Scott case:

"Somebody has to reverse that decision, since it is made, and we mean to reverse it, and we mean to do it peaceably."

Thomas Jefferson said in a letter to Spencer Roane, 1824:

"The great object of my fear is the Federal Judiciary. That body, like gravity, ever acting, with noiseless foot, and unalarming advance, gaining ground step by step, and holding what it gains, is engulfing insidiously the special governments into the jaws of that which feeds them."

Remark attributed to Andrew Jackson, July 10, 1832:

(After the Supreme Court had rendered a decision relative to missionaries and the Cherokee Indians whom they had incited to resist the policy of the State of Georgia, difficulty was encountered in enforcing the decision.) President Jackson commented, "Well, John Marshall (who had pronounced the decision) has made his decision: Now let him enforce it."

Remark attributed to President Grant:

He was asked the question: "President Grant, they have struck down the Legal Tender Act giving character to the greenbacks with which you won the war. Do you acquiesce?" "Acquiesce? Never. I will reconstitute that Court." And he did.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in a radio fireside chat March 9, 1937, said:

"The Court, in addition to the proper use of its judicial functions, has improperly set itself up as a third House of the Congress—a superlegislature, as one of the Justices has called it—reading into the Constitution words and implications which are not there, and which were never intended to be there. We have reached the point as a nation where

we must take action to save the Constitution from the Court and the Court from itself. We must find a way to take an appeal from the Supreme Court to the Constitution itself. We want a Supreme Court which will do justice under the Constitution, not over it. In our courts we want a government of laws, and not of men."

We are not demanding that the Justices be thrown out and the Court packed, as Mr. Roosevelt did. We are simply asking the Court to consider the damage it has done, reverse itself, and go back to the Taft decision of 1928.

Meanwhile, we reserve the right to criticize the Supreme Court, just as we do the President of the United States and Members of Congress. In fact, we reserve the right to defy the Supreme Court, so long as we do so without violence or attempt to overthrow the Government. That is inherent in our Constitution.

The Taft decision was as much of a Supreme Court decision as the Warren decision. I choose to follow the Taft decision. The Court has reversed itself before. I trust that, in view of the massive resistance throughout the South where its decision does most injury, this Court may see the error of its ways and reverse itself again. This would be in keeping with the freedoms of our great constitutional democracy.

Following the pattern of the May 1954 public-school decision, the Supreme Court has just rendered a startling and shocking decision.

A man by the name of Girard died in Philadelphia and left a large sum for the establishment of a school for "poor male white orphans."

The Girard College operated for 125 years as the donor directed. In 1954 two Negro boys asked for admittance. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania denied the petition, stating that Girard "had the undoubted right to dispose of his property by will." Not one dollar of public funds was used in the operation of this school. Yet the Supreme Court of the United States has just reversed the decision of Pennsylvania's Supreme Court and ordered the admission of Negro students in contradiction of the will of Girard, who gave all the money for the school's operation. How far will the Supreme Court go? To deny the right of a citizen to will his property to be used for a specific purpose makes one wonder what will come next.

A Norfolk newspaper, the Journal and Guide, on March 30, said I had made an appeal to race hatred. I feel I cannot permit this unfair statement to go unchallenged. The editor of this Norfolk paper was not fair enough to say that as Governor of Virginia I recommended, and the general assembly enacted, the strongest antilynching bill of any State. This was in 1926. In the 31 years intervening not a single lynching has occurred in Virginia.

As Governor, I attempted to serve the Negro citizens of Virginia with the same courtesy and consideration as I did the white. I recall that as Governor, taking a particular interest in the Virginia State College, a Negro institution at Petersburg, as I was convinced this institution was being neglected in appropriations. A Negro president named a building there after me. I have always believed that the Negro had an honorable and most useful position in our Nation. In fact, in my own business operations I employ more Negroes than whites and pay them exactly the same.

We are faced with three Federal actions which, if successful, would destroy the last remnants of local self-government:

First, the Supreme Court decision providing for enforced integration in our local schools.

Second, a companion measure to take away the right of trial by jury in civil-rights litigation and vest tyrannical power in the hands of Federal judges appointed upon the recommendation of the Attorney General of the United States.

Third, a vast Federal-aid local school-construction program which will give still further control to the Federal Government of our local schools.

The South is faced with great decisions and ominous difficulties in meeting these trials. I pray that we will have the same courage and fortitude that lived in the hearts of our forefathers whose sacrifices made possible the freedoms of this, the greatest form of free government ever conceived in the mind of man.

Spending and Taxation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, in these days of much controversy over cutting or trimming the budget, we are accustomed to having many organizations say, "We must have economy, but our project is different, ours should not be cut."

We as Members of Congress full well realize that much of the spending program developed in the past has been due to "pressures from home" for more services on behalf of the Federal Government.

I wish to point out that appended letter is certainly a new approach. It is the first time in my legislative experience that a letter contains this phrase, "We believe the time has come when we should be more grateful to our chosen representatives for what they save us than for what they get for us. Inflation must be curbed."

To me, that statement is most significant because it proves that the people back home are fully aware of the dangerous road we travel—spend, spend—with no thought of tomorrow.

I am proud that the Plainville, Kans., Chamber of Commerce, a rural town on the high plains of Kansas, so forcibly states their position:

[From the Plainville (Kans.) Times of May 9, 1957]

OPEN LETTER

MAY 9, 1957.

Senator ANDREW H. SCHOEPPEL,
Senator FRANK CARLSON,
Congressman WINT SMITH,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: You represent us in the Federal Government and we look to you to protect our interests in the matter of spending and taxation.

We are alarmed because of the trend toward constantly increasing Government expenditures.

The purchasing power of the dollar continues on its downward plunge which has already brought the highest cost of living on record.

Authorities tell us that much waste and duplication in Government operations can be eliminated. We ask that extreme efforts be made to encourage economy and efficiency in government.

The Federal budget as proposed calls for too much spending and must be cut to reason. Unless this is done it will not only drain too much tax money from the people but it will also encourage the habit of undue dependence on the Federal Treasury.

We feel it is our duty to petition you as our representatives in Congress to do your utmost to check excessive Government spending. At the same time we believe the people, also, should restrain themselves from exerting pressures that tend to force higher living costs. We believe the time has come when we should be more grateful to our chosen representatives for what they save us than for what they get for us. Inflation must be curbed.

Respectfully,
PLAINVILLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

Who Are Our Friends in the Middle East?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following articles, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on April 10, 11, and 12 written by Tom Lambert, give a very fine indication of who our friends are in the Middle East:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of April 10, 1957]

SOVIET IS SENDING EGYPT BETTER JETS, REPLACING ARMS SEIZED BY ISRAEL—SYRIANS AND YEMENIS BOLSTERED BY RED AID—MORE RUSSIAN TECHNICIANS MADE AVAILABLE TO TRAIN ARAB FORCES

(By Tom Lambert)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first in a series of articles by Tom Lambert, Washington correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune, specializing in military affairs.)

WASHINGTON, April 9.—The Soviet Union again is on the verge of supplying Egypt—if it has not done so already—with late-model, high-performance jet fighters, the Herald Tribune was informed today.

Further, with Czechoslovakia and possibly Poland, Russia is replacing some of the Communist-made arms which Egypt lost to Israel in the brief Middle East war last autumn. It is not known for certain, however, if the Communists have replaced all of the tanks, guns, and other military equipment which Israel captured from Egypt, an impressive list which will be detailed later. Reliable sources say that Soviet, Czech, and Polish ships calling at the Egyptian port of Alexandria or the Syrian port of Latakia have brought in war materiel in recent months, as well as more Communist military technicians to reinforce others already in those countries. The Communists, either Soviet or Czech, or both, also are known to have delivered some arms and assigned some technicians recently to the little Arab kingdom of Yemen.

EGYPT BELIEVED WEAK

The essence of these reports is that the Communists are helping Egypt rebuild her armed forces, which were battered heavily in last year's war; helping to expand the armies of Syria and Yemen, and to train the soldiers of all three nations. But the fact that Egypt has Communist arms and is receiving more does not mean her armed forces are capable of using them or that she has a force militarily capable of going to war. The best military judgment here is that Egypt

is no closer now to military proficiency than she was last year.

Continued instruction, however, might improve Egyptian soldiers and airmen, and the Communists seem willing to supply the instructors. Egypt is host now to an unknown number of both Soviet and Czech technicians remarkably skillful with guns and aircraft.

Authoritative informants say Egypt "probably" is receiving some of a "large number" of Mig-17, possibly Mig-19 and Yak-25 jet fighters ordered late in 1956 or early this year from the Soviet Union to replace the serious aircraft losses it suffered last year. All three are much better aircraft than the Mig-15's supplied earlier by the Soviets to Cairo.

Egypt had about 90 Soviet Mig-15's and 45 IL-28 twin-jet light bombers when she was attacked last year by Great Britain, France, and Israel. Reliable sources estimated Egypt lost one-third to one-half of her aircraft in British-French attacks on Egyptian airfields and in a few aerial skirmishes with the Israelis.

The Egyptians flew most of their remaining aircraft to Syria and Saudi Arabia. These have returned. Most of the bomb-damaged airfields have been repaired and some runways have been extended, probably for use by higher performance aircraft.

Syria, which received by mid-January this year a dozen of 60 Mig-17's ordered earlier from the Soviet Union, reportedly lent 6 of those aircraft to Egypt for pilot training and has accepted 6, Egyptians for Mig-17 pilot training in Syria.

The Syrians are not heralded widely as jet pilot instructors, but at least 10 of approximately 60 Soviet officers, including a general, now in Syria, are said to be highly qualified in this respect.

EQUIPMENT LISTED

Both Syria and Egypt, pledging their cotton and agricultural produce as payment, negotiated large arms agreements with the Communists in the autumn of 1955. The Egyptian deal, which President Gamal Abdel Nasser later admitted was with the Soviets, was bigger than Syria's. Egypt was to obtain 100 Mig-15's and 50 IL-28's, 50 Josef Stalin and 275 T-34 tanks, 150 SU-100 self-propelled guns, 56 rocket launchers, 140 guns of 152 and 122 millimeter and 240 smaller caliber antitank guns, plus some antiaircraft pieces. For its navy, Egypt was to get 2, or possibly 3 submarines (2 of 1,200 tons with 6 torpedo tubes and capable of 16 knots on the surface), 2 destroyers, 4 minesweepers and probably a dozen motor torpedo boats.

ISRAEL'S BOOTY

Precisely how much of this equipment was delivered is unknown, but a steady stream of Soviet and Czech ships unloaded arms at Alexandria until the Middle East war broke out last October. Shipments were halted, understandbly, but since have been resumed.

But it is known that a great quantity of Communist arms were delivered to Egypt by the Soviets and Czechs, as proved by the amount of war materiel captured by Israeli forces in the Sinai Desert.

The Israelis are said to have bagged the following: Twenty-five T-34 tanks, 6 SU-100 self-propelled guns, 70 armored cars, 6 reconnaissance cars, 10 freight cars, thirty-seven 57-millimeter antitank guns, eighty-five 82-millimeter recoilless rifles, four 20-millimeter antiaircraft guns, 1,350 semiautomatic rifles, 650 light machineguns, 75 radio sets, 1,000 vehicles such as trucks and jeeps, plus more than 200,000 rifle and machinegun cartridges and 45,000 rounds of ammunition for tanks, self-propelled and other artillery guns.

ARMS FOR FEDAYEEN

The recoilless rifles, 20-millimeter antiaircraft guns, some rifles and light machineguns and communications equipment were Czech produced. The balance of the captured equipment came from the Soviets.

The Egyptian arms deal with the Communists was just one phase, however, of Cairo's traffic with Moscow and other Red nations, as will be shown in a later résumé of commercial and cultural exchanges.

And the arms were intended not only for regular Egyptian forces, but for the fedayeen guerrillas, whose murderous activities now are known to be linked firmly with Cairo's continuing determination to drive Israel into the sea.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of April 11, 1957]

PROOF LINKS EGYPT TO FEDAYEEN RAIDS—DOCUMENTS SHOW ARMY OFFICERS TRAIN, ORDER, PRAISE GUERRILLAS

(By Tom Lambert)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the second in a series of articles by Tom Lambert, Washington correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune specializing in military affairs.)

WASHINGTON, April 10.—Documents made available to the New York Herald Tribune establish conclusively the official connection between the Egyptian Government and the Arab fedayeen guerrillas whose raids into Israel, now being resumed, sparked the Middle East war last year.

The documents, some of them captured by Israeli forces in their Sinai desert campaign against Egypt, show that Egyptian Army officers trained, paid and gave orders to the fedayeen to slay Israelis and recommended them officially for their depredations.

One document proves that the Egyptian Embassy in Jordan acted as a receiving point for arms turned in by fedayeen who had slipped into that country after an incursion into Israel from the Egyptian-held Gaza strip.

Another document details Egyptian Army intervention in the case of a fedayeen who was being tried in an Egyptian civil court for murder. An Egyptian major asked Egyptian civil authorities, in effect, to turn the man loose because he had been such a proficient killer of Israelis and could be used again for such work.

Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser has agreed to work with the United Nations emergency force to halt inflation across the Egyptian-Israeli demarcation line into Israel, it was announced by U. N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold after he returned in March from his most recent trip to Cairo.

But Israeli sources told the Herald Tribune that in the latter part of March and early this month there have been at least a dozen such raids by fedayeen operating from the Gaza strip and Jordan.

An Israeli spokesman here said today if the fedayeen raids increase in volume, his government, as stated March 5 by Premier David Ben-Gurion, "reserves its freedom to act to defend its rights."

These guerrilla operations have left more than 450 Israelis killed and an additional 1,000 wounded in the past several years.

DWINDLED AFTER INVASION

Fedayeen activities dwindled sharply immediately after Egypt's defeat last year and occupation of the Gaza strip by Israeli forces, but Egypt did not abandon the concept of a shadow army trained to kill and pillage on Egyptian command.

On Christmas Eve, nearly 2 months after the end of the Middle East war, the Cairo radio announced bluntly "the Government of Egypt is organizing fedayeen and instilling them with readiness to fight." Despite a purported Egyptian agreement with Mr. Hammarskjold to work with the U. N. emergency force to prevent raiding the Gaza demarcation line, the fedayeen are renewing their incursions into Israel.

The fedayeen, known also in Egypt as the Palestine army, are recruited by Egyptian officials principally among Palestine Arab refugees in the Gaza strip, bitter men who can look across the border into Israel to land or homes they once owned and are easy prey to Egyptian suggestions of vengeance, murder, and pillage.

Egypt not only recruits Palestine Arab adults for such murderous tasks but instructs Palestine Arab schoolchildren in the most efficient ways to kill Israelis.

According to Egyptian documents captured by Israeli forces in Sinai Desert and Gaza strip Egyptian Army headquarters, the fedayeen are paid up to 9 Egyptian pounds a month ($25.83) while they are being trained and 4 Egyptian pounds monthly ($11.48) when they are in action, plus a bonus of 1 or 2 pounds for successful forays against Israel.

Abdullah Hassan Abu Sardani, a fedayeen captured by Israeli forces in early 1956, told his captors he had been trained for 15 days by Egyptian officers in a camp near the Pyramids on how to use rifles, machineguns, and grenades. He said he was returned to a fedayeen base in the Gaza strip, then dispatched into Israel by an Egyptian Army major who told him and his compatriots their job was to "shoot up vehicles and kill everyone in sight."

GUERRILLA FIGHTERS

Egyptian instructions to the fedayeen do not echo precisely the orders given by Soviet and Communist Chinese officials to the partisans and guerrillas who operated in the Soviet Union and China during World War II and the Chinese civil war. But the instructions are similar to those given Communist and all other guerrillas, stressing brutality, hit-and-run tactics, stealth, and attacks on small groups.

Egyptian encouraged and directed, the fedayeen raids into Israel have been going on since the 1949 Arab-Israeli armistice agreement. Egypt is known to have participated officially in such operations since December 1953.

In that month, the Egyptian Minister of Defense ordered the commander of Egypt's Sinai army to cultivate by good will and fear the Sinai Bedouin tribes, arm them, promise them food and infiltrate them into the demilitarized area near Aja. This order did not suggest openly that the Bedouins kill Israeli, a pastime for which fedayeen later were highly praised and commended officially by the Egyptian army.

HOLY MISSION

Thus, a fedayeen named Ay Sayed Hasan Dahasmah received an official commendation from the commander of the Egyptian Army post at Aref for a holy mission executed in Israel on May 28, 1956.

Fedayeen activities went into high gear in autumn of the previous year as President Nasser was negotiating his arms deal with the Communists.

On August 28, 1955, the operations section of Egyptian Army headquarters ordered the commander of the Sinai-based Egyptian 3d division to send fedayeen patrols for action into Israel. On the same day, Mohamed Tewfik Abden Fatah of the Egyptian Army chief of staff's office formally instructed the 3d division commander to increase the number of fedayeen in the Gaza strip so they could carry out guerrilla activities in Israel. The fedayeen were ordered to molest the enemy, kill every patrol or soldier encountered in Israel and to mine Israeli roads.

An effective fedayeen was certain of Egyptian Army backing if he ran afoul of Egyptian civil law. On September 17, 1955, Maj. Mustafa Mohamed Hafez of Egyptian Army intelligence intervened in the civil trial of a fedayeen accused of murder.

WORTHWHILE JOBS

The Fedayeen, Yunes Mubarak Hassan el-Abid, had performed such worthwhile and praiseworthy jobs as helping kill at least eight Israelis, ambushing convoys and blowing up houses. Major Hafex wrote to the civilian governor of the Gaza strip, that because of these wonderful acts we would ask you to have mercy on him and not endanger his life, for there will be an opportunity to use him in the future.

Egyptian officials from President Nasser down have lauded the fedayeen. President Nasser said in May 1956 that he believed in the strength, ability, loyalty, and courage of the guerrillas, whose task was taking revenge for their homeland and people against Israel. Hassen el Bakouri, Egyptian Minister of Religious Properties, suggested the previous month the fedayeen should penetrate into Israel and transform the lives of its citizens into a hell.

FROM OTHER NATIONS

Although Egypt played the principal role in recruiting, training and employing the fedayeen, other Arab nations took part in these missions of murder and destruction. In an official Egyptian Army memorandum of August 15, 1956, the director of the army's intelligence office in Palestine was advised that a group of fedayeen, after leaving Gaza and staging a 1-week campaign of acts of revenge in Israel had turned in their remaining arms and equipment at the Egyptian Embassy in 'Ammān, Jordan.

And in December last year the Cairo radio declared, "If Israel prevented the use of Gaza bases (for fedayeen raids) there are many other places which could be used for that purpose." The broadcast said other Arab nations were training fedayeen and instructing them in warfare. In that month, there were 30 fedayeen raids into Israel from bases in Jordan and Lebanon.

Continued fedayeen raids into Israel post the danger that the Israelis may retaliate in force. The present uneasy truce in the Middle East hinges greatly on future operations by these Egyptian-organized murder and plunder units.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of April 12, 1957]

EGYPT IS MOVING INTO RED ORBIT—TRADE, CULTURAL PACTS STRENGHTEN TIES RESULTING FROM ARMS DEAL

(By Tom Lambert)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the final article of a series by Tom Lambert, Washington correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune specializing in military affairs.)

WASHINGTON, April 11.—A New York Herald Tribune digest and summation of confidential intelligence, political and economic reports about Egypt since 1955 leads to this conclusion: Egypt, linked with communism through agreemets which mean she will have a red-armed army, navy and air force, has been moving steadily closer toward the Communist orbit through a series of commercial and cultural pacts and exchanges with Moscow and her satellites. Cairo's arms deal with the Communists in September, 1955, tied up nearly 18 percent of Egypt's income from exports in 1955; 21 percent in 1956, and a similar amount in the first half of this year, according to foreign intelligence estimates made available to this newspaper.

GROWING TIES CITED

Reported singly, the impact of Egypt's treaties and exchanges with Communist nations does not seem great. But a compilation of such pacts and agreements, and of visits and tours by Egyptians to Communist countries and by Soviet and satellite groups to Cairo, illustrates Egypt's growing ties with the East.

Since signing a major arms agreement with the Communists in September, 1955, Egypt has initialed or renewed trade pacts with the Soviet Union, Rumania, Communist China, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, according to reliable sources here. Egypt now is obtaining from Communist countries an increasing part of her imports of grain, oil, iron ore and manufactured equipment. And a growing portion of Egyptian produce, particularly cotton, is going to the Soviet bloc.

In the same period, Egypt has established a commercial office in Communist East Berlin, entertained an East German trade delegation and authorized East German and Soviet trade fairs in Cairo.

WINDING UP WITH DEFICIT

Statistics from foreign intelligence reports here indicate the value of nonmilitary goods (mostly cotton) shipped by Egypt to Communist nations is lower than the value of such goods she is receiving from them, and that Egypt is winding up with a deficit in such exchanges.

One such report says that in the first half of 1956, Egypt's trade deficit with Communist nations totaled more than $50 million. The latter may have balanced off this shortage with shipments of military goods, which contribute little to Egypt's shaky economy.

In the cultural field since 1955, Egypt has sent delegations of doctors, newspaper men, tourist directors and others to the U. S. S. R. and signed a cultural agreement with the Soviet Union, sources here say. She has entertained cultural groups from Communist China and Poland. She has been host to a committee of Soviet nuclear and sun energy specialists, and has signed a pact with the Soviet Union for cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

PRESS MIRRORS RED LINE

These moves signaling closer relations with communism are having noticeable effects in Egypt, informants say. One embassy here has a report that the Russian language will be taught in some Egyptian schools which formerly featured French and English as foreign languages.

Observers here and abroad have commented that the controlled Egyptian newspapers increasingly mirror the Communist line on international issues.

While Egypt was establishing closer relations with Communist nations, she also was continuing her campaign against Western influence in the Middle East, and pursuing her drive to become the leader of the Arab world and a major voice in Africa. Cairo radio has been used extensively in the latter attempt, which dovetails neatly with President Gamal Abdel Nasser's reported ambition to become the head man in Islam and spokesman for Arabia and Africa.

Efforts in that direction have not been fruitless. American reporters who toured North Africa recently with Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON commented on Cairo radio's influence in the area. They also noted numbers of publicly displayed pictures in market places of President Nasser, whom the natives call Gamal.

But there have been some backfires.

DISENCHANTMENT NOTED

Information here now indicates that while the natives of most Arab and some North African states look kindly on Colonel Nasser, their rulers are becoming disenchanted with him.

Functions of Louisiana Department of Public Works

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to present copy of speech given by Hon. Lorris M. Wimberly, director, Department of Public Works, State of Louisiana, before the police jury at Shreveport, La., on Tuesday, May 7, 1957. This speech graphically outlines the functions of this Department with particular reference to such important matters as flood control, drainage, navigation, water supply, and planning and aeronautics.

The address follows:

FUNCTIONS OF THE LOUISIANA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS

It is indeed a pleasure for me to be here, and especially to have the opportunity to describe to you the functions of the Louisiana Department of Public Works. I could speak at great length because of my interest in the subject, and because the field of public works, as defined by the legislature, is an extremely broad one affecting in many ways all of the State, its cities, towns, and poitical subdivisions.

For a long time, in common with many people, I had considered the work of the department limited mostly to providing farm drainage, and perhaps building a lake or reservoir whenever the money or a location was available. But my experience as director, and before that as a member of the legislature, has impressed upon me the tremendous scope of the work and the wide variety of engineering services that the department is required to perform. We do practically everything in the field of public works engineering except that reserved to the highway department and the State board of health. At one time even highways came under our jurisdiction.

There are many legislative acts which specifically define the responsibilities of the department of public works. Most of its duties, however, comprise all of the administrative functions of the State with respect to planning, design, survey, and construction of flood control, drainage, irrigation, water conservation and navigation projects; aeronautical facilities, public housing projects, and other public works.

The department is primarily an engineering and planning agency. We not only represent Louisiana on nearly all engineering projects of national or local scope affecting the State, but we are the consulting engineers for most State agencies including levee boards, navigation and port districts, water districts, etc. Our planning duties require us to constantly look ahead and provide for full development of all of Louisiana's resources, and our facilities in this respect are available to all parishes and municipalities. Since we are concerned mostly with engineering and planning, we have no maintenance crews, and no construction equipment to operate.

The department of public works is not as large as some other State agencies insofar as operating funds are concerned, but it is an extremely important one in the volume and type of public improvements which it is instrumental in securing for Louisiana, and in promoting and influencing the location on

these improvements for the greatest benefit of all the people. We do exert an influence throughout the State far out of proportion to our size.

A little reflection by each of you and it becomes apparent that Louisiana is in direct competition with 47 other States—and at the rate we are spending money abroad, with the rest of the world—for Federal funds for projects benefiting our State. The hundreds of millions of dollars in Federal funds which have been spent in Louisiana on flood control, navigation, and other public improvements did not just happen—they are largely the results of the facts and studies presented by the department to Congress, and to members of our congressional delegation.

In order for our Congressmen and Senators to be successful in securing authorization and funds for Federal projects in Louisiana, they must have facts on the feasibility and need for the work, and it is one of our most important duties to secure this information. Most of our work is concerned with water—for water has been and will continue to be the most important factor in the development of Louisiana.

Louisiana stands alone among all the 48 States in the magnitude and variety of its water problems. Foremost among these problems is that of flood control, for the drainage from 31 States or 41 percent of the United States passes through our State and reaches the sea within its borders. Heavy rainfall on the extensive areas of low, flat lands creates many local drainage problems, and periodic droughts bring severe water deficiencies, particularly in those sections dependent upon irrigation. Added to these are the problems of beach erosion, salt water intrusion into the coastal streams, stream pollution, and the development and maintenance of navigable waterways. Other States may have some of these problems to a greater or lesser degree, but none have all of them except Louisiana. All of these problems come under the jurisdiction of the Department of Public Works for solution and remedial action.

FLOOD CONTROL

Flood control is our most important contribution to the people of Louisiana. It is essential to the economic life of the State, for we cannot develop our agricultural and industrial potential unless protected against overflow from the Mississippi, Red, Atchafalaya, Ouachita, and other rivers. Hence, most phases of our work are closely associated with and dependent upon flood control.

Nearly one-half of the entire flood plain of the Mississippi River lies in Louisiana, and one-third of the State or about 11,500,000 acres is subject to overflow without levees. Most of the industry, half of the population, over one-third of the farms, and many of our important cities and towns, including the port city of New Orleans, occupy this area, which is protected by 2,033 miles of levees. All of the principal highways and railroads, and most of the transcontinental oil and gas pipelines traverse it. Further, due to the magnitude of the floods and the low elevation of the extensive areas requiring protection, the problem of controlling floods is much greater in Louisiana than elsewhere in the United States. Thus the Department has a tremendous responsibility to the people of Louisiana for flood control.

In all of our flood-control work we maintain close liaison between the levee boards, for which we are the consulting engineers, and the police juries and local interests on the one hand, and the Federal Government through the Corps of Engineers and our congressional delegation on the other. In this way we are able to effectively present the desires and needs of the people who would be affected by proposed flood-control improvements. In order to do this we must have a comprehensive knowledge of the entire flood-control program in all of the 31 States in the Mississippi River Basin.

We must know what flood-control works are being constructed, and what are proposed, not only in Louisiana, but in the Missouri River Basin, the Ohio River Basin, the upper Mississippi, the White, the Red, and the Arkansas. And we must be able to correctly evaluate what effect they will have upon flood heights in Louisiana.

Only a few short weeks ago we were in one of the most severe extended droughts we have ever experienced. I am sure that many of you were thinking like most people of Louisiana that our flood-control problems were over. However, the results of heavy rains in Louisiana and Texas the past few days very well show that our flood-control activities will never end, and will continue to be one of our major functions as long as our rivers exist. At a matter of fact, our responsibilities in this field are increasing, because presently Louisiana is growing faster industrially than any other area in the United States, and with this growth each day more people and lives, more property and values become dependent upon flood control. In keeping with our responsibilities, the Department is exerting every effort to expand the Federal flood-control program, and to incorporate into it water supply, navigation, and other beneficial features wherever practical.

DRAINAGE

Drainage ranks next to flood control in importance to Louisiana, and most of you are familiar with our activities in this field. The parishwide-drainage program was evolved in 1941 as a result of studies by the department of public works to determine what should be done to improve and extend drainage throughout the State. Prior to that time drainage had been haphazardly performed by small districts without coordination or engineering. On the basis of these studies the present drainage program was worked out whereby the Federal Government, with the State contributing part of the cost, improves the major outfall channels in a drainage basin; the State and parishes jointly improve the lesser streams and construct the main laterals; and the drainage of individual farms is done by the farmers with engineering and financial assistance from the Soil Conservation Service.

This arrangement has proven very satisfactory, and 46 parishes and 10 levee boards have participated in the program. Nearly 160 million cubic feet of earth have been removed in the course of the work, excluding the major streams improved by the Corps of Engineers.

Some of the larger streams improved by the Department, either with local or Federal participation, are the Amite River in East Baton Rouge, Livingston and Ascension Parishes; Big and Colewa Creeks in Franklin and Richland Parishes; Bayou Choupique in Calcasieu Parish; Bayou Chevereuil in Lafourche and St. James Parishes; Bayou Lacassine in Jefferson Davis; Bayou Serpent in Calcasieu and Jefferson Davis Parishes; Bayou Pierre in Caddo and Red River Parishes; and many others.

NAVIGATION

Waterborne commerce, both domestic and foreign plays a very important part in the economic life of the State, and we are continually striving to improve our waterways, and extend them to new areas.

Louisiana has about 7,500 miles of navigable streams—far more than any other State. Over 2,200 miles are maintained as major arteries of commerce, and three of the largest ports in the United States are situated on these streams—the port cities of Lake Charles, New Orleans and Baton Rouge.

As in other fields great changes are occurring in navigation, and it is the duty of the Department to keep abreast of these changes. Inland waterway traffic has grown, not only in volume, but in size of tows and equipment, and we can foresee the time when the intracoastal and other important waterways will have to be deepened and widened to meet the requirements of future commerce. The rapid industrial growth of the State indicates that navigation facilities may now be feasible in many areas presently without water transportation.

The advent of the supertankers with deeper drafts and greater lengths is affecting all of our ports, and here again we enter the picture by sponsoring and supporting legislation to provide port facilities and channels adequate for the new vessels. Forty-foot channels at Lake Charles and Baton Rouge, and the Mississippi River-Gulf outlet at New Orleans are examples of large navigation projects which we are now supporting in Congress. Atchafalaya River navigation and the Port Allen-Morgan City alternate route of the intracoastal waterway are others which we were successful in obtaining for the State. Unless we keep pace with the changes in navigation, our ports and industries will suffer, and commerce will seek other areas where it can be served more efficiently. Some of the larger navigation projects which we have constructed entirely with State funds are the Mississippi River locks below New Orleans at Ostrica and Empire. These locks have been of tremendous value to commercial fishermen and to the oil industry, eliminating many miles of travel across the open Gulf waters. In 1955 over 40,000 vessels passed through Ostrica lock and 22,000 used the Empire lock.

We would like to see adequate navigation channels extended to other areas in Louisiana, and we constantly work toward this end with local interests. In this connection it is worth noting that as we extend our navigation system further inland, the problems and costs become greater, because locks and flood control are involved.

WATER SUPPLY

Water supply is another very important field in which the Department is constantly occupied. It may be surprising to many that Louisiana, a State literally overflowing with water, should suffer because of deficiencies in its water supplies. Yet it is true that in many parts of Louisiana water supply problems are becoming more prominent, and there is no doubt that they will continue to increase in number and magnitude with the economic growth of the State.

Many areas with abundant supplies of water for today's needs will not have enough for tomorrow's industry and population. It's the job of the department of public works to look ahead, and make provisions for tomorrow's water needs all over the State.

The problem of supplying the future water requirements of the State will be of monumental proportions. Fortunately, we have the Mississippi and Atchafalaya Rivers, but many of the problems associated with distributing their waters to deficient areas remain to be solved. The department has made a notable start on the Mississippi River at Donaldsonville where, in cooperation with the Bayou LaFourche Freshwater District, pumping facilities costing nearly $1.5 million have recently been completed to divert large volumes of water from the river into Bayou LaFourche. This water after being pumped from the river flows down the bayou to the gulf and furnishes a supply for agricultural, municipal, and industrial uses along its banks. We are now studying the feasibility of similar plants for increasing fresh water flows of Bayou Teche, Vermilion River, and other streams throughout the State.

At the same time we are continuing to plan and build multipurpose lakes and reservoirs for flood control, recreation, and

the conservation of fish and wildlife, all in addition to water supply.

Lake Bistineau, in Bienville, Bossier, and Webster Parishes, is one of the larger recreational lakes which we have constructed. Other lakes which are either in the construction or planning stage, or have recently been completed are Iatt Lake in Grant Parish, Kepler Creek in Bienville Parish, Bayou D'Arbonne in Union Parish, Spanish Lake in Iberia and St. Martin, Lake Martin in St. Martin, Anacoco in Vernon, Bundick Creek in Beauregard, Bear Lake in Madison and Castor Creek in Caldwell and La Salle Parishes. Many of these reservoir projects are quite large—for instance, Bayou D'Arbonne Lake, now on the drawing board, will create a water conservation and recreation reservoir of over 15,000 acres.

The waters of intrastate streams are becoming more important, and the Department is actively engaged in safeguarding our interests in such streams as the Sabine, Red Ouachita, Pear, and Mississippi Rivers, particularly with respect to water supply and stream pollution. We have recently entered into the Sabine River compact with the State of Texas, which provides for the control and development of water of the Sabine River. We are now in the process of forming a similar compact on the Red River with the States of Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas.

A joint project now being studied by the States of Texas and Louisiana is a multipurpose power producing, water conservation, flood control, and recreation reservoir on the Sabine River at Toledo Bend just west of Leesville. An engineering study on this project is now underway and will be completed within about 15 months. This study will determine whether or not the project is a feasible one, that is whether it can be financed from revenues it will produce. If constructed this would create one of the largest manmade lakes in the United States, covering some 180,000 acres. It would furnish a much needed supply of fresh water to areas along its banks in southwest Louisiana and southeast Texas. During periods of flood as we are experiencing at this time it would reduce flood stages below the dam and during periods of drought releases could be made to increase the flow in this reach of the stream.

In cooperation with the Groundwater Branch of the United States Geological Survey, we are now studying the ground-water resources of 10 parishes—De Soto, Calcasieu, Red River, Sabine, East Carroll, West Carroll, Caddo, Bossier, Natchitoches, and Rapides. Some of these parish studies will be published in a few months, while others have just been started. We are also making a very intensive study of ground water in the Mississippi alluvial valley area between Baton Rouge and New Orleans. This study will require several years to complete because of the rapid growth of the area and changing ground-water conditions. At the same time we are continuing our statewide program of water level observations, and special studies such as those completed at Clarks, Clarence, Grosse Tete, and Tallulah. At some of these locations the Department has aided in the development of municipal and irrigation water supplies by drilling test wells to determine yields and proper spacing.

Our surface-water studies are just as extensive as our ground-water investigations. In cooperation with the Surface Water Branch of the United States Geological Survey we are currently measuring daily discharges of streams at 96 different points, and measuring stages on as many more. From time to time, as sufficient data is collected at one station, we move on to another, and eventually we will have reliable runoff data on all of our watersheds. Water samples are collected from about 60 streams and analyzed for quality. Quality of water is of paramount importance to many industries, and is also necessary to control stream pollution.

Other water supply and water resource studies underway, or which have been completed are the Vermilion Bay model study; the feasibility of a water supply and deep-water industrial channel connecting the Calcasieu and Atchafalaya Rivers; the Calcasieu River low sill dam; Freshwater Bayou Navigation Canal; Overton-Red River waterway; Atchafalaya Bay ship channel, and many others. We are also studying the feasibility of forming fresh water districts and pumping or otherwise diverting water from the Mississippi and Atchafalaya Rivers to supply areas plagued with water shortages, stream pollution, and salt water intrusion.

We are continually supporting Federal legislation to improve our water supplies, such as Federal aid for hyacinth control, stream pollution, etc. And we have taken the lead in insisting that water supply and navigation be considered in the Federal flood-control program.

PLANNING AND AERONAUTICS

Among our other important duties are those associated with the planning and aeronautics divisions. Under the Department's guidance, parish planning boards have been created in 48 parishes. These boards have brought a broader understanding of development problems in Louisiana and are working steadily to accomplish the economic improvement of the State.

The department is actively supporting and participating in the urban planning assistance program. Under this program the Federal Government matches funds for planning in cities and towns of up to 25,000 population. One-half of the local cost is contributed by the department, so the total cost of planning is shared one-fourth by the State, one-fourth by the city or town, and one-half by the Federal Government.

Ten cities started planning studies in 1956 under this program, including Bogalusa, Ruston, Natchitoches, and Jennings. Four more cities are about to start their programs, and we hope to add 17 more this year, including Arcadia, Haynesville, Tallulah, Lutcher, Slidell, Bunkie, and Bastrop, all of which have submitted applications for planning aid.

Through the aeronautics division the department is sponsoring the development of aviation facilities in all areas of the State. We are frequently required to provide plans and engineering assistance to many municipal airports—just recently we designed a modern steel hangar for the Jennings Airport. The department also owns and operates the Harry P. Williams Memorial Airport at Paterson. Through activities of the aeronautics division the department was able to secure $1.25 million in Federal funds for airport improvement in the State during this year and approximately $2.5 million during the coming year.

CONCLUSION

Basically, the department of public works is a factfinding organization. In the course of our work we are daily in contact with farmers, businessmen, industries, civic leaders, police juries, levee boards, State and Federal agencies, Members of Congress, and many others. We are often confronted with conflicting interests in the solution of a problem, but somehow, after a lot of hard work, we always manage to come up with a satisfactory answer.

Our most important function is to get the facts impartially on all public works improvements projects affecting the State, so that our leaders in the legislature and in Congress can be successful in their efforts to procure funds and legislation beneficial to Louisiana. In carrying out this function the department in a very real sense lays the foundation upon which much of Louisiana's economic progress is based. Where would we be today without flood control, without drainage, without navigation or the many other public works which we take for granted? Much of our success in these fields has been due to the support and confidence given us by the citizens and officials of all our parishes and governmental organizations. I am looking forward to a continuance of the fine and productive relationship which has been enjoyed in the past.

Strong Pressure for Budget Cuts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Evening Star of May 13, 1957:

STRONG PRESSURE FOR BUDGET CUTS—VOICE OF THE PEOPLE WANTS DEBT CUT; LAVISH FOREIGN AID SPENDING SCORED

(By Constantine Brown)

The pressure of the American people on their elected representatives in Congress for substantial cuts in the budget continues unabated.

This is causing surprise and chagrin to the encrusted Washington bureaucracy which for years has witnessed raids on the taxpayers' pocketbooks without their owners registering any loud complaints.

When the citizens did protest occasionally they were shut up with clichés by the theoreticians and ideologists of the New Deal, Fair Deal, and modern Republicanism.

Stereotyped expressions such as "social progress" and indiscriminate "foreign aid," without which the American people were warned this country could not survive, and many other such tugs on our expenditures stilled the voices of those who were concerned over where the country was going.

There has been an awakening in the last few months. Judging by the unbelievable volume of mail received by Senators and Representatives, appeals by the President himself are not likely to make much of a dent in the mood of the American people.

An analysis of the communications received on the Hill indicates that most citizens are not really interested in Federal tax reductions. Under present conditions, the individual's outlay would not be affected much. What the great majority of Americans seeks is a reduction in the national debt. The loudest protests are registered against continued indiscriminate foreign-aid programs.

The previous administrations did not have any trouble in selling the people projects such as the UNRRA because our citizenry agreed after World War II that starving people must be helped.

There was not much trouble in convincing Americans to indorse the Marshall plan, especially when they were told that it was only a temporary measure to put our allies and foes back on their feet and thus prevent the spread of deadly communism among the destitute free peoples of Europe.

That fantastic extravaganza called the Voice of America and its associated projects cost the taxpayers more than $600 million. But there was no opposition to it.

The American people were told that we had to sell our way of life to allies, friends,

neutralists and enemies. Hence, expenditures which started with some $40 million a year and then increased in the usual bureaucratic manner to close to $150 million yearly were approved by the representatives of the American people.

The average individual does not go into the details of Government expenditures, particularly when he is under the spell of convincing propaganda.

In international matters, in particular, he leaves it to Washington bureaucrats who are far more successful in propagandizing their own people than those for whom vast appropriations are voted.

We are a nation which loves slogans and seldom analyzes what is behind them. And the peoples of this country have been sloganized into a $280 billion national debt.

Belatedly the rank and file of our people awoke to the dangers of this lavish expenditure abroad and at home and began to protest.

Administration actions to which John Q. Citizen paid no attention in the past became issues. For instance, there is a lack of understanding by the average American as to why the Washington bureaucrats decided—despite adverse opinion by the Senate—to continue to give economic and especially military assistance to Marshal Tito. Only a very few swallow the gobbledygook that Tito is pulling away from Moscow.

There are many communications sent to Senators and Representatives asking whether lending about $100 million to the Communist regime in Warsaw (which plays so closely with Moscow) serves the true interests of this country.

Spokesmen of the executive branch have asserted repeatedly and loudly that we have the moral obligation to help whichever satellite nation attempts to break away from the Kremlin. But for the first time in many years these tales seem to have made little impact on the American people, who are asking their representatives in Congress: "Is this true?"

In the past, Congress has adopted the line of least resistance. Its members spoke enthusiastically for economy, budget cuts, and so forth, but when it came to casting their votes they went along with the executive branch which kindly padded the budget sufficiently to permit Congressmen to save face by claiming that they had brought about reductions in expenditures.

This, judging by off-the-record statements by Senators and Representatives who attended President Eisenhower's conference with leaders of both parties, seems to be a thing of the past.

An Agricultural Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recognizing the need for some kind of a farm program, I think it is about time we took steps to eliminate subsidies and put the farmers back to managing their own farms and allowing them to make a livelihood through a farm program based along the following lines.

I have introduced a bill, H. R. 6157, which would impose limitations on agricultural products rather than on farm acreage. I believe that the solution to the farm problem lies in the control of actual production of a commodity, not in the acreage under cultivation. Acreage control, it is true, does cut down the amount of land upon which crops can be grown, but it does not limit the total production because with improved fertilizers a farmer can produce more on less land.

The bill I have introduced provides that the Secretary of Agriculture shall establish yearly marketing quotas for corn, cotton, peanuts, rice, tobacco, and wheat—the basic agricultural commodities—and the quotas shall be apportioned among the several States on the basis of production of a commodity during a given period of time. The bill does not support any group or size of farm but sets a floor on the sale of commodities which is low enough so that the demand will regulate the supply and cost. My intent is to put the farmer back into competition.

Under the program a farmer will be guaranteed an annual income which will increase his purchasing power and contribute to the economy of our Nation.

At this time when we are considering appropriations for the Department of Agriculture, and looking for means to cut the Federal budget, I believe it is appropriate to give serious consideration to my proposal.

A Salute to the Wine Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks, I desire to include an editorial from the Sonoma, Calif., Index-Tribune of May 9, 1957, entitled "Wine Industry Sets Example for Agriculture."

Several years ago the wine industry was at a low ebb. In true American tradition they banded together to do something about it. Through effective advertising and by stressing quality, the wine people lifted themselves up by their own bootstraps. Today the industry is in a healthy condition, and it was brought about through their own efforts.

What these people have accomplished is truly an example of self-help in agriculture. As the Representative from an area which is a leader in the production of high quality wines, I am pleased to call to your attention the following editorial as an example of what can be accomplished through private initiative:

WINE INDUSTRY SETS EXAMPLE FOR AGRICULTURE

The Wine Institute, the wine industry's capable trade association, will hold its 23d annual meeting in San Francisco next week (May 13–14) and it couldn't have chosen a better time.

Statistics just released reveal that consumption of wines of all types hit an all-time high in the United States last year. Most of that wine—82.7 percent—came from California.

California's wine industry is in a healthy condition. Demand is brisk; supply is barely equal to it; prices are satisfactory in general; quality continues to rise.

The whole industry is a splendid example of self-help in agriculture and the Wine Institute is one of the valuable agencies which has helped it achieve this end.

The Nation as a whole has only begun to appreciate California wine. When its annual per capita consumption, now only nine-tenths of a gallon, attains California's per capita consumption of more than 2 gallons, the United States will still have a long way to go to approach the 20 or 30 gallons per capita consumption of some European countries.

The future of California's wine industry is bright and, with the fine leadership the industry has in its Wine Institute, we may be sure the industry will attain its goals.

The Defense Department Has Not Yet Learned To Properly Utilize Its Manpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, we are hearing a great deal these days about the necessity of increasing the military pay of various branches of the Armed Forces in order to attract and to keep in the service of our country professional men and skilled technicians.

There is no doubt that such men, if worth their salt, will leave for private practice or private industry if the pay and working conditions are not sufficiently attractive to keep them in Government service. I favor paying these men fair compensation, the fairness thereof to be determined by the competitive demand for these men.

At the same time, it should be pointed out that the Defense Department traditionally has not utilized these men to the best advantage either of the Government or of the men.

We are constantly told that it costs as much as $25,000 to train a recruit to deal with complicated matters requiring the attention of skilled men. The fact of the matter is that the complaints still pour in to Members of Congress from men who are called up to serve their country, as well as from men who have enlisted for that purpose. Thousands of these men have specialized college and university training. All too frequently such education and training is completely ignored and the men are assigned to training programs entirely foreign to what they have been equipped for. Thousands of dollars are spent by the Defense Department for such training, more properly called retraining. The training is hardly completed when the men leave the service.

Sergeants, good drillmasters, despite their lack of formal education, still delight in assigning college-trained men to the garbage dump.

Thousands of dollars can be saved by the Defense Department by properly

screening men and assigning them to work that they are already fitted to perform instead of trying to train them to do things in which they have no interest and which will only drive them out of the service instead of keeping them in.

Our whole concept of military training still reflects the methods of the last century. It has not caught up with World War I, not to mention World War II, or the nuclear age.

United States Collaboration in Euratom Plans Should Stir Our Lagging Interest and Enthusiasm in Development of Nuclear Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I was greatly interested in an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post of Monday, May 13, 1957, commenting on the ambitious plan announced to develop 15 million kilowatts of atomic-power capacity on the European Continent in the next 10 years.

Success of these plans is in a measure tied to our success in America in the development of atomic power. I have felt for a long time that the Atomic Energy Commission has been remiss in fulfilling its responsibility in this regard. Whether the Commission admits it or not, America is lagging in nuclear-power development.

The Congress missed an opportunity to do something about this last year when it failed to approve the Gore-Holifield bill, but that is water over the dam. Congress still has an opportunity to point out to the Commission what the American policy should be in this matter.

Our policy should be that we maintain world leadership in the development of atomic power. The primary responsibility to implement this policy should be on the Government itself. To fulfill this responsibility, we should supplement the present private development program by greater Government activity.

Congress should act wisely in promoting the private development program. In a short time I hope Congress will approve the indemnity legislation which is so vital to the success of this program.

The indemnity legislation is now on the House and Senate Calendars. It is my hope that it will be approved before the end of this session of Congress.

The editorial, entitled "America and Euratom," follows:

AMERICA AND EURATOM

Nothing less than the future of Europe's economic growth and perhaps even its political security are at stake in the ambitious plans just announced to develop 15 million kilowatts of atomic power capacity on the Continent in the next 10 years. This is the goal selected by representatives of Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands after what seems to be a careful and realistic appraisal of economic and industrial potentials. These are the six nations that have agreed this past year, subject to ratifications now being considered, to set up Euratom—the European Atomic Energy Community—and, in addition, a customs union to foster freer trade among them.

It is almost frightening to consider what Europe's outlook would be without the prospect that nuclear power plants will be feasible for large-scale commercial development. For nearly a century, until World War II, Europe was first the world's greatest producer of energy and later at least self-sufficient in this regard. As recently as 1950 it appeared that postwar recovery efforts had restored the Continent's energy production to levels that required only nominal fuel imports for power production. But in the past 7 years, as the Euratom investigating committee notes, Europe has lost its independence in energy. It must now import nearly a fourth of its fuel (mostly oil), in 10 years it would depend upon foreign sources for a third and in 20 years it would have to look abroad for upwards of half of its energy requirements—if coal and oil remained the only fuels.

Britain faced up to a similar, though not quite as acute, situation in 1955. By putting some 6 million kilowatts of atomic power stations on her lines by 1965, the United Kingdom will stabilize its imports of conventional fuels from about 1960 onward. The hope for Euratom is that it can achieve a leveling off of continental fuel imports by 1963. This will involve considerably higher investments in plant and equipment in the first years, although nuclear fuel costs will approximate the cost of oil. But both the British and Euratom programs will forestall an unbearably heavy long-range drain on foreign exchange earnings and lessen the political temptations, tensions and dangers inherent in Europe's present dependency on Middle East oil.

All of this will be possible, although it is not yet assured, by reason of the realism which the European governments are showing in subordinating national concerns to this common effort. Progress toward the 10-year goal also will depend upon cooperation from the United States, Canada, and Great Britain, which can supply the uranium, the first reactors and the technical knowledge and training with Europe will need in the early stages. All three of these countries already have pledged such help, for which they will be paid not only in cash but in the invaluable experience which the continental program can provide.

We hope that American collaboration in the Euratom program will stir the lagging interest and enthusiasm of this Government in nuclear power development. While it is true that the lower cost and ample supply of conventional fuels in this country do not require an immediate all-out atomic power effort, the failure of Congress to deal adequately with the insurance and other problems of private atomic development (such as the authorization of demonstration reactors for atomic energy plant power requirements) has retarded progress. One immediate effect could be the selection by Euratom of the proved British natural uranium reactor in preference to the American model being tested at Shippingport, which though apparently well suited as a submarine powerplant is still unproved for other uses. It would be unfortunate if American firms were denied an opportunity for the fullest participation in Europe's atomic power development, for the experience could be of immense benefit to this country later on.

Italian Opera Star Sings United States Anthem at Democratic Party Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, we often hear it said that truth is stranger than fiction. This was demonstrated once again recently at the Democratic Party's $100-a-plate fund-raising dinner held at the National Guard Armory in Washington.

At this dinner were assembled several thousand Democratic Party leaders and members from various parts of the country, headed by former President Harry S. Truman, Adlai E. Stevenson, and literally dozens of Democratic governors, Senators, Congressmen, and other party leaders. The person who opened this event with the singing of the Star-Spangled Banner was an Italian-born basso, Italo Tajo, who is still studying to become an American citizen.

Tajo, who is a well-known international opera star, was elated that a foreign-born singer was asked to sing the national anthem to the assembled leadership of the Democratic Party. When informed that he was chosen for this honor, he observed:

It is truly an honor for a man who is still working toward his citizenship papers to have the privilege of singing for so many leaders of this great country.

While the huge audience at the armory heard Tajo's booming voice singing our national anthem, he did not have the opportunity to hear the speeches of the Democratic leaders. Tajo was appearing that evening with the road company of Fanny at a downtown Washington theater, and had to be rushed from the armory to the theater by police escort to make his curtain time for the show. He and his wife are seeing America on the nationwide tour of the musical comedy.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

1957

ance of
e State
far as

The
or.

in ac-
ly en-
stand

nd (at
e Sen-
being,
, until
, at 12

Appendix

The Historic Capitol Building

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one of the most enjoyable and instructive meetings I have attended in the past few weeks took place yesterday. I had the honor of serving as host to a group of Texas architects attending the American Institute of Architects convention.

Upon that occasion, Mr. J. George Stewart, Architect of the Capitol, delivered an informative address about this historic building. I believe it will be of interest to every Member of this body.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Stewart's address, together with a list of guests at the breakfast, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address and list of guests were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY J. GEORGE STEWART, ARCHITECT OF THE CAPITOL, BEFORE TEXAS DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS, MAY 14, 1957

Senator Johnson, Mr. Speaker, ladies, and gentlemen, this is really an eventful time in my life. As you see, I wear the cuff links of the Lone Star State, a symbol of my having been accepted as an honorary citizen of the great State of Texas. I feel very honored.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the delegates and members of the Texas chapters of the American Institute of Architects for their assistance in my recent election as an honorary member of the American Institute of Architects. I particularly want to thank the members of the Dallas Chapter who initiated this movement.

I want to recall this morning some highlights in the early history of how this Government in the District of Columbia came about.

EARLY HISTORY

From 1776 until 1800, the national seat of government was located, at various times, in 8 different cities. In 1783, the issue of a permanent seat of government was under discussion and October of that year was set to consider the offers of New York and Maryland for sites for the proposed National Capital. During June of that year, mutinous soldiers of the Revolutionary War marched on the State House in Philadelphia to demand payment from the Congress of claims long overdue. The Congress, unable to meet these demands, petitioned the State of Pennsylvania for protection. Requests for protection were twice denied by Pennsylvania and the Congress was forced to change its seat to Princeton, N. Y. This was one of the experiences which convinced the Congress that its permanent seat should be independent of any other authority.

The place where I was born and raised is within 28 miles of Philadelphia, and, naturally, its history is closely allied with that of southern Pennsylvania. I can remember being told of the trouble caused by the Revolutionary War veterans in their marches on the Congress in Philadelphia and their destruction of facilities such as water supply, transportation, etc.

In 1790 Philadelphia was named as the temporary seat of Government and the land on the Potomac River ceded by the States of Maryland and Virginia for the Federal city was ordered to be prepared and ready for the Congress by the first Monday in December of 1800.

The site selected for the Capitol was then known as Jenkins Hill. Major L'Enfant, who was greatly impressed by the location chosen for the building, described this hill as a pedestal waiting for a monument.

According to the early history of the Free State of Maryland in 1663, the hill had been given the name of "Rome" by its owner. This owner, it is said, predicted that a greater capital than Rome would someday occupy this hill and that later generations would command a great and flourishing country in the New World.

Earlier than that a subtribe of the Algonquin Indians—known as the Powhatans—occupied the original grounds and met in council at the foot of the hill where our Capitol now stands.

GROWTH OF THE CAPITOL

The north wing of what is now the central portion of the Capitol was completed in 1800 and the 2d session of the 6th Congress met there in November of that year.

The south wing, under construction from 1800 to 1811, was first occupied in 1807 by the 10th Congress.

After the burning of the Capitol by the British in 1814, Benjamin Latrobe, second Architect of the Capitol, was recalled to repair the damage done to the north and south wings. This reconstruction work took approximately 3½ years to complete.

Charles Bulfinch, third Architect of the Capitol, continued the work of restoration and erected the central section of the building connecting the original north and south wings.

The need for additional space in the Capitol increased as the Nation grew, and in 1851 the construction of the Senate and House wings was commenced. These wings were planned by Thomas U. Walter, fourth Architect of the Capitol, and the work was prosecuted under his direction. The present House Chamber was first occupied in December of 1857; the Senate Chamber in January of 1859.

Walter also replaced the old wooden dome with the present structure. This dome is of cast iron and weighs 4,455 tons. Fabricating the dome in metal was quite a revolutionary approach in 1856, since most domes throughout the world had been made of marble, or wood covered with metal.

In 1865, a civil engineer and a professor at the Smithsonian Institution, conducted vibratory experiments to see what influence the sun had upon this vast structure. It was found that the dome oscillated a distance of between 3 and 4 inches. The motion is like that of the sunflower—south, southwest, then west—and, as the retiring sun declines and finally disappears—north, northeast, and east, returning to its original position.

The figure surmounting the dome is officially known as the Statue of Freedom. This statue, designed by Thomas Crawford, is 19 feet 6 inches high, and weighs 14,985 pounds.

As a protection from lightning, 10 bronze points tipped with platinum are placed as follows on the figure: 1 on the head, 6 on the feathers in the headdress; 1 on each shoulder, and 1 on the shield. Every 4 years, when the dome is being painted, these bronze points are inspected for injury by lightning. Last fall, when the dome was painted, it was necessary to replace 6 of the points which showed evidence of having fulfilled their function as lightning arresters.

After the turn of the century, it became evident that additional working space was necessary for the legislators. As a result of efforts spearheaded by the late Joe Cannon when he was Speaker of the House, in March of 1903 the Old House Office Building was authorized to be constructed. Later, in 1904, Congress authorized the construction of three sides of the present Senate Office Building. The House Office Building was completed and occupied in January of 1908; the Senate Office Building was occupied in March of 1909.

Uncle Joe Cannon, in 1903, called the attention of the Congress to the need for more working space in the Capitol and the necessity for better circulation within the building. Then, as now, Members of Congress and the employees who must work in the Capitol, close to the legislative halls, battled a constant flow of tourists in going through the building.

Although his efforts to enlarge the Capitol were futile at that time, they did bring about the so-called Scheme B plan of extending the Capitol, proposed by Carrere and Hastings of New York in 1904. This Scheme B is the basis of our present studies for the extension of the Capitol.

The Scheme B presented in 1904 was a reasonable solution then to the needs of the Congress. At that time, however, there were only 389 Members of the House and just 45 States were represented in the Senate. The staff of clerical assistants to the legislators was approximately one-eighth of the number of employees they now have. The total population of the United States in 1900 was approximately 76,000,000. When the last census was taken in 1950, our population was over 150,000,000.

During the last 57 years, our population has more than doubled and our country has grown enormously in world importance. The need for more working space in the Capitol is more acute now than at any time in our history.

This building is very aptly described by Dr. Charles Moore in the introduction of the first volume of Glenn Brown's History of the United States Capitol:

"Historically the Capitol at Washington is the most important structure in the United States. Other buildings, such as the Old South Church in Boston and Independence Hall in Philadelphia, are connected with important episodes in the history of this country. The Capitol is unique in that it both typifies the beginning and also marks the growth of the Nation. Like the great Gothic cathedrals of Europe, its surpassing merit is not its completeness, but its aspirations. Like them, too, the Capitol is not a creation, but a growth, and its highest value lies in the fact that it never was, and it never will be, finished."

I subscribe to his statement entirely.

The project for the extension of the United States Capitol was authorized by Public Law 242 of the 84th Congress, approved August 5, 1955. The work is being carried forward

under the direction of the Commission for Extension of the United States Capitol, composed of the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, chairman; the Honorable RICHARD M. NIXON, the Honorable WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, the Honorable JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr., and the Architect of the Capitol.

A consulting and advisory group is assisting me in determining the proper architectural treatment of the east front of the Capitol and the necessary changes to be made on the interior of the building. This group is composed of: John P. Harbeson of Philadelphia, Henry R. Shepley of Boston, and Arthur Brown, Jr., of San Francisco.

The executant architects are Roscoe DeWitt and Fred Hardison of Dallas, Tex., Alfred Poor and Albert Swanke of New York City, and Jesse Shelton and Alan Stanford of Atlanta.

Since no building is better than its setting, my associate architects and I have taken L'Enfant's plan for the development of the Capitol to the east as a basis for studying future expansion of the building and its grounds.

The associate architects have made exhaustive studies of the present physical condition of the building and what expansion is necessary now to provide for the smooth functioning of the offices which operate in the Capitol. They are also considering a long-range plan to meet future needs as our country continues to grow. I have asked that they include in their report suggestions for future additions and alterations in order that my successors might have the benefit of their thinking. Many times, the reports, studies, and private letters of Thomas U. Walter have been of assistance to us.

The general scope of the extension of the Capitol project falls into three categories:

1. Replacement of the exterior stone work.
2. Gradual expansion of the Capitol.
3. Landscaping and development of the properties to the east.

I shall advocate and plead for all of these, and fight for the preservation of this building, to the best of my ability.

SUPREME COURT ROOM

I think a brief description of this room might be of interest to you.

The room was used by the Supreme Court in 1860. Prior to that time, except for brief periods, this chamber was occupied by the United States Senate.

The Senate sat here on December 2, 1823, when Monroe sent to Congress his historic message formulating the Monroe Doctrine. Here, in 1830, Webster gave utterance to his famous phrase, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." It was in this room that Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, in their old age, made their farewell speeches.

The small gallery to the east, which was the only one preserved after the removal of the Senate, is supported by Ionic columns of dark variegated Potomac marble, whose caps were copied after those of the Temple of Minerva in Athens. The beautiful dome ceiling is enriched with square caissons of stucco, and terminates in the skylights above. The same gilded eagle that used to look down from over the Vice President's chair when this room was the Senate chamber, still spreads his wings over the old Supreme Court bench.

Around the semicircular wall are 10 busts of Chief Justices of the Supreme Court. On the north side of the western entrance, we have the bust of first Chief Justice John Jay, and to the south of the door, the second, John Rutledge. The other busts are arranged alternately around the walls according to the appointment of the Justices. Represented here, in addition to the two already mentioned, are: Ellsworth, Marshall, Taney, Chase, Waite, Fuller, White, and Taft.

The painting we see on the east wall of the gallery is "The First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation," painted by Francis B. Carpenter during a 6-month stay in the White House. For 63 years, it hung over the east staircase of the House wing of the Capitol, and in September 1941 was moved to the Supreme Court room.

My job as Architect of the Capitol is a busy and interesting one. I have many rewards and compensations—I have a like amount of frustrations. I receive a great many criticisms and complaints, and I find comfort in these words attributed to Abraham Lincoln (slightly paraphrased):

"If I were to attempt to answer all the criticisms and complaints I receive, I would have no time for any other business. From day to day I do the best I can and will continue to do so to the end. If in the end I come out alright, then the complaints and criticisms and what is said against me will make no difference. But if the end brings me out wrong, then 10 angels coming down from heaven to swear that I was right, would still make no difference."

Before I close, I want to extend a cordial invitation to all of you to visit my office. You might be interested in seeing the portraits of the seven former Architects of the Capitol which are in my office. I would also like to show you a spot in the Capitol, close to my office, which is not included in the guided tours through the building. It is the space in the subbasement of the central portion of the building, directly beneath the Crypt where the old drawings of the Capitol are now on exhibit, which was intended to serve as a tomb for the remains of George Washington and his wife, Martha.

We who have the privilege of taking care of this building sometimes affectionately refer to it as The Grand Old Lady of Jenkins Hill. To know this building is to love it—and everything for which it stands.

The Capitol seems almost a living thing with its echoes of the past. One can imagine the excitement of the fires which threatened to destroy it—when the British burned it in 1814, the irreparable loss in the Library fire of 1851, and the disastrous gas explosion of 1898. Tragic events have occurred within its walls—the death of John Quincy Adams, the assault on Sumner on the Senate floor, and the recent shots of the Puerto Ricans in the House Chamber. The walls might echo the bitterness from sectional differences, from impeachments and censures, as well as the greatest oratory of history from the debates on the floors of the two Chambers. There are prayerful moments too, when we have paused to pay homage to our honored dear who have lain in state in the Capitol.

These echoes of the past all go to make this a living thing, a symbol of the unity of your nation.
Nation.

The building belongs to you—it is just my privilege to have it under my care.

Thank you.

GUESTS AT BREAKFAST FOR TEXAS ARCHITECTS, MAY 14, 1957, IN THE OLD SUPREME COURT CHAMBER AT THE CAPITOL, SENATOR AND MRS. LYNDON B. JOHNSON, HOSTS, HONORING MR. AND MRS. R. MAX BROOKS, OF AUSTIN, TEX., AND MR. AND MRS. ALBERT S. GOLEMON, OF HOUSTON, TEX.

Mr. and Mrs. R. Max Brooks, Austin; Mr. and Mrs. Albert S. Golemon, Houston; Mrs. Leon Chatelain, Jr., Bethesda, Md.; Mr. and Mrs. Alfred P. Finn, Jr., Houston; Mr. Sam B. Zisman, San Antonio; Mr. A. B. Swank, Jr. Dallas; Mr. and Mrs. Abel B. Pierce, Jr., Houston; Mr. and Mrs. Harold Calhoun, Houston; Mr. Hubert H. Crane, Fort Worth; Mr. William M. Collier, Abilene; Mr. Arthur E. Nutter, Houston; Mr. Max Barth, Washington, D. C. (Department of Defense); Mr. O. L. Puckett, Big Spring; Mr. John G. Flowers, Austin; Mr. Robert Biering, Houston; Mr. and Mrs. Milton B. McGinty, Houston; Mr. Irving D. Porter, Dallas; Mr. B. Burke McGinty, Houston; Mr. Paul H. Elliott, Houston; Mr. and Mrs. Herman Lloyd, Houston; Mr. and Mrs. P. D. Creer, Austin; Mr. Roscoe P. DeWitt, Dallas; Mr. and Mrs. George F. Pierce, Jr., Houston; Mr. and Mrs. Edward L. Wilson, Fort Worth; Congressman and Mrs. John Dowdy, Athens, Tex.; Mr. and Mrs. Raymond S. Kastendieck, Gary, Ind.; Senator and Mrs. Ralph Yarborough, Washington (Austin, Tex.); Mrs. Ann M. Yarborough (daughter-in-law), Austin; Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Patterson, Ft. Worth, Tex.; Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Huckes, Amarillo; Mr. and Mrs. John S. Ward, Jr., Amarillo; Mr. and Mrs. Mace Tungate, Jr., Houston; Mr. and Mrs. C. Herbert Cowell, Houston; Mr. Karl Kamrath, Houston; Mr. Harris A. Kemp, Dallas; Mr. and Mrs. Fred Mackie, Jr., Houston; Mr. Russell Phelps, Beaumont, Tex.; Mr. and Mrs. L. W. Pitts, Beaumont, Tex.; Mr. and Mrs. Edwin W. Carroll, El Paso, Tex.; Mr. David C. Baer, Houston; Mr. and Mrs. Keith Langford, Bellaire, Tex.; Mr. and Mrs. Reginald Roberts, San Antonio, Tex.; Mr. and Mrs. Louis Daeuble, El Paso; Harry Provence, Waco News Tribune and Times Herald, Waco; Congressman and Mrs. Wright Patman, Texarkana; Congressman and Mrs. Bob Poage, Waco; Mr. William M. Peak, Byran, Tex.; Mr. Franklin D. L. Langer, Bryan, Tex.; Mr. and Mrs. Lee R. Buttrill, Beaumont, Tex.; Congressman and Mrs. Joe M. Kilgore, McAllen; Congressman and Mrs. Frank Ikard, Wichita Falls; Mr. and Mrs. Maurice J. Sullivan, Houston; Congressman and Mrs. Jim Wright, Weatherford; Hon. J. George Stewart, Architect of the Capitol; Mr. and Mrs. Harry W. Golemon, Beaumont; Congressman and Mrs. Omar Burleson, Ansonffi Mr. and Mrs. John N. Richards, Toledo, Ohio; Mr. R. Turner Kimmel, Lubbock, Tex.; Congressman and Mrs. George Mahon; Congressman and Mrs. Walter Rogers; Congressman Jack Brooks; Congressman J. T. Rutherford; Congressman and Mrs. Clark W. Thompson; Congressman and Mrs. Homer Thornberry; Congressman and Mrs. John Young; Congressman and Mrs. O. C. Fisher; Mrs. Philip Will, Jr., Chicago, Ill.; Hon. Sam Rayburn, the Speaker; Mr. James T. Swanson; Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Tatum, Texas; Mr. Martin S. Kermacy, Austin; Mrs. Rebekah Johnson, Austin (Senator Lyndon's mother); Mr. Arthur Fehr, Austin; Mr. Nolen E. Banick, Lubbock; Mrs. Juanita Roberts, Port Arthur.

Address by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, our distinguished minority leader has a talent for summing up dramatically what is going on in the Congress. I believe his address at Grand Rapids, Mich., of Monday, May 6, will be of particular interest to all of us. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH OF UNITED STATES SENATOR WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, GRAND RAPIDS, MICH., MAY 6, 1957

Michigan has made many contributions in peace and war to our Nation and has contributed outstanding leadership over the years to the Republican Party.

Your senior Senator, CHARLIE POTTER, is carrying on in the finest traditions of your State and of our party. With 6 years of experience in the House of Representatives and with his Senate experience dating from 1952, when he succeeded the late Arthur Vandenberg, CHARLIE POTTER has, with ability and integrity, done an outstanding job.

He is a member of two of the most important committees of the Senate. The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and the Committee on Appropriations. As a member of the latter committee, I can personally testify as to his effectiveness as a valued member of that committee.

It is also pleasant to once again be in the Fifth Congressional District and in the city of Grand Rapids. Your Congressman, GERALD R. FORD, JR., has seen service in the House since his election on November 2, 1948, and serves on the powerful Appropriations Committee of that body.

I know of no Member of the House who commands more respect on both sides of the aisle than does your own Congressman JERRY FORD.

It is good to be here to discuss some problems of concern to us as citizens of the United States.

I bring you personal greeting from President Eisenhower and Vice President NIXON.

DICK NIXON has done an outstanding job as representative of the President on his recent trip to Africa and in the other assignments that have ben given him during the past 4 years and 4 months.

Let us never forget that in his 4 years of office the Republican administration of President Eisenhower:

1. Brought the Korean war to an end.
2. Has preserved peace with honor.
3. Presented three consecutive balanced budgets.
4. Taken off wage, price, and commodity controls of our economy.
5. Provided a seven billion tax reduction.
6. Stabilized the dollar with only a limited devaluation compared with the previous 5-year period.
7. Employment rose to a new level in March to 63,900,000. The Nation now has the highest peacetime employment in our history.
8. The administration has extended social-security to over 10 million additional Americans and increased social-security benefits to 605,000 additional Americans.
9. Our national-defense forces have more striking power than ever before.
10. Under the Republican administration unemployment compensation has been extended to 4 million additional workers bringing the total now covered by unemployment compensation in the country to 41 million.
11. The administration has been free of corruption.

These are but a few of a long list of accomplishments. We have had some liabilities, to be sure. I believe the budget presented this year is too high. It should and will be cut by Congress. But the American people should continue to remember these outstanding accomplishments.

We must as a Nation build on principles rather than personalities. Individuals come and go but fundamental principles endure.

What are some of these basic principles that we should stand for?

1. Constitutional government with the division of power between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Federal Government and the reservation of all power not granted to the Federal Government, under the Constitution, to the States and to the people.

2. Maintenance of our free-enterprise system under which we have grown from a small colony of 3 million people to a great world power of 170 million with the most productive economic system the world has ever known.

3. Protection by the Federal Government and the States of the people from the concentrated and arbitrary use of power by business or labor organizations against individuals and small-business enterprises. The right to earn a living as an employee or as a proprietor of a small business is a "civil right" of the first magnitude.

4. Maintenance of a soundly growing economy based on free enterprise and full employment. No business or labor organization should have the power to strangle the economic life of 170 million Americans and by so doing endanger free men everywhere. With power must also go responsibility.

5. Support of a sound fiscal structure for our Federal, State, and local governments. This requires all of them to live within their means and to stop trespassing on the tax resources of the others.

Without a sound dollar and a solvent government our whole structure of local, State, and National Governments, of public and private educational facilities, of wage earners, of public social security, and private pensions and retirement systems will be jeopardized.

Without a sound dollar every employee, every housewife, and our people living on retirement income or social-security payments will be penalized. Inflation and debt repudiation is but another form of confiscatory taxation in the Marxist Socialist pattern.

It is time for use to rededicate ourselves to a renewed faith in our free way of life.

We must not take our constitutional form of government or our free enterprise system for granted. Neither fall into the category of something that can be locked in a safe-deposit box and kept forever secure. Each generation must be prepared to make the necessary sacrifices to maintain them that our Founding Fathers were prepared to make in the first instance.

Other nations have been or now are larger in land area, in population and in natural resources. Yet they have not been able to give to their people the freedom and the standard of living Americans have enjoyed.

As important as is the productive capacity of our Nation and its military strength, these are not the factors which alone could preserve our freedom or enable us to maintain a free world of free men. The inner strength of America has not been its great cities, its huge industrial plants, its extended transportation systems or its variety of natural resources as important as these are.

The factor which made America an inspiration to the rest of the world grew out of our Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the spiritual values which the founders of our Republic recognized and by which they were guided.

We have recognized that there is a higher moral law to which governments are also accountable. We have humbly acknowledged the divine inspiration which made and preserved us as a Nation.

We have read of and been inspired by the action of George Washington in kneeling in prayer during the dark days of Valley Forge and of Lincoln doing the same during his lonely vigil in the White House during the darkest days of the Civil War.

The priceless ingredient for our people has been our constitutional form of government which guarantees our religious, personal and economic freedom.

We must not dilute our constitutional guaranties whereby human freedom would be compromised with totalitarian tyranny in any form of world government.

The incentives furnished under our system have constantly opened new horizons.

In this atmosphere, Americans of each generation have sought to leave to their children a better land than they themselves found, not just better in a material way but in the educational and cultural developments that make for better family and community life.

New inventions in various industrial fields and the tremendous potentials of the peacetime developments of atomic power are bound to challenge us for many years into the future.

The economic and fiscal record of our Republican administration has been without parallel in modern times. Total output of goods and services has increased from $345 billion in 1952 to $412 billion in 1956—a gain of more than 15 percent.

Five million dwelling units have been constructed during the 4-year period from 1953 through 1956. This greatly exceeds the number built during any other similar period in the Nation's history. Homeownership is at an alltime high.

Homeownership and construction should be encouraged. It contributes to our durable goods industries and contributes to good citizenship and an expanding standard of living.

Of even greater importance is the improvement in the spiritual base of American society. Participation in and support of religious, cultural, educational and civic activities is more extensive than ever before. Church membership has increased markedly and recent years have witnessed a sharp rise in the construction of churches.

Greatly increased amounts of resources are being devoted to education at all levels. Public and private outlays on construction of educational buildings totaled $3.1 billion in 1956—the fourth year in a row in which a new record has been set.

When the Federal Administration returned to Republican control, expenditures totaled almost $75 billion and the deficit was $10 billion. Taxes were cut by some $7 billion, the largest single tax cut in the Nation's history and by 1956 the budget was back in balance.

Lately, however, Federal expenditures have been increasing once again. There has been deep and widespread concern about this throughout the country and rightly so.

A tax system under which the Federal Government taxes personal incomes at rates varying from 20 to 91 percent and corporate income at a 52-percent rate is simply too burdensome. It will ultimately destroy our free enterprise system.

For fiscal year 1958 President Eisenhower estimates that the Federal Government will spend almost $72 billion—an increase of more than $5 billion over the 1956 spending rate.

The budget continues in balance only because of a continuous increase in the level of our prosperity which has brought forth a steady rise in tax revenues with no increase in rates.

Few people realize that all we need to do at the present time in order to be able both to reduce our towering national debt and cut taxes is to stop increasing Federal expenditures. Had Federal outlays been held at their 1955 level we would now face the pleasant prospect of a budget surplus of almost $9 billion in the coming fiscal year. This would be sufficient for a sizable reduction both in the national debt and in taxes.

In order to have a budget surplus of almost $5 billion in the forthcoming fiscal year, all we need to do is to keep Federal expenditures from rising above their already high current level. This reduction of $3 billion can and must be achieved as a minimum. I pledge my efforts to this end.

This must not be any single shot effort. In future years we must continue to keep Federal expenditures from increasing and wherever possible, to reduce them. Only this way can our burdensome taxes and national debt be steadily reduced.

There is a prevalent school of thought which maintains that Federal expenditures must keep pace with the growth of our economy. This is a dangerous and unnecessary philosophy. For one thing, it is the economy that maintains the Federal Government and not vice versa. Further, unless we are able to reduce our tax burden, we may end up by destroying or seriously crippling that which is the source of our strength—our free enterprise economy.

We live in a perilous age. Unless, we are able to reduce Federal expenditures and taxes, we will have no margin available for emergencies. Should we be faced with the necessity of fighting another war to preserve our liberties, we may end up having lost them through internal breakdown even though we decisively defeat our foreign foe.

I do not deny that as the country grows, some increase in Government expenditures is necessary and even desirable. However, of one thing I am certain. During a time of peace it is not necessary for Federal expenditures to increase as fast or faster than the increase in the national income or as fast as an overburdened tax system can produce increased revenues.

The founders of this Republic knew well the history of the world up to their time. They knew that where there was a concentration of power in a single agency of National Government that the freedom they sought to guarantee could easily be lost.

Those of us who continue to believe firmly in this wise political philosophy instinctively know that the Federal Government cannot give anything to the States unless it first takes it away from their citizens.

Throughout the major part of the last 30 years, the Federal Government has had to use a constantly increasing portion of the Nation's taxable capacity to meet its expending obligations. Only by calling a halt to this process can the weakened sovereignty of our States be shored up and revitalized. If the Federal system is worth retaining our aim has to be less Federal spending and less taking on of new obligations accompanied by a reduction in Federal taxes and debt. In this way and solely through these means the States and localities will have the wherewithal to undertake the many necessary programs as society grows and becomes more complex.

America is still the authentic revolution. The flame of freedom which was struck at Concord and Lexington still is an inspiration to the enslaved behind the Iron Curtain.

But it is also an ageless lesson that no outsiders can win independence for a people. They must be willing to pay the price in blood and resources to gain their own freedom.

We do recognize, however, that when freedom is destroyed anywhere a bit of freedom is destroyed everywhere.

Nations can die while delegates talk. Last year the General Assembly of the United Nations passed 10 resolutions in 76 days of debate. All that while freedom was being strangled to death in Hungary. With callous indifference the Soviet Union placed itself above the higher moral law of God as well as above its obligations under the United Nations Charter.

No international organization can long endure with a double standard of international morality.

Are the obligations and the mandates of the United Nations to be applicable to the democratic nations but not to the totalitarian powers? To the law-abiding but not to the outlaw nations? To the small and weak countries but not to the big and strong? What kind of justice is this? Are we building on quicksand? What kind of a foundation is this for constructing a system of international law and order based on justice?

We serve no useful purpose if we hide the facts. To the contrary by ignoring them and failing to seek remedies we may endanger the safety of this Republic and freemen everywhere.

For many decades the men in the Kremlin have preached the doctrine that the free world contains the seeds of its own destruction. It is far more likely, I believe, that the Communist world contains the seeds of its own destruction.

Hungary was but the latest in the indications that, even under totalitarian police rule and the brainwashing of a whole generation, the spark of freedom still lived and was capable of lighting a fire that endangered the whole monolithic structure of Communist tyranny.

After the Hungarian experience how much reliance can the Soviet Union place in the armed forces of the other captive nations if freedom is ever within their reach? How can they have faith in Communist indoctrination when young students were the leaders of the Hungarian rebellion?

Within the past several weeks the rules in the Kremlin have sought to intimidate Norway, Denmark, Greece, and Iceland.

The Soviet Union has not changed its long-term strategic objective: the destruction of human freedom everywhere.

They will be relentless in seeking to destroy our institutions. Fortified by our faith in God, we must be determined that our way of life will be preserved.

Hungary has also taught the world that unless an independent government or revolutionary movement can function for several weeks or months it is difficult for outside friends to assist.

Had the British Red Coats crushed the first American rebellion in a week and captured the leader (as happened in Budapest) there would have been no time for France and our other friends abroad to come to our aid.

Sooner or later there will be another Hungary. Will the free world be better prepared to strike a blow for freedom? Will the United Nations be prepared to do more than talk and pass 10 resolutions?

It may come this year or next in Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslavakia, Eastern Germany, Albania, North Korea, China, Poland, or in Hungary again.

Indeed it may even come in the Soviet Union where the people of Russia were the first victims of the godless Communist tyranny.

During the week Nagy was the legal head of the Hungarian Government; what a difference it would have made if the United Nations had sent in observers: If based on the first United Nations resolution the friends of freedom abroad had sent the freedom fighters, bazookas, and grenades rather than more resolutions of sympathy.

Or is the policy of the United Nations and the free world now to be that we will throw water on the embers of freedom and revolt against tyranny and that we will finance Communist economic and political systems so that the slaves will be more content with their masters?

I do not favor taxing the American people to support Communist economic or political systems abroad.

For several years the United Nations has discussed the freedom of colonial people in Asia and in Africa. These are and will continue to be important questions until equitable solutions have been reached.

Why, however, has there a strange silence in the United Nations to bring to a head the destruction of freedom in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia? Here is a clearcut prima facie case of the violation of its international treaties of friendship and nonaggression by the Soviet Union. Here is a clear case of the unilateral incorporation of three independent nations as provinces within the U. S. S. R.

Will the General Assembly take further action in the Hungarian case to back up its 10 resolutions or will an effort be made to create a zone of silence so that relations with the Soviet Union will not be embarrassed? Is justice for Hungary to be blinded and gagged as well? Is the conscience of the world that was so thoroughly aroused in October and November to be complacent and satisfied in May and June? While the Security Council meets on the Mideast question this month will the Hungarian issue be raised or be forgotten?

These are questions which free men will be asking and enslaved people who want to be free will be waiting for the answers.

It was Lincoln who said: "Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history * * * the fiery trial through which we pass will light us down to the latest generation * * * we, yes even we here, have the power and bear the responsibility * * * in giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free * * * we shall nobly save or meanly lose this last best hope on earth."

The Responsibilities of Citizenship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered to the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce Tuesday evening, April 30, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE ANNUAL CONGRESSIONAL DINNER OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN THE WILLARD HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 30, 1957

Mr. Chairman and my fellow Americans, one of the most profound truths that have come down to us from the wisdom of Benjamin Franklin was expressed by that great citizen of Pennsylvania in 1787 when the writing of the Constitution of the United States had been completed.

You will recall that he was asked: "What kind of government have you given us?" and he replied: "A Republic—if you can keep it."

In that simple statement Dr. Franklin asserted his firm belief that a republic recognizing freedom of the individual and deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed, is the most difficult of all types of government to maintain.

It is difficult to maintain because the people are the Government and they have the responsibility for its successful operation. The difficulties are increased when so few people really take a part in their government.

Many of our people seem to feel that they have performed their full duty as citizens when they vote. Some are so indifferent that they even neglect that fundamental obligation of American citizenship.

That tragic situation points out very clearly that to keep our Republic—to perpetuate its strength and power as the bulwark of freedom in the world—we need more

militant groups who will take an active, aggressive, and unselfish part in government.

Our country needs more dedicated men and women who will help choose able and courageous public officials to represent us, and then will support those representatives in carrying out the ideals of patriotic Americanism.

As we look back across the record of history we find that great nations have gone down to defeat when the people lost interest in their government. We find that wherever people depended upon government and not upon themselves, their moral fiber was undermined while initiative and self-reliance disappeared. The result has always been excessive government spending, oppressive taxation, and burdensome debt—and let me impress upon you that more great nations have been destroyed by debt and taxes than by invading armies.

Let us look at the situation in our own country as disclosed by some figures. These figures are interesting but to my mind they are most alarming.

In the decade following the expensive Civil War, the cost per capita of Government was $3.82 per person. At the turn of the century the cost was $2.17 per person. Following World War I the cost rose to $3.53 per person. During World War II the cost was $136.46 per person.

The lowest Federal tax take was in 1885, when it was only $1.98 per person, but in 1956 it had increased to the astounding figure of $446.86 per person.

We usually complain that the Federal Government is costing us so much, but the cost of Federal Government is not advancing as rapidly as State and local government.

Twenty-five years ago the overall total of Government debt—State, local and Federal—was $30 billion as against $318 billion now, or an increase of more than 700 percent, while the population has increased only 35 percent.

In 1932 the total cost of all government—local, tSate, and Federal—was $13½ billion and is now more than $100 billion, or an increase of 700 percent, while the population has increased but 35 percent.

In 1942, State and local taxes were about $9½ billion. In 1956, State and local taxes had increased to more than $26½ billion, or about 3 times.

Too many local governments now feel that if they get help from the State, it does not cost them anything. The States seem to feel that if they get a grant from the Federal Government that does not cost anything. We must never forget, however, that no government has ever created wealth, that all taxes come from the same pocket and are paid for by the consumer of goods produced by labor and industry.

The Federal Government has expanded its grants-in-aid to the extent that it covers practically every function of State and local government. There are now more than 50 activities of this kind. The cost of these grants in the twenties was about $100 million a year. This has increased steadily, year after year, to more than $4 billion at the present time.

In Pennsylvania, not including Federal expenditures for rivers and harbor improvements and flood control, we received $156 million in so-called Federal aid while in the same period we paid $242 million in Federal taxes.

In 1956, we actually spent in the United States $534 million on rivers and harbors and flood control. Of this, Pennsylvania received $7 million at a cost to Pennsylvania taxpayers of $37,293,000 for their share of the total.

These figures are warning signals and it has become imperative in Pennsylvania that we take a hard look at the situation confronting us.

We are not increasing in population as rapidly as our neighboring States, which are heavily industrialized. We have already lost 6 Congressmen since 1930 and because we are falling behind in population increase, we may lose 2 more by the 1960 census.

More alarming is the fact that we are falling behind in industrial progress. In order to retain and increase our population we must have more gainful jobs for our skilled workmen.

I know you have given a great deal of attention to the relationship between taxes and industrial expansion. The figures tell the story. In 1956 direct taxes on business called for 39 percent of the total State tax collections while in our neighboring State of New Jersey it was 19 percent and 18 percent in Ohio.

Let us all take a look at Pennsylvania's budget and also Uncle Sam's budget. Let us keep in mind that there is only one way to keep down taxes and that is to cut expenditures.

If we fail to do so we bring on the destructive force of inflation. Excessive spending by government and big debt are the heaviest inflationary pressures and the most serious threat to our national and economic welfare. Inflation is more deadly than war—more dangerous than any bomb that can be hurled against us.

We are living in a great age. We do not want to turn the clock back. But our ancestors had the virtues of thrift, prudence, and self-reliance. They had pride in local responsibility.

Those are still great virtues. Our local communities and the States should think of this when they go to the Federal Government for help.

Address by Hon. A. Willis Robertson, of Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, on May 10, 1957, my able and distinguished colleague, the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] delivered an excellent and eloquent address before the North Carolina Bankers Association, at Pinehurst, N. C. The able and distinguished junior Senator from Virginia is undoubtedly one of the foremost experts in the field of banking in the United States, by reason of his diligent study of banking problems. I ask unanimous consent that his excellent and eloquent address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR A. WILLIS ROBERTSON AT THE 61ST ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA BANKERS ASSOCIATION AT PINEHURST, N. C., MAY 10, 1957

Nothing has contributed more to the pleasure of my service in Washington than the friendships I have enjoyed with the splendid members of the North Carolina congressional delegation.

Some of you may recall that I served for 10 years on the Ways and Means Committee with Robert Lee Doughton—the noblest Roman of them all. I smile when I recall the confidential sessions in his private office when the President was urging more and more taxes to keep pace with more and more spending. Old man Bob used to say: "Unless we can stop that program it is going to wreck the country." The fact that it has not done so is mute evidence of how rich and strong our country was.

During my 10 years of service on the Ways and Means Committee, I helped to write 12 tax bills, each larger than the preceding one. So, I have a very clear idea of the present burden of taxation and the extent to which the ignoring of economy views of statesmen like Robert Lee Doughton has contributed to that burden.

Ever since I have been in the Senate the North Carolina representation in that body also has been outstanding. Never in recent years has more heartfelt sympathy been expressed on the floor of the Senate than on the occasion of the sudden death of the able and beloved Clyde Hoey. Since I am by profession a lawyer and had taken some interest in the Constitution even before it was amended by Court action in the school cases, I have been able to appreciate the outstanding legal ability of such Senators as Willis Smith an SAM ERVIN. Nothing could have been more pleasing to the farmers of Virginia than when North Carolina sent to the Senate a practical farmer who also was well versed in the science of farming, Senator SCOTT.

While Virginia was more of a battleground of the Confederacy than North Carolina, the flower of North Carolina manhood perished in the unfortunate and unnecessary conflict and no State was left more prostrate in the spring of 1865 than North Carolina. And yet no State of the Confederacy made a more rapid and successful recovery. We boast in Virginia of having at Danville the largest single cotton textile mill in the world, and yet, the total of cotton goods produced in North Carolina far exceeds those produced in Virginia. We boast about having at Suffolk the largest single peanut-processing plant in the world but the production of edible peanuts in North Carolina exceeds that of Virginia. Virginia boasts of its production and processing of tobacco and yet the fact remains that North Carolina raises more Virgina tobacco than Virginia and its tobacco-processing plants turn out more varieties than Heinz does pickles.

This year, we are celebrating the 350th anniversary of a settlement at Jamestown which we claim, of course, as the first permanent English settlement on the North American Continent. But all who know their history must admit that the home of the first English settlement would have been in North Carolina but for some tragedy never yet explained that wiped out Sir Walter Raliegh's settlement at Roanoke Island.

I mention these facts as evidence first, of a friendly rivalry in various endeavors that has marked the history of our two States, and second, as evidence of the firm ties that have bound us together.

It has been interesting to me to learn that while Virginia has nearly 100 more banks than North Carolina, the assets of the 312 Virginia banks are not very much larger than those of the 214 North Carolina banks. The principal reason, I believe, that there are more individual banks in Virginia than in North Carolina is the North Carolina law which permits statewide branch banking which we do not have in Virginia and I assume that the reason there are nearly four times as many State banks in North Carolina as national banks, as against a nearly even division in Virginia, is the rather liberal State banking law. For instance, a State bank can lend up to 20 percent of the first $250,000 of capital and surplus and 10 percent of the capital and surplus in excess of $250,000 to a single individual or interest, whereas national banks are restricted to 10 percent of capital and surplus.

Since the population of North Carolina is considerably larger than that of Virginia and the total of manufactured goods larger, one reason that the assets of Virginia banks are larger than those of North Carolina may be due to the fact that some of the largest corporations that are doing business in North Carolina carry substantial deposits in other States including Virginia. Of course, North Carolina banks have lost some deposits in the past year under the law that requires the State treasurer to get on State deposits a rate of interest equal to the average of short term United States Treasury bills. When the rate on Treasury bills went beyond the rate the banks were authorized to pay, your State treasurer invested about $93 million of State funds in United States Treasury bills.

It was my lack of knowledge of how the banking business had developed in the South that caused me to insert in the formulation of a tentative bill to codify the banking and credit laws a provision that I later learned was highly objectionable to many southern bankers. As I have indicated, most of the banks in Virginia are either national banks or State member banks and there was only one bank in Virginia that did not clear at par. Consequently, I inserted in my tentative bill a provision to require the Federal Reserve Board and the FDIC to adopt the same definition of what was interest on demand deposits with a view to ultimately wiping out absorption of exchange. I soon found that the Virginia viewpoint on that proposal was not shared by the majority of bankers from North Carolina to Florida. Therefore, when the full Committee was considering a bill to be reported to the Senate, I recommended to the full Committee that the provision in the tentative bill relative to the absorption of exchange be dropped. After that action was taken I received many fine letters from North Carolina bankers endorsing the bill that was reported to the Senate.

Although the bill, as passed by the Senate, contains well over 200 substantive amendments to the law, most of the discussion has been centered on the so-called controversial provisions. The regulation of bank mergers by the banking agencies rather than the Justice Department; the elimination of mandatory cumulative voting in the election of national bank directors; the requirement for disclosure of the actual owners of bank stock; and the restrictions on political contributions by banks—all are examples of important issues raised in the bill.

I assume you all are familiar with the arguments on both sides of these controversial questions. Therefore, I would like to review with you briefly some of the sections of the bill which have been overshadowed by the more publicized amendments. These are what I call bread-and-butter provisions, and they are designed to enable bankers to better meet their present-day problems.

I am sure you will agree that two of your principal problems are attracting capable men to the banking profession and obtaining adequate capital for growing banks. Our proposal to permit national banks to have stock option plans for their employees will place banks in a better competitive position with all industry in attracting and keeping personnel. To assist banks in raising needed capital, we have proposed that national banks be authorized to issue preferred stock. The present law does permit the issuance of preferred stock, but this has been construed as an emergency measure only and has not been used since the days of the RFC. We believe that national banks, with the approval of the Comptroller, should be permitted to strengthen their capital structure in the same manner as other corporations.

Limitations on lending authority of national banks would be liberalized in recognition of modern day business needs. Thus, the bill specifically authorizes loans on the security of dairy cattle, frozen foods, and consumer installment paper. National banks would be permitted to make loans to finance the construction of public buildings in connection with the Government's lease-purchase program. Similarly, 18-month industrial and commercial construction loans are authorized by the bill and the aggregate loan limitation on all construction loans is increased to 100 percent of capital and surplus. The bill also provides that loans for working capital purposes shall be considered ordinary business loans, even though the banker takes a mortgage on the property for additional protection.

During the course of my work on this bill many bankers complained to me about competition from savings and loan associations and charged that the Congress has given savings and loan associations an unfair advantage. Due to the nature and purpose of savings and loan associations, their laws in many respects must differ from the statutes governing banks. However, I do believe that to the greatest extent possible these institutions should operate under the same general ground rules as banks, so that the Congress cannot be unfairly charged with favoring one type of institution over the other. This is the philosophy we followed in drawing up the bill.

For the first time, we have provided for the removal of officers and directors of Federal savings and loan associations on the same grounds that are applicable to officers and directors of national banks and member banks. The present law governing the conduct of officers and directors of member banks in their business operations is also applied to officers and directors of Federal savings and loan associations.

Mergers and holding companies of savings and loan associations are made subject to regulation. The House companion bill, H. R. 7026, by Representative PAUL BROWN, of Georgia, carries a more liberal provision on savings and loan branches than the Senate bill, and the House bill also omitted the restrictions carried in the Senate bill on advertising by uninsured members of the Federal Home Loan Bank system.

Needless to say, witnesses for commercial banks called our attention to the fact that the tax rate for savings and loan associations was more favorable than that for commercial banks. Our advisory committee made a specific recommendation that the permissible bad-debt reserves under the Internal Revenue Code be increased, but the Senate Banking and Currency Committee does not have jurisdiction over the tax laws. The committee voted unanimously, however, to refer this question to the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee for due consideration.

I have outlined only some of the many provisions which are of immediate importance to every financial institution in our country. All of those provisions are in the House bill by Representative BROWN except the two provisions noted above relating to savings and loan associations. Naturally, therefore, I hope that North Carolina bankers will indicate to their Representatives in the House their interest in the Brown bill.

You will understand, of course, that my bill to codify the banking and credit laws was never intended to take the place of a comprehensive study of general fiscal policies as recommended by many economists, the ABA, and by the President of the United States.

We cannot overlook the fact that, contrary to the experience after every other major war, when prices soon fell from their wartime peaks, prices have continued to rise since the end of World War II, and in March of this year the Consumer Price Index stood at 118.9 percent of the 1947–49 average.

Our gross national product increased 6 percent during the last year and reached the record annual rate of $427 billion in the first quarter of 1957. Personal incomes and consumer spending also reached new highs this year. Although some soft spots have developed in our economy, we cannot yet say that the threat of an inflation that would be damaging to small as well as to large business has passed.

It must be recognized, too, that inflation is inefficient as well as unjust. When people cannot rely on the purchasing power of the dollar, money loses a considerable part of its usefulness. In the scramble to avoid the penalties of inflation, saving is discouraged and investments are planned with a view to dollar profits unrelated to efficient production.

In considering the inflation problem it is obvious that the full burden of price restraint cannot be borne by the Federal Reserve System. Government expenditures and financing must be determined with regard to effects on prices. Labor and business must restrict increases of wages to those consistent with generally increasing productivity. Bankers can be helpful also in creating a climate of opinion which will encourage stability of the general price level.

All of these groups should be interested in the kind of study of fiscal policies to which I have referred, but everyone should frankly recognize the fact that throughout the history of the Nation the control of money has never been separated from politics.

Alexander Hamilton, who did not object to George Washington being made king, wanted the new Nation to have a bank comparable to the Bank of England, owned and controlled by the Government. He partially got his wish in the Bank of the United States. That bank, though privately owned, so dominated credit and placed the control of money so firmly in the hands of a few rich men that the abolishment of the Bank of the United States became a major issue with Andrew Jackson.

Jackson succeeded in abolishing the Bank of the United States and for a while State banks flourished. But State banks issued script that passed for money and had no firm value. In order to get money of firm value with which to finance the War Between the States the Congress passed the National Bank Act of 1863 which placed a tax of 10 percent on the money issued by State banks and that, of course, put most of the State banks out of the note-issuing business. During and immediately after the War Between the States the Government put out paper money legally titled "United States notes" and called greenbacks. We still have some of this outstanding in the form of United States notes, totaling $346 million. A gold reserve of $156 million has for many years been held against these notes. The United States notes, or greenbacks, depreciated severely (to about 45 cents on the dollar) in relation to gold but returned slowly to par. A Silver Purchase Act in 1890 and issuance of Treasury notes of 1890 based on this silver again caused a depreciation in the quality of our money and had much to do with the 1893 panic and depression. President Grover Cleveland brought about the repeal of this law.

The issue over the retirement from circulation of greenbacks and what would be called today a tight-money policy reached a climax in the campaign of 1896 between William McKinley and William Jennings Bryan, when Bryan in an effort to end a farm depression, advocated the monetization of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 for gold as a means of producing plenty of cheap money.

The depression of 1907, during which many southern banks had to resort to scrip because of currency shortages, resulted in the ap-

pointment of the Aldrich Commission to study the problem of tight money. Republican bankers liked tight money and killed the Federal Reserve bill in the Senate in 1912. The next year the Democrats under Woodrow Wilson passed the bill. In the Senate only 3 Republicans and 1 Progressive joined with the Democrats in the passage of that bill.

The biggest depression in history started another drive in 1934 for easy money. A Democratic Congress abandoned the gold standard and ever since we have had a managed currency. Under that program, the dollar has lost one-half of its purchasing power. A managed currency can be kept sound if new money be issued solely with respect to the money work to be done. But when the Federal Government resorted to deficit financing it hurt the soundness of the managed currency in two ways:

1. By purchasing Government bonds Federal Reserve Banks provided the banking system with additional reserves which made it possible for them to increase the money supply without relation to the money work to be done.

2. When the Government sold bonds to commercial banks new deposit money was created for each dollar of bond so bought. And more business is done with bank check money than with currency.

The net result is an alltime high supply of currency, an alltime high of credit (including consumer and mortgage), and an alltime high of prices.

These factors need to be investigated. Edmund Burke said: "Nations do not learn by experience," but if our Nation hasn't learned that the consideration of sound money, so essential to successful banking, must be free from politics we may live to see currency and credit increased to the point of ruinous inflation.

Address by Hon. John O. Pastore, of Rhode Island, at Brotherhood Banquet of the National Conference of Christians and Jews

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by my distinguished colleague, the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], at the annual brotherhood banquet of the Rhode Island Council of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, held in Providence, R. I., on May 13, 1957. This excellent address will, I know, be of interest to the Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY UNITED STATES SENATOR JOHN O. PASTORE AT THE ANNUAL BROTHERHOOD BANQUET OF THE RHODE ISLAND COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, AT THE SHERATON-BILTMORE HOTEL, PROVIDENCE, R. I., MONDAY, MAY 13, 1957

I deeply appreciate the honor of the invitation to share in this occasion. "Occasion" seems too casual a word to define the drama that lies behind this happy gathering of men and women—friends, neighbors, and Americans. For here is something of the unfolding of the story that is America. Here is something of the greatness of the America that we possess—the America that possesses us. Here is something of the promise of the glory of America that is yet to be—in a world that is hungry for this kind of fellowship—hungry for the brand of brotherhood exemplified tonight.

Take a boy born of English parents in industrial England; take a lad born of Jewish parents in storied Ireland; take a youngster born of Italian parents under the sunny skies of that romantic land.

Where but in a land like ours could the 3 come together in this 1 golden hour to testify to the opportunities of our precious freedoms. It is a partnership in our common patriotism. Where else would gather so many races and so many religions as we represent to record our appreciation of individual, human, and humble men—not for their material successes—but for those qualities of mind and heart which make life an experience of justice, equality, happiness. Where but here could we demonstrate a fellowship that is more than tolerance.

I say this is the story of America though it reaches even beyond those English craftsmen who brought their plans for spinning wheels to dot the rivers of our valleys with industrial wealth.

It reaches beyond the Jews who 300 years ago founded their first synagogue in America, at Newport, to which they brought their ancient culture and their historic loyalties.

It reaches even beyond the dreams of the boy of Genoa—the daring Columbus who gave this New World to the Old World—and a new horizon to mankind for all time.

It reaches back as long as man has existed—since first man perceived he had a dignity beyond all other living creatures—and recognized the Creator who had made him so.

Through many ages and many lands man's culture multiplied—and thousands of years ago it flowered in the Judaeo-Christian precepts we respect tonight—personal freedom and moral responsibility—the sacredness of human life and the sanctity of the home.

These were the concepts of our Founding Fathers as they ordained this to be a government with the promise of life, liberty, and opportunity for all. These are the concepts that have molded the cultures of the many peoples who have poured their gifts into the common treasury of our America—building it to be the hope and inspiration of the world.

If this sounds like majestic language, we see it expressed in the simplicity of the lives of these three men we honor tonight. We understand it through their characters and their acceptance of responsibility which have made our lives a little better because they have passed this way.

If we have the right understanding, the significance of this night will not be lost upon us. This is a time of responsibility for us, too. If our America has received the gifts of the peoples of the world, we must realize that the world of freemen looks to America for leadership today.

This is an age that leads to destiny or disaster. Men's minds have wrested the secrets of nature with their promise of limitless good—or infinite evil.

We can lift impoverished peoples to a new happiness or we can blot entire cities and countries from the face of the earth. We have it in our power to annihilate all the cultures that have been centuries in the building. We can destroy all civilization.

I do not believe that the world can continue to live for all time in a state of balance of terror. Nor do I believe that permanent peace will come from massive retaliation. The answer is here—in the lesson of this night—in the spirit of tolerance and truth—of fellowship—of brotherhood—expressed in the dimensions of the destiny of the world.

These are heroic dimensions, if you will, but we have seen that this is a world more hungry for equality even than for food. We have seen men die in their determination to possess human dignity.

If others can die for this dignity—certainly we can live and work for it with all the genius and generosity we possess.

We know that we must live with other peoples in mutual respect—in a common freedom—and in universal peace.

The world looks to us for leadership and we shall rise to our responsibilities in the spirit and example of this night. We shall explore every path that may lead to peace and partnership.

And we shall be ready to share life in the true pattern of brotherhood. In that spirit we can lift the world out of hunger—out of horror—and out of hate.

Communism Versus Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, Jesse W. Bollinger, a prominent attorney in Dearborn, Mich., has written an outstanding article entitled "Communism Versus Democracy." With pride in my constituent and my State, I present his remarks and ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMUNISM VERSUS DEMOCRACY

(By Jesse W. Bollinger)

I venture to say that most people who might read the above title would see nothing irregular, unreasonable or improper about it. To most of us it is merely the statement of a current world struggle, of which we are all quite well aware, in which the United States and Russia stand as the opposing principals. This popular belief, however, is completely in error, and the error has resulted virtually in a state of national confusion regarding the subject of communism.

In discussing any controversial topic, it is always helpful if we can agree on the meaning of our terms, and upon definitions for our subject matter.

Democracy, I think we agree, is a form of government, the form of government which employs the principle of majority rule in arriving at political decisions.

As to communism there is considerable difference of opinion and uncertainty as to whether it is a form of government or a social and economic theory, or both. The uncertainty is quite understandable because Karl Marx himself apparently did not know what it really was and so did not classify it. We do know that his writings disclose the naive assumption on his part, that if the existing government is deposed, and if there is established in its stead, a new government comprised of a certain class of the people, that then, his social and economic theories would, unquestionably, immediately, and ipso facto, be an integral part of that new government, and the thought that other persons in that class might have other and different ideas, is blithely disregarded.

Communism, according to Marx, was the welding or fusing together of his proposed policy of public ownership and operation of

property, with a government established by the proletariat. In other words he proposed a government with a built-in legislative or governmental policy. It is here that he departs completely from reality

The only "built-in" policy, or the only principle concerning legislation, that a country is born with, so to speak, is that the will of the sovereign authority is the law of the land.

Marx overlooked entirely, the vitally important fact that governments and ideologies are completely separate and different things. A government is one thing, and any policy it may adopt, quite another.

Marx's followers might conceivably be successful in overthrowing their government, but once the government is overthrown, they are no longer crusaders for a cause, they are then supreme, they are the government. When this happens a vast change takes place. First, there is the scramble among the crusaders for the positions of power in the government. When this has been settled, those who have come off victorious now represent the sovereign power of the government. They are now vested with a new and strange authority which has its own claims and demands upon them. One of these is that their crusading ideal shall no longer be their first and prime consideration. Henceforth their only absolute allegiance shall be to that fundamental law of sovereignty which says that a government's first duty is to maintain its sovereignty at whatever cost. To this principle, all other ideas and ideals are necessarily relegated to the status of secondary considerations.

Since it is impossible to consider at one and the same time, communism as being both a governmental policy and a government, the best we can do is consider it first as being one, and then the other.

If communism is a form of government, it is either a majority rule government or a minority rule government. If it is majority ruled it is a democracy. But if we accept the claim of Russia's rulers that theirs is a Communist government, then communism, obviously is a minority rule government. The difference between the two we shall consider later.

If we consider communism as not being a form of government, but strictly a social and economic theory pertaining to the common ownership of property, it becomes necessary to find a government willing to adopt this theory and put it into practice. Since, however, this theory insists on there being a common ownership of property, the government selected must unquestionably and unequivocally provide for this common ownership. But common ownership, or public property as we call it, can exist only under governments which have a public control over the property. Majority rule, through the votes of the people, provides such control. Minority rule does not. Which means that the social and economic theory of communism can exist only under a majority rule government, or, in other words in a democracy. It is, however, the Russian Government which claims to be, and shouts to the world, that it is a Communist government, notwithstanding that property in Russia for all practical purposes, is owned and controlled by a very powerful few, who constitute a political aristocracy, more powerful, more privileged, and more exclusive than any ruling class the world has ever known.

It makes literally a world of difference whether the sovereign authority of a country is vested in a majority of the people or in a minority, because all governmental policies, and all government action, in all countries, is necessarily directed first to the well-being and preservation of the sovereign.

Where the will of the majority is the sovereign, all government action is necessarily designed to benefit the majority. Where the will of a minority of the people is sovereign, all governmental activity is aimed first to benefit that minority.

Therefore, if Karl Marx or anyone else advocates a theory or policy of government which he believes would benefit all the people, it will never be adopted by a minority-rule government unless it is of at least equal benefit to the sovereign minority, and if it would be of great benefit to the majority of the people, but detrimental to the interests of the sovereign minority, it could never become a law of the land.

From the above, I think we can see that, politically, the difference between the United States and Russia, is the difference, that exists between majority-rule governments and minority-rule governments, which, as exemplified by the United States and Russia respectively, we now consider.

We know that under our majority-rule government the will of the majority is our sole sovereign authority. Under this rule, our people have established our Constitution, our charter of government and human rights, which no one, either in the Government or out, may violate. We also know that under majority rule any or all people in Government can be removed or replaced, and that this is done peaceably, by the considered judgment of men, instead of by violence and revolution.

Now let us look at this same government under minority rule. Let us imagine that the principle of majority rule is somehow completely eliminated as a controlling principle in the operation of our Government. Would our President then quietly step down from his position as head of the Government? If he should choose not to, he would still be faced, as he is now, with the first duty and primary obligation of every government—the duty of maintaining its existence, the obligation of insuring that it shall not be overthrown. This is a natural and legal incident of sovereignty, and it is as immutable as the law of gravitation. The vote of the people having been eliminated, the President, as head of the Government, could no longer look to the ballot box for his authority to continue in office. He alone would be that authority, the sovereign, with the necessity thrust upon him of maintaining that sovereignty.

In such an unhappy event, any citizen who might advocate replacing the president would be guilty of treason in the broad meaning of that term, since he would be advocating the overthrow of the sovereign; and the president would be obliged to deal severely with any such person since, above all, he must see to it that his country's government is not overthrown. Under these conditions, anyone who openly opposed the president would have to expect that either he or the president must go, and it probably would not be the president. Also, it is possible under these circumstances that the suppression of free speech, the press, and even public assembly might become necessary, to prevent incitement of the people to revolution. And, if such drastic steps should become necessary, they would of course, be entirely legal. It would be pointly to call them wrong, or sinful, or cruel. They would have to be recognized for what they would be: Necessary measures, decreed by the country's sovereign authority, to prevent an overthrow of the established government. This is our country, as it would be under minority rule. This is dictatorship government, whether it be a dictatorship of the proletariat, or any other exclusive groups. This is the government of Russia.

In deciding upon a government for ones country, there is not a very wide selection of basic forms. All of the world's governments are either majority rule or minority rule. This does not mean that people necessarily have a choice, because a choice implies majority rule. It would be more correct to say that the country in which the people have a controlling voice in government has majority rule, and the country wherein the people do not have a controlling voice has minority rule. It is one of the great tragedies of our age that this difference, the only real difference between the United States and Russia, is sidetracked and forgotten, to the great power and glory of the Russian rulers. From what is incessantly drummed into our heads by our schools, our press, the radio, and every other medium for the dissemination of knowledge, Russia has a "Communist government," whatever that may be. Whatever it is, it is what we believe. The belief, however, is wrong because there is no such thing as a Communist government, but so long as we hold to this belief, it will preclude our ever reaching an understanding, much less a solution, of our greatest world problem.

The Russian Government was established by force, and it has been maintained through necessary measures, decreed by the country's sovereign authority, to prevent an overthrow of the established government. Stalin was not elevated to the position of Russian dictator because of communism. Nor did communism assist him in the purging of his political enemies, or in ruthlessly suppressing all opposition to his rule. In short, communism had nothing to do with establishing the existing Russian Government, and it has nothing to do with keeping it in power. In view of this we are forced to concede that the propagandists of this country and Russia have accomplished the seemingly impossible, in thoroughly identifying communism with Russia's Government. A government which in truth and in fact is nothing more nor less than minority rule in all its stark and bloody reality, irrevocably pledged to preserve, protect, and defend nothing—but itself. Nevertheless, to all our schoolchildren, and to most of us, that little gang of Russian usurpers, dedicated only to self-preservation, is a Communist government.

All this is not by way of attempting to deny that a great struggle is going on in the world, because there definitely is such a struggle, and it is of more importance to us than we know. I merely wish to point out that communism is no more involved in that struggle than it was involved in purging Stalin's enemies. The Russian Government is committed to but one policy, and that policy is not communism. It is committed only to maintaining itself in power, or, in other words, to purging its enemies. Consequently, it has a continuous fight on its hands, but the fight is solely to maintain and preserve the power and position of the Russian rulers, not—as they so loudly protest—for dear old communism.

Today's world conflict is not between ideologies, nor is it between an ideology (communism) and a form of government (democracy), as we have so long been telling ourselves. It is simply the conflict that necessarily results when majority-rule government, democracy, in the course of its slow but inexorable advance, is challenged by the entrenched forces of minority rule.

Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown, even if it is entitled to the crown, and doubly uneasy lies the head of the usurper whose authority derives neither from a crown nor from the will of the people. To the rulers of Russia, the continuing advance and progress of majority rule portends their inevitable downfall, and they see no alternative but to fight. This they do and will continue to do by every conceivable means, from conducting a propaganda campaign of hate and falsehood, to waging war. One interesting maneuver employed in their fight, a sort of delaying action, is to pull down the blinds (or Iron Curtain), so those inside cannot see out, and those outside may not see in. In any event, under the circumstances we should not be too surprised that Moscow

finds it impossible to concede us anything, or to agree with us about anything.

The immediate problem, however, is how to rescue the misguided souls in our own country, who, being lured by the bait of communism, have swallowed the hook of minority rule. The fact tht our own national propaganda and educational programs have not been more effective in curbing these defections is no credit to the rest of us. In fact one wonders if some of the declamations on the subject of communism made by many of our editors, educators, public officials, and just plain citizens, are not actually a contributing factor in these derelictions. For example, we know that the Russian Government is a primitive type of government, operating virtually according to the code of the wild—the strongest having the right to rule the herd. Why, then, do we gratuitously accord it, what the Russians consider is the highest distinction within our power to confer, by following their line in calling it a "Communist government"?

It is an amazing tribute to the power of propaganda that we have come to think of Russia and communism as being a sort of political Damon and Pythias. Lately another word has been coming between these two, but not really to separate them. On the contrary, the purpose is to expand and broaden the scope of their influence. The bigger and better phrase is: "Russian world communism." Thus, the single word, "communism," provides that little Moscow minority with a completely sufficient and adequate raison d'etre, volumes of publicity, and an eager world press, notwithstanding the fact that communism itself, by any known definition of the word, is as foreign to Russia as the Australian ballot.

The Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, there is much discussion concerning the cutting of the budget. Since I have been a Member of Congress there has never been as careful study of appropriations as during this session. There has been much talk relative to statements made by our great Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey. The Nation is very fortunate to have a man of Mr. Humphrey's ability and patriotism in the service. His statement relative to a hair-curling depression has been very much misunderstood.

David Lawrence, under date of May 12, has given, to my mind, a very fair statement concerning Mr. Humphrey, and I ask unanimous consent that his article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"HAIR CURLING" REMARK TONES DOWN IN CONTEXT

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, May 12.—Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey has been bearing the brunt of a good deal of criticism lately throughout the country. Some accuse him of "attacking the President's budget." Others say he predicted a depression that "will curl your hair" unless the 1958 budget recommended by the President is cut by many billions of dollars. Partisans on Capitol Hill have been twitting the administration and seeking to exploit the alleged contradictions.

But, if ever a man in public life was misquoted or quoted out of context, misunderstood, and misrepresented, it is the present Secretary of the Treasury in relation to his comments at a press conference of January 16 last.

Fortunately, a stenographic record was kept and was issued to the press that same day.

This correspondent has just completed a study of what was distributed by the various wire services and what was printed in most of the newspapers immediately after the press conference of January 16. The only conclusion that can be reached is that the text of what the Secretary really said and the impression conveyed by some of the wire services is considerably different. Here is the exact text of the question that drew the response about "hair curling":

"Mr. Secretary, isn't nearly all the talk here today about cutting spending and cutting taxes largely academic, as long as the world situation remains what it is? Looking at this budget, I find that the lion's share of the increased expenditures is for mutual security and defense. Is there any hope anywhere in the world situation that you can do any cutting in defense spending in the next few years?"

It is to be noted that the questioner inquired about any hope anywhere in the world situation and referred specifically to the increased expenditures for mutual security and defense. Here is the exact text of Mr. Humphrey's answer:

"I think there is, yes I do. I think there is some hope you can reduce expenditures all along the line. I would certainly deplore the day that we thought we couldn't ever reduce expenditures of this terrific amount, the terrific tax take we are taking out of this country. If we don't over a long period of time, I will predict that you will have a depression that will curl your hair, because we are just taking too much money out of this economy that we need to make the jobs that you have to have as time goes on."

Mr. Humphrey spoke not of this year's budget but of what has to be done over a long period of time. He was talking directly about reducing expenses for armament. So are Prime Minister Macmillan and Premier Mollet and Chancellor Adenauer. All over the world statesmen are talking of the backbreaking burdens of armament.

None of the dispatches written on January 16 that this correspondent saw emphasized sufficiently the difference between Mr. Humphrey's comments on the long-range prospect due to the armament burden arising out of the world situation and the particular budget submitted that week by the President.

The public didn't get the impression at all that Mr. Humphrey was really supporting the existing budget but that he was differing with the President. Yet in the text of the transcript occurs the following comment by the Secretary:

"I think this budget as now drawn has been prepared with the very greatest care, and I think it is the best that we can possibly do right now. Now, my whole point is this: that it is 18 months before we get through living under this budget, and I think there are a lot of economies and a lot of savings that we ought to be able to make if we pay strict attention to our business and work at them hard enough during the next 18 months. I don't think there is anything in sight at the moment that can be done better than is now proposed in this budget, but I think we ought to improve it as time goes on."

Asked whether the Secretary and the President differed about the budget, Mr. Humphrey said in that same press conference:

"There is no division or difficulty in the administration at all on this subject. This is a thing that we all are in accord on. This budget was made up, as I say, with the very greatest care and a great deal of time spent on it, and this is apparently the best we can do at the present time. But I just believe that over 18 months we ought to keep doing better."

Addresses at the First General Conference of American - Sponsored Binational Schools in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by His Excellence Senor Dr. Don Francisco Urrutia, Ambassador of Colombia, and an address delivered by His Excellence Senor Dr. Don Victor Andrade, Ambassador of Bolivia, at the opening session of the First General Conference of American-Sponsored Binational Schools in Latin America, held at the Burlington Hotel, Washington, D. C., April 10, 1957.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY, SEÑOR DR. DON FRANCISCO URRUTIA, AMBASSADOR OF COLOMBIA, AT THE OPENING LUNCHEON SESSION OF THE FIRST GENERAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN SPONSORED BINATIONAL SCHOOLS IN LATIN AMERICA, HELD AT THE BURLINGTON HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 10–12, 1957

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, as you know, we have in most of our Latin American countries systems of education quite different from those of the United States. Our systems are consistent with traditions inherited from France and Spain, while your educational system follows more the British pattern.

Hundreds of books have been written both in France and in England aiming to prove that one system is better than the other and the discussion is still going strong.

In Latin America our grandfathers and fathers used to go to Spain and France for their education. After the First World War many of us were sent to Switzerland.

Today most of our Colombian families keep their sons at home where we have very good schools for general education, but, as in the past, we like to send our girls and boys abroad for a few years for specialized studies and to give them a broader and more complete picture of the world.

The binational schools provide several benefits. First of all, for all the families who cannot afford to send their boys abroad, they definitely find in these schools what other people find when they can travel. But there are two aspects of the benefits that we find in binational schools that I would like to point out.

Today most of our boys travel to the United States and come to the United States for

schooling. Very few still go to Europe, mainly to study architecture or liberal arts. But those who travel to Europe find little difficulty in following their studies. Those who come to the United States face problems that only the establishment of binational schools has been able to solve.

You are all aware of how difficult it is to get admitted to college and the high average of grades required to remain there.

I have had many painful experiences with Colombian boys who were admitted on the basis of very good records in their Colombian schools, but could not keep up with their studies because of serious language difficulties. As a result, they had to leave college after the first year and return to Colombia to start again, having lost 1 or 2 college years. Many of them became discouraged and stopped their education altogether.

Last year, according to the records we have in the Embassy, we had almost 3,000 students in the United States. And I don't want to tell you the figure of the number of students who could not stay here.

With the Binational Schools this problem has disappeared, because the families who plan to send their children to the United States have been able to have them learn English before they come to the United States, and follow there the same courses required to enter college here.

I don't know exactly the number of children who have attended Binational Schools who are here in the United States, but I checked on 20 that I knew of—friends, boys, sons of my friends—and of these 20 only 1 did not finish college. The other 19 were admitted here and were able to have their 4 years in college.

There is another aspect of the benefits that we are receiving from Binational Schools which, in my opinion, is perhaps the most important insofar as understanding and solidarity of the peoples of this continent are concerned. In the past your United States diplomats, foreign officers, and businessmen, because of educational factors, had to leave their wives and children at home whenever they were required to live abroad. As a result of this, neither they nor we could acquire the knowledge and understanding of our respective countries which only family relations permit.

With the establishment of Binational Schools, today any United States citizen with a position in Latin America may take his family with him. This has strengthened the many bonds that family friendship contributes to international relations.

I myself some years ago faced a situation that could have brought about many difficulties without binational schools. When I was appointed Ambassador to Caracas, I had been living in the United States for several years as my country's Ambassador to the United Nations. Therefore my boys had been attending schools in New York and I faced the dilemma of leaving them in the United States or having them go through a complete change in their educational system by attending a Venesuelan school. Fortunately, the Campo Alegre School in Caracas admitted my boys, and upon their return to the United States two years later they were admitted to Greenvale School—the same one they had attended before—without any interruption whatsoever and to the same courses they would have followed if they had not left New York.

The problem I faced at that time is the same one that many United States citizens had to face a few years ago and definitely for those of us who have families this is a vital problem that can prevent accepting a position if a solution is not found.

In my opinion, I think that this program has helped in the most successful way to advance hemispheric good will and understanding.

So far as we are concerned in my country we want to support those schools. We believe they have been the answer for many of our problems.

The only thing we hope is that you are going to support them, too, as much as you can, because, definitely, I think that of all the programs that have been set up in the last years, this binational schools program is certainly one of the most important and one where the most effective results have been achieved in a very few years.

Thank you.

SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY, SENOR DR. DON VICTOR ANDRADE, AMBASSADOR OF BOLIVIA, AT THE OPEKING SESSION OF THE FIRST GENERAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN-SPONSORED BINATIONAL SCHOOLS IN LATIN AMERICA, HELD IN WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 10–12, 1957

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen of the Conference of American-Sponsored Binational Schools in Latin America, I have to apologize, first, for having requested that this program be altered a little bit so as to allow me to bring a very humble and small message. The rhythm at which we live in America is different from that in our countries, subject to the time clock, to the ime element, as we are, which makes it necessary for me to speak first, and to have begged for this tolerance. But I couldn't miss the opportunity of saying something in this meeting.

It is not the first time that I have been interested in these American schools in Latin America, and when I see that this project is advancing and progressing, I feel myself profoundly encouraged, and I can foresee very, very important results and implications in our future.

There is always among the American people a sense of frustation as to what are the results of the contributions of the American people in regard to aid, grants, cooperative programs, and all kinds of enterprises abroad. It is very difficult sometimes to bring actually to the American people tangible results, and periodically we see bcing discussed either in the papers or in the Congress that idea—are we getting anywhere? Is it worthwhile to use our hard-to-get taxpayers' money in some of these joint enterprises? Are we being loved, thanked, or respected on account of these efforts? Are we regarded as a little naive by not using the classical methods of growing empires in the past and trying to do something else?

I see these questions very often in my trips around the United States, and I have been asked about them in some of my lectures. I, therefore, thought it my duty to say something about a tangible result of this cooperation of the United States with other countries, in this case in the field of education.

Excuse my vanity, but I regard myself as a sort of pioneer in this question of getting the United States to sponsor programs of education in Latin America. I remember about 12 or 13 years ago coming to the State Department and having a very interesting conversation with the Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs at that time, Archibald McLeish, on this subject, of how important it was for the United States to enter into this type of activity.

Since I, myself, have intervened in this project from a different angle from that which you are doing, I thought that I should write a statement that will go into the record of this meeting as it was written. In that statement I more or less summarize my intervention in this type of project, and how I came to be active in getting some funds especially for one of the first projects that was undertaken. That was in Bolivia.

The statement follows:

"During the first years of the Second World War, the officials of the American Institute of La Paz announced that it was the intention of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church of the United States to close the institute and sell the property. The reason given was that financial difficulties would prevent the continuation of the permanent subsidy for the school, and also the fact that the war itself had created new obligations in other areas. The board stated that this step was decided upon in order to maintain the school located in the city of Cochabamba.

"Upon investigating the possibility of obtaining a subsidy from the United States Government, the board learned that the Government was not allowed by law to subsidize institutions of religious denominations. Therefore, it was decided that a group of seven former students, alumni, and friends of the American Institute would band together and form an association that would take over the property of the school through a token rent from the Board of Foreign Missions. In this way, a subsidy was obtained and the institute was saved for my country. After the war, the Board of Foreign Missions again took possession of the institute and today it is functioning under its auspices.

"Why did my friends and I take the step to help save the institute? It was that we were convinced of the importance of the American Institute of La Paz, not only for the education of an important fraction of the Bolivian youth, but also for the social influence that it exerts on a large part of the community. It must be remembered that one of the instruments that Nazi Germany used in order to establish a stronghold in South America was to organize well-financed primary and secondary schools which in addition to a very good education, also taught the worship of the person of Hitler and his totalitarian methods. For persons who realized the tremendous threat that this constituted against the freedom of the country and the damage it could inflict upon the mentality of the new generations, the closing of the American Institute meant the strengthening of the objectives of Nazi Germany among Bolivian youth.

"Education in private schools during the Spanish colony and the first period of the Republic had been restricted to a very small minority through the private schools attached to monasteries and convents of some Catholic religious orders. Liberal movements at the turn of the century tried to separate education from the church through public schools. Unfortunately, the poverty of Bolivia did not permit the creation of a good public-school system. Under such conditions the American Institute of La Paz, which was founded in 1907, fulfilled a very important role. The results which are apparent after approximately half of a century of the school's life are particularly interesting.

"Not only did the institute bring to the country new methods of education and a new spirit in the shaping of the younger minds, but it also played an important part in our cultural development. As I have mentioned before, its mere existence constituted a counteracting force against the Nazi infiltration. Furthermore, when Communist influence started to spread its activities among the teachers in the public schools, the American Institute of La Paz became the source of a new concept, namely that Communist ideas and propaganda can be defeated more successfully by democratic ideals in the field of human thinking. The fact that the new progressive movements in Bolivia, which defeated communism entirely, have had as their leaders former students and graduates of the American Institute, is not just a coincidence but is largely the result of the influence of the school. The President of Bolivia, several cabinet ministers, and the most important labor leaders in the country were all educated at the American Institute.

"These men realized that the country needed reforms very badly. They were also

aware that such reforms should be carried out on the basis of a national ideology and not as a part of an international subversive machinery that would make such issues a stepping stone for Communist imperialism. It was on the basis of the ideas transmitted by young North Americans who had seen the development of the homestead system and the advantages of the family-sized farm, and the rejection of slavery, that the ideas of economic and land reform were originated.

"Bolivia today has changed its medieval agrarian structure to a modern one that tends to create a stable society based on the ownership of the land. Bolivia's reforms in the economic field tend to erase privileges and monopolies and open opportunities for everyone. The new Bolivia is based on the idea that only a competitive society in which work and capacity get their fair reward is the way to abundance, prosperity, and peace. In the formation of these ideals the American Institute of La Paz has had one of the most important roles. I, as one of its former students, am glad to acknowledge this and I wish to state further that I can think of nothing more constructive than other educational institutions in countries like Bolivia which will parallel the work of the American Institute."

Let me add now a few concepts, which will further supplement this statement.

Why is it that I believe that there is nothing as important as this cooperation in establishing a mutual effort of education between the United States and Latin American countries? And in this case I speak as a man who has devoted a lot of his time to the study of political science as a stateman in my own country, and as a diplomat here in the United States.

I believe that the world that we face and the times that come, carry a tremendous challenge. How are we going to stabilize a democratic society and defend it against the attacks in the minds and in the military field of totalitarian ideas and methods that one day will take the name of nazism, fascism, communism, and, or maybe something else in the future?

I believe that our tremendous strength in the Western World lies in America. I think that God has separated this continent and protected it by 2 oceans to become a sort of haven of the ideals and the methods that eventually will go to the rescue of humanity and the rest of the world.

But for that purpose, if America—and I am speaking of America of this continent, from Alaska to Patagonia—is to accomplish this mission, we have to integrate our cultures. If we do not integrate them, we must make them more comprehensive and understandable to the peoples all over the continent.

I come from a country that is in the heart of South America and which, by reason of its geographical characteristics, is one of the most provincial countries on the continent. I am aware of the tremendous threat that the separation of our cultures means for this ideological unity.

What is the way to reform, to remedy that? There are several methods. One is a continuous interchange of the students, of advisers. That is superficial. The only thing that stays—and I am telling you this as one of the results of such type of activity—is the one that has been gotten through the schools, through the teachers, through exchange of educational programs, of educational methods, and through the exchange of that very clean effort that nobody can contest and accuse, and that is to help other people to raise their standards of instruction and education.

Bolivia today has probably the smallest rate of Communist threat in the continent, regardless of the tremendous poverty of our masses, our workers, and our peasants. Why is it, since communism usually breeds on destitution and poverty, why is it in Bolivia it has never been able to do anything?

The explanation is that our country was fortunate enough to have an institution that for 50 years had been teaching a certain type of liberal conception of life that meant an opening of new horizons for the people and protected them from the confusion of those alien ideas that today serve as an instrument of that tremendous threat that we have in this communistic international.

With these words, Mr. Chairman, I will finish my statement, and I want to tell you only that I wish you and the conference all the success in your exchange of professional and technical ideas. More than anything, I wish you a tremendous success if you can raise the interest of your Government and your Department of State in this project of cooperation with the countries south of the Rio Grande.

The Goodwill Award for 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES E. POTTER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, on May 3 I received an honor for which I am deeply grateful—the Goodwill Award for 1957. Following the dinner celebrating the occasion several of the speakers voiced remarks which I believe should be given a permanent place in the RECORD of our proceedings.

Mr. Philip M. Talbott, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; Mr. George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; and Miss Mary E. Switzer, Director of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, spoke effectively and movingly on the work of the Goodwill Industries.

I ask unanimous consent to have their comments printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF PHILIP M. TALBOTT, PRESIDENT, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, GOODWILL INDUSTRIES AWARDS DINNER, MAY 3, 1957

We are meeting almost on the eve of National Goodwill Week, and this brings into focus the increasingly important place of such organizations as Goodwill Industries in the social and economic framework of our society.

We are confronted with the addition of about 250,000 handicapped persons to our population ranks each year. There are more than 25 million Americans who are handicapped in some degree.

Most of them are able to earn a living in spite of their disabilities, and more than 2 million of them who are now unemployed could work if they were trained and assisted.

These persons constitute a specialized problem which deserves more attention than it now receives from all segments of our society and our economy.

One important clue to the problem, however, can be found in the operations of the Goodwill Industries.

The 116 Goodwill Industries across the country constitute the largest group of workshops for all types of handicapped persons in the United States. They are providing employment and job training for more than 30,000 persons each year.

I believe that Goodwill Industries deserve our warmest commendations and congratulations for their leadership in helping the handicapped to help themselves. For a number of years, such organizations as Goodwill Industries were working pretty much alone in this field of service.

Workshops for handicapped persons have not been as widely recognized as other welfare causes, and their programs still are not too well known and understood.

This situation can only be described as unfortunate, because these workshop programs represent a concrete and practical way to provide not just help to the handicapped, but help with a goal of self-sufficiency. They should not only be better known, but better supported.

As I see it, there are three major needs for the handicapped. One need is to give equal economic opportunity immediately to all those whose disabilities are such that their work capacities are not limited or restricted.

There are many of the less severely handicapped who can work as well as any able-bodied person, especially if a little thought is given to fitting them for the job.

A second major need is to train the more seriously handicapped who lack work conditioning and work experience, so they can join the national labor force.

A third need is to provide special employment conditions for those whose disabilities are too severe to permit working under normal conditions in commerce and industry. We cannot just ignore these people. We cannot leave them to relief rolls. As a Goodwill Industries slogan so aptly puts it, they deserve a chance, not charity.

The first need—providing job opportunities for those whose capacity to work is not restricted—could be met without too much difficulty. Many business concerns could employ more handicapped persons than they do, and I was happy to notice on my first day as president of the national chamber, that the chamber staff includes a number of disabled men and women.

Experience has demonstrated that the handicapped make excellent workers. In many cases, they excel the able bodied. Those who are physically unable to find an emotional outlet in the diversions of the able bodied are apt to make their jobs their outlet. The job becomes the most absorbing interest in their lives.

The other two needs—training the more seriously handicapped, and providing special employment conditions—cannot be so easily met, and it is here that the role of organizations such as Goodwill Industries becomes tremendously important—not only to the handicapped individual, but to the prospective employer.

I am told that the term "sheltered employment" is frequently used to cover the service rendered in training the handicapped for normal jobs and providing special employment facilities for the more severely disabled.

As I understand the term, it means employment which provides the opportunity to acquire vocational skills and to acquire an adjustment to normal working conditions, as well as employment which is adjusted to the capability of the individual.

"Sheltered employment" has two purposes: to train those who are capable of being trained for normal work, and to employ on an indefinite basis those who are not capable of normal work.

A distinctive characteristic of sheltered employment is that its focus is on service to the individual rather than on profit. This type of employment is not, and need not be, a function of our business world.

On the other hand, the businessman can lend the heartiest kind of endorsement to the type of service performed by Goodwill Industries because it is a welfare service patterned by the standards, and within the spirit, of the free enterprise system.

Goodwill Industries is applying sound business principles to a welfare cause. Each Goodwill Industries is an autonomous community enterprise, administered by the board of directors composed of community leaders—and this again is within the spirit of our American way of life.

The purpose of business—to put it most simply—is to make goods and services available to the public. Business is naturally interested in the widest possible market.

Goodwill Industries is helping to expand the market for goods and services while, at the same time, achieving a most commendable humanitarian cause.

But it would be shortsighted to consider the needs of the handicapped from the humanitarian standpoint only. There is a critical economic angle involved which the National Chamber has recognized for some years.

The manpower resources of the United States are far from abundant. All through the postwar period, our population has been growing at both ends, and shrinking in the middle. Our cradle roll has witnessed a terrific expansion—and, as a result of advances in medical science, people are living longer.

If we add those two factors to the low birth rate during the depression of the 1930's, we discover that we have about the lowest percentage of persons in the productive age group of 18 to 64 than at any time in our history.

While I have no crystal ball to help me see the future, I am confident that our economy is going to continue to expand. Automation has already demonstrated that it creates jobs instead of eliminating jobs.

People are going to continue to retire at earlier ages, and as the science of geriatrics begins to rival the science of pediatrics, the ranks of the rocking-chair (or retirement-income) brigade will steadily increase, without a compensating increase in the productive age group.

Here then, is a long-term manpower problem, and Goodwill Industries is doing something about it.

While it seems to be true that all divisions of our society have been paying more attention to the needs of the handicapped during the past 10 years, a vast amount of work remains to be done. I think I can say that the business community, and such organizations as Goodwill Industries, have much in common which should make us even better acquainted than we are.

I most heartily salute you of Goodwill Industries on the occasion of 1957 Goodwill Week—and I am grateful for your invitation to be with you tonight.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, AT THE ANNUAL AWARDS DINNER OF THE GOODWILL INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, MAY 3, 1957

It is an honor and a distinct pleasure to extend the best wishes of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to the officers and members of Goodwill Industries and all other public-spirited groups and citizens attending this annual awards dinner.

We of the AFL–CIO are glad to take part in launching the 1957 annual observance of National Goodwill Week.

The objectives and accomplishments of the Goodwill Industries of America in providing rehabilitation, training and employment of the handicapped have long been admired by the AFL–CIO. As firm believers in this humanitarian program, we are proud to join with the many other organizations commemorating the 55th year of Goodwill Industries service to handicapped workers. We are confident that the overall cause of the handicapped can be and will be much improved through our combined efforts and activities.

With the ever increasing number of handicapped persons in our country today, an adequate program to restore to the handicapped the dignity of a useful and self-reliant life is of vital importance. In no other field are the opportunities greater for constructive action to enlarge our productive resources and improve the welfare of our citizens.

The AFL–CIO is built on the trade-union tradition of working for the general welfare of all people—and that includes, of course, the handicapped. We are determined to do what we can to see that a person with an impairment is not denied the opportunity to earn a living. Let me assure you that this attitude is not only felt at the top level but reaches all the way down to the local unions throughout the country.

Under our program, organized labor is doing many things to aid the handicapped:

1. We urge the extension of rehabilitation services through the expansion of existing facilities and the creation of new facilities wherever needed.

2. We aim to extend the benefits of second injury legislation to all States and to improve the laws now enacted in order to extend second injury protection to a wider range of disabilities.

3. We strive to increase employment opportunities for the handicapped through collective-bargaining agreements and union-management cooperation.

4. We are working for the formation of more and more union-management committees for the handicapped at the plant level. Committees of this nature should consider all problems arising in employment, reemployment and transfer of impaired workers, whether the physical condition stems from on-the-job or off-the-job injuries.

5. We recognize the wisdom of active participation in community programs and encourage State and city local central bodies to take active part in State and local committees for employment of the handicapped. Community participation is, I believe, one of the most important objectives in the coming years. Obviously, the best place for the handicapped worker to earn a living is in his own community. We maintain that under most conditions any community can absorb its handicapped into its industrial and commercial life to great advantage.

A community committee including representatives of organized labor, management, the professions, civic and welfare organizations—in fact, a good cross-section of the life of that community—can do a particularly effective job. A program which would determine the number of unemployed handicapped workers in the local population together with a close-knit program of cooperation with local rehabilitation and placement agencies can make real progress when every body concerned is working as a team.

The program which the AFL–CIO has developed in this field has not been designed with any feeling that these handicapped need to be coddled by our society. On the contrary, the program is based on the principle that, if given adequate rehabilitation services and an opportunity for a decent job, the handicapped individual himself will eargerly utilize his own resources to become an active, productive worker.

Out of it, and out of a new awareness of the problem, we hope will come the kind of understanding and assistance which will result in the adoption of an enlightened rehabilitation, training, and employment of the handicapped program.

The doctors, the scientists, the technicians have made remarkable progress in this field. We have the tools and the know-how that are necessary. It is up to us—all of us—to translate this knowledge into practice for the benefit of the handicapped as individuals and for the ultimate benefit of all.

EXCERPT OF REMARKS OF MISS MARY E. SWITZER, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION, AWARDS DINNER OF GOODWILL INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 3, 1957.

One of the most gratifying results of the new vocational rehabilitation law of 1954 has been the expansion of Goodwill Industries with the partial financial support of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation.

Not only have your sheltered workshops been improved in many cities so as to offer employment and training to more of the disabled who cannot readily obtain competitive jobs without transitional training, but in some cities—as in Washington—actual rehabilitation facilities have been established to improve the work capacities of the disabled.

These developments are quite characteristic of the remarkable upsurge of interest in rehabilitation in communities throughout the country and have contributed significantly to the record number of rehabilitations achieved last year—66,273. They serve admirably to show that even a little stimulus from the State and Federal Governments can engender enthusiasm and cooperation in communities everywhere far out of proportion to the small investments of State and Federal funds which are so newly available.

There are some 40 joint projects in which Goodwill and the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation are taking part to expand and improve opportunities for the disabled. These have been financed by approximately $500,000 of Federal funds. This money has been matched many times over, however, with local dollars and hard work on the part of local people. That is the significant and constructive aspect of this partnership.

The rehabilitation center added to the Davis Memorial Goodwill Industries here in Washington, is a fine example of what we can accomplish by working together.

And, as another significant example, the Cincinnati Goodwill Industries Rehabilitation Center quite recently started a demonstration of the contribution that a mobile rehabilitation team can make in providing more effective and economical rehabilitative services to the handicapped in small communities of a three-State area—Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana.

Patriotism Above Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the Union League of Philadelphia is a unique organization. It could be rightfully termed a great political organization, but it has always put patriotism above party.

Ivan H. Peterman has written several articles relative to the league, and he has just written one on the subject Patriotism Above Party, in which he makes some very interesting statements relative to World War I, and what it

meant as it related to the President, Woodrow Wilson. I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PATRIOTISM ABOVE PARTY

(By Ivan H. Peterman)

It was the evening of May 11, 1915. The war that was supposed to make the world safe for democracy, raged along two muddy fronts of Europe. The neutral United States with natural ties to Great Britain and France, was freshly appalled at the German submarine sinking of the Cunard liner *Lusitania*, 4 days earlier off the Irish coast. Of the 1,198 lives lost, 124 were American. A week before, the German Embassy had arrogantly published a warning in New York newspapers, advising all travelers under the British flag to take the consequences.

The Union League of Philadelphia pondered these fresh atrocities as its members met to mark the 50th anniversary of the League House. There were 10 distinguished guests at the reception and banquet, and the professor from Yale University was center of attraction. His name was William Howard Taft, lately President of the United States, and a Republican well qualified to survey the international crisis. Mr. Taft had also been Secretary of War.

A great many were therefore surprised, but their faith in American political honesty and patriotism fired anew, when former President Taft took note of President Wilson's famous declaration at Philadelphia the night before. Said Wilson, with the cries for Lusitania reprisal in his ears: "There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right, that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right * * *."

The man whom Democrat Wilson had defeated made a remarkable speech. He urged the politically conscious labor leaders not to aspire to special privilege, not to abuse the strike, or to resort to the compound boycott. He urged better use of the primary, more attention by the voters to their duty. Then he came to the war crisis and Germany's repeated violations of Geneva conventions, and the rights of the United States as a neutral.

Many citizens expected Mr. Taft to take issue with the President's caution. Popular feeling invited a grandstand play. But he did nothing of the kind. He stoutly approved Wilson's judgment, reminding of the President's responsibilities, his duty to conduct foreign policy until and as Congress felt it necessary to declare war. No indignation of the moment, however high, should be permitted to plunge a nation into hostilities that would cost tens of thousands of lives, and billions of dollars in resources, he said.

"With the present condition of the war in Europe, our action, if it is to be extreme, will not lose efficacy by giving time to the people, whose war it will be, to know what they are facing."

Then Mr. Taft, a member of the Union League, raised its banner above the realm of partisanship by saying:

"The task of the President is a heavy one. He is our President. He is acting for the whole country. He is anxious to find a way out of the present difficulty, without war. Before party, before ourselves, we of this league, are for our country. * * * Shall we not stand by him in this work? ('We shall,' they shouted.)

"It is the peoples' cause, not his alone, and he does well when quick action is of no critical importance, to allay excitement and to await the regular and studied action of the peoples' representatives. Our honor is safe with him. I give you a toast: The President of the United States."

Mr. Taft's advice and Mr. Wilson's caution postponed the entry of the United States into World War I for nearly 2 more years. Wilson continued sending notes, the Kaiser's henchmen plotted and were caught in sabotage, including an offer to help Mexico regain the Southwest States if she would side with Germany. General Pershing went after Pancho Villa, Henry Ford's "peace ship" provided a preview of League of Nations and United Nations wrangling, but it could not stop the war. The United States kicked out German envoys Franz von Papen and Karl Boy-Ed. The War Department gradually established officers' and National Guard training camps, just in case. Wilson toured the country talking preparedness. Big munitions plant explosions interpolated an increasing list of submarine sinkings. And in November of 1916, "He Kept Us Out of War" sloganed Wilson to reelection over Charles Evans Hughes, in a photo finish count.

Now it was February 8, of 1917, and the mood of the country had hardened. Germany had announced unrestricted sub warfare, nobody's life was safe. American ships like the *Housatonic* were sunk. Theodore Roosevelt was asking permission to raise volunteers. We had lent hundreds of millions to the Western Powers; the World War I loans to our allies would eventually total $7 billions. Ambassador Page urged the Government to prevent economic collapse in France and England. The Union League called a special meeting "to consider its attitude toward the President of the United States in the international crisis."

With Mr. John Gribbel presiding, Mr. C. Stuart Patterson, president of the Union League in 1897–98 and a compelling orator, offered a resolution. Germany had broken its pledge by resuming sub warfare on neutral shipping, he said. "National dishonor is worse than war; it is worse than war if a country is unable to protect the citizens whose allegiance it claims. We want peace, but peace with honor and not without victory." The resolution pledged to President Wilson the Union League's "loyal support to whatever action may be necessary to defend the United States, and to maintain the rights of its citizens on land and sea." It was unanimously passed by a standing vote.

It was a memorable meeting, reminiscent of the action behind Lincoln, without regard to political choice or partisan fealty. Mr. Isaac H. Clothier, who as a youth helped organize the Republican Invincibles and twice voted for Lincoln, represented the oldest of the membership when he declared: "I need hardly mention that I am an ingrained Republican who differs widely and fundamentally with the present administration, but no matter who carriers it, I follow the flag."

The war years were not easy for the Union League. There are 215 names on the bronze tablet in League House, those who served in the fighting forces and associated branches. The Red Cross and YMCA drew a number. Four Liberty Loan campaigns totaled from League members alone, $28,878,600 subscribed. Over 200 members asked exemption from dues while away in uniforms; receipts fell off so in that December 1918 the annual report showed an accumulated deficit of $33,000. In an effort to economize, after a proposal to raise dues 25 a year was defeated, the League officers eliminated most of an annual outlay of around $40,000 for entertainment. The years 1917–18 were rather subdued in League House, most activity centering about the Soldiers and Sailors Annex in the old Beth Eden Church, Broad and Spruce Streets. On a comparatively modest first year's budget of $22,000, a daily average of 700 servicemen used the Annex. During November 1918, there were still 22,161 guests in uniform. The funds raised for this worthy operation by then had reached $43,000. Over 140,000 servicemen made use of this facility during the war years, as it became the forerunner of USO and Red Cross clubs of World War II, to come later.

One of the most mourned in the battle casualties of the war was Patsy Egan, a Union League waiter, killed in action. A bronze tablet was placed to his memory in the house by members of the open table he long had served. As the war came to an end with the Armistice Day celebrations, the Union League's membership stood at 2,550.

In retrospect, it is noteworthy that during the course of the First World War, costs, prices, and values generally seemed to remain in hand. A faded league menu for "porkless Saturday," February 23, 1918, provides a mirror: The roast prime ribs luncheon was 55 cents, mashed potatoes included. A seafood dinner complete, 65 cents. Supreme breast of guinea hen with mushrooms (a real treat), was $1.10; the finest oysters ran from 20 to 30 cents a dozen. Sandwiches weren't listed. One can understand why the members resisted a boost of $25 in dues. That was money, even in wartime, 40 years ago. It had not yet been strewn about the globe, like negotiable confetti.

Yet, desipte the strictures of the period, the Lincoln Memorial Room was completed during 1917. Thus were kept alive the concepts of primary loyalty, as noted by John W. Hamer, secretary, in his report for 1919:

In this later conflict, as shown, the energies of your institution and its membership have been earnestly devoted to the object of its organization—the support and maintenance of the national administration—notwithstanding that the administration has been of an opposing political faith.

Opening Wider the Doors of Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, on Monday last, May 13, a regional work conference was held on the rural development program. The States included were Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia. On that occasion, Mr. True D. Morse, the Under Secretary of the Interior, and the president of the Commodity Credit Corporation, delivered an address entitled "Opening Wider the Doors of Opportunity." The address was delivered at Lexington, Ky. I ask unanimous consent to have the address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OPENING WIDER THE DOORS OF OPPORTUNITY

(Address by True D. Morse, Under Secretary of Agriculture, and President, Commodity Credit Corporation, before Regional Work Conference (Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia) on rural development program, May 13, 1957, Lexington, Ky.)

You are engaged in the vital task of opening wider the doors of opportunity for the rural people who are most in need of more income and a better living. This, President Eisenhower said, we must do—when in January 1954 he called for a program for vigorous action on the difficult and too-much neglected low-income problem.

The welfare of people is in your hands. The future of youth is your responsibility. You are tackling the tough but vital problem of bringing new vision, hope, and progress to the millions of our people who need a chance to share in the prosperity of our Nation. You are builders of communities; a stronger United States, and a better world.

The rural development program, now moving forward in over 25 States, is an action program. It is paying off—it is producing results.

The areas are rich in human resources. Low-income counties have produced many governors and ambassadors. Some of our strongest State and national leaders have come from homes and areas where incomes are meager and the doors of opportunity are only slightly open. At least five of our Presidents were born on small farms in these areas. The people are capable—are among our most solid citizens—the kind that have made America great. The doors must be opened wider for them.

That is why the basic report was given the title "Development of Agriculture's Human Resources" (Apr. 27, 1955, USDA), and special attention has been focused on the young people.

President Eisenhower has a special commission working on education beyond the high school. It has said: "Many more individuals may have to be aided in meeting the costs." There is discussion of the need for more scholarships and grants. As we plan for and make it possible for the boys and girls who have such great potentials to get a higher education we will be helping fill the shortage of scientists, engineers, teachers, doctors, and nurses that retards our progress.

We will insure that these boys and girls will not live out a life in slums or under the handicaps of low incomes or poverty.

We will be building stronger citizens for tomorrow.

We are not here to deal in abstract theories or generalities. This is a how-to-do-it work conference.

Here are examples of what is being done—and how:

Vocational training is an open door to opportunity. Grainger County, Tenn., Rural Development Committee found 8 young men 20 years of age for every potential farmer replacement. That means 7 of every 8 boys must find their future in other than farming in that county. They will be helping run our great industrial America.

What to do—and how. Here are answers from local people.

In Macon County, Tenn.: "A new trades class was started at the high school. Since the school was crowded, and there was no money for a new building, the school board gave 5 vacant 1-room school buildings and the materials from these were either used, or sold to buy other materials, for a building for the trades classes."

Hardin County, in the same State, reports: "Placement of two trades teachers in county high schools."

The Wichita, Kans., meeting on drought and other natural disasters recommended "that at both the local and State level provision be made for vocational training for commerce and industry in addition to agricultural eduction."

There are nearly 200 young lads on farms in low-income areas to take the place of every 100 farmers who retire or die. About 50 percent of the young men who grow up on our farms must be employed elsewhere. Most of the girls will not become wives of farmers. Vocational and other education must be adjusted to the needs of young people today and for tomorrow.

Here in Kentucky a cooperative study between the University and the Agricultural Marketing Service is under way to determine the extent of need for expanded educational facilities, both general and vocation, in three rural development countries: Butler, Elliott, and Metcalfe.

Dr. John A. Perkins, on leave as President of Delaware University and now Under Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, will speak to us with authority on "Education and Rural Development," the last day of this conference.

New industries are being dispersed in rural areas. Now farm families can live at home—on their farms—out in the wholesome country—and have full- or part-time off-farm employment where additional income is needed. Observe the new and modern homes and improved farms that are replacing the cabins and dilapidated homes and eroded land—where mere survival formerly depended alone upon thin land and too few acres.

In Macon County, a labor survey was conducted by volunteers, and a factory secured which employs 500 women and 100 men.

Watauga County, N. C., reports a new plant that will manufacture clothing and will employ about 100 persons, mostly women. The need for these job opportunities is shown by the news article which goes on to say, "Some 568 women between the ages of 18 and 40 registered at the courthouse for employment in the new plant in a survey made by the chamber of commerce and the Rural Development Corporation.

Monroe County, Ohio, has had a rural planning and improvement committee since 1954. It found 4,000 people of the county available for work. Some were traveling up to 80 miles a day to get extra income through off-farm jobs. A $90 million aluminum plant is now under construction in the county and will provide work for 2,000 people. This county with average incomes of about $1,200 is experiencing a major upsurge in income. As a pilot county Monroe is working on how to adjust to the coming of industry and much greater income for the farm and rural families.

Choctaw County, Okla., in 1954 built a factory which was leased rent-free to a glovemaking company. Laborers contributed work on the building and local businessmen raised the needed cash. This pilot county is pushing further industrialization as part of its rural-development program.

Tippah County, Miss., has a new clothing factory employing 250 people. Local people remodeled a building to provide the quarters.

Cherokee County, Tex., now has a coat manufacturing industry employing 75 people.

Indiana's pilot county, Perry, reports 4 new industries—at least 1 was influenced by the stepped-up information and promotion by the rural-development committee.

Washington County, Maine, has planned and directed a labor survey.

The Wichita meeting, January 13–15, 1957, of representatives from 15 States, on drought and other natural disasters, devoted a section of its report to total resources development. It said in part:

"It is the consensus of those present that in developing long-range programs designed to cushion the impact of recurring natural disasters, action should be taken to strengthen the allied fields of commercial and industrial development as part of the program.

"Off-the-farm employment is an important source of income to many farmers and ranchers in the drought areas and is making it possible for them to maintain their families, farms, and livestock during this disaster period. Any program which leads to an expansion of employment opportunities in disaster areas * * * will make an important contribution toward maintaining the economy of the area."

The rural development program was discussed as a type of approach. Examples were given of how industry expansion had furnished profitable employment to thousands of drought-stricken farmers and ranchers—for families on small farms. Many were commuting 30 to 50 miles or more to such jobs.

Timber is "green gold"—and offers golden opportunity doors. In much of the low-income areas—one-half of the land is in timber. Most of the small farms are one-half or more in neglected forests.

The Kentucky Bankers' Association, State Department of Economic Development and Conservation, and the United States Forest Service have issued a "green gold" report on timber resources of the Cumberland Plateau of eastern Kentucky. It invites business to look into the wood industry possibilities.

Another report is being prepared on forest resources where Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky meet.

What are the potentials? Here is just one example. The Champion Paper & Fiber Co., at Canton, N. C., employs 2,800 local workers and provides indirect employment for an additional 6,000 families through purchases of pulpwood. Woodlot owners average $1,300 a year from wood sales to the company.

There are thousands of examples of smaller wood industries—many can be expanded to employ more people and produce greater income. For example, I visited in the Appalachian Mountains a successful shop out in the country in a small unpainted building employing 6 to 12 people making furniture.

More income will be had as forests, streams, lakes, and parks attract more and more people to enjoy the recreation and renewed vitality of the out-of-doors. Tourists and those who maintain country homes will be an increasingly important cash crop for rural areas that offer attractive facilities and services.

Selling farm products for more dollars is opening doors to new opportunities. Garrett County, Md., rural women's marketing committee has opened a new market.

Tippah County has raised money by local subscription to finance a new milk-receiving plant.

In one pilot county a new grade-A egg route from farms to a nearby city will bring more dollars.

Covington County, Miss., Negro farmers are joining a nearby farmers' cooperative market to get a more profitable outlet for truck crops.

Van Buren County, Ark., is going into increased berry production combined with improved, systematic marketing of all fruit and vegetables.

Dispersal of industry with more local income—and the attraction of tourists and country homes—is increasing the market for local poultry, eggs, fruits, vegetables, and other produce—at much higher prices.

New sources of income are being promoted—opportunity doors. Lewis County (W. Va.) Rural Development Committee has sparked a whole series of practical projects. Among them—over 100 ewes have been brought in to demonstrate how sheep can increase incomes on small farms. They are aware that Congress wants more wool production—a strategic fiber—and the incentive gives a return of 101 percent of parity.

Tippah County has placed 19 registered jerseys with farmers through its trade day awards program.

Macon County has on a campaign to get small farmers to grow strawberries—a local processor will buy them—a possible $300,000 increase in income per year. Butler County, Ky., has actively expanded strawberries for commercial and home use.

Better health is among the first objectives of most pilot counties and areas. This is spurred by such facts as—infant mortality

rates that are 13 percent higher than in other counties in the Nation.

Local spending for public health services is only 21 cents per capita compared with 93 cents in other counties and there are almost 50 percent fewer health department doctors.

Hardin County has doubled the rates of inoculations for all kinds of diseases. The county health department made more than 1,100 X-rays during the year.

Grainger County has made a substantial contribution to the cost of building a health clinic and the county seat passed a bond issue for a safe and adequate water supply.

Monroe County now has regulations governing water supplies, sewage and septic tanks.

In Texas, the State commission for the blind, and the division of vocational rehabilitation have pledged assistance on health problems.

Santa Fe County, N. Mex., has held health seminars in 19 communities—to explain health services and urge the importance of good diets.

Butler County is sponsoring a new health building.

The American Medical Association's Council on Rural Health advised its associations regarding the rural development program, on March 28, 1957: "We feel that inasmuch as planning is done on a very broad basis in designated counties, including considerations for health and medical care, the rural health committees and the county medical societies would want to contact * * * this program, and explore what might be done in the way of organized medicine's participation in the program."

There is growing vision of the unlimited opportunities to open wider old doors—and to open new doors to greater accelerated progress.

From all directions come such expressions from the pilot areas as "the door of opportunity is open."

The county's leadership "accepted the challenge of the rural development program enthusiastically."

An outstanding achievement, "the development of a strong cooperative spirit on the part of all local agency representatives and local leaders."

Assures "a continued better way of life for generations yet unborn."

Florida has a new rural development State committee and has named two pilot counties even though there are no Federal funds available as yet for this expansion.

Tennessee has responded to requests from the local people and has added two new pilot counties.

Twiggs County, Ga., has a 5-year plan for unified farm, industry, and community improvement. They say: "Change is an inevitable part of our lives—we must take advantage of every opportunity—this necessitates planning and a vision of the future."

Banks, the chamber of commerce, the electric company, a doctor, and the villages and towns of Avoyelles Parish carried a full page advertisement in the North-Central Louisiana Register to tell the people about the Rural Development Program. As a pilot parish they said,

"It is the biggest opportunity you will ever have of making Avoyelles a better, richer, fuller, healthier, more convenient place in which to live.

"It is the once in a lifetime knock on the door. Be sure you answer it."

A national radio program has featured the pilot work of Choctaw County.

Kentucky, the host State for this conference, is using a trade area approach in its pilot program. It illustrates the type of variation that is desirable in the early demonstration work.

Counties and trade areas are making a sound approach by careful advance planning. By the first of this year, 22 States had reported a total of 47 surveys under way or completed and 30 more being projected ahead. Invariably they bring forth such expressions as, "They are showing us things we suspected but never knew about conditions in the county, and things we never even suspected."

Even before studies are completed the counties are moving into action.

Leaders and organizations representing all parts of our Nation approve of the objective of the new program.

The American Farm Bureau Federation, through its President Charles B. Shuman, says the "program is providing a pattern which can help, improve the opportunities for low-income families either within or outside agriculture. * * * County and State Farm Bureau organizations can do much to speed up this program."

The National Grange, in its legislation policies and programs for 1957, states, "We support the rural development program. We favor voluntary participation by farm people and rural communities, and urge that local direction be encouraged."

National church leaders and organizations are extending help and are suggesting that local pastors at the grassroots can be much more active in helping solve the problems of low-income farm families of their areas.

Chairman HAROLD D. COOLEY, of the House of Representatives Committee on Agriculture appointed a Subcommittee on Family Farms with Congressman CLARK W. THOMPSON, of Texas, as the head. The committee, after hearings and a tour through low income farming areas, in its report of August 1, 1956, said in part:

"Local initiative and cooperation are imperative in programs directed at improving the economic position of the family farm. * * *

"Programs for economic improvement can be put into effect far more quickly and beneficially in organized rural communities. * * *

"Vocational instruction should be available, both in formal schooling and on the farm—industrial subjects as well as agriculture. * * * Since 2 or 3 out of 4 rural youngsters are destined to settle into urban and industrial employment, the vocational education of rural schools definitely should embrace elementary training in urban pursuits. This applies to areas of small farms since these are the sources of the largest youth migrations to urban employment.

"Establishment of a national policy on the widest possible dispersal in the location of industry—in rural areas will find a wealth of sturdy manpower * * *. The social conditions under which people live and raise their children in rural or community areas are far superior. * * *

"A substantial part of the answer to the family farm problem lies in cooperative marketing * * * provide small farmers with credit to acquire adequate farms and equipment."

The Senate Joint Committee on the Economic Report set up a Subcommittee on Low-Income Families, under the leadership of Senator JOHN SPARKMAN. Its findings and recommendations state in part:

"It is apparent that a threefold approach is required to meet other aspects of the problem of chronic labor underemployment in low-income farm areas:

"(1) Encouragement of off-farm employment by development of new industrial location within the area.

"(2) Assistance of farm families willing to migrate to other areas and who possess definite job opportunities in the new location.

"(3) Provision for greater opportunity for rural people to obtain training for nonfarm occupations."

It is with such approval of the methods and objectives that we gather here to determine how rural areas can more rapidly open the doors of opportunities to underemployed, of which our President spoke.

This is a "How to do it" regional conference and meeting. The results are eagerly awaited by the hundreds of leaders and workers in more than 57 pilot counties and areas—in over 25 States in which the rural development program is moving forward.

Tribute to the Late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Love Outlives Hate; You Can Feel Joe's Triumph," which appeared in the May 4, 1957, issue of the Chicago Daily Tribune. The article was written by Mrs. Ruth McCormick Tankersley, who was formerly editor of the Washington Times-Herald, and who is a very able person and an extremely talented writer.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOVE OUTLIVES HATE; YOU CAN FEEL JOE'S TRIUMPH—THINK WHAT THIS MAN HAS DONE IN 48 YEARS

(By Ruth McCormick Tankersley)

(Mrs. Ruth McCormick Tankersley, a niece of the late Col. Robert R. McCormick, has been a close student of Washington affairs and personalities in recent years. The following is her appraisal and tribute to the character and deeds of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy.)

WASHINGTON, May 3.—Joe McCarthy is lying in a casket waiting for a requiem Mass, waiting for a service in the Senate Chamber, waiting to be flown to his home, Appleton, Wis., to be laid finally to rest with his mother and father. These days symbolize his life—he belonged to his church, to his country, and finally and constantly to his family.

But Joe McCarthy was always a restless man, impetuous, impatient with formality. His friends, sitting in his home with his family, can already feel his restless spirit stirring. The spirit, the soul that was Joe McCarthy was a white hot spirit of terrible intensity and it caught on fire every soul who came in contact with it.

He inspired hundreds, he infuriated some, he aggravated many. He aggravated those who knew he was right but did not have the courage to follow him, he infuriated the enemies of our Republic and he inspired all those kindred spirits who line the byways of America and populate its crowded cities and feed the Nation from their farms.

LOVE OUTLIVES HATRED

Love and courage have always outlived hatred and cowardice and already you can feel Joe McCarthy's coming triumph. How many people can die and leave behind them what he has left? You have only to sit in his house at this moment to see a tremendous inheritance. Over the desk, where I am writing, is a picture of the Pope with his personal blessing to Joe McCarthy and his family.

His worthiness of this blessing can be seen in every statue in his house, in the rosary hanging on his baby's crib, in the humanity

which made him seem like a personal friend to a million people in this country. I can hear him struggling to control his voice, knuckling an unwonted dampness from his eyes as he spoke before 10,000 people of the American boys abandoned in Red China.

Every McCarthy partisan in public life already feels a surge of determination to carry on the fight which Joe McCarthy sometimes fought singlehandedly. His few friends in the Senate who stood by him against all odds are grim and militant such as I have never seen them. It is as if they were taking up arms to avenge a friend cut down in battle. That is the way they feel about it and that is the way it is.

JOE IS LAUGHING

Also, in front of me on this little desk is a picture of Joe McCarthy and Jeannie, his wife. They are looking into each other's eyes and Joe is saying something and Joe is laughing. It was ever thus. Joe loved to talk, to tell stories and anecdotes and tell about people. He seldom let Jeannie finish a story and she seldom cared. Poked in the frame is a snap of Joe looking into the laughing face of one of the dearest persons in his life, Elizabeth Kerr, his mother-in-law.

You can tell that he just said something outrageous to her and that he loved to see this picture because he loved to see her laugh. In the 24 hours since sadness pervaded the McCarthy house we haven't heard a baby cry. The McCarthys' little adopted daughter, Tierny, in the knowing way of a 5-month-old baby, has eaten all her meals without a word and done more for her mother with her smiles and gurgles than an army of well-meaning friends.

Forty-eight is very young to die. Think what this man has done in 48 years. The intensity of his convictions made him appear tough. Actually, he was the biggest softie in the world, as any child that ever knew him will tell you. It says in the report that he died of a liver ailment but it's an ailment that seldom kills anyone. I think we all know of what Joe McCarthy died.

ENEMIES DIDN'T KILL HIM

One cause was a greater brainwashing than any of those boys in China, for whom he has fought so valiantly. A big cause was the formal censorship by so many of his colleagues in the Senate. His enemies never let up on him. It is a terrible thing. But don't ever think that his enemies have killed Joe McCarthy. They will find that as long as they live Joe McCarthy will become more potent every day, that he may well be a more invincible enemy in his grave than he was alive.

We won't say "Goodby" to Joe McCarthy because his is not a spirit that would seek rest until the enemies of his country, the godless hypocrites among us, and those who endanger the future of Tierny McCarthy are driven out of all influence and power. Joe will be with those who carry on his fight, his courage and constant comfort, and his name will prick the conscience of men in public life for centuries to come.

The Battle of Gettysburg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "We Know Them," which appeared in the May 14, 1957, issue of the News and Courier of Charleston, S. C. This is a daily newspaper which supported President Eisenhower in his race for the Presidency of the United States.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE KNOW THEM

If Eisenhower and Montgomery had been in command at Gettysburg, instead of Lee and Meade, both would have messaged their supreme headquarters that they could not move, against such overwhelmingly superior forces, until they had more men, more guns, more swords, more horses, a USO—and a WAC driver. Don't tell us.

What Industry Means to Alabama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, recently there was held in Alabama an essay contest.

One of the participants, a high-school senior, won a 2-year scholarship to one of the outstanding schools in our State. The subject of his essay was "What Industry Means to Alabama."

I refer to Thomas W. McCutchen, a senior of the Decatur High School, Decatur, Ala. His essay is one of great interest. It contains much helpful information.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT INDUSTRY MEANS TO ALABAMA

(By Thomas W. McCutchen, Decatur High School, Decatur, Ala.)

Just what does industry mean to Alabama? First of all it means utilization of many of our natural resources, and the development of the South. The utilization of natural resources has made this possible. Birmingham is noted for its coal and iron; the South contains one-fifth of the country's total coal supply, and 40 percent of the country's iron supply. The developments from the iron and steel industry include structural steel and fabrication plants, and plants that manufacture special machinery and castings, stoves, railroad cars, and other products. One of the most notable developments has been the production of cast-iron pipes and fittings. Nearly half the total national output is from the Birmingham and Anniston areas, with value of production reaching a prewar figure of $30,662,000.

Coal deposits are estimated to underlie an area of 8,000 square miles. The output in 1942 was 19,301,254 long tons.

The State's great hydroelectric resources have been extensively developed on the Tennessee River by the Federal Government through TVA, and elsewhere in the State, by private capital. On January 1, 1944, the State had 13 hydrogenerating plants with an installed capacity of 959,603 kilowatts, besides 17 steam electric generating plants with 370,360 kilowatts. These figures have almost doubled in the past 10 years. Recent years have witnessed a great development in rural electrification, with thousands of miles of rural electric lines now in service and numerous extensions planned.

Industry means to Alabama the utilization of our farm products, as is shown by the various types of industry using farm products, such as local flour and cotton mills, in our State. If it were not for this type of industry in Alabama, our people would pay higher prices for their own farm products in manufactured form.

The manufacture of textiles is a major industry, with more than 125 mills operating in the State and an annual output in excess of $130,000,000. Knitting mills, hosiery mills and garment plants are among the State's successful manufacturing operations.

The rapid growth of manufacturing in Alabama is particularly advantageous to the State's economy at a time when agriculture is declining in importance as a source of employment. In 1940, for example, 40 percent of all employed persons in Alabama were in agriculture, whereas by 1950 only 25 percent were so employed. By absorbing workers who are leaving agriculture, manufacturing growth is aiding in the adjustment toward a more profitable agricultural economy characterized by large-scale, mechanized farming which yields higher returns to those who remain in it.

Alabama's 19 million acres of forest land are supporting 2,000 sawmills, 368 planing mills, 40 veneer mills, 26 crate and box mills, 47 specialty mills and 6 pulp and paper mills, all help to increase our economy.

There has been a great development in industrial chemistry. Material often hitherto classed as waste has become the source of valuable products. Alabama is rich in raw materials in this field, and the future of industrial chemistry has been described as almost unlimited.

Alabama is an important producer of building stone, marble, cement, lime, brick, and tile. Cement production amounts to $10 million per year. The largest deposit of white marble in the world is found in Talladega County and is extensively used in construction and decorative work. The State has numerous deposits of silica suitable for manufacture of glass and glassware of best grades, huge deposits of flake graphite, and commercially usable quantities of bauxite. Oil production, though small at present, may be increased considerably, in the future, according to geologists.

More aluminum is refined in Alabama today than was produced in the entire Nation prior to the war.

Industry has definitely meant to Alabama increased wealth. In 1940 to 1950 the cash receipts of farmers rose from $88 million to $350 million. This was an increase of almost 300 percent. During this same period wages and salaries increased from $109 million to $888 million which was an increase of 700 percent.

These funds help materially to provide police protection, public health, forest-fire prevention and control, public welfare, schools and many other vital services.

Industry means the establishment of better educational systems. With increased wealth from industry, which means more tax money for education, we are able to build better school buildings and are able to secure better equipment, and better trained teachers. With better schools, the children of Alabama will be trained to take their places in industry at home.

Millions of dollars are currently being spent by industries in Alabama on community improvements and other contributions to the overall economy of the State. Industries have engaged in activities ranging from the building and donation to their

communities of schools and hospitals to the presentation of electric and water systems.

The management of these different industries has built attractive and commodious temples of worship for their people.

The mills' executives have caused to be organized, and they support the Boy and Girl Scout troops, junior league baseball teams and midget football elevens, which are a positive and forceful deterrent of juvenile delinquency.

These and countless other beneficial things they do for their own people. In addition, they go above and beyond the call of duty to be good neighbors to our entire body politic.

Industry means to Alabama higher standards of living. Increased wages and wage earners increase the standards of living of our people. They demand better churches, better libraries, better stores, better homes, and many other important facilities.

Many of our industries have a lending agency which finances those of its employees who are desirous of becoming homeowners and farmowners. The recipient of this assistance becomes a real estate taxpayer and adds dignity to his own stature.

Industry has also necessitated the development of more efficient health services. This is true within the industries themselves and within the various cities. For example, one large industry refused to build in a particular city because its hospital facilities were so inadequate. Now that particular city is engaged in a program of enlarging its hospital services.

Alabama today is fast becoming the industrial giant of the South: Therefore, to study and become a part of this growth is a goal each individual should work to achieve.

Aid to Communist Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Will We Aid United States Communists?" from the April 24, 1957, issue of the Chattanooga (Tenn.) News-Free Press.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILL WE AID UNITED STATES COMMUNISTS?

Those Communist murderers who are running captive Poland are going to be big about the thing. They aren't going to say "No" to America. They have decided to go ahead and accept the $95 million of the American taxpayers' money that our diplomats are trying to force on them.

The Polish Reds aren't so good mannered that they are forgetting to tell the world that what they really want from the American people is $300 million (that's nearly a third of a billion). But they are going to accept the $95 million just the same.

This Polish Government we will give the money to is headed by a Communist named Gomulka, who has a record that is bad even when compared with those of many other Communists. He is hard and brutal and bestial. And there is no doubt about the fact he is a Communist.

We wonder what the freedom-loving Poles who rose up in the Poznan riots for freedom think of the United States gift of $95 million to the Communist government that rules them. We wonder what the freedom fighters of Hungary, who were able to get no United States aid in their fight, think about our aid to the Communists in neighboring Poland.

Many of our foreign aid handouts, even to Britain and France, are indefensible. But aid to Communists is so much worse it is unthinkable. But be assured, money from your earnings will provide the $95 million to bolster up the Communist government in Poland.

We wonder when our diplomats will suggest an appropriation of taxpayers' money to the Communist Party in America.

Hartwell Dam Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I send to the desk an editorial from The Independent, of Anderson, S. C., of May 5, 1957, which I believe to contain information of interest to everyone regarding the Hartwell Dam project, located on the Savannah River between Georgia and South Carolina.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD in order that all Senators may have the benefit of the information it contains.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ECONOMY?—WHAT ABOUT THOSE BILLIONS IN TAX SUBSIDIES TO THE UTILITIES?

The power trust press in Greenville and Charleston is yapping again about Hartwell Dam.

The fresh attack is based on two claims:

1. That the project should be eliminated in the sacred name of economy.

2. That hydroelectric projects are outmoded and pretty soon those nice, benevolent commercial power companies will be furnishing everybody with just oodles of atomic power.

What about the first point?

The Hartwell project has received White House approval as being necessary and work already is underway. The project has successfully met every qualification as a useful, economical, and necessary undertaking.

The estimated cost is $94 million. This will be repaid through electric power generation. To abandon the project now would be false economy, indeed, and such a course is advocated only by the power trust press puppets.

If Congress would save some real money, it could act to halt the rich flow of subsidies in the form of fast tax writeoffs and tax computation methods which are costing not mere millions but billions of dollars.

For example, the power trust press isn't shouting from the house tops that in a 5-year period beginning in June 1951 private electric utilities have received interest-free loans of $1.4 billion.

Over the given period of 33 years this will amount to a total subsidy to private electric utilities of $4.7 billion, or nearly twice as much as the $2.8 billion borrowed under the REA co-op program since the founding of REA.

Senator BYRD, of Virginia, the budget watchdog, has issued a report which declares:

"A striking thing about the tax amortization program in the electric power field is that it is an incentive that operates only for private taxable utilities, and not for publicly owned companies."

But the tax writeoffs don't begin to tell the story of the bonanza being enjoyed by the privately owned utilities.

There is a new depreciation provision in the new tax law which so fixes the accounting period that the commercial concerns may force the consumers to foot their tax bill while the companies pocket the Government subsidy.

Under this tax gimmick, commercial power companies in the United States stand to receive an estimated $18 billion over the next 20 years.

Let those subsidies be removed before talking about the economy of halting a project deemed necessary to national defense.

Enough for the hypocritical economy yapping.

Consider the second point—that hydroelectric projects are outmoded.

If hydroelectric projects are outmoded, why are so many business-managed private power concerns engaged in or planning hydroelectric projects?

The Alabama Power Co. is planning to build 4 new dams on the Coosa River with total new capacity of 395,000 kilowatts at a cost of $121 million.

The Georgia Power Co. is preparing to build the James Oliver Dam on the Chattahoochee River. This same company only a year or so ago completed the Sinclair development on the Oconee River in Georgia.

In North Carolina, the Carolina Aluminum Co. applied for license to build the Tuckertown project on the Yadkin River with 40,000 kilowatts at $14 million.

This is just to mention a few such projects in this region. Others are being constructed or planned in many other parts of the United States.

Insofar as atomic power is concerned, it is true that the job has been entrusted to commercial concerns—they having been handed on a silver platter all the know-how bought for AEC by the taxpayers of the United States at cost of untold billions of dollars.

Yet, although England and Russia are reported far advanced in the atomic field, in the United States there is only one small pilot plant actually nearing the production stage.

Unless the Federal Government takes over the program, it appears atomic power for general use is still many years in the future.

If the economy and outmoded claims—both clearly false—are the best the power monopolist press can come up with, they'd best tell the whole story or else keep their peace. Hartwell Dam will be built.

The Moral Rearmament Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "One Chance To Stop Down Drift," by George Todt, and published in the San Fernando Valley (Calif.) Times of April 15, 1957; also an article by the same writer entitled "MRA Message Through Film," and published in the same newspaper of February 15, 1957.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the San Fernando Valley Times of February 15, 1957]

MRA's MESSAGE THROUGH FILM

(By George Todt)

"Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves and under a just God cannot long retain it."—Abraham Lincoln.

"Africa today has sent its men to the West to show the true meaning of freedom for mankind," said Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman, the august founder and patron saint of Moral Rearmament. "They speak in a play and film called Freedom. The voice of this Africa can speak to every humble heart everywhere. Today Africa may be the unexpected source that gives the answer to chaos. It is the moment for a miracle."

On Lincoln's Birthday evening I attended the world premier of Freedom in Grauman's Egyptian Theater in Hollywood. Every seat was filled and hundreds had to be turned away at the ticket box. This superlative film is in color, with an all-African cast. Needless to write, it contains a message, both bold and audacious.

The play, Freedom, deals with the fundamental problems of mankind—personal, domestic, social and national—that transcend race, class, nation and religion.

Freedom is bold because it challenges the conscience of mankind at the point where tensions in human relations are greatest—on the level of race and color.

Freedom is audacious because its message comes from the most unexpected quarter, from Africa and the black man, appealing to the best impulses of the human heart in the interests of all mankind.

Briefly, the picture concerns how seemingly irreconcilable elements in a mythical African kingdom and its colonial masters from "Imperia"—the prototype of Great Britain—were able to solve their differences through a change of heart which started in one man. But this change—which was prompted by a desire to listen to the will of God and employ it unselfishly in practical action thereafter—spread to the hearts of other key officials of all divergent groups at odds with each other. It reached up to the king, himself. It conquered the bitterness and hatred of the people for their colonial masters—and it reformed the latter in the process.

In its own way, Freedom portrayed the fundamental thesis of MRA, which in any or all of its forms of interpretation I have heard seems to amount to this: The necessary change in the world—the understanding of our differences in the human family—must come voluntarily from the human heart attuned to God; it will not come from government edict, or force; it is the philosophy of voluntarism over compulsion. I would say that extremists of all races, creeds and colors who advocate the use of force, compulsion, or any other form of duress to solve our differences, and the tensions which spring from them, are definitely "out of season" with the MRA people.

As one who has long advocated the substitution of the positive word "respect" for the intolerant word "tolerance"—which at least implies inferiority for someone—I think freedom is a tremendous challenge for thinkers everywhere. And on both sides of the Iron Curtain. In the battle going on for men's minds today, this picture—written, staged, and directed by the Africans themselves—is destined to play a very important role in the future.

Present plans call for it to be shown to hundreds of millions of people around the globe in the time ahead of us—and this amounts to a tremendous impact of ideological significance.

"It is the moment for a miracle," said Dr. Buchman. "A Moor came to worship the Babe; Egypt sheltered the child Jesus and an African carried the cross to Calvary. The voice of this African can speak to every humble heart everywhere. Where meek souls will receive Him still, the dear Christ enters in."

[From the San Fernando Valley Times of April 15, 1957]

ONE CHANCE TO STOP DOWNDRIFT

(By George Todt)

"We are in a global effort to win the world to our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. There is your ideology. It is the whole message of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. The message in its entirety is the only last hope that will save the world."

Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman
(Aim of Moral Rearmament).

What is behind the moral rearmament movement? Of what is it composed? Is it worth investigating? Questions like these come from many sides. I am interested in MRA because it advocates absolute moral standards in the conduct of our lives. Not only in our personal lives, but also in public life as well.

The fundamental premise of MRA is that you and I should change our lives so that we adhere to the four cardinal virtues of absolute, honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness, and absolute love. When enough of us have so changed, it will effect a better national climate. Then statesmen will change. The fear of war and chaos will lift. Then we will see new statesmanship—a life commitment adequate to change the thinking, living, and daring of the whole world. This concept elevates man, the individual. It is not collectivist—the doctrine of the mass man, or common man.

A religious journal, in an article on moral rearmament, put it this way:

"The problem is now to redirect the thinking of all people, to inspire them again with the conviction that God is a living and active force in the midst of us, to persuade them that machinery, technical knowledge, organization, excellent in themselves are incapable of solving our problems."

In reply, MRA founder, Frank Buchman, had this to say:

"This is the battle of moral rearmament. Without the conquest of materialism, our nations will decay from within while we prepare to defend ourselves against attack from without. Materialism and atheism are breeding grounds for corruption, anarchy, and revolution. These have their allies in the selfishness that rules our homes, the bitterness that separates class from class, and the spirit of faction that divides a nation.

"Here lies our instant danger. If we are fully to understand where our true security lies, we must look to our moral and spiritual defenses. Then we must act, resolutely, and intelligently to establish those defenses. America must be prepared. But America's security lies not only in planes and ships and tanks, but in men prepared morally and spiritually to make the Nation strong. This is our first and foremost need.

"True preparedness—the result of a nation morally rearmed—is the responsibility of every citizen. Everyone must take a part in the moral defense of the country. That is our privilege in America—every man bearing his part, every man an essential link in an impregnable line of defense, every home a fort, every worker employed in producing the moral armaments without which democracy must perish from within."

Frankly, I am convinced that our Nation stands closer to actual peril today than at any previous time in her history. She is in the greatest danger, both at home and abroad. We are confused on issues. The picture is not so clear as it should be. We are supposed to be richer than every before. But our political fortunes are at their lowest ebb.

There are wars, and rumors of wars. The world is divided into hostile camps, with America increasingly placed unhappily in the middle of things. We seem to be fast becoming the target of everybody outside our borders, friend and foe alike. Where are our friends? Who is helping us with our troubles? What does the future hold for the American people?

I possess no crystal ball, but I can see that we do not seem to have the correct answers for our country. If we propose to win on the world stage in the time ahead of us, then there is actually going to have to be some considerable changes made in our national ideological fabric—and soon! If this Nation is to survive, we are going to have to do extensive battle with corruption, disloyalty, and greed. But definitely.

What is needed is not so much a crusade in Europe or anywhere else in the world—but one right here in the United States of America. Perhaps MRA can show us the way.

Schools Are Local Institutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "The Schools Are Local Institutions," published in the Greenville (S. C.) News of May 10, 1957. The editorial is in opposition to Federal aid to education.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SCHOOLS ARE LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the often revived proposal for Federal aid to education, which the Eisenhower Administration is still pushing with the aid of liberal Democrats, probably will be done to death by issues that have little or nothing to do with the basic premise of the bills before Congress.

And it is just as well, for the proposal is basically unsound.

Two factors appear to be most likely to result in the more or less permanent shelving of the bill, if not its actual rejection on the floor of either the House or the Senate.

One is the economy drive to which many Members of Congress, like many groups outside, are paying at least lip service. Many Members of Congress, like many special interest groups among the public, seem to think economy a good thing until it touches them. But with so many other elements of controversy involved, the school aid proposal may become a likely point at which to cut spending.

The second factor is the insistence of extreme advocates of civil rights and integration on tacking onto the bill a rider which would withhold from any State refusing to integrate the races in its schools its just share of the Federal aid. (These people are foolish, really, for there is no doubt that in a short time they could get their way by executive or court ruling, regardless of what Congress might write into the bill or omit from it.) Many

sincere advocates of Federal aid to education will refuse to accept such a rider.

It is significant in both of these respects that within the last few days congressional committees considering the Federal aid bill have (1) rejected the integration rider and (2) have reduced the amount of money that would be provided.

This action lends substance to our analysis of the trend.

But there is more to it than that. Even from former advocates of Federal aid there are coming expressions of doubt as to the wisdom of the proposal. Some are taking note of the fact that the sale of municipal and local school bonds indicates a boom in school construction financed by local funds.

Senator KNOWLAND, of California, for another instance, voiced the fear that once started the Federal school program probably would never stop. We can be sure it wouldn't. Two factors would operate to perpetuate it.

One would be the gradual entrenchment of the bureaucracy created to administer the Federal school program. From year to year, after the program was supposed to expire, the officials concerned would confront Congress with arguments indicating that more Federal aid was needed.

Another would be the gradual diminishing of local effort. All too easily the public comes to depend on Federal programs and to let up on local programs designed to meet the same need.

Eventually State and local efforts to build and maintain adequate schools would cease, and we'd have a Federal school program—and nothing more.

This would be a tragic development, for schools are traditionally local institutions, and should continue to be such.

State aid to local districts has become necessary and has been accepted, but the State has been recognized as the largest economical administrative unit which will permit the retention of local control. And even with that, county and district participation in the financing is desirable.

The sum and substance of it is that the States and counties can do a better job on their schools than can Uncle Sam—and they can do it at less cost.

Some Questions About Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Don't You See Their Importance?" from the April 24, 1957, issue of the Chattanooga (Tenn.) News-Free Press.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DON'T YOU SEE THEIR IMPORTANCE?

Think of your favorite local undertaker. Perhaps he is a friend of yours. Would you like to see your tax money spent to buy him a dress suit to wear in going about his business? We doubt it.

But some of your tax money labeled "foreign aid" has gone to buy dress suits for Greek undertakers. (How does that help the "recovery" of the country, we wonder?)

You've heard about the acid test for salesmen—selling iceboxes to Eskimos. It would be even harder to do that today, because Eskimos don't have to buy iceboxes—some of your tax money has gone to buy iceboxes for them.

Cleanliness is next to godliness, it is said. But do you approve the spending of some of your tax money to build public baths for Egyptian camel drivers?

There's nothing like recreation. It's good for you. But is it good for us to meet the State Department's request for $260,000 to build a tennis court at Basra, India, a dance hall at Rangoon, Burma, and a mountain retreat in Indonesia?

In this modern age, everybody ought to have the experience of riding in an airplane. Perhaps that's why some of your tax money has been spent to provide thousands of free airplane rides for Arabs visiting their Moslem shrine at Mecca. (Have your own children had airplane rides?)

The Federal Government has received justified criticism for spending tax money to go into competition with private enterprise and build TVA plants for the production of subsidized electricity. But that's not the half of it. Our tax money has been used to build a TVA for the Jordan River in the Middle East.

South Korea is our friend and received our assistance in throwing back Communist aggression. But we have done more than that for South Korea—with your tax money. The United States has built 410 plants, including 2 $45 million fertilizer plants, 4 flour mills, 4 starch plants, and a marble polishing plant.

We will all agree that education is important. Does that make you feel better about the expenditure of your tax money to pay the tuition and living expenses of the sons of hundreds of wealthy Iranians attending American colleges?

Why, of course the proposed Federal budget can't be cut. Every bit of it is vital to security and world peace, right down to the fancy pants of the Greek undertakers' dress suits.

Willcox, Ariz., and Road Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, the recently enacted road-construction bill contains provisions which would enable the transcontinental highways to bypass the small communities of the country. The small towns of Arizona and of other western States are vitally concerned with this aspect of the road-building program.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Arizona Range News which displays the concern of one community in my State.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GREAT, COURAGEOUS HEART OF WILLCOX

Since attending the meeting of the chamber of commerce last Thursday evening the thought has come to us again and again of the great, courageous heart of Willcox for time and again this town has had to fight for its very life blood and after each struggle has emerged a better town. Thursday night's meeting had to do with the moving of the highway and many feel that if the highway is moved that the town will regress severely. In that group who were at the meeting were men and women who volunteered to give freely of both time and money just as men and women have given of their time and money in the past.

And as I listened to the men and women present their side of the story, I thought of the essay that had been written by Eddie Rickenbacker who although had done many brave stunts as both a test pilot and a test car driver, it was because of his survival on a raft in the South Pacific ocean during World War II that he became the most famous. Out of those experiences came a book which was often quoted and often read over the radio in the late 1940's, We Heard the Angels Sing. In the essay to which I refer are these words:

"Once I almost died from a throat hemorrhage.

" 'Here,' I said, 'is death.'

"It dawned upon me in a flash that the easiest thing in the world is to die, the hardest is to live. Dying was sensuous pleasure; living was a grim task. In that moment I chose to live. * * * I was quitting. I had work to do, others to serve."

The easiest thing in the world for Willcox to do at the present time would be to just sit and let the road go where it will. According to the thinking of many this road would be the ruination of the town, but Willcox has never sat and let things pass it by and they are not going to do so this time. That old pioneering spirit that settled the town in the early 1880's is just as much here now as it was then, for it took men and women of courage to settle the West.

Because of the place Willcox is located the road through here has meant more to it than it would to a town that was less isolated. This road has been the cause of more hard work and more meetings than any other one thing.

Back in the days when it was only a cow trail and men were turning from their buggies and wagons to cars for transportation, it was the pioneer spirit that sent men forth to build a new and better road with their primitive tools of rakes, hoes, and shovels. But they built well for it was the foundation of the road which came and which brings so much traffic through this section.

Back some 20 years ago when the road was not going to be taken into the State system, it took a great deal of courage for the talk of dividing the county to be put far enough into action that many public meetings were held. The county was never divided but the road did come.

This courage has always been tempered with good judgment just as it will be today. A point will have to be given here in order to gain a point there but as one man said: "We have always got what we went after. Why can't we get what we need now?"

The hard thing for Willcox right now is to choose to live but like Eddie Rickenbacker Willcox still has work to do, others to serve which it shall.

The Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I send to the desk a column from the Washington Star of

May 14, written by the distinguished columnist, David Lawrence. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, in order that everyone may have an opportunity to read this splendid item regarding the Supreme Court.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MASS MEETINGS AND THE COURT—WISDOM OF INTEGRATION DEMONSTRATION IN WASHINGTON THIS WEEK IS QUESTIONED

(By David Lawrence)

Groups which were among the beneficiaries of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States of May 17, 1954, upholding integration—or forced association in the schools, as it sometimes is called—are planning to celebrate it on the third anniversary Friday.

But the public demonstration, which is to be staged at the Lincoln Memorial, may have effects opposite from those intended. It may start a series of annual demonstrations on the other side of the issue. For if approval of Supreme Court decisions is to be made the basis for emotional displays, then those who disapprove have an equal right to express their emotions.

What form might such disapproval take? It could result in annual meetings to pay tribute to the memory of those Supreme Court justices who for 58 years—from 1896 to 1954—upheld the long-established right of the States to conduct their educational process under what was known from 1849 on as "separate but equal" school facilities.

Many of the greatest of the justices of the past—including Holmes, Brandeis, Stone, Hughes—upheld the "separate but equal" concept, and they respected what had been decided many years before. Eulogies of these and other justices today would no doubt center on the homage these men paid to the famous principle of "stare decisis." This Latin phrase means, in effect, that what has been decided shall stay decided. There have occasionally been reversals by the Supreme Court of previous decisions, but only when the fallacy or mistake in the original decision in a matter of law was plainly presented.

In the segregation case, however, the nine justices did not point to any fallacy or mistake in the legal reasoning of the justices who wrote the 1896 decision but merely said, in effect, that sociological considerations now justify a reversal. The controlling argument presented was that colored children feel psychologically inferior when separated from whites in the school years.

Unfortunately, this is not too firm ground, even for the beneficiaries of the decision. They cannot be too sure that they have won something permanently. For, some day in the future, another set of Supreme Court justices may be persuaded to believe that "forced association" or the mixture of the two races in the schools has an injurious effect psychologically on the children of both races, and hence it would be proper to revert to the "separate but equal" arrangement. This is one of the risks involved in decisions based solely on sociological grounds.

Why should there be, however, public demonstrations about Supreme Court decisions? Perhaps it is because of a widespread belief today that the courts are really influenced by public opinion more than by the letter of the law.

Ever since 1937, when the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt publicly denounced the mapority of the justices of the Supreme Court for their decisions and requested Congress to enact a law enlarging the court by five justices—whom he would have the power to appoint—there has been a controversy over public opinion's effect on the courts.

While public demonstrations in the hope of affecting Supreme Court decisions on national or international issues are lawful, it remains yet to be determined whether or not these are wise methods of attempting to exert pressure. For the Supreme Court still has the whole question of "integration" under its jurisdiction and particularly many problems of local enforcement which have by no means been solved.

Incidentally, the so-called American branch of the Communist Party, through the Daily Worker in New York, has been issuing exhortations to its members and fellow travelers to join in next Friday's affair in Washington. This has been properly denounced by the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has been organizing the celebration.

As for what constitutes true liberalism nowadays, there is food for thought in a dissenting opinion written in May 1930, by Justice Holmes and concurred in by two other great liberals—Justices Brandeis and Stone. He said:

"I have not yet adequately expressed the more than anxiety that I feel at the ever-increasing scope given the 14th amendment in cutting down what I believe to be the constitutional rights of the States. As the decisions now stand, I see hardly any limit but the sky to the invalidating of those rights if they happen to strike a majority of this court as for any reason undesirable. I cannot believe that the amendment was intended to give us carte blanche to embody our economic or moral beliefs in its prohibitions."

High Court Ruling on Hells Canyon Fine Victory for Private Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, the Congress created the Federal Power Commission and vested in that body the authority to license electric-power development in this country on the basis of economic and engineering fact. The Commission determined, after the longest and most exhaustive hearing in its history, that the public interest would be best served by having the Idaho Power Co., rather than the Federal Government, build the hydroelectric facilities in the Snake River. By refusing to reverse the decision of the Federal Power Commission, the Supreme Court of the United States obviously decided that the Commission had acted properly.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "High Court Ruling on Hells Canyon Fine Victory for Private Enterprise," published in the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Houston Chronicle of April 3, 1957]

HIGH COURT RULING ON HELLS CANYON FINE VICTORY FOR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Last October, the Federal circuit court of appeals in Washington, D. C., refused to reverse the decision of the Federal Power Commission in granting a license to the Idaho Power Co. for construction of three dams on the Snake River between Idaho and Oregon. Advocates of public power, organized as the National Hells Canyon Association, at once appealed to the Supreme Court, asking that the circuit court be reversed. They were joined by other public power groups such as the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, and eight public utility districts in the State of Washington.

The High Court has now refused to review the lower court's ruling and a significant setback has been handed advocates of public power as opposed to private enterprise. In view of the Supreme Court's predilection for greater concentration of power in the Federal Government, as evinced in many previous decisions, the Court's action comes as a reassuring surprise.

Arguments opposing the private construction of these dams—at Hells Canyon, Oxbow, and Brownell—were based on the claim they would interfere with somewhat nebulous plans for erection of a single high dam by the Federal Government higher up the river. The FPC held, however, that the public welfare would better be served by granting the Idaho Power Co. a license for which private capital amounting to $175 million was immediately available so that construction could begin at once. The proposal for a single dam would have been dependent on action of Congress and would have required expenditure of $400 million in tax money yet to be appropriated.

A great deal of misinformation and extravagant claims were circulated by the public power groups in their attack on the FPC ruling but the fact remains clear that the people of the Northwest and the taxpayers of the United States will profit from construction of the Snake River project with private capital. Completed, these dams will be a source of new tax revenues as well as new power for the affected area. Furthermore, the Federal project would not only require more millions from the public treasury, it would never yield taxes and it would probably cost additional Federal funds to maintain and operate. Worst of all, it would operate in competition with private industry, and therein lies the real significance of the Supreme Court's decision in this instance. It is a victory for private enterprise.

Trinity County Board of Supervisors Endorses Trinity River Partnership Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, a highly significant resolution has been passed by the Trinity County, Calif., board of supervisors, endorsing the Trinity River partnership plan.

This is the county in which the integral works of the Trinity River project will be located. The resolution passed by the county board of supervisors on March 19, 1957, reaffirming their previous position taken on April 12, 1955, is an especially important expression of local opinion because of geographical factors surrounding development of the project.

The Trinity county board of supervisors officially favors the partnership plan,

which would permit construction and operation of the power facilities of the project by a private utility. The board has taken this position "in the public interest," and in a letter transmitting the resolution to me the county clerk states:

The board will appreciate anything you can do to bring about this power partnership between the United States Government and the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

For the information of Congress, I desire to include the following resolution with my remarks as a grassroots public position from the very area in which the project originates:

RESOLUTION No. 29–57

Whereas the Board of Supervisors of the County of Trinity, State of California, on April 12, 1955, resolved its position regarding the private power partnership with the United States Government, Trinity River project and the Pacific Gas & Electric Company of California, approving said proposed partnership; and

Whereas in view of recent developments and public pronouncements concerning said proposed partnership: It is therefore

Resolved by the Board of Supervisors, County of Trinity, State of California, in regular session assembled this 19th day of March 1957, That they do hereby reaffirm their position previously taken approving, as in the public interest, the power partnership of the United States Government, Trinity River project, and the Pacific Gas & Electric Company of California; be it further

Resolved by this board, That the clerk of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Trinity, State of California, be requested, and she is hereby instructed, to forward a copy of this resolution to the Honorable William F. Knowland, United States Senator from California; to the Honorable Thomas H. Kuchel, United States Senator from California; to the Secretary of the United States Department of Interior, Mr. Frederick Seaton; and the Pacific Gas & Electric Company of California.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands this 19th day of March 1957.

GEORGE K. LOOMIS,
Supervisor, Second District.
JOHN D. ROURKE,
Supervisor, Third District.
LLOYD L. MCKNIGHT,
Supervisor, Fourth District.
ROY H. GALLAGHER,
Supervisor, Fifth District.

Noes: None.
Absent: Supervisor John K. McDonald.
Attest:

MARGARET BAILEY,
County Clerk and Ex-Officio Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, County of Trinity, State of California.

Attempt To Weaken National Banking System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, from Mr. Maurice S. Brody, director of the Denver National Bank, has come a penetrating analysis of the proposed new banking law, S. 1451.

While I am not a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, I feel that many Members will be interested, as I am, in Mr. Brody's opinion and the conclusion which he reaches, that this bill, both indirectly and directly, removes many of the basic safeguards written into our banking philosophy in 1933, and returns too large a share of the control to the professional bankers of our national banking system.

The analysis follows:

PROPOSED NEW BANKING LAW (S. 1451) CONCENTRATES FINANCIAL CONTROL AND POWER IN HANDS OF THE FEW BY DESTROYING PRESENT SAFEGUARDS OF THE MANY

(By Maurice S. Brody)

The heart and chief purpose of S. 1451 is to concentrate control of our national banks in the hands of a few persons by removing certain basic safeguards built into our National Banking Act by a Democratic Congress in 1933. These built-in safeguards permitted our national banks to grow in great strength and to prosper since 1933.

Numerous technical changes abound in the bill but these changes for the most part are used as camouflage to cover up the basic intent and purpose of this bill which is to concentrate the financial control of our national banks in the hands of a few professional bankers.

It is my purpose to deal concisely with the provisions of the bill which result in concentrating financial control by removing the basic safeguards presently existing in our national banks.

THE ELIMINATION OF MANDATORY CUMULATIVE VOTING

Title I (National Bank Act), chapter 5, section 26C embodies the most fundamental revision which has been made by uprooting the principle of mandatory cumulative voting in the election of directors of our national banks. Mandatory cumulative voting along with the insurance of bank deposits were the two basic fundamental principles introduced in 1933 to safeguard the national banking system against a continuance of the abuses which had characterized the management of many of our national banks during the 1920's and the early thirties.

Mandatory cumulative voting acts as a primary "check and balance" on bank managements not to engage in practices detrimental to the interest of stockholders and depositors of our national banks. This device permits representation by substantial stockholders and representatives of substantial stockholdings on the boards of directors of these national banks in order that these independent directors may supervise internally the activities of the bank managements at firsthand.

As the result of the wide distribution of bank stocks in the hands of public stockholders during the last 25 years, the situation has clearly arisen whereby it is very rare indeed where substantial stockholders own a majority of the stocks of national banks. And therefore, participation by substantial stockholders as directors can only come about by right through the device of mandatory cumulative voting. The elimination of mandatory cumulative voting permits these substantial stockholders to become directors only through the invitation of the bank managements and therefore these directors become beholden to the very people they are supposed to supervise.

The loss of independence by these bank directors therefore lowers their ability to independently supervise the activity of management because this very independence endangers their ability to remain bank directors once the right of mandatory cumulative voting is repealed. Being a director by sufferance of the bank management is not conducive to independence and in time this condition will tend to undermine the supervision which directors have over the activities of the bank managements. In a word, the tail will wag the dog instead of the dog wagging the tail.

The destruction of the mandatory cumulative voting principle therefore destroys a basic cornerstone of our national banking system which has served this country so well during the last 24 years and effectively removes a fundamental safeguard for our national bank depositors and stockholders.

The removal of this basic safeguard definitely concentrates the control of our national banks in the hands of the professional bankers by effectively eliminating the present right of representation by our 500,000 public national bank stockholders. They will not be able to elect a single bank director.

The Federal Reserve Board on pages 861, 862, and 863 of the Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency, United States Senate, 85th Congress, 1st session, strongly opposed the elimination of mandatory cumulative voting. Mr. J. L. Robertson, a governor of the Federal Reserve Board speaking in behalf of the Board, summed up his testimony as follows: [1] "I have seen a great number of these cases and I have never seen a case where there was real abuse of this. I have heard alegations of it, and maybe it is true, but I have also seen a number of cases where one who was not desired did get on the board of directors, and did make that board of directors consider problems which they should have considered, and as a result the bank was benefited by it."

Mr. Robertson's parting sentence in his testimony on this point reaches to the heart of the issue in these words: "It seems to me if you do (repeal mandatory cumulative voting) you might as well take away the power to vote with shares and give it solely to the directors. You make a club out of it instead of a business corporation."

THE ISSUANCE OF PREFERRED STOCK

Title I, chapter 4, section 20 permits national banks to issue preferred stock. This relieves the professional bankers from being dependent on the stockholders of our national banks for the raising of capital. The professional bankers will then be able to raise capital by securing this capital from other financial institutions such as insurance companies and investment trusts and thereby can bring about a great concentration of control between our national banks and the financial institutions that can and will furnish the capital to our national banks by way of preferred stock issues.

The 500,000 present public stockholders of our national banks will not only have become subordinated as a primary source of capital but will also find their present investment subordinated to preferred stock issues held by great sources of financial wealth such as the great insurance companies and investment trusts of our country.

Consequently, the risk element of the bank stocks held by a half million public stockholders will be greatly increased through the placing of preferred stocks ranking ahead of the present common stocks and can in the long run, by raising the element of risk in bank stocks, undermine the effective ability of our national banks to raise sufficient capital.

In the present operation of our national banks $5 to $10 of risk assets are involved for every dollar of capital. This means that for every dollar of the stockholder's investment in the bank, $5 to $10 has been invested by the bank's management in risk

[1] Study of Banking Laws, Financial Institutions Act of 1957, hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency, U. S. Senate, 85th Cong., 1st sess., on a proposed bill to amend and revise the statutes governing financial institutions and credit, pt. 2. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1957.

assets which can have considerable fluctuation in value. This requires bank managements of necessity to manage the bank very carefully in order to avoid serious loss. In the event of a depreciation in the value of the risk assets, losses incurred on the $5 to $10 of risk assets employed can have a deleterious effect on the common-stock ownership.

If, in addition to the present risk which the common stock already carries, a preferred stock issue is placed ahead of the common stock with the consequent effect of placing a preferred dividend ahead of the common dividend, it will mean that in the event of a serious decline in business, the stability of common dividends will be greatly endangered. This, of course, will result from the fact that the preferred dividend will rank ahead of the common and consequently will introduce a new speculative element as far as bank common stocks are concerned which will in time impede the effective financing of our national banking system.

It must be realized that bank stocks are held widely by persons and institutions who are concerned with the safety and stability of the dividends they receive as investors. And the erection of a speculative structure in national banks financing through the introduction of preferred stocks which will rank ahead of these common stocks will result in the withdrawal of many conservative investors from the bank-stock market and therefore will not be conducive to financing our national banks in the way they have been effectively financed during the last 24 years.

The National Banking Act of 1933 permitted preferred stock financing only on an emergency basis and the change in the law from an emergency basis to one of regular and normal financing will tend to make the common stocks of national banks much more speculative than they are at present. This therefore will remove a present safeguard of stability of investment in our national banks. Consequently, we are destroying a safeguard of stability which has permitted our national banking system to effectively grow and prosper during the last 24 years.

Once again a safeguard is removed and the stability of sound national bank investments is endangered in order to bring about a concentration of control of our national banks by a small number of professional bankers.

The Federal Reserve Board on pages 860 and 861 of the hearings strongly objected to the issuance of preferred stock by our national banks and Mr. Robertson speaking for the Board of Governors summed up their opposition in these words: "It is very probable, in my opinion, that it would find it difficult to issue more common capital. It would find it difficult to issue more preferred stock unless the new issue was made even more preferred. As a result I think it is very possible that the ease with which banks can raise new capital in order to meet the growth of their communities would be diminished through that method. The ease would diminish."

STOCK-PURCHASE OPTIONS BY MANAGEMENT

A third element of dubious value has been introduced in S. 1451 by permitting the use of stock-purchase options to management in order to increase the return which management presently receives as the result of their administering the affairs of national banks. Bank executives will consequently increase their remuneration by having the stocks of their banks sell at very high prices and this opens up a whole field of manipulation to these bank executives which by its very nature is not likely to be conducive to the sound and orderly development of our national banks.

Bank managers will be tempted to engage in practices which well may bring them fast money but is hardly likely to advance the safeguarding and good administration of our national banks. The granting of stock options is a dubious device to reward bank executives by methods which well may be harmful to the effective and careful management of our national banks.

Here again more power and privilege is granted the professional banker by concentrating control over his remuneration in his own hands unrestricted by checks by the stockholders. On pages 863 and 864 of the hearings the Federal Reserve Board goes on record opposing the granting of stock options. Even the Senate Banking and Currency Committee opposed stock options. Mr. Robertson, speaking for the Reserve Board, said in part as follows: "The Board suggests that, at least with respect to some banks, the application of the proposed authority would not be compatible with the public interest. Some banks might be encouraged by this authority to develop unduly profit-minded, expansion-minded managements. Even though employees' stock-option authorizations may be appropriate for other types of corporations, the Board questions whether they are appropriate in the case of commercial banks which are quasi-public institutions entrusted with other peoples' money."

Here again we have a provision that sacrifices an established safeguard in our national banks in order to concentrate greater wealth and control of our national banks by the professional bankers at the expense of the stockholders and depositors who own and have their money in the bank.

SHARP INCREASE IN BANK BORROWING LIMITS

Title I, chapter 6, section 37 increases the legal indebtedness of a national bank from the present requirement of 100 percent of its capital stock to a new criterion of 100 percent of its capital stock plus 100 percent of its surplus fund.

This will permit the banks to borrow from each other aproximately 2½ times as much as they can borrow at present and will relieve them to a considerable extent from borrowing from the Federal Reserve bank. This new provision will tend to increase borrowing of one bank from another and through this borrowing device will facilitate a greater concentration of control between our national banks.

Here again a basic safeguard protecting depositors and stockholders against unusual borrowing is removed and consequently brings about a greater dependence of one national bank upon another bank with the result that a greater concentration of control can be brought about. The necessity of reliance upon the independent Federal Reserve bank for additional funds when needed is lowered in favor of reliance upon another commercial bank.

The Federal Reserve Board did not mince any words in condemning this provision which nevertheless was passed by the United States Senate contrary to the strongly expressed desire of the Federal Reserve Board. On pages 667 and 668 of the hearings, the Federal Reserve Board representative, Mr. Robertson, speaking in behalf of the Federal Reserve Board, strongly opposed this provision as follows:

"In the Board's opinion, such a considerable expansion in the borrowing ability of national banks would be both unnecessary and undesirable.

"Borrowing by banks occasionally is necsary and desirable in limited amounts and for limited periods in order to avoid asset liquidation that might otherwise be necessary. It is not, however, a practice that should be encouraged, because it tends to dilute the cushion of protection provided depositors by bank capital and surplus.

"Banks should follow a practice of maintaining holdings of liquid assets adequate to meet ordinary needs. Enlargement of borrowing limits as proposed in this bill might encourage banks to hold smaller amounts of liquid assets and rely upon borrowing for needed adjustments. In an emergency requiring large-scale and extended borrowing the discount facilities of the Reserve banks are readily available. To enlarge the ability of national banks to borrow outside the Reserve banks would diminish the restraining influence that the Reserve banks are directed by law to exert upon borrowing banks which are making undue use of bank credit for speculative purposes."

Here again a revision is made in the National Banking Act which purposely removes a valuable safeguard and tends to bring about a greater concentration of control of our national banks between themselves unfettered by the restraining hand of the district Federal Reserve Bank. The purpose of this provision is quite clear as the Federal Reserve Board which is the chief authority on the needs of our banks considers this expansion in borrowing ability both "unnecessary and undesirable."

The above four basic revisions in our National Banking Act form a pattern by dovetailing together a set of changes which will permit concentration of control of our national banking system in the hands of a relatively few men and thereby through this concentration of financial control will permit a greater degree of industrial control to be accomplished.

The irony of this concentration of control of our national banks in the hands of a few professional bank managers is that this control is accomplished at the expense of the basic safeguards incorporated in our National Banking Act as a result of the experience of bad bank management in the 1920's and the early 1930's. For the dubious purpose of concentrating financial control in the hands of a few persons, vital basic established safeguards are sacrificed.

The Federal Reserve Board, one of the few independent and nonpartisan boards in this country, in its criticism of the above four fundamental revisions confirms this position right down the line.

The Democratic Party as the father of these safeguards incorporated in our National Banking Act in 1933 should examine these revisions very carefully—particularly since these revisions are made in order to transfer vital control to our national banking system out of the hands of the people and into the hands of a few professional bankers. This is a case where both the ends and the means are objectionable and contrary to the public interest.

MERGER PROVISION—AMBIGUOUS AND WEAK

Finally S. 1451 adds insult to injury by incorporating a weak and wobbly merger provision in the bill. Title III, chapter 6, section 23 on mergers and consolidations introduces the ambiguous words of "the effect thereof may be to lessen competition unduly or to tend unduly to create a monopoly" and is contrary to the standards established by the courts of "substantially to lessen competition" and therefore is unlikely to have any effect in slowing the present strong trend of mergers and consolidations of our national banks presently occurring.

It is further significant to note that this provision does not permit the Department of Justice to act against the formation of vast banking mergers but throws the enforcement of this provision, as far as national banks are concerned, into the lap of the Comptroller of the Currency, who has indicated no resolve whatsoever to even attempt to check the present vast concentration of control and power presently occurring among our national banks.

CONCLUSION

The main purpose in revising our National Banking Act is quite clear. Its aim is to

concentrate financial control and power in the country in the hands of the few by destroying the safeguards presently existing in our national banks set up by a Democratic Congress to protect the many. It is a major change in our banking policy of national significance and the Democratic Party as the "party of the people" should stoutly resist this attack on the integrity of our national banks by the present Republican administration.

The basic philosophy established by the Democratic Congress of 1933 of widening the basis of control of our national banks by permitting the public stockholders to be represented on national bank boards along with the other basic safeguards enumerated above has stood the test of time and has become deeply imbedded in the life of our people.

Our national banks set up as an instrumentality of Congress to serve all of the people presently vests the ultimate financial control of these banks in the hands of the people.

The Democratic Party in solid control of the House of Representatives should never permit a few professional bankers to take control of our national banks away from the people.

U. S. S. "Arizona" Memorial at Pearl Harbor, T. H.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BURNS
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, on March 11, 1957, I introduced H. R. 5809, a bill to provide for a U. S. S. *Arizona* memorial at Pearl Harbor, T. H. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. LOSER], the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. PORTER], and the gentlemen from Arizona [Mr. UDALL and Mr. RHODES], have introduced similar bills. Committee action awaits a departmental report.

Strong support for the bill has been expressed in a number of areas of our national life. I am honored to present herewith for the information of the Members of the Congress a copy of House Concurrent Resolution No. 56 which was adopted by the 29th Legislature of Hawaii.

Whereas Act 288 of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii in 1949 established the Pacific War Memorial Commission to create and maintain a living war memorial in Hawaii, and Joint Resolution 21 of the 27th Legislature adopted and approved the commission's "Pacific memorial system," which included, among other things, a memorial or memorials at the National Cemetery of the Pacific—Puowaina, the Hill of Sacrifice; and

Whereas the American Battle Monuments Commission has successfully implemented major aspects of this project to the point where the architectural plans have been approved in general by the appropriate bodies, and authorization granted to proceed with that part of the memorial that pertains to the Gardens of the Missing: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the 29th Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii (the Senate concurring), That this legislature reiterate oft-expressed appreciation and gratitude to the American Battle Monuments Commission and all of its members for that Commission's continuous and continuing Aloha for Hawaii, and for its unrelenting efforts, which are rapidly taking form, to create in Hawaii a living war memorial; and be it further

Resolved, That the 29th legislature renew the previously expressed approval of the Pacific memorial system of the Pacific War Memorial Commission; and be it further

Resolved, That authenticated copies of this concurrent resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the Secretaries of Defense, the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, to Hawaii's Delegate to Congress, to the American Battle Monuments Commission, and to the Pacific War Memorial Commission.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII,
Honolulu, T. H., May 2, 1957.

We hereby certify that the foregoing concurrent resolution was this day adopted by the house of representatives of the 29th Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii.

O. VINCENT ESPOSITO,
Speaker, House of Representatives.
HERMAN T. F. LUM,
Clerk, House of Representatives.
THE SENATE OF THE
TERRITORY OF HAWAII,
Honolulu, T. H., May 3, 1957.

We hereby certify that the foregoing concurrent resolution was this day adopted by the senate of the 29th Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii.

WILLIAM H. HEEN,
President of the Senate.
WILLIAM S. RICHARDSON,
Clerk of the Senate.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, I believe that at long last the American people are gradually becoming aware of the fallacies of the so-called Federal aid programs to the several States. They are fast realizing that there is no such thing as Federal handouts.

We must realize that the Federal Government has no money, except that which it extracts from the taxpayers. We hear much these days about Federal aid to the States for school construction. Not only is this Federal aid not needed, but it will cost the taxpayers of this country far more to construct the necessary schools with Federal aid than if the States went it alone and built their own schools without the assistance of the Federal Government.

And not only will it cost the taxpayers more if Federal aid is approved, but Federal control invariably follows Federal aid. The present so-called school construction Federal aid would be the first real step in turning our schools over to the Federal Government. The States and localities in this great Nation are today in a far better condition to meet the costs of school construction and education generally than is the Federal Government with its enormous public debt.

We need but look at the groups that are sponsoring this legislation to realize that the vast majority of them are not only pressure groups but are believers in the welfare state.

There appeared on Friday, May 10, 1957, in the Richmond Times-Dispatch, an editorial entitled "United States Aid to Schools Slipping," and in the Lynchburg News an editorial entitled "Cuts Won't Do." These two editorials point out cogently the dangers of enacting the Federal aid to school legislation, as well as other reasons why the legislation is not needed. The editorials are as follows:

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch of May 10, 1957]

UNITED STATES AID TO SCHOOLS SLIPPING

There is no hope of a real slash in Federal spending unless a great easing of world tensions makes it possible to cut the present stupendous expenditures for defense, President Eisenhower told his news conference on Wednesday.

This declaration presupposes that there is no substantial waste in the outlays for defense—a supposition which we are far from accepting. The President's statement also ignores the possibility of a large reduction in domestic expenditures—which in his budget total nearly 10 billion, or 51 percent, more than those in the last Truman budget.

Let's take one proposed domestic outlay from the Eisenhower budget—the program of Federal aid to education. It calls for 325 million a year for 4 years, plus 750 million more over the 4-year period for Federal purchase of local school construction bonds.

There is a huge lobby in Washington for this program, and Mr. Eisenhower has been spearheading the fight. Yet there are many reasons for believing that the program is not only unnecessary, but dangerous.

The latest strong reason for regarding it as unnecessary appears in Time magazine for May 13. Time publishes a State-by-State report, and reaches the following conclusion:

Of all the items in President Eisenhower's domestic program, few seem less likely to succeed than Federal aid for school construction. But would the defeat of this proposal be as great a calamity as its backers insist? Last week Time surveyed the 48 States to find out. The answer: no. Though the Nation as a whole must keep building classrooms, faster than ever before, a surprisingly big proportion of the States do not need—or do not want—any help from the Government.

Only 7 States seem to qualify for the critical list, according to this survey, and some of the 7 are in dubious class, as we see it. California, for example, is spending wholly ridiculous sums on its old people. If these outlays were brought down to reasonable levels, many more millions would be available for schools.

Virginia—where not a single county or city has exhausted its bonding capacity—is 1 of 23 States listed in Time as not only confident they can take care of themselves; a good many just don't want outside help.

Bearing out the argument that Federal aid is not needed is the statement in the Investment Bankers Association's Statistical Bulletin that school bonds sold by States and localities for the 9 months ended March 31 totaled $1.5 billion, an alltime record.

For this and other reasons, there is mounting opposition to Federal aid, as people awaken to the fact that it would not only be an extravagance on the part of the National Government but a means whereby that Government would get its clutches on the schools of every State.

If Mr. Eisenhower is really interested in economy—which seems highly doubtful—

we suggest that he might begin by eliminating this whole plan of Federal aid to schools.

[From the Lynchburg (Va.) News of May 10, 1957]

CUTS WON'T DO

The House Education Committee has voted to cut the proposed huge appropriation for Federal construction of school buildings from $2 billion to a billion and a half.

The reason given is that passage of the larger appropriation through the Congress is doubtful and advocates feel that a somewhat smaller sum might get approval.

The cut is not sufficient. The only thing that would be sufficient would be the withdrawal of the measure or, that failing, its defeat in the Congress. This, we think, is true for good reasons, including:

1. The bill is wrong in principle.

It means Federal control of the public schools. That, despite efforts to conceal it, is axiomatic, and if proof were needed the effort just made to slap on Federal regulations as to the distribution of the handout, and stopped temporarily and for expediency's sake, supplies the proof.

2. It is an expenditure that the Nation cannot afford at any time, especially when every effort is being made to reduce a budget that is a heavy burden upon the Nation's economy and is growing heavier year by year.

3. There has not yet been any clear demonstration of the need for the appropriation, of a desperate scarcity of classrooms. Indeed, there has been a series of confused statements, the number supposedly needed varying widely with each table of statistics. The only thing agreed upon by everybody advocating the expenditure is that for the last several years the number claimed needed has shrunk annually 50 percent. Give another year or 2 of the present rate of construction by the States and virtually everybody but those bent on increasing the power of the central government and those who just dote on spending money will admit there's no need at all for so-called Federal aid.

Let's kill the bill now, no matter if the appropriation provided is for only 2 cents, and it will be beyond hope of resurrection.

Is Ike's Staff Coming Apart at the Seams?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD an article which appeared in the Boston Sunday Globe by their able Washington correspondent, Thomas Winship, regarding the second term of the Eisenhower administration, and the Federal regulatory agencies. I feel that its contents will be of great interest to my colleagues in the House.

The article follows:

[From the Boston Sunday Globe of May 12, 1957]

BOSTON LAWYER GETS LAME DUCK RUNAROUND—IS IKE'S STAFF COMING APART AT THE SEAMS?

(By Thomas Winship)

WASHINGTON, May 11.—The performance record of the White House staff this week in trying to strengthen two important Federal regulatory agencies typifies the Eisenhower administration's second-term growing pains.

It is a clinical report on the Ike administration in action on the personnel front, pieced together by the writer from interviews with a dozen informed officials here.

It concerns a respected Boston corporation lawyer and a popular former mayor of Morristown, N. J., and the administration's faltering efforts to ease them into key jobs.

The administration has one upcoming vacancy in the Federal Communications Commission and at least one in the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Both of these quasi-judicial agencies are under mounting attack by Congress. The agencies are being charged with failing to carry out the will of Congress in protecting the public interest in the regulation of the increasingly lucrative TV-radio industry and the investment business.

A special House subcommittee recently was created and given $250,000 to investigate these and other regulatory agencies in the executive branch.

In the case of FCC, the White House flunked out completely in putting across its first choice. It was Edward Mills, former Civil Aeronautics Board official, former mayor of Morristown, and now deputy general services administrator.

On Friday Mills asked that his name be withdrawn from further consideration. Robert L. King, administrative assistant to Vice President NIXON and former general manager of Southern Comfort Distilleries, currently is the front runner, according to industry reports.

BOSTON LAWYER FACES STORMY GOING AHEAD

In the case of the SEC, Boston Attorney Charles O. Pengra, 66, of the Choate, Hall, and Stewart law firm appears headed for stormy weather in winning Senate confirmation if the White House goes through with its tentative offer of the SEC chairmanship to the Bostonian last week.

Trouble surrounding Mills and Pengra were different, but both were innocent victims of the same shortcomings—sloppy White House staff work and poor liaison with the Republican Senate leadership.

On the FCC, Chairman George C. McConnaughey, political protege of Senator JOHN BRICKER, Republican, Ohio, has failed in his drive to win reappointment when his term expires this June 30.

Complaints from the industry have mounted to the point where the White House finally has decided that McConnaughey must go. McConnaughey refers all queries on his future to the White House.

First choice as successor was Mills. His name was cleared 10 days ago with his 2 home State Senators—CLIFFORD CASE, Republican, and H. ALEXANDER SMITH, Republican.

Mills turned down the offer on two counts. First, the White House, in offering him the FCC post, said he should go in with "a mission to clean it up," but never made clear whether it were offering him the chairmanship or just 1 of the 7 commissionerships.

The White House hedged on the FCC chairmanship because there was division within the White House staff over whether it would be wise to give Mills the top job.

Two of the present FCC Commissioners, John C. Doerfer and Robert E. Lee, each have backing for the chairmanship from influential Senators, and the doubting White House staffers question whether it was worth risking a row at the Hill by naming Mills to head FCC.

Mills, on the other hand, decided a person would not get far on a "reform mission" unless he went to the FCC armed with the chairmanship.

Mills also pulled out of the FCC picture because he has a good chance of succeeding his present boss, Franklin G. Floete, as GSA Administrator. This is as good a job on the Government table of organization and is subject to less political and industry pressure.

SENATOR SALTONSTALL IS BYPASSED

What's happened in the Pengra case illustrates anew these other administration facts of life:

The immense power of Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey outside of his own Department and the realm of fiscal policymaking.

The immense power and skillful follow-through of the Senate's ranking Republican and senior GOP member of Senate appropriations, STYLES BRIDGES, of New Hampshire.

And the administration's frequent failure to touch base with Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Republican, Massachusetts, though chairman of the Republican Conference of GOP Senators, during the initial stages of White House negotiation with Bay Staters on important Washington jobs.

(The White House forgot to check in with SALTONSTALL, the State's senior Republican, until after it had signed up Bay Stater Christopher Phillips for United States Civil Service Commissioner and Elliott Richardson for Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. This always has been a matter of elementary courtesy in the patronage game here.)

Pengra received a call from the Treasury Department to come here last Friday to talk to Humphrey and others on the possibility of his taking the Securities and Exchange Commission chairmanship. He conferred with Humphrey. He also spent more than an hour with J. Sinclair Armstrong, present SEC Chairman, about the duties of the job.

He called at the White House, too. He was informally offered the SEC chairmanship and asked to decide whether he wanted the job. The offer always was the chairmanship, not mere membership on the SEC.

Humphrey was for Pengra because he thought the Government board policing the Nation's investment community should be someone older than Armstrong, who is 40. Armstrong is being shifted to the Navy as an Assistant Secretary. Humphrey also wanted a new face, a man of stature in the business world. Pengra answered these Humphrey requisites.

GLOBE BROKE STORY ON SEC APPOINTMENT

But few people can make the rounds on this level in this town without word leaking out. It leaked last Tuesday.

The Globe first printed the story. The Wall Street Journal picked it up the next day.

Only trouble so far as Pengra was concerned is that his summons to Washington and offer of the SEC chairmanship was a complete surprise to Senator BRIDGES, Senator SALTONSTALL, and several other Senators who had other ideas on this particular job.

SEC Commissioner James C. Sargent, a 39-year-old New York lawyer and scion of a New Haven locksmith business, had his eye on the chairmanship, and had been working on it long before Pengra was tapped.

The day the story first appeared in the press, Sargent skipped up to the Hill and lunched privately with BRIDGES. The Senator had been in Sargent's corner for some time. So was Senator IRVING IVES, Republican, New York. Sargent even asked the support of his friend, Under Secretary of State Christian Herter, that same day.

The Republican Senators figured they should have been let in on the Pengra development from the start.

Yesterday BRIDGES told reporters: "I have no objection to Pengra being named to the SEC as a member, but I do think it is tough on present members if a complete outsider is promoted over them. I know Sargent has done an excellent job on the Commission

and I am for him. I shall tell the President of my feelings when I see him text Tuesday. Pengra's name was news to me," said BRIDGES.

Pengra, an innocent bystander, has not commented publicly about anything. But friends feel certain the SEC chairmanship, the original proposition, might still interest him, but nothing else.

The big question now is: Will the White House want to buck BRIDGES and other Republican Senators and push Pengra over Sargent, or will they just forget about that call last week to Boston?

The 1912 Harvard graduate apparently is a philosophical man.

Only a few weeks before the Eisenhower administration asked him to join "the team," Pengra wrote in his 45th class reunion report this spring:

"After 42 years of corporation law, mostly financial work, nothing I could do could be of any interest.

"I am too reactionary to hold public office, too busy to write a book, too old to play golf and too young to retire."

Getting good men to come to Washington for the last 3 years of the Eisenhower administration is a major problem.

Want a job?

Los Angeles Board of Water and Power Commissioners Oppose Trinity Partnership Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the Board of Water and Power Commissioners of the City of Los Angeles has just adopted a resolution urging Congress to reject the plan of the Secretary of the Interior for development of the Trinity power resources by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. This action by the board in stepping forward to oppose the P. G. & E. partnership proposal is especially significant because this board represents the interests and attitudes of so many people.

The Department of Water and Power of the City of Los Angeles is the largest single public agency distributing water and power in the State of California and one of the largest in the Nation. The Department distributes water and power from the Colorado River and Hoover Dam. It has been in the electric power business a long time and knows its way around in the power field just as well as the P. G. & E. Co.

In addition to the fact that the Board of Water and Power Commissioners of Los Angeles represents a great number of people, the board's resolution is significant because it represents the thinking of some of the finest engineers in the water and power business.

For the information of Members of Congress the resolution follows:

Resolution 926

Whereas the Secretary of the Interior has recommended the development of the power resources of the proposed Trinity River division by a private utility, which action is contrary to the long-established public preference provisions of Federal reclamation laws; and

Whereas the State of California, through its department of water resources, as a preference customer would have need for large quantities of low-cost hydroelectric power for pumping requirements of the Feather River project that already has been authorized by the California Legislature; and

Whereas other public agencies are by tradition and existing law also entitled to share on a priority basis in the power that would be available under Federal development: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States is hereby urged to reject the plan of the Secretary of the Interior for private development of the power resources of the Trinity division and that the construction and operation of that project be undertaken by the Federal Government under reclamation law with fair and proper provisions for serving preference customers, including the State of California, and that the State be granted the same terms and conditions for purchase of power for pumping water to serve the State's Feather River project as would be given a Federal project; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to United States Senators KUCHEL and KNOWLAND, Congressman CLAIR ENGLE, and other Members of the California congressional delegation, Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton, and Gov. Goodwin J. Knight.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a full, true, and correct copy of a resolution adopted by the Board of Water and Power Commissioners of the City of Los Angeles at its meeting held May 7, 1957.

[SEAL] JOSEPH L. WILLIAMS,
Secretary.

Address by Dean Katherine Oettinger of the Boston University School of Social Work, Recently Appointed Chief of the Children's Bureau

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAURENCE CURTIS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished citizen of Greater Boston, Dean Katherine Oettinger of the Boston University School of Social Work, has been appointed Chief of the Children's Bureau, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Her friends believe that she will be a worthy successor to Dr. Martha Eliot, who had such a long and outstanding career in that office.

Dean Oettinger recently gave the Phi Beta Kappa address at Boston University entitled, "The Scholar Lives in Contemporary Society." Believing that this address will be of interest to many, I am asking that it be included as part of my remarks. Her address follows:

Every society has ceremonies marking the coming of age of its members. The Phi Beta Kappa initiation is such a ceremony for it marks your entry into the fellowship of scholars. The memory of the joy I experienced in this sense of belonging at my own initiation into this society encouraged me to accept the honor of having a part in this important benchmark in your lives. For me initiation into Phi Beta Kappa was such a deep experience that I can only compare it to that described in the story of Helen Keller. "* * * the most dramatic phase of the learning process, the phenomenon of what might be called dawning, that great moment when one realizes the purpose and meaning of what he is being taught to do." With Helen Keller this came when she was not quite 7 years old—"this event appeared in its greatest significance when water was poured over one hand while Miss Sullivan manually spelled water into the other hand. In that instant, it dawned upon Helen that 'everything has a name' and that the manual alphabet is the key to everything she wants to know. On this one day, April 5, 1887, she added 30 words to a vocabulary which up to that time had incorporated 21 words that it had taken her the whole of the previous month to acquire." Perhaps "dawning" for you may be now, or at some later time of contemplation, since every awakening is essentially a personal experience.

You have already faced the question that Longfellow posed many years ago:

"Where shall the scholar live?
In solitude or in society?
In the green stillness of the country,
Where he can hear the heart of nature beat,
Or in the dark gray town,
Where he can hear and feel the throbbing
Heart of man?
I will make answer for him and say,
In the dark gray town."

You have in a sense answered this question by choosing Boston University "in the dark gray town where he can hear and feel the throbbing heart of man." But for you this choice is only the beginning. As a scholar, you live in contemporary society and share in this exciting world. This is a world not for timid people, but for the bold, the imaginative, the inventive. We have already come to live with the realistic knowledge that this is an age of problems and of change—a time of awesome responsibility. We cannot hope to see the end. We can just hope for progress.

What are the answers scholars are preparing individually, or as professional groups, toward enriching human life in this contemporary society of rapid technological progress? The swift pace and complexity of changes are clearly revealed as I look back to the time of my own initiation into the Phi Beta Kappa Society. Two years after this date Charles A. Lindbergh flew from New York to Paris, a distance of 3,600 miles, in the then remarkable short time of 33 hours and 30 minutes. We all know how men and science have combined to attain today's jet-propelled speed. That this foreshortening of time and distance came over so few years, still shocks and amazes me. Your generation has accepted it as a matter of course.

If we use this familiar development in air travel as a measure, we can perhaps look at the less tangible but equally amazing evolution during the same period in man's concern for human needs. We have moved from the philanthropic, charitable approach to needy individuals to the concept that man has a right to a reasonable degree of freedom from fear of lack of food or shelter. The rapid increase in the scope of social responsibility over the past years has reached a vast, but still incomplete, perception of our obligation for direct service to people. I am asking you to stretch your imagination far enough to encompass the vast welfare structure for implementing these broad changes in social philosophy that we are beginning to accept as casually as we do concrete evidences of our tremendous progress in other fields. The character of the social standard as it passes from personal to broader responsibility and thence to general social measures which anticipate, and hence

prevent need, is well illustrated by what has happened in our own time with respect to the economic needs of older people; the old standard of exclusive personal and family responsibility has given way to the broader-based social responsibility represented by relief and assistance. Now this, in turn, is being largely supplanted by the preventive measure of social insurance. But now that we are no longer faced with some of these basic fears, new problems confront us. We need new voices to help us create ways of making our prolonged span of life a blessing.

It seems only yesterday we first heard the word "automation" and learned its definition. Now we are beginning to experience more of its meaning in daily living. At first automation seemed remote—even such changes in New England paper and textile industries, for example, where the number of looms tended by 1 man was extended from 6 to 350. This trend altered industry but to most of us it seemed rather far removed from our own endeavors. Now all around us we find firsthand signs of automation. We experience them in huge elevators where pushbutton civilization sweeps unattended passengers to the 30th floor of a hotel, in the new processing machine that computes involved scientific data in our university; and in the newspaper accounts we read predicting tomorrow's wonders to include built-in electronic devices in homes, constantly on guard, assembling weather information, and sending this out to doors, windows, and awnings that adjust themselves accordingly. Members of your 1957 class may be invited to join such a team as the Nevada group seeking to develop hydrogen energy for peacetime use. This would release another source of power beyond our most apocryphal dreams.

What is this doing to the economic, social, and cultural structure of society as we know it? These developments can signify either threat or opportunity. The threat thrusts at our deepest satisfaction in the importance of work and purpose in life. The opportunity lies in freedom from excessive toil, longer vacations, shorter hours, and larger incomes for increasing numbers of people. What substitute are we to find for jobs, abolished by technical advances? Do we have the vision to achieve a cultural renaissance? This will require a creative approach, not only for the poets, novelists, and artists among you, but also for the philosophers and social policy leaders who can give stability to this transitional period. As the 4-day week becomes more than a news headline, scholars and humanists, on the other hand, must work longer and harder to reformulate our traditional aspirations so that the new-found leisure produces more creative living' Time is running out; it is urgent that you spark new sensibilities, new forms of communication, and spiritual commitment to high purposes to meet the challenge of what can become a new, wonderful age, just dawning.

In contemporary society we have not done enough if we treat and prevent forms of breakdown and misfortune precipitated by change. We must maintain a public health point of view in building a healthy climate in which people can grow and flourish. Specifically, for example, this includes mobilizing all new resources which enable us to protect and conserve human life, not only for our own but for all children. We cannot allow boys and girls in any part of this Nation or other nations to be diseased, handicapped, underprivileged, or uneducated. In our current mobile society children from any walk in life or from any nation may be our neighbors and fellow citizens tomorrow. To protect ourselves, we must protect our fellowmen everywhere. Two-thirds of the people of the present world, who now live in underdeveloped areas, are beginning to emerge into conditions of economic independence. Are you ready to take advantage of and to advance the inviting opportunities in the new world for social interdependence? Responsibility on an international level is imperative; we cannot isolate problems. It is quite conceivable that, within your lifetime, you may be expected to be dealing with such revelations as the social organization of Martian society. Even now a joint scientific endeavor among 50 nations will play a key role in preparing for man's first, tentative steps toward space travel into a limitless universe.

Society, now and in the future, must depend upon you and people like you for leadership in reorienting the social order in a civilization which, for the first time, aims to share new knowledge and benefits with all people. What does this require of each scholar in contemporary society? How can he make his greatest contribution to this vast new world? These are the questions you face as scholars.

You have committed yourself wholeheartedly to intellectual goals; you have already demonstrated that you are purposeful, that you have gained major satisfaction as a thinking person. Have you accomplished this without losing or denying yourself as a feeling person? It is only when thinking and feeling work in harmony that maturity results, and only mature people have the capacity to think of others in the community. We know this readiness to give of self demands a willingness to go beyond the simple dictates of duty. The sense of joining with others and caring for others all around the world is the true measure of human stature. It is too easy to do no more than meet the minimal requirements, to take the intellectual approach without giving of yourself or without obligations to others. Whatever else we may achieve, if we lack the quality of giving self, we are not living up to the highest potential of the scholar. In our common effort to preserve freedom and to improve the character of our democracy where men face ever-changing problems and seek to solve them, each person is expected to make some commitment to all human needs despite the engrossing demands of the particular specialization in which he is also engaged. Who speaks for human beings and for humanity if everyone concentrates only on doing his own job? This is quite as true of those entering the fields of technology and business as of more traditional helping professions. Certainly the human dimension is an integral part of the current learning in all professional education.

What further contributions does living in contemporary society require? Certainly one of the first essentials is character structure not just receptive but also initiating. The ability to mobilize our energies, to orchestrate our forces with others in order to effect chosen goals is another. Here is the chance to identify some of the real problems—how to make peace? How to make democracy work better? What to do with ourselves? I cannot agree with some pessimistic historians of society that the role of the individual in society has been completely altered. Has man really become dependent, the eternal suckling, the potential robot? Is the real danger in 1957 that we may someday be ruled by the progenies of Miss Universe and Mr. Univac?

The American conscience, whatever it is, however it has seemed, has frequently gone to sleep only to awaken with greater vigor. Roger Burlinghame is sure that it is asleep now, but even he does not deny the possibility of its reawakening. In his recent efforts to define American conscience he says, "We are prosperous, we are complacent, religion has become for many only a moral convention; skill is anonymous, thought is under pressure to conform. Security has replaced venture as a dominant aim. Intellect is in the discard and politics are dedicated by a cult of mediocrity." But hesitantly, in a wistful hopefulness, Mr. Burlinghame also adds, "hasn't the American conscience always reasserted itself in the past? Is it now possible to feel, in an hour of quiet darkness, when we have turned off the television, the old forces of conscience rallying around us?"

How does this grim self-examination apply to you who graduate with distinction from our university? Some lament that education, like youth, may be wasted upon the young. A personnel officer of one large university predicted that students of the future may think it silly to read books not on any list of requirements because there are no credits given for that stuff. Worse, others claim that college experience barely touches a student's fundamental values, quality of judgment, beliefs, and attitudes. Students only shadowbox without conviction in discussion courses that should demand tough-mindedness. Fashionable conformity at the midcentury permits only complacent assumption of conventional values, without testing with the diamond-pointed drill of doubt. I hope this rouses some challenge from you who have achieved a measure of self-fulfillment during your own brief years at college.

Do you care enough about the niche in society to which this relegates your college generation to answer these critics? At a Smith College mass meeting for Hungarian Freedom Fighters students were swept with sympathy for those who bravely carried on a hopeless struggle. A crisis so easily calls forth the open heart, a sympathy for others, that belies the charge of failure of personal involvement in the great issues of our time. During the meeting, recordings of the last Budapest radio news were rebroadcast. Plaintively the sender asked, "Send news, send news; give us a word." These young people and many of you are sending the answer now and in the future.

My own faith in your personal integrity, courage, and sense of responsibility, is confirmed as I interview men and women candidates for professional education in the social services.

It is heartening that we can balance harsh judgment of the present-day undergraduate with reassurance from such a keen observer as President John Sloan Dickey of Dartmouth. "Do not judge the college student of today by the standards of yesterday. Within the reality of his experience he is ready, willing, and able to come to grips with issues of conscience which in other days were largely left to his elders."

All about is evidence that man is beginning to think of himself as a part of the reciprocal, circular forces that change the social order. The social scientists call this transactional forces. This means that man is not only a part of the social order, but it is a part of him. He does not yield to it as to gravity or the weather, but he himself creates the social condition in which he believes. He determines under what conditions adjustment is a strength or a weakness of too easy compliance. All about us in this complex society people are helping each other reorient their attitudes toward themselves and others while engaging in common program for creating an ever-improving social climate. Many forces are now at work to free the individual from a sense of hopelessness and a feeling of remoteness from the center of power in government, in the corporation, in the union. This has been made feasible in public and private enterprises by a new partnership between government and the people as neighborhood organizations are activated for community advances. The American way of life encourages diverse volunteer activities. I am familiar, for example, with three totally different citizen approaches to mental health activities in the geographically close but

dissimilar communities which surround us—Brookline, Cambridge, and Wellesley.

We are recognizing that democracy will weaken unless ways and means are devised continuously to encourage the average citizen to have some sense of participation and control over his changing environment. It is clear that the citizen who does not grapple firsthand with change is subject to unhealthy apathy. We have no ruling class and planning cannot be left to the experts. New insights into the behavioral sciences indicate the importance not only to the democracy but to the mental health needs of the individual that he participate in achieving community goals for better living for all. This is a far cry from the concept of the "interchangeable man." Indeed, it stresses, perhaps as never before in world history, the uniqueness and the importance of the individual's contribution.

The scholar in contemporary society is moving toward a new philosophy inherent in the phrase "for whom the bell tolls." They know the answer "it tolls for every one of us." But at the same time he has no sense of being "alone and frightened in a world I never made." Who else but the participating citizen makes the world? This is not humanitarianism alone but also good economics, the only road to self-preservation.

Effectiveness, as an integral part of this community of freemen, depends upon cultural education which the individual citizen brings as a member of society living with himself and others. This high order of self-interest, added to social sympathy, embraces concern for the welfare of ourselves and others. The scholar, equipped to grow emotionally and psychologically, as well as mentally, recognizes that the age of compassion, has only just crossed the threshold. We can remember Goethe's dying words: "Light, more light." And the answer of the Spanish philosopher Unamuno; "Warmth, more warmth, for it is not the night that kills but the frost." The scholar can help our society make great strides forward in our time if his value judgments are geared to social responsibility for community living.

To be sure our world is growing wider and wider, but it can also grow closer and closer in neighborhood units. These units reach out for leadership. Where are they going to find it? Hopefully with the scholar who lives in contemporary society.

Unions—Why They Exist and What They Do

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD the following address I made to the pupils of St. Michael's, St. Adelbert, and St. Casimir Parochial Schools, Pittsburgh, Pa., on May 1, 1957:

UNIONS—WHY THEY EXIST AND WHAT THEY DO

There is nothing very lasting in the world. All things change—and sometimes it is hard for boys and girls of high-school age to realize what has brought about the conditions that prevail in the world in which they are growing up.

Everybody in the world—unless born to wealth—must work for a living, and education is the process which prepares us for work—be it an occupation or a profession.

We need hardly tell you because undoubtedly you have heard stories from your parents and have read that the labor struggle in the United States was not an easy one.

We live in western Pennsylvania, and, as you know, a good many years ago western Pennsylvania became the heart of the iron and steel industry in our great country. This happened because of the nearby abundance of soft coal, the excellent river transportation system, its proximity to the Great Lakes over which the ore from the Minnesota range country was easily, swiftly, and inexpensively transported to the Pittsburgh region.

Here the ore, and coal, and limestone were converted into steel and then shipped elsewhere to be fabricated and manufactured into those things which the people of our country were demanding—and the people of other parts of the world were needing.

The steel industry was founded in Pittsburgh by a group of small independent men who built fabulous empires for themselves—but who finally sold their interests to a Scotsman by the name of Andrew Carnegie, who formed the Carnegie Steel Co. Later on, in the year 1901, he sold his great holdings to the Morgan interests.

It was then that the first billion-dollar corporation in the United States was created, and it was known as the United States Steel Corp. At that time, it is interesting to note, labor in the mills was receiving the pay of 15 cents an hour.

In those hard days, the men who controlled the industry also controlled the vast coalfields that spread over western Pennsylvania.

These men were interested in producing steel and making large sums of money for themselves, but they were not too interested in the welfare of the people. In order to get people to man the mills and to dig the coal, agents were sent to Europe and hundreds of thousands of immigrants were brought into the country to sweat and toil and to produce wealth for the owners.

Many of you in this room know that your parents or your grandparents came from parts of Europe and settled here because of the inducements of finding freedom and earning enough money to support their families. And yet—America was not always the great land of promise that it seemed to be to the Europeans looking westward in our direction.

When they came here, although they did find work, they also found miserable towns built in the river valleys and black mills controlling these towns. There was little freedom—rather, there were long hours of work, small wages, and conditions that to us now seem appalling.

Many years ago there had been attempts made to form unions in these giant mills so that the working people would have some say about their own destinies, some control over their own lives, their wages and the working conditions.

You have all read about the historic Homestead steel strike in 1892, when the workers did attempt to organize unions but found that they were beset by the company and the State militia, and they were forced to give up many things they had been fighting for.

At the end of the First World War another attempt was made to organize the steel industry, and, although thousands of persons enrolled in the union, it all came to no avail. Once again the corporations broke the strike.

During the twenties in the United States, there was a period of great wealth, that is, it was for the people on the top.

America found millionaires blossoming by the thousands, but the people who worked in the mills and the shops and the mines were not given a part of the great profits which were being made and, as a result, the machines of industry, although they were pouring out tremendous quantities of goods, found that there were not sufficient buyers in the country with money enough to consume those things which were being produced.

And, finally, the wheels slowed down and a great depression set in.

Shortly before any of you were born, a great social revolution started in this country with the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt as President of the United States. This was in 1932.

Franklin Roosevelt was a man who saw our country falling apart and who felt that unless ways were found to share this tremendous wealth, which was being produced or could be produced, that we could not survive in the world as a strong free nation.

Franklin Roosevelt did many things to save our country and particularly to save our capitalistic form of economy. He helped business by creating government agencies which poured countless millions of dollars into their treasuries to see that they could survive. He helped the farmers by having all sorts of agricultural laws passed so that they could weather the severe economic storms.

And Franklin Roosevelt also helped the working man by seeing to it that in the law called the "National Recovery Act" there was inserted a clause which gave the workers the right to organize into unions of their own choosing.

Immediately there was a great upsurge of union activity in the United States and shortly thereafter there was founded a Committee for Industrial Organizations which was determined to organize all the workers who toiled in great mass industries such as steel, aluminum, rubber, automobile, textiles, oil, mines, and others.

When the National Recovery Act was declared to be unconstitutional, there was a new Federal bill passed by our Congress known as the "Wagner Act," which was sponsored by Senator Wagner of the State of New York. This Wagner Act came to be known as labor's Magna Carta and it gave to the unions and the working people of the United States the right, under Federal auspices, to organize into unions and to fight for higher wages and better working conditions.

It is hard for us to realize today just how bad things were back in the early thirties. I would like to point out just a few facts for comparison to make it easier for you.

In 1934, the United States Steel Corp. (and their rates, of course, are sometimes even higher than those paid by other companies) was paying a minimum of 47 cents an hour in the North, and about 32 cents an hour in the South. In November of 1936, to forestall the great union surge which was sweeping the steel industry, the company did raise the common labor rate to 52½ cents an hour.

Compare that, if you will, with the rate now being earned by a common laborer in the United States Steel Corp., and also in many of the other steel plants in western Pennsylvania, which is $1.82 an hour. In the aluminum industry, it is now $1.84 an hour. This is a tremendous increase in buying power of the people who have to work in the mills.

Back in 1934 and 1936, vacations were unknown in the steel industry—except for the bosses. Today, everybody who works gets a vacation.

Pensions and insurance provisions were also unknown in the steel industry—although, of course, there were some people at the top who did receive princely pensions. Today, if a man works in the steel industry for the major part of his life, he can look forward to sufficient money upon retirement to take care of himself as long as he lives.

And today—if a worker or his family becomes ill or requires hospitalization, there are funds set aside by the company by the workers to take care of these health needs.

A few of the other things that unions have won over the years have to do with paid holidays—something nobody had 20 years ago; shift differentials, which means that if people work on the late afternoon shift or the night shift, they get a few cents more than the people who work the preferred daylight shift.

But probably the most important event that has happened in the steel industry, and which was brought about by the union, is the development of the individual worker—as a person of some importance and stature in his plant and in his community.

The worker is no longer considered just a number, somebody who can be hired by the boss at will—and fired, indiscriminately, without charges being preferred against him.

Today, a worker, when he goes to work in a plant, immediately begins to accumulate seniority and is protected by a contract which is negotiated between the company and the union. This contract spells out, in great detail, the working conditions, the rights of management, and the rights of the employees.

If there is a fight over some of these issues between the employer and the employees, the worker, today, may take a problem up through the grievance machinery, and, if necessary, even to an impartial arbitrator who—without fear and without pressure—will render a fair and equitable decision either for the worker or for the company in accordance with justice and right.

We know that there are many people in the United States today, and even here in western Pennsylvania, who still fear unions and sometimes even brand unions as being subversive or un-American or antidemocratic.

We know, too, that there are unions that sometimes are a bit undemocratic and arbitrary in the things they do, but, we are old enough to know that almost any institution, which is manmade, can deviate from the course which it should pursue. But, by and large, in spite of the errors that unions have made, unions have become a strong motivating force for freedom and democracy, particularly industrial democracy, in our society.

It is really too bad that more time is not spent in school learning about the contributions that unions have made, because unions are a potent factor and should be given credit for what they do.

Students should be taught about the American heritage in full, part of which is owed to the trade-union movement. Many students in high school, upon graduation, will go to work in shops and factories and mills, and many of those students will eventually become union members.

We think it is only right that in America, where man is free to advance himself and to earn sufficient money to move ahead and live comfortably, that the role of unions and companies should be more closely studied.

Unions in America are not opposed to business as such.

Unions want companies to be strong and to make money, because unions know that in the end, the income of union members is derived from the profits of the company. But unions feel that companies, when they earn large sums of money, have a moral right to see to it that the employees, who, by their sweat and brawn, produce the goods and services, should be rewarded sufficiently so that they in turn, can buy these goods and services; and they feel that an ever-expanding economy means even more productivity upon the part of the employees and the company, and an ever-greater share to which the employees are entitled.

Now, it's often said that there is only so much in the pie—and—if labor takes too much, then management and the stockholder will not have sufficient left. Over the years, labor's share in the pie has not risen appreciably, but what has happened is that labor and management, working together, have been able to take a bigger pie, so that all segments of our economy receive bigger slices, including the money return to those who work.

In a sense, a union is an economic and social prod to companies and to government. Naturally, unions are formed by people who are generally not satisfied—they want more.

Everybody wants more, and with our tremendous wealth and productive skill any right-thinking person knows that all men can get more, provided they are given the opportunity to produce more.

The big problem in America is how to share the product and how to make distribution of the consumers' goods an easy thing so that we will not have periods of recession and employment decline.

Unions believe in the strength and vitality of America—but, even more important than that, they believe that people are the important element, and that, no matter who a man is, where he originates, or what his personal beliefs are, he should be accorded the full right of every other American citizen to carve out his life the way he wants to.

Training Program for Midshipmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I have previously called the attention of the House to the opportunity to save money without impairing essential defense functions by having air indoctrination and training for the Naval Academy midshipmen performed at the naval air station in Pensacola. By so doing, the requirement for the construction of an additional flying field with all its costly facilities near Annapolis can be eliminated—at least for the time being. The Navy has recognized the wisdom of this course and is now programing this training at the Annapolis of the Air at Pensacola. In my previous statements, I pointed to the effective work done by a well-known newspaper columnist and reporter, Mr. Frank Kennedy. His untiring efforts contributed materially to focusing proper emphasis on the desirability of the course which is now to be pursued. Therefore, I am again glad to place his writings in the RECORD.

I am pleased also to note the credit given to my distinguished colleague, Hon. CHARLES E. BENNETT, for his interest and his efforts in this important contribution to economy.

The articles follow:

BENNETT AIDS SIKES' BATTLE FOR NAS MIDSHIPMAN PLANS

(By Frank A. Kennedy)

WASHINGTON.—The Navy's admirals have gone about on a new tack—they even have chartered a new course—in their determination to obtain from Congress a master jet base near the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

Congressman SIKES, of Crestview, who is out to make midshipman air indoctrination a permanent feature of the Pensacola NAS, now is charting a new course, too. He mightily is encouraged in this maneuver because to his aid has come an eager and able consort in the person of Congressman BENNETT, of Jacksonville. Mr. BENNETT is a member of the House Armed Services Committee, so he is in a spot to cross-examine the admirals as they present to Congress their new arguments for the jet field in the Washington-Annapolis-Baltimore triangle. This privilege Mr. SIKES does not possess. He can appear before the committee, headed by the peppery Congressman VINSON, of Georgia, but committee rules give him the right to present direct testimony only—the privilege of cross-examination is reserved to the committee members and staff exclusively.

The admirals' new arguments are these, according to Adm. Austin K. Doyle, chief of naval air training at Pensacola NAS, and to his chief of staff, Capt. Robert E. Riera:

1. Reserve training for the Navy's weekend warriors who are skilled and ready pilots who can be kept in fighting trim at one-sixth of the cost of a regular unit of the Navy.

2. Air defense.

3. A motivation rather than training field for the midshipmen of the Naval Academy.

Superficially, they look imposing, but the two Florida Congressmen believe that they can be riddled. It will be noted that the air indoctrination of the midshipmen has been subordinated to the No. 3 spot, with the training of the naval air reservists stepped up to the No. 1 position.

Just a year ago, the Navy came before the Vinson committee, asking for an item of $4 million for land acquisition—about 5,000 acres—near Annapolis. The testimony of justification presented by the admirals to the Vinson committee dealt wholly with midshipman air indoctrination—not a single word was uttered about the need for a master jet base for the air reservists, or for the construction of the Annapolis facility for national defense.

Both Florida Congressmen are sympathetic to the proper treatment of the air reservists, but both of them are wondering why this need and this defense potential were not laid on the record before the Vinson committee last year. "This 11th-hour inclusion of these new factors leaves me cold," observed Congressman SIKES, "particularly as they are advanced by the Navy Department just a year after the Congress denied the $4 million land acquisition item for the Annapolis training field."

Congressman BENNETT equally is cool to these last-minute arguments. "I do not believe that the air indoctrination of the midshipmen should be conducted at the same field used by the air reservists," he said. "The midshipmen should get their training at Pensacola with the career pilots of the Navy. I intend to cross-examine the Navy people aggressively all down the line on their new approach to the thrice denied (by Congress) field at Annapolis," he declared emphatically, "and besides, I can do a lot of talking when we close the doors." The latter observation referred to the closed executive session which the Vinson committee will hold when it is ready to draft the military construction bill—"talk" which mostly is off the record.

Mr. SIKES now is assembling material for a formal answer to the Navy's new arguments in a speech, either on the House floor, or before the Vinson group—"preferably both," he said.

In the congressional cloakrooms, the Navy's altered course generally is accepted as a confession on the admirals' part that the Sikes' earlier effort permanently to indoctrinate the midshipmen at Pensacola NAS has blown right out of the water their old one-decker argument, spurned by Congress only a year ago.

THE WASHINGTON TREADMILL

(By Frank A. Kennedy)

NAVY ON A LEE SHORE

Congressman SIKES, of Crestview, believe it or not, actually was disappointed when the Navy Department recently omitted from the $1.5 billion military public works bill an item to start work on a master jet field in the Washington-Annapolis-Baltimore triangle, for air indoctrination of Academy midshipmen, for training of naval air reservists in the area, and for national defense.

The Crestview Congressman, who loves a Capitol Hill scrap, was confident that he had the admirals in rough water on a lee shore, and was anxious to drive them hard aground. The top Navy brass apparently deplored their own tactical position, too, because they asked Congress for not a dime to build the airbase, despite the fact that they had organized a junket to Pensacola as recently as March 19–23 to sell a sizable group of business and civic leaders hereabouts on the necessity for the new jet base. At Pensacola, the Navy brass reversed their arguments of a year ago, and subordinated midshipman air indoctrination to the need for a nearby local field for the naval air reservists.

Mr. SIKES has been contending for more than a year that the proper place to make the middies air-minded was Pensacola NAS, where nearly 4,000 Navy fliers are graduated annually and where the splendid history, tradition, and esprit de corps of the naval air command has been erected during the last forty-odd years. More recently, Congressman BENNETT, of Jacksonville, a member of the House Armed Services Committee, which now is considering the $1.5 billion military construction bill, also spoke out against the proposed jet base near Annapolis, contending that midshipman air indoctrination more properly should be handled at Pensacola NAS—not at a field dominated by air reservists who could not fire the middies with the same sort of zeal which career fliers exude.

The Sikes' intent to drive the admirals aground with further telling broadsides apparently was well conceived. Ready for him was extra ammunition assembled by this reporter. Here it is:

The Air Force—it now is beginning to appear—knew a deal more about Navy Department planning than did House and Senate Armed Services Committees after the admirals appeared before both groups last year in behalf of the Annapolis base. Their testimony included nothing about the use of the desired base for the continuing training of the Anacostia, D. C., naval air reservists, or for the basing of operational jets at the field in the cause of national defense.

There is a local group of citizens, called the Southern Maryland Improvement Council, Inc., opposed to the location of a Navy jet base near Annapolis. Its president is Benjamin Watkins 3d. After the House passed the 1956 military public works bill containing a $4 million land acquisition item for the Academy field, but before the Senate Armed Services Committee reported out the construction bill with the Academy item stricken, Watkins wrote a letter to the Baltimore Evening Sun, dated June 18, 1956. It was published June 29, 3 days after the Senate Committee reported the bill. Watkins, it now appears, had been tipped off to the Navy's undercover plans to shift the Anacostia Air Reservists to the new Annapolis base. His letter to the Baltimore newspaper propounded these questions:

"Could it possibly be that the approximately 2,500 to 3,000 naval flying officers in the Washington area have anything to do with the selection of southern Anne Arundel sites. And does the fact that the proposed sites can be reached from various points in the Washington area in a matter of 30 to 45 minutes by the new highways have anything to do with it? Can the fact that both the Anacostia and Bolling fields are slated to be closed have anything to do with the midshipmen's desperate need for a jet airfield between Washington and Annapolis?"

Under date of April 15, 1957, Watkins addressed the following solicited letter to this reporter:

"The questions posed in my letter dated June 18, 1956, were based entirely upon direct information furnished to me and my associates by a high ranking officer of the Air Force whose duties put him in close touch with Department of Defense planning.

"I consider it unnecessary to reveal his name because the accuracy of his information has been confirmed 100 percent in subsequent official announcements of the Navy Department, particularly the address of Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, before the Anacostia, D. C., Naval Air Reserve Unit on September 7, 1956, and also by the remark of Adm. Austin K. Doyle, Chief of Naval Air Training Command, to a group of local business and civic leaders from Washington, Baltimore, and Annapolis, uttered at Pensacola during a Navy-sponsored trip, March 19 to 23 of this year."

TRAINING PROGRAM FOR MIDSHIPMEN FIRMED FOR NAS—REQUEST OF NAVY OMITS JET BASE PLAN AT ANNAPOLIS

(By Frank A. Kennedy)

Omission from the $1½ billion military public works bill of any funds for a Nevy jet base in the Washington-Annapolis-Baltimore triangle presumably has placed the air indoctrination course for Academy midshipmen at Pensacola at least on a semipermanent basis, provided the test run of such training works out satisfactorily this summer.

SIKES PLEASED

This is the considered judgment of Representative BOB SIKES, of Crestview, in commenting on the introduction of the bill Wednesday by Representative CARL VINSON, of Georgia, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

Last year the Navy sought an item of $4 million for land acquisition near the Academy. The funds were approved by the Vinson group and passed by the House but later deleted from the bill by the Senate Armed Services Committee.

"I consider this omission as a realistic reappraisal of the proposed Academy base by the Navy planners at the Pentagon," said SIKES. "I have little doubt that the interim indoctrination program slated to begin at Pensacola next month for the midshipmen will indeed meet the pressing need of the Navy for a closer tie-in of the Academy curriculum with the training of career pilots at Pensacola NAS.

"Indeed I have high hopes that the tentative plan will work out so well that the Navy Department will embrace the Pensacola-Annapolis 'marriage' as the best thing for the Navy after all. In any event the decision of the Navy not to ask for the Academy jet field this year puts its construction remotely in the future.

"As it has been admitted officially that Pensacola NAS is the only other existing Naval airbase where midshipmen training would be compatible with regular Navy operational functions, it looks to me that the middies will keep on coming to Pensacola year after year."

After it had been disclosed by the Journal's Washington News Bureau more than a year ago that midshipmen air indoctrination was incompatible with operational functions of the Naval Air Command at all other bases except Pensacola, SIKES advanced the claims of Pensacola in a speech on the floor of the House last February 27. Besides the obvious desirability of formalizing the "marriage" of Pensacola and Annapolis, SIKES made a further point which apparently had not been considered by the top Navy planners because recommendations of the Pensacola Naval Air Station administrative officers had not been reviewed. These recommendations call for a modern medical-psychological center at Pensacola Naval Air Station for a well considered program of psychoanalysis and aptitude tests estimated to save more than $20 million annually in pilot training by eliminating the unfit whose disqualifications could not be discovered otherwise until they graduated. SIKES pointed out that routing the midshipmen through this psychological mill early in their scholastic career instead of after their graduation at Annapolis as is now the case, would discover the relative fitness of the midshipmen at the most opportune period of their education.

Representative CHARLES E. BENNETT, of Jacksonville, a member of the Vinson committee, who has been critical of Navy plans to establish a jet base for midshipmen near Annapolis, apparently has been left with nothing to do about it.

Some weeks ago he said that he would cross-examine Navy witnesses when they appeared before the House Armed Service Committee to justify the proposed Academy base which figured officially in Navy Department's planning as recently as March 23 of this year. Omission of the request for funds in the public works bill now washes out such testimony and such cross-examination.

The Latest Word

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 16, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, permit me to direct to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the May 15, 1957, issue of the Wall Street Journal:

CURING A SLICE

According to the latest word from the first tee at the Gettysburg Country Club, Mr. Eisenhower is having as much trouble with golf as he is with Government.

With one exception. While President Eisenhower is pretty puzzled about the congressional sand traps his legislative program is bogged down in, Golfer Eisenhower knows pretty well why his golf game is rough.

"I keep pulling with my left hand," he says. "I don't finish my swing." This leads to slicing all over the place.

Don't know whether we can help get Ike's game back to what it was around 1955 or not. A lot has changed since then. For one thing, he's addressing the ball differently. But we'll try.

In our experience, too much left pressure is a sure way to ruin a golf game, good or just middling. Hardest thing in the world to stop, too, once you've started. What results is always a much bigger figure on the scorecard than the player himself likes to put down no matter how much he tries to explain it away.

This can be cured, though. Thing to do is change position some. In addressing the ball, shift the emphasis more to the right hand. Resist the inclination to favor the left.

That way a man can finish his swing exactly the way he started it and that gives him a much better chance of driving straight down the fairway's middle. The result is

that the figures on the scorecard will be considerably reduced. Spectators will cheer.

Not even Ben Hogan, though, could change up his game in the middle of an 18-hole round and expect to keep out of the rough and the sand traps. And what is true of golf is even more true of Government.

Direct to Farmer Payments for Full Parity: Key to Efficiency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, a second editorial urging a sound farm program at this moment of hesitancy of the administration, provides some very interesting ideas, and comes from the grassroots where they really know and daily face the problems created by the present farm program. One idea seemed particularly good to me, the proposal for direct payment to the farmer which would eliminate the "cuts" or profits taken all along the line by the various middlemen, out of what should be "farm aid" and not "middleman aid."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the RECORD this editorial from the May 9 Perham Enterprise-Bulletin, Perham, Minn.:

NEW AGRICULTURAL PROPOSALS BASICALLY UNSOUND, MORE OF THE SAME

There is a concerted effort on the part of the Republican Party to force some major changes in the Eisenhower farm program through Congress. Both the President and Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson have now stated that the present flexible price-support program is a failure. Farm leaders have concurred.

So far neither the President nor Mr. Benson has suggested an alternative although there are indications that the drive is preparing the way for further drastic cuts in support levels, and the elimination of requirements which increase support prices when surpluses are whittled down.

If this is what the shouting is all about, we are deeply disappointed. The President says he is seeking a program to aid the small farmer, admitting that the present one aids "the big farmers most." We are of the opinion that the changes suggested are purely and simply more of the same. They will encourage farmers to increase, rather than decrease production. History has proven that lower prices cause farmers to produce more to keep up their gross.

It is our belief that the theory of Government purchase-storage is a fundamental error. It cannot possibly function without rigid controls of production and rigid controls fall victim to governmental redtape and the ingenuity of farmers in getting around them. As a floor under the average farmer they are a colossal flop. They are costly to Mr. United States Citizen first as a taxpayer and then as a consumer.

We maintain that a direct subsidy floor under the individual farmer is a more sensible, economical, and humanitarian than anything this or other administrations have written into law. The subsidy should be scaled down as the individual's production increases, and no subsidy should be paid over the $25,000 gross mark. It should also be protected by merit clauses, such as are now used in making direct subsidy payments on wool. A merit clause pays more money to farmers who do a good job on quality of production and careful marketing to secure the highest price on the open market. We propose that with the adoption of this plan, all Government purchase and storage-loan programs be scrapped; that farm produce prices be allowed to seek their supply-and-demand level in the market place.

We believe this type of floor would be advantageous to the young farmer just getting started; to the ambitious established farmer; to the older farmer who should not now be uprooted and transplanted to other endeavor for which he is not suited.

The Postal System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article by Robert C. Ruark on the postal system. Mr. Ruark's analysis of the entire postal system is a trenchant one and in my opinion merits being published in the RECORD.

The whole postal system foulup seems more than just a touch silly, especially on an international basis. The fact that the cost of sending letters created a crisis at all is the kind of stuff our malicious friends love—especially at a time when we are pouring money and considerable bad will all over the world.

Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield pulled a weekend strike because Congress hadn't given him the money to operate on, and thereby he demonstrated more respect for our coin than do our foreign spenders who blow dough everywhere—a billion here, a half billion there.

The postal service hasn't had a real raise since 1932, and since then everything has bounced 300-fold. We own the only major mail service in the world, I guess, that doesn't fetch a profit. We also own a service that suspends its major activities over the weekend, Saturady delivery or not, contrary to a great many other mail services round the globe.

There is no real reason why a mail operation should not be a 24-hour, 7-day facility the same as a telephone or subway. It should also be bought and paid for on the same terms. We have been singing the fickle nickel blues a long time, because prices have risen on the subways, on telephone calls, on publications, on milkshakes, cars, hotdogs, clothes, houses, and, for all I know, marriage licenses.

Call this a contribution to inflation if you will, but mail still remains the best communication since the invention of the cleft stick and the native runner. It should be paid for in the coin of its worth.

The magazines, for example, that have raised their prices still make as heavy a tote for the dog-bitten postman as 20 times their number in first-class letters. They get second-class privileges.

The unstuck throwaway circulars come at you at third-class rates. The begging mail, the sucker mail, the mail-order stuff is shot through the circuit at reduced rates and gets the same postal consideration as an urgent full rate note from a lawyer saying your rich aunt has just kicked off and left all the loot to you.

Our Government will send us off to die in wars and make us pay for the privilege, but some reason hiking the price of a stamp is politically untouchable. Its worst end result would be less abuse of the semifranking privileges enjoyed by the second- and third-class users and a great many less Christmas cards and similar notices you don't need.

There is only one sure cure. Raise the price of postage to where it will pay its own way and rearrange the equity of what is first, second, and third class in terms of what you have to pay the postman and the sorter. This way you eliminate nonsense. Any other approach is strictly third-class idiocy with the flap unstuck.

Trinity Joint Development Will Aid San Luis Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, in February of this year Interior Secretary Fred A. Seaton recommended that Congress accept a contract for joint development of the Trinity River division of California's Central Valley project. This contract had been negotiated between the Bureau of Reclamation and the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

The Trinity power facilities, if built by the United States—

Seaton said—

would require substantial assistance from other project revenues in order to meet repayment requirements. Joint development * * * would convert Trinity falling water into a substantial net asset of the project.

It appears clear—

Seaton concluded—

that joint development would provide substantially more funds for potential irrigation and multipurpose development in the Central Valley project area.

That statement is of tremendous interest to the people of my district and to the San Joaquin Valley because of the need for the San Luis project. The maximum possible contribution to construction of San Luis will be made by the cooperation of Pacific Gas & Electric Co. with the Federal Government in joint development of Trinity.

It has been claimed that joint development would result in insufficient low-cost power for the San Luis pumps. The truth is exactly the opposite. It will not diminish the energy available from existing Central Valley project plants. Project pumps have first call, as they should in a water project, on the power of these plants. Existing plants can supply about 2½ billion kilowatt-hours annually; Central Valley project pumps at ultimate operation will require about 400 million kilowatt-hours annually, leaving nearly three times the energy required by San Luis pumps under full operation.

Regardless of whether P. G. & E. participates in the Trinity River project or the Federal Government builds it entirely, the company has offered advantageous arrangements which will facilitate construction of the San Luis project.

As you may know, power generated as a by-product on multipurpose projects designed for flood control, irrigation, and water supply is not always produced at the time nor in the quantity required to fit the needs of the power consumer, because water releases for these other purposes have priority over the generation of power. When this power is incorporated into P. G. & E.'s large, regional electric system, however, it gains value from the great diversity of demands of the many customers they serve and the many generating sources they have to serve them. The company is able to use water project power when it is available, and at other times the company can provide the project with exchange power from its many other generating plants to supply project pumps and other purposes. This integration makes project power more useful and enables it to be sold at maximum price, providing the greatest revenue for project water development.

One advantageous arrangement the company has offered for the San Luis project is to provide off-peak power to the San Luis pumps in even exchange for project power. When no project power is available for pumping the company will provide power at times when demands on its system are not at their peak. In exchange the company will take an equivalent amount of project power when it becomes available.

The Central Valley project produces large amounts of energy in the summer months when large water releases must be made for irrigation. Except in wet years, the CVP produces only small amounts of energy during the winter months when water is being conserved in project reservoirs. The months of low project energy production are the very months when San Luis pumping requirements are high because that is the time when waste water in the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta must be diverted and pumped to storage in the San Luis Reservoir.

It is readily apparent that P. G. & E.'s offer of a seasonal power exchange will be of tremendous benefit to the San Luis project.

The company also has offered to make its transmission facilities available for transmission of power from the Tracy switchyard of CVP to the San Luis pumps and has guaranteed that the cost to the Government will be less than the cost of Federal construction of transmission lines for the purpose. Not only will the San Luis transmission costs be reduced, but also the Federal Government will save a capital outlay of at least $7 million. An amendment to the existing wheeling contract which would accomplish this result has been submitted to the Government and is contained in part 2 of House Document 94, 85th Congress, 1st session.

A direct beneficial effect of Trinity joint development on San Luis will be the amount of additional net revenue available from P. G. & E.'s Trinity falling water payments for other California water projects. The Bureau of Reclamation estimates there would be $124 million more net revenue to CVP from joint development, with the construction of San Luis. That money could be used to help pay for San Luis or to reduce the cost of San Luis water. All-Federal construction can make no financial contribution to San Luis. Instead, under CVP power rates, an all-Federal Trinity must have financial help from other project revenues. Simply that means that Federal Trinity powerplants would reduce the financial aid available for irrigation in the central valley.

Trinity power developed by the company as an asset to the project will make San Luis water cheaper. Trinity power developed by the Bureau as a project liability will make San Luis water more expensive—either in water cost or taxation. People with concern for the future of the San Joaquin Valley must recognize the merit of Trinity joint development.

I include herewith an editorial from the Coalinga (Calif.) Record which lends weight to the above-mentioned views:

[From the Coalinga (Calif.) Record of April 18, 1957]

HELP FOR SAN LUIS PROJECT

Coalingans and others on the west side ordinarily would have little direct interest in a water project so far to the north as the Trinity River. Ordinarily there would be nothing in it for us except cost. As Federal taxpayers we of course help foot the bill whenever Uncle Sam spends the public's money.

The Trinity project is being built with Federal tax funds for one reason—to make more water available in the Central Valley. Public interest requires that the project be built as economically as possible and that the water itself cost as little as possible.

Electric power can be developed on the Trinity as a byproduct of the water project. If the power can be developed economically—i. e. at a profit to the Government—it will be an asset to the project. As an assets it will help reduce the cost of the project and reduce the cost farmers must pay for Trinity water. Or the profit can be used to help finance other water developments in California, like the San Luis project.

If Trinity power is not developed economically it will be a liability to the Central Valley project instead of an asset. That would mean that power would cause a project loss and that taxpayers and water users would have to bear the burden of subsidizing an uneconomic operation.

The P. G. & E. partnership plan is the sound way to develop Trinity power. It will make the power an asset worth $310 million in public benefits. It also will save the taxpayers $56 million in capital outlay. Even the Bureau of Reclamation, which never could be accused of selling out to a private utility company, shows that the P. G. & E. plan is the better way to develop the power.

If the Government built and operated the powerplants, the $310 million asset and $56 million saving would be thrown out the window. The Bureau itself admits that the Central Valley project would have to subsidize the Trinity project if the Government developed the power. That financial burden on the CVP would mean less CVP help for San Luis.

The McClatchy Bees and other Government-ownership advocates want the Government to develop the Trinity power. They want to advance political encroachment on the utility industry. They don't care how much it costs the public. They try to hoodwink the public into seeing evil in the economic and thoroughly beneficial partnership plan. They ignore the economic facts of water development and concentrate on their power scheme. They have the tail wagging the dog, with ulterior motive.

The west side needs the San Luis project. We need water in Coalinga—but we need it at the powest price possible. We can't afford to be confused by the Bee and its sacred cow power policy, or by the folly of a few politicians whom the Bee frightens into advocating that electric power be a liability instead of an asset to water development.

It's high time that the west side take an active interest in the Trinity River project. The partnership plan is plain, good commonsense. The only opposition to it is hogwash from those who so ardently want Government in business that they are willing to saddle water projects with uneconomic power.

Economic Illness of the Textile Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter sent to President Eisenhower by the general president, William Pollock, of the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL–CIO, under date of May 8, 1957:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: On a number of occasions we have called your attention to the economic illness of the textile industry. We are impelled to do so once more because it is now clear beyond a doubt that the illness is fundamental; more than palliatives are needed to cure it.

Events of the last few months have exploded a whole series of fallacies which, to our regret, have helped to prevent a basic attack upon the persistent textile depression. For example:

It was said that the textile industry was merely undergoing a "normal shakeout", induced by productivity increases and produce changes. Yet after a 6 year period during which at least 445 large mills have been liquidated and 350,000 jobs lost, the decline continues apace. Today the strongest units are curtailing employment and reducing their normal workweek, many to 4 days or less.

It was argued that the industry's difficulties were mostly regional—that the South had solved the problems which afflicted New England. Yet the current curtailments are without geographical limits, and the rate of southern mill liquidations is accelerating. Since December there have been two each in North and South Carolina, one each in Georgia and Alabama.

It was maintained that foreign imports were mostly to blame for textile troubles. We have long urged a reasonable degree of tariff protection for textile products but have insisted that imports were only a partial and highly selective factor in the general decline. Our position has now been confirmed, for the present recession is concurrent with the much-heralded limitation of Japanese exports and the long-awaited application of the 5 percent trigger point for higher duties on woolen and worsted imports. Important as these steps were, it is

obvious that something besides foreign goods is ailing the textile industry.

Since the palliatives, the "easy" answers, have proved unavailing, the obligation upon us is to offer a more effective program. That we propose to do in this letter. It is only fair to say, however, that it will not be a simple one. You are reputed to have a deep distaste for long and involved reports, and we sympathize with that attitude, but we respectfully submit that the complex and chronic distress of a highly complicated industry requires more than a three-paragraph prescription.

Let us begin by explaining why government intervention is necessary. We concede that ideally, the problems of private industry should be met by private initiative. But when a major industry is beset by so many fundamental ills, adversely affecting hundreds of thousands of citizens; and when the owners of the industry have for so long a time been unwilling or unable to bring about a cure, the Government must exercise its responsibility to protect the general welfare.

Perhaps we should also explain why we believe the textile industry's illness is worth curing. Such an explanation seems to be necessary because some representatives of your administration have suggested that, where textiles are concerned, it is better to replace than to preserve. Much as we do favor diversification of industry, we are not prepared to admit that the American textile industry is expendable.

One reason is that textiles simply are not suited for large-scale international trade. The raw materials are available in almost every country, and every country, as a practical matter, seeks a market for its own farm products. For example, the American cotton growers have lately acquired a lively concern for the economic welfare of cotton consumers here at home.

Another reason is the importance of textiles to national defense. We do not deprecate the resources of modern science, but we do suggest that woolen and worsted goods, for one, and hard fibers, for another, have an essential part in preserving the effectiveness of our Armed Forces. Your own Director of Defense Mobilization, while refusing to recommend a curb on imports, did urge your administration to seek other means of preserving the hard-fiber industry, which is fast disappearing.

On the assumption, then, that the textile industry is not to be considered expendable, we offer these specific proposals:

1. A full investigation of the textile industry's problems. This could be launched by a national conference of all interests, called by you. Such a conference could perfect and enlarge upon the program outlined below.

2. Immediate, short-range action to check the downward plunge of the textile economy. Recommended steps include:

(a) Purchase of surplus textiles for distribution to needy nations abroad, observing the same precautions as are used in the similar distribution of agricultural surpluses.

(b) Distribution of clothing to the needy in our own country, just as surplus food is now distributed.

(c) Reestablishment of textile stockpiles for our armed forces.

(d) Allocation of government contracts to mills in distressed areas as an actual practice, rather than, as now, an inoperative theory.

3. Abolition of the two-price system for raw cotton. The present arrangement unfairly handicaps domestic textile producers both at home and abroad by permitting foreign competitors to buy American cotton at a far lower price. To correct this inequity we urge:

(a) Adoption of a producer payment plan for raw cotton, similar to that now governing woolgrowers. This would liberate the price of cotton from artificial control without penalizing the farmers. A number of raw cotton interests, worried by their shrinking market, now support this change.

(b) Prompt hearings on the Smith bill, hitherto blocked by your Department of Agriculture. We see no reason why there should not be the widest possible discussion of all possible methods of assisting the American textile industry to regain its traditional export markets.

4. A Federal research program to stimulate the growth and progress of the textile industry, similar to that which has functioned for the benefit of the raw cotton industry. Such a program would study present and potential markets and thus point the way to new uses for textile products. It should also establish the long-needed fabric "library" of woolen and worsted goods.

5. Adoption of a consistent and sensible tariff policy that would prevent the industry's problems from being further aggravated. This involves the continuation of present tariffs, plus these additional measures:

(a) Portection by the Director of Defense Mobilization of woolen and worsted goods and hard fiber products against foreign imports.

(b) Repeal of the duty on raw wool, including carpet wool. The support program for domestic woolgrowers gives them adequate protection; the tariff simply raises prices.

(c) Establishment of quotas on imports of woolen carpets, and adequate protection for the nonwoven wool felt industry. Both these textile divisions are under severe pressure from imports.

6. The institution of a 35-hour basic workweek in the textile industry without reduction in pay. Some similar movement throughout American industry will be inevitable as automation increases. The textile industry is an appropriate starting point for these reasons:

(a) The rapid and continuing shrinkage in employment and in the working hours of the employed has created an emergency requiring prompt relief.

(b) Productivity in the textile industry has been rising at the rate of more than 5 percent a year, nearly twice the average for manufacturing as a whole. You yourself have urged that productivity increases be used as a guide to wage increases.

(c) Average hourly earnings in the textile industry as a whole are now $1.50, compared to the national industrial average of $2.05. There is no system of measurement—human or mechanical, social or economic—that justifies such a disparity.

The above six proposals involve the textile industry alone. There are three more essential points in our program which have wider application, and which we feel sure must have been brought to your attention by others as well. They are:

1. Establishment of a Federal agency with broad powers to assist localities in devising and carrying out industrial redevelopment programs. This and the next point have to do with the problem of distressed areas, which you noted in your economic report but which has been neglected since.

2. Special assistance to workers who have been victimized by the curtailment, liquidation or migration of industry. This assistance should include extended unemployment insurance benefits, occupational retraining, preferential hiring rights in new jobs created by their old employer and earlier retirement eligibility under social security. We also suggest that the principles of the Transportation Act of 1940 might be broadened to cover all abandoned properties. Under this act, employees receive displacement allowances, moving expenses, and other benefits.

3. Revision of the Federal tax laws which now encourage industrial piracy, enrich financial manipulators and place a premium upon the liquidation rather than the modernization of plants. Among the matters most needing correction are misuse of capital gains provisions and of carryover provisions, both of which encourage profiteers at the expense of legitimate enterprise.

Even though this has been a lengthy exposition, we have been able to cover only the bare outline of the textile industry's distress, and only outline the remedies that seem most promising to us. We stand ready to provide more details upon request.

We assure you, the peril of the textile industry is genuine. After 6 years of uninterrupted illness its strength has been sapped; the decline may become steeper as time goes on.

We believe the preservation of this great industry is essential to the Nation's safety and to the welfare of many thousands of its citizens. Government action—your action—is needed, and needed now.

Young Charlie Wilson Like Sturdy Anvil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to herewith insert an article by John P. Cowan which appeared in the May 9 issue of the Fairfax County Sun Echo:

YOUNG CHARLIE WILSON LIKE STURDY ANVIL
(By John P. Cowan)

If anybody thinks that this column is laid out on a sort of budget plan he is very much mistaken. Being my wastebasket's biggest contributor, it is easy to toss aside a completed script and give immediate attention to a very interesting letter just received from the office of Charlie Wilson.

You will say that the world is full of Charlie Wilsons, which is true, but there is only one outspoken Secretary of the Department of Defense, who holds forth in the Pentagon.

When we think of him we revert to ideas of big business, big armaments and big things generally, but in this instance he speaks of a very modest personage—the American citizen soldier—whom we picture as a shirt sleeved patriot who leaves his plow in the furrow to answer the call to arms, or marches off with the militia to defend his home, or those chaps today who are enrolled in the Reserves. Of all of them, Secretary Wilson speaks eloquently and with the fervency we should expect.

Young Charlie Wilson won my admiration when he rushed over to Pittsburgh among the steel mills and enrolled as a student at Carnegie Tech to round out his education under Dr. Hamerschlag and Dean Conneily. Years before Charlie's matriculation, I had listened to "Uncle Andy" Carnegie expound on his plans to build a trade school for craftsmen out there in Schenley Park, and have watched it grow to a great technical institute whose alumni include many men who stand at the head of their respective professions.

Charlie Wilson is one of those who justified Mr. Carnegie's dreams back there when the century was young. Charlie didn't just juggle a slide rule and wallow in calculus. Ignoring thin, skinny ideas, he took a broad view of the world and progressed with the times. He understood the modern trend

because he familiarized himself with the prolog of the past.

All this bubbles up in Secretary Wilson's address April 30 at the Jamestown Festival Day at Fort Monroe where he was presented with a scroll inscribed with instructions for the first colonists in 1607. Characterizing the language of the instructions as a symbol of the reminder of the qualities of our forefathers—qualities that have made our country great, he quoted from the scroll:

"Vitality and energy to overcome hardships and privations;

"Courage, ability, and industry to build for a better future;

"And, above all, initiative to explore the unknown."

To this Secretary Wilson added: "These were the qualities of the settlers who came to Old Point Comfort 350 years ago. They were also those of the officers and men of the military units whose role in our history from colonial days to the present has been depicted in a pageant here. While we take the citizen soldier for granted—and properly so—he constitutes one of our major national achievements of which we can all be proud. • • • If we devote the same energy, ability, and initiative to the problems that we face today that our forefathers did in settling this vast land of ours, we will be equally successful in the present task of guarding the legacy that they have left to us."

All the world remembers the version of famous Wilsonian epigram, "What is good for General Motors is good for the United States."

It was his pertinent answer to entangling and irrelevant questions in a crossfire before a heavy-browed committee of the United States Senate charged with recommending his confirmation to be Secretary of Defense. His appointment was confirmed in due time, despite the innuendoes of dark political intent fired by his opponents.

That was 4 exciting years ago. Like a sturdy anvil, undented by persistent blows that resounds with ringing musical tones to every stroke of the hammer, Charlie Wilson, the dominating old Tech boy, carries on his job unmoved and undaunted.

Disrespect for Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert the following editorial which appeared in the April 15 issue of the Chula Vista (Calif.) Star News. In view of my introduction of H. R. 6575, which proposes the repeal of the upper Colorado River project, I desire to give an opportunity to all the Members of this body to read this editorial:

DISRESPECT FOR AGREEMENTS

The recent bid opening for a major dam on the upper Colorado is an example showing that many within our Government structure do not have enough knowledge of the records already in the files. Contracts previously approved, making certain guaranties to the lower Basin States plus the International agreement, are being completely forgotten and disregarded.

But, thanks to the California's Colorado River Board and even the State of Arizona, in separate actions, filed written protests to the awarding of the contract, until recognition is given to previous commitments. Because of this protest, the bids have been opened, but as yet no contract has been awarded.

Again thanks for the leadership of the Colorado River Board headed by Chairman Fred Simpson of San Diego, California rights to Colorado River water is being ably guarded. Also it is a worthy observation that for once Arizona and California stand shoulder to shoulder on a Colorado River problem.

International Conference on Irrigation and Drainage Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I had the privilege of attending the third congress of the International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage in San Francisco. I attended this international meeting as an official United States delegate representing, along with my colleague Dr. A. L. MILLER, the United States Congress. This conference was attended by representatives of 41 nations including, I believe, most of the major nations of the world. The principal aim of this conference was the free exchange of knowledge and experience and there was intensive interest indicated in the many problems discussed. The conference in San Francisco was followed by tours covering the great Central Valley project and additional irrigation works in southern California.

In addition to the increased technical knowledge which the delegates acquired, I believe that this conference went a long way in promoting friendship and better understanding among the nations. The keynote address was given by the Commissioner of Reclamation, W. A. Dexheimer, and Mr. Dexheimer was later elected president of the International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage to serve for the next 3 years. I believe my colleagues will be interested in Commissioner's Dexheimer's keynote address which follows:

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY COMMISSIONER OF RECLAMATION W. A. DEXHEIMER BEFORE THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON IRRIGATION AND DRAINAGE, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., MAY 1, 1957

KNOWLEDGE, THE KEY TO THE FUTURE

On behalf of the people of the United States, I welcome all our visitors. We are glad you have chosen this country and this city of San Francisco for the International Irrigation and Drainage Congress. It was here in San Franicsco that the United Nations organization was born. The objectives of the United Nations are to obtain the peaceful advancement of mankind. One of the first fundamentals for peaceful advancement is that men be adequately fed and clothed—for how can men advance if they must spend all their energy for a bare subsistence?

The next step after providing the essential food and clothing is to provide time and opportunity for knowledge, for improved health and diet and a better standard of living.

The International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage is an organization seeking to advance and improve the production of food and fibers of the world and to do it in an economical manner. While we are here to exchange ideas and knowledge largely in a technical field, let us not lose sight of the greater values to come from our technical accomplishments. Let us be ever mindful that people the world over want peace; they need adequate food and clothing; they want an opportunity to achieve better standards.

By economically providing water for irrigation and removing surplus waters by drainage, we make land more productive. We give the people more food and fibers—we take a long step to relieve want, and we provide the basis for the peaceful advancement of men. We should pause occasionally to look at the broad goals we strive to attain. Beyond our technical achievements are the great benefits to the people of the world.

In irrigation and drainage engineering—as in other professions based on technical knowledge, progress comes slowly.

We have a tendency to be conscious of our own knowledge and experience. This tendency, of course, is not restricted to engineering. It is a part of human nature. While we are willing to be venturesome and investigate new things, we instinctively distrust the unknown. We fall back upon the existing techniques, because they are like old friends—much more comfortable to be around and to rely on. Quite often, seemingly new techniques or ideas are found, then later we learn that they are new only to the individual—they have been used previously.

Engineering has a common language and common aims. It transcends political boundaries and the diverse spoken languages of the world. Engineering is a means of communication and exchange of knowledge and ideas which we can all use for the enrichment of mankind. The exchange of engineering knowledge and experience can help achieve our goals with substantial savings in time and cost.

The International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage is a fine vehicle for exchange of knowledge. This exchange is the justification for the existence of the organization and the promise of a better future for millions of people in all parts of the world.

In many of the most populous parts of the world the existing food shortage is serious. The need is so great, it is said half the people of the world go to bed hungry every night. Add to the existing need the more than 50,000 daily gain in population, and you will understand the necessity for utilizing our land and water efficiently.

At previous meetings of the Commission, emphasis was largely on the role of irrigation in developing new lands and methods to supply the ever-mounting needs for food. The study topics for the technical sessions of the Congress this year emphasize another approach in our never-ending struggle against the deficiency in foodstuffs.

Irrigation is generally considered the application of water on land which does not receive adequate amounts of precipitation during the plant-growing season. Drainage is the removal of water from areas which, for one reason or another, receive too much water, or are so located that a means of water disposal does not readily exist.

The program of the Congress this week emphasizes that irrigation and drainage are not entirely separate, but must be considered together in the same areas. The interrelation between irrigation and drainage needs further discussion. Other topics for the technical session have a close relationship to these.

Quite often we find that control, channelization, and conservation of floodwaters have an equally important role in the overall planning for irrigation and drainage and

the produtcion of food and fiber. Flood control is needed to diminish loss of life and property. It can often be accomplished by storage reservoirs combining flood control, irrigation and other benefits.

The agenda also will consider the tasks of retaining or increasing the productivity of existing farmland and of bringing new land into production. Both can be accomplished by more efficient management of the land and water available.

The problem of control, conservation, and use of water is one of the most pressing problems throughout the world today. Most of us here for this conference have dedicated our lives to this field of work.

There are many means of improving the management of the land and of the water. While water is one of the most common commodities, it is also the most essential and valuable. We go to great length to build storage and diversion works and yet we may lose more than half of the water en route to the farmland, because of inefficient canals and distribution systems. We need to find economical methods of reducing losses from the canals.

In the United States, the Bureau of Reclamation has been seeking new methods for lining canals at low cost as a water-conservation measure. In many areas we have put the water into pipes to avoid losses. However, cost is the one thing that controls most of the engineers' decisions. The initial cost as well as the operation and maintenance costs must be considered. Quite often we must accept large water losses as the cost of preventing the loss would be too great. In some areas, canal seepage provides a very effective means of getting the water into the underground for storage where it can be pumped out as needed later. This, however, sometimes results in too much seepage, and drainage problems are created. The exchange of data on different types of linings and the knowledge and experience gained in practice will be very valuable in planning and building irrigational works.

There needs to be a great deal of technical information obtained on the water requirements for certain types of soils and plant life—particularly, the actual application of the water to the soil to avoid waste of water needs to be examined and the results made available to the farmer who irrigates.

We have found, in many cases, a reduction of as much as 50 percent in what had previously been considered a normal water requirement would produce adequate and even better than usual crops. At the same time, reduction in the amount of water would minimize or avoid a drainage problem.

We find that, where a severe drought has necessarily curtailed water deliveries for irrigation, the farmers have been able to maintain productivity. In some crops, they have increased the yield with substantially less water than they previously thought was required. A great deal of education for the irrigator will be needed before he fully accepts this method and before he will be willing to use less water for his crops.

Man is dependent upon a comparatively thin sheet of soil which covers most of the earth's surface. His food production is dependent upon the soil, the climate, rainfall, temperature, and wind. We are making progress in conserving our soil by methods adaptable to the terrain and vegetation.

We have learned methods to protect land against wind and water erosion. The climate is, so far, uncontrollable by man. It is often unpredictable. However, we are working toward better and longer-range weather and precipitation predictions. If we can accurately forecast weather several months in advance, the land and crop planting can be adjusted to fit.

We have made great strides in domesticating plant and animal life for our use, although we are far from certain that insects may not destroy our production.

We have learned a great deal about soil and water, and about drainage and irrigation. We can maintain soil fertility artificially. Artificially induced precipitation is not yet assured nor economically feasible.

These accomplishments have been the result of many trials and failures throughout our history. There are very early evidences of the control and use of water in the "arid belt" which cradled our earliest civilization, and, through the thousands of years, we see man's attempts to store water and irrigate his crops. Some of these were very extensive and must have been, to the people of the time, major undertakings. They only confirm that water has been and will continue to be one of the major needs and problems of the world.

Usually the major works and progress in the subjugation of nature have occurred in the areas of greatest need. Thus we find evidence of well designed water supply systems in the Indus Valley of India. Egypt's early dams were built 5,000 years ago. Jacob's well was excavated through rock to a depth of 105 feet, a herculean task in those ancient days. About 950 B. C. Solomon directed the construction of sizable aqueducts to provide water for man, beast and the fields. Babylonia's King Hammurabi supervised the digging of an extensive network of irrigation canals.

I have seen irrigation works in China still in operation after 2,000 years.

These early beginnings add to the accumulation of the knowledge which the world now possesses in the technique and practice of water and land conservation and use. Great strides have also been made in the last half century.

The structures and distribution works you will see in the great Central Valley of California in the course of your study tours are good examples of present-day practices. Their magnitude and intricacy of planning and construction were a great challenge. Projects of this kind are not only necessary—they are practical and feasible. There are other great works in this country and many other countries, which require the application of the knowledge gathered throughout the centuries.

We are proud of the progress this country has made in land and water development. We are glad to share the technical knowledge with the rest of the world. We have borrowed from other countries to augment our knowledge, and we are grateful for the help they have given.

The Bureau of Reclamation has its engineering center and research laboratory at Denver, Colo. Engineers and students have traveled from the four corners of the world to visit and work with us for the further exchange of techniques and knowledge. Reclamation engineers and soil scientists have also traveled throughout the world in further exchange of information.

The free exchange of knowledge and experience is a principal aim of this conference. Let us also freely exchange friendship and understanding because these things are most essential to peace and good will on earth.

Taxpayers Gypped Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in my weekly report to my constituents on May 3 I pointed out the fight which Democratic Members of Congress were making to save the American taxpayers a stupendous amount of money by resisting a giveaway to the Idaho Power Co.

The Federal Power Commission recently authorized the Idaho Power Co. to build two private dams on the Snake River. Following this, the Office of Defense Mobilization issued tax writeoff certificates valued at $30.5 million to the power company. This means that Idaho Power has been given a tax-free loan which, over the 50-year license period, will be worth hundreds of millions of dollars. If this situation is allowed to stand unchanged, the Government has given the Idaho Power Co. a present from the people which is a better bargain for this private company that the Louisiana Purchase was for the people of the United States.

Those of us interested in real economy would like to stop this sort of thing and also the tax depletion presents given to the oil companies. Aramco, a combination of five oil companies operating in the Middle East, paid not 1 penny of income tax from $190 million in profit last year. This bonanza will end someday and then we will have some real economy.

I include here an editorial from the Trenton Evening Times and an article from the same newspaper for the information of my colleagues:

[From the Trenton Evening Times of May 14, 1957]

SHOCKING BETRAYAL

These will be 8 fat years for corporate interests if the policies of the first 4½ are continued. And they will be correspondingly disastrous years for the public, which is witnessing an almost unprecedented exploitation of natural resources by corporations that happen to enjoy the administration's favor.

The story of controversial Hells Canyon is illustrative of a widespread condition of the sacrifice of these priceless resources and of the part which the United States Government is playing as accessory in a major scandal. It is told in an adjoining column by Thomas L. Stokes. It is the story of a grab which is being carried out in defiance of public opinion, expressed so emphatically in Republican reverses at the polls in the States affected. And it is a story of the gross disregard of public interest and of ethics, if not of honesty.

This power development has been turned over to a company of professed financial responsibility. Actually, it is being financed by Government funds on terms tantamount to an interest-free loan. In principle, is this arrangement substantially different from that which Mr. Beck had with his teamsters' money?

[From the Trenton Evening Times of May 14, 1957]

TAXPAYERS GYPPED AGAIN

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

It is getting a little hard to watch the rape of our natural resources—and at the expense of us taxpayers.

Which is by way of revealing another hair-curling chapter in the famous Hells Canyon grab which, you may recall, played so much a part in a Democratic Party upsurge in the Pacific Northwest last November which still apparently has had no effect on the Eisenhower administration.

You are familiar with the first chapter—how the Eisenhower administration got the

valuable power site at Hells Canyon on the Snake River along the Idaho-Oregon border handed over to the Idaho Power Co. of Augusta, Maine. Fifty years ago this valuable site was set aside by President Theodore Roosevelt, a far-seeing conservationist, so that eventually it might be developed by the Government for all the people and to keep it out of the hands of private exploiters which he feared might happen. It has.

COMPANY GOT SUBSIDY

The second chapter has to do with approval by Gordon Gray, defense mobilizer, of a fast tax writeoff for the Idaho Power Co. under an emergency law originally enacted to encourage our industry to build war plants and expand capacity for World War II. How this law has been stretched to favor all sorts of business with no real reason in national defense, including utilities, has been explained here before. But this subsidy to a company which represented itself as financially responsible and able to get financing when it got its license from the Federal Power Commission is rather startling, except it is part of the pattern of favoritism to big business to which most of us at Washington have had to become accustomed.

Under terms of the rapid amortization granted to Idaho Power it will be permitted to write off in 5 years—at 20 percent a year—65 percent of the cost of the projected Brownlee Dam and 60 percent of the cost of the Oxbow Dam, 2 of the 3 low dams it has engaged to build, instead of the one high Federal dam which clearly was favored by a majority of people in the area. The two dams are to cost $103 million.

The effect of the "accelerated amortization" in this case will be to reduce very materially the income-tax liability of the Idaho Power Co. during the 5-year writeoff period. Its tax savings, which will run into many millions, represent an interest-free loan by the Government. The loss of revenue must be made up by the rest of us during the 5 years the company has the use of its tax saving for investment or whatever. While it is true that, at the end of the 5 years, the corporation's taxable income would be greater in the exact amount, there is a good chance that the corporation tax rate will be reduced by then. Anyhow, the company has the benefit of the tax-free loan.

How this subsidy affects the rest of us as taxpayers and consumers is explained in an analysis of how accelerated amortization works for the building of new plants to be found in the book Monopoly in America, written by two men who have served as advisers of Government agencies and congressional committees, Dr. Walter Adams, associate professor of economics at Michigan State University, and Dr. Horace M. Gray, professor of economics at the University of Illinois. Of it they say:

"The result is a two-directional subsidy. Nonprivileged taxpayers are required to make good the deficiency in the Federal revenue arising from such tax immunity. From this point of view, the subsidy takes the form of an interest-free loan from the Treasury in the amount of the tax reductions at compound interest over the normal life of the new plant. The excess depreciation charges over the 5-year period constitute a disguised capital levy against consumers to provide part of the capital for the new plant. Thus both taxpayers and consumers are penalized for the benefit of the private monopoly."

RAPPED BY MORSE

Members of Congress from the Pacific Northwest who are complaining bitterly about what Senator WAYNE MORSE (Oregon Democrat) called "another shocking betrayal of the public interest" suggest that the company was having difficulty getting its financing and was bailed out by the Government with this subsidy.

The accelerated amortization device, which was resorted to in World War II and in the Korean war to induce reluctant industry to expand plant capacity, has been constantly criticized as special privilege. It was called "legalized profiteering" by the Brewster Senate committee of the Republican 80th Congress, 1947–49, and "the biggest bonanza that ever came down the Government pike" by the House Government Operations Committee.

Just recently, an end to it was called for by Senator HARRY BYRD (Virginia Democrat), chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, also by Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey, who termed it "an artificial stimulus of a dangerous type" that favored one group over another. He got it suspended for a time in certain areas of industry. But it is back again in full flower, as we see.

The Union's Side of the Kohler Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, recently an article appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by the Reverend Edward A. Keller, C. S. C., professor of economics at the University of Notre Dame. The subject of the article was the 3-year-old strike of local 833, UAW–CIO, against the Kohler Co. at Kohler, Wis. Since the article of Reverend Keller has appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to state the company's side of the matter, it would appear to me, and to others who feel that both sides should be heard, that the union's side of the story should be heard in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. For that reason, I insert into the RECORD at this time a letter by Mr. Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the UAW–CIO, stating clearly the union's side of the story. I hope all Members who read the article by Father Keller will read the answer by Mr. Mazey:

APRIL 24, 1957.

Rev. EDWARD A. KELLER, C. S. C.,
Professor of Economics,
University of Notre Dame,
South Bend, Ind.

DEAR REVEREND KELLER: I have before me a publication entitled "Human Events" dated February 23, 1957, in which an article entitled "Can Reuther's Boycott Bring Kohler to Its Knees?" appears over your name.

I am shocked at the misrepresentations, falsehoods, and complete distortions of the truth that appear in your evaluation of the Kohler strike.

Your thesis on the Kohler strike is biased against the union because you have drawn conclusions by getting only one side of the story. In reading your article, it is obvious that you have obtained all of your information from the Kohler Co. and from comments on the Kohler strike from the big-business antilabor press.

I have carefully checked with the leadership of Kohler local 833 and with members of my staff assisting the local in conducting the boycott program, and find that you did not consult, interview, or contact any representative of the union. We can, therefore, only conclude that you have either performed a sloppy and unscientific job in evaluating the Kohler strike or that you are in fact wittingly or unwittingly a tool of the Kohler Co. because hundreds of thousands of copies of your article in Human Events is being distributed all over the country by the company.

UNION SEEKS ECONOMIC JUSTICE

The objective of our union in conducting the boycott against the Kohler Co. is not as you have improperly concluded from misquotes and misstatements in the antilabor press, "to wreck the Kohler Co." The purpose of our boycott and the purpose of our strike is to create sufficient economic pressure on the Kohler Co. that will enable the Kohler workers to win economic justice.

CONTRACT DEMANDS NOT UNREASONABLE

In your article you state that the union's demands on the Kohler Co. are unreasonable. It is hard for me to understand how you can reach such a conclusion, if you carefully evaluated the facts. Our union is not seeking to pioneer at Kohler; we are merely trying to catch up with the economic and contractual conditions enjoyed by workers employed in the principal competitive plants of the Kohler Co., namely, the American Standard and Sanitary Co., the Crane Co., and the Briggs Manufacturing Co.

During the course of our negotiations we offered to work out the economic and collective-bargaining agreement within the framework of these three contracts. We offered to accept an exact copy of the contracts of any 1 of the 3 corporations, and we further agreed that the matters in dispute be arbitrated within the framework of the contracts of the Kohler Co.'s 3 principal competitors.

If we were seeking economic and contractual conditions that would place the Kohler Co. at a competitive disadvantage and would make it unprofitable for them to operate their firm, you might state our demands as unreasonable. However, it cannot be charged that our demands are unreasonable when we are not seeking more than the workers employed in competitive plants are already enjoying.

COMPANY BROUGHT ON STRIKE

The UAW did not seek a strike with the Kohler Co., but it has become quite obvious that the Kohler Co. was preparing for a strike because it notified the union in December of 1953 of its intention to terminate the contract, fully 3 months before the expiration date of the agreement and before the union had served notice on the company of its desire to modify the collective-bargaining agreement.

When the contract expired on February 28, 1954, the union unsuccessfully sought an extension of the agreement in order to give the parties more time to try to reach a settlement of the issues. The company refused our request for an extension of the contract, but nevertheless, the Kohler workers worked for a period of 5 weeks, from March 1 through April 5, without a collective-bargaining contract, in the hopes that the extended period of time would enable us to settle our differences.

The strike was brought on by the company's refusal to bargain in good faith. The union had 1 of 2 choices to make; either to unconditionally surrender to the ultimatum of the company which would have resulted in an inferior agreement, or to exercise their rights as free American citizens and refuse to allow the Kohler Co. to exploit their labor under substandard conditions.

I don't intend to dignify your misrepresentations by answering all of them point by point. I would like to suggest, however, that if you are interested in making an objective study of the Kohler strike, that you seek an audience with the representatives of the UAW so that a full explanation

of all of the issues and facts in the Kohler dispute can be thoroughly and properly aired.

Sincerely yours,

EMIL MAZEY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

"Dulles' Concept of the Function of the Political Reporter and Analyst Is Close to That of All Totalitarian States," Says Dorothy Thompson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I include here an article by the political commentor Dorothy Thompson on a matter of considerable importance to our country. The article appeared in the conservative Washington Evening Star:

ON THE RECORD

(By Dorothy Thompson)

The exchange of letters between Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the New York Times, and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is a dismaying relevation.

Superficially, the question at issue was whether American press correspondents should be permitted to visit and report on Communist China. The Secretary had suggested in a press conference that a limited number might be permitted to go, and their reports could be pooled for the news-gathering community. Sulzberger rejected this while admitting that "it would be necessary to guard the Department against frivolous journalistic adventures by people more interested in visiting China than in reporting what is going on there."

Dulles countered that "in our Far Eastern policies the United States would be gravely imperiled if there were a general influx of Americans into Communist China at this time," and listed reasons such as nonrecognition of the regime "so that we cannot issue a 'passport' to it; the existence of a quasi-state of war and the continued application of the Trading-With-the-Enemy Act; the illegal jailing of Americans already in China; the effect on the free countries of Asia, et cetera. * * *"

DULLES' ARGUMENT

In Dulles' whole argument the assumption prevails that the function of the writer and reporter is to support the foreign policy of the United States. He fears that the journalists might not all be "responsible"; asserts that foreign policy involves the "acceptance of certain restraints by the American people"; makes the extraordinary judgment that "constitutional freedom of the press relates to publication, not the gathering of news"; and says flatly that "foreign policy cannot succeed unless it channels the activities of our people, and in this respect newspapermen have also their * * * patriotic duty."

These arguments go far beyond the issue of whether or not the ban should be lifted on publications and correspondents wishing to report on Red China. They assert that the State Department must channel their activities, even to barring them from areas of vital public interest. If accepted, this doctrine would eventually turn every writer and reporter into a Government agent, which is what Dulles apparently means by "responsible men."

FUNCTION OF REPORTER

Far more strongly than Sulzberger says, it must be stated that Dulles is totally blind to the function of the reporter. He does not exist to serve the Government but to inform the American people, and to do so with the utmost objectivity of which he is capable. The line he must hew to is the line of truth, and no other. If he is frivolous and irresponsible, regarding the truth, he will be corrected by others. If his revelations do not support a Government policy, they may lead to a change in it. His value is that he is not the hired man of any government but a reporter and testifier of truth. He is responsible exactly to the extent that he seeks to fulfill this function. And its fulfillment is not only his professional duty. It is his patriotic duty.

The suggestion that freedom of reporting can exclude access to facts is extremely dangerous doctrine. The gleaning of facts is essential to knowledge, without which the right to publish is empty, and its exercise irresponsible.

Dulles' concept of the function of the political reporter and analyst is close to that of all totalitarian states, and logically carried out in practice would lead to identical results.

The Secretary's other arguments are smoke screens. But they must be taken up in the next column.

Address, Impact of the Jet Age Upon the Hotel Industry, Delivered by Mr. Peter Grimm at Cornell University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest hotel training schools in the country is at Ithaca, N. Y.—the School of Hotel Administration, Cornell University.

This fact has long been recognized by Pan American World Airways and its 100 percent owned subsidiary, Intercontinental Hotels Corp. All of Pan American's and Intercontinental's hotel interests are outside the continental limits of the United States, which makes trained personnel a constantly recurring problem.

However, IHC is handling this problem most expeditiously, and in Cornell's School of Hotel Administration now are many young men and women being trained at IHC's expense, for a future in the hotel business.

On May 4, Mr. Peter Grimm, vice president, operations of IHC, delivered a talk at Cornell. Appropriately enough, because of Intercontinental's affiliation with Pan American Airways, Mr. Grimm's talk was entitled "Impact of the Jet Age Upon the Hotel Industry."

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD Mr. Grimm's most interesting remarks:

The fact that Byron Calhoun (president of Intercontinental Hotels), my colleague, could not be with us this evening makes me doubly regretful because it was an incident that happened to him that illustrates the important topic I am going to discuss with you. A few weeks ago he had an interesting experience. Some of you, in fact, may have shared it with him because it happened at the opening of a new hotel which was well attended by members of the hotel industry. But whether you were there or not, whether you are a veteran in the hotel business or a student at Cornell on the threshold of your professional career, I believe this small event holds great meaning for you.

It was simple in itself. Mr. Calhoun and his friends were on their way up from the ground floor to the ballroom three flights above. They traveled up on the fine series of escalators that link the floors, each of the escalators packed tight with guests. At the top landing, the foyer of the ballroom was crowded with earlier arrivals, so much so that they had difficulty getting off the escalator and finding a place to stand. And right behind them were streams of later arrivals, all being delivered in an endless chain to the ballroom floor that scarcely had any room left.

As Byron Calhoun stood watching that moving stream of people being carried ceaselessly into the vanishing space that was supposed to hold them, it struck him that here was a symbol of our world in general and of our industry in particular. With him, I am convinced that changes in travel are carrying the hotel industry today into a new era. It is an era of excitement and opportunity, an era whose dimensions are so vast that they are almost impossible for us to grasp. It is an era beginning as the hotel opening I've just described, with an increasing stream of travelers arriving steadily to occupy rapidly diminishing space. And its tremendous problems and promise lie just ahead.

Since this new era is so important to our professional and personal lives, indeed, to the whole course of the world in future years, it deserves some close examination.

It is typical of this new era in hotelkeeping that it is being created by new advances in travel. The past eras in the hotel business have all been marked and made by new methods of getting from one place to another. Two centuries ago, when the stagecoach began to rumble along the roads of Europe and the New World, inns sprang up at post stops to serve the adventurous traveler. Before that time, inns had been found mostly in large cities. They were a social convenience that stagecoach travel soon made a social necessity. And the increasing numbers of travelers demanded standards of comfort and cleanliness that raised the status of inns from makeshift overnight accommodations to places of elegance equal to, or better than, those to be found at home.

In similar fashion, the coming of the steamship that could carry larger numbers of people at lower prices from one country to another had great influence on the location and nature of hotels in the 19th century. At that time, too, the age of the railroads made its effect upon the hotel business, particularly in the United States, hotels grew up wherever the railroads went. In fact, the railroad companies themselves found it necessary to put hotels at key stops or at places with scenic attraction. And, as all who have ever seen that delightful movie, The Harvey Girls, can testify, their contributions to growing communities added up to a lot more than just plain board and room.

During our own lifetimes, of course, we have the radical changes created in the hotel business by the automobile. Whole new concepts of hotel structure, service and location have been brought about by millions of motorists free to move on their own and visit the places they wish to see. And where both the railroad and the automobile particularly are concerned, a most intering axiom of

the hotel business has been revealed. We have found that travel can be more than the cause of hotels; travel can just as significantly be the effect of hotels. If a good hotel is built, travelers will find their way to it. This axiom is of prime importance to the new hotel era that we face with the advent of passenger jet transports.

This new jet era in the hotel business, of course, is the product of the air age. It is, literally, only a number of months away. Most of us do not realize what impact the jets will have upon us. We have not begun to comprehend the sudden and far-reaching changes that will be effected by these planes upon the world's society, economy, way of life, and upon the hotel industry.

There are good reasons for our lack of understanding. In the first place, the air age evolved quickly during World War II when business as usual was forgotten by all industries. After the war, hotel keeping was complicated by shortages and emergencies which meant staying on top of the immediate problems and consequently with little time or perspective to look at the long-range view. In the second place, the airplane is deceptively inconspicuous. Its speed, relatively small size, and its terminals which lie on the outskirts of metropolitan centers all combine to keep it out of public sight and, less understandably, out of the hotelkeeper's mind. The manager of a New York hotel is impressed by the guest potential represented by the arrival of the S. S. *Constitution* at her dock. Yet, a single jet aircraft has the annual passenger-carrying equivalent of the *Constitution*. The fleet of jet aircraft now on order by Intercontinental's parent company, Pan American, alone are equal to 44 *Constitutions*—and all of these will be in international service within 3 years' time.

I was struck recently by how little these implications are realized within our hotel industry. The manager of a leading hotel in Paris was complaining to me because the *Queen Mary's* arrival in Cherbourg had been delayed and, since he had to hold the reservations, his occupancy rate was low for the night.

"Why do you count so much on the ships?" I asked him. "You're getting more than 60 percent of your transatlantic business by air."

"It seems hard to believe," he answered, "the air travelers don't come in such big bunches."

In New York City most of the larger hotels have representatives meet the big transatlantic liners, but pay little attention to the 2,000 travelers who arrive from abroad every day by air.

Granted that the arrivals by air may appear to be a trickle, the fact is that it is a steady one today and today's trickle will be a continuous torrent by tomorrow. Moreover, the airborne guest represents double the occupancy potential compared to the seaborne traveler. Of 2 people going to Europe for a month's vacation, for example, the 1 who arrives by air needs a bed for 28 nights, while the 1 who comes by sea needs a bed ashore for only 14 nights.

Already the effect of the air-age pressure for hotel rooms can be seen in the hard-pressed hotel business abroad. Normal ports of entry to Europe, such as London, Paris, and Rome, for example, have had their hotel facilities saturated to the point where airlines have had to try to persuade travelers to choose other cities in which to land. This situation is aggravated by the fact that many European cities have less rooms available than was the case before the war. First-class accommodations in some areas of Latin America, the Middle East, and Far East are even fewer and farther between.

Meanwhile, American- and foreign-flag airlines—with a present investment of a billion dollars in modern piston-engine transports—have placed orders for more than a billion and a quarter dollars for jet airliners already entering the production line.

These jet fleets are required to cope with an international travel market increasing in leaps and bounds.

Obviously there is a lag between the international hotel business and the travel facilities that are serving it. And the escalator—that ever-moving ribbon of aircraft—is continuously delivering hotel guests, with space getting scarcer every day. Moreover experience shows the space that does remain is sometimes worse than no space at all. For today's traveler is not interested in magnificence where his lodgings are concerned. He wants comfort, convenience, and cleanliness. He wants plenty of hot water and good laundry service. He is not interested in enormous rooms and the sort of place described by Mark Twain when he wrote: "It used to be a good hotel, but that proves nothing—I used to be a good boy."

And if this is the situation today, what of tomorrow? Then the escalator will begin to move at twice its present speed. For that is exactly what is going to happen with the arrival of the jets. A jet aircraft will cut today's short travel time in half. It will carry twice as many passengers. When aircraft now on order go into service, present international passenger travel will more than double.

The jet age will also be felt here at home. A jet aircraft, which can make two round-trips across the Atlantic daily, will bring as many people to this country as it carries away. Jets will be using more cities in the Midwest, the South, and the Far West as ports of entry. This two-way exchange is going to have as great, or greater, effect upon American hotelmen as upon those who operate hotels overseas.

Here we are, then, in a new era of hotel keeping, facing on all sides an entirely new set of conditions. The question is: How can we best meet these conditions so as to realize the promise this new era holds?

One of the first answers, so far as the rest of the world is concerned, is that we must have more hotels. They must be modern hotels, geared to the streamlined age they will serve. Intercontinental has had a good deal of experience in this respect. The company actually came into being due to the postwar shortage of usable rooms. Pan American Airways, our founding company, was asked by the Government to help solve this problem in an effort to advance the economic welfare of friendly countries. It had the precedent of the railroad hotel building behind us—the Canadan Pacific, New York Central, Union Pacific, and the C. & O., to name a few examples. We needed space for the flood of air passengers who wanted, and were able to see the world. Starting from scratch, we now have 8 modern first-class hotels in operation, with 4 more under construction, and others in the planning stage. The bulk of these hotels is in the Latin American area, and many in cities, which, frankly, had little hotel business before the air age began a few short years ago.

Today their occupancy rate is phenomenally high. Many are in the process of being enlarged almost before they have been finished. Thus, they not only served the emergency purpose for which they were first planned. They have again proven the more important point that, with air travel cutting down the time and cost factors in travel, a good hotel will attract guests and be an economic asset to its community. One example ably demonstrates this truth. The building of the Tequendama Hotel in the city of Bogota, Colombia, more than doubled, in 2 years' time, the number of international travelers arriving there by air. And in 1955 new visitors to that city stayed 140,000 guest-days and spent more than $4 million, all of which represented entirely new dollar income for Colombia.

Building new hotels abroad, then, does more than merely solve the problem of space. It is a seedbed for economic growth and expansion. By providing income and opportunity for foreign lands it has the double value of making other countries more attractive for Americans to visit as well as helping to provide the means whereby other peoples can visit the United States. Peace, commerce and international understanding are the beneficial results of such exchange.

Of equal importance, and perhaps of greater interest to those who are graduating from Cornell, is the fact that hotel building abroad provides a showcase for American hotel management methods and techniques. Many of the young people here this evening will soon be staffing hotels in all parts of the world. Because the jets will bring Beirut tomorrow closer than Paris is today, London as close as Houston, Paris as close as Denver, you will find yourselves in many cultures and countries which are still off the beaten track. You will have the unique chance to demonstrate American friendliness and efficiency to peoples whose good will is essential to our own national welfare. And may I stress the fact that you will have the opportunity to gain from them many lessons in understanding and achievement which are well worth going halfway round the world to learn.

Both the physical building of hotels and the intangible building of confidence in America abroad are, of course, vitally important to the hotel business if it is going to catch up with, and stay abreast of, the jet age. Both goals require sizable investment of money, time, and talent; and these investments must be made today, for tomorrow will be too late. I am hopeful that American investors will see the attractive field for such investments and make them promptly. Only by so doing, I believe, can the full potential of the jet era which we are entering be realized. But beyond even the men, the time, and the money, I hope we will bring vision to this task. The rest of the world is closely tied to our business today. To take advantage of that fact calls for courage, imagination and skill of the highest possible order.

Just how international the hotel business has become should soon be evident here in the United States. For the jets will be servants of all free peoples and their convenience will be utilized by travelers coming here. In simple terms, this means that hotelmen all over the United States, in Kansas City and Cleveland, for example, will have to cope with the problems of currency conversion, passports, metric systems, different food habits, unfamiliar national customs, and the like. Not only will American hotelmen have to become as adept in language and understanding as their counterparts abroad, they also must become pioneers in their local communities. They will have to gain for their guests from overseas friendliness, tolerance, and acceptance from hometown neighbors and business associates.

The new conditions facing American hotelmen at home and abroad will undoubtedly bring many changes in studying how to operate and in actually operating hotels. Schools such as Cornell, for example, should perhaps be thinking of how best to modify and expand their courses. Greater knowledge of languages, for instance, will become essential to successful hotelkeeping here in the United States in the same manner as it now is abroad. A wider background of appreciation for other cultures, climates, and ways of getting things done will certainly be required of the many young Americans who will soon find themselves working in hotels abroad. Business habits which include mid-day siestas and late dining hours, national codes of law which differ from ours, social taboos in other countries, and dozens of other differences will have to be accepted.

Accepting them, of course, is really learning. And I have yet to meet the hotelman who could not improve his efficiency by learning something new, or whose real success could not be measured by his ability to change and grow with the times. Knowing this gives me real confidence that we will more than meet the demands the jet age will put upon our talents and resources. We hotelmen and women should never forget that the tools of travel and tourism are transportation and hotels, and that both tools are equally important.

So far we have been discussing the effects of this new era upon our business directly. But I believe we should also look at the broader picture if we are to do our job well. The new era in the hotel business, of course, is only a part of a whole new era in the world. Everywhere economies are expanding and peoples are anxious to better themselves. Nations wish to develop their human and natural resources, to grow, become strong and contribute as active members of the family of nations. Our own country has long known the benefit of such advantages and is officially committed to helping other nations achieve them. We do this not out of some fuzzy philanthropic sense but in the clear knowledge that our own economic strength and security depend upon peace and prosperity in the rest of the world. They depend, too, upon mutual understanding among the peoples of the world.

The jet age offers great hope in this direction. The exchange of people on a mass basis, which will become a reality with fast, low-fare jet travel, will help to quicken international economic growth. It will speed the adoption of modern industrial techniques. It will hasten the process of understanding among nations. As I see it, the jet age will not create one uniform world but, rather, a world whose many diverse strengths can be utilized by its different peoples. In such a world all nations will give. But they will be net gainers because so many other nations will be giving in return.

The threshold of this desirable exchange will be our hotels. The stranger in a country, whether he is a Pakistani in Washington or an American in Ankara, will have his impressions formed by what he experiences in the lobby, the public rooms and in his own room in his hotel. If he meets with courtesy, consideration, comfort—if he is genuinely helped by the hotel staff which is his host—he will carry and generate the good will which our world needs so much. His social and business dealings will be pleasant and constructive. A stranger no longer, he will want to travel to many places and will be anxious to come back soon. If, however, he encounters lack of understanding, neglected facilities, and discourteous treatment, the world is the loser. Its welfare and hopes have been set back.

To be a hotelman in this new era, then, demands from us more than conventional efficiency. We must be leaders on the frontiers of cooperation among peoples. We are going to have to be ready to see that our business is a matter of more than rooms and meals, and that the rates we charge cover many intangibles without which the world will find it hard to advance.

This is a big job for all of us—for those already in the hotel business and for you young people about to leave Cornell and join us in the critical area of advancing the world's hopes for a better life. The satisfactions in doing this job well are immeasurable. The need for us to begin is urgent. Peaceful armadas of jets are about to take to the skies, bringing our hotel industry—and our world—the greatest era it has ever known.

Looking Back at Some Sad Sacking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Daily News, of May 15, 1957:

LOOKING BACK AT SOME SAD SACKING: PERHAPS MONTY SHOULD REMEMBER AFRICA AND NORMANDY LAPSES

(By John M. Virden, colonel, USAF (retired), editor, American Weekend)

(NOTE.—Col. John M. Virden, United States Air Force (retired), is a former Regular officer, retired for physical disability in 1953. He served in the 14th Air Force in India, Burma, and China, in World War II. His last duty was with General Eisenhower's NATO staff in Europe in 1951–53. Colonel Virden has written extensively on the Battle of Gettysburg and lectured on the Civil War at the War College. He confesses "the Yankees shot my grandpa at Little Roundtop. I've spent half my life trying to find out why.")

"THE OLD MEN

"We shall peck out and discuss and dissect,
And evert and extrude to our mind,
The flaccid tissues of long-dead issues,
Offensive, to God and mankind
Precisely like vultures over an ox
That an Army has left behind."

—*Kipling.*

Two aged generals stood on a rocky hillside in Adams County, Pa., just south of the town of Gettysburg last week and rudely second-guessed two better generals who fought a battle on that spot 94 years earlier.

Reed-voiced Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery, of Alamein, 69, and General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, 66, agreed that they would have "sacked" both Gens. R. E. Lee and George Gordon Meade for what these two old soldiers regarded as Messrs. Lee and Meade's bumbling in that crucial battle in the American Civil War, fought on July 1, 2, 3, 1863.

Perhaps because of his more intimate knowledge of the South's low boiling point when "Marse Robert" is criticized, President Eisenhower tempered the bad mouthing Monty gave the two able generals who directed the most important battle ever fought on the North American Continent.

The supreme allied commander in Europe in World War II credited General Lee with "good troop handling." Most historians agree that this is exactly where General Lee's battle "broke into pieces," as the President put it.

FACTS RECALLED

It is still a fact that the amazingly awkward troop handling by Lt. Gen. Dick Ewell, commanding the Confederate 2d Corps, on the night of July 1, 1863, negated the smashing success the Confederates achieved at Gettysburg earlier on that fateful day.

By late afternoon of that first day General Ewell's corps had fought their way through the town and lapped around the base of a rocky, thickety little promentory known as Culps Hill (named for a Pennsylvania farmer who had sons in both the Union and Confederate Armies). From the top of Culps Hill, General Ewell's guns could rake the whole Union fishhook line along Cemetery Ridge. General Ewell knew this, so did General Lee. The gray Virginian rode over to General Ewell's headquarters, under a grape arbor in a farmhouse yard, and urged his newest corps commander to assault the key position while day's light still held.

The one-legged Dick Ewell smoked his pipe, thought it over, while the Federals poured troops onto Culp's Hill, regiment by regiment. When General Ewell finally jumped off in a confused night attack his men fired on each other in the dark thickets (so did the Union troopers) and at the end of this bloody assault General Ewell was right back in his trenches at the foot of the hill.

His troops had been anything but well handled. In the dark hot night disgusted rebel infantrymen lay around grumbling, "Oh, God. If only Old Jack was here . . . we'd be on top of that damn little hill in 10 minutes."

STONEWALL ABSENT

But their old corps commander, Stonewall Jackson, had been in his grave since the previous May, cut down by his own men as he rode in the rainy darkness at Chancellorsville. General Lee was still General Lee; he knew what to do and when to do it. He'd never needed to make more than a suggestion to Stonewall Jackson.

On the second day of this crucial battle General Lee tried to redeem General Ewell's tardy failure by sending Lieut. Gen. James "Old Pete" Longstreet's big first corps against the extreme left of the Union position. This assault was to hit almost 5 miles from where General Ewell's men had made their bloody stab.

An attack that was expected at first dawn didn't roll until the middle of that hot July afternoon. When the Arkansawyers, Alabamans, and Texans got the word to "Go git 'em," they went after Little Round Top, the Peach Orchard, the Wheat Field, and Devil's Den with a wild rebel yell rolling up and down their gray ranks. They fought like Pete Longstreet's men always fought. It was not their fault that their magnificent effort was 12 hours late.

DIDN'T GIVE QUARTER

But their disjointed assault broke down again when they hit the old Regular Army Infantry regiments around Devil's Den. These hard-faced old Indian fighters never asked any quarter and they didn't give any.

One lanky 3d Arkansas rifleman (every man a volunteer) yelled across at them, "Hey, Yanks, you ort to know you ain't fighting the conscripts this time."

"Yeah, bygod, you ain't up against the shoe clerks either, brother. Just keep comin,' we'll still be right here."

No men ever fought better than General Longstreet's men, unless it was the old Regulars who stopped them, but few would declare that these men were well handled by Pete Longstreet, nor that Pete carried out what General Lee had told him to do. Nor did he do it. He did not attack as early as possible, as General Lee, as was his gentle custom, suggested.

All in all, old soldier Eisenhower's remarks about Messrs. Lee and Meade's generalship were milder than the reedy criticism voiced by Viscount Montgomery, as he stood on this rocky hillside covered by reporters and photographers.

Our British cousins, twice removed, have a positive genius for "baiting the Americans" and Monty hit a high point in this studied art when he referred to General Lee as "that guy" and called General Lee's decision to make one last desperate lunge at the Union center (Pickett's charge) as "monstrous, just monstrous."

This kind of talk raises the hackles all up and down the creeks and the bayous south of Baltimore, west of Charleston.

A REAL SLUR

Yankees are generally slower burners than are the Unreconstructed Rebels of Dixieland, but the Yankees finally got the point, that Monty had laid a "monstrous" slur on General Meade, too. After all, they reasoned, General Meade was the only Federal General who had been able to stop General Lee up to July 1863, that General Meade had fought his Army of the Potomac better than anybody had ever fought it before. He stopped General Lee cold for 3 days in a row, and turned back the best army the South had ever, or could ever, put into the field.

Yet Field Marshal Montgomery declared repeatedly that he would have "sacked" General Meade, as well as General Lee, but for different reasons.

Monty is possibly the last battle captain who should criticize General Meade for allowing "that guy" (Lee) to escape. Memories of Erwin Rommel's little game of blind man's buff in the western desert of north Africa are still too green. Then there is the matter of the Falaise pocket in Normandy when, if Monty had taken a little less time to "tidy up my tail" (clean up the rear area of the battlefield) the trap would have been snapped shut on the best army the Germans ever fielded, and the war ended almost a year sooner. That road from Caen to the Remagen bridgehead was long and bloody. It put a lot of gold stars in the service flags across America.

Others may recall that Monty's jaw of the giant pincer seemed to move a little slower than General Patton's jaw and again a portion of Hitler's army slipped out of a trap in the Battle of the Bulge.

It seems to us that it ill behooves the field marshal to slur General Meade, who fought the undisputed champ and stopped him, but in so doing so weakened his own Army of the Potomac that to have fallen on General Lee would have been to invite disaster.

This reporter is, rather obviously, of Confederate origin. But the fact is that Ike and Monty's remarks sadden more than anger. We doubt that either would have voiced such remarks in the military prime of their lives.

"The Lamp of our Youth will be utterly out:
But we shall subsist on the smell of it,
And whatever we do we shall fold our hands,
And suck our gums and think well of it.
We shall be perfectly pleased with our work
And that is the perfectest Hell of it."

—*Kipling.*

Priest of Note Rates Salute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article which appeared in the Philadelphia Daily News on May 8, 1957, concerning Father John Positano, who is now a curate of the Holy Rosary Catholic Church, Lawrence, Mass., in my congressional district.

PRIEST OF NOTE RATES SALUTE: CLERGYMAN WITH A CLARINET

(By Jerry Gaghan)

Father John Positano was on the floor at Palumbo's giving out with the hot licks while the Jaye Brothers ran through their frenzied routine of Rag Mop in Italian. It made a smash finale for the 2-hour show, which the priest, incidentally, emceed. The affair was a homecoming for Father Positano, former pastor of St. Nicholas Church here, who was shifted to a new charge in Lawrence, Mass., 4 years ago.

A crowd of more than 400 parishioners and friends welcomed him and in the audience were some two score performers. Like the Jaye Brothers, all of these entertainers got their start with Father John's USO troupes. The clarinet-tooting cleric, whose full face and horn-rimmed glasses remind of Benny Goodman, has been taking acts to veterans hospitals and military installations for the last 14 years. National chaplain of the Italian War Veterans Association, the guest of honor received letters of commendation from the White House, the Governor of Massachuetts, and heads of veterans and civic organizations.

Loyalty Day Award to Vice President Richard M. Nixon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to herewith insert an address by Rutherford Day, chairman, Loyalty Day Committee, Veterans of Foreign Wars, in presentation of the Loyalty Day award to Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON.

The address follows:

ADDRESS OF RUTHERFORD DAY, CHAIRMAN, LOYALTY DAY COMMITTEE, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS, DEPARTMENT OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, IN PRESENTATION OF LOYALTY DAY AWARD, MAY 1, 1957, TO RICHARD M. NIXON, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

When we speak of loyalty, whereof do we speak?

Do we speak of loyalty to a few pretty bits of cloth that go to make up our flag? No; because colors fade and cloth will decay.

Do we speak of loyalty to a certain geographical area of the North American Continent? No; because many of our country's greatest achievements have been outside the then geographical area of the United States.

Do we speak of loyalty to a single people who happen, by accident of birth or conformity to immigration quotas, to be American citizens in our melting pot of nations and creeds? No; for obsession with ourselves is not consistent with the impact of America upon its friends and even its enemies throughout the world.

Nor do we speak of loyalty to a fixed and predetermined economic system, king cotton or empire preference or any immutable nostrum.

What then do we mean when we speak of loyalty?

It is more an idea and an ideal that creates an atmosphere in which the individual is nourished, that his capabilities may develop, that he may lead a life of dignity and worth. This ideal does not seek that men be kings or gods and neither does it allow them to be crushed and stifled into peonage and servility. We guarantee neither success nor failure, but only that man is free to walk the path of his own destiny.

Rather it is the dream and the ideal to say to mankind:

"Here is a society where all men may do their utmost if they will. Be there neither aspiration to godhead nor degeneration to bestiality, it is enough that here are men, who want to be no more, but who want to be the best of themselves."

So when we speak of loyalty, it is to be the promise and the chance in each of us to fulfill himself and in doing so to benefit not only himself and his neighbors, but the whole family of man.

Thus it is especially appropriate to honor a man who has made of a hitherto much ill-used office a strong power in our domestic and foreign affairs. A man who, even at a very high level, is capable of rising above what, in former times, were conceived to be the limitations of his office. This man has made an unprecedented record during his tenure of the Vice Presidency, with his vigor and capability. With his own achievements he has brought new dignity and scope to his position and, in turn, to the affairs of our country. No one could imagine that henceforth the Vice Presidency could be a sinecure or an easy job.

He has made us friends and spread understanding of our dreams and purpose.

He is a man in humanity's highest sense.

Need for District of Columbia Garnishee Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, there is presently legislation pending before the District of Columbia Committee the enactment of which is urgently needed here in the District. I refer to H. R. 7035 introduced by the chairman, Mr. MCMILLAN, on April 18, 1957.

The following articles, written by Emerson Beauchamp, appeared in the Washington Evening Star on April 7 and 8, 1957. I commend these articles to the attention of our colleagues.

PAY GARNISHEES HIT 800 A WEEK HERE

(By Emerson Beauchamp)

Every week some 800 District wage earners report for their pay, only to be told they can't get it without a municipal court order.

Their salaries have been garnisheed.

The court is glutted with nearly 3,500 garnishments every month, which adds up to more than 41,000 a year. An estimated 80 percent of them are filed by a small group of stores which do most of their business on a "dollar down, dollar a week" basis.

In small-claims court, where about one-fourth of the garnishments are filed, they account for an estimated 40 percent of all court business.

Every week business houses, large and small, whose employees are attached, are forced to spend time and money processing these garnishments. One firm, employing 5,000 persons, received 800 attachments last year—more than 15 a week. It cost an estimated $15 to process each one, for a total expense of $12,000.

When an employer receives a notice of garnishment, he must hold the employee's entire paycheck and, within 10 days, notify Municipal Court that he has done so. He may also claim an exemption if the employee is entitled to it.

The first $200 of the monthly salary of a head of a house is exempt from attachment, and a single person has a $60 exemption. But the exemption is not automatic. It must be claimed, and the court cannot grant it until the employer files his reply to the notice of garnishment.

Meanwhile, the employee goes without his salary.

If it's all he has to live on, he must put himself further into debt (if he can get a loan) or turn to private charity. He isn't eligible for public assistance, because he has a job.

FIRED BY SOME COMPANIES

He may not have a job for long, however. Some companies fire any employee who gets garnisheed three times.

Critics of garnishment do not question the right of a creditor to collect what's due him. But they raise two questions:

(1) Is it fair to take a man's entire salary away from him, even temporarily?

(2) Do easy-credit stores extend credit in the knowledge that they can attach a customer's wages when he misses a payment?

Many of the large business houses in Washington say the garnishments they receive are always against the lowest-paid and least-educated employes, who have bought more than they can pay for. If the credit stores had investigated, say these employers, they never would have allowed these people to buy so much "on time."

TELL OF FEW INQUIRIES

One firm, which received about 650 garnishments against its employees from credit stores last year, said not more than a dozen inquiries were received from the stores about prospective customers.

The same firm reported that one of its employees, a waitress who averaged between $30 and $45 a week in take-home pay, went into a credit store with her husband and three small daughters and bought $425 worth of clothes, agreeing to pay $5 a week. She later told her boss the store asked no questions about how much she and her husband made.

Her husband later abandened the family, and the wife was stuck with the debt. When she failed to meet a payment, the store attached her salary. Because she was not the head of a house, she couldn't qualify for the $200-a-month exemption from garnishment, and the store took her entire paycheck.

Further evidence of bad-faith credit, employers contend, is that the credit stores will continue selling to a customer whose wages they have garnisheed—sometimes letting him make another purchase before the first one is paid for.

STORES DENY BAD FAITH

One employer told of a man on his payroll who bought $150 worth of clothes from a credit store last fall. Just before Christmas the store garnisheed his wages. When he went to the store to ask for an extension of time, the salesman told him, "You need something new for Christmas," and persuaded him to buy an $80 overcoat.

The credit stores deny they extend bad-faith credit. Evidence of employment may be enough to establish credit, one manager said, but not necessarily. He denied that his store would sell to a man whose wages had been attached until the debt was cleared up, but he added: "Some people pay up after garnishment and become good customers."

Another manager said he didn't know of any stores which sell on time without a credit investigation. "But if a man shows you he is employed and wants to buy a piece of merchandise, what are you going to do—tell him he can't have it?" he said.

Several years ago, a campaign was waged against bad faith credit under the leadership of Municipal Court Judge Milton S. Kronheim, Jr.

In 1949, Judge Kronheim, sitting in small claims court where cases of $50 or less are tried, ruled against a store which tried to collect $12 from a nearly blind laborer who made $18 a week.

The man had bought a $15 pair of shoes from a street salesman, paying $3 down and agreeing to pay $1 a week. He never wore the shoes. A week after the sale, he phoned the store and tried to give them back. The company sued for the balance due.

CALLED SALE A GAMBLE

Judge Kronheim threw out the claim, calling the sale a gamble or a bad business mistake.

The municipal court of appeals reversed his decision, commenting: "Distressing cases of apparent overcharges and overselling are often encountered but we know of no remedy under existing law except that of education of the buying public."

At Judge Kronheim's request, Representative CELLER, Democrat of New York, introduced in 1950 legislation to authorize a small claims court judge to decide for a defendant if the court decided credit had been extended in bad faith.

The provision never became law, but Congress later enacted another section of the Celler bill, designed in part to discourage stores from extending easy credit in bad faith. This legislation established the present $200 monthly exemption from garnishment for a head of a house. Previously the figure had been $100. President Truman signed it on April 15, 1952.

MAN OWES MORE TO STORE AFTER EIGHT GARNISHMENTS

A Washington employee of a large firm owed a credit store $96.25.

The store got a judgment against him last November 1 and began attaching his wages on November 13.

By February 7, after 5 garnishments, the store had collected $23.87. In the meantime, the employee had paid $13 on his own.

On March 12, after 3 more garnishments, the employer was notified the man had been credited with $14.72 on his account. Court costs and interest had taken the rest. He now owed $81.53 plus $19 in new costs and interest.

Thus after 4 months, 8 garnishments, and payments by the debtor totaling $36.87, his original $96.25 debt stood at $100.53.

BAR ASKS CODE LIMIT IN PAY GARNISHMENTS

A wage earner who gets garnished would be assured of finding something in his pay envelope under a proposed amendment to the District Code.

The amendment, which was drafted by a subcommittee of the District Bar Association's municipal court committee, would provide that only 10 percent of the salary of the head of a house could be attached. For a single person, the figure would be 15 percent. Only that amount would be withheld from a pay check by the employer.

Patterned after the New York statutes, the amendment bears the indorsement of the full municipal court committee and the muncipal court judges.

Under present law, when an employer receives a garnishment notice, he must hold the entire pay check. Part of the debtor's salary is exempt from attachment—$200 a month if he is the head of a house, $60 if he is a single person—but the exemption is not automatic. It has to be claimed, and the employer is not permitted to release any part of the pay until municipal court has allowed the exemption. Meanwhile, the employee does without his pay. Unless he claims his exemption or his employer does it for him, he may never get any of his money back.

The proposed amendment would eliminate this squeeze on the debtor and relieve him of the responsibility for claiming an exemption he may not know he's entitled to.

The amendment also provides that one attachment would act as a lien against a debtor's pay—10 or 15 percent each pay period—until the debt is paid.

Backers say this would reduce the workload at Municipal Court, where nearly 3,500 garnishments are now filed every month. Under present law, a garnishment applies only to a single pay check; to attach a second one, the creditor must go to court again.

A third provision of the amendment is designed to eliminate the present dog-eat-dog aspect of the garnishment process. As it now stands, if creditor A garnishees a man's salary this week, creditor B is likely to be first in line next week to put in his claim. Creditor A, meanwhile, also will be back in court to get the next installment on his own account.

The new law would provide that, once a garnishment is issued, all other would-be collectors must wait. Thus a man who had incurred too many debts would be assured time to pay them off in installments he could afford.

Backers of the proposed amendment also point out that it would work to the benefit of creditors at the same time it eliminates the present hardship on debtors. Under present law, a creditor may find himself out in the cold if his customer makes less than the minimum exempt salary. The debtor suffers by losing his pay check temporarily, but if he claims his exemption, his creditor can't get a cent.

ASSURANCE TO CREDITOR

The amendment, by substituting a percentage exemption, would assure the creditor of collecting his money, though he might have to wait a while for it.

Another argument advanced in favor of the amendment is that it would solve a problem which crops up in juvenile court when a runaway father is unable to provide maintenance because his salary has been attached.

Meanwhile, at least one large Washington firm is taking steps of its own to cut down the number of garnishments among its employees through educating them about the evils of indiscriminate buying on credit.

Education of the buying public was the remedy recommended in 1950 by the municipal court of appeals when it refused to void the sale of a $15 pair of shoes to an $18-a-week laborer.

At least one large company in another city has made a sizable cut in the number of garnishments it receives through educating its employees. A farm-machinery manufacturer in Milwaukee reduced attachments against its workers from 1,406 to 383 in 3 years by counseling employees and insisting that credit stores check with the firm before garnisheeing.

The Washington firm, which received 800 garnishments among its 5,000 employees last year, began a systematic attack on the problem early this year.

Every week, the case history of an employee who overextended his credit is posted on all company bulletin boards. Employees are

urged to buy only what they can afford and to notify the company counselor immediately if they get too deep in debt.

"We've just begun," a company spokesman said, "but we have high hopes."

Another large firm here reported a substantial reduction in garnishments through initiating a more rigid firing policy. After three attachments, an employee is discharged.

Other firms are opposed to firing employees who get garnisheed, preferring to keep even the habitual victims on if they are good workers otherwise, and help them get out of debt.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

IN

bu
ci
I
n

w
h
t
a
r
v
f
r

Appendix

Recovery, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, quietly, but very effectively, in 15 Michigan cities, and across the Nation, Recovery, Inc., has been working wonders with nervous and mental patients.

I have been most impressed with the work of Recovery, Inc. This is a self-help technique through which rehabilitated mental patients work individually and in groups to rehabilitate others. To me it seems as if we might be on the verge of a significant advance on the frontier of mental health. Mental illness has reached serious proportions in our country—serious, at least, in relation to the facilities we have to cope with the problem.

Last summer I asked the National Institute of Mental Health to study Recovery's work, and I am pleased to report that the study has just gotten underway. If the study team reports favorably, Recovery's pioneering methods will be brought within reach of additional thousands of people, for they will have been approved for use in hospitals and mental institutions.

Since 1937, when the late Dr. Abraham A. Low developed the self-help technique, Michigan has played a leading role in the work. Mrs. Treasure Rice, of Brighton, who has spearheaded Recovery, Inc. in our State, reports that 1,200 persons in 90 groups are meeting weekly in Michigan alone. Activity is well advanced throughout the rest of the Nation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD articles which have appeared in three great Michigan dailies—the Detroit News, the Detroit Times, and the Detroit Free Press—about the work of Recovery, Inc.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Detroit Times of February 10, 1957]

UNITED STATES STUDYING SELF-HELP PLAN FOR NERVOUS PATIENTS

Senator POTTER announced here today that a study of Recovery, Inc., a self-help system for nervous and former mental patients, had been started on a national basis.

He said the chief purpose of the study was to determine whether the methods of Recovery, Inc., were suitable for use in mental hospitals.

POTTER directed the Institute of Mental Health to make the study. This division of United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has contracted with the Joint Committee on Mental Illness and Health to do the research. The joint committee, with headquarters at Cambridge, Mass., is a national private organization.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE

POTTER, a member of the Mental Health Appropriation Subcommittee, said the success of Recovery, Inc., system among patients outside the hospitals was sufficient to warrant an investigation of its possibilities for use in such institutions. He said:

"I am impressed with the potential of Recovery, Inc., as a means of helping solve the problem of mental illness, one of the most devastating, expensive ailments of our times. I have seen Recovery in action and have talked with many people who have been helped.

"At a national meeting, I saw hundreds of former nervous and mental patients who, after being helped by Recovery, are now dedicating their lives to helping their less fortunate fellow human beings who might be in institutions at public expense for such assistance.

NO FUND APPEAL

"This national volunteer organization, operating without any public financing or appeals for funds, has demonstrated its worth by rehabilitating thousands of persons who can be used as case histories."

Recovery, Inc., was organized in 1937 by a small group of patients of the late Dr. Abraham A. Low, M. D., prominent Chicago psychiatrist, State alienist, and University of Illinois educator, who developed the recovery techniques to prevent chronic psychoneurotic disorders and to prevent relapse and possible recommitment of former mental patients.

When they join Recovery, nervous and former mental patients are in the grip of a wide variety of nervous symptoms and fears resulting from tenseness.

[From the Detroit Free Press of February 10, 1957]

FOR USE IN MENTAL HOSPITALS—UNITED STATES STUDIES RECOVERY, INC.

Can Recovery, Inc., the self-help system that has proved so effective in Michigan for nervous and former mental patients, benefit those still in mental hospitals?

Senator POTTER (Republican, of Michigan), a member of the Mental Health Appropriations Subcommittee, will seek to find out through a national study, he announced Saturday.

A contract for the research has been made with the Joint Committee on Mental Illness and Health, Cambridge, Mass., a private organization directed by Dr. Jack R. Ewalt.

The actual project, however, will come under supervision of Dr. Robert Felix, head of the Institute of Mental Health, a division of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

"I am impressed with the potential of Recovery, Inc., as a means of helping solve the problem of mental illness, one of the most devastating, expensive ailments of our times," Senator POTTER said.

"I have seen Recovery in action and have talked with many persons who have been helped.

"At a national meeting I saw hundreds of former nervous and mental patients who, after being helped by Recovery, are now dedicating their lives to helping their less fortunate human beings who might be in institutions at public expense but for such assistance."

Senator POTTER stressed that "the opportunity Recovery offers may be too important to be ignored without thorough investigation.

"This national volunteer organization, operating without any public financing or appeals for funds, has demonstrated its worth by rehabilitating thousands of persons," he said.

He expressed the belief the principle can be applied on a broader base which would lead to a substantial reduction of mental-care expense.

Michigan has played a leading role in the history of Recovery, Inc. At present, there are more than 1,200 persons receiving help in 90 groups which meet each week in 15 Michigan cities.

The national organization was founded in 1937 by the late Dr. Abraham A. Low, M. D., Chicago psychiatrist, State alienist, and University of Illinois educator.

He developed the self-help technique to prevent chronic psychoneurotic disorders and to prevent relapse and possible recommitment of former mental patients.

Ten persons were meeting regularly in the Brighton home of Mrs. Theasure Rice in 1953 when the Free Press first reported the Michigan movement. After several articles in the Free Press Sunday magazine, hundreds successfully sought help.

Mrs. Rice, who had used Recovery, Inc., to help emerge from behind her own fears and anxieties, since has guided the steady expansion of the organization throughout the State.

Nervous and mental patients, when they join Recovery, Inc., are in the grip of a wide variety of nervous symptoms and fears resulting from tenseness.

Particularly distressing are the terrifying panics and depressions, fear of hamning oneself or others, fear of physical collapse or of losing one's mind, fear of being alone or of being with people.

Physical symptoms include dizziness, heart palpitations, tremors, feeling of unreality, nausea, diarrhea, constipation, sweats, throat "locking," sleeplessness and fatigue, headache, and miscellaneous aches and pains.

The Recovery, Inc., technique is to have a physician check for physical illness.

If none is found the person is shown how to control nervous tension through the realization that other persons face the same challenge.

Mrs. Rice, who is State chairman, has pointed out that there is no quick method to relieve tension but through application of Recovery, Inc., principles in meeting with others who have the same problem, normal living is attainable.

Recovery, Inc., groups are functioning in 23 of the 48 States.

[From the Detroit News]

POTTER LAUDS RECOVERY, INC.—STUDY SELF-HELP SYSTEM FOR EX-MENTAL PATIENTS

A national research organization has begun a study of Recovery, Inc., self-help system for nervous persons and former mental patients, Senator POTTER announced here Saturday.

He said the chief purpose of the study is to determine whether Recovery methods, highly successful among the general population, are suitable for use in mental hospitals.

Recovery, Inc., which is to nervous and former mental patients what Alcoholics Anonymous is to persons with drinking problems, has organized groups in 23 States, but is strongest in Michigan under the leader-

ship of Mrs. Treasure Rice, of Brighton, the Senator said.

POTTER, a member of the Mental Health Appropriations Subcommittee, said the Institute of Mental Health (IMH), a division of the Department of Health, Welfare, and Education, was directed to make the study.

The IMH, headed by Dr. Robert Felix, contracted with the Joint Committee on Mental Illness and Health to do the research. The joint committee is a national private organization with headquarters at Cambridge, Mass. Its director is Dr. Jack R. Ewalt.

In Michigan, Recovery is giving help to more than 1,200 persons in 15 cities. More than a score of such groups meet in Detroit.

Recovery referrals are made by family doctors, psychiatrists and clergymen. One woman arrived at a session carrying a prescription written by her doctor. It said: "Attend at least one Recovery meeting every week."

Recovery, Inc., operates with a small budget. Nominal dues ($3 a year) are accepted but not required. Inquiries can be sent to Recovery, Inc., Brighton, Mich.

Service of Rev. Rew Walz, Pastor of First Presbyterian Church of Rapid City, S. Dak.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Sunday, May 12, issue of the Rapid City Journal of Rapid City, S. Dak.

The editorial which I am asking to have extended in the RECORD calls attention to the 30 years which the Reverend Rew Walz has served his God and his flock as a minister of the Presbyterian church.

Now the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Rapid City, S. Dak., Reverend Walz has been an inspiring and guiding influence in not only the affairs of his congregation but also the affairs of his community.

When he answered the call to his church in Rapid City in 1927, there were only 56 members of his little flock, and it must surely be a source of personal satisfaction to the Reverend Walz to have seen that number grow to over 2,500. His work has truly been the work of God.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIRTY YEARS OF SERVICE

Today one of the finest Christian gentlemen of any city or of any era marks his 30th year as a pastor in Rapid City. He is Rev. Rew Walz, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church.

Reverend Walz' years of service extend far beyond his congregation. He is an amazing man, a living example of Christ's teachings, a man whose boundless energy is matched only by his understanding of human beings and his devotion to them.

For more than 20 years, Reverend Walz has been in charge of distributing Christmas baskets to the needy of Rapid City. His generosity is infectious, the warmth of his heart spreads readily into the hearts of others. As the head of Christmas giving, Reverend Walz' work has been outstanding.

The Presbyterian pastor is a builder. When he came to Rapid City in 1927, there were only 56 members of his church. Today his congregation exceeds 2,500. The First Presbyterian Church has the largest membership of any Protestant church in Rapid City and is the largest in the South Dakota Synod.

In 1952 the splendid new Presbyterian Church opened its doors. Plans are completed for additional construction to accommodate the increasing numbers who worship in Reverend Walz' church.

During his service as pastor, Reverend Walz has united thousands of couples in matrimony. His visits to the sick, the troubled, and the bereaved are countless but always comforting.

More than 800 people sought his counsel last year for assistance in solving their problems.

Reverend Walz has been actively interested in community progress and has served on many committees for the betterment of Rapid City and the Black Hills.

One of his pet projects has been the Presbyterian camp, which he started with a humble structure 30 years ago. It expanded during the years and was recently moved from its location near Silver City—because of Pactola Dam—to a site near Big Bend in Rapid Canyon. The camp serves the young people of western South Dakota and Nebraska. This summer 4 conferences—each lasting 1 week—have been scheduled. Each conference attracts 100 people for religious meditation and recreation.

Reverend Walz is a trustee of both Yankton College and Huron College. He is past president of the Rapid City Lions Club, was dad of the local DeMolay.

Reverend Walz for many years was in charge of Reformation Sunday observances, bringing men of national repute to Rapid City to address these meetings.

A devoted and able assistant during all these years has been Mrs. Walz.

The people of the community join with the Presbyterians today in congratulating Reverend Walz for his many accomplishments and services and wish him many more years of achievement and helpfulness.

William L. McKnight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the St. Paul Sunday Pioneer Press of May 12, 1957, which pays tribute to one of Minnesota's outstanding businessmen, William L. McKnight.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILLIAM L. MCKNIGHT, REALIST—50 YEARS AS PART OF MINNESOTA MINING & MANUFACTURING CO.

(By Carl Hennemann)

Multimillionaire William L. McKnight, a leading American industrialist who still likes hamburger steak better than any other dish, will complete 50 years of work with Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. Monday.

And if you ask anybody in the big 3M office building about the company's board chairman, they will say that the hamburger steak is a symbol of how intelligent and realistic Mr. McKnight is, and that they hope he'll be around another 50 years.

At 69 he has enough dark hair to pass for 10 years fewer, works constantly, steps the progress of the company with his thinking and ideas, looks lean and healthy, and feels so good he has to remember to take his annual physical.

"He is an extreme realist," an employee said. "What is, is."

"You can't glamorize McKnight," said another and added: "W. L. McKnight—his first name is work and he has given 101 percent of his time to the company."

"McKnight has given his entire life to the company and has never lived or worked for anything else," he went on. "He is perfectly satisfied to work and do virtually nothing else."

Veteran employees say they never knew of his firing anyone because of a mistake which stemmed from hard work. They say Mr. McKnight never lost his temper, or was loudly or severely critical of anyone in public.

Of his even disposition, one employee says: "McKnight may have blown his top somewhere else, but we never heard him do it."

This is the man who gave to Minnesota one of its most profitable business institutions. 3M in 1956 sold less than 3 percent of its product in this State, or about $10 million worth. In contrast, it spent $65 million for goods and services and $42 on its payrolls within the State, a total of $107 million. Its Minnesota payroll is 8,125 of its national total, 18,800.

You decide to visit Mr. McKnight. He is down at the end of a long corridor, guarded by only one secretary. His white light is on, meaning that he knows you're coming and you're to step right in.

You hardly notice anything else in the board chairman's office except Mr. McKnight. It's easy to decide why. The office is one of least imposing in the building. Furnishings are comfortable and ordinary. The carpet is, perhaps, even a little threadbare. Mr. McKnight is so pleasantly at home and relaxed that you take to him. He is pleased to see you in a genuine sort of way and you forget all about his millions and power and inventiveness while you talk about hamburger steak, mashed potatoes, corn on the cob, and why he never bets more than $2 on a horse when he visits Florida. He tells you he likes to play gin rummy and seldom wins, but employees say this is a white lie.

You forget to ask him about his homes at 1855 Summit, another on a 5-acre tract at Dellwood, and still another near Miami Beach.

"Yes, I'm a light eater," he says, explaining why he's in good physical shape. "I don't play golf, not since 1936, when I had sacroiliac trouble. It bothered me until 1940. Then I had a bad fracture of my right leg. I had a cast that went from my neck to my knees. When the cast came off, my sacroiliac trouble was gone. The doctor thought the cast had taken care of it. He advised me to play safe, however, and not to play golf."

He credits some of his health to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph McKnight, former South Dakota farmers, later residents of Brookings. He brought them to St. Paul in 1930. His father lived to be 84 and his mother 76.

I'm of Scotch descent," he explained. "I spell 'McNight' the Irish way, but years ago it was spelled 'MacKnight,' which is the Scotch way."

He talked about "my stock in the 3M company, which is most of my wealth, and now split up among my family."

"From 1911 to 1912, I bought as much 3M stock as I could get at prices I could afford to pay," he explained. "These early purchases I bought from other stockholders when I could, paying 25 to 50 cents a share. The company had paid no dividends and was not making money."

In 1916 the board of directors voted Mr. McKnight a stock bonus of 5,000 shares. This was to make up for his low salary as sales manager and general manager from 1911 to 1916.

(Those 5,000 shares are 320,000 shares now, due to stock splits, and are worth between 20 million and 25 million dollars at today's market price—the McKnight holdings are estimated at considerably over $100 million altogether.)

While Mr. McKnight talks, you think: "He can't ever lose that kind of money at one-fourth cent a point at gin rummy and a 25-cent limit on side bets." He plays gin rummy under those limitations.

Later, walking back down the corridor, you wonder if a bookkeeper has ever been such good company as Mr. McKnight.

For that is what 3M's board chairman set out to be—a good bookkeeper.

He was born on a White, S. Dak., farm and didn't like farm work. He arrived in Duluth in 1906, a shy, slender lad, and enrolled in a business college. He was assured free room and board with relatives, but needed $65 for tuition. He applied to the recently opened 3M sandpaper plant for a job, but 3M wasn't hiring. Returning to White, he borrowed a team of horses from his father, raised $280 hauling water, and early in 1907 entered Duluth Business University, aged 19.

He was a good student, skipping pool rooms to practice penmanship and business correspondence. After the first 5 months of a 6-month course, he was recommended to 3M as a clerical worker. He became "rattled" while applying and made a poor impression. While waiting for 3M to decide, he snapped at a chance to take a job in Michigan with Oliver Mining Co. Then he had to turn down that job to go home because his mother was seriously ill.

He was ready to go when a telegram announced his mother was better. He returned to school. The 3M plant then called him. On May 13, 1907, he became assistant bookkeeper at $11.55 a week.

3M had existed 5 years with disappointments and failures. North Shore mineral deposits, wanted for grinding wheels and sandpaper, turned out to be worthless.

Continued heavy support of L. P. Ordway, vice president and general manager of Crane & Ordway, St. Paul, helped. Mr. Ordway had become a major stockholder in 1905. He poured a quarter of a million dollars into the company before 3M got on its feet. A son, John G. Ordway, has been a company director since 1918.

(The quarter of a million dollars was given for notes, and the notes paid off. Mr. Ordway did not take stock for the loan).

Young McKnight, the bookkeeper, rose rapidly. In 1909 he became 3M's first cost accountant. Then he was made office manager in Chicago. In 1911, the directors made him sales manager. He was alert, able to get to the core of a problem quickly, also dependable and loyal.

Sales Manager McKnight had never sold anything in his life. He revolutionized the company's selling techniques. He demanded of his plant uniformly high quality goods. He urged a general manager be set up to coordinate production and sales. In 1914, Mr. McKnight became the general manager, and in 1915, in addition, was made first vice president, continuing in this dual capacity until 1929, when he succeeded Edgar Ober as president.

It was from 1915 to 1929 that policies were shaped which slowly propelled 3M to a top money maker.

A quality crisis almost wiped out the company's gains during World War I. It had built prestige since 1910, when it moved to St. Paul, and that seemed lost.

The problem was traced to raw materials. Comprehensive tests ordered by Mr. McKnight initiated future tests of all raw materials at all stages of production, as well as the finished goods.

The general manager also inaugurated the laboratory system for the company, which was a foundation for its great success today—it seemed quite extravagant to allot $500 in those days for laboratory work.

(This year 3M's laboratory budget is $15 million.)

The laboratory helped impress 3M employees with the importance of consistent high quality. Products improved steadily.

About the same time as the quality crisis, 3M became involved in a price war of the sandpaper industry. Mr. McKnight made an equally important decision for 3M.

He urged the company to establish a diversity of products. This meant a diversity of competitors, but Mr. McKnight decided 3M would not find itself in a trade war with all competitors at the same time.

He also decided that quality had to be so high that customers would gladly pay for 3M goods, so the firm would not have to meet any competitor's lowest selling price.

With this policy, 3M had waterproof sandpaper on the market by 1920. This brought profits and prestige. Mr. McKnight was even more impressed with the value of product research and development.

He also became patent conscious because the results of research and development were not worth the investment if not protected.

Mr. McKnight's slogan by 1924 was "uninhibited research directed toward uninhabited markets." The first 3M research laboratory was formed that year. It produced pressure-sensitive tape. The tape was developed with great difficulty, but the company president supported the research when the project would have been abandoned.

Masking tape, the result, became the forerunner of more than 300 varieties of Scotch brand pressure-sensitive tapes now produced. It was the first real step toward the diversification Mr. McKnight wanted years before.

By the late 1920's 3M was a research-minded company. It was dedicated to a policy in which a substantial share of 3M earnings were used to develop products offering patent protection and profits commensurate with the investment required to develop them. The company emphasized quality and performance, not price. Diversification was limited only to 3M's ability to develop new products which would meet these requirements. The depression checked the concern's onward surge only temporarily.

Under Mr. McKnight's basic policies, 3M kept its product list growing. Sales climbed. Common stock increased 5 times in less than 5 years, while other firms were trying to keep their heads above water.

Sales rose from $4 million in 1932 to $21 million in 1940; $75 million in 1946; $170 million in 1951; and to $330 million last year.

Over the years, Mr. McKnight always insisted that diligence, ability, and loyalty to the company be rewarded. 3M is one of the few American firms which instituted unemployment compensation early in the depression. Mr. McKnight, never a table-pounding executive, is always a sympathetic listener to employees with problems. But often he has cut through violent arguments to get matters settled on a friendly basis.

The board chairman has a reputation for delegating authority and responsibility. This development in World War II when the concern had to choose between centralized management in St. Paul, or give authority to heads of each of 3M's operating divisions.

Mr. McKnight still spends about 9 months of each year in St. Paul—day to day operations are left strictly in the hands of the president and other officers. On a typical summer week end he will take a full brief case and scratch pad to his Dellwood home and appear Monday morning at his office for a full week of conferences and meetings.

(His Dellwood activities also include his corn patch—the gardener plants four separate crops of sweet corn to make sure there is always fresh corn on the cob for Mr. McKnight, who wants it from June through September.)

The board chairman keeps in touch with many veteran employees in the company. Not all of them collected 3M stock years ago the way Mr. McKnight did. The company, however, is believed to have more millionaires or near-millionaires on its payroll, per capita, than any other publicly held company. Many of these rich people continue to work at their jobs as secretaries, foremen, and in other capacities.

Having lived for his company, Mr. McKnight did not develop serious hobbies. His gin rummy game, even with the low stakes, helps quiet moments.

Sometimes he visits racetracks in Florida but he usually goes to the $2 window. A $10 bet is the limit. He admits he has to develop systems in playing the horses but none of them worked.

The 50-foot McKnight Florida yacht is sometimes used by its owner but he said he fishes because "I don't know what else to do down there—I would rather work." He once caught a 103-pound marlin, however, and his fishing enthusiasm then reached a point to where the marlin was mounted in the den of the Florida house.

He still travels a good deal but most of it is done for business reasons. It is not his idea of a pleasant pastime. In his early 3M days he spent a third of his time in railroad sleepers, he said.

And as to those four crops of sweet corn every year, he says he "goes out once a week and looks at it." The gardner, he intimated, knows how to grow fine sweet corn, and 3M's chairman of the board is willing to let him operate undisturbed.

His most pleasant evenings include his favorite dinner, broiled hamburger, mashed potatoes, corn on the cob, and ice cream. After the meal he and Mrs. McKnight may head for a neighborhood movie or visit their daughter, Virginia, their only child, Mrs. McKnight was Maude Gage before she was married to Mr. McKnight. He said she sold music in the Dyer Music Store as a girl. "She must have liked her job because she still plays the piano and becomes completely entranced by good music," he said.

James Binger is the McKnight son-in-law. He is a vice president of the Minneapolis-Honeywell Co. There are 3 Binger grandchildren—Judith, 10; Cynthia, 14; and James 15. James is one of his grandfather's favorite gin-rummy players and has his grandfather's nickname, "Mac."

Mr. and Mrs. McKnight have a fondness for each other's company. They go to occasional parties. The 3M board chairman is pleasant and congenial with everybody, but too reserved to be the life of any party.

On an average evening, Mr. McKnight will relax at home (whatever home he happens to be in) with a stack of newspapers and magazines. He can relax even more with company reports, especially those 3M reports which annually show sales skyrocketing. He enjoys television, especially prize fights and baseball. And he is ordinarily in bed as early as 10 p. m., rising comparably early.

The Agricultural Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, one of the great unsolved problems today is the problem of agriculture. How it is to be solved is a question on which thoughtful men may disagree, but those who study the problem fully realize that we have not yet found the final, positive answer.

In an attempt to set out the plaguing problems that beset our farmers, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson recently sent Members of Congress an analysis of the legislative efforts and of various programs initiated to help agriculture. I believe that Members of Congress will be interested in the comments contained in an editorial in the Sunday Star, which is printed here in Washington, D. C., under date of May 12. This editorial praises the analysis and the forthrightness of Secretary Benson who has asked for a fresh beginning in finding a solution to the problems of agriculture. I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN APPEAL TO REASON

Secretary of Agriculture Benson has introduced a refreshing note of frankness into political discussion of the farm problem. In his lengthy letter and supplementary statement to Chairman ELLENDER of the Senate Agriculture Committee the Secretary says, in substance, that a quarter of a century of experimenting with various legislative panaceas—most of them directed at creating scarcities—actually has failed to produce a practical or normal solution. He does not attempt to place the blame upon either political party. He does not advocate abandoning Government aid, or the legislative efforts by which some solution may be found. But he does suggest that this is a good time "to get the problem out in the open, to have a full discussion of it"—in effect, to take a fresh look and perhaps make a fresh start. He offers, for himself and other administration officials, to join with congressional leaders in such discussion. And he says frankly that he has "no doctrinaire solution" of his own.

As a starting point, however, Mr. Benson states some evident and challenging truths. Here are three of them:

1. Controls are not effective in reducing overall agricultural production.

2. Agricultural products are likely to continue to be abundant. Under such conditions they cannot be successfully priced as if they were scarce.

3. The present legal formulas, Government acreage allotments and price supports are proving obsolete. Perhaps more than on any other point Mr. Benson makes clear his personal antipathy for the philosophy of seeking solution through scarcity, and he comments as follows:

"We are in the midst of great scientific changes. Agriculture is able to produce abundantly, and appears amply capable of meeting our needs * * * as far into the future as we can see with confidence. No production controls acceptable to American farmers appear capable of choking off this abundant flow. Since we apparently cannot legislate scarcity, we must learn how to live with abundance. If any product is abundant, it cannot long be priced as if it were scarce. If farm products are abundant, the need and the challenge is to build markets so that this abundance can be used. We cannot build markets by pricing ourselves out of them."

Obviously, there is no easy answer to what has been a national dilemma for most of the past generation. But if there is an answer at all the best chance of finding it appears to lie in some such fresh beginning as Mr. Benson is proposing, and some acceptance of the realities he mentions.

Post Office Department Salary Scale

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an effective editorial from the Coos Bay (Oreg.) Times of May 2, 1957, entitled "Post Office Men Need Their Raise."

This editorial, written by Forest W. Amsden, managing editor of the Coos Bay Times, emphasizes the injustice presently being done to the loyal and worthy employees of our Post Office Department by the current salary scale, which is so far behind the cost of living in this country.

I regard this cogent presentation by the Coos Bay Times as particularly pertinent today, when we are on the eve of commencement of hearings by our Federal Employees Compensation Subcommittee, which are now scheduled to start on May 20. I have the honor to be chairman of this subcommittee. It is my firm opinion that, unless the Government has the discipline and methods of effectively controlling inflation, we cannot expect further sacrifice to be made by the families of the men and women employed by the Federal Government.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POST OFFICE MEN NEED THEIR RAISE

Tied up in the United States House Civil Service and Post Office Committee is a bill which would raise the dismally low wages you and I pay our mail carriers and clerks.

It's tied up in the committee, headed by Democrat TOM MURRAY, of Tennessee, and may never see light. Proponents of the measure fear that congressional anger with Postmaster General Summerfield over the lambasting he gave Congress because he ran out of money to run his Department, and the current economy-mindedness which is sweeping the Nation, will kill the bill.

These should not be allowed to kill wage hikes for our postal clerks and carriers.

Right now we are expecting our postal clerks and carriers to start for a pay of $3,660 a year. After 7 years service, we are paying them the princely sum of $4,410 a year.

Businesses cannot now find high-school girls in some areas of the Nation to work for $75 a week. But yet we expect mail clerks and carriers to support a family on as little as $70 a week. The Civil Service Commission has had to authorize some post offices to hire youngsters under 17-years of age as substitutes because adults cannot afford to work for the pittance we pay.

Several farsighted Senators and Representatives, including RICHARD NEUBERGER, of Oregon, decided this year to do something about it, introducing identical bills in the House and Senate to provide raises. The proposal is to raise starting pay to $5,500 a year with a $6,100 top after 4 years experience.

This reform is badly needed and certainly ns not extravagent. The University of California' Heller committee recently found that a family of four needs a minimum income of $5,798 in order to be buying its own home. It needs an income of $5,460 to be renting. The breadwinner in a family of four must make $105 a week in order to provide his loved ones with a decent life, the committee found in its studies of west coast conditions.

The pay bill is strongly backed by both Senators NEUBERGER and MORSE and Representatives PORTER, GREEN, and ULLMAN from Oregon. They are to be commended for their stand.

It is to be hoped that Congress' understandable pique with Mr. Summerfield's attitude will not deny a living wage to our postmen.—F. W. A.

The American West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, as the Senate knows by this time, there has been published in the latest issue of Harper's magazine a lead article written by Walter Prescott Webb, a noted Texas historian. The title of the article is "The American West, Perpetual Mirage."

In the Billings Gazette, of Billings, Mont., under date of May 12, 1957, there appears an editorial written by the chief editorial writer of that paper, the Honorable Tom Stout, a former colleague of ours in the House of Representatives, which I think is worthy of consideration of Members of the Senate from both the East and the West.

Tom Stout has lived in Montana and the West in excess of 55 years, so I think he knows a good deal about us, and whereof he speaks.

I should like to call attention to a portion of the last paragraph of Tom Stout's editorial, which reads as follows:

We have no quarrel with the known facts and figures the writer presents, nor are we angered or discouraged by his downgrading of our homelands. But we know that one has to live here for more than just a few months or years to sense something of the awe that we older residents experience as we have become accustomed to gaze out over the wide expanse of plain that stretches out and out until the far horizon comes down to meet it; of the intimate friendliness of majestic mountains; of the music of rushing streams flowing out of foothills down through gemlike valleys. The occasional losses and hardships of drought years seem to bring us all together in a spirit of greater understanding and comradeship.

I ask unanimous consent that the entire editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed n the RECORD, as follows:

IS IT WORTH KEEPING?

The latest issue of Harper's magazine contains a lead article by Walter Prescott Webb, well known historian, entitled: "The American West, Perpetual Mirage." The "mirage" to which the title of the story refers is what the writer designates as the "American Desert." The "desert," as outlined on a map accompanying the article, comprises the States of Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico, and portions of North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and California.

There are 8 States wholly within the desert area, as set forth by the writer, and 7 "rim" States that are in part or almost wholly influenced by unfavorable conditions in the desert 8. The writer compares this region, comprising one-half the total area of the entire country, with the other half, east and west. The comparisons, dealing with density of population, agricultural production, industrial development, financial resources, leadership, land ownership, and historical backgrounds, are all to the disadvantage of these Western, or so-called desert, States.

This disparity is attributed correctly to the one vital deficiency from which the less fortunate States, in the opinion of the author, suffer, the lack of a dependable supply of moisture. The average annual precipitation of the "desert," or semiarid States is 12 inches; of the eastern "rim" States 24.20 inches, and of the western "rim" States, 26.48 inches. The amount of average precipitation along the Pacific coast in the west and east of the eastern rim areas is, of course, still greater.

The existence of what was set forth on the school maps up to 1835 as the Great American Desert, but later, and up to the present, referred to as the Great Plains area, was well known from the days of the Spanish conquest of the far western country in the 16th century up to the time of the Civil War. Before that fraternal conflict, Daniel Webster and Jefferson Davis spoke of the region as the Great American Desert and Webster opposed any effort to open up that vast hinterland for settlement or attempted development.

Another writer described the migration of millions of people from the humid regions to this new land in the following words: "Following times of occasional rainy seasons, the line of social advance rose and fell with rain and drought, like a mighty tide beating against the wall of the Rockies. And every such wave left behind a mass of human wreckage in the shape of broken fortunes, deserted farms and ruined homes."

This is the picture painted, as painted by the author of Perpetual Mirage. Many of the facts presented will not be questioned even by the most loyal of the several million residents of this Great Plains region. Some of his other statements will and can be disputed. In truth, there is in addition to this decidedly derogatory and depressing story of this extensive region, another story filled with the deeds of great numbers of courageous men and women, of hardships endured and overcome, of victories snatched from the jaws of defeat, of devotion to home and country exemplified by thousands of incidents in the winning of the West and on the Nation's battlefields fought in every section of the globe.

It is entirely true that the settlement of this Great Plains region, stretching from western Kansas to and beyond the Rocky Mountains, has been accompanied by unnumbered human tragedies. The writer who has lived here for more than 55 years has witnessed the scenes of hundreds of these tragedies—deserted homestead shacks scattered throughout the plains of eastern Montana. These deserted sod and rude frame shacks were largely the dismal reminders of the misfortunes suffered by the first and, ofttimes, second, crop of homesteaders. But, after them came the third invasion the great majority of whose members remained to become permanent, successful settlers.

This story is not greatly different from that which tells of the manner in which practically the whole of the rest of America was settled—hardships, failures, retreats, and advances as the call came to the aspiring and adventurous to push out across prairie and rushing rivers and through dense forest and over wide-stretched plain and mighty mountains until the central portion of a continent was explored, inhabited and made productive by the white man.

Space will not permit a complete answer to all the mistaken impressions of this Great Plains, or great American desert, if he prefers, of central-western America, given by the story. We have no quarrel with the known facts and figures the writer presents, nor are we angered or discouraged by his downgrading of our homelands. But we know that one has to live here for more than just a few months or years to sense something of the awe that we older residents experience as we have become accustomed to gaze out over the wide expanse of plain that stretches out and out until the far horizon comes down to meet it; of the intimate friendliness of majestic mountains; of the music of rushing streams flowing out of foothills down through gemlike valleys. The occasional losses and hardships of drought years seem to bring us all together in a spirit of greater understanding and comradeship.

Retirement of Prof. Tom Barclay, of Stanford University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, there is a story that a rich King of the East once upon a time launched a search for the wisest man in his kingdom. Finally, his attendants brought before him an imposing looking individual.

"Oh, great King," the attendants said, "here is the wisest man in all your kingdom."

The wise man bowed low.

"But who is that—that person standing behind you?" the King asked.

"He," the wise man answered, "is my teacher."

Mr. President, Prof. Tom Barclay, of Stanford University's department of political science, will retire in June and become an emeritus member of the department. A legion of outstanding Americans today can proudly say with the wise man: "He is my teacher."

Thomas Swain Barclay is one of the great teachers of our times. For nearly 30 years he has been affiliated with the Stanford department of political science and has inspired generations of students to take an active and productive interest in politics. I am proud to say that I am one of them.

Professor Barclay's former students have served and are serving their Nation in the top echelons of Government; in executive, legislative, and judicial capacities. Some of them are, in turn, teachers of government in leading American colleges and universities.

Since the announced plans for Professor Barclay's retirement, he has received a tremendous volume of letters indicating the high esteem and admiration of his colleagues, former students, and acquaintances. I ask unanimous consent for permission to have a few excerpts from these wonderful letters, together with my remarks, inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whether this should be a letter of thanks or not, I don't know. For you it was who stimulated my interest in politics, and from that has come my periods of greatest happiness and greatest disappointment.

But, in all honesty, now that I am of middle age and can look back on it, it has been a richer, fuller, and far more enjoyable life because of the political attention and knowledge and background that began in your classroom so very many years ago.

As I get older I am returning to the old cliches: The greatest art is teaching.

I hope it gives you some satisfaction to know that every now and then in some harassing, disappointment-filled Government job some person, such as myself, thinks back on your classes, takes a hitch on himself, and starts out again, refreshed.

BILL ROGERS, Jr.,
Former Member of Congress.

To me you are one of the real reliables of the profession, a scholar, teacher, gentleman, and, above all, a fine and genuine person.

Prof. WILLIAM ANDERSON,
University of Minnesota, Department of Political Science.

I have the pleasure to know of the generous character of Prof. Tom Barclay as well as to be acquainted with his scholarly attainments. I speak advisedly from personal experiencee.

JOSEPH A. BEEK,
Secretary of the Senate, State of California; President, American Association of Legislative Officers.

Few men have consistently left so imposing a mark upon their students as * * * [Tom Barclay]. From the beginning * * * [he] has been a teachers' teacher in the best and honored sense of that phrase. When it was my pleasure to teach at Stanford one quarter in * * * [his] absence, I had this experience the very first day: I met a faculty member on campus who sought to identify me. I replied, "I'm taking Tom Barclay's place this quarter." His answer, which came quickly, was, "No one can take Tom's place."

HUGH A. BONE,
Professor of Political Science, University of Washington.

We always took from our association with you, both in and out of the classroom, that knowledge and insight which only mature reflection and devoted labor and research can provide.

In addition, there are those of your former students, among whom I count myself, who reaped the immeasurable benefits of a more personal relationship with you as a wise and trusted counselor and friend.

AVARD W. BRINTON,
Graduate Student in Political Science at Harvard.

Your scholarly contributions in the field of politics have been landmarks in our field of study for many years.

WINSTON W. CROUCH,
Chairman, Department of Political Science, UCLA.

I don't want to sound maudlin on this occasion, but you surely must know by this time that you are one of the best loved and most highly respected members of the political science profession in this country.

ROBERT W. CUSHMAN,
Professor, Department of Government, Cornell University.

I reflect, too, on your secure position among scholars. At Columbia you laid a broad load-bearing foundation. Throughout your teaching you have shown a fine disdain for all academic jerry-building. Your judgments are rigorous and discriminating, and so your word is accepted at no discount. In the history of American politics you are the master of what, I fear, is becoming a lost art. How much longer will there be anyone who could recognize an allusion to, say, the "sage of Kinderhook" or the "tall sycamore of the Wabash"?

CHARLES FAIRMAN,
Professor, Law School of Harvard University.

I want to join in this tribute to a warm friend and esteemed fellow political scientist.

GEORGE B. GALLOWAY.

You have * * * made a great contribution to our country. Hundreds of youngsters who sat at your feet are better citizens and better persons because of the things you taught them and the example you set for them.

PHIL GIBSON,
Chief Justice, Supreme Court of California.

After almost 15 years of service in the Federal Government, I have come increasingly to value the fundamental knowledge about the realities of American Government and politics which I gained as one of your students.

PHILLIP J. HALLA.

In a world that seems to have in it a distressingly large number of trimmers, your rugged integrity has earned for you a special place in the esteem of our profession. Few men manage to gain the same combination of respect and affection.

V. O. KEY, JR.,
Professor of Government, Harvard University.

During the many years of your inspirational and wholehearted service at Stanford, you have written a record which I am sure is unsurpassed in our country. The encouragement you have brought to the countless thousands must be a source of satisfaction and reward.

ERNEST W. MCFARLAND,
Governor of Arizona.

Tom, in my considered judgment, is one of the great teachers in Stanford history.

GEORGE OSBORNE,
Wm. Nelson Cromwell Professor of Law, Stanford Law School, Stanford University, California.

I have never had an opportunity to sit at his feet as a student but would have prized the opportunity to do so, in view of his legendary reputation as a teacher and retailer of political stories.

E. E. SCHATTSCHNEIDER,
The John E. Andrus Center of Public Affairs, Wesleyan University.

Professor Barclay is one of the most widely known, respected and beloved teachers of political science in the United States.

J. WALLACE STERLING,
President of Stanford University.

Steel and Trenton, N. J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, this year our Nation's steel industry is observing its centennial and, I am glad to be able to point out, the city of Trenton, N. J., has a special place in this occasion because steel and Trenton "have traveled hand in hand down a long corridor of time."

I include here, for the information of my colleagues, a most interesting résumé of this history made by the Trentonian, a leading newspaper of New Jersey, in a recent editorial:

STEEL AND TRENTON

This year our Nation's steel industry is making its centennial, and we are pleased to note that it is an observance in which the city of Trenton can share fully.

We don't say that only because of Trenton's proximity to the huge Fairless Works of United States Steel across the river, or because of the other steel plants which are located in or close to the city, although the fact that the Trenton area is an important modern steel center gives added luster to the centennial here.

More important, however, is that steel and Trenton have traveled hand in hand down a long corridor of time.

John O. Raum's History of Trenton, N. J., says "Stacy Potts built the steel works in 1776." The Resources Survey of Mercer County says that "Isaac Harrow started operating a plating and blade mill on Petty's Run (near the old barracks) in 1734. * * * Eventually the mill was sold to Benjamin Yard who operated what is said to have been the first steel mill in New Jersey."

John T. Cunningham's Made in New Jersey tells us that "the full admiration and envy of the Nation's iron and steel industry centered on the Trenton Iron Co., established in 1845 by Peter Cooper and Abram S. Hewitt. * * * Phillipsburg pig iron nourished the 58 furnaces and 6 rolling machines at Trenton to an annual production of 14,000 tons of rails and wire. A representative of the British Government called the Trenton Works 'the leading establishment in the United States.'"

A direct tie between steel in the Trenton of yesterday and today goes back to 1905, when American Steel & Wire, a subsidiary of United States Steel, acquired the Trenton Iron Co. plant.

According to Ross L. Leffler of United States Steel, the first open hearth furnace in the United States was built and operated in Trenton. It was in Trenton that the first Bessemer furnace in America was tested. The first three-high universal rolling mill, forerunner of the modern Fairless Works, was built and operated in Trenton. The first structural steel rolled in the Nation was produced in Trenton and the first heavy rails for American railroads came from Trenton mills.

And the bridge building made possible by John A. Roebling is among the epics of American history.

Today the Nation calls for more and more steel, and on January 1 of this year production stood at a record 133,500,000 tons. As the mammoth industry celebrates 100 years of the steel age, it can look back with gratitude on the part that Trenton played in launching it.

Publicity for the "Butcher of the Caribbean"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement which I read before a press conference in Washington, D. C., this week:

Avoiding bad publicity in the United States has been the cardinal rule of Dictator Trujillo's foreign policy. I believe he deserves publicity commensurate with his activities, so I am glad to see so many distinguished journalists on hand here today and I am glad Coronet magazine published my article, The Butcher of the Caribbean, in its current issue.

I also very much appreciate the interest shown by my colleague, GEORGE LONG, of Louisiana. Although we are now far apart in our opinions about Trujillo, I feel Mr. LONG's interest may ultimately lead him to change his views once he has had an adequate opportunity to consider the facts.

In all our mail and personal interviews in connection with the Gerry Murphy case, no one has sought to excuse or defend Trujillo; no one, that is, except representatives of two anti-Communist organizations, self-proclaimed, in New York and New Orleans, and one New York editor, all of whom, we have good reason to believe, are subsidized by Trujillo.

On the other hand, it has been my experience that every expert on Trujillo, whether he is Herbert Matthews of the New York Times, a wire service reporter in Washington, or a researcher for the Library of Congress, is hotly anti-Trujillo.

Let me tell you the story of how I became involved. Gerry Murphy, 23-year-old pilot from my hometown, Eugene, Oreg., disappeared in the Dominican Republic December 3, last year. In cooperation with Senator MORSE's office we started an investigation. A State Department representative came to my office. He said, as later an FBI man said, that Gerry was mixed up in illegal activities and that an investigation was likely to cause his parents shame on top of their grief. I called his parents on the telephone and they asked me to go ahead. They had—and they have—faith in their boy and they wanted to know—and want to know—what happened to him.

After I read the Dominican explanation of Gerry's death I was convinced that it was intentionally false and that the Dominican Government itself was responsible for Gerry's disappearance. I expressed these opinions and set forth my supporting evidence in an hour's speech on the floor of the House of Representatives February 28. On March 12 I spoke along the same lines in New York. Shortly afterward the State Department sent a note to Trujillo's government stating that our investigation had proved the Dominican explanation false in three respects, the most important being that the alleged suicide note by Gerry's alleged killer was a forgery.

The current situation can be sketched under five headings:

1. Congressional investigation: Through Senator MORSE, who has been extremely helpful, I have asked the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to investigate the Gerry Murphy case and its implications for our foreign policy. I have about abandoned hope that this committee will find it possible to take on this task and within the next 2 weeks I shall make a similar request to the House Foreign Affairs Committee. If the policies which emboldened Trujillo to kidnap and probably kill Gerry Murphy are also identifying the United States with the oppressors in many South American countries, then it is high time for drastic changes.

2. Trust fund for investigation: Gerry's parents in Eugene, with whom I met during the Easter recess, are not using the $35,000 indemnity paid to them, supposedly by the De la Maza estate, but really, I am convinced, by Trujillo. They are considering whether it would help find Gerry if they devoted some of it toward the expense of a meeting of men like Ernest Gruening, Spruille Braden, Herbert Matthews, Norman Thomas, and others in Washington to consider possible courses of action to supplement the work being done by the FBI and State Department.

3. Action by the State Department: Except for their attitude at the outset, State Department officials have been cooperative and diligent in this matter. I have the highest esteem for Dick Rubottom, the Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, whose confirmation by the Senate is expected any day. I have been pressing the State Department ever since it sent the note to follow through with action such as withdrawing our Ambassador, William T. Pheiffer, a man I believe to have been overfriendly with the dictator, and to eject Arturo Espaillat, the Consul General in New York, as persona non grata. It happens that both these gentlemen very recently announced they were leaving their posts. I applaud their departures and believe my efforts may have helped to speed them on their way. However, the circumstances are ambiguous and I believe the United States should follow up its note with action which will clearly show our opinion of a nation that, to say the least, attempts to deceive us as to the circumstances of the disappearance of one of our ctizens within its borders.

I certainly protest the approval by the Department of State of this man De Moya's credentials as Ambassador to the United States from the Dominican Republic. In a vicious speech delivered before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco on April 5 of this year, De Moya referred to what he called "Operation Galindez" and "Operation Murphy" as Communist propaganda offensives. He implied that both myself and the United States Department of State are in the position of dupes of the Communist Party in the matter of the investigation into what happened to my constituent, Gerry Murphy.

For this unwarranted attack I expect from De Moya a retraction and an apology. I have already officially notified the proper officials of the Department of State that this is in my stand.

If this speech by De Moya is an indication of his diplomatic ability, then he is not qualified to present his credentials to the President of the United States.

4. No more financial aid: Our point 4 aid to Trujillo's well-heeled country has been amounting to about $250,000 a year for the last 4 years. Our military aid last year, according to the Washington Post, was about a million dollars. The actual figures are classified, mistakenly withheld, I believe, from American citizens who would be surprised to know the monetary value we have placed on this pipsqueak dictator and his terror-ridden administration. About 2 weeks ago Aidai Stevenson said that he thinks the most effective American exports to the underdeveloped parts of the world are not our military weapons and military pacts, but our economic methods, our technology, our ideas, and our ideals. My feeling is that we should drop all military and economic aid to the Dominican Republic and see what can be done about making our ideals available for their use.

5. Visits to Latin America: The wonderful mail I have had from most Latin American countries has convinced me that the cause of peace and freedom in the world can be furthered simply by affirmation of our basic beliefs. These letters, rich in praise, would embarrass me if I did not realize that they were a tribute to the kind of country we have, not to me personally. I hope to go to Puerto Rico early in June to reaffirm our belife in government by the consent of the governed and justice according to law. At that time I will make special reference to the Murphy-Galindez case and United States policy, which I believe does not accurately reflect the opinions of the American people about dictators such as Trujillo. In time I hope to visit other Latin American countries for the same purpose. The only promise I made in the campaign last fall was that I would spend at least one-third of my time working on the problems of war and peace. Certainly these endeavors are intimately entwined with America's necessary and crucial position as the most powerful nation in the world, the Nation to whom other nations should be able to look for moral leadership, the Nation whose ideals of government by the consent of the governed and justice according to law are on the side of the oppressed, not the oppressor.

I conclude by stating the two unanswered questions at the heart of the matter under discussion:

A. Where is Gerry Murphy?

B. Where is the foreign policy of the United States with respect to dictators like Rafael Trujillo, who dares to offer us intentionally false explanations of the disappearance of one of our citizens within his borders?

A Record Tax Payment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, an editorial in the Washington (Pa.) Reporter of May 14 is headed, "A Record Tax Payment." I ask unanimouse consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as it shows how much tax is taken from earnings.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Today almost everyone seems to be thinking about taxes—Federal, State, local. So a news item from California takes on a big significance.

A gas and electric company there has made final payments on its 1956–57 local property tax bills. These added up to more than $50 million—the largest payments of its kind ever made in the State. This same company's total taxes for 1956 reached a new high record of just under $126 million.

Finally, the item states that taxes continue as the company's largest single item of expense, absorbing 25.3 cents of each dollar of revenue received from all sources.

What is true of this California utility is true in every section of the country. The dollar figures very greatly, of course—but in each case utilities are among the biggest and most dependable taxpayers.

So here's the point. Think what would happen if the socializers had their way, and the power industry was taken over by Government on a tax-free, tax-subsidized basis. Then the taxes we all pay would rise again.

Judge Samuel Mellitz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial in tribute to Judge Samuel Mellitz.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUDGE SAMUEL MELLITZ

It seems that under the State regulations (or is it the constitution of Connecticut?) the Governor is obliged to make nominations during the session of the State legislature for any judicial appointments that are to come up during the biennium between the sitting legislature and its successor 2 years hence. Accordingly, taking cognizance of the statutory retirements in the several courts of the State, the common pleas, the superior court, and the supreme court of errors, Governor Ribicoff has made nominations to the legislature now in session, filling vacancies which will occur between now and the meeting of the general assembly in 1959.

One of these appointments concerns us of the Jewish community, especially in that the Governor has seen fit to elevate the Honorable Samuel Mellitz, now a distinguished and beloved judge of the Connecticut superior court, to the supreme court of errors, the date of such elevation to be May 6, 1958. This promotion has been approved by the State legislature.

We of the Jewish community of Connecticut are particularly delighted by this promotion, because Judge Mellitz, since his appointment to the bench by the late Governor Wilbur L. Cross, has become one of the great judges in Connecticut's history and one of the most honored, respected, and beloved members of our judicial system. We are especially delighted by reason of the fact that Judge Mellitz for all his professional distinction, is also a distinguished and deeply revered member of the Jewish community. A devout Jew and a well-informed one Jewishly, he has translated his religious ethics into everyday life and experience. He has borne himself with the dignity and the humility of a man of genuine and profound faith and has been not only an ornament of the courts but an ornament of his coreligionists.

We salute him upon this merited promotion not only with warmth but with affection. He will be the first Jew in the history of Connecticut to sit on the bench of the supreme court of errors, and we are delighted by the fact that it will be a Jew of the Jewishness and sincerity and character of Judge Mellitz who is to occupy this honored post. We wish for him many more years of distinguished service in health and with abundant happiness.

Remarks of Charles A. Halleck, Republican, of Indiana, at Dallas County GOP Fund-Raising Dinner, Dallas, Tex., May 9, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, It was my happy privilege to welcome our colleague, the gentleman from Indiana, CHARLES HALLECK, to the Fifth District of Texas, and to introduce him as our guest speaker at our annual fund-raising dinner in Dallas, May 9. As to be expected, he did an outstanding job. He recognizes and understands our struggle in Texas to establish what so many Americans take for granted—a two-party society. I am happy to be a part of that effort and to bring Mr. HALLECK's message to the attention of our colleagues—a statement that speaks for itself:

REMARKS OF CHARLES A. HALLECK, REPUBLICAN, OF INDIANA, AT DALLAS COUNTY GOP FUND-RAISING DINNER, DALLAS, TEX., MAY 9, 1957

Mr. Chairman, my good Republican friends and, if I might hope, some good Democrat friends, too—but at any rate, fellow Americans all of you, this is the third time this year it has been my pleasure to address a political meeting in the South.

To the extent of my time and energies, I will look forward to making many more in this continuing campaign to win the people of this vast region to the Republican cause—the cause of sound government.

I don't want to be accused of trying to curry favor with you, but I could mention, in passing, that your hopes and aspirations with respect to the Tidelands were understood by a Hoosier, even though I can't say the issue generates much interest among the folks along the banks of the Wabash.

By the same token, I was a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee which wrote the original Natural Gas Act, and I have been among those who thought that when Congress said the production and gathering of natural gas shouldn't be regulated by the Federal Government, that was precisely what we meant.

But I want to talk to you tonight about some broad political facts of life and why it seems to me the people of the South should be coming along with us in greater and gerater numbers.

And it is gratifying for me to be welcomed by such an enthusiastic audience because it proves that we are making progress.

But it has been slow going.

As one who has served in the Congress of the United States for more than 20 years, I know what it is to labor under the handicap of heavy political odds.

When I came to the House of Representatives in 1935, after a special election in my district, Republicans were outnumbered 3 to to 1 in the House of Representatives.

Like my good friend, your able Congressman Bruce Alger, I was the only Republican in my State's delegation—and that's a lonesome situation, believe me.

I always said I could hold a caucus in a phone booth.

At the height of the New Deal tide, Republican membership in the House slipped to 89 and we got stepped on—plenty.

There were times, through the years, when a lot of folks—and that includes me—wondered whether we would ever elect another Republican President or Republican majority in the Congress.

But we never gave up. And during those long, lean years, it was Republicans—by and large—who, standing together for principle, held a beachhead of constitutional government against the onslaught of radicals who were so determined to change this great system of ours.

But the chickens finally came home to roost for the opposition in 1952 and we did get a change.

The people of this Nation were wised up, fed up and burned up.

They were sick of war and threats of more wars.

They were frightened by mounting inflation that cheapened the dollar, robbed people of their savings, their pensions, and their annuities.

They were disgusted by repeated disclosures of security risks in sensitive Government jobs and they were shamed by evidence of scandal in high public places.

Small wonder the citizens of America turned to the Republican Party for new leadership, and elected a Republican President and a Republican Congress.

Now we are moving into the second term of a man I am confident will go down in history as one of America's greatest Chief Executives—Dwight D. Eisenhower.

When I placed his name in nomination at the convention at San Francisco, I described him as "the most widely beloved, the most universally respected, the most profoundly dedicated man of our times * * *" and I meant every word of it.

During the recent campaign, I predicted that he would be overwhelmingly reelected—and it was the safest prediction I ever made.

But we didn't win the Congress, and there has been a lot of soul searching going on ever since.

I was not optimistic about our chances—and I don't think anyone who looked at the situation with real objectivity could have failed to realize that we had an uphill battle on our hands.

Long years in power have entrenched the opposition in our biggest metropolitan centers.

The solid South, in spite of the President's great popularity in this region, and the gains we have made organizationwise, is still pretty solid.

Just before I came down here I received an analysis of the 1956 election returns for the 5th, 8th, 14th and 16th Districts of Texas. Had the folks who supported President Eisenhower given their support to the Republican candidate for Congress in each of these districts, Texas would be represented in the House by 4 Republican Members instead of just 1.

And as one who has served as House majority leader in two Republican Congresses—the 80th and the 83d—I know something of what it means to have control of the legislative branch of the Government.

A lot of my good friends have been writing to me lately about the budget—and from the tone of some of the letters, I am beginning to wonder whether they still are my good friends.

I've been pointing out in my answers to them—among other things—that the only 2 times in a generation that the people of this country did see substantial budget cuts and substantial tax reductions were during those 2 Republican Congresses.

But what bothers me, folks, is that on each occasion, in spite of magnificent records for economy we got beaten when election time rolled around. You begin to wonder what our citizens really do want.

I have heard it said—and I'm afraid it's pretty true—that the public's memory—and that includes yours and mine—is notoriously short.

If that's the case, then one of the things we must never overlook in our continuing battle for the cause of sound Government is the necessity to hammer at the mess we were in when President Eisenhower and a Republican Congress took over the responsibilities of our Federal operation.

In 1952, the people of this country had called on Republicans to deliver them from war, from inflation, from bureaucratic control and regimentation, from corruption, from radicalism and from a lot of other things, including downright incompetence in high places.

Let's not let anyone forget that, because much of the difficulty we find ourselves in today can be traced directly to the mismanagement, the miscalculations, yes, and the misconduct of people who had held positions of high public trust under succeeeding New Deal-Fair Deal regimes.

I must say I am nothing short of amazed at the audacity of the opposition in their bare-faced attempts to pin the blame on Republicans for what they, themselves, did to the country. Just who was in control of this operation anyhow during the years following our victory in World War II when we had our golden opportunity to achieve a just and lasting peace for the world?

Who let us get into the position where today we find it necessary to spend upward of $50 billion a year just to defend ourselves from the threat of aggression?

Who was it that saddled the American people with nearly $300 billion of public debt, a debt so big it takes $7.4 billion a year now just to keep up the interest payments?

Who was it that plastered on the public 14 of the 15 income tax increases we have had since 1913?

Just exactly who was in control of the country's financial system during the years when the value of your dollar and mine was cut almost in half by inflation?

Yes, and who was doing the hiring and firing in the Federal workshop when the Alger Hisses and the Harry Dexter Whites were exposed as traitors on the public payroll?

And what party was it, my good friends, that refused, year after year, to come to grips with the problem of failing farm prices and mounting surpluses?

I could go on and on, but you know the answers to these questions as well as I do.

The important thing is that we not let the American people forget.

And that we not let the opposition get away with charges that somehow, since we now have a Republican in the White House, we are to blame for the difficulties on the international front, for high taxes and for the continuing necessity for spending billions of dollars for defense.

We didn't create these problems, we inherited them from the New Dealers and the Fair Dealers.

But when a Republican President took office and Republicans took over control of the Congress, we rolled up our sleeves and went to work.

The record of cooperation between Dwight Eisenhower and the Republican 83d Congress is on the books, and you know it well.

We laid solid foundations for a magnificent program of peace, progress, and prosperity.

We junked controls, cut public spending by billions, gave the Nation the greatest tax-reduction program in history and hammered out significant and far-reaching social gains for the American people.

It took some doing, my good friends, but we got the Reds out of Government and the Government out of the red.

You can make your own analysis of why we didn't win the Congress in 1954 or 1956.

Obviously from the figures, a lot of people who should have been in our corner didn't appreciate the importance of backing a Republican President with a Republican Congress.

But we did win the Congress in 1946 and we did win it in 1952.

And we can win it again in 1958—and that's our last chance to give the President a Congress that will put this sound and far-sighted Republican program back in high gear.

Of course, I'm a little selfish in this. I'd like to be majority leader again—with stalwart Republicans like Bruce Alger on my team—Republicans who will stand up and be counted when the chips are down.

The alternative is a complete wrecking job by the opposition on the progress we have already made.

As one who bears a few scars of battle in the Washington arena, I must say I get a bit impatient with some of my very dear friends when they suggest to me that there doesn't seem to be much difference today between Republican and Democrat policies.

I begin to wonder what I have been beating my brains out for all this time.

We've got an administration now that believes the value of the dollar ought to be protected—that money ought to be worth something.

I well recall sitting in on a meeting once at which a new program of Government loans at fantastically low interest rates was being discussed.

To his credit, the late Jesse Jones, then serving as chairman of the RFC, was resisting the pressures to further cheapen money.

"Maybe," he said, "the time has come to find out whether money is really worth anything or not."

Well, the rubber money advocates are still with us, believe me, and anyone who thinks there's no difference in policies is due for a shock if these people get control of the Federal Government's monetary operations.

One of the pledges made by Republicans to the American people was that we would get the Government out of competition with business wherever possible.

During the Republican 83d Congress, we really went to town on that one. We sold a barge line that had been losing taxpayers' money for years. We got rid of synthetic rubber plants and took the Government out of more than 250 other activities that could be handled better and cheaper by private enterprise.

We had to fight every step of the way to get these jobs done.

And then what did the opposition do when they took over the Congress?

They forced through a law requiring Government departments to get approval from Democrat-controlled Appropriation Committees in the House and Senate before any activity could be dropped.

This roadblock has proved mighty effective, as you may imagine. In less than a year, nearly 70 actions requested by the Defense Department alone were vetoed by these Democrat-controlled committees.

And let me pay my respects to your Congressman again right here. Bruce Alger has been in the forefront of this battle as a cosponsor of legislation which would bar Government competition with private enterprise.

Or take public power.

Republicans support a policy based on the partnership principle as against Federal monopoly.

We have a conviction that projects can, and rightly should, be handled in a cooperative venture, with Federal, State, and local interests—public and private—participating.

We do not believe the Federal Treasury is fair game, or that the taxpayers of one region should be saddled with the cost of a project that benefits another region.

Here again, the Nation's taxpayers can thank Republicans for turning back a Democrat drive to foist the half-billion-dollar Hells Canyon project on the Federal Government.

You know, there should be such a thing in our national life as self-reliance. Texans know something about that. You've been having your troubles lately, but there is plenty of evidence of a determination on the part of the people of your great State to see this thing through on your own.

One of my many interests in this area, over the years, has been in the fine work of the board of fundamental education at Jarvis College at Hawkins.

Actually, the board for fundamental education grew into the challenging national program it has become today because it employs the principle of self-help, encouraging the underprivileged to work out a better, more rewarding way of life.

We can stand at lot more of that spirit over the country.

I need not tell you that atomic energy is going to play an increasingly important role in our way of life.

The Republican 83d Congress enacted a far-reaching administration measure designed to maintain America's leadership in the development of atomic power, especially for peacetime use.

But here again it was a battle every step of the way against forces determined to create a huge new Federal bureaucracy in the atomic-energy field. These people wanted no part of a program that would utilize the genius, initiative, and resourcefulness of private industry.

Now what has happened?

The whole vast program—so tremendously important to the Nation's future—is being jeopardized by refusal of a Democrat-controlled Congress to enact insurance legislation that would signal a go-ahead on a broad front.

We do win once in a while, even though we're in the minority. With the help of a few of the more conservative members on the other side of the aisle, we succeed in blocking the more radical proposals offered by the opposition from time to time.

Unfortunately, however, lacking the power that goes with committee chairmanships and the privilege of programing legislation, Republicans can't take positive action to put across a continuing, affirmative Republican program.

Next year, we have another chance to get a Republican team back on the field to work with President Eisenhower.

The alternative is a return to what we had—and I just wish some of the folks who complain because more hasn't been done would take the time to consider this:

Instead of continuing Federal deficits and mounting public debt, Republicans have balanced the budget as we said we would.

Instead of war we are at peace—and may I say, as one who has been privileged to sit in high councils down here—there have been times in the last 4 years when men of lesser stature than President Eisenhower and those around him might well have gotten us into war.

We have kept the peace, as we said we would.

We have checked inflation, and last, but by no means least, the Nation is prospering and progressing as never before.

If this isn't a welcome contrast to what we had under the Democrats—and what we would get again—then I am ready to quit fighting.

And if anyone thinks I'm just indulging in a little scare campaign, let him get a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Wednesday, January 30, and turn to page 1198.

There he will find remarks entitled, "Proposed Program for the Democrats in the House of Representatives in the 85th Congress."

Among other things this enlightening document—endorsed by at least 80 House Democrats—calls for:

Bigger Federal payrolls.

More Federal Housing.

Expanded Federal aid for health services—that's Democrat talk for socialized medicine.

More public works.

A bigger Federal atomic energy program.

Outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

And so on and on—a blueprint straight out of ADA headquarters.

And as long as I've mentioned the ADA, I understand your Congressman scored a zero on his voting record as far as they are concerned.

In my book, that's a perfect record.

But to get back to this blueprint business:

With all these grandiose schemes for spending more and more public money, these folks have the audacity to claim they are also for tax reductions.

Now honestly, I can't believe the American people are gullible enough to fall for that.

Look, folks, I've been around this operation for a long, long time.

I've been around long enough to know that there is an awful big difference between talk and action.

And when I hear some of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle talking the economy line, I'm reminded of the old fellow who joined the church at 92 and lived an exemplary life thereafter.

They're just a little late in being converted—and what's more, I'm a bit suspicious of their sincerity.

No. The plain truth is, folks, that had it not been for President Eisenhower and Republicans in the Congress, the Federal budget would be bigger today by billions; the national debt would be bigger today by billions and the country's tax bill would be bigger by billions.

And what's more, your dollar would have been worth considerably less.

But we've got to fight harder than we've ever fought before to keep the spendthrifts, the radicals, the do-gooders, the bureaucrat-minded, big-government crowd from once again capturing control of Washington.

And I know this:

We aren't going to keep them out by sitting on our hands, or by glaring at each other, or by wasting our time and energies arguing over what kind of hyphenated Republican we think the other fellow is.

Let's understand that we're all Americans living in a changing world.

Let's understand that Republican principles are as sound today as they were a hundred years ago, and that like the great old foundation of our Republic—the Constitution—our party principles will always be adaptable to the needs of the times.

Republicans in the Congress of the United States have been waging stalwart battles to uphold these principles, to give life and meaning to policies that have served the Nation well through the years.

I urge you as citizens of a great State interested in sound government—help us in this fight.

To all of you who joined the revolt against radicalism in 1952, I say help the cause by working as never before to elect a Republican majority in the House and in the Senate in 1958.

I recall many years ago when I was a freshman member of the House I appeared in a debate with some Democrat members before a newspaper publishers meeting.

You know, Congress has always been fair game, and the country, encouraged by a late President whose name I won't mention, was having a field day chiding the legislative branch.

After this debate, as I recall it, we had questions from the floor and someone asked me: "What's wrong with Congress?"

The answer I gave then is still appropriate today: "Nothing that a good Republican victory wouldn't cure."

The Value of Today's Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, too many of us, I think, are prone to pass judgment on the young people of today in a disparaging manner. We tend to criticize the younger generation for any number of seeming shortcomings.

It was refreshing to me to read in one of the fine Alabama newspapers an editorial that should dispel any misgivings one might harbor concerning the value of today's youth. Upon reading this editorial, I think you will agree that "value" is the proper word.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the editorial from the Tallassee (Ala.) Tribune of April 11, 1957:

TEEN-AGERS AND NEWSPAPERS

This newspaper never has been one to join the anvil chorus to the effect that the teen-agers are "going to the dogs." As a matter of fact, we believe the current crop of youngsters has more on the ball than many of their critics had when they were wearing raccoon coats and doing the Charleston, fortified with ample slugs of bathtub gin. And forget thee not the goldfish swallowers and flagpole sitters.

At any rate, merchants in business today would do well to recognize the economic importance of teen-age buying power of $9 million each year. And what cannot fail to endear them to us is a survey recently released by the bureau of advertising of ANPA which reveals that newspapers rate tops with these young citizens.

According to the survey, "In their own right and by their own influence on family buying, the youngsters of America represent a big and booming market. They have a lot of preferences and prejudices, but the medium of most practical value to them is the newspaper, which received a vote of 54 percent. Television got a vote of 17 percent, radio 16 percent, and magazines 13 percent."

There are more than 16 million boys and girls in the Nation today aged 13 through 19, with $9 billion earned, or in the form of allowances, or both, to spend each year, the presentation disclosed. And by 1965, this market is expected to expand to 24 million individuals with pocket money totaling $14 million a year (in terms of 1956 dollars).

These major facts, among others, about the big and lively and responsive teen-age market were revealed in the research findings:

1. Some 800,000 teen-agers, mostly those who have concluded their formal education, have steady, year-round, jobs.

2. More than 4,500,000 additional teen-agers earn money at part-time or odd jobs during the year.

3. Another 4 million join in the teen-age working force during the vacation season, for a total of more than 9,500,000 teen-agers with earned incomes.

4. More than 9 million teen-agers buy their own phonograph records, and more than 8,500,000 buy their own fountain pens. More than 5 million buy their own jewelry, shoes, deodorants.

5. More than half the boys buy their own sports equipment, more than a third their own shirts, slacks, and shaving cream.

6. More than three quarters of the girls select and pay for their own blouses, sweaters, skirts, and lingerie and one-fourth their own dresses and toilet soap. When asked about the features, characteristics, etc., they like most about the various mediums, the teen-agers' overwhelming choice for information—about sports teen-age activities, school, movie, and local, national and world news—was the newspaper. There were wide differences in their reactions to various mediums. In the case of television, dislike of advertising was voiced by 59 percent of the respondents; for radio the figure was 48 percent; for magazines 40 percent; and for newspapers 27 percent.

Conflicting Statements and Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower says that we cannot cut the budget much until the world situation settles down so we can reduce our appropriations for military and defense purposes. Senator BYRD counters with the following facts:

First. The President's 1958 budget proposes to spend $2 billion less for military and defense purposes than the 1954 budget called for, but the 1958 budget asks for $7 billion more for domestic and civilian expenditures than the 1954 budget.

Second. The 1958 budget asks for $3.5 billion for 78 grants-in-aid programs, while the 1932 budget—before New Deal-Fair Deal-Modern Republicanism were invented—called for total grants-in-aid amounting to only $250 million, making the present budget request just 14 times greater today than before the New Deal took over.

Third. The President requested in his budget an authorization bill for Federal aid to schools that would require an expenditure of $325 million each year for 4 years. What has this request to do with national defense? If the President wants to economize he should cut out this entire item of school aid.

Not even President Eisenhower can reconcile these conflicting statements and figures. The truth is that our New Deal-Fair Deal-Modern Republican welfare philosophy—entirely outside of national defense—is the cause of the inflated, bloated $71.8 billion national budget.

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch of May 15, 1957]

THE PRESIDENT'S BROADCAST

Mr. Eisenhower's radio speech in behalf of his exorbitant budget seemed overlong because it was largely redundant. He repeated what he and the big spenders in Congress have said over and over again; namely, that the budget can't be cut because it costs money to "wage the peace." "Good defense is not cheap defense." "There is no cut-rate price for security."

The President spoke earnestly and with seeming conviction, but his sales talk made no customers, except those already "sold." His slogans have lost their luster. They have become clichés. Their repetition merely served to confound confusion.

Last night's "appeal to the people" served one useful purpose, however. It set up a fresh target for the congressional economy bloc to shoot at. It is our guess that Mr. Eisenhower's claim of a tight, thrifty, virtually "irreducible" budget will have been shot to ribbons when the battle of the budget ends.

The shooting will be done not only by the conservative wing of the opposition, but by Republicans in Congress. In his floor speech on Monday Senate Democratic leader LYNDON JOHNSON censured the Republican Party for not knowing its own mind, budgetwise. He cited half a dozen instances of "mutually contradictory expressions" by men close to the White House. He quoted from a statement made on Sunday in the course of a TV interview with Sherman Adams, assistant to the President and his chief political mentor. Mr. Adams conceded that "a budget cut of $1½ to $2 billion could be made without impairing the quality of the services or the ability of the administration to carry out those services."

Republican Senators listened in stony silence to the Texan's sardonic indictment of administrative budget confusion. That's understandable. Their own floor leader, KNOWLAND of California, has been demanding a "minimum" cut of $3 billion.

Nor has Congress, or the public, forgotten that Treasury Secretary Humphrey, the Cabinet member most intimately conversant with this subject, said that "there are a lot of places where this budget can be cut," or that the President himself had suggested a half billion cut in foreign aid after Vice President NIXON had assured taxpayers that not 1 budget dollar was approved for foreign aid unless essential to American security.

Small wonder that last night's radio listeners, remembering these contradictions within the White House circle, were bewildered.

Even those who consider themselves in tune with modern Republicanism must realize that they are asked to accept the President's arguments purely on faith in their own assumption, that Ike's arguments are superior to the seasoned judgment of men like BYRD of Virginia, JOHNSON of Texas, and other Members of Congress who may be assumed to judge the Eisenhower budget with a minimum of partisan bias.

Undoubtedly, there has been, and will be, some partisan jockeying for credit in initiating whatever tax cuts might eventuate as the result of budget cutting. Yet as Senator BYRD and Secretary Humphrey have warned, those chickens must not be counted until they are hatched.

The job on hand now is to cut wherever possible. The Macmillan government of Britain has done it. Mr. Eisenhower has given us no reason to believe that it can't happen here.

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch]

SEES IKE'S APPEAL DOOMED TO FAIL

(By Ray Tucker)

WASHINGTON.—President Eisenhower's belated crusade for his stymied legislative program may flounder on the hard rocks of practical politics. Even his friends entertain doubts that a few television speeches will overcome the growing opposition to huge expenditures on and off Capitol Hill.

In deciding to plead his cause with the people, Ike had in his mind the precedents set by the only Presidents who have resorted to this strategy in modern times—Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. But there is a vast difference between the circumstances which confronted the two Democrats and the apostle of modern Republicanism.

The contrast concerns the attitude of the politicians and the general public. Wilson and Roosevelt were not seeking any sharp break with the historic principles of their party (which had been generally progressive

and internationalistic). They played along with Democratic leaders and organizations except for periodic clashes with Tammany Hall.

Moreover, they succeeded in mobilizing public opinion on behalf of their great objectives only when their views coincided with the popular mood. When there was a basic clash of Presidential and public interests, they failed tragically.

But when Wilson toured the country on behalf of the suspect League of Nations, he and his cause cracked up. Despite Roosevelt's eloquence, which Ike cannot match, the late President could not persuade Congress to pass a major piece of White House legislation after his first 4 years.

Like Eisenhower, Roosevelt retained his hold on the popular imagination and did so in four elections. Nevertheless, he could not influence the stubborn legislators on Capitol Hill. Nor could Harry S. Truman whip or wheedle them into line, despite his upset victory over Thomas E. Dewey in 1948.

Ike must buck the same adverse public and political tides that Wilson and F. D. R. met in their less fortunate adventures. Every bit of evidence indicates that his own congressional leaders, the formerly friendly business community and the people generally are bitterly hostile to his $71.8 billion budget.

The American people, it appears, do not feel that the United States alone should be called upon to fortify or finance more than half the world. They seem to agree with the Humphrey-Burgess warnings that we can easily spend ourselves into bankruptcy.

Finally, as intraparty protests prove, many GOP leaders are in open opposition to the President. Some do not even consider him to be a Republican, or to have the future interests of the party at heart.

Nor has it escaped the atention—and the criticism—of Republicans that Arthur Larson, the high prophet of modern Republicanism, was known as an Independent when he was a professor at the University of Pittsburgh. They think it odd that Assistant Secretary Larson's book, which has been Ike's inspiration for his current attempt to remake the GOP in Larson's image, should be entitled: "A Republican Looks at His Party."

The Importance of Skill in the Use of Weapons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, a recent issue of the Army and Navy Journal contains quotations from the Journal of 10 and 90 years ago. I was particularly impressed with the one of 90 years ago—May 11, 1867—in which attention is called to the fact that skill in the use of weapons is so much more important than the weapon itself.

For real defense in the United States, every man should be given basic military training.

I ask unanimous consent that the article from the Army-Navy Journal be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Ninety years ago (May 11, 1867): The Indian skirmishing on the plains furnishes an appropriate occasion for some remarks we have long proposed upon the general importance of target practice. It is a long step, intrinsically, from the bow and arrow to the breech-loading rifle; yet in each so much depends on the skill of the user, that an expert Indian warrior, armed with the former weapon, will actually use it as fast and as fatally as a raw recruit will employ the latter.

Dissension in the Atomic Energy Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, the May issue of the Atlantic Monthly contains an article entitled "Dissension in the AEC," written by Warren Unna, of the Washington Post and Times Herald, who for 3 years has been covering the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. Unna has a reputation for careful and complete reporting. In this article he has discussed the value to the United States of an Atomic Energy Commission in which majority and minority views are not only permitted equal opportunity for survival, but perhaps are encouraged.

The immediate consideration, which it is my understanding inspired the article, is the approaching end of the term of AEC Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, and the possible consequences of his absence to the Commission and the atomic-energy program.

It is no secret that Mr. Murray and the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, have found themselves repeatedly on opposite sides of policy questions. Mr. Unna points out also that there have been many instances of agreement between Mr. Murray and Mr. Strauss, although they were less publicized.

In my opinion, the article makes a valuable and accurate contribution to the public knowledge, which may furnish a better understanding of events about to unfold.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I am informed by the Public Printer that the cost of printing the article is estimated to be $231. Notwithstanding the excess cost, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DISSENSION IN THE AEC
(By Warren Unna)

I

While the Atomic Energy Commission has been most successful in controlling nuclear fission for weapons, it has been somewhat less than successful in controlling the human fission within its own ranks: that of AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss (pronounced "straws") and Commissioner Thomas E. Murray.

Both men, with markedly similar ways of life and, in some respects, markedly similar philosophies, have been at opposite poles of the atomic orbit since the beginning of the Eisenhower administration. Now, with Murray's term as Commissioner due to expire June 30, and Strauss certain to continue for at least another year, the Commission's personality polarization may be coming to an end. This is not necessarily a good thing.

The Atomic Energy Commission watches over a $15 billion public investment. Its major efforts are devoted to the design and manufacture of weapons, the bulwark of our defense against potential and actual enemies. But beyond the preparation of weapons, the AEC is vitally concerned with the peaceful applications of atomic energy; the use of radioactive isotopes in industry, agriculture, and medicine; the use of atomic fuel in generating electricity.

Murray, the last of the Truman appointees to the AEC, is the only 1 of the 5 Commissioners who lists himself as a Democrat. Strauss is a Hoover-Taft Republican; retired Studebaker chairman, Harold S. Vance, is also a Republican; University of Chicago chemist, Willard F. Libby, usually votes Republican; the late John von Neumann, of the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study, kept his political preference to himself.

Although Murray is anxious to remain on the Commission, few people in Washington think that President Eisenhower will reappoint him to another 5-year term, or that Strauss would tolerate it even if the President should get such a notion. Murray has been the only Commissioner to speak out whenever he is persuaded that something alien to the public interest is going on behind the AEC's secrecy-protected doors.

It is ironic that these two Commissioners who have so much in common should hold opposing views. Both are in their sixties. Both are multimillionaires and highly successful financiers. Strauss started out by drumming up business for his father and uncle's wholesale shoeshop in Richmond, Va., and rose to become an investment banking partner with Kuhn, Loeb & Co. Just before joining the Eisenhower administration, he served as financial adviser to the Rockefellers.

Murray is the son of the man who built the giant power-generating stations in New York State which eventually became the nucleus of the Consolidated Edison network. The father left a $12 million estate. The son, a mechanical engineer with more than 200 electrical and welding patents to his credit, has carried on and augmented the family's electrical manufacturing business.

Both Strauss and Murray are extremely devout. Strauss, a member of the Reformed Jewish congregation, once taught Sunday school, once was president of New York City's Temple Emanu-El, conducts Friday night and Saturday morning Sabbath services in his home for his family and his guests, and once prepared a beautifully written Bible with hs son, so anxious was he for young Lewis to learn to love and appreciate Biblical lore as he did.

Murray, a Roman Catholic with 3 knighthoods from the Pope and honorary degrees from 15 Catholic colleges and universities, has a private chapel in both his Long Island home and his Park Avenue apartment, attends mass at 7:30 each morning, and takes more than fatherly pride in the fact that 2 of his 11 children are Jesuit priests.

Despite the current involvement of the AEC's atomic power program in the public versus private power issue, Strauss and Murray are essentially private power men. It was Strauss who, out of loyalty to the White House team if not blind faith in big business, first allowed the Commission to become involved in the notorious and now defunct Dixon-Yates contract for steam-generated power in the Tennessee Valley Authority

area. It was Murray who first suggested that the AEC farm out its power needs to private utilities—in the Electric Energy, Inc., plant at Joppa, Ill., and the Ohio Valley Electric Corp. plant at Portsmouth, Ohio. Murray made both proposals during the last year of the Truman administration.

Both Strauss and Murray are humanitarians and take enormous pride in the good the atom promises when it is not being devoted to war. Strauss helped to devise President Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" proposal before the United Nations General Assembly in December 1953, the main goodwill plank in the administration's foreign policy. And he also helped to conceive the "Atoms for Peace" conference in Geneva in August 1955, which for the first time brought the world's nuclear physicists together to discuss the benefits of the atom. Murray's every speech is in essence a prayer, a plea to make atomic warfare impossible, a plea for world harmony that atomic energy may be devoted to improving the way people live.

Strauss is bald, bespectacled, rather owlish-faced; he has a ramrod posture and a superbly tailored figure. He has fluidity of thought and tongue and an Old World courtliness, but when he is piqued the Strauss expression varies between childish indignation and pouting martyrdom. Strauss claims he never had enemies before coming to Washington. And even his enemies concede his executive brilliance and mastership as a tactician.

At his mother's instigation, Strauss volunteered his services to Herbert Hoover during the Belgian war relief days and later became Mr. Hoover's private secretary. He was with Mr. Hoover in his Palo Alto, Calif., home in 1928 the night he was elected President; and with him again in the White House in 1932 when Mr. Hoover learned he was defeated for reelection. Strauss' attraction to science began early when he read a physics primer. When both his parents died of cancer in quick succession, Strauss became interested in an accelerator to develop radioactive isotopes for cancer treatment. As a rear admiral during World War II, he represented Navy interests in the Manhattan project, the program which produced the A-bomb.

Murray is frail in appearance, bashful in voice and manner. He has a sort of pug face, a friendly twinkle, and his double chin is his one concession to obesity. Unlike Strauss, Murray did go to college, to Yale's Sheffield School of Engineering. But he is proud that he is a second-generation Irishman. He can be as stubborn as he is gentle, and when he is, this Irish comes out and the frail frame throws all its energy into the scrap for God and country. He frequently has declared, "I won't give up unless they fire me."

Murray's experience has made him well aware of the needs of private enterprise. For 10 years he was receiver for New York City's Interborough Rapid Transit subway. Prior to joining the Commission, he was president of the Metropolitan Engineering Co. and a director of its parent which makes welding devices and electric switches, the Murray Manufacturing Co. He has been a director of the Chrysler Corp. and a member of its finance committee, a director of the Bank of New York, a trustee of the United Mine Workers welfare fund. His niece married Henry Ford II.

II

The first great storm which followed Strauss' appointment as AEC Chairman was the dismissal of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, when he was ruled to be a security risk. Murray, a member of the 4 to 1 majority against Oppenheimer, went even further than Strauss and his colleagues by branding the scientist "disloyal." Strauss dismissed Murray's zeal as "Jesuitic reasoning"—an opinion shared by a good many others involved in the case. Strauss has particular pride in his academic connections, and some describe the Oppenheimer case as his Achilles' heel. Strauss took what might be termed the rap for the case and describes it as "a tragic thing—I shall have to live with it as long as I live." Yet the case did not originate with Strauss, but with FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., who went to the President and demanded that the physicist be ousted from his position as a consultant to the AEC and that his "Q" clearance be revoked.

Through the misadvice of AEC General Counsel William Mitchell, Strauss was reluctantly persuaded that Oppenheimer's "Q" clearance could be revoked only after a formal hearing. Actually, the mere termination of Oppenheimer's consultant's contract would have accomplished the same thing. Once the hearing was underway, however, Strauss, with his usual precision, vigor, and no-stone-unturned thoroughness, cooperated with Hoover and Brownell in seeing to it that the Government's case could not fail.

Then, as president of the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study, Strauss not only voted to retain Oppenheimer as the institute's director, but also to raise his salary. He also saw to it that Oppenheimer had a say in the $15,000 Strauss award given to a promising scientist every 3 years in memory of Strauss' parents. Strauss thus displayed another facet of his personality: Mercy, generosity, even solicitude—once the enemy is on his knees. Many scientists have never forgiven Strauss for the Oppenheimer case, however, and to appease them he saw to it that the Commission, for the first time in its 10-year history, had two of their representatives on it at the same time: Libby and von Neumann.

In some ways, Murray is now no more of a lone dissenter on an AEC headed by Strauss than Strauss himself was when he served on an AEC headed by David E. Lilienthal. President Truman appointed Strauss to the first Commission when it began in 1946. Three years later, Strauss was before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy complaining of what he considered to be Lilienthal's one-man rule. A year later Strauss resigned, partly because of a long scrap with Lilienthal, who opposed going ahead with the development of the H-bomb (Strauss took the matter to Truman and Congress and won); partly because of his firm belief that sending isotopes to Norway for testing jet plane engines would endanger the Nation's security (Strauss took the matter to Congress and lost). Looking back upon his record during the first Commission, Strauss is particularly proud of his plea for the H-bomb and his insistence that this country set up a weapons-detection system. Because of the latter, the United States was able to pick up the first Russian A-bomb detonation in 1949 and alert itself to the atomic weapons race.

Similarly Murray, during his term, has pushed establishment of the Nation's huge weapons stockpile and seen to it that there is a uranium procurement program with enough incentive behind it to insure the United States a practically limitless supply of fissionable fuel.

III

Why, in the light of the many things they have in common, are Strauss and Murray at swords' point so much of the time? Although they live within almost wall-to-wall proximity of each other on the eighth floor of Washington's Shoreham Hotel, they take separate elevators. And not too long ago Strauss had Commission personnel bring him Murray's long-distance phone call record so that he might learn with whom Murray had been talking.

The trouble began when Murray sensed that Strauss had come to conceive of himself as the Commission and had very little use for the services of the AEC's other four members. Strauss had been made the President's assistant for atomic energy matters as soon as Eisenhower took office. A few months later he was given his "second hat," that of AEC Chairman.

The Strauss-Murray differences grew during the hearings on the 1955 Atomic Energy Act in which Strauss, anxious to have complete authority over AEC security cases, asked Congress to make him "principal officer" of the 5 heretofore coequal Commissioners. Strauss argued that some of the secrets he picked up in the White House as the President's atomic energy assistant with a side seat on the National Security Council could not always be passed along to the boys on the Commission. Strauss declared there might come a future time when a majority of the Commission would decide that one of its members should not be granted full access to the Nation's top atomic secrets.

Congress, which had established the commission system to gain the advantage of 5 men's thoughts, rather than 1, compromised on Strauss' "principal officer" request and allowed the AEC chairman instead to become "official spokesman" for his colleagues. Commissioner Eugene M. Zuckert, who once declared, "We ought to get ballet slippers," allowed his term to expire and quietly returned to his Washington management consultancy. Commissioner Henry D. Smyth, weary of learning what the Commission had done through his morning newspaper, resigned and returned to the academic life at Princeton. Commissioner Joseph Campbell resigned to become Comptroller General.

This left only Murray of the pre-Strauss appointees, and Murray declared: "I am accused of not playing on the team. I've worked on a team all my life; but when something comes up and I don't agree, I'm not going to take it blindly just because the chairman (through his other offices) tells me it's what the President wants."

Strauss' personal public-relations assistant, Everett Hollis, counters: "Murray hasn't been just one against Lewis L. Strauss; he's been one against the Commission. He has taken a completely 'anti' attitude." Among AEC employees, Murray is now referred to as the enemy and it has been made clear to them that they must have nothing to do with his camp if they mean to get on.

In 1955, when the Democrats had replaced the Republican majority in Congress, the so-called Murray amendment was tacked on as a rider to the AEC's appropriation bill. It compelled Strauss, as Chairman, to give his fellow Commissioners full access to all information involving AEC business. Murray had submitted a long list to the joint committee detailing those AEC matters Strauss had not informed him of. The list included everything from the Dixon-Yates contract, which Strauss presented to the Commission as a fait accompli, to the atomic peace ship, which Murray earlier had refused to testify on since he had yet to be told what it was all about. Again last year, Murray disclosed AEC matters which Strauss had still not filled him in on. But with the Murray amendment already on the books, the joint committee could only ruefully conclude that it had no police powers—and had to let it go at that.

The Commission meetings where Strauss and Murray confront each other sometimes are so bitter that a stenographer has to be summoned to be sure the charges and countercharges are recorded verbatim.

One particularly acrid series of meetings involved security. Strauss, ordinarily extremely security conscious, has had a different attitude toward the British. After a red-carpet reception in England in 1955, including family lunch with the Queen, Strauss came home and helped smother a combined FBI–AEC report questioning the adequacy of

British atomic security. Last year, in what Congressman COLE, former Republican chairman of the joint committee and a friend of Strauss, termed a direct violation of the intent of Congress, Strauss quietly put through an amendment to our bilateral agreement with Britain regarding the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The amendment permits exchange of military information, specifically regarding the atomic propulsion mechanism on the submarine *Nautilus*. Because of the fury from both sides of the political aisle on this one, Strauss held up the actual exchange of information. And Her Majesty's First Sea Lord, Admiral Mountbatten, did not take the trip on the *Nautilus* which he had been booked for.

Declassification is another big point of contention between Strauss and Murray. Strauss, under frequent goading from Senator ANDERSON, the Democratic joint committee chairman during the 84th Congress, appointed a special team of declassifiers and periodically announced that so many thousands of secret atomic documents had now been gone through, of which so many thousand could now be declassified. A great many secrets involving the peaceful uses of atomic energy were declassified at the 1955 "Atoms for Peace" Conference in Geneva. But the totals of items still held secret are never given in the Strauss declassification announcements.

Anyway, Murray has no toleration of what some call the Strauss "numbers game." Murray is for declassifying all peaceful aspects of atomic energy, leaving only the military secrets in the combination safes. He firmly believes that the enemy, and even our allies, have most of the information anyway. He thinks the only ones kept from it are the American citizens who paid for the discoveries and might well be making use of them in the medical, industrial, and agricultural applications of the atom. On the other hand, Strauss feels there are areas where military and peaceful atomic secrets overlap and for this reason the peaceful secrets have to be kept locked up.

Strauss was hard put to it, however, in explaining why the University of Indiana's Hermann J. Muller, a Nobel Prize geneticist, was prevented by the AEC from appearing in person at the Geneva conference and giving a reading of his paper on the dangerous effects of radioactivity. The AEC tried to make it appear that the United Nations had suppressed Muller. But the U. N. would have none of this and pointed its accusation right back at the AEC. Murray stayed on the sidelines in this one.

By all odds the most dramatic Strauss-Murray clash in open view occurred during the more than yearlong arguments in 1954 and 1955 over the Dixon-Yates contract. Dixon-Yates called for a $107,250,000 steam-generating (nonatomic) powerplant to be built and owned by private enterprise on the Arkansas side of the Mississippi River, across from Memphis. It was to feed power into the TVA system to "replace" power TVA was supplying AEC installations some 180 miles upriver. TVA people saw it as a clever move by the administration to break up the Government's biggest public power system.

The contract was finally canceled when congressional Democrats found that one of the key advisers to both the AEC and the Bureau of the Budget on the matter was at the same time vice president of the First Boston Corp., a Wall Street investment house which had a considerable financial stake in seeing that the contract went through. Dixon-Yates and the Oppenheimer case, by Strauss' own admission, have been the sources of his greatest grief as Chairman. Yet Dixon-Yates was actually started by the Bureau of the Budget and the White House, just as Oppenheimer had been started by the FBI and Justice Department.

At any event, Murray was furious with Strauss for embroiling the AEC in politics for the first time in its history—and said so. Murray thought the AEC's serious responsibilities in developing weapons were being sidetracked—and also said so. Strauss avowed otherwise, and at one memorable point the Chairman paraded into the Capitol's old Supreme Court chamber followed by an entourage of department heads, attorneys, public relations men, and workmen in overalls bearing wooden crates and grocery boxes full of top-secret folders.

"Who ordered this physical display?" demanded Senator ANDERSON, then the Joint Committee chairman.

"I did," said Strauss, flushing. He then proceeded to point to a six-inch pile of documents on the witness table before him. This, he explained, represented the Commission's preoccupation with Dixon-Yates matters during the first few months of 1955. And that, he said, pointing at the crates and grocery boxes, represented the Commission's preoccupation with its regular business.

During another round in the Dixon-Yates fight, Murray in his turn followed Strauss to the witness table and bluntly stated that the chairman had taken it upon himself to make changes in the AEC's proposed contract with the TVA without consulting the rest of the Commission. Chairman Strauss, his dark eyes flashing fire, came running up from his corner of the Old Supreme Court Chamber, grabbed a microphone at the other end of the witness table, and outshouting Murray declared he couldn't allow such testimony to go into the record unchallenged. At the end of the session, Mr. Strauss followed the chairman from the hearing room whispering, "You were too much of a gentleman. You shouldn't have been so nice to him."

Strauss' difficulties over Dixon-Yates weren't all with Murray. When the Joint Committee learned that the Commission had voted on Dixon-Yates matters the very morning of the day Strauss testified that the contract hadn't been discussed for months, Senator GORE mused: "It's rather remarkable that a discussion was held, a motion made and a vote taken, and yet that very afternoon Mr. Strauss couldn't recall it." Strauss then went into a nit-picking argument that he had only testified he couldn't "recall any discussions" on Dixon-Yates matters being held.

IV

During the past year and a half, Murray has made three major public proposals on atomic matters, all of which have been just as publicly opposed by Strauss and the rest of the Commission.

In November 1955, Murray proposed a mid-Pacific meeting at the "atomic summit" in the hope that a firsthand sight of an exploding superbomb would deter policymakers, both in this country and abroad, from thinking in terms of future war. The morning preceding Murray's evening speech, Strauss called the other Commissioners into emergency session. He then issued a statement to the effect that Murray's proposal had been considered and voted down months ago as contrary to the best judgment of the AEC. And anyway, he declared, the Russians had witnessed this country's 1946 (baby bomb) tests in the Pacific without any noticeable deterrence. All this rebuttal to Murray's speech was given the public before the Murray speech had actually been delivered.

The next day, Air Force Secretary Donald A. Quarles, who had not been taken into Strauss' counsel, generally endorsed the Murray proposal at a National Press Club lunch. Quarles later got the word and hastily announced he had been giving only his private opinion and wouldn't have made any statement at all had he known it was the subject of an intra-AEC dispute.

In February and April 1956, first in executive session before the Joint Committee and then in public, Murray formulated the ban on superbomb tests which later in the year was to be given a somewhat garbled endorsement by Adlai E. Stevenson. Although the Strauss camp suspected Murray of planting his ideas with the Democratic candidate, Murray actually was quite annoyed with Stevenson for taking on something he didn't understand.

Murray's proposal, unlike the various Stevenson versions, was not fuzzy. The Commissioner said the United States, unilaterally, should call a halt to its superbomb tests since the superbombs in the stockpile were already big enough and we couldn't, with a humanitarian conscience, drop them on civilian population centers anyway. Then Murray called for a rational armament, one in which the United States would develop and test small—tactical—atomic warheads. These, he said, would prove sufficiently powerful to deter any enemy from thinking it could push around this country and its allies.

When questioned by the Joint Committee on whether our military policy didn't already include such small-scale armament, Murray testified: "I know of no policy." He told Congress that as far as he, an atomic Commissioner, knew, the Pentagon was merely shouting to make the bombs bigger and bigger and the AEC was dutifully filling out the orders of its bomb factories.

Strauss, in the President's name, later issued a White House statement declaring the tests an indispensable part of our defense program. But the statement did not face up to Murray's proposition for cutting down on the big tests (which produce the harmful radioactive fallout) and increasing the development and tests of smaller weapons.

Subsequent to the Murray proposal, Strauss and then the President tried to sell Congress and the public on the idea of a "clean" bomb, a term which Eisenhower once carelessly used but which Strauss has scrupulously never used. This is a bomb whose internal makeup is not so disposed to producing strontium-90 and the other deadly radioactive fission elements. It is also one which, when dropped high enough, tends to cut down on purely local fallout. Murray was unimpressed with the clean bomb. As the first member of the Commission to warn of the cancer-producing qualities of strontium-90, once it finds its way into the human bone, he has also been the only member of the Commission to footnote his dissent in the AEC's semiannual report on the fallout danger.

The AEC has failed to indicate how it would rid the superbomb of its A-bomb trigger and thus make the "clean" bomb really clean of fission products. The joint committee knows of no way this could be done. Nor has there been any sign from the Pentagon that it would order any of these "clean" bombs. From a military point of view, the dirtier the bomb the more economically valuable it becomes as a strategic weapon. Overriding all "clean" bomb skepticism is the argument, "What if the enemy won't play according to the same rules?"

Murray's third major proposal came in February 1956. As a professional power engineer, he declared the AEC's atomic power program was pretty much a figment of its own imagination and would continue to be so until the Government stepped in to build the first commercial-scale plants itself and showed private industry the way. Murray called for a billion-dollar 5-year program. He particularly stressed the need for this country to develop atomic power as an instrument of foreign policy. He urged that the United States bring this power source and the assurance of better living conditions to its friends abroad, in the developed and the underdeveloped countries. And he

warned that if this country didn't, Russia and Britain surely would.

The Murray proposal was later wrapped up in a bill sponsored in the Senate by GORE of Tennessee, and in the House by HOLIFIELD of California. To remove it from the private versus public power issue, the bill's sponsors specified that the AEC should spend $400 million to build and operate the first commercial-scale atomic powerplants on its own installations, to satisfy its own governmental power needs. This was to differentiate it from TVA, which, as a public-sponsored power network, supplies both public and private users and in this way outcompetes the private utilities.

Strauss would have none of it—neither the Murray proposal nor the Gore-Holifield bill. He argued there was no need for a Government subsidy program; that private industry was perfectly capable of developing atomic power—with the AEC standing by as a research partner; that this approach would produce the most economical and efficient atomic power in the long run; and that the Government had no business at all becoming an atomic power producer. Strauss told the Joint Committee he particularly didn't like the way the Gore-Holifield measure directed the AEC to proceed. This, said the Chairman, was the kind of wording you use to your valet.

The Gore-Holifield bill was passed by the Senate, but with Strauss' vigorous opposition it met defeat in the House. Now, with Britain, Russia, and soon France going ahead in the atomic power business and American industry still discussing blueprints, Strauss recently indicated he may consider having Government do some of the first powerplant construction—if private industry really decides it can't.

Before Congress adjourned last summer, Strauss and Murray had a final conflict. So far the United States has only one commercial-scale atomic power plant underway. This plant, started at Murray's instigation and largely financed by the AEC, goes into operation at Shippingport, Pa., later this year under the aegis of the Duquesne Light Co. Strauss, to counter the Gore-Holifield bill, had to do better than merely point to a single commercial-scale atomic powerplant, largely Government-financed. The nearest one off the drawing boards was that of the Power Reactor Development Co., which was to be financed by a group of private utilities and manufacturing concerns under the leadership of Walker L. Cisler and the Detroit Edison Co. The design is the most advanced known, a "fast-neutron, breeder-type" reactor which promises to produce more fissionable material than it consumes in making power.

Strauss, in testifying before the House Appropriations Committee in early August, expressed such confidence in the Cisler reactor that he said he would be leaving for the shores of Lake Erie within the next few days to turn the first shovelful of earth on the site. Murray, out of town during the Strauss testimony, rushed back the next day to tell the Appropriations Committee the AEC's own high-level Reactor Safeguards Committee had given the Cisler proposal an adverse safety report. Chairman CANNON of Missouri, furious at Strauss for not having come clean, wrote in his report that the AEC Chairman either was "deceiving the Committee as to the actual progress of the Detroit Edison project, or he intended to force the AEC licensing of this project in disregard of public safety."

At about the same time, Strauss was asked by the Joint Committee why he hadn't informed them that Detroit Edison's Cisler was acting as the International Cooperation Administration's power consultant abroad while he was in the power business in the United States. Snapped Strauss at Senator ANDERSON: "I assume that you would not care to have us run a clipping service."

Subsequently Strauss and a Commission majority, in an extraordinary action, overruled the AEC Reactor Safeguards Committee's adverse report. Murray again dissented. Strauss turned the first shovelful of earth last August. But the consternation is far from over. The United Auto Workers and two other unions currently are challenging the Cisler group's right to have a construction license—both on safety and financial grounds. And should the Commission rule against them, the unions intend to take the matter to Federal Court.

What issues lie ahead for Strauss and his Commission—amicable and not so amicable—can only be unraveled with time. But it seems apparent that once dissenter Murray passes from the atomic scene, the healthy give-and-take in determining AEC policy will pass with him. Something of Strauss and something of Murray are essential to both the success and the failure of the AEC. That is why any forthcoming harmony in the AEC may have dubious value.

Address by John S. Bugas, Vice President, Industrial Relations, Ford Motor Co., at the Industrial Relations Conference of Michigan State University, East Lansing, April 24, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

ADDRESS BY JOHN S. BUGAS, VICE PRESIDENT, INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, FORD MOTOR CO., AT THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CONFERENCE OF MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, EAST LANSING, APRIL 24, 1957

I am honored by your invitation to participate in this series of lectures, and have looked forward to this occasion with a great deal of pleasure and anticipation.

You are to be complimented on sponsoring so challenging and imaginative a project as this cross-sectional look ahead at 1975. Certainly all of us can benefit by lifting our sights occasionally beyond the immediate and urgent problems of today, or even of next year and looking ahead to the far goals—reminding ourselves of the wonderful possibilities that lie ahead of us if we are wise enough and courageous enough to bring them to reality.

I am aware, of course, that anyone who attempts to predict the course of industrial relations over the next 18 or 20 years runs some very grave risks—not the least of which is the possibility of becoming too optimistic over the chances for calm, reasonable, and sound settlement of future labor-management differences. That explains, I think, why predictions of this kind are usually based on the obvious or are projected so far into the future that the prophet can be sure of being far removed from the scene—literally or figuratively—when an accounting is due.

In my own case, I hope to be around and active in 1975—as well as during the years between now and then—and, if possible, to play some small part in helping to bring about the kind of future I want to discuss here today. So I take it that, even if no one waits breathlessly to check my score 20 years from now, I'm going to have to live with any mistakes as best I can.

Let me say frankly that it's a great temptation, today as in the past, to speak aggressively against some of the more obvious distortions of fact that are appearing in public statements on labor's current economic goals. I'm sure most of you are familiar with recent pronouncements on record wage increases, the shorter workweek, increased unemployment compensation supplements, bargaining strategy and tactics, and so on. The smoke signals—or should I say the smokescreens—are going up in the hills and apparently the "softening up" process is underway on a number of fronts.

As I say, it's a great temptation to join issue with the obvious excesses right now. But it just doesn't pay to joust with smoke signals. If I read those signals right, there will be plenty of chance to deal with those issues at a time and a place that have already been appointed. I don't think it would do much good right now to send fire equipment up into the hills.

Many people argue that, by remaining silent, management plays directly into the union's hands. They reason that such silence, if it doesn't indicate consent or partial approbation, at least gives the union a tremendous advantage at bargaining time.

Actually, there are two schools of thought on this point: One, that management should promptly and loudly take issue with the various union demands as soon as they are announced publicly; and the other, that bargaining should await the time and place of the actual bargaining sessions.

The reasoning behind the first view is that not only does management have a responsibility to expose and correct promptly what we think are fallacies in the union's statement of its objectives, but that failure to do so creates a general impression that these demands—however unsound or impossible they might be—actually can and should be accepted.

A part of the reasoning behind the second course of action is that labor and management can far more effectively argue and resolve their differences in the relative calm of face-to-face negotiation than in heated exchanges on the front pages or over television and radio. Experience demonstrates that public ballyhoo and position taking has the effect of deep freezing each side into rigid, inflexible postures that neither is willing to change for fear of losing face. What you have then is one party or the other fighting for a slogan rather than for some measure of gain in the actual substance of its demands.

Furthermore, one of the prime purposes of all this sound and fury is to bait management into assuming a posture of seeming opposition to the interests of its employees.

Where we find merit in the union's underlying objectives, we want to be in a position to work out those issues successfully across the table. We don't want to be embarrassed by having opposed publicly some broad, defiant statement of a demand that might later, in actual negotiation, turn out to hide something perfectly reasonable in its actual scope and intent.

An excellent illustration of what I mean is found in our 1955 negotiations with the UAW. Here the union had propagandized so loud and long for a guaranteed annual wage that it very nearly blinded everyone, including itself, to the possibility of a truly sound and workable approach to increased protection against unemployment. The fears and unfounded hopes generated by that unfortunate slogan "guaranteed annual wage," could have resulted in a complete deadlock, meaning no plan at all, or possibly in an unsound concession on the GAW elsewhere in industry

that would have done more harm to employees than good. What we came up with finally, as you know, was the supplemental unemployment-benefit plan.

We in Ford management have tested both theories. Up to the present—and I emphasize "up to the present"—we have believed, and still believe, that it is best in terms of our own management-union relations to wait for negotiations to air our views.

Now, against that rather lengthy background, I'd like to turn to some observations—I hesitate to call them predictions—as to the future. For the sake of organization, I have grouped my remarks under two broad headings: the future of the American economy and the future of collective bargaining.

We at Ford are very much concerned with the long-range economic outlook because we must plan product designs and plant expansion programs for distant markets. We are just now in the process of completing a $2,700,000,000 expansion and modernization program to get ready for the great automobile market we anticipate during the 1960's.

Our outlook is strongly optimistic. That's a view, I think, that is shared by management generally. There is every reason to hope that the American economy will continue to grow and prosper, that American living standards will rise impressively, that in 1975 we will all have higher incomes, greater security, substantially greater educational opportunities for Americans of all ages, better medical care abundantly available to all, increased opportunities for travel, and many wonderful new ways of enjoying our leisure hours.

We can ride into that glowing future behind the tandem horses of technological progress on one hand and our fast-growing population on the other.

Our swelling population means a great and growing demand for all the things that American agriculture and industry produce, and for the growing segment of our economy that services our multitudinous wants and needs.

This is a highly promising picture of our future as it can and should be 20 years hence. We at Ford are certainly anxious to move ahead into the bright future, to do all we can to make the American pie grow as fast as possible and see that everybody shares fully and fairly in its growth.

Across that bright future lies a shadow, however, a danger of which some of our most respected economic minds have repeatedly warned. The threat is of a pervasive and persistent inflationary pressure that could gradually corrode the American dream and destroy not only our individual security but the very underpinnings of our social structure.

An eminent economist, the late Joseph Schumpeter of Harvard, warned a few years ago of a "perennial inflationary pressure" that would threaten the survival of our free society, because he felt we had not the experience with inflation which would enable us to understand its dangers and to act effectively against it. And again Peter Drucker, in his recent book, America's Next 20 Years, predicts that the basic economic problem of the next two decades will not be unemployment but inflation. Economist John Galbraith and many others point to this new danger on our economic horizon.

In part the inflationary threat reflects certain goals and some almost involuntary trends in the current activities of organized labor.

During the present decade ending in 1965 the United States Census Bureau shows that our total population will increase by more than 15 percent while the population of working age will increase by only a little more than half as much. Fewer people will have to produce many more goods for many more people. That fact alone points to a prospect of either demand or cost inflation.

It is clear that meeting the needs of our society and at the same time avoiding serious perennial inflation will require steady increases in both the productivity and output of our industrial system.

This means that, in the interests not only of industrial workers but of Americans in all fields of endeavor, we must have a rapid development of technological progress, which means no direct or indirect barriers to the evolutionary process that has come to be called automation.

But, as is no secret, union leadership has fastened upon automation as a scare word to dramatize almost any and all of the union goals and as a banner to rally the rank and file to the cause.

Again, avoiding inflation and advancing our living standards also requires that we do not prevent the formation of large amounts of capital required to sustain our growth.

But there is serious evidence that inflation is being fostered and that capital formation may be discouraged by attempts of organized labor to seek wage and fringe benefits which the economy cannot safely absorb.

The great question then is: Will organized labor share in orderly economic progress or will it inexorably promote constant inflation and economic dislocation? This question lies at the root of the current debate about the wage-price inflation cycle.

We are now in the midst of a great debate as to whether wages or prices are the real villain in recent inflationary increases. Labor leaders stoutly maintain that the worker is not interested in unduly enlarging his share of the national income. Presumably he merely wants to share equitably in the increasing productivity of the American economy.

I realize that I may not be viewed as an entirely unbiased spokesman in this matter. I strongly recommend that anyone seriously interested in the problem seek the opinion of entirely impartial and objective economists. Then it is up to the public at large, to people like you in this audience, after hearing what industry has to say in this regard and what the unions have to say to draw your own conclusions.

In our view there is a strong factual case that the threatened inflationary spiral which so concerns the economists is a wage-cost-price spiral, and not the reverse. Historically, over a period of many years, output per manhour for the economy has grown at an average annual rate of slightly more than 2 percent. This is the divisible growth which makes possible the rising living standards enjoyed by the great bulk of Americans.

But lately we find a great and growing effort on the part of organized labor not only to increase its share of a growing pie but actually to eat the pie before it is baked. Wage and fringe benefit packages since 1954 have exceeded 5 percent a year in key industries. Average hourly earnings in manufacturing, which exclude the cost of fringe benefits, increased 10 percent from mid-1955 to the end of 1956.

Increases of this magnitude could not be absorbed through greater productivity. Output per man-hour rose only 2 percent a year for the economy as a whole in 1955–56.

There was a consequent cost pressure against prices. The prices of goods and services bought by workers did not start rising, however, until after the first quarter of 1956. A rise in the cost-of-living was not a justification for the size of labor packages initially. Once the higher labor costs were reflected in consumer prices, however, we had a spiral of higher wage demands to catch up with a rise in prices generated largely by increased labor cost.

Union leadership has used profits as the scapegoat, claiming that prices did not have to be increased. The facts are that employee compensation accounts for 78 percent of the income generated in manufacturing (and in corporate business as a whole). The Government absorbs another 12 percent in profits taxes. Profits remaining for dividends and reinvenstment in the business are a relatively small portion of the total pie.

Furthermore, profits have not shared in the advancing economy since 1948. Employees and the Government received all of the $40 billion increase in income generated in manufacturing between 1948 and 1956.

I do not intend to make a speech on economics today. I do want to bring to your attention what I think is a vital fact of economic life: Growing labor costs have outstripped productivity, profits, and in point of time, prices. I hope that this will raise some questions in your mind.

Who, for example, has gained most from industry's technological advances and the vast capital investment of the postwar years?

Can we continue to absorb increments in labor costs above and beyond the normal increase in productivity without bringing about cost inflation?

Finally, if increased investment fails to produce increased profits, can we continue indefinitely to develop and attract the capital necessary to sustain progress?

Let me point out that industry has been put on notice that even bigger labor-cost demands lie ahead, and so the likelihood is that there will be continuing strong pressures of the kind I have just described. The growing economic and political power of the great unions, which I will discuss in some detail in the balance of this talk, lends a great and somewhat ominous significance to this picture.

I would ask, then, whether it is not time for all of us, including those who fill the ranks of American organized labor, to look long and hard at the implications of this very human but unrealistic desire to eat the pie before it is baked.

Now, let's turn to the question of what we can look for in terms of labor-management relations. In view of some of the statements that have been made about the factory of the future, perhaps I should start by saying that I expect the automotive industry to be employing production and maintenance employees in very large numbers in 1975. I believe that their services will be just as essential to automobile making as they are now. Moreover, I believe that the great bulk of these hourly employees then, as now, will be represented for purposes of collective bargaining by the UAW, or whatever name the organization may have at that time. And I anticipate that there will continue to be an adequate supply of problems and differences of opinion between management and organized labor covering terms and conditions of employment for these employees.

I would also predict that we will continue to place basic reliance on the collective bargaining process for dealing with these differences and problems.

Certainly it is my fervent hope that free collective bargaining will still be the dominant tool relied upon by unions and management for working out both their mutual problems and their differences. This implies, of course, that there will continue to be strikes, since there is no way of eliminating this possibility without destroying free bargaining in the process.

With all its imperfections—and there are many of them—collective bargaining is the only process we in this country have been able to hit upon to resolve disputes between management and its organized employees in a manner consistent with our American ideals of individual freedom and free competitive enterprise.

I certainly hope also that, by 1975, reasonableness and responsibility will have come to replace emotional hysteria and naked force as the dominant characteristics of the bar-

gaining process. I like to think forward to a future in which the results increasingly will be dictated by factual consideration, calm appraisal, and regard for the mutuality of interest in a healthy enterprise.

But let us be clear on this point: There is nothing invitable about these predictions. Collective bargaing as we know it is not a preordained institution whose continued health and development will be automatic. It can be preserved as an institution consistent with basic human freedoms only if it is supported by an informed public opinion—a public understanding which recognizes clearly both the conditions which will foster its development and the dangers which can destroy it.

I would like to consided with you briefly some of those conditions and some of the dangers. I do not speak with rancor, but I want to speak candidly, because, I find some aspects of the current scene deeply disturbing.

There are, on the one hand, positive and encouraging signs. For one thing, by and large, unions clearly are gathering more intelligence, more learning, more ability, and more sophistication into their leadership and their staffs. This has paralleled similar developments in management. These attributes are essential to sound and healthy collective bargaining. Without them, a truly responsible approach to the process is impossible. Responsibility on the part of both management and labor is the one indispensable element to good collective bargaining.

Furthermore, there can be no question that management and organized labor have learned, from first-hand experience, better ways of dealing and living with each other—certainly that has been true in Ford-UAW relationships. This has been helped greatly by, among other things, the Federal Government's recent policy of minimizing intervention in legitimate collective bargaining disputes, and thus reducing one of the major deterrents to the development of a real sense of responsibility in the parties.

Whether these encouraging signs are transitory or truly point the way of the future depends on whether the underlying conditions that largely have fostered their development are strengthened or destroyed. There are, as I see it, two things which might come about to destroy these conditions; First, one side or the other might possess such dominant economic power that bargainging in form would be dictation in fact; secondly, one side or the other might gain such great political power that collective bargaining would largely be supplanted by Government regulation.

Effective measures to prevent management from gaining such dominance have long been a feature of American society. As a matter of fact, there is in America today no dedicated, organized management movement in any way comparable in power—economic or political—to the organized labor movement. Furthermore, the diversity of management responsibilities and interests, the competitive instincts which characterize its thinking, and the nature of its objectives all work against the development of any such organization. The manager's basic purpose is not, per se, to deal with employees or labor unions, but to plan intelligently and operate his business successfully.

On the other hand, in today's great international unions we find a great and growing concentration of economic and political power. The generating forces for continuing growth and centralization of power are abundantly present within them. We see the appearance of all the trappings of entrenched power, the growth of bureaucracy, of hierarchies, of empire building. Uncontained, the movement could become like a glacier, moving steadily and inexorably, sweeping aside all that lies in its path.

A striking example of the institutional nature of organized labor's power drive is furnished by its recent emphasis on the necessity, from its viewpoint, of organizing white-collar and professional employees. It is quite clear that this determination basically is neither prompted by the traditional desire to protect its negotiated standards from competition, nor responsive to any significant feeling of need or desire on the part of the employees themselves. On the contrary, the talk at the top has been primarily about ways in which the unions can sell these employees on the virtue of being organized. The reason for this drive has been made abundantly clear: It is to enhance the power of the union leadership by extending its influence and domination over substantially greater numbers of individuals.

The continued growth and development of this monolithic institution raises disturbing questions as to whether sufficient checks and balances against its power now exist, and clearly suggests that at the very least it be kept under close and constant scrutiny.

In the public's appraisal of this situation, there is one central fact which should never be forgotten: The mass trade-union movement takes deep pride in being a militant, fighting institution. In the final analysis the leadership of mass labor organizations is responsible to, and dependent for its power upon, the membership it attracts and serves. The strongest, most successful leaders in the mass trade-union movement are those who have a full understanding of this fact and its implications. They are those who most fully comprehend and adroitly direct the emotional force and organizational strength which can be mobilized through the martial concept of closing ranks against the common enemy.

Many union organizations, as might be expected, are engaged in a great promotional effort to convince the public that organized labor is representative of the public as a whole, equally zealous to safeguard the interest of all elements of society. And I would not deny that many union leaders recognize the interdependence between the well-being of labor and that of others. I would not deny that many of them may believe the doctrines and policies they espouse would benefit not only labor but others. Moreover, I do not deny that many union leaders sincerely would prefer to see collective bargaining carried on in a more rational and business-like way than it is today—if internal union politics and the techniques of leadership would permit this. These things are not relevant to my point.

Examine the statements that union leaders make to their membership, read the literature aimed at their constituents, observe the activities and records of their conventions and one must realize that the power and tenure even of those union leaders who present the most calm and reasoned aspect to the outside world depend on appearing to their constituents as fighters defying all dangers and obstacles to advance the group interest. Indeed, so ingrained is this concept in the institutional dynamics of the mass union movement as it exists today that union leadership would have to invent an adversary if it did not have one.

An equally disturbing fact is that organized labor's power puts it in position to stifle some public criticism of its activities. Clearly the power to suppress adverse comment by those outsde the movement who know labor best— the management people who have daily dealings with it—is a factor to be reckoned with. The reluctance of many people in management to speak out is not a mere matter of distaste for the vilification—the name-calling, the accusations of reaction and antiunionism—which labor frequently heaps upon its critics. We who enter this field presumably recognize that this is one of its occupational hazards—that even though it is far from necessary to the promotion of union interests, at least it is a sort of impersonalized phenomenon flowing naturally from the dynamics of mass unionism. (And I am not implying that all the name-calling comes from one side of the table: There has been far too much of this sort of thing on both sides.)

The real basis for this reluctance to speak out is the union's power of economic retaliation. Retaliation need not take the form of a dramatic strike, called for that purpose. It can be made effective in a countless variety of subtle ways—but they all add up to more trouble, more cost in the shop, more difficulty in getting along with the union. Too often management decides not to risk it, and this is not healthy.

I'm not saying these things simply to be critical or condemnatory. These are facts, as I see them, which have a real and direct bearing on the public interest. For the conclusion is clear—granted the most enlightened and intelligent union leadership, the contexts within which that leadership must operate make it unrealistic to expect adequate self-restraint and voluntary moderation on the part of the union. Checks and balances are not built in; and when they come from without, it must be expected that unions will fight them, with outcries that the very existence of unionism is threatened.

While intelligence, reason, and moderation have come to play a larger role in bargaining than was the case 10 or even 5 years ago in many industries, it does not follow, as is often suggested, that this is evidence of a new maturity brought about automatically by the passage of time. In part, certainly, it has been made possible by the emergence of dominant leadership from the earlier internal struggles for power.

I am convinced, however, that it would not have occurred in nearly the degree that it has if it had not been for two other factors. For one, the Congress of the United States demonstrated in 1947 that abuses resulting from an excessively one-sided balance of power would be met with public disapproval and governmental measures. The other was the change in the Federal Government's policy on intervention in collective-bargaining disputes. Both had the effect of imposing from outside the necessity for exercising a greater sense of responsibility by organized labor.

It is significant, however, that despite the mildness of the restraints imposed by the Congress, they have chafed the leadership of organized labor as a challenge to its power.

In fact, the existence of Taft-Hartley has since been used as one of the rallying cries for intensified activity by labor on the political front. There have been other reasons given. And there have been, and likely still are differences of opinion within the unions as to what labor's role and objectives in the field of public politics should be.

Whatever the historical background, the fact of the matter is that organized labor has jumped into politics solidly with both feet and with the avowed purpose of exerting every possible effort to elect its friends and defeat its enemies at both the local and national levels. Apparently, for this purpose an enemy means anyone who isn't in the union's camp. The coordination and enhancement of organized labor's political strength has been given as one of the primary benefits aimed for in the merger of the AFL and CIO. It contributes not only money and campaign propaganda, but also, in many instances, the services of its ready-made political and organizational machinery.

The record will not support the thesis advanced by some union leaders and others, that labor's increasing concentration on political activity is primarily defensive. Its objectives are to me quite clear and to be expected—one is to assure, if it can, that the Government will not serve as an effective brake or counterbalance to labor's forward drives; the second is to promote substantive objectives with respect to terms and conditions of employment through legislation rather than at the bargaining table. There is good reason to be concerned that the objectives of influential elements within the movement may go considerably further even than this.

To repeat, my personal conviction is that free collective bargaining will still be the basic tool of union-management relations 20 years hence. However, I cannot emphasize too strongly my feeling that if organized labor achieves the dominant political position for which it strives, it is almost certain that free collective bargaining, as we know it today, will have become simply an interesting historical fact.

The public at large ultimately will determine, either by timely action or by inaction, whether or not this will be so.

One of the basic decisions the public must make is whether reasonable and effective restraints on their institutionalized political activities shall be placed on and enforced against unions, and whether the nature and extent of such permitted activities shall be kept in balance with those of other organized interests within our body politic.

Some union leaders have sought at times to minimize the importance of organized union political activity by reference to striking examples of their inability to deliver the labor vote. It is perfectly true that there have been many such examples, some of them rather striking. More important, however, is this truth: The union leadership regards such instances as serious failures, and is constantly at work improving the means and techniques for maximizing its ability to deliver the vote.

One of the serious issues facing the Nation is the adequacy and equity of the rules governing political activities by the various organized groups in our society.

A prominent labor leader is fond of remarking that freedom is indivisible. With this generality we are in complete agreement. I have been intensely interested in the union's concept of freedom as it bears upon our American tradition of a private enterprise economy. Freedom is not preserved by proclamations that it exists. There is small comfort to be derived from statements endorsing freedom in the abstract by those who simultaneously advocate wide and severe restrictions on the exercise of freedom in a wide range of specific instances.

I do not pretend to know what the political and social objectives and goals of all organized labor are, much less what the individual subjective beliefs of all or the majority of its leaders are. Because we deal principally with the predominant union in our industry—which is one of the strongest, most influential unions in the world today—I follow its activities and thinking more closely than those of others. And I must confess that I find a reason for grave concern on this score.

I may say at the outset that we sometimes find it difficult to reconcile that union's professed belief and faith in the American system of private enterprise with many of the Government measures it has advocated. More specifically, I will say quite frankly that we have felt considerable misgivings about the union's seeming eagerness to build up a great public fear about automation and its alleged consequences if Government does not intervene.

We have been extremely curious about the specific objectives encompassed by the program of Government action the union advocates under the attractive-sounding generality of assuring "* * * that the fruits of technological advance are fairly shared."

In May of 1956, the UAW played a leading role in an International Automotive Conference in Paris held by the Automotive Department of the International Metalworkers Federation. The president of the UAW is also president of this automotive department. One of his principal assistants was the chairman of the conference.

Automation was a principal topic of discussion at that conference. In his opening address to the delegates, the chairman made this statement: "We should concern ourselves also not only with the development of a practical trade-union program, but also turn our thinking to what policies and programs should be advanced at the Government level. While we in the States may have done some pioneering on automation, because the problem hit us somewhat earlier, and developed our guaranteed employment plans and a host of other specific collective bargaining approaches, we as American trade unionists have much to learn from the European experience as regards mobilizing our labor political strength for social gains at the political level, if we want to benefit by the experience of our European colleagues."

The conference resolution on automation is far too long to read all of it here, but I am going to read enough to enable you, I believe, to judge its implications. After reciting certain Government responsibilities in general terms, the main body of the resolution sets forth specific and detailed objectives in the field of Government action, a part of which I quote:

"We propose, and in our respective countries we will insist, that governments prepare without delay to carry out these responsibilities through specific measures of the kinds outlined below.

* * * * * * *

"(c) Measure to insure fair distribution of the fruits of automation:

"This objective requires that prices be reduced to reflect the sharply reduced costs of production flowing from automation. Depending upon the particular circumstances, governments may fulfill this responsibility by rigorous investigation and full public exposure of profiteering, whether by monopolies or otherwise; by setting price ceilings for particular commodities where they can be administered effectively; by the breaking of monopolies through the creation of additional publicly owned production capacity with prices set so that, through competition, they drive down the prices set by the private profiteers; and by codetermination and outright nationalization.

"(d) Measures to regulate the volume of investment and to direct the flow of investment capital in accordance with the needs of the economy as a whole:

"In addition to regulating the volume of investment, it will be necessary in economies experiencing rapid technological advance to insure that investment is channeled—

"(i) so as to provide ample employment opportunities in distressed communities; and

"(ii) under some circumstances, toward industries and activities offering expanded employment opportunities as against those seeking merely to modernize in order to reduce labor requirements."

I will leave it to you to decide how much freedom would survive the adoption of that program.

Now, you may question whether this resolution, in view of the international character of the conference at which it was passed, is truly representative of thinking in the UAW. I have asked myself this same question. I cannot answer that definitely, I suppose. But I can tell you this: the official report of the proceedings named as its principal architect a top member of the UAW's headquarters staff. The record of the proceedings does not indicate that the resolution departs from the desires of the UAW representatives who participated.

There are other straws in the wind. The official newspaper of the UAW's largest local, which covers our River Rouge location, has just featured a series of articles purporting to analyze the problems posed for the union by the automobile industry. (According to the editors, "Although the solutions * * * are not necessarily officially those of the Union, we believe them to be well reasoned * * *.") The problems are attributed to the existence of competition in the industry, which is attacked as being "a blind law," "unrestrained," and "mad." What chiefly distinguishes these articles from others of their kind is that they state explicitly the conclusion that is implicit in their premise. Again I quote:

"The only effective answer to the new challenge to security posed by the present conditions in the industry lies in a comprehensive program of Federal regulation. Only such a wide ranging program would tackle the problem at its source. Such a program, and its effectiveness, can best be illustrated by showing how it could cope with the problems that have been listed in this series of articles" (Ford Facts, March 23, 1957).

The article among other things advocates that rigid rules on inventory accumulation be set up for all companies and enforced by law, and states:

"Just as in the Korean war the percentage penetration of any given company would be set in advance by Government action" (Ford Facts, March 23, 1957).

And so on. The program of regulation advocated is, as advertised, comprehensive indeed.

I must tell you frankly that I have on a number of occasions heard the top men in the UAW as well as leaders in other unions express general views that are at odds with the kind of thinking implicit in these statements and resolutions. What then are we to believe?

In any event, I have a very deep conviction that the overwhelming majority of the American people are opposed to the kind of thinking reflected in such statements and resolutions.

It is important that all of us deal in facts, not fancies, that we understand the nature of our institutions and of the dynamic forces a work in our society, so that we can relate the particular to the general and evaluate correctly the flood of propaganda which is continuously loosed upon us from all sides. Above all, we must recognize this clear truth: First, overwhelming political power in the hands of any single interest group is an extremely dangerous thing.

So much for the political problem, as such. I would like to suggest to you certain other areas in which an informed and alert public opinion can contribute to the preservation and improvement of free collective bargaining.

One of these has to do with the difference between behaving responsibly and merely sounding plausible to a particular audience. The distinction that I seek to draw here is that between rationality and mere rationalization. This requires objective evaluation of the fine-sounding positions and statements publicized by both labor and management.

I think it is fair to say that management, more than labor, has learned to take, and has the motivation to take, a balanced approach to its problems. In the nature of its function, it must take into account a number of varied interests in arriving at its decisions. This is so because the health of the enterprise depends vitally and directly on management's ability to achieve a proper balance among all of these sometimes conflicting interests.

Stockholders, customers, employees, and even its relationships with Government and the communities it serves are directly, im-

mediately, and simultaneously affected by a company's decisions on wages, prices, investment, and other such matters. It thus is in a position fundamentally different from that of a union, whose basic concern is primarily with the reactions of its membership.

All of us should be alert to the fallacy in the plausible-sounding thesis that the economic power of management and labor can be measured in terms of the dollar resources shown on their respective books. The basic economic power of unions does not lie in their relative dollar resources, but in their power to withhold an essential ingredient in the productive process.

Similarly, management's strength in a labor dispute is not measured by the dollars on its balance sheet. Its dollars do not represent fat stored in a vault; rather, they represent plants, tools, equipment, design costs, work in process, and countless other committed assets devoted to the purposes of the enterprise. These assets must remain active and productive if they are not to be dissipated. Let me conclude, then, by emphasizing this point: Management plays—and must continue to play—a vital and constructive role in advancing the well-being of its employees. The function of maintaining balance imposes on it the obligation to resist unsound and excessive union demands, not only in the interests of its customers, its stockholders, and the community, but also—and importantly—for the long-range welfare of its employees themselves.

It is inherent in the nature of things that unions will make excessive demands which call for resistance. This, of course, exposes management to all sorts of charges by union leadership, which, as I remarked earlier, needs an "enemy."

It is important that there be general understanding of this union tactic. For it is essential to the preservation of the bargaining process that both the nature and the indispensability of management's role be understood.

I referred earlier to the developing monolithic union power with its absence of built-in limitations, and to the growing danger that, in the course of time, bargaining in form might become dictation in fact. Only with the support of broad public understanding of management's essential contribution in balancing the militant force of mass unionism will free collective bargaining continue to be the dominant instrument of management—union relations in the future.

You might conclude from all this that I foresee a cataclysmic struggle—a final great battle for power between labor and management, with all of the harm and suffering that such a conflict would bring both to the protagonists and to the Nation as a whole. I don't. I am confident that, granted a reasonable equality among the interplaying forces and a realistic and equitable system of checks and balances, both management and unions will have the good judgment and foresight to avoid a showdown. In balance, these two great forces can continue to play their vital roles in building and strengthening our economy. This is what the American people expect and this, I believe, is what they will demand.

What America Means to the Free World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Mr. Robert T. Oliver, head of the department of speech, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa., appeared in a recent issue of Vital Speeches of the Day and is a timely discussion of our foreign-aid program:

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO THE FREE WORLD—NOT TOO LITTLE BUT TOO MUCH

(By Robert T. Oliver)

What does the rest of the world think of the United States? Do we have any real friends? Or does our aid buy only neutralism and a thin veneer of undependable alliances covering up the real problems?

There are many aspects of America, and naturally they do not all look alike when viewed from abroad. Also, there are many kinds of people in the free world, and they do not all look at the United States from the same point of view, nor with the same basis of judgment. Finally, any American traveling abroad carries along his own preconceived set of prejudices and convictions, which he naturally tends to see reflected back to him even when he tries with great sincerity merely to record attitudes that really do exist.

Nevertheless, the question of how America is regarded by its free world allies is not necessarily entirely inscrutable. It is a question which I have studied on 7 trips to the Far East and 3 to Europe and the Middle East, over a span of 10 years. I have talked with heads of state, with newspapermen and diplomats, and have trudged many miles through the back streets of cities and villages in a score of nations—and have ridden in second-class compartments on dozens of railways, in order to soak up impressions from those the Lord must love for He made so many of them—the ignorant and the poor.

My conclusion is startlingly different from much that is written, repeated, and regretfully believed about the opinion the Eurasian world entertains of the United States. What I find is that the reservoir of good will toward America is not being drained dry but is so overflowingly full that it appears to be fed from an inexhaustible fountain. We are so well liked, so much trusted, so genuinely admired that our friendly allies feel no more restraint in criticizing us than fond parents do in scolding a warmly loved child. Our misunderstanding of the occasional sharp criticisms is as naive as that of the child, who threatens to leave the home where he fears he is hated, merely because his hands were slapped when caught drawing pictures on the wallpaper.

No one in his senses can doubt that everywhere the United States is regarded as the most successful, materialistically, of any nation ever established on this earth. Our standard of living is not only accepted for what it is—the highest ever achieved—but is generally far exaggerated by foreign observers. I have been seriously asked by an astute English businessman if it is not a fact that the average American family owns three automobiles. It is commonplace to hear the remark, "Of course, you Americans can afford it"—whether the "it" refers to colored television, trips to Europe, or college education for girls as well as boys.

Neither is it true that this view of our material success is snobbishly condescending. There can be no underestimation of the value of good food, warm clothing, solid housing, and adequate medical care by the 2 billion people around the world who are not quite sure of having even enough to eat—and who, when they see their one suit of clothes wearing out realize it will take everything they can earn for anywhere from 2 months to a full year to buy another. Naturally there is some jealousy in their view of our vastly superior wealth. But only in a few isolated instances have I ever found any indication of a belief that our wealth is gained through the exploitation of the world outside. And these few expressions have been in situations of high tension—as when, during the Suez crisis, an English workingman sitting beside me in London's underground asked if I thought it was true that American policy was dominated by oil producers who wanted a monopoly of the European market.

Convincing evidence of the real admiration the Eurasians feel for our American materialistic achievements lies in the eagerness with which they adopt, adapt, and imitate American goods of almost every kind. Canny Italians market a P. ARKER fountain pen, making the period after "P" as inconspicuous as possible. Japan named one of its industrial towns Usa, so that it might stamp the magic letters, "Made in USA" upon its goods. Scanning newspaper advertisements in any country from neutralist Burma to aloof Sweden, a frequent recommendatory tagline is, American style, or Just like American. These tags may refer to cosmetics or electric sweepers, to radios or raincoats.

There is no question whatsoever that American movies are the most popular in the world. So are American songs—so much so that the current jukebox favorites in Kansas City are also being hummed by taxi drivers in Tokyo and Calcutta, and sung by teen-agers from Seoul to London and Copenhagen. American magazines are not only sold everywhere in the world in their original editions, but a surprising number are translated and republished in many languages—even though they have to sell at triple the price of native-edited competitors. This is not at all because of a paucity of productive genius outside the United States. Many foreign films, songs, and periodicals compare very favorably with their American competitors. But they can not match the magic prestige that clings to the United States product.

The story is different—but only in detail, not basically—when we shift to the views held of United States foreign policy. The opportunity to criticize McCarthyism was seized upon and magnified around the world with the same zestfulness that spices gossip in any American community about the peccadilloes of the locally prominent families. Gossip is never so entertaining as when it concerns the unquestioned aristocrats.

The charges that have been so frequent in many nations (from India to England) that the American fear of communism has been hysterical have reflected attitudes we should have been able to understand. In part the charges have been self-protective, in an attempt to justify the inability of lesser powers to engage in similar manifestations of defensive strength. In part they have been the relaxed chatterings of peoples who have, indeed, felt safer than we have felt—but only because of their knowledge of the deterrent power of our weapons and policies. In part the criticisms have been diversionary, to direct attention away from the shortcomings of political regimes only weakly established.

Far more typical of real feelings is the message urgently pumped into me in Geneva, in 1954, by a group of English foreign news correspondents, who pleaded that the United States must give up its partnership approach to foreign policy, and really lead—even to the extent of going far beyond what its allies would agree to in combating Russian aggressiveness. "We had to move first in 1914 and 1939, when you weren't ready," they told me. "Now the job is up to you. If you insist on waiting until our politicians feel strong enough to make a stand, the world will be lost just as surely as it would have been if England and France had refused to challenge Hitler until America was ready to come in with them."

One evening in New Delhi, in late September 1956, I spent inthe company of a group of prosperous young Indian businessmen, who were seriously ill at ease. After a while they explained their embarrassment. "We know Nehru's policies are unpopular in

America," they said. "The fact is, we don't like them either. We think his neutralism is shortsighted and foolish—and that Krishna Menon, in particular, is doing India and the whole free world a vast amount of harm. But we simply have to depend on Nehru's leadership to hold India together. He's a curious man, but the only leader we have. We hope you Americans will be tolerant and understanding and not think too badly of us. Just wait and you'll find we have always been on your side." It was almost pathetic to find how eagerly this most independent-minded people was to deserve and hold the good opinion of Americans, which they obviously value chiefly because of their conviction that our course is right.

One subject I've always been most assiduous in investigating is whether our foreign beneficiaries really do fear that the economic aid they get from us is actually a form of colonial control. They certainly do not. The generosity of the United States is commonly regarded almost with awe—for no other country is able even remotely to afford such a luxury of self-abnegation. Despite the horrendous efforts of Russian propaganda, those who receive the aid (as well as their wistful neighbors who would like the same) simply refuse to believe it is motivated by ill will.

While in the Philippines I talked for several hours about this problem with President Ramon Magsaysay. Manila was a good city in which to raise the subject, for Magsaysay's political rivals talk loudly and often about the "imperialism" of American military bases and economic programs in the islands. After assuring me in a dozen ways that this was nothing but empty froth, Magsaysay abruptly jumped up, motioned me to come with him, and took me out to a small village where an irrigation project had just been completed with American aid funds. There, in a half-hour speech, he told the farmers in exact terms how much American money was spent for the pumps and pipelines, and what it would mean in family income for all of them. There was no doubt that they were with him.

Korea is one country that has most strongly disagreed with what it considers American "appeasement" of the Russians—particularly in the signing of the truce which left the Red Chinese armies in North Korea. But nowhere among the 22 million Koreans has there ever appeared anything remotely approaching anti-Americanism—no "Yankee home" signs on the walls—no popular outcries against the (not always commendable) behavior of American troops.

What I have found, everywhere I've gone, amongst all manner of people, is the deep conviction that the United States is the one strong nation of the world whose motives can surely be trusted. And this is something new in the history of the world.

It was not at all the attitude of other nations and peoples during the periods of dominance by Spain, Napoleon's France, or England. It was not the feeling of other countries about Hitler or Mussolini. And it certainly is not the view held of the Soviet Union—not really even by such "neutralists" as Nehru and Sukarno.

How the so-called "uncommitted" peoples feel about Russian communism is illustrated by a story told me by a hotelman in Geneva. "We all say," he explained, "that communism is like the Garden of Eden. For, just like Adam and Eve, the Communists have no clothes, no food, no houses, and no right to knowledge—and they call it Paradise."

A question of most importance is whether, in view of the high regard in which the United States is held around the free world, we Americans can safely sink back into a complacent conviction that the cold war is going well and is certain to be won. Without qualification, the answer has to be a resounding No.

The free world does indeed think highly of us—in large part because it expects better of us than that. It expects that we will make any sacrifice necessary to prevent the communization of the world—for we, above all others, would suffer the greatest loss in such an event. The free world knows that no other people is so well informed as are Americans. They think we must be smart in order to achieve what we have. They know we are willing to fight to defend others, for we did so in World Wars I and II. They lean upon us for leadership and their disappointment is greatest when we fail to provide it.

President Eisenhower's action in regard to the English and French action in Egypt has been reluctantly popular—even to a degree among the thoughtful majorities in England and France, so soon as the first hot resentment wore off. Where our prestige has suffered most has been in our failure to take any similar kind of positive leadership in dealing with the far more tragic events in Hungary. Even in this situation, I have been told by many individuals in Austria (for I was in Vienna when the Russians roared into Budapest with their tanks), Switzerland, Italy Spain, and Portugal, "After all, there was nothing more you could have done."

But this is always followed by the expression of a strong hope that "America will do something to help the captive people get free." The faith in American power, in American intentions, and in American wisdom remains strong. If anything, the danger is that such sentiments are not too weak, but that they are too genuine and widespread.

"Leave it to Uncle Sam. He'll finally pull us through" is a feeling far more prevalent than any superficial criticisms or doubt. What we have principally to contend with is not a growing antagonism of peoples around the world, but a jellying dependence upon us which loads us with a responsibility we may not be ready to assume. This is the real problem. Our growth to maturity as the greastest power of the free world depends primarily upon our forgetting the nagging worry that we may not be liked and awakening to the fact that everywhere the people who value liberty are consigning more and more into our hands the task of preserving it.

New York Supreme Court Decision Becomes Final Holding That a Labor Union Has Legal Right To Expel Communist Party Members

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I present the text of a decision of the New York Supreme Court upholding the right of labor unions to expel Communist Party members. The history of this significant decision came to my attention recently when presiding as subcommittee chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee in 5 days of public hearings in New York City. It was called to my attention by Attorney David I. Ashe, of the New York bar, who wrote me the letter dated May 1, 1957, as hereinafter set forth and which letter gave me the present status of this case in which he appeared as counsel of record for the defendant. His letter to me of May 1 comes in answer to my inquiry to him asking to be informed of the status of this decision by Justice Hammer. I submit the text of a booklet which was printed and circulated extensively by the New York District Council No. 9, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America entitled "The Right of the Painters Union To Expel Communist Party Members":

LAW OFFICES, ASHE & RIFKIN,
New York, N. Y., May 1, 1957.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DOYLE: In answer to your inquiry of April 30, Harry Sacher filed a notice of appeal to the appellate division of the New York Supreme Court from the decision of Justice Hammer, which I sent you. However, he never perfected the appeal. The result was that Justice Hammer's decision became the final one in the action.

You will also be interested to know that this decision has been cited time and again by other courts on the subject of Communists in labor unions.

Since I do not receive the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD regularly, I would very much appreciate your sending me a copy of it should the decision be reprinted there.

With kindest regards,
Cordially,

DAVID I. ASHE.

THE RIGHTS OF THE PAINTERS UNION TO EXPEL COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS—COURT DECISION UPHOLDING RIGHT OF LABOR UNIONS TO EXPEL COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS

FOREWORD

The Communist Party has been a menace, plaguing the American labor movement for many years. Those of us who have observed at first hand the activities of Communists in labor unions know only too well from bitter experience that their tactics of deceit, subterfuge, character assassination and blind subservience to the dictates of their party and Soviet Russia over and above the welfare of the memberships of the unions, if not checked, can only lead to the destruction of free American labor unions. Some unions have sought to meet this Communist Party threat by bringing Communist Party members on charges of one kind or another, such as slandering union officials, dual unionism, etc. Other unions have preferred to face squarely the fact that the Communist Party is an enemy of the labor movement and have provided in their constitutions that no Communist may be a member of these unions. The constitution of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America contains the following provision:

"Any member who associates himself with any organization or group that expounds or promotes any doctrine or philosophy inimical to or subversive of the fundamental principles and institutions of the Government of the United States or Dominion of Canada, the American Federation of Labor or of this brotherhood, shall be granted a hearing by the local and, if found guilty, shall be disciplined in the manner provided for in this constitution.

"The German-American Bund, the Nazi Party, the Fascist Party, the Communist Party, and organizations which subscribe to the doctrines of the foregoing shall be conclusively presumed to be organizations within the condemnation of the foregoing section."

In spite of this provision the Communist Party leaders in our union insisted that no

action could be taken against them because a union had no right, under the Constitution of the United States, to bar Communists from membership. However, acting on the advice of our attorney, David I. Ashe, that we had such power, the New York Painters District Council No. 9 brought charges against three of our members who are Communists and we expelled them from the union. The three—Louis Weinstock, Morris Gainer, and Morris Davis—are all former officers of the district council or of their local unions.

Immediately upon their expulsion they started an action in the New York Supreme Court to declare the expulsion illegal and to reinstate them as members of the union. The decision of Justice Ernest E. L. Hammer, holding that the district council had the right to expel these Communist Party members, is, we believe, one of the most important that has ever been rendered by any court in a case involving the internal affairs of labor unions. Not only is it the first court decision on this subject, but it is a masterly analysis of the role of Communists in unions and of the power of unions to protect themselves against this danger.

Because of its significance for the entire labor movement, we have reprinted Justice Hammer's decision in this pamphlet.

LOUIS CAPUTO,
President,
MARTIN RABBACK,
Secretary Treasurer,
New York District Council No. 9, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America.

JULY 1950.

SUPREME COURT,
COUNTY OF NEW YORK.

LABOR UNIONS—EXPULSION OF MEMBER OF COMMUNIST PARTY

A labor union may, under a provision in its constitution permitting it to do so, expel a member on the ground that he is a member of the Communist Party. A provision permitting expulsion on this ground, included in the constitution by an amendment adopted in pursuance of a power to amend which was reserved in the constitution, is binding on one who was a member before the amendment was adopted and who did not acquiesce in its adoption. The provision is not contrary to public policy and does not infringe on political or other constitutional rights.

Louis Weinstock et al., plaintiffs, v. *Harry Ladisky and company, District Council No. 9, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America*, defendant.

Decided May 18, 1950.

Sacher & Sacher for plaintiffs.

Ashe & Rifkin (David I. Ashe of counsel) for defendant.

Hammer, Justice: The action herein is by plaintiffs for a mandatory injunction commanding the defendant to reinstate them as members of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America from which they were expelled after trial.

There are two motions presented for decision. The plaintiffs have moved for an injunction pendente lite restraining defendant from interfering with or depriving plaintiffs of any of the rights which they have as members of the Brotherhood. The defendant has cross-moved for an order dismissing the complaint on the ground that it does not state facts sufficient to constitute a cause of action. The complaint sets forth in its allegations all the facts and annexes to it the constitution of the Brotherhood and a copy of the trial board's report. The affidavits supporting and against the motion for a temporary injunction reiterate or admit the facts shown in the allegations of and exhibits attached to the complaint. Plaintiffs assert interpretations, constructions, and conclusions which are denied by defendant, whose affidavits also assert interpretations, constructions and conclusions. The facts shown by the complaint and it exhibits and also by the affidavits will be stated.

The defendant District Council No. 9, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America (hereinafter referred to as the district council or as the union) is a labor union of painters and paperhangers in the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx. It exists by virtue of a charter granted to it by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America (hereinafter referred to as the brotherhood), an international labor union organized at Baltimore, Md., March 15, 1887. It is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The district council in turn, consists of 12 local unions chartered by the Brotherhood in Manhattan and the Bronx. Each of these local unions elects delegates to the district council. The brotherhood, the district council and the local unions are all voluntary, unincorporated associations.

Each plaintiff is a journeyman painter. Plaintiffs were admitted to membership in defendant and its locals, Weinstock in local union No. 499 in 1926. Gainer in local No. 905 in 1935, and Davis in local 1035 in 1927. Plaintiff Weinstock was until July 1947 secretary-treasurer of the defendant district council.

The brotherhood is governed by a written constitution, which is binding upon the brotherhood, all district councils and all local unions, and all members of the brotherhood.

The constitution of the brotherhood provided in section 107 thereof as follows: "(d) Any member who associates himself with any organization or group that expounds or promotes any doctrine or philosophy inimical to or subversive of the fundamental principles and institutions of the Government of the United States or Dominion of Canada, the American Federation of Labor or of this brotherhood, shall be granted a hearing by the local and, if found guilty, shall be disciplined in the manner provided for in this constitution. (e) The German-American Bund, the Nazi Party, the Fascist Party, the Communist Party and organizations which subscribe to the doctrines of the foregoing, shall be conclusively presumed to be organizations within the condemnation of the foregoing section. The decision of the general executive board that an organization expounds and promotes principles condemned in the foregoing section, shall be final and binding. (g) The foregoing sections and the authority conferred therein shall apply with equal force and effect to district councils and other subordinate bodies."

The complaint alleges that the above provisions were added to the constitution of the brotherhood in 1941, many years after each of the plaintiffs became a member of the brotherhood. It is further alleged that none of the plaintiffs at any time prior to the commencement of this action assented to or acquiesced in the adoption and inclusion of said provisions in the constitution of the brotherhood. It will be assumed that no act or word of any of the plaintiffs evidenced assent or acquiescence. Whether in law the new provision became binding upon them will be discussed later.

On December 7, 1949, charges were filed with defendant district council against each of the plaintiffs under the above provisions of section 107 of the constitution. As to each of the plaintiffs the charges alleged that he "* * * is a member of the Communist Party and has consistently associated himesif with other organizations which subscribe to the doctrines of the Communist Party and which expound and promote doctrines and philosophies inimical to and subversive to the fundamental principles of the Government and the American Federation of Labor. He has consistently followed the Communist Party line of sabotaging of union activities within the brotherhood and the district council, thus causing untold and irreparable harm to the membership of the union, to the entire brotherhood and the American Federation of Labor." Each plaintiff was served with a copy of the charges and with a notice to appear for trial on January 28, 1950. On that date each plaintiff submitted to the district council's trial board a typewritten statement challenging the authority of the district council to exercise original jurisdiction of the charges brought under section 107 and stating each refused to stand trial or participate in the proceedings. The trial was adjourned to February 4 and thereupon each of the plaintiffs repeated this position. The trial board then proceeded with the trial of each of the plaintiffs in the manner prescribed in the constitution. At the conclusion thereof the trial board submitted a report to the district council finding that each of the plaintiffs "is a member of the Communist Party and of organizations which subscribe to the doctrines of the Communist Party" and recommending that the plaintiffs be expelled from the brotherhood. The district council on March 1, 1950, approved and adopted the findings and recommendations of the trial board. This procedure is also that set forth in the constitution.

Plaintiffs contend (1) that the charges preferred against them were vague and indefinite and in the circumstances the district council and its trial board were without jurisdiction to try and to expel plaintiffs; (2) that section 107 of the constitution is contrary to public policy and the law of the land; (3) that no evidence was adduced before the trial board that the Communist Party was an organization or group inimical to or subversive of the fundamental principles and institutions of the United States and of the American Federation of Labor and (4) that the expulsion of the plaintiffs being, as a matter of law, null and void, they have a right to apply directly to this court for the relief prayed for herein without exhausting their remedies with the brotherhood.

It is shown that the plaintiff Weinstock in his written objections presented to the trial board stated that the charges were the same as charges filed against him in 1945 and which upon the trial at that time resulted in a dismissal by the district council. It is contended that the charge made against each plaintiff that "he is a member of the Communist Party" is vague and indefinite. The fact is, nevertheless, that each plaintiff admits that he was and is a member of the Communist Party. Under the circumstances it cannot be held that the charge was vague and indefinite, as each knew exactly and with definiteness what was meant by the language used. What union members understand by the language of such charge, and what Americans generally understand will be later discussed. Suffice it to say here that such an accusation has connotations which if spoken or written and not shown to be true would be actionable per se entitling the injured party to damages (*Mencher* v. *Chesley*, (297 N. Y., 94, 102); *Grant* v. *Reader's Digest Association*, (151 F., 2d, 733, 735, cert. den. 326, U. S. 797)).

At the outset, plaintiff's contention that section 107 is not binding upon them because they never assented or acquiesced in its adoption and inclusion in the brotherhood constitution will be considered first, because if it be well founded it would entitle them to the relief sought. The plaintiffs concede that except for reasons of race, creed, color, or national origin (civil rights law of New York, sec. 43), a labor union may legally exclude anyone it pleases from admission to membership, even upon the ground of membership in any particular political party. They allege that once a person has been admitted to membership and has thereupon acquired rights of membership, including the

right to earn a livelihood as such member the union does not continue to have any such power. They assert as a conclusion that a union may not expel such a member for violation of a constitutional amendment later adopted, as in the present instance, making membership in the Communist Party ground for expulsion. It is admitted by plaintiffs that in the existing state of the law a union may exclude from admission to membership any person who is a member of the Communist Party solely on the basis of such membership. Plaintiffs' concession in effect is that if at the time of a given member's admission to such union its constitution or bylaws provided that membership in the Communist Party was a cause for expulsion, the member could be expelled for joining such party. The theory of the concession apparently is that such a member would have violated the contract made with the union which he joined. Reliance for the position taken is placed in *Polin* v. *Kaplan* (257 N. Y. 277, 281).

In respect to plaintiffs' statement that the defendant union as an original proposition had the right to fix qualifications and grant or refuse membership it is fair to observe that the conceded matter is not open to question and in fact is no concession (*Simons* v. *Berry* (210 App. Div., 90, 92, 205 N. Y. S., 442); *Colson* v. *Gebler* (192 Misc. 520, 80 N. Y. S., 2d, 448); *Matter of Miller* v. *Ruehl* (166 Misc., 479, 2 N. Y. S., 2d 394).

We advert to the plaintiffs' claim that they may only be expelled for breach of contract under authority of *Polin* v. *Kaplan* (*supra*). Such a breach of the contract would furnish a good ground for such expulsion. What is overlooked is that were there a violation of the union's constitutional provision in respect of membership in the Communist Party such violation in and of itself would warrant such expulsion, and, if there were a contract, is what would render the breach of contract of such substantial significance as to constitute an expellable offense. Under the circumstances the reason for a choice between these two grounds of expulsion would be insignificant.

The plaintiffs assert that the question posed by the present case is: May a union, whose constitution contains provision for its amendment, expel a member solely because of his membership in the Communist Party where the amendment was added to its constitution long after the member joined the union? Plaintiffs answer the question by asserting that under the general reservation of amending power existing here the contract may not be changed in any essential particular at the election of those in whose favor the reservation is made. The provision in question, plaintiffs charge, is a radical change in the contract which was not within the contemplation of the parties.

As plaintiffs rely on *Polin* v. *Kaplin* (*supra*) it is deemed appropriate to make note of a quotation therefrom (p. 281): "The constitution and bylaws of an unincorporated association express the terms of a contract which defines the privileges secured and the duties assumed by those who have become members. As the contract may prescribe the precise terms upon which a membership may be gained, so may it conclusively define the conditions which entail its loss. Thus, if the contract reasonably provides that the performance of certain acts will constitute a sufficient cause for the expulsion of a member, and that charges of their performance, with notice to the member, shall be tried before a tribunal set up by the association, the provision is exclusive, and the judgment of the tribunal, rendered after a fair trial, that the member has committed the offenses charged and must be expelled, will not be reviewed by the regularly constituted courts (*Belton* v. *Hatch* (109 N. Y., 593)), *Matter of Haebler* v. *New York Produce Exchange* (149 N. Y., 414). A court cannot review the proceedings or reexamine the merits of the expulsion,' (Per Miller, Judge, in *Wilcox* v. *Royal Arcanum* (210 N. Y., 370, 376).)"

In *White* v. *Brownell* (2 Daly, 338; 4 Ab. Prac., N. S., 162), the court, in reference to an unincorporated association, said: "The constitution of the association, and its laws agreed upon by its members, contain all the stipulations of the parties, and is the law which should govern. The members have established a law for themselves. * * * The court must regard the constitution and laws of this board as the contract by which all the members are bound. The court cannot make any other contract for the purpose than they have solemnly made for themselves."

Looking at the constitution of the brotherhood, it is found that prior to the 1941 convention it was provided therein that: "No member shall at any given time belong to more than one local union of the brotherhood, nor become a member of any dual organization of painters, decorators, or paperhangers, nor become a member in nor affiliate with, in any way whatsoever, the German-American Bund, nor the Nazi Party, nor the Communists' organization, nor any other foreign alliance opposed to the principles of the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of expulsion. (At the 1941 convention the above provision was renumbered as section 107 and was amended to read as heretofore set forth.) In the circumstances, the amendment to the constitution must be said to be a gradual, progressive, evolutionary change, and not a radical one, in the constitution and laws of the union. This is so regardless of whether it was within the contemplation of the parties when plaintiffs entered into membership in the union. The United States District Court for the District of Columbia, in the case of *Durkin* v. *Murray* (civil action No. 5376–49, decided Feb. 6, 1950, 17 Labor Cases, par. 65, 601), inter alia held: "Plaintiffs seek to justify their failure to exhaust their remedies within the CIO by concluding and alleging in their complaint that the CIO had no right to amend its constitution to provide for expelling a union for devoting itself to the program of the Communist Party rather than the objectives of the CIO; that the UOPWA's certificate of affiliation with the CIO constitutes a compact barring the revocation of that certificate and the expulsion proceedings are improper or illegal. It does not appear to the court from the complaint and from plaintiffs' exhibits that such conclusions are warranted."

The terms of the contract between an unincorporated association, such as a labor organization, and its members, are expressed in its constitution and bylaws. When the constitution provides for future amendments by the vote of the membership in a manner provided, that is a term as binding and enforcible as are the other presently expressed terms.

In *Everett* v. *Supreme Council, C. B. L.* (236 N. Y., 62, 68) it was held: "Where the reservation of authority to amend a charter or the constitution and bylaws of a society is clear, the right to have the rate of assessment and the amount of benefits continued as originally provided is not vested or fixed beyond the possibility of reasonable changes to meet new conditions."

The holding in *Kehlenbeck* v. *Logeman* (10 Daly, 447) requires that the issue of the alleged unreasonableness of the amendment expressed in section 107 must be resolved against the plaintiffs. There, at page 448, it is stated: "It has been held in this court upon more than one occasion that in respect to the bylaws of a voluntary association the court has no visitorial power, and cannot determine whether they are reasonable or unreasonable, and the only question which it can examine is whether they have been adopted in the way which has been agreed upon by the members of the association."

No issue is presented questioning that section 107 was adopted in the manner and by the vote required by the constitution of the brotherhood. The facts show it was duly and properly adopted (*Cipriano* v. *Societa San Salvatore* (161 N. Y. S., 284)). It was, therefore, a valid amendment binding upon all the members.

Every association is under the duty to protect the interests of its general membership rather than that of a few individual members. The private interest of the individual is subservient to the general good of the whole body (*Marshall* v. *Pilots' Ass'n* (18 Pa. Sup. Ct. 644, 651)).

While plaintiffs appeal to public policy to protect them in the pursuit within the defendant union of their avowed purposes as Communists, public policy as it is expressed in the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 (61 Stat., 136, 146, 29 U. S. C. Supp., secs. 141 and 159 (h), amending the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, 49 Stat., 449, 29, U. S. C., sec. 151 et seq.) indicates that any such appeal is futile. Section 9 (h) of that act denies the use of all facilities of the National Labor Relations Board and all benefits of the Labor-Management Relations Act to a labor union "unless there is on file with the Board an affidavit executed contemporaneously or within the preceding 12-month period by each officer of such labor organization and the officers of any national or international labor organization of which it is an affiliate or constituent unit that he is not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with such party, and that he does not believe in, and is not a member of or supports any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods." The constitutionality of section 9 (h) was upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States on May 8, 1950 (*United Steelworkers of America* v. *National Labor Relations Board*).

Senator WAYNE MORSE, former dean of the University of Oregon Law School, in opposing the Taft-Hartley Act, made a statement in the Senate on May 13, 1947, which may well be regarded as expressive of the viewpoint of all the Senators, relative to communism. He said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 5290): "I need not reiterate my opposition to Communists and their beliefs. I shall fight communism with all my energy because it destroys the liberties of freemen. I want to say that communism must be stamped out of the free labor movement of this country, if we are to preserve the rights of free workers and protect the dignity of the individual." In *National Maritime Union of America* v. *Herzog* (78 F. Supp. 146) the statutory three-judge court of the District of Columbia in the course of its opinion said: "Before the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act, of which section 9 (h) is a part, extensive hearings were conducted by congresional committees at which alarming evidence was presented that Communists in positions of authority in trade unions tend to foment industrial unrest and strife, not to attain legitimate economic aims, but to serve political purposes; that they thus impede the flow of commerce in the very teeth of the act's purpose to promote it. Quotations from the abundant evidence presented to the committees would prolong this opinion unduly. Suffice it to say it afforded ample basis for the formation of a legislative policy to curb Communist influence in labor relations (p. 162). * * * In view of the avowed purpose of both the Wagner Act and the Taft-Hartley Act to bring about a peaceful solution of labor quarrels, and the discernible purpose of the Communist Party to foment strikes and industrial disorders, Congress could well conclude that persons occupying key positions in the administration of labor laws should not be subject to conflicting loyalties or interests (p. 171). * * * Admission is sought here to

the arena of exclusive bargaining in which the conduct of the agent will affect not only the rights of its members and all other employees, but the interests of the public, too. Accordingly, having with good reason diagnosed communism as a contagion which is deleterious to labor relations, Congress has the power to ask a prospective bargaining agent whether he is so affiliated (p. 171)." The House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labor has stated (H. Rept. No. 245, 80th Cong., 1st sess., p. 39): "Communists use their influence in unions not to benefit workers but to promote dissension and turmoil." The Communist Party and numerous organizations fronting for it are listed as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States. And President Truman, in his veto message to Congress after the first passage of the Taft-Hartley bill, said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 7503): "Congress intended to assist labor organizations to rid themselves of Communist officers. With this objective I am in full accord." J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has branded domestic Communists as belonging body and soul to the Red Hitler at Moscow and has asserted that by seeking to destroy the fabric of democracy they have forfeited their constitutional liberties (address, Masonic Grand Lodge of State of New York, Hotel Astor, May 2, 1950, the New York Times, May 3, 1950). Gen. Douglas MacArthur, in advising the Japanese people to consider possible legislation of the Japanese Communist Party, pointed out that while the Communist Party professes championship of the workers' rights in order to enlist support within labor's ranks, events abroad demonstrate that the worker loses all rights under Communist political rule. The general warned: "The issue is therefore clear and unequivocal—how far may the fundamental human rights be exercised unabridged without becoming the instrument of their own destruction. It is an issue which confronts all free people forewarned that others have lost their liberties because, blindly following an ideal, they have failed to see the dangers inherent in reality. While it is the universal desire of all freemen to preserve unabridged the exercise of their personal liberties, there is thus an issue projected into every law-abiding society which may not be ignored without hazarding the survival of liberty itself" (the New York Times, May 3, 1950).

The Smith Act (18 U. S. C. 2385), to which reference is made below, is declarative of the policy of the United States Government to rid itself of communism and supporting groups. All three branches of our Government have recognized the dangers of communism and Communists. The Communist threat to the American trade-union movement also has been exposed by trade-union leaders. In 1948 President Philip Murray, of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, attacked Communist leaders of unions who condemned their own country, but failed to criticize "a single, solitary thing that Russia has done since the end of the war" (10th Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, November 22, 1948, Portland, Oreg.). At the same convention Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, castigated those bent on destroying the American labor union and said that "they have a simple question to resolve in their own minds and their own hearts. It is a question of loyalty. Are they going to be loyal to the CIO or loyal to the Communist Party? Are they going to be loyal to this country or loyal to the Soviet Union? You cannot be loyal to both." William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in a broadcast of September 6, 1948, warned of the hypocrisy of communism and told of efforts of Communists to capture control of unions. Mr. David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, has stated that "the spirit and aims of totalitarian communism are totally distinct from and hostile to the ideals and policies of free trade unionism. * * * Communism in unions and other organizations is conspiratorial. It is based on the elimination of majority rule. It aims to establish the one-party state as the sole power over all groups. * * * Free, democratic trade unionism and communism do not mix. One cancels out the other. To be free the unions must keep the Communists out of leadership which they would use to advance their party interests" (A Warning Against Communists in Unions, the New York Times magazine, May 11, 1947). Speaking at a section meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union, held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York on February 22, 1950, Mr. Will Herberg, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, said: "All this (the rights of unpopular minorities), however, has no relation to Communists. Communists do not constitute a union minority in the ordinary sense. Communists constitute an antiunion force in the service of a foreign dictatorship whose purpose it is to destroy all labor organizations and to subject mankind to ruthless totalitarian slavery. Communists are enemies of the labor movement in the same sense as people serving as undercover agents of open-shop employers; indeed, they are far more pernicious than the latter could ever be. * * * Allegiance to the Communist Party seems to me to be an obvious disqualification for any position of power, trust, or influence, whether it be in the Government, in the educational system, or in trade unions." The obvious conclusion is that section 107 is not contrary to the public policy of the United States.

It should be noted that voluntary, unincorporated associations, including labor unions, have inherent power, somewhat akin to the police power of a State, to provide for the welfare of their members and to regulate their affairs so as to attain the objects and purposes for which they were constituted. Aside from and independent of any provisions in this constitution and by-laws, a labor union has the right of self-protection and self-preservation, and may discipline a member or officer for conduct tending to thwart or destroy its objects. Such power may be exercised even to the extent of expelling a member from the organization (*Polin* v. *Kaplin*, 257 N. Y. 277, at pp. 282–3, supra; *Yockel* v. *German-American Bund*, 20 N. Y. S., 2d 774, 777; *Belkin* v. *Spiegel*, Supreme Court, Special Term, N. Y. L. J., December 29, 1938; *Otto* v. *Tailors' P. & B. Union*, 75 Cal., 308, 314; *Weiss* v. *Musical Mutual Prot. Union*, 189 Penn. St. 446; Martin, "Modern Law of Labor Unions," sec. 306, p. 380; License Cases, 5 How., 504, 583; *People* v. *Ryan*, 230 App. Div. 252, 255). The rule is succinctly stated by Martin, supra, as follows: "The power to expel or otherwise punish a member for conduct in violation of its fundamental objects, and which if persisted in would have a tendency to thwart or destroy such objects or bring the union into disrepute is inherent in the union." The Court of Appeals in *Polin* v. *Kaplan* (supra, at pp. 282–283), also gave recognition to and reiterated the principle that in every union constitution "* * * there inheres a term binding members to loyal support of the society in the attainment of its proper purposes, and that for a gross breach of this obligation the power of expulsion is impliedly conferred on the association."

While it must be found that the plaintiffs have failed to exhaust their remedies under the Brotherhood constitution (*Browne* v. *Hibbets*, 290 N. Y., 459, 465; *Lafond* v. *Deems*, 81 N. Y., 507, 514; *Keller* v. *Lindelof*, 268 App. Div., 877, aff'd 294 N. Y., 717; *Cabana* v. *Holstein-Friesian Assn.*, 196 App. Div., 842, 850, aff'd 233 N. Y., 644) and that would suffice to dispose of the motions presented, if the motions may be decided on the merits and the litigation thus brought to finality, then obviously it would be proper to make such a final determination.

In the interest of such finality, therefore, the charges by plaintiffs that the amendment in question is contrary to public policy as an unwarranted abridgement of the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution, is the equivalent of a bill of attainder and is violative of the 14th amendment to the Constitution, will be accorded further consideration.

It must be clear that the amendment attacked does not infringe on the political rights of the plaintiffs. In the public forum they may talk, act, and vote as they have a mind to, provided they violate no public law. Section 107 of the Brotherhood constitution in no way interferes with the rights of the plaintiffs to hold or express any views or to belong to any organizations with which they choose to affiliate themselves. Their own acts and not those of the union made them members of the Communist party, an organization declared by the union to be hostile to its fundamental purposes. Their own acts of disloyalty to their union, the defendant, subjected each of them to discipline. That a labor union has the power to expel a member for failure to support "the society in the attainment of its proper purposes," is the holding of the very authority upon which they rely (*Polin* v. *Kaplan*, *supra*, at pp. 282–283).

The basic fallacy in plaintiff's argument concerning interference with their political rights is their assumption that as members of the Communist Party they have standing identical with members of other political parties. Of the major parties, one is in control, through persons of its choice, of the executive branch of the Government, and usually of the legislative branch, and is the party answerable to the people for the administration of those branches. The other party is the opposition and critic of the acts and failures of the party in control. Both parties act under and within the Constitution and laws. The main object of the Communist Party, on the contrary, is the overthrow by force, if required, of the Government of the United States and of its Constitution and laws and the substitution in place thereof of the Soviet communistic totalitarian dictatorship. All public officials and officers, as a qualification for office, take an oath to support the Constitution and laws of the United States, and, if a State office, also of the State. Obviously, Communists could not honestly and truthfully take that oath. If such were taken, they would be guilty of willful deception and fraud, as under its cover their party allegiance would require them to conspire and hatch plots for treason, and upon opportunity to spring into destructive action. Plaintiffs assert no evidence was adduced at their trial showing that the Communist Party was inimical and subversive to the United States and the American Federation of Labor. The evidence presented to the trial board was that as Communist Party members the plaintiffs at union meetings preached the superiority of the Soviet Union to the United States and its form of government to the American form—they predicted the fall of China to communism and stated that the United States would be next; they prophesied a depression in this land, which our laws and economic system would be powerless to avert, and which they hoped would hasten the subjection of this country to communism; and they solicited candidates and funds from their fellow union members for the Communist Party. The evidence, among other things, showed that three articles on Hungary appeared in the Communist paper, the Daily Worker, written by Weinstock, and his Communist standing and leadership were

described. There was evidence also that he was a member of the national committee of the Communist Political Association, and that he conducted a course on Marxism and labor at the Jefferson School, a subversive organization, and was grand marshal of the May Day parade, of which the organizing committee was also a subversive organization. The evidence showed statements by Gainer that he admitted being a Communist; also showed him to be a member of the Communist Political Association and heading the list of sponsors of the May Day committee, and other documents in evidence showed he participated in Communist front organizations. The evidence showed Davis to be a member of the Communist Party and of the Painters Educational Forum, a Communist group which in 1950 conducted a meeting at which Davis, Weinstock, Gainer and Jack Stachel, 1 of the 11 Communists recently convicted in the Federal District Court, were listed as speakers. The evidence also showed the distribution at union meetings of Communist leaflets by Davis and that he urged members to join the Communist Party, and documents in evidence showed his participation in Communist front organizations. The report of the defendant union's trial board on the charges against Weinstock, Gainer and Davis recited the findings and supporting evidence as is noted above, is annexed to the complaint and is a part thereof. Such conduct on the part of the plaintiffs was anticountry and antiunion and completely political. Their adherence to the party line, and their acts and statements, foreshadow a resort to violence, a substitution of force for reason, and of bullets for ballots.

There are many instances in which workers have been deprived of their democratic rights, where the courts have granted the required relief (*Irwin* v. *Possehl* (143 Misc., 855, 858)). There are also many instances where under the pretense of constitutional protection union members have sought to continue nefarious acts contrary to the interests of union, of labor, and of country, in which the authority of the union was upheld by the courts (*Ames* v. *Dubinsky*.(70 N. Y. S., 2d, 706), and cases there cited). The emphasis upon the Bill of Rights and the 14th amendment pointedly brings to mind another section of our Constitution, that defining treason against the United States as "levying war against them, or, in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort" (art. III, sec. 3). The American people have come to the realization that too many assert the protection afforded by the Bill of Rights and the 14th amendment while engaged in conduct closely approximating that definition of treason. We have held that the brotherhood in its constitution not only had the right to provide the terms upon which membership might be gained, but by providing the reservation of amendment it also had the right to define reasonable conditions for continued membership. Section 107 was enacted by the Brotherhood to defend itself from those who would destroy it, and who would give "aid and comfort" to a foreign power, and to organizations and institutions commonly known and labeled as enemies of the United States and of the defendant's parent body, the American Federation of Labor (*Polin* v. *Kaplan, supra; L'Hommedieu et al.* v. *Board of Regents, N. Y. L. J.*, March 16, 1950; *Lederman et al.* v. *Board of Education, N. Y. L. J.*, March 30, 1950).

Contrary to the claim of plaintiffs, section 107 is not equivalent to a bill of attainder. A bill of attainder "is a legislative act inflicting punishment without a judicial trial" (16 C. J. S., sec. 452, p. 902, and footnotes). Bills of attainder have been said to be also ex post facto because passed after the commission of the offense which is to be punished. Chief Justice Marshall stated the accepted definition of an ex post facto law as "one which renders an act punishable in a manner in which it was not punishable when it was committed" (*Fletcher* v. *Peck, Mass.*, 6 Cranch, 87, 138, 3 L. Ed. 162). The constitutional prohibition on bills of attainder applies to legislative enactments passed after the commission of the offense which is to be punished. The defendant's section 107 does not create a penalty for past conduct not then an offense or increase a penalty for past misconduct, and it does not inflict punishments without a trial. It operates prospectively and only in futuro. The constitution of the brotherhood requires the service of charges upon the accused. Section 107 specifically provides that before a penalty may be imposed for its violation the accused member shall be granted a hearing and must first be found guilty. This constitutes due process and cannot be said to be a bill of attainder (*United States* v. *Lovett*, 328 U. S., 303; *L'Hommedieu* v. *Board of Regents, supra*).

Plaintiffs' complaint alleges that the defendant district council did not have jurisdiction to try them on the charges against them under section 107. This contention was made before the union's trial board. Section 285 of the brotherhood constitution sets forth the original jurisdiction of the district councils over certain types of charges. The question of which body or bodies shall have original jurisdiction of charges under section 107 is not referred to anywhere in the entire constitution except in section 107 itself. Section 284 (b) of the constitution provides: "Local unions shall have original jurisdiction only. District councils, the general executive board, and the convention shall have original and appellate jurisdiction, as provided in the constitution." Subdivision (d) of section 107 provides that any member charged with its violation "shall be granted a hearing by the local and, if found guilty, shall be disciplined in the manner provided for in this constitution." Section 107 then goes on to provide in subdivision (g): "The foregoing sections and the authority conferred therein shall apply with equal force and effect to district councils and other subordinate bodies." In March 1949, the general executive board acted on an appeal by a member of the brotherhood against this defendant district council, that the council had failed to act on charges under section 107 filed with the council by that member. On March 31, 1949, the general executive board sent its decision to the defendant council, ruling that "the district council must act on these charges." Courts, in interpreting the constitutional provisions of an unincorporated association, will accept the interpretations placed on such provisions by the organization itself through its officers and authorized tribunals (*Simpson* v. *Grand Internant. of Engineers* (83 W. Va., 355, 98 S. E., 580, cert. denied 250 U. S., 644, 39 S. Ct., 494, 63 L. Ed., 1186); *Shaup* v. *Grand Internat. Brotherhood* (223 Ala., 202, 135 So., 327); *Pratt* v. *Amalgamated Ass'n of Ry. Employees* (40 Utah, 472, 167 Pac., 830; 63 C. J., 663); Oakes, Organized Labor and Industrial Conflicts, p. 32).

Section 64 of the brotherhood constitution provides: "The general executive board shall decide all points of law arising under the jurisdiction of the brotherhood and also all grievances and appeals." The conclusion is that the defendant district council did have jurisdiction to entertain and try the charges against the plaintiffs.

The Smith Act (18 U. S. C., 2385) makes it a crime knowingly to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force or violence or to organize or, with knowledge of its purposes, belong to any group that advocates such overthrow. From the foregoing it is obvious that combinations or agreements directed toward establishing a Communist dictatorship are not innocent activities. There is no constitutional objection to punishing evil-purposed agreements. If the provisions here considered do abridge any rights of speech, press, and peaceable assembly, there is authority for the view that there exists a clear and present danger sufficient to authorize any such possible abridgement as is claimed by plaintiffs to be present in section 107 (*Schenck* v. *United States* (249 U. S., 47, 52); see *Hartzel* v. *United States* (322 N. S. 680)). That there is such a clear and present danger appears to be the unanimous view of the leaders of American labor as we have previously indicated.

While ordinarily facts may not be established by mere legislative declaration and constitutionally should be found only by the courts (see *Tot* v. *United States* (319 U. S. 463), and *Manley* v. *Georgia* (279 U. S. 1)), the evils and dangers of communism to trade unionism and the American democratic form of government are so notorious that a legislative finding of clear and present danger is entitled to very great weight (*Whitney* v. *California* (274 U. S. 357)). The amendment under consideration (sec. 107) is as clear and definite as it can be made in view of the evil it is designed to combat. It is sufficiently clear and definite so as not to constitute a violation of the due process clauses of the United States and New York State Constitutions.

It is a matter of common knowledge that nism both as a threat to our domestic institutions and as a menace to our peace and security. The ruthlessness and unscrupulousness of the Communists and their skill in the use of deception to advance their the vast majority of the American people view the dangers of international communcause is also a matter of common knowledge. It follows that there is imminent necessity for action to be taken to protect trade unionism and the country against those dangers and that the adoption of section 107 was such action, both reasonable and proper. In consequence, the trial, conviclation of section 107, must be held to have been in the lawful exercise by the defendant tion, and expulsion of plaintiffs on the charges served upon them, alleging the viounion of its rights under its constitution.

For the reasons stated, the plaintiffs' motion for a temporary injunction is denied and defendant's cross-motion to dismiss the complaint as insufficient in law is granted.

The Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMMET F. BYRNE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like consent to insert in the RECORD the text of a letter I received from one of my constitutents. In my opinion this letter reflects clear and sound thinking on the part of the writer, Mr. H. F. Wardwell, 1300 East 92d Street, Chicago.

The letter follows:

BURNSIDE STEEL FOUNDRY CO.,
Chicago, Ill., May 9, 1957.

Hon. EMMET F. BYRNE,
Representative, Third District, Illinois,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BYRNE: Senator BYRD, of Virginia, says this budget can be cut $6½ billion. His fiscal knowledge and his integrity are unquestioned. Knowing his conserva-

tism, one can feel sure that this is a minimum figure.

You have, no doubt, seen the March 23, 1957, issue of the Chicago Daily News, the Fantastic Story of Government Waste, by Edwin A. Lahey and David J. Kraslow, which analyzes the Eisenhower budget of $71.8 billion. They read every one of the 1,249 pages. Both men are competent in every way and I believe their evidence would be accepted in any court. They have proved that this budget can be heavily cut. I urge you to work and vote for the maximum possible reductions, not the small nibbling around the edges that has been done so far.

I am sure that you have read on pages 93 through 95 of the April 1957 Reader's Digest the article Our Foreign Aid Program, a Bureaucratic Nightmare, by GEORGE MEADER, a United States Representative from Michigan. Mr. MEADER's qualifications as an investigator make his facts and conclusions unimpeachable. His evidence, and that of many others, proves that economic foreign aid is wasteful and ineffective and that it cannot be justified. I believe that this country should cut off all economic and much military foreign aid.

What good there is in it is more than counterbalanced by the waste, foolishness, and ineffectiveness of the bulk of it. For instance, Great Britain reduces income taxes and cuts defense cost, while here we pay the highest income tax in the world. I urge you to work for and vote for maximum reduction of foreign aid.

I do not expect that you alone can determine the acts of our Government and bring our country back to what I believe is a sound economy and American principles. I do not expect you to wholly agree with me, but if you work for these objectives, you can count on me to support you.

And I know that alone I can influence or accomplish little. However, I employ 280 voters. I will endeavor to have them vote for public officers who are for America first. I will urge others to do the same. I believe there are tens of thousands who feel as I do and will act accordingly.

I hope you will work and vote against the waste, extravagance and squandering that makes huge spending necessary and try to bring us to sanity, economy, solvency and the principles of sound Americanism.

Yours very truly,

H. F. WARDWELL, *President*.

Cotton Can Stand on Its Own Feet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, cotton in Alabama is a mainstay to our great State's economy and has been ever a source of concern for me. My feelings on one phase of this subject were incorporated in an editorial appearing recently in a daily newspaper of Alabama's Fourth Congressional District.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the following editorial from the Selma (Ala.) Times-Journal of April 11, 1957:

COTTON CAN STAND ON ITS OWN FEET

An effective blow in behalf of the cotton industry was struck by Fourth District Congressman KENNETH ROBERTS, in an appearance before a House subcommittee considering legislation requiring proper labeling of textile products.

In formal language Representative ROBERTS appeared before the Subcommittee on Commerce and Finance of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to urge approval of a pending Textile Fiber Products Identification Act.

All of which boils down to a plea that cotton be given the same protection now enjoyed by wool under provisions of an existing labeling act.

As pointed out by Congressman ROBERTS, the proposed legislation would enable consumers to know what is being purchased, thus protecting them as well as the cotton farmer.

"Cotton has many marvelous characteristics and the cotton industry has invested a great deal of time, money, research, and imagination in perfecting its products, and deserves the right of proper labeling," Congressman ROBERTS added. "If cotton products are not labeled properly, hardship will be suffered by the industry, as well as losses by consumers."

Here is a highly effective argument of a theme on cotton products which the Times-Journal has been preaching for many years. We constantly have maintained that the only factor required to keep cotton in competition with other fibers is an adequate measurement of virtues and faults. Cotton goods give more wear with less upkeep than any others, and public education to this fact by adequate labeling is one of the greatest needs of the industry.

Equalization of Retirement Benefits—More Confirmation of the Congressional Intent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, once more I call to the attention of the Members the accumulating evidence which supports the basis for H. R. 689, the bill which I introduced on January 3, 1957, and which is entitled, "A bill to clarify paragraph 4 of section 15 of the Pay Readjustment Act of 1942." Every bit of evidence continues to emphasize the correctness of my position in introducing and seeking the enactment of this proposal to reaffirm the intent of Congress as to parity of retirement treatment of Regulars and Reserves.

On previous occasions I have pointed out that the only question at issue here is the original intent of Congress in enacting paragraph 4 of section 15 of the 1942 act.

Heretofore it has been my privilege to bring to the attention of my colleagues the statements of former Senator Edwin C. Johnson, of Colorado, and of former Representative Dow W. Harter, of Ohio. Both of them fully confirm my contentions in respect to this matter. Now it is my privilege to bring you still another confirmation of that original intent, in the form of a letter I have just received from Vice Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, and former Senator from South Dakota, the Honorable Chan Gurney. Vice Chairman Gurney, who had a distinguished career in the Senate, is continuing his distinguished service to our Nation in the important and responsible position he now holds in the Government. In view of his close association with this legislation in former years, his comments on the congressional intent of 1942, the issue which my bill, H. R. 689, proposes to resolve by reaffirmation, should be of considerable interest to the Members.

Vice Chairman Gurney's letter follows:

CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD,
Washington, May 13, 1957.

Hon. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have carefully read your remarks inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for February 14, 1957, and April 8, 1957, especially noting the reprint of a letter you received from former Senator Edwin C. Johson, of Colorado. I concur in the Senator's remarks that it was the intention of the committee in the Senate of which I was a member at that time that there should be no discrimination between the Regulars, the Reserve, or National Guard officers.

One of my first committee assignments on coming to the Senate in 1939 was to the Military Affairs Committee, and although I cannot specifically remember any particular pay bill, I do remember vividly the efforts of our committee and the intent of Congress in equalizing retirement benefits for all officers of the Military Establishment, for at that time we were using every effort to bring back into the service the only experience that was available at the start of World War II, and that experience needed so badly was only had by those officers who had served in World War I.

Congress in 1942, and a few years previous to that, was using every effort to induce those experienced officers to come on active duty and to do it quickly. Therefore, in my opinion a contract was made with those who did come back on active duty under the intent of Congress at the time the bill was passed.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

CHAN GURNEY.

Tenth Anniversary of the Kingdom of Laos, May 11, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when I came back from the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, Indonesia, I announced that I would address from the floor of Congress each one of the participating countries, except the two Communist regimes, on the occasion of their independence celebrations. May 11, 1957, was Laos' 10th anniversary of independence. I would like to congratulate the people of Laos, His Majesty Sisavang Vong and His Excellency Ourot Souvannavong, Ambassador of Laos, in recognition of this event.

For the 10th time the flags flutter high over Laos to commemorate their rebirth

of freedom. In his address delivered at the ceremony of the signing of the Franco-Laotian Treaty, His Majesty Sisavang Vong recalled the origin of their association:

A little more than a half century ago, one of my ancestors, His Majesty Oun Keam, entrusted into the hands of France * * * the destiny of the Laotian Kingdom, whose very existence was then threatened. His Majesty Oun Keam knew that he was safeguarding in this way the sovereignty and the permanence of his kingdom.

However, as nationalism and anti-colonialism spread throughout southeast Asia they found fertile soil in Laos. The idea was the idea of liberty which has had its ardent followers in all climates and all countries. When Laos' time came, its call summoned them too, and they could not hold back. The Laotian people, fired by their own burning desires for freedom and inspired by the examples of their neighbors in the region, actively entered the lists against colonialism and second-class citizenship and thus secured once more their independence.

The attainment of independence was only the beginning of a new life. Well-versed in the lessons of history, the Laotian people realized that the achievement of freedom is not an instantaneous event; it is a process. The seed is planted, but before the tree can take root and grow and spread it has to be nurtured untiringly by innumerable hands. The government established at the close of the colonial era was that of a constitutional monarchy with a king who is popular among his people. A constitution guaranteeing democratic freedoms to the Laotian peoples was promulgated May 11, 1947. Legislative power is exercised by direct universal suffrage.

Less disrupted by Communist aggression than some of its neighbors, Laos has known a smoother transition from colonial status to independence. However, very recently she has had to stoutly resist attempts at Communist-backed encroachments. It is hoped that the forces which are trying to lure Laos from the western camp of the free world will be signally overwhelmed.

I salute Laos upon her many accomplishments during her short period of nationhood and wish for the Laotian people continued success and progress.

Plight of the Small Poultryman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, in recent days we have heard discussion on the floor of the callous attitude which our present Department of Agriculture has taken toward the small farmer engaged in producing the various commodities.

One type of farmer now experiencing a total lack of appreciation of their problems is the small poultryman in this Nation. An article appearing in the May 10, 1957, issue of Poultryman, a trade magazine for the poultry industry, has been forwarded to me by one of my constituents, Charles E. Jackson, of Shelby, N. C., together with a letter dated May 15, 1957, written by Mr. Jackson, which clearly points up the plight of the small poultryman under the destructive policies of the present administration in this country.

I urge that every Member read Mr. Jackson's letter and the article referred to by him. I feel that it serves as a further warning to all of us that we must be vigilant in protecting the interests of the small farmer in this Nation.

The letter and article follow:

SILER CITY MILLS,
CLEVELAND BRANCH,
Shelby, N. C., May 15, 1957.

The Honorable BASIL L. WHITENER,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WHITENER: The enclosed article appeared in the May 10 issue of the Poultryman. I was surprised in a way to read such an article about a speech by the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Earl T. Butz, but then on second thought, I should have known that this is in line with the present administration's way of helping big business.

Integration in any industry leads to monopoly, price fixing, and destruction of free enterprise. It looks as if the Department of Agriculture not only wants integration in the poultry industry, but advises the red meat industry to do the same, thereby forcing the farmer out of the red meat business. I guess the next thing will be to advise the textile industry to grow their own raw material and run the farmer out of the cotton and wool business.

The giants in the feed industry have been trying to get control of the broiler industry for the last several years. At first they started by giving unlimited credit and pushing production to a point beyond the demand. When this happened prices tumbled to below cost of production. Then they started absorbing the losses to the grower and also guaranteeing him a profit of at least 5 cents per bird. The small feed companies and dealers had to go along with this or go out of business. Then the giants started a 2 to 3 cents per pound profit to the grower and absorbing the losses and at the same time pushing production beyond demand. The fall of 1956 and the spring of 1957 brought disaster to some and terrific losses to others. The giants had the reserve to take it and thought the small man would quit. Some did quit but those who were financially able stayed with it. Now the larger milling companies are integrating with the larger processors and keeping the price down. The large chain buyers are also taking advantage of it.

Mr. WHITENER, in Cleveland County, and surrounding areas, the poultry growers are farmers that turned to poultry after they had terrific cuts in cotton acreage and other money crops. They have gone to great expense and in some instances, deeply in debt, to get buildings and equipment so that they could get in business. Integration will ruin these people as well as the small mill, dealer, and processor.

It is bad for the country when one company gets so large that they can control the prices on farm products. This has already happened in the poultry industry. In North Carolina one large processing company is so large that it can set price for the whole State on live poultry. The same is true in Georgia and other poultry areas. Also the large buyers take advantage of this, and can control prices on dressed poultry, by working with the large processors.

Something should be done about this, but I am not sure just what it is. I am afraid that it will be a problem to work out.

I will appreciate it if you will talk with Congressmen from other poultry areas and compare notes with them. Maybe something good can come from it.

I am a small retail feed dealer that has had to go along with contracts and guaranties as stated in the third paragraph of this letter and like hundreds of others like me, I know what it is doing to the industry.

Yours truly,

CHARLES E. JACKSON.

BUTZ HAILS BROILER INTEGRATION AS MODEL FOR OTHER INDUSTRIES

CHICAGO.—Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Earl T. Butz says integration in the broiler industry has produced efficiency "that would make some other industries green with envy."

Butz made the statement in a speech last week before the American Feed Manufacturers Association assembled in annual convention here.

He made the statement in the face of a congressional investigation opening this week into complaints integration has caused the demise of small independent feed dealers and hatcherymen, and made sharecroppers of some farmers.

Integration has been defined by the Agriculture Department as an arrangement under which the production, processing, and marketing of poultry meat is conducted under the management of a single big company which sometimes owns all of the facilities involved.

Butz did not define the term in his speech before the feed manufacturers, some of whom have been charged by small-business men with undertaking to squeeze them out of business by financing integrated operations. These charges have been relayed to Congress and are the subject matter for an investigation by the House Small Business Subcommittee which began public hearings yesterday.

Here is what Butz told the feed manufacturers:

"The trend to integration will spread. When we speak of integration in agriculture, our thoughts nearly always turn to the poultry industry. Production of broilers in this country is now highly integrated, from the incubator to the dressing plant and beyond.

"At the production level, 1 man now takes care of up to 40,000 birds at a time. This means that during the year 1 man can take care of 150,000 to 200,000 birds.

"No longer is the raising of poultry a sideline which enables the farm housewife to earn a little grocery money. It is now big business. The large-scale and efficient organization of production, processing, and distribution have made this striking change possible.

"In the efficiency race, the white meat industry has put on a show that would make some other industries green with envy.

"We have practically eliminated scavenger feeding in the barnyard and on kitchen garbage, killing at the chopping block or by wringing necks, and scalding in a pail and dressing in the kitchen.

"The shift has been to large commercial units raising, say 150,000 birds per man per year, and killing, dressing and processing 2 million birds per plant.

"This kind of integration followed in the wake of rapid and far-reaching scientific discoveries, which almost made mass production of poultry inevitable. * * *

"Large animal production in this country is by no means immune from the possibility of integration. It may not happen in the

same way or to the same extent as occurred in the poultry industry. But the pressure is in that direction.

"We have concentrated broiler production into relatively large units for two principal reasons. In the first place, we have discovered that we can use labor more efficiently. This is a high-cost production item.

"In the second place, this kind of concentration gives us greater control over the environmental factors affecting the bird. This has helped to increase the efficiency of feed conversion in broilers.

"For example, in 1935–39 it took 4.2 pounds of feed to make 1 pound of broiler meat. In 1950–54 this was reduced to 3.1 pounds of feed per pound of broiler meat. We now know how to do this for about 2.5 pounds of feed per pound of broiler, and many producers average at that figure or better."

Butz made no reference to any need for special Government policy regarding integration of the broiler industry. But he indicated it would be a different story when, and if, integration reaches into the cattle and hog field.

"If and when this kind of integration begins to hit the large-animal field," he said "it will precipitate sociological and economic adjustments that will be difficult.

"We will need to study the organization of our production units carefully in order both to minimize the adverse impacts and to maximize the favorable aspects of this development," Butz concluded.

Congressman CHARLES H. BROWN, Democrat, of Missouri, told a news conference at the AFMA convention that his investigating group seeks to compile "a completely factual study of poultry industry practices." He is head of a special Subcommittee on Food Industries, which is an offshoot of the House Select Committee on Small Business.

"The industry has written the story and we want to compile it, reflecting the impact of modern methods of production on small hatcheries, small processing plants, small feed manufacturers, feed dealers, and growers," BROWN said.

"Congress has received complaints from all parts of the country. One-fourth of them have come from New England, one-third from the Middle West, and the balance from the west coast."

BROWN noted that for this reason, hearings will not only be held in Washington, but also on the west coast and in the other sections.

"Regional meetings, dates, and places have not been set," BROWN said, "but all small companies will have a chance to testify without the expense of traveling to Washington."

Resolution Opposing the Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. SMITH
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the following resolution adopted by the Board of Arlington County, Va., opposing the civil rights bill:

Whereas the attention of the members of this governing body of Arlington County, Va., has been directed to the proposal that the Congress of the United States adopt as law the Keating House bill and Senate bill S. 83, commonly referred to as the civil rights bills; and

Whereas a studied examination of the provisions and contents of these so-called civil rights bills reveals that the principal innovations they would foster upon our people would be the denial of trial by jury, the nullification of many of the provisions of our Bill of Rights, with the substitution of undemocratic and dangerous adjudication of proceedings under our civil and criminal law by fiats from Federal officials which could quickly lead to a vast maze of repugnant civil wrongs; and

Whereas conscientious Americans should not stand idly by and allow social experimentors to attempt to wrest from us our hard won heritage of constitutional government which embodies the common law, the sovereignty of the several States and the individual rights and liberties of the people, carved for us by the sweat and blood of our forefathers at Valley Forge, Bunker Hill, Trenton, and Yorktown, and the preservation of this wonderful heritage now demands no lesser effort on our part: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Arlington County Board, recognizing the inherent evils that would accrue to our people should these abortive mandates be enacted as a substitute for the law and our Constitution, does strongly urge and pray that the Members of our Congress will soundly reject this proposed legislation and never succumb to the theory of governing the citizens of these United States through the personal whims and edicts of any Federal official.

General Eisenhower's Last Stand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of our colleagues an editorial which appeared in the Shelby Daily Star, Shelby, N. C., in its edition of May 13, 1957. The editorial is entitled "General Eisenhower's Last Stand."

I am sure that this editorial accurately sets forth the attitude which a vast majority of people in the South have toward the recent improvident remarks of President Eisenhower with reference to General Lee:

GENERAL EISENHOWER'S LAST STAND

President Eisenhower must have lost his mind over the weekend.

After spending years cultivating a pretty good following in the South, he threw it all down the drain by bringing up the subject of the War Between the States, no less.

We southerners can take almost anything by some Yankee pretending the North won the war. Sometimes we'll even take that if the Yankee will concede that we had the best generals and the best troops, but the hardest luck.

The President had built up a sizable group of supporters in the area south of the Mason-Dixon line. But it's evident now that he's been getting too cozy with Yankee sympathizers.

Not only did he have the audacity to criticize our greatest military mind, but he did it in front of a redcoat general. Those two things taken together are certain to ruin Ike in the South.

Of course, he doesn't plan to run again, so we can't get back at him by not voting. We can, however, sign a petition that he be booted out of the Augusta National Golf Club—and that would surely be a worse blow to him than anything else.

We are disappointed in the President, but he's said it now. He could have spent his afternoon better. The President just didn't realize that when anybody starts stirring around in the hallowed graves of our rebel generals, there's bound to be trouble.

But what's done is done.

Ike is done.

In the South, that is.

Letter to Ike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial from the Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, Pa., dated May 9, 1957, entitled "Letter to Ike":

LETTER TO IKE

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We read on the front pages you are planning a couple of TV speeches to explain the $71,800,000,000 budget to us taxpayers.

It is a formidable undertaking, Mr. President, and we wish you luck.

And having, as always, a friendly feeling toward you, we offer a tip.

Which is: If you want to save some of the pieces of the United States Information Agency, talk to someone besides Arthur Larson when you write that section of your speech.

We know you picked Mr. Larson as chief of the USIA but we don't know why. He is a personable and articulate gentleman, of fine poise and presence. He's a writer of books, a professor of law, and his record as Assistant Secretary of Labor seemed good. We hear he's a whingding of a speech writer.

But really, Mr. President, what Mr. Larson doesn't know about the USIA is getting your administration into trouble.

He was before a Senate appropriations subcommittee yesterday and didn't look good.

He was asked how many USIA employees in Washington were "engaged in gathering, reporting, editing, and processing news." Mr. Larson didn't know.

Apparently he thought he could bowl the Senators into the aisle by mentioning what a prodigious job the USIA did in correcting the Soviet propaganda distortions in the Autherine Lucy case. But when Senators asked exactly what did USIA do, Mr. Larson didn't know. Reminded them he hadn't been in the USIA at that time. Better he hadn't mentioned it.

Mr. Larson wrote a book titled "A Republican Looks at His Party." We hear tell you read it and liked it. It has become the bible of what is called Modern Republicanism.

Know what we think, Mr. President? We think a lot of your budget makers were reading Mr. Larson's book when they should have been reading the election returns. Most of us who voted for you favor less Government spending, not more.

Arthur Larson's role as Mr. Modern Republican doesn't set well.

Did you read the news article in our paper the other day? The one which reported that Mr. Larson didn't vote in the last election? Hadn't voted in five primaries and general elections in which he had been eligible to vote since he registered in Pittsburgh in August 1954.

A Modern Republican who doesn't know how to vote is on a par with a United States information chief who doesn't know how to inform.

Raises the blisters on the backs of precinct workers trying to get out the vote.

What Is the Future of Cotton?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, a friend of mine called to my attention a splendid article written by M. C. Rochester of the Agricultural Extension Service. In this article Mr. Rochester very vividly and accurately portrays what has happened to the cotton farmer of the Southeast. This splendid and superb analysis of what has happened to cotton in the Southeast is worthy of the attention of every Member of this Congress and all others interested in the agricultural economy of our country.

The article follows:

WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF COTTON?

(M. C. Rochester, leader, Agricultural Economics Extension Work, Clemson College, Clemson, S. C.)

What does the future hold for American cotton? This is a question being raised by farmers, merchants, bankers, businessmen, industrialists, and others. Each of these groups has a stake in the future of cotton. All are pretty well in agreement that cotton is in serious trouble. This does not mean, however, that the trouble will be fatal, or that it will necessarily be long-lasting. Let's take a close look at where we are with respect to cotton and the direction in which we are going.

As late as 1930 slightly more than 42 million acres of cotton were grown in the United States. About 16.9 million acres were grown in 1956. About 14 million bales of cotton were produced in 1930 and 13 million bales were produced in 1956. From 1930 to 1956 there was a decline of 61 percent in cotton acreage for the United States with only a decline of 7 percent in total production. The average yield per harvested acre jumped from 157 pounds to 408 pounds.

Perhaps more significant for South Carolina and for the Southeast has been the shift in trends within the cotton belt. In 1930 the Southeast (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama) produced 35 percent of the total United States cotton crop and the West (California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Nevada) produced only 4 percent. The Delta (Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Illinois, and Kentucky) produced 36 percent, and the Southwest (Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas) 35 percent. By 1945 the Southeast was producing 30 percent of the total United States crop, the West 7 percent, the Delta States, 40 percent, and the Southwest 23 percent. In 1956, however, the Southeast produced 17 percent of the total United States crop, the West 19 percent, the Delta 35 percent and the Southwest 29 percent. Cotton production has been moving west and moving rapidly since the end of World War II.

CONSUMPTION OF COTTON PER CAPITA IN UNITED STATES DOWN

The consumption of cotton per person in the United States jumped from 30 pounds in 1940 to 41.8 pounds in 1942, and except for year-to-year changes, has declined steadily to 26.5 pounds per person in 1955, and declined further to 26 pounds in 1956. During the period 1945–56 the level of domestic cotton consumption, although it varied some between years, tended to stay around 9 million bales. With an increasing population and cotton consumption remaining fairly stable the result has been a decline in the per capita consumption of cotton.

CONSUMPTION OF MAN-MADE FIBERS IN UNITED STATES HIGHER

The consumption of rayon and acetate per person increased from 3.6 pounds in 1940 to 8.6 pounds in 1955. The preliminary figure for 1956 indicates a drop to 7.1 pounds per person. Thus the 1956 consumption of cotton declined about one-half pound from 1955 and the consumption of man-made fibers declined more than a pound. In 1940 the consumption of cotton per person amounted to 89.3 percent of the total cotton, rayon, and acetate. By 1955 it had dropped to 75.5 percent, but in 1956 it climbed to 78.5 percent. It is too early to tell if the trends that have prevailed in the past are changing, but experience during 1956 indicates that these trends may be changing.

FOREIGN PRODUCTION OF COTTON MORE THAN DOUBLED

The foreign production of cotton has increased at a fantastic rate, jumping from 10,500,000 bales in 1945 to 23,600,000 bales in 1955. The rapid increase in production of cotton in foreign countries, together with the United States production, resulted in the largest world supply on record at the beginning of the 1956–57 marketing year. The increase in cotton production in foreign countries has had a depressing effect on exports of United States cotton. Exports of United States cotton have declined each year since 1950 and dropped to about 2.2 million bales in 1955–56. The export picture, however, is brighter for 1956–57 and may reach 7 to 7½ million bales, but it is not expected that this high rate of export will hold for 1957–58 since the foreign demand for United States cotton is not expected to be as great.

PRODUCTION OF MAN-MADE FIBERS HIGH

Production of all man-made fibers (rayon and acetate, nylon, orlon, glass fiber, etc.) has increased very rapidly in the United States and in foreign countries since 1940. In the United States the production of all man-made fibers increased 145 million pounds between 1951 and 1956. The production of rayon and acetate decreased by about 146 million pounds, but the production of noncellulosic fibers increased by about 292 million pounds. The production of man-made fibers in the United States in 1956 was about 71 million pounds less than in 1955. The decrease was caused by smaller rayon and acetate production, down about 113 million pounds. However, the production of noncellulosic man-made fibers increased by about 42 million pounds.

World production of rayon and acetate has increased steadily during the post-World War II period in every year except 1952. Production in 1956 was about 5,215 million pounds. Since 1951 most of this increase has occurred in foreign countries. In 1956 United States production accounted for about 22 percent of world production but in 1951 it had accounted for about 32 percent. The increase in foreign production from 1955 to 1956 was about 311 million pounds. However, the rate of increase in rayon and acetate production abroad has been declining over the past 4 years. In 1953 production increased over 1952 by about 512 million pounds. This rate declined in each successive year and by 1956 had declined to the 311 million pounds mentioned above.

According to the Textile Organon prices for rayon staple fiber were reduced during the latter part of February and the first part of March. Prices for 1½ denier rayon staple fiber were reduced from 31 and 32 cents a pound to 29 cents a pound by 2 large producers.

EXPORTS OF UNITED STATES COTTON

Over the past 25 years the United States share of the world cotton market has dropped. As exports decline the United States share of the world cotton market drops. In 1931 the United States share of the world cotton market amounted to 66.6 percent. Up until 1956–57 exports of United States cotton have declined every year since 1951, except one. The 1955–56 total of 2.2 million bales was less than half the 1951–52 figure of 5½ million bales. The United States share of the world cotton market has dropped from 47 percent in 1951 to 30 percent in 1953 and about 20 percent in 1955–56.

Exports of United States cotton in 1956–57 are expected to be around 7½ million bales. The United States Government authorized funds for financing cotton exports for the 1956–57 fiscal year (July 1, 1956, to June 30, 1957). Public Law 480 will comprise the largest source of funds for United States financing of cotton exports in the current fiscal year.

Under the export program it is estimated that the Commodity Credit Corporation is losing from 6 to 9 cents per pound, or $30 to $45 per bale on 1956–57 export sales.

SUBSIDY FOR COTTON PRODUCTS EXPORTED

Equalization payments (subsidies) are being made to exporters of cotton products during the 1956–57 marketing year to offset the price advantage gained by foreign mills under the cotton export sales program. These products include practically all items from finished fabrics through waste.

SOIL BANK, 1957 ACREAGE RESERVE FOR COTTON

About 17 percent of the 17.6 million cotton acreage allotment for the United States has been placed in the acreage-reserve program of the soil bank. There was considerable difference in the proportion of the cotton acreage placed in the acreage reserve by areas and States.

In the Southeastern States 27.8 percent of the 1957 cotton-acreage allotment was placed in the acreage reserve. For the Southeastern States, Florida put the highest proportion in the acreage reserve with 40.5 percent and Virginia with 19.4 percent put the smallest portion in the acreage reserve. For South Carolina, 27.3 percent was put in the acreage reserve.

Growers in the Western States put 9.6 percent of the 1957 cotton acreage in the acreage reserve and this was smaller than for any other group of States. For the Delta States, growers put 14 percent of the allotted acres in the acreage reserve and for the Southwest the proportion was 15.7 percent.

COTTON IMPORTANT IN TOTAL ECONOMY

Although the total economy of the South is not geared as closely to cotton as it was 25 years ago, the cotton growers and the industries supplying the goods and services needed by them, the textile industries, bankers, merchants, farm organizations, land-grant colleges, and others are gravely concerned over the serious trouble our cotton industry finds itself.

Our cotton has been losing out in markets both at home and abroad. It has encountered stiff competition from man-made fibers and also from rapidly expanding foreign cotton production. As a result, much of the cotton we are producing cannot find a market and we now have on hand a large surplus piled up in warehouses.

Artificially high support prices for United States cotton have priced our cotton out of important market outlets. At the same time our supports for cotton have enabled competitors—the man-made fiber producers and foreign cotton growers—to expand their production and take over an increasing number of our cotton customers. All of this has happened because we so far have been unwilling to recognize once again the basic

fact that competitive prices for cotton are still highly important in holding and broadening domestic and foreign markets for the output of our efficient cotton farms.

ACREAGE AND PRODUCTION IN SOUTH CAROLINA DOWN

In 1930, South Carolina farms grew about 2 million acres of cotton. It dropped to 692,000 acres in 1956. The production in 1930 was about 1 million bales. The production in 1956 was 515,000 bales. From 1930 to 1956 there was a decline of 65 percent in the total cotton acreage in South Carolina with a decline of about 49 percent in the number of bales produced. The decline in acreage and production for certain counties, particularly in the Piedmont, has been drastic. In other counties, particularly the Upper Coastal Plain, the acreage and production have not been declining so severely and some counties produced more cotton in 1956 than in 1930.

A look at the change in acreage and production in a few counties provides information as to the direction cotton production is going in South Carolina.

In 1930 there were 50,300 acres of cotton in Oconee County. By 1955 the acreage had dropped to 7,950 acres or a decline of 84 percent. The number of bales of cotton dropped from 22,200 in 1930 to 9,300 in 1955, a decline of 58 percent in production. Greenville County had 87,500 acres of cotton in 1930. By 1955 the acreage had dropped to 16,000, a decline of 82 percent. In 1930, there were 54,700 bales of cotton produced in Greenville County and in 1955 there were 17,200 bales, a decline of 54 percent.

The cotton acreage decreased 45 percent in Allendale County and 51 percent in Orangeburg County between 1930 and 1955. During this period the bales of cotton produced increased 3 percent in Allendale County and declined 29 percent in Orangeburg County.

The cotton acreage in Clarendon County decreased from 36,700 acres in 1930 to 34,300 acres, a decline of 6 percent. At the same time the production of cotton increased by 300 bales.

Florence County grew 32,500 acres of cotton in 1930 and in 1955 there were 32,200 acres, a decline of only 300 acres. At the same time, the number of bales of cotton produced increased from 16,800 to 18,300 bales, an increase of 9 percent.

Although the trend in cotton acreage and production in South Carolina has been downward since 1920 there has also been a reversal of this trend since World War II in certain counties, particularly in the upper coastal plain area. The declining trend in cotton acreage and production in the Piedmont and the reversal of this trend in certain counties and areas of this State indicate that there should probably be further study of the trends in cotton production within the State in the event the present system of distributing State acreage allotments is changed.

COTTON AT CROSSROADS

Cotton farmes are at the crossroads. Cotton farmers want to hold present markets and expand them at home and abroad. Under present farm programs cotton surpluses have increased. Therefore, the problem boils down to: What kind of a farm program will work to provide the greatest net income to cotton growers?

Much thought is currently being given to a reexamination of the basic law relating to cotton. Cotton growers themselves should have a voice in deciding the kind of program that would be to their best interest over the longer time period. Each individual cotton grower should give this problem serious study and consideration. The solution will require the best efforts of cotton growers working individually and in groups. By working together, farm people through their organizations, can work out a solution to this multisided problem. At the same time individual farmers can reduce the cost of production, and attain greater efficiency in production, by adopting the latest research information and farmer experience in the production, handling, and marketing of cotton.

Ninth Anniversary of the Independence of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the ninth anniversary of Israel's independence is an occasion of great rejoicing not only for the people of Israel, but also for all of her friends who have watched her evolve into a democracy of prominence and stability. I wish to extend sincere felicitations to the people of Israel and their leaders in observance of this occasion.

Israel has weathered some difficult times in the past 9 years. It has stood up against great adversity, shown great courage and determination. The Republic of Israel emerged fully clothed with the problems and realities of political statehood on May 14, 1948. During these short years of independence the two main preoccupations of Israel have been economic development of the country and the establishment by diplomatic and military means of the security of the country within the boundaries set by the armistice agreement.

Israel is a product of an ancient dream, a monument to man's inconquerable spirit. The triumph of the human spirit in Israel over seemingly endless and overwhelming obstacles is a constant beacon light of faith to all men.

That Israel has achieved so much in so short a time and under such trying circumstances is a credit to the fortitude, the intelligence, and the national spirit of the Jewish people. Because Israel is small and poor in natural resources it faces towering economic problems. The economy of Israel is still in the process of building healthy foundations for a normal existence. Israel is developing an indigenous blend of free enterprise and free government suited to its own particular problems.

Israel opened wide her doors to the poor and the oppressed. Many on arriving there have no possessions, only determination and willingness to be a part in the march of progress of which Israel is the symbol. She has kept her doors open to those still homeless, penniless, and broken by years of Nazi oppression and denied other sanctuaries. Israel fortified by her faith and ennobled with a cooperative spirit, made room for her less fortunate brothers.

Within the Middle East the state of Israel is clearly the heartland of the crossroads. The deeply disputatious question of peace with the Arab States leaves the political future clouded. Yet within Israel there is energy and optimism, for here at last a dream of centuries for a homeland has become a political reality. The avowed aim of the United States is to promote the political and economic stability of the entire region of the Middle East with a course of action based on neither favoritism nor on prejudice, but on the principle of safeguarding the best interests of the United States and the free world. If our worldwide position is to be secure, we must recognize the potentialities of Israel as an outpost for western civilization. We can strike no more effective blow in defense of our way of life on a global basis than to do everything possible to make Israel a strong bastion of freedom in the Middle East and through it to reach the rest of the region in the true spirit of our freedom.

May Israel enjoy peace and happiness on this ninth anniversary and hold steadfast to her principles of freedom, liberty, and democracy.

Don't Give It to Them

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD a most commendable editorial appearing in the Chicago American recently regarding my friend and colleague from Pennsylvania, RICHARD SIMPSON.

The editorial follows:

DON'T GIVE IT TO THEM

We are indebted to Representative SIMPSON, Republican, of Pennsylvania, for the most sensible and practical piece of advice we have yet heard on the subject of reducing the administration's $71,800,000,000 budget. Cut taxes first, says SIMPSON. That will give the spenders less to spend.

SIMPSON is chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee. He put his budget-cutting plan before the Indiana Editorial Association in an address at Indianapolis Saturday night.

If Congress waits for a budget surplus to accumulate before reducing income taxes, he said, Americans never will get the tax cut.

"Instead of such surpluses being converted into tax reduction," he said, "we will find Government expenditures continuing to rise with Government income."

That, we are sorry to say, is exactly what would happen. A Government dedicated to lavish spending will find excuses to spend every dollar it can get.

The answer is for Congress to limit the money the spenders can get. If they don't have it, and if Congress refuses to make appropriations that would involve deficit spending, there will be nothing for the spenders to do but cut down their extravagant dreams to fit their resources.

To bring this about, Representative SIMPSON has introduced a bill providing for an income-tax cut for everybody. It would reduce taxes on individuals and business by about $5 billion a year.

Personal income tax exemptions would be raised $50 a year and the rate would be reduced 5 percent. The corporation income tax would be cut from 52 percent to 49.4, the capital-gains tax from 25 percent to 12½.

Representative SIMPSON thinks this would relieve 2 million present taxpayers from paying anything, save $3,200 million for individual taxpayers and lighten the income tax load on business by a billion.

We hope Congress will pass his bill or another designed to produce a similar result.

The Military Medical Supply Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, on the 2d of January it was my privilege to participate in ceremonies marking the activation of an important new defense agency in my hometown of Brooklyn. This activity is the Military Medical Supply Agency which was established by the Navy at the direction of the Secretary of Defense in implementation of the single manager plan for consolidated management in the field of common supplies and services for all the Armed Forces.

On January 31, 1956, the Secretary of Defense designated the Secretary of the Navy as the single manager for medical and dental supplies and equipment and on April 12, 1956, approved the nomination of Rear Adm. W. L. Knickerbocker, Supply Corps, United States Navy, as the Executive Director of the new activity. The Secretary of the Navy in turn assigned management control of the Agency to the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts headed by Rear Adm. R. J. Arnold, Supply Corps, United States Navy and technical control to the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery under Rear Adm. B. W. Hogan, Medical Corps, United States Navy.

To cover briefly the highlights of this plan for supply management—the Military Medical Supply Agency will administer the wholesale inventories of all military medical and dental material within the continental United States, it will compute and procure net requirements, and it will operate a wholesale distribution system serving all 3 military services. This leaves to the individual services the development of total requirements—both peacetime and mobilization, and the management of their retail inventories.

I have closely followed the operation of this unique activity during the 4 short months since its activation and I am most impressed with the progress which has been made to date in setting up its methods and procedures to conform to the new single-manager concept of supply operations.

Rear Admiral Knickerbocker has developed a streamlined depot distribution system utilizing the field facilities of all 3 services which undoubtedly will result in economies in operation with ultimate savings to the taxpayers. This new system is designed to provide effective supply support with 6 less depots engaged in the handling of medical material, thereby releasing space at these facilities for the storage of other military supplies and equipment. The system further provides for the dispersal of depots across the length and breadth of the country yet permits an efficient and economical distribution of material. It eliminates costly cross-hauling and meets the criticisms which have been leveled at the armed services as to unnecessary duplication of assets and facilities.

The Executive Director informs me that he enjoys the finest relationship with the Surgeons General of the Army, Navy, and Air Force who provide him with the professional advice and assistance required in the fulfillment of his assignment and the enthusiastic cooperation received from the field activities of the 3 services has more than met his expectations.

The pattern of utilization of the assets of all services has also been followed within the agency proper. With the exception of the Executive Director's billet all military positions are rotatable among the 3 services and Admiral Knickerbocker reports that the caliber of military officers assigned to his organization has been of the highest order. The military billets are equally divided among the Medical Service Corps of the Army, the Supply Corps and Medical Service Corps of the Navy, and the Medical Service Corps of the Air Force, and the best man is placed in the appropriate job regardless of the color of his necktie.

In assuming the consolidated functions previously performed by four separate service agencies it was possible to effect economies in the number of personnel performing such functions—many of which were duplicating. Although a total of 113 billets were eliminated, the Industrial Relations Department of the Naval Supply Activities, Brooklyn, N. Y., which also performs the industrial relations functions for the new Agency, did an outstanding job in placing the personnel affected. All civilian personnel except two were placed in new jobs either with private industry or with other Government activities which were recruiting personnel with their specific qualifications. The two not placed had elected to retire. In addition, 75 military billets were eliminated during the reorganization. Although some 800 persons were affected by this change in administration, to date only one grievance has been received by the Executive Director and that was denied by the Civil Service Commission. I think that this fact alone attests to the soundness of the Agency's organizational setup and the careful thought and foresight which went into its original planning.

The reaction of the drug, chemical, surgical instrument and allied industries to the changeover to the single-manager concept of procurement and inspection has been most favorable since it has simplified procurement paperwork without loss of proper Government safeguards. The Military Medical Supply Agency expects to procure some $67 million worth of medical and dental items including blood plasma during this forthcoming fiscal year in addition to meeting procurement requirements placed on it by the Federal Civil Defense Administration.

The operation of the Agency to date has been truly a joint effort. All three services have actively participated in the planning from the very outset almost a year ago and the cooperation and coordination at the working level has been exceptional. Even though the responsibility for administering this important medical material commodity has been placed squarely upon the Secretary of the Navy as single manager, the new Agency expects to serve more as a joint organization, jointly staffed by capable and experienced officers of the Army, Navy, and Air Force and ever mindful that its primary mission is to effectively support the overall military effort of our country.

The people of Brooklyn are most appreciative of the opportunity to participate in this dynamic program under the single manager concept of supply management and of the efforts of the Secretary of the Navy in assuring that individuals separated from their jobs are placed in comparable positions elsewhere when possible.

I have taken a personal and continuing interest in the goals it is achieving and consider it most fortunate indeed that the people of Brooklyn are privileged to take an active part in contributing toward such a worthwhile endeavor.

National Federation of Independent Business' George Burger Makes Excellent Suggestion To Help Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, George Burger, of the National Federation of Independent Business, made the following excellent suggestion to help small business which I have incorporated in my bill, H. R. 5703, which a recent poll showed was supported by 84 percent of the members of this nationwide group:

Why not see if it is possible for the Government to revise its business tax regulations to allow both corporations and unincorporated firms to deduct from their yearly taxable income, says, $500 or $1,000, providing businessmen have spent this on expansions, improvements, or other things to improve their businesses. If a businessman has spent, say, $2,000, he would be able to take, under this thinking, $500 of that as a complete deduction from taxable income and compute his depreciation and other figures on the balance.

Included here is the text of my bill, and an editorial from the Trentonian, a leading New Jersey newspaper, which declares that "without small business, there would be no big business, as we

know it, for very long. Both must exist if our Nation is to remain strong, and grow stronger."

I likewise include a report by Mr. Burger on the results of the poll conducted by the National Federation of Independent Business on my H. R. 5703:

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS,
Washington, D. C., May 13, 1957.

Hon. FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY. DEAR CONGRESSMAN: As we advised you, we are polling our nationwide membership on your bill H. R. 5703. The poll has been now completed and the results are 84 percent for, 14 percent against, 2 percent no vote.

I know that you will be interested in these results.

High regards.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. BURGER,
Vice President.

[From the Trentonian of Wednesday, May 8, 1957]

BULWARK OF DEMOCRACY

Is the threat to small business a matter of economics only, or does it carry implications of even greater and more alarming proportions?

Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, of the Mercer-Burlington District, and Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, see small business as a bulwark against plutocracy eating into our democracy, and have fired another round in the continuing battle to save small business.

When Thompson introduced in the House a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to grant a tax writeoff of up to $1,000 to small-business men as reimbursement for amounts "paid or incurred for the expansion of the trade or business or for the permanent improvement and betterment of property used * * *" he emphasized that his aim was to preserve "the basic strength of our country."

THOMPSON'S amendment is based on a suggestion made by George Burger of the National Federation of Independent Business, who says that rather than complicated percentages, "$500 or $1,000 in hard cash is something that they (the businessmen) can all understand, and very clearly."

In any event, the struggle to save small business goes on, with Thompson very much in the foreground. Up to the time he submitted the tax writeoff amendment, the Trenton legislator had introduced six major bills to deal with what he called "the various aspects of this basic and fundamental issue." He underlined its importance in these words:

"It seems to me that we must make every effort to strengthen our economic and political system with its emphasis on individual liberty and responsibility. Only in this way can we advance the prosperity of our people and the security of our Nation and our way of life."

DOUGLAS said, "I would further urge that a concentration of business and power is neither desirable nor inevitable and that what we should seek, instead, is a broader distribution of property and of power to the end that all may have enough to be secure but not so much as to menace others. This is the underlying economic and social problem of our times."

Summed up, it might be said that without small business, there would be no big business, as we know it, for very long. Both must exist if our Nation is to remain strong, and grow stronger.

H. R. 5703

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a taxpayer to deduct from gross income certain amounts paid or incurred for the expansion or improvement of a trade or business

Be it enacted, etc., That (a) section 162 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to deduction for trade or business expenses) is amended—

(1) by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (2);

(2) by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting in lieu thereof "; and"; and

(3) by inserting after paragraph (3) the following new paragraph:

"(4) amounts paid or incurred for the expansion of the trade or business or for the permanent improvement and betterment of property used in the trade or business, and amounts paid or incurred in restoring property used in the trade or business or in making good the exhaustion thereof, to the extent that such amounts do not exceed $1,000 during the taxable year."

(b) Section 263 (a) of such Code (relating to capital expenditures) is amended by striking out "No deduction" and inserting in lieu thereof "Except as provided in section 162 (a) (4), no deduction."

SEC. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this act shall apply only with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1956.

A. and M. Muster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Easter Sunday, because it fell on April 21 this year, had a double meaning for Texans and particularly former students of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas.

April 21 is the day Texas won its independence and is annually observed by former students of Texas A. and M., their families and friends, as a day of commemoration of all Texans who have fought in defense of their country and all former students of A. and M. who have passed on.

This year the National Capital Texas A. and M. Club observed "muster" day at the Arlington National Cemetery Amphitheater and followed with the laying of a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Former Texas Senator Tom Connally was the principal speaker at the ceremony. Former dean of agriculture at A. and M., Charles N. Shephardson, now a Governor of the Federal Reserve System, delivered the invocation.

Elsewhere A. and M. men gathered for musters in 44 States and 20 foreign countries. One was scheduled at McMurdo Sound at the South Pole.

The muster of former A. and M. students originated in 1903 but the annual ceremonies did not acquire prominence until 1942. In that year headlines over the United States were made by 23 Aggies, led by Maj. Gen. George F. Moore, class of 1908, who conducted a muster on the beleaguered island of Corregidor. At that historic muster, the Aggies, joined by other Texans, who had survived Bataan, drank a toast in water to their deceased comrades and to the heroes of 1836 who fought to free Texas.

As a graduate and a Texan, I am proud to say that Texas A. and M. is the largest military college in the United States. It is a land grant school and has always operated as a military school. It furnished more officers to the Armed Forces in both World War I and II than any other school or academy in the country. Over 400 Aggies, many of whom serve in the military, currently live in the Washington area.

How Aggies feel about the muster can be understood by quoting a portion of Senator Connally's address on that occasion:

Today with thankful hearts and tremendous pride we look back to the great traditions of our foundation and the independence of Texas.

On this A. and M. muster we pay tribute to the glorious past and we join together in our strength and our pride to pay appropriate observance to the independence of Texas and the great sacrifices made by the gallant sons at Goliad, the Alamo, and San Jacinto.

We also pay tribute to other sons of A. & M. who through the years at Corregidor and elsewhere have added luster to the historic heroism of A. and M. men through the years.

High Cost of Production and High Cost of Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the testimony presented by me before the Consumers' Study Subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture on May 9, 1957, concerning the difference in the price the farmer receives and what the consumer has to pay for his product. In view of the fact that there is considerable debate on the floor of the House at the present time concerning appropriations for the Department of Agriculture, I feel the information contained in this testimony is especially valuable:

I want to take this opportunity to say that I have followed the work of this subcommittee with great interest. It affects not only the producers of agricultural products, but the consumers of agricultural products. This covers every citizen of the country.

One of the most urgent needs this subcommittee has served is to contribute to the education of the consumer, and perhaps the farmer also. Publicity from some departments of Government and some farm organizations has widened the breach between the consumer and producer of agricultural products. This works to the detriment of both parties concerned. I believe this subcommittee is taking a big step in the direction of correcting this misunderstanding, and I would personally like to see it receive more publicity.

I would like to tell this distinguished committee how the findings of their investigation fully support the present plight of the farmers in southwestern Kansas. Because of

the depressed condition of the wheat farmer in my area, I feel I should testify on his behalf. We are only permitted to produce 30 to 50 percent of our tillable acres in wheat. The average production in Kansas is approximately 200 million bushels. This year we are only going to raise 80 million bushels of wheat in Kansas, due to acreage controls and dry weather. Much of the wheat acreage has gone into the soil bank. Soil-bank payments are a help in drought years, but they provide only a small percent of the income which would be derived from a good crop yield.

I would like to bring out the cost of production first—the cost of our machinery has more than doubled. At the close of World War II, combines were selling for approximately $2,500. The same combine today costs us $6,500. Where tractors sold at that time for $2,500, the same tractor today costs us $4,500. Cars and trucks are proportionately higher. When we were paying $2,500 for our combines in 1946 and 1947, we were selling our wheat for $2.20 a bushel. And by comparison we are selling our wheat today at $2 a bushel. Wheat acreage for the Nation has been reduced to a minimum of 55 million acres as required by law. This is about 30 percent less of the total amount of acres suitable for wheat in our country. In many areas of this country wheat is the lifeblood of that area and this is true in my part of Kansas. Labor costs for an example have risen proportionately. In 1945 farm labor costs were from $6 to $8 per day. Today we pay $10 to $12 a day and in some instances where you hire help to operate combines the fee for labor is $15 to $20 a day. The average farmer in my district with this kind of wheat base acreage, and an average wheat production at the present price of wheat and the present cost of overhead cannot show a dollar net profit on today's market. Let me give an example of an average farm in my district with an average wheat production and managed by a tenant farmer. This is the actual experience of a GI farmer in Gray County, Kans., who is the father of four children. This is a farm that is better than the average I would say, and perhaps a little larger than the average. However, it is a 1-man farm, operated primarily by family labor. The size of the farm is 960 acres. The cultivated land is 908 acres; the grass land is 52 acres; the wheat base on this farm is 456 acres, which is above the average wheat base. And at present the land is used as follows: Wheat—456 acres, the estimated yield (county average) is 12 bushels per acre over a period of 10 years. The total production if the crop produced 12 bushels would be 5,472 bushels. This land is rented so that one-third of the wheat production goes to the landlord and two-thirds to the tenant—which would give the tenant farmer a total of 3,648 bushels and the landowner 1,824 bushels. This year his commodity credit loan netted him approximately $1.90 per bushel. The total income available is $6,931.20. Due to drought no stock can be run so no income can be expected from livestock. The balance of land used is as follows: summer fallow—400 acres, and available for feed crops for 1956 were 52 acres, making a total of 908 acres again as first set out.

Now I want to give you a portion of what is the majority of the expenses of this farm. Expenses are based on income tax records of past years of operation. Crop insurance, where you have Federal crop insurance or local hail insurance, has cost annually $597. He acquired his machinery after returning from the war—most of which was used machinery. The interest on this boy's debts amounted to $150. He has some personal property tax on his equipment which totals $80. He has no real estate taxes because he owns no land. He did not own a combine so he hired his wheat cut. His harvesting expenses cost him $1,500 which included additional truck hire. He also had actual expenses on his automobile and truck—which amounted to $500. The extra labor which he had to hire for harvest was $300. Most of his machinery is getting old and his machinery repair bill on his income tax figures was $700. The total bills to operate this machinery such as gas, oil, and repairs on this farm was $900. Insecticides and grasshopper poisons and so forth which are necessary he listed as $20, but I can name you many cases where that could have run up to $200 to $300 or more. His wife likes to have a garden to help feed these four children, her husband, and what hired help they must have. The seed and the material that she bought for this garden amounted to $40. Because of drought he had no expenses on the feed for the livestock. The total cost of his farm operations and expenses were $4,787. His living expenses were figured at $2,000. The total cost of living and operating this farm are $6,787. So he has in the beginning a net cash income of $144.20. He was allowed $1,000 depreciation on his farm equipment. Depreciation on his household goods runs $250 per year. However, all this will eventually have to be replaced with new. If all this is figured it would appear that at the end of the crop year he will most likely be in a worse condition by about $1,105.80 even if he gets 12 bushels per acre on every seeded acre. Of course, they haven't been getting this during the past few drought years. At present it does not appear that there will be any wheat produced in that area this year, which leaves this particular operator nothing to pay on his debts accumulated since 1952 when the last normal wheat crop was cut. In other words, the average farmer is getting quite a lot like Tennessee Ernie's song—Sixteen Tons, "just another year older and deeper in debt." His only chance is to be able to put out more acres in crops and produce enough to offset his increased costs. This land does not profitably produce grain sorghums or any other crop, so there isn't much he can turn to in the way of diversification. Also if he plants more acres of other crops he will have less summer fallow and consequently lower expected wheat yields. As you can see this individual is going to be a poor customer for the merchant in his local community. He cannot hope to purchase any new farm machinery, a new car, household furniture, TV sets, or even additional clothes and groceries for his family.

His neighbor who has possibly a little less land is proportionately worse off and will be even poorer as a customer. This boy is a poor risk for the banker, his local gasman, or anyone else. He has little chance to pay the businessman to whom he is already indebted. I think that this is an average example of an average farmer with an average production in my area. It seems to me that the only possible way the wheat farmer can show a net profit today is to have a higher than average yield—in other words instead of having a 12-bushel average yield he would have to produce a 40-bushel-per-acre wheat crop and then dispose of his holdings. But over a 10-year period he will eventually slip back to his county average if he continues to operate.

I would like to quote further some farm prices—the price of eggs—25 cents per dozen to the producer. On the consumer base it's 45 to 60 cents per dozen. The price of a loaf of bread—a pound loaf of bread—sells today for 20 cents. A few years back when wheat was selling for $2.20 or better the price of a pound loaf of bread was 15 cents. Gasoline fuel for farmers is consistently higher. Taxes in many instances since 1946 and 1947 have gone up from 300 to 400 percent. We have got to have more production and better prices or reduced prices for the cost of production if we are to meet success. Over the past few years there has been an ever-widening breach between the American farmer and the city consumer. All this wouldn't be so disheartening if the consumer was gaining from the loss the farmer was receiving. This, however, is not the case as the subcommittee findings show. The high cost of production and low net returns are bankrupting many farmers in my area. This in turn affects small-business men supported by the agricultural communities. It is one of our many objectives to try to bring new income into this area in order to offset the increased costs of production for the farmers who can't make a go of it operating a farm. This is a necessity because certainly many businesses are closing due to a decrease in sales from their farm trade.

Mr. Chairman, my question is, What is happening to the difference in the price the farmer receives and what the consumer has to pay? Certainly in many cases the farmer is producing good food and losing money doing it. Yet the American consumer is paying the highest costs of all time to feed his family.

It has been a pleasure to present these views of mine to you and I thank you sincerely for your attention.

How the Labor Bosses Got That Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post entitled "Labor's Czars Got That Way by Court Decision." This is a most interesting article:

LABOR'S CZARS GOT THAT WAY BY COURT DECISION

If Messrs. Beck and Hoffa and lesser lights in the Teamsters' Union have come to feel that their activities were none of the ordinary citizen's business, perhaps this attitude is explained by one of the most extraordinary decisions ever handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States, a decision which in effect exempts labor goons and racketeers from the consequences of acts which would get lesser men into serious trouble.

The case, which Representative CLARE HOFFMAN, of Michigan, dug out of the records a few weeks ago, was *U. S.* v. *Local 807, International Brotherhood of Teamsters*, one of a series of court decisions and legislative acts which accounts for the special position of labor organizations under the law. This case was decided early in 1942 in an opinion written by, of all people, that eminent conservative, former Justice James Byrnes. It established the principle that threats, intimidation, and beatings are not subject to punishment under the antiracketeering law if those guilty of such practices were using the brass knuckles "to obtain the payment of wages from a bona fide employer to a bona fide employee."

U. S. v. *Local 807* grew out of the habit of teamster pickets to lie in wait at the Holland Tunnel or other points of entry to New York City, stop trucks on their way into the city, and insist on driving the trucks into New York or, if that was refused, riding deadhead. For this "service" the goons collected some $8 or $9. Owners or drivers who did not go along with the proposal were frequently hauled off their trucks and given the

treatment with some blunt instrument. A group of the offending pickets was prosecuted under the Federal antiracketeering law, inasmuch as the offense clearly involved interstate commerce, and convicted. But the Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the convictions and the case went to the Supreme Court, where Justice Jimmy Byrnes handed down the monumental decision.

The basis for the Byrnes decision was a clause in the antiracketeering law, inserted to meet labor objections to the original bill, which exempted from the definition of "racketeer" persons seeking to gain payment of wages. Therefore, money extorted from truck drivers under threat of violence was supposed to be "wages" within the meaning of the act. To Justice Byrnes it seemed clear that "the elimination of professional gangsters was the aim of the statute and, second, that no interference with traditional labor-union activities was intended."

Thus even when "traditional labor-union activities" included pulling men off trucks and beating them, the law, as far as this particular statute was concerned, was assumed to be helpless. Violence by Dillinger or Babyface Nelson was illegal; the same degree of violence by a picket of Local 807 was immune from prosecution under this statute. Justice Byrnes did try to sugarcoat this extraordinary doctrine by pointing out that when things got too rough, the States had laws under which violence could be punished. But for the Federal Government, the Supreme Court defined racketeering not by the nature of the crime but by the status of the criminal.

The late Chief Justice Harlan Stone, in a vigorous dissent from this legalistic schizophrenia, declared that "the defendants who conspired to compel such payments by force and violence, regardless of the willingness of the victims to accept them as employees, were rightly convicted." But, as the perpetrators of labor violence and extortion have noted over the years, it's the majority decisions that make the law. No wonder the boys who run some of our labor unions have assumed that they had things their own way.

Panama Canal Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Subcommittee on the Panama Canal of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I should like to call the attention of my fellow committee members and to the membership of the whole House to the letter published in the Evening Star of May 15, 1957, from Charles S. Collier, professor of law, the George Washington University:

PANAMA CANAL RIGHTS

The interesting statement of His Excellency Ricardo M. Arias, Ambassador of Panama to the United States, published in your issue of Tuesday, April 30, calls for attentive consideration and mature comment.

One of the chief purposes of the Ambassador's communication apparently was to express emphatic disagreement with Earl Voss, staff correspondent of the Star, as to the interpretation of the basic Isthmian Canal Convention, signed at Washington on November 18, 1903. This convention is a treaty in our constitutional sense. The difference of opinion just mentioned turns very largely on the issue as to the correct interpretation of article III of this convention when examined in the context of other provisions.

The text of article III of this treaty of 1903 is as follows:

"The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, power, and authorities within the zone mentioned and described in article II of this agreement and within the limits of all auxiliary lands and waters mentioned and described in said article II which the United States would possess or exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory within which said lands and waters are located to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power, or authority."

The Ambassador, in his letter, gives a brief restatement or paraphrase of this article but omits any mention of the highly significant concluding phrase just quoted.

Article III appears to the legal specialist as well as to the man on the street to grant to the United States in the territory of the Panama Canal Zone and other auxiliary lands and waters all the rights, power, and authority that are comprehended under the general legal concept of territorial sovereignty as defined by international law. And there is no consortium or partnership as between the United States and Panama as to the exercise of these sovereign rights, since the grant is explicitly stated to be "to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power, or authority."

In his effort to establish some sort of a limitation on the lawful powers of the United States in the Canal Zone, Ambassador Arias relies chiefly on the language in a separate article of the treaty, article II, the opening words of which read as follows:

"The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation, and control of a zone of land and land under water for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of said canal."

The Ambassador maintains that these words express the idea of a limited grant for particular purposes, and do not impair Panama's paramount sovereign authority.

It may be true that article II taken alone would transfer to the United States only rights of beneficial use, occupation, and ownership, closely resembling what are designated by writers on the Roman law as rights of dominium, or domain. But for this very reason article III of the treaty was immediately added for the purpose of conferring upon the United States all the rights, power, and authority within the zone that any territorial sovereign would possess or exercise. These are the rights of imperium, or sovereign powers which are legally distinct from the rights of ownership or domain.

It seems plain that the recitals in article III of the treaty of 1903 which grant to the United States sovereign rights and powers within the Canal Zone and the auxiliary lands constitute by themselves a distinct substantive statement which is complete and self-sufficient and needs no transfusion from other sections of the treaty to reveal a concealed and artificial meaning that would greatly detract from the significance and practical value that are so obvious if the words of article III are taken in their natural and direct sense.

The subject of sovereign powers treated in article III is distinct logically and practically both from the grant of domain by virtue of article II and from the statement of the purposes of that grant of domain set forth in article II.

There are no words of restriction or limitation on the general grant of sovereign rights and powers to the United States set forth in the third article. It seems too plain for any reasonable doubt that the grant to the United States of all the rights, power, and authority within the Canal Zone which the sovereign (any sovereign) as such would possess or exercise is not limited to any particular interests in that territory. And this grant is expressed to be "to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power, or authority."

CHARLES S. COLLIER,
Professor of Law, the George Washington University.

Statement by George J. Burger Before the House Committee on Banking and Currency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a statement by George J. Burger, vice president, National Federation of Independent Business, before the House Banking and Currency Committee on May 15, 1957:

I am George J. Burger, vice president and Washington representative of the National Federation of Independent Business. I am appearing here solely for the membership of the federation.

We represent independent business and professional people in all vocations from all parts of the country. We have the largest directly supporting membership of any business organization in the country.

Our position on legislation is dictated directly by our membership. We poll our members on all important issues, and are committed by their majority vote, and as it pertains to the Small Business Administration our nationwide membership has been polled six times since the legislation for the creation of this agency was first instituted.

So as not to bore the committee with a long detailed statement as to our views on the Small Business Administration—we have covered this in full detail in appearances before the subcommittee of the House Small Business Committee on two occasions, under date of March 28, 1957, and again on April 2, 1957.

Your committee well knows that in the first instance we recommended that the Small Business Administration be made a permanent agency, and we also recommended the elimination of the policy board being set up consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury or his alternate, the Secretary of Commerce or his alternate, and the Administrator of the Small Business Administration. Our position today, on direct nationwide vote of our membership, remains the same. We do not believe the agency can successfully carry out the will of the Congress with divided authority in the top bracket.

We believe it will be found the members of the subcommittee of the House Small Business Committee will be in agreement with our views.

To the credit of that committee, chairmaned by the Honorable ABRAHAM J. MULTER, and members of the committee being, the Honorable SYDNEY R. YATES, the Honorable TOM STEED, the Honorable R. WALTER RIEHLMAN, and the Honorable HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR., they gave close and full attention during these hearings, hearing all sides on the proposition.

Shortly after the agency was created in the summer of 1953, and continuing right up to the present moment, we have made it our personal interest to check at the top and the local levels into the operations of the Small Business Administration to make certain that the will of Congress is being carried out. To a degree, we feel satisfied that our action in this respect has been helpful to the agency itself and to small business which we represent.

In July 1956, speaking for the Federation, in a conference with Dr. Arthur Burns, the then Economic Adviser to the President and chairman of the President's Cabinet Committee on Small Business, we made seven specific recommendations on small business to be considered by his group, and one of the principal recommendations was that the Small Business Administration be made a permanent agency and that full control be vested in the Administrator in setting the policy.

In our appearances, by invitation, before the platform committees of both Republican and Democratic national conventions in Chicago and San Francisco, again—one of the principal recommendations we made before those groups was that the Small Business Administration be made a permanent agency, with control vested exclusively in the hands of the Administrator. There were no outward comments from members of the platform committees of both parties as to any objections and in this respect we are glad to note that after my appearance before the Small Business Committees of both the Senate and the House, Mr. Barnes, the Administrator announced the administration would favor the agency being made a permanent agency.

There are bills presently before your committee which embody the recommendations of the membership of the National Federation of Independent Business, and in each instance the vote has been overwhelmingly in favor of the adoption of these bills.

In our appearances before the Small Business Committees of the Congress we have made our recommendations as to the overall policy which should be used in a continuing agency which would be as Congress expected it to be as a real help to efficient, progressive, independent business of all descriptions.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, we know of no other agency in the Federal Government that is subject to policy making in conjunction with any other Government agency. We do not believe that the Treasury Department has a full understanding of the problems of small business, and we hold the same view as it relates to the Department of Commerce. Both of these Departments have their rightful place in our Government, but they do not belong in any direct action that will be helpful to small business.

The Hungarian Refugee Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, among the resolutions passed at the convention of the Christian Church, Disciples of Christ, held in Buffalo, was the following on the Hungarian refugee program. I believe that this resolution reflects the views of the majority of responsible and informed citizens on this compelling issue. We have a duty to make our immigration policy one that is totally consistent with our obligations to ourselves and to the world. I urge that consideration be given to the pending legislation in this field without further delay.

The resolution reads:

VII. THE COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION

Whereas the Hungarian relief program is one that challenges the conscience of the entire Western World: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) of New York and New Jersey, urge Representatives in Congress to continue the Hungarian relief program, which has been discontinued for lack of funds.

WILLIAM SHOOP,
Chairman, Commission on Social Action.

Act for People or Sink, President Tells GOP

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following words of Garnett D. Horner contained in yesterday's Washington Evening Star:

ACT FOR PEOPLE OR SINK, PRESIDENT TELLS GOP

(By Garnett D. Horner)

President Eisenhower emphasized today that he believes the Republican Party will be sunk in the long run unless it follows his concept of modern Republicanism.

The President rejected at a news conference any idea of punishing Republicans in Congress who do not agree with him.

He said he will depend on trying to influence people in quiet conversation and occasional factual television-radio speeches to the country to try to win support for his programs.

Mr. Eisenhower's warning to the GOP right wing that its road leads to oblivion for the party came during a news conference devoted largely to a defense of his budget imperiled by the congressional economy drive.

MORE CONSERVATIVE

At the same time, he said he thinks he is more conservative now than he was in 1952.

Emphasizing that he is against any trifling with the Nation's financial integrity, the President said he has the same concern as others about the high cost of Federal Government.

He said he believes all Government programs must be studied carefully to make sure too big a load is not being taken on.

But, along with this, the President said the Federal Government cannot shut its eyes to such problems as assisting the aged and disabled.

Any political group that does not study the needs of the people and try to meet them will in the long run be sunk, he added.

SEEKS SOUND FISCAL POLICY

The President said he thought this summed up his conception of modern Republicanism.

He said it means adhering to sound basic principles in Government operations, including a balanced budget. He said new problems should be met head on and an effort should be made to solve them with a clear comprehension of what the people need.

Mr. Eisenhower was reminded that he interpreted his second-term election victory last November as a mandate from the people to carry forward a program of modern Republicanism, and was asked if he thought the will of the people was being flaunted in Congress.

He remarked that it is too much to expect everybody to understand all at once all that enters into this political philosophy. He said as people are informed they probably will support what the country voted for in November.

Told that Democrats in Congress seem to be supporting his program more than most Republicans there, he was asked if he expected to punish the Republicans not going along with him or reward those who do.

He replied firmly that he does not think it is the function of any President to punish anybody for voting what he believes.

Then a reported asked if he planned to try to work more for his programs in Congress through such Republicans as Senators CASE of New Jersey and JAVITS, of New York, who are supporting them.

WORKS THROUGH LEADERSHIP

Mr. Eisenhower replied that he does not see how it is possible for him to work with Republicans in Congress as a group except through their elected leadership.

Thus he made it clear that he expects to continue working with Senate Republican Leader KNOWLAND and House Republican Leader MARTIN, who have been in the forefront of those Republicans who have urged greater budget reductions than the President believes are possible without risking the safety of the country or cutting our needed domestic programs.

Told that some Republicans think he has "moved to the left" since his first election in 1952, Mr. Eisenhower said "far from it." He added that if anything, he has become more conservative. Then he went into his exposition of how modern Republicanism should try to meet needs of the people while following sound fiscal policies to preserve the value of the dollar.

Opinion of an Ordinary Citizen in Regard to Our Present Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include a letter which I have received from Arthur C. Hodgson, attorney at law, Lyons, Kans., dated May 9, 1957. I feel the remarks made by Mr. Hodgson are indeed sound and truly indicative of the thinking of the ordinary citizens of our country:

LYONS KANS., *May 9, 1957.*

Hon. J. FLOYD BREEDING,
Representative, Fifth Congressional District of Kansas, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing you in regard to the budget which the Congress is presently considering for the operation of the Government for the next fiscal year.

Since the President submitted his proposed budget to Congress, I have been watching with a great deal of interest, items in the newspaper in regard to the proposed budget. Some have been in favor of the budget as submitted, others feel that it is

much too high. As a general proposition I do not write to my Representative or to my Senators. I feel that they are on the scene and normally in a better position to judge than I am here at Lyons, Kans. However, I have come to the conclusion that I should write and express the opinion of one ordinary American in regard to our present budget.

I am familiar with the thoughts of different officials in Government guarding this proposed budget. I am also familiar with the stand of the United States Chamber of Commerce and other organized groups, for all of them have been reported in the papers extensively. Personally I feel that the proposed budget is much too high, however, here again I am not in as good a position to judge as you are, and as one of your constituents I want you to use your best judgment. I do wish, however, that you should know what at least one person is thinking in regard to the budget.

I have been reading the paper for several years that we are having unprecedented prosperity, however, I have been inclined to except central and western Kansas from this claim of unprecedented prosperity. I have told myself that probably the drought is largely responsible for the fact that we in central Kansas have not been having the prosperity which the papers claim for the rest of the United States. Be that as it may, I know that when I am in a period of prosperity that I should be paying off any indebtedness which I may have. Assuming that we have been in a period of prosperity since World War II, then I think it is high time that we start paying off some of the public debt instead of having ever increasing national budgets. Somehow I can't see very much difference between the Government of the United States and myself as far as indebtedness is concernd, at least I think some of the same fundamental rules apply, and if I owed my banker substantial sums of money and kept buying a lot of things which I could do without and did not make any attempt to liquidate my indebtedness, I would soon find that I didn't have any credit with my banker. I think the same thing can and probably will be true with the Government of the United States.

The papers recently contained a statement from Mr. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, to the effect that why were those comprising the United States Chamber of Commerce screaming about taxes and expenditures when they were making more money than they had ever made before. I get the implication from these statements by Mr. Wilson, as quoted in the paper, that he thinks that as long as people are making a lot of money that they shouldn't be concerned because the Government throws a bunch of it away. For one, I do not go for this line of reasoning. I think it is fairly childish and I do not think it is a very worthy comment by the Secretary of Defense. Frankly I am concerned about the bigness of Government as well as the bigness of some segments of industry. As one of the garden variety of citizens of our country, I can observe the little person being gobbled up by the big operator and by the big corporation. Not that I have anything against the big operator or the big corporation, but I am alarmed that the little man is receiving what seems to me to be very little consideration from our Government or for that matter, from Congress.

I served in the Navy in the Southwest Pacific during World War II, and I would not sacrifice our national welfare because of the burden it would impose on me or other citizens of our country to keep up a sufficient Military Establishment, but what I do think I have a right to expect as a citizen, is to have the frills cut out and the unnecessary expense lopped off. It is my feeling, without actually knowing, that these frills and unnecessary expenses run into the billions rather than the millions of dollars. Naturally I want you to exercise your good judgment as far as the budget is concerned, but I do want you to know that at least one person in Kansas feels that the Government has gotten out of hand, that our duly elected Representatives and Senators represent us, and that we rely upon you, first of all to do what you think is the best for the good of our country, secondly, that you will do what you consider is best for the constituents and the State you represent, thirdly, that you be as businesslike with the affairs of Government as you would be in your own business at home.

Very respectfully yours,

ARTHUR C. HODGSON,
Attorney at Law.

The Washington Star, the Washington Post, and the Washington Journal, 98-Year-Old German-Language Weekly, Report on Cultural Growth of the Nation's Capital

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I include three reports from as many newspapers on the cultural activities and growth which is taking place these days in the Nation's Capital.

It is the hope of all of us that Washington will one day soon rival London, Paris, Vienna, Rome, and other European capitals in cultural attainments.

The Washington Star in 1852 predicted that Washington was destined to be the most powerful and brilliant capital in the world.

Ninety years later W. M. Kiplinger, Washington publisher and businessman, was to say in his book Washington Is Like That:

Despite the wealth of national tradition attached to Washington there is very little native culture. The city has never been a notable breeding place for art, or music, or literature. Unlike other great capitals of world thought, such as prewar London and Vienna and Paris, where the native-born leaders of the cities shaped the intellectual patterns which influenced the nation, Washington as a city has no homegrown culture. Its influence in cultural matters is not by Washington but rather via Washington. Whatever culture there is here was started elsewhere and brought in and pasted on.

Mr. Kiplinger in 1956, 14 years still later, maintained that the situation had not changed much from what it was in 1942.

I feel that with this bit of background information the following newspaper reports take on added significance and interest:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of May 16, 1957]

SENATE APPROVES PURCHASE OF LAND IN FOGGY BOTTOM FOR CULTURAL CENTER

The Senate approved last night Government purchase of land in Foggy Bottom for the proposed $36 million auditorium and cultural center.

A joint conference report authorizing the General Services Administration to buy land west of 24th Street and Virginia Avenue NW., passed the Senate shortly before 8:30 p. m. The measure now goes to the House.

Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, Oregon, acting chairman of the Senate-House conference committee that drafted the report, asked for immediate consideration after introducing the measure. It passed without opposition.

The Foggy Bottom site is the one favored by the Auditorium Commission over other locations including one in the Southwest redevelopment area.

The bill directs the General Services Administrator to acquire the 27-acre tract by purchase and condemnation.

Sould the House approve the report, further legislation appropriating funds will be necessary, though, before the land may be purchased.* * * The Peoples Life Insurance Co. had planned to build its headquarters building on part of the land.

The Auditorium Commission has agreed to finance construction of the $36 million building through national subscription if Congress provides the land.

In addition to setting the site, the Senate-approved bill changes the name of the auditorium to the National Cultural Center and the name of the Auditorium Commission to the Commission for a National Cultural Center. The life of the Commission is extended until the center is built.

[From the Washington Evening Star of May 15, 1957]

ARCHITECTS TOLD ARTS DESERVE CABINET STATUS

(By Francis P. Douglas)

The fragile Miss Lillian Gish, who is an enduring ornament of the theater, urged today that a Cabinet post be created to encourage the arts in America.

She addressed the American Institute of Architects at the organization's centennial convention in the Sheraton-Park Hotel. She asked the architects to join others of the arts and sciences in taking the project for a cabinet secretary to President Eisenhower.

Dr. Howard Mitchell, conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, demurred.

"Getting the Government too deeply involved in the arts may well curtail their full freedom, making the artist dependent on the imagination of officials and bureaucrats and stifle his individual initiative," he said.

He conceded he is somwhat divided on the subject. One project the Government should foster is the establishment of an American National Theater and Music Center in the Capital, he said. The people cannot provide this themselves, he explained, and certainly not the voteless citizens of Washington.

Another area where the Government could help, he said, is in the preservation of historic sites, buildings, and art objects.

Dr. Leo Friedlander, sculptor and former president of the National Sculpture Society, opposed bills offered to set up an advisory commission on the arts. He said there is a danger that the proposed Federal Advisory Commission might tend to establish an overall supervision controlled to a great extent by too few artists. He said also the bills too pronouncedly have a political approach.

SEES ARTIST ALONE

Miss Gish said that since 1917 we seem to have concentrated on other lands more than our own.

We have given away billions to others while our own shrines come down one by one for lack of funds to care for them, she continued. "Why? Because the artist has no court of appeals as the laboring man, the war lord or the businessman. They all have a secretary in the President's Cabinet, but not the artist, not the scientist. He does not exist in our Republic."

Miss Gish said the architects are not entirely blameless for not receiving the rec-

ognition due them. She recalled she herself had heard of only two architects—Frank Lloyd Wright and Stanford White, who got shot.

"A prize fighter gets more publicity and, in some instances, a truck driver is better paid," she continued. "It would seem that our system of values has reached an Alice in Wonderland absurdity, worthy only of satire."

President Eisenhower, she pointed out has already said that "something should be done for the arts. Now it is up to us to tell him what that something is."

OPPOSES SUBSIDY IDEA

Dr. Mitchell spelled out what the President had said, quoting this from his 1955 state of the Union message:

"The Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities. I shall recommend the establishment of a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts—to advise the Federal Government on ways to encourage artistic endeavor and appreciation."

The orchestra leader said he could not see how anyone could quarrel with this. But he added direct subsidy in the form of patronage to the musical organizations is another question.

"The Government would certainly tread on delicate ground," he continued, "for soon the question would come up as to what constitutes art, and I don't think any 2 Government commissioners could agree on that any more than can 2 music critics—or even you and I. They might finally compromise on some basis—a little modern and a little classic, a touch of Texas and a little of New England—and the result could spell utter mediocrity.

"I would dread to see home noble contributor to one of our political parties appointed to a Government commission or, heaven forbid, as secretary of culture, and tell me what symphonies I ought to conduct and what symphonies I ought not to conduct. Let's leave Federal patronage to politics and political jobs."

Dr. Mildred C. McIntosh, president of Barnard College, and Prof. Paul Tillich, of Harvard University, participated in the discussion.

NATIONAL AND INTER-AMERICAN MUSIC WEEK, MAY 5–12, 1957

Mrs. Ralph Becker, honorary vice chairman.

Mrs. Edward Cleaveland Sweeney, treasurer.

Hon. Sherman Adams, honorary chairman.

Philip A. Guarino, chairman, executive committee.

Hon. Robt. E. McLaughlin, honorary vice chairman.

Clinton Price, executive secretary.

DEAR MUSIC LOVER: National and Inter-American Music Week will be observed this year May 5–12 under the keynote "Life means more with music."

In order to emphasize the common bond existing among all peoples through music, hundreds of communities are planning recitals, concerts, and festivals featuring folk music of many nations and other appropriate programs.

Washington, D. C.'s, committee on Music Week is highlighting the week by having a luncheon at the Willard Hotel on May 6, at 12:15 p. m. An outstanding program is planned with Miss Marian Anderson as guest artist. Mrs. Agnes Meyer will speak on our new Cultural Center and Mr. George Marek, vice president of RCA Victor Records and music editor of Good Housekeeping magazine, will pay special tribute to Toscanini. Citations will be presented to persons who have made outstanding contributions to the music field in Washington.

Another highlight of the week will be the presentation of the opera The Gypsy Baron by Johann Strauss, Jr. Produced by Dr. Frederick Fall, who was formerly connected with the Volk Opera in Vienna, this three-act comic opera will have Dean Dittman, recent winner of the Lauritz Melchior award, to play the lead. The opera will be presented at Roosevelt Auditorium, 13th and Allison Streets NW., at 8:15 p. m., on May 9, 10, and 11. One of the significant features of this production is the opportunity it gives local performers for presenting their talents.

In order to make this program possible as well as perpetuate local opera this endeavor must capture the interest, the goodwill, the cooperation, and the financial assistance of friends of the opera. We are asking therefore that you make every effort to support this opera by attending the performances and making a contribution.

PHILIP A. GUARINO,
Chairman, Executive Committee,
National Music Week.

Honorary committee: Mrs. Robert Law Bacon, Senator J. Glenn Beall, Mrs. Ezra Taft Benson, Hon. Robert Woods Bliss, Mr. Barnee Breeskin, Mrs. Herbert Brownell, Jr., Hon. Joel T. Broyhill, Mrs. Wilber M. Brucker, Mrs. Arleigh Albert Burke, Mrs. Harold Burton, Dr. Leonard Carmichael, Edward R. Carr, Milo F. Christiansen, Robert W. Dowling, Mrs. John Foster Dulles, David C. Finley, Robert V. Fleming, Mrs. Marion B. Folsom, Hon. George A. Garrett, Henry Gichner, Maj. Gen. U. S. Grant III, Hon. Theodore Green, Father Gilbert V. Hartke, Maj. Gen. Robert W. Hasbrouck, Mrs. George M. Humphrey, Frank R. Jelleff, Dr. George Johnson, Hon. Lyndon Johnson, Hon. Eric Johnston, David Karrick, Hon. Carroll D. Kearns, Hon. Arthur G. Klein, Hon. William Knowland, Brig. Gen. Thomas A. Lane, Dr. Warner Lawson, Hon. Joseph Martin, Jr., Hon. Pat McNamara, Mrs. Agnes Meyer, Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Dr. Howard Mitchell, Mrs. James P. Mitchell, Hon. James H. Morrison, Hon. Matthew M. Neely, Mrs. Richard M. Nixon, Duncan Phillips, Mrs. Merriweather Post, Hon. Adam Clayton Powell, Mrs. Ivy Priest, Mrs. Donald A. Quarles, Adm. Arthur Radford, Hon. Samuel Rayburn, Mrs. William P. Rogers, Mrs. James H. Rowe, Jr., Mrs. Fred A. Seaton, Douglas Smith, Dr. Harold Spivacke, Mrs. Arthur Summerfield, Gen. Maxwell Taylor, Mrs. Charles Thomas, Hon. Frank Thompson, Jr., Gen. Nathan F. Twining, Mrs. Earl Warren, Mrs. Sinclair Weeks, Herman Williams, George Livingston Williams, Mrs. Charles E. Wilson.

[From the Washington Journal of May 17, 1957]

GYPSY BARON GETS SPARKLING RESURRECTION

The three performances of The Gypsy Baron given last week by the ensemble directed by Dr. Frederick Fall could, by all means, live up to the standards of a demanding criticism in spite of the fact that most of the participants were nonprofessional in status.

The many Europeans who attended the performances and who, indeed, through former experience of performances on German and Austrian stages, had good bases for comparison, were sincerely impressed. Many of our readers have confirmed this impression from personal attendance at the performances.

If, however, one reads in the Washington Post the writeup of Mr. Paul Hume (and his colleague from the Washington Star does not fall short of him) and if one sees how Hume, with the fraudulent freedom of an opera Pope, walks his own rather shaky tightrope (in regard to his operatic experience) and, further, if one sees how he strikes below the belt at the people of our city who, under great sacrifices of time and labor, have made these performances possible then one asks if, after all, one can place any value at all on Washington music criticism.

The Gypsy Baron is no Bach cantata and Zcupan is, after all, the most ridiculous hog-raiser on earth. That is what makes The Gypsy Baron so charming and so lovable.

May the men and women who worked so tirelessly to bring Smetana and Strauss to the Washington stage not let themselves be deterred from future efforts by "hume-id" malice.

In northern Germany there is a saying, "What the farmer doesn't know, he won't eat."

We inscribe this saying in the memory album of our arrogant District of Columbia music critics with much pleasure.

We hope, at the same time, to see again next year something as ridiculous which, in our European ignorance, we find so beautiful and reminiscent of home.

Policy Toward Satellite Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

MINORITY VIEWS OF HON. JAMES G. FULTON, OF PENNSYLVANIA

The report of the majority of the Special Study Mission to Europe on Policy Toward the Satellite Nations lays great stress on the widely-voiced criticism of a lack of consistency in United States foreign policy. Yet where is this alleged inconsistency to be found? Certainly it is not in the fundamental principles and objectives of our policy. It is necessary to point out that the implementation of the same United States foreign policy must vary because of local area conditions. The same method of implementation would not have been possible toward both Hungary and the Middle East due to the essentially different circumstances and conditions of power access in the two areas.

In short, our United States capability of exerting influence or bringing power to bear directly is obviously greater in some areas of the world than in others. As applied to the satellite states, our United States policy during the present administration—and during the previous one as well—has been to sustain the hopes of the peoples of Eastern Europe in the eventual achievement of liberty and national independence, to maintain their faith in the value of these goals, and to promote by every means, short of force or the encouragement of force, an evolution toward freedom. There have been many allegations that the VOA and the RFE led the Hungarians to expect more than this. No substantial or affirmative evidence has been presented to our committee or otherwise that would bear out this allegation. There may have been errors through inferences drawn from program statements issued under changing and highly charged emotional conditions. The majority of the study mission is justified in pointing out that the most careful editorial supervision of these media is required.

Course of action of the United States Government taken by the White House, the Department of State, our United States representation at the United Nations, as well as

our United States missions abroad, from the very beginning of the Hungarian uprising appears to have developed logically from the basic policy just described. Certain fundamental decisions had to be considered and made and, clearly, were taken promptly upon the outbreak of violence in Hungary. These decisions would appear to be the following:

(a) That the United States Government was not prepared to resort to force or the threat of force in the Hungarian situation;

(b) That the United Nations organization offered the best hope of bringing about a satisfactory solution of that situation;

(c) That the United States should take all possible peaceful means outside the United Nations to assist that organization and to be of aid to the Hungarian people in the light of developing circumstances.

There are some who may question the validity of these decisions, but no evidence has been developed before our European subcommittee to indicate that these important and decisive steps were not taken expeditiously in view of the long unrest in Hungary, and the sudden dramatic culmination in violent and complete revolution. The steps taken by the United States in the Hungarian crisis were clearly in harmony with these decisions. It is a matter of record that our permanent representative in the United Nations took a strong lead in bringing the Hungarian question first before the Security Council and later before the General Assembly. According to a letter which he addressed to the editor of Time, Inc., on March 4, 1957, he was actively working with the members of the Security Council and the General Assembly at the United Nations how best to handle the Hungarian crisis from October 25. There is ample evidence that the United States did exert constant and leading efforts to marshal every possible support for the Hungarian people in the United Nations and have continued to do so up to the present time. The actions as to Hungary in which the United States participated were taken by the overwhelming majority of the United Nations in behalf of the Hungarian people.

The majority view of the subcommittee would on any other proposed course of individual United States action necessarily have the United States Government embark on a solitary and sudden course exactly as Britain and France acted on the Suez crisis which occurred at the same time as the Hungarian revolt. The United States could not insist on joint action against war in the dispute with Britain and France on Suez, and at the same time embark on a solitary policy as to Hungary when the United Nations was considering the question. It should be pointed out that the majority report recommends no specific action or policy that the United States Government should have taken in the Hungarian crisis other than the administration took, but simply complains of the necessary time to implement consultations for joint action in the United Nations agencies. Do we act with our allies and the United Nations in the next satellite crisis or revolution? I strongly recommend we do.

Outside the United Nations both the President (on October 25) and the Secretary of State (on October 27) vigorously condemned Soviet actions in Hungary while at the same time pointing out that the security of the Soviet Union would not be threatened by a free and independent Hungary. The United States Government unilaterally also made significant contributions to the material aid of the Hungarian people, though this too was coordinated through the United Nations.

Much is said in the majority report about the lack of United States action during the "fatal 4 days" between October 23 and October 27. Such criticism, however, neglects to take account of several important factors. While it was known long before October 23 that there was general popular unrest within Hungary and deep factional conflict within the Hungarian Communist Party itself, no one, including the Hungarian people, the Hungarian Communist leaders, or the Soviets, was in a position during the first days of the uprising to forecast the course which events were to take during the ensuing period.

The initiation of any precipitate action (and the majority does not specify just what action it has in mind) before at least the general outline and trend of events as they were developing had become clear would appear, even in hindsight, to be unwise.

Consider, for example, the situation as it existed on October 24. Imre Nagy, who was known to be more nationalistically inclined and more moderate in his political and economic policies than his predecessor, had become Prime Minister. The Stalinist Gero had ben forced to resign as party secretary.

In brief, progress had been made at that point not dissimilar to what had just taken place in Poland. Would the United States have been justified in taking some hasty action at that juncture which might have jeopardized Nagy's position as the only leader who at the time appeared even remotely acceptable both to the Soviets and the Hungarian people? Should all possibilities of a compromise solution have been endangered or forfeited at that stage when there was no clear basis for anticipating what the next days would bring?

It would appear from these considerations that our Government took the only steps feasible within the framework of its basic policy decisions: We made known to the Hungarian people that we shared their aspirations for freedom and national independence and stood ready to render economic assistance to a free Hungary. We condemned the Soviet intervention and initiated discussions with friendly governments, primarily within the framework of the United Nations but also on a direct basis, concerning action which could be undertaken with wide agreement in support of the Hungarian people.

More Than Illusory Controls Needed for Effective Regulation of Gas Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an editorial entitled "Gas Debate," which appeared in the East St. Louis (Ill.) Journal on May 13, 1957:

GAS DEBATE

The perennial natural-gas debate resumed in Congress last week amidst the kind of controversy that seems as much a part of the oil and gas industry as wildcatters and gushers. For as soon as hearings began before the House Commerce Committee no one knew for sure what sort of regulation of gas producers either the Eisenhower administration or the industry wanted. But it is already clear that none of the proposals before Congress would give adequate protection to the consumers of natural gas.

The present Phase of the gas controversy began when the United States Supreme Court ruled 3 years ago that the Federal Power Commission could regulate prices charged by natural-gas producers. The FPC authority to police the pipeline companies and the power of State agencies to regulate gas prices charged consumers by local utilities have long been settled.

The natural-gas industry wants a minimum of Federal controls over producers. So does President Eisenhower. Last year Congress passed such legislation, but the President vetoed it because, he said, of arrogant lobbying tactics by oil and gas interests.

Until last week it had been generally assumed that legislation sponsored by Chairman HARRIS, Democrat, of Arkansas, of the House Commerce Committee, was acceptable to the administration. However, hearings opened with a statement by Charles H. Kendall, General Counsel of the Office of Defense Mobilization, that the administration wants greater FPC authority over the prices charged by producers than the Harris bill provides.

But even with the changes suggested by Mr. Kendall, FPC control over prices charged by gas producers still would not be adequate to protect consumers. Their interests can best be met by allowing the Supreme Court decision of 1954 to stand.

For if there are no controls or only illusory controls over the prices producers get for their gas when they sell it to pipeline companies, there cannot be effective regulation of the rates charged by pipelines or local utilities.

Alliance Is Proud of Bentia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John Bentia, of Alliance, received the Horatio Alger award this week for his outstanding achievement in rising to the presidency of the Alliance Manufacturing Co. at 38, having started with the concern as a stockboy while in college.

Details of his career were reported in the RECORD several days ago. At this time I ask leave to include an editorial from the Alliance Review commenting on this recognition, and Hal Boyle's syndicated column containing further information:

ALLIANCE IS PROUD OF BENTIA

Distinct honor came to Alliance yesterday when one of her native sons was accorded the signal honor of becoming the youngest American to receive the coveted Horatio Alger award.

This distinction fell to John Bentia, the son of Rumanian immigrants, who at the age of 39 has become one of the outstanding men of the country in the electronics field. He is at 39 president of the Alliance Manufacturing Co., where he started as a stockboy, after graduation at Mount Union College.

Bentia was among those honored at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City by the American Schools and Colleges Association.

Bentia attributes his success to determination, hard work, and God-given good health, and is convinced that opportunities today are infinitely greater than ever before.

Bentia asserts that "chances for success today are much greater because more and more men are seeking security rather than competitive success. For the really determined individual, unafraid of hard work, today's opportunities offer less competition than ever before. Actually, the less capable person now has more chances for success than he ever had in the past."

Retiring and unassuming, but industrious and determined, Bentia's career and achievement should be an inspiration to every youth of the land, and especially to those of his home community. No better example of the privileges of the American free enterprise system could be cited for the young men and women graduating this month and next from Alliance High School and Mount Union College, both of which helped in Bentia's preparation for life.

Bentia's accomplishments likewise stand to the rest of the country as illustrative of the important role held in American industry by the concerns that thrive in Alliance. Only a successful industrial realm, such as Alliance, could provide the stepping stones for the kind of personal advancement which has come to this native son.

Likewise, Bentia's receipt of the Alger award will provide enjoyable nostalgia for those who included in their boyhood library the Horatio Alger works which unquestionably served as an inspiration to thousands of American youths.

As a community, Alliance is proud of Bentia, and pleased to take a bit of credit for producing this type of distinguished leadership.

FROM PAPERBOY TO PRESIDENT: BOYLE TELLS STORY OF ALLIANCE ALGER

(By Hal Boyle)

NEW YORK.—John Bentia, a 39-year-old bachelor who runs a 20-million-dollar-a-year business, has figured out a simple formula by which practically anyone can become successful in only 14 hours a day.

There's only one catch in it. You have to spend the 14 hours working.

"I feel strongly that a person of mediocre talent can, by determination and hard work, be more successful than a brilliant man with less drive," said Bentia.

"I've seen it happen time after time, and it's a simple matter of mathematics.

"If you work 12 hours a day and the other fellow works 8, every 2 days you gain a full day on him. The chances are that, even if he is a little smarter than you, he isn't smart enough to overcome the difference that your added hours on the job makes."

Bentia himself puts in 80 hours of work a week, and says he enjoys it.

The son of Rumanian immigrants, he sold newspapers at the age of 5. He worked his way through college and then in 1938, took a $135 a month job as stockboy with the Alliance Manufacturing Co., a subsidiary of Consolidated Electronics Corp., in Alliance, Ohio, his hometown.

Four years ago he became president of the firm. Last week his steady climb up the ladder of success was recognized by the American Schools and Colleges Association, which voted him an Horatio Alger award. He is the youngest executive ever to receive the honor.

A pleasant-faced man with an easy manner that cloaks his own Spartan sense of self-disipline, Bentia says there never in history has been a time when it was easier for a man to get ahead—if he faces up to the price.

"There have never been more opportunities—and fewer people really looking for them," he observed dryly.

"But most people today seem afraid to stick their necks out. They are afraid to take a hammering, but it is only by taking the hammering that you can learn what you have to know.

"They lack confidence in themselves, yet this you must develop and hold on to. They prefer to look for a pleasant job with minimum risks and a safe pension."

The truth, as Bentia sees it, is that most people who say they want to be a success actually are afraid of success and the penalties it imposes. He makes no bones of the fact success does exact a penalty.

"You sometimes are lonely when you're not working," he admitted frankly. "You miss some of the pleasure of family life, and the enjoyment of hobbies. You don't play as good a game of golf.

"Socially, you find it difficult to engage in small talk because you don't have the time to learn the things that make small talk."

The reward of success, he feels, lies in the pride of creative achievement rather than in the bigger paycheck.

But is success worth the things a man loses along the way?

"Obviously, most men in their hearts, don't think so," he said. "I do, even though I know I have missed—so far—the happiness of family life."

But Bentia says being a bachelor isn't one of his career goals, and he expects to marry soon.

What attribute does he value most in a wife?

"Primarily understanding," he said, smiling. "From what the older boys tell me, it can cause a lot of trouble if you like to work long hours and your wife isn't sympathetic."

The Supersonic Tonic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 25, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the May 9, 1957, issue of the Indian River News, Sebastian, Fla., has been called to my attention by Maj. Sidney J. Roche, who is stationed at Patrick Air Force Base, Fla.

The editorial on The Supersonic Tonic I believe refers to a timely and important subject and I am glad to have it inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the attention of my colleagues:

The editorial follows:

THE SUPERSONIC TONIC

(By Sallydale Wimbrow)

There seems to be a point to be made by the merging of two old cries: The shortage of school teachers and the shortage of electronic engineers. We have to encourage interest in difficult subjects like science and mathematics if America intends to win, place, or show in the jet age. Right now Russia is graduating at least 50,000 engineers annually, while America graduates only about 40,000. Why? America is suffering tremendously from a shortage of the right kind of school teachers. The right kind of teacher puts his subject across before a student becomes interested in it, as well as after. He knows how to lead; so he doesn't have to push.

It's no secret that teachers are shockingly underpaid. There's little attraction in the teaching field for a young man spry of step, who views the world as his oyster. It offers him horn rims and ruler while almost every other field holds out bright plums of promise, increased earnings and better chances of advancement. When that time arrives for the eager and enthusiastic college grad to choose between a Cadillac and a desk with an apple on it, only the truest of altruists chooses the latter with anything less than a Hara-Kiri attitude.

So it's become pretty apparent that this country can no longer afford young teachers. Not only young good ones at any rate, distant pastures are too green with greenbacks. But, luckily, youth alone offers no great advantage in this particular profession. The case here is opposite to other careers. The more seasoned the man is, the better he is equipped to teach.

Where is the youngster who can teach other youngsters how to avoid the pitfalls before he has learned how himself? And what youngster will heed the advice of another youngster telling him how to prepare for life? It's the old soldier who commands respect and knows whereof he speaks. Do we mean old soldier literally? You bet your last raise we do. He just might be the answer waiting to cure the shortage of school teachers and the shortage of electronic engineers in one fell swoop of Florida's legislative pen.

Right here we want to make it clear that we are not trying to militarize our schools. We mean the old soldier, the one who has put his gun away and retired from the hut, 2, 3, 4 routine. He'd be the last one to regiment our study halls. No one is more willing to forget regimentation than a man who's had it crammed down his throat for 20 or 30 years. The martial music is behind him and he likes it there. But he will continue to stand up straight and thirst terrifically for knowledge. He has learned a lot. He has had experience college grads can't even dream of. And while the old soldier may claim that all he wants from here on in is a potato patch on the Isle of Pines, he'll be scared to death of stagnation. He's had too much training. His mind will continue to demand the exercise it has been getting through the years. He has retired from soldiering, but he hasn't retired period. In a year or two, if not right away, he's going to be looking for more than a hoe to keep him busy. He won't be interested in any fast paced existence, because his body has forgotten how to keep pace with his active mind. So a full time, demanding position will look too hectic at any price.

But how would he react to the offer of a teacher's position—a room full of bright faces, a full summer's vacation, and a few thousand dollars per year to supplement the retirement check? How would he feel about sharing the wisdom from all his life's experience with the children who are going to need his knowledge now much more than he does? Here's the man who can put the romance back in mathematics—and not only tell children about the brilliant future they face, but take them to see it. How many potential engineers might result from one visit to the Air Force Missile Test Center near Cocoa, or the new Glenn L. Martin labs near Orlando? What boy won't find renewed interest in his multiplication tables if that's what it takes to teach him to build space ships? Florida is fast becoming a center for electronic manufacturers and guided missile rocket propulsion. In fact, this year electronics, aircraft, and missiles industries accounted for nearly one-third of the new manufacturing plants and one-half of all new jobs. Doesn't it seem a bit ridiculous that we must send our engineering-minded students to Georgia Tech and the California Institute of Technology? We can employ 'em here, can't we teach 'em what they need to know?

Why can't Florida accept teaching applications from retired service officers and other qualified service personnel? If the Florida legislature would set up a committee to study this possibility and work it out with the State and county boards of education and service Secretaries, results might be more than rewarding. The Armed Forces would no doubt be delighted, and it might open a whole new field to physically handi-

capped vets. Experienced armed services officers have a lot more to offer than a shiny-nosed graduate, no matter what their respective college degrees may say. Retired officers have lived—many of them through the horrors of war. They've got a mature outlook, and they don't demand fancy salaries. They've already been king for a day.

In many cases, retired officers have taught and trained to a large degree. They can practice a brand of child psychology that's worked quite well on adults. And those men who come from electronics fields, which have kept them vitally interested for 20 or 30 years, are bound to radiate the kind of enthusiasm for their subject which is contagious and will rub off on students. Every day, officers who have specialized in celestial navigation, aerodynamics, mathematics, electronics, radio, and civil engineering are retiring to backyard bean patches and probably wishing they could share their knowledge with those who need it most—today's children.

Army, Navy, and Air Force offer brilliant specialists who have covered every aspect of a much-needed type of education. Navy officers have had extensive experience with celestial navigation, mathematics, mechanical and steam engineering; the Army retires excellent civil engineers who know how to put their point across and are excellent leaders (in fact, the very motto of the infantry school is "Follow Me"). At the same time, the Air Force is retiring aerodynamics and rocket-propulsion experts—some of the best informed men in the business.

Aside from the education these men could offer, there is another condition which would be bound to improve and that is the overabundance of feminine influence in schools. While we would be the last ones to deflate the ego of the good old-fashioned school marm, classrooms need more masculine influence. In areas where juvenile delinquency is a large-scale problem, half the solution might be in having more men to teach, who can also command respect and dish out discipline where it will do the most good. We get a kick out of thinking about a tough ex-master sergeant taking over Miss Aggie's room full of mama's boys even for a day. They'd get down to business, and probably enjoy it. For all of woman's capability and many wonderful accomplishments, she still can't mold men like a man.

In Florida at present it is a county's responsibility to secure teachers. If the State wanted to help by offering a short training course to retired and eligible service personnel, we feel the teacher-shortage problem could be solved. We need teachers, good ones, for a salary that promising youth will not live on. And we need specialists, students willing to gain the background demanded by an air age. We need a good supersonic tonic.

Florida has to find some way to encourage its youth to pursue the fields that are now too empty for America's good, and who can do it better than the men who devoted their lives to protecting America's past?

You tell me.

Pioneer Mother

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday was Mother's Day, a very happy institution for America, and all over this land sons and daughters paused to pay homage to this day, dedicated to mothers. The Poet Laureate of Louisiana, Mrs. Emma Wilson Emery, who is a resident of my hometown, Shreveport, La., for this occasion composed an outstanding poem dedicated to the Pioneer Mother. In this day of soft, plush, postwar living, it is proper that our minds turn back to the period when life was rough and rugged for those who developed this great land:

PIONEER MOTHER

My mother had no use for fragile things;
Old lace, old china, linen sheer and white.
She wore her homespun garment as a brave
And gallant soldier going forth to fight.

Hers was the narrow trail of naked truth,
Carved by the pioneer with blood and toil
Through measured rhythm of the heart and hand
That must reap bone and sinew from the soil.

Her courage was the torch that lit the way
While time echoed her never ending prayer.
With faith's victorious spirit shining through
She held a nation's soul above despair.

E. W. E.

"National" Communism—A New Phenomenon?—The Georgetown University Forum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress are familiar with the educational programs of the Georgetown University Forum. This forum, under the able direction of Rev. Francis J. Heyden, S. J., and Rev. Daniel E. Power, S. J., has been an award winner for many years. Its standing in the field of TV and radio forums has been consistently high because of its firm policy to inform, clarify, and analyze the foremost public issues in an objective and dispassionate manner. On many occasions I had the pleasure of participating in the constructive discussions of this forum.

Recently, the Georgetown University Forum highlighted its TV program with a discussion on the very current and vital subject of "National" Communism—A New Phenomenon? Participating in this discussion were the Honorable Edward M. O'Connor, staff director, House Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression in the 83d Congress and presently government consultant; Dr. Jan Karski, professor of government at Georgetown University and national chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Mr. Speaker, all three discussants are widely recognized authorities on the subject of Russian Communist imperialism.

Many speak about so-called national communism as though it were an objective and new phenomenon. Actually, it was tried three decades ago and it failed to exist. The chief reason for its failure to exist in objective political reality is due to the fact that nationalism and communism are by nature incompatible. Those who would have us support the tendency toward national communism by material and other means are in reality asking us to squander our resources in pursuit of a mirage. The concept of national communism has long been and is now only a tactical tool of Russian Communist strategy.

These important points and many others are clearly brought out in this forum discussion. Because of the import of this discussion for our deliberations and thoughts on American foreign policy today, under leave granted, I insert the following transcript in the RECORD:

"NATIONAL" COMMUNISM—A NEW PHENOMENON?

Mr. WARREN. "National" Communism: A New Phenomenon? is the topic for the 541st consecutive broadcast of the Georgetown University Radio Forum, another in a series of educational and informative programs from Washington. The Georgetown forum was founded in 1946.

This is Matthew Warren speaking by transcription from the Raymond Reiss Studio, on the campus of Georgetown University, historic Jesuit seat of learning in the Nation's Capital.

There are various schools of thought and differing evaluations of the brand of communism adopted outside of the Soviet Union. To some, the name of national communism has been attached. On today's program we shall attempt to prepare a basis for an intelligent estimate of the nature of communism in both European and Asiatic countries.

Dr. Dobrianski, to open our discussion, would you give us a bit of background on this so-called national communism?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Mr. Warren, this matter of national communism has tended to be a most complicated subject. In fact, as one looks at many newspapers, for example, today's Washington Post, March 31 issue, has a number of articles, one by Phillip Foisie on this very matter; in other newspapers as well, the term "national communism" is being used.

I think to prepare a background for this, two points must be kept in mind: The first point, how this verbiage arose in the past few months. Actually, prior to June, we didn't hear much about national communism. Then we had the Poznan riots followed by the Warsaw riots in Poland, still, in October, the Hungarian revolution, ever since we began using the term "national communism." It was used in connection with the proposed visit of Marshal Tito to this country.

Now, a second point, going even beyond this background, into Europe proper: It brings up the matter, is there a real phenomenon over and beyond the verbiage itself? Anyone acquainted with the history of the Soviet Union, going back into the twenties, will find there was a sort of testing ground or proving ground, and there was presumably a phenomenon of national communism, and I speak of Ukraine proper. However, that wound up in a debacle. Many of the so-called national Communists in Ukraine committed suicide. I have in mind Khvylovy, Skrypnyk, Ryiski, and numerous others. It was succeeded by a period of tyrannical Russian tyranny, Moscow-centered, and, of course, in the course of the whole 5-year plan. So the verbiage is not new. It is here in the United States but not in Europe, and certainly as one goes to the earliest phases of the Soviet Union one finds it persisted then.

I would say then we have to bear three things in mind: One, when we speak of national communism, do we mean that it is a

blend of nationalism and communism? That brings up a theoretical point: Is it possible to have that blend?

Secondly, if one conceives of communism as being identifiable in a sense with traditional Russian imperialism, then can that be somewhat reconciled with local or parochial nationalism.

Then the third point is, precisely how is it being applied, if at all, in certain areas, such as Poland, Yugoslavia, China, and perhaps parts of the Soviet Union.

Dr. WARREN. Dr. Karski, Dr. Dobriansky then tells us that historically national communism is not new. Would you concur in that?

Dr. KARSKI. Very much so. I would take up the issue from two standpoints. The first would be the relations between the concerned country run by the so-called National Communists and the Soviet Union, and secondly, the operation of the internal regime, in what way is it different from the regime in the Soviet Union.

As far as the first standpoint is concerned, as we know, either Gomulka or Tito, they never differed from the Soviets on any important point in international relations. They always voted with the Soviet Union and are voting with the Soviet Union on every important point. As far as the internal regime is concerned, indeed, in Poland, there is more freedom, there is private industry being started. The collectives are being abandoned. There is more freedom of the press. There are certain concessions to the society. This is the same kind of concessions which Lenin was making to the Soviet society in 1921 within his plan, the so-called new economic policy. Communism was crumbling. There was loud discontent. People were revolting against communism, and Lenin decided to save communism by, first, concessions to the society, and, secondly, by asking the help of the capitalistic countries. As he said many times, "You cannot build communism only with Communist hands. You must use those capitalistic scoundrels to do the job."

I can see the same situation is happening now in Poland. Russia is distrusted and hated. People are dissatisfied. There is poverty. Here Gomulka came to a conclusion, there is no other way but to raise the standard of living, giving more freedom to the people, asking the help of the capitalistic countries, and once the regime will be well established, I have not the slightest doubt he will try to return back to the old Communist line.

Mr. WARREN. National communism, in your opinion, is not a loosening of the Communist control, but rather a calculated risk on their part?

Dr. KARSKI. It is a practical step first taught all Communist leaders by Lenin himself.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. O'Connor.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I would concur with both the previous speakers, but I would add several points to that. First of all, I would get to the objective which I believe rests back of the Communist dialectic called national communism. What is it they seek? My personal view is they seek to cover up the actual objectives they have vis-a-vis the whole world, which is, in my view, world domination. I would like, therefore, in the historical sense to look back upon three significant points. The first is that the most important theoretical work of the late and nonlamented dictator, Josef Stalin, was called the Lenin-Stalin solution to the national question. This is the most publicized theoretical work the world has ever known. Over 80 million copies in some 40 languages have been thrust upon the unsuspecting people of the world. The thesis of this book is that all nations must be destroyed, all national spirit must be destroyed, and to be replaced by what I roughly call the Socialist proletariat.

My second point is that in 1954 the Russians were compelled to the celebration throughout their whole empire of the 300th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Pereyaslav with Ukraine. The thesis at that time was that the Ukrainians had their national independence; why all the fuss in the free world to get the Ukrainians their national independence because they already had it. This was the thesis then of Moscow. Upon examination it was held, the Russians held, that is, while this was national independence but national in form and socialist in content. This theme was played throughout the entire Russian empire. It is significant to remember in terms of what our good friend, Dr. Karski has just said, that the introduction of this theme, national communism occurred then, after Stalin had been eliminated by some of the present leaders of the conspiracy and, secondly, after the June 17, 1953, revolt of East Germany. There was no question, there were heavy signs of the crumbling of the empire. Something had to be done, and so therefore, in my view, the leaders of the Kremlin did two things: They have prepared an escape hatch for the leaders of the conspiracy of communism so that they could be a little different than the Russian type, and secondly, they provided a safety valve, what they thought was a safety valve for the oppressed people: Let off a little steam, things are getting too difficult for us.

Now we have to find some propaganda terminology to make the people feel they are free when really they won't be. That would be what I would add to what those two distinguished gentlemen have said previously.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Gentlemen, I would like to submit this for your consideration and evaluation, which I referred to as point I: Is it possible to have in reality national communism? This is a theoretical point, but it is a point that I think bears on the very core of the whole issue here.

Mr. O'CONNOR. It is a good point, Dr. Dobriansky.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. If one speaks of national communism, as I understand it, it is supposed to be a blend of national traits, if you will, the doctrine of nationalism with the doctrine of communism.

Now I go back to the period of the twenties where an actual attempt was made along those lines. I think we could profit by the 4 or 5 years in the mid-twenties when this conflict arose in Ukraine. Here you had again a person like Skrypnyk, and others, who felt they were bona fide Communists. On the other hand, they were also, according to their own lights, Ukrainian nationalists. They proceeded to try to blend this very thing. But the counterforce here was Russian domination. It came from Moscow and these individuals were squelched. The theoretical point here is this: If Moscow had not squelched these efforts at national communism, would it have been possible to maintain national communism in that sense in Ukraine and use that as a model for Poland, for Czechoslovakia and numerous other areas.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I would like, Mr. Moderator, if I may, to ask Dr. Dobriansky, were the Ukranians seeking their national independence at that time?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Yes and no. When you speak of the Ukrainians, I take is you are referring to the leaders?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I am referring to the whole Ukrainian nation.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Yes, definitely, for national independence and without the Communists.

Mr. O'CONNER. Were they dissatisfied with Russian rule?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Definitely.

Mr. O'CONNOR. And their leaders were Communists?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Their leaders were Communists.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Very much like the present situation that applies in Poland, that applies in Hungary, and applies in all the other non-Russian nations of the empire?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That is right. But they were not permitted by Moscow to express this type of national communism. But the point I am making is, if they were allowed, as some think, for example, Mr. Dulles hopes that perhaps Tito, Gomulka and numerous others would be given greater latitude and we could use them as sort of spearheads in breaking up this empire if we play up to them. I am raising the point that if these early Ukrainian Communists, who thought they were national Communists, had been allowed to express themselves, would that have persisted in the sensible reality?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I would like to ask you a question on top of that. Do you think if it had persisted, that is, the Russians had allowed national communism to progress, would this have destroyed their empire?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. In answer to that point one, definitely, it would have led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and point two, in explaining why, namely, that even the Ukrainian Comunists would not have been allowed to exist in power by virtue of the nationalism at work among the people. I submit here that on the basis of that experience Gomulka is, as Dr. Karski, if I understand him correctly, rightly stated, Gomulka finds nationalism in a sense expedient now, but the main ultimate source of opposition to Moscow, and not only to Russian rule but also to Communist socialistic forms rests with the Polish people, in the same way it did with the Ukrainian people and with any people, including the Chinese.

Dr. KARSKI. May I add something? Let us be rather careful. I have not the slightest doubt that national communism, so-called de-Stalinization, liberalization, was conceived by the Soviet leadership after the death of Stalin in order to strengthen their own regime. However, whatever Soviet leaders conceive, they do it under a pressure from below. This business of national communism, I have no doubt, and Gomulka, as far as Poland is concerned, and the Polish masses had a tendency in this direction. Gomulka, for instance, wants to have personal security and security of his party. He doesn't want to go to jail for 7 years. He was in jail 7 years. Consequently, he wants to have a little independence from the Soviet Union, which does not mean independence for the country. He wants to have an independence, first of all, a certain independence for his Communist party to be safer. As far as the public opinion is concerned, Polish public opinion, they know the Soviet Union was exploiting them politically and economically. They know there was no freedom. They want more freedom, and this pressure was being exercised on Gomulka.

What I am driving at is that although the so-called national communism is a kind of strategy on the part of the Soviet leaders, nevertheless it offers us opportunity to spread the idea of freedom, to use those leaders, perhaps, and to do a good work for the democratic countries. How to do such a work, this is a completely different business. What I want to stress is that we have a chance to do some good for the cause of freedom, to outmaneuver the Soviet leaders exactly with their own hands.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. O'Connor, do you feel that we as a democracy can hope to advance our cause of freedom through the loopholes in this so-called national communism?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I agree with Dr. Karski that the Kremlin has created these new characters who are posing in the world arena as national Communists. I subscribe to the idea that they are the escape hatch

in order to save communism as a world power, all these ideas. But I think Dr. Karski has given a great deal of thought to this.

I would like, Mr. Moderator, to ask him a few questions. Let us take the case of Poland. To what degree and to what extent can we expect to be able to press things in Poland without causing total revolution, and at the same time bringing to the Polish people the basic individual liberties and human freedoms that we as good Americans insist upon anywhere we give aid around the world, or we have that as a world objective for all people?

Dr. KARSKI. This is a very good question and probably, sir, my answer would disappoint you, because to my mind, if Americans that they themselves, with all their material power are too weak to oppose the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc, and if they feel that those Polish masses being so much weaker and under the control of the Soviet police will do the job themselves without outside help, I am sorry to say that in all my conscience, as you know, I come from Poland, I don't believe it is possible.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Dr. O'Connor, if I may refer back to the episode of the 1920's, and the reason again I do it is that it serves lessons. I am very much concerned about the theoretical aspect, and my position is that national communism is completely a fiction. I think we intimated that by emphasizing the tactical strategy involved here. I would like to read, for example, to indicate the zigzagism in theory pertaining to this thing on the part of Stalin himself. In 1913 he speaks of a nation, any nation being simply a historical category of a definite epoch, the epoch of rising capitalism. If one should follow that, then there shouldn't be any nations where you have socialism today, but of course that isn't true. In 1929, we read Stalin saying this: "I reject the thesis that would have us believe that with the victory of socialism in one country, in our own, for instance, national languages will apparently wither away and nations will merge and instead of several languages there will be one language. This is impossible. This means that the party is supporting and will support the development and flowering of national cultures of the peoples of our country. However, the national cultures of the Soviet nations are Socialist in their content."

When one looks at the whole trend, theoretical as well as practical, of the Soviet Union—take the Russian Republic in relation to the non-Russian republics within the Soviet Union, however, since the Second World War the Soviet Union in relation to the other captive nations that have been annexed. I think there are two points that have to be emphasized in considering this matter of naitonal communism: One, that it is purely tactical. It is not a reality. It is not a phenomenon. It is a verbiage, a Trojan-horse type affair, used by Moscow when it suits its purpose when it is in trouble. Point 2, I would submit that in any aid, whether by principle or material, when I speak of principle I mean inviting Tito to this country, or for that matter, any Communist dignitary, perhaps even Marshal Zhukov and others, that any aid to any of these so-called national Communists simply is conducive to the net benefit of the entire empire. That in giving aid one must do it via the people, through American teams of one sort or another, when it comes to food, let us say, for the Polish people, in order not to give the impression that the United States Government is supporting in any way, even by innuendo, any particular national communism, and that goes for Peiping as well.

Dr. KARSKI. May I add something? Let us analyse a little what an impasse the free world found itself in. You remember several years ago the slogan was liberation of the so-called satellite area. Then the next slogan was peaceful liberation. They will liberate themselves. Now we came to such a point that when these people tried to liberate themselves by revolting, even then we do not help them, saying perhaps Khrushchev will get nervous, perhaps this will start the third world war. Consequently, the situation became completely hopeless. The only thing, however, so far we can do is to show to the people, to the masses behind the Iron Curtain that in spite of everything we are with them, that we want to help them and we can afford to help them at least materially. Consequently, I would be very much for giving help to those countries, but such a kind of help in such circumstances that the masses, only the masses, would profit from this help. They would realize that it comes from the Americans, from the freedom-loving nations, and that such a help would not strengthen the cause of international communism. How to do it, of course, this does not belong to this discussion. Some other people should think about it.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Well, Dr. Karski brings up a matter, I think, which Dr. O'Connor and I were involved in either directly or indirectly 2 or 3 years ago. That was in connection with the disposal of American surpluses, American food surpluses into the Soviet Union. I think on the matter of direction of help, certainly with regard to the non-Russian peoples, nations within the Soviet Union, and including the Russian people, that we should aid them in every way. That, Dr. Karski, would be in line with the policy of liberation. The policy of liberation that you mentioned earlier had as its purpose to aid the various nations within the Communist empire, whether it is done through these material means or otherwise. But I am saying here that where we get people today who claim that by going ahead and playing up to Tito, playing up to Gomulka, to the national regimes, if you please, in the Communist area, I am contending that we then will find themselves in a dead alley, because that will only contribute to the solidification and the strength of the entire Communist empire. Whatever quarrels there are between Tito and Khrushchev, Gomulka, and Khrushchev, these are essentially family quarrels. They have nowhere else to go. Tito will not go to the West. Tito a year ago, when he visited Moscow, spoke of standing shoulder by shoulder with his comrades in the Soviet Union, and that he at that time, I believe, expressed undying loyalty to the objectives of so-called world communism.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Warren, I think we might also learn a lesson from the people behind the Iron Curtain themselves. Recently the noble people of Hungary gave all the people of the world a demonstratior of what the people want as distinguished from the Russian-imposed regimes. They don't want communism. They don't want socialism. More than anything else they want to be left alone to build their own lives and to work toward their own destinies. In this connection, a very significant book was published this past week which brings this point out. It is called, No More Comrades, by a young Hungarian patriot called Andor Heller. He chose this title, according to his book, No More Comrades, for this simple reason: A national Communist called Imre Nagy, had been put up by the Russians temporarily to try to quell the demands of the Hungarian people for more and more liberty and freedom. On the day the revolution started the people called for Nagy to come and speak to them from the balcony of the Parliament building. After keeping them many hours of waiting in the darkness he appeared. His first word was "comrade." Comrade, of course, is the call name of the Communist, their greeting word. The people, 150,000 Hungarians assembled in the square, answered him with a roar, almost 150,000 voices, "There are no more comrades; we are Hungarians." From this lesson we can learn a lot. The people behind the Iron Curtain, whatever their origin, want to be free. They want their individual liberty. They don't want any kind of communism, national, international, or anything else.

Dr. KARSKI. Do you agree we should not trust the Communist leaders behind the Iron Curtain countries, those leaders who followed the so-called national communism; however, we should try to be in touch with the masses and to make the masses have trust in us, in the free world, in whatever way we can do it?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Dr. Karski, we agree on that score entirely. That would be entirely, again, in line with the policy of liberation, as has been espoused by the Republican administration, by many stalwart figures in the Democratic Party, by many outstanding Americans.

Mr. WARREN. Thank you very much, gentlemen, for your evaluation of national communism. I think we can agree it is not a new phenomenon.

The Administration Whittles Away Its Own Arguments for Giving Away Hells Canyon to Idaho Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, one by one, the administration, all by itself, is whittling away at its own arguments for licensing Idaho Power Co. to build low dams and use, for its own purposes, the choice Hells Canyon site which should be developed for the benefit of all the people, for flood-control purposes, for irrigation, for ample power for industrial purposes, and many other purposes. In granting the fast tax write off the ODM has joined another executive branch in destroying one of the principal arguments which materially contributed to last year's Federal high Hells Canyon Dam defeat, namely, that the private dam construction would be accomplished "at no cost to the United States"; that is, at no cost to the taxpayer.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask permission to insert in the RECORD an excellent article which clearly describes how the administration has laid to final rest this, its principal and unprincipled argument against the Federal high dam at Hells Canyon. This article is from the National Farmers' Union Washington Newsletter, May 3, issue, under the heading "Idaho Power Co. Subsidy Scandal Boosts Hells Canyon."

The article follows:

SENATE COMMITTEE O. K.'s HIGH DAM—IDAHO POWER CO. SUBSIDY SCANDAL BOOSTS HELLS CANYON

The granting of a huge tax subsidy to Idaho Power Co. for its Snake River "spite dams" has given an unexpected boost to chances for congressional approval of the high Hells Canyon Dam.

The tax subsidy for Idaho Power Co. was announced last week by the Office of Defense Mobilization in direct violation of commit-

ments made by the company that its project would not entail expense to the United States Government.

This week, as the full implications of the Government subsidy to the power company unfolded and the reaction against it grew in Congress, the Senate Interior Committee recommended passage of the bill to authorize the high Federal Hells Canyon Dam in place of the Idaho Power Co. project.

Senate action on the Hells Canyon bill is expected about mid-May. The happy coincidence of the subsidy announcement with Senate consideration of the Hells Canyon project is a heartening break for supporters of the high dam. Feeling is running high against the Idaho Power Co. program, and prospects appear bright that unexpected votes might be gained for the Hells Canyon Dam.

The fight will center on three principal points:

1. The circumstances under which the Idaho Power Co. subsidy was granted. The power company and its supporters have repeatedly assured the Federal Power Commission and the public that its project would be cost-free to the United States Treasury.

2. The merits of the subsidy. Total value to Idaho Power Co. of the subsidy amounts to $329.3 million, whereas the entire high Hells Canyon Dam would cost only $308.5 million.

3. The comparative merits of the two projects. Idaho Power's "spite dams" will produce under half as much electricity, at nearly three times the cost per kilowatt-hour, with much less flood control, water storage capacity, irrigation, fish and wildlife, navigation, and recreational benefits, than the high Hells Canyon project.

Many assurances were given by Idaho Power and its supporters that its project would not cost the Government anything. This was one of the principal grounds claimed by the FPC in granting permission to the power company to build its 2 or 3 small dams. (There is no assurance that the third dam will ever be built under the FPC order.)

The FPC decision itself stated that benefits from the Idaho Power Co. project "will be realized without expense to the United States to the extent that the projects are constructed by a non-Federal entity."

Later the FPC decision again asserted that "development by applicant (Idaho Power Co.) of the Hells Canyon reach of the Snake River would provide 1 million acre-feet of flood-control storage and the required streamflow regulation in aid of navigation on the lower river at no cost to the United States."

Senator WATKINS, Republican, of Utah, a stanch supporter of Idaho Power, apparently received a direct assurance from the company that it would not even ask for a tax subsidy. In a letter dated July 19, 1956, to Alex Hudgins, manager of the Virginia REA Association, Senator ROBERTSON, Democrat, of Virginia, stated as follows:

"Senator WATKINS of Utah informed me that not only had the Idaho company been granted no special depletion allowance but it did not intend to ask for any because it did not consider it to be good business to do so."

In the same vein, the "America's Electric Light and Power Companies' " ad in the Saturday Evening Post of May 26, 1956, stated:

"America's more than 400 independent electric light and power companies * * * don't have to wait for an act of Congress or for tax money from the Treasury."

In the same ad, the power companies gave a direct assurance to the public that the Idaho Power Co. "will save you and your fellow taxpayers $465 million" by building its projects in place of the high Hells Canyon Dam.

These power company assurances proved to be completely false. For the Idaho Power Co. had applied for the tax subsidy in August 1953. This was shortly after administration favoritism made it apparent that its project had a good chance of approval. The request was held pending until last week.

The tax subsidy is a complicated and roundabout device which is hard to understand, but it has exactly the same effect as an interest-free loan to the company directly out of the United States Treasury.

Total cost of the company's Oxbow and Brownlee projects is $103 million. ODM certified 60 percent and 65 percent of the total cost of the two dams for "rapid amortization." This amounts to $65.2 million.

The subsidy arrangement permits the company to charge its customers rates high enough to pay its full normal income taxes to the United States. But instead of paying the full amount collected for taxes, the company is permitted to deduct 20 percent of the certified amount each year for 5 years. In effect, the Government lends this tax money back to the company, with no interest charge.

The amount of this "forgiven" tax will eventually be repaid to the Treasury over the normal life of the project. But in the meantime, the company is permitted to invest it, and to draw a guaranteed "fair rate of return" on it averaging about 6 percent per year.

It is the value of the accumulated "return" earned on its "interst-free loan" that mounts up to the total value to the company of $329.3 million over the 50-year period comprising the normal productive life of hydroelectric powerplants.

The computations reported here were made by the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. But the method followed in computing them has been accredited by the Federal Power Commission staff, and is exactly the same as that recommended to utility companies themselves by the Electric Bond & Share Co.'s tax accounting department.

A Widow Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an editorial in the National Tribune of May 9, 1957, as follows:

A WIDOW SPEAKS

Perhaps the outstanding widow in the United States, one who is read by millions in our country, has come forth in behalf of H. R. 358, the bill which would grant $75 a month to the widows of our Spanish War veterans.

The widow in question is Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the widow of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, our wartime President in the dark days of Pearl Harbor, the Normandy invasion and the South Pacific and the eventual conquest of Hitler and Japan.

Mrs. Roosevelt's attention to H. R. 358 had been brought up by a letter from William E. McCann, a member of the national committee on legislation and its administration of the United Spanish War Veterans.

Mrs. Roosevelt wholeheartedly supports the principle involved in the legislation under consideration. As she expresses it, "He reminded me that these veterans were 100 percent volunteers both in the Army and the Navy, and that their widows now are on an average of 78 years old. It seems to me that there can't be many of these widows living. And though I realize what a heavy burden the cost of past wars put on the United States taxpayer, I feel that this country would gladly accept the obligation of caring more adequately for this small group of war veterans' widows."

Outside of our own advocacy of H. R. 358 and previous measures along the same line, these are the nicest words we have read in many a day.

It will be remembered that the Economy Act was passed 16 days after Franklin Delano Roosevelt took his first oath of office as President of the United States. The bill had been prepared long in advance of his inauguration by certain economy-minded people who had little or no regard for veterans or their dependents.

It was labeled "A bill to maintain the credit of the United States." That was 24 years ago and, to our knowledge, the credit of the United States has stood up despite wars and costly efforts to see that all Americans were treated justly—farmers and labor alike.

In August of 1935, President Roosevelt, realizing the injustice that had been done to the veterans of the war of 1898–1902, approved a bill restoring the rights they had received before the Economy Act. In approving this measure he said that the veterans of the Spanish-American War were in a class by themselves and recognized their right to benefits to which they were entitled but could not prove by reason of lack of records.

It is heartfelt that the widow of Franklin Delano Roosevelt should come out at this time in behalf of the widows of the men whom her husband had put in a separate class. We only hope that the Congress of the United States, recognizing the warm heart and the honest words of this widow of a former Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, will take early and favorable action on H. R. 358. The House has already done so. Now let the Senate act.

The national committee on legislation of the United Spanish War Veterans and the auxiliary committee on legislation considered that in view of an expected message from the President to the Congress regarding veterans, thought it advisable to make an appeal to the President and set forth the present hardships imposed upon the widows of Spanish War veterans. Therefore, such an appeal was prepared and sent to the White House requesting that no adverse action be taken as to Spanish War veterans and their widows and that favorable consideration be given to the widow's bill, H. R. 358. Response from the White House to this appeal indicated that consideration would be given to the facts set forth and to H. R. 358 if the bill reached the President's desk.

Despite all assertions to the contrary, it must be admitted by any discerning person that we do have, right now, a form of inflation which bodes no good to the pocketbooks of a vast majority of our citizens. The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Commerce once again reports that living costs have gone up for the seventh successive month.

Some writers have described it as creeping inflation. Perhaps it is only creeping up on the average wage earner who, in spite of rising living costs, is able to keep abreast of the situation and see that he or she can keep the wolf from the door.

But for one class of citizens in whom we are most interested it is not creeping inflation. Living costs for them have reached the point where they are engulfed and slowly but surely being swallowed by the rising

cost tides which they cannot meet. Once again we refer to the widows of our Spanish-American War veterans—too old to earn any extras to help them financially—at an age when they are completely unemployable, and they are being asked to get along on $54.18 a month.

Like squirrels in a cage they are in and they can't get out. Round and round they go on their bitter treadmill with nothing to look forward to but death—perhaps the only refuge to the poor.

It is a cruel world where the widows of our country's defenders are allowed to go on eking out a bare existence when so much can be spent for others who have little or no claim upon our generosity. We find it difficult to believe that our Representatives in Congress are so cold-hearted they would not grant this little extra measure of financial aid to our Spanish War widows, a group which has to do so much with so little.

People think of income in terms of dollars and cents but they do not realize that their dollars get smaller and smaller in purchasing power every day. The one group which does know the effect of living costs is the group on pensions and those whose income is static—never increasing but surely diminishing, as the price of food, shelter, and clothing increases.

We hear a good deal to talk about tight money. Perhaps it is a good thing to discourage borrowers from going too deep in their desire to purchase some luxuries they desire.

But tight money is a real issue with our widows. It is so tight that it squeezes them where they need it most. No borrowers, these women. No credit to borrow on and mighty little on which to live.

Let the Congress loosen up a little on the measure to grant these elderly folks some slight aid in their declining years. Tight money may be good to hold down inflation, but it is no help to those for whom we speak who are so distressed by the present existing inflation that they know not where to turn for aid unless it be to a considerate Congress.

Peter F. Drucker, writing on America's Next 20 Years, says that from 1946 to 1949 the three-quarters of the working population who were not unionized (and were therefore not protected against inflationary price increases) suffered a cut in their real purchasing power, fully comparable to the impact of a severe and prolonged depression. Let's end the depression for our Spanish War widows, neither unionized nor employable.

Resolutions Adopted by Massachusetts State Council of Carpenters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include resolutions adopted by the Massachusetts State Council of Carpenters, as they were submitted to me by the Secretary, Mr. Harold Cardarett.

The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTION No. 8—FEDERAL FLOOD INSURANCE

Whereas insurance to protect real and personal property from the ravages of floods and hurricanes is rarely available, and then at almost prohibitive premiums. Damage from recent floods in 6 Northeastern States alone is estimated at nearly $2 billion, 98 percent of which is uninsured; and

Whereas Federal and State grants to disaster areas are limited exclusively to the removal of debris and the restoration of public property and buildings, utilities, streets, and highways. Other assistance to the victims of floods and hurricanes is severely limited by the meager resources of voluntary agencies such as the national disaster services of the American National Red Cross and other forms of community relief; and

Whereas flood victims often become debt victims because of the mortgage and personal loans they are forced to obtain to rehabilitate themselves after disaster. Many families, such as retired workers are, however, not eligible for loans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts State Council of Carpenters expedite the system of Federal insurance now enacted by requesting the Congress of the United States to protect citizens from the loss of houses, furniture, factories, and heavy equipment in floods, hurricanes, and other natural disasters.

RESOLUTION No. 9—TAFT-HARTLEY LAW

Whereas the present administration, in its campaign pledges, promised to alleviate the objectionable features of the Taft-Hartley Act; and

Whereas it has always been the national policy of the Democratic Party to work in harmony with the ideals and the aims of organized labor whenever possible; and

Whereas neither party has made an attempt in the past 4 years to make any concerted effort to do anything to bring about the necessary reforms or the complete repeal of the act: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts State Council of Carpenters support the position of the building trades department of the AFL–CIO in having enacted the proposed amendments to the Taft-Hartley law now pending in the Congress of the United States benefiting the building trades unions.

RESOLUTION No. 11—GOVERNMENT STATISTICAL PROGRAMS

Whereas in collective bargaining, negotiations, and formulation of economic policies, trade unions have increasingly turned to the statistical services of the Federal Government for information on wages, income levels, prices, profits, employment and unemployment, production, construction, and housing developments, social security, productivity, and a host of other economic trends; and

Whereas unfortunately the Federal agencies charged with providing these services are hampered by lack of sufficient funds. Therefore, they have often been unable to obtain and to make available to trade unions and other interested groups necessary statistical information; and

Wheeras inadequate appropriations have particularly handicapped the United States Department of Labor on which unions have relied most heavily for statistical information: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts State Council of Carpenters recommends that the Congress appropriate increased funds to permit needed expansion of Government statistical services, especially those carried on by the United States Department of Labor, the Bureau of the Census, the Social Security Administration, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Securities and Exchange Commission; and

Congress will appropriate additional funds for the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, so that it can provide more complete information on employment and unemployment, wage and collective bargaining developments, productivity, housing and construction, and industrial accidents.

RESOLUTION No. 22—LOCAL URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

Whereas many communities in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts have already expended a great deal of time, money, and effort in the preparatory steps of slum-clearance and urban development; and

Whereas in some localities the plans for slum clearance have progressed in some cities to the extent that business and home tenants and owners have moved to other localities leaving entire blocks of stores and homes vacant, and leaving the owners of said property with no income from the vacant premises; and

Whereas many cities have been urged constantly by Washington to proceed with urban renewal in accordance with Federal law and financial assistance offered and said cities have proceeded in good faith to develop workable plans under the Housing Act of 1949; and

Whereas the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency is now putting the brakes on slum-clearance programs in scores of cities throughout the United States; and

Whereas we seem to have enough money to house the rest of the world by sending tremendous sums abroad for programs similar to our urban-development program: Be it

Resolved, That the delegates of the Massachusetts State Council of Carpenters assembled in the council's 1957 annual convention protest the action of the Federal Housing and Finance Agency in halting the urban-development program and that each affiliated local union be requested to protest the HHFA's action by contacting our Representatives in the House and Senate in Washington.

America Salutes Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 12, some 50,000 people from all walks of life assembled at Ebbets Field in Brooklyn to express their solidarity with Israel on the occasion of the 9th anniversary of its independence. It was truly a magnificent celebration, a heart-warming event, in which the people of the greatest democracy in the world saluted the people of one of the youngest democracies on their national independence day.

It was a grand feeling on this warm spring afternoon to observe these thousands of people of all faiths as they came to salute Israel. They watched the colorful procession, they listened to the greetings and addresses of the various dignitaries, they enjoyed the sport games, but above all they cheered at the cry that "Israel must live and flourish as a bastion of democracy in the Middle East" and "Israel does not stand alone, strong bonds of kinship exist between Israel and America."

The celebration at Ebbets Field was also a great tribute to a most distinguished jurist and a great humanitarian, Judge Samuel E. Leibowitz, who almost single-handedly inspired these 50,000 people to fill the ball park. Such huge attendance at Ebbets Field is a rarity

even for a World Series game. Thousands of people actually paid for standing room.

The procession which led off the Salute to Israel was very interesting. It included representatives of three major faiths in America, the Mayor of New York, the President of the Borough of Brooklyn, Israel Ambassador Abba Eban, Senators IRVING IVES and JACOB JAVITS of New York and Senator JOHN A. CARROLL of Colorado, as well as Irish-American, Italian-American, Afro-American and Jewish organizations.

After the procession, there were several short addresses and a fine program of entertainment, which featured Cantor David Koussevitzky, Miss Elaine Malbin of the Metropolitan Opera, and Sammy Davis, Jr., one of America's premiere entertainers. Miss Marilyn, the famous movie star, led the Israeli and American soccer teams onto the field and kicked-off the first ball to start the game.

Another feature of the American Salute to Israel was the presentation of plaques to several persons who helped organize this huge festival. Plaques were presented to Congressman VICTOR L. ANFUSO and State Supreme Court Justice Anthony J. Di Giovanna, who led the Italian-American division of the parade; to State Supreme Court Justice John E. Cone, chairman of the Irish-American division; and to Mr. Edward Zeltner, famous columnist of the New York Daily Mirror, who served as chairman of the arrangements committee.

After the parade, the official program began with the singing of the United States and Israeli national anthems, led by the noted singer, Jan Bart. Invocations were given by Rabbi Israel Leventhal and Msgr. Vincent O. Genova. Monsignor Genova's invocation, which was particularly moving and inspiring, was as follows:

Almighty and Eternal God, we offer Thee humble worship and beg Thy blessing on this solemn gathering of people of our country, who join in a spirit of fraternal charity in the celebration of the ninth anniversary of the foundation of the State of Israel. Thou, O Lord God, art the Ruler and Master of all men and all nations; Thy divine providence guides their destinies; Thy authority is the source of all legitimate human authority; Thou art the strength of the young and the weak; the hope of the poor and the oppressed among nations.

On this joyful anniversary celebration, we implore Thy gracious blessing on Israel—the oldest of peoples and the youngest of nations. All mankind rejoices that this ancient race—whom Divine privilege made the custodian of the spiritual legacy of the human race, and the first recipients of Thy holy law—should now find a haven and a home of their own among the nations of the world. As America has opened its charitable arms to the victims of Communist persecution from many lands, so Israel has opened its arms to her own noble people, burdened by a centuries-old sorrow of dispersion and persecution.

The free world rejoices at the special role given to Israel by Divine Providence to be the custodian of those holy places which saw the accomplishment of the Redemption of mankind. May this mandate be ever regarded as a serious responsibility, and carried out with the dignity and justice merited by this sacred trust. For the eyes of all the world are on this spot of land which witnesses the union of two civilizations, and joins ancient and modern history.

We beg Thee, O God of might, wisdom and justice, to grant to the rulers and people of the State of Israel the wisdom to follow in the footsteps of their forefathers in the ways of justice and peace. Let Thy Holy Spirit guide its venerable and courageous leader, as Israel walks in the days of its youth as a nation with the Phylactery of Thy holy laws before its eyes. Grant to this young nation, we beseech Thee O Lord, the grace to continue to collaborate with the nations of the world in giving honor and glory to Thee, and in bringing peace among all men of good will. Amen.

Mayor Robert F. Wagner, of New York, the first principal speaker of the afternoon, received a thunderous ovation from the huge gathering when he declared that Israel will live forever and that Israel is the only hope of the civilized world for peace in the Middle East. He was followed by Borough President John Cashmore, of Brooklyn, who saluted Israel and welcomed its soccer team in these words:

Reverend clergy, Mayor Wagner, Ambassador Eban, distinguished guests, Chairman Judge Leibowitz, and ladies and gentlemen, we are gathered here today to witness and applaud the skill and athletic ability of the Israeli championship soccer team, but in a larger sense we have come to salute the people of Israel—the courageous country which they represent.

We in America rally to the support and encouragement of any nation which demonstrates that it is dedicated to furthering the dignity of man and the preservation of his God-given liberties.

No nation in modern times has been more dedicated to democratic ideals than Israel. When one considers the handicaps under which that state was founded, the dangers to which it is still constantly exposed, and the fortitude with which it has withstood every onslaught against it, we cannot but help applaud the bravery and perseverance of this courageous nation.

A nation so conceived and so dedicated as Israel is must endure.

The tidal wave of Soviet propaganda has all but engulfed many surrounding countries, but Israel has chosen to resist all the allurements and false hopes held out by communism. The memory of Israel's strong and firm resistance will always remain a bright chapter in the eternal struggle of man to fulfill his destiny.

As president of the Borough of Brooklyn, I welcome the Israel championship soccer team and salute the great nation which, by its actions and by its conduct, has alined itself with the forces of goodness and honor. May the coming years bring for Israel its deserved share of respect, admiration, and encouragement from all the nations which can profit by its noble example.

The following are some excerpts from the address by Senator IRVING IVES, of New York:

Ideals, principles, and a common faith in the dignity of man bind the United States and Israel together. Mutual interests link them inexorably. * * * Today Israel is the only stable and progressive country in the Middle East. * * * Israel requires our help, and is entitled to it. All freedom-loving peoples everywhere—all believers in humanity's aspirations for a better life—must turn to Israel for an example of a young nation dedicated to freedom's cause.

Israel stands today in a most troubled area of the globe. But she does not stand alone. Let us never forget the strong bonds of kinship—the kinship of blood and the kinship of ideals—which underlie the relationship of the United States and Israel. Let us join in hopes and efforts for Israel's material success, for her well-being; let us also join in prayers for her ever-widening spiritual influence and for a just and lasting peace throughout the Middle East.

The next speaker was Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, of New York. An extract from his remarks follows:

There are two requisites to Israel's being able to continue its role as the free world's principal ally in the explosive Middle East and as a refuge for the oppressed and the wandering—first, the time and the climate of peace in which to grow and develop; second, the continued and unflagging support of Israel's friends to aid Israel in surmounting the obstacles which bar her way—support in resources, in prestige, and in morale.

There can be no doubt that the maintenance of a just peace in the Middle East is essential to United States foreign policy. And a secure and viable Israel is an essential element to a truly secure Middle East. This is my own firm belief and I believe that our Government has learned this, too—may it ever continue to be so.

Senator JOHN A. CARROLL, of Colorado, in his remarks gave recognition to the New York Democratic delegation in Congress for its continued interest on behalf of Israel. He specifically pointed out the efforts toward this cause on the part of Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, dean of the New York delegation, and Congressmen ABRAHAM J. MULTER, JOHN J. ROONEY, EDNA F. KELLY, EUGENE J. KEOGH, and VICTOR L. ANFUSO.

Israel's very able and popular Ambassador, His Excellency Abba Eban, who was the last of the major speakers on the program, told the large gathering:

Israel has opened a new bridge which links the east and the west—and that is the new road which passes through Israel and through the Gulf of Aqaba. The Gulf of Aqaba is open and open it shall remain. * * * Israel is a land which is steeped in the ancient Jewish culture; at the same time, however, Israel's future is deeply rooted in the new era of atomic energy.

Many messages and telegrams were received from leading personalities in this country and in Israel, including former President Harry S. Truman, Israeli President Itzhak Ben-Zvi, Israeli Foreign Minister Golda Meir, and from nearly a hundred Members of both Houses of Congress. The following are a few brief greetings and remarks by those who participated most actively in organizing this very successful Salute to Israel at Ebbets Field on May 12:

As chairman of salute to Israel Festival, it is my proud privilege to welcome you to this momentous gathering. Your presence here is as appropriate as it is inspiring. You represent all the racial and religious strains that make up this blessed land of ours. It is your heritage to possess an uncompromising belief in the right of people everywhere to "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." In your veins throbs the pulse of fellow-feeling for small nations who seek, like Israel, to determine their national destinies for themselves and to live at peace with all men.

This commemoration of the ninth anniversary of Israel's independence is a rallying cry for all those who, like you, believe in the dignity and security of the small nation. Israel will be grateful for this magnificent

expression of your good will. Your encouragement will be a significant part of the spiritual armor which is vital for her survival.

JUDGE SAMUEL S. LEIBOWITZ,
General Chairman.

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you to this celebration of Israel's ninth year of independence in the name of the arrangements committee.

This gathering is an important demonstration of the friendship and support of the American people for the State of Israel. The American people will never fail to extend a hand of friendship to democratic nations struggling for freedom and self-determination.

EDWARD ZELTNER,
Chairman, Arrangements Committee.

We are indeed happy to have the opportunity of sponsoring this Salute to Israel Festival, marking the ninth anniversary of the State of Israel.

The Farband-Labor Zionist Order salutes the State of Israel. Our membership feels a deep sense of gratification and pride in our participation for over 40 years in the activities for the Jewish national homeland, which ultimately led to the proclamation and establishment of the State of Israel.

This is a grave hour of anxiety for democratic and free nations all over the world and, in particular, for Israel, which is the only democratic stronghold in the Middle East and the only reliable ally of the free world in that part of the world.

Israel has only one desire, and this is to live in peace, strengthen her economy, and help in the ingathering of the exiles—all those Jews who are being persecuted in lands of oppression.

We are very proud to welcome the Hapoel soccer team. We are proud of these young athletes who represent the idealism of the pioneering youth of Israel.

We also take this opportunity to express our thanks and appreciation to all those individuals, groups, and organizations that helped to insure the success of this great festival.

FARBAND-LABOR ZIONIST ORDER,
MEYER L. BROWN, *President.*

I am proud and happy to participate in the activities in behalf of the Salute to Israel Festival on the ninth anniversary of the State of Israel. In the 9 years since the birth of Israel, the Histadrut and the State of Israel have performed miracles.

Hapoel, the soccer team of Israel, represents not only the spirit of the fine young sportsmen of Israel, but especially the spirit of Jewish youth who not only play and build, but also defend this young democratic state.

As a trade unionist, I welcome this occasion not only on my behalf, but on behalf of the American trade unionists who are responsive to the call of Israel in all its needs.

HARRY GREENBERG,
Chairman, Trade Union Committee.

As an American of Irish decent, it is my pleasure to join with all Americans in saluting the State of Israel on the ninth anniversary of its independence. Israel has demonstrated that with idealism and determination, it is possible to make even a barren country blossom with the fruits of economic well-being and democracy.

Judge JOHN E. CONE,
Chairman, Irish-American Committee for the Salute to Israel Festival.

I am proud to join in saluting Israel on its ninth independence day. This new nation is a bastion of democracy in the Middle East and an example for newly liberated nations throughout the world.

Congressman VICTOR L. ANFUSO,
Cochairman, Italo-American Committee for the Salute to Israel Festival.

It is an honor for me to participate in the Salute to Israel Festival. This gathering symbolizes the cooperation of Americans of all national and religious origins in making this country great.

All of us join together in congratulating Israel on the ninth anniversary of its independence.

Judge ANTHONY J. DI GIOVANNA,
Cochairman, Italo-American Committee for the Salute to Israel Festival.

The State of Israel is an encouragement for new nations everywhere to develop their institutions in the traditions of democracy and in the interests of their entire populations. It is an honor, therefore, for me to join in this Salute to Israel Festival on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of Israel's independence.

Judge MILES PAIGE,
Chairman, Afro-American Committee for the Salute to Israel Festival.

Honoring Ambassador Munthe de Morgenstierne, Retiring Dean of the Diplomatic Corps in Washington

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, Ambassador of Norway, the Honorable Munthe de Morgenstierne, dean of the diplomatic corps and a resident of Washington for the past 47 years, will retire in the fall of 1957. My district has a large proportion of descendants of Scandinavian countries. We have been very proud of Ambassador Morgenstierne's distinction and ability. His almost fabulous career as Norway's spokesman to our Nation has contributed immeasurably to the maintenance and the solidity of the most cordial relations between our two countries.

We, who are of Norwegian descent, are particularly and immensely proud of this eminent and esteemed representative of Norway. His retirement will be deeply regretted and he will be greatly missed in the diplomatic service by his innumerable friends and by all those who know of his outstanding and effective personality. I know my constituents join me in these greetings and in heartfelt and earnest wishes for long and restful, but continuing fruitful, years ahead.

I have taken the occasion of Norwegian Constitution Day, this May 17, 1957, to request permission here to insert in the RECORD two excellent articles about Ambassador Morgenstierne. They are Norway's Goodwill Man, by Wilbur Elston, and Morgenstierne Believes in Telling All the Facts, by Trygve M. Ager, both of which appeared in the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune of April 13, 1952.

The articles follow:

NORWAY'S GOODWILL MAN
(By Wilbur Elston)

WASHINGTON.—A Midwest editor once introduced the Norwegian Ambassador to his readers in this way:

"Wilhelm Thorleif Munthe de Morgenstierne arrived in town today, trailing his name behind him."

A reserved but friendly man, the Ambassador has "trailed his name" into Minneapolis and Minnesota so often in the last 42 years that he is regarded as almost a resident of the State.

He is a member of the Minneapolis club. He holds a degree (honorary) from St. Olaf College. He addressed a joint session of the Minnesota legislature in 1941. He has spoken at countless Norwegian-American celebrations in the city and State.

Hunting with an old Norwegian-American friend, former United States Senator Henrik Shipstead, he has enjoyed the thrill of bringing down a mallard over a northern Minnesota lake and of toppling a ringneck pheasant whizzing out of a Minnesota cornfield.

Through his close association with Americans for so many years, he has become Norway's foremost authority on American affairs. At the same time he has become the leading interpreter of Norwegian affairs to America.

Looking back over his long service in this country—he has spent 30 years in the United States—he is convinced that relations between Norway and the United States never have been closer—culturally, politically, and militarily—than they are today.

A modest man, he doesn't take the credit for these close ties, but in Washington it generally is recognized that he played an important part in forging them.

With his Roman nose, ruddy complexion and characteristic Norwegian accent, Morgenstierne looks and talks much like his kinsmen in Minnesota.

Now 64, he still is erect and vigorous. That is a tribute to his sturdy Norwegian ancestors and also to his long daily walks around Washington.

His rather spare figure is a common sight striding along the shady streets of Embassy row on the outer edge of the Capital City.

His aids say he knows all the little back lanes from the Embassy out to suburban Bethesda, several miles away. Years ago he and a friend once hiked to Baltimore, more than 30 miles from Washington.

He enjoys other outdoor exercise, too. He's a good skier. When he was serving as consul general in New York he frequently took weekend trips up to Lake Placid ski runs.

And Secretary of State Dean Acheson disclosed the other day that he once saw his old friend roller skating on Massachusetts Avenue back in 1919.

Morgenstierne today is the dean of the diplomatic corps in Washington. This means that in one respect he rates right behind President Truman—for chiefs of the 72 foreign diplomatic missions in Washington. As each new diplomatic chief arrives, he presents his credentials to the President, and then makes his first official call on Dean Morgenstierne.

Like a United States Senator who inherits a committee chairmanship, Morgenstierne earned his job as dean on the basis of seniority. In the main, he says it costs him both time and money. He is expected to be present at many diplomatic functions that the Norwegian Ambassador otherwise could skip.

And the job of receiving and returning the calls of the new diplomats is time consuming and expensive.

Of course, these Embassy affairs have their compensations, too.

They give the diplomats an opportunity to sip a cocktail together, become better acquainted and talk over problems without

the formality that is necessary when one Ambassador makes an official call on another.

For example, the Morgenstiernes recently entertained at a dinner and reception for Secretary Acheson. Washington society columns lavishly described the women's gowns and the food, but the dinner also gave the Secretary and Ambassador a good chance to chat together on an informal basis.

They've been close friends for years. When Madame Morgenstierne, a native of Winnipeg, Canada, came to Washington as a bride more than 25 years ago, she attended her first capital party at the Acheson home.

Acheson long has been close to the Norwegian Government through his work in the United States Government and his law firm's legal work for Norway at the international court of justice at The Hague.

Entertaining at such a dinner has other compensations, too. Howland Sargent, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, usually is invited—with his wife, screen actress Myrna Loy. At the Morgenstierne party she was as glamorous as usual in a strapless black Parisian gown.

The dean of the Diplomatic Corps gets some special privileges, too. When President Truman or a distinguished visitor like Winston Churchill addresses a joint session of Congress, Ambassador Morgenstierne leads the parade of the Diplomatic Corps into the House Chamber.

That's an impressive job for a man representing a country whose 3,500,000 population is only a little larger than Minnesota's.

But Morgenstierne and Norway loom larger than that country's population in the eyes of Americans.

In his quiet way, Morgenstierne helped awaken the American public to what was happening in Norway under the Nazi occupation before we got into World War II.

A close friend of the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg, he shared with the great Michigan Senator the soul-searching that he went through before he made the shift that transformed him from an isolationist to an internationalist.

Morgenstierne brought to the United States members of the Norwegian underground who told what had happened to a peaceful people who had relied more on a tradition of neutrality than on the force of arms to keep out of war.

Just after the Germans completed their occupation of Norway, Morgenstierne consulted with his government-in-exile in London. Returning to the United States, he said that Norway would fight on until her soil was clear of every foreign invader.

That was stout talk from a man whose little country had just been devastated by Hitler's legions.

In 1942, he visited his exiled government again. Once more he returned with the challenge that "Norway is a conquered country, but the people remain unconquered."

Morgenstierne recalls that there was in the United States a "great upsurge of feeling toward the old country" as a result of Norway's resistance and the contribution made to the cause of freedom by Norwegian sailors and ships.

The easing of travel and trade restrictions since the war has caused the liveliest interchange of people and trade ever known between the two countries. The ambassador believes this helped cement the good relations between them and encouraged Norway to sign the North Atlantic Pact.

Morgenstierne first came to the United States back in 1910 as an attaché in the Norwegian legation. After he had been here two months, the death of the Norwegian minister left Morgenstierne, then only 22, in charge of the legation on a temporary basis. He served ably until a new minister was named several months later.

It was in 1911 that he made his first visit to Minneapolis, he recalls. With a wry grin, he says a newspaper picture recently published in Minneapolis must have been taken during that first visit.

After service in Antwerp and Oslo, he returned to the United States in 1915 as Norway's deputy commissioner at the San Francisco World's Fair. Afterwards, he made a 6-month lecture tour of the United States.

Again he came to Minneapolios. This time it was to install a branch of the World League of Norsemen, an international organization of Norwegians that he served as secretary-general for several years.

It was during this trip, too, that he joined the Sons of Norway. This national organization has its headquarters in Minneapolis, and next August will observe its 60th anniversary. The Ambassador plans to be on hand for the ceremonies.

After more service at home—and a visit back to the Twin Cities in 1925 for the centennial celebration of Norwegian immigration into the United States—he was named consul general of Norway at New York in 1929.

He has been assigned to the United States ever since. He was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Norway to the United States in 1934. This was Norway's highest ranking Envoy to the country at the time.

In 1942, the Legation was raised to the status of an Embassy and Morgenstierne became his country's first and only Ambassador to the United States.

During his 30 years in various diplomatic jobs in the United States, Morgenstierne has served through the terms of 7 American Presidents.

If Senator Robert A. Taft should be elected president, Morgenstierne would present his credential to a man he met at dances at the White House back in 1911 and 1912.

In those days, Morgenstierne was a young attaché and Robert Taft was a law student at Harvard, visiting his parents, the late President and Mrs. William Howard Taft.

Not that Morgenstierne is expressing any presidential preference, for foreign diplomats avoid any public comment on a decision they feel is one for Americans only.

But in talking with Wilhelm Munthe Morgenstierne, you get the impression that he'll represent Norway well—and interpret America intelligently to Norwegians—regardless of who is President.

Morgenstierne Believes in Telling All the Facts

(Trygve M. Ager during World War II worked closely with Ambassador Morgenstierne as a staff member of the Royal Norwegian information service at the Norwegain Embassy in Washington. Here he gives his personal impressions of Morgenstierne.)

(By Trygve M. Ager)

Recently I was glancing through the yellowed pages of a small paperbound book by Wilhelm Morgenstierne, published many years ago.

It was a compilation of articles he had written and addresses he had made on various occasions, and it included the text of his speech at a July 4 celebration aboard a Scandinavian ship on the high seas in 1919.

In it he raised the question:

"What is it, this subtle influence which seems to take hold of everybody, regardless of former nationality, as soon as he has spent some little time on American soil and under American institutions?"

He answered by asking some more questions:

"Is it not so that we all have a feeling of the promise of American life? Is not this American spirit a spirit of optimism, of confident faith in the ultimate destinies of the human race? America, does it not stand in our imagination intimately bound up with the future of the world? Can we conceive of that future without America?"

This warm admiration for America has been an important part of Morgenstierne's makeup since his earliest years in his country's foreign service, and it explains why associates in Washington have sometimes spoken of him as a "two-way ambassador."

While never shirking his main job of representing Norway in America, he has always been ready to take up the cudgels when America has needed a little championing among Norwegians.

He has unbounded faith in Norway, too.

He showed that best on April 9, 1940, when the first news of Hitler's surprise attack on Norway reached Washington. Instantly he knew his freedom-loving countrymen would never submit to German rule. Without waiting for instructions from his Government, he rolled up his sleeves and set to work rallying all Norwegian strength and resources within his call to the cause.

By coincidence the Norwegian Government, at Morgenstierne's urging only shortly before had acted to create an information service in Washington. The man who was to head it, Hans Olay, arrived on the scene barely ahead of the German invasion.

Olav's first big job was cut out for him by early newspaper accounts of the invasion which made it appear that Norway was teeming with "quislings" and that the Germans were making a picnic of it all.

The truth was far different, but with Nazis in control of communication systems it took time to get at it. In the beginning it had to be gleaned principally from refugees reaching Sweden or England. Later the underground organization contrived ways of gathering news and smuggling it out of the country.

Under the circumstances, the objectivity maintained by those underground reporters was remarkable. They reported activities of traitors, complete with names and places, as well as those of loyal Norwegians. The information service relayed the accounts to newspapers and newscasters just as they came from the underground.

I remember more than one redfaced individual who indignantly protested that the traitor problem was being magnified.

One man—a VIP in Norwegian Government circles—insisted the word "quisling" should never be used in information service publications.

"What will the Americans think of us?" he wanted to know.

But when any such question of policy was carried to Morgenstierne, his answer, in substance, was:

"Give the news out as it comes to us. Anything short of that would be a betrayal of the people of Norway, who sent it, and of the people of America, who are entitled to it."

That kind of policy won respect where it counted. And it shows how well Morgenstierne understands America and Americans, as well as Norway and Norweigans.

American Economic Aid to Poland and Other Russian-Dominated Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the issue of American economic aid to Poland and other Russian-dominated nations is

fundamental and vital to the security of our Nation. It is amazing that many are quick to urge such aid without considering the necessity of conditions. There can be no doubt that the freedom-loving Polish people are in dire economic need. Unquestionably American economic aid should be offered to the Polish people. But the basic question is—how is this aid to be distributed among the Poles?

Experience itself has taught us that in the Communist mentality, be it that of the dominant oligarchs in Moscow or the puppets in Warsaw, Kiev, Peiping and elsewhere in the Communist empire, economic means are just as much a weapon in the cold war as any other factor. Aid to Poland will not necessarily mean aid to the Polish people where no conditions are observed. In this circumstance, it will most likely mean aid to the Communist Polish regime, to Moscow, indeed, incrementally to the entire Russian Communist empire.

The need for an operational policy on economic aid to Russian-dominated lands is carefully analyzed in a recent memorandum on American Economic Aid to Poland and other Russian-dominated nations, addressed to the Secretary of State but in his absence submitted to Undersecretary Robert Murphy by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. The argumentation for conditions contained in this memorandum is close and incisive. The operational principles it sets forth as a general basis of guidance in the distribution of economic aid to Russian-dominated countries, both within and outside the Soviet Union, are worthy of studied attention. Under leave granted, I insert this memorandum in the RECORD.

The memorandum follows:

MEMORANDUM ON AMERICAN ECONOMIC AID TO POLAND AND OTHER RUSSIAN-DOMINATED NATIONS

The current negotiations between our Government and the Communist Polish delegation on the vital subject of American economic aid to Poland are of the deepest concern to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. These negotiations are fraught with a multiple significance and potential widespread ramification. Their results will undoubtedly affect not only our relations with the Polish people but also the intricate complex of our interests in and connections with all other captive nations in the Russian Communist empire, the various puppet Communist regimes, the ruling oligarchy in Moscow, and, generally, our posture of strength in the unending cold war.

It is with this broad orientation that the Ukrainian Congress Committee—the representative national body of a million and a half Americans of Ukrainian ancestry—deems it necessary to express certain views which emphasize the need for a consistent, operating policy to govern the distribution of American economic aid to any sector of the Russian Communist empire. The present negotiations with the Communist Polish delegation will very likely set a precedent for similar economic transactions with other Communist regimes as circumstances and opportunity occasion them. Needless to say, the character of our aid to the Tito regime these many years is not without influence on the nature and content of these current negotiations. However, the glaring fact is that we still have to reap some small measure of concrete benefit from the conditions of such assistance given to the Tito regime.

In regard to any Communist regime an offer of economic assistance "with no strings attached" is a careless offer of conspicuous waste from the viewpoint of our relative political position to the Russian Communist empire. Indeed, and worse still, it contributes on net balance to the solidity and maintenance of this remaining empire in the modern period. The belief that by such aid the interests of "national communism" will be served in order to loosen the sinews of this vast empire is contradicted not only by our sad experience with Tito but also by the illusion of any real possibility of an objectively established national communism. The repeated dedication of Tito to the objective of communizing the world and his widely publicized declaration last year of fighting "shoulder to shoulder" with Moscow in any war against the West are scarcely expressions of gratitude for years of American economic and technical assistance. Our economic aid to the puppet Gomulka regime—in fact, to any Communist government—can only meet with the same results when the hollow condition of "no strings attached" persists.

Economic aid is just as much an important weapon in cold war maneuvering as any political, psychological or military factor. It should be employed with a sense of concrete effectiveness, with wisdom and prudence, directed at specific goals of political leverage and return. Our resources should not be dissipated in a vain gesture of humanitarian response or thrown aimlessly into a venture that promises to be nothing more than a shot in the dark. In our dealings with unrepresentative Communist governments such misuse of resources is virtually guaranteed by the "no strings attached" stipulation. Both the record of experience and reason show that this condition devolves to the benefit of the dedicated Communist enemy and works a detriment to our position and stature in international dealings. Both experience and logic require in this situation an operational policy attuned to weighted conditions of assistance, whether in relation to the Communist Polish government or to any other entrenched agency of Russian Communist imperialism.

I

The sound principles underlying such a working policy have been enunciated before. In the light of the sobering lessons of the patriotic Hungarian revolution they are even more applicable now. The principles are flexible enough to cover any situation that might develop in any dominated country behind the Iron Curtain, including those within the Soviet Union itself. The application of these principles would insure modicum of political benefit for the cause of world freedom as well as a measure of respect for ourselves in the rationally calculated distribution of our resources.

It is reported that at this stage of the negotiations with the Communist Polish delegation our Government is willing to extend in aid about $75 million in surplus farm goods and approximately $25 million for their purchase of farm machinery and coal mining equipment. This type of offer recalls a similar attempt made 2 years ago to ship American food surpluses to the Soviet Union. In testimony to a congressional body this committee opposed that attempt (Trade Agreements Extension, Hearings, House Committee on Ways and Means, pt. 2, 1955, pp. 2333–2356). In a letter to the President on March 8, 1955 this committee reiterated its position in opposing the shipment of American food surpluses to the Soviet Union and again set forth the principles determining its position. These same principles apply to the present Polish case as well as to the unfortunate repeal by the Senate recently of the law prohibiting barter deals with the Iron Curtain countries.

These principles of effective use of resources are: (1) the enforced distinction between the unrepresentative Communist governments and the enslaved peoples, (2) the distribution of American consumer goods, chiefly surplus farm produce, through the agency of neutral teams among the native populace, (3) under a workable strategic-goods concept, the prohibition of any export of producer goods to Communist-dominated lands, and (4) conditions of demand for specific liberalization of known circumstances peculiar to the Iron Curtain country with which we may be dealing. The first three principles are necessarily invariable; the application of the last obviously would depend on the conditions existing in the country under consideration.

II

These grounded principles are fully applicable to the present Polish case. First, in our official political addresses and reports we make much of the real distinction between the unrepresentative Communist governments and the subjugated peoples; yet, contradictorily enough, we are willing to transmit aid through such governments without reservation or qualification. There can be no doubt that the Communist Polish government will make political capital of the fact that it received from the United States a bulk of economic assistance. From the political angle, if not the economic, it will assume and exploit a creditable standing before the Polish people.

Second, the overt expression of the preceding distinction is afforded by the second principle which calls for the distribution of American consumer goods through neutral agencies. The application of this principle would prevent the biased use of these goods by the Communist government and it would also establish a more wholesome contact between our Government and the needy Polish population.

Third, the export of any producer or capital goods to Poland or any other Russian-dominated area should be scrupulously disallowed in order to preclude indirect material benefit to Moscow. Not only should we not relieve Moscow of its current burdens and problems but we should also make sure that it will not gain from the increased capital equipment of one of its captive countries. It is common knowledge that imperialist Moscow has systematically stripped Poland of its agricultural and industrial production. There is no reason to believe that Russian economic imperialism will not reassert itself in Poland. Briefly, then, in the economic sphere this is no time for us to relieve Moscow of its empire burdens. On the contrary, such burdens should be augmented while at the same time consumer goods aid should be channeled directly to the people of Poland.

III

The fourth principle has ready application to the Polish case when due account is taken of the circumstances in which the large Ukrainian minority finds itself in Poland. Conditions of economic aid can serve to ameliorate these circumstances and abet the renowned anticommunism of the Ukrainian people. The specification of these conditions may well be as follows:

1. The release of hundreds of UPA (Ukrainian underground) prisoners now lingering in Polish jails for the "crime" of fighting against Russia's domination over Ukraine;

2. Civilized and equal treatment for the Ukrainian minority in Poland;

3. An opportunity for the reestablishment of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and other religious bodies genocided by Moscow; and

4. The admission of Ukrainian welfare agencies into Poland from the West.

Mr. Secretary, we earnestly believe that the adoption and execution of these prin-

ciples would enable our Government to gain political leverage in our economic dealings with the Communist world. Our resources would be reasonably and effectively spent. Above all, the methodical observances of these principles guiding our operational policy would guarantee that no benefit in the short or long run would accrue to our dedicated enemy. We wish to stress again that the time now is to intensify the empire problems of Moscow, not to relieve them. Only in this spirit can we truly act in accord with the wisdom expressed by the President last year: "We hear from the peoples of Eastern Europe, the solemn word—the solemn proof—that men who have once known the blessings of freedom will lay down their lives in its name. The people of Poland and of Hungary—indeed, of all Eastern Europe—are men and women whom America has never forgotten—nor ever will. And it remains the firm purposes of America to strengthen the love of liberty everywhere—and to do all within our peaceful power to help its champions." (New York Times, Oct. 26.) A rational policy of economic aid is such a peaceful power.

Respectfully submitted.

THE UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA,
By LEV E. DOBRIANSKY, *Chairman, Professor, Georgetown University.*

Salary Priorities in Bankruptcy, H. R. 7604

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill, H. R. 7604, to amend the Bankruptcy Act of 1898 to increase the priority claims of salesmen and other workers for moneys due them from bankrupt employers.

The Bankruptcy Act of 1898 provided that workmen, clerks, and servants should have a claim, prior to the dividend claims of creditors and not to exceed $300, to wages earned within 3 months of the commencement of bankruptcy proceedings. This provision was amended in 1906 to include salesmen and again in 1926 to increase the allowable claims from $300 to $600. The only change in this provision since 1926 was contained in the 1938 amendment when the type of salesmen to be included was amplified.

The proposed amendment to section 104, part (2), of the Bankruptcy Act would merely change the amount of the allowable claim from $600 to $1,500. The necessity for this increase is partially explained by the price increases of recent years. The Consumer Price Index has increased 57 percent since the present $600 claim was granted in 1926, and it has increased 115 percent since 1933.

The essential question, however, is whether claims to back earnings of salesmen, workmen, servants, and clerks should be given priority over dividend claims of creditors. Since the original act of 1898, the principle has been to grant the claims of workers priority over the claims of creditors. There has, nevertheless, always been a maximum allowable claim for workers, presumably based on the theory that no wage earner should permit his employer to become too heavily indebted to him.

After salesmen were included in the 1906 amendment, it became evident that the amount of back earnings owed to salesmen was likely to be much greater than the amount owed to other wage earners and was likely to be much greater than the $300 maximum allowed in bankruptcy suits. This situation was partially righted in 1926 when the allowable maximum was raised from $300 to $600.

The changes which have taken place in the nature of selling since 1926 make imperative a further increase in the maximum allowable claim of wage earners. The expansion of credit and modern sales techniques emphasizing installment buying have revolutionized the art of selling. They have also made the modern salesman a substantial creditor to the extent that his sales commissions, in some instances, are not received until the items sold, are paid for. Payments may be spread out over a period of many months.

In the modern age of mass production and mass selling the salesman often stakes his livelihood on a few sizable accounts. The commissions due him from a single purchaser are likely to amount to thousands of dollars. This is the result of good, not poor, salesmanship. Yet the present bankruptcy law permits the salesman to collect only $600 in back commissions before dividends are paid out to creditors.

If the maximum amount of the prior claim is to be an amount above which the wage earner should not permit himself to become a creditor, as I believe it was intended to be, then that amount should be at least $1,500 in the case of salesmen.

By adding to his financial security, this bill will help to preserve the strength and character of the salesman who has always been a leading figure in the development of our free enterprise economy. His essential task has been to find, develop and, wherever possible, to create consumer demand capable of keeping pace with expanding production.

In planning for future economic growth the ability to consume is now considered equally as important as the ability to produce. Only in wartime has consumption been sufficient to utilize our full productive capacity; and when production outstrips demand, as it did in 1929, the necessitated cutbacks can be a prelude to economic disaster.

The salesman is our not-so-secret weapon for combating overproduction with increased consumption. Yet he is "in constant danger of becoming the skelton at the feast," according to an article appearing in the Saturday Review of January 19, 1957. The paradoxical plight of the salesman in an age of prosperity is described in the article as follows:

> The man who sells goes into the coming year as into the jaws of a gigantic press. The lower jaw, squeezing upward, is the rising price level necessary to maintain production in a time of high costs and tight labor. The upper jaw is the intensified, and different, competition for sales he will be facing.

There is an acute need for more and better salesmen in the present era of expanding production and expanding productive capacity. Thus, Nation's Business commented in September 1956 that, "More and more companies report difficulty in attracting and holding sales personnel."

The proposed amendment to the Bankruptcy Act is a necessary first step in rejuvenating the selling profession by making the financial insecurities of its members somewhat less severe.

I must take a moment to give due credit to the National Council of Salesmen's Organizations, Inc. and its energetic President, Louis A. Capaldo, for having called this matter to my attention in the first instance, and for their persistent efforts in trying to remedy this situation. This organization very appropriately calls itself "The National Voice of Salesmen." Mr. Capaldo has been always alert to the needs and desires of salesmen and over the years has done much, through the national council, to advance and protect their interests.

Foreign Aid to Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very comprehensive editorial which appeared in the Boston Christian Science Monitor on May 13, 1957:

FOREIGN AID TO AMERICANS

As study of the mutual security (foreign aid) program digs deeper, the plainer it is that it should be reshaped rather than scrapped. The report just made by the Senate's special committee proposes changes and economies, but also shows that the program is of real value to the American people.

The major changes it proposes are shifts from military to economic aid and from grants to loans. The cuts it recommends would mainly come out of military items. President Eisenhower himself has suggested a $520 million cut made possible chiefly by a speed-up in manufacture and delivery of supplies to allies.

The drive for more economical and effective operation of the program should go on. Yet the more the American people learn about it the more likely they are to agree with the President and the committee that so-called foreign aid is of genuine assistance to Americans. Improvements are already under way.

The new budget contains $500 million to start a revolving fund for that purpose. But this still leaves roughly $1 billion going as direct military grants to the regimes the United States supports in Korea, Formosa, and South Vietnam.

Congress, which has just applauded Ngo Dinh Diem as a bulwark against communism, appears indisposed to cut such "foreign aid." And it takes much the same attitude toward "defense support" expenditures which are partially economic measures intended to build up the military strength of allies. It appears much more ready to sacrifice the relatively small amount of economic aid, which is often more carefully supervised and is more largely furnished as loans.

The simplest argument for military aid is that it is much the cheapest kind of defense. Since 1949 the United States has spent on its own Military Esetblishment $226 billion, on military aid to allies about $24 billion. On the average, it costs 7 times as much to keep an American rifleman on the job as it does a soldier in allied countries.

About one-tenth of the mutual-security program is devoted to strictly economic aid. The purpose of this is to help independent nations (Jordan is a case in the news) to resist Red pressures. Impartial observers usually report that the United States is getting its money's worth. Many intangibles are involved. Friendship cannot be bought, but the price tag on unfriendliness in key spots can be high.

Finally, there is the fact that 70 percent of the dollars put into so-called foreign aid never leave the United States. They pay for goods and services produced by Americans. Some 600,000 jobs are attributed to these expenditures. Large amounts provide markets for farm surpluses. While the mutual-security program takes only about 1 percent of the national gross product, the help it gives certain areas of American business is important.

To summarize: The program helps the United States maintain a military stance which would be impossible or far more expensive otherwise; it fights communism and helps peoples in need to help themselves; it provides markets and employment for American citizens. Despite defects, it is not basically a handout to foreigners, but a program of aid to Americans.

Idaho Power Tax Aid Riles Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, on May 6, 1957, the Portland Oregonian carried an article by the editor of the Oregonian editorial page, Mr. Herbert Lundy. Mr. Lundy has long been a close observer of the resource development program for the Pacific Northwest. I believe his article will be of interest to my colleagues, and ask that it be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article is as follows:

IDAHO POWER TAX AID RILES CONGRESS

(By Herbert Lundy)

The accelerated tax amortization certificates granted Idaho Power Co. for 2 of its dams on Snake River have caused such an uproar in Congress that two results are possible: (1) repeal or drastic revision of the 1951 act allowing such deferred tax payments on defense projects; and (2), attraction of several more Senate votes for the bill to supersede Idaho Power's dams with a high Federal dam in Hells Canyon.

Besides the Hells Canyon Dam advocates, such free enterprise Democrats as Senators BYRD and RUSSELL have assailed the tax benefits to Idaho Power. They have not, however, said they would vote for a Federal dam. The present outlook is that Hells Canyon may pick up a few more votes than when it was defeated in the Senate last session—but probably not enough.

The original, stated purpose of accelerated depreciation of plants for tax purposes has long since been lost. This device was legitimately used in World War II to help industry meet war demands for new planes and other rush jobs—expansion which would be obsolete or unneeded after the emergency had been met. It is doubtful in the extreme if the revival in 1951, under the Korean war impact, was justified in so far as the legislation applied to such long-range projects as hydroelectric dams under 50-year amortization.

Idaho Power Co.'s application was made before the Federal Power Commission granted licenses for the three dams in the Hells Canyon reach of the Snake, and before last year's freeze on new grants. The Office of Defense Mobilization evidently felt obliged to honor the application, which had been kept alive, after the United States Supreme Court refused to intervene against FPC.

ODM permitted Idaho Power to write off in 5 years, in depreciation for Federal tax purposes, 65 percent of the cost of Brownlee Dam and 60 percent of the cost of Oxbow Dam. The way this works is that the company takes larger than normal deductions for 5 years, and smaller than normal deductions for the remaining 45 years of the license.

Statisticians say this means a tax saving for Idaho Power of about $31 million in 5 years, and that if the interest-free loan from Uncle Sam were reinvested at a rate of return of 6 percent the company could benefit to the extent of $338 million at the end of the fiftieth year. This would be not a bad gimmick, since the two dams would cost about $100 million. In the meantime, of course, the Government would get its money back—but not the interest.

What burns up the Government dam proponents—and may interest all taxpayers and power consumers—is this. The $6,500,000 a year withheld in taxes by the company for 5 years is collected from rate payers and put into a deferred account. Yet it can be paid to stockholders as dividends subject only to capital gains taxation, which is much lower than ordinary taxes. What happens, they ask, at the end of the accelerated depreciation period if the money has been paid to stockholders? Their answer: Probably rate increases, to pay the higher Federal tax for the next 45 years.

This tax benefit is an outright subsidy from the Treasury, an interest free loan, to private utilities qualifying under a nonexistent defense emergency. The Government might justify it by requiring a utility to eliminate the loan from its rate base. But utilities need not consider it in ratemaking. And of course if the tax saving is passed along to stockholders under the heading of capital gains, there is another tax bonanza at Government expense.

It is estimated that rapid amortization for tax purposes has deferred Federal tax revenues amounting to around $50 billion since the program started. Senator BYRD's committee should recommend repeal of the entire act.

How Trenton, N. J., Almost Became the Federal City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 28, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I include from the Trentonian, a leading newspaper of the Fourth New Jersey District, an interesting article by Eleanore Nolan Shuman describing how Trenton almost became the Federal City.

[From the Trenton (N. J.) Trentonian, of May 6, 1957]

HOW TRENTON ALMOST BECAME "FEDERAL CITY"

(By Eleanore Nolan Shuman)

The great honor of becoming the Capital of the United States was first bestowed upon Trenton in 1784. Commemorating the event, in 1930, the newly built first Mechanics Bank, at the southwest corner of State and Warren Streets, had inscribed in stone above its sixth floor, several of the titles of the inn that once stood at the site. One of them, the "French Arms Inn," was the name of the mansion during the critical period of our Government which concerns this story.

Here in the "Long Room" of the inn, Trentonians watched the great leaders of post-Revolutionary America struggling to operate the system of self-government set up under a weak constitution known as the Articles of Confederation. This type of experiment was new in the world at the time and the results of its failures brought about our strong Constitution of today—our Government which is the oldest working democracy of any large nation.

Why was there a need for such a government? The United States as a nation had been created on July 4, 1776, when the Continental Congress of the Revolutionary period had created the Declaration of Independence. Trentonians had applauded the ideas of the document especially on July 8, 1776, when at 11 a. m., the Declaration was read from the steps of the Old Hunterdon County Courthouse at 6 South Warren Street. This stirring scene marked the first time anywhere that the Declaration had been read publicly. (The site was marked by a plaque by the historic sites committee on May 3, 1955.)

Because the leaders of the new nation realized that they needed a written constitution to tie the Thirteen States together, a Federal document called the Articles of Confederation was drawn up and approved by the Continental Congress in 1777. These articles were adopted by the several States in 1781.

The Government became weak and ineffective. There was a dreary anticlimax after the surrender at Yorktown in 1781 and the final settlement of peace 2 years later. The States became very remiss about furnishing financial support to Congress and subsequently to the Army. When the soldiers found that they were about to be disbanded without settlement of their pay, they became very angry. One group marched from Lancaster to Philadelphia, where the Congress was meeting, to demand their money. This mutinous attack alarmed the Conferation Congress. The Pennsylvania authorities gave them insufficient protection and they fled in terror to Princeton, a safer locale.

It was at this time that Congress considered the problem of finding a safe location for permanent headquarters. Trenton sought the honor in 1783. Each Member of the Congress wanted the capital near his own home. (In the days of the stagecoach, when 50 miles a day was considered good time, the matter of travel distances loomed in the minds of the Members.)

While at Princeton, two sites were decided upon. One was the Delaware at Trenton, the other the Potomac at Georgetown. (The latter had the tremendous support of George Washington, who lived at Mount Vernon.) After much debate, a compromise was reached. There would be two Federal cities, one on the Delaware River and one on the Potomac.

More than a year later, the Congress met at Trenton from November 1 until December 24, 1784. Here the Hon. Peter Van Berchel, representative, from the Netherlands, conferred with Congress. Here, Lafayette made his farewell address to Congress before his

return to France. When the matter of the Federal capital was discussed the Potomac alternative was voted down. The Congress voted that $100,000 be spent to build a Federal city not more than 8 miles above or below the falls of the Delaware. Three commissioners were appointed to select the site: Philip Schuyler of New York, Philemon Dickinson of Trenton and Robert Morris of Philadelphia.

Nothing definite happened for the Congress was weak and the Treasury was too depleted to put the plan in effect. Several spots in the locale were considered. These included Morrisville, Pa., and the present Ellwood Lake section. (An old stagecoach route extending from the latter section toward Lawrenceville still is locally known as Federal City Road). The most favored spot, however, was Lamberton, today part of South Trenton. So sure were they of this selection that Dr. David Cowell of Lamberton, a physician, bequeathed 100 pounds to the United States for the erection of a public building at Trenton. This was the first legacy ever recorded as given to the United States.

No definite action was taken, however. The Confederation finally gave way to the government of the present Constitution in 1789. When the question of a permanent Federal capital came up again in Congress the story of the selection of Washington, D. C., became famous in history books. The deciding vote in its favor in 1790, caused the matter of the "Federal City" to become an interesting shadow in the traditions of Trenton.

Reexamine the Test Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting editorial which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor for May 14, 1957:

REEXAMINE THE TEST ISSUE

On two counts the United States Government should take a fresh look at the possibility of banning H-bomb tests.

First, there is new information about the dangers from fallout.

Second, the Soviet is winning a propaganda battle of no little importance.

The experts and diplomats tie tests up with disarmament. But they have not removed the widespread popular conviction that here is one area of arms limitation where it would not be necessary to depend on Moscow keeping its promises—there is no hiding a big bomb explosion. No new inspection system is required.

The British are nearly ready to carry out their delayed Christmas Island tests, and no ban is likely to block them. These should bring Britain up to date on knowledge to be gained by testing. But what is to be won by indefinite continuance is far from clear. Some American authorities say the United States already possesses more of the big bombs than are ever likely to be used.

British and American experts are insisting that a ban on tests is not feasible until tight controls are established on fissile materials. To the layman this until sounds ominously like never. Nor is he satisfied with the argument that banning the big bombs would still leave dangers from smaller tests.

The United States Atomic Energy Commission has been very positive in denying danger from nuclear fallout. But there is mounting evidence that the AEC has miscalculated at various times. Aside from the slips at Bikini, it appears that on several occasions the Nevada tests have produced unexpected and dangerous fallout. The Reporter magazine describes a series of incidents which make it plain that the AEC is far from infallible.

The AEC has published impressive figures on the smallness of the average danger from fallout. Groups of nuclear scientists and geneticists have supported it with estimates showing many times as much average radiation coming constantly from cosmic rays, materials in the earth, and from X-ray machines.

The trouble is that averages are made up of low and high figures. Dr. Albert Schweitzer's figures on concentrations of nuclear material cannot be answered by averages. And it is high time that Washington realized that Moscow is steadily persuading the uncommitted peoples that only the stubborn rejection of the Western Powers stands in the way of a ban on tests which millions believe are poisoning their air and food.

Of course, it may be that the necessity for keeping massive retaliatory power honed to a fine edge can be shown to warrant any determinable risks of continued big-bomb tests. It may be that Russian talk about a ban would prove to have all kinds of catches attached (Moscow usually speaks of atomic as well as hydrogen tests). But why should not Washington take the initiative and try to clear up the present state of confusion, secrecy, and negation?

Republican-Controlled Illinois Senate Defeats FEPC Measure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

REPUBLICAN-CONTROLLED ILLINOIS SENATE DEFEATS FEPC MEASURE—GOP IS REBUKED FOR REPUDIATING IKE

(By George Tagge)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 14.—So-called fair employment practice legislation was killed today by the senate amid expressed regrets that for years it has been a political football.

A similar measure has been cleared by a house committee and is expected to be passed by the house, as was done at the 1953 and 1955 sessions. The senate will defeat the house FEPC bill if it comes over.

Senator Fred Smith, Democrat, of Chicago, only Negro senator, attempted to have the senate override unfavorable action by the senate committee on industrial affairs. His motion needed 30 votes and got only 18. Twenty-one senators voted against it.

MEYER REVERSES STAND

With a single exception the rollcall followed party lines. Senator John P. Meyers, Republican, of Danville, broke with his past custom and voted in favor of the bill.

However, Senator Meyer complained that Democrats were making the matter a campaign issue. He said the Negro race has been hurt by being thus involved on many occasions.

Lt. Gov. John William Chapman, Republican, made a long oration in behalf of FEPC. Not being a member of the senate, he was given the floor by suspension of the rules. The courtesy was extended after a GOP caucus on the question. In the 1953 session Chapman did the same thing, but was denied the privilege in 1955.

CLAIM IKE REPUDIATED

Chapman's contribution to the 2-hour debate—longest in the senate this session—was a rebuke to Republican senators for repudiating the leadership in race relations of President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, and Governor Stratton.

"A hundred years from now white men may need FEPC," Chapman said.

The bill would create a State commission of five members with $50,000 for expenses. This commission could cite employers on charges of discriminating against persons on grounds of race, nationality, or religion. Courts could jail employers to carry out orders of the commission.

"Such a law would be inimicable to freedom," said Senator ROBERT MCCLORY, (Republican of Lake Bluff). "It would subject every businessman with 25 or more employees to possible imprisonment. Greater progress has been made in race relations by the Republican administration during the last 4 years without such a law than ever before."

CALLS BILL MILD

Senator Smith said at least 15 States have some form of FEPC without harming business or industry. He described the Illinois bill as "very mild." Smith declared that Illinois in general has good laws but that many persons have "second or third class citizenship."

Senator William J. Connors (Democrat, of Chicago), who has more than 20,000 Negroes in his 42d ward bailiwick, said that if Abraham Lincoln were in the senate today he would "disown Illinois and claim Kentucky as his State." Kentucky doesn't have FEPC laws, a fact unnoticed by Connors.

Senator Hayes Robertson (Republican of Flossmoor), whose factory has employed many Negroes for a period of years, said his experience in World War II with Federal officials foreshadowed troubles under an FEPC.

FEARS GESTAPO SPREAD

"Employers would be faced by a gestapo type of official in every town," Robertson said. "One liberty we must guard is freedom of choice. Integration problems will be solved, as they are being solved, if we don't incite discord with such laws as we are considering here."

Senator Everett Peters (Republican of St. Joseph) said operations under an FEPC law in Massachusetts have become "a racket" for shyster lawyers.

Report Red Tourists Being Sent Into Syria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following news story by Frank Kelley, dateline Paris, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on May 9, 1957:

SUBVERSIVE TEAMS: REPORT RED TOURISTS BEING SENT INTO SYRIA

(By Frank Kelley)

PARIS, May 7.—In the interest of building Syria into a Middle East satellite the Soviet Union has sent 800 Bulgarian tourists into

Syria since April 1 and Russian technicians are still arriving in that country at the rate of 50 to 100 a week, according to information received in diplomatic quarters in Paris Tuesday.

Travelers returning here from Lebanon said the Bulgarians are already forming special mixed teams ready for any subversive action, either to take control of Syria or to defend it in case of unexpected attack from outside.

SOVIET AID PUT AT 100 MILLION

Lebanese intelligence sources were said to have discovered concentrations of the Bulgarian visitors near the town of Ruseifa, near Raka, where three large dumps of Soviet-manufactured arms have been set up under Bulgarian guards.

Soviet aid for Syria, the same sources said, now amounts to more than $100 million in material and technical supplies. Upward of 300 Soviet specialists, including trainers of jet pilots, are in Syria, the diplomatic sources said.

AIR MAPPING REPORTED

As disclosed in the New York Herald Tribune April 19, training teams for jet planes have been arriving in Syria regularly on a 6-week rotation basis, and on their way the reconnaissance planes bringing them from bases in the Soviet Caucasus have been photographing large areas of northern Iran and northern Iraq. Partial confirmation of these reports was given in the British House of Lords last Wednesday by the Earl of Home, the Government leader.

He said that Russian reinforcements have been arriving in Syria, but he could not confirm specifically the activities of jet training teams.

JOIN SYRIAN TEAMS

Diplomatic reports here said the infiltrating Bulgarian teams had the assignment of joining an existing Syrian organization known as the "Grouping for the Popular Fight," which now numbers about 30,000 so-called progressive Syrians.

The organizer and director of the new venture of Bulgarians into Syria, the sources said, is a Soviet intelligence officer with the rank of colonel who works in the office of Syrian Col. Abdel Hamid Serraj, the chief of military intelligence and right-hand man of President Shukri al-Kuwatly. Colonel Serraj is not only pro-Egyptian but he is also known to be pro-Moscow.

Open Letter to Massachusetts Congressional Delegation Concerning Boston Naval Shipyard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an open letter to the Massachusetts congressional delegation issued by Mr. Henry A. Wozniak, secretary of the Charlestown Metal Trades Council, AFL–CIO, which concerns an item of $284,000 which was removed by the Navy Department from the 1958 public works budget:

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

HONORABLE MEMBER: Civil defense, many words, speeches, and statements stressing its importance have been written and spoken, but when it's necessary to implement it with hard cash, only moans and groans are heard.

In preparing the 1958 public works budget, the top management at the First Naval District, included an item of $284,000 (a mere drop in the bucket) which would create greater, easier, and safer exits from the Boston Naval Shipyard. This recommendation was made after exhaustive study, research and planning in the best interests and safety of the shipyard and its civilian employees, if and when (we hope never) a disaster of a major type should occur. The Navy Department in Washington, D. C., removed this important and necessary item, without giving it the serious consideration that it should have received.

$284,000 versus the mangling, killing, and crippling of hundreds, yes, even thousands of employees—all taxpayers to the Federal, State, and municipal governments. Is this true economy? Who will have the conscience to explain to the wives, mothers, fathers, children, brothers and sisters that their beloved ones couldn't be spared from being killed or crippled because $284,000 was too much to spend to allow for a safe exit from their place of employment. Will a belated outpouring of thousands and millions of dollars bring back even one life, salve the pains of a crippled employee, or ease the tragedy of many families? Would this then make everything even or would it square matters?

The truth is that an investment of $284,000 now would be the best possible and wisest economy. Not only would it save millions of dollars later on, but could and would be the possible means of saving the precious lives of many people.

The answer is in your hands.

Sincerely and respectfully,

HENRY A. WOZNIAK,
Secretary, Charlestown Metal Grades Council, AFL–CIO.

Warden Ragen of Joliet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, recently a distinguished constituent of mine, Gladys Erickson, newspaperwoman, wrote and published a book entitled "Warden Ragen, of Joliet." The book details the activities of one of the greatest penologists of our time. Advance copy indicates that it will be highly instructional by parents and juveniles throughout the country in combating crime.

Under permission to extend my remarks, I am honored and privileged to include the unanimous resolution of the Illinois State Legislature paying tribute to Warden Ragen and Gladys Erickson:

Senate Resolution 42 and House Resolution 71

Whereas Joseph E. Ragen has served with distinction as warden of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary at Menard, Ill., in 1933 and 1934 and as warden of the dual maximum security prisons, known as Stateville-Joliet penitentiaries near Joliet, Ill., since October 1935, except for a brief interval; and

Whereas Warden Regan when he assumed the duties as chief administrator of the Stateville-Joliet prisons, was confronted with a critical situation marked by lax discipline and dissatisfaction among inmates, many of who were armed with dangerous weapons; and

Whereas Warden Ragen, by the conscientious application of courage, intelligence, principle, and tenacity, remolded the two prisons into disciplined and secure institutions, with administration based on impartial justice and firm rules; and

Whereas by his fairness Warden Ragen has gained the respect of inmates and guards in the two prisons; and

Whereas more than 82,000 inmates have been incarcerated in the Joliet prison since it was opened in 1858, including 35,000 who served time under Warden Ragen's administration, 95 percent of whom were eventually discharged or released on parole; and

Whereas Warden Ragen has aided many of these inmates to reform and rehabilitate themselves by instituting church and religious services for all denominations, as well as general education classes and a varied and expanded program of trade and vocational facilities to prepare them for return to a new life and place in society; and

Whereas Warden Regan has earned the high esteem and regard of other State officials as a penologist of note, has been called in as a consultant on prison administration and the aversion of prison riots by 18 States in the Nation, and has addressed the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada as a recognized authority on prison problems; and

Whereas a book has been written and published about Warden Regan, entitled "Warden Regan, of Joliet," authored by Gladys A. Erickson, a native of Joliet, Ill., and a Chicago newspaper woman; and

Whereas the book authored by Miss Erickson will serve to spread the achievements and unparalleled fame of the State of Illinois in dealing with society's incorrigible, and its forward program of maintaining maximum security institutions; and

Whereas it is the consensus of many who have seen advance copies of this book that if it is read by parents and juveniles throughout the country, it might serve as a definite deterrent to crime: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the 70th General Assembly of the State of Illinois: That we pay due tribute with this testimonial to Warden Regan as one of the State's most devoted and illustrious public servants and to Miss Erickson for narrating the unusual story of one of the world's toughest prisons and its great warden; that suitable copies of this resolution, properly printed and engrossed be sent to Warden Regan and Miss Erickson; and that a copy of this resolution and the book, Warden Regan, of Joliet, be made a permanent part of the record of the Illinois Historical Society, and such other copies of the book as may be deemed necessary be made available as part of the Illinois State Library for all to read.

Big End of Television Needs Regulating, Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 26, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, I recently directed the attention of our colleagues to the proposed action by the Columbia Broadcasting System to discontinue its

television affiliation with station WCHS–TV in Charleston, W. Va.

The following editorial, which appeared in the May 15, 1957, issued of the Charleston Gazette, points out "the life-and-death hammerlock the Federal Communications Commission exerts over individual stations while the networks are left to their own designs—often at the expense of the general public." The editorial follows:

BIG END OF TELEVISION NEEDS REGULATING, TOO

Among the absurdities prevalent in the world of television is the life-and-death hammerlock the Federal Communications Commission exerts over individual stations while the networks are left to their own designs—often at the expense of the general public.

A case at point is the recent action of CBS–TV in being able to tell WCHS–TV—a faithful affiliate—and the viewers it serves that after July 1, 1958, both can jolly well look elsewhere for their CBS television fare.

To date, no reasonable explanation for this move has been advanced by CBS. In fact, the callous indifference of this network to facts and public opinion deserves to be investigated by Congress. If this is the way CBS–TV wishes to plunder a market and a reliable little business, then certainly the time has arrived when the Federal Government should take steps to prevent future pernicious, public-be-damned tactics.

The entire transaction smacks of a deal between big business interests concerned more in selfish motives than in serving the public. There is reason to suspect it was consummated prior to the purchase of WHTN–TV in Huntington by the Cowles management, wealthy owners of multiple newspapers, radio stations, television outlets, and national magazines.

Without a CBS agreement to move its franchise to WHTN–TV, it shatters reality to presume the Cowles organization would have bought an insignificant station which was making scarcely a dent in viewership surveys. Only with such an assurance could the present WHTN–TV owners accept the "risk."

Quite pertinent, we think, is the easy manner in which Cowles is able to tie up with CBS–TV (this makes the fifth affiliation we believe) and it would seem to be a matter of legitimate inquiry to discover to what extent these vast public opinion mediums intermesh.

Since the small operator in television is subject to rigid governmental control for a number of worthwhile reasons, it doesn't make sense to allow giants in the business to gobble up these independents at will—and that is exactly what is taking place in Charleston.

The lifting of the CBS–TV franchise here is the sorry spectacle of big business scuttling little business to the detriment of the public good. This cannot and should not be tolerated.

Before more little scalps are added to network pelts Congress should act. Despite what President Stanton and his coterie of directors may think, television is more than a mere dollars-and-cents proposition. The entire industry must have the confidence of the people, and as a public information medium it must be responsible to the people as well as to itself and its shareholders.

The CBS–TV action in Charleston is arbitrary, tyrannical, senseless, amoral, and irresponsible, and therefore deserves the attention and application of Government regulation.

The Future of Suez

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it was Thomas Jefferson who, in the early days of our Republic, said:

I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.

It was with that thought in mind that he also said:

We are not acting for ourselves alone but for the whole human race.

It is my belief that we will certainly be held accountable for dictator Nasser's victory over freedom-loving peoples. The following editorial, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune, is "must" reading for all Americans:

THE FUTURE OF SUEZ

Britain's decision to permit its ships to use the Suez Canal was inevitable. Thanks to the United Nations the canal is open; thanks largely to the United States it is under Egyptian control. With Middle Eastern oil so vital London had little choice but to accept use of the canal on whatever terms it could get.

But to equate British acceptance of Suez Canal conditions with British approval of them would be a serious error. Some measure of the discontent is provided by the withdrawal of support from the Macmillan government on foreign-policy questions by eight Conservative members of Commons. Actually the disapproval runs even more deeply, for most Britons find Nasser's single-handed control of the canal a bitter pill indeed. To Britain—and to all Western Europe—the Suez Canal is a lifeline that provides the continental nations with more than half their fuel-oil supplies. To place so important a link in the hands of a dictator—particularly one who is willing to work with the Soviets—endangers the welfare of Europe and, through it, the entire free world. Small wonder, then, that Cairo regards itself as having scored a tremendous victory in the general acceptance—France remains the only holdout—of its control of the Suez waterway.

And yet there are strong indications that the last word has not been spoken on the Suez Canal. Prime Minister Macmillan himself indicated this when he reaffirmed Britain's intention to press for a less one-sided settlement through the various international agencies available. The British also expect to maintain economic pressures on Egypt. And the possibility—which seems to be increasing—that Israel intends to test its rights in the canal may explode the issue once more.

Beyond all these factors lie the basic discontent of the West over a situation which leaves the canal's future involved in inter-Arab rivalry and the Soviet effort to expand its influence into the Middle East. What it all boils down to is that Nasser has won a big victory. The West has suffered another painful demonstration of the impossibility of reasoning with an arrogant, power-thirsty dictator. Only force makes an impression on such people. And if power is lacking, or if the exercise thereof is impractical, then there is no use of continued prattling that the U. N. can somehow win through with high-sounding principles.

The plain fact is that Nasser had his way, and those who don't like it had better get to work on ways and means of applying the screws to the Egyptian boss. That means, among other things, to build tankers and pipelines as substitutes for the Suez Canal. Then Nasser, with a shrunken treasury, might learn something.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

Let's Get Everybody Pitching Hay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY DWORSHAK
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 17, 1957

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, the senior Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS] was one of the principal speakers at the Western Water and Power Conference, conducted at Salt Lake City, May 9 to 11, by the Utah Cooperative Association.

The Senator from Utah stoutly defended the administration's partnership approach to water resource development and received a warm round of applause at the conclusion of his remarks from the delegates who represented National Farmers Union organizations in more than a dozen States.

I ask unanimous consent that the speech delivered by the Senator from Utah be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S GET EVERYBODY PITCHING HAY

(Address by Senator ARTHUR V. WATKINS, Republican, of Utah, before the Western Water and Power Conference in Salt Lake City, Utah, May 11, 1957)

Mr. Chairman and friends of western water and power development, when it was announced that I had accepted an invitation to be a speaker at this session, I ran into some criticism for doing so. To those who were dubious about my participation, I said, in effect, "I don't know many of the spokesmen for the National Farmers Union, but I do know Doug Simpson, the Utah president, a friend of many years, and some of the other Utahans in responsible positions in the Utah Farmers Union. In fact, a number of them are Republicans. So I feel that I can expect a bipartisan reception for my remarks. Furthermore, it will be a group of farmers, and being a farmer myself, I am sure that this group will respect and listen to a man who speaks his mind honestly and openly."

And that's what I expect to do here today. Furthermore, I believe that it won't take long for you to recognize that even with a prepared text—to keep me somewhere within the time limit—you will have little difficulty in recognizing that even though I have been in the Congress for 10 years, in spirit and in speech, I am not very far removed from my fruit farm in Orem, Utah.

Since I have identified myself as a fruit farmer from that fruitful oasis on Provo Bench, some of you may be wondering if I got a little mixed up on my use of metaphors in the title of my talk. Perhaps you are wondering why I didn't entitle my remarks, "Let's Get Everybody Filling the Berry Cups," or "Let's Get Everybody on a Ladder With a Picking Bag." Either of these alternative titles would have applied, but I felt that in any farm group, there was a little more affinity, a little more general acquaintance with the hay fork—at least among my generation—than with the pruning knife. Furthermore, some of my off-the-cuff remarks—which I warn you have sometimes exceeded the text itself—may get a little corny, and I thought that this product would mix a little better with alfalfa.

Seriously, I have been greatly impressed with the program outlined for this meeting. Inasmuch as I have been kept extremely busy on other matters during this weekend visit, I have not been able to participate in your other sessions, as I would have liked to do. However, I have been impressed that you have assembled here some of the top authorities in Utah and the Nation on water and power development. And I will be pleased to report to your organization's critics that sitting beside me and Dr. Leland Olds on the platform here today is Ed Naughton, president of Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce and of Utah Power & Light Co.

Also I am pleased that your other congressional guests included my colleague, Senator WAYNE MORSE, and Congressman MIKE KIRWAN. Senator MORSE and I are on opposite sides of the fence on the high Hells Canyon issue, but I can assure you members from the upper Colorado River Basin that the senior Senator from Oregon has not joined other spokesmen for the Northwest in their unfair and unrelenting attacks upon the Colorado project, which has as its primary objective not the production of low-cost power but the production of water for four-State desert area and low-cost byproduct power. MIKE KIRWAN also deserves plaudits from the upper Colorado Basin States because of his public pledge to increase appropriations in the House for the Colorado project. I hope that he is successful in these pledged efforts. You may be assured that I am publicly pledged to make the same effort in the Senate.

This reference to appropriations needs for just one river basin of the country leads directly into the first major premise I wish to offer to you today. It is: Our needs for water and power development in this country now and in the foreseeable future are tremendous.

This is a point with which I am sure you have been amply impressed during your deliberations during the past day and a half. Hence, I will implement this statement only briefly.

The President's Cabinet-level Committee on Water Resource Development estimated that the total demand for water in the Nation will almost double by 1975. This tremendous need is based upon this breakdown of the major uses:

Municipal and rural water supplies: Estimated need in 1975 of 25 billion gallons per day, as contrasted to 17 billion gallons per day used in 1950. This is an estimated increase of 50 percent.

Direct industrial uses: Estimated need in 1975 of 215 billion gallons of water per day, as contrasted with 80 billion gallons per day in 1950. An increase of 170 percent.

Irrigation: Estimated need of 110 billion gallons per day in 1975 as contrasted with 88 billion gallons per day in 1950. An increase of 25 percent.

The Hoover Commission Task Force on Water and Power reported that while Congress had appropriated only $693,400,000 on water and power development up to 1910, its appropriations up to and through 1954 totaled $14,300,000,000. Furthermore, the task force estimated that projects now authorized by Congress will cost about $18,494,000,000, providing they are all built. Estimates by the task force of projects under discussion but not authorized would bring the total up to over $84 billion.

In the current U. S. News and World Report, Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton reported that the Federal Government, under the partnership program, is trying to promote the construction of $40 billion worth of electric generating facilities in the next 10 years, and $94 billion worth in the next 20 years. This estimate includes transmission lines and distribution facilities as well as generating plants.

Appropriations requested in the current budget for Federal natural resource development amount to slightly over a billion and a half, so we are doing something in this field in spite of the astronomical defense spending needs.

And to this farmer, all these amounts in multi-millions and billions still remain astronomical—even after 10 years of exposure to them.

Make no mistake about it, then. Our needs for water resources and power development are tremendous, and they are going to cost us considerable money over the next half century. This hard, economic fact must be kept in mind while we consider the needs for and the economic justification of the many projects before us.

This program not only is vast, but it is one that demands advance planning and a continuing program of construction. Our population and our needs for water and power grow every day, and if we don't get on with the job of building new facilities, we can suffer serious social and economic losses. We mush keep our construction and rehabilitation program ahead of the needs.

I am convinced that anyone who studies this problem will agree that the needs are vast and pressing. The problem that immediately presents itself, therefore, is "Can we get the money for it?" That, gentlemen, is the eighty-four or the ninety-four billion dollar question, and leads to my second major premise, which is: Barring an armistice in the cold war—which does not seem likely—appropriations for public works will face continuing and intensive competition with other important governmental activities and with heavy defense costs.

In other words, the chances are good that in the foreseeable future, we will not be able to get the public money that we would like to see devoted to resource development. This is reflected in current congresisonal consideration of the 1958 budget. And prospects for improvement for fiscal 1959 are not more favorable, if we are to succed in further reducing the national debt and providing for tax reduction. And this is a bipartisan observation, bcause pressures for reductions are coming from both major parties.

With respect to resource development, this places the National Government in much the same position that many farmers find themselves in. They recognize needs for improving the facilities on the farmstead to create new income and make the farm operation more efficient, or even to keep it from bankruptcy. At the same time, the farmer faces the problem of mounting costs and increased competition for the dollars that remain, if any, after taxes and other costs are paid.

Now what does the farmer do under such circumstances?

If he is not as conservative as most farmers are in this part of the country, he might consider that the nedeed improvements are so important that it is worth a gamble on the future, even to the detriment of some other activities that he might otherwise finance.

But I think that most farmers would resist the temptation to plunge into large-scale investments without heed to inflationary or other budgetary ill effects, especially if they were in debt to the same extent as is Uncle Sam. I believe that most farmers still have the problem I do of comprehending the size of a $275 billion national debt. But I think that nearly all of us appreciate that while building up that tremendous debt, we have reduced the purchasing power of the dollar to 50 cents or less. It will be difficult enough to pay for needed resource development with 50-cent dollars, without making it more difficult by letting higher debt and acoempanying inflation further reduce the purchasing power of the dollar.

The course, therefore, that I think the average farmer would take toward solution of such a problem is to first assess the needs and determine the costs, and then to weigh the first priority improvements with all the other program expenditures proposed in the Presidential budget. In such an evaluation, I think that most farmers, if given the opportunity, could figure out a way to eliminate waste and reduce spending for nonessentials and to find money for a long-range improvement program.

Such a process is going on in the executive branch, and in the Congress, and I think there are enough farmers in both branches to help the nonfarmer member come up with a sound answer in due time, assisted by considerable coaching from individuals and organizations such as those represented here today.

The next thing that a farmer would do in such circumstances, I believe, would be to get everybody into the act—to get everybody pitching hay—or picking fruit, if you will. Farm improvements are not paid for by idle men or machinery. The whole farm plant must produce to its capacity if it is to prosper to the maximum degree possible.

This is an oversimplification of the position taken on water and power development by the Eisenhower administration:

Since his selection in 1952 as a candidate for President, Mr. Eisenhower not only has been conscious of the tremendous need for water resource development, but also he has been sold on the importance of having all levels of government and private enterprise contribute to the desired results.

I had the pleasure of discussing water with Candidate Eisenhower in Denver in the summer of 1952, and I have had many other rewarding conversations with him on this subject since that time. Hence, I can testify to you that probably no other President has been more concerned with or better informed on the need for water resource development. We in the upper Colorado River basin are especially grateful to the President, because his firm and consistent support was absolutely decisive in obtaining authorization of the Colorado River storage project in 1956. And this project, as most of you are aware, was supported by all of the States involved and by the public power interests and the privately owned public utilities of the region.

In May of 1954, the President initiated a Cabinet-level study of water resource development. His letter of May 26, ordering the study, contained this estimate of the need for adequate water resource development:

"The conservation and use which we make of the water resources of our Nation may in large measure determine our future progress and the standards of living of our citizens. If we are to continue to advance agriculturally and industrially, we must make the best use of every drop of water which falls on our soil, or which can be extracted from the oceans."

In the next paragraph, after expressing the need for a comprehensive review of water policies and programs, he stated: "We must do this with a full realization that the States, communities, and private citizens are vitally concerned with the policies and actions of the Federal Government."

The Cabinet-level committee's 1956 report on this study recognized the President's request by this statement in the referral letter:

"The policies set out in the report embody a framework within which the Federal Government, with State and local governments and other non-Federal interests, may cooperate to develop our water resources."

This reaffirmation of the President's partnership policy follows a furrow plowed nearly a century ago by another distinguished President—a Midwest lawyer-farmer named Abraham Lincoln. One of Lincoln's basic policies was set forth in this quotation: "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, for themselves in their separate and individual capacities. But in all that people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

I don't think there are many in this group, or in any other farm organization, that would disagree with either of these basic positions.

It may be possible, although the Communist experiment seems to disprove it, to produce wheat or livestock more efficiently by breaking up our little farms, which are frequently economically hard pressed, and letting the corporate state run large collective farms. But tough as our problems are and become, as farmers, I think it will be a long time—if ever—before any of us suggests that we should end private agriculture and turn everything over to the Federal Government. And I don't believe that anyone in this or any other farm organization is seriously suggesting that we are ready to abandon the free enterprise system.

Of course not. And what the President is doing in his partnership program is recognizing that privately owned public utility power—the only kind of power we knew in our pioneer days—is here to stay and inviting it to join all levels of government in utilizing our water resources.

The name of another Republican President, who served a half century ago, is being used increasingly these days. And lest some people have come under the misapprehension that our great trust-busting President Teddy Roosevelt was opposed to private enterprise, I would like to read this quotation from a statement by that great President in the historic Conference of State Governors on May 13, 1908.

In discussing the regulation of corporations, he said: "Take such a matter as charging rent for waterpower. My position has been simply that where a privilege, which may be of untold value in the future to the private individuals granted it, is asked from the Federal Government, that the Federal Government shall put on the grant a condition that it shall not be a grant in perpetuity. [Applause.] Make the term long enough so that the corporation shall have an ample material reward. The corporation deserves it. Give an ample reward to the captains of industry, but not an indeterminate reward."

So you can see that he, too, was suggesting a partnership approach to water resource development. It is significant that he, too, was favoring the FPC licensing program of the type authorized by the Federal Power Commission in the Hells Canyon case. The power permit there is granted for only 50 years.

In my estimation, as a long-time supporter and admirer of Teddy Roosevelt, I believe that Teddy Roosevelt would have endorsed the Hells Canyon decision made by the FPC and sustained later by the Supreme Court. That action was an outgrowth of the far-reaching Federal Water Power Act of 1920, which his forward-looking resource utilization policies helped create. But more about this later.

In order to show the bipartisan flavor of these remarks, I would like to call to your attention the remarks of another well-known American President on the partnership policy. In a statement to Congress on January 19, 1953, President Truman stated:

"This job of getting our land and water developed, I repeat, is so big that we must enlist the participation of all agencies—Federal, State, community, private enterprise. The results can be timely and economical only if States and communities invest their dollars, as well as the Federal taxpayer."

So you can see that Republicans and Democrats alike are on record for more than half a century favoring the general purposes of the "partnership approach" to water resource development. I hope that this group will follow suit, even if you feel impelled to call it by some other, nonpolitical and noncontroversial term. Let's get everybody pitching hay—not just Uncle Sam.

Now, before closing, I would like to review briefly with you my stand on two major water-resource developments of recent years. I believe you will agree, if you examine the entire record, that my stand is consistent and is not incompatible with a sound program for water-resource development.

The two projects, of course, are the Colorado River storage project and the high Hells Canyon project. I dealt with this subject at some length in the Senate last year, and the statement is available for reference in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Hence, I will hit only the highlights at this time. I link the two projects here not only because of their intense regional interest, but also because in seeking approval of high Hells Canyon, many of that project's supporters have been seeking to discredit the Colorado project, which won approval by the Congress.

First of all, the Colorado River storage project is an extremely well-planned program for comprehensive water-resource development to benefit a four-State semidesert area. It will make it possible for the people of these four States to develop their last remaining major water resource, a renewable water and energy resource made possible by watersheds in the upper basin which gather 90 percent of the water that flows down the Colorado. The four upper basin States were allocated roughly half the flow of the river in an interstate compact drafted in 1922, but they have been able to develop only one-third of their allocated half. Failure of the upper States to develop their allocated share of the river would mean that the water will be put to use in southern California or Mexico and the upper basin States forever denied access to it.

The upper Colorado legislation provides for an integrated program of reservoirs and water delivery facilities, planned on a basin-wide basis. This planning was financed by $10 million raised by the upper basin States through revenues from Hoover Dam power receipts and through State contributions. Roughly 99 percent of the project's capital costs will be reimbursed by area water and power users, with interest paid on two-thirds of the project costs, allocated to municipal and industrial water and power production.

Power will be produced as a byproduct at the tremendous storage dams required to guarantee downstream delivery commitments to the lower basin and Mexico. Costs

of power at the largest project producer—Glen Canyon Dam—are estimated at 4.7 mills per kilowatt-hour, but project power will be sold at 6 mills per kilowatt-hour to help provide revenues for water development.

State rights to the waters involved are protected by 2 interstate compacts, 1 for the entire river, and another 1 for the upper basin only. Operation of the project to meet these compact provisions is one of the major deterrents to development of this program by private enterprise.

Construction is already underway on Glen Canyon Dam, where costs are working out at 20 percent less than the engineers' estimates, based on the first two project contracts.

Now let's take a look at the high Hells Canyon project.

This is not a comprehensive, basinwide water-development project. It is primarily a power project, with associated flood-control benefits. The legislation authorizes no reclamation projects as such, and provides no funds for reclamation development until after the power features are paid for in 50 years. I might add that such funds also could be made available from the 3-dam development in 50 years, because that is the extent of the licensing period.

The Corps of Engineers in 1948 recommended a flood-control reservoir of 2,300,000 acre-feet at this site. The proposed capacity of the high dam, however, is approximately 4 million acre-feet.

Water user groups in the State of Idaho have protested against the building of a 4-million-acre-foot storage vessel on the Snake River at that point, because it is located too far downstream to permit any possible diversion for consumptive use of water in Idaho. Furthermore, they feel that this large storage body, used to regulate river flow for power production at several large hydro plants downstream, would be a threat to Idaho's water rights and future expansion of uses. Idaho has been demanding ratification of an interstate compact to protect her rights on the Snake River, but Washington and Oregon steadfastly refuse to grant such protection, in spite of the precedent-setting action on the Colorado River in the 1920's.

The power head of 602 feet on that section of the river can be utilized either by construction of a single dam or by use of multiple dams that accomplish substantially the same purpose. In either case, power output and costs are comparable. Flood-control storage capacity is less on the 3-dam plan, but it is deemed adequate if supplemented by water storage elsewhere in the basin.

After the Federal project was proposed, a privately owned public utility, the Idaho Power Co. announced that the people of Idaho badly needed power and that the company would like to build the 3-dam project in the Hells Canyon reach of the river. Applications for licenses were filed under the Federal Water Power Act of 1920, a far-reaching conservation law proposed by President Theodore Roosevelt and passed during the Wilson administration, and expanded in its powers during the Franklin Roosevelt administration.

The FPC studied the Idaho Power proposal for 2 years and issued the customary 50-year license for the 3-dam project. This action was reviewed and sustained recently by the Supreme Court.

Idaho Power began construction of two of the dams shortly after the FPC license was awarded. Some 20 to 30 million have been invested in this project and power production is scheduled for 1958.

In spite of this reasonable and legal procedure, some people are now demanding that we stop that federally authorized and supervised program, and throw away the time, money, and effort that has been expended so far. This would be adding many millions of dollars to the costs of the Federal project, because I presume that Idaho Power would have to be compensated both for the investment made and for the delay the company would suffer in obtaining the needed power that it is providing legally and could have on the line in 1958.

In addition, the taxpayers of the country—and that means you and me and our neighbors—would have to put up more than a half billion dollars to build a Federal dam and necessary transmission lines in the same area. Does that make good sense to you?

And lest anyone here may be under the misapprehension that our good neighbors in the Northwest have been discriminated against in the area of water-resource development, let me put your fears at rest. Quite the contrary is true. The two States of Oregon and Washington are only one twenty-fourth of the 48 States, but they have received one-fifth of all reclamation construction funds and one-seventh of all flood-control and navigation-construction funds. In addition, these two States have a backlog of $1,828,717,000 in authorized flood-control and navigation projects—one-fourth of all the outstanding authorized projects in the 48 States. Furthermore, Oregon and Washington were given an additional $133,012,000 in new or expanded projects in the omnibus flood-control and navigation bill recently passed by the Senate.

The Northwest Public Power Association has recommended appropriation of $2½ billion for Federal power construction in the Northwest during the next 20 years. To fully develop the power resources of the Columbia River, it will require investment of another five to six billions.

Yes, they have a genuine need for much water resource development in the Northwest and I have supported their projects for many years and expect to continue doing so. But I balked when, in addition to the largesse granted, we were asked to tear down a private project under construction at Hells Canyon and spend a half-billion dollars we do not have to spend for a Federal project that accomplishes little more than the private project. In addition to this wasteful destruction of a going project, we would be foregoing nearly a half-billion dollars in tax revenues that could well go toward paying for vital water-resource projects in the Northwest and elsewhere. To this farmer, that just doesn't constitute good horse sense.

The three-dam project will produce almost as much power at the project site and at about the same cost or less than at the high dam. This may surprise you, because you have heard a lot about 2-mill power at Hells Canyon, and you have heard derogatory comments on the high costs of producing private power. But don't let anyone kid you.

It is true that power from the proposed high Hells Canyon Dam would be sold for a little more than 2 mills per kilowatt-hour. But it will be sold below actual cost, because the costs of generation at the dam site and transmission facilities will make the true costs of high Hells Canyon power more than twice the proposed 2-mill sales price.

How can they do this? Well, I believe that they accomplish this by putting the power into the Bonneville system and applying a system wholesale rate, established at or near the 2-mill level largely because power from depression-built projects on the Columbia River produced energy for less than that amount. Since completion of those early dams, however, virtually every project built on the Columbia has produced power at a cost greater than 2 mills, and the added energy has been sold therefore below actual cost. This sales policy has largely nullified the low-cost advantage of those early subsidized projects, which otherwise might have yielded excess revenues for water development.

As an example of such below-cost sales I cite the Hungry Horse project, a very good project built on a Columbia River tributary in the State of Montana. Power from this project costs 3.76 mills to generate and transmit. But what is it sold at? Why most of the power—$1¼ million worth—is sold to Anaconda Aluminum Co. for 1.72 mills a kilowatt-hour, or less than half cost. Another million dollars' worth of power is sold to Montana Power Co. at 2.49 mills, or one-third less than cost.

You people will be interested to learn that power pricing for co-ops and REA's is more realistic. These groups, which you farmers own, by and large, and all of which use relatively small quantities of power, pay an average of from 3.24 to 3.55 mills per kilowatt-hour, or roughly twice what the great Anaconda Aluminum Co. pays.

Similar pricing policies would, I presume, apply at high Hells Canyon, because power from this proposed project would be sold through the same Bonneville system.

There has been a considerable outcry recently about the so-called subsidy given the Idaho Power Co. in the rapid amortization granted by the Office of Defense Mobilization. Now I did not come here to defend this tax amortization program, or to defend any private utility. But the facts are that this law was instituted by a Democrat Congress, and it has been perpetuated by the Democrat 84th Congress, and, so far at least by the Democrat 85th Congress. I believe there undoubtedly are needs for changes in this legislation, beyond the curtailments made voluntarily by the Agency, and it may be that these changes now will be made.

But lest you become too indignant at what is being done for Idaho Power, let me tell you first that some 900 private utilities have had the same kind of treatment. Also let me tell what is done for big corporation in the Pacific Northwest, apparently with the knowledge and approbation of the Northwest supporters of the high Hells Canyon project.

The below-cost power concession granted by the Bonneville power system to Anaconda Aluminum Co., to which I referred previously, amounts to a subsidy of more than $100 million over the 50-year repayment period, based upon the price at which this power is sold in relation to actual costs at Hungry Horse. In addition, the Federal Government granted this firm a rapid tax amortization of $55,378,000, or 85 percent of the total cost of the aluminum plant built by Anaconda at Butte, Mont.

From the same project, Montana Power gets a million dollars' worth of power at a rate one-third below actual cost. This represents a 50-year subsidy to that private utility of roughly $16 million. This firm also received rapid tax amortizations, three to be exact, between 1951 and 1956. The total amount amortized was $11,285,000, or nearly half of the firm's investment in new power facilities.

It is also significant that both of these large corporations have firm contracts for this power—with no withdrawal provision for recall of the contract energy to meet the needs of preference customers downstream. This, too, apparently is satisfactory to the Northwest groups backing high Hells Canyon and damning Idaho Power, except that they won't offer the same terms at Hells Canyon to the State of Idaho.

Farther down on the river, similar advantages have been granted to Harvey Machine Co., which built a large aluminum plant at The Dalles, Oreg. This company was aided by a grant of a rapid tax amortization certificate for $55,462,000, or 85 percent of the cost of the plant. This was objected to by no one, so a charitable Bonneville Power System granted the firm a rate of 1.72 mills per kilowatt-hour for power that costs 3.4 mills per kilowatt-hour to generate and transmit. Hence, in addition to the so-called subsidy reflected in the rapid tax amortization, Harvey Machine received a below-cost power

subsidy which will amount to something like $300 million in 50 years.

This type of public generosity apparently is fine in the States of Montana, Oregon, and Washington, but reprehensible in the State of Idaho.

In referring to these power pricing subsidies, I do not wish to reflect any criticism upon the companies or the Federal agencies involved. So far as I know, this was all done legally and aboveboard. In fact, I believe that the backers of Federal power in the Pacific Northwest will be able to give you convincing explanations of how it is both reasonable and necessary to pour into the system large quantities of 4.5 mill power from high Hells Canyon and sell it for slightly over 2 mills. My farmer's mind has not been able to comprehend how that can be done and continued in project after project on the Columbia River, without ultimately penalizing the REA's, municipal power system, private utilities and all other nonindustrial users of power in the Pacific Northwest system. I have given notice that I plan to ask for a review of Bonneville pricing policies to ascertain that the smaller power users in that area are being given the benefits to which they are entitled.

I could go on and amplify this subject at greater length, but it is scheduled for future airing on the Senate floor, so I will resume this continuing debate in Washington.

In closing, I wish to commend your organization for its merited interest in water resource and power development. Let us all maintain and expand that interest, seeking always for the facts, and supporting movements on the basis of principle and need, and not from uninformed bias or misdirected emotion. And as we work and study in this field, let us give heed to the wise admonition of President Eisenhower, which I repeat because of its timeliness and significance:

"The conservation and use which we make of the water resources of our Nation may in large measure determine our future progress and the standards of living of our citizens. If we are to continue to advance agriculturally and industrially, we must make the best use of every drop of water which falls on our soil, or which can be extracted from the oceans."

I also wish to commend to you another admonition on water resource development, which I first saw carved into a plaque on a monument erected on the Holland coast to commemorate the closing of the last gap in the great Zuider Zee dike, which reclaimed from the sea a tremendous acreage in that low country. The monument contains this mottor of an industrious people who have met and overcome the world's greatest problems in land reclamation.

"A nation that lives builds for the future."

Let us emulate our ancestors who conquered the desert and the equally courageous Dutch people, who have to conquer the raging seas themselves to permit adequate utilization of their natural resources. Let us have the vision and the courage and the tenacity to develop the resources of the good earth, and to build for the future that our children and their children deserve.

Thank you very much.

Stahmann Farms, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 17, 1957

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, in today's New York Times, Friday, May 17, 1957, there is a wonderful article with reference to my State entitled "Farm Empire Is Built on Pecans." I ask unanimous consent that this article, written by my good friend Byron Porterfield, may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FARM INCOME IS BUILT ON PECANS

(By Byron Porterfield)

LAS CRUCES, N. MEX.—A virtual empire, built on the rich meat of pecans, is fluorishing here in the drowsy air of southern New Mexico. It was started in 1926 when Deane F. Stahmann, Sr., first farmed 150 acres of land that he had hacked out of the sand dunes and tough mesquite along the Rio Grande.

Today, Stahmann Farms, Inc., has the largest grove of cultivated pecan trees in the world. It will harvest and process 3,500,000 pounds of shelled pecans this year from 96,000 trees set in rows on 4,000 acres of irrigated land.

The average age of the trees is 17 years. It is estimated that production will reach 10 million pounds a year within 8 years.

Every foot of space on the farm is utilized. Cotton has been planted on 900 acres between rows of the trees. Alfalfa and rye grass between the cotton and trees are grazed to the ground by 200,000 white Chinese geese, which snap up weeds and grass shoots but not the cotton plants.

Another thriving feature is the production of pecan nursery stock. The specially developed seedlings are in great demand by nurseries and other commercial growers throughout the Southwest.

TRIMMINGS ARE SOLD

Even the trunks and branches of trees being thinned in the grove have a commercial value. Cut up and bundled according to length and size, they are sold through retail outlets for use in outdoor grills and barbecue pits.

Stahmann's most recent venture involved 30,000 chickens producing fifty cases of eggs a day in two air conditioned chicken houses. Plans have been made to increase this operation to at least 150,000 chickens.

The operation has a central office building, two pecan-shelling plants, a cotton gin, a slaughtering and quick-freeze plant for geese, blacksmith shop, machine shop and a store. Mr. Stahmann, a lean, vigorous man in his midfifties, directs the overall operation. He is aided by his two sons, Deane Jr. and William.

The father incorporated his holdings in 1946. Each son was made a vice president in charge of certain departments. Mr. Stahmann is president and general manager.

The office man is John D. Chandley, controller since the company was formed. In addition to keeping tabs on finances and personnel, he maintains a detailed, first-hand knowlede of every working phase.

DISEASE AT MINIMUM

Pecans are produced at Stahmann Farms through controlled (irrigation) conditions. Diseases and insects are at a minimum in the area's high, dry climate, irrigation is from Rio Grande reservoirs when there's water; from 20 wells on the property that can produce 2,500 gallons a minute each when there isn't.

Del Cerro (Spanish for "of the highlands"), the trade name for Stahmann pecans, is well known among brokers in the trade throughout the country. Most of the Del Cerro production is handled in bulk through the brokerage concern of Stewart Risdon Co., 99 Hudson Street, New York. The company distributes to makers of ice cream, candy and bakery products.

These include the Borden Co., General Baking Co., Horn & Hardart Co., Continental Baking Co., and the Ward Baking Co.

The entire production of quick-frozen geese, weighing 7 to 8 pounds each, is marketed through Armour & Co. The Department of Agriculture report for 1956 on slaughtering plants shows Stahmann's to be the largest producer of geese in the country.

Prayer Pilgrimage for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 17, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, it is appropriate that there should be noted here today the presence in Washington of some thousands of Americans who will meet in front of a national shrine, the Lincoln Memorial, this afternoon as a Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom.

There are some who have doubted the wisdom and others the efficacy of this pilgrimage. But I have every expectation that it will be truly a pilgrimage for prayer by patriotic Americans exercising their right to peaceably assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances, as provided by the first amendment to the Constitution.

We would be remiss, I believe, if we did not recognize this pilgrimage as the expression of the agonizing trial of a people among the American people. Violence and defiance of the law in some areas and the struggle over the Supreme Court's decision on desegregation of public schools have dramatized and intensified their struggle. I know the deep and sincere concern with which some here from the South, and millions whom they represent, regard this issue, and I have no doubt that an equally great prayer pilgrimage, equally sincere, could come here from that quarter. The point is that it is this marshaling of forces within the terms of the Constitution and our laws which has for almost a hundred years resolved domestic issues, deep and serious as they may be. I feel, therefore, that the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom should be regarded with respect; for which it represents is to bring home to all of us the deep suffering caused by the denial of civil rights, wherever they may be denied, to a broad section of the American people, notwithstanding the Constitution and the laws.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix a message to the pilgrimage from the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] and myself.

There being no objection, the message was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 17, 1957.*

PRAYER PILGRIMAGE FOR FREEDOM, NAACP,
Washington, D. C.:

Deeply regret our schedules prevent addressing prayer pilgrimage today. We send greetings and best wishes to all in attendance at prayer pilgrimage for freedom. The right of our citizens to peacably assemble and petition the Government for redress of deep grievances is one of the most precious

rights secured by our Constitution and citizens are entitled to respect as well as protection in its exercise. The spirit of your meeting reflects what we believe to be the spirit of a great majority of our country to support the achievement of civil rights legislation this session of Congress. There is a real fight here both for minimal civil-rights measures and to change the Senate rule which allows filibusters that have killed the chances for civil-rights legislation before. We both assure you that we will give these measures our strong support on a bipartisan basis. We present our respects to Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph, and Rev. Martin L. King and to the great audience at the Lincoln Memorial today.

JOSEPH S. CLARK,
United States Senator,
JACOB K. JAVITS,
United States Senator.

Housing Act of 1957

SPEECH
OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6659) to extend and amend laws relating to the provision and improvement of housing, to improve the availability of mortgage credit, and for other purposes.

(Mr. SAYLOR asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, with due respect to the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House, that has brought out this bill, I have a few remarks that I should like to direct to the attention of this committee with regard to the act of 1946 which established the standing committees of the House.

In the 1946 Reorganization Act the Congress in its wisdom decided that there should be a committee of the House of Representatives to handle the affairs of veterans. The Veterans' Affairs Committee was specifically created as one of the 19 standing committees of the House. There is no comparable committee in the Senate. There have been from time to time special committees set up in the House whose aim and purpose has been to deprive the Veterans' Affairs Committee of some of its jurisdiction.

Whether you realize it or not, I believe there are forces in this country that would do away with the Veterans' Committee in the House and would do away with veterans' preference or any act which has given to the men and women who have served in the armed forces of the United States any special privilege.

I know there is a feeling in some of the committees that if they can only get a little angle of veterans' preference in a bill, it will enable them to get their bill passed.

When the distinguished chairman of our Veterans' Affairs Committee, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE], called the Veterans' Affairs Committee together in executive session concerning this bill, the one thing that stood out in the minds of all the members of that committee was the fact that the Veterans' Affairs Committee had seriously considered what should be done with regard to veterans' housing and had turned down proposals to increase the interest rates and that another standing committee of the House had added to a housing bill, which is not basically for veterans but primarily for the banking and home-building trades, a veterans' preference provision for the purpose of making their bill more attractive and possibly getting the bill through the House.

The Veterans' Affairs Committee unanimously decided that they would oppose this bill, unless all provisions with regard to veterans were taken out of it. I may say that I would even go so far as to oppose the amendment which was offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES]

Mr. Chairman, I favor the so-called Talle substitute sponsored by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. TALLE]. I feel that the approach taken by this member of the Banking and Currency Committee is much sounder than the proposal proposed by the full committee and better for our veterans.

I take this position mainly because first, it will mean a liberalized FHA program which will give veterans of service after January 31, 1955, and who are presently ineligible for VA housing benefits the same right and chance to buy a home as any other person who has a sufficient downpayment and who meets the credit requirements. The downpayment schedule in the Talle substitute is much more realistic and, in my opinion, will be of great assistance to all home buyers, as well as providing a stimulus to the home-building industry.

Secondly, I think it is very important that the national service life-insurance trust fund be kept intact, its sanctity preserved, and that the present mode of investment be continued. The Committee on Veterans' Affairs held full and rather lengthy hearings on a number of bills which had as their main purpose the use of this trust fund for providing additional money for direct loans or providing a secondary market for guaranteed loans. The comimttee, after the conclusion of the hearings, met in executive session and rejected these proposals, and rightly so. Despite this fact, the Committee on Banking and Currency reported a bill with the provision therein which would permit the use of this trust fund for housing loans. This is a matter which is most important from a precedent standpoint. If $1 billion is used today for these housing loans, it will be only a short time before money is siphoned off of this source, and after that some other substitute project will find it necessary to levy on the resources of the social-security fund, or the civil-service retirement fund, or some other trust fund maintained by the Federal Government. Once this dam is broken, there is no stopping place, and the Under Secretary of the Treasury is certainly correct in telling our committee and the Banking and Currency Committee that he would recommend a veto of legislation which contained such a proposal. The Talle substitute does not use national service life-insurance money, which is another reason why I am supporting it.

Tied into the matter which I have mentioned above is the matter of jurisdiction of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. We have clear and definite authority over the loan-guaranty program of the Veterans' Administration, as well as the direct-loan operations. We also have control of the trust fund for the payment of future death payments on insurance. I would be remiss in my duties as a member of this committee if I did not resist, along with all of the other members of our committee, this invasion of our jurisdiction, and by striking from the bill as reported by the Banking and Currency Committee all reference to veterans' housing and the use of the national service life-insurance trust fund.

I have had some experience in the banking field and there has been much talk here and in the hearings about the question of discounting of mortgages. It is a practice which is universally condemned and almost universally practiced. The investigation which our committee has conducted and the experience of others in this field clearly indicates that discounting is a matter which cannot be controlled centrally here in Washington. Discounts vary greatly between areas with the highest discount activity being found on the west coast. If the Congress should enact a law prohibiting more than 2 or 3 points of discount even those loans which are not being made today subject to a discount would undoubtedly grow to the maximum discount permitted by the legislation. The mortgage money situation is improving, if we can believe the information which we read daily in economic publications. If the money market is improving there will be a lowering of the discount and in many areas a complete elimination.

The bill which the committee previously reported and which the House passed, H. R. 4602, dovetails into the proposal which I am supporting today. The bill which the House has already passed relates entirely and exclusively to direct loans granted by the Veterans' Administration in rural areas and in small towns below 30,000 in population. This is the place where the greatest need is for loans of this type, and with the liberalized Federal Housing Administration program with lower downpayments and with more money available for the operations of the Federal National Mortgage Association, the housing program as a whole will have been given a sizable boost and nearly all individuals who desire homes should be able to obtain them.

It is always pleasant to find one's self with such strong support for a position he has taken. In this instance it is gratifying to note that the Bureau of the Budget, the Federal Housing Administration, the Veterans' Administration, the four veterans' organizations, and a large section of the banking fraternity together with other lenders and home builders all oppose H. R. 6659 in the form which it was reported to the House.

The veterans' organizations have largely taken their position on the basis

that the enactment of H. R. 6659 as reported would have the practical effect of destroying the sound veterans' housing program already established and being administered by the Veterans' Administration.

It is significant to note that the Bureau of the Budget, in reporting H. R. 6659, pointed out that the enactment of this bill would not be in accord with the program of the President, which is the strongest language an agency can use in reporting on a particular piece of legislation. Similar criticisms have been made by other organizations which I have indicated and I want to reiterate again that, in my opinion, the only worthwhile solution to this question is the adoption of the Talle substitute.

Before closing I would like to call to the attention of the Members the Veterans' Administration loan experience in 1957. In the month of January there were over 46,000 guaranteed loans. In the month of February, 35,706, and in the month of March more than 31,000—interest was at 4½ percent for these loans even though many of these loans represent prior commitments made before the FHA rate was raised to 5 percent. Our committee has been advised by the Veterans' Administration that the Veterans' Administration with money remaining at 4½ percent in 1957 expects to have approximate requests for 330,000 houses in 1957. Loan applications are expected to total 275,000 and I submit that while these figures do represent a decrease the fact must not be lost sight of that most World War II veterans have obtained the homes which they are going to use and that it is unlikely that there will be any large market from this single group in the future except in those instances where the families have expanded and the need for larger homes is apparent.

I do hope that the Talle substitute will be adopted.

Challenge to Mideast Policy—The Suez Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 17, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an exchange of correspondence with Under Secretary of State Christian Herter concerning the United States position in the Suez Canal. It relates to Senate Resolution 120, sponsored by myself, and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BEALL], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], the Senator from New York [Mr. IVES], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER].

I shall seek in every way open to me to get our Government to back Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Norway, West Germany, Australia, and all other major users of the Suez Canal in finding alternate means for transit of their essential commerce. The key to Mideast peace and hope is to see that Colonel Nasser does not control alone the jugular vein of free Europe—the Suez Canal, but instead shares control with the principal users. The free world dare not relinquish this position. It is the outstanding challenge to our leadership in the Mideast.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LETTER FROM SENATOR JAVITS TO UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTIAN HERTER

APRIL 8, 1957.

DEAR CHRIS: Enclosed herewith you will please find resolution introduced last Thursday urging our Government to consult with the major Suez Canal users "for the purpose of considering collective action to establish and internationalize alternate means and routes for assuring to the free world its normal petroleum supplies and conduct of its commerce normally moving through the Suez Canal." The sponsors have already requested hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

I am enclosing herewith from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the remarks made upon the occasion of the introduction of this resolution.

I deeply believe that Colonel Nasser's political control of the Suez Canal is a most active threat to United States peace objectives. It is also a major overt manifestation of Communist machinations. The resolution was introduced with the hope that every agency of Government may help to see that we are not found wanting in meeting this challenge.

Sincerely,

JACOB K. JAVITS,
United States Senator.

LETTER FROM UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE TO SENATOR JAVITS

MAY 6, 1957.

The Honorable JACOB K. JAVITS,
United States Senate.

DEAR JACK: The Department wishes to thank you for your interest in the Suez Canal problem and your desire to be of help in seeking a satisfactory settlement. The Department notes that the resolution which you have introduced (S. R. 120) has two objectives, the convening of a "conference of nations engaged in international trade for the purpose of considering collective action to establish and internationalize means and routes for assuring to the free world its normal petroleum supplies," etc., and to "support an effective action within the United Nations to preserve freedom of transit through the Suez Canal for the peaceful commerce" of all nations.

The United States Government has been giving extensive study to the petroleum requirements of the free world; it has attempted to assess carefully the anticipated growth of these requirements, the significance of the Middle East in meeting these needs, and the adequacy of existing and planned transport facilities for the movement of Middle East petroleum into free world markets. All available information indicates that the bulk of the additional petroleum required to meet the anticipated growth of free world petroleum requirements will have to come from the Middle East where most of the world's proven reserves lie. Therefore, the Department believes that not only must Midle East transit facilities be expanded, but that the construction of new pipeline routes with new port outlets appears to be necessary.

The subject of free world petroleum requirements is being studied intensively by a great many other governments, particularly in Western Europe, and some aspects of the problem are already being jointly considered by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. These governments and international petroleum producers generally share the views set forth above. A number of international petroleum producers are now actively considering the construction of a major pipeline system from the Persian Gulf to an outlet in Turkey on the Mediterranean.

With particular reference to the Suez Canal, the United States has actively sought, in and out of the United Nations, agreement on ways to establish an internationally acceptable arrangement for its operation. In particular, we have urged that any system envisaged for the canal meet the six requirements approved by the Security Council on October 13, 1956. In view of the reopening of the Suez Canal and the release by the Government of Egypt of a set of proposals to govern its operations, the United States thought it appropriate to request a meeting of the Security Council on April 24, 1957, at which time the United States and other members of the Council could express their views on the regime now proposed by Egypt for the Canal. As noted in these discussions, the United States does not believe the Egyptian declaration in its present form adequately meets the six requirements of the Security Council; in particular, it lacks provisions for organized and systematic cooperation between Egypt and the users. There is no assurance that the six requirements will in fact be implemented. The United States recognizes, however, that the manner in which the Egyptian declaration is implemented and interpreted will determine Egypt's intent and whether confidence among the users of the Canal can be established. The United States believes that the system proposed by Egypt should be considered provisional at this time and that the Council should remain seized of this matter while the system is tried out in practice.

I believe that the action which the United States Government is taking to meet the problems arising from Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal Company is consonant with the objectives of your resolution, but that it can be accomplished without a conference of nations as you suggest.

Most sincerely,

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Acting Secretary.

Daylight Saving Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 17, 1957

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from the Honorable Herschel Lashkowitz, mayor of the city of Fargo, N. Dak., and a resolution adopted by the Board of City Commissioners of Fargo.

The resolution urges the Congress to take immediate steps to establish daylight saving time across the United States during the months of April through October, inclusive.

Mayor Lashkowitz states that arguments in favor of such action are overwhelming, and that it would clearly be

in the public interest to adopt daylight saving time on a nationwide basis.

There being no objection, the letter and resolution were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITY OF FARGO,
FARGO, N. DAK.

The Honorable MILTON R. YOUNG,
United States Senator from North Dakota, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR YOUNG: Enclosed is a copy of a resolution which I introduced at the regular meeting of the Fargo City Commission this morning and which was adopted unanimously calling upon the Congress of the United States to adopt daylight saving time across the United States between the months of April and October, inclusive, annually.

The resolution traces the situation, giving one the picture of a confused and chaotic situation that exists in many areas of the United States and particularly in the Minnesota and North Dakota area. We hope that the Congress will take immediate steps to alleviate this confusion and act on this vital matter without regard to partisan and political considerations. It is our experience and judgment that decisive action is generally appreciated by the people and ultimately accepted. It is clearly in the public interest that daylight saving time be enacted into law for two primary reasons—first, to eliminate confusion and chaos, and secondly, to enhance and better our standard of living by providing the American people with an additional hour of sunshine to spend in healthy recreational pursuits with their families and friends.

Almost any measure will have some opposition, however, we sincerely believe that the arguments in favor of such action by the Congress are overwhelming. The matter of time in our Nation with its interdependency on transportation and communication requires orderliness of our time zones, therefore, we respectfully urge that the Congress of the United States take immediate steps to correct this situation.

We would appreciate your introducing this letter and accompanying resolution into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and sponsoring appropriate legislation.

With kind personal regards.

Respectfully yours,
HERSCHEL LASHKOWITZ,
Mayor.

Be it resolved by the Board of City Commissioners of the City of Fargo:

Whereas the Legislative Assembly of the State of Minnesota recently passed a bill which was signed into law providing for central daylight saving time throughout the State of Minnesota between the dates of April 28, 1957, and October 26, 1927, inclusive; and

Whereas, the city of Fargo, N. Dak., is situated on the border of North Dakota and Minnesota and many residents of Fargo, N. Dak., work in Moorhead, Minn., and many residents of Moorhead, Minn., work in Fargo, N. Dak., and the possibility of two time standards would create great confusion and misunderstanding and disrupt the lives of thousands of people in North Dakota and Minnesota; and

Whereas a similar situation exists in other border cities on the North Dakota-Minnesota boundary; and

Whereas the North Dakota Legislative Assembly adjourned without having considered the matter of daylight-saving time and its impact on the social, economic and physical lives of the people, and recognizing this situation, after having duly and carefully considered the situation and after consulting with many citizens in all walks of life, Mayor Herschel Lashkowitz called the Fargo City Commission into special session and a resolution was adopted on April 26 establishing daylight-saving time to coincide with the Minnesota law, and further steps were initiated to enact an ordinance pursuant to the resolution adopted; and

Whereas the city of Fargo, N. Dak., is the first municapality in the State of North Dakota to pass a resolution and then to enact an ordinance providing for daylight-saving time and that thereafter many cities, towns, and villages as well as counties in the State of North Dakota have taken steps to place their communities on daylight-saving time; and

Whereas this serious matter of the confusion of times and its impact on the lives of thousands of people has been called to the attention of the League of North Dakota Municipalities by Mayor Herscel Lashkowitz at a regional meeting of the league of municipalities held in Casselton, N. Dak., April 30, 1957, and the expression of 115 municipal officials in attendance was approximately 4 to 1 in favor of daylight-saving time; and

Whereas it has been called to the attention of the Fargo City Commission that similar situations regarding dual standards of time and resultant confusion and chaos exist in many areas throughout the United States of America with a serious effect upon the transportation and communication and allied industries of America and creating confusion in the personal lives of perhaps millions of people throughout America; and

Whereas there is as a result of this confusion in times, many serious legal questions that have arisen and many will arise in regard to contractual matters, licenses and police problems, personal and business and social commitments and the general way of life of millions of Americans; and

Whereas the Fargo City Commission recognizes that only the Congress of the United States can bring orderliness out of this confusion and chaos and help to restore a degree of certainty and clarity into the lives of millions of Americans as it relates to myriad daily problems and the social, economic and legal aspects of these problems: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Fargo City Commission does hereby memorialize and request that the Congress of the United States of America take immediate and forthright steps to establish daylight-saving time across the United States of America during the months of April through October, inclusive, annually so as to bring orderliness into the lives of the people and to contribute to the enhancement and betterment of the standard of living of Americans by providing the American people with an additional hour of sunshine to spend with their families and friends in recreational and healthy pursuits; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded immediately to the Representatives and Senators of the States of North Dakota and Minnesota for appropriate and immediate action.

Address by the Secretary of Agriculture Before the Iowa State Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 17, 1957

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, on May 6 the Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. Ezra Taft Benson, made a speech before the Iowa State Club in Chicago. In the speech he discussed some important facets of the situation in connection with agriculture. I ask unanimous consent that his speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

It is good to be here.

The invitation to address your Iowa State Society has brought many happy memories.

It seems only yesterday—although my grandchildren make me realize it must have been longer than that—when Mrs. Benson and I first went to Iowa. We had been married only a few days when I enrolled as a graduate student at Iowa State Agricultural College.

My modest scholarship of $70 a month seemed adequate for a young couple who had heard somewhere that two could live as cheaply as one.

I recall that our household budget was helped somewhat by the vegetables and other farm produce which were available for the gathering at the experimental plots at the college.

I remember that it was during my first year at Iowa State that I rode on a special 4-H Club train which brought me to the international show here in Chicago. On that train trip we sang the proud Iowa song, That's Where the Tall Corn Grows.

The corn stalks with which we kept time to the music, as I recall, were tall enough and husky enough to discourage any who might have doubted our claim.

Today, the cornstalks in Iowa may not be as tall as those we remember but they produce more bushels to the acre. And the farmers have the same vision and the same quiet faith which gave strength to their ancestors who pioneered the rich fields of Iowa.

I am proud to claim some kinship with those hardy pioneers. It was in Iowa that my grandfather was born in a rain-soaked wagonbox some 111 years ago, as his parents were moving with the first caravan of Mormon pioneers in their long, hard journey westward.

For as far back as I can trace, the people of my family have been farm folk like myself. I am proud of that heritage.

I propose to sepak plainly tonight. I intend to talk about agriculture, in which everyone has an interest, whether or not he is especially trained in this field. I shall speak frankly and as honestly as I know how. Specifically, I shall talk about the problems of the Corn Belt, the great heartland of the United States, which stretches east to west from Ohio to Nebraska and from Minnesota on the north to Missouri on the south. This is the feed grain-livestock area, the great region which converts feed grain and roughage into nutritious, wholesome meat, milk, and eggs. Iowa is the geographic center of that economy and the seedbed of ideas regarding it.

The feed grain-livestock segment is the giant among our agricultural enterprises. Meat animals alone bring in 27 percent of our farm income. When we add dairy and poultry, livestock brings in 53 percent of the gross receipts from farm marketings. So we are talking about the biggest receipt item in the farm account book.

Since 1920, profound changes have occurred in crop production, the consequences of which are equivalent to an enormous increase in the amount of cropland available for domestic food production. And this in spite of the fact that the actual acres of cropland were virtually unchanged during this period.

Permit me to cite just a few of these great changes:

Crop production per acre has risen more than 25 percent since 1920.

Mechanization has released for food production about 80 million acres that formerly were used to grow feed for horses and mules. This is equivalent to an increase of about 23 percent in our cropland.

The reduction, through Government programs, of cotton and wheat acreage has greatly increased the cropland available for the production of feed and forage.

Since 1920, tremendous changes have occurred in the livestock business as well as in crop production. These are primarily the result of better breeding, better feeding, and better sanitation. Production per breeding unit—that is per cow, per sow, and per hen on an aggregate basis—has gone up 72 percent.

There has been a great increase in population, of course, about 60 percent since 1920. But the combination of mechanization, better yields, and higher production per animal has boosted food marketing even faster, by about 78 percent.

Hence, per capita marketings of food are now 13 percent greater than in 1920.

Never before have American consumers had so bountiful a supply of wholesome, tasty, nutritious food at so reasonable a cost—only 25 percent of their incomes. Never before have so few farmers produced such abundance for so many.

Perhaps in no other large area of the United States has the impact of the technological revolution wrought such profound changes as here in the Corn Belt. Hybrid corn, increased rates of fertilization, almost complete mechanization, the rapid advance of nutritional science, the conquest of plant and animal diseases, and now supplemental irrigation in many areas—these are some of the most striking changes.

Much attention has been focused on the huge stocks of farm products owned by or under loan to the Government—stocks which now represent an investment of $8.3 billion. Agriculture is faced not only with the necessity of reducing these stocks; there is the even greater challenge of using constructively the abundant production which, year after year, is likely to flow to market from American farms.

This great outpouring of agricultural abundance is the result of improved technology, of course. But it is also partly the result of a prolonged period of incentive prices—incentives supplied first by the market place and then by law. Agricultural production expands its productive plant readily in response to such incentives, but is slow to shrink its plant when market outlets dwindle and prices decline. Agricultural output is like taffy, which stretches out readily but is difficult to squeeze back.

Price support policies of the past are responsible, to a degree, for the presently overpanded agricultural plant. While the technological revolution undoubtedly supplied the means for increasing output, the support program helped provide the incentives; and while these policies increased production on the one hand, they choked off consumption on the other. The result is an accumulated stock and a continuing production of farm products greater than our growing population can assimilate unless adjustments are made.

How can we best make the adjustments called for by the prospect of agricultural abundance?

Can we reduce production? For 25 years we have tried to control production by restricting the acreage of a few selected crops. Yet total production has increased even more rapidly than the increase in our population. The evidence of the past quarter century is that farmers offset acreage controls by fertilizing more heavily, increasing the yield per acre. And they use the acres diverted out of one crop to produce other crops. So total production is not decreased; in fact, in the long run, it probably is increased by the control programs.

Shall we sell these commodities abroad? Yes; we should and we are. Agricultural exports this year are at an alltime high. We sell our commodities for dollars, both for cash and for credit. We sell them for foreign currency, and we barter them for strategic materials. Yet there are limits—and we may be approaching them—to what we can do in the way of selling our abundance abroad. Production has also increased sharply in other countries. If we were to unload our stocks irresponsibly we would depress prices in world markets and we would jeopardize our friendship with other exporting nations. With prices for certain commodities supported substantially above world levels, exports are very expensive. We now subsizide wheat to an amount of about 80 cents a bushel in order to reach the world market, and we subsidize cotton by about 6 or 7 cents a pound. Exports sales are part of the answer to our agricultural abundance, but not the whole answer.

Shall we give the commodities away? Yes; we should and we are, to the extent that we can do so constructively. This past fiscal year we donated more than 2 billion pounds of farm products to public agencies, charitable organizations, and needy persons at home and abroad. Forty percent of these donations went to people in our own land. But if we push donations beyond a certain point we only displace what would otherwise be purchased; we achieve no net increase in food use. And, as anyone knows who has worked with charitable organizations, it is far from easy to develop programs that are genuinely helpful in the long run, both to him who gives and him who receives.

Shall we put our excess productive capacity into the soil bank? Yes; and we are doing this, chiefly through the acreage-reserve program. But this is temporary and costly. It would be difficult to justify the continued payment of such sums as would be needed to operate a permanent acreage-reserve program. And a permanent program which subsidizes nonproduction is contrary to our tradition.

Shall we destroy food, or let it spoil? No; we should not, and we have exercised every safeguard to prevent spoilage. Our people would not condone such moral bankruptcy or such economic waste. The capacity to produce abundantly is a blessing; the challenge is to make wise use of this abundance.

Is there any way out of this impasse? After we have sold what we can for export, after we have given away whatever we can donate constructively, after we have put the soil bank into operation and still have more farm products than we can use, is there anything else we can do?

I am convinced that the answer is "Yes."

We can so price our products that we reduce the incentive for overproduction.

We can price our products so they will move into use.

We can move away from acreage-control programs that do not control.

We can expand markets for industrial and nonfood uses—as we are doing in our increasingly vigorous research programs.

We can give special attention to the problems peculiar to small farmers—as we are doing in the rural-development program.

We can, above all, build up our markets for livestock products—milk, meat, and eggs—wholesome, tasty, nutritious foods that people can and will purchase in greater quantities if the price is attractive.

If we consume more of our food in the form of livestock products, then we need the output of many more acres.

When we move from producing an acre of corn used as corn to an acre of corn fed to hogs, we greatly reduce the caloric output.

When we move from using the acre for corn and hogs to using it for grass and beef, we reduce the caloric output even more.

Livestock condense about 7 pounds of dry matter in the form of grain and other feed to about 1 pound of dry matter in the form of meat, milk, and eggs. The other 6 pounds are used for heat and energy or are wasted and cannot be recovered by man. Thus, far more agricultural resources are needed to provide a diet which contains a high percentage of livestock products.

Increasing and decreasing the livestock population is the time-honored method of adjusting the food supply to changing needs. The amount of flexibility provided by this system is tremendous.

The American consumer has been increasing his consumption of livestock and poultry products. But on a per capita basis he is still behind the Australian, the New Zealander, or the Argentinian in meat consumption. We can go further in shifting consumption to milk, eggs, and other highly nutritious livestock products.

Markets for more animal products must be potentially available before we begin producing for them. Expansion in output of meat animals, poultry, and dairy products should occur only gradually; sharp increases can be disastrous, as we found a little over a year ago with hogs. But we have been moving toward an animal agriculture during the past 20 years and w can move further.

The present mandatory price-support acreage-control program for corn, based on legal formulas, has the opposite philosophy. Its objective is scarcity. Corn acreage, cut back by the control program, is now at the lowest level in 66 years. This program has reduced corn acreage in the Corn Belt and increased it in California, Washington, Oregon, and other areas. To a degree the Corn Belt has foregone its natural advantage in feed-grain production and has defaulted to the West, the South, and the Northeast. The corn-producing areas has been spread out and diluted. Nineteen years ago, when the commercial corn area was laid out for acreage-control purposes it included parts of 12 States. Now it includes parts of 24. Originally it included 566 counties; now it includes 894.

But even more amazing is the size of the corn allotment in the commercial area. In 1938 the allotment totaled 40,491,279 acres; for 1957 the allotment is 37,288,889 acres. With a smaller pie being cut into more pieces, is it any wonder that most corn producers here in the Corn Belt prefer to ignore their allotments?

Corn is the major feed grain, far exceeding in importance all the other feed grains combined. But the other feed grains are moving up. By cutting back on corn, the program has provided an opportunity for an expansion in the acreage of competing feed grains such as barley and sorghum grain.

The program has also caused serious and costly storage difficulties. Since early this year, the Department of Agriculture has been carrying out a broad reconcentration program to move Commodity Credit Corporation stocks out of the Corn Belt. We faced special problems in handling 1956 crop loan stocks of corn which will be turned over to the Corporation this summer.

Some CCC corn has been moved out of the area into commercial storage in nearby regions. Some has been sold locally, including corn from the bin sites which was classified as nonstorable. Some has been sold for export. Altogether, about 245 million bushels of CCC corn have been involved in this movement. In addition, from 50 to 60 million bushels of wheat and other small grains have been moved to the Southwest, to make more storage available near the Corn Belt.

We have now nearly met the objectives of this special movement of CCC stocks.

I cite this as just one of many pressing problems occasioned by the present price-support acreage-control program.

Are corn farmers willing to move in the direction of competitive pricing, more freedom, and growing markets?

It appears that they are. More than 61 percent of the corn farmers who voted in last fall's referendum expressed a preference for greater freedom to plant, coupled with greater flexibility of price supports. Yet, because the law required a two-thirds vote to carry, corn farmers today continue under a program which the majority of them have disapproved.

We now have this interesting situation:

A clear majority of the corn farmers have expressed a willingness to move toward greater freedom of operation and greater reliance on our marketing system. Yet the law has not been changed.

Clearly, the corn farmers have given leadership in the direction of freedom and enterprise, the institutions which have made America great.

Do we lack the courage to strike a legislative blow for freedom when the people directly concerned have, in effect, requested it?

We have heard, until now, that economic freedom is lost because the people most concerned bargain it away in exchange for security. The leaders of the people, we are told, cannot stand against the strong popular urge for what is considered to be economic security. That this does in fact occur I readily acknowledge.

But how shall we then explain a circumstance in which the people themselves request less Government interference, but their Government will not relax its paternalistic grip?

We have come a far way indeed, in this land of liberty, when we continue to impose on a particular group of farmers, against the will of the majority, control programs which do not control, and support programs which pile up surpluses and lose markets.

There are more than 200 farm products for which we are authorized to provide price supports. For 6 of these, corn among them, programs are in effect to control production and to support prices according to a legal formula.

These 6 commodities bring in only 25 percent of our farm income.

Yet for these 6 commodities, surpluses are greater, costs are higher, infringements on individual liberty are more extensive, international relations are placed in greater jeopardy, and farmer complaints are more vociferous than for all the other of the 200 commodities combined.

Experience has demonstrated the shortcomings of the present control programs.

Farmers who produce certain commodities, such as soybeans and livestock, have demonstrated that realistic pricing can build markets and increase net income.

Half the corn farmers choose to ignore the supposed benefits of the control program. They plant in excess of their allotments.

Corn farmers have asked, in a referendum, that the paternalistic grip of Government be relaxed.

Is there, then, any good reason for maintaining the corn program in its present form?

The price-support program for basic commodities was originally designed to combat a general depression, and had considerable justification on that basis.

The program was overhauled during the war for the purpose of expanding production, a need which it served in acceptable fashion.

Our present need is not that of combating a general depression, nor of stimulating production to meet the demands of war. Our need is for agricultural adjustments to accommodate the tremendous technological revolution through which agriculture is passing. And it is time to make the program changes called for by these new conditions.

The largest farmer organization in the country, the American Farm Bureau Federation, has said so.

Most of the professional research institutions which have studied the problem have said so.

The corn farmers, voting with both their corn planters and their referendum ballots, have said so.

These voices are being heard in a growing crescendo.

What judgment will history record of leaders who fear to move as far in the direction of freedom as those whom they represent?

We should ever lend our ears to voices raised in behalf of freedom, responsibility, and enterprise. The most glorious pages of history result from giving audience to the plea for freedom; the darkest pages result from its denial.

God grant that we hear the voice of freedom, that we give leadership to it and that we act upon it in the best tradition of liberty-loving people everywhere.

Report to the People of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 17, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a report by me to the people of the State of New York on the 1st session of the 85th Congress.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK, 85TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION, SPRING 1957

Our republican form of government imposes upon a representative of the people in the National Legislature the responsibility to seek to ascertain the thinking of the voters of his State and also to report to them his own thinking and record of performance. This is the first of a series of such semiannual reports which I propose to make to the people of New York as their Senator.

PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

While the United Nations still remains man's great hope for peace, the United States must continue its position as the leader for world peace both within and without the United Nations.

Early in the session, the Congress passed the President's Mideast doctrine, which I actively supported, stating American interest in the active preservation of peace in the Middle East. The dispatching of the 6th Fleet to the eastern Mediterranean in the Jordan crisis and the extending of financial aid to bolster the Jordan Government illustrate the first successful operation of this doctrine. There can be no doubt that the maintenance of a firm peace in the Middle East is essential to United States security. The United Nations emergency force has helped to maintain the peace in the sensitive Gulf of Aqaba, and in the Gaza area and to discourage Fedayeen guerrilla raids from there. I am supporting the effort to make permanent this U. N. peace force.

In recognition of the importance of an unimpaired and continued flow of vital oil to the free world, which constitutes 60 percent of the traffic through the Suez Canal, 5 of my Senate colleagues joined with me in the sponsorship of a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that our Government should consult with major users of the Suez Canal for the purpose of considering collective action to establish and internationalize alternate means for traffic now moving through the canal. Pointing up the importance of the adoption of such a resolution, the State Department has informed me that the Department is doubtful of the adherence by Egypt to the six principles for operation of the canal which was adopted by the United Nations and to which Egypt agreed and that the United States, in concert with Great Britain and France, is already actively considering the feasibility of alternate routes.

I am constantly opposing the restrictions against the admission to our own Dhahran Air Force base of United States citizens and soldiers of Jewish faith on the basis of religious faith in Saudi Arabia.

I have introduced legislation and am working otherwise to aid the victims of religious and Communist inspired persecution in Egypt and there is hope that a reasonable number of these persecuted people will be admitted into the United States through administrative means utilizing the parole provision of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

American tourists are once again permitted to visit Israel. United States aid to Israel, which has so dramatically demonstrated its role as an effective and strong ally of the free world in the Mideast, is being resumed after having been temporarily suspended due to the Suez-Sinai hostilities. Above all, I am working for achievement of an effective and permanent peace solution in the Middle East, to end the blockade and boycott of Israel, resettle the Palestine Arab refugees in Arab lands, bring about security for the borders of the nations in that area and secure freedom of transit for all, including Israel, through the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal.

I shall support the programs for foreign military, economic and technical assistance and for the United States Information Agency as proposed to the Congress. They should be developed and implemented as vital to peace and United States security. American private investment abroad, now standing at over $32 billion and increasing at the rate of $2.5 billion annually, offers us an excellent opportunity to supplement and eventualy to replace at least some of our foreign economic and technical aid. I am readying some constructive programs to implement participation of the private sector in foreign aid.

The Congress passed the Agricultural Trade Development Act authorizing barter transactions of surplus agricultural commodities to distressed peoples in Poland and other satellite nations, implementing our Government's program of seeking to help any such satellite nations which show an indication of independence.

I have opposed the effort to liquidate and return to Germany and Japan certain assets vested during World War II. The question of return of vested enemy alien assets should not be confused with Germany and Japan's postwar roles as partners in free world defense and in assuming their responsibilities as democratic nations nor be identified with our friendship for these nations. Many claims of American citizens against Germany and Japan for losses which occurred during the war remain still unsettled. No matter what the status of these individuals at the time of their loss, the fact that they are presently American citizens merits our government's support in obtaining redress and I am vigorously supporting the effort to gain just compensation for these persons.

I joined Senator Ives in his resolution calling for self-determination for the people of Cyprus, and also worked in the effort to secure mercy for some of the young pro-

Greek patriots being tried by the British administration there.

AGRICULTURE

In the past 10 years while the price of food at retail has risen 16 percent, prices paid to the farmer have in contrast declined 14 percent. It is essential that the farmer receive his fair share of the food dollar.

The difficulties experienced in the milk crisis have abated, and a single marketing order has now been recommended for the New York metropolitan area, northern New Jersey and upstate New York. The net result of this order, it is hoped, will be to eliminate the longstanding inequities which have faced the milk producers of our State and could result in substantial improvement in their returns.

Together with my colleague, Senator IVES, I am cosponsor of S. 1808 to provide Federal assistance for rehabilitation of orchards destroyed or damaged by natural disaster. I voted for the $25 million drought-relief measure which passed the Senate, but opposed the increased corn-acreage bill which failed of passage in both the House and the Senate as this bill would increase the burden of Government expenditure while offering no definite relief in corn prices.

BUDGET AND TAXES

Our people have properly expressed a deep interest in the $73 billion budget ($71.8 expenditure in 1957–58) submitted to the Congress, economy in Government operations, minimizing the effect of Federal spending on inflation and reducing the tax burden insofar as possible. But the issue of our national security—which includes our Armed Forces and foreign military economic and technical assistance and information programs cannot be compromised in the interests of all our people. So, too, urgent measures like emergency Federal aid to school construction where States cannot effectively help themselves, compel our attention. Our duty here is to be responsible to the Nation's urgent needs.

A budget cut of in the range of $2 to $3 billion is, I believe, possible without endangering the national security and essential programs. The recommendations of the Hoover Commission offer opportunities for increased Government efficiency. I am a cosponsor of S. 1585 which passed the Senate on April 4. This measure establishes a Joint Committee on the Budget which would enable Congress to better analyze and act on the literally tens of thousands of items in the 1,100-page Federal budget. In the interests of reducing unnecessary expenditures I am also opposed to appropriations required for the $1.5 billion "pork barrel" rivers and harbors bill which passed the Senate and is presently pending in the House.

The Tax Rate Extension Act of 1957 (Public Law 85–12) was enacted into law extending for 18 months excise and corporate income tax rates. I am looking forward to the reduction of these temporary levies imposed as a wartime emergency measure. I was 1 of 7 Senators willing to vote on registering opposition to the 27.5 percent depletion allowance extended to producers of petroleum whom I believe should no longer be extended so much in special tax exemption privileges passing the burden to other segments of the national economy.

I have again introduced the bill, originally suggested by a constituent, which would grant to the physically handicapped the same $600 tax exemption now given the blind. As Federal expenditures can be reduced, the savings thus attained should be passed on in the form of selective tax relief, especially to families of modest income, small businesses, older citizens, and the handicapped, and for national debt reduction.

In recognition of the competition with private investment and savings faced by Government bonds, the Congress enacted legislation which raised the interest rate on the Series E Savings Bonds generally acquired by small investors from 3 percent to 3.26 percent.

CONSUMERS

While the cost of living has risen to an all-time high of 118.9 (1947–49=100) prices have remained relatively stable as compared with the period of runaway inflation experience prior to 1952. Employment and personal income remain at peak levels although there are soft spots in some individual industries and areas which merit special attention.

Under authority of Senate Resolution 64, of which I was a cosponsor, the Senate has been investigating the high prices of oil and gasoline and the Department of Justice has since instituted an inquiry of its own to determine whether there have been any violations of our antitrust laws.

The Congress passed the poultry inspection bill which gives the housewife and her family the same assurances of sanitary protection on poultry that the American consumer has enjoyed for years on meat. I have introduced a measure authorizing the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to conduct a study of the consumer services rendered by the Federal Establishment and how these might be best coordinated and expanded for the maximum public benefit.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

As a member of the Senate Rules Committee, I sought the establishment of a special ad hoc committee to consider modification of rule XXII, the so-called filibuster rule, which is the key to passage of civil-rights legislation. In addition to being a member of this subcommittee, I am also a cosponsor of the Douglas amendment to end the filibuster on terms of fair debate. So far even the President's civil-rights proposals—a modest, indeed a minimal program—have been bottled up in the Senate Judiciary committee, but they seem on the way to passage in the House. As a sponsor of several civil-rights measures, I testified before both the House and Senate committees and have pledged to join in an effort to discharge the Senate commitee from consideration of the President's civil-rights program in order that it might be brought to the Senate floor for debate and passage. It will be a fight all the way.

The case of Canada's Ambassador Norman has again pointed up the necessity for rules of procedure for congressional investigating committees. To this end, I am the sponsor of Senate Resolution 123 which would establish rules of procedure for Senate investigating committees, based on recommendations submitted by the Bar Association of the City of New York and recommendations contained in Senate Resolution 17 which, after lengthy hearings in the last Congress, was approved by the Rules Committee but failed to gain consideration in the Senate itself.

EDUCATION, HEALTH, AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Of the 1,400,000 young Americans graduating from high schools throughout the country this year, some 200,000 who are of college caliber will not be able to continue their education due to financial reasons. I am the sponsor with other Senators of the Education Loan Act of 1957 which would establish a 8-year $1 billion program of Federal loan insurance and loans to aid these young people who merit it. I also joined in the sponsorship of S. 1728 to extend Federal help to State maritime colleges and the Kings Point Academy in our State.

Acting on the suggestion of a constituent, I introduced S. 1475 to increase from 18 to 21 years the age limitation for receiving social security orphan benefits where the individual concerned continues in school. Although the Congress last year enacted a comprehensive revision of the social security law, the realities of the increased cost of living make necessary a continuing reappraisal of social security statutes. Readjustment of benefit payments, simplification of the accounting procedure so as to permit 1 annual report by employers instead of 4 quarter-annual reports and other improvements merit early congressional action.

I joined in sponsorin the Juvenile Delinquency Control Act which would carry out the recommendations of the President authorizing grants to assist States in fighting juvenile delinquency and also three bills bolstering the efforts in the States to deal with narcotic drug addiction.

HOUSING

Housing starts for April, the latest reporting date, were at a rate of 940,000 annually. In order to meet new family formations and to replace outmoded housing, 1.5 million housing starts annually are required. In order to alleviate the housing shortage and hold down rising interest rates, Congress increased by $50 million the capitalization for the Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA) which has the effect of increasing by $500 million that agency's borrowing authority, thus providing some immediate relief of the home loan funds shortage through secondary mortage market operations. Also increased from $200 million to $250 million was the money allotted FNMA to purchase military housing mortgages. In addition, the Federal Housing Administration acting under Presidential authority lowered by 2 percent the downpayment requirements for homes having FHA loan guaranties.

Also I am cosponsoring for middle-income housing a measure establishing a $1 billion loan fund for families of moderate income. A bill just passed by the House of Representatives and coming over to the Senate proposes a decrease in FHA downpayments, placement of the GI home loan program under FHA so as to permit its effectual continuation after the GI loan program's scheduled expiration next year, increases FNMA funds for secondary mortgage market operations by $1 billion, increases slum-clearance authorization by $250 million and strengthens the military housing and urban renewal programs.

Veterans are experiencing great difficulty in obtaining GI home loans and the pressure to raise the interest rate on VA-guaranteed home loans continues strong. I joined in sponsoring and testified in committee urging passage of the Johnson bill which would make available for direct lending for GI homes $1.3 billion of national service life insurance funds. Before increasing mortgage interest rates for VA-guaranteed loans, we should make this effort to relieve the pressures in the home loan money market.

IMMIGRATION

The McCarran-Walter Act still stands on the statute books as a refutation of our traditional American ideals of justice and hospitality. The administration is supporting legislation in which I have joined and I am also sponsoring independent legislation which would rewrite this law so as to eliminate its injustices and make more realistic the admission of immigrants to our shores, permitting a pooling of quotas and utilizing the 1950 instead of the outmoded 1920 census. Under this legislation the overall number to be admitted would be 220,000 against the present 154,000 under the quota provisions of the law only about 80,000 of which are used; plus provisions for refugees and escapees.

Although some 26,000 Hungarian refugees have come into the United States under the emergency parole provisions of the law (plus 7,000 under the Refugee Relief Act now expired), the Congress still must act to give status to these refugees and those who are still coming in and to enable the United

States to take our fair share of these and similar refugees, such as the victims of Colonel Nasser's persecution who have been ejected from Egypt. I have joined in introducing legislation to accomplish this as well as to facilitate the adoption by United States families of children orphaned by war and disaster abroad.

LABOR

The current investigations by the Select Senate Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field (the McClellan committee) have disclosed abuses which should be redressed, but these revelations should not be misused by those who would destroy the gains made by the rank and file of labor to enact negative legislation like the so-called right-to-work laws. I am supporting the President's proposal for protective regulation of union welfare and other funds as a constructive means to assure honest and effective administration of these moneys for the benefit of the working people for whom they were originally established. But I am opposed to right-to-work laws. These laws have a deceptive name for they would seriously prejudice the normal processes of collective bargaining and the maintenance of trade unionism as a means to bring about collective bargaining agreements.

The Congress is presently considering the administration's recommendations for amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act to extend the provisions relating to minimum wages and hours to retail and service establishments above a stated size. It must be kept in mind that in New York State, there is already considerable effective work in respect of minimum wage standards established by boards under the State's laws. I shall seek protection for employees in retail and service establishments as to standards of minimum wages and maximum hours but giving recognition to State laws where they maintain adequate standards using the test of the Federal wage and hour law.

I have joined in the sponsorship of S. 1067 which would extend the unemployment compensation program to Puerto Rico.

NIAGARA POWER AND NATURAL RESOURCES

At a cost approximating $600 million, the Niagara power project will be the largest project of its kind in the Nation. I have supported its development by the Power Authority under New York State law for the benefit primarily of rural and domestic consumers in the project's economic market area; with full protection to the field of cooperative and municipal systems and the use of existing transmission systems.

I joined in sponsoring S. 1144 to amend the Federal Highway Act so as to provide inclusion of parkways in federally aided highways and have favored billboard controls on Federal roads similar to those in effect in New York State.

In the interests of conservation as well as economy, I opposed authorization of construction of the Bruces Eddy Dam which measure passed the Senate. However, before the dam can be built it will still be necessary for Congress to appropriate the necessary funds.

There has been much protest from our citizens concerning the Kinzua Dam which would affect the Cornplanter and Alleghany Indian Reservations. The rights of the Seneca Indians should be given full weight in this controversy.

POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

The public must be assured of a postal service commensurate with our power, dignity and national needs. It is the duty of Congress to see that the Post Office Department is operated at proper efficiency and minimum cost and that postal employees are justly dealt with. The 1956 postal deficit of $493,900,000—an increase of 27.9 percent from 1945—imposes serious problems. Legislation is presently being considered in the House of Representatives which would increase first-class mail rates for the first time in a generation; the Senate committee is undertaking a comprehensive study of the entire theory of Government postal operations, the need for this study having been dramatically pointed up by the recent crisis in post office funds which brought on temporarily serious curtailment of services. Any increase in postal rates must be given due effect as to all classes of mail and their capacity to pay their own way.

The pressures that the increased cost of living imposes upon both civil service and postal workers and retired employees who can look only to the Congress for relief is getting intolerable. Consequently I am working hard for legislation for adequate pension and pay for postal employees and for civil-service employees to be enacted without delay. I sponsored S. 1476 which would permit postal employees to enjoy at least one State holiday, such as Columbus Day, annually.

SMALL BUSINESS

In addition to appropriating $45 million in order that the Small Business Administration could continue its leading operations until the end of this fiscal year, June 30, 1957, Congress also increased by $80 million the business loan authorization of the SBA.

I joined in the sponsorship of legislation establishing the Small Business Administration as a permanent agency, and also S. 1563 which would permit many small businesses to take a straight 10-percent deduction on their income tax for routine deductible items, as is done on the personal income tax, thus saving the expense of enumerating the numerous individual items.

I voted against the Fulbright amendment, offered ostensibly as a small business tax-reduction rider for corporations only to the Tax Rate Extension Act which sought to maintain corporate tax rates at present levels as otherwise the law keeping them at that level would have expired. As the situation stood, it was a matter of hours in order to pass the measure and a controversial amendment would have delayed enactment with serious consequences to the country; also only about 12 percent of small businesses are incorporated—the remaining 88 percent would have been discriminated against. I fully expect to support tax relief for small business just as soon as we have established our right to it with some budget reduction.

Hearings are presently in progress on S. 11, amending the Robinson-Patman Act to provide that the so-called good-faith defense is not a substantive defense in some cases. Small business, for which this law was originally enacted, must continue to have consideration in any amendment, but consumers need to be protected as well. An essential element in maintaining our economy is the facility with which competition may be pursued.

VETERANS

I am supporting the measure to create a Veterans' Committee in the Senate which is presently pending before the Rules Committee of which I am a member.

As long as we have compulsory military service, the GI bill educational benefits should be extended to include those presently entering the Armed Forces. I joined in sponsoring S. 1088 to permit World War II and Korean war veterans to obtain national service life insurance if they had neglected to apply for it previously or if their policies had lapsed. The high cost of living impels a reappraisal of pensions and benefits for disabled veterans and their families. Such adjustment measures are now under active consideration in the Congress.

MATTERS OF ESPECIAL INTEREST TO NEW YORK STATE

The efforts in which I joined to continue the essential commuter services of the Hudson & Manhattan Railway were successful; unfortunately, similar efforts in behalf of the Ontario & Western Railroad could not be consummated due to the unsalvageable condition of that road's economic structure.

I continue my efforts on behalf of station WRGB and to preserve television service for the people of Schenectady and the surrounding area. I joined in the sponsorship of legislation for additional Federal judges to relieve the overcrowded court dockets in New York, to provide $165,000 for construction of a water-filtration plant at Highland Falls, and to provide for Federal sharing of relocation costs in the case of home occupants and small businesses displaced as a result of the Federal highway-construction program.

Many of our citizens have written me concerning the proposed Lincoln Square urban-renewal project in New York City. I continue my work for fair relocation practices for tenants and small business. The inclusion of a portion of Fordham University as a part of the proposed project is a matter presently pending in the courts and will be decided in accordance with judicial concepts of the appropriate constitutional and legal principles involved.

MISCELLANEOUS ISSUES

I have introduced legislation creating a United States Arts Foundation which would help foster the development of the performing arts in areas of the Nation where they are not now adequately available by giving some help to nonprofit groups—including colleges and universities—but engaging in no production on its own. The cultural resources of our Nation should be developed and encouraged at a time of our greatest prosperity and when the cost can be minimized.

As a member of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, my experience as New York State attorney general is proving of some help in bringing into being for the District of Columbia laws which have proven successful in our own State, such as controls to prevent charity rackets. Measures once enacted into law in the District of Columbia have in the past served as models for similar State statutes throughout the country.

CONCLUSION

I trust that you will continue to write me about your views and suggestions on matters of national interest. I shall endeavor to respond always, and as fully as time and staff permit.

The Litter Season

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, May 17, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, it is rather infrequent that an issue comes before us which appeals with equal force to our mundane regard for economy and our esthetic appreciation of the wonders of nature. Such an issue was discussed in an editorial in today's Baltimore Sun, where it was pointed out that the persistent scattering of litter in the many scenic areas of America results in a combination of nationwide eyesores and costly cleanup operations. The editorial was extremely thought provoking, and I now ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LITTER SEASON

Not long ago some tourists went to visit one of Maryland's most beautiful sights, Cunningham Falls, near Thurmont. Through the ancient trees and the great falls of rock they climbed up to the top of the magnificent cascade. There, poised at the head of the falls, was a large carton filled with empty beer cans. The magic of the wild place was spoiled.

This is an isolated and dramatic instance of a general tendency which does much to spoil the remaining areas of forest and fine views left to us. Every State and national park has its quota of lazy, slovenly people who cannot be bothered to clear up behind them. A national authority estimates that last year it cost $50 million to clear up the mess Americans made of their own country. And as each year brings more and more people out onto the highways, the bill goes up.

This is the start of the picnicking and camping season, of vacations and weekend trips which will add another layer to the deposit of tin cans and paper and bottles defiling the parks and roadsides. Some people are apparently incorrigible; they live in a mess and they travel in a mess. But many who would not suffer a scrap of paper on their own lawns and yards toss it freely on other people's, and the Nation's, property. If this property-conscious majority can be brought to an understanding of what they are doing, some of the ugliness and destruction can be avoided.

The Day I Met Ike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 17, 1957

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for inclusion in the RECORD an article entitled "The Day I Met Ike," written by 15-year-old Mark Falcoff who is a resident of California's 24th Congressional District. Mark's article was a prize winner in a writing contest sponsored by Boys' Life, a magazine published by the Boy Scouts of America. It appears in the May 1957 issue of that magazine.

In his prize-winning entry, Mark describes his big thrill in meeting President Eisenhower during the Republican National Convention in San Francisco last August which he attended as a reporter for the Junior Journal, a magazine published entirely by teen-agers and of which Mark is managing editor.

The Day I Met Ike is a very interesting and well-written article. It shows keen insight into the issues and problems of the day on the part of Mark and speaks very well for the abilities of the youth of the Nation.

The article follows:

THE DAY I MET IKE

(By Mark Falcoff)

Of all the weary reporters who trudged the streets of that convention city, San Francisco, in 1956, I was the weariest.

I had come all the way from Los Angeles to attend the Republican National Convention as a member of the junior press. I was the youngest journalist in a crowd of veterans of the fourth estate. They represented Time, Life, Scripps-Howard, Hearst, and the biggest daily and weekly publications in the world. I represented the Junior Journal, the only magazine by and for teenagers. Ours was the only junior publication granted full press credentials, because we are the only completely independent youth publication in the world. We were extremely proud to receive these credentials. But we were now too tired to care.

Editor Sue Berkland and I were resting in the pressroom of the St. Francis Hotel. We were really tired. Sure, our hometown, Los Angeles, is big. But it's level.

This was Thursday, the 23d of August 1956, the last day of the convention. This was the day President Eisenhower would make his acceptance speech.

We had been given an assignment before we left: Get an interview with the President. Well, any other publication would have deemed it impossible.

On the previous day Sue and I had waited at the airport to see the President in. I didn't get near him.

This morning our publisher, Margor Dayan, was having breakfast with James C. Hagerty, press secretary to the President. Mr. Hagerty, came downstairs with her, and we were introduced. Miss Dayan asked for an interview.

"I'm sorry," said by Hagerty. "If I let you, I'll have to let everyone."

They say that youth has optimism. Well, if they mean that we had no intention of taking Mr. Hagerty's "no" seriously, they were right.

We filed into the Italian Room of the St. Francis, for the first live TV Presidential press conference. At least, I thought, if I don't meet the President, I'll ask him a question.

The President acknowledged the applause of the members of the press, and then began answering questions. The conference was in regard to Harold Stassen's end of his "dump NIXON" campaign. Apparently someone forgot to ask the President why Mr. Stassen dropped his campaign, and I stood up. In a loud, clear voice I said, "Mr. President, did Mr. Stassen tell you exactly why he dropped his 'dump Nixon' campaign?"

The President smiled, and said, "I was wondering when someone would ask me that." All of a sudden he began to laugh, and everyone laughed with him, but he answered me.

Later I was informed that I was the first junior reporter ever to ask the President a question at an official press conference.

Apparently my question made an impression on the President. In any event, he told Press Secretary Hagerty he would receive us in the presidential suite at 4 o'clock.

At approximately 3:30 that afternoon, our publisher mysteriously disappeared. At 3:45 she reappeared in the general pressroom with Mr. Hagerty, telling us that she had been with the President. Mr. Hagerty told us that he would return for us shortly, and escorted Miss Dayan back to the presidential suite.

For the next 15 minutes, every man, woman, and child that entered that room looked like James C. Hagerty. We were so tired of waiting, that when Mr. Hagerty did enter, I was just about to doze off.

"The President will see you now," Mr. Hagerty was saying.

How my heart jumped as the elevator began its ascent. How anxious I had been.

As we stepped out of the elevator, the secret-service men took over and had us sign the official register. I noticed that Surgeon General Snyder had been with the President shortly before we had entered.

The President came out of his suite. We introduced ourselves. As the President took my hand, I think my heart skipped a beat.

We discussed a number of things. He told us about his boyhood in Abilene, Kans. And he told us that he thought juvenile delinquency was far too played up in the newspapers. We discussed our publication, and the President said to me: "Mark, what's your job on the paper?" I told him that I was director of public relations.

"Well, who's the political reporter?"

"Oh, well, I do most of that."

"Well, they tie in pretty close together," the President said.

As the interview continued, Mr. Hagerty, standing against the wall, subtly reminded the President that during the live TV press conference I asked him a question.

"I remember," said the President.

At the close of the interview, the President took my hand, and I said, "It has been an undreamed of honor, Mr. President." He replied, not as a politician, but as a sincere gentleman, "It's been a great honor for me, too."

We left the suite, and traveled down the elevator. I seemed to be on cloud number 9. I don't think I really came out of my trance until the secret-service man put his hand on my shoulder and said, "All out, son."

Looking at my watch, I discovered that we had been with the Chief Executive about 7 minutes. I'd been with JOE MARTIN nearly an hour. I'd been with Senator KNOWLAND 15 minutes. But it wasn't to be disputed that 7 minutes "presidential time" (as Mr. Hagerty refers to it) was an awful lot.

Miss Dayan returned from the President's suite and informed us that we were to ride at the rear of the President's procession, in the White House press bus.

As the President got into his limousine, and the procession pulled out of Union Square to the tune of Hail to the Chief, I knew that of all days, this day was not to be forgotten.

For this was the day that I had done something no one I had ever known had done. This was the day that I met President Eisenhower.

Facts and Figures on the Hells Canyon Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, in another one of his penetrating reports Eugene F. Rinta, research director of the Council of State Chambers of Commerce, has come up with another clarifying report. This one is entitled "The Many-Lived Hells Canyon Bill," and, supported with cogent statistical material, reads as follows:

THE MANY-LIVED HELLS CANYON BILL

(By Eugene Rinta)

A measure to authorize construction of a Federal hydroelectric project at Hells Canyon in the Snake River has been introduced in every Congress since 1949. It has yet to reach floor action and a vote in the House. It did come up for a vote twice in the Senate. In 1950 it was tabled by a 2 to 1 vote. It came up again last July and was rejected 51 to 41. Now it is up for Senate action a third time as S. 555 which was introduced by the measure's perennial sponsor, Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon.

One good reason for rejection of the bill last year was the fact that it would have

posed a wholly unnecessary burden of
o-half billion dollars on the Nation's tax-
yers. This expenditure for a Federal proj-
t at Hells Canyon was unnecessary then
mply because the power potential of the
lls Canyon reach of the Snake River was
eady in process of development by the
daho Power Co. under a Federal license.
At the time the Senate vote was taken last
ly construction work on the company's
oject had been going on for 8 months and
veral million dollars had been expended
n it. As of the present, construction work
as been underway for 18 months and the
mpany reports that over $20 million of
nstruction has been completed. An addi-
onal $26 million for project construction
nd $10 million for transmission facilities
ill have been spent by the end of this
ear. Moreover, the first dam of the com-
any's three-dam project to be completed,
he Brownlee, will be ready to deliver power
n 1958.

In spite of the above facts, a majority of
he Senate Interior Committee voted April
0 to report S. 555 to the Senate which is
xpected to act on it next week. If the Fed-
ral Hells Canyon project should be author-
zed and started, the privately financed
roject would have to be abandoned. This
ould mean a loss of the millions of dollars
nd the 18 months construction work al-
eady invested in it. The financial loss
ould very likely have to be absorbed by
he taxpayers generally since the company is
roceeding under a duly authorized Federal
icense and would have a strong claim for
damages. The people of the Pacific North-
west would pay, too, because enactment of
S. 555 would cause a 7 to 8 year delay in their
getting the additional power they say they
urgently need.

Thus, there seems to be even less sense in
the Hells Canyon proposal now than there
was a year ago. Yet the Senate is about to
give it serious consideration again. For that
reason the chronological developments re-
lating to the Hells Canyon issue are worth
reviewing again. Here they are in brief.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HELLS CANYON DISPUTE

1. In June 1947 the Idaho Power Co., an investor-owned public utility, filed a preliminary application with the Federal Power Commission for the purpose of developing the hydroelectric potential in the Snake River between Idaho and Oregon. Objections to private development were raised by public power groups who urged Federal development instead. They suggested construction of a large single dam at Hells Canyon.

2. The proposed Federal Hells Canyon project came up for a vote in the Senate in April 1950 and it was tabled by a 2 to 1 vote. Later that year the Idaho Power Co. filed a formal application with FPC for a license to construct the first of its proposed dams. The Interior Department protested this application as did several public power groups.

3. In 1952 the House Interior Committee held extensive hearings with respect to the Federal Hells Canyon project and thereafter voted unanimously to postpone indefinitely any further consideration of it.

4. In May 1953 Interior Secretary McKay withdrew the Department's objection to the Idaho Power Co.'s application. The company then submitted to FPC its complete proposal for development of Snake River power.

5. Staff engineers of FPC spent 44,000 man-hours in studying the company's three-dam proposal, and hearings were held over a period of 1 full year beginning July 7, 1953. Both the proponents and the opponents of the company proposal were given full opportunity to present their cases.

6. On August 4, 1955, the FPC issued a license to the company to construct three hydroprojects in the Snake River.

7. The National Hells Canyon Association and other advocates of the Federal project in November 1955 appealed the FPC licensing order to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia. The circuit court affirmed the FPC decision on October 9, 1956. In the meantime the Senate on July 19, 1956, rejected a bill—S. 1333—which would have authorized the Federal project. The vote was 51 to 41.

8. The proponents of the Federal project carried their appeal against the FPC decision to the Supreme Court February 14, 1957. On April 1, 1957, the Court, by an 8 to 1 vote, refused to review the circuit court's decision and thus left standing the FPC licensing order.

9. In the face of this history the Senate is about to debate and vote on a Hells Canyon bill for the third and presumably last time.

FPC FINDINGS ON THE PRIVATE PROJECT

Both the privately financed three-dam project and the taxpayer-financed single-dam project are basically hydroelectric projects, although other benefits are involved in each. And there is very little difference in their power-producing capacities. The dependable power capacity of the company dams will be 767,000 kilowatts as compared to 785,000 kilowatts for the Federal project. The latter, however would cost more than twice as much to construct as the three company dams.

In considering other benefits such as flood control, navigation and recreation, the FPC found that they "could be effectuated to about the same extent under either the private or Federal plan of development." The Commission took note, however, of the fact that under private development these benefits "will be realized without expense to the United States." The Commission concluded that the company's three-dam project is best adapted to a comprehensive plan for developing the water resources of the Hells Canyon reach of the Snake River.

THE HELLS CANYON PROPONENTS' LAST TRY

Since application was first made for private power development in the Snake River, the public power forces in the Pacific Northwest and elsewhere, too, have used every possible tactic to block it. And about all that can be said for their efforts is that they have delayed the production of power from this source.

They have also been trying in vain since 1949 to put through Congress a bill to authorize the Federal Hells Canyon project. They know this year will be their last chance since the first dam of the company's project will be ready to produce power in 1958. Therefore, they are going all out to get enactment of S. 555. Some measure of their success to date is shown in the fact that S. 555 was introduced not only by Senator MORSE but by 27 cosponsoring Senators. How many others will be persuaded to vote for the unnecessary half billion dollar Federal expenditure proposed in S. 555 remains to be seen.

WHAT THE FEDERAL PROJECT WOULD COST EACH STATE

So that the taxpayers of each of the States can see how much money will be taken unnecessarily out of their States to finance the Federal Hells Canyon project if it is authorized, the table on the next page allocates its cost to the States on the basis of their respective shares of the present Federal tax burden. The $509.7 million total cost consists of $353.7 million for project construction, $26.5 million for interest during construction, and $129.5 million for transmission facilities. These figures do not include the cost to the taxpayers for the Government's obligation to compensate the private company for the investment it has already made in its Snake River project which would have to be abandoned.

Cost to the States of the Federal Hells Canyon project

	Percent of Federal tax burden borne by the States	Cost of project to the States
Alabama	1.02	$5,198,940
Arizona	.47	2,395,590
Arkansas	.49	2,497,530
California	9.81	50,001,570
Colorado	.89	4,536,330
Connecticut	1.97	10,041,090
Delaware	.40	2,038,800
Florida	1.80	9,174,600
Georgia	1.34	6,829,980
Idaho	.25	1,274,250
Illinois	7.46	38,023,620
Indiana	2.62	13,354,140
Iowa	1.26	6,422,220
Kansas	1.06	5,402,820
Kentucky	1.09	5,555,730
Louisiana	1.16	5,912,520
Maine	.43	2,191,710
Maryland	1.93	9,837,210
Massachusetts	3.37	17,176,890
Michigan	5.63	28,696,110
Minnesota	1.68	8,562,960
Mississippi	.48	2,446,560
Missouri	2.50	12,742,500
Montana	.35	1,783,950
Nebraska	.66	3,364,020
Nevada	.20	1,019,400
New Hampshire	.31	1,580,070
New Jersey	4.22	21,509,340
New Mexico	.34	1,732,980
New York	12.65	64,477,050
North Carolina	1.42	7,237,740
North Dakota	.23	1,172,310
Ohio	6.48	33,028,560
Oklahoma	1.00	5,097,000
Oregon	.99	5,046,030
Pennsylvania	6.98	35,577,060
Rhode Island	.52	2,650,440
South Carolina	.66	3,364,020
South Dakota	.22	1,121,340
Tennessee	1.24	6,320,280
Texas	4.39	22,375,830
Utah	.37	1,885,890
Vermont	.16	815,520
Virginia	1.62	8,257,140
Washington	1.69	8,613,930
West Virginia	.75	3,822,750
Wisconsin	2.13	10,856,610
Wyoming	.17	866,490
District of Columbia, Hawaii, Alaska, etc	1.14	5,810,580
Total	100.00	[1] 509,700,000

[1] Estimate as submitted by representatives of the Department of Interior to the Senate Interior Committee during its hearings on the bill.

The Mississippi Valley Association's Expanded Program for 1957 and 1958

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, Wade W. Hollowell, president of the Mississippi Valley Association, delivered a very fine address before the annual Rivers and Harbors Congress on Friday, May 17, outlining the program of his organization for the months ahead. I am confident that under Mr. Hollowell's leadership the Mississippi Valley Association will be one of the more able forces in our country contributing to the sound conservation of our water resources. Mr. Hollowell's remarks about water pollution make it clear that pollution abatement is a problem not only for the Mississippi Valley but also for our entire country.

Under unanimous consent, I include Mr. Hollowell's speech as part of my remarks:

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY ASSOCIATION'S EXPANDED PROGRAM FOR 1957 AND 1958

(Remarks by Wade W. Hollowell, president, Mississippi Valley Association, before the annual convention, National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Washington, D. C., May 17, 1957)

Down through the years the programs of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress and the Mississippi Valley Association have been confined largely to the development of rivers and harbors, and, of course, these included programs for the development of navigation, flood control, and for the multiple uses of our water resources. It has been and it still is our great program.

We are all for the development of our waterways for navigation, the control of our waterways to prevent floods, the control of our waterways for domestic and industrial supply of water, and the control of our water resources for the production of food and fiber. Your great organization and ours have down through the years advocated this philosophy.

The Mississippi Valley Association, at its last annual convention, restated its broad general policies for the development and conservation of our water resources.

We also spelled out our endorsements of many specific projects in the midcontinent area of the United States. These broad policies and these endorsements of specific projects are not a new thing for our organization.

We have, however, launched two new programs based on the philosophy that America has dwelled on the conseravtion of and protection from our waters but has not properly emphasized proper end utilization of the water.

As a result we have launched a program of industrial development in the midcontinent area of the United States and a program to protect the waters of the area from pollution so that waters of the area can be used for industrial consumption.

The population growth in the great Mississippi Basin has been less than the growth of the entire United States. While the population of the United States has increased 10 percent, our overall increase in the midcontinent area has only been 3 percent. On the face of it, it appears the midcontinent area of the United States has been slipping in economic importance. The fact is that all of our loss in population has taken place in the areas within the midcontinent away from waterways.

The growth in population and the expansion of industry in the Mississippi Valley has been largely confined to the areas along our developed waterways. Ten billion dollars' worth of new industries have moved into the Ohio Basin since the close of the Second World War.

Billions of dollars in new industry have moved into the area along the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway and along the Mississippi River. The growth and development in the midcontinent area has not only been along our waterways, but that growth has been in direct proportion to the development on the waterway on which it is located. The lower Mississippi and the Ohio areas have been developed for a number of years and there we have made phenomenal progress. Ten major industrial and chemical firms have recently announced plans for new plants along a small stretch of the Mississippi River above Baton Rouge, with total expenditures of $800 million. Along the Missouri River, where we are just beginning to get the river under control, the industrial development has only started. On the Arkansas River, where until the last year practically nothing had been done to control and utilize the waters of that stream, practically no industrial development has as yet taken place. This is also true along the Red River, Ouachita, and others.

Anticipating the early completion of the development of the Missouri River and the expediting of the development of the Arkansas River, the Red, and the Ouachita and many other tributary rivers, we have decided that the Mississippi Valley Association has a very definite responsibility to help develop industrialization in areas where industry can thrive. Industry can thrive and will thrive only where there is an abundance of controlled water.

Many small communities along our inland waters find fewer and fewer benefits from agriculture what with acreage allotments, the soil bank, mechanization, and the trend toward larger-size commercial farming operations. In addition each year a smaller portion of the consumer dollar is captured by the farmer, in fact now only slightly above 20 percent.

The smaller community along our inland waterways has been concentrating on agriculture and flood control but with the lessening of the importance of agricultural income to the economy and the bettering of flood-control measures, community leaders must concentrate on getting a better share of the consumer dollar through manufacturing and industry and must begin to capitalize on their water, for both industrial usage and economic transportation.

We envision a clearinghouse for these communities in our basin to assist leadership in preparing for, presenting to, and acquiring new industry which can use the water facilities, be they local processing or manufacturing ventures or national concerns seeking water near growing consumer areas.

Water is needed not only as a means of transportation of heavy bulk commodities, but water, the Nation's most abundant mineral, is becoming costlier in hundreds of communities around the country and the competition for water has become so great that we believe that something is going to have to be done to prevent the waste of our water resources through unnecessary and uncontrolled pollution.

The per capita consumption of water in America today is around 1,200 gallons daily. Only 137 gallons of this total per capita daily consumption is devoted to domestic use, and I am sure that some of you wonder, while attending a national convention, how any one individual can use that much water in a day. I have seen several liquids other than H_2O consumed around these conventions, but water use even here dominates the scene, for everyone here bathes and that takes water as we will see.

It might be interesting to take a look at how we use water domestically. It takes 4 to 7 gallons of water to flush the toilet. Your shower runs about 25 gallons down the drain. A little better than 2 gallons of water are used for washing the dishes. An automatic dishwasher may take around 25 gallons. Bathing the children takes an average of 30 gallons each. If your home is air-conditioned, the probabilities are that you are using a considerable amount of water for that purpose. In Washington, D. C., air-conditioning plants are estimated to account for 15 to 20 percent of the water consumed.

With all of our domestic uses which average 137 gallons per capita daily, we have still got a long way to go to make up the difference between this amount and the 1,200 gallons that I said we were using, and here is where we get the big consumption of water.

Sixty-six thousand gallons or 270 tons of water are required to produce 1 ton of steel. It takes 70,000 gallons of water to wash away impurities and assist in the refining process to make a ton of high-grade paper. Ten gallons of water are required to produce a gallon of gasoline and 100 gallons of water are needed to produce a pound of synthetic rubber. Our meatpacking industry, in fact, every industry in America consumes large amounts of water and many of those industries pollute far more water than they consume.

We, of the Mississippi Valley Association, believe that unless industry unites behind a sane and effective program of water pollution abatement, American industry can expect some very drastic State and Federal legislation to prevent the pollution of the streams of America that are keeping America strong.

Industry has moved into these areas of controlled water and this industry has been most welcome. Water has been put under control in reservoirs and in stabilized streams for the use of industry, but not for pollution by industry.

A great steel giant at Gary, Ind., pumps 550 million gallons of water into their plant daily from Lake Michigan. This is enough to make a lake 10 feet deep measuring 15 city blocks in length and width. A steel company in West Virginia requires a pumping capacity of 265 million gallons a day to keep steel production going. The Eastman Kodak Co. at Rochester, N. Y., consumes enough water every day to satisfy a city of 300,000. The Union Stockyards Co. at Chicago will consume 5 million gallons a day while Armour & Co. plants in Chicago will use 10 million gallons of water daily. Paper mills use 250 tons of water for every ton of sulfite wood pulp with most good-size mills consuming more water in a day than would a city of 50,000.

Industrial and steam power use now accounts for around 45 percent of the total water use, compared with only 39 percent in 1946. By 1970 the figure is expected to rise to about 51 percent. Water supply now ranks with labor and transportation as a key factor in determining plant location. Many areas are being bypassed by industry because of water shortage and we believe that unless we find an equitable solution to the water-pollution problem, we are going to limit the industrial expansion we so vitally need in most parts of our country.

It is no coincidence that heavy water-consuming chemical plants have been locating along the Ohio and the Mississippi River Basins or that one-third of the Nation's total plant spending in the past 5 years has been concentrated in the Great Lakes area.

New industry is most welcome but some of the industries which have been locating along our waterways have not been good neighbors. They have dumped chemicals, inorganic or organic materials into our streams which have not only destroyed fish and wildlife, but they have greatly limited the supply of water for other industries and for agriculture.

We do not have all the answers to these problems of an adequate water supply and the maximum prevention of water pollution, but with the aid of industrial leaders and research organizations we hope to find at least a partial solution to this problem. The Mississippi Valley Association is investing a sizeable portion of its funds in a program of research and a program of organization that we hope will lead to a situation in which we can have the maximum industrial development of our controlled water by eliminating every possible source of pollution. Much of our water resource development program in America is financed by all of the people, that is, by the Federal Government. We do envision, however, a National Water Pollution (Abatement) Committee with participation on the committee by industry, municipalities, the States and the Federal Government, possibly at first a research and information clearinghouse, later leading to uniformity of laws and practices on both the local and Federal level.

We do not believe that it is fair, reasonable, or good business for any city or any industry to unnecessarily reduce the value of our water resources by not making every possible effort to eliminate water pollution.

So in addition to our traditional efforts to protect us from and conserve our water resources the Mississippi Valley Association is directing efforts to conserve and utilize our water. We invite your great Rivers and Harbors Congress to help us in building an even greater and more prosperous America.

Thank you.

Dulles' Revolving Door

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, from brink to brink and bungle to bungle is still the order of the day with Mr. Dulles. In this connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Post of May 16, 1957:

DULLES' REVOLVING DOOR

If Mr. Dulles were a junior law clerk and drew up a brief using the same legal arguments he has just offered to justify his exclusion of American reporters from China, he would be chided for not doing his homework. Mr. Dulles' position is that the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press relates only to publication and has nothing to do with the gathering of news. This is like an argument that the right to vote has nothing to do with the freedom to cast ballots.

In 2 of the 3 principal Supreme Court decisions he cites, the Secretary of State has taken language out of context and ignored the substance of the decisions. In the third he has turned a ruling affecting the business operations of the press so as to apply it to the gathering of news. The final case Mr. Dulles cites, a New York court of appeals decision having to do with secrecy of trials, has little direct bearing on the present discussion.

Let it be acknowledged that newspapers have sometimes been foolish in crying freedom of the press when their business activities were properly subjected to laws of general application. Mr. Dulles is being no less foolish, it seems to us, in contending that access to information is not a fundamental component of freedom of the press.

Actually, the Constitution specifies neither access to information nor right of uncensored publication in its stipulation that "Congress shall make no law * * * abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." In point of fact, however, the right of publication which Mr. Dulles himself construes from the first amendment can be rendered meaningless without the right to gather news, subject to particularized applications of law.

There is a vast difference between the refusal of the Government to release information, justified with respect to certain security matters, and the use of the power of Government to prevent the gathering of information from nonofficial and foreign sources. Yet this latter is essentially what Mr. Dulles is doing under what seems to us a thoroughly warped interpretation of the first amendment. In his recent letter to Arthur Hays Sulzberger, Mr. Dulles virtually acknowledged that he does not want American reporters to write from China as a matter of policy. Therefore he is using the arm of Government, through the denial of passports, to make such reporting a crime.

The important question, of course, is not whether the Secretary of State is legally empowered to do what he is doing, but whether he is wise. Here he has employed a dubious legal argument to becloud an issue that is essentially political. On the political side the explanations of why the American people are denied firsthand information about Communist China from American reporters have become more and more farfetched. They have served to isolate American policy more and more from reality and make more and more painful the inevitable retreat. Cannot Mr. Dulles, who so often displays a pragmatic bent, reverse himself before he becomes totally stuck in a dead end?

Cash Return Is the Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, my district will be vitally affected by the proposed Trinity project. I submit herewith an editorial from the Hollister Free Home advocating Federal and private partnership in Trinity power development:

CASH RETURN IS THE QUESTION

Many opinions, both pro and con, have been expressed over the proposal of joint development rights on the Trinity River project.

The age-old question of public versus private power has been aired to the fullest extent and cries of Government subsidy for Pacific Gas and Electric have been heard.

We have our own idea on public and private power and contentd that a State-regulated utility has proven to be far more effective and cheaper in the long run than any public-power development.

But that doesn't appear to be the cardinal issue at hand. The question to be decided seems already to have been pointed in Congress with the determined efforts of both the House and Senate to slash away at President Eisenhower's budget. The issue seems to be money, or rather, economy. * * * Under which proposal will the State, the Nation and, most of all, the people, benefit?

We believe the question is answered by Robert H. Gerdes, executive vice president of Pacific Gas & Electric in his recent letter to Senator KUCHEL.

In the first place, the Government would save $56 million in project capital costs under the joint-development program. The Government also would stand to gain $165 million more net revenue to aid basic water purposes of the project than if it were to build the power facilities alone. Some $83 million in Federal tax revenue would be created and the California and local governments would receive $62 million in new taxes.

That's a lot of money in any man's language, and according to the Pacific Gas & Electric official, none of it would be forthcoming under total Federal construction.

Of course Pacific Gas & Electric is to receive more firm power for its transmission lines and for its consumers. But we all realize more power is needed now in this growing State of ours—and still more will be needed as the growth continues. Californians are paying now for Pacific Gas & Electric power. They will continue to pay in the future, but it will be at a rate set by the State—a firm rate that has been decided by the people themselves through their representatives in Sacramento.

We believe the dollars and cents return on the question of joint development of the Trinity project is the actual issue, and that Pacific Gas & Electric has presented a solid format of what it can and will do.

Decided on that merit, there should be no hesitation on the part of the public or our representatives to give Pacific Gas & Electric a wholehearted go-ahead.

Hells Canyon Dam Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, the board of directors of the world's largest electric power cooperative, the Dairyland Power Cooperative, in a meeting at La Crosse, Wis., April 18, considered the Hells Canyon situation and passed a resolution endorsing the Federal dam proposal. Within less than a week after the resolution had been passed the Federal Power Commission on April 24 granted the Idaho Power Co. permission to issue $40 million in short promissory notes to finance a series of private dams, and on April 25 the Office of Defense Mobilization issued accelerated amortization certificates which will enable the private power company to receive interest-free loans of $30.5 million which amounts to a subsidy over a 50-year period of $329 million. I would like to point out that the Dairyland Co-op serves the needs of 26 member distribution cooperatives in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois, who in turn distribute electrical energy to more than 93,000 farm families and rural businesses. As American taxpayers who are familiar with the operation of public power principles, these directors have a special knowledge to apply to this problem. The resolution follows:

Whereas the Congress of the United States will act at its present session on authorizing legislation to construct a high dam at Hells Canyon on the Snake River; and

Whereas the proper legislative test to apply to any project like the proposed high Hells Canyon Dam is whether it will provide for the fullest proper use of natural resources and whether private interests are willing and able to do the job as well as can be done by Federal development; and

Whereas the Federal Power Commission has granted a license to Idaho Power Co. for construction of small, low dams as an alternative to a single high Federal dam despite the findings of its hearing examiner, after a year of hearings, that the best development in the public interest would be a single high dam such as proposed in the Hells Canyon legislation; and

Whereas we heartily concur with the examiner that a high dam providing 2,880,000 more acre-feet of storage for flood control, that would provide almost 40 percent more power; that would permit ultimate sale of the power at less than half the cost compared to projects authorized by the Federal Power Commission, is clearly a superior project in the public interest, particularly be-

cause it would be part of a long-term integrated development of the Snake River; and

Whereas the examiner's reason for recommending approval of a Federal Power Commission license for private development was only because he personally didn't think Congress would authorize promptly the Federal development; and

Whereas Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Iowa farmers, as well as farmers in 11 other Midwestern States, would realize a saving of approximately $8.40 per ton in their purchase of plant food as a result of a major development of the phosphate resources of this area which would utilize the low-cost power from a Federal dam, but could not practically utilize higher cost power and lesser available capacity from private development; and

Whereas, in 1957, 16 farmer-owned cooperative organizations serving the plant-food needs of 2 million farmer patrons in 15 Midwestern States have already started development of the phosphate resources of this area but find the cost of concentrating superphosphates at the plant cost $2.10 per ton more for each additional mill in kilowatt-hour cost and the difference between cost of power available from Federal development averages 3 mills compared to 7 mills from private development; and

Whereas low-cost power would increase the percentage of estimated phosphate deposits feasible for development by more than 300 percent, and such differentials in both price and available supply may often determine whether or not a farmer can afford to follow good soil-conservation practices; and

Whereas Idaho Power Co. already has applications pending for rapid tax writeoffs on 2 of its proposed 3 small dams which at 6 percent over 50 years would yield a total subsidy at the expense of taxpayers of more than $325 million, or, roughly, the cost of the Federal high dam, with the further expectation that a similar subsidy will be applied for if it should build the third dam it proposes; and

Whereas the private development represents partial, piecemeal, and less-than-maximum integration of the potential of our great American water resources at ultimately much greater cost to the taxpayers of the Nation; and

Whereas this stretch of the Snake River represents the greatest remaining potential dam site in the Nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the board of directors of Dairyland Power Cooperative, which serves more than 90,000 rural families with their wholesale electric-power needs in the States of Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and Illinois, do hereby strongly urge that our representatives in the Senate of the United States Congress and our representatives in the House of Representatives in our United States Congress do actively support enabling and authorizing legislation to provide for the construction of the high Federal dam at Hells Canyon under auspices of the United States and that construction be authorized with the least possible delay.

How To Cut the Cost of the Trinity River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, Representative JAMES B. UTT, of California, recently reported in cogent words to his constituents just why the United States taxpayers would be better off by partnership in the Trinity River project. His words are of such force that I believe their benefit should be shared with all our colleagues by inclusion in this RECORD. His report follows:

WASHINGTON REPORT
(By Congressman JAMES B. UTT)

Last year Congress authorized the Trinity River project in California at a cost of $225 million. This project provided for the transmountain diversion of some 865,000 acre-feet from the Trinity River to the Sacramento River below the Shasta Dam. There is a total water drop of 1,500 feet. This would provide water power sufficient to generate 385,000 kilowatt-hours.

The act directed the Secretary of the Interior to proceed with negotiations for the sale of the falling water to a private utility and report the result of these negotiations with his recommendations. The negotiations could not come effective until approved by Congress. The Pacific Gas & Electric Co. was the only company which offered to negotiate such an agreement. They offered to construct the powerplants and operate them for a period of 50 years subject to renewal or recapture of the powerplants by the Government. They agreed to make an average annual payment to the United States of $4,617,000 for the privilege of having the water pass through their turbines without any consumptive use of the water.

This payment is equal to $5.33 per acre-foot, which figure is considerably higher than the farmer will pay per acre-foot for the full consumptive use thereof. They agreed to integrate their system with that of the Central Valley project. They further agreed to provide energy on an exchange basis from the company's system to operate project pumps including those in the proposed Feather River project in order to make more commercial power available for sale by the Government to its preferred customers. This would also allow the Federal Government to use the company's transmission facilities to serve Federal and preference customers for 50 years at a charge less than th cost to the Government if it owned the facilities required for this service.

On February 12, the Secretary of the Interior transmitted the proposed agreements to the Congress and recommended joint development of Trinity water resources. If his recommendations are accepted by Congress, it would save the Federal Government a capital outlay of $55½ million for the power plants, and provide in the 50-year period total additional revenue to the Federal, State, and local governments of $310 million or $85 million more than the proposed cost of the whole Trinity River project, and the Federal Government would still have $150 million worth of water to sell to the farmers over that same period of time.

If the Federal Government generates this power, it would first have to invest an additional $55½ million in generating equipment, plus the cost of a power distributing system and would then sell the power below its true market value under the preference clause to less than 5 percent of the people of California, or less than one-third of 1 percent of the people of the United States who actually would be financing the project.

This very small group of individuals, as a class, who receive this benefit, perform no special service whatever for the Government. The advocates of public power are always saying that these great natural resources belong to all of the people and yet come up with the inconsistent demand that a very few people in the immediate area should reap all of the benefits at the expense of the rest of the country. I feel that the American taxpayer who financed this project is entitled to recover the full return of his investment and to apply any profit therefrom to additional conservation projects.

If Congress does not approve this proposed contract and decides to genrate and sell the power, I shall propose an amendment that the rates to be charged shall be sufficiently high to permit the Government to pay an amount equal to what the company would have paid to State and local governments for the support of schools, churches, roads and other necessary services supplied the State of California and other local governments. This in itself would amount to over a million dollars a year.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

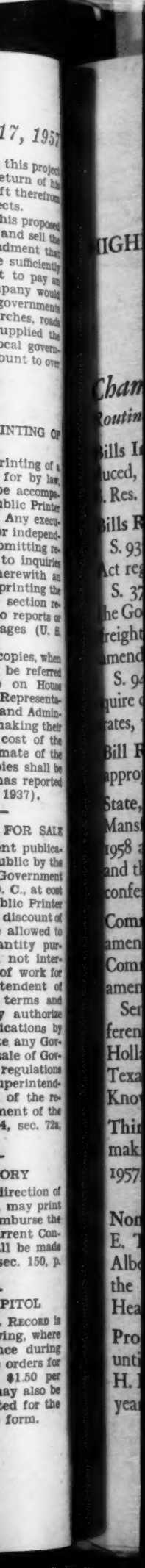

, 1957

of James
tee on the

Dan Hill;
y.

of Dolores
e on the

f Jimmie
the Judi-

of Julio
mittee on

Dr. Car-
ee on the

petitions
rk's desk

n of the
roads and
ing con-
reference
or postal
t in pri-
adequate
ctivity of
e on Post

dent, the
Highland
of their
g enact-
the crea-
ic Canals
all the
increased
mmenda-
mittee on

ary, Roa-
Va., peti-
resolution
e of H. R.
on Ways

y, Curley
petition-
tion with
gressional
up a re-
the Halls
Interior

Appendix

Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner Address by Hon. Wayne Morse, of Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAT McNAMARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I send to the desk a copy of the address delivered by the able and distinguished senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] at a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Detroit, Mich., on Saturday, May 18, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S JOIN THE ISSUES

(Remarks by Senator WAYNE MORSE to Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner, Detroit, Mich., May 18, 1957)

Governor Williams, reverend clergy, Senator McNAMARA, Lieutenant Governor Hart, my congressional colleagues, all Democratic officials, and fellow Democrats, it is a high honor to be invited to speak to a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Detroit, Mich., particularly at a time when the Democratic Party in this State is rising to a zenith of power and prestige that is almost unmatched elsewhere in this country. Your great Governor Williams has demonstrated an ability unusual in American politics, and that is a capacity not just to win an unprecedented number of terms in office for himself, but to lead his entire party to success in his State.

It is a great privilege to me to be at the meeting with my good friend PAT McNAMARA. He can close his ears for a minute while I talk about him. In 1954 I campaigned for PAT McNAMARA in Michigan. I knew I was campaigning for a true liberal, a fine man, and a great Democrat. His record in the Senate proves I was right. PAT is doing a wonderful job for Michigan and the Nation in the Senate of the United States. In my book of political qualifications for high office PAT McNAMARA rates with the best. He personifies courage. He inspires me with his honest independence of judgment. He has brains and please remember that there is no substitute for brains in public service.

PAT enjoys and deserves the esteem and respect of the Senate. Start reelecting him now because it is very important to Michigan and the country that he be kept in the Senate for many years to come.

It is not often that politicians do more than achieve their own success at the polls and in public affairs. It is rare, indeed, as American election statistics show, when the popularity of a candidate can be transferred to other candidates in sufficient numbers to help them win elections, and it is even more rare when a popular leader can sustain the gains of his party even when he is not on the ticket.

Governor Williams has been able to achieve that for the same reasons that a very few other State and National leaders have achieved it—because he has personified a program and policy of government that has served the general welfare of his State. He has brought vitality and liberalism to the Democratic Party in Michigan and made the party the true servant of the people. As a result its candidates have been elected to more State and local offices than Democrats have ever held in your State before.

I am proud to say that we have been making the same record in Oregon. Last fall we not only held the Senate and House seats we Democrats already had, but gained 2 more of Oregon's 3 Republican congressional seats; we captured the State house, the lower house of the State legislature, and gained a tie with Republicans in the State senate, so that Democrats in Oregon, too, now hold more State and local offices than ever before in history.

Much has been made of the strong showing by our party in the Pacific Northwest last fall in face of the Eisenhower vote. I want to talk to you about the reason for that success, which is the same, I think, as the reason underlying your great victories here in Michigan.

Our example to the party nationally is essentially that in neither State have we provided Eisenhower and his administration with their political clothes, nor have we permitted Eisenhower to pose as a liberal while he carries out the traditional Republican policies of economic royalism. In both States Democrats have drawn the issues clearly and have taken their stand on the side of the welfare of the people and against Eisenhower's Republican policies of economic favoritism and special privilege. Thus I selected as my subject Let's Join the Issues.

Michigan has an outstanding example from its own history of why a party gains popular support and another party loses it. In the 1840's and 1850's the two national parties reached a complete stalemate on the most searching issue of the age—human slavery. The result was indecision, compromise, and evasion by the parties of an issue that was choking to death the American experiment.

As party conventions met and party platforms were drafted, they avoided coming to grips with the great issue of whether the institution of chattel slavery should be extended into the free territories. They sought to evade, to straddle, and to compromise on what was then the most divisive and paralyzing paradox of American life.

The Whig Party did not even survive its failure to face up to that issue. As its leadership hedged and compromised, its rank and file and its voting strength drifted away into new political organizations.

The State of Michigan helped give birth to the strongest and clearest voice that emerged from that welter of the 1850's. I understand that Wisconsin and Michigan dispute the actual founding of the Republican Party, but there existed in both States the desire for a political party through which firm and uncompromising opposition to the expansion of slavery could be expressed. A few candidates ran under the Republican label in 1854; in 1856 it offered the major opposition to the Democrats for the Presidency; by 1860 it captured the White House from a shattered and disorganized Democratic Party that had wound up with two candidates and two platforms.

I need not come to Michigan to relate to you the history of your State, but I would point it out to you as a graphic reminder of the futility of compromise on the great issues of human freedom and progress by a political party and the necessity for positive and unequivocating party policies. As a footnote to history, let me add that it was a declaration by independent Democrats in 1854 that furnished the greatest impetus to the founding of the Republican Party here in the Midwest. "Demagogs may tell," they wrote, "that the Union can be maintained only by submitting to the demands of slavery. We tell you that the Union can only be maintained by the full recognition of the just claims of freedom and man. The Union was formed to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty. When it fails to accomplish these ends, it will be worthless, and when it becomes worthless it cannot long endure."

The same might well be said of a party, and of the Democratic Party. One hundred years ago, a strong stand for the just claims of freedom and man brought the Republican Party to the heights of power within 6 years of its founding. The failure to take such a stand ruined the Democratic Party for a generation and nearly caused its destruction.

It is to the credit of our party that it survived those years of political cowardice and impotence, which terminated in a shameful defense of human slavery and disunion. We should be proud of the fact that our party was able to recapture the tradition of Jefferson and Jackson, and to become again the symbol and vehicle of human progress in America.

That was because the Democratic Party remained, basically, the party of the workingman, the farmer, and the small-business man and under Cleveland, Woodrow Wilson, Roosevelt, and Truman it emerged in its best tradition. Where we dodge or equivocate on the great economic and social issues of our day, when we fail to stand for the general welfare of the American people and for programs needed to push back the limitations on human freedom, when we give aid and comfort and political support to a morally corrupt Eisenhower administration, we fail the true, historic mission of the Democratic Party and do not earn or deserve the support and votes of the people.

When we stick by our basic principles of fighting for the interests and welfare of all the American people, we have won elective office. I think that is the great lesson the national Democratic Party can learn from Michigan and from the Northwest.

We have opposing us in Washington a typically reactionary Republican administration, despite the new labels that are pasted on it, all the way from dynamic conservatism to modern Republicanism. All of them boil down to synthetic idealism when it comes to an examination of what the administration is actually doing. On the great economic issues of today, on natural resources, interest rates, and on tax policies, the Eisenhower administration has proved over and over again that its purpose is to promote not the general welfare, but the welfare of the investor and profiteer. A study of American political history would show that the genuinely modern Republicans were Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, and George Norris; the Eisenhower administration's claim to being modern rests solely on chronology, and has no relationship whatever to development or historical progress.

I know of no more serious or far-reaching issue on which our party must draw the line against the Eisenhower administration and take forthright leadership than on that of conservation and preservation of our natural resources, of which water is among the most important.

Let us never forget that water is the greatest nourishment of the civilization of any nation. When I talk about conservation and full development of the natural resources of our great river basins—the Tennessee, the Missouri, the Columbia, and the rest, I am talking about the need for maintaining a high water table in order that we may maintain a high level of civilization. Without water, human and plant life is impossible. Lack of adequate water has doomed whole areas that once flourished. In the strife-torn Middle East, for example, there was four times the amount of land under cultivation in Roman times as there is today.

It is urgent that the dimensions of our water problem be recognized, for it takes years and decades to achieve the means of adequate multipurpose water development. I predict that as our population grows, and our industry becomes more extensive, we will find that the adequacy of our water systems will be the ultimate limitation upon our capacity to grow.

It is within man's power to waste water or use it to the full. The most fearful waste is that which permits the destruction of sources of water by failure to protect watersheds and the irresponsible pollution of our God-given streams. The Democratic Party should carry the fight to the Republican Party on the water resources issue, because the Eisenhower administration has already made a sorry record against the future generations of American boys and girls by its various proposals for underdevelopment in our Nation's river basins. Its phoney partnership plan, for example, selling out the people's heritage of their own water rights to private utilities, will result in the cheating of future generations out of a full enjoyment of the maximum economic potentials of our river basins.

There can be no compromise of the principles inherent in this issue. I hold no brief for any Democrat in the Congress of the United States who gives aid and comfort and support to the Eisenhower administration's underdevelopment proposals because it is only through comprehensive development that we can protect the water rights of future generations, and assure the greatest benefits to the greatest number of our people.

We will make progress on comprehensive development when there is adequate recognition of the public interest, and protection is given it without evasion or equivocation.

The project that best dramatizes the water resource issue is the great Hells Canyon dam issue. I am sure that none of you came to this meeting, expecting to go home without hearing me mention this issue. I do so with great political relish, because it is one of the many Achilles' heels of this Republican administration.

The Hells Canyon Dam symbolizes the great difference between the private utility-controlled Republican administration of President Eisenhower and the program for the future of forward-looking Democrats.

The power to be generated at site and which Hells Canyon would make possible downstream will make possible new private enterprise with new plants and the businesses which spring up to serve new industrial communities. What the supporters of high Hells Canyon Dam want is a transfusion of low-cost power for a more vigorous private enterprise economy. A more balanced local economy will be achieved as population, with new purchasing power, grows. There will be a larger market for regional farm products and the manufactured wares of the whole country. This new economic vitality will be good for the whole country.

The Nation's farmers needs the new low-cost phosphate fertilizer which low-cost Hells Canyon power alone can make possible to the fullest extent. Farmers from the west coast as far east as Ohio would benefit because cheap power from Hells Canyon Dam would make possible full use of the phospate deposits of Idaho and Utah, greater production of high concentrates of phosphate fertilizer, and reduced costs of fertilizers. Farm organizations owning phosphates beds in Idaho and Utah cannot now proceed with their plans for development because of the lack of an assured power supply at less than 4 mills per kilowatt-hour. Hells Canyon Dam site is uniquely situated within economic transmission distance of this great phosphate resource, and power from the dam can be made available at wholesale costs of approximately 3 mills, permitting full utilization of the phosphate beds.

Farm cooperatives through the West and Midwest expect to utilize Idaho-Utah phosphates, provided low enough power rates are available. Farmers in these regions could thereby save between $15 to $18 per ton for fertilizer. The combination of Hells Canyon power with the Idaho phosphate deposits has long been considered feasible, and as a result, the indirect benefits could be very large in the conservation of national phosphate and sulfur resources, encouragement of greater use of fertilizer, better soil conservation, and great yields per acre of food and fiber.

It does not take much foresight to know that in but a few decades our growing population will need a more abundant food supply. Expansion of agricultural capacity will require expansion of irrigation and reclamation. Even Interior Secretary Seaton has warned of that need.

That expansion cannot be accomplished economically without the historic aid of public power revenues for irrigation and reclamation projects. In Idaho and eastern Oregon especially, the future of irrigation and reclamation depends upon Hells Canyon as a Federal project. In 1953, when Secretary McKay withdrew former Secretary Chapman's opposition to the application for licenses by the Idaho Power Co., he mentioned that other possible dams might be pressed into service to provide power revenues for irrigation. Those alternatives are disappearing under the administration's resources policies. So-called partnership makes no provision for aid to irrigation.

These are the reasons why I am convinced that the Democratic Party has a great duty to oppose the political expediency of the Eisenhower administration in the field of natural resources, and to do it now by authorizing the Federal high Hells Canyon dam. What Congress does or fails to do, and what the administration does or fails to do will have long-range and permanent effects. The floods and power shortages of the future, the economic consequences of full development or underdevelopment cannot be undone once the pattern is set. An inadequate low private utility dam built by the Idaho Power Co. cannot be repealed. A gerrymandered river cannot be reclaimed.

The Democratic Party must draw this issue of water conservation and full development of river basins with the Republican Party in a fight to the finish. We are right, and the voters will so decree in 1958 and in 1960 if we give no quarter, and stop providing the Eisenhower administration with the votes that will give away the people's heritage in their own natural resources which include the Hells Canyon Dam site.

A second issue which the Democratic Party must carry to the people of the country is fiscal policy—the tight-money policy the Republicans put into effect just 9 days after they took office in 1953. I have a lot of first-hand knowledge of this subject because I was the first to raise my voice in protest. Yet despite all the opposition put up since then against rising interest rates, and despite the fact that time and experience have proved we were right to oppose it, the administration has done nothing to reverse it.

The exercise by the Eisenhower administration of its executive discretion in fixing interest rates has shown these results: first, small business, which finances expansion mostly by borrowing instead of from profits as big business does, must now pay so much more to borrow that half the small and medium-sized companies which had bank credit lines in March of 1955 had been cut off by March of 1956; second, the rate of business failures has risen from 29 per 10,000 enterprises in 1952 to 48 per 10,000 in 1956. The Cabinet member who said in 1953 that "Big business is back in the saddle" was absolutely right. The depressed condition of small business proves that he was right.

The high interest rate policy of the Eisenhower administration is a throw-back to Republicanism of old—of McKinley and Coolidge—regardless of what is done to peddle it under the name of "modern" Republicanism. It is a policy that lines the pockets of bankers, investors, and big-business men, and brings ruin to farmers and small businessmen. Already, the Pacific Northwest has shown the effects of this policy in declining employment, and so have other sections of the country.

To many, the terminology of this economic issue is not dramatic, and lacks political sex appeal, but in my judgment, it is one of the most critical of all economic issues because if the tight money policy continues unchecked, it can put the couuntry right back where the last Republican administration put it—in a first-class economic depression. The Treasury Secretary may very well be right when he says the country faces a depression that will curl our hair, but he cited the wrong reason. If one does occur, it will be as a esult of his own tight money policy, and his tax policy of favoritism for big business.

An old, old issue that plagues the Nation and therefore the Democratic Party, too, because of the very fact that we are a national party, is that involving civil rights. I am not one to stand up in Detroit, or in Chicago, or in Cleveland, or New York and point to the South and say that that region of the country is the one that must start assuring its racial minority of equal protection of law, and social and economic opportunity. But I do say that the Democratic Party must show the way, and to the extent that we fail to do so, we fail the people and do not deserve their support.

The day when an eligible voter can be intimidated, or otherwise denied the exercise of this basic right of participation in self-government, belongs to the historic past. It is abhorrent to every principle on which our Nation is founded, and is therefore equally abhorrent to the principles of our party. That practice must be attacked wherever it occurs, and the voting privilege protected vigorously by all three branches of the Government.

Equivocation on suffrage and on equal protection of the law is intolerable and inexcusable, and will lose for the Democratic Party the confidence of millions of Americans who have every right to expect strong leadership from us. If we fail them, they will be right to turn away from the Democratic Party.

There are many other issues on which we must demonstrate leadership founded on the great moral principle of the Constitution that the objectives of our Government are the establishment of justice, the securing of liberty, and promotion of the general welfare. It is not enough that we work for the specific legislative and administrative proposals for farmers, working people, and small-business men that we have championed over many decades. There are new and confusing challenges we must come to grips with, such as the revolution in industrial and employment patterns as a consequence of automation, and whether the

marvelous potential of power from atomic energy is to be put to its maximum use for all the people, or monopolized for private profit.

But above all, we must not compromise our party by compromising our principles. The examples of betrayal of the public trust by the Eisenhower administration in natural resources, in its domination by big business with continuing business interests, and its neglect of the people's need for help in the fields of education, civil rights, and social and employment security are already on record.

Let there be no equivocation or timidity in taking this record to the American people. When they know the facts about it, and when we have proved that we are the party of America's future, we will find that we have earned their votes on election day.

Father Adam Grill's Sermon at Senator McCarthy's Funeral

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, at the Appleton, Wis., funeral services of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, Father Adam Grill, of St. Mary's Catholic Church—Joe's home church in Appleton—delivered a most moving and appropriate funeral sermon which so impressed the Senators and Representatives attending the services that he was asked to send us a copy to be incorporated in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I ask unanimous consent, accordingly, Mr. President, to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD this fitting tribute to our late colleague by the priest who ministered to Joe throughout his all too abbreviated lifetime.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SERMON OF FATHER ADAM GRILL AT FUNERAL SERVICES OF SENATOR JOE MCCARTHY, ST. MARY'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, APPLETON, WIS., MAY 7, 1957

Mrs. McCarthy, relatives of Senator McCarthy, distinguished visitors, friends of Senator McCarthy, first of all we wish to express to Mrs. McCarthy and relatives the sympathy and condolences of our Most Reverend Bishop Bona, and Bishop Greilinger, our auxiliary bishop, and many priests of our diocese. Bishop Bona called personally to be sure that we would express his regrets that he cannot be here for this occasion. He is celebrating the 25th anniversary of his consecration as a bishop in his cathedral in Green Bay today. The reverend assistant priests of St. Mary's, as well as myself, and Sisters of St. Mary's, and all the members of the parish join with our bishop in expressing our sympathy.

Before us we see the flag-draped casket of the junior Senator of Wisconsin. May Almighty God be good to him. If our God would allow him this morning to use his lifeless arms, Senator McCarthy would point out to all of us two objects in this church as an expression of his whole life. He would first point to the altar, and secondly to the flag that drapes his casket, and why would he do this? Because they contain the epitome of his life. Senator McCarthy was a dedicated man. I have known him during all of his public life. When he took upon himself a task he gave his whole heart and soul to a successful completion of his work. He loved his God, and he loved his country. To him the people of Wisconsin imposed the obligation of working for the good of the people of the United States of America, and for the people of the State of Wisconsin. He dedicated himself to this work.

We have many dedicated men in the branches of the Government. God's church is under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and is infallible through this direction. The guidance of our beloved land is under the guidance of human beings and as human beings we are all fallible. People expect that the honorable men directing our Government are infallible, which is far from the truth. Mistakes therefore can be made, and are made. Instead of criticizing them we should get down on our knees every day and pray God to direct them and to guide them. They need this help. Pray, don't condemn.

We have the most beautiful land in the world, the most blessed one. The hungry eyes of the dogs of envy, jealously, and hatred of our enemies are directed toward us. There are enemies from within and from without. In our humble opinion even more threatening than the atom and hydrogen bombs is the common enemy of all democracy and God-fearing people—communism. Of all the great men in our country, no one recognized this more completely than Senator McCarthy.

The hydrogen bombs and the atom bombs our Armed Forces can take care of. It is the boring from within that comes under the executive and legislative bodies' authority in our country. Senator McCarthy was like a man of old who saw this danger to his country, and, clothed in the shining armor of zeal and love, and holding within his hands the sword of truth, he went forward into the battle with the cry on his lips, "For God and for my country." His fight is now history, and history will evaluate it. But if the torch dropped by his dying hands is not plucked up and again held aloft, then God help our beloved land. Woe upon those who do not make our country safe for Tierney McCarthy and the million other children like her.

Senator McCarthy was indeed fortunate to continually have at his side in these last few years his devoted and capable wife and his loyal staff. We hope they will never let his memory die.

We are happy to have had personally a share in the shaping of the religious life of our beloved Senator. As a youth he came to St. Mary's to receive instructions in the doctrines and practices of his faith. We are proud of the fact that he was proud of his faith. I know this personally because he practiced his faith zealously and to the dying moments of his life. Mrs. McCarthy informs me that in the days that she worked in the office of Senator McCarthy frequently he would ask her to take a little walk, and as they walked along the streets of Washington they would pass a Catholic church. Senator McCarthy would go into the church and spend 10 minutes or so in silent prayer, and then would come out and they would proceed with their walk.

To be a Christian our Lord told us that we must practice the beautiful virtue of charity. Next to the love of God one must love his neighbor. Christianity without charity is void. Senator McCarthy loved his neighbors; he loved his country; he loved his State; he loved his native city of Appleton; he loved St. Mary's. One of his greatest loves was for the young, and for them he fought.

Our obligation before God is to love Him. Love is expressed perfectly by action. Greater love than this no man hath than to lay down his life for his friends. Senator McCarthy died not because of disease only, but principally because he exhausted himself physically for love of his fellow beings.

If you loved him, manifest this by remembering him in your prayers. No man is perfect. Senator McCarthy had faults, and I am sure he would be the first to admit this. Pray God to forgive him. Pray God daily that he has met a merciful divine judge. Pray for him. Pray for him as we have just done in the holy sacrifice of the Mass.

We are proud of the fact that the Senator wanted to come home to Appleton, to St. Mary's, for his last resting place. I am sure that his great spirit will like the resting place of his body, overlooking the beautiful Fox River. May we here in Appleton never forget him.

We will close with the words of St. Ambrose: "We have loved him in life; let us not forget him in death."

The Oil Lift to Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, articles and statements have been printed in the RECORD with respect to the so-called oil lift to Europe. There appeared in the New York Times on May 10, 1957, an editorial which quoted rather extensively from the monthly letter of the National City Bank of New York on the subject. I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE OIL LIFT

The Monthly Letter of the First National City Bank carries a comprehensive review of the recent oil lift for Western Europe that brings the recent price increase into proper perspective. As the First National City Bank tells the story:

"In October, prior to stoppage of the canal, imports of Middle East oil to the United States and Eastern Canada amounted to 385,000 barrels daily. By December and January some 330,000 barrels daily were diverted to Europe. Shipments of Western Hemisphere oil practically doubled to almost 1.4 million barrels daily. About 30 percent of this increase was accounted for by higher shipments from Venezuela (output in March of 2.9 million barrels daily was 400,000 higher than in September) and the rest of the increase was met by expanding United States production and by drawing down United States inventories."

What about the 25 cents a barrel increase in the price of oil, over which anti-administration politicians have tried to make an issue? "The fact is," as the authors of this study put it, "that when the oil-exporting companies could no longer obtain sufficient crude for shipment to Europe from their own production and purchases, or from purchases at prevailing prices, they offered higher prices to draw out greater supplies.

"The higher oil prices induced suppliers to liquidate inventories—even after they got down below normal levels. With demand greatly increased, stocks on hand fell from 37 days' supply at the end of October to 29 days' supply at the end of March—the lowest point in the postwar period."

This is a brief sketch of the Oil Lift of 1956–57, which prevented immeasurable disruption of supply in the economy of Western Europe during the past winter. It is a summary story of an episode that has been hailed by the London Times, for example, as "a remarkable achievement, reflecting great credit on the oil industry," but of which the advisory council of the Democratic National Committee seems never to have heard, or which if it had heard of it, didn't regard it as worth mentioning.

Freight Car Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, for many years the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has held a succession of long, arduous hearings on the subject of the freight-car shortage. It looks like a shortage will occur again this year. Every Senator from every State in which the freight car shortage will occur is aware of what it will mean.

With the fruitful third quarter rapidly approaching, when the products of the land will need to be moved to the markets of the world, the New York Times has taken a good look at the problem. Its staff reporter, Robert E. Bedingfield, has written an article entitled "Freight Car Crisis Is Coming to a Head," which was published in the New York Times of May 5, 1957. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREIGHT-CAR CRISIS IS COMING TO A HEAD—WITH THE RAILROADS' FLEETS DIMINISHING, THE APPROACH OF HARVEST POINTS UP A PROBLEM OF NO EASY SOLUTION

(By Robert E. Bedingfield)

The fruitful third quarter of the year is 8 weeks away, and shippers and railroads alike already are beginning to dread the boxcar shortage that always accompany that time of bulk freight movement.

Since World War II while capital investment of all other kinds has risen by more than $200 billion, the railroads' total stocks of freight cars have declined 1,770,852 to 1,707,683.

Moreover, at the start of 1946 a third of all freight cars in service were more than 25 years old. Most of the rest were built in the upsurge of railroad-equipment buying in the late twenties. They constituted the rolling stock that helped win World War II.

Today the percentage of cars more than 25 years old has risen to nearly 40 percent. They are still late twenties cars—but they would hardly win a war today. They are having a hard time keeping up in peacetime.

Another factor that makes the freight-car shortage more worrisome than before is the shifting distribution of the car fleets. The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting hotboxes.

Just the other day the Southern Railroad, along whose lines several new coal-burning industrial plants establish themselves every day, ordered 2,750 new hopper cars. Any day now large orders for freight cars are expected to be placed by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe and the Union Pacific Railroads which, like the Southern, are experiencing heavier and heavier traffic from large numbers of new plants.

But the Pennsylvania and the New York Central Railroads, which used to set standards for the world in maintenance of ample and varied fleets of freight cars, are now getting too few new cars to stay even. In fact, both roads have materially fewer cars today than at any time in their modern history.

Central, for example, on April 15 had only 117,744 freight cars. Five years earlier it owned 136,788. Pennsylvania, between 1950 and the end of 1956, cut its fleet from 196,781 to 170,061. In fact, 15 leading eastern roads at the end of 1956 had only 297,858 freight cars, or 8.3 percent fewer than on December 31, 1950, when the figure was 324,954.

However, the 11 roads that serve the South have raised their fleets from 254,267 to 265,558 since the 1950 year-end. In the central western region, which includes the territory of the Santa Fe, Rock Island, Southern Pacific, and Union Pacific, car fleets have grown from 279,875 in 1950 to 305,417 at the end of 1956, a gain of 9.1 percent.

TREND FOLLOWS INDUSTRY

The reason is plain. Manufacturing plants since World War II have moved south and west from the Northeast. There is little developing along the rights-of-way of the Pennsylvania, the Central, and their neighbors other than truck lines running on free highways, airplanes flying from one subsidized airport to another and groups of disgruntled commuters.

It shows up in the detailed financial statements issued by most carriers along with their more readable annual reports. Pennsylvania last year handled 53,427,956,000 ton-miles of freight, only 3 billion more than in 1950, despite the fact that there are some 18 million to 19 million more people living in this country than there were in 1950.

Central last year moved only 37,733,255,000 ton-miles of freight, which was about 1-300,000,000 less than in 1950. Down in the Southeast, however, the Seaboard during the same period has seen its traffic grow from 8,262,712,964 ton-miles to 9,826,172,000. Against this 20 percent jump in business, the carrier has increased its freight-car fleet by 21.6 percent to 26,263.

The Santa Fe's traffic has jumped to 33,-900,876,000 ton-miles from 29,816,323,000 in 1950, while the Rock Island has pushed ahead from 12,105,231,560 to 13,348,162,076.

This year, the problem of how to supply the shipper with enough cars to haul his goods to market, and still not divert all the railroad's earnings from the shareholder to the equipment manufacturer, has become more urgent than usual.

One reason is the fact that the Interstate Commerce Commission, heretofore a comparatively innocent bystander at the annual tug-of-war, shows signs of grabbing hold of the rope at the shipper's end.

Owen Clarke, new chairman of the ICC under its rotation policy, has made a number of statements in private conversations that add up something like this:

The railroads could haul more freight if they had the cars to move everything that was offered to them when it was offered. The carriers cannot expect to go on forever asking for rate increases to get an adequate income for an inadequate performance. The time will come when the Commission will say:

"We'll give you more money per bushel to move wheat from Garden City, Kans., to Galveston, Tex., when the cars are lined up at Garden City to haul the wheat after it is threshed."

And Congress will back the ICC, because the Congressman every harvesttime hears his constituents raising the roof because they can't get any cars.

Mr. Clarke's views have not gone unheeded. Three times in the last 5 weeks railroad presidents have gathered in Washington to ponder what can be done to stimulate freight-car purchases above retirement rates—roughly, 5,000 to 6,000 a month.

TWO PROGRAMS SUBMITTED

The industry has been listening to two plans. One, put forth by a Cleveland management-consultant firm, suggests that the rails create an equipment-financing agency of their own to lend money at favorable rates of interest to those roads unable to meet the rates of customary lenders.

The idea has not had wholehearted support. This is because funds of the equipment agency would be raised by assessing the roads on the basis of present car ownership. The eastern roads—among the biggest car owners—would be assessed the most.

These eastern roads have insisted that it is not that they don't want to help or that they don't need more cars, but they don't have enough money to buy more cars, either collectively or individually. Furthermore, they say they have been assured that Wall Street is not interested in helping them obtain more money in the new-capital market.

UNITED STATES AGENCY PROPOSED

So the eastern lines have a plan of their own. They are working hard to sell it to their southern and western neighbors—and to Congress. Their plan is that a new Government agency be formed. They suggest it be called the Railway Equipment Agency. It would be created with a capital of $500 million.

The REA would have the right to borrow up to four times its capital. This would be used to buy all the equipment the rails called for—not just freight cars but passenger cars and diesels, too. The roads would have the right to use this equipment under long-term lease. The leases would run for 20 years for freight cars, 15 for diesels, and 10 for passenger cars.

The rails would pay, not a per diem rental but a true-user charge. This would be a sum sufficient to cover all costs of the agency, its borrowing costs, and a sum sufficient to amortize the actual cost of the purchased equipment.

Tribute to Lawrence College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was delighted to note in the Tuesday, May 14, issue of the Christian Science Monitor a most excellent article describing an educational institution of which we in Wisconsin are very proud—Lawrence College in Appleton. My dear wife, May, and our four children graduated from Lawrence.

The article points out how a recent selection of the Nation's 10 best coeducational colleges included Lawrence College, which, despite its modest size, or perhaps because of its modest size, has well earned such recognition as one of the highest caliber liberal arts colleges in the Nation.

The article catches the flavor of Lawrence—the thinking of its distinguished president, Dr. Douglas Maitland Knight, the goals of its academic life, the high achievements of its faculty, the forward-looking philosophy of its entire existence.

I send to the desk the text of the article, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAWRENCE RATES HIGH IN NATION

(By Max K. Gilstrap)

APPLETON, WIS.—Eager, animated voices of youth echo across the rolling campus as students hurry underneath arching elms to the cluster of buildings comprising Lawrence College.

The vibrancy of spirit found here is typical of small American colleges with rapidly broadening horizons and an exciting story to tell that is an important part of America's expanding educational picture.

Headed by youthful, energetic Dr. Douglas Maitland Knight, former assistant professor of English literature at Yale, Lawrence College enjoys many distinctions as one of the Nation's most forward-looking colleges. Most recent was its selection by the Chicago Tribune as one of the Nation's 10 best coeducational colleges based on a countrywide survey of opinion in the educational world.

PROVING GROUND

Enthusiastic alumni say that Lawrence is a proving ground for college presidents. Its campus has furnished the Nation with 11 college presidents in the last 3 decades and 6 more may be added to that list from earlier times.

Looked upon with particular pride here was the appointment of Nathan Marsh Pusey, president of Harvard University, 10th president of Lawrence from 1944 to 1953. It was the first time the Harvard corporation had gone outside New England for its president.

Thoroughly able to uphold Lawrence's traditional reputation for capable leadership, engaging Dr. Knight sparks the faculty and student body with challenging ideas from his airy, gray-green office. Despite being the youngest college president in the Nation when he was chosen at the age of 32 in 1954, Dr. Knight has become a major influence in the fields of education and religion. He is a combination scholar, administrator, and churchman.

Although Dr. Knight is from the East, it is plain from his easy but stimulating conversation that he has caught the Midwest pride that comes from helping open this land to settlement. He is keenly aware of living closer to the land that still has a strong frontier flavor. He speaks with an understanding of the physical pioneering that has gone on since Amos A. Lawrence, a proper Bostonian, founded the college here in 1847. Then came the town of Appleton. After that came the State formed out of the Northwest Territory.

When privately founded Lawrence had finished its job of physical pioneering, it took on a new responsibility—that of being part of the conscience for the whole of higher education. This it could do easily because of its political immunity, and this it has continued to do vigorously and fearlessly. Foremost among the problems at Lawrence is whether to expand in the face of the crisis of increasing numbers that is coming as soon as 1960. The high birth rate during World War II will cause college enrollment to be 50 percent larger by 1970 than it is today.

PROBLEM WEIGHED

Lawrence has been weighing the problem of how best to serve this emergency. It has concluded that to retool a small private college into a mass-production machine would not be of service at all, but would destroy the end product—a personal and individual education.

Dr. Knight in voicing Lawrence College's philosophy of service for the future says: "A liberal arts college, if it is to justify itself in the next quarter century, must have an impact on our society out of all prortion to its size: Quality and distinction will make this impact possible, indeed, where a mere increase in size would be ineffective."

In outward manifestation Lawrence impels admiration with its 30 buildings of neoclassic and contemporary design clustered high on the banks of the Fox River, artery for exploration by French voyagers. In the next 5 years its face will be considerably altered by a $1,800,000 development program. Already a new dormitory has been occupied. A music-drama center is to be built. In the music-drama center three public auditoriums are planned—a theater, a recital hall, and an arena for drama work. And residence units for men will be added.

LAWRENCE BENEFITS

Happily Lawrence was the beneficiary of the idea that American private business had a responsibility to American private education long before the Ford Foundation distributed half a billion dollars among American colleges and hospitals to put a dramatic climax to this idea that has been gaining momentum. Since 1942 Lawrence has been the object of corporate giving by local paper industries. There are 20 paper-industry men on the Lawrence board of 38 trustees.

As Lawrence's structural outlines burgeon so does its progress in the realm of ideas. Ever alert to keep apace with the latest trends in education, the college leans heavily on time-reverenced liberal studies in the humanities, arts, social and physical sciences. Heaviest staffing is in English with psychology, economics, and the natural sciences.

Never hesitant to move with the times, Lawrence under Dr. Pusey, president, introduced a popular "freshman studies course," replacing freshman English. This unique course, often called "college-in-capsule," is an airplane view of what college is all about. Traditional freshman English was junked and in its place Lawrence students read great works in each of mankind's three great areas of thought—natural science, social science, and the humane letters.

MANY IN WHO'S WHO

Since alumni are the end product of any educational institution, Lawrence proudly refers to 173 persons in "Who's Who in America" who list this midwestern college in their background. But it is just as proud of those graduates who have gone into ordinary life in all 48 States and 39 countries and have left the imprint of their work. In an earlier period Lawrence was a continuing source for religionists and evangelists. In the past 25 years, 32 percent have been attracted to teaching. A more recent trend is toward management jobs.

COLLEGE IS PEOPLE

Far from expressing any isolationism such as is often attributed to the area in which Lawrence thrives, 42 percent of its teaching staff have studied overseas. Its faculty has produced 30 books, 24 plays, dozens of musical compositions, more than 400 articles, and hundreds of reviews. They have edited scholarly magazines, led archeological and geological expeditions, produced scientific illustrations and served as presidents of numerous organizations. In recent years, Lawrence professors have won 9 Ford Foundation awards, 8 Rockefeller grants, 2 Guggenheims, and 5 Fulbright fellowships.

Looking ahead, perhaps Lawrence's philosophy is best expressed by a young, thoughtful alumnus who said: "A college is not a campus, alone. And it is not the sum total of its financial assets, the number of times its name appears in learned journals, or in the daily newspapers. A college is not alone its accumulations of this many or that many volumes of books, and it is not the orderly list of available courses of study.

"A college is, in some degree, the sum of all these things and more. But more: mainly, fundamentally, a college is people."

Lawrence College agrees with him. A college is people—its alumni, its students, its faculty. Even more, as President Knight expresses it, "College at best is a place for the development of a coherent attitude toward the maximum of individual freedom and the maximum of responsibility for the ultimate good of the body politic."

Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of a letter I received from the American Civil Liberties Union under date of May 15, 1957; a copy of my reply, dated May 18, 1957; and a news article which was published as a result of the letter I had received.

There being no objection, the correspondence and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION,
New York, N. Y., May 15, 1957.

The Honorable JOHN L. MCCLELLAN,
Chairman, Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MCCLELLAN: Because of the American Civil Liberties Union's long-established concern about the abuses of democratic rights within labor unions, we have followed the proceedings of the Select Committee with great interest. Since 1942, when we prepared our first study on the subject, we have endeavored to have these abuses corrected. We believe that, as the labor movement has assumed a major position in our society, it is vital for it to assume the responsibility which comes with this status by safeguarding its members' intraunion rights of free speech, fair trial, and nondiscrimination.

So, when the select committee was appointed, we favored the investigation as leading possibly to an improved observance of democratic practices within the labor movement. We felt that this issue is a proper area of congressional investigation, as information is needed before Congress can consider whether remedial legislation is necessary. We have also been glad to note the AFL–CIO's firm action toward removal of unethical practices, and hope this will aid internal democracy too.

We present this background because we do not wish the following comments to be misconstrued as an attack on the committee's objectives, for we are in accord with its purpose. In fact, our concern is that the committee's occasional lapses from fair procedure may lessen its contribution in the important field of internal union democracy. Granting the committee's frustration over the refusal of some witnesses fully to disclose information pertinent to its inquiry, we are

sure you will agree that procedures violative of due process should not be used to achieve the desired objective.

We refer to two specific examples: the first concerns the recall of Dave Beck, president of the teamsters union, as a witness following his Federal indictment for income-tax evasion; and the second concerns your statement at a hearing, reported in the New York Times of March 28, following Beck's refusal to answer questions about misuse of union funds, "I don't know any word to describe it less than theft."

These examples, in our opinion, raise the disturbing question of the committee's functioning as a judicial body whose purpose is to convict, rather than a legislative body whose purpose is to gain information to assist in the framing of legislation. The decision as to guilt is a criminal matter to be determined in court, where all the judicial safeguards may apply in the course of a regular criminal trial. We do not believe it is within the purview of congressional committees to make findings of guilt or innocence. It is this blurring of the line between judicial and legislative functions that aroused public opposition to the probes of congressional bodies investigating communism in recent years. The problem is amplified in this instance when a witness is already under indictment and must stand trial in our courts.

We want to emphasize that we offer these comments not in defense of Mr. Beck or the teamsters union, but in defense of vital civil liberties principles which need constant affirmation, particularly when the power of Government is being exercised. To repeat our original statement, the good work and objectives of the committee can be jeopardized if procedures which invade constitutional guaranties are not fully observed. We respectfully urge that future hearings will not be marked by departures from the principles of due process.

Sincerely yours,

PATRICK MURPHY MALIN,
Executive Director.

MAY 18, 1957.

Mr. PATRICK MURPHY MALIN,
Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. MALIN: This acknowledges your letter of May 15.

The committee recalled Mr. Beck to testify for the purpose of giving him an opportunity to deny, refute, or explain the derogatory evidence the committee had received against him. Do you claim that is a violation of "civil liberties"? Had he not been recalled and given that opportunity, then no doubt you would have charged the committee was unfair and only willing to hear one side—the testimony against him—without giving him an opportunity to defend himself or explain his actions.

Regarding your other complain, may I say that the committee has not convicted Mr. Beck of any crime, although it is my belief that he has committed many criminal offenses. As an American citizen, as a Member of Congress, and as chairman of this Senate select committee, I reserve the right to express my views regarding testimony developed before the committee. That is a "civil liberty" I have not surrended and do not intend to relinquish.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN L. MCCLELLAN,
Chairman,

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION RAPS ATTACK ON BECK

The American Civil Liberties Union today hit out at a remark by Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN, Democrat, of Arkansas, that Dave Beck's handling of Teamster Union funds was theft.

The union wrote to Senator MCCLELLAN that it approved the purpose of an investigation of Beck by a special Senate committee of which Senator MCCLELLAN is chairman. But it said the investigation has been marked by lapses of fair procedures.

Among these, the union said, was the Senator's comment, "I don't know any word to describe it but theft," in reference to Beck's use of teamster money. "The decision as to guilt is a criminal matter to be determined in court," the civil liberties group said.

The Mirage of Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Mirage of Economy," which was published in the May 17, 1957, issue of the Wilmington, Del., Journal-Every Evening.

It would be well for every taxpayer interested in bona fide economy to read this editorial.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MIRAGE OF ECONOMY

How sincere is Congress in its present budget-cutting drive? Let's look at some facts.

Yesterday the lawmakers sent to the White House a big money bill providing nearly $3,900,000,000 to run the Treasury and Post Office Departments and the tax court. Majority Leader LYNDON JOHNSON of the Senate cheerfully proclaimed: "We have saved $80,363,000 for the taxpayers" in this appropriation. Whether they have or not depends on what actually happens later on; it may well be that Congress will have to restore some or all of the funds cut from the Post Office appropriation to maintain reasonably decent postal service.

But here's what Congress was doing with its left hand while its right hand was economizing.

Edwin L. Dale, Jr., in a dispatch to the New York Times, points out three legislative actions recently taken by Congress which will add hundreds of millions to the spending total if all of them finally become law.

Congress has voted, and the President has reluctantly signed, a bill setting up a deferred grazing plan for ranchers in drought areas. The cost—$30 million over the next 2 years.

The House passed this week a bill increasing the compensation of veterans for service-connected disabilities. The cost—$170 million a year.

The House has passed and a Senate subcommittee has approved legislation providing special assistance funds for housing. The cost—$550 million under the House bill, compared with an administration recommendation of $300 million and $900 million under the Senate committee's bill.

This doesn't complete the list by any means. But it is enough to indicate that Congress is sneaking in new spending through the back door all the while the lawmakers are orating about the evils of the big spending in the President's budget. It will be a miracle if Congress winds up with any real and substantial savings if the lawmakers continue to go at the job this way.

America's Crusade for Freemen's Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an essay entitled "America's Crusade for Freemen's Rights," which was written by Steven Ball, a 16-year-old junior at North High School in Omaha, Nebr. This essay won for Steve a first prize of $15 in a contest sponsored annually by the D. Lewis Black Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. It reveals an understanding of our Nation's history which is certainly above average.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S CRUSADE FOR FREEMEN'S RIGHTS

(By Steven Ball, Omaha, Nebr.)

America, our most cherished gift, established by the determination of our forefathers, has from its beginning been a sanctuary for those who place liberty and equality under the law above all that is tangible. The rights of free men is the heritage of every American. In truth, America's crusade for the rights of free men is her entire history. If we delve into history, we would find America's crusade not only to be one of physical conquest but, even more important, one of moral victories.

The discovery of America was the opening of a door which would one day close on the autocratic social system and set a precedent for the world to follow. The first English colonies were established to gain more self-government and religious freedom, a privilege so important that without it no man can claim he lives in liberty. This discovery and migration for freedom in itself was only a physical conquest; America's crusade had begun, but even religious freedom had not been achieved. In the various colonies ignorant minds twisted religious freedom to a state of intolerance for any other sect. Colonies passed laws restricting their religion to that of their leader; dissenters in their particular faith were executed, as well as those accused of witchcraft. Religious freedom was not attained until each citizen firmly believed others should have an equal right of worshipping as they deemed proper. So it was not until the 18th century when a mental conquest for those who believed in true freedom brought about this important privilege of all free men.

Religious freedom now established in America, we began to demand even more liberty. Our belief is economic freedom as well as the right to speak and think freely conflicted with the firm convictions of Count Metternich and all the aristocracy who were in command of Europe. There could be no compromise between such great extremes; war was inevitable. Although there were some who would surrender our principles for the lack of courage or fear of losing personal wealth, the majority stood fast and proved right is thrice armed when we defeated a nation more than five times our strength.

The United States, a more infant nation, was a prime example of democracy in 1811. Our economy and foreign trade were increasing at assuring rates, but these fruits of peace were not to last. Our resentment toward the British developed complications which caused a state of affairs that could lead only to war.

We would not endure British impressment of our own sailors. War came as a last resort, but its actual worth was a loss—the British had ended impressment before the war had ended. The War of 1812 may have been unnecessary, but it vividly illustrates America's readiness to protect the rights of free men, her own citizens.

"The Era of Good Feeling," a period of prosperity due to strong nationalistic feeling, met its doom as the industrial revolution surged through Europe and the northeastern United States. Cotton was "king" in the South while industry flourished in the North; the Nation was divided politically, economically, and socially. Under this condition no nation can stand united physically. Civil war, the most dishonorable mark on the history of any nation, was fought for the preservation of the Nation which one day would be the backbone of free men's rights. America met its major crisis when Lee surrendered and when "The Great Emancipator" freed fellow humans from tyranny of others who would not sacrifice wealth and economic gain even to admit the basic right that all men should be free. America's crusade still struggles to end the evils caused by petty prejudices.

The new century saw the development of world affairs into such a state of confusion that even a minor disagreement could kindle the fire of world war. Britain and France, fighting desperately to crush the autocratic power of Kaiser Wilhelm and the German "war machine," found themselves in need of a strong ally to aid them in establishing a democratic Europe. The United States could picture the dim perspective that democracy would attain if the Axis was triumphant, and we acted accordingly. Militarism, imperialism, nationalism, and all the potentials of World War I would not have been enough to enlist the aid of America had it not been that the Axis powers made it evident that the right of all free men were at stake. America again proved her valor in a struggle for free men's rights.

Ignorance, mishandling, and resentment eventually led to another major crisis, which in many ways was a continuation of World War I. The radical ideas of the Nazi Government to ensalve the world, putting an end to the very rights which determine freedom, were suppressed by the strength of a democratic America. Let no man deny the fact that we as Americans stand for the rights of every free man even if these rights must be purchased at the price of war. Peace is luxury, but liberty is a necessity.

Every man has the right to be free, and the rights of free men are those privileges which are jointly adopted by each individual. We have seen how America has established and protected the rights of free men; even now the strife to end prejudices, to halt Communist aggression, and to provide a home for thousands who are homeless, is a part of America's history, her unending crusade for the rights of free men.

Contacts With Poland—Ford Grant to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Contacts With Poland," from the New York Times of April 27, 1957; and an editorial entitled "Ford Grant to Poland," from the Washington Evening Star of April 29, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of April 27, 1957]

CONTACTS WITH POLAND

Anyone who has visited Poland during the past year, or who has followed the Polish press during this period, knows what a vast hunger for contact with the West exists in that country. Poland's historic, cultural, and religious ties with the West have been forged over the centuries. The forced break in those ties during the decade of Stalinist oppression could not and did not end the link, and in the atmosphere of the post-Stalin period the people who gave the world Chopin and Mme. Curie have been eager to resume old contacts.

Against this background, a constructive step has now been taken by the Ford Foundation. The $500,000 program it has set up will make it possible for Polish professors, scholars, and students to visit, study, and work in Western Europe and the United States, while their western opposite numbers will be able to visit Poland.

It required courage on the part of the Polish Government and of the Ford Foundation to make this program possible. Poland has neighbors who see a dangerous political maneuver in every step toward cooperation between Poland and the West. In this country there are groups and individuals who think of Poland only in terms of past stereotypes, forgeting the Polish people and their aspirations. Moreover, as the Ford Foundation's president, Henry T. Heald, said in announcing the program, "We recognize that there are many uncertainities in and around Poland." Yet the fact that despite these problems it has been possible to announce this program must be viewed as a useful development.

[From the Washington Evening Star of April 29, 1957]

FORD GRANT TO POLAND

The Ford Foundation has undertaken an important experimental project in establishing a fund of $500,000 to promote cultural, scientific, and technical exchanges between Communist Poland and the West. The grant is the first of its kind to a country behind the Iron Curtain in Europe, and it promises—though a number of "ifs" are involved—to yield good dividends in terms of encouraging mutually beneficial relations between our free society and the Polish people, who now enjoy a limited measure of independence from the Kremlin.

As explained by Dr. Henry T. Heald, the foundation's president, the project faces some challenging problems, and "reverses are possible"—particularly if Moscow brings pressure to bear against it by threatfully suggesting to Warsaw that such an exchange should not be allowed. But assuming the best, assuming that even the Soviet leaders are willing to give the undertaking a fair trial, the Ford grant can do much to lower barriers between the Poles and our world. More than that, in its own way, it can make a useful contribution to "peaceful coexistence" between East and West, about which Nikita Khrushchev and his colleagues speak with special fervor.

In any event, as Dr. Heald has said, the $500,000 grant is meant to enable Polish scholars and technical experts (philosophers, social scientists, economists, engineers, architects and the like) to "establish or renew contacts with Western colleagues to gain knowledge of Western thought, primarily by study in the United States and Western Europe." In addition, if all goes well, American and free European professors will do work in Poland's educational centers and there will be a two-way exchange of students, plus measures to supply the country's libraries with books and periodicals published in recent years in our part of the world.

Of course, this undertaking (a similar one is being considered by the Rockefeller Foundation) can accomplish no miracles, nor can it go forward without intergovernmental approval. Nevertheless, in Dr. Heald's words, it represents promising action in line with the fact that "in the development of international understanding there is a proper and vital role for private individuals and institutions, including private philanthropy." Looked at in that light, the project amounts to a commendable experiment meriting best wishes from both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Conservation of Fish and Wildlife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, wildlife and birds and fisheries are among our most precious heritage. One of the challenging responsibilities to us in the Congress is to protect the environment of these creatures of river, meadow, tree bough and ocean reach.

I am pleased that I have been sponsoring legislation to safeguard marshes where our waterfowl gain sanctuary, to prevent pollution in the lakes and rivers where fish live and breed, to defend our national forests where so much of America's big game now feeds and forages.

Bill Hulen, wildlife editor of the Oregonian, of Portland, Oreg., contributed an excellent article to that paper's Sunday magazine section of April 28, 1957, describing six major species of trout which inhabit the cold mountain-nurtured waters of my State. These trout are rainbow, cutthroat, browns, eastern brook, mackinaw, and dolly varden. Mr. Hulen's description of them is vivid and pertinent. It should afford Members of the Senate some specific idea of the wildlife they are helping to perpetuate when they act favorably upon bills to forbid the polluting of streams, bills to encourage watershed protection in our national forests, bills to keep barriers and blockades off of rivers where fish pilgrimages must reach headwaters in order to spawn.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the article by Bill Hulen, wildlife editor of the Oregonian, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SIX KINDS OF TROUT

(By Bill Hulen)

Everyone of the 6 major species of trout can be found somewhere in Oregon. This, plus the fact that this State has countless hundreds of lakes and more than 15,000 miles of fishing streams makes the Oregon

trout angler one of the most fortunate in the United States.

In the general trout season, which opened Saturday, the 300,000 plus Oregon anglers are able to seek rainbow, cutthroat, and brown trout—the true trouts—and eastern brook, Mackinaw and Dolly Varden, members of the char family. Waters within national-forest boundaries in the Cascade Mountains will be opened to trout fishing May 25.

The chars, closely related to the trout family, have become synonymous with trout down through many, many years of angling, and so will be treated as such in this article.

These, then, are the Oregon trout which are awaiting the fly, the artificial lure, and the good old worm:

RAINBOW

Here is the great sport fish of Oregon and of the Pacific Northwest, a trout whose fighting qualities endear it to the hearts of anglers ranging from the dry fly purist to the still-fisherman with his can of garden tackle. One of the two true trouts native to the West, the rainbow, unlike some other species of trout, is no underwater scrapper. He's inclined to come rocketing from the water in repeated leaps when hooked, and has probably accounted for more broken leaders than all other trouts combined.

While the color of the rainbow varies with environment, it generally is bluish or olive color above the lateral line and silvery green on the sides. The dorsal fin and tail, as well as the sides, are profusely sprinkled with small black spots. Characteristic of the rainbow is the broad band of purplish red that extends along the sides from head to tail.

The brilliance of this fresh-water coloring fades when the rainbow comes into contact with salt water and becomes a steelhead, or seagoing rainbow. The dark spots become lighter, the bluish cast changes to a silvery sheen, and the purplish-red lateral band lightens or disappears completely. Upon its return to fresh water to spawn, the darker markings return.

In addition to the markings described, the rainbow can be distinguished by the zigzag rows of teeth on the roof of its mouth. It has no teeth on the back of the tongue, as does the cutthroat trout.

Food of the rainbow consists of flies, insects, worms, grasshoppers, minnows, crustaceans, salmon eggs and, in the case of large specimens, smaller fishes. It is both a surface and a bottom feeder, depending upon water conditions and time of the year; hence, can be caught on various lures and baits.

Rainbows in Oregon are widely distributed. They are found in small streams and large rivers, in mountain lakes, and lowland coastal lakes. Each year the State game commission plants millions of these fish, both in streams and in lakes, to augment native populations. Size of the rainbows caught by anglers run from 6 inches to about 2 feet, with occasional monsters going to 15 pounds taken from Klamath Lake.

CUTTHROAT

This is the other true trout native to the West, and second only to the rainbow in sport angling importance. At the end of a line, the cutthroat ordinarily doesn't go in for aerial acrobatics, preferring to carry on a sturdy subsurface conflict. On occasion, however, the cutthroat will break water in a manner comparable to the rainbow.

Several subspecies of cutthroat exist in Oregon, the most widely sought being the coastal variety. This is the fish which anglers are catching on all coast streams. These cutthroat are moving downstream to salt water, after having spawned high up in streams of the coast range. In July, August, and September they'll be coming back from the brackish bays and lagoons, fat and solid, and will be called bluebacks or harvest trout.

Distinguishing feature of the cutthroat is the red slash or streak on both sides of the lower jaw. On sea-run cutthroat just in from brackish water, these slashes will be very faint, and sometimes nonexistent. Along with these red streaks, the cutthroat has teeth on the back of the tongue. The rainbow has neither.

Environment plays an important part in the coloration of the cutthroat, but generally it is an olive green along the back and upper sides, shading into a yellow cast on the lower sides. Body and fins are profusely sprinkled with dots, sometimes large, sometimes small, sometimes golden, and sometimes black. At times the cutthroat has a pink or purple lateral band.

Natural foods of the cutthroat are similar to those of the rainbow—flies and insects of all kinds, shrimp, crawfish, and other crustaceans, worms, minnows, small fish, and salmon and trout eggs. Like the rainbow, the "cut" can be caught on flies, various baits, and artificial lures which simulate small fish.

Range of the cutthroat in Oregon includes virtually every coast stream for the seagoing variety, streams and lakes east of the Cascades, and, for the black-spotted subspecies, streams and lakes in the Wallowa Mountains. Native Oregon cutthroat will run from 6 inches to a dozen inches, while the sea-run fish will go to 20 inches and 4 pounds.

BROWN

Considered by most anglers the most cautious and wary of all trouts, the brown is a favorite of fly fishermen. It was introduced into the United States from Europe in the 1800's, and in Oregon has become well established in suitable environment. It takes the fly as savagely as the rainbow, though its subsequent battle won't be so enduring nor so spectacular.

Generally, the coloration of the brown tends to be golden brownish, with dark brown or black spots on the body and on the dorsal and adipose fins. Usually there are few, if any, spots on the tail fin. Many body spots, especially those below the lateral line, are edged with pink, red, or orange to form rings.

The brown prefers as food flies and insects, to the benefit of the fly fisherman, but will also feed on minnows, worms, snails, crawfish, and other crustaceans. Thus, he can be caught on natural bait.

Browns are not widely distributed in Oregon. They are found mainly in Wickiup Reservoir, East, Paulina, and Blue Lakes, the main Deschutes and Little Deschutes Rivers, Crescent Creek, and the upper sections of the North Umpqua River. Wickiup especially is famed for big browns, running upward of 10 pounds.

EASTERN BROOK

A native of the eastern seaboard, the brookie has been successfully introduced into Oregon much to the delight of fly fishermen and bait anglers alike. The sporting qualities of this fish are good, and as table fare it is surpassed only by the sea-run cutthroat.

Ordinarily, the brook is dark green above, with wormlike markings on the back and dorsal fin. Cream and red spots appear on the sides, with the red spots bordered in blue. Lower fins are reddish, the leading edges bordered with a white and black stripe. The tail is square, and the scales are so small they are hardly visible to the eye.

Small brooks prefer to eat flies, insects, worms and small custaceans, while larger brookies feed on small fish, crawfish, mollusks and even frogs. Their range in Oregon is confined to cold, mountainous streams and lakes, principally in the Cascades and eastward. Generally, weights in Oregon run up to 3 pounds.

LAKE

This trout, or Mackinaw as it sometimes is called, was introduced into Oregon from the Great Lakes region and is found in six lakes—Odell, Summit, Square and Big Lakes in the Cascades and Wallowa and Rock Lakes in the Wallowa Mountains. Odell produces the tackle-busters, with many fish reaching weights of 15 pounds or more.

The laker is gray to dark grayish-green in color, with light spots over much of its body, which is slender with a long head. The tail is deeply forked. The favored food of the lake trout, when in deep water, is smaller fish.

Anglers don't consider the lake trout as game a fighter as other species, although a real big fish, fighting its underwater battle, is by no means a pushover. Deep troll, with large plugs, is the method employed to capture the Odell lunkers.

DOLLY VARDEN

This char, native to the Pacific slope, is held in low esteem by the majority of anglers because it lacks the dash of other trout and because large specimens are voracious feeders on other fish.

Dollies are greenish to brownish on the back and sides, cream colored on the belly. Cream to yellow spots appear on the back and sides, and some spots along the sides may be deep orange or reddish. Adipose fin is usually large, and the tail is well forked.

Dolly Varden are not too numerous in Oregon, and are found mainly in Cascade mountain lakes and streams. Some of the fish that are caught weigh better than 20 pounds.

GOLDEN

The golden, a subspecies of the rainbow, is considered the most beautiful of all trout. Originally, it was found only in the high Sierras of California, but has been transplanted to many high areas throughout the West. Its range in Oregon is confined to Wood, Hobo, Swamp, Prospect, Razz, and Long Lakes in the Wallowa Mountains, which were stocked in 1953 with goldens hatched from eggs obtained from Wyoming on an exchange.

Anglers packing into these high lakes have been amply rewarded, for goldens up to 12 inches eagerly take just about any pattern of fly. The fight they stage, after being hooked, is spectacular.

The coloring of the golden is exotic. It is olive green on back, shading to golden yellow on sides with shades to yellowish white on belly. A broad rose-colored lateral line, marked by round dark olive-colored spots, runs along the sides from the cheeks to tail. Dorsal and caudal fins are sprinkled with black dots. A reddish stripe runs along the underside of the belly.

KOKANEE

This is not a trout, but a landlocked sockeye salmon, and is included here because anglers in several Oregon lakes catch these fish in great numbers while trolling large flashers and worms. The kokanee is an excellent scrapper, and the very finest eating.

A symmetrical, streamlined fish, the kokanee has a back of clear blue with only a few tiny black specks. The sides are silvery and the belly is white. The scales are comparatively large.

Odell and Davis Lakes produce kokanee up to 20 inches, and Suttle and Blue Lakes are good for fish to 15 inches. Wallowa Lake has a tremendous population of kokanee, which run about 8 to 9 inches.

The Cyprus Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article deal-

ing with the Cyprus question, written by C. L. Sulzberger, and published in a recent edition of the New York Times.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of April 24, 1957]

A TEMPORARY SOLUTION FOR CYPRUS

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

PARIS, April 23.—Not much time remains to solve the Cyprus question which has already corroded NATO's eastern flank and threatens to destroy it. The British still own the stormy island. But they are forced to retain there nearly 20,000 troops in order to keep the lid on. Now London wishes to trim its defense budget and cut overseas garrisons. Clearly those units in Cyprus must be reduced.

To accomplish such reductions a settlement of the Cypriote problem is essential. None is in sight. British-Greek relationships remain at a low ebb. Greece and Turkey are on the verge of war. The Balkan Pact, which allies them with Yugoslavia, is dormant. And Athens even refused to participate in NATO's recent Aegean maneuvers.

There is no way of settling the Cyprus argument now on a basis satisfactory to everybody. Greece wants the Cypriotes under its sovereignty. Turkey wishes the island to remain in British hands. London desires a base there but is increasingly inclined to dump the rest of the problem.

There is talk of Solomonic compromise such as partition. The Turkish minority of 20 percent would be moved into one section of Cyprus and placed under Ankara. The Greek majority would be cleared out of that area and made subject to Athens. And the Akrotiri Peninsula, where most military facilities are located, would remain extraterritorial—under NATO or England.

A FATAL SOLUTION

This solution, even if it sounds logical, would be fatal. Turks and Greeks are intermixed all over Cyprus. Waves of violence between the two communities would explode. This could incite anti-Hellenic bloodshed in the cities of Istanbul and Izmir—plus expulsion of the anciet Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. The eventual result would be war between NATO's two eastern allies.

Previous partition experiments should provide warning that such methods ought to be avoided. Division of Palestine, when London relinquished its mandate, bequeathed nothing but trouble. The British wanted to give up the costly burden of maintaining peace between Jew and Arab after the region's strategic value exceeded the cost of holding it—as in the present case of Cyprus.

What happened? A bitter conflict erupted. U. N. efforts to draw a partition line never settled the dispute. A state of war still exists between Israel and the Arab lands. This revived actively last autumn. It remains on the brink of another round.

When nationalism in Indian evolved beyond Britain's capacity to restrain, London abandoned its sovereignty. Patchwork partition was elaborated. Millions on both sides of the new frontiers were slaughtered. In 1948 India and Pakistan fought a little war in Kashmir. Twice since new outbreaks threatened.

Partition is usually a cockeyed formula. It creates more problems than it settles. A division of Cyprus is one sure way of increasing rather than decreasing tension. The Greeks are hysterical now that Archbishop Makarios is in Athens. The Turks are savage with suspicion. The Cypriotes themselves remain in the deceptively calm center of a gathering storm.

Every time any neutral party has sought to intervene the move has come too late. The United States missed numerous opportunities to ease tension. NATO dodged the puzzle for years. When it finally decided to examine it, the time to act had passed.

A WAY OF EASING TENSION

There is no possible perfect solution. But there are ways of easing tension. One is clearly advisable. For, after all, each ally must admit that the emotionally unimportant must be sacrificed to the unemotional essential.

What is the essential? Cyprus is a bone of contention among three NATO powers. The majority of Cypriotes wish self-determination. But they do not ask for bloodshed and destruction. And, as an airbase, Cyprus is useful to all NATO. Therefore, the alliance must heal the wound upon its eastern flank. How can this be done?

Britain should agree to temporary independence for Cyprus under NATO's external protection. A local government then can be established with NATO-guaranteed Turkish minority rights.

Such a formula might stipulate that for a fixed period, say 10 years, Cyprus is forbidden to unite with Greece—like the insurances against Austro-German anchluss. For 5 years the subject should be specifically removed from discussion. After that term of cooling off perhaps it might be wise for Greece and Turkey to resume talks about permanent solution.

Such a temporary device could postpone settlements which might be disastrous. If all interested parties knew in advance that a 5-year freeze had been put on the Cyprus argument, it would be easier to find ultimate agreement. No such solution is possible in the present overheated atmosphere. And surely nobody in his right mind wants a hasty partition. This might introduce into the Mediterranean area troubles as violent and as vicious as those in Palestine and India. The world still lives with them.

Reduced Governmental Expenditure in the Interest of a More Stable World Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, a rather interesting statement was issued recently by Lindesay Parrott, Director of the International Monetary Fund, on the general subject of budgets and spending. I think it is an extraordinary statement, and deserves a place in the RECORD. I, therefore ask for unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of April 18, 1957]

U. N. AIDE BIDS UNITED STATES REDUCE SPENDING—MONETARY FUND CHIEF SAYS INFLATED BUDGETS CONSTITUTE OBSTACLE TO WORLD ORDER

(By Lindesay Parrott)

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., April 17.—The head of the International Monetary Fund proposed today that the United States cut its governmental expenditures in the interest of a more stable world economy.

Per Jacobson, managing director of the body, told the United Nations' Economic and Social Council that inflated international budgets today represented the greatest obstacle to monetary order.

Previously he expressed the opinion at an interview that it would be unfortunate if the United States foreign-aid program should be such as to stand in the way of possible budget reductions and tax cuts.

He said, however, that the current high volume of demand for goods and increasing private investment throughout most of the world had been of benefit to the United States, enabling it to maintain its export markets in the years after the Korean war.

BUSINESS IS HELD KEY

Noting the economic theory that governments should spend largely in times of shrinking private business and retrench correspondingly when private investment stands at a high level, the Swedish expert asserted:

"It now seems as if the authorities were quite willing to accept and apply the first part of this theory but that they show great hesitation and unwillingness to apply the necessary retrenchment in a period of boom.

"There are, however, some countries which recently have taken steps to cut down effectively the volume of their government expenditure; among them I would especially mention Belgium, the Netherlands, Great Britain and, as far as investment expenditure is concerned, Austria.

"Under the influence of the examples set by these countries, it is not excluded that a new fashion involving a curtailment of government expenditure will gain ground, instead of the practice of evermounting budgets followed in most countries during the postwar years. For such a fashion to be firmly established it is probably necessary, however, that some extra-European countries—and particularly the United States—should partake in the movement.

"For anyone who has had the occasion to examine the internal position of a number of countries in various parts of the world, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that if only the budget deficit could be brought down to manageable proportions the greatest obstacle to monetary order would have been eliminated."

SEES NEED FOR COURAGE

Mr. Jacobsson conceded that cuts in Government spending would require "much political courage and determination." But he added that "fortunately people everywhere are tired of inflation and this should make it easier for the authorities to take without fear or hesitation the necessary measures, whether these are popular or not."

WORLD MARKET STRESSED

He went on: "It is, I think, advisable for most countries to remember that if they continue to allow their costs and prices to rise they may not be able in the future to count on an increase in the general level of world market prices but become exposed to the risk of getting into an unbalanced position, internally and externally."

Mr. Jacobsson outlined the measures taken by the International Monetary Fund to support the pound sterling during the Suez Canal crisis. There was a surprising unanimity of view regarding this course among almost 60 member nations, he said, and an amount equal to the United Kingdom's quota of $1,300,000,000 was made available.

"It was found to be not only in the interest of the United Kingdom but also in the general interest that support should be given to a currency with the worldwide importance of sterling, in which over one-half of the world's currency transactions are settled," he said.

The fund director noted that despite political stress over the last few months, no grave monetary disturbances had taken place and progress had been made in several na-

tions toward increased transferability of currencies.

He reported, however, a distinct feeling of uneasiness regarding increasing living costs in such countries as the United States and Britain, despite the pronounced increase of private business investments.

The Fifth Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an excellent article entitled "For Court Use Only," appearing in the Monday morning, May 20, 1957, issue of the Baltimore Sun, written by Mr. C. P. Ives, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOR COURT USE ONLY
(By C. P. Ives)

Something was said here a week ago about a fictional character, the young matron who wanted to hire a babysitter. One of her applicants had taken the fifth amendment in a kidnaping investigation. The young matron was urged by her liberal friends to entrust her baby to the fifth amendment mute anyway.

The argument was the one the liberals employ in behalf of professors and such-like who have invoked the fifth amendment privilege against self-incrimination in the Communist investigations. To fire or to refuse to hire such people, the liberal argument runs, is to punish them for invoking a constitutional right, itself offensive to constitutionalism.

This argument, advanced with all solemnity by high-minded people, is merely typical of a more and more worrisome trend in our contemporary public life. This is the tendency to extend beyond the courts of criminal law, which is their only true domicile, the immunities enjoyed by defendants in those courts.

There has been, for instance, an implacable agitation to endow unfriendly witnesses before congressional committees with all the privileges of the accused in a trial for first-degree murder. The same pressure is exerted against the security agencies. And as the parable of the young matron indicates, the liberal insistence now is that private people in their own private concerns shall extend the protections enjoyed by the uncandid, the criminal, and the subversive in a court of law.

Now all of this is done on the most superficial of analogizing. The legal devices are invoked in a haze of sentimental rhetoric betraying total ignorance of their historical, legal, and philosophical backgrounds.

For what in fact were the beginnings of some of the more intricate defenses now enjoyed by the accused in courts of law? "These rules," wrote William Howard Taft, a few years before he became Chief Justice of the United States, "these rules [were] intended to make it as difficult as possible to convict a defendant [because] of the savage character of the common law crimes, when the defendant was not allowed counsel, and there were 160 capital offenses at common law. * * *

"The judges, of course, being men and having pity, sometimes seized the opportunity themselves to act as counsel for the defendant and introduced the rules which we have alluded to and maintained them in the interest of mercy. [Nowadays, however] they have been moderated [only] a very little, although the reason for them has long passed away."

Of course, the fact that the reasons for many of the ancient privileges still enjoyed by criminal defendants have long since passed away moves some of our best legal scholars to argue (without in all cases proving) that the protections themselves ought to be reduced. This applies, as was pointed out here last week, even to the immunity against self-incrimination.

That immunity rose first when it was customary to torture defendants in order to make them confess. Twenty years ago the Supreme Court itself said that in the absence of torture, justice would not suffer if the accused were required to tell the truth, even about his own crime.

But if there is eminent authority for restricting protections whose historic justification has long disappeared; if there is authority for restricting these protections in court, how much stronger is the argument against extending them to noncourt agencies. And how compelling the argument for excluding them from private life and private business.

For if the courts are still to countenance protections whose historical justification has disappeared, then the social welfare demands all the greater vigilance on the part of private persons. Conversely, an extension into private life of the court protections whose justification has disappeared would be to infect the whole society with the bias still maintained in court. And what is that bias?

"It makes the conviction of the criminal a game which is played out under certain rules, and the interests of society are lost sight of," wrote Taft, the future Chief Justice. "The liberty of the individual is, on the whole, of greater importance than the safety of the community from crime."

Now when the crime is subversion, and when the individual whose liberty is preferred is in fact that agent of a totalitarian military conspiracy against freedom everywhere, you can see why the Communists cheer the implacable liberal effort to extend the prodefendant court biases throughout the whole society—and why historically help and philosophically vigilant citizens push very hard the other way.

REA Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, today is the 21st anniversary of the Rural Electrification program in the United States. Twenty-one years ago today, President Franklin Roosevelt signed the bill which brought REA into being.

I have always regarded the rural electrification movement as the finest possible example of grass roots democracy. It is an admirable example of what can be achieved in the public interest by intelligent cooperation between the Federal Government and the citizens of this country.

Rural electric cooperatives, assisted by Federal loans, have done what the private utility industry said could not be done; they have brought the blessings of electricity to the farms and rural communities of America. Now that the success of the program is apparent to all, there are those who would sabotage REA so that the private power utilities might exploit the field that they shunned for so long. I am pleased that last week the House turned back by an overwhelming vote a move to deny new loan funds for REA. The current effort to deny loan funds to REA in spite of the remarkable repayment record of the rural electric cooperatives, is designed to destroy the rural electric program and permit its seizure by the private power interests.

An editorial appearing in the Brookings (S. Dak.) Register summarizes effectively the accomplishments of REA. The editorial is included as follows:

REA ANNIVERSARY

Next Monday marks the 21st anniversary of the signing of the bill which brought rural electrification into being.

The history of the REA, as we have all come to call the industry, is a most interesting and surprising one—surprising because of its growth. Loans to the various associations have totaled $2.75 billions and of that amount $621.2 millions have already been repaid.

South Dakota's record is an excellent one. Thirty-four borrowers received a total of $92,524,862 in loans of which $10,846,629 on the principal and interest totaling $5,566,733 have been paid and there are no loans in arrears.

What this has all meant to the farmers and small-town users in the State is impossible to estimate. It has increased the productivity per man on our farms—that is sure, and has made life easier for the farmer in that it has saved him many hours of hard work. But possibly the greatest contribution has been through the convenience and comfort it has brought about. The farmer is no longer compelled to stumble about in dark farmyards and farm buildings. The accident hazard has been greatly reduced. And to the farm woman it has meant even more in these respects. Her work has been lightened tremendously. The conveniences she has at hand are innumerable and they are contantly increasing.

Perhaps the most surprising thing in connection with the entire REA development has been the amount of current used by each individual farmer. On the average, it is more than half greater than anyone estimated it would be—and it is still increasing. There are many smart men connected with private utility companies but they did not catch the vision of serving rural America. They did not believe it could be done successfully, but it has been demonstrated to them beyond all doubt.

First District Florida Tabulation—1957 Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, again I have gone to the people of the four counties of the First District of Florida and have asked their opinion on the problems that face Congress today. Over

132,000 questionnaires were mailed and some 26,000 replies were received from my constituents, many of whom took the opportunity to reply at length to the problems presented. I would note at this time that the popularity of the President remains at a high level in the district and that particularly in foreign affairs are his policies supported. It is interesting to note that there is no noticeable change from 1956 in opposition to civil rights legislation or Federal aid for school construction. Again, as last year, the people have indicated their desire to lower the national debt even ahead of a tax reduction but it appears the general desire for budget cuts reflected in both these benefits to the taxpayer is strong. I can assure this Congress, Mr. Speaker, that I shall fully consider these recommendations from the folks at home and, for the information of my honorable colleagues, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD at this time the full report on results of this questionnaire.

1957 congressional questionnaire—Tabulation

	Percent	
	Yes	No
1. Should we risk Federal control of policy through Federal financing of school construction?	27	73
2. Do you approve President Eisenhower's general foreign policy?	60	40
3. Should present immigration laws—		
a. Have quotas increased?	17	83
b. Permit transfer of unused quotas to other nations?	52	48
c. Continue present quota limitations?	81	19
4. Do you favor reduced taxes for—		
a. Small business?	81	19
b. Individuals?	74	26
c. Everyone across the board?	37	63
d. No one at this time?	51	49
5. Should postal rates be raised to provide better service and facilities and to end the postal deficit?	59	41
6. Should we abolish the electoral college and elect the President by popular vote?	79	21
7. Should the United States join—		
a. Organization for Trade Cooperation?	71	29
b. International Atomic Energy Commission?	54	46
8. Should Congress enact the proposed broad civil-rights bill?	37	63
9. Should all congressional committee hearings be open to press and public?	68	32
10. Should the President meet and confer with heads of "unfriendly" nations?	65	35

The Supreme Court Marches On—To the Left

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Supreme Court Marches On—To the Left," written by Frederic Nelson and published in the Human Events of May 18, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SUPREME COURT MARCHES ON—TO THE LEFT

(By Frederic Nelson)

"Rightwing extremists," as ordinary middle-class conservatives are know among our "liberal" political columnists, have been telling each other for years that the Supreme Court has gone over to the leftwing, even if it hasn't actually become a "running dog" of the Kremlin.

Personally, I hadn't taken this kind of talk very seriously until I began adding up the Court's recent accomplishments. When you stop to recall that the Court, in the Steve Nedson case, virtually knocked our efforts by the States to stamp out the Communist conspiracy; that it has thrown public education in the Southern States into a stew the like of which we haven't seen since the carpetbaggers; that it went out of its way to invalidate a New York City charter provision forbidding city employees to take a fifth amendment, and that, in *Pennsylvania* v. *City Trusts of Philadelphia*, the Court has cast doubt on the validity of hundreds of endowments, wills, and trusts—well, what is an ordinary citizen to think? You can't blame the uninformed plebeian for thinking what the Japanese, before they got religion, used to call dangerous thoughts.

The Girard College case, formally known as *Pennsylvania* v. *Board of City Trusts*, is the Supreme Court's latest wild pitch. It involves the terms of the will of Stephen Girard, who died in 1831, leaving about $6 million for the education of "poor white orphan boys." The city of Philadelphia set up a body known as the board of city trusts to administer the fund, which currently amounts to nearly $100 million. The assumption has been that the job of the board of city trusts was to administer the fund as Girard decreed in his will, just as the First Pennsylvania Banking & Trust Co. would be required to do if it had been given charge of the Girard bequest.

However, the Girard will has for years been under fire by Negro politicians who have made the point that the founder of the college had no right to make a will which provided for racial discrimination contrary to the terms of the 14th amendment of which Stephen Girard never heard tell. This argument got nowhere in Pennsylvania—at any rate in the State's law courts—for the Pennsylvania Supreme Court turned it down on what most people would describe as the reasonable ground that the late Mr. Girard had a right to will away his money as he chose, and that you couldn't safely go around upsetting wills simply because they didn't suit pressure groups which turned up a hundred years after the wills were made. That seemed to settle it to the satisfaction of all except a group of ambitious politicians.

These latter did not take their own State court's decision lying down. Apparently hoping that Chief Justice Warren was still curled up with the works of Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish Socialist, they took Girard College into the Federal courts. It is painful to record that the mayor of Philadelphia and the Governor of Pennsylvania, far from resisting the effort to upset a will of which they were supposed to be trustees, actually joined the movement to set it aside.

The Supreme Court unanimously—and this is a tough one for lawyers to figure—decided in favor of the politicians and decreed that Stephen Girard's stipulation of "white orphan boys" had to be disregarded for the extraordinary reason "the board which operated Girard College is an agency of the State of Pennsylvania," and that the board's refusal to admit Negroes was "discrimination by the State," which is forbidden by the 14th amendment. The cited authority for this last statement is—no surprise—the Court's 1954 decision in the segregation case from North Carolina. No arguments were heard; no adequate opinion written.

Now we know that a State agency acting as a trustee may be compelled to betray its trust and violate the founder's express wishes whenever nine sociologists in black robes decide that the unenlightened founder should have founded with an eye to the views of future pressure groups. But that is not all we have learned from *Pennsylvania* v. *Board of City Trustees of Philadelphia*. I have in mind an old ladies' home established by will for "indigent female Jehovah's Witnesses" (that's the wrong sect, but why put the finger on anybody?) Also, there is Tuskegee Institute, founded in 1880, by Booker T. Washington for Negroes, not to mention Hampton Institute, founded in 1868 by the American Missionary Society for Negroes and Indians.

So far as I know, none of these institutions is operated by a State agency, although hundreds of privately endowed colleges, universities, charitable organizations, and foundations include public officials on their board of trustees, ex officio; many are wholly or partially exempt from taxation. Doesn't a home for aged and infirm Baptists ipso facto discriminate against aged and infirm Episcopalians, and on religious grounds to boot? Shouldn't a pre-Warren man, so unenlightened as to leave his money to the kind of people he liked and was used to, be rebuked, posthumously if necessary, for projecting into the century of the common man the low standards of a generation which lived and died without benefit of sociology?

To be sure, the Girard decision has nothing to say about trusts and endowments which are not operated by agencies of a State. Trusts administered by private trustees are presumably free to act more ethically than the Supreme Court permits an agency of the city of Philadelphia to act. Set up that way, a college can cater exclusively to Dukhobors or the Plymouth Brethren, or specify that anybody other than residents of Westchester County, N. Y., may matriculate. But how long will that go on? Surely the pressure groups can be relied on to point to the unfairness of permitting discrimination in a school whose funds are in the charge of the Chase Manhattan Bank, when such practices are forbidden to institutions operated by a State agency?

Nor will it be long before somebody will ask the question, "What is an agency of the State?" A trust company operates under a charter granted by the State. Doesn't that make the company an agency of the State and therefore subject to State control over the trusts and endowments it is supposed to administer? Surely also the great enlightenment will eventually include the terms of bequests to families and intimates. Is it in the public interest that a man who insists on hiring only blond Scandinavians as chauffeurs or valets should be permitted to inherit money from a father who was too reactionary to leave his dough to an integrated academy of the dance? If these illustrations seem fantastic, talk to any lawyer.

One particularly depressing feature of the Girard College affair is the cowardice of

politicians who, instead of explaining the importance of maintaining a decent regard for the legally expressed desires of those who make wills, succumbed to the pressure groups and went along with the false belief that the issue was race discrimination—"Jim Crow at Girard College," as the local Negro journal described it. Even the supposedly conservative Philadelphia Inquirer dismissed those who were urging a Supreme Court review of the case as the forces of bias.

Actually the issue is not integration, or bias, or human rights, unless the last-mentioned concept might include the human right to make a will in the expectation that it will be executed according to the testator's wishes. That was all there was to the Girard College case, as the Pennsylvania Supreme Court properly pointed out. But, when the United States Supreme Court got through with it, lawyers were talking to themselves and rich men were wondering whether it wouldn't be just as well to hand their money on to their sons and let them marry chorus girls in seriatim, instead of endowing a young ladies' seminary which a future Supreme Court may compel to admit young gentlemen on the ground that discrimination in favor of girls develops inferiority complexes in boys.

Since 1954, when it attempted to regulate the affairs of thousands of school districts all over the country, as the late John W. Davis put it in his brief for one of them, the Supreme Court has plunged deeper and deeper into activity which properly belongs to the legislative branch. It is all very well to favor integration in schools and other reformist proposals. I have no doubt that Girard College will welcome Negro boys since it is required to accept them. But when courts undertake to decide issues which ought to be decided by the people and their elected representatives, confusion and conflict are inevitable.

If it is necessary to imperil the whole institution of inheritance in order to accommodate perhaps 2 dozen Negro boys in a privately endowed school, why not let the State legislature do it? In such circumstances the citizens would at least have an opportunity to learn what the issue was. If they decided to go ahead with the wrecking anyway, nobody could say, as a good many people are beginning to say, that the present threat to our institutions is less from the Communists than from a Supreme Court so dedicated to sociology as to be startlingly indifferent to constitutional tradition.

Atoms in Our Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I have just noted, in the first edition of a new magazine entitled The Western World, an excellent article entitled Atoms in Our Future, written by the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON]. The article deals in a very illuminating way with the use of atomic energy, and I know that all Members of Congress will enjoy reading it. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ATOMS IN OUR FUTURE

(By CLINTON P. ANDERSON)

(Senator ANDERSON was for 2 years chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. Prior to his election to the Senate from New Mexico in 1948, he had served for 3 years under President Truman as Secretary of Agriculture. Born in North Dakota of Swedish immigrant parents, he has spent most of his life in the American Southwest, where he founded his own insurance company in the early 1920's.)

Many Americans, trying to make sense out of the Suez crisis, have found it difficult to understand why a narrow strip of water can so quickly divide the nations of the world, can put them, indeed, into what is virtually two armed camps, and can find them standing like small boys drawing lines in the sand and daring each other to start a first-rate war.

It is difficult for Americans generally to realize how dependent the people of Western Europe are upon Middle Eastern oil. It takes a crisis such as the Suez to bring home to America the enormous dependence of a nation like England on the tankers and pipelines that bring to it the essential sources of energy out of the Middle East. If enough ships are sunk in the channel of the Suez Canal, the headlines the next day proclaim the possibility of oil rationing in much of Europe.

The very dependeence of our traditional allies, England and France, upon the oil of the Middle East gives rise to the question as to what the future will be for atomic energy and how quickly the power of the atom may become the backbone of electric-energy generation in many parts of the world, and particularly in a country such as England. It also gives rise to speculation as to whether there may not be unusual and dramatic uses for which the atom may be harnessed—uses which could transform the whole industrial economy of vast areas of the earth now scourged by poverty and an unequal share of the world's energy resources and put into these areas unheralded wealth and unknown abundance. These would not be circumscribed by a temporary flow of oil, but instead a supply of power that would be virtually limitless and eternal might be found in the waters of the sea.

NO CEILING TO EUROPE'S ECONOMY

Atomic energy will not in a few years make the oil of the Middle East unnecessary to turn the wheels of European industry, yet it could, and I believe it will, remove the ceiling which oil now places upon the economy of Europe. Indeed, it could alter the power problem of a whole continent in his generation and of the whole world in the generations to come.

Let us start with this problem of the Middle East oil coming through the Suez Canal. Must it move that way? I think not. I say that because a field which seems to hold great promise for the future—and which also has immediate importance to all of us today because of the Suez Canal crisis—is that of nuclear ship propulsion.

As you probably know, the United States Navy, under Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, pioneered in this field. The U. S. S. *Nautilus* has been in operation, and very successful and remarkable operation at that, for many months now. Other nuclear-powered submarines are under construction, and the Navy in addition recently announced plans for its first large nuclear-powered surface ship. But this is only part—the military part—of the bright future ahead for nuclear ship propulsion. The era of the peacetime atomic-driven merchant ship is opening.

NUCLEAR TANKER

During its previous session, the Congress of the United States passed legislation authorizing the construction of the first nuclear-powered merchant ship. I was very much in favor of this idea, and as chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I submitted a statement to the Senate committee which was considering this bill. In the summary of this statement I said:

"It would appear, on the basis of the technical information furnished us to date, that our first step should be to design and construct a nuclear-powered oil tanker, and I hope that the Congress will provide the necessary authorizing legislation to proceed with this project."

When I submitted my recommendation a year ago in favor of an atomic oil tanker, I was acting on the basis of the best technical information I could obtain. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy had spent many hours holding hearings on the subject of nuclear ship propulsion. We heard testimony from Admiral Rickover, from technical experts in the Atomic Energy Commission and the Maritime Administration, and from representatives of the private shipbuilding industry. On the basis of all this testimony, it seemed to me, as it seemed to others, that the oil tanker was the best bet because this was the type that would probably soonest be economically competitive, and which private industry would want to build.

To buttress this reasoning, I would like to refer to the report of the panel appointed by the joint committee to study the impact of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, known as the McKinney panel. This panel reached the following conclusion:

"Atomic propulsion should have the best chance of being competitive in the case of large, high-powered ships which carry heavy bulk cargoes in unlimited supply and spend the maximum amounts of time at sea. Ships with these characteristics could utilize the heavy investment in nuclear powerplants to the maximum advantage and could employ effectively the space saved by eliminating fuel supplies to increase the cargo payload. The Maritime Administration considers oil tankers and bulk ore carriers the best examples of these types of commercial vessels. A modern oil tanker, for example, has a very large cargo payload and spends up to 90 percent of its life at sea."

I believe that the McKinney panel reasoning is sound. If we have to put large capital investment in our engine plant—and we would have to, especially at first, in the case of atomic reactor propulsion plants—it makes only good sense to keep our ship underway a maximum amount of time in order to get our money's worth. Since oil tankers can be loaded and unloaded in a hurry, they can spend 90 percent or more of their time at sea, getting full use out of the nuclear engines. Oil tankers also hold promise, I believe, because of the possibility of using some of the oil cargo to act as a shield between the reactor and the operating crew.

Also, as pointed out by the McKinney panel report, a large portion of the United States merchant fleet will become obsolete and must be replaced during the period from 1960 to 1965.

And that leads to another point: The oil tanker field is a growing one and a good one in which the maritime nations may wish to invest. Smart investors and smart operators have been building larger and larger tankers and supertankers, with greater and greater capacities, to carry oil from the Middle East, from Venezuela, from the United States, and from other sources to the oil-hungry markets of the world.

Finally, there is the ugly specter of the Suez Canal crisis. As things look now, the countries which have been using it may no longer be absolutely sure of passage through the Suez Canal, and should plan other alternatives. A pipeline across Israel, the de-

velopment of the new Algerian field—these may help. But as an additional ace in the hole, I believe that we should have large supertankers—and preferably nuclear-powered tankers—able to bypass the Canal and still deliver to Europe the oil that it may need. Many believe that these larger nuclear-powered tankers could carry oil to Europe around the Cape of Good Hope as cheaply as the present smaller tankers can carry it through Suez.

CONVERSION OF SEA WATER

But that is a problem brought on by a current difficulty. There are other problems which the world has faced for generations and which today the rising tide of population is making more urgent and difficult of solution. The problem of food is one of them and the problem of providing ordinary domestic water for human consumption and industrial use is another. To me, both are involved in recent studies on the possibility of converting sea water into potable water, a process which would at the some time provide power that might be utilized in the irrigation of now almost useless lands.

Through the years we have heard stories that the French have a plan for digging a canal from the Mediterranean into Africa; creating a salt-water lake in the middle of Sahara and thereby changing the climate of the world's greatest desert. That in itself is the sort of ambitious planning which the world needs and which many parts of the world must have if humanity is to be freed from constant pressures on its bread supply because of population growth. Recent reports on oil and mineral finds in this area may make realization more urgent.

Suppose nuclear fission offered a way of making sea water into usable drinking water. Suppose that great lake in the center of the Sahara Desert (assuming the French built their canal) could be sweetened for irrigation. Would there not be a rush of people who might want to live in that enticing climate? The fastest growing areas of the United States, populationwise, are the so-called lands of sunshine—Nevada, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Florida. These States grow because people like the sun. They like to live in climates which are warmed by it and where, thanks to air conditioning, they can endure the heat of summer and need not suffer the discomforts of severe winters.

How much of a job is it, this production of sweet water from sea water, or from brackish ground water? In the United States, these possibilities have not been completely overlooked, as evidenced by the energetic studies being made by many cities. In addition, modest studies have been conducted for a number of years by industry and more recently by the Government of the United States directed toward developing a means for distilling salt water for agricultural and industrial uses. But they have all been on a small scale and few of the procedures investigated to date hold much promise of economic operation. Most have serious drawbacks to counter their advantages and almost all involve high capital costs.

Among the ideas tested are simple distillation, which requires enormous quantities of heat energy; vapor compression, which involves the inefficient transfer of heat to mechanical energy for the compressors; and solar evaporation—direct use of the sun's heat—which is free energywise, but prohibitively expensive as far as equipment is concerned.

THE ION EXCHANGE PROCESS

Still another method under test, and a rather ingenious one at that, is known as the ion exchange process. In this process salt is extracted from the water by passing it through a stack of semipermeable membranes. A small amount of electricity is used to drive the solution through the system. Although there are a few technical problems to overcome in the use of this method for large volumes of water of high saline content, some experts feel that in the long run this process may have the best chance of economic operation. In fact, such units are already being sold daily for use in producing potable water in desert areas of the Middle East at a cost of 20 to 30 United States cents per 1,000 gallons, and at the rate of tens of thousands of gallons per day.

But, at best, we are only scratching the surface of a problem whose implications are ever more serious. And here, may I suggest, we call on our friend, the atom. Why not harness the atom to fulfill the age-old dream of producing fresh water from salt? Difficult? Yes. Expensive? Probably. But in terms of saving great areas of the world from economic ruin and creating new areas into which population-pressed nations may expand, even saving the lives of people in times of drought, is any job too difficult? Is any project to expensive? I think the answer is obviously "no."

My suggestion is based on more than an abstract idea or dream. Modest studies have been going on for some time in the United States Atomic Energy Commission and in the National Laboratories at Oak Ridge and Los Alamos on this very problem. In addition, a number of industrial organizations have expressed interest in the idea in connection with projected plans for multipurpose nuclear plants.

A NEW TYPE OF REACTOR

The question is—how are we going to apply the atom to this job? Scientists who have studied this problem at my request have concluded that nuclear heating does not make the supercritical distillation process more feasible, since this process would be uneconomical from the equipment standpoint even if heat were free.

However, they have looked at other processes and have come upon the idea of a new type of reactor. They have suggested that we go all the way and choose a process which, while very wasteful of heat, requires only the simplest equipment—simple distillation. They suggest we build a low-cost, low performance reactor producing lots of heat at low temperatures. They suggest we use all the difference in temperature available between the reactor and the salt water to drive in heat in a single effect, giving the lowest requirement for heat transfer surface. Then, to keep maintenance costs down, they suggest we evaporate only one-fourth or less of the sea water in the still, so that less scale will form and the salt will be returned to the source in the undistilled portion.

A brief preliminary study indicates that such a low-performance breeder reactor could, provided it were extremely large, conceivably be built at very low cost per kilowatt of thermal capacity. This is because very large reactors have so little surface for their volume that not much more fuel and other materials are required than for a small reactor, since there is almost no leakage of neutrons per unit volume. The reactor they suggest is itself an unusual type, using a boiling slurry of heavy water. The heavy water constitutes almost the entire cost of the reactor, which appears to be less than $10 per kilowatt of thermal capacity. Although the quantities of all materials required are available, this type of reactor has never actually been designed, certainly not operated, and costs per kilowatt of this order

These scientists are not timid men. They suggest that a project of this nature could be constructed at a cost from $600 million to $800 million and produce 1 billion gallons of fresh water per day, about 1 million acre-feet per year, at a cost, including amortization, replacement and maintenance, operation and fuel, of between 10 and 15 cents per 1,000 gallons.

One such plant operating at 100 million kilowatts would produce 3 percent of the total heat produced by man on the entire earth. The fuel consumption would be 40 tons per year of normal uranium, or the equivalent of 160 million tons of coal. Any attempt to build a smaller scale project would raise costs at once, since the reactor would cost almost the same at even one-tenth the capacity.

NOT A JOB FOR PRIVATE INDUSTRY

I suggest that here is a project worthy not only of dreams and imagination, but of serious consideration. This is a project too costly for an individual city, indeed, for anything less than a country. It is a perfect example, it seems to me, where one or more nations might and should step in. No municipality and no private utility company can afford to gamble $800 million on a project which when completed might not work. But governments which have gambled billions of dollars on atomic energy can afford to make one more gigantic test to see if a domestic, industrial, and irrigation water problem so vital to all parts of the earth can be solved by the distillation of salt or brackish water.

The United States does not now need nuclear reactors so urgently as do some other parts of the world. We are fortunate in having relatively abundant supplies of coal, oil, and natural gas as well as enormous resources of falling water. We could undoubtedly expand our economy for the next quarter century without having to look to the power of the atom.

But that cannot be said of lands such as England, to which I have previously alluded, where supplies of coal are limited and where the cost of mining it will grow progressively higher. Today the British nuclear program is in high gear. The plant at Calder Hall is "on the line" and other plants will follow in rapid succession. The first plant is a producer of plutonium, as well as electricity, and by assigning some arbitrary value to the plutonium output, the electrical current rate can be placed wherever the Government desires. Later plants will be solely for the generation of electricity but the costs at Calder Hall have thus far been so much cheaper than expected that there is every reason to believe that the succeeding plants will be economically feasible and produce electricity at a rate between 7 and 10 United States mills. This figure, while unattractive at present in most of the United States, is feasible and desirable in Great Britain and would be acceptable in many other parts of the earth where combinations of circumstances, both natural and man-made, have resulted in development of high power costs.

THE ATOM HAS SAVED LIVES

We seldom think of lives saved by the atomic bomb, yet they far outnumber the casualties.

We hear it said that atomic power is too costly, yet how often do we hear that atomic energy is saving millions of dollars every year?

We seldom think of strawberries when atomic energy is mentioned. Yet atomic energy has produced the world's ugliest strawberry—and some of its biggest dandelions.

Present discoveries promise health and wealth and an ease of living beyond calculation. They hint at a dazzling array of day-to-day advances, at days filled with play and very little work, travel out among the stars, pushbutton weather, and even eternal life.

Does this sound too good to be true?

It does until you think of that ugly strawberry. Then you are reminded of dozens of astonishing discoveries, each almost too good to be true. The United States has been amazingly fortunate, it seems to me, in the atomic work which it has already been able to do in the fields of medicine, biology, and

agriculture. Some persons say the atomic-energy medical potential is greatest of all.

In the words of Dr. Lee Edward Farr, chairman of the medical department at the Brookhaven National Laboratory, the potential for atomic energy in medicine is so great it amounts almost to frustration. "The opportunities," Dr. Farr says, "are so fruitful in almost any direction that we don't know which way to go." Even when a course is chosen, he relates, the sense of frustration tends to remain. "For every question we answer we uncover five questions we can't answer."

One outstanding job for atomic energy in medicine, Dr. Farr says, lies in "obtaining the necessary information for understanding the aging processes and for maintaining maximum health in the individual."

The studies have already led to remarkably successful treatments of certain diseases. One striking treatment that might be mentioned is one that has been developed for brain tumors. It can be accomplished without discomfort to the patient, although it involves literally billions of atomic explosions inside the patient's head.

Knowledge gained through atomic study in the medical field is being credited by those who keep track of such things with having saved more lives than the atomic bomb destroyed in the two attacks on Japan.

BETTER, CHEAPER FOOD

Recent atomic discoveries have also opened the door to better and cheaper food, greater variety, lower cost, and a steadier supply of seasonal varieties. These studies have been made possible at Brookhaven largely through radioisotopes, but much significant work has been done with irradiation by gamma rays, beta rays, and neutrons from very powerful sources. The radioisotope method provides tracer materials which permit scientists to peer into the life processes of plants and animals, and thus gain an accurate understanding of how these processes take place. The irradiation method produces profound changes in plant and animal tissues especially the genetic cells. Experiments based on the radioisotope tracer technique have produced much greater understanding of plant growth and the chemistry of plant nutrition. Scientists have learned similar things about animals. Using this knowledge they have perfected new fertilizers, vitamin and dietary programs, and have produced striking results.

Entirely new types of plants and fruits have been produced, on the other hand, through irradiation. By selecting the beneficial changes thus induced, the experiments have developed wheat resistant to black stem rust almost overnight, when older methods would have required almost 100 years to get the same result.

We have 2½ billion people in the world today and we will have more than 6 billion people in another century. These 3½ billion new mouths will present to us an enormous problem in the planting, gathering, harvesting, and processing of foodstuffs. They will create long lists of new requirements for homes, for schools, for transportation systems and for all the accompanying luxuries which civilization has sampled and decided that it likes. I refer to radios, television sets, air conditioning units, and a thousand and one new devices that we are building in our homes and installing in our office buildings. These are not to be solely the privilege of the rich, but seem destined to become the everyday utensils of people of all classes in all climates and all countries.

In the next century the world must produce the steel to build the factories that will make the television sets and the air conditioners. It must produce the cement and the building materials out of which hundreds of millions of new homes are to be constructed. It must fabricate the airplanes, the steamships, the trains that will haul food, fiber, and raw materials back and forth across the face of the earth. Nuclear power must be available universally to fill in the gaps that our fossil fuels cannot supply. It will be used in every type of propulsion vehicle with the possible exception of automobiles. It will propel our railroads, our steamships, our tankers, our giant airplanes, and the very heavy trucks that will cross continents without a single stop.

A FORCE FOR WORLD UNITY

If I may also be permitted a guess, it is that in the long run the use of atomic energy will bring the world closer together. We shall have so many problems on the international control of the atom that in self-defense we shall be required to begin working closer together in international organizations. We have the problem of sanitation, for example. If atomic wastes are to be haphazardly dumped into the ocean, there can be widespread destruction of the fish life in a short time. The world which may become short of food in another century could not look upon such destruction with indifference. Therefore, we must have international control of the disposition of atomic wastes.

Furthermore, we must be careful about the discharge of fissionable material into the atmosphere. Strontium 90 does not affect all parts of the earth equally. Its dangerous effects may depend to some degree on the amount of calcium in the soil of a country. If calcium is available to be drawn into the bones, well and good. But if it is largely absent from the soil, then strontium 90 may replace it in people's bone structure with horrible effects.

One type of control may lead to another and endow us eventually with agreements and understandings that will ease the load of the statesmen of the future.

Finally, if I were asked to list the single greatest thing the atom can do for you and me, I think I would say "world peace." I firmly believe that our advancing atomic technology already has made full-scale, global war impossible, simply because it will mean the destruction of civilization as we know it. Is there any man so mad that he deliberately will start such a cataclysm? Further advances in technology offer to remove some of the traditional causes for war.

Man's quest for power has been blamed for past wars. Yet it has been suggested in studies made at McGill University for the Canadian Government that even our minds, our psychology, can be influenced by biological factors. Thus we may see a world of abundance undivided by disputes between nationalities, a world without war or want.

Then atomic energy will have become what the men of science first intended—a new dimension for the human spirit.

One Essential Civil Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "One Essential Civil Right," written by George Todt, and published in the Valley Times of California.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONE ESSENTIAL CIVIL RIGHT

(By George Todt)

"Two wrongs do not make a right."—English proverb.

There has been a great deal of pros and cons expressed on the controversial civil-rights bill now pending in Congress. Are there any pitfalls to be avoided here? Where are some weaknesses to be shown? Is it entirely above board and honest?

We would do well to analyze some of the more questionable aspects of the bill before we commit ourselves in this instance. In my own case I find at least three areas of dissension that causes me to mistrust somewhat the announced intentions of the creators of the measure. Let us review them briefly.

In the first place, the bill's authors have had the incredible effrontery to suggest that we do away with trial by jury in certain instances to be covered by this legislation. Certainly, trial by jury is an inalienable right given us in our Bill of Rights—and I fail completely to see how we can quite lucidly expect to gain one civil right at the expense of one already on the books. How arbitrary can we get?

Secondly, the bill's authors also went far overboard when they wrote into the bill a little-noticed provision which would enable volunteer organizations—amateur snoopers if you will—to come to the rescue of the Government with their dossiers and files compiled against people whom they might not like, or instances in which they had axes to grind. This, in short, could conceivably lay the groundwork for a gestapo-type persecution of our citizenry which would put to shame its Marxist counterpart in Germany or Russia.

Third, we may note that proponents of the bill have made a tremendous outcry in behalf of man's civil rights. They have pictured themselves as the defender of the weak and the champion of the downtrodden. Torrents of crocodile tears have been shed in an inspired attempt to prove to the American people that they had nothing but love and affection for Joe Doakes. Yet when a right-to-work amendment was offered in the civil-rights measure, the pseudo liberals folded up like a collapsed tent.

Do these civil-righters maintain that it is a civil right to be forced into an involuntary association against our wills—or we don't eat? Such a contention is dangerous in view of the fact that only one-fourth of America's 67 million workers are organized into unions.

No union propagandist has ever explained satisfactorily why they call the right to work law a right to wreck measure. Actually they cannot even explain why they have conjured up this snide term. The right to work merely says that no worker can be denied a job by virtue of having joined, or not having joined, a union. That's not union busting. In fact the right to join a union is guaranteed. And union membership has increased in every State—all 18 of them—which have already adopted right-to-work legislation.

The explanation for this is really very simple. When the union men have the opportunity to walk out on labor bosses who might have their hands in the till or pursue unwelcome, arbitrary, undemocratic, and tyrannical practices—practices of that kind cease without exception. The labor bosses are forced to run the union ethically and with due consideration for the workers instead of themselves. Good practices will have the end result of upping the membership.

A right-to-work law conceivably could wreck the selfish ambitions of a labor boss

unscrupulous in his desire for power. But it can never hurt the union men themselves—nor nonunion men. So here is a civil right of the first order.

What the southern Senators, like Senator McCLELLAN, of Arkansas, have perceived quite correctly is that this bona fide civil right will test the avowed sincerity of the liberal civil rights bloc. For the right to work is the most vital civil right in the business.

Competition and Compensation in the Postal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter which I have received from Mr. Van R. Peirson, president of Branch 61, National Association of Postal Supervisors, of Seattle. Mr. Peirson's letter makes an impressive documentation of the need for increased salaries for postal workers:

APRIL 24, 1957.

Hon. DON MAGNUSON,
Congressman, Washington State,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your sympathy and support for postal legislation in the past and your particular attention to the problems of the National Association of Postal Supervisors is greatly appreciated.

This year our association is presenting a four-point salary program. Other postal organizations, likewise, are contacting you relative to pay raises and other legislation.

We believe sincerely that our own program is conservative and justified, not alone by calling attention to prices and the cost of living in our area, but by serious conditions within the postal service itself.

Our program calls for:

1. A 15-percent increase in all salaries.

2. A 20-percent differential for night work instead of the present 10-percent differential for work between 6 p. m. and 6 a. m.

3. Time and one-half pay for Saturday and Sunday work.

4. Increase of longevity pay from:

Years of service	13	18	25	Total
Present	$100	$100	$100	$300
To	150	200	300	650

The necessity for a realistic appraisal of the needs, costs and revenues of the Postal Service and its employees has been strongly emphasized by the recent attempts of the Post Office Department to achieve a rate structure which is not outdated by years of obsolescent pricing for its services and the presentation of a commonsense budget. It is further emphasized by the current drastic curtailment orders of the Postmaster General. While this curtailment has been partially eliminated due to congressional restoration of funds, an identical situation will arise during the next fiscal year because of a similar budget cut.

Under present circumstances, we are not attracting the most desirable class of employee in sufficient numbers. We have canvassed various sources of employee material such as the high schools and training schools and invariably find that we can appeal only to those who do not fit in elsewhere, and the situation is getting worse.

It is a common experience for us to furnish employees to assist in giving civil-service examinations only to have them returned immediately because no one showed up to take the examination. Young people of the right caliber are not coming into the Service and older employees are not staying.

We believe the solution is to pay our substitute employees, our regular clerks and carriers and our supervisors on a more nearly competitive basis with other industries with which we must compete for employees, and that our program is a commonsense method of doing so.

COMPARISON WITH COMPETITION

While long compilations of figures are tedious to follow, we are including some comparisons which show why we do not meet ordinary salary competition.

We would like to call your attention particularly to comparisons which show that 40-hour weekly earnings before deductions in our Service range from $72.80 for an entering substitute clerk or carrier to $90.40 for a regular clerk or carrier with 25 years' service, against average weekly earnings of manufacturing workers in this State (regardless of service) of $91.67, as reported by the Seattle Times, and a 1956 average of $97.42 for various national industries.

Compare these figures with those shown for roughly comparable positions in the 1957 budget and salary ordinance of the city of Seattle, or such an industry as Boeing's and we believe it is obvious why we cannot compete.

This situation, and the figures stress clerical and carrier pay but are equally pertinent and applicable to the supervisory force.

The special committee set up to study the salaries of Federal employees in grade 7 and above (our foreman salary grade) and chairmanned by Ralph Cordiner, president of General Electric, recommended almost identical increases to those we propose, as did the retiring chairman of the Civil Service Commission.

The Wall Street Journal reported an annual salary of $6,200 as average for foremen in industry. This figure is certainly far above those of $5,330 and $5,760 annually, which our two grades of foreman reach only after 25 years of service.

The plight of the postal employee in his attempt to secure adequate salaries invariably is worsened by the so-called deficit—a deficit which is actually increased by failure to face the rate and salary questions.

We would like you to examine these questions in the postal service which to us are extremely serious, and are one of the major causes of excessive employee turnover and added expense.

SITUATION IN SEATTLE

The following specific examples can be duplicated in the entire Pacific coast area and throughout much of the country:

1. There has been a turnover in the Seattle letter carrier force of 263 employees in the past year. Of this number, only 25 were retired. This represents a turnover of 29 percent of the carrier force—an incredibly high figure and one primarily due to the pay situation. The clerical force is similarly affected.

2. During the last accounting period, the Seattle office hired 78 letter carriers—at the same time losing 77.

3. A typical office near Seattle started last year with 13 regular carriers for 11 regular routes, one combination route and one auxiliary route. During the year, 10 resigned. The brief chart below tells a sorry story of the resignations:

Employee	Years of service	Reason for resignation	Where they went
1	8	More pay	Hardware store.
1	3	do	Army.
1	7	do	Boeing's.
1	2	do	Construction work.
1	2	do	Tradewell Stores.
1	1	do	Trucking Co.
1	5	Get better job	School to prepare for better job.
1	2	More pay	L. B. M. Co.
1	2	do	Heating Co.
1	12		Transferred to clerk at another post office.

Of this group only one was retained by the post office, and the story is a straight loss of 32 years service. Unfortunately this is not the only loss. For each employee that left, at least two new employees had to be tried out because they in turn either resigned or were unsatisfactory. The hidden costs involved in training an ever increasing number of replacement employees is a subject of deep concern to every postal supervisor. Even under the most favorable conditions there is a direct loss in production during the training period and, contrary to much opinion, postal work cannot be learned overnight.

As public servants, interested both in our personal welfare and that of our service, we respectfully submit that our position is fully justified and warranted, and request your serious consideration of our proposals.

With best personal wishes,

VAN R. PEIRSON,
President, Branch 61, NAPS.

Position	Annual and hourly salary			Top 40-hour weekly earnings
	Starting	After 7 years	After 25 years	
1. Substitute clerk or carrier	$1.82			$72.80
2. Regular grade 4 clerk or carrier	$3,660.00 1.76	$4,410.00 2.12	$4,710.00 2.26	90.40
3. Grade 6 foremen	$4,190.00 2.01	5,030.00 2.42	5,330.00 2.56	102.40
4. Grade 7 foremen	$4,530.00 2.18	5,460.00 2.63	5,760.00 2.77	110.80

Average weekly earnings, State of Washington manufacturing workers (Seattle Times, February 19, 1957), $91.67.

Average weekly earnings in various industries, 1956 (AFL-CIO Bargaining Report):

Average weekly earnings in various industries, 1956 (AFL-CIO Bargaining Report):

Printing	$95.55
Coal and oil	107.33
Manufacturing	81.49
Steel	106.04
Automotive	99.06
Machinery	95.18
Average	97.42

COMPARISON OF HOURLY WAGES

Clerk-carrier substitutes, $1.82.

Seattle Transit Co. starting wage, $2.18.

Grade 4 clerks or carriers after 25 years, $2.26.

Grade 6 foremen after 25 years, $2.56.

Grade 7 foremen after 25 years, $2.77.

From U. S. News & World Report, April 19, 1957:

Bituminous coal miners, $2.78.

Steel workers, $2.56.

Brewery workers, $2.57.
Oil refinery workers, $2.58.
Building trades workers, $3.08.
Rubber tire workers, $2.49.
Auto workers, $2.35.

Our foremen, after 25 years, do not earn as much hourly as many average workers in industry.

Estimated Savings From the Two Hoover Commissions' Recommendations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the RECORD a public letter to the Honorable CLARENCE CANNON, chairman, Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, from Clarence Francis, chairman, Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, which gives the estimated savings which have already resulted from the adoption of various recommendations of the two Hoover Commissions for more efficient administration in the executive department of the Federal Government.

I am certain that all Members of the Congress and the general public will find the statistics of savings on Federal expenditures set out in this letter of great interest. I trust that it will be an encouragement to us to continue implementing the Hoover Commissions' recommendations not yet adopted. There are many hundreds of millions of dollars more to be saved. Savings resulting from increased efficiencies give us our cake while we eat it, too. It is here that we can reduce the Federal budget and yet have a stronger—not weaker—national defense:

TEXT OF LETTER TO THE HONORABLE CLARENCE CANNON, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FROM CLARENCE FRANCIS, CHAIRMAN, CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR THE HOOVER REPORT, MAY 16, 1957

I am writing with reference to your remarks on the floor of the House on May 14, 1957. In your address you seriously questioned whether actual economies can result from the recommendations of the bipartisan Hoover Commission. The citizens committee has looked into this question with considerable care and would like to furnish you with the results of its study.

In this connection, our research department prepared the attached special research memorandum No. 11, entitled "Specific Examples of Savings, Capital Returns, and Increased Revenues Resulting From Reports and Recommendations of the Bipartisan First (1947–49) and Second (1953–55) Hoover Commissions." This study covers only a part of the total recommendations but it does document some $2.8 billion in savings. All of these figures are either taken directly from, or based upon, statements made by officials of the executive branch or by the Comptroller General of the United States.

With respect to the first Hoover Commission, the committee has looked into five specific areas of economy. The results of the survey indicated that economies in these five areas had resulted, as follows:

	Million
General Services Administration	$677.0
Veterans' Administration (cancellation of hospital beds)	545.0
Post Office Department (post and postal cards only)	72.0
Reconstruction Finance Corporation (abolition of)	474.4
Defense Department	569.5
Total	2,337.9

Additional results of the work of the first Hoover Commission would doubtless be found in other areas of Government but I think these figures are sufficient to make the point. Definite economies of substantial size are traceable to the first Hoover report through the statements of the agencies themselves.

With respect to the second Hoover Commission, the Citizens Committee has also made a study of some of the savings which so far can be attributed directly or indirectly to the Commission's findings. The results of this survey are as follows:

	Million
Treasury Department	$20.3
General Services Administration	131.7
Federal Housing Administration	.5
Interior Department	.6
Commerce Department	19.3
Veterans' Administration	13.6
Post Office Department	56.0
Health, Education, and Welfare Department	2.2
Defense Department (10 percent of total economies)	235.9
Total	$480.1

Here we would like to point out that only 39 percent of the 314 recommendations of this second Commission have been installed in whole or in part. Many of them have been installed rather recently, so that considerable time must pass before results can become evident. An example is the legislation providing a cost-accounting system for the Federal Government. Installation alone will take several years.

May I emphasize that these figures cover only a part of the total Federal operation and that they are meant simply to illustrate the fact that substantial savings have been certified by responsible governmental agencies. To study completely the budgets of all Departments and agencies over a span of 9 years would involve the task of compiling and comparing material on approximately 11,000 pages, with an average of at least 50 items per page, or more than 550,000 separate budget items. In our view, there are additional and very substantial savings which would be divulged by a more thorough study than that which we have been able to undertake.

In conclusion allow me to refer to the subject of appropriations on an annual accrued expenditure basis as provided in H. R. 2494 currently before the House. Varying estimates have been made as to the savings which might come to the taxpayer through this measure. We would like to point out that substantial economies might flow from a reduction in the so-called "carryover" funds—that is, unspent funds available from appropriations in previous years. These funds are today estimated to be in the neighborhood of $50 billion. As a most conservative estimate, a through scrutiny of such funds might lead to a reduction of only 1 percent—and this is a minimum. This alone would be $500 million per year. It is our feeling that the savings would be considerably more substantial.

Thank you very much for hearing our views on this matter.

SPECIAL RESEARCH MEMORANDUM NO. 11, CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR THE HOOVER REPORT—SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SAVINGS, CAPITAL RETURNS, AND INCREASED REVENUES RESULTING FROM REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BIPARTISAN FIRST (1947–49) AND SECOND (1953–55) HOOVER COMMISSIONS

Much current controversy centers around the record peacetime Federal budget of $71.8 billion for fiscal 1958. There is general agreement on the need for economy but widespread debate over specific cost-cutting proposals.

The question then arises: "Are substantial savings available through adoption of the recommendations of the bipartisan Hoover Commission?"

In the following pages, the Research Department of the Citizens Committee lists some examples of concrete economies, capital returns, and increased revenues clearly attributable to the work of the bipartisan first (1947–49) and second (1953–56) Hoover Commissions.

Four points should be noted:

1. This list traces $2.3 billion in aggregate economies to recommendations of the first Hoover Commission and $480.1 million to the second—a total of some $2.8 billion for both to date.

2. This is a partial list, intended only to illustrate broadly the principle that specific economies are available through adoption of Hoover Commission recommendations.

3. These examples are based almost entirely on official reports of the Federal departments and agencies concerned.

4. Most of the examples are based directly on Hoover Commission recommendations, but some are by-products of the Commission's work, illustrating the ways in which a document like the Hoover report can stimulate economy-consciousness in governmental operations.

Five Congresses and two administrations have had a hand in the bipartisan effort through which some 72 percent of the proposals of the first Hoover Commission and, to date, 39 percent of the second have been adopted. The process of effectuation following adoption is often a long one and the results, when obscured by sudden developments such as the Korean action, are difficult to identify.

The fact remains that definite savings of a major nature, far greater than the totals shown by these examples, have been made. It may be reasonably concluded, therefore, that substantial additional economies remain available in the unenacted 61 percent of the second Commission's recommendations.

Attached are:

1. Appendix A (specific examples of savings, capital returns, and increased revenues resulting from the reports and recommendations of the bipartisan first (1947–49) Hoover Commission).

2. Appendix B (specific examples of savings, capital returns, and increased revenues resulting from the reports and recommendations of the bipartisan second (1953–55) Hoover Commission).

An examination of these two appendixes indicates the figures are almost entirely official statements of the Federal departments and agencies. In only two of the scores of specific figures here quoted has the Citizens Committee's Research Department posed its own estimate; and in these two cases, the estimates are premised upon official figures.

APPENDIX A

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SAVINGS, CAPITAL RETURNS, AND INCREASED REVENUES RESULTING FROM THE REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BIPARTISAN FIRST (1947–49) HOOVER COMMISSION

The first Commission on Organization of the executive branch of the Government was created by unanimous act of Congress on July 7, 1947. The Commission was empowered to "study and investigate the present organization and methods of operation of all departments, bureaus, agencies, boards, commissions, offices, independent establishments, and instrumentalities of the executive branch of the Government."

The Commission divided up its total project of studying the executive branch into a series of major-purpose activities and functional problems. Twenty-four task forces were created. Some of these dealt primarily with Cabinet Departments, while others centered on broader categories of interest. The task force reports were completed in the late summer and autumn of 1948; and the Commission reported to Congress during the first 6 months of 1949. Most of the reports had minority opinions and dissents, proving that the recommendations were not accepted without a good deal of examination.

In enumerating the savings, capital returns and increased revenues attributable to the first Hoover Commission, the Citizens Committee covers five major areas. They are: the General Services Administration, the Veterans' Administration, the Post Office Department, liquidation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and the Department of Defense. These estimates are not all encompassing of the whole area of savings affected by the first Hoover Commission. They are chosen merely to illustrate some of the financial benefits which demonstrably have resulted from the recommendations of the Commission.

1. THE GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

It should be remembered that there would be no General Services Administration had it not been for a specific recommendation of the first Hoover Commission. In February, 1949, the Commission recommended to Congress that responsibility for three internal service operations, Supply, Records Management, and the Operation and Maintenance of Public Buildings, be placed in an Office of General Services with a director appointed by the President (Report on Office of General Services—Supply Activities, Recommendation No. 1). The agency was created by the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act later in that year.

The agency's annual reports have stated economies, as follows:

Fiscal year and savings[1]

		Million
1951		$81.0
1952		127.3
1953		130.6
1954		147.6
1955:		
(a) Personal property	$168.7	
(b) Real property	14.6	
(c) Records	3.6	
(d) Administrative	3.6	
		190.5
Total		677.0

[1] Stated officially by Jess Larson and Edmund Mansure, the 1st 2 General Services Administration Administrators, and found in the GSA Annual Reports.

2. THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

Cancellation of congressional authority to build 16,000 hospital beds for the Veterans' Administration was the biggest savings item in this field. (Report on Medical Activities, p. 6.) There are various methods by which nonrecurring or onetime savings like a hospital cancellation can be amortized. The Citizens' Committee used a 5-year basis in making its estimates, believing that the normal patient load accretions would cause such construction to be authorized again toward the end of such period. However, good economic conditions, important reductions in the incidence of tuberculosis, new drugs and medical techniques, and a number of other factors have mostly deferred this construction program, perhaps indefinitely. Hence, while the committee's 5-year amortization estimate seemed a reasonable basis when the estimate was made, it may have been too short for this particular case.

The aggregate saving of $545 million is shown as follows:

Fiscal year and savings[1]

	Million
1951	$67
1952	97
1953	127
1954	127
1955	[2] 127
Total	545

[1] Bed construction amortized without interest factor over a 5-year period; operation and maintenance costs carried on an annual basis, starting in 1952, at ½ of full annual figure of $60,113,000; and at full figure thereafter.

[2] Construction cutback was fully amortized according to Citizens' Committee basis by June 30, 1954, but annual operation and maintenance savings of $60,113,000 would continue thereafter.

3. THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

The most notable achievement here was the increase in the price of penny post and postal cards from 1 cent to 2 cents. (Report on the Post Office, Recommendation No. 8.) Congressional action on this Hoover Commission proposal led to an average annual revenue increase of $7.4 million—$5 million in fiscal year 1952, and an aggregate total of $32 million thereafter on postal cards. The aggregate revenue thus added has been $37 million through fiscal 1956.

To this can be added revenues from increasing penny post cards from 1 to 2 cents, which are estimated by the Post Office Department to have returned another aggregate of $35 million. This is necessarily an estimate since the postal accounting system compounds these revenues into the normal sale of 1-cent stamps.

The total, thus, is $72 million.

The rate on postal cards and post cards had stood at 1 cent since May 13, 1873, except for a temporary 1-cent increase during World War I.

4. THE RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

In its report to Congress on Federal business enterprises in March 1949, a task force of the first Hoover Commission recommended the liquidation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The Commission itself recommended drastic cutbacks in lending, but did not recommend total liquidation. However, the combined efforts of these two groups resulted in its termination effective September 28, 1953.

For the most accurate description of the capital returns realized from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in liquidation, a direct quotation is taken from the 1956 annual report of the Treasury Department:

"After giving effect to assets transferred to other Government agencies under the provisions of the RFC Liquidation Act and Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1954, there remained for liquidation loans, securities, and commitments amounting to $592,200,000. By June 30, 1956, this portfolio had been reduced to $117,800,000. The total reduction of these assets was $474,400,000, of which $114,300,000 was accomplished during the year.

"The proceeds realized from liquidation of the Corporation's assets are returned to the Treasury. In the fiscal year 1956, there was paid into the Treasury from cash on hand and amounts realized during the year a total of $150 million." [1]

5. THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The major segment of savings and budget reductions achieved from the original Hoover Commission fell within the Department of Defense, and these were most substantial. Some were annually recurring and some were nonrecurring, but, in the 1949–50 period, $569,675,000 of a total of over $1.5 billion saved in the Defense Department can be linked with Hoover Commission recommendations.

Due to the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, many of these Defense savings were immersed in the necessarily increased expenditures for war. Thus it is impossible to go beyond this point with regard to savings. Most savings effected by the Defense Department after the Korean war relate to the work of the second Hoover Commission and are dealt with later in appendix B of this memorandum.

The savings of $569,675,000 for 1949 and 1950 and stemming in whole or in part from the Commission and its task force are as follows:

	Savings[1] *(million)*
Lowered cost of recruiting program	$2.3
Lowered cost of printing and binding	2.3
Inactivation of administrative vehicles and substitution of civilian type vehicles for heavy military type vehicles	11.9
Inactivation of facilities surplus to peacetime needs	169.2
Lowered cost of petroleum reserves	.5
Lowered cost of classified project	2.1
Restrictions on civilian travel	.4
Bringing the rating structure of enlisted men into line with actual distribution and the structure plan for fiscal year 1951	9.9
Institution of the monetary maintenance allowance system in lieu of issue-in-kind	13.8
Curtailing and closely examining requirements for issuance of change of station travel orders	3.6
Lowered cost of quarters allowances for enlisted personnel resulting from adjustments in the rating structures	1.9
Early discharges, releases to CAD officers, and lower requirements for recruit outfits	9.5
Reduced requirement for operation of aircraft	5.0
Decrease in depot and base supply and maintenance	4.2
Lower fuel requirements from reduction in steaming hours of the active fleet and operation of a smaller fleet	2.6
Rescheduling and combining cargo shipments	7.9
Lowered operating expenses of ships other than fuel	3.0
Adjusting schedules for ship overhauls, reevaluation of scope of work required for individual ships, and accomplishment of increased self-maintenance by ships' crews	10.0
Decrease in the total communications requirements for the Department of Defense including those resulting from the operation of AFSA	6.6

[1] From Semiannual Report of the Secretary of Defense, July 1–December 31, 1949, pp. 53–55.

[1] Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1956, p. 136.

	Savings (million)
Reduced procurement of organizational clothing, motor transport spare parts, general supply items, signal supply items, and curtailment of repairs, upkeep, and improvements for Marine Corps	$1.0
Lower level of support for courts-martial, chaplain supplies, miscellaneous schools, etc	.7
Curtailment of major repairs and replacements and general maintenance of naval facilities	7.6
Savings through consolidation of Reserve training facilities, joint use of facilities and inactivation of some smaller training vessels while at the same time extending the training schedules of some of the larger vessels which will accommodate greater numbers of Reserve personnel for training	13.5
Reevaluation of research and development projects	17.2
Cancellation of the quinquennial overhauls of reserve fleet vessels and reduced preservation and maintenance of other war reserves	13.5
Curtailment of information and education activities	.3
Employment of better traffic policies and procedures in the operation of a central Military Land Traffic Office	1.6
Reduction of leased space after consolidation of activities	.07
Reduction and unification of military attaché office staffs	1.4
Lower cost of planned field exercises	.5
Savings in maintenance and operation of hospital facilities	5.3
General appropriation reprograming by deferred maintenance, personnel reductions or turn-over, lower level of operation in order to absorb wage board and other pay increases	156.5
Flying hours reduced	57.7
Reevaluation of industrial mobilization	25.9
Total	569.5

CONCLUSION

It will be noted that all the examples cited in appendix A, except those relating to the Veterans' Administration and the Post Office, are taken wholly from official reports and releases of executive branch departments and agencies, and, in those two cases, the estimates are based upon official figures.

These examples, to repeat, are simply intended to illustrate the point that concrete economies can be substantiated. They do not by any means represent the probable total of all such economies if all departments and agencies could have been included in this study.

The total of this partial list is itself impressive, however:

	Million
1. General Services Administration	$677.0
2. Veterans' Administration	545.0
3. Post Office Department	[1] 72.0
4. Reconstruction Finance Corporation	[2] 474.4
5. Department of Defense	569.5
Total	2,337.9

[1] Increased revenues.
[2] Capita returns.

APPENDIX B

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SAVINGS, CAPITAL RETURNS, AND INCREASED REVENUES RESULTING FROM THE REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BIPARTISAN SECOND (1953–55) HOOVER COMMISSION

The second bipartisan Hoover Commission was created in cognizance of the need for continued study and improvement of Federal administration. The Brown-Ferguson Act (Public Law 108, 83d Cong. 1st ses.) provided for a second Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. It was passed without a dissenting vote in either house. President Eisenhower signed the bill on July 10, 1953.

The new Hoover Commission was assigned the responsibility of recommending methods and procedures for: Reducing expenditures to the lowest amount consistent with efficient performance of activities; eliminating duplication of functions; consolidating services of a similar nature; abolishing those activities not necessary to efficient conduct of Government; eliminating those functions which compete unnecessarily with private enterprise; defining responsibilities of officials, and relocating independent agencies directly responsible to the President into departments or other agencies.

The major difference between the first Hoover Commission and the second lies in the fact that, while the first Commission was directed to concern itself with the procedural aspects of Federal administration, the second Commission was, in addition, instructed to go beyond this, to raise the substantive question of whether a given Federal activity should be continued or discontinued regardless of the efficiency or lack of efficiencies with which that activity was being administered.

The Citizens Committee estimates that $480.1 million has resulted in savings from the second Hoover Commission recommendations already put into effect. The figures listed in this appendix reflect those savings made during the year 1955 and thereafter, with a few from 1954.

The examples here cited are all taken from official reports. While most are directly attributable to the Commission's recommendations, some are byproducts, due in whole or in part to the stimulus of the Commission's proposals.

1. THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT

New management programs were installed as well as audit studies, evaluation of the revenue accounting system, operational cost reports, and workload statistics. These and other managerial information leading to savings resulted wholly or in part from the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission.

Total net space requirements were reduced. Programs were carried on to provide more suitable and efficient space and facilities. Related activities have been put under one roof to provide for more efficient operations. Much effort has been devoted to improving and modernizing accounting systems within the Department. In many Treasury activities new, modern equipment was installed.

The origin of these savings can be traced to the stimulus of Hoover Commission recommendations on central accounting and reporting, spread of workload, discontinuance of detailed appropriation and receipts accounts, and methods of recovery of capital sums to the Treasury. The savings for 1955 and 1956 are detailed as follows:

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
1. Savings in cartage costs	$0.1
2. Reductions in export control operations	.1
3. Procedural and organizational realignments in the Bureau of the Public Debt	.4
4. Conversion of disbursing accounts	.2
5. Closing of four regional accounting and disbursing offices	.2
6. Installation of mechanical equipment in the Division of Disbursement	.2

[1] Annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1955.

7. New system for correspondence control	$0.6
8. New form of index card maintenance	.2
9. Reduction in supervision by Internal Revenue storekeepers	.4
10. Discontinuance of coinage operations at two offices	.4
11. Disposal of excess properties by the Coast Guard	.9
12. Transfer of three Coast Guard supply depots to the Navy	.2
13. Decommissioning of 10 Coast Guard vessels	1.6
14. Better utilization of personnel	.2
15. Overall reduction due to improved methods and procedures	4.6
16. General management improvement program in the Bureau of Accounts	.6
17. Reorganization improvements in the Bureau of the Mint	.6
Total	11.5

Fiscal year 1956: Improved management actions saved a total of $8 million—Annual recurring savings—$6 million [1]

	Million
1. Revised procedures for the examination of printed products in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing	$0.3
2. Revisions in taxpayer-assistance programs in Internal Revenue	2.8
3. Extended use of mechanical and electrical equipment	.1
4. Transfer of Coast Guard supply facilities to the Navy	.2
5. Disposal of one supply base	1.0
6. Transfer of 46 parcels of property to General Services Administration for disposal	.4
7. Disposal of surplus vessels by the Coast Guard	.2
8. Space and equipment utilization survey in the Bureau of Customs released space valued at and declaration of surplus equipment	.5 .1
9. Customs Bureau reductions in manpower, space, and equipment	.8
10. Management improvement program in the Division of Disbursement	.6
11. Savings on an annual basis (recurring) from the Management Iment program	.6
12. Elimination of duplicate sets of records [2]	1.0
13. Reorganization of the Bureau of Accounts and the Savings Bond Division (recurring)	.2
Total	8.8

[1] Items 1 through 11 obtained from the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1956.

[2] Accounting and Auditing Developments in the United States General Accounting Office—United States Government Printing Office, 1957.

2. THE GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION—FISCAL YEAR 1956

Many new savings factors have been introduced into the General Services Administration since the second Hoover Commission completed its work. An accrued cost system of accounts was established, and large reductions in paperwork resulted from the creation of a single fund for administrative operations. Expansion of electric accounting-machine operations brought about savings in several accounting processes throughout the administration. A performance-analysis system was installed to measure performance in terms of accomplishments and cost. Finally, the internal audit program was more clearly defined so as to emphasize the review of internal controls on an agencywide basis.

These improvements embrace the Hoover Commission recommendations for storage and distribution, paperwork management, procurement, property management, records management, stockpiling and warehousing, and surplus-property distribution within the General Services Administration. The record of savings for the General Services Administration in 1956 is listed below:

	Million
1. More efficient telecommunications service [1]	$1.0
2. Continued utilization of real property transfers	5.7
3. Records management surveys	4.3
4. Releasing of storage space	.7
5. Curtailed expenditures for new cabinets	2.3
6. Curtailed expenditures for transfer cases	.4
7. Transfer, instead of new procurement, of property	95.0
8. Repair and rehabilitation of equipment instead of new purchase	1.2
9. Improved audits and financial management	1.0
10. Reduction of motor vehicle fleet (recurring) [2]	20.0
11. Improved payroll procedures [3]	.1
Total	131.7

[1] Annual report of the Administrator of General Services for the year ending June 30, 1956 (items 1 through 9).
[2] GSA press release, February 17, 1956.
[3] 8th Annual Progress Report under the Joint Program To Improve Accounting in the Federal Government, 1956.

3. THE FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

The opportunity for administrative savings does not exist in as great a degree in the Federal Housing Administration as it does in other Departments or agencies.[1] However, management improvements for FHA in 1955 were responsible for savings of approximately $0.5 million.

It is as a result of recommendations of the first Hoover Commission that the Housing and Home Finance Agency embraces all Federal activities in the housing field except the Veterans' Administration and the Farmers Home Administration. The Federal Housing Administration naturally falls within the scope of the Agency. Recommendations of the second Hoover Commiswithin the scope of this Agency. Recomsion regarding the Federal Housing Administration are, for the most part, concerned with authority and studies of mortgage-loan insurance. These would be extremely hard to evaluate in terms of savings. General management improvements are most indicative of the savings made by the Federal Housing Administration and appear below.

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
1. Management improvements in Comptroller's Division—expected to effect annual savings in personal services of	$0.2
2. Records management economies	.2
3. Better use of space, and printing economies	.1
Total	.5

[1] Twenty-second annual report, Federal Housing Administrator, for year ending December 31, 1955.

4. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

The Interior Department also participated in accounting reviews and cost-type budgeting. The Department also continued to examine internal functions in order to discontinue those activities which were in competition with private enterprise. This directly follows the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission. In addition, the Department proceeded to dispose of unneeded real property and to better organize field organizations. Much progress was made in records management and also in the area of general administration.

Evidence of the influence of Hoover Commission recommendations on business enterprises, paperwork management, and disposal of surplus property can be clearly seen in the savings shown here.

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
1. Decrease in volume of reclamation records	$0.1
2. Disposition of excess property, Bureau of Mines	.2
Total	.3

[1] 1955 Annual Report, Secretary of the Interior, Partnership in Resource Conservation and Development, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1955.

Fiscal year 1956 [1]

	Million
1. Reduction in volume of stored records, releasing space and equipment worth approximately	$0.2
2. Transfer of surplus property to other agencies	.1
Total	.3

[1] 1956 Annual Report, Secretary of the Interior, The Conservation of Natural Resources, for fiscal year ended June 30, 1956.

5. THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

A modified accrual basis of accounting is also being used by the Commerce Department. The full benefit of this system is yet to be realized, but some economies have been made. The Department has also installed modern electronic machines which have greatly simplified paperwork management. Space transfers, reduction of inventories, new filing methods, consolidation of records space, and sale of surplus property have effected savings of more than $19.0 million. Again, these management improvements are in accord with recommendations of the second Hoover Commission. Those savings which can clearly be identified are set down as follows:

Fiscal year 1955

	Million
1. Transfer of space from Army to Panama Canal Company [1]	$0.8
2. Reduction of inventories of the Panama Canal Company [1]	3.0
3. Simplified methods and modern electronic aids in taking the 1954 business census [2]	4.0
4. Reorganization and clearance of filing systems [2]	.2
5. New cost control study by the Maritime [2]	
6. Elimination of paperwork in Bureau of Public Roads [2]	.5
7. Reduction of records storage space [2]	1.5
8. Sale of the Inland Waterways Corporation [2]	9.0
Total	19.3

[1] Annual Report of the Comptroller General of United States, 1955; 84th Congress, 2d sess., House Doc. No. 255.
[2] Commerce Department Release, April 8, 1956, G655.
[3] Contained in special Report to Congressional Committee.

6. THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

Improvements in management and administration in the Veterans' Administration brought about significant results. Cost studies and new purchase practices were established, as well as control summaries and cost-type budget schedules. Procedural improvements in hospital administration were highly gratifying in light of the Hoover Commission recommendations. Progress was also made in the transfer and destruction of records and in the application of work simplification techniques.

The savings made by the Veterans' Administration clearly reflect the second Hoover Commission's recommendations applying to administrative procedure, medical supplies, storage operations, supply depots and distribution, and business-type services. The Veterans' Administration has adopted the Hoover Commission's principle that paperwork management places heavy proper emphasis on controlling the creation, maintenance, and use of records as well as storage and disposal. Achievements along these lines have been noteworthy, as may be seen by the savings figures:

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
1. Reduction in ratio of employees to patients in VA hospitals resulted in saving in salaries of approximately	$6.0
2. Cost studies in Department of Medicine and Surgery stimulated improved management at field stations	.7
3. Improved purchasing practices of items such as proprietary drugs and hearing aids	.4
4. More economical use of office space—release of excess space	.3
5. Redistribution of supplies	.2
6. Transfer of VA records to GSA Federal Records Center	.3
7. Disposal of unnecessary records	.2
8. Application of work simplification techniques	.2
9. Reduction of depot inventories within VA	.2
10. Transferring accounting functions of loan guaranty divisions to finance divisions in regional offices, resulting in elimination of approximately 65 positions	.4
11. Redistribution of excess personal property within the VA	2.1
Total	11.0

[1] Administrator of Veterans' Affairs—Annual Report, 1955.

Fiscal year 1956 [1]

	Million
Development of electric accounting procedures for loan accounting	$0.2
Procurement of Thorazine at one depot with direct delivery to each station	.2
Microfilming of records eliminated annual expenditures for microphotographic equipment	.2
Transfer of adjustment and refund functions	.2
Release of filing equipment for other VA departments	.1
Reorganization of regional offices and transfer of work	.9
Consolidation of divisions at 10 VA hospitals	.5
Disposition and transfer of records	.2
Improved procedures and controls in supplies and services	.1
Total	2.6

[1] Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1956.

7. POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

The first Hoover Commission recommended improved accounting and budgeting procedures, and a comprehensive cost-control system for the Post Office Department. The new Hoover Commission emphasized real-property management and maintenance along with general reorganization of the De-

[1] Also the FHA is essentially a self-supporting Federal agency.

partment. In following these recommendations the Postal Establishment has made substantial savings. Considerable progress has been made in modernization of controllership and management programs, conversion to punched card checks, the establishment of a reports management program, development of accurate measures of cost, improved classification of accounts, transportation procedures, and paperwork management. Savings stimulated in whole or in part by the Commission for the years 1955 and 1956 are as indicated.

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
1. Discontinuance of over 1,100 post offices	$1.5
2. Consolidation of 333 rural delivery routes with other rural routes	1.0
3. Change from advance authorization of space to "space used" agreements with railroads	10.0
4. Discontinuance of city distribution in 180 railway post offices	.4
5. Replacement of RPO service by closed pouch or star route service on 193 trains	4.0
6. Elimination of duplication in weighing magazines and newspapers	1.8
Total	18.7

[1] Annual Report of the Postmaster General, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1955.

Fiscal year 1956

	Million
1. Discontinuance of 813 post offices [1]	$1.1
2. Revised plant arrangement and mechanization of New York City West Side Terminal [1]	.8
3. Survey of all star routes in the Southeastern States [1]	.2
4. Special agreements with rail and highway carriers for moving mail equipment [1]	.7
5. Modernization of financial and accounting practices [2]	20.0
6. New procedure for controlling overages from the sale of stamped envelopes [2]	.2
7. Discontinuance of city distribution for 120 cities in 200 RPO's [2]	.5
8. Discontinuance of RPO and closed pouch service on 900 trains [2]	8.0
9. Improved practices in dispatching and loading [2]	.1
10. Authorization of multielement rates and mileage equalization and 13 trunkline carriers [2]	5.1
11. Centralization of money order audit operation [2]	.5
12. Reduced printing costs through adoption of punchcard certificate form [3]	.1
Total	37.3

[1] Annual Report of the Postmaster General, Fiscal Year 1956.

[2] Interim Report, The Postmaster General to the President of the United States, Sept. 30, 1956.

[3] Report on Installation of Industrial-Type Controllership, July 1, 1953, to June 30, 1956, Bureau of Finance, Post Office Department.

8. THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

This Department, although relatively new, has made significant contributions in its measures of economy. Improvements have been made in accounting operations and general management procedures.

Fiscal years 1955 and 1956 (2-year totals) [1]

	Million
1. Freeing office equipment for reuse elsewhere in the Government	$0.7
2. Reduction in floorspace	.2
3. Reduction in motorized equipment	.2

[1] Contained in special report to congressional committee.

Fiscal years 1955 and 1956 (2-year totals)—Continued

	Million
4. Abolition of offices and divisions	$0.1
5. Management improvements in Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance	1.0
Total	2.2

9. THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Two-thirds of the second Hoover Commission's recommendations apply to the Department of Defense. Improvements were underway in the Department even before the Commission completed its report; and, during the period the Commission was working, many were developed in cooperation with the Commission's task forces. Others have resulted directly from the recommendations of the Commission.[2]

Economies shown here are taken from official Defense Department reports and also from reports on the joint accounting program by the Comptroller General. While not all the economies listed can be directly attributed to the Hoover Commission, a substantial portion directly flows from the recommendations of both the first and second Commissions. It is here estimated—and most conservatively—that 10 percent of the total economies reported in the following pages can reasonably be attributed to the Commission's work. In fact, a logical case could be made for a far higher percentage. The total reported by the Department was $2,359 million, 10 percent of that is $235.9 million.[4]

Fiscal year 1955

During the fiscal year 1955, major emphasis was placed on improvements in supply management. In the field of standardization of stocks the beneficial effects of a new cataloging program were immediately evident. Standardization actions eliminated many items from military supply systems and developed common standards and specifications for commercial and military components. The Department estimated that savings from standardization of stocks in 1955 were $29 million.[6]

Similar improvements were made in the management of excess stocks. Increased efficiency was also achieved in the use of storage space. The introduction of uniform reporting systems made possible more cross-servicing in storage activities and the transfer of facilities from one department to another. An annual saving of $30 million resulted from the closing of 17 Army supply depots. When 6 of these depots were transferred to the Air Force, $16 million was saved in lieu of new construction costs. Improved transportation rate negotiations saved approximately $48 million.[6]

[2] Action already taken on the second Commission's recommendations regarding food and clothing will eventually lead to substantial economy. This applies primarily to the "head count" on a service installation whereby the number of meals served is restricted to the number of personnel on that post. Food was ordered and meals prepared on the basis of an estimated total number of personnel. Because substantial percentages of the estimated total number were on leave, ill, or not present for a variety of reasons, this led to a great waste of food. The task force on food and clothing estimated that if this and other of its recommendations were fully implemented, a savings of $200 million a year would be possible.

[3] The use of the conservative 10 percent estimate also takes account of duplications (e. g.) as between reports of the Department and of the Comptroller General.

[4] Semi-annual report of the Secretary of Defense, January 1 to June 30, 1955, p. 42.

[5] Ibid., p. 43.

Work simplification is an integral part of the overall management improvement effort of the Army. The Defense Department estimated that a $13 million saving resulted from improvements installed by supervisors trained in this field.[8]

The Army financial management plan brought about many improvements in installation accounting and better use of stock inventories. Cutbacks in inventory levels have brought about the greatest monetary savings, according to Defense Department figures; $585 million in excess capital was relinquished in 1954 through reductions in stock, and $700 million in 1955.[7]

The Navy also contributed greatly to general economy and management improvements within the Department of Defense. Studies were made of the accounting features of cross-servicing and monetary accountability procedures. Audits of contractors' claims and other accounting and audit work brought about substantial savings. The Navy was able to save an estimated $123.5 million in the cost of materiel procurement.[8]

Air Force management underwent the same comprehensive study, and the Secretary of the Air Force estimated that $440 million was saved in contract costs resulting from improved audit procedures (this combines actual and potential reductions).[9]

Fiscal year 1956

The joint accounting improvement program carried on during the period January 1, 1956 to September 30, 1956, is illustrative of savings made in the Defense Department during that year. According to the Comptroller General of the United States, better management practices and financial improvements in the Department resulted in savings of $202 million.[10]

Improvements in inventory control resulted in the relocation of supplies and the saving of 250,000 square feet of space. It eliminated 187 different records for various financial inventory categories and brought about discontinuance of overlapping stocks of similar supply items. These measures reflected an estimated saving of approximately $133,000 per year. Method improvements based on a management study of in-transit warehouse procedures effected an estimated saving of $150,000. The indirect material inventory has been decreased by $381,000.[11]

Improved direct labor efficiency in the Department brought about a saving of $625,000.[12]

An internal review of inventory at the Long Beach Naval Shipyard resulted in a reduction of approximately $307,000 in shop stores insurance items. A ship stores inventory purification program at the San Francisco Naval Shipyard resulted in a reduction of approximately $386,000.[13]

At the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, elimination of duplicate records and the abolition of 74 supply department positions through transfer of items saved $339,000.[14]

This joint program to improve accounting to which we refer, also highlights the internal audit program within the Department of Defense. It estimates that savings in the cost of Government procurement

[6] Ibid., p. 130.

[7] Ibid., p. 132.

[8] Ibid., p. 207.

[9] Ibid., p. 270.

[10] The Eighth Annual Progress Report Under the Joint Program To Improve Accounting in the Federal Government, 1956, by the Comptroller General of the United States.

[11] Ibid., p. 40.

[12] The Eighth Annual Progress Report Under the Joint Program To Improve Accounting in the Federal Government, 1956, by the Comptroller General of the United States, p. 41.

[13] Ibid., p. 45.

[14] Ibid., p. 45.

amounted to $166.4 million in fiscal year 1956.[15]

A navywide review of records, resulting in the elimination of duplicate records, saved an estimated $400,000. Reduction of stock-fund inventory at one naval activity amounted to $2.8 million as the result of an audit. At still another activity, disposition of excess stocks in the amount of $600,000 was instituted.[16]

CONCLUSION

As in dealing with the first Hoover Commission, it must be emphasized here that the departments and agencies used do not constitute the total areas of economies. While these figures are merely representative, they are perhaps the most illustrative ones obtainable.

Savings and financial returns are primarily limited to the years 1955 and 1956 because the second Hoover Commission's recommendations were mainly implemented in those years.

It is evident that savings in the Department of Defense constitute the greatest proportion of savings in the areas covered. This is valid because two-thirds of the second Hoover Commission's recommendations directly apply to the Defense Department.

The compilation of savings from recommendations of the second Hoover Commission and the corresponding departments and agencies is condensed as follows:

	Millions
Treasury	$20.3
General Services	131.7
Federal Housing	.5
Interior	.6
Commerce	19.3
Veterans	13.6
Post Office	56.0
Health, Education, and Welfare	2.2
Defense (at 10 percent)	235.9
Total	480.1

[15] Ibid., p. 49.
[16] Ibid., p. 50.

Proposed Juvenile Delinquency Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement by Hon. Hugh Carney, of Georgia, made today before the Subcommittee on Special Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor:

STATEMENT BY HUGH C. CARNEY, CHAIRMAN, STATE BOARD OF PARDONS AND PAROLES OF GEORGIA

Mr. Chairman, the work of this subcommittee may well be a necessary impetus for breaking through the barrier of crime in our country and may well result in the salvaging of many lives that, according to known statistics, would be destroyed by crime. Therefore, at the outset, let me express the appreciation of our board, as well as my own, for your invitation to appear before you. But I must hasten to say that I come not as a trained sociologist or psychologist and that my statements, therefore, would best be considered in the light of what I am: an administrator and a lawyer.

In order for the committee to understand clearly the conclusions reached later, your indulgence is requested while I outline the organized activites in this and related fields as they function in Georgia.

STATE BOARD OF PARDONS AND PAROLES

This constitutional board was first created by legislative act in 1943, which was written into the State constitution of 1945. It is composed of 3 members, appointed for staggered terms of 7 years by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate. It has plenary and unconditional power over all matters pertaining to reprieves, paroles, pardons, commutation of sentences (including death sentences), and restoration of civil and political rights. The matters of treason and impeachment are reserved to the legislature. The Governor retains 1 power, and 1 only: the right to grant a stay of execution, not exceeding 90 days, in cases involving capital punishment. Thus the Governor is relieved of virtually all duties in the practical treatment of crime in Georgia. No Governor has yet attempted to exert influence upon this board or to accomplish by indirection executive control over functions of which he has been directly relieved.

HOW THE BOARD FUNCTIONS

Theoretically, Georgia now has the ideal law regarding pardon and parole. The board has independence backed by constitutional protection. I believe Georgia is the only State in which a board of pardons and paroles has absolute and unconditional power to grant or deny commutations of death sentences. The functions of this board compare favorably with those of all other boards in the country. But we are working under heavy handicap.

There are 8,085 prisoners in the penitentiaries of Georgia. By application of our one-third rule (a prisoner serves one-third of his sentence in prison) as to eligibility for parole consideration, approximately 500 cases per month are automatically considered for parole privilege. There are 1,572 parolees now under supervision with a field staff of 24. The scope of these activities is broad, including investigative, counseling, and supervisory functions. In addition to this, the parolee may obtain psychiatric and psychological treatment by referral to private practitioners. For this comprehensive service we are understaffed. There is an urgent need for properly trained personnel with appropriate aptitudes and devotion to the social ministry of this lifesaving work. For lack of skillful workers too many parolees fall back into crime. Rates of recidivism will grow even more excessive until properly trained and numerically adequate supervisory personnel are made available.

To carry on this extremely important function, Georgia's Pardon and Parole Board operates on an appropriation of $250,000 annually, plus a contingent appropriation of $25,000 annually for operating an advisory staff of psychiatrists dealing with sex offenses. We need much more. We are now in the process of educating the legislators and citizens in general to understand the inestimable value of rebuilding broken lives.

STATE BOARD OF PROBATION

It was important to outline these functions to you because of the relationship of juvenile delinquency to penal servitudes in later years. Of the 8,085 prisoners in the Georgia penitentiary system more than 50 percent have known records as juvenile offenders. Because of the incompleteness, incorrections, and unreliability of the known records, it is probable that at least one-half of the remaining prisoners either were or should have been declared delinquent. Delinquency in youth is the seed from which later and greater crimes flourish, harming society and blighting the possibility of developing useful citizenship. In this field, we expect probation to prove its value in our fight against crime.

We must, of course, recognize that these programs now being discussed relate primarily to adults. There is no statewide juvenile program in Georgia. Georgia has no statewide system of juvenile courts in existence as a distinct and separate entity. Further discussion will be given these problems later.

The statewide probation program is the principal major progressive step Georgia has inaugurated in the general field of corrections during recent years. The board of probation was constituted by act of legislature on February 8, 1956. It is composed of the members of the State board of pardons and paroles, acting in ex officio capacity. Under the board is a specialist in probation, psychology, and sociology, who has had both undergraduate and postgraduate training, and in all practical aspects of probation directs the activities of the statewide program. The State board of probation fixes general policy, performs all the budgetary duties of this department, fosters good public relations and judicial cooperation, and sits constantly as advisers to the director and his staff. The board delegates all other administrative, inservice training and functional matters to the director. Thirty-nine officers, with adequate secretarial help, have been employed during the first 10 months of operation.

Over this 10-month period, 4,257 defendants have been given opportunity to rehabilitate themselves under terms of probation. More than 90 percent of these are thus far complying with the terms imposed and are thus far avoiding the stigma of penal servitude. Their families have been kept intact and the breadwinners have been retained in employment. Welfare agencies have escaped the burden of hundreds of additions to their already overloaded rolls. The State is in the process of salvaging first offenders and good-risk defendants from the potential degredation of a lifetime of crime and general revolt against society.

The Statewide Probation Act does not purport either to replace or bypass existing metropolitan probation programs. Those programs already existing are permitted to remain, and to each of these State-paid officers are assigned. While not posing interference with these programs, the Statewide Act provides for uniformity of operation and procedure; thus all area systems must comply with the fundamental and mandatory provisions of the act.

At this point I might well add that this program both anticipated and accomplished uniformity of operation, and that its operation without regard to ethnological considerations has become well established and generally recognized.

Permit me to emphasize the success of our statewide adult program by citing the record of our expanding prison population from July 1955, to the beginning of our program on July 1, 1956:

Prison population

July 1, 1955	7,789
July 1, 1956	8,125
May 1, 1957	8,085

The fact that crime, nationwide, has been for several years on the increase is no longer disputed. But, unfortunately, Georgia's rate of increase stands among the highest. This is partially explained by the fact that Georgia only recently adopted its statewide adult program. It is easy, however, to see the trend these statistics vividly portray. Thus it is readily and properly concluded that the probation program has brought the rise of prison population to a standstill. In the years that lie ahead, this population will continue to decrease because of the normal

functions of parole, conditional release, and limited intake accomplished through the operation of adult probation. Our anticipated juvenile and domestic relations program, which I shall discuss in detail later, will add massive numbers and sped which will result in ever-increasing impetus to this declining trend of prison population.

Our probation officers are both qualified and dedicated, a reflection adduced from the comparatively low rate of revocations. I would be amiss in the discharge of my obligations if I should not recognize the complete cooperation accorded us in this initial program by our judges. The granting or denying of probation being a judicial function, I must say that the judges have conscientiously, without exception, welcomed and supported the system, as is attested to by the record of 4,257 placed on probation during the first 10 months of operation. Furthermore, I should like to advise the committee of the unwavering support accorded this program by His Excellency, Marvin Griffin, Governor of Georgia. I am authorized to state to you that he is keenly aware of the need of implementing the program as well as the establishment of active, workable related programs.

Georgia will expend the sum of $310,000 on the State level during the first fiscal year of the Board's operation. In addition, Fulton County (Atlanta) operates on a budget of $144,695 annually for adult probation. This county represents approximately one-fourth of the population of Georgia and, of course, is fortunate enough to have the tax base for this budget, and even more. Macon (Bibb County), Augusta (Richmond County), Columbus (Muscogee County), Savannah (Chatham County), and many other larger municipalities supplement the State's program. It is, therefore, fairly accurate to state that a grand total of more than a million dollars is annualy expended by probation in Georgia.

During the next 2 years, our adult program anticipates the addition of at least 37 additional officers, along with additional secretaries, clerks and office personnel. A permanent training program will be instituted and operated on a full-time basis. All employees will be classified under the State merit system and will be part of the State retirement program by July 1, 1957. Minimum compensation for probation officers is expected to be increased from $3,600 per annum to $4,200 per annum. The average annual compensation is already in excess of this latter figure. A minimum annual appropriation of $750,000 for this program alone is anticipated by the fiscal year of 1958–59.

WELFARE, HEALTH, AND EDUCATION SERVICES

It would be an imposition on the committee's time to enter into any detailed discussion of the services rendered by the Welfare, Health, and Education Department. Let it be sufficient to state that Georgia has the usual active, dynamic, and effective programs in all of these departments. The most direct agent in ferreting out and fighting juvenile problems comes from the visiting teacher. The State department of education has in its employ 153 full-time visiting teachers who are fully qualified social workers. Their gallant work in eradicating sporadic attendance in schools, as well as the causes of lack of attendance, stands among the most effective work being done in our State.

PROPOSED DOMESTIC RELATIONS AND JUVENILE PROBATION PROGRAM

In the field of domestic-relations courts, juvenile courts, and juvenile probation, Georgia has a veritable hodgepodge and Pandora's box. In rural areas, the superior courts also serve as the juvenile courts. In the heavily populated counties youthful offenders are tried in juvenile courts. In the second place, there are only four detention homes for juvenile offenders in the entire State, and each of them is inadequate for the needs of detention because of limited capacity. In the third place, there is no statewide program of juvenile probation.

With reference to the juvenile setup, there is no provision for a separate juvenile court except in counties of 50,000 or more, where the authority is permissive, whereas in the metropolitan areas we have juvenile courts. Each setup has its advantages and disadvantages. In the latter, the juvenile is tried in one court, and yet the very cause of his problem (improper domestic conditions) was tried in another. Too often there is little or no liaison between the courts, and frequently neither knows of the actions pending or being tried in the other. In the rural areas where the superior courts try both domestic relations offenses and juvenile cases the main trouble is that liaison is precluded, but the plan is ineffective in that the superior court judge is so overworked with public civil and criminal litigation that he has no time to specialize in a program, which, rightly administered, demands specialization. Further, there is no effective supervision for juveniles in the rural areas, and there are no detention facilities except the common jail.

These special problems accentuate my firm belief that the matters concerning juvenile and domestic problems should be combined and tried by a judge specialized in these two related fields to the exclusion of any other type of judicial responsibilities.

An interim legislative committee is now studying recommendations we have made concerning the establishment of such a juvenile system in Georgia. Our plan, as recommended, is to establish 15 judicial circuits on the superior court level and to provide that a judge who is a specialist in these 2 fields serve in 2 or more of the present circuits. He would have statewide jurisdiction and in all matters be a superior court judge whose duties would be confined to matters which we are discussing.

After the establishment of such judicial circuits, it is our further recommendation that 20 State-financed homes be established, in addition to the 4 now in existence, in order that it would not be necessary to travel more than 50 miles to place a youthful offender in a detention home.

I further propose a merger of our adult probation system with our newly established juvenile probation program and the addition of qualified officers to handle these delicate problems.

It is our belief that $2 million will constitute sufficient funds to provide the necessary construction of detention homes. An appropriation of $1,250,000 to $1,500,000 annually will be sufficient to operate an effective juvenile and adult probation program on a statewide basis.

Briefly this represents the proposed plan under which Georgia expects to make a frontal attack on juvenile delinquency. Such assistance as would be provided by the proposed Elliott bill would be welcomed in Georgia. It appears that its provisions would help us best in two fields: (1) The establishment of scholarships for the training of qualified personnel; (2) the provision of funds for necessary research pertaining to causes and cures of juvenile delinquency.

I express no preference as to which Department of the Federal Government might best administer the provisions of this measure after it becomes law. I would express a preference which perhaps will appear strange to you. I prefer that the bill should retain the relatively small appropriation. It has been my experience that a bill providing for a great social need not only stands a better chance of passage if the appropriation requested is left at a minimum, but once the bill is passed and the program becomes active, obtaining additional funds does not present any monumental obstacle or even much complication. The effects of the program, having proved itself, will be sufficient to obtain an increase in appropriation as the needs of the program warrant and require.

Recommendations and conclusions

There are, obviously, many causes and still more contributing factors resulting in juvenile delinquency. You have, no doubt, heard testimony pointing to poor housing, the "gang," "bad parents," and sundry other causes and factors in the problem. But I submit to you that none of these, per se, may indisputably be considered sole causes of delinquency; one or more of them combine with one or more important weaknesses to accomplish the result. Let me be specific: Johnny doesn't become delinquent simply because he lives in a two-room shack and has an alcoholic father. Very frequently the direct opposite of delinquency is the result. But when one or more of these factors emerge and begin working on a person whose stability is subnormal or who has developed one of several types of serious complexes, there is a definite danger of, and predisposition to, delinquency.

The saying, "There are no bad children, only bad parents," has developed into a common, but not too accurate, cliché. Blaming parents for the delinquency of a child is a glib way out, but this states only the cause, if true, and not the solution. No doubt, in many cases the home life of the child may be the principal fault, but frequently there are other environmental factors over which parents have no control that contribute to the problem. Indeed, often the blame may be equally shared by the child himself or by the community.

In personality growth and development the child tests himself and people around him. He learns how to control others and himself and to channel his behavior by this testing process. He attempts to establish a way of life, and his method of control may vary from being a nice, conforming child to developing delinquent tendencies.

When parents and society do not represent firm, consistent discipline, the child is living beyond his emotional means, and he becomes fearful that his inner feelings may run wildly out of control. In the delinquent child these feelings have finally overpowered him. Since the parents cannot handle him, th child feels lonely, lost; and he struggles to balance himself.

When such a condition appears, the child weaves fantasies which are both strange and perhaps primitive. He is given to misinterpreting his parents' feelings as well as his own needs. His sensitive state makes him feel that he is more wronged, more imperiled, and less loved than is actually the case. Therefore, his emotional needs may be too much for his parents to handle. As the child's anxiety and resentment grow, so do the possibility of behavior problems. No amount of reassurance or reasoning can convince the child of his parents' love, and these unresolved feelings create disturbances resulting in behavior and personality problems, in psychopathic disorders peculiar to children. Psychiatric treatment is a must. In many more instances than not, it is my firm belief that parents will give their cooperation willingly when, and if, a competent worker takes the time to get the parent to understand the problem involved in such a situation. The vast majority of parents are suffering from anxiety in these cases, and they need the help of specialists such as you propose to provide in this bill.

There are, of course, those parents who do not make any serious effort to guide their errant offspring when the clear indications of predelinquency appear. Some of them "get a kick" out of the "smart" doings of their children. All too often this type of

child, lacking completely parental guidance and restraint, passes from predelinquency into delinquency and possibly serious crime before the parent realizes which is transpiring. A recent outbreak of robberies in Atlanta resulted in the conviction of several teen-age boys and girls. All of them came from socially prominent families. From personal knowledge, I can state frankly that one of them can be classified as above. And, although the father is grieved over the prison term given his son, he still is prone to refer to it lightly or jokingly. Such parental conduct is by no means isolated, and perhaps reflects the main cause of delinquency in this type of home.

I am frank to say, however, that I believe practically all parents wish the best for their children. Whether from hovel or mansion, parental love transcends most considerations. The problem is that some parents do not know what to do in order to cope with these problems.

We come, therefore, to the crux of this problem. We need much research because social scientists have not found a suitable program of rehabilitation applicable to the delinquent. We must offer a workable program rather than blame the parents, the school, the church, or child. Such a program is fought with serious difficulties. First, let us not isolate and desert the delinquents. When a person becomes physically ill, the family rallies around to help. Even the community commonly faces the responsibility of providing free services. What do we do with the delinquent? Why, put him away, of course; and for lack of a workable method of treatment, we let him stay confined a while and release him with a hope and a prayer. All too often relapses occur, but the soothing winds of good fortune have favored us with some degree of rehabilitation.

The greatest need of all predelinquents and delinquents is "to belong." When one can reach the real personality of this type of youth, some simplification is realized. A feeling of trust in people will lead to a possible ultimate fulfillment of the delinquent's greatest need—love and affection. If these traits are not fully developed, the delinquent will turn to the opposite—hate.

We must not lose sight of the fact that all of us were born into a delinquent world. Ever since the disobedience of Adam and Eve, sin has been ever increasing in the world. Sin is not always a crime, but crime is always sin, and the two are so closely related as to be interchangeable. The Divine Creator did endow each of use with one trait which gives us the opportunity to overcome the environment in which we were born—the power of choice. By that power, we must develop a social conscience. We must learn, regardless of the difficulties, to respect the rights of others. We must see value in developing strong character and citizenship as an end in itself.

It is my firm convicion that your bill will be a means to fight predilection to delinquency, predelinquency, and all delinquency. It will enable workers to concentrate on an early diagnosis and the preventive aspects of the problem. It will encourage the mobilization of manpower and resources at the community level. The feeling of being accepted can be greatly encouraged by such organizations as the Big Brothers, YMCA, and various community and church activities. Parents may possibly find solutions to their problems through educational sessions initiated as an objective of the legislation. By the establishment of a well-balanced and happy home, we shall be well on our way to victory over predelinquency, delinquency and crime.

The Post Office—A Business or a Service?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, on April 26, 1957, I spoke to a rally of southern California postal employees deploring the attitude of "economy at any price regardless of who gets hurt." I stated then "that the public must realize that the post office is not a profitmaking business and if the public wants the best service, then they must supply the wages and benefits that will attract and keep the best kind of help."

I was happy to see that in concurrence with my views, Live Wire, the official magazine of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Los Angeles Chapter, recently published an article entitled "The Post Office—A Business or a Service?"—May 1957—which, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD:

THE POST OFFICE—A BUSINESS OR A SERVICE?

Interviews with Los Angeles County Congressmen and reports from Washington indicate that a hysteria of "economy at any price" has combined postage rates and postal pay into an extremely controversial issue with respect to the postal budget.

This situation has produced unfair criticism against postal employees to such an extent that they are being charged with the need of shouldering the burden of so-called "deficits" in a manner completely nonexistent with respect to employees in other Federal agencies.

The Live-Wire contends that the question of postal workers pay, just as rates of pay for employees of other Federal bureaus, should be determined on a basis of wage standards used in private industry, for positions of comparable skill and responsibility, to provide a decent standard of living, as typified by the Heller Committee, University of California; which illustrates a wage earner-home owner family of four had a budget need of $5,849.67 in 1956.

In 1954 the Senate authorized the appointment of a citizens advisory council to settle once and for all this question: "To what extent is the Post Office primarily a public service which like other Federal departments and agencies is adjudged worth what it costs, or is the Post Office primarily a business which should take in at least as much money as it spends?"

The Live-Wire maintains that the question of postal rates should be determined solely by Congress, acting on the recommendations of the Post Office Department. The question of postal salaries is a separate and distinct subject and should not be tied in with postal rates.

The Citizens Advisory Council takes the position that the Post Office is primarily a public service and that the so-called "postal deficit" is a "misnomer." The Post Office Department challenges this position in a vigorous condemnation asserting that "the Post Office is a public utility whose costs should be paid by the users and not from general taxation."

In the ineerest of clarification the Live-Wire presents the following pertinent comments on each side of this postal public service versus public business controversy.

PUBLIC WELFARE COSTS VERSUS POSTAL DEFICIT

The Senate Advisory Council, quoting from the Post Office Department's cost ascertainment figures for 1955, states as follows:

	Millions
Total cost of public service items	$392.4
Total of so-called postal deficit	362.7
Excess cost of public service items over deficit	29.7

Included in its public service items are the following:

1. Nonpostal services ($12.4 million): FCC health service, alien address reporting, United States savings bond and stamps, civil service, documentary stamps, migratory bird stamps, official mail messenger service, custodial service—public buildings, Department of Commerce Census Bureau, miscellaneous items, other agencies.

2. No-charge items ($15.9 million): Free-in-county newspapers, free mail for the blind, free registered mail, Government agencies.

3. Preferred rate ($60.5 million): Loss on library books, loss on exempt publications, loss on books.

4. Post cards ($35.8 million): Loss on post and postal cards, loss on 1 billion Christmas cards sent unsealed (1956 estimate, $10 million).

5. Special services ($48 million): Registry paid, certified mail, insurance, collect on delivery, special delivery, money orders, postal savings, and miscellaneous expenditures apportioned.

6. Parcel post (size and weight) ($73 million): Loss from limiting the size and weight of parcel post.

7. Rural free delivery ($95 million): Free delivery to rural postal patrons.

8. Loss on post office ($51.8 million): Loss on operating cost of third- and fourth-class post offices.

CRITICISM OF POSTAL EMPLOYEES UNFAIR

Referring directly to postal employees the council stated: "We are certain that neither the Congress nor the 500,000 loyal postal employees are pleased with the criticism of the postal service. Employees of other Federal agencies would be equally concerned if reference were constantly made to Commerce Department "deficits," Interior Department "deficits," Labor Department "deficits," and so on.

"Such unfair criticism, unless countered by the truth regarding postal expenditures, could eventually create a public clamor for the elimination of needed postal appropriations on the false assumption they are 'deficits.' Indeed, needed funds probably already have been withheld from the Department because its functions and finances have been inaccurately portrayed.

"In the judgment of the council, the postal service was on a pay-as-you-go basis in fiscal 1955. Should the Congress find itself in agreement with the council and act to reaffirm and strengthen the principle that the postal service is a service to all the people and not a business, a proper understanding of postal financing will be achieved and the word "deficit," abandoned."

DEPARTMENT'S POSITION ON POSTAL POLICY

Postmaster General Summerfield and Deputy Postmaster General Stans appeared before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee on March 21, 1951, to refute the report of the Citizens Advisory Council and to restate the "financial policy of the Post Office Department."

Postmaster General Summerfield, claiming "substantial areas of disagreement with the [Citizens Advisory Council] report" proceeded to present the Post Office Department's philosophy concerning the Post Office as a Public Service.

Speaking to the Senate committee the Postmaster General stated: "I imagine it is no surprise to you that the report of the Citizens Advisory Committee was a great disappointment to me.

"I regret to say, after careful study of the report, that I consider it to be unfair to the taxpayers of this country. It asks them, on incorrect premises, to continue indefinitely to carry the burden of the massive and mounting postal losses of the postwar period.

"In brief, the report makes three fundamental errors, in our opinion:

"1. It understates the current and prospective losses of the Post Office Department.

"2. It exaggerates the services that the Post Office Department renders for the public welfare, and magnifies the losses sustained through the performance of those services.

"3. On that basis, it concluded that 'no true deficit exists at the present time.' The inference is that there is no need for postage rate increases."

In further comments the Postmaster General explained "I would like to submit that the debate is irrelevant. No one doubts that the Post Office renders a public service. The point to be settled is whether it is a public service to be paid by the users or a public service to be paid by the taxpayers. If the costs of the service should be paid by the actual users who benefit from it, then deficits are intolerable because they result in assessing the wrong people, the taxpayers."

Summerfield also stated, with reference to the Citizens Advisory Council that "The majority of the seven-man advisory council are in businesses which benefit financially from low postage rates. While this conflict of interest on the part of the majority does not make objectivity impossible, it does make it difficult of achievement. The management of the Post Office on the other hand, represents no specific interest and no one segment or class of postal users. There is no reason for it to be other than unbiased and objective in its approach."

DEPUTY POSTMASTER GENERAL STANS ANALYZES COUNCIL REPORT

In his statement to the Senate committee, Deputy Postmaster General Stans objected to the report and listed areas of disagreement as follows:

1. Instead of $362.7 million postal deficit, it should be considered to be in excess of $651 million.

2. Instead of $392 million public welfare expenditures, public welfare services rendered by the Post Office Department are properly priced at about $30 million a year.

3. The council concludes that if public welfare items are taken into account no true deficit exists at the present time. We say that even after welfare items are eliminated, the postal deficit is substantially in excess of $620 million a year.

In accounting for a large part of the $300 million difference between the deficit estimate of the council and amounts which the Post Office submits ($651 million for 1958) Deputy Postmaster General Stans listed the following:

1. Public Law 68 enacted by Congress in 1955. "The result is that $191 million of this pay increase and other fringe benefits is now a part of postal costs but is not reflected in the deficit figure for 1955 used by the council."

2. 1956 amendments to the Civil Service Retirement Act will require the Post Office to pay 6½ percent of its payroll, an amount expected to be around $131 million. The council did not consider this item at all.

Stans then proceeded to give Department's detailed interpretation of each of the items listed by the council as its estimate of public welfare costs.

As an example of Stans' analysis of these welfare items, he explains:

"The council lists three categories of mail carried at little or no charge, and concludes that they represent a subsidy of $15.9 million. (Item 2 on chart.)

"The major item in this group is free-in-county delivery of newspapers, at a cost of $13.3 millions. Our measure of the public welfare in this is $800,000, since that is the amount of postage which would be received on all these mailings if they paid the regular in-county rates that would otherwise be applicable by law for second-class mail."

COST OF EMPLOYEE TURNOVER

In view of the conflicting claims made by the Citizens Advisory Council and the Post Office Department, as submitted above, the Live Wire reiterates its position that postal salaries should be treated separate and apart from postal rates. Significantly, in all the above figures there is no reference to the shocking loss for the Post Office Department occasioned by the nationwide 25 percent average turnover of postal personnel. This situation, widely prevalent during 1956–57, entailing a loss of at least $1,000 per employee in training and indoctrination expense has incurred an additional financial burden on the Department of approximately $125 million per year.

Utility Facilities Along Federal-Aid Primary and Secondary Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, recently I introduced in the House two bills, H. R. 6987 and H. R. 6988, dealing with the relocation of utility facilities along Federal-aid primary and secondary highways. In my efforts to push the passage of these bills through the Congress, I have been greatly encouraged by certain actions taken by governors and State legislators in refusing to approve of legislation which would authorize the States to reimburse utilities for relocating facilities along Federal- and State-supported highways.

There has just come to my attention an article published in the April 1957 issue of Highway Highlights on the action of Governor Milward L. Simpson of Wyoming in vetoing a bill making it mandatory for the Wyoming highway department to reimburse utilities for relocating their facilities along highway rights-of-way. The reasons cited by the Governor in support of his veto of this bill are so cogent and meritorious that I am pleased to have an opportunity to present to the House this magazine article, The Governor Said "No":

THE GOVERNOR SAID "NO"—WYOMING CHIEF EXECUTIVE VETOES UTILITIES REIMBURSEMENT BILL

The Governor said "No."

"I am withholding my approval," wrote Governor Milward L. Simpson of a bill which would have made it mandatory for the Wyoming Highway Department to reimburse utilities for the relocation of their facilities along highway rights-of-way.

By his veto, the Governor saved his State from a loss of 69.5 miles of modern highway—or an estimated $12,267,000.

Governor Simpson was forthright in his veto message.

"It is unfair to highway users," he wrote, "for the State to expend the funds collected from them to subsidize utility companies. Such funds must be used for highway construction."

The bill would have a "disastrous economic effect," he said, because it would deplete highway funds so that they would "have to be made up by placing additional taxes on highway users by the 1959 Wyoming Legislature."

The Wyoming bill was the first of its kind to pass a State legislature this year. A round of such bills has been touched off by the provision in the Federal-Aid Act of 1956 permitting Federal money to be used for utility reimbursement where this is authorized by the State. However, because all Federal aid must be matched, State as well as Federal money is involved. It has been estimated that a general authorization of reimbursement to the utilities could take as much as $2 billion from highway construction on the Interstate System, alone.

Governor Simpson stated that reimbursement to the utilities posed a "serious threat to the future of Wyoming's highway program." Many observers hailing his early and exhaustive examination of the issue from the standpoint of his own State, have suggested that reimbursement may pose "a serious threat" to the whole Federal-state highway program.

The Governor's comprehensive veto message—in which it was pointed out that not only he, but his Highway Advisory Committee and State highway department had been unalterably opposed to this bill from the beginning"—may well set a precedent for other Governors.

Governor Simpson, a native of Wyoming, was inaugurated in January, 1955. His term expires in January, 1959. He was a member of the Executive Committee of the Governors' Conference in 1955–56 and is presently serving on the Governors' Conference Committee on Highway Safety.

A Necessary Voice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in the May 18, 1957, issue of the Pilot, the official newspaper of the archdiocese of Boston, appears an excellent editorial which I include in my extensions of remarks, entitled "A Necessary Voice," about Hon. Thomas E. Murray, member of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The editorial, in part, states:

His term on the AEC is at an end, now, but it will be a great pity if he is not reappointed for another term.

How true. The editorial gives reasons why Commissioner Murray should be reappointed—pertinent reasons, and there are many others.

The editorial further says:

An informed dedicated Christian gentleman who understands the spiritual implica-

tions of the atom as well as its more practical operation is needed on the Commission. Tom Murray is just such a man, and his voice must not be silenced.

In the responsible position he occupies, there is no person in public life who is more appreciated and respected than Commissioner Murray.

His reappointment would do more toward maintaining real bipartisan action than anything else the President could do, particularly at this time.

The editorial follows:

A NECESSARY VOICE

Perhaps the most terrifying aspect of living in this generation is the thought that it might very easily be the last generation of mankind. The human mind and its ingenuity has produced for our use a weapon which can wipe out vast areas of all living things and provide at the same time a radioactive fallout that will settle like a deadly mist over the remaining parts. The end result will be that those not killed immediately in the initial blast, will be slowly destroyed by bone cancer or some similar malignancy shortly afterward.

It is commonplace now to suggest that we have constructed a force which makes Frankenstein pale into insignificance and for the control of which we must seek a commensurate wisdom. It is not possible merely to think of the atom and its power in terms of science, nor in terms of military strategy, but in terms of survival. This suggests a moral note, so that above the voices of the scientists and the technicians and the strategists and even the statesmen, we must listen to the voice of spiritual wisdom as it cautions us once again to beware of the power of the product of our hands.

Fortunately for us, there has been such a voice raised again and again in our own country and indeed from a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, itself. Mr. Thomas Murray, with a full knowledge of the technical aspects of atomic development, has consistently called his fellow Americans to consider seriously the moral aspects of atomic warfare and yet to plan realistically at the same time an appropriate stockpile of atomic arms. His term on the AEC is at an end now, but it will be a great pity if he is not reappointed for another term. An informed, dedicated Christian gentleman who understands the spiritual implications of the atom as well as its more practical operation is needed on the Commission. Tom Murray is just such a man and his voice must not be silenced.

Caprice on the Soil Bank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of Friday, May 17, 1957:

CAPRICE ON THE SOIL BANK

The surprising vote of the House to kill the soil bank after this year is a measure of the dissatisfaction on Capitol Hill with existing farm policies. It was not a deliberate act. The House Appropriations Committee had voted to reduce acreage reserve funds for 1957 to $600 million and further to restrict commitments that could be made for 1958. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the House sliced into this compromise because it wanted to dramatize its irritation.

There is, to be sure, nothing sacrosanct about the soil bank. It was recognized from the beginning as a stopgap measure to help farmers pull through a difficult period of mountainous surpluses and depressed prices. Congress approved it only a year ago with full understanding of its purpose. Although there no doubt have been abuses in application, the conditions which originally prompted congressional assent have changed very little since. It doesn't make sense suddenly to scuttle this venture when nothing is at hand to put in its place.

The extent of the unrest among rural Congressmen was illustrated a few days ago in the report of Representative WHITTEN for the Appropriations Committee. Concluding that flexible price supports and acreage reduction are flat failures, he called for a new farm program and hinted that it should include some variation of the two-price system. This has general support from certain farm groups; there also is the possibility of some further adaptation of production payments. But any legislation must come, of course, through the Agriculture Committee, and there is no indication whatever that it is ready to act.

In his letter to Representative WHITTEN, Secretary Benson agreed that acreage allotments have not controlled production. For some weeks he has been saying that new legislation is needed, without offering specific recommendations at this time. Indications are, however, that he would move in a direction opposite to that which seems to lure Mr. WHITTEN. His interest is running to lower price supports to avoid the creation of new surpluses. How farm income could be protected is of course the really tough question.

While the Eisenhower-Benson policies have certainly not solved the farm problem, it is naive to suppose that farmers would be better off if high rigid price supports had been retained. The WHITTEN report noted that the Government's surplus crop holdings "increased from $2.5 billion on January 1, 1953, to $8.2 billion on January 1, 1957," and charged that "this is largely due to increased production generated by reduced price supports and reduced acreage." Actually, as Secretary Benson has pointed out, all but $1 billion of this increase came in the period while farmers were operating under the high rigid supports then required by law.

Disappointing though present conditions are, it would be a grave mistake to revert to the artificial prices which helped to cause the present trouble or to abandon present palliatives while more basic adjustments are being sought.

Under Civil Rights Bill, Legal System Breached

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include this splendid editorial which appeared in the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner, a newspaper of far-reaching influence, which I think is provocative of great thought on the part of the membership of the Congress.

The editorial follows:

UNDER CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, LEGAL SYSTEM BREACHED

If the 531 Members of Congress will read—and, more than that, soberly ponder—the minority report just released by Senators SAMUEL J. ERVIN of North Carolina, and OLIN JOHNSTON of South Carolina, the iniquitous piece of legislation known as the civil rights bill surely will be rejected.

Members of that august body are bound by oath or affirmation to support the Constitution. S. 83, the measure in question, flouts it in vital particulars—not the least of these aspects being its proposed emasculation of the right to trial by jury.

Another bald intrusion disestablishing a principle hitherto respected is—as pointed out in this minority report—provided in S. 83, that:

"The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section and shall exercise the same without regard to whether the party aggrieved shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be prescrided by law."

In other words, regardless of State laws and provision of redress under them, these are nullified if with the powers of wholesale injunction sought the Attorney General moves to prosecute what he regards as a civil right violation.

It is, as these two Senators remind, a salutary, sensible, and long-settled rule of judicial administration that no one is entitled to judicial relief for a supposed or threatened injury until the prescribed administrative remedy is exhausted.

There is a power and authority, note it, residing in the States; established by the 10th Amendment: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

The States have not abdictated that responsibility, nor defaulted on it. It still stands as a primary principle of constitutional government; a part of the instrument, remember, to whose defense and support these Members of Congress—and all officials of Government—take oath.

The capricious character of this bill is obvious to any who will study it in the light of all the facts, and particularly in the light of the Constitution.

The minority report provides such a study. It documents the case and presents, with crystal clarity, the hazards invited with this reckless invasion of legal bypass. Its purpose justifies the exhaustive effort that has gone into it, and the aroused concern backing it by people defending the principle of a government-of-law:

"In urging the rejection of S. 83, we seek to preserve the American constitutional and legal system for all Americans or all races and all generations."

Why Punish the Farmer?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the May 17, 1957, issue of the Des Moines Register:

WHY PUNISH THE FARMER?

Democrats in the United States House of Representatives seem to be taking out their spite on Agriculture Secretary Ezra Benson by punishing the farmer. The House voted to kill the soil-bank acreage-reserve program at the end of this year, with 154 Democrats and 38 Republicans against, and 46 Democrats and 141 Republicans in favor.

Some Members of the House got aroused by what they called loose handling of the soil-bank program in 1956. However, it was Congress that insisted on putting the program into effect late last year, over the objections of Secretary Benson. Both political parties share the responsibility for the squabbling over farm legislation that resulted in late enactment of the soil-bank plan last year.

Regardless of the loose handling of the soil-bank program last year, these facts remain: 1. Both political parties and all major farm organizations were in favor of it and wanted to see it get a fair trial; 2, the plan has not had a fair trial and will not if it is dropped at the end of 1957. It takes more than 1 year just to work out the "bugs" in administration of a new program like this.

The soil-bank program has one big thing in its favor; it provides supplementary income to farmers to offset the reduction in income they are taking from lower-price supports.

This is one way to begin to get away from price supports which have distorted agricultural production and created huge surpluses. Even if Congress is not thoroughly satisfied with Secretary Benson's administration of farm programs, it ought to at least give the soil-bank program a fair trial. We hope the Senate will use better judgment on this matter than the House.

Latest Court Edict Very Dangerous

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Court's steady whittling away of basic constitutional concepts continues apace. Scarcely a week now passes without some new decision by that Court going to extraordinary lengths to advance the disguised Socialist "welfare state." One of the high Court's latest distortions of law is the Girard School decision described in the following excellent editorial from the Metropolitan Herald, Atlanta, Ga. I commend it to every Member of this House for study:

LATEST COURT EDICT VERY DANGEROUS

The United States Supreme Court reached a new low in making law this week by ruling that a racially segregated school in Philadelphia, operated with funds left in trust by a private citizen for "poor white male orphans," must admit Negro students.

In its latest seizure of power the Supreme Court overruled the Philadelphia orphan's court, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, precedent of 108 years and the right of a private citizen to spend his money as he saw fit for the youth of the land.

The case involved a suit brought in the name of two Negro boys, obviously by the NAACP. They sought entrance into the school established in 1848 under the terms of a will by Stephen Girard, a wealthy Philadelphia citizen, who left $2 million in trust to set up and operate a school for poor white male orphans.

For 109 years the terms of the will had been met. The school had been operated for poor white male orphans. Since 1869 the school has been under the direction of a board of directors called City Trust, as trustees, which includes some city officials.

Because some city officials had a part in the direction of the school, as trustees, although no tax money was spent in its operation, the Supreme Court ruled that the Negroes were discriminated by the State in violation of the Court's recently amended 14th amendment.

Since the Court ruled that Negroes were being discriminated against by the terms of the will, it stands to reason that a suit brought in the name of females would result in a ruling that it also discriminated against females.

Obviously this ruling means that a person, in the future, will not be able to set up trust funds for the education of children of any particular race or creed. Its ruling, in effect, means that a person can no longer spend his or her money to assist and help with the education of any particular segment of our population. In practically every State the State board of education has some control, however limited, over private and religious educational institutions. It may be in the matter of fire safety, accreditation, etc., but regardless of how limited, such institutions would be under some control of a State agency, thus the 14th amendment, as amended by the Supreme Court, would control.

We wonder how many more illegal decisions this group of Justices will proclaim before the rank and file of American citizens wake up to the fact that our highest court is undermining constitutional government and replacing it with a system based on judicial decrees.

There's More Against Than for Federal Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, legislation to provide Federal aid for the construction of schools undoubtedly will be brought before the House during the present session. Certainly there are arguments on both sides of this issue, and in adding up the minuses and the pluses the Mason City (Iowa) Globe-Gazette concludes in an editorial that there is a pronounced balance in the minus column. As part of my remarks, I desire to include the editorial, which appeared in the May 10 edition of the Globe-Gazette:

When we tote up the minuses and the pluses of the Federal aid to education proposition, with a realistic regard for the comparative importance of the items involved, we find quite a pronounced balance in the minus column.

The idea bottoms to a considerable extent on the "ability to pay principle." And would be just dandy were it not for one fact, namely, that this principle is already operative almost to the saturation point in the general financing of government.

Again, there are States which stand sorely in need of outside help because of wholly inadequate tax resources. Mississippi definitely and South Carolina quite likely fall definitely in this category—and we favor extending whatever help is suggested by the demonstrated need.

Still further on the plus side, most States—including Iowa—do endow the more populous and wealthy States by passing along graduates of their colleges and universities, and before that from their secondary schools. We've educated for the benefit of somebody else.

This last-named point has some real validity although our own preference would be to take the affirmative approach. Let the effort be on building up a dynamic industrial economy so that our young people will not have to look elsewhere for their career opportunity.

And now we come to what we regard as the real crux of the matter. The most disquieting fact about Federal aid to education is that it's breaking one of the last and most important barriers between the traditional American concept of local government on one hand and big government on the other.

It isn't merely that the dollar which goes to Washington always comes back materially shrunk by the round trip, although that is true and it's a consideration worthy of more than passing thought. A principle much deeper than that is involved.

Despite all the claims and verbal assurances that large-scale Federal aid does not necessarily mean Federal control of our schools, that would be the inevitable result. And it should be. To furnish the money and not to direct its spending would not make sense. It would be notorious fiscal irresponsibility.

What kind of business or logic would it be to pour great sums of the American public's tax money into the educational fund and not follow through to make sure it was being spent in an acceptable manner? Of course, there would be control out of Washington.

The possibility of Federal aid has had a deadening effect on education in many communities. "Why do for yourself what a rich uncle will come along and do for you?" has been a highly plausible question.

Let Government do some other things for us at the local level if it feels it must. But please let us manage on our own this one most important item of business in our world today, the education of our children.

Jury Trial Vital Provision of Due Process

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to include a copy of an editorial which appeared in the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner under date of May 16, 1957.

The editorial follows:

JURY TRIAL VITAL PROVISION OF DUE PROCESS

A principle as fundamental as the right to trial by jury admits of no negative speculation. The issue endangering it is positive, and the President owes it to the country to be completely informed on it—and to venture no answer, as yesterday to a casual question, that can be misconstrued.

He said simply that the dignity of the Federal courts must be upheld, and with that point there can be no disagreement. The challenge lies in the evasion of this principle proposed by his Attorney General.

He expressed that view, without elaborating on it, with reference to inclusion of this protective amendment in the so-called civil rights legislation. Regardless of sponsorship, the omission is indefensible.

It does not conform with what must be, otherwise, his respect for the principle of due process.

Regardless of his reliance on the advice of Attorney General Herbert Brownell, to whom he referred questioners, he must realize that his administration bears the responsibility for a piece of legislation so far-reaching; and he cannot lightly dismiss personal accounting for it on grounds that he is not schooled in law. It is his obligation to know the facts in the case before he lends such a measure even inferential endorsement.

The design of trial-by-jury is not to reflect upon, or derogate, any court. It does not detract from their dignity, or asperse their prestige as the judicial instrument. It does bind upon the system of justice a procedure historically related to responsibility of the judiciary in a government of law—and that binding was done most meticulously by the Founding Fathers through the Constitution, itself.

Not judicial indignity, but freedom from oppression, was the aim of this provision—as three times spelled out in the organic law. It certainly is no less vital now, nor less valid, with legal confusion the more confounded by the legislative vs. judicial struggle for the law-making function. In the present instance, emphasis understandably is laid upon it as a principle that must not be disestablished in behalf of a questionable force bill.

With regard to this project, which has aroused concern of the Constitution-minded throughout the Nation, the President obviously has been listening too closely to the United States Attorney General—who may be himself seeking a Supreme Court berth. He should be listening to some authorities who know the dangers of that drift from a basic point of law.

The idea of government-by-injunction—or intrusion on the fundamental right of trial by jury—or of the Justice Department in any of its divisions old or new, superseding the principle of due process is nowhere countenanced by the Constitution. They would constitute a bypass, and certainly could not be construed as enhancing the dignity of the court or the security of rights for which governments are instituted.

If the President will consult all the facts on due process, he cannot possibly back a suggestion so essentially and dangerously detrimental to it.

Equal Opportunity for the Older Worker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, there is a growing awareness among business leaders, Government officials, industry and labor groups that the present premium placed upon youth at the expense of the older worker is costing the country dearly—indeed, in reaching a danger point in terms of the national economy. And in typical American fashion, there is, happily, also a growing determination to do something about it.

I am grateful to the Order of United Commercial Travelers of America for the following terse statement of the situation, which reached me in the form of a resolution unanimously adopted at its last national convention this past January:

Whereas a condition or trend has taken root in our country that places a penalty on growing old. Oldtimers are no longer considered desirable or able to carry on in everyday life. Thousands are unable to find work, regardless of how good a background an oldtimer may have and regardless of how good his health may be, he cannot find a job; and

Whereas according to statistics, Americans aged 65 and over are increasing at the rate of about 400,000 a year. Last year (1955) the total had reached a staggering 14,100,000—54 percent women and 46 percent men—of this number about 21 percent were still working in 1954, and about 73 percent had some income from pensions or social security, etc. The average income for those on either pension or social security is approximately $1,150 per year for men and $660 for women. It is estimated that social-security payments may reach $5,800 million in 1956—more than five times the amount paid out in 1950; and

Whereas this condition, if not checked, will, in time, create a burden on those employed that will be far more than they can carry; and

Whereas science has extended the span of life so that many men of 65 to 70 and 75 are no longer old or unable to carry on and it is a shameful waste of experience and know-how to permit men of ability to be placed in the discard because of age: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the United Commercial Travelers in annual session here assembled go on record as opposed to this dangerous and unfair trend toward our oldtimers, and be it further

Resolved, That we initiate a program to try to break down this trend against oldtimers and give it all the publicity possible so as to acquaint the general public with the danger of permitting this unfair condition to grow; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to newspapers, Members of Congress, and to as many other sources as possible that will help to bring this condition into the limelight.

Well, here is one Member of Congress who has not only taken note of the resolution, but who has, for some time, been acutely concerned for the circumstances with which it deals.

Much of my time and attention in this session of the 85th Congress is being devoted to study and research into ways and means to ease the problems of our older citizens when they are no longer self-supporting and, at the same time, to ease the load which—no matter how lovingly assumed—the need to provide for their care places upon the new households of their children.

Old-age and survivors insurance is rapidly supplanting the public assistance program as the sole source of income for increasing numbers of men at 65 and for women at 62 years of age. But there are many who do not have and are likely never to have an opportunity to obtain insured status under the OASI program. Many of these are widows who have not worked in recent years—or who may never have had to earn their livelihoods—and whose husbands died before they had the opportunity to be fully covered under the insurance program.

Mr. Speaker, I am especially concerned for that group of women who are left widowed in their middle or late fifties. Totally unequipped to become self-supporting—and where would they find jobs at this age even if they were equipped?—they must nevertheless wait until they reach 65 before beginning to draw their survivor insurance benefits. It is my present intention to introduce a bill shortly which would amend the Social Security Act to permit this group to start drawing their insurance benefits at the time they become widowed.

But first and foremost in my mind is my determination to join efforts with those organizations and individuals—and with my colleagues in Congress—who are working to convince our fellow-citizens that the mature judgment, higher skills, and ripe experience of the older worker are priceless assets of the Nation not to be discarded but to be used in balance with the talent and enthusiasm of the younger generation. In this land of opportunity, we must adhere to one of the cardinal principles of democracy—"Equal opportunity for all."

Unions as Public Trusts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is becoming increasingly obvious that something should be done about the problem of providing better regulation of union welfare funds, which handle billions of dollars contributed by members. The lurid revelations of the Senate Select Committee make daily headlines throughout the country. This inquiry emphasizes the advisability of prompt enactment of suitable legislation to restrain the misuse of these funds by corrupt officials.

Recently the Foundation on Employee Health, Medical Care and Welfare issued its first report on ways of securing more effective and economical administration of welfare funds. This committee is supported by the International Association of Machinists and United States Industries, Inc. Incidentally Al. J. Hayes, president of IAM, is chairman of the ethical practices committee of the AFL-CIO. This report discloses that millions of dollars have been wasted, through "well-intentioned ineptitude," because of the lack of the necessary technical knowledge on the part of labor-management representatives honestly seeking to provide these funds with comprehensive protection at minimum cost.

Careless handling or misuse of other people's money, whether deliberate or nonintentional, suggests the need—

among other things—for corrective legislation. Though the problems are admittedly complex, it is important that more adequate safeguards than now exist be adopted, and that millions of union members be provided with better protection against exploitation.

In this connection, I should like to include the following editorial from the Washington Post of May 20:

UNIONS AS PUBLIC TRUSTS

As the story of Dave Beck unfolds before the McClellan committee, it becomes more and more evident that he is only a symbol of grave weaknesses in the financial structure of organized labor. Mr. Beck himself is now generally regarded as being expendable. The public relations advisers of the teamsters union are reported to have recommended his ouster—a recommendation that has been coming from many other sources for weeks. But no one should suppose that the mere dismissal of the grasping and devious Mr. Beck will relieve the teamsters union of the losses and mismanagement which have afflicted it.

The basic trouble seems to be that Mr. Beck and some other teamster officials have regarded the union as a sort of fiefdom for their profit and aggrandizement. In theory this union exists to enhance the bargaining strength of its members with their employers. But Mr. Beck has used it as a means of rewarding friends and business associates and as a source of funds for his private use and for exorbitant profits to members of his family.

Roy Fruehauf, builder of truck trailers, and Bert M. Seymour, operator of a large fleet of trucks, insist that they were not under pistol-at-the-head compulsion when they lent Mr. Beck $200,000 at a time when the Bureau of Internal Revenue was investigating his takings from the teamsters treasury. But they were exchanging favor for favor. Mr. Beck had lent Mr. Fruehauf $1.5 million from teamster funds. His aids limited picketing during a strike so as to save Mr. Seymour's concern an estimated $200,000 a week. These are indicative of many favors exchanged. Obviously they are utterly incompatible with Mr. Beck's trusteeship as head of the country's largest union.

What the Teamsters and numerous other unions need is not so much new faces as new standards of conduct. The AFL–CIO has recognized this by creating its Ethical Practices Committee. Executive officials and legislators have recognized it by sponsoring measures to require unions to disclose their business transactions. Senator Kennedy has suggested also a law forbidding union officials to enter into personal business relations with companies with which they bargain collectively.

The country thus seems to be groping toward a requirement that unions function as trustees for their members. A union is not a private company and cannot properly be operated as such. As a manager of welfare funds, a union is in some respects comparable to an insurance company; as an investor of funds held in trust, it is somewhat comparable to a bank or trust company. Maybe it will be necessary to provide by law how welfare funds may be invested and to forbid all free-wheeling "loans" to union officers, their friends and relatives upon the whim of self-serving union functionaries.

It is well to remember that banking and insurance were sources of persistent scandal and exploitation until strict standards for the protection of depositors and the insured were developed. Current events certainly suggest that union members are in need of similar protection from exploitation, although care would have to be exercised to avoid any encroachment upon their primary function of collective bargaining. In the end the McClellan committee may be judged at least in part by the contribution it makes toward realization of this objective.

Expansion of Irrigation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHIL WEAVER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial by Mr. J. E. Lawrence, appearing in the Lincoln Star, Nebraska, on May 10, 1957, which I feel reflects the thinking of forward-looking people in my State and the Nation about our irrigation, reclamation, flood control, and power projects. Mr. Lawrence has long been recognized as a leader in water resources development. In 1952, the President named him Chairman of the Missouri Basin Survey Commission. In his editorial, Mr. Lawrence commends Representative A. L. MILLER, of Nebraska's Fourth District, for his plea for more funds for continuing the expansion of irrigation. Dr. MILLER has been a member of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee for over 12 years, and is the former chairman of that committee. We cannot afford to ignore the advice of these experts. We must differentiate clearly between the current costs of running our Government and capital expenditures for the future. Looking forward, we must certainly classify water resources development as a capital investment in the future of America.

The editorial follows:

OF MEN AND THINGS

(By J. E. Lawrence)

We can go all of the way, hand in hand, with Nebraska Representative A. L. (Doc) MILLER, of the Fourth Nebraska District, in his plea for more funds for the expansion of irrigation. Nothing will contribute more to a stabilized economy in the semi-arid regions of the Great North American Plains to the west of the Missouri, including Nebraska, than the continuing expansion of irrigation.

OVER THE LONG PULL

If the United States "is able to spend $335,800,000 in irrigation and power projects from Ethiopia to Vietnam, we can afford to be a little more generous toward some of them in the United States," Representative MILLER was quoted as saying in a dispatch from out of Washington. He should say that again and again. He was on the soundest of sound ground when he said that "an irrigation project overseas pays no return to the United States, while an irrigation project in this country pays back its cost in full to the Treasury over a period of years." Unfortunately, under the Eisenhower administration and the Eisenhower partnership program, not infrequently the American people have been given a misunderstanding of the full facts. Whatever money is spent in river-basin development here at home for big dams behind which water is to be stored, water later to be used for irrigation purposes, or the generation of electricity, must be repaid in full to Uncle Sam. It is a precarious, if not impossible, development calling for the expenditure of millions of dollars when those irrigation undertakings must be met wholly out of revenue obtained through water rentals. The earnings derived from accompanying electric generation are vital to the financial soundness of these river-basin developments. From the combination of irrigation and electricity revenues, properly amortized, these undertakings pay for themselves.

Representative MILLER revealed from figures taken from an official Government agency that the United States as a contribution to international good will has financed 197 projects in 46 different countries, largely located on the continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe. There are those who look upon such action as projecting Uncle Sam in the glorified role of Santa Claus. Santa Claus, or an effort to improve conditions in regions afflicted with poverty and undernourishment, the fact remains that all discussion must rest upon long-range thinking, and because it does involve the long pull, we should be giving thought to additional funds for irrigation here at home.

NO LOSS OF MARKETS

The more Uncle Sam makes it possible for our neighbors scattered around the world to feed their peoples better, it follows there will be less demand for American-produced foodstuffs. Yet we must recognize that most or all of these 46 nations where we have been financing irrigation programs lack the means of paying for American foodstuffs. It has not been a case of actually destroying our own markets abroad. That market never existed. But a growing Nation, the United States, a Nation with a rapidly increasing population, certainly will benefit from a carefully thought out program of expanding irrigation over the next 50 years. And those States to the west of the Missouri which so frequently experience drought either will stand still, lose population, or move ahead to the extent and degree that Congress sees clearly the only type of program which will insure growth or development.

If we're going to spend hundreds of millions abroad, we can afford to spend more generously here at home for a continuing program of conservation of natural resources. More power to the Nebraskan in his struggle for more generous treatment of the West.

The Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, on the day following President Eisenhower's address to the Nation in support of his $71.8 billion 1958 budget, the two great Nashville newspapers, published in the capital of Tennessee, spoke out in a straightforward and realistic manner.

The morning paper, the Nashville Tennessean, in its editorial stated the President's budget fight has less hopes than General Pickett's charge at Gettysburg, and the Nashville Banner editorially directed attention to the fact that proposed appropriations in the aggregate are billions too high. I am sure all Members will want to read these fine editorials and place them in the RECORD for this purpose.

The editorials follow:

[From the Nashville Tennessean of May 15, 1957]

IKE'S BUDGET FIGHT HAS LESS HOPES THAN PICKETT'S CHARGE

President Eisenhower's decision to carry his battle of the budget to the people, as he did last night, may well go down in history as something akin to Pickett's charge at Gettysburg.

It is a desperate effort to break the strong enemy front, but the prevailing opinion is that it comes too late. The blame for this situation lies largely in mistakes of judgment by the President, but it is also worth noting that some of his chief lieutenants failed him. The Congress has had time to fortify its lines, and it is backed by growing public sentiment.

There is every indication that Mr. Eisenhower did not relish this frontal attack, but there are no flanks to be turned as far as he can see.

All is confusion in the White House camp as the crucial battle is joined. The Commander in Chief has not known his own mind, and the army is milling around without restraint. In fact, a large part of it has gone over to the other side and seems determined to stay there. Significantly enough, the most embattled antibudget leaders are old-guard Republicans and once-enthusiastic Eisenhower Democrats.

There is stark disappointment for the President that in this, his second and last term in the White House, he is no longer the "Great White Father" whose merest suggestion is taken as inspired leadership.

Defense of the recordbreaking peacetime budget now is more difficult because of failure to fight for it from the beginning. Unlike former President Harry Truman, Mr. Eisenhower has not stood his ground in a two-fisted defense of his fiscal program. Instead he weakly agreed with Treasury Secretary Humphrey that "there are a lot of places in this budget that can be cut," and finally wound up by lopping off $520 million from the foreign-aid request.

Such Fabian tactics have led the Wall Street Journal to say:

"It is difficult to accept their reasoning that argues one month than $4.4 billion must be spent for foreign aid if we are to be assured safety and the next month agrees that the safety can somehow be bought now for $3.9 billion—but argues that safety cannot be secured 1 cent lower. * * * If Mr. Eisenhower can now find a way to cut $520 million from his earlier estimate, we think ways can be found to cut a great deal more out of a spending program that is far more fanciful than factual so far as results go."

Such reasoning is widely accepted, even in the official White House family. Even Mr. Sherman Adams, Assistant to the President, sees the point when he says, as he did on Monday of this week, that the budget could be cut as much as $2 billion without interfering with "the quality of services" by the Government. From Mr. Eisenhower's standpoint, that was the unkindest cut of all.

There is no foundation in an Eisenhower protest that the wave of budget-cutting sentiment is due to blind obstructionism. For the truth of the matter is that many of his critics clearly have a better understanding of the fiscal situation than does the Chief Executive. They do not constitute a wrecking crew; instead they insist, with good reason, on "more bang for a buck," in all aspects of Government.

Mr. Eisenhower is losing his most important fight—one which may sound the death knell of the new Republicanism—not only because he is now of little use to GOP politicians, but for the added reason that he has let many believing people down.

The Battle of Gettysburg was not lost until after Pickett's charge. On this occasion, however, history may recount that General Eisenhower was roundly beaten before his belated effort to capture the offensive. Commentators of the future, perhaps political counterparts of General "Monty" Montgomery, may sagely comment they would not have fought the battle that way.

[From the Nashville Banner of May 15, 1957]

BUDGET FACTS UNCHANGED: BILLIONS TO TRIM

The budget review presented by President Eisenhower last night as installment 1 of his appeal on that issue to the people does not alter the fact that spending proposals in the aggregate are billions too high.

To state that is not to differ with him on the point of necessity, stated again and again, of adequate security expenditures. But even in these departments, grouping enterprises of foreign aid and information, there is equal necessity of combing such costs thoroughly and trimming where possible.

It is not an operation, note it, to be conducted by political motivation. Fiscal welfare is not safely to be subjected to partisan ax grinding. For that reason, popular preference centers in the salutary efforts of capable men like Senator HARRY F. BYRD, spurning partisanship in his decades-long campaign to restore rudimentary economic principle to the Federal budget system.

The President's review was calmly given, and notably absent was any tinge of vituperation, a quality foreign to any responsible stewardship. He assessed a lot of facts pertinent assuredly to the phenomenon of rising costs, many of them inherited, accumulated, and fixed by law. In fairness to him it must be conceded that these are inescapable; they constitute a substantial portion of the annual outlay.

He was right, too, in his reminder that Congress itself has magnified the encumbrance with pet projects; and that regionally there are entries in the cost sheet backed by pressure groups. "Usually each group wants the Government to spend for its pet project, but to economize everywhere else."

Of course, there are cost factors that are in some department irreducible; for example the financing of the public debt—an interest outlay (that cannot be defaulted) running to some $7 billions. As another example the pensions and welfare of veterans.

There are items—such as national defense, taking the bulk of the budget—which are not safely to be arbitrarily cut. As the President observed, the sacrifice entailed in that is less than the one that would be exacted should the enemy, capitalizing on weakness, strike a blow for which we were unprepared.

There are, nevertheless, nonessentials in this budget that can and must be reduced; some of them involving domestic operations the country would be better off without—as the public school subsidy for classroom construction.

Inflation must be curbed, beginning with the enormous outlays of Government that have over the years contributed to it. The debt must be reduced, and the budget kept in balance. To that end the administration has been dedicated, with responsible treatment by such fiscal agents as Treasury Secretary George Humphrey.

The Banner observed 4 months ago, when this budget first was submitted, that "the alarm bell is ringing. It's time to stop, look, and listen." It is time, this newspaper said, to take a keen, uncompromising, analytical look at the fiscal operation of all governmental units; for a reappraisal of Government spending as such.

The President's review put some facts candidly on the table—for all to see. That study does not preclude the necessity, however—or diminish it—of screening this budget at every point and reduce it by every million or billion that can be safely cut out of it.

The Office of Secretary of Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Friday, May 17, 1957, entitled: "For Any Post But One." This is a very thoughtful discussion of the importance of insuring civilian control over our Military Establishment. I am hopeful that the press reports to the effect that the President might be contemplating asking Congress to waive this requirement in the Military Establishment Act, is in error.

The editorial follows:

FOR ANY POST BUT ONE

If President Eisenhower appoints Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther Secretary of Defense, it will be the second time in 10 years that the law which was meant to insure civilian direction of our military forces has been set aside.

A law twice overridden in such a brief period is in peril of becoming a dead letter.

Because civilian control of the defense forces is a cardinal American principle which ought to be preserved, the Post-Dispatch believes that President Eisenhower should reconsider his reported decision to appoint General Gruenther as Charles E. Wilson's successor. Congress would have to enact special legislation to make General Gruenther eligible for the post.

By almost universal consent, General Gruenther would make a superb Secretary of Defense. The Post-Dispatch concurs in that opinion of him. We think President Eisenhower could not easily find a better man for the job.

And yet principles are more important than people. And principles that are worth keeping at all are worth keeping when it is easy to justify breaking them.

The fact that General Gruenther could ably serve as Secretary of Defense does not in itself warrant setting aside the principle written into the Military Establishment Act that this post shall be filled by somebody who has not for the preceding 10 years been on active duty as an officer of the Armed Forces.

Congress had strong and sufficient reasons for writing that provision into the law when the Military Establishment Act was adopted in 1947.

One reason was respect for the American tradition of civilian control of the Armed Forces.

Another was apprehension that opening the secretaryship to military men would encourage political jockeying among officers.

Another was a desire to balance the Joint Chiefs of Staff—which many people feared might become a Prussian-style "general staff"—with assured civilian supremacy at the top of the Defense Department.

President Truman asked Congress to make an exception to the rule when he appointed General Marshall Secretary of Defense in September 1950. That was a time, however, of dire emergency. The Korean war was raging and nobody knew whether it might not at any time be expanded into a world war. General Marshall occupied a unique position. His appointment in the special circumstances of the time was generally approved.

Though Congress willingly changed the law to make General Marshall eligible, the

need for maintaining the principle of civilian control was not forgotten even then.

One of the principal authors of the Military Establishment Act, Senator RICHARD RUSSELL of Georgia, now chairman of the Armed Services Committee, said he would not favor changing the law for anybody except Marshall or for any circumstances except those of September 1950. Senators HILL and SPARKMAN of Alabama indicated they shared that view.

Should Congress now be asked to make a second exception, and to do so in a period of peace when no emergency offers compelling reasons for it? No doubt Congress, holding the same high opinion of General Gruenther that we do, would be reluctant to reject his appointment in view of his strong personal qualifications. If the principle of civilian control of the Defense Department is to be preserved, then, it is up to President Eisenhower to preserve it.

Of course it can be argued that since the President himself is a military man, the essential control of the Defense Department will not be changed very much by appointing his good friend and former Chief of Staff to head it as the President's deputy. But the question is not how the Department might be run during this particular administration. Under General Gruenther it would probably be run exceedingly well. The question is whether the long-range interest of the Nation will be served by undermining the principle of civilian control of the Defense Department.

This much is certain. That principle, if violated a second time in 10 years, inevitably will be undermined. And a principle violated on behalf of a good general becomes so much the easier to violate on behalf of a bad general.

The Post-Dispatch believes President Eisenhower would be justified in appointing General Gruenther to almost any position in his Cabinet except that of Secretary of Defense.

California Rural Electric Cooperative Association Opposes P. G. & E. Trinity Partnership Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the California Rural Electric Cooperative Association has gone on record as opposed to the proposal of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. to construct the Trinity project power facilities. A resolution to that effect was adopted at a regular meeting held in San Bernardino, on May 6, 1957. The resolution further states that the association favors construction of the power facilities by the Federal Government in order that the power and energy may be marketed under the power-preference provisions stated and restated by the Congress may times over the last 50 years.

Mr. Cone Hunter, president of the California Rural Electric Cooperative Association, stated that the association realized that the proposed partnership arrangement would sound a death knell to the Federal-preference law in the State of California. He pointed out that for all practical purposes the REA's in California, with one exception, are already at the mercy of the private utility and that the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. already has a dictatorial hold over the State of California, without this additional advantage being given to it.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE CALIFORNIA RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION ADOPTED AT A REGULAR MEETING HELD AT SAN BERNARDINO ON MAY 6, 1957

Whereas the California Rural Electric Cooperative Association is interested in supplying electric energy at the lowest possible cost to the farmers, ranchers, and rural areas of the State; and

Whereas the association is strongly in favor of the preference provisions of the Federal laws under which cooperatives, public utility districts, and municipalities, as nonprofit institutions, have preference for the purchase of electric power at cost from projects financed by the Federal Government; and

Whereas the Federal Government is building a dam on the Trinity River in northern California which will provide for the generation of a large amount of electric power; and

Whereas such power should according to the well-established policies of the reclamation laws of the United States be made available to the public at cost without the intervention of private profits: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the California Rural Electric Cooperative Association earnestly opposes any partnership arrangement between the Federal Government and any private power company and it is strongly in favor of the Federal Government building both the dam and the generation facilities at the Trinity River project.

Dr. John A. Feaman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMMET F. BYRNE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like consent to make a few remarks for the RECORD in connection with the passing of an outstanding American and Chicago resident who has served his country, his State, and his people well for a half a century. I refer to the passing of Dr. John A. Feaman, 4729 South State Street, Chicago, on May 18 in Billings Hospital.

Dr. Feaman was given the recognition he so richly deserved in January this year when the Chicago Tribune printed a story of Dr. Feaman's endeavors for the betterment of his people through the years.

I would like to quote from Dr. Feaman's letter to me after learning that I had inserted the Tribune story in the RECORD, January 31:

DEAR EMMET: I am deeply impressed with the honor you have seen fit to confer upon me. Your very thoughtful letter, accompanied by the January 31 issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD was most gratifying. I am sure that I do not deserve so much honor, but I wouldn't be entirely truthful if I didn't say to you, I am glad you did it.

I could have never met the obligations imposed on me if I had not had friends like you, friends who gave me a push, friends who had confidence in my ability, and friends who helped by giving their time and money to causes that I fostered.

I don't believe any man reaches the top of the perpendicular ladder of success without a push by good wishes on the horizontal bars. Let me thank you for a push.

Sincerely,

JOHN FEAMAN.

Armed Services Day Speech of Hon. John C. Stennis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday last—May 18—on the occasion of Armed Services Day, the Honorable JOHN C. STENNIS, Senator from Mississippi, made a most impressive, thought-stirring, and logical address on the observance of this important day at Keesler Air Force Base, Biloxi, Miss.

Senator STENNIS, a member of the important Armed Services Committee of the United States Senate, in my judgment logically and appropriately pointed out that our Military Establishment is a two-edged sword. It can destroy as well as protect us. In the words of this able Mississippian:

The cost of maintaining the military preparedness necessary to insure our freedom can destroy the very freedom we seek to protect.

Again, he said:

We, as a nation, must learn to build and maintain our Military Establishment within the limits of our economy to absorb its frightening cost.

Mr. Speaker, at a time when the country is most conscious of the necessity for cutting unnecessary expenditures and at the same time obtain some relief from an all-peacetime-high taxation program, we think these sentiments are sound. Moreover, as we have repeatedly pointed out during the past decade, "Russia neither wants war nor peace." She is following the doctrine laid down by Lenin that the way to destroy the United States is to make it spend its way into bankruptcy.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, we commend the statement of this outstanding Mississippian and express the hope that the Congress can and will make reasonable and justifiable cuts in this lion's share of the budget along with the other cuts that are being made. We think it can be done without in any wise weakening the Nation's defense.

Senator STENNIS' speech in full is as follows:

TWO STRIKING TRUTHS

First, I want, for myself, for Mississippi and the Nation, to commend the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and the Air Force; the career men and the inductees; the officers and the enlisted men; the Reserves of each branch of the Service and our National Guard. In keeping with the finest traditions of Ameri-

can military service, they are doing their job in a manner in which all of us are rightfully proud. Our faith and trust in them is well placed; their record is the best. They are unequaled in courage, willpower, self-discipline and honor.

We, the people of America, who have the most at stake, owe them more than does any other country, in gratitude and appreciation. All the free world's people share this debt of gratitude, for our servicemen are the vanguard and the guardian of the world's peace and freedom.

Armed Forces Day is the day specifically set aside for them. No day of national recognition and acclaim is more deserving. When their sacrifices are considered, it is small homage indeed. I want to assure them here and now, however, that the heartfelt thanks of the American people are no less sincere on the other 364 days of each year.

The task they face is that of being the front line of world leadership.

This position, world leadership, neither sought nor wanted, was thrust on us—the youngest major power in the world. As a result of the catastrophic losses suffered by Great Britain and France in World War II, we suddenly found ourselves in a position we were not prepared to meet. We emerged from that war as the leading and most powerful nation in the world. We did not ask for this role, nor fully recognize its awesome responsibilities when it came. We are not accustomed to carrying its burdens; we do not have the centuries of diplomatic experience nor the trained personnel to meet this problem with assurance. Our way may have been faltering, but it has had no selfish motive. We have no aggressive aims to be furthered by its continuance.

It is to our credit, as the youngest major world power, that we realized the situation in time to salvage freedom and to protect ourselves. We have rapidly and soundly built the necessary military strength to meet the requirements of this new position in world affairs.

As a measure of the results we have achieved, and as a note of reassurance, let me give you the following outline of our striking power:

For the Army, the next year will see a strength of about 1 million officers and men, organized into 17 divisions, 9 regimental combat teams, 127 antiaircraft battalions, and a number of newly organized atomic support units; the Army Reserve will number 297,000 men in 1958.

Current plans for the Navy provide for 675,000 officers and men who will be assigned to 1,000 ships. A shipbuilding program includes construction of a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier and guided missile ships, 15 nuclear-powered submarines. Some 150,000 men will be included in Naval Reserve personnel.

The Marine Corps will have its 3 marine divisions and 3 air wings for a total of 200,000 men, equipped with a variety of atomic weapons.

By 1958 the Air Force will have its 128 wings. The B–36 bomber wings are being rapidly replaced by all-jet B–52 bombers. The KC–135 jet tanker production program will be continued. To man these planes there is a strength of 925,000 officers, enlisted men and cadets, with 80,000 Air Reserve personnel and 73,000 Air National Guardsmen. We have extensive radar warning networks.

The Air Force will be 50 years of age August 1 of this year, and in that period has grown from the initial order for a 3-man group "to study the flying machine and the possibility of adapting it to military purposes" to an organization requiring $17.7 billion annually for operations.

On January 16, 1957, three B–52 bombers completed nonstop flights around the world in 45 hours and 19 minutes, refueling in flight. They conclusively demonstrated that they can range to any target assigned anywhere in the world. This bomber can climb to over 50,000 feet and fly more than 650 miles per hour. The world's first supersonic bomber will soon be added as a member of the Strategic Air Command bomber team.

New research aircraft afford a glimpse of the manned aircraft of tomorrow. The X–1A has obtained a speed of over 1,650 miles per hour and flown an altitude of over 90,000 feet.

The guided missile, which I shall not undertake to discuss in detail, forecasts more perhaps than any other single weapon what the Air Force of the future will be like. The era of manned aircraft is not over, but the era of the unmanned missile in warfare is very much at hand.

What is the practical effect of this program in a world daily threatened by the inroads of international communism? Threats of a war in the Formosan area were not stopped by mere passage of a congressional resolution. That resolution gave the approval of Congress to the continuous patrol of that area by two Navy aircraft carriers; deterring a new "brush fire war" by Communist aggressors in that troubled part of the world. All is quiet on the Formosan front.

The presence of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean Sea, fully powered with all modern weapons, is the strong, silent force which has brought some stability to the Middle East. Without the presence of such a force, and the firm declaration by the United States in the Middle East Resolution, that area would probably already have been taken over by our adversaries.

From these instances in recent history, it is apparent that the United States has to maintain a strong military program—stronger than any other nation—and inferior to no combination of powers in the world.

So long as the international situation continues to be tense we must continue to be the mightiest military power. At the same time, to allay the fears of the neutrals, we must reemphasize that we build purely for the defense of freedom—never for aggression. Our granting the Philippines independence and conferring Commonwealth status on Puerto Rico have underscored this. No free nation need stand in fear of the United States.

This, then, is our obligation to ourselves and to the world: To maintain freedom's strongest arm.

But the cost of maintaining the military preparedness necessary to insure our freedom can destroy the very freedom we seek to protect.

For the year 1958, Congress has been requested to appropriate $38.5 billion directly to the Department of Defense for our largest peacetime military budget in history. This is more than 50 percent of the entire budget and does not include amounts for atomic energy development, foreign military aid, and other defense-connected items.

To illustrate the full impact of the increased cost of our vast military machine, the B–17 bomber used during World War II cost $250,000; the B–36 in use in the 1940's cost $3 million; the B–52 approaching use today costs $8 million. A World War II fighter cost $50,000; the present jet fighter costs from $700,000 to over $1,000,000. For a modern bomber there must be a stockpile and maintenance list of 46,000 line items, compared with 6,400 similar items in World War II, and $800,000 worth of ground equipment, as compared with $78,000 worth previously.

A modern submarine costs over $44 million, eight times as much as a World War II type. The largest World War II aircraft carrier costs $80 million; today's atomic carrier will cost over $300 million.

In the radar-atomic-missile age, all unit costs are continuing to soar.

This military striking power can be our downfall—not by any abuse of the power of its force—not by the corruption of our national or military leaders—but by the simple operation of basic laws of economics. We, as a nation, must learn to build and maintain our Military Establishment within the limits of our economy to absorb its frightening cost. This challenge extends to us all.

I want to lay side by side two striking truths which we must face and adjust to in the years ahead.

1. Russia's primary attack on us is not by war but in forcing us into spending programs beyond the capacity of our free economy, and in causing us to squander our great natural resources. They have succeeded in straining our national economy through excessive Government spending.

Since the Russians completed their first atomic explosion in 1949, we have appropriated money for military programs in an atmosphere of fear. Our responsible military leaders lean all too far toward the attitude of asking for all that they can get. These two approaches must be stopped.

2. Our military appropriations have reached their peak. Increased preparedness in terms of more planes, more tanks, more carriers, more missiles, more atomic weapons, better training, better equipment, and better careers for personnel are all going to depend on the leadership shown by our military themselves in careful planning and a more efficient spending of available funds. It is their duty and their responsibility.

Congress has been told and the people have been told year in and year out that reductions in military spending cannot be made without wrecking the Nation's safety and security.

This simply is not true.

Every veteran who has served in our Armed Forces, and there are about 22,500,000 now living, was appalled at the waste involved in military operations. They know this waste continues. They know a better job can be done—defense wise—when this waste is eliminated.

The Congress has a degree of responsibility in connection with the overall cost of the military program. But they must rely on our responsible military leaders in learning what is actually needed.

The President has a high degree of responsibility, but even President Eisenhower must depend on the recommendations of admirals and generals.

So the professional military man, the career officer, has a special and peculiar responsibility with regard to economy and efficient planning. They have not fully accepted this phase of their obligations.

The Department of Defense has not fully accepted its responsibility for economy. Any department of Government asking for $38 billion a year must assume the primary and principal responsibility for maintaining a balanced economy in our Nation.

It is of little value to criticize without giving constructive examples or suggestions. Here are some examples of vast savings which can be planned only by professional military men:

1. At least some of the evils of useless duplication could be eliminated by military leadership through further unification of the three major branches of the military services. This duplication, the opposite of unification, is illustrated by our missile program. Each branch of the service has stoutly insisted on a vast program of its own, regardless of the vast expense involved in such duplication. The services bid against each other in this narrow and specialized field for the expensive materials, the limited number of industrial plants, and the small number of top-notch scientists who have become specialists in missiles. In this bidding against each other, they are running costs up for all.

These references do not discredit our professional military personnel, but they and the public must become aware of their new responsibility in this vast Military Establishment that will be our burden for the foreseeable future.

2. We now have 2,800,000 men under arms in all of the services combined. The total cost of salaries and maintenance for this force is $10.5 billion per year. Substantial savings can come through an expanded and extensive system of active Reserves for all branches of the service. Under the active Reserve program, prior military training can be utilized and further training continued through operation of Reserve units near the homes of the men. The per-man cost is war less than in the active service.

The times demand that our professional military leaders come forward with a strong and better Reserve program. This continuing challenge has not yet been met by our military leaders.

3. As a part of this personnel plan, I think we must go even further in establishing a system of permanent military careers extending from the lowest noncommissioned rank to the 5-star general. Through spreading the general popularity and appeal of such a career, we would eventually be able to abandon the peacetime selective service program.

These, in brief outline, present some of the serious major problems for which some effective solution must be found.

We realize, however, that real and permanent peace can never be the fruits of any military program, even though we must maintain the level of military preparedness necessitated by world conditions. I hope the Communist threat is ebbing because of the disillusionment of its unhappy people behind the Iron Curtain.

But the real hope for peace rests—not in armed might—but with the opportunity of freedom loving people everywhere to be free.

Newly independent nations, assuming their rightful places in the family of nations—the world community—must have the protection to keep that freedom. Their people, through the increased economic opportunities of an independent government, must have the experience of breathing freely.

Through independence, economic and political opportunities, and national respect, the desire for peaceful existence will become universal. On that day permanent peace will become a reality. This, as Americans, is our goal.

"It's Great To Live in Michigan"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, with great pride and immeasurable pleasure I invite all of my colleagues to join the 7,516,000 people of the State of Michigan in the observance of Michigan Week during May 19 to 25, 1957.

This week has been set aside so that the people of this great State may reflect for a moment and realize that truly "It's great to live in Michigan."

GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION

Michigan is blessed with God-given resources and scenic beauty which have made it the "Water Wonderland." The 7 million citizens of Michigan are proud of their heritage, the spiritual foundations of our institutions, and of our many advantages in agriculture, industry, education, culture, and recreation.

The people of Michigan have gained wide recognition for their contributions to a better life and their leadership in all fields of endeavor. Our citizens are moving forward progressively with the spirit of our Founding Fathers in the creation of new frontiers that will enhance the livelihood of our people in years to come.

Two long cherished dreams, the St. Lawrence seaway and the Mackinac Bridge, will soon be realized, opening new vistas of our Commonwealth for economic development. All of us should be proud of our achievements, and in that pride should find strength to make ours an even more wonderful State.

Therefore, I, G. Mennen Williams, Governor of the State of Michigan, do hereby proclaim the week of May 19 to 25, 1957, as Michigan Week in Michigan, and appeal to all of our citizens to join the celebration starting with the observance of our spiritual foundations on Sunday and concluding with recognition of our new frontiers on Saturday, so they will more fully appreciate our two beautiful peninsulas which are so abundant in human and natural resources and unlimited opportunities.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the State of Michigan this 1st day of May in the year of our Lord, nineteen hundred and fifty-seven, and of the Commonwealth the one hundred and twenty-first.

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS,
Governor.

House Concurrent Resolution 16

Concurrent resolution urging the people of Michigan to take part in the observance of Michigan Week from May 19 to May 25, 1957

Whereas Michigan people have a very deep feeling of pride in our State and in the communities which make it great; and

Whereas we are blessed with a beautiful State of unparalleled resources, and with a people of ability, energy, and imagination to develop these resources for the good of all; and

Whereas Michigan Week is a special time set aside each year to focus attention on Michigan—its heritage, its wealth, its spiritual, cultural, and material values; and

Whereas investments in new plants and equipment have been greater than in any other State, thereby indicating industry's faith in the future of our State; and

Whereas Michigan is the hub of the greatest concentration of population and industrial markets in the United States; and

Whereas in the fields of medicine, education, social work, religion, and science Michigan has produced leaders who have contributed to the betterment of man throughout the world; and

Whereas Michigan workers have made the State a leader in skills and productivity, with Michigan leading the Nation in the value of manufactured products per worker; and

Whereas Michigan ranks first in the production of many industrial and food products; and

Whereas Michigan's farmers have made the State one of the most self-sufficient food producers in the Nation, the leader in many agricultural products, and have made Michigan's agriculture the most diversified in the Nation; and

Whereas many of Michigan's cities are nationally and internationally known for the products they make; and

Whereas Detroit is the most prosperous big city in America, with a median income of $5,700; and

Whereas Michigan has the world's largest supply of fresh water for industry and is a water vacationland bordered by 4 of the 5 Great Lakes, has the country's longest shoreline, contains more than 11,000 inland lakes and more than 36,000 miles of streams; and

Whereas Michigan is the fastest growing State in the north-central United States with a population estimated at 7,516,000; and

Whereas the world-famed Mackinac Bridge scheduled to be completed this fall is another testimonial to progress in Michigan and will be an impressive gateway to the Upper Peninsula, which is rich in tourist attractions, timber, iron ore, copper, and numerous other important minerals: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the house of representatives (the senate concurring), That the members of the Michigan Legislature urge all people of Michigan to take part in the observance of Michigan Week, May 19 to May 25, 1957, a period in which residents of our State and of other States may become better acquainted with Michigan's boundless advantages and opportunities in industry, natural resources, agriculture, recreation, and culture.

Adopted by the senate April 10, 1957.

FRED I. CHASE,
Secretary of the Senate.

Adopted by the house February 14, 1957.

NORMAN E. PHILLES,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Report on Visit to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following text of my complete report on my recent visit to Poland during the congressional recess. A condensed version of this report is contained in the report of the Special Study Mission to Europe, which was released last week, of which I was a member. I also wish, at this time, to include my own recommendations on the question of economic assistance to Poland on which negotiations have been underway for some 3 months:

REPORT OF REPRESENTATIVE ALVIN M. BENTLEY, REPUBLICAN, OF MICHIGAN, ON HIS VISIT TO WARSAW, POLAND, APRIL 25–28, 1957

I. QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

I arrived in Warsaw on Thursday evening, April 25, and departed Sunday morning, April 28. During the period April 26–27 I saw and interviewed all available officers of the American Embassy; all major Western newspaper correspondents; representatives of the Polish press; prominent members of the Polish Parliament (Sejm); as well as high-ranking officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, and Agriculture. In all, 32 people were interviewed, and in virtually all cases the following questions were asked:

1. If American assistance is provided for Poland, how can we be sure that this assistance will benefit the Polish people?

2. How can we be sure that such assistance will remain in Poland and not be siphoned off elsewhere?

3. If assistance to Poland is successful in helping Poland to achieve its economic objectives, will this in turn have a contagious

impact on other Eastern European countries?

4. What will be the most likely consequences if no assistance is provided?

5. What will be the effects of American assistance on Poland's political development?

6. How can aid to Poland be justified in terms of the national interest of the United States?

A variety of more detailed and technical questions was asked of Embassy and Polish officials. The answers to these will be reflected under my general observations, following a composite response to each of the above six questions which I believe are of major importance in considering the issue of aid for Poland.

The answer to the first question was, generally, that it was not possible to separate the benefits of assistance to the Polish Government from benefits to the Polish people themselves. Assistance from the West, specifically from the United States, is necessary to reduce Poland's dependence upon the East for essential iinports. Western aid is also necessary to increase Poland's internal levels of economic activity in a way which will improve consumption standards, especially for the urban worker; and which will permit gradual decontrol by the State of important sectors of the Polish economy without exposure to unmanageable inflationary pressures. Poland does not command the resources to accomplish this alone; it cannot depend upon Eastern countries to satisfy these requirements in the interest of the planned reforms; it can therefore look only to the West.

In response to the second question, all sources gave the unqualified answer that the arrangements concluded last November 19 with the U. S. S. R. provided a measure of independence for Poland which would insure that aid would not be compulsorily siphoned out of Poland. Insofar as the Polish Government is concerned, United States assistance through long-term credits is clearly an important factor in increasing domestic production, improving the standard of living, and thus contributing to internal political stability.

The consensus in respect to the third question was that if Poland is able to strengthen her economic ties with the West, and thereby is able to continue with the relatively significant political and economic reforms already under way, other Eastern European countries would attempt to follow its course.

The query on denial of aid produced responses which differed in degree but not in substance. It was generally acknowledged that the Polish economy is in a very shaky state. There is a critical shortage of investment goods. The Government is having difficulty in making a rational distribution of available food supplies. There is a chronic shortage of consumer soft goods, and consumer durables are particularly scarce. Coal output has fallen sharply in the last 2 years, and there is widespread discontent among urban workers, which manifests itself at the plant level by sporadic slow-downs and strikes. By responding to political pressure and putting wage reforms into effect before the supply situation warranted, the Gomulka regime is also facing the likelihood of serious inflation.

What is needed, therefore, is a fairly sizeable and immediate injection of outside resources into the economy.

In view of the number of factors involved, of which American aid, though economically important, is only one, it is understandable that responses to the question of "no aid" varied from statements that denial of aid would be the direct cause of the collapse of the Gomulka regime to statements that this would cause widespread discouragement and apathetic resignation to the fact that renewal of ties with the most important Western nation was not possible. It was clearly not feasible, in the brief time available, to probe more extensively into the question of how far public opinion in Poland has really seized upon the aid issue as an important psychological symbol, the denial of which would have repercussions out of proportion to its true economic significance. American sources considered that the psychological factor was of considerable importance; many Poles thought it of crucial importance.

It was explicitly agreed among Americans and newspaper correspondents and implicitly suggested by many Poles that unless economic deterioration can be halted and unless Gomulka can push through his agrarian and industrial reforms, the regime is in considerable danger of collapse, possibly by late fall of this year. In view of the overwhelming superiority of Russian forces, there is little likelihood of an uprising such as occurred in Hungary, although revolt obviously cannot be fully discounted. On the other hand, the collapse of the regime would very clearly signal the end of the Polish experiment in relative freedom and the reimposition of a Stalinist regime with its concomitant apparatus of Soviet control.

Concerning the effects of American assistance on Poland's political development, there was general agreement that Poland has already reached the outer limits of political independence from the Soviet Union; and that, barring any shift in Russian policy, there would be no significant progress in the foreseeable future. It was also reaffirmed repeatedly that there was no intention of abandoning socialism; nor was there any likelihood that the authority of the Polish Communist party would be displaced. The only alternative is a Soviet-dominated Communist party.

The sixth question was asked only of Poles. The responses varied from descriptions of generalized benefits to suggestions of particular economic advantages to the United States as a consequence of extending economic assistance. In general it was pointed out that there is more individual freedom in Poland today than in any other Eastern European country. It was suggested, for example, that for the first time in modern Polish history no one is in prison on account of his political beliefs. It was stressed that it was in the United States interest to encourage this development wherever possible, since to the extent that political and economic stability were restored in Poland, Poland would in turn be in a stronger position to influence the maintenance of peace in the general Eastern European area.

More specifically, it was suggested that it was in the United States interest to expand our commercial markets in Poland, and that in strengthening economic ties with Poland we would inevitably open the door to wider cultural contacts.

II. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

In my view, recent developments in Poland represent an unanticipated and courageous evolution toward national economic and cultural independence within the limits imposed by the geographical circumstances that Polish territory is a line of communications between two Soviet Armies. Poland must, therefore, during the indefinite future remain within the Soviet orbit.

I am also of the opinion that the Polish regime is convinced that post-World War II Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe, with its imposed police regimes and imposed Soviet economic doctrines, was primarily in the interests of future Russian security. It is on the basis of this conviction that the Gomulka regime is attempting to meet public pressures to liberalize domestic, religious, political, and economic life; but always in accordance with the premise that the United Workers Party (Communist) is the chosen political instrument and that the ties with the Soviet Union are for some time to come indissoluble.

On the international front this means no neutrality for Poland, and cotinued adherence to the Warsaw pact. On the domestic front this means a program for the abandonment of forced collections from the farms, the restoration of private shops, the introduction of quasi-private enterprise incentives in manufacturing, and the redirection of investment to provide a more sensible balance between heavy industry and consumer-goods industry.

In restoring the agricultural sector to a market economy, the Poles are making a drastic departure from Soviet economic doctrine. If the Gomulka experiment is successful, and is permitted to succeed, it will be historically important for the western democracies as well as for all Eastern European satellites carefully to evaluate, in the light of their respective national interests, the development in Poland of an independent economic system operating partly on the basis of private enterprise and individual incentives, and partly on the basis of state ownership and control. This development is reported to be extremely disturbing and embarrassing to the Soviets, but the Poles appear to be convinced that Soviet intervention is unlikely as long as their military security ties with the U. S. S. R. are kept intact. Ultimately the Poles seem to see the possibility of a new era of peaceful coexistence,, with Poland assuming a leading role as arbiter between Eastern and Western Europe.

Following are some brief observations based on discussions relating to specific economic problems:

1. Agriculture: The Gomulka regime is committed to discontinue forced collections of farm commodities. It is also committed to de-collectivise farm lands, encourage cooperatives, and develop a method for returning farms to private ownership. Abandonment of forced collections is the most critical political requireemnt, but in order to accomplish this the Poles estimate that they will need a 4-month reserve of wheat in order to discourage speculative hoarding and inflation, and to ensure essential consumption requirements. Ministry of Agriculture officials told me that this reserve should amount to 1.6 million metric tons, and that bread grains were probably the highest priority item in the negotiations for American credits. They also said that the Government needed a 6-month lead-time from the acquisition of the reserve to the announcement of discontinuance of forced collections. Thus, if the reserve was complete by next January, they could make the announcement in July and dismantle the collection administration. There was some difference of opinion as to when Poland would again be self-sufficient in wheat production, but there was general agreement that imports would be necessary for several years.

There is also a requirement for feed grains. During the past several years an imbalance has developed between the hog and cattle populatjons. Before the war the number of cattle exceeded the number of hogs; now the ratio is reversed. Feed grains are required to restore the ratio to normal and to reduce the reliance of hog farmers on bread grains for feed. If successful in this field, the Poles expect not only to improve the domestic protein diet but also to increase their exports of meat, meat products, poultry and dairy products to Western Europe and England.

2. Coal mining: The export from this basic industry has been falling off sharply. In 1955 it was 25 million tons; 1956, 19 million; and this year is expected to drop to 14 million. Output has also been reduced due partly to the abandonment of required overtime and Sunday shifts, partly to the movement of labor away from the mines, and

partly to obsolescence of equipment and the necessity of opening up new mines.

Mining equipment is needed for modernization of old mines and for construction of new mines when current exploration has been completed. This year approximately 50 percent of Polish exportable surplus will go to Eastern Europe and 50 percent to the West.

If the modernization program is successful and future coal production meets expectations, domestic consumption and exports will increase. The Poles maintain that present levels of exports to the East will remain about the same since Eastern Europe has not been able to satisfy Polish requirements for producers durables, and that exports should increase to Western Europe since the latter is the main assured source of these requirements.

3. Cotton textiles: This is a sick industry, especially in the Lodz area where there is serious underemployment and social unrest. The Poles estimate that their industry can utilize up to 120,000 metric tons of cotton annually. At present they are almost solely dependent upon the U. S. S. R. for imports, which have been amounting to about 95,000 tons a year, with 70 to 75,000 coming from the U. S. S. R. and the remainder coming from Egypt as long-staple cotton and therefore unsatisfactory for their purposes.

Again, cotton is a high-priority item in their stated requirements from the United States, and in order to insure their independence from Soviet supply, they need to augment their inventory at once and will have, in addition, an annual recurring requirement for United States cotton for a long time to come.

With an improvement in the output of cotton textiles, the Poles are anxious to increase their exports of low-cost textiles to Africa and southeast Asia in return for essential raw materials imports.

4. Foreign trade: In general, there has been a shift in Poland's trade relationships since 1954. Before World War II, Poland's trade was predominantly westward. But by 1954, two-thirds of her trade was with Eastern Europe, 30 percent of which was with the Soviet Union. By 1956, however, 30 percent was with the Soviets, 30 percent with Eastern Europe, and 40 percent with the West. Poland is determined to increase her trade with the West, since this is the main reliable source of supply for the modern industrial equipment she needs.

III. GENERAL IMPRESSIONS

Based upon my experience as a Foreign Service officer in Budapest in 1949, I can affirmatively report that there is now a definite "thaw" in Warsaw. There is extensive evidence of this. In 1953, for example, I was refused a visa to enter Poland. In 1957 my visa application was filed in Washington, approved by Warsaw, and picked up in Vienna in less than a week's time. Passport and customs clearance at the airport was rapid and courteous.

In Warsaw itself, the reconstruction effort has been, and is, impressive. Between 1939 and 1944 the city was 70 percent destroyed. Of the destroyed sections, 75 percent has now been rebuilt. Reconstruction has been guided by one plan: To reproduce the prewar city exactly as it was. Even the medieval section has been duplicated as exactly as possible. This example of the depth and tenacity of Polish traditionalism and culture is interrupted by the freakish Soviet-built skyscraper, the Palace of Culture. The Poles resent this geological extrusion, but there is nothing that can be done about it. I was told, however, that the most popular event ever held in its largest auditorium was the time Glenn Miller's orchestra played for a capacity audience of 3,000 plus hundreds of standees.

Unlike other Eastern European capitals, including East Germany, there are no visible evidences of Soviet or of Communist Party propaganda, no red flags, no propaganda slogans across building fronts, no statues of Stalin, and no flag-decked superphotos. Even the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts (much in evidence) have switched from red to green neckerchiefs.

Russian forces are nowhere in evidence, although I saw an occasional Polish unit marching in the streets. I was told that the Poles are about to abandon the Russian prototype uniform and return to the traditional Polish army uniform. In general, I was told that the army was loyal to the regime even though the deputy chief of staff and other general officers are still Russian. All Russian officers have been eliminated from the navy and air force. The army, I was informed, cannot be considered as a military asset to the Russians; on the contrary, in the event of trouble with the West, it would be a liability. Any independent Polish action against Soviet pressure, however, is limited to a period of about 2 weeks because of obsolete World War II equipment and Russian control of Polish logistics.

Uniformed civilian police are in evidence but only with small sidearms. If security police are present in force, they are not identifiable. I was told that, since the thaw, Polish reaction against earlier police practices is such that it is difficult for police to effect routine arrests without running the risk of being stoned.

The Parliament (Sejm) building has been reconstructed as it was before. Here again there is no evidence of Communist Party control. The only emblem, in the Sejm, behind the speaker's desk is the traditional Polish eagle. While the United Workers Party is in complete control when the Sejm votes, I was told that there is considerable multiparty give-and-take in closed sessions of parliamentary committees. The Poles also repeatedly expressed satisfaction with the newly won independence of their judiciary system.

There was no reticence on the part of Polish officials about meeting me. On the contrary, the Embassy was able to arrange an impressive number of meetings on very short notice. Generally, the Poles were cool at first, but seemed genuinely friendly as discussion developed. I assume that our conversations were recorded, but aside from an obvious correctness in their references to the Soveit Union, they were quite willing to discuss substantive issues. They are uniformly anxious to improve their cultural ties with the West and especially with the United States; and satisfaction was always expressed in the new Ford Foundation student-exchange program. They are also anxious to retain the support of Communist China, and of Nehru. Both China and India fully backed their independence effort last fall by implication and they feel that this backing continues to constitute a powerful offset to more active Russian intervention in their affairs.

I should judge, however, that their cultural orientation toward the West is paramount. More than once, it was pointed out that Poland regained from Germany one-half of the territory lost to the U. S. S. R., thus moving the entire country westward and providing it with a much more homogeneous population than was the case prior to World War II.

If the Poles have demonstrated their attitude toward Russia by successfully withstanding the imposition of Soviet cultural patterns, they are also still very bitter toward Germany, although there is some evidence of relaxation in respect to East Germany. In response to a question, one high official said that, in his view, there was no solution to the German problem.

On several occasions I inquired specifically as to the feasible extent of United States official representation in Poland in connection with possible American economic assistance. The answers were always the same: Poland is seeking medium term, hard currency credits, repayable in dollars. Her repayment record has in the past been good, and will be again. It would be extremely embarrassing internationally and politically difficult internally, to admit the typical USOM and technical assistance teams. Because of the nature of the loan request, and their intentions for its use (i. e., they have no intention whatsoever of reexporting the loans to the East) there was no need for, nor could they tolerate politically, numbers of end-use checkers roaming around the country. They all agreed, however, that technicians required for the practical implementation of their machinery and equipment import programs would be welcome.

Finally, I should mention that Poland's reserves are at an all-time low, possibly $15 million. This is extremely low for a country with a total volume of trade of better than $2 billion per year. The dollar drought is so severe that I was informed that any desire to reopen Polish consulates in the United States would be inhibited by their inability to provide the necessary dollars. In this connection, I inquired about possible plans to attract American tourists by improving their hotel and transportation facilities. Most Poles admitted that tourism could be an excellent source of dollars, but they also admitted that their hotel standards and transportation facilities were still far below acceptable Western standards and that it would be some time before they could devote an adequate share of their resources for tourist facilities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The question of economic assistance to Poland and (hopefully) to the other captive nations when circumstances permit must not be treated as an isolated example or even a series of such. It is foolish and shortsighted to think of repetitions of the present program for Poland which involve a process of scratching around and using several different existing authorizations to tot up funds sufficient for the contemplated purposes. Rather, there should be a separate Polish program of economic assistance which should be refended on its own merits and should stand or fall on the same. This would hold true for any other captive nation that was enabled to achieve a comparable degree of economic freedom.

To the question: Should there be economic aid for Poland? the answer must be: Certainly, to a limited degree. This opinion comes from one who has generally opposed foreign aid in any and all forms. It also comes from one who has always adhered to the policy of liberation, whether by evolutionary or revolutionary means, and who has advocated a policy by this Government of assisting either means by any and all resources at its disposal.

To return to the specific question of Poland, the desired aid is in two general forms: credit for the purchase of our surplus agricultural commodities, specifically wheat and cotton, and a transfer to the Export-Import Bank of sufficient funds to enable the extension of a line of credit for the purchase of modern mining machinery and other articles intended for increasing industrial and agricultural production. Authority for the second part already exists under the President's special fund; authority for the desired amount of the first part will exist when the Congress completes favorable action on the pending $1 billion surplus commodity legislation.

In spite of the fact that the Poles, due to their own 5-year plan, have requested credit on at least a 3-year basis, the present extension should be on a year-to-year basis, subject to termination by either party with the minimum of notice. The tenure of the present Polish Government is extremely

uncertain, due to deteriorating economic conditions, and a successor to the Gomulka regime could conceivably be a customer with whom it would not be in our best interests to do business.

The important thing to remember is that we are not necessarily trying to bail the present government out of difficulties and problems caused by practices of its predecessors but rather to show the Polish people themselves that they are not forgotten by the West and that they can count on us for a limited amount of economic assistance. It is significant that the Polish press has only discussed the current negotiations in the most general of terms and the average Pole has little, if any, idea of the amounts under consideration. The mere announcement of American aid, whether of $100 or $300 million would serve as a tremendous morale booster. That is the effect that we want to have on the Polish people who are after all, our chief concern.

There should be certain conditions attached to the program. Long-range problems, such as claims and pre-war debts, can be deferred until the existing atmosphere improves. However, it would not be unreasonable to request the Poles to establish a counterpart fund of zlotys or, at least, if the credit is to be repaid partially in zlotys, to earmark a part for local expenditures by our Government. Such a fund could be used to improve the very drastic housing problem that faces American personnel in Poland today. It could be used to assist local expenses of a student exchange program and other costs of any expanded cultural interchange policy (which the Poles allege they are most anxious for). Another condition might also be the maintenance of a favorable exchange rate for American tourists, provided that accommodations and transportation are expanded sufficiently in this direction. There could and should be a definite agreement for the importation of private relief packages (regarding customs duties) from this country into Poland. There might even profitably be some settlement of the troublesome matter of dual nationality claims which have prevented the emigration of large numbers of Poles claiming American citizenship.

It is not believed that the Poles would agree at this time to the presence of numerous American personnel in connection with a program of economic aid. It is felt, however, that there would be no objection to the sending of qualified technical experts in connection with the coal-mining machinery and similar importations. This should definitely be a part of the final agreement reached.

Aid to Poland is definitely in the nature of a calculated risk. For this reason, the initial amount should be relatively small and subject to immediate stoppage. But the possibilities of the moral impact on the Polish people cannot be overestimated. Moreover, the obvious anxiety of the Polish government to free itself from economic subservience to the Soviet Union represents a trend that should only be encouraged. At worst, we will have gambled and lost $100 million. At best, we will have exploited a chink in the Soviet armor that could be more advantageous to us than even Tito's rift. It was generally agreed that other satellites would attempt to follow Poland's example, if successful.

The question is often raised regarding economic negotiations and general questions of trade between Poland and Communist-dominated countries of the Far East, such as Red China and North Vietnam. The actual amount of Polish trade with these two countries is relatively small and consists of Polish exports of manufactured products in exchange for the same agricultural commodities which Poland is now endeavoring to obtain from the United States. To the extent that the United States can supply alternate sources of supply of these commodities, it will relieve Poland's dependence on the Communist bloc for these vital commodities.

It is also a favorite question as to why we should, through aid to Poland, relieve the Soviet Union of any economic burden on the Soviet bloc which the Poles may have represented in the past. Rather than say that the Poles were a drain on the Soviets, the converse would be more correct. Because Poland was forced to sell coal to the Soviet Union at a price considerably below the world market and, as a consequence, suffered a loss of natural resources exceeding $600 million during the last several years. The Poles now appear to have achieved a much greater degree of economic independence in this respect and it would appear to be in our best interests to assist them to maintain this position.

Our policy of liberation suffered a near-disastrous setback last fall by our failure to assist the Budapest rebels. We can do little or nothing to assist liberation by revolution. We do have an opportunity, in Poland, to assist in a policy of liberation by evolution. We may gamble and lose but it is worth the risk. If we remain passive in the face of the present trend in Poland, limited as it is, we might as well discard the entire concept of liberation and accept the idea of coexistence between the free and slave worlds. It is for the foregoing reasons that I would support a program of economic assistance to Poland, subject to the foregoing conditions.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DeWITT S. HYDE
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I include a copy of the letter I received from the president of the Frederick County Board of Education. This letter was addressed to the President of the United States and contains information of which I am sure many Members of Congress have not been aware.

The letter follows:

FREDERICK COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION,
May 14, 1957.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I listened with great interest to your television broadcast, May 14. One statement I heartily agree, there is a need for Federal aid to education, not money, but in the procurement of steel for school building.

We have here in Frederick County $2 million in funds which would pay for a junior-senior high school. Steel for this building was ordered in May 1956. To date the structural steel has still not arrived, throwing completion of building at least a year behind schedule. We were informed by Dietrich Brothers, of Baltimore, Md., supplier of steel, this is no exception as it is taking place all over the country. Our situation was further aggravated by the fact that Government orders, some even nonessential, have taken priority over all private shipments, even schools. Among the private orders, race tracks, grocery stores, and others who pay cash premiums for steel have been allowed to take precedent over school needs, where public funds cannot be used to pay premiums.

Mr. President, here is the real need for Federal aid, first restrict indiscriminate use of Federal priority, and secondly creating a priority system for school construction above that of private commercial enterprises. I personally feel that money aids to education are unsound and unwise and if you want to help, the aforementioned is very desirable.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN F. RHODERICK,
President.

The Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am submitted for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appears in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Thursday, May 16, 1957, entitled: "Ike Is Persuasive—But Not Enough." In my judgment this is an excellent discussion of the problems involved in considering the proposed Federal budget.

The editorial follows:

IKE IS PERSUASIVE—BUT NOT ENOUGH

The President's appeal to the Nation in behalf of his record $71.8 billion budget was a calm, sincere, and impresive performance. It was shorn of politics, at times eloquent. Yet Mr. Eisenhower was not suasive enough to accomplish his purpose.

The budget cutters in Congress will not be deterred by the White House speech. Nor is the President's budget exposition likely to curb public insistence for a brake on the new Federal spending spurt.

The immediate comment of Capitol Hill leaders, Democrat and Republican, showed the same lines of cleavage that existed before the Eisenhower talk. Democratic chiefs are determined to reduce the huge spending schedule; so are many members of the GOP, including Senate Minority Leader KNOWLAND.

The reason for this opposition to the Ike budget is not because he went to the people over the heads of Congress. It is because Members of Senate and House recognize a wide demand among constituents for a halt to bigger vistas of new and expanded Federal costs.

Mr. Eisenhower concentrated most of his argument upon costs for defense, which total some $41 billion under the budget program. This was to be expected.

United States defense is a policy no one wants or should dare to imperil. It is, therefore, the best talking point to bolster the budget. Also it is the area in which heavy cuts could most easily be made. There is obvious danger in this, as the President cogently noted.

The price of peace, as he warned, is high. No prospect looms for immediate relaxation of international tensions between the Communist East and the free West. The country grievously erred before in slashing its military. Said Mr. Eisenhower: "A good defense is not a cheap defense."

No intelligent American wants to jeopardize the Nation's defenses, whether such action be a fearful or a needless gamble. The country is with the President to a man in that policy.

But Mr. Eisenhower did not touch on the fact that every knowledgeable person in Washington knows exists in the Defense Es-

tablishment—its wastes, extravagances, duplications, failure to unify.

Certainly bombers, nuclear-fueled subs, and jet fighters cost more than outdated implements. And we must have the best.

Yet in more than 4 years the administration has done little or nothing to unify the extravagant purchasing systems of the different military arms, which the Hoover Commission said long ago could save $4,500,000,000.

The President made no mention of support for the administration's own Cordiner Committee report, which outlined ways of curtailing the costly turnover in military manpower and predicted a saving of $5 billion a year within 5 years.

Perhaps firm backing for such programs would not materially lower the military budget for next year. But a uniform procurement program could help much within the next 18 months.

White House pledge to cut back these wasteful practices could have given evidence the mushrooming, needless costs of defense would be stopped. The new budget for the military and other defense purposes is in excess of $2 billion above this year's.

The military is not the only category in which Washington expenses could be subjected to savings. Of 22 major categories in the budget, aside from military functions, every department and office has got a hiked allotment of from $1 million for the President's office to $470 million for health and welfare—except 4, and 1 of the 4 is the Post Office Department for which budgeteers anticipate a $654 million postal rate increase.

After listening to Mr. Eisenhower on Tuesday night, millions must have been convinced that while he is worried about hazard to defense allotments, he is disturbed himself about the size of this budget.

Congress should be careful with its paring knife, but it will and should use it on this distended budget.

Tax Relief for Professional Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by the Reverend Robert F. Drinan, S. J., dean of the Boston College Law School, which appeared in the May 11, 1957, issue of America:

TAX RELIEF FOR PROFESSIONAL MEN
(By Robert F. Drinan)

Ever more frequently, employers and employees are entering into insurance arrangements under which both parties pay a designated amount into a fund which bears interest and in due course provides an annuity to the retired employee. Even our dreadfully underpaid college professors participate at some universities in retirement plans to which the institution and the professor each contribute annually 5 percent of the latter's salary. This contribution is deductible as a business expense to the employer and is nontaxable to the employee—until of course, he actually begins to receive income from the plan.

While some 20 million American employees share in various plans like this, the 10 million self-employed persons in America have no such benefits. The absence of a pension plan is especially disadvantageous to self-employed physicians and lawyers, whose income begins relatively late in life, rises to a peak rather quickly and then tends to decline. These individuals must pay high Federal income taxes on their peak income in the years when it is received, with no possibility of investing 10 percent of it annually in a tax-exempt pension plan.

To achieve the same tax status for the Nation's self-employed as for those who are employed by others, Representatives EUGENE J. KEOGH, Democrat, New York, and THOMAS A. JENKINS, Republican, Ohio, have introduced H. R. 9 and 10. These proposals would allow every self-employed individual to place 10 percent or $5,000, whichever is less, of his annual income in an approved trust fund and have this sum tax-free until withdrawn. There would be a lifetime maximum contribution of $100,000 and some special concessions for those who are over the age of 55 when they begin to contribute to a pension plan.

The American Medical Association and the American Bar Association, along with many other professional groups, have gone on record in favor of the Jenkins-Keogh bills. These organizations feel that there is a serious inequity in our present tax laws, in that self-employed persons cannot establish retirement savings programs that will enjoy the same tax exemption as qualified plans established by employers for employees.

Indeed every one seems to be in favor of the Jenkins-Keogh proposals except the United States Treasury Department. In its drive for all available funds the Treasury is understandably reluctant to bless a scheme which, according to various estimates, will cost the Government from $100 million to $320 million a year in revenue. Treasury officials have admitted, however, the tax disadvantages of the self-employed under existing law.

President Eisenhower in his 1952 campaign stated that the self-employed had been forgotten and pledged his support to legislation that would allow a reasonable tax deduction for money put aside by them for their own savings.

In May 1956, England abolished the discrimination against the self-employed by allowing such persons to contribute annually 10 percent of their income, but not more than £500 each year, to a tax-exempt retirement fund. Self-employed pharmacists, architects, physicians, dentists, accountants, and many similar groups in this country are seeking from our Government the privilege accorded to their opposite numbers in England. Their request deserves our sympathetic consideration, the principle behind the Jenkins-Keogh proposal merits endorsement.

Speech of the Honorable Ben F. Jensen Before the 44th National Convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, May 17, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech made by me before the 44th national convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, May 17, 1957, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

Mr. President and fellow Americans, I consider it an honor to speak to the members of this organization who do so very much for the development of America through the protection of our natural resources.

The proper development of our great river valleys, such as the great Missouri Valley, is a national must, but it must be done in such a way as to assist in the perpetuation of our American way, and for the benefit of the people everywhere, and without infringement on our private enterprise system of government, which has made our country great.

I was asked to talk about public works appropriations, and I most certainly will do just that, but possibly in a different light than most of you might expect. Nevertheless, the things I will point out will, I am sure, have a great and constant bearing on the amount of funds Congress will appropriate for public works in the future.

The term "public works," as you know, covers a great many important Federal activities, navigation and harbor improvements, hydroelectric power dams, irrigation, reclamation, flood control, and atomic energy, for both war and peace. Therefore, the manner in which all these important activities of Government are handled might well determine the future of America. Hence, my responsibilities, and yours as members of this fine organization, cannot and must not be taken lightly. As good Americans, there are certain guideposts that must be followed to make sure that we achieve the desired results in all our doings.

You may ask what exactly does all this have to do with public works. My answer is "everything," for unless the American people are satisfied with the way public works are administered and paid for, the day will come when the people will demand of their servants in Congress that public works appropriations be cut to the bone, and remember that what the people want they generally get. I don't have to tell you that the great majority of the thinking American people today are economy minded, hence they will demand genuine national values for the money we spend for public works, along with all other expenditures of their tax dollars. And believe me, no one is more aware of that fact today than are the servants of the people, and which I am glad to say is having good effect.

HARBORS AND NAVIGATION

Now let us get right down to cases. First, let us take a good look at harbor improvements for which we are spending hundreds of millions of dollars annually for the improvement of dock facilities and for the dredging and deepening of harbors to accommodate barges and large ships for the benefit of wealthy, foreign water-carrier companies, as well as our own, and without $1 of reimbursement and little tax return into our Federal Treasury, while our railroads build, improve and maintain their own rights-of-way, rails and facilities, and pay a heavy county, State, and Federal tax, and our truckers pay heavy licenses to use the highways. So, to my way of thinking, this is a glaring example of inequality, and the time will surely come when the American people will demand that either we cut such expenditures to the bone, or that water-carriers pay at least a part of the expenses for navigation and harbor improvements.

HYDROELECTRIC POWER

Having been a member of the House Appropriations Committee for 15 sessions of Congress, which first acts on requests for funds to build hydroelectric and multipurpose dams, I feel that I have a pretty good idea as to where such dams should be built in order that the greatest benefit can be realized for the dollars expended. During that time I have personally inspected most of the proposed dam sites, along with other

members of the Committee, before Congress appropriate funds for actual construction, in order to ascertain the feasibility of such posed projects by personal contacts with the opponents and proponents of the proposed project.

I hasten to give due credit to the United States Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation by saying that generally speaking we found the information given to the committee by the officials of these two Federal agencies to be accurate and factual. While it is true that most of the tax dollars we spend for hydroelectric production are returned to the United States Treasury over a period of years, which term is normally 50 years, very often private utilities are ready, willing and able to build such facilities with their own shareholders' money, and like all other private businesses, they pay heavy State and Federal taxes, which lightens the tax burden of all the people and squares with our private enterprise system of government. No tax of any sort is paid on revenues from federally build dams.

We must be mindful of the fact that about 4 million good American citizens own all the private utilities in the United States, and that they pay almost $1 billion in Federal income tax into our United States Treasury annually, and over half a billion dollars in local, county and State taxes annually from power revenues. Of course, every user of privately produced electric power pays his share of this tax when he pays his electric power bill. But let us not forget that it comes back to him in helping pay for schools, roads, etc., and that private electric rates have increased much less in cost than any other commodity, due primarily to the enormous increase in electric consumption, modernized facilities and efficint management.

During the past several years much has been said and written pro and con about Hells Canyon, which is a current issue. Let us take a quick look at the facts.

The proponents of the high Hells Canyon Dan want Congress to spend several hundred million dollars of all the American taxpayers' money to build a hydropower producing dam, so that the people in that area might have tax free, hence cheaper electric power, at all the American people's expense. The Idaho Power Co., a company owned by thousands of American people in every walk of life wants to build three lower dams, and in fact has already started with its own money under a Federal license by the Federal Power Commission, to build the lower dams, which will produce almost as many kilowatts of power as the high dam. And it is reliably estimated that they will pay Federal taxes into your United States Treasury, during the 50-year period, over $240 million.

Now why do I talk about that controversial issue here today? Simply because it pinpoints my contention that unless we keep private taxpaying enterprise in business, the day will come, and possibly sooner than some people expect, when our United States Treasury will be so completely empty that few dollars will be available for river and harbor development, or flood control, or even to pay old-age and veteran pensions, to say nothing about paying other necessary Federal obligations. After the Fabian Socialists of England, who masqueraded as the Liberal Party, got control of most of the electric energy in England, the rest of the socialization of England was a push-over, for he who controls the electric power of most any nation in this electric age can control that nation completely, and make no mistake about it. I am sure, however, that because of the good sense of the American people, that will not happen here, but let us be sure.

IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION

Even though I represent a district outside of the 17 western reclamation States, I long ago took the position, after seeing the parched deserts of the Western States, that water was indeed liquid gold to the people of that great area. And because Federal appropriated funds for irrigation and reclamation are over a period of years paid back in annual installments to the Federal Treasury, and because the records will show that after such projects are in full operation, Federal taxes from the irrigators' profits run into the hundreds of millions of dollars annually, and because the crops raised on such irrigated lands have contributed less than 2 percent to our farm crop surpluses, I am sure that my support of irrigation and reclamation projects has been fully justified. I may say, too, that were it not for the vegetables raised on such irrigation projects, our vegetables would be costing us at least twice what they are today.

FLOOD CONTROL

Because every section of America has now, or has had in the past a flood problem, appropriated funds for flood control are not reimbursable, however, municipalities and counties do furnish land, build bridges, etc., in all cases where the Federal Government spends the taxpayers' money for flood-control projects, when such projects directly benefit the people of a respective area, and often local participation amounts to a considerable sum. In fact, I am happy to say that quite often the local governments will contribute more than is required of them in order to prove the need for Federal aid, which shows good faith and appreciation. May I say here and now that where such is the case, those projects receive special and sympathetic consideration by the members of the Appropriations Committee, for most of the members of the committee try to save the taxpayers' dollars wherever and whenever it is proper and possible to do so. May I suggest that your organization pass out that word to your people.

How well I remember the terrible devastating floods which occurred almost annually on the Missouri River before the dams were built upstream and before the farmers in that great watershed, one-sixth of the area of the United States of America, contoured and terraced their tillable land. I am sure that never again will such floods occur on that river. The Army engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, working in cooperation with the Soil Conservation Service, will eventually solve all or most of our flood problems. Their efforts and accomplishments have already almost completely solved the flood problems of many river valleys, such as ours in the Missouri River Valley. Your organization has greatly assisted in this important task, and has given other organizations like yours inspiration and guidance.

ATOMIC ENERGY

Possibly atomic energy has not as yet been discussed to any great degree by your organization, but nonetheless, all of you as Americans are vitally concerned with its potential as an instrument of good or evil. To most Americans it is a baffling, unknown quantity, so to speak. However, we all know of its frightening destructive power as a weapon of war, and we are gradually learning of its use as a useful commodity for the development of power, and for many other purposes, including possible cures for human ailments. It has great possibilities for peaceful purposes.

As I sit in Public Works Committee hearings and listen to members of the Atomic Energy Commission and their scientists explain quite in detail to us, and mostly off the record, as most of their testimony is classified, which means highly secretive, I like every member of the committee am impressed to say the least by their keen knowledge of every phase in the meticulous preparation of manufacturing and harnessing the atom, always conscious of the great responsibility which is theirs, not only for the safe and speedy development of a war bomb, but to a greater degree for all of us as a blessing to humanity as a peacetime commodity. Were it not for the unbounded trust I have in the ability and integrity of these great and devoted patriotic Americans, I would shudder to contemplate the ultimate results. Like a ferocious, wild horse in the hands of a tenderfoot, it is a dangerous article; but in the hands of experts it can be tamed and trained to serve its master.

Our Atomic Energy Commission and their scientists are thoroughly schooled and trained in the art of nuclear sciences, and I say to you again, I trust them to carry on effectively, safely and sanely for the benefit of all our peoples who have it in their hearts to be free. But here again we find people in high places who advocate and contend that the Congress should appropriate several hundred million dollars annually to build every kind of atomic reactor for peaceful uses, especially for the generation of mechanical power to eventually replace hydro and steam electric power, and again such plants would be free of Federal taxes, in spite of the fact that private taxpaying industry is ready, willing and able to build the atomic reactor plants for peaceful purposes, the revenues from which would be taxable, if the Government will underwrite all after the first $60 million of accident claims, with full Federal cooperation and supervision by the experts of the Atomic Energy Commission.

FEDERAL TAX-FREE BUSINESS

In spite of the fact that our United States Constitution provides that taxation shall be uniform, tax free—and in some instances interest free—business institutions, supported with Federal funds, have driven and will continue to drive Federal taxpaying, private competitors to the wall. This situation must be corrected to ward off the evil day of national bankruptcy and its customary aftermath of national socialism.

How long, I ask, for example, could the farmers of one State stay in business if the farmers of a neighboring State were furnished by the Federal Government all the money needed to buy farms, stock, and equipment, interest free and tax free? The result, of course, would be that the taxpaying, interest-paying farmers would soon be driven to the wall by being forced to sell their products at a far below cost price at the marketplace. If that should occur, even present farm prices would look high. So, again I plead with every good American to think twice before he or she supports any program which will cripple Federal taxpaying, private enterprise—from the farmer to the corner grocer to industry—whose revenue is so desperately needed by our United States Treasury, if for no other reason.

In conclusion may I say with all the sincerity and force at my command, that it will take the combined efforts of every American who wants to preserve our free institutions—our American heritage, if you please—to be ever on guard to see that taxpaying, private enterprise continues to operate here, always remembering that the power to not tax is also the power to destroy.

And so I beg of you to realize fully that unless great care is exercised in line with the warnings I have here so humbly and sincerely expressed, it may not be too far in the distant future when the peoples will no longer have the funds to carry on the much needed public works in which you are so greatly and properly interested. Thank you.

Special Charge to Grand Jury Delivered by Judge Henry Ellenbogen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I am sure many Members of the Congress will remember former Congressman Henry Ellenbogen, of Pennsylvania, who voluntarily retired from the Congress in 1938 to become judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, Pa.

To add to the good record he had as a legislator, Judge Ellenbogen has since through the years gained an extremely excellent reputation as a jurist. His extraordinary sense of justice, good judgment, and tolerance have been evident again and again.

I am certain the Members of the House will be glad to know that Judge Ellenbogen has recently put his energies toward bringing an end to the terrible afflictions caused by the traffic in and sale of narcotic and habit-forming drugs, and I would like to call attention to the special charge to the May term grand jury convening Monday, May 6, 1957, delivered by Judge Ellenbogen on this subject.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the text of this charge to the grand jury as it appeared in the Pittsburgh Legal Journal of May 13, 1957:

SPECIAL CHARGE TO THE MAY TERM GRAND JURY CONVENING MONDAY, MAY 6, 1957

(Delivered by the Honorable Henry Ellenbogen, judge of the court of common pleas of Allegheny County, Pa.)

DOPE: THE CRIME OF ALL CRIMES

I want to call your special attention to the crime of all crimes, the traffic in and sale of narcotic and habit-forming drugs, generally called dope.

I will not repeat here today what I have said to the April term grand jury, but will bring to your attention other features which illustrate the great evil of dope and the great danger that it presents to our young and adult population, and to society in general.

A subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate of the United States, under the chairmanship of the venerable Senator George of Georgia, stated, on July 9, 1956, that "it was surprised and shocked at the extent and far-reaching effect of the illicit dope traffic in the United States, and concluded that narcotic addiction and the dope traffic constitutes one of the most serious problems facing the Nation."

It is important that you should know these matters in connection with the cases that will come before you.

COMMUNIST CHINA IS THE SOURCE

Since the Communist revolution in China, subversion of the Western World through dope addiction is an established aim of Communist China. The Chinese Communists are deluging the Western World with heroin. They have reactivated the narcotic plant at Mukden, Manchuria, which is the world's largest narcotic plant. The Mukden plant alone can produce 50 tons of heroin a year. They have also opened other plants manufacturing heroin in China.

According to statistics compiled by the United Nations, about 11,500 tons per year of opium are distributed every year through illegal channels.

The aim of Communist China is twofold. It is (1) to obtain dollars and other foreign exchange, and (2), to undermine and demoralize susceptible individuals in the Western World.

The special target of the world dope traffic is the United States. The United States has more narcotic addicts, both in total numbers and in percentage of population than any of the other countries in the Western World. In fact, the United States has more drug addicts than all of the other western nations combined.

SIXTY THOUSAND DRUG ADDICTS IN THE UNITED STATES

The most reliable estimates are to the effect that there are today a total of at least 60,000 drug addicts in the United States.

The illicit narcotic traffic feeds on the truly fantastic profits which it brings. It has been estimated that heroin purchased today in the illicit markets of Europe or Asia for $2,000 may bring as much as $600,000 when finally cut, packaged, and sold in the United States.

As regards marihuana the profits are equally fantastic. Marihuana can be bought for between $10 and $15 on the Mexican market. When rolled into cigarettes, it retails on the illegal market for about $1,200, at the price of $1 for each cigarette.

The total illicit traffic in narcotics is estimated to be about $600 million a year.

DRUG ADDICTION AMONG THE YOUTH

A minimum of 13 percent of the addicts in the United States are less than 21 years of age. It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of juveniles concerned, because juvenile courts, as a rule, do not report to the United States Bureau of Narcotics. But it is certain that in the larger centers of population the percentage of juvenile addiction is far greater. For instance, a survey conducted in Chicago in 1952 revealed 5,000 known addicts, of which one-third or more were under the age of 21 years.

Ninety percent of those under 21 years of age are addicted to heroin.

The number of arrests of juveniles for violation of the narcotic-drug laws has been steadily increasing. The Uniform Crime Reports for the United States, issued by the FBI, show 160 arrests for narcotic-drug violations of juveniles under 18 years of age in 1954; 249 such arrests in 1955; and 292 such arrests in 1956—an increase in that age group of 82½ percent in 3 years. In the case of juveniles under 21 years of age, there were 802 such arrests for the year 1954; 881 such arrests for the year 1955; and 980 arrests for the year 1956—an increase of 20 percent in that age group in 3 years. If we consider persons under 25 years of age, we find 2,391 such arrests for 1954; 2,477 such arrests for 1955; and 2,692 such arrests for 1956—an increase of 12½ percent in that age group in 3 years. As you can see, the greatest increase is in the youngest age group. Children of the tender age of 11 years have been found to be addicted.

In 1954 and 1955 the percentage of persons under 25 years of age, arrested for violations of the narcotic-drug laws, remained stationary, to wit, 30 percent. But in 1956 there was a 1-percent (0.9) increase in this age group.

In Pittsburgh there were 135 arrests for violations of the narcotic laws in 1956; 85 arrests for investigation on suspicion of violation of the narcotic laws. Forty-seven persons were arrested as peddlers or pushers of narcotics. For the first 3½ months in 1957, up to April 18, 1957, there were 46 arrests in Pittsburgh for violations of the Narcotic Act; 7 arrests were for investigation; 12 were arrested as peddlers or pushers.

DRUG ADDICTION IS LIKE A CONTAGIOUS DISEASE

The most dangerous aspect of the problem of narcotics and habit-forming drugs is that it is comparable to a contagious disease. There is conflict about some of the phases of narcotic addiction between the law-enforcement agencies and some medical experts. But there is no conflict on that point. All medical authorities agree that one of the worst features of drug addiction is the fact that addicts addict others. It is generally believed that every addict eventually infects at least four other persons, usually among his friends and associates. Once addicted, permanent cures are difficult and infrequent. Of those treated at Federal institutions, only 15 percent remained free of drugs. Eighty-five percent sooner or later returned to the drug habit.

The cost of drug addiction is fantastically high. The average drug addict must spend from $50 to $100 per week to obtain the drugs to satisfy his craving. Since few individuals can afford such sums, most drug addicts eventually resort to crime. Male drug addicts will commit burglary, robbery, holdups, and many other crimes, including murder, to obtain the funds that they need to buy dope. The female dope addict usually becomes a prostitute.

It is startling to read the reports of the experts on the number of crimes caused by drug addicts. Some authorities estimate that as much as 50 percent of all crimes are attributable to the illegal traffic in narcotic and habit-forming drugs. A more conservative estimate, and, we believe a more correct estimate, is that such traffic is responsible for perhaps as high as 25 percent of all crimes committed.

Whatever the percentage may be, there can be no doubt that any substantial reduction in the dope traffic and in the number of drug addicts would bring about a substantial reduction in crime.

Drug addiction causes very definite changes in the nervous system and in the body and brain of the addict. If continued, it eventually wrecks his body and destroys his personality.

MURDER ON THE INSTALLMENT PLAN

The narcotic traffic has been aptly described as murder on the installment plan, and the pusher or peddler of dope, as a killer on the installment plan.

I have given you these facts in order to acquaint you with the serious problems created by the illegal traffic in narotic and habit-forming drugs. With the aid and assistance of the April term grand jury and the district attorney, I have initiated certain measures, such as the requirement of substantial bail bonds, the immediate trial of those indicted, and the imposition of severe sentences in proper cases, which have had their effect in stamping out much of the illicit narcotic traffic in Allegheny County.

It is important that these measures be continued and be made a permanent part of law-enforcement agencies and of the administration of justice in our courts.

As the grand jury for the May term of court, you have an important part to play in this program. As grand jurors, you are charged with the high duty of guarding the safety and the health of the people of Allegheny County.

I direct that you give special attention to the cases in which a violation of our narcotic laws is charged, and that in all proper cases you return a true bill.

INDICT REPEATERS

I further charge you that after you have found a true bill on an indictment charging a violation of our narcotic laws, you shall inquire of the district attorney or of his assistant in attendance, whether the defend-

ant in that case has previously been convicted of any narcotic violation. If the answer is in the affirmative, if he has been previously so convicted of a narcotic violation, either in this State or any other State, or in a Federal court, I direct you to indict such defendant also as a second, third, fourth, or subsequent offender, as the case may be, by reciting the fact of such previous conviction or convictions in the indictment. By doing so you will enable this court, in case of a conviction, to apply the increased statutory penalty for repeaters.

If the district attorney does not have the necessary information at hand, a notation should be made on the indictment, so that the defendant may be properly so indicted as a second, third, or fourth offender, as soon as the information is received.

I am asking you to comply with these instructions concerning narcotic violations. In doing so you will perform your duty, and protect our people against the nefarious activities of dope sellers, dope pushers, and dope peddlers.

I charge you, too, to give special attention to the repeat offenders in all classes of crime. These are the habitual criminals who have proven that they cannot be reformed. They constantly endanger the safety and well-being of our people. They are confirmed enemies of society, and must be dealt with accordingly.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania has wisely provided for severe punishment in the case of criminals who are guilty of a second, a third, or a fourth commission of criminal acts of violence, after having been convicted of similar acts before.

SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH OFFENDERS

The criminal code provides that persons having been convicted of the crimes of treason, murder voluntary manslaughter, sodomy, buggery, burglary, entering with intent to steal, robbery, arson, mayhem, kidnaping; sales of narcotics, perjury, abortion, pandering, incest, or any offense committed or attempted to be committed with the aid of a deadly weapon, may, upon conviction of any such crimes for a second offense, committed within 5 years after the first offense, be sentenced to double the punishment prescribed for the first conviction of such crime.

In the case of third or fourth conviction of such offenses, the court, in its discretion, may sentence the offender to imprisonment for life.

INDICTMENT OF REPEAT OFFENDERS

If you determine, that the evidence presented to you, justifies the finding of a true bill, I direct you to inquire of the district attorney, or of his assistant in attendance, whether the defendant in that case has previously been convicted of any of the crimes that I have just enumerated. If the answer is in the affirmative, if he has been previously so convicted, I direct you to indict such defendant also as a second, third, or fourth offender, as the case may be, by reciting the fact of such previous conviction or convictions in the indictments. By doing so, you will enable the court, in case of a conviction, to apply the increased statutory penalty for repeaters.

If the district attorney does not have the necessary information at hand, a notation should be made on the indictment, so that the defendant may be properly indicted as a second, third, or fourth offender, when such information is received.

MAINTAIN OUR GAINS

If you will follow the instructions as I have given them to you, you will maintain the great gains which we have made in stamping out the illicit traffic in narcotic and habit-forming drugs and thereby in the reduction of all crime in Allegheny County. By doing so, you will perform your high duty, protect the people of Allegheny County, and promote the public health and safety.

Bind Wounds or Prevent Them—A Foreign Policy for Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for inclusion in the RECORD a speech delivered by my constituent, Alfred Kohlberg, of Bronxville, N. Y., before the convention of Association of American Physicians and Surgeons at the Hotel di Lido, Miami Beach, Fla., on April 25, 1957.

It sets forth a sound foreign policy for Americans:

BIND WOUNDS OR PREVENT THEM—A FOREIGN POLICY FOR AMERICANS

It is indeed a privilege to speak to this audience of distinguished medical men. More than 15 years ago I had the honor of serving as a member of the executive committee of the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China, with a group of dedicated doctors and medical scientists, all of whom had seen service in China.

That was back during the Sino-Japanese War, both before and after Pearl Harbor. I refer to that service because it opened my eyes to the nobility of the men of the medical profession, both in America and China.

Many of you may remember Mme. Chiang Kai-shek's triumphal wartime trip here in early 1943, during which she was a guest in the White House, and addressed a joint session of the Congress. Disturbing rumors of corruption in China began to be heard at the same time. As these spread I was asked to go to China again to investigate.

While waiting for Air Transport Command priority via South America, Africa and India (then the only route open), I was called to Washington by one of President Roosevelt's administrative assistants, the Honorable Lauchlin Currie. He told me of reports of the hopelessness of the Chinese National Government and its armies; the lack of will to fight, the corruption, etc. I listened with my mouth open, I am sure. I had never before been honored with a briefing by so high an official.

For years I considered myself a complete dope for swallowing that pap, until just recently Josephine Truslow Adams, descendant of both John Adams and John Quincy Adams, but a Communist courier, testified that President Roosevelt asked her at that time to find out from Earl Browder if these same rumors were true.

CONSPIRACY IN CHINA

When I arrived in Chungking I heard the same reports. So I set out on a 6 weeks' trip through 5 provinces by truck, ambulance, rail, airplane, and muleback to check on the spot. Even after all these years, my 3 days on muleback remain vivid. To skip the details, I checked only the reports in my own field of competence, principally physical condition and accounting, and found all untrue. Just a tissue of lies. I was horrified. I returned to Chungking with fire in my eyes, to find my factual reports received with hostility in our Embassy, and in United China Relief circles.

To me is smelled like treason because I couldn't see anyone benefiting from these lies but the Japanese. The possibility of Communist motivation had not occurred to me. I came home, reported the facts as I found them, and then tried to get the doctors of ABMAC to break it wide open, and demand an investigation of the liars.

I feared that the American and Chinese lives unnecessarily lost by lack of cooperation, due to American lies and Chinese resentment, would be so many that we had a duty to violate all taboos, and speak out. My doctors found it impossible to believe my reports, so I resigned to start my own fight.

That was December 1943. By May 1944 I found that I was on the wrong track. I was complaining about liars, whereas the core of the trouble was Communists; principally American Communists in our Embassy, in our Army, in the OWI, and in our news services. And all were following a line of lies originally put in circulation by the Institute of Pacific Relations on whose finance committee I sat, and whose real boss was also the real boss of United China Relief. After a 2½-year fight in the IPR they threw me out, instead of the Communists.

But little by little the truth came out and was believed. After lengthy hearings the Senate Judiciary Committee, by unanimous vote, found that "during the period 1945–49, persons associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations were instrumental in keeping United States policy on a course favorable to Communist objectives in China."

That report was issued July 2, 1952, just 7½ years too late.

MILLIONS SLAIN

Meantime, China had been turned over to the Communists and we were fighting in Korea. Our Korean combat terms were influenced by Communists still in high place in our Government, in the U. N. and in allied governments. Among them were the head of the American section of the British Foreign Office, Mr. Donald Maclean, and the liaison man in the British Embassy in Washington, Mr. Guy Burgess. You may be sure that for every Burgess and Maclean, and Currie and Hiss that is exposed, there are dozens, maybe hundreds, still concealed in our Government and in all the allied governments.

The recent suicidal jump of Canadian Ambassador to Egypt, E. Herbert Norman, to whom attention was originally called by my Institute of Pacific Relations charges; and the jumps of U. N. General Counsel Abraham Feller, originally mentioned in my magazine, Plain Talk, of October 1947, and of Laurence Duggan, likewise originally mentioned there, have given me pause. But when I think of the testimony of American generals returned from Korea as to the loss of both American and Korean lives by Chinese Communist advance knowledge of our battle plans, I realize that we are engaged in a world struggle for keeps. If men involved in questioned activities lose their mental balance and fear to face the music, we must, nevertheless, keep our sense of proportion, and our dedication to our Nation's security.

I am sure that if I knew as much about Eastern Europe as about China, I could tell similar tales of past American cooperation with the Kremlin in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, the Baltic States and elsewhere.

How did we go so wrong? How could these relatively few traitors and their more numerous dupes so mislead us? Where can we look for guidance?

Those are the questions the congressional committees are slowly probing despite the fifth amendment takers. Meanwhile, maybe we can find answers sufficient for us if we just go back to American first principles, and start our thinking all over again.

BACK TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

One hundred and sixty-one years ago a great American laid down every principle of a sound foreign policy in 1,400 words of his Farewell Address. That policy was our guide for 102 years. We departed from it first in 1898 and have lost our way ever since.

We cannot follow Washington's advice in every detail today. The world has shrunk while we have grown. But its principles can still be our guide. Washington's Farewell Address is so often referred to and so seldom read today, that the extremists of both right and left have combined to discredit it.

The little Americans, ostrichlike, tear a few words about "entangling alliances" out of context and use them to justify their refusal to think through our difficulties. The extreme one-worlders, hoping to prevent consideration of the broad principles Washington presented, join in labeling him an "isolationist."

Here are Washington's own words:

"It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maximum no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy * * *

"Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies."

So far were Washington's principles from isolationism that during the 102 years that we followed his advice, we sent the Marines "From the Halls of Montezuma to the Shores of Tripoli;" we proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine protecting 20 foreign nations; we threatened Great Britain, France and Austria under it; and we pushed Spain, France, Mexico and Russia out of the present area of the United States.

So much for isolationism under George Washington's foreign policy.

Out of his 1,400 words Washington used 800 of them to stress that "permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachment for others, should be excluded." Or, as Thomas Jefferson wrote from Paris to John Jay: "* * * no circumstances of morality, honor, interest or engagement are sufficient to authorize a secure alliance on any nation."

Yet today we seek the favor alike of the illiterate masses of Asia and Africa, the absolute monarchs of Araby, and the uncertain Neutralist Socialists from India to Israel, from Abyssinia to Zanzibar. We are even attempting to rebuy the friendship of the Communist dictators of Eastern Europe, on whom we have previously lavished more than 2 billions of our money since V–E Day.

In fact, much of the 56 billion of foreign aid since 1945 has been squandered to no purpose; for the very simple reason that we have never stopped long enough to try to figure out what our purposes might, or ought, to be. The untrue argument that the Soviets might play Santa Claus if we didn't beat them to it, will not bear examination. Moscow's blandishments are such as the spider lavishes on the fly. Until we have such motivations, we need not play that game. In fact, about half the Foreign Aid is based on the false theory that forced or slave labor is more efficient than free labor. And so we must help the free countries or they cannot compete.

As a business man with 42 years of international trading behind me, I do not hesitate to call our foreign aid policies a form of financial insanity; and most foreign business men, even those on the receiving end, agree with me. Government financing of foreign developments is the road to international disaster. Overlook the fact that it is in part carried out by incompetents, as Vice President NIXON just reported. Just look at the reverse of the picture. Suppose British investments in American railroads a century ago had been governmental, instead of private. What would the Queen's government have been tempted to do when we destroyed them during the War Between the States?

Wherever free nations establish a suitable climate for foreign investment, there will be plenty of American capital for development. Wherever they insist on business by government, the groundwork is being laid for seizure by strong-armed dictators.

Exceptions to these foreign-aid principles may be justified for political reasons, but such reasons should be clear and conclusive.

WE REJECT IMPERIALISM

One hundred and nine years ago we completed the conquest of the uninhabited lands to our west. Thereafter by purchase, and by vote of the inhabitants, we annexed Alaska and Hawaii. In 1898 we stubbed our toe and started haltingly down the road to imperialism. Less than 20 years later, by the end of World War I, we had changed our minds by common consent, and were the only one of the victorious allies to reject aggrandizement.

Since 1899 we have freed Cuba, the Philippines and Puerto Rico, our imperial mistakes of 1898. We have also freed France, Italy, Morocco, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Germany, Austria, Japan, Thailand, Indonesia and Korea, and, I almost forgot, Monaco, all of which we conquered during World War II.

So we stand, today, something unique in all history: the world's first dominant military power to reject conquest, and seek no aggrandizement by war.

What we seek of the rest of the world is only the opportunity to maintain our independence "in harmony and a liberal intercourse with all nations" as Washington advised—in peace, if possible. But maintain it in peace or war, we will. Keeping in mind continued independence as our objective, sound policies become simple.

THE END OF BOLSHEVISM

I see but one power strong enough to threaten our secure independence. That is the Soviet dictatorship. It is pledged in a thousand documents and by its atheistic, materialistic faith to subjugation of the whole world.

As John Foster Dulles' uncle (Wilson's Secretary of State), Robert Lansing, reported in 1919 to Henry Cabot Lodge, grandfather of our present U. N. ambassador: "The purpose of the Bolsheviks is to subvert the existing principles of government and society the world over. * * * They have built up a political machine, which, by the concentration of power in the hands of a few and the ruthlessness of its methods, suggests the Asiatic despotism of the early Tsars."

The Bolsheviks have confirmed this every day, and every month, and every year since then. So successful have they been in their beastliness, so many uncounted millions has their mere suspicion sent to execution, that one can only consider Lansing's comparison an unwarranted reflection on Ivan the Terrible and Genghis Khan.

Using the atheistic ideology of Marx, organized in a ruthless conspiracy of the utmost cruelty, they now rule more than one-third of mankind. They are well on their way to the seizure of a second third who live in south and southeast Asia and the Middle East.

Yet, we have the better ideology. Without propaganda and without conspiratorial organization, it flourishes in the hearts of the oppressed. Under extreme provocation it drives the unarmed farmers of China to turn on their oppressors, tear them limb from limb, and then flee to the guerrillas in the mountains. Under provocation, it drove the supposedly indoctrinated teen-agers of Budapest to attack Russian tanks with bottles of gasoline.

Just today the New York Times has another of its reports from Hong Kong quoting the Chinese Communist press as greatly concerned by growing "internal unrest and dissension."

When we somehow find leadership equally inspired by love of freedom, faith in man, and believe in God, our ideology will be irresistible. The evil dictatorships of Moscow, Peking, and the other satellites will vanish. A new world will arise from the wreckage.

When that happy day dawns Harold Stassen may relax from his labors. With fears removed, excessive armament will be discarded.

Then, more than ever, we will need courage and wisdom to enforce that international law and order which alone can clear the way for reconstruction, and permit us and the world to live without the constant alarms of war.

PAX AMERICANA

To accomplish this we must insist that all nations observe certain minimum standards of law and equity in their international relations. When these are infringed, we must insist on adjudication of the developing disputes before the International Court. And we should be ready to enforce compliance with its decisions either alone or in cooperation with other nations willing to accept our leadership.

To turn from such a statement of general policies to the unpleasant realities of the present, what would this policy have meant in Poznan? In Budapest? In Suez?

It would have meant previous contact with and armed aid to the rioters of Poznan, and the fighters of Budapest.

Does that sound like a big order? Just bear in mind that the Soviet Union sent arms, money, and direction to Communist rebels all over the world. Did it get Moscow into war? Quite the contrary. Just as we did not retaliate with nuclear war when we found Moscow rebels in Guatemala, or shooting Madame Quezon near Manila, or even in our own State Department, so a little counteraction on our part will not make the cold war hotter. In short, in this cockeyed world, aid to rebels is not the road to war.

Next, what would it have meant in Suez? It would have meant the insistence on submission of all—repeat all—disputes in the Near and Middle East to the International Court. We would inform recalcitrant nations that if they refused adjudication, they would find themselves lined up against their neighboring enemies plus us. It would mean our President could attend to business instead of wearing himself out trying to play Solomon between all the many pressures, including, not least, our own Jewish voters, and our "oilionaire" campaign contributors.

Solomon was too wise to suggest that there was any easy solution for the then thousand-year-old hates of the Mideast.

While it is true that most international problems are settled by negotiation, there remains a residue in which extreme emotion or cupidity prevents compromise. For those problems the alternatives to negotiation have always been either adjudication, or war, or continued disagreement. By introducing the politically composed and politically motivated U. N. as a new alternative, we seem to have enlarged the number of nations involved in each dispute, thus increasing the difficulty of a just settlement. Secretary Dulles' speech last Monday to the Associated Press luncheon in New York was an encouraging, though modest, step toward principle and away from expediency, compromise, appeasement, and betrayal. Unfortunately, he proposed implementation by the politically inspired, log-rolling, Alger Hiss-designed, U. N.

Adjudication, that is submission to arbitration or the International Court, has been the American tradition toward civilized nations. Especially should it be the first course of John Foster Dulles, former chairman of the Carnegie Endowment for International

Peace, set up for that purpose. Toward the Soviet dictators we should exhibit unyielding firmness.

Commenting on Prime Minister Macmillan's formal abandonment of the "Empire on Which the Sun Never Sets" and his planned 50 percent cut in military forces, the editor of the New York Times said a week ago Sunday: Either we follow Britain's example ("planned suicide" he called it) or a new deal with the Kremlin ("planned surrender" as he did not call it). Failing to see any alternatives other than to be an atomic sitting duck or to be rooked again by the Reds, he begged Washintgon * * * (for) plans * * * strong and simple. Maybe he will like my sum up.

First, we must aim to destroy the Soviet dictatorship by means short of war, if possible. Let us therefore break relations with the Communist tyrannies and offer our friendship to their 900 million subjects.

Then we must move to neutralize Soviet power by isolating it from the free world, and by creating troubles for it that will drain its power and weaken its grip on the masses it enslaves.

At the same time we must destroy its fifth column everywhere, starting here at home.

Success in the above measures would be the surest preventive of all-out war.

As a further preventive we must leave no doubt that we wish to avoid war but will fight, rather than surrender piecemeal.

In this first phase of our policy—the weakening and eventual destruction of the Soviet dictatorship—we should form alliances for the duration of that emergency only, in accordance with Washington's precepts. Because we are already involved in 42 alliances of one sort or another, we must, as George Washington said, fulfill them. That is, so long as our allies do likewise, and only so long.

In this prosperous world of 1957 we should regard with the utmost skepticism those so-called Allies who cannot pay their way, or whose reputation is so bad that they can neither borrow in the markets of the world, nor attract foreign enterprise. Let's get our Government out of the business of taxing the American people to lend, or give, to socialist dictatorships abroad; or even democratic peoples who will neither tax themselves, nor raise the armed forces needed for their own defense.

THE AMERICAN VISION

Because we covet the land of no other nation, nor its people, nor its property—not even its oil or its wives—Washington's admonition "that honesty is always the best policy" in public as in private affairs, still applies. Secret promises, secret betrayals, secret diplomacy are not for us.

As Washington said, we can offer "Harmony and a liberal intercourse" to all nations, except those who prefer to be our enemies. In such cases we should still offer that friendship to their people, including the people behind the Iron Curtain, whom we should help to overthrow their tyrants.

Washington said that because of "our detached and distance situation * * * the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance * * * when we may choose peace or war, as our interest guided by justice, shall counsel."

That period arrived, as he predicted, after the War of 1812. It lasted until the Wright Brothers flew a Kitty Hawk.

There are no more "distant situations;" certainly not on this planet. And, maybe soon, not on the moon. We can thank God that Washington was right; that our strength came first before "distant situations" were abolished. Let us pray for wisdom and courage in using that strength, and in exercising the world leadership which is ours, whether we wish it or not.

In such a world as I have suggested, with American leadership dedicated to the cause of justice, the U. N. can serve a useful purpose. It should be a town meeting of the world; nothing more. In other words, the organized "opinions of mankind" to which Thomas Jefferson addressed himself.

BACK TO GEORGE WASHINGTON AGAIN

All this that I have outlined, is a shortened form of the foreign policy statement of the Citizens' Foreign Relations Committee, a group of Americans of diplomatic, military, and foreign affairs backgrounds.

It is a return to the advice of George Washington; modified by the fact that the farthest spot in the world is today closer to our Capital than New York was in his day, or than Mexico was when Monroe proclaimed his doctrine.

I do not suggest that an agreed-on set of national objectives and overall policies for their gradual attainment, is all we need. Of course, we need intelligent, competent, even brilliant, and, above all, dedicated Americans to carry them out. But no amount of competence, intelligence, or even dedication can save us from eventual disaster unless all work as a team toward stated goals, with unified efforts.

With wisdom to match our strength, and courage to match our traditions, we may now turn from binding wounds to preventing them. We are the first people in history to be offered this opportunity. Do we have the vision to grasp it?

Resolution of New York State Federation of Chapters No. 13, National Association of Retired Civil Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, on the first day of this session I introduced a measure to increase the annuities payable to people who have already retired from the civil service. This introduction was prompted not only by a fine presentation of the problem by a group of retired civil-service employees in my home city of Rochester, N. Y., but also by the increasingly clear fact that these people who have already left the service of their Government are not receiving a decent income.

My bill, H. R. 273, provides percentage increases based on retirement dates, and will go a long way toward assuring fair treatment for these people. In the last session of Congress we passed a measure for those still working for the Government. Surely, we owe just as much to those who have already retired.

This is a sound and just measure which deserves passage in this session of Congress, and I hope the committee will see fit to hold hearings on this and related proposals in the near future.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a resolution adopted by the New York State Federation of Chapters No. 13, National Association of Retired Civil Employees, at their convention held in Rochester, April 24 and 25. I am grateful to President George J. Sullivan of the association for sending me this resolution.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION 5, NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF CHAPTERS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED CIVIL EMPLOYEES, ROCHESTER, N. Y., APRIL 24–25, 1957

Whereas the highly respected publication, the U. S. News & World Report, in its issue of August 3, 1956, carried a very informative and detailed analysis of inflationary trends and showed the factual and statistical increases receive by numerous groups in the national economy, after allowances for taxes and changes in the dollars value; and

Whereas according to this report, after an analysis of 35 groups which represented approximately 95 percent of our population, it was found all these groups, based on 1939 incomes, were receiving larger real incomes, the increases ranging from 4 percent to 107 percent. However, the report carried the further shocking figure that civil retirees were down 13 percent or, in other words, were receiving 13 percent under the 1939 level, the report stating with reference to these retirees:

"People living on pensions are in trouble, unless their pensions are increased as the cost of living rises. This rarely happens. Payments to retired Federal workers, for example, are adjusted by Congress only occasionally. Last year, these payments were increased an average of 10 percent. But this still left such retired workers worse off than in 1939"; and

Whereas civil retirees have suffered greatly and out of all proportion to other groups due to rapidly rising prices, which would represent even greater losses as of this date; and

Whereas 147 bills have been introduced in the House and the Senate during the 1st session of the 85th Congress to increase the annuities of civil-service retirees: Therefore be it

Resolved, That all Members of Congress from the State of New York are urged to use their powerful influence to have early hearings scheduled by the Senate and House Post Office and Civil Service Committees on this legislation and early action on same by the Senate and the House of Representatives and that we express our appreciation to the New York Members of Congress for their past interest in our welfare; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the 2 New York State United States Senators and the 43 New York State Representatives in Congress.

Adopted unanimously at Rochester, N. Y., this 25th day of April 1957.

GEORGE J. SULLIVAN,
President.
ELIZABETH DEEGAN GREEN,
Secretary.

Junking of Soil Bank Could Result in Greater Evils

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, hereafter follows a very wise and well-reasoned editorial in the Tampa Morning Tribune of May 18 in which is very effectively pointed out the necessity of giving the soil bank a chance to work, to determine its weaknesses and attempt to

cure them before advancing a new program and, to be aware of the risk in flying from known shortcomings of present farm policies to the unknown, but possibly greater evils, of other programs.

Before junking a relatively new vehicle on which less than a year's mileage has been run it would seem wise to have the mechanics diagnose the shortcomings and advise as to needed repairs, and even wiser to have the right garage—the Agriculture Committee—and not the wrong one—the Appropriations Committee—service the vehicle, and the right dealer—the Agriculture Committee—advise the House as to what new model is available as a substitute and how much it will cost.

The editorial follows:

NEW LOOK AT FARM POLICY

Anyone who has ever lived on a farm knows that it is sometimes easier for a cat to get up a tree than to get down again. Once out on a high enough limb, the cat may know it must come down but it is terrified to let go.

Secretary of Agriculture Benson, who is himself a farmer, ought to have a good deal of sympathy for this predicament. For it is quite like the situation in which he finds the Government's farm program.

Mr. Benson is up a tree because (1) many farmers are not sharing fully in the current national prosperity and (2) overproduction and the resulting surpluses of farm commodities, which were pushed higher and higher through the continuation of high, rigid price supports after World War II, brought in their wake elaborate experiments in Government control of the farmers.

The Secretary of Agriculture has worked earnestly to reduce the surpluses. He wants a farm program that will cost the taxpayers less money. He sincerely hopes the farmers can eventually be returned to a free market.

Yet, at the same time, Secretary Benson is quite nervous over the prospect of these things happening too fast. And well he might be. Past actions have put the farm situation so far up the tree that no one can be sure just what will happen when it starts to come back to the ground.

There is, for example, Mr. Benson's fear as to what will happen should the Senate follow the House in voting to junk the major part of the Eisenhower administration's soil bank program.

The Secretary undoubtedly is aware of the loopholes in the program. Surely he has listened to the charges that millions have wasted in its operations without materially reducing production. He realizes that the House action is the first step toward reducing the heavy cost of the farm program.

Nevertheless, he criticized the House move as false economy. He said the soil bank plan had not been given a real test and warned there would be a further pileup of costly surpluses if the program was eliminated in haste.

The official who is presiding so ably and courageously over the Department of Agriculture has a point there. But he offers an even more important one in advising the Nation to be alert to the dangers of flying from known shortcomings of present farm policies to the unknown, but possibly greater evils, of other programs.

Thus, while Secretary Benson may be nervous at the thought of letting go, he at least realizes the Nation cannot stay forever on the dangerous limb.

Certainly it is wise to survey the chief weaknesses in the program now in effect. If Congress will also take a hard look at agricultural realities and the extent to which farmers have become dependent upon Government aid, some hope of working out more lasting and more economical adjustments may emerge.

The Scarlet Symphony

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following chapter from the book Blood in the Streets, by Albert C. Hicks, a book which chronicles the life and tyrannical rule of Generalissimo Trujillo of the Dominican Republic:

THE SCARLET SYMPHONY

Up in the north where the mountains and valleys roll gracefully through the lands of the Dominicans and the Haitians, there winds the long Massacre River, so-called because in the 18th century a gang of buccaneers was caught by Spanish troops with its loot and slaughtered along its banks. Here Massacre River serves admirably as a natural boundary between the two countries.

Border towns, Dominican and Haitian, dot the area: Ouanaminthe in Haiti, Dajabon in Santo Domingo just across the way, and Banica, also Dominican, are the principal outposts, all connected by scores of small and large settlements.

In September 1937 border incidents were becoming more numerous, and Trujillo's troops were massing. Now and then they were catching a Haitian, hungry, penniless, stealing across the border at night and laying felonious hands upon Dominican cattle, a donkey, or produce. They were killed as thieves, and then there were the thousands of invited Haitians who worked the American-owned sugar plantations, and at countless other pursuits, since the boom days of 1918. They had been increasing in number ever since. By now more than 200,000 Haitians lived in the Dominican Republic, most of them near the border or on the great plantations in the provinces of Monte Christy and Santiago. But there wasn't enough work for all. The price of sugar had long since crashed and the boom had spent itself. What to do with these Haitians who were no longer an asset? The benefactor of the Fatherland had not yet given an official answer. But meanwhile the Dominican troops could with impunity kill a Haitian now and then.

Rafael Trujillo had made a trip or two along the border area. In Dajabon he heard good news. During the past few weeks many Haitians had been killed in the area. It was a start in the right direction, but there must be several hundred more.

That pact of eternal friendship between Haiti and Santo Domingo, signed in 1935 by Trujillo and Vincent—had the dictator forgotten it? Probably. There is no evidence that Trujillo had signed the pledge for any other reason than to force the return of the exiled Dominicans, and the maneuver had not forced them back. It had only scattered them through Latin American countries.

Not so with President Stenio Vincent. He remembered it. Well enough to recall it later.

October came, and with it, many rumors. More than the usual number of Haitians could be seen crossing the bridge over the Massacre River at Dajabon early in the evening. They had heard of mass murders in the town of Banica. But there was no panic. There were those who said that Dominican soldiers had stabbed and macheted dozens of Haitians. Perhaps 8 or 10 or a dozen or 15—but dozens. Absurd. But as absurd as it sounded, there were those Haitians who preferred the safety of their soil across the river. And by dusk the trickle across the bridge at Dajabon had grown into a steady stream of black humanity.

In the town of Dajabon there was great activity in the church. Small and large Dominican flags were being placed around the room used for social gatherings. Someone carefully dusted the portrait of the Benefactor of the Fatherland, Generalissimo Rafael L. Trujillo Molina, the President of the Dominican Republic. For there was to be a dance the next night and the guest of honor would be the President.

Rumor of sudden death in Banica spread through the night and gained momentum through the following day. During the night hundreds had been killed, according to the rumor. Hundreds. Haitians arrived in Dajabon to tell of it. And the exodus of blacks increased.

That night, the night of October 2, people crowded into the church. Others, swarming outside, stood and waited and listened to the music within. Many in the crowd were Haitians. The rumor of death in Banica had dissipated itself. And they stood with Dominicans in the crowd waiting outside the church. Soon the moment for which they waited came. A caravan of automobiles pulled into the road and came to a halt before the church. A squad of soldiers came quickly to attention before the familiar Packard. As El Generalissimo stepped out there was much saluting, the crowd of curious gave way, murmuring, and Rafael Trujillo, smiling broadly, hurried into the church.

The dancing came to a halt. The President stood before the assembled Dominicans, and before those outside crowding round the windows. Trujillo, on this occasion, had no long-winded speech to make. It was brief and very much to the point.

"I came to the border country to see what I could do for my fellow countrymen living here. I found that Haitians had been stealing food and cattle from our farmers here. I found that Dominicans would be happier if we got rid of the Haitians." God's partner, the savior of the Republic, paused, stamped his foot, and raising his hand added slowly, throwing great emphasis on each of his words: "I will fix that. Yesterday 300 Haitians were killed at Banica. This must continue."

Elsewhere throughout the country, soldiers of El Generalissimo's army had already received their orders.

In an inland town an army captain and his senora laid their napkins down as they finished the first course of their evening meal. Their servant was no longer young. She had been with the family for several decades. Her hair was gray against her black face. She entered the dining room to clear the table. The captain rose from his chair, picked up the carving knife and before the gray, old woman realized what her master was doing, the captain had sunk the blade into her breast. The piercing cry that stabbed the night air came from the throat of the horrified senora. The servant, at her feet, had made only a few gurgling sounds and had died. For a considerable period after that day the captain's wife had to live locked in a room in a sanatorium, a raving maniac. She couldn't understand that her husband was simply acting on orders from El Generalissimo.

In every town and every village in the Provinces of Monte Cristy and Santiago, Negroes were dragged from their homes, lined up in streets and hacked at with machetes. Seldom were guns used. The machete looks like a butcher's instrument. Its blade is 2 to 3 feet long. Used primarily to fell brush and cut the sugarcane, it is rarely finely sharpened. It tears rather than cuts.

Here and there gunfire was heard above the cries of the Haitians. But most of the shots were killing mutinous Dominican soldiers. Great numbers were refusing to obey the orders of the "benefactor of the fatherland."

Soldiers and Dominican farmers were stationed up and down Massacre River, and were bunched at bridges. As the panic-stricken, defenseless Haitians sought the safety of their own land, machetes flashed through the night. The President had hurried on after his few words in the church at Dajabon, and now the bridge there was rapidly piling high with bodies. Officers barking commands sent some soldiers to clear the bridge of mangled blacks. They were thrown into the river or along the river's banks. And the piles of blood-soaked blacks at the entrance to the bridge grew higher and higher.

The soldiers' arms were growing weary swinging machetes, and as dawn approached it was becoming increasingly apparent that great numbers of Haitians were gaining asylum across the river. So the soldiers threw their machetes away and used their rifles. As dawn came and they could take aim, they stood along the banks of the river and knocked off the fleeing Haitians. Their Krag rifles were scorching their hands well before the sun was high in the sky.

Outside the town of La Vega there is a hill called Santo Cerro, and on it is the church of Santo Cerro. The Italian-born pastor of the church, Father Francisco Fantino, lived in an adjoining house. He was well along in years and greatly venerated by Dominicans. He had come to Santo Domingo as a young priest. As the years advanced he gave materially as well as spiritually to all persons, whatever their color or faith. Once he took under his care two small, forlorn abandoned Haitian boys who grew up in his household as healthy youngsters. One was 10 and the other 12 when Trujillo's soldiers arrived at Santo Cerro to carry out their orders. It was late in the afternoon. The boys were busy preparing dinner for themselves and Father Fantino.

When the padre saw the soldiers coming he was not surprised. He had been fearing that moment. He met them a short distance from the church. He pleaded with them not to take the boys. They explained they had their orders. He, too, had his orders, God's orders that "Thou shalt not kill." But there was "God and Trujillo" and the soldiers had Trujillo's orders. They must. With apologies they swept Father Fantino aside and took the two boys. Father Fantino entered his church, but before he could reach the altar he heard first one and then a second shot ring out.

For a few hours through the heat of midday the slaughtering came practically to a standstill.

Bodies were strewn up and down the banks of the river, and the ravines scattered through the hills were almost leveled by black corpses. Trujillo's soldiers, rounding up groups of Haitians, had tied them together, had decapitated one at a time with machetes, and had thrown the headless torsos into the nearest ravine. Blood-smeared heads lay in heaps alongside the roads.

Though during the day the pace of the killing had slowed, had almost come to a standstill, all through the land Haitians were still being rounded up. In the city of Santiago, northern metropolis, 1,900 Haitians had been herded into a courtyard surrounded by Government buildings. They were in groups of 10 and 30 and 50, shackled together, their hands secured behind their backs.

When the executioners were ready to carry out their orders it was late in the afternoon. If they could have set machineguns up and turned them on the massed Haitians, the worst would have been over in a few minutes and the executioners home in time for dinner. But Trujillo had given orders to use guns only in an emergency, to rely upon the more primitive weapons, and for a very good reason, as we shall see presently.

The soldiers chosen for the Santiago job were a picked squad of sadists. They entered the courtyard gripping great and small clubs, jagged clubs, smooth clubs, iron bars. The cries of the Haitians rose up out of the courtyard and filled the city. Despite the heat, many residents of Santiago closed their doors and shutters to shut out the horrified cries of more than a thousand terrorized Haitians screaming for help. Some of the 1,900 Haitians knelt in silent prayer, but others were too terrified to utter a sound.

Out of the courtyard and into the night a long line of trucks and wagons filled with the horribly mangled bodies of the 1,900 Haitian citizens moved through the streets of Santiago and out into the country. Ravines in the hills nearby were piled high with the dead.

Behind them the trucks and wagons left a trail of blood, from courtyard to ravines.

"This must continue." The benefactor of the fatherland, the latter half of the partnership of "God and Trujillo," had said. And it did, into its second night.

In the cities located near the sea these same macabre caravans continued through the night and on into the next day. Then they loaded small and large fishing boats, stuffing holds and cabins with black, mangled bodies, and piling them high on decks. During these first October days in 1937 in the waters about Santo Domingo, the sharks did not go hungry for want of human flesh.

By the morning of October 4, the massacre had spent itself. Tales of the horror immediately spread through the Dominican Republic and Haiti, tales of brutalities unequaled in modern history. Groups of Haitians here, groups there, hacked to death with machetes, stabbed to death with knives, shot with Krag rifles. Haitian homes raided, whole families wiped out, babies beaten to death against trees and sides of houses, tossed on bayonets.

The tales were endless and investgations several weeks later proved them all to be true.

On the Haitian side of Massacre River, and in Ouanaminthe in particular, homes and hospitals and churches and schools were filled with wounded and dying—filled with little girls and little boys, grown men and women, with legs or arms chopped off, with heads split by machetes, bodies with gaping, torn wounds, or the neatly sliced wound of a knife, or a fine round hole drilled by a bullet.

Immediately following the massacre, the number of Haitian dead was unknown. For several days each district thought it alone was the victim of Rafael Trujillo's soldiers. Reports, like election returns, drifted in. Three-hundred-odd bodies counted here, eight-hundred-odd in another place, 50 in a small village, more than 5,000 in the Monte Cristy and Santiago areas, some 3,000 in the city of Dajabon. The exact number will never be known, but with time it has been possible to name a minimum figure of 12,000 dead, and a maximum figure of 20,000, although estimates have run as high as 25,000 dead. And all within the brief space of 2 nights and 1 day.

Now Stenio Vincent could see—in his sleep as well as his waking hours—the great piles of bodies of his brutally mangled countrymen. President Vincent told Quentin Reynolds, on the scene later to make a report of the ghastly events for Colliers, "What can we do? We are not a warlike people."

The President's dilemma was understandable. The Haitians aren't warriors. Nor was Haiti geared for war in any other manner against the highly organized totalitarianism of the tyrant Trujillo.

Rafael Trujillo was wise enough to want to keep the facts of the massacre secret. He quickly clamped on a censorship that extended over the whole of Haiti as well as the Dominican Republic. How he succeeded in keeping President Vincent and the Haitian press wordless on the subject is still a secret. Certainly this was the moment for Vincent to cry the facts to the world. But his lips were sealed.

No doubt Rafael Trujillo told Vincent what he was later to give as an official explanation:

A deplorable incident, one he greatly regretted. But his soldiers did the killing—No, his soldiers did not. The killings were done with machetes and knives by angry Dominican farmers. His soldiers use rifles.

But rifles were used. Bullets from Krag rifles were found in Haitian bodies. And the Dominican Army used Krag rifles. A lie. The Haitians were all killed by machetes and knives in the hands of Dominican farmers angered by Haitians who had been stealing their livestock and their produce.

That speech of Dajabon? Rafael Trujillo did not make it, reports to the contrary notwithstanding. But later there were scores of affidavits to prove he made the speech, and all the witnesses agreed on what he said.

All of Us Are the State Department's Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, both Houses have cut the State Department's budget too deeply, in my opinion, at the very time when our hopes for peace depend largely on the adequacy of our diplomacy. And only as the State Department succeeds in getting solutions to our complicated international problems will it be possible to get real economy in our national budget through then being able safely to reduce spending for our Defense Establishment.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following recent editorial from the Minneapolis Star:

IT'S OUR DEPARTMENT

Not too long ago, a school of international relations was established in an eastern college. The idea was that its graduates would serve the United States Government and American business overseas.

To date, no graduate has gone into Government service. All, with shrewd young eyes on the future, have accepted private business offers of better pay, more chance for promotion, longer (often fully paid) home leaves, etc. Other, similar schools have seen the same thing happen to their graduates.

Yet the future, continued success of American business overseas, and even the security of this Nation, depends on the loyalty, dedication and efficiency of our official representation abroad.

Congress should be appropriating money to offer bonus incentives to Foreign Service officers for learning additional foreign languages. Instead the House has slashed the funds for the Foreign Service Institute, which is charged with foreign language training.

Congress should be appropriating funds to enlarge the Foreign Service personnel so that—among other good reasons—men may be occasionally detached from active duty for further advanced training. Instead the House would provide less than half as many

recruits as the State Department has modestly requested.

And so on.

The State Department is by no means perfect. It has only belatedly given priority to the language matter, and in many of its transfers it still shows too little regard for the language qualifications of the men involved.

But now that the Department is making an effort to improve its situation, it should be encouraged rather than rewarded with the kind of treatment it is now getting in Congress.

Someone has suggested that State Department and foreign-aid budgets get rough handling from Congress because they have no constituents. There are no State Department contractors intervening with lawmakers as is the case with the military budget; there are no local partisans writing Congressmen on behalf of State Department funds as they write on behalf of local bridges, post offices, Federal courthouses, etc.

If this is true, it's time—past time—that Americans in every part of the country realized, and let their Congressmen know they realize, that we are all the State Department's constituents and all have a vital stake in its budget.

NAACP Lobbying on United States Property

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the May 17, 1957, issue of the Shreveport Journal:

NAACP LOBBYING ON UNITED STATES PROPERTY

Federal law specifically prohibits use of Government property by any lobbying group for assembly to exert pressure in efforts to achieve legislative objectives.

Time and again, however, the NAACP—one of the most powerful and influential lobbying organizations in the Nation's history—has been able to obtain permits to assemble in Federal auditoriums and on Government grounds in Washington to howl for its objective of total racial integration.

For 3 hours today all traffic avenues in the vicinity of the Lincoln Memorial at Washington are being roped off to permit some 50,000 Negroes and interracialists to assemble and "ask God's help" in passage of pending force bills, which they refer to as "civil rights" legislation.

Thanks to the efforts of a determined southern leadership in Congress, dedicated to the preservation of States rights and constitutional Government, chances are that the NAACP's "March on Washington" will not succeed this year.

It is nevertheless puzzling to law-abiding people as to just how the NAACP is able to prevail upon Washington's bureaucratic brass hats to violate the law and give the organization permission to assemble on Federal property for lobbying purposes.

The situation inspires the question:

What would the custodians of Washington assembly halls and grounds do with an application from the citizens councils to stage a rally on Federal property?

Pay Increase for Postal Clerks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a letter from the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Local 125, Minneapolis, Minn., signed by its president, Patrick J. Nilan, and Raymond R. Mattson, legislative chairman, regarding a salary increase for post-office clerks.

The letter follows:

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
POST OFFICE CLERKS,
LOCAL NO. 125,
Minneapolis, Minn., May 13, 1957.

To Our Friends in the United States Congress:

We have taken the liberty to make a few brief statements as to the reasons the post-office clerks are now asking for a salary increase and hope you will find time to help us in securing the salary bills now before the committees in Congress.

Postal employees have a right to a wage that is at least fairly comparable to wages paid in private industry for people of equal skill, intelligence and training, and to conditions which the Federal Government itself requires private industry to establish and maintain for its employees. That is the core of our requests, it is the basis for the bills that have been introduced in the Congress, and it is the objective for which we strive. The salary bills are H. R. 2474 in the House and S. 27 in the Senate.

In the last 6 years, we have received one small salary raise and that came with the reclassification bill with biweekly pay periods, showing no increase in the paycheck. Our people in the postal system are required, by necessity, to work part-time jobs, have our wives work, our children are forced out of schools and colleges, all in order to provide our families with a bare minimum existence, which is not possible now with our present paychecks. The salary legislation now before Congress would recognize the inadequate salaries paid all post-office employees within the service. Dollarwise, post-office clerks in 1939 were the highest paid among 33 groups included in a survey from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Earnings and Hours Series. Today, in 1957, they rank 22d among this same group and only 11 of those included in the survey have a smaller gross weekly wage. The 33 groups referred to in this survey are a representative cross-section of the working population and does not include the building trades, whose work is regarded as seasonal.

Postal workers have fallen far behind during the last 8 years in salary adjustments and now get from $1,000 to $2,000 less a year for work requiring similar skills. During the last 3 years post-office personnel has been increased by only 3 percent, while the volume of work has increased 11 percent in the same period.

Recruitment of personnel has also become a major problem due to the inadequate salaries. The new man, or "sub" as he is referred to, comes into the Post Office with high regard to the caliber of position he has, and, for a while, working 11, 12, or more hours a day, earns a decent wage. However, upon being promoted from a "sub" to a "regular" clerk or carrier he no longer can work the unlimited hours as before, and he now takes a salary drop, enough to make him leave the service after he has just about become a qualified clerk or carrier. His basic salary upon becoming a regular employee is $3,660 per year, which leaves him $120 every 2 weeks for a family of 3 after deductions, not including any State taxes or bond deductions. The great turnover of postal people results from the low salary paid when a man or woman gets the "regular" status. Now, in many offices it is difficult, if not impossible, to recruit the high caliber of post-office employee that is desired for the safe and proper handling of the United States mail, because of the inadequate salaries.

May we bring to your attention the salary resolution approved unanimously by the Minnesota State Legislature and signed by Gov. Orville L. Freeman on March 8, 1957. To shorten this we will give you the resolves:

"Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota (with the Senate concurring) endorses a salary schedule for the postal employees commensurate with that of private industry and which will give adequate recognition of the increased productivity of postal employees; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Presiding Officers of the Senate and the House of Representatives and to each Member of Congress from the State of Minnesota."

This demonstrates our Minnesota Legislature recognizes the need for a salary adjustment to meet the increased cost of living and increased productivity of postal employees.

Also let us add, from the remarks of Congressman EDWIN H. MAY, JR., of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives on Wednesday, March 20, 1957:

"Within the memory of man now living, the postal service was a career that men entered proudly, and carried on with unflagging devotion. But times have changed. Wages have lagged and working conditions have either deteriorated or remained static. And that once splendid morale has also begun to disappear. That is the priceless ingredient that makes the difference in postal service. The Postmaster General who first recognizes this fact will be a great one."

Now, morale is a great factor in employment, be it on a beach in Normandy or in the post office in Minneapolis. We can tell you that we do not have that factor in our office in Minneapolis, simply because so many have regretted even entering the service and now living with an eternal struggle to try to get by. Our office in Minneapolis never had so many complaints about unpaid debts as are coming in now, and the Postal Manual, section 744.434 states, "Employees shall meet their obligations promptly so there will be no cause for embarrassment or criticism." But, in the face of our present salary we have no alternative but to be subject to criticism under this article. Last month the Government reported that the cost of living had reached an alltime high for the sixth consecutive month. Postal employees are caught in the middle, on static salary and no "bargaining rights." The President requested the Heller Associates to make a survey in a large midwestern city in 1955, the purpose being to find out how much money is required for a family or four to live comfortably. The report showed the salary to be $5,440 a year. Top grade post office clerks, level 4, now get $4,410 or $1,000 less a year than it took 2 years ago to live comfortably.

If we may continue, we would like to illustrate a few items from the Minneapolis Star-Journal and the Minneapolis Morning Tribune that have been printed in recent weeks.

These statements refute the argument that we (postal employees) are starting a new round of inflation, which some people in Washington are suggesting:

"CONTRACTORS REACH ACCORD WITH EIGHT UNIONS

"As of yesterday, the Associated General Contractors agreement provides for a 15-cent hourly increase with additional 15-cent increases May 1, 1958, and May 1, 1959. It put the following wage scales into effect: Carpenters, $3.15 an hour; cement masons, $3.25 an hour; laborers, $2.40 an hour, etc.

"PAY BOOST AVERTS CITY MILK STRIKE

"Inside workers and drivers will receive pay increases of 13 cents an hour. Rates of inside workers will go to $2.53 an hour.

"DISTRICT 89 TEACHERS GET $200 HIKES

"District 89 is the Golden Valley independent school district, located just west of the city of Minneapolis.

"PAY BOOSTS OF 15 CENTS SET FOR PLASTERERS

"The increase effective now brings their scale to $3.25 an hour, with similar boosts of 15 cents each May 1 during the 3 years of the contract.

"PAY INCREASE ORDERED FOR SERVICEMEN

"This is a direct result of the study made by the Cordiner committee.

"FOUR HUNDRED COUNTY EMPLOYEES VOTED PAY HIKE—CITY RECOMMENDS 15-PERCENT PAY INCREASES FOR LABORERS AND TRUCKDRIVERS

"Laborers effected now are making $2.25 to $2.93 an hour, drivers $2.30 an hour before this increase will take effect."

In the light of all these recent pay increases, only since May 1, 1957, in Minneapolis, how can anyone state, with any authority, that the proposed raise for postal employees will start a new round of wage increases, and start a new inflation spiral. We are barely hanging on and would like to get an increase, to bring us up to where we can pay our just debts.

Very truly yours,

PATRICK J. NILAN,
President, Local 125, NFPOC.
RAYMOND R. MATTSON,
Legislative Chairman, Local 125, NFPOC.

Millers Ferry Dam: Alabama-Coosa Rivers, Ala. and Ga., Alabama River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following hearing before the Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works, House of Representatives, 85th Congress, 1st session, May 20, 1957, relating to appropriation for planning funds Millers Ferry Dam: Alabama-Coosa Rivers, Ala. and Ga., Alabama River:

STATEMENT OF ROBERT F. HENRY, PRESIDENT OF THE COOSA-ALABAMA RIVER IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, INC.; ACCOMPANIED BY GEORGE L. CLEERE, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION; HON W. A. GAYLE, MAYOR, CITY OF MONTGOMERY, ALA.; ROBERT J. STALL, JR., INDUSTRIAL DIRECTOR, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, MONTGOMERY, ALA., AND OTHERS

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am delighted to appear before your committee today and have the opportunity to express the views of the membership of the Coosa-Alabama River Improvement Association, Inc., as well as the views of a majority of the political subdivisions, business and industrial firms, and many individual citizens throughout one of the greatest undeveloped river basins remaining within this nation—namely, the Alabama-Coosa River system.

It can be stated that the various interests throughout an area of approximately 23,000 square miles within the river basin, comprising the States of Alabama and Georgia, are now requesting that the development of this great river for navigation, production of hydroelectric power, and flood control be accomplished at the earliest practical date. We are asking today for approval of an appropriation in the amount of $150,000 for plans on the Millers Ferry Dam, located in Wilcox County, Ala., a part of an authorized project on the Alabama River.

In order that the members of your committee may have knowledge of the importance of this great river system, it is necessary that we here outline briefly the physical characteristics, water development needs and opportunities, and program to date.

The basin: The Alabama-Coosa River drains a long basin which extends from the Blue Ridge Mountains of southeast Tennessee and northwest Georgia diagonally across the State of Alabama to where the Tombigbee River joins it to form the Mobile River 45 miles north of Mobile, Ala. The basin, approximately 350 miles in length and averaging 70 miles in width, covers an area of 22,800 square miles. Topography varies from flat to gently rolling coastal plains in the south through broken hilly land in the north central and upper regions of the basin. There are extensive areas of wooded swamps along the lower Alabama River. The soils of the basin range in character from red clay in the Piedmont Plateau and heavy dark clays of the Black Belt area to sand-clay types in the lower coastal plains. The soils are generally highly productive with good management.

Forest: Approximately 30 percent of the land in the basin is in forests. Hardwood forests predominate in the headwater area and in the stream bottoms with pine and other softwoods in the southern part of the basin. Despite the reduction in forest resources, rapid growth has sustained a high output of timber products, proving the inherent productivity and the great recuperative powers of the Alabama-Coosa River Basin. The present rate of timber growth can be tripled if the growth capacity of the land is utilized. The forests of the basin can grow an average of 300 board feet of saw timber per acre per year. Alabama ranks third in the production of lumber in the southeastern region and the greater percentage of high-grade timber produced within the State is grown in this river basin. Within the basin there are great quantities of wood for use by the expanding pulp and paper industry.

Agriculture: Agriculture is a major activity throughout the basin area although only 25 percent of the land is cultivated and this is growing smaller each year. Another 12 percent is in grass and pastureland, and as previously stated, 60 percent of the area is in forest. Cotton and corn have been the principal farm products, but an increasing acreage has been and continues to be converted to grazing lands and other types of farming. Located in the basin, Montgomery, Ala., is the largest terminal livestock market east of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio Rivers. Farms are small and many are too small to serve as economic family units.

Minerals: Deposits of valuable minerals in commercial quantities are located within the river basin. Among these are: Petroleum, iron ores, coal, limestone, clays, glass sand, graphite, mica, manganese, bauxite, barite, marble, lignite, selma chalk, fullers earth, slate, tin, asbestos, gravel, sand, and others. Some of these have been mined for many years, others would be developed if the river system is made navigable.

Population: Based on the 1950 census there are approximately 1,400,000 people living in the Alabama-Coosa River Basin. In addition, the great cities of Birmingham, Ala., and Atlanta, Ga., lie just outside its boundaries. Birmingham is only approximately 30 miles from the Coosa, the main tributary of the Alabama River.

Approximately 75 percent of the people live in rural areas. The major centers are: Rome, Ga.; Anniston, Talladega, Montgomery, and Selma, Ala. These cities have had a substantial growth during the last 6 years and today it is estimated that the total population will exceed 284,000 people. There are 9 additional cities within the basin with a combined total population of approximately 86,000. In addition, there are 18 towns within the area that have a population in excess of 2,500 people each. There are also numerous small towns and communities throughout the entire basin. The major cities and towns are fairly evenly distributed.

Manufacturing: Certain types of manufacturing were established in the basin soon after the turn of the last century while others have had a longer history. Manufacturing has developed rapidly in the basin within the last two decades. The major industries are: iron and steel production and fabrication, textile and apparel manufacture, processing of wood products, fertilizers, industrial chemicals, electrical equipment, farm machinery and equipment, pulp and paper industry, food processing and confectionary products. There are many other products manufactured in the area, and industry has and continues to operate successfully. Many plants have been expanded in recent years, and new industry is moving into the basin. However, the fact that we do not have water transportation is retarding the growth and location of certain industries as evidenced by the factual data in the files of organizations throughout the river basin. As evidence of this fact we herewith recite the statement of the industrial division of the Chamber of Commerce of Montgomery, Ala., and it reads, as follows:

"It is our firm belief that the development of the Coosa-Alabama River system for navigation, flood control, power generation, recreation, and other benefits would greatly enhance our chances to attract new industry. We base the foregoing statement on the following:

"1. According to the best research among organizations such as the American Industrial Development Council and the Southern Industrial Development Council, water sites are becoming more and more important in plant location analysis. It is estimated that the availability of water, whether for transportation or processing, will be the No. 1 factor in all plant locations.

"2. Many location experts believe that transportation costs offer one of the few remaining opportunities for substantial savings in industrial production (1957 Site Selection Handbook Edition of Industrial Development magazine). It is a matter of record that transportation costs are less where water transportation is available. The availability of such transportation would, therefore, enable the entire Coosa-Alabama region to offer new and existing industries opportunities for increased savings.

"3. In 1936, there were 570 industrial-plant locations selected on waterside sites, an increase of 90 over 1955 and 124 over 1954 (Coosa-Alabama River Improvement Association, Newsbulletin, April 1957.)

"4. The illustrations given below have been purposely disguised as we are continuing to

promote Montgomery as a future location with these (and many other prospective industries), and confidential handling is of paramount importance. Records are on hand, however, to substantiate these remarks.

"(a) A national chemical concern: This company recently located a $20 million plant in the Southeast. On inquiring as to their reason for the location finally chosen, we were told by a company representative in October 1956 that water-transportation facilities was one of their main considerations. We were also told that 'had Montgomery had water-transportation facilities, considerably more attention would have been given to the possibility of a Montgomery site.'

"(b) A national mining and processing concern: This concern indicated a strong desire to be kept advised of river development in our area. Although no plans are known at this time for actual expansion, it was given to us that their future planning takes such eventualities as the need for water transportation into account.

"(c) A midwestern chemical concern: For the first time in over 40 years this concern is known to be embarking on an expansion program outside its home area. By the nature of its activities, it is easily seen that water transportation would be an important factor in any of their planning. This company also has requested that we keep them abreast of our river-development situation.

"(d) A leading chemical concern: During a recent discussion of their site, purchased a few years ago, it was brought out that the eventuality of water transportation was one of the considerations leading to their decision to buy a large site located on the Alabama River in our general area. It is felt that definite plans to proceed with development of the Alabama River from Montgomery to Rome might very well have considerable influence on the company's ultimate plans for this site.

"(e) A national automotive products manufacturer: Representatives have visited Montgomery on several occasions and definite interest has been shown in one site out of nearly a dozen possible. This site is on the river.

"NOTE.—The records pertaining to 4 (a) through 4 (e) are on file in the industrial division of the Montgomery Chamber of Commerce, Montgomery, Ala.

"5. Montgomery is blessed with a good network of railroads which many communities far larger cannot equal. Yet Montgomery has often been eliminated in location studies because of high transportation costs.

"These brief references provide, we believe, definite evidence that the future industrial growth of Montgomery and the entire Coosa-Alabama region depends in largest measure on the development of the Coosa and Alabama Rivers as proposed by the Coosa-Alabama Rivers Improvement Association."

Water development needs and opportunities: The development of the water resources of the Alabama-Coosa River Basin is a problem that must be recognized for its value, first, to the States of Alabama and Georgia, and then to strengthen this great Nation. The needs of the basin are great, because of the large number of people who must find employment in some endeavor other than agriculture if the production per man in farming is to increase enough to permit satisfactory living standards for many of the people. Harnessing this great river system promises to create opportunities for employment because water is abundant and the many good reservoir sites make possible the storage of large quantities of water which can be controlled to generate power, and to a great extent eliminate flood conditions. The dams would provide for water transportation that is needed now.

I am sure you gentlemen of this committee are fully aware of the great change in farming methods that has taken place in this Nation within the past few years. As stated heretofore, many farmers by virtue of the small acreage owned or rented cannot today produce sufficient income to properly sustain themselves and their families and many of the farmers throughout the basin fall into this category.

The larger farmers have mechanized their farms, thereby releasing labor heretofore required. The production of agricultural products per man has more than doubled in the past 5 years. More and more acreage each year is being taken out of cultivation and converted to grazing; this change is releasing large numbers of people from employment in agricultural products pursuits, thereby forcing them to seek employment in services or industry.

The development of the Alabama-Coosa River system would enable this area to secure additional industry that requires ample power and water transportation, thereby opening the way for these small farmers to retain their homes and supplement their incomes by employment in industry.

The major problem of the Alabama-Coosa Basin is the provision of adequate economic opportunities for its people. Two broad approaches to the basic problem of the area are apparent. One is to provide additional employment opportunities, the other is to make possible higher incomes for the people who remain in agriculture by improved land use. The latter is now being accomplished to some extent and the trend of better land use is definitely beneficial. The other problem remains but could be rectified to a great degree by development of this great waterway for navigation and other purposes to permit the expansion of industrial activity throughout the basin.

Incidentally, government reports have stated: The southern Appalachian Mountain area is the largest source of undeveloped water available south of the Great Lakes. The Alabama-Coosa River headwaters rise in these mountains and is the second largest river from that source. The Tennessee River is the only one that exceeds it in volume. To date no start has been made on a congressional authorized project after 20 long years of waiting patiently for 2 multiple-purpose dams and 1 navigation dam to be constructed on the Alabama section of this great river system. Again repeating, we are here today to respectfully request an appropiration of $150,000 for planning and design of the Millers Ferry Dam by the present session of Congress. The need for this waterway improvement is urgent.

The tributaries of the Alabama River at the present time have six water-use structures that are now in operation. The Alabama Power Co., a private utility, owns 6 hydroelectric plants, 3 on the Coosa River, and 3 on the Tallapoosa River: One Federal owned hydroelectric plant (Allatoona) is located on the Etowah River in the State of Georgia. The privately owned plants generate less than 25 percent of the potential power of the river system.

In 1945 the 79th Congress, 1st session, enacted Public Law 14 which reads in part:

"Alabama-Coosa River, Ala.: Initial and ultimate development of the Alabama-Coosa River and tributaries for navigation, flood control, power development, and other purposes, as outlined in House Doucment No. 414, 77th Congress, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the plans being prepared by the Chief of Engineers with such modifications thereof from time to time as in the discretion of the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers may be advisable for the purpose of increasing the development of hydroelectric power; and that for the initiation and accomplishment of the ultimate plan appropriations are authorized in such amounts as Congress may from time to time determine to be advisable, the total of such appropriations not to exceed the sum of $60 million. The aforesaid authorization and approval shall include authorities for all powerhouses, power machinery and appurtenances found to be desirable by the Secretary of War upon the recommendation of the Chief of Engineers and the Federal Power Commission."

The authorized project referred to above consists of 2 multiple-purpose dams and 1 navigation dam on the Alabama River, namely, Claiborne, Millers Ferry and Jones Bluff. The latter two are the multiple purpose dams. Originally the authorization included one multiple purpose dam on the Coosa River at Howell Mill Shoals. The dam on the Coosa River was eliminated from the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, plans and the authorized project by reason of application for license by the Alabama Power Co. to construct four hydroelectric dams on this river as set out in Public Law 436, chapter 408, 83d Congress, 2d session. The action by Congress in enacting Public Law 436 in no way effects the three dams authorized on the Alabama River as set out in section 13 of Public Law 436 herewith quoted:

"SEC. 13. Nothing in this act shall be deemed to affect in any way the authorization of the development of the Alabama-Coosa River and tributaries other than that portion of the development involving projects on the Coosa River or the authority of the Federal Power Commission to issue a license for the complete development of the Coosa River by States or municipalities under section 7 (a) of the Federal Power Act or to find under section 7 (b) of said act that the development should be undertaken by the United States itself."

House Document No. 414, 77th Congress, 1st session, paragraph 7 and 8 is herewith quoted in part;

"7. The Board[1] recognizes that the Alabama-Coosa Basin is one of the country's greatest reservoirs of rich natural resources, that the Alabama-Coosa River system contains many dam sites that are highly desirable for the development of hydroelectric power in connection with the improvement of its rivers for navigation, and that the basin is potentially a great industrial area. * * * It is logical to expect that the industrial expansion and the general economic improvements noted in the basin and its adjoining areas over the past several years will be accelerated by the trend of industry to seek the moderate climate of the Southern States and by the industrial activity resulting from the rearmament program. The Federal Power Commission has stated, with respect to proposed modifications of the district engineer's comprehensive plan with a view to increasing the development of hydroelectric power, that a total expenditure for that plan very substantially in excess of the district engineer's estimates would be justified. The Board, therefore, believes that the surveys and studies that have been completed by the department are sufficient to indicate that a comprehensive plan for the ultimate development of the water resources of the Alabama-Coosa River system for navigation, hydroelectric power, flood control, and other purposes should be authorized at this time, to be accomplished step by step over a period of years, and that the work thereunder should be prosecuted at such rates as may be determined by Congress. It is also believed that for the initiation and partial accomplishment of the ultimate plan the construction of the navigation dams on the Alabama River, including the development of the maximum hydroelectric power

[1] The Board refers to the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors.

feasible * * * should be approved at the present time.

"8. The needs and demands for the development of the Alabama-Coosa Basin are continually increasing, and in the present emergency the changes are much more rapid than in normal times."

The 84th Congress made available an appropriation in the amount of $180,000 for the fiscal year 1956 for a survey of the Coosa-Alabama River by the Corps of Engineers, United States Army:

First phase: An interim report which included an economic analysis to determine justification of navigation to Rome, Ga., via the Alabam-Coosa Rivers. It included traffic and costs studies for locks in existing and proposed dams to be constructed by the Alabama Power Co. on the Coosa River.

Second phase: Will be a comprehensive report—primarily a basinwide plan. The studies of developments will be on streams tributary to the Alabama and Coosa Rivers.

The authorized plan was adopted for the Alabama River. The license plan by the Alabama Power Co. would be the adopted plan for the Coosa River. The comprehensive report would augment main river developments by tributary storage developments.

The first phase of the report was received by the Chief of Engineers Office earlier this current year. The second phase of the report is scheduled to be finished by the District Office of the Corps of Engineers by July 1, 1957.

The Coosa-Alabama River Improvement Association was recently advised by the Chief of Engineers office of the review of the traffic study for the Alabama River below Montgomery, Ala., contained in the interim report. This review indicates that the present authorized development continues to be economically justified. The information attached to the communication received by the association is set out below:

"Project: Alabama-Coosa Rivers, Ala. and Ga. Alabama River.

"Authorization: River and Harbor Act of March 2, 1945.

"Description: The initial development will provide a navigation channel 9 feet deep from the mouth of the Alabama River to Montgomery by means of a low-lift lock and dam at Claiborne, two higher dams with locks and power installations at Millers Ferry and Jones Bluff, and supplemental channel works on the Alabama River below Claiborne. Pertinent data on the structures are given in the following tabulation. Planning to date is based upon the initial power installations. However, preliminary studies indicate that it may be desirable to install the entire ultimate installation initially. The power installation will be considered further and firmed up prior to initiating construction.

Project	Jones Bluff	Millers Ferry	Claiborne
River mile	246.8	142	82.9
Normal pool, elevation	125	80	35
Reservoir area at normal pool, acres	12,000	22,000	5,700
Lock:			
Dimension, feet	82 by 450	82 by 450	82 by 450
Lift, feet	45	50	25
Power, initial installation, kilowatts	51,000	57,000	———
Primary energy per year, 1,000 kilowatt-hour	116,000	136,000	———
Average annual energy, 1,000 kilowatt-hours	301,000	353,000	———
Power, ultimate installation, kilowatts	68,000	76,000	———
Average annual energy, 1,000 kilowatt-hours	335,000	394,000	———

	Initial power	Ultimate power
Estimated federal cost:		
Jones Bluff	$54,534,000	$58,368,000
Millers Ferry	46,783,000	50,870,000
Claiborne	15,761,000	15,761,000
Channel improvements	1,670,000	1,670,000
Total	118,748,000	126,669,000

"Order of development: At such time as the project is undertaken, the work should be programed so that the navigation and other benefits would accrue as elements of the plan are completed. On this basis the work should be programed as follows: (1) Resume preconstruction planning of Millers Ferry with concurrent review costs of other elements of the plan; (2) initiate construction of Millers Ferry; (3) resume planning and initiate construction on Claiborne and on the channel improvements so that they could be completed at the same time as Millers Ferry, and (4) resume planning and initiate construction for completion of Jones Bluff as soon as practical after completion of Millers Ferry.

"Justification: There is a prospective commerce for the 9-foot waterway to Montgomery of about 2 million tons a year consisting of agricultural products, petroleum products, nonmetallic minerals, metals and metal products, chemical and fertilizer materials, and miscellaneous items. The improvements will also provide initially 108,000 kilowatts of dependable hydropower capacity which can generate an average of 654 million kilowatt-hours annually, and ultimately 144,000 kilowatts of dependable capacity which can generate 729 million kilowatt-hours annually.

"Benefit-cost ratio: The latest indicated benefit-cost ratio for the development of the Alabama River to Montgomery is 1.02, for the initial power installation, and 1.07 for the ultimate power installation. The costs will be further firmed up in the preconstruction planning. The annual benefits for the development are estimated to be $6,133,000 for the initial power installation (navigation $2,360,000, and power $3,773,000) and $7,075,000 for the ultimate power installation (navigation $2,360,000 and power $4,715,000). The navigation benefits are based on an extensive traffic survey made during the fall of 1956."

Gentlemen, we have endeavored, in brief form, to outline to you some of the problems confronting approximately one-third of the population in the State of Alabama and a large percentage of the population in northwest Georgia. We have also outlined to some extent some of the assets of the river basin and if time permitted we could, I believe, convince you that additional assets of this great river basin justify your favorable action in making an appropriation of $150,000 available in the current budget.

We cannot refrain from bringing to your attention a few other matters of importance. The labor supply available in the basin during the latter part of 1956 for employment in industry was approximately 40,000, based on applications in the files of the Industrial Relations Department of the State of Alabama. Percentagewise the State of Georgia would, no doubt, have a corresponding number of industrial workers available for employment from the area in the upper basin. Most of these are small farmers seeking supplemental income; we have mentioned before the transition of farming methods that brings this situation about.

Today we must recognize that the farm problem is acute. In a period of 6 years Federal Government spending to aid farmers has soared from $1.2 billion in 1951 to $5 billion by June 1957. For this same period farm surpluses have grown from $1.8 billion to $8.3 billion, prices for farm products are down 23 percent, income per farm is down 19 percent, and the farm debt has increased 58 percent—all in a 6-year period (source: U. S. News & World Report, May 17, 1957).

One of the solutions of this problem is the prompt development of the natural resources of this great Nation; one of the most important of these is the Alabama-Coosa River water.

The present administration has established a policy that the development of waterways should be accomplished by cooperation between the Federal Government and local interests. This has been or will be accomplished when the Alabama Power Co. constructs the 4 dams, heretofore mentioned, on the Coosa River at an expenditure estimated to be approximately $110 million. The final hearing on the issuance of their permanent license is being held this date. The Federal Power Commission, no doubt, will soon give final approval to the application of the power company. The Coosa is the main tributary of the Alabama River and a definite part of the overall development plan.

As previously stated, the industrial activity in the area is expanding. One of the larger steel companies has just expanded their plant and installed the largest electric furnace in the South. Plans are now under way to install the second electric furnace. It is generally known that more soil pipe is manufactured in the basin than in any other similar area. Selma, Ala., has a large magnesium plant locating there and the potential development of the Alabama River influenced the officials in the selection of this site. (Letter on file Coosa-Alabama River Improvemnt Association.)

Montgomery, the capital city of Alabama, has in the past several years had several new manufacturing plants locate in the metropolitan area. Several of the smaller towns are enjoying industrial expansion.

We would also like to direct your attention to the cost of construction of the authorized projects on the Alabama River. An estimate was made in 1953 by the Corps of Engineers on the cost of construction of the three dams and the necessary dredging, this amounted to $98,775,000. Information recently received from the Corps of Engineers on the same project gives a cost figure of $118,748,000—this is a difference of $19,973,000 or better than a 20-percent increase in cost. Are we going to continue to defer the construction of this badly needed project in view of rising costs?

Gentlemen, time will not permit the submission of additional facts, consequently we direct your attention to the attached letters and resolutions from the Governor of Alabama, the State legislature, and other organizations and individuals endorsing the project and requesting your consideration. We desire to express to each of you our appreciation for the courtesy extended to us and we earnestly request your approval of the $150,000 appropriation for planning and design of the Millers Ferry Dam on the Alabama River.

MONTGOMERY, ALA, *May 14, 1957.*

Honorable Members, Subcommittee on Public Works, House Appropriations, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: You have kindly extended an invitation to a group of outstanding citizens of Alabama and Georgia to appear before your honorable committee on May 20 to request an appropriation of $150,000 for planning and design of the Millers Ferry multiple

purpose dam located on the Alabama River.

As Governor I have personal knowledge of what it would mean to fully develop this river for navigation and other purposes. In my contacts with industrialists, one of the first questions asked, generally speaking, Is there ample industrial water and are the rivers navigable? Alabama needs additional industry to strengthen its economy and certainly the Nation's economy would be increased by the improvement of this great waterway. This river system is the greatest undeveloped asset in the bounaries of the State. This project has been authorized for more than 12 years and the development should begin now.

Representing the citizens of the State of Alabama and specifically the people in the basin of the Alabama-Coosa River system, I respectfully request that you approve at this session of the 85th Congress the appropriation requested.

Thanking you for your approval, I am,

Yours very truly,

JAMES E. FOLSOM,
Governor.

ALABAMA POWER CO.,
Birmingham, Ala., May 13, 1957.

Mr. ROBERT F. HENRY,
President, Coosa-Alabama River Improvement Association, Inc., Montgomery, Ala.

DEAR MR. HENRY: It is my understanding that you and the secretary of the Coosa-Alabama Rivers Improvement Association, Mr. George L. Cleere, are to be in Washington soon appearing before one of the committees in behalf of an appropriation for the planning and design of one or more of the dams on the Alabama River.

It is quite important that we look well ahead on the whole subject of the Coosa-Alabama Rivers system. As you know, we hope to have a license soon under which we may begin construction of the first of the Coosa River dams now authorized by Congress. While this program will take a period of at least 10 years, the people of the valley will not realize the full potential of this work until there is navigation all the way from Rome to the gulf.

Your suggestion for funds to go forward with continued preparation in behalf of the dams on the Alabama River is quite in order as part of the long-range program.

Wishing you every success, I am,

Yours sincerely,

THOMAS W. MARTIN,
Chairman of the Board.

Whereas the prompt complete development for all purposes of the Coosa-Alabama Rivers from Rome, Ga., to Mobile, Ala., is of inestimable value to the State of Alabama and to the Nation; and

Whereas the 79th Congress, 1st session, authorized a project on the Alabama River to consist of three dams, said project including the construction of one of said dams at Jones Bluff, Ala.; and

Whereas an appropriation for advanced planning and design of the said Jones Bluff Dam should be made by the present Congress in order to avoid further unnecessary delay in the development of the river; and

Whereas a further postponement of this development involves a continuing loss to our State and Nation of great proportions: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the senate (the house of representatives concurring), That the Congress of the United States be requested to go forward with the enactment of legislation leading toward the complete development of the Coosa-Alabama Rivers and that it be memorialized to appropriate immediately sufficient funds necessary for the advance planning and design of the contemplated Jones Bluff Dam, and further, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to our Senators and Representatives in Congress and that they be urged to sponsor all needed legislation necessary to insure the complete development of the rivers and that they exert every effort to secure, at the present session of Congress, an appropriation for the advance planning and design of the Jones Bluff Dam; and further, that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States.

I hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of Senate Joint Resolution 4, adopted by the senate on May 7, and concurred in by the house of representatives on May 10, 1957.

J. E. SPEIGHT,
Secretary of Senate.

NOTE.—You will note resolution refers to Jones Bluff Dam; the resolution was sponsored by 14 members of the senate and the majority of this number stated emphatically that the resolution would still have passed had Millers Ferry appeared in the body rather than Jones Bluff. Information received from the Corps or Engineers indicating Millers Ferry Dam would be first in order of construction was received after the resolution was enacted.

RESOLUTION NO. E–11, NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING, 1957

From: Power and generation committee.
Approved by: Resolutions committee.
Subject: Alabama-Coosa Basin.

Whereas the Congress has heretofore authorized construction of the Millers Ferry and Jones Bluff multipurpose projects in the Alabama-Coosa Basin, these projects having a combined proposed capacity of 144,000 kilowatts; and

Whereas there is an urgent need for electric power which will be produced at these projects, as well as for resulting flood and navigation benefits; and

Whereas construction of these projects has been pending for a number of years, without any funds being provided by the Congress: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we petition the Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of the Budget, and the Congress to take such steps as are necessary to secure an immediate start on both of these desperately needed projects.

Whereas the development of the Coosa-Alabama Rivers will mean a great deal to the prosperity of the people of the State of Alabama; and

Whereas this development is now being urged by the Coosa-Alabama River Improvement Association, Inc.; and

Whereas such development would make the Coosa-Alabama Rivers navigable from Mobile, Ala., to Rome, Ga., and would also provide flood control, hydroelectric power, and recreational facilities for the people of Alabama; and

Whereas such development would be a great incentive for the expansion and location of industry along said rivers; and

Whereas such development would make possible transportation by water to every point on the river system and open up to the inland towns and cities on the rivers, trade and commerce with the world; and

Whereas new industries and payrolls would result therefrom: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Alabama Junior Chamber of Commerce (in meeting assembled):

1. That we hereby wholeheartedly endorse the work, objects, and purposes of the Coosa-Alabama River Improvement Association.

2. That we lend our support and efforts toward the complete deevlopment of the Coosa-Alabama Rivers for navigation, flood control, hydroelectric power, and the other industrial developments which would result therefrom.

3. That we urge the Federal authorities and the Congress to appropriate necessary funds for the completion of this development and do any and all things necessary for the immediate development of said rivers.

4. That we feel it is a vital necessity to the people who live along the river basin, and all people of Alabama, that said rivers be developed to their fullest potential.

5. That the secretary be and is hereby directed to forward copies of this resolution to the Members of the United States Congress from Alabama.

Approved at Gadsden, Ala., January 5, 1957.

BEN BUTLER,
President, Alabama Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted at the regular meeting of the Cherokee County Board of Revenue held on May 13, 1957:

"Whereas Alabama Power Co. proposes to develop Coosa River; and

"Whereas it is necessary that the Federal Government appropriate funds with which to construct locks at each of the proposed dams; and

"Whereas the construction of said locks at an early date will provide water transportation from Mobile, Ala., to Rome, Ga., and materially aid in the industrial expansion of Cherokee County, Ala.; and

"Whereas it appears necessary to first design and construct a dam at Miller's Ferry, Ala., south of Montgomery, in order to make said river navigable from Mobile to Montgomery, Ala., and the immediate construction of said dam would aid in a more orderly sequence in the development of said river: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Cherokee County Board of Revenue, That Congress be implored and urged to appropriate sufficient funds for the immediate construction of said locks along Coosa River; be it further

"Resolved, That Congress be implored and urged to appropriate sufficient funds immediately for the plans and the design of the Miller's Ferry Dam in order to immediately proceed with the proper development of the required facilities to make said river navigable."

Done this 13th day of May 1957.

STATE OF ALABAMA,
Cherokee County.

I, J. A. Shamblin, clerk of the Board of Revenue of Cherokee County, Ala., do hereby certify that the foregoing resolution was unanimously adopted at a regular meeting of said board held on May 13, 1957, and that the same is a true and correct and compared copy thereof, said resolution being recorded in Board of Revenue Minute Book No. 6, page 254.

Witness my hand this 13th day of May 1957.

J. A. SHAMBLIN,
Clerk.

MAY 10, 1957.

Mr. ROBERT F. HENRY,
Coosa-Alabama River Improvement Association, Montgomery, Ala.

DEAR MR. HENRY: I wish to convey to you and all of the fine people of this section of our great State the interest that the members of the Montgomery County Board of Revenue have in the efforts put forth by you and many others toward the development of the Coosa-Alabama River region. Also I wish to convey to you the full intentions of the members of the Montgomery County Board of Revenue to continue their interest and full support in this great project.

It is our feeling that the development of the Coosa-Alabama River region would do more toward the development and acquisition of new industry in this State than any other possible program.

May I sincerely urge that you call upon us at any time that we might be of service to you and your coworkers.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

W. TOM JONES,
Chairman, Montgomery County Board of Revenue.

Whereas the Congress of these United States has authorized the development of the Coosa-Alabama River system; and

Whereas the traffic and economic survey of the Coosa-Alabama River system by the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, is partially completed; and

Whereas this development will mean accelerated acquisition of new industry and spectacular economic benefits to all citizens of the area and,

Whereas the citizens of the area have been deprived of these benefits by the lack of action on the part of Congress: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Montgomery Chapter of the Alabama Society of Professional Engineers urge Congress to appropriate what funds are necessary for planning and design of the Millers Ferry Dam immediately; and be it further

Resolved, That the Montgomery Chapter of the Alabama Society of Professional Engineers stands ready to assist in any way the continuation of this development until its complete and entire fulfillment.

Adopted and unanimously passed at the regular monthly meeting of May 10, 1957.

HENRY R. HUDSON,
Secretary, Montgomery Chapter, Alabama Society of Professional Engineers.

RESOLUTION, STATE OF ALABAMA, COUNTY OF MONTGOMERY

Whereas many individuals members of this association are already contributing members to the Coosa-Alabama River Improvement Association; and

Whereas the future growth and prosperity of the home-building industry in Montgomery, Ala., seems to us to be in direct proportion to the growth and prosperity of our great State of Alabama; and

Whereas we are convinced that the development of the Coosa-Alabama Rivers into a continuous navigable waterway from the Gulf of Mexico to Rome, Ga., would result in the greatest economic boon to the economy of Alabama and Georgia, and consequently to the Nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved—

That the Montgomery Home Builders Association does hereby endorse, approve, and pledge its support and assistance to the Coosa-Alabama Improvement Association in its efforts to bring about the development of the Coosa-Alabama River into a continuous navigable inland waterway system from the Gulf of Mexico to Rome, Ga.; and further

That the entire membership of the association will be urged to give their individual support, financial and otherwise, to the efforts of the Coosa-Alabama River Improvement Association; and also

That the association will urge Alabama's congressional delegation to support and promote poper legislation in the Congress of the United States to bring about said development.

MONTGOMERY HOME BUILDERS ASSOCIATION,
THOMAS A. MOODY,
President and Chairman of the Board.
Adopted January 31, 1957.

Importation of Crude Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I insert herein a resolution of the House of Representatives of the State of Texas which has been transmitted to the President of the United States and to each Representative in the Congress of the United States from Texas. The resolution is self-explanatory in pointing up the serious danger relative to the importation of crude oil into the United States and certain practices regarding these imports:

House Resolution 379

Whereas the Railroad Commission of Texas has been compelled to reduce the April allowable for Texas crude production by over 224,000 barrels per day from the March figure, thus reducing revenues available to this State by more than $20 million during the coming biennium; and

Whereas the cut in Texas allowable production reflects the imminent opening of the Suez Canal which will free an uncontrolled flood of foreign oil into this country; and

Whereas the United States Bureau of Mines has stated it must withhold its determination of domestic market demand until the flow of Middle East oil through the Suez Canal and Middle East pipelines may be gaged; and

Whereas the uncontrolled flow of foreign oil into this country in competition with domestic production restricted to market demand, results in domestic production taking what is left of the domestic market after imports; and

Whereas the international companies producing such foreign oil are constantly increasing the amount of imports into the United States, and such imports are now far above the maximum set by the President's Cabinet Fuels Policy Committee as the import amount safe for our Nation's security; and

Whereas the international oil companies importing oil into the United States are receiving substantial subsidies from the United States including (1) direct Federal cash payments to the rulers of these Middle Eastern nations, (2) tanker subsidies, including $475 million in tax writeoffs on 52 tankers, and (3) diplomatic and military support to protect the fields owned by these importing companies; and

Whereas our Federal tax statutes have been used by these international importing companies to obtain United States tax credits for amounts paid by them to foreign rulers, thus obtaining assistance in foreign development at the expense of domestic production; and

Whereas development of new domestic oil reserves has lagged due to the tax credits and subsidies granted these companies for foreign development; and

Whereas the international importing companies guarantee certain amounts of oil production to rulers of Middle Eastern countries, while restricting domestic production to make this possible; and

Whereas the operation of Texas pipelines by affiliates of international companies provides a devious but effective means of choking crude oil in the interior of the State, through failure to make needed pipeline extensions and enlargements; and

Whereas importing company members of the Middle East Emergency Committee, given broad powers and antitrust immunity by the Federal Government and charged with the responsibility of increasing the oil lift to Europe, failed to divert their United States imports to Europe, reduce their refinery runs to free crude oil for export, or change their refinery yields to produce needed fuel oils; and

Whereas these international importing companies are either franchised to do business in Texas or have operating affiliates in this State, yet their action in importing excessive amounts of foreign crude suspends the operation of Texas conservation laws, discriminates against domestic producers, and penalizes the revenues and thus the services of this sovereign State: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, However, that all petroleum imports from Canada shall be exempt in determining the ratio of imports of crude oil and residual fuel oil to domestic production of crude oil. Petroleum imports from Canada shall be excluded. All for the following reasons: (A) from the standpoint of national security, the Government of the United States should treat crude oil reserves in Canada as domestic reserves for the reasons that Canada is our friendly land neighbor to the north and such crude oil reserves should be available to the United States by pipeline in the event of enemy attack; (B) Canadian crude oil reserves and our domestic crude oil reserves are a part of the common defense program between the United States and Canada as is evidenced by "a statement of principles for economic cooperation" entered into by Canada and our Government in 1950; (C) Canadian crude oil is the only economical source of crude oil for many domestic refining facilities and the underground pipeline facilities tied to them which are important strategic facilities from the standpoint of national security on the northern border of the United States, useful for air defense in the event of enemy attack on this country coming over the poles and the investments of the stockholders in such refining and pipeline facilities would be placed in jeopardy or wiped out and private contracts in connection therewith would be violated in the event the flow of Canadian crude oil into the United States is restricted or interrupted; (D) United States domestic investments geared strictly to transportation, refining, and marketing of Canadian oil under long-term contracts consistent with existing foreign trade policies of the United States should not be impaired or wiped out or otherwise discriminated against in favor of domestic investments geared to domestic crude oil; (E) Canada is a net importer of petroleum products from the United States and, (F) Trade relations and diplomatic relations with our excellent land neighbor to the north should not be further strained; and be it fourther

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Texas, That the President of the United States be urged to limit imports of foreign oil to the percentage set by his Cabinet Fuels Policy Committee as the maximum possible without endangering the security of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That the clerk of the house be directed to transmit a copy of this resolution

to the President of the United States and to each Member of Congress from Texas.

WALLING.
ANDERSON.
WILSON OF YOUNG.
WILSON OF POTTER.
WAGGONER CARR,
Speaker of the House.

I hereby certify that House Resolution 379 was adopted by the house on April 17, 1957.

DOROTHY HALLMAN,
Chief Clerk of the House.

What Will the United Nations Do About India's Defiance of It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article:

PROBLEM OF KASHMIR STALEMATED IN U. N.
(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

If the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjold, cares as much about international law and morality as he showed when supporting Egypt in the Gaza strip, he must be losing a lot of sleep. For India remains in full contumacy in the matter of occupied Kashmir.

Years ago, the U. N. Security Council recommended that India and Pakistan consent to an objective plebiscite to determine the choice of the Kashmiris as between India and Pakistan.

Pakistan has always been willing. India has stalled. India has gone ahead and formally annexed the larger part of Kashmir, which its soldiers hold in defiance of the Security Council.

India's representative at the United Nations, the endlessly eloquent Krishna Menon, has tried to defend India's viewpoint—and succeeded only in boring his hearers. India's Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, has stated publicly India is not compelled to obey the United Nations on any point that is not in India's interests.

Technically he is right—for the moment. The U. N. Security Council could, of course, take strong measures to enforce compliance on India, but only if all five permanent members agreed. Under present conditions India can count on a Soviet veto.

MAJORITY DOUBTFUL

The U. N. Assembly can by a two-thirds majority recommend that its members take action against India. But with the present Assembly packed with small, backward states sympathetic to India, and Communist states bent on making trouble, it is doubtful if a majority can be found to recommend action. Even if it could, it is more doubtful if anybody would try to compel India to comply.

To logical people this merely makes more glaring the sickness of a world organization whose members are ready to coerce Britain, France, and Israel, but afraid to take steps against openly defiant India.

No doubt some could be found to applaud a town marshal ready to move against boy car thieves and pickpockets but afraid to tackle mean horse thieves and murderous highwaymen. Better some law and order than none. Most people cannot see it that way.

To salve its conscience and make the scandal somewhat less visible, the U. N. recently sent Gunnar V. Jarring of Sweden to Kashmir on a mediation mission. He has had no cooperation from India. Now, however, Pakistan, strong in its belief the Kashmiris prefer union with it, has suggested that the United Nations send a full-fledged factfinding mission to the area.

NO REASON FOR MISSION

There is, of course, no reason for any such mission since the facts in the matter are painfully clear. India obviously does not believe it has a case since it opposes submitting the dispute to the world court. But India, as the fortunate possessor of most of Kashmir, including the famous Vale, relies upon its own force to keep it—exactly as Israel might have done to keep Sinai and the Gaza strip.

Israel got out. India remains.

Pakistan is, however, unlikely to allow matters to remain as they are. If Pakistan again brings the case before the U. N., it is hard to see how the United States, as the champion of peace and legality against its own closest allies, can refuse to vote for action against India. Such a motion may—as I suggested—well be defeated by the large pro-Communist, antiwhite minority in the United Nations.

Even so, it would serve a useful purpose. It would compel every member government to stand up and show its colors, be counted on the side of "equal justice under law" or on the side of selective injustice—the conception that former colonies have rights which old and established states cannot claim.

Such a revelation would certainly clarify a lot of things.

New Hope for Hells Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, one after another the ruses and excuses of the administration for putting private-power interests ahead of the interests of the people fall like tenpins before an expert bowler's ball. The facade of modern Republicanism is certainly being eroded by the administration's own—and open—actions. In granting Idaho Power Co. a fast tax writeoff the administration has certainly destroyed the last of the feeble arguments it managed to muster for granting the license to Idaho Power Co. to nibble away at a site which every reason and every voice of conscience dictates should be a part of the comprehensive development to benefit all the people of this country.

I request permission to insert the following pertinent remarks of the Public Affairs Institute, May 3 issue of Washington Window, New Hope for Hells Canyon:

NEW HOPE FOR HELLS CANYON

That inviting, dreamlike picture painted by the private utilities, the administration, and most of the Nation's press, that private power provides the citizenry with electrical energy at no cost to the taxpayers, has just been shattered. The shattering was done not by the proponents of low-cost, public power but by the picture painters, themselves.

The Office of Defense Mobilization did this neat trick in announcing that it has issued to the Idaho Power Co. a multi-million-dollar tax writeoff for the two private dams near the Hells Canyon site on the Snake River along the Idaho-Oregon border.

The official Government release announcing the tax writeoff declared: "ODM emphasized that the accelerated tax amortization certified by the agency represents the investment of private capital and does not involve investment of Government funds."

Judging by the loud outbursts from Senators ranging from WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, to HARRY BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, the ODM announcement fooled no one. It adds up to the undeniable fact that the Treasury is being denied tax receipts, thus putting additional burden on other taxpayers.

"I am not surprised by this additional act of favoritism by the administration," declared MORSE. "As I predicted many times, the taxpayers would end up paying for the Idaho Power Co. dams. Supposedly, 'private enterprise' at Hells Canyon was to pay its way. Now the administration is giving the company a tremendous handout for underdeveloping the peoples' resources."

BYRD called the action of ODM "utterly indefensible" and said he planned to open hearings on his bill to repeal authority to grant tax writeoffs similar to that received by Idaho Power.

What ODM did was to permit Idaho Power to write off in 5 years 65 percent of the estimated $65 million cost of the projected Brownlee Dam, and to write off 60 percent of the $36 million estimated cost of the Oxbow Dam—a total tax benefit of $65 million.

The belief is that the estimates of costs used by Interior and ODM are far too low. But even on their figures it will save Idaho Power $29 million in the next 5 years and add that much of a burden to the taxpayers.

This is only part of the story. In 1953 the Federal Power Commission characterized these tax writeoffs as follows: "This has the precise effect of a grant by our Government to a certificate holder of an interest-free loan."

On the most conservative basis, a 50-year loan of $29 million at 6 percent is worth $326 million.

"In very simple terms, Idaho Power Co. is being permitted to avoid millions of dollars of tax payments during the next 5 years," declared Morse on the Senate floor. "This means shifting the burden of that tax loss plus interest payments to other taxpayers."

The Oregon Senator could not resist pointing out that "the repeated acts of favoritism to the Idaho Power Co. bring to mind the series of questionable actions to put across the Dixon-Yates deal."

He added that the Hells Canyon Dam is urgently needed for flood control—for low-cost power production to avert a serious shortage. It is urgently needed as the only major multipurpose dam that can assure full downstream development. It has the tremendous advantage of imperiling no conservation values; indeed it will be of positive value for recreation, while other administration-favored projects imperil fish, wildlife, and wilderness.

The ODM tax writeoff and resulting developments are charging the proponents of low-cost public power and development with new hope. Last month when the United States Supreme Court, in a strictly procedural ruling, refused to review the Federal Power Commission's licensing of three Idaho Power Co. dams, public power advocates saw dark days ahead.

Now a startling change in the entire atmosphere is in evidence. MORSE has introduced a new Hells Canyon bill, and already it has been favorably reported out of the

Senate Interior Committee. The stage is now set for a new private versus public power debate. This time, though, there are some new elements added which were not in existence in 1956 when Hells Canyon was voted down by the Senate, 51 to 41.

For one thing, it is doubtful that the full-page ads in national magazines declaring the private dams on the Snake River would save the taxpayers money will carry any weight, even if repeated.

Secondly, new power groups are adding their weight to the fight for Hells Canyon. They are the conservation groups, the wildlife people, the sportsmen, the parks and forestry people, and those dedicated to saving our national resources.

As columnist Thomas L. Stokes wrote recently: "It is getting a little hard to sit here and watch the rape of our natural resources—and at the expense of us taxpayers."

H. R. 6771: Assistance for Schools of Public Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, last month I introduced H. R. 6771, a bill to amend section 314 (c) of the Public Health Service Act, so as to authorize the Surgeon General to make grants-in-aid for the support of public or nonprofit educational institutions which provide training and services in the fields of public health and in the administration of State and local public health programs.

This legislation is the outgrowth of my participation in the annual meeting of the Association of Schools of Public Health in February. Congressman BILL NEAL, of West Virginia, and I attended the meeting as representatives of the Health and Science Subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. In the discussions of the public health educational needs at this meeting, I was impressed by the scope and importance of this program, the difficulties with which the school administrators are faced, and by their sincere devotion to the humanitarian objectives of the public health program.

Of the 11 schools of public health, 5 are publicly owned and supported—University of California, Berkeley; University of Michigan; University of Minnesota; University of North Carolina; and University of Puerto Rico. The remaining 6 schools are private non-profit institutions—Columbia, Harvard, Johns-Hopkins, Pittsburgh, Tulane, and Yale Universities. This years' combined enrollment is 1,152 graduate students and 536 undergraduate students. The largest single group of the graduate study group consists of physicians. The undergraduates are mostly public-health nurses.

The problems of obtaining adequate financial support of these schools are extremely difficult. A large percentage of the students at the individual schools are from out-of-State or from other nations, making it difficult for publicly supported schools to secure adequate operating funds from the State legislatures. Since most of the graduates of all these schools enter the public service at Federal, State or local levels, it has been almost impossible to obtain the usual degree of financial support from alumni.

In discharging its responsibilities in the field of public health, the Federal Government relies to a considerable extent on the teaching and research activities of the schools of public health. It therefore has a direct and important interest in the adequate functioning of these schools. While the grants provided for in H. R. 6771 will not completely solve the critical financial problems facing the schools of public health, they would provide much needed assistance to permit more effective operation of the public health educational program.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the text of a letter which I addressed to the deans of the schools of public health, inviting their comments on the objectives of H. R. 6771. I would also like to include the texts of letters received from the various deans, expressing their views on this important legislation, including a copy of a letter written to the subcommittee chairman, Congressman JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, of Mississippi:

APRIL 18, 1957.

DEAR SIR: As a result of our discussions for the need of schools of public health at the meeting in San Juan and subsequent negotiations with Dr. Stebbins, of Johns Hopkins University, I have introduced the enclosed bill, H. R. 6771.

The measure would provide up to $1 million to enable the Surgeon General to make grants-in-aid for the support of public or nonprofit educational institutions, providing training, specialized consultative services, and technical assistance in the fields of public health and in the administration of State and local public health programs.

H. R. 6771 has been referred to our health and science subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. While the subcommittee has not yet scheduled hearings on the bill, I am hopeful that it will receive prompt consideration as soon as the views of the Public Health Service are received.

We will welcome any suggestions or comments which you may wish to make on this important matter.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE M. RHODES.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
SCHOOL OF
HYGIENE AND PUBLIC HEALTH,
Baltimore, Md., April 22, 1957.

The Honorable GEORGE M. RHODES,
Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RHODES: This will acknowledge your letter of April 18 in which you state that you are introducing a bill, H. R. 6771, incorporating the basic principles of the proposal which the Association of Schools of Public Health submitted to you.

As I stated in my previous letter, we appreciate, more than we can tell you, your real and continued interest in the problems of the schools of public health. The proposal which we submitted to you, as I pointed out in my letter of March 28, does not by any means solve all of the problems of the schools of public health, but it will go a long way, if properly implemented, in solving the immediate problems of the schools. We all feel that it is imperative that the Federal Government recognize in some way, not only the present contribution of the schools of public health, but the potential contribution of these schools in the training and development of the services so urgently needed in our country.

As we pointed out to you in our meeting in Puerto Rico, at the present time the schools of public health are, in a sense, subsidizing the Federal Government in that we accept each year hundreds of students who are being trained for public service. The schools bear the major part of the financial burden of training these students. The cost of training in schools of public health is not significantly different from the cost of training students in schools of medicine, and as in the case of the schools of medicine, the tuition charged by the schools of public health is a small fraction of the total cost of training these students, all of whom, or at least a major proportion, go into public service, many of them in the Federal Government, and the rest in State and local health services.

Under present conditions, the privately endowed schools find themselves in the position of being no longer able to bear this added expense, and as you know, the State schools are constantly threatened with the reduction in appropriations because of the small proportion of students enrolled, who are from the State in which the school is located.

My colleagues in the schools of public health join with me in expressing our very deep appreciation for your interest and your energy in forwarding the movement for aid to the schools of public health. We want to assure you of our willingness to assist you in any way in supporting the legislation which you have introduced. We have had meetings with various groups of the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers, with many groups of public and private health agencies, and, insofar as we can determine, there is universal support for this type of legislation.

If, in your opinion, there is anything that the representatives of the schools of public health could possibly do to assist you in advancing this program, please let us know. I can assure you of the availability of the deans of the schools, or of other members of the faculty to assist you in any way that you might consider appropriate in the further support of these very important measures for the improvement of public health.

Very truly yours,

ERNEST L. STEBBINS, M. D.,
Director.

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO,
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE,
SCHOOL OF TROPICAL MEDICINE,
San Juan, P. R., April 22, 1957.

Mr. GEORGE M. RHODES,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RHODES: Many thanks for your letter of April 18 including copy of bill H. R. 6771 introduced by you to the Congress. I am sure all the schools of public health, as our own does, appreciate your efforts to assist them in doing their job as efficiently as it can be done.

We are already admitting students for next year's class. If financial help as proposed in your bill becomes available, many of our worries as to how we are going to operate next year and how we are going to improve and expand our program in some areas of public health will be relieved in no small part.

Sincerely,

GUILLERMO ARBONA, M. D.,
Head of the Department of Preventive Medicine and Public Health.

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO,
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE,
SCHOOL OF TROPICAL MEDICINE,
San Juan, P. R., April 24, 1957.

Congressman GEORGE M. RHODES,
Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House Office Building, Congress of the United States, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RHODES: I hope you can appreciate how grateful we in Puerto Rico are for your broad vision in introducing H. R. 6771. It is quite apparent that you quickly grasped the special needs of schools of public health and have proposed a simple legislative amendment which will make a modest beginning toward solving the enormous economic problems of such institutions.

Our university has been relatively generous, in comparison to its many requirements, in initiating graduate programs in public health. However, had we not received the temporary support of ICA, we would never have undertaken the curriculum leading to a master in public health. At least 50 percent of our public health students come to us from outside Puerto Rico—principally from Latin America. This is not a unique characteristic of our particular school but an indication that public health in the United States has assumed world leadership.

Your bill H. R. 6771 would provide economic assurance which would help to stabilize the development of our school. While I am confident that $1 million will not meet total requirements of all the schools of public health, it will make a noble effort and give great encouragement to university presidents who have frequently had mixed feelings in apportioning their meager funds for graduate professional education.

Again let me remind you of what a great pleasure it was to have you, Congressman NEAL, and Mr. Borchardt here in Puerto Rico for an all too brief visit.

Cordially yours,
E. HAROLD HINMAN, M. D.,
Dean.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH,
Berkeley, Calif., April 23, 1957.

The Honorable GEORGE M. RHODES,
Fourteenth District, Pennsylvania, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RHODES: Thank you for your letter of April 18 informing me of your farsighted and energetic steps to aid our Nation's public health. As a member of the executive committee of our Association of Schools of Public Health, may I express our deep appreciation for your introduction of H. R. 6771. This bill clearly presents the pathway for critically necessary aid to schools of public health in their national and natural setting. They are truly meeting national (and international) public health needs in training, consultation, and technical assistance as you and your fellow committeeman, Congressman NEIL, discussed in our Puerto Rico meeting.

In order that I may seek our university's full support, would it be possible for me to have 10 copies of H. R. 6771?

With kind regards.

Very sincerely,
CHARLES E. SMITH, M. D.,
Dean.

TULANE UNIVERSITY,
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE,
New Orleans, La., April 24, 1957.

Mr. GEORGE M. RHODES,
Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RHODES: I appreciate very much your letter of April 18, 1957, with attached copy of H. R. 6771.

We enjoyed very much our meeting with you in San Juan and appreciate your deep interest in the financial needs of schools of public health in the United States.

If I may be of any service to you, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Yours sincerely,
W. L. TREUTING, M. D.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
April 29, 1957.

Representative GEORGE M. RHODES,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE RHODES: Thank you very much for your letter of April 18 and the attached bill H. R. 6771 regarding grants in aid to assist schools of public health. Speaking for myself and for the vice president of the university in charge of medical affairs I want to say that we are very grateful that you have taken this initiative. Schools of public health essentially produce people for public service and not for private practice and large income. As schools which occupy this rather unique position we nevertheless find ourselves in financially difficult positions to maintain the size of class or the quality of instruction we wish. Any assistance which can be forthcoming will be used constructively and will not replace money now being invested by the university. We thank you for your interest and hope that something will come of your efforts.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,
RAY E. TRUSSELL, M. D., M. P. H.,
Executive Officer, School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine of the Faculty of Medicine.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH,
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH,
Pittsburgh, Pa., May 1, 1957.

Hon. GEORGE M. RHODES,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RHODES: Please pardon my delay in not responding earlier to your kind letter of April 18 with a copy of H. R. 6771, which you were good enough to introduce.

I shall keep in close touch with Dr. Ernest L. Stebbins and shall be most anxious to do whatever I can to promote hearings by your House Subcommittee and otherwise.

I know that as a result of your discussions with the Deans of the Schools of Public Health in San Juan in February, you are keenly aware of the precarious financial situation which faces these schools. They are unique among educational institutions, both in training for public service and in rendering specialized consultative services and technical assistance to State and local health departments. Your interest in this important matter is deeply appreciated.

With personal regards, I am,

Sincerely,
THOMAS PARRAN, M. D.,
Dean.

YALE UNIVERSITY,
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH,
New Haven, Conn., May 6, 1957.

The Honorable GEORGE M. RHODES,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RHODES: We enjoyed your company and suggestions, and those of your associates, while we were in Puerto Rico for the annual meeting of the Schools of Public Health. Thank you for your good letter of April 18, 1957, and for the assistance of the bill H. R. 6771 which you introduced.

You have indicated by this step your recognition of the urgent needs of the schools and the importance of this great program of so much significance to so many of our people.

We will do our best with the tools at hand and we appreciate the interest and understanding of you and your committee.

Sincerely yours,
IRA V. HISCOCK,
Chairman and Past President, American Public Health Association.

HARVARD SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH,
Boston, Mass., May 8, 1957.

The Honorable JOHN BELL WILLIAMS,
The United States House of Representatives, House of Representatives Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WILLIAMS: As dean of 1 of the 11 accredited schools of public health in the United States, I write in behalf of H. R. 6771 which has been introduced by Congressman RHODES of Pennsylvania. It is my belief that this bill deserves the most serious consideration and active support which you and your subcommittee can give to it.

You are, of course, familiar with the data submitted by the Association of Schools of Public Health documenting (1) the shortage of public health personnel in this country; (2) the fact that the graduates of the schools of public health enter the public service in many States throughout the country; (3) the fact that the schools of public health are seriously in need of funds, particularly for teaching and for general operations.

Federal aid to schools of public health is clearly justified because the schools are in no sense regional. They provide public health personnel for the Nation as a whole. For example, 9 graduates of the Harvard School of Public Health presently serve in Mississippi. Among them are 3 division heads of the Mississippi State Board of Health.

I respectfully urge you, as Chairman of the Health and Science Subcommittee, to schedule hearings on H. R. 6771 at the earliest opportunity. I hope this important measure will have your personal support. Please let me know if members of our faculty and I can help in any way.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,
JOHN C. SNYDER, M. D., *Dean.*

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA,
COLLEGE OF MEDICAL SCIENCES,
Minneapolis, May 11, 1957.

Hon. GEORGE M. RHODES,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RHODES: Thank you for your recent letter with reference to House Resolve 6771, which you have introduced. I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have sent to the chairman of the Health and Science Subcommittee of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. I sincerely hope that your proposal will meet with success.

It was a real pleasure to meet with you in Puerto Rico and to have the opportunity of presenting to you and your colleagues some of the critical needs of the schools of public health. I know that we are all greatly indebted to you for the interest that you have taken in these problems.

Very truly yours,
GAYLORD W. ANDERSON, M. D.,
Mayo Professor and Director, School of Public Health.

The Rural Electrification Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the House to the fact that today is the 21st birthday of the Rural Electrification Administration. The act was signed into law by the President 21 years ago.

REA has truly become of age. Loans to borrowing cooperatives now exceed $3¼ billion of which borrows have actually drawn over $2.75 billion. Repayments by borrowers have exceeded $621.2 million of which $377.8 million is principal and $243.4 million interest. A total of 761 borrowers have made advanced payments of $95,870,361.

REA Administrator David A. Hamil reports that 94.2 percent of the Nation's farms are now electrified. Nine hundred and eighty energized system have been financed by REA operating over 1½ million miles of rural line and serving over 4¼ million customers.

Based on an average family of 4 people, this means that approximately 15 million people are benefiting from the Rural Electrification Administration program.

Congress passes the laws and establishes programs like REA. The successful operation of these electric cooperatives is dependent on devoted and capable leadership among the local communities in the Nation.

In South Dakota many of our leading citizens serve on boards of directors and in other similar capacities. Our REA managers put in long days to meet the problems which arise in connection with operation of an REA cooperative.

Our South Dakota situation must be exemplary of the national picture for electric cooperatives have flourished to the point where the net worth of debt-free ownership nationally is now $404.7 million.

The State of South Dakota has shared in the benefits of the REA program. Total REA loans in our State amounted to $92,524,862 to 34 different cooperatives. This total amount represents 212 separate loans, and it provided service to 75,540 consumers.

We are justifiably proud that South Dakota REA's are meeting their repayment obligations and meeting them in time. No South Dakota loans are in arrears. In fact, of the $10,846,629 which have been repaid on the principal, $3,175,182 have been paid in advance of the due date. Interest payments to date are $5,566,733.

I was interested in receiving information from the REA Administrator the other day that in 1945, just before the Rural Electrification Administration was established, only 10.9 percent of the farms in the United States were electrified and in South Dakota only 3.5 percent enjoyed the benefits of electrical service. A moment ago I mentioned that 94.2 percent of the Nation's farms are now electrified, and in South Dakota the figure is 86.7 percent. South Dakota has made a tremendous percentage increase during this 21-year period, going from 3.5 percent to 86.7 percent. It is well to note that private power companies have counted for some of this increase and have worked jointly with cooperative in making power available and otherwise assisting with the phenomenal development.

In South Dakota, as in every State, REA development has not only been of great benefit to the farmer and rancher, but has also provided great economic value for the mainstreet businessman. The consumer of REA power finds that he can increase his production or work more efficiently, which provides him with additional purchasing power. This results in an economic boost that is felt throughout the community. The REA consumer purchases appliances, plumbing, wiring, electric motors, and many other items which benefit both the farmer and the businessman.

A listing of the REA electrification loans in western South Dakota alone during recent years is an indication of how the rural electrification program is continuing to move forward. I am attaching a table listing the recent REA loans in the Second Congressional District.

West River Electric Association, Inc., Wall	$274,000
Butte Electric Cooperative, Inc., Newell	390,000
Lacreek Electric Association, Inc. Martin	750,000
Moreau-Grand Electric Cooperative, Inc., Timber Lake	390,000
Grand Electric Cooperative, Inc., Bison	975,000
Cherry-Todd Electric Cooperative, Inc., Valentine, Nebr	540,000
West Central Electric Cooperative, Inc., Murdo	340,000
Rushmore G. & T. Electric Cooperative, Inc., Rapid City	3,500,000

Breathing Space—The Plight of the Man in the Middle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the business and professional man in the middle-income brackets is very hard hit today. So is the small-business concern, not protected by accumulated reserves and subjected to multiplying and constantly increasing State and local taxes, in addition to Federal taxes.

In the area of Federal taxation the small-business man needs tax relief badly and would benefit from a real revision of the tax laws to give him the benefit of an increased surtax exemption, more realistic allowances for costs and depreciation and the right to elect whether to make his returns as a corporation, partnership, or individual.

Likewise, the average middle-income business and professional man, unable to increase his charges adequately to compensate for the increased costs piling up on him from all sides, should be the object of special consideration in any new tax-reduction legislation which may become possible in the event of a surplus of Government receipts over expenditures.

Mr. Speaker, I made some suggestions for tax relief to these hard-pressed groups in a recent speech at Sunbury, Pa., which, under leave granted, I include herewith:

BREATHING SPACE—THE PLIGHT OF THE MAN IN THE MIDDLE

(Speech of Representative HUGH SCOTT, Sixth District, Pennsylvania, before Sunbury Chapter American Institute of Banking, May 1, 1957)

In recent months, two of the great English-speaking countries took a long look at the hardest-hit area of their body politic—the middle-income group, the great unorganized, the free-enterprising, white-collar people. A Conservative government in Great Britain and a Liberal government in Canada faced up to the fact that the initiative-takers, the business and professional people who provided most of the pot of gold at the end of the government's tax rainbow were getting pretty fed up. They were providing most of the initiative, churning up most of the revenue. At the same time, they were being shaken loose by hungry governments of all too large a share of the fruits of their initiative.

Like the farmer's pigs in France, they were rooting up the truffles only to be rapped on the snout and deprived of the enjoyment of their diggings. They were growing increasingly snoutsore. Result: There was a rising tendency to forego initiative, to pass up opportunities, through initiative, to increase their earnings.

Great Britain and Canada decided to redress an unfair situation, before the full consequences of their tax policies confronted them, with a law no Parliament could repeal—the law of diminishing returns.

They enacted new revenue laws extending substantial reductions to the middle-income groups. They acted in the sound belief that this increased incentive will, in fact, increase their national revenues. I think they were wise and I think what they did was just.

We in the United States must put our fiscal house in order and prepare to do the same thing. If there is a surplus, then proposals for tax reductions will gain momentum.

How can we manage to assure a surplus?

What should be done with such a surplus?

What tax-cut incentives would supply impetus to the sorely pressed men in the middle?

A surplus exists when we spend less than we take in. We are headed toward our third successive balanced budget. This is as many times as the budget was balanced in the entire preceding 25 years.

We are faced with a $24 billion carryover in spending authorized by the previous 84th Congress. They failed to enact legislation to put the Federal budget on an annual accrued expenditure basis as recommended by the bipartisan Hoover Commission. Because of the default of that Congress, economy can only begin belatedly by cutting in advance the future backlog of carryover authorizations, by returning to the Treasury unexpended funds where possible and by extreme care in commitment to new authorizations.

The House of Representatives has already cut new appropriations by $1.2 billion.

Forthcoming action on agriculture, defense and American aid abroad will permit further substantial cuts. The President has already approved a $254 million cut in soil-bank funds and a $500 million reduction in Army appropriations. If the Senate holds the line—and there are now some indications to that effect—the new budget will have lost some water, and gained in economic realism.

The recipe for a surplus, like the recipe for rabbit stew, properly begins with "first catch your rabbit." Receipts have been estimated at about $73 billion. If the economies above suggested can be made to stick and if receipts justify estimates, then we shall be entitled to consider what should be done with the resulting surplus.

Government, in good conscience, should treat a surplus as a trust for two purposes: to reduce its debts and to enable its citizens to retain as much of their earnings as possible.

There are many views as to the priorities, as between public debt reduction and tax relief.

I have introduced a bill, H. R. 7635, which reflects my judgment as to a fair method of dealing with a Federal surplus when it is achieved.

My bill requires that an established surplus be applied one-half to the reduction of the national debt and one-half to the reduction of personal income taxes. This tax reduction formula would extend the same percentage of tax relief as the proportionate reduction of taxes bears to the total income tax receipts of the previous fiscal year. Thus, if the one-half of the surplus so applied equals 7 percent of the total personal income tax receipts, a 7 percent tax reduction would be authorized in the upcoming income tax returns.

Other tax proposals by like-minded members approach the problem of tax relief in varying ways, all of which warrant serious consideration.

These suggestions include relief from double taxation of dividends, increase in exemptions for dependents, lowering capital gains taxes, permitting full deduction of capital losses, relief to corporations.

There is also the problem of greatly needed relief to small business. Here I believe the formula of Andrew Mellon would operate most effectively: a reduction of taxation upon small business should work actually to increase tax revenues and it would certainly reduce the number of small business failures.

My own bill (H. R. 6033) to assist small and independent businesses, is similar to proposals offered by several other Members of Congress.

These proposals include, among others, provision for a normal tax rate of 20 percent with an increase in present surtax exemption, provides certain growth, expansion, and modernization exemptions, and authorizes more rapid amortization of property utilized for the production of profit.

This bill also provides credits for losses incurred through investment or loans to small and independent business enterprises. It also permits the small or independent businessman an election, in filing tax returns, for corporations to file as individuals or partnerships, and vice versa.

The present House Ways and Means Committee has steadfastly refused to consider any relief to small and independent businessmen and unless this attitude alters, needed relief in this important quarter of our economy will continue to be denied.

I submit that if your Congress achieves the much desired surplus over expenditures, the area of incentive tax cuts to encourage renewed initiative can be located at least in part, among the foregoing suggestions.

The constant squeeze upon the man in the middle aggravated by increased, new and multiplying State and municipal taxes, has made him more tax conscious than ever before in his life. And let it not be forgotten that the percentage of increase in taxes on the State and municipal level is far outstripping the Federal tax level. Fortunately, some counties, such as yours, are competently administered and some States have legislatures to put some sort of brake on governors who like to think big and spend bigger.

Returning to the Federal Government, it is unfortunate that two-thirds of our annual fiscal burden bears heavily upon us because of "the bear tht walks like a man"—one Khrushchev by name, one huge menace by intent—who does not yet give believable evidence of willingness to cooperate in mutual reduction of armaments.

The nucleus of our dilemma lies in the fantastic cost of our nuclear deterrents.

As the President said in his state of the Union message, we know that "a sound and safeguarded agreement for open skies, unarmed aerial sentinels, and reduced armament would provide a valuable contribution toward a durable peace in the years ahead."

Until the auspicious opportunity for peaceful solutions genuinely presents itself, we must confront armed and godless atheism with the strength of our truth and the truth of our strength.

As Shakespeare says in Measure for Measure: "Heaven grant us its peace, but not the king of Hungary's."

Here within our homeland's bounds your Government owes you a duty to pursue policies supporting a healthy, growing economy capable not only of providing the resources to keep the Government in forward motion, but also to give us ever greater scope to better our own lot.

As free men plan and execute their plans, as they find incentive to take risks and to earn rewards, they create an economy increasingly marked by equality of opportunity for all.

It has been well said, by a percipient observer, that the greatest of our American resources is to be found in the vigorous spirit of self-reliant men and women interested not only in receiving incomes but in earning them.

And on that note, may I leave with you a quotation from Goethe: "That which we have inherited from our forefathers, we must earn again in order to deserve."

Our Separate Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith a prize-winning essay titled "Our Separate Rights," prepared by Donna McCay, Charleston, S. C. Mr. Speaker, I consider it a great privilege to include this essay. I have known this young lady all of her life. She recently won the first prize for the entire State of South Carolina in a contest sponsored by the Sons of the American Revolution. She is a very smart young lady and should become one of our outstanding Americans.

The essay follows:

OUR SEPARATE RIGHTS

(By Donna McCay, St. Andrew's Parish High School, Charleston, S. C.)

The Constitution of the United States created a federation, that is, a Government in which there are two levels of authority—a central Government and a local government—with the citizens subject to the laws of both. Each exercises final authority in specified areas. The Federal Government exerts power principally on external matters, and the States are supreme in their internal affairs. In a federation, where the powers are thus divided, the Federal Government and the States preserve their integrity, give strength to each other, act as checks upon too much centralization or too much localization, and cooperate in carrying out their authority.

There has been and continues to be much disagreement over this balance of power. This is largely due to overlapping authority in some matters because of the vagueness and contradictory nature of two clauses in the Constitution. The first is the necessary and proper clause, which is the basis for the implied powers doctrine of the Federal Government. The second clause is that which reserves to the States any power not delegated to the Federal Government. Between the two there is a border line of uncertainty.

Since the adoption of the Constitution there has been a tendency to increase the authority of the Federal Government at the expense of the States. This shift in the balance of power has taken place gradually. Twice the Constitution has been amended to increase Federal authority, and frequently the doctrines of implied powers has been expanded to this end. Judicial interpretation of the intentions of the framers of the Constitution has generally upheld or broadened Federal power. Another effective method of security additional control is that of Federal aid to States for some project which the State is financially unable or unwilling to undertake. In accepting this aid the States usually accept Federal supervision of the work.

The greater efficiency of the Federal Government as compared with that of State government has been responsible in part for this increase in centralization of power. The chief reason, however, has been the broadening scope of modern civilization bringing a need for more centralized management for its great social and economic problems. Today there is a slight countertrend as many express concern over the rapid expansion of Federal power. The Eisenhower administration advocates restoring some of the States' authority, but the steps it has taken indicate only a mild breeze of reaction to the headlong centralization of power.

The State is still fundamental to the very operation of the Federal Government because in the exercise of its functions the Federal Government must rely upon the States to discharge their duties. Otherwise, a general breakdown would occur, no matter how efficiently Federal officials might try to fulfill their obligations.

The expansion of Federal power should not be permitted to increase indefinitely, lest it prove a menace to popular government. The United States has a population of 170 million and an area equal to three-fourths of all Europe; it has metropolitan centers, farmlands, deserts, mountain peaks where snow never melts, and valleys where snow never falls. Among the people there are differences of color, customs, and creed. The 48 States are too diverse to be fitted into an absolutely uniform mold. No Central Government, however efficient, can solve all their problems. It must also be remembered that an overburdened National Government may become unresponsive to the wishes of the people.

There is a vital need for cooperation among units of Government to work together harmoniously, and the States have proved their value as partners of the Nation in a great variety of cooperative enterprises.

Appendix

Massachusetts Spokesman on Need for Federal Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, before the Subcommittee on Special Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor, Mr. John D. Coughlan, chairman of the Massachusetts Youth Service Board, testified on the need for Federal leadership to State and local efforts to prevent and treat juvenile delinquency. Mr. Coughlan's statement showed great knowledge of the subject matter before the subcommittee, as well as deep thought concerning the proper role of the Federal Government with respect to this far-reaching problem. I was very much impressed with what Mr. Coughlan had to say and the many cogent points he made as to the need for farsighted and knowledgeable leadership on the part of the Federal Government in the field of juvenile delinquency. I ask unanimous consent, therefore, Mr. Speaker, that Mr. Coughlan's prepared statement be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF JOHN D. COUGHLAN, CHAIRMAN OF MASSACHUSETTS YOUTH SERVICE BOARD AND DIRECTOR OF THE DIVISION OF YOUTH SERVICE, CONCERNING FEDERAL AID TO ASSIST IN COMBATING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, MADE AT THE CONGRESSIONAL HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SPECIAL EDUCATION

Those of us who have official responsibilities for combating delinquency and crime have become increasingly alarmed in recent years over the dangerous increase in offenses against the law committed by juveniles. A recent analysis of the situation by Dr. Martha May Eliot, longtime Chief of the Children's Bureau, indicates that juvenile delinquency has risen 70 percent since 1950. J. Edgar Hoover, a month or so ago, presented startling figures showing not only a national increase in crime but also a shocking percentage of serious crimes committed by persons under the age of 21.

One of the most significant aspects of this situation is that the increase is not confined to any section or State or group of States, but extends throughout the whole Nation. It is reasonable to say that juvenile delinquency is no longer contained by State boundaries and that it is no longer exclusively a State or local concern. Scarcely a week goes by that we in Massachusetts are not arranging for the return of one of our delinquents or for sending one back to another State. In California, I am informed, a special train is operated periodically to return runaway and delinquent boys and girls to their home States across the Nation. Add to this wiping out of boundaries the alarming increase both as to number and to seriousness of offenses, and the problem can be clearly seen as no longer one of infected local areas but rather as a serious and growing contamination of the whole Nation's youth. As such, therefore, it has become not only a problem for the States and the local communities, but also a problem of Federal concern because it directly affects the national welfare.

Juvenile delinquency is like a disease—almost a plague in our times. It spreads from individual to individual, from group to group, from generation to generation.

It is my considered conviction that unless a nationwide effort is made in the present year and those immediately ahead to solve this social problem, or, if not to solve it, at least to arrest the increase, the consequences to American youth will be devastating. At present spreading rates, if unchecked, it is horrifying to think that this Nation may well have 2 million juveniles arrested annually by the police by 1967, only 10 years from now.

The implications of this for national defense are obvious. We are all familiar with the necessity for maintaining our manpower reserve. Let me point out that 2 million corrupted youths represent a serious lessening of that manpower because they make poor citizens and unreliable soldiers. Contrary to general belief, the armed services do not, except in some individual cases, reform serious delinquents. In fact, recognition of this has led to a policy of rejection by the services of those with juvenile records.

Let me point out, also, that adult criminals are largely recruited from the ranks of juvenile delinquents and that the nationwide control and prevention of crime in this and succeeding generations will depend to a large extent on the development of effective measures in the prevention and control of the antecedent condition of juvenile delinquency.

Four years ago I was placed in charge of the Massachusetts delinquency control program. As each year has passed, I have become increasingly convinced that the great challenge of our times in the field of crime and delinquency is the challenge to prevention.

It is at this point that the place of the Federal Government in the total effort becomes significant.

Since the national welfare is certainly involved, the participation of the Federal Government is imperative. There is, in my opinion, an obligation to supply leadership and stimulation to the States and the localities, as well as the kind of coordination of effort and research that only the Federal Government can provide—and has in other fields provided so well.

One outstanding example of Federal action is the recent episode of the Salk vaccine to prevent poliomyelitis. I have no doubt that the efforts to validate, to distribute, and to inoculate would still be sporadic, varied from State to State, and relatively ineffectual if the Federal Government had not assumed the obligation of leadership and coordination. I submit to you that children throughout the Nation turning to crime, menacing society, corrupting others, and at 15 or 16 becoming wanton killers or themselves falling before police guns should be equally the concern of the Congress. It is an historical fact that the decline of the great republics and democracies of the past did not result from decrease of physical prowess, but from moral degeneration.

The Federal leadership and coordination has been notable in many other areas also—in research and setting of standards for food and drugs; in the field of mental health; in the control of narcotics; in the improvement of agriculture; in the training of clinical psychologists to handle the problems of veterans, to mention only a few.

In all these areas, the leadership of the Federal Government, recognizing the national interests involved as a justification for participation, has given direction and purpose to development and improvement, and has resulted in major accomplishments that at best would be long delayed or indifferently accomplished if left to the States alone, or, at worst, would not have taken place at all.

I am not referring here to direct operational subsidy or Federal handouts, but rather to limited funds directly tagged for service and research for the accomplishment of purposes that cannot be provided by the States acting alone or independently.

It appears to me, for example, that one important area of activity with respect to crime and delinquency for the Federal Government would be to aid the States to set up pilot projects in key areas in delinquency prevention and control that would serve to provide information that would become available to other States on what methods have validity and success and what are likely to be ineffective. It might well be that such projects would help to replace outmoded ineffective methods and programs and develop programs better adapted to meet modern needs.

I am sure, also, that, like Massachusetts, there are some other States where new type programs are having a real impact on delinquency, but which are only partially effective because they must be financed by private funds, or because State funds are limited as to amount and use.

Such projects require the hiring of highly trained professionally qualified workers for whom adequate salaries must be provided. Generally speaking, rigid State salary schedules and personnel practices do not allow sufficient latitude and flexibility to hire such persons. At least, this is true in Massachusetts. It will be a long time before such State limitations can be eliminated, if ever. In the meantime, the problem grows more and more serious, and the national welfare is increasingly jeopardized. Long established policy and Federal practice, on the other hand, allows sufficient flexibility in approving grants for such projects to enable them to be effective.

Another great need in the field of delinquency prevention and control is the development of more trained workers. This need is acute in Massachusetts, as I am sure it is throughout the Nation. Unfortunately, State money cannot be used to provide stipends and scholarships or to set up adequate collaborative training with universities, and we must look to the Federal Government to meet this national need.

This is entirely consistent with Federal aid and assistance programs—for example, in the training of clinical psychologists, training of registered nurses for supervisory positions, and the training of professional workers in the area of mental and public health.

In this connection, I wish to call the attention of the committee to the fact that funds provided for the National Institute of Mental Health can, under certain circumstances, be obtained for use in programs combating delinquency. While I recognize the need for research to be carried on by Mental Health and feel that the National Institute of Mental Health and State mental health authorities will play an important part in future development of delinquency control programs, I must insist that a substantial part of Federal moneys directed at delinquency should go to those public agencies whose primary responsibility is delinquency itself, not a single aspect of many and varied responsibilities. Let me make it clear that I favor continued Federal aid in the field of mental health. I am disturbed, however, over what appears to be, so far as Federal aid funds are concerned, a tendency to regard delinquency as an exclusive province of mental health authorities.

In Massachusetts, the youth service board is an integrated State agency set up in 1949 to attack the problem of delinquency, including not only rehabilitation of those offending, but also its prevention. With some 2,500 delinquents under its jurisdiction in any given year, it seems to me most unwise and undesirable for such an agency to obtain Federal funds or benefits from Federal funds only on a hat-in-hand basis by going either to the National Institute of Mental Health or even, in some cases, to private agencies, through which Federal funds are being channeled. Such procedure not only limits the amount available, inasmuch as the mental health agencies will obviously take care of their own needs first, but also, it operates to bar the use of Federal funds in those instances where a legitimate delinquency prevention and control project is not slanted as a mental health project. What I am saying here is that it is time, now that delinquency is becoming so serious, for the Federal Government to recognize in its aid program law enforcement and other public agencies directly concerned with delinquency, instead of confining the Federal Government's program to the mental health field.

Recently, the Massachusetts Youth Service Board surveyed the communities of the State with respect to areas of activity where State and Federal funds could be used to greatest advantage in the attack on delinquency. As a result of that survey, we learned that our police departments are eager to provide special training for officers dealing with juveniles and to set up juvenile police bureaus within their departments.

I will recall to your mind the police training programs of the FBI and their value to State and local police in the effort to combat crime.

With Federal help, I believe that training programs of similar value could be set up in all the States to assist local police in their concerted efforts to handle the juvenile program. I believe that such programs set up in each State would have national value and important impact on the situation we face. The police are still a first line of defense in the attack on delinquency and everything possible must be done to enable them to coordinate and improve their efforts.

Fundamentally, my plea to your honorable committee is for favorable action on any one of the several bills before you, including that of the administration, or on a synthesis of the best features of all of them.

I want to make it clear that the amount of money provided in these bills is an extremely small amount in the total Federal budget, but the benefits will be large because they will mean the extra effort and the additional stimulation needed in the States in coping with this problem.

It must be understood, also, that I do not seek or favor large Federal operation grants or handouts. In Massachusetts, during the past 5 years, we have almost doubled our appropriations. We are, therefore, quite willing and able to do our full part in discharging ourselves of our State responsibility.

There are certain limited areas indicated in these bills, however, namely, demonstration, intensification of existing effort, and training of workers, where Federal participation is necessary and desirable. I am sure, also, that if this is true of Massachusetts, it must be doubly true of other States without a youth authority where the attack on delinquency is not nearly so structured and organized.

With substantial deterioration of an important segment of our youth certainly and demonstrably facing us, I cannot but feel that your honorable committee and the Congress itself will give favorable action to the proposal that the Federal Government assume a position of leadership in solving this growing social problem and by limited and reasonable financial aid, as provided in the bills before you, furnish the stimulation and the help for an improved national attack.

The Publishers and Mr. Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared May 11 1957, in the Daytona Beach Evening News, Daytona Beach, Fla., relating to the freedom of the press:

THE PUBLISHERS AND MR. DULLES

Newspaper publishers and managing editors from all over Florida are here to attend the spring meeting of the Florida Daily Newspaper Association and the Associated Press Association of Florida. These men and their wives, while all fiercely loyal to their own communities, tell us they love to come to Daytona Beach; find a congenial holiday atmosphere here that relaxes them. They like our informality and the picturesqueness of our broad beach and our green girt river.

And, needless to say, we love having them. We like entertaining guests in Daytona Beach; pride ourselves on having a flair for it. And to have such knowledgeable, and hence critical guests as the newspapermen of Florida, presents a challenge that delights us.

As in all conventions, much talk will be passed among the visitors about matters concerning their business and profession (for it takes both to make a newspaper). They will doubtless shake their heads over rising costs and narrowing profits, over the price of newsprint—now, economic law to the contrary notwithstanding, in good supply yet at higher cost—powwow about possible legislation that might make their lives still more complicated, discuss problems of mechanical processes and accounting and distribution.

It may be doubted that they will devote a great deal of their conversation to John Foster Dulles. They might be wise if they did.

For John Foster, the master of tactless diplomacy, coiner of such reckless phrases as "brink of war" and "master of retaliation," has achieved his alltime masterpiece in a matter of such deep concern to the newspaper world that nobody who has anything whatever to do with the dissemination of news can fail to take note and suffer keen alarm.

In a letter to publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger of the New York Times in reply to his protest against restricting the number and activities of American newsmen who might be allowed to find out for us what is going on in Red China, Dulles wrote:

"The constitutional freedom of the press relates to publication, and not to the gathering of news."

Therein is joined a vital issue. "Surely," the Times said editorially, "Mr. Dulles must realize that the right to publish news depends on the prior right to have access to it. If access is arbitrarily limited, as in the present case, the right of publication is interfered with to exactly the same degree. Would Mr. Dulles contend that freedom to produce a blank page is 'freedom of the press'?"

Editors and publishers must face the fact that the basic concept of press freedom, so hard and so long fought for, is in jeopardy, if, indeed, the Dulles viewpoint is allowed to prevail—even if it is merely permitted to be widely concurred in.

The public's right to know is the heart of "press freedom," not merely the right to publish. To know what? To know the truth, as deeply as we can fathom the truth. And to fathom the truth, we cannot stop with hearsay. We have to see with our own eyes, hear with our own ears—yes, smell with our own noses—and report what we see and hear and smell. Can truth ever damage the United States of America?

This latest booboo of John Foster Dulles can set the purposes of the American press back 200 years. And publishers and editors should be thinking and talking about it along with the problems of the back shop and the accounting room.—H. M. D.

Historic Friendship of Jews and Arabs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LUDWIG TELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. TELLER. Mr. Speaker in the present unfortunate conflict between the State of Israel and its Arab neighbors, it is well to bear in mind that firm foundations of friendship exist historically between Jews and Arabs which give hope that friendly peace may be worked out in the Middle East by men of good will.

Therefore, I introduce for the record a paper delivered by Rabbi Dr. Bernard Bergman, honorary chairman of the Religious Zionists of America, formerly national president of Hapoel Hamizrachi of America, the religious labor movement of Israel.

The paper was delivered in New York City on May 6, 1957, on the occasion of ninth anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel. In my view, Dr. Bergman's learned address has great current significance in showing the historical friendship which has existed between Jews and Arabs and the consequent possibilities of peaceful and mutually beneficial coexistence of the people of Israel and their Arab neighbors.

The paper follows:

HISTORIC FRIENDSHIP OF JEWS AND ARABS

(By Rabbi Dr. Bernard Bergman)

Insidious propaganda has managed to persuade large numbers of Americans that the

problems of the Middle East are insoluble because Jews and Arabs are prevented from working together by an inveterate hostility toward one another. It is not up to us to say how the Arabs feel in this matter, they have their own spokesmen, both Arab and American. But we feel in duty bound to issue the strongest possible denial from the Jewish side. It is simply not true that the Zionists who embarked upon the resettlement of the Holy Land against seemingly impossible odds were animated by a hostile attitude toward the Arabs. The Zionist attitude toward the Arabs has always been, and still is, friendly; Zionism has extended toward the Arabs a helping hand, and this helping hand is still welcoming a handshake whenever the Arabs are ready.

The following pages have the task of presenting to the American public conclusive evidence of how the Zionist pioneers, men like Weizmann and Ben-Gurion, were eager to avoid any conflict with the existing Arab population of Palestine. They made desperate efforts to obtain Arab agreement to Jewish settlement and even when they failed, they continued their efforts to improve the economic and cultural conditions of the Arab population, among whom the Zionist settlers have lived. Moreover, this positive attitude of the pioneers has been fully maintained by the state of Israel, which is spending vast sums of money to better the living conditions of its Arab citizens. This applies also to the Arab refugees, whom the Jewish state had tried to keep contented within its borders.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

The Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, was officially proclaimed by Lord Balfour on behalf of the British Government. It contains a guaranty of Arab rights in Eretz Israel in the clause: "It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done to prejudice the civil and the religious rights of the existing non-Jewish population of Palestine." The Arabs had not asked for such a guaranty, but the Zionist leaders, Chaim Weizmann, Nachum Sokolov, and Louis D. Brandeis proposed the Arab rights.

EARLY ZIONIST OVERTURES TO THE ARABS

In December 1917, the Zionist Organization made a public appeal to the Arabs to negotiate with the Jews and to come to a political agreement with them. This appeal was supported by all the Zionist leaders, and Dr. Weizmann, issued the following public statement:

"There is the old Arab problem. The Arabs are not strangers, they have lived in the country for centuries. They are a primitive people and they do not wish to leave Palestine as we enter Palestine. We say: there is room for both of us. You shall benefit by our coming, and we shall benefit by the friendly relations between you and us. We cannot go into the country like junkers; we cannot afford to drive out other people. We shall be the last people to drive the fellah off his land. We shall establish normal relations between them and us. The Arabs will live among us. They will not suffer, they will live among us as Jews live here in England. That is our attitude toward the Arabs." (Zionist Policy, English Zionist Federation, September 21, 1919.)

There could be no clearer proof of the humane attitude of the Zionists toward the Arabs than this statement by a man who was at that time, and remained until his death, the undisputed leader of world Zionism.

THE WEIZMANN-FEISAL AGREEMENT

The Arab spokesmen were, at that time, ready to come to an agreement with the Zionists, especially Feisal, later king of Iraq. The famous Col. T. E. Lawrence, who did as much as any man to free the Arabs from the Turkish yoke and who sympathized with both Jews and Arabs, acted as an intermediary between the Jewish and Arab delegates then gathered in Paris for the Versailles Peace Conference. After some talks, a treaty of friendship was signed on January 3, 1919, by Weizmann and Feisal, on behalf of Arabs and Jews.

The preamble of the treaty states that "mindful of the racial and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people, and realizing that the surest means of working out the consummation of their national aspirations is through their closest collaboration and in the development of the Arab State and Palestine * * *." Article VII provides that "the Zionist Organization will use its best efforts to assist the Arab State in providing the means of developing the natural resources and economic position thereof."

Confirming the treaty, Feisal wrote to Felix Frankfurter, one of the Jewish delegates then in Paris:

"We feel that Arabs and Jews are cousins in race, have suffered similar oppression at the hand of powers stronger than ourselves, and by a happy coincidence have been able to take the first step toward the mutual attainment of their national ideals. The Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the peace conference as we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, as far as we are concerned, to help their attainment and we will offer the Jews a hearty welcome home."

ARAB RESPONSE TO JEWISH OVERTURES OF FRIENDSHIP

The Palestinian Arabs reacted to the Jewish overtures in a very different manner. Already on November 3, 1918, they made a formal protest to the British military authorities in Palestine against Jewish immigration which was practically nonexistent at that time.

In April and May 1919, Arab mobs began a series of attacks on Jewish settlers, and only the intervention of British troops and police stopped serious damage.

On March 1, 1920, Captain Trumpeldor, Jewish war hero and prominent Zionist leader, was killed by Arab marauders at an isolated farm in Galilee.

Finally, in April 1920, the Arab mobs got out of hand and overwhelmed British and Jewish resistance. Serious pogroms started in Jerusalem and spread from the holy city to other parts of Eretz Israel. There were 60 Jewish dead before order could be restored. No Arab casualties were recorded.

JEWS CONTINUE CONCILIATION POLICY

In June 1921, Sir Herbert Samuel arrived in Palestine as the first British High Commissioner under the mandate. He came to the country in the wake of a new wave of pogrom which had started in Jaffa in the previous month. Nonetheless, he announced a program intended to win over the Arabs. He offered them a series of concessions, including a share in governing the country through a legislative council, in which the Arabs would be in the majority (there were to be 8 Muslims and 2 Jews among the elected members). In 1922, Samuel put his signature to a white paper on Palestine which made a mockery of the declaration that "Palestine is to become as Jewish as England is English" and practically nullified the Jewish aspiration for a national home by interpreting the Balfour Declaration as promising not the whole of Palestine as the national home for the Jews but merely the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. On June 22, 1918, the world Zionist organization accepted this limited concept of the Jewish national home. (Colonial office, Palestine, correspondence with the Arab delegation and the Zionist organization, HMSO, command 122.)

In August 1921, the first Zionist Congress to be held after World War I, passed a resolution affirming the determination of the Jewish people to live with the Arab people on terms of unity and mutual respect and, together with them, to make the common home into a flourishing community, the upbuilding of which may assure to each of its peoples undisturbed and successful development.

The same feelings were expressed by the Zionist leaders working on the spot in Eretz Israel, irrespective of factional differences.

Chaim Arlosoroff made it clear: "It is generally recognized today, if not heretofore, that the future economic life of Zionist enterprise is bound up with the Arabs." Shortly after Arlosoroff made this statement, he was killed by the Arabs.

Vladimir Jabotinsky, chief of the revisionist faction that was generally considered most hostile to the Arabs, spoke the same kind of language: "There is not one Zionist who really dreams of ousting the existing rural population of Palestine."

David Ben-Gurion affirmed in the 1920's, when he was one of a number of Socialist leaders, the same friendly attitude as now when he serves as Prime Minister of the State of Israel: "In our policy toward the outside world, an agreement with the Arab people is our decisive political task." This he said after the Jaffa pogrom of 1929, which added another bitter Jewish memory to the fatal month of Ab.

Jewish political and social organizations were formed with the avowed purpose of fostering Jewish-Arab amity.

PRACTICAL JEWISH HELP FOR PALESTINIAN ARABS

The Jewish settlers in Palestine helped the Arabs not only with words—which are cheap—but also with deeds. It is largely due to the many-sided Jewish efforts that the Palestine Arabs reached in so many ways a level infinitely superior to their compatriots in countries where the Arabs ruled themselves.

One clear sign of progress is the natural increase of the Arab population, due to the decrease in the death rate. While their leaders complained of being displaced by the newcomers, the Arabs increased from 673,000 in 1922 to 940,000 in 1935, an increase very much larger than the Jewish gain by immigration.

The Arab death rate fell very largely because of their contact with the Jewish settlement. It was the Jews who introduced modern hygiene into Palestine, who drained the malarial swamps, did research in tropical medicine, pioneered in inoculation work, halved the Arab infant mortality rate from 186/1,000 in 1922 to 90/1,000 in 1946. It was the high taxes paid by the Jews that provided the money for the health and social service activities among the Arabs whose tax yield was exceedingly slight. The selfless and devoted work of numberless Jewish men and women, whose fight against disease, filth, bad housing, etc. did not stop at any national boundaries. Jewish hospitals, to take but one example, have always been open to everybody—a proud tradition still maintained in the State of Israel. (The Arabs in Israel, Israeli Government Office of Information, Jerusalem, 1952.)

But welfare depends to a very large extent on economics, and here, too, Jews helped Arabs considerably. The mainstay of Palestine agriculture is the growing of citrus fruit, an activity started by Jewish settlers and adopted by the Arabs who directly benefited from Jewish agricultural research and the citrus marketing scheme to which they were admitted as full members, and which provided them with a steady income beyond anything they previously enjoyed.

Arab workers in cities and on the land were employed by Jews, while Jewish capital was instrumental in starting Palestine Arabs on the way to industrialization. Nascent Arab

industries also benefited from the internal market expanding through Jewish settlement.

The Jews also tried to protect the Arabs from the almost inevitable abuses of industrialization. Already in 1922, Jewish unions obtained from the mandatory government a prohibition of child labor, restriction of work of women and youths in specially exhausting, dangerous, or unsanitary kinds of work, and a workmen's compensation scheme. This is still the position in Israel today and thousands of Arab workers have benefited from the very important position that Israel has managed to achieve for itself. A special Arabic newspaper, Ittihad Al Amal (Workers' Unity) caters for Arab workers and keeps them in touch with Histadruth activities.

Nor were the cultural needs of the Arabs neglected. Jewish taxes largely financed the expansion of Arab education which boosted the percentage of school-going children to 48 percent (70 percent for male children), created Arab secondary education almost from scratch, and sent hundreds of young Palestinian Arabs for higher education abroad. This situation can be usefully compared with the 90-percent illiteracy rates of Egypt, Syria, and Iraq.

But perhaps the most unbiased testimony to what the Jews have done for the Arabs in the period of the mandate, comes from the British: "The general beneficent effect of Jewish immigration on Arab welfare is illustrated by the fact that the increase of the Arab population is most marked in urban areas affected by Jewish development." (Report of the Palestine Royal Commission of 1937.) To appreciate this British tribute to Jewish constructive work at its fullest, it must be remembered that it comes from the report of a Commission investigating a full-scale war fought by the Arabs against the Jewish settlers and coming to general conclusions that pleased the Arabs and horrified the Jews.

TWENTY YEARS OF ARAB AGGRESSION (1928–48)

The 1920's were marked by a truce in Arab-Jewish relations, the last peaceful period between the two peoples. There were all kinds of reasons for it. Jewish immigration to Palestine was slight because Jews from Russia were imprisoned by the Communists, those of Central and Eastern Europe were still putting their hopes in the short-lived democratic development of their respective countries and those of Western Europe and America felt even less like pulling up their roots and emigrating to Israel than they do now. Palestine was then enjoying an economic boom, and Jews and Arabs were busy consolidating their positions.

It was the Arabs who broke the truce by the Wailing Wall incident of August 1928. An Arab mob attacked Jews praying at the Wailing Wall. It had been incited by totally unfounded rumors spread by Arab nationalist agitators, to the effect that the Jews intended to take over the Arab holy places in Jerusalem.

A year later, on September 23, 1929, came the alarming Jaffa pogrom, followed by bloody disorders throughout the country. The British appointed a number of commissions of investigation, whose work culminated in the Passfield white paper of 1930 which gave British backing to the Arab case. The economic depression of 1929 and the coming of Hitler in 1933 brought a new spurt of Jewish immigration that the Arabs were determined to resist at all cost. They consolidated their leadership under the Mufti of Jerusalem and the Arab High Committee, and the Arabs who favored an agreement with the Jews were terrorized into accepting the new leaders.

The Arab nationalist agitation bore fruit in the Arab rising which started in 1936 and continued to flare up periodically until 1939. At first the Jews suffered tremendous losses and the Arabs felt themselves near their proclaimed objective of driving the Jews into the sea. But the organization of Jewish self-defense forces turned the scale. The Mufti and his military henchman Fawzi Kaukaji had to leave Palestine and went to find refuge with their natural leader and friend, Adolf Hitler.

The 6 years of World War II, 1939 through 1945, were not marked by any serious disorder in Palestine. The British were fighting for their lives and grudgingly accepted the help the Jews offered them. Together they policed Eretz Israel and kept it at peace. But it was an uneasy peace—the Arab leaders bided their time and waited for the end of the big war to start a war of their own.

The ingathering of the remnants of the Jews murdered at the orders of Hitler and Stalin provided the spark that ignited the flame. The Arabs were determined to stop it. Britain referred the matter first to the United States, then to the United Nations, then washed its hands and let Palestine move from Jewish-Arab civil war to Jewish-Arab international war.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAEL AND THE ARAB REFUGEES

The number one argument of Arab propaganda against Israel is the Arab refugee question. The Jews are said to have heartlessly expelled 1 million Arabs from their Palestine homes to make room for Jews and to make the establishment of the State of Israel possible. Although this happened less than 10 years ago, the facts have been so buried under an accumulation of propaganda that the average American newspaper reader is totally ignorant of them. What actually happened in Palestine in 1948 presents a picture very different from that offered to the world by Arab propaganda.

The Jews were fighting for their lives. The Arabs openly and shamelessly announced a war of extermination against them. On the very day of the foundation of Israel, Azzan Pasha, secretary general of the Arab League, said over the Egyptian radio: "This will be a way of extermination—a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the Crusades." Fawzi Kaukaji, leader of the Arab Army of Liberation had already told, 4 months earlier, the Arab newspaper As-Sarh (quoted in Le Monde, Paris, February 16, 1948): "The Jews cannot be regarded as a nation like the Americans and the Chinese; they are highway robbers to whom international rules of war do not apply."

The Arabs not only announced a war of extermination: they practiced it, too. In all too many cases, they gave no quarter and took no prisoner. This applies especially to the cutthroats of Fawzi's Army of Liberation. The Jews of the old city of Jerusalem and of settlements like Kfar Etzion, Ataroth, and Neve Yaacov, were wiped out.

The Jews could well have repaid in the same coin. But, to their eternal credit and honor, they did not. Extremists committed some terrible deeds; but, from Deir Yassin to Qibiya, the Jewish responsible leadership expressed its regret for what had happened. There is not a single declaration of Arab regret for all the massacres and pogroms.

Moreover, the Jewish leaders tried their level best to persuade the Arabs to stay put and not to leave their homes. The evidence is overwhelming. Already in December 1947, leaflets were distributed among the Arabs asking them to remain in their homes, to trust the Jews and to refrain from hostile actions. These leaflets were signed by the Vaad Leumi, governing body of Jewish Palestine and the nucleus of the future Jewish government. These appeals were reinforced by daily broadcasts in Arabic.

When the Arab exodus actually started, the Jews did everything they could to stop it. The Jewish community councils of Tiberias, Safed, Haifa, and other cities asked the Arabs not to leave.

This has been confirmed by a high British police officer of Haifa who reported to the British police headquarters in Jerusalem on April 26, 1948: "Every effort is being made by the Jews to persuade the Arab population to stay and carry on their normal lives, to keep their shops and businesses open, and to feel sure that their lives and property would be safe." Two days later, the same officer reported "the Jews are still making every effort to persuade the populace to remain and to settle back in their normal lives in the town." (These documents are given in photostats, The Army of Israel, New York, Philosophical Library, 1950.)

Another British source not particularly friendly to the Jews gives the same testimony: "During the subsequent days, the Jewish authorities who were now in control of Haifa urged all Arabs to remain in Haifa and guaranteed them protection and security. (The Economist, London, Oct. 2, 1948.)

Yet, in spite of all the Jewish efforts, 5,000 only or 6,000 of the Arab Haifa community remained in the city, and the story was more or less repeated all over the country. Why? There is no question that the Arabs were afraid and left in a panic. But this fear and panic were less caused by what the Jews did to them than by what their leaders told them would happen to them. These leaders told them that the Jews would kill the men, rape the women, and take their children away from them. They told them that any Arab who remained under the Jews would be considered a traitor and would be suitably dealt with by the returning victorious Arabs. They said returning victorious Arabs would also see to it that all Jewish property would be distributed among selected Arabs.

What actually happened is that these leaders were the first to run away. The Arabs left leaderless, and followed them more in the manner of sheep than men.

Some Arabs kept their heads and remained in Israel. The Al Heib tribe of Bedouins in Galilee even joined the Israeli Arr y in its fight against the thugs of Fawzi's "liberation army." The Druze and Ahmadiyya religious communities also remained. Christians proved themselves more levelheaded than Moslems. Eighty percent of the latter fled; but only less than 50 percent of the former.

THE RETURN OF REFUGEES TO ISRAEL

Even less known that the reasons why the Arabs fled is the fact that Israel actually accepted considerable numbers of returning Arab refugees. These refugees had good reasons for returning. Their Arab brothers received them with anything but open hands. They all took good care not to let the refugees settle among them and start new lives—that would have upset too many Arab vested interests. Nor would they move a finger to help them—that would cost good Arab money. When the British writer Cecily Makworth asked the Jordan Minister of Interior what social-security measures he intended to introduce for the benefit of the refugees, he answered indignantly: "Madam, we have nothing to do with bolshevism." (Quoted in André Falk, Israel, Terre Deux Fois Promise.)

The Arabs let the United Nations assume the charge, and the cost, of the refugees. All that they would hand out to them were appeals like the following broadcast by Baghdad radio on July 25, 1948: "These people (i. e., the refugees who return to Israel) should be shot as spies. The Jews will make slaves of you if you return to them, they will feed you on bread and water, they will make you sleep on the naked ground without as much as a cover, they will take your wives and daughters. You must prefer death to returning to the Jews. Words are cheap, they cost nothing."

To these words, Israel replied with deeds. Twenty-four thousand Arabs who recrossed

the border were allowed to stay in Israel and had their status legalized. Another 20,000 Arabs who were caught by the Israeli advance in Arab territories where they had sought shelter were allowed to stay. The majority of these returning refugees were offered resettlement in Israel, with U. N. aid. Also, steps were taken to legalize the property status of Arabs who had moved because of the war to different parts of Israel. Finally, a number of Arabs were readmitted to Israel under the family reunion scheme.

THE ARABS IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL: RECONSTRUCTION

The Arabs who remained in the new State of Israel were like a body without a head. Their leaders had left them. Many, if not most, had lost their means of livelihood. They were in a state of almost traumatic shock. While they regarded their leaders as traitors, they had no love for Israel. A few waited for the "second round," but a more common reaction was just to wait, with fingers crossed, for something to happen. Their fatalism, their belief that whatever happens, happens because "maktub" (it is so written), was not conducive to self-help and bestirring oneself on one's own behalf. The Government of Israel had to do many things for the Arabs that, by right, the Arabs should have done for themselves. This is especially true of the first months. Later things improved.

Reconstruction measures for the rural Arabs included, in addition to the aid given to all Israeli farmers both Jew and Arab, special loans to Arab farmers, employment on public works for the village measures. The area under Arab cultivation, both dry farming and irrigated, rose considerably; the production of vegetables by Arabs tripled between 1948 and 1951; the production of tobacco increased by six times in that interval.

Urban reconstruction measures included the raising of Arab wages to the Jewish level, which has been largely achieved. (It is Arab firms that are prominent in paying their Arab workers lower wages.) Arab Government employees were reinstated, and employment was created for many of those who were not.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Again, special measures in favor of the Arabs were taken in addition to the general health and welfare work; 29 special clinics for Arabs were opened in the first 3 years of the new state, 20 food centers providing 3,000 children with daily meals, an Arab old-age home, and an arts and crafts school. In addition to the Government, the Arabs are taken care of by the trade unions, who provide the usual benefits for their 11,000 members.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

The Jewish state actually spends more money on educating an Arab child than on a Jewish child; that is, of course, due to the Arab educational lag that the State of Israel is determined to wipe out for its Arab citizens.

While 1 of every 15 Arabs was at school under the mandate, the State of Israel has reduced the margin to 6½. In 1952, 67 percent of Arab children of school age were actually at school, the proportion rising to 71 percent if the Bedouin children are left out of account. New elementary schools were opened in 35 Arab villages. Girls provide 37 percent of the pupils. Kindergartens and coeducation are among the educational reforms introduced for Israeli Arabs by Government action.

In secondary education the lag is greater, since the Government of Israel leaves it to private enterprise. But it has helped Arab education by organizing extension courses on a secondary level, teachers' courses, and state examinations allowing entrance to college, and Arabs studying at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Other Arab cultural activities include the publication of daily newspapers and two weeklies and the Arabic language broadcasts of Kol Israel, the Voice of Israel; very important in a community still considerably illiterate. The daily broadcasts include readings of the Koran, political talks, special programs for women, and a message service for Arabs with relatives abroad.

The Arab central library in Jaffa has 80,000 books, and there are branch libraries in other centers.

The Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs takes care of Arab Moslems and Christians by special departments devoted to their welfare. The Government pays Moslem religious officials from special funds and has financed the preservation of mosques and religious manuscripts. Moslem lay councils have been created. Christian and Moslem Arab divines are regularly consulted by the Israeli Government on any legislation affecting their creeds.

POLITICAL AND MILITARY ACTIVITIES

The Arabs of Israel are exempted from the conscription which puts every Jewish man and woman into the Israeli Army for the considerable period of 2 years. This does not, however, mean that Arabs are excluded from the Israeli Army on ground of any discriminating. Loyal Arabs can and do serve in it; such are the cavalrymen of the Al Heib Bedouin tribe and the special Druze units incorporated in the army.

The Arabs of Israel have the same political rights as their Jewish fellow citizens. Arabic is one of the official languages of the Government of Israel (Hebrew is the state language), and Israeli coins, banknotes, and stamps are inscribed in Arabic as well as in Hebrew. The Official Gazette is published in the two languages. Arabs have the right to use their language in dealings with Israeli courts and other Government organizations. Arab deputies address the Knesset in Arabic and there is a system of simultaneous translation there.

The Arabs also enjoy full freedom of association. They have some 70 religious, social, political, economic, and cultural associations of their own. The most important is the Arab Labor League, affiliated with the Histadruth. But the Histadruth has no monopoly of organized Arab labor. There is also an independent Arab Workers' Congress with 22 branches and 2,500 members.

None of these Arab rights in Israel has any counterpart for Jews living in Arab countries. This is even more true for the right of political organization. No Jewish political party is tolerated in any Arab countries. This is even more true for the right of political organization. No Jewish political party is tolerated in any Arab state, but the Arabs put up no less than five parties of their own in Knesset elections, in addition to the Communists who, for reasons of their own, have a Jewish-Arab membership. In 1951, 83 percent of Arab voters actually voted, a larger percentage than of Jews. In the 1955 Knesset, five Arab deputies represent the Arab Farmer and Development Party, affiliated with Mapai. (Comdr. Hutchinson Violent Truce, New York, Devin-Adair, 1956; Frank Gervasi, New York Post, February 15–21.)

AGRICULTURE AND ARAB INDUSTRY IN ISRAEL

The Israeli Government and individual Jews have been trying to help the Arabs to go into industry and so reap, as the Jews have done, the benefits of industrialization. Also, such aid has been given to modernize Arab crops. Here are some highlights of these efforts:

The Arab olive presses have benefited from the general improvement of the olives grown in the 70,000 dunams of land held by Arabs in Galilee and the Little Triangle. Yields have soared from 20 kilograms per dunam to 120–150. Pruning of trees and improved fertilizers under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture are responsible. The owners of olive fields also receive loans and expert advice.

The Arab owners of olive presses have been helped by loans, introduction of modern machinery from Italy, and the services of Italian experts serving under the United Nations Technical Assistance and assigned to the Israeli Government.

Oriental tobacco grown by Arabs has increased from 6,000 to 60,000 dunams since the foundation of Israel. Loans and services of experts, both arranged by the government have helped. In manufacturing there is the remarkable example of Jewish-Arab partnership in the firm of Karaman, Dick and Salti near Kfar Hassidim. The firm has a capital 250,000 Israeli pounds, and employs Jewish and Arab workers. There is also an Arab cigarette company at Nazareth.

The Karamans, an Arab family, also own a flour mill. Arab industries also include soft drink factories, soap factories, coffee mills, printing works, chocolate factories, potteries, etc.

Special care has been taken by the government to help and develop Arab crafts. A vocational training center for Arabs was opened in Nazareth 2 years ago. (Gideon Weigert, Arab industry in Israel, the Israel Export and Trade Journal, February 1957.)

GAZA STRIP 1956, AND THE NEW ARAB REFUGEES

The Israeli occupation of the Gaza strip permitted free access to qualified journalists and allowed them to reconstruct what happened.

The Egyptians had kept the strip isolated from Egypt and treated the local Arabs and the refugees as conquered people. The Jews opened up the frontier, did not molest anybody and started a number of improvement schemes which were interupted by Nasser's return, the most important being the extension of Israel's citrus marketing scheme to Gaza and the reconstruction of its harbor.

The Arabs accepted the Jewish occupation, which was marked by no disturbance whatsoever. When the Israeli forces left, 600 Arabs asked to go to Israel with them, 25 Arab families were actually moved to Israel with the army.

Since then, the news from Gaza is of almost daily murder and violence. Hardly a day passes without some Arab crossing the strip border into Israel, in fear of his life. Israel has thus acquired a considerable new body of Arab refugees. Commentaries are surely superflous.

Private Ambassadors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I was very much impressed by a suggestion made this week by the Honorable David E. Kaufman, former United States Minister to Bolivia and Thailand, in which he discusses the great opportunity which every American traveler has to become a good will representative for his country. I understand that air and ship lines are planning to put into effect

this idea with posters at United States ports of embarkation.

Under leave granted, I include here the letter from Ambassador Kaufman to the Philadelphia Inquirer on May 18, 1957:

PRIVATE AMBASSADORS

To the EDITOR OF THE INQUIRER:

The very interesting feature page of the Inquirer recently contained a column by Roscoe Drummond in which he suggested that President Eisenhower appoint every citizen preparing to travel to a foreign land a private ambassador of the United States.

Based on my experience as United States Minister to Bolivia and to Thailand, I can give Mr. Drummond's suggestion my heartiest endorsement. As he says, the impression which millions of persons around the world have of America is the impression obtained from meeting individual Americans abroad. Each American traveler is a representative of America, whether he realizes it or not.

As far back as 1929, during my mission at La Paz, Bolivia, I made recommendations similar to Mr. Drummond's. When I was about to leave my post in Bolivia, I asked each member of the American colony there to act as an individual and unofficial Chargé d'Affaires for the United States. I believe it would be most helpful if each United States embassy and legation abroad would distribute cards denoting "Private United States Ambassador" not only to every American tourist but to every American resident in a foreign country.

These citizens are our foremost contacts with the people of other lands whom we want as our friends and allies. Their behavior is regarded as representative of America. This responsibility should be brought home to them.

DAVID E. KAUFMAN,
Former United States Minister to Bolivia and Thailand.

PHILADELPHIA, *May 15.*

Cotton Comment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article from the Memphis Commercial Appeal:

COTTON COMMENT: LIFE COMES UP WITH A CONCLUSION, BUT IT IS BASED ON MISCONCEPTIONS AND SOME STRETCHING OF FACTS—WHY NOT SAME TREATMENT FOR WHEAT?

(By Gerald L. Dearing)

"Our Government's Farm Madness Pays a Successful Industry To Wreck Itself."

The caption on the editorial page of Life magazine this week is a reflection of a condition that has been obvious to thinking cotton leaders for some time.

If the editors of Life were aware of what is going on in the world, they would know of the efforts that have been made, are being made, and will be made to return cotton to a free market, to competitive pricing, and to expanded production.

ATTEMPTS TO JUSTIFY

After reaching a conclusion it appears from reading below the caption, Life has attempted to justify it by half-truths, innuendoes, and misleading questions.

We have no argument with the conclusion—only Life's justification.

We have been pointing out for many years that the price support policy could lead only to loss of markets, increasing competition abroad, and the rise of the synthetic industry within the United States and in foreign countries. But we've tried to stick to the facts.

However right Life may be in its conclusions, there are many points in its reasoning that cannot be accepted.

PROPOSITION SET UP

If Americans, who pride themselves on their commonsense, were told the following, Life proclaims:

"That a big industry, one of the Nation's most important, is so successful in its operation that it gets twice as much product out of the same material as before, and has perfected its whole technique so skillfully that it is almost completely automatic from start to finish and so efficient that it could undersell any similar product made anywhere else on the globe. * * *

"That the Government, far from regarding this success as proof of the industry's ability to look after itself, insists on meddling in its affairs, giving it huge subsidies which it does not need, forcing it to produce too much—and at the same time holds its price so artificially high that the industry cannot compete with the rest of the world but is foundering in its own over production. * * *"

WOULD IT MAKE SENSE

"Would Americans say this makes sense, or would they say the whole thing is crazy as a bedbug?"

The above is the preamble to the editorial.

We think it is based on gross misrepresentation.

We don't believe that the production of cotton is anywhere near the automatic stage, nor that, at the moment, it can undersell the low-cost countries such as Syria, Pakistan, Turkey, Uganda, Mexico, Brazil, and many others. We think Life would recognize this if the editors looked at facts and not opinions.

After a general attack on the farm subsidy program, Life singles out cotton as presenting the most absurd example, and asks some "do you know" questions:

"The technology of growing cotton has been so perfected that the man-hours required to grow a bale of cotton have dropped since 1930 from 260 hours to 108 and the average yield per acre has risen from 157 pounds to 409 today?"

SOME OTHER FIGURES

Assuming that Life is correct with its figures, their presentation does not justify Life's conclusions. Life is an exponent of minimum wages, higher living standards, etc. The average price of cotton this year has been about $165 a bale. If the minimum wage of $1 is applied to the 109 hours used in producing cotton, it provides a labor income of $109. Certainly Life would use the minimum wage in its calculations. On top of this there would be such things as land rent, tractor fuel and depreciation, taxes, insecticides, fertilizer, and all the other charges that go into a bale of cotton.

When these are considered there seems little left for that important factor—profit.

"The most efficient producers—mechanized farms on flatlands ideally suited to irrigation and cotton culture, as in Arizona—can produce up to 1,108 pounds to the acre."

Granted. The Pruitt brothers in Mississippi produced 51 bales on 10 acres, or 5.1 bales to the acre, better than 2,500 pounds.

It will be a long time before even the most efficient producers approximate this yield.

WONDERFUL PICTURE

"From start to finish, cotton culture is now chemically or mechanically controlled—high-yield seeds chemically treated to resist molds and insects are machine inserted into ground prepared by soil looseners and nutrients, nourished by a dozen varieties of chemical fertilizers; the sprout fed with nitrate pellets, and sprayed with insecticides and the boll defeafed with chemicals."

Easy, isn't it? But it isn't completely so. There are mechanization and chemicals, but it's not the robot operation Life leads one to believe. There is the problem of weather and the need for planting and replanting. The menace of rains which prevent cultivation and require tedious hours of hand labor. Even in the nearly ideal situation in Arizona, which Life uses for an example, there are moments when the mechanization fails and the man with the hoe must take over.

"Cotton culture is so successful and efficient that 17.5 million acres now yield more production (14,725,000 bales in 1955) than was grown on 43 million acres in 1930."

COST STABILIZED

Conceded. Yet does Life realize that in the past 10 years the cost of producing a pound of cotton has merely been stabilized? The farmer has been able to increase his efficiency only enough to meet the rising costs of labor, machinery, chemical supplies, fertilizer, insecticides, taxes, and the like. We are dealing in averages and not, like Life, in the exceptionally efficient. We know farmers who have successfully grown cotton for many years at a cost under 14 cents a pound—but the industry is far from that level on the average.

"To get rid of surpluses the farm-bloc Congressmen, who swap their support for one another's favorite subsidies, have required the Government to dump this cotton overseas at prices far below the artificially frozen domestic price."

What should have been done with it? Could it have been sold at the loan price? The cotton-export program, if Life had cared to look, was the first step in the direction of all the things that Life proposes to accomplish. It made American cotton competitive with other cottons and with synthetic fibers in the foreign markets. It was the first step to make for the lifting of production controls and the elimination of price supports.

MUST HAVE MARKETS

Life must realize that to sell cotton there must be markets. To have markets prices must be competitive. When the export-sales program was inaugurated American exports were down to 2 million bales. The forecast was that by 1958 they would be down to zero.

The surplus cotton was offered for sale in an effort to regain markets and to hold them until that time when production could be increased, prices reduced, and cotton could compete on its own.

What Life has failed to realize is that the acreage restrictions of the farm program have increased the costs per unit of cotton and that only through expanded production can the cost level be reduced. What would Life have thought if, when there was a 14 million bale surplus, the restrictions had been lifted on production and supports had been abruptly pulled out on price? Or didn't it care?

Think of the chaos that would have created, the upsetting of the economy. It has taken the cotton farmer 25 years to climb to the difficulty in which he now finds himself. He must retrace his steps and he knows it.

JUMP OFF CLIFF

Life argues that having made a long climb up the mountain, the quickest way to the bottom is to jump off the cliff. True, but probably fatal.

"The original purpose of cotton subsidies—to help the distressed small farmer—no longer makes sense," Life concludes.

Wrong again. The original purpose was to set a floor to prevent disaster to all cotton farmers.

"It keeps the marginal, uneconomic, hillside patch farmers turning out poor cotton that isn't needed anyway."

Only partially right. The original program was a hedge against disaster. It was not until later that the percentage of parity supports were lifted to the level to make the loans a welfare program. It does not follow, either, that the hillside farmer turns out poor cotton. Uneconomic cotton perhaps, but usually of moderately good quality since it is hand picked. The poor quality cotton comes from some of the mechanized areas which Life praises so highly and is grown chiefly for the loan.

"It keeps them at it when, if left to their own devices, they could go to town and work on a useful job."

WHAT JOBS?

We wonder if Life has stopped to consider that the average age of the small farmer of the type it speaks is about 55 years. That in most instances he is unacceptable to industry. That most of the younger farm people who are adaptable to industry already have left the farm.

More realistic thinkers than the editorial writer for Life have given much time and great thought to the problem. They have made progress.

It is admitted that if the cotton supports were $1 a pound most of these small farmers could not make a living comparable to even the most modest modern standards. But is their existence to be abruptly taken from them without permitting a period of adjustment?

The rural development program of the Department of Agriculture is attempting to solve the problem. It is striving to bring about the consolidation of farms into workable units that can be economically justified as the oldsters move out of farming either through the lure of social-security payments, or old-age benefits. Or death.

There is no doubt that there is no place for the uneconomic unit in today's farm picture. But does Life suggest that they be destroyed with some swift action? Would it not be better to make an adjustment gradually and as painlessly as possible?

SOME COULD SURVIVE

"The really successful cotton farms—the big mechanized ones and the good medium-sized farms would still produce most of our cotton—could surely get along without help, eventually, if the industry were basis of free competition and our prices left to find their own level. The business would quickly thin down to efficient operators who could produce all the cotton really needed and at a profit."

The word "eventually" makes this paragraph make sense.

"Yet the Government, last year, laid out $1.4 million in crop loans to one of the biggest of all these corporate cotton industrialists, Mississippi's Delta & Pine Land Co., a British stock company."

Misrepresentation again. The money was loaned and paid back as a market stabilizing device. At that, it was only about one-tenth the postal subsidy Life received from the Government.

"This program is causing cotton to strangle itself."

Life is so right.

INFLAMING PUBLIC

The rest of the editorial is an effort to inflame the public against the farmer, an expression of sympathy to the small farmer and a conclusion:

"If enough Americans squawk, something will be done to stop this silly business."

It's easy to solve problems from the heights of an air-conditioned ivory tower. It is much more difficult to solve them at the working level.

There is no question that cotton, if it is to survive, must turn to the direction of unlimited production and free prices. But how do you do it?

We could explain to the omnipotent editor of Life, the distress that an abrupt change would bring to thousands of small farmers, the damage would come to larger growers whose machinery and other obligations have been hitched to the high level of prices; the disruption of the textile industry during the transition period.

WOULD ASK QUESTION

And having told him, we might ask him to provide an answer to the question: "How can your objectives be attained with the least damage to the economy?"

We don't think he has an answer. We don't think he wants an answer.

We would like to point out that, before Life had its idea, the Secretary of Agriculture, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the American Cotton Producer Associates, and the thinking leaders in Congress had recognized the problem for what it was.

They were trying to solve it.

Life is in the position of the man who stood on the dock and watched the man struggling in the water, then walked off, ignoring the lifebelt at his feet, with the comment: "He'll drown if he doesn't learn to swim."

Perhaps we are naive, but we would like to ask: Why pick on cotton? The wheat export subsidy is greater percentagewise than that for cotton. The Government losses in wheat are as great as for cotton. The money invested in wheat is greater than for cotton.

Or does Life consider cotton a more vulnerable and less dangerous target to shoot at?

Discrimination Favoring East Coast Shipyards as Against Pacific Coast Shipyards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the Oregon State Legislature recently adopted House Joint Memorial 17, calling upon the executive departments of the Federal Government to cease discrimination favoring east-coast shipyards as against Pacific-coast shipyards.

Oregon has the capacity for building and repairing ships. Oregon wants no special favors in the granting of contracts for the repair and construction of ships. It asks only that it be permitted to seek contracts without unfair discrimination. That request should be honored by every department of the executive branch of the Government.

Under unanimous consent, I include the full text of the Oregon House Joint Memorial 17 in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD immediately following my remarks:

House Joint Memorial 17

To the Honorable Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled:

We, your memorialists, the 49th Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas one of the most vital national defense needs is a ready reserve of experienced shipyard personnel and the preservation and development of fully equipped and operating shipbuilding facilities on both east and west coasts; and

Whereas the Pacific coast shipbuilding industry and the people dependent upon it are in a comparative depression condition; and

Whereas favoritism practiced by the Federal Government in the assignment of shipbuilding and repair contracts has substantially contributed to this condition; and

Whereas current Federal allocation policies are not giving the Pacific coast shipyards enough repair and conversion work to keep their personnel resources in all skill categories up to the level of minimum needs; and

Whereas the Nation is being placed in increasing jeopardy relative to national defense due to these allocation policies; and

Whereas the Portland area and other important areas within the State of Oregon which are equipped and capable of conducting full-scale shipbuilding and repair and conversion operations are suffering economically as a result of these policies; and

Whereas the Navy's program of ship repair and conversion has discriminated against Pacific coast interests; and

Whereas as an example of this discrimination, two mothballed cruisers recently departed from the Pacific coast for conversion at a cost of approximately $14 million at booming east coast shipyards, while Pacific coast shipyards, which the Navy is pledged to support under legislation enacted by the Congress last July, remain relatively idle, and the Navy has acknowledged that this transfer will cost the taxpayers $426,000, in addition to the cost of the conversion of these two ships, irrespective of which yard carries out the conversion; and

Whereas a continuation of these policies of discrimination will pyramid the competitive advantage enjoyed by the east coast shipyards at the expense of Pacific coast shipyards and will eventually threaten the existence of Pacific coast shipbuilding altogether: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Oregon (the Senate jointly concurring therein), That the President and the Congress of the United States be memorialized to see that every effort of the Federal Government be expended to cease discrimination favoring east coast shipyards as against Pacific coast shipyards in matters of shipbuilding and ship repair and conversion and that intervention by the Federal Government through the awarding of contracts and the establishment of policy be such as to encourage the continued existence and the further development of the Pacific coast shipbuilding industry; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this memorial be sent to the President and Vice President of the United States, and to all members of the Oregon congressional delegation.

Adopted by house April 30, 1957.

Adopted by senate May 8, 1957.

[SEAL] EDITH BYNON LOW,
Chief Clerk.

PAT DOOLEY,
Speaker of House.

BOYD R. OVERHULSE,
President of Senate.

Discharge Petitions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, discharge petitions have been the subject of much discussion here in the

House during recent weeks. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to define briefly my personal position with reference to such petitions. To me, an important legislative principle is involved.

While I am not opposed to the rules of the House providing for discharge petitions, I do believe the taking of legislation from the consideration of the properly designated committee disrupts the orderly functioning of the legislative process. For this reason, I am presently of the opinion that I will adhere to a policy of not signing any discharge petitions. Mr. Speaker, I have confidence in the committees of the House. Although they may not always act the way I might wish, nor as rapidly, nevertheless, our committee system has served the legislative branch of the Government well.

Presently, discharge petitions are on the desk in connection with the civil rights bill and also a bill providing increased salaries for postal employees. I have stated publicly before, and I wish to state again, that I will support the civil rights legislation as recommended by the President. However, I do not propose to sign such a discharge petition, as I do not believe it is sound legislative policy.

Likewise, I am sympathetic with respect to the problems of the postal employees and believe there is merit in their request for a salary adjustment, in some amount. Again, I do not propose to sign the discharge petition for the reasons that I have just stated.

I make this statement in order that my position may not be misunderstood by either the supporters or the opponents of the pending legislation that I have mentioned.

One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Democratic National Convention, May 21, 1832–May 21, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, today is the 125th anniversary of the Democratic National Convention. On the third Monday in May in 1832, May 21, at the hour of 11 in the morning, there assembled in convention at the old Athaeneum in Baltimore the first real national convention of a political party.

This convention was called in June 1831 by the Democratic members of the New Hampshire Legislature numbering 169—all friends of democracy and President Andrew Jackson.

The keynote speech of this first convention was delivered by the Honorable Frederick A. Sumner, of Charlestown, N. H. Gen. Robert Lucas, of Piketown, Ohio, was chosen the convention's permanent chairman.

The ringing words of Mr. Sumner's great speech give us the postulates of the many great Democratic conventions that were to follow. He told the 283 delegates assembled from 23 States:

The proposition for calling a general convention of delegates, to act on the nomination of a candidate for President, and to select a suitable candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States, originated in the State of New Hampshire, by the friends of democracy in that State; and it appears that the proposition, although opposed by the enemies of the Democratic Party, has found favor in nearly and perhaps all the States in the Union; so that we find collected at this time and place a greater and more general delegation from the people than was ever before assembled upon an occasion of the sort.

The object of the representatives of the people of New Hampshire who called this convention was not to impose on the people, as candidates for either of the two first offices in this Government, any local favorite, but to concentrate the opinions of all the States.

They believed that the great body of the people, having but one common interest, can and will unite in the support of important principles; that the operation of the machinery of government confined within its legitimate sphere is the same in the north, south, east, and west; that although designing men, ever since the adoption of the Constitution, have never ceased in their exertions to excite sectional feeling and sectional interest, and to array one portion of the country against another, the great and essential interests of all are the same.

They believed that the coming together of representatives of the people from the extremity of the Union would have a tendency to soothe, if not to unite, the jarring interests which sometimes come in conflict from the different sections of the country.

They considered the individuals who might be selected as candidates for office to be of much less consequence than the principle on which they are designated; they thought it important to ascertain the fact, whether the people themselves, or those who would frustrate the voice of the people, should succeed in our elections.

They believed that the example of this convention would operate favorably in future elections; that the people would be disposed, after seeing the good effects of this convention in conciliating the different and distant sections of the country, to continue this mode of nomination.

Third Anniversary of the Supreme Court Decision Outlawing Segregation in the Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, this third anniversary of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools is an appropriate time to survey our progress in the field of civil rights and to renew our efforts toward achieving the goal of equality in practice, rather than merely paying lip service to this great principle upon which our Nation was founded. At a time when we are trying so diligently to make friends with the peoples of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, we cannot afford to do anything to impede the elimination of racial prejudice in our own country. We must set a true example of tolerance and respect for the integrity and dignity of all individuals here at home before we can convince other nations that we truly want them as equal partners in the battle to achieve a peaceful world based upon democratic principles.

President Eisenhower and Vice President NIXON have helped to show the way for all Americans by their forthright stand in support of the action of the Supreme Court in striking down segregation in our public schools. It is now my hope that Congress will act during this session on civil rights legislation similar to that which I introduced early this year. There is absolutely no place in our country today for laws which would prevent any citizen from voting because of racial or religious prejudice. The time to act is now.

Trend Seems To Favor United States Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to call the attention of my colleagues to a recent release by Elmo Roper & Associates as the result of a nationwide survey to determine the sentiment of the average American on the proposal to make Federal grants-in-aid for needed school classroom construction.

In addition to pointing out that a majority of the American voters favor direct Federal grants-in-aid in meeting this classroom shortage, the article dwells extensively with the problem of financing school construction. A surprising discovery is that a majority of the American people favor not only school-construction aid, but Federal aid for teachers' salaries.

The article follows:

THE PUBLIC PULSE: TREND SEEMS TO FAVOR UNITED STATES AID TO EDUCATION

(By Elmo Roper & Associates)

There is no more tremendous subject in the United States today than education. We are in a twofold crisis. In the first place, our population has been increasing so fast that by 1970, the number of students seeking admission to college will be at least double what it is today. All over the country right now, high schools and grammar schools are bulging with students for whom there are not enough teachers, not enough space, not enough of anything. Nothing can keep this situation from getting worse before it can get better.

As if this were not enough, there is another nation in the world which has staked everything on developing the greatest educational program in the world. This nation is Russia.

In recent months, more and more American educators are getting into Russia and coming back home goggle-eyed at what they have seen there, because it is so good. In Russia, college professors are the highest paid professionals in any walk of society, and 50 percent of all Russian graduates of higher education become teachers. We in America are falling seriously behind the procession.

Is public-school education something that only local communities, or the various States, should provide? What about the role of the Federal Government in helping out the public schools? The newspapers have been full of this discussion, and much of what you read would make you think that it is downright dangerous for the Federal Government to take any part in financing public-school education at all.

FINANCING PROBLEM WIDESPREAD

Recently, we finished a nationwide study of public attitudes toward this question, and the orators who declaim against too much Federal aid to education are in for a shock—the public does not agree with them. Here was the way we put a three-part question:

Our public schools are having a hard time finding funds so that they can keep up with our population growth and maintain high educational standards. Which of these statements best expresses your feelings about how this problem should be solved?

Public schools should depend entirely on local financing.

Federal aid for building new schools should be provided, but teachers' salaries and everything else should be paid for with local funds.

Federal aid should be given for building new schools and paying teachers' salaries.

The answers are startling. They reveal that the public is strong for more and more Federal aid—not just for school buildings but for schoolteachers' salaries, and for whatever is needed to keep us abreast in our race for knowledge. Here are the figures:

	Percentage agreeing
Local financing entirely	16
Federal aid for school building programs, but nothing more	30
Federal aid for building programs and teachers' salaries	43
Don't know	11
Total	100

The news here is not just that the "local only" believers are so heavily outnumbered, but that the American people as a whole give their biggest vote, quite clearly, to what many local, State, and Federal officials secretly believe, but are afraid to say because they think the public will be against it.

But the public is not against it. The public is for it, and so clearly for it that if such a program were to begin tomorrow, the biggest number of people would be for it in any category you wanted to pick.

Take the question of age, for example, which has more bearing on education than it has on many another question, since it is youth that is directly involved. People between the ages of 21 to 25, recent products of our American system, vote for inclusive Federal aid by a majority, 51 percent in favor of it, 30 percent in favor of Federal aid "for building only," and no more than 10 percent in favor of "local only." As you go up the scale in years, the preference for inclusive Federal aid gets smaller, but it always wins.

FEDERAL AID MEETS FAVOR

You cannot even stir up much of a quarrel on this vital issue among the political parties. True, the Democrats are more federally minded than the Republicans, but the trend of the vote among Republicans, and the trend of the independent vote, too, is the same. Only the size of the figures differs, as this shows:

	Republicans	Democrats	Independents
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Local only	18	15	19
Federal building only	35	27	29
Inclusive Federal	37	49	42
Don't know	10	9	10
	100	100	100

In short, if the Federal Government were to take its courage in both hands and decide tomorrow morning that our crippling educational shortages were something for which it must now take a heavy measure of responsibility for the first time in the history of our Republic, the heavens would not fall. More people favor such a course than favor any other single one.

Northern California Electrical Workers Conference, AFL-CIO, Endorses Joint Development of Trinity River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, the joint executive conference of Northern California Electrical Workers, IBEW, AFL–CIO, has passed a resolution calling on Congress to approve partnership development of the Trinity River project in California.

In taking this action, the electrical workers conference of northern California has gone on record in support of H. R. 6997, the bill I introduced to provide for joint development between the Federal Government and the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

The conference represents IBEW local unions from Salinas to Eureka, an area embracing a considerable portion of the State of California. A copy of the resolution was sent by the conference to all its affiliated local unions, with the intent that they take similar action.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution speaks for the laboring men who would do the work in constructing, operating, and maintaining the power facilities of the project. They prefer private enterprise over Federal control.

For the information of my colleagues, I desire to include with my remarks the following resolution adopted by the conference at its semiannual meeting on May 11:

RESOLUTION ON TRINITY PROJECT BY JOINT EXECUTIVE CONFERENCE OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA ELECTRICAL WORKERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS

Whereas the construction of the Trinity River project has been authorized by the Congress; and

Whereas there is pending legislation which would provide for private development and operation of the power facilities in connection with the project; and

Whereas the construction, operation and maintenance of the powerhouses plus the generation and distribution of the power is of vital interest to the members of the IBEW: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the joint executive conference of Northern California Electrical Workers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL–CIO, go on record in favor of the "partnership plan" for joint public and private development of the Trinity River resources; and be it further

Resolved, That the conference go on record in support of H. R. 6997, 85th Congress, which would provide for joint development of the project by the United States and the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the congressional Representatives of northern California and the affiliated locals of this conference with the intent that they take similar action.

Adopted this day May 11, 1957, at Vallejo, Calif.

W. H. DIEDERICHSEN,
Secretary.

SAN MATEO, CALIF.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am enclosing an open letter written by Mr. John Donaldson and carried in the Ashland Times-Gazette, Ashland, Ohio. Mr. Donaldson sets forth some very important facts relative to the Agricultural Adjustment Act and I hope the Members of Congress will read his article:

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: CITIZENS' RIGHTS ABROGATED BY FARM LAW, DONALDSON SAYS

DEAR EDITOR: That a farmer, under the Agricultural Adjustment Act, has lost certain rights of property is apparent to most farmers although people in the towns and cities are generally unaware of the situation.

A farmer may plant only that acreage of wheat which the Department of Agriculture allows him. He is penalized for exceeding this allotted acreage. Furthermore he must obtain permission in the form of a wheat marketing card from the Department in order to be able to sell his wheat crop. The farmer has no freedom of choice in the matter. If he grows wheat, he automatically comes under these restrictions.

However, many farmers are as yet unaware that other equally important rights of citizenship have been abrogated by the Agricultural Adjustment Act. The recent Federal court decisions in wheat penalty cases have clarified the situation and are therefore of great significance not only to farmers but to all citizens since they may establish a precedent for other departments of Government.

These wheat penalty cases were tried under the Federal Rules for Civil Procedures. By so doing the courts considered that the procedures authorized under the Agricultural Adjustment Act had already established the farmer to be guilty of a wheat quota violation and to be in debt to the Government. This accounts for the denial of a jury trial. The court reasoned that since the farmer's guilt was already established, there was no need for a trial by jury.

The question will arise as to how a court can ignore that basic tenet of American justice that a person is presumed to be in-

nocent until proven guilty. The judicial decisions cite the following clause from section 367 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act: "No court of the United States or of any State shall have the jurisdiction to pass upon the legal validity of any such determination" (determination of an Agricultural Soil Conservation Review Board). Thus the courts recognized the Agricultural Soil Conservation Committees and Review Boards as having exclusive judicial powers to determine guilt of farmers in wheat quota violations.

This premise taken by the Federal courts places the American farmer entirely at the mercy of the quasi-legal, "drumhead" procedures authorized by the Agricultural Adjustment Act in which the Department of Agriculture acts as both prosecutor and judge. Furthermore there is no provision in these procedures for that great safeguard against judicial tyranny, the right of trial by jury, as expressly guaranteed in the seventh amendment to the United States Constitution.

One has every right to question whether these procedures which deprive a farmer of his property in the form of a penalty can be called the due process of law guaranteed in the fifth amendment.

It would seem that, as of the present, the American farmer no longer lives under the protection of the Constitution. This view is supported by a recent news item on wheat penalty cases in the Toledo Blade: "These hearings are preposterous," United States District Judge Frank L. Kloeb remarked, adding he intended to uphold the law of the land and refused absolutely to go into the question of constitutionality.

JOHN DONALDSON.

A Program To Help the Depressed Poultry Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PERKINS BASS
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. BASS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement made by me before Subcommittee No. 6 of the Select Committee on Small Business of the House, which is investigating the present production crisis in the poultry industry. The survival of this industry is of vital importance to the people of my district in New Hampshire, and I call this problem to the attention of the Members of the House:

STATEMENT OF HON. PERKINS BASS, UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE, SECOND DISTRICT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 6, SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Chairman, the poultry industry is a very important part of the economy of the Second District of New Hampshire which I am privileged to represent in Congress. Just less than 50 percent of all of our agricultural income in New Hampshire is derived from this key industry and this industry is sick. It is sick because tremendous overproduction of poultry products has brought prices in the broiler, egg, and hatchery markets down to an all time low. Scores of once healthy poultry businesses in New Hampshire have thereby been destroyed or imperiled.

For some months, I have investigated in detail this problem and I am pleased to offer to the committee for its earliest consideration and possible recommendation a seven point program of executive action. This is an emergency program dictated by the severe poultry crisis. My program attempts to provide an immediate Government assist to the poultrymen in the form of direct Government and related purchasing programs. However, at the same time it attempts to restrict other Government agencies from extending credit where such credit would expand poultry production. This degree of coordination is essential if we are to constructively attack the overproduction problem. In addition to programs of purchasing and credit restrictions, I believe we must increase our present efforts to stimulate consumption of poultry products at home and abroad.

And finally, Mr. Chairman, I believe we need a detailed investigation of integration and its effects. Integration has been charged with much of the difficulties that the poultry industry is experiencing. A detailed investigation by the Justice Department is important if we are to take constructive remedial action, and this investigation could do much to clear the air.

My program is as follows:

1. The President of the United States shall direct the various credit agencies of the Government to cease granting loans to poultrymen where such loans are for the purpose of expanding egg and broiler production. This ban to continue until the Secretary of Agriculture shall decide that present acute overproduction has ended.

2. The Congress shall direct the Attorney General to conduct an investigation of the operation, effect and possible violation of antitrust legislation of the so-called integration system of poultry production and marketing and that the Attorney General shall report his findings to the Congress by January 1, 1958, and take what other steps are required.

3. The Secretary of Agriculture shall continue and expand the present research programs to stimulate the consumption of poultry products.

4. The Secretary of Agriculture shall encourage procurement officials of the military services and other Federal agencies to expand the purchasing and use of poultry products.

5. Government purchases of poultry products to the fullest extent possible shall be made locally.

6. The Secretary of Agriculture should utilize his authority to the fullest extent possible to distribute poultry products through the school lunch program and other authorized outlets. He should also encourage the local school lunch procurement agencies to purchase and utilize poultry products.

7. The Secretary of Agriculture should utilize under Public Law 480 the authority to increase sales of poultry products in foreign markets.

Mr. Chairman, the poultrymen of New Hampshire need our help. In the past, Congress has not failed other small farmers and businessmen. Let us not fail the poultrymen.

No Grounds for a Veto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the May 21, 1957, issue of the Chicago Daily Sun-Times:

NO GROUNDS FOR A VETO

If logic and reason prevail, a new Federal law should be enacted soon permitting an increase in the diversion of Lake Michigan water into the Illinois Waterway.

In recent years Congress has twice enacted such legislation, and it has twice been vetoed by President Eisenhower. However, the reasons that the President cited for his action no longer seem to exist.

Thus, if Congress enacts a diversion bill this year, as now seems likely, the President should logically sign it into law.

Tomorrow, the House is scheduled to debate and probably pass a bill by Representative THOMAS J. O'BRIEN, Democrat, of Illinois, to increase the present diversion of 1,500 cubic feet per second to 2,500 feet. The extra diversion would be for a test period of 3 years, during which Army engineers would measure its effect on Great Lakes levels and on the Illinois Waterway.

Favorable Senate action on the measure is expected before the session's end.

In his previous vetoes, the President variously cited these objections to the diversion bills: (1) That the present rate of diversion is adequate for navigation in the Illinois Waterway and Mississippi River; (2) that more diversion might be harmful to navigation and hydroelectric power projects on the Great Lakes; (3) that Canada might be opposed to extra diversion, and (4) that increased diversion might adversely affect other States lying along the Great Lakes.

As recently pointed out in the Northwestern University Law Review, all of these objections have been answered wholly or partially by subsequent developments. An article by Anthony A. Olis, president of the sanitary district, and Robert A. Sprecher, special assistant attorney general of Illinois, brought out that:

The President himself dropped all reference to the first point between his first and second veto messages. On the second point, two expert studies concluded that the effect of increased diversion on Great Lakes navigation and power would be negligible. On the third point Canada interposed no objection to the recent increased diversion authorized by the United States Supreme Court on an emergency basis. The fourth point is answered in part by the two expert studies mentioned before and by the failure of other Great Lakes States, with the exception of Wisconsin, to object to the Illinois petition to the Supreme Court for emergency relief.

There are no more valid grounds for the President to object to the O'Brien bill, and we trust he will sign it.

One Nation Under God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. CARL ANDERSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a prize-winning essay by Kenneth Oberembt, of Redwood Falls, Minn., entitled "One Nation Under God."

The American Legion and the American Legion Auxiliary render great service to our Nation by their work with young people. Perhaps their greatest contri-

bution is in the promotion of 100 percent Americanism, and that is exemplified by this essay produced by Kenneth Oberembt for the contest sponsored by the auxiliary.

In commending this splendid essay to your attention, I pay compliment to the legion and the auxiliary and the members of those two great patriotic organizations who give so freely of themselves to this splendid work.

The essay follows:

ONE NATION UNDER GOD

Listen: Atheist, Communist, and Fascist. Listen and understand my humble words.

I am a human being like yourselves, but more than that, I am an American. I live in a land of destiny, a land of progress, and a land of opportunity. I am a fractional part of the greatest earthly happiness, a free and wholesome way of life—the American way of life. I belong to a typical American home, one among millions upon which shines the luster of divine light.

My home contains all of the elements of the average home. It has its moments of heart-rendering sorrow, periods of hilarious ringing laughter, occasions for a needed reprimand, and time for well-won praise. But a much stronger force binds our individual paths together, the force of love. First is divine love in the acknowledgment of an infinite supreme being who holds our destiny in the palm of His hand, just as He rules every droplet of water in the seas. We owe our very existence, our very life, to Almighty God and it is entirely fitting and proper that we should worship Him, and thank Him for our many heavenly blessings. Our family is very closely bound, not only in love of the Almighty, but in the love of each other. We have our differences, the tremendous and the trifles, which must be settled wisely and tactfully. Money expenditures, disciplinary measures, and various other problems crop up again and again, and only by mutual love and understanding can they be worked out with a peaceful harmony.

The strength and unity of my home can be stated in the two greatest commandments: "Love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, thy whole strength, and thy whole mind," and "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

My home and all American homes have a grave responsibility—to preserve the Nation for the good of future generations. My home is firmly dedicated to this ideal. Its first thought is to raise a family of religious, God-fearing citizens who will acknowledge a divine, merciful Being, and to impress upon them the nonexistence of mankind without His aid.

It has the duty of raising generations of physically and mentally clean Americans who will have the intelligence to treasure and defend the greatest gift given to man—the gift of freedom. The American home is responsible to imprint the virtues of honesty, sincerity, uprightness, benignity, and dependability upon its mombers who shall respect the nobility of all people whether tall or short, small or large, and with no discrimination of races. The job of my home is a tremendous job, but it is a task of love.

Each American home is a tiny portion of a vast pattern: the cell of a living organism. The home is a "little America" governed by the principles of faith, freedom, and fearlessness which make our America strong and linking—the melting pot of the world.

The American home dwelling with the faith of God is the symbol of rebuke against communism. The Marx', Engels', and Stalinists' supreme policy is to destroy the nearly infallible power of the churches and homes. Communism is an engulfing fire which dominates, enslaves, and corrupts the minds and hearts of all people under its influence. It swallows up all truth and spits forth lies, half lies—the very conceit of the Devil. But communism can never succeed. It will rampage, crush, and crucify the power of the home and church, but in the end it will be defeated by Almighty God.

Heed His might, for fire shall be destroyed by fire, and the lamb of peace shall come and rule the world. Embrace Him, Communist, atheist, Fascist, and you shall enjoy the most beautiful happiness the world has ever known.

There is an old phrase which says, "The family that prays together, stays together." Let this phrase read: "The nation that prays together, stays together," and then America can exclaim with one accord, "We are one Nation, under God."

The Indispensable Railroads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to the following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune last week. I deem it of sufficient importance to ask permission to insert it in the RECORD. It was forwarded to me by Andrew J. Pizzini, a distinguished American long-interested in the continuing efficient and safe operations of American railroads, and who, in his capacity as former president and present chairman of the board of the Waugh Equipment Co., of New York, has done much in the field of railroading.

The editorial follows:

THE INDISPENSABLE RAILROADS

So the public service commission has allowed the New York Central Railroad to increase commutation fares by 15 percent. It was less than half of what the Central had asked, but the public service commission feared that any more would set off a trend of diminishing return.

As the rate makers pointed out, "It has been generally recognized for many years that railroad passenger business, as presently conducted, has not and cannot be operated at a profit." This, of course, applies to all the commuter roads. The fact is inescapable—transportation of several hundred thousand persons between city and suburbs each day is strictly a deficit operation. And the railroads would be only too happy to be relieved of this burden.

But there is also another unavoidable fact. The railroads are an absolutely essential part of the mass transportation which is vital to New York City and the metropolitan region. Certainly no one can rationally contemplate a situation with rail service gone and the public wholly dependent on buses and private automobiles. Yet, as many a traveler knows of personal experience, there are uncomfortable developments in this direction. The railroads, bedeviled by high taxes, increasing costs of operation, declining patronage and years of unsympathetic regulation, have too often had no option but decline. And some of them frankly say that, unless relief is provided, it is inevitable that commuter service will keep on deteriorating to the point of disappearance.

Now we refuse to believe that the metropolitan region is willing to allow a bad situation to get progressively worse. There is a growing concern over traffic congestion and more awareness that railroads can be a helpful complement to highways. Also a lot of people are beginning to realize that if the automobile is subsidized by tax-free facilities, then it is only fair to give equal consideration to rail transport. In short, the commuters must have the railroads, but since this service loses money and direct charges can never make up the deficit the only reasonable conclusion is that some form of public assistance is essential.

Whether regional cooperation can be attained remains to be seen, although here the progress in the case of the Long Island Railroad is encouraging. The forthcoming report of the Metropolitan Rapid Transit Commission, which has long sought workable solutions, is therefore awaited with great interest.

The Pine Flat Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. F. SISK
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article appearing in the April 1957 issue of Western Water News, a publication of the Irrigation Districts Association of California.

This article, which is entitled "The Kings River Contract Pending After 11 Years," by Mr. Phillip Gordon, president of Kings River Conservation District, summarizes the background of the efforts of farmers and irrigation districts and the Bureau of Reclamation to negotiate a contract providing repayment to the United States for the reimbursable irrigation benefits of the Pine Flat Reservoir on the Kings River of California. You will note that a contract, drawn by the Bureau and agreed to by the irrigationists, has been pending before the Secretary of the Interior since December 1955. Meantime, the farmers have been operating under uncertain and expensive interim agreements which leave their rights and obligations uncertain and undefined. I recognize the obstacles which are delaying a final decision in this matter, but I earnestly hope and urge that they be overcome and that these people be accorded the decision they deserve in fairness and equity and which will permit them to go forward in full development and utilization of their water and their farms.

The article follows:

THE KINGS RIVER CONTRACT PENDING AFTER 11 YEARS

The Kings River contract, which was approved by the directors of the King River Conservation District and submitted to Washington in December 1955, was the result of over 11 years of effort and confusion. The confusion stemmed from the clear-cut statement in section 10 of the Pine Flat authorization bill which stated: "The Secretary of War shall make arrangements for payment to the United States by the State or other responsible agency, either in lump or annual installments for conservation storage when used."

Nearly 2 years later, in the fall of 1946, Commissioner of Reclamation Strauss wrote

the regional director that "the President has directed that I, as Commissioner of Reclamation, proceed forthwith to make the necessary repayment arrangements."

THE FIRST DRAFT

But it wasn't until January 13, 1950, that the Bureau of Reclamation got around to submitting the first draft of a proposed contract which the local interests found to be totally unacceptable. Through the succeeding years several additional drafts of proposed contracts were reviewed. On these several contracts, the spokesmen for the Kings River interests noted that "all of them had for their ultimate purpose the subjection of the Pine Flat project and the water rights of the entire Kings River service area to the reclamation laws and the arbitrary control of the Bureau of Reclamation. In all of them the Bureau sought to secure control of all of the power facilities of the project, the control of the storage capacity of the reservoir and the ultimate control of the water rights, ownership of which by the Kings River water users was conceded in all of the original reports on the project."

ANOTHER EFFORT

After the change in the administration, the contract committee of the Kings River Conservation District began to make progress and ultimately worked out the major areas of controversy to the point of approving the contract. The negotiations were carried on with the approval of Washington and the numerous exchanges of correspondence show the meeting of minds on the problems.

FRESNO SLOUGH RIGHTS

The current contract, now pending for approval with the Secretary of the Interior, includes about 5,000 words and is supplemented with an amended contract relative to the transfer of the rights claimed by the United States to certain Fresno Slough waters. The Fresno Slough water rights problem was one of the serious points of protracted controversy in the contract negotiations. It was finally agreed that the United States would transfer to the KRCD claims to the Fresno Slough rights for the sum of $750,000.

The main monetary obligation in the contract totals $14,250,000 "which shall constitute payment in full for the perpetual right to the exclusive irrigation storage uses of the project and payment in full of the reimbursable construction costs of the project allocated to irrigation * * *." But this amount itself was discussed over a period of considerable time, for the State had estimated the conservation benefits of Pine Flat at $10 million and the local interests stood on this figure.

FORTY YEARS BUT WITH PREPAYMENT

The contract provides for the payment in 40 successive equal annual installments, without interest. However, the prepayment of the obligation by any member unit is provided for at any time within the 40-year period. The obligation of the member units is to be based on the amount of irrigation storage use available to the respective member units in Pine Flat Reservoir. The contract provides for the allocation of the repayment of member units to the lands within the unit. Specifically, provision is made that "payment in full by any member unit, landowner, or stockholder of the amount so allocated shall, as to such member unit, landowner or stockholder, constitute payment in full for the perpetual right to the irrigation storage use of the percentage of the reservoir storage space represented by said allocation." Individuals have a 10-year prepayment period.

Details of operation and maintenance of the project works are spelled out in the contract. The KRCD is to pay "not to exceed 37.4 percent of the total annual joint costs of operation and maintenance of the project," and provisions are included for actually making the payments in advance for the operation and maintenance during the initial 5-year period.

RECOGNIZES RIGHTS

The contract recognizes the rights of the Kings River interests to the natural flow of the river and provides for the commingling of natural flow and stored water. The contract includes provisions for the delivery of water to excess lands under the recordable contract provisions of the reclamation laws. It recognizes water rights now held under the laws of the State by the Kings River units and includes the usual general provisions of contracts negotiated between local agencies and the United States in order to make them legal and operative.

New Age of Space Comes to Birmingham

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, our civilization is fast approaching the age of space. It is most certain to have a profound impact upon our lives and the world we live in.

The possibilities and problems of the age of space were discussed in a nontechnical conference held last week in Birmingham, Ala. The Southern Research Institute sponsored the 2-day program, which concerned missiles, rockets and space travel.

Missiles already are a major United States industry. Next year the Armed Forces will spend some $6 billion on missiles and their components. Within 4 years experts believe missile expenditures will exceed those for aircraft.

Missiles, however, are only one aspect of the age of space. There are the problems of research and technology, the search for materials and fuels for space vehicles, and the question of survival in space. All these important topics were discussed at the Birmingham conference by speakers who are nationally known in their fields.

These speakers were Dr. Clifford C. Furnas, chancellor of the University of Buffalo, former Assistant Secretary of Defense for research and development, who spoke on Military and Civilian Research; Mr. Dan A. Kimball, former Secretary of the Navy and now president of the Aerojet-General Corp., whose topic was Fuels for Space Vehicles; Mr. F. L. LaQue, vice president of the International Nickel Co., who discussed Materials for Space Vehicles; Maj. Gen. Dan C. Ogle, Surgeon General of the Air Force, Space Medicine; Mr. Ernst Stuhlinger, chief of the research projects office of the Army Ballistic Missile Agency, A Trip to Mars; Mr. John P. Hagen, director of project Vanguard, The First Man-Made Moon; and Mr. Erik Bergaust, managing editor of Missiles and Rockets Magazine, United States and Russian Missile Technology.

Under leave heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert an editorial entitled "New Age of Space Comes to Birmingham," which appeared in the Birmingham News of May 17, 1957. This enlightening editorial aptly points out that space travel—always man's dream—is now within his grasp.

The editorial follows:

NEW AGE OF SPACE COMES TO BIRMINGHAM

The age of space is no longer merely a figment of the science fiction writer's imagination. Under the pressure of military defense needs, man's rockets and missiles are reaching farther and farther into the realms above the earth's surface. Rocket and guided-missile development has become a multi-billion-dollar operation, heavily financed by the Government for defense purposes. It is having a strong impact on business and industrial leaders are anxious to learn more about it.

This was made clearly evident here in Birmingham yesterday at the first day's sessions of the Age of Space conference, sponsored by the Southern Research Institute. Some 350 businessmen and industrialists in attendance heard experts discuss progress and problems in missile development, research space medicine, and the prospects for space travel. Today they are touring installations at the Redstone Arsenal near Huntsville.

The 20th century has been noteworthy for many great achievements in the field of physical science. The first half saw, among a host of spectacular achievements, the beginning of mechanical flight and the large-scale release of energy from within the atomic nucleus. There are indications that the second half of the century may indeed see the realization of a dream almost as old as that of flight through air—that of flight through the reaches of outer space.

Michigan Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I hope that our fellow Congressmen will join all of us from the Michigan delegation in our celebration of Michigan Week. Originated in 1954, Michigan Week has become an increasingly important event in our State.

The purpose of Michigan Week is best pointed up by the State legislature's resolution summoning the people of Michigan to celebrate the period in which residents of our State and of other States may become better acquainted with Michigan's boundless advantages and opportunities in industry, natural resources, agriculture, recreation, and culture.

We in Michigan could point with pride toward some of the outstanding physical features of our State: The 3,121 miles of inland seashore, the 11,000 inland lakes, the unexcelled fishing and hunting, the forest-fringed streams, all of which are unparalleled in the United States.

Or we might point out the 19 million acres of green-wooded vacation lands, the historic land of Indians, French, and furs. Or the winter wonders of ski-

ing and tobogganing on slopes unexcelled this side of the Alps.

Instead, we want to draw your attention to the heart of a Nation. To a State whose sinews helped spell victory for the Allied Forces during World War II. To a State which has resumed its role as the top producer of automobiles once the battles were won.

I hope you will join with me in celebrating Michigan Week. In commemoration of this event, I am sending you a scale model of one of our State's projects donated by Chrysler Corp.

I agree that all of you have beautiful States to visit. Some of you have historic spots which are unrivaled in the world in their significance. But the fact remains that very few of you would ever have the pleasure of visiting these wonders if it were not for our leading item of manufacture—the automobile.

Michigan Week is a 7-day celebration by the People of Michigan proclaiming their freedom, their blessings, and their hopes for the future. It is a celebration by the people of Michigan that proclaims their togetherness through their active cooperation as members of such groups as churches, schools, business and civic associations, veterans' organizations, labor unions, and luncheon clubs. In this way Michigan Week dramatically illustrates the fact that each individual in Michigan contributes to his State and also gains something from it.

Michigan Week points up the significant fact that the place where people live is an important unifying influence in their lives, an influence which can be made more favorable through the understanding, the will, and the action of all the people.

All of this concept is symbolized in the official Michigan Week emblem, the illustration of the proud robin chirping, "Its great to live in Michigan."

During Michigan Week the robin, official State bird, sings its message over the radio and on TV, in newspapers, in publications, and through all other forms of mass communication. Official Michigan Week banners, posters, buttons, bumper strips, and other materials, created by the State committee and produced at printing cost, are distributed to participating Michigan Week committees in every county in the State.

The Michigan flag bearing the State coat of arms, with its history dating back to 1837, is given special prominence during Michigan Week. It is proudly displayed with the American flag at meetings and events, and in public places.

The togetherness of Michigan people becomes a vibrant living fact in the events of Michigan Week celebrated in cities, towns, and villages each day throughout the State. All segments of community life take part in meetings, programs, talks, and discussions. Veterans' organizations conduct Operation Facelift to spark and to carry through community improvements; community forums consider what Michigan needs in the next 10 years to improve the livelihood of its citizens; Wolverine frontiersman awards are made to distinguished Michigan individuals for their attainment in opening new frontiers to the people of their Nation and State; and national sports figures are named to the Michigan Sports Hall of Fame.

The ideas, plans, and projects of Michigan Week which deepen the unifying belief that "its great to live in Michigan," help create the will to make Michigan even greater in the future.

Channelization of the Ohio River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, in appropriating funds for civil works when economy in Government spending is a universal watchword, due consideration should be given to those projects of proven economic value.

Channelization of the Ohio River has proven its economic soundness beyond all estimates claimed by its original sponsors. The replacement program substituting high-level dams, each of which will eliminate three or more obsolete structures, is well underway. To delay the progress of this program by failure to appropriate sufficient funds will result in substantial financial loss to the Federal Treasury as well as the huge investments along the river course for utilization of vastly increased traffic. There can be no economy in withholding funds from well-established programs that have in the past and will continue to prove their economic value.

The postwar years have witnessed an industrial and economic renaissance in the Ohio Valley. Everywhere along the main stream and its tributaries, industry is seeking new sites for plant construction. Chemicals, aluminum, iron and steel, vast new electric power plants, and other basic industries have been attracted to the valley by its excellent labor force, its boundless deposits of coal and chemical brines, and above all, by that most precious of all natural resources—water—water both for drinking and for industrial processing and for efficient low-cost transportation of bulk freight.

These new billions of investment on which the economic resurgence of this great region is based, have been drawn by the magnet of reduced transportation costs. And that enormous economic incentive has been provided by the original Ohio River canalization to a stable 9-foot depth completed in 1929. The irony is that the original project was outmoded before it was complete. Designed to handle 13 million tons of freight annually, the canalized river carried 22 million tons in 1929. In 1955 the river carried 71.5 million tons, 37 percent more than the estimated traffic for the St. Lawrence seaway in 1965.

But that enormous traffic burden, carried in tows often more than 1,000 feet in length through 600-foot locks, has taxed the aging facilities to the utmost. Breakdowns are frequent. Many of the locks are in an advanced state of deterioration, and the threat of collapse is increasingly serious. Delays from traffic congestion impose excessive costs. And recently, the crowding has become so serious that the safety of crews, vessels, and cargoes is imperiled.

The advantages of low-cost transportation, which are the keystone in the arch of the valley's prosperity, are being eroded by the inadequacies of existing navigation facilities.

This development is particularly serious for the State of West Virginia. The position of our great State as the No. 1 coal-producing State in the Union depends upon low-cost water transportation access to distant markets. For 90 percent or more of our coal is sold outside the State. It is the literal truth that the welfare of the 46 percent of our labor force engaged in the coal industry is directly dependent upon the maintenance of efficient low-cost transportation on the Ohio River.

Not only will failure to correct the deficiencies of the Ohio River navigation systems injure our coal industry, it will soon begin to retard the development of industry which has of late years brought new life and prosperity to river communities which suffered long from poverty, stagnation, and neglect.

These are the reasons why we in West Virginia are vitally interested in the United States Army engineers' long-range modernization plan for the Ohio River. Already the Congress has wisely provided funds for a significant beginning of that program. Four great modern locks and dams are now under construction on the Ohio, which will eliminate 13 small inadequate structures. The new facilities will provide deeper, more stable pools for navigation; they will sharply reduce locking time, cut maintenance costs, and eliminate bottlenecks and the dangers of collapse of old facilities in the portions of the river which they will serve. They will augment water supply for homes and industry and they will create recreational benefits of untold value. But they are only the first steps. And no one of those under construction, nor all of them together will solve the problem until the entire job is done. For the Ohio is one river, not a series of disconnected segments. It takes only one bottleneck to impede the mounting volumes of through traffic which move not only from one end of the river to another but to remote destinations on the Mississippi, the Great Lakes, and the Gulf coast.

This great integrated modernization project must move forward with all possible dispatch to completion, if the Ohio River Basin, the industrial heart of the Nation, the atomic center of America, is to play its full part in the development of our economic potential for prosperity in peace and strength in time of war.

Every consideration of sound planning for the national welfare and security argues for orderly and efficient progress of the overall program, as a national project of the highest priority. Unnecessary delay or postponement of projects of such compelling urgency in a period of rising construction costs, is a false econ-

omy. The capabilities of the agency charged with construction responsibility and maximum efficiency of scheduling and construction should be the sole factors in determining the progress of the work. By these standards the urgently needed New Richmond locks and dam above Cincinnati should be commenced in fiscal 1958 and sufficient money appropriated for advance planning on the Pike Island project above Wheeling to permit construction on that essential project to begin in fiscal 1959.

Business and Industry Plan Blitz on Ike's Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting article which appeared in the Boston Daily Globe on May 16, 1957:

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY PLAN BLITZ ON IKE'S BUDGET

(By John Harriman)

Somehow or other we wonder what happened to the picture of business and industry beamngi on Mr. Eisenhower as their "boy."

On Monday most of the mighty of the business world will convene in Chicago to launch a blitz on Mr. Eisenhower's budget. Attending will be such organizations as the National Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the Life Insurance Association of America, and so on. Even the doctors, through the American Medical Association, will be on hand to give the back of their hand to the budget which Mr. Eisenhower twice in as many weeks will take to the TV waves to defend.

Do we hear a murmured, "Et tu, Brute," from the White House?

TWO KINDS OF BUSINESS VOICE

In connection with the above, it is necessary to differentiate between the business voice when it speaks collectively, and when it speaks individually or in its component parts.

Collectively, business is mightily for economy all up and down the line. For only through economy can taxes be reduced. And, as everyone knows, taxes are the cause of great business suffering.

But when business speaks individually, its pleas for economy are not only muted, but qualified. Then what it wants is not economy in general, but economy in some part of the budget remote from itself and its interests. And if by any chance cuts are proposed which might somewhat reduce the flow of Government dollars to any industry, the cries issued by that industry are anguished in the extreme.

This, of course, explains why the tendency to cut is usually in areas like foreign aid, where those hurt are too distant, or too polite, to make much of a fuss over it.

The truth of the matter—impolite as it may be to so state—is that huge segments of American industry can only flourish if fed by the rich blood of heavy Federal spending.

MANY MUST HAVE FEDERAL LARGESSE

In the forefront of beneficiaries from Federal largesse are industries like aircraft manufacture and guided missiles—almost entirely tied to the Federal apron strings.

Electronics is another which draws mightily on the Federal purse. So is shipbuilding—with Government orders of $1.3 billion in the offing for the coming fiscal year. The Government will even spend $600 million in the auto industry.

Merchant-marine and airline subsidies will run to around $200 million. Industrial raw-material producers will pocket around $1 billion in Government orders.

Furthermore, innumerable industries are actively pressing proposals which will swell Government spending in their area, even while they give lip service to the economy idea in general.

The non-ferrous-mining people want Government aid of various sorts. The home builders want more money appropriated to aid military and other special types of housing. While every Tom, Dick, and Harry in industry has his special harbor, or river channel, or what-have-you that needs deepening or widening.

It's no wonder politicians become cynical.

A Commonsense Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting what I believe to be an important foreign-policy statement, a program to govern our foreign relations suggested by the Citizens Foreign Relations Committee:

A PROGRAM TO GOVERN OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS

The independent sovereignty of the United States must forever remain the ultimate objective of American foreign policy. This objective can best be attained in a peaceful community of free and sovereign nations, guided in their relationship by minimum standards of law and equity. To this end, it is the hope of Americans that governments be constituted to derive their lawful powers from the consent of the governed, and that peoples everywhere enjoy the dignity and freedom which is their grant from the Almighty.

As such a world develops, should breaches of such minimum standards threaten its security, the United States would dedicate its leadership and its power to enforcing just settlements alone or in cooperation with likeminded nations temporarily willing to act under its leadership. Under other circumstances the United States would maintain neutrality.

The greatest present obstacle to the attainment of the above-stated objectives is the existence of the Communist dictatorship, and its world agencies. Our aim must be to neutralize, isolate, reduce, and eventually eliminate Communist power. This policy of firmness does not mean we favor preventive war. Nevertheless, our enemies should be set on notice that—however grim the prospect—we will not shrink from war if, the Kremlin forces us to choose between conflict and surrender to Communist slavery.

Specifically, we propose that the Government of the United States:

1. Mobilize the strongest possible deterrents to war—military, psychological, political, and economic.

2. Return to those traditional American policies which sustained us in the past, especially: (a) The policies recommended by President George Washington in his Farewell Address; (b) the Monroe Doctrine; (c) the open door policy as defined in the Nine Power Treaty of 1922.

3. Exterminate the Communist conspiracy in the United States.

4. Withdraw recognition from the Soviet Union and its satellites.

5. Employ all measures to sap the economic strength of the Communist world.

6. Scrupulously observe present military alliances (where such alliances are in truth honored by our contracting allies), and form new alliances only for the period of the emergency.

7. Extend military and economic aid only to cooperating allies.

8. Wage unremitting psychological warfare against Communist regimes, including aid to effective anti-Communist exile, underground, and resistance groups, based on the principles of the Golden Rule.

9. Return to open diplomacy, except where military security imposes secrecy.

10. Oppose all activities which tend toward a world state, supergovernment, or the transfer of decisions for American security and welfare to foreign powers and/or foreign nationals. To this end, press for the expulsion of Communist member-states from the U. N. Reform the U. N. by removing all semblance of a permanent military alliance and separate it from its specialized agencies. Amend our Constitution to provide that neither the U. N. Charter, nor treaties, nor covenants, shall supersede it.

11. Base American foreign policy solidly on moral law, patriotism, enlightened nationalism and the teachings of Christ.

The United States—Its Friends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, objectivity has for many years marked the competent reporting of distinguished Arthur Krock of the New York Times and has contributed immeasurably to his world-wide reputation and renown. That competence, reputation, and renown were, in my opinion, added to by the following column which appeared in the New York Times of today.

The article follows:

FRIENDSHIP FOR THE UNITED STATES ON NATO'S FLANK

(By Arthur Krock)

LISBON, PORTUGAL, May 20.—In this peninsula of Spain and Portugal, which comprises the southwestern European flank of NATO, the traveler of inquiring mind will discover in these times a far friendlier attitude than in Britain and France toward the free-world leadership that circumstances have thrust on the United States. Despite some natural distaste for being the locale of American military bases, a fact deriving as inevitably from geography as our free-world leadership derives from America's natural resources, the

officials and people of Spain and Portugal display feelings of warmth for Americans and for the foreign policies of the United States Government as here revealed.

In Spain the Government, and the apparently large majority that supports it, are pleased with the fairly new discovery that they are now popular in Congress—though not yet visible in economic terms comparative with France and Britain—after a long period in which only the military viewed good Spanish-American relations as indispensable to sound United States policy. In Portugal, where for years the form of government dominated by Professor Salazar has for several reasons never stimulated the American differences of opinion that have affected the Franco regime in Spain, a very pleasant atmosphere has enveloped the United States and Portugal for a long time and was augmented by the wartime treaty concerning the Azores.

TWO IMPORTANT FACTS

An important, perhaps essential, contribution to the peninsular relations of the United States was made by American diplomacy. Our Ambassadors in Madrid and Lisbon, particularly James Clement Dunn and John Davis Lodge in the Spanish capital and James C. H. Bonbright in the Portuguese, have kept in mind two important facts that are not readily assimilable to many Americans. One is that we are not doing a favor, out of sheer economic or military benevolence, to the nations where we establish bases. The second fact is that the governments and peoples of other nations have a dislike for the presence of foreign troops that is deeper than our own for historical reasons. Only during the War of 1812 has the territory of the American Republic been occupied by the armed forces of another nation.

WISE ADMINISTRATION

The diplomacy based on the realization of these factors is further commended because implicit in the American bases and their manpower is that they are here to help proud nations keep their independence. And one of the demonstrations that the diplomacy is being wisely administered is that nearly all members of the United States military on duty at this juncture in Spain and on the Portuguese mainland wear civilian clothes by order. When the Spanish bases are completed the uniforms will of course appear, and a certain strain on relations goes with that. But our military has learned much from bases elsewhere and from housekeeping for the GI's in the occupied area of West Germany.

SIGNS OF PROSPERITY

The peninsular tourist from the United States in these days will also be favorably impressed by the surface show of daily life in the capitals and in the larger towns. In Madrid this has the aspects of a boom, with streets and shops and restaurants and hotels crowded not only by foreign visitors but also by nationals who seem to have money to spend. The tawny terrain, broken only occasionally by green and cultivated sections, looks more sunbaked than usual; but this was explained by el Conde Valle de San Juan (gratefully remembered in Washington as Pablo Merry del Val) in this simple fashion, "It hasn't rained in Spain for 10 years—not even on the plain." In Lisbon the distribution of humanity and its activity has always appeared to be more orderly, but the same signs of prosperity are visible. And the natural bounty and beauty of the Portuguese terrain are its permanent fixtures.

A week in the peninsula does not entitle a foreigner to form positive political impressions, but this is the substance of opinions sought from many others: The large Spanish majority envisages no government at this time that would suit it better than Franco's. The overwhelming mass of the Portuguese has merely to hear that Dr. Salazar, wearied of his tasks, might even contemplate returning to teach economics at Coimbra, to bombard all the saints with prayers that the Premier may live forever.

Salute to Station WBRC–TV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, the Department of Defense tonight is honoring television station WBRC–TV, at Birmingham, Ala., for its outstanding contributions to the Armed Forces Reserve program. It is significant indeed that WBRC–TV is the first television station in the United States to receive the Defense Department's highest award for Reserve activities.

The Reserve program is, of course, vital to our national security and, therefore, needs the support of everyone. It is encouraging that the management of WBRC–TV has worked so closely with reservists and Reserve functions. As a mass communication medium, this television station has promoted the Reserve program in its news and special events programing. In addition, the station management has afforded its own employees every incentive to become reservists.

The credit for this unselfish policy is due to Mr. George B. Storer, Sr., head of the Storer Broadcasting Co., and Mr. J. Robert Kerns, vice president and managing director of WBRC–TV. They have not forgotten its obligation to the public interest. It has been their considered judgment that it is of the utmost importance and certainly in the public interest to support the Reserve activities of the various services 100 percent.

A majority of WBRC–TV's staff are members of the Reserve. When their units hold encampments or go on maneuvers, the employees are granted leave with full pay without having their vacation periods affected. This in itself is a patriotic gesture. Also, the station allows reservists use of its meeting rooms and other facilities.

WBRC–TV has furthered the Reserve program in many ways. News Director Leo Willette has regularly featured Reserve news on his news programs. Many special events, such as Armed Forces Day and Veterans' Day, have been telecast. Reservists have been invited as special guests on many shows. The Reserve story has been effectively told through the concerted efforts of the entire WBRC–TV staff.

Mr. Gary Arnold, a staff announcer, who is a technical sergeant in the Air Force Reserve, has been among the Reserve's most active boosters. It was he who first called attention to WBRC–TV's many activities in behalf of the Reserve program. His initial recommendation fast met with official approval. In notifying Mr. Kerns of the award, Secretary of Defense Wilson wrote, in part:

The award is provided to express the Department's appreciation for the outstanding cooperation to reservists and Reserve activities achieved through the personnel policy you have established. You have thus encouraged and assisted your reservists in fulfilling their military obligations. Such patriotic foresight provides real assistance to the success of our defense effort, and the Department is deeply grateful.

Here is the text of the citation which will be formally presented to WBRC–TV tonight:

WBRC–TV, an affiliate of the Storer Broadcasting Co., Birmingham, Ala., is cited for outstanding cooperation with reservists and Reserve activities. This organization has encouraged its employees to participate in Reserve activities by such cooperative policies as providing leave, in addition to annual vacation, for Reserve training, with the difference between civilian and military pay reimbursed; sponsoring guest radio and TV appearances of Reserve members; featuring special Armed Forces news features; telecasting military functions such as Armed Forces Day, Veterans' Day, and other special events; allowing the reservists the use of its meeting rooms, bulletin boards, and equipment; and providing company facilities for Reserve activities. This award is presented as tangible evidence of the appreciation of the Department of Defense.

WBRC–TV's patriotic policy of actively cooperating fully with reservists and Reserve activities is to be highly commended. I hope this station's outstanding contribution to the Reserve program will serve as a pattern and incentive to many other organizations.

We are proud to salute WBRC–TV for its significant contribution to our national security.

Stonewall Jackson, a Great American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of the Army, the Honorable Wilber M. Brucker, delivered a very eloquent and able address at the Hall of Fame, New York University, New York City, Sunday, May 19.

The occasion was the unveiling in the Hall of Fame the bust and tablet to Gen. Stonewall Jackson, of the Confederate Army.

It is my pleasure to commend to the House this inspiring address by a great American, the present Secretary of the Army:

STONEWALL JACKSON, A GREAT AMERICAN

(Remarks by the Honorable Wilber M. Brucker, Secretary of the Army, unveiling of Stonewall Jackson bust and tablet, Hall of Fame, New York University, New York, N. Y., May 19, 1957)

The voice of history proclaims General "Stonewall" Jackson worthy to be numbered among truly great Americans in the Hall of Fame. The enduring bronze in which he is here immortalized is no more permanent

a monument than the memory of his military genius and his unimpeachable character. Rightly does he belong in this company of the eminent, whose spirit, vision, and accomplishments have played such a tremendous part in shaping the American tradition.

Although the span of Stonewall Jackson's lifetime encompassed less than 40 years, it was long enough for him to display in full measure the highest qualities of citizen, scholar, and soldier. He was strong, fearless, and self-reliant. He walked in simplicity, gentleness, and honor. He was obedient to the voice of God, steadfast in his adherence to principle, and unswerving in his devotion to what he believed to be right. We are inclined to think of him today chiefly as the master military tactician—the venerated leader whose men followed him through the flame of battle with unquestioning faith. It is just as important that we recognize and pay tribute to the exemplary character upon which his career was built. What a splendid inspiration the Stonewall Jackson story is to Americans throughout all generations.

Thomas Jonathan Jackson was born in 1824 in the little village of Clarksburg, Va.—now in West Virginia. He knew tragedy at an early age, for at 6 he wept at the bedside of his dying mother, and found himself a lonesome, penniless orphan. He never forgot his mother. To the last hour of his life he loved to recall her memory, and her influence retained its potency. As a child he was exceedingly thoughtful. A contemporary described him as "a youth of exemplary habits, of indomitable will, and undoubted courage, who would never give up an undertaking until he accomplished his objective."

To young Jackson, life was a serious business. To prove himself worthy of his forbears he was spurred on to achieve high goals. This strong and driving purpose was the theme of his life and accounts for many of the distinguishing marks of his character. His hunger for self-improvement, his punctilious observance of the essentials of gentlemanly bearing, and the assertion of self-respect were in keeping with his zeal to measure up to what he expected of himself.

His insatiable desire for education prompted his interest in the United States Military Academy, and before he was 19 his hopes were gratified when he was appointed to fill a vacancy. In July 1842 one of America's most renowned Army heroes first answered to his name—Thomas Jonathan Jackson—on the parade ground at West Point. We can see him standing there that day, shy and silent, clad in Virginia homespun, with all his earthly possessions carried in a pair of weather-stained saddlebags, facing this new challenge with the calm assurance which never left him. He soon demonstrated that he was an indefatigable student. He was impressed with the tremendous importance of learning everything there was to know about military science. With Jackson as a cadet, self was subordinate to duty. During those 4 years he was the personification of the challenging motto of West Point: "Duty, honor, country."

After receiving his commission in 1846, he saw service in the Mexican War, where he demonstrated an unusual aptitude for leadership of soldiers in the field. His record at Chapultepec was so outstanding that he was given a battlefield brevet promotion to the grade of major, and praised for his industry, his capacity, and his gallantry. At this early period, he learned how to take immediate advantage of every tactical opportunity which came his way in battle. Restive after a few years of regular military duties, he accepted an offer to become professor of artillery tactics and natural philosophy at Virginia Military Institute. For the next decade he neglected no chance to increase his professional military knowledge, and at the same time he cultivated desirable qualities of mind and spirit. He was an untiring reader, and he read to learn. The wars of Napoleon were his constant study.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, he immediately cast his lot with the State of his birth and became a colonel of Virginia volunteers. Fate had been training him for this hour. He was an arsenal of military knowledge and experience. He proceeded to train his officers and men as thoroughly as possible in the fundamentals of warfare. His knowledge of strategy and tactics was not only gleaned from profound study but from actual combat. To a man, his command had confidence in Jackson as their leader. They became convinced that here was a commander who not only knew all there was to know about military science, but also was a man who would lead them to victory. For his part, Jackson was considerate and fair with his men, but when the supreme moment arrived in battle, he demanded everything they had to give, and was intolerant of anything less. From this combination came a combat capability that gained in momentum as time went along.

At the first battle of Bull Run, the Confederate commanding general rallied his broken regiments with the cry, "See, there is Jackson, standing like a stone wall." A near rout for the Confederate forces was turned into an overwhelming victory. Throughout the Confederacy he became "Stonewall" Jackson from that moment. During the scant 2 years which were left to him, "Stonewall" Jackson's brilliant exploits in battle after battle gave imperishable substance to his military leadership. He became the strong right arm and counselor of General Lee, and won the respect of the Union and the adulation of the entire Confederacy.

"Stonewall" Jackson possessed every attribute which makes for success in war or peace. Morally and physically he was absolutely fearless. He accepted responsibility with the same equanimity with which he faced the bullets of the enemy. He permitted no obstacle to turn him aside from his appointed path. In seizing an opportunity he was the very incarnation of untiring energy. The dominant trait of his character was his intense earnestness. His every faculty was engrossed in the accomplishment of the task at hand. He lost himself in the cause he served.

Religion played a very significant part in Stonewall Jackson's life. He was a conscientious and practicing Christian. He had not only a deep belief in God's omnipotence and justice, but a sincere and abiding trust in His infinite compassion and love. His faith gave him unshakable strength. He prayed for help to do his duty, and he prayed for success. He knew that "more things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of." He went into battle with supreme confidence, not that the Lord had delivered the enemy into his hands, but that, come what might, the Lord's will would be done. It certainly can be said of Stonewall Jackson that "his Bible was literally food to his understanding and a guide to his conduct. He saw the visible finger of God in every incident of life."

On that dark night in May of 1863 at Chancellorsville on the Rappahannock when Stonewall Jackson was mortally wounded by the tragic mistake of his own soldiers, there fell a man whom America could ill afford to lose. When we contemplate his character and background, we must believe that after the final decision at Appomattox he would have been in the forefront of those who sought to dispel the bitterness of conflict and to heal the ugly wounds of war. It is logical to believe that his powerful voice would have been raised in unison with that of his beloved chief, Gen. Robert E. Lee, in recogizing reality and in counseling the acceptance of the inevitable. The desire to do right, the compulsion to consult the dictates of honor, integrity, and conscience above all else, was the motivation of Jackson's life. Can we doubt for a moment that his mighty influence would have been thrown into the balance to strengthen and sustain the reunited Republic? Like Abraham Lincoln, he was struck down at a time when America could least afford to lose the healing qualities of his great character.

Jackson's valiant philosophy comes down to us through the years of a century past with added meaning in this age when humanity's most priceless values, challenged by the military might and the worldwide subversive machinery of the godless Communist conspiracy, are in greater jeopardy than they ever have been in history.

It is time for us to learn to stand like a stone wall for America in the present cold-war crisis. The Soviet bear has already seized many free countries in its blood-stained claws. With Red China in the Communist camp, the Communist conspiracy now controls 15 nations and the destinies of 900 million people—over a third of all the people on earth. We have had plain and stubbornly repeated warning that the Soviet dictatorship fully intends to wipe out individual liberty, and impose world Communist domination if it can. We know that the Communists are openly working toward that end with every resource at their command. They proved in Hungary how merciless they are in the use of military force to batter down and overwhelm any attempt at freedom. The Soviets have directly threatened Great Britain and France with nuclear destruction. Within the last few weeks they have ominously rattled H-bombs and rockets in an attempt to intimidate some of the smaller nations of the free world and weaken our defensive alliances. They have made open efforts to obtain a military foothold in the vital Middle East, to stir up dissension wherever possible, and corrupt and exploit for their own evil purposes the aspirations of submerged peoples seeking to build the foundations of a better life. How could any thinking person fail to realize that freedom everywhere is in the gravest danger today?

Not long ago, Khrushchev boasted to the nations of the free world: "Time is on our side. We will bury you." May we not accept that challenge? Is time on the Soviet side? Is time ever on the side of a dictator, or a conqueror who rides a chariot of hate over the bodies of millions of men and women? The march of human progress has ever been the march of freedom—not tyranny. In training students to become the scientists, engineers, doctors, and technicians indispensable to their plans, Communist leaders are sowing the seeds of their own destruction. The moment a man enters the realm of the intellect, to think, to inquire, he begins to see a glimmer of light, the light of truth, and truth is what every dictator fears most, because in time, the truth will destroy him.

For example, in Hungary, after a decade of painstaking indoctrination, it was the youth of the country who had begun to see the truth. It was the students who took up their flag and led the revolt, marched in protest, attacked Soviet tanks with sticks and stones and bare fists, and for days, armed with little more than their own courage and idealism, held the Soviets at bay. The spirit of liberty has not died in Hungary. It will never die as long as people seek for truth.

The Communist conspiracy would like nothing better than to infiltrate our American institutions, undermine the foundations of our Government, and destroy the unity and determination of the people of this great Nation. Truth teaches that degenerate doctrines of communism can never prevail against the power of the ideals which are our heritage—the ideals which have dominated the lives of great Americans such as the men and women represented in this Hall

of Fame. If we measure up in all things to the highest standards of our American creed, if we do not flinch from responsibility, decision, or danger, if we stand up to every attack "like a stone wall," the forces of evil will never be able to prevail against us.

Patriotism is one of the strongest of our bulwarks. There are many people who smugly feel that they have all the answers, and who sneer at patriotism as outmoded. Although they have plenty of time and energy for the pursuit of pleasure, for all the fine but often superficial things, they are unwilling to sacrifice or do something for our country. They tend to "look down their noses" at anyone who displays true patriotic impulses. They sneer at anyone who expresses his patriotism. America was built by patriots, and America will be saved only by patriots.

It is not what America has but what we are that is the essence of our strength. We must seek to preserve and enhance above all else the spiritual values which have been the source of all the material advantages we possess.

As a nation, our public policy must be firmly based upon the immutable ideals of private character and morality. The critical conflict in which we are engaged today is not at the moment a trial of the strength of armaments, but rather of the strength and validity of principles. In the age-old conflict between ideals and expediency, we can never make an ignoble choice of compromising our ideals to obtain a temporary advantage. We do not seek merely peace in our time, but peace for all time. We do not see honor and justice and the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our friends alone, but for all men.

America must ever remain a tower of strength—both spiritual and material—standing foursquare to all the winds that blow. Any potential aggressor must know that we are ready and will stand like a stone wall to uphold the right. Our Armed Forces are the physical substance of our moral resolution. Their purpose is to prevent a war, not to start one. They are stout pillars of peace and justice. We know the terrible cost of war in terms of human life and sacrifice. We are fully aware that there are some things far worse than death. It was Stonewall Jackson who said: "What is life without honor? Degradation is worse than death. We must think of the living and of those who are to come after us, and see that by God's blessing we transmit to them the freedom we have ourselves inherited."

As we honor Stonewall Jackson today, it is fitting that we rededicate our lives to the task of transmitting unimpaired to those who come after us the freedom under God we ourselves inherited. Only thus can we add luster to his memory.

National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, the report by the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation to the National Rivers and Harbors Congress was presented to that group on May 18. Much credit for its composition goes to Ival V. Goslin, engineer-secretary to the Upper Colorado River Commission, and William Welsh, secretary of the National Reclamation Association.

I would suggest that my colleagues review this report and if you do, you will understand that more than half of the funds for reclamation comes from the sale of public lands, certain minerals, and the repayment on reclamation projects. Irrigation allocations are returned to the Treasury without interest in accordance with a 55-year-old reclamation law.

Irrigation is a sound investment for the Nation. For instance, every 4 years the value of crops produced on reclamation farms equals the total appropriation for Federal reclamation which started 55 years ago. The cash value of crops produced in 1956 is more than $827 million. The total value of all crops produced under the reclamation program since 1902 is $11,398,000,000. More than half of this total was produced during the past 8 years.

It has been estimated that the Federal Government has received nearly $5 billion in Federal taxes from reclamation projects and adjacent trade territories. The land irrigated would be nonproductive without water and good people to work the land. Irrigation projects produce food for a growing, expanding population. Only about 2 percent of the products on irrigated farms add to our surplus agricultural products. It would not be possible to have an abundance of cheap vegetables without the irrigation of good land.

I suggest my colleagues read the report, particularly the policy recommendations made by the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation to the National Rivers and Harbors Congress:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION OF THE NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS, 44TH NATIONAL CONVENTION, MAY 18, 1957

Chairman: Representative A. L. MILLER, Kimball, Nebr.

Vice chairman: Judge Guy C. Jackson, Jr., Anahuac, Tex.; president, National Reclamation Association.

Secretary: Ival V. Goslin, Grand Junction, Colo.; engineer-secretary, Upper Colorado River Commission.

Members:

Arizona: Representative STEWART L. UDALL, Tucson; member, Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

California: Representative CLAIR ENGLE, Red Bluff; chairman, Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Colorado: Representative BYRON G. ROGERS, Denver; Harold H. Christy, Pueblo, director, National Reclamation Association.

Idaho: George L. Crookham, Jr., Caldwell; president, Guffey Water Development Association.

Kansas: Robert V. Smrha, chief engineer, division of water resources, State board of agriculture, Topeka.

Montana: Everett W. Rising, Washington representative, State Water Conservation Board of Montana.

Nebraska: Pete Badura, Ashton; president, Farwell Irrigation District.

Nevada: Representative WALTER S. BARING, Reno; member, Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

New Mexico: John P. Murphy, Albuquerque; secretary, New Mexico Reclamation Association.

North Dakota: Fred Frederickson, Valley City; Washington representative, Greater North Dakota Association.

Oklahoma: Frank Raab, Oklahoma City; president, Canton Irrigation District.

Oregon: Representative AL ULLMAN, Baker; member, Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

South Dakota: Charles Lee Hyde, Pierre; former State senator.

Utah: T. W. Jensen, Salt Lake City; secretary, Utah Water Users Association.

Washington: Earl Coe, Olympia; director, department of conservation and development, State of Washington.

Wyoming: State Senator Earl T. Bower, Worland.

INTRODUCTION

On April 15, Congressman OVERTON BROOKS, of Louisiana, president of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, announced the appointment of a new committee. This committee is to be known as the committee on irrigation and reclamation to serve with this, the 44th annual national convention of the congress. In announcing its appointment, Congressman BROOKS said, "The purposes of the committee are to formulate a policy and a program for the continued orderly development by irrigation and reclamation of our water and land resources in the arid and semiarid regions of the West, and to suggest ways and means whereby the National Rivers and Harbors Congress may better cooperate and coordinate its efforts with those of the National Reclamation Association and the advocates of reclamation irrigation."

This committee has been instructed to deal only with matters of general policy. Individual projects for which the approval of the United States Congress is desired are to be considered as usual by the national projects committee of the Rivers and Harbors Congress, which is chairmaned by Congressman SID SIMPSON, of Illinois.

You will note the personnel of this newly appointed committee on irrigation and reclamation on a preceding page in this report. All of the men on this committee appreciate the opportunity of being able to present the case for reclamation at this Congress. We see in the appointment of this committee a new area for cooperation and coordination of the efforts of all of those in the United States who are interested in the development of water and land resources. The appointment of this committee, and its subsequent activities, should lead to a better understanding of the problems of all regions of the United States.

NATIONAL STRENGTH DEPENDENT ON RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

This committee is fully aware of the current economy program. Certainly its members have no quarrel with the fundamental objectives underlying that program. We are also cognizant of the responsibilities of world leadership that have fallen on our shoulders. If we are to maintain our respected and responsible position of leadership in world affairs we, as a nation, must remain strong. To do so we must make real and accelerated progress with those programs which are vital to our dynamic national economy.

The orderly, sound, and continued development of our national resources is the most important program under which we can maintain our national virility. The high standard of living which we are enjoying today—a standard of living unequaled anywhere in the world—has been termed the most important single factor in preserving our Nation's strength and position of leadership. For these reasons this committee believes that the basic philosophy of this report should be the continuation of orderly development of our water and land resources.

HISTORY, RECLAMATION FUND

Historically, national reclamation, as we know it, began with the passage of the Reclamation Act in 1902, which established the reclamation of the arid and semiarid lands of the West as a Federal activity. This act included a provision that financing of a Federal undertaking should be done through a

revolving fund to be established within the Treasury of the United States; this fund to be known as the reclamation fund. It was expected that the income would be adequate to finance a reasonable program. In 1902 the reclamation fund had $7,700,000 available. After meeting several crises in its early history it was found necessary to rebuild the reclamation fund. One of the things Congress did to accomplish this was to pass what is known as the Hayden-O'Mahoney amendment to the reclamation laws, approved on April 9, 1938. This amendment provided that all revenues from reclamation projects were, irrespective of source, to be deposited in the reclamation fund. The primary purpose of the amendment was to secure for the fund the power revenues anticipated to accrue from powerplants such as those at Grand Coulee, Shasta, and Parker Dams, which were then under construction. Through the operation of the reclamation fund under the original law and amendments, income to the fund increased so that by 1956 approximately $94 million were coming into it annually. This sum provided more than one-half of the total appropriations for reclamation purposes for 1957.

Current practice

Currently it is the practice of the Congress to appropriate from the reclamation fund each year sufficient moneys to meet the cost of the approved programs for general investigations, operations and maintenance, general administrative expenses and the emergency fund, except for certain items allocated to the general fund. After providing for these appropriations, the balance in the fund on June 30, prior to the fiscal year of appropriation, is applied to construction and rehabilitation. The difference between the amount available in the fund and the total appropriated for construction and rehabilitation is derived from the general fund. When the Congress authorizes reclamation projects it requires the power allocation to be returned to the Federal Treasury together with interest on the power investment. Irrigation allocations are returned to the Treasury without interest in accordance with the 55-year-old Federal reclamation law.

RECLAMATION, A SOUND NATIONAL INVESTMENT

Financially sound

Reclamation is a sound national investment. In that fact, we firmly believe; although we realize that it is not always fully appreciated by those who do not live in our irrigated States. Therefore, at this time, we wish to reemphasize this fact. Just how sound an investment for the Nation it has proved to be can be illustrated by quoting a few figures. For instance, every 4 years the value of crops produced on reclamation farms equals the total appropriation for Federal reclamation since reclamation was started 55 years ago. The cash value of the crops produced last year, 1956, was more than $827 million. The total value of the crops produced since the reclamation program was started in 1902 is $11,398,000,000. More than half of this total was produced during the past 8 years. It must also be remembered that many of the big reclamation projects, which were more costly to construct, and which are more complex in their operation than early projects, and which will eventually bring in large agricultural yields are only now getting started in agricultural production. It has been estimated that the Federal Government has received nearly $5 billion in Federal taxes from reclamation projects and the trade areas supported by those projects since 1902. There have been paid to the Federal Treasury $532 million from power revenues; while the irrigation farmers have repaid more than $121 million. From a purely financial standpoint, reclamation projects repay the investment in many ways.

Other values

There are other values created by reclamation which must not be overlooked. More than 3,200,000 acres of desert land have been reclaimed, and more than 4,140,000 acres have received supplemental water; 93,500 new farms have been brought under irrigation; 360,000 American citizens are living on those farms, and 1,800,000 people are living in areas supported by reclamation. Without a doubt, these reclamation communities will stand for centuries to come as a testimonial to the farsighted vision of Theodore Roosevelt and others who inaugurated the reclamation program more than half a century ago.

President Theodore Roosevelt, in his second annual message on December 2, 1902, said:

"The reclamation and settlement of the arid lands will enrich every portion of our country."

In his third annual message, December 7, 1903, he said:

"The Nation as a whole is, of course, the gainer by the creation of these homes, adding as they do to the wealth of the country, and furnishing a home market for the products of the East and South."

Truly, these predictions have come to pass. The farmers living on reclamation projects are excellent customers for the manufactured products of the Eastern States. Modern Americans should appreciate the fact that a large percentage of the green vegetables and fresh fruits that are an important part of our everyday diet are grown on irrigation projects. Doctors and representatives of medical associations tell us that these green vegetables and fresh fruits have contributed immensely to the health and well-being of the people of this Nation—the healthiest on earth.

RECLAMATION IS NECESSARY

More important than pointing to the benefits to be derived from our reclamation program is the recognition of the fact that our Nation needs reclamation; that reclamation is a vital part of the American way of life. These facts have been recognized by Presidents representing each of our major political parties. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, on November 27, 1933, said:

"Reclamation as a Federal policy has proven its worth, and has a very definite place in our economic existence."

Every President since the enactment of the original Reclamation Act in 1902 has endorsed reclamation as a Federal program. Twenty years later President Dwight D. Eisenhower, on October 13, 1953, said:

"The vast new territories which have been opened up; the new settlement opportunities which have been provided and the new industry created as the result of America's reclamation activities, testify to the importance of this program."

Population trends—Loss of food-producing lands

The need for reclamation can be clearly demonstrated by referring to a few statistical facts. The Census Bureau tells us that the population of the United States is increasing at the rate of nearly 3 million persons per year. Simply stated, this means there will be 3 million more stomachs to fill next year than there are this year. At the same time that our population is increasing at this rapid rate, we are losing more than a million acres of good agricultural land every year to highways, airports, municipal and suburban developments, industrial and military establishments, and by other means.

While our need for more food is increasing year by year, our capacity for the production of that food is decreasing at the same time. These two closely interrelated forces speak for themselves.

Our real hopes, irrigation and reclamation

Except through the processes of irrigation, reclamation and drainage there is very little additional land available in the United States for producing additional food supplies in the foreseeable future. Even with the application of better farming practices, production per acre cannot be increased rapidly enough to meet the needs of our growing population.

Agricultural surpluses only temporary

Experts in the Department of Agriculture relate that a balance between production and consumption will be reached by 1962, and maybe earlier. This means that agricultural surpluses now so frequently cited as reasons for not authorizing additional reclamation projects are only temporary. Because it will require 10 years, or longer, to complete large basinwide multipurpose reclamation projects which are left for construction in the United States, agricultural surpluses will be disposed of long before reclamation projects now being authorized can be brought into production.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Because of the extreme importance of the overall national water resources development program, and the vital human part reclamation has to play in it, your committee on irrigation and reclamation recommends the following basic principles as a guide to coordinate this phase of the program with the flood control, rivers and harbors improvements and other activities of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress:

1. Reclamation is of the utmost importance to the entire Nation in providing the basic necessities of life, food, fiber, and homes; in raising the standard of living; in creating new wealth and increasing the tax base. It should be continued at an accelerated pace.

2. The Congress of the United States should firmly establish and maintain its right to determine the policy and criteria under which all Federal water development projects will be authorized.

3. Wherever practicable, basinwide, multipurpose planning, and development of water resource projects should be the rule followed.

4. Power revenues, whenever available, should be used on a basinwide or areawide basis to assist in repayment of irrigation costs beyond the ability of the water users to repay.

5. In order to avoid litigation in the settlement of water disputes and to preclude domination of the development and control of natural resources by Federal agencies the principle of using the Interstate Compact should be encouraged.

6. Present procedures under which Federal water resource projects are investigated and reported to the Congress are adequate. If changes in procedures should prove to be desirable, the changes should lead to simplification of procedures rather than to additional agencies and complexities.

7. Basic land and water inventories, soil and water research, snow surveys, and stream forecasting are of paramount importance. These activities should be continued and expanded where necessary in order to provide data for current and future planning.

8. It is recognized that due to their complex nature and the necessity for future basinwide development, reclamation projects will be expensive, thus requiring the Federal Government to advance loans of major proportions. Full financial participation and responsibility by local and State agencies should be encouraged in the planning and development of projects. The use of conservancy-type districts capable of levying taxes on project beneficiaries as agencies to execute repayment contracts with the Federal Government should be more nearly the rule than the exception.

9. In planning and constructing water-resource projects the need for supplemental water on lands presently inadequately supplied with moisture should be given priority over providing water for new lands.

10. There are many potential small irrigation and reclamation projects throughout the United States. The construction of these would alleviate economic distress and raise living standards. The small projects program of the Department of the Interior should be activated and maintained with adequate funds each year to provide for constructive and progressive water-resource development in this field.

PROCEDURAL RECOMMENDATIONS

It is further recommended that in order to carry out the above basic principles the National Rivers and Harbors Congress through the coordination of its appropriate and interrelated committees:

(a) Vigorously support a reclamation program designed to fully develop the land and water resources of the Nation;

(b) Bring to the attention of the President and the Congress the urgent need for a continuous, progressive, well-planned program of project authorization;

(c) Urge and actively support adequate appropriations needed to carry on planning of water-use projects by appropriate Federal agencies;

(d) Support appropriations for continued development of all financially feasible and economically justified water-resources programs;

(e) Support legislation requiring full compliance with, and adherence to, State water laws by Federal agencies.

SUMMARY

In summary, the purposes of the committee on irrigation and reclamation of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress shall be to promote the development, control, conservation, preservation, and utilization of the Nation's water resources, to work for the continuation of the services and the coordination of activities of Federal agencies dealing with water resources, to cooperate with and assist in securing authorization and construction of Federal water-use projects which meet with the approval of States and local agencies, to assist water users of the Nation in the economic development of river basins, to preserve the rights and interests of the States in their water resources, to promote the enactment of legislation favorable to these principles, and to oppose legislation detrimental to the orderly and progressive development of the river basins of the United States of America.

Facts Do Not Cease To Exist Because They Are Ignored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, it is well to remember that facts do not cease to exist because they are ignored. Under leave to extend heretofore granted, I wish to recall a few facts that fix responsibility for all time where it belongs for the Korean war. I quote from Bureaucracy Runs Amuck, by Lawrence Sullivan, on pages 61, 62, and 63 as follows:

Representative DANIEL A. REED, of New York, has itemized this aspect of our global economic planning in some detail, as set forth in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for July 9, 1942, beginning at page A2869, as follows:

"Japan launched her murderous assault against China on July 7, 1937. During the period from 1937 through 1940 we exported to Japan 8 million tons of scrap iron, steel, and scrap steel, and also thousands of tons of other essential war materials. The very year—1937—that Japan opened war on China our exports of scrap iron and steel amounted to 2,081,037 tons, or enough to build 20 battleships of 45,000 tons each, 200 submarines of 2,400 tons each, 10 aircraft carriers of 30,000 tons each, and 26 cruisers at 15,000 tons each. The next year, 1933, our scrap and steel exports to Japan were 1,463,000 tons: 1939, 2,179,000 tons, and 1940, 1,248,000 tons.

"At that point the United States foreign trade statistics normally published every month by the Department of Commerce, became a 'military secret.' No figures are available as to our metals exports to Japan in the first 11 months of 1941.

Congressman REED went on to say:

"While this appeasement program toward Japan exhausted our supply of material with which to make steel for our own defense, it armed her to strike her dastardly blow at Pearl Harbor * * *. More than this, the appeasement policy did not stop with furnishing Japan the material to build her navy, her air force and her tanks. There was also exported to Japan from the United States during the year 1937, aircraft and parts valued at $2,483,946; and the next year, 1938, $11,062,777; in 1939, a total of $3,306,000 in these items, and in 1940, $933,000.

"During these same years we also exported to Japan petroleum valued at $219,856,062, with which to operate her war machine. It is interesting to note that of this vast shipment of petroleum, 555,546 barrels of it was aviation gasoline in 1939, and 776,499 barrels in 1940. The extent to which the appeasers went in arming Japan in disclosed by the official figures relating to the shipment of cotton, aviation gasoline, iron and steel scrap, steel ingots, blooms, tin plate and tin scrap, refined and scrap copper, motor trucks, aircraft parts, ammunition, and machine tools."

Representative REED's itemization of our copper exports to Nippon showed a total of 717,277,918 pounds for the 5 years 1936–40, on a refined basis, beginning at about 5 million pounds for 1936 and swelling to 249 million pounds in 1939 and 233 million pounds in 1940.

"Does any responsible person believe," Congressman REED pressed, "that without this vast quantity of war material, furnished by the United States to Japan, she could have held out against China for 5 years? What would have been the history of Pearl Harbor, Midway, Bataan, Corregidor, and the Dutch East Indies, if, instead of arming Japan, the same materials had been used by our Government to build up our own defenses?"

Mr. Speaker, also under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, heretofore granted, I am inserting an article by David Lawrence, entitled "Korea Is Cited as Instance of Peril in Budget Cutting." The article to which I have referred appeared Monday, May 20, 1957, in the New York Herald Tribune:

KOREA IS CITED AS INSTANCE OF PERIL IN BUDGET CUTTING

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, May 19.—President Eisenhower, in a few brief sentences in his television speech on the budget recently, touched on a bit of fateful history. He spoke of a tragedy that proved costly in money and lives to the American people. He characterized the policy that caused it as both unwise and foolhardy. He said:

"Our Armed Forces became so starved and depleted that by 1950 we had to withdraw our military strength from South Korea. That area was then declared to be outside our defense perimeter.

Dean Acheson, who as Secretary of State in a public speech in January 1950 declared Korea to be outside the defense perimeter of the United States, issued a statement last week bristling with indignation. But actually he missed the point. For President Eisenhower gave Mr. Acheson a real alibi by pointing to the budget cutting of a drastic nature which began long before he became Secretary of State in January 1949.

OUTCOME OF ECONOMY

It was this economizing which made it necessary for the United States late in 1948 to order its military forces withdrawn from Korea—a movement completed in July 1949. The only indiscretion on Mr. Acheson's part was that, in his January 1950, speech, he officially revealed to all the world the strategic decision of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff not to regard Korea as a primary obligation of our defense planning.

It was actually the Truman administration's decisions of 1947, 1948, and 1949 which caused the severe cut in the military budget, and it was this which Mr. Eisenhower was emphasizing last week in his pointed reference to the curtailment of funds for the Military Establishment prior to 1950.

The facts are readily ascertained by reading The Forrestal Diaries. The late James Forrestal, as Secretary of Defense from September 1947 to March 1949, kept stenographic records of many of his conferences. There is revealed in this book the whole background of the budget cutting of those days.

TEN BILLION FOUR HUNDRED MILLION DOLLAR CUT

The military chiefs, for instance, struggled in 1948 and 1949 with the budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1949, and ending June 30, 1950. They had recommended $23.6 billion for that year. Secretary Forrestal endeavored to persuade Mr. Truman to agree to a military budget of at least $17.5 billion, and later urged the Joint Chiefs to go along with a budget of $15 billion. But Mr. Truman was adamant and recommended to Congress defense appropriations totaling only $13.6 billion. Congress appropriated $13.2 billion, and later on in 1949 added $873 million for aircraft, which sum Mr. Truman announced he would impound and wouldn't spend. The Korean war subsecquently cost the United States almost $20 billion and 137,000 casualties. The continuing defense of Korea is still a big annual expense to the American taxpayer.

BUCKPASSING POPULAR

In the period just before the Korean war, the Soviets had blockaded Berlin, and a Communist invasion of Indochina was in full swing. The situation in Korea, moreover, was plainly far from stable. Mr. Forrestal, in October 1948, addressed a letter to Secretary of State Marshall, asking for guidance and mentioned that he had written the previous July to the National Security Council to get a clear-cut idea of what the international dangers were, but had received no reply. It was a constant passing of the buck back and forth with no policy at all—not even a "brink of war" philosophy of deterrent action so far as the Far East was concerned.

In January 1949, General Eisenhower was called in as a special adviser on military budget affairs. He examined the military budget then, as he did when he was Chief of Staff of the Army in 1947, but only in terms of the defense of the United States itself—not in terms of hypothetical international situations, such as Korea, involving the Asian mainland. With the money available to the military services of the United States, Korea had to be considered by the Joint Chiefs, including General Eisenhower, as outside America's "defense perimeter." When American forces were ordered out of Korea in 1948 and 1949, it was a policy de-

cision by President Truman. The military leaders concurred because they could not, with the limited financial means at their disposal, keep on the Asian mainland troops which were vitally needed elsewhere to protect the defense line of the United States.

SOUTH KOREA IS ATTACKED

What was the responsibility of President Truman in the face of the world situation as a whole? What were America's obligations at that time? There was, to be sure, in Mr. Acheson's speech of January 1950 a vague reference to the United Nations as a possible defender of the Korean area. But the Communists were certainly not deterred by this comment. They attacked South Korea in June 1950. Mr. Truman rightly intervened. But why didn't his administration tell the military chiefs in advance that such action might possibly have to be taken under United Nations auspices and that, since the United States would have to bear the brunt of that action to repel aggression, the necessary funds for manpower and equipment would be made available beforehand?

The failure then, and the failure now, to let the military chiefs obtain the funds they need to maintain adequate forces to fulfill obligations imposed without warning by the civilian branch of the Government is at the root of the military troubles of the United States. Small wonder America was caught unprepared at Pearl Harbor and again in Korea. When will the lesson be learned—that the American people pay in lives for the mistaken judgments made by their civilian leaders? How much longer will the advice of the military leaders be disregarded when budgets are prepared, and what will the penalties be in terms of casualties in future wars?

Republican Split on Budget Seen as Political Suicide

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the House and especially my colleagues on this side of the aisle, to a thought-provoking column by David Lawrence which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune May 21, 1957.

The article follows:

REPUBLICAN SPLIT ON BUDGET SEEN AS POLITICAL SUICIDE

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, May 20.—A hysteria of budget cutting is sweeping the country. It is alienating the so-called conservatives in the Republican Party from the party leader—President Eisenhower. The net result may be not only a substantial increase in the Democratic majority in both Houses of Congress in the 1958 election but a landslide for the Democrats in electing a President in 1960. Then the second New Deal, with some real spending, will begin.

The Frankenstein now being built up by the Republican conservatives will, unless challenged promptly by President Eisenhower himself, split the Republican Party precisely as happened in Congress in 1910 and in the Presidency in 1912, when the Democrats were handed their victory on a platter as a result of dissension in the Republican ranks.

The political "mess" in the Republican Party has been brought on by mistaken tactics of both the "modern Republicans" and the so-called "conservatives."

NOW CONSIDERED HOSTILE

For some strange reason, an administration that has been uniformly friendly to business now is considered hostile by these conservatives because it hasn't cut the budget and reduced taxes this year, as it did before. But while many Republicans outside Washington are swallowing the propaganda that the administration has "gone New Dealish," Congress is quietly preparing to cut the defense and mutual security programs, yet at the same time voting even larger appropriations than before to advance the "welfare state."

Thus, up at last Friday, Congress, amid a fanfare of publicity, has reduced appropriations for fiscal year 1958 by $1,250,000,000 from the amounts requested by the President. But the recent action of the House of Representatives in passing the Housing Act of 1957 has increased the new obligational authority by $1,600,000,000 over and above the amounts requested by the administration. This completely wipes out the $1,400,000,000 cut in appropriations and leaves a net increase of $200 million.

While budget spending may not be noticeably affected in the year 1958 as a result of this action, future outlays will certainly be augmented. This is only a sample of what's going on. Appropriation cuts will be made now and deficiency bills passed later on, and the public will be fooled.

ONE-SIDED CUTS

The budget is too vital to be made a football of politics but evidently the impression is being conveyed throughout the country that Congress is slashing the budget as well as the spending. Actually, it is slashing appropriations for many important services hitherto considered essential by businessmen and is not cutting down the "welfare stuff" as many of the so-called conservative voters have been advocating.

In the end, virtually all of whatever is saved on the budget will go toward reduction of taxes in lower income brackets. To prevent this, businessmen will raise a hue and cry about applying the savings on the budget to debt retirement. But it will be too late. Businessmen will be lucky then not to get an increase in corporation taxes. There is already a drive on to help small business at the expense of companies earning over $25,000 a year.

For there's a movement being generated now and a cycle being begun that will mark a fateful turn in American economic history. If the leadership of President Eisenhower is forsaken by an influential block in his party, the modern Repblicans will have no place to go in 1960 but with the Democrats. They will prefer a modern Democrat to a Republican who deserted Eisenhower's leadership.

HIT FROM BOTH SIDES

A middle-of-the-road leader always gets hit from both sides as he pursues a truly delicate and difficult course in public affairs. President Eisenhower has achieved great things on the international side and has averted a major war, but he is struggling now with tides of dissent within his own ranks on domestic issues that could hurt his international policies, too.

The Democrats are, of course, the beneficiaries of this confusion. They are supplying the votes in congressional committees to help reduce the defense program, though a few months ago they were shouting loudly that Russia was ahead of us in planes and that the Republican administration was neglecting armament needs. The Democrats still have the solid support of their own conservatives, who vote with the modern Democrats of the North in order to put the Republicans at a political disadvantage.

The division in the Republican Party is growing more serious every day. There are some observers here who fear that the Republican Party has already committed political suicide and that the Republican Presidential nomination in 1960 will not be worth anything to any candidate. The patient man in the White House, on the other hand, has not given up. He says to friends that he is just beginning to fight. He is still confident he can convince the rival factions that they must pull together or face political disaster at the polls.

Statement on Food-Cost Trends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the Consumers Study Subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture recently started a series of hearings on food-cost trends and the spread of the consumer's food dollar. Thus far in these hearings our subcommittee, of which I have the honor to serve as chairman, has concentrated primarily on the rising cost of food distribution in the United States in recent years, as well as on the role of certain religious and voluntary agencies in the distribution of some of our food surpluses abroad.

In later hearings our subcommittee will study food marketing problems, the cost trends of specific commodities such as milk, vegetables, meats, coffee, and so forth, farm prices and incomes as related to the retail cost of food, also the effect of our food and fiber programs as a deterrent to communism abroad, stockpiling of food surpluses for use in the event of a national emergency, and others.

When our hearings opened on May 7, I made a statement explaining the work of the subcommittee and delineating the current food-cost situation. Since then there have been a number of requests for copies of this statement. I am, therefore, inserting the text of the statement in the RECORD at this time.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO ON FOOD COST TRENDS

This morning the Consumers Study Subcommittee is opening its first hearings. This subcommittee was created on March 14, 1957, to study and investigate, among other things—

1. The cost of living and, with respect to agricultural products the share which the farmer gets of the consumer dollar and how it compares with other costs, that is, wages for labor, profits for middlemen, retailer, etc.

2. The part which our food and fiber programs have played in winning friends for the United States and preventing the spread of communism at home and abroad.

3. The accomplishments or deficiencies of our public, private, and voluntary agencies in this common struggle.

4. The proper stockpiling of surpluses within the limits of the United States as a matter of national and civilian defense.

The hearings today and tomorrow will be devoted to a consideration of the general picture on food cost trends in the United States.

Representatives from the Department of Agriculture, the national farm organizations, organized labor, consumers, and from the food processing and distributing agencies will give us the benefit of their information and views on this subject.

Sometime tomorrow we expect to have a representative from the Department of Agriculture give us a statement of the pros and cons on the rapidly increasing use of trading stamps as they affect food retailing costs. After hearing that statement, the committee will decide on the scope of its investigation into the effect of the use of trading stamps on the cost of food distribution.

Before calling the first witness this morning, I want to make a few observations on the work of this subcommittee as it relates to the general problems encountered by the Committee on Agriculture.

We are concercned with two vital problems, the high cost of living for the consumer and the low returns to the farmer for his abundant production of high quality foods. We believe that these two problems are related in so far as the current high cost of living is affected by increasing retail food costs. That is why the subcommittee was created.

This committee has no intention of engaging in a witch hunt or of attempting to embarrass any segment of the food processing and distribution industry. We are concerned, however, to find that in the past 10 years, although the average unban family has increased its food expenditures by $500, only $45 of this increase goes to farmers while $400 goes to food processors and distributors.

We are also concerned that during this period food supplies have become overabundant. Warehouses have been filled to overflowing with storable farm products. Yet some urban families cannot buy the food they need to raise healthy children.

Urban families of 5 or more members with incomes of less than $4,999 today are spending over half of their income for food.

While available data are not conclusive it appears that the larger urban families, with average or below average incomes, are spending a higher proportion of their income for food now than 10 years ago. They are spending this higher proportion of their income in an attempt to achieve some kind of a minimum diet at a time when United States farmers are in a position to supply them the most ample diet on record and at a much lower cost at the farm than 10 years ago.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think this is a challenge for the attention of this committee and of the entire food industry. If, in examining this problem together, we can find ways of lowering the cost of processing and distributing the staple livestock and other food products, many urban families will purchase more food, they will be better nourished, and current farm surpluses will be reduced.

Although we cannot expect to completely solve the problem by this approach, I want to underline the importance of this line of attack on the farm surpluses problem. On April 19, 1957, the Commission on Increased Industrial Use of Agricultural Products, authorized by the 84th Congress, sent an interim report to Congress. In this report the Commission states that 12 percent of the land in crops and rotated pastures produces fruits, vegetables, and grain cereals consumed directly as food.

About 7 percent of this land produces items for industrial and nonfood purposes, items such as tobacco, cotton fiber, wool, and a part of many crops such as soybeans and corn.

About 10 percent of the land produces products for export.

The remaining 71 percent of the land in crops and rotated pastures goes into feed for livestock and ultimately into the production of livestock food products such as meat, eggs, and milk.

This Commission recommended a threefold increase in research on industrial uses for farm products and listed a large number of useful projects. I agree with their recommendations. I believe there should be increased research on industrial uses for farm products.

But, ladies and gentlemen, if we, through our studies, can find ways to reduce the cost of processing and distributing food by as little as 5 percent, and that reduction in marketing charges is reflected in increased food purchases, it would be the equivalent of a 36-percent increase in industrial uses of farm products.

If we can find ways and means of reducing food-marketing charges by as little as 2 percent and these savings are reflected in increased food purchases by the financially hard-pressed housewife, it would be the equivalent of more than a 15-percent increase in industrial use of farm products.

I make these comparisons, not to belittle the importance of additional research on industrial uses of farm products, but to indicate the great importance of the task of this committee and of the food industry.

Of course all savings in food-marketing costs will not be reflected in increased purchases of foods. But in the lower-income groups, purchases would increase immediately with a drop in retail prices. Surveys in the spring of 1955 show that purchases of meat, poultry, and fish by nonfarm, housekeeping families, increased from 8.9 pounds a week for the families with incomes of less than $1,000 a year to 16.3 pounds a week for the families with incomes of $6,000 to $7,999. And from our knowledge of American family preferences we can guess that most of this increase was in the red meats, beef, and pork rather than in fish and poultry.

These surveys also showed that nonfarm family purchases of milk, cream, ice cream, and cheese increased from the equivalent of 11.2 quarts for families with incomes of under $1,000 to 16.4 quarts for families with incomes of $6,000–$7,999. Fruit and vegetable purchases increase just as spectacularly as family income increases up to the $6,000 or $8,000 level.

These figures are convincing evidence to me that families with less than $6,000 income will buy more livestock products, fruits, and vegetables if either the retail price is lower or their incomes increase.

On a dollar basis urban households of two or more increased their cash expenditures for meat, poultry, and fish and dairy products as their family income increased, as follows:

Income of household	Weekly purchases (meat, poultry, fish)	Weekly purchases (dairy products)
Under $2,000	$5.16	$2.01
$2,000 to $5,999	8.30	3.85
$6,000 and over	10.59	4.52

Although the committee is interested in, and concerned about, the increased charges for food processing and distribution of foods in recent years, it realizes that many of these increased charges are required to cover additional costs of precooking, preparation of ready-to-use mixes and special packaging. It also knows that the modern housewife who can afford it prefers these new ready-to-serve food products.

We have no intention of trying to turn the clock back. We join with the food industry in taking pride in the large variety of high-quality foods available to the American housewife. We know that in no other country in the world does the housewife have such a variety and such an abundance of fine foods available to her.

Yet we cannot be satisfied when we know that half of our urban families would like to buy more food if they could afford it, and that surpluses have accumulated in American storehouses because farmers cannot find a market for all the food they are producing.

We hope that every segment of the food industry as good Americans will join with us in a search for ways and means of reducing the processing and marketing costs, especially of the staple food products purchased by families with average and below average incomes.

Text of Preliminary Statement of House Un-American Activities Subcommittee As Read by Subcommittee Chairman Clyde Doyle, California, at Chicago, Ill., Subcommittee Hearings Beginning March 26, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 8, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, unanimous consent heretofore having been granted me so to do, I am pleased to present for your information, as well as the information of all my colleagues and any others who read this, a true and correct copy of preliminary statement made and read by me on Tuesday, March 26, 1957, at subcommittee hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee, over which I presided, beginning on said date at Chicago, Ill.

The statement follows:

INVESTIGATION OF THE DISSEMINATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will please come to order.

I have a preliminary statement that I wish to read. It is customary so to do in these hearings.

In these hearings in Chicago with this subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities beginning this morning, it is our purpose to obtain further information for legislative purposes about the extent, character, and objects of the Communist propaganda in the United States, including subversive activities of the Communist Party. This is our official duty and obligation under the expressed terms of Public Law 601, enacted by the United States Congress in 1946 during the 79th session thereof.

The primary purpose of our inquiry today and tomorrow here in the Chicago area is the extent to which the press is Communist dominated so far as foreign language papers are concerned or the subversive conspiracy is implemented thereby. We expect to investigate today and tomorrow the extent to which this foreign language press, which is printed or distributed in or from the Chicago area, is the tool of the Communist subversive propaganda activity.

We recently made a very successful investigation on the same important subject of the New York City area. It is the Communist infiltration of the foreign language press of which we will be concerned chiefly.

Evidence which the committee has already received in hearings in other cities on this same subject indicates clearly that the propaganda operations of the Communist Party in the United States among minority groups serve as one of the most powerful means and methods of subversion.

The activities of the Communist Party right here in the Chicago area takes on a new significance in view of the recent announced decision of the Communist Party of the United States to transfer its headquarters nationally to Chicago.

The Communist Party and Communist front organizations which already exist here in this important industrial area are among the most virile and extensive in our entire beloved Nation.

On examination of Communist propaganda publications is sure to prompt the cry from the Communist and the Communist controlled fronts and Communist controlled press that we are attempting to exert a censorship of the press. This is, of course, false and unfounded, and the Communists know that such an attack on this committee has no foundation in truth or in fact.

I want to make it clear that this committee has no intention of seeking censorship of newspapers, magazines, or books, in interfering in any way with the operation of genuine and free publications. But we are definitely instructed by the United States Congress and by Public Law 601 to investigate and report the extent and character of Communist subversive propaganda and activities wherever it sticks its ugly head. The Communist publications are another matter. To the extent that any foreign-language newspaper that we are investigating today and tomorrow is controlled by Communist philosophy is not a free press. They are but the mouthpiece of a foreign ideology from a foreign source of a subversive conspiracy against the free press or against free speech in the United States.

The constitutional right to advocate change in an orderly manner is fundamental. We recognize it as such. But orderly change in our constitutional law is not the subversive intent of the Communist Party in the United States. There are constitutional guaranties of free speech and free press, and thank God there are, but there are no constitutional guaranties protecting subversive, fraudulent propaganda, designed to forcibly and violently overthrow our constitutional government or prohibit the Government of the United States from dealing with it in the legal manner.

Indeed, there are already existing laws against such types of publications. It is apparent that these laws are frequently being violated and circumvented in many ways and that these laws need to be strengthened.

The committee subscribes wholeheartedly and vigorously to the premise that any American citizen has the established right to say and to write what he pleases and to present his grievance in a legitimate way to the representatives which he has democratically chosen to govern him, but at the same time the people of the United States and the Government of the people of the United States have a right and a duty to learn the identity of those who illegally and subversively abuse the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press in order to bring about subversive destruction of our constitutional form of government.

At this point I wish to incorporate in the record the authorization of the full House Committee on Un-American Activities for this series of subcommittee hearings and the order by the chairman of the full Committee on Un-American Activities, to wit, the Honorable FRANCIS E. WALTER, in which he appointed this subcommittee consisting of three members, to wit, the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FRAZIER], who is absent this morning; the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SCHERER], who is on my right; and myself, CLYDE DOYLE, of California, as subcommittee chairman.

The reason I insert this in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is not only that I learn that many of the Chicago and Illinois Members in this great body have received communications from that area from constituents falsely charging what was in my preliminary statement, but likewise charging that it, and the hearings growing out of same, were a deliberate interference with the freedom of the press.

This is not the first time that false, deceitful statements have come to my attention as having been received by Members of this great body from geographical areas where subcommittees of the Un-American Activities Committee have held hearings, but I wsih to say, Mr. Speaker, that there is a definite, systematic and malicious program in being from Communist philosophy undergrounds and on surface members and sympathizers to misinform and mislead Members of Congress and other legislative bodies as to what is said in preliminary statements by subcommittee chairmen of our House Un-American Activities Committee. Therefore, in presenting this to your attention and consideration I do so with the cordial invitation to you who read the same to communicate to me any suggestion, criticism, or any comments which you desire to make to me about the same. I will cordially welcome the receipt thereof.

Of recent date I have furnished to all of the Members of this great legislative body from the Chicago area a true and correct duplicate of this text this day called to your attention.

Mr. Speaker, little wonder is it that these distinguished Representatives in Congress from the Chicago area have received false and baseless and untrue communications attacking my preliminary statement and the said subcommittee public hearings. I say this for the reason that at said hearings it was proven that in a foreign-language paper, named Vilnis Weekly Review, there appeared the following article under date of Friday, June 27, 1952:

ESCAPED KOREAN POW'S EXPOSE UNITED STATES CRIMES

PYONGYANG (Hsinhua).—Open letters by three escaped Korean prisoners of war to the Korean People's Army were published by the local paper "People's Army News" on May 22. The authors of these letters are Cpl. Choi Song Ok, Pfc. Li Hun Si and fighter Yun Chang Il, all of whom escaped from Compound No. 76 of the POW camp on Koje island. Based on personal experience, they have exposed the American crime of manhandling, torturing and butchering captured personnel and have blown skyhigh the American lies about voluntary repatriation, humanitarian principles and the like.

CHOI SONG OK'S LETTER READS: ISLAND OF HORROR

I joined the Korean People's Army when the Syngman Rhee brigands and American imperialist forces started invading North Korea. In a battle, I lost consciousness from a wound and was captured by the Americans. I was flung into a POW camp in the Pusan area and later transferred to Koje island.

I really cannot find words to describe all the horrors that my comrades and I suffered in the Koje POW camp. But I assure you that this POW camp run by the American Army is literally a hell. I escaped from this camp on May 7.

Compound No. 76 of the POW camp is dark and poorly ventilated. Its quarters are in utter darkness, devoid of bedding. It has 18 torture rooms and six steam rooms in which Americans put the captives to death by live steam. In addition, there are four gallows.

The American gangsters treated the POW's like beasts. They starve prisoners and imposed forced labor on us every day, despite our hunger. Our two meals daily were inadequate and consisted of coarse food. We had rice only once a week.

The American robbers tortured captured personnel on the flimsiest pretexts. They also often starved prisoners to death.

As was the case with other captives, the American gangsters tried to make me sign the so-called petition in blood, but I refused.

DON'T WANT TO SERVE AMERICANS

On April 14, Brigadier General Dodd, camp commander, a colonel and three other officers came to our compound. The prisoners were assembled to listen to Dodd. The meeting ground was heavily guarded. Dodd announced that all POW's would be registered. Then forms were distributed to the prisoners to be filled in and signed. He said that the United States Army command wished to release those prisoners who wished to serve the United Nations forces and so they were required to sign an anti-Communist petition in their own blood.

We immediately started shouting. "Send us home. We don't want to serve the Americans. Observe Geneva Convention. We refuse to join United Nations forces." The POW's rose as one man in their wrath.

Dodd beat a hasty exit. The American guards encircled us and fired. Eighteen POW's were killed and 37 wounded.

Next day they carried out individual interrogation of POW's, and I was interrogated. An American colonel asked me whether I knew which POW's were members of the Nodong Dang and who had started the riot. He wanted me to give their names. The colonel said: "If you tell me the facts, I shall give you 800 United States dollars and release you. Then you can live a free life in Seoul."

ELECTROCUTION

I stubbornly refused to answer these provocative questions, on the ground that international law did not require me to answer such questions. Then they dragged me out of the interrogation room and thrust me into a dark cellar. There I was stripped, bound, and whipped.

Other comrades were suffering the same torture in the cellar.

I lost consciousness several times. The sadists poured hot water on my body and kept whipping me. Finally, the American gangsters put me into a cell so small I could not turn around. They said menacingly: "If you don't tell us who shouted Communist slogans at yesterday's meeting, you will be electrocuted."

I was filled with burning hatred for these monsters and resisted the interrogation and torture in silence.

At last I got an opportunity to escape from the POW camp. I crossed the 38th parallel and returned to the free soil of my motherland.

I can never forget the terror in the American POW camp on Koje Island, and my deep hatred of the American brigands will never diminish. I will do my utmost, and even give my life, to drive the foreign aggressors out of my country.

TRUTH OF UNITED STATES SCREENING

Following is the text of a joint letter by Li Hun Si and Pun Chang Hi:

We are filled with indignation and loathing for the shameless violation by the American and Rhee brigands of all international law, and their vicious oppression of our captured personnel on Koje Island.

On May 4, we escaped from the American prisoners of war camp on Koje Island and returned to our motherland. Now we are happily breathing the fresh air of freedom.

We want to accuse the American butchers of atrocities on Koje Island before all people of good will. We ask the people of our country and people throughout the world unanimously to support our brothers on Koje Island who are being beaten and maltreated by the American forces.

The American interventionists' cruelties in the POW camps on Koje Island are perpetrated to force our captured personnel to become cannon fodder for the Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek brigands, and slaves of the Americans. With this goal in mind, the American military authorities on Koje Island again started forcible screening in April. The American robbers fabricated so-called petitions and forced our captured personnel to affix their fingerprints in blood. Those who refused were maltreated and were subjected to third-degree questioning. When we two refused, we were interrogated and tortured.

It is difficult to imagine the sufferings we have endured.

All captured personnel of the Korean and Chinese people's forces are anxious to return to their own countries. We believe that the day will come soon.

The American robbers' scheme to turn our captured personnel into their slaves, and Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek's cannon fodder will never be released. The American robbers must bear responsibility for their crimes on Koje Island.

We who have returned to our free motherland will resolutely defend our beloved motherland and strive for unconditional victory.

Therefore, I naturally asked the Secretary of Defense on April 30, 1957, furnishing him a photostatic copy of said article dated June 27, 1952, to give me the answer in connection therewith. Here, therefore, is my communication to the Secretary of Defense, dated April 30, 1957, and here is his answer to my inquiry dated May 17, 1957:

APRIL 30, 1957.

Hon. CHARLES E. WILSON,
Secretary of Defense,
Department of Defense,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Enclosed is photostat of page 2 of Vilnis Weekly Review for Friday, June 27, 1952, published at Chicago, Ill., on that date. This exhibit was introduced before my subcommittee in public session of the House Un-American Activities Committee on March 27. It is a reproduction of the English language portion of a Lithuanian newspaper published in Chicago.

I will thank you to give to me such appropriate comment as you may have in the premises relating to the alleged facts set forth in this dastardly article.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

CLYDE DOYLE,
Member of Congress.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D. C., May 17, 1957.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. DOYLE: Reference is made to your letter of April 30, 1957, to the Secretary of Defense forwarding a photostatic copy of a page of the Vilnis Weekly Review for Friday, June 27, 1952. Additional reference is made to a letter addressed to you on May 8, 1957 from Capt. Carlton R. Adams, Director of Legislative Liaison informing you that your request for comments on the Vilnis Weekly Review article had been forwarded to this Office.

This Office is unfamiliar with the publication. It is noted, however, that the source of the story entitled "Escaped Korean POW's Expose United States Crimes" is Hsinhua. Hsinhua is the official news agency of the Chinese Communist regime in Peiping, and as such, it is completely controlled by the regime (as are all media of information in Communist China). It is the main source of Chinese Communist propaganda in the press and publications field.

During the period in question (June 1952), the Chinese Communists were suffering a severe propaganda loss to the U. N. command and especially to the United States in Korea, because at that time some 33,000 former North Korean and Chinese Communist soldiers were adamantly refusing repatriation to their homelands. The Korean truce negotiations were underway and the Communist side was stalling over the issue of nonforcible repatriation of prisoners of war. As you know, in the Orient face is a most important psychological asset. In the summer of 1952 the Chinese Communists were losing face over the PW issue and the exposure before the world of the true feelings of these former Communist soldiers with regard to the North Korean and Chinese Communist "paradise" was most intolerable in the eyes of the Communist regime.

The article from the Vilnis Weekly Review is only one of a variety of methods by which the Communists attempted to take the pressure of world opinion off their own difficulties and contradictions by ascribing to the U. N. command the very crimes of which the Communists themselves had been guilty.

The whole issue of U. N. treatment of Communist POW's has been thoroughly investigated through the mechanism of the International Committee of the Red Cross which made thorough and periodic inspections of U. N. command PW compounds throughout the Korean War. Except for the most minor and relatively insignificant deficiencies, the inspection teams of the International Committee of the Red Cross gave the U. N. command a completely clean bill of health on the handling of Communist POW's. The mere fact that 33,000 of these POW's refused to return to North Korea or to Communist China is in itself most eloquent testimony to the manner in which the U. N. command took care of their welfare, and treated them in all respects in strict accordance with the Geneva Convention on POW's.

Because the article is based on completely distorted facts and outright fabrications, it is impractical to attempt to analyze each particular statement. It is assumed that the three soldiers who are described in the article were simply ordered to sign their names to the so-called letters which were prepared by a Communist propagandist within the context of the campaign to discredit the U. N. command and the United States.

I am at a loss to understand why a weekly publication, which depends upon American freedom of the press for its existence, would publish such obvious Communist propaganda, but as you know it is beyond the purview and authority of the Department of Defense to look into such matters.

I trust that these general remarks and comments on the article will serve your purpose.

Sincerely yours,

G. B. ERSKINE,
General, USMC (Retired), Assistant to the Secretary of Defense (Special Operations).

In producing this traitorous article from a foreign-language newspaper, printed at Chicago on June 27, 1952, and which paper is still printed there, was the subcommittee interfering with the freedom of the press? In asking you this question I call your attention especially to paragraph 7 of my preliminary statement beginning as follows:

The primary purpose of our inquiry today and tomorrow here in the Chicago area is the extent to which the press is Communist-dominated so far as foreign-language papers are concerned or the subversive conspiracy is implemented thereby.

And for your information I am pleased to present the following text of one of the pamphlets widely distributed in Chicago at the time prior to the subcommittee hearings beginning March 26, 1957:

YOUR RIGHT TO READ NEWSPAPERS, TO BUY BOOKS, TO SEE FILMS, IS CHALLENGED BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

On Tuesday, March 26, and Thursday, March 28, several of your fellow citizens have been summoned to appear for inquisition before the House Un-American Activities Committee (the Walter committee) at the Federal Courthouse in Chicago. Their crime: They publish newspapers, sell books, or exhibit films that the bigots on the Walter committee don't like.

"The most un-American activity in the United States is the conduct of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities. It is so viciously flagrant a violation of every element of common decency associated with human liberty that it is a foul mockery on all that Jefferson and Lincoln made articulate in their dreams of a cleaner, finer order on earth."—From an editorial in the Detroit Free Press, sister paper of the Chicago Daily News.

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." (First amendment, Constitution of the United States, Dec. 15, 1791.)

Some of the people summoned by the Walter committee are editors of foreign-language newspapers published in Chicago. Apparently in the eyes of the Walter committee anyone who speaks or writes in a foreign language is suspect. This is in line with the objectives of the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act, of which Congressman WALTER is coauthor.

The Constitution forbids Congress to restrict freedom of expression, so it cannot legislate in this field. Therefore, the purpose of the inquisition is to create hysteria and block the growing opposition to the Walter-McCarran Act.

The specific objective of the forthcoming inquiry is to destroy the foreign-language newspapers because of their influence in arousing opposition to the Walter-McCarran Act. Freedom of speech is of special importance to these people because they speak in a different language. If the foreign-language press is deprived of its rights, will other newspapers be secure?

The Walter committee seeks to accomplish its purpose by having paid informers attack those with whom it disagrees. These informers label as subversive and un-American those who sell books not approved by Secretary of State Dulles, or who show Russian films, or who oppose repressive legislation.

We agree with the following message sent to a meeting of the American Booksellers Association by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in April 1942, when the Nazis were burning books with which they disagreed:

"We know that books burn—yet we have the greater knowledge that books cannot be killed by fire.

"People die, but books never die. No man and no force can abolish memory."

Among those summoned to appear before the Walter committee on March 26 and 28 are:

EDITORS

Mrs. Alice Yonik: Editor in chief of Vilnis (meaning Surge). Vilnis has been published for Lithuanian readers in Chicago since 1920 and has been a daily newspaper since 1926. Mrs. Yonik has been with the newspaper since 1932. She is a native of Chicago and is active in the Lithuanian Women's Cultural Club.

Leon Pruseika: Associate editor of Vilnis.

Jacob Pauliukas: Manager of Vilnis.

Vincent Andrulis: Columnist and former editor of Vilnis. Member for 27 years of the Association of Lithuanian Workers. Active in Lithuanian Literary Society. He is very ill with a heart ailment.

Mrs. Nellie De Schaaf: Housewife. Editor of Vilnis' English section from 1950 to 1952.

Anthony Minerich: Business manager and former editor of the Croatian weekly, Narodni Glasnik (meaning People's Voice). Formerly active in United Mine Workers of America. Now active in Croatian Fraternal Union.

John Zuskar: Business manager of the Slovak weekly newspaper, Ludowy Noviny (meaning People's News). Secretary of the Slovak Circle. Member for 45 years of the National Slovak Society.

FILM EXHIBITORS

John Rossen: Theater manager. Veteran of World War II. Executive director of the Chicago Council of America-Soviet Friendship.

LeRoy Wolins: Veteran of the Korean campaign. Graduate of the University of Chicago. Director of the Film Forum of Chicago, which has been showing Russian films. Editor of Friendship. Administrative secretary, Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

BOOKSELLER

Otto Wangerin: Operator of Modern Bookstore. Active for 40 years in labor and progressive movement.

The Good Government Under President Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I am amazed at the letters I am receiving from California these days. I am not surprised at the volume—it is a rare day in my office when I do not receive at least 100 letters—but I am concerned about the fact that many of the writers are unreasonably critical of the President of the United States and his administration. Concern over the budget and taxes has, in many cases, caused some of my constituents to completely ignore the fact that there are many fine things being done by our Government from which all of our 170 million Americans are benefiting. It is not my purpose to act as counsel for the defense, because the President is completely capable of speaking for himself and does so very ably. I do think it is time, however, to answer the question, "Does our country have good leadership and good government?"

In answering this question, I would like to point out that I have voted to cut the President's budget and will continue to do so, because I think it is too large. It is my hope that Congress will be successful in reducing Federal expenditures by at least $3 billion. I then will do everything I can to press for a tax reduction and an overhaul of our complicated and sometimes unfair tax laws. I have no reason to be politically beholden to Mr. Eisenhower inasmuch as figures released by Congressional Quarterly show that I received a higher percentage of the vote than the President or any other candidate for public office in my district in the elections last November. Nevertheless, I am convinced that our country, under the Eisenhower administration, has outstanding and forward-thinking leadership and that our people have every reason to be proud of the kind of Government we have today.

My correspondents who have been so quick to criticize some of our Nation's fiscal policies should recognize that there are good things to be said about this budget. For the first time in a quarter of a century we have in prospect three balanced budgets in a row. By next year we will have retired some $5 billion on the public debt. This is quite a contrast with years past when our country was operating on deficit financing and balanced budgets were virtually unobtainable. In addition, the $7.4 billion tax cut given the American people in 1954 has already saved them almost $25 billion in taxes. The population of our country has increased by 10 million persons since President Eisenhower took office, but today Federal civilian employees are almost one-quarter of a million fewer than in 1952. This means that while our country has grown larger, we have cut the size of our bureaucracy. Remember that 24 percent of all of the budget goes for Federal expenditures not subject to control by the President, and 63 percent of the Federal budget is for national defense. Remember, too, that the President can't change many existing programs, because his own party doesn't control the Congress.

Everyone of us should recognize that our country's prosperity is at the highest level in history, and individual incomes today are $18 billion higher than they were last year. There is virtually no unemployment problem in our country. At the same time, our Nation's position and prestige in the world is now greater than at any time since World War II. We are not at war, and the Russians, who were threatening aggression not so long ago, are now on the defensive. Shakeups and revolutions are taking place throughout the Soviet empire. Our chances for a permanent peace are improving daily under the leadership of President Eisenhower who has gained the respect and confidence of other leaders of the free world.

None of us should be rubber stamps, and each of us has the right to differ with the President and other Government officials. However, any fair appraisal of the overall picture, whether we are Democrats or Republicans, would show that the country is in good hands, and the future is bright. I hope the President's critics will keep this fact in mind and not allow opposition to certain fiscal policies prevent their recognition of the good work which has been done.

Eggheads and Squareheads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article, written by Gerald W. Johnson, which appeared in the New Republic of May 20, 1957:

EGGHEADS AND SQUAREHEADS

(By Gerald W. Johnson)

The fastidious disgust of Mr. Dean Acheson and the vociferous disgust of Mr. Philip Wylie with the "moralism" (the quotes are to emphasize the fact that the word is not morality) of our foreign policy inspire some faint hope that the Pecksniffian aroma in the American atmosphere is fading. But the hope is faint. Mr. Acheson and Mr. Wylie are both Eggheads, and the much more numerous Squareheads have an appetite for moralistic mush that is nearly, although not quite, insatiable.

Mr. Acheson seems especially exasperated by the President's unctuous comment on late events in the Middle East: "Two wrongs do not make a right." Yet it is undeniable, by Mr. Acheson or anybody else. If Nasser steals a sheep, that is definitely one wrong; but if the President knocks the gun out of the wrathful sheepowner's hand, that doesn't make a right. It only makes us accomplices while Nasser gets away with the sheep.

Of course the President's argument is that if someone hadn't stopped the sheepowner, murder might have been done, and murder is worse than the loss of any amount of mutton. The argument loses force, however, if murder is going to be done anyhow, which seems highly probable. Israel today is not what any underwriter would call a preferred risk, and Israel didn't even own the property that Nasser appropriated.

The situation in the Middle East presents a genuine moral dilemma. There is no right course, morally speaking, in such a case; the best anyone can do is to pursue the course that, while not harmless, will be least injurious to the world. This means that whatever one does should be done apologetically, because it is certain to be questionable morally, whatever it is.

But Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles are not prepared to admit the existence of a moral dilemma anywhere at any time. They blandly insist that their course is impeccably correct, not merely a fumbling, if honest, effort to make the best of a thoroughly bad job. This is the moralism that has the eggheads rolling their eyeballs and gnashing their teeth; the extent of the error is debatable, but the assumption of rectitude when some degree of error is inevitable, is infuriating. Like the Old Men who maddened Kipling, these seem to take the attitude that—

"Whatever we do, we shall fold our hands, and suck our gums, and think well of it.
Yes, we shall be perfectly pleased with our work, and that is the Perfectest Hell of it."

However, the asperity of the eggheads will not appreciably affect the course of history unless it proves to be the precursor of a corresponding displeasure among the squareheads. At present, what is of vastly greater moment is the prevalence of similar sentiments in infidel parts. The wrath of the Acheson-Wylie axis may be comparable to that of Peleus' son, but it is not as sinister as the cold dislike we seem to be arousing in all the popular leaders of Asia and Africa. For the eggheads can only froth at the mouth, but the heathen can give aid to our enemies without risk of being hanged.

The peripatetic Secretary of State apparently fancies himself in the role of a missionary. There would probably be no harm in that except for the unfortunate fact that the heathen are also beginning to see him as a missionary has never been popular in partibus infidelium of the gospel, but of the kind intent on establishing the moral superiority of the Catholics, the Protestants, or the Jews—at any rate, of the Americans. That kind of missionary has never been popular in partibus infidelium. On the contrary, he has usually been regarded as about the most godawful nuisance known to international relations, not excluding conquistadores, filibusters, and plain pirates.

If the poor, benighted Hindu has got it into his head that Mr. Dulles is a missionary of the meddling type, then we had better transfer Mr. Dulles promptly to some other field of activity. For that would mean a conviction that our real objective is not international amity, but the imposition upon India of monogamy, Sunday blue laws, and the substitution of soda pop for the beverage that Jesus of Nazareth supplied at Cana; which would be enough to provoke a rebellion that would make the Sepoy mutiny resemble a game of tiddley-winks. In the course of it the Hindus would probably welcome communism or any other ideology that would preserve them from the horrors of Calvinism.

No doubt a policy is to be deprecated if it does no worse than drive Mr. Acheson, Mr. Wylie and affiliated eggheads into the screaming meemies; but it is to be more than deprecated, it is to be deplored if it has the effect of creating throughout a continent, or two continents, a clammy distaste for everything American because American will be equated with holier-than-thou. For that sort of thing can hardly be removed by the most toilsome efforts of a hundred years.

Resolution Regarding Panama Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Subcommittee on the Panama Canal of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to the resolution adopted by the New York Society of the Panama Canal at its annual meeting in New York on May 4, 1957:

RESOLUTIONS RE PANAMA CANAL

Whereas certain prominent individuals and groups have advocated internationalization of the Panama Canal for divers and naive reasons; and

Whereas considerable agitation is being fomented in Panama for the nationalization of the canal or for vast increases in the annual payments to the Republic of Panama above those now provided in the existing treaties; and

Whereas the advocates of a sea-level canal are constantly pressuring the Congress to authorize this futile and extravagant adventure; and

Whereas it is apparent that transit facilities of the canal will be inadequate in the near future and that increased capacity should be studied now and provided for by the Congress: Therefore be it

Resolved by the New York Society of the Panama Canal at its annual meeting in New York, May 4, 1957, as follows:

1. That the society respectfully and most earnestly urges the Congress of the United States to enact, without further delay, legislation providing for the creation of an independent Interoceanic Canals Commission to study and review all of the problems involved and to report back to the Congress with its recommendations in the premises;

2. That copies of this resolution be sent to the authors, in the Congress, of measures providing for the creation of the proposed Interoceanic Canals Commission, and to members of the congressional committees charged with the duty of considering legislation dealing with the Panama Canal, the metropolitan press and to the other Panama Canal Societies in the United States.

THE NEW YORK SOCIETY OF THE PANAMA CANAL.
JOHN J. FITZPATRICK,
Secretary.
R. W. HEBARD,
President.

America Is No Land of the Plenty for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include a most timely and thought-provoking summary of an independent study that has been made about the financial problems of the growing number of aged persons in our American population.

This summary, which appeared in a recent issue of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers' Union News shows that 26 percent of Americans over the age of 65 have no income of their own; 38 percent have less than $1,000 a year and the numbers within these brackets represent an increasing portion of our population.

The startling revelations of the difficulties plaguing these individuals, within the growing prosperity of this great Nation, poses a very real challenge to all other segments of our society, including the legislatures, both national and local.

The article follows:

The United States is a land of plenty—but not if you're over 65 years of age. Nearly three quarters of Americans beyond 65 either have no income of their own—or earn less than $1,000 a year. And you know how well you can live on $20 a week.

There are signs of betterment on the horizon. Both political parties advocate higher social-security benefits and there are indications that adequate care for older people will be less and less a burden on our economic system.

Nevertheless, among the rapidly increasing population over 65, 36 percent have no income whatever, 38 percent have less than $1,000, while 11 percent have an income between $1,000 and $2,000. In many cases, these incomes must do not only for the individual earning the money—but often support a spouse and other members of the family. Only 15 percent of the oldsters over 65 earn or receive more than $2,000 a year.

This is a summary from a comprehensive report made by John J. Corson, a former director of the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance, and John W. McConnell, professor at Cornell University. The findings have been published in Economic Needs of Older People, a text of 533 pages by the Twentieth Century Fund, a nonprofit foundation for research on economic and social problems.

Older persons in our population (those over 65) are steadily increasing not only in number, but in proportion to the total population. Since 1900, the number of persons 65 and over has increased 4 times while the total population has only doubled. The over-65's now number over 14 million.

It is an unhappy fact that while older persons make up a larger share of the population than formerly, a vast preponderance of these older folks are subsisting on a far less than average income, and have a living standard well below the average for the population.

The report notes that unemployment is at a minimum from ages 35 to 44, rising gradually between 45 and 64. At age 65 there is a marked increase in unemployment. And, once unemployed, older workers find it difficult to secure new jobs.

A significant point brought out by this study which is often overlooked in an individual's plans for retirement is the matter of health. Among persons over 65, one-tenth to one-third are chronically ill. Medical studies disclose that persons aged 65 or over have about twice as many disabling illnesses, lasting a week or longer as persons aged 50 to 64. Moreover, the average disabling illness of the aged lasts twice as long as that of the younger group. A study made by the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance found that no more than three-fifths of those who had been hospitalized during the survey years were able to pay the hospital charge, even in part, from their own resources.

It is a situation which reflects either upon our sense of justice or upon the soundness of our social and economic system, or both. Yet, all is not completely dark for citizens of advanced years.

One central finding of the new Twentieth Century Fund study is quite hopeful. Though the over 65's are increasing twice as fast as the general population and despite the increased benefits recommended, the study suggests that the burden on the rest of the population will decrease rather than increase. There are several reasons for this.

In the first place, older persons are simply one element in the total nonworking population. Children, invalids, housewives, retired persons, and others are included in the total nonworking segment. And this total nonworking group is growing proportionately smaller rather than larger.

Thus as the percentage of our people in the nonworking group grows smaller it becomes clear that the ability of the United States to support its nonworking population will grow rather than decrease. This is underlined by the fact that total national output is increasing even faster than the over 65 population, and the total productive effort that goes to support older persons is likely to become a smaller percentage of our total output.

Adding it up, this means that for the future we can, if we wish, take better care of our older people because we can afford to.

Nevertheless, the study finds that the individual himself—or herself—has a special responsibility to save—be it through home ownership, private insurance, savings accounts, investments or contributions under private retirement plans.

Justice Makes Mockery of Basic Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, more and more the people of the United States have become alerted to the pattern and practice of the United States Supreme Court in attempting to change the law of the land through so-called judicial decisions. The lawmaking power is the responsibility of Congress. Congress alone has the power and the responsibility to make law or to change law.

The decisions of that Court in the past two decades are convincing that a dangerous and frightening thing is taking place, namely, that the Supreme Court is deliberately undertaking to rewrite the Federal Constitution and laws.

The average American has been reluctant to believe the truth about the Supreme Court, but the pattern and purpose of the Court has become so obvious that it can no longer be ignored or overlooked.

The indignation and concern which the conduct of the Court is causing is aptly expressed in the following editorial in the May 15 issue of the Metropolitan Herald, Atlanta, Ga.:

JUSTICES MAKE MOCKERY OF BASIC LAW

The high regard for the United States Supreme Court held by citizens of this Nation throughout most of its history has been unique in American politics.

Whenever any politician attempted to tinker with the Court, American citizens have risen up to defend the Court in a mighty chorus of righteous anger.

It was only a few short years ago, when one of the most popular Presidents this Nation has ever had, attempted to undermine the Court with a court-packing plan only to be slapped down by the American people in his attempt.

However, such is not the case now. The Court is in disrepute. The Court is no longer held with honor and respect. And the Court has no one but its present membership to blame for this state of affairs.

By its brazen disregard for prior decisions, by its ignoring of precedent in law, by its issuance of legal edicts without constitutional or legal foundations, by its usurpation of the power of Congress to make laws, by ignoring truth, facts, and the Constitution, the present members of the Court have made a mockery of the Constitution and of the Court itself.

Its latest irresponsible edict in the Philadelphia Girard case has drawn a steady fire of criticism and scorn from the Nation's outstanding lawyers and from a large segment of the free press.

Yet the Court continues on its reckless way, issuing edicts without regard to established law, precedent, or the Constitution.

It is a dangerous policy. It is alarming. It is endangering our basic laws and our basic liberties.

Congress must reassert its own legislative powers and restore the Court to its constitutional duties before it is too late.

Foot-in-Mouth Disease

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial, which appeared in the Hartford Times of May 18, 1957, makes most interesting reading:

FOOT-IN-MOUTH DISEASE

For a man of the stature of our Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles has an unfortunate habit of putting his foot in his mouth on one subject—permission for American newspapermen to travel to Red China on business.

He told reporters the other day that he realized it was inconsistent to put a flat ban on travel by newsmen to Red China and at the same time to suggest that a strictly limited number of responsible correspondents be permitted to go. The suggestion, he said, was a concession to American news agencies. When men like Mr. Dulles, a person of sturdy integrity, believe sincerely in a principle they don't compromise on it. Apparently Mr. Dulles' faith in the rightness of his ban is shaky.

He also made a silly proposal. He said American newspapers, if they wish to cover Red China, could hire foreigners to do the job for them. Thus, American citizens would not be put into hazard where our Government could not protect them.

Loyalty, as Mr. Dulles should know, operates in two directions. Journalists, especially in the United States, have a good record for loyalty to their employers. But the employers also extend loyalty to their reporters. Any reputable newspaper would be just as concerned over danger to its Red China reporter if he were, say, a Swiss as if he were born and brought up in Hartford. Somehow Mr. Dulles' suggestion smacks of hiring mercenaries.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Wisconsin in Forefront of Efforts for Mentally Retarded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk a statement and appended articles on the heart-warming performance of the State of Wisconsin and the fine job increasingly being done in other States for the mentally retarded in our population, especially for mentally retarded youngsters. I ask unanimous consent that the statement and the appended articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY

I was pleased to note in the Milwaukee Journal of last Sunday an article describing a helpful session, which was held at the Milwaukee Vocational School, looking toward the solution of a problem which has stirred the hearts of countless Americans.

This session was a slow-learners institute. It was designed to shed light on how to provide educational and related assistance for the 1½ to 3 percent of our population which falls into what has been described as the "mentally retarded group," especially the youngsters in that classification.

AAMD MEETING TODAY

Today is, I believe, an appropriate occasion to refer to the important progress which is being made on behalf of the slow learners, because on this very day in Hartford there is convening the American Association on Mental Deficiency's annual convention.

It will hear many leading experts discuss various phases of this mental deficiency problem.

SPLENDID WORK OF NARC

I have in my hand the text of an article from the April 1957 issue of the newspaper Children Limited, which describes this convention. This newspaper is published by the National Association for Retarded Children—a splendid nonprofit organization of parents and friends of the mentally handicapped.

In looking through every issue of this newspaper, one finds encouraging signs of what is being done on a National, State, and local basis.

Infiintely more, however, needs still be done. We have barely scratched the surface in helping the retarded. Infinitely more youngsters are not receiving adequate attention than are receiving adequate attention.

But at least we are on our way. Progress is being made, thanks to the devoted efforts of parents, educators, doctors, psychologists, and others.

ARTICLES SHOW PROGRESS IN BADGER STATE

Naturally, I am especially pleased that my own State is helping to lead the way, although far more needs be done in Wisconsin as elsewhere.

In the April 1957 issue of Children Limited there was, for example, a brief article describing how the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, in cooperation with the Wisconsin Council for Mentally Retarded Children, is recruiting teachers for retarded youngsters.

In the February 1957 issue was an article describing how Msgr. J. W. Felder, chaplain of the St. Coletta School for Exceptional Children in Jefferson, in my State, has surveyed the problem of religious training for retarded youngsters.

In the December 1956 issue there was depicted how the former Governor of my State, the Honorable Walter Kohler, served as honorary chairman for State Retarded Children's Week campaign.

In the April 1956 issue was an article on the formation of Phi Mu Sigma fraternity, a grand group which I was pleased to address last year (as described in the May 7, 1956, RECORD). Phi Mu Sigma is a professional fraternity for teachers of the mentally retarded.

I have selected these Wisconsin references in Children Limited merely as an illustration. These particular articles show what one State is doing at the grassroots and what, I hope, all 48 States will do and can do on behalf of these youngsters.

"NO LESS PRECIOUS"

The worthy theme of the national association is that these retarded youngsters are "no less precious" than any other youngster.

One article in the February issue of this year was well entitled "For Children Limited, Love Unlimited."

With true love, with real understanding, with expert direction, with generous contributions, we can go a long way toward fulfilling our deepest responsibilities to these youngsters and to adults as well.

REPORT BY WHO EXPERTS

This is not a problem affecting just a small limited group. It is a problem which affects a vast number of Americans, and naturally, it is a problem not limited to our shores alone. I point out for example the important 48-page publication, The Mentally Subnormal Child, a report prepared by a joint expert committee convened by the World Health Organization with the participation of the United Nations, ILO and UNESCO.

Let us therefore each do our part in whatever way we can toward meeting this challenge.

ARTICLES FOR CHILDREN LIMITED

There follows now the various brief articles. All are from Children Limited, published by the NARC, with the exception of the Milwaukee Journal article to which I have referred.

[From Children Limited for April 1957]

AAMD CONVENTION SLATED MAY 21–25

Connecticut Gov. Abraham A. Ribicoff will greet delegates to the first general session May 22 of the American Association on Mental Deficiency's annual convention in Hartford.

Registration will begin May 21 and the annual meeting will conclude with the installation, May 25, of the association's new president, Chris J. DeProspo.

Section meetings during the convention will deal with all aspects of work with the mentally retarded, including education, medicine, social work, psychology, administration, and parent liaison.

Dr. Romaine P. Mackie, chief of the Section on Exceptional Children and Youth of the Office of Education, and Dr. Leonard J. Duhl, psychiatrist from the Professional Services Branch of the National Institute of Mental Health, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, will address a public meeting May 22.

Rudolph P. Hormuth, specialist in services for mentally retarded children of the United States Children's Bureau, will describe the material and child health program for mentally retarded children at a sectional meeting May 22, chaired by Dr. George Tarjan, superintendent of Pacific State Hospital in California.

Another panel on May 22 will deal with a social work approach to the problems of the mentally retarded and their families. It will be headed by Mrs. Sadie E. Smith, director of social services at the Columbus State school, Ohio.

Language and speech of the mentally retarded will be discussed in a section meeting May 23. Dr. Ross H. Copeland, administrative assistant to the superintendent of the Muscatatuck (Ind.) State School, will chair the panel and present the results of a national survey of speech and hearing services for the retarded in State institutions.

Play and music therapy, hypnosis with the mentally retarded, and parent counseling will be among topics discussed at a psychology sectional meeting May 23 headed by Dr. Harold Michal-Smith of Flower and Fifth Avenue Hospitals.

Armond Carr, NARC secretary, will be a participant in a section meeting May 24 to discuss teamwork between parents and the administrator of a program for the mentally retarded.

Other panelists will discuss the roles of religion and recreation in the life of retarded children at residential facilities.

Another panel on the 24th will deal with the role of parents in a program for the mentally retarded. Dr. Arthur T. Westwell, an AAMD past president, will preside.

Manford Hall, NARC consultant on community services, will chair a discussion of Community Casework Help to Families in Dealing With the Problems of Mental Retardation.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of May 19, 1957]

SLOW LEARNER PARLEY TOPIC—PROGRESS IS SEEN

Parental shame and widespread ignorance about mentally retarded children is slowly being overcome, parents and teachers attending a slow learner institute at the vocational school were told Saturday.

About 300 persons heard problems of the mentally retarded outlined by Dr. Reynold Jensen, professor of pediatrics and psychiatry at the University of Minnesota, and Dr. Ignacy Goldberg, educational consultant for the National Association for Retarded Children, New York City.

The institute this year, seventh of its kind, dealt with the emotions of the mentally retarded child.

"We no longer need to be ashamed, or to shun, disregard, or avoid the difficult un-

pleasantries associated with the problem," Dr. Jensen said.

PROGRESS IN 10 YEARS

"We have learned at long last that it can be studied, and worked out. There has been a correction of an attitude about a stubborn but real problem facing society. We can talk about it, think about it, and make plans for the future."

Ten years ago, he said, a meeting such as Saturday's could not have been held because of the shame associated with the retarded child.

Help for parents of mentally retarded children has been among the most important reasons why the problem is being studied widely, Dr. Jensen said. But progress has been important only in the past 7 years—starting with the creation in 1950 of the National Association for Retarded Children—and there is much to be learned.

Between 1½ and 3 percent of the Nation's population falls into the mentally retarded group, but the estimate might be low, he said. More research may help find the true extent of the problem as well as answers to it, he suggested.

WISCONSIN A LEADER

"Today, polio no longer needs to be feared as much as it was 2 or 3 years ago," he said, and added that with the proper research and understanding such progress might be made with the mentally retarded.

Some research is being conducted by the National Association for Retarded Children, Dr. Goldberg said.

There has been enough speculation and misunderstanding of how much training a mentally retarded child should be given, he said.

Special classes are being offered for the trainable child throughout the United States, he said, adding that Wisconsin was offering classes before many other States.

[From Children Limited for April 1957]

WISCONSIN ARC, UNIVERSITY OPEN JOINT DRIVE TO RECRUIT TEACHERS

The University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, in cooperation with the Wisconsin Council for Mentally Retarded Children, is conducting a recruitment drive for teachers of retarded children.

Future Teachers of America clubs in 25 high schools have been offered a special program on the opportunities available in teaching retarded children.

The program, under the direction of Robert L. Erdman, associate professor in the university's department of exceptional education, consists of background material on teaching retardates, showing of the film Tuesday's Child, and a group discussion on the NARC publication If This Is Not for You.

The FTA clubs have responded enthusiastically to the proposed program, according to the council, and definite dates are now being scheduled. In several cases, FTA groups have invited other school and community organizations to attend the meetings.

[From Children Limited for February 1957]

CATHOLIC DIOCESES THROUGHOUT UNITED STATES SURVEYED ON RELIGION FOR RETARDED

Monsignor J. W. Feider, chaplain of the St. Coletta School for Exceptional Children in Jefferson, Wis., has completed a survey of the 131 Roman Catholic dioceses in the United States to ascertain the scope of religious training offered to Catholic retarded children.

The basic purpose of the study, according to Monsignor Feider, is "to formulate and recommend an ideal diocesan program of religious training for mentally retarded children on all levels."

Special consideration will be given to religious training of mentally handicapped children in public institutions and to a program within the parish for those remaining at home, the monsignor said.

Questionnaires were sent to the superintendents of schools in each Catholic diocese in the United States. Returns indicate that 7 dioceses have special day school programs, with a total of 26 classes and a total attendance of 520 pupils.

In 25 precent of the dioceses, mentally handicapped children are included in the regular school program for religious instruction. Special instruction to prepare mentally retarded children for reception of the sacraments is given by 7 percent of the dioceses contacted.

The text and teacher's guide most frequently used in giving religious training to retarded children is "My Guide to Heaven," published by St. Coletta School in Jefferson. "My Guide to Heaven" is a catechism of essential doctrine written by Monsignor Feider.

Full-time chaplains serve in 15 public institutions for the retarded. In a majority of cases, local pastors provide religious instruction and spiritual care for residents in public institutions.

Monsignor Feider cautioned that his findings represent the results of responses to his questionnaire and may not present a comprehensive picture of Catholic efforts on behalf of the mentally retarded child.

In a letter that accompanied his questionnaire, Monsignor Feider wrote:

"According to reliable statistics available, there are in the Nation 640,000 mentally handicapped Catholic children between 30 and 80 I. Q.

"Of this number only about 2,000 are definitely known to be receiving religious instructions in preparation for reception of the sacraments.

"There is serious question as to the lot of the remaining 638,000 children in the matter of religious instruction and training with a view of receiving the sacraments."

The questionnaire requested information on special day school programs, I. Q. levels of children receiving training, teaching personnel employed, texts used, program of preparation for reception of the sacraments and parochial school provision for retarded children.

Other questions related to availability of chaplains.

[From Children's Limited for April 1956]

FRIENDS OF THE SLOW LEARNERS FORMED AS PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION FRATERNITY

Phi Mu Sigma (literally, "friends of the slow learners") is a new professional fraternity for prospective teachers of the mentally retarded.

Plans for organizing the fraternity were begun on the campus of Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee, in 1953. This is the first year the group has functioned as a formal organization.

The fraternity lists its objectives as these:

"To foster better understanding of mentally handicapped children.

"To promote finer relationships between the parent and teacher of the mentally handicapped child.

"To educate the public to the existence and the special problems of such children.

"To familiarize and orient entering students to the field of mental deficiency.

"To promote and maintain professional growth by the continued contact with other workers in the field."

To help achieve these goals the fraternity carries on special projects and holds year-round professional and social meetings. Speakers, movies, and demonstrations have served as programs for the meetings.

The fraternity has also helped distribute materials for Retarded Children's Week, helped take retarded children to the circus, sponsored bulletin-board displays at the college on opportunities in teaching retarded children, and made a film dealing with the teaching of the retarded as a career.

Membership in the fraternity is open to any student who is registered as a major in the education of the mentally handicapped, and who has attained an overall scholastic average of C.

The official fraternity key is offered to pledging students who have earned at least 25 points doing service in behalf of Phi Mu Sigma.

Members of the Wisconsin State group are hopeful that other chapters of Phi Mu Sigma will be started soon on college and university campuses throughout the United States.

The fraternity recently voted to present special merit awards and citations to six persons who have contributed to the field of promoting the welfare of mentally retarded children and adults.

The six selected are President Eisenhower, Gov. W. J. Kohler, of Wisconsin, Roy Rogers and Dale Evans, Dr. Salvatore DiMichael, and Dr. Samuel A. Kirk.

The fraternity is also giving recognition to the parent organization in Wisconsin which has contributed scholarships for prospective teachers of the retarded at Wisconsin State.

The awards will be presented at ceremonies to be held at the college May 4.

Address by Hon. Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia, at St. Luke's Church, Smithfield, Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech I delivered on the occasion of the completion of the restoration of St. Luke's Church at Smithfield, Va., May 19, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY SENATOR HARRY F. BYRD, DEMOCRAT, OF VIRGINIA, ST. LUKE'S CHURCH, SMITHFIELD, VA., MAY 18, 1957

Mr. Day, officers and directors of the historic St. Luke's restoration, distinguished guests and friends, I am pleased to participate in this ceremony today for many reasons. I am honored to be in the presence of my friend, Henry Mason Day, and others responsible for restoration of historic St. Luke's and their guests and friends.

I salute Mr. Day and I want to pay my tribute to him. I do so not as a Virginian but as an American. It is to him that we owe the restoration of this church, one of the great landmarks of the world. His indefatigable work and his determination to succeed have made possible the great privilege we enjoy today, which will be passed on to all future generations. An opportunity, such as this, to rededicate ourselves to our God and our country is indeed a high privilege.

As we assemble here in this fine old church, now so faithfully restored, I experienced mixed sensations. They are peaceful and solemn, and they are sensations of pride and responsibility. It is inspiring to stand in this church, the oldest standing Protestant Church in America, built in 1632.

We are reminded of the great chain of historic events our forebears set in motion here

in these James River environs. Here indeed was a case of the infinitely small being infinitely great.

It was in this quiet corner of tidewater Virginia, 350 years ago last Monday, that the small band of founders in three small ships landed at Jamestown and lived one of the great moments in history.

It was a moment of greatness because these men and their stanch followers built with such soundness and vision that a new world slowly but surely began to form. They were great men in whom nature succeeded. They were men who made religious use of life.

Here respect for individual rights and responsibilities was established.

Here the dignity of man was acknowledged.

Here the rights of free enterprise and initiative were encouraged.

Here truth to God, and truth to self were practiced.

On this foundation was built the first representative government in the new world—the House of Burgesses, the predecessory of our State legislatures and the National Congress.

Material results are but the tardy sign of invisible activity. The courage to hope, and live, and build for a better world was the great legacy the founders bequeathed their descendants. From this came their fortitude to fight for liberty when it was threatened, and win the independence of a great nation.

The achievements incident to the American Revolution were the immediate inspiration for the French, and since that time the cause of democratic freedom has been spreading in ever-widening sphere. Today the United States stands as a beacon of hope in the world.

So it is thrilling to come to this section of Virginia whence sprung the ideal of democracy. Here in this old churchyard sleep the dead whose mighty hopes for the future made them men.

They include some of the settlers who came to this parish in 1622 with Edward Bennett. They came with high hopes, and despite adversity, they "hung out" and ultimately the settlement prospered to make its indelible contribution to a great new country.

There could be no more noble shrine to the memory of those God-fearing settlers than this—the restored Old Brick Church, and no more sacred place of worship and rededication for this and future generations. It is a place of deep and tranquil inspiration, which nourishes, purifies and ennobles the soul of man.

As I look with admiration at this church, in its restoration of today, I am moved by the fact that it is a powerful symbol of the fruits of slowly won peace, the fruits of industry, of constitutional government, and above all it is a symbol of the will of man to express his belief in God in the most filling way possible.

Of the 522 people residing in the parish in 1634, all must have contributed either from his purse, his crops, his strength, or the fullness of his heart toward rearing this worthy place of worship. It is work, to whatever end, that gives flavor to life.

We know that in the 17th century, the colonial church here was not only the center of religious life in the parish, but it was also the center for secular affairs. In a real sense, it symbolized the parish.

In the case of St. Luke's, the church served also as one of the 5 sites in Virginia where the court of the colony was permitted to convene. Even now there seems to be a feeling of official status about the edifice. Perhaps it is best expressed in the quiet dignity of the Gothic architecture.

We have but to look around at the interior detail to see the painstaking care of the original construction. Everywhere there is evidence of the lofty purpose and continuant devotion to a great and lasting project.

In retrospect, it would seem that there is a parallel between the long days spent in construction of the magnificent old church, and the construction of the Virginia Colony. Both were built on firm foundations. Both endured the hardships of growth in a scarcely civilized, but verdant land. Both looked confidently to the future, with an inspiring mission under God.

Despite the toll of time, in the long span of its three and a quarter centuries, the church continued to stand and serve as a house of worship. And finally in our own time when the old church was threatened with total destruction, men and women of patriotism and good will all over this Nation joined in the great effort for its restoration. Many of these fine people are here today. I can imagine their sense of pride and satisfaction. Theirs has been an undertaking well done in accordance with their desire and power.

Good repair is like liberty. It is not a continuous state. We must everlastingly work at it. Fortunately, in this country, foundations for our freedom were set deep in the Virginia soil, like the foundations of old St. Luke's. Like the church, the edifice of our constitutional democracy was constructed slowly but surely, with the toil and sacrifice of our citizens. Like "Old Brick," our form of government has served us well for centuries. We must guard it vigilantly against the forces of decay from within and the forces of evil from without.

I was thrilled to be with the Vice President of the United States at Jamestown on Monday and to stand where a nation was born—and that Nation today is the most powerful in the world—the United States of America.

At the end of the 17th century, the entire colony of Virginia numbered 80,000 people. The wilderness was fast being settled all along the coast—from Maine to Florida. A steady tide of migration was pushing up the rivers and bays, and far back into the interior to the mountains. In the splurge of growing and building and creating, the little hamlet of Jamestown was soon forgotten. Brambles and bushes grew up over the ancient landmarks and ruins. Later, 2 or 3 resident tobacco farmers cleared some of these away, and their plows passed over the graves of the forgotten dead.

Now, in the year 1957, a reverent and grateful country turns again to the place of its beginnings. The multitude of Americans who visit Jamestown during the coming months will do well to remember that the very soil beneath their feet is mixed with the mortal dust of thousands of men, women, and children who perished there that a nation, our Nation, might live.

I am proud to be present on the occasion of the completed restoration of St. Luke's Church, for it is a tangible expression of our determination to keep faith with those who have gone before us in the service of our democracy and our God. I know all of you will join me in prayerful rededication to these high purposes.

The Soil Bank Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Two and Two on the Farm," which appeared in the Indianapolis Star on May 17, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWO AND TWO ON THE FARM

Glimmerings can be seen of hope that the farm problem at last may be approached in Washington with some respect for the elementary facts of life. The House has voted, by a narrow margin, to suspend the soil-bank program at the end of the current year.

In part the House action was a product of the economy drive in Congress. The agricultural program offers a fertile field for economy. The cost of the soil bank alone is estimated at possibly $1,200,000,000 a year. Price support and other programs run the total current bill for aid to farmers to about $5 billion a year.

But the House action also was based in part on reaction against evidences of abuse of the program and against lack of indications that the soil bank is likely to make any long-run contribution to solution of the basic farm problem.

Secretary of Agriculture Benson, even though he helped to establish the soil bank and doubtless now feels obligated to defend it, himself has offered to take the lead in reexamining the whole business. In a recent letter to the chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, Benson outlined the idea that farm programs aimed at limiting production have not worked and cannot work.

Success is impossible for programs based on presently used principles. The programs which have been tried, or have been seriously considered, fall basically into two groups. In one group are programs aimed at bolstering farm income by means of price supports or price subsidies. In the other are attempts to limit production. Programs in practice have generally been a combination of the two. They are self defeating.

Price support programs enlarge the problem rather than helping to solve it. When price help for a given commodity is assured, the farmer produces as much as he can of that commodity. The more support is given to a particular crop, the more of that crop will be produced and the harder the price will be to support.

As to controlling production, Secretary Benson said it briefly: "Farmers will not accept, legislators will not vote, and from a practical standpoint administrators cannot impose the kind of controls which, at the price objective specified by law, would be necessary to bring production into line with market outlets."

The alternative course is one toward which some leaders have been pointing for many years. Instead of trying to suppress our farm production, we should learn to make use of it, find markets for it. Senator CAPEHART laid before the Senate more than a year ago a proposal in this direction. Now Benson also suggests it. Perhaps the recent House action indicates an inclination of Congress to look toward a better way. If so, the farmer may at last be due for a lift out of the hole instead of help in digging the hole deeper.

The Family Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in

the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Family Farm Holds Its Own," from the Hoosier Farmer, reprinted in the Indianapolis News on May 16, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FAMILY FARM HOLDS ITS OWN

A small but ever noisy group of people has been doing a lot of needless worrying about the survival of the family farm. The United States Department of Agriculture has just completed a thorough study, entitled "Family Farms in a Changing Economy," and reports that family farms are holding their own, after several decades of rapidly changing farm technology.

Today in America, unchanged from 25 years ago, some 96 percent of all farms are family-operated, the study showed. "Noncommercial" farms have increased rapidly, from only 15 percent of all farms in 1930 to nearly a third in 1954. Most of the farms in this group were residential or part-time farms and their operators depended for their living largely upon nonfarm work. Subsistence farms, where annual sales amount to less than $250 each and where this is the major source of cash, have dropped from about 500,000 in 1930 and 1940 to less than 200,000 today.

Family farms—those commercial units lying between the extremes of farm income—still make up the vital core of American agriculture, the study repeatedly points out. Surprisingly, a quarter-century of technological progress has brought with it a slight increase in the proportion of farms that are smaller than one-man units. The USDA study concludes that the family farm will continue to be an important factor in our agriculture. It also suggests that failure to reach farm sizes of family proportion is a more clear and present danger to the family farm than is the development of larger than family-size units.

Farm Bureau is the true champion of the family farmer and constructively battles to safeguard the farmer during these periods of shifting technology and changing times. Unlike those with leftish views who would like to tie the farmer to the economic fence posts of 25 to 30 years ago, Farm Bureau works to boost net farm income per family farmer now.

The Revolving Students' Payment Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement on the revolving students' voluntary payment plan, a loan plan for students inaugurated by the New School of New York, which is a college leaning heavily upon international scholars, and which was a great haven for the scholars who were persecuted by Hitler and escaped to the United States.

Mr. President, in the discussions of a number of my colleagues and myself who have sponsored a bill for student loans—a sort of FHA for students—we have contended that many meritorious students who have talent should not be denied the use of such talent by our country because they cannot, due to economic circumstances, go to school.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE REVOLVING STUDENTS' VOLUNTARY PAYMENT PLAN—THE NEW SCHOOL, 66 WEST 12TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

The international exchange of knowledge is a vital necessity for world peace and understanding.

Dr. Alvin Johnson, president emeritus of the New School, has expressed this need most concisely: "Einstein the German, Niels Bohr the Dane, Pavlov the Russian could speak to the whole world of scholarship in what language they chose, for the whole world knew the language of mathematics and science. * * * The New School was set up to enable the social sciences and humanities to break out from their solitary confinement cells into the free air of international scholarship."

As with international scholarship, so with international relationships—the nations of the world must shatter the barriers that inhibit the unrestricted flow of ideas and damage the cause of world peace. Today's students, who are tomorrow's leaders, hold the answer to this grave problem.

The New School is designed to encourage this free exchange of ideas; it is a place where students from Pakistan and India, Indonesia and the Netherlands, Israel, and Egypt, can study and discuss their problems. It is a place where understanding will grow in a natural soil, and tolerance and acceptance take root in widely disparate hearts and minds.

In 1956, Mr. Sol Kittay, a long-time friend to the students of the New School, became aware of the tremendous potential for international understanding inherent in the foreign student body. He realized that although it was not customary for American colleges to provide long-term loan privileges to foreign students, such a project was desperately needed. In one bold stroke, Mr. Kittay envisioned and developed a pioneering program that would promote and encourage international good will and help solve the ever-present problem of student financial need.

This program is aptly called the RSVP plan—the revolving students' voluntary payment plan. The RSVP plan will permit American and foreign students to meet their financial needs from the same loan resource. Thus, because of the revolving nature of the plan, it will make for mutual responsibility and create a sense of equality.

It will give the student a feeling of psychological independence; reveal the faculty's confidence in him as an individual; give former students an opportunity to help other students even as they were helped; provide a basis for continuing contact through letters, deans' annual reports, etc., between the New School and the student after he completes his studies.

The accomplishments of the New School's educational program and the quality of its foreign students are exemplified in the following typical cases and statements:

P. V. (India): She studied at the New School, and in 1949 received a doctor of philisophy degree on the thesis Child Care in India. She is presently employed with the secretary for health and welfare in India. While en route as a delegate to a conference in Canada, she made a detour to New York specifically to express her gratitude to the officers of the New School.

T. L. (Yuogslavia): He studied in Vienna, but had to leave because of political persecution. After his arrival in the United States, he studied at the New School, and in 1956 received his doctor of philosophy degree with an outstanding thesis entitled "A Comparative Study of Four Protestant Parishes in Germany." He is now an assistant professor at Hobart College, but plans to teach in Germany in the near future.

B. S. (Germany): She studied at the New School, and received her doctorate from its graduate faculty. Her dissertation, The Human Element in Industrialization, was published by the University of Chicago Press for the American Anthropological Association. At present she is an assistant professor in Puerto Rico.

All of these individuals required financial assistance, and currently over 200 other students must have additional funds to help them meet subsistence and tuition costs. Many deserving foreign students are refused aid because of lack of funds and, with rising student registration, the situation is becoming increasingly critical.

In essence, RSVP says:

Funds must be raised to make loans available for worthy but needy students.

Funds so raised will be administered by the board of trustees of the New School on faculty recommendation and with the help and advice of an international sponsors committee.

Loans under the RSVP plan will be no-interest loans, and they will be repaid by the student when he finds himself financially able to do so.

The RSVP plan will be self-sustaining within 5 years if $100,000 for loans can be made available at a rate of $20,000 per year for each of the next 5 years.

All contributions to the RSVP plan are tax deductible.

The New School has served mature students from all over the world: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, British West Indies, Canada, Colombia, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Formosa, France, Germany, Ghana, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Korea, Latvia, Liberia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Puerto Rico, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Turkey, and Yugoslavia.

A People's Call for Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a distinguished speech by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. THYE]. The speech is entitled "A People's Call for Action," and was delivered before a meeting of the Combined Jewish Appeal of Chicago and the United Jewish Appeal, at the Standard Club, in Chicago, on May 16.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PEOPLE'S CALL FOR ACTION

(Address by the Honorable EDWARD J. THYE, United States Senator from Minnesota, before a meeting of the combined Jewish Appeal of Chicago and the United Jewish Appeal Standard Club, Chicago, Ill., Thursday, May 16, 1957)

Mr. Chairman and fellow Americans, I am honored to be able to participate with you tonight in this United Jewish Appeal campaign meeting under the sponsorship of the combined Jewish Appeal of Chicago.

Before I proceed any further, permit me to pay tribute to the honorary general chairman of the 1957 United Jewish Appeal, the Honorable Herbert Lehman. During the years I worked with him in the United States Senate, I came to know him as a man of high dedication to his country and a man of unquestioned integrity. Senator Lehman was always devoted to the cause of humanitarianism, whether it was in this great nation or in connection with problems of peoples in foreign lands. I am confident that he will have a profound effect upon the success of your current campaign to raise much needed funds for the United Jewish Appeal.

I am aware that men of all faiths are present here tonight to join hands in a cause which transcends religious boundaries. Each one of you individually is participating in the writing of one of history's most dramatic chapters. Every human emotion is involved in this campaign. The future welfare of people you may never meet depends upon the success of your efforts and contributions. You are, by your participation, engaged in an international political struggle between the forces of freedom and the forces of oppression. You are engaged in refugee resettlement and rehabilitation work. You are involved in reshaping the destiny of a nation and its people. In a very real sense you are helping to reconstruct the original cradle of human civilization.

Tonight, I shall not attempt to speak on the equities involved in the political struggles of the Middle East in which Israel plays such a key role. I would rather address my remarks to the humanitarian needs of millions of individuals such as you and I who have been caught up in the cross currents of the struggle for freedom which is taking place in the world today.

In December of 1956, I had the opportunity to visit Europe and to receive first-hand accounts of Polish and Hungarian uprisings which touched off a series of explosive international developments. I observed refugees who fled from their homelands in their quest of freedom. These were people who could no longer tolerate the yoke of oppression. They were willing to give their lives so that others might enjoy the freedoms which we take for granted. Their needs were the basic needs of men and women everywhere. They needed food, shelter, jobs, and clothing.

In addition they needed encouragement, spiritual communion, and the knowledge that they were wanted. In the weeks and months following October 29, 1956, we witnessed a genuine outpouring of brotherly love and concern for these people throughout the world.

The people in the United States responded to these needs in a display of unselfish humanitarian concern for the millions of refugees who came out of Hungary.

The United Jewish Appeal played a vital part in that effort and seeks to continue its programs through your present contribution of time and money. In the Emergency Rescue Fund alone you are seeking to assist a minimum of 100,000 persons.

The Jewish refugees who are streaming from the boundaries of oppression are seeking freedom and the right to pursue honorable lives in an atmosphere of peace.

Within the ranks of today's refugees you will find men and women from all walks of life and of all ages. There are thousands of children involved in this exodus. There are families who have been able to move together and there are families whose members have been separated and who seek each other. They too, need clothes, food, shelter, and employment. There is a need for education of the children, medical attention for the sick, and welfare and relief programs. This is the type of task which challenges the imagination and initiative of all of us.

The nation of Israel has opened up its doors to a never-ending number of Jewish refugees who seek entrance to their homeland. Israel is a young nation which is currently engaged in an effort to maintain its sovereignty, independence, and freedom. The people of this nation have made great strides in the past 9 years.

It is a nation of approximately 2,000,000 inhabitants who live in an area comparable to the State of New Jersey. It has traditionally been an agricultural country. We recall the stories and pictures of the shepherds and their flocks moving about the countryside in search of pasture and water. Limited crops were grown. Olives, citrus fruits, melons, and a few vegetables represented the basic agricultural output. Today, approximately 1 million acres of land are under cultivation; 132,000 acres are used for grazing; and 130,000 acres are planted in forests. Beef cattle have come into prominence, cotton has been introduced as a crop, sugar beet is processed in local refineries, and peanuts constitute an important crop. In 9 short years, the people of Israel have greatly expanded their agricultural economy.

Israel has also made great economic progress with its industry and the development of its labor forces. This has not been accomplished without difficulties. Israel has experienced serious inflation which poses a problem to the continued development and growth of its industrial economy. We in the United States are very sensitive to the byproducts of inflationary trends.

Added to the problem of inflation has been the problem of absorbing the refugees which continue to reach the shores of Israel. It is now anticipated that another 100,000 will come in the calendar year of 1957—principally from Hungary, Poland, and Egypt. Israel as a nation is doing its best to meet these problems. In 1948, for example, there were 280,000 gainfully employed; in 1956 the number had reached about 600,000. This integration has taken place without serious social dislocation.

This growth in the labor force has resulted in a great increase in production. The national income in Israel has increased considerably in recent years. In 1955, the increase in total real income was 9 percent and this was accomplished while taking in about 30,000 new workers whose production was probably somewhat below that of experienced workers.

This rapid growth has been stimulated by large investment during the past 9 years. This type of heavy capital investment will be required over many years to come if Israel is to continue to develop economically. There is a need to replace external investment to a certain extent by capital investment from private savings within the country. However, with a population of immigrants, most of whom arrived with few personal belongings, it is natural that savings have been invested in household and durable goods.

Israel's industry, while expanding, is dependent to a great extent on the outside world for capital, raw materials, and markets. She has been drawing heavily on both private and public foreign capital to make up her unfavorable balance of trade, and to finance settlement and development programs. Contributions to the Israeli Government by the purchase of bonds and contributions to Israeli institutions by world, and especially, American Jewry have constituted principal outside sources of funds. The productivity of Israel must continue to expand if it is to compete in the world markets.

Israel is seeking to improve its trade relations with the European countries in the next few years. Up to this point, United States aid and German reparations have allowed those two nations to dominate the supply of goods to Israel.

This brief résumé of Israel's current economic status illustrates two things: The tremendous strides which have been made in the short period of 9 years and the fact that Israel still needs assistance in her attempts to become more self-sufficient and to further strengthen her economy.

Through all of this one can observe the struggle of a nation and the personal needs of its people and its potential citizens. Through your work in the next few weeks, you will contribute in a very real sense to the building of a nation and to the resettlement of individuals who turn to Israel for refuge.

The refugees you will assist are a tired people physically, mentally, and emotionally. Many have merely existed during past years while holding out dreams of a life sometime in the future. Certainly many of the children have been subjected to disillusionment without the opportunity for the dreams and hopes of free youth. In recent months, some force has set them free and they are making their way toward Israel or some other free nation. They do not seek relief. They seek opportunity. Opportunity to work, to build a family, to contribute to society, to worship, and to give something in return. These are opportunities which you and I enjoy with each passing day. It is a part of our life and has been for all of our years.

Today we have an opportunity to show our thankfulness for the blessing which has been bestowed upon us. By responding to the United Jewish Appeal, you will play a key role in the rebuilding of a nation dedicated to freedom and world peace. Equally important, you will play a role in the rebuilding or resettlement of a human life.

The Changing Pattern in Corrections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was pleased to note in the newspapers of my State reference to a very fine address which was delivered by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons of the United States Department of Justice, the Honorable James V. Bennett. Commissioner Bennett spoke before the Wisconsin Corrections Conference at Green Bay a few days ago.

In this speech Commissioner Bennett referred to the variety of new-type efforts being made to help straighten out lawbreakers by sound rehabilitation rather than by the old-style methods, which long since have proven that they simply harden lawbreakers and make them still worse offenders when they get out of prison.

Commissioner Bennett saluted the Wisconsin corrections system. He stated, for example:

> Wisconsin has taken the lead in centralizing responsibility for prisons, paroles, probation, and allied services.

He stated further that—

> Wisconsin * * * was one of the pioneering States * * * with its camp system.

He saluted the professional training which is characteristic of workers in the field of correction in the Badger State.

Commissioner Bennett himself has long been among the forward thinkers

and forward doers in seeking a sounder American corrections system.

Fortunately, as he indicated in his remarks, there is, throughout our country today, more and more of a trend toward helping the offender reestablish himself so that he can become a gainful member of society. It is a trend which avoids the extreme of so-called coddling, but which refuses to swing to the opposite extreme of threating human beings like beasts and assuming that harsh punishment alone will make them law-abiding thereafter.

Still more needs to be done toward straightening out our prison population and making it possible for them to become assets rather than debits, to society and to their loved ones. We need, in particular, to cut down the appalling rate of repetition of crime, once these offenders return to civilian life.

It is far costlier for society to have such persons go in and out of prison and engage in crime after crime throughout an entire lifetime, than it is to mobilize our experts and our resources so as to straighten out these offenders, so they never leave the straight and narrow path again.

I send to the desk the text of Commissioner Bennett's significant address, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHANGING PATTERN IN CORRECTIONS

(Address by James V. Bennett, director, Bureau of Prisons, Wisconsin Corrections Conference, Green Bay, Wis., May 15–17, 1957)

When I accepted the invitation of your able and energetic presiding chairman to discuss with you the changing pattern in corrections, I did so hastily and perhaps with insufficient deliberation. As I faced the task of trying to delineate contemporary correctional patterns, to show their derivation from older patterns, and to give some hint as to what these might be in the future, I was somewhat overwhelmed by the dilemmas before me. The hazards of assuming the roles of historian, philosopher, and prophet in one play are serious indeed.

I might, for example, have chosen to be a jeremiad, bemoaning the snail's pace of progress in achieving our goals; bewailing the skimpy budgets which prevent the fulfillment of program and the recruitment of trained personnel; or criticising a lethargic and disinterested public except in times of scandal or riot. But these and other similar defects in our contemporary patterns of correction have been pointed out many times before. Nevertheless, they are real defects which we cannot afford to overlook. Or, I might have chosen to be a Pollyanna emphasizing the essential progress that has been made in our field. In the memory of most of us we have seen the shaved head, the striped clothing, the chain gang, and practically all of the brutalizing, repressive disciplinary devices, so common in prisons of yesterday eliminated. Also we have witnessed the steady improvement in the basic standard of living, of food and clothing, in practically all institutions. Then, too, we are conscious of the increased concern among prison administrators of the importance of programs as opposed to repression and regimentation. Finally, we can point to the growing acceptance of centralized State systems of correction and the expansion of the diversification of institutions. Even though we must admit that these and other advances are not universal among all our correctional institutions, or at the same stage of development, we can point with pride to real progress in our field.

My dilemma in discussing this topic of "The Changing Pattern in Corrections," therefore, was how to steer an even course between the Scylla of deatism and the Charybdis of complacency. A better metaphor perhaps would be to compare our correctional patterns to a coral reef on which each new idea lives for a while and then dies but leaving behind its bit of enduring principle to be added to the sprawling mass. It was about 1840, for instance, that Captain Maconochie at Norfolk Island in Australia established his mark system that gave the transported prisoners from England a chance to earn a discharge from their heavy sentences. A few years later, some of our States took over this principle of sentence reduction into what we now call good-time law. The idea spread rapidly so that practically every State in the country now provides by statute for a substantial reduction of a prisoner's sentence for good conduct.

Today, however, we are inclined to be skeptical of the mechanical application of these good-time laws and to some extent perhaps consider them outmoded in the face of the more realistic indeterminate sentence. Brockway, who so vigorously and eloquently defended his formulation of the indeterminate sentence combined with parole was certainly influenced by Maconochie's mark system. And the concept of the adult authority would probably have been impossible without that of the indeterminate sentence. Thus we can see a sound historical continuity between the mark system in faraway Australia a hundred and twenty years ago to the adult authority idea of California today.

This is one part of the changing patern in our criminal law which provides the structure within which our corrections must function. There is, in fact, a general overhauling going on in the administration of criminal justice which is certain to affect our correctional patterns very significantly. The lively debate concerning mental responsibility is one. Another is the growing movement to take out of the hands of the court all but the most general authority with respect to determining the exact amount of time an offender must stay in prison. Better defense of the man charged with crime is looked upon as something to be expected. And accordingly more and more States and communities are inaugurating systems of public defenders. Let's hope the number grows still further. Codifying and modernizing codes of criminal law as is being done by the American Law Institute under the leadership of Prof. Herbert Wechsler and United States Judge Herbert Goodrich is a significant and important step in developing a pattern of corrections in line with the atomic age. You are doing this also in Wisconsin, I am happy to note. The recognition of the need for reorganizing our court system in line with modern principles of efficient management as Justice Vanderbilt has done in New Jersey is also of the utmost value in developing a frame for a more effective correctional system.

But to return to our changing correctional patterns more specifically. There is developing a new administrative organization plan which holds great promise. Wisconsin has taken the lead in centralizing responsibility for prisons, parole, probation and allied services. California and 1 or 2 other States have approached the idea of complete integration of all correctional agencies, but none more effectively than Wisconsin. Here you have successfully integrated institutional management, parole, probation and field services. This, I believe, is a sound pattern of administration. It makes possible the translation of principle into practice along a broad front of action. It eliminates the old bugaboo of interagency competition for budgets and for unitary legislative improvements. And above all, it provides a continuity of leadership and responsibility not otherwise available. The older pattern of a loose aggregation of institutions and agencies managed by independent boards of trustees is no longer adaptable to our complex governmental system and our highly mobile society.

Paralleling this renewed interest in the improvement of our criminal law and the changing pattern in our administrative organization, we can point to many promising changes in the correctional program matrix. The most obvious change, I think, is our decreasing anxiety about the need for maximum custody for all prisoners. We have known for a long time that only a small proportion of persons sent to prison needed absolute secure custody, but our immediate predecessors had only a rule of thumb and impressions to go by. Today we are putting more and more prisoners into camps and open institutions. Wisconsin, incidentally, was one of the pioneering States in this regard with its camp system started under Warden Lee and carried on so successfully by Warden Burke. And we can do this with reasonable safety because we are accumulating more information about each inmate and because this information can be evaluated more accurately by institutional classification committees functioning as administrative staffs.

Another influence that is having and will continue to have a deciding effect on our correctional patterns is the professional training that several universities are now offering as preparation for correctional work as a career. The University of Wisconsin has long had such a curriculum under the direction first of Professors Ross and Gillin and now their able successors, Marshall Clinard and Michael Hakeem. I have been pleased that many of their students participate in our student internship program each summer. These young men and women spread out into various correctional programs in parole, probation, and institutional work and bring with them the knowledge and skills of the social and behavioral sciences and with it a healthy and critical questioning of traditional and established practices.

Despite our occasional impatience with the lag in noticeable progress, we cannot help but realize the distance we have traveled in the short span of 20 or 25 years. The lock-step and silent systems are today beyond any defense and we are more concerned with what the psychiatrist calls milieu therapy, with the art and skill of interpersonal relations, with a relaxed institutional atmosphere and disciplinary measures of control that do not destroy the self-esteem and self-respect of the prisoner. To be sure and sadly we have not by any means solved our prison-labor problem but on the other hand no one would go back to the days of the contract system.

It is heartening indeed to note the changing attitude on the part of the general public and the media of public opinion toward the prison, parole, and the prisoner. Political interference in prison and parole administration still exists, but when revealed it takes on the proportion of public scandal and is no longer accepted as a matter of course. Newspapers, regardless of political preference, have in many States actively supported campaigns for revitalized correctional programs and appropriations for modern institutions. I need only point to Colorado, Missouri, Louisiana, Florida, Connecticut, and New Mexico as outstanding examples of concerted public support and a willingness to assume the costs of a modernized statewide correctional system.

If these evidences of the changing pattern in corrections have an optimistic tinge, it is not because I am unaware of the great gaps that still exist as I am sure you are

not unaware of them either. These gaps will in time be filled but there exists many areas yet to be explored. We need, for example, to emphasize more practical research in an effort to evaluate the end results of our progarms. We need to examine more carefully this problem of recidivism and get behind the disturbing statistical picture of the repeated. We need to apply some of the principles of human relations to ourselves and do some "role playing" of our own for a new perspective toward the problems of the offender and the prisoner, the probationer and parolee so that we can gain a better insight to the person and the personality we are treating.

And we can experiment with programs. Why not a system of subsidized aftercare for the released prisoner? Instead of releasing him with a small gratuity and some casual assistance, let us spend at least some, if not as much, money as it costs to keep him in prison on a sort of foster-care community program. The idea of paying a few dollars a day to guide and help the released prisoner need not come as a shock if we think of the services now available for persons no more severely handicapped. Can we not get away from the idea of supervision and surveillance and substitute for it a kind of graduated practical economic support that means something, that is directed primarily at helping people help themselves? This is not to advocate "giving" anything to anybody that has not been earned or is not needed, but allowing the parole or probation officer more than the pittance some of them now have to develop a situation properly attuned to the needs of the client is certainly worth a trial.

I started out by comparing the pattern of corrections with a coral reef. I shall close by calling your attention to the contribution that men and women like yourselves make when they plant things for the future. In my home State of Rhode Island and elsewhere in New England, for that matter, one is struck by the surpassing beauty of many of the roads lined with enormous spreading elms. The men and women who planted these trees generations ago to cool the weary wayfarer and lift up his thoughts could not possibly have hoped to live long enough to enjoy them themselves. They labored selflessly for those who would come after them. It is the same spirit which, I am sure, will sustain and inspire you to plow the rough ground and lay out the pattern for tomorrow's more effective and fruitful correctional system.

The Importance of Encouraging People-to-People Friendship Between Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, the importance of encouraging people-to-people friendship between nations has been brought into focus recently by the visit of the Vice President and several Members of the independence celebrations in the new nation of Ghana, and the extended tour by the delegation to other parts of the vast continent of Africa.

It is also important that, in addition to official visits, and the visits by growing numbers of American citizens, efforts be made to improve the communication of words and ideas between North America and Africa. It is of particular interest to me that a special series of international broadcast programs have been beamed on Africa for the past several months from a 50-kilowatt transmitter located at Scituate, Mass., owned and operated by the World Wide Broadcasting System, under the direction of a pioneer in international broadcasting, Mr. Walter S. Lemmon. Each day the broadcasts of WRUL—the Voice of Freedom—are beamed across the Atlantic to a growing number of listeners in all parts of Africa. The Voice of Freedom began this new program service to Africa on February 28, with a special broadcast, Salute to Ghana, by Vice President NIXON and several Members of Congress. Since then, WRUL has continued to broadcast a number of special programs to Liberia, Nigeria, and other nations in that vast and friendly continent.

Because of the importance of the Voice of Freedom's Spotlight on Africa programs, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the Salute to Ghana broadcasts be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, in connection with my remarks. The excerpts include brief statements by Vice President NIXON; the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN]; myself; Representative FRANCES BOLTON; Representative BARRATT O'HARA of Illinois; and Representative DIGGS, of Michigan.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT NIXON

It gives me great pleasure to join with WRUL—the "Voice of Freedom"—in this radio salute from America to the new nation of Ghana, on the west coast of Africa.

As an American from the State of California—on the west coast of America—I cannot help but think of the days of our early pioneers as they explored, settled, and developed our gold coast on the Pacific—and by constitutional measures joined California to the Union of States some 107 years ago.

This week we salute the 5 million African citizens of the Gold Coast and the triumph they have achieved in gaining the independence of Ghana by peaceful, parliamentary means after nearly a century of colonial rule. It is a remarkable tribute to these changing times that Ghana now achieves her independence by peaceful means, and at the same time continues her association with the British, as the first Negro state to achieve full membership in the Commonwealth.

Ghana, like my own native California, is rich in tradition, in natural resources, and the pioneering spirit to get things done. Thanks to the progress of the 20th century in communications, transportation, agricultural and industrial techniques, and the all-important problems of improved health conditions and expanded educational facilities, Ghana is destined to play an important part in the making of a better world.

I am looking forward to my visit to this vital part of Africa, and joining in the independence celebrations in Accra, the capital of Ghana. I know I will be among people who are friendly to America for there is a blood relationship between millions of our American citizens and the citizens of Ghana, through their ancestors who came to America from the Gold Coast years ago. Today freedom and independence have become a reality for these citizens on both sides of the Atlantic and I look for growing friendship and cooperation between the peoples and the Governments of our two Nations.

I wish to thank Mr. Walter Lemmon and the World Wide Broadcasting System for beaming this special series of broadcasts to West Africa this week, and the part WRUL—the Voice of Freedom—is playing in encouraging people-to-people friendship between North America and the two great equatorial continents of Africa and South America.

REMARKS BY SENATOR THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, OF RHODE ISLAND

Congratulations and best wishes to you, the people of Ghana, on this historic occasion. With the birth of the new state of Ghana, a former dependent territory will enter the community of nations, independent and free.

The United States of America has traditionally been sympathetic with those peoples who have by their labor obtained independence and self-government. Ghana has already demonstrated its capacity to direct its own affairs in the world society. It now will rest with its leaders to carry forward its own economic and social development.

Ghana's independence marks a significant advance of Africa's peoples toward self-government. This process will, of course, continue as the spirit of independence is matched by experience and increased capacity for self-government.

As we rejoice with the people of Ghana, Americans are moved to reflect upon the earliest days of our own great Republic. Then a weak nation, we needed the assistance of older nations in charting our course across the turbulent seas of our destiny. Ghana, too, will require such assistance. Because we in America are conscious of the problems which every new nation faces, we have gladly demonstrated our support of new governments which seek to develop stable and democratic ways of life for their peoples.

During my recent visit to your beautiful country, I was deeply impressed by the warm friendliness of your people and by the sincerity and devotion to purpose of your leaders. It is not only my hope but also my conviction that the continuing friendship between our peoples will provide an enduring basis of mutual understanding and respect.

To all you people of Ghana—my warmest greetings and my heartiest good wishes on this great day in your history.

GREETINGS TO THE NEW REPUBLIC OF GHANA, AFRICA, BY SENATOR LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, REPUBLICAN, MASSACHUSETTS, OVER STATION WRUL, BOSTON

I am glad to join Vice President NIXON and my colleagues in Congress who are taking part in this broadcast in a radio salute to the new nation of Ghana.

In the United States, we have watched the establishment of Ghana as a free country with the greatest of interest. We have been especially pleased that this has been achieved entirely through peaceful means, by the enlightened cooperation of both the citizens of Ghana and the British Government.

We know that the name Ghana is a significant one, going back to a free nation of a thousand years ago, and that the new Ghana is a symbol of the ancient traditions and aspirations of her people, now realized once again.

The people of my own State of Massachusetts and Americans everywhere are, I feel sure, confident that the relations between the United States and Ghana will be friendly and close, and characterized by lasting good will.

I should like to point out that this broadcast is being transmitted from Boston, the capital city of my State, over International Radio Station WRUL.

Good luck to Ghana.

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS BY CONGRESSWOMAN FRANCES P. BOLTON, OF OHIO

I can assure you that the worldwide broadcasting system is honoring me to appear in this special salute program to Ghana.

I was thrilled with Africa, with every country of Africa, and to me the future is so great and so much lies ahead for its peoples and ours as we try to understand Africans and they us.

When you realize that three of the United States fits into Africa, you get a sense of the hugeness of that continent.

One gets a feeling that coming out of the very earth is the demand for a free and full life.

We have much to give in the way of technical assistance, help along the line of education, hospital, training of people for health work, which has been part of my life. The difficulty has been that we have to deal with the mother country, but now with the emergence of the new nation of Ghana, we go directly to them.

I'd like to bow to the women of Africa because they know today that they are the heart of Africa, and I have talked with enough of them and they are eager to be educated and play their part. I'm old-fashioned enough to feel that the women should guide the home, protect the children and bring them up. We do so much quietly that way. I'd urge them to be quiet, but forceful in what they do.

REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN BARRATT O'HARA OF ILLINOIS

In the heart of every American there is joy that on March 6 of the year 1957 there will have come to the freedom-loving people of Ghana the priceless treasure of independence. Forever, March 6 will be an anniversary date of celebration for all peoples everywhere who love freedom and who know that in the climate of freedom the horizons ever are broadening and the dignity of man brought closer to the plane intended by the God of us all. In my district on the south side of the city of Chicago in Illinois, as in many other congressional districts in the United States, are many fine men and women, our fellow Americans in the United States in the task of making this, our country, a better land for all men, whose ancestors came from this rich domain now at long last again to take its proud place in the community of free nations. When Ghana, unshackled from the old colonial chains, goes forward in national independence to a great future, in a rebuilding world, the men and women and children in my district, and other congressional districts of the United States from coast to coast, will be on their knees giving prayers of thanks for the triumph that has culminated the long and courageous struggle the people of Ghana, thanks that in the independent State of Ghana—first colony south of the Sahara to attain independence—the torch of freedom will be borne forever by the sons and daughters of freedom to light for all Africa into a new day of equality of brotherhood and of human dignity. To the government and to the people of Ghana, our salute of victory and our affection that in the companionship together in all the good works of free people will endure forever.

REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR., OF MICHIGAN

Hello, friends, this is CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR., one of three Negro Americans who are Members of the Congress of the United States.

I am speaking to you from my home city, Detroit, Mich., United States of America, the automobile manufacturing capital of the world. It is an exalting privilege to greet and salute your distinguished Prime Minister, Nkrumah, his official family, and you, the people of Ghana, on the occasion of the celebration of your independence. It seems to me that the birth of this new African nation could not have happened at a moment more potent in this era of world history. The hopes of millions of Africans are, indeed, centered on the Gold Coast as it picks up the reins of full self-government. But, added, are the hopes of millions of people of all nations, of all races and creeds, both enslaved and free. Today, the concepts of freedom and of self-government are being challenged; and all men who believe in the glory and rightness of the free way of life have a vital stake in the ongoing struggle for its preservation and, thus, in the survival of any people who declare their independence.

For Ghana, there is a burning promise of national greatness in what you have done in the years leading to this point. You have been skillful engineers in coupling your own vehicles for passage to freedom. Your faith in the common man, your goals of political independence, your positive action toward the reality of self-government; these are, historically, the great faiths and pursuits of a democracy-minded people. And we are triumphant with you that they persevered during a century of colonialism, and we stand grateful with you that they have been honored by the grant of independence. That, under vigorous, dedicated leadership, you have been alert to the educational, scientific, industrial, and agricultural gains which must be made for the achievement of national success; and that you have been preparing for this time of independence when you would be called upon to show your self-sufficiency; and that you are resolute in your determination to cultivate and utilize the full resources of the people and your nation's natural wealth toward this end: all of this foretells your triumph in economic independence. Two major goals of national life are counterparts of the goals of private life; one is the fulfillment of greatest individual potential—this is represented in your national objectives—and the other is utilization of the fruits of your works to the betterment of international welfare. This latter, to the gratification of the free world, you have embodied in your aim to work with other nationalistic, democratic, socialistic movements in Africa and other continents in abolishing all forms of national and racial oppression, economic inequality among nations and among races and peoples to support all action for world peace. We who rejoice with you through these days are mindful of the arduous road you must travel to realize your dreams in the life of your nation and our common dreams in the life of the world. And we are also dedicated to the proposition that this light of freedom in Ghana will grow and grow, until its rays, with ours, light up all the dark places of the earth, bringing an enduring social order of peace and good will and, for all men, freedom from oppression and want. America salutes you. We pray with you for a strong nation under God, with freedom and justice for all.

Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia Rural Development Program Work Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Dr. Frank G. Dickey, president of the University of Kentucky, on May 13, 1957, welcoming the rural development program work conference relating to Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WELCOME TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM WORK CONFERENCE—KENTUCKY, TENNESSEE, WEST VIRGINIA

(Address by Dr. Frank G. Dickey, president, University of Kentucky, May 13, 1957)

During the past 7 months we have had over 175 groups (ranging in size from 25 to 12,000 participants) of various kinds meeting here on our campus. All of these groups have been welcome and all have been of great value to those who participated and to those persons in our society who will benefit from the findings of such sessions. I do not believe, however, that any meeting or any group holds within its hands the potentialities of this group interested in rural development.

You are not only concerned about those centers that are being used as pilot centers for experimentation and development; you are working with a program which has unlimited possibilities for millions of other citizens of our Nation. To say that the eyes of the informed public are upon you would be an understatement.

You have the interest and support of the Federal Government; you have the backing of the State offices; you are vitally connected with educational institutions and agencies; and you are working with the citizens of our State and Nation.

We at the University of Kentucky are most happy to have the privilege of serving as hosts to this first multiple-State conference on the rural development program. We feel that this new approach to improving the opportunities, across the board, in underdeveloped areas can be of very great and practical importance to our State and to all States where such areas exist.

Joint efforts of local people in the areas needing development, of State agencies and groups, and of Federal agencies having resources to offer, can bring strength and coordination in the development process that would be impossible without the joint planning and working together. It is in such conferences as this, where the leaders sit down together to pool their thinking and thresh out their ideas, that effective lines for working out the program can best be developed.

For all of these reasons, I take great pleasure in welcoming you to the campus of the University of Kentucky for this all-important meeting. You have with you some of the outstanding leaders in America today. You yourselves are leaders in your own communities, States, region, and Nation.

We have a tremendous obligation and responsibility to fulfill, and it is my belief that we can do the job which we have set out to do.

The University of Kentucky is proud to be one of the institutions connected with these first stages of such a noble and wonderful experiment. We are putting a great deal of manpower and a tremendous amount of time and energy into this rural development project. We believe in it and we know that you do too; therefore, let me wish for you a most successful meeting here on our campus.

We want you to feel at home; we want you to let us know if there is anything which we can do to make your stay here a more pleasant and profitable one; and we want you to enjoy your meeting here so much that you will return again and again to utilize our facilities for the benefit of this fine project.

The Religious Faith of Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, Dr. Theodore A. Distler, an outstanding educator, and a student of Lincoln, made an able address on April 27, 1957, entitled "The Religious Faith of Abraham Lincoln," before the Washington Pilgrimage of American Churchmen. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS NATION UNDER GOD—THE RELIGIOUS FAITH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

(Lincoln memorial address given by Dr. Theodore A. Distler, April 27, 1957, before the Washington Pilgrimage of American Churchmen, Washington, D. C.)

Abraham Loncoln's religious faith was no mere intellectual assent to theological propositions, but a vital trust in the God of the universe. In 1863, in his letter to the Quakers of Iowa, Lincoln wrote: "It is most cheering and encouraging for me to know that in the efforts which I have made, and am making, for the restoration of a righteous peace to our country, I am upheld and sustained by the good wishes and prayers of God's people. No one is more deeply than myself aware that without His favor our greatest wisdom is but as foolishness, and that our most strenuous efforts would avail nothing in the shadow of His displeasure. It seems to me that if there be one subject upon which all good men may unitedly agree, it is in imploring the gracious favor of the God of Nations upon the struggle our people are making for the preservation of their precious birthright of civil and religious liberty." The faith in the beneficent Creator and Ruler of the universe expressed here is a recurrent theme in Lincoln's public addresses, official and personal correspondence, and proclamations.

Totally independent of the expressed creeds of his neighbors, Lincoln united formally with no church. Yet, in 1864, in a letter to the Methodist Episcopal Church, he wrote with deep feeling: "God bless all the churches, and blessed be God, who in this great trial, giveth us the churches." Lord Charmwood writes: "He still went and took his boys to Presbyterian worship—their mother was an Episcopalian and his own parents had been Baptists. He loved the Bible and knew it intimately."

In the minds of his biographers there is no doubt that Lincoln prayed. Lord Charmwood is quite convinced that his prayer life was genuine. "So humorous a man was also unlikely to be too conceited to say his prayers. At any rate he said them; said them intently; valued the fact that others prayed for him and for the Nation; and, as in official proclamations he could wield, like no modern writer, the language of the prayer-book, so he would speak of prayer without the smallest embarrassment in talk with a general or a statesman."

We recognize fully the intrinsic values of corporate worship, of the sacraments, and of other religious exercises; nevertheless, the heart of religion is to be found in prayer. Theological beliefs and ethical conduct belong to the totality of the phenomenon known as religion, but more important than either or both is ultimate dependence upon spiritual power. That Lincoln turned, especially in times of crisis, to Almighty God for guidance and for help is admitted by all. In this fact is to be found the validity of his religious faith. He trusted God; he relied upon the Creator; he had a deep sense of dependence upon the Almighty. He prayed often to the God of his fathers. His religious faith was dynamic; it was personal. We believe that it was effective. Surely, the labors of Lincoln on behalf of his country bear witness that the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.

Lincoln did have a theology, although it was not a popular theology. In a narrow sense his theology may have been limited to an intense belief in a vast and overruling providence. But he was not a deist. For him the divine providence was still creatively action and was available in a personal manner. In his campaign for election he was very much hurt by the opposition of clergymen. He confessed to being no Christian in the sense that he was not a church member, but he announced his theological creed: "I know that there is a God and that He hates injustice and slavery. I see the storm coming and I know that His hand is in it. If He has a place and work for me, and I think He has, I believe that I am ready. I am nothing, but truth is everything; I know I am right because I know liberty is right, for Christ teaches it, and Christ is God. I have told them that a house divided against itself cannot stand, and Christ and reason say the same, and they will find it so."

Such language does not belong to deism, or rationalism, or humanism, or unitarianism. On their face value, these are the words of a Christocentric theist. Lincoln not only believed that God exists, he seemed to have believed that God broke through at a point in history, that he is incarnated in Christ. Christ is God.

Lincoln's theology is clearly set forth in the second inaugural address. Probably no other speech of a modern statesman uses so unreservedly the language of intense religious feeling. This speech reflects not only his conception of the nature of God, but also his conception of the nature of man.

"The Almighty has his own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offenses: for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondman's 250 years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said 3,000 years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

Here are the outlines of a sound and dynamic theology, which declares that God has an eternal purpose for humanity; that He is a just God whose judgment is upon all who disobey His law; that man is, by nature, a sinner whose redemption depends upon his trust in the love and forgiveness of the grace of God.

In closing, consider with me the final words of Lincoln's farewell at Springfield in 1861: "I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended upon him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him, who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His cafe commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

How far is this dynamic faith of Lincoln from the soporific, man-centered, machine-trusting, superficially optimistic creed in evidence upon us. In times like our own, can we be men of little faith? Our national destiny and the future of western civilization wait for the leadership of men whose religious faith will equal that of Abraham Lincoln.

Address by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson in Cincinnati, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address delivered by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson before the Republican National Conference in Cincinnati, Ohio, on May 17, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE EZRA TAFT BENSON BEFORE REPUBLICAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE, CINCINNATI, OHIO, MAY 17, 1957

It is a privilege to participate in this Republican regional conference.

I like your conference theme, "Concentrate on '58," because it expresses sharply and clearly what we Republicans must do to win control of the 86th Congress. As one who has had some firsthand experience with the problems which arise through divided responsibility, I can attest to the need for a Republican Congress to bring our administration programs to full fruition and thus pave the way for another great victory in 1960.

It seems to me particularly appropriate that we are meeting in Cincinnati, the birthplace and the home of the late Senator Robert A. Taft. He was truly a giant in our party and in the United States Senate where he served so long and so ably. He and I had a common ancestor several generations back, but I am even more proud of my kinship with Bob Taft's ideals.

The senatorial campaign he waged in 1950 was, in my opinion, one of the most effective in the annals of American political history. It brought him a smashing victory and it was based primarily upon just two things: Honest discussion of the issues and good, hard work—sweat, if you please.

We Republicans have the issues today. As we concentrate on 1958, let's expend the sweat that is required to bring those issues squarely before every voter in the Nation. If we do that, victory is assured.

It seems to me that the one, big, burning, overriding issue of our time involves the maintenance of peace—for without peace all other issues could be obliterated overnight. Such matters as civil rights, foreign trade, and farm price supports would become meaningless in a nuclear holocaust with not even taxes but only death as the one certainty.

Therefore, it should be clear that the political party which can best serve the Nation today is the party which can best preserve peace. I say, and the record says it far more eloquently than any man could, that party is the Republican Party.

Our party provided the leadership that brought peace with honor to our country, ending the long, stalemated Korean war—a so-called little war, but still one big enough to have cost us 157,530 casualties. President Dwight D. Eisenhower got us out of that war and he has kept us out of others. Uneasy though the state of world peace may be, it is important to remember that the difference between even an uneasy peace and war can be the difference between life and death.

By none of this do I mean even to imply that there is a war party within the United States. There is not. What I am saying is that the Republican Party, on the record, is best qualified to preserve the peace—a just and lasting peace.

Since this is true and since the preservation of peace is paramount in the hearts and minds of our people, why should we not say it again and again and again?

Oh, I know that our political opposition would like to shift the area of debate to other subjects. Sometimes they recognize our own strengths better than we do.

As we concentrate on 1958, let's put first things first. Let's keep our campaign on a positive basis. Let's emphasize our strengths—for we have many. Let's take the affirmative side of the debate and leave the negative to the Democrats.

In recent weeks there has been some tendency for the initiative to slip away from the Republican Party on the important issue of Government economy.

To me it is such an elemental fact that the Republican Party is the party of economy—of sound fiscal policies—that I can't quite believe my ears when I hear some Democrats of the "tax and tax and spend and spend and elect and elect" philosophy talking about cutting the budget. Frankly, I had never expected to live so long.

As Republicans we must meet squarely the issues of the budget and fiscal responsibility.

We have a 1958 budget with projected expenditures of more than $71 billion. It is admittedly a bigger budget than most Americans, including the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury, would like to see. But the fundamental question involved here is simply this: Is it a bigger budget than we need to do the job that confronts our Government? Can we spend less and still preserve the peace that all of us want and the various services the Federal Government must provide?

Expenditures proposed for the next fiscal year are $2.9 billion larger than for the current one. Of that increase, $2.6 billion—or 90 percent—involves major security programs such as defense, atmoic energy activities, mutual assistance, etc.

More than three-fifths of the budget—some $45 billion—is devoted to the job of waging peace. This is a tremendous sum. Yet the direct costs to the United States of World War II were $310 billion. The costs of another war would be incalculable.

Yes, as the President point out in his second inaugural address, the price of peace comes high today. Can we afford to make available less than the minimum amount which he has said is required for our own security?

Personally, I would sooner accept the considered judgment of President Eisenhower on the question of our defense needs than that of any other living man.

Moreover, I believe that we need to keep the size of the budget in perspective. We need to view it relatively not only to the programs and policies it is designed to implement but also in relationship to the continued population and economic growth of our Nation. The proposed 1958 budget represents some 16 percent of the gross national product, as compared with 20 percent for the last Truman budget year of 1953.

We need to remember that during the last 4 years of unprecedented prosperity our total output of goods and services had increased by more than $65 billion, or 18 percent. Over those same 4 years our population has grown by more than 11 million, or 7 percent.

Another fact: During the past year our per capita income rose almost $80. Federal spending on a per capita basis under the proposed budget would be up about $10.

Now, two other important facts with respect to this budget:

1. The projected budget calls for total outlays of $71.8 billion. The last proposed Truman budget called for expenditures of $78.6 billion—and this at a time when there were fewer Americans, earning and producing much less.

2. The projected administration budget is expected to be in balance for the third straight year—something this country has not seen in a quarter of a century. By way of contrast, the last proposed Truman budget carried a deficit estimated at approximately $10 billion.

As we "concentrate on 1958", let's stack the record of Republican accomplishments in the field of Government economy against the sorry spectacle of financial irresponsibility displayed by our predecessors. Honestly folks, I don't believe the opposition really wants to debate this.

On the issue of Federal taxes, you will recall that it was the Republican 83d Congress that provided the greatest tax cut in all history back in 1954. Its direct benefits to American taxpayers have already reached the staggering total of $25 billion. It was the Republican 80th Congress that voted the only other sizable tax reduction in recent history.

Let's match the Republican record of tax cuts against the opposition record of tax increases as we concentrate on 1958.

There are many additional positive accomplishments of this Republican administration that need restating and reemphasis from time to time. You know we may be inclined to take some of these things for granted because they are a part of our basic philosophy. Here are some things we can point to:

1. Government competition with private business has been substantially reduced. Some 500 commercial-type businesses operated by the Government in competition with private business have been discontinued. I speak from some personal experience on this because when I became Secretary of Agriculture, I discovered that as a member of the Virgin Islands Corporation Board I was also representing the Federal Government in the hotel business and a variety of other enterprises.

"Our" hotel—and I use the word "our" in quotes—was called Blue Beard's Castle, and it was quite a plush establishment at the time it was built by the Federal Government back in 1934. For a hostelry operating in the "red" as deeply as this one was, the use of the word "blue" in its name seemed singularly inappropriate. We sold it, and the Government was out of another business venture.

2. The rapid rise in living costs has been checked. This administration has nearly brought to a halt the violent, galloping inflation and the progressive cheapening of the dollar which marked the Truman administration.

Recently, you will recall, the advisory council of the Democratic National Committee had the temerity to point to rising living costs. The New York Times pegged that one just right. I would like to read a brief excerpt from their editorial on the subject.

"But who is responsible for the fact that living costs reached their present plateau? Consumer prices have risen, since 1946, all told, from roughly 78 to almost 119, or 41 points. But 37 of those points were accounted for before Mr. Eisenhower came to office, only 4 since the end of 1952. In other words, talk about new highs for the cost of living is neither more nor less than an attempt to confuse the fact that while the costs of living rose 47.5 percent under Mr. Truman in the 7 years, 1946–52, their rise during the nearly 4½ years of Mr. Eisenhower's administration has been 3½ percent."

3. Free enterprise has been encouraged. The faith of our party in the free-enterprise system is being vindicated anew. Today more Americans are at work in more businesses, producing, earning, and investing more than ever before in our history. Private enterprise is providing a record number of jobs at the highest wage rates ever. And all of this is happening without the stimulus of war.

4. As the party of Lincoln we are expected to move continuously forward in the field of human rights, and we are doing just that. The United States is providing a haven for tens of thousands of refugees from Communist tyranny. Racial discrimination on many fronts is giving way before the unsensational but constant, day-to-day efforts of the administration. Progress in the field of civil rights which gained its greatest momentum in 1953 and 1954, when the Nation had both a Republican President and a Republican Congress, has been slowed somewhat by a Democratic Congress, but it will not be denied.

As we concentrate on 1958, let's make these points again and again.

Now I assume that when Meade Alcorn invited me to appear here, he expected me to devote a part of my talk to the farm situation. This I propose to do now, although I might preface my remarks by saying that there must be an easier way to make a living than by being Secretary of Agriculture. It's a job that inevitably invites more brickbats than bouquets, particularly during a period of adjustment in agriculture such as the one through which we are now passing.

Between now and the 1958 elections, we shall again be hearing politically inspired charges about the agricultural situation, and we must be prepared to meet them head on with cold, hard facts.

We'll be hearing that the family farm is disappearing—that it's on the way out. The truth is that farms are increasing in size because modern technology makes it possible for the farmer and his family to operate larger units. But it is also true that today—as 25 years ago—96 percent of the farms in this country are family operated.

Moreover, the efforts of this administration to attack specifically the problems of small farmers through the rural-development program have been stymied by the Democrat-controlled 84th and 85th Congresses. We have been denied the funds required to implement this program even on a modest basis.

We'll undoubtedly hear again, as we have in the past, that the agricultural economy is virtually bankrupt. Certainly no one will deny that agriculture is in a cost-price squeeze, but nevertheless farm assets are at an all-time high and so are farm real-estate valuations.

We'll be hearing that rigid price supports or some bob-tailed version of the Brannan plan are the answers to the farm problem. The truth is that many of agriculture's present ills developed because we continued fixed, wartime price supports too long after the situation they were designed to meet had ended. As for the Brannan plan, it's a hodgepodge of socialistic nonsense that neither

farmers, farm organizations, nor Congress itself has ever shown any disposition to accept.

We'll probably see the administration's soil bank used as a whipping boy by the political opposition—the same people who a few short months ago were claiming it as their very own. Now they are attempting to blame it for all of the shortcomings of the old parent programs whose weaknesses made the soil bank necessary.

Now I should like to list some positive accomplishments of this administration—accomplishments in which we, as Republicans, can take genuine pride:

1. The St. Lawrence seaway is under contruction. This will bring enormous benefits to agriculture through lower transportation rates.

2. Five million farmers and farmworkers have been brought into the social-security program. For years farmers had helped to pay the costs of this program every time they bought anything, but not until the Eisenhower administration were they permitted to share in the benefits.

3. Farmers have received new tax benefits. There was, of course, the 10-percent income-tax reduction received by all taxpayers, but in addition to this farmers were given accelerated tax write-offs for equipment, special deductions for certain conservation practices, and a refund of taxes collected on gasoline used on the farm.

4. Emergency programs to assist farmers hit by drought, flood, and other natural disasters were instituted promptly.

5. Farm credit facilities have been broadened and made more effective.

6. Determined efforts to regain lost export markets have been undertaken. The result is that shipments of American farm goods abroad during the present crop year are running at the highest rate in history.

7. Research appropriations to aid farmers have been more than doubled.

8. Most important of all, the long slide in farm income has been halted and reversed. Net farm income in 1956 was 4 percent higher than for the previous year. A further increase is expected in 1957.

Sixty percent of the much-advertised decline in the parity ratio occurred before the present administration took office. Ninety percent of the decline came while high rigid wartime price supports were in effect.

The much-publicized decline in net farm income began 10 years ago. Incomes have declined every year since then but two. One was the wartime year, 1951; the other a year of peace, 1956.

The peak of net farm income was reached in 1947. Gross cash farm income from marketings is higher today than it was 10 years ago. The reduction in net income is a result of higher costs, not lower gross income.

Tonight I want to talk about the road ahead for agriculture.

Much attention has been focused on the huge stocks of farm products owned by or under loan to the Government—stocks which now represent an investment of $8.3 billion. Agriculture is faced not only with the necessity of reducing these stocks; there is the even greater challenge of using constructively the abundant production which, year after year, is likely to flow to market from American farms.

This great outpouring of agricultural abundance is the result of improved technology, of course. But it is also partly the result of a prolonged period of incentive prices—incentives supplied first by the market place and then by law.

Price support policies of the past are responsible, to a degree, for the presently overexpanded agricultural plant. While the technological revolution undoubtedly supplied the means for increasing output, the support program helped provide the incentives. And while these policies increased production on the one hand, they choked off consumption on the other. The result is an accumulated stock and a continuing production of farm products greater than our growing population can assimilate unless adjustments are made.

How can we best make the adjustments called for by the prospect of agricural abundance?

Can we reduce production? For 25 years we have tried to control production by restricting the acreage of a few selected crops. Yet total production has increased even more rapidly than the incerase in our population. The evidence of the past quarter century is that farmers offset acreage controls by fertilizing more heavily, increasing the yield per acre. And they use the acres diverted out of one crop to produce other crops.

Shall we sell these surplus commodities abroad? Yes, we should and we are. Agricultural exports this year are at an alltime high. We sell our commodities for dollars, both for cash and for credit. We sell them for foreign currency, and we barter them for strategic materials. Yet there are limits—and we may be approaching them—to what we can do in the way of selling our abundance abroad.

Shall we give the commodities away? Yes, we should within prudent limits, to the extent that we can do so constructively. This past fiscal year we donated more than 2 billion pounds of farm products to public agencies, charitable organizations and needy persons at home and abroad.

Shall we put a part of our excess productive capacity into the soil bank? Yes, and we are doing this, chiefly through the acreage-reserve program. But this is temporary and costly. It would be difficult to justify the continued payment of such sums as would be needed to operate a permanent acreage-reserve program. And a permanent program which subsidizes nonproduction is contrary to our tradition.

Shall we destroy food, or let it spoil? No, we should not, and we have exercised every safeguard to prevent spoilage. Our people would not condone such moral bankruptcy or such economic waste. The capacity to produce abundantly is a blessing; the challenge is to make wise use of this abundance.

Is there any way out of this impasse? I am convinced that the answer is "yes."

We can so price our products that we reduce the incentive for overproduction.

We can price our products so they will move into use.

We can move away from acreage-control programs that do not control.

We can expand markets for industrial and nonfood uses—as we are doing in our increasingly vigorous research programs.

We can, above all, build up our markets for livestock products—milk, meat, and eggs—wholesome, tasty, nutritious foods that people can and will purchase in greater quantities if the price is attractive.

We can consume more of our food in the form of livestock products. We have been moving toward an animal agriculture during the past 20 years and we can move further.

We can give special attention to the problems peculiar to small farmers—as we are doing in the rural-development program.

The present mandatory price support-acreage control program for corn, based on legal formulas, has the opposite philosophy. Its objective is scarcity. Corn acreage, cut back by the control program, is now at the lowest level in 66 years. This program has reduced corn acreage in the Corn Belt and increased it in California, Washington, Oregon, and other areas. The corn producing area has been spread out and diluted. Nineteen years ago, when the commercial corn area was laid out for acreage control purposes it included parts of 12 States. Now it includes parts of 24.

But even more amazing is the size of the corn allotment in the commercial area. In 1938 the allotment totaled 40.5 million acres; for 1957 the allotment is 37.3 million acres. With a smaller pie being cut into more pieces, is it any wonder that most corn producers here in the Corn Belt prefer to ignore their allotments?

Corn is the major feed grain, far exceeding in importance all the other feed grains combined. But the other feed grains are moving up. But cutting back on corn, the program has provided an opportunity for an expansion in the acreage of competing feed grains such as barely and sorghum grain.

Are corn farmers willing to move in the direction of competitive pricing, more freedom and growing markets?

It appears they are. More than 61 percent of the corn farmers who voted in last fall's referendum expressed a preference for greater freedom to plant, coupled with greater flexibility of price supports. Yet, because the law required a two-thirds vote to carry, corn farmers today continue under a program which the majority of them have disapproved.

We now have this interesting situation:

A clear majority of the corn farmers voting in the referendum have expressed a willingness to move toward greater freedom of operation and greater reliance on our marketing system. Yet the law has not been changed. In fact, efforts to obtain more realistic corn legislation were beaten down in recent months in both the House and the Senate. In both instances a majority of Republicans supported the bills while a majority of the Democrats opposed them.

Is there not the courage to strike a legislative blow for freedom when the people directly concerned have, in effect, requested it?

We have heard, until now, that economic freedom is lost because the people most concerned bargain it away in exchange for security. The leaders of the people, we are told, cannot stand against the strong popular urge for what is considered to be economic security.

But how shall we then explain a circumstance in which the people themselves request less Government interference, but their Government will not relax its paternalistic grip?

We have come a long way indeed, in this land of liberty, when we continue to impose on a particular group of farmers, against the will of the majority, control programs which do not control, and support programs which pile up surpluses and lose markets. Let's remember this as we concentrate on 1958.

There are more than 200 farm products for which we are authorized to provide price supports. For six of these, corn among them, programs are in effect to control production and to support prices according to a legal formula.

These 6 commodities bring in only 25 percent of our farm income.

Yet for these six commodities, surpluses are greater, costs are higher, infringements on individual liberty are more extensive, international relations are placed in greater jeopardy, and farm complaints are more vociferous than for all the other of the 200 commodities combined.

Farmers who produce certain commodities, such as soybeans and livestock, have demonstrated that realistic pricing can build markets and increase net income.

Our present need is not to stimulate production to meet the demands of war. Our need is for agricultural adjustments to accommodate the tremendous technological revolution through which agriculture is passing. And it is time to make further program changes called for by these new conditions.

Most of the professional research institutions which have studied the problem have said so.

The corn farmers, voting with both their corn planters and their referendum ballots, have said so.

These voices are being heard in a growing crescendo.

We should ever lend our ears to voices raised in behalf of freedom, responsibility, and enterprise. The most glorious pages of history result from giving audience to the plea for freedom; the darkest pages result from its denial.

The Republican Party has a long and glorious history in the never-ending battle for human freedom. We must and we will continue to give leadership in that great cause.

Freedom can come to full flower only in a world at peace. Therefore, the achievement and maintenance of a just and lasting peace remains the major objective of this administration.

May God give us the strength and wisdom to attain that objective.

Address by the President of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the distinguished President of Vietnam, Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem, addressed the National Press Club during his recent visit to Washington, D. C. The remarks of this eminent leader of free Asia deserve the closest attention of us all.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY NGO DINH DIEM, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, TO THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 10, 1957

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I am particularly pleased to have this opportunity of meeting today the representatives of a broad section of the American press. I say this in full sincerity because it permits me to convey to you the appreciation of the Vietnamese people for the unanimous support you gave us during the tragic days of March and April 1955. We were then abandoned by nearly all our friends in the free world. Being only a handful, we had to fight for the life and honor of the Vietnamese people, against the return of colonialism, reduce the remnants of the feudal sects to impotence, and ward off immediate Communist absorption.

2. In those critical days, the American correspondents in Saigon exhibited unusual courage, far-sightedness, and disregard for personal inconveniences. They have done honor to the entire American press. We know it, and we want to thank them once more for it.

Next, I want to tell you that the cause which you served just over 2 years ago has lost none of its ardor and that the dangers which we experienced at that time are still lurking in the background today. These dangers have taken other forms, but remain virulent and have the same goal—the destruction of free Vietnam.

3. Destiny has placed our country at the converging point of one of the great human migrations. It lies across one of the main roads of access to the reserves of raw materials of southeast Asia. In addition to this critical situation, the Vietnamese masses, like the Asian masses, are now aware that their political and economic development were retarded by colonial domination. Their nationalist feeling and social resentment have thereby been exacerbated. They have become embittered and impatient. They want to catch up rapidly with the advanced western nations, and some are even prepared to accept totalitarian measures in order to achieve this end.

4. The Communists have taken advantage of this situation to extend their domination over continental China and over neighboring countries.

5. Thus Vietnam, by virtue of its geography and history, is subject both internally and externally to heavy pressure. Its future political and economic regime will be to a very large extent determined by this fact. The Vietnamese people will be able to defend their independence and freedom against the covetousness of expansionist nations and the seduction of totalitarianism, only to the extent that they possess the necessary intelligence and sense of discipline. You should not lose sight of these geographical, sociological and historical facts if you wish to appraise correctly and justly our present efforts, because the Vietnam problem is a complex one.

6. Vietnam is located at a strategic spot in Asia. Its people are sensitive to all the currents which are agitating the Asian world. The problems of Vietnam cannot be separated from those of Asia. None of us must forget that Asia is living in a state of high revolutionary tension. Nationalist feeling may be in a large measure satisfied by the recovery of political independence, but only on the condition that political independence be made meaningful by tangible economic independence. And this is precisely the key to the understanding of Asia's revolt. Revolutionary tension there is at a high pitch because for too long the peoples of Asia have been the victims of hunger, disease and illiteracy. They are impatient. They want to see a quick end to their miseries. But how?

7. Vietnam cannot shut itself off from this revolutionary atmosphere, because Asia's problems are Vietnam's problems. Furthermore, by virtue of its geopolitical situation, Vietnam lies in the midst of this tension itself.

8. We see from time to time some Asian statesmen or leaders adopt positions which do not agree with our viewpoint. They probably hope thereby to shelter their peoples and themselves against this climate of tension in order to examine their problems in greater tranquillity, deal with them and solve them one by one, leisurely, surely. This attitude is very human. But I am afraid that I do not see the problem in the same fashion, because I think this revolutionary tension is not entirely external to us. It is in large measure of internal origin. It is an organic part of the general situation of Asia. Well, I myself stated in June 1954, when I assumed office, that I wanted to carry out our national revolution peacefully in every respect.

9. You know that events have not complied with my wish. You, yourselves followed closely this situation in April and May 1955. An American photographer even lost his life there. In spite of my goodwill, I could not avoid the conditions of the revolutionary struggle the moment I came to grips with an important problem. I was successful in stabilizing a situation seemingly past mending, thanks to the strong measures taken and thanks to the moral and material support of the American people. But more important and urgent tasks are arising all the time and require solution. The most important and urgent of these is the economic and social recovery of Vietnam. I have outlined this problem earlier.

10. Whether we like it or not, the revolution continues to be with us in Vietnam. And as in all revolutions, a period of centralization is necessary before we can pave the way for decentralization. This must be done if we want to avoid paralysis, anarchy, and with them, violent revolution or foreign invasion.

11. You know as well as I do that the possession of Vietnam is a great temptation for the Communists. Vietnam is the gateway to the invasion of southeast Asia and to its immense resources in manpower and raw materials.

12. As long as communism has not renounced world revolution and domination, we cannot let ourselves be lulled by the songs of peaceful coexistence. This is especially true since competitive coexistence has replaced peaceful coexistence as the war cry of the Communists after the last congress of the Russian Communist Party. Moreover, the Chinese Communist Party proclaimed in December 1956, the necessity of imposing the dictatorship of the proletariat by violent action. Because Communist pressure threatens to weigh heavily on all our land frontiers, Vietnam must be more watchful than in the past against this menace.

13. We are convinced that our neighbors are also concerned about the problems of internal subversion and that their efforts combined with ours can stem international communism of which Red China is the active leader in all southeast Asia.

14. I am certain that it is clear now that Vietnam is living in a volcanic situation. It is a focal point in this vast area of the world which is bound to experience, for many years to come, rapid, profound, and violent transformations.

15. What to do then?

It is obvious that we must not allow fatalism and defeatism to overwhelm us. Neither must we be deluded into adopting seemingly easy solutions which consist in imitating western methods blindly. America has had more than a century at his disposal to accomplish and digest its political, economic, and social revolutions.

16. We must then find our own solution in the light of our own experience of the last 2½ years, in drawing from the experience of other democratic nations, and from our own Vietnamese traditions. We have endeavored to build a political and economic structure in conformity with our national character and the geopolitical realities of Vietnam, while retaining all the essential freedoms of men. Our task has been now to organize our political and economic life in such a way that our government will be strong enough to meet the enormous difficulties which beset us, flexible enough to deal rapidly with an ever-changing situation, and open enough to allow more freedom as the dangers which threaten us subside.

17. Our experience is hard. But it is also exalting, because we are not alone: the United States is with us. We can never repeat often enough how effective the moral and material aid of the American people to Vietnam has been. This aid has met complete success. Nobody can deny it. We want the American people to know it.

18. We also want the American people to know that their unselfish and effective aid to Vietnam is a good example for other peoples of southeast Asia. In this connection I am pleased to tell you that—now that the economy has begun to recover—principally thanks to American aid—the people of Vietnam are increasing their own contribution to the general welfare. New and higher taxes were recently imposed—national conscription has been decreed—and a new policy for foreign private investment has been announced.

19. I wish to conclude on this optimistic note. I am convinced that by its determina-

tion, courage, sense of discipline, and with the effective friendship of the United States, Vietnam will triumph over its difficulties, internal, and external.

Address of Dr. Frank P. Graham at Dedication of the University of North Carolina Sundial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an eloquent speech made by Dr. Frank P. Graham, a distinguished former Member of this body, at the dedication of the sundial which was recently presented to the University of North Carolina by one of its ablest and most devoted alumni, John Motley Morehead, a native of Spray, N. C., and a resident of Rye, N. Y., who has rendered outstanding service at home and abroad as engineer, inventor, industrialist, citizen, soldier, and diplomat.

Despite the exacting duties devolving upon him in his busy and varied career, Mr. Morehead has unceasingly manifested his love for his native State. It is not surprising that this should be so, because his forebear, Gov. John Motley Morehead, was one of North Carolina's greatest public servants of all time.

In his generous benefactions to his alma mater, the University of North Carolina, Mr. Morehead has exemplified his conviction that man does not live by bread alone. In addition to his establishment of the Morehead scholarships for youths exhibiting capacities for future leadership, Mr. Morehead has presented to the University of North Carolina the famous Morehead Planetarium, as well as the sundial. And a quarter of a century ago he joined his relative by marriage, Rufus L. Patterson, in the gift of the beautiful Morehead-Patterson Bell Tower.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SUNDIAL IN HISTORY AND THE MOREHEAD SUNDIAL AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

We gather here on this baccalaureate day to dedicate the sundial, man's first keeper of time, on the campus of the first existing State university. An ancient device in the time keeping of the race, becomes here a reminiscent link in the chain of the light and shadows of our cultural heritage. The light and shadows of the sundial helped to measure and guide the hours of man's work and movements for thousands of years. The light and liberty of this university for more than a century and a half has helped to measure and guide the movements of democracy in this State as a part of the rise of freedom in the modern world.

FOUR MEDIEVAL INSTITUTIONS IN MODERN TIMES

Four institutions which tower across the centuries from medieval to modern times and whose influence reaches across the oceans and continents in our time, are the cathedral, the parliament, the corporation and the university. The medieval university, founded by the church and chartered by the state as a corporation, became one of the highest expressions of the human spirit.

Deeply precious in the lives of millions of people across these centuries have been the love and loyalty of the sons and daughters for their alma maters. No sons and daughters have a deeper love and loyalty than the alumni and alumnae of the University of North Carolina. Of the legion of her sons none has a more abiding devotion than John Motley Morehead of the class of 1891.

With his first cousin-in-law, Rufus L. Patterson, more than 25 years ago he gave the Morehead-Patterson Bell Tower, whose chimes are a part of the music of the place, whose clock strikes the hours of the day's work on this campus, and whose light, as a beacon for way-faring folk, shines afar from this hill.

A HOPE YET TO BE FULFILLED

Some 20 years ago he conceived a noble benefaction. Though it did not come to successful fruition his intent revealed concentrated devotion to his alma mater. He had invested over a quarter of a million dollars in a chemical experiment for the manufacture of diamonds. If the experiment proved successful a financial combine contracted to pay him $23 million for its rights. In a walk on his Westchester County estate, where the rythmic waves of the sound added to the music of his adventurous hopes, he confided his intention of giving all the $23 million as an endownment for alma mater. This endownment was not to supplant in any way, but was to be supplement above the level of more adequate State support, then on its slow way toward recovery from the cruel depression. The experiment just missed coming through. In a scientific experiment the miss of an inch can be as deep as a mile. Despite the darkness of those years, what a time we had, in expectant imagination in endowing student loan funds, scholarships, fellowships, professorships, research, the Southern Collection, the library, the institutes, the University Press, and those things of the spirit which make universities great with the freedom of the mind and the liberating resources for the creative expression of the noblest aspirations of the human spirit.

A determined scientific explorer and pioneer trail blazer in many fields, of iron will, deep loyalties and strong preferences, he may yet find this adventurous trail again. Whether it comes through or not, and it remains quite doubtful, we are in our hearts none the less grateful for what was and still is in his heart. With his zest for discovery, his benefactions to his home community, to civic and cultural enterprises in his native State and his concentration on this institution, we are most grateful for the high loyalties of his inner life and his abiding love for alma mater.

NOBLE BENEFACTIONS ALREADY MADE

In addition to that unrealized major intent, other generous benefactions have come through in high intent and noble proportions: the memorial building as the home of his collected treasures, the planetarium which declares the glory of God to hundreds of thousands who pass this way, and the Morehead trust which fulfills one of his dreams in providing scholarships and fellowships for youth of highest character and talent for admission to this institution. He has often expressed the wish that as long as his alma mater lives that those chosen would become her students as the preferred and devoted objects of his real intent. What Rhodes Scholars mean to the alma mater of Cecil Rhodes, the Morehead Scholars in like spirit mean to the alma mater of John Motley Morehead.

THE VALUE OF THE SUNDIAL IN THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

To his other benefactions he now adds the sundial as a fitting companion to the planetarium, whose "firmament showeth the handwork" of God, who long ago said "Let there be light-and there was light." In this gift is the faith of the ancient saying, "Face the sun and the shadows will fall behind you."

In the heyday of the sundial the earth did not take any more time for its rotations but man took more time for his ruminations. Mayhap the sundial, which kept the slower tempo of past ages, will remind us, with all our ways of acceleration, to make the multiplication of the mechanical contacts of our civilization the means for deepening the cultural and spiritual content of our lives. The sundial, which kept the people's time for over 4,000 years, speaks to us still from the depth and breadth of its long service in ages gone. It is worthy of remembrance by the people's university, itself dedicated in depth and breadth to the service of all the people in all generations.

References to the sundial are found in the poetry of Plautus, the histories of Herodotus, in the Second Book of Kings, the 38th chapter of Isaiah, and in the 4,000 year old records of the Mesopotamian civilization. The use of the sundial spread across the earth and become a part of that multicultural exchange which has always meant so much in the old and new civilizations in the East and West. Histories of the sundial have been written by Gatty, Mayall and Milham.

When the sundials in their legions made their cultural invasion of Rome, Plautus, protesting against their cutting up his more leisurely days into wretchedly small pieces, cried out, as quoted by Gallius as quoted by Mrs. Gatty and as now quoted by me, saying, "When I was a boy, my stomach was my sundial—one more sure, truer, and more exact than any sundial."

Despite the poetic lament of Plautus, the sundial, in response to man's need for measures of time, went on its way of tested utility and increasing beauty to serve and adorn the royal courts, public squares, spacious lawns, Romanesque, Byzantine, and Gothic cathedrals, the mosques of Islam and the medieval and modern universities. The largest sundial in the world was built in India in 1730 by the Maharajah of Jaipur. It is 147 feet long, 90 feet high, and casts a shadow on a stone arch with a radius of 50 feet.

As a companion to the sundial there developed the waterclock in the second century B. C. The water trickled through a hole in the bottom of an earthern vessel which would be emptied in the same periods as measurements of time. In desert and dry countries the sands of time replaced water, and the hourglass later replaced the earthern vessels. In monasteries candles were notched to mark the distance burned by the hour.

Toward the close of the 10th century mechanical clocks made their entrance on the time stage of the world. A Benedictine monk who later became Pope Sylvester II invented a mechanical clock in 996 for the cathedral at Magdeburg. The de Vick clock appeared in 1360. The main spring was invented by Henlein in 1500 and Huygens invented the pendulum in 1657. Mechanical watches were developed from some of the principles of the mechanical clock and reached high precision in the hands of the watchmakers of Switzerland.

On land the sundial survived the coming of clocks and watches. Even as late as the begihning of the 20th century railroad watches in France were adjusted for accuracy with the old reliable sundial. In many parts of the world today many millions of people keep their time by the sundial.

Gnomonics, as the art of building a sundial is called, requires use of astronomy, geometry, logarithms, geography, mechanics, architecture and the fine arts. Wilham, in his comprehensive treatise on sundials will, for those of you interested, take you through the mathematics and the mechanics of dial construction beyond my ken but to the durable and knowledgeable satisfaction of such a dreamer, imaginative engineer and practical builder as our generous benefactor, John Motley Morehead III, who has with well kept time and a nobly spent life had a creative part in building an industrial enterprise which today encompasses the earth, whose proceeds are helping to advance the values of his alma mater for the people of his native State and across the world from generation to generation.

To determine time it was necessary to choose as a basing point in the view of man some happening in the universe which was regular, dependable and constant in its repetition. The rotation of the earth on its axis—which appeared to primitive and ancient man as the day's journey of the sun—was chosen as the regular occurrence which could be depended upon to measure all sorts of time. It has been found that the rotation of the earth has not varied one one-thousandth of a second in the last several centuries.

The Babylonians and the Greeks marked off the daytime thus measured into 12 hours and the nighttime thus measured into 12 hours. In the summertime the daytime hours were longer and the nighttime hours shorter and vice versa in the wintertime. The Egyptians and Romans marked off the day into 24 equal parts, diving the 24-hour day into 2 main equal divisions of 12 hours each. For purposes of timekeeping sunrise began the day for the Babylonians, sunset for the Jews, and midnight for the Romans.

THE COMING OF STANDARD TIME

According to true solar time the length of the true solar day is different at different times of the year, lasting, as the students of time calculate, 24 hours on the 16th of September and 24 hours and 51 seconds on December 23d. It is only the sundial which keeps true solar time. To get the mean solar day the true solar days are averaged for the year. Star time and sun time agree on about March 21st. On that day the sun, on which sun time is based, is in the vernal equinox, on which star time is based. Star time gains a whole day over sun time in 12 months. The difference can be computed from tables in a few minutes. These tables and computations lag behind the needs of modern industrial travel and communication. Just as true or local solar time had been replaced by mean solar time, so mean solar time has been supplanted by standard solar time. Every city, town or village once had their own local or their own mean solar time. Only the localities in the same longitude would then have the same time. To get around the difficulties thus caused in a modern industrial society of wide travel and instant communication, standard solar time came into being, by which all the localities in a specified time zone chose to run their timekeepers sufficiently fast or slow so that all localities in the agreed area would have the same time.

For the North American Continent there are five standard-time areas: Colonial, which includes Newfoundland and far-eastern Canada, eastern, central, mountain, and Pacific time. Eastern standard time is 5 hours slower than the mean solar time of Greenwich, England, which is the basing point of the worldwide system of standard time. Standard time is daily adjusted for exactitude in accuracy not to man's ancient and longtime friend, the sundial, but is adjusted to the stars by astronomical observations made in the United States Naval Observatory in Georgetown with the accuracy of a few thousandths of a second. In highly protected vaults of the Observatory the clocks keep star time. From star time eastern standard solar time is calculated. At the appointed time every day the distributing clock in Washington sends its time signals through relays of the Western Union telegraph system to electrically synchronized clocks in all parts of the United States. Time is also signaled from 14 wireless stations in the United States and from the Eiffel Tower in Paris. The ships at sea and the remotest hut with a radio receiving set get the time by day and by night.

The ancient ancestor of this nationwide electrically synchronized keeping of time, as a part of the worldwide system of standard time, is the ancient sundial. Its representation on this campus, in the dignity of enduring stone, has now become one of the treasures of this university, whose time began in the late 18th century, whose life and services widened and deepened in the 19th and 20th centuries, and whose hopes are as fresh and immortal as the spirit of youth in all the centuries to come.

On a university campus we look at a sundial not only in the context of sun shadows, water clocks, hourglasses, chronometers, mechanical clocks, and watches, but also in the context of astronomical, geologic, prehistoric, historic, and atomic time.

ATOMIC TIME

In the astronomical time of this little planet of the sun, itself one of the smaller stars among millions of larger stars of one galaxy of stars among billions of galaxies of stars, we envisage man evolving in physical descent from lower to higher species. With the unfolding of his intelligence and his spiritual awareness, came man's spiritual ascent in the higher consciousness of one God and the brotherhood of all people, trailing clouds of glory from God who is our home.

From the fossil-bearing strata of geologic times we glimpse the ages of the earth from pre-Cambrian to Pleistocene times.

From the archeological relics of prehistoric time we learn of man's primitive stages as hunter, fisherman, tender of flocks, tiller of the soil, and artisan in the old stone age, the middle stone age, the new stone age, the age of bronze, and the age of iron.

In historic times are recorded the transitions of civilization, the dynasties, wars, and internal struggles of the people; their forms of government; the ideas, customs, and technical arts of the people, their ways of worship, work, love, living, and keeping of time; and the expressions of their humane hopes in ancient, medieval, and modern times.

In atomic times the earth's clock, with its thermonuclear-electronic parts, is fast ticking away toward the hour of doom or the time of hope in the alternative of universal annihilation in international war or universal brotherhood in international cooperation for freedom, justice, compassion, and peace. The moral imperative of atomic times is the United Nations as an expression of the community of faith, the community of freedom and the community of man.

In the perspective of astronomical, geologic, and historic times is unveiled here the sundial, the first timekeeper, to adorn the campus of this old yet young university. This sundial is something ancient under the sun. The university of the people was something new under the sun. Ancient time under the shadow of the sun and youthful hopes under the sanction of the people now meet in this historic place and in this present hour. By a bringer of many good gifts to this historic place, is now brought the sundial, wrapped in an alabaster box of the spirit and laid with reverent hands at the feet of alma mater. The unveiling will be by Miss Lucy Chatham and Miss Page Nelson, great-great-great-granddaughters of John M. Morehead, one of the national leaders of the Whig Party, one of the most progressive and constructive governors in the history of North Carolina, founder and first president of the alumni association of the university, a position held exactly 100 years later by John M. Morehead III, another great builder of his alma mater.

THE MOREHEAD FOUNDATION AND THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

May I say for all of us, Mr. Morehead, that the youthful scholars you so nobly bring to your alma mater, in all times to come, will long renew your youth in their own studies, inquiries, sports, friendship, and dedication on this holy hill under the sun and the stars of the high heavens of their immortal hopes.

For the inspiration of youth on their earthly pilgrimage, the sun, on its heavenly journey, has revealed for your precious association and filial devotion no place in which are more organically blended the natural beauty of hill and forest, rock walls and ivied halls, humane heritage and youthful hopes, free inquiry and zestful learning in the service of the people, than your alma mater, deep in the hearts of the people of North Carolina.

Daughter of time and mother of unending generations of youth, alma mater, under God, keeps ever fair and ever young in the light and liberty of the turning years, in the support of a great State, in the love and loyalty of her sons and daughters, in the quest of youth for truth, goodness and beauty, and in the struggles and hopes of the people for freedom of knowledge, equal justice, peace on earth and good will toward men in God's own time.

The Financing of the Boonville, Ind., High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which was written by Mr. Kenneth W. Weyerbacher of Boonville, Ind., to the magazine Nation's Business and which appeared in the May 1957 issue of that magazine. It relates the initiative of that community in financing a needed high school.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACTION AT BOONVILLE

I have been following your articles in Nation's Business with interest and the one in the February issue—Free Ballots Depend on Free Markets—was of particular interest to me. Locally we ran into difficulties with the money market after deciding to build a much-needed high school.

In January of last year we organized a holding corporation to finance, build, and lease for 30 years to the school corporation a new high-school building costing $1,150,000. After plans were prepared and the bonds were advertised for sale, we discovered the bond market for municipals had virtually collapsed. By law in this State we were only able to offer these bonds at a maximum rate of 4 percent interest. No investment house bid our bonds in, and we were left hanging in the air.

We made application to the State of Indiana for common school funds and although our application was approved, we got in the middle of a political fight between an outgoing governor and an incoming governor and could receive no assurance that we could obtain any State funds.

Federal aid was entirely too far away since it was necessary, due to our local conditions and extreme overcrowding of our schools, to be in the new high school by September 1958. In addition, it was the general feeling that Federal aid was not for us, since it was not only a time-consuming operation, but we felt it would be much more expensive in the long run.

The board of directors of the corporation then determined to sell the bonds locally. Our township has an assessed valuation of approximately $10 million, a population of 14,800, and around $500,000 of school indebtedness.

We determined to offer the issue to local people and local banks, at an average net interest of 4 percent. We eventually had 117 pledges. Approximately $300,000 was subscribed by banks and the balance by local individuals.

We then had a meeting of the subscribers to the issue, drew numbers out of a hat and assigned them to individual bond purchases. These people then, in order of their number drawn, were permitted to select the maturities which they desired.

So far as I know, no complaints were received as to the maturities of the individual buyers and we have since delivered the bonds and obtained the $1,150,000 and have started the construction of the school which we propose to have completed by September 1958 for the use of our high-school students.

There was no big money involved, although some of the individual purchasers did take rather large amounts.

It has, we believe, presented a pretty cogent argument against Federal aid to education. Most communities could do exactly as we did, although we never heard of anyone else doing it nor do we know if it had ever been tried successfully in the past. Troy Township, of Perry County, Ind., has since followed our lead.

We found that we could also have built a grade school * * * since we could have obtained subscriptions for an additional $500,000 worth of bonds.

KENNETH W. WEYERBACHER.

BOONVILLE, IND.

Address by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland Before Americans for Democratic Action

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Hon. Theodore R. McKeldin, Governor of Maryland, at the 10th anniversary banquet of Americans for Democratic Action, at Washington, D. C., on March 30, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, AT 10TH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET OF AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION, WILLARD HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 30, 1957

I am a party man, without apology. Nevertheless, in my last campaign for governor of Maryland I was honored by the support of the ADA. I know that they did not support me because I am a Republican. They supported me because they gave me credit for sense enough to know that the way to strengthen my party was to give the State a good administration, and on that ground I was happy to receive their support.

For the same reason I regard it as a duty, as well as a privilege, to appear here to explain my position as a party man sympathetic with the liberal point of view and to state what I think that implies in the immediate future. But to clear the air, let me point out that this is one occasion on which I am not campaigning—talking politics, yes, but not for the purpose of winning an election. When a man is campaigning he must talk about the things that interest the voters, and those are usually things of immediate concern, rather than long-range policy.

But constitutional limitations forbid my running agan for governor of Maryland, and I am not now a candidate for any other office. So I seize the occasion to talk to you of things that may have no bearing on the voting in 1958, but that in the course of the next 10 years are going to be very important indeed.

Liberalism in this country is not a program, nor even a policy, but an attitude. Its opponents have done their best to convince the world that it is not even an attitude, but merely a pose; hence the sneering references to bleeding hearts and the allegations that the liberal is a sentimentalist. Of course it can be true; but a reactionary can be, and often is, as much of a sentimentalist as any liberal.

Liberal and conservative alike face a world of change and neither can do anything about that, for it is a condition of life. The difference between them is in their attitude toward changes that they cannot prevent. The liberal is chiefly concerned by what may be gained through wise action; the conservative is chiefly concerned with what may be lost by unwise action. One may be as honest as the other, and which attitude a man assumes may depend as much on his temperament as on anything else.

For my part, I feel that in the United States today the hope of gain is more important than the danger of loss, but I am firmly convinced that gain isn't going to be automatic. The possibility is there; but the possibility can be realized only by bold, vigorous, and intelligent action. Merely sitting still inevitably means loss. The conservatives, at least the wiser ones, agree with that. They are for action as much as any liberal; but their action is confined to nailing down what we have rather than trying to increase it.

Recognizing then that change inevitable, and assuming that appropriate action to meet it is imperative, we arrive at the crucial question—what action is appropriate in the circumstances that exist?

Let me repeat for emphasis that I am not talking about a program outlining steps that should be taken tomorrow or next week. I am talking about a long-range policy for liberalism, covering certainly the next 10 years and probably the remainder of this century. I am not suggesting how to win an election, I am arguing for a point of view to be held through many elections.

As regards foreign affairs, the liberal point of view is pretty firmly established. This country is committed to the proposition that the possibilities of human freedom have not been exhausted. It is our position that the art of self-government by free men, far from being worn out, has no more than begun its finest development. Therefore we are determined that it shall not perish from the earth, but shall have a chance to flourish, and to come to its full flower, not here only but in other parts of the world as well.

But as regards domestic affairs, the position of liberalism is by no means so strong, and I suggest that one reason is the failure of liberal thought to keep up with the marcn of events.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not denying the value of the immediate liberal program. We must continue the fight to create genuine equality of opportunity. We must root out the last remnants of economic serfdom. We must be eternally vigilant against all efforts to establish any form of tyranny over the mind of man. All this is good and necessary work and to discourage it by questioning its value would be the height of stupidity.

But above and beyond and behind all this there is an enormous problem to which our political leaders are paying little attention except in matters of detail. I refer to the most important change that has affected American life since the beginning of the century, the transfer of the vast majority of our people from a rural to an urban environment. Since 1910 although the total population has risen from 92 million to 160 million, the number of people living on the farm has actually decreased from 32 million to 25 million.

On the other hand, we have been developing not so much cities as groups of cities, in the Chicago area, in the Los Angeles area, and especially in the area from Boston to Washington, which is becoming more and more like one gigantic city, of which Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York are merely subdivisions. We have had nothing like this before, so we have no precedents by which we may be guided in the management of such a concentration of population. In Baltimore, for example, we are preparing to go to the Susquehanna River to insure our water supply, and there we begin to encroach on Philadelphia's water supply.

Such a change is bound to affect all our ways of living profoundly and especially it is bound to affect the art of government. We have understood that as it regards details and we have developed an army of experts in such matters—housing experts, park-and-playground experts, traffic experts, and innumerable others. But we have developed no conspicuous group of leaders who are devoting their thinking not to details, but to the overall problem, that of developing a population expert in the ways of urban living.

It is quite different from living in a sparsely settled region. It is also quite different from living in the cities that existed in, say, 1910. What Al Smith learned by living in the shadow of Brooklyn Bridge is not of much use to boys and girls growing up in such places as Greenbelt, on the edge of Washington, or Middle River, on the edge of Baltimore.

For my part, I believe that life can be as rich and satisfying in such places as it ever was in Whittier's snowbound farmhouse, or down on the Swanee River. But I don't believe that life can be rich and satisfying anywhere unless people take thought to make it so. And I suspect that the greatest task of all the asks that confront American liberalism is that of discovering and revealing to our people ways and means of preserving freedom of the mind while adjusting to the restrictions of the body that crowded living makes necessary.

As a measure of the extent of the change consider how the second amendment of the

Constitution, "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed," has been in effect repealed, not by act of Congress and the State legislatures, but by the pressure of events. To say nothing of concealed weapons, you simply cannot have people roaming through the streets of a big city carrying shotguns and squirrel rifles, because someone would fire, and you cannot discharge firearms in the city without endangering many people. So the right of the people to keep and bear arms has been, not merely infringed, but very largely abolished. Yet I do not believe that the American is any the less a freeman for that deprivation.

But this does not apply in all cases. In the old-style cities, where people were piled upon each other in a way we would not tolerate now, the task of teaching newcomers how to adjust to urban living was assumed, not by liberalism, but by persons who were serving their own ends. So we had the political machines and the corrupt bosses of a generation ago. The result was that vast numbers of city dwellers lost all freedom and most of their human dignity, becoming mere robots acting at the command of the bosses.

The dispersal of the former slum-dwellers has broken up that old system to a large extent, but that doesn't mean that bossism is no longer possible. It cannot reappear in the old shape, but never doubt that it is capable of assuming some new shape, if conditions are right.

The task of liberalism in the years immediately ahead is to make sure that conditions are not right for the appearance of the boss in a new guise. But to accomplish that task, liberalism must understand very clearly what it is trying to do. That is to say, it must have a very sharp perception of how freedom and human dignity can survive among people huddled together, not merely in cities, but in great collections of cities whose basic interests are in constant collision.

If there is any definite formula by which this can be worked out, I don't know what it is, and I know of no one who does know. I am not Sir Oracle. I am not Solon, the Lawgiver. The best I can do is state the problem, which I do not expect to be solved by any one man, but by the joint efforts of a great many wise men.

Yet, after all, it is not really new, except in its current terms. The basic problem of self-government from the beginning has been that of creating an informed and intelligent public opinion. As conditions have changed we have tried many devices, all to the same end. In small communities the town meeting, or the muster served very well. As population increased, the press, especially the small-town press, took over. But neither the town meeting, the muster, nor the country weekly can serve in enormous concentrations of population. Some other device must be discovered or invented.

I said "device" but of course the answer will be not one, but a long series of devices, contributed by thinkers of many types. But they will be liberals in the broad sense, that is to say, men who think it more important to promote good than to prevent evil. They will be men who believe that the Golden Age is ahead, not behind. They will be men who believe that error may be tolerated with safety, where reason is left free to combat it. In short, they will be men who believe that the human mind is capable of discovering new truth, even in the field of government, and whose hope of discovering new truth overcomes their fear of failing into new error.

With that I return to my opening statement, I am a party man. I believe that partisan organization is the most efficient implement available with which to effect our purpose, and to discard it entirely would be tantamount to abandoning that purpose. But it is only an implement and, like other tools, it can be bent or broken and so becomes useless, in which case it has to be discarded. This is, however, a misfortune to be avoided if possible, and it can be avoided when party men are alert and boldly determined to keep the party organization always in shape to serve the changing times.

The usefulness of such an organization as the ADA is, of course, to keep both major parties in shape, and that function should be approved by party men on both sides. Your advantage is that, being free of prior commitments, you are in position to take the long view, to plan grand strategy rather than immediate tactics. It is with that in mind that I have invited your attention to this difficult problem of the shift to the urban life with all its danger that in the confusion, our people may lose their clear understanding of the essentials of liberty.

You can do this better than the partisan whose immediate problem is to win the next election; but in doing it, you will be serving the parties, both parties, to better purpose, perhaps, than their own leaders. For you will be assisting both to achieve the ultimate end that both profess to seek, that is, the establishment and maintenance in this Republic of the kind of self-government that leads to equal justice under law.

Disappearance of Indian Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, an article which appeared in the Minneapolis Star on March 14 has recently come to my attention. It is entitled "American Indian Lands Go the Way of the Buffalo Range," and is written by Jay Edgerton of the Star staff.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN INDIAN LANDS GO THE WAY OF THE BUFFALO RANGE

(By Jay Edgerton)

One of the major concerns of all those interested in the welfare of the American Indian is the rapid disappearance of Indian lands.

Oliver LaFarge, the well-known author who is president of the Association on American Indian Affairs, has reported to his board of directors that "land is a vital element in the Indian economy. Tribal lands seem to be safe at present, but what is happening to individually held allotted lands is really alarming."

Contrary to widespread popular belief, Indian land is not sacrosanct. Much of it can be sold. In this class is the so-called "alloted" land, that is acreage which has been specifically granted to individual Indians.

Only 4 years ago there were 13,500,000 acres allotted Indian land. Today this has been decreased by 1,600,000 acres.

"At Pine Ridge in South Dakota," LaFarge points out, "where the Oglala Sioux verge on despair, 23,000 acres were sold in fiscal 1955. It will take very few more years of the present policy to reduce that reservation and the Minnesota reservations to economic uselessness."

Sale of Indian reservation land was authorized by Congress in 1910. The coming of World War I, with increased demands for horses and beef cattle and the consequent necessity for grazing lands, brought a tremendous acceleration in sales of Indian lands.

Throughout the 1920's, sales of Indian lands continued all over the western high plains, except in the Southwest where most Indian land is unallotted.

By 1934 many Indian leaders and those interested in Indian welfare were alarmed by the dwindling land resources and when Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act a provision was written into it allowing Indian tribes to buy up land that individual Indians wanted to sell.

At the same time the Roosevelt administration adopted a hard policy on Indian land sales. The Secretary of the Interior, by official order, declared that no Indian land could be sold except in cases of dire need. In the intervening years, however, the order has been rescinded and many observers now argue the Government is trying to pressure Indians into selling their lands.

W. O. Roberts, former director of the Aberdeen, S. Dak., office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in an article in the News Letter of the Association on American Indian Affairs, explains that the Indian service now has "an efficient real estate corps devoted to the appraisal and sale of Indian trust property.

"Of course it is technically true that every sale of Indian land originates with the application of the Indian owner himself," the News Letter continues. "A sale could not be made without the Indian's signature. However, it is equally true that strong pressure is put on the Indian landowner, in most cases, to make him want to sell land. This pressure is artful, persuasive and almost invariably successful. The only possible curb to the avalanche of sales would be a strong land policy by the Department of the Interior."

In part—although many other factors also are involved here—loss of Indian lands has stimulated the growth of Indian slums in and around many western cities. When an Indian has sold his land and his money is gone he frequently tries the city in the hope of finding a livelihood. In all too many cases he is poorly equipped to make this difficult readjustment.

"If they (Indians) are abandoned by the Government," Roberts says, "before they can take their place in a community, there is trouble, and it matters little whether the abandonment is by termination of Federal services or by the more subtle means of selling out their homesteads.

"It should not be assumed that relocation off the reservation of a partially acculturated Indian family solves much, if anything; it merely transfers the same problems to another locality."

Last year there was a drop in Indian land sales below 1953—255,000 acres of Indian land changing hands as against 521,000 acres in the earlier year. In part, says LaFarge, this may have been caused by modification of policy following protests to the Government, but also cattlemen in the northern plains areas eased off on land acquisitions for financial reasons. In any event too much Indian land is being sold.

Safety on the High Seas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, all of us in the Senate who represent great maritime and seacoast States should be

particularly interested in an article entitled "How Soon, the Next Ship Disaster?" which is scheduled to appear in the June 1957 issue of the Reader's Digest.

This informative and illuminating article, written by Howard Whitman, emphasizes the great gaps which now occur in the safeguards and protections that have been set up for those who travel the high seas, either as passengers or as crews of our vast merchant fleet.

It is my hope that the material brought forth in this article will help to close some of the breaches in our maritime safety that have been exposed and disclosed by Mr. Whitman.

I ask unanimous consent that the entire text of this article from the June Reader's Digest be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW SOON THE NEXT SHIP DISASTER?

(By Howard Whitman)

On the navigation chart of the Coast Guard cutter *Spar*, as it bucked a reluctant sea off Nantucket Island, I noticed a penciled warning at a spot where the depth is 39 fathoms: *Andrea Doria*. We reached it in a few hours—the graveyard of a great ship.

I had not gone to the *Doria's* grave out of sentiment, though I could have; the memories of a happy voyage with my family on this ship a few months before the sinking were still fresh in my mind. I went to write an epitaph. Below in the dark deep lay a sea queen, dead but for a single hope: that out of her disaster might come the inspiration which could save others from a similar tragedy.

The *Spar* hovered for 24 hours near where the *Doria* and the *Stockholm* collided last July. We saw 25 ships go through the "crossroads," this funnel where Atlantic traffic converges off Nantucket. How safe were they? Could it happen again?

The skipper of the Nantucket Lightship, George Bannan, who was returning with us to the mainland, remarked: "I watch the ships going all over the compass on foggy nights, and sometimes on the radar I've seen 3 or 4 of them within 5 miles playing ring-around-the-rosie."

Charles Cowing, skipper of the *Spar*, added, "That's how it is. There's no traffic cop out here."

The comments of these Coast Guardsmen express what I had found in months of investigation among captains of luxury liners, merchant mariners, port officials, admiralty lawyers, radar experts, and others of the sea fraternity. In their tight-lipped circle these men know what the public has not yet been told: that the *Doria-Stockholm* collision was not just a freak hard-luck accident. Some such tragedy was almost inevitable. Months before, at the Whitehall Club, where skippers meet, a luxury-ship master had said, "We're going to have a big collision that will wake people up. Conditions being what they are, it's got to come."

And more are expected. Capt. Thomas W. Sheridan, of the Council of American Master Mariners, asserted, "It could happen again and again. We're lucky there haven't been more *Dorias*."

Every day there are 4 or 5 ship collisions, on the average, between vessels of 500 or more tons; 30 collisions per week, some 1,500 every year. Less than 48 hours before the *Doria* disaster an almost identical collision occurred between the freighter *Fairisle* and the tanker *San Jose II* in the same vicinity in the same patchy fog. But it took the sharp bow that slashed the *Doria* to shatter public illusions about how ships are sailed in this day and age—illusions of safe slowing down in fog, of definite and well-heeded sea lanes, of monitored traffic, of security by means of radar.

International rules governing navigation, the "Rules of the Road," require ships to slow down in fog to moderate speed. In admiralty courts "moderate speed" has been defined as that speed at which a ship can stop within one-half the distance of visibility. This should be safe enough. But do ships obey the rule?

Engineer John Carrothers stated in United States Naval Institute Proceedings: "I have made some 200 transatlantic crossings, the majority of them as an officer on America's greatest liners. Never once do I remember the ship slowing down in the open sea because of fog."

Ships in the northern tracks of the Atlantic are requested to radio to Coast Guard ice-patrol ships their position, speed, the sea temperature, and any ice they have sighted. The big passenger liners regularly leave out "speed" when it's foggy. One captain candidly admitted: "In any information messages I send out during a fog I never include my speed, for the simple reason that I'm probably going full speed."

A Coast Guard officer said, "They don't fool us, though. By plotting their course from point to point we know they're plowing through fog at full speed."

But what can the Coast Guard, or anyone, do? There is no authority that can crack down on fog speeders. After a collision—only after—a shipping company may have to pay damages if fog speeding is proved. That's why the matter is hushed.

What does the skipper do in fog? "I sound my whistle every 2 minutes, I keep an eye on the radar, I put the engine room on 'standby'—and I keep right on going full ahead," the captain of a passenger-cargo vessel declared. He said as an afterthought, "I know it's dangerous."

All captains know it is dangerous to plunge through fog at full speed with these multi-thousand-ton steel behemoths which can slash each other mortally and, even in an emergency, may require 3 miles to stop. And all captains know why it is the custom to race through fog in spite of the danger.

Commodore John Baylis, former captain of the port of New York, epitomized what I heard from dozens of skippers: "The master of a big ship has his schedule. If he docks late the company has had stevedores waiting for him and tugs engaged, and chances are that the steamship line runs into overtime or has to pay for an extra day. They don't say anything to the master about being late but the look on their faces says, 'You got us involved for thousands of dollars.' The implication is, 'Why didn't you bring her in on time even if you had to take a few chances?' "

So tight schedules and economy are the villains. Every extra hour at sea costs money and the pressure on shipmasters to push their vessels to the maximum, fog or no fog, is well-known on every waterfront.

Much was said about sea lanes when the *Doria* went down. The eastbound *Stockholm* "was nearly on the westbound track and some 20 miles north of the recommended track for vessels bound to Europe," stated congressional investigators. But the Atlantic sea lanes, established in 1855 and later incorporated in the North Atlantic Track Agreement, are merely recommended. Though the United States in 1948 made it mandatory for United States passenger ships to stick to the lanes, many nations, including Italy and Sweden, have never subscribed to the North Atlantic Track Agreement.

Capt. Gunnar Nordenson of the *Stockholm*, like every master I met, believes in sea lanes but he wants them mandatory and dependable, not merely recommended. Lacking this, many a captain cuts in and out of lanes because if he doesn't take a shortcut some competitor will. A haphazard alinement of traffic on the sea may have sufficed when ships were slower, smaller, and fewer. But today, with floating hotels hurtling toward each other, the orderly routing of sea traffic is urgent.

Even my 10-year-old son was surprised when he asked Capt. Pietro Calamai of the *Doria* if the ship was obliged to follow a set course and the captain replied, "No; a master is free to take his ship anywhere on the ocean." A child of the air age, my son believed that just as planes file their flight plans before taking off, so a ship would file a plan that set forth the course it expected to follow, and that some central traffic control would be informed if it deviated from course.

I asked the captain of a popular tourist vessel, "Isn't there some place you can query and get information about other ships' positions so you'll know what traffic you're going to encounter?"

He replied, "I always have one of my officers pick up the New York Times on sailing day so I can see what's expected in and out of the harbor."

This in a day when even taxis are dispatched by radio.

The closest approach to a central information agency is the search and rescue setup of the Coast Guard, and this is fragmentary. At its Rescue Coordination Center in New York, I examined the 10- by 20-foot Atlantic chart that has markers on it to show ships' positions. There are about 2,000 ships on the Atlantic at any one time, but this chart plotted only 150. Why? Because ships send in their position, course, and speed, along with weather data, every 6 hours if they feel like it—but fewer than 10 percent of them feel like it. One of the world's fastest liners has never reported to the Coast Guard, and another only twice in 5 years.

The need is for a modern system of mandatory reporting of position, course, and speed; and an electronic plotting board that shows at all times where ships are and where they're headed—this information to be available to any captain who needs it.

But isn't radar's all-seeing eye the answer? Both the *Doria* and the *Stockholm* were equipped with radar. And there is much additional evidence that radar is not the protection it is popularly thought to be.

Actually, overreliance upon it is regarded as a hazard. Admiralty courts have handled 17 major collision cases involving radar, and many times that number have been settled out of court or are awaiting trial. In the Proceedings of the Merchant Marine Council, Admiralty Attorney Nicholas J. Healy III stated: "In the hands of an incompetent operator radar sometimes produces a false sense of security which will lead him to continue at high speed in areas of limited visibility."

In one case in which radar gave this false sense of security an admiralty judge remarked, "This collision would not have happened if both vessels hadn't had radar."

It takes skill to interpret properly the ghostlike pips on a radar screen. And it is an open secret on the waterfront that many who stand radar watch haven't that skill.

The *Doria* hearings told the story. The ship's second officer, who had been on the radar before the collision, was on the stand. What training in radar did he have? No actual training. How did he learn about radar then? He picked it up when he was third officer on the *Conte Grande*. Did he plot the course of the *Stockholm* when its pip appeared on the scope? No. Why not? He thought it wasn't necessary.

In the hearing room during this testimony was the representative of a radar company. During a recess I asked him if most ships' officers were competent at radar. He replied, "If you knew the score you'd shudder. When a shipping line buys radar equipment a sales

representative usually goes aboard with the installing technician and explains to the officers how it works. This is like a television man giving instructions to a housewife when he installs a set: he just shows her which knobs to turn. The officers pick up what they can, read some booklets, and that's about it."

Immediately after the *Doria* disaster the British merchant marine added to the requirements for a deck officer's license: "Submission of a certificate of proficiency as a radar observer." Said the United States congressional report on the *Doria:* "Every maritime country should do likewise."

The congressional investigators also advocated a short-range radiotelephone on the ship's bridge so that when another vessel heaves into view one skipper can talk directly to the other. Many people were appalled after the *Doria-Stockholm* crash that the deck officers of these ships hadn't communicated with each other to decide who was going which way. They had no bridge radiophone equipment.

Great Lakes ore boats talk to each other; so do tugs in the harbors. It should not be beyond the means of great shipping lines to equip each bridge with a short-range radiophone.

On United States ships there is another problem. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, traveling aboard one of the world's finest liners, remarked to the captain, "You are the lord and master of all you survey."

The captain replied, "You are laboring under an illusion, Mr. Justice. I am just a navigator."

After hearing this story I asked the captain in question what he had meant. He explained, "I had probably just got through hearing the union delegate tell me to go to hell. On American ships the unions are boss and the so-called delegate is more powerful than the captain."

Another American captain declared: "We wish we could pick our crew and know that every man to whom we entrust the safety of the ship is competent. We don't want incompetents forced on us by the union. On one crossing I woke up in my quarters and saw the reflection of the sun making an arc around the cabin. I realized what was happening—I had a quartermaster who didn't know how to steer. I rushed to the bridge, and sure enough he had taken the ship around in a circle. If that quartermaster had hit another ship I'd have been responsible. The captain on a United States ship is supreme, but not supreme enough to reject an incompetent crewman when the union delegate says, 'Take him.'"

Other shipmasters told of a helmsman who didn't know the difference between "course zero-two-nine" and "two-nine-zero" (and almost ran a luxury liner into a breakwater); a third officer on watch whose eyesight was so bad he could see only 2 miles in 8-mile visibility; and a radarman who said all was clear just as his ship rammed another vessel in a fog (he hadn't warmed up the radar set and his scope was blank, like a TV set for a few seconds after you turn it on). There are ample competent seamen, but unfortunately there are also exceptions such as these. Yet if the captain refuses to take a crewman whose ability he doubts, his ship may be stranded in port by a walk-off.

That's the story of the high seas, 1957. There is much to be done.

I went to the graveyard of the *Andrea Doria* because I thought she might be immortal still, might save many more than the 50 lives she took. For disasters can pay dividends. The *Titanic* sinking brought the iceberg patrol.

Will humanity now get a dividend from the *Doria*? If not—how soon the next ship disaster?

Minnesota Recognition of Eastern Orthodoxy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the distinguished Governor of Minnesota, Mr. Orville L. Freeman, recently signed into law a bill passed by the Minnesota legislature recognizing Greek Orthodoxy as a major faith.

Among the press comments written to commemorate this important event were certain remarks printed in the nationally circulated publication the Atlantis.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article from the May 12, 1957, issue of the Atlantis, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE RECOGNIZES EASTERN ORTHODOXY

ST. PAUL, MINN.—The day of March 1, 1957, was one of historic significance for the Eastern Orthodox faith in Minnesota. After 2 years of preparation, a legislative bill, House Resolution 346, unanimously passed the House of Representatives and Senate of the Minnesota State Legislature and was summarily signed by His Excellency, Governor Orville L. Freeman. Pictured with Minnesota Governor Orville L. Freeman signing the resolution are the Honorable Thomas N. Christie, state representative; the Reverend Anthony Coniaris, pastor of St. Mary's Greek Orthodox Church in Minneapolis, and Ernest A. Villas, past national chairman of the Greek Orthodox Youth of America. Initiated and prompted by the Greek Orthodox delegation, the resolution received enthusiastic and helpful support from Russian, Serbian, Ukrainian, Syrian, and Rumanian Orthodox clergy, and lay representatives. Minneapolis is especially proud of the honorable Thomas N. Christie, first member of the Orthodox Church to be elected to the State legislature, who has subsequently served five consecutive terms in the house of representatives. Representative Christie is not only distinguished by his civic duties, but also as former secretary and member of St. Mary's Church Board of Trustees, as a past district governor of the Order of Ahepa, and as three-term president of Minneapolis Demosthenes chapter. In 1951 Representative Christi visited Greece and was invited by the American Ambassador to address the Greek Parliament. Upon his return to Minnesota the same honor was bestowed upon him by the Minnesota Legislature which he addressed extending official greetings from the Greek Parliament and Government.

The Reverend Anthony Coniaris is a native of Boston and graduate of Holy Cross Seminary at Brookline, Mass., and Northwestern Theological Seminary. He has gained national recognition through his outstanding articles of the Greek Orthodox Church, and is eagerly sought throughout the Twin City area as a speaker and lecturer. The ecclesiastical honors bestowed upon him by the archdiocese are keen evidence of his recognition as one of the outstanding American-born Greek Orthodox clergymen in this hemisphere. Father Coniaris is deeply loved by his parishioners, and the newly constructed and uniquely beautiful St. Mary's Greek Orthodox Church, auditorium, and school are testimony of the confidence the people of Minneapolis have in his spiritual leadership.

Ernest A. Villas is a national councilman of the Greek Orthodox Youth of America, and has previously served as GOYA national chairman for 3 years. He is past chairman of the Council of Eastern Orthodox Youth Leaders of the Americas and was the first faculty advisor of the Eastern Orthodox Fellowship at the University of Minnesota. A member of the board of trustees and choir of St. Mary's Church, he is a teacher by profession, and is chairman of the fund raising campaign of the new church and community project.

FROM ONE WEEK TO ANOTHER—MINNESOTA TOO

Gov. Orville L. Freeman, of Minnesota, has signed into law a legislative bill unanimously passed by the house of representatives and the senate, recognizing Greek Orthodoxy as a major faith. Initiated and duly supported by the Greek delegation under the leadership of State Representative Thomas N. Christie, the bill also received the wholehearted and enthusiastic support of the Russian, Serbian, Ukrainian, Syrian, and Rumanian delegations. Mr. Ernest A. Villas, former national chairman of the Greek Orthodox Youth of America, also was very instrumental in preparing the resolution and in doing his best to promote its passage by the Minnesota Legislature. The Reverend Anthony Coniaris, pastor of the Greek Orthodox Church at Minneapolis, was the originator of the idea that Minnesota too might follow the precedent set in at least 25 other States and recognize good old Orthodoxy, the Holy Mother of all Holy Christian churches, as a major faith. Minnesota's response was quick and unanimous; and 7 million Orthodox Christians in America have but words of heartfelt thanks and of eternal gratitude to offer to the Legislature of the Gopher State and to His Excellency, Gov. Orville L. Freeman.

Aid for the Family-Size Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, certainly the present economic situation facing the American farmer provides little cause for optimism. The administration has devised and implemented a variety of agriculture programs, yet the plight of agriculture has become increasingly worse. If the trend continues the family farmer might well become a thing of the past.

Elected representatives in the State of Oregon as well as Oregon farmers have been gravely concerned over this unfortunate trend. Recently the Oregon State House of Representatives enacted House Memorial 3 calling for legislation aiding the family-size farm. I believe this memorial will be of interest to my colleagues and I ask unanimous consent that the text of it be printed following my remarks.

The memorial follows:

House Memorial 3

Memorial to the Honorable Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled

We, your memorialists, the House of Representatives of the State of Oregon, in legis-

lative session assembled, most respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas Congress has, through the years, devoted much time, effort, and money on legislative programs pertaining to our agricultural economy; and

Whereas it is generally conceded that a reasonable degree of prosperity and agricultural income is necessary at the grassroots level; and

Whereas the family-type farm operator is regarded as an essential part of our democratic form of Government and any Federal legislation designed to influence or maintain a measure of the economic parity between the rural and urban areas should be so designed that the major provisions thereof provide a substantial benefit to the family-type farm operator; and

Whereas in recent years, acts of Congress appear to have granted special privileges to corporate and absentee ownership types of farm operations and to a large extent have ignored the family-type farm operator: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Oregon, That the Congress of the United States enact legislation or amend the various Federal laws pertaining to agriculture to the end that the economic benefits provided in such laws be basically directed toward the family-type farm operator whose net income from all sources does not exceed $10,000 per year; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this memorial be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture and to all members of the Oregon congressional delegation.

Adopted by house May 13, 1957.

EDITH BYNON LOW,
Chief Clerk.

PAT DOOLEY,
Speaker of House.

The Condition of the Potato Industry in Washington State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I have in my hand an excellent letter sent to me by the Washington Potato and Onion Shippers Association, of Yakima, Wash. The letter sets forth with admirable clarity some of the problems and the resulting condition of the potato industry in Washington State. Among the industry's problems is, of course, the continuation of the 3-percent transportation tax on the shipment of cargoes, which leaves farmers in Washington State at a disadvantage in their attempt to bring their goods to eastern markets.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON POTATO AND
ONION SHIPPERS ASSOCIATION,
Yakima, Wash., May 1, 1957.

Senator HENRY M. JACKSON,
United States Senate Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR JACKSON: Following your suggestion that our requests and recommendations be submitted in writing, we ask that you give further consideration to the following:

1. Realizing that equitable freight rates from our producing area to all parts of our country are vital to the very existence of our industry, we request that you continue your fine cooperation with Fred H. Tolan, our traffic manager, in his efforts in this field.

2. The 3-percent transportation tax, initiated as a war measure, should be repealed. We realize the difficulty of securing any action that will reduce revenues. If you decide that this tax cannot be dispensed with, your continued cooperation with Fred H. Tolan probably could result in establishing a reasonable ceiling or maximum limitation of not more than, and we hope less than, 3 cents per hundredweight.

3. The Washington State College, Institute of Agricultural Sciences, the Washington State Potato Commission, State of Washington Department of Agriculture, and cooperating units of the United States Department of Agriculture, are working together on a planned program of research and education. We are recently advised that on account of lack of funds, their program does not provide for a pathologist, as recently hoped for, to assist in the potato research program in the Columbia Basin. We request your aid in securing such a scientist to be provided by the United States Department of Agriculture to round out the potato research program in this area.

4. The Columbia Basin project area includes approximately 2,500,000 acres. One million twenty-nine thousand of these acres are suitable for irrigation. The original land classification by the Bureau of Reclamation segregated the lands into three major irrigable land classes. To further subdivide the lands an adaptation of soil series was superimposed over the three land classes. The integration of the land classes and soil groups forms 22 land types. The topography extends from level plain area, through gently rolling, to rough eroded canyon areas. The climate varies from sometimes well below zero winter temperatures to occasional desert heat extremes of 100 or more degrees. This diversification of land types, topography, and climate in a compact area provides an ideal location for a Federal agricultural regional research laboratory and experimental station.

5. You have already been fully advised of disastrous effects on our potato industry by the interpretation by the inspection service that "dark, discolored, slightly sunken areas" on potatoes that arrive in the various markets when shipped under maturity conditions, that with mutual knowledge and consent of buyer and shipper, permit the loading of potatoes with considerable percentages of "badly skinned" tubers having 50 percent or more of the skin missing or feathered, is evidence of unsuitable shipping conditions. You have emphasized to the Department our recommendation that the terminal interpretation of suitable shipping conditions be liberalized on arrival inspections after transit.

It is generally considered that with State-Federal inspection available at practically all potato shipping points, that a certificate of inspection issued under State-Federal regulations should be final determination of "suitable shipping" condition.

We have been favored by the United States Department of Agriculture by their arranging a meeting with industry representatives of our State on the evening of June 4, at the Pacific Power & Light Auditorium in Yakima. Both Mr. E. E. Conklin, Chief, Fresh Products Standardiaztion and Inspection Branch, and John J. Dimond, Acting Chief, Regulatory Branch of the Agricultural Marketing Service, United States Department of Agriculture, will be here. It is hoped that after full discussion we will have a meeting of minds and favorable action on our recommendation. You will receive from us a full report of this meeting.

6. The present prospects are for a favorable potato production year with perhaps another surplus crop. We are advised that it is reasonably probable that a diversion program will again be initiated by the United States Department of Agriculture to aid in withholding an undesirable surplus from the fresh market. It is greatly to be desired that this program be effective June 15, 1957, in order that the intermediate crop be under its provision. Your assistance in bringing this recommendation to favorable conclusion is requested.

In this connection, you will remember that we were criticized in Dr. Butz' letter for not staying within our acreage guide. We are enclosing a production sheet from the office of the Bureau of Reclamation listing area production for the past 10 years. It is to be noted that if the new area of the Columbia Basin project is deducted from our present total State acreage, we would have reduced our acreage almost 50 percent. We believe that new lands coming into production, farmed by new growers should have some consideration in programing acreage guides.

Sincerely yours,

OTIS C. MOYER,
Chairman, Legislative Committee, Washington Potato and Onion Shippers Association, Inc.

Potatoes in the State of Washington and on Columbia Basin project land, 1946 to 1956, inclusive [1]

Year	State of Washington		Columbia Basin project	
	Acres	Production (bushels)	Acres	Production (bushels)
1946	44,000	10,120,000		
1947	34,000	8,840,000		
1948	40,000	12,600,000	16	8,600
1949	36,000	10,080,000	231	83,000
1950	38,000	11,780,000	334	147,100
1951	28,000	10,920,000	429	198,200
1952	26,000	10,660,000	3,715	1,544,200
1953	27,000	10,800,000	6,142	2,838,200
1954	30,000	13,200,000	9,059	4,210,100
1955	38,000	16,055,000	14,621	7,545,000
1956	41,000	16,491,000	20,867	9,819,900

[1] Recommended acreage guide for 1957, 85 percent.

Theodore Roosevelt's Relations With Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, as vice chairman of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Commission, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Theodore Roosevelt: His Relations With Labor." This material has been prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, and is thoroughly documented.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THEODORE ROOSEVELT: HIS RELATIONS WITH LABOR

Theodore Roosevelt was "by nature a conservative," wrote Hermann Hagedorn, "(but) he recognized * * * that true conservatism demanded a just reappraisal of industrial and economic conditions, and prompt, far-

reaching remedial action."[1] One of the peculiarities of Roosevelt's career was that despite his conservative nature, his initial distrust and suspicion of the labor movement were gradually but steadily moderated until, toward the end of that career, he had become an ardent and outspoken champion of labor causes.

In his first political post, New York State assemblyman, Roosevelt opposed almost every piece of legislation sponsored or favored by the unions. He fought the movement to abolish convict contract labor. He opposed and helped defeat in 1882 bills to increase the wages of New York City laborers. He was hostile to the attempt to increase the salaries of New York City firemen and police.[2] He opposed several measures to regulate and shorten hours of work. He thought that men who worked 14 and 16 hours a day were unfortunate, but he "refused to countenance the sort of legislation which contemplated an interference with the rights of individual employers."[3] In short, as he put it, he did not "pretend to have the interest of workingmen at heart."[4]

Reform, however, was always a major interest for Roosevelt and he made exceptions in his generally antilabor position when the problems of women, children, and public health were concerned. During the campaign by the New York labor and reform forces against conditions in the tenement house cigar manufacturing industry, Roosevelt was appointed to the legislature's investigating committee. "As a matter of fact," he later wrote, "I had supposed I would be against the legislation * * * for the respectable people I knew were against it. * * * However, my first visits to the tenement-house districts in question made me feel that, whatever the theories might be, as a matter of practical commonsense I could not conscientiously vote for the continuance of the condition which I saw."[5] Thereafter he vigorously supported bills to abolish tenement-house manufacturing, not because labor unions supported the legislation but almost despite that support. The law was a necessary "hygienic measure."[6] He told Governor Grover Cleveland, while pleading for the governor's approval for the legislation, that he was "opposed to most trade union measures, but this bill was an exception to the rule."[7]

As the Republican candidate for mayor of New York City in 1886, Roosevelt enjoyed the support of the most conservative elements of the city. He ran third to Tammany's Abram S. Hewitt and to the candidate of the labor movement, Henry George.

Roosevelt was to change many of his ideas about labor, but he never gave up his vigorous opposition to labor violence. He was furious at the Haymarket rioters of 1886.[8] As a member of the New York Police Board, he was zealous in efforts to quell violence. The New York Times commented, shortly after Roosevelt's appointment, that "for a mob, the force had neither fear nor favor, and for a mob of strikers it was peculiarly prompt and thorough".[9] To union leaders, Roosevelt asserted that he was "a strong believer in the rights of labor" but that he was "all the more bound to see that lawlessness and disorder were put down, and that no rioter was permitted to masquerade under the guise of being a friend of labor."[10] In 1895 he wrote, "The reckless labor agitator who arouses the mob to riot and bloodshed is in the last analysis the most dangerous of the workingman's enemies. This man is a real peril; and so is his sympathiser, the legislator, who to catch votes denounces the judiciary and the military because they put down mobs."[11]

GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

By the time he became Governor of New York, Roosevelt's views on labor causes had become quite favorable; and he pursued his goals with his usual energy. About a third of his first message to the legislature he devoted to a discussion of the need for better enforcement of existing labor legislation and the passage of rigid factory laws. Poor enforcement he attributed, at least in part, to the fact that employees rarely complained "for fear of being discharged." He recommended that the "enforcement of the entire body of legislation relating to labor be placed under the board of factory inspectors."[12] In addition, he announced plans to eliminate unlicensed employment bureaus, settle strikes with the aid of the bureau of mediation and arbitration, improve the work of the bureau of labor statistics, and speed up the municipal courts' handling of wage disputes.[13]

In his second annual message to the legislature he devoted less space to labor. For the most part he pointed to the record of his first year. The only major recommendation he made was for the passage of an employers' liability law.[14]

His record as governor in the field of labor legislation was impressive. Roosevelt worked vigorously to secure the passage of a sweatshop law to make buildings used for manufacturing purposes meet decent health standards in order to be licensed. He was convinced that "the uneconomic, unwholesome, and un-American sweatshop system [must] disappear from our industrial life."[15] The legislature responded with a law providing for additional factory inspectors, licensing of tenements in which manufacturing was carried on, labeling of tenement-made goods, and the extension of the powers of the factory inspector. Roosevelt's interest in this matter was so acute that, in 1900, he personally toured the tenement sweatshop districts to inspect for violations of the law, the first such visit by a Governor of New York.

Although he failed to secure the enactment of an employers' liability law, he did sign a mass of labor bills. Among the more important were those which required licenses for tenement house manufacturers, increases in the size and power of the factory inspector, the creation of a tenement house commission whose findings resulted in much legislation to improve housing conditions, regulation of the working hours of women and children, the protection of women and children from dangerous machinery, building equipment inspection for workers' safety, amendment and extension of the mechanics' lien laws, reduction of the hours of drug clerks, and provision for the prosecution of violators of the 8-hour law and prevailing rate of wages on State work. In addition, he signed bills giving a salary increase to New York City public-school teachers, for the registration of laborers for municipal employment so that preference might be given according to the date of application, to amend the law requiring seats for women in factories to include waitresses in a hotel or restaurant, for the prosecution of labor law violators by district attorneys in any county on complaint of the factory inspector, and for the publication of a quarterly bulletin on labor conditions.[16]

Roosevelt failed to gain the legislature's consent to some of his proposals. Under pressure from retail merchants, the lawmakers refused to transfer the enforcement of the merchantile law of 1896, which regulated the work of women and children in stores, from the New York City Board of Health to the State factory inspector. He was not able to obtain State supervision of private employment agencies. And he vetoed a bill relating to safety appliances on scaffolding for the use of employees because it might have forced the use of a certain patented device by all builders.[17]

"I know we should work for humanity," Roosevelt told the City Club in New York in 1899, "but I also know that it is dangerous to interfere with relations between employer and employed."[18] At first he was reluctant to approve legislation regulating labor's hours and wages, but he signed the law for an 8-hour workday and prevailing rate of wages on State work because, he said, it was "wise for the State to set a good example" and because he regarded the general tendency toward an 8-hour day as "healthful."[19]

"I believe in shortening the hours of labor and I am happy to say that we have passed in New York State a very drastic 8-hour law for public employment," he wrote. "It is the kind of progress which should be made very slowly and with caution."[20]

Roosevelt was, of course, acutely conscious of the influence of labor leaders. One of the first things he did on arriving in Albany was to ask various labor leaders to come to see him. He sought a wide range of opinion on labor measures, conferring with national as well as local labor leaders, rival union groups, and intellectuals in the labor movement. He sympathized with labor's disappointment over the failure of the legislature to pass an employers' liability law and did his best to secure its passage.[21]

Despite the achievements of his administration, Roosevelt remained an object of suspicion to many labor men, chiefly because of his propensity for the use of troops in industrial disturbances. The slightest threat of violence, and Roosevelt was ready to rush troops to the scene of the dispute. He did so in the Croton Dam strike, and was prepared to do so in the Buffalo grain shovelers strike and the New York City street railway strikes. The critics of this policy he accused of truckling to the labor vote.[22]

In the opinion of one commentator, Roosevelt, as Governor, had not reached the point where he was willing to accept organized labor as a bargaining power with rights equal to those of employers and government. He resented the persistent pressure which labor placed upon him and in his correspondence expressed disgust for labor's methods. He had hoped for the approval and admiration of trade-union men, but his best efforts failed to win appreciation.[23]

PRESIDENT

Still feeling his way in the Presidency, Roosevelt's first annual message to the Congress was essentially cautious in tone. He asked for, and later was granted, the creation of a Department of Commerce and Labor. He requested the maintenance of the tariff to protect labor and the reenaction of the Chinese Exclusion Act. He asked for legislation to do away with the competition of convict contract labor in the open labor market, to enforce the 8-hour law, to protect women and children from excessive hours of labor, night work, and unsanitary conditions. He praised the efforts of labor unions, but cautioned that "the chief factor in the success of each man * * * must ever be the sum total of his own individual qualities and abilities."[24]

Implementing his policies, he tried to remedy the lax enforcement of the Federal 8-hour law by Executive action, helped push through Congress laws improving working conditions of miners in the Territories, supervising employment agencies in the District of Columbia, and protecting street railway motormen and conductors in the District. Also for the District, legislation was passed to safeguard factory employees against accidents and to control child labor. Roosevelt urged the Congress to pass a workmen's compensation law for the protection of Government employees, but accepted a watered-down version of his original proposals. He consoled himself with the thought that it was the best he could get and that at least it committed the Government to the right policy.[25] Roosevelt also obtained legislation to improve railroad

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

safety standards, and to regulate the number of consecutive hours of duty for railroad workers.[30] He urged the Congress, in later messages, to prohibit child labor throughout the Nation and particularly requested a model child-labor law for the District of Columbia.[31] When the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the Employers' Liability Act relating to common carriers, he suggested that the Congress reenact the law to meet the objections of the Court.

The most dramatic event concerning labor during Roosevelt's Presidential tenure occurred during the coal strike of 1902. The striking miners, under the leadership of John Mitchell and the United Mine Workers, were opposed by mine operators who refused to negotiate. George F. Baer, spokesman for the operators, declared that "the rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for—not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of this country."[32]

As the strike dragged on, a national coal shortage developed, and as conciliatory gestures emanated only from the union, public sentiment began to swing to the miners. Roosevelt felt compelled to act (although there was great doubt as to his legal powers in the matter), both to protect the public interest and because he feared the political repercussions of a coal famine.[33]

He called a conference of both parties at the White House. Mitchell offered to accept the findings of a commission to be appointed for the purpose of examining the union's complaints, but Baer bluntly refused. The meeting ended in failure and the strike went on.

Roosevelt now decided to intervene even more directly. He secretly drew up a plan whereby the Army would take over the mines and run them as receiver. The owners were indirectly notified of the President's intentions and capitulated under this pressure. They requested the President to set up an arbitration commission. That body was duly appointed and granted the miners a 10 percent increase, reduced the working day to 8 and 9 hours for different types of work, and set up a special body to settle disputes arising during the 3 years the award was to be in effect.[34]

The President did not hesitate to displease labor leaders if he felt himself in the right. He later wrote:

"If I were a factory employee, a workman on the railroads, or a wage earner of any sort, I would undoubtedly join the union of my trade. I believe in the union and I believe that all men who are benefited by the union are morally bound to help to the extent of their power in the common interests advanced by the union. Nevertheless, irrespective of whether a man should or should not, and does or does not, join the union of his trade, all the rights, privileges, and immunities of that man as an American and as a citizen should be safeguarded and upheld by the law." [35]

Roosevelt implemented this stand by reinstating a Government printer who had been dismissed because he did not belong to the union. The President resisted the protests of Gompers and other labor leaders on this question, despite the impending presidential election of 1903.

Roosevelt's final thoughts on labor policy are probably best embodied in the Progressive Party's labor plank in 1912. These included:

Effective legislation to prevent industrial accidents, occupational diseases, overwork, involuntary unemployment, and other injurious effects incident to modern industry;

The fixing of minimum safety and health standards for the various occupations, and the exercise of the public authority of State and Nation to maintain such standards;

The prohibition of child labor;

Minimum-wage standards for women;

The prohibition of nightwork for women and the establishment of an 8-hour day for women and young persons;

One day's rest in seven for all wage-workers;

The 8-hour day in continuous 24-hour industries;

The abolition of the convict contract labor system;

Publicity as to wages, hours, and conditions of labor;

Standards of compensation for death by industrial accidents and diseases which would transfer the burden of lost earnings from the families of working people to the industry, and thus to the community;

The protection of home life against the hazards of sickness, irregular employment, and old age through the adoption of a system of social insurance adapted to American use.[36]

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] Encyclopedia Britannica, 1953 edition, vol. 19, p. 538.

[2] Hurwitz, Howard Lawrence. Theodore Roosevelt and Labor in New York State, 1880–1900. New York, Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. 97–99.

[3] Ibid., p. 101.

[4] Ibid., p. 94.

[5] Roosevelt, Theodore. Theodore Rosevelt, an Autobiography. New York, Macmillan, 1916, p. 81.

[6] Hurwitz, Harold Lawrence. Op. cit., p. 82.

[7] Ibid., p. 88.

[8] Pringle, Henry F. Theodore Roosevelt, a biography. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1956, p. 78.

[9] New York Times, July 14, 1895, as quoted by Hurwitz, p. 155.

[10] Hurwitz, Howard Lawrence. Op. cit., p. 162–163.

[11] Hart, Albert Bushnell, ed. Theodore Roosevelt Cyclopedia. New York, Roosevelt Memorial Association, 1941, p. 293.

[12] Hurwitz, Howard Lawrence. Op. cit., p. 214.

[13] Ibid., p. 215.

[14] Ibid., p. 220.

[15] Ibid., pp. 192–193.

[16] Hurwitz, Howard Lawrence. Op. cit., pp. 220–221, 226–239.

[17] Ibid., p. 221.

[18] Quoted by Hurwitz. Ibid., p. 226.

[19] Ibid., pp. 226, 228.

[20] Ibid. From Roosevelt's letter to C. B. Carter, Nov. 15, 1900. P. 230.

[21] Hurwitz, pp. 217, 220.

[22] Ibid., p. 297.

[23] Hurwitz, Howard Lawrence. Op. cit., p. 297.

[24] Messages and Papers of the Presidents. Richardson, James, ed. New York, Bureau of National Literature, vol. XIII, pp. 6649–6650.

[25] Roosevelt autobiography. Op cit., p. 477.

[26] Cahill, Marion Cotter. Shorter Hours. New York, Columbia Univ. Pr., 1932, p. 84.

[27] Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. XV, pp. 7341–7342.

[28] Quoted in Dulles, Foster Rhea. Labor in America. New York, Crowell, 1949, p. 191.

[29] Ibid., p. 192.

[30] Dulles, Foster Rhea. Op. cit., p. 193.

[31] Roosevelt autobiography. Op. cit., pp. 495–496.

[32] Roosevelt Cyclopedia. Op. cit., p. 291.

The Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "People and the Budget," which appeared in the Florence (S. C.) Morning News on May 16, 1957, and which merits the attention of the country.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEOPLE AND THE BUDGET

We concur with President Eisenhower that the price of peace is high. We agree that we can weaken our defenses against the enemy only at our own peril. Foreign aid of some kind is an essential factor in America's responsibility to this immensely complex world. "Good defense is not cheap." That is sound doctrine.

But we do not agree that this country's complex and wasteful bureaucracy is worth the cost. American Government is honeycombed with unnecessary bureaus and Federal jobholders that spend Federal tax money with a lavishness that sickens.

In his address to the people the President said that "no great reductions in it (the Federal budget) are possible unless Congress eliminates or curtails existing Federal programs, or all of us demand less service from the Government."

The President vigorously defended defense spending and foreign aid. He is on sound ground when he takes the position that we must be willing to pay the cost of an adequate defense and that we must use American influence through American aid to help correct economic conditions abroad that contribute to world unrest.

There is, and we think happily, a ground swell for national economy. But the trouble is that that ground swell is in favor of economy so long as it doesn't strike home. And political spokesmen who trumpet for budget cutting aren't willing to take the political rap that comes from supporting economy in an area affecting their constituents.

The budget needs cutting. Not even in the field of defense spending and foreign aid is lavish spending of hard-earned tax dollars justified. Realistic spending administered with business efficiency should characterize every dollar spent for defense whether it be for the Military Establishment or as foreign aid. Freehanded spending abroad is unfair to every American taxpayer.

But freehanded domestic spending is equally unfair. This administration thinks a $71,800,000,000 budget necessary because that's the only kind of budget capable of keeping up the spending habits to which Americans have become accustomed. We have looked to the Government so long that we've established the habit of being subsidized and we expect it. And taking the cue from the people, the Government has created a lavish and complex bureaucracy that spends money as if it were as plentiful as water after a Texas flood. We recall that several years ago the Federal Government spent $1,800 for the erection of four hand rails to the steps of the Florence post office.

Sometime, somewhere it must stop if we are to remain nationally solvent. But when it stops it will be because pressure from the people has demanded it—from people who are willing to accept Government economy in areas that affect themselves.

Italian Immigration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday I spoke at a gathering of the Calumet Chapter of the American Committee on Italian Immigration which was held in the City Hall, Gary, Ind.

On Monday, a Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee under the chairmanship of Congressman CARNAHAN, held hearings in the First Congressional District of Indiana with the purpose of recording a cross section opinion of our Foreign Policy Program.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted at the meeting on Sunday afternoon and submitted to the congressional subcommittee on Monday:

RESOLUTION OF THE CALUMET CHAPTER OF THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON ITALIAN IMMIGRATION PASSED AT THE MEETING OF SAID CHAPTER, HELD MAY 19, 1957, IN GARY, IND.

Whereas a congressional committee will hold hearings in Gary, Ind., to give the people of this region the opportunity to express their views on the question of foreign aid to foreign nations by our Federal Government; and

Whereas it is our belief that the foreign aid given to our allied nations has brought remarkable results, both in their struggle to rebuild their economy and to rearm themselves in order to give our Nation valid cooperation in stopping the spread of communism in the different countries; and

Whereas such foreign aid, when properly given, as it is in the case of Italy under the able administration of the former Ambassador, Mrs. Clare Booth Luce, brought very good results, both in the economy of the country and also in taking away from the communistic idea large masses of workers, who for years have been fed the idea of American imperialism; and

Whereas for the safety of our country we need the full cooperation of our allies in all fields; and

Whereas our enemies point to our immigration laws as discriminatory to national minorities, and it is necessary to show that we are in good faith when we give aid: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Calumet Chapter of the American Committee on Italian Migration, That its members, who cover the entire Calumet region of the State of Indiana, go on record as favoring the continuation of economical and financial aid to our allied nations, so that they can be in position to fully cooperate with the United States in containing communism and attempt to make this world a better place to live; be it further

Resolved, That our immigration laws be changed so as to remove from them the present discrimination to national minorities.

SAM BUSHEMI,
President.
ROCCO V. SCHIRALLI,
Secretary.

Law, To Survive, Must Be Moral

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, although the contempt trial of Arthur Miller has not yet been decided, and regardless of its outcome, I believe the questions raised by John Steinbeck to be worthy of consideration and thought by all Members of Congress who must pass on questions of judgment such as these. I respectfully submit the article for the consideration of my colleagues.

The article follows:

[From Esquire for June 1957]

THE TRIAL OF ARTHUR MILLER

(By John Steinbeck)

The trial of Arthur Miller for contempt of Congress brings close to all of us one of the strangest and most frightening dilemmas that a people and a government has ever faced. It is not the first trial of its kind, nor will it in all probability be the last. But Arthur Miller is a writer—one of our very best. What has happened to him could happen to any writer; could happen to me. We are face to face with a problem by no means easy of solution. "Is a puzzlement!"

No man knows what he might do in a given situation, and surely many men must wonder how they would act if they were in Arthur Miller's shoes. I wonder what I would do.

Let me suppose that I were going to trial for contempt of Congress as he is. I might be thinking somewhat as follows:

There is no doubt that Congress has the right, under the law, to ask me any question it wishes and to punish my refusal to answer with a contempt charge. The Congress has the right to do nearly anything conceivable. It has only to define a situation or an action as a "clear and present danger" to public safety, public morals, or public health. The selling or eating of mince pie could be made a crime if Congress determined that mince pie was a danger to public health—which it probably is. Since many parents raise their children badly, mother love could be defined as a danger to the general welfare.

Surely, Congress has this right to ask me anything on any subject. The question is: Should the Congress take advantage of that right?

Let us say that the congressional committee feels that the Communist Party and many groups which have been linked with it—sometimes arbitrarily—constitute a clear and present danger to the Nation. Now actually it is neither virtue nor good judgment on my part that has kept me from joining things. I am simply not a joiner by nature. Outside of the Boy Scouts and the Episcopal choir, I have never had an impulse to belong to things. But suppose I had. And suppose I have admitted my association with one or more of these groups posted as dangerous. As a writer, I must have been interested in everything, have felt it part of my profession to know and understand all kinds of people and groups. Having admitted these associations, I am now asked by the committee to name individuals I have seen at meetings of such groups. I hope my reasoning then would go as follows:

The people I knew were not and are not, in my estimation, traitors to the Nation. If they were, I would turn them in instantly. If I give names, it is reasonably certain that the persons named will be called up and questioned. In some cases they will loee their jobs, and in any case their reputations and standing in the community will suffer. And remember that these are persons who I honestly believe are innocent of any wrongdoing. Perhaps I do not feel that I have that right; that to name them would not only be disloyal but actually immoral. The committee then is asking me to commit an immorality in the name of public virtue.

If I agree, I have outraged one of our basic codes of conduct, and if I refuse I am guilty of contempt of Congress, sentenced to prison, and fined. One way outrages my sense of decency and the other brands me as a felon. And this brand does not fade out.

Now suppose I have children, a little property, a stake in the community. The threat of the contempt charge jeopardizes everything I love. Suppose, from worry or cowardice, I agree to what is asked. My deep and wounding shame will be with me always.

I cannot be reassured by the past performance of the committee. I have read daily for a number of years the testimony of admitted liars and perjurers whose charges have been used to destroy the peace and happiness of people I do not know, and many of whom were destroyed without being tried.

Which path am I to choose? Either way I am caught. It may occur to me that a man who is disloyal to his friends could not be expected to be loyal to his country. You can't slice up morals. Our virtues begin at home. They do not change in a courtroom unless the pressure of fear is put upon us.

But if I am caught between two horrors, so is the Congress caught. Law, to survive, must be moral. To force personal immorality on a man, to wound his private virtue, undermines his public virtue. If the Committee frightens me enough, it is even possible that I may make up things to satisfy the questioners. This has been known to happen. A law which is immoral does not survive and a government which condones or fosters immorality is truly in clear and present danger.

The Congress had a perfect right to pass the Alien and Sedition Act. This law was repealed because of public revulsion. The Escaped Slave laws had to be removed because the people of free States found them immoral. The Prohibition laws were so generally flouted that all law suffered as a consequence.

We have seen and been revolted by the Soviet Union's encouragement of spying and telling, children reporting their parents, wives informing on their husbands. In Hitler's Germany, it was considered patriotic to report your friends and relations to the authorities. And we in America have felt safe from and superior to these things. But are we so safe or superior?

The men in Congress must be conscious of their terrible choice. Their legal right is clearly established, but should they not think of their moral responsibility also? In their attempts to save the Nation from attack, they could well undermine the deep personal morality which is the Nation's final defense. The Congress is truly on trial along with Arthur Miller.

Again let me change places with Arthur Miller. I have refused to name people. I am indicted, convicted, sent to prison. If the charge were murder or theft or extortion I would be subject to punishment, because I and all men know that these things are wrong. But if I am imprisoned for something I have been taught from birth is a good thing, then I go to jail with a deep sense of injustice and the rings of that injustice are bound to spread out like an infection. If I am brave enough to suffer for my principle, rather than to save myself by hurting other people I believe to be innocent, it seems to me that the law suffers more than I, and that contempt of the law

and of the Congress is a real contempt rather than a legalistic one.

Under the law, Arthur Miller is guilty. But he seems also to be brave. Congress feels that it must press the charge against him, to keep its prerogative alive. But can we not hope that our Representatives will inspect their dilemma? Respect for law can be kept high only if the law is respectable. There is a clear and present danger here, not to Arthur Miller, but to our changing and evolving way of life.

If I were in Arthur Miller's shoes, I do not know what I would do, but I could wish, for myself and for my children, that I would be brave enough to fortify and defend my private morality as he has. I feel profoundly that our country is better served by individual courage and morals than by the safe and public patriotism which Dr. Johnson called the last refuge of scoundrels.

My father was a great man, as any lucky man's father must be. He taught me rules I do not think are abrogated by our nervous and hysterical times. These laws have not been annulled; these rules of attitudes. He taught me—glory to God, honor to my family, loyalty to my friends, respect for the law, love of country, and instant and open revolt against tyranny, whether it come from the bully in the schoolyard, the foreign dictator, or the local demagog.

And if this be treason, gentlemen, make the most of it.

Heroic Rescue in Surf

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. KERR SCOTT
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Man Swims to Rescue of Girl in Undertow," published in the Greensboro (N. C.) Daily News. The article describes the heroic rescue in heavy surf of a 14-year-old Durham girl who was being pulled out to sea by an undertow.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONE HUNDRED YARDS IN SURF—MAN SWIMS TO RESCUE OF GIRL IN UNDERTOW

ATLANTIC BEACH, May 20.—Jimmy Thompson, a young father of Route 1, Mebane, swam more than 100 yards in heavy surf yesterday and rescued a 14-year-old Durham girl being pulled out to sea by an undertow.

Thompson, about 25, was fishing on the Triple Eas Fishing Pier near here when he saw that Shirley Holder was in trouble.

He raced several hundred feet down the beach, plunged in, and made his way back to shallow water with the girl. She was unconscious. Artificial respiration revived her. She was taken to Morehead City Hospital for treatment of shock and exposure. The hospital said today that she was recovering nicely.

Shirley's mother and stepfather, Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Reams, were fishing on the pier while Shirley and friends went bathing down the beach. Scores of persons on the pier and beach saw the rescue.

The Fort Macon Coast Guard Base a mile away was notified and sent a small boat on a trailer pulled by a jeep. However, efforts to launch the boat were unsuccessful. It kept getting swamped by heavy seas kicked up by stiff southwest winds and a falling tide.

"If ever a man deserves a medal for heroism, Thompson does. It was the greatest display of courage I ever saw," said Barry West, manager of the pier.

Bank Mergers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following excerpt from an address by Harry J. Harding, honorary president of the Independent Bankers Association, 12th Federal Reserve District, and president of the First National Bank of Pleasanton, Pleasanton, Calif., at the annual convention of the Independent Bankers Association, at Miami, Fla., on April 27, 1957:

So that we may have something to shoot at, let me suggest an addition to any bank merger bill, along the following lines:

No merger shall be approved under this act, in cities of 10,000 or less population, when the result will be 2 or less banks located in the city in which the merging bank is located; nor in cities of more than 10,000 population up to 25,000 population when the result will be 3 or less banks located in the city in which the merging bank is located; nor in cities of over 25,000 population to 100,000 population when the result will be 4 or less banks located in the city in which the merging bank is located; nor in cities of over 100,000 population when the result will be 5 or less banks located in the city in which the merging bank is located. In each case, the population figures will be those of the last Federal census.

Nor shall any merger be approved under this act when the result will be that the merging bank will hold more than 30 percent of the total banking deposits of the area in which the merging bank has offices.

Let's kick this around for awhile. I don't want you to say you are for this, or that you are opposed. I would like to have you think of the arguments both for and against such a proposal, so that we may carefully study them and weigh them. You may feel that the criteria specified in this suggestion are not realistic, but can you think of better yardsticks than the ones suggested. Do you think that we ought to have any yardsticks other than the discretion of some Federal agency?

The yardsticks I have suggested are no more arbitrary than the existing requirements as to the capital necessary for the establishment of a new bank, or of a merging bank. The prevention of undue concentration of banking control is just as much in the public interest as the limitations on the loans that a bank can make. As to the argument that mergers should be left to the discretion of a supervisory agency, this, in my opinion, could apply equally as well as to the capital requirements for a new bank.

Let's not say it can't be done, but rather ask ourselves, should this be done? I am convinced that it is either a ceiling—or destruction to our independent banking system.

One Hundred Million Dollars in Surplus Foods Sent to Needy by United States Religious Faith Groups

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, it is a real pleasure to congratulate for their fine record of human service in their relief programs, the Catholic Relief Services, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, as well as the Church World Service, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., and also the United Jewish Appeal, and the Synagogue Council of America.

These agencies have achieved the high figure of $100 million in surplus foods sent to needy by United States religious faith groups, and handle 91.3 percent of all commodities distributed to hungry abroad by United States voluntary agencies. All United States voluntary agencies have joined in this magnificient evidence of the religious and humanitarian activities of the good American people and their church and charitable organizations.

American overseas relief agencies of the Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths distributed more than 1,140 million pounds of United States surplus foods free to destitute and hungry people abroad during the 9 months ended March 31, 1957.

These supplies of America's stocks of reserve foods—cheese, powdered milk, beans, corn, rice, wheat, cornmeal and flour—comprised more than 91 percent of all such surplus foods distributed by all American voluntary relief groups during the period.

The overseas shipments by the religious agencies had a total value of $99,895,942.

Other surplus stocks similarly distributed by nonreligious voluntary agencies amounted to 108 million pounds, with a value of $14,184,256.

Of this, the largest amount—nearly 101 million pounds valued at $13,294,899, or 8.09 percent of the total was distributed by CARE—Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.

In addition, 61 million pounds of dried milk valued at $9,605,040 were distributed through UNICEF—United Nations Children's Fund.

This has been reported by the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, 20 West 40th Street, New York City, which is composed of 40 agencies registered and recognized by the United States Government. The report is based upon data issued by the United States Department of Agriculture.

In all, the United States Commodity Credit Credit Corporation Corporation released 1,310 million pounds of food valued at $123,685,000 for free distribu-

tion overseas by voluntary agencies during the 9 months.

During the same period, the CCC released approximately 750 million pounds of surplus commodities for distribution to needy persons in America through various State welfare projects, institutional programs, and so forth.

Operation of the overseas free food distribution by the religious faith groups was carried out in addition to their regular, on-going, worldwide schedules of relief and rehabilitation through which contributed and purchased foods, clothing, bedding, medicines, and self-help supplies are furnished and through which are maintained continuing programs of resettlement, constructive development, and assistance for refugees as well as support for orphanages and hospitals, tuberculosis, and other health projects.

In the assisting of the United States surplus food distribution, the faith groups utilize the networks of their own voluntary relief personnel and that of associated religious agencies.

Because of the highly voluntary nature of their assistance both here and abroad, religious faith leaders report, the faith agencies achieve an extremely high rate of distribution per dollar of cost, with much more than 200 pounds of food—in many cases more than 400 pounds—being given to relieve human misery for each dollar expended in their programs.

Costs of the surplus operations of the religious faiths are defrayed by the voluntary contributions of their members. In Protestant churches the contributions are largely through the one great hour of sharing, united appeal, and the share our surplus programs. In the Roman Catholic Church the programs are implemented through the bishop's relief fund. The Jewish faith operates successfully their large programs through the emergency rescue fund of the United Jewish Appeal as well as other Jewish relief programs. These agencies have proven devoted, efficient, and highly effective, and are to be complimented on their heartwarming approach to the problems of relief, refugees, and family aid and rehabilitation.

Surplus commodity shipments by American voluntary agencies during the 9 months—July 1, 1956, to March 31, 1957—were:

	Total pounds	Dollar value
RELIGIOUS AGENCIES		
American Friends Service Committee	6,129,220	$929,641
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee	8,584,700	559,290
Assemblies of God Foreign Service Committee	973,000	96,274
Catholic relief services, National Catholic Welfare Conference	796,802,300	65,378,021
Church World Service	249,866,366	23,171,056
Hadassah	1,462,766	375,137
Lutheran World Relief	72,997,047	9,063,114
Mennonite Central Committee	2,103,000	185,644
Unitarian Service Committee	377,700	80,255
World Relief Commission	916,555	87,510
Total	1,140,302,653	99,895,942
SECULAR AGENCIES		
American Friends Austrian Children	826,000	$111,040
American mission to Greeks	471,600	65,957
American Korean Foundation	240,000	15,576
CARE	100,985,145	13,294,899
Foster Parents' Plan for War Children	394,110	73,849
International Rescue Committee	720,000	98,360
Iran Foundation	1,992,070	216,658
Rumanian Welfare	1,170,000	151,206
Tolstoy Foundation	90,000	25,200
United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America	947,000	90,091
Volunteer Border Relief	298,000	30,260
Russian Children's Welfare Society	72,000	11,160
Total	108,205,925	14,184,256
Total, religious and secular agencies	1,248,508,578	114,080,198
United Nations Children's Fund	61,968,000	9,605,040
Total	1,310,476,578	123,685,238

Areas receiving United States shipments included Afghanistan, Algeria, Antigua, Austria, Bahama Islands, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Guiana, British Honduras, British Virgin Islands, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominica, Ecuador, Egypt, England, Ethiopia, Formosa, France, French Guiana, French West Africa, Gambia, Gaza, Germany, Goa, Gold Coast, Greece, Grenada, Guadaloupe, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Korea, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malay States, Malta, Martinique, Mexico, French Morocco, Nigeria, North Borneo, Nyasaland, Okinawa, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippine Islands, Portugal, St. Kitts, St. Helena, St. Vincent, San Salvador, Sarawak, Sierra Leone, Spain, Surinam, Syria, Thailand, Trieste, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Vietnam, Yugoslavia.

Real Brotherhood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very timely editorial which appeared in the Daily Evening Item, Lynn, Mass., on May 20, 1957:

REAL BROTHERHOOD

There was no segregation at the bottom of a 24-foot well excavation in Manorville, N. Y., last Friday night.

There was no question of any superiority of any race when Sam Woodson, a Negro construction worker, lifted 7-year-old Benny Hooper, white, from the sandy pit in which he had been trapped nearly 24 hours.

On the same day when thousands of persons gathered before the statue of Abraham Lincoln in the famed Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D. C., to pray for racial justice and civil rights legislation to protect American's minorities, Sam Woodson was giving a dramatic demonstration that Negro and white man are brothers under the skin when emergency arises.

Sam Woodson, a humble, God-fearing, prayerful man, risked his own life to bring the Hooper boy to safety and return him alive to his grief-stricken parents.

There was no white council in that well pit. There was no talk of keeping the Negro in his place. All that was wanted was a stout heart and strong arm to snatch a blue-eyed boy from death.

Sam Woodson supplied both.

With a prayer on his lips and trust in his Almighty God who made men of all races and colors, he effected a rescue while the whole Nation waited with bated breath.

How Mr. Lincoln would have loved Sam Woodson.

The Plywood Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Plight of Plywood," which appeared in the Florence (S. C.) Morning News on May 17, 1957. This outstanding newspaper is edited by Mr. James Rogers and is published by Mr. John O'Dowd.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PLIGHT OF PLYWOOD

"If, by some magic, a man could take steps 200 feet long and were to walk across South Carolina with such strides, from the mountains of Oconee and Pickens Counties to the Coastal Plain, he would set foot down into forest with every other step. Over three-fifths of the surface of the State is covered with trees; about 62 acres out of every 100 are forest clad."

That is the opening statement in the 1957 edition of South Carolina Forest Facts, published by the South Carolina Forest Industries Committee in cooperation with American Forest Products Industries, Inc.

Only in 10 of the State's 46 counties is the percentage of forested land less than 50 percent of the total land. Only one county in the Pee Dee—Marlboro, with 49.1—has less than 50 percent of the total land in forests.

The wealth of our forest resources is still one of the cardinal virtues of our land. Yet the South Carolina coastal plain, in particular, is in trouble forestwise. A principal industry is the plywood industry. South Carolina hardwoods are among the best in the world. Yet plywood from South Carolina hardwoods must now face the competition of plywood from Japan where labor is so cheap that American manufacturers, paying a $1 per hour minimum wage, are at a virtually impossible disadvantage. Here in the Pee Dee where the veneer and plywood industry has been a profitable industrial operation for many years, manufacturers are finding it more and more difficult to survive in the face of this foreign competition.

If we are to maintain the level of our forest wealth, it is imperative that legislative action be taken to control the competition which today is driving more and more domestic manufacturers of plywood out of business.

Lawrence Sunday Sun in Eloquent Tribute to Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, will be enshrined in history, as one of the outstanding national figures of the 20th century.

He spent his talent and his strength to protect the United States which he loved so well, from its hidden enemies.

In the course of his crusade to expose treason and subversion, he won an enduring place in the hearts of millions.

Nowhere, outside of his home State, was his popularity greater than it was in Massachusetts, which embraced him as if he were a native son.

At the height of his meteoric career, when it seemed that he was fighting singlehandedly against the compromisers, the people of Lawrence, Mass., opened a store on the city's main street to accommodate the thousands who came to sign the petitions documenting public support of his mission.

Senator McCarthy will be honored in memory, long after other leaders are forgotten.

As evidence of the esteem and affection which he won during his vigilant and vigorous defense of our internal security, I bring to you the following appreciation of his public service. It is a thoughtful and inspiring editorial that appeared in the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass., on May 19, 1957:

IN RETROSPECTION

The tumult and the shouting over the death of Senator Joseph McCarthy have subsided but today, as he lies in his final rest, people still speak of him. Perhaps it is significant of his eminence in the thoughts of everyone during his career—and now—that, although the name Joseph McCarthy is by no means an uncommon one, whenever it was spoken everyone knew just which one was meant.

Senator "Joe" McCarthy was not just a political figure. He was a great American. Not only was he a combat veteran of World War II, but, after the war, he continued to fight with all his gifts and powers for his country.

He loved intensely all that was American. He hated with equal intensity any person or ideology designed to destroy America. Communists, pinks, and fellow-travelers who infiltrated our Government and Armed Forces attracted his special wrath.

With the zeal of a crusader, he worked to pry them out from under their rocks. The entire Nation should be grateful to him today in memory for the degree of success he enjoyed in that effort in spite of the cloak-and-dagger atmosphere in high places which sought to, and in many instances did, prevent him from tearing the masks from enemies of this country.

The worth of Senator McCarthy's service to the United States cannot be adequately appraised even today. Only time and the accumulation of the tomes of history will accomplish that.

He made enemies. Anyone who fights for the right attracts the condemnation of those who are affected by his actions. His enemies were furtive and bitter. Abuses were piled upon him. He was constantly under attack and much of this malediction came not only from the Communists but their friends and protectors in high positions in Government.

Little wonder that, in his nerve-wracking struggle to protect his country and defend himself, his health was affected to the ultimate.

Joe McCarthy, as surely as any man who died on the battlefield, gave his life for the land he loved. He went down fighting for freedom and justice for every one of us.

It will take a long time to find a person equally as patriotic and militant to replace him. His life has ended, but the work he did so nobly should be perpetuated and the enemies of our country everywhere run down and ferretted out with the same sublime fervor as was applied to that task by this truly great American.

Schools Come First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post and Times-Herald.

I heartily agree with the editor that the urgent need for new buildings for schoolchildren is as important as the doubtful need for new office buildings for the Members of Congress.

SCHOOLS COME FIRST

The House Education and Labor Committee has fortuitously recommended a 5-year program of Federal aid to school construction at the rate of $300 million a year. This is a little less than the sum requested by the President. Nevertheless, it is a considerable amount of money and, quite apart from the other arguments about Federal school aid, it may invite some scrutiny from economy-minded Members of Congress.

A comparison is hence in order. The House of Representatives is planning a new office building for its Members, in addition to the two now in use, at a cost of roughly $100 million. The Senate has a new building already underway at a cost of $20 million, excluding the cost of new tunnels to connect it with the Capitol.

Now, we do not in the least suggest that these new congressional buildings are not desirable. Congress has not been overly generous in providing office space for its Members. These buildings are needed, just as new schoolrooms are needed. But, as a matter of priority, Members might have a little trouble explaining things to their constituents if congressional needs were met while school needs were not.

There has been no recent increase in the number of Senators and Representatives; and none is anticipated unless or until Hawaii and Alaska are granted statehood. This is in marked contrast to the school situation. The school-age population of the United States has increased mightily during the past decade and will continue to increase for some years to come; right now, in fact, the public schools are overflowing with about 2¼ million children above their capacity. Denied classrooms, these children will be denied the opportunity for adequate education. When the question of additional rooms is considered, schoolrooms ought to come first.

Congress Did Not Intend Atomic Energy Commission To Be Chorus of "Yes" Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I enclose herewith an editorial from Tuesday's Washington Post and Times Herald with which I wholeheartedly agree:

DISSENT ON THE AEC

It seems fairly obvious from the tenor of President Eisenhower's remark at a recent news conference that he is not thinking of reappointing Thomas E. Murray to the Atomic Energy Commission. This is in some way unfortunate, because Mr. Murray has made extremely valuable contributions in emphasizing the importance of small nuclear weapon development as well as in questioning assumptions of the Commission majority. Mr. Murray, whose term expires on June 30, is the only Democrat now on the Commission and the only remaining member who antedates the Eisenhower administration.

Possibly the President has been persuaded that Mr. Murray's views have become so polarized as to make him a factor for disharmony on the AEC. There might be some point to this if it were recognized at the same time that the opposite pole is represented by the Commission Chairman, Lewis Strauss, who also wears a second hat as special assistant to the President on atomic energy matters and hence tends to dominate the Commission. Messrs. Strauss and Murray are frequently if not perpetually at odds; and often Mr. Murray has been treated virtually as a pariah.

Structurally, the dual status which Mr. Strauss occupies is a monstrosity. It places him in a privileged position and results in the denial to his colleagues of information important to their work and decisions; it also tends to undermine the coequal status among the five Commissioners which Congress prescribed when it established the AEC. No one can doubt Mr. Strauss' dedication; and despite frequent past disagreements we think he currently is doing a good job of appealing for ratification of the treaty for the International Atomic Energy Agency (although Mr. Murray, who also supports the treaty, testified yesterday that he had not been consulted on the AEC decision). Particularly because of Mr. Strauss' dominant position, however, it is extraordinarily important to insure that other views will obtain adequate representation. Indeed, this has much to do with the recruitment of capable men for AEC positions.

Whether or not Mr. Murray is reappointed, rounded discussion and dissent have an

essential function in the management of the atomic energy program. The Atomic Energy Commission handles billions of dollars of public funds and determines policies that have a vital bearing on the lives of Americans. A slavish harmony on the AEC would be undesirable and even dangerous, and we trust that the President will have this in mind when he considers Mr. Murray's position as well as the still unfilled vacancy left by the death of the late Dr. John Von Neumann in February. Congress never intended the Atomic Energy Commission to be either a one-man show or a chorus of yes-men.

Arms to Tito

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the Boston Daily Record on May 16, 1957:

ARMS TO TITO

The decision of the administration to resume shipment of weapons, including 215 jets, to Yugoslavia is clearly a calculated risk based on considerations of the realities of today, as opposed to the realities of last fall when the shipments were stopped.

It is a risk President Eisenhower has taken in the certain knowledge of an eruption of criticism in Congress and elsewhere. He could not have taken it lightly. It must have been based on information, not publicly available in the detail to which it is to him, that conditions in Yugoslavia warrant the gamble.

This newspaper does not like Yugoslavia's Tito. He is a Communist dictator. In fact, we were in the forefront of the movement last year to stop the arms shipments at the time Tito was snuggling up to the Kremlin and vice versa. We have been given to understand our influence helped stop them.

Since then there have been indications that Belgrade has moved sharply away from Moscow. We do not have the information to support the State Department's announcement that "intervening events have confirmed the President's basic finding that Yugoslavia is and firmly intends to remain independent." But we must assume the President has.

There are two other things to bear in mind. One is the shipments will be extended over the next few years "at a more modest rate than originally planned." The other is that the weapons are types "procured under programs drawn up in past years," and halted last October. Hence they cannot be new jets or the latest equipment of any kind.

As in all risks there is an element of danger. It would be equally dangerous in waging the cold war to permit a situation that prevailed last year to govern a decision now. It is from this perspective that we shall watch how the President's risk develops.

Speaking of risks, there would have been none whatever if the administration had sent those jets to strengthen our men and the ROK forces in South Korea. At his Tuesday press conference, Secretary Dulles said the administration is considering doing something to replace the obsolete equipment in Korea. This consideration has been dragging and dragging far too long.

Tribute to Hon. Earl W. Jimerson, President, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday night, May 19, in New York City, the Honorable Earl W. Jimerson, president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, was guest of honor at a testimonial dinner attended by over 700 leaders of labor and supporters of the new State of Israel.

The large assembly paid tribute to the native of my home community of East St. Louis, and praised him as a great humanitarian and labor leader, who had contributed immeasurably over the years to the welfare of hundreds of thousands of American citizens and through all these years put above everything else emphasis upon recognition of the minorities.

I have known Earl Jimerson through my entire life. He was a leader in his home community before going on to higher positions in a labor of love—the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America. He has brought honor and credit to his organization and has set a high standard of moral leadership. His long years of service in his organization through most of which he held the roll of leader are marked with integrity and honesty. His reputation for fine character and fair dealing is recognized not only among his associates in his organization work but by the leaders of industry, which are serviced by the members of his organization.

I am happy also to note that at this affair in New York last Sunday evening, Mrs. Jimerson was also honored and shared the tributes which were heaped upon her husband.

I was most happy to see this deserved recognition come to my fellow townsman and to my personal friend. This feeling is shared by every resident of the East St. Louis area, who has been privileged to know Earl Jimerson.

I include herewith an account of the testimonial written by Mr. Tom Duffy, editor of the East St. Louis (Ill.) Journal, which appeared in that newspaper on Monday, May 20, 1957:

SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY HONOR EARL JIMERSON AT TESTIMONIAL DINNER

(By Tom Duffy)

Seven hundred and fifty leaders of labor and supporters of the new State of Israel paid tribute Sunday night to Earl W. Jimerson, an East St. Louis native who rose from the job of butcher in a grocery store to the presidency of one of the largest labor unions in the Nation.

Jimerson was the guest of honor at a testimonial dinner sponsored by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America which he has headed since 1942, management of meat, fur and leather industries of the Nation, and leaders in the drive to raise money for the State of Israel. At the dinner held in the Hotel Commodore here, it was announced that through the efforts of Jimerson, personally, and the union as a group, more than $750,000 had been raised for Israel and the ultimate total is expected to exceed $1 million.

EMPHASIS ON MINORITIES

Jimerson was lauded as a great humanitarian and a labor leader who put above everything else emphasis upon recognition of the minorities in the United States.

Among the speakers paying tribute to him were Patrick E. Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters; William L. McFetridge, vice president of the AFL-CIO and president of the AFL Building Service International Union; Nick Kenny of the New York Daily Mirror who wrote the new state song of Israel; Col. Robert Henriques, of London, England, author of the book 100 Hours to Suez, and Joseph Kaufman, chairman of the Meat Producers Council of New York.

Among others at the dinner were Carmine DeSapio, secretary of the State of New York and the current leader of Tammany Hall; J. Raymond McGovern, former comptroller of the State of New York under Governor Dewey; Judge Charles F. Murphy of the New York Appellate Division, and various other eastern officials.

UNION VEEP WAS CHAIRMAN

Chairman of the dinner was Max Block, New York, vice president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, and the toastmaster was Maxwell C. Rabbock, editor of the Trade Union Courier of New York.

The theme of the testimonial not only was a tribute to Jimerson for his work in raising money for Israel, but a defense of labor as generally responsible for progress in the United States despite the current scandals unveiled in Washington and a rigid labor front-line support for the State of Israel.

Sharing the honors heaped upon Jimerson Sunday night was his wife, Mrs. Frances Jimerson, who was described by the speakers as the "first lady of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union."

Mr. and Mrs. Jimerson maintain their home at 760 Vogel Place, East St. Louis, although Jimerson's offices are located in Chicago. The Jimersons frequently commute between Chicago and East St. Louis.

Jimerson has been active in the butchers union since the union began organization work in East St. Louis prior to World War I. He was elected to his 15th term as president of the international union last June.

A $6½ million cooperative apartment project in New York City has been named in honor of Jimerson. The project, sponsored by the union, is under construction.

Economy in Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Who's to Blame?" which appeared in the Bamberg (S. C.) Herald on May 16, 1953. This paper is one of our best edited and most attractive weekly newspapers in South Carolina. The editorial was written by Mr. Lewis Brabham, the editor of the Herald.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHO'S TO BLAME?

Senator BYRD, the "watchdog" of the Treasury says the people back home have it in their power to force Congress to cut the President's massive $72 billion budget for next year. It is quite true that not all of the blame rests on your Congressmen and Senators.

The people have come to look upon their Representatives in Congress as potential money-getters for their States. Whenever a matter comes up involving some millions for a State, the State's Representatives in Congress are expected to work to get the cash.

The average taxpayers want economy in Government; they want lower taxes, but when a pet project in which they are interested comes up they still want the money. The plea for economy applies usually to the other fellow.

Of course, you can't blame them when the money is being handed out with a shovel. They figure that if they don't get theirs somebody else will, and they are just about right. But when we begin to cut on a national scale, the cuts have to start with somebody's pet project, and there the trouble begins.

Senator BYRD is a big man of national stature. He has been known to decline projects which would have meant millions for his State of Virginia. But, by and large, the voters don't see eye to eye with him on such matters. "Our project calls for only a few millions, only a drop in the bucket," they argue, and they are entirely correct, except that when you multiply one project by the tens of thousands all over the country, you come up with a $72 billion budget.

Goshen News Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. JAY NIMTZ
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. NIMTZ. Mr. Speaker, it is with genuine pride that I call the attention of my colleagues to the fact that one of the most coveted honors in the field of journalism has been won by a newspaper in the Third Congressional District of Indiana. The newspaper is the Goshen News, of Goshen, Ind., and the award was the 1957 Ayer cup for excellence in typography, makeup, and printing.

The Goshen News was chosen by the judges for this great honor in competition with 823 other newspapers of all sizes in the United States. Of particular note is the fact that the News, with a circulation of only 7,745, is the smallest newspaper ever to have won the Ayer cup.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include a letter of congratulations to Frank L. Haskell, publisher of the News, together with an article by R. C. Lehman, managing editor, which appeared in that newspaper under date of May 15, 1957:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., May 11, 1957.

Mr. FRANK L. HASKELL,
Publisher, Goshen News,
Goshen, Ind.

DEAR BUD: It was with extreme pleasure and pride that I read of the award of the N. W. Ayer cup to the Goshen News for excellence in typography. It is my understanding that you won this award in competition with 823 other newspapers in the United States.

Please extend to your staff my congratulations upon winning this award and bringing this great honor and distinction of the newspaper publishing world to the Third District of Indiana.

Kindest personal regards to you and the Goshen News family.

Sincerely yours,

F. JAY NIMTZ,
Member of Congress.

CONGRATULATORY EXPRESSIONS POUR IN TO THE NEWS FOR WINNING AYER AWARD

(By R. C. Lehman)

Ever since announcement was made a month ago of the awarding of the Ayer Cup for excellence in typography, makeup, and printing to The Goshen News, messages of congratulations have poured into The News office. They have come from every part of the country, from Maine to Texas and from Alaska to Florida. They have come largely from the publishers of other newspapers—professionals of the craft whose praise is especially sweet to our ears—but they have also come from representatives of every facet of the printing trade, from public officials, and from friends who have no connection at all with the industry.

There have been so far well over a hundred formal letters and telegrams in addition to the countless telephone calls and personal congratulations. They have come from some of the biggest newspapers in the Nation and from some of the smallest, from papers far away and from our neighbors here in Indiana. The volume of messages has been so great and the value and significance of the award has been so stressed in them that even we here at The News, who were really overwhelmed at receiving the award, are only now beginning to realize how truly great a distinction has been conferred on The News. The News was chosen in competition with 823 other daily English language newspapers by N. W. Ayer & Son, of Philadephia, as being the best, regardless of size, in typography, makeup, and printing. In other words The News was chosen as making the best appearance to the eye of any of the entries, which included many if not most of the largest newspapers published in this country.

ACCOUNTS OF AWARD

Many newspapers carried extensive accounts of the awards. The Christian Science Monitor was one which published a long account, together with a two-column 6-inch reproduction of the front page of the winning issue of The News and a history of the paper. The Monitor itself received third honorable mention for papers in its class of over 50,000 circulation. The News circulation is 7,745, and is the smallest newspaper ever to have received the top award. The Monitor was among those who sent a message of congratulations to The News.

Among other newspapers heard from were the New York Daily News, which has the largest circulation of any newspaper on this continent. Robert G. Shand, managing editor, sent his congratulations. And separately, from the White House correspondent of this same newspaper, Francis M. Stephenson, a onetime resident of Goshen and well known here, came another letter which said: "You not only put out a good looking paper from a typographical side but you publish one of the newsiest papers"

From closer at home was a letter from Philip Maxwell of the Chicago Tribune, extending congratulations, and another from Quentin P. Gore of the Chicago Sun-Times who said "It is a notable achievement." Barry Bingham of the Louisville Courier-Journal and the Louisville Times, said: "I feel sure that you must share my conviction that no newspaper can achieve maximum effectiveness unless its appearance makes an appeal to the eye of the reader. Your success in this direction in a community the size of Goshen is really outstanding."

FROM FAR NORTH

From Sitka, Alaska, came a letter from Franklin R. Hoff of radio station KSEW asking for a tape recording of an interview on the subject, stating that "we would not only broadcast this on KSEW but also send it to the four stations on the Midnight Sun network and the Northern Light Broadcasting Co. at Cordova. This must have been a great moment for the man who is responsible for the makeup that won the prize."

Franklin D. Schurz, editor and publisher of the South Bend Tribune, wrote: "I think you have an excellent newspaper and I am sure that it will continue to improve and grow in the future." From the same newspaper also came congratulations from Paul Neville.

W. L. White, of the Emporia (Kans.) Gazette, another famous newspaper, has asked for a copy of the prize-winning issue, and Charles Reynolds, news editor of the Des Moines Register and Tribune, who also has an Elkhart County connection, wrote: "It made me proud of my home area. I showed several issues of your paper to various people on our staff here and they agreed that you put out a neat, distinctive paper." Mr. Reynolds is a son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Reynolds, of New Paris, and his wife is the former Frances Beck, of Goshen.

Some writers hinted a little wryly but good naturedly of feelings of jealously or envy. A. W. McCall, editor of the Daily Tribune at Grand Haven, Mich., a friend of the publisher of the News, wrote, "I thought you were going to bring your foremen up to this area sometime (to see how the Tribune operated.) Maybe it would be better if we came down to see you." Malcolm Bauer, associate editor of the Oregonian, at Portland, Oreg., wrote, "Congratulations on your winning the Ayer award. You have our respect and envy." Dale Stafford, editor of the Daily News at Greenville, Mich., said, "For years I have been entering newspapers and to date I haven't received an honorable mention, so I know how difficult it is to get the prize." John Stingle, of the Los Angeles Examiner, wrote, "Congratulations on your achievement from one of the losers," and a communication from the Manchester Evening Herald, Manchester, Conn., is signed "Jealously, Louis Mandell, news editor."

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR

Harold W. Handley, Governor of Indiana, wrote to the editor of the News that "It is with a great deal of pride I read that an Indiana newspaper, the Goshen News, has been awarded the coveted Ayer Cup for typographical excellence. Please convey my heartiest congratulations to all members of the News family for the vital part each has played in bringing national recognition not only to your newspaper but to the community and State it so proudly represents."

Another letter of congratulations also came from F. JAY NIMITZ, the Indiana Third District's Representative in Congress.

The Communist Menace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Real Harm," from

the New York Journal-American of May 15, 1957. The editorial deals with the trial of alleged Communists.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE REAL HARM

In some recent decisions involving Communists in this country, the Supreme Court has been engaging in legal calisthenics, consisting chiefly of bending over backwards.

The Court would call this a lay opinion, meaning we are not attorneys versed in the subtleties of law. Conceded. But we're pretty well read up on the subtleties and dangers of the Communist conspiracy, and we're fed up with decisions that strain at technicalities.

By a 6–2 finding Monday, the Court ordered a new trial for two men and a woman under prison sentence for hiding a convicted Communist leader in a mountain cabin in California.

After FBI agents closed in, with search warrants for two of the persons, they took with them articles they found there. The stuff was carefully inventoried. It consisted of such things as pipe cleaners, salve for athlete's foot, a nightgown, and a pair of dungarees.

Because the material was transported to San Francisco, the majority of the Court held it constituted "illegal seizure" and ordered a new trial.

The two dissenters, Justices Harold H. Burton and Tom C. Clark, held to the belief that if any items actually admitted into evidence were illegally seized, "their effect should be governed by the rule of harmless error since there was ample evidence of guilt otherwise."

Maybe, on second thought, ours is not an amateur's opinion after all, particularly when you compare the technicality of a "harmless error" against the immeasurable harm this country invites by softening our defenses against the Communist conspiracy.

There was an expression used in the last war, "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." We never saw a more fitting example than in this type of decision.

And, of course, the taxpayers will foot the bill for the new trial.

Foreign Aid Hearings at Gary, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, a subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee conducted one day of hearings on the mutual aid program yesterday at Gary, Ind. Forty-two witnesses testified. The following is testimony of H. B. Snyder, publisher of the Gary Post Tribune:

OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

I think we all agree that American security has more meaning to us, all of us, than any other problem. Our differences seem to be based on the way we see it. There are still a few stone age people who think we can be safe merely by retreating behind our oceans and letting the world go hang.

However, once people's minds are probed there are very few stone age people left. Even those who insist on cutting the budget to bedrock usually think it can be done without danger to Americans, while many of them will, if pressed, admit that we cannot be quite safe if we make no effort toward responsible world leadership.

Unfortunately, we are in one of those periods when for the moment a lesser problem has been substituted for the major one. Without understanding the implications men are saying that money is more valuable than national security. Of course, they know better.

Unquestionably, the rising budget is a problem of the most serious consequences. Actually there is a limit somewhere beyond which a free government cannot go in taking the income of its free citizens. I don't know where that limit is, and I think no one else does.

But the fact there is a limit indicates the utmost effort must be made, not only by government but by the people themselves, to hold down governmental costs. Those costs are too high for our domestic well-being, but no cost is too high if it prevents war.

It would be easy for any of us to say what should or should not be done if we knew what would or would not lead to war. But no one knows. No one can know. And even if someone did he has no means of doing anything about it. Only the Government can lead and only the executive department of the Government can get all the available facts and frame a policy of procedure.

Americans have always acted under that belief even if they did not quite understand why. Politics shall not go beyond the water's edge is an old American belief. We have realized our interests require a single program under one leadership in international affairs. And we are no different from other nations.

What then should our policy be about those relations? It should be to follow the leader who alone can speak for all of us. It should be to provide him the money he says he needs to carry out the program he thinks will give us security—or as much security as can be obtained.

I spend a great deal of time reading about international relations, and I'll admit I don't know how much we should spend nor how we should spend it. I don't have the knowledge of the President, and neither does anyone else outside of the executive department of the Government.

I don't agree with some of the acts of our leaders. Recently, I am afraid, we have made some serious mistakes, but all leaders make mistakes, and we can only hope they will be able to retrieve their losses, if they really turn out to be losses. But I don't see how we can have any hope for the future if each one of us tries to go his own way, particularly if we are misled by a momentary hysteria about money. Let me say the hysteria has a sound basis but that is no reason for not seeing it for what it is.

I have no doubt whatever that American security is tied up with world security. We are not living alone, and we never can live alone. To some extent we are our brothers' keepers, chiefly because if we are not, some wild men will take over the job, and they will cease being our brothers, in fact become dangerous enemies. We have too many enemies in the world now. We cannot afford to create others through simple neglect or through a false fear of bankrupting ourselves.

I realize one should be careful in supporting careless expenditures of public funds. Waste of public money is a crime against the individual, society, and Government. Every wasteful dollar should be squeezed out of the budget. The Hoover Commission reforms should be carried through completely. The Defense Department should be investigated by an American "royal" commission of the highest caliber in order to assure civilians that our military services are not competing against each other to their and our detriment and that the admirals and generals do know the value of a dollar, an idea that is subject to general civilian disbelief.

Furthermore, we should be sure that this Department which some people thing is spending us ragged is not fighting the last war and has a sound doctrine fitting the needs of the day and a program of development that will carry out the doctrine. Too many battles and wars have been lost because the generals or the politicians above the generals have failed to understand what they were preparing for. If we want to save money, why not attack the problem where the money is thickest? If we intend to save our country, why not be sure we have a Defense Department that understands the thinking, strategy, and tactics of today's problems and today's and tomorrow's weapons?

Finally, why not attack pork, not the pork on the hoof but that in the barrel? With so many special-interest snouts in the trough, it is no wonder the trough is nearly empty. All of us need to put first things first, and never has this fact been more certain than in this atomic age. Either we use our brains or we perish.

The Need for Schoolhouses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "The Pot Calls the Kettle Black," from the Boulder, Colo., Daily Camera of May 18, 1957. It deals with the question of the need for schoolrooms and schoolhouses.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE POT CALLS THE KETTLE BLACK

In an effort to put facts on school construction needs before the public, we have occasionally quoted figures compiled by the United States Chamber of Commerce, along with statistics from numerous other sources. Most of the chamber's statistics have been based on official figures of the United States Office of Education.

Despite this fact, the chamber's compilations on classroom needs compared with classroom construction have been disputed by proponents of Federal aid for education. Latest dissent coming to our attention appears in the May issue of the NEA (National Education Association) Journal. On pages 322–325 of that issue the chamber is accused of statistical manipulations.

The NEA Journal reproduces a chamber of commerce chart showing that classrooms constructed in the past 10 years greatly outstripped enrollment increases. The chart shows that increased enrollment required 290,000 new classrooms and 470,000 were actually constructed. The magazine says the chart is misleading because it overlooks three major factors—backlog: the number of needed classrooms, as yet unbuilt; replacement: need to replace obsolete, hazardous, damaged, and destroyed structures; and overcrowding.

It looks to us like a case of the pot calling the kettle black. Here is what the NEA Journal overlooks in its attack on chamber statistics:

From the reproduced chart the Journal omits this line which appears on the original: "Source: Figures on school construction

and school enrollment—United States Office of Education."

The Journal overlooks the chamber's observation regarding its chart and the difference between 290,000 classrooms needed by increased enrollment and 470,000 classrooms built: "It should be recognized that this overage was used to absorb accumulated shortages left over from the depression and war years, and to replace obsolete buildings."

While it is somewhat disturbing to see so revered a publication as the NEA Journal attempting to prove the chamber of commerce's alleged distortion of facts by substituting its own distortion, the basic point brought out by statistics should not be missed by the taxpayers. That point is that most States and localities have rallied to the challenge of need and have substantially stepped up classroom construction in an effort to meet this need.

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Oveta Culp Hobby testified 2 years ago that there was a deficit of 312,000 classrooms in 1953. She forecast then that this shortage would be cut to 176,000 by 1959–60.

By fall 1956—3 years ahead of the 1959–60 school year—that deficit had been cut to 159,000, according to figures of the United States Office of Education. The acceleration of construction to meet need has demonstrated that States and localities are well able to take care of school building needs and most of them are doing it.

The NEA Journal sets needed classrooms for the 1956–57 school year at 159,000, using the United States Office of Education figure. The publication sets the 1957–58 need at 180,000 and the requirement for 1958–59 and 1959–60 combined at 68,000 classrooms.

The Journal estimates construction with State and local funds for each of these 4 school years at 60,000 classrooms. The Journal ignores the fact that the construction rate has been on the increase during the past 10 years. It also ignores new construction plans as reflected in recent school-bond sales.

William M. Adams, chairman of the municipal securities committee of the Investment Bankers Association, has come up with some facts that completely scuttle the proposition that States and localities can't or won't meet their school-construction requirements.

Bear in mind that the official United States Office of Education estimate of need for 1956–57 was 159,000 classrooms. From the time of that estimate to the end of January 1957, 69,200 classrooms were already scheduled for completion. School bonds in the same period sold at a rate, which projected throughout the school year would provide for approximately 96,600 classrooms in addition to those scheduled for completion. The classroom figure was arrived at by figuring 30 pupils to a classroom at $1,000 per pupil, a computation generally used by the United States Office of Education as a minimum.

This projection did not take into consideration the many millions in additional school bonds that will be passed by local voters this year, which could easily cover any deficit remaining.

These statistics, which should be far more reliable than the haphazard estimates of need as compiled by the United States Office of Education and the arbitrary rate of construction set forth in the NEA Journal, reflect no crisis in school construction. Even the National Education Association's estimate that 840,000 school children are attending school on a half-time basis reflects no crisis. That figure is only 2.6 percent of the 32,339,000 children in school.

If there is any valid excuse at all for Federal aid for school construction, it is crisis—genuine emergency. The facts do not indicate crisis except in a handful of unusually poor and scattered counties. This has been shown even in so-called hardship States, none of which is actually unable to take care of its schoolchildren.

Federal aid means Federal control. High officials in the United States Office of Education have said so.

Federal aid also means a waste of tax money. Subsidy payments by the Government in other areas of so-called hardship have shown how the dollar diminishes when it takes the route of Federal red tape.

Since local school boards have done a good job running our schools throughout our history, we don't want Federal control, which dictates how and what our children are taught.

Since States and localities have stepped up construction to meet needs, we don't need Federal aid.

Since the Government produces no wealth, it can give the people "free" money only after it has taken that money from them. Such free money is not only shrunken money. It is also the price paid for our birthright of locally controlled schools, which have played so significant a part in the greatness of our country.

Is This Bedrock?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting article which appeared in the Boston Daily Record on May 13, 1957:

IS THIS BEDROCK?

There is a real conflict over the size of the Eisenhower budget, particularly the requested appropriations for foreign aid, and it is salutary that the President will explain his stand to the people in radio and TV addresses.

The stand is that $3,880 million is a bedrock figure for foreign spending. Any further reduction—the President previously and voluntarily agreed to a cut of $520 million—would endanger world peace.

We find it hard to see just how anyone can fix upon X number of dollars and say that here world peace ends and world conflict begins.

Many Members of Congress also do not understand and Treasury Secretary Humphrey still is on record as warning that if we do not stop spending ourselves blind we will have a "depression that will curl your hair."

There is another side of the story as far as peace is concerned.

Secretary Humphrey and Senator HARRY F. BYRD, of Virginia, both are thinking of this side: A weakened and insolvent America would be no bulwark for peace but would only invite aggression.

Senator BYRD calls the Eisenhower spending plans "a luxury budget on a global basis.

"While we may regard ourselves as the most powerful force in the world," he warns, "it should be remembered that other nations also have been powerful and dominated much of the world in their day. But history records that many of these nations destroyed their position by assuming burdens beyond their capacity."

When we think of our strength, we must also think of a direct Federal debt of $275 billion—equivalent to the full assessed value of all the land, buildings, machinery, livestock, and everything of tangible worth in the United States.

We must also think of State and local public debts of $50 billion and private debts of $466 billion.

These are not items of strength. They could be catastrophic in a new emergency, whether domestic or international.

We do not question for a moment that the President, sincerely dedicated to the preservation of peace, believes his program is bent to that end.

But the other side of the coin must be considered. Are we spending ourselves into weakness and further inflation?

The people should have that side of the argument before them, as clearly as President Eisenhower states his own philosophy.

It would be a good thing if Senator BYRD could speak to the people on an "equal time" basis.

Shoulder Weapons for the Ground Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of the Army, Wilber M. Brucker, announced on May 1 last that the Army had standardized a new shoulder weapon for the ground forces, the T–44 rifle which was developed at the Springfield, Mass., Armory. This new rifle is now designated as the M–14, and it replaces the famous M–1 Garand weapon.

I would like to have printed with my remarks in the RECORD a news story from the Springfield Daily News of May 10, 1957, detailing the role that the Springfield Armory played in the research and development of this new rifle.

Also, I would like to include two other news stories from the Springfield Daily News on May 17, 1957, which tell the story of the last M–1 Garand rifle to be produced at the Springfield Armory, and how the inventor of the M–1, John Garand, was a witness to the event.

The news stories follow:

[From the Springfield Daily News of May 10, 1957]

ARMORY EXPLAINS HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT OF NEW RIFLE BY RESEARCH UNIT—TEAMWORK OF MANY BRAINS PRODUCED THE T–44 AFTER YEARS OF GRUELING FIELD TESTS IN THE ARCTIC AND TROPICS

Right now there are only 550 M–14 (T–44) rifles in existence, all of them stored at Springfield Armory. In a few short years there will be need for millions more. Enough to be carried by more soldiers and marines than any other military weapon in the history of modern times.

It's quite a manufacturing jump from a half thousand weapons into the millions for use of American forces and NATO troops, but the local gunplant has that answer—the team that designed and created the revolutionary lightweight fully-automatic shoulder piece which over 10 years of abuse and weather testing outstripped all its competitors.

That team worked in such close harmony on the creation of this versatile weapon which will replace 3 in present use that no 1 man could be credited with the creation and development of the T–44.

With the cooperation of Col. D. G. Ludlam, commanding officer of the Armory and the

public information office at the gunplant, the 9 living men who led the research and development, the industrial engineering and the production engineering were brought into 1 room for a Daily News interview yesterday.

As questions on the birth of the new piece were answered it was obvious to an outsider that the answers had to be formulated by more than 1 man because a number of them had meshed their efforts together to try and answer the requirements made just 10 years ago by the "customer."

That "customer" happens to be Uncle Sam and when the Government's top military men and arms experts line up specifications for a new weapon gathered from actual field operations and wartime experiences, they set deadline dates to meet.

The high pressure operation gives an indication as to the reason why one man couldn't tackle the job and come up with an "Eureka, I found it" conception of a daring new small arms.

Deadline dates by higher authority and new specifications for futuristic weapons are constant at the local gunplant and even now, in the research and development division at the Armory, the successor to the M–14 or T–44 is being worked over.

It was in the research and development division when reports seeking improved characteristics of a small arms weapons came in about 1945 from no less a military authority than the late Gen. "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell of World War II fame in the China-Burma-India theater of operation.

A lighter rifle than the M–1 Garand was needed and later specifications began including a search for a rifle that could replace three in use by American troops.

As head of the rifle section of the Armory the late Lloyd S. Corbett, of East Longmeadow, who died a few months ago, led the program to work out the idea that was to become the T–44 and now the M–14 or M–15, designations depending on the weight of the barrel used.

In 1947, Research and Development, under the leadership of such experts as H. F. Hawthorne, acting chief of Research and Development, E. M. Harvey, chief of light weapons development, and Stanley W. Fish, chief light weapons, had a prototype that was ready for project-control testing at Aberdeen Proving Grounds, Md., and then at Fort Benning, Ga.

At that time, the T–44 had as competitors in the race for M–1 successor, the T–47, a Springfield Armory entry also, the EM–2 British rifle, and the T–48, a Belgian rifle, manufactured here by Harrington & Richardson in Worcester.

The grueling field tests in the Arctic and in the tropics, reduced the race to two possibilities, the T–48 and the T–44.

An order for 500 T–44s brought into play the talents of Lt. Col. C. S. Campbell, chief of Plans and Operation, and J. D. Finn, civilian executive assistant, who handed down the orders; R. S. Henry, Engineering Division, acting chief of rifle section, V. A. Luukkonen, acting chief of the Engineering Division, who had to create the blueprints of parts and recommend the most economical and best tolerances and materials to make the gun, on a mass production basis.

Then came the work of finding the dies, the jigs and the tools to make the weapon on a pilotline basis. This was in the field of experts like George Mackintosh, deputy chief of Armory operations, and W. H. Hayes, chief of production engineering office more simply AOD.

The team operation was as close as the movements of any football or basketball team and there was not always a division of effort that might be indicated by the above comments.

The end result is a .30 caliber weapon, a shorter and lighter rifle without sacrificing any velocity of the bullet which will fire 20 rounds without reloading either semiautomatic or automatic. The M–1 Garand fired eight rounds without reloading so the improved firing capacity is obvious.

Economy was an essential of the development of the T–44. Ninety percent of the present M–1 assembly lines can be used in the production of the rifle when the go ahead call comes.

Improvements in the rifle will go on even before mass production worked out by this team of leaders and their aids who have made the Armory the small-arms center of the entire free world.

Because of the work of these men and the employees at the gun plant, private companies could make the T–44 on a package operation that would spell out even the smallest tool to be used.

[From the Springfield Daily News of May 17, 1957]

ARMORY MAKES LAST M–1 AFTER 20–YEAR PRODUCTION

INVENTOR GARAND ON HAND FOR QUIET CEREMONY AS ASSEMBLY LINE IS STOPPED

As thousands of Springfield area visitors flocked through the gates of venerable Springfield Armory to see open-house exhibits this morning, a truly historic moment in the development of American military arms took place.

In building 20 at the gun plant, armory civilian and military officials and craftsmen watched the last M–1 Garand rifle taken off the assembly line.

The end of manufacturing of the rifle carried by World War II and Korean war fighters took place at 10:43 a. m. when rifle No. 6084405 was run through final assembly.

On hand for the event, which will silence this assembly line until orders for the newly adopted T–44 or M–14 comes from Washington, was John Garand, the man whose genius made the M–1 possible. With him were Brig. Gen. Jean E. Engler, chief of the industrial division of the armory; Col. E. R. Light, of the Office of the Chief of Ordnance; Col. Douglas Ludlam, commanding officer of the armory and Col. Maurice Driscoll, commanding officer of the Springfield Ordnance District.

The number of Garands manufactured at Springfield has run into the millions since 1937, when the first mass-produced M–1's started rolling off the assembly lines. Gunmen said it would be difficult to fix an exact number since some of the rifles were made in private industry.

With work continuing on such weapons as the M–39 aircraft machinegun, the T–171 Vulcan air cannon, and the M–60 lightweight machinegun, the end of Garand production will not mean any change in the present 2,500 work force, armory officials said.

If Mr. Garand, now retired and an occasional visitor to the armory, felt any emotion witnessing the end of full-scale manufacturing of his weapon, it couldn't be noted.

He stood quietly with a group of officers and civilians around a gun rack. He left with the officers to look over the exhibit of rifles at the main arsenal.

[From the Springfield Daily News of May 17, 1957]

GARAND SEES LAST NAMESAKE ROLL OFF ARMORY PRODUCTION LINE

Modest John Garand, the Springfield man whose genius attracted worldwide attention through his contribution to military small arms, today termed the adoption of the fully automatic T–44 to replace his Garand rifle as a "fitting and necessary step."

He attended with a group of officers and top civilians the turning out of the last M–1 rifle for general field purposes at the local gun plant.

A soft-spoken man, immaculately dressed, and quick on his feet, Mr. Garand refused to make any comment on how much of a part he played in the development of the T–44, fully automatic rifle which is to replace the M1 for use of American and NATO troops.

If the almost legendary gun maker refused to discuss his role in making the new rifle possible, others close to armory production claimed that the part he played was a significant one.

Ninety percent of the assembly line making the Garand can be converted to make the versatile T–44, it was pointed out.

Mr. Garand, in brief comments while he waited for the photographer to take pictures of him holding the last general purpose M1, said that the need for a smaller cartridge was obvious and was now being fulfilled by the new weapon.

The T–44, which can fire a clip of 20 rounds without reloading, uses a smaller bullet and smaller sized parts to cut down on the rifle weight.

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including a letter which appeared in the New York Times on May 7 written by Mr. Elgin Groseclose of Washington, D. C. It is a very interesting letter and comes at an opportune time as hearings begin on the Mutual Security bill today.

The letter follows:

EXTENSION OF FOREIGN AID—NATIONAL INTEREST AND CONCERN FOR LESS FORTUATE HELD ANTITHETICAL

(The writer of the following letter, an economic consultant, served as Treasurer General of Iran during World War II and is presently president of Welfare of the Blind, Inc., a Christian agency for the sightless of the Middle East.)

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The perplexity among the electorate over the foreign aid program, the waste and confusion in administration and the dubious results to date are all explainable in the light of Stanley Stuber's letter in your April 28 issue. Mr. Stuber, a concerned Christian and church official, argues for foreign aid on two grounds: national interest and Christian concern for less fortunate peoples.

Both are appropriate motives, but mutually exclusive. You cannot combine disinterested benevolence and self-serving national diplomacy in the same program. It cannot be for both God and Caesar. And from this attempt comes the split personality of foreign aid and the public confusion. Administrators too often spend the public funds abroad as though they were provided by the ravens. A billion dollars a year is spent for "defense support" which no one understands. Former Ambassador Norman Armour, commissioned by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to examine the aid operations in Greece, Turkey, and Iran, reported that "defense support resembles a fund out of which any mission can draw for almost any purpose."

LIMITING BENEVOLENCES

Church organizations which officially urge that foreign aid be extended to underdevel-

oped countries through Government-financed programs, as an expression of American Christian concern, should realize the constitutional limitations on Government appropriations for foreign benevolences. As Charles A. Beard, in the Republic, quoting Justice Joseph Story, points out, foreign benevolences as public policy are beyond the powers of the Federal Government.

Moreover, church people, if they would follow the teachings of Jesus, would concentrate more on promoting aid to the unfortunate peoples of the world through their own church missionary societies rather than through taxation which must be borne by many who do not share this Christian conscience or who may believe that the funds should better be spent on the unfortunate peoples of our own country, such as the neglected mountain people, slum dwellers, and Apache children.

Finally, the church is much more competent at the job than Government. It costs the churches about one-tenth what it costs the Government to maintain personnel overseas, and the results achieved by the missionaries are immeasurably greater than those of the ICA.

ELGIN GROSECLOSE.

WASHINGTON, *April 29, 1957.*

The Honorable Carl Vinson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday, the Secretary of Defense, Mr. Charles E. Wilson, was host to the members of the Armed Services Committee of the House, members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other distinguished persons in the field of aviation, at a luncheon in his office at the Pentagon to provide an opportunity for the National Aeronautic Association to present the Elder Statesmen of Aviation award to our distinguished colleague, the Honorable CARL VINSON, chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the House.

It was my privilege to be present on this occasion and join with my colleagues in paying tribute to our great chairman.

After preliminary introductory remarks by Thomas Lamphier, president of the association, a eulogy of Mr. VINSON was made by Mr. John F. Victory, chairman, Committee on Elder Statesmen of Aviation, National Aeronautic Association. His remarks were as follows:

Mr. Secretary, Mr. VINSON, and honored guests, when Orville Wright made the first successful flight of an airplane in 1903, there was but small realization by the world of the future impact of that event upon the progress of civilization and the destinies of nations. Likewise the election of Hon. CARL VINSON, of Georgia, to the United States Congress 3 months after the start of World War I, did not forecast the significance of the contributions he would make to American aviation. On September 12, 1925, there occurred the first of a long series of events which were to bring to bear on the future of American aviation the devotion, talents, and wisdom of this budding statesman from Georgia.

At that stage in our history, World War I had intervened. Airpower, for the first time in history, had become an instrument of warfare. But 7 years after the close of that war, military aviation in the land of its birth was still in its infancy. On June 30, 1925, the Army had about 1,400 planes, of which 396 were designated "standard planes," a term which we understand today as meaning "combat ready." The Army Air Service, as it was then known, had 912 officers.

Naval aviation had 398 service airplanes, of which 218 were with the fleet and the remainder in reserve. Naval aviation had 623 officers, of whom 377 were pilots. It had one carrier, the *Langley*, which was a converted collier used chiefly for experimental purposes.

There was a more or less popular movement in those days to unite Army and Navy aviation into one separate organization, to discontinue the surface fleet, and to limit the Navy to submarines. Had such policies been adopted in 1925, it would have been quite difficult, to say the least, for America to have carried the war to Japan during World War II. The country is indebted to farsighted and responsible officials in those days who kept America's military policy on an even keel. Among those men of vision, courage, and statesmanship was our guest of honor today, Congressman CARL VINSON, of Georgia. He was one of nine men appointed by President Coolidge as members of the President's Aircraft Board, commonly known as the Morrow Board, in honor of its Chairman, Dwight W. Morrow.

That Board of distinguished Americans was appointed September 12, 1925, "for the purpose of making a study of the best means of developing and applying aircraft in national defense and to supplement the studies already made by the War and Navy Departments on that subject."

After extensive hearings, the Morrow Board separated the wheat from the chaff, and made such sound and solid findings and recomendations, that for the first time in our history an entire program of legislation proposed by an investigative body was enacted into law. For example, the Morrow Board recommended and the Congress approved 5-year aircraft procurement programs for the Army and Navy; assistant secretaries for aeronautics in the Departments of War, Navy, and Commerce; and enactment of the Air Commerce Act that became the legislative cornerstone for the remarkable development of civil and commercial aviation in America. Approval by the Congress of these and other recommendations of the Morrow Board marked the true beginning of the transition of airpower from infancy to adulthood.

Among other important steps were: The change of the name of the Army Air Service to Army Air Corps; representation for Army aviation on the Army General Staff; making permanent the principle of extra pay for flying duty; and renewed emphasis on the procurement of additional personnel for flight training and duty, as well as new and improved types of aircraft. Practically the same recommendations were made with reference to naval aviation, and it is significant to note that each of these recommendations was subsquently fully implemented, the Congressman from Georgia being the author of a number of the legislative proposals which resulted from the Board's recommendations. So, for the first time in the peacetime history of our Nation, aviation as an instrument of national defense received the full blessing and support of the highest echelons of our Government.

The dominant role of airpower in World War II was universally recognized. Following that war, and the establishment of a separate Department of the Air Force, economy again threatened the growth of aviation. Here again came Mr. VINSON'S vision and statesmanship. He was the author of legislation providing for a 70-group Air Force. He successfully led a fight for additional funds for more planes for the Air Force, and this in the face of a then current economy drive in the Congress. He was the author of the Air Force Organization Act. He was the author of the Marine Corps Organization Act, which gave that organization its first statutory charter, with 3 combat divisions and 3 air wings. He has consistently and successfully led the support of naval aviation.

As Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, he guided the difficult hearings which resulted from the B–36 controversy in 1949. Faced with serious dissension among the military services, he directed the Committee inquiry in such a manner as to allay the fears of service personnel and preserve the steady growth of aviation in the military services. He then defined national airpower as follows: "The national airpower consists of the military airpower of the various services, plus commercial aviation, plus the national industrial and manpower resources pertaining to aviation." That definition was adopted by the Committee and remains the guiding policy of the Nation today.

Elected to the Congress on November 3, 1914, Mr. VINSON is now serving his 43d consecutive year in the House of Representatives. He was Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee for 16 years, and is now serving his 7th year as Chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services.

In the judgment of the National Aeronautic Association, the long and fruitful legislative career of Carl Vinson, Congressman from Georgia, and his steadfast and farsighted support of modern facilities for aeronautical research as the foundation of air progress; his support of the fullest practicable development of airpower by an independent Air Force, and of air arms inseparable from the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, stamp him as a most constructive and influential public servant in the Congress of the United States. Over a long period of years he has, with exceptional competency and vision, provided for the vitally important development of all segments of airpower, and has demonstrated outstanding leadership in providing a sound legislative basis for the national security. On this record the National Aeronautic Association proudly designates Carl Vinson "Elder Statesman of Aviation."

At the conclusion of Mr. Victory's statement, Secretary of Defense Wilson read to the assemblage the citation, which is as follows:

The board of directors of the National Aeronautics Association of the United States of America, pursuant to authority duly vested in it, does hereby constitute and designate CARL VINSON elder statesman of aviation in recognition of his significant and enduring contributions over the years to the progress of aeronautics, and his demonstrated qualities of patriotism, integrity, and moral courage worthy of emulation.

Mr. VINSON then responded in a very effective, moving, and appropriate manner with the following statement:

Mr. Secretary, Mr. Lamphier, Dr. Victory, my colleagues, and distinguished guests, I deeply appreciate the high honor that the National Aeronautic Association has conferred upon me by designating me an elder statesman of aviation.

There are times in a man's life when it seems almost impossible to find either the voice or the words to express the emotion of the human heart. Today is such an occasion in my life.

For you, to ascertain the deep feelings that surge within me, I urge you to look beyond my simple words, and understand the gratitude, that I have for the honor which has been bestowed upon me, and for

the overly generous things that have been said.

To you—the officers and members of the National Aeronautic Association who have selected me for this award, to the civilian and military leaders of our Nation, and to you my colleagues of the Congress honoring me by your presence—I want to express my deep appreciation.

This is an occasion which I shall remember to the last day of my life.

Fate has been kind to me. I have been privileged to be a Member of the Congress for almost 43 years.

During that time, I have experienced the trials and tribulations of three wars, followed by the elation of victory, and the gratitude that our great Nation continues to survive, prosper, and champion the cause of freedom throughout the world.

During this same period, I have been privileged to observe and perhaps make a modest contribution in legislation to the irresistible growth of American aviation.

To me, it seems but yesterday that our Nation's aircraft flew at speeds of scarcely 100 miles an hour, with a maximum range of 200 miles, and the ability to carry only the smallest types of military weapons and bombs.

I must confess that I had unbounded faith in the future of aviation when I sat as a member of the Morrow Board in 1925 and assisted to the best of my limited ability in writing a legislative program to chart aviation as an important weapon in our national defense. But I am frank to say that my vision did not forecast the status of aviation as it is today.

In the brief space of about 30 years, we were destined to be in the jet-atomic age, with manned aircraft traveling three times the speed of sound, carrying atomic and hydrogen weapons so devastating that they defy the mind of man.

But even now, the inventive genius of man is bringing us into an age of rockets and missiles of such speeds and capabilities as to further defy imagination.

Who knows what vistas will yet be opened through the further genius of man in this great field of aviaton.

In recalling the progress of aviation over the past 43 years, I can only conclude, that its future will be as startling as its past.

While its pathway has not always been smooth in the legislative halls—it has seen its ups and downs—I am deeply gratified that my contributions, small as they may have been, have helped in keeping American aviation high in the sky.

We who write the law, formulate the policies, and provide the money—all of which is important—nevertheless play but a minor role in the full development of aviation. The greater contribution to American aviation is made by the men and women who labor at the drafting boards, the scientists at the wind tunnels, the engineers at the test laboratories, and above everyone else, those brave and patriotic officers and men who have in the past and are now dedicating their lives to the actual operation of manned aircraft who proudly wear on their uniforms the insignia of the pilot's wings.

So long as this Nation remains militarily strong, we will be a free people. Our national defense must ever be the paramount concern of the Nation.

I have no hesitancy in saying that today the capabilities of American aviation are of such powerful and forceful character as to provide the Nation with the shield of protection that gives us the peace we enjoy at this hour.

As the years slip by, my life has been greatly enriched by my association of over 40 years with the officers, men, and civilian heads of our armed services, as well as our leaders in government, research, and the aviation industry.

This scroll, so beautifully inscribed, will be placed in an honored spot in my home and will be one of my most prized possessions. And as the shadows of the long, long night begin to fall across my pathway, it will ever be a reminder to me that in my humble and feeble way, I tried to make some contribution for the benefit of our beloved country.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

The Case Against the Surtax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the Honorable ANTONI N. SADLAK, has introduced H. R. 6452, a bill to reform the present tax structure, and if the Members could spare the time to give this bill the attention and consideration which it so deservedly merits, I am sure that his bill will meet with favorable action on the part of the committee to which it has been referred.

He has expressed, by his statements, most eloquently the reasons for his position and the benefits to be derived by all taxpayers under it. My own mail reflects acceptance of it by many segments of our people, and I am pleased to insert in the RECORD a timely article appearing in the Hartford Times on May 11 on the subject.

This article, written by Robert H. Murphy, executive vice president of the Wiremold Co., and member of the taxation committee of the National Association of Manufacturers, is offered for your information:

THE CASE AGAINST THE SURTAX

(By Robert H. Murphy)

Thanks to the device of withholding, income taxes today have become relatively painless. On that score, the device has its merciful aspects. On the other hand, I strongly suspect that it also tends to prevent us from realizing fully just what we pay in taxes and, beyond that, what the Government is doing with them.

Many people, for example, would have a hard time telling you the gross figures listed on the stub of their paychecks, or their pay envelopes. It's the net that counts, the take-home pay. The deductions are simply figures on a piece of paper, and easy to disown. We are apt to forget that the difference is also our money and that—collectively—we have a voice in how it is spent, and even how much should be collected in the first place.

I would guess that if you made an informal survey among your friends and acquaintances, you would be surprised to learn just how few of them could tell you with any accuracy what their tax is, in what surtax bracket they fall, and what has been happening to them over the past years, from a tax point of view.

It might come as a shock to them to learn that the income tax which is popularly supposed to soak only the rich, has been playing particular havoc with their own take-home pay.

One man, however, who has been alert to the trend is Congressman at Large ANTONI N. SADLAK who has introduced into Congress a tax reform bill, H. R. 6452, which deals with this problem. Its adoption by Congress would supply a powerful incentive to the economy and prosperity of Connecticut, and the rest of the country as well.

In brief, the problem arises from the fact that 2 wars in the past 20 years have forced the Government into extreme measures to raise truly staggering sums of money. To accomplish this, the sliding scale surtax was boosted to the point where it took—and still takes—91 cents out of every dollar.

There is not, however, a great deal of revenue in this tax bracket. As high as the percentages are, there are simply not enough top-bracket incomes to tax. Consequently the bottom or entering wedge of the surtax was forced lower and lower until it reached $2,000 of taxable income. It is still there, and 15 million Americans who had previously regarded the surtax as an academic subject now found themselves directly involved.

It is not surprising that these taxes were adopted in the first place; the Congress at the time was trying desperately to finance military operations. What is alarming however is the fact that now, 12 years after World War II and 4 years after the Korean war, essentially these same wartime taxes are still on the books.

For the progressive tax no longer soaks the rich. The rich, after all, have ample access to tax-exempt securities to protect financial reserves already acquired. It is now the middle-income brackets which are exposed, and the 15 million Americans in this category are effectively being prevented, not just from becoming rich, but from any realistic accumulation of savings for any purpose—for their children's education, for their own small business needs, or for investment.

Some idea as to how punishing the surtaxes are may be seen in the following examples. Suppose we take a young man just starting in business for himself. Like everyone else, he pays 20 percent or one-fifth of his net, taxable income to the Government. This is the basic income tax. But this young man has a taxable income of $4,000 after deductions and exemptions, and that puts him in the surtax brackets as well.

The next year his business does well; he increases his taxable income to $8,000. His basic tax doubles as you would expect; his surtax increases 9 times.

His business continues to thrive. Again his taxable income doubles—to $16,000. His basic tax also doubles, of course, but this time his surtax has increased not 9 times but 50, repeat, 50 times.

In other words, the surtaxes climb faster than either the income or the basic tax. At $2,000 of taxable income, the tax rate is 20 percent. At $8,000, it is 34 percent. At $16,000, it is 50 percent, and from that point on the Federal Government gets more than he does of every additional dollar he makes. And it is through the middle-income range that the surtaxes now rise so steeply and with such devastating effect.

Some might think this young man would find tax relief in incorporating his business. This is not necessarily the case. The basic corporate tax is 30 percent, on everything from $1 to $25,000, and above that is a 22-percent surtax, total 52 percent. This is one reason why it is so difficult for small business, in Connecticut and elsewhere, to follow the time-honored American custom of plowing back earnings to finance growth.

Yet growth we must have, if only to maintain our current standard of living. Here in Connecticut, for example, our population boom means we have a net increase of about 13,000 in our labor force each year. One way or another, we have to create that many new jobs to keep pace with the population.

"I believe the time has come," Representative SADLAK said in explaining his measure,

"when the Congress must seriously review the problem of high taxes which are being used to support more and more Federal spending. The time has come to enact a realistic program of forward scheduling of tax reductions for all income taxpayers, individual and corporate. I am convinced that achievement of a moderate schedule of income-tax rates is necessary to the continued vitality and growth of our Nation's economy."

Briefly, Mr. SADLAK is calling for uniform annual reductions for each bracket of individual income tax rates and for the corporate tax, spread over 5 years beginning next January 1. The basic 20-percent tax would be cut to 15 percent. The surtaxes would also be lowered in each bracket so that by the end of 5 years, the peak tax rate would be not 91 percent, but 42.

The corporate tax would also be trimmed: the basic tax from 30 to 22 percent, and the surtax from 22 to 20 percent. Thus the combined top rate would drop from 52 percent as at present to 42 percent, the same level as the individual tax.

Best of all, these tax cuts would be financed, not by shifting the tax burden to any one group or new tax device, or even necessarily by reducing the present level of Federal spending. The cuts would be paid for instead by the annual growth factor in our economy which historically has been about three percent each year.

In other words, the Government annually takes in several billion dollars more than the previous year, even when the tax rate remains constant. This is the result of our growing economy. Mr. SADLAK is proposing to use this money for tax reduction, rather than allowing it to remain as an annual windfall for Government spenders.

Two-Way Street

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MYRON V. GEORGE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial of Friday, May 17, 1957, from the Parsons (Kans.) Sun, by Clyde M. Reed, Jr.:

TWO-WAY STREET

The House has voted to end the soil bank at the close of the current year, inserting such an amendment in the Department of Agriculture appropriations bill.

The soil bank is the chief vehicle by which the Federal farm program currently operates and only now is getting a start. Why, one asks, is it killed so quickly?

The reason is not to be found in the conviction that the soil bank is not a good thing, because it hasn't been in operation long enough to receive a fair trial.

Nor does it involve the principle of Federal support for agriculture. That hardly figured in the debate on the amendment to lay the soil bank to rest.

The reason lies in another direction. It is politics, which is ever present in the consideration of farm matters in Congress.

A big majority of House Democrats voted to stop the soil bank, probably with the idea of embarrassing the Republican administration. The bulk of opposition to the amendment on the other hand came from GOP Members of the House.

This proves not much at all, except that politics and the farm problem are inseparable and the temptation to inject partisan consideration into it is an irresistible one in Congress.

Certainly, too, the procedure is open to serious question. The House majority used an appropriation measure to set policy and that is a bad practice. It substantiates the charge that the whole business can be laid on the doorstep of politics.

In view of their past record, Democrats were not voting against the soil bank because of a belief that the Federal Government should cut off aid to agriculture. They simply were executing a political maneuver.

And in politics, there are few one-way streets. By acting to remove the major plank from the Eisenhower administration's farm program, the Democrats have taken unto themselves the burden of proposing something better or more effective. Unwittingly, perhaps, they have put themselves in a position of responsibility they did not occupy before their vote of Wednesday.

America's Other Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, one of the best articles I have seen on the plight of those many workers still not covered under the terms of the Fair Labor Standards Act appeared on Thursday, May 16, 1957, on the editorial page of the Washington Post and Times Herald. Entitled "Fuller Life Sought for 'Fringe' Family," it was written by Miss Malvina Lindsay, one of the outstanding observers in American journalism of the political and economic climate of our time.

Her column discussing the "bleak, deprived, anxious and inadequate" living standards of those workers—millions of them—who still receive less than the $1 minimum wage brought home to many perhaps unaware of this serious social problem and the need for corrective action.

In her customary fair manner, Miss Lindsay is careful to list some of the arguments of those who oppose the pending bills to expand coverage under the minimum wage laws to include large groups now exempt, including the rather shop-worn argument voiced by some groups that this is an invasion of States rights, and the claim that bringing these workers under the Fair Labor Standards Act would be damaging to some businesses or cause them great inconvenience.

The article points out, however, that 19 of our States have no minimum wage regulations and only 8 have such regulations for men; hence, "national action presents about the only hope for bettering the lot of the fringe worker in American society."

Extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act on an intelligent basis to take in additional groups is an important need in our economy today. We cannot boast of our record-breaking prosperity when so many of our workers are still earning less than $1 an hour and, in many cases, working unconscionably long hours because their employers do not have to observe and conform to the Wage-Hour Act.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I believe it would be most useful to have included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this excellent objective, clear-thinking report, and under unanimous consent, I submit it for inclusion in the RECORD.

FULLER LIFE SOUGHT FOR FRINGE FAMILY
(By Malvina Lindsay)

So much has been said and written about American prosperity that it is widely assumed in this country, as well as abroad, that virtually everyone here has a split-level house and a two-color car and is well fed, well dressed and well doctored.

Yet a reminder that many hard-working persons still live on the fringes of material supply, health, recreation, has come in testimony in congressional hearings on bills to expand coverage of minimum wage laws to groups now exempt.

Both political parties have come out for extending this coverage. But there is Senate controversy over the number of workers—10 million, 6 million, or 2½ million (as provided in different bills) that should be brought into the $1 minimum hourly wage classification. This may hold up action until next year.

Who are these shadowy people who never figure in any movie or magazine pictures of the American scene? They are not the ragged or the hungry. They are ordinary, neat-looking citizens who may work 50 to 60 hours a week for $25 to $30 a week.

They work in retail chain stores, restaurants, hotels, big laundries and dry-cleaning establishments, in canneries, seafood processing firms, on big farms, and as white-collar workers.

These people get by economically. Their way of life might be envied by the masses of many other countries, including Iron Curtain ones. But by minimum American standards of living their lives are generally bleak, deprived, anxious, and inadequate.

Health is one of the first things those who live on the fringes neglect, testimony in the current House hearings shows. Needed operations are delayed, visits to the doctor put off. Usually, this means bigger bills later for someone to meet—probably society.

Dental care of both children and adults is neglected. Adults who need spectacles go without them. What milk is bought must go to the children. Vitamins cannot be afforded.

In a survey in Pennsylvania, Missouri, and North Carolina, fringe workers were asked how they would spend their money if their hourly wages were raised to $1. Their replies generally were: pay back debts, buy better food for their children, obtain medical and dental care.

Often the fringe family gets involved in debt to a loan company when hit by any crisis, as sickness, death, unemployment, the need to buy furniture, or to move. It lacks any backlog of funds to meet the unexpected.

In some families husband and wife both work, and if there are children they may work in different shifts, the husband working daytime and the wife at night, or vice versa. Most of these families have from 2 to 5 children.

The high norms of living for children in American society in regard to nutrition, clothes, schooling, social life, present a special problem to the substandard wage earner. Parents often go without adequate (and morale building) clothes themselves to provide apparel for their children. Also rents are often exorbitant in the fourth or fifth class apartment buildings in which they live.

Three bills are in the Senate to extend wage and overtime provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. One, backed by Senator MORSE, would bring in about 10 million more workers, one by Senator KENNEDY, about 6 million. An administration-backed measure would extend coverage to 2½ million. Current House hearings are on a bill introduced by Representative AUGUSTINE KELLY, which is the same as the Morse bill.

Opponents of the proposed extension of minimum wage coverage say it would cause some firms to go out of business, would be hard on other firms, and would cause great inconvenience in the adjustment to new wage and hour requirements. They also contend it is an invasion of State rights.

Since 19 States have no minimum wage regulations and only 8 have such regulations for men, national action presents about the only hope for bettering the lot of the fringe worked in American society.

Exodus From Public School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, there appears in the American Mercury for June 1957, an article written by Russell Maguire which is an unbiased and thought-provoking statement on the effect of the United States Supreme Court's mandate of judicial lawmaking of forced integration in the Nation's public school system. This splendid article was called to my attention by a good friend, Mr. Egbert Jones, of Crawfordsville, Ark.

But of even more interest is the reaction to this judicial decree by the teaching staff of New York's Columbia University.

They are for integration of the public schools as long as it does not apply to members of their immediate families. It is all right when the other fellow's children accept the attendant downgrading in public school standards as long as there are private schools for the well-to-do to patronize.

The sheer hypocrisy of some prointegrationists is exposed in all of its snobbiness and superiority in the short but lucid article by Russell Maguire, and I recommend it as required reading for all who now support this Supreme Court fiat "for the other fellow."

The article follows:

EXODUS FROM PUBLIC SCHOOL

(By Russell Maguire)

Not long ago, married members of the Columbia University teaching staff gathered in a conference to resolve a problem that deeply concerned them all as parents of school-age children.

The problem concerned the local Morningside Heights public school, serving most of the resident faculty staff. In recent years, the enrollment in that city-operated school had seen a rapid increase in the numbers of Puerto Rican and Negro pupils, until together they approached two-thirds of the classroom membership.

As a result, many members of the faculty staff had taken the momentous step of removing their children from that public school and sending them to private schools, no small sacrifice when tuition fees of six or seven hundred dollars must be paid from teaching salaries.

Expense, however, was not the point that the group was brought together to discuss, but principle: It was felt that Columbia University and the liberal tradition which it had come to represent were on trial.

Since the days when Franze Boas ruled the anthropology department of Columbia and introduced the new anthropology of environmentalism, Columbia had been in the forefront in the struggle for equality among the races. Far and wide, through its famed school of education, Columbia had proclaimed that the differences between the races were the differences of cultural training. The firm cornerstone of this philosophy was the idea that the public-school system would in time bring about the real equality of the races.

Were they going to fail to support the institutions which they had proclaimed as the true hope of the future? Were they to practice private-school segregation for their children, after they had so long led the fight to end segregation—and at a time when that struggle was rising to a white heat in the South? Never had their ideals been so clearly put to the test.

The faculty members rose to the challenge. It was resolved by the entire group that it was their duty to support the public-school system of New York City by continuing to send their children to its schools. It was reaffirmed that the Morningside Heights school had one of the best teaching staffs in the city and with patience and understanding the problems of the school could be resolved. The meeting ended in full agreement, with an arrangement to meet again at a later date.

Time went by and when this group met again at the arranged date, it was discovered that every member of the group had removed his or her offspring from the Morningside school and was now sending them to private schools.

Other members of the faculty, unable to pay the necessary fees, were moving to other colleges where their children could avoid participation in the great social experiment. The advance of the integrated school, which liberal Columbia has so long advocated, has routed the Columbia liberals almost to a man.

The disastrous decline in training and educational standards in the newly integrated public schools of Washington, D. C., is common knowledge. The result has been a general exodus of the better off families from the Washington school districts. Amongst those fleeing the integrated public schools are numerous public officials. Morningside Heights and the District of Columbia schools are not isolated incidents.

In all such cases those who cannot afford to flee remain behind. The poor are reminded again that those who lead causes and those who endure their consequences are not always the same people.

The leadership in the fight to end segregation is supplied by those best able to protect their children from the full effects of this policy. Wealth is the perfect insulation against the common herd of all colors. The Harrimans and Roosevelts in their zoned neighborhoods and country estates, accustomed to sending their children to private schools, need fear nothing from the effects of this policy.

It is not surprising that rejoicing over the Supreme Court's decision on schools is apt to be greatest among those least likely to pay the price of putting it into practice. Those of wealth are easily zoned out of the poorer neighborhoods where mixed races are to be found. Failing this, where integration lowers the standards of the public schools, the wealthy can and are moving in numbers to the private schools.

The rapid rise of these schools in America in the last few years is directly correlated to the rise of the integrated school and the decline of public school standards. Only a few professional educators appear to be disturbed by the fact that our public school system is sagging under the ever-increasing load that the socialist state places upon it.

This program is lowering the educational levels of the schools in the poorer neighborhoods, emphasizing the educational differential between the poor and the wealthy.

As so often happens with a program of equalitarianism, the effect is to exaggerate differences, not to lessen them.

The wealthy can escape the consequences of this decision, the poor cannot. As a result we are already seeing the further strengthening of the class structure of America, a fact noted by many observers. Not for the first time an effort to force a complex society into a common mold results, not in a classless society, but in a more complex class structure.

The people of America, seeing their community of race being dissolved by legal action, may commence to question whether a community of wealth has any more legal validity than a community of race.

The thought may not have escaped the minds of our "selected" Supreme Court.

Address of Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an address by the distinguished Chief of Naval Operations, Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, delivered before the South Carolina Bankers Convention in Charleston, S. C., on May 18, 1957, concerning America's vital role for control of the seas. Admiral Burke knows whereof he speaks. He is one of the great heroes of modern warfare and the leader of the greatest Navy civilization has ever known.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY ADM. ARLEIGH A. BURKE, USN, CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS, BEFORE THE SOUTH CAROLINA BANKERS CONVENTION, CHARLESTON, S. C., MAY 18, 1957

It is an honor to be here this morning. It is a particular pleasure to meet with a vigorous, public-spirited group such as the South Carolina Bankers. Your outstanding support of the United States Savings Bond program is well known. All Americans are indebted to you for your patriotic efforts.

Armed Forces Day is always a good time to review some of our national security problems and to be brought up to date on the status of our defense team.

Our defense team, as you know, consists of an Army, a Navy, an Air Force, and a Marine Corps. Each service makes a tremendous contribution to the defense of the United States. Each has a highly specialized part to play. Each is carefully balanced in relation to the other members of the team. No single service can win, without the sup-

port and close cooperation of the other services.

Our Nation's defense team is very powerful. We have enough nuclear striking power to completely destroy any aggressor.

We are approaching a situation in which both we and our possible enemies can mutually destroy each other. With our present forces we could—regardless of the effects of an unprovoked surprise attack on their part, regardless of their defenses, regardless of anything else—we could not be prevented from destroying the important parts of the U. S. S. R. and literally ruining it completely, if we were attacked. On the other hand, in the near future, they may well have a similar capability in relation to us.

Defense costs are rising steeply.

The world is haunted by the specter of a nuclear exchange between rival population centers. In fact, many have become so mesmerized by the possibility of massive devastation that other more practical, and perhaps less futile, solutions to our problems are being overlooked.

In times like these, we are compelled to search for better answers to our problems. If enough of us—those of us in civilian life and those of us in uniform—work together and search hard enough, better answers can be found.

In our search for better answers—we can be sure of one thing. The world is changing. Some of the changes are so far-reaching as to prevent us from comprehending their full impact.

The world population, for example, is increasing at a very rapid rate. It looks as if it may triple in the next hundred years.

Land frontiers of the world have all but disappeared. About the only areas on the surface of the earth which remain to challenge man's pioneering spirit and ingenuity in the years ahead are the oceans.

Technological change is accelerating. Land transportation, water transportation and air transportation technology is progressing at a very rapid rate. The need to transport people and material among nations is expanding year by year. We are finding the means to do it.

Nuclear power is being developed for transportation purposes. Take our nuclear-powered submarine, *Nautilus*. On a few pounds of uranium she made the equivalent of 24 Atlantic crossings, 2½ times around the world, without refueling. *Nautilus'* first nuclear core has been replaced now, and she is back at sea again, ready for many more thousands of miles.

These are some of the changes that are taking place. Let us now look at some of the things that are not changing. I shall mention only a few.

First of all, geography—the basic geography of this planet—has not changed very much. Land areas constitute less than one-third of the surface of the earth. The water areas cover the rest of the world. The water areas of the world still remain relatively unused.

Another thing which has not changed very much is human nature. People are still land conscious. They spend most of their lives on land. As a rule, they understand land problems more readily than they do sea problems. They understand the operation of land-based weapons more readily than they do sea-based weapons.

Most of the research and development talent of the human race is naturally devoted to the solution of land problems. That portion of the total human effort which is devoted to sea matters still remains very small. That is perhaps one of the reasons many nations overlook many opportunities to make better use of the vast ocean spaces, which are available to all nations.

Nevertheless, human liberty and national independence seem to bear some kind of relationship to an understanding of the sea. Nations who have been sea-conscious have usually been able to maintain their security and independence longer than nations who have not been sea-conscious.

Today, from the interior of Asia, a totalitarian land power again threatens the maritime world. This threat has taken many forms over the years, as it alternately pressed against the maritime world and then receded. Today, again, another totalitarian, Communist totalitarianism, is reaching out, seeking to subjugate more people and to control more territory. The cycle has begun again.

The maritime world, when threatened with totalitarian aggression, has invariably found itself united, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously. More often than not, this unity has been rather loose and informal. It has been a unity born of common ideals and common purposes, in the face of a common threat. It has been a common advance toward common goals. Rarely have all members of this maritime coalition proceeded along precisely the same path, or at the same rate, or in rigid cadence. Yet, the fact remains that this loose, informal maritime association has been, almost from the beginning, one of the most powerful, consistent and constructive influences in the history of civilization.

In order to withstand the totalitarian pressure free nations must stand together. Survival, in the event of attack, depends on the ability of free nations of the maritime world to come quickly to the support of beleaguered nations by sea, with modern Army, Navy and Air Force teams.

The ease with which the United States Sixth Fleet, with its hard-hitting Marine combat forces, was dispatched to Eastern Mediterranean waters in recent weeks, is a good example of what can be done. It is a good example of the kind of action that can be taken quickly, by forces prepared to move on the seas, to look after United States interests or fill any other role that national policy might call for.

The free world can stand together against the threat of aggression so long as we are able to use the surface of the seas for mutual support. The fact is that there can be no free world unless we can use the surface of the seas.

In order to do this, our navies must be kept up to date. For example, guns can no longer shoot down modern, high-flying planes. Guided missiles are needed. The Navy's surface-to-air guided missiles, such as Terrier and Talos, have already demonstrated phenomenal accuracy against aircraft targets.

New weapons and new techniques have naturally increased the vulnerability of all types of forces and installations. This is particularly true of fixed bases which can be accurately located well in advance of attack. We in the Navy are very much concerned about the vulnerability of fixed bases which support our forces at sea. Fortunately our forces at sea, our carrier striking forces, are on the move and cannot be pinpointed for attack. A moving base is much harder to find and to hit than a stationary base. To us in the Navy this means greater emphasis on moving forces, such as mobile carrier striking forces, and less reliance on stationary bases for support.

New technologies have done something more. They have revived the ancient claim that a weapon has at last been found that will sweep surface ships from the seas.

This is, of course, an old story to sailors. For some reason or other, the development of a new weapon has almost invariably been accompanied by a claim that navies were finished.

To take only recent examples, in the 19th century, it was the rifled gun that was to do us in. Then it was the torpedo, the submarine, the airplane, and the atomic bomb. Now the nuclear-powered submarine and the megaton bomb are weapons that finally are to sink all ships at sea.

Let us not underestimate the threat of the nuclear-powered, missile-firing submarine, or the megaton bomb. However, new weapons like the nuclear-powered submarine, and the megaton bomb, are being adapted by our own Navy to assist in controlling and using the seas. Instead of spelling the doom of navies, powerful new weapons invariably add to our strength at sea.

Technologically we in the Navy now feel that we are moving ahead rapidly. We look forward to still more naval progress as the sea-consciousness of our country increases, as it surely will and must. Everything possible must be done to interest more of the creative and industrial genius of our country in the solution of oceanic problems.

We in the Navy are convinced that an ever-increasing portion of the offensive and defensive power of the future will be deployed in the ocean spaces of the world. We hope that this great power on the oceans will continue to be United States power. However, this is something that cannot be taken for granted.

In the nuclear-missile age, even more than in the past, the side which commands the seas will not be defeated. One need only contemplate the tremendous Soviet naval program, and their persistent efforts to gain access to ice-free coastal areas, to conclude that they recognize this.

The massive Soviet naval-building program was started at a time when they were short of everything, at a time when they were still rebuilding from World War II devastation. They are learning fast about the importance of the oceans. They are hard at work, building a powerful force, designed ultimately to take the oceans away from us. If they ever gain that ability, they will have achieved their goal of world domination, and we will be in very serious trouble.

The Soviets are emphasizing submarine construction. They are building them in huge numbers. They apparently see in the submarine a means of launching guided missiles against the United States. They see in the submarine an opportunity to inflict terrible losses on free-world shipping, perhaps even exceeding the tremendous toll taken by Hitler's submarines, which destroyed millions of tons.

The large number of submarines in the Soviet fleet are a grave menace today to the sea communications upon which our free world coalition and our own forces overseas depend.

The need for sea communications is greater today than ever before. The tonnage of material moved on the surface of the sea continues to increase year after year. Over 99½ percent of the total world volume of peacetime trade moves by sea. In time of war, the percentage remains approximately the same.

In event of nuclear war, the power to survive the initial assault, the power to recover, the power to shift resources, and the power to carry on to victory, depends on the ability of the Navy to move on the surface of the seas, and to bring tremendous power to bear where it is needed, when it is needed.

Turning now to the problem of defending the United States in the nuclear-missile age, it s becoming clear that we must make the best possible use of the ocean spaces to give us additional time and space. Our main defenses must be advanced as far toward the enemy threat as possible in order to gain the maximum time and space advantage. The ocean areas of the world present opportunities to gain more time and space for defense. The location of ships at sea is generally unknown to an enemy. Ships must be searched for and located before they can be attacked. This takes extra time.

Ships are deployed away from home, away from population centers of the homeland,

near possible trouble areas. This gives the free world extra space. The side which has extra time and space has a decisive advantage.

Our powerful weapons must be deployed as close to the source of the threat as possible. This provides another significant time and space advantage in event of attack. It adds subseantially to the weight of fire that can be delivered on target for a given expenditure of resources. This means superior economy of force, more attack capability for the amount of money expended.

Additional dispersal and maneuvering space must be found. The one remaining area of the world where space is relatively inexpensive and where unlimited dispersal can be achieved without interfering with people, is the oceans of the world.

Today, the ocean spaces clearly hold the key to the future. They provide unused opportunities for solution of many of our future security problems, at a price we can afford to pay. Our greatest danger as free people lies in the failure to recognize our oceanic opportunities.

The oceans give us the mobility which we need to move with superior force to the aid of those who are threatened with aggression. They provide vast spaces to disperse and maneuver the powerful offensive-defensive complexes of the future. They provide the communications necessary to bring together the superior power of the free world. They provide the means of deterring or defeating nuclear aggression and the means of keeping local wars localized.

Your Navy is devoting every ounce of effort, within the resources made available to it, to increasing our country's capability on the oceans. In that way we are able to make the best possible use of our splendid Armed Forces team, and we can continue to keep the first line of defense overseas. We can continue to confront the forces of aggression with overwhelming force and overwhelming resources, and with better scientific and industrial manpower. These things we can do at minimum expenditure of our own resources, if we take advantage of the opportunities which the oceans provide.

Your help and understanding are needed in these matters if we are to be successful.

Dr. Ernest V. Abbott Honored for Outstanding Service to Sugar Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure and most gratifying to me, as Member of Congress from Louisiana's Sugar Bowl, and to the entire sugar industry, to join in congratulating and commending Dr. Ernest V. Abbott, of Houma, La., who on yesterday received a superior service award from the United States Department of Agriculture.

Among employees recognized for their outstanding service and presented with awards by Secretary of Agriculture Benson during the Department's annual honor awards ceremony, Dr. Abbott was cited for leadership in the production of improved disease-resistant commercial sugarcane varieties and for basic research on sugarcane diseases, establishing him as a world authority in this field.

Dr. Abbott, who is in charge of the sugarcane research station at Houma, has been employed by the Department of Agriculture for 26 years. He entered the Government service as an assistant pathologist in 1930, was promoted to pathologist in 1942, and to senior pathologist in 1948. In 1950 he was promoted to his present title as principal pathologist.

Through the high quality of his research and leadership which he has demonstrated in the field of pathology, Dr. Abbott is recognized as an outstanding authority on sugarcane diseases, throughout the world. His ability is indicated by the fact that he is called upon for advice by his colleagues in the Department of Agriculture, by State experiment stations, and by sugarcane pathologists and breeders in many parts of the United States and foreign countries. He has served as consultant on sugarcane problems in Formosa and South America and has been a leader in connection with the work of international committees on diseases and the evaluation of their importance. An honorary life membership in the American Sugar Cane League was bestowed upon him in appreciation of his distinguished service to the sugarcane industry of Louisiana.

Among Dr. Abbott's specific accomplishments is his work in sugarcane breeding activities that have resulted in producing high yielding disease-resistant varieties for Louisiana and other areas. This serves as an outstanding example of the control of epidemic plant diseases through breeding. Some of the principal varieties developed commercially as the result of these investigations are C. P. 44–101, C. P. 29–116, C. P. 29–320, C. P. 34–120, C. P. 36–105, C. P. 47–193, and C. P. 48–103.

According to Department reports, C. P. 44–101 occupies more than 50 percent of the current acreage devoted to sugarcane production in Louisiana, while C. P. 48–103 has the highest sugar content early in the season of any variety ever produced by the Department and grown commercially in Louisiana.

For these and other very valuable contributions, Dr. Abbott is indeed deserving of the honors that have been paid him, and the sugar industry is fortunate indeed in having the great benefit of his talent and services.

A City's Growth in Brotherhood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, it is always gratifying to know that one's home community is appreciated by an outside unprejudiced source. Besides the constructive part of this report, I believe its value lies in its account of the success that can be achieved by communitywide efforts to cooperate and produce within a given locality the true spirit of brotherhood. I respectfully submit the following article by Kimmis Hendrick entitled "A City's Growth in Brotherhood," from the Friday, May 17, 1957, issue of the Christian Science Monitor, to the attention of my colleagues:

A CITY'S GROWTH IN BROTHERHOOD
(By Kimmis Hendrick)

LOS ANGELES.—Yesterday a stranger and I fell into a long casual conversation about the wistful theme, "Los Angeles isn't what it used to be." We recalled the days when Wilshire Boulevard was lined with palm trees; "symphonies under the stars" when Hollywood Bowl was chock full of music lovers; and the leisurely tempo of life in general.

We compared that time with the present, when a few downtown business houses are commendably planting sidewalk trees at huge expense; when the first consideration for any Hollywood Bowl evening is whether one wants to cope with the traffic; and the man who buys a new house and inquires about the bookshelves is thought somewhat eccentric. "Book shelves?" asked the agent. "What do you want with bookshelves?"

Then I attended the 13th annual meeting of the Los Angeles County Committee on Human Relations and listened to reports by dedicated citizens on what is surely one of the significant developments of our time. And it took place here.

This is the genuine cosmopolitanism—the harmonious, unobtrusive intermingling of all kinds and sorts of people—that has been taking place in Los Angeles since the start of World War II. So far as I know, it is unique. It has occurred under circumstances that may not have obtained anywhere else. But as a sample of what can and does happen in the United States, it has received worldwide attention deservedly.

People have come here from the North, the South, the East, and from other parts of the West. They have come from original backgrounds as various as Eastern Europe, central Africa, the Orient, and Spanish-America, not to mention such contrarieties as England and Ireland. They have come from public schools and Ivy League colleges, from wealth, from poverty, from the Midwest Dust Bowl, from marginal lands in Dixie, from Texas ranches, and New Hampshire farms. And they are getting along as though it were the most natural thing in the world to do so.

Everybody informed about this agrees that one extremely favorable factor has been present for a long time now—almost 20 years of continuous employment opportunities for all who want to work. California has known times of bitterness between peoples when jobs were scarce. Oriental exclusion, distrust of Negroes, prejudice against Mexican-Americans, hatred of Jews—these things have all been felt in times when competition threatened majority survival. But since 1941, it's been the other way.

Nothing illustrates this better than real estate.

One section of the city that was ultrafashionable 30 years ago is practically all Negro occupied now. It is still attractive. Its new residents, by and large, are well off. Property values are high. One white woman who pioneered in its real estate development told me that she couldn't recall a case where any previous owner was hurt financially by the change. She explained, of course, that the area had begun to deteriorate because the fashionable trend was moving toward Beverly Hills and Westwood. The Negro influx restored it.

Then there is the case of a much newer area that was all white 5 years ago but is a mixture of Caucasian, oriental, and Negro residents now. It was pretty then; it still is. One can drive up and down its streets for

miles and see no yard neglected, no forgotten garden, no house that needs paint. It is a place that sparkles with community pride. New houses on 1 street—5 rooms, 2 baths, built-in stoves, electric dishwashers, intercoms—are selling from $24,000 to $28,000. When I asked the builder what bearing the mixed neighborhood has on their sellability, he said emphatically, "Not a bit."

It would not be accurate to describe Los Angeles, county or city, as a community where nobody is intolerant, or where nobody suffers any losses because things change, or where tensions don't threaten. I know of instances. It has taken patient work by coordinating councils, PTA's, YMCA's, YWCA's, service clubs—in all, 63 such groups belong to the Human Relations Committee—to prevent misunderstandings from flaring into troubles. Schools and churches have often had to show great forbearance—and willingness to change.

The Committee on Human Relations, which the county established in 1943 to bring citizens and officials together, takes no complacent view. It points out that when 1 of every 3 new residents here is a Negro—and this has been so since 1950—the challenge to understanding is obviously very great. And it foresees the likelihood that in the years just ahead, the challenge will be even greater.

But it notes that Los Angeles has had marked success in containing divisive forces and extending the ideal of brotherhood and equality—a record that makes even higher achievement seem fully possible. As for my friend and me, certainly this is no day for looking backward.

Regulation of Natural Gas Prices by the Federal Power Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, during the past 12 years the use of natural gas for space heat in the Greater Cleveland area has skyrocketed and at the present time approximately 80 percent of the homes in the Greater Cleveland area use natural gas for home-heating purposes.

This tremendous natural gas consuming market must depend exclusively upon such gas supplies as are made available through the local distributing company which, in turn, looks to the great gas-producing areas of the Southwest. Our people have no other alternative but to use the gas that is brought through the distributing pipelines of the Southwest and there is no other area for competitive gas.

The people of northeastern Ohio are very apprehensive and concerned that the proposed amendments to the Natural Gas Act will only result in increasingly rising costs of natural gas. In addition, the vital industries of northeastern Ohio have a tremendous stake in the availability of low-cost gas so that they can reasonably compete with other industries which are located near other sources of energy.

The City Council of the City of Cleveland in recognition of the tremendous stake and interest of the citizens of Cleveland, on May 17, 1957, passed the following resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to defeat legislation which proposes to amend the Natural Gas Act so as to exempt the production of natural gas sold in interstate commerce from regulation by the Federal Power Commission:

Resolution 1077–57

An emergency resolution memorializing the 85th Congress of the United States to defeat proposed legislation, House bill 6790 and House bill 6791, which proposes to amend the Natural Gas Act by exempting the production of natural gas sold in interstate commerce from regulation by the Federal Power Commission, by conferring limited jurisdiction over producer contracts for the sale of natural gas, and by incorporating into law the fair field-price concept in administration of the Natural Gas Act

Whereas the Natural Gas Act of 1938 was passed by the Congress for the primary purpose of protecting the consumers of natural gas against exploitation at the hands of natural-gas suppliers; and

Whereas the city of Cleveland participated actively in behalf of the public interest in obtaining passage of the Natural Gas Act of 1938; and

Whereas the city of Cleveland contains more than 300,000 residential and commercial consumers of natural gas who have a vital interest in the production and distribution of natural gas; and

Whereas since the passage of the Natural Gas Act of 1938, the independent producers of natural gas have obtained the introduction of at least six major legislative proposals in the various Congresses for exemption from the provisions of said act; and

Whereas the last of these legislative proposals was the Harris-Fulbright bill which was passed by the 84th Congress but vetoed by the President of the United States; and

Whereas proposed legislation has been introduced again in the present session of the 85th Congress of the United States, House bill 6790 by Mr. OREN HARRIS and House bill 6791 by Mr. JOSEPH P. O'HARA; and

Whereas these legislative proposals have as their purpose the exemption of independent producers from the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission, save a limited jurisdiction over producer contracts for the sale of natural gas, and would establish the fair field-price concept in the administration of the Natural Gas Act; and

Whereas such legislation would not be in the public interest because it would violate the basic intendment of the Natural Gas Act of 1938; and

Whereas the city of Cleveland has traditionally opposed similar legislation on behalf of the consumers of natural gas whose interests require effective regulation of the natural-gas industry; and

Whereas Mayor Anthony J. Celebrezze has accepted appointment on the United States Mayors' Committee on Natural Gas Legislation, and Ralph S. Locher, director of law, has been named to a committee of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers to represent the public in opposition to the proposed legislation; and

Whereas this resolution constitutes an emergency measure providing for the usual daily operation of a municipal department: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Council of the City of Cleveland—

SECTION 1. That the 85th Congress of the United States be, and it hereby is, respectfully memorialized to defeat the legislative proposal contained in H. R. 6790 introduced by Representative OREN HARRIS, and H. R. 6791, introduced by Representative JOSEPH P. O'HARA, to amend the Natural Gas Act by exempting the production of natural gas sold in interstate commerce from regulation by the Federal Power Commission, save for a limited jurisdiction over producer contracts for the sale of natural gas, and which would incorporate the fair-field-price concept in the administration of the Natural Gas Act of 1938, and to defeat any other proposed legislation which would undermine the effective regulation of the interstate commerce of natural gas.

SEC. 2. That the clerk of council be, and he hereby is, directed to transmit a certified copy of this resolution immediately upon the adoption thereof and the signing by the mayor, to Senators JOHN W. BRICKER and FRANK J. LAUSCHE, and to Representatives FRANCES P. BOLTON, MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, WILLIAM E. MINSHALL, JR., CHARLES A. VANIK.

SEC. 3. That this resolution is hereby declared to be an emergency measure and, provided it receives the affirmative vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to council, it shall take effect and be in force immediately upon its adoption and approval by the mayor; otherwise it shall take effect and be in force from and after the earliest period allowed by law.

Adopted May 13, 1957.

JACK P. RUSSELL,
President of Council.
THAD FUSCO,
Clerk of Council.

Approved by Mayor Anthony J. Celebrezze, May 16, 1957.

I, Harvey B. Atkins, acting clerk of Council of the City of Cleveland, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of resolution 1077–57, adopted by the Council of the City of Cleveland, May 13, 1957.

Witness my hand and seal at Cleveland, Ohio, this 17th day of May 1957.

HARVEY B. ATKINS,
Acting Clerk of Council of the City of Cleveland.

International Atomic Energy Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested to provide opposition arguments to our participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency. They are as follows:

PROVIDENCE, R. I., *May 13, 1957.*
Re International Atomic Energy Agency.
HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE SENATE OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: It is with the greatest apprehension that I have read the reports of the pending hearings on the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Let me state my understanding of the facts as I have obtained them from various reports.

In 1953 President Eisenhower made his "Atoms for Peace" proposal to the United Nations.

On October 26, 1956, President Eisenhower said in New York City: "The United States will make available to the International Agency * * * 5,000 kilograms of a nuclear fuel uranium 235 from the 20,000 kilograms of such material allocated last February by the United States for peaceful uses by friendly nations."

According to one estimate 20,000 kilograms of this material costs roughly $500 million. One-quarter of this amount, which is to be

given immediately, would cost $125 million. In addition to this, the President has promised to give an additional 15,000 kilograms during the next 3 years, provided a similar amount is given during that period by all the other nations of the world combined.

Russia was the first nation to ratify the charter of the agency.

The charter has been submitted by President Eisenhower to the Senate for ratification and hearings are now being held. As it is a treaty, action by the Senate alone is required. The House is not called upon to act.

The question that strikes one at the outset is: From what source does the President derive this power to give away the people's money? The gift to which he proposes to commit the Nation can be paid for only out of taxes levied on the American people. But the power to impose taxes is given by the Constitution to the Congress, which means both the Senate and the House. It is not given to the President and the Senate.

Aside from the disturbing implications of this assumption of power by the President there is the fact that the uranium given by us to this International Agency can be used for the purpose of making atomic bombs. True, it is intended that it shall be used only for peaceful purposes. But once having gotten into the hands of other nations, what effective means can possibly be devised to prevent its use for war purposes?

The Soviet Union and its satellite nations are eligible for membership in the agency. All of these nations, and even Red China, could be given a part of the uranium that we supply.

Since we would constitute but one out of a possible 80 or 90 nations eligible for initial membership in the agency, our wishes could readily be overruled.

Various statements have been made as to the number of atomic bombs that could be made out of our initial gift to the agency. The smallest estimate I have seen is that it would make 100 bombs of the power of the bomb dropped on Nagasaki.

It is all very fine to talk about atoms for peace and our desire to help the other nations of the world. Unfortunately, we are not living in a peaceful world. On the contrary, we are presently engaged in a life and death struggle with a nation controlled by an unprincipled group of international gangsters bent upon our destruction.

Anyone having the least familiarity with the facts knowns that we are losing the cold war with Russia. Starting with a nation of 200 million people a decade ago, Russia has since steadily increased her influence until today she controls in one way or another about half the world's population. Our own population is but 6 percent of the total.

This increase in Russian power has been due principally to the unbelievable conduct of our foreign affairs, whereby we turned over the control of China to the Communists and suffered 150,000 casualties in a Korean war we were not permitted to win.

And now to cap the climax, the administration proposes to put within the control of our mortal enemies the means of our own destruction.

To quote a great and much abused American patriot, the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy: "Offering to share our atomic wealth is in a class with the Chicago Police Department offering to share its pistols and submachineguns with the Dillinger mob."

I earnestly beg you and your colleagues to oppose the ratification of this treaty.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT B. DRESSER.

Here is a telegram from Mr. Holman of Seattle:

SEATTLE, WASH., *May 19, 1957.*

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.,
New York, N. Y.:

The administration's proposal to use the treaty process involving action by the President and the Senate only to appropriate American tax dollars to an international atomic organization disregards the constitutional safeguard requiring action by the House of Representatives on all appropriations and again discloses the need for a constitutional amendment clearly stating that any treaty or executive agreement violating the Constitution shall be of no force or effect.

FRANK E. HOLMAN.

A study made by the committee for constitutional government of New York City:

THE CASE AGAINST PARTICIPATION BY THE UNITED STATES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

Participation in this Agency is not necessary to prove our peaceful intentions in furthering the use of atomic energy for peace and health throughout the world. Existing legislation permits the AEC to enter into bilateral agreements with any nation willing to agree to safeguards for our mutual protection and we have 37 such agreements. The IAEA would merely permit nations unwilling to comply with our requirements on safeguards to secure the benefits of our knowledge, and a share of the materials which we might contribute to the Agency, without asking us.

We would have only a minor voice in the operations of the Agency, although the major contributions are expected to come from us. The initial membership can number 90 (80 have signed), all members of the United Nations and its specialized agencies being eligible. These nations after signing and ratifying the statute compose the overall governing body in which the United States has but one vote. The U. S. S. R. has three plus its satellites.

The general conference is the title for this group. Its powers and duties include the following:

To elect 10 members of the Board of Governors (5 each year after the first year).

To approve States for membership.

To suspend a member.

To approve the budget.

To approve amendments to the statute.

To approve appointment of the Director General.

The Board of Governors has the broadest powers of administration with reference to carrying out the avowed purposes of the Agency. It will decide on the distribution of fissionable material and approve its proposed uses. It may acquire and operate plants and laboratories. It could establish a world atomic university. The Board is to be composed of 23 members. The United States has only 1 vote certain on this Board, Canada has 1 vote certain, and Latin America 2 votes certain. The entire Western Hemisphere can be held down to four votes. It is technically possible, even probable, that the Communist nations, with neutralists and anti-American nations, will control this Board. Here is the reason:

All membership, except 4, are distributed geographically to 8 areas listed in article VI, paragraph A-1 of the statute. These areas are North America, Latin America, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Africa and the Middle East, south Asia, southeast Asia and the Pacific, the Far East. The designated memberships in this paragraph give 2 members to North America (Canada and United States), 2 members to Western Europe (United Kingdom and France), 1 to Eastern Europe (Russia), and 1 each to the other 5 areas.

Paragraph A-2 provides for 2 members to be designated from 4 nations that are named. There is no reason to assume that these 2 members would not be Czechoslavakia and Poland, adding 2 members from Eastern Europe. This paragraph also provides for one member, not assigned geographically, as a supplier of technical assistance. This could be Russia, France, or United Kingdom, just as readily as the United States.

Paragraph A-3 provides for 10 members to be elected by the general conference for 2-year terms, except that 5 shall have 1-year terms the first year, so that 5 are elected annually thereafter. Seven of these members are to be elected to represent the 7 geographical areas other than North America. No member from North America can be elected to the Board. Central American countries have no chance of membership on the Board unless one could qualify as a supplier of technical assistance (paragraph A-2) which is unlikely. Each of 7 areas therefore gets 1 more member under this paragraph, leaving 3 geographically unassigned memberships to be fought for. The 19 memberships limited to areas could be distributed as follows: North America, 2; Latin America, 2; Western Europe, 3; Eastern Europe, 4; Africa and Middle East, 2; South Asia, 2; Southeast Asia and Pacific, 2; Far East, 2.

There is no assurance where 4 nongeographical memberships (A-2 and A-3) will go. Technically it is possible for Russia to have 6 members on the board though this is unlikely and unnecessary for Soviet domination because Russia exercises as much power through its satellites and neutralists as directly. The initial designations of members under paragraphs A-1 and A-2 are to be made by the Preparatory Commission composed of Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, India, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan, Peru, Portugal, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, U. S. S. R., and United States. Thereafter, the designations are by the outgoing Board of Governors. State Department representatives say that the Board will be stacked in favor of the United States, but this is based on hope and wishful thinking.

The Director General heads the staff of the Agency and is responsible for its appointment, organization and functioning, including of course the inspectors necessary in connection with safeguards. He is appointed by the Board of Governors, with the approval of the general conference, for a term of 4 years, and is to be governed by regulations made by the Board of Governors and rules approved by the general conference. The odds are all against the Director General being selected from North America or even the Western Hemisphere.

This agency is a definite threat to our national security. The uranium 235 which is proposed to be furnished by the United States is only two steps removed from weapons material. Ninety percent of the processing necessary to be done in making it useful for this purpose has been done. This plan will make it possible for nations who might not otherwise be able to produce a bomb to now get into the act. The present situation with reference to the supply of bombs is a deterrent to their use. Some overly ambitious nation, misusing agency assistance, can upset this status quo.

Power reactors can be diverted to military uses. There is no prohibition on development of nuclear power for propulsion even though easily diverted to military uses. The safeguards are only applicable to materials furnished and projects approved by the agency. A parallel project might be started by a nation on its own, using materials not furnished by the agency, which would not be subject to inspection, although benefiting from information or technical assistance furnished on the Agency approved project.

To be realistic we should consider that any nation in the future can become an enemy, or so anti-American as to support an enemy. At present the U. S. S. R. is considered the primary threat to the peace of the world. With the U. S. S. R. must be grouped all other nations which are under Communist rule or domination. All of these, with the exception of Communist China, are entitled to initial

membership. Russia is said to have made five unsuccessful efforts to have Red China admitted to membership since conferences were started to create the Agency. Those who think this eliminates any chance for Red China membership deliberately choose to ignore Soviet strategy and persistence.

Safeguards provided in the statute to prevent the use of fissionable material for nonpeaceful purposes are inadequate and impossible of enforcement. Most American physicists agree there are no ingenious devices whereby an inspector can detect atomic armament concealed by any nation; that you cannot distinguish military from peacetime considerations when a high-powered reactor is producing plutonium; that the only chance of reliable inspection of an operation is continuous inspection, 24 hours a day, every day. Experience with the Korean Truce Commission should be sufficient warning of the futility of inspecting a Communist beneficiary of agency help.

During debate in the conference that preceded adoption of the draft statute, the U. S. S. R. claimed that the safeguard provisions were uncalled for in the absence of an agreement on the abolition of nuclear weapons and constituted an invasion of sovereign rights. By supporting amendments submitted by Ceylon, Egypt, India, and Indonesia, which were defeated, the U. S. S. R. forced the adoption of compromise amendments watering down safeguards. The attitude of the U. S. S. R. on safeguards is, therefore, disclosed.

The agency has no power to stop a violation if it is detected. It can only do these things: (1) Warn the violator; (2) refuse further assistance; (3) demand the return of material; (4) suspend membership of the nation, provided the Board of Governors recommends it and the General Conference approves by a two-thirds vote; (5) advise the U. N. Security Council of the violation. Experience also indicates the futility of this. Any nation, therefore, can secure all the materials and assistance it needs, then expel inspectors and proceed to use the facilities for production of bombs, warheads, and other military purposes.

Our costs will be one-third of the administration and operating expenses of the agency, plus about half a billion dollars which it has cost us to produce the fissionable material proposed to be delivered by us, plus the cost of furnishing information and scientific and technical assistance and personnel, plus the future expenditures to members to satisfy demands made for financial help in acquiring reactors, powerplants, laboratories, and general equipment. The principle used is communistic—take away from the one that has and give to those that have not.

In order to quell objection to our giveaway of fissionable material as first planned, it is now claimed that it will be made available on terms to be agreed upon with the agency. It is possible that some token payment may be made by the agency, not commensurate with the cost to us, but to stress the independence of the agency in its use.

No member of the agency is bound to contribute fissionable materials or furnish information or technical assistance. The United States will play the sucker role. If the U. S. S. R. gives anything it will be strictly for propaganda purposes. No one really knows how much of Russia's claim to mastery of the atom is just gigantic bluff. This is the opportunity for the U. S. S. R. to really come abreast of the United States in knowledge. The ready acceptance of the statute by the Soviet proves that they expect to get more than they give in this agency. The recent open-sky proposal from Russia illustrates their bargaining principle—all for us, nothing for you.

The distribution of atomic energy throughout the world will not promote industrial development of other countries. It will be useless unless we supply more billions necessary to create industrial facilities in backward countries, and the technicians, engineers, and scientists to operate the facilities. Then, if we are successful in building industry elsewhere, we will have to subsidize our own industries so they can compete with foreign plants underwritten by the American taxpayers and operated by cheap labor.

Increasing the industrial potential of the world will not assure world peace. The nations devoted to agriculture are of necessity usually peaceful. The nations whose governments control industry, as would result from this agency, are more prone to devote their production to materials of war than to consumers' goods.

Although this agency is claimed to be autonomous, its tieup with the United Nations appears evident in its origin, the qualifications for initial membership, the provisions in the statute for future agreements with the U. N., the reports required to be made to the U. N., and the reporting of violations to the Security Council. This is another step in the direction of world government. Proposals will come next for international agencies controlling the use and distribution of food, steel, oil and everything else that has a possible use militarily.

Ratification of this statute as a treaty will substitute again treaty law for the legislation of Congress. The State Department says we must do this to maintain our prestige. It is difficult to acept this argument. Donating $60 billions to build up the economy and independence of other countries has not given us prestige. Instead, animosity against us has increased in many countries. Making an arrangement whereby our knowledge and fissionable materials will be distributed by an international agency will not change this or bring prestige.

Additional comments:

Power produced through use of fissionable materials can certainly be used for military purposes in production of military goods.

There is no definition of military purposes. The Board of Governors could include the production of the hydrogen bomb as a peaceful purpose on the ground that possession of it is a deterrent to its use by anyone. It would prevent a war of extermination.

The whole purpose of the agency could be changed by amendment and this amendment would not need to be presented to the Senate for ratification.

A nation can be a member of the agency, enjoying its privileges, for 2 years without payment of anything; longer if General Conference excuses payment on ground of inability.

Director General has a 4-year term—no provision for his removal for cause.

There is no compulsion for a member to do anything—the language being permissive. That each member should make available or a member may supply material, etc. It would seem that having offered to supply fissionable material could change or withdraw the offer before actual delivery. A chance for Russian to talk big and do little.

This is not the beginning of open inspection of anything in Russia. It will not ask for anything but will act through stooges. Then, a stooge can be encouraged to violate the agreement and be backed up by Russia in the General Conference and Board of Governors.

It would be a good idea to let Russia carry this ball and see how it flops. Without our 2½ or 3 millions a year and half a billion of uranium 235 it will languish a-borning.

The United States Steel Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, it is a real pleasure to rise today in Congress to compliment the United States Steel Corp. on its progressive, forward-looking management. We remember the excellent personnel relations established by Ben Fairless and David McDonald in their now-famous trip to visit together the various United States Steel Co. plants. The 20,000 steelworkers and their families in my congressional district appreciated this democratic display of real teamwork between management and the United Steel workers.

Today we should give a hearty pat on the back for their acceptance of public responsibility and assistance to the education of young people, to Roger M. Blough, as chairman, Clifford F. Hood, as president, and R. C. Tyson, as chairman of the financial policy committee of the United States Steel Co. These men, together with others in management of the United States Steel Co., have prepared a broad 1957 program to assist higher education in hundreds of United States institutions by operating aid funds, capital grants, assistance for medical schools, project grants, and post graduate study fellowships.

A United States Steel press release follows:

PROGRESSIVE MANAGEMENT OF UNITED STATES STEEL CORP.

United States Steel Foundation, Inc., announced a program of aid to education with grants payable in 1957 totaling nearly $1.8 million to over 600 of the Nation's privately supported liberal arts colleges, universities, technological institutes and medical schools.

In making the announcement, Roger M. Blough, chairman of the board of trustees of the Foundation, said: "The action of the trustees represents an effort by this Foundation to extend aid in some form to almost every voluntarily supported institution of higher learning which has clearly demonstrated both its desire and ability to help itself through the crisis presently facing higher education."

The Foundation's seven-part program embraces the following:

Accredited liberal arts colleges, $500,000: Unrestricted operating aid to all the 430 accredited 4-year-member colleges of all the State, regional, and national college fund-raising groups. Similar aid direct to 70 other selected institutions unaffiliated with those groups.

Nonregionally accredited liberal arts colleges, $100,000: Operational and capital-aid grants, to be administered through the Association of American Colleges, to a number of colleges not yet fully accredited, but seeking to provide greater community service.

Universities and engineering institutes, $110,000: Operational aid of an unrestricted character for 55 major private universities and engineering schools throughout the Nation.

Medical schools and medical teaching, $190,000: Operational assistance of $65,000 for all 82 medical schools and the balance for 2 capital-facility grants for medical teaching centers to enhance and strengthen their programs.

Postgraduate study fellowships, $150,000: Continuation and expansion of the Foundation's present doctoral-level graduate-study program covering the humanities, social sciences, biological and physical sciences, and engineering, with grants and allotments equally divided between public and private institutions.

Project grants in aid of education, $70,000: Previous project grants were continued and new ones were added, including provision for the Commission on Colleges and Industry of the Association of American Colleges, the Council for Financial Aid to Education, the Institute for International Education, the Association of College and Reference Libraries and a project for stimulating of alumni giving.

Major Capital Grants: Authorization of $665,000 for payment in 1957 and, additionally, commitments of $525,000 payable in later years, for endowment, building, equipment and other facility needs of 16 outstanding universities, liberal arts colleges, women's colleges, engineering schools, and other institutions.

"It is the hope of the Trustees," Mr. Blough continued, "that their course of action will encourage others—according to their interests and abilities—to increase substantially the present level and scope of assistance to higher education. Adequate means must be found for meeting the needs of institutions, if both quality and quantity educational goals are to be balanced with the requirements of a rapidly expanding nation."

With respect to the operational aid to all members of accredited status within the college fund-raising groups, Mr. Blough said the Trustees were pleased with the success to date of the national group movement. The 430 members will receive, subject to their own group arrangements, an average of $1,000 each, as will also the 70 selected colleges unaffiliated with the groups. In recognition of their larger enrollments and other factors, the 55 recipient universities and engineering institutes will receive direct aid of $2,000 each. In extending unrestricted operating grants to virtually all private general-purpose accredited institutions, the Trustees expressed the hope that funds would be usefully applied toward the growing problems of faculty and staff recruitment, development, and incentives.

Assistance to the small, not fully accredited colleges included continued provision of previous operational aid to selected institutions, as well as $10,000 for the new Council for the Advancement of Small Colleges, and funds for the awarding of $25,000 each to two colleges for quality-improvement purposes. Additionally, one non-regionally accredited college showing high promise will receive an award through a jury of educators selected by the Association of American Colleges and its affiliated Commission on Colleges and Industry.

The Foundation's 1957 assistance to medical education is payable to member schools to the extent of $65,000 through the National Fund for Medical Education. The balance of the allocation to medical teaching covers a capital grant to the Women's College of Medicine in Philadelphia and to Stanford University for improvement of its teaching facilities incident to the construction of its new medical center.

United States Steel Foundation Fellowships were increased from 20 to 30. Each fellowship carries a maximum benefit of $7,200 (including a $1,200 allotment to students married at time of selection.) These grants provide for two years of graduate study, typically at the doctoral level. Within areas only broadly specified any desired course of study may be elected by the fellowship holder. Half the basic sum is available to the student selected by the institution and the balance, at the discretion of the institution, is for additional student aid or for helping to close the generally prevalent gap between tuition fees and the actual cost of providing advanced instruction. Fellowships are operative at the following institutions:

Pennsylvania State, Purdue, Illinois, Ohio State, Alabama, Amos Tuck School of Dartmouth, Yale, Princeton, Harvard, Stanford, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, California Tech, Georgia Tech, Michigan, Cornell, Columbia, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Alabama Polytechnic, Lehigh, California, Texas, Johns Hopkins, New York University, Wisconsin, Southern California, Vanderbilt, Indiana, Notre Dame, and Virginia Polytechnic.

The Foundation's 1957 project grants are designed to assist in spreading the base of support for higher education and to strengthen teaching aids for ever-higher quality of education, with $5,000 going to each of the following: The Commission on Colleges and Industry for its coordination work in assistance of all the private colleges; The Council for Financial Aid to Education for its current program, in cooperation with the Advertising Council, of alerting America to the needs of all forms of higher education; and the Institute of International Education for its program of assisting foreign students resident in the United States. For the third successive year, a grant of $30,000 was made to the Association of College and Reference Libraries for its administration of about 100 grants to colleges for improving libraries and services as valuable adjuncts to teaching. A $25,000 grant, previously announced, will support a program to stimulate trustee, alumni and parent support of higher education by making cash awards to institutions evidencing outstanding self-help performance. It is expected that this program will be activated in 1957.

The Foundation's 16 new capital grants, which range from $25,000 to $100,000, payable in part during 1957 with balances spread over several years, may be used at the discretion of recipients toward increased endowment, new classrooms, libraries, administrative and general-purpose units, scientific centers and engineering laboratories. Additionally, a small emergency grant was made to one institution to replace in part campus facilities recently destroyed by fire. One of the recipients of a capital-aid grant will use the money to endow the Council for the Humanities. The universities, liberal arts and women's colleges, community, and engineering institutions receiving capital grants are: Yale, Princeton, Carnegie Tech, Cooper Union, Fenn, Howard, Birmingham-Southern, Youngstown, Occidental, Chatham, New York University, Wabash, Vanderbilt, Rensselaer, Stevens Tech, Knox and Valparaiso. A grant was earlier announced for Northwestern University.

"Recognizing the increased need for funds for non-self-liquidating capital needs of our universities, colleges, and institutes," Mr. Blough said, "the trustees decided to expand the Foundation's 1957 program of capital aid. The trustees will continue their experimental and flexible policy of encouraging education to remain free and vigorous."

What's Happening to Your Dollars?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following editorial taken from the Rock Hill Evening Herald, South Carolina, of May 16, 1957:

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO YOUR DOLLARS?

Most of us aren't doing as well as the national figures on prosperity seem to indicate.

Housewives who wisely watch their pennies know how prices are creeping upward. One local housewife notes these recent changes:

The price of pancake mix went up 4 cents a box and bacon advanced 2 cents a pound. The price of pineapple rose 3 cents a can; ginger ale advanced 3 cents a bottle; graham crackers moved upward 2 cents a box.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics says the cost of living has gone up steadily for the last 7 months. Yet, for most of us, the size of our paychecks has not changed.

In other words, the purchasing power of your dollars—the amount your dollars will buy—is falling month after month. This has the same effect as cutting your wages, unless you get a rise to match the cost-of-living rise.

Workers are not the only people hit. Folks who are living on fixed incomes are hurt even worse. Their pensions, or social-security payments, or welfare payments don't change, regardless of what happens to living costs.

And people who are putting money aside in savings accounts or in Government bonds are hurt by the squeeze, too. The dollars they save this year will be worth less next year.

These are some of the things that inflation is doing to Americans. For most of us, this is not an era of prosperity.

Outwood Veterans' Administration Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, on May 12, 1957, the Outwood Veterans' Administration Hospital celebrated its 35th anniversary. When the hospital was dedicated on February 22, 1922, its estimated cost was $2,730,481.38. The first patients were admitted in April of 1922, and since that time some 31,000 persons have been treated at Outwood. The hospital has been in continous operation since its inception, and a majority of the patients admitted have been treated for tuberculosis. Tangible evidence of the success of Outwood is manifested in the fact that over the last 5 years, 1,174 tubercular people have been completely cured.

Since its opening, Outwood Veterans' Hospital has had 14 managers. The hospital is now under the guidance of Dr. Albert T. Hume who is ably assisted by a medical and administrative staff composed of 17 outstanding men and women. The untiring efforts of these dedicated men and women has been rewarded in that the death rate has steadily decreased and the rehabilitation rate has steadily increased. The staff of Outwood Hospital has been supported by the Veterans' Administration and the fine citizens of Outwood, Dawson Springs, Madisonville, and the other communities in Hopkins County.

The distinguished mayor of Madisonville, David Parish, expressed his gratitude on behalf of the city of Madisonville as follows:

We, of Madisonville, deem it a great honor and privilege to have a part in the observance of the 35th anniversary of the Outwood Veterans' Administration Hospital.

The services rendered here to the sick and disabled veterans have done much to alleviate the pain and distress of those unfortunate ones that have had to enter this institution. Since the opening of the hospital, approximately 31,000 patients have been admitted, most of them for the treatment of tuberculosis.

The Outwood hospital furnished, through its staff and attendant, the medical care and other services that restored a great majority of these veterans to health and normal life.

The idea for the hospital was first conceived by two men, one of whom was our fellow townsman and former Congressman, David H. Kincheloe; the other, a gentleman from Hopkinsville, Mr. Theodore Troendle. To these two men and all others that had anything to do with the erection of the hospital, all concerned should be eternally grateful.

To those that have operated this institution in any capacity, whether paid personnel or volunteer workers, to those that have so ably served their fellowman, it seems fitting that we of the community gather at the hospital on the birthday of Florence Nightingale, which is also nationally observed as Hospital Day, to pay homage to these people and celebrate the 35th anniversary of the Veterans' Administration at Outwood, Ky., the day of May 12, 1957.

As Mayor of Madisonville, I wish to extend my sincere thanks to all for their efforts and services given for the welfare of others and to extend every good wish for the future.

We in Kentucky are proud of the splendid achievements of this hospital, and its remarkable record justifies all past expenditures. Every effort should be made to acquire additional personnel and facilities as they become necessary for future expansion. Insuring the continued success of Outwood Veterans' Administration Hospital is of the utmost importance.

Steamship "Matsonia" To Strengthen American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, it was recently my pleasure to inspect the steamship *Matsonia*, the fourth and newest of the Matson Lines "white ships," recently reconstructed at Newport News, Va.

Interior design was carried out under the direction of Harry Neafie, a New York industrial designer and stylist who spent 2 years researching the colors of the Pacific with the aid of 19 prominent American artists. Hawaiian motifs have been carried out in bamboo, teak wood, leather, Venetian glass mosaic, gold and silver leaf, and lava stone, as well as abalone shells, feathers, and flowers. Indirect lighting has been installed throughout the ship, unusual effects being achieved with the use of mirrors and tropical plants.

The ship is complete in special shops and services, some of which are a swimming pool, beauty and barber shop, photo workshop and print shop, motion-picture equipment, a hospital complete with operating table and 4 separate wards, and kennels accommodating 12 pets.

Completely air-conditioned, the *Matsonia* provides its 760 first-class passengers with facilities to select the temperature of their own staterooms. Safety as well as comfort is a prime feature of this liner which totals 638 feet in length and 82 feet in width. Two radar sets and a thermostatically controlled sprinkler system are present in addition to the latest aids to navigation. There are 560 telephones, 1 in each stateroom and in all public areas, shops, offices, and officer quarters. Three hundred loud speakers are strategically installed throughout the ship for programs and announcements. The all-electric galley is one of the most modern kitchens to be found anywhere and is furnished with eight ranges, a bakery, and a butcher shop.

The *Matsonia* will travel the California-Hawaii route made famous by the Matson Navigation Co., currently under the very able presidency of Mr. Randolph Sevier. Her 26,000 tons will be driven by a twin-screw, geared turbine propulsion plant to maintain a cruising speed of 20.5 knots. Alternate crossings from Los Angeles and San Francisco will be completed in 4½ days, thus the *Matsonia* with 165,693 cubic feet of dry cargo space is forging another link in our trade with the Pacific and Hawaiian Islands. In addition to this contribution to increased trade, the *Matsonia* will help strengthen the United States Merchant Marine, inasmuch as she will be readily available as a troop carrier in the event of war.

Having Known Communism, She Pleads for Ike's Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include the following letter to the editor which appeared on the editorial page of the Des Moines Tribune of May 18, 1957:

HAVING KNOWN COMMUNISM, SHE PLEADS FOR IKE'S BUDGET

President Eisenhower has proved time and time again that he can be trusted, since World War I as a young officer to the days he became President of the United States.

The budget he presented sounds very reasonable compared with the results we expect from it. As he says, this budget is absolutely necessary for our own security. Our demands are high. So is the cost of these demands. We want, first, quality in everything we ask. Are we willing to pay for this?

SUBS NEAR OUR COAST

Communism is knocking at our doors. Russian submarines are circulating freely around our shores. It will be easy for them to release guided missiles and rockets on our cities, towns, and farms, succeeding where Hitler's U-boats failed. It will take only minutes for this to happen in this age of remote controls and atomic warfare if we are not thoroughly prepared for defense.

In the first, second, and Korean wars the sons of our country died in foreign lands for our safety. This time, their families and homes will die too. A future war will be fought in our backyards. Do we want this? No American can honestly say "This cannot be" because it certainly would if left up to the Communists.

HELP PRESIDENT KEEP US SAFE

President Eisenhower is trying to prevent this from happening. Let us give him a helping hand. Let us all write our Senators and Congressmen who claim to act upon the will of the people. This is no time for politics. This is the time for safety first.

Although I am an American-born citizen, I grew up in Rumania. Ten years ago I was finally able to return to my country. The last 3 years in Rumania, I lived under Russian occupation and Communist government. My father died there 2½ years ago and my mother still lives there—if one can call that "living." My husband comes from one of the Baltic States which Russian communism just simply erased off the map. We both have seen a lot and gone through a lot. We appreciate our freedom today and the country where we now live. We are not likely to take anything for granted—not even the ability to walk to the corner drugstore whenever we wish.

LIVED UNDER RED REGIME

Please believe me fellow Americans. Think. Thank God we are all well in this country and above all we are free; free to think; free to speak our thoughts; free to travel; free to eat or sleep; free to choose our own education and jobs; free to walk in the streets; free even to complain; free to enjoy the sun and the beauty of nature around us; and, above all else, free to elect our own government and religious faith. May God keep us alert and grateful for all these gifts.

Please, fellow Americans, be wise, give our President the help he so richly deserves. For my part he has "carte blanche." Any time he will make decisions for our own security, he is to be trusted. This is exactly what he is trying to do now and not many of us seem to understand it. Let us help him keep our country and the world safe for the present and the future.

Mrs. CORNELIA V. ARO.
DES MOINES, IOWA.

American Veterans Committee Convention Endorses Antisegregation Amendment to Federal Aid to School Construction Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr, POWELL. Mr. Speaker, it is gratifying to announce that the American Veterans Committee, at its 10th National Convention held on the weekend of April 26–28, 1957, in Washington,

D. C., overwhelmingly endorsed the inclusion of an antisegregation amendment to the bills providing Federal aid for school construction. This amendment, as you know, is commonly referred to as the Powell amendment.

A. V. C.'s national board and officers, as well as its State and local leaders and other representative veterans had previously endorsed this amendment, and some of their statements on this matter were inserted by me in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 7, 1956 (p. A-2124, daily issue) and February 6, 1957 (p. A-807, daily issue). At the recent 10th National Convention of A. V. C., veterans from all over the country assembled and debated the matter vigorously and at great length. They explored all its aspects, not only from the point of view of constitutional and and administrative law, but also with respect to their national, international, educational, moral, social, and economic implications. After such thorough debate, and by an overwhelmingly decisive vote, the AVC convention placed the following sentence in its permanent national platform:

We urge a program of Federal aid to education to assist in meeting these objectives, that is, improvement and expansion of public schools, scholarships for training and research, and increasing teachers' salaries, provided, however, that Federal funds shall be withheld from any school district which discriminates, by segregation or otherwise, on the basis of race, creed, or color.

In addition, the AVC convention also adopted the following resolution, also by an overwhelming vote:

Whereas the American Veterans Committee, ever since its first national convention in 1946, has opposed segregation in public schools and has urged that moneys from the public treasury "shall be appropriated and expended on a nondiscriminatory basis"; and

Whereas the American Veterans Committee, in platforms repeatedly adopted in previous national conventions, has supported the enactment of Federal legislation to aid school construction and at the same time has urged that "all Federal legislation making grants to States, municipalities, or private institutions" shall contain "a provision requiring these grants to be used without discrimination on the basis of ancestry" and has further urged "the enactment of legislation to prevent denial of equal opportunity in the use of public facilities"; and

Whereas we have endorsed the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases (a decision which we of AVC helped to bring about) and have pledged ourselves to work, and we have worked, to carry it into effect and to provide education to each child regardless of race; and

Whereas the school construction bill now pending in Congress would provide about $2 billion to finance new schools over a 4-year period: Now, therefore,

The American Veterans Committee, assembled in plenary session at its 10th National Convention in Washington, D. C., hereby resolved that AVC endorses the enactment of Federal legislation granting funds for school construction, provided the law contains adequate guarantee that the funds be available only for school districts which do not exclude or segregate children on the basis of their race, and that funds which are withheld because of such exclusion or segregation shall be held in escrow and paid if such practices are ended at any time before expiration of the law.

The American Veterans Committee has long been in the forefront of the struggle to improve and strengthen the civil rights of all the people of this country. AVC has a magnificent record of accomplishments in this field. It is indeed heartening to everyone who believes in the American promise of equality and freedom, to see this splendid organization of American veterans speaking so precisely and vigorously on this very important subject.

Splendid Participation of United States Firms in the Poznan Trade Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, during the last few months, I have noted with keen interest the arrangements being made for the United States participation in the 26th Industrial Fair in Poznan, Poland, to be held from June 9 to June 23 of this year.

Statements emanating from the Office of the Secretary of Commerce and from the Office of International Trade Fairs, as well as articles which appeared in the press and in our various magazines, contained much interesting information about this forthcoming event. I would like to briefly summarize these developments, and to commend several of these releases and reports to the attention of the membership of this body.

Before doing this, however, I want to commend Mr. Frank Elkins, of the Office of International Trade Fairs, Department of Commerce, who has prepared these releases, and whose energetic and conscientious endeavors have contributed much to the bringing of these facts before the public.

DECISION TO PARTICIPATE

Early in December 1956, the United States accepted the invitation of the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade to participate in the Poznan Fair. This marked the first time that our country decided to make a fair appearance behind the Iron Curtain. This was an important decision, and one that may prove of particular significance in the years to come.

It is interesting to note that our fair exhibit will be located in Poznan, that same ancient city in which, almost a year ago, the freedom-loving people of Poland staged an uprising, and marched through the streets demanding bread, peace, and freedom.

Perhaps this consideration was weighed by Mr. H. C. McClellan, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs, before he announced that the United States exhibit at the Poznan Fair will feature a comprehensive variety of American consumer products.

It is the intent of this country—

Said Mr. McClellan in making the announcement—

to show Polish fairgoers the enormous range of commodities, foods, clothing, and appliances which, in their totality, reflect the American standard of living.

Through this emphasis in our exhibit, we have a fine opportunity to show the Polish people and visitors to the fair those products which contribute materially and culturally to our living—the things we wear, use, and consume.

TRIBUTE TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY

At this point, I want to pay my sincere tribute to the private industry of our great Nation for its wholehearted support of this undertaking.

I understand that our private industry has cooperated energetically and enthusiastically with the Government in helping to make our first venture in this important fair in Poznan a most successful one.

I know that when private industry was asked to join the Government's trade fair team, it did so by providing a long list of goods in routine use in United States offices, homes, farms, playgrounds, and transport mediums of the land which many Europeans consider fabulous America.

Some 300 American firms, several of them from the city of Milwaukee and the State of Wisconsin, voluntarily made gifts and loans of "Made in U. S. A." commodities, valued at a quarter of a million dollars, for this all-American show.

Through their cooperation and enterprise, some 2 million Poles and citizens of other Eastern European countries are now expected to get their first direct view of hundreds of American products which show how we, both as consumers and citizens, enjoy great freedom of choice.

This is an imposing record of cooperation and achievement in an undertaking which will bring credit to our entire Nation, and which will concretely demonstrate the vigor, the enterprise, the initiative, and the resourcefulness of our private industry.

I am particularly pleased by this outstanding performance of our private industry because this is one instance in which the Government has actively encouraged the private sector of our economy to participate in these international fairs, in the hope that eventually the role of the Government in these projects will be diminished.

PRODUCTS CONTRIBUTED

In order to show what an interesting exhibit we will have at the Poznan Fair, I would like to quote from a release prepared by Mr. Frank Elkins, of the Office of International Trade Fairs, which lists many of the items contributed by our private industry:

Products contributed range from ladies' hats to a 4-ton tractor, and include 1957 "power model" cars, television sets, high-fidelity equipment and a range of frozen foods displayed in the best supermarket manner. Other exhibits show American clothing styled for women and children and many types of home furnishing and appliances displayed in a 7-room, suburban type house.

The American hi-fi exhibit in Poznan is an impressive display of the latest findings of United States electronics research. The agricultural section shows 8 tractors of various sizes with full assortments of plows, harrows and other attachments. It includes a display of farm feeds, pesticides and disinfectants. A technical expert will explain the latest techniques of animal husbandry.

The industrial and mine safety exhibit shows a fully equipped trailer-mounted industrial fire-fighting unit complete with heat-resistant clothing.

Sports-loving Poles will be given a picture of the American enthusiasm for sports and outdoor living in a huge display called "Hall of Recreation."

The variety of recreational items includes an 18-foot swimming pool, a display of skin-diving equipment, boats with outboard motors. Other displays show eight different types of outboard motors, various models of sportswear and outdoor clothing, fishing equipment, water and snow skis, surfboards; basketballs, footballs, equipment for soccer, tennis, baseball, boxing and archery, plus a variety of shotguns, camp stoves, hunting clothes, sleeping bags, barbecues, grills and picnic equipment. Demonstrators will make clear that this equipment is available to Americans of all income levels.

To catch the fancy of fairgoers as they leave the American exhibit will be vending machines dispensing coffee, hot chocolate and hot soup, plus a jukebox offering a choice of 100 records. Other machines provide soft drinks, cigarettes and candy bars.

The world's largest prefabricated dome with a diameter of 124 feet and a height at center of 50 feet, providing 12,000 square feet of floorspace, will house the central United States exhibit. The dome, covered with translucent plastic-coated nylon, glows vividly at night and is considered an attraction in itself.

All these products of private American enterprise will make the United States exhibit at the 26th Industrial Fair in Poznan not only attractive but outstanding as well.

PRAISE FOR PARTICIPATING FIRMS

The contribution of the American private industry to our exhibit at the Poznan Fair has been praised by Mr. Harrison T. McClung, the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs, and acknowledged by our press. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include and call to the attention of the membership of this body an article which appeared in the May 19 edition of the Milwaukee Journal, dealing with this subject:

PRAISES FIRMS IN POLISH FAIR—UNITED STATES EXHIBITS PROVIDED

WASHINGTON, D. C.—American industry was commended Saturday by Harrison T. McClung, Director of the Office of International Trade Fairs, for supporting the Government's first participation in an international fair in Poland. The fair will open in Poznan, Poland, June 9.

"Our first venture in telling the American story through exhibits in Poland presented problems," McClung said. "It was our intent to show Polish fairgoers the enormous range of commodities, foods, clothing, and appliances which in their totality reflect the American standard of living.

"The display problem was eased when 300 American companies voluntarily made gifts or loans of 'Made in U. S. A.' commodities valued at a quarter of a million dollars for this all-American show."

STATE FIRMS PARTICIPATE

Wisconsin companies are among those providing their products for exhibits. Mercury Motors International, Milwaukee, and Doughboy Industries, New Richmond, will furnish sports and recration items for the "hall of recreation."

Kimberly Clark Corp., Neenah, will provide building materials and the John Oster Manufacturing Co., Milwaukee, minor appliances. American Motors Corp. will furnish automobiles and the A. O. Smith Corp. a frozen food display and model American house furnishings from its Kankakee (Ill.) plant.

Two million Poles and citizens of other eastern European countries are expected to get their first view of hundreds of widely known American products.

UNITED STATES TRADE MISSION

When private industry was asked to join the Government's trade fair team it did so by providing a long list of goods in routine use in United States offices, homes, farms and playgrounds.

Commerce Secretary Weeks expressed pleasure Saturday that a United States trade mission, composed of prominent executives of American industry and commerce, will take part in the fair.

This mission, which will serve without compensation, will discuss with the Poles the potentialities for future friendly trade relations between Poland and the United States.

LIST OF PARTICIPATING FIRMS

Mr. Speaker, I believe that it is proper, in paying tribute to American industry for helping our Government put on a fine show at the Poznan Fair, to list the firms which contributed or donated products and services to this undertaking. The list, compiled by the Office of International Trade Fairs, reads as follows:

Automobiles and trucks: American Motors Corp., Detroit, Mich.; Chrysler Corp., Detroit, Mich.; Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.; International Harvester Export Co., Chicago, Ill.; Clark Equipment International, C. A., Battle Creek, Mich.

Balcony exhibits: Ohrbach's, Inc., New York City (Fashion Show); McCall Corp., New York City (Patterns-Catalogs); Bates Fabrics, Inc., New York City (Wrinkle Resistant Clothing Display); Budd Insulated Products, Inc., Larchmont, New York (Insulated Clothing Display); Millinery Institute of America, Inc., New York City (Women's Hats); Leather Industries of America, New York City (Women's gloves and Shoes); Chadbourne Gotham Sales Corp., New York City (Lingerie); Eye-Ful Lingerie, Inc., New York City (lingerie); Vanity Fair Mills, Inc., New York City (lingerie); The Singer Manufacturing Co., New York City (Singer Sewing Machine).

Radio, Hi Fi, TV equipment: Admiral International Corp., Chicago, Ill.; Ampex Corp., Redwood City, Calif.; Emerson Radio & Phonograph Co., Jersey City, N. J.; RCA International Division, New York City; Westinghouse Electric Co., New York City; Zenith Radio Corp., Chicago, Ill.

Frozen food display: Tyler Refrigeration International, C. A., Niles, Mich.; Campbell Sales Co., Camden, N. J.; Downy Flake Division, Doughnut Corp. of America, New York City; General Foods Corp., White Plains, N. Y.; Jekyl Island Packing Co., New York City; Walter Leaman Co., Washington, D. C.; Merchants Refrigerating Co., New York City; Minute Maid Corp., New York City; Morton Frozen Foods, Inc., Louisville, Ky., Mr. W. H. Skinner, Rockville, Md.; Star Metal Mfg. Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; Swift & Co., Chicago, Ill.; Borg-Warner International Corp., Chicago, Ill.; Permaglas Division, A. O. Smith Corp., Kankakee, Ill.; National Association of Food Chains, Safeway Stores Incorporated.

Major appliances: American Motors Corp., Detroit, Mich.; Borg-Warner International Corp., Chicago, Ill.; the Coleman Lamp and Stove Co., Ltd., Toronto, Canada; The Maytag Co., Newton, Iowa; RCA International Division, New York City; Rheem Manufacturing Co., New York City; Servel, Inc., New York City; Westinghouse International, New York City.

Garden equipment: Food Machinery & Chemical Corp., Washington, D. C.

Model American house furnishings: Carrier Corp., international division, Syracuse, N. Y.; Permaglas division, A. O. Smith Corp., Kankakee, Ill.; Westinghouse International, New York City; Museum Craft Club, Indianapolis, Ind.; Field Enterprises, Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.; Folkway Records, New York City; Sam Goody, New York City; the Singer Manufacturing Co., New York City; Scott Paper Co., Chester, Pa.; the Aluminum Cooking Utensil Co., Inc., New York City; Louis Marx & Co., Inc., New York City; General Foods Corp., White Plains, N. Y.; Elizabeth Arden Sales Corp., New York City; American Sanitary Corp., New York City; B. Charles Parker Co., Meriden, Conn.; Willette Corp., New Brunswick, N. J.; Gund Manufacturing Co., New York City; Ideal Toy Corp., New York City; the Rudolph Wurlitzer Co., North Tonawanda, N. Y.; Revell, Inc., Venice, Calif.

Carport workshop and miscellaneous exhibits: American Machine & Foundry Co., New York City; the Black & Decker Manufacturing Co., Towson, Md.; Rockwell Manufacturing Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.; M. Simon & Sons Co., Inc., New York City; Magna Power Tool Corp., Menlo Park, Calif.

Minor appliances: Borg-Warner International Corp., Chicago, Ill.; Knapp-Monarch Co., St. Louis, Mo.; Landers, Frary & Clark, New Britain, Conn.; Lewyt Corp., Long Island City, N. Y.; John Oster Manufacturing Co., Milwaukee, Wis.; Remington Rand International, New York City; Sunbeam Corp., Chicago, Ill.; Westinghouse Electric Co., New York City.

Books: American Book Publishers Council—American Textbook Institute, New York City; Simon & Schuster, Inc., New York City.

Agriculture: Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.; Food Machinery & Chemical Corp., Washington, D. C.; International Harvester Export Co., Chicago, Ill.; Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp., Washington, D. C.; the Oliver Corp., Chicago, Ill.; Ralston Purina Co., St. Louis, Mo., Smoker Farm Elevators, Inc., Intercourse, Pa.; True Temper Corp., Cleveland, Ohio; Toro Manufacturing Co., Minneapolis, Minn.

Building materials and techniques: Thor Power Tool Co., New York City; Wood Shovel & Tool Co., Piqua, Ohio; Aluminum Company of America, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y.; Formica Corp., Cincinnati, Ohio; Sylvania Electric Products, New York City; Wasco Products, Inc., Cambridge, Mass.; Reynolds Aluminum, New York City; Aetna Steel Products, New York City; Panelfab Products, Inc., North Houston, Tex., and New York City; Timber Structures, Inc., Ramsey, N. J.; Preston Brick Machine Corp., New York City; Multiple Vent, Pyle National, Chicago, Ill.; Insto Gas Corp., Detroit, Mich.; Kimberly Clark Corp., Neenah, Wis.; Erdle Perforating Co., Inc., Rochester, N. Y.; Visking Corp., Chicago, Ill., and Terre Haute, Ind.; Simplex Ceiling Corp., New York City; Malvern Brick & Tile Co., Malvern, Ark.; Orchard Brothers, Inc., Rutherford, N. J.; Luminous Ceilings, Inc., New York City; Inland Manufacturing Division of General Motors, Dayton, Ohio; Continental Can, New York City; Douglas Fir Plywood Association, Tacoma, Wash.; Aluminum Structures, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pa.; Bigelow Sanford Carpet Co., Inc., New York City; Vicrotex, New York City; United States Rubber Co., New York City; Portable Electric Tools, Inc., Chicago, Ill.; Nelson Stud Welding Division, Gregory Industries, Lorain, Ohio; Olin Mathieson Corp., Ramset Fastening Division, New York City; North East Tool & Die Co., Kansas City, Mo.; Goldblatt Tool

Co., Kansas City, Mo.; Fiberglas Fabric Shop, International Division, New York City; Inland Steel Products Co., Milwaukee, Wisc.; Johns Manville, New York City; M. Marsh Wall Products, Inc., Dover, Ohio; Resinous Products Division, Rohm & Haas Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; Infra Insulation, New York City; Michael Flynn, Philadelphia, Pa.; Granco Steel Products, Cofar Division, St. Louis, Mo., Bozell & Jacobs, Indianapolis, Ind.; Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Hexcel Products, Inc., Oakland, Calif.; Croname, Inc., Chicago, Ill.; E. L. Bruce Co., Memphis, Tenn.; Wakefield Co., Vermillion, Ohio; Structural Clay Products Institute, Washington, D. C.; Armstrong Cork Co., Lancaster, Pa.; Pittsburgh Corning Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.; Pomona Tile Co., Pomona, Calif.; Design-Technics, New York City; Robbins Floor Products, Tuscumbia, Ala.; Spotnail, Evanston, Ill.; Fabricators, Inc., South Norwalk, Conn.; Revere Copper & Brass, New York City; Kaiser Aluminum, Oakland, Calif.; Englander Co., Inc., Baltimore, Md.; Dow Chemical, New York City.

Mine and industrial safety equipment: Pyrene-C. O. Two Co., Newark, N. J.; Bethlehem Steel Corp., Bethlehem, Pa.; United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor, Bureau of Labor Standards, Washington, D. C.; Joy Manufacturing Co., New York City; Mine Safety Appliances Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.; Ray-O-Vac Co., Wilson Products Division, Reading, Pa.; Safety Box Toe Co., Boston, Mass.; Stephenson Corp., Red Bank, N. J.; Skil Corp., Chicago, Ill.; Scott Aviation Corp., Lancaster, N. Y.; Liberty Mutual Insurance Co., Boston, Mass.; Safety First Shoe Co., Holliston, Mass.; Pulmosan Safety Equipment Corp., Brooklyn, N. Y.; The Sellstrom Manufacturing Co., Palliatine, Ill.; Hood Rubber Co., Watertown, Mass.; American Optical Co., Southbridge, Mass.; Bausch & Lomb Optical Co., Rochester, N. Y.; Safety Tower Ladder Co., Burbank, Calif.; Bacharach Industrial Instrument Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.; John Bean Division, Food Machinery and Chemical Corp., Lansing, Mich.; Alexander Smith, Inc., New York City.

Sports and recreation: Mercury Motors International, Milwaukee, Wis.; Outboard Marine Corp., Waukegan, Ill.; Scott-Atwater Mfg. Co., Minneapolis, Minn.; Louis Johnson Co., Highland Park, Ill.; L. N. Swartz & Sons, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa.; Cortland Racket Div., Cortland Line Co., Inc., Cortland, N. Y.; Olin Mathieson Chem. Corp., Winchester International Div., New York City; O. F. Mossberg & Sons, New Haven, Conn.; G. H. Bass & Co., Wilton, Maine; Glasspar Co., Santa Ana, Calif.; Shakespeare Co., Kalamazoo, Mich.; Doughboy Industries, Inc., New Richmond, Wis.; American Archery Co., Clarendon Hills, Ill.; Bear Archery Co., Grayling, Mich.; Benlee Sporting Goods Mfg. Co., Inc., New York City; Converse Rubber Co., Malden, Mass.; Dimco-Gray Co., Dayton, Ohio; The General Athletic Products Co., Greenville, Ohio; B. F. Gladding & Co., Inc., South Otselic, N. Y.; Gudebrod Bros. Silk Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; Harvard Table Tennis Co., Boston, Mass.; James Heddon's Sons, Dowagiac, Mich.; Hillerecht & Bradsby Co., Inc., Louisville, Ky.; The Linen Thread Co., Inc., New York City; The MacGregor Co., Cincinnati, Ohio; Marble Arms Corp., Gladstone, Mich.; McLaughlin-Millard, Inc., Dolgeville, N. Y.; Mustang Mfg. Co., Seattle, Wash; Northland Ski Mfg. Co., St. Paul, Minn.; Philip S. Olt Co., Pekin, Ill.; Peterson Bros., Inc., Jacksonville, Fla.; Premier Athletic Products Corp., Rivervale, N. J.; Red Wing Shoe Co., Red Wing, Minn.; Ryson Knitting Works, Ryson, Mich.; Savage Arms Corp., Chicopee Falls, Mass.; The Seamless Rubber Co., New Haven, Conn.; South Bend Tackle Co., South Bend, Ind.; A. G. Spalding & Bros., Chicopee, Mass.; Stall & Dean Mfg. Co., Brockton, Mass.; Utica-Duxbak Corp., Utica, N. Y.; Velt Rubber Corp., New York City; Diamond Calk Horseshoe Co., Duluth, Minn.; Knapp-Monarch Co., St. Louis, Mo.; Allen Sportswear Co., Des Moines, Iowa; Duratech Mfg. Corp., Pleasantville, N. Y.; Woodcraft Equipment Co., Independence, Mo.; Felco Athletic Wear Co., New York City; New York Rubber Co., New York City; Red Head Brand Co., Chicago, Ill.; Sun Rubber Co., Barberton, Ohio.

Vending machine equipment: Coca-Cola Co., New York City; Rowe Mfg. Co., New York City; Brown & Williamson Tobacco Co., Louisville, Ky.; Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co., New York City; P. Lorillard Co., New York City; Philip Morris, Inc., New York City; R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., Winston-Salem, N. C.; Chunky Chocolate Corp., Brooklyn, N. Y.; American Steel Export Co., Seeburg Div., New York City; Westinghouse International, New York City; The Nestle Co., Inc., White Plains, N. Y.; Lily-Tulip Cup Corp, New York City.

Other contributors: The Esterbrook Pen Co., Camden, N. J.; Rheem Mfg. Co., New York City; Sears, Roebuck & Co., Washington, D. C.; Aetna Safe Co., New York City; Underwood Corp., New York City; Ride-O-Matic, White Plains, N. Y.; Johnson & Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.

Address by Victor Andrade, Ambassador of Bolivia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

SPEECH OF VICTOR ANDRADE, AMBASSADOR OF BOLIVIA, AT MORGAN STATE COLLEGE, BALTIMORE, MD., APRIL 17, 1957

I appreciate the opportunity of being here today. I know something of the work of this school and of its contributions over the years to the Negro race and to your country. Your reputation is an excellent one, and it is well deserved.

Today I want to talk to you about my country of Bolivia and, in particular, about the problems of the Indian in my native land. In many ways this problem of the Indian is the fundamental one, not only in Bolivia but in several other countries of Latin America. The Indian masses never have been absorbed into the mainstream of culture, political, and economic life. They remain remote and submerged aliens in their own country. In several states they constitute the bulk of the population. Obviously the future stability and prosperity of these nations depend upon the integration of the Indian.

There is an interesting story—a series of them, in fact—in the rift between the Spanish conquerors of Bolivia and the surrounding area and the native Indians. In North America the white man found relatively fierce and barbarous tribes, with a primitive culture dependent mostly upon hunting and fishing.

In Mexico, parts of Central America, and in Bolivia, Peru, and Chile, the Spaniards found a well advanced civilization. My country, for example, comprises most of the territory of Collasuyo, one of the four large states which made up the Empire of Tahuantinsuyo, better known as the Incan Empire, which covered an area almost as large as the United States. This empire was a most curious mixture of theocracy, technocracy, totalitarianism, and democracy. The stories handed down to us indicate that the empire's ruling class consisted of children from over the Incan territory, children selected on the basis of ability and carefully trained. On the other hand, there was a large measure of autonomy in local affairs, and some of the villages were communal.

In any event, the Incan Empire fell to the Spaniards. In most of North America the Indians were killed, or driven farther and farther westward. The white man's liquor and the white man's diseases helped to decimate them. The legend of Indian wars persists in the United States, but actually the natives never had a chance. Their case was hopeless from the start. But in Mexico and the Incan Empire the Indians might have driven the whites into the sea if they had been able to bring their strength to bear upon the invaders. After the Aztec and Incan Empires fell, the Indians still constituted the majority in numbers; it was a question whether the Spaniards were going to be able to keep them permanently subdued.

Following the death of Francisco Pizarro, who, as you know, conquered the Incas, one of his brothers, Gonzalo Pizarro, rebelled against the man sent by the Spanish King to rule over the lands given him by the Pizarros. The native Indians watched, hating both Spanish factions. Gonzalo Pizarro defeated the King's representative. Some of his lieutenants proposed that he found a new dynasty by marrying an Aztec princess. The idea was to combine the manpower of the Indians with the military and industrial techniques of the Spaniards.

Gonzalo resisted temptation and surrendered to the King's forces, expecting, at the least, a pardon. Instead he was beheaded. The incident opened the eyes of the Spanish leaders to their danger. They set about systematically destroying the Incan social and political order. The Indian was subordinated. This was done in spite of the fact that King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella had specifically instructed that the Indians were to be treated as subjects of the Spanish crown and were to have the same rights as other citizens.

Shortly after the conquest, silver in great quantities was discovered in what is now Bolivia and in other part of the newly acquired territory. Near Potosi, Bolivia, there is a hill called Cerro Rico—the rich hill—which was almost literally composed of silver. From this great silver deposit alone, hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of the precious metal flowed to Spain. The Spaniards needed workmen for the mines and they dragooned the Indians into service. In effect, the Indians were slaves and, in chains they died by the thousands in the mines.

They did not submit tamely. Many Indian and halfbreed leaders led uprisings and gave their lives in a hopeless struggle. The Spaniards were pitiless. They crushed these uprisings in blood and they fought them in other ways.

One of the most subtle was the theory that the Indians and the halfbreeds were basically inferior. One of the early Spanish viceroys, Francisco de Toledo, prohibited the intermarriage of the Spaniard and the Indian on any basis of equality. Prior to Francisco de Toledo, a Spaniard could establish a perfectly legitimate and respectable family by marrying a woman belonging to the ruling class of the Incas. The viceroy put a stop to that, although illicit union with the Indians was condoned.

A new class appeared in the Spanish colonies, the halfbreed, neither Indian, nor Spaniard. They were outcasts and many persons, including some of the most prominent Latin-American writers said they possessed the worst qualities of both races. It was a long, long time before the realization came

that the intermarriage of the Spaniard and the Indian and the combination of their cultures were sources of strength and not weakness.

Eventually, all the Spanish colonies won their independence but their separation from the homeland did not mean independence for the Indians. During the rebellions which led to the formation of the Latin American States there was a good deal of talk of Indian rights. A representative of the Indian communities was included as a member of the Junta which organized a provisional government in La Paz, Bolivia, in 1809. Once the revolts were successful, democratic ideals were forgotten and the natives were relegated to the role of serfs. The ruling classes were the whites and the mestizos, persons of white and Indian blood.

For almost 100 years, the intellectual leaders in most of the countries with large Indian populations clung tenaciously to the idea that the Indians and mestizos were inferior. Some persons felt that the Indians must be displaced by white immigration, although obviously this solution of the problem was completely impractical. The prevailing view was summed up by Alcides Arguadas, a Bolivian writer, in his book, Pueblo Enferom:

"Out of the fecund embrace of the dominating white race and the dominated Indian was born the mestizo, bringing as his inheritance the characteristic features of both, which, mixed in that strange amalgam, determined strange contradictions of character that are sometimes difficult to explain, since it drew from the Spaniard his delicacy, his idolatry, his pride and vanity, his accentuated individualism, his pompousness and his invincible nepotism; from the Indian, it brought his submission to the stronger power, his lack of initiative, his passivity toward evil, his undeniable inclination to lie, cheat, and to hypocrisy, his exasperated vanity based on pure appearances with no ideals and, as a combination of all of these, his tremendous disloyalty."

In the light of modern anthropological and sociological studies, Arguadas' observations constitute a lot of nonsense but they help explain why Bolivia's Indian farm workers remained until only 3 or 4 years ago.

But a significant change in attitudes began long ago. A Peruvian writer, Mariategui, in his Seven Essays of the Peruvian Realty said after World War I:

"To await emancipation of the Indian pending a vigorous intermingling of the native races with immigration from Europe is an antisocial naivete only conceivable in the mind of an importer of pedigreed sheep."

In Mexico, Jose Vasconselas, in his work, Cosmic Race, said:

"The days of the pure white victors of today are numbered as were the days of their ancestors. In fulfilling their role of mechanizing the world, unconsciously they themselves have formed the basis of a new era, an era of the fusion and mixture of all peoples. The Indian has no other door to the future than the door of modern culture, and no other way than the path sketched by Indian civilization. Also, the whites will have to surrender their pride and seek progress and redemption in the souls of their brothers of other races."

As time went by, ideas of the Indian's inferiority dissipated to a large extent among the intellectual leaders in Latin America. Furthermore, the Indians themselves began to be restive and to resent their isolation from the modern world. The development of the automobile and highways over which it could be driven brought the Indians in touch with the cities. What they saw had a profound effect upon them. The Mexican revolution prior to World War I and in the 1920's was primarily an Indian revolution. So were upheavals in other parts of Latin America. But in Bolivia the Indian remained subordinated for reasons other than race.

The discovery of tin in Bolivia and its rise in importance as an industrial metal in the 1900's shaped Bolivian history. Simon Patino, half Indian, himself, built the first great tin fortune and after him two other families, the Aramayos and the Hochschilds, also grew wealthy through tin.

Unfortunately, the country did not grow wealthy. The Indians worked in the mines under conditions which made their life span very short indeed. As they died, or went home broken in health, others succeeded them but they remained poor and so did the country. My country has one of the shortest life spans, one of the highest infant death rates anywhere, and also one of the world's lowest per capita incomes.

Bolivia is about half again as big as Texas and its resources, aside from tin, are very great. But the Patinos, the Aramayos, and the Hochschilds were not interested in Bolivia's rich land, timber, or other minerals which they did not own. They paid strict attention to their tin business, and they also held strictly to the old theory that the poorer and more ignorant people are, the less trouble they are likely to cause the ruling classes.

The Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay in the early 1930's revealed clearly the cynicism and selfishness of the little clique which ruled my country's economic and political life. This clique, composed mainly of the tin-mine owners—the tin barons—and a few wealthy landowners, did not seem to mind that Bolivia lost the war. They paid little attention to the deaths and sufferings of the Bolivian masses; highlanders who left the mountain areas to fight a war in the disease-infested jungle. But they were careful to keep control of the country and to see to it that nothing interfered with the profits from tin.

Bolivia suffered tragically from the war, and in the wake of that suffering rose the determination to institute basic reforms which would end the serfdom of the Indian farmers and would make the Indian masses citizens of their homeland.

The history of modern Bolivia is a history of the struggle between the people and the tin barons and their followers.

In 1952, a revolution overthrew a military junta which ruled Bolivia in defiance of a victory at the polls the previous year for the MNR party, headed by Victor Paz Estenssoro.

The Bolivian Government in 1953 nationalized the mines owned by the tin barons. It did so, not because it believed in nationalization of property, but to get rid of the influence of the mine owners. Otherwise, they would bribe or bully their way back into power. They then, as they had often done in the past, would wreck all efforts at reform.

In addition to nationalizing the tin mines, the Government was dedicated to certain basic reforms. Among these were:

1. Abolition of the old army and organization of a new army which was to be the servant of the state instead of its master.

2. Extension of the right to vote to all, regardless of sex, income, military service, or illiteracy.

3. Land reform, with the objective of incorporating all the population, including the Indians, into the economic and social life of the country.

The reorganization of the army and extension of the right to vote took place without too much opposition. However, the enemies of the Bolivian regime concentrated on land reform. Along with nationalization of the tin mines, this step was described as the action of dangerous radicals.

The land tenure system in Bolivia at the time of the revolution in 1952 was incredibly archaic. It was a medieval system. The landlord was like the nobleman of the Middle Ages; the worker was his serf.

The worker was assigned a particular plot of land, to which he was bound; he also had the responsibility of working on the land which the owner reserved for himself. Furthermore, the worker and his family were obligated to do certain personal services for the owner. They tilled garden plots for him, cared for his stables and horses, and the women did the cooking, cleaning and washing. They were tenants and body servants at the same time.

There was little or no incentive for improvement of the land assigned to the tenant. If he developed it, the owner took it over and assigned him another tract.

I realized that what I am telling you sounds quite incredible, but I am not exaggerating. That's the way it was. The lack of incentive for the worker to increase his output accounted in part for the failure of Bolivia to produce enough food for its own needs. Agricultural production was further discouraged by importing food and selling it to the miners at comparatively low prices. This was done to allay unrest among the mine workers and to increase profits. The step did not accomplish its purpose of soothing the miners, but it did reduce agricultural output.

The government took one further step in the case of the farmers. It divided up the big estates and sold them to the men who actually tilled the soil. In as many instances as possible, the farmer got the land he had been working.

The land taken over was not confiscated; the owner was paid in government bonds.

I think the program, in view of the antiquated land tenure system in my country, was a very moderate and conservative one. But it is even less drastic than it sounds because of the amount of land available in Bolivia. As I have stated, the country is half again as big as Texas; it has less than four million people. The majority of these are on the great highland plateau in the west, a plateau which averages more than 10,000 feet in height. Most of the good land is in the valleys and the llanos east of the valleys.

There is plenty of good land for anybody who wants to farm it. But the Indian farmers had to own their own plots and had to be taught modern methods of cultivation in order to increase agricultural output. They now own the land and are being taught how to farm it.

Obviously, if the program succeeds, it will not only greatly increase Bolivia's agricultural production, but it will be a force for social and economic stability. Landowners are not known for radicalism. In fact, probably the weakest point of the Communist programs has been the inability to make collectivism work in agriculture.

Meanwhile, Bolivia struggles with the overall problem of ending its dependence upon imports. Our tin mines are pretty well worked out, and tin can be produced in other areas of the world a good deal cheaper than in my country. Most of the tin mined since 1952 has been at a loss. Eventually, oil may replace tin as the principal source of foreign exchange, but the development of the oil potential takes time. So do other projects, including the development of mineral wealth other than tin.

The United States has helped Bolivia since 1953, and that help has enabled us to survive, but it has been hard going even so. Inflation has been very bad, and inflation always is hard on poor people—and most of the people in Bolivia are poor.

Without going into detail, I might say that we recently inaugurated a program aimed at stabilizing our currency. We have systematically tried to make foreign investment in Bolivia attractive because we feel the right kind of private enterprise can help us a lot. At the same time we have opposed communism, for in it we see only the exploitation of the hardships of our people for the benefit of others.

If we succeed in making Bolivia a modern and progressive state, we will have solved several problems at once. We will have found

a way to deal with the problems of undeveloped Latin-American countries without resorting to dictatorship. We will have found a way whereby a rich and powerful country can help a poor one like Bolivia to the mutual benefit of both. This will help meet the charges of imperialism which the Communists use against you in this hemisphere and abroad.

And, not the least important, we will have found the answer to a race problem which has plagued Bolivia and some other Latin-American countries for a long time. Land reform in Bolivia will be followed by land reform in other countries and the elevation of the Indian to the status of a first-class citizen.

The Negroes of the United States have made tremendous strides within the past few generations. You have your own problems, but I am hopeful that some of you will find time to grasp some of those which confront Bolivia. Your sympathy and assistance would indeed be a boon to us.

Middle East Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith the following address by the distinguished Chief of Naval Operations, Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, delivered before the Dallas Works Affairs Council at Dallas, Tex., on May 17, 1957, entitled "Middle East Conference":

ADDRESS BY ADM. ARLEIGH BURKE, USN, CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS, BEFORE THE DALLAS WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL, DALLAS, TEX., MAY 17, 1957

It is a very great pleasure to be here this evening. I appreciate this opportunity to meet with you and to share in this very productive Middle East Conference which the Dallas World Affairs Council and Newsweek magazine have joined forces to sponsor.

There is little that takes place anywhere in the world today that does not affect our Nation. It is difficult for busy citizens to follow everything that affects our national security in these rapidly changing times. The work this group is doing to stimulate interest and to promote understanding of international affairs is of inestimable value to our entire Nation. The Dallas Council and Newsweek are to be congratulated for this timely and stimulating examination of the problems confronting us in the Middle East.

This particular part of the program deals with the defense problems of the Middle East. It would seem well to begin then with a strategic appraisal of this area which has claimed such deep interest for so many centuries. What is the strategic significance of the Middle East? Why is it so important that nations there remain free and independent of totalitarian domination?

First of all, it is in the interest of people everywhere to prevent the spread of totalitarianism. It is not in the interest of the free world, or in the interest of the United States, for any additional territory or people to be shut up behind the totalitarian curtain, no matter where they are. This means no further retreats. Every gain by totalitarianism is a loss to the cause of freedom. The totalitarian world would get stronger and the cause of freedom would get weaker with every Communist encroachment on independent peoples. The effect is cumulative.

The Middle East is particularly vulnerable to Soviet penetration. It is probably the least stable of all independent areas of Europe and Asia at the present time.

The Middle East is also a focal point, a crossroads, of world communications. It is the land bridge between Europe, Asia, and Africa. Of even greater importance, it is the salt-water shortcut between the peoples of the Atlantic and Mediterranean community and the peoples of south Asia and east Africa. We already have ample evidence of the importance of the Suez lifeline to the economies of Western Europe and South Asia.

Loss of the Middle East would bring Communist totalitarianism to the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. It would shatter the right flank of NATO, and leave Turkey in an indefensible position. It would open up the whole continent of Africa with all its vast resources to Communist exploitation. It would do this at the very time when the peoples of Africa are most vulnerable to the predatory advances of Communist totalitarianism.

Of immediate interest to Western economies, of course, if the oil of the Middle East, which Mr. Coleman discussed earlier in such an interesting and informative manner. We have the lesson of the Suez crisis still fresh in our memories to remind us of how critical the delivery of Middle East oil is to Western Europe, even in peacetime. Europe needs Middle East oil today. She will continue to need it in steadily increasing quantities for some time to come. Control of this oil would be a tremendous weapon, both military and economic, in the hands of an aggressor power seeking dominion over free Europe.

It is more important than ever great Middle Eastern countries be permitted and helped to develop into stable, independent nations, free of Communist-totalitarian domination. It is United States policy to be helpful in the achievement of this aim. We have many means by which to pursue our objective.

One of the first things to be said of these many means available to us is that they are all interrelated and interdependent. What we might attempt in a miltary way has to support our activities in the political, economic, and cultural fields. The reverse is also true. The steps we take in nonmilitary spheres have a big influence on the kind and effectiveness of military actions which might have to be taken later. No segment of our tremendous national effort can afford to operate in a parochial vacuum.

It is hardly worth mentioning here that no nation can be defended or helped unless its people and government are willing to accept help. A political and economic climate is needed in which the desire for national independence is well-developed.

One of the basic tasks in defense of the Middle East is to develop a satisfactory state of internal security in the countries of that area. We have seen enough of this recently to understand how the Communists operate to undermine and destroy independent governments. Many governments in this area need help. Sufficient military and technical support must be provided to enable constituted governments to sustain themselves against armed conspiracies, subversion, and mob action, Communist or otherwise.

Once the internal security problem is in hand, we have the problem of achieving and keeping some sort of general neighborliness among the various Middle Eastern states. The Middle East is an area torn with traditional grievances and hatreds, of sensitive and emotional leaders, of rampant nationalism. This is a local problem quite apart from the larger one of regional security against Communist aggression. The task is complicated by the difficulties between Israel and the Arabs. But these difficulties are by no means the only ones which threaten the peace.

Finally there is the task of securing the Middle East against direct aggression by the Soviet Union. The American Doctrine for the Middle East is a general pledge to help any Middle East nation requesting our assistance to resist Communist aggression. This, of course, is a commitment of major proportions, particularly if it involves direct Soviet aggression. If invoked it would amount to virtually the same degree of involvement for us as would a Soviet attack upon Enrope. In either eventuality the United States could become directly involved in open hostilities with the Soviet Union.

The general group of commitments which constitute the American Doctrine for the Middle East form the newest link in the free world collective security system.

Let us consider briefly some of the problems connected with the support of military operations in the Middle East area.

First, relative distance. The eastern shore of the Mediterranean is just about as far from New York as Korea is from San Francisco. Thus the logistic problem would be roughly of the same dimensions as that of operations in Korea. A distance of some 5,500 nautical miles is involved. It is twice that distance from New York to the Persian Gulf around the south of Africa. By way of contrast, it is only a matter of some 500 miles from the foot of the Caspian Sea to the oilfields at the head of the Persian Gulf. It is about 1,000 miles from the Caspian Sea to the Suez Canal.

This distance factor might at first seem to be a large differential in favor of the Soviet Union. But the advantage really lies with us, just as it did in Korea. Between the Caucausus and the heart of the Middle East lies some of the most difficult terrain on the face of the earth. Mountain ranges higher and more rugged than any we have in the United States lie directly athwart the line of march. There are deserts which support no human life other than a handful of nomadic tribes.

Modern roads are virtually nonexistent in this area. Only a single rail line connects northern Iran with the Persian Gulf. Troops might be dropped from air transports, but to be effective they must be supported continuously and massively in every category of supply. All this cannot be done by air. Bombs can be dropped, but worthwhile targets are few.

The logistic problems of supporting any sizable military operation over these long land lines would be staggering, even if we interposed no resistance. It would be easier to support extensive operations in this area from the sea than it would to support them by land and air from the north.

The conclusion is obvious. In terms of effective, timely support, the Middle East can be thought of as being closer to the United States than it is to the Soviet Union. This is simply an extension of the general truth that validates all our alliances with countries in Europe and Asia. Sea communications put our allies closer to us than to their land-locked enemies.

The ability to move force rapidly into an area by sea is of critical importance when the area has virtually no capability to defend itself against an initial onslaught. Even those Middle East nations with the best military forces, such as Turkey and Pakistan,

could not stand up alone against a Soviet attack. Banded together in a regional defense arrangement like the Baghdad Pact, they would still need help. The Middle East nations must rely upon outside assistance, assistance brought in by sea.

In today's fast moving world, so very much depends on what the parties at issue are able to do right away, with forces that can be immediately deployed to the critical areas. Fateful decisions hinge on planners estimates of how quickly a position can be occupied, how readily an advantage can be pressed home. Last November during the Suez crisis our forces in the eastern Mediterranean were ready for anything, and the world knew it.

In recent weeks the United States 6th Fleet again returned to eastern Mediterranean waters. The stabilizing effect it had on a dangerous situation was dramatic.

The defense of the Middle East involves the same twofold problem common to so many of the free world's security problems, especially in Asia. The first is the problem of direct Soviet bloc aggression. The second is the problem of violence within and among the Middle Eastern states.

We are probably going to be far more actively concerned in the immediate future with trouble within the area itself. Some of it will be Soviet directed or Soviet inspired. Most of it will be designed to create a climate favorable to Communist penetration.

The Middle East is a restless, explosive area. It has inherited enough trouble to keep things stirred up for a long time. It is not the kind of trouble that is susceptible to specific, clear-cut solutions, military or otherwise.

There is a definite requirement for military power, but it must be graduated power, flexible power, power that is instantly responsive to the political nuances of the situation.

The defense problem in the Middle East is a part of the general defense problem of the free world. As such it is subject to the same basic factors which influence the larger problem.

Chief among these factors is that the principal areas of decision between Soviet communism and the free world are the peripheral areas of Europe and Asia. Thousands of miles of blue water lie between these critical areas and the United States. Our allies, our opponents, and the areas of decision, including the Middle East, all lie across the seas from us.

The strength of the free world, its ability to resist the outward thrusts of Soviet aggression, depend on our continued ability to use the seas—to reinforce and support our allies, to supply our troops and air forces, and to project the kind of power needed at the moment into the critical areas of military decision.

Implicit in all our mutual security pacts and guaranties of assistance, including those recently made to the Middle Eastern countries, is the assumption that we shall always have the power, come what may, to use the seas and to project our military power ashore where needed, from secure bases in international waters.

There are two relatively secure roads open to us to the Middle East. The most direct road is through the Mediterranean. The other, through the Indian Ocean, is longer but is the more secure of the two. Over these roads can be projected, at minimum cost, the political, economic, and military assistance needed to keep the peoples of the Middle East free of totalitarian domination.

The strategic advantage clearly lies with the free world, provided we have the means to control the intervening seas. A great deal of wisdom and foresight are needed to make the best use of our advantages.

Address by the Honorable Anthony F. Tauriello

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I know my colleagues will be interested in the following thoughtful address by the Honorable Anthony F. Tauriello, who represented the 43d District of New York in the 81st Congress and who is now a member of the Council of the City of Buffalo. The speech was delivered on April 27 at the convention of District No. 1 of the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, attended by delegates from every State east of the Mississippi River.

Jack Tauriello won the admiration and affection of all who served with him in the 81st Congress. He revealed a most able mind, a warm heart, and great courage and determination in working for legislative measures in the interest of all the people. Jack has continued his distinguished record in his present high office in which he has rendered outstanding service to the great city which he so deeply loves.

The address reads:

ADDRESS BY HON. ANTHONY F. TAURIELLO

I have been in public life for better than a quarter of a century. And I have been privileged to serve the people of this community, as a Member of Congress, and other legislative elective bodies in this city. There have been occasions when I have been tendered the signal honor of speaking before various groups. This morning, I can honestly say, and with deep conviction, that this is one invitation to speak that I not only welcome but cherish.

Gathered here are men of labor. What are men of labor? Who are the people of labor? There is an onerous interpretation of the word "labor" in the minds of too many of our fellow Americans. When one sees a labor union or a labor group, there is a tendency upon the part of those who are opposed to labor's aims to see labor unions as a people apart from all the people. Labor, to me, and, I am sure, to you, means the people—all the people. The man in the steel mill, the white-collar worker, whether he works in government or private industry, is part and parcel of labor. The charwoman, the craftsman, the technician, and the salesman. These are the Americans, each and every one of them, who make up the family of labor. So let no one get the idea that labor unions and their membership are a special group of Americans. This family of labor today faces one of its darkest moments, but out of the darkness comes daylight, and in the light of day let us look at the problem or problems that plague the family and the house of labor. Headlines scream of the evil ways and the evil doings of certain labor leaders in certain unions. Radio commentators, news analysts, and others shout that all labor is emeshed in wrongdoing. This, my friends, is furthest from the truth. There are members of the family—trusted members—who no longer can be trusted. This does not condemn or convict the entire family. Time and again history records similar problems that were faced by this Nation—by big business and other industries—that make up the American way of life.

This problem I refer to is the unscrupulous—the greedy among us—who would by their actions and their misdeeds destroy the greatness of a nation and destroy its people. This is exactly the position labor finds itself in today. We hear the enemies of labor calling for the destruction of the family of labor. They ask that the house of labor be torn down, that the hard-fought gains for the decent way of life be denied to men and women who organized to build a better America. Let me give you the examples I have reference to and let us see how similar problems and situations were handled. In the early days of our Nation when we fought for independence we had our Benedict Arnold, and out of that tragic phase of history this Nation grew strong, and the people found freedom. Because one general was corrupt did we condemn all of our generals? Did we disband the Continental Army, and did we give up hope for the great liberties that were made possible back in that era? No. We survived. Isn't this the same thing today in the house of labor? There are the Benedict Arnolds who would deceive, cheat, and rob the individual man and woman of labor of his dignity, his prestige, and his hard-won liberties. Just as one Benedict Arnold could not destroy the American spirit, no single individual, or group of individuals, who have managed to lock themselves in high places can destroy labor. No, my friends—they canont destroy this house of labor for they will be rooted out as you are doing now. Your members will grow in greater numbers, you will achieve greater benefits from the productivity of your own efforts.

Now, let us look at another phase of the American pattern of living. You recall, my friends, the stock exchange when a corrupt president of the stock exchange was indicted and sentenced to prison. Was there a hue and cry that all stock brokers were thieves? Was there an onslaught to crumble the vast business of the stock exchange? Did they besmirch the integrity and the reputation of those who dealt in the stock markets of our Nation? Here, once again, the parallel situation is evident. The stock exchange had its Benedict Arnold, but this phase of our business exists and our economic life operates today soundly and in behalf of the people. So, here was a phase of management, in business, that went through the growing pain stages and lived and prospered in spite of its evil ones.

The pattern is also the same as faces labor today, and do you recall when a great drug concern, McKesson & Robbins by name, because of dishonest leaders went bankrupt. Did we hear then any loud voices calling for the destruction and the dissolution of this business venture and the people who conducted it? No, we did not. You see this company had its Benedict Arnolds too, and when they were brought at bay, this concern came back with a great resurgence and operates its multi-million-dollar concern bigger and better than ever before. I could go through a long list of businesses, such as the Samuel Insull swindle, and others. What I am trying to point out—what I am trying to say—is this: That every part of our economic life was threatened at one time or another by leaders who could not be trusted, by dishonest men with dishonest tendencies, who made the innocent suffer by their actions. But in every instance where faulty leadership had resulted in scandal the guilt was placed where the guilt belonged. But lo and behold, a guilty few in the house of labor now stand before the court of public opinion and there are those who are ready to condemn each and every man and

woman who carries a union card. No, my friends, this is not a fair American practice. Let us look at a little more recorded history. This time in Government, where scandal rocked this Nation to its very foundations. There was the Teapot Dome scandal where trusted public servants reached out with clutching and thieving hands, who robbed and stole what belonged to the public. Did we at that time condemn every man who held public office? Did we look at the colleagues of the scoundrels, and did we say by association they were scoundrels too? Did our Nation crumble and fall? In the terms of the popular Elvis Presley record we were "all shook up" but did not crumble. We rid ourselves of those in high Government posts who could not be trusted, those in high Government posts who were by their lack of honesty unable to serve the people. Once again the pattern is the same, once again the problem is the same. We had our Benedict Arnolds in time of war. We have had our Benedict Arnolds in the economic and industrial growth of this Nation. We had our Benedict Arnolds in Government, and today, you are faced with a few Benedict Arnolds in labor.

But no matter what the crime—no matter what the charges that are placed against once trusted leaders—I plead with my fellow Americans not to pass judgment, not to convict the accused without allowing the accused to stand trial under the American concept of justice. Let us not convict by newspaper. Let us not convict by innuendo. Let us not convict by slander. When the guilty among you is brought to light let it be done through legal procedures. Let us not close the door to the right of any man to have his day in court. There is no difference in this problem today than there was in the problems that paralleled us through recorded history. Labor has enemies on the inside and the outside. There are those in this nation today who would have cause to celebrate for they would spend millions of dollars to destroy organized labor, and they are using today the fact—that a member of the family who is guilty of crime and wrongdoing—makes every member of the family just as guilty. As sure as we are gathered here and as sure as God is our judge we may rest assured and be reassured that never as long as this Nation shall exist will labor lose any of its rights and its privileges nor shall they be taken away through legislative acts.

If we were to examine the labor movement from its early days to its present crucial period we would be amazed to find how little scandal and how little dishonesty there really was in the conduct of labor's business. The scandals of Government, the scandals of business, are gigantic monsters in comparison to the little evils that have afflicted labor in its growing period. I did not come here today to defend labor. It needs no defense. Labor will rid itself of its rotten apples and labor will continue to provide the services that puts the timber into the backbone of this Nation. Earlier I asked the question, What is labor and who are the people of the family of labor? My friends, let me expand on my thought for a moment. Labor is as American as apple pie. The men and women of labor are the first line of defense when our Nation is threatened. They make the guns, the plows, the tanks, the battleships, and the airplanes so that this Nation may remain strong. They sweat and they toil in the factories of this Nation and they bring forth the good things of life—the radios, the television sets, the refrigerators, and all the conveniences that came from American inventive genius.

The men and women of labor not only produce the weapons for war and defense, but they and their children have shouldered these weapons that they made with their own hands. They have done so in every war and they laid their lives down on foreign shores the world over for the right to belong to a union, and this is a right that no single group has cause to attack. There was a time in this Nation when cliques and vested interests amassed tremendous fortunes while their fellow Americans lacked the needed money for the essentials of life. There was a period before the creation of organized labor that the children of the workingman could not gain an education. Today our doctors, our lawyers, our scientists, are not the sons and daughters of the idle rich, they are the sons and the daughters of the men of labor. This, gentlemen, is a monument to your achievement. Labor has written a glorious page across the face of American history. Labor has been more clean, more decently operated, in spite of its present dilemma created by the few. Labor's business has been conducted through the years with more fairness, more equality, more dignity, and more decency, than any other branch of operation. It has been more clean than big business and government. And now that we stand at the threshold of a new day labor will emerge more triumphant and with greater acclamation than ever before.

The critics and the enemies who would condemn the whole family of labor will be silenced by the weakness of their own tirades.

In closing, gentlemen, I would like to pay tribute to your union, its leaders, and its membership. In all the years of your existence there has never been one instance where your leaders or your rank and file members have been accused of any wrongdoing. Isn't it remarkable that your union and others like you have lived without the taint of scandal while other ventures and other branches of our economic life were steeped in the backwash of dishonesty? And isn't it discouraging that when an instance appears such as has appeared in one of the organized branches of labor that there are those who would destroy all that is good in labor.

As I leave here this morning I know in my heart and soul that it will not come to pass, for just as there are enemies of labor, there are more friends of labor in and out of government, and these friends will stand by to aid you whenever called upon to do so.

I thank you most kindly for your invitation. I shall treasure these memories.

New York Postmaster Robert H. Schaffer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement issued by Branch One of the United National Association of Post Office Craftsmen in regard to the resignation of New York Postmaster Robert H. Schaffer.

The statement follows:

UNAPOCS REGRET RESIGNATION OF POSTMASTER ROBERT H. SCHAFFER

The news of the forthcoming resignation of Postmaster Robert H. Schaffer on June 15, 1957, has left a depressing effect on the officers and members of the United National Association of Post Office Craftsmen in this area.

In a statement to branch officers and members of Branch One, UNAPOC, Andrew T. Walker, president, has taken note of the top-notch E for efficiency of the Schaffer administration of the postal service in New York, N. Y. Mr. Walker also spoke highly of the humane and understanding approach Mr. Schaffer had applied to the problems of the service and of the high degree of success it attained. Particularly, Mr. Walker added, was the installation of labor-management teams in large mail terminals. The inauguration of these employee-management arbitration teams helped considerably in solving problems at the point of origin.

The resignation of Mr. Schaffer will leave a definite mark in the annals of history of the New York post office. His dynamic personality and willingness to meet with all of the postal groups, socially and otherwise on his off hours from duty, illustrated well his democratic outlook.

The employees will miss him and well can it be said that the service and its workings will miss his keen observations and attention, for it was remarkable, indeed, for the few short years Mr. Schaffer had been with the postal department he had amassed an unusual background of knowledge and its application.

A tribute well deserved and earned is that Mr. Schaffer in his resigning from the postal service takes with him the fond affection and esteem of over 35,000 New York postal men and women. Good luck to you, Mr. Postmaster.

From Tree Nursery to Gravel Pit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 7, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, last January during hearings on the soil bank program before the House Agriculture Committee I asked Department leaders including the Secretary how many tree nurseries had been disposed of since 1952. At the time their answers ranged from 3 to 5 but they promised to list all of them later in the record upon my request. That list shows that 11 of these nurseries were closed by the Government as follows: Thorsby, Ala., Brooksville, Fla., Rock Hill, S. C., Gretna, Va., Ankeny, Iowa, Winona, Minn., San Antonio, Tex., Kearney, Nebr., Albuquerque, N. Mex., San Fernando, Calif., and Bellingham, Wash. What happened to one of those nurseries after it was closed is reported by Drew Pearson in his May 11 column taken from the Eau Clair (Wis.) Leader. Under leave to extend my remarks I would like to submit that report here:

BENSON REVERSES SELF ON TREE NURSERIES
(By Drew Pearson)

WASHINGTON.—Ezra Taft Benson has run into trouble on his somersault on tree-growing. First he killed all Government nurseries; now he is urging more money for nurseries. The trouble comes primarily from his fellow Republicans.

Shortly after he became Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra junked all Department of Agriculture nurseries. He claimed it was not the job of the Government to grow trees, and he turned the nurseries over to the States—even if the States didn't want them.

At Winona, Minn., Benson gave a thriving United States nursery to the State of Minnesota. The State proceeded to remove all trucks, tools, tractors, the overhead irrigation system, and some of the choice nursery stock. Then Minnesota abandoned the site.

The site is now owned by the Winona Sand and Gravel Co., which purchased the once-thriving United States Government nursery for the bargain price of $3,000. The price included a building valued at $12,000, plus all irrigation equipment that could not be moved, including a pump, motor, etc., plus other minor buildings.

In brief, the nursery which once grew thousands of trees is now a gravel pit.

But 3 years later, when Secretary Benson started his soil bank plan, he suddenly discovered he would need trees.

So, because it's too late to start United States nurseries and because he doesn't want to reverse himself that much, Benson is now pumping $6 million of Federal funds into State nurseries whether the States want the money or not.

Benson is giving the $6 million in direct grants to the States, without any matching funds, a policy directly contrary to the Eisenhower policy of making the States put up matching money for Federal aid.

The House Appropriations Subcommittee, discovering what Benson was doing, objected. They found that the grants were made by the Secretary of Agriculture himself.

"Why did you oppose such subsidies in 1955," asked Congressman Budge of Idaho, "yet now you have them in the budget?"

Congressman JENSEN, of Iowa, also objected. He doubted whether the Agriculture Department had legal authority to subsidize State nurseries to sell trees at below cost to farmers.

The plan for United States funds for State nurseries is going ahead anyway, with the expectation that farmers will plant 5 million acres in trees under the soil bank plan. Actually farmers have signed contracts to plant only 7 percent of that number in 1956–57. Since 1940 farmers have planted only 10 million acres of trees, and their rate of planting prior to the soil bank had reached about 1 million acres per year.

So they will have to do a lot of planting to hit 5 million acres per year any time in the near future.

Arab Refugees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LAURENCE CURTIS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a thoughtful article by the Very Reverend James A. Pike, dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, and adjunct professor of religion and law, Columbia University, entitled "Key Piece in the Mideast Puzzle." This article appeared in the New York Sunday Times magazine section of May 19, 1957. Dr. Pike is the coauthor of the book, "The Church, Politics and Society."

The article follows:

The peace of the world may turn on a vicious circle in the Middle East. The vicious circle is this: there can be no lasting peace until the Arab refugee problem is solved; and the Arab refugee problem cannot be solved until there is a real peace. Is there any way out of this circle?

I pondered these things a little over a year ago as my wife and I visited a large refugee camp south of Bethlehem. The misery these establishments represent has been too frequently described to require exposition here. But the dreadfulness of the situation is more psychological and spiritual than physical. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East has seen to it that there are 1,600 calories per day per person—higher than some, at least, of the residents had before. The tin huts (ovens under blazing summer sun) and skimpy tents (chilly diggings in the winter) are no worse than many Arab accommodations elsewhere.

But even if the food and lodging were fit for kings, the situation would be tragic. I remember our passing, near the entrance to the camp, a tall lean Arab just sitting in front of his hut looking off into space—and an hour later, as we passed the same place, he had not moved or changed his expression. Nothing to do—except to dwell on his situation, to nourish his resentment over the past, to reflect on the apparent hopelessness of the future and, when he gathers with his fellows, nothing to talk about—except to go over the same ground, and fan the resentment. This is a living death.

It is an existence suffered by an unknown number of people who fled or were dislodged from their homes during the partition of Palestine and the subsequent fighting. Estimates of the refugee population run from 800,000 to 900,000, including the children born in the camps. These Arabs are now living in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and the Gaza Strip, which is officially Egyptian.

Whose fault is it that the refugees got where they are in the first place? Whose fault is it that they are still there? And what can be done about it?

As to the first question, we received conflicting answers. From the Arabs: "We were driven out of our homes and lands by the Jews." From the Israelis: "We urged them to stay; the Arab nations urged them to leave and promised them their lands—and ours—when they returned." Who is right? Interestingly enough, both statements are true.

To grasp this apparent contradiction, you must put yourself in the position of the individual Palestinian Arab in 1948. He was confronted with a rapid—and confusing—series of events. (1) The U. N. had voted the partition of Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state, it being contemplated that there would be Arab and Jewish citizens in each. (2) The British abandoned their mandate before arrangements were worked out for the two new states to take over. (3) The state of Israel was forthwith declared; no Arab Palestinian state was organized. (4) Immediately the surrounding bloc of Arab states attacked Israel. Out of the resulting insecurity of Jew and Arab alike came conflicting pressures on the Arab in Israeli territory:

Fear of his fate under the Jews: Jewish terrorists groups were operating—albeit unofficially. The ruthless massacre in the Arab village of Deir Yassin was vivid in memory. Arabs in some localities were threatened. Why? Fanaticism, fear of an internal fifth column, desire to clear the property for Jews.

Fear of his fate under Arab rule: The invading Arabs put pressure on him to leave and threatened him if he would not. And most people thought then that the Arabs would win the war.

Hope of gain: If he left and then returned, which he was most sure to do once the Jews were overwhelmed, he would share in the booty—the Jewish properties.

Arab solidarity: After all, he was an Arab, and his brother Arabs were fighting Jews. And this cleavage had old roots.

The promises of the Jews: The official Israeli attitude was clear enough. The government urged the Arabs to stay, spreading this word throughout the land by soundtrucks and handbills. They were promised an equal place in the new nation.

Under these pressures the individual Arab could hardly be blamed for making either decision—to go or to stay. As it turned out, those who stayed fared better than those who left. In terms of economic and educational opportunity, health, and sanitation, the Israeli Arabs are, by and large, considerably better off than other Arabs in the Middle East. And because Israel is a democracy, they have more voice in the government of their nation than do the Arabs in Saudi Arabia, or, for that matter, than do the Palestinian Arabs in Jordan—now that the Trans-Jordanian (largely Bedouin) minority is in absolute power there.

However, there have been certain limitations on the Arabs in Israel, such as freedom of movement. This is justified by the government on the ground of security, but this factor may be exaggerated; indeed, the Supreme Court of Israel has the zeal of the military administration of Galilee; and during the Sinai operation there was no report of any rebellion of Israeli Arabs. But American critics are somewhat estopped from making too much of all this because the Arab in Israel is by and large in a better position that the American Negro in large parts of our country.

But the fact is that the majority of the Arabs left—and hardly for capricious reasons.

Why the present standstill in this situation? Many refugees in other areas have been settled with useful work and with a real future in their adopted homelands. Israel itself, less than one-hundredth the size of the Arab world, has settled some 900,000 refugees from many nations. There is a crucial difference. For example, in the case of the recent exodus of Hungarians to the United States, our Government and the refugees regard the situation in Hungary as a fait accompli and their future is planned accordingly. But neither the Arab nations nor the Palestinian refugees so regard the situation in the Middle East. They will not accept the fact of the existence of the State of Israel. Its extermination is the top priority in the foreign policy of the Arab nations and in the heart of the individual refugee.

So the failure to develop constructive plans for permanent resettlement is not attributable simply to the lack of the necessary wit or means. The Arab states don't want the refugees settled, for if they were they would lose their most potent propaganda piece against Israel. As Ralph Galloway, until recently head of United Nations relief in Jordan, has said, "The Arab states do not want to solve the refugee problem. They want to keep it an open sore, as an affront to the United Nations and as a weapon against Israel. Arab leaders don't give a damn whether the refugees live or die."

Recently, Henry Labouisse, director of UNRWA, declared that the Arab States have placed so many obstacles in the way of U. N. help for their own fellow Arabs that it may be necessary soon to suspend such relief entirely. The Arab aim is to foster in the refugees the notion that return to their former homes is the only desideratum.

But is that a real possibility? Assume that there is a minimum of 800,000 refugees (it is hard to get a firm figure: there were probably 500,000 to 600,000 to start with). The population of Israel today is 1,900,000. No nation, regardless of past rights and wrongs, could contemplate taking in a fifth column of such size. And fifth column it would be—people nurtured for 10 years in hatred of Israel and totally dedicated to its destruction.

We can get a hint of what the presence of this large block of dissidents would mean to Israel's stability from what the acquisition of the Palestinian Arabs has done to Jordan's stability; the gulf between their orientation and objectives and those of the Bedouin

population of the former Trans-Jordan has been the prime factor in the explosive situation in present-day Jordan. For an analogy, we must think of this: the scrupulosity with which the United States examines the views of each potential immigrant does not encourage us to imagine that we would be willing to take in nearly 71 million sworn enemies of the nation, which is what the proportionate figure would be.

But doesn't this argument prove too much? It could be said that the very magnitude of the refugee group as compared with the present population of Israel argues for their return, whatever the consequences to the State of Israel, since the figures prove that there should never have been a Jewish state in Palestine.

Actually, as a non-Zionist, I was and am less than convinced by the arguments for the establishment of Israel in the first place. But the fact is that it was established—and its right to exist is grounded on two bases of paramount validity: first, it was established by action of the only international authority, the U. N.; and, second, it won a war brought against it by the Arab States.

We can't turn back the clock of history. Literally, the territory that is now Israel is not the same country that the refugees left. Nine years of intensive development, urban and rural; nine years of heavy immigration; nine years of the shaping of a way of life—all this rules out the possibility of an Arab's return, in any realistic sense, to what he left.

If return is ruled out, then what? Equally unthinkable is the continuation, year after year, of the demoralizing—and ever-explosive—status quo. The only live option then is permanent resettlement. And the barriers to that are not so formidable as has often been asumed. These are the barriers:

1. In Jordan and the Gaza Strip, where the bulk of the refugees reside, there is not enough arable land or enough available employment in commerce and industry to support anywhere near the total number of refugees.

2. Resettlement (in contrast to relief) would require a large capital outlay.

3. The Arab nations do not want resettlement.

Serious as these barriers are, they surely are not insuperable. Yet any solutions must take them into account. Foolhardy as it may seem for me to say so, I believe there is a solution—if the United Nations and United States get behind it—and that it involves these elements:

The signing of a permanent peace treaty. There is only an armistice now, dating from the 1948 war, and Iraq has not even signed that (this is one reason Israel is nervous about the possibility of Iraq's absorbing Jordan and thus becoming her eastern neighbor). A peace treaty would acknowledge once and for all the existence of the State of Israel and make her less trigger-happy, an attitude born of anxiety. And it would permit border readjustments which both economic and military realism require. The border now is so quixotic that it is difficult to defend and, since it is virtually unmarked (the Arab nations have so required, since they do not recognize that there is an Israel), many innocent trespasses—both ways—have occurred, with bloody results.

More than that, there would be eliminated one of the persistent sources of Arab hate—the plight of Arab farmers whose villages ended up on the Jordanian side and whose groves and fields ended up on the Israeli side. And there would be removed the resentment of the Israelis at being barred from Mount Scopus in Jerusalem, important because of the buildings and great library of the Hebrew University and the Hadassah Hospital.

Mutual development, with outside aid, of water projects: The arable land in both Israel and Jordan would be much increased by the diversion of the waters of the Jordan River. And this is only one of several practical possibilities.

Economic union and mutual planning: This was contemplated by, and included in, the terms of the U. N.'s 1948 partition plan. As things now stand, to take one example, Israel imports beef from Argentina, Jordan exports meat via a tortuous route through Syria and Lebanon. Thus Israel's cost is increased. Jordan's profit is cut, and both lose. And neither can afford it. Another example: the Gaza Strip is economically viable only when linked to Israel. Economic planning—and outside assistance in development—would bring about fullest use of the resources of the whole area, with an increase in employment opportunities.

Resettlement of the refugees: Her borders secure, her existence recognized by her neighbors, the development of her economy linked with theirs, Israel could with less risk grant total equality, including complete freedom of movement, to her Arab citizens, and proceed to admit a proportion of the erstwhile Arab residents of her territory—perhaps the number 100,000, which back in 1949 Israel offered to take, though the offer was declined. If the offer is made, it will probably turn out that not so many will in fact want to go back. But, this quota filled, let the rest be settled in Arab nations on new arable lands made available by new water and in the new industry and service trades that will follow.

The pattern for this has already been set by Israel in its resettlement of some 400,000 Jews from Arab lands in western Asia and north Africa who abandoned their property and whatever wealth they had and arrived penniless in Israel. There have been refugee camps in Israel all along—but with this difference: they have been temporary reception centers, because Israel really wanted to settle the newcomers.

How to finance all this? Assuming that the preceding steps have been taken, this is the easiest part. In 1952, the U. N. allotted the sum of $200 million for this purpose, and less than $7 million has been spent because the Arabs refused even to complete preliminary studies on how their own people could be helped. But more than this will be needed.

Let Israel add to the fund the value of the Arab property which it now utilizes for others, and which is not, under the plan proposed, reoccupied by returning Arabs. Then let the Arab countries add to the account the value of the property of the 400,000 Jews who fled Arab lands into Israel. Then let our own Nation which has such a stake in peace in the Middle East, contribute, at least, the cost of the technical assistance needed. And, once the job is under way, there will be saved the enormous cost of direct relief each year, since the resettled persons will have been enabled to support themselves.

But can Arab and Jew ever live peacefully together? Is the enmity undying? I don't think so. Maybe it was just a straw in the wind, but when I visited with a class at the new university of Tel Aviv, I observed that an Arab student seemed to be well received and he was friendly enough to the others. And at the Mandelbaum Gate, at the Jordan-Israel border in Jerusalem, we observed something that is a foretaste of what could be.

On the Israeli side I saw a pile of new Arab picture magazines. "Where did you get them?" I asked the guard. "From the guards on the Jordan side," he answered. "We trade them." I pressed further. "When you do that, do you smile at each other?" "Of course," he retorted. "We're friends; we have coffee together." Individuals can always get along with each other—or at least can judge each other for what each one is—once the official tensions are relaxed.

But there is no hope that they will be unless the United Nations and the United States broaden their conception of the Middle East problem. We should expand the Eisenhower doctrine to include the development and presentation to the Middle East countries of an overall plan which includes something like the elements outlined above. I am not suggesting that the hostilities can be bought off; but if we are firm and consistent in our influence and if the interest and energies of the whole region can be redirected toward the development of the entire area by the availability of a tangible, practical plan, the various groups of Arabs will find that they can like each other (something yet to be attained as recent events have shown) and that Arabs and Jews can like each other—and even have coffee together.

Among the narrow, winding streets of old Jerusalem (in Jordan), shared as they are by native Arabs, tourists, and donkeys, is a tiny side street surmounted by a large sign which reads, "For people only." This provides a good slogan for any plan for the resettlement of the Arab refugees and the consequent chance of peace for all in the Middle East—not pro-Israel, not pro-Arab, but for the sake of people.

Remarks of Arthur M. Lang

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished American journalist, the publisher and editor of the Detroit Jewish News, recently received the Concepts of Americanism award from the Detroit Jewish War Veterans Post No. 135. The award was presented to my good friend, Philip Slomovitz, by Arthur M. Lang, past commander of Detroit Post No. 135, whose remarks I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point:

I consider it a great honor to be a participant in a program honoring Philip Slomovitz. Even though he is not a veteran, due to circumstances beyond his control, he has at all times been most sympathetic with the problems confronting veterans and especially the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America.

Our distinguished guest of honor has at all times exemplified the high objectives of JWV of rendering service to America, service to Judaism and the protection of the Jew wherever and whenever attacked and assailed.

He has by his endeavors proved that the pen is mightier than the sword and that words are more lasting and more effective than bullets.

As a newspaperman of integrity he has earned the love of his fellow Jews and the admiration of the other members of the community, locally and nationally.

He is a fighter for every good and righteous cause in the community and especially in the fight for justice, equality for his brethren and fellow men regardless of creed. Long ago he raised his voice against racial discrimination and the echos are still reverberating and the results obvious.

His articles and lectures on various topics of deep concern to the welfare of the Jewish people and especially on Israel have been effective in the moulding of favorable public

opinion. His devotion and dedication to the rebirth of the Jewish state has been a great inspiration to non-Jews as well as Jews.

Philip Slomovitz is imbued with a keen sense of public service and justice for all men. He abhors the word "tolerance" and has been heard clear and loud in his objections. He believes in the concept that every man is entitled to basic rights as a matter of right and not by the condescension of his fellowman.

Most of his adult life has been devoted to the service of his fellowman by deed and word. Let injustice rear its ugly head and he will be among the first to squelch it by the use of printer's ink. His journalistic abilities have made him one of the outstanding Judaic-American newspaper publishers. His editorials on the subject of Jewish rights have influenced the thinking of many persons in high places and especially in Government.

Our city has become enriched by his manifold contributions to its many facets. There is no important community activity in which he has not participated in, be it religious or secular.

It was my pleasure and privilege to have become acquainted with him and his family many years ago. I knew his parents of blessed memory. I first became acquainted with him in my teen years when he was one of the founders of the Young Judea movement in Detroit. He will recall with pleasure the Knights of Judea and the Roses of Zion. Many of our leaders in the forefront of the fight for the establishment of Israel learned their love for Zion from him. The results of his teachings and influence are today bearing fruit. May the good Lord give him the health, wisdom, and strength to carry on for many more years in the future in the service of righteous causes.

It is therefore fitting and proper that our honored guest be recognized by Post No. 135, because in honoring him we honor ourselves.

It is my great pleasure to present to Philip Slomovitz, outstanding citizen, this Americanism award in recognition and appreciation of his many services to America, Judaism and furthering the principles of freedom and democracy.

Michigan Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, throughout the State of Michigan this week, May 19–25, citizens will be celebrating Michigan Week, a special observance calling to mind the rich heritage, resources, and opportunities of Michigan, as well as its contributions to the rest of the Nation and world. Special tributes and celebrations will take place in educational, civil, social, and political groups, being highlighted by an exchange of mayors in 48 communities, and recorded by press, radio, and TV.

The theme of this celebration, appropriately enough, is It's Great to Live in Michigan. Michiganders mean this—for Michigan has much to offer. It has amazing variety in both types of industry and in the varied origin of its people. It is an example of dynamic progress—in both astounding production of material goods as well as enlightened ideals and goals.

Michigan's variety is reflected in its three leading industries—manufacturing, agriculture, and the tourist trade. Michigan ranks first in the manufacturing of automobiles, pharmaceuticals, adding machines, foundry products, machine tool accessories, ranges and heating devices, paint and heavy chemicals. Detroit, its largest city, is the industrial capitol of the world. No other major city, on a per capita basis, has as many factory workers or as large a volume of manufactured products. Michigan is also a leading producer of such products as furniture, paper products, furnaces, chemicals, and cements. Already America's largest inland world trade center, Michigan is eagerly awaiting the completion of the St. Lawrence seaway to realize the vast potential it will bring, enabling Michigan to become an even larger and more effective international trade center.

Simultaneous with a greater production of goods, Michigan has set an impressive example by its constant striving for recognition of the dignity, rights, and human worth of every individual, and a higher standard of living for all. The struggle to realize these ideals is being waged by the practical idealism, imagination, and industry of dedicated labor unions, enlightened management, numerous social organizations, and State and local government. Recent concrete evidence of the effectiveness of their efforts is a fair employment practices law, and that thousands of refugees have found new lives in Michigan.

Agriculturally, Michigan leads the Nation in the production of sour cherries, navy beans, cantaloups, celery, cucumber pickles, and strawberries for market, and ranks second and third in many other fruit and vegetable categories. Hand in hand with food production, however, one notes that Michigan is also a leader in agricultural research and development. Michigan established the first agricultural college, Michigan State College, which itself founded the first horticultural laboratory, first short course in dairying, first hybridization of corn, and first building in America for teaching scientific agriculture. Not only does MSU continue exploring new horizons in agriculture and horticulture, but it is sharing its knowledge with the rest of the world, as evidenced in educational missions established in such far-flung places at Okinawa, Colombia, and India.

The tourist trade, which ranks as the leading industry in two-thirds of the State, balances the concentration of mechanical industry perfectly by offering 11,037 lakes, the longest shoreline of any State—3,121 miles—bordering 4 of the 5 Great Lakes, scenic farm and forest land, and renowned fishing and hunting facilities. All types of sports abound, from skiing to swimming, golf to baseball. Supplementing these natural resources, Michigan leads the Nation in number of State parks and prepared campsites—5,200—available to the public, topped off by a friendly and generous people, happy to greet visitors and help them enjoy the wonders of their State.

In addition to contributions through industry and natural resources, Michigan has contributed in large measure to the cultural, intellectual, and social advancement of our country. From her early schools, libraries, and cultural and philanthropic groups have emerged many illustrious scholers and statesmen, and institutions such as the Detroit Symphony, Museum of Art, Cranbrook Academy of Art, Greenfield Village, and the Edison Institute, to mention a few. Michigan boasts an excellent and expanding school system with several outstanding State and private colleges. The University of Michigan has consistently forged ahead with important "firsts": the first major university to admit women—1870—first school of public health, first school of natural resources, the only center for Japanese studies in tht United States. The Ford Foundation supplies one outstanding example of philanthropic work on a worldwide basis, making a profound contribution on the present and future by supplying funds to organizations doing research in the field of social advancement.

Although justly rejoicing in accomplishments of the past and present, Michigan gives every evidence of being well aware of the revolutionary future fast dawning: the perils and promise of automation, atomic energy, revolutionary concepts of time and space, the dangers of communism, and the crusade of civil rights for all, as aptly described in the Michigan Declaration of June 2, 1956. Proud of past accomplishments, and cognizant of the present, Michigan is quietly and diligently working forward toward a new era of peace and prosperity for all.

Address of Hon. Herbert C. Bonner, of North Carolina, at Maritime Day Celebration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an address by the Honorable HERBERT BONNER on the occasion of Maritime Day, Charleston, S. C., May 21, 1957.

Mr. Speaker, no man in the Nation has done more for our fourth arm of defense—our merchant marine—than has this distinguished chairman of the great Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. He is rightfully entitled to the name of "Mr. Merchant Marine." Mr. BONNER knows what it means to be without this indispensable force of security. He is in the process now of bringing our American-flag vessels into the greatest tonnage in the world. His

wonderful address to my people in Charleston reflects his understanding and knowledge of this important national defense organization.

Mr. Speaker, also included herewith is a newspaper account of Mr. BONNER'S speech from the Charleston News and Courier, May 22, 1957.

The address and article follow:

REMARKS BY HON. HERBERT C. BONNER, DEMOCRAT, NORTH CAROLINA, CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES, AT MARITIME DAY CELEBRATION AT CHARLESTON, S. C., MAY 21, 1957

I am pleased to be your guest in the great and historic port of Charleston to celebrate National Maritime Day and to commemorate the 138th anniversary of the sailing of the American steamship *Savannah* across the Atlantic. This history-making event, originating in your neighboring State in the Port of Savannah, was the first voyage by a steam vessel across any ocean.

As Chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries in the House of Representatives, I am particularly concerned about the growth and development of the port cities of our country—and their adequacy to serve the needs of the Nation in both peace and war.

As a North Carolinian, and your neighbor, I view with personal pride the growth and increasing importance of the South Atlantic ports, and the significant contribution which they are making to the economic welfare of the Nation.

Because this harbor afforded a natural haven for ships and could be easily defended by both land and sea, Charleston became an important port in earliest colonial times following the settlement of the Carolinas.

As early as 1682, she was sending steady supplies of naval stores, tar, pitch and rosin to the islands in the Carribean. In the days prior to the Revolutionary War, rice and indigo became her chief items of commerce, while in the succeeding years to come, cotton and tobacco were to gain considerable prominence.

Although a leading port, Charleston did not develop without difficulty. With mounting pressures from other port areas in an expanding economy, coupled with the disadvantage of unfavorable rail rates, ocean tonnage declined.

The proud part played by the port and city of Charleston through the War Between the States—a struggle against tremendous odds—left scars that were not fully healed until the early part of the century when she became an important military center.

Since World War II, your port has made remarkable progress. Under the guidance of your progressive-thinking Ports Authority, she has managed to more than double the amount of her pre-World War II tonnage.

Today, she ranks among America's leading ports, and great quantities of cargoes move across her highly mechanized and modern facilities.

Maritime Day is a major national anniversary, one of deep significance to this country whose origins and growth developed from commerce on the seas. Our gathering here tonight is being repeated all over the country by thousands of informed Americans who know the part that our maritime commerce has played in making the United States—from pioneer beginnings—the greatest Nation on earth.

This occasion is being celebrated in recognition of the lessons of history that have taught us that we must develop and maintain a strong merchant marine if we are to continue to enjoy the bounteous blessings of this great and productive country of ours and remain secure from forces from without that would destroy our culture and our way of life.

Usually when we talk of the progress of our merchant marine we talk in terms of commodities, of tonnages and dollars of exports and imports, of deadweight tons and speed of ships, of numbers of shipways and area of terminal facilities. In time of war we talk of ships sunk compared with ships built. The statistics and figures on these things are impressive and revealing as to our progress.

But, in this year of 1957 when we are enjoying a growth and expansion of economy unprecedented in the history of the world, I want to talk about people and not statistics. I want to pay tribute to the men of the American merchant marine who build and man our ships in peace and war.

Three times in the past 40 years the American merchant marine has been called upon for seemingly superhuman efforts to meet the common enemy. Each time our maritime industry has met the challenge and performed miracles of production to speed the final victory.

Today, in the midst of peace and prosperity, let us not forget the thousands of merchant mariners who died without military honor or other recognition when their ships were torpedoed, bombed and shelled during 4 years of World War II—just a few short years ago. These men—over 5,000 of them—died for what we have today. Through their efforts, and those of their brave shipmates, the Allied Forces were able to deliver the most devastating blow any enemy has yet encountered. Indeed, the movement of ships manned by these courageous men was the greatest logistic feat the world has ever known.

The impact of World War II was first felt by American citizens on the night of September 3, 1939, aboard the British passenger liner *Athenia*. As the *Athenia* was calmly steaming on a westward course off the Scottish Hebrides, her 1,400 passengers—800 of whom were Americans—were busy listening to radio reports of the new war. In her wake, 120 miles away, was the American freighter *City of Flint*, also sailing on a westward course. Shortly after 9 p. m., the *Flint's* radio operator was seen rushing to the ship's captain. His message told a tragic tale; the *Athenia* has been torpedoed. While the Berlin radio denied that a U-boat was responsible, and captured German records later showed that Admiral Karl Doenitz, Hitler's chief submarine commander, had ordered to let the *Athenia* pass, this incident foretold what American seamen were soon to face.

After participating in the rescue of survivors from the *Athenia*, the *City of Flint* returned to New York, discharged her passengers, and again sailed westward. But this time, she was seized by a German battleship and ordered to proceed to Germany as a prize of war. Fortunately, before reaching her destination, she was intercepted by the British Navy and released to return home.

Within the first month of the war, German subs had sent over 30 ships to the bottom; Britain had declared a blockade on Germany, which threatened our own shipping; and, over 60,000 Americans were trapped abroad.

The next incident involving an American ship was the attempted seizure of the freighter *Mormacsea*, which was caught by the Germans in a Norway port. The story is told that her captain personally guarded the gangplank and defied the Nazis to pass. After 6 days, she was permitted to sail.

After President Roosevelt's famous "Arsenal of Democracy" speech, in which he declared that the United States would supply any nation who fought against Germany and Italy, things grew worse. On November 8, 1940, we lost our first merchant vessel, the freighter *City of Rayville*. As she sailed along the Australian coast, she is said to either have struck a mine or was torpedoed. Following this incident, in May 1941, the United States freighter *Robin Moor* was torpedoed off Africa. During the same month, the President declared a national emergency, followed by his famous "shoot on sight" order. In the succeeding months, just before Pearl Harbor, 3 more United States ships were torpedoed.

Shortly after Pearl Harbor, the Matson liner *Lurline* sailed from Honolulu under strict naval orders not to deviate from course. As she journeyed along, her 800 passengers were told of a distress message received from the United States freighter *Cynthia Olson*. Since that time, no one has ever heard from the *Olson's* crew of 33 and 2 soldiers.

A more terrifying incident occurred when the United States freighter *Lahaina* was sunk. On the night of December 10, 1941, as she was steaming off the Hawaiian Islands, shells from the deck guns of a Jap sub tore into her without warning. The survivors of her crew quickly manned lifeboats. The Japs approached one of the boats, trained a machinegun on her helpless crew, then suddenly submerged. Although most of her crew were able to escape in open boats, this incident was the beginning of a merciless campaign, marked by the ruthless slaughter of helpless survivors.

As more and more of these incidents occurred, seamen began to shout "give us the guns" and "give us the chance to fight back." But the Navy was needed elsewhere, a goodly portion of our fleet having been destroyed at Pearl Harbor.

In these first frantic days of open warfare, there were few reports of victory over the enemy.

The situation became so bad that President Roosevelt in January of 1942 asked Congress for appropriations to build some 1,700 ships within a 2-year period. This was the beginning of our Liberty fleet, affectionately called by the late President "the fleet of ugly ducklings." These ships were destined to carry over 75 percent of our total overseas cargo.

But, before this program could be launched, the Germans had already begun their Atlantic coast massacre. Up to that time, over 1,000 Allied ships had been sunk with only 66 German losses. Under the personal direction of Admiral Doenitz, the Atlantic operation started with the sinking of the United States tanker *Allen Jackson* off Cape Hatteras, which claimed the lives of 22 men. Within 2 months, this operation caused the loss of 145 ships and 600 lives.

With complete mastery over the Atlantic, the Germans next moved into the Caribbean and the Gulf. Here, they concentrated on tankers which were supplying the RAF with high octane gasoline. Only five naval vessels had been assigned to this highly strategic area. The enemy assault was led by the sinking of the United States freighter *Virginia*, with 13 casualties off the Mississippi River; followed by the torpedoing of the United States tanker *David McKelvy* which was making way out of Corpus Christi.

And, I am sure there are those among you here tonight who saw the oil-soaked, tragic litter of our South Atlantic beaches, grim reminders of the fate of unsung heroes within sight of their own shores.

A New York Times editorial graphically gave this picture of the merchant sailor in wartime:

"Tankermen and other men of the American merchant marine literally go through fire to carry supplies to our Armed Forces in remote lands. Each week they are pulled or washed up out of the sea, after incredible hardships, or after death amid vast stretches of flaming oil. Quietly, when their burns are healed, their long thirst or hunger satisfied, the survivors slip out of port again with more supplies, with more oil and gas-

oline for our fighting planes and tanks. Many come through 3 or 4 sinkings, yet do not hesitate when new ships are ready. No one turns in the street to admire their uniforms. They wear no uniform. No one steps up to the bar to buy them drinks. No moist-eyed old ladies turn to them in the subway to murmur "God bless you." The cop on the beat, gentle with the tipsy soldier or the unsteady gob, is apt to put his night-stick to the britches of a merchant sailor who has tippled heavily in the town's bars to celebrate his rescue from the sea."

By Independence Day of 1942, 3,000 merchant seamen had been killed, and before this operation was over, 3 million tons had been sunk.

From 1942 through 1945, the Allies maintained perhaps the most dangerous supply line of the entire war—on this run to the free Russian port of Murmansk, American seamen delivered over 16 million tons of cargo in over 1,000 separate convoys. The objective was to stave off Hitler's attacks on the Russians. Veterans of Arctic convoy duty truly deserve recognition as heroes. Not only did they encounter heavy enemy opposition, but they were also opposed by extremely adverse weather conditions.

In late June of 1942, Hitler personally directed the attack against the ill-fated convoy PQ-17, composed of 36 ships, 22 of which were American. With some 200 German planes in the air, the convoy commander was forced to order his ships to scatter and proceed. As the surviving ships altered course, German U-boats, lurking in the background, moved in. Before the end of this tragic engagement, 23 ships had been sunk.

The vicious struggle to cut America's vital supply lines was fought throughout the world.

In the lonely waters of the Southern Hemisphere, the Axis claimed 86 United States ships and 1½ million tons of cargo.

In this ruthless warfare, friend often could not be distinguished from foe until it was too late. As the Liberty ship *Stephen Hopkins* sailed out of Capetown, she met two merchant vessels, both flying neutral colors. Both vessels quickly unmasked and fired direct hits on the *Hopkins*. Before the surprised Liberty went down, 1 of her crew, an engineroom cadet, chose to remain on board. Singlehanded, he fired five 50-pound sheels scoring hits on 1 of the enemy vessels. In an open boat, a few yards away, his shipmates saw him destroyed by the enemy. Only 15 survived, after 2,000 miles in an open boat. Time after time, Allied shipping was caught off guard in this theater of battle.

One of the few ships caught by the Japs in these waters was the United States freighter *Henry Knox*. After sinking her, the enemy removed the food and water from the lifeboats, and only 28 men survived after 11 days afloat. This was one of many examples of cruelty experienced by American seamen in fighting the Japs.

Although the Navy had won notable victories in the Pacific, it was realized that final victory was dependent upon the occupation of Japanese territory. To this end, merchant seamen were required to maintain a supply line of over 6,000 miles across the Pacific. In support of our troops at such unfamiliar places as Guadalcanal, Attu, Kiska, Okinawa, Luzon, and many more, merchant mariners served valiantly.

In the meantime, over 100 merchant and naval vessels had formed in the Mediterranean for the Allied invasion of Africa. And, nearly 500 more were to participate in the next jump to Sicily.

The winning of the war depended upon gigantic supply movements in American built ships, manned by American merchant mariners who went to the fighting fronts side by side with their brothers in the Armed Forces. In his book, Crusade in Europe, President Eisenhower spoke of the services of the American merchant mariner as being "with a devotion to duty and a disregard to danger and hardship that defies any attempt to describe."

Although the loyalty and heroism of the American seafarer was responsible for delivering the goods to feed our global military machine, there are many others whom we should remember and pay tribute to on this Maritime Day.

Foremost among these is our late great President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who, when others were criticizing the American maritime industry and complaining of the cost of Government aid, had the understanding and foresight to call for legislation to reestablish our merchant fleet on the high seas and rehabilitate our impoverished shipbuilding industry. The Merchant Marine Act of 1936, sometimes called the magna carta of the American merchant marine, resulted from Roosevelt's dynamic call for action. As the result of his insight and perception the outbreak of war in Europe found us with a sound nucleus of shipbuilding skills from which to expand into the gigantic merchant ship construction program which spelled the difference between victory and defeat. The enactment of the 1936 act and President Roosevelt's direction for the commencement of a destroyer building program in the middle thirties found us at the entry of the war with an invaluable, though not numerically large, pool of fast modern ships.

Then I want to mention another of the great ones in our maritime war effort—Vice Adm. Emory Scott Land—who was Chairman of the Maritime Commission and War Shipping Administrator throughout the conflict. It fell to dynamic Jerry Land's lot to guide and execute our vast program of ship construction which astounded the world with a fabulous output of nearly 6,000 large merchant ships in less than 4 years; to establish a recruitment and manning program and a system of training schools for all classes of seamen; and to operate, in coordination with our allies, the farflung global supply system to satisfy the competing demands of the military leaders in the several theaters of war. The President's directions to Admiral Land were brief and concise: "Give me ships as fast as you can." That was all. But Jerry Land and the devoted men around him overcame all obstacles. His outstanding performance deserves the praise and gratitude of every American.

Others who fought the good fight on the home front were the hundreds of thousands of Americans in our wartime shipbuilding industry who performed production feats never before dreamed of. With only a small nucleus of management and skilled personnel in our shipyards at the start of the war, we had to create new yards all over the country and train patriotic citizens in the many difficult and unfamiliar shipyard trades. They, too, met their challenge and their production record will forever stand as a monument to American vitality, as well as a reminder that we must have, at all times, a strong and adequate American-flag merchant marine.

It is to all of these people, great and small, who took part in all of the phases of our wartime effort that I salute and pay tribute to tonight.

With the coming of peace again most of those who served during the war returned to other pursuits when their services were no longer needed. Time may never again be on our side, so in remembering the men of the merchant marine in war, let us never forget our need for those same men in our merchant marine in times of peace.

I think it would be appropriate to close with the lyrics of the King's Point Academy song, "Heave Ho":

"Heave Ho! my lads, Heave Ho!
It's a long, long way to go.
It's a long, long pull with the hatches full,
Braving the wind, braving the sea
Fighting the dangerous foe.
Heave Ho! my lads, Heave Ho!
Let the seas roll high or low.
We can cross any ocean,
Sail any river,
Give us the goods and we'll deliver.
Damn the submarines!
We're the men of the Merchant Marine."

[From the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier of May 22, 1957]

ROLE OF MARITIME SERVICE IS CITED—JOINT MEETING OF SEVEN GROUPS HEARS BONNER

Tribute was paid here last night to the American Merchant Marine at a meeting of seven maritime groups. The fleet was cited as an arm of war and an economic base for peace.

United States Representative HERBERT C. BONNER, Democrat, of North Carolina, told a banquet meeting that much of the Nation's prosperity depends on continued growth of the Merchant Marine. The event, held at the Country Club of Charleston, commemorated World Trade Week and National Maritime Day.

BONNER traced the growth of the United States merchant fleet and made special note of such vessels during World War II. He is chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. He also noted the importance historically and the development of the port of Charleston.

RIVERS ATTENDS

About 150 persons attended the banquet. BONNER was introduced as "Mr. Merchant Marine" by Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS of Charleston. James J. Lamb, president of the Propeller Club here, presided.

Other sponsoring organizations represented were the Port of Charleston, Greater Charleston Chamber of Commerce, State Ports Authority, Charleston chapter of the National Defense Transportation Association, Maritime Development Association of South Carolina, and the Charleston Pilot's Club.

BONNER said he was particularly concerned about the growth of port cities and their adequacy to serve the Nation in peace and war.

"As a North Carolinian, and your neighbor," he said, "I view with personal pride the growth and increasing importance of the South Atlantic ports, and the significant contribution which they are making to the economic welfare of the Nation."

He said the local port rose in importance during Colonial days and during the War Between the States. But he said the port did not develop without difficulty.

TRACES PROGRESS

"Since World War II," he continued, "your port has made remarkable progress. Under the guidance of your progress-thinking Ports Authority, she has managed to more than double the amount of her pre-World War II tonnage."

"Today, she ranks among America's leading ports, and great quantities of cargoes move across her highly mechanized and modern facilities."

He noted the economic importance of sea commerce as commemorated by Maritime Day. Bonner then traced the struggle and heavy losses in ships, cargoes and crews during World War II.

"Today, in the midst of peace and prosperity, let us not forget the thousands of merchant mariners who died without military honors * * * during World War II—just a few short years ago."

LEADERS PRAISED

Bonner praised leaders in building the merchant fleet, the shipbuilding industry and the seamen. He said:

"It is to all these people, great and small, who took part in all of the phases of our wartime effort that I salute and pay tribute to tonight."

He and Representative RIVERS were commissioned "6-star admirals" in the naval section of the Sumter Guard. They also were given $100 and $200, respectively, in Confederate money to take back with them to Washington.

Special guests included local Naval, Air Force and Army officers, State and local officials and business and maritime leaders.

Mary McLeod Bethune Commemoration Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement issued by the National Council of Negro Women:

MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE COMMEMORATION WEEK, MAY 19–25, 1957—STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN, MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON, NATIONAL PRESIDENT

May 19–25, 1957, marks the second observance of Mary McLeod Bethune Commemoration Week by the National Council of Negro Women, the organization founded by Mrs. Bethune on December 5, 1935. She was the national president until 1949 when she was succeeded by Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee.

The life and works of this remarkable woman reflect glory not only upon her as an individual but upon all people who struggle against almost insurmountable odds but are determined that they will not be deterred from accomplishing the things they have set their hearts upon.

Mary McLeod Bethune came from the humblest beginings. She was born in Mayesville, S. C., July 10, 1875, a short decade from the devastating Civil War, of parents who had been slaves. At an early age she felt the crippling inequities of her environment, for she was unable to obtain schooling until a compassionate missionary saw something unusual in this 12-year-old girl and helped her to attend the Presbyterian Mission School near her home. From then on Mrs. Bethune was on her own. She never lost an opportunity to further her education—working and singing her way through Scotia Seminary, finally completing her formal education at Moody Bible Institute in Chicago just 62 years ago.

The desire to help others was a dominating characteristic of this woman. She knew how vital an education was and she also knew that thousands of her race were unable to obtain even the rudiments of learning in those days. This was the motivation that enabled her to start a school with $1.50, 5 little girls, 5 orange crates, and a heart that was overflowing with love and faith in God and her fellow man. From this incredible beginning, she built Bethune-Cookman College at Daytona Beach, Fla., where thousands of young men and women have been taught the fundamentals of education of heart, mind, and hands. "Enter to learn, depart to serve" is the motto engraved on an arc in the chapel. The students at this college and people throughout this country and other countries remember Mrs. Bethune with gratitude for she taught and lived this philosophy that to serve others is the primary reason for man's existence.

Her own life brilliantly exemplified service. She founded organizations, that are flourishing today, sustained by her spirit and the practicality of the programs she advocated. She was a beacon light for youth, for her administration of the National Youth Administration program in the thirties transformed their despair and fear into hope and courage so that these children of the depression were given a chance to learn trades, to earn a living and to continue their education when all other opportunities vanished. She was a member of the board of directors of numerous business enterprises which she helped to organize. She served as a member of the governing boards of such organizations as the National Urban League, the NAACP, Florida State Teachers Association, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and others. She was an active member of several organizations and an honorary member of outstanding groups representing various religious and professional societies.

Her writings were expressive of the wisdom and force of her personality for she was articulate and fearless. This excerpt from a column appearing in the Negro History Bulletin, published by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, is typical: "We all want the same things. We all intend to get them. We've all been hurt and the hurt affects us in different ways. Hurts are sometimes very useful and serve us better than we sometimes realize. They have drawn us together. They have drawn friends to us. They have made us organization minded. They have solidified us and our organizations with the organizations of others on an intelligently aggressive front.

"All racial barriers, as such, may not fall today or tomorrow but they will not be able to stand long before the determined advance of citizens of all races, shedding their cumbersome, outgrown racial complexes, in the mach toward democratic living."

The American people and people of other lands held Mrs. Bethune in rare esteem and profound affection. She has received scores of citations and honorary degrees from colleges, organizations and governments both here and abroad. Mrs. Bethune was a symbol, a symbol that might well be a symbol for free people everywhere in the world today. She was a Negro but she was first a human being who was passionately concerned with the well-being of her fellow human beings. No person whatever their race, color or creed left her presence empty handed. She gave them respect and courage, she shared their troubles or grief, she opened doors that were closed, she created new avenues of service, she taught the meaning of human rights and the corresponding responsibilities.

She believed in the equality of man as a spiritual inheritance which must be translated into day by day living. Segregation based upon race, color, creed or previous condition was an adhorrence to her. No one knew better than she the evils that sprang full grown from segregated education and housing. She worked and spoke against it, she interpreted logically and rationally the case against segregation in American democracy. These words written not too long before her death on May 18, 1955, summarize the strength of her thinking: "I see no cause for discouragement in viewing the years ahead. Democracy in this country is neither dead nor dying. As every mother knows, the pangs of childbirth are keenest just before the child is born. If our hurts are great now; if our country is torn with controversy over the expansion of social responsibility, over the acceptance of civil rights, it is because a new and more powerful democracy is being born to serve more greatly the people of all races, of this country and of the world."

"Mary McLeod Bethune, educator, organizer of people for human welfare, author, humanitarian, world traveler, spiritual leader and great American, we salute you and shall ever hold in grateful memory the accomplishments of your life and its meaning for all mankind."

Weeks Says Voluntary Pacts May Replace Steel Scrap Export Curbs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, questions of national defense and monopoly are being raised before the Select Committee on Small Business during the current hearings on export of iron and steel scrap.

So far, witnesses have testified that while we face a serious shortage of scrap, a key ingredient in making new steel, we have been exporting beyond the danger point.

Other witnesses have testified that large exporters are doing everything possible to eliminate their small competitors and build a monopoly.

Here are reports on the hearings from the Wall Street Journal and the New York Times of May 21, 1957:

[From the Wall Street Journal of May 21, 1957]

WEEKS SAYS VOLUNTARY PACTS MAY REPLACE STEEL SCRAP EXPORT CURBS—FOREIGN AGREEMENTS WOULD AVOID NEED FOR PERMANENT QUOTAS, HE STATES

WASHINGTON.—Commerce Secretary Weeks told Congress he expects future voluntary agreements to reduce high-grade steel scrap exports would replace recently imposed shipment limits and avoid the need for permanent quotas.

Testifying before the House Small Business Committee, Mr. Weeks said the United States faces a "serious short supply" of high-grade scrap, but that as matters now stand the Government probably will be able to work out with foreign consumers through voluntary means, an equitable distribution of what can be spared.

The Secretary was called before the panel to discuss the Department's May 6 decision to limit for the time being exports of heavy melting scrap grades to last year's export total. The order will be in effect pending conclusion of talks with major importers—Japan, the United Kingdom, and the European Coal and Steel Community—to determine their needs for the material. So-called No. 1 heavy melting steel scrap is a key ingredient in making new steel.

"Should our determination of the real need be more than we find can be safely exported, I see no alternative but to impose quotas," Mr. Weeks declared. However, he expressed confidence voluntary agreement with the nations would be reached and that quotas would not have to be imposed.

Harold C. McClellan, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, told the committee "the real danger confronting us is the potential shortage" of the prime scrap. "This shortage already exists throughout the rest of the free world," he said.

Last year, a record two-thirds of United States scrap exports were of the heavy melting variety, he said, asserting that this "has generally been considered to be beyond the danger point."

During the first 4 months of this year, he noted, export license applications were nearing the level of last year's total shipments. "In our judgment," the official testified, "simple prudence required us to notify the countries involved that pending conclusions of our discussion of the potential shortage ahead, licenses for exports beyond last year's volume in the heavy melting grades would not be granted."

According to Assistant Secretary McClellan, the Department has received "only a dozen or so complaints" from all sources on the decision.

Both Government officials denied that this country would reach any secret agreement with foreign nations on scrap export levels. Mr. Weeks asserted that while the discussions themselves can't be held in a goldfish bowl, everybody knows what the general goals are, and the industry would be informed when a final decision is made.

In other testimony, a New Orleans scrap exporter charged large exporters are attempting to throttle slowly small companies' outlets and operations. Stanley Diefenthal, executive vice president of Southern Scrap Material Co., Ltd., accused major exporters of buying out competition, pirating key employees of small outfits, dominating industry trade associations, and threatening foreign consumers with reprisals if they don't deal with them.

The witness told the committee he has heard reports Luria Bros. Co., Inc., New York, tried to sew up the entire scrap export business with Japan. Mr. Diefenthal said that according to reports from his agent in Japan and talks he has had with Japanese industrialists, Luria Bros. sought, unsuccessfully, to have the exclusive contract to supply all of Japan's scrap needs. At present, he said, Luria supplies almost all of Europe's scrap imports from this country and some 40 percent of Japan's.

The witness also testified "there are rumors" that major scrap shippers have told the Japanese that United States export restrictions would be less severe if the importers dealt with major United States suppliers.

The Government's interim action on scrap exports in effect placed an embargo on Japan's imports from the United States of No. 1 heavy melting scrap. That's because Japan already has received an amount equal to all of last year's total for this grade.

LURIA FIRM'S REPLY

NEW YORK.—Ralph E. Ablon, president of Luria Bros. Co., Inc., emphatically denied Luria sought or has exclusive rights to supply steel scrap to Japan.

"None of it is true," Mr. Ablon said. "Luria Bros., just like all other scrap concerns, including Mr. Diefenthal's, is trying to get as much business as it can, but we have no exclusive contracts."

The Luria Bros'. president said the company testified previously before the Federal Trade Commission that it did not seek at any time the exclusive right to supply Japan with that nation's steel scrap needs. "We have no contract, and we would not accept one from Japan if it was offered, which it has not," he said.

Mr. Ablon also denied his firm has any contract to supply European scrap needs, and "I do not know the percentage of our exports as compared with others. We compete with many companies for the European business."

He related that there had been a joint steel scrap export venture—Luria Bros. Co., Inc., Schiavone-Bonomo Corp., and Western Steel International Corp.—to supply scrap to Europe under a contract that lasted from July 1, 1954, to December 1, 1955. After contract was canceled, he said, the three companies' joint venture has continued to supply steel to Europe.

[From the New York Times of May 21, 1957]

WEEKS SAYS SALES OF SCRAP OVERSEAS MAY SQUEEZE UNITED STATES

WASHINGTON, May 20.—House investigators heard another story about foreign trade troubles today—only this time the picture was reversed.

Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce, told the Small Business Committee that foreign consumers want more American iron and steel scrap than can be sold them without hurting supplies here.

Mr. Weeks and Harold C. McClellan, Assistant Secretary, said Japan, for instance, bought 2,100,000 tons of United States scrap last year—300,000 tons more than a nonmandatory limit set in discussions with the Japanese and other major foreign purchasers.

Mr. Weeks indicated that he personally felt mandatory export quotas should be imposed, but said it now seemed that the problem could be worked out by voluntary means.

MEMBER NOTES SWITCH

Congressional committees often hear complaints from American producers about too much foreign goods coming into the country. Japan is frequently named as a source of low-priced imports.

Representative WILLIAM S. HILL, Republican, of Colorado, told Mr. Weeks, "You put me in a very strange atmosphere." He noted that it was commonplace for congressional groups to be figuring out how to step up exports of United States goods, such as surplus farm items, rather than how to restrict them.

Committee Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, said any limitation on scrap exports "contracts the market for one of our vital industries: several thousand scrap dealers and brokers who are, for the most part, small independent business people."

Mr. Weeks said scrap was potentially in serious short supply, and discussions had been held with the major foreign takers, Japan, Britain, and the countries of the European Coal and Steel Community.

"Should our determination of the real needs be more than we find can be safely exported, I see no alternative but to impose quotas," Mr. Weeks said. "As matters now stand it appears, however, that we probably will be able to work out through voluntary means an equitable distribution of what can be spared and to avoid the necessity for quotas."

SCRAP PRICE RISES

The price of No. 1 heavy melting steel scrap advanced at least $1 a ton yesterday in New York to $51, delivered in Pittsburgh. Dealers described the market as strong. One said: "Most steelmakers apparently have very low inventories of scrap and don't want to touch what they have, afraid of getting caught short."

Yesterday's quotation compared with the 1957 low to date of $46.50 a ton, set in early April, and with the high of $67, at the beginning of the year.

Mr. Speaker, the Federal Trade Commission has been holding hearings for a number of years on alleged monopolistic practices in the scrap export business. There are indications that these hearings will continue for years.

The current hearings before the select committee will afford another opportunity for everyone interested to be heard. Once again, the Select Committee on Small Business is performing a great public service.

Excise Tax Exemption for Neighborhood Nonprofit Swimming Pool Groups

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in March 1956 I introduced a bill, H. R. 10113, 84th Congress, to exempt amounts paid as dues and initiation fees to neighborhood nonprofit swimming pool organizations from the 20 percent Federal excise tax imposed on "social, athletic, or sporting clubs" under section 4241 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. The Internal Revenue Service had previously held that such payments to these nonprofit swimming pool groups were subject to the 20 percent excise tax.

As I told the House on March 21, 1956, I feel that these organizations serve many useful purposes in providing healthy recreational outlets for our children, young people and their parents. They furnish, on a privately financed, nonprofit basis, recreational facilities which many local communities have been unable to supply because of already burdensome tax rates. The purpose of the bill was to provide the needed incentive to assist such local organizations to build their own swimming pool facilities.

It was my feeling that these nonprofit swimming pool organizations, because of their many unique characteristics, were not intended to be taxed within the definition of this section of tax law relating to "social, athletic, or sporting clubs." The proposed legislation was designed to give these groups statutory exemption, just as is now enjoyed by certain fraternal societies, orders, and associations under this section of the law.

The bill was referred to the Subcommittee on Excise Tax, Technical and Administrative Changes of the House Ways and Means Committee, whose chairman is the able and distinguished gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FORAND]. After a study of the organization and purposes of these nonprofit neighborhood swimming pool groups, the subcommittee made language revisions in the bill and made it a part of the omnibus excise tax measure introduced by Congressman FORAND last July (H. R. 12298, 84th Cong.).

The subcommittee conducted hearings on this omnibus excise tax bill in late November and early December of last year. Several witnesses representing nonprofit swimming pool groups testified in favor of the tax-exemption provision of the bill. They described the objectives, recreational values, and operating procedures of their groups and stressed the adverse effects of the 20 percent Federal excise tax on the growth of swimming pool associations in other communities. Many other such groups filed statements and resolutions in support of the tax-exemption provision of the bill.

In its report to the full committee the Forand subcommittee recommended favorably the repeal of the excise tax on dues and fees paid to these nonprofit swimming pool organizations. This exemption was also approved by the full committee and is now included in the current excise tax revision bill, H. R. 7125, introduced on May 2, 1957, by Congressman FORAND. It is my understanding that the formal report is now being prepared and that the bill will soon be favorably reported to the House.

Meanwhile, coincidental with the above-mentioned action on the bill to give statutory tax exemption to these groups, a petition for refund of a payment of this tax was filed by a Mr. and Mrs. Robert J. McIntyre, of Rockville, Md. They were required by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to pay $25 excise tax on their initial payment of $125, by which they were granted membership in the Twinbrook Swimming Pool Corp., a nonprofit neighborhood swimming pool group of the type referred to in my bill. The petition for refund was not acted on by the commissioner within the required 6 month period, and suit was filed for recovery of the tax in the United States District Court for the District of Maryland, Baltimore. The plaintiffs were represented by Mr. Ralph R. Sachs, a Washington attorney residing in the Rockville community, who himself is a member of the Twinbrook swimming pool group.

The decision in this case was rendered by Judge W. Calvin Chesnut on May 14, 1957. Judge Chesnut ruled that dues and fees paid to this nonprofit swimming pool organization are exempt from the 20 percent Federal excise tax because it is not, in effect, a social, athletic, or sporting club or organization. He therefore directed a refund of the $25 tax to the plaintiffs.

I was naturally elated at Judge Chesnut's ruling in this case because it upholds the position taken in seeking statutory exemption for these groups. His ruling takes into account the beneficial purposes of nonprofit swimming pool organizations in providing needed recreational facilities in the community and, in my opinion, is a sound, equitable, and logical decision.

Judge Chesnut's decision in this case does not, however, eliminate the necessity for enactment of the statuatory exemption from the tax on these groups, as provided in H. R. 7125. The Government has 60 days from the date of the decision to file an appeal. This action would, of course, withhold refunds under this decision of the court, pending the outcome of the appeal. However, if the pending legislation is acted upon favorably by the House in the interim period, an appeal may not be taken, since in view of the subsequent congressional action the matter would then be moot.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of Judge Chesnut's decision in this case. I am sure that the many interested swimming pool groups and individuals all over the country will want to read this decision.

The decision follows:

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF MARYLAND—ROBERT J. MCINTYRE AND CLARE MCINTYRE v. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, FILED MAY 14, 1957, CIVIL ACTION NO. 9125

CHESNUT, DISTRICT JUDGE

This is a suit to recover an excise tax which the plaintiffs were required by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, to pay under title 26, United States Code Annotated, section 4241, which imposes a 20 percent tax on initiation fees and annual membership dues in excess of $10 paid by members of social, athletic, or sporting clubs, or organizations.[1] (The full text of the statute is set out in the margin.) The plaintiffs' husband and wife, became original members of the Twinbrook Swimming Pool Corp. and made an initial payment thereto of $125 for so-called life membership. They also paid $25 to cover the 20 percent tax on their initial payment, which was paid by the corporation to the district collector under protest. A petition for refund was duly filed and not having been acted on within 6 months, this suit has resulted. All procedural requirements for the suit have been duly met.

The principal question in the case is whether the Twinbrook Corp. is a social, athletic, or sporting club or organization. The case has been submitted for decision on a written stipulation and a considerable amount of oral testimony, from which I find the following relevant and important facts:

1. The Twinbrook Corp. was duly formed in 1955 under the general incorporation laws of the State of Maryland. It conducts a swimming pool with appropriate bathhouse facilities situated in a generally residential area of the city of Rockville, which is the county seat of Montgomery County, Md., the population of which is said now to be about 15,000. The size of the pool is 60 by 165 feet with a depth of 2½ to 5½ feet. It is situated on a tract of land of about 5 acres acquired by the club after, on its application, the city authority had rezoned the particular land to allow its use for the particular purpose. The land was acquired and the pool facilities constructed at a cost of about $125,000.

2. The purpose of the club as stated in its certificate of incorporation was "to provide a swimming pool or pools and other facilities to its members." It is a nonprofit, nonstock corporation. Its organization, membership, and government are provided for by its bylaws.

3. The principal provisions of the by-laws which are relevant here are:

Membership is limited to 600 persons or families owning residential property or business places within a designated portion of the city of Rockville. The holders of each original membership were required to pay an initial fee of $125 and an additional sum of $25 to be applied to the payment (under protest) of the 20 percent excise tax referred to. The privileges of membership involving principally the use of the swimming pool were accorded to the holders of the 600 initial memberships upon the payment of annual dues of $10; and the pool could be used by them and their dependent children and by certain occupants of their respective households, not including employees. The holders of these initial membership certificates were designated as "life members" in the by-laws. The certificates of membership were transferrable on certain conditions, not here important or relevant. Permission could be given by the corporate authorities on prescribed conditions for the use of the pool by children sponsored by various civic or philanthropic organizations, without charge, or at times for a very nominal charge to defray extra cost of maintenance.

4. The motivation for the formation of the corporation was due to the public-spirited initiative of a few civic leaders who realized the importance of having additional recreation facilities for the Twnbrook area. At first an effort was made to have the public authorities of Rockville provide for the swimming pool at the taxpayers' expense; but when this proved to be impossible of accomplishment, these civic leaders determined to provide for the creation of a swimming pool at private cost of those members of the local community who would be willing to provide funds for the project. Very shortly the 600 memberships were acquired ahd the necessary funds raised for the acquisition of the land and construction of the pool, aided by a mortgage loan obtained from private banking sources. Much of the work in building the pool was performed either at cost or gratuitously by interested parties. In one sense the project was in substance a community enterprise. This is well expressed in a summary by a quotation from the brief of counsel for the Government as follows:

"The plaintiffs have sought to go behind the certificates of incorporation and the by-laws. They have introduced evidence to show that the organizers of the pool project acted with the highest possible motives in organizing and carrying through their scheme to build a pool facility. They showed that the members of the corporation were interested in providing a wholesome summer meeting place for themselves and their children. They demonstrated the appeal of their project by showing that many people gave their labor free of charge to build the pool and that others contributed materials and land at cost. The use of the pool has been in keeping with the high motives of those who organized its construction. Many worthwhile organizations have been allowed to use the facility at a minimal charge.

"The plaintiffs have proved and the Government has not disputed that by a concerted community effort the 600 members of the pool corporation have provided themselves with a pool facility which was not forthcoming from the local government of Rockville, Md., and have demonstrated a willingness to let worthwhile outside organizations share the fruits of their efforts."

5. The only activity of the corporation has been the operation of the pool. The evidence does not show that there have been any other entertainments of a social nature such as dinners or other meetings of the membership. The only social features are those which naturally occur in connection with the use of the pool. With respect to athletics, there have been no competitive or purely athletic features for the use of the pool other than the bathing and swimming therein.

Coming to the applicable law, I find that the statute (now title 26, s. 4241) was originally enacted in substantially its present form as a tax excise measure in 1917. The Government contends, and the plaintiffs deny, that on the principles established by the adjudicated cases the corporation should be classed as a social, athletic, or sporting organization. I do not conclude that the Government's contention is sound under the controlling facts.

There have been many judicial decisions applying the statutory provision to the varied facts of particular cases with naturally varying results. There seems to be no Supreme Court decision upon the subject but some principles are, I think, well established. (1) Particular cases are not to be decided merely upon the literally stated name or purpose of the club; but rather from the nature and particular character of its actual activities;

Footnotes at end of speech.

(2) a club or organization not originally properly classified as a social or athletic organization may nevertheless by a change in its activities become properly so classified; (3) the mere fact that there is some kind or degree of social intercourse between the members is not of itself controlling because every organization of individuals which brings the members into personal contact from time to time must necessarily include to some extent social relationships; (4) if the predominant purpose and activities of the club are primarily for the promotion of some common interest or objective and the social contacts of the members in connection with the furtherance of that object are only incidental, the organization should not be classified as a social club.

After reviewing many of the decided cases, I think the most clearly and concisely stated principle to be applied is to be found in the opinion of Judge Green, speaking for the Court of Claims in one of the earlier cases dealing with the application of this section. *Army & Navy Club of America* v. *United States* (53 F. 2d. 277 (1931)). It is this case which has been cited by counsel for the Government in support of its position. The facts of that case are, however, quite different with regard to the social aspects of the club as compared with those in the instant case. At page 282 the opinion in that case summarizes the matter by saying:

"* * * if the predominant purpose of the organization is not social, and its social activities are merely incidental to the furtherance of this different and predominant purpose, then the club is not a social one within the meaning of the law. But both of these matters must exist in order to create an exemption from the tax."

In that case the facts found by the court warranted the conclusion that the Army & Navy Club was a social organization within the meaning of the statute. Certiorari was applied for but denied by the Supreme Court. (285 U. S. 548 1932.)

In adopting and applying that principle to the facts here found, I conclude that the Twinbrook Corp. is not a social organization. Its predominant purpose is not social but the conduct of a swimming pool as a recreation center for the benefit of residents of a certain community area. Its qualifications for membership are based on local and not personal considerations. The personal contacts that necessarily occur from the use of the pool by its members and their children and other so-called underprivileged children, to whom the facilities of the pool are accorded by permission of the officers and directors of the corporation, are only those incidentally arising from the use of the pool.

I think it unnecessary to review in any detail the facts appearing in the many judicial decisions which have been cited respectively by counsel for the parties. It will be found that in those cases where the club has been held to be a social organization, the basis of the conclusion is to be found in the degree and extent of the social features in proportion to the whole activities of the club. It is not necessary that the purely social gatherings or entertainments constitute a majority or even a very large minority of the whole activities; provided the social aspects are in and of themselves, while possibly only a byproduct, yet nevertheless are an important substantial feature of the club promoting membership therein of those who may be more interested in the social acquaintances and contacts to be formed than in the major functional purposes of the club. Thus a downtown luncheon club in a large metropolis with luxurious dining rooms, reading rooms, with elaborate cuisine and lounging facilities and opportunity for recreational activities such as billiard and card tables, has been held to be a social club within the meaning of the statute. But in such a situation the social aspects of the club are, I think, more than merely incidental as in the present case. See *Duquesne Club* v. *Bell* (127 F. 2d 363 (3d Cir. 1942)); *Turks Head Club* v. *Broderick* (166 F. 2d 877 (1st Cir. 1948)). Some other cases where the club has under the facts been properly classified as social are: *Lake of the Forest Club* v. *United States* (137 F. 2d 843 (10th Cir. 1943)); *Town Club of St. Louis* v. *United States* (68 F. 2d 620 (8th Cir. 1943)).

On the other hand where the social aspects of the club are only minor and subordinate and principally incidental, the organization has been held not to be social in its nature within the meaning of the statute. *Washington Club* v. *United States* (49 F. 2d 656 (Court of Claims, 1930)); *Builders' Club of Chicago* v. *United States* (58 F. 2d 503 (Court of Claims, 1932)); *California State Auto Association* v. *Smyth* (77 F. Supp. 131 (D. C. N. D. Cal. 1948)); reversed on other grounds (175 F. 2d 752, cert. den. 338 U. S. 905); *Squantum Association* v. *Page* (7 F. Supp. 815 (D. C. R. I. 1934)); *Engineer's Club of Dayton* v. *United States* (133 F. Supp. 72 (D. C. S. D. Ohio, 1955)); *Rockefeller Center Luncheon Club* v. *Johnson* (131 F. Supp. 703 (D. C. S. D. N. Y. 1955)); *Furniture Club of America* v. *United States* (67 F. Supp. 764 (D. C. N. D. Ill. 1946)); *Malibu Lakeside Mutual Water Co.* v. *United States* (97 F. Supp. 542 (D. C. S. D. Cal. 1951)).

I have examined the Treasury regulations applicable to the statute. I do not find in them any provisions inconsistent with the principles heretofore stated; but on the whole the judicial decisions are generally consistent with them. Section 101.24 provides in substance that organizations having social, athletic, or sporting features are presumed to be included under the statute unless and until it appears to the contrary. Section 101.25 with respect to social clubs provides in part:

"Any organization which maintains quarters or arranges periodical dinners or meetings, for the purpose of affording its members an opportunity of congregating for social intercourse, is a 'social * * * club or organization' within the meaning of the Code, unless its social features are not a material purpose of the organization but are subordinate and merely incidental to the active furtherance of a different and predominant purpose, such as, for example, religion, the arts, or business. The tax does not attach to dues or fees of a religious organization, chamber of commerce, commercial club, trade organization, or the like, merely because it has incidental social features, but if the social features are a material purpose of the organization, it is a 'social * * * club or organization' within the meaning of the Code."

Counsel for the Government has not pressed the point that the Twinbrook Corporation is an athletic club, if it is held not to be a social club within the statute; and I do not find any adequate basis for classing it as an athletic club. No case has been called to my attention by counsel that would support the contention that it is. While swimming is, of course, a kind of athletics in the general sense of that term, I do not think that the nature of this swimming pool is such that it makes the corporation an athletic or sporting organization within the statute. In its actual activities the use of the pool is largely for children, and the evidence is that there have not been any competitive swimming events. The athletic exercise involved in swimming is, of course, a merely muscular activity incidental to the exercise itself, which is primarily a matter of recreation similar to that of tennis, golf, or other unorganized amateur sports. And in support of this view, counsel for the plaintiffs call attention to the tax regulation effective January 1, 1956, s. 101.26—

"Athletic or sporting clubs: The possession and use of a gymnasium, swimming pool, or other athletic facilities by an organization having religious or philanthropic social service for its exclusive or predominant purpose do not bring the organization within the class of athletic or sporting clubs or organizations."

I think the same principle must apply in determining whether a club is an athletic organization within the statute that we have seen to apply in the case of whether it is a social club; that is to say, where the athletic features are only incidental to the main purpose and activities, the organization should not be classed as athletic within the meaning of the statute. For the converse on the facts, see *Block Hall, Inc.* v. *United States* (57 F. 2d 918 (Court of Claims, 1932)).

The plaintiffs also contend that, even if the Twinbrook Corporation should be classed as a social organization, nevertheless the tax paid by the plaintiffs should be recovered by them because it was based on the amount paid by them for acquisition of a life membership in the corporation. On the contrary, counsel for the Government contend that the sum of $125 paid by the plaintiffs on the organization of the corporation was an initiation fee and not a fee for life membership. The statute, 26 USCA. s. 4241 (a) (2) provides that the 20 percent tax is payable on initiation fees where the amount is in excess of $10; while section 4241 (a) (3) provides—

"Life memberships—In the case of life memberships, a tax equivalent to the tax upon the amount paid by active resident annual members for dues or membership fees other than assessments, but no tax shall be paid upon the amount paid for life membership. In such a case, the tax shall be paid annually at the time for the payment of dues by active resident annual members."

It will be remembered that the amount of dues paid by active resident annual members does not exceed $10 a year, and therefore under the statute no tax is payable upon the amount paid for life membership. But if the payment of $125 made by the plaintiffs was an initiation fee and not a fee for life membership, then the tax was payable if the corporation was a social or athletic organization. As I have decided that the Twinbrook Corporation was not a social, athletic, or sporting organization, it is not necessary to decide this second question; but as it has been fully argued by counsel on both sides, I will state my opinion upon it.

The principal factors to be considered here are the incidents and characteristics of the membership certificate issued to the plaintiffs for which they paid the sum of $125. This appears from the bylaws. In the first place it is to be noted that the certificate is called a life membership although this is not of itself conclusive. While the certificate gives to the holders the privileges of membership in the corporation so long as they respectively live and hold the certificate as husband and wife, subject, however, to termination of membership upon transfer of the certificate to others on the conditions provided for in the bylaws (not seemingly important here), or until expulsion from membership under stated conditions, it is important to note that the certificate does not of itself entitle the holders or their children to the use of the swimming pool except upon the payment of annual dues of $10. Counsel for the Government argues that the term "life membership" as used in the statute should be read in the light of common understanding of what constitutes life membership in a club; and contend that this common understanding is that a life member of a club is one who is exempted during his lifetime from the payment of annual dues. It is said to be a commutation of the amount of annual dues. In addition the argument

is that on looking at the conditions leading to the formation of the Twinbrook Corporation and its objective of obtaining and operating a swimming pool, it is apparent that the cost of the undertaking was met only from the initial contributions in the way of payments of $125 for each of the 600 membership certificates; and that therefore in reality the money so paid by each holder of a certificate constituted in effect if not in name an initiation fee. In addition attention is called to the Treasury Regulation No. 101.28 relating to initiation fees.[2] It provides in part that "under the code the term 'initiation fees' includes any payment, contributions or loan required as a condition precedent to membership, whether or not any such payment, contribution, or loan is evidenced by a certificate of interest or indebtedness or share of stock, and irrespective of the person or organization to whom paid, contributed, or loaned."

The scope of this definition of initiation fees seems to be broad enough to include the payment by the plaintiffs in this case, despite the bylaws provision that the certificate constitutes "life membership," which, as I have said, is not conclusive; and despite also the fact that the kind of payment made in this case by the plaintiffs is probably not within the ordinary understanding and practice of what is an initiation fee. Probably the general understanding of an initiation fee required to be made to acquire membership in a club is where a new member is elected to membership in a going club and the initiation fee is required in the nature of equalizing the position of the old members with the new members, with respect to their interests in the club assets.

If, therefore, the common understanding of the terms "initiation fee" and "life membership" are to be applied here, it seems that the kind of payment made by the plaintiffs does not clearly come within the general understanding of either.

There is no evidence in this case that the terms "initiation fees" and "life membership" have any certain and definite meaning in their application to the subject matter here involved; and counsel have not referred the court to any applicable judicial opinion as to the meaning of either term, with the exception of *Biddle* v. *Rothensies* (C. C. H. 1942, 2 U. S. T. C. Civil No. 1762, U. S. D. C.), Eastern district of Pennsylvania, dealing with what was called a proprietary membership in the well-known Merion Cricket Club of Philadelphia. While in that case the membership was held to be equivalent to a life membership as referred to in the statute, I do not find the conclusion reached necessarily controlling in principle of this case where there is a different factual situation.

It is clear enough from what has been said that there is a very meager basis in the evidence for the decision on the point. Looking at the matter from a practical and realistic standpoint, what occurred is simply this. Certain residents and property owners of a particular neighborhood decided to build and operate a swimming pool as an additional recreation facility. To defray the cost, individuals owning in whole or in part 600 separate properties in the neighborhood, agreed to contribute the sum of $125 each to the project. In carrying out the plan a corporation was formed which authorized the issuance of so-called life-membership certificates to 600 house or property holders, and evidently to meet the current cost of operation of the pool when built, the certificate holders were required to pay annual dues of $10 for the use of the pool. The question is whether payments so made are more properly to be called initiation fees or the acquisition of life membership. Neither term would seem to be precisely applicable. Clearly the mere designation of the certificate as constituting life membership is not of itself controlling. The nature and effect of the whole transaction is the more important consideration.

While the question is certainly not free from great difficulty, I take the view that looking at the realities of what occurred, the payments are more nearly to be considered initiation fees than constituting life membership. As the statute does not define the term "life membership" (which is nontaxable) and as the regulation as to initiation fees does in terms seem to include the kind of a payment made by the plaintiffs in this case, the better view seems to be that the payment would be taxable as an initiation fee, if the Twinbrook Corp. should be held to be a social, athletic, or sporting organization.

For these reasons I conclude that the plaintiffs are entitled to a judgment in their favor for the return of the $25 tax paid by them. The clerk is instructed to enter judgment accordingly in favor of the plaintiffs for $25.

W. CALVIN CHESNUT,
United States District Judge.

---

[2] 1: S. 4241. Imposition of tax.

(a) Rate: There is hereby imposed—

(1) Dues or membership fees: A tax equivalent to 20 percent of any amount paid as dues or membership fees to any social, athletic, or sporting club or organization, if the dues or fees of an active resident annual member are in excess of $10 per year.

(2) Initiation fees: A tax equivalent to 20 percent of any amount paid as initiation fees to such a club or organization, if such fees amount to more than $10, or if the dues or membership fees, not including initiation fees, of an active resident annual member are in excess of $10 per year.

(3) Life membership: In the case of life memberships, a tax equivalent to the tax upon the amount paid by active resident annual members for dues or membership fees other than assessments, but no tax shall be paid upon the amount paid for life membership. In such a case, the tax shall be paid annually at the time for the payment of dues by active resident annual members.

(b) By whom paid: The taxes imposed by this section shall be paid by the person paying such dues or fees, or holding such life membership.

[2] Sec. 101.28 (as amended by T. D. 5349, 1944 Cum. Bull. 639):

Initiation fees: Any amount paid as initiation fees to a club or organization coming within the provisions of section 1710 is subject to the 20 percent tax imposed by the code, as amended (a) if such fees amount to more than $10, or (b) if the dues or membership fees (not including initiation fees) of an active resident annual member are in excess of $10 per year.

Under the code the term "initiation fees" includes any payment, contribution, or loan required as a condition precedent to membership, whether or not any such payment, contribution, or loan is evidenced by a certificate of interest or indebtedness or share of stock, and irrespective of the person or organization to whom paid, contributed, or loaned. It is not material whether the applicant has any hope or expectation of a return of his payment upon resignation, death, or other circumstances, nor is it material to whom he pays the money. For instance, if a golf club requires incoming members as a condition precedent to membership to purchase either from it or from retiring members a share of stock, the tax attaches to any such payment for the stock regardless of the fact that it represents a property interest in the assets of the club. Likewise, if the purchase of a share of stock in a landholding corporation is a necessary precedent to membership in the club, the amount paid for such share of stock is taxable. In the case of a transfer of stock from a retiring member the club should collect the tax on the amount paid by the new member for the stock as well as tax on any transfer fee required from the new member.

More on Less Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the current and tremendous interest in the budget, I should like to insert in the RECORD, what in my opinion are two most excellently written editorials; one from the Cleveland Press of May 15, the other from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of May 16. The editorials follow:

[From the Cleveland Press of May 15, 1957]

IKE'S BUDGET APPEAL

In listening last night to President Eisenhower's defense of his record peacetime budget, anyone could believe he was wholly persuaded of the arguments he made.

He believes the budget was fashioned by the yardstick of the national interest. He believes any material cut in "security" appropriations would be a "needless gamble." He believes "a good defense is not a cheap defense."

Eisenhower was all earnestness when he said the budget is based on "the proper dividing line between national danger * * * and excessive expenditures," and when he promised never to let the Armed Forces sink to the low level which caught us with our guns down when the Korean war erupted.

All these things the President, measured by his speech, warmly believes.

But he also warmly believes the "stern fact that the real military power can rest only on a sound economy."

And right there is the rub—in this seventy-odd-billion-dollar budget.

There is the rub—not only because the 1958 budget itself is so much bigger than any other Eisenhower budget, but because it blueprints still bigger spending to come.

Part of the budget rise the President attributed, logically, to programs long ago started by Congress, programs which have grown and grown (as the school-building program will grow, if enacted). These programs, he said, "our people have decided through the Congress to adopt."

But some of the programs were started by the Eisenhower Administration, last year, and this year, and more are in the new budget. The high spending trend the President reversed when he came into office 4 years ago now has been reversed again—upward and upward.

So the people have decided, and because of their protests Congress seems determined, that the President was right in 1954 and 1955, when he got Government spending down to less than 65 billion dollars—on his way, it looked then, to that 60-billion-dollar maximum he promised when he was running in 1952.

Yes, the President last night seemed plausible and persuasive. But the issue will be decided on his budget—which the people, and apparently Congress, have decided is neither plausible nor persuasive.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer of May 16, 1957]

THE BATTLE OF THE BUDGET

The Battle of the Budget is now going on in Washington. It's the budget makers against the budget trimmers and, although the outcome won't be decided until the last appropriation bill goes through Congress, it

looks to us as though the budget trimmers have a decided advantage.

Last weekend President Eisenhower and Field Marshal Montgomery rehashed the Battle of Gettysburg and concluded that mistakes had been made by both Union and Confederate generals. It won't be necessary to wait 94 years to analyze the mistakes of the 1957 budget makers. They started with a record high peacetime budget, which really was a shocker to people who had been conditioned to expect further government economies and lower taxes, and continued with administration doubts about the size of the budget, including Treasury Secretary Humphrey's hair curling depression warning if the Government didn't stop taking so much out of the economy.

Now the general of the budget-making forces has rallied his army and has launched a counterattack with the heaviest artillery in his arsenal—his great and undisputed personal popularity. The theme of his television and radio message to the people Tuesday evening was this: Most of the budget is earmarked for defense; to cut defense spending would be a fearful gamble with the safety of the Nation; therefore, the budget should not be cut.

There are loopholes in this argument. Of course, no one wants to gamble with the safety of the Nation. But on the other hand, not even proposed defense appropriations are untouchable; there have been too many examples of wastefulness in military spending, too much costly rivalry among the services, which have been triplified rather than unified. The budget trimmers think some money can be squeezed out of these appropriations.

But even if the budget trimmers leave the defense funds untouched, there are other economies that can be made. The President himself acknowledged last week that $550 million could be safely cut out of the foreign-aid program, making it obvious that the original request was far, far too high.

Then there are the new programs in the budget, such as reclamation and dam building in the Far West to bring new land into production, while another department of Government is trying to retire millions of acres from agricultural production through the soil-bank program. The soil-bank program itself has been criticized, on the ground that some farmers have been getting soil bank and drought-relief checks for the same land. Reminds us of that tall story from Texas about the farmer complaining about the floods because they had washed out the roads and he couldn't get to town to pick up his drought-relief checks.

One of the new programs is Federal aid for school construction. The President is still arguing for it, although local school districts and States are doing very well at financing school construction, and the tax burden on their citizens is less than it would be if the Federal Government did the financing. Two billion dollars could be saved over a 4-year period if the school program were dropped.

During the fall campaign one of the most potent arguments was made by Vice President NIXON when he urged his listeners to "ask yourselves whether you are better off now than you were 4 years ago." An overwhelming majority concluded that they were better off, and they voted accordingly. Why, then, do so many people seem to be dissatisfied with the Eisenhower spending program?

The answer, we think, is that they do not believe they are sharing in the prosperity they see all around them to the extent they think they should, and this applies equally to low-, middle-, and high-income groups. The Government still takes a huge tax bite out of their incomes and inflation continues to gnaw away at them.

These people are not demanding new Government programs and services; what they want is to be allowed to spend more of their own money and they want what the Government leaves them to buy as much as it would a year ago. And they think that less Government spending, leading to another tax reduction and a brake on inflation, can be accomplished without endangering national security.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

The Canada Council and Drew Pearson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in his syndicated column Drew Pearson on Sunday, May 19, 1957, made a statement which I feel must be rectified or it will do untold damage to the friendly relations that have existed from the very beginning between the United States and Canada.

In fairness to Mr. Pearson, I am confident that it is misinformation rather than ill will which is responsible for this egregious error.

Mr. Pearson said this in the course of an article on American-Canadian relations at this time: "Parliament just voted $200 million to set up the Canada Council, ostensibly 'to encourage Canadian arts, letters, and sciences' but actually to combat United States influence in Canda."

As soon as I read this I got in touch with the Canadian Embassy in Washington and, fortunately, was furnished with articles from several leading Canadian newspapers which puts the matter in the proper light.

In view of these articles, which I include here, I think it is up to Mr. Pearson to review the matter in an early article which will present the true facts about the Canada Council.

The Members of this House are, of course, aware of the fact that the arts are an international language whose ends are peace and understanding between peoples.

The international exchange of art and artists is carried on under the Fulbright Act, the Smith-Mundt Act, and the Humphrey-Thompson Act, measures adopted by the Congress in recent years.

As a matter of fact, President Eisenhower told the Congress in his 1955 message on the state of the Union that—

> In the advancement of the various activities which will make our civilization endure and flourish, the Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities.

In an historic speech before the Conference on the Arts and Exchange of Persons, held by the Institute of International Education in New York City on October 4 and 5, 1956, Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT had this to say:

> So, I feel, the more I see of it, that exchanges in the field of the arts can be made a very important influence in our international relations. Perhaps that should not be said. I suppose one should be interested in art for art's sake. It is an interest and end in itself and that is a perfectly legitimate attitude for those of you who practice it. For my part, I want to use art to help the human race avoid committing suicide.
>
> It was an extraordinary, mysterious thing that in 1914, after 100 years of relative peace, the most civilized peoples of the world fell upon one another and tried to commit suicide. I have never heard a satisfactory reason for it, nor do I know why they fought. None of the reasons, economic, racial, or political, make any sense to me. I think it was a wholly irrational thing. Perhaps the human race is not capable of ever achieving peace or a rational international relationship. But I think there is sufficient chance to justify exerting ourselves in a field which has never been tried; that field is the exchange of persons and exchanges of the arts. Such exchanges may result in mutual understanding and sympathy.
>
> Contemplation of the fine arts or even competition among peoples in this field does not lead to bloodshed and hatred, as competition in the field of economics tends to do. I often think of the story they tell about Lenin who refused to listen to music because it tended to soothe his passions and made him less forceful and cruel. If that story is true, and I rather think it is, it encourages me in the direction I hope we are moving.

I include here articles from the Financial Post, Toronto; the Toronto Star; the Ottawa Journal, and the New York Times which may be helpful to Mr. Drew Pearson in arriving at a true assessment of the aims of the Canada Council.

The Reverend Sister Elizabeth Parente, MPF, music director of Villa Victoria Academy, Trenton, N. J., recently wrote me, in part, as follows, re my own interest in the arts:

> Permit me at this time to commend you most highly for introducing a bill for Federal aid for the arts. It is one of the finest moves ever made. The arts and sciences should work together, and there should be equal emphasis on both. Our country should never hesitate to make great use of the one and only universal language—music. There are no boundary lines with this art.

If there is one thought I can leave today with those leaders in Government and private life who have worked so fruitfully to establish the Canada Council, it is this line by the Reverend Sister Parente:

> The arts and sciences should work together, and there should be equal emphasis on both.

The United States and Canada should never hesitate to make great use of the one and only universal language, music. There are no boundary lines with this art.

In the hands of the Canada Council for the Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences the vast sum of $100 million has been placed to develop ways for the arts and sciences to work together with an equal emphasis on both.

A new day is dawning in Canada; indeed, the sun that is lighting Canada may encourage leaders in the United States to give new emphasis and importance to our own cultural activities to peaceful ends.

The above-mentioned articles follow:

[From the Toronto Financial Post of March 2, 1957]

SUBSIDY OF ARTS NOTHING NEW, BUT NATIONAL PATTERNS VARIED

(By John P. Maclean)

OTTAWA (Staff).—When the Canada Council starts distributing money to support Canadian art, music, drama, and letters, it will be following a course which most of the Western nations have followed for a long time.

It will probably look abroad for some guidance about what other countries do, and it will find great variation both in the amount of public funds devoted to cultural activities, and in the way they are distributed.

In the United States the only relevant comparisons are with private foundations like the Guggenheim, Rockefeller, or Ford Funds. And none of them can provide a complete parallel to the Canadian problem.

(The chairman-designate of the Canada Council, Brooke Claxton, has already been quizzing the directors of the principal United States foundations.)

But the United States is about the only major country of the West where private bequests are adequate to provide the main support for arts, letters, and social sciences.

In most countries, the private patron of the arts has long been too rare and too poor. Public funds have been filling the gap, more or less fully, in most of Western Europe for generations.

The Canadian plan is characteristically Canadian. It seeks as usual to blend the methods of the Old World with those of the dominant country of the New World.

The public is to provide an original endowment of $50 million. (And this, incidentally, is a precedent new to the democratic world. Cultural funds are usually a straight part of the parliamentary appropriation each year.)

But the Government recognizes this is quite inadequate for the development of Canadian talent. It is relying on private donors to supplement it.

If Canadians are not rich enough to establish huge foundations of their own on the United States model, at least some of them can add to the thin Government capital.

One such offer has already been received—prematurely, since it came before there is a Canada Council. It was from a Toronto widow, offering $200,000 for the encouragement of ballet. Government hopes this first swallow will herald a real summer of private gifts and bequests.

The most culture-conscious nations of the West now include: United Kingdom, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Russia, Belgium, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries.

ITALY

In Italy, the federal authority cooperates with local authority in many projects, keeps a close eye on culture through a part of the Ministry of Instruction.

Since World War II the National Government has spent an average of $5 million a year just to refurbish war-damaged buildings. Top-rated movie companies get special tax deals (for instance the proceeds of a special levy on foreign films) to spur pro-

duction of such cinematic gems as Bicycle Thief.

WEST GERMANY

In West Germany, plays, operas and ballet in a recent year received subsidies of $22 million; museums and art galleries got $5.3 million. Chief support comes from the provinces or states, plus private donations.

RUSSIA

In Russia, the Bolshoi Theater, operating two large theaters in Moscow, receives about $11 million a year in subsidies for opera and ballet. Live drama in some 30 theaters in Moscow is subsidized, while provincial theaters also receive assistance.

Here's how the United Kingdom and France have and are aiding culture on a nationwide scale:

UNITED KINGDOM

Guide and mentor of British culture at present is the Arts Council, chartered in 1946. It grew out of the World War II-spawned Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts.

CEMA began in late 1939, was set up in 1940 with an initial £25,000 grant from the Pilgrim Trust, then headed by Lord Macmillan, Minister of Information. John Maynard Keynes, the economist, headed CEMA from 1942 to his death in 1946.

In 1945, the British Government decided CEMA should be continued in peacetime. Treasury, instead of Education, took it over, renamed it the Arts Council.

It's not a government department, doesn't resemble some foreign ministries of art. It is composed of not more than 16 persons, experts in one or more fields of art, who are picked by the Chancellor of the Exchequer but are not responsible to him.

It has a small specialist staff: Secretary-general, deputy secretary, and finance officer; directors for art, music, and drama. Staff totals 97.

Arts Council money comes in annual grants from Parliament. The hope is that as soon as United Kingdom finances are past the wolf-at-the-door stage the annual grant will become a statutory amount.

At present the Arts Council submits its requests to Parliament, has them scrutinized by committees on public accounts and on estimates. The auditor-general checks the books.

In 1955–56 Parliament granted £820,000 (up from the first, 1945–46 grant of £235,000). Simplified, the books show the money went £614,000 to general art expenditure, £97,000 to general operating costs, £76,000 to the Scottish committee, and £33,000 to the Welsh committee.

The £614,000 was split:

1. Music, £514,000.

Covent Garden got £250,000; Sadler's Wells, £100,000; Intimate Opera Society at the lower end of the scale got £1,000.

Three of the big orchestras, London Philharmonic, Liverpool Philharmonic, and City of Birmingham Symphony each got £12,000, and the Society for the Promotion of New Music got £800.

2. Drama, £65,000.

Old Vic got a total of £18,500 and Royal Vic got £10,000. The Playhouse, Kidderminster, got £39 9s.

3. Art, £23,000.

Exhibitions took £19,000 but grants went to such as the Finsbury Art Group (£40) and the Open Air Exhibition of East Anglian Sculpture (£20).

4. Poetry, £1,000.

Help for Spoken Poetry got £497 10s. 4d. and the Cley Women's Institute got £3 11d.

5. Festivals, £6,000.

Bath Festival Society and Cheltenham Arts Festivals each got £1,000; at the bottom of the list, Hovingham Festival drew £90.

6. Arts centers and clubs, £9,000.

7. General arts activities, such as Langley Moore Museum of Costume (£350) were given close to £2,000.

All groups which are subsidized are nonprofit. In fact, the Arts Council is incorporated as a charity and prohibited from using its money for profit-seeking purposes.

All money goes to the support of professional, not amateur activity.

MAIN PURPOSE

Main purpose of the arts council, according to its charter, is to preserve and improve standards of performance in the various arts. This means, in effect, support of a limited number of institutions where the highest standards can be developed. Prime example is the Sadler's Wells Ballet at Covent Garden.

Intention is to get—and keep—powerhouses of opera, music, and drama in London, see that culture is spread throughout the nation by frequent tours.

Outlook in the United Kingdom is for more money to go to the arts council. It now, with local authorities' help, spends only about £1 million.

This compares with about £485 million for education (it's calculated about £50 million of this goes into in-school culture), £13 million for public libraries, £3 million for art galleries and museums.

Arts council is, therefore, bucking for about £2.5 million a year. This, it thinks, would support a proper program plus a long-term capital projects rebuilding plan.

The projection of British culture abroad is conducted by the British council.

In 1955–56 it spent £2.8 million, broken down: £1.8 million in foreign countries, £.5 million in colonies, £.4 million in Commonwealth countries, and £.1 million in colonial development and welfare.

FRANCE

Culture in France comes under a special branch of the ministry of education called Direction-Generale des Arts et des Lettres.

Head is a secretary of state for fine arts who reports to the minister of education still, although there's a growing feeling education and culture shouldn't be mixed.

Arts et Lettres has five divisions:

1. Direction des Musees de France.

There are about 900 museums, including 30 considered national ones like Le Louvre.

Close to $3 million was spent—$1 million for salaries, $400,000 for maintenance expenses, $300,000 in subsidies to local museums, and about $1 million in capital construction and equipment. Six $300-a-year scholarships were given to students at the Louvre school.

2. Service des Spectacles et de la Musique.

Promotion of theater attractions and musical programs isn't allowed to clash with artistic freedom.

Money distributed in 1956 went to L'Opera and L'Opera-Comique (total of more than $3.5 million), Comedie-Francaise ($1 million), and the Theatre National Populaire ($200,000).

Regular subsidies are given on the advice of a panel of experts to the best performances in private theaters and to talented young playwrights looking for a push to get started. There's an annual $3,500 prize for the best play produced by an amateur society. Total cost, about $200,000.

Another $200,000 goes to help various drama festivals throughout France. The International Festival, now a regular feature of the Paris season, gets $125,000.

Some $300,000 goes to other theatrical enterprises throughout the country, for general expenses. In addition, about $285,000 went to provincial organizations to produce operas of various kinds.

About $1 million went into capital project subsidies for the building of theaters, conservatories, art and music schools.

The National Conservatory of Dramatic Art got $300,000.

More than $600,000 was spent to support music. The National Conservatory of Music got about $360,000 and another $100,000 for scholarships; various other municipal groups a total of $130,000; Les Jeunesses Musicales, $35,000; ballet companies, $15,000; and composers (who also get help with the cost of printing their scores), $20,000.

Writers get little, but are in line to get more. At present there's an annual prize of $1,800 awarded to a well-known writer as a kind of recognition for general excellence. A newly formed Culture Bank will begin providing social-security benefits to struggling young writers from state funds and with revenue from established writers' royalty contributions.

3. Service des Lettres.

Important among its activities is a general responsibility to promote celebration of special literary events. Some $70,000 was spent in 1956.

4. Service de l'Enseignement et de la Production Artistique. Under teaching and artistic production come: Schools of fine arts, decorative arts, and architecture; state-controlled tapestries and ceramics industries; official commissions to painters, sculptors, engravers and tapestry makers.

Some $1.4 million in salaries and $500,000 in maintenance went into the state schools—Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts and the advanced Ecole Francaise de Rome, for example. Each has a strong program of scholarships.

Official commissions worth $450,000 were ordered in 1956 for decoration of public buildings, official residences and universities.

5. Direction de L'Architecture.

In 1956 this bureau spent $7.2 million on maintenance of historical monuments and $5 million on restoration; for example: $2 million for the Chateau de Versailles.

Total budget for archeological works ($70,000 in 1956) and preservation of historical sites and general expense is a substantial $30 million.

[From the New York Times of January 9, 1957]

CANADA PLANNING CULTURE COUNCIL—ENDOWMENT OF $50 MILLION AND FUND FOR COLLEGES ASKED OF PARLIAMENT

(By Raymond Daniell)

OTTAWA, January 8.—The Government's plans for aiding the cultural development of Canada were revealed today at the opening of the 5th and last session of the 22d Parliament.

They included the establishment of a Canada Council for the Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences with a $50,300,000 endowment for scholarships and assistance to artists, musicians, dancers, writers, and scholars.

Another grant of $50 million was requested for the council to help Canadian universities' construction projects to keep pace with the increasing demands upon them.

The Government also sponsored a measure to provide for the division of the National Museum of Canada into two institutions to be known as the Canadian Museum of Human History and the Canadian Museum of Natural History.

The cultural council was proposed 5 years ago by the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences, headed by Vincent Massey, now Governor General.

SPEECH FROM THRONE READ

It was he in his tricorn hat and full regalia as representative of Queen Elizabeth II, who read the speech from the throne, containing the Government's recommendations. The speech was delivered in the red upholstered senate chamber before an audience that included most of the diplomatic corps.

ECONOMIC REPORT MADE

For years the Liberal government of Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent has hesitated to propose the council, because of uncertainty

about the reaction in Quebec, a party stronghold.

* * * * *

[From the New York Times of May 5, 1957]

CANADA COUNCIL INITIATES ACTION—GROUP WITH $100 MILLION FUND TO PROMOTE CULTURE HOLDS FIRST MEETING

(By Tania Long)

OTTAWA, May 4.—The Canada Council, which recently was armed with $100 million for the promotion of Canadian culture, got down to work last week to plan a program that will go into effect this fall.

The first meeting of the newly appointed Council was attended by Governor General Vincent Massey and four executives of United States foundations.

It was Mr. Massey, before he became representative of the Crown in Canada, who headed the royal commission that recommended the establishment of the Canada Council to assist the arts, humanities and social sciences.

The guests from the United States were Dean Rusk, president of the Rockefeller Foundation; W. McNeil Lowry, vice president of the Ford Foundation; Stephen H. Stackpole, executive associate of the Carnegie Corp., and John Marshall, director of the Rockefeller Foundation.

One of the first acts of the council was to establish a factfinding body to conduct a survey into what is already being done by private and public bodies for the promotion of cultural matters in Canada.

An executive committee of seven also was set up to deal with the day-to-day developments of interest to the council between full council meetings, which are planned to take place three times a year. The permanent staff will consist of five officers under Dr. A. W. Trueman, former National Film Board commissioner, and about a dozen stenographers.

Brooke Claxton, chairman of the council, has said the council will make every effort to keep operational expenses down.

The Canada Council will have $50 million to invest, the revenue from which will be used for grants to deserving cultural enterprises. These grants are estimated at about $2 million a year.

Mr. Claxton said at the close of the 2-day meeting that the council in 4 years would have as much money to devote to the arts as the Rockefeller Foundation has spent in Canada in 44 years.

The remaining half of the $100 million will be used to assist universities in constructing more buildings for the teaching of the arts and sciences. University building is drastically insufficient for the growing demand in Canada.

A meeting with university heads will be held by the council in June to work out a formula for making the grants.

Extravagant Hoover Commission Recommendations for Savings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend remarks in the RECORD, I include reply to the letter of Chairman Clarence Francis, of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, received May 16, 1957, as follows:

MAY 16, 1957.

Hon. CLARENCE CANNON,
Chairman, Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CANNON: I am writing with reference to your remarks on the floor of the House on May 14, 1957. In your address you seriously questioned whether actual economies can result from the recommendations of the bipartisan Hoover Commission. The citizens committee has looked into this question with considerable care and would like to furnish you with the results of its study.

In this connection, our research department prepared th eattached special research memorandum No. 11, entitled "Specific Examples of Savings, Capital Returns, and Increased Revenues Resulting From Reports and Recommendations of the Bipartisan First (1947–49) and Second (1953–55) Hoover Commissions." This study covers only a part of the total recommendations but it does document some $2.8 billion in savings. All of these figures are either taken directly from, or based upon, statements made by officials of the executive branch or by the Comptroller General of the United States.

With respect to the first Hoover Commission, the committee has looked into five specific areas of economy. The results of the survey indicated that economies in these five areas had resulted, as follows:

	Million
General Services Administration	$677.0
Veterans' Administration (cancellation of hospital beds)	545.0
Post Office Department (post and postal cards only)	72.0
Reconstruction Finance Corporation (abolition of)	474.4
Defense Department	569.5
Total	2,337.9

Additional results of the work of the first Hoover Commission would doubtless be found in other areas of Government but I think these figures are sufficient to make the point. Definite economies of substantial size are traceable to the first Hoover report through the statements of the agencies themselves.

With respect to the second Hoover Commission, the Citizens Committee has also made a study of some of the savings which so far can be attributed directly or indirectly to the Commission's findings. The results of this survey are as follows:

	Million
Treasury Department	$20.3
General Services Administration	131.7
Federal Housing Administration	.5
Interior Department	.6
Commerce Department	19.3
Veterans' Administration	13.6
Post Office Department	56.0
Health, Education, and Welfare Department	2.2
Defense Department (10 percent of total economies)	235.9
Total	$480.1

Here we would like to point out that only 39 percent of the 314 recommendations of this second Commission have been installed in whole or in part. Many of them have been installed rather recently, so that considerable time must pass before results can become evident. An example is the legislation providing a cost-accounting system for the Federal Government. Installation alone will take several years.

May I emphasize that these figures cover only a part of the total Federal operation and that they are meant simply to illustrate the fact that substantial savings have been certified by responsible governmental agencies. To study completely the budgets of all departments and agencies over a span of 9 years would involve the task of compiling and comparing material on approximately 11,000 pages, with an average of at least 50 items per page, or more than 550,000 separate budget items. In our view, there are additional and very substantial savings which would be divulged by a more thorough study than that which we have been able to undertake.

In conclusion allow me to refer to the subject of appropriations on an annual accrued expenditure basis as provided in H. R. 2494 currently before the House. Varying estimates have been made as to the savings which might come to the taxpayer through this measure. We would like to point out that substantial economies might flow from a reduction in the so-called "carryover" funds—that is, unspent funds available from appropriations in previous years. These funds are today estimated to be in the neighborhood of $50 billion. As a most conservative estimate, a thorough scrutiny of such funds might lead to a reduction of only 1 percent—and this is a minimum. This alone would be $500 million per year. It is our feeling that the savings would be considerably more substantial.

Thank you very much for hearing our views on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE FRANCIS.

SPECIAL RESEARCH MEMORANDUM NO. 11, CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR THE HOOVER REPORT—SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SAVINGS, CAPITAL RETURNS, AND INCREASED REVENUES RESULTING FROM REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BIPARTISAN FIRST (1947–49) AND SECOND (1953–55) HOOVER COMMISSIONS

Much current controversy centers around the record peacetime Federal budget of $71.8 billion for fiscal 1958. There is general agreement on the need for economy but widespread debate over specific cost-cutting proposals.

The question then arises: "Are substantial savings available through adoption of the recommendations of the bipartisan Hoover Commission?"

In the following pages, the Research Department of the Citizens Committee lists some examples of concrete economies, capital returns, and increased revenues clearly attributable to the work of the bipartisan first (1947–49) and second (1953–56) Hoover Commissions.

Four points should be noted:

1. This list traces $2.3 billion in aggregate economies to recommendations of the first Hoover Commission and $480.1 million to the second—a total of some $2.8 billion for both to date.

2. This is a partial list, intended only to illustrate broadly the principle that specific economies are available through adpotion of Hoover Commission recommendations.

3. These examples are based almost entirely on official reports of the Federal departments and agencies concerned.

4. Most of the examples are based directly on Hoover Commission recommendations, but some are byproducts of the Commission's work, illustrating the ways in which a document like the Hoover report can stimulate economy-consciousness in governmental operations.

Five Congresses and two administrations have had a hand in the bipartisan effort through which some 72 percent of the proposals of the first Hoover Commission and, to date, 39 percent of the second have been adopted. The process of effectuation following adoption is often a long one and the results, when obscured by sudden developments such as the Korean action, are difficult to identify.

The fact remains that definite savings of a major nature, far greater than the totals shown by these examples, have been made. It may be reasonably concluded, therefore, that substantial additional economies re-

main available in the unenacted 61 percent of the second Commission's recommendations.

Attached are:

1. Appendix A (specific examples of savings, capital returns, and increased revenues resulting from the reports and recommendations of the bipartisan first (1947–49) Hoover Commission).

2. Appendix B (specific examples of savings, capital returns, and increased revenues resulting from the reports and recommendations of the bipartisan second (1953–55) Hoover Commission).

An examination of these two appendixes indicates the figures are almost entirely official statements of the Federal departments and agencies. In only two of the scores of specific figures here quoted has the Citizens Committee's Research Department posed its own estimate; and in these two cases, the estimates are premised upon official figures.

APPENDIX A

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SAVINGS, CAPITAL RETURNS, AND INCREASED REVENUES RESULTING FROM THE REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BIPARTISAN FIRST (1947–49) HOOVER COMMISSION

The first Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government was created by unanimous act of Congress on July 7, 1947. The Commission was empowered to "study and investigate the present organization and methods of operation of all departments, bureaus, agencies, boards, commissions, offices, independent establishments, and instrumentalities of the executive branch of the Government."

The Commission divided up its total project of studying the executive branch into a series of major-purpose activities and functional problems. Twenty-four task forces were created. Some of these dealt primarily with Cabinet departments, while others centered on broader categories of interest. The task force reports were completed in the late summer and autumn of 1948; and the Commission reported to Congress during the first 6 months of 1949. Most of the reports had minority opinions and dissents, proving that the recommendations were not accepted without a good deal of examination.

In enumerating the savings, capital returns and increased revenues attributable to the first Hoover Commission, the Citizens Committee covers five major areas. They are: the General Services Administration, the Veterans' Administration, the Post Office Department, liquidation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and the Department of Defense. These estimates are not all encompassing of the whole area of savings affected by the first Hoover Commission. They are chosen merely to illustrate some of the financial benefits which demonstrably have resulted from the recommendations of the Commission.

1. THE GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

It should be remembered that there would be no General Services Administration had it not been for a specific recommendation of the first Hoover Commission. In February 1949 the Commission recommended to Congress that responsibility for three internal service operations, Supply, Records Management, and the Operation and Maintenance of Public Buildings, be placed in an Office of General Services with a director appointed by the President (Report on Office of General Services—Supply Activities, Recommendation No. 1). The agency was created by the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act later in that year.

The agency's annual reports have stated economies, as follows:

Fiscal year and savings [1]

	Million
1951	$81.0
1952	127.3
1953	130.6
1954	147.6
1955:	
(a) Personal property	$168.7
(b) Real property	14.6
(c) Records	3.6
(d) Administrative	3.6
	190.5
Total	677.0

[1] Stated officially by Jess Larson and Edmund Mansure, the 1st 2 General Services Administration Administrators, and found in the GSA Annual Reports.

2. THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

Cancellation of congressional authority to build 16,000 hospital beds for the Veterans' Administration was the biggest savings item in this field. (Report on Medical Activities, p. 6.) There are various methods by which nonrecurring or onetime savings like a hospital cancellation can be amortized. The Citizens' Committee used a 5-year basis in making its estimates, believing that the normal patient load accretions would cause such construction to be authorized again toward the end of such period. However, good economic conditions, important reductions in the incidence of tuberculosis, new drugs and medical techniques, and a number of other factors have mostly deferred this construction program, perhaps indefinitely. Hence, while the committee's 5-year amortization estimate seemed a reasonable basis when the estimate was made, it may have been too short for this particular case.

The aggregate saving of $545 million is shown as follows:

Fiscal year and savings [1]

	Million
1951	$67
1952	97
1953	127
1954	127
1955	[2] 127
Total	545

[1] Bed construction amortized without interest factor over a 5-year period; operation and maintenance costs carried on an annual basis, starting in 1952, at ⅓ of full annual figure of $60,113,000; and at full figure thereafter.

[2] Construction cutback was fully amortized according to Citizens' Committee basis by June 30, 1954, but annual operation and maintenance savings of $60,113,000 would continue thereafter.

3. THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

The most notable achievement here was the increase in the price of penny post and postal cards from 1 cent to 2 cents. (Report on the Post Office, Recommendation No. 8.) Congressional action on this Hoover Commission proposal led to an average annual revenue increase of $7.4 million—$5 million in fiscal year 1952, and an aggregate total of $32 million thereafter on postal cards. The aggregate revenue thus added has been $37 million through fiscal 1956.

To this can be added revenues from increasing penny post cards from 1 to 2 cents, which are estimated by the Post Office Department to have returned another aggregate of $35 million. This is necessarily an estimate since the postal accounting system compounds these revenues into the normal sale of 1-cent stamps.

The total, thus, is $72 million.

The rate on postal cards and post cards had stood at 1 cent since May 13, 1873, except for a temporary 1-cent increase during World War I.

4. THE RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

In its report to Congress on Federal business enterprises in March 1949, a task force of the first Hoover Commission recommended the liquidation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The Commission itself recommended drastic cutbacks in lending, but did not recommend total liquidation. However, the combined efforts of these two groups resulted in its termination effective September 28, 1953.

For the most accurate description of the capital returns realized from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in liquidation, a direct quotation is taken from the 1956 annual report of the Treasury Department:

"After giving effect to assets transferred to other Government agencies under the provisions of the RFC Liquidation Act and Reorganization Plan No. 2, of 1954, there remained for liquidation loans, securities, and commitments amounting to $592,200,000. By June 30, 1956, this portfolio had been reduced to $117,800,000. The total reduction of these assets was $474,400,000, of which $114,300,000 was accomplished during the year.

"The proceeds realized from liquidation of the Corporation's assets are returned to the Treasury. In the fiscal year 1956, there was paid into the Treasury from cash on hand and amounts realized during the year a total of $150 million." [1]

5. THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The major segment of savings and budget reductions achieved from the original Hoover Commission fell within the Department of Defense, and these were most substantial. Some were annually recurring and some were nonrecurring, but, in the 1949–50 period, $569,675,000 of a total of over $1.5 billion saved in the Defense Department can be linked with Hoover Commission recommendations.

Due to the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, many of these Defense savings were immersed in the necessarily increased expenditures for war. Thus it is impossible to go beyond this point with regard to savings. Most savings effected by the Defense Department after the Korean war relate to the work of the second Hoover Commission and are dealt with later in appendix B of this memorandum.

The savings of $569,675,000 for 1949 and 1950 and stemming in whole or in part from the Commission and its task force are as follows:

	Savings [1] *(million)*
Lowered cost of recruiting program	$2.3
Lowered cost of printing and binding	2.3
Inactivation of administrative vehicles and substitution of civilian type vehicles for heavy military type vehicles	11.9
Inactivation of facilities surplus to peacetime needs	169.2
Lowered cost of petroleum reserves	.5
Lowered cost of classified project	2.1
Restrictions on civilian travel	.4
Bringing the rating structure of enlisted men into line with actual distribution and the structure plan for fiscal year 1951	9.9
Institution of the monetary maintenance allowance system in lieu of issue-in-kind	13.8

[1] From Semiannual Report of the Secretary of Defense, July 1–December 31, 1949, pp. 53–55.

---

[1] Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1956, p. 138.

	Savings (million)
Curtailing and closely examining requirements for issuance of change of station travel orders	$3.6
Lowered cost of quarters allowances for enlisted personnel resulting from adjustments in the rating structures	1.9
Early discharges, releases to CAD officers, and lower requirements for recruit outfits	9.5
Reduced requirement for operation of aircraft	5.0
Decrease in depot and base supply and maintenance	4.2
Lower fuel requirements from reduction in steaming hours of the active fleet and operation of a smaller fleet	2.6
Rescheduling and combining cargo shipments	7.9
Lowered operating expenses of ships other than fuel	3.0
Adjusting schedules for ship overhauls, reevaluation of scope of work required for individual ships, and accomplishment of increased self-maintenance by ships' crews	10.0
Decrease in the total communications requirements for the Department of Defense including those resulting from the operation of AFSA	6.6
Reduced procurement of organizational clothing, motor transport spare parts, general supply items, signal supply items, and curtailment of repairs, upkeep, and improvements for Marine Corps	$1.0
Lower level of support for courts-martial, chaplain supplies, miscellaneous schools, etc	.7
Curtailment of major repairs and replacements and general maintenance of naval facilities	7.6
Savings through consolidation of Reserve training facilities, joint use of facilities and inactivation of some smaller training vessels while at the same time extending the training schedules of some of the larger vessels which will accommodate greater numbers of Reserve personnel for training	13.5
Reevaluation of research and development projects	17.2
Cancellation of the quinquennial overhauls of reserve fleet vessels and reduced preservation and maintenance of other war reserves	13.5
Curtailment of information and education activities	.3
Employment of better traffic policies and procedures in the operation of a central Military Land Traffic Office	1.6
Reduction of leased space after consolidation of activities	.07
Reduction and unification of military attaché office staffs	1.4
Lower cost of planned field exercises	.5
Savings in maintenance and operation of hospital facilities	5.3
General appropriation reprograming by deferred maintenace, personnel reductions or turn-over, lower level of operation in order to absorb wage board and other pay increases	156.5
Flying hours reduced	57.7
Reevaluation of industrial mobilization	25.9
Total	569.5

CONCLUSION

It will be noted that all the examples cited in appendix A, except those relating to the Veterans' Administration and the Post Office, are taken wholly from official reports and releases of executive branch departments and agencies, and, in those two cases, the estimates are based upon official figures.

These examples, to repeat, are simply intended to illustrate the point that concrete economies can be substantiated. They do not by any means represent the probable total of all such economies if all departments and agencies could have been included in this study.

The total of this partial list is itself impressive, however:

	Million
General Services Administration	$677.0
Veterans' Administration	545.0
Post Office Department	[1] 72.0
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	[2] 474.4
Department of Defense	569.5
Total	2,337.9

[1] Increased revenues.
[2] Capita returns.

APPENDIX B

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SAVINGS, CAPITAL RETURNS, AND INCREASED REVENUES RESULTING FROM THE REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BIPARTISAN SECOND (1953–55) HOOVER COMMISSION

The second bipartisan Hoover Commission was created in cognizance of the need for continued study and improvement of Federal administration. The Brown-Ferguson Act (Public Law 108, 83d Cong., 1st sess.) provided for a second Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. It was passed without a dissenting vote in either House. President Eisenhower signed the bill on July 10, 1953.

The new Hoover Commission was assigned the responsibility of recommending methods and procedures for: Reducing expenditures to the lowest amount consistent with efficient performance of activities; eliminating duplication of functions; consolidating services of a similar nature; abolishing those activities not necessary to efficient conduct of Government; eliminating those functions which compete unnecessarily with private enterprise; defining responsibilities of officials, and relocating independent agencies directly responsible to the President into departments or other agencies.

The major difference between the first Hoover Commission and the second lies in the fact that, while the first Commission was directed to concern itself with the procedural aspects of Federal administration, the second Commission was, in addition, instructed to go beyond this, to raise the substantive question of whether a given Federal activity should be continued or discontinued regardless of the efficiency or lack of efficiencies with which that activity was being administered.

The Citizens Committee estimates that $480.1 million has resulted in savings from the second Hoover Commission recommendations already put into effect. The figures listed in this appendix reflect those savings made during the year 1955 and thereafter, with a few from 1954.

The examples here cited are all taken from official reports. While most are directly attributable to the Commission's recommendations, some are byproducts, due in whole or in part to the stimulus of the Commission's proposals.

1. THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT

New management programs were installed as well as audit studies, evaluation of the revenue accounting system, operatfonal cost reports, and workload statistics. These and other managerial information leading to savings resulted wholly or in part from the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission.

Total net space requirements were reduced. Programs were carried on to provide more suitable and efficient space and facilities. Related activities have been put under one roof to provide for more efficient operations. Much effort has been devoted to improving and modernizing accounting systems within the Department. In many Treasury activities new, modern equipment was installed.

The origin of these savings can be traced to the stimulus of Hoover Commission recommendations on central accounting and reporting, spread of workload, discontinuance of detailed appropriation and receipts accounts, and methods of recovery of capital sums to the Treasury. The savings for 1955 and 1956 are detailed as follows:

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
Savings in cartage costs	$0.1
Reductions in export control operations	.1
Procedural and organizational realinements in the Bureau of the Public Debt	.4
Conversion of disbursing accounts	.2
Closing of four regional accounting and disbursing offices	.2
Installation of mechanical equipment in the Division of Disbursement	.2
New system for correspondence control	.6
New form of index card maintenance	.2
Reduction in supervision by Internal Revenue storekeepers	.4
Discontinuance of coinage operations at two offices	.4
Disposal of excess properties by the Coast Guard	.9
Transfer of three Coast Guard supply depots to the Navy	.2
Decommissioning of 10 Coast Guard vessels	1.6
Better utilization of personnel	.2
Overall reduction due to improved methods and procedures	4.6
General management improvement program in the Bureau of Accounts	.6
Reorganization improvements in the Bureau of the Mint	.6
Total	11.5

[1] Annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1955.

Fiscal year 1956: Improved management actions saved a total of $8 million—Annual recurring savings—$6 million [1]

Revised procedures for the examination of printed products in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing	$0.3
Revisions in taxpayer-assistance programs in Internal Revenue	2.8
Extended use of mechanical and electrical equipment	.1
Transfer of Coast Guard supply facilities to the Navy	.2
Disposal of one supply base	1.0
Transfer of 46 parcels of property to General Service Administration for disposal	.4
Disposal of surplus vessels by the Coast Guard	.2
Space and equipment utilization survey in the Bureau of Customs released space valued at and declaration of surplus equipment	.5 .1
Customs Bureau reductions in manpower, space, and equipment	.8
Management improvement program in the Division of Disbursement	.6
Savings on an annual basis (recurring) from the Management Improvement program	.6
Elimination of duplicate sets of records [2]	1.0
Reorganization of the Bureau of Accounts and the Savings Bond Division (recurring)	.2
Total	8.8

[1] Items 1 through 11 obtained from the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1956.

[2] Accounting and Auditing Developments in the United States General Accounting Office—United States Government Printing Office, 1957.

2. THE GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION—FISCAL YEAR 1956

Many new savings factors have been introduced into the General Services Administration since the second Hoover Commission completed its work. An accrued cost system of accounts was established, and large reductions in paperwork resulted from the creation of a single fund for administrative operations. Expansion of electric accounting-machine operations brought about savings in several accounting processes throughout the administration. A performance-analysis system was installed to measure performance in terms of accomplishments and cost. Finally, the internal audit program was more clearly defined so as to emphasize the review of internal controls on an agencywide basis.

These improvements embrace the Hoover Commission recommendations for storage and distribution, paperwork management, procurement, property management, records management, stockpiling and warehousing, and surplus-property distribution within the General Services Administration. The record of savings for the General Service Administration in 1956 is listed below:

	Million
More efficient telecommunications service [1]	$1.0
Continued utilization of real property transfers	5.7
Records management surveys	4.3
Releasing of storage space	.7
Curtailed expenditures for new cabinets	2.3
Curtailed expenditures for transfer cases	.4
Transfer, instead of new procurement, of property	95.0
Repair and rehabilitation of equipment instead of new purchase	1.2
Improved audits and financial management	1.0
Reduction of motor vehicle fleet (recurring) [2]	20.0
Improved payroll procedures [3]	.1
Total	131.7

[1] Annual report of the Administrator of General Services for the year ending June 30, 1956 (items 1 through 9).

[2] GSA press release, February 17, 1956.

[3] 8th Annual Progress Report under the Joint Program To Improve Accounting in the Federal Government, 1956.

3. THE FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

The opportunity for administrative savings does not exist in as great a degree in the Federal Housing Administration as it does in other Departments or agencies.[1]

However, management improvements for FHA in 1955 were responsible for savings of approximately $0.5 million.

It is as a result of recommendations of the first Hoover Commission that the Housing and Home Finance Agency embraces all Federal activities in the housing field except the Veterans' Administration and the Farmers' Home Administration. The Federal Housing Administration naturally falls within the scope of the Agency. Recommendations of the second Hoover Commission regarding the Federal Housing Administration are, for the most part, concerned with authority and studies of mortgage-loan insurance. These would be extremely hard to evaluate in terms of savings. General management improvements are most indicative of the savings made by the Federal Housing Administration and appear below.

[1] Also the FHA is essentially a self-supporting Federal agency.

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
Management improvements in Comptroller's Division—expected to effect annual savings in personal services of	$0.2
Records management economies	.2
Better use of space, and printing economies	.1
Total	.5

[1] Twenty-second annual report, Federal Housing Administrator, for year ending December 31, 1955.

4. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

The Interior Department also participated in accounting reviews and cost-type budgeting. The Department also continued to examine internal functions in order to discontinue those activities which were in competition with private enterprise. This directly follows the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission. In addition, the Department proceeded to dispose of unneeded real property and to better organize field organizations. Much progress was made in records management and also in the area of general administration.

Evidence of the influence of Hoover Commission recommendations on business enterprises, paperwork management, and disposal of surplus property can be clearly seen in the savings shown here.

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
Decrease in volume of reclamation records	$0.1
Disposition of excess property, Bureau of Mines	.2
Total	.3

[1] 1955 Annual Report, Secretary of the Interior, Partnership in Resource Conservation and Development, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1955.

Fiscal year 1956 [1]

	Million
Reduction in volume of stored records, releasing space and equipment worth approximately	$0.2
Transfer of surplus property to other agencies	.1
Total	.3

[1] 1956 Annual Report, Secretary of the Interior, the Conservation of Natural Resources, for fiscal year ended June 30, 1956.

5. THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

A modified accrual basis of accounting is also being used by the Commerce Department. The full benefit of this system is yet to be realized, but some economies have been made. The Department has also installed modern electronic machines which have greatly simplified paperwork management. Space transfers, reduction of inventories, new filing methods, consolidation of records space, and sale of surplus property have effected savings of more than $19 million. Again, these management improvements are in accord with recommendations of the second Hoover Commission. Those savings which can clearly be identified are set down as follows:

Fiscal year 1955

	Million
Transfer of space from Army to Panama Canal Company [1]	$0.8
Reduction of inventories of the Panama Canal Company [1]	3.0

Footnotes at end of table.

Fiscal year 1955—Continued

	Million
Simplified methods and modern electronic aids in taking the 1954 business census [2]	4.0
Reorganization and clearance of filing systems [2]	0.2
New cost control study by the Maritime [2]	
Elimination of paperwork in Bureau of Public Roads [2]	0.5
Reduction of records storage space [3]	1.5
Sale of the Inland Waterways Corporation [3]	9.0
Total	19.3

[1] Annual Report of the Comptroller General of United States, 1955, 84th Cong., 2d sess., H. Doc. No. 255.

[2] Commerce Department release, Apr. 8, 1956, G655.

[3] Contained in special report to congressional committee.

6. THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

Improvements in management and administration in the Veterans' Administration brought about significant results. Cost studies and new purchase practices were established, as well as control summaries and cost-type budget schedules. Procedural improvements in hospital administration were highly gratifying in light of the Hoover Commission recommendations. Progress was also made in the transfer and destruction of records and in the application of work simplification techniques.

The savings made by the Veterans' Administration clearly reflect the second Hoover Commission's recommendations applying to administrative procedure, medical supplies, storage operations, supply depots and distribution, and business-type services. The Veterans' Administration has adopted the Hoover Commission's principle that paperwork management places heavy proper emphasis on controlling the creation, maintenance, and use of records as well as storage and disposal. Achievements along these lines have been noteworthy, as may be seen by the savings figures:

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
Reduction in ratio of employees to patients in VA hospitals resulted in saving in salaries of approximately	$6.0
Cost studies in Department of Medicine and Surgery stimulated improved management at field stations	.7
Improved purchasing practices of items such as proprietary drugs and hearing aids	.4
More economical use of office space—release of excess space	.3
Redistribution of supplies	.2
Transfer of VA records to GSA Federal Records Center	.3
Disposal of unnecessary records	.2
Application of work simplification techniques	.2
Reduction of depot inventories within VA	.2
Transferring accounting functions of loan guaranty divisions to finance divisions in regional offices, resulting in elimination of approximately 65 positions	.4
Redistribution of excess personal property within the VA	2.1
Total	11.0

[1] Administrator of Veterans' Affairs—Annual Report, 1955.

Fiscal year 1956 [1]

	Million
Development of electric accounting procedures for loan accounting	$0.2
Procurement of thorazine at one depot with direct delivery to each station	.2
Microfilming of records eliminated annual expenditures for microphotographic equipment	.2
Transfer of adjustment and refund functions	.2
Release of filing equipment for other VA departments	.1
Reorganization of regional offices and transfer of work	.9
Consolidation of divisions at 10 VA hospitals	.5
Disposition and transfer of records	.2
Improved procedures and controls in supplies and services	.1
Total	2.6

[1] Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1956.

7. POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

The first Hoover Commission recommended improved accounting and budgeting procedures, and a comprehensive cost-control system for the Post Office Department. The new Hoover Commission emphasized real-property management and maintenance along with general reorganization of the Department. In following these recommendations the Postal Establishment has made substantial savings. Considerable progress has been made in modernization of controllership and management programs, conversion to punched card checks, the establishment of a reports management program, development of accurate measures of cost, improved classification of accounts, transportation procedures, and paperwork management. Savings stimulated in whole or in part by the Commission for the years 1955 and 1956 are as indicated.

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
Discontinuance of over 1,100 post offices	$1.5
Consolidation of 333 rural delivery routes with other rural routes	1.0
Change from advance authorization of space to "space used" agreements with railroads	10.0
Discontinuance of city distribution in 180 railway post offices	.4
Replacement of RPO service by closed pouch or star route service on 193 trains	4.0
Elimination of duplication in weighing magazines and newspapers	1.8
Total	18.7

[1] Annual report of the Postmaster General, fiscal year ending June 30, 1955.

Fiscal year 1956

	Million
Discontinuance of 813 post offices [1]	$1.1
Revised plant arrangement and mechanization of New York City west side terminal [1]	.8
Survey of all star routes in the southeastern States [1]	.2
Special agreements with rail and highway carriers for moving mail equipment [1]	.7
Modernization of financial and accounting practices [2]	20.0
New Procedure for controlling overages from the sale of stamped envelopes [2]	.2
Discontinuance of city distribution for 120 cities in 200 RPO's [2]	.5
Discontinuance of RPO and closed pouch service on 900 trains [3]	8.0
Improved practices in dispatching and loading [3]	.1
Authorization of multielement rates and mileage equalization and 13 trunkline carriers [3]	5.1

Footnotes at end of table.

Fiscal year 1956—Continued

	Million
Centralization of money order audit operation [3]	.5
Reduced printing costs through adoption of punch-card certificate form [3]	.1
Total	37.3

[1] Annual report of the Postmaster General, fiscal year 1956.

[2] Interim report, the Postmaster General to the President of the United States, September 30, 1956.

[3] Report on installation of industrial-type controllership, July 1, 1953, to June 30, 1956, Bureau of Finance, Post Office Department.

8. THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

This department, although relatively new, has made significant contributions in its measures of economy. Improvements have been made in accounting operations and general management procedures.

Fiscal years 1955 and 1956 (2-year totals) [1]

	Million
Freeing office equipment for reuse elsewhere in the Government	$0.7
Reduction in floorspace	.2
Reduction in motorized equipment	.2
Abolition of offices and divisions	.1
Management improvements in Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance	1.0
Total	2.2

[1] Contained in special report to congressional committee.

9. THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Two-thirds of the second Hoover Commission's recommendations apply to the Department of Defense. Improvements were underway in the Department even before the Commission completed its report; and, during the period the Commission was working, many were developed in cooperation with the Commission's task forces. Others have resulted directly from the recommendations of the Commission.[2]

Economies shown here are taken from official Defense Department reports and also from reports on the joint accounting program by the Comptroller General. While not all the economies listed can be directly attributed to the Hoover Commission, a substantial portion directly flows from the recommendations of both the first and second Commissions. It is here estimated—and most conservatively—that 10 percent of the total economies reported in the following pages can reasonably be attributed to the Commission's work. In fact, a logical case could be made for a far higher percentage. The total reported by the Department was $2,359 million, 10 percent of that is $235.9 million.[3]

[2] Action already taken on the second Commission's recommendations regarding food and clothing will eventually lead to substantial economy. This applies primarily to the "head count" on a service installation whereby the number of meals served is restricted to the number of personnel on that post. Food was ordered and meals prepared on the basis of an estimated total number of personnel. Because substantial percentages of the estimated total number were on leave, ill, or not present for a variety of reasons, this led to a great waste of food. The task force on food and clothing estimated that if this and other of its recommendations were fully implemented, a savings of $200 million a year would be possible.

[3] The use of the conservative 10-percent estimate also takes account of duplications (e. g.) as between reports of the Department and of the Comptroller General.

Fiscal year 1955

During the fiscal year 1955, major emphasis was placed on improvements in supply management. In the field of standardization of stocks the beneficial effects of a new cataloging program were immediately evident. Standardization actions eliminated many items from military supply systems and developed common standards and specifications for commercial and military components. The Department estimated that savings from standardization of stocks in 1955 were $29 million.[4]

Similar improvements were made in the management of excess stocks. Increased efficiency was also achieved in the use of storage space. The introduction of uniform reporting systems made possible more cross-servicing in storage activities and the transfer of facilities from one department to another. An annual saving of $30 million resulted from the closing of 17 Army supply depots. When 6 of these depots were transferred to the Air Force, $16 million was saved in lieu of new construction costs. Improved transportation rate negotiations saved approximately $48 million.[5]

Work simplification is an integral part of the overall management improvement effort of the Army. The Defense Department estimated that a $13 million saving resulted from improvements installed by supervisors trained in this field.[6]

The Army financial management plan brought about many improvements in installation accounting and better use of stock inventories. Cutbacks in inventory levels have brought about the greatest monetary savings, according to Defense Department figures; $585 million in excess capital was relinquished in 1954 through reductions in stock, and $700 million in 1955.[7]

The Navy also contributed greatly to general economy and management improvements within the Department of Defense. Studies were made of the accounting features of cross-servicing and monetray accountability procedures. Audits of contractors' claims and other accounting and audit work brought about substantial savings. The Navy was able to save an estimated $123.5 million in the cost of materiel procurement.[8]

Air Force management underwent the same comprehensive study, and the Secretary of the Air Force estimated that $440 million was saved in contract costs resulting from improved audit procedures (this combines actual and potential reductions).[9]

Fiscal year 1956

The joint accounting improvement program carried on during the period January 1, 1956, to September 30, 1956, is illustrative of savings made in the Defense Department during that year. According to the Comptroller General of the United States, better management practices and financial improvements in the Department resulted in savings of $202 million.[10]

Improvements in inventory control resulted in the relocation of supplies and the saving of 250,000 square feet of space. It eliminated 187 different records for various financial inventory categories and brought about discontinuance of overlapping stocks of similar supply items. These measures reflected an estimated saving of approximately $133,000 per year. Method improvements based on a management study of in-transit

[4] Semi-annual report of the Secretary of Defense, January 1 to June 30, 1955, p. 42.

[5] Ibid., p. 43.

[6] Ibid., p. 130.

[7] Ibid., p. 132.

[8] Ibid., p. 207.

[9] Ibid., p. 270.

[10] The Eighth Annual Progress Report Under the Joint Program To Improve Accounting in the Federal Government, 1956, by the Comptroller General of the United States.

warehouse procedures effected an estimated saving of $150,000. The indirect material inventory has been decreased by $381,000.[11]

Improved direct labor efficiency in the Department brought about a saving of $625,000.[12]

An internal review of inventory at the Long Beach Naval Shipyard resulted in a reduction of approximately $307,000 in shop stores insurance items. A ship stores inventory purification program at the San Francisco Naval Shipyard resulted in a reduction of approximately $386,000.[13]

At the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, elimination of duplicate records and the abolition of 74 supply department positions through transfer of items saved $339,000.[14]

This joint program to improve accounting to which we refer, also highlights the internal audit program within the Department of Defense. It estimates that savings in the cost of Government procurement amounted to $166.4 million in fiscal year 1956.[15]

A navywide review of records, resulting in the elimination of duplicate records, saved an estimated $400,000. Reduction of stock-fund inventory at one naval activity amounted to $2.8 million as the result of an audit. At still another activity, disposition of excess stocks in the amount of $600,000 was instituted.[16]

CONCLUSION

As in dealing with the first Hoover Commission, it must be emphasized here that the departments and agencies used do not constitute the total areas of economies. While these figures are merely representative, they are perhaps the most illustrative ones obtainable.

Savings and financial returns are primarily limited to the years 1955 and 1956 because the second Hoover Commission's recommendations were mainly implemented in those years.

It is evident that savings in the Department of Defense constitute the greatest proportion of savings in the areas covered. This is valid because two-thirds of the second Hoover Commission's recommendations directly apply to the Defense Department.

The compilation of savings from recommendations of the second Hoover Commission and the corresponding departments and agencies is condensed as follows:

	Millions
Treasury	$20.3
General Services	131.7
Federal Housing	.5
Interior	.6
Commerce	19.3
Veterans	13.6
Post Office	56.0
Health, Education, and Welfare	2.2
Defense (at 10 percent)	235.9
Total	480.1

MAY 20, 1957.

Mr. CLARENCE FRANCIS,
Chairman, Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. FRANCIS: Am glad to have your letter of May 16 concerning the Hoover Commission recommendations and my remarks on them in the House on Tuesday, May 14, 1957. Am especially glad to have a copy of the study made by your committee listing certain savings claimed to have resulted from the two series of Hoover Commission reports.

Permit me to correct you on one point. At no time have I said that no economy whatever can be expected to result from adoption of Commission recommendations. Certainly out of the multitude adopted, there will be some savings, somewhere, however small. Have at no time contended otherwise. So you erroneously conclude when you state that I "seriously questioned whether actual economies can result from the recommendations of the bipartisan Hoover Commission." I have stated or inferred, or both, and offered support thereof, and now repeat that—

1. The second Hoover Commission pointedly failed to list specific estimates of savings.

2. Failing this, it prominently listed the bloated estimates of savings made by the various task forces, and then made the sweeping and unsupported statement that adoption of the recommendations would produce enough savings to balance the budget and reduce taxes.

3. These grossly exaggerated, unbelievably fantastic claims have been advertised and sold to the American people. The people have been sold a bill of goods by your Citizens Committee and others. This is unfair to them and to their representatives in the Congress. Furthermore, it is a disservice to whatever worthwhile suggestions the Commission may have made.

4. Thus misled, the people have been bombarding the Congress demanding adoption of all the Hoover Commission recommendations and thus save billions—the most oft-used figures are five or five and one-half billion dollars.

5. The Hoover Commission recommendations to the contrary notwithstanding, Federal expenditures have consistently increased since the first Commission reported in 1949. All recommendations adopted, so far as can authoritatively be determined, have had no appreciable effect in reduction of the budget.

6. Perhaps the most absurd claim of all is that billions can be saved merely by adopting the budget and accounting reforms, the key feature of which is the proposed change to the so-called accrued expenditure basis of making appropriations. The original claim of savings was advertised as $4 billion.

Sound appropriating processes are so vital to protection of the people's tax funds, and the claim of savings attributed to the proposed changes therein are so utterly groundless, that the fallacy of this accrued expenditure proposition must be exposed. I consider it in the public interest to undertake to persuade you and the Citizens Committee to see the preposterous dimensions of both the claim of savings and the shortcomings of the proposal itself. You are of course aware of the genesis of the $4 billion estimate of savings. The task force merely expressed "belief" that such savings could "reasonably be expected." At your national conference here in Washington last February, the Commission Chairman stated that "there are savings estimated at over $3 billion to be had" by adoption of the accrued expenditure technique. Basis for that estimate was not given.

This accrued expenditure idea was apparently conceived in ignorance of certain budgetary and legislative facts of life. Those who persist in stirring the people to agitate for its adoption have seemingly accepted without question the faulty premises on which the idea rests. The first premise is that the Congress has lost control of the purse strings by reason of existence of billions of unexpended appropriation carryover balances and that adoption of the accrued expenditure method would eliminate or at least drastically reduce such balances, thus recouping control of the purse. Every day the Committee on Appropriations receives letters, pamphlets, and bulletins from across the country so stating. But they are sadly in error—exactly 180 degrees off. This system, if adopted, would not result in any reduction whatsoever in carryover balances. What would happen would be a large reduction in "appropriation" balances and an equally large increase in contract authorization balances, with no change in total unexpended carryover balances. That is an indisputable fact—it simply cannot be successfully denied. And contract authorization balances are just as important as appropriation balances. A Government obligation or contract can and would be just as valid under one as under the other and, furthermore, once granted would result in just as much eventual spending. So the first premise is completely without substance. It is unnecessary here to discuss the question in detail, but there is no substance to the contention that control of the purse has been lost merely because of large carryover balances or, for that matter, lost at all. Congress has absolute power in its hands, right now, to appropriate, or not appropriate, as it sees fit.

You state that "as a most conservative estimate, a thorough scrutiny of such funds (carryover balances) might lead to a reduction of only 1 percent—and this is a minimum. This alone would be $500 million per year. It is our feeling that the savings would be considerably more substantial." This statement unmistakably shows that you, like so many others, apparently do not fully understand present procedures. And unfortunately, it also shows that you make the mistake of indulging, as did the task force and others, in broad, unsupportable generalizations in this respect. You twice indicate that reduction of carryover balances might lead to savings—a minimum of $500 million, you say. You feel that the savings would be considerably more substantial. Mr. Hoover says over $3 billion in savings are to be had through adoption of the plan. Why do you say might—why not offer some specific evidence of the basis for whatever estimate you produce?

You suggest thorough scrutiny of carryover balances. The Hoover Commission and those who advocate its recommendations have led the people to believe that Congress does not now scrutinize these carryover funds when considering requests for additional appropriations, or at best gives inadequate attention to them. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is standard operating procedure of the Committee on Appropriations to do so. Carryover balances should of course be held to absolute minimum and so should new appropriations. It is amazing that anyone would suggest that a mere change in the way appropriations are now stated would somehow more or less automatically assure closer examination of carryover balances. They are examined now. If it be contended that such examination is sometimes inadequate, certainly it is somewhat naive to expect that a mere procedural change would impart closer scrutiny.

Possibly the worst feature of the plan is that it would mean automatic return to the use of contract authority, a procedure abandoned generally some years ago. The Committee on Appropriations found from hard experience that contract authority costs the taxpayers more money in the long run. It has a certain appeal, and that is its principal defect. Experience demonstrated time and again that a request for direct appropriation received more searching scrutiny than a request for contract authority. It was often easier to secure acceptance of what was frequently said to be merely contract authority. But once granted it results in eventual expenditure just as much so as under the usual direct appropriation method. It is the more costly method and for that reason, not only would the accrued expenditure idea not save $4 billion, or $3

---

[11] Ibid., p. 40.
[12] The Eighth Annual Progress Report Under the Joint Program To Improve Accounting in the Federal Government, 1956, by the Comptroller General of the United States, p. 41.
[13] Ibid., p. 45.
[14] Ibid., p. 45.
[15] Ibid., p. 49.
[16] Ibid., p. 50.

billion, or $500 million, it would not save a single dollar. The Director of the Budget, Mr. Brundage, went so far as to say he always carefully avoided any mention of savings. When pressed to elaborate, he said he felt satisfied that the plan would save several million dollars. It not only would save money, past experience with contract authority suggests beyond reasonable doubt that it would actually cost money. Assume you are aware than just 2 months ago the Committee on Appropriations approved a report of a special subcommittee appointed to study the proposition because it so importantly concerns the business of the Committee. The members of that subcommittee are experienced in legislative matters. They know something about the business of appropriating. They concluded that the idea has disadvantages and offers no improvement.

The propaganda campaign to pressure the Congress into enacting the second Hoover Commission reports is strikingly similar to the one following the first Commission reports several years ago. That became so confused and ridiculous that, as you doubtless know, the Senate Committee on Government Operations issued a report in January 1953, reviewing the situation. The committee, the report stated, was "unable to find any sound basis for the unsubstantiated estimates of savings claimed by some of the proponents."

Have not had time to fully evaluate the many pages of detailed savings included with your letter, totaling $2,337.9 million for the first Commission and $480.1 million for the second Commission. They are described as being clearly attributable to the work of the two Commissions. First inspection of the lists, however, discloses some amazing items. For example:

1. Lower fuel requirements from reduction in steaming hours of the active fleet and operation of a smaller fleet. Claimed savings, $2.6 million.

2. Flying hours reduced. Claimed savings, $57.7 million.

This is the first knowledge at hand that steaming and flying hours or size of the fleet of the Navy was ever influenced by the Hoover Commission.

3. Lowered cost of classified project. Claimed savings, $2.1 million.

Did the Commission in fact secure this saving?

4. General appropriation reprograming by deferred maintenance, personnel reductions or turnover, lower level of operation in order to absorb wage board and other pay increases. (Defense Department.) Claimed savings, $156.5 million.

Is it a certainty that the Hoover Commission secured this item?

There are many others in the lists. You submit no conclusive evidence on which they can be accepted as a whole at face value.

The proposition at issue, however, is the recommendations of the second Commission. On these you fail to substantiate the exaggerated claims of savings being made in their behalf. That is the issue.

Sincerely,

CLARENCE CANNON,
Chairman.

Justice for the American Serviceman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, of interest to all Members of Congress is the following editorial which appeared in the New York Journal-American on Monday, May 20, 1957:

NO SCAPEGOAT

Defense Secretary Wilson has wisely stepped in and blocked the transfer of an American soldier for trial in the Japanese courts for an act performed on official duty and under orders of his superiors.

Despite Japanese insistence that the soldier be turned over to them for trial on accidental manslaughter charges, Secretary Wilson has ordered a complete review of the case. In Washington a congressional storm is brewing up over the status-of-forces agreement with Japan. And in Tokyo a former member of General MacArthur's legal staff says turning the soldier over to the Japanese would be like "throwing the Christians to the lions."

The news that Sp3c. William S. Girard, of Ottawa, Ill., was to be tried in the Japanese courts was received initially by the American public with disbelief and then disapproval.

What happened is this: A blank mortar shell was fired on the Camp Weir firing range to warn Japanese civilians out of the area, and a Japanese woman was killed. The civilians had no business in the area, and were there at their own risk and were aware of the danger, and in fact were there for the purpose of stealing scrap.

But the point is that Girard fired the warning shot, not on his own responsibility, but simply because he was ordered to do so.

ADMIRAL'S DECISION

Rear Adm. Miles H. Hubbard, second in command of American operations and administration in the Far East, had said that Girard was not subject to Japanese law, but nevertheless he decided to turn him over to Japanese authorities for civilian trial. We believe the admiral's decision was a gross and cruel travesty on American concepts of justice.

Girard had no choice whatever in the situation. In fact, he would have been in serious trouble if he had failed or refused to act as ordered. If there is serious trouble in consequence of what was done, it is the burden of somebody much higher up in the chain of command than Specialist Girard.

The situation is not even remotely related to the old problem of what to do with Americans on foreign military service who get into off-duty troubles with the laws of the countries in which they are stationed.

The American people have never fully accepted the idea that GI's on foreign military duty should be triable in foreign courts in any circumstances, but at least there are two sides to that argument. The American overseas serviceman who breaks the local laws and winds up in the local jail is the author of his own plight.

But none of these facts apply to Specialist Girard, and American public opinion is not going to stand still for the plight in which he has been placed.

Admiral Hubbard's decision was wrong, and we are pleased that Defense Secretary Wilson has taken steps to countermand it.

Digest of Owen J. Roberts' Memorial Lecture by Justice Frankfurter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, on March 20, 1957, the Owen J. Roberts' memorial lecture was delivered in Philadelphia by his former colleague, Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter. The Justice's talk was as interesting as it was scholarly, and I invite the attention of my colleagues to a digest of Justice Frankfurter's provocative analysis of the makeup of our highest Court, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the digest was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SUPREME COURT IN THE MIRROR OF JUSTICES

(By Felix Frankfurter)

During the 167 years since the day appointed for its first session, 90 Justices have sat on the Supreme Court. Of the 90 Justices I shall consider 75, omitting contemporary or relatively recent occupants of the Court. My concern is not with the substantive views of these Justices. I am dealing with externally ascertainable factors. One of these has been intermittently urged and in recent years revived in an extreme form. I refer to the suggestion, indeed the assumption that, since the Supreme Court is the highest judicial tribunal, prior judicial service is not only a desirable, but an indispensable, qualification.

What is the teaching of history on this? Of the 75 Justices, 28 had not a day's prior judicial service. Seven more had sat on some bench from a few months to not more than 2 years. Nine sat 6 years or less. Several bills have in recent years proposed judicial service of not less than 5 years in a lower Federal court or as a member of the highest court of a State; some bills would require 10 years of such service. A 5 year requirement would have ruled out at least 35 of the 75 judges, and the 10 year requirement would have barred certainly 45 of our 75 Justices.

Who were these Justices who came on the Supreme Court without any judicial service? They begin with James Wilson and include Bushrod Washington, Marshall, Story, Taney, Curtis, Campbell, Miller, Chase, Bradley, Waite, Fuller, Moody, Hughes, Brandeis, Stone and Roberts. Of the 12 Chief Justices within our period, 5 had not had any judicial experience at the time of their appointment as Chief Justice and 2 more had had none when they first came on the Court.

Apart from the significance of a Chief Justice as the administrative head of the Court, what of the quality of judicial service of the men who came on the Court totally devoid of judicial experience? It would indeed be a surprising judgment that would exclude Marshall, William Johnson, Story, Taney, Miller, Field, Bradley, White, Holmes, Hughes, Brandeis and Cardozo in the roster of distinction among our 75. I myself would add Curtis, Campbell, Matthews and Moody. (Some might prefer Harlan I, or Brewer or Brown). Of the 12, 5 had had judicial experience and 7 none, before coming on the Court, and of the others only Matthews can be counted a judge, for a brief period, before he came to Washington. Of the 16 Justices whom I deem preeminent, only 6 came to the Court with previous judicial experience, however limited. It would require discernment more than daring, it would demand complete indifference to the elusive and intractable factors in tracking down causes, in short, it would be foolish, to attribute acknowledged greatness in the Court's history either to the fact that a Justice had had judicial experience or that he had been without it.

The notion that prior judicial experience is a prerequisite for the Supreme Court deserves closer scrutiny than its ad hominem refutation. To an uncritical mind judicial experience carries emanations of relevance in that it implies that a man who sat on a

lower court has qualifications for sitting on a higher court, or, conversely, that a man has not the qualifications for sitting on a higher court unless he has had the experience of having sat on a lower court, just as a man presumably cannot run a mile in less than 4 minutes unless he had already run it in 6.

Need I say that judicial experience is not like that at all? For someone to have been a judge on some court for some time, having some kind of business resulting in some kind of experience, may have some abstract relation to the Supreme Court conceived of as an abstract judicial tribunal. It has no significant relation whatever as such to the kinds of litigation that come before the Supreme Court, to the types of issues they raise, to qualities that these actualities require for wise decision.

To begin with, one must consider the differences in the staple business of different courts and the different experiences to which different judicial business gives rise, and the bearing of different experiences so generated on the demands of the business of the Supreme Court. Thus, there is a vital difference so far as substantive training is concerned between the experience gained on State courts and on the lower Federal courts. There are the so-called Federal specialties whose importance, so far as the Supreme Court is concerned, has significantly receded since the Evarts Act of 1891, but is still relevant to the work of the Supreme Court. One would suppose that if prior judicial experience would especially commend itself for Supreme Court appointments, the Federal courts would furnish most materials for promotion. History falsifies such expectation. Of the 47 Justices who had had some kind of prior judicial experience, no matter how short, 15 came from the Federal courts, whereas 32 had only the experience on State courts.

How meagerly the experience on a State court, even if of long duration, prepares one for work on the Supreme Court is strikingly borne out by the testimony of the two Justices who are indubitably the two most outstanding of those who came to the Supreme Court from State courts. After having spent 20 years on the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, part of it as its chief justice, in the course of which he write more than a thousand opinions on every conceivable subject, Mr. Justice Holmes found himself not at all at home on coming to the Supreme Court. Listen to what he wrote to his friend Pollock after a month in his new judicial habitat:

"Yes—here I am—and more absorbed, interested, and impressed than ever I had dreamed I might be. The work of the past seems a finished book—locked up far away, and a new and solemn volume opens. The variety and novelty to me of the questions, the remote spaces from which they come, the amount of work they require, all help the effect."

Nor did Cardozo, after 18 years on the New York Court of Appeals, 5 of them as chief judge, in the course of which he gained the acclaim of the whole common-law world, find that his transplantation from Albany to Washington was a natural step in judicial progression. On more than one occasion he complained to friends that he should not have been taken from judicial labors with which he was familiar and which were congenial to him, to types of controversies to which his past experience bore little relation and to which, though these were the main concern of the Supreme Court, he was not especially drawn.

But, it may be suggested, if experience on a State court does not adequately prepare even the greatest of judges for the problems that are the main and certainly the most important business of the Supreme Court, judicial experience intrinsically fosters certain habits of mind and attitudes, serves to train the faculties of detachment, begets habits of aloofness from daily influences, in short, educates and reinforces those moral qualities, disinterestedness and deep humility, which are indeed preconditions for the wise exercise of the judicial function on the Supreme Bench. Unhappily, history again disappoints such expectation. What is more inimical for good work on the Court than for a Justice to cherish political, and more particularly presidential ambition? Sad and strange as it may be, the most numerous and in many ways the worst offenders in this regard have been men who came to the Court from State courts, in some instances with long service on such courts. Their tempermental partisanship and ambition were stronger than the disciplining sway supposedly exercised by the judiciary.

Even though the history of the Court may demonstrate that judicial experience whether on State or Federal Bench ought not to be deemed a prerequisite, what of the lower courts as a training ground for the Supreme Bench? The fact is that not one so trained emerges over a century and a half among the few towering figures of the Court. Oblivion has overtaken almost all of them.

More immediately relevant to our subject is the fact that even Justices who have come to the Supreme Court fresh from a longish and conspicuously competent tenure on the lower Federal Courts do not find the demands of their new task familiar. Their lower court experience does not make the transition an easy one. Thus Phillip Barbour, despite the deserved reputation that he brought to the Supreme Court from his years on the United States district court, felt it necessary to fit himself by conscientious study for his duties on the Supreme Court.

Mr. Justice Moody, who had had exceptional preparation for the Court's work as lawyer, legislator, and member of the Cabinet, including forensic activity as Attorney General, turned to his classmate, Prof. Eugene Wambaugh, of the Harvard Law School, for guidance in the study of constitutional law and the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court as eagerly as any avid neophyte. Again, Mr. Justice Brandeis used to say that no one can have the right kind of feel regarding the distinctive jurisdictional and procedural problems touching the Court's business in less than 3 or 4 terms of actual service on the Court. He set about to acquire mastery of this essential aspect of the Court's business by studying the reports from Dallas down. These modern instances are recognition of the truth discerned from the beginning of the Court, that membership on it involves functions and calls for faculties as different from those called for by other judicial positions as those called for by private practice or public service.

The practical workings of the Supreme Court not only in our governmental scheme but in the influences it exerts on our national life to no small extent are determined by the effective administration of the appellate jurisdiction allotted to the Court, the manner in which it conceives what issues are open on review, and how it deals with them—the articulation of its jurisdiction with that of the lower Federal courts and the State courts. These are subtle matters carrying deep implications that do not lie on the surface. Partly because of their seemingly technical nature and partly because they have few dramatic ingredients, they are hardly appreciated by the laity and all too little by the profession at large. The proper treatment of these problems has far-reaching consequences, but they do not bulk big in the work of lower courts and, therefore, do not become part of the experience of judges either on the State courts or on the lower Federal courts.

Not only is the framework within which the judicial process of the Supreme Court operates drastically different from the jurisdictional and procedural concern of other courts, but the cases that now come before the Court, and will increasingly in the future be the Court's concern, present issues that make wholly irrelevant considerations in the choice of Justices that at former periods had pertinence. Mastery of the Federal specialties by some members of the Court was an obvious need of the Court in days when a substantial part of the Court's business related to such specialties. Thus, when maritime and patent cases appeared frequently enough on the Court's docket, it was highly desirable to have a judge so experienced in these fields as was Judge Blatchford when he was named to the Court. The extent of the Court's maritime litigation naturally brought Henry Billings Brown, an outstanding admiralty judge, to the Court. And since the business that came to the Court in times past reflected to no small degree sectionally different economic interests, geographic considerations had their relevance. Thus, when the western circuit, consisting of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, was established at a time when litigation dealing with land title and other local property questions was so important, it was natural to select one who was conversant with these problems.

All this has changed. Not only in the course of a hundred years but in the course of 50 years. There is a totally different flow of business to the Court from what it was a hundred years ago and predominantly different from what it was 50 years ago.

A comparison of the litigation of the past 2 terms with that of 50 and a hundred years ago reveals the great change that has taken place. Analysis of the written opinions of the Court a hundred years ago in the 1854 and 1855 terms discloses that, aside from questions of Supreme Court practice and procedure, four major categories of litigation, comprising two-thirds of the cases decided by written opinion, occupied the Court's time. The four categories were: (1) estates, and trusts, (2) admiralty, (3) real property, and (4) contracts and commercial law.

Fifty years later, not only had the volume of the Court's work increased greatly but its nature had changed considerably, especially because of the 14th amendment, the Judiciary Act of 1875, and the Circuit Court of Appeals Act of 1891. Constitutional law had become by far the major item of the Court's business, involving approximately one-third of the cases decided by written opinion. And questions under the 14th amendment comprised one-half of all the constitutional cases. Aside from constitutional questions, the Court's business was almost equally divided between questions of public and private law.

Examination of the work of the two most recent terms (348–351 U. S.) indicates how complete the reversal of the character of the Supreme Court's business has been. Whereas a hundred years ago, private common-law litigation represented the major part of the Court's business, and 50 years ago, constitutional cases apart, public and private law business was equally divided, today private litigation has become virtually negligible. Constitutional law and cases with constitutional undertones are of course still very important, with almost one-fourth of the cases in which written opinions were filed involving such questions. Review of administrative action and especially enforcement of Federal regulatory statutes constitues the largest category of the Court's work, comprising one-third of the total cases disposed of on the merits. The remaining significant categories of litigation—Federal criminal law, Federal jurisdiction, immigration and nationality law, Federal taxation—also all involve largely public-law questions.

It is essentially accurate to say that the Court's preoccupation is with the application of rather fundamental aspirations and what Judge Learned Hand calls "moods," embodied in provisions like the due process clauses, which were designed not to be precise and positive directions for rules of action. The judicial process in applying them involves a judgment on the processes of government. The Court sits in judgment, that is, on the views of the direct representatives of the people in meeting the needs of society, the views of Presidents and governors, and by their construction of the will of legislatures the Court breathes life, feeble or strong, into the inert pages of the Constitution and the statute books.

Such functions surely call for capacious minds and reliable powers for disinterested and fair-minded judgment. It demands the habit of curbing any tendency to reach results agreeable to desire or to embrace a solution of a problem before exhausting its comprehensive analysis. One in whose keeping may be the decision of the Court must have a disposition to be detached and withdrawn. To be sure, these moral qualities, for such they are, are desirable in all judges, but they are indispensable for the Supreme Court.

If these commonplaces regarding the reach of the powers of the Supreme Court and the majesty of the functions entrusted to 9 mere mortals give anyone the impression that a Justice of the Court is left at large to exercise his private wisdom, let me hasten to say as quickly and as emphatically as I can that no one could possibly be more hostile to such a thought than I am. These men are judges, bound by the restrictions of the judicial function, and all the more so bound because the nature of the controversies that they adjudicate inevitably leaves more scope for insight, imagination, and prophetic responsibilities than the types of litigation that come before other courts.

This is not abstract talk. The great men in the Court's history give proof of its truth. Will anyone deny that the four most distinguished minds of the latter part of the period under review were Holmes, Hughes, Brandeis, and Cardozo? All four had the largeness of view so essential for adjudicating the great issues before the Court. But is it just a coincidence that all four were to a superlative degree technically equipped lawyers? They built on that equipment for the larger tasks of the Court; they were not confined by it. Again, is it mere coincidence that all four were widely read and deeply cultivated men whose reading and cultivation gave breadth and depth to their understanding of legal problems and infused their opinions?

Since the functions of the Supreme Court are what they are and demand the intellectual and moral qualities that they do, inevitably touching interests not less than those of the Nation, does it require an explicit statement that in choosing men for this task, no artificial or irrelevant consideration should restrict choice.

The search should be made among those men, inevitably very few at any time, who give the best promise of satisfying the intrinsic needs of the Court, no matter where they may be found, no matter in what professional way they have manifested the needed qualities. One is entitled to say without qualification that the correlation between prior judicial experience and fitness for the functions of the Supreme Court is zero.

There is another irrelevance, regard for which may lead to a narrower choice than that to which the country is entitled—geographic considerations. The claims of uncritical tradition led President Hoover, who had the most impressive recommendations for naming Cardozo as Holmes' successor, to hesitate because there were at the time already two New Yorkers on the Court. When the President urged that difficulty on Senator Borah, the latter, to the President's astonishment, said that Cardozo was no New Yorker. When asked to explain, the Senator replied that Cardozo belonged as much to Idaho as to New York. Men fit for the modern functions of the Court should not be sought among men who have professionally a merely parochial significance. There was something to be said for geographic considerations years past. From the point of view of intrinsic considerations, any geographical consideration has long since become irrelevant. The pride of a region in having one of its own on the Court does not outweigh the loss to the Court and the country in so narrowing search for the most qualified.

Selection wholly on the basis of functional fitness not only gives the greatest insurance that the Court will best fulfill its functions. It also will, by the quality of such performance, most solidly establish the Court in the confidence of the people, and the confidence of the people is the ultimate reliance of the Court as an institution.

How the American Merchant Marine Serves Our Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Propeller Club of the United States has announced that Miss Jo Evelyn Denton, a high-school student of Brownsville, Tex., has been awarded a prize, in the 1957 Harold Harding Memorial Essay contest, for her paper on the subject, The American Merchant Marine—Its Importance to the American Farmer, Miner, Manufacturer in World Trade.

This young Texan's essay shows a remarkable grasp of the effect of the merchant marine on the lives of Americans generally. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE—ITS IMPORTANCE TO THE AMERICAN FARMER, MINER, MANUFACTURER IN WORLD TRADE

(By Jo Evelyn Denton, Brownsville High School)

In reading the adventures of Robinson Crusoe, we all feel thankful on coming to the part where he is saved from the sea. But when he settles down on his island, gloom at first comes upon us, for there he is in that desert spot, alone, surrounded by the sea. It is a dreadful position for a human being—so lonely, so helpless.

With no ships the sea would be a source of horror to us. It would be a fearful void, shutting us off from communication with other parts of the world. And that is just what the sea was to men before such great economic and social forces as the American merchant marine came into existence. Since then the ocean has become one of our best friends, a medium through which we can carry on world trade, supported by our merchant marine.

Shipping and shipbuilding are not infant industries in America. Rather they are the industries of our infancy. During the year of the first permanent settlement at Jamestown and 13 years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, George Popahn's colony in Maine launched the first vessel of the American merchant marine at the mouth of the Kennebec. Upon these waters they floated the 30-ton pinnace *Virginia*. Little did our forefathers realize at the dawn of American history that they were starting an industry of such vital importance—one that has served its Nation valiantly and well. It is serving it today in almost every field and manufacturers, farmers, and industrial workers are becoming more and more dependent upon the services of the merchant marine.

Aside from the coastal and intercoastal trade, foreign trade is a vital necessity to the United States. There are many markets throughout the world for excess products. These must be fully developed; and we must buy to make up for our shortages. Economic isolation for us is an impossibility. The constant flow of imports and exports is as necessary to us as the movement of blood through the human body. The development and nurturing of our foreign trade is an exercise of not only good business, but also commonsense. This trade not only enables manufacturers to keep their business moving, but it also serves to better trade relations.

During the war, teeming millions of persons in China, India, and Africa had intimate contact with the manufactured goods of the United States and many thousands have seen some of the so-called luxury items that the members of our Armed Forces received from home as gifts at Christmas and other times. In these countries there are roads to be built, factories equipped, and a market of great masses of population whose living standards can be raised with American products. The business is there for whoever goes after it, and it is necessary to our future prosperity that we must keep our merchant marine opening new frontiers of business and carrying our products to these far corners of the world.

We have learned that this country is not self-sufficient. The imports of raw materials and foodstuffs that cannot be grown in our own country will be brought here in our own ships under our own control to the end that our manufacturing processes and our standards of living can be integrated to our needs. Although our country stands third among the countries of the world in area of productive land, we easily stand first in the total amount of our crops. Our country grows more than half of the entire corn crop of the world. We grow more wheat than any other country except, perhaps Russia. In rice-growing we fall behind many other countries. We grow only a small part of the sugar beets and sugarcane of the world, but we lead all the other countries in the number of bales of cotton produced. We grow, most years, more than one-half of the cotton of the world. We also produce about one-third of the tobacco of the world, one-fourth of the oats and hay, one-fifth of the world's wheat and flaxseed, more than one-eighth of the barley, and one-twentieth of the potatoes. Americans can well be proud of such an agricultural record, but not being self-sufficient, America must export a good deal of her crops to be able to import crops from other countries. Ships must carry these food supplies to countries around the globe. Not only to foreign countries must our merchant marine ships travel, but also they are dependent upon again and again to provide a means of shipping within our own country's boundaries.

We have seen how the merchant marine is serving the manufacturers and farmers of our Nation in transporting their products, but what about our mining industry: What could our miners today use for importing and exporting their ores if there were no merchant marine? Practically every manu-

facturing industry is dependent upon ships to import raw materials. Imports such as copper, cobalt, tin ore, antimony ore, chrome ore, lead-bearing ores, and iron ores are carried by our merchant ships. The Nation's rapid industrial development requires ships to bring from foreign shores the essential materials that must go into every ton of steel. Of 20 alloying materials that are essential to industry, the United States is dependent on imports for 12.

A person could give many examples of the great work our merchant marine is doing for the farmers, manufacturers, miners, and many other workers of our country, but these workers through the merchant marine are doing something for our country that no one else could do. For someone has said, "Where goods cross international boundaries, soldiers don't go." And now instead of waving our flag over tanks and artillery or battleships and carriers, it is flying over the cargo ships of our American merchant marine and the factory products of our land "Made in U. S. A" stencilled on an article is just another way of waving our flag and, perhaps in future years, enabling peace to envelop the world.

Prize-Winning Essay, by Carol Loebe, on Highway Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an unusually fine essay written by Carol Loebe, an eighth grader, of Belle Fourche, S. Dak.

It is easy to see why her essay, entitled "Alcohol Is a Menace to Highway Safety in South Dakota," won the top prize of $100 in the State.

I commend it to the attention of the Senate.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"I saw 4 kids die last night, 4 nice kids. Headon collision. Smell of alcohol. The place to save those kids' lives was not in the hospital, but in legislature, in the courts. I can tell you right this minute how to cut the death toll on the highways. By eliminating the drinking driver, we could save 10,000 lives a year."

These words were spoken by Dr. Charles Frankel, a professor at the University of Virginia, who has been studying the causes of highway fatalities and injuries.

Our laws for punishing a drunken driver are not strict enough to eliminate this hazard of the roads. A murderer or kidnaper, after taking the life of one of his fellowmen, would be imprisoned; while, on the other hand, a drunken driver may not even have to stand trial. Or, if he is found guilty, the punishment is usually just a fine.

There are two main ways in which to cut down on accidents caused by drinking drivers.

First, machines to test drinking drivers to see if they have enough alcohol in their blood to harm their driving, with State laws to back these machines up. Then secondly, sufficient punishment for those found guilty.

There are four mechanical devices to test the drivers for drunkenness: the breathalyzer, and the drunkometer, the alcometer, and the intoximeter. These all measure the amount of alcohol that has been absorbed into the bloodstream. You are supposedly under the influence of alcohol if your blood registers fifteen one-hundredths of 1 percent.

South Dakota is 1 of 23 States in the Nation that will accept the result of a chemical test as evidence in court. It is not required in our State that a driver suspected of drinking take such a test.

Alcohol does not, as many people think, stimulate the mind, but it definitely will dull both the senses of judgment and responsibility. It is known that if a person took three drinks, and started driving, he would be a highway menace. He wouldn't be drunk, far from it; he would be legally sober, but his sense of caution would be gone. He would be inclined to react more slowly in emergencies; he would take more chances; he would drive at greater speed. But police records prove that the drinking driver—and not necessarily the drunken driver—is more vulnerable to accidents than a nondrinking driver.

Are severe penalties for drunken drivers the answer to South Dakota's problem of highway accidents?

Out of 114 fatal accidents, 57 drivers are reported to be under the influence of intoxicating liquor. Of the 47 who survived, only 15 were charged with drunken driving.

It is said that in a family of 4, 1 member will be in an accident caused by alcohol, in which someone is injured or killed.

Yes, the answer to our problem of South Dakota's traffic accidents is stronger laws against the drunken driver, and sufficient punishment, and enforcement of our State laws.

Remember; the driver should not drink, and the drinker should not drive!

Distinguished Service to Journalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, on April 17, 1957, Mr. Pat Munroe, a newspaper reporter in Washington, D. C., was presented with the Raymond Clapper memorial award by Chief Justice Warren.

I notice in the New York Times that the same individual, along with four others, is now being further honored for "distinguished service to journalism" by the Alumni Association of the Graduate School of Journalism of Columbia University.

Mr. Munroe's recognition develops from his work in conducting a campaign to make public the costs of congressional travel.

This is a well-deserved recognition, and I ask unanimous consent that the article appearing in the New York Times of Tuesday, May 21, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOURNALISM ALUMNI TO HONOR FIVE

A Washington correspondent, an author, and a reporter will be honored for distinguished service to journalism by the Alumni Association of the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University.

Oliver S. Gramling, president of the association and assistant general manager of the Associated Press, announced yesterday that citations would go to Pat Munroe, Gerald Green, and Ralph L. Lowenstein, all alumni of the school.

Special awards will be given to two former faculty members for their long and dedicated service to the school and the profession. They are Robert E. Garst and Theodore M. Bernstein, who each taught for 25 years. Both are assistant managing editors of the New York Times.

The five winners will be honored at the association's annual meeting tomorrow night at the Columbia University Club, 4 West 43d Street.

Mr. Munroe, head of the Munroe News Bureau, will be cited for his successful campaign to make public the costs of congressional travel.

Mr. Green, a television producer with the National Broadcasting Co., will be honored for his novel The Last Angry Man.

Mr. Lowenstein, of the El Paso (Tex.) Times, will be cited for his passionate campaign to reunite 50 families of divided nationality under the interpretation of indefinite parole in immigration laws.

The Carlisle Barracks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, C. H. Masland & Sons, of Carlisle, Pa., weavers of rugs and carpets, publish a most interesting magazine with much interesting historical information. The May issue devotes considerable space to the Carlisle Barracks, which are 200 years old this year. The Carlisle Barracks are now the seat of the United States Army War College. This is one of the oldest Army posts in the United States, if not the oldest. I ask unanimous consent that an editorial by Frank E. Masland, Jr.; a statement by Maj. Gen. Max S. Johnson, commandant of the War College; and a brief résumé of the history of this post, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial, statement, and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE SALUTE YOU

It was fortunate for Carlisle that in 1757 Indian pressure forced Col. John Stanwix to give up his Ohio plans and instead to build "the camp near Carlisle." I am reasonably sure that, except for what then was regarded as an unfortunate deviation from plans, Carlisle some 194 years later would not have been chosen as the site of the Army Postgraduate School.

And so, because of that "moment in history," we are now privileged to salute "our barracks" upon the completion of 200 years of honorable service, and our War College for its outstanding contribution to our community and our Nation.

Founded before the birth of our Nation, from the days of the Pennsylvania rifle and the War for Independence to the age of the atom and global strategy, the barracks has played a prominent and an honorable part. Its history and that of Carlisle are inextricably interwoven.

Today the War College provides postgraduate training for top bracket officers, graduating annually some two hundred upon whose shoulders rests a great responsibility—that of playing a major role in the prevention of universal destruction.

We are especially happy that, on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the founding of the barracks, the school should be commanded by one who not only merits and enjoys the respect of the community, but its deep and sincere affection as well.

Never have we had greater cause to be proud of "our barracks," of the product it turns out or of those who are responsible for its administration and its product.

We salute you, "our barracks," and we wish you well down through all the years of the next two centuries.

FRANK E. MASLAND, Jr.

MAY 1957.

CARLISLE BARRACKS AND CARLISLE

In 1757, when Col. John Stanwix began to build earthworks around his camp near the village called Carlisle, he wrote to the Colonial Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, William Denny, saying in part, "it (the camp) is now supposed to be a camp of continuance, either now or hereafter." Today, 200 years later, Carlisle Barracks is very much a "camp of continuance."

Originally built to protect the Cumberland Valley settlers against raids of the Indian tribes to the north, Carlisle Barracks serves today as the site of the United States Army's senior educational institution, the United States Army War College. Here each year, 200 senior officers from the armed services are prepared for duty as commanders and general staff officers at the highest levels. The 10-month college curriculum assists the students in raising their sights to higher levels of intellectual consideration; develops their powers of analysis; requires them to engage in both individual and committee research, analytical efforts, to present clearly and convincingly their own convictions; and brings under critical consideration the major problems related to national strategy, its supporting military strategy, and the present and future roles of the Army which derive therefrom. This college endeavor epitomizes the Army's current measures to develop an alert, clear-thinking, hard-working, dedicated continuum of officers who will provide military leadership of which the Nation may be justly proud in the atomic era we have entered.

A particularly important reality of life at Carlisle Barracks, one which exemplifies the attitude of the Army, is the desire of military personnel to affiliate themselves with the people of the Borough of Carlisle and neighboring communities. This participation takes place in civic, educational and charitable organizations; as speakers for religious, reserve, and other organizations; and as parents of children enrolled in the public and parochial schools.

We of the garrison are grateful to our civilian neighbors of central Pennsylvania for their gracious hospitality and the warm spirit of friendliness with which we transients have been received. We are confident that this feeling of kinship between the military and civilian communities here in Carlisle will continue undiminished in the years to come, to the benefit of both Carlisle Barracks and Carlisle, as well as of the State and Nation.

MAJ. GEN. MAX S. JOHNSON,
Commandant,
United States Army War College.

CARLISLE BARRACKS, 1757–1957

(By Col. N. M. Martin, Chairman, United States Army War College Historical Committee)

A short 6 years after the Borough of Carlisle was established, one of the Nation's oldest military posts, still in use by the United States Army, was founded by Col. John Stanwix, of the British Army, 1 mile east of the public square. Carlisle Barracks, established May 30, 1757, has figured prominently in the educational system of the Army since Col. Henry Bouquet, a Swiss soldier of fortune, arrived here in May of 1758 to train British and Provincial troops for Indian warfare.

In view of its long history as a training center, it is most appropriate that today Carlisle Barracks is the home of the United States Army War College, the Army's senior educational institution. It is also interesting to note that the barracks was the site of what is believed to be the United States Army's first formal school, established under Capt. Isaac Coren in 1777 to train artillerists.

Originally known simply as the camp near Carlisle, the post was named "Washingtonburg" during the Revolutionary War, and was the only military post ever to be named for Gen. George Washington. In later years, the post gained its present-day name.

Carlisle's early settlers became the victims of many Indian raids in the mid-18th century. Colonel Stanwix and his forces had intended to march on to Ohio Valley positions, but while in Carlisle he received word of an expected attack by the French and Indians and consequently remained to establish defenses for the budding community.

At the turn of the 19th century, the post was considered as a site for the United States Military Academy and was highly favored by General Washington. However, after 8 years of congressional debate, the proponents of the West Point, N. Y., site won the battle.

In 1802 the Government finally purchased the military reservation from the heirs of William Penn. The purchase price was $664.20 and included "27 acres and 108 perches, exclusive of the old mill lane."

In 1838 the School of Cavalry Practice, forerunner of the Armor School, was established at Carlisle Barracks and continued until 1861. Hundreds of well-trained cavalrymen (both Union and Confederate as it turned out) were schooled here. During the early years of the Civil War several "false alarms" of raids by the Confederates on the community occurred, but in June 1863 the 17th Virginia Cavalry arrived in the city. The Confederate troops set up a headquarters at the barracks, requisitioned supplies, and quietly departed on June 29. On July 1, Confederate Gen. J. E. B. Stuart marched on Carlisle, fired on the city and burned the barracks.

1st Lt. Richard H. Pratt established the Carlisle Indian Industrial School here in 1879. In the 39 years of its existence, the school grew rapidly, and in addition to academic studies, the Indians were taught the mechanical arts, farming, cooking, sewing, and many other practical courses. It was at the school that Glenn S. "Pop" Warner fostered some of the best athletic teams in the Nation. While training here Jim Thorpe reached his peak in football and track achievements; later to be named as the Greatest Athlete of the Half Century (1900–50). The fabulous Philadelphia baseball pitcher, Chief Bender, "fleet footed" Tewanima and countless other famed Indian athletes also began their careers at the Carlisle Indian School.

On September 1, 1918, the school was discontinued, and General Hospital 31 took over the original part of the reservation, remaining here until the close of World War I. The Army Medical Field Service School was established at the post in 1920 and remained until 1946, when it was moved to Fort Sam Houston, Tex. During this 25-year period, over 30,000 officers and enlisted men were educated at Carlisle Barracks.

The Army's top school, the United States Army War College, now commanded by Maj. Gen. Max S. Johnson, moved here from a temporary location at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., on July 1, 1951. Established by Secretary of War Elihu Root in 1901, the college was founded so that selected officers could be given instruction to prepare them for top staff and command positions in the Army. The student body is composed of 200 senior officers. The majority of students are Army officers, but there are representatives from the Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, Department of State and certain other civilian government agencies. The 10-month course of instruction is conducted at the top postgraduate level through addresses by prominent military and civilian guest lecturers, committee work, and conferences. The academic year culminates in June with a national strategy seminar, during which leading Americans from all walks of life join the students in consideration of problems relating to future national strategy.

Hells Canyon Dam—Rapid Tax Amortization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the State of Idaho is abundant in land space but is limited as yet in industry and population. As a result, there are only a dozen daily newspapers in our State, but approximately 80 weeklies. These papers are a potent influence in their communities, and many editors are alert and capable observers of State and National affairs.

Among these is Gideon H. Oppenheimer, the publisher of the Meridian (Idaho) Times. When the Idaho Power Co. recently was granted a rapid tax amortization in connection with the building of dams in the Hells Canyon of the Snake River, Mr. Oppenheimer was quick to get at his typewriter and express in no uncertain terms that the taxpayer would pay the bill.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial from the Meridian Times be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TAXPAYING POWER COMPANIES

The recent revelation that the Idaho Power Co.'s dam construction projects would be the beneficiaries of a fast tax writeoff would not have come as such a shock if the power industry had not, in its propaganda, continually stressed that it always paid its share, or better, of the tax load. The impression the power industry likes to convey is that it is

cruelly milked by the tax collector. The result then, when facts leaked out, was a general outcry.

It is true that other industries have benefited from tax concessions. However, these industries do not stress their virtue vis-a-vis the Internal Revenue Service.

The fact remains that any amount of taxes withheld in any given year—whether through writeoffs, depletion allowances, or similar artifices—has to be made up that same year by other taxpayers. Consequently, even the privately constructed dams are not entirely free of taxpayers' contributions. The only difference is that in the case of a privately owned beneficiary of tax concessions the other taxpayers own nothing. In the case of a Government project the taxpayers own the result of their contributions.

Take the case of TVA. This grandiose project has indirectly returned to Uncle Sam more than its cost in tax money. TVA has created new industries which do pay taxes. Its multipurpose dams have prevented floods year after year. That has meant that no Federal funds have had to be supplied to tide over stricken areas. Lack of flood damage has eliminated this as a factor in business losses.

That, however, is not all. TVA, in its 23-year history, has netted $365 million. This money all goes to Uncle Sam. The $365 million is enough to pay all the Federal income taxes a private power company would pay on a similar operation and also have $43 million left over as income. In the case of TVA, however, this net belongs to the Federal Government. As the Federal Government is not a separate entity, it means that all this belongs to the people, all the people, of the United States. In addition, TVA has paid $41 million in State and local taxes. It also has set aside $227 million in depreciation reserves.

And TVA, a living, functioning entiey, belongs to the people of the United States—you and me.

President Eisenhower has called TVA creeping socialism. The power industry propaganda has called it worse than that. If a case where tax benefits result in wealth for all the people is reprehensible, what then, is a case where tax benefits result in wealth for only a few?

Pro Patria Mori

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very befitting editorial for Memorial Day, which appeared in the National Tribune-Stars and Stripes, on May 23, 1957.

PRO PATRIA MORI

Pro patria mori—to die for one's country. These words are taken from a Roman saying which, translated liberally, says: It is good and befitting to die for one's country.

May 30, which comes 1 week from today, has been designated as the day on which all citizens of the United States shall gather in national and private cemeteries, throughout the land, to pay homage to those who have fallen in defense of their country.

On May 5, 1868, Gen. John A. Logan, then national commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, in General Order No. 11, set aside May 30 as the day on which the surviving veterans of the Civil War should visit the graves of their fallen comrades and decorate them in memory of the service they had rendered.

Said General Logan, in part: "Let us then, at the time appointed, gather around their sacred remains and garland the passionless mounds above them with choicest flowers of springtime; let us raise above them the dear old flag they saved from dishonor; let us in this solemn presence renew our pledges to aid and assist those whom they left among us as sacred charges upon the Nation's gratitude—the soldier's and sailor's widow and orphan."

There's no doubt that Memorial Day is the most meaningful national holiday for every veteran. Although first observed on May 30, 1868, as a tribute to the men who died in the Civil War, it has come to be recognized as a day of remembrance for all our war heroes—from the American Revolution to Korea.

More than 1 million Americans were killed and many more wounded and disabled in wars fought by the United States. Their willingness to sacrifice and to give up their lives for liberty helped to make America a beacon of hope for all mankind. Ever since, we've been trying to show our deep appreciation for their sacrifice.

To many of our people, we regret to say, May 30—Memorial Day—is just another holiday—a day for them to hie to the seashore, to the mountains, to the golf course or to the ball game. Without thought they ignore the very reason for which this particular day was set apart.

Unfortunately, we live in a crass and materialistic age and too many of us have forgotten that the liberties we now enjoy are due to the sacrifices of the men who lie in heroes' graves in every burial ground in the land.

But these great heroes of our past wars will not go unhonored on Memorial Day. Thousands of patriotic citizens will visit their resting ground and see that flowers and the flag of their country decorate their graves.

Some will visit the graves of their own dear departed. Some, inspired with patriotism will join with them to pay tribute to the men who have made our way of life possible. Boy Scouts will join with the older veterans to help in the decoration of the graves and, in this manner, be instilled with a realization of what these honored dead have done to make this country great.

Patriotic organizations of every kind will join in the tribute with marching bands and appropriate speeches to pay reverence to their comrades of the past. The veterans of our recent wars and their auxiliaries have not forgotten their fallen comrades and their action should be an inspiration to the inconsiderate who look upon this memorable day only as a day of pleasure.

Those who have gone before us and who now rest in sacred ground only hoped for a peace based on individual liberty and respect for human rights.

Veterans, because of their numbers and influence in community life, are in the best position to make sure these goals are achieved. The living veterans and their affiliated groups will never forget their dead and will always pay tribute to them on the day set aside in their memory.

Their example is one worthy to be followed by more of our citizens who, in their joy of present living, forget those who have made such a life possible in this great land of ours. Pro patria mori—it is good and befitting to die for one's country. This should be the thought uppermost in the minds of all Americans on May 30—Memorial Day.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy—Right or Wrong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, in the May 19 issue of Our Sunday Visitor, the Reverend Richard Ginder wrote an editorial on the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy which is as follows:

RIGHT OR WRONG—SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, R. I. P.

In the obituaries about the late Senator McCarthy, there was much talk about his leap from relative obscurity into the headlines, about what a power he was in this country until his censure by the Senate.

The peculiar fact is that the power and stature of Senator McCarthy were built up by his enemies, by the very publicity intended to destroy him. For a year or two, every time you picked up a magazine of a newspaper you had McCarthy's picture beaming out at you, accompanied by a rabid, hate-slanted article describing the Senator's most recent activities. The daily press seemed to have become quite unbalanced on the subject, the result being that their writings were spoiled by all the vices they attributed to McCarthy and thus they only succeeded in discrediting themselves rather than him.

A friend once asked how it is that the daily press is so unanimous in taking a clearly predictable view on any given point. "It seems controlled," he said, "as by one supreme boss, who sits somewhere dictating the line to be followed as each issue arises."

The fact is that it takes very few people to control the American press. A handful of men in key positions with the wire services (UP, AP, INS), the Washington reporters who hash things out together over their bourbon at the National Press Club, and perhaps the editorial writers on the New York Times and the Herald-Tribune. The rest of the press throughout the country takes its cue from them.

Then, alas, once it has been decided in the Press Club bar that any certain individual is a dirty so-and-so, he's had it. He's through. He couldn't redeem himself even if he joined the Trappists.

Of the people who read newspapers, it seems to me that there are three types: the critical and articulate readers—the clergymen, doctors, lawyers, professors, etc., who are informed students of public affairs and subscribe to several journals of opinion. These will often differ from a printed opinion, denounce it among their friends, and write an occasional letter to the editor.

But too many millions, unfortunately, allow themselves to be led around by the nose. They believe everything they read in the papers and it never occurs to them to challenge a slanted writeup, to ask for proof, to evaluate adjectives and adverbs.

(Compare: "Flabby Senator Nobody lounged laxily across the desk, idly picking his nose."

"Hale and hearty, a picture of vigorous optimism, Senator Nobody relaxed at his desk, stroking his nose in a gesture of momentary reflecting.")

Such reportorial skulduggery is swallowed whole by millions of the uncritical. For instance, one of the most amazing phenomena of the last campaign was the overnight acceptance of the liberal canard that NIXON

was somehow—not just the less desirable of the two candidates for the Vice Presidency, but that he was somehow immoral, untruthful, perfidious, someone who really ought to be behind bars: "Tricky Dick."

Whenever I heard that expression used, I made it a practice to ask, "Why? What has he done? What's wrong with him?"

It was pathetic in practically every instance (cab drivers, filling-station attendants, waitresses, etc.) to see the jaw drop and the baffled look creep over the face. Then the stammering and, finally, something inane: "I dunno. Seems like you always hear 'Trick Dick.' Nobody likes him. 'Tricky Dick.' That's all you hear. I dunno. * * *"

Those are the uncritical millions who are manipulated by the press. They think and talk as they are told—though they sometimes have a nasty way of voting against instructions and so the press is occasionally surprised by the election returns.

Finally, there are the millions of good people not gifted with a talent for expression. They read their daily paper and they think their own thoughts. In the bull session at work, they let the glib fellows do all the talking, because they themselves don't have the gift of the gab. But they do form their own opinions, and they pray for their friends in public affairs, and they vote.

Senator McCarthy was destroyed by his own integrity. He was advised again and again to lay off the Army. But he was stubborn and he kept pressing the question "Who promoted Peress?" even when he saw that he was embarrassing that whole branch of the Service.

Now in this country, the Army is always right. It never makes a mistake. It cannot be allowed to lose face. Especially when there is a general in the White House. In a conflict between anyone and the Army, it is not hard to predict whose side the President would take.

Thus, McCarthy had the choice of letting up or being broken. He would not let up.

But such was the man's integrity and persistence that when the principal of that case came up recently for a promotion in the Army, the others treated his difficulties with the Senate committee as so much cold coffee, ancient history—although they were careful not to say that he perjured himself, they admitted that the officer had been less than candid, that he had not told the truth. Senator McCarthy could not forget the man's lack of cooperation with a senatorial committee, and so, out of the whole Senate, he alone voted against the promotion.

During the days when the pack was in full cry against him, the shibboleth was "I like what he is doing but I don't like his methods." As far as this writer could see, his methods were exactly those used by every other Senate investigator over the years, used by Senator McCLELLAN against Dave Beck just recently: McCarthy asked questions. Pointed questions.

Nevertheless, in those days I wrote to Washington and asked for some transcripts of the hearings. They made a 2-foot stack on my desk. Then I sat down and did my homework. I read through that stack and ended with the conclusion that there was nothing wrong with McCarthy's methods.

After that, whenever I would hear a Liberal sounding off about McCarthy I would ask, "Have you read the transcripts of the hearings?" The answers varied: "I don't need to"—"I saw Ed Murrow's show"—"I heard him on the radio"—"I read his Chicago talk"—but (and this is God's truth), I did not find one Liberal who had done his homework.

I have a friend who is a lawyer and who made a practice of writing to Catholic Liberals and putting precisely that question to them: Have you read the record? Practically all of them answered him, and you should read those letters—all the fumbling, hemming-and-hawing, excuses and apologies, all adding up to the preposterous idea that you really don't have to study the sources before making up your mind. His friends have often urged that lawyer to publish all that correspondence, but he is too charitable.

There are many who think that Senator McCarthy's religion and nationality were against him. This is undoubtedly true. When you think of the influence he enjoyed back in 1953 and 1954—how he secured the defeat of Maryland's Senator Tydings and was even mentioned for the Presidency. (I doubt that he would have run, but at the time it looked as though his large popular following would have given him some bargaining power at the convention and, who knows? Perhaps a Cabinet post in the new administration.

All this must have struck terror in the hearts of the bigots and the ignorant. They were unquestionably among those who hated him.

There were the snobs, too. If only the Senator could have been lean and elegant, a graduate of some ivy-league school, with a fine old Anglo-Saxon name instead of that hopelessly Irish "McCarthy." Why, it practically reeked of peat smoke and Roman Catholicism. Perish the thought. Perish the man.

Viewed in retrospect, Senator McCarthy's only fault was patriotism—his only vice, hatred of communism. May God have mercy on his soul.—Father Richard Ginder.

Let's Have Some Action on the Immigration Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that several matters of importance to my district have been so far withheld from action by the 85th Congress. One of them is the revision of the immigration quotas. I believe the following editorial, from the Hartford Courant, dated May 8, 1957, covers the subject quite well:

LET'S HAVE SOME ACTION ON THE IMMIGRATION LAW

The visit of Italian Ambassador Manlio Brosio to Connecticut has spotlighted again the unfair and shortsighted provisions of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. Signor Brosio spoke to the general assembly the day before the last shipload of some 1,042 refugees admitted under emergency regulations sailed past the Statue of Liberty into New York Harbor. The coincidence was not planned, for the Ambassador was more concerned with a continuing injustice—the effect of the national-origins quota system on immigration from Italy and other south European and Mediterranean countries.

He did not consider it as a political matter, of course, Italy's concern is her own problems, including a million and a half unemployed. But the nations that face the discrimination written into the immigration law are sensitive to it. And anyone who examines the provisions learns quickly that the law needs change. So President Eisenhower recommended in January, as he has in the past, that the law be corrected. He wants the present allowable annual intake of immigrants to be doubled—the economy can easily absorb that number—and he wants changes so that unused quotas can be shifted. Regrettably, it looks as if congressional roadblocks, including the formidable FRANCIS E. WALTER, Democratic House chairman of the legislative committee that has the proposals, are as strong as ever.

About two-thirds of the people of Connecticut stem from forebears who came 100 years ago or less from every section of the world. This State is conscious of the tremendous contributions they have made to our economy, to our culture. Today, when the State is in the grip of a tight labor market, it could use help, particularly skilled help. But it is denied skilled men from abroad by the McCarran-Walter act.

Why should the national-origins quota system be changed? Put aside the suggestion that it is demeaning because it spreads the smell of racial theory. Note instead how senseless it is when we have a bulk quota of 154,000, of which some 60,000 numbers each year expire unused. Why aren't they used? Because they are reserved for West European countries where people are relatively content and don't want to emigrate. Elsewhere thousands clamor for a chance to come to this country. But they are blocked by the tiny quotas.

The episode of the Hungarian refugees who have become entangled in the hard-set immigration policy is a stain on the American tradition. Thousands of Hungarian freedom fighters remain trapped in European camps, without much hope or promise. We have still to regularize the status of almost 25,000 Hungarians who were admitted. But these are fresh issues, still strong in popular support. We need, also, an awakening to the basically wrong national-origins system, and to the delaying tactics of Congressman WALTER. Pierce J. Gerety, former deputy administrator of the refugee program, recently warned here that American good will is being dissipated. The Italian immigration issue, fixed in circumstances that few Americans care to recall, is only one in which prompt and forthright correction is needed.

United States Armed Forces—A Power for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include my speech for the Armed Forces Day on May 18, 1957, which was carried over several Boston radio stations.

UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES—A POWER FOR PEACE

Ladies and gentlemen of the radio audience, Saturady, May 18, is Armed Forces Day.

It marks the eighth annual observance of the day that we set aside to salute our fellow Americans who are serving in the Armed Forces.

They in turn, at their duty stations throughout the world, will emphasize our country's power for peace, during the period from May 12 through May 19.

On Sunday, May 12, your attention was called to the religious aspect of our Nation's 20th century crusade for international understanding and peace.

Saturday, May 18, will be devoted to public displays and demonstrations by the Armed Forces.

Sunday, May 19, the power for peace theme will highlight the fact that our capacity to defend freedom gives us the opportunity to work for that day when it will be impossible for any nation to employ aggression as an instrument of national policy.

As civilians, it is incumbent upon us to honor the full significance of Armed Forces Day. To realize that as Europe declines in prestige and power, we have thrust upon us a graver and more weighty responsibility. This responsibility is both moral and military, and the two are sides of a single shield, which is America's power for peace.

Our Armed Forces will be the hosts—and you, the guests—on Armed Forces Day.

Millions of men, women, and children will attend open house programs at our posts, bases, and units all over the world. They will be entertained by service bands, and thrilled by precision parades. They will view some of the latest weapons we have developed for defense. They will learn how the Armed Forces operate—on land, sea, and in the air.

During the ages of sail and steam, with two broad oceans to isolate us from conflicts elsewhere, we only maintained token military forces. With the world wars of this century, our allies bore the brunt of the fighting until we could raise, train, and equip enough military strength to turn the tide of battle.

In this age of atomic bombs and guided missiles, however, we shall not be given any time to make up for lack of preparedness.

Until the Communists abandon their fanatical ambition to enslave the world, we must have the retaliatory force to strike back hard, should they mount a massive and surprise attack against our homeland.

It is no secret that the Commnuists could cripple us in the first few minutes of an attack if our guard is down. Unopposed, they could devastate us in the first few hours of war.

As Gen. Nathan F. Twining, Air Force Chief of Staff, has said: "The long-range airplane coupled with the nuclear bomb has forever erased our ability to buy time."

As a result, we are maintaining the largest peacetime Armed Forces in the history of our Nation.

For this security, the average American has to pay hundreds of dollars each year in Federal taxes.

Much as we have to sacrifice for this purpose * * * we recognize the necessity for it.

Without it we would invite enslavement by the Communists.

The cost of this insurance policy for peace is over $40 billion a year. Ninety percent of this is spent on the upkeep of our own Armed Forces both in the United States and on bases that ring the Communist Empire. The other 10 percent is spent for assistance to our allies.

The rulers of Soviet Russia are engaged in an all-out effort to become superior to us in military power, in their drive to extend Communist control over the rest of the world. They are devoting one-seventh of Russia's gross national productive effort to military expenditures. They are spending over $500 million a year for foreign propaganda alone.

The way in which Russian Communist tanks ruthlessly suppressed the heroic struggle of the Hungarian people to recover their independence, is a recent and frightening example of the fate that we would suffer, if we ever allow the Communists to gain the upper hand in military strength.

United States military bases gird the globe. They stand ready and alert at the frontiers of the free world, all of which is on guard. As Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said: "If we were relatively feeble in relation to the vast military power possessed by unscrupulous men, then we would not be the master of our own destiny."

Thus, we must first be militarily strong if we are to gain lasting peace.

International communism, led by the rulers of Soviet Russia, respects only power. To deal with the Soviets successfully, we must first possess power they will respect. Having such power, we are than in a position to negotiate with them on other issues and strive for measures that will ultimately change their thinking and their actions.

Our Armed Forces possesses this deterrent power.

Our Army today is the largest we have ever maintained in peacetime. It is deployed on 3 continents, and its representatives are stationed in 73 countries. Our soldiers' presence along the iron and bamboo curtains is heartening evidence to our allies that we share their perils; that we stand ready to oppose aggression or to preserve the peace.

Atomic missiles have greatly increased the Army's firepower. The Army is constantly moving forward in the technological race for better weapons and for better organization and tactics for atomic warfare. An example of modernization is the recently reactivated 101st Airborne Division, whose new organization makes it completely air transportable. Also introduced during the past year were the M–56 self-propelled 90–mm gun, the helmet radio, and the mechanical mule.

The Navy, which successfully engineered the first nuclear-powered ship, the submarine *Nautilus*, is constructing others of the same advanced design. These vessels, armed with guided missiles and torpedoes, will be capable of sustained high speeds under water, and almost indefinite endurance without refueling.

Two guided-missile cruisers, the *Boston* and the *Canberra*, have joined the fleet. The heart of the Navy's striking power is the modern attack aircraft carrier, since naval aviation is the most important offensive element of the Navy, as well as being a most necessary defensive element. The aircraft carrier *Saratoga*, sister ship of the *Forrestal*, was commissioned last year, and another, the *Ranger*, was launched, and two more are on the way. Our carrier forces are daily being strengthened as older planes are replaced by new supersonic fighters and high-performance jet medium bombers capable of delivering nuclear warheads at a great distance. Today, our Sixth and Seventh Fleets are standing by in overseas trouble areas, ready for any eventuality, adding another dimension to our total deterrent power for peace.

The Air Force is daily increasing its effectiveness. In its nuclear weapons and its ability to deliver them thousands of miles away, the Strategic Air Command provides the principal deterrent to the Communists * * * our ability to strike back to the heartland of the enemy. The Tactical Air Command, equipped with fighters and light bombers, presents a deterrent to local wars and provides combat air support for Army ground forces. TAC now has nuclear weapons aerial refueling, and the growing ability to move by air from bases in the United States, to bases anywhere in the world. The Continental Air Defense Command, has improved its capacity to destroy attacking aircraft. Supersonic interceptors, equipped with air-to-air guided missiles, are becoming a functional part of our defense units.

As a combat force in readiness, the Marine Corps plays a vital role in preserving our Nation's security. The nature of beach assault has been radically altered by helicopters, which speed up operations, permit easy initial dispersion and then concentration to knock out enemy defenses and lay enemy coastlines open to helicopterborne assault while our ships are well out at sea. At the Marine Corps Development Center at Quantico, Va., still more new tactics, equipment, and techniques are under study, emphasizing speed and flexibility in the use of modern weapons.

The Coast Guard maintains constant watch against possible threats of subversion and sabotage to ships and waterfront areas. Its icebreakers take part in resupply missions to Thule Air Force Base in Greenland, and to weather stations in the far north. The chain of Loran stations, one of the Coast Guard's most important navigational aide systems, extends all the way from Greenland to Tokyo. This provides valuable assistance to transoceanic ships and aircraft.

Power for peace is based first, then on United States military might. It is based, secondly, on a system of alliances and cooperation with other free nations. It depends, thirdly, on the homefront * * * on the productive and technological abilities of our country, and on the unity of purpose and dedication to principle that unite us as a people. And, finally, it is inspired by prayer and Divine Guidance, to give us the strength and the opportunity to secure freedom and promote international cooperation.

Our men and women in uniform invite you to attend their open house programs. To see the reviews, the equipment, and the installations. And, in every way possible, to honor Armed Forces Day.

Witness, for yourself the strength of our defenses.

And appreciate the part that you play in maintaining the power for peace, which is the enlightened policy of the United States.

The Area Redevelopment Bills Versus Foreign-Aid Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, as I listened to the President of the United States deliver his talk to the American people this past Tuesday evening, May 21, I was forcefully reminded that there is presently pending in the Congress legislation the purpose of which is to establish an effective program of Federal aid to economically depressed areas within the United States where excessive and persistent unemployment, want and deprivation still exist.

Actually, three versions of this proposed legislation have been introduced in the House as exemplified by H. R. 1239 and 2527, H. R. 6215, and H. R. 1949, which I have been privileged to introduce. These bills might best be identified as representing respectively the conservative, the moderate and the liberal points of view with respect to a domestic rather than a foreign-aid program.

Briefly, all of these bills would—to a more or less generous extent—provide for loans and grants by the Federal Government to economically depressed areas of the country which have been officially designated "industrial and rural redevelopment areas." These Federal loans and grants would be used to assist such areas in the financing of industrial and commercial projects, the acquisition of

land sites, the construction, rehabilitation and alteration of industrial plants and useful public facilities, the purchase of machinery or equipment, and the technical advice and planning needed to restore the economies of these depressed areas.

In addition the Federal Government would also be authorized to provide suitable training and retraining programs, and to make weekly subsistence payments to the unemployed workers in these areas during such training periods.

Mr. Speaker, let me assure you that this legislation is of the utmost importance to West Virginia—as it is to the States of Illinois, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and other regions of the United States where hardship, hunger, and dire poverty still linger in the shadows of the great overall national prosperity.

I have before me a report to which I would respectfully call the attention of our colleagues. It is the report "Federal Assistance to Labor Surplus Areas" which was prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress at the request of the Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House. Through it there runs, like the recurrent theme in a great symphony, the recorded story of West Virginia's economic woes and unemployment problems.

Tabulated and analyzed in the report are lists of West Virginia's numerous areas of substantial labor surpluses; her 17 counties—representing 25.7 percent of the State's total population—that are among 315 counties nationally, having the lowest farm income and levels of living; the lack of industrial diversification which causes unemployment; and the technological changes and increased productivity in the basic bituminous coal mining industry which has created depressed conditions in Kentucky and Illinois as well as West Virginia. One has only to turn the pages of this report to understand why the enactment of an area redevelopment bill is so essential to the present and future economic progress and prosperity of our State.

Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower has also indicated his support of such legislation. But the bills he favors—the so-called administration bills—place a limitation of $50 million upon the amounts which can be spent for the purposes of such legislation, whereas the bills which Senator Douglas and I have introduced would provide revolving funds for loans and grants of up to $225 million in any 1 year.

For some time now, I have felt that it was high time we in West Virginia saw something more of the much-vaunted great prosperity of the Nation than a bunch of beautiful statistics. But I never felt more strongly on this subject than I did as I listened to the President address the Nation last week on the subject of his proposed spending for mutual security and foreign aid. Indeed, some of the things he said made me feel for a moment that he must be talking about Scranton and Wilkes-Barre, or Lowell, Mass., or possibly Ronceverte, Welch, and Williamson, W. Va., instead of a foreign land 3,000 miles away across a wide expanse of ocean.

The freedom of nations—

The President said—

can be menaced not only by guns—but by the poverty that communism can exploit. You cannot fight poverty with guns. You cannot satisfy hunger with deadly ammunition.

And a little later in his speech, talking of the burden of poverty borne by the people of the 19 nations which have won their political independence since World War II, he said:

In these lands no government can justly rule or even survive which does not * * * offer its people hope of progress * * *. We seek to help these people to help themselves. We cannot export progress and security to them. Essentially, they must achieve these for themselves. But there are practical ways by which we can help * * *. Because their inherited poverty leaves these people so little for savings * * * they need the help of some capital to begin essential investment in roads, dams, railroads, utilities * * * the sinews of economic strength. Our program of technical cooperation * * * will cost $150 million next year—

He declared.

Mr. Speaker, I am prompted to agree with much that the President had to say in this second of his TV talks in defense of his huge spending proposals for the next fiscal year. Much as I desire to see substantial cuts in the budget and eagerly as I am willing to work for constructive economies in Government spending, yet I am forced to recognize that the mutual security and foreign aid programs are of tremendous importance to this Nation. But not more important than bread and milk for coal miners' children, good jobs for their fathers, new industries and increased business activity for economically depressed American towns and cities, and bigger markets, better roads and higher incomes for American farmers.

I am not willing to vote nearly $4 billion of our taxpayers' money to pay the bills of mutual security abroad and nothing to fight the poverty that communism can exploit—here at home.

Ike's Palace Guard Blasted as "Harry Hopkins Spenders"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT C. BONNER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following communication:

WACHOVIA BANK & TRUST CO.,
Winston-Salem, N. C., May 21, 1957.

Hon. HERBERT C. BONNER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR HERBERT: Don't bother to answer this letter, but I do hope you are going to use your tremendous capacities to cut down the unparalleled Federal budget. I am enclosing a photostatic copy of an article which you may have seen. It certainly expresses my sentiments.

If this country is going to continue to grow, savings must be left with the people which they can invest in new facilities. If the Government continues its tremendous take from the people, there is nothing left for investment. The only way taxes can be reduced is to cut materially the Government spending which is now inordinate. In my opinion the future of this country depends on eliminating this spendthrift tendency which means a lot of the frills that have been put in over the past several years and which will continue to grow. The Democratic Party has now an unparalleled opportunity to bring Washington back to sanity, and I sincerely hope it will meet the test.

In my opinion all postal rates ought to be increased, and certainly the third-class rates. At my house almost every day comes a half bushel of third-class mail from all over the country—practically all of which immediately goes into the wastebasket. Certainly those who are using this facility indiscriminately and making a nuisance of themselves would eliminate a substantial part of this activity, to the benefit of all.

Cordially yours,

ROBERT M. HANES.

IKE'S PALACE GUARD BLASTED AS "HARRY HOPKINS SPENDERS"

SCRANTON, April 24.—Confiscatory taxes resulting from high Government budgets threaten to destroy initiative and replace America's free enterprise system with state socialism, "a blood brother of communism," George E. Stringfellow, senior vice president of Thomas A. Edison Industries, division of the McGraw Edison Co., warned today.

He told the Scanton Kiwanis Club the ever increasing spending by all levels of Government is pushing taxes to levels advocated by Karl Marx and Nicolai Lenin.

Marx, the founded of communism, said that taxation would be "the surest way to destroy the capitalistic system" and Lenin, communism's patron saint, hoped to "force America to spend her way to destruction," Mr. Stringfellow pointed out.

He charged that President Eisenhower has done a "right about face" on the subject of Government spending. The change was "probably brought about by the President's palace guard, who, for the most part entertain the Harry Hopkins philosophy of spend and spend and elect and elect," he asserted.

"Eisenhower proposes to spend in one peacetime year as much as Franklin D. Roosevelt spent in 9 peacetime years," Mr. Stringfellow noted. "It must be apparent to anyone who has studied the record that the difference between the New Deal, the Fair Deal and modern Republicanism is one of degree—the latter being more expensive than the other two."

He praised the proposal by Senator HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, to cut the proposed $72 billion Federal budget by $6.5 billion.

Even with such a cut the budget for the coming fiscal year would be $5.5 billion more than "Candidate Eisenhower recommended in 1952," Mr. Stringfellow pointed out.

"If you want to reduce the cost of Government, you can do it by telling your Congressmen and Senators that they must cut the cost of Government or you will remove them from the Government payroll at the next election.

"The Government will be as efficient as we demand and as wasteful as we permit. The time has arrived when we taxpayers, if we are to preserve our way of life, must speak out."

Declaration Against Japan's Scheme for Reoccupation of the Ryukyus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following letter, dated April 20, 1957, from a Mr. Tsai Chang, chairman of the Ryukyus Independence Society, and the enclosed Declaration Against Japan's Scheme for Reoccupation of the Ryukyus:

RYUKYUS INDEPENDENCE SOCIETY,
Chungcheng District, Keelung,
Free China, April 20, 1957.

SIR: I hereby take the liberty of writing you on behalf of the free Ryukyuans and this society in connection with the future of the Ryukyus.

Since we Ryukyuans shook off the yoke of the Japanese colonialism after V–J Day, we have been given an opportunity for self-government and independence, for which we are deeply grateful. In order to lead the Ryukyus to an independent state with healthy economy, we, with the exception of some Communists, sincerely hope that the United States will continue to stay and take charge of the administration in the Ryukyus.

According to newspapers, however, the United States is planning to turn back the Ryukyus to Japan as a gift. It is also reported that Japanese Premier Kishi will probably attempt to obtain a written guaranty from the United States Government while on a visit to the United States in the near future, that the United States give the Ryukyus back to Japan as soon as the former deem it not necessary to keep the Ryukyus as a military base. We were rather surprised at the news.

Frankly speaking, we are deadly against the return of the Ryukyus to Japan. We desire the reconstruction of the Ryukyus instead of being enslaved again by the Japanese. For the future of the Ryukyus, we hate to have our hope frustrated.

On behalf of Ryukyuan patriots, I sincerely hope that you will help us attain our wish for independence, and I will reiterate that we Ryukyuans are desperately against Japan's reoccupation of our soil.

With kindest regards, I am,
Sincerely yours,

TSAI CHANG,
Chairman of Ryukyus
Independence Society.

DECLARATION AGAINST JAPAN'S SCHEME FOR REOCCUPATION OF THE RYUKYUS

Under the ever-advancing aggressive colonialism of Japan toward the Ryukyus since Japan's reoccupation of the Amami Islands, northern territory of the Ryukyus, on December 26, 1953, we hereby solemly declare to the free world that we are fully determined to fight for our political independence, and against Japan's new colonialism and attempted reoccupation of the whole Ryukyus.

In order to justify our determination for this cause, and rebut some distorted opinions, we would like to clarify the following points:

1. The 2,000-year-old historical facts of the Ryukyus are true enough to overthrow the illogical theory that the Japanese and the Ryukyuans are two races of the same ancestry. Archoeologically, the vestige of ancestral similarity has rather proved the introduction of Chinese culture into these two countries instead of blood relations. It is well-known among historians of Oriental civilization that the "Chung Shan Shih Chien," written by Hsiang Hsiang-hsien, a Ryukyuan, some 300 years ago is nothing more than a fabricated pro-Japanese history.

2. It is clearly recorded in Ryukyuan history that Japan's first invasion of the islands in 1609 brought to the Ryukyuans inhuman policies such as imposition of heavy taxes, enslavery of sugar-industry workers, monopoly of foreign trade, and extermination of our racial consciousness. The bloody rule continued until 1873.

3. Japan's second invasion which eventually established her reign over the Ryukyus from 1874 to 1945 was characterized by a colonial policy with such steps as arrest of pro-Chinese elements, pressing movements of "Japanizing" the Ryukyuans, overtaxation, discriminatory treatment in both military and civil services, and monopoly of the administration and commerce on the islands. Historically the so-called close friendship between the Ryukyus and Japan was that between the exploited and the exploiter.

4. After VJ-Day, the United Nations promised to let the Ryukyuans have an opportunity to govern themselves with the future status of the Ryukyus prescribed in article 3 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Since that treaty came into force, the Ryukyuans have been free from the yoke of Japan. However, Japan is still obsessed by colonialism, and has tried to justify her ambitious attempt toward the Ryukyus with newly invented expressions such as "the unprecedented anomalous existence of the Ryukyus' status" and "residual sovereignty."

5. The Ryukyus was not originally owned by Japan, nor a piece of land ceded to Japan after a losing battle. It is by all means a racial unit which is entitled to political independence when the time is ripe. Hence, article 78 of the United Nations Charter, on which the United States has based her view of trusteeship for the Ryukyus, is in no way inconsistent with the trusteeship system of the United Nations upon which it is incumbent to help gradually develop self-government and independence.

6. In spite of Japan's claim that her residual sovereignty over the Ryukyus has been verbally recognized by Britain and the United States, it is not provided in the Peace Treaty. Hence, it cannot be interpreted analogically that all participating countries have agreed upon it. According to authoritative views of the world, the sovereignty of the Ryukyus should rest in the hands of the Ryukyuans only. If the residual sovereignty which is in fact used as a cover by Japan to conceal here colonial policy were recognized, it would also be applicable to Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria. If such an idea is accepted, we can see no ground in international law.

7. It may have been out of what Japan calls national sentiment that Japan has been attempting to have the status of territories once held by her decided by the United Nations, but the Ryukyus is not in such a weak position to thus surrender itself. A proper way to purify that distorted national sentiment would be to replace immediately Japan's southern liaison office in the Ryukyus with a consulate and resume normal diplomatic relations between the Ryukyus and Japan and recognize the political independence of the Ryukyus.

8. The Ryukyuans today are not what they used to be. The return of the Ryukyus to Japan is nothing but a revised version of the initial stage of Japan's southward advance policy which took form some 70 years ago. Japanese colonialists are battling against the strong current of moral support from all of the free nations in Asia which is in favor of the self-government and independence of the Ryukyus. Aside from the Japanese colonialists, only the Japanese Communists are supporting Japan's invasion of the islands.

9. Japan not only has no right to oppose Ryukyuan independence, but has the responsibility to contribute to its recovery. The reappearance of Japan's colonial rule over the Ryukyus will give rise to disturbances in Asia rather than to the establishment of peace. From the point of view of world politics, Japan's advance into the center of the Western Pacific will most probably break the balance of power in East, North, and South Asia. Further attempts by Japanese interests to reestablish themselves in the Ryukyus will serve only as a threat to stability in the Western Pacific and encourage international communism's aims.

10. Our history shows that the Ryukyuans are peace-loving, and, as a natural result, the Ryukus will permanently maintain neutrality in politics. The United Nations should protect the Ryukyus' neutrality and special status as a buffer zone.

(11) All the Ryukyuans were greatly shocked by the statement made by the United States Government on last February 8 on the future status of the Ryukyus, which declared that the Ryukyus would be turned back to the imperialist rule of Japan. Free nations in Asia, especially the Republic of China and the Republic of Korea, as well as Ryukyuan patriots have all adversely criticized the authoritarian United States policy which disregards the will of the Ryukyuan people. First, the United States arbitrarily turned over the Amami Islands to Japan on December 26, 1953, as a "Christmas gift," and now it seems that the United States Government will again ignore the earnest desire of the Ryukyuans for self-government and independence. The Ryukyuans will never recognize such political "transactions." The Ryuyukans will not have their sovereignty infringed upon by any one-sided Nippon-American agreement. The Ryukyuans will never sacrifice themselves for another "gift" policy. We hereby declare that the Ryukyuans will have the sacred right to demand independence at their own will.

The ultimate end of trusteeship prescribed in the United Nations Charter is to promote the welfare and build up an independent political status for the residents of the areas placed under trusteeship. This end should be realized specially by the Ryukyuans which did not originally belong to Japan and is just as entitled to be independent as other areas ceded from enemy countries after World War II. However, the United States has not yet taken any effective measures to meet the desire of the Ryukyuans for political independence. More strange is that the United States Government seems to have openly recognized the "residual sovereignty" of Japan.

From historical relations, the Republic of China should have more claim on the Ryukyus than Japan, but she has always treated the Ryukyuans in a friendly way. The fate of the Ryukyus should therefore be decided by the United Nations, and it is against the spirit of the United Nations Charter that the United States should voluntarily give up the Ryukyus and turn it over to Japan. We are confident that international justice will brighten the future of the Ryukyus more effectively than the United States "dollar" policy.

We wish we could have our own diplomacy. We wish we could be given independent civil rights in the true sense of the term. We emphatically declare that any reactionary influence that hinders us in our feverish desire will be an enemy to international justice, and that the great mission of our independence movement will be to thwart such reactionary influence.

Resolutions Passed by the Board of Directors of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include two resolutions passed by the board of directors of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women.

The first resolution covers the subject of the many amendments that have been offered to the Walter-McCarran Act.

The second resolution is significant in that it reflects the sentiments of the many fine and conscientious members of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women with regard to curtailing Federal spending.

I respectfully submit that the members of this federation are those who have devoted their time and energy over the years to preserve our party and the fundamental principles of Republicanism and the American way of life in which they deeply believe.

The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTION NO. 1

Whereas there are now pending in the Congress of the United States literally dozens of amendments to the Walter-McCarran Act; and

Whereas this act in its present form was the result of 4½ years of study and has been in effect only since 1952; and

Whereas this act received sufficient votes in the Congress to override President Truman's veto; and

Whereas the Committee on Un-American Activities recently disclosed that the Communist Party has created over 180 organizations for the purpose of bringing grassroots pressure on the Congress to destroy the Walter-McCarran Act: Be it

Resolved, That the Illinois Federation of Republican Women in session at the spring meeting of May 8, 1957, go on record as supporting the Walter-McCarran Act and opposing all amendments to it;

Resolved further, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN and to all Republican Congressmen.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

Whereas the Illinois Federation of Republican Women, at its board meeting on February 14, 1957, in Chicago, urged all our Illinois Republican Congressmen to use their energy and influence to cut the Federal budget, particularly in line with the recommendations of the Hoover Commissions; and

Whereas all our Illinois Republican Congressmen have worked both on committees and by rollcall votes to reduce the Federal budget; and

Whereas many of our Illinois Republican Congressmen have declared themselves in favor of large cuts in the foreign-aid program, and all of them have, on rollcall votes, voted for cuts in the budget of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare;

Resolved, That the Illinois Federation of Republican Women expresses its gratitude to our Illinois Republican Congressmen for their special efforts to reduce the Federal budget and thereby maintain the Republican tradition of economy in Government; and

Resolved further, That the Illinois Federation of Republican Women again urges our Illinois congressional delegation to give strong support to the several bills introduced to implement the Hoover Commission recommendations; and

Resolved further, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Senator Everett M. Dirksen and to all Illinois Republican Congressmen.

Legislative Branch Appropriation Bill, 1958

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, when the roll was called on recommital and on final passage of the legislative branch appropriation bill, I was not recorded. I was unavoidably detained on official business with another Government agency. Had I been present, I would have voted against recommittal and for final passage.

At the time of the markup of this bill by the full Appropriations Committee, I made my views known to my colleagues on the committee. Yesterday, in the Committee of the Whole, I voted against the amendment to strike out funds for the construction of an additional House Office Building. I did so because I recognize the dire need for additional space for committees, committee chairmen, and committee staffs. Committee work is perhaps the most important function of the Members of this House. Without adequate facilities, this function suffers. It would not be economically wise to defer this program. Some $15 million has already been spent and it would be poor judgment to cut it off now.

However, Mr. Speaker, I do find fault and said so in committee with one part of this program. And that is the provision for alterations to the Old and New House Office Buildings. This entails the possible spending as reported in the hearings of some $18.6 million. I am pleased to note that this bill does not carry any money for fiscal year 1958 for remodeling of these buildings. There ought to be another long, careful, and hard look taken with respect to this particular part of the program. Alterations are to be made so as to provide three-room suites for all Members. The vast majority of Members need a three-room suite as much as they need another hole in their heads. Present facilities are entirely adequate to take care of the Members except with reference to committee chairmen. The committee chairmen, as I understand it, will get their needed space in the additional House Office Building. There is absolutely no justification for any alterations to the present House Office Buildings. I hope the House Office Building Commission will come to that same conclusion and will not recommend or approve this phase of the program.

Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Ordination of the Reverend Father Victor A. Simkonis, of Luzerne, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following part of the program held on Sunday, May 19, 1957, on the occasion of the silver jubilee banquet held in honor of Father Victor A. Simkonis, pastor, St. Ann's Lithuanian Parish, Luzerne, Pa.:

THE LIFE OF A PRIEST
(By Reverend Father Jean Baptiste Lacordiare, O. P.)

"To live in the midst of the world without wishing its pleasures;
To be a member of each family, yet belonging to none; to share all sufferings;
To penetrate all secrets; to heal all wounds; to go from men to God and offer Him their prayers; to return from God to men to bring pardon and hope;
To have a heart of fire for charity and a heart of bronze for chastity;
To teach and to pardon, console and bless always, My God what a life.
And it is yours, O Priest of Jesus Christ."

"COME FOLLOW ME"

Some time ago, a theologian was greatly puzzled on reading the following text: "And he shall sit refining and cleansing the silver. And he shall purify the sons of Levi, and he shall refine them as gold and silver." (Malachias 3:3). It seems he was especially curious about the words sit refining. Accordingly he went to a silversmith and asked him to describe the process of refining and cleansing silver. In answer the old silversmith said that the words were used correctly. The silversmith actually sat before the crucible of moulten silver, patiently watching for impurities that rose constantly to the surface. It was a long and laborious process. Then with a feather or some other light instrument he carefully brushed off these impurities as they appeared on the surface. This process he kept up until at length he beheld his own image clearly reflected in the silver. It was only then that the silver was properly refined and purified.

For 25 years the Divine Silversmith, Jesus Christ sat, as it were, before the crucible of the soul of Father Simkonis, and painstakingly throughout the long years of study and preparation for the priesthood and during the long days and nights of toil for the Lord as a priest, brushed off the imperfections that rose to the surface, until today He sees more and more clearly His own image in the image of one of His priests on this His silver jubilee.

The story is told of a beloved and gentle man, so old that most of his friends were dead, who had laid for each of them in his garden path a flagstone with the name inscribed. He was accustomed to walk this path each day and lovingly recall each of them, friend for stone and stone for friend.

In the garden of his priestly life, at the death of each year, Father Simkonis has laid down a flagstone upon which have been idelibly chiseled all the good works, the sacrifices, disappointments, the joys and sorrows that came with each year. On this happy day he can proudly say that he has laid down 25 flagstones and today in spirit

he treads lightly on each and lovingly recalls the scenes they represent.

On the first flagstones are inscribed his scholastic achievements in the public school of Sugar Notch, St. Mary's High School, Wilkes-Barre, Catholic University in Washington, D. C., Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md. With a surge of joy and gratitude in his heart he calls to memory the great grace of vocation God had conferred upon him when He gently invited him to leave all and follow Him.

In the long climb up the years of study and preparation for the priesthood at St. Vincent's Seminary, Latrobe, Pa., there were many days and nights of serious application, prayer, and struggle. Coloring them all was the overpowering incentive that if in God's Providence he might be privileged to raise his hand in absolution over some wayward sinner, and by that absolution restore one more sinner to the grace and friendship of God, if he could save just one soul, no matter what the cost, it would be a splendid spending.

At long last, the consuming desire to stand one day before the altar of God and offer the body and blood of Christ for the salvation of men found its joyful culmination on May 21, 1932, in St. Peter's Cathedral, Scranton, Pa., when His Excellency the Most Reverend Thomas C. O'Reilly ordained him a priest of God. The long-coveted goal has been finally achieved! Today our jubilarian gazes with awe and gratitude at the flagstone on which is inscribed forever: "Ordained a priest of God."

In his studies as a young theologian in the seminary it was vividly brought home to Father Simkonis that the priest it is who welcomes us into Christ's church, pours the saving waters of baptism upon us and by virtue of the sacrament cleanses us of original sin and makes us members of the mystical body of Christ and heirs of Heaven; the priest it is who restores us to the friendship of God when we defile ourselves by sinning; the priest it is who breaks for us the bread of angels to nourish our souls spiritually to withstand the temptations in the battle of life; the priest it is who counsels, directs, reproaches or soothes us in matters pertaining to our consciences and for eternity; the priest it is who blesses the ring and witnesses the marriage vows that make us one in the sacred bonds of matrimony; the priest it is who brings us viaticum for the long journey beyond. He it is who closes our eyes and annoints our senses in extreme unction. Finally, it is the priest who offers the unbloody sacrifice of the mass for our souls, blesses our bodies, and lays us away to await the resurrection on the last day.

The next flagstone in the garden of our Jubilarian's life has inscribed on it: "Curate—St. Casimirs, Pittston, Pa." and brings back to Father Simkonis the fond memory of his first assignment as a priest. A deep reverence in dispensing the sacraments to the people he loved and a youthful enthusiastic spending of himself filled his crowded days.

One step more on the path of memory and he is reminded of his appointment as pastor of St. Mary's parish, Wanamie, Pa., with the welcomed burden of St. Joseph's Mission in Hanover, Nanticoke, Pa. For 20 long years less 5 months, he faithfully shepherded his 2 flocks through lean and prosperous years alike. For almost 20 years he was tireless in his endeavors to improve his parish and mission both spiritually and materially. During those fruitful years in Wanamie and Hanover extensive interior and exterior improvements were completed and the parish debt was finally liquidated. For all this he has earned, and deservingly so, the love and gratitude of his parishioners. His parishioners cannot forget that many of his accomplishments were directly the result of Father Victor's contributions from his meager personal savings.

And now our reminiscing Jubilarian stands on a freshly laid flagstone on which is engraved: "Twenty-five years in the service of God." In retrospect he fondly recalls his new and present appointment, namely, pastor of the flock in St. Ann's parish, Luzerne, Pa. Here again for almost 4 years he plunged into his new work with the same zeal and enthusiasm. In a very short time he liquidated near $20,000 of an existing debt at Saint Ann's. But close to his heart was the noble project of building a church. Feeling Father Victor's sincerity when again he surrendered his personal savings by cashing his bonds and donating $1,000 toward a new church building fund, the parishioners at St. Ann's generously responded and today this fund was swelled to $85,000. Over $100,000 in less than 4 years, in a comparatively small parish is truly an amazing achievement. When one considers htat in this short period since his new assignment at St. Ann's, all of the contributions have been voluntary cash donations, without any formal solicitations or any pledge campaigns, it really is an almost indescribable feat. Added to it all, St. Ann's parish has grown substantially in size. Surely, it is a fine tribute to his unflagging efforts and the love and faith of St. Ann's parishioners for Father Victor, reflected by their generosity, many sacrifices and their wholehearted cooperation in all of his biddings. Debt-free, with a substantial building fund on hand. The architect is already engaged and plans are in the process of being drawn.

It is not surprising to witness this sincere cooperation of the good people of St. Ann's parish with Father Simkonis, for in him they truly recognize a priest of God who has always manifested a tireless zeal, sympathy and understanding for the problems of others. His heart ever seeks to embrace all his spiritual children. He truly loves his people as only a kindly father can love his children. He may perhaps not always be called upon to participate in their joys and comforts when all goes well, but he is always present and ready to share their trials and tribulations.

And so it is quite fitting, on this the silver jubilee of Father Simkonis' ordination to the priesthood, that we rejoice with him in his great joy and congratulate him sincerely. We who know him as a true and devoted friend, know also that his heart and mind are filled to overflowing with sentiments of deep gratitude to God who has blessed his efforts and thanks to all who have so unselfishly labored with him for the greater glory of God.

Without doubt the devoted parishioners of St. Ann's will offer their earnest prayers that God will spare their beloved jubilarian for many years to come in order that he may be allowed to lay down in the garden of his priestly life more and more flagstones upon which will be inscribed numberless works of love, mercy and justice for God's greater glory and the salvation of souls, and further pray that the Divine Silversmith may one day behold in the crucible of his soul not the silver reflection of Himself, as He does today, but may on his golden jubilee rejoice in a reflection of brilliant gold that will not tarnish forever.

—Rev. Father F. A. Hugal—S. J.

A PRAYER FOR PRIESTS

"Keep them, I pray Thee, dearest Lord,
keep them, for they are Thine,
Thine Thy priests whose lives burn out
before Thy consecrated shrine.
Keep them for they are in the world, though
from the world apart,
When earthly pleasures tempt, allure, shelter them in Thy heart.
Keep them, and comfort them in hours of
loneliness and pain.
When all their life of sacrifice for souls
seems but in vain.
Keep them, and O remember Lord they have
no one but Thee,
Yet they have only human hearts, with
human frailty.
Keep them as spotless as the host, that daily
they caress their every thought and
word and deed, deign, dearest Lord, to
bless. Amen."

PROGRAM

America, audience.
Invocation, Rev. John J. Dastick.
Introduction of toastmaster, Mr. Victor G. Machinist.
Toastmaster, Attorney John R. Verbalis.
Address, Congressman Daniel J. F. Flood.
Selection, St. Ann's R. C. Church Choir, directed by Prof. J. Varaitis.
Remarks, Rev. Joseph A. Aruscavage.
Humorist.
Remarks, Matthew Zujus.
Remarks, Principal Anthony F. Denby.
Remarks, Rev. Edward L. Collins.
Selections, St. Ann's R. C. Choir, directed by Prof. J. Varaitis.
Address, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph V. Miliauskas.
Solo, Mrs. Catherine Uter.
Presentation, James J. Miketinas.
Remarks, Rev. Victor A. Simkonis.
Benediction, Rev. Alfred J. Zukauskas.
Lietuva Tevyne Musu, audience.

Budget Study Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include a very timely article which appeared in the Chelsea Record, Chelsea, Mass., on May 21, 1957:

BUDGET STUDY NEEDED

The tugging and hauling over the administration's Federal budget has aroused great passions, both political and economic. Most of those intimately involved in the controversy have become so absorbed in advancing their points of view that they have lost all perspective.

It is not likely that the budget picture will be brought back into perspective at this session of Congress. Various items will be cut and restored; compromises will eventually be reached; a budget of sorts will be approved. Then it will be possible once again to think about the matter in the perspective, and to initiate basic reforms. That should be done without delay.

Government spending is rising so fast that it tends to absorb the increased revenues that result from our economic expansion. The Committee for Economic Development recently called authoritative attention to this fact and said that perhaps it was the most pressing domestic problem that confronts the Nation. The CED is a nonpolitical research organization whose statements have won it wide respect.

The time has come for a solid, long-range study of the whole matter. Such a study would not affect the present budget, on which Congress must shortly complete its work. This does not mean that cuts in the present budget are impossible. On the contrary, substantial cuts may be made despite the President's personal appeal.

But the study should consider basic reform; it should involve a thoroughgoing new look both at Federal spending policies and at the means of raising revenue. We cannot afford to drift in Federal tax and budget policy. The way to halt the present drift is to redefine public attitudes toward taxes and the budget, and to overhaul our system accordingly.

The Myth of Domestic Jurisdiction in the Hungarian Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following editorial from the February 1, 1957, issue of the publication Free China and Asia, entitled "The Myth of Domestic Jurisdiction in the Hungarian Revolution":

THE MYTH OF DOMESTIC JURISDICTION IN THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

The recent tragic events in Hungary raise a question in international law of whether the Hungarian Government can treat the mass revolt as a matter of domestic jurisdiction. She rejected the proposal of Dag Hammarskjold to permit the entry into Hungary of U. N. observers and the Secretary General to make a fact-finding tour. The rejection of the entry of an alien is certainly an internal matter, but the request from the U. N. of which Hungary is a member state, for the entry of its agents with a special mission of seeking world peace is of unique nature.

Article 2, paragraph 7 of the U. N. Charter provides that nothing contained in the charter shall authorize the U. N. to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the charter. The nebulous reference to "domestic jurisdiction" has been a source of constant dispute among diplomatic agents, inasmuch as the extent of its operation may well determine the sphere of the U. N. activities. It is recalled that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals made explicit provision in the wake of the Government of the League of Nations. Article 15, paragraph 8 of the covenant reads, "If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement." At the San Francisco conference the sponsoring governments decided to omit the reference to international law as a yardstick of an internal matter. The charter seems to entrust a wide area of discretion to each member state to judge its own cause, yet in construing the charter, it is inconceivable how political expediency can replace the rule of international law. Technically, as Mr. Fenwick puts it, interpretation of a treaty cannot run counter to its manifest object. To construe otherwise would subject the U. N. to the whim of the individual state and defeat the very purpose for which the organization was created.

The foregoing rationale is reinforced by the reasons below:

1. The clause of domestic jurisdiction in the charter is subject to the proviso that this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures, which involve complete or partial interruption of economic relations of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication, the severance of diplomatic relations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the U. N. These measures are to be decided upon by the Security Council, and the decisions are subject to the veto power of the permanent members of the Council. Known it is that when the charter was drawn up, it was presumed that the U. N. could function effectively only with the unanimous agreement of the permanent members. This postulate proves untenable in the postwar world; the development of events was culminated in the adoption of the Uniting for the Peace Proposal. It is then not impossible to impose sanctions upon a delinquent state, if the U. N. is determined to apply enforcement measures. With this change of circumstances, the domestic clause is workable only if its contextual meaning is pari passu ascertainable by international law. The dispatch of U. N. agents to the spot of turbulence is merely a prelude to a series of measures leading to international peace and security. There is no justifiable reason for Hungary to reject the U. N. request, especially for a member-state which is bound to fulfill, according to article, paragraph 2 of the charter, in good faith the obligations.

2. In international law, matters of immigration restriction, granting of citizenship and import duties are usually considered as purely internal matters, unless they are regulated by treaties. In the advisory opinion of Nationality Decrees in Tunis and Morocco, the Permanent Court of International Justice decided that a matter ceases to be of domestic jurisdiction if it is regulated by an international treaty.

When the World War I ended, treaties were concluded to protect the interest of the minorities in the postwar Europe. In Poland, for instance, many colonists who were formerly German nationals and domiciled in Polish territory belonging to Germany before the war had acquired Polish nationality following the defeat of Germany. It was agreed by the treaty powers that all Polish nationals should be equal before the law and should enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language, or religion. Polish nationals who belonged to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities were entitled to the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Polish nationals. It is particularly noted that in the Minorities Treaty, it contains the provision: "Poland agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guaranty of the League of Nations." If the minorities' interest is of international concern, the mass revolt in Hungary is a fortiori a matter of international concern, as it symbolizes a revolt against the oppressive Communist rule in search of the beacon of freedom.

Again in international fluvial law, navigable rivers traversing several riparian states are also matters of international concern. In the act of the Congress of Vienna of 1815, the powers whose territories were separated or traversed by the same navigable river undertook to settle by common agreement all questions affecting navigation thereon. The concept of community of interest has released international rivers from the bond of domestic jurisdiction. This community of interest in a navigable river becomes the basis of a common legal right, the essential features of which are the perfect equality of all riparian states in the use of the whole course of the river and the exclusion of any preferential privilege of any one riparian state in relation to the others.

The foregoing portrayed matters of international concern are all regulated by treaties. In fluvial law the right to navigable rivers which traversed two or more States prior to 1815 was not regulated by any general principle, and formed a subject of constant dispute. In the absence of Minorities Treaty the linguistic or racial minorities would have been discriminated against. Under the Charter of the U. N. nothing is of more international concern than threat to peace, breach of peace and acts of aggression. The charter provides for pacific settlement of disputes and enforcement measures in chapter 6 and 7 respectively, to which both Soviet Russia and Hungary agree, as member states, to fulfill in good faith. The Russian conduct of suppressing the Hungarian revolt by armed forces and subjecting the mass civilians to deportation to Siberia testifies to the flagrant violation of its treaty obligations as a member-state of the U. N. which professes to respect human rights and to take effective measures for the prevention of breach of the peace. The Hungarian plea of domestic jurisdiction is an abuse of the discretionary power in international law. It is time for the U. N. to salvage the sinking boat by preventing any recurrence of the Hungarian episode in the interest of the freedom-seeking peoples.

It Is Written—

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, his name was Joseph A. Reynolds. Profession, chief editorial writer and assistant managing editor. Place of employment, the Evening Tribune, Lawrence, Mass.

The harder he worked, the more Joe enjoyed it, because writing was his life.

Words and phrases, their beauty, power, and clarity—these were his creative tools.

His material was the teeming variety of human experience. Carpenter or doctor; housewife, clerk, or worker on the assembly line; each has its own special skill, its special challenges, its special vocabulary.

Joe Reynolds knew that life in the United States would be 170 million isolated areas of activity, if we did not have the magic of a mother tongue to unite our people so that they would learn to understand and respect differences, and to cooperate where common action is necessary.

Joe thought things out before he reached for the keys of his typewriter.

Then he wrote with the grace and persuasive sincerity that comes only to the few who discover the great potentials of our language, because they search and find its treasures.

These he shared with the widening circle of readers who turned to the editorial page of the Tribune for information and enlightenment on the problems of our times.

From typewriter to printed page to the eyes and minds of his appreciative

audience, the personality and ability of Joe Reynolds flowed, illuminating the art of communication.

Then death struck—suddenly.

The melody of his words has ended, but the memory of them lives on.

In tribute to a warm-hearted human being and a gifted writer, under unanimous consent I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the story of Joe Reynolds' life, as it appeared in the May 15 issue of the Evening Tribune, published in Lawrence, Mass.:

DEATH ENDS BRILLIANT CAREER OF NEWSMAN

Joseph A. Reynolds, assistant managing editor of the Eagle-Tribune and a member of the reportorial staffs of the two papers since 1929, died unexpectedly early Wednesday of an acute coronary thrombosis. He was 47 years old.

His home was at 127 Garden Street.

Possessed of a very fertile mind together with an interest in everything he undertook, he quickly grew to be a very able reporter. Later, when he became the Evening Tribune's chief editorial writer, he wrote with a facile style that soon won him a host of constant readers.

He was described as having the faculty of being able to extract from a subject something that was worth listening to. He gained the interest of his readers, because he was interested in so many things himself, and was often complimented for his excellent choice of words in a live, colloquial style.

The reason for his successful writing was the fact that he was an avid researcher and constantly sought to improve his knowledge on various matters. Oblivious to the praise of his readers and coworkers alike he was never satisfied and his library of well-thumbed books on many subjects testified to his search for the truth and his eagerness to add to an amazing vocabulary. He firmly believed that to be a writer one has to master the groundwork.

As an editorial writer, he had a very definite human touch, often with just enough humor to make the reading attractive, yet he never clowned. His writings were recommended reading for English students in many classes.

KEEN INTEREST IN POETRY

Quite apart from his newspaper work, Joseph A. Reynolds had a little-known side that led him to a keen interest in poetry, possibly his major interest. He saw beauty in many things and wrote verse for his own edification, releasing but few of his poems for publication.

He was intimately familiar with the works of many poets, but really was a student of the poetry of Robert Frost. An editorial which he wrote on the famed poet some years ago, concerning his schooling in Lawrence, was so well done as the result of painstaking research, that it caused the distinguished New England poet to inquire which of his classmates had done the article.

Within recent weeks he had also been commended for an editorial which he wrote on the late poet, Richard Hovey.

JOINED EAGLE STAFF

Mr. Reynolds joined the Lawrence Daily Eagle staff as a reporter of lodge and club activities on January 3, 1929, and except for a 3-year service with the Air Forces, had been with the paper since that time. He had successfully moved on to more responsible assignments and, prior to becoming chief editorial writer, had covered superior criminal court, including several outstanding murder trials.

Following the death of John A. O'Hearn, managing editor, he was promoted to the responsible position of assistant managing editor September 10, 1956.

Born in Lawrence December 17, 1909, the son of the late Clarence A. and Mary G. (Doyle) Reynolds, he moved with his family to Salem but returned to Lawrence when the home of the family was burned out in the Salem fire. Later, his parents lived for a time in Lynn, but again came back to Lawrence to establish residence. He attended the John R. Rollins school and graduated from Lawrence High School in 1927, with the distinction of delivering the class prophecy as a result of his outstanding marks in English.

SERVED IN AIR FORCES

Mr. Reynolds had a host of friends due to a pleasing personality in addition to his abilities and had endeared himself to the entire staff.

His hobbies ranged over a variety of subjects, but mostly he liked the outdoors and he liked to skate and swim.

His reportorial career was interrupted with the advent of World War II when he entered the Army in November 1942. He was assigned to a squadron in the Ferry Command of the Army Air Forces and received his training in Atlantic City, N. J. Later he served at Buffalo, N. Y., Memphis, Tenn., and Romulus, Mich., airbases before being stationed for 13 months with the Air Transport Command in Nome, Alaska. He was discharged at Great Falls, Mont. in December 1945, with the rank of sergeant.

FUNERAL SATURDAY

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Anna P. (Pfeiffer) Reynolds; a brother, Edward P. Reynolds, a major in the Air Force stationed at Keesler Field, Biloxi, Miss.; a sister, Marjorie, wife of Walter V. Lake, Walnut Street; two nieces and a nephew.

The funeral will be held from the McAuliffe Memorial, 137 Lawrence Street, Saturday with a solemn high mass of requiem at 9 a. m. in St. Lawrence's church. Burial will be in Ridgewood cemetery, North Andover. Calling hours will be today and Friday from 2 to 5 and 7 to 10 p. m.

Stubborn Boondoggle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the Washington Daily News, May 22, entitled "Stubborn Boondoggle":

STUBBORN BOONDOGGLE

The Senate economizers and budget cutters have just submitted to a test of good faith; and they flunked it 61 to 17.

By that vote they stuck $30 million into a so-called supplemental appropriation bill to buy tungsten at $50 a ton, roughly $20 over the market price.

The main excuse was to encourage American mining of tungsten, used in the manufacture of steel, for a stockpile in case of war. But the largest company to cash in on this handout gets its tungsten from foreign mines, according to a House committee report.

Three times the House has refused to permit this squander. But the Senate seems determined to jam it down the House throat, despite a bristling fight against it by Senators WILLIAMS of Delaware, LAUSCHE of Ohio, and others.

Arthus Flemming, the former Office of Defense Mobilization Chief who was in charge of stockpiling, said the Government had enough tungsten for a 5-year hot war. One of the beneficiaries of the subsidy recently estimated the stockpile was big enough to meet all needs for 18 years.

Well the House—bless its hard-fisted Appropriations Committee—isn't likely to stand for this deal. But in the Senate, economy apparently is no virtue when a pet boondoggle is involved.

Unplanned Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an article by Kenneth B. Pomeroy, Chief Forester of the American Forestry Association, which appeared in the May issue of the magazine American Forests.

In this report we are reminded that what appears to be new may be but an extension or a revision of the old. We hear a great deal at this time about policies to terminate Federal supervision of the Indian Tribes so that these first-Americans might assume the full stature of their citizenship. The very title of this article is more indicative of what has actually occurred in this field, and I recommend this review of Indian policy, or lack of policy, to Members who are currently giving study to legislation affecting the Indian tribes still under the supervision of the Federal Government.

The article follows:

UNPLANNED POLICIES

(By Kenneth B. Pomeroy)

By the middle of April 1957 both Houses of Congress had recommended deferment of sales of tribal property involved in Public Law 587 covering termination of Federal supervision over the Klamath Tribe of Indians (see Uproar on Klamath Reservation, American Forests, January 1957). Although the newly amended versions of S. 469 still must go to conference to iron out other differences, there is assurance that all interested parties are being granted a grace period of approximately 15 months in which to answer the $64,000 question: How can Federal supervision be terminated in a way that will (1) be in the best interest of the Indians; and (2) insure sustained-yield management of the timber resource as well as protection of water, wildlife, and other resources?

Although all the facts needed for evaluation of Klamath problems have not been released, the ranks of public opinion already are forming. Poised on one side are those with a financial interest in immediate liquidation of Klamath assets. This means selling the land (timbered or otherwise) on the open market in relatively small lots. Others feel that Federal purchase is the only way to insure protection and wise use of all the resources. Still others contend that private industry should manage the property. They point out that 51.6 percent of the State of Oregon already is in Federal ownership, with accompanying restrictions to

the tax base and to opportunities for free enterprise.

The decisions reached, whatever they may be, will have a significant impact on Indians and their resources for many years to come. The American Forestry Association believes that this case, and others in the offing, must be settled by the Congress of the United States on the basis of what is best for the ultimate benefit of both the Indians and their resources, for the welfare of man is tied inseparably to his use of available resources. In view of the decisions being made, the American Forestry Association believes that a recapitulation of Federal-Indian land policies since the days of our forefathers is now in order. In short, a groundwork based on historical precedents must be laid. This article will be followed at intervals by analyses of Klamath wildlife, water, grazing, and timber resources; and discussion of termination plans when all the facts become available. Readers will require this information in deciding intelligently whether public acquisition is or is not the proper solution to Klamath and to some 6 million acres of other commercial forests in Indian ownership in Oregon and other States. To date no such proposal has been made in Congress, but there are ample indications that such a bill may be introduced as soon as the present deferment bill clears the way. And now to history.

EVOLUTION OF FEDERAL-INDIAN LAND POLICIES

In the first century following the birth of the United States, the irresistible pressure of an aggressive, land-hungry flood of migrants produced problems which were met as current exigencies seemed to dictate. Federal policy, veering with public opinion, contributed directly to some of the darkest pages in American history—the Cherokee Trail of Tears, and the unjust imprisonment of Chief Osceola.

Today the beginning of a fifth major trend is apparent—termination of Federal supervision over tribal affairs. Termination laws affecting nine tribes have been enacted by Congress since 1954. Four new proposals are before congressional committees and two additional tribes are preparing for termination.

Will history disclose that this policy is the product of wisdom and statesmanship? Or will it show that the clamors of divergent interests have obscured the best solutions? And how have other policies fared?

INTEGRATION

From the beginning of French colonization in America, Indians were encouraged to adopt Christian ways and to remain in close contact with the settlements. Intermarriages were common. The welfare of the Indians also received the attention of the early English settlers. In 1633 the General Court of Massachusetts declared that any Indians, who should come to the English plantations and live civilly and orderly, should have allotments, according to the customs of the English. (For much of the historical material we are indebted to Kinney, J. P.—A Continent Lost—A Civilization Won. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md., 1937.)

The English colonists, however, soon discovered that the Indians were not inclined to follow the new example of land clearing and improvement. Furthermore, they were very susceptible to various schemes to separate them from their property. In recognition of this tendency a Virginia act of 1655, typical of those enacted by other colonies, directed that no land could be purchased from the Indians without the assent of the Grand Assembly.

In 1660 Virginia recognized that the English were encroaching upon lands of the Accomack Indians and directed that a tract be set aside for their maintenance. Thereafter for the next century and a half all reservations went to the tribes for communal use rather than to individual Indians.

Colonial law generally guaranteed the Indians protection in their land holdings. In the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763, the King of England declared that the several nations or tribes of Indians should not be disturbed in the possession of lands reserved to them. The United States incorporated similar policy into its basic law in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 (1 Stat. 50).

ISOLATION

A great migration of settlers across the eastern mountains, immediately following the Revolutionary War, resulted in frequent clashes with the Indians in the Ohio Valley and in the area to the southwest of Virginia. Each race became embittered by the conduct of some representatives of the other and the achievement of peaceful coexistence seemed impossible. Dissatisfaction also was increasing in the older settlements. Efforts to provide Indians with hunting grounds had failed and attempts to encourage their self-support as farmers were generally unsuccessful.

These difficulties began to come to a head in 1802 when the area that later became Alabama and Mississippi was ceded by Georgia to the United States on condition that the Federal Government extinguish the Indian title within the State of Georgia. A means of settlement appeared unexpectedly with acquisition of the Louisiana Territory and President Jefferson suggested removal of the Indians to locations west of the Mississippi River. Although a few Indians moved westward voluntarily, the others refused and relatively little was accomplished during the next two decades. Lack of funds and conflicting claims also added to the difficulties.

In 1825 President Monroe told Congress experience had clearly demonstrated the impossibility of the Indians remaining within the present States. He recommended their removal westward where they could have adequate lands, and live in their own manner. Five years later President Jackson approved the act of May 28, 1830 (4 Stat. 411), "To provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the States or Territories, and for their removal west of the River Mississippi." Reelection of President Jackson by a decisive majority in 1832 indicated general approval of his policies for complete removal of the Indians from contact with the white civilization. These policies were spelled out in detail in the Non-Intercourse Act of 1834 which covered regulation of trade and social relationships with Indians living in Indian territory.

Isolation attempts failed when southern and Lake States tribes resisted efforts to make them leave their homelands. Also national confidence in a policy of enforced removal was shaken by the tragic experience of the Cherokee Nation. After 23 years of negotiations and repeated treaties providing for removal further west, the Menominee tribe in 1854 was given a permanent reservation within their ancestral homelands in Wisconsin.

SEGREGATION

In the two decades immediately preceding and following the War Between the States, many people concerned with Indian affairs came to the belief that the tribes should be located permanently on reservations which contained only enough land for actual occupancy; the land should be assigned to them in severalty (severalty—Webster: "In or of one's own right." As distinguished from the usual communal ownership of tribal Indians), and the Indians required to live upon and cultivate the tracts assigned; and sufficient materials and equipment should be provided to enable the Indians to establish themselves as farmers. This concept developed partially from the pressure of immigrants for new land; from a feeling that the Nation's strength lay in widespread ownership of individual farms; and from attempts to confine certain nomadic and warlike tribes within definite bounds.

Construction of transcontinental railroads, the accelerated westward march of western civilization, and the continually rising tide of immigration established the belief that Indians could not be segregated indefinitely from non-Indians. Proponents of allotment became the dominant force and in 1887 secured passage of the General Allotment Act.

ASSIMILATION

New concepts do not spring forth ready-made and this change resulted from previous experiments over a period of 70 years.

As early as 1817 Congress permitted warriors who had assisted the United States in the Creek War to select 640-acre tracts for use so long as they continued to occupy the land. In the same year a treaty with the Lower Cherokees contained similar provisions. Subsequent treaties with other tribes often provided for grants of land to chiefs and subchiefs, perhaps as an inducement to accept the treaties.

The growing sentiment for individual allotments is indicated in Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford's report of 1838: "Unless some system is worked out by which there shall be a separate allotment of land to each individual whom the scheme shall entitle to it, you will look in vain for any general casting off of savagism. Common property and civilization cannot coexist."

Congress accepted the suggestion and in 1839 granted the Brotherton Indians free title to individual shares of land in Wisconsin. Apparently the result was encouraging because similar action was taken with the Stockbridge Indians in 1843. Both tribes were given the full rights and privileges of citizenship. A later report indicates that by 1872 more than half of the Stockbridge Indians had decided to take shares of tribal property.

Although reports in the 1870's disclosed that many Indians were disposing of earlier allotments at a fraction of their real value, the conviction continued to grow that civilization was not possible without individual ownership of land.

The General Allotment Act of 1887 provided for the allotment of land suitable for agriculture or grazing within the various reservations in quantities of 160 acres each to heads of families, 80 acres each to single persons or orphans, and 40 acres to each minor child; the issuance of patents to be held in trust for a period of 25 years; and purchase by the Government of excess reservation lands not allotted for the sole purpose of securing homes to actual settlers. On some reservations, over 50 percent of the acreage was declared surplus. Half a century later the unclaimed residue of surplus land was returned to tribal ownership under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, some as recently as 1950.

Although some Indians favored allotment, particularly mixed bloods and others with personal interests, opposition persisted for years in various tribes. The Menominee, Red Lake, New York, and most Southwestern reservations, for example, still remain completely in tribal ownership. The Klamath Indians, however, accepted 775 allotments between 1887 and 1897.

Unforeseen problems began to arise almost as soon as the General Allotment Act was passed. Some allotters could not work their lands because they lived somewhere else, had only a fractional interest in the land, were too old, disabled or otherwise incapable. Also many did not know how to or wish to farm. Furthermore, most grazing allotments were too small for an economic

unit. Consequently, when Congress provided for leasing in 1891, many Indians turned to this method of management. Efforts to prevent indiscriminate leasing resulted in great confusion, a condition soon intensified by the inheritance of allotments. By 1900 thousands of inherited tracts were unattended and year by year heirship problems became more complex. In order to make productive use of the land and to provide for the needs of elderly people Congress, in 1902, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to make sales under certain conditions.

Within the next few years a number of acts, pertaining to specific reservations, provided for allotment and opening to settlement or sale of the surplus lands. Indian holdings were disposed of rapidly under these various provisions, and by 1920 much of the better agricultural land had passed into white ownership. Between 1887 and the abandonment of the allotment policy in 1934, Indian reservations shrank from 138 million acres to 47,311,099 acres.

RESTORATION

Although the supporters of the General Allotment Act confidently had predicted that the "Indian problem" would be solved in 25 years, it eventually became apparent they had failed to foresee the conditions that would develop. Indications of an impending reversal of policy appeared in 1928 when Congress authorized the Navaho tribe to purchase 258,000 acres with tribal funds and to lease 460,000 acres of private land.

The new era, now referred to by some as a return to segregation, blossomed with the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. This act, also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, provided a new lease on life for the reservation system. It forbade further allotments of land; prevented future alienation of restricted tribal lands; restored to tribal ownership the remaining surplus lands of any reservation previously opened; gave Indians the right to establish corporations and made available a $10 million credit fund for the development of Indian resources; granted tribal councils greater authority; authorized the acquisition of lands and water rights; and made mandatory the practice of forest and range management. Acquisitions, which continued through 1948, aggregated 1.7 million acres. Restored surplus lands made up most of the balance and the total increased from 47 to 56 million acres before the tide turned.

All tribes did not accept the IRA act. Some felt it to be a step backward and others have stated since that it prevented Indian progress for 20 years.

The golden era ended in 1952 when the Bureau of Indian Affairs was instructed to terminate Federal supervision over Indians as rapidly as possible. The magnitude of the reversal is apparent by comparison with 1948, a year in which 2,500 acquisition cases were processed, 818,000 acres of open lands were returned to the Colville tribe and a proposal was made for a $25 million fund for acquisition of land and resale to the Indians.

At high tide, 1945 to 1950, Indian holdings were classified as 0.5 million acres in irrigated farms, 3 million acres of dry farms, 34 million acres of grazing land, 16 million acres of forest of which only 6 million acres were commercial forest, and 3 million acres of barren or waste land.

Since 1952 the issuance of patents in fee and sales of land have alienated an average of 400,000 acres annually. These actions have been taken at the request of the individuals or tribes concerned and have been stimulated greatly by the recent increases in land values.

Two very significant events occurred in 1938 and 1941 when the Supreme Court finally affirmed the complete ownership by the Indians of their lands; and rejected the legal theory that the Indians had only a right to use the lands held in trust status except where they had been bought and paid for. A third event, one which may have set a precedent for actions yet to develop, took place in 1940. Then Congress refunded the taxes thousands of Indians had been forced to pay when they were deprived without their consent, of a vested property right to a tax exemption. Numerous claims, beginning with the *Choctaw Nation* v. *United States* in 1881 (119 U. S. 1, p. 41) have repeatedly defined the legal and moral obligations of the Federal Government as a trustee of Indian property. Under one such action the Menominee Indians were awarded $8.5 million. These various actions and the fact that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is engulfed in some 3,000 land laws should be kept in mind in evaluating any proposals that may develop for disposal of Indian land. Somebody could get sued.

TERMINATION

Present plans for termination of Federal supervision over Klamath and other tribes did not develop overnight although the impact in some quarters may have seemed so. A treaty of January 31, 1855 (10 Stat. 1159), indicates a belief a century ago that the Wyandot Indians no longer needed Federal supervision. This treaty provided termination of their relations with the United States as an Indian tribe; subdivision of the land and patenting in fee simple to individual members; appointment of three commissioners to make a fair division; preparation of a tribal membership list; guardianship for those not competent to handle their own affairs; relief from taxation for 5 years after Kansas shall become a State; and the granting of full rights, privileges and immunities of citizens. The Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan and several other tribes also received termination of tribal relationships. Apparently all members of these tribes did not accept the new freedom, for in 1949 the Secretary of the Interior again relinnquished control over the Saginaw Chippewa Indians.

As long ago as 1910 some of the Klamath Indians asked to be relieved of Federal supervision. In 1928 a bill to create a Klamath Indian Forest, to be managed permanently by the Federal Government for the benefit of the tribe, passed the Senate but died in a House Committee. In 1930 incorporation of the Klamath Indian corporation was proposed. In 1946 and again in 1947 bills quite similar to Public Law 587 were presented to Congress. Many of the pros and cons heard today were thrashed over then. Later members of the Klamath tribes who were opposed to liquidation sought passage of a law which would authorize pro-liquidationists to withdraw from tribal membership and be paid 80 percent of the value of their individual shares.

Review of these various proposals and the hearings contained in House Report 2503, 82d Congress, 2d session (1947) clearly indicates that the proponents for termination of Federal supervision over the Klamath Indians have won that battle. There will be no turning back. The choice now is, immediate termination or delay.

The 1947 Klamath bill was a test case as similar proposals had been offered for the Menominee, Osage, Turtle Mountain, Potawatomie, Mission and other California groups. Significantly, House Report 2503 stated: "The decision of Congress on Klamath Indians may thus be seen to be of major importance not only for that group but for the American Indians in the country generally."

These then are a few, a very few, of the events leading to House Concurrent Resolutions 108, 83d Congress, 1st session (August 1, 1953) which states:

"Whereas it is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make Indians * * * subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges * * * as * * * other citizens * * *, to end their status as wards * * *, and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship; * * * be it resolved that * * * all the Indian tribes * * * of California, Florida, New York and Texas * * * should be freed from Federal supervision and control." The Flathead, Klamath, Menominee, Potowatomie and Chippewa tribes are also named.

House Concurrent Resolution 108 triggered termination laws for Menominee, Klamath, Alabama-Conshatta, Uintah-Ouray, Peoria, Wyandot, Ottawa, 4 Paiute bands in Utah and some 50 western Oregan bands. Reports from several sources indicate that termination plans for the Alabama-Conshatta, Paiute and western Oregon bands have been completed successfully. Only Klamath and Menominee, significantly the two containing a valuable resource, have run into trouble. Here the ancient, basic struggle for control of the land and its resources comes to the fore.

This same struggle will reappear when Federal supervision is removed from other valuable Indian lands. Already the Colville Indians in Washington have been instructed under Public Law 772 of July 24, 1956, to submit within five years proposals for removal of Federal supervision within a reasonable time thereafter. Will resource planners be ready when the time comes, or will we continue to stumble along, reeling from various pressures, as we have for so many decades, nay, centuries past?

It would be helpful now if someone, a decade ago, had heeded the clear signals of impending liquidation of the Klamath reservation. Somebody should have started a comprehensive economic study of the Klamath Basin to determine the role of the reservation in the overall economy. Such matters as soil capability, future land use, industrial and agricultural development, the tax base, the ownership pattern and dozens of other factors need to be weighed and balanced with each other. From such information a zoning plan for land use might be developed.

Today some of the timbered portions of alienated allotments on the reservation are being cleared for pasture. Question: Is timber or forage the best product of these soils? If it's timber, it will take 150 years to grow a new crop after somebody discovers the mistake.

Some other people wish to drain the wet lands on the reservation for grazing purposes. Again we ask, what is the best product and which is needed most—grass, water, or wildfowl?

Fundamentally the questions regarding disposal of the Klamath Indian property are another evidence of the tremendous pressures exerted upon the Nation's natural resources by a rapidly expanding population. Other friction points known to all include such things as the million acres being absorbed annually by new urban, industrial, highway, and other uses; land withdrawals for military use; wilderness needs; loss of valuable agricultural and forest land in flood-control projects; drainage of the nesting grounds of migratory waterfowl, to name just a few.

The American Forestry Association believes that thorough study of future needs and planned use of all the Nation's resources to meet these needs is mandatory. To that end the association has launched a land ownership study in California. The results are being awaited eagerly in the hope that there will be clearcut suggestions for national application. Meantime thorough planning for all social and economic adjustments incident to removal of Federal supervision over Indians should be accomplished before other tribes embark upon the termination trail.

Address by Hon. John M. Butler, of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an important address delivered by the Honorable JOHN M. BUTLER, the distinguished senior Senator from Maryland. This speech was given at a dinner of the Port of Washington, District of Columbia, Propeller Club on National Maritime Day, May 22, 1957. The Senator's remarks on our merchant marine and in particular in reference to the Panama Canal merit the careful reading of all Members of Congress.

The address follows:

Mr. Chairman, members of the Propeller Club, ladies and gentlemen, I always look forward with a great deal of pleasure to Maritime Day. It gives me an opportunity to renew old friendships in the maritime fraternity and, I hope, to make some new ones. And it usually affords an opportunity to talk a little about maritime matters.

This evening, there are several thoughts I should like to discuss with you. But before so doing, may I join with you in paying tribute to the steamship *Savannah*. One hundred and thirty-eight years ago today—on May 22, 1819—she left her home port of Savannah, Ga., on the first transocean voyage by any steamship. Twenty-five days later she arrived in Liverpool.

It took the Congress somewhat longer to recognize the significance of that historic voyage. One hundred and fourteen years later—to be exact, in 1933—the Congress finally passed a joint resolution designating each May 22 as National Maritime Day.

Think for a moment what a lonely, dangerous, and great adventure for American capital and American seamen that trip of the little steamship *Savannah* must have been. Remember, it took place only 7 years after the War of 1812. In those early days when sailing ships ruled the waves and steam vessels were considered infernal contraptions, I doubt that many people were as respectful of the owners, and officers, and crew of the *Savannah* as they should have been. Instead of recognizing them as forerunners of things certain to come, most of their contemporaries must have considered the *Savannah* and her crew outright freaks.

However, they are rightly honored today by countless celebrations all over the United States for the feat they accomplished and for their courage and wisdom. That courage and wisdom has been a sound investment and we as a Nation—and the entire world for that matter—are the beneficiaries of their brave deeds.

Now, my friends, I want to touch briefly on a few general matters of vast importance to the American merchant marine.

First, a word about American shipbuilding. Here we have much for which to be thankful.

However, with the shortage of steel plate as it is, we have nothing about which to be complacent. At last count, there were 118 oceangoing ships building or on order in privately owned American shipyards.

In addition, the Navy is now building 43 ships in private yards. Compared to the fact that in May 1954 not a single American yard had received an order for an oceangoing vessel for more than 18 months, I think we have done well in the short span of 3 years.

Within the framework of free enterprise, and without the need for governmental controls, the steel companies must produce the types and quantities of steel plate which our private shipyards must have if our ships are not to be built in foreign yards. I am confident that the steel industry will meet this pressing challenge.

I have been extremely pleased to observe that high-ranking Government officials and industry leaders are cooperating closely on many matters of advanced maritime research and development.

To overcome the tremendous competitive advantage possessed by foreign low-wage maritime nations, it is incumbent upon us to exploit to the fullest the advantages we have in the way of advanced technological know-how. Bold, brave maritime research, performed by private industry, with a maximum of Government cooperation, is needed now, more than ever before, as we stand at the threshold of replacing our war-built merchant fleet. Some of the same spirit and courage which brought about the epic voyage of the *Savannah* will serve us well in these days when we are trying to design and build ships, and shoreside facilites, to serve—continuously and effectively—the commercial and defense needs of this country.

Our tramp fleet is doing well—all things being considered. Unfortunately, the tramp owners are not replacing their fleets with vessels built in American yards. In fact, what profit they are now making comes from cargoes they obtain under the provisions of the cargo preference, or 50–50 bill. This I firmly believe. These cargoes, as you know, are generated in large part by Public Law 480, our surplus agricultural disposal program.

The continued existence of our tramp fleet depends in large measure on the preservation and perhaps extension of our cargo preference bill. For that matter, the continuation of what prosperity our subsidized lines are enjoying also depends on this vital law.

A word concerning the cargo preference bill.

First, it is my present intention to introduce later in this session of the Congress a bill which will require that at least 75 percent of all Government-financed cargoes must be carried aboard privately owned American-flag vessels. Such a measure seems fully justified. First, cargoes generated by our own Government should be carried in major, not equal, part by privately owned vessels flying our flag if they are available to perform the service at market rates reasonable for such vessels. Second, I am hopeful—and perhaps this is wishful thinking—that foreign aid, especially that of a non-defense nature, will in the near future take a sharp decline. I cannot believe that the American taxpayer is going to stand for many more shipments of jet planes to Yugoslavia, and the like.

If foreign aid declines, thereby making it possible to give some long-overdue tax relief to our people, there will be less giveaway cargoes carried by our own vessels unless we boost their share.

In the hearings which should result from the introduction of such a bill, I will be particularly interested to learn how the Government agencies charged with the administration and implementation of the present cargo preference law are in fact carrying out their responsibilities. There are rumors that one or more construe the law as authorizing them to refrain from offering Government-generated cargoes to American-flag vessels in excess of 50 per cent of such cargoes. Certainly it was the intention of the Congress that the requirement that at least 50 per cent be carried by American-flag vessels would establish a minimum and not a ceiling on the American-flag share.

If administrative abuses are taking place in disregard of the spirit of the Congress and the express language of the statute, now is the time for the Congress to take appropriate steps to put an end to these practices and omissions.

In this inquiry, it will be important to ascertain how the agencies administering and implementing the present cargo preference law go about offering American-flag vessels their share. I would think it grossly unfair for an agency to first assign 50 percent of the tonnages to foreign-flag vessels; and thereafter offer, on a short-notice basis, the remainder to American-flag ships. Such a practice undoubtedly would afford the American-flag vessels too little time to make adequate arrangements. It would prevent them from preplanning their participation and might cause undue rate squeezes.

Such a practice might give an unsympathetic agency an excuse to grant or recommend waivers, thereby permitting shipment via foreign-flag vessels. If this practice exists, it must be stopped.

And ladies and gentlemen, these hearings should establish the policies of the agencies in allocating cargoes as between conference and nonconference United States lines.

I would be remiss this evening if I did not say a word or two about the splendid job done by the administration—legislatively and administratively—to encourage American-flag lines to begin an orderly, phased replacement of their war-built fleets. As we all know, probably the most serious problem confronting the American Merchant Marine today is the orderly replacement of over 1,000 privately owned vessels by the end of 1966. Over 900 of these vessels will be 20 years old, or older, between 1962 and 1966. Firm commitments for the construction of at least 21 ships have already been made; and, with such well-conceived plans as its "trade-in and build" program, the Maritime Administration and the shipping industry are intelligently facing up to the problem.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to direct your attention to a certain matter which I believe vitally affects the defense of this Nation—a vital matter which could directly affect the American Merchant Marine. I refer to the recently accelerated campaign to bring about the internationalization of the Panama Canal.

One of the greatest maritime investments of the United States was the Panama Canal. It has proven indispensable to our maritime commerce and to our national defense.

On May 6, 1957, in my weekly newsletter, I predicted, and I quote: "With jurisdiction of the Suez Canal still in delicate imbalance, it can be anticipated that the call for internationalization of the Panama Canal will soon be sounded by the far left quarter of the political spectrum."

We did not have long to wait. According to the Washington Star of May 8, 1957, the cry to give away the Panama Canal was made on May 7 right here in Washington.

Dr. Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review, declared in all seriousness that America should give up control of the Panama Canal and place it under the jurisdiction of the United Nations; the United Nations, let us not forget, where Soviet Russia has equal voting power with the United States in the Security Council and where she can completely frustrate the work of that body with the veto.

Dr. Cousins saw what he considered a "fortunate" opportunity for the United States to show the world that it practices what it preaches in insisting on the internationalization of the Suez Canal.

Disregarding the completely different historical backgrounds of the two waterways, he expressed the belief that, and I quote: "We are in the fortunate position of being able to use the canal" to help bring peace to the troubled Middle East. To continue quot-

ing: "Our relations with the Arab countries would profit more from such an example than from the kind of military aid that is now being sought," Dr. Cousins claimed.

This dangerous brand of naive idealism during these perirlous times when hard-headed realism should be at a premium must not be allowed to gain the upper hand in the conduct of our international affairs. I will go even further and say that if the United States internationalizes the Panama Canal at this dangerous juncture in international relations it will sign the death warrant for the entire Western Hemisphere.

As a passionate advocate of world government, Dr. Cousins has often proposed fuzzy-minded schemes, designed to relegate the United States to the position of a mere vassel state in a world government where we would pay the lion's share of the cost and be out-voted on every issue. Of course, if one is willing to give away the entire country, it is not surprising that he might also want to give away the canal.

There is little or no analogy between the Panama Canal and the Suez Canal.

The juridicial basis for American control of the Panama Canal rests in three important treaties; 1901, 1903 and 1914.

There is one overriding fact which must be kept ever in mind: The Panama Canal and the Panama Canal Zone for all practical purposes is the sovereign territory of the United States of America. The United States has permanent rights to occupy, use, and defend the area; and the canal is available to the commercial vessels and warships of all nations, without discrimination, except during wartime.

We foresaw its importance and under the inspired leadership of Theodore Roosevelt and Col. George W. Goethals of the Army engineers, dug it, paid for it by the terms of the treaty, and authorized its secured sovereignty under the Canal Zone until the end of time. Any attempt to abrogate or nullify that treaty is strictly an affair between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama and no unilateral decision can be made to change the status quo.

No other nation or combination of nations—and this would include the United Nations—has a right or even the legal means to upset this status quo.

The Suez Canal, on the other hand, has been operated by the private corporation which created it. This company is incorporated in accordance with the laws of France, has Egyptian nationality, and is international in character. It held concessionary rights to operate the canal until 1968, after which the waterway was to revert to the Egyptian Government.

The net investment of the United States in the Panama Canal, which has been called the greatest engineering feat of all times, as of June 30, 1955, was $368,004,765. To this staggering sum must be added the very heavy costs over the years for the maintenance of the Armed Forces on the Isthmus for defense purposes.

The Suez Canal, on the other hand, is a 105-mile lockless waterway cut across barren desert land and cost only about $92,414,000 to construct. The cutting of this channel across the Isthmus from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, was mere child's play, compared to the construction of the Panama Canal. In fact, when the work at Panama was at its height, the American Government was excavating the equivalent of a Suez Canal every 15 months—and it took 10 years to build the Panama Canal.

To claim that because the United States advocates the internationalization of the Suez Canal it must, to be consistent and show good faith and to earn good will, internationalize the Panama Canal, is utterly ridiculous.

If this brand of perverted logic is to be the criteria for the conduct of our affairs, then the next step would be to internationalize the Erie Canal or the St. Lawrence Seaway. I have no doubt but that some of our more dedicated internationalists would rejoice if we did just that. But so long as I am a United States Senator, I shall jealously guard the sovereign rights of this Nation and its pledged word in treaties with other nations.

I can readily understand the motivation of some of those in our midst who would like to see the most valuable maritime possession of the United States lying outside its continental limits internationalized. For it is an established fact that it is a fundamental object of Soviet Russian foreign policy to place the Panama Canal under Communist control.

There have been reliable reports that, to accomplish this, Communist agitators, trained at the State College of Political and Economic Science at Prague, Czechoslovakia, the propaganda educational center of international communism, are being sent to Central America to direct it.

This dedicated effort of international communism to wrest control of the canal from the United States is not something new or novel.

On March 25, 1954, before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the United States Senate, Mr. Spruille Braden testified that this Communist agitation has been going on for some time. Mr. Braden, our former Ambassador to Colombia and former Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American affairs, said, and I quote: "Going back to 1941, when I was in Colombia, I began sounding warnings to the State Department about the menace of communism in this hemisphere, and during the war—1943 and 1944—there were repeated dispatches in which I said that this is the gravest peril we face and that after the war it is going to be most serious."

Then Mr. Braden revealed to the subcommittee evidences that pro-Soviet officials of the State Department tried in vain to sabotage America's interests in the Panama Canal through the United Nations.

We have seen in the past 10 years the deadly tentacles of international communism spread first over eastern Europe and the Balkans; then over China; and then into southeast Asia. Now we see these tentacles probing the Middle East and Africa. The wanton death, destruction, and human slavery which they have left in their wake is a matter of history. We know the master-minds of the Kremlin have their eyes leveled on the Central American and South American land mass. We know that those deadly tentacles are probing in that area. A thrust was made in Guatemala only to be repulsed by the stout-hearted patriots of that nation. The key to the control of Central and South America—and eventually the United States—is the Panama Canal. If that waterway can be wrested from American control, Communist infiltration into this hemisphere would be made manifestly simple.

Free, uninterrupted use and control of the Panama Canal is absolutely vital to our domestic and foreign commerce.

It brings Seattle 7,800 miles nearer to New York; San Francisco 8,800 miles nearer to New Orleans; Honolulu 6,600 miles nearer to New York than by the Strait of Magellan. With respect to the foreign commerce of this Nation and the free world, the importance of the canal is equally impressive.

The United States, by virtue of the Monroe Doctrine, has always assumed an inherent responsibility for the defense of the Western Hemisphere. The long journey of the U. S. S. *Oregon* around Cape Horn from the Pacific Ocean to the theater of the war with Spain in the Caribbean waters, in 1898, served to impress upon the American mind the absolute necessity of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama for this defense. Now that the canal has been built, it stands as a veritable Gibraltar for the American defense of this hemisphere.

This suicidal proposal to dissolve American control of the Panama Canal has been voiced by many Americans in high place and low. I do not charge that these people are necessarily pro-Communist. I do charge, however, that the proposal itself, should it be carried out, would place the right hand of international communism at the very throat of the Western Hemisphere.

Dr. Cousins, I am confident, is sincere in his proposal. I am sure that he is motivated by the highest ideals and seeks only a world of peace and harmony. However, these are trying times when dubious experiments in good will must not be allowed to take precedence over hardheaded realism. For the very survival of our Nation and the entire free world hangs in the balance.

Thank you very much.

Resolutions on the Panama Canal Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following two resolutions with respect to the Panama Canal situation—one from the Panama Canal Society of Chicago and the second from the New York Society of the Panama Canal:

RESOLUTIONS RE PANAMA CANAL BY THE PANAMA CANAL SOCIETY OF CHICAGO

Whereas the Panama Canal situation has been dangerously simmering for over 2 years without constructive results; and

Whereas the inadequacy of the Panama Canal to meet increasing traffic requirements has become more and more acute and the absolute need for a speedy determination of the overall subject is of the most vital importance; and

Whereas there is developing a determined movement to force the Congress into authorizing a sea-level canal and to which radical change practically all engineers familiar with local Canal Zone conditions are unalterably opposed as a dangerous and costly experiment not warranted or supported by experience gained over 42 years of Panama Canal operation and maintenance: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Panama Canal Society of Chicago at its 34th annual reunion at Chicago, May 4, 1957, as follows:

1. That the society respectfully and most earnestly urges the Congress of the United States to enact, without further delay, legislation providing for the creation of an independent Interoceanic Canals Commission to study and review all the problems involved in the matter of increased capacity for the canal, with recommendations in the premises.

2. That copies of this resolution be furnished the press and the Members of Congress.

The Panama Canal Society of Chicago consists almost entirely of men and women who worked on the construction of the canal between the years 1904 and 1914.

Since the founding of the society 34 years ago we have met annually in Chicago to renew old acquaintances and relive experiences of canal days. Our interests in the future of the Panama Canal are inherently paramount.

F. S. WICHMAN,
President.
H. L. STUNTZ,
Secretary-Treasurer.

RESOLUTIONS RE PANAMA CANAL BY THE NEW YORK SOCIETY OF THE PANAMA CANAL

Whereas certain prominent individuals and groups have advocated internationalization of the Panama Canal for divers and naive reasons; and

Whereas considerable agitation is being fomented in Panama for the nationalization of the canal or for vast increases in the annual payments to the Republic of Panama above those now provided in the existing treaties; and

Whereas the advocates of a sea-level canal are constantly pressuring the Congress to authorize this futile and extravagant adventure; and

Whereas it is apparent that transit facilities of the canal will be inadequate in the near future and that increased capacity should be studied now and provided for by the Congress; therefore be it

Resolved by the New York Society of the Panama Canal at its annual meeting in New York, May 4, 1957, as follows:

1. That the society respectfully and most earnestly urges the Congress of the United States to enact, without further delay, legislation providing for the creation of an independent Interoceanic Canals Commission to study and review all of the problems involved and to report back to the Congress with its recommendations in the premises.

2. That copies of this resolution be sent to the authors, in the Congress, of measures providing for the creation of the proposed Interoceanic Canals Commission, and to members of the Congressional committees charged with the duty of considering legislation dealing with the Panama Canal, the metropolitan press and to the other Panama Canal societies in the United States.

R. W. HEBARD, *President.*
JOHN J. FITZPATRICK,
Secretary.

Postage Rates on Second- and Third-Class Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, upon request, I herewith submit for inclusion in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Virginia State Convention NALC at its meeting in Roanoke, Va., on May 5 and 6, 1957.

Whereas the average revenue per handling of each piece of mail in the post office during fiscal year 1956 was one-third cent per piece; and the loss on the handling of second-class mail was $231 million out of a deficit of $464.9 million; and

Whereas although postal pay and the postal deficit are unrelated; the deficit is a constant factor in our efforts for equitable pay and better working conditions; and

Whereas regardless of opinion as to whether the post office should be operated as a public service or on a break-even basis, the second class and third class users are a minority of postal patrons and use the mails on a profit-making basis; and

Whereas the letter carrier has borne the brunt of the economy efforts for over 7 years in the elimination of two trips daily (more work at same pay), delay in route adjustments, delay in the payment of uniform allowance, and the delay in mail delivery from heavy days to light days (making all days heavy days). Now the dangerous and pernicious idea of five deliveries per week has been advanced; and

Whereas we believe that each user of the mails should bear a proportionate share of the cost of handling the mail:

Resolved, That our association be on record favoring substantial increases in postage on second- and third-class mail.

Reckless Farm Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Gazette of Sunday, May 19, points up some of the risks we run in the unsound way we try to handle the farm problem. I ask consent to have the editorial printed in the RECORD with the hope that it will provide the spark that is needed to get sound action as soon as possible. The editorial follows:

RECKLESS FARM POLICY

The vote last week in the House of Representatives to kill the soil bank by choking off its funds was more of an attempt to embarrass the Administration's farm program than it was an economy move. This was indicated by the report of the agriculture appropriations subcommittee headed by Representative JAMIE WHITTEN of Mississippi, which lashed out at Secretary of Agriculture Benson's handling of the soil bank in 1956.

Citing small results from the 1956 soil bank program, the WHITTEN report recommended cutting soil bank funds from the $750 million asked to $600 million for 1957 and $500 million for 1958. When the bill reached the floor, the House went farther and eliminated the entire soil bank appropriation.

In a sharply-worded letter to Representative WHITTEN regarding the committee report, Secretary Benson said:

"I am sorry to see that what might be expected to be a factual document contains so much argumentative and sometimes misleading material."

Replying to Whitten's criticism of little results from the 1956 soil bank program, Benson went on: "It must be borne in mind that the implementation of the soil bank program for 1956 was contrary to my expressed wishes. It was at the insistence of the House conferees that provisions were inserted in the Agricultural Act of 1956 requiring that the Secretary operate to the best of his ability a soil bank program for 1956. The conferees' report recognized that very little in the way of results was expected for 1956. The record on this matter is so clear that the failure of the Committee on Appropriations to recognize these facts is difficult to understand."

The soil bank has a number of weaknesses that should be corrected. But the soil bank still is the most promising approach to solution of agriculture's basic problem—too great productive capacity.

The law was passed by Congress only a year ago, with the support of both parties and all national farm organizations. The acreage reserve part of the bill, recognized as a temporary expedient for cutting down production, was to end with the 1959 crop.

Failure of Congress to pass a workable corn program earlier this year greatly impaired the effectiveness of the soil bank as far as the Corn Belt is concerned. It must be evident to even the program's severest critics that it has not had a chance to work. At that, the $600 million in soil bank payments last year represented almost exactly the gain in national farm income over the year before.

Perhaps the soil bank should be repealed. Perhaps someone can come up with a more effective and less costly method of adjusting United States agricultural output to effective demand and thus increase farm income and head off the threat of an agricultural depression.

If so, that decision should be made after careful study and consideration by the agriculture committees of Congress—not by a wild-swinging, spur-of-the-moment elimination of the appropriation such as took place in the House last Wednesday. Iowa Farm Bureau President Howard Hill rightly characterized that action as "inadvisable and irresponsible."

Address by Hon. James B. Utt, of California, at the Dedication of St. Judes Hospital, Fullerton, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, under leace to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I include a dedication speech made by the Honorable JAMES B. UTT, of California, at the dedication of the St. Judes Hospital in the city of Fullerton, Calif.

I feel that it contains historical data of general interest and expresses the humanitarian spirit of our citizens for the welfare of their fellowmen.

The speech follows:

Mr. Chairman, His Eminence Cardinal McIntyre, Mother Superior, reverend fathers, Sisters of St. Joseph, ladies, and gentlemen, I am deeply and humbly grateful for the honor that you have bestowed upon the office which I represent and it is a pleasure for me to have a small part in this very happy occasion for the city of Fullerton and for all of Orange County. I offer my hearty congratulations to all of my friends here for their fine community spirit upon the erection of this hospital for the much needed community service which it will render.

The Sisters of St. Joseph of Orange are loved and admired throughout the State of California and have established an excellent reputation in Fullerton through the operation of their Santa Maria Convalescent Home and I know that the people of Fullerton are grateful that the Sisters have expanded their operations here to include this hospital of 127 beds and 32 bassinets. The dedicated Sisters of St. Joseph are carrying on the work and tradition begun by Father Serra over 180 years ago in this great State of ours. Under the direction and encouragement of Antonio Bucareli, the greatest viceroy which

Spain sent to the New World, Father Serra established the great chain of missions, from San Diego to San Francisco, to minister to the physical and spiritual needs of the native population. How many times Father Serra strode over this very highway between the Mission San Juan Capistrano and the mission at San Gabriel, none of us will ever know, but I do believe that he contemplated the very things that have transpired in this great State, including the hundreds of hospitals and churches, and to him should be given great credit for establishing the early Christian civilization of our State. That is why his statue is in the Hall of Fame in Washington. Perhaps he paused to rest on this very spot. I can see him sitting there, his eyes closed in contemplation, his face turned to Heaven, and saying, "Someday by the grace of God, there will be a house of mercy built upon this hilltop.'" Prophetic? Yes; but here it is.

It is fitting on this occasion, when the hospital is being formally dedicated in the name of St. Jude and thereby placed under his patronage, that we turn our thoughts to the life of this saint and recapture what little is known of his life through scripture and through tradition, and to thereby better understand the suitability of dedicating a hospital to him. I am not a theologian and, therefore, do not wish to be held in strict account for the impressions which I have gathered concerning him. Even the scholars differ somewhat in their interpretation of the scripture, but I shall choose to ignore controversy and uncertainty and to give you the impressions which I have gathered over the years.

Saint Jude is the author of the last and the shortest of the Epistles in the New Testament. He was 1 of the 12 Apostles and 1 of the 4 sons of Alphaeus. His family was a close relative of the Blessed Virgin Mary. His family name was Thaddeus and he was often referred to as Jude Thaddeus.

After the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, Jude did not long remain in Jerusalem as did his brother, James, but, following the admonition of his Master, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel," he went into Mesopotamia and into Syria preaching the gospel, and proclaiming the acceptable year of the Lord, performing many miracles and converting many souls to Christianity among the gentiles. Tradition has it that he always wore the image of his Saviour upon his breast. One of his most noted miracles was the healing of the King of Edessa, to whom Christ had promised to send one of his disciples. The story is told that the King, having heard of the healing powers of Jesus, sent for Him to come to Edessa and cure him of leprosy. Jesus could not go at that time but sent word that he would send one of his Disciples. The King then sent a young artist to paint a picture of Jesus.

In the presence of Christ and beholding the light of His countenance, he became so entranced and so dazzled he could not paint a single stroke. Upon seeing this, our Saviour took the canvas, and held it in front of his face. The image was transferred upon it. It is believed that Jude was then commissioned to go to Edessa, although he did not leave until some time after the Resurrection. From there he went into Persia and joined another Apostle, Simon the Canaanite, where they continued to preach and to convert.

Saint Jude never referred to himself as a relative, but rather as a servant of Jesus Christ. He preached amid untold sufferings and persecutions in countries which had sunk into the depths of immorality and idolatrous worship. Magicians and high priests of idolatry tried to destroy the effect of these two great Apostles, but were unsuccessful. Jude was always considered a symbol of hope in healing the most desperate cases, he never failed to respond to the call for help by the hopeless, the sick and the dying, and like most of the disciples, his life came to a violent end through martyrdom. Both Jude and Simon met martyrdom together and therefore share the same feast day of October 28, as brothers in martyrdom and the Kingdom of Heaven,, not as brothers in the flesh, although he did have a blood brother by the name of Simon.

Tradition has adopted St. Jude Thaddeus as a patron of hope in desperate cases and it is most fitting that this hospital should be dedicated to him, for nowhere is hope more essential than for those who enter as patients and for those who labor in the hospital as doctors and nurses. They need to know with deepest confidence that we are all in the hand of God. They need the inspiring and vitalizing awareness that there is no illness nor injury that God cannot cure, whether through miraculous and spiritual powers or through the working of his providence through physical beings. We must always remember that He who permits suffering also supplies the grace and strength to endure it.

In this massive structure of steel and stone, are the gifts of the rich and the gifts of the poor, all cemented together by the sacrifice of the Widow's Mite, but steel and stone and the most modern equipment do not in themselves fulfill the demands of this or any hospital. It must have the skilled talents of the surgeon and of the doctor, the tender ministrations of the nurses and the dedicated spiritual inspiration of the Sisters of St. Joseph,, to complete the mission.

There are three distinct facets of such a hospital, yet all of them within the same solid sphere of human and spiritual service.

First, there are those who will enter this hospital, but will not return to their home and to their friends, but who will make final preparation for that long journey across the river which marks the boundary of that unknown land where they will go to dwell in the eternal mansions of Heaven. It is good that our Heavenly Father stretches forth his hand and gathers in His little children—that they may find a perfect peace and a perfect rest. While we who are left behind my grieve, we must remember that death is the beginning of a new and beautiful life and we may better understand what the Psalmist meant when he said, "Precious in the eyes of the Lord is the death of his Saints."

Second, there are those who will enter this hospital and through the surgeon's skill, the doctor's care and the dedicated ministrations of the nurses and of the Sisters, will be cured and will return to their homes and to their families, rejoicing.

There is a third facet which commands unbounded considerations of joy and hope, and that is the maternity ward. Here the noble and gallant mothers will enter into this hospital and give birth to the forthcoming generation. To witness this greatest miracle of God, creates within us a surge of faith and causes us to "lift up our eyes on high and behold who hath created these things," and to know that He hath made them a little lower than the angels and hath crowned them with glory and honor. What potential there will be in these 32 bassinets—or any 1 of them—perhaps another Einstein or another Lincoln—perhaps another Billy Graham or even a Bishop Sheen. Time only will tell. So, this hospital is dedicated to Saint Jude, the Patron Saint of Hope, and to those who will labor in this hospital, to those who will suffer and die here, to those who will suffer and be healed, but most of all to those babies who will be born in Saint Jude's hospital, may I give the concluding message of Saint Jude as given in the Saint James version of his epistle. "Now unto Him who is able to keep you from falling and to present you faultless before the presence of His Glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God, our Saviour, be glory and honor, dominion and power now and ever. Amen."

Pensacola Fiesta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I had the pleasure of being in Pensacola for the annual Fiesta of Five Flags Festival last week and it was one of the most outstanding festivals ever held there.

I noted with great interest the excellent story by C. E. Wright on the Fiesta of Five Flags Festival held in Pensacola, Fla., May 15 to 19, which appeared in the Sunday, May 5, 1957, issue of the very fine newspaper, the New York Times, and I am glad to have it inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

PENSACOLA FIESTA—THE ANNUAL EVENT IN MID-MAY RECALLS CITY'S HISTORY UNDER FIVE FLAGS

(By C. E. Wright)

PENSACOLA, FLA.—Since 1950 this enchanted city, as its boosters call it, has been opening its spring and summer season with the Fiesta of Five Flags, a 5-day celebration which has become one of the best known of the country's historical pageants. This year it is to be held May 15 to 19. The fiesta commemorates Pensacola's colorful history under the flags of Spain, France, England, the Confederacy, and the United States.

A fact not widely known except by historians is that Pensacola was the site of the first colony established in what is now the United States, a distinction credited by many to St. Augustine. The Pensacola colony was founded by Don Tristan de Luna and his Spanish followers in 1559, 6 years before the settling of St. Augustine and 48 years before Jamestown. However, the Pensacola colony lasted only 2 years while the 2 other early settlements were permanent.

The Fiesta of Five Flags, however, is not wholly of a historical nature. It affords fun and gaiety for residents and visitors alike. It starts with a reenactment of the landing of de Luna, followed by a parade, the coronation of de Luna and his queen and a coronation ball. There is a succession of parades throughout the celebration. The Krewe of Lafitte holds a pirate parade, then there is a children's parade and finally the fiesta parade, which includes the Miss Fiesta beauty pageant. A Pan-American ball climaxes the 5 days of entertainment.

JET TEAM PERFORMS

There are other features. A parade of yachts precedes the landing of de Luna. Pistol championship matches, softball games and daily treasure hunts for both adults and children, a deep-sea spearfishing rodeo 10 miles off shore and outboard racing are included in the celebration.

The Pensacola Naval Air Station holds open house during the 5 days and presents an exhibition by the Blue Angels, a jet aerobatics team whose home base is Sherman Field here. Square dancing on the deck of an aircraft carrier rounds out the Navy's hospitality. Many of Pensacola's visitors at any time of year are those interested in aviation or who have friends or relatives at the

naval air station or at nearby Eglin Air Force Base, whose 465,000 land acres and 15,000 square miles of water ranges constitute the greatest air reservation in the United States. This home of the Air Proving Ground Command is a testing area for every type of aircraft and aerial weapons.

Aside from its preeminence in aviation, Pensacola has all of the things that vacationists look for—bathing, boating, and fishing plus a historical background that is entrancing for those who like to delve into such things.

DEEP HARBOR

A city of about 60,000, Pensacola is uniquely situated on the deepest natural harbor on the Gulf of Mexico, protected by the 60-mile long Santa Rosa Island, which stretches from historic Fort Pickens at its western tip to the fishing village of Destin at the eastern end. Between the island and Pensacola are Pensacola Bay and Escambia Bay and a peninsula which is traversed by U. S. 98, the route to Panama City.

Santa Rosa Island was the spot selected by de Luna for his ill-fated Spanish colony. It lay undeveloped except for Government forts for four centuries, accessible only by boat. Not until 1931 were bridges built from the mainland to the peninsula and from the peninsula to the island. A new bridge was built several years ago, from which time the development of Santa Rosa Island as a resort area has proceeded at a rapid rate. It still lacks sufficient accommodations for its increasing tourist volume, particularly in summer, but more facilities are in prospect.

There are about 40 miles of bathing beaches within easy reach of Pensacola, but Pensacola Beach and a new development of the Santa Rosa Island Authority are the most accessible. All of these gulf beaches as far as Panama City boast of the whitest sand, almost snow white, of any bathing beaches in the world. The white sand in the foreground and the green-blue clear water of the gulf make a natural color contrast of extraordinary beauty under a brilliant Florida sun. An unusual combination of bathing is afforded by this island, with surf on one side and still water on the other.

The Pensacola area is, in fact, a water paradise. The mainland is punctuated by several bayous, used for boating and fishing, and the Escambia River, while a little to the west is Perdido Bay, which separates Florida from Alabama. All this expanse of water together with the Gulf of Mexico just outside makes for excellent fishing, either in fresh or salt water.

Shrimp are netted from a small boat. Blue crabs are caught with dip net or trap. Cast nets are used to trap mullet in shallows and around piers. The Pensacola Fin Divers Association, a nonprofit organization, is promoting spearfishing, which is relatively new in this area. Information on this sport can be obtained from the association secretary, Mrs. Marie Dessell, who is an official of the Florida State and National Fin Divers Associations. For those who want quiet fishing at low expense there are several piers.

Fort Pickens itself is one of the interesting historic spots in this area. The Fort Pickens State Park of 1,659 acres occupies all the western end of Santa Rosa Island and within a single year has had as many as 400,000 visitors. It lies just 2 miles west of Pensacola Beach and can be reached over a good road, recently built. Its construction was started in 1829 and completed 5 years later. It withstood two bombardments during the Civil War. Between 1890 and 1900 it was modernized and was in active service until after World War II. Then it was abandoned by the Government and acquired by the Florida State Board of Parks and Memorials as a public park in 1949.

Byrd's Massive Resistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, May 9, Senator HARRY F. BYRD made a very forthright and forceful speech in Norfolk, Va., before a meeting of the Hampton Roads Maritime Association. Senator BYRD's speech was commented on very favorably in an editorial appearing in the Portsmouth Star and Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch on Friday, May 10.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the editorial entitled "Byrd's Massive Resistance":

BYRD'S MASSIVE RESISTANCE

The case for opposition to the Federal civil rights program and the Supreme Court's integration decree has seldom been stated more strongly than it was stated last night by Senator BYRD before the Hampton Roads Maritime Association. In the Senator's view the integration decree is "singularly designed to destroy the oldest way of life in the Nation," the pending civil rights legislation is designed as "punitive legislation, to punish the South" for its resistance to this decree.

At the outset of the integration fight in Virginia—which is the spearhead of the fight in the whole South—Senator BYRD called for massive resistance to the Supreme Court decree. He has not deviated from that position. The Virginia plan of resistance to enforced school integration rests largely upon the Senator's concept of the right of the States to oppose the Supreme Court, even to the point of defiance, so long as it is done without violence or attempt to overthrow the Government.

The Senator confined his discussion of the civil-rights legislation to 1 of the 15 or 20 civil-rights bills which have been introduced in Congress. This bill would establish a special bureau in Washington, for handling civil-rights suits. Under this arrangement the right of trial by jury would, in effect, be eliminated in cases of alleged violations of civil rights. Senator BYRD, and others, taking note of the threat of this legislation to one of the fundamental liberties, has introduced legislation to guarantee a trial by jury in cases which the civil-rights legislation would impinge upon that right.

Proponents of the injunctive process, under which civil-rights complaints would be heard by a Federal judge, contend that this remedy would be free of prejudice and bias sometimes shown by local juries. "But," the Senator noted, "they fail to take into account the situation and possible prejudice of the judge." It was on a charge of arrogance and prejudice" that he based his criticism of Federal Judge Hoffman for his handling of one of the Virginia integration cases—the most severe criticism, the Senator said, that he had ever directed against a judge.

The Senator took note of the fact—which is one of the familiar facts of this struggle—that Virginia has been made the battleground of integration. The integration proponents know that if the barrier in Virginia falls, it will fall throughout the South, and the leadership in this fight is a part of the challenge with which Virginians are confronted.

It is the view of Virginia's veteran Senator, who is one of the South's most respected leaders, that the South should oppose the civil-rights legislation as an attack upon the very fundamentals of States rights. And it is his view that opposition to the Supreme Court integration decree should be carried, if necessary, to the point of defiance, short of violence. This is the "massive resistance" which the Senator counseled Virginia to impose against Federal encroachment. This is the weapon which is now being tried in the fire of rising battle in Virginia. Upon its effectiveness, in Senator BYRD's view, will rest the future of the State's public education system, as well as the very integrity of government by the States.

Hearings in Gary, Ind., by House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following is testimony of Orvall J. Kincaid, subdistrict director of United Steelworkers of America, which was given before a subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committte last Monday at Gary, Ind.:

MUTUAL AID ENDORSED BY STEELWORKERS

(Statement by Orval J. Kincaid, subdistrict director, United Steelworkers of America, Gary, Ind., before Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, May 20, 1957)

The United Steelworkers of America, representing the thousands of men and women working in and around the basic steel industries and the fabricating steel plants in Gary and the surrounding territory, realizing the part that our Nation must play in international affairs, is supporting a foreign economic program that will further the peace and security of our country.

We are greatly concerned over the aimless drift that has characterized important elements of American foreign policy in recent years, and we feel there is an urgent and desperate need for a foreign policy and program that is clear and consistent. Effective foreign policy cannot be improvised and piecemeal. Our foreign policy should have as its chief goals the mobilization of all of our country's moral and material resources for developing a system of international relationships to maintain peace, protect freedom and national security, and to enable a growing population to enjoy a rising standard of living.

Domestic strength is a vital factor of our Nation's international effectiveness and our country, in order to carry on an effective foreign policy, must be strong, prosperous, and free from any taint of economic, social, political, or racial inequality or discrimination. Therefore, integration of foreign, political, and economic policies is essential if the great technical resources and mighty industrial potential of the United States are to be geared to increasing the productivity, raising purchasing power, and improving the living standards, especially of those economically underdeveloped countries which are devoted to human liberty and peace.

We know that international communism is at work everywhere in undermining free institutions and the struggle to defeat this insidious conspiracy must be unrelenting. We know that communism is a false solu-

tion; we believe that democracy is the true solution. Communism is weakened when democracy is strengthened. The representatives of democracy must go out into the underdeveloped regions with specific plans, programs and projects to help raise living standards, for helping to end all colonialism, for winning these peoples as equal members of the free world community. Thus we will make it possible for them to have a stake in the defense of a civilization worth defending.

We must reject completely any and all forms of colonialism, and we express our satisfaction that the Government of the United States has been guided by the basic principles of democracy and self-determination in compacts between the United States and the people of the free world. The Western democracies should redouble their efforts to eliminate every vestige of colonialirt practices in the vital regions of the Middle East. Our Government must seek genuine peace in the Middle East, and together with its allies and the United Nations, take positive steps to prevent aggression, improve the economic conditions of its people and to promote peaceful relations among its various peoples, based on mutual recognition of each other's national existence and territorial integrity.

We support the United Nations and its specialized agencies and believe that efforts should be redoubled to build the United Nations into a more authoritative and effective institution for maintaining world peace and promoting the fundamental human rights proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations. We regret that our Government has often been reluctant to meet head on the attacks of the diehard isolationists against the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and other specialized agencies of the United Nations.

We must continue to seek effective world disarmament, with adequate international inspection, control and supervision, backed by sanctions—not subject to the veto—for all violators. In the meantime we must maintain sufficient military strength to deter, and if necessary, to defeat aggression. We must be prepared to meet any form of totalitarianism, whatever it may be, with vigor. We must maintain our guard against the constant threat of Communist aggression and subversion. While never closing the door to negotiations with Moscow, we must never appease. At the same time, every effort should be made to insure that atomic energy be devoted to the fullest international benefit of mankind.

We reiterate our approval of the program proposed by the steelworkers' president, David J. McDonald, as a member of President Eisenhower's Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, calling for expansion of world trade, and aiding the workers as well as the industries which, as a result, suffer temporary dislocation. In order to make possible an expansion of foreign trade without incurring undue injury to American workers, industries, and communities, we urge Government assistance in aiding the adjustments necessary for increased imports. We will continue to support bills introduced in both the House and Senate to implement this program. Our ideas on this matter also have been substantially incorporated in a Federal legislative program to aid depressed areas.

We also give our full support to the continuance of technical assistance programs, both United States and U. N. sponsored. These programs are doing a vital job in the training of needed skills around the world. However, American labor also recognizes that this development of new and needed skills can be explosive unless these people are encouraged and enabled to use these skills. This requires development capital. Industrial expansion may attract private capital, but funds for the substructure which is a prerequisite to industrialization are and will be much more difficult to acquire from private sources. We believe that the wealthier nations of the world must help to supply the capital for this substructure. It is for this reason that labor, not only in this country, but through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, also supports the proposed Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development.

The technical assistance program is one way by which the more prosperous countries can meet the desires and demands of their neighbors for a better life. As long as these desires remain unsatisfied there can be no secure peace in our tightly integrated modern world. We are obliged, for the common good of mankind, to aid our brothers everywhere, as our means allow, and to share with them the material and spiritual wealth and strength which God, the Father has bestowed upon us.

Problems of Irrigation in the Northwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech given by Commissioner W. D. Dexheimer in Portland, Oreg., April 27, 1957:

REMARKS BY COMMISSIONER OF RECLAMATION W. A. DEXHEIMER BEFORE THE LUNCHEON MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST FUEL OIL DEALERS ASSOCIATION AT THE MULTNOMAH HOTEL, PORTLAND, OREG., APRIL 27, 1957

The subject of water may appear to be far afield from the interests of an association primarily concerned with keeping the fuel tanks of homes and industries supplied with oil.

However, I am sure you are very much interested in keeping the flames of industry burning brightly and the demands for fuel oil from a prosperous citizenry on the upswing. If you are interested in these things, you are interested in water, because water is a key factor in the economy of all of these Western States on which your future depends.

Without water in plentiful and cheap supply, our agricultural production in the Western States would drop to almost nothing except for dryland crops which are the cause of some of our surplus headaches. Without maximum utilization of water, industry—particularly here in the Northwest—would slow up and some industry would die, just as would a growing plant when deprived of water.

For here in the Pacific Northwest, industry is fed by the kilowatts pouring out of Grand Coulee Dam and the other great multipurpose projects erected on the Columbia River and its tributaries. From the hydroelectric development of the Columbia River basin by the Government and the utility industry have come new plants, new payrolls, and new products. They have contributed immeasurably to the economic betterment of the Northwest and indirectly to the remainder of the Nation.

The Pacific Northwest is not alone in this economic betterment from development and use of our water resources. Just as Grand Coulee Dam is now supplying over 30 percent of the total power needs of the Pacific Northwest, so did Hoover Dam in the 1940's supply nearly one-third of the total power needs of the Pacific Southwest.

The growth of industry in the Pacific Southwest was sparked by the availability of low-cost power from Hoover Dam. It expanded so sharply in the last 2 decades that Hoover now supplies only about 15 percent of the power needs. Because the Pacific Southwest is not so plentifully endowed with great rivers as the Columbia, the bulk of additional power is being supplied by fuel-burning plants.

While the Pacific Northwest has not yet exhausted its hydroelectric potential, the day will come—and it is not too far off—when more steam electric generating plants will be necessary in Oregon and Washington too. Contrary to some popular ideas, hydroelectric and steam-electric generation are not competitive. Actually they make ideal teammates because hydroelectric plants provide the peaking capacity. This is essential if steam-electric plants are to operate at full efficiency on the 24-hour day basis that brings their kilowatt-hour costs down.

I am not here today to talk particularly about power production. Hyroelectric power is low man on the totem pole of relative water needs in the West. Our more pressing needs are water for domestic use, water for irrigation, water for industry, water for fish and wildlife and recreation purposes, and water for navigation. Along with these goes flood control which can largely be accomplished by the coordinated process of storing water for useful purposes.

All of these water uses are essential to a well rounded western economy. They all have a place in the development of our water resources. I could go into detail on each of these uses, but I believe you are familiar with most of them. Those of you from the Los Angeles metropolitan area, for example, certainly know the importance of a domestic water supply and the lengths to which the Metropolitan Water District has gone to get it.

Their Colorado River aqueduct brings water 242 miles from the Colorado River. It has been recognized by the American Society of Civil Engineers as 1 of the 7 modern construction wonders of the United States, as has our own Bureau of Reclamation-built Hoover Dam on the Colorado River. Without the large reservoir at Hoover the aqueduct would not have been feasible.

Agriculturally, those of you from the Central Valley, and the Imperial Valley of California, and the Yakima Valley in Washington are well aware of the essentiality of water. Without water storage and distribution facilities these areas would be nothing but bleak sagebrush-covered rangelands. With a dependable water supply the agriculture income has provided a good portion of the purchasing power to make the Pacific Coast one of the top economic areas of the Nation.

Grand Coulee Dam and the Columbia Basin project are also 1 of the 7 construction wonders named by the American Society of Civil Engineers. A whole new irrigated agricultural empire is beng established on a million acres of what was formerly either dryland, wheatland, or sagebrush. An area which had a population of about 13,000 persons in 1930, now has a population of around 70,000, and this will likely double or better during the next 2 or 3 decades. This is truly a multipurpose project in its best wealth-creating sense.

Grand Coulee, built by the Bureau of Reclamation, is now supplying over 30 percent of the entire Northwest power.

The great shipbuilding and aluminum industries of this area and the Atomic Energy Commission installation at Hanford were located here because of the large low-cost

supply of power from Grand Coulee and Bonneville. Industrial growth has been good wherever water and power are plentiful.

Fish, wildlife, and recreation represent an industry most important in our Western economy. The Bureau of Reclamation has attempted to incorporate these into our planning and construction but we have been handicapped by a lack of statutory authority and we have had only very limited funds for their development.

Nevertheless, some of the best fishing and recreation spots in the Western United States are in and around reclamation reservoirs.

Legislation is now before the Congress which would give greater national recognition to providing fish, wildlife, and recreation facilities. It is supported by conservation organizations and several leaders of the Western congressional delegations.

I am reciting this brief review of the importance of these various functions in water resource development because they show the importance of multipurpose development. We can get a few of these benefits separately by designing individual projects for single purposes without consideration of the other needs. Such projects will also save a little on the initial capital outlay.

But balance the total needs against the relatively small benefits of unintegrated, single-purpose projects and you will understand the importance of multipurpose development. Water is simply too valuable, the pressures of various needs are too great to permit a single-purpose use where 2, 3, or 4 benefits can be accomplished.

Now, where do we stand on this multipurpose development of our water resources which means so much to the West. In the Pacific Southwest, development is fairly well along, thanks again to the multipurpose development of the lower Colorado River upon which southern California is so dependent as a source of water. There are several other projects in southern California, including the Santa Barbara, recently completed, and the Ventura project, now under construction by the Bureau of Reclamation.

In the great Central Valley of California the Federal Government and the State are each undertaking various phases of multipurpose water development. The Bureau of Reclamation has completed the initial phases of the Central Valley project, is at work on a diversion of Trinity River water into the Central Valley, and has before Congress for consideration another unit which will mean a supply of water for another half-million acres of land. The Bureau of Reclamation has spent an average of $25 million per year in California since 1935.

The State, in turn, has started planning for development of the Feather River as an addition to the California water plan to enable the State to make the maximum use of its water resources. Like most other States, California has more water still running away to the ocean unused than it now uses. This unused water creates havoc and destruction in its uncontrolled rush to the sea.

That State, because of its growing population and arid climate, probably has as pressing a need for water control and conservation as any of the Western States. Public bodies and private utilities have built hydroelectric and steam generation to provide for a coordinated economic growth.

Here in the Pacific Northwest, you are most fortunate in having the vast supply of water from the Columbia River and its tributaries. You have had extraordinary Federal participation in its development. In addition to Grand Coulee Dam and the Columbia Basin project, you have a whole series of other federally constructed dams and reservoirs on the Columbia River and its principal downstream tributary, the Willamette. Like the Central Valley, there are numerous single-purpose hydroelectric plants under construction by public utilities, including both privately financed and cooperative.

Despite expenditures over the years of upward of approximately $2 billion by the Federal Government, the development of the Columbia River Basin still has a long way to go. There needs to be additional upstream water storage for flood control and future consumptive uses as well as for the vastly increased firm power production that such storage will make possible. There are many hydroelectric sites which have not been developed, including those at proposed storage reservoirs and others which may be exclusively power projects.

One development which has aroused considerable controversy is that for the Hells Canyon stretch of the Snake River. The Hells Canyon project was originally proposed by the Bureau of Reclamation as a multipurpose unit of the comprehensive plan back in 1948. It was planned as a multipurpose project, the principal benefits of which would be flood control, power production, and revenue support for irrigation development. The revenue would help to finance the Mountain Home project in Idaho. As such it had the support of civic leaders of southeastern Idaho. Subsequently, the irrigation was stricken, making it solely a flood control and hydroelectric project. Most Idaho support was withdrawn as there remained only downstream benefits, even though most of the water would be contributed by Idaho and Wyoming from the headwaters drainage.

This change resulted in a controversy which has lasted for nearly a decade.

Three Congresses, the 81st, 82d and 83d, refused to act on authorizing legislation, for a Federal Hells Canyon Dam, and in the 84th Congress it was killed by the Senate. In the meantime, the Federal Power Commission issued a license for the development of this stretch of the river by a public utility for hydroelectric power. The license provides safeguards for integrated operation with the comprehensive river plan as were recommended by the Secretary of the Interior. This licensing action has been upheld recently by the Supreme Court and 1 of the 3 plants is now under construction.

There is opportunity and need for further downstream development. At the request of Secretary of the Interior Seaton the Bureau of Reclamation is now conducting a reexamination of the stretch of the Middle Snake River below the Hells Canyon site. We made a preliminary report on the Pleasant Valley and Mountain Sheep sites in 1954 and a further report in October 1956. A group of utility companies in 1955 requested a license from the Federal Power Commission to develop two single-purpose hydroelectric power projects in this same stretch of the river at Pleasant Valley and Mountain Sheep.

Others are advocating that in lieu of Pleasant Valley and Mountain Sheep, this whole stretch of the river should be reserved for later construction of the Nez Perce Dam.

This dam, Nez Perce, would be located on the Snake downstream from the mouth of the Salmon and Imnaha Rivers thus blockade these very important spawning rivers from the migratory salmon.

The proposed Nez Perce Dam and reservoir would have greater storage capacity by reason of backing water up not only the Snake River, but the Salmon River as well. On the other hand, there is little prospect of the Nez Perce Dam being authorized for a decade or more. Even though a satisfactory means is devised for transporting adult salmon upstream for spawning and trapping fingerlings for movement downstream around the barrier of a high dam, it will require 10 years or more through at least two cycles of the salmon's life to determine if this method is successful.

Nez Perce would also flood out the Pleasant Valley and Mountain Sheep sites.

We think we have an answer which will fit this stretch of the basin system into the comprehensive plan and will permit work to go forward immediately. On the other hand, if a deadlock develops, such as occurred on Hells Canyon, we are likely to go another decade without any useful benefits coming from this stretch of the river.

A preliminary report by the Bureau of Reclamation last October shows that a 690-foot-high dam at the Pleasant Valley site will provide a reservoir with 2,570,000 acre-feet of storage space, of which 1,300,000 acre-feet would be reserved for flood control. The appurtenant powerplant would have 1,250,000 kilowatts of generating capacity producing 4,830,000,000 kilowatt-hours annually. The reservoir would inundate the lowest of the three sites already licensed for development by the Idaho Power Co. but on which construction has not yet been started. We are now going forward with a feasibility investigation so that a final report on Pleasant Valley can be prepared. This project would be an immediate addition to the power supply of the Northwest. It would provide major flood control so badly needed in this area.

Arrangements are now being made for transporting migratory fish in both directions around the Brownlee Dam. The addition of Pleasant Valley Dam would only require a little longer haul. Migratory salmon runs in the Snake are small compared with the Salmon River so this reach of the Snake is a good place to experiment without serious consequence.

While only most preliminary data is available on Nez Perce, it appears a good project for flood control and power. However, until the fish problem is satisfactorily solved, if it can be solved, high dams are not practicable on the Salmon River. The solution seems at least 10 years away.

In the meantime, should development work on this important stretch of the river be halted? It need not be. If a high multipurpose Pleasant Valley Dam and reregulating reservoir at Mountain Sheep are built soon, the additional storage in lieu of Nez Perce Dam could be provided later by multipurpose reservoirs on the Salmon River. I emphatically add that dams on the Salmon River should not be undertaken unless and until a successful method is demonstrated to maintain that river as a spawning stream. I should remind you that the Secretary of the Interior, in cooperation with the States, has exclusive responsibility for protection and improvement of the fishing.

Idaho's interest in reserving water for future development and their future power needs should be protected. Their water rights must be assured and their future water needs protected. Not only Idaho but Oregon, Washington, Wyoming and Montana as well have thousands of acres of dry land which can be made more productive by irrigation. They have industries, cities and vast undeveloped minerals all needing water and power to continue their development and growth. The expensive multipurpose developments which will supply water for our growing needs requires financial assistance. This can be provided. A portion of the power revenue from the dams could be earmarked for assistance in upstream irrigation development. The establishment of a basin fund to which all of the federally constructed dams would contribute a share of their revenues for further water development is also under consideration.

I am speaking not of agricultural production now or five years from now or even 10 years. I am speaking of the future decades when our increasing population and decreasing farmland pose the threat of food shortages and spiraling food price unless we produce more from the good land we will have left. We are losing good farmland at the alarming rate of over a million acres a year to urban, industrial, highway and airport

expansion. Irrigation is one of the surest ways to increase and diversify farm production on our available acreage.

Finally, in discussing this needed water resources development, I want to state my own personal belief that there is a place in it for private enterprise, for local public groups, and for the Federal Government. I have mentioned the tremendous investment the Federal Government has already made in the Columbia River Basin. These sums must continue to be provided for many years to come if the Pacific Northwest is to realize the full benefits from its richest resource, the Columbia River system.

They might come entirely from the Federal Treasury but this is problematical, even though they represent an investment which will, for the most part, be returned with interest. As you know, the Federal budget and the taxpayer who supports it are both hardpressed. Economy in Government expenditure is a necessity. A more reasonable and likely solution would be to divide the burden between the Federal Government and the investing public.

Ways have been proposed whereby utilities, both publicly and privately owned, may participate in the financing of multipurpose projects and, in return, participate in the benefits by sharing the power output during the payout period. I believe this is the logical method to assure continued development and growth. A determination of policy or degree of participation as to individual projects would be the responsibility of Congress. We must, in the Federal Government, continue to operate in the framework of the laws the Congress has provided.

The important thing is that no stalemate develops in the orderly process of water resources development. The future economy of the West depends upon continued development and maximum use of our natural resources, especially water.

Roy E. Morgan, of Wilkes-Barre, Elected President of Pennsylvania Association of Broadcasters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Record on the election of Roy E. Morgan, broadcasting company executive, to the presidency of the Pennsylvania Association of Broadcasters:

Election of Roy E. Morgan, Forty Fort, as president of Pennsylvania Association of Broadcasters adds to the honors that have come to him through the years by virtue of his pronounced success in his vocation. He is executive vice president of Wilk and Wilk-TV. His station has been in operation 10 years. It is not new for him to be the head of the broadcasters' group for he was formerly president of the Penn-Del Broadcasters' Association. He has been serving as first vice president of the Pennsylvania association.

Many fields other than his own have known him as a leader. His directorships are numerous. He is past president of Family Service Association, chairman of the groups division of the United Fund and is past lieutenant-governor of the Kiwanis 15th District. He has been active in Sunday school work as a teacher.

Early in his career he was a member of the Record newsroom staff. He taught in Hanover Township schools for 2 years. His record as an educator includes administrative work with the undergraduate center of Penn State at Dubois and Hazleton and also at the university. For a time he was director of instruction at Yale University, and he served as an executive officer of the Office of Price Administration in Washington, D. C.

His is the second State presidency to come to a local resident this week. The other, as announced yesterday, went to Mrs. Norman F. Patton, the newly-elected president of the League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania.

Report on International Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN HARRIS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, I have filed today with the House of Representatives a report on international health. The report summarizes testimony given by the Public Health Service and the Department of State at hearings held during the 84th Congress on the organization and financing of, and the participation of the United States in, international health programs.

On this occasion I released the following statement which explains the circumstances which led to the preparation of the report:

Congressman OREN HARRIS, Democrat, Arkansas, chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, announced today the filing with the House of Representatives of a report on international health. The report summarizes testimony given by the Public Health Service and the Department of State at hearings held during the 84th Congress on the organization and financing of, and the participation of the United States in, international health programs.

"While at this time, the committee does not offer any conclusions with respect to the role which the United States plays in international health programs," Congressman HARRIS stated, "the programs are of such scope and far-flung character that it seemed appropriate to make public for the benefit of the Congress and the American people, this summary of testimony, thus bringing together in one place information available on the organization and financing of, and United States participation in, international health programs."

Congressman HARRIS pointed out that the release of this report coincided with the annual meeting at the Assembly of the World Health Organization in Geneva, Switzerland, in which Congressman JOHN E. FOGARTY, Democrat, Rhode Island, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare of the Appropriations Committee, and Congressman CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, Republican, New Jersey, the ranking minority member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, were participating as congressional advisors to the United States delegation. Mr. HARRIS expressed the opinion that Mr. WOLVERTON'S designation as one of the congressional advisors to this important meeting constituted a recognition of the committee's continuing interest in, and contributions to, the field of international health.

Congressman HARRIS called attention to the possible overlapping of activities of the several agencies operating in the field of international health. He stated that, while it appeared that substantial efforts had been made to avoid unnecessary duplication through full exchange of information and formal consultation among the officials concerned, it was not clear whether all had been achieved in this respect that may be desired. Congressman HARRIS indicated that the Committee would give its attention to this problem in its continuing scrutiny of international health programs.

Congressman HARRIS pointed out that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has legislative jurisdiction in the field of health, and that in the exercise of its responsibilities in this field, the Committee in the past had frequent occasion to inquire into international health programs in different parts of the world. These inquiries included the operation of the Public Health Service in foreign countries, and the health and quarantine problems attending the facilitation of international air commerce. Previous reports of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, however, dealt only with international health activities in particular functional fields or in particular geographic areas. The instant summary is intended to supply comprehensive background information for future inquiries in this field.

Remarks by Deputy Secretary of Defense Donald A. Quarles, Armed Forces Day Observance at Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. MAHON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I accompanied Deputy Secretary of Defense Donald A. Quarles to Lubbock, Tex., where he addressed the annual meeting of the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce on the evening of May 16; and on May 17 he delivered an Armed Forces Day observance speech at Texas Technological College.

The people of the Lubbock area were tremendously impressed with the personality and character of Mr. Quarles. They liked him very much, and they liked his speeches, giving him a wonderful hearing.

I would like to add that, in my judgment, Donald A. Quarles is one of the ablest men who has appeared on the Washington scene during my service in Congress. I have great admiration and respect for him.

I am inserting for printing in the RECORD his Armed Forces Day speech at Texas Technological College:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great honor for me to be with you here in Lubbock to participate in your Armed Forces Day celebration. We in defense have several very particular interests in Lubbock.

The first of these, and I am sure you will excuse an Air Force alumnus for placing it

first, is our Reese Air Force Base which has made such a great contribution to the training of pilots and the building of air power during and since World War II. During World War II, for example, approximately 7,000 fighter-bomber and transport pilots were trained at Reese Field. This was an important contribution to the successful task of building an air force second to none. Since World War II, Reese Air Force Base has continued in this role and with the same outstanding success.

The second of our particular interests in this community is Texas Technological College which is doing such a fine job of producing much needed engineers. It was my distinct pleasure earlier in the day to make a brief tour of this fine institution with President Jones, to meet some of the faculty and to see the facilities that have been provided. I was particularly interested to learn of plans for an engineering and research institute in the college, and wish you great success in this endeavor.

Coming to the Defense Department as I do from a life in the engineering profession, I naturally tend to emphasize in my mind the technical aspects of the defense business and the vital need in our long-range national security for a broad and expanding base in technology. During World War II, by mobilizing our vast industrial potential and with the closest support of our scientists and engineers, we were able to overcome the terrific head-start of the Axis nations and to emerge victorious from what was in the early days of the war a very discouraging situation. One might say that we were shielded by our oceans and allies long enough to give us time to build up the strength necessary to meet the challenge and to win victory.

In this very process of mobilizing science and industry to the needs of defense, however, forces were created which have now completely changed the national security problem. Our oceans are no longer a protection because, under the impact of science and technology, weapon delivery systems have been developed which can readily span them. And perhaps most important of all, the creation by scientists and the development by engineers of atomic explosives has made available weapons of previously undreamed of potency, millionfold, as compared with chemical explosives. Since science knows no national boundaries, these advances in weaponry have, for the first time in our history, exposed our homeland to the possibility of an instant, devastating and widespread attack.

It is this exposure and the measures we must take to meet it that I would like to discuss with you today.

First, let's take stock of the situation. The Soviets alone have over 170 divisions, more than 20,000 combat aircraft, and the second largest navy in the world, with over 400 submarines. The Communist Far East has about 200 divisions and over 2,500 aircraft. The Soviet satellites have about 70 divisions and some 2,500 aircraft. Not only are these forces impressive in size, but the Communists are also making impressive advances in the quality of their equipment. Their forces are being continually modernized with new jet aircraft, guided missiles and other weapons.

Moreover, their objectives have never changed. They have repeatedly announced the basic Communist doctrine of world domination. In spite of occasional peace overtures, their recent military actions in Korea, Indochina, Hungary, and Poland give a clear picture of their policy and intentions.

Our problem is to counter this growing Communist might with such forces as to convince them that they cannot to advantage exploit it by aggression against the free world position. What we require in order to maintain such a deterrent position is, of course, a matter of military judgment. It depends on many things, including the build-up and deployment of our own forces; the build-up and deployment of the forces of our friends and allies in the free world; and the build-up of striking power behind the Iron Curtain. Military authorities agree, I believe, that the collective strength of the Free World constitutes today a sound deterrent against Communist aggression. While this deterrent features the retaliatory striking power of our Strategic Air Command, it is much broader than SAC. It includes the great military power of all the tactical forces—land, sea and air—not only of our own military services, but of the whole free world coalition. Our problem is to maintain in the future what is today conceded to be a reasonably sound position.

It is the very rapid advance of technology that makes the maintenance of this position such a tricky problem. I have mentioned the great technological changes that have already taken place during and following World War II. It is the further similar changes which we cannot clearly foresee, but which we are sure will take place, that create the uncertainty in our future position vis-a-vis the Communist bloc. We are thus engaged in what we have sometimes called a technological race with the Communists. It is a race in which we started out with a very substantial lead—in fact, with a considerable degree of complacency. Post-war events have changed this. The Soviets have made very substantial progress and are whittling down our lead. They have done a very remarkable job of strengthening and extending their system of education in the physical sciences and in applied technology, to the point where they are today turning out competent engineers at a much faster rate than we are. So, you see why I say that we in Defense are so much interested in the work going on here in Texas Tech.

Maintenance of a strong deterrent position against a massive surprise attack, while it is our top priority requirement, is not the whole story because it deals with only one of the several possible Communist tactics. In pursuit of their avowed purpose of communizing the rest of the world, they might, if deprived of the massive onslaught approach, resort to alternative tactics. We must also be prepared to meet these alternatives.

One such alternative, in which practice has made them expert, is the infiltration and subversion of any marginal countries where their blandishments might be expected to succeed. Here, our response must be a long-term cooperative effort to create in any such freedom-loving countries the stability and economic vitality needed to thwart these covert maneuvers.

Another tactic, and closely related to this last one, has sometimes been called the nibbling tactic; that is, the probing of soft spots on our periphery, with the hope that our front could be ruptured without creating a cause for all-out war. Here again, our response must be to create such local military strength and such steadfastness of purpose as to defeat any such minor thrusts; in other words, to make sure that nibbling tactics will not succeed, and thus to require the Communists, if they decide to resort to force, to use enough of it to expose their aggressive intent to the rest of the world.

To further these national objectives, we have joined in defensive mutual security arrangements with many other freedom-loving countries. Collectively, we hope to extend to all the kind of security that we ourselves seek. This is not philanthropy. It is enlightened self-interest. Communist infiltration and subversion of such freedom-loving countries around the periphery could eventually bring the red tide to our very shores. Communist nibbling could erode and ultimately destroy our position. We must continue to help our free world friends and allies to be strong enough to resist such tactics.

There have been unfortunate misunderstandings about our military assistance programs and our mutual security concepts that I would like to try to clear up.

The objectives of our military-assistance program are: (1) To protect our bases overseas; (2) to support our collective security agreements, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization; (3) to safeguard vital strategic supplies; (4) to build up military strength of allies; and (5) to accomplish these and other national objectives at least cost to the United States.

To illustrate this last point, our military assistance often makes it possible to accomplish United States objectives more economically than we could with our own forces. For example, it costs some $3,500 a year to clothe, pay, feed, and house a United States' soldier. The soldiers of some of our most effective and proven Allies cost only from one-fourth to one-thirtieth as much, so assisting them to build up their forces is a sound investment. Furthermore, their forces would be in a better position than ours to take care of their local and neighborhood problems.

Misconceptions also exist with regard to the extent of our participation in these mutual-security programs. For example, in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which is so vital to the defense of Europe, the United States contributed $12.3 billion in military assistance from 1950 through 1956. In the same period, these same European nations contributed $78 billion, or more than 6 times our contribution. Incidentally, during these same years, the total United States outlay for our own forces was about 20 times our NATO contribution. In my opinion, we are receiving great defense returns from our NATO investment.

This brings me to the very important matter of the budget. As you know, the Congress has been giving intensive consideration to the defense budget. I am sure you also know that your Congressman, GEORGE MAHON, is the chairman of the House subcommittee which is responsible for defense appropriations. I mentioned earlier two very special interests that we in defense have in Lubbock. I would now like to add a third. We feel particularly indebted to this district that it has sent to Congress a man of GEORGE MAHON'S stature. With his great knowledge of the business, his wisdom in handling complex questions, and his statesmanship in putting national security questions on the highest political plane, it is a great good fortune that he is where he is. I am sure his Texas background stands him in good stead because he has a mighty tough assignment. Just in case I might be accused of "apple polishing" in this connection, I want the record to show that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, Mr. MAHON'S committee has already completed the Defense appropriation bill that it will recommend to the Congress.

As the President said in his broadcast earlier this week, there is no cut-rate solution for our security problem. The Defense budget is large but the appropriations we are seeking in the coming year still do not provide for all of the forces and equipment which our military leaders feel they should have to perform their assigned missions. They can make a good case for a larger budget. While I am confident that by concentrating on the essentials and making all possible economies throughout the military establishment we can carry out our responsibilities in the year ahead, any substantial cuts in these estimates would be a gamble with the safety of our country. As Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, stated recently—"In my opinion it is a peril-point budget and should not be cut."

We must all recognize that we are in a dollar squeeze produced by the ever-increasing requirements to meet the Communist competition on the one hand and mounting Defense costs on the other hand. To cite a few examples, unit production costs are continuing to rise and our weapons are becoming increasingly complex. A modern all-weather fighter, for example, carries over a ton of intricate electronic equipment. Modern aircraft cost 10 to 30 times as much as their World War II counterparts. We, nevertheless, have to have the improved equipment since the World War II counterparts would be useless in the present environment. Housekeeping and maintenance costs for bases, facilities, units and equipments all over the world are high and there is no readily available formula for reducing them if we are to meet our commitments.

Regardless of problems, the Nation must afford an adequate defense or eventually face disaster. I know of no evidence that our country with its healthy and growing economy cannot afford the budget now being considered. It, of course, cannot afford waste and we in the Defense Department recognize our obligation to achieve every possible economy through increased efficiency. Our biggest need is for the understanding and support of thoughtful, patriotic people like those gathered here today. The difference between an adequate and inadequate budget may be the difference between peace and war. This is a most serious matter which transcends partisan politics.

No one wants to accept an expensive and uneasy peace as a permanent way of life. As the President has repeatedly stressed, we must always be seeking mutual arrangements, such as mutual inspection which will ease tensions and reduce the dangers inherent in this situation. Until such arrangements are made and adequate safeguards are actually in effect, however, our best, and so far as I can see our only, sound basis for security is the continued maintenance of modern and powerful Armed Forces, as painful as this may be from a tax standpoint.

I am afraid I have made this appear as a bleak and unattractive prospect. Paradoxically, I think it is not. In fact, it offers the first real hope that by waging peace, we can not only avoid war, but we can in due course work out a system of world order that excludes war as an instrument of national policy. This is the deep significance of the theme of this Armed Forces Day—"Power for peace."

Waging peace, in the meantime, does call for sacrifices. It does require us to stand firm in the face of great danger. It is the burden and the challenge of our generation.

Powerful Arguments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point editorials from four newspapers published in the second congressional district.

These editorials express the publishers' interpretation of a poll recently conducted by the Roper Co. in the Puget Sound-Cascade region concerning power. The results of this poll agree with the result of a questionnaire which I sent to 80,000 persons in the second district last year.

I believe these editorials are significant in that they all carry the same theme—a philosophy which I have advocated since coming to Congress—that those who insist on making a political football out of power are hampering the development of the Northwest, and are keeping us from getting the job done. The facts of power life are that we need $300 million annually to be spent building dams and powerplants. Even during the heyday of Government power building, the Northwest only got $150 million a year from the Roosevelt Congresses. It stands to reason that we need every dollar at our command, Federal, city, private, and public utility district, and that we need a concerted cooperative effort—to work together—so that the development and distribution of this power will be a coordinated enterprise. We cannot attract new industries with inadequate power supplies, or to an area where a hydroelectric civil war makes location of an industry a risk due to uncertainty of power development.

The first of these editorials is titled "Partnership Concept," and appeared in the Bothell Citizen, published by Mr. Lee Irwin, weekly at Bothell, Wash. Another weekly paper, the Ferndale Record, published by Ralph Pinkerton at Ferndale, Wash., carried an editorial entitled "Time To Go Forward." The Bellingham Herald, a daily newspaper published at Bellingham, Wash., published an editorial entitled "The People Favor the Middle Way." From Seattle, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer published an editorial entitled "Public Opinion."

Text of these editorials is as follows:

[From the Bothell (Wash.) Citizen]

PARTNERSHIP CONCEPT

A major change of climate in the public against private power question, which first became apparent last year, apparently is continuing.

For years, liberal-minded politicians made political hay under the banner of public power advocates. With the advent of the Eisenhower administration, a new concept—that of cooperative approach—was introduced.

A survey undertaken by Elmo Roper and Associates in mid-1956 indicated what the people of the Puget Sound-Cascade region wanted was just exactly that * * * cooperation by both private and public power to provide necessary energy for the region's future growth.

The 1956 election saw the people of our State going strongly for President Eisenhower, but just as strongly for Senator WARREN MAGNUSON, a public power advocate, and Democratic Gov. Albert Rosellini. Hence, another survey on the power attitudes of the region seemed in order.

The survey, just completed, showed that support for the partnership concept actually has grown substantially. By better than a 4 to 1 margin, the people want their power supplied by a cooperative effort of private and public power. They rejected Federal control by a 3 to 1 margin. In short, the people are tired of seeing power used as a political football.

Politicians take note.

[From the Ferndale (Wash.) Record]

TIME TO GO FORWARD

A survey made in March shows people of the Northwest are very satisfied with the manner in which private and public power are working together to try to help their thousands of private and industrial users enjoy life here.

What we do need to do most is to forget some of the cheap politics, and start working together. We want to forget former differences, instead go out and try to attract new industries to come to this State. (And we cannot do that by increasing industrial insurance and unemployment compensation costs to employers.)

It is high time this State learned to work together for its common good.

[From the Bellingham (Wash.) Herald]

PEOPLE FAVOR MIDDLE WAY

Despite certain political tub-thumping on "public power" in the Pacific Northwest, a recent public opinion survey reveals that there has been no noteworthy popular interest in the subject in the Puget Sound-Cascade region.

The study, the second within a year sponsored by the Puget Sound Power & Light Co., and conducted by a disinterested public-opinion survey organization, was designed to determine the public attitude and philosophy on electric power.

In mid-1956 the first survey indicated that "the desire for a new cooperative approach in power runs deep among the people—what they would like is the best of both private and public, working in close-knit harmony to meet the region's needs."

In the national election later in the year the voters in the area went heavily for President Eisenhower on the Republican ticket, but also elected Democrats WARREN MAGNUSON to the United States Senate and Albert D. Rosellini to the governorship.

In the recent study voters were asked what they felt were the chief issues on their minds when they went to the polls last November. Noticeably absent from the top issues was the so-called power controversy. Scarcely more than 2 out of every 100 persons interviewed said this was an important issue to them in last fall's election (the international situation, the high cost of living, schools and education, labor problems, and the need for strong leadership in troubled times led the list), and many of those who commented said they did not want electric power to become a political football.

Results of the survey indicated that support for the philosophy of partnership and cooperation in the power field has grown substantially. This concept was favored 3 to 1 in the 1956 survey and by better than 4 to 1 this year, while 70 percent of those interviewed were of the firm belief that electric utilities should work in harmony for the full development of the region.

Further, by a vote of 5 to 1, compared to 3 to 1 last year, preference was shown for control of electric utilites by local companies and agencies, and decisive opposition was registered to outside private or public sponsorship.

Another interesting fact of the survey is that support of the Puget Sound Utilities Council, made up of public and private companies in the area, was even higher this year—17 to 1—than it was in 1956.

"Basically," the report concluded, "people feel that they have found in the Puget Sound Utilities Council a new middle course on power, best suited to the maximum growth of the region. * * * It is apparent that the new philosophy on the power has become a lasting part of a new way of life."

[From the Seattle Post-Intelligencer]

PUBLIC OPINION

Last summer Elmo Roper and Associates made a scientific survey in the Puget Sound-Cascade region to determine peoples' attitudes and philosophies on electric power.

That survey indicated that "the desire for a new cooperative approach in power runs deep among the people—what they would like is the best of both private and public power, working in close-knit harmony to meet the region's needs."

Of course this desire of the people was already being met with the Puget Sound Utilities Council, as we have pointed out here before.

But then came the election of November. Voters of the Puget Sound-Cascade region went heavily for President Eisenhower, but also they strongly indorsed Democrat WARREN MAGNUSON for the Senate, and Democrat Albert Rosellini for Governor.

After the election the "hydromancers"—those who try to make politics out of water and power—began to raise the question as to whether the public attitude on power had not changed. Some claimed that the people had reverted to the outmoded public power concept of 20 years ago.

So this March of 1957 the Puget Sound Power & Light Co. engaged Louis Harris to make another survey. Mr. Harris had conducted the earlier poll for Roper and Associates.

The results of this survey indicate, first of all, that five major concerns dominated the voters of the region last November. They were: the international situation, the leading issue by far; the high cost of living; schools and education; labor problems, sharpened by the presence on the ballot of Initiative 198; and the need for strong leadership in troubled times.

Notably absent was the so-called power controversy. Hardly more than 2 out of every 100 people interviewer said that power was an important issue to them last November.

Once again, an impartial survey showed a clear and unmistakable trend of public attitudes on the power question in the Puget Sound-Cascade area. In 1956 the people of the region, by nearly a 3 to 1 count, preferred the concept of cooperation between private and public power.

Today the number who want such cooperation has grown to better than a 4 to 1 margin over either of the other alternatives. And today, the margin expressing a desire for local control of power has risen from 3 to 1 (in 1956) to almost 5 to 1.

The recent survey showed also that the people sharply reject the idea of private utilities banding together in a single company, and reject even more sharply the idea that control of electric utilities be in the hands of the Federal Government. Support for the Puget Sound Utilities Council, endorsed by this newspaper from its start, has risen markedly.

It's interest to note, too, that almost 7 out of 10 people single out Puget Sound Power & Light, coupled with Boeing, as doing the best jobs of any company or industry in the area. And strong in the minds of most people of the region is the concept that hydroelectric power is the wellspring of better living in a dynamic Pacific Northwest economy.

Speech of Hon. Robert W. Hemphill, Lancaster, S. C., Armed Forces Day, May 18, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I desire to include an address delivered by Hon. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL, Member of Congress, Fifth District of South Carolina, at the Armed Forces Day celebration in Lancaster, S. C., on Saturday, May 18.

The address follows:

SPEECH OF HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL, LANCASTER, S. C., ARMED FORCES DAY, MAY 18, 1957

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, it is a privilege to be with you today and join and have a part in the celebration of Armed Forces Day in the great county of Lancaster.

This the first speaking engagement I have accepted in the district since the Congress convened, and I am delighted to be here among so many friends and with such pleasant recollections of my past association with you in the courthouse and elsewhere.

America today is, from a military standpoint, at a stage of development and preparedness which most of us believe vital at all times. Because of improved methods of communication, our people are alerted and aware of world conditions which make necessary the maintenance of experienced Armed Forces.

The two major factors affecting current defense policies are the persistent threat to the security of the United States and the rapid scientific and technological developments in recent years.

The first requires the continued maintenance of a ready and flexible defense establishment to deter aggression of any size. The second demands special emphasis on an effective research and development effort and the progressive adjustment of the Armed Forces to take advantage of the new weapons and equipment available.[1]

The Western Hemisphere cannot hope to win the world race in numerical manpower. We have neither the initial number of people, the time, nor the inclination to match the hordes of China, Russia, and their satellites.

As Americans we have refused to sacrifice our standards of living in order to have numerical advantage. Before World War II we were criticized for this attitude, but the American soldier of World War II in combat warfare proved that our way of life makes for the best men and the best soldiers.

I am thankful that I live in a country which has never debased its national philosophy by the support of brothels for the productivity of humanity in a manner such as was exhibited in Nazi Germany in the 1930's.

Since we cannot put into the field great numbers of soldiers, sailors, and airmen, we must concentrate on smaller units, highly specialized, with striking power trained to near perfection.

Improvement in aircraft in recent years has inaugurated a new air age and almost daily some new weapon, or improvement, takes its place in this the supersonic decade. Guided missiles of all types—surface to surface—surface to air—air to air—and air to surface, are augmenting our retaliatory and defensive strength and implementing the offensive power of each arm of our service.

On June 30, 1956,[2] we had 1,026,000 men in the Army, some 83,000 less than a year earlier, and although the force level declined, combat effectiveness continued to improve and is unparalleled in modern military history. Our Navy is at the approximately same strength, having a manpower increase of only 9,000 men. We have superior carriers, mobile airfields, to carry the nuclear warheads, and, because of mobility and evasive potentialities less likely to suffer as a target than stationary land air bases.

The Air Force added 10 new weapons during the fiscal year 1956 and only last week added a vital type aircraft capable of performances which 10 years ago were only a dream.

Our objective is to see that war does not occur. Our present military leaders operate on the assumption that the Communist threat to our national security is one of the present and of the future, and that we must be adaptable to new weapons and new techniques. Our new weapons do not eliminate, at any time, our need for good men and women. In the Air Force, particularly, we face the problem of spending vast sums in training personnel, only to lose their technique because private business has more to offer at the end of the enlistment period. The Congress has attempted by various legislations to offset this situation. I speak of the Dependent's Medical Care Act of 1956, of the Military Public Works Act of that year, as well as the inclusion of the soldiers in the Federal Social Security System. Effective January 1, 1957, survivors received increased benefits and well they should.

You and I as citizens want the best. In typical American fashion, we demand it. We expect it in the future, and we believe that those who serve in our Armed Forces today, including those in our Reserve programs, are the best on earth. Unfortunately, we cannot complete the defense picture by citing military strength alone. In the event of a nuclear war, triggered by some fanatic across the water, we find upon us certain catastrophe, the limits of which no man can accurately predict. For the first time in mankind's history partial defense is not enough to protect our citizens from atomic-hydrogen weapons so powerful that one bomb could destroy the great city of Los Angeles.

We are confronted with these harsh facts of the contemporary world. We must strive to increase the deterrent factors against war. The two most powerful deterrents we possess today are the military power to strike back against an aggressor's blows and the military defenses within the Nation. Our third powerful deterrent can be created—to strengthen our capacity to substantially withstand attack, our national resiliency, by insuring the continuity of civil government and the protection of civilian life. For want of a better phrase we speak of "civil defense."[3]

Nonmilitary defense is as much a necessity to our survival as any weapon or any branch of the service. In the event of war, we must face such necessities as organization, cooperation, and authority. We must be able to quickly inventory, not only the damage, but the surviving raw and manufactured materials. Otherwise, you could conceivably be permitting people to make jukeboxes out of the only steel that might be left.[4]

In the testimony before the congressional subcommittee, known as the Holifield Military Operations Subcommittee, Committee on Government Operations, the former Governor of Nebraska, Hon. Val Peterson, now Administrator, Federal Civil Defense Administration, brought out the fact that in the past wars we have had the luxury of time. We could organize and get ready. His statement before the committee was, "I think it is absolutely clear that if we are not prepared when the first atomic bomb falls, we just can't get prepared following the explosion of the first bomb assuming that we have a large attack."[5]

Suppose the supply of drinking water in some area was completely contaminated. What would be the effect on the population? To what authority could we turn? What productive capabilities would remain if a single hydrogen bomb can release more destructive explosive power than all of the bombs dropped on Europe and Japan during World War II? It is estimated that we dropped the equivalent of 2½ million tons

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

of TNT on Europe as compared with the equivalent explosive power of 12 million tons of TNT in the first hydrogen bomb, which has since been improved to twenty-or-more million tons.

Now I have talked of men and of weapons and of fear and of war, and now let us talk about people. Our western civilization is neither more able to fight nor ready to defend, than we ourselves. The fiber of the individual must be as strong as his forebears.

At the risk of increasing the trend toward statism, I believe we should develop our national pride, drumbeat loyalty to our country, inoculate the young and the old with the determination that we must survive regardless of the impending or realized catastrophe.

Many military men will tell you that military effectiveness for any length of time is dependent upon supply. Supply, called logistics by the soldier, means civilians. Civilians mean Americans like you, who in World War II produced for and fed the American fighting force, sacrificing daily in the war effort.

We must support our military. We must give them more than money and weapons. We must give them our moral support, evidenced by our appreciation of their effort and our acknowledgment that the uniform of the American military man, except for the cloth of the church, is the garment of highest honor.

We must be prepared on the home front. We should back up our civil defense with all the power at our command. We must have a determination for peace, but we must also have the determination that my child and your child would better die for the United States than live under the heel of a foreign tyrant.

I speak of these things because it is my conviction that our ultimate victory will be achieved by our spiritual, mental, and moral preparedness. We are people with a heritage of hardships and conquest over those hardships. If any enemy believes us prepared in mind and body, individually or nationally, there will be no war.

Weapons are no defense to bacteriological and psychological warfare, and propaganda. A sudden flare on the horizon—a hysterical announcement over the radio or television—an untrue newscast describing unheard-of destruction and potential dislocation, the American people would in less than an hour be put to the test.

The determination to fight or not to fight would still be left with the civil authorities. The decision of the Government might be made upon what they believe the American people wanted in such time of crisis.

So all of us here can realize that this is our day and our generation, and whether we wear the uniform, or have worn it yesterday, or have been civilians who backed up the Armed Forces, paid the taxes, produced and gave the soldier the moral backing, we must face the perils of our age.

The mind and the heart and the attitude of each American here is foremost for this country. I join with you in the determination we will not let America down.

---

[1] Department of Defense Semiannual Report of the Secretary of Defense, January 1, 1956–June 30, 1956.

[2] Department of Defense Semiannual Report of the Secretary of Defense, January 1, 1956–June 30, 1956.

[3] Twenty-fourth Intermediate Report of the Committee on Government Operations.

[4] Twenty-fourth Intermediate Report of the Committee on Government Operations.

[5] Civil Defense for National Survival, hearings before a Subcommittee on Government Operations, 84th Cong., 2d sess.

National Association of Manufacturers Leader's Tax System Views Disputed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, a letter I have received from Henry and Mark Norman, of Syracuse, N. Y., enclosing a letter they wrote to the editor of the Post-Standard, of Syracuse, N. Y.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SYRACUSE, N. Y., *April 30, 1957.*

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Enclosed please find a published letter written by us in your defense against an attack by Mr. Ernest W. Swigert, president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

We realize that it is impossible for you, who take your legislative responsibilities seriously, to defend yourself against every attack upon you, however unfair and unfounded it may be The responsibility of this defense devolves upon those who are in sympathy with the ideals and principles you stand for. We proudly count ourselves in this group and we send you this letter in the hope it may encourage you in some small measure in your fight for good government.

With best wishes for a long and successful tenure in the United States Senate, we are,

Yours truly,

HENRY R. NORMAN.
MARK M. NORMAN.

NAM LEADER'S TAX SYSTEM VIEWS DISPUTED

To the EDITOR OF THE POST-STANDARD:

Tuesday evening, April 23, Syracusans were able to sit in on the turning back of the clock. This was accomplished by courtesy of Ernest W. Swigert, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, in his speech before the Manufacturers' Association of Syracuse, Inc. (Oregon Senators Called Disgrace to Nation, April 24.)

In an address based more on nostalgia for the good old days of economic feudalism than on facts, Mr. Swigert gave us an NAM's eye view of what's wrong with our country.

One of his principal gripes was the income tax. He favors the bill sponsored by Representative ANTONI N. SADLAK, of Connecticut, by which the top income tax bracket of 91 percent would be reduced to 42 percent and the bottom bracket from 20 percent to 15 percent. We shouldn't be surprised that an NAM spokesman favors a 49 percent reduction to the top brackets and a 5 percent reduction to the lower.

This must have seemed a little too much, even for Mr. Swigert, because he self-righteously adds that 60 percent of the reduction would benefit those making $6,000 or less. Since at least 80 percent of wage earners make less than $6,000, one wonders what Mr. Swigert is so self-righteous about.

His fantastic statement that the tax system is set up to reform society and not for revenue is given the lie by the fact that record annual corporate earnings after taxes are announced with monotonous regularity.

His contention that the present tax system is harmful to economic growth and disruptive to individual initiative doesn't stand examination. The economic growth in the 40 years since the present tax system was started has been unprecedented in human history.

Mr. Swigert obviously yearns for the days of the robber barons when business was a law unto itself. It is unfortunate that the speech of the president of a group representing business does not reflect the growing consciousness of business' responsibility to the public felt by the more enlightened business leaders of today.

The NAM spokesman's unfounded and despicable attack upon Oregon's two able Senators, WAYNE MORSE and RICHARD NEUBERGER, falls of its own weight. Despite Ike's blessing, unlimited funds, great popularity, a convenient memory, and a campaign uninhibited by considerations of ethics and scruples, Douglas McKay was unable to unseat Senator MORSE in Oregon, a heretofore rock-ribbed Republican stronghold.

In his recent speech in Syracuse, Senator MORSE stated his conviction that our strength was not in our vast resources, but in our people. They are far more important than our material wealth. Mr. Swigert apparently is not in sympathy with these sentiments and considers them criminal.

Despite Mr. Swigert's speech, we are confident the American people are not interested in returning to the ragged individualism and "normalcy" of the Republican era after World War I. Oregon set the pace for good government—it will be sustained, Mr. Swigert to the contrary notwithstanding.

HENRY R. NORMAN,
MARK M. NORMAN.

SYRACUSE.

Unification Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. MAHON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, there is a great deal of public interest in the problem of unification among the services. It represents the field wherein great savings can be made in defense spending. Mr. James Reston, of the New York Times, wrote a very interesting article on the subject in the May 16 issue of the New York Times, and I submit it for printing in the RECORD:

UNIFICATION PROBLEM: A DISCUSSION OF THE PRESIDENT'S FIGHT AGAINST WASTEFUL AND DIVIDED AUTHORITY

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, May 15.—President Eisenhower moved the debate on the budget today on to higher and more fertile ground.

Yesterday, in his TV address to the Nation, he said, in effect, that the choice was between accepting his defense budget about as it is or gambling with the safety of the Nation.

Today in his news conference, however, he conceded that considerable savings could be made if we could get rid of prejudices and unnecessary duplications in the three armed services.

This naturally raised the question here tonight why, if the President sees considerable savings in greater unification of the services, he does not use his power to enforce more unified planning, more clearly defined service missions and objectives, and more economical procedures at the Pentagon.

There is little doubt about General Eisenhower's views on this subject. He has been fighting against wasteful and divided authority in the armed services ever since he returned from his triumphant command in Europe 12 years ago.

Indeed, he appeared before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs on November 16, 1945, and presented a nine-point plan that included most of the suggestions that are now being made by those who contend that his budget could be cut today without reducing the security of the Nation.

POINTS IN 1945 PROGRAM

He presented his program then in these words:

"A single executive department of the Armed Forces is essential in order that there may be a well-rounded military program which assures for us the maximum protection for each dollar appropriated.

"It is not feasible to arrive at the size or composition of each arm without simultaneously considering the others. Each arm supplements the other, and no single service can be independently considered.

"The national security is safeguarded only if the security establishment is fashioned, trained, and administered under single direction—by a single department.

"The area of atomic bombs, pilotless missiles makes unity of concept, indoctrination and training more necessary than ever before.

"The pooling of talent in the field of scientific research and development is an obsolute necessity. Only through a single department can coordinated development of new weapons be assured.

"There is the absolute need for economy in administration if we are, as a Nation, to afford an adequate security establishment. So long as there are 2 executive departments in Washington, instead of 1, we will continue to be harassed with the needless extravagance of double administration, overlapping duplications, deferring standards and competitive procurement.

"Here I would like to give one small example of that from the last war. The Army had a 4.5 rocket; the Navy developed a 5-inch rocket. Each rocket followed the same principles; each was a splendid weapon. But there was a greater cost to the American public because they had that slight difference and because they did it independently rather than together.

"If we do not integrate the executive management of the three members of our fighting team, our postwar security establishment will become the patchwork improvisation that is inevitable where independent departments, at different times, compete before separate congressional committees. With integration we can buy more security for less money. Without it we will spend more money and obtain less security.

"One of the most important and least understood factors in modern war is that it is essentially a matter of perfected teamwork. Perfected teamwork results as much from friendly association over a period of years as it does from the more obvious reasons of combined tactical training and doctrine. By unification at the top we emphasize to our soldiers, sailors, and airmen the essential truth that each wears the uniform of the Nation's fighting forces and that his natural friends and trusted associates are the others who wear that uniform, regardless of its color or design.

"Finally, there is no such thing as a separate land, sea, or air war; therefore we must now recognize this fact by establishing a single department of the Armed Forces to govern us all."

CRITICISM APPLY NOW

These remarks of General Eisenhower are an excellent summary of the criticism that are being made now, 12 years later, about the operations of the armed services under his authority as Commander in Chief.

There is a Department of Defense now, and progress has been made toward unification, but the services are still fighting for the development and control of similar weapons, and still duplicating supplies and services that General Eisenhower thought were extravagant and unnecessary over a decade ago.

The President recalled this morning that he returned from World War II convinced that "the day of the separate services was gone." He added that he had encountered "very fierce opposition" then, but that the law establishing the Defense Department did not meet with his desires.

He wanted at that time a chief of staff for the President. He emphasized over and over again that the main thing that was needed was the power of decision to settle inevitable differences among the services.

"In war," he said, "you must have decision. A bum decision is better than none. And the trouble is that when you get three [decisions] you finally get none."

STRESSES NEED OF UNITY

"We all agree," he told the Armed Services Committee of the Senate in 1947, "that that kind of [unified] command is necessary in the field. In my opinion, it is necessary in Washington, and it is necessary in such things, finally, as our planning and our basic legal authority."

The question now raised in the debate of 1957, therefore, is almost precisely the same as the question raised by the General himself 12 years ago.

Where does the power of decision lie now for unified decisions that defend both the security and economy of the country? Does it lie with the President or the Secretary of Defense, and is it being exercised by them? Or is the law inadequate, as General Eisenhower thought 12 years ago, and in need of revision?

By discussing this aspect of the problem today, the President has pointed the way out of the dilemma he emphasized last night. For more than any American alive, he has both the knowledge and the power to improve the unification and therefore the economy of the services.

The Congressional Quarterly Is Neither Authoritative Nor Nonpartisan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, yesterday under special order the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON] discussed the resident's legislative program with particular reference to the party allegiance of the Members of the House who allegedly were or were not supporting this legislative program.

The sole authority for determining whether a Member of the House was or was not supporting the President was the Congressional Quarterly, a private publication presumably for profit published by Henrietta and Nelson Poynter, who are also publishers of the St. Petersburg, Florida Times.

The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON] refers to this private publication as "nonpartisan." The publication refers to itself as "The authorative Reference on Congress". Neither, in my judgment, is correct.

The documentation of extreme partisanship on the part of the Congressional Quarterly was made by Senator SCHOEPPEL (Kansas) last year and appears on pages 13752–13756 of July 27, 1956 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD under the title "Analysis by Congressional Quarterly of Congressional Support of President Eisenhower." This was a followup of some remarks Senator SCHOEPPEL made at the time he placed an article by Raymond Moley accusing the Congressional Quarterly of extreme partisanship, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 16, 1956—pages 11607, 11608—in his remarks of July 27, 1956 Senator SCHOEPPEL very properly places a letter from Mr. Poynter which undertakes to refute the charge of partisanship made by Mr. Moley and the Senator in his July 16 remarks.

If Mr. Poynter has made any reply to the charges of partisanship appearing in the July 27, 1956 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I have been unable to find it. I would be happy to place any reply that may have been made or any reply that might now be made answering the charges of extreme partisanship in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Congressional Quarterly for the week ending May 17, 1957, devotes several pages to "Individual Eisenhower Support and Opposition Scores Through May 12, 1957, and for the 84th Congress" of both House and Senate Members. The manner in which these alleged support and opposition scores are computed show basic partisanship and are designed seemingly only for one purpose, to deceive whomever might read them.

Although there were only 26 rollcall votes in the House, 22 rollcall votes were used, apparently as a base for the scores. Yet the votes used were not set out in the article so that a reader could judge for himself whether the vote was on an issue that the President had clearly stated his position. The first vote of the House, of course, was for the Speaker. Presumably, this vote was used in the base and thus prevents Congressman MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, the Democratic majority leader, from receiving a 100-percent Eisenhower support instead of 95 percent.

The fact that 14 votes were on 1 appropriation bill and followed a basic pattern was unmentioned. Furthermore, it is obvious that President Eisenhower could not have specific views on budget cuts which in many of these 14 items were less than a million dollars. One item was for $30,000. Following such a point of view would rule out any person serving on the Appropriation Committee from ever performing his constitutional duty of reviewing the executive budget, if he was at the same time to support the Executive then in office. The same principle applies to the individual Members of the Congress.

Although the 14 budget-cut votes were obviously used in the base apparently the vote on the Democratic proposed resolution to ask the President to recommend to the Congress how to cut the budget was not included. There were three

rollcall votes on this matter, on the rule, on recommital, and the passage of the bill itself. Majority Leader McCormack was a ringleader in this partisan anti-Eisenhower maneuver. Or perhaps the Congressional Quarterly did not use in the base rollcall No. 31 which was designed to permit Congressman Patman to investigate the national monetary policies. This was very definitely an anti-administration maneuver again led by the majority leader, Congressman McCormack. Or perhaps rollcall No. 60 was eliminated which called for the investigation of the various Federal boards, commissions, and so forth, by a House committee. This, too, was a definite antiadministration maneuver led by the Majority Leader McCormack. Yet Congressman McCormack, according to the Congressional Quarterly, has only one antiadministration vote.

There should be little question in any citizen's mind that the Democratic Senators and Congressmen as a group are not behind the Eisenhower administration. As loyal opponents—and this is as it should be—they critcize Secretary Dulles and our foreign policy. Hardly a day goes by on the floor of the House when some Democratic Member does not make some uncomplimentary remarks about Secretary of Defense Wilson. What the Democrats call the "hard money" policy lies at the base of their constant attack on the Treasury Department and the fight over tax reduction lead by partisan Democrats is not in the too distant past and is certainly in the immediate future. The Justice Department under Attorney General Brownell is a constant target for the Democratic Congressman. The Department of Agriculture and Secretary Benson certainly are unaware of any support they have received from the Democratic leadership in the Congress. The basic dispute in the handling of private and public power, the leasing of mineral rights and so forth, in the Department of Interior divides Democrats from the administration constantly. The handling of TVA by the administration, atomic energy are both basic differences between Democrats and this administration. The list could be enlarged and at the appropriate time I will undertake to do that.

The purpose of these remarks has been to point out that the Congressional Quarterly is not nonpartisan; it is not authoritative. On the contrary it is highly partisan and it speaks out for a certain school of political thinking. I have no objection to it or any other magazine or newspaper taking the position it wishes to take, but I do object to the deception that is being used in taking that position.

I think it is time that the Congress did something about the Congressional Quarterly using the name "Congressional" and using the line "The authoritative reference on Congress" on its title page. This deceives the public and should not be permitted.

Happy Birthday, Irving Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, we have all sung, listened to and enjoyed the music of the great composer of our times, Irving Berlin. It is with great pleasure that I insert in the Record an editorial written by Abe E. Eisenstein on the occasion of Mr. Berlin's 69th birthday. I am certain that my colleagues join me in wishing Mr. Berlin many years of continued good health so that he may continue to enrich the world with his music.

We of Manhattan's lower East Side are particularly proud of Irving Berlin, since he is a product of that area—a local boy who made good.

The editorial follows:

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, IRVING BERLIN
(By Abe E. Eisenstein)

May 11 marks the 69th anniversary of the birth of Irving Berlin, famous East Sider, former newsboy, singing waiter, World War I sergeant, lyricist and melodist, music publisher, and one of America's greatest song composers.

Son of Moses and Leah (Lipkin) Baline, Israel Baline was born in a little town called Temun, in Siberian Russia, the youngest of eight children, of poor Russian Jewish parents. Israel was 4 years old when the Baline family settled on the lower East Side. His first home was a dark, damp, windowless, small three-room basement flat in the then squalid and crowded Monroe Street. Later, they moved to Cherry Street. His father was a cantor in a synagogue, gave Hebrew lessons, and worked during the week in the local butcher shops certifying meat kosher. Papa Baline died in 1896.

As an east side youngster and schoolboy, Israel (known than as Izzy) swam in the East River, played ball, tag, marbles, joined the street gangs, sang on street corners for pennies or in local saloons for nickels or dimes, and sold newspapers to help contribute his share to that earned by his brothers and sisters in the sweat shops of the city.

Israel soon began singing at Callahan's Bar in Chinatown or at the Chatham Saloon on Doyer Street. He received 50 cents for a night's work. Later, he was a plugger of songs for Harry von Tilzer, the composer and music publisher, from the balcony of Tony Pastor's Music Hall in Union Square at $5 a week. Then, he got a job as a singing waiter in Mike Salter's Pelham Cafe, in Chinatown. It was here that Israel met the royal visitor, Prince Louis of Battenberg, and where he wrote the lyrics for his first song, Marie from Sunny Italy. He received only 37 cents in royalties for it, but it brought his new pen name before the public. The young composer chose for his title page, Words by I. Berlin.

While working as a singing waiter in Jimmy Kelly's restaurant on Union Square, Irving Berlin wrote Dorondo. It was his first song with words and music. He received $25 for it. In 1909, lyricist Irving Berlin worked for publisher Ted Snyder, with a drawing account of $25 a week and with royalties on all published songs. Later, he became a partner of the firm.

Alexander's Ragtime Band, an American classic and a pioneer among syncopated dance tunes, was Irving Berlin's first nationwide success. It was originally rejected by leading publishers but became a hit only after the late George M. Cohan sang it at a benefit affair. Mr. Berlin also made a tour in London (receiving about $1,000 a week), where he was billed as the Ragtime King.

World War I sergeant of infantry and former vaudevillian, Irving Berlin wrote and produced the all-soldier revue, "Yip, Yip Yaphank," raising many thousands of dollars for the soldiers' fund. At the end of the war, he made personal tours at leading vaudeville theaters, singing his own songs at $2,000 a week. He also established his own publishing firm and was one of the organizers and builders of the Music Box Theater. His first show, "The Music Box Revue," grossed over $2 million.

During World War II, he directed the GI show, This Is the Army, and sang his old song hit Oh, How I Hate to Get Up in the Morning. After a successful New York run, the show toured the world for 3 years, making over $10 million for the Army Relief Fund.

All proceeds for Arms for the Love of America were devoted to the Army Ordnance Association; Any Bonds Today? helped the war-bond drive to succeed; I Threw a Kiss in the Ocean, for the Navy Relief Fund; Angels of Mercy aided the American Red Cross, and The President's Birthday Ball helped the March of Dimes campaign against infantile paralysis. God Bless America was made world famous by Kate Smith.

He married the former Miss Ellen Mackay in 1926. They have three daughters, Mary Ellen (Mrs. Burden), Linda Louise, and Elizabeth.

East Siders, New Yorkers, and friends everywhere, remember to salute and congratulate you, Irving Berlin, on your 69th birthday. May the Lord bless you, so that you may continue with your contributions in enriching musical America.

New Police for Public Housing in New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Congress, I include an article which appeared in the New York Times on May 20, which states that the city administrator of New York has issued an urgent appeal to the mayor to more than double the already 244-man special police force detailed to public-housing projects in that city.

It will be recalled that proponents of public housing have often been heard to say that if we would put more people in public housing crime and delinquency would thereby be reduced. Others have questioned the correctness of that contention.

Now we have this condition in New York City which tends to confirm the view that public housing does not decrease crime. According to this article, there are now 244 extra policemen on duty at these projects, and a request is made for an additional 276. That will cost the people of New York $1,300,000 a year more than is now being spent there on police for public housing.

In a prior article, which appeared about 2 or 3 years ago, the New York Times reported as follows:

Dozens of families are being evicted from city housing projects because their delinquent children are regarded as a menace to the safety and comfort of other tenants.

City housing authority officials said yesterday that chronic or dangerous juvenile delinquency was among the reasons for which about 250 families are evicted each year as undesirable tenants.

New York City is not alone in facing this problem. Similar experiences have been reported in various other places. In Houston, for example, in my own State, no long ago District Judge Campbell refused the custody of a child to a litigant who proposed to keep it in the San Felipe Courts, a public housing project, because he said it was not a proper place to rear a child.

I do not mean to imply, Mr. Speaker, that there are not many projects where these conditions do not exist. But I am increasingly alarmed by the reports of so many instances where an unusual amount of crime and delinquency appears in public housing projects.

INTEGRATION IN NEW YORK HOUSING

It may also be enlightening to some of the Members at any rate that the report of the city administrator, according to the New York Times, found that "the intermingling of racial groups in some of the authority projects had created a situation 'so sensitive as to be potentially explosive.'" According to the Times, the urgency to more than double the special police in the public housing projects is created because of this mixing of the races in those projects.

This danger which exists in New York and in many other places is not lessened any by recent court decisions forcing integration of races in all public housing projects everywhere.

The New York Times article follows:

CITY ASKED TO ADD TO HOUSING POLICE—PREUSSE URGES DOUBLING OF FORCE IMMEDIATELY IN 83 PUBLIC PROJECTS

Immediate action to more than double the 244-man police force of the New York City Housing Authority has been recommended by City Administrator Charles F. Preusse.

In a report to Mayor Wagner that was made public yesterday he declared that a force of at least 548 men under central control was needed for adequate protection of life and property. Eighty-three housing projects are managed by the Housing Authority.

Mr. Perusse said in a letter submitting the report to the Mayor that his overall survey of the authority's management and operational procedures has already discovered "grave management defects that cry for correction."

"We have also concluded," the letter said, "that a substantial part of the Housing Authority's management structure will need overhauling for better operation." The survey is still not completed.

The Preusse report found that the intermingling of racial groups in some of authority projects had created a situation "so sensitive as to be potentially explosive." Mr. Preusse's letter told the Mayor that the policing survey was given priority because of this situation.

"We recommend immediate action to expand and centralize the police force," the letter declared. "This simply cannot wait upon other and longer-range management improvements."

MAYOR ASKED SURVEY

Mr. Preusse began his overall survey of the Housing Authority in March at the request of the Mayor and the agency itself.

The request was made as the result of repeated complaints about vandalism and other crimes in housing projects, alleged failure to provide adequate project maintenance and other alleged deficiencies in management and operation. The survey is being made by a 6-man task force under Mr. Preusse's direction.

In his report on policing, Mr. Preusse found that the incidence of crime and disorder in the agency's projects was lower than in other areas housing populations of similar social and economic backgrounds.

Most of the trouble requiring policing was found to be caused by a relatively small number of families and intruders from outside the projects.

The report found a lack of flexibility in the deployment of the present police force, divided authority between housing managers and the chief housing officer and lack of a proper statistical system and communications.

Mr. Preusse recommended an annual survey of the force, a single housing police head and higher pay scales. The addition of 276 men, at existing rates of pay would cost $1,370,030, the report said.

Sorting Mail With the Transorma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Paul Nagle, president of the National Postal Transport Association, in a recent appearance before a committee of the Senate has made one of the most ridiculous statements I have ever heard.

Mr. Nagle has condemned an experiment which the Post Office Department is conducting at Silver Spring, Md., with a Dutch mailsorting machine called the Transorma. He alleged before the committee that the machine has failed and is not resulting in savings of manpower and money.

I have seen the Transorma in Holland. I have also watched the Silver Spring operation and believe someone should expose the ridiculous nature of Mr. Nagle's charges and reveal his true motives.

In a little over 1 month each of the 5 operators have learned to sort 46 letters per minute into as many as 300 different slots. This gives the machine a capacity of 13,800 letters per hour. Eventual capacity, with practice, will be 16,800 per hour. Contrast this with hand sorting where one man, operating 30 percent slower than his companion on the Transorma can only reach 35 different bins making it necessary to resort the same mail at least once more to equal the 300 sortings on the machine.

Mr. Nagle's statement that it requires 6 men to service the 5 Transorma operators shows how far he has stretched the truth to condemn the new system. These 6 men are used in what is called the facing operation. Had he been fair he would have pointed out that the same 6 men would be required for hand sorting.

Of course, the Transorma is not perfect. Putting a modern machine in the midst of an obsolete system for handling mail is bound to require the development of new techniques. Mr. Nagle would not expect a modern automatic transmission to work in a model T Ford. He would have to build a new car around it.

If Mr. Nagle's attitude had prevailed since the first days of American history women would still wash their clothes in the nearest creek and we would still be driving horses and buggies. Modern appliances have made our lives better and furthermore they haven't put people out of work. As a representative of postal employees he has the right to do all that he can for the betterment of working conditions for his membership, but he does not have the right to hold up progress and insist on countinuing the United States Post Office as the most ridiculous and obsolete system in the world.

In promoting a bill during the last session which urged the Post Office Department to conduct experiments like the one at Silver Spring I dealt extensively with Mr. Nagle. During those negotiations it became very apparent to me that his prime motive was to prevent mechanization and the replacement of employees who might otherwise be contributing members to his own organization. Self-preservation is a natural instinct but it has to take a back seat to the interests of an entire nation. I sincerely hope the American public will enthusiastically endorse Postmaster General Summerfield's experiment and urge that it be continued.

Movement Started Against Internationalization of Panama Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Americas Daily of Miami Springs, Fla., which discloses that the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C., has launched a movement to counter Communist and other propaganda for the internationalization of the Panama Canal and to preserve its present treaty status:

THE PANAMA CANAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON STARTS MOVEMENT AGAINST INTERNATIONALIZATION—URGES CONGRESS TO REAFFIRM RETENTION, IN PERPETUITY, OF ALL UNITED STATES OF AMERICA RIGHTS

WASHINGTON.—The Panama Canal Society of Washington has launched a movement to counter Communist and other propaganda for the internationalization of the Panama Canal and to preserve its present treaty status.

The society consists of former officials, engineers and employees who were engaged in the construction or administration of the Panama Canal. With about 150 members present, the society discussed for several hours the international questions which have arisen in the wake of the Suez Canal situation.

The meeting then adopted a resolution which asserted its belief "that every just and wise consideration favors the retention, in perpetuity, by the United States of all its sovereign rights, power, and authority with respect to the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone, as guaranteed by existing treaties."

The resolution urged the Congress of the United States to make a similar declaration, reaffirming the long-standing Isthmian policy of the United States.

The preamble to the resolution adopted by the Panama Canal Society said that Communistic influences in the United States and the world at large have long been insistent that the United States surrender control and operation of the Panama Canal to an international body.

It took note that certain noncommunistic elements at home and abroad have also urged such internationalization.

The text said in part: "The United States, under solemn treaty agreements and guarantees, assumed the great risks and obligations involved, and at huge cost to the United States undertook and consummated the construction of the Panama Canal, and has since successfully maintained and operated it, in strict accordance with treaty provisions, for its use by all the ships of the world without discrimination; and has effectively protected, at its own expense, the canal and the Canal Zone during the two world wars and the war in Korea."

Maurice H. Thatcher, former governor of the Canal Zone, said he feared that some tension has arisen between the United States and the Republic of Panama because of Panama's increasing demands for greater benefits from the canal.

"This situation is to be deplored," Thatcher said, "because as between Panama and the United States all questions that affect the two countries should be setled amicably through the orderly processes of negotiation.

"It is inevitable that differences will from time to time arise, and ofttimes there will be very strong differences involved," Thatcher continued. "But destiny has linked the two nations together and thus far they have been able to solve their differences in mutual respect, and these processes should continue in the future.

"In this connection, I may say that if reliance cannot be placed upon treaty agreements, then I do not know how questions arising under them can be solved. These agreements should be fully respected by both parties; and to this end, of course, I favor the implementation by the Congress and our executive branches of any features of the treaty agreements which require implementation.

"On the other hand, I abjure our Panamanian friends who are in authority to stand squarely on the treaty arrangements which have provided for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of the canal; and if there are differences in interpretations, these should be resolved in the spirit of amity."

Captain Miles Du Val, United States naval officer, retired, historian of the Panama Canal, said three basic international treaties underly its present international status of the canal.

These are the United States-British Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1902, the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty between the United States and the Republic of Panama in 1903, and the Thomson-Urritia Treaty between the United States and Colombia which was negotiated in 1914 and proclaimed in 1922.

Captain Du Val said that the United States has not given up the major rights, power, and authority which were granted "in perpetuity" by the Republic of Panama in 1903 for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of the canal.

"The United States still has jurisdiction over the Canal Zone as if it were sovereign of the Territory and, in accordance with the treaty, to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power, or authority."

Financial Institutions Act of 1957 (S. 1451)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following resolution which was adopted at the national convention of the Independent Bankers Association of America in Miami Beach, Fla., on April 27, 1957. This resolution asks that State banks be given equal representation with national banks on the Board of Directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and is as follows:

RESOLUTION REQUESTING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO PROVIDE MANDATORY REPRESENTATION ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION FOR STATE-CHARTERED BANKS

Whereas there is now pending in the United States Congress S. 1451, a banking omnibus bill cited as the "Financial Institutions Act of 1957"; and

Whereas S. 1451 provides mandatory representation for national banks by provision that the Comptroller of Currency be a member of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Board of Directors; and

Whereas S. 1451 fails to give equal mandatory representation for State-chartered banks on the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Board of Directors; and

Whereas there were, on June 30, 1956, 8,562 State banks and 4,667 national banks that were members of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; and

Whereas on December 31, 1956, all State banks had assets of $134 billion, and national banks had assets of $118 billion; and

Whereas all Government capital furnished the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation has been repaid, with interest; and

Whereas the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation is wholly supported by its member banks and all of its assets have accumulated from funds supplied by member banks; and

Whereas it is inequitable to give mandatory representation on the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Board of Directors for 4,667 national banks and fail to provide similar mandatory representation for 8,562 State banks; and

Whereas equal representation and recognition of State and national banks will preserve and strengthen our dual banking system: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Independent Bankers Association, in convention assembled, request the Congress of the United States to amend the law regarding membership on the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Board of Directors to require that one of the three members of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Board of Directors be selected from the active officer list of a State-chartered bank;

Resolved further, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to each member of the Banking and Currency Committees in the United States Senate and the United States House of Representatives.

Brief History of the Income Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, a number of people have expressed an interest in the history of the income tax. I asked one of the greatest experts on taxation of our times, Mr. Colin F. Stam, of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, to give me a brief history of this tax. The House will be interested in the following excellent letter from Mr. Stam:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
JOINT COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL REVENUE TAXATION,
Washington, May 20, 1957.

Hon. W. J. BRYAN DORN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DORN: This is in response to your recent telephone request regarding the development of progressive income taxation, particularly with respect to the position taken by Adam Smith and Karl Marx.

Progressive taxation is premised on the ground that the wealthy pay higher rates of tax than is charged the less well-to-do. It is not a recent development, neither in theory nor in practice. Historically, a statement on progressive taxation is attributed to Manu, an Indian sage. He is reported to have stated nearly 3,000 years ago, "To make the burden of taxes equal is not effected by a mere numerical proportion. The man who is taxed to the amount of one-tenth of an income of 100 rupees per annum is taxed far more severely than the man who is taxed an equal proportion of an income of 1,000 rupees, and to a prodigious bigness more severely than the man who is taxed an equal proportion of 10,000 rupees per annum."

A form of progressive income tax was levied in Athens in 380 B. C. In the year 1295, France levied a combination property and income tax which was in part graduated. It was called a "50th" and had rates ranging up to 2 percent. Under the 50th those who had little or no property were taxed on their income from wages. England knew a graduated income tax as early as 1435 and the Italian city of Florence levied a progressive income tax in 1443. Other European nations enacted graduated income taxes in

the 18th century; Geneva, in 1709; Saxony, in 1742; and Holland, in 1748. These taxes were generally unpopular and in many cases lasted for only a short while.

In 1798 a graduated income tax was reintroduced in England to finance her wars with France and this country. This tax was repealed in 1815 and it was not until 1853 that a progressive income tax was again levied in Great Britain. Since 1853, however, England has not been without a progressive income tax.

Graduation was not limited to the income tax. Poll taxes, property taxes and other revenue measures levied prior to the development of the income tax often contained elements of progression. In addition, it should be noted that any exemption from tax automatically introduces progressivity into the revenue structure. One form of taxation which was rather widely used in the 17th and 18th centuries was the faculty tax. Like the French fiftieth, the faculty tax in many cases was a combination property and income tax and as its name implied the rates varied according to the taxpayer's faculty or ability to pay. The faculty tax was an early variation of the ability to pay, or progressive theory of taxation. Of course, if only a single rate were provided, the tax was proportional, not progressive.

Adam Smith, in the Wealth of Nations, published in 1776, advocated a proportional tax. He stated that "the subjects of every State ought to contribute toward the support of the Government, as nearly as possible, in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State." He is generally not looked upon as a proponent of progressive taxation although certain of his statements might be construed as indicating that he was not indisposed toward a progressive tax. For example, in speaking of a tax on the rent of houses he stated, "It is not very unreasonable that the rich should contribute to the public expense, not only in proportion to their revenue, but something more than in that proportion." However, although Adam Smith early recognized the principle of progression in a tax structure, it seems clear that he supported the theory of proportional taxation.

Undoubtedly, the most vigorous proponent of a graduated income tax was Karl Marx, author of the Communist Manifesto which was published in 1848. A vigorously graduated income tax together with the abolition of the right of inheritance were advocated among other measures to bring about the centralization of all means of production in the hands of the state and the ultimate downfall of the capitalist class. Marx clearly and avidly supported the theory of progressive taxation because of the far-reaching effects of such a system. Although the theory of graduated income taxes was developed long before Marx published his Communist Manifesto and such taxes had been operative in many countries, Marx is remembered for his proposal to employ the graduated income tax for redistributing a nation's wealth which was a cornerstone for his Communist philosophy.

In the American Colonies some form of the faculty tax was most often relied upon for revenues and, in general, it was levied on the physical property of property owners and on profits of those who owned no property. Such a tax was levied in Massachusetts as early as 1643 and eventually spread to most of the other colonies with the exception of New York. The faculty tax was imposed in South Carolina in 1701 on citizens according to their "estates, stocks, and abilities or the profit that any of them do make off or from any public office or employment." A version of this tax was continued by the first act passed under the State constitution in 1777.

No Federal income tax was levied in the United States until the Civil War. A proportional income tax was enacted in 1861 but was never put into effect. Another income tax act was passed in 1862, this time progressive, with rates ranging from 3 to 5 percent. This tax was abolished in 1871 and except for the income tax act of 1894 which was declared unconstitutional after a single year, it was the only American experience with a Federal income tax prior to the income tax act of 1913, which followed ratification of the 16th amendment. There has been a progressive income tax in this country continuously since 1913. An estate tax was enacted in 1916 and has been an integral part of our system of internal revenue taxation since that time.

Sincerely yours,

COLIN F. STAM,
Chief of Staff.

Some Comments on Training Scientists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Some Comments on Training Scientists," written by Gerald P. Burns, vice president of Reed College.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOME COMMENTS ON TRAINING SCIENTISTS

(By Gerald P. Burns)

The Russians, we are told, are turning out approximately 50,000 scientists annually; we, in the land of the free, produced about 25,000 last year. Former Senator William Benton, recently returned from the Soviet Union, has pointed out that the greatest danger from the Communists exists in the area of education. Said he, "Although not providing the broad cultured training we do, the Russians are performing an incredible job in training scientists and engineers."

This danger of being overwhelmed scientifically is very real. It's difficult for Americans to understand the tremendous pressures brought to bear on students in the Soviet Union—pressures to study, to learn, to master the mysteries of science, to produce a technocracy that could conquer the world. If we are to survive, then we must recognize this danger and take steps to counteract it.

We should understand at the outset that the new Russian emphasis on education, especially higher education, is designed for one purpose only—eventual domination of the free world. Their insistence on long hours of intensive study and their exclusion of cultural subjects in training scientists are devices that produce a single-mindedness of purpose peculiarly adaptable to their basic national aim.

In girding our loins to meet this challenge, we should not fall into the trap of attempting to emulate the Russian methods. Certainly we must increase our output of scientists, engineers and technically trained college graduates. But it must be done by our methods, not theirs. It is customary in American education to provide some cultural subjects in even the most scientific curriculum. Then, too, extra-curricular activities, although nyet for the Russian student, are a must for the American student.

It is possible in this country to continue this kind of higher education for scientists and technicians, and still turn out superior performers. The main problem is to double the number of scientists being graduated annually by American colleges and universities and to do this without compromising the high standards of scholarship held by most institutions of higher education. This, too, can be accomplished.

An article in the October 15, 1955, issue of the Saturday Evening Post made reference to "a small college in Oregon" that was turning out successful scientists at a phenomenal rate. The Post neglected to mention that this was Reed College in Portland, Oreg.

With little drum-beating and virtually no publicity, Reed has consistently led the Nation in its production of scientists. According to a study sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation, conducted by Drs. Knapp and Goodrich, this "small college in Oregon" turned out in the period studied 132 successful scientists in every 1,000 graduated; a remarkable record when compared with the next highest school which had 72 per 1,000 grads.

It was mentioned above that American students want and deserve more than a sterile, intensive higher education in the sciences alone—and that such sterility is not necessary. Again Reed has proven that a superior education is not based solely on what is learned in the classroom or science laboratory. The program of study at Reed includes humanities for all, considerable independent study with maximum use of library facilities, cocurricular activities such as music and drama, and extracurricular activities such as sports and social events. This might appear as "too broad" or "watered down" to meet the stiff competition of the rigid Russian program—but the kinds of leadership positions in science and engineering held by Reed alumni bear out the vitality and value of the American approach.

At Reed the environment for study produces not only able scientists but liberally educated leaders for all fields. When a college or university produces a Rhodes' scholar, this is usually reason for some celebrating. At Reed, such an award is a frequent occurrence. Reed's record in this respect now stands at 1 Rhodes' scholar out of every 81 male graduates—the national average being 1 out of about 3,000 graduates. Here indeed is an enviable record—and there are other similar records that might be quoted, clearly indicating that this small college in Oregon is truly outstanding. Reed is not the only college of liberal arts and sciences in the country to vindicate the value of our American methods of training and education. Swarthmore, Oberlin, Carleton and many other excellent institutions have for decades added to the stockpile of scientifically and liberally educated Americans.

The way to beat the Russians in this new war of brains is to increase the number of broadly trained American scientists. Since the small colleges of liberal arts and science like Reed are far-and-away the most prolific producers of such scientists, they should be encouraged and expanded. Since these institutions provide much of the brainpower and leadership to keep the United States free and prosperous, let's recognize this fact and act accordingly.

For many years the colleges have been termed "ivory towers"; the professors have been called absent-minded and impractical; the Nation has failed to support these institutions and professors adequately—but they have not failed the Nation.

If the maintenance of our political, economic, and social freedom depends upon our scientists, and if the production of scientists depends upon our colleges, then it's simple

logic for leaders in business, industry, and the professions to be interested in, and give support to, these colleges. Perhaps the United States needs more Reeds to lean on.

Foreign Affairs Committee Hearings in Gary, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, last Monday a subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee held open hearings on our foreign-aid legislation in Gary, Ind.

The meeting attracted a large attendance and interest. Forty-two witnesses testified or submitted statements. The following is the testimony of Albert G. Vinick, president of the American Lithuanian Council of the Calumet region of Indiana:

AMERICAN LITHUANIAN OPINION

(Statement of Albert G. Vinick, president, American Lithuanian Council, Lake and Laporte Counties, Ind., May 20, 1957)

GENTLEMEN: The American citizens of Lithuanian descent are deeply interested in the restoration of free and independent Lithuania which, unfortunately, at the present time is subjugated by Soviet Russia. For them, it is important that the Government of the United States help the enslaved Lithuanian nation liberate itself from the Soviet Communist yoke.

One of the most effective means to this is to sustain the spirit of liberty among the people of Lithuania by showing them that the United States is interested in their fate and by telling them about this and other countries of the free world.

This is being done by the Information Service of the United States which, among other things, maintains the Voice of America for the listeners behind the Iron Curtain.

There is clear evidence that these radio programs reach a considerable number of people in Lithuania and even those deported to Siberia. We know this from the letters received in this country by the relatives of persons living under the Soviet rule and also from the attempts by the officials of Soviet Lithuania to refute statements of those radio programs.

The Voice of America programs are being given in various languages and in each nationality section there is a group of people who prepare those programs. They are all supported by the funds appropriated by Congress for the United States Information Agency. In the budget submitted this year for the consideration of the United States Congress, President Eisenhower asked $144 million for this Agency, but the House Appropriations Committee decided to cut this amount about 20 percent. This tendency to economize is making itself felt in the Senate. If this tendency prevails in both Houses of the Congress, the functioning of the Information Service might be considerably handicapped.

The Lithuanian American Council comprising hundreds of thousands of American citizens of Lithuanian descent throughout the country would consider this curtailment of the activities of the Voice of America a serious blow to the efforts of liberation of enslaved peoples.

Submitting this to you and through you to the United States Congress I express my opinion, and the opinion of those affiliated with the Lithuanian American Council, that at least the major part of the proposed cut in the appropriation for the Information Agency should be restored. We would be even more pleased if the Congress would give this vital service the amount originally asked for in President Eisenhower's budget.

Clinton Turn Verein 90th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 19, the Clinton, Mass., Turn Verein celebrated its 90th anniversary with 250 guests in attendance at impressive exercises conducted at Turner Hall.

It was my distinct privilege and honor to be guest speaker on this outstanding occasion and under unanimous consent I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of my remarks before this distinguished and patriotic organization.

The guests included many officers of the Massachusetts Turn Vereins and 16 members of the Clinton Turn Verein, all members of the organization for 50 or more years, who were paid special tribute during the 90th anniversary celebration. These 50-year members are Herman J. Brockelman, Frederick J. Krauss, Charles F. Lamlein, Christian Ploss, Arthur E. Wohlrah, Charles M. Schwab, Paul A. Schneider, Gustave H. Gleisburg, Robert Jendrick, George H. Lamlein, Edward T. Onrda, John A. Schott, Albert W. Schneider, Alfred Scheid, Oswals Heinold, and Robert Hillner.

The Honorable Morris N. Gould, associate judge of the Clinton District Court, was a brilliant master of ceremonies and the Honorable Werner Hollebem, German Consul, extended the warm greetings and congratulations of West Germany to the gathering.

The text of my speech follows:

It is a great privilege as well as a real pleasure to be with you on this truly historic occasion when we are celebrating the 90th anniversary of the Clinton Turn Verein.

As you all so well know, I come here today not only as the Congressman from this great district in our beloved Commonwealth with its hundreds of thousands of loyal Americans, but I come here also as your neighbor, dear friend and a proud fellow member of this distinguished organization. There is no group anywhere that I more greatly admire for achievement and fine citizenship, and there is no group of its kind that I am bound to any more closely by enduring bonds of lifelong friendship, fellowship, and affection, or for whom I have greater respect and higher regard, than this one I have the honor to address today.

Of course we can all be proud of the sterling record that has been made by our Clinton Turn Verein throughout the years. It is heartwarming and inspiring when we reflect as we do today, upon the history of our group, to note that for so long a time it has so outstandingly served our community and our country as well as cherished needs of our own membership.

So many men and women have devoted themselves in such a true spirit of dedication to the great objectives and valuable activities of Turn Verein that I could not even begin to mention them. Their contributions, which have been so significant, so meaningful, and so beneficial, are worthy of our recollection and profound gratitude. We can be especially proud and especially grateful for the imagination, genius, ability, and devotion of those who had the vision and the spirit to establish this organization, as well as those who have carried its unblemished banner with such fervor, loyalty, and wholesome results from the time it was founded up to this very hour.

Because of the historic aspect of these exercises, it may be appropriate for me, as briefly as I can, to allude to the origin, background and progress of Turn Verein. The first noteworthy fact is that Turn Verein is a German institution which was founded in the early part of the 19th century by a great gentleman and far-sighted thinker named Friedrick Ludwig Jahn for the purpose of furthering physical education. Today, as we know, the activities of the Turners have been expanded to include people of different nationalities and faiths and to include not only physical training but mental training as well. In addition, the Turners have collected libraries, established schools, and founded a newspaper and have engaged in many other activities designed to improve the individual and benefit the civic and patriotic welfare of the Nation.

It is interesting to note that the first Turn Verein in America was founded in the city of Cincinnati way back in the year 1848, largely due to the efforts of Friedrick Hecker, one of the heroes of the German Revolution.

Like the old Turn Verein in Germany, the American Turner Society had as its slogan: Frish, frohm, froh, frei, which for the benefit of my good Irish friends who have happily become so prominent in this organization today, and others who may not understand the beautiful, rich German language, means bold, devout, gay, and free.

At the time the basic purpose of the organization was stated as follows: "cultivation of rational training, both intellectual and physical, in order that members may become energetic, patriotic citizens of the Republic, who could and would represent and protect common human liberty by word and deed." How well these objectives have been realized is best attested by the clean living, high character, industrious habits, unsurpassed citizenship and lofty patriotism of those who embrace this organization.

During the Civil War, for example, not so long after the organization came into being, the Turners played an important part. The renowned 20th New York Regiment in that war consisted only of Germans. The Ninth Ohio Regiment was made up predominantly of Turners. Several other regiments consisted wholly or in part of Turners. It is reported that over 51 percent of the total membership of the organization at the time served during the Civil War, and it can be said to the everlasting credit of our illustrious society that that example continued to be followed in every succeeding war and conflict in which our country was engaged, wherein the Turners and the descendants of the German people in this country have played such a prominent part, and exemplified an imperishable record of loyalty, devotion, and willingness to sacrifice their lives, if necessary, for the perpetuation of American ideals and the American Republic.

At the close of the Civil War the Turn Vereins of the East and West were reunited and a new Turn Zeitung was established

with New York as a center. The Turners, back from the war, now turned their attention and activities to gymnastic and cultural pursuits. The clubs reached a high level during the late 1860's and during the 1870's which was about the period that our own fine club was established here in Clinton.

Always of forward-looking philosophy and progressive viewpoints and principles, the Turners advocated many reforms that were later adopted by the Nation. As early as 1871, recognizing the great worth, zeal, and influence of women, they advocated woman suffrage. For many years they urged that gymnastics be taught in schools until finally schools throughout the country began instructions in gymnastics which brought and are still bringing such untold benefits to American children in many generations. The Turners advocated every good cause and are famous for their moderation in all things.

In 1948 the Turners celebrated their centenary in the city of St. Louis and the program included not only competitions in gymnastics, but also of track and field events, basketball and volleyball. Competitions were held also in song writing, poetry and essay writing and singing contests which have always been one of the most zestful and enjoyable activities of the Turners.

Women's auxiliaries of Turn Verein have been generally established and competitions are now open to women as well as men and the outstanding work that the women have done and are doing is not only well known, but is a source of great pride to all of us.

Today the Turners have a far-reaching educational program. The Turner Society appeals to every member of the family, and that is why Turnerism has been so valuable in enriching wholesome family life here in Clinton and in many other places. Not only the women but the young folks have been brought into this happy mingling of free spirits seeking agreeable human companionship, seeking to promote good causes and seeking to build up strength in the individual and the family and the community because they realize well that this, in turn, means strength for the entire Nation.

In Clinton the Turners have conferred innumerable and immeasurable benefits upon our community life, upon the quality of our citizenship, upon our civic spirit, our social relationships and upon the development of understanding, tolerance and strong friendships that bind us together regardless of origin, race or creed, in a union devoted to bring out the best in the individual and in the community and aiming for the highest goals given to free American citizens in our land to unbounded opportunities. That encouragement to high aspirations is one of our greatest needs of the hour in this confused and bewildering era.

There is a lesson that we can all take from the story of the early Turners and the early German settlers. They came to this country fired by a fierce impulse for its freedom and its opportunities. They were scrupulously honest, industrious and willing to work. They had unflagging energy and they were prudent and frugal in their ways, yet always charitable, generous and just. While they never forgot the rich heritage they had left and while they kept it alive in all its breadth and fullness in their homes, their families and in this very Turn Verein, they never lost sight of basic human and spiritual values. They had superlative faith in their Creator and unshakable faith in free institutions. They were loyal in the way of life they had brought with them, and they were loyal even unto death to the great new country of which they became such proud and worthy adopted sons and daughters.

Their constant aim was to preserve and protect this country, and they opposed and they denounced and they fought, just as their descendants here today do, the terrible plague of godless communism and subversion that stalks through the world working to dismember nations and condemn individuals to the role of serfs and slaves. Yes, my friends, you may search the whole world over, you may comb every nook and cranny of America, but you will never find more devout people, better Americans, or more loyal and devoted citizens of this great land than those who founded and for so many years carried on with such fruitful and happy results the Turn Verein that we today hail with so much pride and joy.

Judged by every measure, they were great citizens and great Americans and great human beings. In accordance with Turner traditions an the spirit of their own great homeland they were bold, as real men should be when the occasion requires, they were devout, as we all must be, they were gay, as every person desires to be, and they were free, as all men and women everywhere yearn to be and were destined to be by Him who gave them life and gave them liberty at the same time.

I have many happy memories of this hallowed place and the many wonderful people who frequented it and made it what it is. Here, like most of you, I have spent happy hours, and I have known some of the greatest people, some of the warmest, finest friends that it has ever been anyone's high privilege and good fortune to know. Here, in truth, there has been friendship, there has been brotherhood, there has been tolerance, understanding and affection, there has been that gay and buoyant spirit which we call "Gemutlichkeit," there has been adherence to high ideals, there has been the cultivation of loyal and lofty Americanism, there has been the exaltation of underfiled family life and the free, expansive development of the individual. Above all, there has been a grateful acknowledgment of the Supreme Being, and the confidence and faith that He will, in time, if we but persevere in that faith, show us the pathway to peace and to justice.

And so, my friends, with this magnificent legacy which is ours handed down to us from the past by such loving souls and spirits that we almost speak of them with bated breath, let us rejoice in this happy celebration of what their hands and minds have wrought. Let us be thankful for all that they have done for our Turn Verein, for Clinton and for our country and in a real spirit of humility, as well as deep appreciation, let us rededicate ourselves to their unfinished work in this great society, in our beautiful town so deserving of our help and in our great free country which today needs loyal citizens to defend it against the ravages and threats of tyranny more than ever before in its history.

And let us proudly hold the banners of Turnerism aloft and continue, as our predecessors did, to exemplify its finest traditions.

May our noble and beloved Turn Verein, under God, enjoy many more returns of this happy birthday celebration. Let us all pledge ourselves anew to its great cause and to the cause of freedom and justice for all.

Prospects for Tax Reduction—The Past Is Prologue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, it is currently popular political sport for elected representatives of the people to speak in a knowing manner about tax reduction. Much of this discussion stems from politically motivated efforts to impress the people with the fact that the political proclaimer not only promised tax reduction "firstest," but that he also promised the "mostest." In early April when these tax-cut promises began to reach their full crescendo, I labeled them as "premature" and pointed out that for the most part they were being uttered by those who have traditionally been among the ranks of the spenders in Congress.

These premature political promises were made before the committees of Congress had made any substantial progress in the consideration of appropriation bills. These premature political promises were made before a review had been made of estimates of Federal receipts for the fiscal years 1957 and 1958. The spenders in Congress in promising tax relief before sufficient consideration had been given to appropriation bills and before revised estimates of tax receipts were available were premature in their pronouncements. They also were indicating a determination to use the proverbial meat-ax approach to budget reduction without regard to the national need for the goods and services provided for the people of our Nation under the proposed expenditure program provided in the 1958 budget. That these political proclaimers were premature in their tax reduction promises has now been demonstrated by publication of the revised estimates of Federal receipts for fiscal years 1957 and 1958 by the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. These estimates indicate a substantially reduced budgetary surplus for each of the fiscal years involved as follows:

TABLE 1.—*Receipts, expenditures, and surplus of the Federal Government, actual for fiscal 1956, estimates for fiscal years 1957 and 1958*

[In billions of dollars]

	Actual, 1956	Estimated, 1957		Estimated, 1958	
		January budget estimates	May staff estimates	January budget estimates	May staff estimates
Receipts	68.2	70.6	70.7	73.6	74.3
Expenditures	66.5	68.9	69.5	71.8	73.0
Surplus	1.6	1.7	1.2	1.8	1.3

Fiscal responsibility in the conduct of our Federal affairs demands that these minimum surpluses be preserved and that we avoid deficit financing that would result from either a further increase in Federal expenditures or an unjustifiable tax reduction in advance of substantially less Federal spending.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that my record in the House of Representatives clearly demonstrates that no one has sought tax reduction with greater consistency or more earnestly than I have. I have always believed that the people rather than the Federal Government could more effectively spend the taxpayer's dollar. My tax philosophy has been predicated on three cardinal principles: First, the Nation's tax policy must pro-

vide sufficient revenue for the conduct of essential governmental affairs; second, that policy must fairly and equitably apportion the tax burden among our citizens according to ability to pay; and third, that tax policy must stimulate the dynamic development of our free enterprise economy and remove those influences which stifle the development of individual initiative and enterprise.

In the caption to these remarks I have indicated that the past is prolog. Because previous events portend the future, I believe it is appropriate at this time to review the tax record of each of the two major political parties in the United States so that the American people can derive a realization as to the causes of the current tax problems that beset us and an indication as to which party is more likely to provide our citizens with responsible tax reduction in the future.

With the advent of the 16th amendment, on March 1, 1913, the Federal income tax collector visited the American people and he has since continued that visit without interruption. In September 1916 the Federal estate tax collector began his visit with the American people and he too has stayed without interruption. In addition the Federal excise tax collector has plagued our American families with sporadic visits, particularly during the First World War when a host of these excise taxes descended upon us. Most of these World War I excises were repealed by the Republican Revenue Acts of 1921, 1924, 1926, and 1928, but they were all dusted off and revived as part of the blessings of the New Deal and they grew in size and number under Democrat paternalism. The Republican Party in 1954 substantially reduced and in some instances repealed these excises.

During the period from 1919 to date the Democratic Party has been responsible for 14 increases and 3 reductions in individual income taxes. During this same period the Republicans were responsible for 9 tax reductions and 1 tax increase in individual income taxes. The Democrats' fiscal tax policy has traditionally been dedicated to the principle of tax and tax, spend and spend. By consistent and I might add—unconscionable, adherence to this Democratic policy, the Democrat Party has broadened the tax base and increased the tax rates every time that party has been in power. Starting with a personal exemption for a single person of $3,000 and an exemption for a married couple of $4,000, the Democrat Party through a series of tax increases reduced the personal exemption until it reached a level of $500 for a taxpayer and each of his dependents in 1942. This Democrat reduction in the exemption level not only meant that more of a taxpayer's income was subject to tax, but it also meant that millions more Americans were required to pay taxes. In addition to decreasing the personal exemptions the Democrat Party piled tax rate increase on top of tax rate increase.

On the other hand the traditional fiscal policy of the Republican Party has been tax reduction, expenditure reduction, and debt reduction. It is no mere chance occurrence that under this Republican fiscal policy the two greatest tax reductions to ever occur in the history of our Nation were Republican-sponsored. During the Republican 80th Congress, tax reduction legislation was enacted that saved the American taxpayers an estimated $5 billion annually. During the Republican 83d Congress tax reduction occurred in the total amount of $7.4 billion. In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 2, 1957, on page A–3318, I inserted a factual description of the accomplishments of the Republican Party in achieving tax reduction and expenditure reduction. To further inform my colleagues in the House about the tax record of the Nation's two major political parties, I will insert in the RECORD at this point a summary table of Federal individual income-tax exemptions and first and top bracket rates for the period from 1913 through 1957. By reference to the years indicated in the left-hand column of the table, the party responsibility for tax changes can be determined.

TABLE 2.—*Federal individual income tax exemptions and 1st and top bracket rates 1913–57*

Income year	Personal exemptions					Tax rates			
	Single	Married				1st bracket		Top bracket	
		Dependents				Rate	Amount of income	Rate	Income over—
		No	1	2	3				
						Percent		*Percent*	
1913–15	$3,000	$4,000	$4,000	$4,000	$4,000	1	$20,000	7	$500,000
1916	3,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	2	20,000	15	2,000,000
1917	1,000	2,000	2,200	2,400	2,600	2	2,000	67	2,000,000
1918	1,000	2,000	2,200	2,400	2,600	6	4,000	77	1,000,000
1919–20	1,000	2,000	2,200	2,400	2,600	4	4,000	73	1,000,000
1921	1,000	[1] 2,500	2,900	3,300	3,700	4	4,000	73	1,000,000
1922	1,000	[1] 2,500	2,900	3,300	3,700	4	4,000	56	200,000
1923	1,000	[1] 2,500	2,900	3,300	3,700	3	4,000	56	200,000
1924	1,000	2,500	2,900	3,300	3,700	[2] 1½	4,000	46	500,000
1925–28	1,500	3,500	3,900	4,300	4,700	[2] 1½	4,000	25	100,000
1929	1,500	3,500	3,900	4,300	4,700	[2] ¾	4,000	24	100,000
1930–31	1,500	3,500	3,900	4,300	4,700	[2] 1½	4,000	25	100,000
1932–33	1,000	2,500	2,900	3,300	3,700	4	4,000	63	1,000,000
1934–35	1,000	2,500	2,900	3,300	3,700	[3] 4	4,000	63	1,000,000
1936–39	1,000	2,500	2,900	3,300	3,700	[3] 4	4,000	79	5,000,000
1940	800	2,000	2,400	2,800	3,200	[3] 4.4	4,000	81.1	5,000,000
1941	750	1,500	1,900	2,300	2,700	[3] 10	2,000	81	5,000,000
1942–43 [4]	500	1,200	1,550	1,900	2,250	[3] 19	2,000	88	200,000
1944–45	500	1,000	1,500	2,000	2,500	23	2,000	[5] 94	200,000
1946–47	500	1,000	1,500	2,000	2,500	19	2,000	[5] 86.45	200,000
1948–49 [6]	600	1,200	1,800	2,400	3,000	16.6	2,000	[5] 82.13	200,000
1950 [6]	600	1,200	1,800	2,400	3,000	17.4	2,000	[5] 91	200,000
1951 [6]	600	1,200	1,800	2,400	3,000	20.4	2,000	[5] 91	200,000
1952–53 [6]	600	1,200	1,800	2,400	3,000	22.2	2,000	[5] 92	200,000
1954–57 [6]	600	1,200	1,800	2,400	3,000	20	2,000	[5] 91	200,000

[1] If net income exceeds $5,000, married person's exemption is $2,000.
[2] After earned income credit equal to 25 percent of tax on earned income.
[3] Before earned income credit allowed as a deduction equal to 10 percent of earned net income.
[4] Exclusive of Victory tax.
[5] Subject to maximum effective rate limitation: 90 percent for 1944–45, 85.5 percent for 1946–47, 77 percent for 1948–49, 87 percent for 1950, 87.2 percent for 1951, 88 percent for 1952–53, and 87 percent for 1954–55.
[6] Additional exemptions of $600 are allowed to taxpayers and their spouses on account of blindness and/or age over 65.

The Democrat Party did not content itself with merely increasing individual income taxes and excise taxes. Table 3 sets forth corporation income tax rates for the period 1909 through 1957 indicating the corporate tax changes. By referring to dates in the left-hand column of the table it is possible to determine the action taken with respect to corporate tax rates by our two major political parties.

TABLE 3.—*Corporation income-tax rates, 1909–57*

Calendar year	Reduced rates on small corporations	General rate
1909–13	$5,000 exemption	1
1913–15	No exemption after Mar. 1, 1913	1
1916	No exemption	2
1917	do	6
1918	$2,000 exemption	12
1919–21	do	10
1922–24	do	12½
1925	do	13
1926–27	do	13½
1928	$3,000 exemption	12
1929	do	11
1930–31	do	12
1932–35	No exemption	13¾
1936–37	Graduated normal tax ranging from 8 percent 1st $2,000; over $40,000. Graduated surtax on undistributed profits ranging from 7 percent to.	15 27
1938–39	12½ to 16 percent 1st $25,000; over $25,000.	[1] 19
1940	14.85 to 18.7 percent 1st $25,000; 38.3 percent $25,000 to $31,964.30; 36.9 percent $31,964.30 to $38,565.89; over $38,565.89.	24
1941	21 to 25 percent 1st $25,000; 44 percent $25,000 to $38,461.54; over $38,461.54.	31
1942–45	25 to 20 percent 1st $25,000; 53 percent $25,000 to $50,000; over $50,000.	40
1946–49	21 to 25 percent 1st $25,000; 53 percent $25,000 to $50,000; over $50,000	38
1950	23 percent 1st $25,000; over $25,000	42
1951	28¾ percent 1st $25,000; over $25,000	50¾
1952–57	30 percent 1st $25,000; over $25,000	52

[1] Less adjustments: 14.025 percent of dividends received and 2½ percent of dividends paid.

In addition to the tax changes indicated in table 3, the Democrat Party enacted excess profits taxes during the three wars in which our Nation became involved while the Democrat Party was in control of our Federal Government. The World War I excess profits tax was in effect from 1917 to 1921, the World War II excess profits tax was in effect

from 1940 to 1945, and the Korean war excess profits tax was in effect from 1950 to 1953.

Despite the ever-increasing tax burden imposed on the American people by the Democrat Party, that party has also led our Nation down the path of unbridled inflation, deficit financing, and mounting public indebtedness. That fact is demonstrated by table 4, which I will include as a part of my remarks at this point showing budget receipts and expenditures and public debt for the fiscal years 1915 through 1958.

TABLE 4.—*Budget receipts and expenditures and public debt*

[Fiscal years. In billions of dollars]

Fiscal year	Budget receipts	Budget expenditures	Surplus or deficit	Public debt at end of year
1915	0.7	0.7	−0.1	1.2
1916	.8	.7		1.2
1917	1.1	2.0	−.9	3.0
1918	3.6	12.7	−9.0	12.2
1919	5.1	18.4	−13.4	25.5
1920	6.6	6.4	+.3	24.3
1921	5.6	5.1	+.5	24.0
1922	4.0	3.3	+.7	23.0
1923	3.8	3.1	+.7	22.3
1924	3.9	2.9	+1.0	21.3
1925	3.6	2.9	+.7	20.5
1926	3.8	2.9	+.9	19.6
1927	4.0	2.8	+1.2	18.5
1928	3.9	2.9	+.9	17.6
1929	3.9	3.1	+.7	16.9
1930	4.1	3.3	+.7	16.2
1931	3.1	3.6	−.5	16.8
1932	1.9	4.7	−2.7	19.5
1933	2.0	4.6	−2.6	22.5
1934	3.1	6.7	−3.6	27.1
1935	3.7	6.5	−2.8	28.7
1936	4.1	8.5	−4.4	33.8
1937	5.0	7.8	−2.8	36.4
1938	5.6	6.8	−1.2	37.2
1939	5.0	8.9	−3.9	40.4
1940	5.1	9.1	−4.0	43.0
1941	7.1	13.3	−6.2	49.0
1942	12.6	34.0	−21.5	72.4
1943	22.0	79.4	−57.4	136.7
1944	43.6	95.1	−51.4	201.0
1945	44.5	98.4	−54.0	258.7
1946	39.8	60.4	−20.7	269.4
1947	39.8	39.0	+.8	258.3
1948	41.5	33.1	+8.4	252.3
1949	37.7	39.5	−1.8	252.8
1950	36.5	39.6	−3.1	257.4
1951	47.6	44.1	+3.5	255.2
1952	61.4	65.4	−4.0	259.1
1953	64.8	74.3	−9.4	266.1
1954	64.7	67.8	−3.1	271.3
1955	60.4	64.6	−4.2	274.4
1956	68.2	66.5	+1.6	272.8
1957 est	70.7	69.5	+1.2	271.5
1958 est	74.3	73.0	+1.3	270.2

NOTE.—The change in the public debt from year to year reflects not only the budget surplus or deficit but also changes in the Treasury's cash balances, the effect of certain trust fund transactions, and direct borrowing from the public by certain Government enter prises.

It is significant to note that with the advent of the New Deal in 1933 our Federal Government consistently engaged in deficit financing until the Republican-controlled 80th Congress when Republican fiscal policy provided lower taxes, less Federal spending, budgetary surpluses, and debt reduction. It is also significant to note that the fiscal years 1956 through 1958 provide for budgetary surpluses and that the last time that we had 3 successive years of budgetary surpluses occurred with respect to the fiscal years 1928 through 1930—again under the leadership of the Republican Party.

Mr. Speaker, much has been said about the proposed budget for fiscal year 1958. It is likely that much more will be said about it in the months to come. I have previously expressed both regret and misgiving that the President's budget message to the Congress called for such a high level of Federal expenditures. I would call attention to the fact that much of the current criticism of the budget comes from that very vocal group that is composed of the traditional spenders in Congress—the group that has consistently voted in opposition to economy measures, in favor of an ever-increasing Federal bureaucracy, in support of legislation piling a tax on a tax, and in support of measures that have inevitably resulted in mounting public indebtedness.

A review of fiscal statistics supports the great Republican record for economy and gives further evidence to the indictment of the Democrat Party as the spenders. During the period of the Republican 83d Congress there was a sharply declining total of Federal spending from 1953 to 1955, and under the Democrat controlled 84th Congress there was an equally sharp rise from 1955 through 1958. The total budget reduction in the first phase was approximately $10 billion and the total increase in the second phase was approximately $8 billion.

It is significant to note that the fiscal year 1955 was the pivotal point in the recent budget record—it was the year of lowest Federal spending. It is also significant to note that fiscal year 1955 represented a budget that had been prepared by a Republican administration supported by a Republican Congress. In the 84th Congress the Democrat majority resumed its practice of piling expenditure on expenditure through the enactment of new and expanded Federal programs. In the 84th Congress the Democrats provided for nearly 200 new or increased programs largely imposing Federal-aid programs on the States. These Federal-aid programs in effect taxed the citizens of the States and then doled the money back to the States for programs that the States could better operate themselves if Federal taxes were reduced so that State taxes could be made adequate to finance the programs.

Mr. Speaker, no expenditure can be made by the executive branch of the Government unless it has been authorized by the Congress. The authorization may take the form of an appropriation, either current or permanent, or an authority to spend from debt receipts. Consequently the amount of expenditure in any year by the executive branch is determined by the action of Congress. There is, therefore, a responsibility on the Congress to act with deliberate restraint in the expansion of existing programs and in the beginning of new programs. We must recognize our responsibility to the needs of the whole Nation as distinct from the special interests of articulate organized minorities.

Mr. Speaker, it is estimated that the burden of Federal spending programs under the 1958 budget upon my State of New York will be approximately $11 billion. A comparable figure for California is $7 billion, for Texas $3 billion, and for Virginia $1 billion. The allocation of burden among the other States in our great Nation is equally as alarming. It is apparent that one of our most urgent national responsibilities is to spend less, not more. I would stress the fact, however, that in achieving these expenditure reductions the Congress must act with the greatest wisdom possible so as not to impair our national security and so as to continue those Federal programs that are essential and that can be performed most efficiently by the Federal Government.

Mr. Speaker, reduced Federal expenditures, reduced Federal taxation, and reduced Federal indebtedness are essential objectives that we must achieve if we are to realize the maximum development of our national potential under the American free enterprise system. The record that I have cited conclusively demonstrates that the greatest hope of attaining these objectives lies with the Republican Party and the fiscal principles for which that party stands. It is well to remember the record of the past in evaluating the promises of tax reduction uttered by the Democrat spenders in Congress whose adherence to the Democrat program of tax and tax, spend and spend, has made the restoration of our Federal Government to a position of fiscal integrity such an arduous task.

Tax Decision in Eaton Case Improves United States-Canadian Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer on April 30 entitled "Tax Decision in Eaton Case Improves United States-Canadian Relations":

WASHINGTON.—The exigent demand for new raw material sources druing World War II produced the Steep Rock iron mines in the back country of western Ontario. Beneath a lake 12 miles long and in places 350 feet deep, lay rich deposits of high-grade iron ore.

With the approval, encouragement, and financial assistance of the Canadian and American Governments, Cyrus P. Eaton, Cleveland industrialist, and his associate in the Cleveland investment house of Otis & Co., William R. Daley, organized Consolidated Premium Iron Ores, Ltd., under the laws of Ontario.

Using the Consolidated Premium Corp., Mr. Eaton, the prime mover in the enterprise, raised $1 million in capital. The late Reconstruction Finance Corporation advanced $5 million, the Canadian Government granted loans. All this as a war measure. Ottawa, in addition, waived corporation taxes for a term of years.

The lake was drained, the high-grade Steep Rock ore quarried and hauled to market and and the venture became profitable.

Meanwhile, the urgent, wartime reason for deceloping Steep Rock receded in memory. The corporation, Steep Rock and Premium, were Canadian companies taxable, under the

United States-Canadian income-tax convention, only by the Dominion Government.

Nevertheless, the United States Internal Revenue Bureau, in its ceaseless quest for new profits to levy upon, undertook to assess Premium $2,598,900.70 in taxes, penalties, and interest for the years 1943–49; years during which the Canadian Government largely had foresworn taxes in view of the development costs. (Since 1947 the Canadian Government has collected $695,000 in corporation taxes from Premium.)

The Internal Revenue Bureau further levied against Mr. Eaton $1,527,234.79 and against Mr. and Mrs. Daley $388,283.19 in taxes, interest and penalties for the year 1943. These assessments were based upon a Bureau estimate of the appreciation in the value of Premium shares held by Mr. Eaton and the Daleys. They further were founded upon what Mr. Eaton declares to have been a fiction, i. e., that the Premium Corp. had a permanent establishment in the United States at Cleveland.

To the taxpaying citizen unversed in the intricacies of Internal Revenue regulations affecting corporations the ramifications of this case are deeply puzzling. What does stand out is that the corporation involved is Canadian and hence untaxable in the United States. The subsidiary question hinged on whether the Messrs. Eaton and Daley acted on behalf of Consolidated Premium or as individuals.

The other day in Washington United States Tax Court Judge Ernest H. Van Fossan found that the Treasury could not reach across the border to tax the Canadian corporation, Consolidated Premium, that the company had no permanent establishment in Cleveland and that Eaton and Daley were in truth acting for the corporation. Judge Van Fossan's opinion likewise disallowed a tax claim for 2 percent of Premium's commission on the sale of Steep Rock ore in the United States.

Judge Van Fossan's finding rated only a brief mention on the financial pages of the newspapers yet it was pregnant with political consequences. Perhaps even more significantly, the ruling affected the course of Canada's current industrial, mining, and oil boom, so largely financed by American capital, as well as the fortunes and investment policies of multiplied thousands of corporations and private investors on this side of the border.

The issue, double taxation, was clearer in Ottawa, in Toronto, in Wall Street, and in Cincinnati's Fourth Street than in Washington. A ruling adverse to Eaton and Consolidated Premium would, moreover, have had incalculable consequences reaching into the Congress and the Dominion Parliament. Such a finding might well have thrown open the United States-Canadian tax convention for renegotiation necessitating exhaustive and lengthy inquiries.

Before the Van Fossan finding came down the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had begun a study of the knotty problems that would have ensued upon a contrary ruling. The Canadian industrial and financial community, already nettled because the External Affairs Department had not made stronger representations to Washington in the matter, would have beseiged the new Parliament to be elected in June with urgent demands for Canadian action perhaps even to the point of retaliation against American corporations and investors.

Given the current state of ill will in Canada toward the United States, a mood compounded of many factors apart from Foreign Minister Lester (Mike) Pearson's indignant reaction to l'affaire Norman, a tax court decision in favor of double taxation would have produced new and damaging tensions. Beyond the economic factors involved, far transcending the personal advantage or disadvantage of Mr. Eaton, were questions of national prestige.

A decision to tax a Canadian corporation would have been regarded in Canada as another example of Yankee arrogance and inconsiderateness toward our nearest neighbor and best customer. Our northern cousins have many bones to pick with us these days as it is. Our farm surplus disposal program has, or so they assert, closed many world markets to them and stopped their once valuable wheat export in its tracks. Canada has a 2-year carryover of wheat, we have roughly 1 year of overstock.

The Canadians take a lively interest in the dispute over St. Lawrence Waterway tolls and prospective United States' subsidy to American shipping on that route. There are many causes of contention, minimized or ignored in this country, but the principal grievance is one which has created a certain ambivalence in Canadian opinion toward its massive neighbor. This bears on the Eaton tax decision.

Since World War II, United States investments in Canada (now standing at $13 billion) dominate the mining, oil, motor car, chemical, electrical, machinery and machine tool industries. Canadians fear they are becoming a financial "colony" of the United States. Yet at the same time the Canadian economy desperately needs the new capital flooding across the border at the rate of $700 million a year to offset the billion and a quarter-dollar annual deficit in balance of payments. Double taxation might dam that flood. It almost surely would.

That is why the tax court's finding brought relief to Ottawa and the financial districts of Toronto and Montreal.

That decision has mollified at least some of the current asperity north of the border toward us and our Government.

American Courtesy at the Panama Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine recently toured Central America and in observing the Panama Canal, was greatly impressed by the conduct of two Americans, Mr. Fred Berest and Mr. George Harter, of the Locks security force. I wish to insert at this point in the RECORD a letter from Mr. Edward Cohen which tells of this commendable courtesy at the Panama Canal:

THE H. C. COOK CO.,
Ansonia, Conn., April 15, 1957.

Hon. JAMES T. PATTERSON,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Our recent visit to Central America took us to Panama City, and, of course, to the Panama Canal.

The controversy of the Suez Canal tended, naturally, to increase our interest and sharpen our wits about the Panama Canal, and we avidly absorbed every bit of information on this phenomenal feat of engineering.

What impressed us deeply as we watched the huge ships going through the canal was the integrity and courtesy of the locks security force at the Mira Flores Locks, especially the two young Americans, Fred Berest and George Harter.

These two young men extended to us every courtesy and patiently answered our every question relative to the canal, and not only made our visit a memorable one, but again stirred up in us a deep sense of patriotism and love for our country, which we always feel in foreign lands.

Were it in my power to hand out good-conduct medals, Fred Berest and George Harter would be now receiving them. As it is, it is our earnest desire that this letter concerning our American security force representatives reach those in power where it would do the most good. Criticism is so aptly given. Let us record good deeds. Let those who earn them reap the reward.

With kind personal regards, we are
Yours,

EDWARD COHEN,
Treasurer, the H. C. Cook Co.

Hon. Earl W. Jimerson, a Dedicated Leader of American Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include tributes paid to Earl W. Jimerson, president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, on the occasion of a testimonial dinner for Mr. Jimerson held in New York City on May 19, 1957.

The following remarks were included in the program guests received at the dinner:

EARL W. JIMERSON, A DEDICATED LEADER OF AMERICAN LABOR

(By Max Block, vice president, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America)

Tonight, all of us honor a distinguished veteran leader of labor. Earl W. Jimerson's friends throughout the country are legion. He has, without any shadow of a doubt left an indelible imprint on the march of time. Truly, few men in our lifetime have worked as tirelessly and so unselfishly in the interests of other humans. Few men have labored so unflinchingly for democracy and few have done as much to banish poverty in our land.

The mammoth membership growth of the Amalgamated—the record high labor standards enjoyed by the nearly 400,000 members of our union throughout the United States and Canada, attest eloquently to the caliber of his leadership. Thanks to Earl W. Jimerson, the Amalgamated ranks today foremost among the world's food unions in A. F. of L.–CIO.

This testimonial event which draws us here to extol President Jimerson as the guest of honor, reflects our genuine respect and affection for an outstanding labor leader who has contributed richly to the stream of American history. The outpouring of spokesmen from the ranks of labor, industry, government, and education and the record-shattering sale of Israel bonds in conjunction with tonight's event stand as a monumental tribute to our guest of honor—the able chieftain of our Amalgamated.

In honoring Earl W. Jimerson, our colleague of many years, we are jointly paying tribute tonight to those idealistic management spokesmen, who, in collaboration with our labor representatives, accounted already for the sale and purchase of over half a million dollars worth of State of Israel bonds.

In the vanguard of our union forces in this worthy effort, Earl Jimerson has given of his strength, executive, and organizational ability to once again further good things for good causes as he has done without undue fanfare on many occasions in a lifetime of service to democracy and labor.

It is a fitting occasion, I feel, that the State of Israel, President Jimerson, and our friends of the industry are here together lauded for their respective democratic concepts.

It is a great occasion for a great effort, for a unity of labor-management purpose which can only redound to the benefit of the State of Israel and us all.

I take this opportunity, if I may, in behalf of our management friends and of all here in the Amalgamated who know him and have worked with him through the years, to say to President Jimerson, "You've done a great job in a great cause. May you prosper for the future as assuredly the State of Israel will, too."

CHRISTIAN CHARITY—EARL W. JIMERSON: A VIGNETTE

"What, sir," said Boswell, notebook in hand, "are the principal virtues of man"?

"Whereas, sir," said Johnson, "you know courage and the vox humana are reckoned the greatest of all virtues, because unless a man has those virtues, he has no security for preserving others."

For more than three decades Earl W. Jimerson has been the conscience of the polyglot world of the meatpacking industry extending from the black ghettos of Chicago to the white ghettos of New York. Of all the labor leaders that make up the American labor movement, few surpass him in his practical Christian charity.

He is a cautious leader with great appeal in the expansive Midwest; a spokesman for the rights of the oppressed whom the Jews accept as a friend; a labor leader with a most generous impulse who is the first choice of the trade unionist and the citizen. Few command more loyalty and devotion in the trade-union movement.

Good citizen that he is, wherever there was or is a job to be done whether for the Amalgamated or the labor movement, or for the community, State, or Nation, there you would always be sure of finding Earl W. Jimerson.

"Jim's" first major achievement in the field of labor—which in a sense was a forecast of things to come—was his successful effort in organizing Retail Meat Cutters Local 534, in East St. Louis. The charter for that union was issued in March 1914. Local 534 continues to be one of the pillars of the international union.

In recognition of his initiative and leadership so ably demonstrated in organizing the local union, his fellow workers elected "Jim" as their first secretary-treasurer and business agent. He served in that capacity with distinction from 1914 to 1918, when he was chosen president of the Packing Trades Council of St. Louis and East St. Louis. The council was an organization of 13 local unions—retail meat cutters, packinghouse workers, sausage makers, poultry and egg handlers, and others—in the St. Louis-East St. Louis area. In that same year he was also one of the principal organizers of the East St. Louis livestock handlers.

Jim's first salary as business agent of local 534 was the handsome sum of $13 a week plus $1.50 for lunch and carfare. It was a full year after the union was organized before they were able to furnish the "B. A." a horse and buggy—the first official mode of transportation of the local. Even at that, the money for the purchase of the horse and buggy was raised from picnics, barbecues, and other fund-raising activities of the union. This was also true of the funds that bought the secondhand Model T Ford which 2 years later replaced the horse and buggy.

The 1920 St. Louis convention elected Jim second international vice president. The first international vice president elected at that occasion was Patrick E. Gorman, present international secretary-treasurer of the organization. Since that 1920 St. Louis convention Pat and Jim have been bosom friends and an effective, inseparable team in leading the Amalgamated Meat Cutters from success to success.

If organizing the Meat Cutters in 1914 was a rugged task for Jim, it did not discourage him in the least. In fact that job merely served as a proving ground to prepare him for other rough periods ahead, many of which were indeed critical. But Jim never ran away from a fight. Whatever the situation, he has stood the test and met the issue headon. And every obstacle he hurdled gave him new experience and fortified him with fresh courage to tackle the other problems that were sure to follow.

In 1916 Jim took an active part in the organizing drives that brought the packinghouse workers of the Swift, Armour, and Morris & Co. East St. Louis plants under the banner of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen. The year 1917 provided a crucial test for Jim, but he met the issue as calmly and courageously as he has faced any crisis. His conduct under fire proved his color and stamped him as a real leader.

When the commonly called but mistakenly designated "race riots" broke out in East St. Louis in 1917, Jim found himself right in the midst of it. He had won the admiration and respect both of his fellow workers and fellow townsmen because he could always be counted on to champion the cause of the underdog.

The so-called East St. Louis "race riot" of 1917 was one of those labor flareups over an intolerable industrial situation. It was incorrectly, perhaps intentionally, called a "race riot" because the outsiders involved in the case were Negroes. Jim was applauded by the Negro press for "preventing further violence and bloodshed." He emerged a leader in the fight against racial discrimination.

On other occasions he was appearing before some congressional committees, courts, Federal commissions, arbitrator, mediator, State boards or some other officials or agencies laying down facts and figures on the miserable conditions under which the packinghouse workers and their families lived and urging action by those in power to help improve them. Probably the best known of these cases and hearings were those before Judge Samuel Alschuler, World War I Meat Packing Industry Administrator, whose decision in favor of the workers temporarily stemmed the tide of wholesale wage reductions in the industry.

Of such stuff Jim was made. He called the score as he saw it. He calls them now as he sees them and let the chips fall where they may.

Earl Jimerson is no fly-by-night, "soldier of fortune." Jim has shared alike the sufferings and heartbeats, the joys and sorrows, the successes and failures of the men and women of the packing industry and allied fields.

He has gone hungry with them when that was the best they could do, and like them has eaten little higher up on the hog when times were better.

Like the true leader that he is, Jim has risen to the top but has never lost the common touch. He is never too busy to exchange greetings with even the newest member of the organization or lend an attentive ear to the problems of the smallest local union. He loves people and is easy to get along with but when the situation warrants it he can be as adamant and unyielding as the proverbial Missouri mule—from the opposite side of the river from his native East St. Louis.

When Jim was mustered into service by the international union headquarters during its darkest hours in the twenties, the union's membership stood at 5,000 and the treasury under that amount in dollars. Today, the roster borders on 400,000 and its financial resources reflect its undoubted strength.

In his dealings with employers Jim is a hard fighter but square shooter. He advocates the doctrine of "live and let live." He is as considerate of the employers who provide a job for only a single amalgamated member as for those who employ thousands. "Unless they succeed," he says, 'we won't have much to bargain for." He believes that once a contract is signed it ought to be respected alike both by the union and the employer and in both the letter and spirit.

A Friend Named Diem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Newsweek magazine of May 20, 1957:

A FRIEND NAMED DIEM

(By Ernest K. Lindley)

The visit of Ngo Dinh Diem as President of the Republic of South Vietnam is living proof of what is often called a miracle but is not one. Rather, South Vietnam today is proof of what an authentic patriot, resolute and shrewd, can accomplish with the full backing of the major instruments of American policy: Military aid, economic aid, training missions, the United States Information Service, the State Department and its Foreign Service, all operating behind the shield of a collective defense treaty backed by the armed force of the United States.

Scarcely more than 2 years ago South Vietnam was in utter chaos. This was the legacy of French misrule, French military defeat, the Geneva Conference of 1954, our own halfhearted policy, and our agreement to a truce in Korea in advance of one in Indochina, thus permitting the Red Chinese to shift to the south the weapons which enabled the Communists to win a decisive victory at Dienbienphu. Parts of South Vietnam were controlled by quasi-religious sects with their private armies—one of them had a powerful grip on Saigon itself. Various pockets were under Communist control, and Ho Chi Minh, the Communist who had humiliated the French, was widely honored, while Diem was hardly known to his own people. South Vietnamese troops who had suffered defeat with the French at Dienbienphu were awed by Communist military power.

DISCOURAGEMENT

The economy of the country had nearly collapsed. Nearly a million refugees poured in from North Vietnam. A South Vietnamese Government had to be built almost out of thin air, and against obstructive French tactics. Most of the neghboring Asian governments and the British as well as the French were ready to write off Diem. Even our own Government lost heart and began casting about vainly for someone else to rescue what looked like an almost hopeless cause.

Then suddenly Diem began to take hold. Two years ago (Newsweek, June 6, 1955) I wrote from South Vietnam: "Probably no other governmental head in the free world is surrounded by so many tough, complex problem as Diem.—He has the will to win. No one else capable of fighting Ho Chi Minh to a standstill is presently visible. Diem should be supported to the limit." Reflecting the judgment of the more determined of our official representatives, I urged that the French withdraw completely and that the farcical absentee emperor, Bao Dai, be deposed.

In 2 years South Vietnam has been transformed. The private armies and the main Communist pockets have been wiped out. Most of the countryside has been pacified and brought under control of the central government. Most of the refugees have been resettled. Diem has become the authentic symbol of Vietnamese nationalism. South Vietnam is still beset with problems and is not yet self-supporting but its prospects of surviving and developing are bright and solid. The credit belongs primarily to Diem, but, as he unhesitatingly proclaims, he could not have succeeded without large-scale American support.

THE GREATER COST

Aid to South Vietnam has been costly to the American taxpayer. Any critical analyst, looking back, doubtless could find that some of our money was wasted. But it is the end result which counts. Had South Vietnam gone down the drain, the cost would have been infinitely greater—probably a war or Communist control of most or all of the Southeast Asian peninsula.

South Vietnam is, of course, only one of many free nations saved in the past decade by resolute leadership, backed by the United States of America. They run all the way around the perimeter of Eurasia from Norway to the Republic of Korea. And the situation in the Middle East today bears striking similarities to that in Southeast Asia in 1954 and 1955, when we at last moved to halt the southward thrust of the Red Chinese. The global struggle with Communist imperialism continues. We can still lose it by failing to exert the effort and spend the necessary money, not only on our military establishment but on our diplomacy, the USIA, military and economic aid. Let us hope that the advocates of economy do not put us in peril of eventual defeat.

Atoms To Light City and Keep Food for Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAMER H. BUDGE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include two articles from the May 17, 1957, issue of the Idaho State Journal by Lee Ester and Hugh A. Wagnon. These articles, published in the Pocatello paper, indicate what tremendous advances in atomic research are being made at the national reactor testing station located near Arco, Idaho:

[From the Idaho State Journal of May 17, 1957]

ATOMS TO LIGHT CITY, KEEP FOOD FOR YEARS

(By Lee Ester)

NATIONAL REACTOR TESTING STATION.—An Ohio city about half the size of Pocatello will be lighted by nuclear power by 1960.

In another 5 years, you may be able to leave hamburger at room temperature and it will taste as good months later as the day it was bought.

These were a few of the glimpses into the future given some 30 newsmen Thursday as the National Reactor Testing Station opened its gates for the second time in 8 years of operation on the Lost River plains near Arco.

Experiments on those two projects are among hundereds conducted regularly by physicists, chemists and technicians who are working to develop beneficial uses of the atom.

Their tools are the reactors spaced miles apart on this sprawling 431,000-acre site.

A reactor, simply, is a device with a heart of enriched uranium which gives off fast-moving particles called neutrons.

These flying neutrons are reflected back into the reactor mass and bombard atoms, causing them to fly apart.

This "explosion" or fission of atoms—carefully controlled in all reactors at NRTS—releases tremendous amounts of energy which can be converted into power.

The proposal to power the city of Piqua, Ohio, depends upon the success of the organic moderated reactor experiment, one of the newest facilities at the station.

Designed by a task force headed by 34-year-old German-born Dr. Charles A. Trilling, the reactor is different from other reactors in that it will us an organic compound made from benzene for the dual role of "moderator-coolant" in the reactor system.

As a moderator, the material will slow down neutrons produced in the uranium fission process. Without it, the neutrons would run wild and cause the reactor's fuel elements to burn up too quickly.

As a cooling agent, the liquid organic material will circulate through the hot reactor core, absorb heat and carry it to another unit.

There, the heat will produce steam which will drive power-generating turbines.

The reactor will produce more than enough power to light Piqua, Ohio, but electricity is not the object at NRTS.

"We know that turbines work and that generators will produce electricity, so we don't need to bother with that here," Trilling explained.

Instead, experiments with OMRE will provide information on the rate of decomposition or damage on the organic material under exposure to temperature and radiation levels encountered in power reactors, effect of this damage on the operation of the reactor and requirements for successful operation in spite of this damage.

Operated by Atomics International, a division of North American Aviation, Inc., OMRE is expected to produce enough data in 6 months to tell whether it will be a success.

Touring NRTS, you get the impression the project is here to stay. Originally planned for 10 reactors, the site now has 8 in operation, 5 more under construction and 7 others under design or up for construction bids.

The tour included most of the areas where research into peacetime uses of the atom is being carried out, but newsmen were not taken into the areas where military research is being conducted.

NRTS now has five contractors with another to move in shortly.

Of the six, Phillips Petroleum Co. has the largest investment with Argonne National Laboratories, Atomics International, General Electric and Westinghouse having substantial operations. The latter two firms have contracted to build ship and aircraft reactors in an isolated area still highly secret.

The sixth firm, Aerojet-General Corp., will build a gas-cooled reactor.

The approximate installed value, plus improvements, of installations at NRTS was $104,000,000 last December 31. Projects totaling $82,000,000 are now under construction or slated.

The permanent operating force is expected to pass the 3,500 mark by next September. The current construction force of about 1,000 is expected to total more than 1,700 by midsummer. Annual permanent payroll is estimated at $14 million.

[From the Idaho State Journal of May 17, 1957]

IDAHO AEC SHAPES KEY TO TOMORROW'S WORLD

(By Hugh A. Wagnon)

NATIONAL REACTOR TESTING STATION.—The key to the world of tomorrow is being shaped at this Atomic Energy Commision installation in the desert between Idaho Falls and Arco.

A press tour of many of the installations Thursday disclosed what is being done to pry open the secrets of economic civilian uses of the atom and the power it releases in controlled experiments with reactors, which are what the scientists call the atomic stoves.

Perhaps the aspect that strikes the layman's imagination is the strange lack of anything that can be seen—the actions of atoms and neutrons is beyond the realm of the five senses and must be "seen" by the use of sensitive instruments.

But there were wonders to behold. Wires outside a heavily encased pipe melt metals inside the pipe at a temperature of more than 500° F. without themselves getting warm.

CREATES MAGNETIC FIELD

It's done by creating a magnetic field inside the pipe. "Coolants" are used at temperatures of more than 500°; the secret is "heat transfer." The already superheated metal coolant absorbs another 100° from the atomic reactor and carriers it away. This is virtually important for the temperatures generated by the reactors are so high that one of the key problems is to find materials that can stand up and contain the reactor without melting.

One of the most promising avenues of exploration for civilian uses of atomic energy is the low-pressure thermal reactor, which, by slowing down the fission process, can produce usable energy more efficiently, with much less shielding. Its first apparent application indicated by the research men will be to ship propulsion and to small city powerplants.

Another field being investigated by one of the many laboratories at the site is the fast reactor, where atoms are split without being slowed down. Still another is the breeder reactor, where more fuel is created than is used. This means that when other problems are solved, there is little likelihood of there being an atomic-fuel shortage.

CONFIDENCE AND OPTIMISM

Right now the NRTS is accomplishing many practical uses of radioactive material but none was indicated as being commercially feasible as of today. On the other hand, "confidence" and "optimism" were two words most used by the scientists to describe how they felt about future applications.

Some of the things we may expect to develop from the experiments at Arco and elsewhere are economic electric power; use of atomic power to propel submarines, ships, and eventually, locomotives and airplanes; radiation of fresh vegetables and meats to make refrigeration unnecessary; and an ever-increasing use of isotopes in medicine, agriculture and many other fields.

Sacks of potatoes were immersed in a tank of water, in which cylinders at the bottom radiated enormous quantities of roentgen rays, six million per hour. In comparison, a cientist noted that a medical X-ray uses 1 roentgen. Potatoes thus treated have been kept without deterioration for as long as 6 years. What this may mean to Idaho's future economy is fabulous.

One of the scientists, Don Reid, plant superintendent for the $44 million Phillips chemical processing plant, compared the present status of the reactor to that of the packing industry of 75 years ago, when many byproducts were thrown away, as against the present era when "they use everything of the pig except the squeal."

One thing appears certain—it will not require 75 years for the atomic science to achieve efficiency comparable to that of the packing industry.

Mother o' Mine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial which appeared in the East Side News on the occasion of Mother's Day:

MOTHER O' MINE

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

Sunday is Mother's Day. The two words most hallowed in every language are God and mother.

Mother, it embraces all that is lovely, all that is loving, all that is faithful, and that is beautiful. It is the first word we learn to lisp as we begin life. It is the last word we gasp as we depart from life. It is the golden cord which binds the earth to heaven. It is the love that changes the poorest cottage into a paradise. It is the greatest of all love. It is the eternal love.

O wondrous word mother. We bow our heads at your shrine. We kneel at the altar of sacred memories. We venerate your holy name. There is no tribute too great, there is no honor too glorious, to pay our mothers. We are transported upon the wings of blessed memory back to our childhood. We recall her tender caresses, her loving embrace, and her sweet lullaby at twilight. We hear again her soft voice which once made our infant hearts rejoice.

The songs and poems inspired by the love we bear, the touching eulogies delivered, the flowers we wear in her honor, the trees we plant in her memory, all these are tributes to her sublime influence. It has been written that "the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world." It can be written that the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that saves the world. The story is told of an angel that was sent from heaven to return with the three most beautiful things on earth. As he pursued his mission, he beheld a beautiful rose, that, he thought, he would bring back. He then saw a baby's smile; that, too, he would bring back. He looked and looked until he finally saw the sacrifice a mother's love was making for her child, and that, he concluded, was the third. He proceeded back to heaven—and when he arrived, he found that the rose had withered away—the baby's smile had gone—and nothing remained but a mother's love.

Her love is the greatest approach to divine love that God grants to man. She walks unafraid into the valley of the shadow and emerges forth with new life. She is the keystone to the home. She is the guiding star of man. In the sacred manger in Bethlehem, holding, as a tiny mite, the light of the world, was mother. In the great trial, at the foot of the cross on Calvary, faithful—utterly faithful—knelt mother.

Ere the fragile threads which sustain her part, while she can still hear words of honor and praise, while she can still feel the warm embrace of your love, take her to your heart and give her your devotion. Blessed are the children who can still have the benediction of her fading eyes and the caress of her trembling lips. For many of us she is a hallowed memory. For many of us she touches us only in our dreams. There has never been an act of heroism that could compare with the life's work of the humblest mother. To the soldier who falls in battle, we give bronze and tablet. But to mother—it is a battle without glory. She wears no medals of men. Her badge is the furrowed lines on her face. No bugle sounds taps over her—only the purling waters of the placid streams, only the birds in the air, and only the winds of heaven chant.

Remember mother. We shall see mother's love find its full expression in the world of tomorrow. We build monuments to soldiers, statesmen, and scientists. We should build a monument to the greatest soldier of them all—the sweet and gentle spirit of motherhood. Let us dedicate that monument to: The uprooting of all causes of war, the ending of prejudice of races and nations, and the strengthening of all peacemakers. That is what every mother seeks; that is what every mother shall have. Make every day Mother's Day.

Tapes Indicate Schrunk Feared

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I have received from Francis J. Ivancie, executive assistant in the Office of the Mayor of Portland, Oreg., together with an article entitled "Tapes Indicate Schrunk Feared," which was published in the Oregon Sunday Journal of April 21, 1957.

There being no objection, the letter and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITY OF PORTLAND, OREG.,
April 25, 1957.

Hon. WAYNE L. MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Enclosed is a copy of a recent newsprint which concerns one phase of the vice investigation in this city.

This article is a good representation of objective newspaper reporting which is necessary in order to develop the true picture of the situation here in Portland.

Yours truly,

FRANCIS J. IVANCIE,
Executive Assistant.

[From the Portland (Oreg.) Sunday Journal of April 21, 1957]

TAPES INDICATE SCHRUNK FEARED

(By George Skorney)

Jurors in a Federal wiretap trial Saturday heard a voice on a tape recording say, "We got to keep that guy (Schrunk) out of the town," and then were told a little later that the trial would be postponed until Tuesday pending an appeal to a higher Federal court in San Francisco.

The reference to Mayor Terry Schrunk when he was sheriff of Multnomah County was included in telephone conversations alleged to have been illegally recorded by Portland Vice Czar James B. Elkins and his henchman, Raymond P. Clark.

Voices in the two tape records, played in public for the first time, appeared to be those of William M. Langley, Multnomah County district attorney, Thomas Maloney and Joseph P. McLaughlin, Seattle gamblers and other persons. The 3 men have been indicted on various counts by 3 Multnomah County racket-probing grand juries.

But just as the trial was getting into full swing with the playing of the two tapes, United States Judge William East postponed the proceeding so the circuit court of appeals can rule whether 12 important witnesses of the prosecution shall be permitted to testify.

Judge William Denman of the appellate court will consider this defense motion at 9:30 a. m. Monday. East recessed the trial here until 9:30 a. m. Tuesday.

Elkins and Clark showed little interest in the playing of the sensational tapes.

It must have been evident to the Federal court jury that at least some of the conversations were recorded from telephone conversations, because ringing of telephones, dialing noise, and the hanging up of telephones could be heard.

One of the clearest conversations heard was between a man who identified himself as Tom and another man who appeared to be Langley.

The man named Tom said that Ron Moxness, editor of the Oregon Teamster, was let go by Cylde Crosby, international teamster representative, for his (Moxness') crusading tactics.

The other voice replied, "One of the characteristics of a crusader is that he must pop off."

The Tom voice said Moxness talked about teamster interest in pinballs being illegal and about the racket business.

The other voice complained that "he (Moxness) always is putting Schrunk in the paper. I'm glad Moxness is out of there. He's a damn crusader."

In another conversation between the same Tom and another voice identified as "Joe," Tom said:

"The rumor is moving around Schrunk (then sheriff) is coming into the city. * * * We got to keep that guy out of the town."

The same Tom voice said in another conversation that "Schrunk is coming in the city * * * he'll blow the whole proposition in the air."

All these conversations were in the second reel played, which was admitted as evidence as exhibit No. 2.

In the first reel, also admitted as evidence, there was a conversation that apparently involved Langley and a man called Joe.

"Thornton is going to blast me," said the unidentified voice to Joe.

This apparently referred to the probe Langley was making of the Oregon Liquor Control Commission in 1955. The voice told Joe that he had only hearsay evidence that Attorney General Robert Thornton was going to accuse him of whitewashing if he dropped the probe.

Langley was asked by the late Gov. Paul Patterson to make the probe concerning reports of bribery of OLCC employees. Thornton got into a hassle with Patterson, maintaining that as attorney general he should make the investigation.

(Langley, after he completed his grand jury investigation, reported to the governor that there was no evidence for prosecution against anyone.)

In another part of the same conversation, the voice said, "Thornton's going to fall flat."

Judge East and Circuit Judge Charles Redding of Multnomah County are on opposite sides of a legal fence, on whether 12 present and former public officials shall testify in the Elkins-Clark trial. Judge East has said he will cite these officials in contempt if they don't testify. Judge Redding has said he

will hold them in contempt if they do testify.

Redding reasoned the tapes were seized illegally from Clark's home May 17, 1956, through Langley and deputies of Sheriff (now mayor) Terry D. Schrunk. Redding said he is protecting the civil rights of Elkins and Clark.

East ruled the tapes were seized legally by the FBI when they later were in the hands of State police and that Redding's injunction was voided as far as the Federal court was concerned.

The defense has asked the appellate court to issue a writ of prohibition preventing Judge East from compelling the 12 men to testify. United States Attorney C. E. Luckey, who is prosecuting the Elkins-Clark case, and Walter H. Evans, Jr., and William J. Crawford, defense attorneys, will argue the motion before the appellate court.

If Luckey loses, it is believed by court observers that this will seriously hurt his case against the underworld pair.

Judge East was obviously relieved that the contempt dilemma will be settled by a higher court. He said from the bench:

"A great deal of weight has been removed from my shoulders."

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided;* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

23, 1957

.—If manu-
returned in
eedings, the
words "Mr.
use or Com-
ar hereafter
d with the

blic Printer
NGRESSIONAL
of remarks
period ex-
e date when
vided, That
of Congress
be 10 days,
committee.
t RECORD is
ing 30 days
sued; there-
o the Public
vided, That
each session
be 10 days,
committee:
ber of Con-
more than
consist only
py and shall
ct material,
al, or addi-

t publish in
ull report or
ubcommittee
n previously
construed to

When either
(1) a speech
(2) a news-
) any other
eedings, the
he Appendix
In such cases
the Govern-
rinted. This
tions which
ber, or to an
vn remarks:
ch, or article
y to the final
gress may be
ECORD.
neous matter
one instance
IONAL RECORD
int or to ex-
anuscript is
writing from
able cost of
mate of cost
ember when
is rule shall
letters, tele-
connection
course of de-
n State legis-
the President
net, the Vice
ess. For the
y one article
with or with-
e considered
wo-page rule
or the Official
shall return
e House any
ONGRESSIONAL
tion of this

ficial Report-
n the manu-
all matter to
d shall make
proper place

SENA

OFFICE

[Streets n
Vic

Aiken, Ge
Allott, Go
Anderson,
N. Mex.

Barrett, Fr
Beall, J. C
Bennett, W
Bible, Ala
Bricker, J
Bridges, S
Bush, Pres
Butler, Jo
Byrd, Har

Capehart,
Carlson, F
Carroll, Jo
Case, Cliff
Case, Fran
Chavez, D

Church, F
Clark, Jos
Cooper, Jo
Cotton, N
Curtis, Ca

Dirksen, E
Douglas, E
Dworshak,

Eastland,
Ellender,
Ervin, Sam
Flanders,
Frear, J. A
Fulbright

Goldwater
Gore, Albe
Green, Th
R. I.

Hayden, C
Hennings,
Mo.
Hickenloo
Iowa.

Hill, Liste
Holland,
Hruska, R
Humphre
Minn.

Ives, Irvin

Jackson,
Javits, Ja
Jenner, W
Johnson,
Johnston,
Kefauver,

Kennedy,
Kerr, Rob
Knowland
Calif.
Kuchel, T
Langer, W
Lausche, E
Long, Rus

McClellan
McNamar

Magnuson
Wash.
Malone, G
Mansfield
Martin, E
Martin, Th
Monroney
Okla.
Morse, W
Morton, T
Mundt, K

Murray, J

Neely, Ma
Neuberger
Oreg.

O'Mahone
Wyo.

Appendix

Extravagant Hoover Commission Recommendations for Savings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend remarks in the RECORD, I include reply to the letter of Chairman Clarence Francis, of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, received May 16, 1957, as follows:

MAY 16, 1957.

Hon. CLARENCE CANNON,
Chairman, Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CANNON: I am writing with reference to your remarks on the floor of the House on May 14, 1957. In your address you seriously questioned whether actual economies can result from the recommendations of the bipartisan Hoover Commission. The Citizens Committee has looked into this question with considerable care and would like to furnish you with the results of its study.

In this connection, our research department prepared the attached special research memorandum No. 11, entitled "Specific Examples of Savings, Capital Returns, and Increased Revenues Resulting From Reports and Recommendations of the Bipartisan First (1947–49) and Second (1953–55) Hoover Commissions." This study covers only a part of the total recommendations but it does document some $2.8 billion in savings. All of these figures are either taken directly from, or based upon, statements made by officials of the executive branch or by the Comptroller General of the United States.

With respect to the first Hoover Commission, the committee has looked into five specific areas of economy. The results of the survey indicated that economies in these five areas had resulted, as follows:

	Million
General Services Administration	$677.0
Veterans' Administration (cancellation of hospital beds)	545.0
Post Office Department (post and postal cards only)	72.0
Reconstruction Finance Corporation (abolition of)	474.4
Defense Department	569.5
Total	2,337.9

Additional results of the work of the first Hoover Commission would doubtless be found in other areas of Government but I think these figures are sufficient to make the point. Definite economies of substantial size are traceable to the first Hoover report through the statements of the agencies themselves.

With respect to the second Hoover Commission, the Citizens Committee has also made a study of some of the savings which so far can be attributed directly or indirectly to the Commission's findings. The results of this survey are as follows:

	Million
Treasury Department	$20.3
General Services Administration	131.7
Federal Housing Administration	.5
Interior Department	.6
Commerce Department	19.3
Veterans' Administration	13.6
Post Office Department	56.0
Health, Education, and Welfare Department	2.2
Defense Department (10 percent of total economies)	235.9
Total	$480.1

Here we would like to point out that only 39 percent of the 314 recommendations of this second Commission have been installed in whole or in part. Many of them have been installed rather recently, so that considerable time must pass before results can become evident. An example is the legislation providing a cost-accounting system for the Federal Government. Installation alone will take several years.

May I emphasize that these figures cover only a part of the total Federal operation and that they are meant simply to illustrate the fact that substantial savings have been certified by responsible governmental agencies. To study completely the budgets of all departments and agencies over a span of 9 years would involve the task of compiling and comparing material on approximately 11,000 pages, with an average of at least 50 items per page, or more than 550,000 separate budget items. In our view, there are additional and very substantial savings which would be divulged by a more thorough study than that which we have been able to undertake.

In conclusion allow me to refer to the subject of appropriations on an annual accrued expenditure basis as provided in H. R. 2494 currently before the House. Varying estimates have been made as to the savings which might come to the taxpayer through this measure. We would like to point out that substantial economies might flow from a reduction in the so-called "carryover" funds—that is, unspent funds available from appropriations in previous years. These funds are today estimated to be in the neighborhood of $50 billion. As a most conservative estimate, a thorough scrutiny of such funds might lead to a reduction of only 1 percent—and this is a minimum. This alone would be $500 million per year. It is our feeling that the savings would be considerably more substantial.

Thank you very much for hearing our views on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE FRANCIS.

SPECIAL RESEARCH MEMORANDUM NO. 11, CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR THE HOOVER REPORT—SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SAVINGS, CAPITAL RETURNS, AND INCREASED REVENUES RESULTING FROM REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BIPARTISAN FIRST (1947–49) AND SECOND (1953–55) HOOVER COMMISSIONS

Much current controversy centers around the record peacetime Federal budget of $71.8 billion for fiscal 1958. There is general agreement on the need for economy but widespread debate over specific cost-cutting proposals.

The question then arises: "Are substantial savings available through adoption of the recommendations of the bipartisan Hoover Commission?"

In the following pages, the Research Department of the Citizens Committee lists some examples of concrete economies, capital returns, and increased revenues clearly attributable to the work of the bipartisan first (1947–49) and second (1953–55) Hoover Commissions.

Four points should be noted:

1. This list traces $2.3 billion in aggregate economies to recommendations of the first Hoover Commission and $480.1 million to the second—a total of some $2.8 billion for both to date.

2. This is a partial list, intended only to illustrate broadly the principle that specific economies are available through adoption of Hoover Commission recommendations.

3. These examples are based almost entirely on official reports of the Federal departments and agencies concerned.

4. Most of the examples are based directly on Hoover Commission recommendations, but some are byproducts of the Commission's work, illustrating the ways in which a document like the Hoover report can stimulate economy-consciousness in governmental operations.

Five Congresses and two administrations have had a hand in the bipartisan effort through which some 72 percent of the proposals of the first Hoover Commission and, to date, 39 percent of the second have been adopted. The process of effectuation following adoption is often a long one and the results, when obscured by sudden developments such as the Korean action, are difficult to identify.

The fact remains that definite savings of a major nature, far greater than the totals shown by these examples, have been made. It may be reasonably concluded, therefore, that substantial additional economies remain available in the unenacted 61 percent of the second Commission's recommendations.

Attached are:

1. Appendix A (specific examples of savings, capital returns, and increased revenues resulting from the reports and recommendations of the bipartisan first (1947–49) Hoover Commission).

2. Appendix B (specific examples of savings, capital returns, and increased revenues resulting from the reports and recommendations of the bipartisan second (1953–55) Hoover Commission).

An examination of these two appendixes indicates the figures are almost entirely official statements of the Federal departments and agencies. In only two of the scores of specific figures here quoted has the Citizens Committee's Research Department posed its own estimate; and in these two cases, the estimates are premised upon official figures.

APPENDIX A

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SAVINGS, CAPITAL RETURNS, AND INCREASED REVENUES RESULTING FROM THE REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BIPARTISAN FIRST (1947–49) HOOVER COMMISSION

The first Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government was created by unanimous act of Congress on July 7, 1947. The Commission was em-

powered to "study and investigate the present organization and methods of operation of all departments, bureaus, agencies, boards, commissions, offices, independent establishments, and instrumentalities of the executive branch of the Government."

The Commission divided up its total project of studying the executive branch into a series of major-purpose activities and functional problems. Twenty-four task forces were created. Some of these dealt primarily with Cabinet departments, while others centered on broader categories of interest. The task force reports were completed in the late summer and autumn of 1948; and the Commission reported to Congress during the first 6 months of 1949. Most of the reports had minority opinions and dissents, proving that the recommendations were not accepted without a good deal of examination.

In enumerating the savings, capital returns and increased revenues attributable to the first Hoover Commission, the Citizens Committee covers five major areas. They are: the General Services Administration, the Veterans' Administration, the Post Office Department, liquidation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and the Department of Defense. These estimates are not all-encompassing of the whole area of savings effected by the first Hoover Commission. They are chosen merely to illustrate some of the financial benefits which demonstrably have resulted from the recommendations of the Commission.

1. THE GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

It should be remembered that there would be no General Services Administration had it not been for a specific recommendation of the first Hoover Commission. In February 1949 the Commission recommended to Congress that responsibility for three internal service operations, Supply, Records Management, and the Operation and Maintenance of Public Buildings, be placed in an Office of General Services with a director appointed by the President (Report on Office of General Services—Supply Activities, Recommendation No. 1). The agency was created by the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act later in that year.

The agency's annual reports have stated economies, as follows:

Fiscal year and savings[1]

		Million
1951		$81.0
1952		127.3
1953		130.6
1954		147.6
1955:		
(a) Personal property	$168.7	
(b) Real property	14.6	
(c) Records	3.6	
(d) Administrative	3.6	
		190.5
Total		677.0

[1] Stated officially by Jess Larson and Edmund Mansure, the 1st 2 General Services Administration Administrators, and found in the GSA Annual Reports.

2. THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

Cancellation of congressional authority to build 16,000 hospital beds for the Veterans' Administration was the biggest savings item in this field. (Report on Medical Activities, p. 6.) There are various methods by which nonrecurring or onetime savings like a hospital cancellation can be amortized. The Citizens Committee used a 5-year basis in making its estimates, believing that the normal patient load accretions would cause such construction to be authorized again toward the end of such period. However, good economic conditions, important reductions in the incidence of tuberculosis, new drugs and medical techniques, and a number of other factors have mostly deferred this construction program, perhaps indefinitely. Hence, while the committee's 5-year amortization estimate seemed a reasonable basis when the estimate was made, it may have been too short for this particular case.

The aggregate saving of $545 million is shown as follows:

Fiscal year and savings[1]

	Million
1951	$67
1952	97
1953	127
1954	127
1955	[2] 127
Total	545

[1] Bed construction amortized without interest factor over a 5-year period; operation and maintenance costs carried on an annual basis, starting in 1952, at ½ of full annual figure of $60,113,000; and at full figure thereafter.

[2] Construction cutback was fully amortized according to Citizens Committee basis by June 30, 1954, but annual operation and maintenance savings of $60,113,000 would continue thereafter.

3. THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

The most notable achievement here was the increase in the price of penny post and postal cards from 1 cent to 2 cents. (Report on the Post Office, Recommendation No. 8.) Congressional action on this Hoover Commission proposal led to an average annual revenue increase of $7.4 million—$5 million in fiscal year 1952, and an aggregate total of $32 million thereafter on postal cards. The aggregate revenue thus added has been $37 million through fiscal 1956.

To this can be added revenues from increasing penny post cards from 1 to 2 cents, which are estimated by the Post Office Department to have returned another aggregate of $35 million. This is necessarily an estimate since the postal accounting system compounds these revenues into the normal sale of 1-cent stamps.

The total, thus, is $72 million.

The rate on postal cards and post cards had stood at 1 cent since May 13, 1873, except for a temporary 1-cent increase during World War I.

4. THE RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

In its report to Congress on Federal business enterprises in March 1949, a task force of the first Hoover Commission recommended the liquidation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The Commission itself recommended drastic cutbacks in lending, but did not recommend total liquidation. However, the combined efforts of these two groups resulted in its termination effective September 28, 1953.

For the most accurate description of the capital returns realized from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in liquidation, a direct quotation is taken from the 1956 annual report of the Treasury Department:

"After giving effect to assets transferred to other Government agencies under the provisions of the RFC Liquidation Act and Reorganization Plan No. 2, of 1954, there remained for liquidation loans, securities, and commitments amounting to $592,200,000. By June 30, 1956, this portfolio had been reduced to $117,800,000. The total reduction of these assets was $474,400,000, of which $114,300,000 was accomplished during the year.

"The proceeds realized from liquidation of the Corporation's assets are returned to the Treasury. In the fiscal year 1956, there was paid into the Treasury from cash on hand and amounts realized during the year a total of $150 million." [1]

[1] Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1956, p. 138.

5. THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The major segment of savings and budget reductions achieved from the original Hoover Commission fell within the Department of Defense, and these were most substantial. Some were annually recurring and some were nonrecurring, but, in the 1949–50 period, $569,675,000 of a total of over $1.5 billion saved in the Defense Department can be linked with Hoover Commission recommendations.

Due to the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, many of these Defense savings were immersed in the necessarily increased expenditures for war. Thus it is impossible to go beyond this point with regard to savings. Most savings effected by the Defense Department after the Korean war relate to the work of the second Hoover Commission and are dealt with later in appendix B of this memorandum.

The savings of $569,675,000 for 1949 and 1950 and stemming in whole or in part from the Commission and its task force are as follows:

	Savings[1] *(million)*
Lowered cost of recruiting program	$2.3
Lowered cost of printing and binding	2.3
Inactivation of administrative vehicles and substitution of civilian type vehicles for heavy military type vehicles	11.9
Inactivation of facilities surplus to peacetime needs	169.2
Lowered cost of petroleum reserves	.5
Lowered cost of classified project	2.1
Restrictions on civilian travel	.4
Bringing the rating structure of enlisted men into line with actual distribution and the structure plan for fiscal year 1951	9.9
Institution of the monetary maintenance allowance system in lieu of issue-in-kind	13.8
Curtailing and closely examining requirements for issuance of change of station travel orders	$3.6
Lowered cost of quarters allowances for enlisted personnel resulting from adjustments in the rating structures	1.9
Early discharges, releases to CAD officers, and lower requirements for recruit outfits	9.5
Reduced requirement for operation of aircraft	5.0
Decrease in depot and base supply and maintenance	4.2
Lower fuel requirements from reduction in steaming hours of the active fleet and operation of a smaller fleet	2.6
Rescheduling and combining cargo shipments	7.9
Lowered operating expenses of ships other than fuel	3.0
Adjusting schedules for ship overhauls, reevaluation of scope of work required for individual ships, and accomplishment of increased self-maintenance by ships' crews	10.0
Decrease in the total communications requirements for the Department of Defense including those resulting from the operation of AFSA	6.6
Reduced procurement of organizational clothing, motor transport spare parts, general supply items, signal supply items, and curtailment of repairs, upkeep, and improvements for Marine Corps	1.0
Lower level of support for courts-martial, chaplain supplies, miscellaneous schools, etc	.7

[1] From Semiannual Report of the Secretary of Defense, July 1–December 31, 1949, pp. 53–55.

	Savings (million)
Curtailment of major repairs and replacements and general maintenance of naval facilities	$7.6
Savings through consolidation of Reserve training facilities, joint use of facilities and inactivation of some smaller training vessels while at the same time extending the training schedules of some of the larger vessels which will accommodate greater numbers of Reserve personnel for training	13.5
Reevaluation of research and development projects	17.2
Cancellation of the quinquennial overhauls of reserve fleet vessels and reduced preservation and maintenance of other war reserves	13.5
Curtailment of information and education activities	.3
Employment of better traffic policies and procedures in the operation of a central Military Land Traffic Office	1.6
Reduction of leased space after consolidation of activities	.07
Reduction and unification of military attaché office staffs	1.4
Lower cost of planned field exercises	.5
Savings in maintenance and operation of hospital facilities	5.3
General appropriation reprograming by deferred maintenance, personnel reductions or turn-over, lower level of operation in order to absorb wage board and other pay increases	156.5
Flying hours reduced	57.7
Reevaluation of industrial mobilization	25.9
Total	569.5

CONCLUSION

It will be noted that all the examples cited in appendix A, except those relating to the Veterans' Administration and the Post Office, are taken wholly from official reports and releases of executive branch departments and agencies, and, in those two cases, the estimates are based upon official figures.

These examples, to repeat, are simply intended to illustrate the point that concrete economies can be substantiated. They do not by any means represent the probable total of all such economies if all departments and agencies could have been included in this study.

The total of this partial list is itself impressive, however:

	Million
General Services Administration	$677.0
Veterans' Administration	545.0
Post Office Department	[1] 72.0
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	[2] 474.4
Department of Defense	569.5
Total	2,337.9

[1] Increased revenues.
[2] Capital returns.

APPENDIX B

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SAVINGS, CAPITAL RETURNS, AND INCREASED REVENUES RESULTING FROM THE REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BIPARTISAN SECOND (1953–55) HOOVER COMMISSION

The second bipartisan Hoover Commission was created in cognizance of the need for continued study and improvement of Federal administration. The Brown-Ferguson Act (Public Law 108, 83d Cong., 1st sess.) provided for a second Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. It was passed without a dissenting vote in either House. President Eisenhower signed the bill on July 10, 1953.

The new Hoover Commission was assigned the responsibility of recommending methods and procedures for: Reducing expenditures to the lowest amount consistent with efficient performance of activities; eliminating duplication of functions; consolidating services of a similar nature; abolishing those activities not necessary to efficient conduct of Government; eliminating those functions which compete unnecessarily with private enterprise; defining responsibilities of officials, and relocating independent agencies directly responsible to the President into departments or other agencies.

The major difference between the first Hoover Commission and the second lies in the fact that, while the first Commission was directed to concern itself with the procedural aspects of Federal administration, the second Commission was, in addition, instructed to go beyond this, to raise the substantive question of whether a given Federal activity should be continued or discontinued regardless of the efficiency or lack of efficiencies with which that activity was being administered.

The Citizens Committee estimates that $480.1 million has resulted in savings from the second Hoover Commission recommendations already put into effect. The figures listed in this appendix reflect those savings made during the year 1955 and thereafter, with a few from 1954.

The examples here cited are all taken from official reports. While most are directly attributable to the Commission's recommendations, some are byproducts, due in whole or in part to the stimulus of the Commission's proposals.

1. THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT

New management programs were installed as well as audit studies, evaluation of the revenue accounting system, operational cost reports, and workload statistics. These and other managerial information leading to savings resulted wholly or in part from the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission.

Total net space requirements were reduced. Programs were carried on to provide more suitable and efficient space and facilities. Related activities have been put under one roof to provide for more efficient operations. Much effort has been devoted to improving and modernizing accounting systems within the Department. In many Treasury activities new, modern equipment was installed.

The origin of these savings can be traced to the stimulus of Hoover Commission recommendations on central accounting and reporting, spread of workload, discontinuance of detailed appropriation and receipts accounts, and methods of recovery of capital sums to the Treasury. The savings for 1955 and 1956 are detailed as follows:

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
Savings in cartage costs	$0.1
Reductions in export control operations	.1
Procedural and organizational realinements in the Bureau of the Public Debt	.4
Conversion of disbursing accounts	.2
Closing of four regional accounting and disbursing offices	.2
Installation of mechanical equipment in the Division of Disbursement	.2
New system for correspondence control	.6
New form of index card maintenance	.2
Reduction in supervision by Internal Revenue storekeepers	.4
Discontinuance of coinage operations at two offices	.4
Disposal of excess properties by the Coast Guard	.9
Transfer of three Coast Guard supply depots to the Navy	.2

[1] Annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1955.

Fiscal year 1955—Continued

	Million
Decommissioning of 10 Coast Guard vessels	$1.6
Better utilization of personnel	.2
Overall reduction due to improved methods and procedures	4.6
General management improvement program in the Bureau of Accounts	.6
Reorganization improvements in the Bureau of the Mint	.6
Total	11.5

Fiscal year 1956: Improved management actions saved a total of $8 million—Annual recurring savings—$6 million [1]

Revised procedures for the examination of printed products in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing	$0.3
Revisions in taxpayer-assistance programs in Internal Revenue	2.8
Extended use of mechanical and electrical equipment	.1
Transfer of Coast Guard supply facilities to the Navy	.2
Disposal of one supply base	1.0
Transfer of 46 parcels of property to General Services Administration for disposal	.4
Disposal of surplus vessels by the Coast Guard	.2
Space and equipment utilization survey in the Bureau of Customs released space valued at and declaration of surplus equipment	.5 .1
Customs Bureau reductions in manpower, space, and equipment	.6
Management improvement program in the Division of Disbursement	.6
Savings on an annual basis (recurring) from the Management Improvement program	.6
Elimination of duplicate sets of records [2]	1.0
Reorganization of the Bureau of Accounts and the Savings Bond Division (recurring)	.2
Total	8.6

[1] Items 1 through 11 obtained from the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1956.

[2] Accounting and Auditing Developments in the United States General Accounting Office—United States Government Printing Office, 1957.

2. THE GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION—FISCAL YEAR 1956

Many new savings factors have been introduced into the General Services Administration since the second Hoover Commission completed its work. An accrued cost system of accounts was established, and large reductions in paperwork resulted from the creation of a single fund for administrative operations. Expansion of electric accounting-machine operations brought about savings in several accounting processes throughout the administration. A performance-analysis system was installed to measure performance in terms of accomplishments and cost. Finally, the internal audit program was more clearly defined so as to emphasize the review of internal controls on an agencywide basis.

These improvements embrace the Hoover Commission recommendations for storage and distribution, paperwork management, procurement, property management, records management, stockpiling and warehousing, and surplus-property distribution within the General Services Administration. The rec-

ord of savings for the General Services Administration in 1956 is listed below:

	Million
More efficient telecommunications service [1]	$1.0
Continued utilization of real property transfers	5.7
Records management surveys	4.3
Releasing of storage space	.7
Curtailed expenditures for new cabinets	2.3
Curtailed expenditures for transfer cases	.4
Transfer, instead of new procurement, of property	95.0
Repair and rehabilitation of equipment instead of new purchase	1.2
Improved audits and financial management	1.0
Reduction of motor vehicle fleet (recurring) [2]	20.0
Improved payroll procedures [3]	.1
Total	131.7

[1] Annual report of the Administrator of General Services for the year ending June 30, 1956 (items 1 through 9).

[2] GSA press release, February 17, 1956.

[3] 8th Annual Progress Report under the Joint Program To Improve Accounting in the Federal Government, 1956.

3. THE FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

The opportunity for administrative savings does not exist in as great a degree in the Federal Housing Administration as it does in other Departments or agencies.[1] However, management improvements for FHA in 1955 were responsible for savings of approximately $0.5 million.

It is as a result of recommendations of the first Hoover Commission that the Housing and Home Finance Agency embraces all Federal activities in the housing field except the Veterans' Administration and the Farmers' Home Administration. The Federal Housing Administration naturally falls within the scope of the Agency. Recommendations of the second Hoover Commission regarding the Federal Housing Administration are, for the most part, concerned with authority and studies of mortgage-loan insurance. These would be extremely hard to evaluate in terms of savings. General management improvements are most indicative of the savings made by the Federal Housing Administration and appear below.

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
Management improvements in Comptroller's Division—expected to effect annual savings in personal services of	$0.2
Records management economies	.2
Better use of space, and printing economies	.1
Total	.5

[1] Twenty-second annual report, Federal Housing Administrator, for year ending December 31, 1955.

4. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

The Interior Department also participated in accounting reviews and cost-type budgeting. The Department also continued to examine internal functions in order to discontinue those activities which were in competition with private enterprise. This directly follows the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission. In addition, the Department proceeded to dispose of unneeded real property and to better organize field organizations. Much progress was made in records management and also in the area of general administration.

[1] Also the FHA is essentially a self-supporting Federal agency.

Evidence of the influence of Hoover Commission recommendations on business enterprises, paperwork management, and disposal of surplus property can be clearly seen in the savings shown here.

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
Decrease in volume of reclamation records	$0.1
Disposition of excess property, Bureau of Mines	.2
Total	.3

[1] 1955 Annual Report, Secretary of the Interior, Partnership in Resource Conservation and Development, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1955.

Fiscal year 1956 [1]

	Million
Reduction in volume of stored records, releasing space and equipment worth approximately	$0.2
Transfer of surplus property to other agencies	.1
Total	.3

[1] 1956 Annual Report, Secretary of the Interior, the Conservation of Natural Resources, for fiscal year ended June 30, 1956.

5. THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

A modified accrual basis of accounting is also being used by the Commerce Department. The full benefit of this system is yet to be realized, but some economies have been made. The Department has also installed modern electronic machines which have greatly simplified paperwork management. Space transfers, reduction of inventories, new filing methods, consolidation of records space, and sale of surplus property have effected savings of more than $19 million. Again, these management improvements are in accord with recommendations of the second Hoover Commission. Those savings which can clearly be identified are set down as follows:

Fiscal year 1955

	Million
Transfer of space from Army to Panama Canal Company [1]	$0.8
Reduction of inventories of the Panama Canal Company [1]	3.0
Simplified methods and modern electronic aids in taking the 1954 business census [2]	4.0
Reorganization and clearance of filing systems [2]	0.2
New cost control study by the Maritime [2]	
Elimination of paperwork in Bureau of Public Roads [2]	0.5
Reduction of records storage space [2]	1.5
Sale of the Inland Waterways Corporation [3]	9.0
Total	19.3

[1] Annual Report of the Comptroller General of United States, 1955, 84th Cong., 2d sess., H. Doc. No. 255.

[2] Commerce Department release, Apr. 8, 1956, G655.

[3] Contained in special report to congressional committee.

6. THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

Improvements in management and administration in the Veterans' Administration brought about significant results. Cost studies and new purchase practices were established, as well as control summaries and cost-type budget schedules. Procedural improvements in hospital administration were highly gratifying in light of the Hoover Commission recommendations. Progress was also made in the transfer and destruction of records and in the application of work simplification techniques.

The savings made by the Veterans' Administration clearly reflect the second Hoover Commission's recommendations applying to administrative procedure, medical supplies, storage operations, supply depots and distribution, and business-type services. The Veterans' Administration has adopted the Hoover Commission's principle that paperwork management places heavy proper emphasis on controlling the creation, maintenance, and use of records as well as storage and disposal. Achievements along these lines have been noteworthy, as may be seen by the savings figures:

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
Reduction in ratio of employees to patients in VA hospitals resulted in saving in salaries of approximately	$6.0
Cost studies in Department of Medicine and Surgery stimulated improved management at field stations	.7
Improved purchasing practices of items such as proprietary drugs and hearing aids	.4
More economical use of office space—release of excess space	.3
Redistribution of supplies	.2
Transfer of VA records to GSA Federal Records Center	.3
Disposal of unnecessary records	.2
Application of work simplification techniques	.2
Reduction of depot inventories within VA	.2
Transferring accounting functions of loan guaranty divisions to finance divisions in regional offices, resulting in elimination of approximately 65 positions	.4
Redistribution of excess personal property within the VA	2.1
Total	11.0

[1] Administrator of Veterans' Affairs—Annual Report, 1955.

Fiscal year 1956 [1]

	Million
Development of electric accounting procedures for loan accounting	$0.2
Procurement of thorazine at one depot with direct delivery to each station	.2
Microfilming of records eliminated annual expenditures for microphotographic equipment	.2
Transfer of adjustment and refund functions	.2
Release of filing equipment for other VA departments	.1
Reorganization of regional offices and transfer of work	.9
Consolidation of divisions at 10 VA hospitals	.5
Disposition and transfer of records	.2
Improved procedures and controls in supplies and services	.1
Total	2.6

[1] Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1956.

7. POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

The first Hoover Commission recommended improved accounting and budgeting procedures, and a comprehensive cost-control system for the Post Office Department. The new Hoover Commission emphasized real-property management and maintenance along with general reorganization of the Department. In following these recommendations the Postal Establishment has made substantial savings. Considerable progress has been made in modernization of controllership and management programs, conversion to punched card checks, the establishment of a reports management program, development of accurate measures of cost, improved classification of accounts, transportation proce-

dures, and paperwork management. Savings stimulated in whole or in part by the Commission for the years 1955 and 1956 are as indicated.

Fiscal year 1955 [1]

	Million
Discontinuance of over 1,100 post offices	$1.5
Consolidation of 383 rural delivery routes with other rural routes	1.0
Change from advance authorization of space to "space used" agreements with railroads	10.0
Discontinuance of city distribution in 180 railway post offices	.4
Replacement of RPO service by closed pouch or star route service on 193 trains	4.0
Elimination of duplication in weighing magazines and newspapers	1.8
Total	18.7

[1] Annual report of the Postmaster General, fiscal year ending June 30, 1955.

Fiscal year 1956

	Million
Discontinuance of 813 post offices [1]	$1.1
Revised plant arrangement and mechanization of New York City west side terminal [1]	.8
Survey of all star routes in the southeastern States [1]	.2
Special agreements with rail and highway carriers for moving mail equipment [1]	.7
Modernization of financial and accounting practices [2]	20.0
New procedure for controlling overages from the sale of stamped envelopes [2]	.2
Discontinuance of city distribution for 120 cities in 200 RPO's [2]	.5
Discontinuance of RPO and closed pouch service on 900 trains [2]	8.0
Improved practices in dispatching and loading [2]	.1
Authorization of multielement rates and mileage equalization and 13 trunkline carriers [2]	5.1
Centralization of money order audit operation [2]	.5
Reduced printing costs through adoption of punch-card certificate form [3]	.1
Total	37.3

[1] Annual report of the Postmaster General, fiscal year 1956.

[2] Interim report, the Postmaster General to the President of the United States, September 30, 1956.

[3] Report on installation of industrial-type controllership, July 1, 1953, to June 30, 1956, Bureau of Finance, Post Office Department.

8. THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

This department, although relatively new, has made significant contributions in its measures of economy. Improvements have been made in accounting operations and general management procedures.

Fiscal years 1955 and 1956 (2-year totals) [1]

	Million
Freeing office equipment for reuse elsewhere in the Government	$0.7
Reduction in floorspace	.2
Reduction in motorized equipment	.2
Abolition of offices and divisions	.1
Management improvements in Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance	1.0
Total	2.2

[1] Contained in special report to congressional committee.

9. THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Two-thirds of the second Hoover Commission's recommendations apply to the Department of Defense. Improvements were underway in the Department even before the Commission completed its report; and, during the period the Commission was working, many were developed in cooperation with the Commission's task forces. Others have resulted directly from the recommendations of the Commission.[2]

Economies shown here are taken from official Defense Department reports and also from reports on the joint accounting program by the Comptroller General. While not all the economies listed can be directly attributed to the Hoover Commission, a substantial portion directly flows from the recommendations of both the first and second Commissions. It is here estimated—and most conservatively—that 10 percent of the total economies reported in the following pages can reasonably be attributed to the Commission's work. In fact, a logical case could be made for a far higher percentage. The total reported by the Department was $2,359 million, 10 percent of that is $235.9 million.[3]

Fiscal year 1955

During the fiscal year 1955, major emphasis was placed on improvements in supply management. In the field of standardization of stocks the beneficial effects of a new cataloging program were immediately evident. Standardization actions eliminated many items from military supply systems and developed common standards and specifications for commercial and military components. The Department estimated that savings from standardization of stocks in 1955 were $29 million.[4]

Similar improvements were made in the management of excess stocks. Increased efficiency was also achieved in the use of storage space. The introduction of uniform reporting systems made possible more cross-servicing in storage activities and the transfer of facilities from one department to another. An annual saving of $30 million resulted from the closing of 17 Army supply depots. When 6 of these depots were transferred to the Air Force, $16 million was saved in lieu of new construction costs. Improved transportation rate negotiations saved approximately $48 million.[5]

Work simplification is an integral part of the overall management improvement effort of the Army. The Defense Department estimated that a $13 million saving resulted from improvements installed by supervisors trained in this field.[6]

The Army financial management plan brought about many improvements in installation accounting and better use of stock inventories. Cutbacks in inventory levels have brought about the greatest monetary savings, according to Defense Department figures; $585 million in excess capital was relinquished in 1954 through reductions in stock, and $700 million in 1955.[7]

The Navy also contributed greatly to general economy and management improvements within the Department of Defense. Studies were made of the accounting features of cross-servicing and monetary accountability procedures. Audits of contractors' claims and other accounting and audit work brought about substantial savings. The Navy was able to save an estimated $123.5 million in the cost of materiel procurement.[8]

Air Force management underwent the same comprehensive study, and the Secretary of the Air Force estimated that $440 million was saved in contract costs resulting from improved audit procedures (this combines actual and potential reductions).[9]

Fiscal year 1956

The joint accounting improvement program carried on during the period January 1, 1956, to September 30, 1956, is illustrative of savings made in the Defense Department during that year. According to the Comptroller General of the United States, better management practices and financial improvements in the Department resulted in savings of $202 million.[10]

Improvements in inventory control resulted in the relocation of supplies and the saving of 250,000 square feet of space. It eliminated 187 different records for various financial inventory categories and brought about discontinuance of overlapping stocks of similar supply items. These measures reflected an estimated saving of approximately $133,000 per year. Method improvements based on a management study of in-transit warehouse procedures effected an estimated saving of $150,000. The indirect material inventory has been decreased by $381,000.[11]

Improved direct labor efficiency in the Department brought about a saving of $625,000.[12]

An internal review of inventory at the Long Beach Naval Shipyard resulted in a reduction of approximately $307,000 in ship stores insurance items. A ship stores inventory purification program at the San Francisco Naval Shipyard resulted in a reduction of approximately $386,000.[13]

At the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, elimination of duplicate records and the abolition of 74 supply department positions through transfer of items saved $339,000.[14]

This joint program to improve accounting to which we refer, also highlights the internal audit program within the Department of Defense. It estimates that savings in the cost of Government procurement amounted to $166.4 million in fiscal year 1956.[15]

A navywide review of records, resulting in the elimination of duplicate records, saved an estimated $400,000. Reduction of stock-fund inventory at one naval activity amounted to $2.8 million as the result of an audit. At still another activity, disposition of excess stocks in the amount of $600,000 was instituted.[16]

[2] Action already taken on the second Commission's recommendations regarding food and clothing will eventually lead to substantial economy. This applies primarily to the "head count" on a service installation whereby the number of meals served is restricted to the number of personnel on that post. Food was ordered and meals prepared on the basis of an estimated total number of personnel. Because substantial percentages of the estimated total number were on leave, fll, or not present for a variety of reasons, this led to a great waste of food. The task force on food and clothing estimated that if this and other of its recommendations were fully implemented, a savings of $200 million a year would be possible.

[3] The use of the conservative 10-percent estimate also takes account of duplications (e. g.) as between reports of the Department and of the Comptroller General.

[4] Semi-annual report of the Secretary of Defense, January 1 to June 30, 1955, p. 42.

[5] Ibid., p. 43.

[6] Ibid., p. 130.

[7] Ibid., p. 132.

[8] Ibid., p. 207.

[9] Ibid., p. 270.

[10] The Eighth Annual Progress Report Under the Joint Program To Improve Accounting in the Federal Government, 1956, by the Comptroller General of the United States.

[11] Ibid., p. 40.

[12] The Eighth Annual Progress Report Under the Joint Program To Improve Accounting in the Federal Government, 1956, by the Comptroller General of the United States, p. 41.

[13] Ibid., p. 45.

[14] Ibid., p. 45.

[15] Ibid., p. 49.

[16] Ibid., p. 50.

CONCLUSION

As in dealing with the first Hoover Commission, it must be emphasized here that the departments and agencies used do not constitute the total areas of economies. While these figures are merely representative, they are perhaps the most illustrative ones obtainable.

Savings and financial returns are primarily limited to the years 1955 and 1956 because the second Hoover Commission's recommendations were mainly implemented in those years.

It is evident that savings in the Department of Defense constitute the greatest proportion of savings in the areas covered. This is valid because two-thirds of the second Hoover Commission's recommendations directly apply to the Defense Department.

The compilation of savings from recommendations of the second Hoover Commission and the corresponding departments and agencies is condensed as follows:

	Millions
Treasury	$20.3
General Services	131.7
Federal Housing	.5
Interior	.6
Commerce	19.3
Veterans	13.6
Post Office	56.0
Health, Education, and Welfare	2.2
Defense (at 10 percent)	235.9
Total	480.1

MAY 20, 1957.

Mr. CLARENCE FRANCIS,
Chairman, Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, 777 14th Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C.

DEAR MR. FRANCIS: Am glad to have your letter of May 16 concerning the Hoover Commission recommendations and my remarks on them in the House on Tuesday, May 14, 1957. Am especially glad to have a copy of the study made by your Committee listing certain savings claimed to have resulted from the two series of Hoover Commission reports.

Permit me to correct you on one point. At no time have I said that no economy whatever can be expected to result from adoption of Commission recommendations. Certainly out of the multitude adopted, there will be some savings, somewhere, however small. Have at no time contended otherwise. So, you erroneously conclude when you state that I "seriously questioned whether actual economies can result from the recommendations of the bipartisan Hoover Commission". I have stated or inferred, or both, and offered support thereof, and now repeat that—

1. The second Hoover Commission pointedly failed to list specific estimates of savings.

2. Failing this, it prominently listed the bloated estimates of savings made by the various task forces, and then made the sweeping and unsupported statement that adoption of the recommendations would produce enough savings to balance the budget and reduce taxes.

3. These grossly exaggerated, unbelievably fantastic claims have been advertised and sold to the American people. The people have been sold a bill of goods by your Citizens Committee and others. This is unfair to them and to their representatives in the Congress. Furthermore, it is a disservice to whatever worthwhile suggestions the Commission may have made.

4. Thus misled, the people have been bombarding the Congress demanding adoption of all the Hoover Commission recommendations and thus save billions—the most oft-used figures are $5 or $5½ billions.

5. The Hoover Commission recommendations to the contrary notwithstanding, Federal expenditures have consistently increased since the first Commission reported in 1949. All recommendations adopted, so far as can authoritatively be determined, have had no appreciable effect in reduction of the budget.

6. Perhaps the most absurd claim of all is that billions can be saved merely by adopting the budget and accounting reforms, the key feature of which is the proposed change to the so-called accrued expenditure basis of making appropriations. The original claim of savings was advertised as $4,000,000,000.

Sound appropriating processes are so vital to protection of the people's tax funds, and the claim of savings attributed to the proposed changes therein are so utterly groundless, that the fallacy of this accrued expenditure proposition must be exposed. I consider it in the public interest to undertake to persuade you and the Citizens Committee to see the preposterous dimensions of both the claim of savings and the shortcomings of the proposal itself. You are of course aware of the genesis of the $4 billion estimate of savings. The task force merely expressed "belief" that such savings could "reasonably be expected". At your national conference here in Washington last February, the Commission chairman stated that "there are savings estimated at over $3 billions to be had" by adoption of the accrued expenditure technique. Basis for that estimate was not given.

This accrued expenditure idea was apparently conceived in ignorance of certain budgetary and legislative facts of life. Those who persist in stirring the people to agitate for its adoption have seemingly accepted without question the faulty premises on which the idea rests. The first premise is that the Congress has lost control of the purse strings by reason of existence of billions of unexpended appropriation carryover balances and that adoption of the accrued expenditure method would eliminate or at least drastically reduce such balances, thus recouping control of the purse. Every day the Committee on Appropriations receives letters, pamphlets, and bulletins from across the country so stating. But they are sadly in error—exactly 180 degrees off. This system, if adopted, would not result in any reduction whatsoever in carryover balances. What would happen would be a large reduction in "appropriation" balances and an equally large increase in contract authorization balances, with no change in total unexpended carryover balances. That is an indisputable fact—it simply cannot be successfully denied. And contract authorization balances are just as important as appropriation balances. A government obligation or contract can and would be just as valid under one as under the other and, furthermore, once granted would result in just as much eventual spending. So, the first premise is completely without substance. It is unnecessary here to discuss the question in detail, but there is no substance to the contention that control of the purse has been lost merely because of large carryover balances, or for that matter, lost at all. Congress has absolute power in its hands, right now, to appropriate or not appropriate, as it sees fit.

You state that "as a most conservative estimate, a thorough scrutiny of such funds (carryover balances) might lead to a reduction of only 1 percent—and this is a minimum. This alone would be $500 million per year. It is our feeling that the savings would be considerably more substantial". This statement unmistakably shows that you, like so many others, apparently do not fully understand present procedures. And unfortunately, it also shows that you make the mistake of indulging, as did the task force and others, in broad, unsupportable generalizations in this respect. You twice indicate that reduction of carryover balances "might" lead to savings—a minimum of $500 million, you say. You "feel" that the savings would be considerably more substantial. Mr. Hoover says over $3 billion in savings are to be had through adoption of the plan. Why do you say "might"—why not offer some specific evidence of the basis for whatever estimate you produce?

You suggest "thorough scrutiny" of carryover balances. The Hoover Commission and those who advocate its recommendations have led the people to believe that Congress does not now scrutinize these carryover funds when considering requests for additional appropriations, or at best gives inadequate attention to them. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is standard operating procedure of the Committee on Appropriations to do so. Carryover balances should of course be held to absolute minimum and so should new appropriations. It is amazing that anyone would suggest that a mere change in the way appropriations are now stated would somehow more or less automatically assure closer examination of carryover balances. They are examined now. If it be contended that such examination is sometimes inadequate, certainly it is somewhat naive to expect that a mere procedural change would impart closer scrutiny.

Possibly the worst feature of the plan is that it would mean automatic return to the use of contract authority, a procedure abandoned generally some years ago. The Committee on Appropriations found from hard experience that contract authority costs the taxpayers more money in the long run. It has a certain appeal, and that is its principal defect. Experience demonstrated time and again that a request for direct appropriation received more searching scrutiny than a request for contract authority. It was often easier to secure acceptance of what was frequently said to be "merely contract authority". But once granted it results in eventual expenditure just as much so as under the usual direct appropriation method. It is the more costly method and for that reason, not only would the accrued expenditure idea not save $4 billion, or $3 billion, or $500 million, it would not save a single dollar. The Director of the Budget, Mr. Brundage, went so far as to say he always carefully avoided any mention of savings. When pressed to elaborate, he said he "felt satisfied" that the plan would save "several million dollars". It not only would not save money, past experience with contract authority suggests beyond reasonable doubt that it would actually cost money. Assume you are aware that just two months ago the Committee on Appropriations approved a report of a special subcommittee appointed to study the proposition because it so importantly concerns the business of the Committee. The Members of that subcommittee are experienced in legislative matters. They know something about the business of appropriating. They concluded that the idea "has disadvantages and offers no improvement".

The propaganda campaign to pressure the Congress into enacting the second Hoover Commission reports is strikingly similar to the one following the first Commission reports several years ago. That became so confused and ridiculous that, as you doubtless know, the Senate Committee on Government Operations issued a report in January, 1953, reviewing the situation. The committee, the report stated, was "unable to find any sound basis for the unsubstantiated estimates of savings claimed by some of the proponents".

Have not had time to fully evaluate the many pages of detailed savings included with your letter, totaling $2,337.9 millions for the first Commission and $480.1 millions for the second Commission. They are described as being "clearly attributable" to the work of the two Commissions. First inspection of

the lists, however, discloses some amazing items. For example:

1. Lower fuel requirements from reduction in steaming hours of the active fleet and operation of a smaller fleet. Claimed savings, $2.6 millions.

2. Flying hours reduced. Claimed savings, $57.7 millions.

This is the first knowledge at hand that steaming and flying hours or size of the fleet of the Navy was ever influenced by the Hoover Commission.

3. Lowered cost of classified project. Claimed savings, $2.1 millions.

Did the Commission in fact secure this saving?

4. General appropriation reprogramming by deferred maintenance, personnel reductions or turnover, lower level of operation in order to absorb wage board and other pay increases. (Defense Department) Claimed savings, $156.5 millions.

Is it a certainty that the Hoover Commission secured this item?

There are many others in the lists. You submit no conclusive evidence on which they can be accepted as a whole at face value.

The proposition at issue, however, is the recommendations of the Second Commission. On these you fail to substantiate the exaggerated claims of savings being made in their behalf. That is the issue.

Sincerely,

CLARENCE CANNON,
Chairman.

The Challenge of the Budget in Our Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARRY G. HASKELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. HASKELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of a speech by the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller at the annual meeting of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce on May 20, 1957:

THE CHALLENGE OF THE BUDGET IN OUR DEMOCRACY

I

I appreciate greatly your invitation to attend this annual meeting of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce.

The chamber is an integral part of our American way of life. It is the center of the economic life of New York City. New York City is the center of the economic life of our country.

And now, increasingly, our country is becoming the center of the economic and social strength of the free world.

While we New Yorkers cannot help having a modest feeling of pride concerning this development, we can't at the same time overlook the fact that as a result, the economic and social vitality of our great metropolitan area is increasingly dependent on the strength, security, and growth of our Nation and of the free world as a whole.

Therefore it is fitting and encouraging that the national organization of which you are a vital part should be taking such an active interest in Federal expenditures, taxes, and the dangers of inflationary pressures as they affect the strength, security, and growth of our country and of the free world.

No problems affect our national well-being more importantly and I would like to discuss certain aspects of them briefly with you.

II

Three basic factors underlie our overall national well-being:

1. Our national security;

2. The stability and growth of our economy; and

3. The freedom, well-being, and social progress of the individual citizen.

All three are intimately interrelated. The strength and vitality of each are dependent on the others:

Our national security has never been challenged on more fronts nor has its preservation ever been more complex or costly.

The determination and will to meet this challenge depend on the strength and vitality of our belief in those basic values of human dignity, freedom, and well-being which are the heart of our democratic way of life.

The strength to meet this growing challenge depends on a dynamic, expanding economy at home based on free enterprise, the fruits of which are not frittered away by needless or wasteful governmental expenditures.

The business community under the leadership of the chamber has taken an active and continuing interest in these problems. Its stimulation of national discussion concerning various aspects of the Federal budget for fiscal year 1958 is a wonderful example of how effective a citizen group can be in bringing important issues to the attention of the people and the Congress. Discussion has centered around the size of the President's budget in terms of inflation, reduction of taxes, and unnecessary Federal expenditures.

I should like to take this opportunity to associate myself with those who seek to eliminate unnecessary Federal expenditures; avoid the insidious, corrosive force of inflation, rout out waste and keep as large a percentage of national earnings in the hands of the people as is compatible with the security, freedom, and well-being of our Nation and its people.

In my opinion, contrary to a great deal that has been said during the past weeks, we never have had a President who has been more keenly aware of these problems, or who has been more effective in dealing with them.

One may very well ask, then, why such a big budget and why all the criticism.

The situation is complicated. The underlying problems are just becoming apparent.

Their solution, I believe, will require fundamental changes in some of our traditional thinking about certain aspects of budget making and governmental organization.

III

Let's take a look at the various phases of the budgetary problem.

A. Currently, the issue has been dramatized by the administration's Federal budget of $71.8 billion for fiscal year 1958. It is being widely attacked as inflationary and as threatening our ability to sustain the vigorous economic growth trend upon which America has come to depend, and which rightly is regarded as a bulwark of our national security.

If the budget should, in fact, pose such a threat, there would be the strongest justification for sacrificing even the most urgently important domestic public expenditures for schools, public health facilities, roads, the soil bank and other programs of social benefit and perhaps even for taking desperate chances by skimping on defense and other vital portions of our foreign security measures. For in the last analysis, as I stated before, all of these are dependent upon the support of a strong and vigorously expanding economy. Moreover, nobody likes to pay taxes, and the tax burden we have been carrying for many years is so high that there is an understandably strong and widespread demand for tax relief.

The issues are of such urgent importance to our national interest that it behooves us to examine them dispassionately and to try to arrive at decisions that reflect an honest estimate of what will best serve the interest of our country rather than our individual inclinations. Let's look at the record:

When President Eisenhower first came into office at the beginning of 1953, he inherited the budget of the Truman administration for fiscal year 1952–53. Under this budget, the Federal Government spent $74.3 billion, or almost 21 percent of the Nation's total output of goods and services—the gross national product—of $358 billion for the fiscal year.

Under the Eisenhower administration, the gross national product has experienced one of its most impressive periods of vigorous and healthy growth. In the last fiscal year, 1955–56, the gross national product amounted to $403 billion. Federal expenditures had been reduced to 16.5 percent of gross national product from the 20.8 percent in the year that President Eisenhower assumed office.

Our total national output has been increasing at something like a 4 percent annual rate. At the present moment it is estimated to be running at an annual rate that approaches $430 billion, and a conservative estimate for the full fiscal year 1957–58 would place it at no lower than $438 billion. This means that during his first 5 years in office our gross national product has increased by $80 billion or more than the total of the present proposed Federal budget.

On this basis, Federal expenditures of $71.8 billion in fiscal year 1957–58 would represent just about 16.3 percent of gross national product—no greater or no less than the relative burden of the $68.9 billion expenditures in the current fiscal year. It would be slightly easier to carry than the $66.5 billion expenditures of fiscal year 1955–56, and far easier than the real burden of Federal expenditures in the 3 preceding years.

This brings us back to the question whether a Federal budget of $71.8 billion for fiscal year 1958 would produce an inflationary spiral and threaten the vigorous economic growth trend of the past 5 years. The answer is clearly "No."

Our economy was able to grow without an increase in prices under compartively larger Federal expenditures and despite budget deficits in fiscal years 1953, 1954, and 1955. For the past 2 years we have had a balanced budget and in fact a surplus. There is consequently every reason to believe that an expenditure of $71.8 billion in fiscal year 1957–58, which will still provide a budget surplus under current tax rates, will not have the devastating inflationary effect that some have proclaimed.

Much as everyone would like to have a tax cut, the $80 billion increase in annual gross national product during the 5 years of the Eisenhower administration clearly demonstrates that even at the present high tax rates, our economy has experienced one of the greatest periods of vitality and growth in its entire history.

Above all, I think most people agree with the President that before we cut taxes there should be some reduction in the Federal debt. Even with a budget just under $72 billion, it is estimated that we can make progress in this direction provided we maintain present tax rates.

B. This leads us to the next important question—the level of Federal expenditures.

Is the President justified in recommending an increase of $7.2 billion from the low point in fiscal year 1955 of 64.5 billion? I believe that from the point of view of the areas of the budget over which he has control that he is justified.

True, the budget represents an increase of 11 percent in the past 3 years. But let's look at the record during this period—

There has been a 5-percent increase in population.

There has been a 7.2-percent increase in the cost of goods and services purchased by the Government.

There has been a 10-percent increase in pay and fringe benefits enacted by Congress for both military and civil-service personnel.

There has been an increase in interest rates on Federal borrowing which has added just under a billion dollars a year to the carrying charges on the national debt.

The above four factors automatically increased the service requirements and operating costs of the Government during this period. They account for a large part of this increase in the Federal budget—over which the President has no control. It is interesting to note that private industry costs during the same period increased by a considerably larger percentage.

The other major area of increase has been in our national security program—a rise of $2.6 billion, which represents one-third of the total increase during this period. High and sustained expenditures for national security are most difficult to accept. It is hard for us as a people to become accustomed to prolonged international tensions and to the constant danger of some overt threat to peace. Our tradition is to rally to a national emergency with an all-out effort and then to revert to a normal peaceful existence.

Unfortunately this has now become impossible. The Communist effort to subvert and overthrow the democratic system based on respect for the freedom and dignity of the individual is unrelenting. We cannot maintain our way of life for ourselves and our children's children without the utmost vigilance and the willingness to accept whatever sacrifices may be necessary to make aggression in all forms an unattractive course for Soviet imperialism.

The danger to our national security is all the greater because the Soviets combine an implacably hostile ideology with an increasingly high order of technical skill. They developed nuclear weapons and a long-range air force faster than the free world expected. They have mastered the revolutionary advances in science and in some fields which may threaten our very survival, such as that of intercontinental missiles, they may even be ahead of us.

To relax our vigilance is to court disaster. But the cost of national security comes high primarily because of the technological revolution through which we are living. In the past, a weapons system would be good for a generation at least. The equipment of a rifle company at the beginning of World War II hardly differed from its counterpart in World War I. But many of today's weapons become obsolescent almost as soon as they reach combat units.

We must therefore bear the cost of weapons for two military programs concurrently. One is based on existing weapons to protect ourselves against current dangers. The other is for weapons in production and being developed for defense 3 to 10 years ahead. To weaken either program would invite aggression either now or in the near future. And the lead in the technological race once lost is almost impossible to regain.

To cut military and defense expenditures before we have assured ourselves of success in the fields of weapons technology and overall defense could be suicidal. In fact, to take care of realistic minimum needs in these areas will involve larger, not smaller appropriations—much as we deplore the necessity. But we can be deeply grateful that our vigorous and growing economy gives us the capacity to do so.

This is not to say that economies in the field of national security are not possible. But they involve certain public restraints and basic reorganizations in our Defense Department, and not the reduction of forces. I shall deal with this problem a little later.

The military threat does not exhaust the range of our danger, however. The Soviet are continuing at an accelerated pace their intellectual, economic, psychological and subversive penetration in all free countries throughout the world. Only within the last 10 days Mr. Khrushchev, in his interview with Turner Catledge of the New York Times, admitted that the unswerving Soviet objective is for Marxism-Leninism to gain constantly greater authority among the masses of the world.

That this effort has not been without success is proved by reports that last year the writing of Marx outsold the Bible in the free world and that the sale of Stalin's works followed in third place.

The ingenuity, persistence and ruthlessness of Soviet Communist subversion throughout the world are fantastic. In the face of this, cuts in the budget of either USIA or of the ICA would be extremely unwise. I think both organizations are doing far more effective jobs than they are given credit for.

C. We then come to the third and final phase of this analysis which brings us to the question: Is there waste in Federal expenditures? It seems to me that to answer this question intelligently, it has to be considered under two different headings:

1. Federal expenditures over which the President and the heads of departments and agencies have complete control; and

2. Federal expenditures over which the President and heads of departments and agencies do not have complete control.

1. Federal expenditures over which the heads of departments and agencies have control have been carefully scrutinized. This administration has been extremely economy minded and most effectively so, regardless of criticisms you may hear. The Budget Director, Percival Brundage, and his department have done a superb job in keeping costs down with the cooperation of the department heads and the complete support and backing of the President. Before the present 1958 budget was ever submitted to Congress, the President and the Bureau of the Budget reduced departmental estimates by $13 billion. In the past 5 years when major disputes have arisen in Congress regarding waste in these areas, it is almost invariably more a question of opinion as to the value of the function than of inefficiency in administration. The activities of the USIA are a perfect case in point. The administration has not been given nearly the credit it deserves for its economies in the areas over which it has complete control. Unfortunately, this does not cover all items in the budget and this is where a lot of public misunderstanding comes in.

2. That leads us to the area of Federal expenditures over which the President and his heads of departments and agencies do not have complete control. There are a number of reasons for this which are beginning to be more clearly understood. Let me illustrate.

A. For one thing, there are a number of fixed obligations such as the interest on the national debt and veterans' benefits which go on from year to year. In addition, Congress often increases the President's budgetary requests and also initiates new programs. Last year, for instance, the Congress increased the appropriations beyond the amounts recommended and considered necessary by the President for the Air Force by more than $900 million; for the soil bank by $500 million; and for farm housing by $450 million. Already, in this year's economy-minded Congress, additions to the President's budget request have been piling up in the fields of agriculture, veterans' affairs, and housing. And just the other day Congress boosted the borrowing power of Fanny May (Federal National Mortgage Association) by $1.25 billion over and above what the President asked. This contingent liability alone is greater than the total of all the reductions in the President's 1958 budget which the Congress has made so far.

B. Or let's take a slightly different example. During recent years, the various military services have wanted to close many obsolete or unneeded bases, terminals, and depots throughout the United States. However, because of local and congressional pressures, they still are operating between one and two hundred such facilities that are no longer necessary from the point of view of our overall national security. If totaled up, the resulting wasted cost to our country would probably run into hundreds of millions annually. Other similar examples could be given.

In my opinion we have reached a point where because of the fantastic burden of our growing defense and national security costs, we can no longer afford the luxury of this kind of large-scale national special interest expenditures which undermine efforts at economy and efficiency of operation. This is one of the areas in which real progress can be made in trying to hold down mounting Federal expenditures. It is where the chamber of commerce, working with the Congress, can play a leading role of national statesmanship.

When it comes to holding down nonessential Federal expenditures that only benefit special area or group interests, all of us must exercise a greater degree of self-restraint and concern for the national well-being. Increasingly, this is becoming the key test as to the capacity of our democracy for self-discipline.

One way in which the President's hand can be greatly strengthened in this area is for Congress to give him item, or line veto, powers. By vigorously advocating and supporting the granting of such authority, the chamber could make a major contribution to the problem of holding down unnecessary expenditures.

C. An even more promising area for long-range economies is that of reorganizations in our Military Establishment. The current assignment of roles and missions was established when technology was much more elementary than now. It was based essentially on means of transportation: The Army was responsible for everything moving on land; the Navy was responsible for the oceans; and the Air Force for control of the skies.

But the extraordinary complexity and destructiveness of modern weapons and the increasing range of delivery capability are tending to make this traditional division of functions meaningless. It is difficult to know whether a ballistic missile should go to the Air Force because it flies through the air or to the Army because it is fired like an artillery projectile, or to the Navy which has the flexibility of movable bases. As a result, each new technological invention—and they succeed each other at an unbelievable rate—leads to an endless wrangle about which service should control it. Therefore, too, each service is urgently pressing the development of new weapons in all categories without sufficient regard for the program of other services, because the service which gets there first hopes to control the weapon and the budgetary allocation which goes with its production and use.

Now, some competition in weapons development is vital, since superior quality of weapons is basic to our survival. However, much of the present competition is unnecessary and costly both in terms of duplication and of our total national security. With the scarcity of top-flight scientists, why should three groups be working on the same problem of developing guided missiles in all their stages? The basic problem is a lack of overall strategic plans and clearly defined and designated roles for the three services to carry out the plans.

A solution to this problem of duplication is made difficult by the organization for developing our strategic plans. The recom-

mendation for the assignment of roles and missions comes from the Joint Chiefs of Staff composed of a Chairman and the Chiefs of the Army, Air Force, and Navy. Thus, the Joint Chiefs reflect the same differences which produced the interservice disputes in the first place. Chiefs of services, overburdened with administrative responsibilities and responsible for the morale of their organization are asked to adjudicate disputes and to develop doctrine which may involve the very existence of their service. Interservice rivalry and wasteful duplication of effort are inherent in the current assignment of missions and in the organization of the Defense Department.

A system must be set up where clear decisions can be made from an overall national point of view. Possible solutions to this problem might be to have either a military staff for the Defense Department separate from the three service staffs, and reporting directly to the Secretary and President, or to give the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff much greater power and a staff independent of the three services. Today the Secretary of Defense has inadequate control over expenditures because he has no way of determining an overall strategic plan and of assigning an integrated program of roles and missions to the three services, except on the basis of the recommendations which the three services give him through the Joint Chiefs. And the Joint Chiefs, however hard each one of them might try as an individual, do not stand above the interservice rivalry; on the contrary Defense Department organization makes them an expression of it. The President, as you may know, has consistently supported a greater degree of unification of the services. This is a major problem area and it must be faced realistically.

Now, in conclusion, let me summarize:

First, the facts seem to indicate the Federal expenditures for 1958 at levels recommended by the President would not, in view of the great increase of our gross national product, put dangerous inflationary pressures on the economy.

Second, the record of the past 5 years clearly shows that taxes at present levels—much as we dislike them—have not prevented an acceleration in the dynamic growth of our economy.

Third, the President's record for economy and holding down expenditures has been outstanding. The major increases since the low of 1955 have been in those areas beyond his control and for critical national defense items.

Fourth, major savings can only be effected in these ways:

(a) By the entire Nation exercising more self-restraint in putting special interest pressures on Congress.

(b) By giving the President the right to veto individual line items.

(c) By reorganization in the Defense Department staff setup which will permit overall strategic planning and determination of weapons use, roles, and missions for the three services exclusively on a national-interest basis.

These then, gentlemen, are the most important areas where we have an opportunity to control rising Federal costs and strengthen our national defense. We must fact them squarely sooner or later—in my opinion the sooner the better for the security and well-being of our country as well as of the free world. They are in line with the recommendations of the chamber of commerce and I am confident that your organization could play a major role in bringing them about. By so doing, you will gain the everlasting gratitude of the American people.

The Sheep and Wool Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the House a few recent developments affecting the sheep and wool industry.

This week the United States Department of Agriculture announced that the Commodity Credit Corporation has negotiated a barter contract involving the exchange of $10 million worth of CCC-owned wool and other farm commodities for the strategic materials, principally chrome.

Approximately half of the barter agreement is devoted to the export of wool. This is being accomplished under the 1955 agreement between the Republic of Turkey and the United States Government. Department officials estimate that 10 million pounds of wool will be taken from CCC stocks to consummate the exchange. The total quantity of wool to be taken will depend upon the particular lots selected.

I wish to point out that the CCC inventory of wool 2 years ago was 150 million pounds. This recent barter transaction reduces these total stocks to around 22 million pounds, and with expected sales in the domestic market it is estimated CCC holdings will be down to 20 million pounds by the end of this month.

Department officials have advised me the export of 10 million pounds to Turkey places the CCC in a position where it will be possible to entirely dispose of its wool inventory by early fall.

The successful operation of the wool export program by the Department of Agriculture is of tremendous value to domestic wool producers. This excellent record of export ties in very well with the successful operation of the wool incentive program.

The incentive program which has been of so much value to the economic life of the country, particularly the wool producing regions, has assisted in rebuilding an industry that was destroyed between 1939 and 1952 by extensive importation of foreign wools at a fraction of the cost of such production domestically. That regrettable policy dropped the sheep number in the United States from about 49 million in 1939 to about 27 million in 1952.

Because of the incentive program and the domestic protective policy, the sheep and wool industry has started to climb back to recovery.

There were two principal reasons for the establishment of the incentive wool program. First, to bolster our national economy, and secondly, to build back an industry vital to national defense. There is no substitute for wool in the manufacture of wearing apparel. Should the United States again be forced to engage in a world war, it would probably be fought in a cold climate.

Wool is an absolute necessity for national defense. There must be a domestic supply of wool rather than hazard the shipment of this vital commodity 5,000 to 8,000 miles in time of war.

Sheep and wool producers throughout the Nation will be pleased to know that section 626 of H. R. 7665, the Defense appropriation bill, which was reported to the House last Tuesday, contains the so-called Berry wool amendment which requires exclusive use by the Defense Department of domestic wool in all clothing and other materials containing wool procured by any branch of the armed services.

This original amendment which has now become an established part of the Defense appropriation bill has meant millions of dollars to the domestic wool producer. It has been a great benefit both to the national economy and to national defense.

Scion of Mellon Family Gives Up Life of Ease To Aid Poverty-Stricken Thousands in Haiti

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the Plain Speaker of Hazleton, Pa., on May 16, 1957, written by Larry Allen of the Associated Press:

SCION OF MELLON FAMILY GIVES UP LIFE OF EASE TO AID POVERTY-STRICKEN THOUSANDS IN HAITI

(By Larry Allen)

DESCHAPPELLES, HAITI.—Here in the broad Artibonite Valley an American millionaire works day and night to bring health and cleanliness to thousands of poverty-stricken Haitians.

William Larimer Mellon, Jr., a tall, youthful man with prematurely white hair at 47, is doing what he wants to do. Out of his life forever are round-the-world cruises and polo ponies.

Scion of the Pittsburgh Mellons and great-nephew of old Andrew, Mellon at 37 had retired to Arizona after working in the family bank and Gulf Oil.

One day he read an article on the work of Dr. Albert Schweitzer in the African jungle.

From that moment, a new horizon opened for Mellon. He went back to school to start long preparation for the new days ahead.

Seven years later, he walked out of Tulane University as a doctor.

With his wife, he visited Haiti in 1952 to get material for his doctor's dissertation on tropical ulcers.

He found incredible poverty, helplessness and physical miseries among the densely populated rural districts.

He built, with Haitian labor, a sprawling, one-story structure of poured concrete, and named it the Albert Schweitzer Memorial Hospital.

It cost him $1½ million. Cyclone and earthquake proof, Mellon's modern air-conditioned hospital has three operating rooms, X-ray facilities, a pathology laboratory, and a morgue. Annual upkeep runs to about $200,000.

Mellon also acquired a 100-acre farm which makes the hospital virtually self-sufficient. Besides vegetables, corn, and rice, the farm produces beef cattle, goats, chickens, turkeys, and pigeons. There are also citrus fruits and bananas. Powdered milk comes from the United States.

Thus the Mellons started a great, new adventure, overcoming discouragements and even politics and jealousy that at times harassed their progress.

Today, Mellon's hospital is a beacon of hope for the tens of thousands of Haitians who have sought medical aid in the year since the 75-bed hospital was opened.

Four American doctors, two laboratory technicians, and four nurses, in addition to a Haitian dentist and other trained native personnel, assist Dr. Mellon. He acts as director but still does most of the diagnoses—and there's never any shortage of patients.

Mrs. Mellon is a medical technician and presides at the reception desk. Ian, Michael, and Rosanne, children of Mrs. Mellon's first marriage, collect the 2 Haitian gourdes—about 40 cents—registration fee and advise patients that only 1 gourde will be required for the next visits. Outpatients can buy medicine at cost.

Dr. Mellon asks payment for services—just so the patients satisfy their pride in themselves—even if a patient pays with a mango. They want everything from medical attention to advice from Dr. and Mrs. Mellon on domestic troubles and education.

In the Artibonite Valley, Haitians for years have been prey to malaria, yaws, tuberculosis, veneral disease, and shocking malnutrition. It has not been unusual for thousands of Haitians to die annually of starvation.

Dr. Mellon wants the valley people to feel that the hospital is theirs—one reason he charges for services. He hopes one day the Haitians can take over. In the meantime the hospital is a place where American doctors can share their techniques with their Haitian colleagues.

The Mellons believe there will always be a place for service to mankind and to God, and they'll move on if the Haitians ever take over this hospital. They think of such places as the headwaters of the Amazon River.

Mrs. Mellon as Gwen Grant Rawson went to Arizona to get a divorce. Mellon met her there and they married in 1946.

Blue-eyed and pretty, she took life on Mellon's two huge ranches in easy stride. She had a handsome new home and a swimming pool.

But when Mellon made up his mind to give up all of that, she never hesitated to encourage him and follow him wherever he wanted to go.

The Legislative Appropriation Bill

SPEECH
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I did not support H. R. 7599, the appropriation bill for the legislative branch, because it contained items I believed to be unnecessary and which should have been stricken from the bill.

I specifically opposed the expenditure of $7,500,000 to begin the construction of a third House office building. This initial expenditure would ultimately lead to a total outlay of $100 million, as it was pointed out in the debate that in addition to the new office building it was planned to remodel the two existing buildings and add other improvements.

To me this was the one real economy test which this session of the Congress had to face. It is interesting to note that those who profess their beliefs in economy the loudest were the ones who fought the hardest for this expenditure of the taxpayers' dollars.

Personally, I find my two-room suite to be adequate for my needs. I find that it allows me to do my work efficiently and that is all that I am concerned with.

So far the House has made sizable reductions in the appropriation bills which it has had before it during this session. However, many of these reductions amount to "paper cuts" and in my opinion few real economy cuts have been made. Had the House voted to reject the new building plans for a third House office building, then it could say truthfully that it was interested in economy. But the House failed to do so.

I was proud to have joined with 175 of my colleagues in opposing this spending program by the House of Representatives and my conscience is clear.

How Long Quotas?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, the problem of immigration is one which receives a great deal of attention and the present law dealing with immigration has been subject to a great deal of criticism. Because of the importance of the immigration law and the desire of the people to avail themselves of the blessings of our country and its opportunities, interested organizations are urging the Congress and American leaders to fulfill the promises and pledges of past years. The immigration law requires drastic revision, despite the humane administration by the Commissioner of Immigration. President Truman and President Eisenhower recommended a revision. The platforms of both parties in 1952 and 1956 pledged revision, but no action has been taken. Legislation is necessary to eliminate the quota system and discriminatory features.

The following resolution was approved by the annual convention of the council of the diocese of New York:

A RESOLUTION FAVORING AN AMENDMENT OF IMMIGRATION LAW

The annual convention of the diocese of New York in 1947, 1948, and 1954 adopted resolutions favoring an immigration policy which in terms of law and of administrative procedures expresses the true spirit of American democracy, and a recognition of the dignity and rights of the individual consistent with the Christian doctrine of man. Amendment of the present law was promised by the platforms of both major parties in 1952 and 1956, and has been consistently recommended by both President Truman and President Eisenhower. Amendment is supported by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the United Board of Jewish Rabbis. It is supported by the AFL–CIO—an effective answer to those who claim that revision would adversely affect American labor.

The problem is now complicated by the 180,000 refugees from Hungary, 21,500 of whom are being admitted to the United States by Presidential authorization. Of this number, 15,300 are admitted as parolees, and emergency legislation is urgently needed to regularize their status.

Recalling our long-standing position in favor of an amendment of the immigration law, and moved by the plight of the Hungarian refugees from Communist oppression, the annual convention of the diocese of New York adopts the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be petitioned to act promptly and affirmatively on the President's recommendations to amend the immigration law to raise the number of immigrants admitted from 213,000 to 278,000 per year, and to eliminate legal and administrative provisions based on racial discrimination; and for emergency legislation regularizing the status of Hungarian refugees admitted on parole; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Senators from New York State, the Congressmen whose districts lie within the diocese of New York, and members of the appropriate committees of both Houses of Congress.

Supping With the Devil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Admiral Radford has sounded a timely warning to the American people to beware of negotiating with the Russians in the field of atomic energy. In view of the broken promises of the masters in the Kremlin, how can we place any faith or confidence in any written agreement which they might be willing to sign at this time? The editorial from the Wall Street Journal follows:

SUPPING WITH THE DEVIL

Admiral Radford may have, as some people say, caused a bit of embarrassment for Harold Stassen in the negotiations with Russia about disarmament. But in his outspoken fashion he spoke a wise word of caution.

"The Communists," said the admiral, "have broken their word with every country with which they ever had an agreement." And he added, "We cannot trust the Russians on this or anything else." The outburst was apparently caused by the implications in Mr. Stassen's report on the recent London talks that the Russians mean what they say on disarmament.

We hope Admiral Radford wasn't himself implying that there shouldn't be any efforts toward a disarmament agreement with the Russians. For the difficulty with that view is that it automatically forecloses any possibility of curtailing the arms race. It makes a satisfactory agreement not merely dubious but impossible.

Nevertheless, a little of this skeptical attitude would have been very helpful in the past. Our error in World War II was not in the fact that we had dealings with the Russians against a common foe; the error was in being so blindly trustful of everything the Russians promised that our statesmen forgot common prudence.

In future disarmament skepticism is vital. The time may well come when the Russians, for their own good reasons, will agree to a disarmament program with adequate inspection for enforcement. If so, we can accept it. But we had best be hardheaded and suspicious about the terms.

The old proverb doesn't say that one should never sup with the Devil. It does remind you that if you do you had best come to table with a long spoon.

The Bunk About Wage Costs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by George D. Riley, legislative representative, AFL–CIO, regarding labor costs on the newly authorized Federal-aid highway program.

During the debate on the highway bill last year opponents to the Davis-Bacon prevailing wage rate provision argued that protecting labor would result in increased highway costs. Now those same forces are pointing to alleged increases in highway construction and saying "We told you so." If highway costs are up, Mr. Speaker, it is not because of the Davis-Bacon provision in the highway act. George Riley makes that clear in this article, which I recommend to all who desire to know the facts about labor costs in the highway program.

The article follows:

THE BUNK ABOUT WAGE COSTS

(By George D. Riley, legislative representative, AFL–CIO)

The Federal highway program was announced originally as a $101 billion undertaking. When it appeared that many citizens were having difficulty in thinking in such vast terms, a $50 billion figure started circulation, and the States went thoroughly conservative in their estimates of costs for highway construction to be done within their boundaries.

The $50 billion tag took hold. Congress passed the legislation. Money began to pour into the trust fund. Mentally, the Nation's motorists started riding on the new limited-access roads.

Now there are signs that the original $101 billion figure may be nearer the real amount for the same mileage contemplated in the $50 billion which Congress envisaged when it wrapped up the highway legislation last year.

State-by-State estimates of construction costs were compiled for the information of Congress in 1954. Now, according to Engineerinig News-Record, "highway officials are shocked over skyrocketing costs of the new Federal highway building program."

And an attempt is made to pin the blame on labor costs.

But last February the United States Department of Commerce pointed out that wage costs in highway construction are vastly on the decline while contract bid figures are on a steep incline.

"Road construction volume in 1955," the Department of Commerce said, "was nine times that for 1944, while labor usage in 1955 was only five times that for 1944."

As the machines used in road construction mount in size and increase in efficiency, the labor cost factor diminishes, thus providing a rebuttal to Engineering News-Record, to the Carolinas Branch of the Associated General Contractors and to all others who are engaged in spreading the "increased labor costs" fallacy.

The position of the low-wage regional branch of the Associated General Contractors has been summed up as follows:

"Carolinas Branch, AGC, staged an all-out fight last year to defeat the Davis-Bacon section of the highway bill, branding it as 'unnecessarily expensive, and a tool of union officials'."

And so the Carolinas Branch carries on for the lowest wages possible—or at least against a law which requires that the wage rates shall be the same as those paid for similar work in the community.

Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, no dear friend to the Davis-Bacon Act, has done the cause of the Carolinas Branch no good by coming up with the actual facts and figures regarding highway construction wages and their relation to total costs as reflected in the bid figures. He has told the Carolinas Branch that with each passing year the cost of labor will be less and less. One reason is improved equipment—machines, for example, which lay bituminous topping at the rate of 84 feet a minute.

But as steadily as highway contract bid figures rose between 1944 and 1955, it is evident that more recently they have climbed even higher.

John H. Lyons, Jr., general organizer of the Iron Workers, called attention to some interesting points at the recent national legislative conference of the building and construction trades department.

He explained that equalizing of wage rates, benefits and working conditions through legislation opens the door to more competitive bidding and more efficient construction. He cited recently awarded highway contracts which were an average of 75 percent greater than estimates that had been prepared only 3 months earlier.

In the same period building construction costs rose only 12 percent. Those contractors involved in the 12-percent rise are those who pay benefits and operate under conditions which the building trades endeavor to make apply to all Government construction, whereas the highway contractors do not so operate.

It is interesting to take a look at cost studies concerning all types of highway construction during 1956. In New York State labor costs were about 29.5 percent of all costs. In California, another high-wage State, labor costs averaged 28.3 percent. In Florida, a low-wage State, the average labor cost was 21.9 percent.

Statistics on labor costs by themselves do not present the full picture. To assess the part which labor costs play in relation to overall construction costs, it is necessary to consider the sharp decline in the amount of labor employed in highway construction as a result of the use of new methods and new machinery.

The Bureau of Public Roads, United States Department of Commerce, recently completed a study which showed very clearly how the man-hours of direct labor in highway construction had decreased between 1944 and 1955. The findings were published in the February issue of Public Roads, the Bureau's magazine.

The Bureau of Public Roads, on the basis of data on the use of labor collected by it since 1944, found a pronounced decrease in the number of man-hours of direct labor required for a given physical volume of highway construction. Direct labor was defined as "labor employed by the contractor at or near the site of the project."

For the most part, these are the workers who are covered by the prevailing wage requirements of the Highway Act.

In its study the Bureau of Public Roads learned that between 1944 and 1955 there was a reduction in labor usage factors of 43 percent. Such a reduction naturally meant a tremendous drop in contractors' labor costs. This great decrease in the number of hours of labor required, the Bureau found, was basically due to "increased productivity of the labor-equipment combination resulting from great strides that have been made by manufacturers in developing more efficient construction equipment."

In plain words, automation has come to the highway construction field, and the road contractor today uses something like a half of the workers he did in 1944.

The Bureau of Public Roads gave due regard to the changes in price levels which occurred between 1944 and 1955 and made the necessary adjustments, using the Bureau's highway construction price index. The Bureau's figures are as accurate as humanly possible. No one can honestly argue that the findings reported are not authentic.

The Bureau of Public Roads has also projected its study to cover the whole period of the Federal highway program up to 1970. After showing that from a value of approximately 217,700 man-hours per million dollars of construction costs in 1944 the man-hours fell off to about 123,000 in 1955, the study indicates the drop in 1960 will be to 104,000 man-hours and for 1970 it will be down to 80,000 man-hours.

As noted earlier in this article, it was found that road construction volume in 1955 was nearly 9 times that for 1944, while the amount of labor used in 1955 was only 5 times that for 1944.

This study by the Bureau of Public Roads of the United States Department of Commerce should lay to rest the increased labor costs bugaboo so dear to the hearts of low-wage road contractors.

It is evident that labor costs in highway construction are diminishing. Therefore, labor costs cannot possibly be blamed for any increases in expenditures for the new roads. The facts are plain. Now it will be interesting to see whether the foes of labor will stop or continue their false allegations about increased labor costs.

Sea-Level Canal?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the Letters to the Editor

column of the Washington Post and Times Herald, Sunday, May 19, 1957, written by Mr. W. R. McCann, of Hopewell, Va., on the question of constructing a new interoceanic canal at Panama of so-called sea-level design:

SEA-LEVEL CANAL?

The outlook section of your April 28 edition featured an article by John G. Norris, staff reporter. The article covered the recent combined exercises by the Armed Forces on the Isthmus of Panama. Your military analyst, however, did not confine himself to covering military, naval, and air operations; he included discussion of a possible form of a future Panama Canal.

Without considerable additional information, the ordinary reader of Mr. Norris' article would be misled; as a whole the article serves as active propaganda for constructing a new interoceanic canal at Panama of so-called sea-level design. Mr. Norris, in his allotted space, does not treat any of the inherent problems; and to review those several problems herein would require too much space for an adequate recital.

It should be stated, however, that the underlying issue as to the type of canal is not new; rather it is old and worn ragged. It appears that proponents of a sea-level canal are now endeavoring to precipiate another "battle of the levels," with both history and successful operation of the present canal over the years against them.

The present debate was reopened incident to the development of modern weapons of warfare; the newest being the hydrogen bomb. This supreme weapon, in the opinion of leading nuclear-warfare and independent-canal experts, would destroy any canal regardless of type, thus rendering a 10-year propaganda both futile and irrelevant.

W. R. MCCANN.

HOPEWELL, VA.

The Legion Poppy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, on May 25, throughout the State of Ohio, the American Legion Auxiliary will be distributing red crepe-paper poppies which have been made by disabled veterans of all wars. We are inclined to buy a poppy without recognition of its meaning to the veterans who have made them and the ladies who sell them. George Price, commander of the American Legion post at Dresden, Ohio, in the 15th District, which I have the honor to represent, has explained the significance of the Legion poppy in an article which appeared in the Dresden (Ohio) Transcript of May 23, 1957.

The article is as follows:

Memories of battlefields in France will be brought back to a number of local war veterans by the sight of the little red poppies which will be worn here Saturday, May 25, in honor of the Nation's war dead, George Price, commander of the post of the American Legion, stated today. "The poppies will be crepe paper replicas of wild poppies of western Europe which bloomed in Flanders Field across which American Armies advanced to World War I victories, and in the cemeteries where those who paid the price of victory were laid to rest," he explained.

"Veterans of World War I will never forget those poppies," Commander Price said. "They were the one touch of natural beauty which seemed able to survive amid the constant shelling, trench digging and tramping of armies which plowed a wide strip of France into a ghastly sea of mud and blood. They grew along the trenches, in no-man's land and around the shell craters. In the bare, raw earth of the battle cemeteries they took root and provided the only floral tribute to those who found their final resting places in Flanders fields.

"When the veterans of that war came home, it was natural that they should think of the poppy as the memorial flower for those who did not return," Price added.

Soon after the war, the American Legion adopted the poppy as its official memorial flower, and ever since it has been worn in honor of not only those who died in France but of all Americans who gave their lives for their country.

"The poppies are made by disabled veterans of all wars and are distributed by the women of the American Legion Auxiliary, who, at the same time, receive contributions for the welfare of the disabled veterans and needy children of veterans. I am sure that members of Dresden Post of the American Legion, and all other war veterans, will be among the first to put on a memorial poppy on Poppy Day," Price concluded.

First-Class Threat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD, an article from the May issue of the American Press which reveals the concern of newspaper publishers over the proposed ban of certain classes of mail if a fund shortage develops.

It is my hope that should third-class mail be stricken that the Postmaster General will except legal weekly newspapers from this order. This question is one that goes far deeper than saving money for the Post Office Department.

When the postal service was first established, it was with the idea that it should provide an inexpensive means of communication between American people. Included in this communication were newspapers, which bring to the public reports on the activities of its Government, groups, and individuals. I believe that this is a basic purpose of postal service. Other services have been added, but they have been with the tolerance of Congress, and were not included in the basic intent envisioned by our forefathers when the mails were established soon after the formation of our Government.

Aside from the dangers of destroying the legal status of these third-class papers by nondelivery even for a short period, the real peril lies in establishing a precedent which would give virtually dictatorial powers over the press to an official of the Government.

I know that Arthur Summerfield is a reasonable man and a hard-working man. It is not his fault that Congress has obligated him to deliver more mail than the sale of postage, also regulated by Congress, will pay for. I know that he does not want, and will not implement, any program damaging to the weekly papers of the Nation.

I feel the American Press has rendered a distinct service to the newspaper field in bringing this to the attention of Congress. When the previous mail stoppage was contemplated, I, at that time, consulted with Mr. Abe McGregor Goff, Solicitor of the Post Office Department, and requested him to keep me advised of developments affecting third-class weekly newspapers. Mr. Goff assured me that the Post Office Department would give these papers special consideration if such a ban was found necessary due to a shortage of operational funds, and that the question of their role in disseminating vital public information would be given fullest consideration.

The text of the American Press article is as follows:

THREAT TO PRESS FREEDOM

We are still concerned about the recent threat of the Postmaster General to call off third-class mail unless he was given the funds which he demanded.

We realize that there is a great deal of junk in third-class mail which we could get along without. Of course, there are also many hundreds of business publications mailed third class which are of importance to the readers in the trade they cover.

But we are not as concerned with what is included in third-class mail as with the Postmaster General's assumption that he could legally call off any class of mail. For we realize that if he thinks he has the power to call off third-class mail he must also feel that he would have the authority to eliminate second-class mail as a means of cutting his expenses. In other words, he might, with one stroke of the pen, stop the distribution of newspapers throughout the United States.

We have always feared the power of labor unions when they take action to stop the publication of newspapers. It is a dangerous threat to freedom of the press. But a far greater danger apparently exists if one man in Washington assumes that he, as an individual, can issue an order which could, overnight stop the news of the world from reaching the people of our country.

A Salute to Pan American World Airways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, many of our colleagues recognize the necessity of assisting the Puerto Rican people in obtaining for themselves more than general menial chores.

Pan American Airways long ago pioneered service to San Juan and made it possible for a rapid exchange of persons, knowledge, and culture between the mainland and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Hundreds of thousands of

people have been flown between San Juan and the United States via Pan American Airways. In the first 3 months of this year alone, Pan American has flown more than 1,000 tons of cargo between New York and San Juan.

However, I believe that Pan American's finest accomplishment was achieved recently when this great international airline commissioned 33 new stewardesses at its Miami base. Twenty-three of those girls are Puerto Ricans and they will soon be flying on Pan American Clippers to all points of the Pan American system to South and Central America and the Caribbean.

Mr. Speaker, I salute Pan American World Airways for its conscientious industry and making available to its passengers the service of these 23 Puerto Rican girls who, I am sure, will render to Pan American a service for which the airline can be additionally proud.

Mrs. Norman F. Patton, of Wilkes-Barre, New President of the League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Record of May 17, 1957, on the selection of Mrs. Norman F. Patton, of Dallas, near Wilkes-Barre, as the new president of the League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania:

Probably Mrs. Norman F. Patton, Dallas, would say that her selection yesterday as president of the League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania is an honor that has come primarily to the Wilkes-Barre community rather than to her. Without question it is gratifying to have the presidency of this alert and useful organization come our way, but it didn't just happen. By the unusual quality of her service to the league, Mrs. Patton has earned the recognition.

For the past 9 years she has served the Wilkes-Barre League of Women Voters as a member dedicated without stint to its work. For 2 years she was president. She has occupied other league offices and has been chairman of many of its committees, notably public relations. Only recently she completed several years' tenure as a board member.

Her leadership in league and other community-minded undertakings soon attracted outside, as well as local, attention. She has been a member of the League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania for the past 6 years, first vice president for the past 2 years and at the same time has served as chairman of public relations.

She was a member of the Wilkes-Barre YWCA board from 1952 through 1955 and was president of the YWCA 1953–54. Mrs. Patton is a member of the publications committee of the national YWCA and of the board of directors of the Wyoming Valley united fund.

She still finds time for her musical talent as director of Dallas Woman's Club chorale and director of the General Hospital Nurses Glee Club.

We salute Mrs. Patton as a worthy head of a statewide organization, among the first to receive a charter from the national league, and an affiliate that has been growing in size and in public estimation for more than a quarter of a century.

Are Engineers Throttling Science?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an informative speech made by S. S. Podnos, Director, Office of Ordnance and Transport Equipment of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense—Research and Engineering—entitled "Are Engineers Throttling Science?" stating the reasoning behind the consolidation of two Assistant Secretaries of Defense into one office, and made on March 25, 1957, before the District of Columbia Society of Professional Engineers:

ARE ENGINEERS THROTTLING SCIENCE?

It is a privilege to meet with you this evening, and to answer an accusation made of late against the American engineer.

I hesitated to accept the topic "Are Engineers Throttling Science?" when first suggested by the program chairman of this society. This is the type of subject that people write about and talk about without really conveying what is meant and what they mean. The topic is vague. And the resulting battle of words and their meaning only serves to further confuse the public, the very recipient we are all seeking to inform correctly.

But the very vagueness of the topic was a challenge to me. I felt that anything I could do toward its clarification would render a service by resulting in better understanding. And for this reason, I accepted.

Many of us are inclined to accept what we read or hear without question. Most of us are too busy or don't have enough patience to analyze and think through. As a result we often forget what things are based upon. We remember how to multiply long after we have forgotten that multiplication is based on addition. With this in mind, I will dissect the subject, piece by piece.

The boundaries of science are without limit. Basically, science has to do with those things you cannot touch, those things having to do with nature, and those things having to do with life. These are called the abstract sciences, such as mathematics, the natural sciences; such as physics and the human sciences; such as sociology. Science is almost all things to all men. One might also add that science is based upon commonsense.

But it should be noted that engineering is a part of science. In fact, the problems of science at the human level have been called engineering ones. They have been labeled physical engineering, biological engineering, and human engineering. These are also called the applied sciences. In recognition of these, groups devoted to science, such as the National Academy of Sciences, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, of which I am a member, have engineering sections. It is obvious that engineers have no cause to throttle engineering.

We all know that one who works in science is a scientist. It is not well known that the term "scientist" includes the engineer. It may be of interest that in the British Isles today all professional engineers are scientists. However, in this country there is an increasing tendency, by use, to disassociate the terms "scientist" and "engineer," perhaps because of our nonprofessional use of the latter term for tradesmen that attend boilers, locomotives, and the like. This has been accompanied by a growing tendency to associate the term "scientist" exclusively with the nonengineers in research. As such the research scientist does scientific research. From the foregoing it would appear that the topic of this discussion should have been: Are engineers throttling scientific research?

Now let us consider engineers. Whereas science is a type of activity, engineers are people. As people they are free to pursue any course of activity, and they do. I'll venture that there are more engineers engaged in scientific research in this country than the members of any other single profession. Their educational background has trained them to have the same vision and imagination, so necessary for this activity, as possessed by all other scientists. Many engineers are engaged in the design and development of items for use. Others are engaged in sales management, motion studies, testing, construction, and a host of other activities. An appreciably lesser number are engaged in production engineering and production—the "nuts and bolts" activity also so necessary to our way of life. However, to imply that all engineers are "nuts and bolts" people, as has been done recently by those that seek to mass inform the public, is an insult to the engineering profession.

I am a good example of what I am talking about. I hold a degree in science. As a graduate I instructed two college laboratories in a senior physical science course, and simultaneously performed work in basic or pure research. Within my experiences I have also spent many years in engineering development, production, and maintenance working with the automotive, metals, and ordnance industries. In the position prior to the one I now hold I received recognition for achievements in applied research. And I am a licensed professional engineer in the District of Columbia.

Engineering, on the other hand, while it is a profession and a system of training, is also a type of activity. As a system of training, and as a profession which participates in research as a normal course, it can have no cause to throttle scientific research. However, as an activity it is one of the links in the sytsematic chain of events from basic research to production. This could be the only possible conflict with scientific research. It will, therefore, serve to clarify the topic of this discussion by changing it to Is Engineering Throttling Scientific Research?

This question has been given considerable publicity as recently as this month, due to the consolidation at the staff level of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, of the 2 positions of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Development, and Assistant Secretary of Defense for Engineering, into the 1 position of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering. There has been serious misunderstanding about the reasons back of this change and some erroneous accounts have appeared in the press. However, an explanation of these reasons will serve as an answer to the question "Is engineering throttling scientific research?"

In the reorganization of the Office of the Secretary of Defense in 1953, 2 separate Assistant Secretaries of Defense were established 1 for research and development ac-

tivities and 1 for engineering activities. The main purpose in establishing 2 offices was to provide effectively for adequate attention to both scientific research and engineering. Since I have been with the Engineering Office almost from its inception, my observations are based upon personal experience.

Almost immediately the question arose about the specific activities that were the responsibility of each office. To define these responsibilities, fruitless discussions ensued as to what was research and what was development, and how each fit into the transition of materiel from exploratory work to production. I will discuss these two briefly to give you a better picture of the situation.

Research consists of two phases, basic research and applied research. The latter is also called exploratory development. Basic research reveals new knowledge. Applied research or exploratory development shows how this new knowledge can be applied to attain desired devices. As such in applied research we demonstrate the feasibility of a new principle, idea, or device. This is accomplished by paper studies, experimental models where the art is not well defined, and the like.

Engineering, on the other hand, is to evolve an item for use, and consists of three phases: the development of the design, the development of the prototype, and the development of manufacturing-type tooling and processes based upon the item to be produced. This last phase also includes the manufacture of a pilot lot of the item for operational or user tests and approval by the user. While not pertinent to this discussion, it is of interest that production of an item for inventory and use in the ideal case is conducted after approval of the item by the user based upon operational tests. When we ask whether an item is well engineered, we want to know whether it is satisfactorily developed up to the point of production.

Development is a two-horned animal. The first horn is that of exploratory development or applied research. The second horn is engineering or, as it usually is called, engineering development. It is important to note that applied research is concerned with what can be done, while engineering development is concerned with what will be done.

In between applied research and engineering we have a management phase which includes the analysis of what came before and a plan of activity for that which follows. This is the normal point to weed out and select materiel, for this is the point past which large expenditures are necessary. It is not overly expensive to have multiple approaches in applied research. In fact, in terms of payoff it can be very worth while. In engineering development, however, costs rise rapidly because hardware is being built for the many tests required. It is therefore of great importance to narrow down the field in this in-between phase, or if not possible at this point, before the engineering phase has gone very far. The prime objective of the research and development program is to achieve a highly effective research and development output within the limits of available resources including funds and qualified manpower. In view of the ever-growing complexity and cost of new weapons and equipments, the temptation to carry numerous weapon systems or components thereof through the entire development cycle must be avoided to accomplish this prime objective. Attainment of this prime objective requires a high degree of management effectiveness in applying restraint and selectivity.

Let us go back to the two horns of the development animal. When the two horns are not properly identified and clearly separated, we often neglect the management phase in between. This results in a strong tendency for the multiple approaches of applied research to carry on as multiple projects in engineering development and then as multiple items in production for inventory and use. This tendency must be curbed.

You have noted that research and development covers the same territory as research and engineering, and that development is both a research activity and an engineering activity. With respect to the two former Defense offices—Research and Development, and Engineering—the organization prior to 1953 gave to the Research and Development office responsibilities for basic research, exploratory development (or applied research), and engineering development. What is more, the larger part of its effort was devoted to engineering development. If after 1953 the Research and Development office had concentrated its effort upon basic research and exploratory development, both of which constitute the research area, there would have been no conflict. As a result of the situation after 1953 both offices were concentrating upon engineering, and the research area was given less attention than its importance warranted. Further, due to the duplication of activity of both offices, the selectivity which was to be accomplished after research, was accomplished with difficulty if at all.

The position of research in this situation was that of the young aspirant for congressional office, campaigning for nomination against the incumbent. His campaign was going poorly, and he was puzzled. Accordingly, he proceeded to question a politically wise friend of his, as to what was wrong. His friend replied, "Young man, the answer is simple. You are talking about your opponent. He is talking about himself. Nobody is talking about you."

Because of continued albeit unknowledgable agitation, and the fruitless discussion already mentioned, as to what was research and what was development, the Hoover Commission in 1955 recommended that the two offices be consolidated. Secretary Wilson did not accept this apparently simple solution at that time because there was no assurance, under the then existing conditions, that the original goal of adequate attention to both scientific research and engineering would have been realized. Now, however, with more experience in back of us, we have been able to carry out the Hoover Commission recommendations for one consolidated office. With an effectual internal organizational structure and experienced personnel, we now have the basis that should assure the realization of effective attention to basic and applied research as well as to engineering development.

However, we do feel that the current rate of technological advance has brought about an increasing closeness between basic research and engineering application. For this reason research activity and engineering activity should be a correlative endeavor. Engineering people should participate in the latter stages of research to the extent of acquainting themselves with what is coming along. By the same token it is even more important that reseach people participate in the preliminary stages of engineering, for they are the source of knowledge so necessary to application for use.

What I am saying is that the team approach is not only beneficial, but is becoming a necessity. But it is important to define who is the captain of the team. When conducting basic and applied research he should obviously be a research person. When conducting engineering it is reasonable that he should be an engineering person. Engineering here is a type of activity. I have no intent to imply that a graduate engineer is the only type of person who can captain this branch of engineering activity.

It is also of importance that the research person not overindulge in engineering development, for his time is too valuable in research. For of the two, research and engineering, research is more difficult. In research one deals with ideas while in engineering he deals with things. Too many of us tend to regard the process of thought as nonproductive. Unfortunately this association has become so ingrained that too many of our research scientists are doing engineering development. This is human nature. Why do the difficult when you can do something easier? And it is for this reason that when a research scientist is given both an idea and a thing to work upon, he invariably emphasizes the thing and research suffers. This detrimental practice must be stopped so that the scientist can concentrate upon the research that is his true pursuit.

Three of the most spectacular achievements during World War II were in the fields of electronics and nucleonics; radar, the proximity fuze, and the atom bomb. The scientific research for all three was of foreign origin. We in America have not emphasized scientific research, including basic research, as much as we should have. We have been inclined in the past to put our chips on engineering, and in so doing have built an industrial empire without equal. But to keep pace, engineering needs research. We have just about drained the available reservoir of basic scientific knowledge that has not been applied. Scientific research must be increasingly encouraged until our way of life is as dependent upon it as it is upon engineering. We in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering are dedicated to the overriding importance of both basic and applied research as a means for maintaining and enhancing our position of technological superiority.

The research area must be emphasized for another reason—to enhance our long-range planning. When it is not emphasized, there is a tendency to base long-range planning upon current developments. This is erroneous practice, for it results in current planning rather than long-range planning. Long-range planning must be based upon research to make it effective.

Much criticism has been heard about the type of person thought necessary to head the consolidated Research and Engineering Office. Be assured that it is not of importance whether the head be a physicist or an engineer. What is important, is that he should have executive ability, have a good understanding of both research and engineering, be a good administrator, and have vision.

Other criticism of this consolidation of offices has cited the "strangulation of the research and development program caused by a constant level budget concept." Here is a case where those that are criticizing are looking at apples and talking about oranges. True, the research and development money appropriation has not fluctuated appreciably. However, whereas the research and development appropriation originally paid for the research and development program, within the last few years there has been an increasing amount of procurement money used for this same program. For example, in this fiscal year approximately $5½ billion is going toward the research and development program. Of this approximately $1½ billion is research and development money. For the next fiscal year it is estimated that a total of $6 billion will go to the research and development program. This amount is more than half of the total moneys spent for research and development in this country by both governmental and nongovernmental sources. This is a far cry from strangulation.

It is only within the last year that we have known the total moneys going into the research and development program. This determination was made at the request of the engineering office to assure ourselves that sufficient funds were being devoted to the research and development program. And now as a consolidated research and engineer-

ing office we intend to find out much of the research and development money appropriation will go to research, to assure ourselves that sufficient funds are being devoted to this area. Current practice is to talk of research and quote research and development data. This practice is misleading.

The unfortunate misunderstanding that has persisted in some scientific circles and in the press is that the overall problem and our internal organizational solution in some way involves a "battle between scientists and engineers," or in clear terminology, between scientific research people and engineering people, and that the organizational change is a victory of some kind by one group over the other. Nothing could be further from the facts. It should be evident from my discussion that the consolidation was made to increase, and not to diminish, emphasis on research. Those people that are serving as the source of criticism—the press says they are many, although I doubt this—let those people stand up and be counted. I say they are not properly informed, and until they are the dissential effects caused by their criticism is a detriment to the job which we are trying to do. Let us cease the argument and devote our efforts to more constructive tasks.

For scientific research is to engineering what motherhood is to the child. As the mother gives life to the child, so does scientific research give life to engineering. If engineering were to throttle scientific research, it would only serve to throttle itself. There can be no victory, nor exalting, of one over the other. Both are equally necessary. To the question, "Is engineering throttling scientific research?" the answer must be "No."

Our technical capabilities and our accomplishments have increased tremendously in the present generation. Our technological advances are proceeding at an ever-increasing rate over growing horizons. To maintain the national security and to promote the national welfare, scientific research and engineering must walk hand-in-hand into the future.

Automobile Safety Belts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, a number of the members of the Special Subcommittee on Traffic Safety—including myself, as chairman—have had safety seat belts installed in our respective family automobiles. We did this because we are convinced that these devices, properly installed and well constructed, have a definite positive effect on the reduction of injury to persons involved in automobile accidents. This fact was proved to our satisfaction by testimony given by Cornell University officials following an exhaustive research study on the value of seat belts.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the following editorial on this subject which appeared in the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser on May 22, 1957:

SAVED BY THE BELT

Some traffic experts have questioned the effectiveness of safety belts in preventing deaths and serious injuries in auto accidents.

One criticism, for instance, was that the belt will not prevent your head from smashing against the dashboard. Other types of accidents were cited in which the safety belt would do little, if any, good.

Now the Cornell University committee on transportation safety research has submitted its rebuttal to these contentions. From a study of 5,000 accident case histories, the committee concluded that good safety belts, properly designed, installed, and used, will increase a car occupant's chances of escaping injury in an accident by nearly 60 percent.

The conclusion was reached after a comparison of 162 accidents involving the same model cars, in the same circumstances, with the same number of passengers. In one car the occupants wore seat belts; in the other they did not.

Some safety belts are worthless, either because of inadequate fastening or poor design. But good ones, worn properly, tip the odds in your favor that you will survive a crash.

In a high-speed, head-on crash, it is unlikely that even a safety belt will prevent serious injury or death. But in this connection it should be remembered that in the National Safety Council's study of 685,000 accidents in 1 recent year, 87 percent occurred at 40 miles per hour or less. In these crashes, good safety belts can be of immense value.

Better still, of course, is to avoid the crash.

Address by Guy L. Smith, to Sneedville High School Graduating Class, May 14, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Guy Lincoln Smith, editor of the Knoxville Journal, Knoxville, Tenn., delivered an address to the graduating class of Hancock County High School, Sneedville, Tenn., which should be an inspiration to all young people, as I am sure it was to the graduates at this fine school, and for this reason I am inserting it in the RECORD, under permission, so that it might be more widely available. I consider Mr. Smith one of the soundest and more able of the editorial writers in the country, and, incidentally, he is chairman of the Republican Party in Tennessee, where he has rendered an effective public service:

There are certain conventions employed in addressing graduating classes or members of graduation classes which no speaker would dare to ignore.

One of these requires that the members of the class be tendered sincere congratulations upon their achievement, upon obtaining the coveted sheepskin which testifies to the scholastic adequacy of the bearer and commends him to the favorable attention of scholars everywhere.

Graduating seniors, I congratulate you and salute you. You may well be proud of yourselves as we are proud of you.

A second convention calls for your speaker to point out that the graduation ceremonies are really but a milestone along the way of every one of you. The day after graduation, you enter upon those responsibilities which we call real life, as differentiated from the cloistered years you have spent within the halls of your alma mater. I attest the truth of this time-tested theory.

A third convention requires that he who addresses a graduating group shall point out that, even though the responsibilities change in their character after the graduate is through his formal education, the eternal verities lose neither their shape, their character, nor their changeless value. Truth, honor, loyalty, honesty, industry, and vision—these retain the priceless quality after graduation that they possessed before the memorable event. This conviction, the speaker before such a group as this, needs not belabor or emphasize because all history testifies to its truth. He who builds his adult life upon the foundation of these eternal principles is not only guaranteed success in this life, by the most sacred promises we know, a life in the hereafter. As your speaker, I affirm my most solemn belief that these things are so.

Having thus disposed of the most compelling of the conventions of such an occasion as this, I want to talk to you briefly, now that you are becoming full-fledged citizens of this great Republic, about you and your Government.

When I was invited to come here it was impressed upon me that there could be nothing political or partisan about what I had to say. For a man who has been in politics for almost 4 decades, and in the newspaper business for an equal period of time, it is difficult to either speak or write without taking a position on one or another side of the matter discussed. The task would have been simple, if I were in position to join the preachers in simply standing against sin, but after all, that is a big subject and one which would scarcely be appropriate to this occasion.

I have, then, after extended pondering of my problem, determined to make a nonpolitical political address, for reasons which I will undertake to justify as I go along. In the few minutes allotted to me, I want to talk to you about government, and about politics—mind you, not Republican and not Democrat—but simply politics, as the science by means of which all governments, big and little, are carried on throughout the world.

I have chosen this subject because it seems to me, in the kind of world we live in today, there is no other which should have, whether it does or not, such universal interest, and particularly for you young people who are now graduating not only from high school, but graduating soon into full citizenship in your own country.

There were times in the past history of mankind when the problems of all government were extremely simple, when the citizen of any government required no more of it than the protection of life and property. That was a long time ago.

As the centuries have rolled around, governments have materially changed. Leaving their simple character of early days, they have constantly become more and more complicated organizations as they have undertaken to perform added services and to make greater requirements of the individual citizens for whom, in theory, they exist to serve.

Thus it comes about that government at some level has its hands upon all of us from the moment we are born until in the last rites our mortal remains are whisked off to the cemetery.

This being undeniably so, I have chosen to talk to you tonight on the subject of What Should Be the Citizen's Attitude Toward Government? The subject seems to be appropriate to the occasion because there is not a graduate of this class who has not already been touched, or had his life course changed by government, and there is no new

citizen who has any choice but to live with government for the remainder of his days.

A corollary question must necessarily be "What shall the attitude of the citizen be toward politics?"

Let us address ourselves briefly to the corollary before we consider the main issue. If the influence of government is as all pervasive in our lives as I have said it to be, then there can be little hesitation upon the part of any citizen, man or woman, about the necessity for his or her active participation in politics, as the science of forming and operating governments. In a word, it behooves every citizen to be an active politician.

Every so often I run into some citizen, otherwise highly intelligent, who say something like this: "Don't talk to me about taking a hand in politics. It's dirty, and wicked, and degrading in every way—all I want is to keep clear of it. Let somebody else get into it and get their hands soiled; it's not for me."

Any American citizen who does not recognize his or her concern with, and responsibility for participation in, politics needs to have his or her head examined. How can any of us be indifferent to something—government—which reaches out its hands to control almost every phase of our lives? Rejection by the citizen of his responsibility to take a hand in politics is as senseless and stupid as it would be to stand out in the rain, with umbrella in hand, refusing to raise it, or to stand by a burning building with hose in hand, refusing to put out a blazing fire.

So I say to you young people who are graduating now or soon into full citizenship in your country that it is not only your civic responsibility, but actually a matter of your own protection that you take a hand in politics as a means of having a part, through elected officials, in the kind of government under which you live.

So much for the corollary. Now for the main premise: "What should be the citizen's attitude toward government?"

In this discussion I am moved by a sincere respect for your achievement in vaulting this initial hurdle in your lives and also by a keen sense of responsibility as one who, by reason of years, has had an opportunity to better appraise the hasards in the relationship between the citizen and his government. I should also add that I am moved by the same love of this, your and my country, that is shared by all of us who are worthy of the name of Americans.

I should begin by reminding you that this United States of America which you hold in your hands—figuratively now, but with the rest of your generation literally a few years from now—is a very young thing.

Many of us, most of us, have in our consciousness a natural conviction that this country of ours and this Government of ours are timeless and unchangeable in their character. "Ages may come, and ages may go," we say to ourselves, "But this country of ours is immortal." Don't we see it referred to in the papers every day as the most powerful nation, not just on the globe right now, but in all the annals of history?

Why of course we do. Every one of us who loves his country prays God that this be so. Yet history tells that this country of ours, this Government of ours, unique among all the governmental experiments of mankind, is only a century and three quarters old. It is scarcely as old as the life span of 3 men who live out their Biblical 3 score and 10 years.

Seventy-five years ago Abraham Lincoln, standing on the site of one of the great battles of the Civil War, said this:

"Four score and seven years ago our Fathers brough forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great Civil War, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure."

So the thought I should like to fix in your minds so firmly that you will carry it to your graves is that this "testing" Abraham Lincoln was talking about in 1863 is still going on today.. The truth of it is that the stresses and strains against it today, while they do not spring from the use of swords, guns, and cannon as they did in Lincoln's time, are greater now than they were then.

Now if we feel that our heritage of a kind of government is unique among all the kinds of government conceived by the mind of man, let's examine it briefly for two things. Let us determine, first, what it is about our kind of government that makes it precious, and, second, what should be the attitude of the citizen if he is to do his duty in its preservation, so that he may hand it along to his children and his children's children as a priceless treasure?

First, what is it about our kind of government that places it above all others?

It's very simple. Those wise men who drafted our Constitution, who established the pattern of our future with that document and with the Declaration of Independence, did not fashion a government for the faceless and fraudulent "common man" who was mocked and regimented for 20 years by those who sought to change the character of our Government.

No; our priceless form of government was fashioned in all its ingenious complexity, for just one thing—to preserve to the very fullest extent possible the freedom of each individual citizen. This was the goal; this was the thing those brave and thoughtful men had in their minds, that every man or woman should be free, in every respect, to the fullest extent compatible with the necessity for living in a society of other human beings. That was the goal these forefathers of our set up; that was the purpose of their documentary handiwork; that was the heritage which they handed down to us.

Now if we are, as citizens, to preserve this freedom, what is the prudent attitude for us to assume? How will we best serve ourselves and serve our fellows in the years just ahead? How shall we best stay free?

What I am going to say may shock you. I hope that it does, at least enough for you to remember it, for it can be truthfully said that the attitude I am going to recommend to you is precisely the attitude toward government which the Founding Fathers had. Because their attitude was what it was, we have a government whose ultimate, final goal, is not the kind of democracy which is measured by a universal median of poverty, but freedom to do, to think, and to believe, each as he sees fit.

Now for what may be for your a disturbing statement. It is this:

Our Founding Fathers drafted both our fundamental documents, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution in fear of government. They drafted those documents with the inner consciousness that all kinds of government, even what we call good government, is hostile to the freedom of the individual and predatory where the individual's liberty is concerned.

Why do I make this kind of statement? you ask. "Why," you say, "any government is supposed to be the servant of the people. It's supposed to be helpful and good."

Well, the Founding Fathers didn't share your sweet confidence, even in a government they were in the process of creating.

I'll make it clear by history that they fashioned our government, even though it marks the high point of the thinking of all time in this field, in very real fear of the thing they were creating.

You recall from your history that the Constitution was first drawn and submitted to the States for their ratification. That went through all right and the United States of America was in being.

But then the wise men of that time got to studying this document, whose complex system of checks and balances the Constitution's drafters believed to provide a maximum of freedom for the citizens. The more they studied, the more they felt that, after all, they had given this central government too much power, so then came what we now call the Bill of Rights, a list of 10 amendments which were adopted subsequent to ratification of the Constitution. Sometime, when you feel the urge to appraise your citizenship, read those amendments. See if, as I have said before, they did not spring from a very proper and lively fear of government, even of a kind of government drafted by noble, patriotic men. See if those amendments do not spell out that fear in plain terms of things the government shall not have the right to do to the individual. The right to worship, the right to assemble, the right to petition, the right to defy unlawful search, all of these things spell out just one thing—fear of government, and that is one part of the heritage passed down to us.

If this is a proper attitude for the young citizen to assume toward his government, one of fear, what is to be the basis upon which he is to measure every act of government? The answer is simple: Does the act, in its final effects, threaten the individual's liberty?

Commonsense teaches us that at least in its present stage of development, the citizen need not be fearful that his liberties will be seized by frontal assault, by armed force, for exambple. No, there is no danger there.

The real danger is that we will be seduced by indirection, that we will be misled by objectives with pretty names—"security" is one of them—with a concealed price tag in terms of our individual freedom.

The best example I can provide of the sly and subtle attack under which our freedom stands right now is that of taxation. The purposes for which all governments levy taxes are dressed in alluring colors, given appealing names. Military security, health, conservtaion, all such things necessary to a certain degree, are held up before us as the objectives of taxation. In recent years there has been a steady trend of having the government do more and more things for the people, a constant process of having the government assume the responsibilities which the individual formerly fulfilled for himself.

As a prime example of the kind of thing all of us have to fear from government, keep in mind that no matter what any constitution guarantees, none of the other freedoms of the individual can long exist without economic freedom. The individual is enslaved even in a country such as ours to the extent government is able to reach into his pocket and take his earnings, no matter how pretty the purpose sounds for which they are taken. When, and if, a big enough percentage is taken by government, then, as is the case in the Socialist and and Communist countries today, the people belong to the government, rather than the government to the people.

I could do this group of young citizens no greater service tonight than arouse them to a vigorous suspicion of all the acts and motives of government no matter who is in office or what party is in power.

In closing, let me emphasize once more that it is only through such lively suspicion, inducing constant vigilance, that the free institutions which our young men and women are inheriting, can be preserved.

You remember as Benjamin Franklin came from the meeting at which the Constitution was adopted, some woman in the crowd cried out:

"What have you given us?"

From the lips of this wise man came the reply:

"A republic, madam, if you can keep it."

My prayer for you, and for your children's children, is that you will have the intelligence and the tenacity—and the fear—to keep it.

Dollar Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of Monday, May 20, 1957:

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: DOLLAR DIPLOMACY
(By Sylvia Porter)

Never has America's dollar diplomacy been on so vast a scale.

Any of us might understandably be getting the impression that our entire foreign-aid program is being stymied while President Eisenhower and Congress battle over the budget and squabble particularly over his request for $3.8 billion to cover next year's foreign assistance.

But quite the contrary. Economic diplomacy is being pushed harder than ever at every level—on the purely governmental level, the quasi-government level, the private financial level.

Actually we are giving and lending tens of millions of dollars every week through various agencies.

STARTLING LIST

In glancing through the current issue of the privately circulated Pick's World Currency Report I found a report on our financial activities abroad during just last month.

Even an expert may be startled by the following summary of our dollar diplomacy in April alone.

Argentina received a $75 million credit from the International Monetary Fund, repayable in 3 to 5 years.

Austria made an arrangement to get American surplus commodities worth $24.7 million. The proceeds will be invested in Austria and used to aid Hungarian refugees.

Belgium drew $50 million from the International Monetary Fund.

Brazil signed a $2.7 million 5½ percent 8-year loan deal with the Eximport Bank to recondition 12 cargo ships bought in 1956.

Canada's three big corporations—Aluminum Company of Canada, Bell Telephone of Canada and Quebec Natural Gas—either sold or arranged to sell $193 million of securities in our markets.

CHILE, COLOMBIA

Chile extended her $35 million international monetary fund arrangement for 1 year.

Colombia issued 4 percent Banco de la Republica notes, up to an amount of $70 million, to United States banks and exporters in settlement of commercial claims.

France drew another $60 million from the monetary fund and set up negotiations for a $140 million Eximport Bank loan for the purchase of 21 jet aircrafts.

Indonesia worked out an arrangement with the United States under which she gets a $15 million 40-year development loan and a promise of $77 million in the future.

Japan was authorized to obtain $9,100,000 of United States wheat with yen.

Jordan accepted a new $10 million grant in aid from the United States for economic development and the maintenance of political stability.

AID FOR POLAND

Poland agreed to accept $95 million in United States aid, with $80 million for surplus wheat and cotton and $15 million for mining machinery.

United Kingdom signed a plan with the United States under which she is permitted to postpone future annual payments on her $3,700,000 American loan a specified number of times until the year 2000.

The World Bank raised another $100 million through a sale of 4¼ percent bonds to United States investors and created a new Far East department within the bank.

And so it went in April, so it is going in May and so it will continue to be. What Congress is debating is only one small part of our dollar diplomacy. It is a crucial part but the significant point is that it is a part, not the whole.

Congress and Automobile Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, a very thoughtful editorial appearing in the Selma (Ala.) Times-Journal recently dealt with a subject in which I am vitally interested, that of automobile and traffic safety.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit this editorial:

QUESTIONABLE FACTOR

Fourth District Congressman KENNETH ROBERTS spoke for a great many Americans when he warned auto manufacturers to speed their pace in producing safer cars.

As chairman of a House Subcommittee on Traffic Safety, Congressman ROBERTS said in an exclusive interview with the North American Newpaper Alliance that unless horsepower is subordinated to safety, Congress will be asked to spell out minimum standards.

"Too many advertisements still play up tremendous horsepower, or faster pickup, or ability to outrace other cars on the highway," he said. "Some of the manufacturers show interest in development of cars that will be safer than previous models, but others give this very little priority.

"With nearly all motor vehicles moving across State lines, there is no doubt but that automobile safety is within Congress' jurisdiction," ROBERTS said.

"Safety regulations have been set for railroad equipment and for airplanes and for commercial interstate motor trucking," ROBERTS said. "We may have to do it for automobiles."

He noted that the minimum-safety standards approach has been applied successfully to the household refrigerator industry. The Commerce Department recently ordered that new household refrigerators be equipped with door devices that would give a child trapped inside a chance to get out. This action is the result of a bill sponsored successfully by ROBERTS and enacted last year. It was held up a full year to give manufacturers opportunity to move voluntarily. Most of them did, but not all.

"This refrigeration bill has set a pattern," said ROBERTS, "it has shown how the Congress can stimulate progress in protecting the public.

"No one thinks that all automobile accident deaths or injuries can be prevented, but the number certainly can be cut down. American engineering genius really hasn't been turned loose on the business of turning out cars that are more nearly accident-proof."

Congressman ROBERTS undoubtedly is on sound ground in taking this position as chairman of the Congress group on traffic safety, and there is no question but that he has the support of most automobile buyers in calling for safety before horsepower.

Horsepower to many mortorists is a questionable factor, but safety is a thing to be desired by everybody.

Representative Powell Calls for a Third Force in American Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpts from a speech given by me on the occasion of the prayer pilgrimage for freedom, at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D. C., on Friday, May 17, 1957, at 12 noon:

REPRESENTATIVE POWELL CALLS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A THIRD FORCE IN AMERICAN LIFE

We meet here today in front of the Lincoln Memorial because we are getting more from a dead Republican than we are getting from live Democrats and live Republicans.

We must face the basic dishonesty and increasing hypocrisy of our two political parties. Only the politically free Supreme Court views the American scene against a background of morality and uncompromising legality and acts accordingly.

In the north and south amongst Republicans and Democrats we find a studied contempt of the law of the land—the Supreme Court decisions. Even the proponents of civil rights legislation have made deals behind the scenes to emasculate the present bill or see that it is passed only in one House. As for the executive branch, it refuses to exercise the massive majesty and prestige of its office as it should.

I begged the Democratic Party directly through the national chairman, Paul Butler, to speak out during its national meeting May 5. They absolutely refused to say one word concerning the bombings, outrages, persecutions, and present civil rights legislation now being considered by a Democratic-controlled Congress.

Therefore, it is mandatory that we establish a third force. A force that will be nonpartisan, but political; nonracial, but for the time being led by our Negro clergy who have given the greatest spiritual witness of any group in this century; nondenominational, inviting men of all faiths to follow. It must be housed only in the churches, led only by the clergy, powered through prayer with the masses acting in unity.

The NAACP is now being driven underground. The technique of the South is to outlaw the NAACP for the sole purpose of preventing it from presenting cases in local and State courts. This will be an insurmountable roadblock to prevent the NAACP from reaching the Supreme Court. We can through this third force raise funds and channel those funds to the NAACP to continue its monumental work and where they

are blocked, present cases ourselves using the same NAACP lawyers.

We shall use as our techniques—based solely on passive resistance nationally and locally wherever the situation calls for such action—work stoppages, economic boycotts, mass demonstrations, sitdown strikes, slowdowns, picket lines, and above all, political unity irrespective of party, for and against individual candidates. Through these techniques we can turn the tide from hypocrisy to honesty; from flaunting the law to respect for the law. We will welcome and we will aid openly or through the underground those white church groups, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, who are on our side—the right side, the legal side, the moral side.

New German Fears

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Daily News of Thursday, May 23, 1957:

NEW GERMAN FEARS
— (By Ludwell Denny)

LONDON, May 23.—Germany moved on two fronts today to block a feared disarmament deal between the Western Allies and Moscow which would perpetuate her partition.

While Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and Foreign Minister Heinrich Von Brentano were flying to Washington, Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss and the chief of the German armed forces, Lt. Gen. Adolf Huesinger, were arriving here.

These Washington and London Conferences follow last-minute sessions in Bonn with NATO Supreme Commander Gen. Lauris Norstad.

The German move is urgent because British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and President Eisenhower are now seriously considering biting at the Soviet bait dangled at the London Disarmament Conference. The Conference has recessed while they try to make up their minds.

This showdown is probably the trickiest in the entire postwar period because so many postponed decisions are now interlocked. They involve the future status of Germany as well as the survival of NATO versus Soviet domination of Europe and most of the world.

The situation is now more favorable to the Russian plan than in the past. Economic, psychological, and domestic political pressures are undermining the Western Governments' long effort to build up adequate military defense against superior Soviet strength.

As a result of welfare state extravagance and the expensive Suez war fiasco, Britain was forced to make drastic defense cuts which weaken the already shaky NATO. France is threatened by bankruptcy from the Algerian war, which has toppled the Paris government.

Germany is still chiseling on her fair share of NATO manpower and money. And the American Congress, heeding the taxpayers' tirade of carrying an unequal load, is now trimming foreign aid.

As for the psychological climate, all western peoples increasingly fear a nuclear war. Moscow has increased this by a campaign of threatening notes to Scandinavia, France, Britain, and Germany.

Finally, Western Goverments are having their internal troubles. Italy's new minority cabinet cannot last. The Macmillan government here is on the defensive, probably could not survive a general election. The Eisenhower Administration is stumbling. In Germany a hot election campaign is under way.

In these circumstances the pro-Western Bonn government is naturally alarmed lest Messrs. Macmillan and Eisenhower make the so-called first-step disarmament deal. This would demilitarize part of Germany before the divided country was unified, and lead to eventual American and British withdrawal while Soviet forces wait nearby for the kill.

Curtis Calls for Independent Successor as TVA Board Member

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Harry A. Curtis, who has served as a member of the TVA Board of Directors for the past several years and who has rendered this Nation great public service, delivered his valedictory or farewell address recently at Chattanooga, Tenn. In this connection, under unanimous consent, I include excerpts from Dr. Curtis' address in the Appendix of the RECORD. The timely advice of a distinguished American should be followed:

CURTIS CALLS FOR INDEPENDENT SUCCESSOR—RETIRING TVA BOARD MEMBER DELIVERS FAREWELL ADDRESS TO DISTRIBUTORS

Dr. Harry A. Curtis, who retires May 18 from the Tennessee Valley Authority Board of Directors, set forth some specific ideas about his successor's qualifications in an address before the Tennessee Valley Public Power Association's annual meeting in Chattanooga last month.

Said Dr. Curtis: "* * * above all it is vitally important that the man be capable of reaching thoughtful and independent conclusions rather than just falling in with what others may wish."

"If ever there was a time when the TVA needed a sturdily independent man appointed to the TVA Board, that time is about at hand," the 73-year-old Curtis stressed.

Dr. Curtis said that some time ago he and Dr. Raymond R. Paty, another TVA Board member, were told that TVA was to be a part of the Washington team and would be expected to act accordingly.

"So we were told," Dr. Curtis revealed. "Presumably this meant that we should meekly accept the Dixon-Yates scheme, that we should gladly accept the 18 amendments to the proposed revenue bond bill, that we should bow to the Bureau of the Budget's guess as to how much power would be needed in the valley, that we should not spend our power revenues for additions to existing power plants."

SENSE OF SECURITY

In his farewell address as TVA Director, Dr. Curtis warned that TVA's success "has led to a sense of security that is not supported by the situation that prevails today." He said "there will be hell to pay, internally and externally" if a strong man is not appointed to the TVA Board.

Dr. Curtis, in an address titled "Unfinished Business," told the Tennessee Valley power distributors that the most important unfinished business is "a revenue-bond financing bill such as the TVA and you, our partners, can live with.

"It is hard to escape the conclusion," he declared, "that the current talk of maintaining tight Government control of TVA activities is nothing but a disguised method of damaging the agency beyond repair."

"Perhaps the real intention of some folks in Washington were clearly evident in the infamous Dixon-Yates scheme," he said. "It must be recalled that campaign promises are not safe reasons for assuming that all will be well."

Dr. Curtis declared that "the privately owned power companies have always spearheaded the fight to destroy the TVA. They have spent millions of dollars of their customers' money in this fight."

"Year after year," he charged, the power companies "have put out a vicious string of lies in newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets. They even stink up whole pages in some usually dignified publications, such as the staid old Atlantic Monthly."

"The TVA is handicapped in this fight since it has neither the wish nor the authority to spend millions of its income in this fashion," Dr. Curtis explained. "The TVA can only continue year after year to present the facts in its official publications, and must rely largely on its friends to combat the lies that its opponents spread about so liberally."

He warned that even though TVA has survived 24 years of fights against its enemies, the agency today faces major problems.

William S. Peterson, president of the American Public Power Association and general manager and chief engineer of the Los Angeles department of water and power, also had some comments on the TVA Board.

TVA ACT CITED

He cited the portion of the TVA Act which states, "All members of the Board shall be persons who profess a belief in the feasibility and wisdom of this act."

"This simple statement," Mr. Peterson declared, "is the most important of the fundamental bases upon which rests all of the past successes of the operation of the TVA as well as all of its future progress."

"It is my earnest hope," he continued, "that no President will ever disregard this requirement."

Mr. Peterson said most large electric utilities, including his Los Angeles system, believe they are growing rapidly if they have to double system capacity every 10 years. But TVA is having to double its capacity for normal loads every 6 years, and "on top of this, we find that service to the Atomic Energy Commission and other Federal services multiplies its use of power in the same 6 years by a factor of 15."

"Such rate of growth, in such a tremendously large electric utility system, has never occurred, as far as I know, in the history of our Nation," Mr. Peterson stated.

He urged passage of a satisfactory form of revenue-bond financing for the TVA promptly, and said Congress must either do this or provide funds through appropriations for the continued development of the TVA system.

He said the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power has found that the revenue-bond provision * * * has provided means whereby the financing of the necessary extensions of the system are conveniently and promptly met.

Mr. Peterson said the Los Angeles experience indicates the need for both engineering and financial planning by a group that is close to the problem and which has full responsibility for the solution of the problems involved.

BOND FINANCING URGED

"I am fully convinced," Mr. Peterson declared, "that some form of revenue-bond authorization, with reasonable controls that can keep such bond issues closely related to the burden to be carried, can be developed and should be used" for the TVA power system.

"Most of you," he told the TVA distributors, "are familiar with the illustrations in TVA publications showing the map of the United States with zones for different typical rates. You will recall that the lowest rate zone is that embracing the TVA, and that successive rate zones beyond grow to higher and higher rates as the distance from TVA is increased."

He said the same thing is true in the Los Angeles area, "where I am sure that the rates of the department of water and power have influenced the rates of private companies operating within the same State."

"Thus we find that the public power enterprises are the forces which give our Nation a truly free competitive enterprise system in a field of the electric utilities," Mr. Peterson pointed out.

The TVPPA meeting heard a report from James L. Grahl, APPA assistant general manager and director of the APPA Atomic Energy Service, on the current status of the Nation's atomic power program. Mr. Grahl was unable to attend the meeting because of illness and his paper was presented at the meeting by J. D. Brown, APPA staff member and Washington representative of TVPPA.

Mr. Grahl said it is not technical problems that delay United States progress in producing low-cost atomic power; "it is the lack of a national policy on atomic power development."

Mr. Brown reported to the convention on the Washington scene, particularly the status of matters relating to TVA. He emphasized that all public power groups in various parts of the Nation should work together.

E. H. Wright, manager of Southwest Tennessee Electric Membership Corp., Brownsville, Tenn., was reelected president of the association, and W. L. Manton, manager of North Georgia Electric Membership Corp., Dalton, Ga., was reelected secretary-treasurer.

Other speakers were Jac Chambliss, of Chattanooga, on Labor Relations Today and Tomorrow; Louis R. Blanks, DuPont safety director, on Safety and Accident Prevention; R. S. Hutcheson, of the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Tennessee, on Wage and Labor Survey Report; Xen Portwood, personnel director of Knoxville Utilities Board, on Fringe Benefit Costs; Earl Parks, manager of lighting, Nashville Electric Service, on Fifty Miles of Street Lighting; and Gaynor P. Collester, General Electric Co., Atlanta, on Live Better Electrically.

The convention heard a welcome from Mayor P. R. Ogliati, of Chattanooga; a response from L. J. Wilhoite, chairman of the Chattanooga Power Board; and reports from Association President Wright, Secretary-Treasurer Manton, and Executive Secretary J. Wiley Bowers, of Chattanooga.

ANNUAL REPORT CONTEST

The TVPPA annual report contest was won by Gibson County Electric Membership Corp., Trenton, Tenn. Second place went to Holly Springs Department of Electricity, Holly Springs, Miss., and third place winner was Memphis Light, Gas & Water Division. Mrs. Pan Dodd Wheeler of the Tennessee Municipal Technical Advisory Service made the awards.

In the annual membership competition among the five power districts, the west Tennessee and north Alabama areas tied for first place with 96 percent of the power systems in those areas being members of the Tennessee Valley Public Power Association.

The convention adopted resolutions (1) reendorsing the Jones-Davis TVA self-financing bill, with specific mention of the association's opposition to territorial limitations being placed on TVA's service area; and (2) urging rapid construction of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterways system as a profitable use of the Nation's rivers.

Battle Over Foreign Aid Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Evening Star of May 21, 1957:

BATTLE OVER FOREIGN AID SPENDING—MAIN FIGHT EXPECTED ON HOW TO USE FUNDS AFTER $1.2 BILLION REDUCTION

(By Constantine Brown)

The battle for the administration's foreign-aid program promises to be spectacular. The consensus of responsible Senate leaders is that the Appropriations Committee will lop off at least $1.2 billion from the administration's requests. The main conflict between the administrative and legislative branches will develop, however, on how and where the funds should be spent.

President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles insist on "flexibilities." They want to have, as in the past, absolute discretion in the distribution of the appropriations for foreign aid. A substantial number of Senators of both parties insist on a "partly selective" distribution. They want to list the amounts for each recipient, leaving only a limited "emergency sum" to be spent by the administration at its discretion.

Congress, and especially the Senate leadership, feels that over the years the Executive has been spending the taxpayers' money too indiscriminately. Hundreds of millions have been poured into India, Indonesia and other neutralist Asiatic countries in the hope of detaching them from the influence of the U. S. S. R. and Communist China. These optimistic expectations have never been fulfilled. In every conflict between the free and the Communist worlds at the United Nations we have found the same countries we have liberally assisted siding with the enemy.

Similarly there is a strong feeling against the administration's actions concerning assistance to Yugoslav's Marshal Tito. The Senate voted last year to stop any further help but, at the pressing request of the administration, an amendment was agreed to which left the matter of additional aid to be decided by the President within 90 days after passage of the bill. In October economic assistance to Yugoslavia was resumed. Last month the decision was reached to ship a limited amount of military equipment—especially jet planes and tanks. Both decisions were based on the findings of the State Department that "the best interests of the country would be served" by continuing to help Tito.

The leaders in Congress are not satisfied with the explanation of the Executive that resumption of military and economic aid to Yugoslavia will help "pry it loose" from the Communist bloc. They have seen no indications that the Yugoslav dictator favors in the slightest the views and concepts of the free world. The fact that there are occasional "lovers' quarrels" between the Communist leaders in the Kremlin and Belgrade does not justify the optimism of the Executive. The votes of the Yugoslav representative at the U. N. show Tito is always on the other side. It is doubtful that he needs our aid, estimated at 10 jet planes a month for the next 7 months. Intelligence reports show that many of those he received last year are still in crates in Yugoslav warehouses.

Similarly, Congress is reluctant to continue military assistance to countries which have drastically reduced their military budgets budgets and establishments despite their NATO commitments. The tendency among our major allies is to let Uncle Sam carry the burden of their military expenditures while their governments gradually reduce their taxation burden.

A number of responsible legislators would want to appropriate foreign economic and military aid to specific countries which have proven, before and since they started receiving American assistance, determinedly opposed to the Communists. These are, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines, Formosa, and South Korea. Most of these are spending upward of 50 percent of their national incomes on their military establishments.

It is remarkable that the combined military forces of the Korean Republic and Taiwan, despite those countries' limited resources and population, substantially exceed the armed forces Britain will have by the end of next year. It is pointed out that Korea, for instance, which collects $321 million from its impoverished population, spends $228 million on its defenses. It is obvious that it could not continue to support an armed force of more than half a million men and stand an outlay of $300 million for reconstruction without American help. The same thing applies to other Asiatic and Middle Eastern countries directly under the Red guns.

The American people are demanding a curtailment of the present unprecedented high peacetime budget. The economy-minded Congress realizes that we cannot let down our guard. Hence, it favors assistance to those who refuse to play footsie with the Reds, either politically or economically.

Truman Doctrine Stopped Communists in Greece and Turkey—Eisenhower Policy Let Communists Take Half of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the Philadelphia Daily News of Thursday, May 23:

IKE IN TROUBLE

Right off the bat, we're going to claim the editorial privilege of blowing off steam.

We must admit that we got mad a couple of times during President Eisenhower's radio-TV address Tuesday.

Ike praised an historic declaration by a Democratic President and a Republican Congress to defend Greece and Turkey against Communist aggression.

The name of that Democratic President, Mr. Eisenhower, was Harry S. Truman. The policy is known to historians as the Truman doctrine.

Is Truman a dirty word, Mr. President?

We got mad, too, when Ike compared the Truman doctrine (without naming it, naturally) with what his administration did in Vietnam, a remnant of French Indochina. Greece and Turkey under Truman wound up free. Vietnam wound up sawed in half, with the Reds in control of North Vietnam.

Now we've got that off our editorial chest, we'll proceed more calmly.

We think Ike made a pretty good speech in defense of his mutual security program and other defense measures. Better than his speech last week.

This newspaper has been in favor of Ike's budget right along. More strongly than many Republicans.

We just wish that Ike had been in there fighting sooner, harder, and smarter.

Ike has been unable even to rally his own team behind his budget. He's done worse—here anyway—than Harding. Harding called in Charles G. Dawes, later Vice President, to be director of the budget. Dawes laid down the law that all fights about the budget had to be in private. Once Harding's cabinet and the GOP congressional leaders had agreed on a budget, everybody on Harding's team had to defend it in public.

Ike hasn't worked that way. One of the first of his team to sound off against the budget was his Secretary of the Treasury, George M. Humphrey.

But did Ike fire him? No. He went off on a hunting trip to Humphrey's plantation. Shooting quail.

Other Republicans came out against the budget, too. So Ike seems to be in serious trouble. We're afraid Congress isn't going to listen to him. Especially Republicans. Their ears are blocked by the economy bloc.

But keep on fighting, Ike. We're with you in this fight. Except when you slight Harry S. Truman.

Postal Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY R. SHEPPARD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Mr. John E. Forbes, of Redlands, Calif.:

AN OPEN LETTER TO CONGRESSMAN HARRY P. SHEPPARD, ALL SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN, AND TO POSTMASTER GENERAL SUMMERFIELD

REDLANDS, CALIF., *May 8, 1957.*

HON. HARRY R. SHEPPARD,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In addition to those in your constituency, there are several million Americans who—

1. Won't mind paying a 4-cent first-class postage rate if it is necessary.

2. Don't care whether mail is delivered on Saturday or not.

3. Are annoyed to exasperation by the amount of "junk" mail forced upon them.

4. Are annoyed and exasperated by the inability or unwillingness of the Congress to eliminate it.

Under separate cover you are receiving from me the accumulation of free house organs and bulk advertising mail delivered to me in 1 month—from April 8 to May 8, 1957; 6 so-called magazines, 3 advertising broadsides, 4 letters or "reasonable facsimiles thereof." Total weight, 2 pounds—2 pounds of nothing.

If there are in this country 25 million homes and each home gets only one-half as much junk mail as I did, then the total of this expensive and useless nothingness reaches the unbelievable sum of 12,500 tons a month, or 150,000 tons a year.

The bulk rate is 1½ cents per letter and the Post Office claims it must have 4 cents per first-class letter. Therefore it would appear that they lose 2½ cents on each bulk letter. If each home gets 12 letters a month then the dollar loss on bulk mail alone reaches at least $7,500,000 per month.

I believe that if the Congress as a whole were able and willing to act for the householder, the voter, in this connection, they could stop this deluge of uselessness and save the Post Office so much money that an increase in first-class rates would be unnecessary.

Can we count on you?

Yours truly,

JOHN E. FORBES.

President Diem of Vietnam Thrilled at TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, following the visit of President Ngo Dinh Diem, of Vietnam, who was received by the President and who recently addressed the Congress in joint session, he expressed a desire to visit and to see the TVA and to learn more of its operation and accomplishments. A news report appearing in the Nashville Tennessean of Friday morning, May 17, pictures President Diem viewing one of the great multipurpose dams of the Tennessee Valley Authority and quoting this distinguished visitor as being "impressed" and "thrilled" by TVA's "impressive accomplishments."

Truly, Mr. Speaker, the TVA is one of the world's greatest democratic achievements—a great regional water-resources development which many distinguished visitors from foreign countries have visited and admired. Among the many hundreds of distinguished visitors, as contrasted to the thousands of tourists and sightseers, who annually visit the TVA, the following are included:

Queen Juliana and Prince Bernhard, of the Netherlands.

Ambassador and Mrs. Eban, of Israel.

Muhammed Khuda, Minister of Defense of Pakistan.

Ambassador and Mrs. Feridun C. Erkin, of Turkey.

Admiral Renato Guillobel, Secretary of Brazilian Navy.

Former Prime Minister Hans Hetoft, of Denmark, and Ambassador Henrik de Kauffmann, of Denmark.

Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, of Israel.

Prime Minister Joseph Pholien, of Belgium.

President Gabriel Gonzales Videla, of Chile.

Dr. Frans Bluecher, Vice Chancellor of West Germany.

Prime Minister Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, of India.

President Enrico Gaspar Dutra, of Brazil.

Right Hon. Hector McNeil, British Minister of State.

The Kahn of Kalat, Ruler of Kalat, Pakistan.

Prince Charles, Regent of Belgium.

The Egyptian Minister of Public Works.

President Miguel Aleman, of Mexico.

N. D. Diem, President of Vietnam.

Visitors coming to the TVA for intensive study, as distinguished from tourists and sightseers, numbered 4,660 in 1956. Of this number 2,641 came from 80 foreign countries, an all-time record. Such visits range from a day to several weeks. Included among foreign visitors were 72 citizens of 27 countries who came to TVA as trainees. According to information from TVA authorities, Japan and Germany sent the largest number of study visitors, with Brazil, Mexico, and Colombia close behind.

The Faith That Built America—An Address by Dr. R. Richard Renner, of Cleveland, Ohio, During the Washington Pilgrimage of 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, each year the Washington Pilgrimage redirects our attention inward toward the rich more and spiritual heritage of our great Nation. In these days of personal, national, and international tensions, it is desirable to look again at the simple but unswerving faith of our forefathers in Almighty God.

In his address at the faith and freedom dinner, April 26, Dr. R. Richard Renner, president of the Washington Pilgrimage, and president of the staff of Cleveland's Doctors Hospital, eloquently reviewed this steadfast faith of early America. As his message is directed to all who would know more of their spiritual heritage, I ask permission, Mr. Speaker, that it be included in the RECORD at this time.

The address follows:

ADDRESS OF DR. R. RICHARD RENNER AT THE FAITH AND FREEDOM DINNER OF THE WASHINGTON PILGRIMAGE, APRIL 26, 1957

America was settled by men who fled to this country to escape the so-called divine right of kings and governments and churches. They believed that all men were created equal. With a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, they look to God as their supreme judge. They believed the new Nation would succeed only if its citizens were moral and obedient to God. The Washington Pilgrimage believes our Government will continue to succeed only as long as our citizens continue to be moral and obedient to God.

Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them. As ignorant tinkers can ruin clocks, so can nearsighted, selfish statesmen ruin governments. As wrong clocks can upset the entire household, so can wrong governments upset God's entire household. The judgments of God came upon a people as their governments manage the trust which God has committed to them through His people.

Religion was the driving force which inspired Columbus to sail blindly west into the Atlantic. The first settlers came over believing that if men followed God, He would give them a new government of the people, by the people, for the people. God-directed self-government started in the Virginia

House of Burgesses where they all took their seats "till a prayer was said that it would please God to guide and sanctify all."

Following the Mayflower compact, every New England town drew up a covenant with God which was the town constitution. There were solemn agreements with God. They felt their migration to America was led by divine providence and they agreed to live together in teamwork under His direction.

The early settlers of America had all been persecuted at the hands of the church and the state. When minorities arose whose aim was to bring in democracy to church and state, or at least to purify religion and government, they were persecuted in every country. That persecution was not merely neighborly disapproval or newspaper condemnation. They were thrown into filthy jails where they died from starvation and disease. In 1662, more than 4,000 Quakers were to be found in English jails. The crimes committed by church and state were too horrible to mention.

These oppressions of the religious minorities by the church, and the greater cruelties by the state and the church in the name of the mother religion, caused the great migration to America. They were not free to practice their religion in Europe. As religious people they did not believe in any divine right of kings, and could not agree that the king could do no wrong when down deep in their spiritual hearts they knew the kings like Henry VIII and many others did nothing but wrong.

With these ideas in mind it is no wonder that in all our colonies the people made certain that the people were not there just for the rulers, but that the rulers were there for the people, to minister to their comfort and their welfare. According to Thomas Hooker of Connecticut, "The privilege of election belongs to the people according to the blessed will and law of God." Roger Williams said, "The sovereign, original foundation of civil power lies in the people. Governments have no more power than the people, consulting and agreeing, shall entrust them with; for the sovereign power of all civil authority is founded in the consent of the people."

In like manner they made certain they would preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel. John Cotton had said, "To make the Lord God our Governor is the best form of government in a Christian Commonwealth." As they depended on God for protection, so they looked to God for direction. They were a people called by God and under a special covenant with Him. All these early pilgrims were a race of devout stalwart God-fearing men whose aim in life was to find their place in God's divine plan and to fulfill it.

The purpose of settling Virginia was to establish an English Christian outpost in the New World. The English Government perhaps wanted to get ahead of the government of Spain, but the religious people wanted the plantation of a church of English Christians. Sermons were preached in English churches and funds were raised there for these colonies. They wanted also to be missionaries to the Indians. Reverend Alexander Whitacre, the son of a great Puritan minister, who converted Pocahontas, was one of the early leaders of the colony.

You remember the Virginia-London Co. offered the Pilgrims in Holland a free home as settlers in Virginia. Accepting that offer, they set sail for Virginia. That the Mayflower landed at Cape Cod was due to adverse winds, the Gulf Stream, no navigational ability and poor seamanship, rather than any lack of Christian hospitality in the Virginia colony.

When the House of Burgesses first met in Virginia, after prayer to God, their first law was one protecting the Indians; the second law encouraged the conversion of these Indians to Christianity. Other laws made church attendance compulsory and ruled against gambling at dice or cards. Half the laws during that early period had to do with religious observance. Articles, instructions, and orders did specially ordain, charge, and require with all diligence care and respect that the Christian faith be preached, planted and used, and to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, to serve and fear God, the Giver of all goodness, for every plantation which your Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out.

The Quakers settled Pennsylvania, but few of us realize that they also settled Delaware and western New Jersey. They stressed high ethical standards and the inner light. If you will only be still and know God, you can be guided by the spirit of God. Their plain manner of dress was their outward expression of their belief in the equality of man. Perhaps because Penn had suffered and had been in jail in England many times because of his religion, he granted a charter of liberties approved by the Colonial Assembly in 1701, guaranteeing that no person shall in any case be molested or prejudiced because of his or their conscientious persuasion or practice. This Quaker form of democracy was a foundation of our American heritage.

It was later that the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians arrived and settled in areas of western Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, New Hampshire, and Maine. In many areas their American plan of representative government was copied from the Presbyterian form of church organization. Out of these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians came the great group of Disciples of Christ, founded in America with the express purpose of uniting all Christians into one common group.

But to Maryland goes the honor of being the first colony to extend religious toleration to all Christian groups as early as 1634. As a Catholic minority in England they had been persecuted, so they decreed that "no person should in any way be troubled, molested, or discountenanced for or in respect to his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof, nor in any way compelled to the belief of any other religion against his or her consent." A government under God was the aim of Caecilius Lord Calvert, Baron of Baltimore.

There were wide differences between the broadbrimmed-hatted Quakers and the black-gowned Jesuits, yet each had in his heart the picture of a God-directed commonwealth. And the New Jersey settlement was directed by an impulse on the spirit of God's people not for themselves but for their posterity which should be after them. We owe a debt to our posterity. It is too bad that future generations cannot be here at this time to see the wonderful things we are doing with their money.

Perhaps Jonathan Edwards was the most influential man in colonial times. He was president of both Yale and Princeton. His chief interest was people, and he wanted in all America the highest personal standards with a sense of divine purpose. But the man who stirred colonial America to deeds of daring rectitude and scorn for miserable aims that end in self was none other than George Whitefield, the associate of John and Charles Wesley. Colonel Oglethorpe had brought over all three to make certain his settlers in Georgia remained true to their Christian ideals. Whitefield soon extended his endeavors to all the colonies, and there is hardly a small-town church from Georgia to Maine that is not obligated to him. He had trust in God. Nothing was too hard for God to do; nothing too great for America to hope for from God. This was our American heritage. This the Washington pilgrimage believes.

Disaster awaits the people or the nation that forsakes moral standards or ignores God's sovereignty. On this idea was born the principle of the American Revolution. On it was the foundation for the dream of a God-directed United States of America.

The true foundations of our early Government were on the unchangeable will of God. A good government must rest on a definite moral basis in the people. The people will be moral only if they are religious. They felt strongly that their Government would succeed if the mass of people were virtuous and in touch with God. And the rights of everyone are divine, yes, even more divine than the divine right of rules, because kings and rulers were constituted for the good of the people. These rights are written by the electronic beam from heaven, by the hand of God Himself, and will never be erased as long as the people believe in divinity and trust His power to lead them and their nation.

Our early leaders believed this. Washington violently rejected the idea of a monarchy. Adams demanded annual elections to keep the Government in touch with the people. Jefferson as wartime Governor of Virginia refused to assume dictatorial powers. Benjamin Franklin in Poor Richard's Almanac supported these views.

While Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence it was the ideal of the times. Franklin and Adams made many corrections and additions in their own handwriting. Not only was the Government divided into legislative, judicial, and executive branches for proper balances, but to prevent too much authority concentrating at the top, they tried to further balance the power by State, county, city and town governments for they knew that concentrated power tends toward corruption and powerful rulers forget they are only agents of the people and their power is all derived from the people. Jefferson said, "No government can continue good but under the control of the people."

But a declaration of rights is also a declaration of duties. If "Liberty like life is the gift of God," (Jefferson), then religion and morality are indispensable supports. "Liberty can no more exist without virtue than the body can live and move without a soul" (Adams). Public virtue in government cannot exist without private virtue in the people, and public virtue is the only foundation of a republic. If our citizens fail to obey the inner police of their own virtuous conscience, sooner or later they will obey the police of a dictator state.

Washington spent much time on his knees in prayer. Probably nothing else could sustain him at Valley Forge. The first day after he became commander in chief at Cambridge he issued an order saying, "The general expects of all officers and soldiers not engaged in actual duty, a punctual attendance on divine service to implore the blessings of heaven upon the means used for our safety and defense." Washington also started and closed each day with a time of prayer alone in his room. Adams stated to his grandson, "The whole duty of man is summed up in obedience to God's will." Jefferson wrote a book on the teachings of Jesus and read from it every night. Franklin began each day with prayerful meditation, and insisted that the First Continental Congress and all our official meetings be opened with prayer. Is it any wonder we of the Washington Pilgrimage feel that America was founded on religion by moral men and that we want America to remain true to those spiritual principles that have made us a great nation under God?

Even on the reverse of our Great Seal, the Eye of God looks down on the uncapped pyramid of 13 layers. These 13 States operate under the all-seeing eye of God, who according to the Latin motto, "looks with favor on that which has been begun." The Continental Congress declared the statements on the Great Seal "allude to the many signal interpositions of providence in favor of the American cause."

On the other side of the Great Seal, the shield of 13 red and white stripes without support of the eagle indicates that we can rely on our own virtues. And in the American eagle's left claw are arrows for war, while in his right is clutched the olive branch for peace. Have we made of our eagle a southpaw, or a lefty, because he does so much more with his arrows for war than with the olive branch for peace? Our Founding Fathers wanted to wage peace more than war.

The "E Pluribus Unum" on our Great Seal stands for teamwork under the supervision of God in our new Nation. Do you agree with the founders of the Washington pilgrimage that we need teamwork of all people without regard to race, color, or creed to keep America true to the spiritual ideals of our Founding Fathers, and forever a Nation under God?

Any kind of people can live under a dictator. It takes people with character to form a democracy and use their freedom wisely. We study the past to learn its lessons and prepare for the future. People with a great spiritual idea will learn to live together in democracy. Today we do not have Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln. The challenge is on you and on me. America's future and democracy's future and the worlds future depends on our response. Will we do it?

Man has tried in vain to build society on science without love, education without wisdom, politics without justice, and economics without God. We must build on the bedrock of faith in God, the home, the family, and the state. We have had world leadership thrust upon us. Mankind is knocking at our gates for wisdom and leadership and the hope of peace. Let us not fail to fulfill our destiny and lead the world in peace and love because we lack the moral fiber in our own national life.

Information, direction, and stimulation can still come from the mind of God to the mind of men in our Nation. Everyone should be free under the direction of God to fight for America under the dictates of his own conscience. I wish this freedom for every man in every nation. The basic struggle is for the wills of men. It goes on in the hearts of men. Armies and navies and bombs, and pacts and economic assistance treaties may be necessary, but the final deciding factor is whether we as men and nations will be guided by the voice of materialism or the Voice of God.

Let us then as pilgrims find again that faith in God our colonial fathers knew. Let our homes and schools become again the Nation's strength. Let our statesmen learn again to listen to the Voice of God. Then we shall know once more the greatness of a nation whose strength is in the spirit of the people. Then America can give forth to all the peoples of the earth the only answer that can satisfy their longing for peace and their thirst for a sane and decent world. Then will inspired policies guide our Nation's lifeblood. Then will democracy be reborn. Then will America know the peace of God. Then and then only will the Washington pilgrimage have fulfilled the ideals its great founders have for all America.

Anthracite Dollars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News, May 16, 1957, disclosing the impressive amount of revenue provided railroads by the anthracite industry:

ANTHRACITE DOLLARS

The Anthracite Institute calls attention to the fact that the hard coal industry provided railroads with $77,204,400 in revenue during 1956, $38,911,000 of which went into wages. That was sufficient to insure full time employment to 7,625 men at the rate of $5,102 annually.

Through the years, anthracite has been one of the best customers railroads have had in this area. That the industry still contributes so large a sum under adverse conditions will be surprising news to many.

Anthracite dollars find their way, directly and indirectly, into many channels of commerce. If a breakdown were available, the statistics might be just as enlightening as the freight bill.

"Liberty and Justice for All"—Remarks to Students of Dimner Beeber Junior High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mrs. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, it was my honor and privilege last Friday to meet with the faculty and students of the Dimner Beeber Junior High School, 59th Street and Malvern Avenue, in my district of Philadelphia, and to discuss with them the concepts of liberty and justice.

Some years ago, my husband spoke at this same school and was tremendously impressed by the caliber of the teachers and the students. He told me he was proud to be the Congressman for such a group. I can now fully appreciate his feelings at that time, for when I spoke there, I was most impressed in exactly the same way.

The children of Dimner Beeber Junior High showed a sense of maturity and responsibility and civic awareness one finds really surprising among junior high age groups, and the deportment of the student body was truly outstanding. The principal, Mr. E. Orton, has every right to be proud of his faculty and students.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent of the House, I submit for inclusion in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my remarks at the Dimner Beeber Junior High School that day, as follows:

LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL—REMARKS BY CONGRESSWOMAN KATHRYN E. (MRS. WILLIAM T.) GRANAHAN, AT DIMNER BEEBER JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, PHILADELPHIA, MAY 17, 1957

It is a great pleasure, and an honor, too, for me to have this opportunity to speak to you today on the great phrase out of our pledge of allegiance, "with liberty and justice for all."

Children in school sometimes find it a little difficult to read much deep meaning into the high-sounding words and the noble expressions in our great patriotic documents. Much that is in the Declaration of Independence sounds strange to us today—the words are often unfamiliar ones and the thoughts are of issues long ago and known to us only through our study of history. They do not seem to have too much current meaning sometimes.

The Constitution is one of the greatest documents ever written by human beings, but again, to the boy or girl in school, it may deal with very little that seems familiar and with a whole lot that seems altogether out of your daily experience.

So, too, the concepts—liberty and justice.

It probably becomes monotonous to you to hear your teachers and your parents and people in public life constantly telling you the day will come when these concepts are more meaningful—and will be real to you in everything you do.

It is no reflection on your youth that we who are older keep repeating this idea. For we, too, were all once in school and more concerned about what we might wear at graduation, or what celebrations there would be at the end of the school year,or what we would do on the school picnic, or how much money we would have to spend on vacation plans, than we were about the immigration laws, or the idea of political freedoms or economic freedoms.

It is only where justice and freedom have been unknown for periods of time—or where the threat to destroy them is ever-present—that these great concepts become more personal to each individual, including those in school.

So I want to say right now, I am not going to lecture you about how glad you should be to live in America rather than somewhere else. I know you all know how lucky you are. Let's not go around pointing fingers at each other and saying be grateful, because it is not necessary.

But let us do this—you in your school activities and in your day-to-day life at home and at church or synagogue and among your friends, and I will try to do the same in the Congress of the United States—let us translate the words liberty and justice into their real meaning to us by being good friends with each other and listening to the other fellow's point of view, and making sure the other fellow gets his fair share in all instances.

For after all, that is what this country is supposed to be based on. That is what we want it to be—a true democracy where all are equal before the law and none of us need be ashamed of our racial or religious or economic background.

For while we do not have equal wealth, or equal brainpower, or equal physical characteristics—we are all different in every way—and yet we do have this great and precious thing of equal opportunity and equal justice under law.

Those of you who have been in Washington and have seen the majestic Supreme Court building across from the Capitol have seen the inscription, "Equal Justice Under Law," over the entrance. It is not just a phrase which sounds good or looks good carved in the marble. It is the basic concept of America. It is what makes our country the wonderful place we know.

There are times when one or another of us has occasion to wonder if the words are really true. We hear instances of individuals who are railroaded to jail for crimes they did not commit. We hear of poor folks who get less than justice because they are pitted against rich and powerful adversaries.

And you might be inclined then to say: "Aw, there is no justice."

But stop a moment and just consider one thing. Consider this.

When and how and under what circumstances do you hear of these instances in which justice is not evenhanded; in which some individual who is not rich and powerful loses out unfairly to another?

You hear about these things in the newspapers, in Congress, over the radio or television, in the pulpit of your house of worship, or in the conversation of friends and neighbors—and you hear about them because some one or some group—or the Government itself—has moved in to correct an injustice.

Frequently it is the courts which do it. Sometimes it is public opinion. Often it is a newspaper. But always it is some American or American institution which is moved to act by what is right and by what is just. Just remember that.

Right now we have many problems in this country. They are not always being solved as quickly or as well as we would like. As a Member of Congress I sometimes get impatient over the slowness of things—over the slowness of progress. I have introduced some bills which seem to be dying on the vine, pigeonholed in committee. One is to change the immigration laws to allow more good people who would make good Americans to come to this great country as your relatives and mine came here. Little seems to happen on this bill. I get discouraged over it, sometimes.

But friends in the Congress tell me that the issue is not dead and will not die. That like-minded Members will continue to work to correct the injustices of the present law as they affect some groups.

And as I see Congress in action I have reason to believe that decent-minded people will succeed in achieving any good purpose, but it takes work and patience and constant plugging away.

The Congress can move fast in an emergency. It can move at lightning speed when there is a sudden crisis involving our country or our defense.

But normally it moves slowly, deliberately. It takes infinite pains. It examines every comma and looks twice at every period. Everything the Senate does is painstakingly reviewed by the House, and vice versa. Bills may pass one House or another many times before the other one even agrees to consider them. Issues are sometimes resolved by the plain and ordinary and remarkable procedure of just letting them lie around long enough until time takes care of a bad situation.

That is not my idea of the right way to operate. We should face up to these problems and act on them.

But sometimes we seem to lack not only the will but the wisdom to know how to act on them or what to do.

For it is not always a simple matter of righting a wrong or improving a bad situation. What we do to help one group or another in our midst may react adversely on some other group. Bills to help a particular industry hurt another industry. Proposals to help one part of the country may react to damage the economy of another.

This is not an argument for delay. It is rather an explanation for why there sometimes are delays.

Basically all Members of Congress want to do the right thing for the country. But our views differ on this frequently. A majority can always act, but not always in such a way as to assure the justice of a majority cause. Sometimes it is a minority which has justice on its side. What then?

The answer is we must examine each proposal and each proposition with as much intelligence and as much objectivity as possible—as we can bring to bear on the subject. And we must sometimes pray for guidance—yes, it is often that hard to know the true path of justice and liberty.

By liberty, can we mean the complete freedom of everyone to do always whatever he likes, regardless of how many people get hurt in the process? No, it cannot mean that.

But what it can mean, and should mean, is that we dare not discriminate against any group because of race, creed, or color. We dare not have one type of justice for the rich, and another for the poor. We dare not bow and scrape before one group because they are powerful, and ride roughshod over another, because they have no way of getting back at us.

In short, we have to be decent with each other. We have to recognize the elementary human dignity in each person.

And we have to pass the kind of laws which also recognize human rights, and human needs, and human dignity.

We do not always succeed. When we fail, we should be told about it. It should be called to our attention. Americans have a right and a privilege to speak up and protest when they see a miscarriage of justice.

The more we watch out for the other fellow's liberty, the safer our own will be.

The more we protest injustice to someone else, the less likely are we to have injustice practiced on us.

The more we join in common undertakings to help the whole group, the whole school, the whole community, the whole country, the better off each and every one of us is going to be.

That may be stating it too simply. But to me, that's simply what it all amounts to.

I am still a new Member of Congress. I have much yet to learn about the work. But I hope I never learn that to be a successful Member of Congress one has to unlearn the principles of decency and dignity and justice and friendship which to me are so fundamental to the democratic process. I am sure it will not be necessary.

And you boys and girls, as you grow older and take part in the life of the community, will find no better guides than the words "liberty and justice for all."

1957 Graduates From Gruver, Tex., High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it was my great pleasure this week to welcome to Washington the 1957 high school graduates from Gruver, Tex., which is located in the 18th Congressional District of Texas that I have the honor to represent. The occasion of their visit to this Chamber was likely noted by this body in view of the fact they were, in my opinion, one of the finest looking and the most well-behaved groups we have seen for some time. They were accompanied by the principal of Gruver High School, Mr. Ralph Eddins and Mrs. Eddins, and Gruver Elementary School Principal Mr. J. T. Hoy and Mrs. Hoy. This group has worked long and hard toward the realization of their senior trip and they are, I believe, to be commended for their selection of an educational itinerary. These 26 sons and daughters of Texas were Misses Barbara Wright, June Sloan, Luanna Olsen, Margaret Montgomery, Marietta Luttrull, Esther Kauffman, Kathryn Knutson, Jolene George, Rachel Harris, Suellen Hawkins, Gwen Arthur, Mary Lou Beamer, Barbara Charon, Adeline Dahl, Bonnie Drake, Janet Eddleman and Mary Lou Gordon; and Messrs. David Shapley, Charles Beck, Fred Sturman, Billy Cox, E. C. Denns, Donald Heath, Dale Irwin, Larry Lewis, and Byron Peddy.

The President's Case Against Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including two articles from the Wall Street Journal on the subject of foreign aid. Both editorials are provocative and should be of interest as we come to consider the foreign-aid bill.

The editorials follow:

THE PRESIDENT'S CASE AGAINST FOREIGN AID

Let us assume for a moment that President Eisenhower is correct when he says that to cut even a dollar out of the foreign-aid program would be reckless, would weaken the Nation and could lose both peace and freedom. What does that actually mean?

Mr. Eisenhower contends that without our military help overseas, we would have to spend many billions of dollars more on our own defense, put more men in uniform, and keep them there longer. If that is so, it plainly means that but for our aid the 42 nations with which we are associated in defense treaties would do little or nothing in their own defense.

And if that is true, it means in turn that these 42 nations have no real determination to oppose communism; they are building up their own defenses mainly because the United States helps them. If that is the case, they are highly unreliable allies.

If all this, moreover, is the real significance of foreign aid, it clearly indicates we can never stop. To do so, ever, would be to bring the whole anti-Communist defense structure toppling down, since it presumably rests on nothing more substantial than handouts from Washington.

The President, in fact, offers no hope that foreign aid will ever end. On the contrary, he seeks to establish the principle of permanence, first by proposing to make military aid a direct charge against the Defense Department budget, and second by recommending to Congress a long-range revolving loan fund for some types of economic aid. The program that was originally to last 4 short years is now to be a program in perpetuity.

It is thus the bleakest kind of picture the President paints. For ourselves, we do not believe the outlook is all that bad.

We doubt very much that the alternative to military aid is going it alone. We think a good many of our allies would make considerable defense efforts in their own self-interest and would remain allies, without any dollars from us. A nation like Britain has never been unaware of the need for military preparedness, or allergic to its national interest. Even now the British Government is glad to show, by developing its own hydrogen bomb, how much it can defend itself.

Many other allies have powerful defense capabilities with which to deter the Communists. What's more, they would still come under the protective shield of the United States even without American military aid. The greatest deterrent to Communist aggression is not the number of jets in Europe or Formosa, but the United States treaty ob-

ligations to assist its allies should they be attacked.

But if that is somehow not the case—if the allies are so crass and so blind that they will do little or nothing without our help and the assurance of our help forever—then God help us. Such allies would not be worth having in a showdown.

In making this kind of argument, the administration is not making an argument for foreign aid. It is unwittingly making the strongest possible case against foreign aid.

FOREIGN AID

Tonight President Eisenhower is scheduled to make another appearance on television; his aim is to forestall cuts in the $3.8 billion foreign aid request made to Congress as part of his record $72 billion budget.

Now, starting with lend-lease, foreign aid has been with us in some form for almost 20 years. Never has a country poured out so much to so many peoples beyond its borders. For much of that period the time-honored American position of concentration on domestic affairs and avoidance of the foreign entanglement has been deeply submerged.

The fact of the matter is that, in having to carry his case to the people over the airwaves, the President is pointing up that fact that the people are now disillusioned with this 20 years of foreign-aid programs. One place this disillusionment shows up is in Congress; Congress is a great mirror of major trends in the thinking of the people. Only a few years ago the most "isolationist"-minded Congressmen were saying of foreign aid—yes, it's necessary and I'm all for it; what we must reduce is waste in the program.

But this has now become the position of the "interventionist" wing in Congress. For example, in a television panel discussion recently, Senator CASE, the New Jersey Republican, was the only one of four Senators to defend the aid program fully; and he thought "waste" could be reduced. A one-time foreign-aid advocate, though a less-enthusiastic one, is Senator O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming. He declared that the administration was "neglecting America and taking care of the other nations of the world."

Reasons for the disillusionment of the people are not hard to pin down. It is not just that taxes continue at a high level. It is not just that inflation continues to chip away at salaries and savings. There is the overriding fact that foreign aid just hasn't seemed to have gotten the country anywhere.

Just since the end of World War II some $55 billion has been rushed abroad, much of it to hold back communism. But where communism has been held back there is the very great question of whether it wouldn't have been held back anyway. And in some places where contributions have been made, the people there have come to regard the aid as a permanent price for not going Communist. Then there are cases—as in the Middle East recently—where offers of aid have been more embarrassing to anti-Communist forces than of help to them; offers of dollars were offered as proof by pro-Reds that the United States was about to take over the country.

Certainly the record is not a clear one. But it is just as clear that sweeping assertions that this or that appropriaiton is sacrosanct because it will hold back communism are not enough. Clearly what the people require are some specific examples of how foreign aid has done what it was supposed to do.

The administration must have some favorable examples to set against the case of Indonesia—freed as a Dutch colony from the Japanese with American help, backed in its drive for independence from the Dutch by this country, granted dollar help and now—so its leaders announce—looking to Moscow for precept in molding itself into a nation.

In grappling with the realities of today's foreign affairs the public has begun to ask some questions. If there is reason why we should now provide the additional billions being asked, the President should supply it—with a detailed rundown of facts and figures, of who has been saved from what and by whom. Ringing slogans, after 20 years of them, have lost their impact on the American people.

Smoke 'Em Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, with a staggering national debt, a $7.4 billion annual interest charge, a $70-plus billion budget, and taxpayers entitled to relief, will someone please tell me why the Congress—supposedly the people's Representatives—have insisted on keeping in operation the expensive and unneeded Murphy Army Hospital in Waltham, Mass.; the expensive and unneeded Army-Navy Hospital in Hot Springs, Ark.?

The very efficient Secretary of the Army, Wilber Brucker, Michigan's former Attorney General and Governor, has vigorously protested this waste.

Congressman FORD, who represents Kent and Ottawa Counties, and who is a member of the subcommittee and the full Committee on Appropriations, which will bring the bill carrying these items to the floor, has called attention to the fact that the 1956 and 1957 appropriation bills kept these two hospitals in operation, despite the fact they were not needed.

Congressman FORD further disclosed that, notwithstanding the efforts of the Department to comply with the congressional directive to keep the hospitals operating by funneling patients to them from other areas, this year there was an average of but 68 to 77 patients a day in the 405-bed Arkansas hospital, while the hospital staff carried 313, doctors, nurses, military, and civilian attendants—4⅓ attendants for one patient. The Murphy 450-bed hospital had a patient load of from 85 to 95 a day, and it, too, carried a staff of over 300 doctors, nurses, military, and civilian attendants—3½ attendants to one patient.

The Congress often charges the Executive Departments—and especially the armed services—with being responsible for the waste of our tax dollars. For this waste in operating these two hospitals, is not the Congress responsible?

Our colleague, Mr. FORD, further discloses that closing the two hospitals, turning the Massachusetts one into an Army engineers headquarters, would save $746,500 next year and approximately $1,043,000 each year thereafter.

Heretofore, the appropriation has gone through under a closed rule, which prevented a point of order being made against the bill. This year, the Member from the Fifth District, Mr. FORD, is determined that, if a similar rule is proposed, he will ask for a record vote; that, in any event, he intends to fight the appropriation when the bill comes before the House.

Unless the Congress supports him, it will have no logical reason for complaining about waste or extravagance in Executive Departments.

The House is continually investigating the influences behind wasteful appropriations. It certainly would be interesting to know who is responsible for continuing in operation these two unneeded expensive hospitals. I shall, of course, vote to put them to other use.

Wholly Indefensible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, as a former member of our armed services who saw service abroad, I continue to be interested in our troops now serving in many lands, and the conditions under which they serve. I desire to commend my colleague from Ohio, Mr. BOW, for the prompt and courageous action which he took a week ago to endeavor to prevent the surrender of one of our servicemen to the Japanese authorities for prosecution on a homicide charge. The Japanese claim the right to prosecute the soldier for an incident occurring in the performance of this soldier's duty assignment, on a reservation occupied by our forces.

Trial by the Japanese in this case would be a rank violation of the provisions of the agreement with Japan as to the status of our forces there. I feel sure that Mr. BOW's protests were instrumental in inducing the decision by the Secretary of Defense to hold up the surrender of the serviceman and to review the decision.

The indignation of the Nation at the action first contemplated by the Far East Command has been ably expressed in an editorial in the Plain Dealer of Cleveland, Ohio, on May 19, 1957, as follows:

WHOLLY INDEFENSIBLE

Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson has thrown a temporary roadblock into plans of United States military authorities in the Far East to turn over an American soldier to a Japanese court for trial on manslaughter charges. Charges had been made against the GI, even though he was on duty and under orders when a Japanese female looter was fatally injured on a United States firing range north of Tokyo.

A complete review has been ordered by Wilson. Here are the facts:

The woman who was killed was stealing scrap metal, despite repeated warnings. The soldier, Specialist 3/c William S. Girard, of Ottawa, Ill., fired a blank mortar shell casing as a warning to Japanese civilians to leave the area. He didn't even aim the weapon, but by an odd chance the shell casing hit the woman.

The incident, which occurred on the Camp Weir firing range last January, aroused intense feeling in Japan. Japanese authorities demanded that Specialist Girard be charged with manslaughter and tried in Japanese courts.

The United Press said that the decision to surrender the soldier for civilian trial was made by Rear Adm. Miles H. Hubbard, second in command of operations and administration of the United States Far East Command.

Hubbard admitted he was setting a precedent in permitting an American serviceman to be tried in a civil court for his action while on duty at a United States military base.

One American officer said: "Girard won't have a chance with that Japanese jury." An American Embassy official said he thought the American action "stinks. * * * We apparently consider the man expendable."

Whether the Japanese, having made their point, will mete out outrageous punishment remains to be seen. The Supreme Court in Tokyo, following the announcement that Girard would be turned over to Japanese authorities, directed the Maebaski prosecutor's office to indict the American on a charge of accidental manslaughter.

We agree with the officer who said that the action smelled. An American soldier, doing his duty as he saw it, has been forsaken by his country and turned over to those who, only a few short years ago were our bitter, fanatical enemies. What effect this unprecedented action will have on morale is perfectly obvious.

Certainly we want to get along with Japan, who is no longer our enemy. But to sacrifice one American soldier in the interests of maintaining amicable relations with our former enemy is monstrous, morally wrong, and wholly indefensible.

A Man's Best Friend Is His Dog

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, during these days of trials and tribulations in the present complex national and international problems such as the foreign aid program, it would be well for us to clear our minds by giving thought to some of the finer facts of life.

Therefore, as part of my remarks I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, an article appearing in the June issue of the Royal Arch Mason on the life of a great man, Senator George G. Vest of Missouri, including his famous eulogy to the dog as man's best friend. The life and activities of Senator Vest is closely associated with the congressional district I have the honor of representing.

The article follows:

A bronze monument to commemorate a hound dog—a Missouri hound dog.

Yes, that is what the citizens of Warrensburg, Mo., wish to do, and for which they are seeking donations from all friends of dogs wheresoever situated. The movement has the support of the chamber of commerce of that city and the appeals are being made on radio and television.

Yet, the man who made Old Drum famous lies under a very unpretentious stone in the local cemetery. Vest was a native Kentuckian, born at Frankfort in that State, December 6, 1830, for that day, he had an excellent education, graduating at Centre College and Transylvania University (1853).

It was by chance he became a Missourian, for he had started for California, when at the little town of Georgetown, Mo., he was detained by a stagecoach accident. It was there he defended a Negro on a murder charge; while the Negro was freed, yet he was hung—we should say lynched. And the young lawyer found it advisable to leave town. In 1856 he opened a law office in Boonville, Mo.; in 1860 he was elected to the Missouri legislature, and likewise a presidential elector. In the legislature he showed his southern interest by introducing resolutions favoring the South; he attended the rebel legislature in Neosho in 1861 when he resigned his Missouri Legislature job to accept one as senator in the Southern Confederacy.

When the war was over he returned to Missouri, opening a law office in Sedalia in partnership with Col. John F. Philips, and it was while in Sedalia that he became counsel for the celebrated hound-dog case.

There was nothing complex about the case. Lon Hornsby, a local character in that area had shot a hound dog, Old Drum, belonging to one Charles Burden; Burden took to the law to avenge Old Drum's death, hiring Colonel Vest as his attorney. Vest, in a colorful address, praised the dog in such a way as to raise the emotions of the jury which turned in a verdict in favor of Vest's client. The trial took place in Warrensburg, Mo., in 1870, and 87 years later, the name of Old Drum and his defender is still a classic in Missouri.

Later Vest was sent to Congress, 1879, and returned three times. In 1903, he retired, locating at Sweet Springs, Mo., where on August 9, 1904 he passed away. In Congress he made a name for himself in working for the interest of national parks, fair treatment for the Indian, and the St. Louis exposition of 1904.

What did Vest say, in his closing remarks of the trial, which won the unanimous verdict of the jury?

"Gentlemen of the jury: The best friend a man has in this world may turn against him and become his enemy. His son or daughter that he has reared with loving care, may prove ungrateful. Those who are nearest and dearest to us, those whom we trust with our happiness and our good name, may become traitors to their faith.

"The money that a man has, he may lose. It flies away from him when he needs it most. A man's reputation may be sacrificed in a moment of ill considered action.

"The people who are prone to fall on their knees to do us honor when success is with us may be the first to throw the stone of malice when failure settles its cloud upon our heads.

"The one absolutely unselfish friend that a man can have in this selfish world, the one that never deserts him, the one that never proves ungrateful or treacherous, is his dog.

"A man's dog stands by him in prosperity, in health, and in sickness. He will sleep on the cold ground where the wintry winds blow, and the snow drives fierce, if only he may be near his master's side. He will kiss the hand that has no food to offer; he will lick the wounds and sores that come from encounter with the roughness of the world. He guards the sleep of his pauper master as if he were a prince.

"When all other friends desert, he remains. When riches take wing and reputation falls to pieces, he is as constant in his love as the sun in its journey through the heavens. If fortune drives the master forth an outcast in the world, friendless and homeless, the faithful dog asks no higher privilege than that of its company to guard against danger, to fight his enemies.

"And when comes the last scene, and death takes the master in his embrace and his body is laid away in the cold, cold ground, no matter if all other friends pursue their way, there by his graveside will the noble dog be found, his head between his paws, his eyes sad, but open in alert watchfulness, faithful and true, even in death."

The case was appealed to the Supreme Court, but they affirmed the decision of the lower court, upholding the decision of the jury, that:

"A dog is man's best friend."

(Colonel Vest was made a Royal Arch Mason February 28, 1868 in Sedalia (Mo.) Chapter No. 18; Colonel Phillips, his law partner, was likewise a Freemason.)

Letter to Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith a letter by the distinguished superintendent of schools of the city of Charleston, the Honorable William Robert Gaines. This has to do with the President's changed position on Federal aid to education.

The letter follows:

CHARLESTON CITY SCHOOLS,
Charleston, S. C., May 16, 1957.

Hon. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
President, United States of America,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I write this with the small hope that it might come to your personal attention. I write only from my deep concern for education. To emphasize that my concern is honest I must add that education is my life's work; my father, brother, and uncle are presidents of respectable colleges (Washington and Lee University, Wofford College, and Hampton-Sydney College); and many others of my family of this and preceding generations have worked conscientiously and with some effect in educating the youth of America.

I write this with no intention of personal criticism, but only in an effort to discover what reasons have impelled you to reverse your former and apparently strong convictions concerning general Federal subsidies for education.

Recently, the editor of the Charleston Evening Post quoted, in part, a letter you, as President of Columbia University, wrote in 1949 to the House Education Subcommittee. Since this is a responsible newspaper, I assume the quotation is correct. It reads:

"I would flatly oppose any grant by the Federal Government to all States in the Union for educational purposes.

"Such a policy would * * * completely decry and defeat the watchful economy that comes through local supervision over local expenditures of local revenues. * * *

"Very frankly, I firmly believe that the army of persons who urge greater and greater centralization of authority and the greater dependence upon the Federal Treasury are really more dangerous to our form of government than any external threat that can be arrayed against us."

What you wrote then I believe now. Furthermore, we both know that education is significantly different from such inanimate concerns as highways, dams, or the dollar return from cotton or corn crops. Education deals with the minds of men. This vital function concerned with what men think and believe, must be insulated from the faintest suggestion of centralized authority.

South Carolinians are faced with an educational responsibility unsurpassed by any State. The percentage of the State's population in public schools probably ranks first among our States, and, unfortunately, the per capita income of the citizens ranks near the bottom. Yet the people of South Carolina have resolved to make the sacrifices necessary for the education of children and are courageously approaching the solution of providing decent schools. If citizens of other States feel as strongly about the necessity for adequate schools as their elected representatives loudly proclaim, they certainly can do the same. South Carolina's case clearly indicates there is no lack of State or local ability to finance school construction.

With arguments camouflaged by highly debatable statistics, the fervent advocates of a general subsidy must be contending one of two things:

Either that the Federal Government should become deeply involved in the planning of public education (and from personal experience, I can testify that some educators believe this), or that if citizens of the various localities are too lethargic to care, wise ones in authority must make up for their stupidity—and this line of reasoning completely negates the very essence of democracy.

I regret that I feel it necessary, because of tension recently generated, to add that my conviction concerning a general Federal subsidy for education was the same prior to the new Supreme Court's school-race rulings and is something quite apart from my attitude toward these rulings.

Knowing that my hope is virtually impossible, still I wish I could hear personally from you as to why you have so completely reversed your feelings concerning this matter of ultimate concern to all Americans.

Respectfully submitted.

WILLIAM ROBERT GAINES,
Superintendent.

The President's Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, the following letter from my constituent is typical of the encouraging support which is mounting for President Eisenhower's program and budget:

BUFFALO, N. Y., *May 22, 1957.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RADWAN: Listening last night to the President's spirited address, I thought of you, and recalled that, if I remember correctly, you had earlier announced your support of his budget. That took independence and courage then, and it must have taken more since, while the opposition has been gathering momentum. But I have never had reason to think you short of either independence or courage—on the contrary. I have been meaning to write you in commendation of your stand. But I was busy getting ready to go away on vacation, which I did last weekend. • • •

But I cannot wait longer to urge that you do not succumb to the current budget-cutting tax-cutting hysteria, but stand fast in the President's support. I wish he had supported himself sooner and more vigorously. But better late than never. I do not see how any patriot can desert him now.

Cordially yours,

C. I. CLAFLIN.

Arkansas Library Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I was very pleased to receive a report from the Arkansas Library Commission of the use of the first Federal aid funds for rural libraries in Arkansas. The Commission is to be congratulated upon its splendid work for libraries throughout the State. The detailed plans it has made for utilizing this Federal assistance are admirable. It seems to me that these plans establish a pattern that might well be followed by States having similar library problems. Under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include a letter from Mrs. Karl Neal, executive secretary of the commission, describing these plans:

ARKANSAS LIBRARY COMMISSION,
Little Rock, Ark., May 6, 1957.

The Honorable BROOKS HAYS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HAYS: On April 1 the Arkansas Library Commission received the first check for Federal aid to public libraries in the State. This check was for $40,000. We had hoped that the Congress would approve the full appropriation of $7,500,000, since Arkansas' share would have been approximately $160,000. However, we are grateful for the $40,000 amount. We know that many calls are made on you to support measures for the appropriation of Federal funds. I am writing this letter to tell you the great benefit that even $40,000 will be to the public library program in Arkansas.

For the past 6 years the appropriation from the Arkansas State Legislature for the Arkansas Library Commission has been $153,850. The highest amount we have ever received from State funds was the 1949–51 biennium when our appropriation was $199,000. This year through the determined efforts of the trustees of the Arkansas Library Commission, under the leadership of Mrs. Merlin M. Moore, chairman, the appropriation for the Arkansas Library Commission for the next biennium was raised from $153,850 to $196,000. We are rejoicing because of the vote of confidence given the State library program by the Arkansas Legislature. The staff and the trustees of the Arkansas Library Commission are ready with a good program of library service made possible through the increased State aid and the initial grants of Federal money. No public library in Arkansas has adequate financial support. Although 45 counties now have the local 1-mill tax, which is the legal limit in Arkansas for support of a library, the income in most cases is pitifully small. The receipt of the $40,000 at this particular time enables us to present a program to local libraries which will inspire our people to a better use as well as a better support of the local public library.

Federal money will be used to encourage the development of multicounty units in our State. A well qualified librarian can administer a program of library service for several counties with the assistance of local people qualified to work with direction from a head librarian.

The Arkansas Library Commission is spending one-half of the first grant for the purchase of new books to be used in the establishment of library service for rural people now lacking a local public library. Two bookmobiles have been purchased for use in demonstrating the value of library service. These bookmobiles have been ordered and should be delivered for use early in July. The first time you are at home we would like for you to inspect these bookmobiles and to visit the Arkansas Library Commission so that we may show you the new books and the new service which will be available because of your support of the Library Services Act.

I have been librarian at the Arkansas Library Commission since 1952. Each year we have found it increasingly difficult to operate this library in a creditable way on the appropriation of $153,850. Good books cost money. Qualified personnel sufficient in number to accomplish our goal also cost money. We are trying to build a foundation for the improvement of educational opportunity, especially for adults in our State, many of whom because of economic need left school before graduation. We feel that our greatest asset is the quality of our people. The librarians and trustees in the public libraries of Arkansas are a dedicated group of people. They have their finger on the pulse of our communities. Give them an adequate book collection, a means of transporting the books to isolated areas and we will see an improved way of living in Arkansas.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCES NEAL,
Executive Secretary and Librarian.

Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks Pays Tribute to the Late Honorable Bruce A. Campbell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, May 15, national leaders of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks gathered at Belleville, Ill., to pay tribute to the memory of one of its outstanding members and a past grand exalted ruler, the late Honorable Bruce A. Campbell.

Bruce A. Campbell was a national leader of the Elks for many years. He served as grand exalted ruled in 1918–19. After leaving the highest office that could be given to him by his associates in that great organization, he continued an active part in the many worthwhile programs of the Elks. He devoted much of his time on a voluntary basis to the good of the organization. He was particularly interested in the Elks magazine, and for a long time was one of the chief promoters of that publication.

Past grand exalted ruler, James R. Nicholson, in commenting on Bruce Campbell's interest in Elkdom stated that he was one of the most brilliant leaders that the order ever had, and with that appraisal I think every member of every lodge of Elks in the country will agree.

Bruce Campbell was my personal friend for a period of over 30 years. I have never known a finer man or a more valuable citizen not only in his home community but in his State and in his Nation.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I enclose herewith an article from the Belleville News-Democrat of Thursday, May 16, giving an account of the observance in Belleville, to which I have referred:

ELKDOM PAYS HIGH TRIBUTE TO CAMPBELL

High officials of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks yesterday afternoon paid tribute to the late Attorney Bruce A. Campbell in the dedication of a mausoleum at Mt. Hope Cemetery. Mr. Campbell's widow, now living in Phoenix, Ariz., unveiled the mausoleum after ceremonies conducted by Elk leaders and local ministers.

The monument was erected to perpetuate the good deeds of the one for whom it is directed," Dr. N. H. Feder, past grand trustee from Belleville, told those in attendance. "Today, as Bruce Campbell has dedicated to Elkdom, let us go down on record as dedicating Elkdom to him."

Mr. Campbell, a retired attorney who lived in Belleville until 1954, and who died September 29, 1955, at the age of 75, at Phoenix, Ariz., served as grand exalted ruler of the Elks in 1918–19.

"A diplomat of first rank," Joseph B. Kyle, past grand exalted ruler, said at the ceremonies of the former leader in the Democratic Party and director of several corporations. "He always accepted the challenge given him," Kyle said.

Tributes were rendered by Kyle, Feder, and Grand Exalted Ruler Fred L. Bohn. Msgr. F. A. Kaiser, pastor of St. Luke's Church, opened the program with the invocation and the Reverend Alfred F. Schroeder, pastor of Christ Evangelical and Reformed Church delivered the benediction.

Past Grand Exalted Ruler James R. Nicholson, present committee chairman of New York and general manager of the Elks' magazine, delivered the opening address. A million members make up the Elks membership and "Bruce Campbell was one of the most brilliant leaders that the order ever had," he said.

Among the Elks dignitaries in attendance were Past Grand Exalted Rulers John S. McClelland, of Atlanta, Ga.; and Earl E. James, of Oklahoma City. Lee A. Donaldson, Chicago, grand secretary, was also in attendance.

Irresponsibility in Handling the Lives of Our GI's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I am receiving vigorous protests from outstanding citizens, especially from members of the bar, with reference to the surrender of an American soldier to a Japanese court trial on a manslaughter charge. The facts appear in the clipping which I am including as a part of my remarks.

Without going into the facts other than appear in the clipping, I hope that this will cause the Government to take note of this, and not permit the slaughter of this boy by the Japanese authorities.

The article follows:

UNITED STATES TO PERMIT JAP TRIAL OF GI IN DUTY DEATH—CASE SETS PRECEDENT; WOMAN KILLED ON RANGE

TOKYO.—United States military authorities, in an unprecedented action, agreed Thursday to surrender an American soldier to a Japanese court trial on a manslaughter charge.

The charge is based on the accidental shooting of a Japanese woman on an American firing range.

She was killed by a blank mortar shell fired as a warning to Japanese civilians to leave the area.

Sp3c. William S. Girard, of Ottawa, Ill., fired the mortar.

The incident, which occurred on the Camp Weir range January 30, aroused intense feeling in Japan. Japanese authorities demanded that Girard be charged with manslaughter.

The decision to surrender Girard for civilian trial was made by Rear Adm. Miles H. Hubbard, second in command of operations and administration of the Far East Command.

He admitted that he was setting a precedent in permitting a United States serviceman to be tried in a civil court for his actions while on duty at a United States base.

One American officer who refused to be quoted by name said, "Girard won't have a chance with that Japanese jury."

A United States Embassy official, who said it would be worth my job to be quoted, said the American action stinks.

"We apparently consider the man expendable," he said.

Ambassador Douglas MacArthur II said he has been kept fully informed of the action but said he is in no position to approve or disapprove.

Many United States officers said the woman had no business on an American firing range. They said she and other civilians were stealing scrap metal and were aware of the danger.

Admiral Hubbard said the official military position still is that Girard was on duty and under orders when the woman was killed and therefore not subject to Japanese trial.

However, he said, after days of conferences with Japanese officials the military command decided to release Girard to the Japanese because of the interpretation of conditions of the agreement between the two countries.

The Issue Is Still Constitutional

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the Members of the House a splendid article written by Mr. Ross Valentine, which appeared in the Richmond Times-Dispatch early this week, entitled "The Issue Is Still Constitutional." This is a most pertinent article and deals with a subject which is of tremendous interest to all of us.

In the 3 years that have elapsed since the Supreme Court decision on school segregation there has been brought about a considerable change in the feelings of many people throughout the country, who are coming to realize the precarious position faced by our people as a result of this and other recent actions regarding the so-called civil rights question. To my mind, one of the most dangerous threats that has faced our people in many years is the pending civil rights bill which would destroy many of the liberties now enjoyed by our people. Mr. Valentine has, from the beginning, fully understood the dangers in this proposed legislation, and I feel that his comments here are certainly worthy of consideration.

I commend this article to the reading of the Members of the House.

The article follows:

THE ISSUE IS STILL CONSTITUTIONAL

Friday was the third anniversary of an event unique in the history of this country. Nine political appointees in black robes arrogated to themselves the right and power to rewrite the Constitution, specifically by deletion of article X of the Bill of Rights, which states that—

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Article X has been cited innumerable times during the past 3 years. I intend to do so as long as there are ribbons to be had for Underwood typewriters.

The language of that article is flawlessly clear. Interpretation is unnecessary; except, of course, for the Justices of the Supreme Court. Either they don't know what it means, or deliberately erased it from their minds. For their benefit, and the benefit of less august citizens I will elaborate the obvious.

The article means that any power not conferred on the Federal Government, and not specifically denied to governments of sovereign States, are consigned to the States, or may be wielded by the people themselves, i. e., by resorting to constitutionality prescribed amendatory procedure.

Surely it does not require a legally trained mind, or exceptional inellectual powers, to understand that.

Article X is the keystone which holds the arch of checks and balances in place. Knock out the keystone and you destroy the structure of American freedom.

Article X is explicit, definite, mandatory.

Under the Constitution it cannot be changed or deleted—except with the consent of the people of the several States.

I have studied the Warren school decision and pertinent analyses and comments by statesmen, politicians, constitutional lawyers, labor leaders, clergymen, and commentators. Pro or con, they all agree on one point: that the decision was based—not on the language of the Constitution—but on moral or ethical concepts. To use the precise language of Mr. Chief Justice Warren's revealing footnote, "And see generally Myrdal, the American Dilemma," Myrdal is a Marxist moralist.

Now, let us assume, that separate schools for Negroes and white children are, indeed, immoral; that the arrangement prevailing in Southern States, is based on bias and that bias is per se unethical and undemocratic.

Would that assumption make the High Court decision constitutional?

Would it alter the language of the Constitution?

Would that assumption alter the constitutional basis of our Government, based not on men's passions or opinion but on law?

To believe that it does would be to maintain (as Hitler and Stalin did) that the end always justifies the means. Once we subscribe to that immoral concept, we may as well bow the knee to the overlordship of Moscow.

When politically appointed judges, including men devoid of judicial experience, are permitted to set themselves up as moral arbiters, instead of guardians of written law, totalitarianism is just around the corner.

"Oh well," say the one-worlders and the integrationists, "he's hiding his racial prejudices under legalistic reasoning." Or, "he's pandering to the bias of the white majority." Both assumptions are false.

I sat down to dinner, some 30 years ago, with a Negro clergyman at the home of a Jersey gentleman, and felt it was my "unalienable right" to do so. If I chose to do so in Richmond that would be my business. Freedom to choose one's associates is an inseparable part of all freedom.

But no one is going to coerce me into involuntary acceptance of a patently unconstitutional court decision that would deprive the people of this or any other State of the right to run their own schools as they see fit.

Proponents of forcible integration profess to be fighting for "racial justice." But racial justice works both ways. It also means the right of people of any race to send their children to schools where they will be with their own.

What's immoral about that?

You Can Have Good Mail Service, If—

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, recently the people of our Nation have suddenly become interested in the operation of the Post Office Department, but many of the problems involved in the terrific task of handling about 60 billion pieces of mail a year are not generally known.

Recently, the U. S. News & World Report arranged an exclusive interview with Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield who has provided the readers of that publication with first-hand answers to many of the questions presently being discussed with respect to the Post Office Department. This interview appears in the current issue of U. S. News & World Report and I feel that it is sufficiently enlightening to be included at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Mr. SUMMERFIELD. Before I answer your questions, I wish to make some general observations. The spotlight of nationwide publicity has been focused on the Post Office Department recently to an unprecedented degree.

This interest grew out of the inadequacies of our budget, which led to a forced cutback in accustomed mail service over the weekend of April 13, 1957.

While we did not plan it this way, this emergency has probably been helpful for the Post Office Department.

Today many more citizens understand that their post office must have everybody's help if this Nation is to have the postal service our people deserve and expect.

The Post Office Department faces many serious problems.

Its buildings are out of date, overcrowded, poorly located.

It lacks modern equipment and is struggling to handle an ever-growing volume of mail by old-fashioned hand-labor methods.

It is charging 1932 prices for most services. Meanwhile its costs have more than doubled, just as household and business expenses have.

It loses more than half a billion dollars a year. It losses total total more than $5 billion since 1945.

No one in the present management of the Post Office Department is satisfied with the mail service. We know it is better than it was, but we also know it is not good enough. You can have good mail service if certain things are done.

We have plans well underway to attain our goal, which is the next-day delivery of a letter between any two cities in the United States.

In the meantime, the Department has two immediate objectives.

The first is to increase postage rates on first-, second-, and third-class mail so that the Department can operate on a more nearly break-even basis. Doing so would mean that the actual users of the mails would pay more of the costs which are now paid by the taxpayers.

And a half billion dollars of new revenue a year from more equitable postal rates would help balance the Federal budget and contribute to tax reductions.

The second objective is to accelerate a long-range—possibly 10-year—program to build and modernize post-office buildings and develop modern mechanical and electronic equipment to speed mail through post offices 30 to 50 percent faster than is now possible. Unless the buildings and equipment of the Post Office Department are modernized, we face a gradual deterioration and eventual breakdown of our postal service as the mail volume continues to increase.

Now, you've been hearing some misleading statements for a long time. These imply that the Post Office is a "great public-service organization" and as such has always lost a great deal of money, and that isn't any different from the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Defense, the Treasury or any of the other departments of the Government which are supported mainly by general tax funds. This is sheer propaganda disseminated by a few large mail users receiving subsidies.

The fact is that the Post Office Department, from 1900 to 1940, lost on an average only $33 million a year. During that period the Post Office Department absorbed in this $33-million figure the cost of franked mail for Members of the Congress, distribution of mail for other departments of the Government, and airline subsidies.

You will note on the chart [see page 66] that I omit the years from 1941 through 1945, the reason being that those were war years, and during periods of national emergency the Defense Department takes care of the cost of distribution of service mail, which throws the Post Office Department into the black—or did—on an average of $33 million a year during those particular years. So for accuracy's sake, we eliminate those 5 years.

From 1946 to 1956 the postal deficit jumped to an average of $445 million a year, and the total deficit in those years exceeded $5 billion, all of which became part of the national debt. On this, the Treasury is paying interest currently at the rate of about $125 million a year.

Most citizens are budget-conscious today, and rightfully so. Everyone knows that the Government has the largest budget in peacetime history. But so is our gross national product, and so are the demands which must be met by Government to assure the Nation's security.

It is vital to the Nation's welfare that budget cuts not be made in a haphazard manner or for partisan political purposes. As far as the Post Office Department is concerned, it is essential that any budget review be based on an understanding of the facts that differentiate this huge businesslike operation within Government from other branches of the executive department.

In 1952, the last year under my predecessor, Postmaster General Jesse Donaldson, the deficit in the Post Office Department was $720 million, an alltime high. [See photo-chart on page 67.] In 1953, we succeeded in reducing it to $625 million, and progressively to $222 million in 1956, and in 1957, which ends on this coming June 30, an estimated $211 million and an estimated $178 million in 1958.

This reduction, exceeding $500 million, was due to efficiencies and economies through management improvements, increased parcel-post and foreign mail rates, payment of postage by Congress and Government agencies, and transfer of airline subsidies from the Post Office Department to the Civil Aeronautics Board. These airline subsidies now can be scrutinized by the appropriations committees of the Congress—which they never had an opportunity to do before—because heretofore the Post Office had to pay as a subsidy the figure the Civil Aeronautics Board submitted to us, and we had nothing to say about it. They set the rates and the amount of the subsidy, and we, of course, had to pay it.

So when we asked to have this changed, we did it for two reasons: One, I wanted to have a clean budget in the Post Office Department. Second, I believe in the processes that we have developed through the years in this country where the appropriations committees should have a chance to review carefully all budgets, including airline subsidies.

AS DEFICIT WAS CUT, CONGRESS ADDED NEW EXPENSES

Meanwhile, as the basic postal deficit was being reduced, new expenses were being added, mostly by actions of the Congress. They added 25 millions in 1953 to our costs, 47 millions in 1954, another 105 millions in 1955, another 242 millions in 1956 and another 304 millions in 1957—and an estimated amount of $473 million in 1958.

This $473 million includes such items as these: Pay increases of $207 million; fringe benefits of $59 million; retirement-fund contributions, $132 million; increase in capital expenditures over 1952 of $47 million. Now this last was the only item over which the Post Office Department had any influence—for the replacement of worn-out equipment of one kind or another in the post offices throughout the country, and new equipment for new post offices. Finally, there was $28 million in rate increases for the railroads in 1953, making, as I say, a total of $473 million.

Furthermore, the estimated $651 million deficit in 1958 does not include pending rail-rate increases, further employee pay increases or fringe benefits, and the facilities-modernization program of the Department costing a minimum of $110 million per year for the next 5 years.

The meaning here is simple. If we had continued to operate under 1952 standards, we would today have a yearly postal deficit in excess of $1 billion.

So I feel that the administration has done its homework insofar as an effective effort is concerned to improve its efficiency and reduce the deficit of the Post Office Department during the past 4 years.

It is a rather common practice to complain about the number of people on the Federal payroll.

But let's see what has happened in the Post Office Department.

In 1949, there were 517,690 employees on the Post Office payroll.

In 1952, there were 523,757.

In 1955, there were 511,613, and in 1956 there were 508,587.

None of these figures includes the temporary employees we add at Christmastime. So again, in this area, we feel we have improved our efficiency. And we haven't done that by firing employees on a wholesale basis. The reductions are due to attrition, retirement, and deaths among our 500,000 employees.

The recent dilemma of the Post Office Department in requiring more money to continue accustomed mail service through the fourth quarter of this fiscal year was due primarily to the high rate of prosperity the Nation is enjoying, and to reasons beyond our control.

The Post Office Department needed an additional $47 million because the American people are now sending nearly three-fourths of a billion more pieces of mail this year than we estimated 18 months ago that they would; because we must pay the higher wages to postal employees voted by the Congress; and because 1.3 million more homes and 250,000 more business concerns needed delivery service. To have denied these American citizens regular mail service would have been unthinkable.

COULD NOT SPEND MONEY WE DID NOT HAVE

The need for extra money—supplemental appropirations, they are called—is common and often unavoidable in the Post Office Department. In the past 20 years additional funds were needed in all expect 3 years. During these 3 years, 1953, 1954, and 1955, the Eisenhower postal administration returned $235 million of unspent money to the Treasury out of funds appropriated to the Post Office Department by the Congress.

The need for this additional money to continue regular mail service the last quarter of this fiscal year was first made known to the Senate committee last July. Subsequently, the House committee was so advised, as indicated in the record of their January 15, 1957, hearings. The formal request for these needed funds was sent to them on March 12, 1957, by the Bureau of the Budget. They had ample knowledge and time to have prevented this curtailment of mail service.

In taking the step we had to take on April 13, the Department acted in accordance with established practices and the statutory provisions of the law in regard to supplementary appropriations.

To have continued without appropriations would have been in violation of the antideficiency law. As President Eisenhower emphasized in his April 17 press conference, we could not spend money we did not have.

The recent publicity about the Department has also focused the spotlight on another phase of our financial problem which most Americans did not understand—namely, that there is a very small percentage of postal expenditures over which the postal management has direct control.

For example, our budget for next year calls for expenditures of about $3.25 billion. Of this huge sum, 96 percent goes for pay of employees, transportation of mail, and occupancy of postal buildings. Postal salaries and fringe benefits are set by the Congress, the rates we pay to railroads and airlines for carrying mail are set by other governmental agencies, and the costs of utilities and communications are largely fixed by other regulatory bodies.

This leaves approximately 4 percent, about $140 million, of the total budget of $3.25 billion for items over which the Department can exercise any real discretionary control—and even that is limited.

TWENTY PERCENT MORE MAIL WITH FEWER EMPLOYEES

Some critics say we could save money by being more efficient and thereby using fewer employees. The answer is that we have been doing that, and the meat-ax approach does not lend itself to either efficiency or good employee morale. Efficiency in the postal service is built by day-to-day improvement at 38,000 places of business. Our record in this respect is a good one and can be wrapped up in 1 simple statistic: We are today handling 20 percent more mail than 6 years ago with fewer employees.

The same is true of transportation. We are today spending $50 million less, comparatively, for transportation per year than 4 years ago, despite the large increase in the volume of mail.

We are all very conscious, in the Post Office Department, of this fact: It's a Government monopoly, and as a monopoly we have to be particularly careful to recognize our responsibility to the postal patrons of this country, which number all of our 170 million fellow Americans. We have tried to do that. We also recognize this fact—which I called to the attention of the appropriations committees of Congress—that the Post Office Department is the one major department of the Government which can identify every service it renders to any individual.

When a person buys a stamp or a series of stamps for the mailing of a letter or a package or parcel, he is paying whatever price the Government of the United States through the Congress is charging for this service, and he has a perfect right to expect that service is going to be provided, because he is paying a specific charge for every service he receives.

Now, then, if we curtail after people have paid their money for that service, we commit a breach of trust. They have no other place to go to mail first-class letters; they have only the Post Office. So I say that, if they are not paying enough for the postal service which they receive—which is true, they are not—that is the responsibility of the Congress of the United States. It is not the fault of the American mail user. He is paying all that the law says he should pay.

You hear a great deal of conversation about the service that foreign countries provide their people and the rates they charge. But the emphasis is usually on service without reference to cost.

We have studied several countries in Europe and we have calculated the number of square miles in area they serve, also what they pay their experienced postmen on an annual basis, and what they charge for a domestic letter rate. I think these are very illuminating figures.

The average square miles served by these countries total 105,808. In the United States, your Post Office Department serves 3,022,387 square miles.

These countries pay their experienced postmen on an average $1,502 a year; whereas the United States Government pays it experienced postmen an average of $4,410 a year.

The average domestic letter rate charged by these same countries is 4.4 cents for a 1-ounce letter, as against 3 cents in America.

These other governments operate their post office either on a break-even basis or at a profit. Our neighbor, Canada, does it consistently on a profitable basis.

Now I'll be glad to answer questions.

Question. Is it true that foreign postal service is a good deal better than our service here?

Answer. It may be better in certain areas of Europe, but the conditions vary so much it's like trying to compare apples and oranges. By the way, I was interested in observing the other day a report that came out of a meeting of the postal unions in Europe—I don't mean employee organizations, but the union of post office departments of various countries—to the effect they are planning on reducing the number of deliveries a day. They have already done that in several instances, reflecting their increase in costs of labor over there. All of the countries in Western Europe are in that group.

POST OFFICE A UNIQUE BUSINESS

Question. Would you say that the Post Office Department is a unique business?

Answer. Certainly in this respect, we cannot set the prices for our goods and services.

Question. Who sets the prices?

Answer. Congress.

Question. Can you change them?

Answer. We can't change them on the first-class mail, airmail, second-class mail, and third-class mail. The Postmaster General does set the prices on fourth-class mail, which is parcel post, with the consent of the Interstate Commerce Commission. We are required under the law to operate the parcel post service on a break-even basis, and we have done so.

Question. You say you can't fix the price of the transportation of your mail by train or airplane? Who fixes that?

Answer. The Interstate Commerce Commission sets the rates paid to the railroads, and the Civil Aeronautics Board sets the rates to be paid to the airlines.

Question. So you are in a business where somebody else fixes the rates of what you have to pay, and somebody else fixes the rates of what you can charge for the service itself?

Answer. That is correct.

Question. Who fixes the pay of the employees of your Department? As a head of a business, can you fix the pay?

Answer. No. The Congress of the United States fixes it.

Question. Then your budget has to reflect any increases in pay voted by the Congress?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And then, when you go back to Congress to get enough money to pay for your freight, transportation, employees, and also to get your prices established, can they decide to make you run at a deficit if they want to?

Answer. They can and have.

Question. In other words, they fix your deficits, too?

Answer. They do.

Question. That's not very much like a private business, is it?

Answer. No, and it isn't a sound way to run a governmental agency, I might add. Other countries don't do it that way.

I feel that if the Members of Congress were familiar with all of the ramifications of the Post Office Department, the various items that affect its operation, they could more intelligently adjust the various items to reality.

Question. Your customers are the public. If your customers want service and you run out of service, what are you going to do?

Answer. We should take steps to prevent a recurrence of the April 13 episode, when we curtailed mail service on the week end.

Commonsense would seem to indicate that the Department should have a more flexible means of getting the money it needs to carry extra mail volume. Then, when we sell more stamps and have to provide more service, the extra revenue would be reflected automatically in our spending authority without any of the fuss and fury which arose last month. If estimated mail volume falls off, as it undoubtedly will from time to time, then the Department certainly should not spend as much money as it originally estimated.

Question. In a private business, if you run out of goods, don't you just tell a customer to come back in a couple of weeks?

Answer. That's right.

Question. But you can't say that?

Answer. No. We did that partially for 24 hours on April 13, and you know the reaction.

Question. Did the public react violently to it?

Answer. Violently by some, but many others seemed content not to get any mail on Saturday.

Question. What was the nature of the protest—did they blame the Post Office Department more than Congress?

Answer. Not when they understood. At first, they believed some of the statements that were made on the floor of the House and in statements to the press wherein some members of the Appropriations Committee were blaming the Postmaster General for a so-called arrogant attitude and so on—but when the facts were released to the press and over the air, the change was almost instantaneous.

Question. In most businesses, the head of the business can estimate the demand for his product and get enough supply to take care of the demand. What means do you have for estimating the demand for your product?

Answer. Well, we take the figures for the previous year, and years prior to that previous year, and we can pretty well judge the trends. We study the economic situation that exists in the country at the time—the volume of mail that's being used—and we come up with a reasonably accurate figure.

When you consider that we're talking about 60 billion pieces of mail a year, that we can come up with a figure within 1 billion of that, that's not too inaccurate.

Question. There must be a lot of money received from the sale of stamps. Does that go to the Department at all?

Answer. No; not a penny of it. It goes immediately to the Treasury of the United States.

CONGRESSIONAL APPROPRIATIONS ONLY SOURCE OF FUNDS

Question. And how do you get it out of the Treasury to use?

Answer. Only by appropriation of the Congress.

Question. If you had all the money from the sale of stamps as a revolving fund, would you run out of money?

Answer. It all depends upon whether or not other expenses have been added over and above what they were the year before—for instance, an increase by Congress in salaries and wages or fringe benefits. Sometimes those increase more rapidly than revenue increases from all classes of mail.

Question. By stamps, do you mean revenue from all classes of mail or service?

Answer. All revenues—registered mail, c. o. d., parcel post, airmail—all classes of mail.

Question. Is the cost of printing the stamps charged against you?

Answer. Oh, yes; we pay the Bureau of Engraving and Printing for those, at a price set by them.

Question. When your budget is made up, do you get any use of these receipts?

Answer. Oh, no.

Question. You have a deficit figure here of $545 million. Do you count receipts from stamps in that?

Answer. Yes, in order to determine the amount of the deficit, but that's entirely different. The revenues that come in go to the Treasury.

Question. Then, for operating purposes you don't have it, but it's credited on the books to your Department?

Answer. That's right.

Question. Have you restored all the cuts in service you made a few weeks ago?

Answer. Nearly so. However, we have restricted the Saturday deliveries in business areas to 1 a day, which is adequate, and in most cities of the United States to 2 deliveries a day in business areas on weekdays, with a few exceptions in the larger cities, which get 3 deliveries in business areas on weekdays.

Question. Do you think the American people expect their mail to be delivered the day afterward in towns and cities within a reasonable distance?

Answer. Yes—they either expect it or they want it.

Question. Are they getting it?

Answer. They're getting it in many, many instances, but in many they are not. We're not satisfied with the service. While we have improved it substantially, we are still unsatisfied.

There are two places in which we can improve the delivery of mail. One is to reduce the time it takes a letter to be processed from the time it arrives in the post office until the time it leaves, and the other is to reduce the time in transportation betwen cities. The reason we have so much difficulty—the real bottlenecks—are within post offices.

You must realize that the Government has appropriated no new funds by direct appropriation for the building of any new post offices since 1938. It is since 1938, up until the present time, that this country has had its greatest growth—its greatest expansion in all lines of business.

We're doing business in outmoded, outgrown post offices and we have not been provided the funds by the Congress to do the necessary research work to design modern pieces of equipment that could be used to reduce the demands for floor space per letter, or to reduce the time it takes to process a letter.

It has only been in the last 4 years, really, that any sums of any amount worth mentioning have been appropriated to the Department for the purpose of research. We have used those sums that have been provided us very effectively to date. I have several things I would like to point out to you that we have been able to do in that regard.

To improve mail service in the instances where the distances involved are not great—particularly in the large metropolitan areas—necessitates more efficient handling of the mail within the post offices. We haven't even the simplest fixed conveyors, so familiar to everyone who has been connected with industry, that have been available to private industry for many, many years. We have very, very few post offices in the country that have such equipment at all. We are still forced to use old hand-truck methods to push mail around the floor from one operation to another—all of which takes up floor space, wastes time and is inefficient and costly.

In the meantime, mail volume, as you know, has doubled over the last 20 years. So mechanization of the post offices is absolutely essential to an improvement in the mail service.

Question. Well, isn't there something that is lacking in the transportation? As an example: A special delivery letter of importance to us was put in the post box at 12:30 noon on Saturday and postmarked Princeton, N. J., at 5 p. m., left there in time to get to Trenton promptly by truck, but arrived in Washington at 4 a. m. on Monday and was delivered to us at 7:55 a. m.—36 hours to go 150 miles. We needed that letter on Sunday. That isn't usual, is it?

Answer. That was over the weekend?

Question. Yes. Is it because of Sunday and you don't have transportation?

Answer. Oh, we have transportation over weekends. Of course, we use a minimum force on Sunday within the post offices. We do take care of the incoming and outgoing mail. But, again, that probably is a result of some of the restrictions and some of the curtailment necessitated by this $6 million that the Congress did not appropriate to us out of the $47 million that we requested.

Question. It is much more costly to use the telephone or telegraph than a 3-cent stamp—

Answer. Too many people just fail to realize that the mail service in the United States is the most important system of communications that we have. I think that is one thing, maybe, that will come out of this recent difficulty we had with the Appropriations Committee of the Congress: The public has had its attention focused upon the Post Office and the importance of the service it renders.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF 3-CENT LETTERS

Question. How long ago did you put the 3-cent stamp into effect?

Answer. In 1932. There has been no increase since that time.

Question. How many times since then has the Post Office Department—in this and preceding administrations—recommended a rate higher than 3 cents and not gotten it?

Answer. We have recommended an increased first-class rate to the 83d, 84th, and 85th Congresses.

Question. What is the highest that was recommended—5 cents?

Answer. Yes, 5 cents is the most. We considered recommending or requesting 5 cents this time, and it was quite apparent after a survey was made of the Congress that they would not give serious consideration to 5 cents at this time.

Question. Do you need a 5-cent rate?

Answer. Yes, we should have 5 cents.

Question. So you had to come back to 4 cents. You haven't got that yet, have you?

Answer. No. The hearings have been concluded in the House Civil Service and Post Office Committee and they have reported a bill out.

Question. Are there any pressure groups fighting increased rates on first-class postage?

Answer. Yes, but the pressure groups are confined, principally, to a few of the larger magazine publishers and some third-class mailers of advertising matter. Some of these large users of second and third-class mail also resist an increase in the first-class.

I think the reasoning behind their actions is that, if the first-class rate increase is granted, the public would insist that second-class and third-class rate increases be also made. As far as the general public is concerned, the polls—and there have been many of them taken in the last 2 years—indicate very clearly that the general public wants the Post Office Department to pay its own way. The last poll that I saw, taken by one of the Congressmen, showed that 91 percent of the people would favor an increase in postage rates in order to put the Post Office Department on a pay-as-you-go basis.

Question. What is the principal argument made by the publishing industry against increasing mail rates, and what is your answer to it?

Answer. Oh, some large publishers say they just can't afford to pay any more postage than they are paying. On the other hand, some are very frank and completel candid about it, and say that they not only can but should.

Question. You're talking mainly about periodicals now?

Answer. Yes, I am speaking about some of the leading magazines in this country, who believe the rates should not be higher. Strangely enough, it's usually the smaller magazines who can least afford to pay an increase that recognize that statesmanship is a responsibility of people in business as well as of people in Government, and they are perfectly willing to pay for an increase. Their testimony before the various committees in Congress will clearly prove that.

COST IF MAIL GOES FREE

Question. What is your answer to the argument that the Post Office Department should be a service department and, therefore, should in large part be paid out of the

general taxes collected from industry and the public?

Answer. I'm very frank in my reply. If it is really true that the Post Office Department is strictly a service organization, then we shouldn't charge anything for mail service—let everybody use it at no cost at all, and pay for all the expenses out of the general fund. Mind you, I don't want to see that.

Question. What would it cost the public if you did that?

Answer. Three and a quarter billion dollars a year.

Question. Is it the general feeling in Congress that the Post Office Department should operate at a deficit—that is, as a service organization?

Answer. There is a feeling in the Congress that there probably are some items that should be considered public service and paid for by all taxpayers. For instance, free mail to the blind, certain below-cost rates to fraternal organizations and religious organizations. Again, in order to follow our policy of having a clean budget, we have requested the Congress to pass legislation which would provide for reimbursement to the Post Office Department for a sum of approximately $27 million a year, which covers the postal-rate discounts on these various public-service items.

You see, those who oppose postage-rate increases use those figures in a very exaggerated degree. They blow the figures up from $27 million to several hundred million.

Question. Does that also cover congressional-franking privileges?

Answer. No, that's already being taken care of. The Post Office Department is paid for carrying congressional and Government mail.

Question. Do you expect to get a 4-cent rate this year?

Answer. Yes; I'm very confident we'll get it.

Question. What about the airmail rate? Will that go up, too?

Answer. Yes; that will go up to 7 cents.

Question. When you break down that deficit—what's the deficit in each postage class?

Answer. It is approximately $270 million a year in second-class mail. It's approximately $230 million for third-class mail, and about $30 million for first-class mail. This is without providing a proper charge at all for the preferential service which first-class mail does receive over and above the other classes of mail. If service values are considered, we calculate that first-class mail loses $346 million a year.

Question. Would the 4-cent rate still leave a deficit in the first class?

Answer. We would just about break even on first-class. It now costs more than 4 cents for a 1-ounce, first-class letter.

HIGHER RATES, LESS MAIL

Question. Do you think if you raised the rates for mail you would have less of it?

Answer. Yes; I think one of the major factors that have resulted, for example, in the great increase in third-class mail the past several years has been a ridiculously low rate. It is just so cheap that people use it very carelessly. That's why some people call it "junk" mail. There was a time when people used third-class mail rather selectively. When third-class mail first came into being, it was charged 97 percent of its cost. Of course, it went down a great deal since 1932 in relation to the revenue received from it and what it costs to handle it.

I think a substantial increase in third-class mail is not only in order, but it is long past due, and I think it will have the effect of probably improving the caliber of third-class mail. The quality of it, I think, will be higher; I think it will be more readable to the public and more acceptable to them.

Question. Would there be as much?

Answer. I would think, naturally, it would reduce the quantity of it somewhat.

Question. We haven't talked about parcel post. Why should the Government carry parcel post? Why not leave that to the express companies to carry?

Answer. The express companies do not have the facilities to handle small packages. For instance, there are 70 percent of our post offices that cannot be reached directly by train connections. You see, there are a great many fewer passenger-carrying and mail-carrying trains in this country today than there were 20 years ago.

Question. If they receive enough volume, couldn't they use automobiles to deliver just as you do?

Answer. It seems that the more business the express companies have, the greater their losses seem to be.

Question. The Parcel Post Association recently issued a statement contending that you are paying a $100-million subsidy to the railroads and paying them more for carrying your parcel post than the railroads are charging the express company for handling express packages in the same cars. What is your answer to that?

Answer. Well, in the first instance, the railroads, of course, own the express company. If they care to give them a below-cost charge, I guess maybe that is their prerogative. At least, that's the policy they follow. So far as our paying the railroad as a subsidy, that is not true. The rates we pay are fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Question. If you could do your own negotiating with the railroads, do you think you could do a better job than, say, the Interstate Commerce Commission does?

Answer. In 1953, the railroads had requested from the Interstate Commerce Commission an increase of about 45 percent. We have the right, under the statute, to negotiate with the railroads—we exchange our figures and costs. We finally adjusted that with the consent of the Interstate Commerce Commission to a 10-percent increase.

Question. Have you encouraged the use of vending machines for the sale of stamps?

Answer. Yes; we have.

Question. What effect has the use of vending machines had on the increase in mail?

Answer. I dont know as to the increase in mail, but it reduces the clerk hire in post offices and is a great convenience to the public. We don't have to keep the stamp windows open as long hours today with the vending machines that we have.

Question. You have vending machines in the post office buildings too, haven't you?

Answer. Yes. Those are machines that we developed through our research. We only have a few hundred of them so far. We've had several models built and we've installed them in the post offices, and we are trying to perfect them.

Question. Are those in the drugstores yours, too?

Answer. No, those are privately owned.

PROFIT FROM MACHINES

Question. Do you encourage private companies to put out vending machines?

Answer. Surley.

Question. To save you the time for your clerks?

Answer. Yes, and it is more convenient for the patrons to buy stamps at more places.

Question. They make a profit on them?

Answer. Sure.

Question. Why can't you make that profit?

Answer. By law, the Post Office Department cannot charge more than face value for stamps.

Question. Do you have any control over how much they charge in those machines—such as 10 cents for three 3-cent stamps?

Answer. No.

Question. On that question of the operation of the profitmaking business versus the public service, is it your point that the Department should pay for itself in entirety—that there should be no public-service operations whatever? Where do you draw the line?

Answer. No, not necessarily. I think a reasonable amount should be set aside for public-service items that are actually identifiable as such. Aside from that we should operate on an approximate break-even basis. In fact, the statutes now require Government agencies to charge whatever it costs to provide a direct service for any identifiable person—in fact, all departments in the Government are supposed to operate on that basis, but we can't go beyond because of the action of the Congress itself.

Question. What is the lag between postage increases and pay increases for your employees?

Answer. There has been no rate increase in first-class mail since 1932. Since that time, there has been $1.3 billion of annual increases in salaries, wages, and fringe benefits to employees.

Question. Have you any scientific method of figuring out what the increases in the other classes of mail should be, other than the first class? First class is easy—you add a cent to the postage and make it 4 cents, but you have all kinds of percentages for the others. How do you arrive at your conclusions as to the equitability of those different percentages?

Answer. Let's take first class: Traditionally, the Post Office Department charged much more than the bare cost of handling first-class mail. In 1932, first-class mail paid about 30 percent more than the allocated costs. In so doing, the Congress recognized the principle that users should pay for the preferential service that first class receives over other classes of mail. However, that situation has changed because of the long delay in the increase in first-class mail rates, so now we are actually running in the red on first-class mail.

Question. First-class mail is costing you more, in other words?

Answer. That's right, the revenue has not kept pace with expenses, which have more than doubled since 1932. About 3 years ago we set up a committee of long-time skillful career people in the Post Office Department who know rate problems, and asked them to study and prepare a recommendation for a system which would provide some recognition in our costs for differences in service between the classes of mail.

In our cost-ascertainment report, we follow the formula which they developed. Under this formula, for example, instead of asking second-class mail to pay the loss of about $270 million that I previously mentioned, we calculate it should pay something around 100 million, after we had allowed for the difference in service factors.

Let me point out that what we are actually asking for in rate increases of 60 percent in second class will produce only around $33 million by the end of the fourth year.

The reason that we did not ask for a larger increase than 60 percent on second-class mail is very simple: The Congress, by its failure to increase the rates from time to time as costs have increased, has permitted publishers to set up their mail-distribution systems on a below-cost mail-service charge. You can't correct that—or you should not correct it, in my opinion—by one stroke of the pen, because you would create a hardship that would fall heavily upon the smaller publishers of the country.

I think Congress can correct this over a period of years in gradual steps rather than to do it at one time, because the effect would be too serious if done otherwise. That's why

we proposed four annual increases of 15 percent each.

We're very conscious of the fact that the power of Government should never be used to destroy any important segment of the economy of this Nation.

Question. You spoke of the improvements in service that have been made. What are the principal improvements that you feel have been made during your 4 years?

Answer. We are moving more than a billion 3-cent letters a year by air between important cities of this country. We're doing it for less money than we were previously paying the railroads, insofar as the net cost of the Department is concerned, and we are delivering them up to 48 hours faster.

We have introduced certified mail, which is a cheaper service than registered mail.

Mailers can now put a first-class letter in a package by paying the additional postage for the letter.

We have installed modern mobile equipment—you may have noticed some of the new mail trucks that we are using today which are lightweight, three-quarter-ton trucks as against two-and-a-half-ton trucks that were used by our predecessors through the years—at a great reduction in the cost. They move more rapidly and cost far less originally and are cheaper to operate.

We have mobilized letter carriers in a number of areas in the country with equipment which we ourselves have designed, and, incidentally, we are very proud of some of these new mail trucks that we have developed because they have now become standard production in the automobile plants of this country.

And there are many more things in mechanization of post offices that will move mail faster.

Question. What is the story of the trouble you had recently in getting a supplemental appropriation to continue accustomed mail service the balance of this fiscal year?

Answer. The facts speak for themselves. I first advised the Appropriations Committees in July of 1956 of the need for a supplemental appropriation for 1957—it was quite apparent at that time that we would need more money to handle the increased volume of mail.

We informed the chairman of the Senate subcommittee—the Deputy Postmaster General informed him and the ranking member of that committee in July 1956—of the need of a supplemental in 1957 of approximately $53 million. They said it was too late—it was too close to the time the Congress adjourned. So we next notified the Appropriations Committee of the House on January 15, 1957, and I will quote from the record:

"Mr. J. VAUGHAN GARY (chairman of the subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations): What additional supplemental appropriation will you request for 1957?

"Mr. Maurice H. Stans (the Deputy Postmaster General, who was then testifying): We're asking the Bureau of the Budget to clear, so that we can present it to this committee, a request for $53 million."

That included the $47 million that we finally requested officially. That was last January.

Now it is true that the official notification did not come from the Bureau of the Budget until, I believe, March 12, which still gave ample time for the full Appropriations Committee to meet and to report out a bill in order to give the Congress a chance to act.

I approached the subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee with a very realistic appraisal of the whole situation, emphasizing its seriousness. I said to them, "Gentlemen, if you insist on denying us this supplemental, for reasons which I cannot imagine, do you realize what curtailment of the service that means, because that is approximately a 40-percent cut in the expenses over which we have any control? It means that curtailment of service will be very serious; it will seriously affect the economy and the welfare of the people of this country."

I have here with me the communications that I had with Mr. J. VAUGHAN GARY on April 3, and on April 4 to Congressman CLARENCE CANNON, the chairman of the full committee.

Question. Have these been published?

Answer. They have not. I also have another letter to Congressman CANNON on April 9.

BEHIND THE WEEKEND CUT

Question. What do they show?

Answer. I will read one to you. This went to the Honorable CLARENCE CANNON, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, under date of April 4:

"With total reluctance, we are laying plans for curtailment of postal services to meet the cut imposed yesterday by the Appropriations Subcommittee on a requested supplemental appropriation for fiscal 1957.

"We believe the seriousness of these required curtailments warrants consideration by the entire Congress at the earliest possible date as to the advisability of this course.

"To that end I would appreciate it if you would expedite urgently the action and report of the Appropriations Committee to the House, so that, if further funds are voted, they will be available before too much damage is done to the service."

If you have heard some comments about the Postmaster General being arrogant, demanding, and all that sort of thing, I submit to you that this language is far from demanding.

I had asked Chairman J. VAUGHAN GARY, of the subcommittee, on April 3 if he would not call an urgent meeting of the subcommittee to consider action on this important matter, and on April 9 I sent this letter to Mr. CANNON:

"DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Through the medium of a special issue of the Postal Bulletin, copy of which is enclosed, orders have gone to all our post offices to curtail services in order to meet the situation caused by lack of funds during the current fourth quarter of this fiscal year. These orders are effective at specified dates, beginning Saturday, April 13.

"I am most sincere in saying to you that I hope the Congress can take action on our supplemental appropriation before these service curtailments become effective.

"If the full money we actually need is voted to us, it would prevent a great disservice to the people of the United States. Anything you can do to move up action by the House Appropriations Committee would be very helpful in ending present confusion and avoiding unnecessary damage to the postal service and the morale of its employees, and would have my sincere appreciation.

"Would you not be willing to hold a meeting of your committee early in the week so that Congress can act promptly and definitely, and we can advise postmasters as to the extent to which these orders may be withdrawn?"

Question. Did he act on that?

Answer. No. The only information I received from him was this letter on April 5:

"The Committee on Appropriations today adopted the following resolution: *Resolved*, That the chairman be directed to announce to the Postmaster General and the press that an additional appropriation of $17 million be approved for postal operations, and that on April 12 of this committee will consider the matter of any further appropriations up to the total of $47 million."

That prompted my other letters I have just read to you.

Question. Is there any explanation of why they postponed action?

Answer. You have heard the comments made on the floor of the House.

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE?

Question. But it still doesn't explain why the public lost this weekend of mail service. The responsibility for that isn't clear——

Answer. Oh, yes; it it is very clear. The responsibility was solely upon the chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, who failed to call his full committee into session to vote out a bill which could have immediately gone to the floor and had action on the part of the whole Congress.

Question. On the flexibility in cutting your budget, you have said that 96 percent of your expenditures go for the pay of employees, transportation of mail, occupancy of postal buildings, and that only 4 percent, or $140 million leaves you with any discretionary control. What sort of discretionary control do you have over the $140 million? What do you use that for?

Answer. You are correct. Approximately 4 percent, about $140 million of the total budget of $3.25 billion, is for items over which the Department can exercise any real discretionary control, and even that is limited.

Question. Is that for stamps and trucks, etc.?

Answer. This is the money we use to print stamps, buy trucks and pens and the hundreds of other items needed in the operation of 38,000 post offices, and to provide research in better ways to handle mail. Certainly none of these items can or should be cut to any sizable degree. Some equipment purchases can be postponed, but that doesn't save money in the long run.

Well, we are now curtailing the purchase of supplies and materials and living out of inventory—that is one item, though it is nothing more than a deferment of costs. We have done that in lieu of curtailing the service. We delayed the payments for new uniforms to employees—excepting those that were contracted for and were to be paid for during the month of April, until the first of July. Again, it's a further deferment.

To save $6 million in the weeks that we have left in this fiscal year, it just isn't in the cards.

Question. In your budget of $3.25 billion, if you are spending 96 percent for pay and transportation and the occupancy of postal buildings; if you are paying that much, that leaves you with only 4 percent for your stamps and trucks and other operations of the post offices. Where can you make any cuts in your operation?

Answer. Just by curtailing services, or the delay of purchases of necessary equipment and supplies.

Question. You have said that the Post Office is handling 20 percent more mail than 6 years ago with fewer employees.

Answer. That's right, and less than a 2 percent comparable increase in cost.

Question. Do you have some pretty clear indications of what the Post Office Department could do in the way of mechanized equipment and new developments if you had the money?

Answer. Yes. We just dedicated the first mechanical letter-sorting machine in the postal service in Silver Spring, Md. I'd just like to outline some of the other items:

We have been working hard to correct the deplorable old-fashioned mail-handling methods of the Post Office. With limited funds we have been working to develop mechanical and electronic machines and equipment, better use of floor space and more efficient buildings. We have made real progress, and we are on the threshold of a number of major developments.

FOUR MILLIONS TO RESEARCH

This year we will spend $4 million for research. While this is small for an operation

of our size, it is 10 times the research program of 1952.

Now, right at that point, I want you to know that, when we came in in 1953, we had to set up a research department. We had to seek out skilled engineers and scientists around the country and bring them into Washington. You know the competition there is for men in that particular category in the country.

We are working with the Bureau of Standards and 11 outstanding engineering firms and research firms in developing mechanical and electronic equipment to move mail in and out of big-city post offices more rapidly. This, in the simplest terms, is our bottleneck, and we can lick it within the foreseeable future if the Congress will appropriate the money to buy the equipment and to modernize our buildings so that mail can be speeded through the offices in 30 to 50 percent less time than is now possible.

Now, here are some of the developments: In Baltimore we are operating the first mechanical parcel-post sorting machine with electronic memory system—the first one. We are soon going to test two competing systems in other offices.

In Detroit—this is an installation I personally inspected 2 weeks ago—we have installed a conveyor system to move letter mail through its handling and distributing operations. It is a beautiful piece of equipment, and it is a pleasure to look at. The employees are happy, it is speedy, and it will pay for itself within 24 months.

Question. Is it a sort of conveyor-line process?

Answer. Yes.

Other installations are underway: In the new Silver Spring, Md., mechanical letter-sorting machine—without touching the letters, but by pressing buttons—a clerk distributes more than 300 different sortations.

Question. Does that sort them to different destinations?

Answer. Yes; 300 combinations. In Chicago we have under installation our first power-and-free overhead conveyor system to move mail from receiving platforms to temporary storage, to work areas and out to shipping platforms.

You see, the question of space in these big metropolitan centers is terribly serious. Chicago and New York are badly congested, and Detroit and Los Angeles as well.

We will bring in the mail in this Chicago installation and put it on an overhead conveyor system, by turning the bags upside down and hooking them on, and they will go to the areas where they are wanted as they are called for. Then they go over the tables—merely open the bag and the mail falls out. But the floor space you save.

I would dare say in the New York post office that 20 percent of the usable floor space is used up by nothing but trucks that people have to push around from one place to another. There just isn't any rhyme or reason to it.

NEED FOR MECHANIZATION

Even the simplest forms of mechanization that I am familiar with personally from my experience in industry for the past 30 years, which are so obviously needed and so inexpensive to buy, have not been available to the Post Office Department.

Question. Why is that? Wouldn't Congress give you the money?

Answer. Congress did not provide the money, although in one year in the previous administration the Appropriations Committee did insist that a certain amount of money be used for research—they did it themselves—which indicates to me that there wasn't a realization of the necessity of that sort of work being done by some of my predecessors. But to me it's kind of an old story, and I've seen so much of it all my life and I am interested in this kind of program.

Question. You've started a number of ambitious programs: this mechanization thing you're referring to, the lease-purchase program which apparently had to be shelved, the rural consolidation program which you haven't been able to push through because of opposition—aren't all of those things dependent in the last analysis on your ability to live with Congress and sell them these ideas?

Answer. To a considerable degree, yes. That's true. Let's take these point by point.

Let's take the lease-purchase program. We had two leasing methods that we requested the Congress to provide. They so hamstrung the lease-purchase program by regulations and referrals back to committees for approval and whatnot that, together with higher interest rates, it became inoperative.

However, we also received from Congress the authority to enter into a direct-leasing program, where we would go out and option a piece of property for the Post Office Department by an assignable option. We would then design a building for that property, and then we would ask for public bids on the acquisition of the property and the erection of the building to our specifications. That is the device that we have used so effectively. We have built approximately 1,600 new post offices—true, most of them have been small ones—throughout the country under the direct-leasing program. It has been wonderfully effective.

Question. But how many under the lease-purchase program?

Answer. One has been awarded and is under construction at Saint Marys, Ohio, and two others have been awarded.

Question. Under the direct-leasing program, the Government never actually becomes the owner of that building as it would under the lease-purchase?

Answer. No, it doesn't, but we've been able to get very attractive rentals because we've been able to convince prospective landlords of the desirability of having Uncle Sam as a tenant, and consequently we have been able to make very attractive term leases, which in some cases are as long as 30 years for properties built to our own design and specifications.

Question. But that direct-leasing program is an ancient program, going way back——

Answer. Not on the basis we have it today, no. It was a very restricted procedure before. We've eliminated a lot of the things that were undesirable in the previous leasing arrangements.

For instance, now we study an area, we determine the need for a building, the type of the building, the size and location, and quietly option the most desirable piece without any publicity, so we don't run into competition and inflated prices. The rentals we're paying, incidentally, per square foot compare very favorably to the rentals we were paying for the outmoded, old-fashioned buildings that we were occupying. It has been an amazing experience, really.

Question. What has been the impact of the change in American life from cities to suburbs on the mail service?

Answer. Oh, yes. That's one of the reasons for our increase in costs; that's one of the reasons we had to install 4,000 new carrier delivery routes every year. We have thousands of extensions of city and rural routes to take care of these changes in the character of neighborhoods. As you know, there's any number of building projects even around Washington where there are 100, 200, or 300 new homes built in a group. Those people all want their mail and we have provided them with mail service—all across the country.

Question. Are there collecting centers as well as distributing?

Answer. That's right.

PLANNING AHEAD

Question. It makes your rural operations much more expensive, doesn't it—much less rewarding?

Answer. Well, you see, there's not a single activity of the Post Office that stayed dormant during this 4 years. We've anticipated these changes and recognized what we should do about them, and the proof of how effective we have been is those figures I showed you there—the decrease in the amount of the deficit, the operating deficit of the Post Office Department over the last 4 years. We're giving better service at less cost.

Question. What about your efforts to close a lot of the small post offices for the sake of economy? Are you being hamstrung in that by local communities and by Members of Congress?

Answer. There were 41,000 post offices when we came in, and now there are something less than 38,000. We have been successful to that degree.

In no instance do we close a small post office without providing the patrons of that post office with equal or better service than before, by the substitution of rural routes. Mail now comes to their box in front of their home rather than to a small post office miles away where they have to go to get it.

What happens is that, when these people in the neighborhood find that their little post office is going to be closed, they do not want to lose the identification of their particular community, and they sometimes become rather emotional about it. Even though it costs the Government several thousands of dollars a year to maintain it with poor service, they get up petitions, and quite often those petitions are initiated by someone in the post office who doesn't want to lose a job, and they converge on their Congressman. It is difficult, but we have been successful in this gradual process.

Question. Does the Congressman put pressure on the Post Office Department not to close the office?

Answer. Well, he asks us to resurvey the matter and see if we can really justify it, and, if we can, we usually are able to convince the Congressman, but it takes time to do those things.

Question. Don't many of your employees work short hours, comparatively, at fairly good pay, and, over all, don't they have probably some of the best jobs in Government?

Answer. We think they are. We think that the Post Office Department not only provides an opportunity for a career, but it also provides an opportunity for substantial income and security.

MILLIONS SAVE STAMPS

Question. Is the sale of commemorative stamps increasing?

Answer. Oh, yes. The last estimate I saw indicated there were about 12 million stamp collectors in this country. Philately is becoming more and more popular, and I think it is a splendid cultural hobby. The Department makes money on a commemorative stamp because many of them are not actually used for mail service.

Question. Are you planning to leave the Cabinet?

Answer. I have no plans to do so, and I am quite confident the President has no plans for me to leave in the foreseeable future. I can only point out to you that the objectives of the Eisenhower administration for better mail service at less cost to the taxpayers have not yet been fully realized. My job is not finished.

Question. As the Nation grows, the mail grows; is that it?

Answer. It's bound to—as long as boys and girls are falling in love, getting married and having babies, you are going to have more mail.

Question. In the March 3, 1950, issue of U. S. News & World Report we had an inter-

view with Postmaster General Donaldson of the Truman administration, and we asked him if "the problem of the postal deficit can be licked in due time in this country." He replied:

"Yes, I think it can. The Post Office Department is probably facing its worst financial problem in the history of the postal service. But that's not due to the fault of any of the people in the postal service. It's like any other business—the costs have mounted over which we have little or no control, and nothing has been done to increase the revenues in the Department while much has been done to increase the costs, in the way of legislation and orders of regulatory bodies that fix the charges for transportation of the mails."

What do you think of this answer?

Answer. Well, history repeats itself. That's exactly my view today.

Trinity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, earlier in the month, the Santa Rosa Press-Democrats, of Santa Rosa, Calif., ran a series of editorials on budget cutting, high taxes, and socialism. The newspaper invited its readers to write to me and to both of California's distinguished Senators protesting "the unnecessary high cost of being governed by your own public servants."

I have received many suggestions from my constituents for ways to economize in Federal spending. Many of the good people of my district singled out the Trinity project as a good example of were to begin. There seemed to be considerable agreement that, as one letter said, "If you favor budget reduction, then you favor Trinity partnership."

The Trinity partnership offer by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. is to build and operate the power facilities of the Trinity River project while the Federal Government is developing the irrigation and reclamation features. The Secretary of the Interior has approved partnership participation because it will result in an ultimate saving of over a third of a billion dollars to the American taxpayers.

The immediate saving will be $56 million in construction costs if this Congress approves the Trinity Joint Development Act of 1957—my bill, H. R. 6997. In addition, over a quarter of a billion dollars in savings will come from future net profits to the Government for lease of its falling water to P. G. & E. and from tax payments.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include at this point the May 6, 1957, editorial from the Santa Rosa Press-Democrat entitled "The National Budget Can, Must, Be Reduced":

THE NATIONAL BUDGET CAN, MUST, BE REDUCED

You've been seeing a lot in the newspapers lately about the budget for running the Federal Government; and about when taxes will be reduced, if ever.

Reading what the various experts have to say is a fine way to get confused. One expert says Uncle Sam could reduce expenses by $5 billion a year without feeling any pain. Another says Congress can and will cut $3 billion. Still another puts the figure at $1 billion.

President Eisenhower says it should not be cut at all.

It can be cut, it should be cut—and if you write to Congressman HUBERT B. SCUDDER and Senators WILLIAM KNOWLAND and THOMAS KUCHEL—just their titles in front of their names on the envelope and Washington, D. C., as an address will get your letter delivered—the men you elected to represent you will know you're sick and tired of the unnecessary high cost of being governed by your own public servants.

You can read what the experts have to say from now until Christmas, but you already know that you are being overtaxed, and your own commonsense tells you that Government spending can be sharply reduced.

If you work an 8-hour day, your earnings for 2½ of those hours go just to pay taxes.

In Santa Rosa there are 1,300 people who work in factories—and 1,700 who are on the payrolls of 1 unit of government or another at local, county, State, or Federal levels.

How do you like that? There are 400 more people whose salaries are paid by your taxes than there are people working at producing new wealth by manufacturing processes. And Santa Rosa is a very minor place when it comes to having public payrolls.

Not only does this country have too many taxeaters performing nonessential services at too high a cost to you but the process is hustling us down the road toward state socialism much faster than you may suspect.

This socialism business probably sounds like a false alarm. It is no such thing. You can figure it out for yourself. Tomorrow we'll devote this space to how high taxes breed socialist governments.

Do We Have an Immigration Policy in Concert With the Demands of Our Time?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, earlier today I spoke before the Westmoreland County Bar Association, at Greensburg, Pa., on the subject Do We Have an Immigration Policy in Concert With the Demands of Our Time?

Members of Congress are aware that President Eisenhower as well as Members of Congress have made a number of proposals relating to our immigration laws. I have made a careful study of all these proposals and have talked with a considerable number of our colleagues about them. This led me to make a proposal which I outlined for the first time in my talk before the Westmoreland County Bar Association. Because of the importance of this issue, I urge Members of this House to read my remarks and study the proposal which I have made. Under leave granted, I insert my address delivered to the Westmoreland County Bar Association:

DO WE HAVE AN IMMIGRATION POLICY IN CONCERT WITH THE DEMANDS OF OUR TIME?

(Address of Hon. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, United States Representative, 20th Ohio District, before the Westmoreland County (Pa.) Bar Association luncheon at Greensburg, Pa., on Friday, May 24, 1957)

For the greater part of our history we have encouraged immigration into our country. During colonial days the attractive opportunities offered by the new world caused many European rulers to impose regulations in order to prevent people from emigrating to our shores. The American colonists resented the restrictions imposed on emigration to the New World by the European monarchs because our Declaration of Independence, in the list of indictments against the King of Great Britain, lists among the injuries and usurpations that "he has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither * * *."

Despite efforts made by the European monarchs to prevent the population of the original colonies and later the United States, the opportunities of the free world were so appealing that immigrants flowed into the United States at such a rate that by 1820 the population had jumped to about 10 million people from a population of 4 million in 1790. Congress then concerned itself with the conditions of travel confronting prospective immigrants as they faced the long journey to the promised land. There were many disturbing reports in Europe and here at home of the appalling conditions in which immigrants were carried across the Atlantic Ocean. Descriptions of the horrors of steerage space prompted Congress to enact a series of laws limiting the number of passengers on each vessel, forcing the shipping lines to provide sufficient water and food for the journey and to keep complete lists of all passengers on board including such data as age, sex, occupation, country of which they were citizens, and the place of their destination. From this it should be clear that Congress in the year 1820 took steps to encourage full-scale immigration to the United States.

In 1863 Congress enacted the Homestead Act which permitted aliens who had filed their declaration of intention to become citizens to then acquire homesteads. This was another specific measure enacted by Congress to encourage immigration from Europe to our shores.

Congress also passed the Chinese Exclusion Act known as the Coolie Act. Discovery of Gold in California brought large numbers of Chinese to that State, which apparently caused great concern that our West Coast would soon be overrun by unlimited numbers of Chinese. This Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943.

These developments in large measure account for our growth as a sparsely settled country of 4 million people in 1790 to a great world power of more than 170 million people today.

There have also been sporadic efforts in Congress since 1798 to restrict and otherwise regulate immigration into the United States. The alien and sedition laws of 1798 were the first. Those laws required 14 years of residence as a requisite to citizenship rather than the 5 years residence required today. The President was authorized by these laws to expel forthwith "dangerous aliens" and to imprison those who resisted expulsion. Since the alien and sedition laws were first enacted for a 2-year period, they lapsed by default because Congress would not re-enact them.

Other exclusion laws were then enacted refusing admission to prostitutes and procurers. Shortly thereafter laws excluding men-

tally deficient persons, stowaways, chronic alcoholics, and vagrants were enacted.

It was not until 1921 that we began to limit the number of immigrants to be admitted each year. The first quota statute was signed into law by President Warren G. Harding on May 19, 1921. Under that law the number of immigrants permited to enter the United States was fixed at 357,803 annually, that figure being based on the number of foreign-born persons who lived in the United States, according to the census of 1910.

The second quota law was enacted in 1924 and contained a feature which has become known as the national origins formula. Under the law of 1924, 154,657 immigrants are admitted each year. This formula provides that the annual quota for each country is one-sixth of 1 percent of the number of inhabitants in the continental United States as determined by the census of 1920, whose ancestry has been traced to the country for which a quota was determined. Some countries were assigned no quota whatever. All orientals were excluded.

That same quota system arrived at in 1924 remains as the cornerstone or control factor governing our entire immigration system today. Some minor alterations have been made in it, such as assigning a minimum of 100 quota to countries of the world which hitherto had no quota whatever. No basic changes have been made which would reflect an alteration in the 1924 policy.

Our nonquota intake of immigrants is not based solely on geographical factors.

In addition to nations of independent countries of the Western Hemisphere, we admit under the present law, outside of the quota, all wives, husbands, and minor unmarried children of United States citizens, regardless of their place of birth. Here the numbers are by no means alarming, but it may be worth mentioning that the number of nonquota immigrants admitted from such countries as Greece, Italy, Spain, Holland, and a few others, runs about equal to the number of quota immigrants admitted from those countries. All these countries have relatively small quotas.

It is also interesting to note that the first law excluding subversives from admission into the United States was passed by Congress in 1903. A subversive was then defined as an "anarchist," but this same statute excluded "persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the United States Government." A review of the background of that particular piece of legislation indicates the clear intent of Congress to protect our country from the influx of ideologies and political tactics originating in the atmosphere of historic Russian despotism. It is against this background that I would like to discuss briefly with you our present immigration policy and its relation to the realities of the world in which we live.

The national origins formula creates a situation in which a large number of quota numbers are authorized for countries which do not need them because the record shows they do not utilize them. Specifically, I refer to Great Britain and Ireland. On the other hand, the national origins formula provides very small quotas for countries which today are seeking settlement opportunities for a portion of their population as a necessary step to attaining economic stability, and maintaining an equilibrium in Government. I refer specifically to such countries as Italy, Greece, and the Netherlands. There is a third category of countries whose tragic situation warrants special mention. I refer to those countries under Communist occupation such as Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, among others. Natives of those countries who have been forced to find religious or political asylum in the free world look to us as the traditional haven for the oppressed and the unwanted. There is little we can do under our regular immigration laws to help these victims of totalitarianism because the already small quotas assigned to them under the national origins system has been mortgaged by 50 percent for as many as 100 years in some instances.

The most glaring inadequacy of our national origins formula is that it requires the application of a hard, fixed, and unrealistic mathematical formula to a world situation in which our concern for the human factors must be foremost.

As a consequence, we wind up each year in the position of having on the one hand a very large number of quota numbers left over from countries that neither need nor want them and on the other hand a very long line of applicants for admission who are natives of countries whose sons and daughters played an important role in shaping the destiny of our great country in past generations.

The best examples I can cite to demonstrate just how impractical the national-origins formula is in terms of our political responsibilities in this upset world are the following:

In 1947 President Truman appealed to Congress for emergency legislation to admit a reasonable number of displaced persons into the United States. In his message to Congress urging action he noted our regular immigration laws made it impossible for us to cooperate with other free nations in bringing about a solution to a grave postwar problem. There were 1½ million persons from Central and Eastern Europe residing in Germany, Austria, and Italy who refused to return to their homelands for fear of loss of their lives or liberties at the hands of the Communist regimes then in control of their homelands. After extensive public hearings, controversy and prolonged debate, Congress enacted emergency legislation in 1948 to admit 205,000 displaced persons. That law was amended in 1950 because the original number of admissions authorized was insufficient to cover our fair share toward resolving the displaced persons problem. The authority for admission was raised to 401,000 persons.

In 1953, President Eisenhower, during his first year in office, sent Congress a message asking for emergency legislation to help resolve the problems of overpopulation in Europe and to provide haven for a reasonable number of the many new victims of Communist tyranny who were daily escaping into free Europe and Asia. Among the arguments advanced by President Eisenhower in support of this proposal was that unless Western Europe found some solution for its problem of overpopulation, there could be little hope for the economic stability envisioned by our foreign-aid program which, by that time, had cost the American taxpayer more than $26 billion.

Congress again passed another emergency immigration bill authorizing the admission of some 207,000 special immigrants over a 3-year period.

Even before the expiration of President Eisenhower's emergency immigration program, our country was faced with still another major immigration crisis. The Hungarian freedom revolution of last October and the ruthless Russian suppression of that gallant try for freedom produced a new category of refugees. In the month of November and December 1956, well over 100,000 Hungarians had found it necessary to flee from their homeland after the Russians reinvaded, killing some 60,000 Hungarians and then putting another alien regime in charge of their affairs. That freedom revolution caught the free world by surprise, because so many of the leaders had been misled into believing that total revolution against the Russian tyrants was impossible.

When the free Western Powers failed to take any practical action in support of the Hungarian freedom fighters, the conscience of the American people demanded that immediate asylum should be given to some of the latest victims of Russian tyranny and reprisal. The result was that President Eisenhower directed the admission of 21,500 Hungarian refugees in Austria on a parole status, with the understanding that this arrangement would continue until Congress took action one way or another on his decision. The President's authority to direct such action under existing law has been subject to question. As of May 20, 1957, the number of Hungarian refugees admitted to the United States was 32,295, of which 6,284 came under immigrant visas issued pursuant to the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, as amended, and 26,011, came under the parole operation. Nevertheless, the fact remains that unless the President took the action he did, it would not have been possible for the United States, the historic haven for the oppressed and unwanted, to do much of anything to help the Hungarian refugees in Austria. This helplessness would have been demonstrated at a time when most of the small but free nations of the world were opening their doors wide to the Hungarian patriots.

I hesitate to think about the position we will be in should the East Germans or the Poles or the people of some other oppressed nation behind the Iron Curtain erupt into total revolution against the Russian Communists. Should this happen, we will undoubtedly be faced again with a tremendous refugee problem caused by the brutal methods used by the Russians in suppressing such freedom revolutions. I would like to think that future revolutions against communism would not result in a large influx of political refugees into the free world, but I am afraid the absence of a dynamic foreign policy toward the captive nations forbids my entertaining that happy thought.

You might be interested in an observation I made in a speech on the floor of the House on February 8 last year on the occasion when Congress received President Eisenhower's latest message on immigration policy. In commenting on the need for a more elastic policy than now exists, I said, and I quote: "The likelihood exists that so long as the conspiracy of communism exists in this world and continues its inhumanities and tyrannies against people, we will continue to have refugees who plead with us for religious and political asylum." The Hungarian revolution which followed in October of last year underscores the importance of our facing up to that cold reality because the very same situation applies today as applied on February 8, 1956 when I first made the statement. Moreover, the circumstances that compelled me to make that statement have not changed in the least.

To sum up, I consider that our present immigration policy as reflected by the controlling laws is outdated, inadequate, and certain to cause us not only embarrassment, but the loss of respect and friendship of millions of people who look to us as the defenders of human freedom and the hope of a better world of tomorrow. The national origins formula applies to conditions prevalent in 1921 and 1922. It has no practical relationship to the political demands of the modern day. Events of the past 12 years leave no doubt that we must effect major changes in our basic immigration laws so that we may have an immigration policy to support our best national interests.

There is so much emotion and lack of knowledge surrounding our immigration laws that any effort to bring about sudden and drastic change in them will be met by a number of very serious obstacles. It seems to me therefore, if any real change is to be effected in these laws it must come gradually. Accordingly, I have worked out a proposal which does not abruptly discard the national origins formula, but does open the

way for the demonstration of what may be a better system of allocating quota numbers than the national origins formula.

It is estimated that each year there are some 65,000 authorized but unused quota numbers. I propose that the unused quota numbers for the past 3 years be reauthorized for use for a period of 3 years. These unused quota numbers would then be allocated semiannually with the following criteria to serve as guideposts in making specific allocations:

1. The desirability of bringing into the United States annually a number of persons possessing technical and professional skills and specialized experience found to be in short supply in the American labor market. A determination would need to be made that such services will be substantially beneficial to the national economy.

2. Our traditional position of providing a haven for victims of totalitarian aggression who have found it necessary to flee their homelands because of persecution or fear of persecution based upon their religious or political views. In the present world circumstances, special account should be taken of those escapees from communism who fled from their homelands because of acts they had taken against the regimes in control.

3. The desirability of reuniting families and relatives. There are in the United States a considerable number of families who have found asylum here while members of their immediate families are still living in distant lands. There are also native born Americans who are anxious to have relatives abroad admitted into the United States for permanent residence. To reunite these broken families is to act in concert with our political philosophy which holds that the family is the basic unit of society.

To make the allocations of these unused quota numbers and all determinations connected therewith, a board or commisison will be necessary. Such board or commission would initiate studies and investigations and would be in touch with departments and agencies of the Government in any way concerned with immigration policy. It would be made up of five members, appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Congress would be notified semiannually of all allocations made of quota numbers and such allocations would become effective unless Congress took action disapproving them.

The makeup of this proposed commission or board is critical to the success of the proposal. Obviously, individuals appointed to the commission must possess the highest qualifications backed by a long record of devotion to the public interest. The commission must be completely devoid of partisan politics just as it must be composed of individuals experienced in withstanding undue pressure or promises. The terms of office should be, if the plan proves to be feasible, for 10 years and with salaries provided to make possible the availability and time of the best talents in the country.

After this proposed pilot project has been in effect several years, I believe that with wise administration the feasibility of eliminating the national origins formula without doing violence to our national interest, will in my opinion, have been demonstrated. If the plan proves otherwise, Congress would simply not renew the 3-year authority and the project would be automatically terminated. In either case, the debate about our national origins system could be resolved once and for all on the basis of facts and not emotion and prejudice.

Fourteen years of service on the Committee on the Judiciary, together with a careful study of the many new political responsibilities which have been thrust upon us as a Nation in recent years, led me to offer this proposal. It is one way of creating an elastic and realistic policy which will permit us to adjust our immigration system to the most urgent demands put upon our leadership as a nation. I believe that our present immigration policy has failed to meet the test of time or the tide of human events.

It is time for a change, and I sincerely hope that the changes we must make will be based upon an honest recognition of the heavy responsibilities which are ours in a world which must avoid world war III, and find the way to a just and lasting peace.

Council Designates Village as "Constitution Town"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, Constitution Town is the new designation of the village of Louisville, Stark County, Ohio, by action of the village council at a recent meeting.

One of my legislative efforts over the years has been my resolution to establish September 17 as Constitution Day, a national holiday dedicated to the better understanding and appreciation of the great document which is the foundation of our freedoms.

I welcome the support which is now given this effort by the council and citizens of Louisville, and I ask leave to include the Louisville Herald account of this action. I wish also to commend Mrs. Olga T. Weber of Louisville who has been an earnest advocate of Constitution Day.

COUNCIL DESIGNATES VILLAGE AS "CONSTITUTION TOWN"

By unanimous vote, the Louisville Village Council at its regular meeting on April 15, 1957, officially designated Louisville as Constitution Town.

The resolution was presented to council by Mrs. Olga T. Weber, long time proponent of Constitution Day Observance and prime mover of the now snowballing statewide and nationwide observance of Constitution Day.

As pointed out in the resolution, Constitution Day was initated in Louisville more than 5 years ago, where it has been observed annually since then on September 17, with due pomp and ceremony. The present Gov- of Ohio, C. William O'Neill, has twice been principal speaker at a Louisville Constitution Day parade.

Legislation is in the hopper to make September 17 a legal holiday and a day of nationwide celebration of Constitution Day.

The council in its resolution urges all Louisville citizens and organizations to adopt this slogan, "Constitution Town," and use it on their letterheads and wherever possible to promote the greatness of the Constitution and honor of the village which has brought this recognition to the American Constitution.

Mrs. Weber expressed her appreciation for the legal action taken at this meeting.

Resolution 1043

Whereas the Constitution of our country is the basis of all laws throughout the length and breadth of our United States of America; and

Whereas the Constitution has been written that there shall be justice and equality for all people of our Nation regardless of race, color, or creed; and

Whereas it is evident that to retain these rights and privileges we shall in no way permit our Constitution to be misinterpreted to cause the abridgment of these rights reserved for our people; and

Whereas in order to retain these rights and to promote full knowledge of the meaning of our Constitution, and in order that the people of our United States of America may grow more alert to the principles declared by this document; and

Whereas the residents of the village of Louisville have taken it upon themselves to remind all the people of our Nation within their reach of their faith in the Constitution, by various and sundry ways, by initiating legislation adopted by the Ohio Legislature that September 17 (as requested by Louisville) be set aside annually for the observance of Constitution Day, so that the school, civic, and fraternal organizations, and all citizens remember, study, and discuss this wonderful document to bring about a better understanding by all, and because Louisville has taken the lead in celebrating this day annually since 1952, accompanied by gatherings, parades, and demonstrations complete with fully appropriate speeches on this great American heritage: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the council of the village of Louisville, State of Ohio: section I, That in our pride, we, the village council of Louisville, Ohio, declare that Louisville adopt for its slogan the name, Constitution Town, and request that the press, industry, business, merchants, schools, churches, and all citizens use the slogan, "Constitution Town," on their letterheads and where otherwise adaptable that the knowledge of the efforts of Louisville, Ohio, relative to the celebration of Constitution Day, in commemoration of the signing of this great freedom document, shall become known across our land.

Passed April 15, 1957.

H. JOSEPH ZWICK,
Mayor.

Attest: CAROLYN E. SCHWALLIE,
Clerk.

A Scholarly, Incisive Analysis of the Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, soon the House of Representatives will have before it for consideration the so-called civil-rights legislation. It is shocking to see in the press this legislation referred to as a bill intended to protect the voting rights of certain minority groups in the South. Certain segments of the press, news and radio commentators, and editorial writers have constantly and consistently glossed over the real part of this anti-civil-rights legislation and have made it appear that the innocent little bill will simply guarantee the voting rights for certain of our people. They have actually deceived many people in various sections of this country into believing such is the case. This is far from the truth. This proposed legislation is the most vicious, wicked, dangerous leg-

islation that I have ever had the opportunity of studying.

There appeared in the May 19 issue of the Richmond Times-Dispatch an editorial pointing out a few of the reasons why the bill is so dangerous, so liberty destroying, and so destructive of the rights of our people. The editorial, entitled "A Scholarly, Incisive Analysis of the Civil Rights Bill," is as follows:

A SCHOLARLY, INCISIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CIVIL-RIGHTS BILL

Asked by Frank Van der Linden, Times-Dispatch Washington correspondent, whether he feels that the Federal civil-rights bill will damage his chances of building a strong Republican Party in the South, President Eisenhower said at his Wednesday press conference:

"The civil-rights bill is a very moderate thing, done in all decency and in a simple attempt to study the matter, see where the Federal responsibilities lie, and to move in strict accordance with the Supreme Court's decision, and no faster and no further."

Mr. Van der Linden then asked how the President felt about the bill's denial of jury trials, and Mr. Eisenhower said he was "not going to talk about that matter." His questioner would have to ask Attorney General Brownell who "knows more about it than I do."

Herein lies the tragedy of this whole Presidential effort to ram the civil-rights bill through Congress. Mr. Eisenhower is no lawyer, and he has been told by Mr. Brownell that the civil-rights bill is a mild piece of legislation. He won't believe what nearly everybody in the South, and a good many people outside it, declare to the contrary.

If anybody could get Mr. Eisenhower to read the minority report of the Senate Subcommittee on Civil Rights, signed by Senators ERVIN, of North Carolina, and JOHNSTON, of South Carolina, he might see what vast and far-reaching evils lie in this legislation. Senator ERVIN is a former judge of the North Carolina Supreme Court, and he speaks with authority concerning these matters. The 31-page analysis of the bill which he and Senator JOHNSTON have signed is an exhaustive and devastating document.

Anything like a complete summary of this report within a limited space is impossible, but a few extracts follow:

"Senate bill 83 is calculated and intended to confer upon a single Federal executive officer, to wit, the Attorney General, the autocratic and despotic power to nullify at his absolute and uncontrolled election, in particular civil-rights cases selected by him, State statutes prescribing administrative remedies which were enacted by State legislatures in the undoubted exercise of the legislative power reserved to the States by the 10th Amendment."

On the subject of jury trials, the report points out that three of the great liberals, Senators Borah of Idaho, Norris of Nebraska, and Walsh of Montana, favored extending the right of trial by jury to all persons charged with indirect contempts arising out of alleged violations of injunctions. Congress passed the Norris-LaGuardia act in 1932 to cover this situation in labor disputes.

The report also contains the following:

"The arguments that criminal prosecutions are cumbersome and slow, and that jurors are reluctant to indict and convict are identical with those given for the establishment of the Court of Star Chamber, the enactment of the acts of Parliament depriving American colonists of the right of trial by jury, and the congressional opposition of former days to the jury trial provision of the Clayton and Norris-LaGuardia acts."

Senators ERVIN and JOHNSTON declare categorically that if the Americans of the late 18th century had dreamed that their descendants could be constitutionally robbed of their right of trial by jury (guaranteed in article 111, section 2 of the Constitution) * * * the people of the United States would have rejected the Constitution out of hand.

Their report goes on to announce the following staggering conclusion:

"Senate bill 83, if enacted by Congress, would empower any attorney general to litigate at public expense virtually all claims of virtually all aliens, citizens, and private corporations within the jurisdiction of the State in question that they have suffered intentional discrimination by the action of State or local officials taken under State statutes or municipal ordinances, or orders or regulations made under them, pertaining to elections; public education; business and trade; labor; charges, prices, and interest; railroads, motor carriers, telegraph companies, public warehouses, and other public utilities; ad valorem, income, inheritance, license, and sales taxes; local public improvements; highways and streets, buildings; fish and game; the keeping of animals; civil remedies and procedure; crimes and criminal procedure and all other matters committed by our system of government to State control."

The foregoing are merely a few of the high spots in an exhaustive and scholarly analysis of the legislation in question. The liberals who are backing this monstrosity had better read it carefully. In particular they should review the declarations of such men as Norris, Borah, and Walsh—men who would be much too wise and farseeing today to support any bill as potentially disastrous to our political institutions as this one.

American Serviceman Abandoned by His Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therewith an editorial from the Charleston, S. C., New and Courier of May 16, 1957, on the conviction, under the Status of Forces Agreement with Japan, of an American serviceman. I also include a clipping from the same newspaper written the editor by Hugo Hoogenboom of Beaufort, S. C.

Mr. Speaker, it is ironic and tragic how American boys are being ruthlessly turned over to foreign courts in the world, and it is indefensible how large the sentences are imposed on American servicemen by these foreign courts. Were these cases held in America under the American system of jurisprudence, no national of any other government in the world would be dealt with half as harshly as are our American servicemen who are sent to the uttermost parts of the earth to defend these foreign, ungrateful countries.

American might subjugated and brought Japan's mighty war lords to their knees. Under the Status of Forces Agreement with this Nation, the American military was "invited" to remain in Japan for the security of that nation. Now, American youth—drafted and sent there against their will—are tricked and decoyed into baseless controversy with Japanese and abandoned by their Government. I predict that the Congress will not long tolerate this sort of treatment to the sons of the greatest and most charitable Nation civilization has ever known.

The articles follow:

IN A JAP PRISON

According to the Associated Press, Airman first class Paul E. Bell, 22, of Beaufort, was sentenced Monday by a Japanese court to 5 years at hard labor on a charge of robbery resulting in injury.

Bell, stationed with the 39th Air Division, was defended by a Japanese lawyer. The Army said it will appeal the conviction and will hire a different attorney.

We do not know the merits of this particular case. But it should serve to remind South Carolinians that their sons, husbands or relatives serving overseas are at the mercy of foreign courts. The status of forces agreement the United States has with foreign countries means that American servicemen can be sentenced to long terms in foreign prisons if charged and found guilty.

We can well imagine what a Japanese prison is like. And we don't believe that Americans who get in trouble abroad should be abandoned by the United States. If an American serviceman commits a crime, he should be punished. The punishment, however, should be imposed by an American military court and sentences should be served in military prisons.

Whatever Airman Bell has or has not done, he is an American. His rights as an American continue even though he serves on foreign soil.

IN FOREIGN JAILS

To the NEWS AND COURIER:

Your editorial comments on the Paul Bell case were good, but they did not cover the situation entirely. Having served in the Far East and having spent some time in Japan, I believe I may be able to clarify a few points concerning the trial of American servicemen in Japanese courts.

The charge under which Paul Bell was sentenced is very common and is not nearly so serious as the legal term, "robbery resulting in injury," or the 5-year sentence, would indicate. Generally, these charges grow out of quarrels between American servicemen and Japanese taxi drivers who are trying to cheat in charging exorbitant fees. If the G. I. strikes the cab driver and doesn't pay him, he is committing, according to Japanese law, "robbery and assault." In Japan this results in an excessive prison term for the G. I. In the United States, it would probably result in the suspension of the taxi driver.

In this light the case takes on a new aspect. It proves that the American serviceman has been abandoned by his Government to all the twistings and turnings of oriental law, to be dealt with as the Japanese see fit. He has none of the constitutional rights he thought were guaranteed him, such as protection from excessive punishment or trial by jury. The obvious bias against him of Japanese witnesses and jurists (especially Communists and disgruntled nationalists) precludes any fair trial.

The fact is that Paul Bell and many others like him have been sacrificed to "international good will." Perhaps after enough men have been sacrificed to sop the pride of a defeated people, Americans may do something about it. Until then, God alone can help those forgotten men who are rotting their lives away in filthy Japanese jails.

HUGO HOOGENBOOM.

BEAUFORT.

The Challenge of the Learned Professions—The Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article by Mr. Joseph N. Welch, one of the outstanding attorneys in Massachusetts, which appeared in the February–April 1957 issue of the Journal of the American Judicature Society.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE LEARNED PROFESSIONS—THE LAW

(By Joseph N. Welch)

Mr. Chairman, members of the faculty, ladies and gentlemen, the subject assigned to me tonight is, as I understand it, a segment of the general field called the challenge of the learned professions, and I understand that I am to speak as a lawyer.

I have known for many weeks that I was to speak, and as is always the case, knowing that, I was filled with anxiety.

Such reputation as I have as a speaker rests, I regret to say, on a somewhat unsound basis. Such attention as I have attracted, outside my own community, is based on the fact that in some hearings held, now long ago and far away, there was the magic of electronics, so that some in this room listened to me and others viewed my ancient and sagging features.

Curiously enough, in that room I gained stature as a public speaker by the simple device of keeping still. In a room where there was often accusation, charge, countercharge, immense irrelevancy, and often bedlam, I was sometimes seen to sit in what was really a stunned silence, but which was interpreted by the audience as wise restraint. By the simple expedient of doing little, and often nothing for long periods of time, I was contrasted with more voluble and more violent voices, and at least in the eyes of a few people, came to be held in wholly undeserved esteem.

In those circumstances, it is not easy for me to make a set speech, and what is more, it is apt to be difficult for you, because you are trapped in this room as I was trapped in that room in Washington, and neither you nor I can escape with honor. However, I have a word of comfort for you—as in Washington, I shall resort to the device of using only the minimum number of words appropriate to the occasion; and I shall use another device—I have long since learned that if a sepaker will only strike the right note of despair and boredom at the outset, his audience may file out at the end, somewhat weary, it is true, but murmuring to each other as they leave, "Well, at least the speaker got a little better as he went along."

During the period when I was anxious about what I was to say tonight I was at the seashore. There is something about the shore, with the waves rolling in, which gives me a curious feeling of support, something approaching exhilaration. As a client of mine once said, "I draw strength from the sea."

Walking along the beach and thinking of tonight, it occurred to me that members of certain of the "learned professions" are described by more than a single word.

Take first the field of religion—a representative of that learned profession may be called a priest; he may be called a minister; he may be called a preacher; he may be called a rabbi.

Take next the field of medicine—a representative of that learned profession may be called a doctor, a physician, a surgeon; or colloquially an M. D.

In the field of law, he may be called a lawyer, an attorney, a counselor, or an advocate. In England you may add the other two well-known words—barrister and solicitor.

Why this variety of words descriptive of these three professions?

A single word will do for a barber. A single word will do for an electrician, or a mechanic, or a plumber. A single word will do for a blacksmith.

I think there is something significant about the variety of words used in our language to describe members of the learned professions representing medicine, the church, and the law.

These professions, I suggest, embrace matters of such richness and importance that no single word satisfies the mind as a fully descriptive word. There is in this nomenclature, I believe, a subtle compliment.

There must have been solid satisfactions, for example, in being a blacksmith, so solid that his place in our culture became embodied in our songs, our stories, and our poems, but however secure his position, it was not quite rich enough in content, so that several names would attach to it, as several names have attached in the other fields I have mentioned.

Those words may be used interchangeably to designate members of the legal profession—an attorney, a counselor, an advocate, and a lawyer.

It is this collection of nouns that are used quite at random to denote a member of the legal profession which gives me the key to what hereafter I shall say, at least in part, about the position of a lawyer in society.

THE ATTORNEY

Let me take first the word "attorney." It is perhaps not the richest in meaning, but to me it denotes representation. Indeed, there is in the law a power of attorney, something which specifically authorizes the holder to perform a series of designated acts. The holder of a power of attorney may convey property; he may sign checks; he may collect debts or incur obligations. It is common to say "I can't be at this meeting but my attorney will be there." I consider this a significant conception. It implies confidence so great that the representative equals the principal.

No doctor, no priest, no other person carries this responsibility for another to the degree that an attorney carries it.

THE COUNSELOR

The second word I have mentioned is "counselor." To me this implies the wise, the trusted, the respected adviser to a single client, a family, or a business. To this wise counselor come the clients with their problems, seeking his wisdom for their solution.

Those problems may involve money or property or family relations or estates, or even problems affecting a marriage or a home and its durability. These are areas where both the doctor and the priest may be consulted, but the wisdom of the counselor is the wisdom most often sought and heeded. Here are great satisfactions for the lawyer and for the client.

Over and over clients may face what may seem to them puzzling or even frightening situations, but the wise counselor has seen and dealt with many such problems, and he solves them with a sure touch and thus there is created on the part of the client a sense of gratitude which is a delight to the counselor.

This wise counselor may be found in any community—however small, however large. It was only yesterday, in this city, and quite by accident, that I sat beside such a counselor. I think he is here tonight. He is a man who, to my certain knowledge, through a whole generation, has advised a family and an immense business, at every point where questions arose. I think no single move of any importance was ever made in that long period, without consultation with this wise, kindly counselor and lawyer. I think there is no finer thing that can happen to a lawyer than to have such a relationship lasting through a generation.

THE ADVOCATE

The third word that is used by the public is the word "advocate." If my voice betrays a sentimental interest in that word, it is because I like to think that I am primarily an advocate.

In the areas of service which I have discussed, a client has the choice of approaching a member of the legal profession or not. Not so when an advocate is needed.

This need arises when a client, willingly or unwillingly, has become a party to legal proceedings. There is now no choice. An advocate must be procured.

Among you who are now listening to me, there must be some who will one day be unable to do without the services of an advocate.

For the most part, these situations arise from collisions inevitable in our society. There may be, for example, a collision with the law itself, the accusation of a crime, if only a collision with those laws cast in a criminal framework having to do with the operation of the cars in which we ride.

There may be a collision with another individual over a contract, over a boundary dispute, or some property right; or an owner of a small business may collide with a big business of monopolistic tendencies, which threatens his very livelihood; a newspaper or magazine may publish a false derogatory statement about him injuring his reputation in his community; a dispute may arise over a will, involving either its validity or its construction; the tax collector, either State or Federal, may assess a wholly improper and large tax against him. Because of the frictions and conflicts of a complicated society, the need for an advocate before a judge or a jury or an administrative body may arise.

Here at this critical point of collision, the citizen must have someone to speak for him. He has no choice.

Here at this tender and often tragic moment in the client's life appears the advocate. He searches for, he studies, and he marshals the facts; he elicits the interest and the help of witnesses and associates of the client. He finds in the books and in his experience the arguments which may move his listeners in his client's direction. He hopes for and often finds that compelling argument, that obscure precedent, or that eloquent phrase by which he may move men and affect events. He identifies himself with his client's cause, and with a skill unexcelled and perhaps unequaled in our society, he delivers to his client the last ounce of wit and wisdom, the last reserve of eloquence and persuasion, and that complete devotion which is good to give, and must be wonderful to receive.

In other words, it is good to be an advocate.

THE LAWYER'S PUBLIC SERVICE

Perhaps the richest word, or the most all-embracing word, and certainly the oldest and simplest, is "lawyer." That word encompasses all the others, and designates the wise counselor, the dependable attorney, the devoted advocate; in it are embraced all the concepts of fidelity and service which make any profession great, and that of the lawyer among the greatest.

One last word on this point—no speaker who stands where I stand could hope to do justice to this subject without mentioning the field of public service.

From colonial days, through all the vicissitudes of our national life, up to today, and I hope and believe forever, in every crisis and in every period of serenity, the lawyer has been found, is found, and I trust will always be found, ready with, a mighty contribution to the solution of problems of whatever time or place or magnitude.

At such times, his power of analysis, his power to marshal facts, his ability to persuade, are of inestimable service to his country, but most of all—and of this I am proudest—he will always be a magnificent figure because of his training to advance causes and ideas which may not be to his personal advantage, but always in the public service, because of his ability to discover what is right, and then to persuade others to see what is right and to adhere to it.

LAWYERS AND LIBERTY

At this point, I have decided that I will stop describing what a lawyer does and, at least to some extent, act like a lawyer.

The word "challenge" appears in the title of my address—not selected by me—and there has been, I think, in the last 2 or 3 years, a challenge to the legal profession which requires a response.

For this reason I wish to speak to this kind of audience about our Constitution, or rather, a part of it, and of what I think has been a great threat to the liberties it guarantees to us, which guarantee, I prefer to believe, is the right to fight for and preserve liberties always due to be threatened by direct attack or in danger of dying from the simple and painful sin of complacency.

As you know from what I have said, and from Dr. Arnold's graceful introduction, I am a lawyer, and a lawyer is passionately dedicated to the idea of an orderly and predictable society.

I must be able to tell my clients that no untoward event will befall them except by due process of law.

I look with horror on the political system described behind the various curtains—iron, bamboo, and others—which permits a loud knock on the door at midnight, the rough and brutal hustling into the cattle car, and the swift and terrifying journey into fear, torture, slave-labor camps, and death.

In what country behind the various curtains could I stand, as I do tonight, and criticize the head of this Government, if I chose, and know that no hand could or would touch me?

What is it that gives us this ancient, beautiful freedom of thought, of ideas and of speech that is denied to the teeming millions who live without it?

It is the aspirations and the hopes and the dreams of our forefathers distilled into words and made a part of our Constitution.

THE FIFTH AMENDMENT

I wish to raise with you the question as to whether or not one fundamental part of our Constitution, the fifth amendment, has not, in some way, had disrepute attached to it, and in some way become somewhat tarnished in the public mind, so that it shines less brightly than once it did.

First, may I point out to you the safeguards to liberty that are embodied in the fifth amendment?

It is by no means limited to the guaranty against self-incrimination, of which I wish to speak principally.

The fifth amendment also provides that criminal charges may not be made against you or me except upon the finding of a grand jury. That means that no person may be accused of a crime at the mere whim or caprice of the head of the state or the head of some police department.

The second freedom guaranteed by the fifth amendment is that no person shall ever be placed in double jeopardy. That is the lawyer's way of saying that if you or I are accused of a crime and tried and acquitted, never again may we brought to trial for that same offense.

The third freedom guaranteed in the fifth amendment is a provision against the taking of property except by due process of law.

The fourth freedom guaranteed in the fifth amendment is a provision against the taking of private property for public use—which may be done—but only upon the payment of just compensation.

Fifth and only lastly do we come to this provision about self incrimination, and I now use the words themselves. They are:

"No person shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself."

Note those words "witness against himself." I may not be, you may not be, compelled to be a witness against yourself.

What rights, what dangers, were the framers of the Constitution thinking of, and what safeguards were they erecting, when they used those words in the fifth amendment?

They were thinking primarily of some dark pages in history, which thinking is revealed by their use of the word "compelled." They were thinking of confessions and they were thinking of confessions procured by the application of torture.

TRIAL BY TORTURE

I have looked into some of those dark pages in history, and in a moment I shall read to you some quaint old English embodied first in some directions to the keeper of the Tower in London, where a person was being held; and communications from the keeper to the State Council, reporting on activities in that grim fortress.

The year is approximately 1600 and Elizabeth is Queen.

I like to think of those papers, which still exist and may be viewed and which may be read in print, as, in substance, orders issued, legal in nature; and then a return of service, so to speak, which would be familiar to lawyers, or a return to the issuing authority on what was done as a consequence of the receipt of those orders.

The first is a communication from the keeper of the tower to the Council of State, and I now read, with some elisions, to shorten it:

"We have had twoo severall examinations of Thomas Meaghe, wherein we finde nothing but an improbable tale full of suspicion, not mutche encreased by reporte of further matter than heretofore he hathe declared to Your Honoure, as by the examinations whiche we sende herewith maie appeare. We have forborne to putt him in Skevington's Yrons, for that we re-received chardge from yow to examine hym with secrecie, whiche in that sorte we could not do, that maner of dealinge requiringe the presence and ayde of one of the jaylors all the tyme that he shall be in those yrons, and in this examination; and besides, we finde the man so resolute, as in our opinions litle will be wroonge out of hym but by some sharper torture."

That communication was duly thought over by the Council of State, and as a consequence, a communication went from the council to the keeper of the tower, and that I now read:

"Whereas Their Lordships have appointed Geoffry Fenton to repaire upon them for the examininge of Thomas Meaghe, heretofore committed to his charge, and to charge him with suche matters as he heretofore hath denied and now are certified from thence to be verified by depositions of witnesses. They are required uppon receipt hereof to call the said Meaghe before them; and in case, being confronted and charged with such matter as the said Fenton shall bringe with him, he shall wilfullie refuse to acknowledge the same, then it is thought meete that they deald with him with the racke in such sorte as they shall see cause."

Then comes what I call the final return of service, or the report from the Tower as to what took place there:

"We have agayne made twoo severall examinations of Thomas Meaghe, and notwithstandinge that we have made triall of hym by the torture of Skevington's Yrons, and with so muche sharpenes as was in our judgement for the man and his cause convenient, yet can we gett from hym no matter than we have sent herewith in writing."

The solemn and then legal procedure at the beginning of torture was indeed impressive. First, there was an oath to the witness to tell the truth. A court stenographer with book and quill poised sat ready to write down the questions as in any courtroom, and then the court stenographer solemnly recorded the answers made by the witness under torture.

I hope you observed in what I have called the final return of service the words "We have made triall of hym by the torture of Skevington's yrons." Torture was not being applied as a punishment. It was part of the trial of the case to determine guilt by confession. Punishment for the crime was death, but that followed conviction. If the accused actually admitted guilt, what more was needed?

Torture, as they thought, was to make the accused talkative, who had once been reticent.

There are countries where torture is still applied to secure confessions. We look on the practice with abhorrence, even if the torture is not quite so sickening to contemplate as the rack and the iron maiden.

In our civilization, our Constitution has rejected the idea of compelling a witness to give evidence against himself. Surely it is better so. Let us not condemn any man for merely asserting a right believed to be so fundamental that it is embodied in our Constitution itself.

While doubtless many guilty men have, in the past and will in the future, invoke its protection, never forget that it was adopted to protect the innocent, and never forget that it has its roots in the dark pages of history and in the barbarous torture chamber in which, I am convinced, many a man confessed to crimes of which he was as innocent as you or I.

Tonight, in police stations all over the country, men will be taken into custody and will be accused of crime and questioned. They will not, however, be tortured as Thomas Meaghe was tortured, and the solid guaranty against it is the fifth amendment.

I will now go back to the first part of my address, if I may, and add a word or two, if you will forgive me, of a personal nature.

I assume that there are in this room young men who aspire to be lawyers and who will become lawyers. There must be men in this room who will become advocates, of which part of the profession I have spoken, I hope, with obvious conviction. It was a long time ago and in a far-away place that I made that decision, but it is a decision I have never regretted; and to those of you who are young, and who wish to be lawyers, may I say this: If you grow to be old, and if you are very lucky, you may, on some occasion, stand where I happily stand tonight and have the great compliment paid to you of an attentive audience, and I allow myself to think, to some degree, an affectionate audience, such as I have had tonight.

How Kerrville, Tex., Solves Own Problems Without So Much Federal Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, in this day and time when so many people look to Washington for money to aid in projects that are purely local, it is refreshing to learn of instances where communities still feel they should find ways locally to finance local programs.

The community I refer to is Kerrville, Tex., and the county of Kerr in the hill country of Texas where that little city is located. That community has, as the newspaper story which I am including indicates, been blessed with many public-spirited citizens who have contributed liberally to community projects when the occasion arose. No worthy cause in that community has lacked a champion.

Only a year or two ago when it became desirable for small dams to be built on the beautiful Guadalupe, which runs through the city, four of them were built and paid for locally.

A lot of credit is due Kerrville and Kerr County, including such public-spirited philanthropists as the Schreiner and Peterson families, for their willingness to help finance worthy local projects. Kerrville and its people can serve as a good example for the entire Nation to emulate.

The article from the Kerrville Times, dated May 12, 1957, follows:

Kerr County's bonded indebtedness is not as burdensome as is found in many Texas counties due to the fact that many hundreds of thousands of dollars have been donated by its philanthropists over a period of three-quarters of a century. These gifts have provided some of the most worthy and necessary institutions in the county which ordinarily cost each taxpayer many hard-earned tax dollars.

These were gifts of love by men who revered a people and an area, one of the most beautiful in our Nation.

When Kerrville needed a park the citizens built one in a day, with the donation of land by a public-spirited resident. The town needed a swimming pool years ago and a local banker built one—no bonds issued, no taxes paid. When a school was necessary for west Texas young men, the "father" of the community provided a fine, private military academy which was for many years, and continues, turning out good citizens who live all over Texas and still love this hill country.

When an old, inadequate hospital, which was largely the result of the same pioneer effort, was outgrown and outmoded, a new, local foundation stepped in and built a modern 6-story one—no bond issues and no taxes again.

Long before flying became so common and necessary the same local banker donated a flying field for the use of the country. As the public schools expanded and needed more room a local family donated a tract in a good location for a new elementary school. When a stadium was needed by the schools, a local man donated the land, and the community financed the stadium and lights with little cost and taxes to the school system.

When an opportunity came to locate a veterans' hospital here years ago, a father and his sons stepped in and donated a large farm on the edge of town which cost over $40,000 in those early days and that resulted in the present Veterans' Administration hospital.

Of course some bond issues for schools, water, sewer, streets, and roads, dams, etc., were necessary and supported by business leaders, but the tax burden has been much less and the community profits from much less debt than would otherwise have been necessary.

Kerrville and the surrounding territory has been fortunate over the years in having public-spirited citizens, such as the Schreiners, the Petersons, Dr. Sam Thompson, Captain Tivy, and others who have donated so much to this territory and have offered foresighted leadership. That combined with the work and cooperative spirit of businessman and others literally has built a thriving town where natural resources were conspicuous by their absence. No oil or gas or sulfur money to help, no waterways for shipping, no rich farms, no manufacturing. But the boys and girls camps were started and grew, and now the towns is a favored resort and place to retire and live. Many of these things were done when the dollar was worth much more than it is now and bought and built a great deal more; most were done before there was any Federal tax incentive to do such things and without asking much of any State or Federal aid.

For instance, Captain Schreiner, as far back as the 1880's, saw the need to bring a railroad into this undeveloped territory, and worked toward that end by contributing $25,000 (which would be the equivalent of 5 or 6 times that now) to get it here. During the early years of this century he contributed much to bringing good roads, such as $100,000 for a road to Edwards County, paving a road south from Kerrville, and numerous other road projects, total contributions being in excess of $300,000 in those early days. The income from some of the principal still goes to help local roads.

Kerrville's first hospital was the result of Dr. Secor's pioneer efforts, and Captain Schreiner's contributions, added to in 1936 by $35,000. But because it grew inadequate the Hal and Charlie Peterson Foundation was established and built the Sid Peterson Memorial Hospital at a cost of about $1,200,000. The total of the various Schreiner contributions to date has been about $1¼ million, all things considered. Churches and encampments, such as the Presbyterian Church and manse, and Westminster Encampment, resulted from gifts of the late A. C. Schreiner, and with the help of Gus F. Schreiner, the encampment was able to grow into what is now the Presbyterian Mo-Ranch Encampment. L. A. Schreiner had added the land for Antler Stadium, the land for the Louis Schreiner Airport, swimming pool which the city operates, and the low-water bridge across Guadalupe at foot of G Street.

Hal Peterson also made a $10,000 contribution toward the airport.

The Kerrville Golf Course was built by public subscription and a gift from A. C. Schreiner and L. A. Schreiner of $30,000.

Petersons' interests to date have contributed $1,008,366 to Hal and Charlie Peterson Foundation which built and equipped the hospital.

The various Schreiner contributions have been:

Donations Captain Schreiner and family

Captain Schreiner:	
1886 bonus to S. A. & A. P. Ry. Co. to Kerrville	$25,000
Kerr County supplemental to bond issue, building roads Kerr County	100,000
Paved road to Silver Creek	35,000
1918 original gift to Schreiner Institute, cash	250,000
1918 original gift to Schreiner Institute, land	56,000
1922 accumulated interest on gift Schreiner Institute	78,000
1927 gift to Schreiner Institute, will	150,000
1927 gift to Schreiner Institute, gym	2,500
1927 Schreiner Institute president's home	2,000
1920 permanent road fund	175,000
1936 gift for Secor Hospital	35,000
Captain Schreiner and sons: Gift, purchase of 700 acres land for veterans' hospital (about 1919—Legion, 1920)	40,000
Gus F. Schreiner:	
1950 for agricultural department to Schreiner Institute	15,000
1948 Westminster encampment for Schreiner Institute	25,000
Cash	10,000
Gus F. Schreiner and L. A. Schreiner: 1925 Episcopal Church building	10,000
A. C. Schreiner:	
1923 Presbyterian church, manse, etc.	75,000
1923 Westminster encampment	15,000
A. C. Schreiner and L. A. Schreiner:	
1927 gym building, Schreiner Institute	5,000
1922 Kerrville Country Club, $15,000 each	30,000
L. A. Schreiner:	
1923 airport	35,710
1936 26 acres Antler Stadium	7,000
Cement bridge lower end of Kerrville across Guadalupe River	3,500

In addition, subscriptions to every project for betterment of Kerrville Fish Hatchery land, Junction School library, Rocksprings School library, Schreiner Park, Junction, Schreiner student loan fund, Rotary student loan fund, started and principally from L. A. Schreiner.

New Hampshire Legislature Passes Resolution Asking Federal Government To Refrain From Enacting New Grant-Aid Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a concurrent resolution adopted by the General Court of New Hampshire:

Whereas through Federal grant-in-aid programs the Federal Government by extravagant and unnecessary spending is forcing New Hampshire also to spend extravagantly to match and thus obtain back part of its own money; and

Whereas New Hampshire citizens pay income taxes which go to Washington and are returned in part to New Hampshire under Federal grant-in-aid programs in amounts reduced by bureaucratic overhead, creating the false impression that the State is getting something for nothing; and

Whereas in returning funds to New Hampshire the Federal Government ties strings to the use of these funds which interfere with local government, complicates the enactment of State legislation, and forces the State to spend in fields it believes unwarranted; and

Whereas it is common knowledge that local projects financed in part by Federal funds usually cost excessively because of unnecessary Federal requirements; and

Whereas the New Hampshire Legislature feels that its citizens know better than the Federal Government how to spend the citizens' money and that local governments are more capable and efficient than the Federal Government in managing local programs: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the members of the New Hampshire Legislature in the 1957 session assembled:

1. That the Federal Government refrain from enacting new grant-aid programs and reexamine all such existing programs and end or reduce their costs wherever possible.

2. That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, Vice President of the United States as President of the Senate of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member from New Hampshire in the Senate of the United States and in the House of Representatives of the United States.

3. That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the presiding officers of the legislature of the other 47 States for their information and consideration by the clerks of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire.

Senator PAUL G. KARKAVELAS,
Sponsor.

ERALSEY C. FERGUSON,
President of the Senate.

W. DOUGLAS SCAMMAN,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

BENJAMIN F. GREER,
Clerk of the Senate.

GEORGE T. RAY, JR.,
Clerk of the House.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Address by Vice President of United States to American Iron and Steel Institute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, on Thursday, May 23, the Vice President delivered a significant address in New York City at the annual meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute. I think that what he said will be helpful in clarifying in people's minds the issues in the present controversy over the Federal budget. I ask unanimous consent that the text of his address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES BEFORE THE 65TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN IRON AND STEEL INSTITUTE, HOTEL WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 23, 1957

Six years ago when I last had the privilege of appearing before this organization, I was asked to give a report from Washington on the most burning issue of the day. We were in a war at the time, and taxes and Government spending were at a higher rate than today. But there was little question that on that occasion there was another issue which was of even greater interest to the majority of the American people. I spoke on that subject, as you will recall—the controversy over President Truman's discharge of General MacArthur.

Tonight I would like to give you a similar report. Just as in the spring of 1951, there is no question today as to what issue is uppermost in the public mind. It is the administration's budget for 1958.

I will admit at the outset that I can think of a number of other subjects which would be more pleasant for me to discuss. I am sure many of you are probably tired of hearing about the budget. And some of you may have reached conclusions which will not be changed by anything that I say.

But because I believe the decisions we make on the budget, particularly as they relate to our national defense, are so important to the Nation, and because there has been so much misunderstanding as to the administration's position, I would like to take this opportunity to help set the record straight.

It is necessary to begin by examining the basic economic philosophy of this administration. We find ourselves in the incongruous position of being subjected to attacks from groups holding completely opposing points of view.

On the one hand, the advisory council of opposition party charged in Washington a few days ago that this was a probusiness administration under whose policies the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer.

On the other hand, certain business groups have charged recently that this is a New Deal-Fair Deal administration which is bent on spending the Nation into bankruptcy.

Now, obviously both of these charges cannot be true. I submit that neither is true. Our attitude toward business is simply stated.

We believe that America enjoys unprecedented prosperity today because we have based our economic and political policies on the sound principle that the most productive source of national wealth is private rather than Government enterprise.

We reject the New Deal-Fair Deal attitude of baiting and penalizing business and using it as the scapegoat for all the economic sins of whatever administration happens to be in power.

Instead we believe that Government should encourage free competitive enterprise. It should promote private economy activity rather than penalize it. Regulations, controls, and Government activity should be reduced to the minimum demanded by the general welfare so that individuals can make their maximum contribution to the Nation's productivity.

We do not favor big business or little business. We are for good business and opportunity for all.

We have acted upon this philosophy.

We are getting the Federal Government out of many activities which properly belong to private enterprise.

We have left labor-management relations to the field of free collective bargaining. There have been no Government-imposed labor contracts under this administration.

We have faithfully administered laws which have been passed to prevent abuses by businesses such as those relating to securities, antitrust, pure food, and drugs. But in contrast to the New Deal and Fair Deal, we do not believe in penalizing the good with the bad. We try to adjust regulations to sound business practices in an industry and not merely impose them from above without consulting those affected by them.

Let us see how we have applied our basic economic philosophy to the problems of the Federal budget.

When we came into power we found that in the preceding 20 years there had been only 3 balanced budgets. Deficit financing had come to be accepted not as a necessary evil but as sound fiscal policy.

We rejected this philosophy completely. Our first budget with its inherited carryovers showed a $9 billion deficit. Our next three budgets, including the one for this year, were balanced budgets. In addition, the Federal Government has taken $25 billion less in taxes from the people during the past 3 years as a result of the tax cut we passed in 1954. We have reduced the national debt by $5 billion.

We believe that these fiscal policies have helped to create the confidence which has resulted in the greatest expansion of our economy in history during the past 4 years.

Let us now examine the 1958 budget. It is a balanced budget. It takes less from the economy than the budget of 4 years ago. But the fact remains that in dollars it is still the highest peacetime budget in our history.

I want to make one thing clear beyond question at this point. The budget as originally submitted by the President to the Congress represented the administration's best estimate as to how much we had to spend for our national security and to carry out the laws which the Congress had enacted.

But, consistent with the attitude we have adopted since we came into office in January 1953, we have pledged that we would continue to make every effort to keep actual expenditures below the estimated amounts.

That is why the President has instructed all agency heads not only to keep within their budget estimates but to effect any additional economies they can.

That is why he not only did not oppose but actually invited the cooperation of the Congress in finding any items in the budget which could be eliminated or reduced without damaging the national interest.

And that is why on his own initiative he has already indicated that on the basis of additional information he believes his budget estimates can be reduced by $1.8 billion.

May I for a moment digress to indicate my own as well as what I believe to be the administration's fundamental position with regard to Federal Government expenditures.

First, I believe that Government enterprise is by nature less efficient than private enterprise. Federal Government activity, therefore, should be limited to those areas in which private enterprise or local government cannot or will not render the services the people want and need.

Second, big government just like big business, and even more so, has a tendency to become inefficient and wasteful as it increases in size. We must constantly fight against waste, inefficiency, and duplication in Government operations.

I completely reject the phony fiscal philosophy of those who suggest that as the national income increases the expenditures of the Federal Government should increase in proportion. It is true that to the extent that a larger population requires larger expenditures the budget will necessarily increase. But it is sheer nonsense to suggest that Government should always take as much out of the national economy as the economy can stand. We should spend for Government only what we need to spend, even if this may be less than we are able to spend.

A sound American economy is as essential as a strong national defense if we are to defeat the forces of international communism. Our Government expenditures must never be allowed to reach or to remain too long at a level where they destroy the productivity of our economy. The present tax level, if continued indefinitely into the future, could seriously weaken the economy. Consequently, our objective must always be to reduce Government expenditures so that we can increase the amount individuals can invest in private enterprise which is the solid bedrock upon which real progress in America is built.

That is why I believe that the current discussion which is taking place throughout the Nation on the Federal budget will in the end prove to be a healthy development. In the past, the public generally has not been sufficiently aware of the fact that when the Federal Government does something the people pay the cost. As a result of the wave of tax consciousness which is sweeping the Nation the political demagogs who in the past have thrived on the slogan of "Let the Government do it," regardless of the cost in money or freedom, will find their audiences much less receptive than previously.

With these general principles in mind, I suggest we examine the reasons why the budget is as large as it is.

First, let me dispel two widely held misconceptions on this point. The increased size of this budget is not due to the initiation of new so-called New Deal spending programs. If all the new programs which had not previously been approved in the Congress were taken out of the budget, less than $300 million would be saved. And the size of the budget cannot be attributed to increases in foreign aid. The amount requested is actually $4.1 billion less in 1958 than in 1953.

The primary factors contributing to the size of the current budget are these: Eighty percent of the decrease is directly attributable to the higher prices the Government has to pay for both material and personnel. The other major factor is the increase in population of 12 million which has occurred since 1953 which results in increased demands on the Post Office and other service departments of the Government.

Turning now to the basic question, what cuts should and can be made in the 1958 Federal budget? As I have already indicated, the President has himself suggested a cut of $1.8 billion. To date, the Congress has approved cuts averaging approximately seven percent in the money bills which have been acted upon by both Houses. Up to this time, however, congressional action has been completed only on bills covering appropriations for other than so-called defense expenditures.

This, then, is the heart of the matter. Unless Congress decides to discontinue domestic programs it previously has approved, budget cuts as high as five to six billion dollars, which some have suggested, cannot be made unless the items for national defense are substantially reduced. Anyone who contends otherwise is just kidding himself and the public as well. Because approximately 75 percent of the entire Federal budget goes for the Defense Department, Atomic Energy Commission, interest on the debt, foreign aid, and other defense-related items.

How much can we safely cut from the amounts the President has asked for in these fields? The President has asked for $38 billion for the Army, Navy, and Air Force. No one would be so presumptuous as to claim that this or any other figure is exactly the right amount to spend for national defense. And no one would contend that in an establishment of this size there does not exist some inefficiency and duplication.

Under the circumstances, I believe these factors should control our decision. The major guaranty against war today is the strength of the United States and its free-world allies.

As I have indicated, reasonable men will disagree as to what the level of our military strength should be. But when men with the combined military, diplomatic, and business experience of Dwight Eisenhower, Arthur Radford, Charles Wilson, George Humphrey, and Foster Dulles, after months of study of information available to them from all parts of the world, agree that $38 billion is the minimum we should spend for our own security, I say that cutting the defense budget in any substantial amount below the level they have recommended would be a reckless and foolhardy action which on sober reflection the American people will not and should not support.

But now we come to the more difficult question. There are many people who say spending for defense at home is one thing, but the place to cut the budget is in the so-called foreign giveaway programs. It has been suggested that these programs could be cut anywhere from one to three billion dollars without risking any serious damage to the United States.

I believe the President gave an effective answer to these critics on Tuesday. I would like to underline what he said by stating simply that, in my opinion, the $4 billion we spend for our programs abroad is as essential a part of our national defense as the $38 billion we spend for our Army, Navy, and Air Force at home. And despite the waste and mistakes which are inevitable in such programs, we are getting more for our money in security for the United States in what we are spending abroad than we are in what we are spending at home.

Let us examine this amount item by item.

Approximately three of the four billion dollars goes to Korea, Indochina, Formosa, Thailand, Pakistan, Turkey, and other countries to assist them to maintain the armed forces needed for their own defense.

Most of these countries have common borders with Communist nations. If they were not able to defend themselves, the chance that they might be attacked would be increased. If they are attacked, we would inevitably become involved.

We had one experience of this type in Korea. That war cost us $18 billion and 157,000 American casualties. Putting it bluntly, it costs less to equip a few Korean divisions than to fight another Korean war.

In other words, if we do not help them to develop the strength which will enable them to defend themselves, our national security will require that we assume that burden ourselves. This would mean that we would have to spend billions more for defense than we presently are spending.

I submit then that cutting the defense portion of our foreign-aid programs can under no stretch of the imagination be held sound economy.

This leaves us with approximately $1 billion of the total foreign-aid program which is earmarked for economic assistance unrelated directly to military-aid programs.

Why should the American people be taxed to aid the economies of other countries who may not even be allied with us militarily? To find the answer to this question, let us examine the balance of power in the world today. There are approximately 1 billion people allied on the side of the free nations. There are approximately 900 million people under Communist rule, and there are another 700 million people in Asia, the Near East, and Africa who are classified as uncommitted or neutral.

It is to these uncommitted countries that the greater part of this billion dollars in economic assistance will go. I have visited most of these countries. I have seen our various programs in operation. I agree that some of them have been wasteful and badly executed. You can be sure that acting on the recommendations of the Fairless report and other studies, we shall devote every effort toward eliminating waste and increasing efficiency. But we don't scuttle the fleet because one ship proves to be unseaworthy.

I can state with complete conviction that I know of no expenditure being made by our Government which is more essential to our national security than this one.

The Soviet Union, Communist China, and the satellites are bending every effort to win these people. They are using offers of economic aid. They are spending millions for propaganda. For example, they consider Africa today as important a target as China was to them 25 years ago, and we know what happened there. They realize that if they can win a substantial number of the uncommitted nations to the Communist side they will gain the balance of power and people and resources in the world which will enable them to bring the free nations to their knees without the necessity of fighting a war.

The major danger which confronts the free world today is not defeat in a shooting war. We must never forget that the Communists gained over 600 million people since World War II through means other than overt aggression.

The people of the uncommitted nations are determined to have economic progress. They would prefer to gain that progress and keep their freedom and independence at the same time. I am convinced that if we do not help them, they will turn elsewhere for help. They will be forced to listen to the Moscow line which promises plenty at the cost of freedom.

This, then, is what is at stake—700 million people plus the greatest undeveloped natural resources in the world today. By helping these countries to help themselves through technical assistance, by making loans available to them for development as a supplement to the funds which will be invested by private enterprise, by standing ready to assist countries like Iran and Jordan when they are confronted with an economic emergency, we will effectively stop the Communists in their efforts to increase their sphere of domination, and we will, at the same time, help these nations to acquire and retain the economic and political independence with which international communism is completely incompatible.

We have been discussing our problems. Let us examine for a moment the problems of the Communists. There are definite signs of weakness in the Communist empire of today. The economic strain of armament and their foreign-aid progrems are beginning to tell on their economy. The education given to their executives is leading to demands for freedom.

History tells us that a dictatorship must have new victories in order to give its people reasons for their sacrifices in living standards. It must expand or its internal strains will ultimately tear it asunder. From 1945 to 1950, the Communists gained a vast empire and domination over 600 million people. In the past 7 years, they have been brought to a halt and the inevitable strain is beginning to tell.

I believe that we are now winning the battle for the world. Our military strength has been built to the point that the Communists are deterred from launching an attack. Our economic strength has aided in stopping their expansion by means other than war. If we can continue on our present course, we have a chance to win the victory we want without war.

This is no time to announce to the Communists and the world that we are tired of the struggle. This is no time to lose our vision and our courage. We Americans react magnificently when we are threatened with disaster. The Marshall plan, the aid to Greece and Turkey, the support of the Formosa resolution, our resistance in Korea, are all examples of this national characteristic. What we must do now is to demonstrate to ourselves and the world that we have the same will to win and willingness to sacrifice when we are inspired by the opportunity for victory without war as we have when we are frightened by the threat of defeat in war.

This, then, is the case as I see it for our defense and foreign-aid budgets. The President is the man primarily responsible for our national defense. He has indicated what he believes to be the minimum we should spend both at home and abroad if we are adequately to protect our security. The Congress has the power to appropriate less than he requests, but in doing so it must assume its share of responsibility in the event world developments prove those cuts to have been unwise. I am glad to report tonight that I believe support for the President's position is growing among both Democrats and Republicans in the Congress and that the prospects for approval of his program have substantially improved.

I indicated at the outset of my remarks that I could think of a number of subjects which would be more pleasant to discuss than the budget. I recognize that there has developed a great ground swell of opposition to Government spending all over the Nation and that this opposition is directed with particular vehemence against our foreign-aid programs. I realize that it would be far more popular either to ignore the subject or to go along with the tide of opposition.

But I believe it is the responsibility of the members of an administration to analyze the facts on such an issue, reach decisions which we consider to be in the national interest, and then to fight for enactment of our program by the Congress.

It is on that basis that I present the case for our defense in foreign-assistance programs tonight. I believe that they are necessary for our survival and that substantial cuts in the amounts we have requested will jeopardize not only our safety, but our chance for victory in the world struggle.

I have faith that as the American people know the facts they will not fail to meet the challenge which confronts them in this moment of destiny.

International Trade Promotes World Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, last Wednesday I made a speech in Los Angeles at the annual luncheon of World Trade Week before the Foreign Trade Association of Southern California on the subject International Trade Promotes World Peace. I ask unanimous consent that the text of my speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERNATIONAL TRADE PROMOTES WORLD PEACE

(Address by Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL, Foreign Trade Association of Southern California, Los Angeles, May 23, 1957)

I am honored by your wish that I should speak at this annual luncheon of World Trade Week. This celebration originated in Los Angeles 30 years ago, and is now proclaimed each year by the President of the United States.

American trade and American industry have built the foundation upon which this Nation has assumed an undeniable position of economic and political leadership in the world, and our expanding commerce with sister nations has elevated steadily both their and our living standards, and—far more important—has contributed materially to the cause of freedom of their peoples and ours.

I salute the chamber of commerce whose leaders long ago recognized that California would continue to expand her interest in trade abroad. The planning and construction of Los Angeles and Long Beach harbors are splendid testimony to the vision of southern California pioneers. Harbor development there now encompasses a $101 million series of improvements, designed to double cargo handling capacity and increase berthing by 20 percent; $50 million of improvement at our International Airport will prepare this area for jet aircraft travel to every section of our planet. The Los Angeles Collector of Customs reports dutiable collections here are running well over a million dollars a week. The whole history of our State has been intertwined with foreign trade since the days when our forbears relied on sailing ships which beat their way around the Horn to come here from across the seas.

Ocean shipping and commerce overseas are more vital to the well-being of our 14 million people than ever before. Last year, California exported over $1 billion worth of goods and services. In the 1890's, a billion dollars represented the entire export value of the Nation. America's exports for last year are estimated at $23 billion, a vast increase over the $19.9 billion for 1955. Today, over half the employees of our State work in industries which figure significantly in foreign trade—such as aircraft, shipping, motion pictures, canned and processed foods and electrical machinery.

In the early days of our Nation, the struggling colonies had to trade to live. We fought the War of 1812 to confirm that right. But, by the period just prior to World War II, we had such a large domestic market and such ample domestic production, that our export trade was relatively less important. The roughly 10 percent of our production which we disposed of overseas was vital to a few industries but it was not a matter of economic life or death to most.

Now, we are compelled to make certain that we receive strategic raw materials from abroad, including not only such materials as rubber and tin but the new metals and metallic products essential in this nuclear age. And the margin between profit and loss is written for an increasing number of industries in their sales abroad. In this connection, I believe the Federal Government, through such agencies as the Export-Import Bank can be of real assistance to some California, and American, manufacturers, like our aircraft producers, in the stiff competition in which they are now engaged for foreign sales. Attractive credit arrangements are an important incentive for purchase here just as they are when a housewife considers buying furniture. The Export-Import Bank has been of great assistance in maintaining American sales abroad in the past and will, I feel sure, supply additional help in the expanding overseas trade of the days ahead, which, of course, will add to the stability of our employment here at home.

It is stimulating to think that American products and American know-how are raising standards of living abroad and find their way into hitherto remote parts of the globe. For no nation has more to offer the world, nor needs so many of the world's products, than our own United States.

Since California borders on Mexico, I think it is appropriate to note that world trade trends are changing. Whereas Europe was long the United States' best customer, it is interesting to note that Latin America is today, although by no very great margin. And one of the countries in that area which has developed fastest in recent years is, I am happy to say, our sister Republic just south of us.

When the Suez Canal crisis occurred last fall, the interdependence of nations on foreign trade stood out in bold relief. Complete economic strangulation to all the countries of free Europe became an immediate hazard. Fuel for travel, for heat, and for the industrial complex of each of these nations suddenly began to diminish. Gasoline rationing went into effect. Buildings and homes went unheated in a winter of severe temperature.

The interruption of foreign trade brought on by the ominous moves of Egyptian dictator Nasser brought on a grievous crisis in the Middle East and in Western Europe and, beyond that, poised for all the world the horrible possibility of a third world war. That it did not ensue, the peoples of the world may be grateful. The canal closing and the hostilities which followed brought home, once again, that diplomacy and international relations cannot be conducted in a vacuum, and that foreign trade is indispensable for nations to maintain their freedom.

Egypt's intransigence of last fall had the most far-reaching effects on foreign trade. The interruption of normal channels of commerce required wide diversion of oceangoing vessels from usual routes, and necessitated longer runs through the Panama Canal or around the Cape of Good Hope. More ships were called for to perform essential services. There was an impetus for planning of larger and longer range oil tankers. Consideration was given—and is being given—to alternate passages to the Suez. Great numbers of dry cargo ships came out of mothballs—all due to the sudden shipping shortage which followed the arbitrary closing of the waterway linking the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

Congress, by a bipartisan vote, adopted President Eisenhower's Middle East resolution which in the intervening weeks, in my judgment, has contributed to the prevention of international hostilities and to restraining the growth of Soviet influences in the Middle East. The whole complex problem brought on by the Nasser move remains a most serious threat—for example, her immoral and illegal refusal to permit Israeli ships to utilize the canal, and now, paradoxically, the troubles she is encountering from her erstwhile friends, the Soviet, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, over canal payments—but I do not believe the canal question is insoluble. I mention it here to indicate its impact not alone on peaceful trade, but, beyond that, on peace.

A substantial number of the cargo craft hauled out of our laid-up fleet has been used most successfully in a foreign-trade program approved by Congress 3 years ago. Its first full year of actual operation ended last June 30, and Congress is presently considering continuing it.

Under this legislation, the Federal Government is disposing of food and fiber stored in Government warehouses in foreign trade. The act is designed to assist in solving a particular problem. It is not a permanent undertaking. It benefits American shipping and American labor. The so-called 50–50 provision requires one-half the exports—with a notable exception of direct significance to California—must be moved in American bottoms.

The law permits foreign-flag vessels to carry fruits and vegetables, warranted, I think, by the fact that refrigerated ships must be used, an important time element frequently is involved, and consignments often cannot be handled on regular routes and regular schedules.

World Trade Week is an appropriate occasion to look closely at what this program has achieved. Since its inception, we have made 87 agreements with 30 countries. Normal commercial procedures are followed, based largely on letters of credit. American financial houses participate, American workers benefit, American shipping is utilized, overseas market development is stimulated, and the clouds over American agriculture are breaking up.

Recent improvement in agricultural trade has been general in nature. Last year, intensified demands from abroad for American agricultural commodities carried shipments to an alltime peak. They comprised nearly one-fourth of the entire nonmilitary export total and jumped in value by $1 billion to $4,200,000,000.

Under the act, through last February, agreements had been negotiated to sell $1,769,000,000 worth of products. These included items produced in California, such as rice and cotton.

The aggregate cargoes in the fiscal year 1956 amounted to $427,000,000 in value. They represented 12 percent of all United States agricultural exports. This year, the proportion is expected to rise to 16 percent. Of the crops in which California has most interest, rice is going to 7 countries, cotton 17, and fruits and vegetables to 4. In the process, ocean transportation costs amounted to $221,000,000, a good share going to United States carriers under the 50–50 clause.

Secretary of Agriculture Benson just a few days ago said it is noteworthy that since the start of this program under Public Law 480 we have been able to hang up the "sold out" sign for a sizable list of commodities, including cottonseed oil, cottonseed meal, hay and pasture seeds, soybeans, linseed oil, and tung oil. He added that stocks of grain sorghums, rice, barley, butter, dry milk, and wool have been reduced to low levels.

In this accomplishment, incidentally, there is relief for the taxpayer. Only a couple of years ago, it cost our Government $1 million a day for storage charges on farm surpluses which it held. In addition, our country has swapped a billion dollars' worth of surpluses for strategic materials for our defense.

Under the original law, Congress laid down a condition that our Government could barter only with friendly nations independent of Communist Russia. Due to a feeling of hopefulness stemming from events last fall in Hungary and Poland, suggestions have been made that the anti-Communist restriction be discarded. For my part, I believe the restriction is justified. I voted to keep it. There is, in my view, abundant reason for this condition. I do not believe our Government should be a party to bartering with a government which is subservient to the U. S. S. R. While I was in the minority in the Senate on this issue, I note the House Agriculture Committee put the limitation back in the bill. House action is still to come.

In the era through which we now journey, foreign trade by Americans is not a simple business of going abroad, selling what one has to sell and buying what one has to buy. We, all of us, recognize the deadly menace which international communism poses to the very existence of every free Government and every free man throughout the world. Recognizing it, our Government, over the years, has taken steps to reduce and to resist the menace. That is why the United States has entered into agreements with free friends to stand together, to pool our defensive strength, and to treat a Communist attack against one of us as an attack against the rest of us. That is why, also, the Congress has adopted legislation regulating the manner in which foreign trade can be carried on with Communist Russia and her satellites, those unfortunate countries whose governments and whose independence have been enveloped and destroyed through Soviet infiltration and subjugation.

Under the Export Control Act, the United States maintains selective controls over exports to the U. S. S. R. and its European vassal states. Since 1949 we have participated with other governments in an international control system, on a selective basis, in the interests of our mutual security. They are designed to prevent the shipment to potential aggressors of materials which would contribute to their military potential. Goods thus embargoed include arms, ammunition, atomic-energy materials and, generally, such industrial commodities and equipment as would contribute significantly to war potential. Our laws do not prevent trade between our people and people in the Soviet bloc. They may export nonstrategic goods to those destinations as they may desire. Those are business transactions between peoples, as distinguished from governments, where I indicated earlier, our present policy requires our Government to barter farm surplus for strategic material only with countries free from Soviet domination or control. Congress has preserved the right of our Government to relieve famine and to alleviate distress among peoples as we did in the feeding of Hungarian refugees in Austria and in aiding the victims of floods in Iran and Afghanistan.

In all our Federal laws on this subject of foreign commerce, we must constantly consider the question of whether we strengthen the slave yoke of communism by trade with the Soviet and its satellites.

We on the west coast are keenly aware of the enslavement which communism has brought to the Chinese mainland. The Chinese people have been good friends with us throughout our history. Historically, we have enjoyed mutually profitable trade relations with them.

Our national ties run with the Republic of Free China. We sit with her representatives in the United Nations. We have a mutual security pact with her. Red China, on the other hand, has been branded by the United Nations as an aggressor in the Korean struggle. This slave state continues to hold in Communist prisons American military and civilian personnel in contravention of the most fundamental principles of moral law. She has been repeatedly refused membership in the United Nations. America does not recognize her diplomatically. Our two great political parties have repudiated her totalitarian regime.

I wish to recall the problem of the security of our country, as it pertains to the Far East in the words of General MacArthur. He referred to a chain of islands—including the Free Chinese area of Formosa and the Pescadores—as constituting a protective shield to the America. He said:

"The holding of this littoral defense line in the western Pacific is entirely dependent upon holding all segments thereof, for any major breach of that line by an unfriendly power would render vulnerable to determined attack every other segment * * *

"For that reason, I have strongly recommended in the past as a matter of military urgency that under no circumstances must Formosa fall under Communist control. Such an eventuality would at once threaten the freedom of the Philippines and the loss of Japan and might well force our western frontier back to the coasts of California, Oregon, and Washington."

Those same views are shared by your Government in Washington. They are some of the reasons which prompted me to vote against the Red Chinese regime. Our Government does not permit trade with Communist China, North Korea, or North Vietnam. America's overriding interest, in trade as in all else, is the maintenance of our own freedom. And the protective shield concept of MacArthur is sound. Meanwhile, rumblings of discontent come from Red China. Some ideological cleavages with Moscow are in the making. And we are not without good friends, aside from Free China, the Philippines, Japan, and Korea, among the peoples of Asia.

Listen to the sturdy words of the gallant President of the Republic of Vietnam as he spoke to Congress earlier this month:

"Our Republic was born among great suffering. She is courageously facing up to economic competition with the Communists, despite heavy and difficult conditions, which become daily more complex. Vietnam nevertheless has good reason for confidence and hope. Her people are intelligent, have imagination and courage. * * *

"Your and our fight is one and the same. * * * We too will continue to fight communism."

Thus, did the President of Vietnam express the same fundamental concern which is in the hearts of Americans and freedom-loving human beings wherever they may be. The fight against communism will continue. It has required of all of us great sacrifices—sacrifice of American men in the wars in which we have lately been engaged, sacrifice of money to maintain a competent deterrent in our defense department.

This country is now at peace, however, difficult and disturbing it may be. The Congress is now confronting the question of cost of our Government with particular emphasis on the needs of our own security. All of us want our Government to be strong so that all of us may be free. But I have no doubt that our people also want our Government to live within its means and to promote a healthy national economy by practicing economy in its own affairs. In this regard, I wish to recall that your Government balanced its budget in the year ending last June 30, 1956. This coming June 30, our budget for fiscal year 1957 will be balanced. Aside from the balanced budget of the 80th Congress, these are the only times in the last quarter of a century that our Government has lived within its means. The President has recommended a budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, which again will be in balance. In the consideration of that budget, I assure you, Congress will painstakingly endeavor to find any areas in which curtailment of expenditures can be achieved without damaging our national interest. So will I. Last week the Senate reduced two appropriation measures below the level approved in the House of Representatives after it had cut them. Of this, I give you my word: We will reduce expenditures wherever consonant with the national interest. We will again balance the national budget, and I venture to predict, if all goes well, the Congress next year will consider and approve tax reduction legislation.

By far the largest portion of Federal expenditures is in the field of defense and foreign policy. In the field of defense I believe President Eisenhower is uniquely qualified to determine the needs of the Nation. This does not mean that Congress or its membership should abdicate its constitutional responsibility carefully to sift each spending proposal. It does not mean that Congress should be a rubberstamp. Neither our people nor the President want that. It does not mean that Congress should refuse to consider recommendations from creditable sources in the interests of economy. For example, on one point, in the field of defense, I find myself in utter disagreement with the Bureau of the Budget of the administration. The head of a Defense Department committee, Mr. Ralph Cordiner, president of the General Electric Co., has stated that 87 percent of the technically skilled Armed Forces personnel leave the Armed Forces as fast as they can for greater incentives in civilian life, and that 4,000 Air Force pilots left the service in the fiscal year 1955, representing, according to his figures, a training loss of almost half a billion dollars. Modern weapons of defense require skills and training far greater than in years gone by. The committee recommendations are for a pay system in the Military Establishment based on skills rather than on seniority. Speaking for his committee, he says that approval of these recommendations would save $5 billion a year by the fiscal year 1962. Whether that is a correct figure or not, there is no question in my mind but what his proposal merits the most careful congressional consideration and I regret very much that the Budget Bureau turned it down. Incentive legislation to help skilled men in peacetime military service is both good defense and good economy. I mention this to indicate to you an example of current fiscal problems connected with defense upon which men disagree, and upon which I have, as one of your representatives

in the Senate, my own views as to what best serves your interests.

The problems of foreign policy and foreign aid become increasingly complex and far more subtle as the years go by. I cannot honestly indicate to you what will be the final outcome of this year's foreign policy and foreign aid proposals. I can tell you of my own feelings. I believe it can be clearly demonstrated that much of our foreign-aid program has been of direct benefit to the security of the American people. I believe the strength we have contributed to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been a major deterrent against Communist infiltration and destruction of Free Europe. Free Europe contains 200 million people whose salvation from the ugly fate which has befallen their satellite neighbors works in the interest of our own Nation. Foreign aid has underwritten a portion of the cost of maintaining defensive armies in Korea, in Formosa, and in Turkey. To feed, house, clothe, and pay an American GI requires an annual expenditure of $3,350. To do the same for a Korean soldier in Korea cost $234, for a Free Chinese soldier in Formosa $127, and for a Turkish soldier in Turkey $235. I believe that our military assistance to such nations as these has been both economical and in the interest of American freedom. In a real sense helping to maintain the defensive strength of those countries adds economically to our own defense.

In my view, foreign aid must continue. I believe, however, that it should be upon a more selective basis, and I shall vote accordingly. A special Senate committee has recommended that, consistent with national security, efforts should be made to reduce the rate of expenditures for military and supporting aid. I agree. It suggests that economic aid should be on a loan basis. I agree again. Indeed, I have voted in this fashion in past sessions. These are some of the considerations which will guide me in the Senate when the problem is before us in the weeks ahead.

Whether you are engaged in foreign trade or in business here at home, your interests and your country's interests rest upon a sound national economy which our Government should encourage, and upon a peace with justice in the world which our Government should strive to attain. These are the objectives which are set before us and which we intend to reach.

Preparedness or Destruction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Disabled American Veterans is headed this year by National Commander Joseph F. Burke, of New Jersey. Commander Burke spoke before a convention of the Maryland Department, DAV, on Saturday, May 25, 1957, about the need for adequate defense preparedness as the greatest deterrent to any potential aggressor.

We can all appreciate the deep feelings of men like Commander Burke on this subject. I commend to the attention of my colleagues his remarks opposing reduction of essential military expenditures, and ask unanimous consent that Commander Burke's speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PREPAREDNESS OR DESTRUCTION

(Address of Disabled American Veterans National Commander Joseph F. Burke before the DAV Maryland Department convention, Baltimore, Md., May 25, 1957)

We are all aware, of course, of the fact that eligibility for membership in the DAV is not an honor which can be conferred, but rather DAV membership is limited exclusively to those Americans who were either wounded, gassed, injured, or disabled by reason of active service in the United States forces during time of war. Many of us wounded and disabled veterans are much more aware of the fact, than is the average citizen, that an unnecessarily large number of us were called upon to sacrifice parts of our bodies or our health in the military service of our country during time of war because our country had not had an adequate national-defense program prior to our involvement in war.

Inadequate preparedness and inadequate appropriations for national defense purposes do not help to perpetuate and maintain peace throughout the world. Indeed, if the peace of the world should be shattered by the crazed ambition of some dictator or some aggressor nation, an inadequate national defense preparedness program on our part may result in our involvement in another terrible war of defense at a cost in human life and suffering and of material wealth beyond our imagination. Adequate preparation to prevent war is indeed costly. Inadequate preparation may mean our complete annihilation.

The best quarantee against war is adequate preparedness of war. The best method of warning any potential aggressor nation not to risk a future war is for our country to be prepared at all times for war.

As American citizens, we know full well that America has no ambitions to dominate any other nation or to acquire territory. As members of the DAV, bearing the brunt and scars of battle on our bodies, or in decreased health, we may appear unique in advocating such a program as would eventually do away with such an organization as the Disabled American Veterans. We want no more eligibles, we want no more war or a new crop of wounded and disabled veterans which is the inevitable cost of war.

You may wonder why I, as national commander of the DAV, am speaking out in this fashion on a subject that would perhaps be better left to the experts. In all modesty, I insist that as national commander of the DAV, I represent a group of experts who know all too well that war means and who hate war because we have served our country in time of war.

Am I to be censured because I am fearful that if our Nation should fail to do its utmost to prepare for and prevent an unwanted war because of the desires of some Americans to have their taxes reduced by calling for cuts in the budegt for national defense purposes? Such a shortsighted policy can only prove to be pennywise and pound foolish. In other words, if a potential aggressor nation—and you all know that I am speaking about the world force of communism as centered in Russia—should decide that the United States has fallen short in some phases of its national defense program that would make it vulnerable to attack, then that nation might decide to risk world war III. On the other hand, if such a potential aggessor should observe that our technological and research programs are continuously advanced, and that the American people are united in their willingness to pay the cost so that we can continue to develop the best scientific methods of defending our country against any aggression, then any such nation would decide not to risk taking any steps which might lead to a devastating world war III.

It is safe to say, in looking backward, that if the United States had had an adequate military preparednes program in 1914, that fact would have been taken into account by those whose actions were responsible for World War I. They would, in advance, have realized the probability that America could be quickly mobilized and prove to be the balance of power in any war that might be started, and on the basis of that realization would not have taken the steps that lead to World War I.

From stories I have heard from former DAV representatives before the House Committee on Appropriations, which prior to World War II, declined to grant additional appropriations for national defense purposes, because of a false sense of security and the cost involved, I am quite sure that if such comparatively minor appropriations had been made, enabling our Armed Forces to conduct the necessary scientific research and developmental programs, that the then dictator in Germany would not have completely discounted the power of the United States as a potential power bearing upon the results of any war that he might start in Europe; would not have taken the steps that did lead to World War II. Because we were not ready to prevent World War II in Europe because of our pinchpenny methods we became involved in a world conflagration that cost us some $3 billion and about half a million lives—American men and women.

Of course the story in Korea is too close a memory for us ever to forget the mistaken impression we had that peace in our time was secure and that we could afford to withdraw our might from vulnerable parts of the world that still needed our protection. I hope that America will not repeat the mistake made prior to World Wars I and II and Korea, the mistake of cutting down on appropriations considered by our military experts to be of essential importance to our various scientific developmental programs aimed at a more effective military defense program. This does not mean to support any waste or extravagance of Government funds, military or otherwise. We, who must continue to pay the price of battle in our physical handicaps incurred by reason of our services, have the right—yes, the responsibility—to warn our fellow Americans and potential disabled veterans of future wars that it is of infinitely greater importance to make every financial sacrifice that might be needed for the development of the most effective military program that will prevent war than to again accept a pennywise policy that may lead us all to destruction.

The direness of a world war III is apparent. It could mean the ruination of our very civilization. No taxes that we might now have to pay to avoid such a catastrophe would be too great a sacrifice. Unfortuantely, Godless communism will not be deterred by any consideration of justice, but only, in my humble opinion, because of the fear that its own country would be devastated by a more powerful enemy. Force is the only law they understand. Force is the only god their leaders obey and respect. The mental disease of communism is an insidious cancer that must be removed if men are to remain free and peace rule the world.

I am convinced, as I think all Americans should be, that we cannot rely upon any agreements that might be made by the forces of communism not to start any military aggressions, except as fortified by our own military power.

I want you to understand that I am heartily in favor of the United Nations, I am heart-

ily in favor of our country assisting other democratic countries and peoples who desire the freedoms we have here in America, including the common people under the communistic dictatorship who likewise yearn for such freedoms. Our willingness to strive toward the ends of mutual understanding and respect by all nations, through the United Nations, extends the hope of the fulfillment of such a dream, but in the meantime, let us not become so economy minded as to diminish in any way the development of our national defense program. Let us keep in mind that adequate preparedness will enhance the time needed for us to struggle again for the minds of those infected by the mental disease of communism which, unless cured some day by peaceful means, will always be a deterrent to the cause of world peace; however, I believe the factors of religion, decency, and understanding are among the elements that some day will help us reach that understanding. The defeat of communism will be the greatest contribution of civilized man himself against man's inhumanity to man.

I feel deeply about the subject of peace. As a man who was born during World War I, severely disabled in World War II and expecting to die in a world war III, unless we, as a nation, are ever vigilant of the freedom of liberty and the right of human understanding as opposed to the known record of the inhumaness of mankind down through the ages, I cannot help but feel that we must continue to hope and pray and work for the day when the last Korean veteran will have died peacefully in his bed and the words disabled veteran which are synonymous with war will no longer have a useful purpose in the English language and that this Nation, under God, in the cognizance of human rights and decency will have a world with peace, a world with understanding, a world with dignity and purpose that our Creator ordained for us. May the day come when only the revered memory of our war dead and disabled veterans finds its rightful place in the keystone of the historical arch of our great Nation that has succeeded in bringing lasting peace to the world.

Budget Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, David Lawrence is a competent analyst of the Washington scene. He has made some interesting and pointed conclusions on the controversy over the budget and President Eisenhower's position. His article appeared in the Washington Evening Star on Thursday, May 23, and I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CONFIDENCE OF FEELING RIGHT—PRESIDENT'S PATIENCE IN FACE OF CRITICISM ON BUDGET AND OFFICE EVOKES PRAISE

(By David Lawrence)

Unruffled by the storms of criticism that have been raging around him because of the size of the Federal budget in a growing nation, President Eisenhower exudes the confidence of a man who feels he will be proved right and that the country will support his views.

Anyone who observed the President at his press conference yesterday, noting the frankness of his answers to questions, his intimate knowledge of the many topics brought up by the newsmen and his conciliatory and distinctly tolerant attitude toward his critics and opponents, must have come away with a feeling that here is a personality with the patience and calmness of a Job.

There are those who would have the President enter the lists and swing out boldly against this or that opponent inside or outside his own party. There are those who advise him to use all the arts of the demagog in his battle with Congress. And there are those who have been saying that his television addresses wouldn't be convincing because of their restraint and forbearance.

But how is public opinion formed in America—is it changed overnight by a single speech? Or does it take time for ideas to talk to neighbors and come to conclusions—perhaps not in time for the editions going to press the day after a presidential address on the television, but in due course?

The President is a rare personality in American history. He is unlike any other man who has ever been in the White House. He can take all sorts of criticism and can objectively consider the good and disregard the abuse and the emotionally extreme. Some of his comments are reminiscent of Lincoln's phrase:

"With malice toward none."

The reporters, for instance, asked him why he didn't go after those in his party who disagreed. He replied: "I have no right and no desire to punish anybody. I am committed to the support of people who believe, as I do, that the Republican platform of 1956 must be our political doctrine."

Unfortunately, many of the critics haven't read the 1956 Republican platform lately. They would find, if they did, that it says plainly that "further reductions in Government spending" are to be obtained but "without weakening the support of a superior defense program or depreciating the quality of essential services of government to our people?"

The same platform pledged tax reductions, but only "insofar as consistent with a balanced budget" and the necessity for a "gradual reduction of the national debt."

Yet, less than 7 months after Eisenhower was elected by an overwhelming vote, there are people who say he has repudiated his platform. Criticism of this sort has attained a nationwide momentum, along with a whispering campaign that the President really isn't in good health or that he isn't up to the job or is relaxing and doesn't care to fulfull his responsibilities.

How little those who spread such unfounded gossip really know about the indefatigable labors of Dwight Eisenhower. At the press conference this week a reporter asked if the President had been "filled in" on the case of the American soldier who is accused of killing a Japanese woman.

"You have used a strange word—'filled in,'" remarked the President rather ruefully. "I have been talked to about it at very great length, and both the State Department and the Defense Department are working on it very hard so that we keep our international agreements, but that we make certain that no injustice is done to any American."

Back of that comment was the story of a long conference with the Secretary of the Army and then a long talk with the Secretary of State—neither of which conference was reported in the press. Not much is known by the outside world of the many hours hat the President works away from the office, in the living rooms of the White House.

The President is in good health, his mind is lively and alert, and his interest in the duties of his office is as sincere and faithful as the day he first donned the uniform of a soldier.

The persistently adverse propaganda about the President is hard to understand in view of the presence of hundreds of alert reporters in Washington who can dispel such misinformation as has been spread by unfriendly critics in the political world.

But the tide is turning. The initial response from the second television address has been overwhelmingly favorable. The President is relying on the simple theory that commonsense and facts will win the case in the court of public opinion.

To quote a Kipling poem, Dwight Eisenhower may find that "If you can keep your head when all about you are losing theirs and blaming it on you," and if you can "be lied about" yet "don't deal in lies," or "being hated, don't give way to hating," the goal—in this case the support of the country—will be attained.

Wheat Quotas in the Upper Midwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, recently Mr. M. W. Thatcher, one of the great agricultural leaders of the upper Midwest, made a very effective argument in behalf of a favorable vote for wheat quotas in the forthcoming referendum to be held on June 20. He presents a very objective analysis.

He also presents a very objective analysis of present grain prices as they would affect most other farm commodities.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that his radio talk of May 22, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the talk was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Can you wheat farmers operate on $1 wheat? As a matter of fact, can you corn and hog and beef and dairy farmers keep your heads above water if wheat prices go down to $1 a bushel in 1958? Those are questions you ought to think over carefully—very carefully—because the decision will be made on June 20 when wheat farmres of the Nation vote in referendum. Every wheat farmer now knows the issues at stake. The question on the ballot is, "Will you accept marketing quotas on your 1958 wheat crop?" If you vote "Yes," present acreage controls will continue, and the price support on 1958 wheat will be $1.78 a bushel.

Sure, that's inadequate. But even this Bensonized $1.78 a bushel is better than what will probably happen if you wheat farmers vote "no" on June 20. Marketing experts—after taking a close look at wheat supplies and production—predict that the wheat price will plunge to $1 a bushel on the free market if the vote is "No." Sure, you could plant all the wheat you want, but to what avail if it costs you more to grow it than you can sell it for.

But $1 wheat would do more than just break the wheat farmers. It would start the disaster-price ball rolling among other crops and farm products. Even the diversified farmer, with an egg in every basket, would get rolled over a barrel. If that seems a little farfetched to you, let's look at it this way. One dollar wheat is about 40 percent of parity. That's almighty cheap wheat—good feed for beef and dairy cattle and hogs and chickens. But if wheat's a dollar a bushel for feed, what are other feed grains

worth in the feedbox in terms of pounds put on the animals, and milk in the cooker, and meat on the counter?

Well, it figures out about like this. If wheat sells for $1 a bushel—and there's plenty of it around the country to fill up the feed channels—then corn is worth about 65 cents a bushel—oats about 35 cents—barley 55 cents. Cheap feed. And when you start pouring cheap feed into your animals, you eventually end up with cheap animals, too. That's the record, and the boys who doublecheck the statistics will tell you that it has always worked that way. So on the basis of dollar wheat, you can end up with hogs and beef worth about $8.50 a hundred—eggs 19 cents a dozen—and butterfat 30 cents a pound.

Yes, it could happen that way. But for four straight years wheat farmers have help stave off an all-out price blowup by voting "yes" to keep the wheat program under the farm-price structure. And June 20 is the day to do it for the fifth time in a row. Vote "yes" and build and organize GTA—the co-op way.

Wasteful Spending by the Department of Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I have before me 2 editorials from 2 outstanding newspapers in South Carolina, commenting upon a news release which I issued regarding the wasteful spending of money by the military on unnecessary luxuries. One editorial is from the Anderson Independent of May 23. The editor of that paper most appropriately comments:

The defense setup needs fewer limousine-riding chiefs and more decently paid Indians.

The second editorial is taken from the Aiken Standard and Review of May 21, and states that:

All one has to do is to look around, and there will be brought home the fact that today taxpayers are being oppressed, while around them unnecessary waste of the people's money is going on.

Mr. President, these editorials represent the thinking of the people of South Carolina on his subject. I ask unanimous consent that the editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Anderson (S. C.) Independent of May 23, 1957]

TOO MUCH MONEY IS BEING WASTED IN THE SACRED NAME OF DEFENSE

No Andersonian or any other American in his right mind objects to developing and maintaining an arsenal of weapons and manpower sufficient for Uncle Sam to be able to talk firmly and wave a big stick.

Force is the only language understood and heeded by the imperialists of Communistic Russia.

On two occasions is as many weeks President Eisenhower has appealed to the people to stay the budget-cutting hands of Congress. The President has voiced especial concern that cuts may weaken the national defense.

Fundamentally the President is right. Yet he and the Department of Defense are on a spot of their own making in that the people have not been kept fully informed upon the aims and the actual needs.

Rather, Defense Secretary Wilson and the military bureaucrats have obviously conspired to keep information from the people—information that by no stretch of the imagination could be of aid and comfort to a potential enemy.

The American people desire Armed Forces capable of defending the land and ready to retaliate in event of attack. They do not believe that it is necessary nor desirable to create a military Frankenstein in order to achieve such a measure of security.

An unhealthy attitude is demonstrated, for example, by the reply Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, of South Carolina, received recently in reply to pertinent questions asking the numbers, types, costs, and relative information concerning all "nonmilitary type" vehicles used by all branches of service around the world.

"I have been advised by the Pentagon," JOHNSTON disclosed, "that if the Defense Department were to answer my letter, it would cost an estimated $40,000 to assemble the information. This in itself shows how ridiculous military nonessential spending has become" and how loosely it is controlled.

He went on to charge that taxpayers' money is being squandered on fancy chauffeured limousines and station wagons. He declared, "the military has so many chauffeurs and limousines scattered over the world it advises me the task to count them or determine the cost of chauffeuring and maintaining them is nearly impossible."

The Senator declares that "the streets and highways leading in and out of Washington are swarming with limousines and station wagons chauffeured by military personnel in and out of uniform to convenience officers and men of every description and rank."

Realizing the necessity of spending on planes and tanks, Senator JOHNSTON said he wants to know how much they are spending on the luxury items.

The Senator, even though bucking the closed Pentagon corporation, is on the right track. Millions that could be saved by cutting out the frills and furbelows could be used to increase the pay and bolster the incentive of men and officers who will be called upon to do any necessary fighting.

The defense setup needs fewer limousine-riding chiefs and more decently paid Indians.

[From the Aiken (S. C.) Standard and Review of May 21, 1957]

NO ELABORATION NECESSARY

Every American taxpayer, laboring desperately to make ends meet in this era of excessive taxation upon every governmental level and period of inflation when the dollar is worth only about 48 cents, should be vitally interested in this news release from the office of Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON of South Carolina pertaining to the Department of Defense and its "squandering taxpayers' funds."

All one has to do is to look around and it will be brought home the fact that the Senator does have a basis of complaint and that today the taxpayers are being oppressed while around him unnecessary waste of the peoples' money is going on.

Not only is it true in Washington, in the Nation, abroad, but is very true in your own community if you but notice.

The news release follows, and nothing today could fill these editorial columns more fittingly and enlighten the people more as to just what is going on under the guise of "necessary and mandatory defense."

Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON (Democrat, South Carolina) last week accused the Defense Department of "squandering taxpayers' funds on fancy chauffered limousines and station wagons" and said, "The military has so many chauffeurs and limousines scattered over the world it advises me the task to count them or determine the cost of chauffering and maintaining them is nearly impossible."

JOHNSTON charged that "the streets and highways leading in and out of Washington are swarming with limousines and station wagons chauffered by military personnel in and out of uniform to convenience officers and men of every description and rank."

The South Carolina Senator released a letter he sent Defense Secretary Wilson on May 9 in which he asked for the quantity, types, costs, and related information concerning all "nonmilitary type" vehicles used by all branches of the service around the world.

JOHNSTON demanded to know upon what conditions did certain officers and men receive chauffeured limousine service, how these cars are purchased or leased, from whom, and how much the whole show costs down to the last detail.

JOHNSTON said it was appalling to learn from the Defense Department that it was practically impossible to tell how much they were paying for these commercial-type cars or how much it was costing to operate them or how many men were being used to chauffeur them.

"I have been advised by the Pentagon that if the Defense Department were to answer my letter, it would cost an estimated $40,000 to assemble the information. This in itself shows how ridiculous military nonessential spending has become and how loosely it must be controlled."

JOHNSTON said he had advised the Defense Department to answer his letter as best possible in the hope of getting some sort of idea of the situation.

"We've heard a lot from Eisenhower about how much planes and tanks cost, now I want to know how much they are spending on luxury items. I want to know, too, why these military people can't provide their own transportation to and from work." Senator JOHNSTON said he drives to work every day in his own car and at his own expense and that other Senators and Congressmen drive their own cars to work, so why can't these military people do likewise.

"The military is flaunting the tax-weary American public with their extravagant living and operations at Government expense. I know I probably will not be very popular around the Pentagon because of all this, but it is time somebody got behind this thing and straightened it out."

JOHNSTON said he had forwarded a copy of his letter to Senator RICHARD RUSSELL, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

An Easy Essay on Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a document entitled "An Easy Essay on Conservation."

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EASY ESSAY ON CONSERVATION

State Senator I. N. Curtis came up with an essay which he said won a contest on soil conservation for an Indian:

"White man crazy. Cut down tree. Make big tepee. Plow hill. Water wash. Wind blow soil. Grass gone. Door gone. Windows gone. Whole place gone. Buck gone. Papoose gone. Squaw too. No pigs. No corn. No plow. No hay. No pony.

"Indian no plow corn. Keep grass. Buffalo eat grass. Indian eat buffalo. Hide make tepee. Make moccasin. Indian no make terrace. No build dam. All time eat. No hunt job. No hitchhike. No ask relief. No shoot pig. Great Spirit make grass. Indian no waste anything. Indian no work. White man loco."

The Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Usual Budget Outcry," from the Asbury Park Evening Press, Asbury Park, N. J., of May 15, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

USUAL BUDGET OUTCRY

In 1952, for the first time in 20 years, the Republican Party elected a President. Now, less than 5 years later, a small, noisy, diehard segment of the party is sniping at the man who brought them their first victory by attacking his foreign policy and his budget.

It is hard to believe that these complainers are the same persons who, during the New Deal, prayed daily for a Republican—any Republican—who could defeat that awful man in the White House. Such a man was found in General Eisenhower and everyone who looks at the picture realistically knows that General Eisenhower won the Presidency because he was liberal, yet sensible; idealistic, yet practical; and very much in tune with the demands of the 20th century rather than the 19th.

Consider the country's present foreign policy. Do these persons who criticize the President's foreign policy prefer the dismal mess he inherited when we were at war in Korea—politely called a police action—and young Americans were being killed for a cause which neither they nor their elders understood? Does the United States Chamber of Commerce, which can be usually counted upon to take the backward look and raise it hackles at the very mention of the word "budget," prefer a different sort of foreign policy involving a shooting war? One would think that on practical considerations alone the national chamber would favor foreign aid over war. It's much cheaper.

We listened to a relatively small number of diehards decry everything President Roosevelt ever did, including the many sound measures which marked his first term. Those measures were not, as the diehards would have us believe, jammed down the throats of the American people by a forceful President. They were enacted into law at the demand of the American people by a president who had sense enough to realize that the country was demanding action along liberal lines.

The same diehards are making a great outcry against the President's budget which provides for foreign aid as a means of maintaining the peace of the world. If we want peace, and if that peace is inextricably tied up with our foreign aid program as most of us believe it is, then we must reconcile ourselves to substantial budgetary sums. Nor should the critics of the President's fiscal policies forget the fact that much of the prosperity in which they are at the moment basking is based upon huge Federal expenditures at home and abroad.

This newspaper has urged economy at every opportunity. But economy is not to be found in the size of a budget but rather in the wisdom which has gone into its making. A budget several billion greater than the present one which results in continued peace would be an economical investment. A much smaller budget which substantially weakens our position in the world would be the rankest extravagance. Let's discuss budgets in realistic terms, not solely from the angle of those relatively few individuals who desire to keep all the material benefits and at the same time have lower taxes. The state of affairs these people seek just can't be achieved. No one yet has successfully kept his cake and eaten it, too.

Accounting Practices of Pan American World Airways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, on May 1 I made certain observations regarding Pan American Airways which at that time I thought to be constructive and objective.

I am now in receipt of a most forthright letter from Mr. J. S. Woodbridge, comptroller of Pan American. From Mr. Woodbridge's letter I gather there is considerable controversy, and has been for some time, between Pan American and the Civil Aeronautics Board with regard to the matters I mentioned.

I now learn Pan American has taken these matters to the court for adjudication. Pan American, as Mr. Woodbridge pointed out, feels it has a strong case, and that when the courts finally decide the case, the result will not be adverse to Pan American. I believe it is important that any pending case of a controversial character not be prejudged.

Mr. President, in fairness to Pan American Airways, I ask that the letter I received from Mr. Woodbridge be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAN AMERICAN WORLD AIRWAYS SYSTEM,
New York, N. Y., May 22, 1957.

The Honorable MILTON R. YOUNG,
The Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR YOUNG: There has just come to my attention a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for May 1 containing certain remarks which you made regarding the accounting practices of Pan American World Airways. Since I am primarily responsible for such practices, I believe that certain facts which were apparently not available to you should be brought to your attention.

Your remarks had reference to a recently instituted investigation by the Civil Aeronautics Board, and you advocated that so long as that matter was pending and also because Pan American was a monopoly, this company should be disqualified from getting any new routes.

For years there has been a fundamental area of disagreement between the Civil Aeronautics Board staff and Pan American with regard to mail rates and the proper accounting principles upon which to base them.

For example, in fixing the mail rates for Pan American-Grace Airways (Panagra), which is owned 50 percent by Pan American and 50 percent by W. R. Grace & Co., the Board has accepted an investment base of several million dollars, most of which has been built up by plowing back a very large part of the earnings over the entire life of this pioneer company. While the Civil Aeronautics Board staff has apparently permitted one owner, Grace, to take its full share of the earnings based on this actual investment, it has allowed Pan American to retain less than 20 percent of its share of the earnings, and has disregarded the great bulk of Pan American's investment representing its share of the earnings plowed back over a period of 25 years. Pan American has no objection to Grace receiving its half of the earnings based upon the true investment fixed by the Board, but considers it grossly discriminatory and illegal not to grant Pan American the same treatment as to earnings from their joint company. The Civil Aeronautics Board has adopted this same philosophy in dealing with all of Pan American's other affiliates. It would treat Pan American's investment on exactly the same basis as it would if all of the earnings of these affiliates had paid out in dividends over the years instead of being retained in the business.

Pan American has taken this and other related questions to the courts for adjudication. Pan American certainly feels that it has a good case and we believe that nothing should be done to prejudice it before the courts have finally decided the matter.

You also referred to Pan American as a monopoly which should be reduced in size. Pan American has competition on all of its routes—competition by American-flag carriers, and competition of the most vigorous sort from government-sponsored foreign-flag carriers. While Pan American flies over more route miles than our domestic airlines, it is no larger in this regard than some of its foreign-flag competitors and judged by the usual standards of volume of passengers, cargo, and mail carried it is considerably smaller than several of our United States domestic airlines.

Pan American welcomes the CAB inquiry and we are confident that when the courts finally have decided the Mail Rate case the result will not be adverse to Pan American. Meanwhile, it would be inappropriate for me to comment on the specific matters referred to in the Board's order of investigation. These will be fully answered in that proceeding.

The further order of the Civil Aeronautics Board itself reveals that the Board's conclusions are tentative and that they may be subject to substantial qualification. It also points out that Pan American is yet to be heard in connection with all of these matters.

There is a very substantial area of controversy between Pan American and the CAB staff. Both sides should be fully heard, and the matter should be settled in accordance with our American tradition of fair play. Meanwhile, it would be unfair and improper

to prejudge the case or to consider it in any other proceeding which might involve Pan American.

I feel certain, in light of the foregoing, you will want to correct the record and bring Pan American's side of the controversy to the attention of your colleagues. If there is any additional information you may care to have, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely,

JOHN S. WOODBRIDGE,
Comptroller.

Educational Gems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Educational Gems," written by Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., of the Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDUCATIONAL GEMS

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., Arkansas A. and M. College)

About this time last year the author served with Dr. and Mrs. Thomas J. Welch, Mrs. Helen H. Mitchell, and Mrs. G. S. Reuter as Messengers to the Southern Baptist Convention in Kansas City, Mo. Since then the world has been saddened by the passing of Mrs. William (Billy) Sunday, Mrs. Edward James, Mrs. Nellie E. Simpson, Rev. John S. Ironside, ex-Governor N. G. Kraschel, Ramon Magsaysay, Dr. P. W. Philpott, F. E. Robinson, and Dr. John Elward Brown. Also, Dr. John R. Rice suffered a skull fracture and Dr. Richard Elvee suffered a back injury. Mrs. Mitchell liked the name of the British News Agency and changed her name on August 18, 1956. Winona Lake, Ind., will not be the same without Mrs. Sunday. Moody Memorial Church will not forget the late Dr. H. A. Ironside's son and Dr. Philpott, the former pastor. Many additional remarks could be made about each person mentioned, but Arkansas suffered the greatest in the passing of Dr. Brown. Mr. Robinson of the Robinson Drug Store of Dayton, Tenn., was a sign of the times in his leadership against evolution, but Dr. Brown was a leader in so many areas.

Dr. Brown, who was born in Oskaloosa, Iowa, on April 2, 1879, died February 12, 1957, in Leucadia, Calif. The founder of John Brown University of Siloam Springs, Ark., has thus departed this earth, with this appropriate statement made about him at his funeral:

"Dr. John E. Brown was one of the greatest evangelists of our generation. Few men have ever obtained distinction in so many fields. As an educator, he was the head of five great schools. As an evangelist, he held front rank among the greatest evangelists of our generation. As an author, his pen was prolific, having written numerous books, and he was the editor of a number of papers and magazines. As a radio minister, he was one of the best known and best loved."

A number of educational gems became reality during this time too. At the Department of Higher Education of the Arkansas Education Association in Little Rock, Ark., on November 1, 1956, Dr. L. D. Haskew of the University of Texas, delivered some worthy thoughts in his topic "Teaching, Instruction, and Learning."

He defined teaching as "the constellation of actions designed to afford individualized guidance, motivation, and opportunities to students who are enrolled in schools and colleges." Dean Haskew said instruction "is usually one part—relatively minor—in the teaching process, a part in which an instructor explains, elaborates, or presents to students (en masse) some knowledge." Dr. Haskew said learning "is done by students; it is the end-object of teaching and of instruction, but cannot be guaranteed by either."

Then there was the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education Convention at the Morrison Hotel in Chicago, Ill., during the week of February 14, 1957. The writer represented Arkansas A. and M. College at this meeting. The theme was An Educated People Moves Freedom Forward, and this developed the next gem. He was also able to attend sessions of the Association for Student Teaching, National Society of College Teachers of Education, the Comparative Education Society, and a special meeting of administrators to consider factors concerning the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics.

Editor Norman Cousins, of the Saturday Review, gave a fine address on international affairs that validated all that Adlai E. Stevenson had said about bombs during the recent campaign, but Mr. Stevenson's name was not mentioned. AACTE sent a long wire to President Eisenhower as a result. Dr. Albert Schweitzer has recently affirmed the danger.

Dr. T. R. McConnell, of the University of California, noted that "the task of teacher education is not to maintain standards but to raise them." Also he said that "academic excellence is obviously a function of the intellectual demands that can reasonably be made of students."

President David D. Henry, of the University of Illinois, noted "the American people are at last set about thinking about plans for the future of higher education and educational service for post-high-school youth. With confidence in the process of democratic appraisal, it may be hoped that school and civic leadership together may build a responsiveness among the people which will be a source of strength and inspiration for the challenging questions of our time."

Dr. Karl W. Bigelow, of Teachers College, Columbia University, said "the teachers college as we knew it 20 years ago is on the way to oblivion. It is proving to have been a way station between the normal school and the State college, a multipurpose institution for which teacher education is one among several functions." Several educators took exception and were quoted in the Chicago papers, one in particular from an Illinois institution.

President Eugene B. Elliott, of Eastern Michigan College, spoke on the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education in 1957; and Executive Secretary William K. Selden, of the National Commission on Accrediting, had the topic Accreditation of Teacher Education as Viewed by the National Commission on Accrediting. It was encouraging that great improvement was indicated.

Sidney H. Fine of the United States Information Agency showed a film "America Presents America" that gave a sample of what we show the foreign nations. He also said "the popularity of our programs is, at times, a bit overwhelming."

Dean William A. Brownell of the University of California indicated that "a common criticism of many public school administrators is that they know little about what is happening in their classrooms and that they do not care to know more." He also said "if there ever was a time when collegiate institutions could afford to be complacent about their programs in teacher education, that time is not now."

Director Emeritus Louis A. Warren of The Lincoln National Life Foundation set the pace of the entire conference from the standpoint of philosophy by talking on "Lincoln's Emphasis on a New Birth of Freedom." He noted the three books that constituted Lincoln's great education. They were: the Bible, Scott's Lessons in Elocution, and Weems' Washington. He said of the Gettysburg Address that "it might be considered as an epilogue to the Declaration of Independence."

It was possible to again have sweet fellowship with Dr. Calvin E. Harbin of Fort Hays, Kansas State College, to visit Moody Memorial Church again and hear Dr. Redpath preach, and to visit with Dr. Harold O. Soderquist of Wayne State University, but the nice ending came in the admission of 37 new institutions.

Nixon's Warning on Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "NIXON's Warning on Budget," written by David Lawrence, and published in the Washington Evening Star of May 24, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NIXON'S WARNING ON BUDGET—VICE PRESIDENT SEES PERIL IN INFILTRATION OF UNCOMMITTED COUNTRIES BY REDS

(By David Lawrence)

Vice President NIXON thinks the biggest danger that confronts the free world today is not a defeat in a shooting war—he believes America can win such a war—but the infiltration and penetration by the Communists in the uncommitted countries, with 700 million people.

NIXON, who spoke on the Federal budget in Chicago on April 30 and in Hartford, Conn., on May 14, has just delivered his third punch in behalf of President Eisenhower. Having recently come back from some of the underdeveloped areas of the world, the Vice President portrays vividly the situation there in relation to the security of the United States.

NIXON points out that critics of the Federal budget have overlooked a salient fact—that "80 percent of the increase is directly attributable to the higher prices the Government has to pay for both material and personnel." But his most significant statement, which is a challenge as well as a disclosure of what's going on in Washington, was couched in even more pointed phrases, as follows:

"Unless Congress decides to discontinue domestic programs it previously has approved, budget cuts as high as five to six billion dollars, which some have suggested, cannot be made unless the items for national defense are substantially reduced. Anyone who contends otherwise is just kidding himself and the public as well—because approximately 75 percent of the entire Federal budget goes for the Defense Department, Atomic Energy Commission, interest on the national debt, foreign aid and other defense-related items."

NIXON contends that any cut of the defense budget below $38 billion would be "a reckless and foolhardy action which on sober reflection the American people will not and should not support." He adds that the $4 billion to be spent in mutual security programs and economic assistance are "as essential a part of our national defenses as the $38 billion we spend for our Army, Navy, and Air Force at home." He argues that, despite waste and mistakes, "we are getting more for our money in security for the United States in what we are spending abroad than we are in what we are spending at home."

The Vice President predicts the Communists will obtain a strong hold on the "uncommitted" countries unless America gets there first and wins the people to our side. The expenditure of about $1 billion in that field, out of the $4 billion for foreign aid, is supported by him as a necessary risk to be taken in the "cold war" because the stakes are so important. He declares there is "no expenditure being made by our Government which is more essential to our national security than this one."

NIXON warns, moreover, that "this is no time to announce to the Communists and the world that we are tired of the struggle."

What the Vice President didn't refer to in this particular speech, but which the President has emphasized, is that the free countries have spent more than $107 billion for defense against communism since the close of World War II and that the United States has furnished them with about $17 billion in assistance. This answers the argument that America is doing it all and that the other nations are not as concerned with their own defense against the Communist menace as they should be.

As the debate on the budget goes on, it is apparent that those on the attacking side have generalized that the waste in governmental operations amounts to many billions of dollars and that a tax cut of that sum can be obtained. Actually, it now appears that even the Democratic leaders are unwilling to try to pass a tax reduction bill at this session of Congress and will not be pinned down as to whether or when they will propose one after next January.

While a tax reduction—if the budget were cut by as much as $6 billion—would mean a saving to every taxpayer of about $78, it could be at a cost later of such a weakened defense in a possible war as to wipe out overnight any such saving. For, if a global or limited war ensued, it would draw many times that amount in taxes from the pocketbooks of the taxpayers, even as human lives might be lost. It is to prevent war that the United States wishes to see military and economic strength maintained throughout the free world.

Relations With Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, there are, of course, many and varied points of view concerning the strained relations which exist between the United States and Russia, and the solution to problems created thereby. One point of view is clearly and provocatively expressed in an article entitled "How To Handle Russia," written by Mr. Robert K. Pepper, news editor of the Fort Myers News-Press Fort Myers, Fla. Since all points of view are entitled to expression and consideration, I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW TO HANDLE RUSSIA

(By Robert K. Pepper)

With the horror of hydrogen warfare hanging over us, it would seem wise to review our international policies, to make one last desperate attempt to gain an agreement with Russia leading to lasting peace.

Herein also lies the brightest hope for a substantial reduction in the ever-increasing national budget. Military costs now account for a major part of our spending, and Congress appears unwilling to reject any sum asked in the name of defense as long as the Communist threat remains.

From time to time, the Soviet leaders come out with various peace gambits. If they are sincere, we should make every effort to take advantage of it. If they are bluffing, we should call the bluff in no uncertain terms.

So let us go to the Kremlin with a really sensational proposal. Let us frankly say, we are tired of the cold war; we will make immense concessions in the cause of peace. We are prepared to call for the dissolution of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance, abandon all bases in Europe, Africa, and Asia, and bring all our troops home. We will also drop all anti-Soviet military-aid programs.

We agree to cease production of nuclear weapons, if the Russians do likewise. As for inspection, we should not insist on our open-skies plan which may or may not be the best solution. Rather we should strive to work in harmony for a swift but orderly program of mutual disarmament and demobilization.

In addition to military concessions, we should present a specific program calling for expansion in trade between the United States and the Communist world.

In return for all this, we should spell out exactly what we desire in the way of disarming, release of the Soviet satellite countries in Europe, and the end to antiwestern propaganda and intrigue. If the answer is satisfactory, then the most important issue facing the world today is solved. But if they hedge and quibble, we will at least have gained face with the peace-loving peoples of the earth. And, of course, we make no retreat until we are convinced of Russia's sincerity.

Many will say, you cannot deal with the Russians; they can't be trusted. But have we ever actually tried? Don't we insist that things be done "our way," giving little consideration to their arguments? Have we ever offered them a program which, in the minds of their leaders, would be advantageous to accept?

Our aim should be to meet them not halfway, but two-thirds of the way; to be more than fair. Here it might be pointed out that the Soviet Union may be pardoned for concern as the United States tightens its ring of defense bases, equipped for the launching of atomic bombers, around the Red world.

Should we withdraw, our investments in foreign bases and aid to friendly nations have by no means been lost, but have proven valuable pawns in trapping Russia into our terms. Continuing the analogy of chess, we have set up the board for a magnificent sacrifice leading to ultimate victory, which is closing out the remainder of the 20th century in comparative peace.

Our allies in Europe would be very happy to get out of the dangerous dilemma of the present. Great Britain has no desire to be the frontline target in a nuclear war, and France is continuously embroiled in domestic difficulties. And despite our constant prodings, lucrative promises, and implied threats, it is difficult to detect any real enthusiasm for rearming in Western Europe. Our allies, of course, should be consulted on any peace proposals to Russia. It is more than probable that any program leading to the end of the cold war would be highly acceptable to them.

We should also strive to gain an accord with Communist China, which after all is the de facto government over almost 400 million people. We might not only recognize the Red regime, as many neutral nations do, but also actively sponsor its admission into the United Nations.

Let us look at the issue with a historical slant, rather than in the heat of present day emotions. We fought Germany twice in world wars; today we count the West Germans our friends and allies. Japan was our bitter enemy only a few years ago, but for a century we enjoyed a traditional friendship with China. So why should we not strive for the good will of all nations? Who can say what the lineup would be if another world war should erupt? Or who can say that our present policy of pushing Germany and Japan into rearmament will be wise and correct in the long run?

As to alarm over the spread of communism, it should be recalled that no military machine, creed or faith (including Christianity) has ever conquered the world, or even a major part thereof. Violent revolutionary movements inevitably turn conservative with time, and it is not impossible that Russia may some day swing into a more Democratic form of government. For it is quite probable that there are more people in Russia today who would prefer capitalism than there are Communists in America.

Should we succeed in gaining a military accord, it must be nailed down with worldwide economic stability, for this is the failure and the tragedy of two world wars. To this end it is suggested that the United States, in effect, challenge the world to a race in public works. There is now a universal clamor for budget reductions, but the sudden erasure of $20 billion to $40 billion in military spending could have serious consequences. So at least part of this saving should be channeled into harbors and highways and other domestic betterments.

In this peacetime world, we could take action to insure the steady expansion of international commerce.

This could be effected by the United States Government setting up a world trade fund of say $5 billion to $10 billion each year. We would then offer to exchange these dollars for rubles, yuan, pounds, francs, pesos, etc., on condition that the nations receiving them use their American currency (or bank credit) either for the purchase of American goods, for technical assistance, or for internal works.

The world trade fund would by no means be a total loss. Our Government would agree to use some of these acquired currencies for the purchase abroad of goods useful in public works or for stockpiling purposes, and some could be resold to importers, firms doing business abroad, and to outward bound tourists. And any remaining could simply be added, like gold and silver, to the Nation's monetary reserves. It can even be envisioned that at some future date America might suffer some scarcities of goods, and then these stored up currencies would be most welcome.

Currently, this program should help to level off our agricultural surpluses, and open new markets for our manufactured goods. It would also stimulate the American shipbuilding industry, and encourage the construction of international air freighters. The world trade fund should vary considerably from year to year, geared as nearly as possible to the expected surplus of exportable

goods. The overall idea would be to assure the orderly and continuous creation of new markets as production and production facilities expand.

We would be at some disadvantage in trading hard dollars for yen and rupees, and of course there is always the possibility of losses through devaluations abroad. Nevertheless, we would be getting something tangible in return, which is more than can be said for the Marshall plan, or our present foreign aid outlays. And perhaps other nations would prefer to deal with us on a reasonably businesslike basis rather than to accept handouts.

As for the disturbed Middle East, would it not be wise to lend a helping hand, and persuade the Arabs and Israelis to divert their warlike energies into public works? That to assure construction jobs, and the hope of a new and better way of life to these poverity-stricken millions, would be far cheaper in the long run than continued armed camps, or open warfare which must inevitably involve the West?

Instead of guns, planes, tanks, and military funds, we might offer a really substantial grant in return for a pledge of peace. Egypt dreams of a great dam on the Nile to provide power and water; the ancient Tigris-Euphrates irrigation system could be restored; the proposed Jordan River project would aid both Israel and the neighboring Arabs. And it would take but a small fraction of our current arms outlay to launch all these undertakings.

The burden would by no means be on us alone. In return for this assistance, the Middle East nations should agree to contribute the approximate savings they would effect through disarmament and the end to military outlays.

Moreover, in launching a new era of peace and harmony, we should ask both Russia and our western allies to join with us in a Middle East development program. This just might be the first of many cooperative moves for a better and brighter world.

And suppose we do nothing, and allow the cold war to drift along. With the rising costs of armaments, we could be spending $50 billion a year or more, which in 5 years would approximate the entire amount of our current national debt. And we might consider the staggering costs, and destruction, in case some spark in this uneasy world should touch off an open, nuclear conflict.

Private Versus Public Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania, Mr. President, Capt. John M. Cummings, the able political commentator of the Philadelphia Inquirer, has written a very interesting story as it relates to private enterprise against public enterprise. I suggest that my colleagues carefully consider this timely statement. I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE BRINGS BACK A LAKE

(By John M. Cummings)

Seventy-two years before hurricane Hazel wreaked havoc on the eastern section of the country (October 15, 1954), W. W. Scranton, a capitalist from the town bearing the family name, headed a company which impounded the waters of Tobyhanna Creek to form what later became known as Pocono Lake.

It was one of numerous lakes and ponds of the Pocono area from which ice was harvested, generally in February, and shipped in long trainloads to Philadelphia, New York and other centers. Ice houses, once so familiar in the mountain section, have virtually disappeared. One by one they fell before the advance of electric refrigeration.

The stout dam built by Bill Scranton's company resisted the onslaughts of many a storm until Hazel came alone. On the night of the big blow the Pocono area was hit hard. Many lives were lost. Rippling trout streams became roaring torrents. Bridges were washed away. Highways became rivers. Much of the damage is still to be repaired although the legislature levied an emergency tax on gasoline to raise funds to speed rebuilding of roads and bridges.

On the night of the big blow John S. Wise, Jr., whose camp Tall Timbers is hard by the lake shore, stood on a rocky eminence near the breast of the dam. An engineer, who for many years headed the Pennsylvania Power & Light Co., Mr. Wise feared that in Hazel the dam had met its master—or mistress. He was right.

An outcropping of rock shielded Mr. Wise from the 92-mile-an-hour wind. It helped, too, to protect him from the terrific rains which in a matter of minutes sent tiny brooks over their banks and gave the ordinary fast-running Tobyhanna a volume of water the dam could no longer resist. It went out with a roar. Down the narrow valley it rushed, carrying everything before it. In the morning the bottom of Bill Scranton's ice lake was visible for the first time in nearly three-quarters of a century.

A week or so ago we stood with Mr. Wise on the spot where he watched the dam bend and break before the might of Hazel. They were not too particular about the bottom of a lake in those days. They were interested in what the surface could produce—ice. Pocono Lake's bottom was a forest of stumps. It was not a deep lake, but it covered a wide expanse. Ninety-four pounds of fishing tackle—spoons, plugs, spinners, flys and hooks of various sizes were gathered from the stumps.

In a few weeks Pocono Lake will be a lake again. A fine concrete dam has taken the place of the one that yielded to Hazel. Mr. Wise estimates that the normal flow of the Tobyhanna will fill the basin in about 3 weeks. The day after the big storm cottage owners at the lake, many of them Philadelphians, heard of the disaster. In another 24 hours enough money had been raised to repair the damage to Pocono Lake Preserve and reconstruct the dam. This is known as private enterprise. Not too far away public enterprise, in the form of the State, is still struggling to replace bridges and rebuild roads. At Pocono Lake they are back in business.

Physical Fitness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the subject of physical fitness has been of growing concern to the Congress and to the administration. The Vice President, I recall, heads a committee appointed by President Eisenhower which has as its goal the improvement of physical fitness among the youth of our country.

One of the surprising things to many people has been the discovery that athletic prowess is not always an indication of superb physical fitness. The April 29, 1957, issue of the New Republic contained an excellent article on this general subject. The article was written by Mortimer H. Morris, assistant professor of recreation at Oregon State College, Corvallis, Oreg. The title is "Does Sports Equal Fitness?" Mr. Morris asks some penetrating questions in his essay and offers some expert criticism on many of the commonly accepted beliefs and practices of our time.

Because this is a subject of wide interest and general concern, I ask, Mr. President, for unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DOES SPORTS EQUAL FITNESS?

(By Mortimer H. Morris)

The attention being given by the New Republic to the education of the gifted child recalls an incident: Near a Swedish university a mob of wildly shouting students held a lad high on their shoulders. There was a wreath around his shoulders and he was being pelted with roses by the girls, while boys and girls alike shouted cheers. "Some brilliant athlete, I suppose," my American friend inquired of an onlooker.

"No, sir. He is graduating and is the honor student of the year."

"Well, it's the first time I ever saw such wild excitement over scholarship," he commented.

There was a polite glint of amusement in the Swede's eye as he asked, "And for what purpose, then, does your country build schools?"

In contrast to other countries, the gifted child who receives special attention in the United States is the gifted athlete. He we pamper and spoil from the earliest indication of physcal prowess until his graduation into professionalism or oblivion.

Start them young and keep them coming has become a national fetish. Despite warnings by competent medical authorities on the psychological and physiological dangers of high pressure, competitive athletics at the elementary school age, the trend is toward more and more highly organized programs in Little League baseball, Pop Warner football, Biddy basketball and even Iddy Biddy basketball. The midget fad has even passed on to tennis, golf, auto racing, boxing, hockey, and ice skating.

The story of football at Steubenville, Ohio, is illustrative. Nine members of the undefeated starting eleven in 1951 went on to play big-time collegiate football. The high-school teams are in turn constantly fed by a staff of six coaches assigned to leagues starting at the fifth-grade level. The effectiveness of this system is tacitly expressed by the high-school coach. "By the time they come to the varsity, we don't have to waste much time."

Has such sports promotion resulted in an athletically superior America? Emphatically not. The disturbing results of a fitness survey team led by Dr. Hans Kraus disclosed European children to be stronger and more physically fit than our youth and provoked President Eisenhower into calling a physical

fitness conference in late 1955. The President, believing the myth that sports equals fitness, summoned top-flight athletes whose highly skilled performances have long rated newspaper headlines. Fortunately when the conference (delayed by the President's heart attack) was finally held, physical educators, recreators, physiologists, and medical experts were included among the delegates. The decisions reached at the conference were laudable, but no progressive program has resulted.

Why are our sports programs failing to produce a physically fit America? Because by its very nature a highly competitive sports program is selective in its choice of participants. For every boy who makes the team, there are 30 or 40 others relegated to the spectators' stand. And as the boys grow out of the midget or elementary grade classification the ratio becomes higher.

Consider Croton-on-Hudson, New York, where I served as superintendent of recreation. Because of a shortage of gymnasiums, our recreation leagues were able to offer each boy in the community less than an hour a week of basketball. There was no high-school intramural program. But at the same time, the 16 boys selected for the varsity and junior varsity squads spent more than 20 hours a week on the basketball court. Here is the typical situation wherein those already skilled benefit by 20 times, while those of lesser skill are deprived of a chance to play.

The obvious answer seems to be more athletic facilities. But as Dr. Milton Gabrielsen, of New York University, has pointed out, school administrators and boards of education, caught in a vise between a tax-conscious public and the need for additional classrooms, frequently list physical-education facilities as frills, expendable in a building program. These planners do not dare incur the wrath of the community by eliminating the varsity sports program, so that all students might enjoy equal use of recreational and physical-education facilities.

A survey of 252 Pennsylvania high schools playing interscholastic football showed that half of the group permitted no activities other than varsity football on their fields, despite the fact that 98 of the schools involved had no other outdoor facilities of any kind. The extreme instance was a school owning a $50,000 lighted stadium but having neither lockers nor showers for the use of physical-education classes.

Thus far we have considered the loss of physical activity to the boy or girl who has been made a spectator by the highly selective program. There are nonphysical implications. In a discussion of physical education and neurotic behavior disorders, one authority reminds us that "the highest degree of peer esteem among boys is reserved for those who excel in sports. The rare individual who achieves adolescent popularity alongside ineptitude in sports—and such a one occasionally appears—ought to be called a 'social genius.'" There are not many among us who are social geniuses.

By no means am I suggesting that our schools discard competitive athletics. There are many educational values in such programs. I do, however, urge a more moderate attitude toward the importance of competitive sport. The height of hypocrisy is at the collegiate level. Our colleges have become sports promoters. Teams are recruited for the sole purpose of producing victories; the welfare of the students is incidental. Any registered university student is entitled to and should receive an education, but this becomes a non sequitur where athletes are concerned. The collegiate sports picture is, with a few exceptions, an abnegation of the purposes and the principles of higher education.

Moreover, are we doing these young athletes a service by trading free tuition, books, keep, and spending money for their athletic abilities? Many have no right even to be in school; many others have no desire to be in school, except for their realization that the university may be the stepping stone to true professionalism, or possibly a means of delaying a lifetime of work at a level they do not enjoy.

Although the National Manpower Council has shown that 60 percent of our young people over 18 possessing an I. Q. of 110 plus do not enter college, even the dullest athlete can find a college to attend. All-American Sherman White, of Long Island University, who figured in the 1951 basketball fix scandal, has an I. Q. below 100. All-American footballer Glenn Davis flunked out of West Point once, and he and Doc Blanchard rated 305th and 296th, respectively, in their 310-cadet graduating class. The College of Idaho has openly recruited athletes who could not meet the entrance requirements elsewhere. The result—undefeated teams and standing-room-only crowds at the games.

Yet when professionalism was exposed in Pacific Conference schools Gov. Goodwin Knight, of California, proclaimed: "The whole cause of the trouble is because these professors were just a bunch of spindly legged runts back in college who resented athletes, and they still resent them."

Our high-school physical educators are trapped themselves. Most of them were better than average athletes who went to college for training that would prepare them to coach. Although it was a part of their required curriculum, many of these men grasped neither the philosophy nor the physiology of play and exercise. Their understanding does not include a working knowledge of human anatomy nor a working appreciation of correctional procedures where remedial attention is demanded.

These same coaches respond to public pressure to win by turning their physical-education classes in both the high and elementary schools into training grounds for varsity teams, thus increasing the stress on those who would play anyhow, and limiting the physical program to a few sports played by a few.

Fitness and athletics are a lifelong concern rather than merely something for youth. Is it not, therefore, self-evident that schools should teach skills and sports that have a carryover value in later life? Research by Dr. Jay B. Nash has shown that more than 70 percent of recreational activities after the age of 21 were enjoyably indulged in before the age of 12. Adults can develop new recreations, but the overwhelming tendency is to revert to familiar activities. Therefore the athlete trained only in football, baseball, and basketball is very likely to become a spectator before he reaches this 30th birthday.

The fact that 50 percent of the men called for preinduction physicals during the Korean crisis were rejected on mental and/or physical grounds and the estimate that more than 23 million Americans have some physical impairment or chronic disease, have often been cited as evidence of poor national fitness. Actually there is little correlation between physical defects and physical fitness. Mickey Mantle, of the New York Yankees, could hardly be called unfit and yet was rejected from military draft. In fact, sports injuries were an important factor in many military rejections.

Are we even sure that fitness and athletics go hand in hand? From studies made over a period of 20 years, Dr. Pauline Berry Mack has conclusively proved that Americans are overfed but seriously undernourished, and that physical strength and stamina among public-school students can be developed through diet alone.

We would rather not admit it, but in fact our schools today are substandard in facilities, equipment, and leadership. New York City is not untypical. All gymnastic apparatus work has been eliminated from the physical-education program because of fear of injury to students in overloaded and understaffed classes. Many American schools have no physical-education classes whatsoever, and only a few can truthfully boast of a program offering each student 60 minutes of physical activity each day.

The answers to the American fitness problem are available from qualified professional leaders in physical education, health, and recreation. But their knowledge can only be put to work with the concurrence of the public. And the public attitude is not likely to change unless educators themselves dare to debunk the prevailing myths about athletics.

The Enemy at His Back—Book by Elizabeth Churchill Brown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, some time ago it was my pleasure, on the floor of the Senate, to recommend to my colleagues the reading of an excellent book written by Elizabeth Churchill Brown entitled "The Enemy at His Back."

I am happy to observe that one of the distinguished columnists in California, Mr. George Todt, who writes for the Valley Times, has written a column on this excellent book, entitled "Light on 1945 War Blunders."

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIGHT ON 1954 WAR BLUNDERS

(By George Todt)

"Honor women! they entwine and weave heavenly roses in our earthly life" (Schiller).

It was left to the pen of a brilliant woman—Elizabeth Churchill Brown—to afford me the clearest insight I have yet received into Communist treachery and infiltration as it effectively prevaded American foreign policy during and immediately following—World War II. Her factual and well-documented book, The Enemy At His Back, is a Joe Doakes' must in these crucial times in which we live. I cannot recommend its reading too strongly to my readers who wish to know the confusing international political score for themselves.

Liz Brown is the articulate wife of the outstanding syndicated columnist, Constantine Brown, and her first published book has merit sufficient to do justice to her famous husband. This excellency applies both as to thoroughness and intellectual content. It is completely down-to-earth and written understandably, sans gobbledygook, for folks like you and me. If you want to find out what sinister behind-the-scenes characters like Alger Hiss, Owen Lattimore, John Carter Vincent, et al., did to us and our country, by all means get hold of this masterpiece!

"In the atomic age in which we live," wrote Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND in the book's foreword, "it is important that Americans understand the past so that we may

better plan for the future. Elizabeth Brown has done a great deal of research and with insight has developed additional facts in helping to explain the strange course of our foreign policy during the past 11 years. The Enemy At His Back will be of value to all individuals anxious for a free world of free men. We must recognize that in dealing with the Kremlin, the road to appeasement is not the road to peace. It is only surrender on the installment plan."

As this noteworthy work becomes more widely read—and understood—I am sure it should raise some fascinating questions among intelligent readers. For instance, was it really necessary for former President Harry S. Truman to order the dropping of the first nuclear bombs on an already defeated Japan which was begging to surrender? Or how many additional battle casualties may have been unprofitably sustained as the Roosevelt and Truman administrations stalled out the timetable of the Pacific war in order to enable Soviet Russia to enter the Far East conflict? Did she garnish her undeserved fruits of victory there—as a free gift on a silver platter—only after the United States had carried the brunt of the real fight in Asia? Did Communist strategy published in the "Daily Worker" originate the ill-advised "unconditional surrender" ultimatums to Germany and Japan which made World War II last considerably longer than was absolutely necessary—with the corresponding increase in casualties which goes with every added and unnecessary day of combat? Read this documented book and think it over for yourself!

On page 142 is a highly revealing quote from President Dwight D. Eisenhower: "Another item on which I ventured to advise President Truman involved the Soviets' intention to enter the Japanese war. I told him that since reports indicated the imminence of Japan's collapse I deprecated the Red army's engaging in that war. I foresaw certain difficulties arising out of such participation and suggested that, at the very least, we ought not to put ourselves in the position of requesting or begging for Soviet aid. It was my personal opinion that no power on earth could keep the Red army out of that war unless victory came before they could get in."

And get in they certainly did—but it took the cunning assists of various controversial Americans working overtime backstage to insure that the Reds did so. We fought Japan to a complete standstill and then the Soviet Union came in only when the fight was already over—and stole the international swag under our very noses. This was quite unnecessary, and no one who calls himself an American today should be proud of the sad results which ensued thereafter out of this Pandora's box of evils for our country. Whether this was the result of treachery or asinine stupidity, of one thing we may all be certain: seldom has any inner clique been able to deal their own nation such a distressing blow throughout all of history as was dealt to us in this sorry instance. The ill-fated Korean war was only one of the many direct results, sad to relate.

This is the sort of abominable thing which must cause the teeth to fairly grate of the 16 millions of United States veterans of the last World War. While they were fighting and sacrificing for the preservation of our country, Communist treachery in high places made much of their tremendous sacrifices go for less than naught. We may well wonder at the normal reaction of America's fighting men today after reading this frightening exposé of trickery and deceit against the announced objectives and aims for which they fought so gallantly.

"To sum it all up," says Liz Brown, "the only enemy the American soldier needs to fear is the enemy at his back."

Results of a Public Opinion Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, during the past several weeks, I submitted a questionnaire on issues confronting the Nation to a cross section of the residents of the seven counties of southeastern Ohio whom I have the honor to represent here. For the purposes of this poll, the recipients were selected at random without regard for political affiliation. This sample of public opinion now has been tabulated and I believe its results reflect a valuable expression of the prevailing feelings in this area which is marked by divers urban and rural interests.

I believe the opinions of the people of the 15th Congressional District of Ohio are typical of many areas of this Nation, since the residents share sentiments and aspirations common to tens of millions of their fellow Americans. For this reason, I feel certain that many of my colleagues will find the results of this poll to be of considerable interest.

The questionnaire was divided into three parts. The first portion sampled opinion on various specific questions. The second dealt with the order of importance with which various general issues are regarded. The third part afforded an opportunity for the expression of relative approval or disapproval of Federal programs and the funds recommended for them in the 1958 budget estimates.

The results of the poll are as follows:

Part I

	Percent of those answering question	
	Yes	No
1. Do you favor United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation, an international organization which would influence tariffs on foreign imports into this country?	65.89	34.11
2. Do you believe Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations?	7.72	92.28
3. Do you favor the sale or barter of United States surplus farm products to Iron-Curtain nations?	29.22	70.78
4. Do you favor the continuation of our foreign aid program which is recommended for $4,500,000,000 next year?	24.94	75.06
5. Would you support economic and military assistance to friendly foreign countries at a reduced cost?	75.39	24.61
6. Should a greater number of Hungarian refugees be admitted to the United States?	17.94	82.06
7. Do you believe Congress should authorize the admission of a greater number of immigrants from all nations?	10.88	89.12
8. Do you believe that the 22d amendment to the Constitution should be repealed to allow future Presidents to serve more than 2 terms?	17.73	82.27
9. Would you support Federal aid for school construction to be paid for out of Federal taxation in preference to such programs financed by State and local effort and taxation?	36.90	63.10
10. Do you favor reducing the present postal deficit by increasing postage on 1st-, 2d-, and 3d-class mail?	57.71	42.29
11. Are you in favor of the continuation of the soil-bank program?	50.72	49.28
12. Would you favor a tax reduction to stimulate expansion and modernization of small business?	86.41	13.59
13. Do you support a recommended Federal program costing approximately $9,000,000 to assist States and cities combat juvenile delinquency?	48.18	51.82
14. Do you believe that persons over 70 years of age should be eligible to receive social-security payments regardless of their income from other sources?	56.61	43.39

PART II

The following is a list of 10 issues listed on the questionnaire which have been arranged in the order of importance in which they were ranked by those responding. The numbers shown are the averages of the relative importance assigned by those who provided opinions on this portion of the poll:

1. National defense	2.95
2. Need for reduced Federal spending and taxation with a balanced budget	2.97
3. Inflation and the cost of living	3.52
4. Maintenance of an honorable peace	4.48
5. Communist subversion in the United States	4.80
6. Preservation of opportunity for small business	5.75
7. Farm prices and policies	6.01
8. Federal protection of civil rights	6.05
9. United States foreign trade policies	7.09
10. United States foreign aid programs	7.80

PART III

In this portion of the questionnaire, an opportunity was provided for the expression of opinion on the level of Federal spending as represented in the budget recommendations for 1958. In each of the 49 programs listed, the budget recommendations were provided. Three choices were presented. The first afforded an opportunity to indicate support of the budget recommendations. If reductions in spending or the elimination of the program was felt desirable, blank spaces for these opinions were provided.

Running through the responses there was a strong trend for reduction in Federal spending.

The first portion of these questions dealt with major national security items—recommended for $43,335 million or 60.3 percent of the budget—and showed general support for these programs. However, a running current favoring reduced spending was noticeable. For instance, 59.8 percent of those responding supported the $12,273 million recommended for the purchase of aircraft, ships, guided missiles, and other military equipment. Thirty-nine percent favored reducing expenditures here. Atomic-energy programs spending received 67.4 percent approval with 30.4 percent calling for reduction. Recommendations for military assistance for

nations abroad received 19.5 percent approval, while 59.1 percent called for reduced spending, and 21.4 percent expressed the belief that this aspect of our foreign-aid program should be eliminated.

A total of 61.7 percent favored reducing technical assistance to foreign nations with 13.5 percent favoring the level of recommended expenditures and 24.8 percent calling for the elimination of the program.

Recommended funds for the Post Office Department received 55.1 percent approval while the highway program was supported by 67.6 percent.

With respect to recommended spending for agriculture, farm price supports and related programs—estimated to cost $2,490 million—were favored by 24.5 percent. Forty-eight percent recommended a reduction in spending for this purpose and 27.5 percent believed the program should be abolished. Feeling concerning spending for the soil bank ranged from 32.3 percent in support to 37.3 percent recommending a reduction of spending, and 30.4 percent favoring the abolition of the program.

Federal spending for public assistance for needy persons was supported by 56.5 percent and funds for the promotion of public health met 61 percent approval.

Funds recommended for veterans' programs met with the general approval of the majority. Of these programs, 74.8 percent expressed support of funds for hospitals and medical care for veterans, 67.8 percent approved recommendations for the insurance and indemnities program, and 65.3 percent favored the recommended spending level for compensation and pensions.

Tour of Korean Front Finds United States Force Weak

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Donald Baldwin of the Associated Press which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on Monday, May 27, 1957:

(By Donald Baldwin)

SEOUL, May 26.—United States forces in Korea today are woefully weak. Their unmanned battle positions are overgrown with weeds—an invitation to Communist attack.

In contrast, the North Koreans and Red Chinese across the demilitarized zone have built up an army in 4 years of armistice far more powerful than at any time during the Korean war.

The Communists have new jet planes, new tanks, new artillery, and in the opinion of South Korean intelligence officers they may also have atomic weapons. All the weapons in South Korea are either obsolete or obsolescent.

TEN-DAY INSPECTION MADE

A 10-day inspection by an Associated Press team found alert, seemingly well-trained South Korean soldiers manning 150 miles of the front from well-entrenched positions, although they were equipped with old, World War II weapons.

But a 5-mile-wide sector, athwart the classic invasion route north of Seoul, is entrusted to an American division only 60 to 80 percent of normal strength. The South Koreans—criticized during the war for failing to stand and fight alongside Americans—call the American sector the weakest link in the battleline. United States field commanders openly express concern.

This is how the opposing sides stack up today:

In the south, there are about 700,000 South Korean troops, about 80,000 Americans including 2 infantry divisions and logistics and command units, and fewer than 5000 other United Nations troops, including a British regiment in the process of being withdrawn.

This compares with an 800,000-man U. N. army at the end of the Korean fighting in 1953—but the weapons are old now and have not been replaced because of a ban in the armistice agreement against introduction of new-type equipment.

RED STRENGTH GREATER

In the north, according to intelligence reports, the North Koreans have a reorganized and reequipped 400,000-man army and the Chinese Communists have a 350,000-man garrison. There are also at least a million Red Chinese troops across the Yalu River in Manchuria. The Communist forces in Korea during the war were estimated at more than a million.

The Communists have ignored the ban on new weapons. They have shipped in 1,672 artillery pieces, 340 new tanks in addition to the 480 they already had, 500 jet and 300 propeller-driven planes.

There are recurrent—but unconfirmed—reports that their new artillery includes atomic cannon with a range of 15 to 20 miles, which is manned by Soviet technicians.

The Red jets include about 250 MIG 17s—later-model interceptors than the Manchuria based MIGs which were bested by United States Sabrejets during the Korean fighting.

The U. N. forces still have about 150 Sabres, half flown by American pilots and half by South Koreans. Other United States fighter-bombers and light bombers have been withdrawn because of their age. Even the Sabres have been superseded elsewhere by newer fighters.

United States strategy appears to be based on the assumption that the Communists will not attack so long as there are any American forces in South Korea, even though under strength. South Korean generals, however, feel sure the Communists will invade the country again as soon as they feel able.

YANKS EXPENDABLE?

On the Allied side is the knowledge that a fast jet bomber could deliver an atomic bomb from its Okinawa base to a Korean target in under 2 hours, and the general assumption here is that no holds will be barred if fighting breaks out again.

In that event, some officers here say, American troops on the scene might of necessity be expendable if evacuation proved impossible. Asked what would happen if there was another Communist attack a high officer in United States headquarters said:

"We'd be in a terrible position."

On paper, both United States divisions are fully manned for action, with Americans firing every gun. But a visit to the two units showed both were far below strength.

All but one of the frontline regiments are miles from the frontline. It would take them from 1 to 3 hours to reach their battle positions, now weathered and overgrown with weeds in the almost 4 years of suspended combat.

The regiment that is close to its positions is located north of the Imjin River above Seoul, and in event of attack would probably have to pull back quickly behind the natural barrier or risk annihilation.

All across the American-held sector, however, continuous and active training programs are underway and morale appears to be good.

Still, a lieutenant colonel commanding a United States tank battalion said:

"If my outfit had to go into combat today I'd be forced to leave 15 or 20 tanks behind because I haven't the crews to man them."

Money Power of Labor Leaders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, there is now much discussion of the effect of certain hidden powers as they relate to politics. The very able commentator, George E. Sokolsky, recently wrote a very interesting article entitled "The Money Prize." I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MONEY PRIZE

(By George E. Sokolsky)

Each generation discovers what has long existed as something startlingly new. Labor racketeering seems such a new discovery in the year 1957, although it has been usual in American labor for a century. Back in the days of the Knights of Labor, there was a racket called the Home Club which, while posing as a labor organization, actually worked for the bosses. These days it would be called a company union. The building trades back in the early days were particularly notorious, because the business agents of the unions speeded up or slowed down work according to the deals that were made with them personally.

The kickback was an old form of union racketeering. The kickback was, in effect, a reduction in wages, part of it going to the foreman or a bookkeeper, but eventually making its way into the pockets of the boss. A kickback is impossible unless the officials of the labor union agreed to it, and for such an agreement they got a rakeoff.

Today the kickback would be chicken feed, because wherever there is a closed shop or a union shop, the take is so big that union officials, except those way down the line, would not bother with such small amounts.

By singling out Dave Beck and his union as corrupt, some of the labor leaders are sure that they have taken the monkeys off their own backs, which is something we still have to see. What is necessary is a complete, overall study of the money prize in American trade unionism. When a labor leader has absolute and personal control of a quarter of a billion dollars of public funds, for which he is in no manner bound to account, then he is a dangerous person, because he can use that money honestly or corruptly at will. No citizens other than labor leaders are so empowered.

The claim is constantly being made that certain labor leaders work with the "mob" and that others do not. The term "mob" is intended to give the impression that sinister forces, gangsters, racketeers, murderers have

formed a conspiracy with labor leaders to control the production and distribution of goods. Again, it is nothing new in American labor relations and the unions which are now praised for their purity have a long history of such associations.

It is supposed to be high strategy in labor circles to speak well of certain labor leaders and to denounce others because of their relations to the "mob." Taking the history of all the unions, over all the years of their existence, it is impossible to discover such Puritanism as we are now asked to recognize. It is the repetition of the big lie that makes such labor leaders little angels in 1957 who were quite devilish in the 1930's.

Until the money prize in trade unionism is abolished, so that being a labor leader ceases to be a profitable enterprise but becomes a job with a fixed salary and nothing more—until that happens, the money prize in labor-union leadership becomes a lodestone for a political type of individual who unites with others of the same kind of person to make what he can out of it. Some men seek power; others money. Some work for both. But no labor leader can afford, under present circumstances, to live among his fellows strictly on his salary without an expense account and without access to strike funds, educational funds, and welfare funds. A close analysis of the political expenditures of unions is more important nationally than Dave Beck's fifth-amendment pleas.

The enormous money power of these labor leaders is having the same effect upon politics as the use of money by big business in the 1890's.

Legal Profession Can Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "State Legal Profession Can Aid in Stressing This Inconsistency," from the April 30, 1957, issue of the Jackson (Miss.) Clarion-Ledger.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE LEGAL PROFESSION CAN AID IN STRESSING THIS INCONSISTENCY

An attorney friend advises us that the American Bar Association is soliciting contributions from the legal profession to erect a monument commemorating the granting of Magna Carta at Runnymede in England. Magna Carta first guaranteed the right of trial by jury, which is the cornerstone of American freedom and freedom in other English-speaking countries.

Meanwhile, our attorney informant further advises, the same American Bar Association has not yet raised its voice against sinister efforts in Congress to circumvent the constitutional right of trial by jury in so-called civil-rights legislation. Failure to go on record against these efforts would seem to put the American Bar Association in a rather inconsistent position.

The thought occurs that local and State bar associations here in Mississippi, and elsewhere around the Nation, might see fit to voice their protests to the American Bar Association for erecting a monument to Magna Carta while at the same time remaining silent while the United States Congress prepares to violate one of the fundamental tenets of this same Magna Carta.

Many attorneys, especially Mississippians and other southerners, deem it ironic that the American Bar Association should go all the way to England and build a monument to Magna Carta at Runnymede, in the very year that the United States Congress apparently plans to enact so-called civil-rights legislation which would destroy the sacred right of trial by jury to certain accused persons.

This is not to suggest that the Magna Carta memorial campaign lacks merit. On the contrary, it is a laudable project which deserves complete success and fullest support. Our idea is that members of the Mississippi legal profession can perform an invaluable service by urging the American Bar Association to go on record as being opposed to current efforts to destroy the constitutional right of trial by jury.

Certainly the Nation's foremost association of lawyers should take a position one way or another in this all-important issue, in view of the fact it frequently does so in other legislative matters of relatively minor import. While commemorating Magna Carta's guaranty of basic freedoms, the association might do well to cherish and defend our basic freedoms here at home.

Hazleton, Pa., Church Observes 110th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared recently in the Hazleton Plain Speaker on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of the founding of the Grace Evangelical and Reformed Church in Hazleton:

GRACE REFORMED CHURCH WILL MARK 110TH ANNIVERSARY WITH TWO SERVICES SUNDAY

Two special services are planned for Sunday in Grace Evangelical and Reformed Church, North Laurel Street, to mark the 110th anniversary of the founding of the church.

The Reverend Dr. Alfred Nevin Sayres, former pastor, lecturer, writer, and professor in the theological seminary at Lancaster, will deliver the sermons.

MAKING NEW HISTORY

His subject will be Making New History, and will be based upon the Scripture found in Deuteronomy 32: 7–14. His New Testament emphasis will be on Paul's letter to the Philippians in which Paul admonished his listeners to "Hold true to what we have attained."

The junior and youth choirs will sing at the 8:30 a. m. service. The three vested choirs of the church will sing at the 10:45 a. m. service under the direction of Miss Chiora Fey, minister of music.

Many of the families represented in the consistory, the official body of the congregation, have been three-generation workers in the church. The committees and their members are as follows: Church and ministry, John Boettger, George Guscott, George Baum, and Christ Knyrim; kingdom service, Harold Koch, William Toennes, Landis Oberholtzer, Irvin Hoppich; Christian education, John Schnorr, T. D. Kreiger, William Toennes; finance, Landis Oberholtzer, Harold Koch, Robert Pensock.

Worship, George Guscott, John Boettger, Robert Pensock; evangelism, T. D. Kreiger, Robert Pensock, Christ Knyrim; property, Henry Berlitz, John Schnorr, Clarence Shermer.

CITES BENEVOLENCE GIFTS

The total benevolences of the congregation last year were $4,800 in support of the program of the denomination at home and abroad.

Total congregational expenses were $13,918, leaving a working balance in all the treasuries of the organizations of the church and Sunday school.

Fifteen pastors have served Grace Church since its organization and establishment in 1847.

The Rev. William Toennes served the longest pastorate in the history of the church, from January 31, 1898, to December 31, 1935.

A booklet printed in observance of the 90th anniversary and rededication of the renovated sanctuary refers to him as the "master workman in human souls."

The present pastor, Rev. William Y. Gebhard, has served the second longest pastorate in the history of the congregation, a period of 21 years.

Pastor Gebhard attended the public schools in Reading and was graduated from the Franklin and Marshall Academy in Lancaster.

SERVED IN CAVALRY

After graduation he entered in the Eighth United States Cavalry and was stationed on the Mexican border for 1 year and 2 months.

Upon return to civilian life in 1919 he matriculated at Franklin and Marshall College and was graduated from that institution in 1923.

After graduation from the Theological Seminary in 1926, he attended the University of Pennsylvania and received his master of arts degree in educational administration in 1931. During this time he served the East Vincent Charge of the Philadelphia Classis and was instructor in social studies in Spring City Senior High School.

Each year the members of Grace church return a love gift to the church at anniversary time. The range of these gifts since 1936 has been from $921 to $8,860. This was contributed during the 100th anniversary celebration in 1947.

The following men and women serve as heads of the church-wide organizations: William Toennes, superintendent of the Sunday school; Harold Benner, treasurer; Allen Kirchdoerfer, secretary; Mrs. Lloyd Kramer, senior choir president; Mrs. Charles Koch, president of the Women's Guild; Mrs. Carl Sell, president of the Missions Group; Albert Meiss, head of the athletic program, including the Sunday school league in bowling, softball, and basketball; Robert Knyrim, head of the Grace Church dart league.

MEMORIAL GIFT

A gift of $300 from the Spencer and Kirchdoerfer families in memory of John Spencer has been set aside for a permanent trophy case which will house the various trophies won by Grace Church through the years.

A new constitution of the congregation was prepared by a committee composed of Harold Koch, Landis Oberholtzer, John Culp, Robert Pensock, and T. D. Kreiger. This was approved by the consistory and the congregation.

Two symbolic plaques were handcarved and purchased by the primary department for the baptistry. A worship center was prepared by the junior department under the direction of Mrs. Fred Siglin. Crosses were the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Russel Feist. The

kindergarten, under the leadership of Mrs. Harry Howey, is laying plans for the setting up of a worship center for the beginners in the church school work.

INCREASE PLEDGES

Under the consecrated leadership and example of the laymen of the church, more and more members have pledged support for the annual budget in the kingdom roll call.

Hardwood floors were placed in the parsonage's first floor and a powder room was installed. A new chimney was erected for the church at a cost of more than $1,200.

The youth of Grace received "All American" rating from the denomination. There were 88 out of the 600 groups that qualified in the light of their programs during 1956. Mrs. Landis Oberholzer is the adult adviser. Ella Zueger, Forrest Kreiger, and Allen Kirchdierfer are the cub leaders.

Two hundred new hymnals, with the liturgy, have been ordered and many of them will be placed as memorials by members of the church.

Reverend Gebhard invites the public to the anniversary services.

CHURCHES TO UNITE

Next month the Evangelical and Reformed Church will unite with the Congregational Christian Church, and will thus help to bring greater union to the Universal Protestant Christian Church.

These 4 denominations, some of them serving in the United States for more than 200 years, will become one. The new name will be the United Church of Christ.

The new denomination will have more than 2 million members with a nationwide and worldwide program of Christian action.

The White House and the Power Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, it has been obvious for somtime that the quarterbacking on the administration team has not been working satisfactorily.

Appropos of this is a very illuminating article in the Washington (D. C.) Evening Star of Friday, May 24, by Columnist Thomas L. Stokes. Mr. Stokes points up the amazing sequence of events which shows that the President of the United States occasionally operates in a vacuum of his staff's own making—while the Nation's large and powerful interests get their way at the expense of the taxpayer.

Mr. President, this is a serious situation. We are treated to the astonishing picture of the world's most powerful executive being uninformed and unaware of what transpires within that area of his own jurisdiction.

Mr. Strokes is a well known and reliable reporter. The facts which he presents can hardly be questioned.

Now let us turn to my own State, where the editorial writer of the Lewiston Morning Tribune, Bill Johnston, has suggested that the theme of the Hell's Canyon fiasco may eventually go down in history as, "clear it with Sherman." He suggests even further, in his editorial of Thursday, May 23, that the fumbles of the Hell's Canyon controversy will have a bearing on President Eisenhower's role in history.

I ask unanimous consent that both Mr. Stokes' column and Mr. Johnston's editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star of May 24, 1957]

OPERATIONS AT THE WHITE HOUSE—STAFF ACCUSED OF NOT KEEPING PRESIDENT INFORMED ON TWO DAM AND POWER CASES

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

The really important thing about the political debate in the Senate this week is not the personal attack on President Eisenhower by Democrats, surprising as that may be and indicative, as it is, that Democrats now feel this can be done without hurting them politically.

The important thing was the picture built up of a President who is kept in the dark about matters handled by his White House staff, which a President should know about as they deeply concern the public interest. This ignorance, as it was bluntly called by his Democratic detractors, was about natural resources, policy and special privileges for big electric utilities. What has happened once again emphasizes what now is common knowledge here—how powerful business and financial interests operate to get what they want behind the facade of a kindly, popular hero whose interest in social welfare is continually stressed.

Once again the famous Dixon-Yates deal designed to strangle TVA was recalled by Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, in connection with confirmation of J. Sinclair Armstrong, formerly chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. When SEC Chairman, he was shoved around by Sherman Adams, assistant to the President. The latter got Armstrong to delay the beginning of an investigation of the Dixon-Yates deal so that the House could act on a $6.5 million appropriation for a transmission line for Dixon-Yates before the SEC investigation. Adams knew that would show, as it did, that an agent of a Wall Street investment firm that was involved in the Dixon-Yates financing was also a consultant for the Budget Bureau in negotiating the Dixon-Yates deal.

This is known as conflict of interest, of which there have been numerous cases in this business administration. It is against the law.

During the controversy over the Dixon-Yates contract, which was finally canceled by the Government because of conflict of interest, we discovered at White House news conferences with the President that he had not been informed by his White House staff of details of this case affecting a big section of the country and an important Government project.

Now we discover that the President still is not kept informed about important matters by his White House staff in another case. This involves another big utility—the Idaho Power Co., of Augusta, Maine, which already has been favored by a grant of the biggest waterpower site still undeveloped in the United States—Hells Canyon in the Snake River along the Oregon-Idaho border.

Twice at news conferences, this week and last, President Eisenhower expressed his disapproval of fast tax writeoffs such as recently was approved for the Idaho Power Co. by Gordon Gray, administrator of the Office of Defense Mobilization. This means of quick amortization, which was instituted to induce private industry to expand for war production, amounts to an abatement of taxes for 5 years that constitutes an interest-free loan. The President pointed out each time that Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey opposes this device, as the Secretary, himself, had made known long ago.

Yet the Treasury head first found out about the Idaho Power Co. case when he read about it in the newspapers. Obviously, the President couldn't have been advised, either; at least it would be assumed that if he had he would have stopped it.

But the White House staff knew about it. So we would gather from testimony of Gordon Gray this week before a Senate committee. He had discussed it with members of the White House staff. We can only conclude that they told him to go ahead and approve it. He refused to tell the details of his conference with White House staff members. Six times he pleaded what is known as Executive privilege, which works like the fifth amendment.

There has been too much of this locking of the barn door after the horse is stolen in this administration. The President regrets—but the big interests always get what they want. He should have known about this Idaho Power Co. case. It has been bruited about publicly in Congress for 2 years. It was 2 years ago that Senator WAYNE MORSE, Republican of Oregon, warned in a Senate speech that Idaho Power Co. would get a quick tax amortization certificate. Several months ago both Virginia Senators—BYRD and ROBERTSON, Democrats—cautioned the Office of Defense Mobilization against granting it. Senator ROBERTSON asked that an ODM representative appear before his committee. None ever showed up.

This week we were told again by the President that we rank-and-file citizens can't have a tax cut yet.

[From the Lewiston (Idaho) Morning Tribune of May 23, 1957]

THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE MIDDLE SNAKE

The disclosure Tuesday that top White House officials were consulted on the Idaho Power Co. fast tax writeoff arrangement before it was announced is one which fits into an interesting pattern.

It increasingly appears that the White House has been consulted by administration officials at almost every stage of the Hells Canyon Dam controversy. There is nothing alarming or sinister about such an arrangement, of course. But when the whole history of the administration's spectacular Hells Canyon fiasco is written, it will be interesting to determine whether the theme of that history was the slogan, "clear it with Sherman."

Gordon Gray, director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, told a Senate subcommittee Tuesday that he had notified Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams and two other White House aides that he intended to grant Idaho Power's application for rapid tax amortization on its proposed Middle Snake River dams.

"I thought they were people who ought to be notified before they read about it in the papers," he said. "This is a matter in which there has been considerable interest and controversy."

He emphasized, however, that if any of the Senators questioning him meant to imply "that I made my decision under any instructions, then the implication is quite wrong."

This would appear to be another way of saying that he passed his decision up to the White House for review, found that it brought no objections, and then announced it publicly. In any event, there is no cause for concern in Gray's wish to inform the White House of his decision first.

The action does fall into a pattern which has become clearer only in recent months.

At periodic intervals during the long and bitter Hells Canyon controversy there have been decisions by the "administration" which seemed to reflect the workings of backstage machinery. The "administration" has evolved river development policies in the Northwest from time to time which departed from the policies of the various agencies charged with water resources—and this has been particularly true in the Hells Canyon case.

Only recently have statements been aired by some Washington, D. C., reporters that the real signal-caller throughout the Hells Canyon dispute has been Sherman Adams. And the evidence is steadily mounting that the White House has been consulted at stage after stage of the Hells Canyon controversy, establishing policies in the ruckus which did not necessarily coincide with those of the various administration agencies most directly involved.

It will be interesting to resource historians of the future if the evidence eventually proves beyond any doubt that the White House itself has been directly to blame for most of the fumbles in Hells Canyon controversy. The record, when it is complete, perhaps will have a minor bearing on President Eisenhower's role in history.—B. J.

Industrial Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, safety campaigns and the effort to reduce the injury rates in industry pays dividends in two ways. The suffering, distress, tragedy, and death that are the concomitants of injuries are reduced. The loss of trained employees, impairment of morale, and lowered production, equally concomitants of injuries, are diminished as factors in economic waste.

Labor and management have found in the drive to reduce the injury rate another great area of mutual interest.

The April 1957 Harbor News, issued by the commission of public docks, carries an article, entitled "Efforts of Job Level Safety Committee Reduce Injury Rates 48 Percent in 7 Years," which points up the importance of safety.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EFFORTS OF JOB LEVEL SAFETY COMMITTEE REDUCE INJURY RATES 48 PERCENT IN 7 YEARS

As a result of a plan worked out between labor and management in 1948, Portland's waterfront has become one of the safest industrial areas in the city. Compensable injuries to Portland dock workers were reduced 48 percent between that year and July 1, 1956, the last tabulated six month period, and much of the credit for this satisfactory safety record is due to the Portland Job Level Safety Committee of the stevedoring industry of the Pacific coast.

The committee had its beginnings in 1948, when the Pacific Maritime Association and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union wrote a West Coast labor contract that included a far-seeing, effective and workable job safety section which has proven mutually valuable to employees and employers alike.

Since the first Portland meeting of the Committee in August, 1949, monthly sessions have been held for the principal purpose of discussing safety as a means of education, and for exchange of ideas, instruction and cooperation rather than to develop a bargaining position. The Committee confines itself entirely to ways and means of developing procedures for safety instruction to stevedores and employers, safe practices on the job, improvements in supervision, and standardization of safety equipment.

Membership on the Committee is representative of the full range of waterfront employment. In accordance with the Pacific Coast Longshore Agreement, dock men, hold men, deck men, and lift and jitney drivers are represented on the committee. Employers sit in at the supervisory level. Committee membership is divided equally—four longshore representatives elected annually by Local 8, I. L. & W. U., and four management-employer representatives from stevedoring companies and terminal operators. Ninth man on the Committee is its secretary, Mr. Don A. Willhite, Area Supervisor of the Accident Prevention Bureau of the Pacific Maritime Association. Mr. Willhite has served as secretary of the Job Level Safety Committee since its formation.

At each monthly meeting the committee reviews injury reports and receives reports and suggestions from its members as to work practices, methods and conditions that have been observed on the job. Recommendations made by the committee are submitted for consideration and reply to the District Accident Prevention Committee, composed of steamship companies, stevedore companies, and terminal operators on the Columbia River.

As expressed by Mr. Willhite, the Job Level Safety Committee takes the position that safety is not something that can be negotiated into fact; mutual interest must develop an area of mutual understanding and cooperation.

That this cooperation and understanding have been accomplished is agreed upon both by labor and employers. Improved safety records and the 48-percent reduction on compensable injuries since 1949 are proof that the committee has kept its feet on the ground. The fact that longshoremen, by the very nature of their work, have no steady employers but work on a day-to-day job basis, has made it all the more imperative for mutual group effort in safety consciousness.

The Job Level Safety Committee is subscribed to on an industrywide basis, embracing all I. L. & W. U. Pacific Coast ports. In Portland, 5 terminal operators (the Commission of Public Docks, Columbia Basin Terminals, Albina Dock Co., Luckenbach Terminal and Interstate Carloading Co.), 7 stevedoring companies (Portland Stevedoring Co., Jones Stevedoring Co., Oregon Stevedoring Co., Brady-Hamilton Stevedore Co., Pope & Talbot, Inc., Luckenbach Steamship Co., and American Mail Line), and all steamship operators and agents of domestic and foreign lines work cooperatively with the committee.

On a broad basis, section 15 of the Pacific coast longshore agreement is the guidepost for the committee's efforts. This section directs the union and the employers to abide by the rules of the Pacific coast marine safety code. It requires the employer to provide safe gear and safe working conditions and to comply with all safety rules. Employers must maintain, direct and administer an adequate accident prevention program. The union is directed to cooperate in this program to develop and maintain procedures to influence all longshoremen to cooperate in every way that will help prevent industrial accidents and will minimize injuries when accidents occur. In addition, employers individually must comply with all safety rules and cooperate with management in the carrying out of the accident prevention program.

The final sentence of the section adequately sums up the purpose of the committee: "It is further intended that this program will produce mutually practical and effective recommendations regarding corrections of accident-producing circumstances and conditions."

The sincerity and interest of those cooperating on the Committee have been proven. Although the Committee's work may not be spectacular, it is constant and steady and is in the interests of saving human life and in material savings to the men and the industry.

The Commission of Public Docks has entered enthusiastically into the job safety program. The record of awards presented to the Commission during the past 10 years is proof of the policies, leadership, and personal interest and activity of all levels of management in stimulation of job safety practices. The Commission is proud of its own safety record—no CPD employee has been injured on the job since the present safety program was begun.

For the years 1945 through 1949 the Commission of Public Docks was awarded a 5-year memorial trophy by the Accident Prevention Bureau of the Pacific Maritime Association for the lowest injury rate of all terminals on the Columbia and Willamette Rivers. Since then, in 1950, 1953, 1954, and 1955 special wards of merit have been made to the Commission for perfect records of operating for a full year without an injury requiring a time loss of more than 6 days.

This outstanding record received Nationwide recognition when the Commission was invited to participate in the President's Conference on Occupational Safety in Washington, D. C., in May 1956. Mr. George Grove, operating manager, attended as the Commission's representative.

In all possible ways the Commission of Public Docks is entering into every phase of job-level safety. Recent construction at Terminal No. 2 includes the most adequate lighting installation in the Pacific Northwest for night-time operation on berths. The Commission also is using high visual color painting on edges of aprons, along depressed rail tracks, and on bitts for securing ships, and is providing life-saving equipment at every berth at each terminal. Fire prevention equipment is kept always in top operating condition and is tested and inspected at prescribed intervals.

The most modern facilities, rapid, careful handling of all commodities whether bulk or general, and attention to all rules of safety combine to make Portland, Oreg., the progressive port of the Pacific coast.

Interesting Facts About the Shelley Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written to me on May 24, 1957, by Hon. R. Carter Pittman, of Dalton, Ga., a distinguished member of the Georgia bar and a noted authority on constitu-

tional law. This letter presents some interesting and heretofore unpublished facts about the much-publicized case of *Shelley* v. *Kraemer* (334 U. S. 1, 68 S. Ct. 836, 3 ALR 2d, 441) and raises some very pertinent questions about it.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PITTMAN, KINNEY & POPE,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW,
Dalton, Ga., May 24, 1957.

Hon. HERMAN TALMADGE,
United States Senator,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR HERMAN: While preparing questions for the 1957 Georgia bar examination, I came across the case of *Shelley* v. *Kraemer* (334 U. S. 1, 68 S. Ct. 836; 92 L. ed. 1161, 3 ALR 2d, 441), and learned something strikingly new and strange. The official United States Reports, the Supreme Court Reporter and the Law Edition do not carry quotations of and excerpts from amici curiae briefs in that case, but I discovered that volume 3 American Law Reports, second edition, beginning at page 443 and running through 455, lists the names of all attorneys and organizations appearing in that case amici curiae.

The Shelley case is the famous case decided on May 3, 1948, in which the Supreme Court usurped the power to amend the Constitution and to make law relating to matters reserved to the States, and held that judicial enforcement by State courts of covenants restricting the use or occupancy of real property to persons of the Caucasian race violates the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment.

Appearing in this private litigation as "friends of the court" purportedly in behalf of certain organizations seeking to have the Court invalidate time honored restrictions on the use or occupancy of property, universally held to be within the right of property owner and beyond the reach of government, prior to 1948, were the following who controlled the judgment of the Supreme Court in the Shelley case (I number them for convenience):

1. Alger Hiss, Philip C. Jessup, Joseph M. Proskauer, Asher Bob Lans, Myres S. McDougal, and Victor Elting, for American Association for the United Nations.

2. Edward C. Park and Frank B. Frederick, for American Unitarian Association.

3. Luther Ely Smith, Victor B. Harris, John R. Stockham, and Eugene H. Buder, for St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee.

4. Perry W. Howard and William C. Huestion, for Civil Liberties Department of the Grand Lodge of Elks.

5. Isaac Pacht and Irving Hill, Clore Warne and Douglas Badt, for the State of California.

6. Robert McC. Marsh and Eugene Blanc, Jr., for Human Relations Commission of the Protestant Council of the city of New York.

7. Herbert S. Thatcher, Robert A. Wilson, and Harry B. Merican, for American Federation of Labor.

8. Tom C. Clark, Attorney General, and Philip B. Perlman, for the United States.

9. Julius L. Goldstein, for Nonsectarian Anti-Nazi League To Champion Human Rights, Inc.

10. Melville J. France and William Kincaid Newman, for Executive Committee of the General Council of Congregational Christian Churches of the United States.

11. Robert W. Kenny, O. John Rogge and Mozart G. Ratner, for National Committee on Civil Rights and Liberties, National Lawyers Guild.

12. Lee Pressman, Eugene Cotton, David Rein, Frank Donner, John J. Abt, Leonard B. Boudin, Herman E. Cooper, Isadore Katz, Victor Rabinowitz, Benjamin M. Robinson, William Standard, Witt & Cammer, Leon M. Despres, M. H. Goldstein, Samuel L. Rothbard, Maurice Sugar, Lindsay P. Walden, W. A. Babcock, Jr., Ralph Helstein, Harry Sacher, David Scribner, and Matthew Silverman, for Congress of Industrial Organizations and Certain Affiliated Organizations.

13. Phineas Indritz, Harry B. Merican, Irving R. M. Panner and Richard A. Solomon, for American Veterans Committee.

14. William Maslow, Shad Polier, Joseph B. Robison, Harry Kalven, Jr., Byron S. Miller, John S. Bernheimer, and William Strong, for American Jewish Congress.

15. Joseph M. Proskauer, Jacob Grumet, Newman Levy, Sol Rabkin and Jacob Schaum, for American Jewish Committee.

16. William Strong, for American Indian Citizens League of California.

17. Charles Abrams, Harold I. Kahen, Victor W. Rotnem, Frederick B. Sussmann, Grover G. Sales, Francis M. Dent, Walter M. Nelson, Eugene H. Buder, Victor B. Harris, Luther Ely Smith, and John R. Stockham, Robert C. Eckhardt, for American Civil Liberties Union.

18. Earl B. Dickerson, Richard E. Westbrooks, Loring B. Moore, and George N. Leighton, for National Bar Association.

You will recall that after Alger Hiss appeared as a "friend of the court," two of the justices of that same court returned the favor and appeared as amici Hiss upon his first trial for telling a lie about a material matter involving his loyalty to his country. Can it be true that those justices of the Supreme Court who deny the existence of eternal principles are controlled by those who are devoid of principles?

The records of the committees of Congress, and particularly the House Un-American Activities Committee, with respect to some of the lawyers and organizations appearing amici curiae in the Shelley case may serve to explain some of the more recent decisions of the Supreme Court. If Hiss led the Court away from the Constitution in 1948 and Myrdal led it astray in 1954, who leads the Court now?

You may be surprised to learn that such a racial restriction clause as was involved in the Shelley case is referred to by some Georgia lawyers as the Roosevelt restriction, because Mr. Roosevelt was one of the few persons ever to insert such a clause in a deed conveying farmlands in Georgia. I first came upon the Roosevelt restriction while a member of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Warm Springs Memorial Commission in charge of the property formerly owned by Mr. Roosevelt at Warm Springs, Meriwether County, Ga. The restriction was inserted in deeds both before and after Mr. Roosevelt became President of the United States. The following is the form used by Mr. Roosevelt which are recorded in the office of the clerk of the superior court of Meriwether County, at Greenville, Ga., book 24, page 388, and book 29, page 411:

"Neither said land, nor any part thereof, shall be sold, rented, or otherwise disposed of to any Negro or other persons of African descent, or to a corporation or association owned or controlled by Negroes."

It is a mystery that lawyers and organizations such as some of those listed above should have such foreknowledge of questions to be decided by the Supreme Court as to enable them to prepare and file amici curiae briefs far in advance of the hearings. If our Commission had had the same notice of pendency of the Shelley case in 1948 as Alger Hiss had, we likely would have felt it our duty to file an amicus curiae brief in opposition to Hiss and for the Franklin D. Roosevelt Warm Springs Memorial Commission.

It will be appreciated if you will attempt to find out, if you think it possible, and let the people know, how it is that Marxists, Communists, and Communist-front organizations obtain advance information as to the nature of cases pending before the Supreme Court while others are kept in darkness until too late to protest. There may be those who would like to have many other questions answered. For example: Who employed Isaac Pacht and others for the State of California?

With every good wish, I am,
Sincerely your friend,
R. CARTER PITTMAN.

Relations Between the United States and Panama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter which I received from the president of the Star and Herald newspaper in Panama, T. Gabriel Duque, as well as an editorial which Mr. Duque wrote for his paper, entitled "Unjustified Alarm":

THE STAR & HERALD CO.,
Panama, R. de P., May 14, 1957.

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: It was with the greatest pleasure that I received the clipping from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with your extension of remarks including a reproduction of our editorial in the Star and Herald concerning the celebration of the 108th anniversary of the foundation of our newspaper.

You can be assured that such kind gestures as yours are a great encouragement for us and a reward for the efforts we make in trying to keep up with the traditions of those who preceded us in the publication of this oldest daily paper on the west coast of the Americas.

As you undoubtedly know, one of our greatest efforts in recent years has been directed toward the defense of the interest of our Republic and the maintenance of the extremely cordial and friendly relations which have existed between Panama and the United States. As an example of these efforts I am enclosing a clipping of the translation of an editorial which I published in La Estrella de Panama, the Spanish-language twin of the Star and Herald, and later reproduced in our English edition.

By the contents of this editorial you will easily understand that I write in this manner when I sincerely believe that I am fully supported by actual facts and the best interests of our two countries. And in spite of this, I have been accused in Panama of being a defender of the interests of the United States to the detriment of my own country.

You will undoubtedly realize that such unfounded and uncalled for outbursts such as I refer to in this editorial, are extremely harmful to the frendly relations which fortunately exist between our two peoples. And it is our common duty to do our best to combat such deleterious influences.

It is in such a spirit, always seeking to promote our mutual interests and the promotion of always better ties between our countries that we have acted throughout the years and are firmly determined to continue along this path of friendliness on a basis of mutual respect.

With the assurances of my most distinguished consideration, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

T. GABRIEL DUQUE,
President.

UNJUSTIFIED ALARM

It is well known that certain North American lawmakers and other usually misinformed persons in the United States have been voicing a series of alarms, fears, and worries regarding the future of the Panama Canal as if there existed among us an intent to violently change the juridical status of the waterway, thus more or less placing in danger the security of North America. And it is equally well known that with a purpose wherein there can easily be found a desire to intimidate, they follow up with talk of the necessity of studying other interoceanic routes with a view to the construction of a new canal to eventually replace the Panama route should there be confirmation of these fears developing, through spontaneous creation, in the minds of the aforementioned persons.

It is somewhat unexplainable that many Americans and their representatives in the Capitol at Washington should be so misinformed in regard to what happens beyond the borders of their country. This is especially so in view of the fact that with their daily use of such a large number of newspapers, possession of so many radio and television sets, it is not easy to understand how the average American—despite the predominant role his country has been called upon to assume in the world of today and the huge outlays which it makes in several parts of the world at the expense of its taxpayers—continues without a clear understanding of the most elemental things concerning other countries, and as a result, reacts in such an incomprehensible manner.

Under such circumstances, a wicked and/or ignorant newspaperman is capable of leading millions of North Americans to believe the greatest stupidities inasmuch as his readers, completely lacking correct basic information, are capable of accepting as truthful what they read in the printed page as long as it refers to an "exotic" country and what is said is not very pleasing to such readers.

The foregoing considerations occur to us in view of the fact that certain United States Representatives and Senators have reechoed certain stories of "fears" that have been launched we do not know by whom or for what—nor do we care for that matter—wherein it is more or less stated that we the Panamanians are ready to take over the Panama Canal through good or bad means, to oust North Americans from the Canal Zone, and to carry out, God knows how many other things, being moved by a purpose of which, to be truthful, no one here is informed.

Such agreements and recommendations for initiating studies of a new canal route are mere idleness and loss of time as the authors of such a proposal should very well know themselves. Such studies have repeatedly been carried out in careful detail. There is no possible canal route that has not been measured, calculated and studied in the greatest details and the conclusion that has always been reached, and always will be reached—if such lawmakers desire to waste their taxpayers' moneys in new studies for reaching the same results—is that, for geographical, geological, strategic, political, and above all, for economic reasons, the most logical, sensible, and reasonable way out is to construct a sea-level canal in Panama or instead, to improve the installations of the present waterway so that it may continue to render efficient services for many more years even though it should be exposed, as indeed it is, to total destruction in case of war.

With a basis on this undeniable fact, those American lawmakers may very well discard their false fears and unjustified alarms. In Panama no one is pretending to take over the canal; and our complaints and our claims deriving from agreements now in effect, have been oriented at all times on reasonable and sensible bases. We, the Panamanians, think and will continue to think as long as such a situation is not corrected, that the material benefits which we receive from the canal are neither adequate not proper compensation as is demonstrated, in the first place, by the fact that the United States pays to the Republic of Panama as rental for such an undertaking as the canal, from which it derives benefits, and for all the territory of the Canal Zone which consists of many, many square miles, a sum that can be considered insignificant, and even so, the present sum was obtained only 2 years ago after exhausting discussions and haggling because what was being paid in such a concept until then was even much less.

Panamanians continue to think that those who on the Canal Zone are employed in a certain type of work or render some service whatever should receive the compensation corresponding to such work without taking into consideration the nationality of the employee, and therefore, also, without those unjust discriminations by which a North American should earn more than a Panamanian, simply because he is a North American, if both are doing the same kind of work.

The Panamanians wish—and this has been said a thousand times in all tones, publicly and officially—that a permanent bridge be built over the canal so as to be able to cross from one separated section of our country to the other without having to submit to long delays or suffer discomforts, and we desire also the return of those lands which the United States has been occupying for many years and that are no longer of any use. These things have already been agreed to but they need the approval of the United States lawmakers before they can be put into effect.

The Panamanians also wish that the United States grant us economic assistance for improvement of our sanitation, our roads, our schools, even though with not such prodigality as she has been doing with reference to other countries, such as Yugoslavia, India, Pakistan, Iraq, and others—which, by the way, have never given evidence of any special fondness for North America—thereby acknowledging that Panama always, for more than 50 years and throughout 2 great world wars, has been a sincere friend and ally of the United States.

And in the purely spiritual order, the Panamanians wish and expect from the North Americans understanding and good will thereby to continue together and in good harmony along the path which destiny has marked for us, even though we may at times seem unable to find it.

Do those American lawmakers voicing fears know that we would have been filled with satisfaction and gratitude toward the United States by something so simple and so inexpensive as to have the Panamanian flag hoisted alongside that of the United States on ships crossing the canal? Do those legislators know that such a simple but significant thing was emphatically denied us? How could the granting of such a request have affected the prestige, security, or economy of the United States?

We, the Panamanians, consider wholly unjust the alarm or fears that such American lawmakers have or seem to have regarding the security of the canal to such an extent as to wish that new studies be carried out as to the possibility of constructing another.

We, the Panamanians, do not wish to oust the Americans from the Canal Zone nor do we wish to take over the canal. What we want—and we hope that someday the American lawmakers may learn this—is justice, understanding, and good will to continue solving those problems which we have briefly noted above, and to completely dispel any cause that may sometimes disturb the always loyal and sincere relations which our two peoples have maintained.

Armed Forces Day Address by Maj. Gen. R. P. Hollis, USA, Commandant, Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D. C., at the Annual Armed Forces Day Program, Altoona, Pa., May 18, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it was a pleasure to accompany Maj. Gen. R. P. Hollis, USA, commandant of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, to my congressional district on May 18, 1957, where he delivered the following interesting and informative address as principal speaker at the Armed Forces Day program in my home city of Altoona, Pa.:

Congressman VAN ZANDT, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I am honored to have been invited to speak before this group today and to participate in the activities of this afternoon when the Armed Forces Day parade occurs. This gives me an opportunity for my first visit to your city, which has contributed so greatly to the economic strength of the United States. I have read that Altoona has developed with the railroad system of the United States and the growth of that railway system has been a major factor in the unparalleled development of our country during the last century. This growth, and the prosperity of our economy, have forced upon our country a predominant role in world leadership. Everyone here can remember the days when there were many articulate proponents of the thesis that the troubles of Europe or other parts of the world were no concern of ours—that we should remain within our own shores and give small thought to the affairs of the rest of the world. Technological developments and the shrinking of the world because of new means of communication and transportation have long since reduced this theory to an absurdity. Whether we like it or not—whether or not we were prepared by experience or tradition to assume a position of world leadership—we find our welfare and our future inescapably bound up with the future and the development of other countries and other peoples throughout the world.

I have been asked to speak to you today on the theme of Armed Force Day which is "Power for Peace." The most important single factor in this theme is the leadership and the prestige of the United States in the free world today. This leadership and prestige are anathema to the forces of international communism who are dedicated to the destruction of our way of life and the supremacy of their system. In the original writings of Karl Marx there appears time and again the proposition that communism cannot exist and flourish in competition

with an economic and political system which Marx chooses to denominate "capitalism." A study of the writings and speeches of the leaders of the Soviet Republics from the day of their founding reiterate this proposition with monotonous regularity. Whether they choose at the moment to bluster and threaten or to smile and be ingratiating, there has been no slightest deviation in the objectives of the leaders of international communism from this goal of eradicating from the face of the earth those governments which are run on truly democratic principles, where men are free to speak their minds.

There is probably no one here who has not at one time or another been weary and discouraged because of the tensions which pervade the world today. There is always the temptation to succumb to the feeling that the struggle is futile and endless. Where the end may be, nobody can tell fully, but let me assure you that the struggle, however arduous, is anything but futile. If we were to permit our position of world leadership to deteriorate, the ultimate result would be some form of government analogous to that against which the courageous peoples of Hungary revolted last autumn.

It may be that the revolution in Hungary and the unrest in others of the Communist satellites, have foreshadowed the ultimate collapse of a system of ruthless and totalitarian government. It is a lesson of history that no brutal and arbitrary dictatorship continues to succeed over long periods of time. However, much as we may wish such an outcome, we must, if we are to survive, maintain forces which can secure the freedom of ourselves and our allies until such time as there is irrefutable evidence that the fact that—for whatever reason—the Communist objective of world domination is clearly and finally abandoned. The President of the United States in his talk to the people of the country on last Tuesday evening made explicitly clear the fact that we have a personal as well as a magnanimous interest in the free peoples of the world in their capacity as our allies in the preservation of our freedom. The need for national readiness to frustrate an always possible enemy attack, and to retaliate with overwhelming and decisive force requires the maintenance of military forces that are larger than the people of the United States have accustomed themselves to in times of peace. Further, the fantastic developments of modern-day technology have made imperative the arming of these forces with weapons which are complex and expensive to a degree which would have staggered the imagination only two decades ago. The rate of obsolescence of modern-day weapons contrasts dramatically with the situation a century ago, when a naval vessels might have a life of 50 or 60 years and when there were only minor changes between the small arms of our Revolution and those of our Civil War. We cannot, however, be deterred by the cost implicit in this obsolesence since it would be suicidal to depend on weapons which were not the equal of those possessed by our enemy. The aphorism "There is no second prize in war" is far more true in these days of destructive weapons than it has ever been in the past. The results of these facts, as they apply to each of you in the audience are that you find yourselves under individual heavy tax burdens, and that most of the families of Altoona, I am sure, have contributed sons to the Armed Forces within the past 15 years. All of these things constitute a heavy burden, but let there be no mistake—the alternative to this arduous preparation and these personal and financial burdens is the surrender of our freedom.

The Armed Forces appeared but seldom in the columns of our press and the programs of our other communication media prior to World War II. To the majority of our citizens at that time they were some remote and esoteric creatures in which the people as a whole had only an academic interest. Today, almost every edition of our daily papers and our television programs contain some references to them. Not infrequently, these references are critical. I should like for you to ponder my assertion that any activity of our Government which absorbs slightly over half of the national budget and which requires the participation of over two and three-fourths million of our citizens would be frequently in the public eye and would, as a matter of course, be subject to periodic criticism by the people of the United States on whom it placed such a very real burden as the maintenance of our national defense today.

If I may be forgiven a personal reference, for the first 15 years of my service I grew up in an Army with an officer strength of approximately 10,000 individuals. In the summer of 1943, I had occasion to see a management chart of the Army which illustrated graphically the officer strength of the Army since the outbreak of hostilities. I was really shaken to find that the Army at that time had 654,000 officers. For every 1 of the old regulars there were approximately 64 temporary officers who had been brought to duty within the 3 years preceding the date of this report. I should like for you to consider the hazards under which any commercial corporation would work which was required to expand by 6,400 percent in a period of 3 years. Some of the influences which much today be considered by the senior individuals, civilian or military, responsible for the posture of our national defense are almost as difficult to cope with as the fantastic World War II expansion of our Military Establishment to which I have just referred. I have the deep-rooted and abiding conviction that the integrity and sense of dedication of the leadership of our Armed Forces at the highest level leave little, if anything, to be desired. The motto of the Military Academy at West Point which reads "duty, honor, country" has not been without its effect in shaping the philosophy of the leaders of our Army, and there is no question in my mind that other national figures who make our military policies are imbued with the same motives and dedication.

The advent of fantastic new weapons have created a revolutionary period for the Armed Forces of our country. Many of our modern weapons of today have never stood the test of battle, and have been subjected only to laboratory tests. These laboratory tests have been so thorough, so scientific and so effective that I have no misgivings about their adequacy or the effectiveness of these weapons. but another factor enters here. It is not at all inconceivable that our Armed Forces may be required to operate in some peripheral wars about the globe, and that as a matter of policy, our Government may not see fit to resort to certain of the most destructive weapons at our command. Accordingly, all of our forces—land, sea, and air—must have a tremendous versatility and must be prepared for operations of various types and on varying scales.

One of the problems of all of our armed services is a sympathetic understanding and appreciation of the roles and missions—the capabilities and limitations—of their sister services. I am particularly gratified and honored to be assigned as the Commandant of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces. The resident course at this institution is attended annually for a period of 10 months by 145 students. This student body embraces approximately equal numbers of senior officers of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps in the grade of colonel or captain—and 25 senior and responsible civil servants from the executive agencies of the Federal Government whose duties are such that our curriculum is relevant to their work. Our course of study revolves about the problem which might be stated in a sentence as "The emergency management of the national economy." The Industrial College, and its sister institutions, the National War College and the Armed Forces Staff College, enable officers of each of the services to work intimately together on common problems in preparation for senior command and staff assignments which will follow their graduation. It is my personal conviction that no device within the Government is more effective in improving interservice relationships than are the friendships made at these three institutions.

My foregoing remarks sum up to the following.

The maintenance of our defense forces today constitute a heavy burden for every citizen of the United States.

There is no clear indication of the period during which we may have to carry this burden, but the price of the alternative in terms of renunciation of personal liberties is so great as to be unthinkable to every American.

Meanwhile, it is my conviction, and I think you may feel very safe in the same judgment, that the United States and the Free World are today defended by competent and dedicated forces which the world's experts, including our potential enemies, recognize should be adequate to defeat aggression.

In closing I should like to quote a remark of the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower: "Americans, indeed, all free men, remember that in the final choice a soldier's pack is not so heavy a burden as a prisoner's chains."

Western Hemisphere Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Threefold Way to Western Hemisphere Unity," which appeared in the magazine called U. S. A., an American magazine of fact and opinion.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THREEFOLD WAY TO WESTERN HEMISPHERE UNITY, INVESTMENT, INTERDEPENDENCE, PARTICIPATION

(By Edmund S. Whitman, director of public relations, United Fruit Co., excerpted from an address made to the Export Managers Club, New York City, April 1957)

In 1921, when I joined United Fruit Co. as a timekeeper on one of the company's banana plantations in Central America, our operations, to my young eyes at least, seemed beautifully uncomplicated.

Certainly my own particular job was simple. All I had to do was ride herd on 2,500 acres of magnificent banana lands, keep a check on 200 head of livestock, supervise the farm work, and prepare the payroll once a month.

The rains came, and the sunshine. The bananas grew, and the pickup engine chugged up and down the line picking up cars bulging with the freshly harvested fruit. Twice a week the freight train dropped a 50-pound chunk of ice along the right-of-way in front of the house for my ice box. I kept my own

cow and chickens. Affairs at the labor camp were tranquil. As I say, life was uncomplicated.

Not so today. During the swiftly passing years, we of the West have come up against a mighty and malignant force. It is my earnest conviction that today American business conducted in foreign countries can no longer be regarded as being confined to the traditional commercial lines of exploration, production, transportation and sale. Today, businessmen must be constantly aware of the assault on everything American by the international Communist conspiracy.

Today our very survival is involved in building a strong America that can withstand the Communist menace and grow in the face of it. That means a strong Western Hemisphere, which is considered by goepoliticians nowadays as a single geographical entity.

Clearly, Government must play a part in this buildup. But private enterprise has a vital role, too—in fact, the decisive one.

As American businessmen face up to the leadership role expected of them in building a strong Western Hemisphere, it is imperative that they examine and understand the true meaning and import of the international Communist conspiracy. A couple of years ago, when I first started publicly to attack communism, I must confess to a certain amount of personal anxiety. On the one hand, I knew enough about the international Communist conspiracy to realize that I was up against a ruthless foe; and on the other, I knew that I was striking out as a private citizen with no official skirts to hide behind. Besides, I was a product of the public relations business world in which we are schooled in caution and clearly trained in the techniques of not stirring up trouble and dedicating ourselves to enlarging the horizon of corporate friendships. It was not then, nor is it now, the popular thing for a member of a large corporation to take a strong stand on matters in the political domain or in the field of broad social responsibility.

I soon got over my timidity. And insofar as communism is concerned, I quickly learned that I did not have to confine my efforts to attacking an ideology based on atheism and aimed at the liquidation by force and violence of all that I believe in. I did not have to deal with this evil solely in terms of being against something.

On the contrary, all I had to do was first to identify the enemy so that my audience would know beyond a shadow of a doubt that this was a real and a frightful foe—and thereafter to present case histories of what the private enterprise system has been doing on an international front to offer the world something infinitely better than communism. In short: To fight communism you don't meet the enemy on his own terms at all; instead, you challenge him to meet you publicly on your terms.

PROFREEDOM

As of now—1957—understanding of the nature and duplicity of the enemy is such common knowledge that it is no longer necessary to quote chapter and verse to establish the basic fact that in the world today there are only two great forces—ours and theirs. But just as the reformed alcoholic must everlastingly keep in mind the fact that there can be no compromise with liquor and that only one drink lies between him and the gutter, so, I think, we of the free world must be everlastingly at the business of opposing the enemy without compromise, of exposing his strategies and blandishments in their true light, and of challenging him to meet our own positive program.

The other night I was privileged to attend a private dinner attended by a group of Hungarians who were deeply involved in the heroic uprising of their people in Budapest. Among them was a Monsignor who was at one time Hungary's leading political officer. His work over here is dedicated to the battle against communism and I asked him how he dramatizes it. His reply was that there are three words that explain the Communists' attack on us—remember them and you will forever be alert to their designs. Those three words are: Infiltration—polarization—liquidation.

The moment I heard those words, I thought with enormous pride of the blow to communism that was delivered right here in the Western Hemisphere by the brave people of Guatemala. There was a country which had already received the impact of infiltration and polarization and was on the threshold of liquidation, when her nationals rallied to the banner of their then courageous leader and now distinguished president, Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, and threw off the Communist yoke.

Recently, Congressman ALBERT P. MORANO of Greenwich, Conn., told the Guatemalan Congress: "Guatemala is becoming the showcase of Latin America through your courage, your determination, your wise planning, your concern for raising the standard of living of your people and your resolve to build the sinews of freedom. To be anti-Communist is not enough. You know that better than we. One must be profreedom."

FIVE STEPS TO TRAGEDY

The subject of infiltration has been widely discussed and is generally well understood.

On the subject of polarization—or the technique of "confuse and divide"—let me outline to you the five steps that are drilled into the minds and hearts of Moscow's well-disciplined agents prior to their moving into Latin America:

1. To evoke fear, mistrust and hatred for the United States by propaganda means;
2. To destroy inter-American economic relations and thereby dislocate many Latin American economies and soften them up for easy Communist capture;
3. To cut off major sources of strategic materials;
4. To wreck inter-American defense plans;
5. To prepare for wartime sabotage, with an eye particularly on the Panama Canal.

After infiltration and polarization, finally comes liquidation—the ultimate tragedy which we have seen enacted so many times in recent years in other parts of the world—Czechoslovakia, Hnngary, Rumania and others—and even attempted in our own Western Hemisphere. This is the point at which the curtain drops, be it of iron, bamboo, or whatever.

THREE WAYS TO UNITY

So much for the divisive, negative framework of the Communist conspiracy as it confronts us here in the Western Hemisphere and world today in malignant economic terms. The Communist conspiracy is powerful and dangerous, to be sure. But we are not doomed thereby to exerting merely defensive measures. Rather, we of the free world can mount and are mounting a powerful counteroffensive spearheaded by private enterprise.

This positive approach also can be summed up in three words: investment—interdependence—participation. And these three words point the threefold way to Western Hemisphere unity.

By investment I mean just what the term implies—the outlay of capital funds with a view to profit.

By interdependence I mean the close and harmonious relationship of potential markets and cooperation that stand for the betterment of al concerned.

By participation I mean the sharing of our profits with the countries in which we do business.

INVESTMENT

Lewis Haney, writing in the New York Journal-American, observes that the economic weakening of communism throughout the world is phenomenal. He ascribes this in part to the opening up of opportunities for foreign investment. "One of the greatest gains," he writes, "will be in material things, and will come through investments to develop the great resources of South and Central America."

Eugene R. Black, President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, spoke recently at the annual Congress of American Industry in New York and stated: "Nothing we value is going to remain safe for long if the United States fails to realize its great stakes in foreign investment."

In New York recently, following a directors' meeting of the Creole Petroleum Co. in Caracas, Venezuela, Mr. H. W. Haight, president, discussed future expansion of his company as being necessary to insure our participation in meeting long-term growth in world-energy demand.

At a private dinner given recently by the Pan American Society of the United States in honor of the Honduran Ambassador to Washington, Dr. Ramon Villeda-Morales, the Ambassador stated: "Without capital it is impossible to make the machinery of progress go, since technology alone cannot set it in motion. This fact lies at the root of the problem today confronting the Latin American countries which, having available an abundance of exploitable resources—mineral, agricultural, timber, fashion, travel—are beset by the difficulty of exploiting them for lack of capital. And in this same fact also lies the origin of the growing interest, of those who have capital available, in the possibilities of investment in Latin America, which offers the best conditions and the greatest advantages."

The Ambassador went on to say that "investment should be something more than a movement of money and tools of production; it should be overall cooperation, equitable distribution of gain. That should be the constructive spirit in investment dynamics, because only in this way can investment be adapted to the norms of the Pan American ideal, summed up in the policy of the good friend, the good neighbor, and the good partner."

Honduras may well serve as an example of the friendly and cooperative point of view that exists today in most of the neighboring Republics to the south. According to the Ambassador "foreigners residing in Honduras may freely engage in commerce or industry; they enjoy the same rights and have the same obligations as the nationals of the country. Honduras has traditionally been hospitable and has welcomed foreign capital investments for the development of its natural resources. To offer a more attractive investment climate, it signed in 1955 a treaty with the United States of America, assuring investors that they would run no risk of expropriation or inconvertibility."

In 1955, United States companies operating in Latin America produced about $5 billion of goods and services. This figure was compiled by the Department of Commerce from statistics involving some 300 United States companies and representing roughly 85 percent of United States business assets south of the border. Investment activity by United States companies in 1956 was much higher than in 1955, and is continuing at a high rate.

A few months ago, at the World Trade Dinner of the Foreign Trade Convention, W. S. Richardson, president of B. F. Goodrich Co., stated about the worldwide potential for trade and investment that "looking through the eyes of an importer or an exporter, I see 2½ billion potential customers in the world for all of us; and our problem

is to obtain as actual customers as big a share of that enormous potential as we can."

INTERDEPENDENCE

A positive program of interdependence [of countries in the Western Hemisphere] tends to unify people, to improve them, give greater dignity to the individual—and it works. Moreover [in such a free enterprise program], every single individual in Latin America who produces for profit becomes a capitalist and can, in his own self-interest, be counted on to take an active role in fighting the insidious intrusion of the international Communist conspiracy within the borders of his own country.

It is obvious, I think, that the active practice of interdependence within a system of free enterprise results in an ever-enlarging middle class in Latin America. This growth means the defeat of international communism which aims at wiping out middle classes in order to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin, Stalin, and the present leaders of the Kremlin have explained that such a regime means "the dictatorship of one class only; not democracy for all."

PARTICIPATION

According to Webster's Dictionary, the word "participation" is defined as "the act or state of sharing in common with others; profit sharing."

More and more in modern times of scientific and technological progress, the business community in all free nations is being called on to play a major role in the making and carrying out of foreign policy. It seems to me that this is a great challenge for American industrial statesmanship. For surely we have the managerial capacity, capital, and imagination to frustrate the Kremlin's insidious program of economic penetration. All we need to do is to apply our knowledge and our energies to the task at hand.

J. Anthony Panuch states in the Harvard Business Review of March-April 1957,[1] that "American industry cannot embark on a messianic venture of its own. What is needed is a working partnership between Government and industry; the correlation of a realistic policy of foreign economic aid based on enlightened self-interest with a massive expansion by industry of its overseas trade and its direct investment."

I have the honor of serving on the executive board of the Business Council for International Understanding. Its membership embraces 70 international companies with overseas investments. We are energetically trying to encourage North American concerns and individuals to do things abroad that will show our friendliness and our desire to understand different points of view.

I have just returned from a visit to Mexico on a subcommittee job in which we are working hand-in-hand with Mexican industrialists to develop a program of projects in Mexico. We are working with 4-H Clubs there, as well as with the Boy Scouts. We are helping the Mexicans to develop a young safe driving program and a youth traffic control. As a result of our visit, we feel that no doubt remains in the minds of our Mexican friends about the sincerity and spontaneity of our desire to work with them in developing a stronger Western Hemisphere unity.

In my public relations work, I have discovered that it is not enough just to do good deeds. Cardinal Spellman set forth the whole aim when he stated recently: "There is an ancient scriptural saying to the effect that truth shall prevail; but the scriptures do not say that it will prevail of itself. It needs to be clearly articulated, forcefully expressed, effectively brought home to its hearers, and made widely available through every means of communication within the power of those whose duty it is to disseminate it."

I believe that we of the Americas should join together in becoming co-laborers in the fullest development of our economic, cultural, and spiritual resources, allies in defense of western hemisphere unity, and indissolubly dedicated to the protection of those things which God Almighty intended us to enjoy as free men in a free world.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—U. S. A. believes that the foregoing courageous speech by Edmund S. Whitman sets a new and good example to public relations personnel and officials of American business enterprises who are somewhat inclined to stay away from politics in public relationships, and are somewhat timid about taking a firm stand based on high principles when their opinions are sought on controversial matters. As Mr. Whitman so forthrightly declares, "there are only two great forces in the world today—ours and theirs." Whatever has been the past professional and executive training of public relations experts and industrialists, they now shoulder heavy political and spiritual responsibilities. It is unthinkable that they should weaken our system by giving it less than full support while Socialists strengthen their system by giving it the benefit of fullest endeavor. Now that Mr. Whitman and a few other standing executives of big companies have shown a willingness publicly to stir up trouble for Communists, perhaps American-business men in general will do likewise. Thucydides said of Athens, "her glories were purchased by valiant men, and by men that learned their duty.")

[1] See also U. S. A., vol. IV, No. 6, March 29, 1957.

The President and the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. KERR SCOTT
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Thursday, May 23, 1957, issue of the Kings Mountain Herald, one of North Carolina's outstanding newspapers. The editorial is an excellent analysis of the position of the President in respect to his proposed budget.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POOR MR. EISENHOWER

Wasn't it Herbert Hoover who was supposed to be the last lame-duck President?

Mr. Hoover remained in office, if our editorial memory is correct, from November until March. He was already defeated, but still was running the office. There was complaint that a lame-duck President was of little value to the Nation or to himself. Thus Inauguration Day was advanced to January, and most folk thought it was a wise decision.

Then came Roosevelt and his four successful elections, and Harry Truman followed by astounding the majority of his supporters in winning an election in his own right.

By this time, many people, all the Republicans and some of the Democrats, were beginning to be afraid that the wild Democrats could never be ousted. There resulted the constitutional amendment limiting a President to serving two consecutive terms.

This rule hasn't worked out too well, and particularly is it displeasing to its once-ardent supporters.

Mr. Eisenhower is a lame-duck President, not for a few months, but for 4 years. Knowing he can't seek reelection, many of his former stanch supporters have left him, both in friendship and policywise.

Nothing could have more graphically proved the point than the public reaction to Mr. Eisenhower's address of last week in which he sought to defend his big budget request. In the parlance of the theater, Mr. Eisenhower laid an egg. The economy-minded Congressmen are still of the same frame of mind, and Mr. Eisenhower thus far has been unable to bring pressure on the lawmakers by taking his appeal to the masses.

Of course, there are some basic weaknesses in the Eisenhower budget appeal. Most taxpayers are tired of paying heavy taxes which go overseas as gifts to foreign nations. In addition, the average citizen is well aware of the gross waste in the Armed Forces. They know how wasteful because they learn from their sons, in arms via the draft, or just recently discharged after serving their required hitches.

Long term, the Presidential tenure limit may prove out and certainly there is little chance of changing it at the moment. The Democrats, at whom the tenure limit was aimed, are only too happy to let the Republicans stew in their own juice.

One benefit, apparently, is that Congress has resumed somewhat its role of pre-Roosevelt days. The Congress seems to be assuming some responsibility again, after serving for nearly a quarter of a century as flunkies for strong Presidents.

The Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILBUR D. MILLS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following item by Jack Steele, Scripps-Howard staff writer:

WASHINGTON, May 22.—Despite the economy drive in Congress, rising Government expenditures probably will push the 1958 budget to $73 billion instead of the $71.8 billion estimated by President Eisenhower in January.

This forecast of a $1.2 billion increase in 1958 budget expenditures was made yesterday by the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

It emphasizes the great difficulty which confronts congressional budget cutters this year.

And it illustrates dramatically why the economy drive—if it is to make a real dent in the big Federal budget—must continue for 2 or more years.

The real danger—as the committee's report makes clear—is that the economy drive will peter out before Congress can recapture actual control over Federal spending.

If that happens, the budget cuts currently being voted won't justify the tax cuts congressional leaders already are dreaming about for next year.

The figures in the committee's report and those carried daily in newspaper headlines about budget cuts made by Congress seem, at least on the surface, to be contradictory.

Congress already has in the works slashes of more than $4 billion from 1958 appro-

priations. It may slice off another $1 billion before it finishes up with the 1958 fund bills.

How then, as the committee forecasts, can the 1958 budget rise $1.2 billion above the President's estimates?

The committee's staff report cites two reasons:

1. Rising prices will push up Government spending next year, just as happened in the current fiscal year.

This means Congress will have to vote supplemental funds next spring to compensate for inflation.

The big effect of rising prices will be on military procurement.

Last year Congress voted more funds for defense than the President requested. As a result, it has been possible this year to absorb some of these price increases.

Projected cuts in the 1958 military budget will make this more difficult next year.

2. Many of the cuts Congress is now voting will not reduce actual Government spending in fiscal 1958. The budget savings will not become effective until 1959 or later.

The committee cited the experience with the 1957 budget to illustrate how this works.

In January 1956, when he presented his 1957 budget to Congress, President Eisenhower estimated expenditures at $65.9 billion.

But the committee estimates that 1957 expenditures, by the time the fiscal year ends on June 30, will hit $69.5 billion.

This $3.6 billion increase will be recorded despite the fact that Congress last year voted cuts in 1957 appropriations totaling over $250 million.

The real reason for this—and for the fact that it probably will happen again in 1958—is that the Federal budget is not a one-year affair.

Much of the money the Government will spend in fiscal 1958 was authorized by Congress as long as 2 or 3 years ago. As a practical matter it can't be cut this year.

And, while Congress was paring down the current budgets in 1955 and 1956, it often voted increases in contracting authority for future years. These increases will help push up spending in fiscal 1958.

By the same token, some of the cuts now being voted are in contracting authority for future years. They won't reduce spending in 1958.

Others are bookkeeping cuts which involve transfers of funds rather than real savings.

Legislative Branch Appropriation Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, last week we voted on the legislative branch appropriations bill. One amendment was offered to recommit the bill and strike from it, $7,500,000, which would permit the work on the third House Office Building to go ahead. I felt obligated to vote for the recommittal. Although several of my colleagues felt the same way, there weren't enough of us, unfortunately, to approve the amendment.

My action was based not so much on the fact that I might be opposed to this expenditure, as it was to the apparent disregard which has been shown for the legislative procedure which we are supposed to use in determining these expenditures.

As a member of the Public Works Committee, I expected further hearings to be held on a project of this magnitude. I know that many of my colleagues on the committee, many of whom are experts in the field of construction, wanted to testify on this program. Some of them favored the project; others did not. Be that as it may, I am still of the opinion that these programs will be better carried out when they have the benefit of the deliberate pro and con discussion of a committee hearing.

If such hearings had been held, the recommendations would have undoubtedly have a truer relation to the actual needs. The recognition of the needs, and the best ways of meeting them would have had thorough review and I feel confident that it is possible we could have saved the taxpayers some money.

It is not clear to me, Mr. Speaker, how we as Members of Congress can, in good faith, vote for Capitol Hill improvements which benefit us more directly than anyone, and then put the pruning knife to the programs which deal with the welfare of all the people.

We look mighty selfish carrying out this building program as long as there is such a need for post office buildings, dams, water and soil conservation projects, and other internal improvement programs any place in the country.

When Congress starts to build a monument to itself, it is high time that we take another look, pull ourselves up short, and ask ourselves if it is in the public interest. I wish to go on record as being against any more building here until we have provided for new post office buildings where they are so sorely needed for adequate handling of this important service and giving post office employees better working conditions.

The Van Zandt Bill, H. R. 7472, Amending the Atomic Energy Act, Is Viewed as a Realistic Approach in Terminating the Running Battle That Has Occupied Several Vital Years in Our Atoms-for-Peace Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial entitled "Atomic Partners," appeared in the May 18, 1957, issue of the Boston Herald and describes in a brief and effective manner H. R. 7472 which I introduced May 13, 1957, as a compromise measure in the hope of stressing the need for an immediate solution to problems affecting the Atoms for peace program:

ATOMIC PARTNERS

America's "capital" sources of energy—coal, natural gas and oil—are being tapped at a fantastic rate. By the year 2000, it has been estimated, we shall be digging into our last reserves of coal.

On the other hand 1 pound of uranium, through fission, releases as much useful energy as the burning of 1,300 tons of coal.

It is against such elementary facts as these that we must view the importance of developing atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Whether it should be done primarily through governmental or private agencies is, in turn, the issue that confronts us; and it is a matter of immediate decision.

Representative JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, the senior member of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, has offered a compromise in the running battle that has occupied several vital years in our atoms for peace program. Essentially it takes a middle ground between the Democrats who have been urging a crash Federal program and the administration, which urges private industry to take the lead with some Government assistance.

The Van Zandt design provides for Government sponsorship of plants up to 50,000 kilowatts capacity, private sponsorship of plants over that figure. There would be tax concessions to private enterprise because of the unprofitable nature of the business and the need to spur the effort; and the extension of AEC research assistance to firms constructing large-scale reactors under the program.

The head of the House Appropriations Committee, Clarence Cannon, however, has declared that this assistance is unauthorized. The whole "partnership" approach to development, has thus been cast in doubt.

Yet the "partnership" approach, especially as amplified by Representative VAN ZANDT, would probably be the one realistic method of enlisting the cooperation of both Government and industry in this essential field. It is not the ideal solution. ("Industrial development," says Dr. James G. Beckerley, a physicist who formerly directed the classification of material for the AEC, "will be greatly handicapped by Government control of the dissemination and handling of technical data of potential commercial value.")

But, more importantly, it is the practical solution.

Commercial nuclear power in England started last October with a dual-purpose (energy and plutonium) plant at Calder Hall. The announced British goal by 1965 is as much as 6 million kilowatts. The Soviet Union claims it will have at least 2 million by 1960.

By the end of 1959, we expect 10 experimental plants to be producing nuclear power. Only one of these, though, the Shippingport, Pa., pressurized water reactor, is a large-scale plant, and America's estimate of total nuclear generating capacity as of the end of 1959 is on the order of only 130,000 kilowatts.

Such are the grim facts of the international kilowatt race. The partnership compromise may only be a temporary and expedient measure; but at any rate it is a device to get the laggard United States program into the running. And get into the running we must, or we shall wake up in some future generation, a second rate power as surely as though we lost a war.

The People and the Bomb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, there seems to be a growing concern, noted in recent surveys, on the part of the people

of this country about nuclear tests. Many people are worried over the effects of these tests, particularly in regard to fall-out.

An interesting editorial on this subject appeared in the Birmingham (Ala.) News of May 21, 1957. Under leave to extend my remarks, I enter this editorial:

AMERICAN PEOPLE ANXIOUS FOR AGREEMENT TO END H-BOMB TESTS

The latest poll by the American Institute of Public Opinion on stopping H-bomb tests points to a strong and growing sentiment among our people for international agreement to that end.

But it is a broad question, we think, just what kind of agreement would be acceptable to the majority of our people.

The results of this survey indicate what Dr. Gallup calls "a dramatic change in the public's thinking on calling a halt to further hydrogen bomb tests." But what they would favor in specific action would, of course, depend on the terms of any proposed agreement. We do not think they would actually favor such a halt unless the plan included acceptable safeguards and it was clear Russia would not be left in a position of greater advantage in Europe.

Adm. Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, returning to Washington after a 3-week tour of Latin American nations, told newsmen Sunday he would have to study the latest Soviet arms proposals before expressing any views on specific points. But he said the Russians have broken their word too many times for him not to be distrustful of them. Any disarmament agreement, he said, must be self-enforcing or subject to genuine inspection. He declared "we must be able to have a fool-proof check" on any limitation in armaments the Russians might agree to undertake."

Distrust of the Kremlin leaders is, of course, generally shared among our people. That feeling would—and should—make us wary respecting any agreement. And it would cause our people to desire to go very carefully into any agreement concerning the stopping of H-bomb tests.

In the latest Gallup poll this question was put: "If all other nations, including Russia, agree to stop making any more tests with nuclear weapons and H-bombs, should the United States agree to stop, or not?"

A large majority—63 percent—favored agreeing to stop. Only 27 percent said the tests should not be stopped. Ten percent had no opinion.

These returns are in sharp contrast to those from a survey toward the close of last year's Eisenhower-Stevenson campaign. Mr. Stevenson had been calling for United States action looking to an agreement to ban further H-bomb explosions. An Institute survey found 56 percent of those questioned against calling off the tests, 24 percent in favor of such a ban, and 20 percent without an opinion.

Unquestionably our people are extremely concerned about these tests. Dr. Albert Schweitzer and other world leaders in recent months have spoken out against continuing these tests. Many believe there is a real danger from fallout from such explosions. Dr. Gallup suggests that such factors and also a lessened fear of early war may account for the apparent change of sentiment.

But whatever the change in public opinion has been, it would be surprising to us if a majority of the people would actually favor definite action to end the tests by international agreement without very strong assurances that such an agreement would be faithfully carried out by the Russians and that such a program would not work to their military advantage.

The Russians still hold the key to real disarmament progress. If they will agree to action fair to all the nations and to an adequate inspection and control system, undoubtedly progress can be made. Lately there have been signs that they may be ready for real moves in that direction. Our explorations and efforts toward an acceptable and constructive agreement should continue to be pressed when the U. N. disarmament subcommittee resumes its sessions in London next Monday.

Myths About Medical Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished member of the medical profession in my community sent me an interesting article that should be read by the Members of this House. When the Members are discussing or acting on proposals before this body, it is often difficult to separate fact from fiction. Confusing and contradictory attitudes attributed to organizations and individuals are often presented. The purported positions that particular groups take on legislative proposals and their reason for such positions are not always presented in their true light. I am indebted to John W. Turner, M. D., of Springfield, Mass., for bringing my attention to an informative article that deals with the above problem. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include it with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

CHICAGO.—Seven myths about medical education are exploded in a booklet released here by the AMA in connection with Medical Education Week this year. This period will cover April 21 to 27, and will be marked by a concerted effort to inform the public of the dramatic progress made by medical schools in this country. Copies of the booklet may be obtained by writing the AMA, 535 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

The first myth is that medical school graduates are not keeping pace with population growth. Figures are cited showing a 120 percent increase in graduates over a 45-year period, during which population increased only 80 percent.

Myth No. 2: Medical schools try to keep their enrollments as small as possible. This is refuted by data showing a 128 percent increase in enrollments in the same 45-year period.

Myth No. 3: Medical schools refuse admission to a vast number of applicants. Here the booklet reveals that over half of all applicants to medical schools were accepted in 1954–55. It further states that about 30 percent of each year's applicants are persons who repeatedly have tried to enroll, many of them lacking real qualifications beyond their desire to study medicine.

Myth No. 4: Only "A" students are admitted to medical schools. This is debunked by the 1954–55 figures showing only 17 percent of enrollees had "A" premed averages * * * 69 percent had "B" averages, while 14 percent were "C" students. Character, personality, leadership, and other nonscholastic qualities are cited as bearing heavily on whether a student is accepted.

Myth No. 5: Medical schools in the United States fail to grow with the times. Here the facts reveal that by 1960 the annual output of physicians will be upped to nearly 7,500 graduates, and that the quality of their education is constantly scrutinized by both the AMA and the Association of American Medical Colleges.

Myth No. 6: The AMA attempts to restrict the number of physicians. This erroneous idea is refuted by the fact that the AMA lacks any such authority, and can only recommend sensible limits for a given school, final determination lying only in the hands of school authorities themselves.

Myth No. 7: Medical schools are hard pressed for operating funds and only the Federal Government can meet their needs. While schools do need more income, the booklet states, the truth is that the medical profession opposes any continuing Federal aid, although it welcomes grants for special research in diseases, school construction, school renovation, and similar onetime grants. For continuing funds, other sources constantly are sought and found. This is the same principle applied elsewhere—that, what the Government finances it may some day seek to control, thus undermining individual creative initiative, the booklet states.

Organizations listed as sponsoring the Committee on Medical Education Week, 1957, are the Association of American Medical Colleges, the AMA, the American Medical Education Foundation, the National Fund for Medical Education, the Student American Medical Association, and the Woman's Auxiliary to the American Medical Association.

Golden Jubilee of Slovak League of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, today, May 27, marks the date on which the Slovak League of America was organized 50 years ago.

The following is a letter which I addressed to Mr. Philip A. Hrobak, president of the Slovak League of America on the occasion of this anniversary:

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I extend my greetings to the Slovak League of America on the happy occasion of its golden jubilee.

All Americans know that in the bloodstream of our Nation flows the aspirations, dreams, and loyalties of men and women of all nationalities. The Slovaks have contributed their share to the growth and greatness of our country. The Slovak League of America, especially, has done much in promoting the welfare and security of the United States of America.

For the past half century, you have enriched American life by your cultural and civic achievements. You have shown your dedication to the American way of life by urging and aiding Americans of Slovak descent to become loyal citizens of this country.

Although Americans first, you are justly proud of your Slovak ancestry. Through the Slovak League of America, the American people have become aware and have learned to appreciate the noble culture, traditions, and achievements of the Slovak nation and

its gallant and hard struggle to gain freedom.

Unfortunately, today, the land of your ancestors is suffering under the godless tyranny of communism. Consequently, there is sadness as well as happiness at this golden jubilee. But there is also determination in this group; a determination to fight communism and its conspiracy against free humanity.

On this golden jubilee day, I would like to join with the members of this American institution in denouncing the tyranny of communism; in praying for the freedom of enslaved Slovakia, and in hoping for continued success of the Slovak League of America.

To Europe Via Miami

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to state that recently I had the opportunity of appearing before the Civil Aeronautics Board, along with several other members of the Florida delegation, in behalf of an application of Pan American World Airways to connect the city of Miami, Fla., with Europe and the world beyond. The application of Pan American World Airways is without controversy and is the only one pending for approval of this route from Miami to San Juan to Madrid.

Miami and southern Florida are growing faster than any similar area in the United States. Commerce in Florida is on the march, and new markets are necessary for Florida's great variety of commodities. It is felt that the approval of this application will benefit Florida greatly.

The Fort Myers News-Press, one of the outstanding newspapers in my district, recently carried an editorial pinpointing the great advantages to Florida for certification of this route. I would like to have it printed in the RECORD so that it might be widely read.

The editorial follows:

TO EUROPE VIA MIAMI

A good many people from this area are going to Europe for their vacation this summer. The number of Europe-bound vacationists from this section has been increasing year by year. They all have to go first to New York by train or plane at a cost of some time and expense and then take off from there by boat or plane. Wouldn't it be a great convenience and saving if they could go to Europe direct from Miami instead of by way of New York?

Well, that will become possible if the Civil Aeronautics Board grants an application by Pan American Airways on which final arguments are to be heard next month. PAA is seeking to inaugurate a new direct route from Miami across the Atlantic by way of San Juan, the Azores, Lisbon, Madrid and Rome, where connections would be made with other PAA routes to northern Europe and around the world. There would be 4 round-trip flights weekly between San Juan, Puerto Rico, and Lisbon and Rome, 2 direct from Miami and 2 originating from the Canal Zone providing connections from Miami and San Juan.

Pan American already flies from Lisbon to Rome by way of Barcelona and Nice. In connection with the new service it proposes to fly from Lisbon to Madrid en route to Rome and the only opposition has come from Trans World Airlines which opposed Pan American's entry into Madrid. The Spanish capital is served at present only by TWA. But the Spanish Government and Puerto Rico are strongly supporting the PAA application.

There is no United States airline now operating over the midocean route although several foreign airlines fly from Latin America to Puerto Rico and then across the Atlantic. These foreign airlines transport 55,200 passengers a year across the mid-Atlantic, bypassing the United States. Pan American believes that at least 13,590 passengers would use its new route in its first year and that it would prove so profitable that it would operate as a nonsubsidy route and yield about $2 million a year profit to apply against the present subsidy paid for operating unprofitable routes in the national interest. This would be a $2 million saving for American taxpayers, and this alone seems a strong argument for granting the application.

Another advantage of this proposed route of particular interest to Florida is that it also would bring European tourists here. Pan American reports that foreign travelers, some two-thirds of them Europeans, spent approximately $600 million in the United States last year, nearly half as much as the great throng of Americans spent abroad. A direct air route between Miami and Europe would bring some of this heavy traffic this way.

In the light of these considerations, plus the great advantage it would be to Floridians to have a direct route to Europe from Miami instead of having to go up to New York to go abroad, the granting of the PAA application for this service appears strongly indicated in the public interest. While the new PAA route might let TWA in for some competition at Madrid, it is to be hoped that the CAB will weigh the many other factors which call so strongly for the granting of the PAA application.

America's Walkingest President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the citation presented to former President Harry S. Truman on May 17, 1957, in Kansas City as America's walkingest President by 60,000 members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, AFL–CIO, headed by Mr. John J. Mara.

The citation was presented as a mark of the union's personal esteem for President Truman, as well as in recognition of Mr. Truman's widely known penchant for frequent walking. It was accompanied by a pair of spiked track shoes and a wardrobe of five pairs of shoes.

Mr. William Scanlan of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, who is a resident of Boston, Mass., said the spikes were given to help Mr. Truman get around with greater speed to tell more Americans about the Harry S. Truman Library in Independence.

Because of the sentiments expressed in the citation, I am including it in toto:

The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, AFL–CIO, presents to Harry S. Truman, America's walkingest President, this tribute in national recognition of his lifelong contribution to the merits of walking as the most invigorating of exercises. He walked confidently through the years of war and peace in quest of a better world for all. He walked alone and with the leaders of the earth. He walked squarely into all issues to face them with honor. He walked for health, for relaxation, and for spiritual sustenance. His step has always been forward. And, with the grace of God, may he walk many more years among us—the American people whom he loves, and who, in turn, love and honor him.

Presented May 17, 1957.

JOHN J. MARA,
President.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

The Overton Canal Waterway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 8, 1957.*

Maj. Gen. EMERSON C. ITSCHNER,
Chief of Engineers, Corps of Engineers,
Department of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR GENERAL ITSCHNER: I am writing relative to a considerable amount of confusion which continues to exist over the feasibility of the Overton Canal in Louisiana.

When I first campaigned for a seat in Congress from the Eighth Congressional District of Louisiana, I advocated a deep waterway from that area to the gulf. The principal question remaining in my mind was to seek the best route and I have refrained from endorsing the Overton Canal because there were several questions in my mind as to its feasibility and from an economic standpoint.

My position with respect to the Overton Canal has been one which has brought considerable criticism upon me. My answer to this criticism has been the same, that is, I wanted to be sure that the Overton Canal was the best answer to the deep waterway problem.

In your recent speech before the Red River Valley Association in Shreveport, La., I gathered the impression that a resurvey and a reevaluation of the Overton Canal and recently been conducted and that on the basis of this resurvey and reevaluation the canal had been fully justified and established as the most feasible waterway. Further, it was my understanding, based on your speech, that the resurvey and reevaluation took into full consideration the possibility of using the Red River as an alternative waterway. The impression received from your speech was that the resurvey and reevaluation definitely justified the Overton Canal and established that the Red River was not feasible to be used as a deep waterway.

Subsequent to the Shreveport meeting, where I received the impression that the justification for the Overton Canal was based

on a recent resurvey, I have been criticized publicly and in correspondence for apparently softening my attitude in opposition to the Overton Canal.

Under date of February 20, 1956, I wrote to General Hardin, posing several questions, to which he replied, in part, as follows: "The project as of this date is in the planning stage. Since no funds have been made available for start of construction, the project has been inactive for a number of years owing to lack of funds. Planning funds were made available for fiscal year 1956, and at the present time the cost of the project and benefits to be derived therefrom are being studied with the view of arriving at a current cost-benefit ratio at present price levels. This study is nearing completion, and as soon as it has been reviewed and approved by the Chief of Engineers, I shall be pleased to make the results available to you."

To date, I have not received this information. Now, have they made such a survey? Is there such a thing as this resurvey and reevaluation? I do not wish to go back and use the old House Document 320 survey which was made some 10 or 12 years ago, as a basis of justification for the Overton Canal. I asked for a new evaluation of the river and the cost of the canal. I asked them to take a new look at the river which they said they would do and give me a report in January. I have not as yet received this report nor a complete answer to my questions.

Now, General Itschner, in order for this matter to be clarified and to know just exactly where we stand, I would appreciate very much receiving the following specific information from you:

1. An appropriation totaling $530,000 was voted for the purpose of resurveying and reevaluating the Overton Canal, and also to examine the feasibility of the Red River serving as a deep-waterway route to the gulf. Has this money been used for the purpose of reexamining the deep-waterway problem with which we are concerned, especially the $150,000 which was voted for fiscal 1957?

2. In your recent speech before the Red River Valley Association in Shreveport, I received the impression, and I think others did also, that the justification outlined by you was based on a recent resurvey and reevaluation and not upon the original justification as set forth in House Document 320, 80th Congress. I would like to know which justification was used in the facts which you outlined in your speech.

3. If the resurvey and reevaluation for which this appropriation was recently voted has not been completed, please give me the best possible estimate you can as to when these further studies are expected to be completed.

Inasmuch as in your speech you said you had justified the Overton Canal, and realizing that you had spent in the neighborhood of $530,000 for this purpose and to evaluate the river, I want to know if you were speaking from a second survey or were you speaking from the first survey. I said in my speech that if and when the Corps of Engineers made the second evaluation and it was proven to be justified, I would be for it, but to date I have not been informed as to whether or not this justification is based on a second survey, or on the original survey and report.

I shall appreciate very much your early response to this letter because I find myself in a rather embarrassing position and am anxious to get the facts regarding this all-important matter.

Thanking you for the attention I know you will give this request, and with kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

GEO. S. LONG,
Member of Congress.

Appropriations Item Veto, H. R. 830

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following is the text of my statement which I submitted today to the House Judiciary Committee in support of my bill, H. R. 830, to provide that for the purpose of disapproval by the President each provision of an appropriation bill shall be considered a separate bill:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE ABRAHAM J. MULTER, DEMOCRAT, NEW YORK, BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, MAY 27, 1957

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, thank you for this opportunity to submit to this honorable committee my views on the subject of the principle of the item veto of appropriation bills generally and in support of my own bill, H. R. 830 specifically.

To me it is inconceivable that our Founding Fathers, at any time during the constitutional debate on the veto power, could have visualized the magnitude and complexity of today's appropriation problems. In the principle embodied in article 1, section 7, clause 2 and 3 of our Constitution, they vested exclusive veto power in the Chief Executive, but, at the same time, preserved to the legislative branch the final determination of the fate of legislative measures.

This is a basic point and may be determinative of the power of Congress to provide an item veto by statutory action.

Since the adoption of the Constitution, no one has ever contended that the President has power to veto items of appropriation. If this power is ever to be exercised, it must be granted either by a constitutional amendment or by statute or joint resolution of the Congress.

No one challenges the sufficiency of the constitutional amendment to accomplish the purpose. In the interest of saving time, I shall confine my statement to the exposition and defense of my measure, H. R. 830, which is designed to permit by statute the exercise of this power.

Under the Constitution, article I, section 1, "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States" and, under article I, section 8, clause 18, the Congress shall have power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." "Whenever, therefore, a question arises concerning the constitutionality of a particular power, the first question is whether the power be expressed in the Constitution. If it be, the question is decided. If it be not expressed, the next inquiry must be whether it is properly an incident to an express power and necessary to its execution. It it be, then it may be exercised by Congress. If not, Congress cannot exercise it" (*United States* v. *Harris* (1883), 106 U. S. 629, 636.)

The power of Congress to grant the President the privilege of vetoing items of an appropriation bill is certainly nowhere expressed in the Constitution, nor is it necessary for carrying into execution the clearly expressed limited veto power granted the President in the Constitution.

However, the absolute control of the moneys of the United States, including the terms and conditions under which they are made, is in the Congress. (*Hart's* case (1880) 16 Ct. Cl. 484, affirmed 118 U. S. 62). The power to appropriate Federal funds has been exclusively entrusted to Congress. (Constitution, art. I, sec. 9, cl. 7; *State of Ohio* v. *U. S.* (1946), 65 F. Supp. 776, 780.)

In view of the incredible magnitude and complexity of the financial operations of our Government, the Houses of Congress, acting under their responsibility to the citizens in the operation of exercising their constitutional powers of spending the taxes wisely and well, are entirely within their constitutional powers to employ legislative methods that will best enable the Chief Executive to perform his function of recommending laws thought wise and vetoing laws considered bad.

By presenting appropriation legislation in the form and manner prescribed in my bill, H. R. 830, we are not delegating our legislative authority to appropriate, since Congress must act finally upon the legislation. Instead, we are employing as an incident to the exercise of our express power to appropriate, a device made necessary by the growth of this Nation.

There is nothing in our Constitution and nothing in good reason or logic which should prevent the Congress from adopting a rule (even though not binding on a subsequent Congress) providing, as my bill does, that every part of an appropriation bill should be considered and treated, for veto purposes, as a separate bill.

It is my firm belief that a provision could be written into every appropriation bill so providing.

There can be no doubt that the result sought could be obtained by insisting that each separate item be the subject of a single bill.

For the sake of expeditious action, we put many items in one bill.

The Congress can, if it so desires, direct that, for veto purposes, each item be treated as a separate bill. The Congress would still retain the right to override each veto.

I thank you, gentlemen, for the privilege of presenting my views.

Scars of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial of the La Grange Citizen, a newspaper published in the Fourth District of Illinois, which I have the honor to represent. This editorial is entitled "Scars of Democracy" and deals in a most intelligent and sensible manner with the wounds that are often left after a political campaign. This editorial follows:

SCARS OF DEMOCRACY

The privilege of free elections, free choice expressed in the secret ballot, is cited repeatedly as the keystone of democracy.

That the ballot is also democracy's most deceptive trap, and a source of disrupting forces are facts not recognized as generally as they ought to be. The wounds that are inflicted in the heat of the campaigns leave scars and tender areas which are slow to heal because they are wounds to pride and conceit, and cherished hopes.

The fact that many people do patch up these scars and wounds, and do work together again is one of the amazing and laudable features of democracy. The proportion of people in a community who can take defeat graciously, and can accept victory with-

out being obnoxious determines the relative harmony of community life.

A saving grace in democracy is the fact that there are many persons who forgive and try to forget. They are persons who recognize that campaign eagerness prompts some people to say and do things that create bitterness and rancor. They know that in every contested election there are persons who, lacking sound reasons to support their side, use innuendo and faked issues to bolster their arguments.

Even where the issues are fought out straightforward and the battle is open and honest opponents resent the thick skulled reluctance of the other side to admit it is wrong.

Where morals are not involved, and high principles are not violated citizens can serve their community, and also themselves, best by not only admitting that the majority determines, but also that once an election is held personal animosities and resentments should be minimized.

In communities where the bitternesses of one election are piled onto the next, eventually the pyramid of prejudices, and the desires for vengeance and retaliation become too great to surmount. Then democracy breaks down completely, and free elections become travesties and farcical.

Interstate Action Needed To Curb "Gretna Greens" in Southern States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, a family court judge at Nashville, Tenn., the Honorable Benson Trimble, has focused attention upon a situation existing in Southern States that points up the need for uniform marriage laws over the Nation. Two great daily newspapers published in the capital city of Tennessee, the Nashville Banner and the Nashville Tennessean, have impressively and forcefully pointed up the circumstance that Judge Trimble described as a "blight on society and nothing short of criminal."

This young jurist calls attention to the fact that in 18 days this family court has had before it between 20 and 30 divorce cases involving youngsters marrying too young in notorious marriage mills in Mississippi and Georgia.

These editorials are timely and good. The Banner entitled its column "Marriage Mills Demand Interstate Action" and the Tennesseean editorial is headed "Send Marryin' Sam Back to the Funnies."

Judge Trimble has suggested that I look into the advisability of congressional action relative to uniformity of marriage law. This I shall do. However, it is my considered opinion that this is a matter for action by the States involved, and Judge Trimble has promptly and intelligently called it to the attention of the chief executives of Mississippi and Georgia. It would seem that nothing else would be required than to advise the Governors of these States, and that appropriate action would follow to stamp out this unholy blight.

In the meantime, I wish to call to the attention of the Congress of the United States this circumstance presented by Judge Trimble. It may ultimately be necessary to debate the matter before the Congress, since these child marriages are interstate in character.

The editorials follow:

[From the Nashville Banner]

MARRIAGE MILLS DEMAND INTERSTATE ACTION

Conscience assuredly backs the urgent appeal of Judge Benson Trimble for surrounding States to act against notorious "marriage mills" whose patrons are chiefly children. He addressed that request to the Governors of Mississippi and Georgia because it is the "Gretna Greens" within those boundaries that are the worst offenders.

Davidson County knows, as does all of middle Tennessee. Underage young people by the dozens—over the years—have been involved.

The Banner repeatedly has called attention to this unsavory business, and authorities within the States themselves have condemned the operation which makes a commercial enterprise out of the tying of the matrimonial knot.

Judge Trimble, even in the short time his family-relations court has been functioning, has witnessed a tragic parade of heartbreak cases stemming from these quickie marriages; particularly those of children. He has recited a number of them in urging authorities of the States involved to do something about it.

It isn't, The Banner repeats, a new subject. It is a situation that should have been corrected by law a long time ago.

The States know it. The legislatures of Mississippi and Georgia have entertained proposals—and good recommendations to strengthen the statutes in question have been presented. Yet for one reason or another the abuses continue.

Conscience is not something on which an area or a community has a monopoly. It is interstate. Mutual effort by the States, for a uniform code, stringently enforced, could end the racket and put these marriage mills out of business.

Judge Trimble has added the judicial voice to this appeal, backing it with facts to which no State can in conscience close its eyes.

The deplorable situation described cannot be ended by less than interstate action—an exercise by each state of its requisite responsibility. Corrective steps merit the best action these governors and all law-enforcement authorities can give it.

[From the Nashville Tennessean of May 24, 1957]

SEND MARRYIN' SAM BACK TO FUNNIES

Only 18 days have passed since Davidson County's new family court conducted its first formal session and already between 20 to 30 divorce cases involving youngsters married too young in the matrimonial mills of Corinth, Miss., and Rossville, Ga., have crossed the docket of Judge Benson Trimble.

This circumstance was properly categorized by the jurist when he termed it "a blight on society and nothing short of criminal." We would heap a similar indictment upon the people responsible for it.

Too often, the well-known happenings at Rossville and Corinth have been brushed aside as merely "a wicked system" about which little can be done. One is reminded that wicked systems are the creation of wicked people, and in this instance the creators are a group of greedy Marryin' Sams more interested in a dollar than in the future happiness of young people.

The perpetrators of such a system as this would, and do, pervert the holiness of wedlock—for a price.

Before our family court was instituted, Davidson County was treading on the verge of becoming a divorce mill. And while not all divorces, obviously, can be traced to these two communities, there is something rotten in Denmark—or Mississippi and Georgia—when 20 to 30 can be so traced within 18 days.

This community's plea joins that of Judge Trimble, therefore, when he calls upon Governors J. P. Coleman of Mississippi and Marvin Griffin of Georgia to smash quickly a pair of marriage mills which are doing little else but mangle the lives of "children."

Since repeated similar pleas have netted no corrections, though, perhaps a better answer would lie in Judge Trimble's request of United States Representative J. CARLTON LOSER that he introduce legislation in Congress setting up a uniform marriage law.

Marryin' Sam may have a place in the funny papers. He has no place in serious society.

Address by Hon. Basil L. Whitener to 11th Congressional District Chapter of Postmasters, Rutherfordto , N. C., May 25, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SHUFORD
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. SHUFORD. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, Congressman BASIL L. WHITENER, delivered an address to the 11th Congressional District Chapter of the North Carolina Postmasters Association at a meeting in Rutherfordton, N. C., on Saturday, May 25, 1957.

This address by our distinguished colleague points up some of the principal problems faced by the Congress and the Nation in the postal-service field. His address follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. BASIL L. WHITENER TO 11TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CHAPTER OF POSTMASTERS, RUTHERFORDTON, N. C., MAY 25, 1957

It was with a great deal of pleasure that I accepted the very generous invitation to speak to the postmasters of the 11th Congressional District tonight.

Your branch of the Government has been in the news in a very substantial way in recent days. As we tonight have a common interest in the postal service and its future of service to our people, it is fitting that we should think together on some of the problems which face you as postmasters and your elected representatives in the Congress of the United States.

There is much debate today about your service. This debate seems to revolve around two propositions. First: What is proper policy under which to view post office operation? Is it primarily a public service which should not be expected to produce revenues to cover its cost? Or, secondly, is it an organization which, in spite of its public service aspects, should cover as much of its costs as can be covered?

When we resolve those basic questions we then begin to reach the point at which a decision can be made by the people and their representatives.

A brief glance at the history of your service is essential to an understanding of the development of the postal policy of the United States. Time will not permit a detailed discussion of the various historical developments in the postal service, but I think that in a few minutes we can run down some of the major steps in its development.

The Congress has always recognized that the provision of the postal service is a necessary function of Government. It has always attempted to maintain low postal rates but has constantly increased services, regardless of deficits.

The Continental Congress, in 1775, established postal services, and Benjamin Franklin was named as the first Postmaster General. The Continental Congress said: "The present critical situation in the Colonies renders it highly necessary that ways and means * * * be devised for the speedy and secure conveyance of intelligence from one end of the continent to the other."

During the period of the Continental Congress, between 1775 and 1778, very little postal revenue was received, and the cost of the service was met by the Treasury.

In preparing the Articles of Confederation it was set forth that Congress was "expressly forbidden" to raise more revenues than would meet the expenses of the service. It appears on the face of this provision that a deficit was not prohibited but a surplus was not to be permitted.

In 1787 the writers of our Constitution provided in article I that: "The Congress shall have power * * * to establish post offices and post roads." The Constitution is silent about expenditures and revenue policies of the postal service.

Initially, Congress attempted to provide postal services which would pay their own cost. By the Act of February 20, 1792, the Postmaster General was authorized to enter into contracts for carrying the mails, *"Provided*, That no such contract shall be made to the diminution of the revenue of the general post office." Congress further provided that any surplus at the end of the year was to be applied against future deficiencies.

Again, in 1794, Congress passed an act which read: "That it shall be lawful for the Postmaster General to provide for the carriage of a mail on any road on which a stage wagon or other stage carriage shall be established, on condition that the expense thereof shall not exceed the revenue thence arising".

In 1797 Congress liberalized its policy by continuing all money-losing postal routes except one "which shall not, after the second year, from its establishment, have produced one-third of the expense of carrying the mails on the same."

In 1814 Congress further relaxed the policy by stating that a postal route be established "to the courthouse of any county which is now, or may hereafter be, established in any of the States or Territories of the United States, and shall not or will not otherwise be accommodated with the mail".

In 1851 Congress made a real break with the old policy of making the postal service pay its way.

In that year Congress stated: "That no post office now in existence shall be discontinued, nor shall the mail service on any mail route in any of the States or Territories be discontinued or diminished, in consequence of any diminution of the revenues * * * and it shall be the duty of the Postmaster General to establish new post offices, and place the mail service on any new mail routes established, or that may hereafter be established, in the same manner as though this Act had not passed."

The Act of 1851 further ordered that weekly newspapers be carried through the mails free of charge to subscribers within the county of their publication.

Succeeding Postmasters General alternately supported and condemned the service-first, revenue-last, policy provided for by the 1851 Act. Nevertheless, Congress gave increasing support to the service function even though deficits were the result.

Registration of letters was authorized in 1855. The uniform rate of postage for all like mail, regardless of distance transmitted, was established in 1863. Free delivery of mail in cities began in 1863. The money order system was established in 1864. Congress authorized the use of postal cards in 1872.

In the Act of 1879 Congress established the classifications of mail matter which are still in effect. Special delivery services and a 2-cent letter mail were provided in 1885. Funds were provided for rural free delivery in 1896.

The fact that there were deficits in postal operations did not prevent these new functions and lower rates from being established.

1910 brought about the authorization of the Postal Savings System. Parcel post was authorized in 1912 and air mail loomed upon the horizon in 1918.

During World War I the Government used the post-office organization to sell war savings certificates and thrift stamps. Enemy aliens were registered by the Department. Third- and fourth-class postmasters served as recruiting officers for the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps.

Postal notes were inaugurated as a service in the Post Office in 1945. The air letter sheet in 1947 and the air parcel post in 1948 became further services of the post office.

During World War II the Post Office Department had other wartime services. It sold war bonds and stamps and automobile tax stamps. It registered aliens and carried mail from soldiers without charge.

During the first 50 years of operation the Post Office Department earned reasonable surpluses. But from 1841 until the present it has only experienced surpluses in 12 years.

Postal surpluses were checked in 1845 by the reduction of rates and the extension of postal service. The surpluses of 1849, 1850, and 1851 disappeared when the mail rate was reduced from 5 to 3 cents per half ounce. Surpluses appeared again in 1852 and 1884, and the letter rate was dropped first, 2 cents per half ounce and then to 2 cents per ounce.

On other occasions the opportunities to earn a profit have been foregone in order to expand the service along new and often costly lines. Railroad mail was established as soon as the locomotive proved workable.

In the interest of popular education, the postal service has subsidized newspapers and magazines by distributing them at less than cost. In addition to subsidizing the railroads, it has subsidized airlines during their periods of development by the grants of more-than-cost mail contracts. From the close of the Civil War until 1936, mail subsidies contributed greatly to maintaining the American merchant marine fleet.

It is in this historical setting that we find ourselves as we look to our postal service in 1957 and future years.

It must be in the light of the lessons in history that we determine whether presently existing legislation to increase postal rates shall be approved.

To be sure, the first step to be taken in determining this whole problem is that of reaching a decision on the question of the proper post-office policy of this Nation.

I feel strongly that the service aspect must be kept in mind constantly. It seems inconsistent to me that the Post Office Department should be the one department of our Government which is expected to earn money for services rendered to the millions of American citizens.

But I do feel equally strong that the Post Office Department should be run as economically and with as much business acumen as one would expect of a private business.

That brings us to the recent outcries that we have had from our present Postmaster General with reference to the attitude of Congress on the matters of appropriation. He has given to the public a distorted picture of the financial provisions which the Congress has made for the operation of this vital branch of our Government.

The proposed budget for 1958 called for an appropriation of $3,250,000,000 for the postal service. When a hearing was concluded by the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives it was determined that this figure could be reduced by $58 million. Thereupon, the committee recommended an appropriation of $3,192,000,000. You have perhaps been led to believe that this was an unwarranted cut in the funds for Postmaster General Summerfield's Department during the fiscal year of 1958.

But that is far from true. The 1957 appropriations for the Post Office Department were $2,984,340,000, and the amount recommended by the House Appropriations Committee was $3,192,000,000, an increase of $207,660,000 above the appropriations available to the Post Office Department in 1957.

So, you see, my friends, the Congress has dealt very generously with the Post Office Department.

My chief concern with the recent outbursts of the Postmaster General is that it tends to destroy the esprit de corps which has been so high among the 500,000 postal workers in some 41,000 post offices throughout the Nation. You and I, as officials in the Government, owe a duty to prevent this demoralization of a great service.

Nothing can break down the morale of our postal workers more quickly than a hodgepodge of false economy. We are all interested in saving the taxpayers money and giving our citizens their mail sooner and oftener.

But, it seems to me, that there is room for grave doubt as to whether the alleged economies introduced from on top are, in fact, economies. I fear that there is a basic incapacity of some of our top-rank planners to understand the problems confronting the postmasters and mail carriers of our Nation.

What are some of these highly advertised alleged economies? There are many of them that we could discuss, but I will limit my remarks to just two of them.

The first that comes to my mind is this sudden penchant of the Postmaster General for little gasoline junk toys called scooters.

These are ¼-ton, 3-wheeled, covered-type vehicles. Except for the fact that they delight the children of a neighborhood, and serve as an extra provocation for barking and biting dogs, they constitute—for the mail carrier—nothing but a cumbersome nuisance. That, it seems to me, is one of the demoralizing factors in a great segment of the post-office personnel.

These men do not want the scooters because they are a hindrance rather than a help. I am told by those who have used them that they would much prefer walking with their mail bags to the use of these gasoline go-carts. They just are not suitable for house-to-house delivery in congested areas.

But what is the Post Office Department doing about this situation? There are, as I speak to you, 300 of these contraptions now in service.

But more alarming, is the fact that the Department proposes to purchase some 1,500 more of them.

These ridiculous comic pieces of apparatus cost upward of $917.50 apiece. Some cost one or two hundred dollars less.

Eighteen hundred of these 3-wheeled monstrosities at almost $1,000 apiece seem

to me to be very poor economy. It constitutes a waste of the Post Office Department money and an abuse of the morale of the post-office employees.

Perhaps this foray into the land of fancy by our present Postmaster General will be recorded in history as "Summerfield's Scooter Folly."

Another far graver error in the administration of the Post Office Department during the past year is one which I prefer not to refer to as a "folly." It is rather to be called a "tragedy."

It is another instance of false economy that completely ignores the historical concept that the postal service is a public service.

The tragedy of which I speak is the discontinuance of no less than 713 of our 14,185 fourth-class post offices in the United States.

By cutting down the postal service for scattered segments of the American people through the elimination of their fourth-class post-office facilities and calling it an economy is just about the worst possible misuse of power.

The removal from the service of 713 fourth-class post offices strikes me as brutal hatchetman tactics to make a good financial showing at the expense of an indispensable service to the people in the fourth-class postal category. It is a callous indifference to the public weal.

The necessity of service to our rural people through the fourth-class offices is not to be dealt with as a strict matter of bookkeeping. I am sure that there are some of these fourth-class offices which may be wisely discontinued, but I hardly think that it is reasonable to say that we can afford to eliminate 713 out of a total of 14,000.

If the kind of logic which the Postmaster General has applied in his policy toward fourth-class post offices is to be followed to its ultimate conclusion, then he could effect even greater savings by eliminating all of the post offices. The burden of my thinking is that we must not crippie the postal service, whether it be in the urban centers or in the rural areas.

Perhaps it would be well to call to the attention of Mr. Summerfield the words of the late Will Hays, a former Postmaster General, and—I hasten to add—a Republican, who said: "The post office is not for profit nor for politics, but for service."

It is my earnest hope that our Postmaster General will revise his thinking and correct his action as he approaches a solution to the many problems which are presented to the people of this Nation by the current post office situation. There mere pointing out of a $515 million estimated deficit for 1957 does not warrant the hacking away of services to our people.

The problem should be approached in a state of mind which would lead to real economies and not the alleged economies which I have already mentioned to you.

There are no more dedicated men and women to be found in America than the postmasters and employees in the various post offices of all classes in the United States. They are entitled to the same type of dedicated leadership on the executive and legislative fronts as we seek to reach a solution to our problems.

I commend you posmasters of the 11th Congressional District. You have done an excellent job. I believe that you can be of great service in bringing about the proper answer to these questions which I have outlined to you tonight.

But whatever the ultimate legislative decision shall be, it is my firm conviction that the people of the Nation will always feel that the post office is an institution of service and not a mercantile establishment.

Problems and Goals of Organized Teachers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, a great many of our Toledo teachers are members of the American Federation of Teachers. Mr. Brendan Sexton, of Detroit, the director of education for the international union, United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agriculture Implement Workers of America, an affiliate of the United Automobile Workers, made the following address at the annual dinner held recently by the Toledo Chapter, AFT.

Mr. Sexton's speech reviewed the outstanding role of the teacher in today's society and evaluated the pressures brought to bear on organized teachers as well as the role of the Union in helping teachers receive new recognition for their service. I respectfully commend this address to the attention of my colleagues.

The address follows:

SPEECH BY BRENDAN SEXTON AT ANNUAL DINNER OF TOLEDO CHAPTER, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, FEBRUARY 9, 1957

I am glad to be here to help you celebrate this 24th anniversary of your union.

Your union is, as you know, even older than most of the great and large industrial unions. My own union, the UAW, is just this month celebrating the 20th anniversary of the sit-down strikes which occured at Flint and other industrial cities, and which led to the signing of the first union agreement with the General Motors Corp.

I am told that here in Toledo a substantial majority of the teachers in the public school system belong to the American Federation of Teachers. This is as it should be. I am also told that you face the same kind of opposition faced by unionized teachers in other communities, from those who argue that joining a union amounts to unprofesional conduct for a teacher.

Now, I have never been able to understand just what it is that membership in a union has to do with professional conduct. It has been, and is, my view that whether or not a teacher is truly professional is determined by the teacher's conduct and show of ability in the classroom, rather than by his attitude toward the question of unionism.

The argument, it seems to me, is senseless. At the time of his death, so I am informed, Arturo Toscanini had been a member of a union, the American Federation of Musicians for something like thirty or forty years. Like Toscanini, Jascha Heifetz, Artur Rubinstein, Yehudi Menuhin and others of similar artistic stature are members of the same union. I hardly think that the most ardent defender of the National Education Association's argument that unionism for teachers is not consonant with professionalism, would also be willing to argue that the men I have mentioned are not professional, though they have belonged to a union. In fact, almost all the great figures in the performing arts are members of trade unions, affiliated with the AFL–CIO.

In the newspaper world most of the great writers, and many leading editors and columnists are now, or have been members of the American Newspaper Guild. The guild is a very militant union, and has been able to carry through strikes without injuring its members' professional status or reputation.

The founder of the American Newspaper Guild, Heywood Broun, was the most thoroughly professional of newspapermen. Those who remember him will testify that he was certainly one of the greatest figures in the history of American journalism—and certainly one of the greatest craftsmen of all time.

Teachers, more than most any other group in our society, should feel kinship with the organized labor movement. The modern educational system owes much to the organized workers. The American labor movement of the 1820's and the 1830's played a leading role in the development of the first public schools.

Horace Mann, who has been called "the father of American public education," is said to have credited the early labor movement with having been the most important community bulwark in the struggle for the development of a system of free and universal public education.

Labor parties in Pennsylvania, New York, and other centers emblazoned upon their banners the demand for free public schools. These parties, which sometimes won limited electoral victories, later helped form the Jacksonian coalition which did so much to democratize our Nation and to extend to all the people a degree of educational opportunity.

Furthermore, education and labor have enemies in common. Historically, at every level of our society, the labor movement has supported demands for extension of educational opportunities. (A responsible union cannot do otherwise, since, obviously, it is the children of trade unionists who are most likely to suffer if public educational opportunities are restricted, and who will benefit most from the extension and expansion of such opportunities.)

If you check the records of your State legislators and Members of the Federal Congress you will discover in the records of some individual members a pattern of opposition to the extension of education and support of antilabor legislation. Conversely, you will find, I know, that legislators who support measures which are designed to improve the education system, are generally the same legislators who oppose legislation designed to restrict the activities of the labor movement.

In fact, if I were a betting man, I would offer to make a series of wagers based upon this generalization and I know they would return me a significant sum of money. If we took the membership roll of the Congress and marked those names, in both Houses, who were Members in 1946 when the Taft-Hartley was adopted, and still Members last year when Federal aid to education was defeated, and then made bets that every man who supported Taft-Hartley also opposed Federal aid to education, I could clean up quite a bundle of money at the rate of a $5 bet per Member. I wouldn't win every bet—but my profit margin would be great.

Of course, not every businessman is an enemy of education—and not every unionist is a friend; but, on balance, the labor movement has demonstrated that its support is a lot more vigorous and trustworthy than is that of the business community.

Mr. Cola G. Parker, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, in his inauguration speech to the delegates attending the national convention of that organ-

ization, in which he said: "Creeping socialism is now walking. A hundred years ago, Karl Marx set down 10 ways to communism, from the abolition of poverty in the land, to free education for all in public schools, When you check them off, you'll find we are already well on our way to the achievement of the Communist state as blueprinted by Marx."

It has not occurred to Mr. Parker that perhaps Marx took this idea from the United States, rather than the reverse. The Communist Manifesto in which Marx set out this program was published in 1848, by which time the American free public education system already had been established. Many of the newly admitted States already had included in their constitutions provisions calling for the establishment of free public schools.

Article 10 of the constitution of my own State of Michigan, which was adopted in 1835, 13 years prior to the appearance of Marx's manifesto, provided for the establishment of (a) "perpetual funds for support of schools * * * the legislature shall encourage by all suitable means the promotion of intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement. The proceeds of all lands that have been, or hereafter may be granted by the United States to this State for support of schools, which shall hereafter be sold or disposed of, shall be and remain a perpetual fund, the interest of which, together with the rents of all such unsold lands, shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of schools throughout the State."

Though I cannot quote from it, I am sure that the constitution of the State of Ohio includes a similar provision.

The supplements to the Northwest Ordnance, which were promulgated 1 year later in 1836, provided for the allocation of section 16 of the land of every township granted to the States for the use of schools, as well as for the allocation of additional lands in Michigan for university purposes.

Mr. Parker's reference is history stood on its head, but it does serve to give an insight into the actual opinions of the NAM. Historically, the National Association of Manufacturers has opposed the extension of the free public education system. In recent years, the NAM has been at great pains to pretend to an interest in the schools. But if any branch of the NAM has endorsed a single specific recommendation which would have given the schools more adequate financial assistance, then it has succeeded in keeping such support secret—at any rate, from me.

On the other hand, on countless occasions, State and local manufacturing associations, more or less allied with the NAM or with the United States Chamber of Commerce, have opposed efforts to increase funds available for the school support. And the National Association of Manufacturers, as such, together with the United States Chamber of Commerce, continues in vigorous opposition to Federal aid to education.

Every civilization, it is said, carries within it the seeds of its own destruction. There is considerable evidence indicating that we may be destroying our own civilization from within by failing to support the educational system which has given it life and vigor.

More than any other single factor, the education system of this country has contributed to the growth and development not only of democracy, but of the great economic machine from which we all derive so much benefit. A great many Americans say, and some apparently believe, that America is the last and only remaining bulwark of democracy throughout the world. The United States, in fact, is not the only remaining democracy.

Just across the river from my own home city of Detroit we can visit a great nation which in every way is as democratic as our own. Canadians, as do citizens of other nations which comprise the British Commonwealth, live in a society democratic in form and in fact. In Europe, there still exist a number of democratic nations. As a nation, what sets us apart is not the democratic form of our government, nearly so much as the fact that here, more than in any other country in the history of the world, we have come closest to affording free and equal educational opportunity to all of our citizens.

Without the vast network of public grade schools, high schools, colleges, and universities, we could not have built in this country the great scientific community from which so much of our material progress derives.

Whatever contribution the captains of industry, the leaders of the free enterprise system may have made toward the development of our economic substance, their contribution does not compare with the contribution made by the "longhairs and eggheads" living in the scientific communities at our State universities. All modern technological advance, in fact, derives from prior scientific work carried on at such places as Ohio State University, the University of Michigan, the University of California and other State-supported educational institutions.

Furthermore, the technologists and engineers whom we have produced in such profusion are, by and large, also products of our free public education system.

Always, we have produced the greatest pool of skilled and technically competent labor that has been available to any industrial system throughout the world. There is some evidence that in the current period, we may be losing to the Soviet Union the race to develop scientists, engineers, and technicians. But up until now, we have kept far ahead of all others, and we have been able to do so only because of our education system. Our great material power and abundance is, in the very largest measure, due to the fact that we have had a flourishing and strong educational system.

If I have any complaint with teachers, it is that they have been too timid in their claims upon our society. They have failed to make clear how great has been their contribution in the development of America's great material strength. They have failed to make clear how important and indispensable is their contribution to the health and vigor of American democratic society.

We all know that for a democratic society, education becomes increasingly important with each passing year. The gap between the amount of knowledge possessed by the best educated man and the amount possessed by the least educated man continues to grow. As our civilization grows more complex, the problems with which its citizenry must deal also becomes more difficult and more complex. If we are to continue to have a genuinely democratic society, this gap must be closed, or at any rate narrowed, so that large numbers, rather than small numbers, of citizens are competent to make decisions dealing with the extremely difficult problems we confront as a people.

Yes; each year we allow thousands of our most intelligent young men and young women to go on the educational scrapheap. One of the saddest measures of the inadequacies of our educational system is the percentage of dropouts before the completion of all schooling which the individual is capable of absorbing.

The Commission on Human Resources In Advanced Training has estimated that of those high school students with an IQ of more than 130, only 56 percent go to college, and only 47 percent graduate.

If we drop slightly on the scale to those with IQ's of 120 or more, only 47 percent go to college, and only about 37 percent graduate. Yet, the Armed Forces regard all with an IQ of 110 or higher as fit material for Officer's Candidate Schools.

If you apply these percentages to the college-age population, which is defined by the Bureau of Census as 18 to 24 years of age, you find that there are, in round numbers, about 2,300,000 young people in this age group. Of this number, only slightly more than 1,100,000 will enter college, and only slightly more than 410,000 will earn degrees. This represents a loss of nearly 2 million young people with IQ's higher than 120 who do not complete college.

In a very great many cases, these more brilliant young people fail to enter or remain in college simply because they cannot afford to pay their way.

It seems pretty clear that no amount of private assistance is going to remedy this situation. The amount of money needed to insure equal educational opportunities for all these young people is so great that it can be met only by governmental action.

Now, more than ever, we need the services of an education system which we have let fall into disgraceful disrepair because we have lacked the courage and the will to face up to our needs.

Teachers, out of their timidity, have failed to make demands appropriate to their situation. Average increases of not less than $1,000 a year are needed if teachers' incomes in this country are to be raised to the professional standards which teachers should enjoy. Teachers should cease comparing themselves with factory workers. Teachers are professionals, as are doctors and lawyers, and they are entitled to be paid as professionals.

It is commonplace for some people to say that much of the satisfaction of teaching comes to the dedicated teacher in the form of psychological rewards for work well done. Undoubtedly, this is true, but much the same kind of reward comes to the dedicated doctor who performs his job well. Yet, we do not ask the dedicated doctor to work for the kind of wages paid teachers in our society.

A nation in which millions of people are wealthy enough to have two television sets in their homes, is a nation wealthy enough to provide adequate educational opportunity for its children.

When America was primarily an agricultural country, a man's wealth and his income were closely related to the land he owned, and the tax levied on its value seemed to be a logical way to meet the needs of government.

Furthermore, the major benefits which government rendered very largely related to the protection of property from fire and theft, and the increase of its value through the building of roads, sewage systems, and the like. As our Nation has become industrialized and urbanized, wealth and income have taken on new forms. The basic wealth of the Nation resides in its capacity to produce, and is a result of rising productivity, which is very quickly transformed into income—private and corporate.

The only agency which can effectively tax and distribute this increasing wealth is the Federal Government, through the operation of the Federal income-tax laws. The amounts of money needed to develop our education system do not seem so enormous if we consider the fact that, as a result of periodic declines in our economy, we often lose more than enough money to make up our educational deficits. For example, as a result of the decline which began in late 1953, and continue through 1954, we lost, it is estimated, more than $30 billion of wealth as a result of underemployment.

If we maintain full employment and adopt wise social policies with respect to the distribution of our national wealth, we can underwrite the elimination of every social inequity in our Nation. Our gross national product during the year 1956, reached about

$420 billion. Considering that productivity is now rising at the rate of not less than 3 percent a year, and that about 1 million additional workers are entering the labor force each year, we can, if we maintain full employment, double this amount in between 12 and 15 years.

To some, this may seem a fantistic projection; but, even considering many bad years of underemployment, we previously more than doubled our ability to produce between the years 1937 and 1955. During that period, our gross national product rose from $153.5 to $391 billion. Even if we adjust these figures and express them in terms of 1937 dollars, the gross was from $153.5 billions in 1937 to $328.2 billions in 1955. In the face of these figures, only the excessively timid or greedy would say that, as a Nation, we are not in a position to establish and maintain decent schools in every community throughout the country.

The same people who often oppose granting adequate financial assistance to the schools for the protection of our greatest natural resource—our people, most especially our children—will often, at the same time, rant against the individual juvenile delinquent and will ascribe to the schools much of the responsibility to the alleged rise in juvenile crime. Yet, all of us know that much can be done to ameliorate the effects of juvenile delinquency merely by reducing class size, and by increasing counseling and visiting teacher services. It is perfectly obvious that a neglected, misunderstood child who may be a candidate for juvenile delinquency at age 16 will likely go unnoticed and uncared for in a classroom with 38 or 40 children. Whereas he might be noticed and saved by a talented teacher in a classroom with a student population of reasonable size; where a teacher would be able to give each child the amount of individual attention needed and deserved.

Only the most shortsighted will say that, as a Nation, we cannot afford to do this. According to the table of expenditures by civilians in the United States, as compiled by the United States Department of Commerce and published in the Survey of Current Business in July 1953, we spent, during the year 1952, more than $254 million for chewing gum; more than $145 million for aspirin and aspirin compounds; more than $107 million for shampoos; more than $65 million for home permanent kits; more than $48 million for toilet water and cologne; more than $37 million for stomach sweetners; more than $26 million for playing cards; and more than $18 million for nail polish. If we can afford to spend these sums on such obviously dispensable items, we can afford to reduce class size to an average of 30 or below.

We can afford a national salary schedule for teachers beginning with a minimum of $4,500 a year for those entering the profession, with rapid advance to not less than $8,000 a year for experienced and qualified teachers. We can afford to pay for adequate counseling, for visiting teachers and psychiatric services in every school system. We can afford to provide for unusual children, both the handicapped and the gifted; for a system of federally subsidized scholarship grants, which will make it possible for every qualified boy and girl who wants to go to college to do so. We can, in fact, underwrite the establishment of an educational system the like of which no nation has ever before dreamed of, much less made a reality.

A Nation which can afford to put power brakes, power steering, and automatic window controls on every one of its automobiles, can afford to subsidize an education system which can help to keep our Nation a flourishing democracy and enable it to continue to add each year to its great store of material wealth.

The Army and Navy Hospital at Hot Springs, Ark.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. F. NORRELL
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. NORRELL. Mr. Speaker, the Army and Navy Hospital at Hot Springs, Ark., is the best physical plant of any Army hospital in the United States. This positive statement was made by the Surgeon General of the Army. At that time he said that it was the second best hospital the Army operated anywhere in the world. The only one better was the new hospital in Honolulu. Our inquiry has revealed that this new installation cost somewhere between fifty and seventy million dollars. Following this statement the Army Surgeon General reiterated that the Army and Navy Hospital at Hot Springs was the best hospital facility he had in the country. It certainly is difficult to understand why the best hospital facility would be closed. From a purely good business standpoint, in any business where there are multiple operations, when there is apparent overproduction, business does not close the best operating unit it has.

Unlike the conception that some people may have, who are not personally familiar with the Army and Navy Hospital, it is not the same building that was erected in 1870. At that time the hospital was built here as the first Army general hospital because of the strategic central location and because it afforded the Army the use of the famous hot mineral baths. The present hospital was built in 1933 and is a complete integrated, modern "general" hospital. It is almost identical to the basic unit at Fitzsimons and Brooke and is larger than the latter. It is not, by any stretch of the imagination, a glorified bathhouse as some of you may have been led to believe. The hospital has had exceptionally good care and looks even newer than it is. Modern air conditioning and other improvements have been installed within the past 3 years. The instruments and installed medical and surgical equipment are of the very finest, equal to those at Walter Reed or Bethesda.

The second point, and one which seems of utmost importance, is the strategic location of the hospital. Unlike most Army hospitals which are located in coastal areas, the Army and Navy Hospital is located in the interior central portion of the United States with natural protection. The Department of Defense has quite appropriately been asking defense industries to move some of their operations off the coast. In fact, some airplane manufacturers have been told that in order to be eligible for future contracts, their point of manufacture will have to be off the coast and out of potential attack areas. In addition, the Federal Civil Defense Administration has been urging the maintenance of interior defense areas which can be used in event of coastal attack. Even here in the city of Washington, a huge underground retreat area has been provided away from the present area to which the nerve center of our Federal Government can be dispersed. If it makes sense, and we think it does, to think of defense in terms of safeguarding war production and other Government operations, then it also makes sense to provide for relatively safe hospital care of military personnel. In Hot Springs, Ark., the Army and Navy Hospital can be maintained and operated with a moderate number of patients and at the same time be the center in which additional hundreds can be cared for overnight. The hospital alone cared for as many as 1,777 patients at one time during World War II. In addition, 3 hotels were taken over as a redistribution center which cared for some 2,000 personnel at one time. This is only the beginning of potential use. There are approximately 300 hotels, motels, and apartments which provide accommodations for 37,000 in this resort at one time. These can be made available if and when needed. This hospital can be expanded from 250 to 2,500 beds overnight. It could be made the medical treatment center for up to 30,000 beds. There is no other military or industrial organization that would be competing for expanded facilities in the event of mobilization. The Army and Navy Hospital would have first priority on every facility in the community.

One of the reasons given by the Department of the Army for wanting to close the hospital is the fact that it is not located near a troop concentration. Rather than being a reason to close it, we think it is a strong reason to maintain it. Certainly there was no troop concentration at the time the hospital was built and there has never been a troop concentration here. No Army general hospital has been built in a troop-concentration area for that reason alone. The philosophy on which we are told Army general hospitals were built was one of general central location to take patients from posts, camps, and stations and troop-concentration areas. Located as it is, it is easily accessible from all sections of the country and yet is not within any so-called target area.

This central location provides the basis for answering the question of where should patients for the Army and Navy Hospital come from. The Department of Defense, early in December 1955, issued a directive stating that those hospital facilities nearest to any post, camp, or station should be used regardless of the branch of service involved—an order which made good business sense and was in keeping with the intended unified use of common services within the military. The hospital at Hot Springs is the only Army general hospital between Fitzsimmons at Denver, Walter Reed here in Washington, and Brooke at San Antonio. A major segment of the central United States, then, is the area from which such patients would come, according to this Department of Defense directive. Such troop concentration areas as Fort Ben-

ning, Ga.; Fort Sill, Okla.; Fort Leonard Wood, Mo.; Fort Campbell, Ky.; Fort Chaffee, Ark.; and many others would be a source of patients since they are closer to the Army and Navy than to any other Army general hospital. If the class II beds presently allocated to the post hospitals at these and other stations were reassigned to Army and Navy, it would produce both patients and staff. At Little Rock, Ark., some 50 air miles away from the Army and Navy, the Little Rock Air Force Base has some 7,000 to 8,000 military personnel. Instead of making use of the Army and Navy Hospital, the Little Rock Air Force Base is paying to send the great majority of its patients to a Veterans' Administration hospital in Little Rock and thereby creating a shortage of Veterans' Administration beds in Arkansas. It can be shown that transportation, which is readily available from the Air Evacuation Squadron, can be provided from the Little Rock Air Force Base to the Hot Springs Municipal Airport and thence by ambulance to the Army and Navy Hospital as easily and quickly as patients can be transported by ambulance through the metropolian areas of North Little Rock and Little Rock to get to the Veterans' Administration hospital. The Air Evacuation Squadron has offered any amount of service at any time needed directly to and from the runway at the Little Rock Air Force Base.

The greatness of the United States military organization has been due largely to its ability to expand rapidly. Expansion time in recent years has dwindled from months to hours. The Army proposes to put the hospital on a standby basis so that it can be reactivated within 60 days. In this day of atomic weapons and guided missiles, I can find little comfort in knowing that the hospital can be reopened within 60 days. We are told repeatedly by these same military experts that there will be virtually no time to prepare for attack. The Army and Navy Hospital is in the safest location of any of our hospitals and must be continued in operation, readily equipped to be expanded in a matter of hours. While we are asking for continued operation of the hospital, let us provide for continued operation on a more satisfactory level. No hospital designed for 500 patients can operate economically on 75. With very little additional cost, primarily in terms of personal service of attendants, this hospital can care for 250 patients. With this kind of patient load it can show an operation cost on the level with any other institution of similar size.

TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROSS BASS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Mr. C. W. Bailey, president of the First National Bank of Clarksville, Tenn.:

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK
OF CLARKSVILLE,
Clarksville, Tenn., May 24, 1957.

Hon. ROSS BASS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BASS: We want to go on record as unqualifiedly in favor of the operation of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the maintenance of the present program and the avenue open for future developments.

Out here in the country we have had an opportunity to observe, through travels and otherwise, how TVA has carried conveniences, comforts, and contributions to better ways of life in remote sections and in valleys and distant places where there is a deep sense of appreciation of the opportunity to enjoy these elements of deeper thinking, fresher view points, and wider horizons. All of this has come to these people.

Then we see industrial improvements in our city, as well as elsewhere, resulting in more and better employment as well as constant income throughout the year.

We know there are a lot of folks who use to drive trucks and perform tasks that were rather hard and difficult, with very modest pay, now enjoying good income, better houses and furnishings and, unfortunately for some, driving bigger automobiles.

It has been right heartening to go into modest homes out in the rural areas and see refrigerators, electric stoves, deep freezes, washing machines, and various and sundry other equipment operated by electricity. Usually a big television aerial on top of the house.

There are a lot of other reasons why we are very earnest in our approval of TVA which could be outlined to you in an extensive manner, if an opportunity presented.

Sincerely yours,

C. W. BAILEY,
President.

Trinity River Partnership Plan a Savings to Taxpayers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 2, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, in a recent series of editorials on high taxes as the way to State socialism, the Santa Rosa Press Democrat called attention to the fact that—

No Government ever has, or even can, give its taxpayers anything it has not first taken away from them in taxes. It never can return as much as it takes away. Robbing Peter to pay Paul is both ridiculous and unjust. But governments do an even sillier thing—they rob Peter to pay the same Peter back a portion of what they took in the first place.

The Santa Rosa Press Democrat invited its readers to "write to Congressman SCUDDER and to Senators KNOWLAND and KUCHEL" if they would rather spend their own money "instead of having Uncle Sam constantly do a worse job" at their exponse. I have subsequently received a good many letters. Some of the pointed to the Trinity partnership project as a place to save over $300 million for the hardpressed taxpayer.

There is legislation now pending before Congress to provide joint development of the Trinity River project in California's Central Valley as endorsed by the Secretary of the Interior. Under my bill, H. R. 6997, the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. would be permitted to construct and operate the power facilities of the Federal Government's Trinity project and purchase the use of its falling water to run the powerplants. In this way, not only will the power development and distribution be achieved in the most efficient and economical manner, but the taxpayers will be saved an immediate capital investment of $56 million for the facilities, and another quarter of a billion dollars in the long run for net savings to the Government for lease of its falling water and for tax payments.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to include with my remarks the May 7, 1957, editorial from the Santa Rosa Press Democrat entitled "High Taxes—The Way to State Socialism":

HIGH TAXES—THE WAY TO STATE SOCIALISM

Yesterday in this space we claimed that one thing high Federal taxes buy for you is state socialism, and we claimed you could figure it out for yourself.

Figuring it out is simple.

No government ever has, or ever can, give its taxpayers anything it has not first taken away from them in taxes. It never can return as much as it takes away. Robbing Peter to pay Paul, we all know, is both ridiculous and unjust. But governments do an ever sillier thing—they rob Peter to pay the same Peter back a portion of what they took in the first place. The balance has to go to pay the wages of those who take the money away and then give part of it back.

Unless restrained by its people, every government constantly grows bigger and more expensive. Every civil servant who heads a bureau of subdivision is paid on the basis of how many people are under him. So, being human, he wants more people to boss. Unless he is a complete synic—and most bureaucrats honestly believe in what they are doing—he thinks his job is important and that he should expand his work.

What's that got to do with socialism?

Just this—socialism is nothing more or less than governments attempting to do for people things they could do better for themselves—or things which do not need doing at all.

As every government bureau grows in size, so does its regulatory power over the people. In this country we already have a large and growing socialized electric-power industry. The purchase of surplus foods for school-lunch programs is socialization of one meal a day. Any handout system of public funds to individuals or states is socialism.

The United States mail is a socialized delivery system which hides its true cost of giving service because it does not charge the users the full cost of service, but instead runs at a loss—and makes up the difference by taxes.

There is nothing wrong with socialism if it works. But in all history it never has worked, and it never can work. Soviet Russia is a completely socialistic nation. It recently announced it would not, at least in the lifetime of the suckers who had to buy them, pay back bonds its people were forced to buy despite the fact the bonds pay no interest.

Socialized services operated by a government are so inefficient and costly that the government proceeds to impoverish its people with taxes to cover the losses. This creates a vicious circle in which the people, made poor by taxes, demand still more help

from the government which impoverished them in the first place.

High taxes make it difficult to save money for your old age. So the government gets in the old age assistance business. And that makes taxes even higher.

Free school lunches go to children whose parents could provide lunches if the tax man didn't take so much out of the pay envelope in the first place.

These are only a random few of hundreds of examples of the way in which every government, unless restrained by its people, heads inevitably into state socialism—and the ruin of both itself and its people.

Figure it out for yourself. If you'd rather spend your own money instead of having Uncle Sam constantly do a worse job of it at your expense, write to Congressman SCUDDER, and to Senators KNOWLAND and KUCHEL. Tell them what you think.

Labor Federation's Code on Financial Practices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, there was released in Washington on May 22, 1957, the text of the Code on Financial Practices, adopted by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Putting aside those who would wish to see all organized labor destroyed, most Americans have had hope and many have had faith that the organized labor movement would not only clean house to get rid of the racketeers and evil influences, but would constructively adopt a program which would effectively guide local unions in the conduct of their internal affairs. The eight-point program described and listed below, if followed by all labor organizations, would without question set a fine standard of ethics.

It has been properly pointed out that the executive council has no punitive powers outside of expulsion from the labor movement if these provisions are not lived up to. It is encouraging, therefore, to know that organized labor is supporting the proposal of Federal legislation by the Congress to implement this program.

In evaluating the various suggestions which will be put forth for this purpose, it would be well for all Members to see how closely they conform to the basic principles enumerated in the code of ethical practices printed below, and thus, to weed out the purely punitive and destructive proposals which will be advanced by the implacable opponents of organized labor.

I enclose below the text of the Labor Federation's Code on Financial Practices as published in the New York Times of May 23, 1957:

TEXT OF LABOR FEDERATION'S CODE ON FINANCIAL PRACTICES

This is the fifth in a series of recommended codes which the committee on ethical practices has developed in accordance with the direction of the executive council that it should "develop a set of principles and guides for adoption by the AFL–CIO in order to implement the constitutional determination that the AFL–CIO shall be and remain free from all corrupt influences." On August 29, 1956, the council approved a code dealing with the issuance of local union charters; on January 31, 1957, the executive council approved codes dealing with health and welfare funds, racketeering, crooks and Communists, and investment and business interests of union officials.

There are principles inherent in the conception of a free, honest, and democratic trade-union movement, which, the committee believes, virtually dictate the outlines of any code of ethical practices dealing with union finances. The first of these principles hardly requires statement. It is simply that a labor union is an organization whose primary function is to improve the wages, hours and working conditions of the employees it represents, through the processes of collective bargaining with employers. It is not a business enterprise or an investment company. Unions, of course, must have funds with which to operate and it is clearly desirable that they should maintain reserves to cover contingencies which may arise in the course of the performance of their functions as workers' representatives. But, equally clearly, the accumulation of funds per se is not the objective for which the union exists. A union is not a profit-making institution, but a democratic organization with definite social aims and principles. Union funds are held in trust for the benefit of the membership. But a union, unlike a bank, a trustee, or other fiduciaries, is not primarily a manager of funds vested with the duty of enhancing their value and making distributions. Increasing the value of the union's funds should never become an objective of such magnitude that it in any way interferes with or obscures the basic function of the union, which is to devote its resources to representing its members, honestly and faithfully.

SECOND PRINCIPLE OUTLINED

A second basic principle which dictates the terms of a code of ethical practices with respect to the handling of union funds is again simple. It is that unions are democratic organizations. The fact that a union is a democratic organization plainly implies that the members of the union are entitled to assurance that the union's funds, which are in essence their funds, are not dissipated.

They are also entitled to be reasonably informed as to how the funds of the organization are being used or invested. Finally, their delegated representatives in the union's governing body and conventions should have the power and responsibility to oversee the expenditure of the union's moneys so that the members can be guaranteed that funds are expended solely for the purposes for which the organization exists.

A final fundamental principle, the committee believes, is involved. That principle is that each national or international union affiliated with the AFL–CIO, in the words of the Resolution on Ethical Practices which was unanimously adopted by the founding convention of the AFL–CIO in December 1955, "has clearly accepted the responsibility for keeping its own house in order and to protect the movement from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free democratic unionism."

From these three basic principles, the committee believes that certain conclusions necessarily follow. Since a union holds its funds for the benefit of its membership and to further their interests, it should comply with standards generally applicable to fiduciaries or trustees with respect to the manner in which it keeps its records and accounts. Regular audits should be made and there should be appropriate distribution of summaries of such audits so that the membership and the public are adequately apprised of the state of the organization's finances.

SET OF CONTROLS OFFERED

In this connection, a committee of secretary-treasurers of AFL–CIO affiliates has drawn up a suggested set of minimum accounting and financial controls for affiliates of the AFL–CIO. This set of controls represents, the committee believes, the minimum with which any affiliated organization should comply in order to fulfill the constiutional mandate that the labor movement should be kept free from any taint of corruption.

Almost all unions, the committee believes, today comply with the minimum controls set forth in the recommendation of the secretary-treasurers. Many, indeed, have much stricter controls suggested by the secretary-treasurers, therefore, should not be regarded as an optimum. Unions are to be commended and encouraged to establish and maintain even more stringent accounting and financial controls.

In addition to accounting and financial procedure necessary to conform to the controls applicable generally to well-run business organizations and fiduciaries, the committee believes that certain other rules follow from the basic principles set forth above. Because a union is a union, not a business organization or a trust company, the rules which guide its use and investment of funds are necessarily different. For example, investments by business organizations in other businesses from which they buy or sell so that the investing business may get favored treatment in its sales or purchases may be an acceptable business practice; similar investment by a labor union in business enterprises with which it bargains collectively presents serious problems. Such investment is not good practice for a union.

The fact that the basic objective in the management of trade union funds is not the maximizing of profit, but to further the objectives of the members joining together in a union, leads to additional conclusions. A business organization has one function: To make money for its stockholders. A fiduciary's primary obligation is to preserve and, within limits defined only by the necessity for safety, to augment the funds which the trustee is charged with holding for the benefit of the beneficiaries. Since these are not a union's primary function, a union's investment policy may properly be governed by different considerations. For example, business institutions and corporate trustees might question today the propriety of investing all of their reserves in Government bonds because of their comparatively low yield.

MUTUAL AID BACKED

Yet, for a trade union, one of whose fundamental objects is "to protect and strengthen our democratic institutions" such an investment policy is to be commended. Similarly, since another object of a trade union is to aid and assist other unions and "to promote the organization of the unorganized into unions of their own choosing," loans and grants for mutual aid and assistance are part of the proud tradition of the labor movement even though foreign to the business community and not justified by any considerations of financial gain or even security.

Similarly, the business community may not regard it to be a bad business practice for a business enterprise to buy or sell from firms in which the officers of the business have a financial interest. Nor may the business community regard it as bad practice for a business organization to lend money, on adequate security, to members of the organization. Because the funds of a labor union are both held in trust for the benefit of its mem-

bers and to further legitimate trade-union purposes, practices which may be acceptable in business organizations, the committee believes, should be limited if not completely eliminated among labor organizations.

All of these considerations lead to this ultimate conclusion. With repect to accounting and financial controls and the expenditure of its funds for proprietary [housekeeping] functions the labor movement, it goes almost without saying, should follow the strictest rules applicable to all well-run institutions. With respect to the policies governing its financial and proprietary decisions, a higher obligation rests upon the trade-union movement: To conduct its affairs and to expand and invest its funds, not for profit, but for the benefit of its membership and the great purposes for which they have joined together in the fraternity of the labor movement.

SAFEGUARDS URGED

On the basis of these considerations, the committee on ethical practices, under the authority vested in it by the constitution of the AFL–CIO and pursuant to the mandate of the first constitutional convention of the AFL–CIO and of the executive council recommends that the executive council of the AFL–CIO adopt the following policies to safeguard the good name of the AFL–CIO and its affiliated unions:

1. The AFL–CIO and all affiliated national and international unions should comply with the minimum accounting and financial controls suggested by the committee of secretary-treasurers and approved by the executive council, which is annexed hereto.

2. The AFL–CIO and all affiliated national and international unions should conduct their proprietary functions, including all contracts for purchase or sale or for the rendition of housekeeping services, in accordance with the practices of well-run institutions, including the securing of competitive bids for all major contracts.

3. Neither the AFL–CIO nor any national or international union affiliated with the AFL–CIO should permit any of its funds to be loaned, invested, or otherwise dealt with in a manner which insures to the personal profit or advantage of any officer, representative or employee of the union.

4. Neither the AFL–CIO nor any national or international union affiliated with the AFL–CIO should enter into any contracts of purchase or sale or for the rendition of services which will insure or to result in the personal profit or advantage, including gifts of more than nominal value, other than his regular salary or compensation, to any officer, representative, or employee of the union.

5. Neither the AFL–CIO nor any national or international union affiliated with the AFL–CIO should invest in or make loans to any business enterprise with which it bargains collectively.

6. The provisions of paragraph 5 shall not be construed as prohibiting investment by unions in the publicly traded securities of widely held corporations, which investment does not constitute a substantial enough holding to affect or influence the course of corporate decision; the provisions of paragraphs 3 and 4 shall not be construed as applying to the profit that may result from a proper investment by a union officer, representative, or employee. Nor shall such provisions be construed as preventing investment in a business or enterprise in which an official of an affiliate is engaged by virtue of his office, provided (a) no substantial personal advantage is derived from the relationship, and (b) the business or enterprise is one in the management of which the affiliate participates for the benefit of its members. The provisions of such paragraphs, however, shall apply wherever third persons are used as blinds or covers to conceal the personal profit or advantage of union officials.

7. Neither the AFL–CIO nor any national or international union affiliated with AFL–CIO should make personal loans to its officers, representatives, employees, or members, or members of their families, for the purpose of financing the private business or investment of such persons.

8. Each national or international union affiliated with the AFL–CIO should promptly take whatever internal steps are needed to insure that the standards set forth in this code are made applicable to itself and to each of its locals and other subordinate or affiliated bodies. Wherever constitutional amendments or changes in international administrative procedures are necessary to fully comply with those standards, such amendments and changes should be undertaken by the affiliates at the earliest practicable opportunity.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following report of the Bar Association of the city of New York on the civil rights bills pending in the Congress. The association has approved the three major purposes of the pending bills.

REPORT ON PROPOSED CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

There are at present several bills pending before both the House and the Senate which are generally referred to as the civil rights bills. The administration bills and the other bills having widespread support have three major purposes:

First, to give the Federal Government the power to seek the civil remedy of an injunction where there is a threatened deprivation of the right to vote or of other civil rights (viz, S. 83, 85th Cong., 1st sess., p. 16, line 24 to p. 17, line 9).

Second, to create a new division in the Justice Department, headed by an Assistant Attorney General to be appointed by the President, to handle all civil rights cases.

Third, to create a bipartisan commission to investigate civil rights matters and report within 2 years.

The proposal to create a bipartisan commission to investigate civil rights matters appears to us desirable on the grounds stated by the Attorney General in his statement before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Judiciary Committee in support of the administration bills. As the Attorney General stated, the need for accurate information on this subject is great.

Again, for the reasons stated by the Attorney General, we are in favor of creating a separate division in the Justice Department to handle all civil rights cases. Criminal and noncriminal civil rights cases should be handled by the same division and the added responsibilities placed upon the Department of Justice by the proposed bills justify a separate division to handle them.

Turning to the most important provision, the granting of civil remedies to the Federal Government, we believe that the Attorney General's arguments for granting such remedies are sound. Briefly these arguments are: The 14th and 15th amendments prohibit State election laws which discriminate on account of race, color, religion, or national origin and both amendments expressly confer upon Congress the power to enforce them by appropriate laws; these amendments, however, prohibit only official action; apart from them, Congress has the broad power to protect voters in elections for Federal offices from actions of private individuals which interfere with the right to vote; the right to choose Federal officials "is a right secured by the Constitution. And since the constitutional command is without restriction or limitation, the right, unlike those guaranteed by the 14th and 15th amendments, is secured against the action of individuals as well as of States" (*United States v. Classic* (313 U. S. 299, 315)).

The Attorney General then points out in his statement that pursuant to these constitutional provisions, Congress has enacted statutes making the interference by private individuals with the right to vote for Federal officials a criminal offense (18 U. S. C. 241 and 594) and statutes granting civil remedies to those deprived of the right to vote in any election, State or Federal, on account of race or color by persons acting under color of State law (42 U. S. C. 1971 and 1983) and statutes making such interference a criminal offense (18 U. S. C. 242); Congress has not, however, granted to the Federal Government the power to invoke civil remedies; such power is necessary because criminal prosecution can be invoked only after the harm has been done and jurors are reluctant to indict and convict local officials in criminal prosecution even when they recognize the illegality of what has been done; furthermore, criminal prosecution may be unduly harsh and may stir up great local dissension where respected local officials are involved.

There is one question, however, that Attorney General Brownell does not touch upon: whether persons charged with contempt for disobeying an injunction obtained by the Federal Government in a civil rights case should be granted the right to a jury trial on the contempt issue.

Title 18, United States Code, section 3691, provides that whenever a contempt is charged which involves an action or failure to act which in itself constitutes a crime under Federal or State law, the accused is entitled to a jury, except when the contempt is committed in the presence or near presence of the court and except when the contempt consists of disobedience of an order in a case in which the United States is a party. Therefore, a person charged with contempt for disobeying an injunction obtained by the United States pursuant to the provisions of the proposed bills would not be entitled to a jury trial. This has caused much controversy and there are pending amendments to the civil rights bills to grant the right to a jury trial. (The amendments referred to here are amendments to the civil rights bills and should not be confused with S. 1735 which is a proposed amendment is 18 U. S. C. 3691.)

If there is justification for the exception to the right to jury trial where the United States is a party it would seem that the exception should apply in civil rights cases as well as in other cases. The legislative history of Section 3691 indicates that it was adopted in the face of strong opposition based on constitutional[1] and practical grounds. Not only was it argued that granting a jury trial in contempt cases violated the doctrine of the separation of powers but it was also argued that the judge would thereby be rendered powerless to enforce his own decrees. The background for much of the argument both for and against the provision was the labor injunction.[2] It was felt by many that if the accused were tried by "friends of the accused"[3] he would be acquitted and the court's injunction thereby rendered ineffective with resulting anarchy. To allay these fears a compromise was reached. Exceptions were made to the right

Footnotes at end of speech.

to jury trial in cases where the contempt was committed in the presence or near presence of the court and where the United States was a party. Apparently it was felt that if the United States were a party the public interest must be involved and therefore the risk of a court order being disobeyed with impunity should not be run; in other words, the basis of the exception appears to be the principle of "the sovereign." To the extent that legal thinking is now coming more and more to believe that the United States when a litigant should be treated by the courts as an ordinary litigant, the exception may no longer be justifiable.

However, if this is so, the remedy is to amend section 3691 to provide for a jury trial in criminal contempt cases generally whether or not the United States is party. There appears to be no justification for treating civil rights cases any differently than any other cases in this regard. Therefore, if the proposed civil rights bill were to be amended to give the right to jury trial, the inference would be inescapable that the motive was to secure acquittals by juries sympathetic with those who disobey civil rights injunctions, rather than to grant the right to jury trial as a matter of principle.

Recently a bill has been introduced (S. 1735, 85th Cong., 1st sess.) which would amend title 18, United States Code, section 3691, to grant the right to a jury trial in all cases involving contempt of a court of the United States, civil as well as criminal, except where the contempt was committed in the presence or near presence of the court.

If any such extreme revision of our judicial procedures were to be seriously considered, a thorough study should first be made of the far reaching effects which would be bound to follow.

In conclusion, the Committee on the Bill of Rights approves the three major purposes of the pending civil rights bills outlined above.

Respectfully submitted.

Committee on the Bill of Rights: Fifield Workum, Chairman; William T. Andrews; Ernest Angell; Walter E. Beer, Jr.; Oliver C. Biddle; Vincent L. Broderick; William A. Delano; Hyman N. Glickstein; Kenneth W. Greenawalt; E. Douglas Hamilton; Arthur Levitt; Stanley H. Lowell; John C. Meleney; Walter Mendelsohn; Gavin Miller; John F. B. Mitchell, Jr.; Roger B. Oresman; John W. G. Tenney.

Mr. George T. Townley does not concur in this report.

APRIL 29, 1957.

[1] See Frankfurter and Landis, Power of Congress over Procedure in Criminal Contempts in 'Inferior' Federal Courts (37 Harv. L. Rev. 1010 (1924)).

[2] See Frankfurter and Greene, the Labor Injunction, MacMillan, 1930, footnote pp. 57–58 and pp. 182–198.

[3] See injunctions (1912) hearings before the House Committee on the Judiciary, 62d Cong., 2d sess., p. 145.

Kentucky Loses a Great Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I enclose herewith an editorial entitled "Let Us Finish Steve's Unfinished Job, the Industrial Fund, as a Memorial," which appeared in the May 23, 1957, issue of the Owensboro Messenger and Inquirer of Owensboro, Ky.

On May 22, the city of Owensboro, Daviess County, the Second Congressional District, the State of Kentucky, and, indeed, the entire country lost an outstanding citizen. Mr. William T. Stevenson was not only a sparkplug for the Industrial Foundation, as mentioned in the editorial, but he encouraged industry throughout Kentucky. As president of the Texas Gas Transmission Corp., he was successful in advancing that enterprise, while at the same time he manifested his civic pride by way of active participation in every worthwhile project which would benefit Owensboro and environs. Mr. Stevenson was a self-made man whose innate ability, kindness and energy made him a great man. He believed in the future of his country. By reason of this fact, and through having the courage of his convictions, he was enabled to attain noteworthy achievements for the business with which he was connected, as well as the city and State in which he resided. I, personally, have derived benefit from his sound viewpoint and philosophy of life in general. It can truly be said that by reason of his kindness and knowledge he laid a sure foundation of usefulness to mankind. His services will stand as a worthy monument to his memory.

The editorial is as follows:

LET US FINISH STEVE'S UNFINISHED JOB, THE INDUSTRIAL FUND, AS A MEMORIAL

Owensboro has lost an ardent advocate, and her citizens a loyal friend. William T. Stevenson, whose best years were spent in helping to build great industries in this city, died at 2 o'clock yesterday morning. Fortunate indeed is the city that has a leader of his genius for industrial development, and his loyalty to the city which, when he was yet a struggling young man, he chose as his home, and then set out to make a vehicle for the realization of his greatest ambitions.

Having made Owensboro the pivot for one the Nation's greatest gas distribution systems, Stevenson recently envisoned new factories lining the Ohio River here, with more numerous and more beautiful homes dotting the landscape and contented families residing therein. Realization of this ambition, was the goal of the Industrial Foundation of which he was initially the sparkplug.

Having had something to do with the initiation of this foundation, and having seen Steve give of himself for its success until there was no more strength to give, as he did for his other private and public interests, we now ask the liberty of suggesting thta the people of Owensboro and Daviess County will complete the last project he started, by raising the necessary $250,000, as evidence of their appreciation of him. And, after that is done, let us name the fund the W. T. Stevenson Memorial Industrial Fund for Owensboro and Daviess County.

Steve's death is a loss to the natural gas distribution industry, in which he was destined for highest honors at the national level. In their councils in the top areas, his opinions were sought and respected. As busy as he was with his companies' business interests, he took time at the expense of his health to help in Owensboro's civic affairs and to be a State leader in the cause of little independent colleges by serving on the boards that promote them.

Owensboro marked itself as an appreciative city, so far as Steve was concerned, while he was at the height of his productive power. It was on December 20, 1949, that 350 business and professional people poured out their admiration and respect for him at a dinner which they gave in his honor. He knew it was a sincere, and genuine expression of a community's appreciation of him, and of the Texas Gas Corp., for permitting him to have the corporation's headquarters offices in Owensboro. He knew then that there was no pretense in the line on the frontispiece of the program: "Owensboro is might proud of William Taylor Stevenson."

William Taylor Stevenson will continue to be honored by the people among whom he chose to live and work. They will continue to be proud of what he did here. They will not cease to marvel at the heights to which his great intellect carried a never-very-strong constitution, and that he was able to do so much for so many in the comparatively short span of his life. They will remember proudly, too, his business acumen and willingness to work, which dated back to his youth when at 13 he sold magazines for an agent, and when the agent left town he was ready to take his place. Life's favors are often seen as luck in the other fellow by people who lack them. But, Steve's life reveals the story of a man who made it a habit to be where opportunity might knock and to be ready to receive it when the time came.

And so, we say farewell to one of the friendliest, finest, fightingest (for things we have felt were right) men that it has ever been our pleasure to know, and join with his friends, who are legion, in expressing deepest sorrow to his family.

More About the Gerry Murphy Case and the Dominican Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed sorry that my good friend and colleague, Mr. PORTER, of Oregon, sees fit to continue this unfriendly controversy with regard to one of our foremost neighboring republics to the south and one of our stanchest friends in the free world, the Dominican Republic and its President Trujillo.

What I have been trying to do in my articles and in my association with our Latin American friends, is to work toward building up a friendship and an understanding of our way of thinking and our way of life, which would be mutually beneficial. It behooves all of us in the Western Hemisphere to build friendly, relations and to eliminate, so far as possible, all traces of the godless philosophy of communism. Without a doubt communists are at this very moment working with all the forces at their command, and using every possible subterfuge to distort and confuse the minds of our peoples in a concerted and frantic effort to create dissension and dislike between the United States and our Latin American neighbors.

It is unfortunate that the Gerry Murphy case ever occurred but at the same time it is unthinkable for us to attack and to attempt to convict one of the

great leaders of a democratic and progressive Republic with hearsay evidence. I, for one, cannot bring myself to sit idly by and see our good neighbors and stanch friends attacked and maligned in such a manner.

In the interest of good will and friendly relations with another of our fine Latin American neighbors, which also is known to be democratic, Christian, and anti-Communist, I recently had breakfast with several of my coleagues in the House of Representatives and a number of esteemed officials both local and abroad. This breakfast was given by the Honorable Jimmie Morrison. It was an honor to breakfast with such outstanding leaders as the majority floor leader of the House of Representatives, the Honorable JOHN MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts. Four of my esteemed colleagues from Louisiana were present: Congressman JIMMIE MORRISON, Congressman EDWIN E. WILLIS, Congressman T. ASHTON THOMPSON, and Congressman F. EDWARD HÉBERT. A spirit of friendship and goodwill prevailed at this meeting, which included as honored guests officials from the Republic of Mexico, our own State Department and one of our national associations, as follows: Hon. Abelardo de la Grajales, head of all Government employees of Mexico, who was the guest of honor; Hon. Senor Don Manuel Tello, Ambassador of Mexico to the United States; Hon. Rafael Avelyra, Minister-Consular of the Mexican Embassy; Hon. Don Justo Sierra, Consul, of the Mexican Embassy; Hon. Robert Hill, our new Ambassador to Mexico; Hon. Donald Barnes, of the Department of State; Hon. John Fishburn, of the Department of State; Hon. Anthony Albrecht, of the Department of States; Hon. William B. Macomber, Jr., the new Assistant Secretary of State; and Mr. William Doherty, president of the National Letter Carriers Association.

I have been privileged to enjoy many outstanding gatherings, but this was one of the most inspiring that I have ever attended. These men have faith in their fellow man and are seeking ever constantly to spread confidence and good will among the nations of the Western Hemisphere. They are striving, with marked success, to afford their country an exemplary government and their people the highest possible standards of living and the peace of mind and comforts of life which go hand-in-hand with a stable and progressive government. All of these men are outstanding in their efforts to stamp out communism and the evils of the communistic concept of life. Most of the troubles that we find in governments today have their roots in communism and the communistic theories and practices. This was true of Guatemala when that country experienced trouble. The Communists put out their insidious propaganda to try to destroy those patriots who were fighting to liberate their country with all the force at their command. Those same communistic influences are now at work in an effort to create unrest and dissension in the Dominican Republic. A so-called exile government has been established in Puerto Rico, which is working day and night in its efforts to overthrow the present great and democratic Government of the Dominican Republic. The efforts of this group become evident in many shapes and forms. The Gerry Murphy case is one in point. Professor Jesus de Galendiz apparently was kidnapped and transported out of this country supposedly by Gerry Murphy and an accomplice, in a rented plane which he was not licensed to fly. The drugged Professor Galendiz was picked up near New York and transported by air to Miami and thence on to obscurity.

It is unfortunate that the heads of the Dominican Republic have been saddled with the responsibility for the disappearance of Professor Galendiz. Gerry Murphy, who was clearly connected with a nefarious group, lost his life. There have been charges and countercharges as to who is responsible. It is unthinkable to take the side of an irresponsible and exiled group who are out to fight democracy and to agitate against the word of our friends who are trying their best to maintain a progressive, free, and democratic form of government. I expect to use every power that I possess to see to it that the kind of suspicion that has been attempted to be cast on the good names of our friends in the Dominican Republic is completely removed.

When I addressed this House of Representatives on April 17, concerning our friendly relations with the great people and Government of the land where America began, the Dominican Republic, I expressed the hope that the publicity and notoriety connected with the disappearance of Gerry Murphy would cease to continue its prominent place in the press, magazines, and so forth. Incidents such as the Gerry Murphy case come and go in this complicated world and for this case to be hashed and rehashed and kept alive long beyond its logical closing could only be attributed to those communistic forces which seize upon any and every morsel to feed its growth and spread its propaganda. The facts in the case are clear that Gerry Murphy succumbed to greed and became involved with the criminal element to the extent of joining in a conspiracy and being guilty of kidnapping. The regettable part is that innocent and outstanding public officials continue to be maligned and abused, in the traditional communistic way, through twisting the facts.

I deeply regret that these irresponsible and concerted attacks upon the people and government of the Dominican Republic, to whom we are so firmly bound, not only by the mutual affinity of our Christian religion, but by solemn treaties as well, continue unabated. Actually these attacks on a friendly government constitute a smear upon the honor and integrity of our own country, but it is wishful thinking to expect this matter to wane and fade as it rightfully should. Continued attacks appear containing biased and prejudicial statements against our friendly neighbor, the Dominican Republic, based upon pure hearsay. Recently in a national magazine a sensational article appeared about the Dominican Republic, an article that is a lurid rehash of ancient and hoary tales which had been circulated throughout the Caribbean by the dissident pamphleteers for so many years, material which is not only hoary with age, but which reeks with its communistic origin. Included in the article was an almost unbelievable attack with reckness abandon and disregard of the facts upon one of the greatest of contemporary statesmen, a man who enjoys the greatest respect of his colleagues on both sides of the aisle—an honest and kindly man—the Democratic floor leader of the House of Representatives, the Honorable JOHN MCCORMACK, of the State of Massachusetts.

Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that the author of this article, Representative PORTER of Oregon, did not understand the gravity of his actions in casting reflections, even by implication, upon JOHN MCCORMACK. I also state that I cannot believe that any Member of this House could have any feeling whatever about the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCORMACK], other than the highest regard and affection, nor could any Member of this House entertain the slightest question as to his honor and integrity.

In his article in the June 1957 issue of Coronet magazine, my distinguished colleague, Representative PORTER, of Oregon, states, and I quote:

> Consequently, for as long as I persist in carrying on my campaign against Trujillo, I intend to carry a gun.

Now, I would like to ask the gentleman from Oregon, does he carry that gun on the floor of Congress? I was on the House floor when the Puerto Ricans shot at the Members of Congress and was in direct line of fire, yet, I have never found it necessary or desirable to carry a gun.

It is those of us who have taken the trouble to keep ourselves informed who know that out of the 5 predominant political parties in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the next-door neighbor of the Dominican Republic 3 of them—Partido Independentista, Partido Nacionalista, and Partido Comunista—all cooperate and make common cause not only among themselves but with the "Vanguardia Revolucionario Dominicana," the largest group of Dominican professional exiles who carry on their nefarious work from the island of Puerto Rico and whose self-styled President, Dr. Miguel A. Prado, the possessor of a long criminal record, has taken me to task by means of a long and scurrilous letter for standing up and being counted on the side of decency, honor, God and country. Why this group, as well as the renegade Romulo Bethancourt, one-time President of friendly Venezuela, and probably the most dangerous Communist or leftwinger in our hemisphere, are permitted to ply their nefarious machinations and plot revolution against our friendly neighbors on soil under our jurisdiction, is quite beyond my comprehension. I hasten to add, Mr. Speaker, that Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín, of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is not a member of any of the three dangerous leftwing parties mentioned. Governor Muñoz-Marín heads the Partido Popular

Democratico, a political party much more liberal than the Partido Estadista, headed by the patriotic Luis Ferre, but in no way connected with the three anti-American parties named, and the Dominican exiles living in Puerto Rico, which constitute one radical atheistic block, and from whence came the cowardly assassins who attempted to take the life of the President of the United States and Members of this House. Likewise, Mr. Speaker, events are very significant and point to a concerted drive going on by left-wing elements to bring about chaos and confusion in the Caribbean. The undoubtedly dictatorial but fiercely anti-Communist President of Nicaragua was assassinated a few months ago. The government of our nearest island neighbor, the Republic of Cuba, is even now under attack by a man reputed to be a Communist, and who is certainly pursuing exactly the same tactics as were displayed by the Communist Ho Shi Minh and various other trained Communist revolutionaries over the world. Recently two reporters from our own country gratuitously broadcast a highly biased telecast from his secret headquarters, during which a young man from our own country, serving under the rebel leader, described his motives for joining that movement in exact and timeworn Communist terms.

The small Negro Republic of Haiti, sharing the island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic, has been, for many months, in a state of complete political chaos, completely "strapped" financially, and unable to form a government or hold national elections. Our neighboring Republic of Mexico has a continuing and dangerous Communist problem. The Republic of Honduras has long been without an executive and is being ruled by a military junta, while all-out war between that country and its neighbor, Nicaragua, has just been narrowly averted by the Organization of American States. The people and Government of the Republic of Panama continue to be stirred up on the completely unrealistic issue of sovereignty over the Panama Canal, stirred up by those evil anti-Americans who thrive on chaos. The canal issue is unrealistic because it is, in fact, nonexistent. Of course, the Republic of Panama, however, in the exercise of that sovereignty, long ago made a binding and honorable contract concerning the canal and the Canal Zone, a contract made with our own Government, a contract made between sovereign equals for their mutual profit and interest.

Mr. Speaker, as one who has lived practically next door to the nations of Central America and of the Caribbean all of my life, and thus having gained some little insight into Communist intrigue in that area, I would like to touch briefly and factually, upon the classic Communist takeover of power in our sister Republic of Guatemala. In explaining what happened in Guatemala and what we may expect to happen in the Dominican Republic if communism has its way, I ask my esteemed colleagues to remember, to paraphrase a somewhat famous statement of an officer of the exceutive department, that I firmly believe that what is good for Central America and the Caribbean is good for us. As a Christian, I am concerned with the welfare of all people everywhere, and particularly with those Latin American peoples and nations who are our neighbors. First, however, I am concerned with the security and welfare of our own United States, and I am realistically convinced that we must never again, whatever the price, permit a Communist government in any of the Americas. Bishop Fulton Sheen, a great American and a great Christian, has said that history never changes; that rather, the same thing happens to different people. I believe we can all agree with that meaningful statement by Bishop Sheen, and by looking briefly at what led to the tragedy of Guatemala, we can determine what would happen to the Dominican Republic—if we should permit it—or even to us.

Prior to 1944 the Republic of Guatemala was ruled by a fiercely anti-Communist but benevolent strong-man dictator, General President Jorge Ubico. In its issue of November 18, 1940, page 37, Time magazine had this to say about President Jorge Ubico on the occasion of his 62d birthday:

> Jorge Ubico has made Guatemala the glamour girl of the Central American Republics. He has reduced the national debt 50 percent, has got his paper currency covered 100 percent by gold, has built and paid for public works. * * *
>
> President Ubico introduced a probity law, requiring that public officials register their assets upon taking and leaving public office. * * *
>
> Though he loves his own power, he has made love to the ideals of democracy.

Little did the world then know that the Kremlin had already picked Guatemala as its first American conquest and that the downfall of benevolent "Dictator" President Jorge Ubico was, in the face of our own ignorance and complacency, inevitable.

In its issue of July 3, 1944, Time—page 42—in an article entitled "Tyrant Defied," refers to the same President Ubico as a tyrant and takes credit for an article about the tyrant which it ran the previous week. In its issue of July 10, 1944—page 43—in the lead article under Latin America, entitled "Tyrant Down," Time uses an entire column to detail the downfall of the dictator of whom it had spoken in such glowing terms 4 years earlier. Jorge Ubico, admittedly a dictator, but a staunch friend of our own country and a courageous anti-Communist, lies buried in an unmarked grave in New Orleans. A dictator and controversial figure while he lived, he was a great American patriot nevertheless. Since death removed him many years ago from the realm of controversy, his memory is entitled to better treatment at the hands of our own country as well as his own. Probably no better way could be devised to demonstrate to our Latin American friends that we are dedicated to them in their fight against communism than to return the mortal remains of this Guatemalan hero to his own country aboard one of our own great warships.

President Ubico was succeeded immediately by a military man, then by the suave Communist Juan Jose Arevelo, who was in turn succeeded by another Communist, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmann, who was overthrown in the restoration of June 1954, and whose fate it was to become the first Communist leader in history to lose his country for communism. Juan Jose Arevelo and Jacobo Arbenz Guzmann today wander about the world, living proof of the fact that communism is not invincible, that Communist governments can be overthrown and liberty and decency restored to a Christian people.

But Guatemala's experience in communism cost her dearly in suffering, terrorism, loss of life and financial ruin. Every "do-gooder" in our Nation, be he public official or otherwise, should know and understand all of the facts of the work performed by Mr. Phieffer at Ciudad Trujillo which cannot, perhaps, be gone into. That his work was important and was material in the defense of our country is apparent to every thinking American. Those of us who love our country are grateful to Ambassador Phieffer. I am sure this sentiment is shared by every Member of this House, including my distinguished colleague from Oregon.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me point out to my distinguished colleague from Oregon, that, as a freshman Member of this House, he has made at least two mistakes, mistakes which I sincerely hope will not prove fatal to his future political career which looms before him so brilliantly. The first mistake was to impugn, if only by implication, the honor and dignity of our distinguished majority floor leader, JOHN MCCORMACK. Only by the exercise of the greatest of Christian charity can he be forgiven by his colleagues who know and love Representative MCCORMACK. Our colleague made his second grave mistake when he permitted the use of his name in connection with a scandalous and trite article in a national magazine, an article intended by that cynical magazine for one purpose and one purpose only: increase in its circulation. If our distinguished colleague believes that he has gained any fame by that course of conduct, he is badly mistaken. Notoriety, perhaps, but not fame. There is a vast difference. By his reckless and unwarranted statements that he must carry a gun he has, in effect, impugned the honor of every Member of this honorable House, and he has provided the enemies of our country with a valuable propaganda weapon. Such conduct is difficult for the patriotic Members of this House to forget.

Mr. Speaker, again I reiterate my sincere wish that we hear no more of the infamous Gerry Murphy. As a Christian, I shall humbly pray that my young colleague from Oregon shall see the error of his ways and that he shall be moved by God to turn his undoubted ability and aggressiveness to fighting our atheistic Communist enemy, and that in the future he render unto the great leaders of this House the respect which is their due. But, Mr. Speaker, while I shall so make my prayers to God, in my humble way, let there be no mistake: Our great Christian Nation shall live up to its obligations. It shall continue to honor and

respect our neighbors in Latin America who tender to us the hand of friendship. It is quite beyond the power of our distinguished colleague from Oregon to make it otherwise. In all Christian charity, I do not believe that our colleague from Oregon would want it otherwise. I am sure that his actions heretofore have grown out of a lack of understanding of the tense peril in which we live. I am sure that his further efforts in this direction could and would result only in further notoriety, of which he already has too much.

Protest Against Reduction in Wheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, because of the high cost of living, and due to the increased cost of operation, the good people of the farming communities of Harper, Anthony, Attica, and the surrounding territory realize that the reduction in price of 22 cents a bushel for wheat for the year 1958 will mean money drained from their pocket. To show their concern, over 160 farmers of that area of my district have signed a protest against this action taken by the Department of Agriculture. I would like to extend my remarks in the RECORD to include their names:

To Whom It May Concern:

We the undersigned wish to protest against the recent order of the Agricultural Department to set the 1958 loan price on wheat at less than $2 per bushel.

Byron M. Childs, Harper, Kans.; Frank Biberstein, Clarence A. Oliver, G. J. Biberstein, Harold Patterson, Marion Cox, Attica, Kans.; Elsie Burns, Harper, Kans.; C. C. Marchel, O. C. Mirrell, Ira O. Brant, Oscar McClung, Gus McKaig, Attica, Kans.; Clifford G. Robinson, Harper, Kans.; Mildred Stucky, Ethel N. Doll, F. C. Cleveland, F. P. Weil, Bob McQuinn, Attica, Kans.; Alex Wingate, Duquoin, Kans.; Charlie Reeves, Harper, Kans.; Ralph Chesbie, Omer Carley, Mrs. W. L. Carr, Attica, Kans.; Ralph Hoagland, Zenda, Kans.; Cloyd Stocker, Charlie Yocam, Attica, Kans.; R. C. Grubb, Harper, Kans.; Daniel V. Stuart, Attica, Kans.; J. H. Gillespie, Anthony, Kans.; G. L. Jumpson, E. S. Oliver, J. G. Harnder, C. H. Bakerman, Attica, Kans.; Everett H. Buhrman—Salt Lake City, Utah; Melvin Martin, Chas. M. Spock, E. I. Handin, Wayne Harnden, Maxine McGuire, Ailsie Biberstein, Jim Ferrell, Paul J. Slinky, Wm. Kinger, C. E. Kuth, Ralph K. Hunt, Lester J. Grigsby, Daniel Kunz, M. H. Carr, W. L. Holland, L. H. Davis, C. E. Warren, Helen Biberstein, Attica, Kans.

John R. Wyssmann, Jess B. Koeppen, A. M. Black, Attica, Kans.; Edgar C. Wills, Ellis Bassford, Lloyd Milter, F. K. Bunchfiel, Donald R. Rutherford, Joe Alley, Ed Engelhardt, F. M. Norman, J. M. Messner, Otto Carothers, Gordon Walters, N. F. Starks, Anthony, Kans.; R. L. Helmley, Hazelton, Kans.; H. H. Herst, Argonia, Kans.; J. W. Lang, Joe C. Young, E. A. Meyer, Anthony, Kans.; Leo Burke, Freeport, Kans.; Homer Cather, Anthony, Kans.; O. H. Williston, Bluff City, Kans.; Leslie Kellson, Manchester, Okla.; Floyd Dunning, P. O. Herold, Lois Barrett, Anthony, Kans.; James L. Myers, Derrey Myers, A. F. Black, Attica, Kans.; C. D. Hodson, Paul Gerberding, R. W. Stewart, Anthony, Kans.; Harold Adkisson, Freeport, Kans.; F. G. McKarg, Clarence Bowersork, E. W. Naff, Wallace Howed, Delmer Pierce, Anthony, Kans.; Loren Hickey, Attica, Kans.; J. M. Henderson, Anthony, Kans.; A. F. Bear, Harper, Kans.; Marvin Coady, Freeport, Kans.; P. J. Coody, Anthony, Kans.; R. F. Jelnick, Bluff City, Kans.; Chris Reber, Anthony, Kans.; Dale Welch, Bluff City, Kans.; Joe Burchfiel, Manchester, Okla.; Raymond Mortimer, Anthony, Kans.; Lloyd Huddleston, Bluff City, Kans.; Ben. H. Reber, Harper, Kans.; Leroy C. Gillespie, Manchester, Okla.; R. Bird, Edgar Barrett, Anthony, Kans.

Arthur Stormm, Manchester, Okla.; Lloyd L. Hayter, Anthony, Kans.; Otto Ruhsert, Kenneth Palmer, Harper, Kans.; W. L. Henderson, Felix J. Vicek, J. R. Sharp, Elvin Patterson, L. C. Marts, Anthony, Kans.; Wayne Clutter, Waldron Kans.; John Scheel, Fred J. Lange, Jay Wychoff, Anthony, Kans.; Phillip Patterson, Attica, Kans.; Ray Allensworth, Anthony, Kans.; Sidney Tohr, Caldwell, Kans.; Chas. W. Trotter, R. Whitdaw, Anthony, Kans.; L. Bruey, Caldwell, Kans.; Ed Tolis, Anthony, Kans.; Glenn Barker, Manchester, Okla.; Ed M. Jess, Bluff City, Kans.; Glenn E. Patterson, Keith A. Sheiar, W. A. Meador, C. W. Jacobs, Anthony, Kans.; J. B. Wilson, Corwin, Kans.; Wendell A. Patterson, Manchester, Okla.; Wallace G. Pulliam, Roy Holland, Anthony, Kans.; F. E. Patterson, Manchester, Okla.; J. P. Atkinson, F. B. Parsons, Anthony, Kans.; Herold Henderson, Manchester, Okla.; Glenn Burchfiel, Anthony, Kans.; Melvin Parker, Waldron, Kans.; Gerald Miller, Anthony, Kans.; Melo Ferda, Wakita, Okla.; Howard Guss, Dwight Hayter, Bob Sturns, J. G. Smith, E. Jordan, D. D. Williams, Jr., Anthony, Kans.; Hugh D. Ransom, Freeport, Kans.; L. Stewart, Bluff City, Kans.; W. E. Starkes, Manchester, Okla.; D. L. Nash, Lloyd Patterson, Bob H. Dewtar, C. R. Couch, R. E. Anorse, Anthony, Kans.; C. E. Sears, Caldwell, Kans.; J. E. Chasey, Waldron, Kans.

Brooklyn Shows the Way to Good Labor-Management Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, it was my happy privilege last Thursday, May 23, to be present at a heartwarming event in my district in Brooklyn which noted significant advances both for business and labor in our community.

In a spirt of friendly cooperation, the members of a labor union agreed to forfeit half of their accrued vacation pay in order to enable a large plant from another state to move into Brooklyn and establish itself in our community. A vice president of the company frankly stated that his firm was influenced in its decision to move to Brooklyn by the cooperation offered by the union.

The astute labor leader who managed this feat was Mr. James Landriscina, president of Local 452 of the Candy and Confectionary Workers Union. He was ably assisted in this effort by the local's vice president Miss Anna Russo, and its secretary-treasurer Mr. John R. Alaio. The enlightened businessman who took advantage of this offer from the union was Mr. Leonard Stone, executive vice president of the Sweets Company of America.

Those who stand to gain most are 700 members of the union and their families who had been forced out of work last March when another candy manufacturing firm, Rockwood Co., had closed its plant in Brooklyn and left its employees without work. Now these and perhaps many others will return to their jobs. The Sweets Co. gained, too, because Brooklyn provides an excellent quality of workers, skilled and dependable, devoted to their families and to the community in which they live and work.

A ceremony to welcome the new plant in Brooklyn took place on Thursday, May 23, in front of the plant. On hand at the welcoming ceremonies were the Honorable Carmine G. De Sapio, Secretary of State of New York; Ambassador Richard C. Patterson, Jr., Commissioner of Commerce and Public Events of the City of New York; the Honorable Edward T. Dickinson, New York State Commissioner of Commerce; Commissioner Frank Noland, representing Borough President John Cashmore of Brooklyn; Mr. Chester Allen, president of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. Howard Swain, executive director of the chamber of commerce; and Congressman VICTOR L. ANFUSO. Also present were many prominent labor leaders representing various unions in New York.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call attention to this matter because I feel that it is this kind of labor-management relations, this kind of give-and-take negotiations, which will help strengthen both business and labor. It is in this spirit of true cooperation that a real service can be rendered in promoting the welfare of the American people and the security of our country.

Lee and Meade at Gettysburg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to insert the following two editorials which appeared May 20 in my hometown newspaper, the Index-Journal, one of the best afternoon daily papers in the country:

LEE AND MEADE AT GETTYSBURG

President Eisenhower is ready to call a truce over the "Second Battle of Gettysburg."

He and British Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery both agreed after visiting the famed Civil War battlefield that Generals Lee and Meade blundered and should have been fired. The reaction was what one could naturally expect.

Meade did offer his resignation after the battle, as a matter of fact, but it was refused and he continued in charge of the Army of

the Potomac until the end of the war. His offense was not in fighting the battle unwisely however, but in failing to pursue Lee's battered army.

Some biographers say that Lincoln was more discouraged over this failure of Meade than over anything that occurred during the war.

Lincoln is quoted as saying that Meade "would be ready to fight a magnificent battle when there is no enemy to fight."

Lee's reputation does not rest on Gettysburg, and he cannot be judged on that one battle. As Eisenhower wrote in his own book, "Crusade in Europe," in reply to criticisms made of Montgomery, "In war about the only criterion that can be applied to a commander is his accumulated record of victory and defeat."

Lee had a magnificent accumulated record from the high point at Chancellorsville, called "the truest, the most splendid victory Lee ever won—an absolute masterpiece beyond which no further art is possible," to Gettysburg, "where the high tide of the Confederacy broke in tears and blood and despair, ebbing back to the sound of 'it's all my fault' from the anguished lips of Robert Lee."

Lee himself considered the irascible Meade a good general, and when the two armies lay along the Rapidan River following the bloodletting at Gettysburg Lee withstrained his fiery generals who would take chances.

"General Meade is an exceedingly able officer," he told them, "and if I make any mistake before him he will be prompt to take advantage of it."

Perhaps the two critics made their greatest mistake in talk about "sacking" Lee after Gettysburg. Fire General Lee? For whom?

Fletcher Pratt in his story of the Civil War, "Ordeal of Fire," terms Lee "the only cohesive force within the Confederacy," in the late stages of the war.

And Henry Wise is quoted as exclaiming to him at Appomattox, "Country be damned! There is no country. There has been no country, General, for a year or more. You are the country for these men. They have fought for you. If you demand the sacrifice there are still thousands of us who will die for you."

Pratt also says that "Lee's own judgment was less bad than he and some of the recent critics who claim he underestimated Meade would like to have us think."

Anyway, Gettysburg will be debated for decades to come. It does not take any such incident as the two distinguished critics to keep alive the controversy over who should have done what at what might well be the high dramatic point in the history of this Nation.

ESTIMATE OF EISENHOWER

An estimate of Eisenhower in his World War II role of supreme allied commander has been made by Field Marshal Alan Brooke, of England, whose book, The Turn of the Tide, has just been published.

In the current issue of Look magazine, there is a condensation of the volume.

Of Eisenhower's operations in Tunisia Brooke wrote, "I had little confidence in his ability to handle the military situation confronting him, and he caused me great anxiety. He learned a lot during the war, but tactics, strategy, and command were never his strong points."

He says, "It was a moment when bold and resolute action might have gathered great prizes. Eisenhower was far too much immersed in the political aspects of the situation. He should have left his deputy, Clark, to handle these, and devoted himself to the tactical situation."

Brooke adds that "It must be remembered that Eisenhower had never even commanded a battalion in action when he found himself commanding a group of armies. No wonder he was at a loss, and allowed himself to be absorbed in the political situation."

He praises Eisenhower for "his ability to handle Allied forces, to treat them all with strict impartiality, and to get the best out of an inter-Allied force."

Eisenhower was "blessed with a wonderful charm that carried him far; perhaps his great asset was a greater share of luck than most of us receive in life."

Brooke concluded that "If Ike had more than his share of luck, we Allies, were extremely fortunate to have such an exceptionally charming individual as Supreme Commander. What he may have lacked in military ability, he greatly made up for by the charm of his personality."

Of General Marshall, Brooke commented: "He is, I should think, a good general at raising armies and at providing the necessary link between the military and political worlds, but his strategical ability does not impress me at all."

"I have often wondered since the war how different matters might have been if I had had MacArthur to deal with," he writes. "From everything I saw of him, I put him down as the greatest general of the last war."

Brooke's comments on Churchill are extremely interesting, as well as the comments on Roosevelt and other war leaders.

Climbing Cost of Debt Menaces United States Treasury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. CARLTON LOSER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, a most interesting and enlightening column appeared in newspapers over the Nation a few days ago. One of the foremost newspapermen of our generation writes about the terrific cost of refinancing our national debt. He suggests that "if the Government keeps on raising its own interest rates, the cost of carrying the Government debt may be increased from the $7 billion annually to ten or eleven billion."

Mr. Bascom N. Timmons, Washington columnist for many southern newspapers, has written intelligently upon the financial problems facing the United States Treasury in refinancing under what he calls the Government's hard-money policy.

It is one of the best articles I have seen recently, and I believe it would be most useful to have it included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Under unanimous consent, I submit it for inclusion in the RECORD. Mr. Timmon's column follows:

CLIMBING COST OF DEBT MENACES UNITED STATES TREASURY—GOVERNMENT BONDS ARE GOING BEGGING

(By Bascom N. Timmons)

WASHINGTON.—A sudden but inevitable tension in Government financing has pointed up the coming inquiry into Government fiscal policy by members of the Senate Finance Committee, which will cast a penetrating light on the current inflationary situation and the threat of a decline in present national prosperity.

The inquiry will be directed by Senator HARRY F. BYRD (Democrat, Virginia), often called the "Watchdog of the Treasury," but other Democrats will take over various phases, with Senator ROBERT S. KERR (Democrat, Oklahoma) as second to BYRD, and Senator J. ALLEN FREAR (Democrat, Delaware), RUSSELL B. LONG (Democrat, Louisiana), and ALBERT GORE (Democrat, Tennessee) participating.

The tension in the Treasury Department over refinancing is possibly not as serious as some critics have viewed it, but it grows out of the handling of the public debt, and emphasizes the burden which now rests on the neck of every taxpayer.

What has happened is an aftermath of the sale of large size Government bonds—the F and G series—to large investors, mostly corporations, trust funds, and insurance companies, who were expected to put them into their portfolios and hold them until maturity.

THE RUSH FOR CASH

But as the Government's "hard money" policy has forced up interest rates on bond issues of local and State governments and of private corporations, the investors in Government bonds have been redeeming their bonds, receiving billions of Government cash. In many instances the bondholders were able to reinvest the funds they had originally loaned the Government at rates from ½ to 1 percent higher than they were receiving from Government bonds.

The Treasury has usually enjoyed an established priority in the investment field, which is now seriously threatened.

In the financial world, it sells short term notes at low rates of interest which the holders redeem at the end of a 3 or 4 month period, usually exchanging them for new Government obligations of the same character. Now, almost one-third of the holders of such notes are turning them in at maturity for cash, and not reinvesting the money with the Government.

This in turn, broadens the market for private bonds and these of governments subdivisions at higher rates of interest. If the Government keeps on raising its own interest rates, the cost of carrying the Government debt may be increased from the present $7 billion annually to $10 or $11 billion, which can only be reduced by cutting the Federal Government's $275 billion debt burden. The cost of local government and of manufactured products is also increased.

The Government is not short of money. Of that it has plenty, but to put additional cash into circulation without borrowing is considered an inflationary practice, and opposed by both the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board. Yet expenditures are increasing because of inflated costs, and there is not much prospect of any retrenchment in that direction.

PATMAN INQUIRY REJECTED

Recently the House turned down a resolution for an inquiry by the House Banking and Currency Committee into the Government's money policies, supposedly because Representative WRIGHT PATMAN (Democrat, Texas), who favors easier Government money policies, would have headed the investigation. Democratic and Republican leaders, along with President Eisenhower would prefer to have the conservative Byrd direct such a probe, rather than a competing House inquiry pitched at a different level.

What this all means to the taxpayer is quite obvious. His hope of a tax cut rests on reduced Government expenditure, and with the Government interest rates being forced up the hope of a tax cut grows dim. His expectancy of reduced living costs is lessened by continued high money rates. In addition successive wage increases have jumped the cost of Government by 61 percent in the last 10 years, according to the United States Department of Labor, and now

account for 28 percent of the final price level.

Interest charges and taxes add to the cost of materials and profits have risen at about the same rate as labor costs.

The tremendous annual defense cost of around $38 billion annually, which amounts to more than half the Federal budget has been scored by Ralph J. Cordiner, president of General Electric—which produces billions worth of defense equipment—and chairman of a special committee investigating the Defense Department, as being increased by political waste and false reasoning.

All around it is a dangerous and menacing situation, and the threat it carries is growing, without a way out in sight.

Residual Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower is to be commended for his forthright attitude toward the oil imports problem. I was gratified to hear that the President had announced that there is reason to believe that alien oil is entering the United States in such quantities as to threaten to impair the national security. The White House at the same time ordered the Honorable Gordon Gray, Director of the Defense Mobilization, to begin an immediate investigation and take the action necessary to keep import levels in conformity with the stipulated provisions of the national security amendment to the Trade Agreement's Extension Act of 1955.

In the course of Mr. Gray's work, I trust that he will take a very close look into the residual oil imports situation. I remind him that the report of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources, which was basic to the development of the national defense amendment, very definitely treated residual oil as a separate problem. Let me read two paragraphs from that report:

> The committee believes that if the imports of crude and residual oils should exceed significantly the respective proportions that these imports of oils bore to the production of domestic crude oil in 1954, the domestic fuels situation could be so impaired as to endanger the orderly industrial growth which assures the military and civilian supplies and reserves that are necessary to the national defense. There would be an inadequate incentive for exploration and the discovery of new sources of supply.
>
> In view of the foregoing, the committee concludes that in the interest of national defense imports should be kept in the balance recommended above. It is highly desirable that this be done by voluntary, individual action of those who are importing or those who become importers of crude or residual oil. The committee believes that every effort should be made and will be made to avoid the necessity of governmental intervention.

Obviously, Mr. Speaker, any action which fails to consider residual oil separately would be of no value whatsoever to the protection of the domestic bituminous coal and anthracite industries. If a limitation on imports is enforced, and a specific quantitative restriction on residual oil is not included, then, of course, residual oil could conceivably make up the major portion of the total imports. The amount of residual oil coming into this country at the present time comprises too great a peril to our defense structure to tolerate this condition any longer. Fortunately the coal industry last year increased production over the alarmingly low level to which it had fallen in 1955; however, output is still far below what it would be if Government policies on imports and on other matters affecting the industry were fair and proper.

Government officials and fuel experts from private industry acknowledge that coal will have to accept a progressively greater share of the responsibility to meet increasing energy needs of the future, yet there is a glaring lack of concern for the industry's immediate welfare.

Coal producers must, of necessity, be given an opportunity to build up their resources. The coal miner needs to have steady work if he is expected to remain at this occupation. Today's labor force consists of trained engineers and technicians who, through experience and devotion to their jobs, have helped to make America's mining industry the most productive in all the world. They must be encouraged to stay in mining communities if they are to be ready to produce the fuel that will be needed in succeeding years. This encouragement will not come with 2 or 3 days of work per week; nevertheless, reduced workweeks and completely shut-down mines are imminent unless a more realistic approach to coal's problems is taken by Congress and the executive department.

One glance at the year's production figures will explain why a feeling of insecurity persists among mine operators and the labor force. To remove this tension and provide a spirit of optimism in mining towns requires positive action here in Washington.

Last year, when the bituminous coal industry reached an output level of 500 million tons, there was a popular tendency to assume that the problems of the industry had been overcome and that the upward trend would continue at a healthy rate on into the future. One of the factors that many analysts overlooked was a production chart extending back sufficiently far to provide a sound basis of comparison with other periods. For 10 years ending in 1956, average production amounted to just 500 million tons, which was below even the 1920–29 average and is prima facie evidence that 1956 cannot be considered any great shakes for the coal industry. There is no cause for rejoicing in the 1956 figure.

Coming down through the first portion of 1957, we might very well expect to find that at least the moderate gains made in 1956 over the preceding year were holding fast. Any upward movement, regardless of the rate of ascendancy, would constitute a stimulating development. The blunt truth, however, is that there is no increase in coal production to report at this time. Through May 4, bituminous coal production amounted to approximately 175 million tons, a decrease of some 3 million tons under the figure covering the corresponding period for 1956. Anthracite production is also down, with commercial production through May 4 almost 10 percent below the preceding year's output. The anthracite industry has been so hard hit in recent years that heaven knows it cannot withstand further losses brought about by unreasonable Government policies. As you see, in both the anthracite and bituminous industries, the anticipated gains have failed to come about. Production is down. A strong and sustained demand must be recorded during the remaining months if any substantial improvement is to be recorded for the year.

Now, here is what has happened in residual oil imports. Ten years ago the foreign residual oil entering this country's markets amounted to just about 45 million barrels. A relentless upsurge then got underway, and the coal industry has been suffering ever since. President Eisenhower took notice of the situation when he appointed a Cabinet Committee on Fuels and Energy Resources in 1954. It was that committee which recommended that imports of crude and residual oils be held at the respective proportions that such imports bore to domestic production in 1954. The 1954 figure on residual oil imports was 129 million barrels. For 1956 it was almost 162 million barrels, which in energy equivalent is a little less than 39 million tons of bituminous coal.

I trust that Mr. Gray will refer to the remarks of Members of the House and Senate when the bill to extend the Trade Agreements Act was debated in 1955. He will learn that it is the unequivocal intent of Congress to restrict oil imports to these designated levels. Even such a limit is far from a just mitigation for the producers and the laboring forces in the bituminous coal and anthracite industries. It will at least protect them from extended piracy on the part of international oil shippers.

A Vote of Confidence for the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith an article which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News, Buffalo, N. Y., on May 23, 1957, reporting a unanimous resolution by the New York State Republican delegation in support of President Eisenhower:

NEW YORKERS IN CONGRESS GIVE IKE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE—MORHOUSE TO GET CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT

(By Arthur L. Davis)

WASHINGTON, May 23.—President Eisenhower today got a unanimous "vote of confi-

dence" from the New York Republican delegation in Congress, 28 strong. However, the Members threw back at the President his recent words that there must be room in the GOP for divergent points of views.

State Chairman L. Judson Morhouse delivered the confidence resolution to the White House. He said he had made tentative arrangements to confer with Sherman Adams, Presidential assistant, and hoped to get a few minutes with the President.

The resolution of confidence was drafted at a stormy session of the New York congressional delegation, attended by Senators IVES and JAVITS and by all but 4 of the State's 26 Members of the House.

WRANGLE OVER STATEMENT

Reports that leaked out of the closed-door dinner meeting Wednesday evening, at which Chairman Morhouse was host, indicated that the session almost broke up in failure to agree on terms of any statement in support of President Eisenhower.

But Representatives COLE of Bath and RADWAN of Buffalo pointed out to their colleagues that once the subject had been brought up, it could not be dropped in disagreement, even behind closed doors, without the fact becoming known.

Mr. RADWAN was reported to have remarked that a refusal by the big New York delegation to express confidence in President Eisenhower at this crucial point for the Chief Executive's program would be like "firing the first torpedo into the Republican ship."

COLE SUPPORTS RADWAN

Representative COLE is said to have rallied additional support for a statement of confidence, and one was finally worked out as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the New York Republican congressional delegation at its first meeting of this session endorses and approves the President's declaration of policy for the Republican Party made to the Republican National Committee's regional conference at Providence, R. I., as follows:

"'There are differences of opinion within our party and I hope there always will be. Under our two-party system a national party must contain within its divergent points of view varying opinions on national issues from State to State, region to region.

ANGER OVER PATRONAGE

"'This is a healthy condition as long as the fundamental beliefs within that party provide a common nucleus of thought—a set of unalterable truths that bind us together into an inseparable whole, dedicated to conducting the Government of the United States in the best interests of its people.'

"*Be it further resolved*, That the New York Republican delegation reaffirms its admiration of and support for the leadership of the President, both of the country and of the Republican Party."

According to reports that leaked out today on the meeting it was first taken up with a discussion of patronage problems, during which some "angry yelling" was done. Then dissatisfaction was expressed with the size of contributions by the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee to the campaigns of New York legislators, and a committee was appointed to study this problem.

DEPLORES LACK OF LIAISON

Representative TABER of Auburn, ranking GOP member of the House Appropriations Committee, then brought up the President's $71.8 billion Federal budget, and—as he confirmed to the News today—complained that "the folks in the administration just don't understand this budget."

He said he told the New Yorkers that there was no liaison between the executive branch and Congress on budget matters, and that there had been better understanding of budget problems when there had been better liaison. He refused to amplify but it was reported he also declared at the closed meeting that the President would agree no harm would be done by a $1.5-billion budget cut if Mr. TABER could get an opportunity to explain the cut to him.

One legislator said Mr. TABER had raised "a very sore point" about liaison with the White House.

WHITE HOUSE "CLOSED SHOP"

"There seemed to be no communication to speak of between the Members of Congress and the White House," this Representative said. "It's just a closed shop down there, surrounded by the palace guard. When JOHN TABER can't discuss budget matters with the President, that's a pretty sad affair."

This same Congressman said the confidence resolution was intended to express a general consensus that the New York Republicans in Congress all acknowledge President Eisenhower's leadership in international and domestic affairs but are reluctant to give him rubber-stamp approval of all his program.

"We're still going to vote as our conscience tells us, on the basis of our considered judgment," the legislator said.

ANXIOUS TO SUPPORT IKE

Chairman Morhouse expressed the intent of the resolution in different terms.

"The consensus is," he told the News, "that the New York delegation to a man is extremely anxious to express support for the President and his policies and program, and to follow this with action.

"This does not mean that every Member from New York will vote the same way on every detail. No one indicated that he was flatly behind the President no matter what, but in terms of the program and general policy they were behind him 100 percent."

Mr. Morhouse said that, since the President has taken his budget program to the people for support, the people are beginning to get the problem into thoughtful balance. He said public opinion generally is swinging now to the viewpoint that the national-defense budget should not be reduced and that there is not much room elsewhere for major reductions.

Mrs. Elizabeth W. Lewis: A Remarkable Lady

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the Richmond Times-Dispatch of Sunday, May 26, concerning Mrs. Elizabeth W. Lewis, a former resident of Mecklenburg County, Va., and a most attractive, distinguished, and beloved lady. Later Mrs. Lewis resided in Hanover County, Va., and in the city of Richmond. She has many friends in Virginia, and I am proud to be one among them. I have known her for many years.

Mrs. Lewis is the widow of the late Honorable John Taylor Lewis, who represented Mecklenburg County in the House of Delegates of the General Assembly of Virginia for a number of years. She has several children, among whom are Mr. W. M. Lewis of Halifax, Va., an able attorney and distinguished member of the Halifax County bar, and Mr. Meriweather Lewis of Carksville, Va., a prominent farmer and cattle grower. Virginia and the Nation are proud of the Lewis family as one of the famous pioneer families of America.

Mrs. Lewis has had an interesting career which is an inspiration to all of her friends.

The article is as follows:

NO TIME FOR TEAS—LOCAL WOMAN TO ADD NEW TROPHY TO LONG LIST OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS

(By Thomas P. Lee)

A Richmond woman who "got tired of frittering away her time at ladies' teas," will be graduated from New York University (NYU) next month. She is 78 years old.

The degree candidate is Mrs. Elizabeth W. Lewis. She is interested in helping old people. Said a Richmond friend recently: "She is always interested in new frontiers."

Mrs. Lewis, widow of John Taylor Lewis, of Mecklenburg County, already has passed a number of frontiers. She has been a wife, a mother, a suffrage worker, a candy maker, a housing developer and real estate saleswomen, and an air raid warden.

A son, Lawrence Lewis, who lives at 6309 Ridgeway Road, says she also has been a good swimmer all her life, and currently is taking dancing lessons. She has won bronze and silver medals from a dancing studio, and is working for the gold medal.

TO START NEW CAREER

When she receives her bachelor of science degree June 6, she will set out on her newest career—in gerontology (the study of old age).

She already has made a start—as president of New Horizons, a group of older people in New York planning for later life.

Mrs. Lewis was feeling "tired and blue" during World War II, when she was an air raid warden here. (Her son says she "got tired of frittering away her time at ladies' teas.") Then a geriatrician and a psychologist got her interested in helping old people.

Recently, when these two doctors claimed credit for motivating her success at NYU, she protested vigorously: "What about me?"

Mrs. Lewis is the daughter of the late W. T. C. Wardwell, once lieutenant governor of Rhode Island. Her husband, John T. Lewis, represented Mecklenburg County in the House of Delegates in 1912–13. He died in 1930, after moving to Gwathmey, near Ashland.

ARDENT SUFFRAGE WORKER

Her son, Lawrence, now in the wholesale lumber business, recalls his mother was an ardent suffrage worker in the 1920's, and active in the League of Women Voters.

In the early thirties, he said, "she went to some candy-making school somewhere in Pennsylvania," then set up a small candy factory in her home at Ashland.

"She was selling candy for $1.50 a pound," said Lewis. "You know if people paid that much for candy during the depression, it had to be good."

It was so good, said her son, that the demand quickly exceeded the supply. So Mrs. Lewis forsook the bonbon business and took a correspondence course in real estate.

First she worked for a realtor in Richmond, then founder her own firm—Lewis Co.

In the late thirties she specialized in waterfront property in Middlesex County, said her son, and built and sold a number of houses at Deltaville.

A number of years later, when a reporter remarked on the vigor of her enterprise, she retorted:

"What are you supposed to do when you reach the age of 59? Go jump in a lake?" (She admitted then to being over 60.)

"You don't get old," said Mrs. Lewis, "if you have an interest or a hobby."

LIVES IN GREENWICH VILLAGE

When she lived here Mrs. Lewis made her home on West Franklin Street. Since going to New York in 1948, she has kept an apartment in Greenwich Village.

It's taken her 9 years to earn her degree, since she spent a good deal of time working to rehabilitate elderly people. And when she tired of studying, she went for a ride on the Staten Island ferry—"to get away from it."

Despite her outside social and church work, spirited Mrs. Lewis made only two grades below B in her courses. Those two were C's.

All 7 of her children and 20 grandchildren plan to attend the graduation exercises, after which Mrs. Lewis will travel and relax for a while.

Then she may set up an old-age rehabilitation clinic. "If I can just convince young people that they can stay around and be enjoyably active as long or longer than I," she says, "and if I can motivate them to work at it, it will be worth all the trouble."

Government of, by, and for the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, after the adoption of the Constitution, Benjamin Franklin, on being asked what kind of government had been adopted, replied: "A republic, if we can keep it."

His reply implied both a knowledge of world history and a deep appreciation of human reaction to mass psychology.

Were he here today, he would marvel at the rapidity with which we, the people, have veered from the original concept of republican form of government. We, the people, negligent of our civic obligations, overlooking our constitutional duties, permitting our elected officials to secure positions of responsibility by a minority of voters, and failing to interest ourselves in their political and economic behavior in their official capacities, have permitted our executive and legislative bodies to succumb to the pressures of minority interests until the average citizen has relinquished most of his claim to government of, by, and for the people and surrendered little by little to what is now an overgrown system of bureaucratic agencies and departments.

Most of us have been too occupied with our day-to-day well being to realize how our individual freedoms are being usurped by rules, regulations, and administrative orders issued by department heads where authority stems from the actions of Congress, members of which, under the Constitution, are their only direct representatives in matters of government.

Throughout the years, the Congress has delegated much of its original powers to the departmental bureaus and to executive agencies. With such delegated authority, the execution of laws passed by Congress become increasingly subject to the interpretation of officials holding their positions by appointment and who therefore are not directly responsible to the people.

There are 2¼ million persons employed in our Government today in its various bureaus and agencies.

Legislation instead of being initiated by the leadership in Congress, without advice, consent, and approval of bureau heads and executive officials, depends largely upon bureaucratic leadership to suggest blueprints and objectives.

The result is that laws or legislative changes sought by individuals and groups are determined in their final form by the respective agencies entrusted with their administration.

Now agencies and bureaus, interested in self-preservation, are selfishly impressed with the advantages of expansion of activities and the accompanying need for additional employees and appropriations with which to pay their salaries and the added expense for facilities in which to operate.

To persuade Congress and the public to support their demands, many top echelon officials of these bureaus and agencies spend a large portion of their time and energies appearing before committees and communication centers for the purpose of sponsoring their programs and convincing the Congress of the necessity of authorizing expanded operations and appropriating the necessary funds.

In many instances, the Congress and the public have been told these new ventures are only needed as temporary emergency measures, but experience bears out the fact that once an emergency increase is authorized, it invariably finds convincing reasons why it should be continued.

The bureaus and agencies of Government seem to have successfully sold the Congress on the advisability of not only maintaining existing agencies, but, in recent years, have succeeded in having more and more special branches of Government created annually.

The result is a big overgrown Federal Government which today requires the income from two days of a week's work to support. Even though the Federal budget is in balance as of today, there is little prospect that any part of our tax contribution will be left over to apply to the $275 million national debt. With present tempo of Federal spending, there can be little hope of tax reduction.

There can be only one answer—reduce spending programs, both domestic and foreign. That means, cut the proposed $71.8 billion budget and refuse to appropriate new money for more bureaus and departments. Public demand for such action is now at an all-time high. It has impressed Members of Congress as to that great need.

Yet, I would add a word of caution.

This Congress can wield the cleaver of the butcher in trimming the budget and with a consequent grave danger to the precarious security we have built up for ourselves and our free-world allies in a perilous age.

Or, it can apply the surgeon's scalpel to our fiscal affairs by trimming away an admittedly great amount of financial fat in this budget and retain our posture of present security.

I would remind the House that this is no time to play the role of partisan politician in trimming the budget. The times are too dangerous, the imminence of global disaster too close each hour, for us to heedlessly use our constitutional power of the purse to embarrass and hamstring those portions of the executive branch entrusted with our defense and security.

Foreign Aid Speech Flaw: It Came 3 Months Late

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, a well-known daily newspaper, the Nashville (Tenn.) Tennessean, called to the attention of the Nation the plight of the President in his foreign-aid speech of several days ago. This great southern newspaper suggests that the address came 3 months late.

This editorial is worthwhile reading for the Members of Congress, and, under the unanimous-consent rule, I include it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It follows:

FOREIGN AID SPEECH FLAW: IT CAME 3 MONTHS LATE

President Eisenhower made a speech to the Nation on foreign aid Tuesday night. As the President's speeches go, it was better than usual, but it had a flaw: it was 3 months late.

For this attempt to rush and play Horatius at the bridge is a pathetic effort, weighted by his failure earlier to defend his budget instead of weakly agreeing with Treasury Secretary Humphrey that there are a lot of places in this budget that can be cut, and finally winding up by slicing $520 million from the foreign-aid request.

Congress is sharply split over foreign aid, but the economy-minded segment is still determined to look over the President's requests with a searching scrutiny to detail. In the end, some of his requests will be lopped.

Sentiment is strong in that direction. So is criticism. Mr. John Knight, publisher of the Knight newspapers, and once a strong supporter of President Eisenhower, has this to say:

"Your tax dollars have helped Norway and Denmark to reduce their internal debts while our national debt was mounting. We have financed a six-lane highway in Portugal, numerous uncompleted projects in Iran, and are now providing free airplane excursions for thousands of Arabs visiting their religious shrines * * * The record is filled with innumerable instances of foreign aid so dubious and downright silly as to be beyond belief. It includes dress suits for Grecian undertakers, public baths for Egyptian camel drivers, and even ice boxes for Eskimos.

This is one of many such oblique attacks that have been made all along at all sections of the budget. They have succeeded, in part, in undermining the confidence of the

...le in the budget. There was a strong ... for a vigorous defense of its spending ...e administration rather than for Mr. ...ower to dismiss them by saying he ... doubt "isolated incidents could be ... to support charges of waste and ...efficiency."

Fresh in the minds of most is the trip by the President's special ambassador, Representative JAMES P. RICHARDS, into the Middle East with instructions to get rid of $200 million by July 1, at any cost. Mr. RICHARDS experienced a turn-down by Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Israel and silence from other Arab countries.

But Mr. Eisenhower rightly pointed out that the cost of peace is high and the price of war is higher and is paid in bloody coin. This conclusion he could have used earlier in the year.

No one questions the need or practicality of strengthening our Allies into a bulwark of collective stability, or of helping nations to resist the threat of communism. There can be no argument that aid measures have not helped greatly in places such as Iran, threatened by the Reds 4 years ago, or Vietnam, or Guatemala in our own hemisphere.

These are only a few examples of the tremendous burden of responsibility confronting this Nation in every corner of the world at a time when the struggle between the free world and the Communist orbit for economic supremacy is so clearly defined.

But beyond a doubt, foreign aid spending has not always been administered wisely or well. There are a great many examples of bungling. The administration has failed to come up with new forms of assistance tailored to the needs of the time until such a decision is forced. It has failed to plan beyond the various brinks that Mr. John Foster Dulles feels compelled to lead us, and contrary to Mr. Eisenhower's assertion, it has sought to buy friendship with American dollars when that friendship could have been had for free had the proper leadership been available.

There is serious danger in a major slash in foreign-aid funds, and inept handling should not justify arbitrary axswings into the sinews of military and economic structures in the free world.

As Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, of Texas, said, "Congress will give Mr. Eisenhower's requests careful, thorough, and prudent consideration. The question of what is a minimum figure is one that can be determined only after a searching scrutiny."

But for "Horatius" at the White House there can be no joy in realizing that some of the cuts that will be made could possibly have been saved had he fought earlier instead of faltering on the budget.

Swedish Carpetbagger Dreams Up Another Modern Theory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 20, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert herewith an excellent article by Mr. Garland B. Porter, of Atlanta, Ga., entitled "Swedish Carpetbagger Dreams Up Another Modern Theory." This article was originally printed in the magazine, Southern Advertising and Publishing, in January 1957. I commend it to the careful consideration of my colleagues:

SWEDISH CARPETBAGGER DREAMS UP ANOTHER MODERN THEORY

(By Garland B. Porter)

Readers of Southern Advertising and Publishing have gained, no doubt, an idea of how deeply we condemn Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, the "Swedish carpetbagger"—what a wonderful sobriquet for him; we thank the Chicago Tribune for it. Myrdal's An American Dilemma was used by the Supreme Court to amply support its modernization of the Constitution of the United States on May 17, 1954, in its edict that Negro children cannot get education free of complexes except in the presence of white children.

This Myrdal should bear closer study. We tried to give his insulting American Dilemma an exposé in our August 15 issue; in it he referred to the United States Constitution as "in many respects impractical and ill-suited to modern conditions." Yet his book was practical enough for the Supreme Court to cite in support of its radical edict. As we say, this Myrdal should be watched closely. Not only has he supplied the answer to changes in our way of life as a nation; he has ideas as to how we can underwrite the socialistic reforms of the world.

Our national debt is already larger than that of all the rest of the world combined, but Myrdal and others of like thinking would have us go deeper into debt to pay for the errors of the world's crackpots and to appease foreign leeches. How could the Supreme Court, sworn to uphold the Constitution, reasonably expect the American people to accept him as authority for their radical edict?

On December 18 a patriotic service was rendered our Nation by the Chicago Tribune. The lead editorial that day was a wonderful alarum (that's old-fashioned spelling) for those who love this Nation. It must have been a surprise to many readers, for none except those who know something of Myrdal could possibly imagine that such a thinker would be asked to preach his doctrines in the halls of the mighty. Myrdal is one of the star pitchers of the United Nations Economic Commission.

Read this editorial which was titled "Five Billion a Year in Hush Money." It follows:

"Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist who is Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, made some presumptuous remarks the other day on the subject of American foreign aid and technical assistance to underdeveloped countries. Mr. Myrdal was speaking at a seminar on welfare democracy, which we assume to be the concept that the state has a right to frisk those who, by their own efforts, have achieved a theoretical prosperity and redistribute the proceeds to those less well off.

"Myrdal suggested that, although America pays close to 90 percent of the capital aid and technical assistance being given to the poorer part of mankind, it was not doing so in any spirit of unselfishness. On the contrary, said this Swedish gentleman, the United States, by persisting in carrying on its ordinary business relations with the rest of the world on the principle of selfishness, had demonstrated that its handouts were no more than a palliative or conscience money.

"Myrdal seemed to believe that the grants and credits wrung from American taxpayers not only ought to be much more substantial, but that they ought to be stabilized—i. e., made permanent commitments—and handled through U. N. or one of its agencies. This would take away from the United States any identification it may now have as the donor of such aid and any claim it might have on the dubious gratitude of the collecting nations.

"'When international aid becomes unilateral and politics thus enters into the distribution of it,' Myrdal said, 'both moral and economic standards are apt to crumble.'

"Mr. Myrdal's modest proposal, therefore, would be that Americans submit to heavy taxation to prop up the rest of the world and that they assume this burden as a duty dictated to them by the need of the less fortunate nations. The underlying assumption is that it is a good thing to socialize wealth all over the world, and, as a disproportionately large share of the world's wealth happens to be in the United States, it is to be socialized for the benefit of all peoples except Americans.

"Mr. Myrdal has long been sympatico with Russia. As Sweden's minister of trade some 10 years ago, he negotiated a trade agreement between Sweden and Russia which provided for a large loan and trade advantages to the Communists. The deal was so unpopular in Sweden that he was driven from office. When the economic committee for Europe was being organized in U. N., Russia agreed to participate in it only on condition that Myrdal be made executive secretary.

"'This Swede capped his presentation at the seminar on 'welfare democracy' with the observation that 'generous America often turn out to be niggardly selfish in its regular commercial and financial policies and practices.' He charged that 'the United States has until this very day preserved much of the narrow nationalistic attitude toward its participation in world commerce from the time when it was itself 'underdeveloped.'

"It is not enough for the United States Government to be a patsy, providing for all the indigents in sight. Mr. Myrdal would have American business emulate the example—a sure way, perhaps, of going broke in a hurry, but an outcome which could not conceivably offend Mr. Myrdal's view that justice would be well served and the advent of world socialism speeded if this were to occur.

"American participants in the session on 'welfare democracy' numbered Prof. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a campaign brain buster for Adlai Stevenson and a leading light in the left wing Americans for Democratic Action; Adolf A. Berle, former boy wonder of the New Deal, now teaching law at Columbia, and Milton Katz, the inevitable professor from Harvard Law. None of these patriots opened his mouth to defend his country or rebuke this Swedish carpetbagger."

It is not amazing to see such alien doctrine being launched to pollute the thought streams of the world, through the executives of United Nations? The Tribune merits the thanks of those who cherish these United States for alerting us to the continued activities of this Myrdal. I suggest that you go back and read the editorial again—then dedicate yourself to the business of opposing these alien doctrines and philosophies. There is indeed afoot in the world today new ideas, not just modern ideas, that come to us under guise that modern and new always mean progress. A new idea can be as deadly as an old one; we have no right to call any new idea good until it is proved good. Our constitutional system has proved itself good for nearly 2 centuries.

If it is a good idea for America to disburse her goods, anonymously and with a profligate hand hidden from the eyes of the recipient, then I am really a fool. But I'll submit that this Nation is full of fools like me who view with contempt some scatter-brained socialist-welfare stater who can dream up such a piece of nonsense. But did you get the last paragraph of the Tribune's editorial? Men like Professor Schlesinger, Adolf Berle, Milton Katz—men high in the brain-truster ranks—sat there on their patriotic brains and uttered not a word of protest. How dumb can men become.

When Myrdal and his kind get through squandering the wealth of America throughout the underdeveloped regions and peoples of the world, then all of us will be on the same level. Nobody will be jealous of anybody else—and why should they? The billions we already have given now have simply been "a palliative or conscience money." We must stabilize this paupering process, we are told. But do it so secretly that nobody will be able to thank his benefactor: that would be bad for the morale. Great God of hosts. If the recipient of Uncle Sap's generosity were to know where the handouts came from, that might engender an inferiority complex from which the recipient might never recover, you see?

Does that sound familiar? It does to me: in the integration edict of May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court said, speaking of Negro schoolchildren:

"To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

The Court went on to say 1 paragraph later, "Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority." [11] The 11 footnote listed a number of modern authorities (quite a few on Federal subversive list) and ended "And see generally Myrdal, 'An American Dilemma.'" Personally, I don't see what else the Swedish carpetbagger has to say to get on that list himself. We make a big point of condemning people who attempt to overthrow our Government by violence—can it be more completely overthrown by violence than by insidious propaganda? Is a man more dead if he is shot than if he is leeched and bled to death?

The chances are that with such credentials, accepted at the highest bench and assemblage of nations, Myrdal will keep on pecking away at us, at our way of life, and the horn of plenty that we have developed. What chance have we against such propaganda that labels us as isolationists if we wish to preserve our Nation, and selfish if we wish to work out our own destiny and let other peoples work out theirs? We have no chance at all unless we exercise constant energy, intelligence, and patriotism to keep the fuzzythinkers within bounds, and the enemies of our way of life away from our birthright.

It is to be wondered if the Supreme Court knew of Myrdal's record with the Russian Communists when they held him up as authority for radically changing the Constitution of the United States. Does it require much knowledge of sociology to size up a man who the Communists insisted be placed as chairman of the United Nations' Economic Committee for Europe?

Not much imagination is needed to see that such a man as Myrdal would not wish governmental control in our country left in the hands of the States, as laid down by the Constitution. The school edict, which the Supreme Court had no constitutional right to promulgate, was one of seven decisions we can recall that undercut the sovereignty of the States. In fact, we can say without fear of supportable contradiction that no period of our history has witnessed such an assault on the original bastions of our Government, the States.

Nor have all the previous decisions of the Supreme Court combined to centralize power and drain so much from the source from which the National Government and the Constitution itself sprang—the separate States. That the Court which is staging this radical process would honor a man with such credentials as Myrdal is nothing short of astounding.

Labor in Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, ultra conservative elements in the United States express concern about the role of labor in politics, but their real fear is of democracy itself. Labor's long record in politics is an honorable one. It has contributed much to the well-being of our Nation. No group has done more than organized labor in helping to bring about needed social and economic reform. Social security, public housing, minimum wages, unemployment compensation are but a few of many great social reform programs which have helped millions of citizens, many of whom never belonged to a labor union.

Reactionary opposition to these programs more than anything else, inspires those behind the antilabor drive. These attacks will only increase labor's interest and determination in the political field.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I would like to include a statement, We Are in Politics, from the April 1957 issue of Ammunition, official publication of the United Auto Workers.

The declaration, which follows, tells why labor is in politics and why it is in to stay despite reactionary effort to destroy labor's political rights and freedom.

LABOR IN POLITICS

We are in politics. Democratic politics, Republican politics, and nonpartisan politics.

UAW members are Democratic and Republican legislators in State legislatures. We sit in the legislatures in Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, New Jersey.

We are mayors, members of school boards, aldermen (one of us, a woman, is a member of the city council in Indianapolis), members of township councils, county supervisors, county auditors, tax collectors and dogcatchers.

Never has it been true that any American child could grow up to be President. Not even dogcatcher, if he was a Negro, or Spanish-American or Indian, or a Catholic in some cities, or a Jew in some cities. Before we went into politics, if a child grew up to be a factory worker, or a simple wage earner at some other occupation, political office was not for him, or her. Political office was reserved for the well-to-do, for lawyers.

In our time we have made a declaration of Walt Whitman come true—the Government is for you, oh people.

Yes, for all of us.

But we did not choose politics to make ourselves careers.

We went to the Government seeking justice.

The Government, we found out, decided what our wages would be when we were unemployed, what would happen to our families if we lost an arm or a leg or a life in a factory accident.

We can bargain for our wages in the factory, but the Government decides whether our wages will buy much or little by its tax policies, by changing the interest rate, by expanding or contracting the economy.

We found we could not achieve the justice we seek within the factory walls. Only through Government can we secure education for all. Only by law can we end discrimination on jobs and in public places.

So we are in politics, but when we look at the cities where we have a voice in politics, we see that politics are better for the morality we bring to the rallies and conventions and balloting.

Our political decisions are in the people's interest—the public interest.

Government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people.

Critical Classroom Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
Monday, May 27, 1957
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include the text of advance summaries of two articles which are to be published in the July issue of Architectural Record, a business paper published by the F. W. Dodge Corp. I am indebted to James Zeisel, assistant research manager of Architectural Record for forwarding to me the advance text, and for permission to quote.

Mr. Speaker, one of these articles discusses the size and explains the causes of the current emergency classroom shortage. Your attention is particularly invited to the data on first quarter, 1957 school construction. This compilation of actual school construction contracts, shows that 51.9 million square feet of school space is being built.

On the basis of 103 square feet per pupil—and this is a figure arrived at by the United States Office of Education on the basis of its experience with Public Law 815, as reported in printed hearings before an appropriations subcommittee of the 84th Congress, second session—and an average of 30 pupils per classroom, these F. W. Dodge data indicate that classrooms are being constructed at a rate of slightly less than 69,000 per year.

This is precisely the figure submitted to the Committee on Education and Labor by the Honorable Marion Folsom, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and which adverse witnesses attempted to discredit as being far too low.

Your further attention is invited to the estimate of 322,400 as the size of the current backlog of classrooms. This compilation tends to bear out the conclusion reached by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. McCONNELL] who, after hearing a detailed explanation from the Office of Education of its conscientious efforts to try to obtain accurate reports from each of the State school agencies, suggested that the 159,000-classroom shortage indicated by the USOE Circular 490 was too low. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. McCONNELL] has also told us, following a personally financed inspection tour of

4 States, that he was more than ever convinced that the estimated backlog of 159,000 classrooms was more than on the conservative side.

Mr. Speaker, your attention is also invited to the second of the two articles, which discusses the reliability of bond issue sales as a gage of school building. This article plainly and clearly indicates how confusing a picture may be presented when witnesses play the numbers game.

It is respectfully suggested, Mr. Speaker, that the F. W. Dodge Corp. is hardly likely to be interested in promoting socialistic causes, a charge that has frequently been leveled at any individual or organization which has produced data indicating that States and local communities, admittedly doing a superlative job, are not, on their own, able to provide adequate classroom space within the next 5 years.

Once we recognize this, we must agree that it is in the national interest to take emergency action to speed up classroom construction.

The two articles follow:

SCHOOL CONTRACT AWARDS SET FIRST QUARTER RECORD; CLASSROOM SHORTAGES CONTINUE TO GROW IN 1956

Both dollar and physical volume of construction contracts for educational buildings in the United States reached an all-time first quarter high, according to F. W. Dodge Corp. The dollar volume for the 3-month period was $717,904,000. 5 percent above the previous high set last year. Physical volume was 51.9 million square feet.

Although the current gain comes on the heels of 10 consecutive years of record-breaking school construction, there is evidence that school backlogs have continued to grow. If we are to wipe out the existing backlog in the next 10 years, the annual rate of classroom construction should be higher even than this year's estimated 69,000.

CLASSROOM SHORTAGE TODAY

Today's classroom shortages are the result of two factors:

1. A huge backlog reported 5 years ago in phase I of the School Facilities Survey;

2. The inability of classroom construction during the past 5 years to keep pace with additional classrooms needed due to enrollment increases, obsolescence and loss.

In 1950, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the 48 States and Territories began at $3,9 million School Facilities Survey. In phase I States and Territories inventoried their existing school facilities and estimated their school needs as of September 1952.

This is the only study which has examined in detail the status of the Nation's school facilities. It is still the only study scientifically designed to measure classroom needs in terms of what is necessary to house every school-age child in facilities up to acceptable educational standards.

THREE HUNDRED AND TWELVE THOUSAND CLASSROOM SHORTAGE REVEALED

Phase I revealed a shortage of 312,000 public elementary and secondary classrooms at the beginning of the 1952–53 school year.

When in 1955 the White House Conference of Education queried the States as to the accuracy of their phase I estimates, 11 States of the 35 replying said they had underestimated their needs: 23 said their original estimate was correct; 1 State said it overestimated.

CURRENT BACKLOG—322,400 ROOMS

The phase I report plus the needs created in the last 5 school years from increasing enrollments, obsolescence, and loss, when compared with classroom construction from 1952–56 leave the following situation today:

Backlog estimated in phase I	312,000
To house increased enrollment (1952–53 to 1956–57)	207,000
To replace obsolescence, etc. (1952–53 to 1956–57)	100,000
Total	619,000
Classroom construction (1952–53 to 1956–57)	296,600
Current backlog	322,400

Undoubtedly the consolidation of school districts over the past 5 years has had some effect on classroom shortages. However, the amount of classroom shortages overcome by such consolidation, if any, is not known.

CONFUSION ON SHORTAGES

A recent release by the Office of Education estimating a classroom shortage of only 159,000 would appear to be in conflict with the 322,400 backlog shown above.

The 159,000 figure was based on replies by the States—not including Territories—to a brief yearly questionnaire issued by the Office of Education. (Adding in replies of the Territories to the same questionnaire brings the total to 167,000.)

Although there is no one standard definition of what constitutes classroom needs, professional groups feel that the replies received reflect the most pressing schoolhousing problems currently facing the various States and that unlike phase I it does not give an accurate picture of the overall classroom need of the States in terms of the number of classrooms which ought to be built.

Representative RALPH H. GWINN (Republican, New York) in a statement before Congress on March 11 stated that he felt the current survey to be an unreliable measure of classroom shortages.

To quote the February 14, 1956, Building Trades News on the same problem:

"(The States) tend to equate need with financial ability and feasibility."

WHAT ABOUT FUTURE NEEDS?

Along with the backlog of 323,400 classrooms, here are further reasons why the rate of classroom construction should be increased:

Enrollments: Latest Office of Education estimates show that public school enrollments will increase by an average of 983,000 every year for the next decade. Thirty-two thousand seven hundred new classrooms will be required annually to handle these increases.

Even these figures don't reveal the full picture. To quote the National Education Association:

"So far the (enrollment) impact has been largely felt in elementary schools, and our local communities have exerted themselves to build elementary classrooms while putting off building more expensive high schools for which the need is clearly predictable.

"Between 1957 and 1964 high school enrollments will increase by 49 percent while in the previous 7 years they have only increased 21 percent."

OBSOLESCENCE A MAJOR FACTOR

Obsolescence: One of the most difficult factors to measure. However, some 47 percent of our public elementary and secondary schools are over 50 years old.

Fact is, since teaching methods and programs are continually changing, the need to replace old schools can be compared with the need to replace industrial facilities obsoleted by modern construction and manufacturing methods.

Based on previous Office of Education estimates, some 20,000 classrooms are needed annually due to obsolescence, loss by fire, storm, etc.

ANNUAL NEED—85,000 CLASSROOMS

To work the current backlog of 322,400 classrooms off in the next 10 years, and provide for forthcoming enrollment increases and losses, due to obsolescence, etc., 85,000 classrooms would have to be built annually.

ARE BOND ISSUES A RELIABLE GAGE OF SCHOOL BUILDING?

In February the Investment Bankers Association of America, stated that "the school financing for the past 4 months (October 1, 1956—January 31, 1957) projected for a full year would mean an expenditure for school construction of approximately $2.9 billion to provide about 96,600 classrooms in addition to the 69,200 scheduled as of October 1, 1956, for completion during the school year."

The 12-month $2.9 billion figure was arrived at by taking the dollar value of school bond issues from October 1 through January 31, ($684,606,000) adjusting the figure (to $978 million) to reflect the approximately 30 percent of total school construction funds ordinarily obtained from sources other than bond financing and then multiplying by 3.

The total number of classrooms this would account for was estimated by dividing the $2.9 billion by $30,000—a figure which the IBA estimated as the average cost of a public-school classroom.

DIFFERENCES CITED

While these figures are informative there are these important points to consider:

1. Not all municipal bond authorities would agree that the 4-month figure should be multiplied by 3 to arrive at a 12-month estimate. At least one authority would use 2½ rather than 3.

2. Not all the proceeds from school bond issues are used for financing school construction. They are also used to finance related facilities such as gymnasiums and buses, and, on occasion, refunding.

3. The IBA's statement of 30 percent of school construction funds being obtained from sources other than bond financing is based on a report on page 7 of the June 1956 Construction Review issued by the Departments of Commerce and Labor. It represents an 8-year average from 1947–1954.

On page 8 of the same issue, the report states:

"The school program indicates less and less financing of expenditure from current revenues and more and more reliance on borrowing. Current revenues plus Federal aid provided only 15 percent of the funds expended for school capital outlalys in 1954, ing contrast to an 8-year average of 29 percent."

Therefore it is now probably more accurate to use a figure no higher than 15 percent to estimate funds obtained from other sources.

4. School bond issues of 1956–57 are not solely for classrooms in addition to the 69,000 scheduled * * * for completion in 1956–57. They are for financing part of these same 69,000 classrooms and for classrooms in the next school year.

5. Estimates show that approximately $2.5 billion were spent in the 1955–56 school year to build 62,600 classrooms. Based on these figures, the average cost of a classroom—including a proportionate part for land and related facilities—is $39,900 rather than the $30,000 figure suggested above.

An Observation on Immigration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, it is no secret that we Members of the House of Representatives receive a great deal of mail on the subject of immigration, expressing views about the McCarran-Walter Act, whether it should be modified or amended, and sometimes it is difficult to answer these letters. We certainly do not want our country flooded with persons promoting communistic ideologies who may disturb our security as well as our economy, nor do we want the indolent or the incapacitated who may become at any time dependent on us for a living. We must secure ourselves from the influx of such people and be guarded against them. People from all the countries of the world want to come to America to escape from tyranny and oppression, a feeling that is understandable and rouses our sympathy, and I believe the great question we must ask and which must be answered is what will these people contribute to the strength of our economy as well as to our security? What will they do to make us even a greater Nation, dedicated to peace and good will, and enhance our belief in the dignity of man and his personal liberty? These are searching questions, but the answers must be known if we are to hold secure the ideals of our country and its destiny to lead the world into the paths of peace and amity among nations.

Citizens of the United States are all descended from emigrants who came here from all parts of the globe. Our forebears did not come to our shores to run away from anything; they came to be able to do something for themselves and for others and by working together create a Nation "indivisible under God with liberty and justice for all." They set high standards of morality and fair play, and thereby planted the seed of a great Nation whose influence is felt the world over, yet whose power is never used in oppression, but in the promotion of liberty and truth.

May I point out to my colleagues an example of how an immigrant to this country came here and contributed much to our country's welfare? I find stimulating courage in the examples of such people and my friend, Arnold L. van Ameringen, is typical of many citizens like him. He came here to work and do what he could to aid in the growth of America, and he has contributed much.

Mr. van Ameringen will celebrate his 66th birthday in October of this year, having been born in Holland. There he received a public school education, was active in a Netherlands organization equivalent to our Boy Scouts, and served in the Dutch army. He worked for a manufacturer of perfume materials and in 1917 he was sent by his employer to sell his products in America, arriving in this country on Memorial Day. On his way over he became acquainted with a Mr. Pfalz, an American citizen, who was met at the dock by his sister Hedwig, of Newark, N. J. She was the first American girl he met in this country and 3 years later they were married. It is easy to see he really appreciated the good things to be found in the United States. Mr. van Ameringen immediately saw the opportunities offered by our country and realized that if he worked hard for himself and his community, he could own his business and prosper through his own efforts. He realized, also, that he would have the opportunity to contribute something to the growth of the United States and play some part in the development of our great Nation. So he stayed and in November 1926, became a naturalized citizen and has proved his worth ever since.

What has this man accomplished in accepting the opportunities presented to him by America? He started his own business with 2 employees and 500 square feet of space—a small-business man indeed. His business prospered, he merged with another firm, and became the leading spirit not only in the new firm but was a dominant figure in the entire industry of the manufacture of fragrances for perfumes, colognes, creams, powders, soaps, lipsticks, and such products in which fragrance plays a part, and in addition various food flavors. Here are a few of the voluntary positions he has held for the benefit of his fellow citizens:

President of the Essential Oil Dealers Association.

Member of the board of directors, Toilet Goods Association.

Governor of the board of Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association.

Secretary of the Fragrance Foundation.

Trustee of the College of Pharmacy, Columbia University.

Teacher in the College of Pharmacy.

He cooperated in World War II with the United States Army by furnishing supplies to Armed Forces.

He received a certificate of achievement from the United States Navy and a letter of commendation from the Quartermaster Corps.

He is now the chairman of the board of directors of van Ameringen-Haebler, Inc., which employs more than 400 people with 64,000 square feet of office space in New York City, and 2 factories in New Jersey. He and his business have grown with our country and are no longer small business.

But this is not all, as though these contributions of self-sacrifice and service are not enough. Mr. van Ameringen became interested in the study of mental health which he believes to be one the great problems of humanity, which indeed it is. It was through his friend, the late Dr. James Plant, a noted child psychiatrist and director of the Essex County juvenile court of New Jersey, that his active service in this field was aroused. For 20 years or more he was served as treasurer and a member of the executive committee of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene which was later merged with the National Association for Mental Health. He is still active in this important movement to make the future generations of Americans better equipped to face the challenge of life and contribute their share for the benefit of mankind.

America wants and needs such men and women as citizens, and we must be careful not to prevent their coming to our country. They rejuvenate our lives of service, they bring us new hope, and by their example, keep fresh before us the basic faith in personal liberty on which our forefathers built our future. So, when we consider legislation about immigration, let us bear in mind the value of people like Arnold van Ameringen who came here to do business and stayed because he wanted to play a constructive part in the promotion of individual liberty and in service to our great Nation.

Agricultural Insecticides

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 10, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill (H. R. 783) directing the Secretary of the Interior to begin continuing studies of the effects of insecticides, herbicides, and fungicides upon fish and wildlife.

Studies would lead to a determination of the amounts and percentages of such chemicals that can be used effectively without killing or injuring fish and wildlife.

When I introduced the bill, I called attention to the fact that at least 3 billion pounds of these chemical sprays were dumped over more than 70 million acres of our crop and timberland to kill insects, weeds, and diseases last year. Not only are more acres being sprayed more efficiently each year, but more efficient pesticides are continually being developed.

As I have said before, research into their effects on fish and wildlife—and man—has not kept pace with the development of these more powerful controls.

I have evidence that this also is the position of at least part of the industry. I have a copy of a letter announcing the withdrawal of the Thompson Chemicals Corp., of Los Angeles, Calif., and St. Louis, Mo., from the production, distribution, and research of the presently known agricultural insecticides.

In the letter, Mr. William T. Thompson, president, says in part that the "currently known and used broad spectrum insecticides and their wide-scale application to agricultural crops—although giving temporary control and temporarily increased yields—are at best palliative, and perhaps will prove dangerous and uneconomic in the long run."

Mr. Thompson's letter in full follows:

THOMPSON CHEMICALS CORP.,
May 1, 1957.

Subject: Agricultural insecticides.

GENTLEMEN: We have decided to withdraw entirely from the production, distribution, and research of the presently known agricultural insecticides.

A 12-year study has convinced us that the currently known and used broad spectrum insecticides and their wide-scale application to agricultural crops—although giving temporary control and temporarily increased yields—are at best palliative, and perhaps will prove dangerous and uneconomic in the long run.

The growing number of insect pests of economic importance that are becoming resistant to presently used agricultural insecticides demonstrates a serious inherent danger in the wide-scale use. The imbalance of the fauna population caused by the destruction of the natural predators and parasites (thus allowing the uninhibited development of the insect pest) is further proof to us of the unsoundness of the current chemical insecticides. This cannot only result in rapid and dynamic developments of the insect pest from the few not controlled by the application, but can easily cause heretofore unimportant insects to increase to the status of economic pests, once the predator-parasite balance has been upset.

The ingestion of presently employed insecticide residues by humans and other warm-blooded animals is a correlative problem of a highly serious nature. The industrial hazards inherent in the indiscriminate, wide-scale application of chemicals of such highly toxic nature also cause concern.

Our study convinces us that any sound approach to the control of agricultural insect pests must be sought in chemical mechanisms that are selective between the insect pest and the beneficial insects. The study of such mechanisms, both of physiologically and ecologically selective natures, we feel, must be the primary concern of research.

We intend to hereafter devote our research energies in the field of insect control to the exploration of selective insecticidal chemicals. It is our hope that in this field we may be able, as time goes on, to create some worthwhile contributions to the agricultural control of insect pests and subsequent yield increases of a more permanent nature.

Our current production will be devoted to the following chemicals in which we are admirably qualified: Selective brush killers, selective weed killers, general weed killers, crop desiccants, Penta products, plant hormones, plant growth regulators, livestock insecticides, small package and garden chemicals, emulsifiers, and chemical specialties.

Very truly yours,

WM. T. THOMPSON,
President.

Foreign Imports Threaten Profits for American Producers and Idleness for American Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to call the attention of my colleagues to a recent resolution passed by the City Council of Fort Smith, Ark., in the nature of a plea that the Congress halt the ever-increasing amount of foreign imports that threaten profits for the American producers and idleness for the American workman.

The resolution follows:

Whereas the city of Fort Smith, Ark., and many other industrial cities of the United States are engaged in processing and producing certain materials, articles, and products that are competitive with certain foreign countries, who are importing into the United States such materials, articles, and products; and

Whereas due to insufficient tariffs and quotas, such importations tend to saturate our markets and the demands for such, seriously affecting our domestic industry as well as our economic conditions; and

Whereas there is now pending in our Congress a bill, H. R. 2815, known as the General Imports Quota Act, which proposes to alleviate such conditions by establishing tariffs and quotas, when such imports affect our economy; and

Whereas the mayor and commissioners of the city of Fort Smith, Ark., are vitally interested in such domestic industry, the welfare of its citizens dependent upon such industry, and the economic conditions in general; and therefore, be it

Resolved, That the mayor and the commissioners, representing the citizens of Fort Smith, Ark., sincerely request and urge that our Congress expedite the processing and passage of H. R. 2815, the General Imports Quota Act.

JACK PACE, *Mayor.*
CHARLES S. MANKIN,
Commissioner No. 1.
HUGH H. BREWER,
Commissioner No. 2.

Attest:

CARL ATKINS, *City Clerk.*

Good Architecture Is Good Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, recently Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, JR., and I jointly introduced legislation to provide for the establishment of the highest possible standards of architectural design and sound decoration for Federal public buildings. The measures we have sponsored are H. R. 7071 and H. R. 7106, and they are, we hope, a contribution to the advancement of American architecture.

Congressman THOMPSON and I introduced this legislation at the time of the holding of the centennial convention of the American Institute of Architects.

Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief, Time, Inc., in an important speech, recently told the architects that good architecture is not only good economics, but good government.

GOOD ARCHITECTURE IS GOOD GOVERNMENT

(Speech by Henry R. Luce, editor in chief, Time, Inc., at centennial celebration of the American Institute of Architects, Washington, D. C., Sheraton-Park Hotel, Thursday evening, May 16)

I don't know whether you can properly be called a "captive audience" but I do know that in me you have a captive speaker.

For one thing, I speak as the titular editor in chief of two architectural magazines, and therefore must not offend any of you. Note the word "titular"—I am sure you did—it is obviously the built-in escape hatch which I have provided for my associates. Tomorrow morning—or even over a highball tonight—they will be free to disavow everything I've said.

And I am a captive in another sense. At the moment, we of Time, Inc., happen to be in the relatively painless clutches of two of your members—Mr. Harrison and Mr. Abramovitch. However, when doubts assail us on this score, as they inevitably do, it is reassuring to know that while Harrison and Abramovitch have us in one clutch, they have the Rockefellers in the other. And we are lulled, to paraphrase a Cabinet member, by the notion that what's good for the Rockefellers must be good for us.

Reverting to my status as titular editor, perhaps this is a good time to explain how I got into this business in the first place. It is very simple. A quarter of a century ago when America was deep in that traumatic episode known as the great depression, I came across LeCorbusier's famous dictum: "Either you will have architecture, or you will have revolution." Not being sure which I preferred, but knowing that I was loaded up with revolution, I went out and bought the Architectural Forum. And what happened then? What happened was, we just got more revolution—revolution in architecture.

The major premise of my remarks tonight is that the 20th Century Revolution of Architecture has been accomplished. And it has been accomplished mainly in America—no matter how great our debt to European genius. The founding fathers of the revolution in architecture, the great and the colleagues of the great—many of them are in this room tonight. I salute you. If I should live to an old age and my grandchildren should ask me where I was and what I did during those world-shaking decades of the mid-twentieth century, I will tell them that on May 16, 1957, in Washington, D. C., there was celebrated the 100th anniversary of the American Institute of Architects. And I was there. If that doesn't sound as exciting to my grandchildren as might the mention of war or interplanetary travel—then I will explain to them that, here, on this occasion, I shook hands with the men who gave the shape to their America, the men who raised the towers toward the sky, who stretched the roofs across the land, who formed the facade—the face—that their America presents to all the world. And I am sure I will be able to add—these were the men who, in the fullness of time, made God's country a splendid habitation for God's most fortunate children.

Is this wishful thinking? Objective facts support my prophecy.

The American revolution in architecture has been accomplished at a providential moment. For it comes precisely at the moment when there is taking place, and is about to take place, the most staggering mass of building ever done on this planet.

The quantitative projections must be more vividly in your minds and imaginations than in mine. There are tens of millions of prosperous Americans to be housed and rehoused. A quarter of a century from now, only a small fraction of the houses which now stand will be tolerable to the Americans who in 1976 celebrate the 200th anniversary of this Nation. And besides houses, there is everything else to build—factories, offices, stores, schools, churches, airports, sports arenas, parks, playgrounds, places of art and entertainment—the list is endless, as varied as American life itself. And let's by no means forget highways—a great symbol of a continental and democratic people. This moving of the earth and making the waters to flow—this is the picture of modern man, of the

American, making a new dwelling place on earth.

Well within a decade this picture of a whole new physical environment for Americans will be in the imaginations of the people. It will even be in the algebra of politicians.

But you may say, granted the hundreds of billions of dollars, granted the billions of tons or iron and concrete and glass that will be put in place, granted the billions of rivets that will hold the millions of girders, et cetera, et cetera, what guaranty is there that any appreciable part of all this will express good architecture? Does not a lot of the evidence so far point to ugliness rather than to beauty?

I must now take account of two things—the appalling amount of ugliness in the American scene at this moment and the degradation of democratic taste.

Nor do we have to go to our friends in Europe to hold a mirror up to us and find ourselves to be horrifying monsters of bad taste.

We find outraged critics right here at home. Thank God we do. In fact, the most readable description of ugly America is to be found right in the Architectural Forum, written by an esteemed colleague, Mary Mix Foley. In one sweeping phrase she speaks of "this mess that is manmade America." In her catalog of horror, she lists 19th century buildings modernized at street level with chrome, glass, and neon—the restaurant in the derby hat, the candy-striped motel, and the frozen-custard stand, dripping silvered concrete icicles. * * * "Probably never in the history of the human race," she continues, "has a culture equaled ours in the dreariness and corrupted fantasy of a major part of its buildings."

The whole story is even more appalling. For dreariness and ugliness were not thrust upon the American people; they chose it, they, the freest people in history. To quote Mrs. Foley once more: "In no previous culture have people in general been so free to choose what they like with so little deference to authority."

Here I am prophesying a splendid age of architecture on a continental scale. What chance is there for architecture if the will of the American people is for ugliness?

This cry of distress raises many more questions of philosophy and sociology than I can even venture to list tonight. There is implicit, for one thing, the old question as to whether democracy is, after all, any good. None of the world's great architecture up to now, none of the architecture that American tourists go to see every year—none of it arose at the wave of the magic wand of democracy. Except Periclean Greece, you might say. But then you might also say the Parthenon, that wonder of light in the shining sun, is really a monument to the fall of Greek democracy which was in any case a very short-lived affair. As for the Versailles of Louis XIV—l'etat c'est moi; as for the Taj Mahal, as for the Great Wall of China so infinitely romantic, as for the Mayan temples, as for the stately homes of England—you go on with the list—nearly all of majesty or beauty in architecture springs from imperial autocracy or from aristocracy with a very capital A.

Is then our choice between democracy and architecture? Is real political freedom incompatible with pervasive beauty?

These are big questions. In the phrase made famous by Dr. Tillich, they are even ultimate questions. I shall not attempt ultimate answers. But there is one answer which can be given—an answer drawn from the experience and character of the American people.

Stated in briefest terms, my argument—and prophecy—is this. First, for 200 years, the American people have been faithful to one dominant purpose—namely, to the establishment of a form of government. Secondly, that purpose has now been fulfilled and we are at present seized by a broader challenge, namely, the shaping of a civilization. Third, we will meet that broader challengt too; we will succeed in creating the first modern, technological, humane, prosperous and reverent civilization. This creative response to challenge will be most vividly expressed in and by architecture.

Having told you what I'm going to say, let me now try to say it.

The founding of the United States of America was an event unique in all history. As is stated in a famous passage of our national scripture, this Nation was conceived in liberty and dedicated. * * * Dedicated to what? Dedicated to a proposition. What proposition? That all men are created equal. That's one way of putting it. More precisely, dedicated to the establishment of a form of government. A form of government which, while profoundly recognizing the frailty of human nature, should nevertheless seek a realization of all political wisdom—the balance of liberty and justice, the balance of freedom and equality, the balance of individualism and social cooperation.

This task was providentially begun by our Founding Fathers—the most remarkable group of men ever brought together for the making of a Nation.

And now after 200 years, here in this city of Washington, we can say that, to an extraordinary degree, we and our forefathers have carried out our tremendous purpose. Today our America is an amazing example of functioning law and order—in all the turbulent flow of our commerce and our daily life. Today America is an amazing example of liberty. Of course we must keep everlastingly vigilant to keep it so—and we will. We will work at it. We will not be deterred either by smugness or by fear, by the atomic bomb or any other terror.

So here we are, here is the plateau we have reached after so long a struggle. And now what? Now we are not satisfied. We are enjoying immense prosperity, widely spread among our people, and yet we are not satisfied with the quality of American life. If too many Americans seem contented, that is an illusion. Millions of us are grateful, as we ought to be, for the blessings we enjoy. But divine discontent is at work everywhere. We wust have more and better education, says this one. We must have more and better medicine, says another. And mental health. Yes, and though we go to church in tens of millions, we must seek deeper spirituality. So it goes.

All of this I have summarized by saying that we are challenged to build a civilization. Another way of putting it is to say: We must build a better America.

A curious fact strikes one at this stage. When an American today hears the words "build a better America" he will grasp the meaning more readily in a figurative than in a literal sense. "Let's have better education," he will say, "more pay for teachers, more scholarships—but let's don't spend too much money on 'bricks and mortar'."

Today the American people are "sold" on education, as they always have been. They are sold on medicine, yes, and on culture, too. Witness, in the last 20 years, the tremendous increase in the enjoyment of music, of the theater, of painting—from Giotto to Picasso to the Sunday painter. And now comes architecture. To use an American expression of elegant lineage, the American people are beginning "to get the word"—about architecture.

It's up to us to send out the word more vigorously. You have accomplished the American revolution in architecture. Now it's for editors and good citizens to make known the news of that revolution.

We couldn't have done this 20 or 30 years ago. The revolution was underway then. But there weren't enough actual buildings to show it. And those that were, seemed odd. But now you've given us the buildings—enough of them. And to millions of Americans they don't seem queer; on the contrary, they seem right.

Furthermore, millions of Americans, not only the professionals, have begun to see that in our 20th century, architecture is more than a building here and there, vitally important though each good building is. Architecture is a whole city. Architecture is the whole sweep of the American continent.

That is my answer to the nightmare doubts about the derby hat and the candy-striped motel. Not that all ugliness will be abolished. This is indeed a free country and a man must be free to sin against beauty just as he is free to sin against truth. We will not have a State with a capital "S"—l'etat, lo Stato, das Reich—we do not have, we will not have any state to decree our morals, our religion, our culture, our taste.

But we do work at these things—and they work on us. The ideal will not leave us be. It nags us, prods us, inspires us. The vision of the good, the true and, yes, of the beautiful, is like our conscience—it catches up with us sooner or later.

Today, the vision of good architecture has been held up before us, the vision spreads. There is the conviction that architecture is essential to the physical and spiritual health of this Nation. The vision and the conviction will spread—and as they do, ugliness will recede and grace and worth will grow.

I have spoken of the revolution in architecture, but I have not defined it. Perhaps it is best defined in terms of an extraordinary affirmation: Good architecture is good economics.

Modern architecture did not grow up in the palaces of emperors or maharajas. It was not designed to proclaim pomp and glory—except the glory of a free and self-respecting people. Modern architecture, or at least a large part of it, grew up in response to the people's needs. They were badly housed: let us build good, clean, economical housing. That is only one example of the fact that modern architecture is not the servant of imperial luxury or of aristocratic vanity: it has to meet an economic test and its chance for freshness and vitality was in making use of the vast wealth of material and technology produced in a profit-and-loss economy.

To be sure, a great deal of bad building is being done and people make money out of bad building. But the affirmation remains. I am speaking of the idea which is now implanted in our civilization: good architecture is good economics.

Tonight in this capital city of Washington, let me make a further affirmation: Good architecture is good government.

Good architecture is good government for a number of reasons. First of all, in our age, good government is required to be good economics.

Your ears have recently been assaulted by an uproarious hubbub about the Eisenhower budget. One might suppose from all this that the Eisenhower economics or the Eisenhower government or both are so bad that they can only be a prelude to the deluge. After us, after us modern Republicans, the deluge—or, at least—the hair curl. There is evidently a degree of exaggeration in all this uproar. I am sure you are not unduly alarmed, for it must be apparent that one purpose of all this righteous indignation about economy is not so much to save the Republic as it is to liquidate modern Republicans. That being the case I am proud to accept the label modern Republican, and I will make the modest assertion that we modern Republicans have no intention of being liquidated. We will be around for a long time, modern Republicans and modern Democrats, the cheerful companions of

American progress. Yes; we will have modern republicanism and modern architecture.

Still, this digression into current politics points up one great and good fact about our age. Good government in our age must meet the economic test.

But Government is more than economics. Government must stand for things, for principles, for ideals. Government must be a symbol. And architecture is, above all, the symbolizing art.

I would be the last ever to agree that human life is bounded and prescribed by economics. Let us clearly reject the economic interpretation of history or of life—a narrow, wretched philosophy shared by Marxists and robber barons. Life is more than economics. And so is architecture. You would be miserable if you felt you could never express anything but economics. And indeed perhaps you do often feel miserable because you feel bound in an economic straitjacket. Never fear—life will burst that straitjacket. But also, rejoice that as modern architects you can express good economics. I do not say you always do, but you can. And that makes you contemporary—servants of our present and future needs.

But will you be given the chance to transcend economics, the chance to express the noneconomic, the more-than-economic character and aspirations of the American Nation? That is what we must mainly strive for now: to get buildings, many of them, big and little, which point beyond themselves to the best in American life. The chance to express more than economics must be given you by the home builders of America, by the industrial corporations, by the universities, and notably by Government in all its many branches, Federal and local.

The relation of Government to architecture may be put under two heads. Most importantly perhaps there is the effect of Government laws and policy on architecture. Government's influence for better or for worse is enormous in terms of urban renewal, city planning, housing policy, even the lowly local building codes. All Americans who wish to build a better America must learn how to teach politicians that bad architecture is bad politics. I believe this can and will be done.

There is one powerful lobby missing from the American scene—the lobby for architecture. Let us try to develop a powerful lobby for architecture. Not for handouts, for favors; but for good architecture as such. When that is done the better and beautiful America will be in sight.

But Government is itself a big builder. It is in its own buildings that Government has the duty—and the right—to symbolize what Government stands for. This is the proposition which brings together the threads of my thought tonight.

We applaud the founders of this Capital City because they laid out a magnificent city plan. But they did something else, equally important. They fixed on a style of architecture to symbolize the great American determination to establish a form of government. The choice of style was the classical Greco-Roman style—the natural and perfect choice for that time. To be sure Rome did not symbolize democracy or liberty in our hard-won sense of the word. But it did symbolize good government—it symbolized order, law, and equal justice under law.

What the Founding Fathers said and what Jacksonian democracy said was this: "We will have a government of freemen, we will even have a democracy, and we will prove that a democracy does not have to slide into chaos and tyranny. We will prove that you can have a democratic government which will be both honorable and honored. We will prove that a nation of freemen can be dignified, maintaining self-respect at home and respect throughout the world.

That is what our forefathers said 150 years ago. They said it partly as fact, partly as bold aspiration. They said it symbolically.

Today, America has the same thing to say—in greater fact and in greater aspiration. We, too, must say it symbolically. And we have more to say, new things to say, the determination to build a great civilization. We must say the old and the new in new language—your own language, the architectural language of the 20th century.

We are already doing it. Witness the new American embassy buildings. Some of the new embassies are triumphs of modern architecture. They are also great acts of statesmanship. The Department of State deserves, I think an award from this institute not only for the buildings themselves but for the magnificent directive under which they are being built. The Department of State has written a Magna Carta of fresh, imaginative architecture, an architecture of symbolism symbolizing the dignity of this Republic and its profound concern for all mankind.

What we have done abroad we must do at home. We must do it here in Washington and down to every county courthouse and postoffice.

No one architect can tell another how to express, how to symbolize, a great virtue or a great aspiration. And certainly a layman cannot. This sort of expression is an act of inspiration. But the architect who touches Government has a duty to steep himself in the meaning of America. The citizen and politician has a duty to pray that out of the architect's profound understanding of America will come the inspiration to express what we want to say as a Nation.

What do we want to say? Perhaps it could all be put in two words. We want to say democracy and we want to say dignity.

Modern architecture can certainly express democracy. We say democracy by requiring that buildings meet an economic test, the test of wise, farsighted economics. We say democracy by buildings which are frank, open and unaffected. Our welcoming shopping centers, our cheerful new schools, our glass front banks, all emphatically say democracy.

And what about dignity? I choose that word because in World War II and after, the phrase most commonly used to express what we fought for was the dignity of man. It may not be your favorite phrase or mine because it so readily reminds that most often man exhibits himself as a most undignified animal. Yet right there perhaps is the clue. Man is not a noble savage, and never was. He is a created creature having implanted in him the power to create nobility. He is a striving creature. We Americans are striving creatures. We have achieved magnificently. And now we have set out upon a magnificent adventure. To express step by step, the progress of that adventure, to express it in fact and in aspiration, so to do will be the fulfillment of the American revolution of architecture.

In the dawning light of that fulfillment, I salute you. I salute you in faith and in hope. In reasoned faith in our own fellow-Americans. In confident hope that the divine discontent which has led us to this hour will abide with us now and forever.

Smear on Chief Parker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I have been disturbed as have many people in southern California over the unfair attacks made recently via television on Chief of Police William H. Parker and the Los Angeles Police Force. I consider these attacks unwarranted and unfair.

I wish to call to the attention of the Congress an editorial on this subject which appeared in the May 21 edition of the Los Angeles Evening Herald-Express.

The editorial follows:

SMEAR ON CHIEF PARKER

It is astonishing that officials of a major national broadcasting organization would allow its facilities to be used to televise an attack on Chief of Police William H. Parker which they were so dubious about that they made the attacker sign an agreement that he would be financially responsible for any libel damages.

The character of the person making the attack should have been taken into consideration. Anyone, the lowest, most foul criminal, can make remarks or false charges against the most circumspect citizen or official, but this does not give the privilege to broadcast such damaging charges, any more than it gives a newspaper the right to print such charges.

Mickey Cohen for many years was known as a Los Angeles gangster leader, climaxing his checkered career and long police record by going to Federal prison for income-tax violation. Yet he was allowed by ABC–TV to make a lengthy, violent attack on Chief Parker in which he accused the chief of having a low moral character and of being "politically ambitious." He called the chief low names that a newspaper would not dare to print because of the laws against libel.

Allowing charges to be made concerning a person's moral character, whether he is a chief of police, a person prominent in industrial or social life, or just a plain, honest John Q. Citizen, by a person of known, irresponsible character without there being any facts to support such charges, is not only grossly unfair but in bad taste.

If TV stations are permitted by the Federal Communications Commission to do these things, no one's reputation will be safe anywhere.

Mr. Murray and the AEC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks, I include an editorial "Mr. Murray and the AEC," a splendid tribute to Hon. Thomas E. Murray, member of the Atomic Energy Commission, appearing in the Catholic Standard of May 24, 1957. The editorial effectively presents reasons why President Eisenhower should reappoint Commissioner Murray. If the President wants to evidence to the country leadership showing his sincere desire for real bipartisanship, and to do something that will cement and strengthen, not weaken, bipartisan action, he would do so by reappointing Commissioner Murray. Whether or not President Eisenhower reappoints Mr. Murray is being watched by circles much broader than the field of government and of politics. Probably more than anything President Eisenhower may do in, at least, the

near future, convey his desire or nondesire for bipartisanship as well as evidence his leadership for the same, will be construed by countless of persons on the action he takes on this appointment.

The editorial follows:

MR. MURRAY AND THE AEC

When 11 of 18 members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy request the retention of a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, it is time to consider whether such a request can be refused without violence to our concept of democracy.

The essence of democracy is the free expression of opinion, and the essence of a representative form of government is the expression of the views of a group of its spokesmen.

In our day, there is nothing more vital to the welfare of our citizens than the problems connected with atomic energy. The Atomic Energy Commission holds almost a sovereign position in the affairs of our lives that transcends any difference of partisan politics.

Mr. Thomas E. Murray, whose term expires in June, represents in his studied opinions the views of a very considerable number of citizens belonging to both parties, of many different religious beliefs, and of all sections of the country. His candid and judicious views about more attention to the "small" nuclear weapons and the development of an international nuclear agency have merited a wide acceptance.

It must also be admitted that no man in the Government has labored more zealously or reasoned more cogently on building an atomic policy on morality than Mr. Murray. In a time of contending ideologies, his voice of informed conscience has been of great value.

Admittedly Mr. Murray's views are not shared by other members of the Commission. There is no doubt of the integrity and dedication of the other members of the Commission. But because Mr. Murray does differ and differs in such brilliantly reasoned opinions, he should be retained. The concept of representative and democratic government seems to demand it.

A Falsely Advertised Nostrum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, since the days of tribal priests who assumed the dual role of administering to the spiritual and the physical welfare of their subjects, peoples of all ages have been subject to the appeal of some purported "cure."

Faith of afflicted human beings may rest in another human of recognized superior mentality and reputed success or in some object or token believed to possess supernatural power over disease.

Even in this day of universal literacy the power of mind over mind and faith in medicines or some inanimate object of reputed healing power apeals to the faith of mentally or physically disabled persons. This is particularly true when one is suffering from one of the afflictions for which no known positive cure has yet been found.

Trained physicians have learned that certain cancer potential lesions can be removed before cancer develops. They know, too, that skin diseases containing certain forms of cancer cells can be removed with promise of permanent cure, but by and large the causes and cure of cancer remain in the realm of the unknown.

The following editorial from the Journal of the American Medical Association in its issue of April 27, 1957, should serve as fair warning to those who seek healing for that dreadful disease for which postive and permanent cures are being energetically sought but not as yet attained.

It is just another one of the falsely advertised nostrums that have periodically caught the attention of cancer sufferers who see no other promise of cure; they occupy the stage for a short period, then disappear into oblivion:

WARNING AGAINST HOXSEY TREATMENT

On page 28 of the advertising section of this issue of the Journal there appears a reduced reproduction of the Federal Food and Drug Administration's public warning of the dangers involved in patronizing the Hoxsey cancer treatment. Readers of the Journal may wish to remove the page and post it conspicuously in their offices. The Government warning has been distributed to post offices and other Federal buildings for posting.

This unusual activity on the part of an agency of the Federal Government is necessitated by reason of a concentrated campaign by Mr. Hoxsey and others who not only claim merit for the treatment but are petitioning Congress, through those who are in sympathy with them, to investigate the Federal Food and Drug Administration's efforts to stop Hoxsey's misrepresentations.

In April 1956 the Food and Drug Administration issued a warning and thereby notified the public that the Hoxsey treatment was not only useless but imminently dangerous if it was relied upon in neglect of competent and rational treatment.

The Government was successful in 1953 in obtaining an injunction against the interstate distribution of liquid mixtures containing potassium iodide and herbs in water, or potassium iodide and lactate of pepsin, for the treatment of internal cancer. After this action, Mr. Hoxsey substituted certain black or red pills, the composition of which, he claimed, was identical to that of the liquid preparations.

A large quantity of these pills was seized in Pittsburgh in March 1955. It was not, however, until October 1956 that the matter was heard in Federal court in Pittsburgh. The Government demonstrated the worthlessness of the Hoxsey method, and the seizure was upheld by a Federal court and jury in November 1956. At this writing a motion for a new trial is still to be heard; yet the possibility remains that, if such motion is lost, an appeal will be filed by Hoxsey. In the meantime, he and his agents remain in business.

Concerning the activities spearheaded by a Mr. Gerald Winrod, who publishes a magazine of alleged religious quality, there has been a considerable response on the part of a surprisingly large segment of the population, directed to the Congress, asking for a congressional investigation of the Food and Drug Administration. It is suggested, particularly to those physicians who have seen the effects on cancer patients who have attempted to obtain relief through patronizing the Hoxsey Clinics, that they write their Congressmen, outlining briefly such experience. These physicians and others may wish to express their appreciation of the need of this agency to develop a continuing educational and enforcement program against this and other forms of quackery. The work that this agency does in the protection of the public in this country cannot be measured in terms of dollars and cents; yet it operates on one of the lowest budgets in the Government.

The Hoxsey promotion may be the greatest immediate problem, but it is well appreciated that there are other so-called treatments or cures that merit Federal regulatory action.

Statement by Hon. George McGovern, of South Dakota, in Regards to Senate Concurrent Resolution 3 and House Concurrent Resolution 160

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MCGOVERN], well stated the case for a point 4 program for the American Indians in his recent appearance before a subcommittee of the other body.

Mr. MCGOVERN and I are cosponsoring companion measures to Senate Concurrent Resolution 3, by the senior Senator from Montana, Senator MURRAY, to extend to the first Americans the same type of economic assistance that we have extended to the people of underdeveloped areas of other parts of the world.

Mr. MCGOVERN'S concern for the welfare of our Indians—and for the communities which serve them—predates his election to the Congress. Therefore, it is not surprising that he has taken such an active interest in this important policy declaration. Mr. MCGOVERN'S statement follows:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GEORGE MCGOVERN BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS OF SENATE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS RE SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 3 AND HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 160, MAY 13, 1957

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am very much pleased to have this opportunity to testify before you today in support of Senate Concurrent Resolution 3. I have a very special interest in this item of legislation as I am the sponsor of a companion resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 160, in the House of Representatives, where it is also sponsored by the gentleman from Montana [Mr. METCALF].

I sponsored this resolution because of my deep concern over the status and conditions of the Indian people of my State. Anyone who has visited the Indian reservations of South Dakota will agree that there are few places in our country where people live in greater misery, in greater want of the basic necessities of human life. And what is most disturbing about their situation is that, with some localized exceptions, nothing truly constructive is being done to improve present-day conditions.

On the Indian reservations of the State of South Dakota, you find a population of more than 30,000, a population which is constantly growing, subsisting on what is far below a minimum living standard. The great economic advances of our Nation have passed these people by. And the gap be-

tween them and the rest of the country is constantly widening. It is essential that a sincere effort be made to close it.

For many years we have been appalled by the statistics on infant mortality, tuberculosis, mortality from infectious disease, and the short life span generally on Indian reservations. Recently, the Congress has given vigorous support to the efforts of the Public Health Service to improve Indian health conditions. But the service soon recognized that as long as Indians from early childhood on suffer from malnutrition, and live crowded into unhygienic shacks, the chances of success of any public health program are severely limited.

Malnutrition and poor housing conditions, in turn, are simply the result of extreme poverty. These factors also breed all the other social ills on Indian reservations, just as they do in other areas: crime, juvenile delinquency, and social disorganization. Beyond that, they lead to a general climate of disillusionment, hopelessness, and despair, which makes it extremely difficult for a younger generation to lead the Indian people toward a better future.

Let me make it clear that in describing present-day conditions on Indian reservations, I am not approaching this problem in a partisan manner. I would certainly hope that in dealing with the problems of human misery among Indians we can achieve bipartisan cooperation.

As my remarks so far have indicated, I believe that improvement of the economic status of Indians would help solve many ills which today beset them. But what I have seen in my State is that conditions instead of getting better, are rapidly deteriorating.

Living in an agricultural State, being dependent on agriculture, the Indians of South Dakota have, of course, suffered from the general decline in agricultural income in recent years. But they have suffered more than the rest of the population. If you ask a South Dakota Indian today as to what constitutes the most important problem on his reservation, he will tell you that it is land sales. When you ask him whether it is not true that these sales are voluntary, he will tell you that they are, but only in a technical sense, as it is sheer need which forces people to sell their land.

From my observations I find that most Indians who sell their land have not made a satisfactory adjustment to life off the reservation. They either stay on their reservation, becoming an even greater burden to the other members of the tribe, or move off to the Indian slum areas of our cities, which certainly does not constitute any visible improvement of their status.

In trying to tackle the problems of the Indians of South Dakota, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has placed great emphasis on its relocation program, which tries to place reservation Indians in industrials jobs in cities like Chicago. In many cases this program has undoubtedly succeeded. In cases in which it has failed, it was surely not for lack of sincere effort. But anyone who knows the Indian reservations and the Indian people of our State, knows that for a long time to come relocation cannot be the sole answer.

Something must be done for the Indians who stay on the reservations or who eke out a meager existence in the slums of our cities. It must be done in recognition of the fact that the Indian communities of the Dakotas are here to stay for some time to come, both because many Indians want it that way, and because there is no realistic alternative.

The resolution before you recognizes these basic facts. It lays down a policy under which we would extend to our own Indian people the same type of economic assistance that we have extended to the people of underdeveloped areas of other parts of the world. Isn't it almost self-evident that if the Indian people of Bolivia or Guatemala qualify for our economic and technical assistance, the Indian people of the United States, our own citizens, should have the same benefits?

By extending this assistance we would be discharging a moral debt to the first Americans. We would also be maikng a sound investment, for better economic conditions for Indians would not only reduce Indian health and welfare costs, but, by eliminating these pockets of squalor, would raise the economic level of entire areas, affecting non-Indians as well as Indians.

This resolution is by its very nature a mere policy declaration. It would necessarily have to be followed up by concrete actions of both the executive branch and the Congress. But I would hope that by passing this resolution, we can help inaugurate an era in which we can, for once, be proud of what we are doing for our Indian people.

International Economic Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to insert the following letter from the general secretary of the New Jersey Council of Churches with respect to United States economic policy in relation to underdeveloped countries:

NEW JERSEY COUNCIL OF CHURCHES,
Newark, N. J., May 23, 1957.

The Honorable HUGH ADDONIZIO,
House of Representatives Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ADDONIZIO: The 1957 session of the General Assembly of the New Jersey Council of Churches, meeting in New Brunswick on May 6, uanimously endorsed the resolution on United States economic policy in relation to underdeveloped countries adopted by the General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America in February 1957, and instructed me to notify New Jersey's representatives in both Houses of the Congress of the United States of this action.

It is my understanding that you are familiar with this resolution of the National Council of Churches which expresses our "Christian concern for our fellowmen in economically underdeveloped areas," and our conviction that the United States, out of its abundance, must give them "increased support and encouragement" in "their own efforts to improve their level of living." A copy of the complete text of the resolution is enclosed herewith.

We trrust that you will exert your influence, and use your vote, in connection with the current consideration of the Federal budget for fiscal year beginning July 1, 1957, to further the principles enunciated in the resolution of the National Council of Churches.

Respectfully yours,
HENRY REED BOWEN,
General Secretary.

DENOMINATIONS REPRESENTED AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE NEW JERSEY COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ON MAY 6, 1957

African Methodist Episcopal, National Baptist, American Baptist, Congregational Christian, Protestant Episcopal, Evangelical and Reformed, Evangelical United Brethern, Methodist, Presbyterian, U. S. A., Reformed, United Lutheran.

The resolution in question reads as follows:

RESOLUTION FOR ACTION BY THE CHURCHES AND BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY—ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL BOARD OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA MEETING IN WILLIAMSBURG, VA., FEBRUARY 27–28, 1957

On a number of occasions the National Council of Churches has made official statements of policy on the basis of Christian responsibility supporting technical assistance, economic aid to the underdeveloped areas, and trade policies which will strengthen the economies of our allies and underdeveloped areas as well as our own.

A new situation of utmost urgency has arisen with regard to international economic policy. During recent months there have been four major governmental reviews of foreign aid programs: The President's Citizen Advisers on the Mutual Security Program; the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—Special Committee To Study Foreign Aid Programs; the House Foreign Affairs Committee; and the International Development Advisory Board.

These offer some possible opportunities for improving and expanding such programs. At the same time, other voices are heard in government, suggesting that foreign aid programs should be curtailed, discontinued, used primarily for military purposes, or employed as political weapons in the cold war. However, the President of the United States in his second inaugural address, January 21, 1957, took the unusual course of dealing mainly with world affairs and clearly set forth the responsibility of our Nation to the rest of the world, including economic, technical, and other assistance. Such a broad-visioned pronouncement will get translated into policy and program almost in proportion to public support. In this background, the current session of Congress will be making crucial, far-reaching decisions on technical assistance, economic aid, and trade matters which will affect the whole direction of our United States foreign policy and its impact on the world. Again, what Congress does or fails to do will depend in no small measure on what the churches and church members of this country do or fail to do in influencing public opinion and in expressing their views on these matters to their respective representatives in government.

In the light of present issues and the imminent decisions of our people and Government, the general board of the National Council of Churches reaffirms the previous positions of the National Council on technical assistance, economic aid, and trade policies, and sets them forth in the following statement:

"On the basis of Christian concern we believe that our Nation should seek ways of being of greater assistance to our fellowmen in economically underdeveloped areas. Their own efforts to improve their level of living must be given increased support and encouragement. We can aid them by means of expanded programs of technical assistance. We can aid them by making larger sums of capital available. We can aid them by facilitating the expansion of trade so that goods may be sold and bought more readily, and we can aid them by demonstrating our understanding of their problems and our sincere interest and continuing concern in their economic development.

"The United States has both public and private programs of mutual aid in all these fields, but these need to be strengthened and expanded to the full extent of our capa-

bilities. The test of the extent of our aid should be how much assistance can be effectively used.

"Financial contributions to these programs need to be so assured as to permit long-run programing and continuity of policy and operations. In the interest of strengthening the world community, we should place greater emphasis upon the use of international agencies, including regional organizations, and in particular the United Nations.

"We recognize the interrelationship of all parts of our foreign policy. It would be our earnest hope that United States economic assistance programs could be related primarily to economic and social need and opportunity rather than to immediate political and security considerations. They should be administered separately from military assistance programs. It is equally clear that any increased assurance of peace and any reduction in the burden of armaments would be themselves important factors in contributing to world economic development."

We call upon our member churches and their constituents to fulfill their responsibilities in the shaping of public opinion and in making their views known to their representatives in government.

Further, we hereby authorize the representation by duly designated representatives of the National Council of Churches of the concerns of the churches in these matters to the proper authorities in the Congress, in the administration, and in the United Nations.

RECOMMENDATION TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE NEW JERSEY COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (PRESENTED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION)

1. That this resolution of the National Council of Churches be endorsed;

2. That our Senators and Representatives in the United States Congress be notified of this action; and

3. That our constituent churches, and local councils of churches be urged to take similar action.

Legacy of a Great Woman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am bringing to the attention of my colleagues an article by Ethel L. Payne in the Chicago Defender, of May 25, 1957, that I have found most interesting, informative, and inspiring. It is well worthy of preservation in the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and in scrapbooks that are used by some persons as the source of future speech material. The article is entitled "The Legacy of a Great Woman" and is devoted to the life, the accomplishments and the philosophy of Mary McLeod Bethune. It follows:

THE LEGACY OF A GREAT WOMAN—MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE LEFT A COLLEGE AND A POWERFUL ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN TO CARRY ON THE WORK SHE SO NOBLY BEGAN DURING HER LIFE

(By Ethel L. Payne)

This week in observances all over the country, the second anniversary of the death of Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune is being commemorated. She was a remarkable woman who left the imprint of her unique personality etched indelibly on the annals of her race, her country and time.

Today, even in a remote village of India, if her picture were to be shown, there would probably be some who would recognize her, such was the impact of her life. In the 79-year span of her life, she was the friend and confidant of sharecroppers and statesmen alike, and she was one and the same with each.

Born with the virtual strikeout handicaps of poverty and color, she turned these adversities into such shining assets that she won the admiration of millions.

SOUTH CAROLINIAN

As a small girl in the South Carolina backwoods, she looked at herself in the mirror and she said firmly to the homely reflection in homespun cloth, "Mary McLeod, you are beautiful and since you are beautiful, you must do beautiful things."

The child was mother to the thought which she never stopped nourishing. For all the rest of her life, she not only did beautiful things, but she followed the course she had charted for herself and her people as surely as the evening star moves in its orbit.

She literally made bricks from straw and mud and out of nothing came the institution that now bears her name, Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach, Fla.

Born of slave parents who purchased their freedom and bought land, she was the 15th of 17 children. Poverty was their daily bread, but courage and fortitude were in plenty.

Mary had a burning hunger for knowledge and so she walked the 5 miles to Mayesville, S. C., to the Presbyterian Mission School for colored children. When she returned at night, she brought with her riches to share with her brothers and sisters, teaching them to read and write as she had learned.

ATTENDS SCOTIA

One morning after she had finished the limited course, she was back working in the cotton fields when her former teacher appeared with an offer for furthering her education at Scotia Seminary in Concord, N. C.

For 8 years, she studied and worked here and having completed the course, she went north to Chicago to Moody Bible Institute.

There for the first time Mary McLeod learned what it means to be a Negro in a world of whites, and it was here that she developed the self-confidence and poise that somehow were always a shield against barbs and hurts.

Years later, among her gems of philosophy, was the saying "We all want the same things. We all intend to get them. We've all been hurt and the hurt affects us in different ways. Hurts are sometimes very useful and serve us better than we sometimes realize. They have drawn us together. They have drawn friends to us. They have made us organization minded. They have solidified us and our organizations with the organizations of others on an intelligently aggressive front."

INTELLIGENTLY AGGRESSIVE

The two words, "intelligently aggressive" are perhaps the keystone to the phenomenal achievements of this indomitable woman. She was born to lead and leaders must be made of stern stuff.

Mary McLeod Bethune—she was married to Albertus Bethune in 1897—had the basic qualities of a true leader. She was commanding without being arrogant. She was a firm disciplinarian. She knew human frailties well enough to head off destructive bickering within organizations by making prompt and unalterable decisions.

She listened to sound advice as well as dispensing it; but she was impervious to criticism even when sometimes it took the form of petty, but vicious personal attacks against her.

She was calm and extraordinarily wise and invariably, those who had made the sharp vilifications ended up contrite and penitent, seeking her forgiveness.

Lastly, she had sheer nerve, oceans of it, so that she confounded hardheaded business men-philanthropists and was able to get funds for her school and her innumerable causes when logic on the surface said there was no guaranty. Yet, the investments were never defaulted upon.

HOW SCHOOL BEGAN

The stories about her are legion. In 1904, the desire to carry out the missionary work that she had accepted and been trained for, led her to a lonely stretch of land in Daytona Beach, Fla.

She had a "hunch" that this was the place; but her total resources were one dilapidated shack, some soap boxes, one dollar and a half and five little colored girls for pupils.

With all the aplomb as though she had a campus dotted with buildings and a faculty of doctors of philosophy, Mrs. Bethune announced the founding of the "Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School," with herself as president.

Soon afterward, she invited the industrialist, James N. Gamble, son of the founder of Proctor & Gamble, to visit the school. Gamble had a winter home in Daytona near by.

When he entered the president's office furnished with a wooden crate and a wobbly chair, he demanded. "And where is this school of which you wish me to be a trustee?"

SCHOOL IN MIND

Undaunted, Mrs. Bethune shot back. "In my mind, Mr. Gamble and in my soul." The industrialist gave financial assistance and became chairman of the board, a position which he held until his death 20 years later.

In 1923, the former grade school for girls was merged with the Cookman Institute to become the Bethune-Cookman College. It is fully accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools as an "A" grade college. It has a faculty of 100. Its 29 buildings are dominated appropriately by Faith Hall, and its student body numbers 1,000.

Bethune-Cookman graduates go on to become teachers and in other professions. Life at the schol hasn't always been placid. One election eve, Ku Klux Klansmen marched across the campus as a warning to Negro teachers and older students not to vote.

Mrs. Bethune ordered every light in all the buildings turned on and kept them on until daylight. The next morning, she marched her flock to the polls unmolested.

HAD SHARP WIT

She had a rapierlike wit that could be positively devastating. Once riding a train in the South, a brash conductor came through the coach in which she was sitting and said loudly.

"All right Auntie, give me your ticket." Came the sweet and deadly reply, "And which one of my sister's children are you?"

Another popular story goes that during the war, she was changing planes in a southern city while on her way to keep a speaking engagement. Because she had about 30 minutes to wait, she took a seat in the waiting room and immediately a guard rushed up to her and demanded that she get up; that the seats were for whites only.

The old lady just sat there listening to his cursing. Finally, she said, "I'm old. I'm sick, and I'm tired and I just don't think I'll move," whereupon the guard threatened to bodily remove her.

A young white Army captain limping from a war wound walked up and took command.

"She stays," he said quietly. "I didn't go over to fight and come back to something like this."

The soldier stood by her until the plane was announced, offered her his arm and escorted her out the gate.

By 1935, Mrs. Bethune was 60 and suffering from asthma; but she was just beginning a new phase of her extraordinary organizational ability. She had always believed that women when mobilized could be a potent force in national and international affairs. Though there were hundreds of organizations, still she felt there was a need for some cohesive unifying link.

UNITES 800,000 WOMEN

So on December 5, 1935, she called together representatives of various associations and individuals and founded the National Council of Negro Women. Its chief objectives were to pool the corporate strength of Negro women in order to develop outstanding leadership with increasing integration into the spiritual, social, economic, political, and cultural life of America.

The council was successful even beyond her dreams. Women flocked to the call. Soon the membership swelled to over 800,000 and it came to have the 14 carat reputation of a select few groups regarded as having powerful influence in public affairs and in molding public opinion.

Under her guidance, farflung programs of social welfare, political action, constructive legislation, participation in national and international affairs and the preservation of the archives of Negro women pioneers were developed.

SERVED 14 YEARS

After serving 14 years as national president of the council, Mrs. Bethune retired, satisfied that the organization would continue on in the purpose of its founding.

Today from its headquarters at 1318 Vermont Avenue NW. in the Nation's capital, the council carries on an active program of participation in national and international affairs under the leadership of its president, Mrs. William Thomas Mason, of Norfolk, Va.

The council was Mrs. Bethune's legacy to the struggle for full citizenship. Bethune-Cookman College was her legacy in the preparation of her people to go out into life.

Mrs. Bethune served as adviser to two Presidents. She was director of the Office of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration from 1936 to 1944 and the special adviser to President Roosevelt on minority affairs during that period. She served in a consultative capacity to President Truman.

Along with the later Walter White and A. Philip Randolph, she was a member of the delegation which held historic conference with President Roosevelt at the White House in 1942 which resulted in the creation by Executive order of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Out of that came the establishment later of FEP Committees in many States and cities.

In her own words she gave promise to the future. "I see no cause for discouragement in viewing the years ahead. Democracy in this country is neither dead nor dying. As ever mother knows the pangs of childbirth are keenest just before the child is born.

"If our hurts are great now; if our country is torn with controversy over the expansion of social responsibility, over the acceptance of civil rights, it is because a new and more powerful democracy is being born to serve more greatly the people of all races, of this country, and of the world.

"The one world toward which we are rapidly moving will not, I think, be a world of one race, or a world of one thought, but a world of mutual understanding, respect, and tolerance based on knowledge of ourselves and knowledge of our neighbors."

Hazards of Nuclear Fallout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, of Sunday morning, May 26, 1957, together with an interesting article by Richard Dudman, Washington correspondent of the Post-Dispatch, on the fallout problem.

As you know, there has been a great deal of confusion on the subject and I believe this will help to provide information on some of the issues which I believe the hearings now being held by the Special Subcommittee on Radiation of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy will consider:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of May 26, 1957]

HOW GREAT ARE HAZARDS OF NUCLEAR FALLOUT AND WASTE OF ATOMIC PLANTS?—SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL SUBCOMMITTEE SET TO START HEARINGS IN SEARCH FOR DEFINITIVE ANSWERS ON DANGERS OF RADIATION—AEC SHIFTING ITS STAND AND NOW IS WEIGHING NECESSITY OF TESTS AGAINST RISKS TO HEALTH OF WORLD

(By Richard Dudman)

WASHINGTON, May 25.—A special subcommittee headed by Representative CHET HOLIFIELD, Democrat, of California, will start a 2-week series of public hearings Monday on radioactive hazards. The investigation could hardly have been better timed.

Great Britain, going ahead with its Christmas Island weapons tests despite bitter opposition at home and abroad, this month became the third nation to have exploded a hydrogen bomb.

The United States Atomic Energy Commission, similarly in the face of growing and scientific opposition, is going forward with its current "Plumb bob" series of atomic weapons tests in Nevada.

Possibly of even greater long-range significance is another development. A subtle change has taken place in the argument over radioactive hazards, a dispute that continues to split the scientific world.

The question of radiation hazards now concerns mainly weapons tests. Eventually, it will involve the safety and economics of the entire field of peaceful uses of atomic energy. Recent findings indicate that wastes from atomic power generating plants by 1975 will contain 20 to 40 times as much radioactivity as now is produced by the bomb tests, to say nothing of the possibility of industrial accidents involving nuclear energy.

Until recently, the controversy was principally over whether weapons tests at present levels were harmful to human life. Genetic risks seemed far off, affecting small percentages of future generations. As for danger to the individual persons exposed to worldwide fallout, the AEC felt itself justified in viewing this hazard as imperceptible.

Chairman Lewis L. Strauss of the AEC was able to say in February 1955 that the amount of radiostrontium then present in the soil as a result of all nuclear explosions to date "would have to be increased many thousand times before any effect on humans would be noticeable." Radiostrontium, or Strontium 90, one of the main products of atomic fission, lodges in the bones of human beings as a long-lasting source of radiation.

AEC SHIFTS ITS LINE

AEC Commissioner Willard F. Libby, who has become the agency's principal authority on fallout, said in January 1956 that "the worldwide health hazards from the present rate of testing are insignificant."

Early this year, the AEC's official line began to change. It began to admit that injuries might be experienced in noticeable numbers and to emphasize the necessity of weighing the risks. The shift became evident last February in a speech by Dr. C. W. Shilling, Deputy Director of the Commission's Division of Biology and Medicine. He said: "The game we are playing with Russia is for enormously high stakes and is for keeps. Therefore, we must gamble with the probability of radiation damage to a few individuals in order to secure the survival of the total society."

Libby's reply last month to Dr. Albert Schweitzer, who had warned that further nuclear tests would be "a catastrophe for the human race," abandoned the old claim that fallout is harmless. "I do not mean to say that there is no risk at all," he wrote.

But he continued to minimize the danger. A person moving from a wooden house into a brick house, he wrote, could get more radiation exposure than he could get from test fallout. He said that the Strontium 90 in children's bones gives them only as much radiation as the additional dosage a person would get from cosmic rays by moving from a beach to the top of a hill a few hundred feet high, where the atmosphere would be slightly thinner. The additional radiation in a brick house could come from the natural radioactivity in clay in certain parts of the country, Libby has explained.

NEW REPORT A FACTOR

The change may stem partly from a biologist's report which has been circulating among scientists since last December and was published last week in Science, the weekly publication of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. It is regarded as a milestone in the study of radiation hazards.

In the report, Prof. E. B. Lewis, of the California Institute of Technology, describes an analysis of four groups of persons who have been exposed to radiation—survivors of the atomic bomb explosions in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, patients given X-ray treatments for a spinal disease called ankylosing spondylitis, children treated with X-ray as infants for thymus gland enlargement and radiologists.

In each group, he calculated the incidence of leukemia, a fatal disease sometimes called cancer of the blood in which there is overproduction of white blood cells. Overexposure to radiation has long been recognized as one of the causes, but it had been assumed that there was a threshold below which there would be no detectable increase in leukemia.

Statistically, the results were startling. In each of the four groups, there appeared to be a direct relationship between the amount of radiation a group of persons received and the number that developed leukemia. Applying the results to strontium 90, Lewis concluded that the present incidence of leukemia in the United States would be increased by about 5 to 10 percent if the level of strontium 90 were maintained at the AEC's "maximum permissible concentration"—one-tenth of a microcurie in the average standard adult.

Since there are about 10,000 deaths a year from leukemia in this country, the expected new leukemia deaths that otherwise would not occur would amount to between 500 and 1000.

LIBBY FINDING CONTRADICTED

Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel prize-winning chemist, also of the California Institute of Technology, extended the calculation to the entire world and concluded that 10,000 persons were dying or had died of leukemia as a result of nuclear weapons tests. He warned last month that the British tests would result in another 1,000 leukemia deaths.

The leukemia findings directly contradict one of Libby's most important assumptions. He assumes that the radiation from strontium 90 is comparable in biological effect to the cosmic rays that get through the atmosphere to the earth's surface. Libby then goes on to point out that the leukemia incidence in 1947 in mile-high Denver was considerably lower than that in San Francisco and about the same as the incidence in New Orleans. He suggests that cosmic ray dosage has relatively little to do with the leukemia rate and that we can have "some assurance" that a small amount of fallout radiation will not cause a detectable increase in leukemia.

Strontium 90 and its possible effect as a cause of leukemia have attracted much scientific attention, but there are other fission products and other diseases that also are being studied in order to get a full understanding of radiation hazards.

Most important of the other fission products are cesium 137, which has a half life of 33 years (compared with strontium 90's 28 years) and iodine 131, which has a half life of only 8 days and is important only in the area immediately downwind from a test blast or reactor stack.

Some of the other diseases and injuries that can be caused by heavy doses of radiation are bone, lung and thyroid cancer, eye cataracts, temporary sterility and congential malformations.

Lumping all possible pathological effects together, Dr. Pauling estimated recently in a speech at Washington University in St. Louis that radiation from nuclear bomb tests that already had been conducted by the United States and Russia would ultimately cause the deaths of about 1,000,000 persons in the world.

WIDE RANGE OF ESTIMATES

As for the genetic effect, the estimates vary widely. Dr. Pauling, in his St. Louis speech, estimated that bomb tests up to this year will cause the birth of 200,000 seriously defective children in the next generation. Libby, on the other hand, predicts that the human mutation rate would level off at an increase of about two-tenths of 1 percent if the present rate of test fallout continued indefinitely. This would come to no more than 4,000 in the next generation and not all of these could be considered serious defectives.

Scientists agree, however, that there is no threshold for the genetic effects of radiation. They agree that any radiation is bad, from a genetic point of view. The Lewis findings, if generally accepted, would expand this area of agreement to pathological results, as well.

Geneticists have been aware for many years of the direct relationship between radiation exposure and hereditary mutation. Dr. Hermann J. Muller of the University of Indiana, pioneered in this field with his experiments on fruitflys. Similar experiments have been performed on laboratory mice. But many scientists questioned for a time whether these findings could be extended to man.

Evidence of the genetic effect on man has been presented by Dr. Stanley H. Macht, director of the radiology department at Washington County Hospital, Hagerstown, Md., and Dr. Philip S. Lawrence of the United States Public Health Service. They reported, after a survey of 2,700 radiologists throughout the country, that radiologists had a significantly higher proportion of abnormal offspring than did a control group of physicians having other specialties. The difference was not great, but it was pointed out that most hereditary abnormalities do not show up until after the first generation.

Looking into the future, Dr. H. Bently Glass, Johns Hopkins University biologist, foresees great new hazards from the peaceful applications of atomic energy. In a recent speech in New York, he said:

"The threat to mankind of exposure to radiation arising from the peaceful development of atomic energy may outstrip not only that from the exposures due to weapons testing and fallout, but even that from the exposure necessary for medical and dental diagnosis."

This prediction was based on an estimate that the United States will have 20 million to 40 million kilowatts of atomic generating capacity by 1975. Each 100,000 kilowatts puts out as much radioactive waste as the fallout from 1 megaton bomb (the equivalent of 1 million tons of TNT). About 50 megatons of bombs now have been exploded and the rate is roughly 10 megatons a year. Thus, peaceful atomic plants by 1975 will be pouring out radioactivity of at 20 to 40 times the present rate of weapons testing.

Libby estimates that radioisotopes, which are the radioactive materials in the waste from atomic plans, already are saving American industry $500 million a year and that more use and new applications will raise this figure to $5 billion by 1960 or 1962.

MORE CHANCE OF ACCIDENT

At the same time, however, wider use will mean more chance of accident. A case in point is the recently disclosed case last March at Houston, Tex., where seven workmen were contaminated with radioactivity when irradiated metallic pellets broke open while being removed from cans for use in testing structural steel.

Until atomic wastes can be used fully, their safe storage presents a dangerous and expensive problem. Phillips Petroleum Co. solves it temporarily at the reactor-testing station in Idaho by building 350,000-gallon stainless steel tanks encased in concrete underground at a cost of $750,000 a piece. Five of these have been built and one of them is already full.

As for the chance of one of the atomic plants running out of control and spewing radioactive products across the countryside, the AEC last March made public an inch-thick analysis of the hazard. Using the most pessimistic assumptions, this study concluded that, when 100 reactors are in operation in the United States, a person in this country would have one chance in 50 million a year of being killed by a reactor accident. This was compared with the present 1-in-5,000 chance in the United States of being killed in an automobile accident.

It will be noted that most atomic hazards, when expressed in percentages, are extremely small. Even Dr. Pauling's estimate of 1 million fallout deaths over an indefinite number of future years comes to only a tiny percentage a year of the world's total population.

Furthermore, fallout—the hazard that has attracted by far the greatest attention—is estimated by the AEC to have a present rate of only one-tenth of 1 roentgen a year reaching the average person's reproductive organs. This can be compared to average individual annual doses of three roentgens from natural radioactivity including cosmic rays, and 4.5 roentgens from medical X-ray. A single pelvic X-ray can give a dose of 0.1 to 1 roentgen to the reproductive organs and a fluoroscopic examination of the pelvis can give up to 2 roentgens.

DANGER FROM X-RAYS

Much has been made of the smallness of the fallout hazard in relation to the danger from medical X-rays. Prof. Joseph Rotblat, of the University of London, recently made this comment on this comparison:

"The relief which many felt on this score is something like that of the patient who went to the doctor complaining of a cold in the chest and was told that in addition he suffers from angina pectoris. This relief certainly does not apply to the majority of the world's population who do not have X-ray examinations and who, moreover, live most of the time in the open and thus do not benefit from the considerable shielding which our houses offer us."

The relative unimportance of fallout hazard was discussed recently by Dr. Warren Weaver, former president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and a vice president of the Rockefeller Foundation. Taking an estimate that bomb tests will cause an increase of one five-thousandths or a total of 6,000 in the 30 million babies that already will be born with serious handicaps of genetic origin to persons now living on the earth, Dr. Weaver asked:

"Now what impresses you as more significant—that 6,000 is a good many babies to subject to serious handicap, or that one five-thousandths is a very small fraction and correspondingly is a very small relative addition to the 30 million babies that, without fallout, will have serious genetic handicaps?"

Representative HOLIFIELD has lined up an impressive group of expert witnesses to discuss these and other aspects of the radiation problem. Their testimony may change some minds and it certainly will give new ammunition to those whose minds are made up on such questions as the future of bomb tests.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of May 26, 1957]

GET THE TRUTH ABOUT FALLOUT

The Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, when it opens hearings on radioactive fallout this week, will confront an extraordinary opportunity for public service. It could, of course, simply compound the confusion that already exists about the degree of hazard to public health from testing of supernuclear weapons. We hope that, instead, it will clarify and illuminate the controversy.

Despite the efforts of the Atomic Energy Commission and scientists favorable to its viewpoint to belittle the hazards of fallout, a persistent and widespread belief exists that the public is not getting the whole truth. Partly this is due to the fact that some ostensibly reassuring statements of the AEC spokesmen turn out, on close examination, to mean less than they seemed to mean at first sight. Partly it is due to the AEC's record of concealment and evasion.

One question we hope will be elucidated is the theory of strontium 90 fallout advanced by AEC Commissioner Willard Libby. He argues that only a small amount of strontium 90 fallout is sprinkled near the nuclear explosion or at places in the same latitude, and that the rest is carried into the stratosphere, whence it falls slowly and uniformly around the earth. Because of this, he argues, the dose at any one locality is far below the level of serious hazard.

But this theory has been challenged by other scientists, notably Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel prizewinner, and United States Weather Bureau data are reported to indicate that the dosage of strontium 90 at various points in the United States does vary considerably, some localities receiving 2 or 3 times as much as others.

So long as responsible scientists like Dr. Pauling and Dr. Barry Commoner of St. Louis continue to challenge the soothing sirup put out by AEC spokesmen, there will be an urgent need for clarification. We agree with the Washington Post that the committee ought to call foreign as well as American scientists. The testimony of able experts from Japan and Britain should balance the discussion. Above all, the committee has an opportunity to help the public reach sound and unexcited conclusions.

New M–14 Rifle Born Fully of Armory Minds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have printed in the RECORD the following article from the Springfield (Mass.) Union, published May 24, 1957, telling how the Army's newly adopted M–14 rifle was completely developed at the Springfield Armory:

NEW M–14 RIFLE BORN FULLY OF ARMORY MINDS—GARAND MADE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ITS DEVELOPMENT

Springfield Armory's experts in rifle development have helped to give more firepower to America's fighting men since the ordnance facility was established by Congress in 1794.

Latest in its long line of world-famed weapons for the foot soldier is the M–14, adopted this month as the new standard shoulder rifle for the Armed Forces, to replace the M–1 Garand.

WAS KNOWN AS T–44

The M–14 was known as the T–44 until its formal acceptance. A model with heavier barrel, the M–15 has been accepted to replace the Browning automatic rifle.

Both new rifles use the same ammunition—the new NATO 7.62-millimeter cartridge—and both are identical in operation, firing either fully or semiautomatically.

John Garand, retired Springfield Armory employee who invented the M–1 that bears his name, made significant contributions to the development of the M–14. During 1944 and in the first 7 months of 1945, Garand was developing an automatic version of the M–1 from which evolved a model designated as T–20E3.

The rifle, basically of M–1 design, had the added features of a selector for semi- or full-automatic fire, a 20-round magazine to replace the 8-round clip, a roller on the bolt operating lug, and a gas shutoff valve for use when the rifle doubled as a grenade launcher.

These improvements, with modifications, have been incorporated in the new M–14.

STEMMED FROM T–20

"The T–44 originated primarily from the T–20 developed by Garand," an armory weapons expert said yesterday. "The new rifle is entirely the brainchild of the Springfield Armory."

In addition to the advantages of being a lighter, more versatile weapon using a smaller and lighter cartridge than the M–1, the M–14 will not bring any special problems in training troops in its use.

"Millions of soldiers who have served in the United States and allied forces are familiar with the Garand," the armory expert said. "It should require only a very slight amount of training to indoctrinate them in the use of the M–14."

For the foot soldier, the new rifle has many other advantages. When the Garand fired its last round, the cartridge case was ejected with an audible click—a giveaway sound that could tell an enemy lying in wait the soldier had to reload, and was vulnerable if charged on.

The M–14's 20-round magazine remains attached, does not click when emptied, and can be reloaded by pushing in 10 rounds through the top of the open receiver assembly from an expendable packet charger.

"M–1 THUMB" GONE

Gone, too, is the danger of "M–1 thumb." In the Garand, the rifle stayed open after the last round was fired. To close it without reloading, the soldier usually pushed down the follower with his thumb. If he wasn't quick enough pulling his hand away, the thumb got a mighty wallop.

A basic difference in the Garand and the new M–14 is in the gas systems that open the rifles after firing, eject the used cartridges, and insert new ones.

In the M–14 and M–15, expanding gases from firing the weapons enter the gas cylinder through a small hole in the barrel and build up pressure to activate the mechanism for ejecting, reloading, and automatic firing.

In the Garand, the initial force of the gas entering the cylinder, rather than its accumulated pressure, operates the rifle.

Ordnance men compare the two systems to pushing a door shut and slamming it shut.

Because the M–14 embodies many features of the Garand, the Armory was able to effect many savings in developing the new weapon. Rear sights and many pieces in the trigger group are identical, as well as the rear butt plate and rear sling swivel.

OTHER PARTS VERY SIMILAR

Many other parts, while not identical, are so similar that they can be made "with minor changes in tooling," an Armory expert said.

A feature of the M–14—and its companion M–15—is the flash suppressor, a slotted extension of the barrel that dissipates gases before they can ignite and leaving the weapon during firing.

Typical of the many simple yet ingenious devices incorporated in the M–14 and M–15 is the gas shut-off, a turn valve that can close off the hole into the expansion chamber to use the full blast from firing for launching a rifle grenade.

The M–14, with empty magazine and without sling, weighs 8.7 pounds. Fully loaded and ready to fire, it weighs 10 pounds. It has a maximum range of 3,500 yards with 2,800-feet-per-second muzzle velocity and its maximum gas-chamber pressure is 50,000 pounds per square inch.

The M–15 weighs 13.75 pounds with empty magazine and bipod and weighs 14.80 pounds loaded and ready to fire. Its overall length is 45½ inches—1.36 inches shorter than the M–14.

Firing characteristics of the two weapons are identical.

The standard NATO cartridge is 2.8 inches long—one-half inch shorter than the old M–1 .30-caliber cartridge. But in spite of its reduced size and weight, it packs equal or greater hitting power than the ammunition it replaces. This is due partly to the new ball powder—so called because each grain is a sphere—which burns faster than the old "IMR" powder. Also, the NATO bullet tapers at the end to a boat shape, giving it less air resistance, experts say.

Fifty Million Visits Were Made to Historic Sites and Buildings Open to the Public in 1956

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in the keynote speech opening the centennial convention of the American Institute of Architects held in Washington the week of May 13–16, 1957, Edward A. Weeks, Jr., editor, the Atlantic Monthly, pointed out that 50 million visits were made to historic sites and buildings open to the public in 1956.

Mr. Weeks urged that every city set apart certain old houses, certain breathing spaces, certain outlooks on the harbor or the river "to show the more impressionable teen-agers that American life does not consist merely of gasoline stations, the drive-in diner, and the second-hand car park with its frantic little flags urging you in for the quick bargain."

Mr. Weeks declared that Virginia has made preservation of America's historic past a fine art.

I include here an item from the New York Times regarding the buildings in the vicinity of the White House which this administration has slated for destruction in the name of progress. Also, I include a part of the great speech by Mr. Weeks, of the Atlantic Monthly:

[From the New York Times of May 27, 1957]

LETTERS TO THE TIMES—CAPITAL CHANGE CRITICIZED—PRESERVATION URGED OF WASHINGTON BUILDINGS OF INTEREST

To the EDITOR of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Certain matters of interest to architects and conservationists in Washington should be brought to the attention of your readers, for affecting as they do the appearance of the National Capitol, they are of national concern.

First is the proposed destruction of the old State, War, and Navy Building that flanks the White House on the west, balancing the neoclassic Treasury Building on the east. It is now known as the Executive Office Building.

While taste has changed since its erection, when it was considered the finest building in Washington, it is still just as impressive in design and scale as it was then, and its granite steps and columns and details are unblemished by 80 years of weather. With its superposed orders and mansard roofs and towers it is a monumental example of Second French Empire architecture, simplified to suit the hard stone.

Its ample, ornate corridors and curved, cantilevered staircases are impressive. Its offices are spacious with high ceilings and decorative cornices and window embrasures. All appears in perfect repair.

HISTORIC HOMES

There seems no reason for a Nation already overstretching itself economically to tear down and replace a structure so sound, of historical significance, and well suited to its present use.

Second is the proposed destruction, with the exception of the Blair-Lee and Decatur houses, of the entire block just opposite on Pennsylvania Avenue and otherwise bounded by 17th and H Streets and Jackson Place, which fronts on Lafayette Square, directly in front of the White House. Most of the block is now given over as parking lots except for the houses named, the Court of Claims (a rather charming brick and brownstone building by Renwick but obviously past repair) and the mid-19th century houses on Jackson Place. These, which have considerable historic interest—Theodore Roosevelt occupied one during an earlier alteration of the White House—and the traditional domestic character of the square, which is part of the national scene, should not, in my opinion, be replaced by a vast megahyaline front.

About a year ago the old Patent Office was saved for good use, chiefly through the efforts of Representative THOMPSON of New Jersey,

as I recall. At present the Executive Building is put to excellent use, as are the old houses on Jackson Place—one of them the office of the National Trust for Historic Preservation—and they should not be destroyed.

EDWARD STEESE.

SCARSDALE, N. Y., *May 22, 1957.*

BUILDINGS WHICH SHAPE OUR LIVES

(By Edward A. Weeks, Jr., editor, the Atlantic Monthly, centennial celebration of the American Institute of Architects, Washington, D. C., Sheraton-Park Hotel, Monday evening, May 13, 1957)

In an age of great insecurity we depend more than we realize upon that intangible known as community spirit. The cover of a recent issue of America Illustrated (the magazine which the USIA distributes in Russia) showed a panoram of San Francisco's sunset district, a panorama which made me shudder. For here were row on row, block after block, of two-storied, identical concrete houses with not enough room in between to swing a cat. The uniformity and the lack of space are stifling, and what was more benumbing was the lack of any green oasis. The only green spot in these square miles of concrete were the lawns and trees surrounding the public school. Californians have told me that in the beginning the city planners on the West coast called for a ratio of 1 to 10, 1 acre of parks and recreation areas for every 10 acres of buildings. But in San Bernardino County, that area which J. B. Priestley once described as "Six suburbs in search of a city"—in Los Angeles today, the subdividers are having their way. Oases which should have been parks have been plowed up, and if this goes on much longer, the ratio will not be 1 in 10 but 1 in 60 or 1 in 80. It is not a pretty sight to see how the suburbs have devoured the orange and walnut groves in California. In Seattle which has one of the most beautiful sites in the United States, one has to go 10 miles out of town to find a reasonably good specimen of Douglas-fir, that superb native giant. There once were beautiful trees on the campus of the University of Washington, but they have been destroyed to make room for more buildings.

Community spirit is kindled when people have room in which to devote themselves. It is kindled today in churches and in schools; it is kindled when old and young come together to watch the Little Leaguers play ball; it is kindled when the neighbors who believed in Ralph Bunche and who put together a purse of $1,000 to send him East to study, meet together in the high school of an evening to hear their local boy tell them of what is happening in the Middle East; it is kindled by the swanboats in the Boston Public Garden, by the picnics in Central Park, and by art festivals; it is kindled by having a place to fish when the shad are running; it is kindled by the PTA, by community orchestras (of which we have more than 300 in the United States), by community singing in which the Negroes took such a leading part in Westchester County; it is kindled when mothers, dragging fathers with them, go to see their daughters dance in the high-school auditorium. When you scant the space for such gatherings in our metropolitan centers, you mutilate the community spirit.

If the home will no longer provide privacy and fulfillment, and if the community subdivides its green oases until they are no more, then, and inevitably, the American families will have to compensate by getting into their cars and seeking refreshment elsewhere. We are in the process of shifting from a 5- to a 4-day week; it will come gradually, and it will come with the increase of holidays and the extensions of weekends. You architects should have visible influence on the use which is made of this new leisure. As the eastern seaboard fills in from Bangor to the Florida Keys, people in the thickly settled areas will take their Sunday suppers to the picnic grounds, the fringe of woods, the stretch of flowering shrubs which borders the great throughways and which may come to be the only uncut land in the vicinity. Already the picnic grounds on Route 128, the big road which encircles Boston, are jammed with family parties every weekend.

Your aid will be required in the piecing together and preservation of the old colonial villages like Sturbridge in Massachusetts, like Shelburne, that vivid reconstruction of old Vermont which Mrs. Watson Webb has assembled on the shore of Lake Champlain, or like the Farmers' Museum and its Crossroads Village in Cooperstown, N. Y.; you will have to fight for the preservation of historic sites which are in the path of bulldozers (50 million visits were made to historic sites and buildings open to the public in 1956). You will try to set apart in every city certain old houses, certain breathing spaces, certain outlooks on the harbor or the river to show the more impressionable teenagers that American life does not consist merely of gasoline stations, the drive-in diner, and the secondhand car park with its frantic little flags urging you in for the quick bargain.

In a State like Virginia, preservation has become a fine art. In Williamsburg where every fence rail and Kleenex carries the arms of William and Mary; and in the gracious houses along the James: Westover, Stratford, Shirley, and Berkeley Hundred—it is so easy for the 20th century to imagine the grace and the quality of colonial America. One is grateful for the care which has kept these shrines alive, and it is fortunate for us all that they do not lie in the path of suburbia, that relentless stonecrusher.

I must say the Virginians had a more difficult time with Jamestown. The natural surroundings, if you remember, were not too impressive. They had to begin with the crumbling ivy-covered ruins of a chapel, a small island from which the public was excluded, and a sandy peninsula holding a large statue from which someone had mercifully removed its head. Now, what have they done? They have left the island right where it is with the padlock on it; they have left the chapel right where it is with the ivy on it; they have left the winged victory right where it is—but now they have a head on it. They have dug out a couple of sod houses and a "little old fort"—and to this hallowed spot they are attracting thousands and thousands of tourists who can stand there and gaze at each other in a wild surmise. This is one of the most quietly spectacular achievements in the whole long history of sightseeing. Yet I notice that the *Mayflower* has been blown south and maybe that will help.

But the real fight today, and the one which has challenged some of your greatest ability, is the fight to revitalize and to beautify an old smoke-streaked city. Recapturing the beauty of the Golden Triangle in Pittsburgh, as the Allegheny Conference has done; restoring the usefulness and beauty of the St. Louis waterfront, recapturing the open Declaration of Independence Mall in Philadelphia—these are the hard fights already half won. There will be many more of them ahead.

"Sleeping under a hedge," said the late G. K. Chesterton, "is not a new form of architecture." To that witticism I should like to add my postscript: That sleeping by a throughway is not the most desirable form of American architecture. Men have always lived by the side of a road because it was convenient to do so. But this country we loved is going to fill up at an astonishing rate in the next 25 years, and I say that we can no longer permit this filling to be done haphazardly, as the local contractors and subdividers choose. It is difficult to learn just how much rural land is being alienated for urban expansion each year, but Paul B. Sears, chairman of the conservation program at Yale University, thinks that the estimates in the order of 1 million acres a year are not far off. One million acres a year of woodlands, meadows, abandoned farms, and marshes, taken out of the rural zone and into the city hopper. At that rate, how long will it take us to convert the eastern seaboard into a replica of the neon-lit, chromium-plated landscape which stretches from Los Angeles to San Diego. If that urban sprawl is to be avoided, it will be avoided because you architects join forces with city planners and conservationists—men as farsighted as Robert Moses and Paul Sears—in devising a building philosophy for the future.

If each man plans for himself, if each contractor or each industry works solely for a single aim, the intentions may be good but the country will suffer. As an example of what nonplanning can do, look at lower Bucks County, Pa. Here on the Delaware River an enormous steel plant has been erected to process the ore coming in from Venezuela. One hundred and sixteen allied firms dealing in iron and steel products followed in the wake of the giant plant. Houses were at a premium, and so a new town was erected, Levittown, Pa., a community of 16,000 houses for approximately 70,000 persons. The question of schools, sewerage, plumbing, and social services, were of incidental concern to Mr. Levitt; they were foreign to the steel company, and so there was a minimum of coordination between the local authorities and the newcomers as this huge slice of prefabricated America went up. There were even some hit-or-miss calculations on the part of the steelmasters. Not until the plant was erected did they discover that they had placed it at the exact spot on the Delaware where the fresh water from upstream meets the salt water from the estuary. Here the silt is deposited to such an extent that there was not sufficient depth to float the incoming freighters. So an $8 million pier was erected in Philadelphia where the ore could be transshipped to scows which would then be towed upstream. If the engineers are susceptible to an error in judgment as fundamental as this, think of the errors in human engineering, in human living which could be perpetuated as we fill in the future gridirons of industry.

On October 28, 1943, Sir Winston Churchill was speaking to the Members of the House of Commons who because of the blitz were meeting in secret. He said, "On the night of May 10, 1941, with one of the last bombs of the last serious raid, our House of Commons was destroyed by the violence of the enemy, and we have now to consider whether we should build it up again, and how, and when. We shape our buildings, and afterward our buildings shape us." In those simple magnificent words "We shape our buildings, and afterward our buildings shape us," Sir Winston revealed the nobility of architecture.

When you stand in the gloaming of Westminster Hall, that great cool, highvaulted room, you may remember that here Richard II was dethroned and Charles I condemned, here were the trials of Sir Thomas Moore, of Essex and Warren Hastings, here the indecision and anguish of Parliament, and remembering, you feel the heartbeat of the English spirit. So the Catheral of Chartres gives you to see the French genius, and with your first view of the Acropolis, you begin to understand the Greeks. And where does the geunius loci reside in America? What are the buildings that have shaped American character so indelibly that when we visit them today, or stand in their shade, we too feel the invisible pressure of history. We find this deity on the New England village green with its church and white spire, its white orderly houses, its elms and quiet common; we find it in Mount Vernon with its com-

manding view high above the water, the slopes, and the fields which Washington loved; we find it in Monticello where the enterprise and the vision of the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence still lives; we find it in the Lincoln Memorial, the most heart-stirring evocative building in the Capital.

But what of the buildings of tomorrow, the buildings which you will shape and which in time to come will shape our grandchildren and great-grandchildren? What will they be? On the campus, in the new high schools which are more and more tending to be community centers, in the factories which have become so colorful with your use of new materials, in laboratories like the General Motors technical center, in the recreation areas, and most needful of all, in the network of new communities which cannot live without a heart—there you will find your greatest challenge to be American.

Dr. Winthrop Adams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the following articles relate to the retirement of Dr. Winthrop Adams as United States Veterans' Administration hospital manager at Bedford, Mass.

Everyone who spoke at the retirement exercises mentioned Dr. Adams' great ability and his great kindness to his patients and their families, to his staff and to all of the veterans' organizations who have taken such interest in the hospital, and to all civilians interested in veterans. A truly great man, he and his lovely wife are greatly beloved.

The articles follow:

[From the Lowell (Mass.) Sun of May 21, 1957]

BEDFORD VA HOSPITAL HEAD TO RETIRE AFTER 25 YEARS—RECEPTION TOMORROW FOR DR. WINTHROP ADAMS WHO HAS SERVED AGENCY 38 YEARS

BEDFORD, May 21.—Patients, hospital staff members and friends will pay tribute to Dr. Winthrop Adams at a reception at the Bedford veterans hospital tomorrow at 2 p. m. in honor of his retirement after 38 years of distinguished service in the VA.

Formerly medical director for the entire Veterans' Administration, Dr. Adams transferred to the Bedford hospital as manager in 1930 because he was primarily interested in working directly with mentally ill patients. Under his direction, the Bedford VA hospital which opened as a psychiatric unit in July 1928, expanded continually from the original capacity of 354 beds to the present 1,800 bed hospital. He remained there until the present time except for a period of approximately 2 years at the end of World War II. The heavy requirements of that war upon the VA demanded a doctor of his administrative ability to serve as medical head of the Veterans' Administration in this area, and he was chosen to serve in this position at Branch No. 1 in Boston.

PERSONNEL INNOVATIONS

At Bedford he has initiated many programs and practices that have become generally accepted and adopted throughout the country. Dr. Adams formally inaugurated the first training program for psychiatric social work students in January 1945. Even before the program began, however, the entire class in casework of what is now the school of social work, Boston University, was sent to Bedford for classes under the direction of Dr. Adams and the chief social worker. Now students of social work come to Bedford for training from Boston University, Boston College, and Simmons.

One of the first to envision the effective utilization of volunteer workers with neuropsychiatric patients, Dr. Adams in 1932 initiated and conducted the first training course in the country for Red Cross Gray Ladies in a mental hospital. The training of volunteer workers is now standard practice in every VA hospital in the country.

SELF-AID PROGRAM

It was under his direction that the community employment project for mental patients was started. In this program, groups of patients are taken each morning of the work week to farms and factories of various kinds where they work alongside the regular employees. They return to the hospital every night. The patients are paid regular wages. This plan and others similar to it are rapidly becoming standard procedure in the treatment of the mentally ill.

Dr. Adams' rise in medical administration was rapid. Following his discharge from the United States Navy after World War I, during which he served as lieutenant in the medical corps, he accepted an appointment to the United States Public Health Service in Boston. In 1921 he was appointed district medical officer to the, then, United States Veterans, Bureau, District 1, Boston. He transferred from the Boston area to Washington as chief medical officer expert in the Veterans' Bureau, later becoming medical executive officer and then medical director in 1929.

BIOGRAPHY

Dr. Adams was born in Cambridge, Mass., on May 18, 1887, the son of Charles and Sarah (White) Adams. He is descended directly from Henry Adams on his father's side, who was a grandfather of President John Adams, and from Peringrine White, whose parents arrived on the *Mayflower*. He graduated from Rindge Technical School. He was active in both high school and college athletics, being prominent in baseball, football and hockey. He received his degree from Brown University where he was a member of Kappa Sigma Fraternity. He received his medical degree from Tufts College medical school in 1915. In 1908 he married Freda K. Knowles, of Providance, R. I.

Two of the prominent guests on the program to honor Dr. and Mrs. Adams will be Congresswoman EDITH NOURSE ROGERS, who is famous for her interest in veterans' affairs and in Bedford Hospital in particular, and Dr. Francis B. Carroll, area medical director of the Veterans' Administration.

[From the Lowell (Mass.) Sun of May 23, 1957]

REPRESENTATIVE ROGERS LAUDS DR. ADAMS AT RECEPTION AT BEDFORD—VA HOSPITAL HEAD RETIRING AFTER 25 YEARS AS INSTITUTION MANAGER

BEDFORD.—Dr. Winthrop Adams, manager of the Veterans' Administration hospital here for a quarter century, was honored at a farewell reception yesterday by Federal and civic leaders and associates.

During the program Dr. Adams was cited for his lengthy and meritorious service for the benefit of hospitalized veterans who have been under his care. He was lauded for his unselfish service and for his performance as the director of the VA hospital during the critical period when the patient load was so heavy.

One of the principal speakers on the occasion was Representative EDITH NOURSE ROGERS of Lowell, a longtime friend of Dr. Adams and of the hospital. During her talk, Mrs. ROGERS praised Dr. Adams as "the finest commanding officer in the Veterans' Administration and the finest medical director they ever had in Washington in the VA."

The Lowell congresswoman spoke of the enlightened administration of the hospital by Dr. Adams which has seen the institution pioneering in the use of all the new scientific methods and drugs in the treatment of mental illness. She spoke of the effective cures and how "Dr. Adams sent patients out into the sunshine and the world."

Speaking from her long experience with the Veterans' Administration in general and the Bedford Hospital in particular, Mrs. ROGERS said:

"Dr. Adams is sorely needed in the world today when so many are distressed and upset. He was a great soldier, a great doctor and a fine citizen. I do not know what we are going to do without him in Massachusetts or in the VA, but I am indeed glad that he will be nearby for counsel."

[From the Boston Traveler of May 21, 1957]

BEDFORD VA CHIEF CITES MENTAL HEALTH GAINS

(By Joe McLaughlin)

Tranquillizers and shock treatments mean little when families adopt the skeleton in the closet attitude toward the mentally ill.

That's the opinion of Dr. Winthrop Adams, manager of the Bedford Veterans' Administration hospital where 1,800 mentally ill veterans are cared for.

RETIRES NEXT WEEK AFTER 38 YEARS

Dr. Adams knows whereof he speaks. He retires next week after 38 years of caring for ailing war veterans.

In that span of years, he has seen the treatment of the mentally ill run the gamut. In World War I it was shell shock; in World War II, battle fatigue.

"Things have changed radically," the tall, scholarly-looking doctor said.

"The days of the tub-and-sheet treatment and the locked room have gone forever. Modern drugs and personal care have given new hope.

REJECTED PATIENTS SPECIAL PROBLEM

"But the feeling of guilt, or shame, has been and still is the problem among the families of some of our patients.

"We have still another group who are not susceptible to new methods of treatment. We call them rejected patients.

"These are the elderly veterans of the Spanish War or World War I. They have outlived their immediate families in most cases.

"Most of them could do very well if they had a home to go to. We're trying to do something about that.

FOSTER HOMES ASSIST SOME

"We started a pioneer program here at Bedford of assigning these oldtimers to foster homes. Right now, there are 45 or 50 out in private homes and doing very well."

Dr. Adams said there are some patients at the sprawling 354-acre hospital who have no visitors. They number between 100 and 150. Members of the women's auxiliaries of veterans' organizations see to it they are not forgotten at Christmas.

When Dr. Adams retires next week, he will be completing a career that started in the examining rooms of the old Veterans' Bureau on Cornhill Street in Boston. He was fresh from the Navy's Medical Corps then.

He served as district medical officer in Boston until 1924, when he moved to Washington as executive of the entire Veterans' Bureau.

He took over as medical director of the Veterans' Bureau in 1929. In 1930, he returned to this area as manager of the Bedford Hospital.

CAMBRIDGE NATIVE, BROWN, TUFTS GRADUATE

A native of Cambridge, Dr. Adams was a three-letter man at Rindge Tech, Brown, and Tufts, where he received his medical degree.

"Medicine in veterans' hospital has come a long way in those 38 years," Dr. Adams said.

"Back 20 years ago, we had a turnover of about 200 patients at most, in a year. We have more than doubled that figure today, averaging 500 sent back to their families each year.

"Personal attention has much to do with it, in addition to new drugs and treatments. We have sufficient personnel to enable us to give the individual patient the time and attention needed to help bring him back to the world of reality.

"All of these things combined have helped us rule out what used to be the last alternative—the lobotomy—cutting of nerve centers.

"We haven't performed one of those operations at Bedford now for 2 years. That's one thing I can look back on with pride after 38 years of dealing with the mentally ill."

Importance of Adequate Classroom Facilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. BROWNSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. BROWNSON. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower has placed special emphasis on the importance of providing adequate classroom facilities for the education of our children. The Members of Congress with whom I have discussed this problem are as mindful of this growing need as our great President and his advisers. These legislators agree with the President that there is a need for more classrooms.

Most Members of Congress recognize, as did the President in his speech before the National Education Association that, "modern weapons must be manned by highly educated personnel if they are to be effective, and the energy of the atom can only be understood and developed by the most highly trained minds in the country." Congress realizes that education is indeed vital to national security.

Congress agrees with the President that schools are more important than our Nike batteries, our radar warning nets or the energy from the atom.

Many Members of Congress, however, can still remember when the President said, in 1952, "To bring government closer to the people we will set up these principles and adhere to them: That no Federal project, large or small, will be undertaken which the people can effectively do or be helped to do for themselves; that no Federal project will be undertaken which private enterprise can effectively undertake; that no project and no program will be started on the Federal level which can be undertaken and effectively carried through on the State or local level."

Those Members of Congress who really want better schools must, in all sincerity, ask the question, "What level of government is best able to finance, develop and plan the school construction essential to care for a rapidly expanding population?" The honest answer to that question does not seem to me to be, "The Federal Government."

Yesterday's Washington Sunday Star carried a very objective appraisal of the way my State of Indiana is trying to solve this problem without recourse to Federal printing press money or an increase in the national debt. True, this solution has raised our local property tax rates—the bank just asked me for another $8 a month to apply to my real-estate taxes, and Indiana has just raised her gross income tax by almost 50 percent. We are paying for our schools the hard way. We do not want any Federal aid for school construction because we do not expect to be forced to pay for schools for someone else after we have solved our own problem. If other States will assume the same painful responsibility, we will jointly point the way to lower Federal budgets, as well as increased sovereignty for the individual States. States rights with Federal aid is an incongruous cry too often heard on Capitol Hill.

Indiana turns gratefully to the Federal Government for national defense. We know what that costs and we pay our share willingly. With the Federal Government $276 billion in the "red," and with Indiana debt free, it would be unconscionable for the Hoosier State to dump its educational problems at the shrine of the Federal Government in Washington. In accordance with a unanimous consent request, previously granted, I will read the article from the Washington Sunday Star into the RECORD at this point.

The article follows:

INDIANA HAS NEW SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION PLAN

(By Phil Yeager)

Indiana has a notion that it can get the schools it needs without any particular help from Uncle Sam.

At least the Hoosiers have come up with an alternative to the "Federal aid" concept—an alternative which, if it works, might set a pattern other States will want to follow.

A lot of ingredients are mixed up in the Indiana formula, but the major ones are:

A system of private financing designed to get around the sluggish bond market and avoid the need for immediate big cash outlays.

A slashing of the legal redtape which hamstrings many States in contracting for new schools.

Unique teamwork between designers and builders in providing, at low cost, the flexible, modern schools demanded by the future.

Legislation begun by the Indiana General Assembly in 1955 and completed at the current session a few weeks ago laid the groundwork for the "Indiana plan."

Under the old system, a locality wanting a new school first acquired the necessary site. Then an architect drew plans for the school on speculation. If plans were approved by the school board, construction bids were asked. If and when bids were submitted within the desired financial limits, bonds were issued to finance the building. If the bonds sold, construction began.

Many States today operate in that fashion.

A PACKAGE DEAL

Under the new Indiana plan, a district wanting a new school advertises its intention to build with a description of what it wants. Bidders submit design and a construction bid combined, which cuts fees as well as costly construction corners. A single contract is let with a company which finances and builds the school, even providing the site if necessary. Component parts of the school are made, and sometimes partially assembled, at the builder's plant and shipped to the site where the school is erected.

Construction time under the new system is likely to be half, or even a third, that of conventional schedules. When the building is finished it is leased by the builder of the school board for a period of years, at the end of which time title passes to the appropriate school authority.

Here is what the State assembly did to get its plan set up.

To cut school costs without sacrificing quality, it passed an offsite construction act which permits the acquisition, assembly and construction of schools away from the eventual site. The act takes advantage of the economies allowed by prefabrication, but gets around the inflexibility of function often associated with prefabrication by providing for use of component parts which may be assembled according to need, location, size, etc. The parts can be made cheaply but meshed with any plans the school district may have in mind.

The law also authorizes the acquisition of plans, parts and construction in a single package contract.

To ease financing problems, the assembly passed a profit-and-lease act which authorizes private financing of new schools by permitting school boards to lease sites and buildings through private corporations for profit.

Under this law, school boards contract with private groups to provide the site and school and, at the same time, arrange for their long-term lease. A fair and reasonable rental is allowed such groups, the rental being paid by local taxes. Leases may run anywhere up to 50 years, but when they expire the school becomes the property of the community. School boards have the option of purchasing the facilities outright at any time, nominal penalties attaching only during the first 10 years of the lease if the purchase takes place then.

Four other States—Maine, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Wisconsin— are also authorized to make use of the lease-purchase principle. But none of them has advanced to the stage set by Indiana and, apparently, no other State has ventured into this kind of financing.

NEW STYLES IN SCHOOLS

A critical element in the success of the Indiana plan is the development of more economical, more flexible schools. In this respect, parallel endeavors by two of the Nation's industrial giants, Republic Steel and United States Steel, are held highly significant.

During the past few years the steel companies have been working with designers to create flexible prefabricated components which will permit quality construction of the cheaper schools desired.

Republic has developed a pattern based structurally on 3-, 6-, and 9-foot component modules; it is a flexible scheme, and it permits a choice of different building materials such as tile, brick, concrete block, and porcelain panel to suit the needs and financial limitations of the builder. A United States Steel system is based on all-steel room units; it emphasizes more rapid construction and is somewhat cheaper to build.

Republic is completing the first of its modular schools at Hymera, Ind. United States Steel has finished 2, 1 at Gary and

the other a parochial school at Emmitsburg, Md.

In both systems costs range between $18,000 and $22,000 per room, whereas the national norm is around $30,000 or more.

This kind of saving, added to the economy of construction time, is expected to more than compensate for whatever cost increase, if any, comes out of Indiana's new private financing system.

THERE ARE QUESTION MARKS

The Indiana plan is not without its question marks.

First, how would the system benefit the poorer areas of the country where need is greatest and the tax base lowest?

Protagonists say that the actual cost to the community of the new component-part type of school is markedly below going rates in any part of the country—an absolute saving factor.

Meanwhile, the financing scheme puts a practical alternative at the disposal of small communities which cannot borrow the money or which do not have it on hand. Even in the larger communities it may make new schools financially possible. This is because in many areas (Indiana is one of them) the market is glutted with low-interest obligation bonds, or because the community has reached the legal limit of its borrowing power.

The system involves no big lump requisition of cash which major building programs usually require through a bond issue. Costs can be distributed among a number of financiers.

Finally, backers say, the Indiana plan may offer a lower and more flexible amortization schedule.

Second, would the plan conform to the laws of other States?

The answer is that in some places it undoubtedly would not. Some State constitutions, for example, do not permit title to facilities used for public schools to be in the hands of any owner but a governmental agency.

However, legislation sometimes can solve the problem. In Wisconsin recently, the State supreme court declared a school-lease plan invalid. Subsequent legislation smoothed the legal wrinkles.

Third, will financiers be willing to get involved without Government insurance to minimize the risks of having the school community's tax-base depleted, impaired, or withdrawn?

On this point there appears to be a difference of opinion. Some think it is unnecessary or undesirable. Others, however, think that a kind of Federal insurance, similar to the guaranty provided on FHA or VA loans, will be needed to induce price lessor corporations to put up the money. The idea is to guard against recession, in which case tax revenues to support lease payments might dwindle, and to guard against political changes which might find a school board reluctant to continue arrangements made by its predecessor.

It is reported that a delegation of interested businessmen will be meeting with Members of Congress in the weeks ahead to draft legislation that would authorize Federal insurance for such purposes.

Among those who feel that a Federal insurance plan is needed, there seems to be a companion belief that if it can be obtained Indiana's plan might well "go over" on a national scale.

Those who suggest that our school system cannot keep pace without Federal aid to school construction, and to education are somewhat less than realistic in their overemphasis on the Federal contribution to our educational system. I ask unanimous consent to read into the RECORD an article from yesterday's New York Times which details the Office of Education's actual figures on the Federal Government's 4.5 percent contribution for the school year 1953–54. Under unanimous consent previously granted, I will now read the article from yesterday's New York Times into the RECORD.

The article follows:

UNITED STATES LISTS SOURCE OF SCHOOL FUNDS—STUDY SHOWS COMMUNITIES PAY 54.7 PERCENT WITH STATES CONTRIBUTING 27.4 PERCENT

WASHINGTON, May 25.—Public school statistics compiled by the Office of Education for the school year 1953-54 show that local communities furnished 54.7 percent of school funds.

States put up 27.4 percent and the Federal Government 4.5 percent. The rest was from county and other sources. The total was $7,867,000,000.

In that year school expenditures increased 23.8 percent over those of the 1951–52 school year, to a total of $9,092,000,000.

The biggest proportion of this increase was in capital outlay for land, buildings and equipment. Capital outlay in 1953–54 totaled $2,055,178,000, as compared with $1,477,332,000 for 1951–52.

Total enrollment that year was 28,836,000, a gain of 23.9 percent over a 10-year period.

The instructional staff numbered 1,100,000, an increase of 8.5 percent over 1951–52. Average salary for this staff, which included teachers, principals, and supervisors, was $3,825. The average annual income of members of the Nation's labor force was $4,245.

TWENTY-FIVE PERCENT NEW TEACHERS

Almost 25 percent of the teachers were men, highest percentage in recent years. The report said that the record for male teachers was 43 percent in the school year 1879–80. The record low was 14.1 percent in 1919–20.

Transportation of pupils at public expense was said to be expanding. About a third of public school pupils were transported to and from schools.

Single-teacher schools were declining.

In a little more than 2 decades, the report said, more than two-thirds of the 1-teacher schools, which numbered 143,000 in 1931–32, have disappeared from the American scene.

There were 43,000 such schools in 1953–54. Sixty-four percent of them were in the north central region. In that region 1 teacher in 11 still taught in a 1-teacher school.

The 141-page biennial report is available from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., at 55 cents a copy.

Armed Forces Day, Charleston, W. Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I direct to the attention of our colleagues the address delivered by Brig. Gen. C. W. G. Rich, Director of Military Personnel Operations for the Department of the Army, on the occasion of the Armed Forces Day ceremonies in Charleston, W. Va., May 18, 1957.

General Rich in his address described so well the methods by which the Army is today helping to deter war. His address follows:

ADDRESS BY BRIG. GEN. C. W. G. RICH, CHARLESTON, W. VA., ARMED FORCES DAY, MAY 18, 1957

Ladies and gentlemen it is fitting that all Americans take recognition of our Armed Forces for they are the very bulwark of our freedom. Today I shall touch briefly on some of the important points that we should emphasize on this particular occasion.

During the last 30 years we have seen the holocausts of World War II and Korea, the Soviet oppression in Hungary, and the present armed peace. The impact of these world events in shaping our military defense structure has affected every individual and community. It is our hope that we may minimize or even negate the occurrence of similar events in the future.

Always a good starting point is to ask "Why?"—in this particular case why a need for power for peace? To well informed Armericans who have watched the continuing pressures exerted by the forces of communism in Korea, the Soviet satellites, the Middle East, and in other areas of the world during the past several years, the answer is obvious. So I won't belabor you with an extensive discussion of world affairs. I believe the need can be summed up quite concisely in the words of our President when he said "A weak nation can bring neither hope to its own people nor help to its friends. It can only beg mercy of its enemies."

During these ceremonies today we are focusing our attention on only one segment of our national power—the military. But we should never lose sight of the fact that our real power lies in a nation strong economically and politically as well as militarily. This is the essence of national strategy. No one segment—neither the economic, the political, nor the military—must be so overemphasized that we become vulnerable in another area. And the same holds true on the military side. Our military must have strength in the air, on the sea, and on the ground. No one segment should be overemphasized if we are to have the versatility necessary to meet any condition that may arise in today's unsettled world. We must not gear our defense program to a single weapons system, strategic concept, or combination of allies. We must be capable of supporting national policy in all international situations. We should attract rather than repel allies.

Only by joint endeavor and integrated effort, relying on no single service, philosophy, or weapon, can our national military posture be such as to deter war or, the deterrent failing, to win victory in any type of war.

How then, do the Armed Forces contribute to the necessary national strength to deter war? Together, our land, sea, and air forces in Europe and the Pacific, standing guard day and night with the forces of our allies, constitute a living, visual proof of our Nation's strength. In a sense these forces are a form of insurance. We are expending annually large sums of money to provide not large, but effective military forces. These sums are the premium we must pay to insure this country against the effects of total war. I do not believe it is necessary to elaborate on the fact that the price of total war would not only surpass many times our current expenditures in terms of money but would result in substantial losses of that priceless commodity, our sons and brothers. Indeed as we conceive the nature of a future war, these towering mountains and fast-flowing rivers do not afford us the protection that they once did. The advent of the air age and atomic bomb may bring all parts of the earth onto the battlefield of the future.

There isn't time today to cover everything that all the services are doing, so I will speak only of my own service, the Army. In so doing, I wish to discuss briefly five ways in which the Army is today helping to deter war.

First, there are those Army deterrent forces deployed overseas which we have in Europe and also in the Far East. There, deployed along the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, they are a constant reminder to an aggressor that a forward movement into the areas which they defend will be promptly checked by American military strength. They are a constant reminder of the willingness of the American people to share the hazards of living in proximity to the Communist military power. We now have in Europe an Army of five divisions which constitutes an integral part of the NATO ground forces. Our deployments in the Far East are the residual strength to which our forces have been reduced since the Korean armistice. While the number of our divisions has been reduced from 8 to 3, there has been a compensation in the increased strength and efficiency of the Korean Army which now includes 20 infantry divisions and 1 marine division. Japan, also, is making progress in building up its own forces to add to the free world's defenses. All in all, it appears that our oversea deployments are about the most acceptable under the present circumstances.

The second component of the Army which contributes to the deterrence of war is the Army Strategic Reserve of active Army divisions at home. The readiness of these units is important for two reasons. First, they must be ready to move promptly to reinforce our overseas forces in case the latter are attacked. Second, they provide a worldwide strategic reserve of forces constantly ready for movement to any spot in the world where it is to our interest to resist aggression. The combat readiness and the mobility of these divisions are matters of primary national and international concern. Their visible strength in being is a reminder to an aggressor that in a short period of time the American flag can be carried by significant military forces into any part of the world. At the present time we have a total of nine divisions in the Army Strategic Reserve in the United States. Our primary concern is to guarantee their quality and their readiness to fight.

A third type of deterrent force is the antiaircraft element of the Army which contributes to the continental defense of the United States. It is essential to assure an attacking air force that our vital centers are adequately protected by forces capable of repelling or inflicting serious losses upon an invader. The Army's contribution is represented largely by surface-to-air missile batteries. As we know, the Nike Ajax was the first operational surface-to-air missile developed after World War II. It is now in position covering many of the important cities in the United States. It will be replaced progressively by its big brother, the Nike Hercules, which will be capable of firing missiles with a powerful warhead at incoming hostile aircraft. While we still have a certain number of conventional antiaircraft gun batteries in position, we plan progressively to eliminate the cannon and replace them with missiles.

A fourth category of Army deterrent forces is represented by our reserves—the National Guard and the United States Army Reserve. We have never had, and probably never will have, sufficient active Army forces to meet all of our military requirements of the early months of war. It is important that we have Ready Reserves capable of filling the gaps in our active Army structure and which will have the capability of generating new units in accordance with the mobilization requirements of war. The National Guard and the Army Reserve are designed to meet this indispensable need. Our efforts in the Reserve field are mounting as the result of the implementation of the Reserve Forces Act passed in 1955. The great merit of this bill provides the means for getting us reservists who are thoroughly trained and have a requirement to serve in Reserve units. Commencing in August of this year, all selective-service men who return to civil life after 2 years of active service will be required to join a Ready Reserve unit and to serve therein for 2 years. Thus, for the first time, we are developing sources of trained manpower which will progressively give new life and vitality to our Reserve forces structure.

The final category of Army deterrence is represented by the aid which the Army gives to allied army forces throughout the world. We cannot consider our own strategic and tactical problems without giving due consideration to the role of our allies. Thus the military missions which we have about the world helping to develop the defensive strength of friendly forces make a significant contribution to the overall deterrent effect. The manpower aspects of our contribution to the training of allied divisions is not great since our total manpower engaged in this important work does not amount to more than 6,000 individuals. However, these are officers and men of outstanding ability who have been carefully chosen because of their skills and their ability to teach. I can indicate, however, the magnitude of the Army effort in training foreign troops by pointing out that we are, directly or indirectly, helping to train over 200 allied divisions with Army missions or advisory groups in 44 countries of the free world. In addition, substantial amounts of the implements of war are being furnished our allies. This entails considerable logistical effort by our Army, extending from oversea depots to the military sources of supplies here in the States. Obviously, our allies make a major contribution to worldwide deterrence of aggression and thus our efforts are fully repaid to our country.

Now I have cited 5 categories of Army forces which are definitely a part of our national deterrence posture—our oversea deployments constituting approximately 40 percent of our active Army strength; the Army Strategic Reserve at home; the Army antiaircraft units defending the United States; our civilian reserve components; and the training missions engaged in increasing the defensive capability of our allies. This is the Army's contribution to our power for peace—our strength to deter war or to fight successfully if deterrence fails.

To insure that the Army will retain this vitally necessary strength, we have been making far reaching changes during the past few years—changes that are in progress today to add to the Army's capability to meet any challenge that may be presented at any time or any place. We are reorganizing our divisions to the pentomic concept, giving us greater adaptability for fighting any type engagement. The pentomic divisions, though smaller, can bring to bear increased firepower. New missile commands are being organized to translate the great scientific knowledge of our people into battlefield application. Our tactical doctrines are being revised to meet conditions which will exist in a faster moving, more fluid battle area. We are improving our communications to give us better control in situations where our troops will be widely dispersed. And these are but a few of the changes. They vary in scope from items the size of our newly adopted lightweight rifle to our largest missile; from the small mechanical mule for moving the infantryman's supplies in the forward areas to our largest tanks, from the one-man flying platform to large helicopters.

We have generally referred to these changes as evolutionary. But, when you consider that until just a few years ago the pace of warfare had for centuries been geared to the speed of the foot soldier and the horse and the power of rifles and short-range cannon, it would seem that our development over the past 5 or 10 years is more revolutionary than evolutionary—probably the most revolutionary changes in the concept and conduct of warfare in all the history of mankind—at least since the invention of gunpowder.

It is against this background of revolutionary change and fabulous scientific progress that the Army's greatest asset stands out more importantly than ever before—that asset is the man, the individual fighting soldier. The Army's new equipment, new organizations, and new doctrines are ineffectual without competent men to use the equipment and carry out the doctrine. So there is no place for the unqualified in our ranks today. To do our job, we must have men of intelligence to master the complex equipment and men of great moral courage to give strong leadership to our troops on battlefields, where the psychological impact of new weapons on the minds of men cannot be measured—where troops led by men without this great moral courage and fortitude could quickly lose their will to fight for their country and become a purposeless mob. The men in this Army of the future we are building cannot be second-rate Americans—they must be first-rate Americans in every sense of the word.

I suggest that as you examine the weapons on display here today that you give frequent thought to the man that these weapons are designed to support—the United States Army's soldier, the man in whose hands lie the final decision in war. It is this man to whom the Army, for its part of Armed Forces Day, pays especial honor. This is the man you can help by recognizing his real value to the welfare of our Nation. This is the man who, by his very presence on the ground, defies Communist aggression in our far-flung outposts around the world.

Yes; our Army is indeed a dynamic and mighty element of America's power for peace.

Ladies and gentlemen, the record shows that no armed aggression has ever been initiated within the range of the guns of the United States Army—this is a record we hope and pray that we can maintain intact. "Power for peace"—it may even insure that the ranks of those we honor and remember on the approaching Memorial Day, will be limited to those who fell in past wars and not in a war of the future.

Thank you.

Tuberculosis Control on Guam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of our colleagues to the successful tuberculosis-control program under way on our Pacific territory, Guam. For decades the Guamanians have been fighting their foremost enemy, tuberculosis, with limited success. However, during the past 5 years, thanks to a well-planned and executed program by territorial and naval officials, a definite decline in the tuberculosis death rate has been achieved and it is anticipated that before long the incidence, prevalence, and morbidity rate will approach the low that has been attained in mainland United States.

I submit for the reading of our colleagues an article entitled "Tuberculosis

Control on Guam," written by Dr. Niels H. Poulsen, Chief, Division of Public Health, Department of Medical Services, Guam, which appeared in the South Pacific Commission Quarterly Bulletin for April 1957 and describes the commendable control program that is being pursued.

The article follows:

TUBERCULOSIS CONTROL ON GUAM

(By Niels H. Poulsen)

Because of its isolated location, and since Navy clearance is compulsory for all travelers to and from Guam, this Pacific island presents an almost ideal place for the establishment of a tuberculosis control program with a fair chance of success.

Since its discovery by Magellan in 1521, Guam has been the focus of influence from many parts of the world. The first Spanish missionary who landed on Guam described the native Chamorros as a strong and healthy people, and estimated the population to be about 70,000 souls—a tremendously high population for an island of only 225 square miles of which a rather big part consists of mountains and coral rocks unfit for agricultural development.

Certainly, with a population of more than 300 capita per square mile, no serious epidemics or communicable diseases could have been in existence on Guam in ancient times without having limited considerably the size of the population.

Unfortunately the Spanish not only brought Christianity with them but also smallpox, tuberculosis and other diseases. Through the influx of war, spread of tuberculosis, and epidemics of smallpox during the next two centuries, the population was decimated to such an extent that in the beginning of the 18th century only 1,600 Chamorros, mostly women, had survived.

The permanent civilian population has now increased to 38,000, of which about 32,000 are native Guamanians originated from the Chamorros but mixed with Spanish, Filipino-Malayan, Japanese, Chinese, and in the later years also some American blood. The last 6,000 are mostly stateside Americans employed by the local government or in private business.

The military personnel, civil service, and their dependents and hired laborers, mostly Filipinos, constitute an even larger, constantly changing group of people under military jurisdiction and medically under the care of the military medical authorities. Due to scrutinous control before the arrival on Guam, tuberculosis is practically nonexistent in this last group, and when occasionally found the patient will as a rule be sent to the mainland and will therefore not figure in our statistics.

Our tuberculosis control program is therefore mainly aimed at eliminating tuberculosis among the native Guamanians where tuberculosis still is a major public health problem.

With the introduction of the three big drugs: Streptomycin, para-amino-salicylic acid (PAS), and isoniazid (iso-nicotinic acid hydrazide), the mortality of tuberculosis dropped drastically in the United States. In the last few years, however, the decline has been slower, and it seems that the modern treatment of tuberculosis at present has reached its maximum effectiveness to prevent death of tuberculosis, and an increasingly high number of patients will develop strains of tuberculosis bacilli resistant to the modern drugs.

In many cases modern therapy will be able only to prolong the life expectancy of the patient but not to completely arrest his disease to a degree where he does not constitute a potential danger of infection to his surroundings if not constantly under medical surveillance.

In Guam the decline in the death rate of tuberculosis has been still sharper than in the United States, but our experience here also points in the direction that modern therapy, including drugs as well as surgical procedures when indicated, will not be able to eradicate the remaining and still too big tuberculosis problem.

This theory is firmly supported by the fact that the morbidity, the incidence and prevalence of tuberculosis has not dropped nearly as rapidly as the mortality rate, neither in the United States nor on Guam. In the United States the mortality rate dropped 56 percent, in the period from 1952 to 1954 compared with only 8.2 percent, in the incidence of new reported cases. In Guam there were still 119 new admissions of active pulmonary tuberculosis to the TB hospital in 1955.

Although this is a drop in the incidence of new reported cases, this figure is at least 5 times as high as in the mainland per 100,000 population, and even if death from tuberculosis has dropped from its leading position as the number one killer on Guam to a minor position far below cancer, pneumonia and accidents, the prevalence of this disease is still so high that it causes more sick days and constitutes a bigger economic problem than any other communicable disease.

These facts made us realize that a more rigid preventive tuberculosis program was indicated.

B. C. G. VACCINATION PROGRAM FIRST STEP

The first step was the introduction of a B. C. G. vaccination program in April 1956. The program is aimed at vaccinating:

1. All newborn babies when they are 2 days old.

2. All school children, starting at the first graders.

3. All contacts of tuberculosis patients.

4. Other groups especially exposed to tuberculosis such as hospital and public health personnel and teachers.

All the Public Health district nurses were trained in the tuberculin testing, for which it was decided to use Old Tuberculin (O. T.) in the concentration of 1 : 100. Recent research work (e. g., the South Pacific Commission, Research on Tuberculosis, 1950) has proved that this test is superior to the commercial Purified Protein Derivative (PPD) available in this part of the world, and that a correctly performed test with this high concentration of O. T. will be positive in almost 100 percent of cases with active tuberculosis.

All cases who show a positive tuberculin reaction will have a chest X-ray to evaluate whether or not they have active tuberculosis, and active cases will be admitted to the tuberculosis hospital. All negative cases will have their B. C. G. vaccination for which we use deep frozen B. C. G. vaccine from the Research Foundation, University of Illinois. The vaccination is performed with the multiple puncture disk method as developed by Dr. Sol Roy Rosenthal, medical director of the Research Foundation. Eight weeks after the B. C. G. vaccination a retest with O. T. will be given to all who received vaccination and those who are still negative will be revaccinated.

The X-ray mobile unit consists of a General Electric X-ray equipment for 70 millimeter chest X-rays, installed in a truck with space for an X-ray technician, a small office for the nurse and dressing room for patients. Efforts are made to work out a schedule to send the unit to each of the 17 districts of the island once a year. The nurse will contact the local commissioner (chief of the village or district) and a committee will be made who will be responsible for getting all inhabitants of the district to have a chest X-ray, free of charge.

Competition is encouraged between villages to obtain the best results in the different districts where the X-ray mobile unit has already been. So far the percentage of population who had an X-ray varies from 70 to 85 percent. In the high schools it is hoped to get 100 percent of the students X-rayed.

The films are read by the radiologist of the health department. In all doubtful cases, he will request the patient to come to the hospital for a retake of a 14-by-7 inch film and for further evaluation.

All persons who apply for foodhandler certificate (foodhandlers, restaurant personnel, people working in bakeries, butchers, etc.) must have a chest X-ray once a year. The aim is that Guam shall be the first territory in the United States where all the population has had a chest X-ray.

Up till now approximately 3,000 persons have been tuberculin tested and/or B. C. G. vaccinated.

Re 1—Newborn babies: More than two-thirds of all babies in the civilian Guamanian population are born in the Guam Memorial Hospital, and it is the duty of the nurses in the obstetrical department to perform the vaccination against tuberculosis in the second day of the baby's life after a written permission from the parents has been signed.

This permission is given in almost 100 percent of the cases, and no complication whatsoever has occurred until now from the vaccination. If there is any known case of tuberculosis in the family, the baby will be isolated at least 8 weeks or until turned tuberculin positive.

The midwives will report to the district nurse whenever a baby is born in the district and the nurse will perform the B. C. G. vaccination. It is also the duty of the district nurse to perform the tuberculin tests 8 weeks after birth on the babies discharged from the hospital as well as on the babies born in her district.

Re 2—School children: One specially trained public-health nurse has been assigned to test and vaccinate all the 15,000 school children on the island, starting with the first graders. Before the schools were closed for summer holidays in 1956 she succeeded in testing and vaccinating 93 percent of all the first graders in the schools all over the island. The 7 percent not tested or vaccinated were either absent or their parents did not give the requested written permission.

Of the more than 1,200 children tested, 13 percent showed positive tuberculin reaction. These 13 percent did all have a chest X-ray and all contacts of these children were advised to have a tuberculin test and a chest X-ray in order to find the source of the tuberculosis infestation.

In this way our B. C. G. vaccination program has proved to be a most valuable source of case finding and has in a most encouraging way stimulated the interest and the knowledge of tuberculosis problems in the parents.

Re 3—All contacts of TB patients: In order to minimize the risk of spreading tuberculosis through discharged tuberculosis patients, a close cooperation between the tuberculosis hospital and the tuberculosis control unit of the public health department is effected. Before the discharge of a TB patient from the hospital, the TB control nurse will be advised. She will pay a visit to the patient's home, check the economic and sanitary conditions of the family and the patient will not be discharged before all contacts have been examined, tuberculin tested, X-rayed, and before all tuberculin negative contacts have had their B. C. G. vaccination and have turned tuberculin positive.

It is our experience that this plan has strengthened our TB control program considerably. Not only do we find 40 percent of our new cases among the contacts of known tuberculosis patients, but through the education and the interest that the whole family of the TB patient is taking in this program, it is much easier now to per-

suade the patient to follow his chest clinics and routine chest X-rays and thus in time find recidivists and have the patients readmitted to the TB hospital when necessary.

Re 4—Other groups especially exposed: More than 80 percent of the hospital personnel, public-health personnel, and the teachers so far examined were tuberculin positive. However, a few tuberculin negative cases were found among the personnel working in the TB hospital or in other ways in close contact with patients suffering from active pulmonary tuberculosis. These cases were all given B. C. G. vaccination and removed from their jobs until turned tuberculin positive.

It is evident that no person should ever be allowed to work in close contact with active tuberculosis before having acquired either a natural resistance or having been immunized against tuberculosis—that is, in both cases before a tuberculin test has proved positive.

EDUCATION OF PUBLIC IMPORTANT

Much stress has been put upon informing and educating the Guamanian population about this tuberculosis-control program.

Articles in the newspapers in English as well as in the Chamorro language, announcements in the radio, B. C. G. film shown in television and talks and movies about tuberculosis in village meetings and parent-teacher association meetings, have helped in disseminating knowledge and stimulating the interest in tuberculosis problems.

The Public Health Department, jointly sponsored by the TB and Health Association of Guam, has started a new quarterly health bulletin called Salud (the word used by the Guamanians for "Health"). The first number of Salud was dedicated to tuberculosis problems of Guam and 15,000 copies were distributed to all Guamanian schoolchildren.

COMPLETE CONTROL EXPECTED

Our expectations are high of having completely controlled tuberculosis on Guam within a limited number of years. Time alone will prove if our hopes can be realized, but our experience so far has shown us that the introduction of a well-planned B. C. G. vaccination program beyond its own merits also has helped us in stimulating the interest for tuberculosis in the population, helped us in finding new cases of tuberculosis and strengthened our control program. The TB and Health Association is jointly sponsoring the whole program, so that all examinations, including tuberculin tests and chest X-rays and vaccinations, can be offered to the population without any charge. Fortunately, as another proof of the fine reception afforded this program by the people, the Christmas seal campaign of 1956 was a greater success than ever before, and will thus make it possible for us to continue our efforts in 1957.

St. Mary's Church, Lynn, Mass., Celebrates 3 Anniversaries in 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the pride of a people in their home city takes many forms.

Perhaps some historical event that took place within its boundaries, has singled it out for special remembrance. Or the famous men and women it has produced. Maybe the accomplishments of its local government, or the success of its principal industry, or the accumulated advantages that make it a good place in which to work and live; these and other factors build proper pride in one's community.

But none is greater than its beautiful temples of worship, and the devoted pastors who are forever associated with them.

St. Mary's is the mother church of the large Catholic population of Lynn, Mass.

This week, it celebrates the 100th anniversary of its founding. By a most happy combination of circumstances, the congregation will also honor the golden jubilee of its pastor, the Right Reverend Monsignor Joseph F. McGlinchey, P. A., D. D., LL. D., who was ordained as a priest 50 years ago. At the same time they will observe the 30th anniversary of his pastorate at St. Mary's.

In a spirit of fervent thanksgiving, all the people of this industrial city will join to congratulate St. Mary's and its good shepherd, in a remarkable exemplification of faith and fellowship.

The pervasive influence for good that has been exerted by the mother church, is a source of pride for all the inhabitants of Lynn.

The story of St. Mary's humble beginnings, and the pioneering efforts of its first communicants, is one that will evoke general admiration.

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of the sermon of His Excellency Richard J. Cushing, archbishop of Boston, celebrant of the solemn pontifical Mass of Thanksgiving in St. Mary's Church on May 25, 1957, marking the opening of a 9-day observance of the centennial of the church, and the 50th anniversary of the ordination of the Right Reverend Monsignor Joseph F. McGlinchey, pastor for 30 years.

ARCHBISHOP CUSHING'S SERMON

It is with happy hearts, joyful and proud, that we gather this morning to commemorate the centenary of St. Mary's Parish and the golden anniversary of the priesthood of its illustrious pastor, Monsignor McGlinchey.

St. Mary's Parish is a monument to the zeal of the priests, the religious, and the loyalty of the people. No priest, no succession of priests, can possibly build parishes like St. Mary's, traditions like those of St. Mary's, unless they are supported and inspired by the loyalty and generosity of the parishioners.

There is a strange but real law of mutual formation constantly at work between priests and people in the Catholic Church and in every Catholic parish. God accomplishes His eternal decrees through priests and people alike, and priests and people exert a mutual influence on one another in the bringing to perfection of God's providence for His church.

Great priests make for great people; great people make for great priests. Holy priests lead people into the ways of sanctity; holy people bring out whatever of sanctity our priests may possess. Our parishes are not built by the priests alone, they are not built by the people alone. They are the glorious result of mutual inspiration, common labor, a truly family unity of action between our good priests and our great people.

St. Mary's is a perfect example of what I mean: The vision of the priest is made possible by the generosity of the people. The loyalty of the people receives its reward through the leadership of the priest—and thanks to both, a parish is given to God where the church universal functions for the formation of saints.

So the purpose for which we are met this morning is solemnly to commemorate the centenary anniversary of the priests and people of St. Mary's Parish. It is impossible to honor all who have passed to their reward but we salute them nevertheless with our prayerful remembrances in token of gratitude for the heritage they bequeathed to us.

Who are they? The pioneers who founded this great parish, the priests, people and religions who contributed by their works and sacrifices toward its growth and development. They planted the seeds and nourished them with their devotion. We have profited by the harvest.

At all times the Master of the Vineyard delegated His authority to outstanding pastors who guided and inspired the work. The most recent is Monsignor McGlinchey, a priest of God for 50 years. To him, our honored jubilarian, it becomes my privilege today to pay a special tribute.

The measure of any priest's greatness in the eyes of Almighty God is his faithfulness to the demands made upon him by the church to which he has pledged his service. As ministers of the sanctuary, we do not please God by accomplishments which are spectacular in the eyes of men if at the same time we are indifferent to those aspects of our ministry that are less attractive and less satisfying.

Nor are we great in the eyes of God if we are content with a quiet and uneventful existence, and shrink from the effort and self-sacrifice that would open up possibilities of extraordinary achievement.

The priest whom we most admire, as coming closest to what Christ our Lord would want him to be in our own day and age, is the priest who is first, last and always a servant of the church; the priest who gives his attention to every side of his ministry in the position to which he has been assigned; the priest who patiently accepts the personal sacrifices incidental to the faithful discharge of his duty; the priest who is ambitious to do great things, not that he himself may appear great in doing them, but rather that the church may prosper in its divine mission of gaining souls for Christ.

MEASURES UP TO STANDARDS

I am happy to be able to single out our eminent jubilarian, Monsignor McGlinchey, as one who measures up to these standards of priestly perfection. As he completes half a century of intense and dedicated priestly activity, his record of outstanding accomplishments presents itself not merely as the realization of the hopes and desires of his own interior life, but as the fulfillment of a ministry for which divine providence has destined him in a special way.

We cannot look back over the past 50 years, during which the archdiocese of Boston has grown from adolescence to adult maturity without thanking God that this period has been contemporary with the priesthood of Monsignor McGlinchey. For certainly our venerable jubilarian has done much for the church in Boston at a time when Boston has been able to do much for the church throughout the world.

Monsignor McGlinchey's golden jubilee is an occasion, therefore, not only for the personal tribute which we are happy to pay to him as his friends, but, far more significantly, an occasion for grateful recognition of his completely impersonal and self-immolating fidelity to his priestly ministry.

Fifty years ago today Joseph McGlinchey was ordained to the priesthood in the Eternal City of Rome, after competing his studies at the North American College. During his earlier years at Boston College he had impressed all who knew him as one whose efforts might be rewarded with extraordinary success. When he returned to Boston to work as a young priest in the parish of St.

Paul in Cambridge, he manifested at once those qualities of leadership and resourcefulness which made him an inevitable candidate for a position of responsibility in the archdiocese.

The late Cardinal O'Connell, then at the beginning of his own providential career as archbishop of Boston, turned to Father McGlinchey for the work which has proved to be so vitally important in the development of the church in modern times.

In 1911, still a young priest, Father McGlinchey was appointed diocesan director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, a position that he was to hold for 17 years.

Before Father McGlinchey's time the Society for the Propagation of the Faith had functioned much as does every diocesan agency in the early stages of its development. The needs of the missions were brought to the attention of the faithful. Appeals for missionary aid were made in a weekly column in the Pilot. Individual priests and individual parishes afforded considerable help to struggling foundations in fields afar; but as yet the work had not been organized in such a way that consistent results might be hoped for.

Father McGlinchey was able to effect a reorganization of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and to bring it into proper integration with the worldwide missionary activity of the church. A new era was beginning in the relations of the archdiocese of Boston with the universal church. Only a short time before, Boston was itself dependent on aid from other countries.

Now it was to become a center from which help would be sent to missionary lands throughout the world. Father McGlinchey undertook the important task of reorganizing and coordinating the efforts in behalf of the missions which were being expended so generously by the priests and faithful of the archdiocese. Quietly, persistently, devotedly, he went from parish to parish, building on what had already been accomplished, substituting intelligently conceived plans for previous trial-and-error methods, developing in both priests and people a sense of personal responsibility for the spread of the faith which they were themselves coming to know more comprehensively.

It was my good fortune to come into contact with Father McGlinchey during my own years of preparation for the priesthood at St. John's Seminary. My interest in the missions was nurtured under his fatherly guidance and my understanding of the missionary needs of the church was deepened and broadened by what I learned as I listened to his monthly talks and met the missionaries whom he brought with him from time to time.

LEARNED MUCH FROM MONSIGNOR

As I became associated with Monsignor McGlinchey in the early years of my priesthood, I learned from him, as does every young priest from an older priest who is devoted to his work, many lessons whose value can be appreciated only with the passing of years and the gaining of personal experience with the problems of the church.

What I was able to accomplish as his successor was dependent entirely on what he had done before me, and on the possibilities which he had opened up to me as I worked under his direction. Monsignor McGlinchey was truly a leader to be admired, an exponent of the selfless and objective devotion to the interests of the church which transcends all human and personal considerations, a priest of sterling character, unfailing in his determination to work for God and unswerving in his loyalty to those whom God had placed over him as his ecclesiastical superiors.

Hundreds of young men and women inspired by Monsignor McGlinchey's forceful and supernatural presentation of the cause of the missions, have sanctified the land of their birth by leaving all things to follow Christ in fields afar. These courageous soldiers of Christ, among them Monsignor McGlinchey's own dear brother, whose mortal remains lie in the mission fields of India, have had no small part, we may be sure, in the spiritual growth of the church in our own archdiocese.

Nor must we forget the less important, but no less necessary part which Monsignor McGlinchey played in raising our diocesan contribution to the foreign missions from $53,000 in 1910 to more than $800,000 in 1927.

It was in this year that Monsignor McGlinchey completed the first part of his priestly ministry and turned to the work here in Lynn in which he has been so actively engaged up to the present day. One needs but to glance at the magnificent group of buildings from which the spiritual life of St. Mary's Parish radiated to understand how much the faithful of this entire area are indebted to Monsignor McGlinchey's broad vision of their needs and to his fearless determination to bring his widely conceived plans into execution. The priests who have assisted him here in St. Mary's over the years can see in retrospect how much he has done that would have been completely impossible under less efficient and more hesitant leadership.

I doubt if any parish in the archdiocese can present a more serviceable and a more comprehensive program of activity than Monsignor McGlinchey has developed here at St. Mary's. I doubt if any group of curates are more thoroughly cooperative and more genuinely interested in their work than those who labor under Monsignor McGlinchey's intelligent and inspiring direction.

To enumerate in detail all the accomplishments of Monsignor McGlinchey's pastorate would be to repeat what is well known to all of us. What stands out, I am sure, in everyone's mind as we rejoice with our jubilarian today is the personal triumph which he has gained in the development of St. Mary's High School. We need only to note the figures which are cited in the current Boston Catholic Directory; St. Mary's High School—618 boys, 456 girls. What joy must fill Monsignor McGlinchey's heart today as he reflects that under God's grace he has provided an education under the helpful influence of the church to these young people and for hundreds of their predecessors.

Let me recall another set of figures which I was happy to make public a short time ago. In our diocesan major seminary at the present time there are 22 graduates of St. Mary's Boys' High School. With the single exception of Boston College High School, no other high school in the archdiocese has so large a representation in our seminary. Looking back to 1927, we find that vocations to the priesthood and the religious life from this area were few and far between. We cannot escape the conclusion that St. Mary's High School, over the past 30 years, has provided the church with many vocations that would otherwise have been lost, and that to Monsignor McGlinchey belongs the inestimable merit of having organized an institution which has strengthened the foundations of the faith throughout Essex County.

We have had proof in recent months of the powerful influence for good which St. Mary's High School exerts not only on its own pupils, but on those of other schools both in Boston and throughout the country. In an age in which young people have become confused and disturbed by harmful attacks on the ideals of Christian virtue, St. Mary's High School stands out at a tower of spiritual strength and a center of effective resistance against modern paganism. May God bless Monsignor McGlinchey for having created and maintained in St. Mary's High School the standards of both scholarship and Christian character which have contributed so mightily toward sturdy citizenship no less than toward the building up of the Mystical Body of Christ.

The three decades of Monsignor McGlinchey's parish life have brought him sorrow and frustration, as well as deep and lasting consolation. He has experienced, together with his faithful parishioners, the direful results of industrial strife and economic depression. He has encountered the resistance of the subversive philosophy of life which cannot tolerate the growth of the church.

Some 10 years ago, a disastrous fire destroyed the beautiful church around which had clustered the precious traditions of this wonderful parish. Through all these reverses of fortune Monsignor McGlinchey has maintained a peaceful and serene confidence in the providence of God. He has met rising costs and diminishing resources by skillful management and personal sacrifice.

He has conquered ideological warfare by steadfast fidelity to the faith in which his own spiritual life has found its support. With supreme courage he began and completed the work of raising up this beautiful temple over the ruins of its flame-scarred predecessor.

LAUDS ACHIEVEMENTS FOR COMMUNITY

Today, as the shadows of the past lengthen over the vistas of the future, Monsignor McGlinchey stands erect and unshakable as the symbol of the strength of the church. In the annals of the city of Lynn and of Essex County his achievements will be recorded as an example of what a righteous man can do for God and country when he determines to live for others rather than for himself, and resolves to defend, both as a priest and as a citizen, the highest ideals of Christian virtue.

And in the annals of the archdiocese of Boston let me say myself what every priest of my time knows full well, I am here today in my present capacity because as a young priest only a few months ordained, Monsignor McGlinchey placed me in the diocesan office of the Propagation of the Faith Society. From that assignment came opportunities for me to serve the church in positions of great trust and grave responsibility. I can only hope and pray that I have been faithful to the extraordinary confidence he placed in me when the oils of consecration were hardly dry on my hands.

Ad multos annos, dear Monsignor McGlinchey. This is our prayer as we offer with you the holy sacrifice of the mass on this your day of golden jubilee. May He who has brought you to this day be with you as you complete in years to come the work which remains for you to accomplish.

May all whom you have helped to know God and to love Him carry into eternity the sentiments of gratitude which we who are with you today express in their name.

We salute you with love and admiration, O man of God. You have served God faithfully over these 50 years; He will be your strength and your consolation. May His blessing decend upon you and remain forever. Amen.

Slow Death to Native Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILL E. NEAL

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, the payrolls of small but widely dispersed industrial plants have heretofore contributed much to encourage small communities' growth of home owning, civic minded, self-supporting citizens who constitute the eco-

nomic stability that tends to direct migrations to populous areas.

Facts presented in the following editorial explain why so many of our former prosperous communities are fast becoming ghost towns:

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER: WILL YOU LET OUR INDUSTRY DIE?

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Twice now you have been elected to the highest office in the land through an overwhelming outpouring of popular support based on your belief in the American way of life.

It is not for us to set in judgment of those phases of your administration upon which we are not qualified to speak. But there is one policy of government upon which we are well qualified to speak because it concerns us initimately. The tariff and trade policies of your administration are destroying the American pottery industry. The same may be said of the handblown-glass industry.

Here are the figures:

Members of the United States Potters Association, who make close to 90 percent of all the semivitreous dinnerware made in this country, produced 27,466,000 dozens of pieces in 1948. There has been a steady decrease each year since then, with the exception of 1950, until in 1956 the total shipment of domestic potteries amounted to 17,721,000 dozens.

Earnings in 1948 for these same plants were $4,150,350 after taxes. This figure rapidly decreased until in 1954 there was a net loss for all plants of $1,107,862. The net loss was slightly less for 1955 and no improvement is expected to be shown when 1956 figures are in.

During this period, which was probably the most prosperous the country has ever enjoyed generally, imports from Japan increased more than five times. In 1956 alone, imports of Japanese dinnerware sets were more than double those of 1955. While this was going on, four large American potteries closed their doors completely.

What has all this accomplished? If the motives behind your program are to help the Japanese, you have not even succeeded in doing this. Seventy-five percent of the cost of making American pottery is in labor; Japanese labor costs are barely one-tenth those in this country. Therefore, as far as the Japanese themselves are concerned, their pottery could be sold in this country at far lower prices than it is and still be profitable.

Is this fair? The Japanese laborer, whom we are apparently committed to uplift, is still working for next to nothing; the American importer is making a huge profit at the expense of the Japanese, and the American pottery-industry is dying a horrible death.

Raising tariffs will not help. Japanese ware as it comes off the boat is so cheap that tariffs would have to be at a fantastic rate to begin to bring it up to the American level. The only chance for the survival of the American pottery industry is the application of a quota on the quantity of ware to be imported from each country.

Will anyone suffer under such an arrangement? Not that we can see. The Japanese worker can't get much less than 15 cents an hour; the importer might have to settle for a smaller, but perfectly reasonable profit, and maybe the American pottery industry can turn some of its multi-million dollar losses into a small profit before it is totally extinct.

We've heard all the opposing arguments to this, including the one that if we don't help underprivileged countries they will turn to communism. Well, if the Japanese pottery worker isn't ripe for communism at 15 cents an hour under the present system, he looks pretty safe to us. And how about the American pottery worker? Aren't you worried about what he may be thinking?

The industry is ready to support its position with facts and figures and plans. Won't you listen before it's too late? Or must we soon sit down to dinner, raise our Japanese cups to our lips and silently mourn the passing of a great American industry?

Respectfully,

THE EDITORS.

P. S.—Not only do we hear of the tribulations of the dinnerware industry but also from the vitrified china industry, the artware industry and most recently the plate glass and window glass industries. Will you look into this from the American point of view?

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

, 1957

TING OF

ting of a
by law,
accompa-
c Printer
y execu-
ndepend-
itting re-
inquiries
ewith an
nting the
ction re-
reports or
es (U. S.

ies, when
e referred
on House
presenta-
d Admin-
cing their
st of the
ate of the
s shall be
s reported
937).

PITOL

RECORD is
ing, where
ce during
orders for
$1.50 per
ay also be
ed for the
form.

ORY

irection of
may print
nburse the
rrent Con-
ll be made
ec. 150, p.

L RECORD

ed to fur-
RD at $1.50

o Superin-
nt Printing

L RECORD

blic Printer
rder of any
te, extracts
the person
ost thereof
942).

Appendix

International Atomic Energy Agency—Address by the Late Senator McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy at a Wisconsin GOP Club dinner in Milwaukee on February 9, 1957. It contains an analysis of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the proposed treaty, which I believe warrants the attention of all.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR JOE MCCARTHY, WISCONSIN GOP CLUB, LINCOLN DAY DINNER, FEBRUARY 9, 1957, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

My fellow Americans, there are a number of vital issues that Congress will be dealing with between now and July. I wish we had time tonight to discuss each one of them. But if I may, I would like to concentrate on a treaty—an extremely important treaty—that will come up for Senate ratification in a few weeks. So far, this treaty has been all but ignored by the press, and by practically all of the Senators who will vote on it.

Ordinarily, I would not take up your time discussing a treaty; they are usually fairly boring matters. But this one will not bore you. More likely, it will shock you; for it presents a threat of enormous proportions to the safety and independence of the United States. I am referring to a treaty that would in the name of "Atoms for Peace," set up an International Atomic Energy Agency.

I am sure you have all heard of the highly touted "Atoms for Peace" program. And you have probably been wondering what, exactly, is involved behind the glowing generalities. Well, this proposed treaty furnishes the answers—and they are not exactly reassuring. So tonight I suggest we lift up the curtain of pious platitudes, and take a look at the concrete proposals. Unless we can alert the American people to what is in the treaty, and arouse them, it is a foregone conclusion that when it comes up for ratification, the Senate will—as it has so often in the past—simply roll over and play dead.

First of all, what is this treaty supposed to accomplish? The idea, roughly, is to provide a means by which nations that have the technical know-how and material necessary to produce atomic energy can give their know-how and atomic materials to nations that do not have them. For this purpose, an International Agency is to be set up which will act as a kind of international broker to receive the atomic information and material from the "haves" and distribute it to the "have-nots." This idea of sharing the wealth might seem rather appealing on the surface. As we shall see, however, offering to share our atomic wealth is in a class with the Chicago Police Department offering to share its pistols and submachine guns with the Dillinger mob.

The United States is, of course, a "have" nation with regard to atomic materials—and we have already acted accordingly. The President of the United States has already promised to give 5,000 kilograms of Uranium-235 to the Agency for distribution to other countries, effective the day the Agency comes into being. What is more, we have promised to give an additional 15,000 kilograms during the next 3 years—provided a similar amount is given during that period by all of the other nations of the world combined.

I want to repeat that: as of now, the President has already committed the United States to make a gift of 5,000 kilograms of U–235, which will be made available immediately, no strings attached. In addition to that, we will give 15,000 kilograms between the time the Agency is set up and 1960, if the other nations of the world, combined, furnish a like amount.

No other nation has made any commitment whatsoever. Nor are they required to; the treaty provides, simply, that each nation "may" contribute "special fissionable materials" to the Agency, and that each nation "should" make available to the Agency technical atomic information. So that for the moment, the United States is the only nation on the "giving" end of the deal.

The "giving", of course, will be done by you, the American taxpayer. Twenty thousand kilograms of uranium 235 costs, roughly, $500 million—a half a billion out of your pockets to finance atomic energy development in foreign countries. And this does not take into account the operating expenses of the Agency of which, naturally, the United States will pay the lion's share.

But money—however important—is only a small matter compared with the threat to our national security presented by a gift of uranium 235. For U–235 is a military material.

We are planning to furnish the uranium isotope 235, enriched by 20 percent. Every competent scientist agrees that such uranium can be quickly brought from 20 percent enrichment to enrichment sufficient for production of atomic bombs. Moreover, the Atomic Energy Commission has said that 94 percent of the cost of enriching uranium to the 90 percent necessary for making atomic weapons has already been paid when the isotope is 20 percent enriched. This means that when the United States gives the International Agency 5,000 kilograms of U–235, we will, for all practical purposes, have given the material to make in the neighborhood of 550 atomic bombs.

By the time we have given 20,000 kilograms we will have given the material to make 2,200 atomic bombs—enough to wipe every major American city off the map.

In other words, what has been sold to the public in glowing terms as an "Atoms for Peace" program is, potentially, an "Atoms for War" program.

The nations that receive this atomic material are not, of course, supposed to use it for war purposes. But my point is that no responsible scientists and no responsible proponent of the treaty—in the administration or outside of it—will deny that this material can easily be converted into atomic bombs. That being the case, the next question becomes terribly important: Who will belong to the Agency—what countries will receive our atomic materials?

The answer is: Every member of the United Nations that ratifies the treaty. This means, of course, that Communist Russia, Communist Yugoslavia, Communist Rumania, Communist Bulgaria and all of the Communist satellites in Eastern Europe will belong, and will be entitled to atomic materials furnished by the United States. But that isn't all. Nations that are not members of the United Nations may, by majority vote of the Agency, be admitted to the Agency after it has been set up. Therefore, since there is no veto, it is a foregone conclusion that Red China will be among the nations to which we will be donating materials that can be used to make atomic bombs.

Now, how will the Agency make its decisions? This is another matter that the "Atoms for Peace" propagandists do not discuss.

Overall policy recommendations for the Agency will be made by a "General Conference" in which the United States will have 1 vote out of some 70 or 80.

The day-to-day decisions as to how and where the atomic material will be distributed will be made by a Board of Governors, to be composed of 23 members. Thanks to the incredibly confused language of the treaty, it is impossible to be sure just who will belong to this Board. As I interpret the gobbledygook, the United States is likely to have 1 representative on the Board, and the Communist bloc is likely to have 4. But another interpretation is possible: the United States could have 2 members on the Board, in which case the Communist bloc could have 8.

Anyway you look at it, the United States has about as much to say about what the Agency does as Uruguay or Afghanistan; and we have a good deal less to say than Soviet Russia with her string of satellites.

Now, my good friends, do you begin to see the picture? The United States will give to the International Agency 5,000 kilograms of U–235—15,000 more later on—which can be used to make atomic bombs, enough bombs to destroy every major city in the United States. We then lose all control over the U–235. The Agency, in which the Communists have more power than we do, can turn around and allocate our atomic materials to Nasser in Egypt, or to Nehru in India, or to Communist Rumania, or to Russia itself; and there is nothing we can do about it. But that isn't all.

The Agency can require the United States to put the material on American ships and deliver it, if you please, to Communist ports. I ask you, my friends: How insane can we get in this topsy-turvy world of ours? Incredible as it seems, I, a United States Senator, am being asked to vote for a treaty that would take your money and use it to pay for the transportation of our atomic materials to Communist nations—materials that may very well be returned to us in the form of atomic bombs dropping on American cities. I promise you, I shall never cast that vote.

Those who favor us joining the International Atomic Energy Agency answer these objections by citing the treaty's so-called safeguards. I say "so-called safeguards" because, for all the protection they give us, they might as well not be there. The treaty provides that the Agency shall have the authority to send inspectors into the countries that receive our atomic materials in order to see if the materials are being used for peace-

ful or military purposes. The inspectors are to be chosen by the Agency after consultation with the state or states concerned, that is after consultation with the country that has received the material.

Now there are at least four reasons why this inspection provision gives us inadequate protection. Here is the first. Our atomic experts have testified that in order to detect the diversion of atomic materials to military projects, inspection would have to be carried on 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. But the treaty does not require that kind of inspection; it leaves it up to the Agency in which the United States has only one vote.

Here is the second reason. The inspectors may themselves be Communists, and in all likelihood, at least some of them will. If the country to be inspected is, let us say, Communist Russia, the inspectors must be chosen after consultation with Russia. Whether this gives Russia a veto over the inspectors, the treaty does not make clear. In any event, the Russians and other Communist countries are heavily represented in the Agency itself, and they would be bound to insist on at least some of the inspectors being Communists. You can imagine the chances of getting a straightforward, unbiased report from Communist inspectors, or, for that matter, from a team composed of Communists, neutralists, and a few representatives of the Free World. The Communists know how to deal with such situations, and they would probably be able to obstruct things so that a report would never be made.

The third reason is this: even assuming that the inspectors report to the Agency that, say Egypt or Red China, has started to build atomic bombs with the material we have furnished, there is nothing the Agency can do about it except to deny any further materials to the country in violation of the agreement. And there is no assurance that even that would be done.

In other words, there is no corrective provision at all, no provision for going into the country and forcibly retrieving the material that is being used for atomic bombs. At best, the Agency will simply wring its hands and say, "Well, just for that, you don't get any more."

This assumes, of course, that a majority of the Board of Governors will go along with us if a Communist country starts making atomic bombs with our materials. The Board—on which we would have only one, or at most, two representatives—might very well close its eyes to the violation and, in that case, the shipments of atomic material will continue, and the United States will be left wringing its hands in a solo act.

But the worst is still to come. The fourth reason the so-called safeguards are inadequate is that, under the treaty, the Agency charter can, itself, be amended by a two-thirds vote of the General Conference. Therefore, it is possible for two-thirds of the members to get together and say, "We will amend this treaty so as to provide expressly that all materials that have been contributed to the Agency can be used by the countries that receive them for military purposes, and, in addition, we will do away with all inspections."

Such an amendment would not, to be sure, be binding on the United States unless the Senate ratified it. But supposing the Senate refused to ratify it; what would happen? Well, the treaty is very generous about that. In case an amendment is made that we can't stomach, we may withdraw from the Agency. That is just fine, isn't it? After we have contributed millions of dollars' worth of atomic materials to the Agency and after the Agency has decided, against our wishes, that it will formally approve the use of those materials for military purposes by our enemies, and will cancel all inspections, we may, if you please withdraw.

Wouldn't it be a good deal easier, my friends, if we were just to send a shipload of atom bombs over to the Communist empire and be done with it?

In short, the International Atomic Energy Agency is a device by which the United States can be trapped into building up the atomic armament potential of our enemies. Of course, the administration does not intend it to be used for that purpose; the point is that it can be used and most likely will be used, for that purpose under this treaty—our intentions notwithstanding. And I shall vote for no such treaty as that.

There is one further point I want to make. The United States has already entered into 37 bilateral agreements with various friendly countries concerning research and the construction of atomic power reactors, under conditions that provide some measure of self-protection to the United States. Therefore, why can't the "Atoms for Peace" program be pursued under these bilateral agreements? Why do we need this treaty? Why do we have to go into an international monstrosity that deprives us of our protection and that includes our enemies along with our friends as recipients of American largesse?

The answer is that there is no answer, except that some of the people who make our foreign policy are always at work, thinking up some new, splashy proposal to take our minds off our continued foreign policy defeats. This treaty is one such proposal. Well, I can tell you this: The United States is not going to defeat communism by trying to out-Hollywood the Soviet Union. Flashy, spectacular giveaway programs are no substitute for a foreign policy. And when they involve, as this one does, a dire threat to the military security of the United States, they must be firmly rejected.

Now, let me jump to a somewhat different, though not entirely unconnected, subject—the probable headlines in tomorrow's newspapers. It will be said in some quarters that President Eisenhower is in favor of the International Atomic Energy Agency and that, therefore, by opposing the Agency, McCarthy "attacked" Eisenhower.

Now it is perfectly true that the President has come out for the treaty I have been discussing with you tonight. I may add that I hope he will change his mind. In fact, I have been advised by some Republicans—not "modern Republicans," mind you, but the other kind—that the President was badly advised on the treaty and is now considering changing his position.

But regardless of what the President finally does, and regardless of his reasons for doing it, I am getting sick and tired of attempts to construe every difference of opinion on issues between the President and myself as evidence of a personal feud.

I have not the slightest desire to enter into a personal controversy with the President of the United States—on this or any other issue. I have never attacked the President on a personal level, and I shall never be provoked to do so. But this does not mean, I trust, that I must follow the President, willy-nilly, when I think he is wrong.

Yet, it is suggested in some quarters that I do just that. Let me read a part of a letter from a very good friend of mine who, because he is a good friend, I shall not name. This is my friend's advice: "Joe, what I am trying to say is that a tremendous number of people agree with your ideas and principles, but it is apparent to me that we must go forward along the conditions of the President, as they are, and not as we think they should be." That is putting the proposition in its baldest form; that we Republicans must conform with the conditions the President has laid down, even though we believe them to be unwise and wrong. Now I ask you: Can any man of integrity do that? Do you want me to do that?

There is another course, one that I prefer. I have taken an oath to defend the Constitution of the United States as best I can; and I am under a solemn contract with you, the people of Wisconsin, that as long as I am your United States Senator I shall work for the policies I believe to be right. Therefore, when the administration adopts policies that I think are wrong, I have but two alternatives: Either I can oppose those policies, or I can resign. I have no intention of resigning.

To the extent that I am able to support the policies of the administration I shall continue to do so, readily and enthusiastically. But if the administration promotes policies that I believe will harm our country, then I shall oppose those policies and champion others. I shall take my stand on the issues and I shall do so regardless of the respect I might have for the President and his office, and regardless of the contempt I may have for the "palace guard."

Let me add that this would be my policy no matter who is in the White House—whether it be Dwight Eisenhower or Harry Truman, or, for that matter, someone like my great and good friend, the late Senator Taft. If Senator Taft were President, I imagine there would be a number of occasions when I would feel I had to oppose some of his policies—and being acquainted with the right and duties of a United States Senator, that is exactly what he would want me to do.

As a matter of fact, when we were in the Senate together I did oppose Taft on a matter very close to his heart. I thought that Taft's housing bill was, in some respects, inadequate, and, in others, to costly and unrealistic. As a result, I rewrote the entire Housing Act, which, incidentally, passed the Senate without a single dissenting vote. Bob Taft bore me no ill will for that; in fact, as I have indicated, he ended up supporting my bill. I do not, obviously, insist that President Eisenhower adopt my views. But I do insist that the differences of opinion between us be resolved on the merits of the issues that separate us.

One issue, for example, on which I do not see eye to eye with the President is the size of this year's budget. The administration's budget for 1958 is a call for Federal spending that, believe it or not, far outdoes Harry Truman in his wildest spending spree. A brief look at that budget will, in Secretary Humphrey's phrase, "curl your hair."

The President's 1958 budget figure is $71.8 billion, but this is only a part of the picture, for if we include, as we must, the amounts to be spent from so-called trust funds for various welfare measures and highway construction, the figure is $84 billion. This is the highest budget since World War II—even higher than during the Korean war years.

Now if, from this $84 billion, we deduct $45.8 billion which will be spent on national defense and our foreign-aid programs, and also $7.4 billion that have to be spent in interest payments on our national debt, we find that the administration is proposing to spend $30.9 billion on domestic measures alone. I ask you to compare that figure with the last and highest budget of Harry Truman, which allotted for domestic measures $19.7 billion. Therefore, incredible as it seems, the 1958 budget is $11 billion, or 56 percent higher than the last Truman budget—and this only in the domestic area.

The President sought to explain this amazing budget the other day by saying that the American people "desire" all this welfare spending. Well, you might desire a new car or a mink coat for your wife, but perhaps you can't afford it. Likewise, I believe this Nation cannot afford to go on spending beyond its means. I believe that what the American

people desire above all is relief from the crushing burden of high taxes, and they are well aware that the only way to get tax relief is to stop spending. I shall, therefore, do everything I can to cut down this year's budget.

Let me mention one further matter on which I have differed with the President, and then I will let you go in peace. Back in the summer of 1955, you will recall, I vigorously opposed the President's decision to meet with the Communist leaders at the so-called summit meeting at Geneva. I said that it was unwise to take Communist claims of peaceful intentions at face value, and that we should not talk with them unless they agreed to discuss freeing the satellite nations. I was roundly criticized for this stand on the grounds that I was trying to "tie the President's hands."

Well, you all know what happened. Every commentator, from Walter Lippmann to Fulton Lewis, Jr., maintains, now, that the President was mistaken to endorse the "spirit of Geneva," and that great harm followed from it. The President himself, in his address to Congress last month, said much the same thing. He conceded that the administration had indulged the hope that the Soviet pattern would change after Stalin's death, but that such hopes had proved illusory. I think it follows that if more Senators had spoken their minds on this issue at the time, instead of abjectly deferring to the judgment of the White House, we would be better off today.

So let us, my fellow Americans, put the highest premium on independent thought. Let us go forward fighting for the things we believe in, earnestly but without rancor. Only in this fashion will we prove worthy of the proud heritage left us by Abraham Lincoln.

Truman Cautions on Fallout Fear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, in an article distributed by the North American Newspaper Alliance, and appearing in the New York Times this morning, former President Harry S. Truman expresses his deep faith in the future of our country.

Mr. Truman—always a fighter—calls for positive efforts to solve the great problems of our times. He tells his fellow countrymen that "we must not be frightened by words and phrases."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRUMAN CAUTIONS ON FALLOUT FEAR—URGES UNITED STATES NOT TO WORRY, BUT TO MOVE POSITIVELY—COUNSELS ON INFLATION

(By Harry S. Truman)

I think it is about time we used some horse sense in our approach to two problems now uppermost in the minds of the people of the world.

These problems are the fear of contamination from nuclear fallout and the danger of growing inflation in the United States.

How the United States deals with these two critical issues will have a profound effect on the future of peace and the well-being of people everywhere.

There is an increasing anxiety about these matters, which, if allowed to continue, could lead us to a kind of panic, robbing us of the calm and courage that have been our tradition.

I am confident that with patience and fortitude we can resolve the serious challenge and danger of the nuclear age.

And I believe that if we apply wisely and boldly the knowledge we gained in overcoming the big depression of the nineteen thirties and make use of existing Government machinery, we can prevent runaway inflation.

To be panicked by fear at this stage would serve only the enemies of freedom and democracy and do us irreparable harm.

We may be getting to a point where there can be an even more dangerous fear than the fear of radioactive fallout, and that is the contamination of our will and spirit by another kind of fallout—the fallout of fear.

We must not be frightened by words and phrases. Take the word "inflation." It has become a crazy word, indiscriminately used, to worry those who have little understanding of or faith in the basic soundness of our economic strength and our institutions.

Nor should the awesome implications of the term "radioactive fallout" cause us to abandon ourselves to despair.

It is true that radioactive fallout could grow into a menace. But already it is being distorted by well-meaning people beyond the scope of its immediate threat, and, what is worse, it is being cynically exploited by our enemies in an effort to throw us off balance.

Many nations around the world, dependent upon our economy, are asking today what the chances are of serious inflation in the United States in the foreseeable future. The Communists, of course, who have been waiting for our economy to collapse, have been looking hopefully for signs of a runaway inflation.

I think it would be a serious mistake to confuse the kind of inflation we now have in this country with the catastrophic paper money inflation Germany experienced after World War I. Germany, at that time, issued astronomical amounts of paper money with nothing tangible to back it up, and with industry at a standstill and millions unemployed.

We have made sure that nothing like this type of inflation can happen in this country. Since our last big depression, we have enacted into law many protective measures to guard against any serious breakdown of our economy.

Any country that operates under a system of free competitive enterprise, such as ours, should always be administered in the interest of all the people. This applies especially to a country like ours, which is fundamentaly rich in natural resources and productive capacity.

We should have no fear for its future. Since the last depression we have achieved so vast a productive capacity that not only have we been able to meet our own demand for an ever-increasing high standard of living, but we have also been able to assist millions of people and many nations to be free and self-sustaining. History records no like performance by any other nation.

STEADY RISE IN COSTS

But we must face the fact that in the last 10 years there has been a steady rise in the cost of things our people and our Government buy. At the same time, the value of the dollar has been depreciating at a faster rate, particularly during the last 3 years. This is because the purchasing power of the people has been going up at a greater rate than the rate of production of goods and services.

I do not wish to minimize the serious consequences of the type of inflation we are now experiencing. It has already brought hardships to a large segment of our population, in the cities as well as on the farm, and especially to those who have to live on pensions and fixed incomes.

I would like to point out that the inflation spiral had its biggest increase during the period when the advocates of hard money took control of our finances. It is obvious that is no way to deal with inflation.

We have learned from the experience of several costly depressions in this country that there is only one sure way to sound economy and general prosperity. And that way is to encourage and foster a constantly expanding economy. When supply and demand are in balance in a free competitive economy, prices will stabilize and inflation will be held in check.

One of the great lessons some of our enlightened industrialists have learned from their mass production experience was the wisdom of reducing the costs of goods to the consumer, as they achieved greater productivity. They have learned to depend more on volume than on a high rate of profit.

URGES CURB ON PROFITS

Some appeal has been made to leaders of key industries voluntarily to curb a growing appetite for higher profits. So far the response has been feeble and discouraging. If industry continues to be unresponsive, it may well be in for some Government pressure to do what it ought to have the good sense to do voluntarily.

I know that labor leaders are giving serious thought to their role in this situation, and I am sure that in their negotiations with industry they will do what is best for the national interest as a whole.

Regardless of what temporary difficulties we may encounter in the corrective steps we must take to deal with inflation, let us remember that this country is on the way to an ever-growing general prosperity. We must not be deterred or hampered by gimmicks or devices that protect the few, at the expense of the whole people, such as hard money.

Our history has shown that after every crisis we took bold new steps to build and expand our economy within our own frontiers. And by a broader distribution of our natural wealth among all our people we attained general prosperity.

EXPANSION OF PROSPERITY

Today the United States, with all other friendly and cooperative nations, can look forward to a greater expansion of prosperity far beyond all our dreams. All we need to do is to undertake the proper development of vast areas and virtually unlimited resources in many parts of the world; to work together in the common interest of the common man everywhere.

The rehabilitation of Western Europe, and the development of Africa and the Middle East, with their great resources, as well as the development of the practically untouched resources of the Western Hemisphere, should provide mankind with opportunities for advancement for centuries to come.

Man has progressed as he mastered and harnessed the forces of nature, and the greatest of his strides have been made in the first half of this century. Man must now learn to live with the prodigious power of the atom that he has unlocked and that he must now master for peaceful purposes.

FEARS "FOOL ADVENTURER"

The future of civilization has never been more promising. But seldom has mankind been confronted with a greater risk, because there exists today the possibility that some fool adventurer in possession of nuclear weapons and bent on conquest will trigger

off another world war. No one knows how catastrophic a nuclear war would be to civilization, but everyone should do his utmost to prevent it.

We may, therefore, have to run some risk of an occasional radioactive fallout in order to conduct the experiments necessary to maintain our nuclear strength. I have felt from the very beginning that the only way we stand a chance of avoiding a nuclear war is by being strong enough to discourage any aggressor from being tempted into any such adventure.

KEEP FALLOUT TO MINIMUM

Let us keep our sense of proportion in the matter of radioactive fallout. Of course, we want to keep the fallout in our tests to the absolute minimum, and we are learning to do just that.

But the dangers that might occur from the fallout in our tests involve a small sacrifice when compared to the infinitely greater evil of the use of nuclear bombs in war.

We must not be panicked by the Soviet campaign of fear incitement either through threats of the use of the bomb or by their propaganda of the horrors of the fallout intended primarily to cripple the defense efforts of the West.

When the Soviet Union is prepared to join with the West in a genuine and foolproof program of control of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, then the crushing burden of armaments will be lifted from civilization.

Until that day our only safe course is to remain strong, be patient, and continue to improve our knowledge of this great new source of energy.

Teacher of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE H. CHRISTOPHER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to Mrs. Mary Field Schwarz and Mr. Guy Bizzell, both of whom were selected to share the McCall's Teacher of the Year award. Mrs. Schwarz is a resident of Independence, Mo., located in my congressional district.

Mrs. Schwarz and Mr. Bizzell were selected from teachers nominated by State departments of education in all parts of the Nation at the invitation of Dr. Lawrence Derthick, United States Commissioner of Education, and Dr. Edgar Fuller, executive secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers. Representatives approved by the Office of Education and McCall's studied and observed the nominees at work over a period of several months. From their recommendations, the editors selected Mrs. Schwarz and Mr. Bizzell, who, together, earn the sixth citation in McCall's annual project honoring teachers.

[From McCall's for June 1957]

McCALL'S TEACHER OF THE YEAR—A GRADE-SCHOOL TEACHER FROM MISSOURI AND A HIGH-SCHOOL SPEECH INSTRUCTOR FROM TEXAS SHARE EDUCATION'S HIGHEST HONOR

It is rare that the distinguished talents and achievements of two nominees for Teacher of the Year are held to be evenly enough matched to justify a tie for first place. It is therefore with special delight and pride that McCall's names both Mrs. Mary Field Schwarz, of Independence, Mo., and Mr. Guy Bizzell, of Austin, Tex., co-winners of the 1957 award.

Mary Field Schwarz regards the 37 boys and girls of the third-grade class she teaches as of an age at which they particularly want adult attention. And this, she feels, is what makes them her favorite age to teach. Mrs. Schwarz sees her job as helping her pupils develop a feeling of security and belonging. She promotes this feeling through devices which enable each youngster to check his progress against previous performances.

A housewife and the mother of a 15-year-old son, Mrs. Schwarz places importance on environment—that is, atmosphere conducive to learning in classrooms. Her own classroom is in a once-condemned church renovated to accommodate the overflow of pupils from Bristol School, located in Independence, Mo., but part of the Kansas City system. Cubbyhole classrooms open off a large central foom, formerly the Sunday-school assembly hall, but clever planning by Mrs. Schwarz has made all the tiny rooms a center of interest to third graders.

Each of these rooms is a center of interest for a different reason. In one cubicle an easel stands near a bright window, with a supply of paints, brushes, crayons and other art needs on a table nearby. Another is the reading room, identified by a display of book packets and books. A globe, atlas, morning paper and geography books on a table in another room challenge the young students to look up the often-changed questions posted in the room. ("Where on the earth could two men walking straight north bump into each other face to face?" a question may read.) The "science room" may one month sport a fishbowl with a sign announcing: "We enjoy our guppies. The female guppy bears living young which can feed and spawn. The male is spotted and streaked with colors." Another card asks: "Did you know gelatin from calves' heads is used as a stiffener for ice cream?"

Principal Newkirk says: "Mrs. Schwarz is a very informal teacher, but her children always rank well on standardized achievement tests. It is not unusual for her to have several pupils who can read on a 7th- or even 8th-grade level."

Parents like especially Mrs. Schwarz's way of imbuing their offspring with confidence and a sense of responsibility. As a teacher she expects courtesy ("We get along better if we take turns to talk," she tells them). She promotes self-confidence ("Karen wants the fun of finding out herself") and treats her pupils as equals ("Your way may be as good as mine").

Regarded by her colleagues as an attractive, versatile, and tastefully dressed woman of 38, Mary Field Schwarz is a native Missourian whose parents are associated with Central College, a 4-year liberal arts school in Payette and the alma mater of both Mary Field and her sister.

During her first year of teaching, Mary Field met Lieutenant Howard C. Schwarz, now an electrical engineer but then himself a teacher at Wentworth Military Academy in Lexington, Mo. Married to Howard in July 1940, Mary left teaching during the war to have a son. Her husband, by then a lieutenant colonel, was badly wounded in World War II, and upon his separation from the Army the Schwarzes made Independence, Mo., their home. Mrs. Schwarz had answered the call for more teachers by the time her son was in second grade.

Although her training was for high-school-level teaching, Mary Field found she liked elementary-school children so much that she began attending Saturday and evening classes at the University of Kansas City to qualify for an elementary-school teaching certificate. Four summers in addition were spent at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, for a master's degree in elementary education. Her widowed mother, retired from teaching, served as housekeeper for her daughter's son and husband back in Missouri.

Mr. Schwarz is fully aware that his wife will never give up studying and taking self-improvement courses. In addition to American history, government, physical education, German, water-coloring, public-speaking, interior decoration and French—all pursued by Mrs. Schwarz as a housewife—she studies voice and has sung with the chorus of the Kansas City Philharmonic Orchestra. Her husband and son frequently sit together in church while Mrs. Schwarz renders an alto solo from their church choir.

Guy Bizzell deliberately chose speech, its teaching and its practice, because he always considered himself to be shy and inarticulate. As a teacher of elocution and high-school English and as coach of the debating team at A. N. McCallum High School, Austin, Tex., this earlier assessment of himself perhaps explains the care and interest he invests in his students today.

Students have only high praise for Mr. Bizzel, looking upon him as both instructor and friend. "I have never experienced the feeling of not wanting to go to Mr. Bizzell's class," said one student, "I know from the first minute to the last he will have something worthwhile planned for us to do. We never have to do anything without his first explaining why we need to study it, so we do it in a sense of cooperation and often with zeal."

"It was in English literature class," a senior student adds, "that I first learned of Mr. Bizzell's devotion to the speaking, understanding, and teaching of poetry and literature. It was a joy to be in his class. There were many morning when I wished the class would last 2 hours."

An admiring Bizzell colleague said recently: "When you get high-school pupils to hurry to a class in Shakespeare so they won't miss a thing, as Bizzell can do, you have achieved the pinnacle."

A fundamentally shy person, as Mr. Bizzell believes himself to be, is often able where other teachers are not to exert the humor, sympathy and the respect for personality that builds the stature of a teacher in the watchful eyes of his students.

A family man, father of two children, 7 and 8, Bizzell lives in a small suburban home a mile from the high schol. Because of the repair and enlargement now necessary on their home and his modest salary of $5,125, the Bizzells do not own an automobile; Bizzell walks the mile to and from school each day. In fact, he frequently makes two round trips a day when debate practices and other evening meetings are scheduled.

Guy Bizzell is a native Texan. His father was a farmer and cotton-gin worker, his mother a teacher before her marriage. Higher education during the depression of the 1930's was a particularly difficult and costly proposition, and Guy's first year was spent commuting a considerable distance from his home to Lon Morris Junior College; his family could not afford his support at any school where he could not be a day student. His next 3 years were spent at the University of Texas; the financial benefit for State residents again made the choice irresistible. After 4 years in the Army, Bizzell entered Northwestern Universitys' School of Speech for the summer and returned to the high-school teaching job in Austin, Tex., which he had given up for the service.

The swelling population of children from wartime marriages soon necessitated dividing the Austin High School into three high schools, and Bizzell was a voluntary transfer to the new A. N. McCallum High School, which recently has been desegregated. Bizzell has a New student in two of his speech classes.)

Bizzell has taught his pupils the technique of "choral speaking"—several persons speaking poetry or prose in unison. Parents who often make up the audiences of these performances "don't see how he does it." His groups have appeared on radio and television as well as before teachers' associations and reading conferences at the University of Texas. Guy Bizzell himself writes much of the material for these programs.

His extracurricular attitude toward his students constantly amazes them. "I surely hope you are feeling better today," he will say with a smile as he signs an absence slip. Each student feels he is an individual in the eyes of Mr. Bizzell. Nor does Bizzell tolerate unkindness on the part of one student toward another. His classroom manner is informal—mild but controlled. He has been known to forego his lunch hour to give extra assistance to a student. "You never fail to receive some kind of greeting from Mr. Bizzell when you pass him in the halls," one of his pupils say. "He is never too busy to talk to you."

To Guy Bizzell the benefits flow in the opposite direction. "I like teaching because it keeps me in close contact with young people and with ideas," he explains. "I only hope that my students learn half as much from me as I learn from the experience of teaching them."

The Natural Gas Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Cause and Effect," which was published in the Washington (Pa.) Reporter of May 25, 1957. The editorial refers to comments by the distinguished newspaperman, Arthur Krock, of the New York Times, on the subject of the natural-gas situation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAUSE AND EFFECT

Arthur Krock of the New York Times is widely regarded as one of this country's most authoritative writers on national affairs. So something he said recently about the natural-gas situation is of unusual importance.

The price of natural gas which ultimately goes into interstate commerce, is now federally regulated at the wellhead—right where it comes out of the ground. This regulation came about as a result of a Supreme Court decision and a subsequent Presidential veto of a bill which would have freed the producers of these controls. The veto, incidentally, was used because of lobbying activities pursued by a few of the bill's advocates—and even in his veto message, the President strongly endorsed the bill's objectives.

Now Mr. Krock writes: "Fifty percent of the natural gas that is marketed in Texas is consumed inside the State. The other 50 percent provides heat and power for private and industrial consumption in other States. But there is a growing disposition among Texas gas finders to quit searching for gas and hold what they have found until 1 of 2 developments occurs. The first is the arrival of a State market for as much gas as Texas can yield. The second is the abolition of Federal control of prices for gas sold at the wellhead to the companies which put it into interstate commerce." If this trend continues, Mr. Krock adds, "* * * it is entirely possible that within a few years—maybe 10—the outside communities that are dependent for heat and power on natural gas will become hardship cases."

The proponents of regulation claim it is in the interest of gas consumers all over the country. Actually, it threatens to deprive those consumers of being able to get any gas at all. Here is an example of cause and effect with a vengeance.

Interest Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Interest Rates," which was published in the Washington Daily News of May 23.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTEREST RATES

High interest rates on the public debt—now costing in excess of $7 billion a year—are chickens come home to roost.

Congress is about to question the Treasury on these increased rates which obviously swell the income of the bondholders.

But even at the high rates, the Treasury is having trouble selling bonds to provide money to redeem older bonds now falling due.

It is probable the Treasury will have to raise rates still further. It will have to pay the going price in competition with others who want to borrow money.

There is, of course, an alternative under which interest rates on the public debt can be cut to 2 percent, or 1 percent, or nothing.

Under this familiar method the Treasury simply sells bonds to the Federal Reserve which prints the money to pay for them. The Treasury might as well run its own printing presses. The process isn't quite that simple but that is, in effect, what the Federal Reserve did until it quit supporting the Federal bond market late in the Truman Administration.

But printing-press money, by whatever name, still is printing-press money. Print enough of it and you've got marks, or francs or lira or cigarette coupons. The effect of the printing press is inevitably inflationary. It was this system, used extensively during the New Deal, which watered down the dollar and ran up the grocery bill.

The inflation thus deliberately created is an important reason for our vast Federal budget including service of the debt, which is money spent on the easy-payment plan. Like all such expenditures it has to be paid back the hard way.

A good way to push the budget past the $100 billion mark would be to start the presses again. There would be an immediate saving in interest charges. But inflation in the cost of the things the Government buys could cost billions more than the savings.

And—a matter of intimate concern to everyone—the grocery bill and all other family expenses would go right on up with Government costs.

There's one sound way to reduce the cost of serving the debt. That is to reduce the debt itself.

Representative Fogarty and the President's Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I request unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Providence Journal of April 9 entitled "Mr. FOGARTY Confounded the Republican Economizers."

After reading President Eisenhower's television address regarding his budget, I could not help but recall that his source of aid in saving one of the most important phases of his own budget in the House of Representatives came from a Rhode Island Representative, Hon. JOHN E. FOGARTY.

With this editorial I desire to have inserted in the RECORD a letter which was published in the Providence Journal of April 14, from Francis X. Kennedy of West Warwick, R. I. This letter, I know, will also be of interest to the Senate.

There being no objection, the editorial and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Providence (R. I.) Journal of April 9, 1957]

MR. FOGARTY CONFOUNDED THE REPUBLICAN ECONOMIZERS

When Mr. Eisenhower last fall was pleading for the election of a Republican Congress, he evidently did not realize how greatly he would need a Democrat like Representative JOHN E. FOGARTY. The President is indebted to him for successfully piloting the administration's annual appropriation bill for the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare through the House in a manner which retained about 96 percent of the funds requested by Mr. Eisenhower.

No President could ask for better legislative performance in behalf of administration policy. The fact, moreover, that only this small margin separates what the President requested from what the House granted suggests that the 4-cents-on-the-dollar gap will eventually be closed either by the Democratic Senate when it acts on the bill, or by supplementary appropriations during the new fiscal year.

Mr. FOGARTY demonstrated his political astuteness when he compelled House Republicans to show whether they were for or against their President in these particular matters. Earlier, many of them had established themselves as real budget trimmers when, by voice vote, they could slash Mr. Eisenhower's figures without being permanently identified.

But when the time arrived for either affirming or reversing by a rollcall vote the tentative cuts made, a lot of the Republicans shed their economy mindedness as the proverbial duck sheds water. And in the process, they gave Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. FOGARTY, and the majority of Democratic Members just about what the President, the Rhode

Islander, and his party colleagues wanted in respect to labor and welfare funds.

At the end of the performance, Mr. FOGARTY must be credited with practically a perfect score for legislative finesse in handling a major appropriation measure. The net result was to give the Republican President most of the money he wanted and the Democratic Congress most of the credit for the accomplishment. And it left a lot of professing Republican economizers rather groggy.

[From the Providence (R. I.) Journal of April 14, 1957]

PRAISE FOR MR. FOGARTY

I read with interest your editorial of April 9, entitled "Mr. FOGARTY Confounded the Republican Economizers." The recent performance of JOHN FOGARTY in Congress is not new. It is just another chapter to be added to the brilliant record of achievement that he has established as an outstanding legislator in our Nation's Capital. I have watched and read with admiration of the activities and devotion to duty JOHN FOGARTY has displayed over the years and utterly fail to understand how you can square your praise of Mr. FOGARTY now with the editorial published last fall urging his defeat at the hands of an unknown and untried person.

FRANCIS X. KENNEDY.

WEST WARWICK.

Camouflaged Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Camouflaged Foreign Aid," from the May 11, 1957, issue of the Savannah (Ga.) Morning News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAMOUFLAGED FOREIGN AID

Unfortunately, insofar as the capacity of the average citizen or even the average congressman to pass judgment is concerned, this question of foreign aid is a baffling one. The term itself is so all-inclusive as to be all but meaningless. Consequently, those economists and others who devote most of their time to study of the ramifications rampant under the broad and fuzzy general title can quite easily devise schemes to camouflage the ways and means by which our taxpayers' dollars are being channeled abroad. What appears to be just such a disguised plan has been evolved by the Federal administration.

According to advices from Washington via the Southern States Industrial Council, this scheme is briefly as follows:

1. More loans and fewer grants. However, the term loan is misleading. For while the advances would be in the form of loans, repayment would not be in dollars but in the currency of the borrowing country.

2. The establishment of a self-perpetuating economic development fund with sufficient capital to take care of economic aid for a number of years.

3. Transfer to the domestic defense budget of all military aid.

By this juggling of the budget and bookkeeping figures, it is hoped to accomplish three things:

1. Place economic aid on a permanent basis—something Congress has hitherto refused to do.

2. Imbed foreign military aid in the defense budget which, in the past, has been largely sacrosanct.

3. Reduce the amount of future requests for foreign economic aid.

But, disguised or not, the general picture remains the same. The administration is still proposing to send billions abroad without the least certainty or assurance that we won't continue as we have in the past to make an Uncle Sap out of Uncle Sam.

The Foreign Aid Issue: "How" as Well as "How Much"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Foreign Aid Issue Is 'How' as Well as 'How Much'" published in the Tucson Daily Citizen of May 23, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN AID ISSUE IS "HOW" AS WELL AS "HOW MUCH"

In his latest pleas in behalf of his foreign aid budget, President Eisenhower has reduced the amount of his original estimate by $535 million. This is encouraging to the economy minded. He also said at the same time that $500 million in foreign aid spending originally anticipated for this fiscal year would have to be carried over to the fiscal year starting July 1.

If this apparent contradiction can be interpreted simply, it seems the real problem with the foreign aid program is "how" it shall be carried out, even more than "how much" shall be spent.

Presumably a half-billion dollars authorized during last year's congressional debate on the recurring issue isn't even being spent; it will be spent next year. That would indicate that a half-billion could have been trimmed from the foreign aid budget last year.

After 9 years of foreign aid as a cornerstone of America's international diplomacy—beginning with the substantial Marshall plan—the American people are pretty much accustomed to it as a fact. Specialists are arguing, however, that the importance of establishing it on a long-term basis has not yet been recognized and implemented.

If a family tried to handle its budget the way our foreign-aid spending is handled, it would be in a constant financial mess. For example, how could husband and wife decide to purchase a new car on 24-month payments if the budget allocation were subject to review at the end of 1 year?

By the same token, the Government finds itself unable with certainty to project any foreign-aid commitment beyond 1 year—Congress might have a change of heart a year later.

In 1956, when almost a third of Congress voted against foreign-aid funds, the President and congressional leaders alike agreed it was time to take a hard look at the whole program in long-range perspective. Distinguished private citizens, academic and business research teams were called in to study and advise.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology experts put the minimum term at 5 or 10 years and said that "if we are not prepared to make this kind of long-term commitment, we should probably not support development assistance programs at all."

Citizen advisory groups headed by such prominent individuals as industrialist Benjamin F. Fairless and Eric Johnston have recommended either 2- or 3-year programs and appropriations as the barest practical minimum.

This year's foreign-aid debate is affording too much of a political football, with too little conscientious consideration of the purposes and practical approach. From the public's viewpoint, it would be as easy to recognize long-term foreign-aid objectives and policies as it was to recognize the purpose and benefits of the 10-year multi-billion-dollar Federal highway program.

National Congress of Parent-Teacher Associations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, one of the great organizations of this land without which America would not be what it truly is—a government of, by, and for the people, a society run by the average man himself—is the parent-teacher association.

In every community in our land the PTA is the indispensable link between home and school in serving the interests of the 36 million youngsters in the Nation's educational institutions—the youngsters who are truly America's brighter tomorrow.

Recently there met in Cincinnati the 61st annual convention of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. This organization has a membership of 10.6 million in 42,000 local units.

I send to the desk two articles which describe various features of the convention. One is from the May 21 issue of the New York Times. The other is from the preceding day's issue of the Milwaukee Journal. I ask unanimous consent that these two articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of May 21, 1957]

WIDE ROLE URGED FOR PTA GROUP—NATIONAL CONGRESS IS TOLD IT SHOULD BECOME PRESSURE UNIT FOR WELFARE PLANS

(By Damon Stetson)

CINCINNATI, May 20.—The National Congress of Parents and Teachers was urged today to become an active pressure group for child and family welfare.

Dr. Arthur F. Corey, executive secretary of the California Teachers Association, asserted that organized power and pressure were necessary in today's modern industrial economy to maintain the vigor and integrity of the family. The Parent-Teacher Association, he declared, should face up to the task.

"It is now time for us to stop being satisfied with being an influential group," he said, "and determine to become a powerful one."

Dr. Corey spoke here before 500 delegates attending the 61st annual convention of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. The organization claims a membership of 10,694,474 in 42,000 local units throughout the United States.

Among objectives for which Dr. Corey proposed that the parent-teacher group exert pressure were: Federal aid for education; improved health programs in the schools; better mental health service; more recreational facilities, and assistance for children robbed of their normal family environment through death or divorce.

A similar plea for firm action by parent-teacher groups was sounded later today by Dennis O'Harrow, executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials.

He described the parent-teacher movement as the "strongest civic movement in the Nation," and suggested that local groups confine their activity not simply to seeking a top-quality education system but also to seeking a top-quality community as well.

After Dr. Corey's address, Mrs. Rollin Brown, president of the PTA congress, commented that what he said would "echo and reecho because he said so succinctly what we have been trying to do and should do more of."

Two other top officers of the congress, James H. Snowden, treasurer, and Dr. Kenneth E. Oberholtzer, second vice president, also spoke favorably of his proposal.

Tonight Basil O'Connor, president of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, presented a special award to the congress for its part in helping achieve acceptance of the Salk vaccine.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of May 20, 1957]

PTA HEAD DISCUSSES RELIGION, VANDALISM—PARENTS RESPONSIBLE FOR TEACHING FAITH, SCHOOLS FOR MORALS, SHE ASSERTS

(By Louise Cattoi)

CINCINNATI, OHIO.—Parental responsibility for religious education, Federal aid for school construction and the fallacy of assessing parents for children's vandalism were among topics discussed here Sunday by Mrs. Rollin Brown, Los Angeles, Calif., president of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers.

She was interviewed on the eve of the national convention, which will continue through Wednesday night. Delegates from all States, Alaska, Hawaii, and Japan are attending.

(Heading the Wisconsin delegation is Mrs. Robert Schumpert, Madison, State president, whose term expires June 1. Mrs. William Hastings, Madison, a past national congress president, is here in two capacities—as official past presidential guest and as chairman of the endowment fund trustees. Mrs. Woods Dreyfus, 3621 North 39th Street, Milwaukee, Sunday was elected president of the State presidents' club of the national congress, a social group made up of past and present State presidents.)

INTERESTED IN RELIGION

When Mrs. Brown was in Japan last fall visiting PTA units there, the question of what the PTA congress here did about moral education came up constantly, Mrs. Brown said.

"When we say that the PTA congress is a secular organization, that does not mean we are not interested in religious life," she said. "We believe strongly that parents have great responsibilities for the religious education of their children—to help the children identify themselves with a set of religious principles in their particular faiths.

"We also believe that teachers have a responsibility to develop a respect for the moral and ethical principles of the great religions, without getting into the field of sectarianism.

"I believe the schools will have to accept some responsibility because of the homes—not the majority—in which there is no ethical and moral training."

URGES FEDERAL AID

On the question of Federal aid in the building programs of the schools, Mrs. Brown wondered "how long members of both parties, in view of bipartisan stands, could 'continue to look their constituents in the eye' and not come through with action." It isn't just a question of catching up with enrollments, she said, but meeting the combined problems of obsolescence and overflow.

On vandalism, she questioned the value of holding parents responsible.

"Will that help make the parents more understanding of the child?" she asked. "Will it help in making the child better basically? There may be any number of reasons why the child indulges in vandalism. Perhaps his is a home of overstrict parents, and the child boils over into such acts.

"What is needed, it seems, is developing a better understanding on the part of the parents, and to help them follow the child through in all his needs."

PRESSURE IS ADVOCATED

Parent-teacher associations should stop being merely "influential groups" and become "pressure groups," Arthur Corey of San Francisco, executive secretary of the California Teachers' association, said at Monday morning's session of the convention.

"The play of group against group is the process of modern democracy," he said. "There is little use of decrying this condition. We must be interested in making it more effective for the common good. The only possible cure for the evils of organized pressure is more ad better organization among honest and intelligent men and women of good will."

He mentioned the area of adequate education for all children as one in which the PTA could well exert "pressure power."

He also mentioned Federal control of education, "which is not only not dangerous, but some of it eminently desirable."

There is nothing inherently dangerous about Federal subsidies, he said.

Utility Brainwashers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Denver Post condemning the unfair practice of permitting private power utilities to deduct the cost of propaganda advertising from their tax returns, and thereby require the taxpayers to pay for their own brainwashing. This editorial deserves the careful attention of Senators and I hope it will receive wide circulation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Denver Post of April 18, 1957]

OUR MISCHIEVOUS BRAINWASHERS

Senator KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, has taken hold of a livewire issue. We hope he hangs on until the country is shocked by the efforts of utility companies to pass on to taxpayers a large part of the cost incurred by the companies in lobbying for legislation which would enrich them at the expense of consumers.

An outfit known as the National Association of Electric Companies for several years has been running advertisements in slick-paper magazines based on the theme that public-power projects are socialistic and should be legislated out of existence.

"Much of this advertising," Senator KEFAUVER says, "is false and misleading." The advertisements we have seen bear out the Senator's appraisal.

However, Senator KEFAUVER's main point is not the counterfeit nature of the advertising but the impropriety of permitting the electric companies to charge off the cost of this advertising for income-tax purposes as a business expense.

If electric companies want to try to persuade the American public to stop Government-built power systems, the companies at least should be required to pay the cost of that kind of propaganda out of their own profits.

When these costs are charged as business expense, the effect is to put approximately half the cost of the utilities' brainwashing campaign on the United States Treasury—which means to the general taxpayers.

In other words, John Q. Public pays for lobbying which, if successful, would have the effect of raising John's monthly electric bill. This is like requiring a boy to go out and cut a stick so you can beat him with it.

The Internal Revenue Service is looking into Senator KEFAUVER's complaint and has assured him it is the general practice of the Service to disallow as business expense the costs of promoting political objectives or propaganda.

The electric company case has an exact parallel in the $2 million propaganda campaign carried on by oil companies in an effort to put the Harris-Fulbright natural-gas bill through Congress. The purpose of the bill was to raise gas prices to consumers.

According to Congressional Quarterly news service, internal-revenue officials have been prepared for some time to rule that the $2 million spent to promote the gas bill could not be charged as business expense. However, for some reason, no formal ruling has been made as yet.

We hope Senator KEFAUVER keeps this issue before the Senate and the public until it becomes established practice to require utilities to pay out of their own pockets for their own self-interest lobbying efforts.

The Rocky Mountain region is one of many in this country which have the right to be particularly incensed at efforts to hang the tag of "socialism" on public-power projects.

The Colorado-Big Thompson is a typical project. It provides water for 300,000 privately-owned acres of farmland, thereby guaranteeing the private owners against drought calamities. Is it socialism to promote private farm enterprise?

The Colorado-Big Thompson provides water for private industry in Boulder and other communities. Is that socialism? It has added to the electric power supply for farms and industry in a large section of the State and has thereby stimulated free enterprise. There isn't a retailer of electric appliances or a grocer or a drugstore owner in northeastern Colorado who hasn't benefited from the new business created by the water and electricity from Colorado-Big Thompson.

The project could not have been built if it had not provided electricity to help pay for the cost of water. It would not have been built in 100 years if we had waited for private enterprise to do the job.

If we listened to the private utility firms which stand around shouting "socialism," our farms and towns would languish for want

of water, industrial growth would be hampered by lack of power and our whole economy would suffer.

That's why this "socialism" propaganda doesn't make any sense to us or to the people of the Pacific Northwest, the people of the Tennessee Valley and the people in other public-power areas.

If it is "socialism" to build with public money the projects which are necessary to our economic destiny but which private industry cannot build, then what the utility companies call "socialism" is indispensable to national development and the utilities themselves should wake up and realize it instead of playing the part of mischief makers.

President Eisenhower and the Budget Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanmous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Crapehangers Are Premature," written by Gould Lincoln, and published in the Washington Evening Star of May 25, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CRAPEHANGERS ARE PREMATURE

(By Gould Lincoln)

The crapehangers, it now appears, have been a bit premature. They have predicted drastic defeat for President Eisenhower in the budget fight. They have again and again shed crocodile tears over his so-called diminishing leadership and probable defeat of his legislative program.

The President, however, is now reasserting a leadership he never relinquished. The Republicans and the Democrats in Congress who oppose him are beginning to realize that he remains the strongest figure in the United States today.

Another rather widespread effort to discredit the Eisenhower administration has been an attempt to show the Vice President, RICHARD M. NIXON, as a dodger seeking to eliminate himself as far as possible from the contest, presumably to curry favor with both sides. Nothing could be further from the fact. The Vice President has spoken out unequivocally in support of the President's budget—particularly in support of the national defense and foreign aid items. Four times has he gone to the front in this fight in the last 3 or 4 weeks, first when he addressed the United States Chamber of Commerce; second, when he delivered an address in Chicago April 30; third, in an address in Hartford, Conn., May 14; and finally, Thursday night in New York, where he spoke to the American Iron & Steel Institute. He was particularly strong in his New York speech in support of the national defense and foreign aid programs.

RIGHT IN STATEMENTS

He could not have been more correct when he told his listeners this is no time to reduce our national defense effort when we are seeking some arrangement with Soviet Russia for arms limitation. He was correct, too, when he pointed out that the foreign aid program is saving this country billions of dollars which it would otherwise have to expend to increase our own military forces and equipment.

Obviously he was right, too, when he pointed out that the Advisory Council of the Democratic Party is charging that the Eisenhower administration is probusiness, and on the other hand certain business groups have charged that this is a New Deal administration bent on spending the Nation into bankruptcy, and he said that obviously both these charges cannot be true. Indeed NIXON correctly declared, neither is true.

Much has been said about "modern republicanism," and what it may mean. There is just one yardstick—President Eisenhower's program and the Republican Party's 1956 platform on which that program is based. Those Republicans in Congress who are opposing the President—and unfortunately there are too many of them—accepted his renomination with gratitude last year. Some of them rode to victory because he headed the GOP ticket. They also accepted the Republican platform without choking in the slightest, but some of them object to being modern Republicans. They insist they want to be "just Republicans." For 20 years the Republicans struggled against "modernizing" their party, and where did it get them? And where will it get them if they take part in ditching Eisenhower's program?

THIRD TERM BAN PLEASES SOME

As for the Democrats, their greatest cause for joy is that Eisenhower cannot run for another term. Unlike the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt the President faces a constitutional provision limiting him to two terms in the White House. Some of the Democrats did not wish to be Roosevelt New Dealers, any more than some Republicans wish to be Eisenhower modern Republicans. They did not neglect, however, to ride to victory on F. D. R.'s coattails—not once, but four times.

Up to the present, the Eisenhower program has made slow progress in Congress. Indeed, the predictions have been that little will be accomplished at this session of Congress; that school aid legislation, civil rights legislation, labor legisation and other important parts of the program will fail of action. Whatever happens during the present session, which is expected to close in July or early August, it seems incredible that most of the President's program will fail to be enacted before the congressional election of 1958. The Democrats, in control of both Senate and House, can scarcely afford to go to the country as a do-nothing Congress. Nor can they afford to enter the campaign as opponents of the liberal and much-needed measures which have been declared essential for the welfare of Americans by President Eisenhower.

A favorite pastime of the Democrats in recent days has been to deride the Republican Party because of the split in the GOP, and the Republican critics of Eisenhower. It remained for Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, to drive the Republicans together in support of the President when he compared Eisenhower to Dave Beck—the man who invoked the fifth amendment to avoid testimony before a Senate committee. MORSE's statement hurt only one person—himself.

What Civil Rights?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "What Civil Rights?" from the May 11, 1957, issue of the Albany (Ga.) Herald.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT CIVIL RIGHTS?

The civil-rights activity in Congress, which would attempt to legislate obliquely on racial problems, falls into the same pattern of the Supreme Court's antisegregation decision of May 1954. There is involved in both instances evasion as well as coercion, and if anything is clear about the complex racial issue, it is that it will not yield any satisfactory solution to such devious means. What is certain is that as long as compulsion is the rule of action in the matter of settling racial problems, tempers are going to boil over, politics will influence unduly suggested practices and demagogues, both pro and con, will dominate the situation.

All this goes beyond the one problem of racial strife. It raises the question whether in general it is politically or morally desirable to use a congressional majority to push through legislation which is strongly resented by large minorities of the people. There is too much easy assumption that if there is some evil the way to cure it is to pass a new Federal law. Our national experience with prohibition is a good proof that this assumption is often unsound. Excessive use of alcohol is often a personal tragedy. But the remedy does not lie in trying to forbid all use of alcohol. Prohibition not only failed to prohibit; it stimulated widespread disrespect for law and opened up a field for the operation of criminal gangs whose feuds swelled the homicide statistics.

A major fact is that there are practical limits to the power of legislative majorities. Laws that conflict with the habits and sentiments of large numbers of normally law-abiding citizens are almost certain to end in failure, so far as effective enforcement is concerned. There are special historical and emotional reasons why the South rallies against the imposition of legislation which would force sudden and drastic changes in the established southern social pattern. And these reasons can never be changed by legal compulsion. Force will only lead to deceits and subversions which, in the long run, will remove all tolerance and dignity from the situation. And, in the long run, too, those colored people will be hurt the most who need the most help.

What is involved here, too, is an excessive concentration of power in Washington which today represents a grave danger to the Federal form of Government established by our Constitutiton. There is no danger now that a State would assert the right to nullify a Federal law or to secede from the Union in protest of Federal law. But there is a danger that functions which properly belong to the separate States will pass into the hands of a centralizing bureaucracy at Washington. If prejudice and discrimination are the goals of the Federal Government in power in its attempt to deal with the complex racial issue, there can be no quarrel with the goals set, for both these points are foreign to the American belief that every human being should go just as far in this country as his character and ability may carry him. But these questions are pertinent, too, in meeting the immediate problem: Do we eliminate prejudice with other forms of prejudice? Do we get to the heart of the racial problem by dealing with it on a national basis in such a broad fashion as to ignore the specific problems and needs of different areas? And, further, do we really help one minority by awakening the hostility of another minority?

What is happening as regards this issue in Congress today is fair example of what would come about as a result of force legislation. Few men in Congress, outside the South, are

speaking frankly on the matter. All of them give it lipservice for the political hay that they thus can reap, but privately they reject the compulsion features in legislation that obviously cannot be enforced. The results are hot tempers and barren promises and a growing cynicism about the whole business.

Who gains in this situation? Only the worst political elements in all sections who will trade for votes at anybody and everybody's expense.

Activities of the Small Business Administration in Colorado

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON ALLOTT
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Leonard "Buzz" Larson, of the Denver Post, on the activities of the small Business Administration in Colorado. This is one of many fine articles written by Mr. Larson in covering Federal activities in Colorado for the Denver Post. He points out that the Denver office of SBA headed by Harold R. Smethills, has assistated Colorado businessmen in securing a total of $2,500,000 in Government contracts since January 1. In addition, in the past 2½ years through the Small Business Administration nearly $7 million has been loaned to small-business men in the 4 State area of Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Wyoming. This outstanding record of service to the region's small-business men is the result of the able and aggressive job being done by Harold Smethills and those assisting him in the Denver office.

I recently had occasion to speak some words in praise of the initiative Mr. Smethills has shown in the administration of the regional office of the Small Business Administration in Colorado.

I am happy and proud to add this statement to the record of achievements which he and his fine staff have made, as well as the record of regional directors in the administration of the Small Business Administration in the West.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWO MILLION FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS IN UNITED STATES CONTRACTS AWARDED TO COLORADANS

(By Leonard Larsen)

A total of $2,500,000 in Government contracts have been awarded Colorado small-business men since January 1 through the Small Business Administration.

Harold R. Smethills, four-State regional director for the agency in Denver, said Saturday: "We're really getting started on that phase of our program."

The role of the SBA in steering small-business men to Government contracts is mushrooming, Smethills said. In addition to supplying small-business men with information on Government contracts throughout the Nation, the agency under the law is able to set aside certain contracts for bids by smaller concerns only.

In the last 2½ years nearly $7 million has been loaned to small-business men and disaster-struck individuals in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico through the regional SBA office.

During the current Government fiscal year, Smethills said, loans will double any previous year of operations.

Launched in 1953 as an aid for businesses employing less than 500 persons, the Small Business Administration is "getting up steam" in Colorado, the four-State region and the Nation, Smethills said.

The regional officer—in on the initial planning of the agency—said top planners attempted to take the best features of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Small Defense Plants Administration, weave them into the fabric of aid to small-business men and then set out with less people and less Government expense.

What kind of success has this new Government Agency met with?

MUST HAVE KNOW-HOW

"We know of no Congressman or Senator or businessman who is not happy with the program," Smethills said.

Loans authorized by the SBA are limited by the law to $250,000. In the four-State region headquartered in Denver, individual loans have averaged $37,676 in the past 2½ years, Smethills said.

The business loans phase of the agency was described by Smethills as a "program of self-help—we're not trying to bail out any hopeless firms or create a false economy."

Under the law, a business loan applicant must demonstrate a business know-how, produce collateral and show an earning record "with the ability to repay," Smethills explained.

In addition, the business loan applicant must show that he has been turned down on a loan by conventional private lending agencies.

Who, then, could qualify for a SBA business loan? Smethills drew this illustration:

A well-established businessman with a long record of good credit and ability needed $200,000 to expand his warehouse facilities. His local banker turned down a request for an 8-year note. The bank, in this era of tight money, was looking for a quicker return on its money.

But the SBA could advance the money on a 10-year agreement with every assurance that the proven businessman would repay the taxpayers' money at 6 percent.

Actually, Smethills said, banks are invited to participate in loans approved by the agency. The four-State region he heads, with banks participating in 81 percent of loans, leads the Nation in this respect, Smethills said.

MORE LIBERAL

Disaster loans to businessmen and homeowners of disaster-designated areas are even more liberal, Smethills said. The loans may be made on damaged residence property and businesses at 3 percent with up to 20 years to repay.

It usually takes from a week to 10 days for field agents to gather information on disaster loan applications, Smethills said. After that a determination on the loan is made in from 48 hours to a week.

Immediateley after designation of disasters—such as floods which in the past weeks have hit residents northeast of Denver—fieldmen for the SBA move in to help survey damage and process loans.

Smethills, who took a part in the first planning for the agency, said he is proudest of the counseling role the agency assumes in aiding not only individuals but entire communities.

He illustrated:

Two years ago the Air Force shut down their base at Deming, N. Mex. Many civilians were out of work. With SBA aid, townspeople converted the air base buildings for manufacture of ammunition, secured a healthy Navy contract through the SBA and delivered on schedule.

At Raton, N. Mex., coal mine shutdowns had idled many workers. A Chicago electronics manufacturer was induced to move his whole plant to Raton with advantages to him and the community.

At Alamosa, Colo., farmers were troubled with a potato surplus. A potato-flour manufacturer was encouraged to move in and install a plant.

The United States Information Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Economy Ax Threatens USIA," written by David Lawrence, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of May 27, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ECONOMY AX THREATENS USIA—SETBACKS IN COLD WAR ARE HELD LIKELY IF PROPOSED SLASHES ARE APPROVED

(By David Lawrence)

It is not too soon to appraise the place in history that the Democratic-controlled Congress of today may achieve if it pursues its present course. It could become known as the Congress of narrow vision, the Congress without a heart and without a spirit—the Congress that strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel.

For the biggest concern of the world today is war. To prevent war the American people are willing to make money sacrifices now to avoid human sacrifices later on. The way to prevent war is to reach the hearts and minds of the people behind the Iron Curtain and to be prepared on the military side. Armament costs us around $40 billion a year and is necessary to deter impulsive action by dictators. Yet propaganda to influence and persuade the peoples in eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa to withhold from dictators the power to make war is relatively inexpensive.

Soviet Russia today spends many billions a year on propaganda. America spends just a few millions. But the President's request for $144 million for the United States Information Agency, under proposals now pending in Congress, may be cut down to $90 million. The myopic reason given for this is that the latter sum is more than the average spent by USIA in the last few years. This is to say that the world has stood still, that the importance of reaching the hearts and minds of people behind the Iron Curtain and in the so-called uncommitted areas of the world can be averaged mathematically.

Actually, the situation in the Middle East, for example, has grown more, instead of less, complicated. Today the Soviet Government influences, if it doesn't completely control, the press and radio of Egypt and Syria. These trouble areas can increase in number overnight. The United States, by means of the Eisenhower doctrine, has built up its friendships and is making progress among some of the Arab States, but it costs money to carry on propaganda.

There are all sorts of self-appointed experts in America who have called attention to some examples of waste and inefficiency in the USIA. Certainly the American Government is a novice in the art of propaganda. Mistakes have been inevitable. But they are the price of experience in an unfamiliar field.

Judging by the statements made by the Democratic leaders in Congress, they have cut appropriations for USIA to some extent because of a fear that American news services might be deprived of opportunities to sell their wares abroad. This is understandable materialism, but at the same time it is short-sighted Americanism. For Soviet Russia doesn't permit the daily reports of the American news services to be printed behind the Iron Curtain.

Nor are there any radio broadcasting stations inside the United States that can reach behind the Iron Curtain without effective relays abroad. It takes a special kind of equipment and transmitters, located in strategic places around the world, to get the messages across to the peoples in vast areas of the globe where either the normal commercial channels are barred or media are unavailable through which to present news dispatches from outside the country.

The Soviets are spending billions—for documentary films, for participation in exhibits and fairs everywhere, for cultural exchanges. They send their ballet and other artistic groups to neutral lands but, when America tries to counter this with our jazz orchestras—which have recently won wide acclaim, especially in certain parts of Europe and in north Africa and in southeast Asia—the critics in Congress ridicule it all as a boondoggle. Thereupon the Democrats cut the USIA's budget to pieces, with the aid of an equally narrow-visioned segment of the Republican Party.

The speakers for the Democratic Party in the last campaign used to talk a lot about the need for challenging ideas abroad and kept hammering away at the mistakes of our foreign policy. But success cannot be achieved by the State Department through diplomacy alone if the ground is not cultivated among peoples abroad by effective information programs telling continually about America's disinterested purposes and her true concern for the freedom and independence of all those peoples now enslaved.

The United States Information Agency's budget should have been doubled instead of being cut by almost 40 percent. It is certainly a reversal of the trend when from the so-called humanitarians, the forward-looking, the broad-visioned Democrats comes the sabotage which has all but wrecked America's effort to expand her information programs to reach the hearts and minds of people abroad. It is a crushing blow to the broad concept of psychological warfare so necessary to prevent the warfare of death and destruction. It is a defeat for America in the cold war, inflicted not by Soviet Russia but by Members of the Congress of the United States.

Labor's Views on Right-To-Work Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VINCENT J. DELLAY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. DELLAY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include herewith an article by George Meany, president, AFL–CIO, outlining his views on right-to-work laws. Mr. Meany has done an able job for his group, and I know of no one who is better qualified to speak for the workingman.

The article follows:

LABOR'S VIEW

(By George Meany, president, AFL–CIO)

The so-called right-to-work laws are a patent fraud and deception upon the American people.

These laws do not guarantee any right to work to any citizen of our land. The only country which has a real right-to-work law is Soviet Russia. There it has become not so much a right to work as a compulsion to work, or slave labor.

Actually, the true purpose and effect of the so-called right-to-work laws in this country are to prohibit employers and unions from entering into collective-bargaining contracts providing for union security.

Thus, when stripped of their phony camouflage, the right-to-work laws are exposed as compulsory non-union-shop laws.

Even the Taft-Hartley Act, which is heavily weighted on the side of management, permits the union shop. But it also contains a trick provision which allows States to outlaw the union shop or other forms of union security. That's how the right-to-work laws had their genesis.

In labor's opinion, the right-to-work laws, now in effect in 18 States, are economically unsound, undemocratic, and morally reprehensible. Our opinion is shared by many businessmen, by leaders of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths, and by most unprejudiced persons who know the score in labor-management relations.

Union security is vital to good labor-management relations. It frees the union from fear of being undermined or destroyed by inimical employers and thus paves the way for broader labor-management cooperation.

The record shows that the fewest strikes take place in industries covered by union-shop agreements.

The argument is frequently made that the union shop denies the right to work to an individual who does not want to join the union. That is not true. Such individuals have a perfect right to obtain work in plants not covered by union-shop agreements.

If the majority of workers in a plant want the union shop and if the employer is willing to enter into such an agreement, certainly the will of the majority should prevail.

How about the right of union members to refuse to work beside those who are perfectly willing to accept benefits won by the union but refuse to participate in any way in the efforts of their fellow workers to secure such benefits?

It certainly seems significant that the major sponsors of right-to-work legislation are the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce.

Who ever elected them to defend the rights of workers? What is there in their record to indicate that they have any sincere concern for the welfare of working men and women?

The trade union movement, on the other hand, is dedicated to upholding the interests of all workers—nonunion as well as union. All the legislation we have sponsored—and that business organizations have consistently fought—such as workmen's compensation, the minimum wage law and social security, have benefited all workers, nonunion as well as union.

It is equally true that nonunion workers have benefited, to an appreciable extent, from higher wages and improved working conditions won by union members.

If right-to-work laws spread to other States, or a Federal right-to-work law is adopted, the direct consequence will be impairment of the trade union movement's effectiveness in maintaining the high American standard of living, with ultimate damage not only to all workers, but to the farmers and business as well.

Murray Gives Key to Atom Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an article in relation to Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, of the Atomic Energy Commission, written by Tom White, a member of the Washington bureau of the New York Journal-American, and appearing in the New York Journal-American on Sunday, May 26, 1957.

The article follows:

FIVE-POINT PROGRAM FOR WORLD'S GOOD: MURRAY GIVES KEY TO ATOM SURVIVAL

(By Tom White)

WASHINGTON.—Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray today spelled out the whys and wherefores of just what must be done if the United States and the world are to survive and prosper in the atomic age.

In an exclusive interview with the Hearst Newspapers, Murray, whose reappointment to the Commission is under consideration, first laid down five steps he feels must be taken for the good of the world and then detailed his reasons for them. The steps are:

1. A program of rational nuclear armament.

2. An accelerated peacetime power program.

3. International order in the field of atomic energy.

4. Education of world leaders concerning military and peacetime nuclear energy.

5. United States ratification of the treaty setting up the International Atomic Energy Agency.

In regard to the program of rational nuclear armament, Murray said:

"Unleasing the megatonnage that would inevitably be used in an all-out nuclear war would result in a catastrophe for the human race of unimaginable proportions.

"Thus a military strategy which overly relies on super H-bombs cannot be defended. However, we must maintain a stockpile of multimegaton bombs adequate to the requirements of deterrence-retaliation.

"We must recognize that in the future, as in the past, wars may occur; but it is becoming obvious that if the world is to survive, these wars must be kept limited in means and scope.

"Hence, in order to defend ourselves properly against the threat of aggressive communism, we must accelerate the production of small tactical nuclear weapons to fight these small, localized wars."

BALANCING TWO PROGRAMS

On the subject of an accelerated peacetime atomic power program, Muray has long maintained, there is an inseparable relation between the military uses of nuclear energy and its peaceful uses. He explained:

"What we accomplish in the fields of nuclear weapons and industrial nuclear power jointly affects our basic purpose—the furtherance of justice and peace.

"What we want to achieve is a balancing of the two programs in such a way that each of them individually and together will serve this purpose.

"This program will help create the economic conditions throughout the world which are a necessary support of a just and peaceful world order. Moreover, as the benefits of atomic power are more and more widely shared, we may hope that the world will be penetrated by the conviction that God has given us the secret of atomic energy for purposes of peace and human well-being, and not for war and destruction."

Murray turned next to the need for international order in the field of military uses of atomic energy. He declared:

"The nuclear menace today does not directly derive from the nuclear weapons themselves. It derives from the international anarchy represented by the ungoverned armaments race, as this anarchy is superimposed on other more basic anarchies prevailing on the international scene.

"An effort has to be made to establish the principle of international order in the development and use of atomic energy. There are firm grounds for hope that the principle of order, once established in the field of atoms for peace, will gradually make its way also into the presently lawless field of atoms for war."

HIS PET PROJECT

As to education of the world leaders, this is one of Murray's pet projects.

Two years ago in a speech at Fordham Law School he advocated taking thousands of the world's leaders to Eniwetok to watch the detonation of an H-bomb. Among the observers he wanted were people from Russia and Red China.

Murray feels that atomic energy has got to be fully understood by all peoples, and particularly their leaders, before the world can fully recognize its dangers and its benefits.

Lastly Murray strongly advocated the United States join the International Atomic Energy Agency because, as he sees it, the Agency represents the best hope of bringing about the control of nuclear energy so necessary to world peace.

Murray has been recognized as a man of vision.

Now he is looking for a thriving world, benefiting from the increased standards of living provided by the peacetime atom and free from the horrors of an all-out nuclear war.

International Chamber of Commerce Meeting in Naples, Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have followed with deep interest the press dispatches of the conference, which recently concluded in Naples, Italy, on the part of the International Chamber of Commerce.

From all over the world came 2,000 businessmen to discuss ways and means by which private enterprise might meet the problem of expanding world trade, investment, and prosperity.

In all of the reports made in connection with America's Mutual Security Program, there has constantly been emphasized the fact that it is free enterprise which must do the basic job of helping to uplift world living standards. The United States Government, as such, can not do it alone. It is the private businessman's investing his risk capital, the private businessman's importing or exporting, that must provide the real key to tomorrow's brighter economic future for mankind.

The International Chamber of Commerce faced many problems and challenges. There are problems in connection with the 6-country Common Market Treaty which must still, of course, be ratified by the respective parliaments.

There are very difficult problems in connection with tariffs, import quotas, and other trade problems. There are problems in mobilizing financial resources for the peaceful harnessing of the atom. And many other problems could be spelled out.

I congratulate the American delegation which contributed to this and to preceding such congresses, because I believe that it is these American businessmen who are in the forefront of the effort for free enterprise throughout the world.

I send to the desk two articles written by Mr. Walter Lucas, special correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, and published in the May 9 and May 14 issues of that distinguished newspaper.

I ask unanimous consent that these two articles, which frankly point out some of the problems encountered, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of May 9, 1957]

INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE CHARTS WEST'S PATH

(By Walter Lucas)

NAPLES.—It would be difficult to name another international organization capable of mobilizing far from their home bases 2,000 prominent businessmen from 52 countries, most of them economic leaders in their countries. But the International Chamber of Commerce now meeting here has done it.

Even the rain-drenched windy Naples of the congress' opening day became impressed by the galaxy of delegates and produced sunny weather for the next few days. "No self-respecting chamber of commerce would permit such weather as on the opening day," cracked an American delegate. Behind each ICC congress, stand 2 years of hard work by a legion of business experts, involved in meetings, discussions, drafting resolutions, etc.

Few international chamber congresses were centered on a more intense search for methods of cooperation between substantial portions of business communities of practically every nation of the non-Communist world. The complicated international situation and the growing need of cooperation between American business with the rest of the free world became the theme of the congress, sloganed as "New Factors in Economic Progress."

PLANS SEEN VITAL

Much of the strength and the future success of the free world and western civilization depend on the success and wisdom of the plans these 2,000 business leaders are discussing in Naples. The principal new factor which, by the signing of the six-country common market treaty, has become a reality and not just economic theory is the economic integration of Europe.

Europe's cooperation with the United States and the rest of the free world is doubtlessly the most vital part of the discussions. The decision by Government agencies to create a common market and abolish or reduce tariff barriers is not enough in itself. It is the European businessmen represented here who will determine whether a common market will succeed or fail. Wise discussions have already brought forward new ideas of cooperation, innovation, and a gratifyingly wide determination to follow the example of the great tariff-free American market by becoming European businessmen and not just French, Italian, or German businessmen.

FREE-TRADE AREA

An imposing 60-man delegation of the United Kingdom, including a galaxy of prominent British economic leaders, makes no secret of its determination to push the idea of the free-trade area which would enlarge the six-country common market area to all European members of the western alliance contained in NATO.

Leader of these British businessmen, J. L. S. Steel, prominent in Britain's chemical industry, said to me: "Wide sections of British public opinion are now for the free-trade area and close cooperation with the European Continent. The reason is not only emotional but also practical. Free Europe became too small for tariff barriers, and competition fights between such groups as the common-market area and the rest of Europe and would harm both parties. The desire for cooperation with likewise free nations, coupled with fear of competition on both sides constitutes a strong, healthy incentive for agreement despite many difficulties which still remain. These difficulties principally consist in our Commonwealth obligations in the agricultural sector but are, however, not unsurmountable obstacles."

ISSUE OF COMPETITION

European business leaders in Naples, however, have to discuss with delegates from other parts of the world how either the common market or the larger free-trade area should develop in harmony with the world-wide system of trade and commerce without the danger of involving Europe in competition from North America and elsewhere.

The only safe method of avoiding such perils has already crystallized itself during the Congress in discussions of subcommittees dealing with problems of European-American business and trade cooperation in the form of a new liaison body between the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Geneva) and the American Organization of Trade Cooperation.

Setting up OTC, however, is no easy matter, and resistance to the idea by the United States Congress will not easily be overcome. This makes the task of the American delegates here more difficult. Their recommendations appear to be lipservice in view of the tariff-minded American Congress opposition.

Other problems figuring prominently in discussions of the Naples congress include industrial uses of nuclear power and automation. Here again Europe appears to be leading the way as far as international cooperation is concerned: establishment of the Euratom treaty which accompanies the common market treaty and is scheduled to be

ratified shortly by the parliaments of the six European common-market countries.

BRITAIN HOLDS KEY

Here again all willingness of the United Kingdom to cooperate with Europe appears a decisive factor in view of the great progress Britain has achieved in industrial uses of atomic power. Italy's delegate, Vittorio Biasi, chairman of the Italian Edison concern, expressed what most delegates apparently thought on the subject when he said: "Only active international cooperation can make it possible for all the countries to benefit from this great new source of power."

A similar consent among delegates from all parts of the world was evident when Germany's Hans Boden stated that no serious difficulties for labor would be created by automation.

"If automation is called revolutionary it is certainly less revolutionary than was the introduction of electricity and steam in industry or the introduction of atomic energy on a large scale will be in the future. The upset will be slight and industry, trade, and labor will all profit."

Although not under the glare of publicity, numerous subcommittees are working on less spectacular, but equally important, problems under such headings as commercial and monetary policies, foreign investments and taxation, raw materials, advertising, banking, and many more.

Then again, 2 years will pass till the next Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, but during those 2 years the effectiveness of the Naples congress will undoubtedly be tested.

[From the Christian Science Monitor of May 14, 1957]

EUROPE OPPORTUNITIES AIRED—CHAMBER OF COMMERCE TAKES WIDE VIEW

(By Walter Lucas)

NAPLES, ITALY.—Assessing the achievements of the 5-day congress of the International Chamber of Commerce is not an easy task. To single out problems is one thing; to find solutions is another and much more difficult one.

There is little doubt that the European common market and free-trade-area plans became the principal items of discussions. This was less for reasons of their constructiveness than because of concern felt by those outside that six countries and, if Britain allies itself with the free-trade area, 15 European countries—would entrench behind new and even wider tariff barriers to the detriment of competitors outside it.

The retiring president, Warren Lee Pierson, quoted Plato as saying that no one deliberately injures one's best interest. Sometimes, however, one fails to see where one's own true interests lie. Mr. Pierson alluded, no doubt, to the futile ambition of those countries trying to isolate themselves from the world economy, hoping for more independence and prosperity out of such.

LONG-TERM VIEW

If this congress, with 2,000 prominent businessmen from all over the world participating, has not produced anything palpable, at least it has opened many eyes to the broader long-term views. Views were expressed from all corners of the world with vigor and candor. On many occasions, statements from the floor or from the platform contained home truths addressed not only to impersonal governments or organizations but to the representatives present.

Heavy demands for economic adjustments following new techniques deriving from such new economic factors as the European common market, Euratom assistance to undeveloped areas, automation, and the coming revolution of new nuclear-power supplies will have to be faced. The congress gave all instructive foretaste of the reception of these problems by the east, west, south, and north.

While the work of the public part of the congress ended May 10, working groups set up to tackle single problems went on debating behind closed doors the best ways and means for finding solutions.

Perhaps the clearest summation would be in quoting the words of Edmond Giscard Destaing, the new president of ICC, to whom Mr. Pierson handed over his gavel, in describing the work ahead:

EXPLOSION OF NATIONALISM

"We are witnessing a veritable explosion of nationalism in the great areas of the world. This event arising from natural political philosophy is not astonishing. The International Chamber of Commerce absolutely refuses to intervene in political affairs but intervention is called for where new economic conditions are concerned, arising with the appearance of young sovereign states—all the more as these states, because of their recent formation, are especially susceptible and in addition confront grave economic problems."

The new president is head of a financial group known as Société Financière pour la France et les Pays d'Outre-Mer and a pioneer of unified Europe. He said it is surprising how far behind our legal notions are compared with the evolution of techniques. Under the old law of government, the possession of the soil did not provide rules for possession of what is below the soil.

He also forecast that changes in international law will have to adapt themselves to new factors of economics. But he agreed that the problem most acutely confronting businessmen in international trade is the adoption of general economic policies permitting safe circulation of goods.

"It would be false to divide the world into highly and underdeveloped countries," said Mr. Destaing. "Even the highest countries have underdeveloped areas." His conclusion that a thing yields wealth only when it is exploited drew stormy applause. Without gasoline there is no industry, but in the absence of industry, there is no use for gasoline, said Mr. Destaing.

No statement during the congress was met, however, with more approval than the following farewell words of the departing president: "We could have talked a little more about the apparent turning of the tide in many countries away from the idea that their national interest was best served by treating business as a somewhat suspicious activity."

It would be an omission not to put on record the interest in the ICC shown by the countries whose economic systems are basically totalitarian. Despite their leaders boasts that their system works better, it is noteworthy that Communist countries seem to be losing faith in a rigid centralized economy once advertised as the answer to economic ills. The presence of Soviet, Czech, Polish, and Yugoslav observers here was a clear indication.

Injustice to "Billy" Mitchell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VINCENT J. DELLAY

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1957

Mr. DELLAY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD an editorial by Mr. John Mitchell, editor of the Hudson Dispatch, Hudson County, N. J., which appeared in the Dispatch on Saturday, May 25. I have a very high regard for Mr. Mitchell's editorial comment and feel that once again he has done a magnificent job. It is with sincere pride that I submit his editorial calling attention to the terrible wrong done to the late Brig. Gen. William L. "Billy" Mitchell.

The editorial follows:

CORRECT INJUSTICE DONE TO "BILLY" MITCHELL

Thirty-one years after one of the greatest airmen this country has produced was "cashiered" out of service in 1926 because of his vigorous fight in support of his contention that airpower should be America's first line of defense, the Air Force has agreed to reopen the case of the late Brig. Gen. William L. "Billy" Mitchell.

It is sincerely to be hoped that the proceedings which are before Air Force Corrections and Review Board will result in undoing what we think was a gross injustice to a devoted military-career man, who was far ahead of his generation in his foresight into the coming air age, and who was court-martialed and degraded because he had the courage to pronounce his revolutionary views when the then reigning brass of the Army and Navy in Washington disagreed with him and crucified him because of their own shortsightedness.

There have been other instances of such instances meted out to men in the Armed Forces, because their prescience embarrassed less gifted superiors, but we don't know of a more glaring case of a prophet crying in the wilderness being pilloried, as was "Billy" Mitchell.

Why it has taken this country 31 years to reright the terrible wrong that was done to this foresighted airman, we will never understand. World War II proved beyond all question of doubt how right he had been a decade and a half previously, but to our great shame this Nation now has done nothing whatever to undo the unspeakable injustice to which General Mitchell had to submit.

The vindictive court-martial in 1926 conducted by a board of nine Army generals found him guilty of insubordination after he accused the Army of incompetency and inefficiency while he was urging creation of a separate air arm, and suspended "Billy" Mitchell from his permanent rank of colonel, deprived him of his command and duty and of his pay and allowances. The only mitigating action in those benighted days was that of President Calvin Coolidge, who modified the sentence so that General Mitchell was allowed half pay.

Many of the Mitchell views that were mistakenly regarded as visionary in the midtwenties later turned out to be correct countless times over. He had been one of the first to contend that battleships could be bombed and sunk by aircraft, and he steadfastly maintained that future wars would be decided in the air. Witness Pearl Harbor and all of the subsequent developments of air power in World War II. Had the brass of 1925–26 listened to Billy Mitchell, it is certain that fatal losses we suffered in manpower and aircraft in that war might have been avoided, if the advances we failed to make had not prevented the conflict entirely.

On October 29, 1955, the 30th anniversary of the court-martial of "Billy" Mitchell, we said in these columns that "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country, and in his own house." This passage from Matthew 13:57, we quoted to support our argument that General Mitchell's prophecies had lived to plague those who disbelieved and prosecuted him.

We said then, and now repeat, that this man, one of the earliest and most outspoken advocates of airpower, an ace pilot of World War I, and an especially prescient officer of the Army Air Force, was virtually cashiered from the service he loved and gave his career to. We also said that while, unfortunately, he didn't live to learn that this Nation finally

came to realize the wisdom of his views and that his martyrdom in the end served its purpose well.

For "Billy" Mitchell's court-martial, with the vast amount of publicity given his opinions as a result of the bitter controversy the trial aroused, sowed the seeds of comprehension in the minds of our people that the United States Air Force eventually would become equally potent as an offensive and defensive weapon as our Army and our Navy.

When the treacherous Japanese struck us from the air at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and by that perfidious attack destroyed or crippled a major segment of our great Pacific fleet, and wiped out our "sitting duck" aircraft at Hickam Field, "Billy" Mitchell's great fight truly was vindicated. Sadly, he never learned of this vindication for he had died February 20, 1936, of a heart attack, while still a vigorous critic of the Nation's air policies.

In 1942 a grateful but belated gesture was made by his Nation to posthumously but only partially undo the great wrong that the 1926 court-martial had inflicted upon him. The rank which had been stripped from him was restored and he was even promoted to major general.

Now another 15 years later, the Air Force is engaged in reviewing his case. There can be no question as to what the result of this review should be. His name should be cleared once and for all time of the stigma which small-minded men placed upon it, and he should be accorded the highest honors possible.

Integration of the Public Schools—A New York Times Survey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the distinguished education editor of the New York Times, Dr. Benjamin Fine, has recently completed a survey, bearing very importantly on the debate which has taken place today in the Senate, which was published by the New York Times in five parts, on the results of the integration of Negro and white students and teachers in compliance with the historic Supreme Court ruling of May 17, 1954.

This series of articles would appear effectively to lay to rest the unfounded fears of many that integration in our public school system, in compliance with the Supreme Court's decree, is impossible and will disrupt the public-school system and endanger our youth. On the contrary, experience in schools in Delaware, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas shows this is not so.

The series of articles to which I have referred is recommended to all who would view the issue involved with rational eyes.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the RECORD. I have been informed by the Public Printer that the articles are estimated to make approximately six pages of the RECORD, at a cost of $462. Notwithstanding the cost, I ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of May 13, 1957]

WILMINGTON SEES INTEGRATION GAIN—SUCCESS OF RACIALLY MIXED CLASSES SURPASSES HOPE IN DELAWARE CITY

(This is the first of several articles on the integration of Negro and white students and teachers in accordance with the Supreme Court's decision.)

(By Benjamin Fine)

WILMINGTON, Del., May 7.—The first-grade pupils, like 6-year-olds anywhere, were restless toward the end of a long school day. Spring was in the air.

"Let's play with the bells," their teacher, Mrs. Rosalia Shore, proposed. A shout came from the 30 youngsters, 20 of them white and 10 Negro.

The bells were quickly distributed. "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star," echoed through the room. A hand waved.

"Oh, Mrs. Shore, please," a little girl with pigtails begged, "Willy doesn't got a bell."

"You mean," the teacher said, "Willy doesn't have a bell. We'll give him one."

Soon Ella and Willy, sitting side by side, led the class in bellringing. About 15 minutes later, at dismissal time, they walked out, hand-in-hand.

This scene could not have taken place here 3 years ago. For Ella is Negro and Willy is white.

Integration began in Wilmington on the elementary school level in the fall of 1954, following the Supreme Court's decision outlawing "separate but equal" facilities. Two years ago it was extended to the junior high schools. Last September, the senior high schools were opened to all students, regardless of race.

Negro teachers are now assigned to classes on the same basis as white. Mixed classes are common. It is not unusual to find Negro teachers in predominantly white schools.

The community has accepted integration. No opposition is visible or vocal.

"Integration has succeeded beyond our fondest hopes," Dr. Ward I. Miller, superintendent of schools, said.

Much preparation went into the preliminary stages. The parents and citizens generally were kept informed of every move. When, in the fall of 1954, a Negro teacher was assigned to teach white children, the superintendent took many precautions to see that the arrangement would work.

VISITED EACH HOME

The Negro teacher, together with her principal, visited the homes of each of the children assigned to her. In this way the parents became acquainted with the teacher. They also received permission to transfer their children to a class presided over by a white teacher if they wished. Few took up the offer.

Although parents have the privilege of having their children transferred to nonintegrated classes, only 20 in the entire city were transferred this year.

"Not long ago," Dr. Miller said, "a group of parents came to see me. Their children had a Negro teacher. They wanted me to assign the teacher to the second grade, so that their youngsters could be with her for another year.

" 'At first,' one parent said, 'we didn't like the idea of having a colored teacher. But she's wonderful. Our children are crazy about her.'

" 'We'd rather have a good Negro teacher than a poor white one,' another mother said."

CHILDREN PRACTICE INTEGRATION

What about the children? In the early grades they accept integration without question. They do not know the meaning of the word, but they certainly practice it.

The Negro and white pupils romp in the playground together. They take turns swinging the jump rope; it is not unusual to find a Negro child at one end, a white at the other. They share each other's sandwiches and cookies.

Mrs. Sherwood Closson, a second-grade teacher, has a class of 9 Negro and 23 white pupils. A teacher for 20 years, Mrs. Closson was worried when she was assigned to a mixed class a year ago. She was one of the first Negro teachers to go to a formerly all-white elementary school.

Now her worries are over. Her color no longer disturbs the white parents. And it certainly does not upset her pupils.

"We love Mrs. Closson," an 8-year-old white boy said. "I want to be a teacher, just like Mrs. Closson," a blue-eyed blond asserted.

LOANS FLUTE

Six children, four of them white, two Negro, presented a musical program.

"I forgot my flute," one of the boys whispered to his companion.

"Here, take mine," came the quick response.

One of the children was white, the other a Negro.

"I see children as a whole," Mrs. Closson commented. "I don't see them as white or colored. I just love all children."

Integration starts in kindergarten. Mrs. Hester Petty, a native of Rockville Centre, Long Island, was the first Negro kindergarten teacher appointed. At first, this upset some of the white parents. But this did not last long.

"They are most cooperative now," she said with pride. "I'm trying to do a good job with the children."

During the resting period in kindergarten, the children stretched out on blankets on the floor with no attempt at segregation.

They also played games together. "Candy, you and me are the mommies," a white child said to her Negro friend as they strutted uncertainly across the room in borrowed high-heeled shoes.

PROBLEMS STILL EXIST

As far as the children, the teachers, and the parents are concerned, integration is working smoothly. But the administration recognizes that there are problems. Serious adjustments must still be made.

Prior to the Supreme Court ruling, the State's public schools had been segregated. Of the 65,315 pupils in the State, 17.5 percent are Negroes. Of the 3,353 teachers, 458 are Negroes.

In Wilmington, 32 percent of the 12,812 students are Negroes. The lifelong attitude of the community had to be changed. Dr. Miller brought the community leaders together. He received support from the teachers. He got the parents to go along with him.

In less than 3 years a new way of life has taken hold in the city's public schools.

"I'm amazed and gratified at what has happened," James M. Rosbrow, president of the Delaware Congress of Parents and Teachers, stated. "We still have a long way to go, of course. But we are moving at more than deliberate speed."

Two major problems confront the schools: academic and social.

LOWER NEGRO I. Q.'S

The average intelligence quotient (I. Q.) for the white pupils ranges from 105 to 108, for Negroes from 95 to 98.

This means, Dr. Miller explained, that the Negroes are about one grade below the whites.

How does a teacher compensate for this difference? In most classes the three-track teaching method is used. Children are divided into superior, average, and low academic groups. In most of the early grades,

the greatest proportion of Negro pupils is found in the two lower categories.

But, teachers hasten to add, academic standards in the classroom have not been lowered. In the first and second grades, many children get remedial instruction to keep up with their class.

"It won't take long for the Negro child to catch up with the white one," Dr. Miller prodicted. "We don't think it's a racial difference. Rather, the Negro children have had a different economic and cultural background."

Educators estimate that by the time that Negro children reach junior high, the educational differecnes will be narrowed, if not eliminated.

EXTRACURRICULAR GROUPS

Extracurricular activities are open to all. Negroes are members of the athletic teams. They are on the student council. They are in the dramatic clubs and choral groups.

Crystal Burris, 10 years old, is vice president of the Leaders Council at the Gray Elementary School, where a majority of the 800 pupils are white.

Michael Jenkins, 17, a high school senior, is president of the senior council, the top student governing body. He defeated the 3 other candidates, 2 girls and a boy, even though he was the only Negro among the 4 candidates. His school has 61 Negroes out of an enrollment of about 1,100.

"I voted for Michael," a white girl explained, "because I thought he was the best person for the job."

A distinction creeps into their lives on the social level. Few Negroes attend the high school dances. Ann Tate, a senior, explained her reactions about going to the school dances:

"I just don't feel comfortable on the dance floor."

The Negro children are less aware of social differences in the elementary or the junior grades.

"My son has attended several of the junior high dances," said Harry L. Gardner, president of a parent-teacher association, who is a Negro.

"He says he has a wonderful time. He doesn't dance with white girls, though."

SOCIAL INTEGRATION FEARED

But many parents express fear at social integration.

"I don't want my boy to come away from school with a colored bride," a father said.

When do the children themselves discover color differences? Sometimes it is in the 5th or 6th grade. Or it might be a junior high school. By the time they get to senior high, the social separation appears complete.

Eleven-year-old Viola became friendly with her white classmate, Janet. Everything went well until Janet wanted Viola to come for dinner.

"Sorry," Janet's mother said. "I'd love to have Viola visit with you. But what would our neighbors say?"

Sometimes the drift apart begins at an even earlier age.

Nine-year-old Larry became a close friend of Kenney, son of a prominent Negro. They went fishing and hiking together. Larry approached his father:

"Dad, Kenney is in the Cub Scouts, I want to join his pack."

The father answered swiftly and sternly:

"No, Larry, you can't. I don't want you to join a club with Negroes in it."

Larry cried. He refused to join the Scouts in another part of the city. He stopped seeing Kenney. Larry has now become a problem child. He has been in several scrapes in the last month. His teachers are afraid he is on the way to delinquency.

"What has happened to my boy?" Larry's father asked. "He used to be such a nice boy. Now look at him. I just can't understand it at all."

SUMMARY OF INTEGRATION IN THE DELAWARE SCHOOLS

(Following is a statistical summary of integration in Delaware, taken from figures of the Southern Education Reporting Service:)

Enrollment in public schools	65,315
White	53,904
Negro	11,411
Enrollment in mixed public schools	21,018
White	17,770
Negro	3,248
Number of teachers	3,353
White	2,895
Negro	458

[From the New York Times of May 15, 1957]

SCHOOL BIAS ENDS IN A BORDER CITY—CHARLESTON, W. VA., ADJUSTING WELL, ALTHOUGH PREJUDICE REMAINS IN HOMES

(This is the second of several articles on the integration of Negro and white students and teachers in public schools in accordance with the Supreme Court's decision.)

(By Benjamin Fine)

CHARLESTON, W. VA., May 9.—The mother of a fourth grade pupil at Mercer elementary school stormed into the principal's office on the opening day of school last fall.

What is this I hear about a Negro going to teach my boy?" she demanded.

Mrs. Bessie H. Stewart, the principal, explained that by order of the Board of Education, integration was now the school policy.

"I can't take it," the woman shouted. "I'm from Mississippi. My husband was born in Tennessee. If my child has a Negro teacher I'll take him out and send him to a private school.'

"Please," the principal asked, "try the new teacher. Give her a chance."

A week later, the Mississippi-born woman came to Mrs. Stewart and said quietly:

"Mrs. Stewart I was wrong. Jimmie loves his teacher. I guess I'll let him remain at Mercer for the rest of the year."

INTEGRATION IN EFFECT

When integration was put into effect in Kanawha County last fall, the school officials and community leaders had their fingers crossed. In the fall of 1955, mixed classes were ordered for the first, second and seventh grades. Last September, the entire school system from kindergarten through high school became integrated.

At first there were grumblings, such as that expressed by the mother from Mississippi. The superintendent, Dr. L. K. Lovenstein, had several anonymous telephone calls, threatening violence. The police were alterted but they were not needed.

Charleston, the State capital, is part of Kanawha County, in the heart of the West Virginia mountains. About 57,000 pupils, 3,000 of them Negroes, are enrolled. Only 129 of the 1,961 teachers are Negro.

Charleston and the entire county had always had a segregated system of education. When the decision to integrate was taken, Dr. Lovenstein and the board members called upon the parent-teachers associations, the citizen groups, and the press to help smooth the way.

"We couldn't have received better cooperation," said Herbert M. Beddow, president of the board of education. "Everyone agreed that integration must be made to succeed without violence."

It has Negro and white children in every part of the county. Negro teachers have been assigned to all-white schools, even to communities where Negroes are not permitted to live. Eighteen all-Negro schools have been abandoned. Three were merged with white ones. The district lines of eight schools were changed to permit Negroes to attend.

SYSTEM SAVES $250,000

School officials estimate that the immediate saving this year will be $250,000 out of a budget of $11 million. The economies will become even greater in the years ahead, they predict.

There is no indication that the educational standards have been lowered. Dr. Lovenstein points to the high standards of Negro instruction—the small pupil-teacher ratio and the corps of adequately trained Negro teachers—as reasons why the Negro children kept pace with the academic achievements of their white classmates while they were in a segregated system.

To some parents, acceptance of Negro teachers in mixed classes came hard. While visiting a friend, Mr. Beddow was taken to task for assigning a Negro teacher to the fourth grade. The father spoke harshly against Negro teachers in general and this one in particular.

His 10-year-old daughter, overhearing the conversation, broke into the the room.

"You're talking about my teacher," she said to her father indignantly. "She's the best teacher I've ever had."

"The father hushed up fast," Mr. Beddows said. "He's for integration now."

OPERATING SMOOTHLY

As the first full year of an integrated program draws to a close, the pupils and teachers agree that the program has operated smoothly.

"I'd like to have my teacher again next year," Billy, 9, said of his Negro instructor.

"I like being here with my white friends," Tom, 10, who was in an all-Negro class a year ago, added happily. "My teacher is real nice."

He doesn't even refer to the fact that she is white—the first white teacher he has ever had.

On the elementary level, almost without exception, Negro children and white ones play and study together. As was found in Wilmington, Del., the youngsters here are color-blind. They make no distinction between races in the classroom or on the play yards.

A fourth-grade teacher, Mrs. Maude Bennett, has 18 white and 10 Negro pupils in her class. She has been a teacher for 32 years, and this is the first time she has taught an integrated class.

"I can't see any difference at all," Mrs. Bennett said. "The colored and white children do just about the same work. In the spelling bees, sometimes a white child will come out ahead, sometimes a Negro."

The class officers were called to order by Mrs. Bennett. They gathered around her desk to decide how best to keep the room clean.

The president, James Randall, who wants to be a pilot, is a Negro, as is the assistant secretary, Jane Clayton, a future teacher. The vice president, Linda Stillwell, and the secretary of the class, Margaret Moses, are white.

CHOSEN FOR ABILITY

This situation is common throughout the school system. Negroes are elected to student offices, they are on the athletic teams, they work for the student newspapers and join the dramatic clubs. But, the students are quick to say, the Negro pupils are chosen on the basis of ability, not color.

"We love Jimmy Randall," his classmates said. "He's a good president."

The townspeople have come to accept this school integration. Recently about 100 elementary children marched through the streets to attend a concert in the center of the city. Quite by accident, the informal procession was led by a third-grade Negro boy and a third-grade white girl. Hand in hand they marched down the street at the head of the procession.

"I wondered what the people were staring at," a school official said. "Then suddenly

I realized. We are so used to seeing Negro and white children playing together in schools that we just don't notice it anymore. For the citizens, however, it must have been a novelty."

MOST TEACHERS WHITE

Because the great majority of teachers and pupils are white, most of the youngsters are taught by white teachers. For the first time, these teachers find Negro children in their classrooms.

Jean Ferguson, a third-grade teacher with 35 years' experience, is typical of many. Until this year she had taught all-white classes. Now she has a class of 13 Negroes and 13 whites.

"It was difficult to get used to it at first," she said, "It's made my work more difficult and more challenging.

"But I haven't found any real difference in intelligence between the two races. There are slow and fast readers among both the Negroes and the white children."

The Negro parents come to the PTA meetings, Miss Ferguson said, in the same proportion as the white parents. They cooperate with her whenever special problems arise, she said.

"I don't mind teaching a mixed class now," she added. I'll probably get another one next fall. I certainly won't ask for an all-white class."

TRANSFERS POSSIBLE

Parents who do not want their children to attend mixed classes or who object to Negro teachers may ask for a transfer. However, if the class to which they wish their child transferred has more than 30 pupils, the child will not be admitted. Also, they have to pay transportation costs of $4 a month on the elementary level, $12 on the high school.

"We have had mighty few requests for transfers," Dr. Lovenstein said. "Our parents seem to accept things as they are."

NEGRO TEACHER ASSIGNED

Sometimes a Negro teacher is placed in an all-white school. Mrs. Stella Meiner at Chandler School is an example. She has 41 4th-grade pupils, and they are "crazy" about her, in their own words. "She's a good teacher," the children said.

"My mother says," a long-haired girl of 9 remarked, "that Mrs. Meiner is the nicest teach she ever met."

Mrs. Meiner always had taught Negro children. Now she teaches only white children. The educational standards are similar, however, she said.

"I don't find any differences at all," she said. "They are all such lovely children."

Dr. Lovenstein explained her appointment:

"There was a vacancy at the school and Mrs. Meiner had the necessary qualifications, so we gave her the job."

ANOTHER IS APPOINTED

A similar situation exists at the Clendenin Junior High School, 20 miles from Charleston. No Negro had ever taught in this school of 864 children and 27 teachers. Moreover no Negro had ever lived in Clendenin, a mining and farming community.

A Negro teacher, Arned Brown, was brought in last September to teach art and history. He is accepted by the community, students, and teachers. For the first time in Clendenin, 7 students have won art prizes in national competitions.

The students sing the praises of Mr. Brown.

"He is the best teacher I've ever had," is the typical comment of the 254 students whom he teaches.

"We have forgotten that he's colored," Debbie Karr, the senior class president, said. "When he first came here, I was prejudiced. I didn't like Negroes. Well, I've certainly changed my mind now. I think they're as good as we are."

BIAS BEGINS OUTSIDE

However, integration stops in the classroom or on the athletic field; it is not carried over into the home. When a colored student at the Thomas Jefferson High School came to a party given by one of his classmates, he was asked to leave.

"Please don't take this as a personal affront," the mother of the boy giving the party said. "We just aren't used to having Negroes at our parties. Maybe when integration is farther along we'll be able to invite you."

"I got a phone call from a boy in my class," said Mary Bowditch, 14, a high-school freshman. "Mother didn't like it when she learned he was colored. When he called again she wouldn't let me talk to him. But really he only wanted to carry on a pleasant conversation."

At the school dances the Negro and white pupils are not allowed to exchange dances.

"The community is not ready to go that far," said the dean of girls at the Stonewall Jackson High School.

"We'll have to take integration step by step," said Mrs. John C. Norman, a Negro teacher active in community affairs. "You can't hold the dawn back indefinitely."

[From the New York Times of May 17, 1957]

LEXINGTON CALM OVER INTEGRATION—SCHOOL MIXING STARTS SLOWLY—FASTER GAINS EXPECTED

(This is the third of several articles on the integration of Negro and white students and teachers in accordance with the Supreme Court's decision.)

(By Benjamin Fine)

LEXINGTON, Ky., May 11.—Integration has been introduced in this southern city on a limited scale. It can best be described as a "token" step toward desegregation.

Of the 8,200 students in the public school system, 2,800 are Negroes. But only 35 Negroes are found in mixed classrooms. Twenty of these are in a junior high school, four in a senior high, and the rest in two elementary schools.

About one-third of the 340 teachers are Negroes. So far not one Negro teacher has been assigned to a school with white children.

There is little intermingling of the races in the parent and teacher groups. The Parent Teachers Associations are kept separate with the Negro groups belonging to one central council, the white to another. The teachers have their own citywide associations, but amalgamation has taken place in the Statewide organizations.

However, despite the apparent lag from integration, action has been taken by the board of education to comply with the Supreme Court's ruling of May 17, 1954. In the fall of 1955, the board voted to open all schools to Negro and white children alike. It stipulated only that the children should go to schools in their own neighborhoods.

Following the board's action, 25 Negroes entered the formerly all-white schools. This dent in the wall of segregation did not create any incident.

This fall another slow step toward integration took place. Thirty-five Negro children enrolled in the white schools. Now, at the end of the academic year, the community apparently has accepted calmly this further breaching of the color line.

Officials here still feel that they are skating on thin ice. A day after the Supreme Court's desegregation decision, a fiery cross was burned on the lawn of Dr. John M. Ridgway, superintendent of schools, and damaged his house. However, the police acted quickly to stem further violence. None occurred.

"I get an anonymous call now and then, but that is all," Dr. Ridgway observed. "That doesn't intimidate me any."

What is the outlook for full-scale integration in this horse racing, society-conscious center of Kentucky? Dr. Ridgway does not believe that large numbers of Negro students will apply to the white schools. He bases this view on two assumptions:

First, that the Negro schools are as good, and in some cases even better, than the schools for white children.

Second, that the Negroes live in a homogeneous housing pattern, which will keep most of them in schools within their own neighborhoods.

But what if the Negroes do want to attend the white schools?

WON'T TURN ANY AWAY

"We won't turn any of them away," Dr. Ridgway answers, but "substantial numbers of colored children in the all-white schools may cause considerable community resentment."

The president of the board of education, Dr. Francis Massie, is not as sure as the superintendent that the token integration will be continued indefinitely.

"The real trouble is ahead of us," he believes. "I would guess that within 10 to 15 years we will see large numbers of Negroes in mixed schools. When that happens, we may find community opposition."

But, he insists, the school board plans to stand firm.

"We will not turn back," he maintains. "We intend to obey the law of the land."

There is a noticeable trend toward increasing the patterns of integration. Policy conferences between the associations of Negro teachers and white teachers have envisioned toward amalgamation. Spokesmen for both groups expect the merger to take place within a year or two.

Similarly, a move is underway to consolidate the parent-teacher associations.

ACCEPTANCE GROWING

The limited integration is operating smoothly. The Negro children are accepted both in the classroom and in the extra-curricular activities. They are on the athletic teams. A Negro boy had the leading role in a school play. Several Negroes are in the glee club and band. Recently white and Negro cheerleaders locked arms as they encouraged their basketball team—the city's first integrated team.

"It was a moving sight," a school official said. "I woldn't have believed it possible to see white and colored girls holding hands, leading the student body in songs and cheers."

In the Johnson Elementary School, the fifth graders were preparing a report on local history when this reporter entered.

"Let's make Ayon our chairman," someone proposed. "She's nice and smart."

"That's a good idea," the children agreed. "She'll know how to be a good leader."

So 10-year-old Ayon Embry was chosen as class chairman. Her eyes flashed happily as she came to the head of the class. Plainly, she was the class' favorite.

Ayon, who has not decided whether to be an actress or a teacher, came here in January from Biloxi, Miss. As the only Negro in a class of 38 white pupils she had to make a sharp adjustment. Similarly her white classmates have had to adjust to the experience of going to school with a Negro child.

WE PLAY TOGETHER

"I like school very much," Ayon confided. "We play in the yard together. Everyone is nice to me. Gaile is my best friend."

Blond-haired Gaile Ginn, 10, who also wants to be a teacher, nodded in assent.

"Ayon is my best friend too," she said. "We always play together during recess."

The difference in color seems to be forgotten. Nor does it influence their teacher, Mrs. Cleone M. Watts. She has taught for 28 years, but never before with a mixed class.

"I don't mind it at all," she said. "Really, I never think of Ayon as colored. She's just a lovely child, one of the nicest and most popular in our class."

Not a ripple of excitement has taken place at the Lexington Junior High School, formerly all white, which now has the largest number of Negro students. Although there are only 20 Negroes among the 582 students they are evident in the classroooms, during lunch periods and at the after-school activities.

In a civics class, two girls gave a report on citizenship. One was a Negro, the other white.

"We found," began Gwendolin Emerson, 14, who is attending a white school for the first time, that people are different. Not only physically, but mentally and emotionally too.

Her partner, Betty Brandenburg, 14, who never before had sat in a classroom with a Negro, continued the joint report:

"In a democracy we find all kinds of people. We have to learn to be good citizens." Gwendolin, 1 of 4 Negroes in the class of 22, likes her new school. She came here this year from the all-Negro junior high.

"I was nervous at first, but that soon wore off," she said. "When I first came here some of the girls called me names. But everyone is real nice to me now."

"I've been in a Christmas play and a concert," said Limmie Farris, 15, who also came from the all-Negro school. "The studies seem harder here than in the other school. But I plan to come back this fall."

"The teachers treat us the same as anyone else," said Eleanor Jones, 13, another Negro pupil. "I asked my teacher if my color bothered her. She said she never gave it a thought."

TEACHER ADAPTING

The civics teacher, Miss Pearl Davis, has accepted her mixed class, but concedes it was not at first. She pointed out that she had been a teacher for 34 years, and it had taken time to break lifelong habits.

"Frankly, at first I resented having Negroes in my class," she said. "I thought I'd have discipline problems. I soon found out I was wrong. I'm not conscious of color any more."

The white children in the elementary schools accept their Negro classmates much more readily than do the white students in junior high school. The younger children play ball together in the school yard and walk off arm-in-arm to the classroom when recess ends.

Are Negroes able to keep up with their classmates intellectually?

[From the New York Times of May 20, 1957]

KANSAS CITY MAKES BIG STRIDES IN INTEGRATION DESPITE TENSIONS

(This is the fourth of several articles on the integration of Negro and white students and teachers in the public schools in accordance with the Supreme Court's decision.)

(By Benjamin Fine)

KANSAS CITY, MO., May 15.—The caller sang our "Swing your partners" and the square dance was on.

The boys and girls at West Junior High School pranced happily on the stage of the school auditorium while their classmates applauded.

No one seemed to notice that Negro as well as white pupils were in the dance. And that they "swung their partners" regardless of color.

Of the 633 students at West Junior High School, 114 are Negro. Negro youngsters participate in every type of activity. They are on the swimming and basketball teams. They are on the 25 social and school clubs, from needlework to photography. They attend the monthly dances.

"When we first enrolled Negroes here a year ago," Roscoe V. Cramer, the principal, said, "we had some doubts about mixed dancing. But I knew that the boys and girls would solve the problem in their own way. They did. Negro boys dance with Negro girls, white boys with white girls."

Dr. Cramer looked up at the auditorium stage. "This is probably the first time in this city," he said, "that mixed dancing has been seen in our schools."

He paused before adding: "But this is not ballroom dancing. In square dancing, you see, the white and colored children only hold hands."

Integration has made rapid strides here. But, serious problems still exist. Many junior and high school students say that while they accept mixed classes they do not like them. An undercurrent of uneasiness, bordering on tension exists in several of the integrated schools. In some schools Negro students are not permitted to join some of the extracurricular club activities. But school officials minimize this condition. They blame adults.

TWENTY-TWO PERCENT NEGRO

In this city of 500,000 the Negro school population is large; 22 percent, or 14,000, of the school enrollment of 62,742 are Negro. Of 2,485 teachers, 394 are Negro.

This fall, for the first time, the system began to integrate the faculty. One hundred and seventy-one teachers are working on mixed faculties. Of these, 115 are white, 56 are Negro. One formerly all-white elementary school has a Negro principal. A high school has a Negro vice principal.

"We still have a long way to go before we get complete faculty integration," Dr. James A. Hazlett, superintendent of schools, said. "We have made a start, and that is important. We can't step out too far ahead of the community on the integration issue."

Pupil integration, though, is virtually complete. Mixed classes are found on every level from kindergarten through junior college. In the fall of 1955 the board of education put revised district lines into effect, abolishing all differences between Negro and white school lines. Regardless of color, children attend school in their own districts.

TRANSFER RATE LOW

However, they can ask for a transfer to another school. Few students take this way out. In the preintegration year of 1954–55, 2,572 students asked for transfers for one reason or another. That was considered normal. When integration became effective in 1955–56, 2,998 sought transfers, an increase of about 400. This year about the same number asked to change schools.

"Of course, we know that a small percentage of the students want to get out of a mixed school," Dr. Hazlett said. "But frankly we were surprised at the insignificant number who actually took advantage of this opening. We are even more pleased to see that the number seeking transfers is not growing."

The schools in Kansas City are almost an island of integration in a community that is still largely segregated. The churches, for the most part, are not mixed. The city hospitals are kept separate on the basis of color. The downtown restaurants do not serve Negroes. Many movie houses have a segregated policy.

"Considering the rest of the community activity, the schools have made remarkable progress," Dr. Hazlett said. "We have not had any serious flareups."

On the elementary level, Negro and white students accept each other easily. They play together regardless of color. At Linwood Elementary School, where the 850 children are almost equally divided between whites and Negroes, the atmosphere is calm and friendly. The boys and girls do not give any sign of prejudice.

TENSION IN JUNIOR HIGH

This is not true on the junior high school level. Tension is apparent at Central Junior High School, where 42 percent of the 1,450 pupils are Negroes. Within recent months, fist fights between white and Negro boys have been reported. A Negro boy broke the jaw of a white boy in an unprovoked attack. The police have been called to curb a growing protection racket, in which Negro boys demand money from white pupils.

The principal, Rae Haley, is quite aware of what is happening. To try to ease the tension, six Negro teachers and a Negro counselor have been added to the staff.

It is a community, not just a school problem, school officials say. Central School is in a section where the Negro population is growing. Many whites are moving out. Last Monday the Central Linwood Community Council, consisting of representatives of the churches, schools, welfare groups, and other civic-minded organizations, met to consider how to bring about better relations between whites and Negroes.

"The churches and other community groups must cooperate with the schools if we are to have integration," the council insisted.

You can hear the views of their elders parroted by the seventh, eighth, and ninth graders.

CAN'T TRUST THE NEGROES

"You can't trust the Negroes," according to Russell Funk, 15 years old, a ninth-grade student. "When you walk down the hall they try to trip you or swing at you with their fists."

"I'm shocked at the language of the colored girls," Carol Harmon, 15, said. "Some of the girls are nice, but most of them use a lot of profanity."

"This is my first year with colored children," observed 13-year-old Bobbette Roberts, a seventh-grader who wants to be a nurse. "I accidentally knocked a basket off the bench of a colored girl in gym today and she hit me. A lot of times the colored girls put their arms around you. I don't want to seem mean, but I just don't like them hovering about me in that way."

She continued: "If we go to school with Negroes, it's going to mean intermarriage. You just can't help it. I think it's terrible to see a white boy go down the hall next to a colored girl."

For the most part, the Negroes expressed a wish to be friendly.

"LOADS OF WHITE FRIENDS

"We want to show our white friends that we are not an inferior group," said Maisie Dixon, 14, a ninth-grade student. "I have loads of white friends. They don't mind my color. But it's the grownups that influence them and tell them not to play with us."

"We don't want to grow up hating each other," asserted Marva Welch, 15, who hopes to be a laboratory technician someday. "We don't have any grudge against the whites. But we feel that we are just as good as they are."

Another quietly insisted: "There is really no difference between us. It's just a matter of color."

Despite the difficulties and the tension, much headway has been made. Mr. Haley estimates that less than 10 percent of the students in his school are "troublemakers." The rest, he believes, accept mixed classes.

Negro students have been elected to various class offices. It is not uncommon to find a Negro on the student council or president of a class.

"My best friend is a Negro girl," volunteered Pauline Walker, president of the West Junior High School student council. "My mother was dismayed when she heard that

I had a Negro friend. It doesn't bother her now, though."

John Robins, a Negro, is treasurer of the council.

"Some of the white pupils were a little skeptical about me at first," William M. White, one of the six Negro teachers at Central Junior High, observed. "They weren't sure whether or not they would like me. I'm sure they like me now, though."

"I find it's harder to make the same grades at Central," said Opal Jackson, 13, who came from an all-Negro school. "I have to study much harder."

Eclophia Smith, a seventh grader, came to Kansas City last January from Summers, Miss. The junior-high work here is pretty rough on him, but he is struggling hard to keep his head above water.

"I felt scared and ashamed when I first came here," Eclophia continued. "You see, I never went to a school with white children before. I'm not scared any more. They all treat me very nice."

The white children accept their Negro teachers without resentment.

SHE WANTS TO LEARN

"I came here to learn," points out Judy Dunn, 13, who wants to be a nurse, "and I don't care whether my teacher is white or black."

"We are very happy at this acceptance of Negro teachers by the white children," Dr. Hazlett said. "Frankly we were worried at first about putting Negro teachers in with white children."

Other problems have developed. Some teachers say mixed classes have brought about relaxed discipline and lower educational standards.

"The Negro children are just a little slower in getting to school," according to Miss Ann Kayser, a fourth-grade teacher, who is president of the Teachers Cooperative Council.

"I've had a 30-percent increase in tardiness in my class. Quite often I'll have 3 or 4 Negro children come in 10 minutes late."

"They're noisier and less inhibited," declared Ed C. Lockridge, a math teacher for the last 30 years. "I have 3 or 4 Negroes who are top students, but most of them are not that way. What alarms me is that the white students are doing less work. Instead of getting the Negroes to come up to their standards, they are lowering their own."

It is obvious that the easygoing relationships among teachers and students on the elementary level does not exist in junior high school. Many might say that junior high age is difficult under any circumstances. It is made more so through integration, some of the teachers believe.

SOME SEGREGATION REMAINS

Segregation has not been entirely abolished, Paul M. Marshall, principal of senior high school, notes. The Negroes have not been invited to join the literary club at his school.

"Several Negro students came to me," Mr. Marshall said, "and wanted to form a literary club of their own. I gave them permission to do so."

"I think that kind of segregation should be discouraged," declared William Gremley, executive secretary of the City Commission on Human Relations. "That's retrogression."

However, Mr. Gremley, whose city commission of 15 works closely with the school board, said that integration had made an excellent record. Desegregation has taken place with a minimum of violence.

"Some of us feel that integration should be speeded up," he said, "especially in mixing teaching staffs more. But on the whole Kansas City has done a remarkable job."

Here, as in other southern communities visited by this reporter, integration ends the moment the pupils leave the school yard. A white boy, standing in front of Central High, waved to his Negro friend as they stepped outside the school yard.

"So long, Jim," he said, quietly, "see you tomorrow."

They both walked in the same direction, the Negro boy joining several Negroes, the white boy a group of whites. It was 3 p. m. Integration had ended for the day.

[From the New York Times of May 22, 1957]

INTEGRATION GAIN IS FOUND IN TULSA—SCHOOL-SPONSORED ACTIVITIES INCLUDE NEGROES, BUT LAG IS SEEN AFTER CLASSES

(This is the fifth of several articles on the integration of Negro and white students and teachers in the public schools in accordance with the Supreme Court's decision.)

(By Benjamin Fine)

TULSA, OKLA., May 17.—A teacher at the Daniel Webster High School here took several members of her class, Negroes and whites, to a nearby lunchroom.

"Sorry," the waiter said, "we don't serve Negroes here."

"In that case," a white student retorted, "we won't eat here either."

They all marched out. For a moment the teacher's spirits drooped. Suddenly she brightened and said:

"Let's all go to my house for lunch. We'll be able to put something together."

They did. And had a grand time doing it.

More recently, 11 high-school girls spent a pleasant Saturday morning together at Tulsa University. They had been guests of the journalism department.

TEN OF ELEVEN PASSES HONORED

Upon departing, each of the girls received a pass for a downtown movie house. When they presented their passes at the theater, 10 of the 11 students received tickets. The 11th was rebuffed:

"Sorry, we don't admit Negroes here."

The 10 white girls returned their tickets to the manager.

"If Juanita can't go in, we won't go, either," they said.

"We couldn't walk out on our friend," the girls explained later.

These incidents would not have taken place 3 years ago. At that time the schools were entirely segregated. But a new day has come to the Tulsa school system. It may not be too bright, measured in terms of what still remains to be done. But compared with many other communities in the Southeast, it is a giant step forward.

Integration, begun here less than 2 years ago, has been quiet. No violence has followed the step taken by the Board of Education in the fall of 1955.

Negro and white children ride school buses together, they sit side by side in the classroom, and they play together on the football and baseball teams. Negroes have been elected to prominent positions of leadership.

FEW NEGRO STUDENTS

But there is another side to the picture, school authorities say. Thus far the numbers involved are relatively small. Only 112 Negroes attend formerly all-white schools. They are in 3 high schools, a junior high, and 4 elementary schools. This may not be too many in a system of 56,000 of which 4,500 are Negroes. But it is a tremendous step forward in this southern community of 250,000 persons of whom about 10 percent are Negro.

More Negro students are expected in the schools this fall. After all, it is explained, this is only the second year of integration. About 80 students entered the first year.

Dr. Charles C. Mason, superintendent of schools, says that there always will be a considerable amount of de facto segregation here. The Negro population is concentrated in the north and northeast sections of the city.

For the most part, the Negroes in these areas will go to school in their own neighborhoods. This is comparable to the situation in Harlem or the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. However, as the housing patterns change, more Negroes can be expected to attend mixed schools.

Integration has not taken place on the faculty level. There are no Negro teachers in the white or mixed schools. The Urban League is seeking ways to bridge this gap. At a special meeting yesterday the league voted to appoint an education committee to work on the issue.

"I believe that teacher integration would be accepted in Tulsa," Louis Taubman, vice president of the league, said. "Parents want good teachers for their children, regardless of color."

The superintendent is not quite as sanguine. "The community is not ready for it," Dr. Mason said. "We have to take one step at a time."

FIRST STEP CALLED SUCCESS

The first step has succeeded, from all indications. Negro students are accepted in the classroom and on the playing field. This is a "first" for both whites and Negroes—the first time that Negroes are in mixed classes, and the first time that white students are in academic competition with Negroes.

Are the Negroes able to keep up with their white classmates? It is too early to tell, the teachers say. Besides, the numbers are not large enough to have scientific validity. Some students are failing, while others head the honor roll. However, in the main, the Negro students generally are among the poorest in their classes.

"I'm working much harder now than I did when I went to the all-Negro school," a ninth-grade girl said. "Before I just played around. My grades have improved here. I want to show my white friends that I can do work as well as they can."

"I never dreamed of going to college when I attended Carver [an all-Negro school]," another student said. "I certainly plan to go now. My work is more stimulating here. I hope to become a home economics teacher some day."

"She's one of my brightest students, and she will make a good teacher," her instructor said. "Everyone in class likes Georgianna."

At the Daniel Webster High School, where 26 of the 800 students are Negroes, mixed classes are now accepted as a matter of course. The dire predictions of some that integration would never work simply have not come to pass.

Nor is it solely a question of numbers. It would not matter, Dr. Carl A. Ransbarger, the Webster principal said, just how many Negroes came here eventually. The old-time tradition of separation of the races has been breached, and that is the important thing, he added.

"Whether we have 20 or 200, the situation will be the same," Dr. Ransberger declared. "White and Negro students accept each other in the classrooms."

Negroes participate in various extra-curricular activities. They go to the school dances together. However, here, as in the other border cities, the Negroes and whites while attending the same dances dance with their own race. There is no mixed dancing. Three Negroes are on the school band.

"We've had no trouble whatsoever," said Dennis Kelliher, the band leader. "They go with us on trips when we visit other cities. We only eat where both colored and whites are served."

One of the three-letter men in the school, Kenneth Lewis, a football, basketball, and track star, is a senior at Webster.

"No one looks at my color when I shoot a basket," he observes. "If I get a good shot, they cheer. If I pull a boner, they jeer."

However, it is not easy to overcome the mores of a lifetime. It will take more than law to make school integration acceptable to all. The school's music teacher, Louis W. Ballard, says that prejudices sometime are found in unexpected places.

"I have a chorus of 50 boys and girls," he said. "Ten are Negroes. At first I placed them the way I thought they should go, based solely on their voices. The white students objected to being placed next to Negroes. Now the whites are in one section, the Negroes in another."

High-school students, it seems, are more prejudiced than the elementary grade children. In the lower grades, the white and Negro boys and girls play and study together. They appear to be totally colorblind.

For example at Emerson School, where there are 34 Negroes in about 400 children, the youngsters were playing fairyland games common to children the country over.

They put on Peter, Peter Pumpkin Eater—remember, that's the story of Peter who had a wife and couldn't keep her, so he put her in a pumpkin shell, where he kept her very well.

A 7-year-old Negro lad, Jimmy, when his turn came to be Peter, chose as his mate a blue-eyed white girl, Suzy, who had become his best friend. He pushed his white wife into the papier-mache pumpkin shell, and the game went on merrily.

"No one even said boo," the teacher remarked, smiling. "At this age color just does not exist."

At the beginning of junior high school, as was found in Kansas City, Mo., attitudes begin to change. And by senior high, if Tulsa is typical, prejudices are in full bloom.

You can recognize the clichés and stereotypes concerning the Negro race. The Webster High School students are not too happy that they have become interracial.

"I believe in equal rights for Negroes," a senior declared, "but I also feel that they should go to their own schools."

"If you let Negroes come to school it won't be long before they marry white girls," a 14-year-old girl said.

"They're dirty. They take a bath once a year," still another insisted.

"I'd hate to see our school overrun with Negroes," a sophomore said, "they certainly would pull our standards down."

None of the students seemingly objected to any individual Negro. They would cheer a Negro if he made a touchdown with the same gusto that they cheered a white student. And they would object to a restaurant turning a Negro away, if he were in their group.

"It's the principle of the thing we oppose," the white students said. "We want to keep the races separated."

The students would frequently begin their comments with: "My daddy says" or "My mother feels" and then go on to repeat the prejudices they hear at home.

"It's the adults," one of the officials said. "If you leave the students alone, they'll come out all right. They have the proper democratic instincts."

Do Negro students want to attend integrated schools? Many of those now at Booker T. Washington High School, the all-Negro school at Tulsa, said that they did.

"I'd like to go to a mixed school," said Elizabeth Humphrey, a senior. "It would be a challenge to work with white students and teachers."

The Negro students accept stoically the limitations of integration. They know that there are certain taboos that they cannot break.

Richard Tiger, one of the most intelligent and popular students at Booker T. Washington, is president of the student council. Each of the five high schools—the one Negro and the four white—has its own student council. The officers of the five councils are planning a joint citywide picnic, to take place May 29. The other four presidents are white. One of the presidents, a girl, invited the other four to meet at her house for an evening business session. Picnic plans were to be considered. The day before the meeting she phoned Richard.

"I'm sorry," she apologized. "We can't meet at my house. Daddy has invited some friends over for a meeting of his own."

"I rather expected to get that call," 18-year-old Richard said. Then he added: "We just can't let things like that upset us too much. After all, we are doing things that our parents would not have believed would happen in their lifetime."

That is evidently true. The Tulso high schools cooperate together regardless of race. The high school teams play against each other. When the all-Negro Washington team plays the all-white Roosevelt or Edison teams, racial cheering is kept to a minimum. Negro and white students sit together on a first-come, first-served basis. Negro and white referees—one Negro, one white—have been used to officiate the intramural interracial games.

Both Negro and white referees are booed or cheered on the basis of their decisions, not their color.

The high schools have joined to issue one newspaper for all. The editors, Negro and white, meet together to determine policy. The schools sponsor an all-boys chorus and an all-city orchestra. The teachers are fair and unbiased, the Negro students say. "I'd just love to buy all the teachers vacation presents, my child is so happy," one of the mothers whose daughter attends Daniel Webster said.

Here, as in the other cities visited in this survey, integration ends with the end of the school day. Or with the end of the school-sponsored activity. There is a subtle distinction. White children will go to a restaurant or a dance with Negro classmates if the event is connected with their school program. Otherwise the separation of the races is complete.

[From the New York Times of May 24, 1957]

SAN ANTONIO CALM OVER INTEGRATION—MANY TEACHERS COMPLAIN OF HARDER WORK BUT CHANGE IS GOING AHEAD SMOOTHLY

(This is the sixth and last article on the integration of Negro and white students and teachers in the public schools in accordance with the Supreme Court's decision.)

(By Benjamin Fine)

SAN ANTONIO, May 20.—One of the serious obstacles to school integration here is the opposition of teachers.

Many teachers find it difficult to adapt to mixed classes. They complain that their work is much harder, and that they have to set up 2 levels of instruction, 1 for whites, the other for Negroes.

"I'm Texas-born," an elementary teacher said, proudly. "It is not easy for me to teach colored children."

The teachers' opposition is sharpest in the schools with the largest numbers of Negroes. The proportion ranges from less than 1 percent to nearly 50 percent.

San Antonio, the third largest city in Texas, with a population of 550,000, has adopted a policy of gradualism. Two years ago Negroes were admitted to one-third of the school system. They could enter grades 1 and 2 of the elementary school, grade 7 in junior high and grade 10 in senior high.

PROGRAM EXPANDING

Last fall the program was expanded, with another third of the classes thrown open. This September, Negroes are expected to enter the remaining third of the classes.

In a system of 61,000 students, 5,400 are Negroes. The system employs 2,250 white teachers and 165 Negroes. At present 475 Negroes attend classes with white children in 29 schools. A substantial increase is expected next year.

In all of Texas, only 3,400 Negroes are in mixed classes.

The faculties have not been integrated. The Negro and white teachers retain their own associations.

It seems evident to this reporter, after talking to scores of teachers, that many are not ready for mixed classes. The white teachers who have more than a token number of Negroes in their classes are unhappy, even resentful. They maintain that Negro children have a lower intelligence.

Two elementary schools have a high proportion of Negro students. Tynan has 93 out of an enrollment of 196 and Fanin has 74 out of 210. The teachers at both Tynan and Fanin are displeased at this pupil ratio. All seven teachers at Tynan have asked to be transferred.

COMPLAIN OF HARDER WORK

"We just can't take it any longer," several said.

"Our work is much harder," one said. "The Negroes can't keep up with the whites."

"We don't think it's fair to the white children," a teacher said. "They are the ones I really feel sorry for."

"I don't object to 1 or 2 Negroes in my class, but when the majority are colored, that's too much of any Texan to take," an elementary teacher complained.

At one of the junior high schools, a teacher said she didn't mind having Negroes in her class, so long as they were limited to a mere handful.

On the other hand, many teachers accept the policy of integration, even though not personally approving it.

"I hardly know I have any colored children here," a high-school teacher observed.

"I think any teacher who values her profession will treat all pupils alike," she went on.

GETTING ALONG FINE

"I get along fine with the Negro students," remarked Mrs. Janie Seibrecht, guidance counselor at the Edgar Allan Poe Junior High School. "I took my graduate work at Teachers College, Columbia University. Negroes lived in the same dormitory with me. We attended classes together. That certainly changed my attitude.'"

Despite the complaints from teachers, integration has made significant strides here. Dr. Thomas B. Portwood, superintendent of schools, said that a number of teachers accept integration as a challenge.

"Of course, I know that opposition exists," Dr. Portwood said. "But many teachers are ready to take integrated classes. I'll transfer those who can't take it."

"I haven't had many complaints from the teachers," asserted Arthur E. Turbeville, president of the San Ontonio Teachers Council. "Integration has made rapid strides. The teachers are cooperating nicely."

Integration has been adopted here without any of the fuss or violence that flared at Mansfield and other Texas towns. School officials want to keep it that way.

"We don't want to blow our horn, but we think that integration is working smoothly," says Dr. Portwood.

BETTER THAN EXPECTED

E. W. Robinson, president of the board of education, agrees. "Integration is succeeding better than many of us would have thought possible," he says.

The students accept mixed classes without complaint. The Negro students have become integrated in the curricular and extracurricular life of the schools.

Next Thursday—which is not Memorial Day as a holiday here—Longfellow Junior High School will hold its graduation exercises. The class president, Robert Samuel

Hasson, 14 years old, and his 6 fellow officers put on a dress rehearsal this morning in the school auditorium. They wanted to be letter perfect when their parents see the diplomas given out.

Robert stepped to the center of the stage. "Teachers, parents, and friends," he began, clearing his throat, "we want to welcome all of you."

"Not so fast, calm down, please," admonished the teacher supervising the rehearsal. "Remember, there'll be hundreds of parents listening to you.".

The graduation exercises at Longfellow for which he was rehearisng will be different from any other ever seen in San Antonio. For Robert, who will serve as chairman, is a Negro.

NEGRO CLASS PRESIDENT

There are only 4 Negroes in this school of 810, but Robert, who plans to be a clergyman, was elected class president by an overwhelming majority. This is the highest office held by a Negro in a white school since integration began here. Longfellow is in the finest residential section of the city.

Will the white people attending the graduation exercises be upset at seeing a Negro head the students' procession? The officials believe the parents will take it calmly.

Robert's classmates have a ready explanation for his lopsided victory over the white candidates.

"He's a real nice boy," says Tommy Adams, 15, who wants to be a commercial artist. "I voted for him because I thought he was better than the others, that's all."

Even though they are greatly outnumbered, Negroes have been elected to other high positions.

They are on the football and basketball teams. They play in the bands, sing in the glee clubs. Thomas Jefferson High School has 16 Negro students in an enrollment of 1,750. A Negro, Charles Brown—a varsity football player—has just been chosen to the student council.

Only 2 Negroes are at Travis Elementary School, with an enrollment of 400. They appear happy. They have many white friends among the young students.

STORY WITH TWO SIDES

There is another side to the story, however.

"I feel sorry for these two little Negro children," a teacher said. "They are never invited to birthday parties that white youngsters have in their homes."

Some of the teachers go out of their way to help their Negro students. They do it, they explain, because they feel that a good teacher should be interested in all the pupils.

For 2 weeks Miss Hope Foster, an English teacher at Emerson Junior High, came to school at 7:50 each morning, although she was not due until 8:30.

And each morning 12-year-old Monica Elizabeth Adams, an eighth-grade student, who wants to be a singer when she grows up, came to school 40 minutes early, too.

If you had visited Emerson you would have seen why Miss Foster met with Monica each morning. They went over long lists of words, practicing, studying, worrying together.

Monica, 1 of 20 Negroes out of Emerson's 600 pupils, had entered a national spelling contest. Miss Foster, Texas-born, has been a teacher for 35 years.

The teacher never had had Negroes in a class before, but she said Monica's color meant nothing to her.

"She's the same as any other child, isn't she?" Miss Foster said, questioningly. "It's a pleasure to work with her."

As for the spelling contest, Monica won first prize at Emerson.

Her winning word was "independence."

The Murphy Army Hospital, Waltham, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

NATIONAL FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
VETERANS ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Watertown, Mass., May 24, 1957.

Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN ROGERS: Enclosed is a brief that has been prepared by the Federal Employees Veterans Association concerning the Murphy Army Hospital in Waltham, Mass. The retention of this hospital is most important to our State and our national defense.

The enclosure is factual and has been thoroughly checked by various Army supporters, who are aware of the fact that to close the Murphy Army hospital would mean a serious handicap to thousands of military personnel and their dependents.

I would appreciate it if you would make our views known to other Congressmen, as the Army and the Defense Department's arguments for the closing of this famous facility are absurd and misleading.

With kind regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

KENNETH T. LYONS,
National Commander.

THE MURPHY ARMY HOSPITAL—FACTS SUPPORTING RETENTION OF THIS MEDICAL FACILITY

The Department of the Army has attempted to show reasons to support the Defense Department's annual drive to close the Murphy Army Hospital at Waltham, Mass. The reasons offered by the Army for the closing of the hospital are not in conformity with the facts. If New England's only Army General Hospital is closed; it will without doubt cause tremendous and unnecessary hardships for military personnel and their dependents in New England. Certainly this is not justifiable economy.

Here are the facts:

MURPHY ARMY HOSPITAL

Murphy Army Hospital was built in 1944 at a cost of $5 million. It has a total area of 99 acres. It is located in the northeastern section of Waltham, Mass., about 12 miles west of Boston. Its red brick structures are of Georgian design and are connected by enclosed corridors. All of the buildings are of one story with the exception of the nurses' quarters and the administration building. The structure of the buildings is in accordance with the latest military regulations affording maximum protection for patients in the event of air attack or bombing. It has the latest of fire-fighting services and is practically fire-proof. To duplicate this hospital today would cost approximately $20 million.

HOSPITAL EQUIPMENT

The Murphy Army Hospital has a 500-bed capacity, X-ray laboratory, modern operating rooms, fully equipped pharmacy, physical-therapy section, dental laboratory and dental operating rooms, occupational therapy section, physical reconditioning section, and modern laboratory.

PATIENT SERVICES

The Murphy Army Hospital has a modern theater, library, reconditioning salon, gymnasium, an ultra-modern PX and lunchroom. It also has exceptional grounds comparable with that of any hospital in the country. Its location and setting in the country is particularly suitable for the convalescing patient.

SITUATION GEOGRAPHICALLY

The hospital is situated close to the foremost medical schools and hospitals. Consequently, the Murphy Army Hospital has access to a group of consultants who are considered the most eminent men in their particular fields of medical and surgical endeavor. To name a few of the famous consultants who are available to Murphy Hospital and yet would not be able to advise or render services to outlying small-base dispensaries are: Drs. Smithwick, Dameshek, Meigs, Allen, Badger, Zonderman, Cannon, and Aufranc, to mention but a few. They represent the finest hospitals such as the Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston City Hospital, Massachusetts Memorial Hospital, Children's Medical Center, Lahey Clinic, and New England's famous Medical Center which include the renowned Pratt Diagnostic Hospital. The Harvard and Tufts Medical Schools as well as the School of Medicine at Boston University are also nearby.

ARMY, NAVY, AND AIR FORCE STATIONS MURPHY CARES FOR

Murphy Hospital cares for military personnel and their dependents for Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, and parts of New York and New Jersey. It cares for military personnel from the Boston Army Base, Watertown Arsenal, Nike stations in New England, Bedford Air Force Base, bomber base at Limestone, Maine, and Westover Air Force Base to name but a very few.

MURPHY HOSPITAL WAS CLOSED IN 1950

The Murphy Army Hospital was closed in 1950 for economy reasons. It was closed for but 3 months when the United States Army ordered it reopened due to the Korean conflict. It cost almost $1 million to reopen Murphy and considerable confusion resulted in lack of bed spaces for wounded military patients due to time spent in reopening the hospital. We may not get advance warning in the future.

CONGRESS AUTHORIZED MURPHY ARMY HOSPITAL FOR A 150-BED HOSPITAL

In 1956 Congress authorized the Murphy Army Hospital to remain open as a 150-bed hospital. The hospital operated with about 110 to 135 patients from June 1956 to the present date. It can be disclosed, however, that the Army in order to prove its case against the hospital, has been sending military patients of New England to hospitals outside of the New England area thus reducing the number of bed patients. It might prove interesting that the famous medical facility at Murphy and the Army has agreed with these figures, that the following average workload per month is typical at the present time:

Outpatients	2,800
Admissions, bed patients	249
Laboratory tests	4,000
Prescriptions filled	5,200
X-rays	1,700

WHY CONGRESS SHOULD AUTHORIZE THE CONTINUED OPERATION OF THE MURPHY ARMY HOSPITAL

Congress should not allow the Defense Defense Department to close the only modern and the only Army General Hospital in New England as it most certainly will mean that serious cases of the sick and injured will be

transferred outside of the New England area at an additional expense to the taxpayers as well as preventing visitations by his family. We all know that doctors have all agreed that one of the best medicines for the sick and wounded is constant visitation by members of his family and friends. It should also be pointed out that one of the most important fringe benefits for servicemen is medical care for himself and his dependents. (The morale factor is most important for reenlistment purposes.)

The Army's purpose for wanting to close the hospital is not for economy reasons but is for the principal purpose of converting the beautiful hospital into a factory for the New England Division of Engineers. While it is true that such a transfer would create more jobs and effect a better economy for the city of Waltham, we must ever be mindful of the needs of the men who are devoting themselves to the defense of the United States. If this hospital is converted to a factory, it can never be practically converted back to a hospital in the event of mobilization.

The Army admits that they will convert the hospital to a factory for the engineers and yet they have more than adequate space to transfer the function of the engineers to the Boston Army Base which is located in the Boston waterfront industrial area. The main reason the Army will not use this space is due to the fact that they do not like to have more than one command at the same base. Ridiculous as this may seem, it is, however, true.

It has been said that the hospital is not needed now because the Congress passed the medical care bill. The medical care bill was not a cure-all. Due to redtape and the fact that the bill does not include the hospitalization of military personnel or retired military personnel, the Murphy Army Hospital, as well as all other military hospitals, have shown a marked increase in hospitalizations since its passage. Dependents must also use the military hospitals due to the fact that the medicare bill does not allow for outpatient services and it creates certain hardships on enlisted men's dependents who must pay certain fees for private hospitalization.

To say that we can use other military base dispensaries for the care of military personnel is ridiculous. A thorough check has been made and the Army agrees that none of the other station-type dispensaries can properly care for serious cases such as general operations and certain types of diseases. The Chelsea Naval Hospital which is located but a few miles from Boston could be recommended as the answer to future care for military personnel. However, this hospital which is over 120 years old, located in the midst of a heavy industrial area which includes a surrounding of chemical plants, coal plants, oil storages, junk yards, and incinerators, has been having troubles of its own with a reduced budget and a full patient load, that it could not possibly handle all of the other military services here in New England. It might be pointed out that this hospital might in the future combine with the Army and build additional space at Waltham and then have a combined Army and Navy hospital that can adequately take care of the needs of the New England military area.

In summation to use a trite but nevertheless true phrase, the closing of this military general hospital would be "false economy" that may backfire against us. Should we at a time when we are going to pass one of the largest peacetime defense budgets pinch pennies on an institution that can save American lives and possibly save many civilian lives in the future undated atomic warfare?

IMPORTANT NOTE

Of primary concern is the fact that the Murphy Army Hospital is outside the main target area of military installations in the Boston area. The Chelsea Naval Hospital is in this target area as well as all other major hospitals (civilian). In the event of enemy attack, it might very well be, that the Murphy Army Hospital will be the only general hospital capable of taking care of wounded military and civilians. This one fact alone is more than sufficient to require the continued operation of the Murphy Army Hospital.

Hells Canyon Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent letter I have received from Mr. Lars Nelson, master of the Washington State Grange.

Mr. Nelson is to be righly complimented for his logical and concise presentation of the argument for a high, multipurpose dam at Hells Canyon. I am sure my colleagues will be interested in seeing this expression of the case for the high dam.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAY 22, 1957.

The Honorable HENRY M. JACKSON,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR JACKSON: For some time the grangers of Washington and Oregon have been supporting full and comprehensive development of the water resources of the Columbia River system and of the region. This objective involves multipurpose dam installations such as high Hells Canyon on the Snake River, the largest tributary of the Columbia.

The Columbia River is the second largest river in the Nation. Its annual delivered flow into the Pacific Ocean is 5 times the annual flow of the Missouri and 9 times the annual flow of the Colorado. Unlike the other rivers of our Nation, the Columbia flows 73 percent of its total volume during the summer and 27 percent during the winter. This characteristic of the river emphasizes the opportunity and need for multipurpose large-storage dams.

There is—if completely developed—in our region a potential of 47 million acre-feet of storage and exclusive of Canada a power potential of 33 million kilowatts, of which 7 million are now on the line and more building. Where coal, iron, and oil are the great national resources of other areas, replenishable flowing water is our greatest single resource in the Pacific Northwest.

We have heeded closely the prophetic words of warning by President Theodore Roosevelt in, 1909: "The great corporations are acting with foresight, singleness of purpose, and vigor to control the water power of the country. * * * I esteem it my duty to use every endeavor to prevent this fast-growing monopoly, the most threatening which has ever appeared, from being fastened upon the people of this Nation." Today we must be alert and no less vigilant in the protection of our water resources. The generative capacity of the Nation is 85 percent private and 15 percent public.

We have joined other resource groups to keep private monopoly from partial wasteful development of one of our last large multipurpose dam sites on our continent. The high dam means the equivalent of 70,000 jobs for our region. We have faced misrepresentation and overwhelming odds. It means 3-mill Federal power as compared with 7-mill private. The economics of the situation are compelling. Frankly, in seeking Federal authorization we are asking a loan to the region which will be repaid with interest. Our BPA is now $77 million ahead of payoff schedules. The past year from power sales BPA paid into the Treasury $60,992,623, of which $5,949,412 was profit. From its inception to June 30, 1956, BPA received $462,800,000 in revenues, which are accounted for as follows:

Operation and maintenance	$123,500,000
Depreciation	101,300,000
Interest	137,700,000
Miscellaneous	1,500,000
Net profit	98,700,000

The net income $98,700,000 and depreciation $101,300,000 have been applied to repay Federal investment in the amount of $200 million, thus reducing overall cost in power investment operating dams and transmission lines from $1,288,700,000 to $1,086,500,000. This shows the fiscal picture. It does not show the thousands of free enterprise, small and large business units and farms established as a result or the millions paid to State and Federal Governments by creation of new and expanded tax bases for all tax purposes.

When we began the fight in our State in the 1920's, electricity had limited usage and sold at 16 cents a kilowatt-hour; now it has unlimited usage and sells for 1 cent per kilowatt-hour in many of our county and city municipals. Private power, too, has benefited with low-cost power available and plenty of competition. As a result, they have the lowest rates in the Nation here. When we launched our power efforts, agriculture had no power on our farms—today, thanks to our county municipals (PUD's) and REA's, preference customers of BPA (federally generated power), our farms are 100 percent electrified with power and service at cost.

Senate bill 555, providing Federal authorization of high Hells Canyon Dam is before the Senate for action this May. You may raise the question, "What about flooding out the low or three dam sites and consequent loss?" Well, alternate proposals pushed by both P. N. P. C. (Pacific Northwest Power Combine), and Department of the Interior provide for such flooding. Far better to take a small loss initially than to sustain an irreparable loss from here on out. A few years' additional earnings from sale of power generated from the high dam would offset compensation paid to Idaho Power Co. for present investment loss. The high dam by proper release of water in the low-flow season will firm up power on downriver installations to the extent of 435,000 kilowatts or a Bonneville dam without building it.

Our interest at the moment is to enlist your support to prevail upon your Senators to vote for the high dam when it comes to a vote—possibly this May, perhaps later. Time is the essence—may your assistance be soon.

In conclusion:

1. Courts do not build dams—only Congress possesses enabling authority.

2. The Corps of Engineers and Bureau of Reclamation have both issued project reports urging construction of high Hells Canyon Dam.

3. The Federal Power Commisison examiner found high Hells Canyon a better project than the three low dams.

4. Flood control requires construction of the high dam.

5. Failure to develop our own storage will eventually compel us to deal with Canada at a stiff price for upstream storage.

We believe that public interest, the greatest good for the greatest number of people for the longest time, requires enactment of high Hells Canyon Dam legislation. We therefore ask your assistance and will deeply appreciate your efforts.

Kindest regards.

Fraternally,

A. LARS NELSON,
Master, Washington State Grange.

Virginia Counties Approaching Debt Saturation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the most cogent arguments in favor of enactment of legislation authorizing Federal assistance to the States for school-facility construction is contained in an analysis of the debt situation of Virginia counties and independent cities made by Virginia State Auditor J. Gordon Bennett.

According to an Associated Press dispatch, published in the Washington Post and Times Herald for May 8, 1957, Mr. Bennett has reported that Virginia's counties are deeper in debt than ever before, and the accelerated school-building program is cited as the greatest factor influencing indebtedness.

Mr. Speaker, the remarks attributed to Mr. Bennett serve to point up the findings of the Committee on Education and Labor, which has reported H. R. 1: We have found, first, that States and local school agencies have been making a tremendous effort to build classrooms; second, that a great deal more remains to be accomplished to catch up with the backlog; and third, that many areas have exhausted, or nearly so, their resources to build classrooms.

The news item, which is based upon a study published in the University of Virginia News Letter, follows. I recommend it to my colleagues:

VIRGINIA COUNTIES OWE RECORD DEBTS

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA., May 7.—Virginia's counties are deeper in debt than ever and a State finance official points to the accelerated school-building program as "the greatest factor" influencing the indebtedness.

State Auditor J. Gordon Bennett revealed that the counties owe $165,571,000, a whopping rise from the $20,190,000 county debt just 10 years ago.

Six urban counties owe $102,889,000, or 62 percent. Fairfax County alone owed $43,610,000 on June 30, 1956, more than double the total debt of $20,190,000 of all Virginia counties 10 years ago. Arlington owed $32,249,000; Henrico $12,957,000; Chesterfield $4,745,000; Norfolk $5,030,000; and Princess Anne $4,295,000.

Bennett said, in an analysis published in the University of Virginia News Letter, that "the greatest factor contributing to this increase has been the accelerated school-building program."

During and immediately after World War II, he pointed out, capital improvements were postponed because necessary building materials were not available. By the time materials could be obtained, needs had pyramided, the dollar had depreciated, and a steadily mounting debt total was the result.

The counties expended $307,921,000, Bennett said, during the 10-year period from July 1, 1946, to June 30, 1956, for capital outlays. Of that amount, $241,612,000 was for schools.

The Measure of Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. BROWN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in these days of troublesome costs on everything, it is high time that someone take cognizance of some free services that have been extended to the Nation by radio and television.

Prior to coming to the Congress, I was closely associated with radio and television people; and I have seen at close range their invaluable contribution to public-service projects, both local and national. No community ever began a charity drive or a civic project campaign that it did not summon the radio and television people. Always they have responded generously with free time and labor. Too often we accept this public service as a public right and give too little thanks to the public-spirited individuals who make it possible. For that reason, I call the attention of the House to an editorial in Television Age, April 8, 1957, which attempts to measure the immeasurable: The public service of one of civilization's great achievements—television.

The editorial follows:

THE MEASURE OF SERVICE

In its second annual survey of public-service broadcasting scheduled by television stations and networks, this journal has learned that the industry continues to rate very high in this category of programming and advertising.

Again during 1956, as in 1955, about 18 percent of the total net time revenue has been devoted to public service. We hasten to acknowledge that a dollar bill is not a very good measuring stick for this kind of research, but it is the one currently in vogue among those public-welfare organizations employing television for such purpose.

The real measure, of course, is found in results—and television may claim properly its share of glory along with the other media and with the many magnificent agencies which are carrying forward this work.

It is foreseeable, now, that infantile paralysis may be stamped out.

Recent news stories have indicated 1957 as the turning point year in the fight against cancer.

Tremendous advances have been made in dealing with heart disease, both in its treatment and its prevention.

Multiple sclerosis. Arthritis. Mental illness.

All of these are giving way to the pressure of public awareness and medical research.

The media, television prominent among them, through the collection of funds and the indoctrination of the citizens at large, are helping in the age-old search for the hidden enemy, and contributing to its vanquishment.

But what of the enemy now seen? The lad who commands his car to kill? The fuzzy-cheeked boy who wanders with the wolf-pack in shadowed streets, a switchblade his sceptre of defiance? What of these whose name is Cain?

It is eminently evident that television cannot take the place of parents, although it has been accused variously of neglecting that responsibility.

Television, at this stage of the art's development, cannot have babies nor, for that matter, rear them to manhood. But perhaps there is an assignment here for the medium which has contributed so richly to getting out the vote (a record breaker in 1956, which was supposed to be the year of apathy), fighting disease, helping in disaster, extracting blood from the general public, recruiting young men and women for the armed forces, selling bonds, and buying college scholarships for worthy young people.

Possibly the great hope for tomorrow may reside more surely than we know in the disposition that is to be made of the young people who would now appear to be unworthy and that here, more than in any other single prospect of public service, lies the greatest challenge to the greatest medium.

Television has lent its powerful persuasion in the battle to make the heart beat longer, the crippled to walk, and in urging the faithless toward faith.

Can it, with professional assistance, slow the comets on our highways? Can it put a football or a baseball in the hand that holds a hidden weapon? Can it help the parents-who-are help the parents-who-will-be?

Television Age, having examined the record, believes it can—and has not seen the dollar that could measure the worth of that humanitarian service.

Church Group Favors Foreign Aid As Vital to World Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit herewith a letter and supporting resolution adopted by the program board of the Council of Churches of Buffalo and Erie County, Buffalo, N. Y.:

COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF
BUFFALO AND ERIE COUNTY,
Buffalo, N. Y., May 23, 1957.

The Honorable EDMUND P. RADWAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In the light of the particular congressional situation, I am glad to reiterate the position of the program board of the Council of Churches of Buffalo and Erie County concerning an action which has already been communicated to you:

"Since we are in accord with the spirit of the President's second inaugural address in

bonding capacity of less than one-half this

ciples vital to the future existence of the

of these stated propositions is of such impor-

which he took the unusual course of dealing mainly with world affairs and set forth the responsibility of our Nation to the rest of the world in economic, technical, and other assistance and since we believe that our country in its abundance has a Christian responsibility in granting to nations in need technical and economic aid and hoping that such economic assistance programs would be related primarily to economic and social need and opportunity rather than to political security considerations and to be administered separately from military assistance programs;

"*Resolved*, That we, the program board of the Council of Churches of Buffalo and Erie County, support the President in his constructive foreign economic aid program and urge that the full amount needed for foreign economic aid remain in the United States budget, believing that any curtailment is detrimental to world peace.

"We, also, urge that in the interest of strengthening world community, long-range basic economic development programs be assured through the use of international agencies, especially the United Nations."

Sincerely yours,

HARLAN M. FROST,
Executive Secretary.

Rural Areas Need Assistance on Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to point out to my colleagues that the farm people of the Nation are in need of assistance in the field of need for classroom construction.

I wish to submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial from the May issue of the Missouri Farmer that reaches 150,000 farm families, and sets forth many specific instances where Missouri school districts are unable to finance their school building needs from their limited assessments, bond limitations, and levies.

The editorial follows:

RURAL AREAS NEED ASSISTANCE ON EDUCATION

Why be so finicky about Federal aid to education?

What is new about Federal assistance to local communities for educational purposes? It has been going on a long time—it is older than the Constitution.

The Northwest Ordinance passed back in 1785 provided that every 16th section of land would go for maintenance of public schools.

Hundreds of schools were built in Missouri with WPA funds during the depression and the Federal Government has not interfered with the curriculum.

The county extension agent is a teacher. He gets the majority of his salary from the Federal Government and is not dominated from Washington.

Like the county agent, the vocational agricultural departments receive Federal aid—though to a smaller degree. Vo-Ag instructors with many years of service maintain they've never had the Federal Government interfere with their teaching program.

A review of the tax structure of three major agencies of government might explain the opposition to Federal aid to education—what the United States Chamber of Commerce calls Federal intervention into education.

Local governments rely on the property tax for the majority of their income. This hits farmers hardest. The assessor is more apt to overlook a bond than he is a tractor.

Now let us take the case of the man who pays 25 percent down on a farm. He pays the property tax but does he own the farm—or does the bank? In 1955 the total farm indebtedness amounted to $18 billion—a debt on which farmers were paying the property tax.

State governments, for the most part, depend on the sales tax for the majority of their income. An old-age pensioner in Missouri, with no other income, might live on $49.70 a month but when he buys a loaf of bread he pays as much sales tax on that loaf of bread as the richest man in town.

The Federal Government receives the bulk of its tax dollar from income taxes. Income taxes are based on the ability to pay. In the past few years farmers have not been hit very hard by the income tax—because their income has been very meager.

Could it be that the United States Chamber of Commerce and the stooge organizations that front for them in other areas have a selfish interest?

Many business leaders do not share the opinion of the United States chamber. Eric Johnson, a former president of the chamber, for examples favors Federal aid to the schools. He, like many other enlightened businessmen, is not trying to shoulder the people least able to pay with the entire burden of educating the Nation's youth.

Thomas Jefferson said, "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization it expects what never was and never will be."

The late Senator Robert A. Taft remarked: "Abraham Lincoln said that this Nation was dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. If we wish to assure equality of opportunity to all the children born in the United States, we cannot question the policy of Federal aid to education."

C. L. Burger, superintendent of schools at Washington, Mo., wrote in National Educational Journal of April 1948 about returning to Huntsville for the 20th anniversary of the high school class of 1927. "It was revealing to see how many of these graduates have moved away from the school district in which they received their education," Berger explained.

"Thirteen of the 37 graduates, or 35 percent, are now living in the 10 States of Michigan, Kansas, Arizona, Illinois, Washington, California, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Kentucky. Nineteen others, or 51 percent, have moved to other Missouri towns. Only 5, or less than 14 percent, now live in their home district," Burger continued.

"A check made in 1946 of the present place of residence of the members of the class of 1940 of the Washington, Mo., High School revealed that after 6 years only 25 percent of the graduates are living in the district," Burger pointed out.

Does this migration of graduates suggest that education is a national problem? Ignorance is no respecter of State lines. Kansas expects the Missouri farm boy, who moves to Wichita to work in an aircraft factory, to be educated.

One teacher said, "the smarter they are the quicker they leave home and the farther away they go." Is rural America subsidizing the cities by educating the boys and girls only to have the cities reap the advantages of their education?

Where do Missouri graduates go? The No. 2 man in the Ford Motor Co. is Earnest Breech of Lebanon. The chairman of the board of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. is Cleo F. Craig of Rich Hill. From Princeton came Mervin J. Kelly, president of Bell Laboratories. In the field of medicine there is Howard A. Rusk—a Brookfield boy. Does not the Federal Government have a responsibility to see that this source of national leadership is not dried up?

In each high school there are found teachers that take pride in following the careers of "their boys and girls." Some of these beloved teachers were contacted to find out what has happened to the class of 1946—a class graduated long enough to have their roots firmly established.

Cassville had 63 graduates in the 1946 class. Only 19 are now located in the vicinity of Cassville.

Of the 52 graduates of Lexington High School only 17 are living in Lexington. Nine out of a class of 35 are living in Slater. El Dorado Springs graduated 27 girls and 15 boys in the class of 1946—a total of 42. Four boys and 11 girls are still in the community. Eight of the 27 graduates of Gallatin High School are living in the community.

The 55 graduates of the class of 1946 at Boonville are scattered all over the world. Only 16 are living around Boonville. The farthest away is a merchant on Okinawa. Six are in the armed services, one at least is a career aviator.

The Missouri Constitution was amended in 1952 to increase the bonding capacity of school districts from 5 to 10 percent of assessed valuation. While this is relatively high among the States, many districts are yet unable to properly house their schoolchildren.

A complete new high school plant would provide the Louisiana School District, for instance, with sufficient housing facilities to take care of its immediate needs. But, such a plant would cost approximately $600,000 while the free bonding capacity of the district is only slightly over $200,000.

Salem needs to spend between $650,000 and $700,000 on high school and elementary facilities. By voting bonds in the maximum amount, only $300,000 can be obtained. Salem is now holding some classes in business buildings down town—one, an old produce house, has been named the chicken coop by students.

The vocational agriculture classes at Doniphan are held in the basement of the armory. The school district has recently voted bonds to the maximum extent of its capacity. Money will be used for constructing elementary school facilities and a vocational agriculture shop. The district is badly in need of a completely new high school building large enough to accommodate 600 pupils. Such a building would cost $600,000, but it is not possible for the district to now raise any money from bonds. The freshman high school class next year will number 170 as compared with 110 this year.

Poplar Bluff is using basements of store buildings with no natural light for classrooms. In January 1956 it was estimated Poplar Bluff needed $2,550,000 to build and equip needed school facilities. The district had at that time a free bonding capacity of less than $100,000. The present high school was erected in 1898 with an addition built in 1902.

At Sikeston more than 800 elementary pupils are attending classes in 24 rooms converted from frame barracks buildings acquired from an Air Force training base. They need a new senior high school building that would cost from $1,200,000 to $2,500,000. The free bonding capacity of the district is now considerably less than a third of this amount.

At Ava it is estimated that not less than $600,000 should be spent by the district to bring the school plant facilities up to an acceptable standard. The district has free

bonding capacity of less than one-half this amount.

A complete study of the school-building needs of Missouri was prepared in 1955 for the Missouri White House Conference on Education. The most important conclusions of the study are as follows:

"It appears from the survey that approximately 8,000 additional classrooms will be needed by 1960 to replace obsolete facilities and to provide for increased enrollments requiring a capital outlay expenditure of about $185 million. Can the school districts of Missouri meet these needs? Many can, but some cannot. Of the 584 districts reporting, 213, or 36.5 percent indicated that they do not and would not, under present limitations, have sufficient bonding capacity to provide satisfactory housing for the children who will be in their schools in 1960."

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, with the question of Federal aid to education being pressured for favorable action by the Congress, I wish to insert in the RECORD a part of a release sent to me by the Minnesota Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Inc., a nonprofit organization dedicated to the preservation of Americanism. I believe this article states facts which should be brought to the attention not only of every Member of the Congress, but of everyone interested in preserving the freedoms of our school system and in keeping the control of education in the hands of local communities and the States.

The children of today are the citizens of tomorrow and they are the ones who will direct the course of our Nation. I believe it is vitally necessary to the survival of our free way of life that their minds not be placed under the supervision and control of the Federal Government, and Government aid always means Federal control. Some of the dangers inherent in such a step are set forth in this article, and I don't think anyone wants to set up such an unnecessary program, once the facts are known. The article follows:

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

To the Peoples' Representatives in Congress:

Now, again, and even more grave than any heretofore, there exists and is pending in the very Halls of the Congress, the place of the daily workshop of the elected Representatives of our people, a grave threat to the existence of our liberties and freedoms established by the founders of this Republic. This is a new but insidious danger which has emerged from the movement called Federal aid to education, which, until lately, had not appeared possible. As have other recent insidious socialistic movements, this appears under the false guise of the advancement of the equalization of educational opportunity, whereas in truth and fact it can—will or would—lead and doubtless is intended to lead to nothing less than Federal control of the educational processes of our young, a result that would certainly lead to the destruction of principles vital to the future existence of the American way of life.

Hence, this organization and all of its members, jointly, and wholly created for and devoted to nonpartisan efforts to advance and preserve Americanism and the promulgation and maintenance of the essential principles of constitutional Government, after and upon mature and unbiased consideration, are compelled to definitely object to and oppose any action by our Representatives in Congress granting or authorizing any so-called Federal aid to education, whether as proposed in any bill now or hereafter brought before the Congress. Some of the fundamental reasons for our position and objection are the following:

1. Such Federal aid is not necessary.
2. Such Federal aid is not desirable.
3. There is not a single State in the Union that is not financially better off than the United States.
4. There is not a single State that is not better able to pay the expense of the education of its youth than is the Federal Government.
5. Such Federal aid is unlawful because not authorized by but contrary to the Constitution of the United States.
6. The so-called Federal aid is, in fact, no aid at all.
7. No such aid has been requested by any State or the citizens of any State.
8. No State has shown or claimed its inability to provide for its own educational facilities and activities.
9. No taxpayer group, chamber of commerce, or board of education from any State, county, town, or city has appeared to request such Federal aid.
10. The several States, individually or collectively, are, of their own accord and unaided, already providing greater educational facilities, and at less expense, than would result from the or any such Federal aid program now proposed.
11. A majority of State governors, in recent conference, expressed fear that the Federal Government would encroach upon the State's handling of their schools; they also opposed "any plan not first referred to the State's officials or representatives, of their need and of the States' incapacity to meet their needs." They also held that "if any field of government is directly within the province of the State and locality, it is that of education; that local government is doomed if it surrenders this responsibility."
12. The unequaled and unprecedented progress of this Nation is a result of the combined strength, powers, and efforts of the limited powers of the Federal Government combined with the sovereign powers of the 48 individual States. Therefore, the invasion by the Federal Government of any of the public prerogatives, powers or privileges granted to or possessed by the several States constitutes a weakening of the fabric of our systems of constitutional government.
13. The invasion by the Federal Government into the field of education is bound to level down and reduce the field to a general routine, thereby destroying the individual element of competition among the several States in their scholastic systems.
14. The history of the educational, social and economic trends, as recorded and emblazoned upon the minds of the people during the last 25 years, not only does not justify but actually forbids the placing of the educational training of our future citizens under the control and guidance of a Federal bureaucracy, away from local environment, which such action would accomplish.

We respectfully submit that it should not be necessary to either substantiate or stress the persuasive importance of the foregoing stated propositions, especially to the Members of an enlightened Congress. We likewise submit that the combined significance of these stated propositions is of such importance to the combined constituencies of the Members of Congress as to warrant, even command, attention commensurate with the gravity and significance of the entire project and to warrant, if need be, a searching investigation in the public interest of all the aspects of the subject matter before any Member of Congress subscribes to any such project, for the purpose of which investigation your body is thoroughly equipped. And that such an investigation is required has clearly been made apparent by competent testimony of the former Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mrs. Hobby, on April 30, 1954, and March 29, 1955. Also, by the incompetent and erroneous report of Secretary Folsom who, in February 1957, has projected himself into the matter on behalf of the promoters of the project of Federal aid. These, with the admitted incompetence of the school facilities survey conducted under Public Law 815, beginning in 1950 and ending in 1954, which cost the taxpayers $1,800,262.28 and the States $2,187,801.26, serve as additional evidence of what may be expected when a Federal bureaucracy takes over.

There is, however, available competent and persuasive proof for the above-quoted objections to the proposition of Federal aid to schools bill, a portion of which is here cited for ready reference, without regard to the order in which presented:

Roger A. Freeman, who was appointed to serve on two presidential commissions to study the fiscal capacities of the States to meet their school needs, made this statement about the current Federal aid to schools bill which will come up soon in the 85th Congress:

"What we are faced with is not a Federal school construction aid program, but the first and fateful step in the nationalization of the public schools.

* * * * *

" 'To few people realize the effect which the entry of the National Government into the educational system would have, not only upon our schools, but upon the continued existence of the Federal system.

" 'Our schools are the last great bulwark of State and local autonomy. They should so remain. If the schools fall to Federal influence, they will set the pattern for more and more powers to go to Washington until our States are left empty shells and reminders of what was once a great Federal union of sovereign States.'

"Beyond a shadow of doubt, the Founding Fathers held edcuation to be a responsibility of the States, the communities, and the parents. This belief is firmly embedded in American tradition and has hardly been questioned in more than a century and a half."

Roger Freeman directed the research for the Education Committee of the President's Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations, which made an exhaustive survey and then reported:

"We have not been able to find a State which is economically unable to support an adequate school system * * * Federal aid is not necessary, either for current operating expenses for public schools or for capital expenditures for new school facilities.

"From 1900 to 1955 public school enrollment doubled—but school operating costs multiplied 43 times.

"School funds have increased faster than enrollment, faster than prices and other public services.

"In 1900 school funds equaled 1½ percent of national income—in 1955, they equaled 4 percent.

"The number of teachers has risen faster in the United States than the number of pupils—here's national average: In 1900, there was 1 teacher to 37 pupils; in 1955, there was 1 teacher to 27 pupils."

The following is quoted from the Fact Finder of January 1957: "Over a year ago the president of the American Bar Association, E. Smythe Gambrell, declared his belief that 'Federal aid' to the public schools would ultimately bring the destruction of freedom to this country—that it would be nothing short of a national calamity for the public schools to become dependent upon Federal aid. The president of the Conference of Chiefs Justices of the States, Justice William Duckworth, also expressed his fear that the expansion of Federal powers in social and economic fields through grants in aid threaten our constitutional form of government."

In his Foreword to Federal Aid to Education, by Roger A. Freeman, Luther A. Weigle, dean emeritus of Yale University Divinity School, on November 1, 1955, stated: "Federal control of education, at any level, would be calamitous. The local control of education is not only in accord with out Constitution and our established policy; it is fundamental to the American type of democracy. 'More than any other activity,' said the president of one of our great State universities, 'education calls for adaptation to local needs, and a sense of local responsibility, for its successful prosecution.' "

Nicholas Murray Butler states this on the subject:

"There is not enough money in the United States, even if every dollar of it were expended upon education, to produce, through Federal authority, or through what is naively called cooperation between the Federal Government and the several States, educational results that would be at all comparable with those that have been already reached under the free and natural system that has grown up among us.

"A school system that grows naturally in response to the needs and ambitions of a hundred thousand different communities will be a better school system than any which can be imposed upon those localities by the aid of grants of public money from the Federay Treasury, accompanied by Federal regulations, Federal inspections, Federal reports, and Federal uniformities."

Permanent United Nations Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an article by Thomas J. Hamilton in the New York Times of May 26, 1957, entitled "UNEF Revives Talk of a Permanent Force":

UNEF REVIVES TALK OF A PERMANENT FORCE—ITS LIMITED SUCCESS IN MAINTAINING QUIET ON EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI BORDER PROMPTS CALL FOR MORE STUDY—PAST EFFORTS ARE REVIVED

(By Thomas J. Hamilton)

The United Nations Security Council, for the second time in less than a month, has complained, and ended up by doing nothing, about the document under which Colonel Nasser says that he will operate the Suez Canal. Egyptian ownership and control have thus been confirmed beyond any doubt.

Except for the presence of the United Nations emergency force on the soil of Egypt, the status quo ante bellum has in fact been completely restored. Thus far, however, the emergency force is providing a useful factor in keeping things quiet. As long as it is at the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba, Colonel Nasser does not have the physical means to reimpose his blockade against Israeli shipping in the gulf—whatever he does in the Suez Canal.

And although Dag Hammarskjold promptly handed over the administration of the Gaza strip to Egypt, the very presence of the United Nations contingent is a stabilizing influence. Certainly it deserves part of the credit for the fact that Egypt has not started up the raids on Israel again.

RELATIVE SUCCESS

This success, although still highly relative, is a bright contrast to the United Nations record on Hungary. It has led some champions of the United Nations to insist that the emergency force should be made permanent.

With one notable exception, previous efforts to endow the United Nations organization with the means of backing up its resolutions have failed. The possibility of a permanent force of 5,000 or 6,000 soldiers, already organized under a single commander, is very tempting.

The attempt to place military forces at the disposal of the Security Council, as provided in the charter, ended in failure 10 years ago. The uniting-for-peace resolution program, under which such forces could have been employed by the General Assembly, if the veto prevented the Security Council from acting, became a dead letter in 1954.

Nevertheless, military force was used by the United Nations, for the first time in the history of the international organization, to repel the Communist aggression against South Korea. However, the United States was in charge, whereas the Secretary General, subject to the ambiguous resolutions of the Assembly, commands the emergency force sent to Egypt.

MAKEUP OF FORCES

A more fundamental difference in the objectives of the two United Nations armies is discernible from the contrast in their membership.

The bronze plaque at United Nations headquarters which pays tribute to the 16 nations that defends South Korea lists the following:

Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

In contrast, the 10 countries that have been allowed to supply contingents for the emergency force in the Middle East are: Brazil, Colombia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, India, Indonesia, Norway, Sweden, and Yugoslavia. Other Asian countries, such as Pakistan, which in Colonel Nasser's view were identified with the West, were rejected on the ground that they did not have the right kind of troops.

As the first list shows, the Korean war was fought by a coalition consisting basically of the United States and its principal allies in Europe, in the British Commonwealth and the Far East. Colombia was the only one of the Latin American countries that finally heeded Washington's appeals and sent troops.

The great powers were wisely excluded from the emergency force in the Middle East. Britain and France had attacked Egypt, and inclusion of the United States would have made it difficult to exclude the Soviet Union.

Canada and Colombia are the only members of the United Nations who sent troops to both Korea and Egypt, and the Canadian troops in the emergency force—thanks to Colonel Nasser's objections—have been confined almost entirely to administrative duties in Egypt. Otherwise the emergency force is made up of Asian neutralists and the more pronounced anti-colonial countries of Western Europe.

NO FIGHTING INTENDED

The emergency force, for that matter, was never supposed to do any fighting and was merely intended to take over after the fighting had been stopped.

Apart from the difference in function, the motives of the governments contributing to the two forces was similar. In each case there was a desire to help bring about a cease-fire in accordance with the charter.

But it would be idle to ignore the fact that some of the contingents in the Middle East seem to reflect their governments' dislike of the colonial powers more than their dislike of aggression as such.

Lester B. Pearson, of Canada, author of the resolution under which Mr. Hammarskjold organized the emergency force, examines the problem in the current issue of the quarterly Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Pearson pays tribute to the devotion, energy and intelligence of the Secretary General and his assistants. He believes that plans should be started now for the possible creation of another force, not to fight, but to insure that fighting would not be resumed.

To that end, Mr. Pearson would ask all member governments, still excluding the great powers, if they would be willing to provide contigents in the future. He would provide Mr. Hammarskjold with a permanent military adviser and a small staff.

PEARSON SUGGESTION

Mr. Pearson offers the practicularly valuable suggestion that Mr. Hammarskjold now draw up model agreements on the financial, administrative and legal procedures that would govern the operations of any future peace supervision force.

The absence of such agreement is responsible for the uncertainty, more than 6 months after its taking up its duties, about the functioning of the Emergency Force in Egypt.

No one knows to this day whether Mr. Pearson was right in his original statement last fall about the operations of the force. It was his view at that time that, once Egypt gave her consent to the stationing of the force on Egyptian territory, the United Nations alone should decide what the force would do.

The possibility of creating another such force will depend upon the success of the present experiment, and in particular upon whether Egypt allows it to remain until some approach to stability in the Middle East is obtained.

Progress of Maine Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the RECORD excerpts from a speech made by my twin brother, Smith McIntire, of Perham, Maine, before a recent session of the New Hampshire Potato Association, in Concord in that State:

PROGRESS OF MAINE AGRICULTURE

Progress in agriculture, as in industry, comes through the continuous sifting and refining of answers to problems that, at the time, seemed insurmountable to most individuals involved. The Maine potato industry, like that of many other States, is making progress and there is much more in sight.

Not all growers have been able to stand the pace; this is a price that is often paid.

In Maine we have decided that no individual has the right to market culls and small seed potatoes and damage the reputation of our industry. So we have adopted a marketing order to require a small minority to conform to the wishes of the majority with respect to the quality of potatoes shipped. We think that consumers want potatoes of good quality and that they don't want minimum sizes below 2½ inches.

We have done something about it. That is progress.

We are moving, or being pushed, into fewer and more modern packing facilities. There is one farmer group that has developed its own packing facility and markets its pack steadily throughout the season. Growers participate in a monthly pool involving one seventh of their crop each month.

Maine growers are changing their thinking regarding the potato seed business. Once it was enough to produce good certified seed and nearly all sizes went into the bag. We now have our State seed farm and Florida test programs to help those growers who want to keep their lots not just good, but nearly perfect.

We are rapidly moving into a strip deal in which only sizes below 2½ inches go for seed while the larger sizes go for table stock. This is progress—the seedman getting the small stock that he has always wanted; the housewife getting the larger sizes she prefers.

I believe that Maine's marketing pattern will tend toward a two-way stretch deal. We will attempt to market some of our crop early and late. In years of heavy supply we will more systematically move into the November and December market and we will market more in late May, June, and perhaps July. Our experience has been that when we work hard to clear up a bad supply situation early, our southern friends reap the reward and increase their acreage. In this situation, progress for Maine appears to suggest the need for always having a portion of its best potatoes for the June market.

Before I leave the marketing aspects of this industry, let me comment regarding futures trading in potatoes. We have had futures trading in potatoes for many years, but only recently has it become significant. It has grown up rapidly and, like the young town bully, it has needed a working over to instill into this program some appreciation of the facts of life.

I have sat with the higher administrative and supervisory brass involved in this trading program and have gained the impression that they have had the same disregard for the welfare of the community and the individual that is characteristic of most gambling-house operators.

We have made some progress by using public pressure, in improving this situation. Putting this program in the spotlight has made it possible for Government enforcement agencies to see some things that were not clear before. The result has been some convictions, and the operators now know that the house must be kept orderly enough to avoid public scorn.

Let me touch upon the general agricultural economy by saying that in this friendly business of competing with each other we are making an industry that, with a continually decreasing labor force and with decreasing acres, is feeding our Nation's rapidly increasing population better. We are not enjoying financial reward for the job we are doing.

There is no area of our economy that has so much moral right to a fair share of the Nation's prosperity as have farmers because good and abundant food is the first need of a healthy and happy people and nation. Our population is growing rapidly while our farm numbers are decreasing so the dependence of this essential item is resting upon fewer people.

Our position is strong basically because we, as growers, have this item—food—that others cannot get along without. Normally our trading position should be excellent because we have what they must buy.

There are two basic weaknesses in our trading position and we have permitted their influence to predominate. First, we are at the end of the line. Whether it is the front or the tail end can be argued. Nevertheless, having failed by producing and talking surplus, the farmer now accepts what there is left, which to me is the tail end.

The trade starts at the consuming end, with the retailers, the laborers, the transporters, the brokers, the container manufacturers, and others all taking their costs plus a profit. The balance the grower receives more as a donation from society than as a price for his labor and an earning on his investment. In no way does he reflect his increased costs, but accepts what others give him and perhaps asks his Government to add a little now and then. He does not demand a 7, then a 15-percent increase in prices as the railroads have recently done, or a minimum hourly wage. He pays for these increases because he is at the whip end of the line, and when there is an adequate food supply these costs are deducted from farm prices.

The second basic weakness is that farm people have a love of individual freedom and initiative, a respect for the rights of others, and an abhorrence of violence that prevents them from using the mass pressure tactics, that labor and other segments of our economy have so effectively used to gain their present preferred place in the economic sun.

In conclusion let me say that we are making progress in the Maine potato industry. It is all we know and we look to the day when we can again have the income to make other improvements that we believe are good. We are trying, within our concept of right, to learn ways in which we too can have a recognized place in the economy of this wonderful country of ours, and the degree of financial security that society considers essential for other groups.

Memorial Day, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, as Memorial Day approaches, it is well for us to pause and reflect on just what this day means. Of course, Memorial Day means parades, displays of the flag, and patriotic speeches. But its real significance—that of pausing to pay homage to those who gave so much to preserve our way of life in America's hours of greatest peril—must not be overlooked.

A fine editorial concerning the broader meaning of Memorial Day has been written by Andrew D. Wolfe, able editor of the Brighton-Pittsford Post, East Rochester Herald, and Penfield Republican, weekly newspapers in my district. In particular, Mr. Wolfe points out how important it is that we not lose sight of the lessons of that most tragic of all wars, the Civil War. Under leave previously granted, I insert this editorial at this point in the RECORD:

MEMORIAL DAY, 1957

A few months ago, Life magazine ran an article on the revival of interest in the Civil War, citing the tremendous number of historical and fictional accounts of the war which now are appearing.

We are told that each year at least 100 major works on Civil War subjects are appearing, and that the pace is expected to be stepped up as the centennial years in the early 1960's approach.

And last week when President Eisenhower and General Montgomery toured the battlefield at Gettysburg, newspapers all over the world carried their comments on the generalship of Lee and Meade.

All this interest is to the good, we think, as long as people don't start thinking of the war exclusively as an historical pageant, or a military drama.

No other event in American history has the dramatic fascination of the Civil War. No one has quite put their finger on the reasons for this, although it must be due in part to the role the war played in welding the seaboard colonies of 1775 into the Continental Nation of 1875. It is sufficient to say that the war has become the Nation's great folk saga.

This is fine, we think, so long as we don't lose sight of the fact that this drama was played out by flesh-and-blood individuals, that the Union and Confederate soldiers, and their families were very real individuals, who faced up to a situation demanding extraordinary fortitude.

Meade and Lee at Gettysburg, or Stonewall Jackson's bitterly ironical death after Chancellorsville, or the sordid drama of Andersonville, or Grant plunging unflinchingly for Richmond in 1864, you can name a thousand dramatic incidents and still be just starting.

But we think that on Memorial Day as one watches the little flags wave over the now-old graves, one should think of the individuals who went out from Monroe County, of the decisions they made, and how their families lived with the results of those decisions, sometimes for a generation or more.

There is a lesson of courage and determination and patriotism in these unsung lives that is the most important legacy of the war, and one we should keep close to the surface of our minds as we watch the flags go by on Memorial Day.

Armenian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, Armenians are one of the oldest people in known history. They can trace their national origin to some 3,000 years. In their ancient mountainland, the traditional Garden of Eden nestled under the towering Mount Ararat, they maintained their independence for centuries before the discovery of America. And when Asiatic invaders put an end to their national independence, they managed to maintain their communal and spiritual independence wherever they happened to be. Armenia was ravaged and ruined and divided among its conquerors, and during all that time Armenians lived with the hope of regaining their ancient homeland. In the course of centuries they endured all kinds of hardships and suffered much. Early in World War I wholesale massacres carried out by the Turks came perilously close to extermi-

nating them. At the end of that war, however, the surviving Armenians proclaimed their national independence.

This was on May 28, 1918. It signified the rebirth of a nation which had lost its national independence more than 500 years before. The event was welcomed by freedom-loving people everywhere, and the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, undertook to draw the boundaries of the new Republic. But neither his official acts nor all the good wishes of the world could save the new state from its enemies. Late in 1920 it was attacked by Turkish nationalists and Russian Communists, and its fate was sealed early in December of that year.

Since then Armenia has become part of the Soviet Union, and the Armenians there have been lost in that prison of nationalities. Today in celebrating the 39th anniversary of the Armenian independence, we all hope that Armenians will regain their independence once more and celebrate it freely in their ancient homeland.

Public Health Endangered by Harmful Food Additives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the pure-food law is in serious need of amendment, but it seems impossible to get Congress to do anything. The Delaney committee investigated poisoned food for several years and made some ominous findings; and that there are poisons used in foods there is no room for doubt, but the theory of the law is that those who use additives and other poisonous substances in food can go right ahead dispensing their products and the burden of proof is on the users of this food to show that the substances are deleterious.

This situation should be reversed, and those who use additives in food should by scientific investigation, prove to the Public Health Department that none of the ingredients used in the preparation of food are dangerous, deleterious, or poisonous. When the Public Health Department has this proof before the products can be sold, it will clear up this situation. To leave the law as it now is will leave the public completely unprotected. It has been proved here in the investigations carried on by the Delaney committee that certain bills injected into a slit in the necks of chickens have the effect of producing cancer in those who eat chicken thus treated.

Should not the law demand that the effects of this pill be proved harmless before it is used and the contaminated food resulting therefrom is offered to the public? There are literally hundreds of additives and concoctions used in foods today that have not been analyzed at all, and these foods are going out to the consumers, most of whom think they are protected by the Public Health Department, while the same Public Health Department does not know the nature of the additives used, nor their effect upon the health of the people who eat them.

If these additives can be used lawfully, before they are analyzed and the public fed upon food containing them without the Public Health Department knowing anything about their poisonous and disease-producing effect on human life, then I say the present public health laws do not, as a matter of fact, enable the Department to stop the use of these additives until after the foods have been eaten. The examination should be made before the foods are used—not afterwards.

I do not know what forces are at work to prevent the passage of these needed amendments, but whatever it is, it is a strong force of which many Congressmen are afraid. I am sure the average Congressman wants to protect the public health, but too many either do not believe that there are poisonous additives used in foods, or the influence of the manufacturers of food in which they are used are too strong politically, and Members shy away from raising any protest that might stop the sale of this kind of food.

So far as I am concerned, and as far as I can go, the public is going to find out what they are daily eating if it breaks every food processor in the United States. If these manufacturers and producers were required to submit for scientific investigation any proposed additive before it found its way into food, many illnesses would be averted, many lives saved, and the turmoil about poisoned foods would end. Why do the manufacturers, processors, and producers fight against an investigation? Your guess is as good as mine.

Protecting Labor Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including herewith two editorials, one from the New York Times of May 24 entitled "Code for Union Finance" and the other, entitled "Protecting Labor Funds" from the Newark Evening News of the same day.

This decision of the executive committee of the AFL-CIO is to be commended. By coincidence it comes just as the chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee has announced the start, on May 29, of hearings on this important subject.

The editorials follow:

[From the New York Times of May 24, 1957]

CODE FOR UNION FINANCE

The AFL-CIO code on financial practices is a notable benchmark in the federation's drive for honest, democratic unionism. It furnishes a measure of progress already made and a sound base for progress to come.

Most important—especially in the light of teamster derelictions—is the code's first principle: a labor union is a trustee for the welfare of its members, "not a business enterprise, or an investment company." Applied to practice this means that operating funds must be administered according to the highest fiduciary standard, with full accounting to the members whose dues they represent. Union treasuries should never be used for the personal profit or advantage of union officers nor should unions enter into contracts or other arrangements which have the same result. The code also rules out the investment of a union's funds in or loans to, "any business with which it bargains collectively"—except the purchase of relatively small amounts of stock in sound companies whose securities are widely held.

So far, so good. These policies are well conceived, from the point of view of both labor and the public. But what of their enforcement? The federation has no such power—at least directly. All it can do is to recommend to its affiliates that they obey the rules. Transgressing unions can be suspended or expelled from the federation. But this punishment is cumbersome and often ineffective—witness the ILA.

Self-control, for which the federation's code provided an excellent pattern, is by far the best answer. However, things may have already come to such a pass that Government regulation is required. Certainly an adequate full disclosure law should be promptly passed by Congress. Not only would such publicity make wrongdoing hazardous, but it would also furnish the factual basis for sound regulation—if that should have to come.

[From the Newark Evening News of May 24, 1957]

PROTECTING LABOR FUNDS

As further proof of the integrity of its effort to clean house, the AFL-CIO Executive Council adopts a stringent code to safeguard labor union funds from misuse. The action follows promptly the council's summary ousting of discredited Dave Beck as an AFL-CIO vice president.

Inclusive as to the entire AFL-CIO setup, the code bans the lending or investment of union funds that would be to the profit of any union officer or member. Covered also are other objectionable practices.

In this instance, as in others, labor's top leaders are to be commended for the way in which they have reacted to the disclosures at hearings of the Senate investigating committee. It can be said, of course, that the corrective steps they have taken were long overdue, but an extenuating factor, it may be argued, is that until comparatively recently labor lacked a united front.

Labor's cause will be immeasurably advanced and accepted if these labor leaders will now be equally cooperative in framing legislation to implement fully what they have done. Such legislation is necessary. Expulsion is the only penalty available to the AFL-CIO for violation of its various codes. Besides, there are many independent unions.

The Highway Program: Fact and Fiction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to

include a statement in the RECORD by George D. Riley, legislative representative of the AFL–CIO, entitled "The Highway Program: Fact and Fiction," which appeared in the AFL–CIO American Federationist recently.

In every business, there are those employers who want to get labor as cheap as they possibly can so that they can gain an advantage over their competitors. They are the contractors whose business slogans are: "Do a job as cheap as you can" and not "as good as you can." These people are a curse to the industry. They are the ones who are crying at all times about increased labor costs.

I believe that the article by Mr. Riley is very timely, a perfect answer to those contractors in the United States who, if they were permitted, would use slave labor.

The article follows:

THE HIGHWAY PROGRAM: FACT AND FICTION

(By George D. Riley)

The Federal highway program was announced originally as a $101 billion undertaking. When it appeared that many citizens were having difficulty in thinking in such vast terms, a $50 billion figure started circulation, and the States went thoroughly conservative in their estimates of costs for highway construction to be done within their boundaries.

The $50 billion tag took hold. Congress passed the legislation. Money began to pour into the trust fund. Mentally, the Nation's motorists started riding on the new limited-access roads.

Now there are signs that the original $101 billion figure may be nearer the real amount for the same mileage contemplated in the $50 billion which Congress envisaged when it wrapped up the highway legislation last year.

State-by-State estimates of construction costs were compiled for the information of Congress in 1954. Now, according to Engineering News-Record, "highway officials are shocked over skyrocketing costs of the new Federal highway building program."

And an attempt is made to pin the blame on labor costs.

But last February the United States Department of Commerce pointed out that wage costs in highway construction are vastly on the decline while contract bid figures are on a steep incline.

"Road construction volume in 1955," the Department of Commerce said, "was 9 times that for 1944, while labor usage in 1955 was only 5 times that for 1944."

As the machines used in road construction mount in size and increase in efficiency, the labor cost factor diminishes, thus providing a rebuttal to Engineering News-Record, to the Carolinas branch of the Associated General Contractors and to all others who are engaged in spreading the "increased labor costs" fallacy.

The position of the low-wage regional branch of the Associated General Contractors has been summed up as follows:

"Carolinas Branch, AGC, staged an all-out fight last year to defeat the Davis-Bacon section of the highway bill, branding it as unnecessary, expensive, and a tool of union officials."

And so the Carolinas branch carries on for the lowest wages possible—or at least against a law which requires that the wage rates shall be the same as those paid for similar work in the community.

Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, no dear friend to the Davis-Bacon Act, has done the cause of the Carolinas branch no good by coming up with the actual facts and figures regarding highway construction wages and their relation to total costs as reflected in the bid figures. He has told the Carolinas branch that with each passing year the cost of labor will be less and less. One reason is improved equipment—machines, for example, which lay bituminous topping at the rate of 84 feet a minute.

But as steadily as highway contract bid figures rose between 1944 and 1955, it is evident that more recently they have climbed even higher.

John H. Lyons, Jr., general organizer of the ironworkers, called attention to some interesting points at the recent national legislative conference of the building and construction trades department.

He explained that equalizing of wage rates, benefits, and working conditions through legislation opens the door to more competitive bidding and more efficient construction. He cited recently awarded highway contracts which were an average of 75 percent greater than estimates that had been prepared only 3 months earlier.

In the same period building construction costs rose only 12 percent. Those contractors involved in the 12-percent rise are those who pay benefits and operate under conditions which the building trades endeavor to make apply to all Government construction, where as the highway contractors do not so operate.

It is interesting to take a look at cost studies concerning all types of highway construction during 1956. In New York State labor costs were about 29.5 percent of all costs. In California, another high-wage State, labor costs averaged 28.3 percent. In Florida, a low-wage State, the average labor cost was 21.9 percent.

Statistics on labor costs by themselves do not present the full picture. To assess the part which labor costs play in relation to overall construction costs, it is necessary to consider the sharp decline in the amount of labor employed in highway construction as a result of the use of new methods and new machinery.

The Bureau of Public Roads, United States Department of Commerce, recently completed a study which showed very clearly how the man-hours of direct labor in highway construction had decreased between 1944 and 1955. The findings were published in the February issue of Public Roads, the Bureau's magazine.

The Bureau of Public Roads, on the basis of data on the use of labor collected by it since 1944, found a pronounced decrease in the number of man-hours of direct labor required for a given physical volume of highway construction. Direct labor was defined as "labor employed by the contractor at or near the site of the project."

For the most part, these are the workers who are covered by the prevailing wage requirements of the Highway Act.

In its study the Bureau of Public Roads learned that between 1944 and 1955 there was a reduction in labor usage factors of 43 percent. Such a reduction naturally meant a tremendous drop in contractors' labor costs. This great decrease in the number of hours of labor required, the Bureau found, was basically due to increased productivity of the labor-equipment combination resulting from great strides that have been made by manufacturers in developing more efficient construction equipment.

In plain words, automation has come to the highway construction field, and the road contractor today uses something like a half of the workers he did in 1944.

The Bureau of Public Roads gave due regard to the changes in price levels which occurred between 1944 and 1955 and made the necessary adjustments, using the Bureau's highway construction price index. The Bureau's figures are as accurate as humanly possible. No one can honestly argue that the findings reported are not authentic.

The Bureau of Public Roads has also projected its study to cover the whole period of the Federal highway program up to 1970. After showing that from a value of approximately 217,700 man-hours per million dollars of construction costs in 1944 the man-hours fell off to about 123,000 in 1955, the study indicates the drop in 1960 will be to 104,000 man-hours and for 1970 it will be down to 80,000 man-hours.

As noted earlier in this article, it was found that road construction volume in 1955 was nearly 9 times that for 1944, while the amount of labor used in 1955 was only 5 times that for 1944.

This study by the Bureau of Public Roads of the United States Department of Commerce should lay to rest the "increased labor costs" bugaboo so dear to the hearts of low-wage road contractors.

It is evident that labor costs in highway construction are diminishing. Therefore, labor costs cannot possibly be blamed for any increases in expenditures for the new roads. The facts are plain. Now it will be interesting to see whether the foes of labor will stop or continue their false allegations about "increased labor costs."

The Status of Forces Treaty: What it Means to American Servicemen Stationed in Foreign Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, recent demonstrations in Formosa and Japan have brought forcefully to the attention of the American public the Status of Forces Treaty and what it means to our American servicemen stationed in foreign countries. I feel sure my colleagues are aware of the fact that I am one of the cosponsors of a House joint resolution providing for the revision of the Status of Forces Agreement and certain other treaties and international agreements, or the withdrawal of the United States from such treaties and agreements, so that foreign countries will not have criminal jurisdiction over American Armed Forces personnel stationed within their boundaries. The case involving Sgt. William S. Girard points up the need for immediate consideration of this resolution.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the May 27, 1957, column of John O'Donnell:

CAPITOL STUFF

(By John O'Donnell)

WASHINGTON, May 27.—The anti-American riots in Formosa and Tokyo and the smoldering ill-feeling in the Philippines have undoubtedly been sparked by Commies. But Americans have handed the Commie propa-

ganda experts the weapon to use against us—which they are using enthusiastically and effectively. And we never would have handed over the weapon if President Eisenhower had not signed the so-called status of forces pseudo-treaty.

This is the diplomatic agreement by which Americans in uniform in foreign nations are turned over to foreign police and foreign courts for trial and punishment under alien laws and judicial procedure. In all cases they are stripped of the protection guaranteed to American citizens under the Constitution.

Like all weapons of evil conception, it cuts both ways and injures the possessor as cruelly as his opponent. We have anti-American riots in Formosa because they don't have the Status of Forces Agreement. Such a treaty would have permitted a Formosan to sit in judgment on American Sgt. Robert Reynolds, who was freed by a United States military court after he had killed a native Peeping Tom who attacked him.

The present Japanese anti-American demonstrations are whipped up because the Status of Forces Agreement does operate in their kingdom, but not in situations where Americans in uniform, are carrying out orders. In the present episode, United States Sgt. William S. Girard, on duty at a firing range, was accused of involuntary manslaughter when an empty shell case fired by him struck a Japanese woman illegally trespassing on the range and caused her death. The Japanese want the sergeant turned over to them and placed on trial before a Japanese court.

Commonsense could have avoided all these self-created perils which our Commie opponents are now so enthusiastically exploiting.

In the first case, the status-of-forces agreements should never have been passed. They could never be put in force if the proposed Bricker amendment were on the books. But even more importantly, today they would be kicked out by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional if that august body still follows legal precedent.

JOHN MARSHALL'S RULING STILL STANDS

Every effort in recent years to get the issue to the high bench has been blocked, and for good reason. Those who dreamed it up know that the opinion which the great Chief Justice John Marshall (1755–1835) handed down still stands. This is the clear-cut ruling that service in the Armed Forces of the Republic of the United States shall not abrogate or nullify the constitutional rights of an American citizen.

Since the birth of the Republic, we have had many millions of Americans in uniform serving in foreign lands. But never, until the status-of-forces agreement was pinned onto the NATO agreement, have we turned over American soldiers to the judicial mercies of foreigners.

Millions of Americans—and there were certainly some thousands of bad boys among them—were overseas in World Wars I, II and Truman's Korean police action, and remained there months after the actual shooting stopped.

WE USED TO DO IT THE RIGHT WAY

But to our credit, we never once permitted foreigners to impose their criminal procedure on Americans in uniform.

Hitherto, the procedure had been simple and honest. If one of our bad boys in uniform got in trouble in a foreign land, he was turned over to his American superiors for punishment.

We reciprocated. During World War II, if British sailors or French marines were picked up in a Brooklyn or Manhattan brawl, stickup or rape, we hauled them off to the nearest stationhouse, called their respective MP's or shore patrols and forgot about it, after the American victim had been recompensed and report of subsequent punishment received. That's the correct way to run the show.

Since ancient Greece, there has been a simple rule of thumb which governs the rights of immunity of foreigners accused of violating the law of the alien land where their crimes or misdeeds are committed.

IMMUNITY DOES NOT EXTEND TO JOE DOAKES

The person of accredited diplomats cannot be touched. Envoys are exempt from all criminal and civil proceedings. So is the personnel of their immediate official households. They are also exempt from taxation, etc. All this worked out very well until some of the highbinders in the U. N. headquarters in New York got out of hand, but according to law they can still get away with murder if their bosses back home want to back them up on the diplomatic immunity plea. So it has gone until the status-of-forces agreement involving our military forces invited in to help protect a nation in peacetime. Actually, our military forces are official guests of these governments.

American tourists and businessmen in foreign countries and foreign tourists and businessmen in the United States enjoy no immunity. This is as it should be. And, according to Prof. Hershey's basic study of Essentials of International Public Law, neither do mere visitors and hangers-on of the embassy. Diplomatic privileges and immunities, says the learned professor, "extend to consuls as such, public or secret political agents * * * etc."

But, under recognized military law as laid down by the United States Supreme Court, such immunities do extend, so far as constitutional rights are concerned, to every American wearing a uniform on foreign soil.

Let Us Cut the Budget but Not at the Peril of Our Children and Our Future

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD two editorials in the Tampa Morning Tribune of May 23 and May 25 on the subject of the President's budget for defense and mutual security, which I believe worthy of the consideration of the Congress.

The editorials follow:

[From the Tampa Morning Tribune of May 23, 1957]

AID ON THE AID BILL

Mr. Eisenhower made it quite plain, both in his address to the people Tuesday night and during his press conference yesterday, that he intends to stand up for his administration's fundamental dedication to the principles of foreign economic and military aid as essential elements of mutual security.

His decision to fight hard for his revised and slimmer foreign-aid program may not please his more persistent critics in Congress. But it will be welcomed by the many Americans in and out of the National Legislature who agree with the President that it would be supreme folly for this country to cripple its allies against communism through an overweaning zeal to scrimp.

This is not to say that the new program, which calls for the separation of military assistance from economic aid and for emphasis on loans rather than grants in helping underdeveloped countries get on their feet economically, will have clear sailing at this session.

Nor do we in any way suggest that the President's request for $3.8 billion in foreign aid funds cannot be cut at all. To say that would be foolish.

Yet it would be even more foolish to urge that the request be meat-axed. Granted that some foreign aid funds have not been wisely spent, granted that there have been blunders in the administration of economic assistance, the fact remains that foreign aid has since the end of World War II become an essential tool of this country's foreign policy. It remains an essential tool. That is clearly brought out by the several special congressional committees and independent agencies, including the United States Chamber of Commerce, which studied and reported on the program in recent months.

Foreign aid funds are not giveaways. They are employed for specific programs within an overall policy of keeping the free world free. Sometimes, as in Europe after World War II, they helped put established but battered economies back on their feet. And sometimes, as now in Asia, the Middle East, and in South America, they have helped young or struggling democracies toward stability.

President Eisenhower has presented a significant challenge to Congress. It is up to the Senators and Representatives to show they understand that the independence of Asian and Middle Eastern nations is more important in the long run than dotted-line agreements now with the United States.

As the President said in effect, and rightly so, it would be little consolation later to investigate "who lost Asia and the Middle East to communism?" The time to help save these strategic areas is now.

[From the Tampa Morning Tribune of May 25, 1957]

REMEMBER THE TAXICAB ARMY

The Nation has before it the blunt words of Secretary of Defense Wilson that defense fund slashes proposed by some Members of Congress would interfere with the purchase of ships, planes, and missiles of war.

Wilson, an earthy man whose outspoken words sometimes get him in trouble, told the Senate Appropriations Committee that proposed defense fund cuts would snatch away the cards and chips President Eisenhower has to hold in the international poker game of disarmament.

He was backed by Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who said big cuts in the military budget "would risk the security of the nations of the free world."

And he had the backing, too, of Senate Republican Leader KNOWLAND, one of the men calling loudest for a sizable cut in the Eisenhower $71 billion budget, who warned against cutting appropriations for defense.

We are inclined to go along with these men. Let's keep our guns loaded, our ships and planes and missiles on the alert. Let us be very sure we know the mind of perfidious Russia before we turn off the alarm clock and go to sleep.

Of course there is need of economy, and of course there is inefficiency and waste in our preparations for defense and in foreign aid. Where economy can be effected, let us be economical, and let us ruthlessly correct inefficiency. Let us cut the budget, but not at the peril of our children and our future.

One does not have to be much of a newspaper reader to detect the note of alarm by those schooled to watch the Washington

scene at what appears to be a nationwide drift toward complacency.

We do not need to go beyond the newsletters from Washington carried on this page.

In the last week or so Eisenhower has gone to the people with an appeal for support of his budget, and particularly of his defense program.

"The plain truth is that the price of peace is high," he said in his television appeal of May 15, and in his second national network talk Tuesday he stressed the need of foreign aid.

Eisenhower pictured foreign aid, already sliced from $4.4 to $3.8 billion, as a concrete and practical way to bolster American defense. For this country to try to go it alone, would be dangerous strategy, he said.

But America is peaceful, prosperous, and complacent, and Senators and Congressmen who have had their ears to home soil have been hearing demands for easier taxes. They have been encouraged to spend money at home, not in foreign lands.

We have pretty well forgotten Foch's taxicab army and the British Contemptibles of World War I that held back the Kaiser's legions while we got ready to fight.

Even the Battle of Britain of World War II and American unpreparedness for that conflict grow dim.

But countries that were strong—and our good friends—in those days are weak today. Britain has lost an empire, and France has sunk into political confusion.

Only Russia is strong and growing stronger, and spending tremendous sums on arms and propaganda.

Let us heed Brother Wilson and not sink into complacency and again be caught unprepared.

Why Treat Our New Americans Like Made-Over Aliens?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Saturday Evening Post of June 1, 1957:

WHY TREAT OUR NEW AMERICANS LIKE MADE-OVER ALIENS?

It was natural enough for Chairman Paul Butler, of the Democratic National Committee, to invite Representative FRANCIS WALTER, of Pennsylvania, to serve on the executive committee of the nationalities division of his party's national committee. Mr. WALTER is chairman of the House Immigration Subcommittee and has a powerful voice in the policies established by Congress to govern the admission to this country of refugees and other foreigners.

Perhaps, however, a little further deliberation on the subject might have prevented Mr. Butler from writing to Mr. WALTER at all. At any rate, Mr. WALTER'S reply to the invitation to join a nationalities division stands as a pretty solid statement on what should be the relation of new citizens to their adopted country—and, perhaps even more importantly, the duty of older citizens to recent arrivals.

"I have long opposed the concept of minority or nationality groups as entities somehow distinct from the American people as a whole," wrote Mr. WALTER. "From this concept arises the nation that the interests of these different groups of Americans are at variance with the interests of the rest of the Nation."

To support this view, the Congressman quoted from a letter by the late Representative Antonio M. Fernandez, of New Mexico, who had also refused to serve on the nationalities division. "In my State," wrote Mr. Fernandez, "political organization and political pressure along racial lines are frowned upon by those of us who are not of English descent as well as by those who are." The New Mexico Representative doubtless understood instinctively that, as Mr. WALTER put it in his letter to Mr. Butler, "in perpetuating the idea of nationalities and minorities you are at the same time perpetuating an instrument of division among people whose greatest pride lies in becoming a part of our great Republic."

Of course, few politicians are able to exercise the restraint which would be required by strict adherence to the ideal set up by Mr. WALTER and Mr. Fernandez. The Negro vote, the Jewish vote, the Italian or Polish vote—whether it really exists or not—is very much on the mind of the average politician.

Wouldn't it be wonderful, though, if political leaders and aspiring ward heelers could unite on the principle that the welfare and interest of this country are the primary concern of all Americans of whatever origin, regardless of prejudices and antagonisms inherited from the Old World?

Kill Off the Soil Bank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial published on May 24, 1957, in the Richmond News Leader, entitled "Kill Off the Soil Bank," which should be of great interest to the Members of this House, who recently voted, most wisely, I think, to eliminate funds for the so-called soil bank after this year.

The editorial follows:

KILL OFF THE SOIL BANK

The best day's work the House of Representatives has done on the budget this year was done last week, when the House, led by Virginia's own BURR P. HARRISON, voted 192–187 to kill the acreage reserve program of the so-called soil bank after the present crop year.

Mr. HARRISON termed this program a national scandal, and that is precisely what it has proved to be. It is a something-for-nothing scheme, conceived in a moment of political desperation prior to last fall's elections. It has resulted in a fantastic—and utterly ineffectual—dissipation of public funds, to the benefit of a relative handful of farmers at the expense of everybody else.

If the soil bank actually had succeeded in reducing agricultural production, some case might be made in behalf of the program. This was not the story. Time after time, the House Appropriations Committee discovered, farmers accepted payment for withdrawing land from cultivation and then concentrated with redoubled energy upon producing vastly higher yields from remaining acreage. Further, said the committee, "much of the land placed in the acreage reserve was drought land which would not have produced a good crop in any event."

The House group cited one interesting example of how the soil bank worked in McLean County, Ill. There a farmer with a 2,019-acre farm had a corn allotment of 671 acres. He had 14 acres planted to alfalfa and 155 acres in clover. When the soil-bank program came along, he pointed out that his clover and alfalfa land was suitable for growing corn; and though he had planted no corn on it, and did not propose to plant corn on it, by his sole act of not planting corn on land suitable for corn, he qualified for compensation. His payments were based on a hypothetical yield of 70 bushels of corn per acre at a rate of 92 cents a bushel. The total payment to this farmer came to $10,903.

In another instance, a Kentucky farmer proposed to put a tract of scrub trees and underbrush into the soil bank. Some of the brush had grown to about 6 feet in height. It was agreed, said the committee, that if the farmer would remove the brush and shrubbery, he would be paid for not planting corn on this piece of land.

The wheat program developed a ludicrous situation in which the Department of Agriculture met itself coming and going. One governmental program, designed to increase production of a variety known as durum wheat, ran head on into the soil-bank program, designed to decrease the production of all wheat. In the confusion, a farmer at Gilby, N. Dak., with an allotment of 761 acres for ordinary wheat, took advantage of a bonus clause in the Durum Act to obtain a total allotment of 1,286 acres of durum and 43 acres of spring wheat. Because he had not planted more spring wheat, he was found to have complied with the Soil Bank Act, and though he destroyed no wheat at all, he was paid $10,366.

Such handouts, running into thousands of dollars, were not at all unusual. The Garvey Farms, operating in Colorado and Kansas, drew total payments of $61,354; Adams Bros. & Co., in Iowa, drew $49,248; three Texas farmers average nearly $40,000 each. In widely scattered areas, city folks with a shrewd eye for a fast buck, went out and rented land, put the land in the soil bank, destroyed no crops and planted no crops, and were paid more than their rent simply for leasing land they did nothing with.

This nonsense cost the American taxpayers some $260 million last year. An appropriation of $500 million had been asked for the coming year. It was this item that Mr. HARRISON'S amendment struck from the agricultural appropriations bill last week. If the Senate goes along with the House—and it will be a close proposition—the public will have been saved half a billion dollars next year alone, and some opportunity will have been provided for a fresh approach to farm policy.

Sooner or later, perhaps the Congress will conclude, as Secretary Benson asserted, that "we cannot legislate scarcity." An answer to the farmers' undoubted hardships will have to be found in some recognition of abundance; and a solution will have to rest upon the farmer's earning a fair price in the market place for his labors, not upon his drawing Government checks for not laboring.

Senator Morse's Blast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-

ORD, I include the following editorial from the Sunday Journal and Sentinel of Winston-Salem, N. C., of May 26, 1957:

SENATOR MORSE'S BLAST

Senator WAYNE MORSE, who walked out on the Republican Party during the 1952 presidential campaign, now finds that President Eisenhower and Dave Beck are "the same kind of immoralists." Senator MORSE's remarks have not gone unnoticed, and even those GOP Senators who have a hard time trying to agree with the President, have denounced the Oregonian's remarks as ranging from "unfair" to "shocking."

Criticism, of course, is something everyone ought to be able to take, especially politicians. But it is doubtful if Senator MORSE's linking of the President and Dave Beck comes under the heading of legitimate criticism. It is, in fact, a very low blow. And, moreover, it is based on utterly false assumptions.

It is generally agreed that Hell's Canyon is behind Senator MORSE's attack on the President. The Senator thinks the Government should have spent several hundred million dollars developing power-generating facilities in Hells Canyon. Mr. Eisenhower and his administration disagree. They feel that where a private company is willing to do the job, it should have the chance. So the Idaho Power Co. was given permission to build the dams and the generators. (The Supreme Court, moreover, has upheld this.) Senator MORSE doesn't like the idea.

Then, the Idaho Power Co., under a law that has been in effect since 1950, was granted the privilege of depreciating part of the cost of the dams and power facilities over a period of 5 years, rather than the normal 20 or more years. This law was approved to encourage the building—by private enterprise again—of those facilities which would increase this Nation's industrial capacity to weather emergencies and wars.

Thus, for actions by his administration that were not only legal, but undoubtedly beneficial to the welfare of this Nation, President Eisenhower has been likened to the discredited Dave Beck. The least Senator MORSE could do is apologize. Judging from his past actions, it is hardly likely that he will.

An Appeal to the Churches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, as you know, a subcommittee of the other body, investigating juvenile delinquency, has just completed its hearings and submitted its report. Among its worthwhile recommendations it has made an urgent appeal to the churches of America "to play a more active role in combating youthful lawbreaking." Dr. Leon Macon, editor of the Alabama Baptist, a splendid weekly newspaper published by the members of the Baptist denomination in Alabama, has commented editorially on the results of the investigation and the report.

Under leave heretofore granted, it is my privilege to insert Dr. Macon's editorial in the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The editorial follows:

AN APPEAL TO THE CHURCHES

A Senate subcommittee investigating juvenile delinquency has made an urgent appeal to the churches of America "to play a more active role in combating youthful lawbreaking." This committee, through its investigation during 1955–56, found some appalling conditions among our youth. It states that 550,000 children were brought into our courts during 1956 and that over 100,000 of these were committed to some detention home. The committee said if these trends continue there will be a million children a year brought before our juvenile courts.

Again we find men in high leadership in our country calling upon the churches to do their duty. We realize the church has done very little about ministering to the moral needs of all of our people because so many social and civic organizations have sought to promote this feature among our young people. We applaud any effort to bring about better morality among our youth and all of our people; however, morality cannot be sustained solely by organizational efforts detached from the church. The church must take an active role in leading all of our people to a better understanding of morality which must be reinforced by the spiritual ministries of Christ to the individuals.

The committee suggested many ways by which the church could help solve the child delinquency problem. Among some of the suggestions made by this subcommittee were, that the churches have more weekday activities for the youth, form discussion groups to deal with parents and children and the child himself, establish information clinics and promote more specific guidance for teenagers. Other suggestions were that the churches take more interest in the legislation dealing with juvenile delinquency and take a more active part in sponsoring juveniles detained in institutions. Many other suggestions were made, but undergirding all of this the church must seek to get the child while he is young and mold his character in the life of Christ. Social and moral services to our youth alone will not result in permanent values. They must be won to Christ and given incentive through this relationship with God to do right.

Again we find the leadership of our country calling on our churches to do more to solve the delinquent problem among our youth, as well as among our adults. We would urge our churches to move into this need and meet it with the ministry of Christ.

Results of Questionnaire Mailed to Second Congressional District of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I recently mailed approximately 78,000 questionnaires to residents of the Second Congressional District. As in the past, the percentage of returns has been excellent. It is gratifying to know of the interest of my constituents in national and international affairs. Almost 50 percent of those answering added additional comments on the various questions. Their responses are certainly appreciated and will be of interest to my colleagues:

1. Please check 6 of the following 12 issues you think most important today: (a) Government spending, 70 percent; (b) balancing the budget, 45 percent; (c) reduction of debt of Federal Government, 48 percent; (d) taxation, 62 percent; (e) farm prices and policies, 42 percent; (f) United States foreign trade polices, 39 percent; (g) control of communism in America, 55 percent; (h) labor policies, 45 percent; (i) defense and war preparedness, 50 percent; (j) maintaining peace, 43 percent; (k) American foreign policy, 46 percent; (l) civil rights, 36 percent.

2. Please check 3 of the following 6 items you think should be cut in Federal spending: (1) Number of Federal employees, 75 percent; (2) construction of Federal public works (dams, airports, buildings, interstate roads, etc.), 25 percent; (3) Federal aid to States, municipalities, school districts, and local public agencies, 50 percent; (4) foreign aid, 76 percent; (5) national defense, 19 percent; (6) Federal aid to agriculture and small business, 27 percent.

3. Do you favor Federal aid to education, specifically for school construction to meet class-room shortages? Yes, 62 percent; no, 33 percent; no opinion, 5 percent.

4. Would you vote to increase first-class postal rates (on 3-cent letters), even though that class of mail is earning its own way, in order to meet the deficit caused by second-, third-, and fourth-class mail? Yes, 16 percent; no, 82 percent; no opinion, 2 percent.

5. Do you approve the President's handling of the Middle East crisis? Yes, 49 percent; no, 38 percent; no opinion, 13 percent.

6. Would you favor special tax relief for small business? Yes, 62 percent; no, 28 percent; no opinion, 10 percent.

7. Would you support the President's request for more authority to admit refugees from Communist countries? Yes, 20 percent; no, 70 percent; no opinion, 10 percent.

8. Do you think Congress should take further action to safeguard the civil rights of Negroes and other minority groups? Yes, 55 percent; no, 35 percent; no opinion, 10 percent.

9. Do you believe the P. G. & E. Co. should be permitted to take over the power development on the Trinity River project, now under construction by the Federal Government as part of the Central Valley project? Yes, 34.6 percent; no, 58.9 percent; no opinion, 6.5 percent.

10. Do you favor the tight-money policy of this administration? Yes, 43 percent; no, 44 percent; no opinion, 13 percent.

11. Do you approve the present farm program? Yes, 25 percent; no, 57 percent; no opinion, 18 percent.

12. Would you favor limiting debate in the United States Senate? Yes, 60 percent; no, 26 percent; no opinion, 14 percent.

13. Would you vote to continue domestic mining of strategic and critical minerals and metals if a Federal subsidy is necessary to do so? Yes, 56 percent; no, 31 percent; no opinion, 13 percent.

14. Do you believe that the price of gold should be raised? Yes, 59 percent; no, 26 percent; no opinion, 15 percent.

15. If Congress cuts the budget by two or four billion dollars would you reduce taxes (42 percent, yes) in that amount or apply that money on the national debt (57 percent, yes)? No opinion, 1 percent.

16. Do you believe the Forest Service does a good job of forest management? Yes, 53 percent; no, 34 percent; no opinion, 13 percent.

17. Do you favor the so-called right to work legislation? Yes, 67 percent; no, 21 percent; no opinion, 12 percent.

If your answer is "yes," has your opinion been affected by the recent hearings involving the teamsters? Yes, 23 percent; no, 49 percent.

America, My Beloved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues the following address by Alvin Mansfield Owsley, of Texas, a founder and past national commander of the American Legion, delivered on May 2, 1957, at a meeting in Indianapolis, Ind., of the Legion's National Executive Committee:

Mr. National Commander, distinguished guests, my fellow Legionnaires, it is a delightful pleasure and esteemed honor to address you. This privilege gladdens the heart of one of your earliest National Commanders, and a founder of the Legion. I accept in the name of my beloved Department of Texas and all who love our Legion.

Today, allow me to speak with much foreboding concerning the policy of the American Legion with the United Nations. All must recognize the importance of the United Nations to the security and destiny of this Republic. No one can afford to remain silent. "To sin by silence when we should protest makes cowards of men," spoke the immortal Lincoln.

It is a rule of history that people never give up their liberty except under a delusion.

We must find the source of our power and dedicate that power to the preservation and security of our country; not to the delusion—the United Nations.

Let me ask the frank question: What does the United Nations contribute in the way of security or to improve the general welfare of the United States? It is to be assumed that thoses who got us into the United Nations had an idea that it would be beneficial to the United States and to the world. How did the United Nations ever get fastened to our fair land? Here is the answer.

The United Nations Charter was the work of Alger Hiss and his Communist, Socialist workers beginning at Dumbarton Oaks; rewritten at Moscow, Russia (of all places) and signed at San Francisco.

In 1946 the General Assembly of the United Nations accepted the offer of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. of a gift of $8,500,000 to purchase the required land in New York City for the permanent headquarters. The United States loaned $65 million, without interest, to build the Headquarters Building. The area now extends from 42d Street to 48th Street between First Avenue and East River in New York City. Here stands the glass house with thousands of covetous eyes spying upon us. A vast monument to a bad judgment.

On June 26, 1947, the Secretary of State of the United States signed a special agreement with the Secretary General of the United Nations by which it was agreed that the United Nations would have authority to make rules and regulations governing the headquarters district.

This treaty provides that any of the rules of the United Nations that may be inaugurated that may be in conflict with any local law, shall prevail. The General Assembly of the United Nations promptly delegated the rulemaking power to one man, the Secretary General, a foreigner. Now this six-block area in the heart of Greater New York becomes extraterritorial. It is an "island preserve" concerning which one man can make rules and regulations that supersede the ordinances of the city and State of New York, or any act passed by the Congress of the United States. The United Nations treaties are superior and may supersede the Constitution of the United States, or our Bill of Rights.

Our American courts are citing the United Nations Charter, and treaties as authorities in American courts. You will recall an American President claimed the right and authority to seize the steel industry under the United Nations Charter. The most dangerous repercussion of this action is that three members of our Supreme Court agreed with Mr. Truman; one was the Chief Justice.

Here is the danger signal.

The Secretary General has no restrictions upon him. He can do as he pleases as long as he makes his report to the General Assembly. If a crime is committed by a member—or an attaché—he may plead immunity. This happened in a case of murder. The New York Police, the FBI, and the Army of the United States cannot enter this extraterritorial "little kingdom." What has become of the sovereignty of the United States?

In a recent U. S. News & World Report there is a very striking article which says: "Serious concern is beginning to be felt that the United Nations is serving as a haven for Communist spies in the United States. That concern is being expressed by investigators for the United States Senate. It is also worrying officials of the United Nations itself."

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the 83d Congress, 2d session, dated June 2, 1954, shows the United States pays one-third of $2,880,000 for UNESCO alone, and an additional one-third of $3 million for the United Nations technical assistance program. The cost of the United Nations to the United States in all demands for the 1953–54 session was $110 million, and for 1957 increased millions. This includes organizations with their hundreds of ambassadors, secretaries, technical assistants, aids, and all the traveling expenses of the hundreds of people that are going around the world in this "do good" job of giveaway. The solemn truth is that the United States has been plundered, misused by her foreign friends. "Show me my enemies and deliver me from my friends," cried a former United States President. The foreign nations are constantly on our doorstep, in Washington, demanding that we increase our aid to save them from communism. Thus far we have done mighty little saving.

From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 20, 1957, we have these facts as stated by Congressman H. R. GROSS, of Iowa:

"In December 1956 issue of UNESCO Chronicle, there is the following: 'UNESCO gave financial and technical assistance to the Yugoslav Communist National Commission for the organization of an International Seminar on the Economic Education of Workers.'

"Among the countries represented at the seminar was Red China.

"The United States each year gave almost one-third of UNESCO's operating costs, and the above-quoted items are submitted as examples of who and what we support with American taxpayers' dollars.

"Here we are spending a half million dollars to investigate United States citizens who seek employment in international organizations, including the United Nations and UNESCO, and yet sitting over those people in UNESCO is a Communist from Moscow, Russia. How stupid can we get?"

"In my opinion," said Congressman MASON, "UNESCO is one of the most pernicious of the international ventures of the United Nations. It is an educational institution, and therefore it has that pernicious influence on youngsters."

Mr. GROSS. "I heartily agree with the gentleman from Illinois."

Now that the United Nations has its armed forces placed upon foreign soil, will the next move be to express a power of taxation, and will then the sovereign authority of our great Republic pass to a super state? Is the United States of America on the brink of being caught in the vortex of a tornado and snapped up in the spectacle of Old World confusion and rivalry?

The Charter of the United Nations serves the purposes of a foreign super state—yes, of the Communist world. This we condemn. It is not for us in America.

In the First World War we poured out of our Treasury some $21 billion of foreign aid, and following World War II, we have handed out more than $50 billion and the "modern republicanism" administration is asking for $5 billion additional to be given away, when the national debt of the United States exceeds that of all the nations of the world combined.

This can be traced as a direct result of our membership in the United Nations and the constant pressure that is being placed upon us by the Socialists, the neutrals, and the Communists within the United Nations: Spend the United States into bankruptcy, force America to financial collapse, as Britain and France.

The Russian Communists have always been bad actors. "At one blow the Communist revolution robbed France, Italy, Britain, and other countries of prewar and wartime loans to Russia aggregating billions."

We have heard the remarkable effort to exorcize war by the incantation of unsupported treaties, the effort that gave birth to the Kellogg-Briand Pact, or the Pact of Paris. Back of this grand gesture lay a variety of regional movements for peace. We have heard the seven conventions to avert the scourge of war and by peaceful settlement of disputes of other nations, they were quickly initialed. On the foundation laid at Locarno, by the 4-power and 9-power treaties in far eastern affairs, by the growing concord of the American family of nations, by Great Britain's concession of freedom to Southern Ireland and Egypt, the world seemed ready to erect a stately temple for peace. We are aware of an American campaign for the outlawry of war which was originated by a Chicago attorney. France was willing to subscribe publicly with the United States to any mutual agreement tending to outlaw war. To use an American expression, between these two countries, "the American idea had become an international force." The Versailles Treaty ending World War I had expressed the honorable intention to organize the world so that armed forces might be gradually reduced and eventually eliminated. But the task proved unexpectedly too difficult and beyond human power. Germany rose to power under Hitler and became the most formidable armed force marching across Europe. Mussolini, betraying Italy, started the Italians on a death march. Japan in the Far Pacific defied the world. The tragedy and the infamy of Pearl Harbor and the agony of World War II followed.

Now from the United Nations, our country is constantly deluged with the most extravagant propaganda campaign supporting and praising the United Nations that we have ever witnessed. The Communists, Socialists, One-Worlders, Internationals, do-gooders, and the floaters for jobs are having a heyday. No product has ever been sold to the American people in such flamboyant fashion as these social planners with wild imagination are describing the United Nations.

On the battlefield with the U. N. troops in Korea, the flag of the United States, of our valiant defenders, was lowered and the flag of

the United Nations raised above it. We can recall that when General Pershing, Commander of the American Expeditionary Forces, World War I, landed in France, the foreign leaders presented to him the idea that the American soldier should fight under the flag of one of the allied countries, under the command of allied officers. General Pershing's historical reply was: "The American soldiers will fight under the flag of the United States of America and under the command of John J. Pershing." So we did; fought the enemy to their knees and saved the civilization of the world. All honor to this immortal hero, one of the first military commanders of all history, Gen. John J. Pershing.

In comparison hear our gallant, dynamic Gen. Mark Clark as he cried in anguish from Korea: "I am the first American commander compelled to sign a treaty ending a war we did not win."

Every American commander in Korea, all seven of them, proclaimed: "I could have won that war." What prevented our victory? The combination of intrigue, treachery, and a stab in the back from the U. N. robbed us of victory; beginning with the cruel and infamous attack on the greatest military genius of all time, Gen. Douglas MacArthur; causing his dismissal.

From the Pentagon and many of our first-rank officers may be found a dismal look into the future for American safety and victory in battle if dominated by the United Nations.

We are beating a retreat from the bold-aggressive-fearless national policy that has made and kept us great.

From Lord Cherwell, one of Britain's foremost scientists, speaking of the position of the Soviet Union and the extravagant use of the veto, which has now run into more than 60 separate times, we have this statement: "If that entirely negative position is maintained to the end, the world will have sad proof that the original adherence of these countries to the U. N. Organization was a matter of political expediency alone, without any continuing sence of responsibility, etc."

The conduct of the U. N. Organization with the preponderance of power of veto in the hands of the Communists show beyond per adventure of a doubt that the customary Communist use of the big lie now familiar to every student of foreign affairs is nowhere more apparent than in the U. N. Organization. The experience of these 11 years has given illustrations without number, and apparently without limits as well, to the immensity of the big lie; but perhaps none is remembered more vividly than the germ warfare charges made by the Soviet delegation to counteract the evidence of atrocities committed by Communist troops in Korea.

In the place of honor, honesty, and integrity which are inherent in the organizations sponsored on American soil, the proceedings of the United Nations Organization show frequently dishonesty, double dealing, and outright deceit. No organization can operate where suspicion of the integrity of its membership continues and is justified.

The United Nations Charter presupposes the U. N. an instrument for peace; it has been the breeding ground for war. Here are some of the U. N.'s accomplishments:

1. Israel: Jewish State versus Arabs. Arms furnished Israel by Red Czechoslovakia. Established Socialist state. Bernnadotte assassinated. Two hundred thousand Arabs homeless, fed now by the United States * * * alienated entire Moslem world. Provoked war between Israel and Egypt.

2. Korea: Stop aggression. Only 14 out of 56 nations cooperated. Most aid came from the United States—90 percent of everything with South Korea. Victory denied America through U. N.; aggressors divided Korea and stand on the same line as at the beginning of war. U. N. forced division on Synghman Rhee. Armistice worthless and violated. U. N. does nothing. One hundred and forty thousand American casualties.

(a) American military might and money saved Greece and Turkey. United Nations did nothing.

3. French Indochina: United Nations aid nothing. Cost United States nearly $1 billion; immediate demand is for increased financial aid.

4. All Southeast Asia: This area threatened. U. N. does nothing. United States mission prevented war in Thailand. No U. N. aid.

5. NATO, EDC, Geneva, and Cairo: All outside U. N.

6. South and Central America:

1. Guatemala: United States settled this trouble through Ambassador William Pauley.

2. Costa Rica-Nicaragua: Caracas Treaty invoked, and after trouble was settled through direct American-Interventions, a U. N. delegation toured the troubled "battlefield" to give an opinion who caused the trouble.

7. Formosa: U. N. supporting Red China for membership and against Chiang's claim to offshore islands and independence.

8. The important decision-making posts are held by Communists and Socialists.

9. The Secretary General chosen from Socialist countries.

10. The entire atmosphere at the United Nations is unfriendly and intolerant of the United States.

Some say we can't go it alone; maybe not; anymore than we can assume and carry the burdens of the world alone. We should not try it. This course would bankrupt and destroy America as a first world power as it has every first power in world history.

The facts are, we shall never go it alone as long as we are rich and powerful and solvent. We shall go it alone only when we exhaust our resources, give away our superiority of striking power on land, sea, and especially in the air, with A-bombs and H-bombs, and guided missiles. Only then will we find ourselves alone, deserted by foreign powers.

In Holy Writ, St. Luke, chapter 11, verses 21 and 22, we read: "When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace: But when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour, wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils."

The last tragic example was the rape of Hungary by Communist Russia while the United Nations stood still and would not heed the cry of freedom as it died.

Now we have the rise to power of the Egyptian "fakir," the Communist puppet, Nasser, dictating to the entire world the use of the Sues Canal waters; these powers were conferred upon Egypt by the United Nations.

A distinguished former Governor and United States Senator of the Empire State (New York), the Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, in a recent address at Toronto, Canada, deplored the United Nations policy in the Middle East; holding that the international body had restored to Egypt the power to blockade Israel in the Sues Canal. It (the U. N.) has given Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt's President, and the Kremlin final authority over the canal.

Now listen to the celebrated and world renowned British statesman, Sir Winston Churchill, criticizing the U. N. for its attitude toward the British-French attack on Egypt last fall. He said: "The U. N. has not helped either the free world or the cause of peace." The British are in the U. N., but they don't believe in it.

Valiant youths from several nations, unacquainted with battle, have been sent to guard Nasser. The command is: "Shout—don't shoot." A reproach to any uniform.

The United States, with no forces in the UNEF, has been drafted to pay one-fouth of the entire cost of maintaining this army. The demand cost to the American taxpayers at the beginning exceeds $6 million. Congress should refuse to pay any sum. Russia declined.

These policies have been forced upon the United States and the free nations by Russia and her satellite Communist powers, Russia with the veto power and her nine Communist votes.

Will an attempt next be made to internationalize the Panama Canal? Who knows?

The U. N., being impotent to strike, stood on the side lines and watched Communist Russia gather as slaves in behind its Iron Curtain more than 600 million human beings. Here is the most tragic picture—the supreme pathetic story—of modern history.

What has the United Nations done to free: Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, East Germany? These states were once free. These sad and defenseless peoples are not interested in the Voice of America—or the Crusade for Freedom.

In the great and historic debates of the past, our statesmen have outlined the position of the United States.

Whatever relations the United States must have with foreign countries, it must be clearly understood that our retention of the provisions of any covenant must be: "Without depriving the people of the United States in advance of the right to determine for themselves what is just and fair when the occasion arises, and without involving them as participants and not as peacemakers in a multitude of quarrels." What has become of our slogans which were given a currency which kept them potent for years to come—no entangling alliances, no foreign snares, no more sacrifice of American boys in foreign wars, no impairment of sovereignty?

One of the eminent statesmen of his time, a former Chief Justice and Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, said: "The American people would never consent to assume any obligations, moral or legal, which would fetter their appropriate freedom of action in and on contingencies." We shall not say that devotion or loyalty to the United Nations is akin to treason and tolerance, but it is un-American. We do say that it is a surrender of our sovereignty, and our foreign policy has become the whipdog of the Socialists, the neutrals, and Communists, who dominate the policies of the United Nations.

United Nations proponents say that the U. N. is only a clearing house for ideas that they can think up declarations, such as the human rights declaration, the genocide declaration, UNESCO declaration, and all the various 20 and more international declarations, but all that the U. N. can do is to recommend. In other words, it is an international Tower of Babel. Each nation, through its representatives in the U. N. speaks and nothing ever comes of it. There is one thing, however, that does come out of it and that is that the U. N. is serving as a sanctuary from which our enemies, the Communists, the Socialists, the Internationalists, the One-Worlders, and all those who have in mind a change in the American idea of democracy can operate. The United Nations has housed those who voice their hatred of us. The Communists have found it possible to stack their delegations with "specialists" trained in sabotage; propaganda, and those who are to take strategic positions to wreck our transportation system, destroy our gas, electric, and power lines and communication and render useless the necessary utilities for our defense in war. Furthermore, it furnishes a place for the enemy to go underground and to give instruction for the complete annihilation of our country with the atomic and H-bombs.

We are told that we must be careful in what we say and what we do for fear we make Russia and her satellites mad with us.

I ask, when did it become necessary for Americans to be afraid to express their opinion for fear that some foreigner would not like it?

How long will America submit to this insulting, degrading performance?

Our eloquent national commander, Dan Daniel, speaking over the Mutual Broadcasting System, said: "We are opposed to the granting of a single dime of American aid to Communist dominated countries." Yet, Poland got millions; Tito to get American jet fighters.

A careful study and a solemn decision in judgment upon the U. N., causes honest men to believe that the Communists and Socialists have created an instrument for international communism to strike down American independence.

Every patriot in this Nation should rise up and say to the Congress: We refuse to pay another dollar to this international Communist organization dominated by Russia and her satellites. Now is the time to say to the Congress: We are finished with the United Nations.

By resolution and by indirection, the American Legion has declared we will not support a superstate or a supergovernment. The American Legion is opposed to the United States being a part of an international super government. And yet, in the face of that resolution, we say to the United States Government, it is all right to go right ahead and support the President in sending an American delegation to the United Nations. We condone the taking of the taxpayers' money to support an international organization bordering upon international communism and the Comintern. Our position is inconsistent. The Legion cannot be halfway in and halfway out.

The time has come, not for general resolution or mutual advice, but for action.

I know not what others will do, but as for me, I favor denouncing the United Nations as an international conspiracy or world agency inimicable to American security, I would urge the United States Government to get out of the United Nations; and invite the United Nations out of the United States; off our blessed land.

Arise, you Legionnaires. Renew ancient faith in the land of your fathers. You are the strongest national force for the common good existing today.

Keep up the fight for Americanism.
Keep step with the National Anthem.
Add new glory to Old Glory.
Embrace America, my beloved.
This is my plea——
This is my prayer.

Fighting for Full Freedom of the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, many of the Members of Congress have been deeply disturbed by the attitude of the Secretary of State toward the free gathering of news by the American press.

One of Wisconsin's consistent fighters for freedom of information is Mr. William T. Evjue, editor and publisher of the Capital Times of Madison, Wis. Mr. Evjue is a newspaperman of the old school—crusading, courageous, and outspoken. I wish to call to the attention of the Congress his remarks on this subject in his column, Hello, Wisconsin, of May 10, 1957:

Roy Roberts, one of the original "I Like Ikers" and the president of the Kansas City Star, made a confession the other day that should be good for the soul of the one-party press. Writing of the monstrous folly of Secretary Dulles in ordering a ban on reporters traveling to Red China, Roberts said of the timid role the newspapers have played in accepting the order, "I am afraid there has been too much leaning over backward so as not to embarrass our Government." William Allen White would have put some thunder into such a statement.

The following editorial is from the Capital Times of the same date:

INCREDIBLE DULLES

Even Time magazine, which has been dedicated these past 4½ years to proving that Secretary Dulles is infallible, finds itself a little shaken by Dulles' conception of freedom of the press.

In a recent letter to Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the New York Times, Secretary Dulles stoutly insisted that there was no violation of the free press in his order prohibiting United States reporters from visiting Communist China.

The constitutional guaranty of freedom of the press, he said "relates to the publication and not the gathering of news."

This incredible comment about a basic constitutional right by a man who is supposed to be an outstanding lawyer must send a shudder through every citizen who realizes that this man is our principal spokesman in the cold war struggle against communism.

What he is saying, of course, is that the Constitution does not provide for freedom to inquire; only for freedom to publish. In other words, the sources of information can be shut off by Government at any time without doing violence to freedom of the press. The newspapers would be perfectly free to publish blank pages or to make up information for their readers.

In his letter, Dulles also blatantly suggested that there is nothing wrong with the Government making the press a tool of its diplomatic policies. That is the role, of course, that the Russian press plays for the Russian Government. It is the classical view of the totalitarians who place the state and its purposes above all.

But it is not democracy. And it is not a free press, when that view prevails.

If the newspapers of this country were not so deeply enmeshed in the political fabric of the Republican Party they would be standing forth in unison with a demand that Dulles resign. It is terrifying to realize that one of his main functions is to interpret the ways and aims of this country to the rest of the world.

Resolutions Commemorating the Death of Outstanding Leaders of Ukrainian Liberation Movement Fallen in Battle Against the Russian Invaders of Ukraine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of the Members of the House a letter from Dmitro Mandybur, president, and Myron Kramarczuk, secretary of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc., Minneapolis, Minn., with resolution unanimously approved by the American Ukrainians of the Twin Cities commemorating the death of three Ukrainian statesmen. Under unanimous consent I include the letter and resolution in the Appendix of the RECORD:

ORGANIZATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF FOUR FREEDOMS FOR UKRAINE, INC.,
Minneapolis, Minn., May 26, 1957.

Hon. Congressman ROY W. WIER,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We are honored to present to you a copy of a resolution unanimously approved by the American Ukrainians of the Twin Cities at the annual memorial ceremonies commemorating the death of three Ukrainian statesmen.

Symon Petlura, the commander in chief of the Ukrainian Army and head of the Independent Ukrainian State in 1918, was assassinated by Bolshevik Agent Schwartzbart in Paris on May 25, 1926.

Col. Ewhen Konowalec, the leader of the Ukrainian underground movement was also assassinated by a Bolshevik agent, Waluch, in Rotterdam, Holland, on May 23, 1938.

Lt. Gen. Taras Tchuprynka, commander in chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U. P. A.) fell in battle against the Russian invaders of the Ukraine on March 5, 1950.

These 3 dates, each with a 12-year interval, are now deeply carved in the history of the Ukraine and they prove the continuous struggle of the Ukrainian people against the Russian tyranny. The memorial ceremonies were held on May 26, 1957, in Minneapolis, Minn.

We sincerely hope that this resolution will be of help to you as informative material in your work in the United States Congress.

Sincerely yours,
DMITRO MANDYBUR,
President.
MYRON KRAMARCZUK,
Secretary.

RESOLUTIONS COMMEMORATING THE DEATH OF OUTSTANDING LEADERS OF UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT FALLEN IN BATTLE AGAINST THE RUSSIAN INVADERS OF UKRAINE, MAY 26, 1957, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

I

We, the American Ukrainians of Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn., gathered together on this day to honor the heroic death of three outstanding leaders of Ukrainian liberation movement, unanimously proclaim the following:

1. The enslaved Ukrainian people firmly resist and continue their desperate fight for liberty against the tyranny of communism and Russian imperialism no matter what sacrifices they must make.

2. To break the spirit of this patriotic nation, Moscow makes use of all cruel means such as mass executions, torture, starvation, deportations, death bringing concentration camps, and mass resettlement.

3. The Kremlin makes a constant attempt to exterminate the entire Ukrainian intellectual class: scientists, writers, artists, military men, statesmen, and thousands of men and women who are leaders of their people.

4. On May 25, 1926, Symon Petlura, the commander in chief of the Ukrainian Army and head of the independent Ukrainian State, was assassinated in the Boulevard St. Michel, in Paris, France.

On May 23, 1938, Col. Ewhen Konovaletz, leader and organizer of the Ukrainian Underground Liberation Movement, was murdered in the streets of Rotterdam, Holland.

On March 5, 1950, Gen. Taras Tchuprynka, the commander in chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), fell in Bilohorsha, Ukraine.

5. It is well known that behind the murder in Paris, as well as the tragedy in Rotterdam and Bilohorsha there was always the same enemy of Ukrainian freedom—Moscow's imperialism.

6. Moscow killing these three leaders in attempt to destroy the symbol of Ukraine's freedom and love for independence made a great miscalculation, because the shots fired in Paris, Rotterdam, and Bilohorsha did not break the spirit of Ukrainian people, and the struggle for independence continues as a passive resistance and as an armed conflict which is conducted by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

II

Because the people of Ukraine are deprived of their privilege of free expression, we feel it is our duty, the duty of free people, to speak in behalf of the enslaved Ukrainian people.

Therefore we accuse the Russian rulers, as well as the whole Communist totalitarian system—the latest form of Russian imperialism—of the following crimes:

1. Violation of the right of self-determination, and infringment of sovereignty and integrity in Ukraine and in the other subjugated countries.

2. Annihilation of all democratic liberties.

3. Destruction of the Ukrainian churches.

4. Systematic and brutal terrorism by the Russian secret police, as well as organization of concentration camps, slave labor, and other atrocities designed to break the spirit of freedom.

5. Systematic extermination of Ukrainian leaders and intellectuals, as well as russification and destruction of Ukrainian culture.

6. Further, we accuse Moscow of provoking wars, and of interference with the domestic affairs of various nations by setting up fifth columns, by organizing disintegration, sabotage, and espionage all over the world.

III

Today, when the inevitable conflict between the two irreconcilable opponents—the world of tyranny, and the world of liberty is approaching a crisis in psychological, ideological, political, and military spheres, we feel it is our duty to draw the attention to the following:

1. In the fight against Moscow's aggression our country must not depend solely on material superiority in armaments, but above all on morally superior ideology.

The American Declaration of Independence contains all the ideological weapons necessary not merely to pierce the brittle communism trappings but to atomize the foundations of the Russian imperialism.

2. Therefore we urge our Government to manifest sincerely the spirit of the American Declaration of Independence and to expand the principle of self-determination guaranteed by national sovereignty not only to satellite countries, but also to Ukraine and other once-independent nations which in the past decades were forcefully integrated into the Russian sphere.

3. We recognize the fact, that complete disintegration of the present Russian empire and establishment of free and independent national states is morally right, is in the interest of America, and is vital for the security of our country.

4. We draw the attention of the American people to the fact that various Russian political circles abroad, as well as certain groups in this country, are still incapable to turn their backs on traditional Russian imperialism. They deny the right of the peoples formerly oppressed by Czarist and later by Communist Russia to their national independence, and they oppose the disintegration of the Soviet Union and restoration of national sovereignty for the subjugated nations.

5. We firmly believe that restoration of free and independent national states on the ruins of the Soviet Russian empire is the only right way of abolishing a permanent Russian world aggression, abolishing the threat of war, and creation of the world which will guarantee the real peace.

IV

On this sad anniversary commemorating the tragic death of these outstanding Ukrainian freedom fighters, we warn the people of America to be aware of the danger of Russian imperialism and its present tool international communism.

Your allies are oppressed peoples by the Russian imperialism, and their historic struggle against that imperialism is the basic asset to the preservation of our American way of life, independence, and our freedom.

P. G. & E. Co. Wants To Monopolize Power Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, as I have previously stated several times to my colleagues, the existence of Federal power in an area has the effect of holding down power and energy rates of the private utilities in that area. To see this, one only needs to compare prevailing power rates in the Pacific Northwest and other areas where Federal power is available with areas such as the Northeast where there is no Federal power. This explains the real purpose of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s proposal to construct the Trinity project power facilities, which is to stop, at least for a period of 50 years, any further expansion of Federal power in California in order that it may monopolize the power market in that area. Then there would be no competition to force it to hold down its power rates nor a yardstick with which its rates could be compared.

It is interesting to examine the history of the P. G. & E. resale rates—that is, rates to municipalities and others for power to be resold—in the Central Valley project area and the effect the existence of CVP power has had no such rates. Prior to the time power was marketed from the Central Valley project, the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. had no competition in northern California and its resale schedule was such as to discourage municipalities from operating their power distribution systems. In 1945 the competitive effect of the Central Valley project led the company to adopt a resale schedule considerably lower than the one previously existing. This came at a time when the general trend in power rates was up instead of down and it was made clear at the Public Utility Commission hearing on the matter that the threat of competition had led the company to propose this new lower rate. As a result of this new resale schedule one municipality alone saved over $6 million in a 7-year period. All municipalities purchasing energy from the company profited by this rate decrease which was due largely to the existence of Central Valley project power. Irrigation districts in San Joaquin Valley had somewhat the same experience. In 1951, doubtless due to competition from CVP, the company lowered rates for irrigation districts in the San Joaquin Valley by approximately 20 percent. Again these reductions came at a time when the trend was in the opposite direction.

The point I am making is that if the P. G. & E. Co. is successful in cutting off expansion of Federal power in northern California it will have the area all to itself and if this happens it will be to the detriment of every user of electricity in the area. Existence of Federal power in an area does not just benefit those who actually buy it but it benefits all users of electricity because it is a deterrent to excessive power rates.

Need for Postal Pay Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to insert in the RECORD the following letter I have received from a postal employee showing clearly the need at the present time for an increase in postal salaries. This letter is typical of the many I have received from postal workers who are writing to me giving illustrations of the inadequacy of their pay:

HONORABLE LESINSKI: I am writing in regard to the question of pay raises for postal employees.

As I am a R. P. O. clerk, one who breaks down and sorts mail for railway post offices, I have to learn and practice the . . . State scheme exam on my own time. That means I have to know the railway routes and the order that they serve the some 1,140 post offices in the State, to keep up on the time schedules and changes, to correctly throw the mail. I consider this skilled labor and feel I should receive at least close to equal pay of some unskilled labor in our city.

My take home pay for one month is $247.70. Let me compare this figure for you with my expenses for the same month.

House payment	$54.00
Loan payment (for house repairs)	37.00
Auto payment	40.50
Groceries (at least $16 per week for family of 5)	64.00
Utilities	14.35
Taxes and assessment per month	15.34
Fuel (winter cost spread over year)	18.00
Total	243.19

That leaves me a balance of $4.51 to take care of expenses and any clothes needed. I will omit luxuries. I'm sure you will agree that my expenses are not unreasonable for 1 month. Perhaps you'll say how does one manage with a salary like that. The answer

is by using savings accumulated while my wife was working, which are fast dwindling. Does this seem fair? The postal service is one to be proud of working for, but on these wages?

A majority of the fellows have part-time jobs which I am going to have to do, but this will deprive my family and myself of the time to spend together. I am requesting your support on this increase. Please not only for myself but for the many other employees who feel as I.

Sincerely.

It appears that the only people who are not aware that the postal employees are desperately in need of an increase in their salaries are the Postmaster General and the administration.

In speaking with the people in my district, the various organizations, and in reading the mail which comes into my office, the fact is evident that postal workers in order to keep abreast with the living conditions must receive a salary commensurate with salaries paid by private industry.

I believe that the article following from the Washington Daily News, by John Cramer is quite pertinent:

RESIGNED POST OFFICE OFFICIAL HITS PAY SETUP

(By John Cramer)

Robert H. Schaffer, postmaster of the New York City post office, the world's largest, has resigned—after a bitter public blast at "inadequate" postal worker pay.

His criticism of pay rates, it's said, had nothing to do with his decision to quit.

By contrast, excellent authority reports that the real reason for his resignation was "disgust" over interference in his operations by regional postal officials.

Mr. Schaffer has not said this publicly, and it probably will be denied.

On postal pay, Mr. Schaffer said:

"What kind of a career service is it that the postal worker has—to work 12 or 14 hours a day—5 or 6 days a week—8 hours in the post office and 4 to 6 hours on an outside job?"

AWARENESS NEEDED

He said he wished "some of those who sit in the seats in all branches of Government could be made aware of the plight of the postal worker who has to augment his Government pay by income from outside employment in order to meet his family needs.

"The truth is that even as the Nation's economy began to expand in the late 1930's and through the fifties, the salaries of postal workers went down and down.

"Until the time that the economic squeeze is lifted off the postal workers, no one will be able to say that morale is way up there."

Then he added:

"A lot of experts outside of the Department have been trying to demonstrate that we have adequate salaries.

"Just let them sit in the postmaster's chair for 6 days, and they will learn differently."

Smart Set

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Ernest Tucker, of the Chicago American, which appeared in the May 26 edition:

SMART SET

(By Ernest Tucker)

The schoolkids used to bring pennies in to the teacher who bought potted geraniums with them, and on Memorial Day the whole class went out to a cemetery nearby and put the geraniums on the soldiers' graves.

The teacher spoke a few minutes about the meaning of the day. Sometimes the Reverend Mr. Webber, who was the father of one of the girls in the class, gave a short prayer. Chuck Bosley played taps, not very well, on his bugle. Then we went back to school.

That was all, but I'm sure none of us has ever forgotten those few minutes every year in the cemetery, standing by the neat rows of little crosses, listening to the sad, sweet notes of the bugle.

I don't think the kids bring their pennies for geraniums any more. At least none of them I talk to have any such custom. They know what Memorial Day is because they have been told in school, but they don't seem to feel it. It's just another holiday.

There is a parade downtown, and some of the outlying communities have celebrations of one kind or another. Old timers in Oak Park, where I live, tell me that years ago the town put on a major effort. Stores and businesses prepared elaborate floats, all with a Memorial Day theme, and the parade was a high point of the year.

The floats are gone now. The parade is now veterans' groups, school bands, endless Boy Scout, Girl Scout, and Camp Fire Girl troops, and the fire department. Kids decorate their bikes, and dash madly up and down the line of march.

There's nothing wrong with that. But with our little pots of geraniums, long ago, we felt a sense of kinship with the men who lay under the markers. The solemnity of the day lay heavy upon us. We had contributed, in small measure, to perpetuation of a memory. Watching veterans parade, or even watching them lay wreaths on a statue, doesn't give the feeling of participation that the cemetery visit did.

The children on their bikes don't feel the spirit of a day which is, after all, a sad recollection of those whom we remember too seldom.

Around Memorial Day I always think of Frederick Henry Dutton, seaman, second class, who was 18 when he died early in World War II. He was out of boot camp a few weeks, stationed at Mare Island Naval Base in San Francisco Bay. Dutton was attached to an outfit whose duty was loading ammunition on warships.

He wasn't any great sailor. He was lazy and sloppy, and not at all bright. He had no close friends and no discernible ambition except to sit around and play a mouth organ. He was not fond of work but didn't show any of the ingenuity some of his mates did in getting out of it. His dungarees were always dirty; his white hats were never white.

One morning in 1942 Dutton went with his crew to take ammunition cases from a cruiser just back from the South Pacific fighting front. On the dock Dutton tripped over a hawser and fell into San Francisco Bay. We tried to save him, but the savage tide glued him against underwater pilings and he was dead when we finally pulled him up.

Those few minutes when he was under water was the only time in his short life that anyone paid any attention to him.

The cruiser's crew, exhausted from some of the most brutal fighting of the war, crowded the rails to watch attempts to save the little seaman. The men in Dutton's company were shaken up; for most of them it was the first time they had seen violent death.

I had the problem of collecting his personal effects. Dutton had owned as near nothing as anyone could; he had even lost most of his uniform issue. All he really had were a few dungarees and his mouth organ. He had no relatives except an aunt in Missouri who wasn't interested in receiving the body, so we buried him in California.

A week later I heard some of his mates talking. They couldn't even remember his name. A moment of excitement, a few days of barracks gossip, then oblivion.

There were hundreds of thousands of Frederick Henry Duttons in our wars. They did no heroic deeds, helped little or not at all in the national effort. They died gasping for breath with influenza, or poisoned with typhoid, or, like Dutton, as a result of some mischance which might have been their own fault.

When we think of war's dead we think of heroes falling at some flaming barricade. On this Memorial Day remember the Frederick Henry Duttons. They are the war dead, too.

Luther Patrick, Poet, Wit, Congressman Dies—Served Four Terms in Washington—Beloved for His Humor and Courage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, it was my sorrowful duty yesterday to advise the Members of the House of Representatives of the death of former Representative Luther Patrick. Mr. Patrick served in Congress for four terms, 1937–43 and 1945–47. He was beloved by his colleagues, many of whom are still Members of this body. He represented the Ninth Alabama District, which I am presently privileged to serve.

Under leave heretofore granted, I insert in the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a newspaper account of Mr. Patrick's death which appeared in yesterday's—Monday, May 27, 1957—issue of the Birmingham Post-Herald, one of the fine dailies of my district:

LUTHER PATRICK; POET, WIT, CONGRESSMAN DIES—LAWYER SERVED FOUR TERMS IN WASHINGTON; BELOVED FOR HIS HUMOR AND COURAGE

Death came last night to Birmingham's beloved "Will Rogers-type" humorist and wit, former Congressman Luther Patrick.

The 66-year-old poet and pioneer radio commentator died at West End Baptist Hospital after a long illness.

He served four terms in Congress.

During the latter part of his life he was confined to a wheelchair with crippling arthritis.

However, he never seemed to lose his courage or his jovial spirits and was frequently contributing letters to the newspapers.

Luther's brand of humor, which always brought chuckles from his many friends, was akin to the people.

It had its roots deep in the earthy soil of Alabama. At the time of his death he was writing a book on folklore.

Funeral will be at 2 p. m. to tomorrow at Johns-Ridout Chapel, the Revs. Paul Clem

and Frank Ledford officiating. Burial will be in Elmwood.

Born in Decatur, Patrick attended the University of Alabama, Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge and Purdue. He obtained his bachelor of laws degree from the University of Alabama in 1918, the year he married Pearl McPherson.

In 1919, he moved from Cullman to Birmingham and began his law practice in early 1920.

He served as a private in the Army during World War I and at one time was assistant attorney general of Alabama and Assistant United States Attorney of the State.

He was a member of the McCoy Methodist Church, Alpha Masonic Lodge, Shriners, Knights of Pythias, Eagles, Elks, High Twelve Club, Men of Prayer Club and The Club.

He wrote three books, Hope Ye're Livin' and Doin' Well, Friends, Neighbors, and Kinfolks and Goosepocket.

He once said membership in the Democrat Party was a southern requirement.

During his last term as Representative, he said he supported education, industry, progress, goodwill, health, fair dealing, thrift, peace, knowledge, truth, and virtue in general.

His motto was "Bear ye one another's burdens—never mind about your own."

After his congressional service, he returned to Birmingham to live at 921 Seventh Street W.

Last year, he was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention.

Surviving, besides his wife are a daughter, Mrs. W. James Brasher, Birmingham; five brothers, Irving and Ivan Patrick, Birmingham: Gilbert Patrick, Jasper; Ferris and E. L. Patrick, Cullman.

Mr. Patrick began the practice of law at Fairfield, after being admitted to the State bar in 1919.

From 1919 to 1921 he served as city attorney of Fairfield.

He also was a pioneer radio commendator and started in this work in 1925 with stations WAPI and WBRC.

The Columbus of the Jet Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, a publication which many Members of Congress receive regularly and read with interest is the newsletter produced by Independent Editorial Services, Ltd., of which T. A. McInerny is editor.

I was greatly impressed, Mr. Speaker, with an article carried in the newsletter of May 21 entitled "The Columbus of the Jet Age." I was particularly impressed with this because it concerned one of the outstanding personalities in the world of aviation—Juan T. Trippe, president of Pan American World Airways.

Mr. Trippe was one of the first Marine Corps fliers in World War I and served as a lieutenant in the air over France. There his interest in aviation commenced and where it will end no one knows because Mr. Trippe has pioneered so many aviation achievements that it would be impossible to predict what he has planned beyond the jet age which, at least in commercial transport, is not even yet upon us.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I wish to include this editorial feature:

THE COLUMBUS OF THE JET AGE

Probably no industry ever existed quite as complicated as commercial aviation. The activity in Washington by the commercial airlines is extremely feverish as the business increases by leaps and bounds, while at the same time it is hemmed in by real and regulatory barriers.

It takes a man of more than ordinary skill to run an airline because he must live in the past part of the time because of the necessary experience; must live in the present a great deal of the time as high competition for routes develops; and must live in the future part of the time as each new scientific advance must be translated into practical application for the traveling public. The airlines have been extremely fortunate in the pioneering leadership which they have enjoyed during the early phases of their development. C. R. Smith, of American; Patterson, of United; Rickenbacker, of Eastern; Braniff, of Braniff, and many others, have all made tremendous contributions toward making air travel safe, reliable, and acceptable to the public.

But the outstanding genius of aviation yesterday, today, and tomorrow has been Juan Terry Trippe, president and chairman of Pan American. The record of his accomplishments is admitted as monumental by both his friends and those who have been in sharp commercial rivalry with him. Trippe was the real Columbus of intercontinental aviation from the time that he devised his original airline from Key West, Fla., to Habana, Cuba, nearly two generations ago. He is the Columbus of the new age which is dawning in civil aviation, the jet age, which in a few years will make everything that has gone on before seem puny.

This astounding age will bring to travelers facilities such as have never been dreamed before. Huge planes, operating at less cost than present models and carrying almost double the number of passengers, will soon be operating on schedules of well under half present schedules, bringing the far places of the earth within a few hours' travel of our principal population centers. The first jet planes which Pan American will put into service at the end of next year will be supplanted in a few years' time by others which are now being developed capable of double the loads and double the speeds.

Pan American is a brilliantly managed system which is immersed in the problems of opening up the jet age. Other airlines have very heavy difficulties. But few, if any, encounter the troubles of this system which serves 80 countries, and which manages to get along amicably with as many governments while complying with their rules and regulations, in addition to the rules and regulations of the United States.

It is also a fact that many of these countries have their own airlines, mainly because of national pride, and that Pan American's background experience and executive talent have been enlisted to help those enterprises get started.

Currently, according to Chairman WARREN MAGNUSON, of the United States Senate Commerce Committee, a dozen foreign carriers have or are seeking choice routes in the United States to the alarm and resentment of the domestic trunk carriers.

Emerson once wrote that an institution is the lengthened shadow of a man. In Pan American's case, even with an executive staff that is versatile, exceptionally gifted, and strong in depth, this is particularly true. Under such dynamic leadership any company can be expected to grow and prosper, even though bigness in these times makes enterprise a target for attack.

Plight of Ceramic Dinnerware Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter received from Mr. David G. Boyce, vice president, sales, the Harker Pottery Co., East Liverpool, Ohio:

THE HARKER POTTERY CO.,
East Liverpool, Ohio., May 1, 1957.

Re H. R. 6630.

Hon. WAYNE L. HAYES,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR WAYNE: We were glad to note that OTC bill, H. R. 1550, was defeated. We feel that this new bill is a warmed-over treatment and that none of the amendments eliminate our basic objections; namely, that it will authorize GATT and allow the usurpation of power by the executive branch from the legislative branch of our Federal Government.

You of course know only too well the plight of our ceramic dinnerware industry. During the current year both Paden City Pottery, of Paden City, W. Va., and Southern Potteries, of Irving, Tenn., have succumbed to low-wage foreign competition. Both have publicized that they have been operating in the red during the past several years and both were old, established organizations that had kept abreast of all modern techniques, had experienced personnel in their management and were highly regarded in the china and glass field. We are the oldest pottery in America today and our operations in 1956 were not only in the red, but to a greater extent than during any of our 117 years of continual existence. Other members of the United States Potters Association are currently operating at a loss and will discontinue operations in the near future in the absence of some unusual relief. The net profit, after taxes, of the members of the United States Pottery Association dropped from $4,150,000 in 1947 to $124,000 in 1956. This refers to the aggregate membership and the factual figures are available for anyone to see.

During the greatest boom times in the history of the United States, shipments by domestic manufacturers of earthenware dropped from 27,293,000 dozen in 1947 to 17,721,000 dozen in 1956, or 35 percent. Published figures show the sky-rocketing figures of increased quantities of Japanese imports during the past 4 or 5 years. With labor representing 65 percent of our sales dollar, what else could be expected with current Japanese wage rates averaging approximately 20 cents per hour as compared with our own domestic average rates in excess of $2 per hour? The Sunday New York Times of April 7 featured a sizable ad on page 64 by Gimbel Brothers illustrating and featuring five different patterns of elaborately decorated fine Japanese china in 53-piece sets for $24.98. These were elaborate border, center patterns with platinum and gold edge line equal in quality and beauty to anything that can be produced in this country at four times this amount. Our own product, earthenware, is semi-porcelain and of course much cheaper to manufacture than fine china. Comparable patterns on our cheaper, earthenware body and with these decal decorations would have to retail promotionally between $39 and $49. The enclosed illustration shows patterns which we feature in 53-piece compositions in color (without

the more expensive decalcomania transfer treatments and decorating process) at $29.95 retail.

Please excuse the length of this letter, but our industry is truly faced with "operation survival" and we need your help. Each day we see evidences of other industries feeling the effects of imports from the very low wage countries. Note that the stainless steel tableware industry is carrying their case to Congress and have a hearing scheduled for July 12. In 1958 the Trade Agreements Act of 1955 expires and then of course the present administration will make an effort to persuade Congress to extend the powers of the GATT man for a further period. This present law barely got through the House and Senate in early 1955, by only a few votes. A number in our industry cannot survive until 1958, but without a change at that time many others must realistically throw in the sponge.

Cordially,

THE HARKER POTTERY CO.,
DAVID G. BOYCE,
Vice President, Sales.

Theodore Roosevelt: Leader in Peace and War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the 84th Congress created a Commission to prepare plans and a program for signalizing the 100th anniversary of the birth of Theodore Roosevelt in the year 1958.

In carrying out its assigned task, the Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission has compiled a chronology of the role of this great leader in the military and naval history of the United States. It is my privilege to request that it be published in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S ROLE IN THE MILITARY AND NAVAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES—A CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

August 1, 1882: Commissioned second lieutenant, Company B, Eighth Regiment, New York State National Guard.

November 1882: Published his history, The Naval War of 1812.

February 3, 1883: Promoted to the rank of captain in the National Guard.

February 26, 1886: Resigned his command in the National Guard.

April 11, 1897: Appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy by President McKinley.

February 25, 1898: While serving as Acting Secretary of the Navy, Roosevelt sent his famous cable ordering Admiral Dewey (in the event of war) to make sure the Spanish fleet did not leave the Asiatic coast. This order made possible the American naval victory at Manila Bay.

March 25, 1898: After seeing pictures of a "flying machine" recommended to the Secretary of the Navy that he appoint two officers of scientific ability and the Secretary of War appoint two like officers for the purpose of studying the "flying machine" and report whether the machines could be duplicated in large numbers, and to make other pertinent recommendations and estimates of cost for production.

April 25, 1898: Accepted appointment as lieutenant colonel in the Rough Riders (officially designated as the 1st United States Cavalry Volunteers).

May 6, 1898: Resigned as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. With Leonard Wood, Roosevelt organized the Rough Riders, and they trained for overseas duty at San Antonio, Tex.

June 14, 1898: Embarked for Cuba with the Rough Riders from Tampa, Fla.

June 24, 1898: Participated in the Battle of Las Guasimas.

July 1, 1898: Participated in the Battle of San Juan Hill.

August 14, 1898: Arrived at Montauk, Long Island, N. Y.

September 16, 1898: Mustered out of the Rough Riders at Montauk, Long Island.

November 6, 1900: Elected Vice President of the United States.

September 14, 1901: Upon the death of McKinley, Roosevelt became the 26th President of the United States. He took the oath of office at Buffalo, N. Y.

February 14, 1903: Army General Staff Corps established with a Chief of Staff to supervise all troops and to issue orders to the whole Army in the name of the Secretary of War.

February 24, 1903: Approved an agreement giving the United States naval coaling stations in Cuba.

November 2, 1903:[1] After Panama seceded from Colombia, Roosevelt sent a cruiser to the area in an effort to protect the interests of the United States. This was followed by quick United States recognition of the Republic of Panama and a treaty which provided for the construction and operation of the Panama Canal. Colombia had previously turned down such a treaty.

June 16, 1903: Delivered the commencement address at the University of Virginia and spoke on the subject of citizenship and a large navy.

December 7, 1903: In his third annual message to Congress, Roosevelt recommended the creation of a naval general staff similar to the recently established Army General Staff.

December 5, 1905: In his fifth annual message to Congress, Roosevelt urged that the number of officers and enlisted men of the Navy be increased. At the same time suggested that submarines would be useful for night attacks.

December 3, 1906: In his sixth annual message to Congress, Roosevelt recommended that the Navy be continued at its present strength by building new ships to replace the obsolete vessels. Also stressed the importance of maintaining the highest standards for both the Army and Navy personnel.

December 3, 1907: In his seventh annual message recommended the maintenance of a fairly large peacetime Army, with extra officers to be trained to be used in emergencies. At the same time, he urged the upbuilding of our Navy and to supply it with auxiliaries, such as coaling stations, supply ships, and fortifications for American harbors.

December 16, 1907. Roosevelt sent the American fleet on a world cruise to test its long-range operations. The fleet returned in February 1909.

April 14, 1908: In a special message to Congress, Roosevelt urged the building of four battleships yearly to maintain the strength of the United States fleet with that of other great naval nations.

December 8, 1908: In his eighth annual messsage to Congress, recommended the creation of a general staff for the Navy in place of the Navy General Board. At the same time, urged the building of four battleships, additional destroyers and colliers which had been recommended by the Navy General Board.

[1] The Navy Department sent instructions to the commanding officer of the *Nashville* and other vessels in the area on this date.

January 13, 1909: Rode horseback for 100 miles to Warrenton, Va., over rough roads to shame the Army for its complaint against his order to keep physically fit.

January 27, 1909: Appointed a commission to study the reorganization of the Navy Department.

February 25, 1909: Sent the Naval Commission Report to Congress.

July 2, 1913: Delivered speech on the American Navy at Newport, R. I.

January 1915: Published America and the War to arouse the country on the necessity of preparedness.

February 1916: Published Fear God and Take Your Own Part.

May 19, 1916: Delivered speech on the subject of preparedness at Detroit, Mich.

March 19, 1917: Offered his services to the Government and wrote to the Secretary of War requesting permission to organize a volunteer division and to command one of its brigades. This request was turned down.

October 1917: Published The Foes of Our Own Household.

November 16, 1917: Delivered speech on National Strength and International Duty, at Princeton, N. J.

The Small Business Act of 1957, H. R. 7474

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on May 22, 1957, I appeared before the House Banking and Currency Committee in support of my bill, H. R. 7474. The following is my testimony before that committee:

STATEMENT OF HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Chairman, for the record, I am ABRAHAM J. MULTER, Representative from the 13th District of New York.

I appreciate the opportunity you give me to appear here as a witness, rather than as a member of this committee, and I hope to be able to give you the benefit of the thinking of the Subcommittee No. 2 of the House Small Business Committee, as well as that of many of the members of the full committee.

As you know, 12 of the 13 members of the House Small Business Committee have introduced bills identical with H. R. 7474, which seeks to set up the Small Business Administration as a permanent agency, and to work changes in the existing statute which we trust will make the agency a more effective one in accomplishing the intent and purpose of the Congress.

So that the record may be complete on what has been done by the Small Business Committee, I would like to indicate that after fairly lengthy hearings by Subcommittee No. 2 of the House Small Business Committee, all of which have been printed and I believe are before this committee, consisting of some 429 pages, a notice was sent on May 4 to the members of that subcommittee, and to the ranking minority member, Mr. HILL of the full committee, and to the chairman of the full committee, Mr. PATMAN, advising them that executive sessions of the subcommittee would be held on May 8 and 9, 1957, and inviting them to attend.

I might also indicate that under the rules adopted by the Small Business Committee, the chairman and ranking minority member are not only ex officio members of the subcommittee, but have a right to vote therein. For that reason both the chairman and minority member were invited to attend and participate in the work of subcommittee No. 2.

Subcommittee No. 2 agreed unanimously after 2 days of executive session on the form and substance of H. R. 7474. In accordance with what had been done in prior years, copies of that bill were sent to all members of the full committee so that all of those who desired to do so could join in cosponsoring it. The result is we have a bill cosponsored by all of the 6 Republican members of the full committee and 6 of the 7 Democratic members of the full committee.

I think that speaks well for the desire of that committee to do a good nonpartisan job in bringing before this committee a bill which will best serve the small-business men of the country and at the same time to present a bill which is most likely to meet the objections and include the suggestions of all members who are interested in furthering the small-business enterprises of our country.

I would like to briefly touch upon some of the changes that are effected or will be effected if H. R. 7474 is enacted. I will follow the mimeographed copy of the bill, because in that bill we have indicated very clearly by underlining the changes from existing statute to the proposed bill.

On page 1, there is a technical change, which is approved by the administration.

It merely clarifies what we say is the intent and purpose of Congress, not in giving small business a preferred position, but trying to give it an equal competitive position with big business in our economy.

In section 102, which begins at the bottom of page 1 of the mimeographed copy of the bill, we find the change in the language as to definition. For many years, the House at least has been almost unanimous in agreeing that the arbitrary 500-employee definition, as adopted during the World War II years, was not doing the job it was intended to do.

We recognized that during the war we had to have some kind of a definition, arbitrary though it might be, that would simplify the work of the procurement agencies. But ever since that, every committee of the Congress that has looked into the matter, certainly on the House side, has determined that that definition was unfair and does not do justice to small business.

The Government Operations Committee of the House has repeatedly found fault with that definition. Every time the House Small Business Committee has considered the matter, we have unanimously reported that that definition was unrealistic and unfair and should be changed.

When we wrote into the last enactment of the Small Business Act, a provision requiring the Small Business Administrator to promulgate a definition of small business, which would be different than the arbitrary 500 employee definition, we thought that we had moved a long way toward accomplishing the intent of Congress.

After much urging and prodding by the Small Business Committee, the Administrator did promulgate a definition. He broke it up into two parts. One definition covered the financial assistance program, and the other applied to procurement.

While he found no difficulty in making a definition which ignored the 500 rule, and tried to be realistic, so far as financial assistance is concerned, in the definition, in the second part of the definition, applying to procurement, he adhered to the precise definition we had been finding fault with all through the years. The Small Business Committee, through subcommittee No. 2, conducted a public hearing on the proposed regulation setting up that definition. We heard all of those who participated in making the definition.

As you were told, the Small Business Administrator, Mr. Barnes, convened a task force representing all the agencies of Government. No small-business man nor any representative of any small-business association, was invited to participate on that task force or in any of its deliberations.

It was, therefore, not surprising that although one agency, the General Services Administration, indicated that the 500 rule was a bad rule and that there would be no difficulty in adopting a more realistic one, all the other agencies apparently followed the Defense Department lead of insisting that only the 500 employee definition was workable.

As a result of that hearing, the subcommittee unanimously agreed, and the full committee unanimously agreed, and so reported to the Congress, that that part of the definition, which adhered to the old Defense Department rule and statute of 500 employees should be abandoned—it should not be promulgated as an effective regulation, and that at laest temporarily the Small Business Administration should follow the same rule for procurement as it had promulgated for financial assistance and then come up with a better definition if it found the financial assistance definition did not work well in procurement.

We were very much disappointed and surprised to find that, nevertheless, the Small Business Administrator promulgated and made effective the very definition we had unanimously condemned as to procurement.

Mr. BROWN. What is the difference between your definition and the definition in the Hill bill?

Mr. MULTER. His definition permits adherence to the old statute which we repealed in 1955, saying any business of less than 500 employees is small business and anything over that is big business, for the purpose of procurement.

The definition which the Administrator promulgated for financial assistance, breaks the economy down by industries and in certain industries he uses as a first guide, 250 employees. In some industries such as the electronics industry, he says as many as 1,000 employees may be small business. We wrote into the statute in 1955 a provision—and all the bills before you contain that same provision—whereby in any instance any procurement agency or small business or any competitor or big business, for that matter, who finds fault with the determination or the regulation as affecting a particular company, that they have a right to go to the Small Business Administrator and present the facts and on the facts of the particular case, either involving a company or an industry, then the Small Business Administrator is authorized by law to make a determination that the particular situation calls for, and issue a cerificate accordingly, as to whether or not the particular firm or industry is small business.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the difference in the definition with reference to loan requirements and procurement? Is there a difference?

Mr. MULTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that difference?

Mr. MULTER. For financial assistance the Administrator starts by breaking down the economy into different industries and he has a different rule as to each industry.

I would like to have Mr. Irving Mannes, who is counsel to the Small Business Committee, and assigned to the committees Nos. 1, 2, and 3, sit with me. If Mr. Dalmas is in the room or when he does come in, I would like to have him join me. Mr. Parke Dalmas is the minority advisor to the committee.

I might say that both of these gentlemen were of extremely important aid and assistance to the committee, in all of its work. To come back to your question, in House Report No. 2964 by subcommittee No. 2 of the House Small Business Committee of the 84th Congress, we have set forth in full, as appendixes, beginning at page 11 and through page 20, the definition as promulgated by the Small Business Administrator. There you have the small business size standards set up by him for financial assistance. You will find it is broken down by industries. As I indicated to you, in most industries, a concern is said to be small business, if it has no more than 250 employees. In some instances it may have as many as 1,000 employees.

That was the determination of the Small Business Administrator, after he had had this task force meeting and we had our hearing.

Nevertheless, as to procurement, he takes the same language as his starting point, of the old statute which we repealed, of 500 employees. As I indicated, the statute permits him to make a different finding in any case in accordance with the information submitted to him, whenever anyone comes in in either the financial or procurement program and submits proof that the rule should be different as to any particular company.

Mr. BROWN. I understand the number of employees will not be any test at all.

Mr. MULTER. No, sir. In the proposed new bill, we say that the number of employees—let me give you the exact language.

After continuing the existing language of the statute, which says he may use these criteria, among others, to wit, "number of employees and dollar volume of business"—now mind you, that is the way the statute has read ever since we enacted it, that in setting up the definition of small business—and this is the language of the statute—a small business concern shall be one that is deemed to be independently owned and operated and which is not dominant in its field of operation.

In addition to the foregoing criteria, the Administrator, in making a detailed definition, may use these criteria, among others: Number of employees and dollar volume of business.

That is the way the statute has read up to now and still reads, but SBA has ignored dollar volume of business, or any other criteria, and used solely the number of 500 for that definition for procurement.

So we now add to that language, having in mind he has continually refused to follow the recommendations of the Congress in that regard, we add this proposed language in the bill before you, and I quote: *"Provided, however,* That no definition promulgated by the Administrator for any purpose whatsoever shall be based solely on the number of employees; *And provided further,* That without undue delay, the Administrator shall establish a definition of small business which definition shall be consistent with the intent of Congress. The definition presently in use by the Administrator for financial assistance is hereby continued as the definition for all purposes until the Administrator adopts a new definition based on the criteria stated herein."

In other words, if this language is written into the law he can still use the number of employees as one of his criteria but may not use it as his sole criteria, as he is doing now, for procurement purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. But the committee never decided on any definite rule. The committee was disappointed that both of them left it to the Administrator.

Mr. MULTER. When you say, "the committee," you mean—do you mean the Small Business Committee, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. You did not. In your bill there is no definition. You supplant those definitions.

Mr. MULTER. Yes; to this extent.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the definition in the bill?

Mr. MULTER. I have just read to you, sir, the new language of the bill. I will read it again. This is the additional language added to the existing statute by this bill:

"*Provided, however,* That no definition promulgated by the Administrator for any purpose whatsoever shall be based solely on the number of employees: *And provided further,* That without undue delay the Administrator shall establish a definition of "small business" which definition shall be consistent with the intent of Congress. The definition presently in use by the Administrator for financial assistance is hereby continued as the definition for all purposes until the Administrator adopts a new definition based on the criteria stated herein."

In other words, we will say to him, by this statute this financial assistance definition as now promulgated and in effect and as set forth on pages 11 to 20 of House Report 2964 shall be the definition for procurement purposes as well as financial assistance purposes, until he comes up with a new definition.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you are dissatisfied with that definition and define a better one?

Mr. MULTER. Yes; but since we say also that the financial program is a good one and working, until he finds it cannot work in procurement, he shall use that definition. We think that is a fair approach.

Mr. RAINS. Let me me ask you this, Mr. MULTER. It seems to me what you really do is maintain the criteria for the definition presently in the act and add to it one additional requirement that he shall not base it solely on the number of employees. It seems to me you are going to make it more difficult to arrive at the decision whether it is small business, if you say he shall not base it solely on that. Maybe he could arrive at the definition of small business, easily as to number of employees, but when you say it can't be based on that solely, don't you think it would be better to say in the bill that criteria he must consider in determining shall be not based solely on the number of employees.

It seems to me you are telling him even though you may be convinced it is small business now under it, we are now adding another step you cannot act until you find it is not based solely on numbers.

I get the impression you are tying it up and making it a little more confused than it is. You are giving him another way out by saying wait a minute, this is small business based on the number of employees, but I can't take that solely.

If you were to say he shall consider those facts, it seems to me, in making his determination, that would be better. But I don't think you ought to eliminate all of the others but saying he cannot find it small business, until he considers all of these others.

Mr. MULTER. The difficulty, as I explained before you came in, is that the statute required him to use his discretion in arriving at a definition. We said he may use these criteria among others, number of employees, and dollar-volume of business. We did not limit him to either one of them. But he limited himself to the number of employees, and in spite of a unanimous report of the full committee and of the subcommittee against his using solely the number of employees, he nevertheless insisted on promulgating that definition, at the same time promulgating a different definition as to financial assistance.

It may be we can improve the language——

Mr. RAINS. It seems to me it would be better to say in language, it shall not be designated, or shall not be excluded simply as small business, solely because he has more employees than 500. But if the criteria is clear, it is now small business, why tie it up more. We would like the definition a bit broader and that is what I think you want to do.

Mr. MULTER. That is what we are trying to do. In this definition he promulgated after the task force met with him, he found most of the small-business concerns have less than 250 employees. Some, as I indicated, have as many as a thousand. But when he gets to the procurement side, purely as a matter of convenience to the procurement agency, he says let's stick to this 500 figure.

Mr. RAINS. I see your point.

Mr. MULTER. I think possibly we can adopt your suggestion, and put that language in the reverse way, so that he knows he still may use it, but must look to other criteria, too.

Mr. RAINS. That is right.

Mr. MULTER. And again I would like to indicate that there is language in the statute now, which we are not changing, which permits anyone who finds fault with the definition as it applies to any particular concern or industry, to come in and on a presentation of facts, ask for and obtain, if entitled to it, a different certification.

So we have not tied his hands. He may take all of the facts as they apply throughout the country, or as they may apply in a particular industry, or a particular company. He will retain full discretion and right to act. What we are trying to do is stop him from continuing the old 500 employees rule, which we took out of the statute and which we have several times told him is not a realistic approach to procurement.

The CHAIRMAN. Does not the number of employees, whether a large or small institution, depend upon the character of the business?

Mr. MULTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. A grocery store with 500 employees would be a very large institution but a steam plant with 500 employees would be a small institution?

Mr. MULTER. Yes. We have that in mind in the language we use in the bill.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Is it not true that the testimony before the subcommittee indicated the definition used in providing financial assistance was working out reasonably well, and that that definition had a degree of flexibility that made it work? What we tried to do was to suggest since that definition with its flexibility has worked out well for loan assistance, let us see if we cannot write an equally flexible definition which will provide bona fide help to the recognized small business community for procurement purposes.

If I understand Mr. RAINS' argument, his only question was that the language of the bill might preclude a small business, rather than make it possible for it to come in under the terms of the act.

Mr. RAINS. Of course, a glance at it, and reading of the bill, indicates to me you are adding a restriction instead of broadening the base. I think you are trying to broaden the base.

Mr. MULTER. We are trying to broaden the base and not limit it. Mr. SEELY-BROWN is quite right the testimony before the subcommittee indicates the financial assistance definition is working well. None of the procurement agencies, all of whom appeared before the committee, could indicate why they could not work satisfactorily with that definition, but they were just reluctant to try it. We think what they should do is try the financial assistance definition for procurement.

If it does not work out, the Administrator has the right to change it overnight. At least they ought to give it a trial.

The next change suggested in the bill is a purely technical one at the bottom of page 2. There is no objection to the language change. It refers to the Federal Executive Pay Act. There is no increase of pay called for, but it merely makes the same language applicable to this agency as to all the other agencies.

We simply put in the same language that applies to other Federal agencies. On the next page, page 3, we increase the authorization to $70 million, instead of as it presently appears in the act.

Mr. Barnes has indicated that if in the judgment of this committee, that should be the amount, he will go along with it, although he has recommended a smaller sum. We believe this is the more realistic sum to be asked for, having in mind he still must go before the Appropriations Committee and justify his request for appropriations.

An authorization like this making money available for loans is actually not spending of money. Nevertheless, we follow the language of the various statutes that apply to almost all the other lending agencies, of requiring the agency to come in before the Appropriations Committee and justify their request for the amount needed for the new fiscal year.

Twice now, the Small Business Administrator has been compelled to come in and ask for more money because his original request and our authorization was not enough.

Mr. BROWN. What is the maximum loan now?

Mr. MULTER. The maximum loan now is $250,000, and in our proposed bill we do not change that.

Mr. BROWN. What about $500,000? Do you think that would be better?

Mr. MULTER. I think you will find, sir, in this economy-minded Congress, and I am not saying that to find fault—I think we must be economy-minded—I voted for some cuts, as many of these Members did, and I voted against others, but in this economy-minded Congress, I don't believe you can convince most of the Members that a $500,000 loan is a loan for a small-business man.

In our hearings, before this Banking and Currency Committee I asked Mr. Burger, who represents one of the largest small-business men's associations in the country, one of the most effective ones, if he knew of any cases of a small business concern who sought a loan of more than $250,000 and he said he knew of no such instance.

If the time comes when small business does need a loan of more than $250,000 from this agency, and it will be able to make out a case I think the Small Business Administration will call it to our attention. At no time, in our hearings either in the field or in Washington, have we had anybody approach us and say the $250,000 maximum loan from the Small Business Administration is too little. Even with the limitation of $250,000 from the Small Business Administration they can get a much larger loan by getting a bank to participate. They can get as much as $500,000 if the bank takes half and the Small Business Administration takes half. As a matter of fact, the bank can lend anything up to 90 percent with the agency making the other 10 percent of the participating loan, as long as the agency's limitation does not exceed the $250,000.

Mr. BROWN. I notice Mr. PATMAN is in favor of taking off the limitation altogether. What do you think about that?

Mr. MULTER. Our committee does not agree with him. I am now talking about the subcommittee—and I think most of the members of the full Small Business Committee would not go along with that thinking at this time. If at some future time a case can be made out for it, we would be the first to recommend it, but as it stands today, we say no. If you take the limitation off this is no longer a Small Business Administration bill. That is a principle that the Banking and Currency Committee will have to determine.

If you want to do that, let's take the word "small" out and call it a business administration bill. But I don't think we will agree to that. I think the principle we are agreed on is that we must give this special assistance to small business. Taking the limit off will not do that job. Bear in mind you can get a $5 million loan under this very act for small business, if you will get 20 small business concerns together, each one of whom will be entitled to $250,000, and if they qualify, they can get as much as $5 million.

That is helping them get into a very strong competitive position with big business.

Mr. RAINS. Talking about the bank participation, the trouble is, they won't have it on too short a term, and it is my observation they will not participate in too small amounts, or any time you find one that will participate above 25 percent, you will find it a rarity. Isn't that about true?

Mr. MULTER. I think that is right, Mr. RAINS.

Mr. RAINS. I don't know what you said before, but I would like a couple of questions and maybe you could straighten me out on them. In the first place, I can't see the necessity of making this a permanent organization. I can't see the wisdom of that. Would you mind discussing that?

Mr. MULTER. Yes. When we first brought this agency into being, it was the feeling we should do this on a temporary basis and see how it worked out. I think the experience has been good. While the agency got off to a slow start, I think they are now making progress and doing a better job. As they get more experience with the functions assigned to them, they continue to improve their service. There is still room for much improvement, but I think the time has come when we must decide either to make this a permanent agency, or abandon it.

Mr. RAINS. You take these agencies in the field who represent the Small Business Administration. Under your bill would they be blanketed into civil service, or are they already under it?

Mr. MULTER. They are already under civil service.

Mr. RAINS. Who in this agency is not under civil service?

Mr. MULTER. The Administrator, his deputies, and I believe his counsel.

I think everyone else is civil service. I am not sure, sir, whether the regional directors are exempt or not, but I can get that information for you and supply it to you.

Mr. RAINS. I would like to have it.

Mr. MULTER. I have been told that while the regional directors are in the classification of exempt positions, they nevertheless must qualify under civil-service rules.

Now, may I continue for a moment in answer to your question about why this should be a permanent agency?

Mr. RAINS. Yes.

Mr. MULTER. If this agency is to continue to do a job for small business in procurement, it must have the status of a permanent agency in order to be able to get the attention and the treatment it deserves and should be able to get from other permanent Government agencies.

In both the procurement field and in the financial assistance field, if we did not make this a permanent agency, we will never be able to build up a corps of employees who will be able to render the kind of service we demand from that agency. It must have permanency in order to keep good men for a fair length of time.

As it is now, men come to them, particularly the financial officers, come to them on a temporary basis. The agency loses them almost as fast as it can train them. If we really want this agency to do a good job, we must be able to say to the men they recruit, that this is a permanent agency where you can make a career.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. GRIFFITHS.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. May I ask you, Mr. MULTER, have you done any checking in the Small Business Administration on their role in procurement?

Mr. MULTER. Yes; we do that constantly.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Just exactly what has been their experience?

Mr. MULTER. In some areas their experience has been good. For instance, in the Jacksonville Naval Air Base, their experience there is good because the commanding officer, the military officer, is in tune with our thinking, in tune to congressional thinking in helping the small-business man. He goes out of his way to do a good job. He has a small-business specialist on his staff who thinks the way he does and believes that small business has a real place to fill in Government procurement. There the Small Business Administration gets the utmost cooperation from everybody in that procurement office.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. But it is because of an individual, it is not because of any method of the armed services, generally, nor is it because the Small Business Administration is doing anything.

Mr. MULTER. In any number of other procurement offices it is bad. Philadelphia and New York are typical of the resentment which procurement has against small business. They go out of their way to disqualify small business from participating in procurement.

There we find the Small Business Administration is doing a job against opposition, but they go in there and fight with the procurement officer. Many times they have to go so far as to issue a certificate of competency to a small-business concern that is obviously qualified, but the procurement officer does not want it to get the business. He disqualifies the concern. It goes to the Small Business Administration, and they make a complete check and issue to him a certificate of competency, which under the law—which will continue if we enact any of the present bills, as we all agree on this—the Small Business Administration issues a certificate of competency which is binding on the procurement offices.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. You mean the procurement officer can send in his own inspection people to say this business cannot be handled under this plan. But they have to accept the Small Business Administration certificate.

Mr. MULTER. Yes.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. MULTER mentioned the name of the Naval Air Station in Jacksonville—is it not also true that certain agencies of the Government, such as Atomic Energy Commission and General Services Administration in particular, and other Government agencies as well have done a very good job in the field of procurement help to small business?

I think it is also true, as the testimony indicated, that a special task force has been set up to see if it could not be possible to come up with a program which would meet the desire that all of us have to help small business participate to an even greater degree in Government procurement. There was filed with our subcommittee a preliminary report, which was encouraging certainly to the members of the subcommittee, who read the report carefully and listened to the testimony.

So I agree with you, we have a problem. You put your finger on the problem, but I think that proper steps have been set up to help resolve that problem and the Small Business Administration, and the Administration with the help of the committee are working together on a task force program which I think will help answer to a very large degree the question you raise, and I think the testimony——

Mr. MULTER. Mr. SEELY-BROWN is absolutely right. As he points out, General Services Administration and the Atomic Energy Commission are doing a good job. As a matter of fact, they lead the way and the Small Business Administration has learned from them how they can go to other procurement agencies and do a better job for small business.

Mr. ADDONIZIO. To what extent is small business participating?

Mr. MULTER. Today about 17 percent of all procurement is going to small business and everybody agrees that is not enough.

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Is it your contention if this is made a permanent agency they would participate to a greater extent?

Mr. MULTER. I believe the Small Business Administration, if made a permanent agency, can do an even better job than they are doing, for the small-business man. For the first half of 1957, the percentage was 16.4 percent that went to smal business. Last year it was 19.6. So it has fallen off.

We find as each 2-year period comes to a close, there is a falling off. Which is another reason we feel it should be a permanent agency. The fellows in procurement feel it is going to fold up and proceed to ignore them. If this were a permanent agency, and they knew it was going to be sitting on them all the time, we could get the percentage up and keep it up.

Mr. RAINS. I don't want to be a prophet of doom, and I don't want to prognosticate, but don't you think if conditions continue as they are, interestwise, tight moneywise, hurts to small business, that 2 years from now what we are talking about now of this $700 million will be—oh, just chips in the bucket, and that instead of a small-business deal such as you are talking about making permanent, that it may become absolutely essential for us to go back to—we won't call it RFC, but it made a success in its day, and therefore it might be wise to continue this on a temporary basis—I don't say the day will come, but it will come if we continue to go down the road we are on, and not fasten on ourselves a permanent agency which as a small-business operation shall be too small to do the job that ought to be done. Don't you think that the job that is to be done could be greater than even contemplated in this particular bill?

Mr. MULTER. If you are right, and none of us can prognosticate that far ahead, that tight money will continue for 2 years, even if we set this up as a permanent agency, you can be sure this agency will be back before this Banking and Currency Committee 2 years from now or sooner and ask for an additional authorization, at which time you can review their activities and decide what they are doing and what they should do.

When we set it up as a permanent agency that does not mean it will continue forever and a day. Subsequent Congresses can always abolish it or put a time limit on its existence.

Mr. RAINS. I feel it takes it out from under the Congress, though, and my feeling is this is merely an experiment. It is not a deal big enough to meet the need. Everybody agrees with that. I feel if we establish it in a degree of permanency we have put the stamp of approval on an agency much too small to do the job that Congress says has to be done.

Mr. MULTER. This has been an experimental program. I think it has proved itself. The time has come now when we must decide what to do with this agency. We believe we should take the position to continue this agency as a permanent one. Whether or not it is going to be big enough only time can tell.

If money eases, and I can foresee that it may ease, if not this year, next year, there won't be as great a demand on the agency

for money as there is today. If the tight-money policy is going to continue and the demand continues to increase as it has in the past 6 months, certainly in the next 2 years they will be back asking for an additional appropriation and in a substantially larger sum.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Will Mr. RAINS yield?

Mr. RAINS. Yes.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. As I understand your comments a moment ago, you indicated a very proper concern, one which I share, that the banks were not participating in the small-business loans to the degree we would like to see. I think one of the reasons they have not participated was because of the fact that the agency was not a permanent agency. In other words, they recognize any participating contract they sign would obviously be good because it was backed by the United States Government, but the testimony certainly indicated to our committee, that by making this agency permanent, giving it a permanent status, even though we may change the rules under which it operates in each Congress, as we always can do, that permanency might encourage the banks to participate to an even greater degree and I believe Mr. MULTER will agree that was the testimony presented before our committee, and was another reason it would be helpful to make it a permanent agency.

Mr. MULTER. I do agree. I expressed during the course of the public hearings a suggestion that one day this agency will attain Cabinet status. I think it should. I think if the economists of the country are right that the backbone of our economy, of our free-enterprise system, is the small-business man, we must have a permanent agency of this kind to watch out for them. Big business is taken care of by Commerce. Labor is taken care of by the Labor Department. At least that was the theory in setting up those departments. There was a time when we thought the Commerce Department would take care of small business. It has never done so. It had a small-business office, but it was merely an office with a man in charge. I do not know of anything it ever did for small business.

I think this agency has proved itself. I think we can say this agency is the spokesman in Government for small business.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think Congress would have less day-by-day control over it as a permanent agency, than it has if it is solely a temporary agency?

Mr. MULTER. I think there would be more control over this agency by Congress than most agencies. Most agencies find themselves under the jurisdiction of one committee. The Reorganization Act of 1946 charges the Banking and Currency Committee to examine and continually review the activities of all the agencies about which it may legislate. The Small Business Administration is one such agency. In addition, we have the House Select Committee on Small Business. I think that committee has proved itself and one of these days will be made a permanent committee. But whether as a select committee or a permanent committee, it will continue to do the job during the year, in the field and in Washington, of making sure the agency does the work and the job that Congress intends it should do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any statistics on the proportion of the national income that comes from small business—and what percentage is that compared to the contracts?

Mr. MULTER. I don't think there are any complete statistics on small business. The Commerce Department, through its Census Bureau, did gather statistics on the manufacturing corporations. I stress the word "corporations." I think Commerce found there were some 245,000 manufacturing corporations, which accounted for between 40 and 50 percent of the gross national product.

I think they found that 92 percent of those manufacturing corporations employed less than 100 people. I am relying on my memory; my statistics may be slightly wrong, but I believe they are approximately correct.

We are told that there are 4 million small-business concerns of every type throughout the country. I think that our economists are right when they say that small business is the backbone of our free-enterprise economy.

Mr. KILBURN. Of course, there are an awful lot of those that would not have anything to do with procurement, like the grocery store.

Mr. MULTER. You are quite right. Four million includes the retail merchant who does not deal with the Government. It includes the small manufacturing company which does not deal with Government and does not want to deal with Government. You know, you must have a pretty strong financial position in order to deal with Government, the way they take their time inspecting and approving, and then in paying when they get ready. That was one of the problems we had to sit on in these agencies, to see that they paid promptly, so the small-business man could operate.

Mr. KILBURN. They would have to have the line of goods they want.

Mr. MULTER. That is right.

Mr. KILBURN. A gas station would not become part of procurement or a grocery store.

Mr. MULTER. There you get into the question of whether you are going to let the local Government offices buy gasoline locally in small quantities, or in tank-car lots at wholesale. There is always that problem, whether the Government should buy in large quantities at wholesale and warehouse and distribute, or buy from the small-business man at retail. You can't have it both ways.

Mr. KILBURN. I imagine the taxpayer would want us to buy as cheaply as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. You would give us the policy board which consists of the administrator, a typical small-business man, and a typical small-business banker, and it provides no qualifications, with no experience for either one of them.

The only qualification they seem to have is that they are typically small, but I don't know just what a typically small banker is, or a typically small-business man is. Does it mean a small-business man without ambition, who always wants to remain typically small? If that is so, I don't think you have a very good Board. I don't see any argument for that. What is the argument for that?

Mr. RAINS. Could I add one word to what the chairman said, so you will have a full one before you. I can't see how you can get away from the argument we should not have WOC's in Government, instead of Government employees.

The CHAIRMAN. They are day-to-day employees. They have no permanent association with the Government and no responsibility, and I would like to have some argument in favor of it.

Mr. MULTER. Let me answer you, Mr. Chairman, and the other gentlemen who have some doubts about this, by saying first, for a long time, the Small Business Committee has felt that the Loan Policy Board, as set up by the statute, has no place in this law. As a matter of fact, we reported out from this Banking and Currency Committee in accordance with the recommendation of the Small Business Committee one bill which eliminated the Loan Policy Board. None of us have any objection, and as a matter of fact, there is a specific requirement in the statute and this bill, that there must be consultation between the Small Business Administrator, and other Government agencies, having in mind particularly the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of the Treasury.

But consultation is one thing and giving them control of making policy is another, and we feel that this agency cannot be a truly independent agency and cannot truly do the job for small business if the Secretary of the Treasury or the Secretary of Commerce or their designees are going to be in control of the Loan Policy Board.

So what we are mainly concerned with is eliminating the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Commerce as the two controlling members of the Loan Policy Board.

Now, if the Administrator feels he should have a Board—he does have one now, a review board, which reviews loan applications. The Loan Policy Board is not charged with that and does not do that. It makes the overall policy. But if the Loan Policy Board is controlled by two Cabinet officers, then obviously the Administrator is subservient to them. The best proof the Loan Policy Board does not serve a good purpose, in my opinion, is demonstrated by the fact that at every meeting of the Loan Policy Board the resolution has always been presented as to policy, and those are the only resolutions they consider, by the Administrator, and in every instance it has been unanimously adopted.

If there is such unanimity of thinking on the Board, and if the Administrator's view always prevails, then he does not need the Secretary of the Treasury or the Secretary of Commerce to do more than to advise with him.

On the other hand, if there is unanimity because he bows to their will, then the will of the committee and the Congress is not being fulfilled.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not a very strong argument for the reason you want to dispose of the present Board, for which you substitute a small-business man and a small banker.

Mr. MULTER. I am coming to that.

The Administrator should be charged with making the policy and administering it. But there is division among our committee and we came up with this as the alternative of having two small-business men sitting on the Board with him to make policy.

Mr. BROWN. They would be appointed by the Administrator?

Mr. MULTER. They would be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Let me read to you the language as it appears at the top of page 4 of the proposed bill. "The Policy Board shall establish general policies in the financial assistance, procurement, disposal, and general assistance to small-business programs of the Administration."

In other words, we are calling for a Policy Board which will make all policy for the agency. It will have nothing to do with administration. It will have nothing to do with personnel. It will make all policy as to procurement and financial assistance. We believe with a Policy Board of that kind, we will not have this difficulty, that we are now having with the definition.

Let me continue reading from the proposed bill:

"The members of the Policy Board representative of small banks and small-business concerns shall be appointed from civilian life by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and they shall be persons of outstanding qualifications in their respective fields of operation known to be familiar and sympathetic with the needs and problems of small business. The members of the Policy Board other than the Administrator shall be actively engaged as full-time operating officials of (1) small bank and (2) a small-business concern which shall be small business as defined in section 102 of this act."

Now, with reference to the possibility there will be w. o. c.'s or others working without compensation I think this committee knows I am opposed to the w. o. c.'s working in Government, except in times of war or emergency.

These men will not be w. o. c.'s. These men, as provided in the previous sentence on page 3, are paid as follows:

"Members of the Policy Board other than the Administrator shall be paid a per diem allowance of $100 for each day spent away from their home or regular place of business for the purpose of attendance at meetings of the Policy Board and the necessary travel; and while so engaged, they may be paid actual travel expenses and not to exceed $25 per diem in lieu of subsistence and other expenses. The maximum time spent for such attendance is not to exceed 50 days in any one calendar year."

There is also a provision: "The Policy Board shall meet at least monthly and at such other times as the Board may determine or on the call of the Administrator to determine administrative programs and policies relating to loans, procurement, disposal and general assistance to small business."

It was the feeling of the committee you could not get a small banker or small-business man of the type you wanted who would give up his banking or business connection and come to Washington full time and the only way you could get him was to compensate him fairly for his time and get him to come down here on a part-time basis.

I appreciate the force of the argument that men who make policy should be full-time employees. If we could get, instead of these 2 small-business men working parttime, if we could get 2 men, say, called Deputy Administrators, appointed to work fulltime, not as a loan policy board, but as a policy board, I think we could accomplish what we are looking for, and eliminate the Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of Commerce, except for consultation. I am afraid we can't get that. The next best thing, when it comes to the job of making the policy in accordance with the intent of the Congress, let us have two men who are part-time employees but who are on the payroll and who will not have any exemptions on account of conflict of interest. There is nothing in here to give them any exemption on account of conflict of interest. They will have to toe the mark and operate without that exemption.

The CHAIRMAN. The success or failure of the organization depends upon the policies.

Mr. MULTER. I think it does.

The CHAIRMAN. Favorable policies would be very essential for the successful operation of it. And these men who are part-time employees have entire control over that.

Mr. MULTER. I realize the force of the argument that these two part-time employees can outvote the Administrator. There is much to that argument. I can't——

Mr. RAINS. Mr. MULTER, let me ask you one other question. First, I want to compliment you for the hard work and good job you have done on this bill, and with 1 or 2 exceptions it seems to me to be a real good bill. I know you gentlemen have worked very hard and the bill shows it. But it is always the setup in Government that the Congress must hold some Administrator responsible for the work of the Agency. That is true in housing and everything we have.

The appointment of the two men you are talking about would come about by the President, as I understand it.

Mr. MULTER. That is right.

Mr. RAINS. We all know, as a matter of course, the head of the Agency would recommend to the President, whoever the head of the Agency wanted appointed in this policy business, so the result would be these two men, however they came in, would be men whose thinking was along the lines of the thinking of the Administrator. He would not be that dumb, and pick out somebody at variance. So why don't we wipe out the policy board completely and totally and just leave it up to the Administrator.

Mr. MULTER. I hope that my colleague on the Small Business Subcommittee will not think I am underselling this part of the bill, when I tell you that was precisely my suggestion to them. As a matter of fact, when I could not get them to go along with that, I suggested we have a bipartisan board or commission to run the Agency.

My thinking was along the line of your suggestion but we now came along with this, as our best thinking for a compromise. While yours is the way I would have liked to see it work, we agreed on this instead as to the views of the committee I tried to make the best argument I could in accordance with that decision.

Mr. WIDNALL. Would it not have been best to have set up an advisory council and retain the Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of Commerce on the Loans Advisory Council?

Mr. MULTER. We have now in accordance with the existing language, advisory boards. There is a national advisory board and in each region we have an advisory board. We also continue the language of the existing statute requiring that those boards be really representative, truly representative of small business.

We found on the national level the advisory board, despite the language of the statute, was made up of 20 men, 11 of whom were big-business men. That was a condition contrary to the intent of Congress, and the explicit language of the statute.

We strengthened the language in the statute so as to require these advisory boards and committees, when appointed, to be truly representative of small business. At the same time we have a provision permitting the Administrator to consult with whomever he pleases in or out of Government, so he can get the advice of big-business men who are sympathetic to small business and want to help them.

Mr. WIDNALL. Of course, they would have that power to consult with anybody whether you wrote that in the law or not.

Mr. MULTER. We found it necessary to write it into the bill because the General Accounting Office raised the question he had no right to do this—he had no right to consult with outside persons, or with Government agencies, unless the statute authorized them to do it. They raised the question that it was a technical violation of the law, if he consults with people other than as set out in the statute. So we wrote it in.

Mr. WIDNALL. I don't quarrel with that, but I think if you set up a national advisory board or national advisory council with the Secretary of Treasury and Secretary of Commerce and the two representatives of small business and left the final decisions on policy in the hands of the Administrator, you would have a better set-up than you have today and it would help meet some of the objections raised by you.

Mr. MULTER. I would have no objection to it being done that way, Mr. WIDNALL.

Mr. WIDNALL. I think that might be the type of compromise you would get through the Congress, too.

Mr. MULTER. I agree with our distinguished chairman, Mr. SPENCE, who has so frequently said that good legislation is always the result of compromise. No one of us is vested with all the wisdom of what makes a good bill, I think our Small Business Committee proceeds on that basis, trying to compromise on the best language that will express most nearly the intent that we seek and the purpose that is sought to be accomplished.

Mr. WIDNALL. I have one other question. In connection with procurement for small business, is it not true that thousands of small businesses have the know-how or ability to produce, but they cannot afford the engineering personnel in order to put them in a competitive position with big business?

Mr. MULTER. There is a lot to that. We find it repeatedly.

Mr. WIDNALL. And one of the reasons for shortage of engineers and the fact that big corporations are bidding as high as they can for engineering personnel is the tragic duplication of engineering work in preparation for Government bids. Where you are going out to procure an item and it is all of the same item, all of the engineering has to be done all over again by every single company that bids on that item. The Government purchased that engineering in the first place. It seems to me that the specifications purchased in the first item of procurement can be made available the second time, so that others would not be required to provide for new engineering in their bids.

Mr. MULTER. Typical of what you have in mind is a complaint that came to my desk only yesterday. This concern spent $4,000 in engineering and drafting expense in order to be able to make a bid in accordance with specifications that had been issued and they are now the second low bidder. The first low bidder has been disqualified because it has no plant and sought to get the contract in order to sell it to someone else.

The second low bidder, apparently now qualified, is now told by the procurement agency we are not going to give you this contract. We are going to give it to the third lowest bidder because the specifications were written for the third lowest bidder. They said, "Why do you ask us to bid? It cost us $4,000 to prepare our bid. If you intend it for some particular company, why don't you negotiate with that company and don't have us come in and waste all this money which represents mainly engineering time and money."

Mr. WIDNALL. Isn't it true in these re-bids where you are using the same specifications as the original bid, you have scores of engineers all over the country working on the same problem and coming up with the same answer, with a tragic waste of engineering services and tragic increase in cost, when it comes to the final bid?

Mr. MULTER. There is no doubt you are right.

Mr. WIDNALL. I think we ought to try to work something out to make available to small business the engineering background after the first bid.

Mr. MULTER. We continue in this bill the language now in the act, authorizing the Small Business Administration to give, wherever possible, engineering, technical, financial, and accounting advice to the small-business man who comes to them for it.

To be sure, we don't want it to go out and push itself on small business and tell them how to run their business, but where the small business comes to the SBA office, and asks for help, their setup permits them to give it, though in many of the local offices, they, too, have difficulty getting men who can render that type of service.

But they are doing the best they can with what they have.

Mr. WIDNALL. I have just one other question, Mr. MULTER. You have a suggestion in here that the maximum rate of interest for the Small Business Administration portion of participation in direct business loans shall be no more than 5 percent or the prevailing rate if lower than 5 percent.

Mr. MULTER. Yes.

Mr. WIDNALL. That actually means the Small Business Administration would not be in competition with the banking interests, would it?

Mr. MULTER. That would not put them in competition with private enterprise or banking because we continue the language in the existing statute that the loan applicant must be turned down first and there must be no private financing available for him on reasonable terms before the Small Business Administration can take the application. In practice the Small Business Administration requires he be turned down not only by his regular banking facilities, but by at least one other before they will take his application.

Mr. WIDNALL. And this applies to participating loans, too?

Mr. MULTER. Yes. In practice what the Small Business Administration does is this. When the applicant first comes in for a loan, SBA goes over his statement and puts it in such shape that he has a statement a bank would be willing to look over and consider. Then they ask him, "Have you been to your own bank?" And if he says, "Yes, and they turned me down," they call his bank and find out why they turned him down.

"Is he a bad credit risk, or can't you make the accommodation for any one of a number of reasons?" They try to sell the bank. When the bank says, "No, we won't make the loan," SBA tries to sell the bank on a participating loan. If the bank still says "No" on participation, they send the man to another bank in the community and if that bank turns him down, they follow the same procedure, and say, "Why are you turning him down?"

The bank may turn up something confidential which indicates he is a bad risk. They try to sell the bank on making the loan first, or if not a loan, taking a participating interest in it. When they find the bank will not take the loan in full or in part, then they process the application as a direct loan.

So there can be no competition ratewise. Even today there are participating loans where the bank is charging 7 percent. They are charging 6 percent. There is no difficulty in that.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. MULTER, I think you and your committee has come up with a good recommendation and made an honest, sincere effort to assist small business and small-business men and I compliment you on it.

Mr. MULTER. Thank you, Mr. WIDNALL. May I make 1 or 2 more comments on changes in the bill. If there are other questions, I will be glad to answer them either now or as I go along. The suggestion has been made in the course of the public hearings that possibly this agency should charge a fee for the filing of an application as many other agencies do. Our committee has not considered that, but I think this committee, on whatever bill you report, should suggest to the agency that they explore the possibility of charging a fee in connection with the filing of an application and make recommendations as to what that charge should be.

I think it should be a charge which would be reasonable and would cover at least the expense of processing and closing loans.

I realize in the smaller loan, they probably will never be able to charge enough to cover it, because as you know, a loan of $1,000 or $10,000 will cost as much to close as a $100,000 or $150,000 loan. We cannot expect the small-loan applicant to pay the full cost. I do hope SBA will come up with a recommendation about what fee, if any, should be charged for filing and processing.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. That relates particularly to business loans?

Mr. MULTER. Yes; not to the disaster loans. That is definitely a relief measure. That is why we make it 3-percent interest. But on business loans, I think they should come up with a recommendation.

One other matter, that concerns itself with the question of whether this should be a permanent agency or not. Our committee did not consider, but this committee might consider, whether or not it wants to put a limitation on the term of office of the members of the board, if you have an independent board. There is nothing in the bill on that now.

I believe the President would have a right to remove any administrator who is not doing the job he expects him to do.

At the same time, you would accomplish some of the things you have in mind about continuing this as a temporary agency, if you put in the bill a term of years for the service of the Administrator. In other words, it may be a 2- or 4-year term, so that he, too, knows he must make good before he is reappointed.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he appointed without tenure now?

Mr. MULTER. He is appointed without tenure now, because as it is now, the act, itself, expires at a definite date and his term of office runs out at that time. If we take out the expiration date, we may want to put in a provision that he shall have a term of office for a fixed number of years.

I have tried to cover all of the changes that might be controversial. I think I have done so, with the exception of the provision for pooling loans. There, too, we have tried to liberalize the provisions so as to make sure the Administrator has the right to make the kind of loans that we inended he should make.

For instance, when he made the pool loan for the production of starch, there was some question raised as to whether or not he had the right to do that. He made the loan, nevertheless.

He made a loan for—a pool loan for Boston Fisheries. There was some question raised about that. I don't think the question was properly raised, but the question was raised whether or not he had the right to make the loan for that particular industry.

He has had inquiries about making a pool loan for the newsprint industry.

He has made some very valuable suggestions to the industry in connection therewith, but they have not come forward with a plan or an application. He has considered an application, or rather an inquiry, with reference to making a pool loan for the purchase and resale of groceries and foodstuffs.

Mr. KILBURN. Mr. MULTER——

Mr. MULTER. Yes.

Mr. KILBURN. I don't like to interrupt you here, but there is one point: On page 10 of your bill, down at line 18, it says, "All loans made shall in the judgment of the Administrator offer reasonable assurance of repayment." Isn't that a change from your present language?

Mr. MULTER. Yes.

Mr. KILBURN. Will you explain why there is that change?

Mr. MULTER. May I come back to that in just a minute and finish the thought on the pooling situation.

We have put into the bill some new language with reference to the pooling provision, which we think clarifies the authority of the Administrator to make such loans. I think it goes as far as it possibly can to meet the questions raised by Mr. PATMAN with reference to the cement industry.

If enough people are going to get together who have the know-how or can otherwise qualify, whether it be the cement industry or any other industry, they will qualify under the language we have written in the proposed bill at page 9 and which has been approved by the Administrator.

I want to throw out this thought, before I get to Mr. KILBURN's question, with reference to the pooling loans. I have the utmost respect for my colleagues in the legal profession, but if I as 1 or 2 lawyers were to get together with 4 or 5 businessmen and we had 2 lawyers and 4 or 5 businessmen who wanted to go into some new industry, I don't think that the Congress intended we lawyers were to qualify as small-business men in a business venture to get this kind of a loan.

If there is disagreement with that on the part of this committee, I think it ought to say so. But the Administrator, as he is interpreting it now, I think properly, says, where you are getting a group together for a pool loan, they should all be businessmen who know something about and have some experience in the particular and related lines of endeavor in which they intend to engage in this pooling operation.

If you intend to open the door wide and let anybody come in under this, as long as he can qualify with security, then I think we ought to say so in the pooling provision. The language as we continue it in the statute would not, I don't think, permit that much broader interpretation.

To come back to Mr. KILBURN's question on page 10 of the mimeographed sheet, we do very deliberately propose a change there, by changing subdivision (7) so it will read, "All loans made shall in the judgment of the Administrator offer reasonable assurance of repayment."

The language we have dropped are the words "sound value or." In other words, the statute presently provides that the loan must be of sound value or—and I emphasize "or" in the alternative—offer reasonable assurance of repayment.

The Administrator very frankly told us, when he testified publicly—I am sorry I dropped out some words. Let me give it to you again. The statute now reads, "All loans made shall be of such sound value or so secured as reasonably to assure repayment."

The proposed bill drops out the words "such sound value or so secured."

The CHAIRMAN. That first definition was the one you took from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation?

Mr. MULTER. That is correct. And the Reconstruction Finance Board, and when it had an administrator, he, and then again when it had a board again, it always interpreted that to mean just what it said, that "or" was in the alternative, not in the conjunctive. Or did not mean "and," but meant "or." But Mr. Barnes has told us in the public hearings he interpreted "or" to mean not "or," but "and," and the loan must be——

Mr. KILBURN. How can he interpret "or" to mean "and"?

Mr. MULTER. He did and that is his testimony, and that is why some loans are being turned down.

Mr. KILBURN. Along that line, does this new language mean you cannot take security, if the man has got security?

Mr. MULTER. Oh, no. Where the security is there, he should take the security. I think he would be derelict in his duty in not taking security where the security is available. The language is new to this bill, but not new to the law. This is the precise language in the Export-Import Bank Act which they have always operated under, and if it has been all right in the million dollar loans and they have worked well under it, and the testimony of Mr. Waugh, as President of the Export-Import Bank, was they were doing a good job there for big business as well as small business, because while many of the loans there are in large amount, many of the purchases made out of the large loans were made from small businesses.

They gave us some instances where some purchases were as low as $100 each. There were thousands of purchases out of a million dollar loan. If that language is good there, I am sure it is not too restrictive and much better for this Administrator to use in his operation.

Mr. TALLE. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. TALLE.

Mr. TALLE. In that connection, if such a change is made, lawyers will look at the new

act, and they will find that the language which was in the RFC Act and which is in the Small Business Act now, has been changed so as to take away the words which, in the law, require security and sound value.

I am sure some sharp lawyer is going to say, these are character loans, now, and collateral is no longer required.

Mr. MULTER. If a lawyer does come up with that argument, the administrator can say to him he is wrong. Look at what was testified to before subcommittee No. 2, and look at the testimony before the House Banking and Currency Committee. He will say to the lawyer, you have no right to determine that. Bear in mind it is the administrator's judgment which will make the decision whether or not the loan is to be made. Our committee has been very careful in telling every complainant we are not going to sit in judgment on the judgment of the administrator.

We are going to see whether he fairly interprets the intent of Congress but we are not going to take his place and determine whether a loan is good, bad or indifferent. We are not going to replace his judgment with our judgment. We are not the lending officer.

Mr. TALLE. Don't you think the lawyer is going to ask the question, "Why did Congress make that change?" He is going to raise that question, I am sure.

Mr. MULTER. And let me give to you the answer that you can give to him.

If you insist that it must be of sound value, and so secured as to offer reasonable assurance of repayment——

The CHAIRMAN. It was not "and." It was "or."

Mr. MULTER. That is right. If SBA interpreted is as "or," we need nothing more. We would not have to change the statute. But since SBA is interpreting it as "and," we must put in the law what we want him to do.

Mr. KILBURN. Why don't you put language in there and say, "or" is "or."

Mr. MULTER. I think that would make us a little bit ridiculous, don't you think?

Mr. KILBURN. Don't you think he is being a little ridiculous?

Mr. MULTER. Yes, but he is the Administrator. Let us put it in there in such a way that he must interpret it our way, without making ourselves ridiculous.

Mr. BROWN. Why can't we handle that in the report and keep the definition like it was in RFC?

Mr. MULTER. That will probably serve the purpose.

I just wanted to make this brief comment to Mr. TALLE's question and then I will leave you to the next witness, sir.

There are many instances where the sound value of the loan is not sufficient to warrant SBA making a loan in and of itself. But if SBA takes the guaranty of someone else who is just as financially responsible, who would on his own right be entitled to come in and get a loan, and who will guarantee the loan which does not have sound value, SBA then has reasonable assurance of repayment.

I wonder if I make myself clear. In other words, if I can get somebody to guarantee my loan, even though I, myself, cannot give him ample security, and the guaranty does give ample security, he should make the loan. As it is today, he can look at my collateral and say it is insufficient and I don't care whether you bring in 50 guarantors, your loan is not of sound value and he will not make the loan. Certainly we did not intend that.

That is the way it is being interpreted and we did not intend that.

Thank you for your patience.

The CHAIRMAN. I think a little reduction in taxation might help the small-business man.

Mr. MULTER. I am sorry we cannot touch on that. But it is one of the sore points that needs attention.

The CHAIRMAN. We did not want to introduce that in the course of the evidence here.

Mr. MULTER. No, sir. I am sure the Ways and Means Committee would object, if we did.

Trinity River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, the Santa Rosa Press-Democrat in my district in California recently ran a series of three editorials on the tendency of high taxes to speed up the trend toward state socialism. One of the examples it gave was the case of the Trinity partnership project.

The newspaper cited the attacks on the proposal of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. to install and operate the power facilities of the Federal Government's Trinity River project, and pay the Government an annual fee for the use of its falling water. I might add at this point that there is nothing new or unusual about this proposal for private industry to participate with Government in power development and pay rent for its falling water. Actually, during the last 15 years, private California electric utilities have made payments of over $163 million to Government agencies for power and for water with which to generate power.

The Government and private enterprise have worked together in the past on many cooperative contracts that have greatly benefited the people of my State. There is a bill now pending in Congress to allow joint development of the Central Valley's Trinity project that would save the taxpayers of this country over a third of a billion dollars. A saving of this size is worthy of the attention of all of us.

Passage of my bill, H. R. 6997, would save the Federal Government an immediate outlay of $56 million for the power facilities, plus another three-hundred-or-more-million dollars in future benefits from rent of the falling water and from taxes.

Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of my colleagues to the May 9, 1957, editorial in the Santa Rosa Press-Democrat and the points it raises on the Trinity partnership principle. The editorial is entitled "Pattern of Socialism Is Becoming Clear." It begins:

On Tuesday in this space we said that any government has a natural tendency toward state socialism, and that high taxes speeded up the process. We gave a few examples and said that you could figure it out for yourself.

Since then, several people have said we were unduly alarmed. So here is another example.

The editorial goes on to say that one of the opponents of my bill, H. R. 6997, "in attacking the partnership proposal of Pacific Gas & Electric Co. whereunder it would install power-generating facilities at the Trinity project, pay the Government for the use of falling water and then return the water to the Government, became quite irate."

He said the proposal would bar Uncle Sam from installing steam-generating or atomic-generating plants, in the Central Valley project.

How much further toward socialism can you go?

The excuse for the Government being in the hydroelectric generating business has always been that with water falling from Federal dams, it made sense to turn generators with the falling water, and make and sell electricity.

But with steam plants, no natural resources whatever are involved. You burn natural gas or other fuel to generate the steam to turn the generators.

There must be a clear-cut plan among the socialists in our Government to put Uncle Sam in the commercial business of generating electricity in steam plants in the Central Valley project, or—

The editor says the opponents of joint development of Trinity's resources—

would not be so busy denouncing the proposed P. G. & E. partnership.

The editorial concludes:

The pattern already exists in the Tennessee Valley Authority, where the Government started out making electricity with water from dams, and is now manufacturing more electricity in steam plants than from falling water.

And if you don't think high taxes speed up the march toward state socialism, consider this:

P. G. & E. has to pay Uncle Sam 52 cents out of every $1 it nets, in corporate income taxes. Your electric rates would be much lower if a big piece of them didn't have to be passed on to Uncle Sam in paying this heavy tax. Socialized power, which pays no income taxes, frequently sells for lower rates than does private power. The higher the taxes, the greater the spread between rates—and the greater the urge to socialize more power development.

It's a con game, of course—as long as Uncle Sam spends so many billions, somebody has to pay the taxes and the portion not paid by socialized power systems is simply paid by you in your own high individual rates. Regardless of whether you pay it hidden in your electric bill from P. G. & E., or whether you pay it in withholding from your paycheck, you pay the cost of running the Federal Government.

A Cotton Program To Expand Markets Through Competitive Pricing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL C. JONES
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill which has for its purpose to increase farm income and to expand markets for cotton by enabling cotton to be sold competitively in domestic and foreign markets.

This is not my bill, Mr. Speaker, and I am claiming no pride of authorship, although I have had the privilege of working with a large group of men, each expert in his own field, who represent most of the segments in the cotton industry, and I believe the bill which has resulted from numerous conferences and is the product of many compromises, warrants the studious consideration of all Members of this House.

Farmers and particliuarly cotton producers are not the only persons who will benefit from the provisions of this bill, when and if it becomes law. Actually, I know of no group which will not benefit, including the consumers of cotton and other textiles.

Primarily, this bill, if enacted into law, would insure the continuation and expansion of our export program on a worldwide competitive basis, without the necessity of subsidy payments, or losses which have been necessary in moving the huge surpluses of cotton which were built up over a long period of years through a combination of circumstances which I shall not take time to discuss here.

With a minimum of Government support, it would enable cotton to compete successfully with synthetics and other substitutes in the domestic market, giving the consumer the advantages which accrue from the preferential use of cotton and cotton products and at the same time assuring an adequate supply of cotton at reasonable price levels.

Yes; it would at the same time protect the farmer's income, and permit him to slightly increase his production of cotton to a more realistic basis, and to afford the family size farm an opportunity to enjoy more economic stability.

The introduction of this bill comes at a time, Mr. Speaker, when my section of Missouri, which incidentally produces more than 99 percent of all the cotton grown in Missouri, is faced with the greatest disaster which we have experienced in the past generation. Due to unprecedented floods, which have virtually destroyed one-third to one-half of the cotton crop which has been planted, southeast Missouri is now faced with a condition which in all probability will result in the nearest thing to a crop failure which our area of the State has ever experienced.

I know of nothing which at this time could give our people greater hope and more encouragement than for Congress to give conscientious and sympathetic consideration to this type of legislation, which would not only be beneficial to that section, but to every other section of the country in which cotton can be produced.

As stated earlier Mr. Speaker, all segments of the cotton industry, after several industrywide conferences and meetings, have agreed on the principles involved in this bill. I mean the producer, the cotton ginner, the warehouseman, the buyers, the shippers, the cotton merchant, representatives of our large cotton exchanges, the cottonseed processors, and yes, even the spinners and textile mills, have agreed that something needs to be done, and to be done this year.

The bill which I have introduced, and which other Members of Congress, both in this House and in the other body, will I am sure support, is the result of the general agreement which has been reached. We are hoping, Mr. Speaker, to have the opportunity at an early date, of hearing testimony on this bill, and I am sure I am speaking for all of the sponsors of this legislation when I say that we will welcome the opportunity of explaining the details of its operation. Yes, Mr. Speaker, we not only welcome the opportunity to explain what we believe to be the merits of this legislation, but we will also welcome any questions which anyone may have. Likewise, we will welcome suggestions for improvement if you feel that the legislation can be improved.

I am including herewith a brief analysis of what we the sponsors of this legislation believe it will do. We urge you to read it, and to let us have your comments:

DUAL ALLOTMENT PROGRAM FOR COTTON: DOMESTIC ALLOTMENT—EXPORT ALLOTMENT

The dual allotment program would—

A. Protect the farmer's income and permit him to use his land and equipment more efficiently.

B. Provide full price competition both at home and abroad.

C. Eliminate the need for a special export sales program.

D. Increase consumption and prevent accumulation of surpluses.

E. Return cotton handling and marketing to normal channels of trade.

F. Eliminate present conditions which create unfair competition for American cotton mills.

G. Benefit consumers through lower retail prices, and wider choice of fabrics.

H. Would reduce cost to Government.

I. Counteract inflationary trend in textile markets.

The stated objectives would be accomplished as follows:

First. The loan program would be continued, but the loan level woudl be slightly—probably 5 percent—under the world price for cotton as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture as of June 1 of the calendar year in which the cotton is produced.

Second. The national marketing quota would be estimated domestic consumption plus exports. Under this method the minimum national marketing quota for 1958 would be 14 million bales which woud provide a national acreage allotment of 20½ million acres, or an increase of 17 percent over 1957. This method would insure continuation of acreage allotments and marketing quotas and provide protection against unregulated production.

Third. Producers taking advantage of increased cotton allotments would be excluded from the cotton acreage reserve provisions of the Soil Bank. State, county, and farm history would be preserved under this provision.

Fourth. Domestic allotment: Marketing equalization payments would be made to the producer through the cotton merchant to represent the difference between the average spot market price or loan price, whichever is higher, and a stated percentage—probably 90 percent—of parity.

Fifth. Export allotment: There would be no marketing equalization payments. The program would be financed with unused funds available for cotton payments under the Soil Bank Act; and, insofar as such funds are insufficient, the Secretary of Agriculture would be authorized to use funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Why France Won't Appease Nasser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the New York Times on Monday, May 20, 1957, entitled "Why France Won't Appease Nasser," by C. L. Sulzberger:

WHY FRANCE WON'T APPEASE NASSER

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

PARIS, May 19.—Christian Pineau, who arrives in New York tomorrow to reopen the Suez discussion before U. N., is an indomitably logical man possessed of cold reason. His appearance is not calculated to invite favor through any warm charm. Rather short, inclined to the rotund, with a large, almost bald head, he looks somewhat like a solemn, intellectual Humpty Dumpty.

But the outward aspect is deceiving. He is personally bold and persistent. During the war he worked courageously for the resistance, escaped to London several times on secret missions, and was captured by the Gestapo upon one parachuted return. Sentenced to death, instead he spent 18 months in the concentration camp of Buchenwald.

Pineau has been a Socialist all his mature life, but he is intimately connected with both France's bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. His father was an army officer. His stepfather, Jean Giraudoux, is one of this country's most famous authors. The Foreign Minister himself wrote 2 collections of fairy tales—primarily addressed to his own 6 children.

FRANCE REFUSES TO DEAL

A complex and intricate individual, Pineau is not intimately known by many people. When he took over the Quai d'Orsay 15 months ago the permanent diplomatic staff began to complain it was rarely if ever consulted by the new minister. Some French officials, as well as those of the United States and Britain, were surprised when this Government suddenly resolved to raise again the issue of Suez—just as the other Western nations were making their humiliating deal with Nasser.

The reasons for this French move are by no means founded solely upon abstract morality. They are thoroughly rational, from France's point of view, and ultimately connected with the heart of this country's foreign policy.

Pineau argues that the Security Council, including Russia, accepted six basic principles governing canal administration. The third of these isolated its operations from the national politics of any single nation—meaning Egypt. This has now been violated, according to the French. In fact last month the Council debate showed majority agreement to that effect.

ONE-NATION BOYCOTT

France refuses to go along with its Allies in swallowing Nasser's bitter pill. For the moment, it is continuing a one-nation boycott of the canal at great cost and inconvenience. Why? There are two explicit reasons.

First of all, this Government feels Egypt cannot be allowed to get away with unilateral violation of a U. N. decision. Russia did, in the case of Hungary. But if Nasser is permitted to emulate his Soviet friends, the U. N. will fall apart. The West cannot accept international discipline only to see it ignored by other nations.

Therefore, if Egypt is not brought to heel, France will feel free to overlook any future restrictions the U. N. may vote concerning this country's policy in Algeria. Should Paris be expected at a later date to adjust policy in North Africa to Security Council desires, Cairo must first be made to do so—now.

ALGERIAN QUESTION AN ISSUE

Secondly, Pineau sees potential danger to French interests if Nasser is not immediately checked. With the canal under unhampered Egyptian political control, Cairo could exclude French shipping if it wishes to support the Algerian rebellion. Furthermore, if the U. N. should ever censure France on Algeria, Nasser might argue he was legally justified in such action. Therefore, at all costs, Pineau is determined to fight the issue now, to insist on freeing the canal from the Egyptian dictator's control.

Related to this attitude is France's developing new Middle Eastern policy. This country does not consider the 1950 Big Three declaration on Palestinian frontiers as still valid. It claims Dulles himself destroyed any possibility of joint action outside the North Atlantic area by precisely limiting cooperation to the region specified within the NATO treaty.

PLAYING A LONE HAND

The French, consequently, openly base their planning on the closest cooperation with Israel, regardless of Arab or Allied opinion. They consider Israel the only democratic bastion and potential industrial complex in the Levant south of Turkey. Even if they have to act alone, they are going to shore up that bastion.

As Pineau prepares his Suez case in New York, France's destroyers are cruising the Red Sea region. They intend implicitly to protect any merchant vessels taking goods to Israel via the canal or the Aqaba Gulf. A test case on such shipping rights could easily develop concurrently with the Security Council debate.

This country appears to be playing a lone hand in this tricky game. It feels that regardless of what France's closest allies consider politic concessions, Paris cannot accept the road of appeasement. To do this, Pineau believes, would destroy a foundation of French diplomacy, would expose it to grave embarrassment in Algeria and might open the way for further Nasser blackmail of the West.

Cut Budget Cry Is False

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial from Labor, official publication of the railway labor unions:

CUT BUDGET CRY IS FALSE

An unprecedented, powerful drive is on to cut the President's budget, reduce Government spending, and lower taxes. If the American people allow themselves to be fooled by this drive, they won't get reduced spending or any justified tax cuts. All they will get is slashes in programs which cost comparatively little but bring big benefits to the people. That's the main purpose of the drive.

A good example of the cut the budget propaganda is a special bulletin entitled "Taxpayer's Dollar," put out by the United States Chamber of Commerce. Its front-page headline says: "Budget Battle Entering Crucial Stage; Campaign for Cuts Must Continue—Chamber Drives for Government Economy."

That's the picture the chamber and other big-business organizations paint publicly, although they know the real picture is entirely different. It is described in Kiplinger's Washington Letter, which is circulated privately to businessmen.

"Don't let yourself be kidded by all this talk of budget cutting," the letter says. "It simply isn't true, it's baloney, misleading a lot of people. Many cuts are fictitious, for money will have to be voted later to make up for deficiencies. The cutting merely represents postponement.

"Also note that cutting appropriations is quite different from cutting spending, and it's spending, not appropriations, that determines tax needs."

The private letter to businessmen goes on to show that the Government agencies which spend the most money have huge funds hanging over unspent from previous appropriations. For this and other reasons, they can spend just as much money in the coming year regardless of how much Congress cuts their new appropriations.

All that is well known to the highly paid budget experts of the big-business organizations, but they don't tell the truth publicly. They want to keep the people's eyes focused on a fictitious picture of big spending cuts, while they work behind the scenes to knock out small but vitally important sums for services which are opposed by antiunion employers and selfish business interests.

That was well illustrated by the partially successful attempts in the House to kill or cut Labor Department and Health, Education, and Welfare Department funds which are used to protect and benefit workers and the rest of the plain people. There will be no more such attempts. More of them will succeed if the voters are fooled into urging Congress to make blind slashes in the budget.

Security and Independence for Our Senior Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the American people cherish independence—independence as a nation and independence as individuals—as a vital element of their national heritage.

Today it is as important to an American to maintain his self-respect and independence as a free citizen as it was to the American pioneers of a hundred years ago. He wants the opportunity to choose his own profession, to make his own decisions as they regard his own welfare and that of his family. He wants the right to prove his ability and to test his own judgment, and he is willing to accept his destiny in the acknowledgment of his mistakes as well as the acclaim for his successes.

But an American today faces a major problem in his efforts to maintain the personal independence he so cherishes. He lives at a time when our Nation is expanding in an era of progress unprecedented in world history. He lives in an age of prosperity such as the pioneer of a hundred years ago could but dimly envision in his most fantastic prophesy.

But today's Americah also lives in an age of soaring living costs, and the highest living standard any people on earth have ever known. And with this fabulous prosperity has come an age of astronomical government spending, unbelievable government debt, declining buying power of each dollar earned, and accompanying high taxes on Federal, State, and local level which shrink earning power and diminish the ability of an American to save part of his earnings during his years of high productivity so that he can meet the costs of raising and educating his family, and also accumulate enough in savings to assure on adequate income for his years of retirement when he is no longer able to maintain employment.

Social security has offered a partial solution to the problem faced by the American senior citizen. But it has fallen far short of its goal of providing independence and security for our elder people.

Our senior citizens who find themselves faced with existence on the small pension provided by present social security are in many instances unable to afford even the bare necessities of life. It is difficult for them to find shelter at low enough cost so that any part of their small allowance will be left to provide a minimum of the food necessary to maintain life. There is little left over for any small luxury, and no provision for adequate medical attention. Hospitalization or nursing care for the most part can be obtained only as a charity patient where such facilities might be available to the impoverished.

Unless the senior citizen has managed to save enough to augment his paltry social security income or receives assistance from relatives, he faces declining years of extended impoverishment haunted by the fear of losing all self-respect and personal independence as a charge of public charity, if inflation decreases his limited buying power or illness threatens.

We have improved social security it is true, but not enough. We have raised payments to a small extent, but not sufficient to provide security. We have extended social-security coverage, but we have not provided adequate protection for all our citizens so that every American can accept the challenge of the age

in which he lives, devote the productive years of his life to the security and welfare of the United States and to the care of his own family, and face the years of retirement with the secure knowledge that an adequate pension will be available to allow him to maintain his independence and self-respect as an American and to enjoy his later years assured of an income sufficient to provide him with a decent living and necessary medical care.

It is high time we took the necessary steps to improve social security until it actually does the job for which it was intended—the job of assuring security to our senior citizens. We must not create a new forgotten man in America—the man of elder years. We must not reduce any American to a state of abject dependence on charity for the necessities of life and for his very existence.

We must act now to revise and improve our social security system until we have devised a retirement program which will achieve its goal of providing an adequate retirement pension for every American upon reaching the age of senior citizen.

Walker S. Buel

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Chairman, Thursday the Washington press corps suffered the loss of one of its most popular and highly respected members, Mr. Walker S. Buel, head of the Cleveland Plain Dealer Bureau in Washington for the past 37 years as well as chief Washington correspondent for the Cleveland News during the past 3 years. His death was caused by complications resulting during abdominal surgery.

Mr. Buel was born in Springfield, Ohio, on January 15, 1890, and was educated at Buchtel College and Western Reserve University. In 1912 he joined the Cleveland Plain Dealer and covered the Cleveland city hall and the statehouse in Columbus, Ohio, in 1917. In 1919 he became head of the Washington bureau of the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Mr. Buel was elected to membership in the Gridiron Club in 1922 and served as its president in 1932 and as treasurer of the organization during the past 12 years. He was acclaimed for his many contributions to the famous Gridiron shows.

Through James C. Hagerty, White House Press Secretary, President Eisenhower expressed his regrets at losing a "very old and very dear friend." Mr. Hagerty described Mr. Buel as "truly a great gentleman and a distinguished reporter."

Following are several of the many editorials which appeared in newspapers of this country and which pay deserved tribute to this distinguished citizen:

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer of May 24, 1957]

WALKER SHOWERS BUEL

Death comes to every man, but to some it is given that their influence will live on through the impact of their personalities on others, the opinions they molded and the institutions they helped to build. Such is the case with Walker S. Buel, whose life was dedicated to this newspaper during more than one-third of the time it has existed. He was a part of the Plain Dealer, and the Plain Dealer was a part of him.

It is with sadness that we record his passing, but even sadness cannot exclude the memories of glorious days when he mingled with the great and the near-great and reported and interpreted momentous events in the Nation's capital for readers of this newspaper. He was on intimate terms with Presidents and Cabinet members, with Senators and Representatives, with politicians, and bureaucrats during the period which witnessed the transfer of more and more power from the State capitals to Washington and during which Washington became, for all practical purposes, the capital of the free world.

And there were days of fun, too, when, as one of the leading spirits of the famed Gridiron Club, he wrote lyrics and fashioned barbs which, always in good taste and never too harshy, deflated the egos of those in the seats of power and periodically reminded them that they were answerable to the people through the instrumentality of a free press.

We at the Plain Dealer knew him affectionately as "Sitting Buel," a nickname coined by his colleagues when he first developed the technique, which is now common practice, of utilizing the radio and television for fast coverage of Presidential campaigns and national conventions. Many a time, sitting in his compartment on a Presidential campaign train, or the workroom at a national convention, he was able to flash news of important events while his colleagues were fighting their way through crowds or waiting for packed elevators to get to telephones or wire facilities.

The reporters who worked with Walker at national conventions also knew him as "Papa Buel" and "The Good Provider," nicknames he was justifiably proud of being called. For he always saw that his associates were well taken care of in the way of lodgings and provender. But when it came time to work, there was no letdown, no relaxation, either for him or for his staff, until the paper had been put to bed and the wire had closed for the night.

The Plain Dealer is a better newspaper because of what Walker Buel put into it. That is the reward every dedicated newspaperman strives for. Regretfully we say farewell to one who achieved it.

[From the Cleveland Press of May 24, 1957]

THAT WALKER S. BUEL BYLINE WILL BE GRIEVOUSLY MISSED

To oldtimers in the newspaper business, it seems as if it were only yesterday that Walker S. Buel, a tall gangling youth, was covering the justice courts in Cleveland and cutting his eyeteeth on less important stories.

The Plain Dealer reporter had all the attributes of a good newspaperman, an inquiring mind, the faculty of making and keeping friends, the ability to put into words what he found out.

It was not surprising that Mr. Buel moved on to Columbus, where he was legislative correspondent for a couple of years, and then to Washington.

He knew all the Presidents from Warren G. Harding to Dwight Eisenhower, and was on easy terms with Senators and Congressmen. The newspaper profession loses an able craftsman with his death.

[From the Cleveland News of May 24, 1957]

WALKER S. BUEL, WASHINGTON STAR

Walker Showers Buel, chief of the Washington news bureau of this paper and the Cleveland Plain Dealer, who had served there for nearly 40 years, was a fine political editor and writer, whose death ends one of the longest careers of the kind in the Capital.

Schooled on the Plain Dealer staff starting in 1912, Mr. Buel became a political expert in print by instinct, and was the newspaper's politics reporter here and in Columbus before his Washington career. Such men as Newton D. Baker, James M. Cox, Maurice Maschke, and Vic Donahey, whose campaigns he reported in those days, became his lifelong friends and admirers. Seven Presidents of the United States knew and liked him for his great fairness, perspicacity, and warmhearted companionship. The Gridiron Club of Washington correspondents turned to him for its top wit and music for every dinner-show for more than 30 years. The Ohio-born boy who grew to national stature never lost his modesty or his kindness, and the personal sense of loss for us is considerable.

[From the Washington Evening Star of May 24, 1957]

WALKER S. BUEL

W. [illegible] Buel, who died yesterday at 67, was a veteran of 45 years on the staff of his distinguished newspaper, the Cleveland Plain Dealer. He was a senior, a widely known and respected member of the Washington corps of correspondents, which he joined in 1919. In his newspaper life he witnessed many changes in the personnel and practices of journalism and in the customs and attitudes of the readers to whom he reported. Yet one of the qualities which so endeared him to his colleagues and to an unusually large number of friends here and around the country was that they found so little change in Walker Buel. Disabilities of advancing age and recurring illness failed to dim a gay enthusiasm and zestful interest which kept him young. He was a shrewd and competent recorder and critic of the art of politics. He never watched its repetitive patterns through the tired eyes of a cynic; he looked forward to them as fresh adventures in reporting, new items for "my column." He had become a delightful fixture, in the columns of the newspaper he served so long and so well; in the Gridiron Club, of which he was the beloved dictator, and in the hearts of so many friends who found his courage, his loyalties and prejudices, his optimism and unyielding determination the sources of strength and comfort.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of May 26, 1957]

WALKER S. BUEL

Washington has lost a newspaperman who was a professional in the best sense of the word with the death on Thursday at 67 of Walker S. Buel. As a correspondent here for the Cleveland Plain Dealer since 1920, Walker Buel chronicled the politics of seven administrations with an unfailing sense of the high drama beneath the facade of everyday political maneuver. He remained unstaled by cynicism despite his long tenure, and—like every good newspaperman—he retained the enthusiasm of a cub reporter when he came upon a startling news development or a provocative item for his ably written and deservedly influential column.

Walker Buel's many friends in the National Press Club will remember him both for his almost courtly manners and his infectious humor. In a city where Potomac air sometimes puffs out the shirt and turns men into statuary prematurely, Walker Buel was in large part responsible for the success of the Gridiron Club. The satiric skits he contributed helped redress the balance in this frequently all-too-solemn Capital. A shrewd

observer, a lucid writer, and a stanch friend, Walker Buel won the confidence and affection not only of men high on the pyramid of political power, but of his colleagues as well.

Finding Out About Fallout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of May 18, 1957, entitled "Finding Out About Fallout," written by Mr. Neal Stanford.

Yesterday, Monday, May 27, 1957, the Special Subcommittee on Radiation of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, of which I am chairman, began hearings on one of the most vital questions of our age, fallout from nuclear weapons explosions and how it affects man and his world.

Mr. Stanford, in his editorial, has shown exceptional understanding of the complexity of the hearings and comprehension of their truly fundamental nature. As he points out, the sum total of the basic scientific information gathered during these hearings "will be an immensely valuable contribution to a subject that is still largely a mystery."

I believe every Member of this body should read Mr. Stanford's editorial which follows:

FINDING OUT ABOUT FALLOUT
(By Neal Stanford)

To date fallout has been like the weather—everybody talks about it; nobody does anything about it. The warning that there is danger from radioactive fallout from nuclear weapons has been called "poppycock" by some scientists and scholars. But is it?

Congress has now decided to find out—that is, find out if it is at all possible to get a definitive answer. The end of this month it is opening public hearings on fallout problems and has invited a lengthy and impressive list of witnesses to testify: experts in physics, meteorology, geology, biology, medicine, and any other relevant "ology." Hearings may go on two weeks, possibly three. And this may be only the first round of such hearings.

After the committee has studied the testimony and tried to organize it into some recognizable pattern of consistencies or contradictions, it may call another set of hearings—this time to consider what to do about it. For the first time, Congress is becoming really collectively concerned over this threat of fallout.

The concern is due to a number of things: to the confusion and contradictions on the subject obvious even among the scientific community; to the mounting public alarm over fallout, reflected in congressional mail, as the world goes from H-bomb test to H-bomb test.

Chairman CHET HOLIFIELD, Democratic Representative from California, said in announcing the hearings: "It is evident that a great deal of concern exists among the scientific community, and the public at large, over the problem of radioactive debris thrown into the atmosphere by nuclear weapons explosions, and over its effects on man after it has come down to earth. * * * The plain fact of the matter is that none of us knows enough about this phenomenon as yet and a great deal of confusion has resulted from the mass of conflicting statements on the subject."

To get a clear picture from these hearings will require real effort by the committee and the public. For there is going to be a lot of conflicting testimony, a lot of speculation, deductions, assumptions loosed in these 3 weeks—even if only half of what the papers have been printing about fallout hazards is repeated.

Representative HOLIFIELD says the hearings are "to educate the committee and the public"—and it is no secret both can stand a lot of educating on the subject. The only trouble is, there is no one recognized, authorized, omniscient, spokesman on the subject. And it may take some time for the maze of testimony, the scientific jargon of the witnesses, to be made understandable to the public.

That is why, while the hearings will undoubtedly start off with a bang, with floodlights, klieg lights, spotlights, and all the et ceteras that go with a major congressional investigation, the publicity will not last. When the witnesses start explaining cosmic radiations, the kinetic energy of neutrons, induced radioactivity, fractionation, radioiodine, half life, equilibrium values, RAD, REM, RBE, much of the public, and the press, and I suspect even some of the committee, will drift away, or possibly fall asleep. For these hearings are going to be highly technical and scientific, as well as personal and political.

Representative HOLIFIELD has thoughtfully drawn up some 20 pages of subjects, questions, and issues he wants the witnesses to explore. But even he and his committee colleagues are not sure they are asking the right questions or not omitting some vital but currently obscure factors. For they are literally—even if courageously—exploring an unknown.

No one can say what total knowledge of the subject includes, so no one can say how much or how little of the subject is voiced in the hearings. It will be difficult to hold the hearings to the subject, for no one really knows just where the boundaries of the subject are. But certainly the opening sessions will try to explain such elementary things as: What is fallout? How does it originate? What happens to it? What makes it a hazard? How do we learn about it? How adequate is our information?

There will be a real effort made not only to spell out what we do know about fallout but to define the areas of knowledge about fallout that we don't know. The committee's report of these hearings should be an immensely valuable contribution to a subject that is still largely a mystery.

St. Joachim's, the Mother Church of Italian Immigrants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert a brief article on St. Joachim's Roman Catholic Church in New York, which was founded in 1888 and is sometimes described as the mother church of Italian immigrants.

The church is in danger of being demolished to make way for a housing project. A plan is now afoot to save the church edifice and make it part of the new housing community to be established there. Because of its religious and historical value, a movement has also been undertaken to preserve this house of worship as a national shrine.

All of this is discussed in the article which I am inserting into the RECORD. The article is written by Ursula M. Scervini, the daughter of Frank A. Scervini, well-known civic leader and humanitarian. It is published in the journal of the Charity Workers of the Blessed Trinity, founded 3 years ago by Mr. Scervini, a charitable organization which is spearheading the drive to save St. Joachim's from destruction.

The article reads as follows:

THE CRUSADE FOR ST. JOACHIM'S
(By Ursula M. Scervini)

The Charity Workers of the Blessed Trinity have undertaken and dedicated themselves to champion the cause of St. Joachim's Roman Catholic Church. We seek to preserve it as a national shrine and as a symbol of the devout faith of the Italian-American population of the United States. St. Joachim's should remain as a firm and historical landmark reminding us always of the many contributions it has made to our religion and to society. St. Joachim's is a tradition to be kept and a heritage to be safeguarded.

St. Joachim's can be justly called the mother church of the Italian immigrants. It was founded in 1888 by the congregation of the Missionary Fathers of St. Charles Borrameo, an order of missionaries who followed the immigrants to America, for the specific purpose of adjusting these immigrants to the customs of the New World. It was at St. Joachim's Church that the immigrant practiced and kept alive his Catholicism and was also taught to become a better citizen of his adopted land. For here was a haven where its protectors spoke the same language as the immigrant.

It was here at this chapel of refined beauty and saintly elegance that our first American saint, Mother Frances X. Cabrini, began her cradle of activities in America. Her first assignment upon landing on our shores was at Roosevelt Street, Manhattan, the site of St. Joachim's. There are those among us today who still recall meeting Mother Cabrini at St. Joachim's from whence her fruits of labor flowed throughout the country.

The significance and influence of the church is so great and so far-reaching among former parishioners and friends that they constantly return to this shrine from remote parts to participate in its activities. For years St. Joachim's has enjoyed this continued respect and admiration as a house of worship. However, today a cloud hovers over this shrine which for years has radiated only warmth and love through its portals. It is the site of the housing project being sponsored by the municipal credit union. The present plans call for the demolition of St. Joachim's.

The Charity Workers of the Blessed Trinity are not hindering progress. Our newly proposed Batista plan blends St. Joachim's Roman Catholic Church and the housing project as one unit. Everyone's needs will be satisfied and a house of worship will not be needlessly destroyed.

Our campaign has gained wonderful support and cooperation from 47 councils of the Knights of Columbus, 143 citywide civic organizations, and other committees of diversi-

fied nationalities and religions. In addition we have 180,000 signatures to petitions favoring the preservation of St. Joachim's as a national shrine and have received considerable newspaper coverage on our efforts.

The people want St. Joachim's and we of the Charity Workers of the Blessed Trinity have the will, the courage, and the faith to save this church for the people.

We are the champions of St. Joachim's. Our fight is still going on and because it is a just cause we have no fear. The powers that be will respect the will of the people. With our faith in God we will continue our crusade to prevent the demolition of St. Joachim's and to make it a national shrine where new generations will be able to worship in the tradition of their ancestors—the immigrants—paying homage to God our Father and his sainted child Mother Cabrini.

For these compelling reasons we dedicate ourselves and this evening's affair to the crusade of St. Joachim's. This is a night for keeping alive the spirit of a great church. We welcome all and any support. For in this crusade we are motivated by the spirit of love and charity which daily reflects itself at the shrine of St. Joachim's Roman Catholic Church.

Highway Traffic Safety Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 13, 1957

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the national highway and traffic death toll has reached such appalling totals as to constitute a major and almost insoluble problem.

Continued study and analysis by traffic and safety engineers, and revision and amendments of existing laws has failed to check the upward swing of this grim chart, and far too few citizens, apart from these authorities, actually concern themselves with this tragic traffic safety situation.

I think it is pertinent that I bring before this body a brief reference to the sustained and fruitful efforts of an outstanding California businessman, Mr. Robert E. Petersen, whose contributions, direct and indirect, to the general traffic safety of the Nation are important and demonstrable.

When Bob Petersen first became interested in the problems of the motorist and of safety back in 1948, he was convinced that the most fertile area in which to work for traffic safety was among the more youthful drivers across the country. Not that youth is the only offender against safety measures, but because the habit of careful driving is easier to initiate among the young.

To meet this issue head on, Petersen began a crusade of preaching safe driving to the thousands of so-called hot-rod enthusiasts in the United States. He correctly believed that the most constructive way was not to scold, preach, or carp, but to help organize a sport and to form a national organization to provide pride of membership and to establish aims and goals designed to eliminate irresponsibility and to stress highway courtesy and safety. Petersen was a dominant factor in the formation of the National Hot Rod Association, whose slogan is "Dedicated to Safety."

Through the outlet of the Petersen Publications, Petersen has constantly preached safety in all its phases. This includes a continuing crusade among the more than 1 million motorist-readers for more careful driving. In addition, Petersen constantly examines the new models and cars and reports objectively on their safety factors, or lack of them. Many of the safety features which he has fought for over the years have been adapted into today's cars. He also has made many practical suggestions for safety improvements in the highways themselves.

It is significant that the California Safety Council selected Mr. Petersen this year as the recipient of its first annual distinguish service award in recognition of his great and beneficial influence among youthful drivers, and his other valuable contributions toward greater highway safety.

Petersen also has been cited by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors for his safety work and for his remarkable accomplishments as the founder and head of one of California's biggest and fastest-growing publishing industries.

The fine citizenship manifest by Mr. Petersen and the cooperation and results he has achieved in the field of traffic safety are deserving of our sincerest commendation as well as the appreciation of the people of the United States.

Massacre—A Chapter in the Development of the Western Frontier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the outstanding western writers in our country is Marshall Sprague, of Colorado Springs, Colo. I have received from Mr. Sprague a brief summary of his forthcoming book, Massacre, which is soon to be published—on June 12, 1957—by Little, Brown & Co., of Boston. Because Massacre describes a vivid and important chapter in the development of the vast western frontier, I ask unanimous consent that I may have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of the recent letter to me from Marshall Sprague of Colorado Springs, Colo.

In the letter Mr. Sprague emphasizes that the West needs real development and not exploitation.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., *May 20, 1957.*
Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR DICK: The central action of my Little, Brown book Massacre occurred on September 29, 1879, when a small band of Ute Indians, pretty peaceful up to then, murdered their White River Indian agent, Nathan Meeker, and his employees, ambushed a force of 150 soldiers as they hurried in to help, kidnaped Meeker's wife and daughter and another young woman and held them for 23 days. As punishment, all the Colorado Utes lost most of their 12-million-acre Ute Reservation. The locale of the massacre on White River and the ambush on Milk Creek was 50 and 25 miles south of present Craig, Colo., the western-slope hometown of Senator Ed Johnson. The locale is roughly 125 miles east of Echo Park.

I approach this climax through the career of Nathan Meeker from his birth near Cleveland through his period as agriculture editor for Horace Greeley's New York Tribune, then founder of the cooperative colony of Greeley, Colo., and finally Ute Indian agent at White River in 1878–79, charged by the Government to convince the Utes that they must become farmers. Meeker was not a tactful man, but in Massacre I contend that his death was the inevitable result of manifest destiny pressing inexorably and finally crushing the Utes as it had crushed most other tribes from the beginning. The Utes, of course, liked their own way of life, their own hunting economy, which had done well by them for centuries. But their civilization was much too wasteful in its use of land to be tolerated in a United States of rapidly increasing population. Like most western Indians, they could not change to white ways in time. The murder of Meeker was an expression of their frustration.

For your "brief remarks to the Senate," I would suggest that Massacre tells the tragedy of Indians who lost everything because of their wasteful use of land. This high dry West, today as in 1879, still feels the huge influx of people from the crowded East. This West today, is still a principal safety valve. We need its vast spaces, which means that there must be no wasteful use of any of it. It is the Nation's most inspiring and critical problem in conservation, because everything in it is so scarce and must go such a long way. In particular, its water and power resources cannot be exploited for the benefit of the few. The criterion is not a matter of public versus private ideology, but a matter of absolute necessity—the most beneficial use of the land for the greatest possible number. That is, after all, our historical tendency.

The best of everything to you and Mrs. Neuberger.

MARSHALL SPRAGUE.

The Red River Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL B. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address delivered by Representative OVERTON BROOKS, of Louisiana, before the Red River Valley Association Convention, in Shreveport, La., on April 23, 1957. In my opinion, this address does a creditable job of explaining the reasons why navigation is necessary between Shreveport, La., and the Mississippi River, and why it cannot be achieved except through the medium of a lateral canal,

making use of the existing waterways paralleling the Red River.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY CONGRESSMAN OVERTON BROOKS BEFORE THE RED RIVER VALLEY ASSOCIATION, APRIL 21, 22, 23, 1957, SHREVEPORT, LA.

In the year 1899 the last boat steaming up the Red River arrived at Shreveport and after leaving its cargo retraced its course back to the Mississippi. Since this date no river boats have arrived at Shreveport, and the Red River has not been used for navigation. The question naturally arises, "Why has this stream not been used for waterborne commerce in more than 50 years?"

The answer is that the Red River over the years became unsuited for navigation. It has developed like many other streams in this nation which have changed due to the stripping of the hillsides of timber and to the cultivation of the lands by draining them and making possible the quick removal of water from the land. The little streams throughout our countryside have often dried up and have even disappeared in many instances in the course of the development of our Nation.

Red River has suffered this fate. The banks are soft and crumble and melt away under the terrific impact of high water rushing downstream to the sea. Channels have changed in the course of time to such an extent that boundaries have disappeared and old lines have been marked out. Parts of Bossier Parish, for instance, now find themselves on the Caddo side of the River. In at least one instance we have built a great bridge over the Red River and this was in Avoyelles Parish—only to find later that the river actually bypassed the bridge and left the structure high and dry, making a several million dollar structure, in the course of a very short time, worthless and unusable. In another instance, in northern Bossier, within the last few years, the State was compelled to spend tens of thousands of dollars to stop the ever-moving process of a Red River-changing channel in order to save another bridge in the course of construction in the Plain Dealing area and prevent it from being bypassed.

From the time the last river boat came to Shreveport, our people began to yearn for and to hope for the day when navigation would be restored to the river. They have seen other river ports in Louisiana and elsewhere thrive and grow and expand while our own valley—as fertile as the Garden of Eden—does not keep pace with this growth of these other areas. We have the people, the climate, the natural advantages of other localities; but we fail to provide the water transportation and water rates which they enjoy. This is the real difference between the Red River Valley cities and towns and other places.

In the years prior to 1946, we who were interested in the further development of our valley had been at work trying to restore navigation. At first we asked for navigation on the Red River itself as the answer to our traffic problems. We know that every large community must of necessity have every form of transportation—road, rail, air, pipelines, and water—and that the community that fails in any one respect does not contribute fully to its own development competitively with other more fortunate communities. After working on this matter for years, our plans were submitted to the Board of Rivers and Harbors of the Army Engineers in Washington—a board composed of the best hydraulic engineers in America.

I was present when this hearing occurred in Washington in 1946. I can look back over the years and realize how important this hearing was to our people here. Claudius Dickson of Shreveport was president of the Red River Valley Association and headed the delegation going to Washington. John Ewing of the Shreveport Times, a director of the Kansas City Southern Railway, came up especially and made a splendid presentation. Senator John H. Overton, my uncle, organized the meeting and presented the witnesses. Other distinguished citizens, many now gone to their rewards, made appearances on behalf of water transportation along the Red River. We all asked for navigation on the river itself.

After months of study and deliberation, the Board of Rivers and Harbors on April 19, 1946, in effect turned down our request for navigation on the Red River, but approved a plan for a waterway to be built on the south side of the river in the alluvial valley as a canal. There can be no question but that the approval of the Overton Waterway was a rejection of the use of the channel of Red River for navigation purposes. Since this decision was rendered, year by year, we have asked the Congress for money for the purpose of planning, blueprinting, and for engineering work for the lateral canal, and the Congress has granted this request; and has provided in all $515,000 for this purpose.

Why did the Board of Rivers and Harbors turn down the use of the channel of the Red River for navigation purposes but, at the same time, approved the construction of a canal along the south side of the river from Shreveport to the Atchafalaya? There were a number of reasons for this decision.

The first reason was that which I have already discussed; namely, the shifting of the channel, the caving and disintegration of the banks of the stream, the lack of availability of an adequate supply of water in the Red; and the greater cost of providing for navigation along the channel of Red River and the greater length of the channel of the river for transportation, for such purposes over that of the canal.

I think it is obvious that navigation on the Red River would require more water than navigation on the Overton Waterway. This is, of course, because the Red River is a flowing stream and the canal will be a slack-water course. It will require much more water to maintain a channel of a specified depth on the flowing stream than on a slack-water canal. How much more will be required depends upon the rate of the flow of the river and this will depend upon the number of obstacles placed in the path of the current.

The third reason that the use of the Red River channel for navigation purposes was discarded is that such a route must be much longer than the canal type of waterway. The Overton Waterway, as designed, is 205 miles long. On the other hand, the Red River channel is 280 miles long—75 miles longer than the proposed Overton Waterway. The Red River channel, of course, is longer because it is filled with curves, and bends. Then, too, its current will provide a serious obstacle to upstream navigation. The lack of current on the Overton Waterway, as designed, makes for much less bank wash and erosion; and provides for a greater stabilization of bank and channel.

The use of the Red River channel, if this were feasible, would require 12 locks and dams. The dams on the river, of necessity would be much larger and longer than those on the canal, for from bank to bank the river is much wider and, of course, would cost much more money to construct. It is obvious also that banks above and below the locks and the dams would have to be completely stabilized for some distance to prevent what occurred in Avoyelles Parish when the Red River cut a pathway around one of the bridges which had been constructed and thereby rendered the bridge useless. This would require much money. The project to stabilize the banks of the Red 3 miles above and 3 miles below Shreveport has already cost the Government over $10 million. This will give you some idea of the cost of stabilizing the river for a distance of 280 miles.

The original estimate of the cost of the Overton Waterway was $42 million. Since this estimate was made in 1946, of course, prices have gone up considerably. The engineers will give you a further cost estimate; but I would guess that it would certainly run under $100 million. On the other hand, the cost of building the Red River route, using the river channel for navigation, will run $300 million or better—2 or 3 times that of the cost of the waterway.

Besides this, the engineers say that it is not feasible to build the waterway on the Red River. Constant shifting of channels, crumbling of banks, and varying elevations of water make real problems; and these, in turn, make the river itself unsuited and unusable for navigation purposes.

You may say, "Well, Congressman, who says that the river is unsuitable for navigation besides yourself?" I answer, "The United States Corps of Army Engineers."

When we are sick, we go to a doctor; when we have toothache, we visit a dentist; and when we need to build a great canal for navigation, we look to our engineers. They have not let us down in any emergency.

This is the group of engineers which has built the program of flood control and navigation for our Nation since its inception. It is the group which was founded by the Father of Our Country, George Washington, when he was President of the United States. He sent to Europe to obtain three of the very best engineers from the armies of Napoleon, and they formed what is now our Army engineers. Since that time our Corps of Engineers has rated tops in conduct, ability, and efficiency.

The Army engineers is the same organization which landed its men on the shores of Normandy in France in World War II, even before the combat troops landed; and they cut the barbed wire and removed the obstacles, preparing the way for the landing of the infantry and the artillery, the tanks and the jeeps. They won an immortal place in the hearts and minds of our people; and neither time nor distance will efface the valor of their efforts nor the impact of their achievements in the development of America. I think we can safely depend upon them in the building of the Overton waterway.

The canal when built will begin at the confluence of the Old and Mississippi Rivers, and will continue on up to Shreveport, 206 miles to the northwest. The first 7 miles is through Old River, and the next 24 miles through Red River, at which point it follows Coulee des Grues, Choctaw Bayou, and Chatlain Lake Canal to Alexandria. It then proceeds through land cuts to Cane River through Natchitoches, and then on to Bayou Pierre and to Shreveport. It will use 120 miles of existing waterway as compared to 86 miles of land cuts. At Shreveport a turnaround basin will be built and a basin for loading and unloading will be built at all of the large stopping points.

It is fair to say that most of the land utilized will be far removed from urban centers and will be low or swampy land not normally used for cultivation. By the same token, the number of roads to be rerouted will be reduced to a minimum.

I have heard it said that such a canal will split the countryside wide open; and that a barrier greater than anything we have experienced will be erected to prevent the free passage to and fro across the waterway. This, of course, is not true. The waterway, of course, will be no greater a barrier than is Bayou Pierre and Cane River at the present time. At this time, these streams and others

like them must be bridged if we are to cross them. The same will apply to the canal.

On the other hand, the canal will pass through rather low places in the countryside; and this waterway will provide means of draining these sections of central and northwest Louisiana, which they do not now have. It is estimated that flood control and drainage benefits for the area will exceed $1 million per year. Flood control is an item for which we will spend millions of dollars even though we do not build the canal. If built, the canal will help take care of this expense and no other development presently contemplated will provide flood control and drainage benefits as indicated by the building of the canal.

Of course, this canal will cost lots of money. Any worthwhile project will cost money; and the question is, whether or not it is justified. The Army Engineers will settle this question, and I submit that they are better to dispose of this question accurately than any other group of people.

The actual or total benefits from the construction of this project will be inestimable. A million and a half people have settled in this portion of the Red River Valley and they are all affected by freight rates. Every rate increase of the railroad companies and the truck carriers, and the buses, adds to the cost of living of our people. Those live in the areas of Louisiana where navigation is available, know the difference in the costs. A rate increase is often the difference between success and failure of business.

Throughout the length and breadth of this country, we see the great cities and towns grow up along the rivers and the harbors. Navigation has attracted the people and businesses to these spots. Cost of living is lower and business prospers in such locations. And we see the great highways terminating at the sea and at the inland ports; and even the railroads, feeling the quickening impulse of lower rates, lay double tracks, add to their equipment and personnel and begin to boom in the stimulus of the increased transportation attendant with the port and with navigation. It is largely in places where there is navigation that the communities grow and prosper. New Orleans, the Crescent City; St. Louis, the hub of America; Chicago, the windy city; Pittsburgh and its golden triangle—all of these great cities are built on waterways and the backbone of their prosperity and growth lies in the development which lower freight rates and navigation have given to the community.

The Overton Waterway will open up to us, for waterborne commerce, the great ports along the Mississippi, such as Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Memphis, and St. Louis; the ports along the Atchafalaya and along the Intercoastal Canal, such as Lake Charles, Houston, and Beaumont. It will connect our communities directly with navigation all along the inland waterways of America—with Pittsburgh, Chicago, Minneapolis, and Sioux City. It will develop in our midst a new type of industry and bring fresh opportunity and new accomplishment to our people.

If we are going to have navigation for the Red River Valley below Shreveport, it is going to be by way of the Overton Waterway. Congress will never appropriate funds for the construction of a great project such as this if it is not approved by the Corps of Engineers. Nor will the people who must support the project by local cooperation approve it in the absence of the recommendations of the Army engineers. We can use all of the persuasion possible and apply political pressure, but I can tell you this—the Army engineers will not yield to the point of recommending a project which they feel is not worthy of the approval.

If, therefore, we reject the canal proposal, make no mistake, navigation in the Red River Valley is dead. We have no alternative. If we accept the proposal, we move forward. The way is not smooth. It is rough; filled with opposition and difficulties; but at the end of the rainbow, it offers the fulfillment of a dream of 55 years—navigation in the Red River Valley. We moved forward—at times, it is true, slowly—but always forward, and ultimately over the years we leave to our children the priceless heritage of having developed our God-given resources to the best of our ability. We leave to them the basis for competitive commerce in our valley, for further development greater than otherwise would have been possible; for prosperity and for happiness.

Waiting Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the May 27 edition of the Baltimore Sun carried an interesting as well as informative column by Mr. Thomas O'Neill. In his column Mr. O'Neill pointed out the disastrous effect that administration appointments have had on the sound public power program initiated and implemented by President Roosevelt and President Truman.

I highly recommend this article to my colleagues, and under unanimous consent, I insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

POLITICS AND PEOPLE
(By Thomas O'Neill)

WAITING GAME

WASHINGTON.—Time and circumstances are working for the administration in its purpose of reversing the public power trend of its Democratic predecessors. On three fronts President Eisenhower now has opportunities to curb the expansion of public production of power, both hydroelectric and atomic, and appears reasonably sure to use them. A vacancy on the Tennessee Valley Authority opens the way for the first Republican-appointed majority in that agency's history. Another impending replacement will remove from the Atomic Energy Commission a strong voice urging Government-financed construction of atomic-power plants. And Mr. Eisenhower has a veto ready in the event Congress enacts a last-chance measure to authorize a Federal power and flood-control dam at Hells Canyon in the Pacific Northwest.

A single term was insufficient for Mr. Eisenhower to make over all the public agencies and commissions in the Federal establishment. Appointments to the Tennessee Valley Authority, for example, are for terms of 9 years. In his second term, however, the boards come within his reach. Sympathetic appointees will implant his philosophy beyond his departure from the White House. His repugnance to the Government operation of powerplants has always been plain, as on the occasion when he cited TVA as an instance of creeping socialism. His disdain was further emphasized when the retirement of Dr. Harry A. Curtis from the TVA this month upon the expiration of his term received no official White House notice such as the customary note of appreciation.

The retirement left the TVA board divided between the chairman, Gen. Herbert Vogel, appointed 3 years ago by the present administration, and Dr. Raymond R. Paty, serving until 1960 under a Truman appointment. All appointees to the board are required by law to attest a belief in its purposes, but there are degrees of fervor in belief. General Vogel looks less enthusiastically upon the construction of steam plants to augment TVA's hydroeletric output than did his colleagues, and he was consistently outvoted by Dr. Curtis and Dr. Paty. A pro-Vogel majority is now in prospect.

With the development of atomic energy and the approach of the time when it can operate competitively against both water- and steam-produced electric power, the dispute over the role of the Government has entered that area. The Commission Chairman, Mr. Lewis Strauss (pronounced straws), a Wall Street banker and a Taft Republican who was appointed by Mr. Eisenhower, believes that the construction of atomic reactors for power production is within the capacities of private business and should in general be left to such enterprise. The lone surviving Truman appointee to the Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Thomas E. Murray, a wealthy engineer with more than 200 patents upon his own inventions, believes that the profit incentive for private industry is too far distant and that the Government must take the lead.

Mr. Murray's term on the Atomic Energy Commission expires June 30. His reappointment by Mr. Eisenhower is most unlikely. Against him, in the eyes of a White House which treasures close harmony in the ranks above everything, is his habit of speaking out when displeased.

A letter to the White House from a majority of the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy commending Mr. Murray for reappointment on the basis of his experience and ability got a chill reception. President Eisenhower observed coldly that such appointments were his province alone. Onlookers promptly wrote off Mr. Murray as a sure casualty. His complaint against Mr. Strauss has been chiefly on the score that the Commission Chairman was dictatorial, and concealed pertinent information from his colleagues. Congress took heed of this complaint in 1955 with the enactment of a law expressly forbidding one-man rule, a measure which President Eisenhower signed with expressed reluctance.

Advocates of a multipurpose Federal dam at Hells Canyon, a deep gorge separating Idaho and Oregon, concede that a bill they are pressing is the last hope in a 10-year battle for the project. The bill's chances are hardly good. A similar measure failed in the Senate last year. A license for private construction has been issued to the Idaho Power Co. and building has started. The administration has encouraged the private company by tax concessions. Sponsors of the public dam insist that Democratic election victories in the Northwest last November constituted a mandate for the Federal project. The administration is unimpressed.

Minimum Wage Historic Background

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an article in the June issue of his news-

paper by Ed Marciniak, the gifted and dedicated editor of Work, the monthly publication of the Catholic Council on Working Life, an organization working for social reform on the principles of The Condition of Labor by Pope Leo XIII and Reconstructing the Social Order by Pope Pius XI and which is open to all men of good will, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews.

Mr. Marciniak's article was prompted by the recent publication by Farrar, Straus and Cudahy of a biography of Bishop Edward Vincent O'Hara, who was born in Minnesota but spent many years of his life in Oregon where he was a dynamic force in the fight for the protection of the rights of working women.

It was in an Oregon case—*Muller* v. *Oregon* (208 U. S. 412), that the United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of laws limiting the hours of female employment. It was in this case, decided in February of 1908, that in the opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Brewer it was held in regard to women:

> Her physical structure and a proper discharge of her maternal functions—having in view not merely her own health, but the well-being of the race—justify legislation to protect her from the greed as well as the passion of man.

This was in 1908. It assured the workingwomen of that State the protection of a State law limiting their hours of employment. The next step was to assure them the minimum of a living wage. In 1913 the Illinois Senate vice and wage committee, of which I as lieutenant governor of Illinois was the chairman, conducted hearings that aroused the conscience of the Nation, with the result that in 1913 nine States, including Oregon, enacted State minimum-wage laws, all passed after the investigation conducted by the Illinois committee. Those were the first minimum-wage laws in our country.

Again it was in an Oregon case that the constitutionality of the legislation was established. This was in the case of Stettler against O'Hara, decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1917. With this preface, tracing the historic background, I am extending my remarks to include Ed Marcinink's tribute to the memory of a truly great American and champion of social justice, Bishop Edwin Vincent O'Hara, who while of the same name was not related to me.

The article follows:

A REFORMER: HIS NAME WAS O'HARA

(By Ed Marciniak)

One of the most famous labor cases in the United States Supreme Court history, *Stettler* v. *O'Hara*, upheld in 1917 the constitutionality of the Oregon minimum-wage law for women. It was the first time that the High Court had approved such an advanced piece of labor legislation.

The defendant in the case was Father Edwin Vincent O'Hara, chairman of the Oregon Minimum Wage Commission. He died late last year as Archbishop O'Hara, of Kansas City, Mo., and his biography has just been published.

The archbishop was a remarkable man: He paid attention to the Popes and listened to his people. From the people he learned of their needs, and from the church he got the vision and the push to do something about them. This virtue graced all his 51 years as a priest.

DEFENDING WORKERS

Not long after his first appointment in 1905 to the cathedral parish of Portland, Oreg., young Father O'Hara found himself on a soapbox explaining Leo XIII's defense of the workingman's right to a living wage. He shared this makeshift platform weekly with a well-known Marxist who insisted that he was trying to save the workers from "religion, the enemy of the workingman."

From the people who came to such a forum and from his parishioners Father O'Hara learned that low wages were being paid. He often quoted Leo XIII's famous conclusion: that a worker's "remuneration must be enough to support the wage earner in reasonable and frugal comfort."

As the former pupil of Msgr. John A. Ryan, who was author of that great book, The Living Wage, and of the Minnesota minimum-wage law, it was not surprising to find Father O'Hara leading the fight for an Oregon minimum-wage law. In his campaign he solicited and obtained advice and support of national figures like Samuel Gompers, Woodrow Wilson, Louis Brandeis, Jane Addams, and others.

FRIENDS TO THE RESCUE

When the Oregon State Legislature finally passed the bill, he was its logical choice for the chairman of the public body set up to enforce the law. When the law's constitutionality was challenged, many friends came to Father O'Hara's defense. Felix Frankfurter, who was later to become a Supreme Court Justice, volunteered to plead Father O'Hara's case before the High Court.

The result is now history. Father O'Hara won. The Court upheld the constitutionality of the Oregon law which eventually became the model for similar laws in more than a dozen States.

THE PASTOR'S JOB

How did Father O'Hara feel about all of this? He explained:

"In fulfilling these papal injunctions the pastor will find that his activities on behalf of his workingmen will fall into three general channels * * * education, organization, and legislation." The rest of his life was spent in these channels.

After returning in 1919 from Europe, where he served as a chaplain during World War I, he was put in charge of education for the diocese.

Portland had a lot of rural schools. His farm background as a youth, his willingness to hear the farmers out, and his characteristic eagerness to get the facts soon had him involved in rural life as deeply as he had been in Portland's factory wage problems.

Was there a rural problem? There was, he insisted. "Fundamentally the rural problem * * * has been one of isolation and drudgery."

ACTION IN RURAL LIFE

With such convictions, nobody was surprised at what happened next. In 1920 he became pastor of a rural parish in Eugene, Oreg., and the first director of the new rural life bureau in the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

In the summer of 1923 he called a national meeting of Catholic rural life leaders who gave birth to the Catholic Rural Life Conference. Today, the conference is a vigorous, influential body.

His interest in rural schools led him to another activity which was to flower after he became bishop of Great Falls, Mont., in 1930: The establishment of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine.

TRUST IN LAITY

Back of his concern with the spread of Christian doctrine was his conviction, based upon experience, that the church needed lay leadership.

"To assume that the laity are to act simply as rubber stamps for the clergy is to deny them leadership. * * * The intelligent layman must be allowed a certain freedom of action. He must not be held in constant check, under penalty of losing his service altogether."

When he came to Kansas City, Mo., in 1939 he found himself surrounded by Dixie's racial segregation and discrimination.

He found this the region where the title "American" went only to those who were "free, white, and Protestant." The tradition was strong against accepting Negroes, Jews, and Catholics.

There were no Jim Crow streetcars, but segregation was fixed in schools, hospitals, and hotels in hundreds of different ways.

OPPOSING RACISM

He confronted men with the Catholic teaching on the oneness of all men in the Mystical Body of Christ. He saw to it that there was no color line in the church—so that when the Supreme Court banned segregation in the public schools, the way had already been paved by integration of the parish schools of his diocese.

He founded the city's first interracial maternity hospital and then extended it into an accredited general hospital in which Negro surgeons and nurses could practice. It was called the Queen of the World Hospital and staffed by 18 Maryknoll nuns, all graduate M. D.'s.

He was a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, and an active supporter of both the Japanese American Citizens League and the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

When the news reached the world of the outrages perpetrated against the Jews by the Nazis, he immediately sent a message to the president of the Synagogue Council of America, saying:

"In these tragic days of grief and mourning of the Jewish people may we all understand that we are our brother's keepers; may all who profess the Christian faith especially understand the declaration of Pope Pius XI that 'all Christians are spiritually Semites.'"

LITURGICAL REFORM

In the last years of his life he was a leader in the movement to transform more of the church's liturgy into the language of the people so that they might act like adults in the house of worship. He actively tried to arouse an interest in the problems being faced by fellow Christians in South America.

His interests were as catholic as the church and that is why it took Jim Shaw a 274-page book to write about them.

Not long before his death, George Bernanos came to see him. When Bishop O'Hara asked about the attacks Bernanos made on Catholics in his books, the author of The Diary of a Country Priest was quick to justify himself.

"When I was a boy in school," he said, "I would doze over my lessons. The teacher used to come along and rap my knuckles and I would wake up and study. In my books I am trying to wake up a sleeping body of Christians."

Bernanos and Archbishop O'Hara were strong opposites—Bernanos fiery, impatient, and biting; the archbishop, patient, diplomatic, and always eager to listen.

In his own gentle, never faltering way, Archbishop O'Hara spent 51 years trying to arouse the sleeping Christians of North America.

North Brookfield Poultry Farmer Honored as "Great Living American"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert an excellent article from the Boston Daily Globe by its noted writer, Mr. Joseph F. Dinneen, Jr., touching upon the award to my friend and constituent, Mr. J. J. Warren, who recently received the United States Chamber of Commerce award as one of the great living Americans.

Breeder of a crossbred hen which established a new world's record for egg laying, Mr. Warren was chosen, not only for his breeding achievements, but for his outstanding accomplishments in 35 years as a successful, noted poultryman.

I may say that I am very proud of the wide recognition Mr. Warren has received in being selected as "a great living American" because he so highly merits that distinction and honor. Through the years, by reason of his hard work, perseverance, ability in his field, tenacity of purpose, and the high quality of his citizenship, he has won the respect and admiration of all those who know him.

Mr. Warren's story is an American success story founded in hard work, ambition, capacity and enterprise. It is triumph, not only for Mr. Warren, but also for the fine community in which he lives and works. It is evidence of the fact that America is a land of opportunity where men are usually judged on their merits and can rise to the top in competition.

Mr. Warren has been a great and successful competitor and the people of my district and State join me, I know, in heartily congratulating him for his remarkable record and wishing for him and his family every measure of continued success and happiness for the future.

The article follows:

[From the Boston Daily Globe of April 18, 1957]

NORTH BROOKFIELD POULTRY FARMER HONORED AS "GREAT LIVING AMERICAN"

(By Joseph F. Dinneen, Jr.)

J. J. Warren, a hard-working poultryman who has lived in the comparative obscurity of his North Brookfield farm for most of his 64 years, was catapulted into the national limelight last week.

A United States Chamber of Commerce announcement issued in Washington, D. C., reported that J. J. Warren was 1 of 9 chosen to be honored as a great living American.

The North Brookfield poultry farmer found himself in select company.

The other eight chosen:

Movie magnate Cecil B. DeMille.

Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey.

Former Ambassador to Italy Clare Booth Luce.

Olympic sprint champion Bobby Morrow.

Artist Norman Rockwell.

Mental health pioneer Dr. William C. Menninger.

Labor columnist Victor Riesel.

Lt. Col. Frank K. Everest of the Air Force.

Breeder of a crossbred hen which established a new world's record for egg laying, Warren was singled out for honor because of his outstanding contribution in the field of agriculture, and, more precisely, for his accomplishments in 35 years as a poultryman.

Warren reacted much like any person caught by surprise. He showed a quizzical, doubtful, "Who me?" look when first informed of the high honor.

He professes the first he knew of the award was on March 6 when he received a letter from the United Chamber of Commerce informing him he had been selected as one of the great living Americans.

The poultryman said he had no idea how his name had been placed in nomination for such an award.

Warren said the letter informed him he had been chosen as one of the select group who "during 1956 made a unique and distinctive contribution to our American way of life under our system of democracy and free enterprise."

A panel of judges, he was told, selected him for recognition "because of your achievement in developing the hen which established a new record for an individual crossbred hen in the National Egg Laying Contests for 1955–56, symbolizing the increasing productivity in agriculture."

The awards—first ever made—will be presented by John S. Coleman, retiring president of the chamber, at the 45th annual meeting in Washington, D. C., April 29.

Warren will be there. He wrote Coleman recently, "It was with a deep sense of pleasure and humility that I read your letter of March 6. To be selected as one of the "Great Living Americans" of 1956 is such a signal honor that it is difficult for me to find words to express my feelings."

Accompanying him to the ceremonies, he said, will be Miss North Brookfield III. The comely miss, he explained, is the Hen of the Year for 1956 and champion hen of the 1955–56 national hen laying contests. The Warren-bred bird laid 342 eggs in a 50-week test.

Miss North Brookfield III, his third top prize bird in the 18 years of the championship contest, currently is in Virginia on the farm of television star Arthur Godfrey. Warren made a gift of the hen to Godfrey after the TV funnyman made mention of her on his program when she gathered national laurels. Warren and Godfrey have never met.

According to the chamber, the nominees for the award were limited to American citizens who "by their own initiative, have made a notable contribution to human progress." A dedicated poultryman, Warren filled the bill in his field.

A native of Batavia, N. Y., he came to North Brookfield with his family when he was only 8. His boyhood was spent on the family general farm which produced milk and dairy products, vegetables, poultry, and eggs.

Following graduation from high school in 1913, Warren went to the Massachusetts Agricultural College (now the University of Massachusetts), graduating in 1917 with a B. S. degree in poultry and husbandry.

After Army service, including a year overseas, he worked in Iowa as a poultry specialist for 4 years, saving enough money to return to North Brookfield where he bought a 22-acre farm which mushroomed to over 300 acres as the years passed.

Warren started with only a few hundred breeding hens but success has multiplied the size of his flocks to nearly 25,000. The estimated yield last year was about 5 million eggs. Two million of the eggs stayed on the farm and yielded about 1.5 million chicks. The rest were sent to market.

Despite the size of the flocks and enormity of the operation, the Warren farm employs only about 30. Modern methods have eliminated the need for more help. The buildings look old and weather-beaten as one approaches, but inside they contain the finest and most modern of equipment.

The operation rests firmly in the hands of the Warren family. Three older boys, Jim, Jr., 28; Bill, 26, and George, 25, are all actively engaged in the business with their father. All live within a stone's throw of the poultry farm.

Two other sons will be active participants when they are older. They are Neil, 16, a junior at St. Johns Preparatory School, Danvers, and Dick, 13, an eighth grader at St. Josephs in North Brookfield. A daughter, Catherine, 12 ("and please spell it with a C") is a seventh grade student.

A devoted family man, Warren says both he and the children "owe a great debt of gratitude to their mother," C. Regina Warren. The children, he said, are especially indebted for "their moral training and assistance in their foundation studies."

The three oldest boys all attended the University of Massachusetts. Warren expects that the other two boys will also attend his alma mater after they complete their high school education.

Winning prizes for outstanding poultry specimens is nothing new to J. J. Warren. The early family home, now converted into an office, is as filled with them as the athletic office of a college.

Warren says he has been sending birds to the egg-laying tests for about 25 years. "Over the years," he says, "we have won many tests. Our Rhode Island Reds and production Crossbreds have made some records that still stand."

In 1938, he said, one of his Reds won the hen of the year award. In 1949, a pen of his Reds set a new all-time production record for Rhode Island Reds and heavy breeds. The hen of the year for 1949 was chosen from that pen.

Last year's "Hen of the Year" honor—third time it was captured—came with the selection of the Production Barred Cross hen at the Northeastern Poultry Producers Council Exposition in Syracuse, N. Y.

The inclusion of the name of J. J. Warren may have cause some puzzled head-scratching in some circles but not to the poultrymen and farmers throughout the country who know his product. The farm has a list of hundreds of customers for their pedigreed chicks.

For the slim, short, bushy-haired poultry farmer, the trip to Washington will be his first vacation in 18 years. A humble, mild-mannered man, he is somewhat awed by the names of the eight others on the list.

But the United States Chamber of Commerce did not lay an egg when they placed the name of poultryman J. J. Warren on the list.

OTHERS CITED

Chosen by the United States Chamber of Commerce as "Great Living Americans," besides J. J. Warren, were:

Cecil B. DeMille—for achievement in motion pactures, notably The Ten Commandments.

Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey—for achievement in Federal tax reforms, particularly in revisin the Internal Revenue Code.

Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce—for achievements in international relations as Ambassador to Italy.

Bobby Morrow of Abilene Christian College in Texas—for achievements as winner of three gold medals in 1956 Olympics.

Norman Rockwell—for achievements as artist as "interpreter of the American scene."

Victor Riesel—for achievements as columnist in labor reporting, particularly his defense of union members against corrupt and oppressive leaders despite threats to his per-

sonal safety. (He was blinded in an assault a year ago.)

Lt. Col. Frank K. Everest of the Air Force—for his "supreme courage" in flying the rocket-powered Bell X2 airplane 1,900 miles per hour.

Dr. William C. Menninger—for achievements as mental health pioneer.

Conference Report on the State-Justice-Judiciary Appropriation Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, it is gratifying that the conferees on the State-Justice-Judiciary and related agencies appropriation bill have reached an agreement so quickly. It is a tribute to the efficiency with which this measure has been handled.

The credit should go to the Senator from Texas [Mr. JOHNSON], the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], and the other members of the subcommittee who labored so diligently.

This morning, the distinguished commentator of the New York Times, Arthur Krock, commented on a statement made by the junior Senator from Arkansas in connection with this bill. He pointed out that the words of the Senator from Arkansas carry great weight because of his studious, longtime concern with foreign policy.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD in the hope that it will be read by every Senator.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORE PROOF THAT FORESIGHT MAY BE VAIN
(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, May 27.—The comments on the Taiwan riots that were made today by Senator FULBRIGHT, one of the most responsible, effective, and early champions of free world collective security, furnish new evidence that unexpected events can threaten the most careful planning. The riots and their concentrated show of anti-Americanism, said the Senator, are still another proof that the United States Information Agency has failed to popularize American policy, even with such recipients of our lavish help and protection as the Chinese on Taiwan.

FULBRIGHT made this observation in connection with criticism of Abbott Washburn, a USIA official, for issuing a statement designed to promote a restoration of the Agency's fiscal 1958 appropriation that the House cut to $106 million, from the administration's request of $144 million, and the Senate to $90 million. The statement, asserting that the full reduction would cripple the agency and bestow important benefits on the Soviet Union, was issued as House and Senate conferees prepared to fix the final amount of the USIA appropriation, a time-honored stroke of executive lobbying that always angers some group in Congress.

That was not the important aspect of the incident, because carefully timed executive budget lobbying is conventional and will go on forever. The importance is supplied in this instance by the identity of the congressional critic, and by the reminder of the impact of the unforeseen that is implicit in his use of the Taiwan riots to point up the criticism.

THE FULBRIGHT BACKGROUND

1. The junior Senator from Arkansas is a leader of the small bipartisan band that helped to substitute internationalism for isolationism as United States policy. As a young Member of the House he proposed, and the House on September 21, 1943, approved, the Fulbright resolution that gave early and powerful impetus to this fundamental change. The resolution called for "the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and to maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world, and as favoring participation by the United States therein."

FULBRIGHT is also the author of Public Law 584, the legislation by which teachers and students are exchanged among many nations by means of fellowships. It is the cultural counterpart of the free world collective security policy for which the Senator labored as a pioneer. Against this background his adverse judgment of the USIA acquires special influence with his colleagues. This influence was strengthened with the Democrats by a recent charge that the New-Fair Deal had been "in the grip of an alien ideology." That was publicly said by the Administration official who obviously should shun partisanship more than any other—Arthur Larson, the new Director of the USIA.

2. The Communist propaganda agency may have had a hand, and probably had, in the anti-American riots on Taiwan and in the nonviolent Japanese demonstrations against the United States. The military trials that were the occasions for these incidents automatically opened a season of happy hunting for Communist troublemakers.

THE FACTOR OF TIMING

Nevertheless, the resentment displayed against the large American contingents seemed to spring from a feeling that was more than ready to be organized for violence. And this display on Taiwan and in Japan, coming at a time when Congress and the President were in a dispute involving the efficacy, cost, and useful duration of the mutual-security program, was certain to enter the dispute and play some part in the ultimate decision. Hence, the events belong in the category of unforeseen events that have damaged apparently perfect plans and now and then have cast them on the scrap heap. So it could develop that the administration's mutual-security program, particularly that part which is assigned to the USIA, will be restricted more than it would have been if the Taiwan riots had not occurred at this legislative juncture.

Whether or not that is the consequence, it was an enlightened and avant garde American internationalist, Senator FULBRIGHT, who made clear today his belief that the riots supply another argument against the appropriation of more than the Senate's $90 million for the Information Agency, and another reason why it should be put under the State Department with a revised code of procedures.

Timing, by blind chance or by design, is ancient among the factors that determine the courses of humanity. It has swayed legislative battles, and has turned the tide of war. The tropicallike thunderstorm in the late afternoon and night of June 17, 1815, disastrously slowed Napoleon's pursuit of Wellington, whom Ney, disregarding the Emperor's message, had allowed to begin his retreat unmolested.

The Taiwan riots will not affect the administration's foreign program as the rain did Napoleon's plan of battle at Waterloo. But they bring sharply to mind the ever-present perils to the best-laid plans of mice and men.

Lease-Purchase, Also Called Profit-and-Lease, Principle Applied by Some States To Lick School Construction Problem Themselves Without Federal Government Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to note by a recent article in the May 26 Washington Star, which I am including in the RECORD, that the States of Maine, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Wisconsin and Indiana have passed legislation to apply the lease-purchase—which is also referred to in the States as a profit-and-lease act—principles to solving the schoolroom shortage problem locally without relying on the Federal Government to pass school construction grants.

It is refreshing to see these States evolve a self-help program within the States and it is interesting to note that the principle employed closely approximates the Federal Lease-Purchase Act of 1954 passed by the 83d Republican Congress in its effort to meet some of our post office and Federal building needs without direct construction appropriations, but rather with the utilization of private enterprise and capital. This is the Federal act that expires by July 22, 1957, unless it is extended before that date, and on which Congress is dragging its feet. I have consistently maintained that the responsibility for school construction is a local one and that a majority of the people in this country are willing to accept this challenge—and even more are not willing to risk Federal control or interference with local educational processes through Federal aid intervention. I commend this article to my colleagues and to those States that might find some merit in such a proposal or some encouragement to devise a different one in the knowledge that some States are advancing on their own in meeting schoolroom shortages.

The article follows:

ALTERNATIVE TO FEDERAL AID—INDIANA HAS NEW SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION PLAN
(By Phil Yeager)

Indiana has a notion that it can get the schools it needs without any particular help from Uncle Sam.

At least the Hoosiers have come up with an alternative to the Federal aid concept—an alternative which, if it works, might set a pattern other States will want to follow.

A lot of ingredients are mixed up in the Indiana formula, but the major ones are:

A system of private financing designed to get around the sluggish bond market and avoid the need for immediate big cash outlays.

A slashing of the legal redtape which hamstrings many States in contracting for new schools.

Unique teamwork between designers and builders in providing, at low cost, the flexible, modern schools demanded by the future.

Legislation begun by the Indiana General Assembly in 1955 and completed at the cur-

rent session a few weeks ago laid the groundwork for the Indiana plan.

Under the old system, a locality wanting a new school first acquired the necessary site. Then an architect drew plans for the school on speculation. If plans were approved by the school board, construction bids were asked. If and when bids were submitted within the desired financial limits, bonds were issued to finance the building. If the bonds sold, construction began.

Many States today operate in that fashion.

A PACKAGED DEAL

Under the new Indiana plan, a district wanting a new school advertises its intention to build with a description of what it wants. Bidders submit design and a construction bid combined, which cuts fees as well as costly construction corners. A single contract is let with a company which finances and builds the school, even providing the site if necessary. Component parts of the school are made, and sometimes partially assembled, at the builder's plant and shipped to the site where the school is erected.

Construction time under the new system is likely to be half, or even a third, that of conventional schedules. When the building is finished it is leased by the builder to the school board for a period of years, at the end of which time title passes to the appropriate school authority.

Here is what the State assembly did to get its plan set up.

To cut school costs without sacrificing quality, it passed an offsite construction act which permits the acquisition, assembly, and construction of schools away from the eventual site. The act takes advantage of the economies allowed by prefabrication, but gets around the inflexibility of function often associated with prefabrication by providing for use of component parts which may be assembled according to need, location, size, etc. The parts can be made cheaply but meshed with any plans the school district may have in mind.

The law also authorizes the acquisition of plans, parts, and construction in a single package contract.

To ease financing problems, the assembly passed a profit-and-lease act which authorizes private financing of new schools by permitting school boards to lease sites and buildings through private corporations for profit.

Under this law, school boards contract with private groups to provide the site and school and, at the same time, arrange for their long-term lease. A "fair and reasonable" rental is allowed such groups, the rental being paid by local taxes. Leases may run anywhere up to 50 years, but when they expire the school becomes the property of the community. School boards have the option of purchasing the facilities outright at any time, nominal penalties attaching only during the first 10 years of the lease if the purchase takes place then.

Four other States—Maine, Pennsylvania, Georgia and Wisconsin—are also authorized to make use of the lease-purchase principle. But none of them has advanced to the stage set by Indiana and, apparently, no other State has ventured into this kind of financing.

NEW STYLES IN SCHOOLS

A critical element in the success of the Indiana plan is the development of more economical, more flexible schools. In this respect, parallel endeavors by two of the Nation's industrial giants, Republic Steel and United States Steel, are held highly significant.

During the past few years the steel companies have been working with designers to create flexible prefabricated components which will permit quality construction of the cheaper schools desired.

Republic has developed a pattern based structually on 3-, 6-, and 9-foot component modules; it is a flexible scheme, and it permits a choice of different building materials such as tile, brick, concrete block, and porcelain panel to suit the needs and financial limitations of the builder. A U. S. Steel system is based on all-steel room units; it emphasizes more rapid construction and is somewhat cheaper to build.

Republic is completing the first of its modular schools at Hymera, Ind. U. S. Steel has finished 2, 1 at Gary and the other a parochial school at Emmitsburg, Md.

In both systems costs range between $18,000 and $22,000 per room, whereas the national norm is around $30,000 or more.

This kind of saving, added to the economy of construction time, is expected to more than compensate for whatever cost increase, if any, comes out of Indiana's new private financing system.

Supreme Court Should Grant Rehearing on Girard College Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Court is considering the request to reopen the Girard College case and to permit oral arguments and in the light of the considerable public consternation, among many lawyers as well as laymen, over the decision, I call the attention of the House to the editorial in the Tampa Daily Times of May 25 calling for the reopening of the case.

The editorial follows:

COURT SHOULD RECONSIDER GIRARD COLLEGE OPINION

The Supreme Court should consider carefully the trend of public opinion in considering a request to reopen the Girard College case and permit oral arguments.

The Court previously ruled that the college, a private institution specifically endowed for the purpose of educating poor, white orphan boys, must also admit Negro students.

No public funds are used for the college. It is financed solely from a bequest of Stephen Girard. The Girard will has been valid for 109 years.

The Supreme Court based its integration edict on the fact that the Board of City Trusts, which administers the college is a public body set up by the Pennsylvania Legislature. Since the board receives no public funds, it seems that the Court has leaned over backward in its decision.

The will of Stephen Girard had no indication of malice or prejudice in it. There was nothing to show that Mr. Girard wished to discriminate against colored children. In all probability, he would have been delighted if someone else had set up a similar school for Negro orphans.

But he chose as his particular project the creation of a school for poor, white orphan boys. After all, one man's resources can accomplish only so much.

The Court's action will cause each person to wonder if he may specify how the fruits of his life's labor shall be honorably expended after his death.

The board of trustees of the college has pointed out that the Court's April opinion was handed down without permitting representatives of the college to submit an argument.

It is difficult to understand what logic the Justices used in associating Girard College, a completely private institution, with the 1954 opinion that public schools should be integrated.

The Court should grant the college's request to reconsider this case. It should also sample public opinion and sense the widespread and shocked indignation that the Girard opinion has generated.

Traditionally, an individual's last request has been held inviolable. But tradition is faring poorly in Washington these days.

Public opinion is strongly in favor of the Court reverting to the duty of interpreting the law rather than continuing to write new laws.

Are We Wasting Natural Resources?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the rate at which we are utilizing and, in many instances, wasting our natural resources is giving our scientists and sociologists special concern these days. Every American should be concerned.

Some of these experts are of the opinion that we are rapidly becoming a have-not nation in many respects. At the turn of the century we were assured by some of our great steel corporations that we had an inexhaustible supply of iron ore in the Mesabi Range of Minnesota. Notwithstanding these assurances of strongly expressed, cocksure confidence, I am informed that we are now down to mining taconite which is a low-grade 30-percent ore and that we are importing iron ore.

Relatively the same situation obtains in the oil industry. In 1930 when the east Texas field was discovered, it was assumed that we had an indefinite supply of oil. But that has not proved to be the case and we are now in the role of an oil importer.

Is there a national attitude of unconcern for the future? Are we tending to minimize or overlook completely the serious problems of supply of natural resources that we are bound to have to face in years ahead? Have our methods been wasteful and improvident in utilizing these natural resources? Are we doing enough research to replace them when the day comes that they are exhausted? Are we spreading ourselves too thin by exporting large quantities of valuable resources to other parts of the world? What situation will confront us when our resources are relatively exhausted and the comparatively unexploited resources of the Communist world are fully developed?

I pose these questions because I believe they are worthy of careful intensive study and that we are indulging in an unwise luxury when we are deferring our search for appropriate answers. There are many agencies I know that are

charged with some degree of responsibility for conserving and keeping inventory of natural resources and how to develop them. But it seems to me that there should be an integrated study inaugurated by appropriate committees of the Congress on a very broad scale designed to collect the facts relating to the present status of our natural resources supply and make recommendation for their more prudent utilization as well as provide some rational plan for developing satisfactory substitutes for these steadily depleting resources.

I think that the Congress should fully assume its responsibility in this all-vital and all-important field of conservation because at the rate we are going it is certain that the most serious problems lie ahead of us, and we must move to try to cope with them in order to protect the paramount interest of the American Nation and its people.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

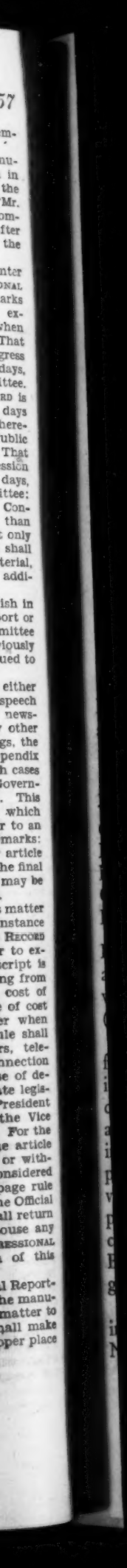

Appendix

The Red River Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL B. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me concerning the need for a canal to connect Shreveport, La., and, subsequently, Denison, Tex., and Jefferson, Tex., with the Mississippi River. This address was made before the Red River Valley Association Convention, in Shreveport, La., on April 23, 1957. The growth of the areas in the State of Louisiana now served by waterways has been so phenomenal that it is my feeling that the tabulations contained in this address will be of general interest, since they demonstrate a definite trend in the industrial development of our Nation.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF HON. RUSSELL B. LONG, OF LOUISIANA, BEFORE THE RED RIVER VALLEY ASSOCIATION CONVENTION, SHREVEPORT, LA., APRIL 23, 1957

It is certainly a pleasure to have the opportunity to talk to you immediately after hearing the Chief of Engineers tell you that, after a thorough recheck, he finds that the Red River lateral canal has a favorable economic ratio and he is ready to start to work on your project.

You have come a long way in a little over a year with this project, and I think the report you have just heard is a great tribute to your association—to Roy Matthias, to Clif Fairbanks, and to his beloved predecessor, our good friend Fred Webb. They worked hard to bring this project back and certainly deserve a big hand for having done so.

Two years ago Roy Matthias came to me in Washington and said he wanted my help in getting construction started on the Overton Red River Canal. I told him that I would be happy to do all I could, but that I needed help from the people from northwest Louisiana in the way of an expression that they wanted and needed this waterway.

Roy certainly brought that message back to you, because on several occasions I have had that expression—particularly when more than 175 of you came to Washington for the express purpose of urging the construction of a waterway to connect Shreveport with the Mississippi River. Your efforts have not been wasted.

NEED BETTER RATES

Last year, when I spoke before this meeting, I told you that it was my feeling that this section of Louisiana needed a waterway if it hoped to kep pace with the progress of the rest of the State.

I told you that Shreveport was a captive port and, because of this, those who wished to trade with it were forced to pay a premium freight rate because it did not have a waterway. I cited you some examples and I pointed to the other great cities of Louisiana and said that they were getting the lion's share of industry's new money—because they had a waterway.

During the past year, the trend I called attention to then has become even more noticeable. Let's look at the figures that have just been released by the Department of Commerce and Industry of the State of Louisiana:

During 1956, a total of $563 million was invested in the State by new industry. The breakdown indicating the parishes that received the major portion of this investment looks like this:

Calcasieu	$109,000,000
East Baton Rouge	84,000,000
Ascension	80,000,000
Jefferson	49,000,000
Ouachita	65,000,000
Total	387,000,000

On the other hand, let us compare the figures for new industrial development in the seven parishes of the Red River Valley:

Caddo	$4,000,000
Avoyelles	20,000
Bossier	74,000
Rapides	161,000
Natchitoches	----------
Grant	----------
Red River	----------
Total	4,255,000

It is particularly interesting to note that Ouachita received a big share of this investment with $65 million dollars. Just a little over 2 years ago, an official of the largest industry that was using the 6½-foot channel of the Ouachita River came to me with the fear that the Corps of Engineers might be forced to abandon maintenance of this project because of the amount of traffic that was using the waterway. Just as they have done in the case of your waterway, the engineers made a recheck and discovered that industry wanted to use it, but they wanted a 9-foot channel. Based on these findings, we were successful in securing planning money for the already authorized 9-foot channel, and it appears that this was all that was necessary to cause new industry to rush to the banks of this waterway-to-be.

NEW MONEY AND JOBS

The half billion dollars of new money that industry invested in Louisiana during 1956 represents nearly 12,000 new jobs at wages far beyond the average for Louisiana. It does not stop there. So far, during 1956, industry has continued to invest more than $1 million a day and some 2,000 new jobs have opened up in the State this year as a result of an additional investment in excess of $107 million.

The investment that industry has made in Louisiana during the past 15 months indicates that it is anxious to locate in the State, first of all because an unlimited supply of industrial water can be found there, and, secondly, the flood-protection program has advanced to the stage where the people and the factories behind the levees have reasonable assurance that they will not be flooded out every spring. As evidence that industry is attracted by the waterways, the investment figures for the two principal areas of the State served by waterways—the New Orleans-Baton Rouge area and the Lake Charles-Calcasieu area—are continuing to grow by leaps and bounds. The people of that area are clamoring for a wider and deeper channel to the sea and a wider and deeper Intracoastal Waterway to the east and west.

Investments by industry
[In millions]

Parish	1956	1957 January to March
East Baton Rouge	$84.4	$12.5
West Baton Rouge	----------	----------
Iberville	11.0	43.5
Ascension	80.8	----------
St. John the Baptist	----------	----------
St. James	66.5	----------
St. Charles	18.9	----------
Jefferson	48.9	1.4
Plaquemines	2.4	1.7
St. Bernard	26.3	.1
Orleans	6.1	2.6
Calcasieu	109.4	35.9
Total for 12 parishes	454.7	97.7
Total State investment	563.3	107.1
Percent of total State investment in 11-parish Baton Rouge–New Orleans area and Lake Charles area	80	81

THE GOLDEN HORN

The Baton Rouge-New Orleans story is truly a revelation. So astounding is the growth in this area that it has been called the fastest growing area in America.

Industrialists who come to Louisiana see in a hurry what is happening. As Gov. Averell Harriman of New York, pointed out to New Orleans businessmen a short time ago—"the rate at which industries are growing along the Mississippi River between Baton Rouge and New Orleans wil cause those two major cities to expand until they practically meet."

As indicated by the figures above, during 1956 and the early part of 1957, better than 60 percent of new industry located in the area along the Mississippi River, commencing a few miles south of New Orleans and extending upstream a few miles north of Baton Rouge.

The magazine Business Week makes a significant point with respect to the location of industries. It points out that many industries prefer to locate on the east bank of the Mississippi River because it throws them into the southern freight-rate zone rather than to locate on the western bank which has somewhat higher freight rates. Nevertheless, those large industries which move their products primarily by water and pipelines can locate on either bank without penalty. The point to keep in mind is that, when a large corporation prefers the east bank of the Mississippi River to the west bank because freight rates are somewhat more favorable on the east bank, one can begin to understand what a tremendous disadvantage is suffered by an area which lacks the competition of water transportation.

In our lifetime, we have seen the population of East Baton Rouge Parish increase from 30,000 to nearly 200,000. Industry began to flock to the banks of the Mississippi River in the area that provided deepwater navigation just as soon as the flood-control program was well underway. Since 1950, outlays and commitments by industry on the 130-mile stretch of river from Baton Rouge to New Orleans total more than $1 billion. There is no indication that this movement

is even approaching a point of diminishing returns. This is the picture as it exists today:

Starting about 30 miles above Baton Rouge, at St. Francisville, a new paper mill is under construction. It will cost about $35 million.

In the Baton Rouge area, W. R. Grace & Co. is building an $18 million polyethylene plant and United States Rubber Co. is constructing a $5 million resin plant. Esso Standard Oil Co., which claims its Baton Rouge oil refinery is the Nation's largest, the Ethyl Corp., General Chemical and Solvay Process divisions of Allied Chemical & Dye Corp., Lion Oil Co., Copolymer Rubber & Chemical Corp., Shell Oil Co., America Cyanamid, Consolidated Chemicals, Foster Grant, and Nyotex Chemicals have all made plans to boost their present capacities.

Moving southward, in Iberville Parish, the Dow Chemical Corp. is building a $50 million installation that is to begin producing chlorine, caustic soda, and a number of organic chemicals next year. I have been told that the investments this corporation will make in that section will ultimately run to more than $300 million.

A few miles farther down, at Geismar, Wyandotte Chemicals Corp. is constructing a $28 million chlorine and caustic soda-making installation. That represents its first major venture away from its Michigan home plant.

Still a few miles further south, at Burnside, the Olin-Revere Metals Corp. is building a $51 million alumina plant. It is expected that this plant will, in a brief space of time, aggregate an $80 million investment and that this investment will be developed in the very near future.

At Gramercy, just a few miles further south, the Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. is putting up a $70 million alumina and chemicals plant—its third facility in the Louisiana area. It has been estimated that this plant will eventually represent a $200 million investment.

Ten miles below that point, at Reserve, Webb & Knapp, Inc., has begun the first phase of work on what it eventually intends to be a large industrial community.

Jefferson and Orleans Parishes are running out of industrial locations along the Mississippi River. Because there was little place where industry could locate in Orleans Parish, Jefferson has exceeded Orleans during recent years in acquiring major industrial expansion.

The same is true on the east bank in St. Barnard Parish, to a lesser extent, but Freeport Sulphur Co. has announced its intention to locate a $100 million nickel and cobalt plant at Braithwaite in Plaquemines Parish a bit further below New Orleans.

NEW ORLEANS CLAMORING

Areas that already have the advantages of water transportation understand the problems involved and are constantly behind their delegation pressing for improvements of their transportation facilities. Along the Mississippi River we have one of the best navigation highways in the world. It amounts to an inland harbor almost 200 miles long from Baton Rouge to the end of the industrial area below New Orleans.

As I have pointed out, that area has some of the best transportation facilities on earth, yet New Orleans is pressing for an additional outlet to the sea. Not only has that channel been authorized, but this year I predict that construction money will be made available to commence building this $100 million tidewater channel from the Industrial Canal at New Orleans to the Gulf of Mexico that will create 80,000 acres of new industrial sites to permit this tremendous development to continue.

This great area along the Mississippi River has an unlimited supply of fresh water, good railroad connections, and magnificent water transportation facilities, attracting the largest of American corporate investments, the area is growing so rapidly that construction men estimate that the area will be short more than 20,000 construction workers merely to construct the new industries already projected.

POPULATION TREND

Now let's check and see where our population is increasing as a result of this activity:

Here is a comparison of the population trend in the areas that have water transportation as compared with the Red River Valley which does not have it:

Population trend 1940–56

AREAS WITH WATER TRANSPORTATION

Parish	1940	1950	1956 (estimate)	Percent gain (+) or loss (−) 1940–56
	Thousands	*Thousands*	*Thousands*	
Calcasieu	56.5	89.6	119.2	+111
East Baton Rouge	88.4	158.2	212.5	+140
Jefferson	50.4	103.9	152.2	+200
St. Bernard	7.3	11.1	14.7	+100
Orleans	494.5	570.4	630.2	+27
Total	697.1	-------	1,128.8	[1] +62

[1] Average.

RED RIVER VALLEY

Parish	1940	1950	1956 (estimate)	Percent gain (+) or loss (−) 1940–56
	Thousands	*Thousands*	*Thousands*	
Caddo	150.2	176.5	205.9	+37
De Soto	31.8	24.4	22.9	−3
Red River	15.9	12.1	10.8	−3
Natchitoches	41.0	38.1	37.6	−1
Rapides	73.4	90.6	106.0	+44
Avoyelles	39.3	38.0	38.7	−1
Grant	15.9	14.3	13.8	−1
Total	366.2	-------	436.1	+19

When you note that New Orleans increased by only 27 percent during this period, it is important to keep in mind that New Orleans is limited for expansion and, during the last 16 years, has been spreading over into Jefferson, St. Bernard and Plaquemines Parishes, which accounts for the increase of more than 200 percent in Jefferson Parish during the same period. The overall average increase for the area of the three Parishes of Orleans, Jefferson, and St. Bernard is 60 percent.

Much of the population increase of Shreveport and Alexandria is due to the activities of the Air Force and the Army. It would be well to keep in mind that a major cutback in defense expenditures could have a very depressing effect upon these areas, particularly if we do not call upon industrial expansion to take up the slack.

A good example of the industrial problem can be demonstrated by the situation which exists at our shell loading plant a few miles from Minden, La. We are trying to keep that plant operating in competition with similar plants across the country. Nevertheless, we know that certain of the shell loading plants in America are going to be closed within a year. It is entirely possible that a difference of 10 cents or fifteen cents per shell loaded may be the difference between staying in production or closing down.

Now let us look for just one moment at the freight rate situation at the Louisiana ordanence plant between Shreveport and Minden plant: Rail freight to the Shreveport area is $4 a ton more than rail freight to New Orleans, accounted for by the fact that the rail rates to New Orleans must compete with water transportation. This means that the material to produce a 50-pound shell will cost 10 cents more to be delivered by rail than it would cost to deliver the same thing by rail to New Orleans. If the same material is to be moved across the country to an ammunition depot, it would cost an additional 10 cents extra in order to bring the shell to its destination. This additional 20 cents in cost may very well prove to be the difference between operating that plant and closing it down.

Any major industrialist who is considering placing a plant in the Shreveport area or the Alexandria area would have to keep those factors in mind. He certainly would not want to choose a location where unfavorable rates would mean the difference between staying in business or going out of it.

So it becomes important for Shreveport, Alexandria, and the other cities on the Red River to have a waterway and to have one now. And it becomes important for Jefferson, Tex., to have a waterway and the sooner we can get this part of it started the sooner we can help my good friend, Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN, to extend it to serve the steel mill and other industries in his area.

LOCAL COOPERATION

I realize that we failed at ratify a constitutional amendment that would have set up the means of local cooperation for this project, but I feel that can be surmounted and I intend to go with your able representatives to testify before the Appropriations Committee to see if we can't get you some preconstruction planning money that will actually get this project underway. We cannot afford to lose any more time.

FLOOD-CONTROL FACTORS

There is one more factor to be considered. It is important to consider the drainage benefits that would result from a lateral canal from Shreveport to the Mississippi River. When we have high water on the Red River the water backs up into the low areas. The area around Powhatan in Natchitoches Parish is a good example. High water on the Red River submerges an area approximately 10 miles wide and 25 miles long in that vicinity. Here we have wonderful soil; rich, flat alluvial land—from which periodically the people farming it must evacuate; they must lose their crops, and sell their livestock at a sacrifice.

At the present time Bayou Pierre must be used to drain that area, discharging its water into the Red River north of Natchitoches. When the Red River Canal is constructed, we can then close off Bayou Pierre and drain the rainwater that falls on the south side of the Red River down the canal, emptying it into Red River north of Boyce.

When you recall the terrible flooding and backwater conditions along the Cane River prior to the construction of the Cane River closure, you will, of course, realize what great advantages can result in using this water to our advantage rather than to our harm. Furthermore, with the construction of the additional upstream reservoirs we will have a more dependable water supply along Red River. It will be possible for farmers to pump water from the canal for irrigation purposes during the dry periods. Crops that would be destroyed by drought during the dry months can thus be saved and the land can be made to produce at a maximum. It will not be necessary to lift the water over the levees in order to get to it nor will we have to contend with the constant problem of the channel changing its course as is the case in the Red River.

We are doing a lot of talking about economy and cutting the budget these days. I am heartily in favor of cutting out a lot of wasteful spending in our foreign aid program—but I am not in favor of cutting out our needed and desirable public works. I consider the Red River Canal a necessary

public work, and if it is humanly possible, I would like to see some money made available to General Itschner for the next fiscal year. I don't know whether or not it will be possible to do any "adding" this year, but I will certainly testify in that direction and reiterate to the committee what I have said here—we need this waterway and should start work on it now if this section of our State is to retain its rightful place in the development of our country.

BANK STABILIZATION

And now, I want to talk a little bit about another subject that is very close to your hearts—bank stabilization.

As we reviewed the figures that represent the investments industry is making today in those sections of the country which afford the unrestricted use of a waterway, we come to the realization that our land today is becoming more and more valuable.

The first step in making those waterways available to industry on an unrestricted basis was flood proofing. It cost well over a billion dollars to perform that mission on the lower Mississippi Valley and took a great deal of courage and foresight on the part of the legislators who could see in the years to come the 6 to 1 return on their investment which can be demonstrated today.

The job of flood proofing is essentially complete. A lot remains to be done in the way of raising levees, improving conditions, relieving many areas which it was first thought would have to be forever considered as backwater areas, and do other things to maintain the progress which has been made. The time will never come when the job of maintenance can cease. But we have arrived at the time when we can start feeling the real benefits that this protective system affords.

One of the by-products of the picture of progress is the enhanced value of our land. It has become so valuable in fact that we can no longer afford to give it to the river without a struggle.

In our early days of flood control we let the river take the lead and when it encroached too closely to our lines of defense, we retreated—retreated by means of a setback levee. The figures we have just reviewed bring us to the realization that the land we give to the river forever is possibly the most valuable asset we have in America today, and we can no longer afford to be so wasteful.

Today we have reached another great era in the development of our waterways. We have reached the end of the setback era—we must have the foresight to realize that the time has come to enter the period of complete river stabilization.

America is still a young nation. To match our less than 200 years of experience, some nations of the world have been stabilizing their rivers for hundreds of years before we started. Nevertheless, in our few brief innings we have learned a great deal which others have copied. We have learned enough to embark on a full-scale program of bank stabilization, and we have the end products in sight that will more than amply justify even the million dollar a mile revetment on the Mississippi River.

Many years ago we realized that the Red River was very difficult to tame. We know that from its source near Canyon, Tex., it has a fall of 465 feet. We know it has a bed of sand and that its banks are notoriously unstable. In an effort to tame this fractious river we embarked more than 10 years ago on a comprehensive plan for flood control, and, as one of its adjuncts, the Corps of Engineers has undertaken a complete study of the bank stabilization problem.

I feel certain that the recent rise we have had will provide the engineers the material they need to complete this important study. Perhaps that is the bright ray of sunshine that comes from behind recent rain clouds. Perhaps this recent rise will be not just one more high water but one that will help to point the way to a program that will make it possible for your banks to resist the periodic ravages of your unpredictable river.

It will not be an easy job to sell a complete program of bank stabilization to the Congress. The main reason it will be difficult is because it will be necessarily expensive. However, as the value of our land increases to those who run our Nation's industry, it should become less and less difficult to balance the cost of these works in the scale that we must use as a criterion before we can spend appropriated funds.

I am glad General Itschner is here, because I want to assure him that when his report is ready, on Red River and on the Mississippi, I am ready to launch a full-scale campaign to bring this Nation out of the setback era and into the final phase of flood control—the age of stability. I know the corps is doing its usual outstanding job of achieving completeness of those reports in the least possible time. When the Red River report is complete, I assure him and you that I will do everything in my power to see to it that its findings are put to good use in the shortest possible time.

The Measure of Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES H. BROWN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. BROWN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in these days of troublesome costs on everything, it is high time that someone take cognizance of some free services that have been extended to the Nation by radio and television.

Prior to coming to the Congress, I was closely associated with radio and television people; and I have seen at close range their invaluable contribution to public-service projects, both local and national. No community ever began a charity drive or a civic project campaign that it did not summon the radio and television people. Always they have responded generously with free time and labor. Too often we accept this public service as a public right and give too little thanks to the public-spirited individuals who make it possible. For that reason, I call the attention of the House to an editorial in Television Age, April 8, 1957, which attempts to measure the immeasurable: The public service of one of civilization's great achievements—television.

The editorial follows:

THE MEASURE OF SERVICE

In its second annual survey of public-service broadcasting scheduled by television stations and networks, this journal has learned that the industry continues to rate very high in this category of programming and advertising.

Again during 1956, as in 1955, about 18 percent of the total net time revenue has been devoted to public service. We hasten to acknowledge that a dollar bill is not a very good measuring stick for this kind of research, but it is the one currently in vogue among those public-welfare organizations employing television for such purpose.

The real measure, of course, is found in results—and television may claim properly its share of glory along with the other media and with the many magnificent agencies which are carrying forward this work.

It is foreseeable, now, that infantile paralysis may be stamped out.

Recent news stories have indicated 1957 as the turning point year in the fight against cancer.

Tremendous advances have been made in dealing with heart disease, both in its treatment and its prevention.

Multiple sclerosis. Arthritis. Mental illness.

All of these are giving way to the pressure of public awareness and medical research.

The media, television prominent among them, through the collection of funds and the indoctrination of the citizens at large, are helping in the age-old search for the hidden enemy, and contributing to its vanquishment.

But what of the enemy now seen? The lad who commands his car to kill? The fuzzy-cheeked boy who wanders with the wolf-pack in shadowed streets, a switch-blade his sceptre of defiance? What of these whose name is Cain?

It is eminently evident that television cannot take the place of parents, although it has been accused variously of neglecting that responsibility.

Television, at this stage of the art's development, cannot have babies nor, for that matter, rear them to manhood. But perhaps there is an assignment here for the medium which has contributed so richly to getting out the vote (a record breaker in 1956, which was supposed to be the year of apathy), fighting disease, helping in disaster, extracting blood from the general public, recruiting young men and women for the armed forces, selling bonds, and buying college scholarships for worthy young people.

Possibly the great hope for tomorrow may reside more surely than we know in the disposition that is to be made of the young people who would now appear to be unworthy and that here, more than in any other single prospect of public service, lies the greatest challenge to the greatest medium.

Television has lent its powerful persuasion in the battle to make the heart beat longer, the crippled to walk, and in urging the faithless toward faith.

Can it, with professional assistance, slow the comets on our highways? Can it put a football or a baseball in the hand that holds a hidden weapon? Can it help the parents-who-are help the parents-who-will-be?

Television Age, having examined the record, believes it can—and has not seen the dollar that could measure the worth of that humanitarian service.

Proposed Increase in the Salaries of Postal Transportation Clerks and Other Postal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of the statement presented this morning by Paul A. Nagle,

president, National Postal Transport Association, before the Subcommittee on Federal Compensation of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Mr. Nagle is a newcomer to Federal association leadership in Washington. Yet, in a comparatively short time, he has made a profound impression on the Members of Congress with his knowledge of postal problems, his integrity, devotion to his task, and ability to gain needed adjustments in the working conditions of those he represents.

I ask that his statement of this morning be printed in the RECORD because it seems to me it furnishes a clear, concise, and complete justification for an immediate pay adjustment for postal workers.

I urge every Member of this body to read the statement in full.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF PAUL A. NAGLE, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL POSTAL TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON FEDERAL EMPLOYEES COMPENSATION COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, UNITED STATES SENATE, MAY 27, 1957

Mr. Chairman, my name is Paul A. Nagle. I am President of the National Postal Transport Association, representing 30,000 employees of the Post Office Department's Postal Transportation Service.

I appear before you this morning in support of S. 27, to provide for an increase in the salaries of postal transportation clerks and other postal employees. S. 27 was sponsored by Senator JOHNSTON for himself and Senators LANGER, NEUBERGER, YOUNG, HUMPHREY, MCNAMARA, and MAGNUSON. We want first to expres sour indebtedness to that distinguished group of sponsors, which includes the chairman of this subcommittee, for having stepped forward in defense of the country's postal employees.

We believe the increases contemplated by S. 27 are equitable and proper in view of (1) the record of postal employee salary legislation under which incomes of postal employees have lagged substantially both in time and in size behind the levels paid to employees in private industry; (2) the way in which it is extremely difficult for postal management to recruit new employees and retain present employees at the existing rates; (3) the need to restore to postal employees the level or standard of living enjoyed by other people in their respective communities.

Much has been said about the postal deficit. We believe that in these United States at this peak point in the standard of American living, it is appropriate also to consider the economic deficit endured for so many years by postal employees. S. 27 would ease that pressure upon the postal worker.

Much also has been said about postal subsidies. The Postmaster General has taken justifiable pride in identifying certain subsidies and in separating them from the postal deficit. We believe the time has come to apply this same process to the postal subsidy embodied in the salary deficiency of postal employees.

The chairman of this subcommittee has rightly observed that unless industrial prices and wages are controlled, Congress faces the necessity of adjusting the pay of Federal employees. He has observed further that the "meat of the coconut" is that the prevailing $4,300 average postal employee income is simply not enough to support an American family at today's prices.

Under present circumstances there is in our estimation no question but that AFL–CIO President Meany was right when he said Federal employees should not be "expected to subsidize the Government by working for less than a decent American standard of wages."

Mr. Chairman, the spokesman of the Cordiner committee testified on May 21, that it is no longer appropriate to claim that Federal employees receive more fringe benefits than are available to employees in private industry. The witness said: "That statement was right once; it's not right today."

He said that the big start in plans for fringe benefits in industrial operations took place in the 1940's. It was at this precise period that the salaries of our members began their sharpest relative decline. The loss which they have since suffered in comparison to employees in outside industry accentuates even further the salary deficiency under which our people are currently laboring.

The witness for the Bureau of the Budget advised this distinguished committee that the administration policy is to oppose Federal employee salary increases in order to avoid "added demands for existing goods and services." The automobile industry—currently suffering a lower than anticipated sales volume—may be less than exuberant over this condition when it is reflected that of those of our members who report automobile ownership, the average model is 1950 and is in the low-priced three grouping.

The lack of concern by the Post Office Department for the problem of employee salaries came in for its sharpest indictment from a resigning field official. Postmaster Robert H. Schaffer, on the occasion of his leaving the postmastership in New York called postal salaries dismal and asked:

"What kind of a career service is this, where a postal worker has to work 12 to 14 hours daily—8 in the Post Office and 4 to 6 hours on a part-time job—in order to make a decent living?"

You have already been furnished percentages depicting the way in which postal employee salaries have lagged behind the rate of upward adjustment given to employees in private industry. From 1930 to 1956 those of our members who are assigned to terminals had an upward adjustment of 105 percent. Clerks assigned to duty at airport mail facilities had an increase of only 92 percent and clerks assigned to road duty had an increase of 101 percent in the same period. Since comparisons have been made and since those of our members who continue to be assigned to duty in railway post office cars are constantly in contact with employees of the railroads, it is interesting to reflect that by comparison with the 101 percent upward adjustment of our clerks so assigned, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations in its collective bargaining report shows that employees of class I railroads have had upward adjustments on an hourly basis of 286 percent in the same period. This is virtually three times the increase that our people have received and it is readily understandable that there would be widespread resentment in the face of such circumstances.

Perhaps the best percentage arguments for postal salary increases come from the Post Office Department itself. In its chart No. 3 used by the Department in testimony on postage rates before the House Post Office Committee on March 19, 1957, there was shown to have been a 450 percent increase in weekly wages in the United States in the period 1932 to 1957. The purpose of the chart was the justification of a postage rate increase, but the 450 percent shows up extremely sharply beside the 92 to 105 percent adjustments in salary accorded postal transportation clerks in the like period.

This subcommittee's distinguished chairman has commented repeatedly that when there are no controls upon industrial wages, industrial income or capital profits, it is improper to seek to impose restrictions upon that small segment of the American community embodied by the Federal employee.

As it has correctively been stated, our members do not begrudge the earnings of industrial employees or industrial management. We believe, on the other hand, that it is perfectly proper to expect that our incomes should be such as to enable us to keep abreast of the rising standard of American living.

We subscribe particularly to the sentiment that the legislation before you, S. 27, is a pay restoration rather than a pay increase.

Mr. Chairman, there has been introduced by the General Counsel for the Post Office Department testimony to indicate that the separation rate in post office employment was 1.1 percent while in manufacturing industry the rate was 3.53 percent, a figure almost 4 times as great as that in the postal service. At the time this testimony was submitted, counsel for the committee observed that there are many intangible factors such as the great reluctance of a long-term career postal employee to forfeit his seniority, his job assignment, his bidding rights, and associated factors in order to secure a more favorable dollar income in private employment. We suggest that perhaps more significant than the overall number of persons being separated would be an accounting of the short term labor turnover in postal service. We believe it would also be appropriate to have an accounting made of the amount of money involved in training the persons who replace those people who quit the postal service. We believe it is inappropriate to consider the entire scope of manufacturing industry which has certain areas in which there are manifestly lower career characteristics than those which historically have prevailed in Federal service.

We think it highly significant to quote here from an article entitled Why Workers Walk Out. The article appeared in Nation's Business, the publication of the United States Chamber of Commerce, October 1956 issue. The article advances the following as an appraisal of replacement training costs:

"Depending on the business and the rank of the employee who leaves, such costs as training, hiring, accounting, advertising, tool breakage and spoilage, overtime of other employees, supervisor's lost time in training new men, lowered morale and higher accident insurance rates swell the price of turnover. Industry and government studies find costs ranging from $36 to $25,000 for a single resignation."

Mr. Chairman, in the considered opinion of the National Postal Transport Association, the decline in the standards of postal service is due to a combination of factors. These include a lack of postal policy and the inability to maintain an effective staff of trained personnel.

In testimony on postage rates before the House Post Office Committee, departmental spokesmen conceded that one-third of all postal employees are now performing service on an hourly rate basis. There is an increasing tendency to dilute the civil service structure through the use of temporary employees without civil service status. We believe that the needs of an efficient postal service dictate that there be a stable force of career postal employees. It is in the interests of attaining such stability that we ask for favorable consideration of S. 27 by this subcommittee.

The Post Office Department claims to possess data to show that the rate of turnover is slight, and it maintains that only in selected areas is there difficulty in recruitment. However, it seems well to recall that in conferences with the Post Office Department on the staffing arrangements which prevail in the Postal Transportation Service, we have on several occasions pointed to the unrealistic procedures by which the staffing needs are related to the two lightest months of the calendar year. We have asked that

a more realistic basis for staffing be developed and that additional regular employee assignments be created to reflect this adjustment. We are told that there is no particular purpose in making such assignments since it is impossible to secure people to accept placement in them. The National Postal Transport Association is unable to comprehend official opposition to a pay increase when recruitment at prevailing rates is impossible.

In the past, as part of the labor education program of the National Postal Transport Association, we have tried to aid in postal recruitment. We have sought to enlist the support of our branch officers on the premise that quality postal service requires staffing by the traditionally high quality of postal personnel. At our own expense the National Postal Transport Association produced a 16 millimeter motion picture which has been used extensively in our recruitment program. The film has been shown widely before schools and college groups, and has been telecast by more than 100 television stations throughout the country.

We find it impossible any longer to endorse the Post Office Department's recruitment efforts. We cannot now recommend the postal service to promising young men seeking positions. Employment in the Post Office Department no longer offers even relatively good pay; its fringe benefits are now only average; any employee pride that existed in the postal service has been lost in declining service standards and in the failure to recognize and protect the human dignities of its employees.

If efficient postal service is to be preserved, it would seem that the only course open to the administration and the Post Office Department—barring an immediate pay raise—is a draft. I do not recommend or advise. I merely state the facts. In critical times, men must be drafted into military service. These are critical times in the postal service. Recruitment has reached an alltime low. Prospective applicants are discouraged by the prospect of an unrewarding future. In all fairness, I feel that I can no longer support any recruitment program for a career that offers such dim prospects.

We suggest it would be far better to begin the process of restoring the stature of postal service by the enactment of S. 27 in its present form.

Mr. Chairman, this distinguished group has displayed convincingly its firm desire to achieve economic justice for the postal employee. We are gratified indeed for the opportunity to have appeared before you to present the views of the National Postal Transport Association.

The Brighter Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent speech by Ollie Lee, of Walnut Grove, Ala. Ollie was a high-school student at the time he delivered this speech.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BRIGHTER DAY
(By Ollie Lee)

The history of farming is the story of a continuous struggle. Farmers in all ages have been confronted with problems that challenged their initiative and will power to find a solution beneficial to all. The narrative of how the farming people have met and solved these problems and have moved toward a brighter day forms a brilliant thread in the pattern of human development.

Agriculture has been one of the basic vocations since the creation of man. The first recorded family was a farm family, and from this primeval heritage farming has continued to expand and advance to the position which it holds today. The influence of farming upon the civilization of the world is one of tremendous significance, for truly agriculture is the backbone of civilization.

In the past, as humanity has advanced to higher standards of living, farmers have been instrumental in the forward movement. The earliest farmers had only crude instruments of stone with which to till the soil, and in most cases, only a mere existence was possible. Most farmers were poor, stooped beneath the yokes of poverty and hardship.

But the scene has changed tremendously. Step by step, farmers have progressed toward a better way of life, carrying with them the standard of civilization.

Farmers in America enjoy a standard of living which could well be the envy of previous generations. Modern conveniences have made life more pleasant for the farmers. Modern machinery and modern methods have made it possible for the agricultural world to overcome its natural pests and handicaps and to establish an economic status unparalleled in farming history.

The social life of farm people today holds great possibilities that were unknown a few generations ago. In ancient times farmers had very few social privileges. They were considered one of the lowest classes of people and few of them were fortunate enough to obtain an education.

But today the American farmer has many opportunities for social and intellectual development. Due to his higher standard of living, for more contacts with the rest of the world are possible, and the farmers are better educated and more able to educate their children than in any other time in history.

These advances are the signposts of progress which mark the way agriculture has trodden. Although there have been difficulties to overcome, problems to solve, enemies to fight, and barriers to cross, farmers have steadily moved toward better things.

There are reasons for the progress of any group. When we analyze the world of agriculture, we can see three underlying causes of growth and development that have made possible the standard of living which the American farmer possesses.

First of all, there were, of necessity, inspired motives. Farmers realized their conditions and the problems they had to face. They also caught a vision of the better way of life to which they were entitled and which they could obtain. Within the hearts of the poor tillers of the soil, there was born a determination to rise from servitude and poverty, illiteracy and inequality, and to throw off the yokes of bondage and suppression. The farming class became conscious of the possibilities for improving its condition.

The longing for political equality and social justice has been in the heart of underprivileged man since the dawn of time. But when the Renaissance and the subsequent industrial revolution brought enormous wealth into the pockets of industrialists and tradesmen, and began to raise the standard of living of the upper and middle classes, this longing was intensified among the poor agrarian people. They began to hope for a better day and to seek a solution whereby they might obtain a portion of the pie.

Out of this condition were born ideals that have inspired the people of agriculture to this day. Medieval overlords attempted to suppress these ideals, but the fire of courage, inspiration, and enthusiasm could not be extinguished. Instead, with the passing years and decades, the flame burned brighter and stronger until farmers had reached a respectable position in the world.

The second impetus to agricultural betterment was dynamic leadership. As long as farmers were without an inspired leader to champion their cause, you may be sure there was little accomplishment toward improving their condition. But among the farming people have arisen leaders with vision and determination to pioneer the way of advancement for the noblest class of people on earth.

The third condition to social and economic progress is unity and cooperation. By banding themselves together in unions, cooperatives, and other agrarian organizations, they have produced great changes in the political and economic fields for their mutual benefit, and, consequently, for the benefit of their Nation as a whole, for what is good for all of America's farmers is good for all of America.

Thus we see how the world of agriculture has come up from the peasantry, poverty, and political inequality that once ruled its ranks to its better position of today. However, even though we have made great progress in the past, we, as farmers and future farmers, have now come to another place of challenge. We must not be content with the achievements of past generations, but we must meet the problems of this hour with the same sincere determination and courage that has brought agriculture thus far.

Today the American farmers are facing a crisis which holds dire threats comparable to the situation that existed during the great depression in the early 1930's. In the past few years conditions have accumulated under which farmers have been oppressed, bound, and crushed until now they face a situation that is relative to the despotism of the Middle Ages. Economic hardship has come upon the majority of our grassroots farmers, bringing with it the threat of financial insecurity and social degeneration.

This crisis has been developing for several years. There are many factors that, when accumulated, form the problem of American farmers.

One of the most important of these conditions is the economic vice in which the farmer finds himself today. Rising costs of goods a farmer must purchase and falling prices of his produce are narrowing the margin of living upon which the farmer depends, placing him in an economic death squeeze.

Surpluses are soaring upward, acreage allotments downward, and at the same time, millions of dollars of taxpayers' money, which farmers must help pay, are being spent on land reclamation to be used by wealthy landlords to produce more surplus. The farmer is caught in a gigantic whirlpool that threatens to strangle the American agricultural economy. The situation is so serious that it has driven thousands of farmers off their land in search of a living, and it constitutes a threat to our entire Nation.

What is the reason for a class of people so noble, so brave and persistent, so thoroughly American in principle as are our farm people, being down in the gutter? No group in America is more deserving of economic liberty and equality than is her agrarian people. But selfishness and greed have bound the farmer to the slave block, there to lie at the mercies of a power-mad, money-hungry coalition of crooked politicians, selfish business, and corrupt labor unions.

The same kind of action that brought about the elevation of agriculture above its problems and difficulties in the past is necessary for the present crisis. The hour demands inspired farm programs, visionary leaders, and united, cooperative effort.

In conclusion, I appeal to you as citizens of America; the time has come for an all-out effort to liberate the American farmer from

the dungeons of poverty, exploitation, and injustice. He must be restored to his rightful place of economic liberty and equality for which he has so valiantly fought in the past. By doing this, we can avert a major calamity that faces America, and we will open the door to a glorious future and usher in the brighter day for all.

Development of Indian Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated April 18, 1957, which I received from Commissioner Glenn L. Emmons of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and a letter dated April 25, which my colleague [Mr. MANSFIELD] and I wrote to Mr. Emmons. My colleague and I believe—and I know many other Senators share this view—that one of the best ways to help the Indian people develop their own human resources and tribal resources and, incidentally, become taxpayers instead of tax recipients, is through the establishment of industry and more jobs in Indian country. Unfortunately, as the facts in our letter show, the Indian Bureau is not as enthusiastic about industrialization as it is about the relocation program, which is the only and inadequate suggestion which Commissioner Emmons makes concerning the plight of the Indians on Hill 57 near Great Falls, Mont.

At this time I commend the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] for his keen awareness of the possibilities for developing Indian resources through passage of S. 964, the area redevelopment bill, which I was pleased to cosponsor. The Senator from Illinois has set aside a full day of hearings on S. 964 before his banking and currency subcommittee to consider the Indian assistance aspects of this tremendously important legislation. The date of this hearing will be May 14. I thank my good friend from Illinois for leading out in this important effort to deal justly with the first Americans.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR
AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
April 25, 1957.

Mr. GLENN L. EMMONS,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. EMMONS: Several weeks ago you were informed of the willingness of citizens of Great Falls, Mont., to donate land on hill 57 for the purpose of establishing a reservation there. In your letter of April 18 you state that this suggestion could not be accepted by the Bureau.

You also ask that legislation to create a new reservation not be introduced. Your suggestion regarding Hill 57 and the Indians there is relocation.

"We will," you wrote, "pledge to offer to every eligible Indian who applies in person at his reservation the special relocation assistance to find a better way of life in areas where it is really available to those who are motivated to meet this challenge."

You gave no alternative to relocation, a program for which those Indians on Hill 57 who are not enrolled members of a tribe are ineligible.

As for those Indians who would be eligible, we would like to point out to you that, while we support the program, relocation in itself is no answer to the problems on Hill 57 and on the reservations of Montana and other States. Many Indians who want to relocate will do so whether or not there is a special relocation program. Others choose not to leave the land of their fathers. They are willing and anxious to work, if job opportunities are available nearby, and they have proved themselves to be skillful and competent workers in those few areas where jobs have been made available.

The Federal Government and the Indian Bureau, Mr. Emmons, do not fulfill their obligations to the Indians by offering only relocation, which frequently means moving from a rural slum to an urban slum. The Federal Government and the Bureau which you head have further obligations to our Indian citizens. One of the best ways to help the Indian people develop their own human resources, and incidentally become taxpayers instead of tax recipients, is through the establishment of industry and more jobs in Indian country.

We are aware of the modest efforts in this field by the Indian Bureau. If your Department supported industrialization with the enthusiasm with which it supports relocation, there would be no cause for complaint.

However, we note, for example, that the amount of money loaned to tribes for purposes such as industrial development has steadily decreased under your administration. As of June 30, 1956, the outstanding loans receivable and the cash balance in the revolving loan fund under the jurisdiction of your Bureau totaled $15,548,591. The amount of money on loan to the tribes has steadily decreased. The approximate amounts, by year, are: 1952, $11 million; 1953, $10.2 million; 1954, $9.5 million; 1955, $8.3 million; 1956, $7.7 million. What is your explanation of this decrease in the use of available money for development of tribal resources?

Your annual credit report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, states that financing through the Bureau has increased from $22,991,070 in 1952 to $29,961,299. But included in these totals is $8,737,444 from tribal funds in 1952 and $21,216,541 in tribal funds in 1956. In other words some tribes were able to increase their own financing which is commendable. However, many tribes, including several in Montana, have practically no tribal funds. They could put to good use the money which has been steadily accumulating in the tribal loan fund under your administration.

We note, too, that the Indian Bureau has not yet submitted to the Banking and Currency Committee its views on S. 964, the area redevelopment bill which we cosponsored along with Senator DOUGLAS. A departmental report was requested 3 months ago and hearings have been in progress for some time. Passage of this bill would, in our opinion, be of tremendous benefit to Indian tribes, in that the bill would establish a program to attract industry to Indian country and help Indians establish their own industries. We cannot help but contrast your enthusiasm last year for the Indian help features of this legislation with your inaction so far this year.

To refer specifically to some of the industrial possibilities in Montana, we are following with great interest the negotiations for development of a pulpwood industry and establishment of a small sawmill on the Rocky Bay Reservation. We are hopeful that these new industries, which would provide jobs for a number of Indians, can get under way by this fall, and we shall appreciate such help as you can provide in this undertaking.

We would also like to receive from you verification of the statement, made to us verbally by Bureau officials, that arrangements will be made shortly for the northern Cheyenne Tribe to utilize its coal deposits on the Tongue River Reservation.

Along with our House colleagues, Representatives LEE METCALF and LEROY ANDERSON, we are willing and anxious to do all that can possibly be done to help our Indian citizens. We recognize the difficulties and burdens inherent in your task as Commissioner of Indian Affairs and hope that you can, as you suggested to the Indians in your letter of April 18, "meet this challenge."

We shall appreciate an early report from you on these matters, which we can discuss in greater detail at forthcoming hearings on Indian legislation.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES E. MURRAY,
United States Senator.
MIKE MANSFIELD,
United States Senator.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT
OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, D. C., April 18, 1957.

Hon. JAMES E. MURRAY,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: We have had several letters from you since March 21 regarding the establishment of Bureau facilities for Indians on Hill 57 near Great Falls, Mont. While the intentions of some of the citizens of Great Falls, Mont., to find ways and means of alleviating the conditions on Hill 57 are laudable, the suggestion they have advanced to designate this particular area as a reservation is one which cannot be accepted by the Bureau.

This Bureau does not have and cannot assume authority over or responsibility for this particular group of Indians any more than it could over any particular community or grouping of off-reservation Indians in any other part of the country. For years, Indians have been leaving the reservation areas and settling in other communities. Some have settled in metropolitan areas under quite unsatisfactory living conditions. Such situations, like those prevailing on Hill 57, are community problems and responsibilities of the State and its political subdivisions. The Federal Government could not discharge this task.

The many services extended to Indians living on reservation lands, including primarily services which are generally provided to our citizenry through State and local governmental auspices, have been enabled and justified as Federal responsibilities on the basis of Indian residency on trust (therefore tax-exempt) lands. The Bureau of Indian Affairs cannot, and should not, follow the Indian wherever he might go with a full gamut of services which duplicate those offered by local governments on the basis of residency rather than ethnic origin.

We understand that the great majority of the Indians who have congregated on Hill 57 near Great Falls are enrolled at the Fort Belknap and Turtle Mountain Reservations. Admittedly, these reservations are grossly overpopulated in relation to the resources base available there to afford them a living. But the Bureau does offer them alternatives in the form of very generous assistance to relocate in centers of maximum opportunity in a wage economy. Their failure to avail themselves of those services indicates a gravitation to Hill 57 by choice rather than by dint of necessity.

As you are probably aware, the act of March 3, 1927 (44 Stat. 1347, 25 U. S. C. 398d), has been construed to prohibit the establishment of new Indian reservations without enabling legislation by the Congress. Therefore, we are returning the deeds to land on Hill 57 which Messrs. Mallette propose to donate for the purpose of establishing a reservation. We would suggest that legislation not be introduced to create a new reservation, but rather we will pledge to offer to every eligible Indian who applies in person at his reservation the special relocation assistance to find a better way of life in areas where it is really available to those who are motivated to meet this challenge.

Sincerely yours,

GLENN L. EMMONS,
Commissioner.

The Item Veto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, there is an editorial in today's issue of the New York Times entitled "The Item Veto." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ITEM VETO

In the developing fight over the Federal budget President Eisenhower has twice in recent weeks asked Congress to give him the power to veto specific items in appropriation bills. This is "one simple way to save a lot of money," said the President a few days ago, noting that it would permit him to block expensive public works projects that appeared to be unwise or unnecessary from a national point of view. "If the item veto existed right now I could do some serious expense cutting," the President rather wistfully observed.

As things are, and always have been since adoption of the Constitution, the President must either accept or veto a bill in toto. The Constitution doesn't define what a bill is, nor is there any constitutional provision that denies the President the right to veto a bill in part; but the all-or-nothing principle has become firmly embedded in our constitutional practices. The subject wasn't even mentioned in the constitutional convention, and didn't become an issue at all until the middle of the 19th century. But then the item veto for appropriation bills blossomed forth in the constitution of the Confederate States of America. Georgia and Texas soon followed suit; and today more than three-quarters of the 48 State constitutions grant this power to the governor. In a survey made some years ago the respective governors reported that the system was working well.

Congress, however, has always been jealous of its real or assumed prerogatives, with the result that it has consistently rejected efforts to establish the item veto either by statute or by constitutional amendment ever since this power was first requested by President Grant. In more recent times it has been asked for by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and supported by such legislators as Senators Vandenberg and DOUGLAS—always with the same outcome. There is no ground to suppose that the present efforts of President Eisenhower, seconded by Representative KEATING, of New York and others, will enjoy any better fate.

The compelling reason for an item veto on appropriation bills—that it would permit the President to eliminate extravagant or foolish or merely political pork-barrel expenditures while retaining desirable features of any given money bill—is of course also the basic reason for Congress' resistance. Each individual Member has his pet projects which would be endangered if the President could pick and choose among them all. Opponents of the item veto add that it would give the President too much power and make it easier for him to carry out political reprisals against individual Members.

There is no doubt that the item veto would increase Presidential power; but under the present system the President is hamstrung in his efforts to control expenditures against any Congress that is addicted to logrolling and to porkbarrels—and what Congress is not? Inasmuch as the President and Vice President are the only nationally elected officers of the Government, it is a reasonably safe bet that the President will look at a proposed outlay of public funds with a somewhat more objective view than could be expected of the Congressman in whose district the funds are to be spent. Furthermore, Congress always has the last say anyway if it can muster a two-thirds vote in favor of any vetoed item.

Since the President already has the constitutional power of veto over bills as a whole, it might even be argued that Congress is actually circumventing the President's veto power when it includes different kinds of items in one bill, and that therefore the grant of an item veto to the President would be merely restoring the balance between Chief Executive and Congress as originally envisaged in the Constitution.

Unheeded Prophet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the April 18, 1957, issue of The Light of San Antonio, Tex., entitled "Prophet Unheard."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROPHET UNHEARD

So, you've just shoveled up your Federal income tax, pursuant to the 16th amendment, ratified in 1913 after its proponents vowed it would never take more than a split-fraction of anyone's earnings.

But there was one prophet who warned as follows while the amendment was under consideration:

"A hand from Washington will be stretched out and placed upon every man's business; the eye of a Federal inspector will be in every man's countinghouse.

"The law will, of necessity, have inquisitorial features; it will provide penalties; it will create complicated machinery. * * *

"An army of Federal inspectors, spies, and detectives will descend upon the State. They will compel men of business to show their books and to disclose the secrets of their affairs. They will dictate forms of bookkeeping by which men must keep an account of their earnings.

"When the Federal Government gets a stranglehold upon the individual businessman, State lines will exist nowhere except upon the maps. Its agents will everywhere supervise the commercial life of the States."

The prophet was Speaker Richard E. Byrd of the Virginia House of Delegates, father of the present Senator HARRY F. BYRD.

Few bothered to listen to him.

The Fees Are High

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK A. BARRETT
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. President, according to press reports, the son of the late Col. Billy Mitchell is making a valiant effort to have the court-martial proceedings against his distinguished father, the late Col. Billy Mitchell, expunged from the records. I hope that he will succeed in his laudable ambition to clear the record of his illustrious father.

In the course of some remarks I made at the dedication of several splendid new dormitories and a dining hall at the Warren Air Force Base in Cheyenne, last Saturday, I referred to the case of Colonel Mitchell. My good friend, Lewis E. Bates, the editor of the Wyoming State Tribune, of Cheyenne, wrote an editorial under date of May 28, entitled "The Fees Are High." It is a strong editorial, and I trust that the Members of Congress will take the time to read it. It is most illuminating and informative. I ask unanimous consent to have it published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FEES ARE HIGH

"Bitter" experience has demonstrated "the absolute necessity" of being prepared for every contingency, Senator FRANK A. BARRETT, Republican, of Wyoming, said in his Saturday address at Warren Airbase. As an example of this, he declared:

"Out of all our military people [in the 1920's], only that venturesome fellow, Col. 'Billy' Mitchell, had the temerity and the courage to stand up and tell our whole defense organization that the airplane would play a major part in the defense of the free world, and for that statement he was court-martialed and convicted and discharged, and in the eyes of some of his contemporaries even dishonored.

"Yet today nearly everyone in authority is ready to admit how right 'Billy' Mitchell was and how wrong his accusers."

How wrong were they? The plain answer to that can be found in but a few quotes from the transcript of the Mitchell court-martial, as researched by Columnist Roscoe Drummond. It follows:

Prosecutor: "You say that 'in future wars soldiers will invade by leaping in parachutes from airplanes.' Would you care to reveal who gave you this startling information?"

Mitchell: "Nobody gave it to me. It's quite obvious to anyone with the slightest foresight."

Prosecutor: "Is it your actual belief that the country is vulnerable to attack from the air?"

Mitchell: "In the foreseeable future."

Prosecutor: "Colonel Mitchell, do you have any idea of the width of the Atlantic Ocean?"

Mitchell: "Approximately 3,000 miles."

Prosecutor: "And the Pacific Ocean?"

Mitchell: "I know what you are getting at, and I tell you that it won't be long before airplanes will fly nonstop across both oceans."

Prosecutor: "You say that 'airships traveling 1,000 miles an hour will fight each other in the stratosphere.' Do you have any comprehension how fast 1,000 miles an hour is?"

Mitchell: "Of course I do."

Prosecutor: "Do you know it is faster than the speed of sound?"

Mitchell: "Approximately 250 miles faster than the speed of sound."

The prosecutor then recalled that Colonel Mitchell had said he foresaw an air attack on Pearl Harbor and asked: "Does your crystal ball reveal by what enemy this mythical attack will be made? By whom, Colonel, by whom?"

Mitchell: "The attack will be made by the Japanese."

The Army did its level best to picture Colonel Mitchell as a "crackpot," and still with us are many who condemn rebels and their supposedly crackpot ideas.

But all should reflect on the colonel's remarkable foresight, the prophecies—which have come true—labeled as fantastic when he made them.

Must we be forever admitting, as Senator BARRETT said, "that experience is a good school but the fees are high"?

What Price Civil Rights?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "What Price Civil Rights?" from the May 14, 1957, issue of the Atlanta (Ga.) Journal.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT PRICE CIVIL RIGHTS?

It is beginning to appear that the Eisenhower administration's civil-rights proposals may not make it through Congress this session.

This is fine for any hasty, politically inspired move in this field would serve only to further confuse the issues and worsen the strained relations between the two races.

It is also good, for at this point of the debate there is apparent confusion as to what is and what isn't a civil right.

In their haste to sew up the critical Negro vote for the next election, sponsors of the present bill seem ready to jettison that most basic of rights, trial by jury.

And where, as Senator MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas, so pointedly reminded a labor-conscious Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights Monday, does the right to work fit in the scheme of things?

Debate and critical examination of this administration proposal by those well versed in constitutional law have exposed it for what it is—politics. Not only that, but politics of the kind that would risk the destruction of our whole system of constitutional safeguards for the sake of a few more seats in Congress.

At this stage of the game Congress seems solidly for civil rights in general. But the enthusiasm of each Member for each right varies in proportion to its impact on the voters of his constituency.

Taxes and the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, American people are now considering taxes. There is a tendency to try to shift the burden from one level of government to another. Local government is attempting to secure grants from the States, and the States want grants from the Federal Government. It all comes out of the same pocket.

Industry is giving much consideration to, and changing from one location to another.

The Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of Monday, May 27, contains a very interesting editorial on the subject "Look to the Future." I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOOK TO THE FUTURE

Repeal of Allegheny County's tax on machinery was in a fair way to be accomplished until the county commissioners reversed their original approval of the plan and came out against it.

The Pennsylvania Economy League had recommended that the tax be eliminated gradually over a 5-year period. The purpose was to make the county more attractive to industry.

Then came a storm of protest from manufacturing communities. They said loss of the machinery taxes would ruin them.

A counterproposal now has come from the county's big manufacturing corporations.

They suggest that to compensate the county and municipalities for the loss of machinery taxes the corporations would be willing to have taxes now levied on their machinery added to their real estate taxes.

What they are concerned with is that new machinery which they may acquire shall be free from taxes. They are looking to the future.

Raising companies' real estate assessments was the plan followed in Beaver County when the machinery taxes were abolished there. It has worked out very successfully.

Taxes on machinery are a bonanza to the citizens of great manufacturing towns like Duquesne, Homestead and Aliquippa.

The citizens are loath to surrender this source of revenue. They scoff at threats that companies oppressed by high taxes may move elsewhere.

They feel that the companies are so firmly established in their communities that it would be impossible for them to leave and that the companies are at the mercy of the taxing authorities.

In cases like this it is necessary to look to the future.

We are in an era of great industrial expansion and all large manufacturing companies contemplate the construction of new plants.

Will such companies establish new plants in Allegheny County if they can obtain exemption from machinery taxes elsewhere?

An answer to this may be found in a letter which has been made public by General Motors, the world's largest manufacturing corporation.

The letter is from President H. H. Curtice to Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan.

General Motors, Mr. Curtice writes, considers Michigan its home State. The focal point of its operations is there.

Forty-five percent of General Motors's physical investment in the United States is in Michigan and about 45 percent of its payroll disbursements go to Michigan employees numbering more than 211,000.

But Michigan now is taxing General Motors at a higher rate, Mr. Curtice asserts, than any other State except one. He does not name the other State, but goes on:

"Even the present level of business taxation in Michigan already has led us to locate plants in other States where the taxes per General Motors job are less than one-half of the present taxes per job in Michigan.

"This also will be taken into consideration in the placement of additional plants."

Anchored as it is in Michigan, General Motors will not hesitate to establish new plants in other States to escape oppressive taxation.

Is there any reason to suppose that the great companies supposedly anchored in Allegheny County would continue to submit to taxes which they could escape if they would build their new plants in other counties?

When one reflects on the huge benefits direct and indirect that everybody in a community derives from a great manufacturing plant established there, one should think twice before jeopardizing such an asset.

Luther Patrick: He Bore His Fellow Man's Burden

SPEECH

OF

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, the Nation and the State of Alabama lost one of its most distinguished citizens Sunday night when the Honorable Luther Patrick, former ninth district Alabama Congressman, died in Birmingham following a long illness.

Luther Patrick served four terms in this House, 1937–43 and 1945–47. He was a stanch Democrat and a devoted statesman, beloved by his fellow Members and all who knew him.

Luther Patrick's motto was "Bear ye one another's burdens—never mind about your own." These were not idle words with Mr. Patrick; they were his creed by which he lived day by day.

He helped to lift others' burdens by a remarkable sense of humor, a keen wit, and a clearly wielded pen. He wrote three books and was working on another on folklore when he passed away. He loved to write poetry, and the people of Alabama loved to read what he wrote.

Even during the latter part of his life when he was confined to a wheelchair

with crippling arthritis, Luther Patrick did not turn aside from his motto. He lifted others' burdens, never minding his own, with his writings and his Will Rogers type of humor.

I am sure that I speak for the Members and others who knew him when I say that we grieve the passing of Luther Patrick. His life carried out with faithfulness the words of Saint Paul, from which Luther Patrick's credo of life was taken: "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ."

Purchase and Stockpiling of Strategic Materials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials which appeared in the May 8 and May 22, 1957, issues of the Miles City (Mont.) Star. The editorials are entitled "This Promise Needs Keeping" and "Perfidy Threatens Defense."

I call particular attention to these statements in the editorials:

While the defense demand for tungsten appears to have multiplied 3 to 4 times in recent months, a little group of willful men must accept the grave responsibility for cutting down domestic production * * *. There is no money because the House Appropriations Committee has welshed on its 1956 pledges, and despite the Senate's rollcall vote of 64–17 to provide the promised funds, continues the congressional stalemate.

"When," ask the editors of the Star, "will Congress decide to keep its word?"

I ask that the editorials be printed in full in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Miles City (Mont.) Daily Star of May 8, 1957]

THIS PROMISE NEEDS KEEPING

Rejection by the House of a $30 million promise for continued purchase and stockpiling of strategic minerals—notably tungsten—threatens to stall in its tracks defense efforts to develop the heat-resistant metals we must have for faster planes and lightweight radiation shielding essential to atomic aircraft.

Back of this story is a perfect example of the absurdity of passing legislation requiring money to implement it—and not providing the money. Last year Congress passed interim legislation authorizing $90 million for the purchase of tungsten, the funds to come from subsequent appropriation bills. Just before knocking off for the campaign, the solons provided $21 million to support these purchases for the balance of 1956—with the promise of $30 million more as soon as the new Congress convened in January, with the balance to follow in the 1958 budget.

But the unforeseen economy drive touched off by public resentment of President Eisenhower's record-breaking budget, has caused the House to renege and cut the minerals purchase item out of the $335 million urgent deficiency appropriations bill which the Senate passed in February. A Senate majority, outraged at what it considered a shocking breach of faith on the part of the House restored this item by a rollcall vote of 64 to 17. But the House conferees again bypassed the promised funds and the future of strategic metals remains deadlocked.

Under the original strategic minerals legislation, the United States had just reached the point of self-sufficiency in domestic tungsten supply when the House action had the effect of wiping out this hard-won advantage. Thousands of hardrock miners are idle today and the mines are closing one by one—just at a time when tremendous increases in our need for tungsten are being developed.

Without the Government purchase program, America is at the mercy of foreign producers since the world price of these metals is too low to support American wage scales. Without the program there is hardship for our miners and loss to owners. But most important of all, at a time when our tungsten requirements are bound to increase tremendously if we are to keep pace with progress, and when the failure of our tottery world peace could shut off imports, is Congress going to say that $30 million—a little less than the cost of four jet bombers—is too high a price for survival?

The merits of this case were settled last year. When will Congress decide to keep its word?

[From the Miles City (Mont.) Daily Star of May 22, 1957]

PERFIDY THREATENS DEFENSE

Tungsten is the stuff that seems most likely to break the "heat barrier" that has halted the efforts of engine and plane builders to press further into supersonic speeds. It is anticipated that alloys containing up to 50 percent, or more, of tungsten will provide metals that will resist the heat of skin friction above Mach 2, and extend the life of jet engines (costing up to $600,000 a copy) 4–to 5 times. Tungsten is today's best hope of lightweight radiation shielding to make possible atomic aircraft.

Thus, while the defense demand for tungsten appears to have multiplied 3 to 4 times in recent months, a little group of willful men must accept the grave responsibility for cutting down domestic production. Our stockpile, officially estimated last June as good for 6 years, now in the light of increased demand may contain but a year-and-a-half's supply. As matters stand we must look overseas for more. The world's largest source of supply is in Communist China and other principal sources are either behind the Iron Curtain or close to it.

That we do possess the natural resources to make the Nation self-sufficient and immune to foreign blackmail has been amply proved under the Mineral Purchase Act of 1953, extended in 1956 to run through 1958. This legislation authorized a support price, in lieu of a tariff, to permit the opening and operation of mines to produce strategic materials—notably tungsten—in competition with low-wage foreign countries.

The effect, in the case of tungsten, has been to develop domestic production adequate to our needs—if it is permitted to continue. But, right now, at a time when tungsten is probably the most critical of all defense metals, hard rock miners are idle and mines are closing—because there is no money to support the act. And there is no money because the House Appropriation Committee has welshed on its 1956 pledges, and despite the Senate's rollcall vote of 64 to 17 to provide the promised funds, continues the congressional stalemate.

This is another instance of the folly of legislation that authorizes money, but does not appropriate it. The 1956 extension authorized $91 million. A subsequent appropriation bill provided $21 million to support the act through 1956, with the lawmakers promising $30 million more when the 1957 session opened in January, with $40 million more in the 1958 budget to complete the obligation.

Discouraging and unjust as this double-cross is to the miners and operators, its threat to the Nation's safety is terrifying. The House, unless it acts quickly to restore the promised funds, is handing over to the Red commanders of the world's greatest submarine fleet control of the free world's strategic metals.

Renegotiation of Contracts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. HESS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. HESS. Mr. Speaker, William M. Allen, president of Boeing Airplane Co., delivered an address on May 24, 1957, before a meeting of members of the aircraft industry and their distinguished guests from the armed services. His address was entitled "Fundamentals Affecting Our Security." Under leave to extend my remarks I include that portion of the address which concerns negotiation and renegotiation of contracts:

Let us come next to the matter of earnings. In speaking of earnings, I am not pleading the cause of stockholders. Rather, I shall consider the relationship of earnings to our objective of making certain that our best efforts are being directed toward the maintenance of our security.

There is a feeling often evidenced in the halls of Congress that the way to make sure that the taxpayer is getting the greatest value for his dollar is to keep the profits of the defense contractor as low as possible whether through the process of negotiation or renegotiation. The same philosophy exists with respect to the salaries of personnel in defense industries and our military establishments. The lower they are, so the reasoning goes, the less our defense is costing. This philosophy possibly could be supported if our sole occupation within this country was to prepare for, or engage in, war. However, when our military establishments and our defense industries are in competition with commercial enterprises for people, and our defense industries are in competition with commercial enterprises for capital, I find this philosophy to be completely fallacious.

Let us look for a moment at this problem as applied to our military services. Recently, as I was boarding a commercial airliner near Loring Air Force Base, I was introduced to several young Air Force captains who were boarding the same plane. It developed that they were on their way to Wichita to ferry a B–52 from Wichita to Loring I have no doubt that these fine-looking young officers were highly competent. However, in light of the responsibilities involved in their mission, it was interesting to contemplate the disparity between the tangible recognition given to their responsibilities and the recognition of similar or lesser responsibilities within private industry. I am quite sure that the compensation of the pilot and the copilot of the twin-engine transport on which we were riding substantially exceeded that of the two captains going out to return with a B–52.

With respect to salaries in defense industries the real question is whether the quality of the people involved is what it should be. Even our Government cannot afford mediocre management in companies from which it is buying billions of dollars of defense equipment each year. There is no simpler method of securing less defense per dollar than by poor management in our defense industries.

In regard to the earnings of defense industries, I know that this group is quite well versed on that matter. You are aware, I am sure, that the rate of profit on sales within our industry is approximately half of that in industry generally, and that the aircraft industry plows back a far greater percentage of earnings than is the case in commercial enterprises. You are also probably quite familiar with that favorite approach of the Renegotiation Board, namely, the return on "book net worth" theory. I will not labor that point other than to make the following brief comments. First, the contribution of the contractor, whether it be good, bad, or indifferent, plays no part in such a formula. Second, the application of the formula when applied over the number of years required to design, develop, manufacture, and deliver an aircraft, as contrasted with picking on a single year in which there have been heavy deliveries, will show, at least in the case of my company, that the return on book net worth has been no more than in the case of industry generally. And finally, the application of such a formula places a premium on the company that has engaged in the defense business as a supplementary occupation—it having built up its net worth through commercial activities, and penalizes the contractor that has dedicated itself to the defense effort.

However, on this matter of adequacy of earnings, I propose a somewhat different approach. Bear in mind our objective to make certain that we are putting our best efforts into the defense effort. We are competing for people—we are competing for capital, and I need not remind this group of the rapidity with which developments are taking place within the defense industry. In light of the responsibility placed on our industry to keep ahead qualitatively in this desperate contest with Russia, are we being permitted to earn enough to enable us to meet the challenge with which we are confronted. I feel strongly that we are not, recognizing, of course, that any Government contractor taking this position is at once subject to the charge that he is actuated by selfish motives. Furthermore, if I am correct in my position, I will agree that considerable public education appears desirable. The survey, made by the Opinion Research Corp., indicates that 48 percent of the general public believes that our industry makes a reasonable profit on its defense business, while 17 percent registers the belief that our industry realizes too much profit. I find that yours truly is a member of a decided, but dedicated, minority, namely, 2 percent, who believe that the industry is not permitted to gain enough profit on its business with the Government. This is a fraternity, the membership of which, in my opinion, should be expanded considerably.

Let me again emphasize the thought that it is the nature of the things that we are competing for which makes this consideration of earnings so important. May I give you an example which illustrates the point I am endeavoring to make.

During the Korean crisis, we brought into our subcontractor program a large company that had performed very well for us during World War II. During the war, the subcontractor's commercial production had been cut off and his energies had been entirely invested in defense work. His performance had been of sufficient caliber to lead us to place our new work with his firm with a feeling of confidence. But the firm's performance started out poorly and then went from bad to worse. I had a meeting with the president of the firm. Said he, "At the time we entered into our subcontract with you, we thought that commercial production would be severely curtailed. However, we were subsequently offered large commercial contracts and, due to the pressure of that work, we have been unable to fulfill our obligations to you." "You must bear in mind," he said, "that our opportunity for profit on commercial work is far greater than under our subcontract with you." A shameful position, I will agree. It brought forth my best Montana vocabulary. But we live and learn—that is, we live if we learn soon enough. Let us not stake our national security on the outcome of a contest between patriotism and the almighty dollar. It is far safer to have both of these incentives working on the same side.

Gentlemen, in my remarks regarding competition and earnings, I have endeavored to stress the necessity of providing incentives comparable to those existing in activities outside of the defense effort. I would like to conclude by discussing the inadvisability of one branch of our Government creating desirable incentives and then having another branch of our Government destroy those incentives. You guessed it—I am again about to make some remarks on the subject of renegotiation. I shall use the experience of the Boeing Co. before the Renegotiation Board for the year 1953, as an example. Our profits after taxes but before renegotiation for that year represented a return on sales of 1.9 percent.

Whenever it is feasible to do so, the Boeing Co. has chosen to operate under fixed price incentive contracts. Under this type of contract, after sufficient experience is gained to permit a reasonably accurate forecast of future costs, the Government and the contractor agree upon a target price. The contract provides that if the contractor is able to produce at lower than the target, the Government will get a percentage of the savings—usually 80 percent and the contractor will receive the remaining 20 percent in the form of incentive profits. If, however, the actual cost exceeds the target, then 20 percent of the excess is paid by the company and the remainder by the Government.

During the year 1953, our principal deliveries were of B–47's and KC–97's. At the time the target prices for these aircraft were agreed upon, we had had considerable past experience on which to base estimates of future costs. However, due to what we considered to be extraordinary efforts, we produced at less than the estimates agreed upon and saved the Government $43 million on aircraft delivered in 1953. As a reward for this performance, the company received in incentive profits before taxes slightly less than $11 million. I should state that we have an incentive compensation plan in our company in which all supervisors participate. The total amount distributed under this plan is dependent upon the earnings of the company. Consequently, each supervisor has a very real and direct interest in producing as efficiently as possible and thereby increasing the profits of the company through incentive earnings.

The Renegotiation Board has recently decided that the Boeing Co. had excessive earnings in 1953 of $7,500,000 before taxes. This decision requires us to refund about 70 percent of the amount earned by the company in 1953 as incentive earnings.

To recapitulate—after substantial production experience, the Air Force agreed with the contractor upon probable costs of further production, and to provide a stimulant to reduce costs agreed on a sharing between the contractor and the Government of underruns of actual costs as compared to previously determined probable costs. Long after the risks had been taken and the results were known, the Renegotiation Board unilaterally determines that 70 percent of the contractor's share of the savings must be returned to the Government.

It would be difficult to conceive a more direct assault on the incentive to provide more defense per dollar. These are facts which should not and cannot be concealed from the members of an organization, and there is no desire on our part to conceal them. However, we are doing our utmost to lessen the deleterious effect of this unenlightened action. Last week I discussed the matter with several thousand supervisors in Seattle and will do the same in Wichita tomorrow evening. Among other things, I tell them that the Board's decision should not be viewed as final—it is being challenged in the tax court. The Board, after commending the company on its cost performance and contribution to the defense effort, gave as reasons for its determination of excessive profits our increased volume of sales, a substantial subcontracting program, extensive use of Government-owned facilities, and high return on book net worth. These are all factors which the Air Force procurement people are required by regulation to take into consideration in establishing the contractual profit percentage.

The Honorable CARL VINSON, who has been a leader in Congress on renegotiation legislation, has stated the objectives of the act to be as follows: "Renegotiation does no more than prevent or eliminate profits that are clearly excessive and unreasonable on an overall basis—profits that it would be clearly unconscionable for a contractor to retain from his dealing with his Government in circumstances which preclude proper initial pricing."

As I have pointed out, the earnings in question were from contracts where initial pricing had been agreed upon based on a substantial amount of past experience. In other words, the circumstances permitted proper initial pricing.

The Renegotiation Act, as it is being administered, is destroying incentive. It is taking from the industry reasonable earnings needed to conduct essential research and development work and to acquire facilities. I submit that it is being administered in a manner inconsistent with the intent of Congress. Congress should review the objectives and the administration of the act and advise the Board of the spirit and purpose of the act.

Both Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry are credited with the statement "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Gen. George Kenney does not share with anyone his version of the same thought. He puts it this way: "Freedom is not a cheap commodity."

If we are to get the best results from our free-enterprise system, as applied to our defense effort, we must: First, afford our defense effort an equal opportunity in its competition with consumer enterprises for people and capital. Second, foster and preserve competition. Defense business must not be awarded on "share the wealth" or "pork barrel" considerations. Third, establish consistency, fairness, and coordination of purpose on the part of the Government in its transactions with the contractor. One agency must not be permitted arbitrarily to destroy the incentives for economical production previously arranged by another branch of the Government.

Medical and Dental Schools and Schools of Public Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 1, 1957

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill in the House today to provide Federal funds on a matching basis for the construction of facilities for medical and dental schools and schools of public health.

The bill authorizes $60 million a year for a period of 5 years. Eight million a year is earmarked for dental schools, seven million for schools of public health, and forty-five million for medical schools.

The shortage of health education facilities today is probably the most serious bottleneck in our whole medical system. These schools which produce the general practitioners, the specialists, and the research scientists fall far short of accommodating the fully qualified and competent young men and women in America who are anxious to train and qualify in medical, dental, and public-health fields.

In 1955–56, in medical schools alone, only half of the 15,000 applicants for admission in this country were accepted. This left the other 7,500 to turn to other fields of endeavor or to go abroad for training. As a result, the number of American medical students who are forced to attend foreign schools is equivalent to the capacity of four additional medical schools in the United States.

Moreover a sharp increase in applicants is expected during the next 10 years by the Association of American Colleges, and from 1967 on, when the postwar generation will have come to age, the increase in national population and the increase in applicants for medical education will present a staggering problem. Unless we do something now to cushion that impact, the ratio of doctors to general population will drop to the point where the health of the entire Nation will be in jeopardy.

One year ago the Congress enacted a law providing $30 million a year on a matching basis for the construction of health research facilities. The first $30 million appropriated under the terms of that law was allocated in a few short months and already there are more valid applications on hand for grants than the entire $90 million authorization provides for. This research-building program is a fine one and it will add impetus to our research effort but unless the total pool of doctors is swelled we shall soon be short of research men, for the research program can draw men and women only from the total number of doctors in the country.

The Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee has held long and thorough hearings on this subject. Hearings were held in the 81st, the 82d, the 83d, and the 84th Congresses. Early this year the committee published a staff report summarizing the facts that were brought to light in the course of those hearings. They were compelling facts and they point clearly to the need for immediate action for Federal aid on a matching basis for the construction of facilities in medical, dental, and public health schools.

I invite your attention to that fine report and urge that the bill I have introduced be considered at an early date so that it can be acted on in the first session of the current Congress.

Hells Canyon Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, the conservationists in the United States are demonstrating their intelligent approach to our resources problems by making an all-out effort to assure construction of high Hells Canyon Dam.

The Citizens Committee on Natural Resources explains that "major conservation values would not be jeopardized." The committee adds:

With a high dam, no forest, no farmlands, game areas, fish runs, national parks, or wilderness areas would be destroyed.

Failure to insist on full use of Hells Canyon will result in the construction of other dams in the Snake River drainage to compensate for the loss in water-storage capacity that would be sacrificed in the small dams.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the May 24, 1957, Louisville Times on the subject, written by the editor emeritus, Mr. Tom Wallace.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSERVATIONISTS FOR FEDERAL DAM AT HELLS CANYON—PLAN BEFORE CONGRESS PREFERRED TO SERIES OF SMALL IMPOUNDMENTS CONTEMPLATED BY POWER COMPANY

(By Tom Wallace)

Innumerable dams to create what is called public power have been built without being opposed by conservation organizations, but rarely, if ever once previously, have conservation organizations been champions of a public power project as they now are of the proposed Hells Canyon Government-built dam.

The reason for their support of that public power project is that they do not think it would be as damaging to natural resources as dams which would be built by private enterprise should the Hells Canyon project of the Government be defeated.

The Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, which is based in Washington, is just what its name describes it as being. It has no political affiliation or leanings. It has no policy for or against public power. It is concerned exclusively with natural resources. In that respect it is like the Izaak Walton League of America and many other national organizations and like innumerable local organizations such as those—4,000 of them—which, in New York, opposed the proposed Panther Creek Dam in the Adirondack Reserve and defeated that project.

Such organizations are represented in such projects as the recent successful effort to eliminate Echo Park Dam from the upper Colorado Basin development project on the ground that Echo Park Dam was not essential to the project and would do irreparable damage to Dinosaur National Monument.

Like organizations twice defeated efforts to dam Potomac River and obliterate Great Falls of the Potomac near Washington. One project was for public power, the other was private enterprise. The conservationists consistently oppose damage to natural resources regardless of by what forces the damage would be done.

The same sort of organizations opposed obliteration of Cumberland Falls, a Kentucky asset of renown, and contributed to defeat of a private-enterprise project there. The same sort of organizations, in most or in many instances the same organizations, now oppose a proposed expressway through Rock Creek Park in Washington, regardless of the argument of proponents that it would be a beautiful parkway.

The record of conservation organizations, speaking generally—and I know of no exception—has been, during more than a quarter of a century, singularly clear and wholly clean. They have kept out of politics and kept up an honest and intelligently conceived fight in behalf of, in words of the Izaak Walton League of America, "woods, waters, and wildlife." And in addition a fight in behalf of the duty of the National Government, State government, and municipal, and county governments to have and to hold parks which are more urgently needed as population increases.

The Citizens Committee on Natural Resources thus explains its position as to Hells Canyon:

"Hells Canyon is the deepest and best undeveloped dam site in America. Major conservation values would not be jeopardized if it were developed fully.

"With a high dam, no forests, farmlands, game areas, fish runs, national parks or wilderness areas would be destroyed.

"Failure to insist on full use of Hells Canyon will result in the construction of other dams in the Snake River drainage to compensate for the loss in water storage capacity that would be sacrificed in small dams.

"Some of the alternative dams already are being proposed. Bruce Eddy, Penny Cliffs, and Nez Perce would destroy thousands of acres of forestlands, invade wilderness areas, destroy spawning runs of salmon and steelhead trout, and flood important areas of big game range for the largest elk herd in the country. Maximum use of Hells Canyon would prevent these losses.

"The Federal Power Commission recently licensed the Idaho Power Co. to build 3 small dams in the Hells Canyon stretch of the Snake River. Construction of these dams will destroy the Hells Canyon site.

"Senate bill 555 would authorize construction by the Federal Government of the much more efficient high dam in Hells Canyon and make full use of the area. S. 555 would set aside the Federal Power Commission licenses for the low dams.

"A high Federal dam will be no more costly to taxpayers than the plan of the Idaho Power Co. In addition, it will prevent the sacrifice of valuable natural resources.

"The Idaho Power Co. has been granted a $65 million tax-free subsidy for the construction of 2 of its proposed dams. This subsidy is, in effect, an interest-free loan worth $376 million. Senator HARRY F. BYRD, of Virginia, respected chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, called this tax subsidy utterly indefensible.

"In fact, the $65 million handout plus the cost of any other Federal dam constructed to compensate for the resource values lost because of the Idaho Power Co.'s

project, would cost the taxpayers more than it would to build and own a high Hells Canyon Dam."

If private enterprise were proposing to build the Hells Canyon Dam which the Government has proposed to build and if the Government were proposing to build the other dams mentioned in the report of the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, the conservation organizations would be advocating the private enterprise project and opposing the proposed public power projects.

It is because they are always on the level that conservation organizations have grown greatly in influence since the time when a conservationist was looked upon as a hobbyist to whom practical men need not pay attention.

It is because of their clean records and the obvious reasonableness of their contentions that the conservationists have won the sympathy of the more advanced elements of the business and banking world, and of educators.

Their record created a situation in which Yale created a Department of Conservation and called as its head, and was fortunate in procuring, Dr. Paul Sears, a man of wide experience in the field of conservation; a man whose attitude toward natural resources was based on breadth of vision.

Within my recollection, even among so-called conservationists, anyone who lifted a voice in behalf of protecting natural resources was asked what his interest was; whether it was quail or ducks or fish. A familiar jest among so-called conservationists was aimed at "the fellow who calls himself a conservationist although he never wets a line or empties a shell."

I, who had not wet a line or emptied a shell within 40 years, was elected national president of the Izaak Walton League of America and reelected for a second term. The Izaak Walton League was far in advance, in its attitude toward natural resources, of the humorists to whose familiar jest I have referred.

Nowadays even churchmen's voices are heard in behalf of natural resources. I read recently an address by a bishop on which I intend commenting in this space.

Tariffs on Watches and Jewelry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, upon request, I submit herewith for inclusion in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Virginia Retail Jewelers Association in its convention held in Roanoke, Va., on May 7, 1957:

Whereas the health and stability of the jewelry industry is dependent on the quality of the retail distribution furnished by the retail jewelers of America; and

Whereas the products of the watchmakers of Switzerland have contributed immeasurably to the well-being of retail jewelers in America; and

Whereas the past and proposed increases in tariffs on watches imported into the United States have had and will have a deleterious effect on the volume and profits of retail jewelry sales: Be it therefore

Resolved by the Virginia Retail Jewelers Association in convention in Roanoke, Va., on May 7, 1957, That we urge upon all segments of the jewelry industry that they consider the effect upon the entire industry, especially retailers, of increased tariffs on jewelry items and modify their positions accordingly in their representations in the Congress.

Hells Canyon and Bruces Eddy Dams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Lewiston (Idaho) Tribune of May 20, 1957.

The article reports that the Idaho-Oregon-Washington Wildlife Federation has endorsed construction of high Hells Canyon dam and opposed construction of Bruces Eddy Dam on the Clearwater, which would flood a wildlife habitat and ruin an important fishing stream.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPORTSMEN SUPPORT HELLS CANYON, RENEW OPPOSITION TO BRUCES EDDY

Idaho-Oregon-Washington Wildlife Federation yesterday endorsed construction of a high Hells Canyon Dam and opposed the rivers and harbors omnibus bill which includes authorization for Bruces Eddy Dam.

In a resolution passed yesterday at a meeting at the Lewis-Clark Hotel, the group stated it would petition President Eisenhower to veto the omnibus bill if it passes in its present form. The President vetoed an omnibus bill at the last session of Congress.

The leaders of sportsmen's organizations from three States oppose Bruces Eddy Dam, proposed for the North Fork of the Clearwater River, on the grounds it would flood wildlife habitat and ruin a fishing stream. They contend Hells Canyon on the Snake River would provide more power and water storage with little damage to fish or wildlife.

A bill authorizing Hells Canyon has been passed by a Senate committee and is expected to come to a vote soon.

OPPOSE SNAKE NARROWS

In other action on dams, the federation opposed a House bill authorizing Snake Narrows Dam and asked that Spruce Park on the Flathead River not be considered as a reclamation project but left in the wilderness area where it now lies.

The group voted opposition to Oregon's classification of steelhead as a food fish and will assist Oregon sportsmen in their efforts to have a law enacted making it a game fish.

Other resolutions included:

Endorsing the House pollution control bill, which would appropriate $50 million to help municipalities finance sewage disposal plants.

Endorsing a House bill authorizing States to enforce fish and game laws on military reservations.

SEEK SILTING PONDS

Asking Bureau of Reclamation to plan impoundments in connection with future irrigation projects. These ponds could be stocked with fish as a replacement for migratory fish losses, could provide waterfowl habitat and allow for siltation of irrigation water before it returns to the river.

Endorsing the wilderness bill, which would restrict the authority of Government departments to withdraw lands from wilderness areas without the consent of Congress.

Frank Cullen, of St. Maries, chairman of district 1, Idaho Wildlife Federation, presided over the 2-day session.

Representatives were present from 2 districts of the IWF, 4 districts of the Washington State Sports Council, the Oregon Wildlife Federation, and the Columbia River Sportsmen's Council. Frank Burton of Amber, Wash., National Wildlife Federation district chairman, also attended.

The 1958 meeting will be held at Richland in May.

Response to President on Aid Shown Synthetic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, shortly after the President's recent television address which was designed to obtain public support for his budgetary provisions for the foreign aid program, White House spokesmen announced that the telegraphic response was overwhelmingly favorable. It now appears that this "really amazing" response was organized and was organized with the knowledge of White House officials.

There is an article in the Washington Evening Star of May 24 which outlines the procedure followed. It is written by Thomas Winship, the Washington correspondent of the Boston Globe, and distributed by the North American Newspaper Alliance. Mr. Winship is an able and conscientious reporter and the facts that he has reported must be accepted.

Under unanimous consent I included Mr. Winship's brief article entitled "Response to President on Aid Shown Synthetic," as a part of my remarks:

RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT ON AID SHOWN SYNTHETIC

(By Thomas Winship)

President Eisenhower received a "really amazing" telegraphic response to his Tuesday night speech on foreign aid, largely because it was engineered that way.

White House Press Secretary James C. Hagerty told reporters 24 hours after the President's television talk that telegrams were running 9 to 1 in favor of the program, that messages were coming from both large organizations and the Joe Doaks. All in all, he said, the response "has been really quite amazing."

But several Senators at the Capitol were "amazed," too, when they found at their offices the next morning several "back Ike" telegrams, sent from home even before Mr. Eisenhower went on the air.

The answer is that much of this flow of foreign-aid telegrams to Washington was not exactly a spontaneous sounding from Main Street.

SOME ARRIVE TOO SOON

In Washington parlance, much of it was "inspired." There's nothing new about inspired mail lobbies, but this one was a particularly neat operation—except for the telegrams which reached Washington too soon.

One Eastern Senator's office had similarly worded telegrams from the same general section of his State, one sent at 2:11 p. m.

Tuesday, another at 8:08 p. m., and another at 8:34 p. m. Another Senator received half a dozen telegrams sent at varying times just before the President began speaking, which was at 9:30 p. m. Tuesday.

Checks by a reporter showed that the chief catalyst of the initial flow of "back Ike" messages was a dynamic Philadelphia housewife, who has lobbied here for years as a labor of love on behalf of the United Nations Emergency Children's Relief Fund. She is Mrs. Betty Jacobs, who commutes between Washington and Philadelphia when things are stirring.

She went to work on behalf of the President's foreign-aid program with the full knowledge of the White House, State Department and a high-powered Government-financed agency, the International Development Advisory Board. The latter group is headed by Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America.

Also in the public acceptance phase of the message were Time-Fortune editors, Emmett Hughes and C. D. Jackson, sometime White House speech writers.

All Government agencies spiritedly deny that a single telegram urging folks to wire Mr. Eisenhower went out from their offices at Government expense.

"No, sir; we are not a propaganda agency. We are strictly an advisory agency," said William Schmeisser, IDAB's executive director.

"Betty Jacobs worked out of our office only a couple of days," he said, "and then she only made some phone calls. All she wanted from us were the names of people on the citizen groups represented on our board. That's all there is to it."

PAID OWN BILLS

"If anyone thinks these telegrams were inspired at Government expense. I invite them to look at my home telephone bill," said Mrs. Jacobs. "It's all been out of my own pocket.

"I've been deeply interested in our foreign economic aid programs for years, and I've been working with groups supporting it. It was a pleasure to lend a hand on this," she added.

"The only real help I got from the State Department and others close to the President's mutual-security program and his speech were facts," Mrs. Jacobs asserted.

The mail still is running 9 to 1 for continued foreign aid, and in goodly numbers.

And everyone on the inside tells you the same thing:

"Betty did it."

Address of Hon. William M. Tuck, of Virginia, Before the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner of the Eighth Congressional District in Charlottesville, Va., May 25, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday night, May 25, 1957, the Honorable WILLIAM M. TUCK, Representative from the Fifth Congressional District of Virginia, delivered a most important speech before the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner of the Eighth Congressional District of Virginia at Charlottesville, Va.

Congressman TUCK is one of the outstanding Members of Congress who is rendering faithful and loyal service not only to the people of the Fifth Congressional District but to the Commonwealth of Virginia as well as the entire Nation.

I join with Congressman TUCK in his commendation of the Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH, Representative of the Eighth Congressional District of Virginia. Judge SMITH, as he is affectionately called, is one of the great Americans of today. I commend his people upon having such an outstanding Representative to look after their interests in the Halls of the Congress.

Congressman TUCK's speech is as follows:

ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM M. TUCK BEFORE THE JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY DINNER OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT IN CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA., MAY 25, 1957

I am happy to be here this evening as the guest of the Democrats of the Eighth Congressional District, and I was highly flattered and honored when Judge Smith and Calvin Haley invited me to come and enjoy this fine fellowship.

Your district is rich in history and resources, and occupies a prominent place in the life and welfare of this Commonwealth. You have able representation in the general assembly; your officials who hold positions of leadership in the State government are of the highest caliber; your membership on the Democratic executive and State central committees is made up of men and women who are thoroughly devoted to the public welfare; and your county and city officials throughout the district are citizens of high character and purpose who apply themselves diligently to the faithful discharge of their duties. From Albemarle to Northumberland; from Loudoun to Goochland; and from King William to Culpeper, I salute the Democrats of this great district and express my admiration and esteem for all of you.

The Democrats of the Eighth Congressional District in general, and those who live in Charlottesville and Albemarle County in particular, are most fortunate in having as residents of your community the Honorable Colgate W. Darden, Jr., and the Honorable John Stewart Battle. These two illustrious statesmen are devoted public servants and stalwart Democrats. Their administrations as chief executives of this State were in the finest traditions of the Commonwealth, and their contributions to the cause of good government are shining examples of what the Democratic Party in Virginia stands for. I know you will join with me in extending hearty greetings and best wishes to Colgate Darden and John Battle.

I am aware of the high esteem and warm affection you have for your beloved Congressman, Hon. HOWARD W. SMITH, but sometimes I wonder if the people of this congressional district—and for that matter the Commonwealth of Virginia, and the Nation—fully realize and appreciate the sterling qualities of leadershp and ability of this outstanding public servant and statesman. I have admired him throughout his public career, but since I became a Member of the Congress it has been my pleasure and privilege to know him intimately, follow his leadership, and marvel at his eminent qualifications. Although not a seeker of publicity and modest and unpretentious to a marked degree, Judge SMITH is always on the front line in the battle for sound legislative measures and in support of fundamental doctrines and principles which he believes in so firmly. In his capacity as chairman of the all-important and powerful Committee on Rules in the House of Representatives, he has performed valiant service in the interest of sound government and in the defense of States' rights.

It was highly gratifying when on February 22, 1955, the American Good Government Society, in a resolution of tribute and honor to HOWARD WORTH SMITH, described him in appropriate language as a statesman, lawyer, farmer, and banker who has served the public weal in an illustrious manner, and it was pointed out that among his notable achievements is the Smith Act of 1940, which has resulted in the conviction of Communist leaders and aliens whose purpose was the overthrow of our cherished form of government. Judge SMITH has also made notable contributions in the legislative field concerning amendments to the National Labor Relations Act which formed the necessary groundwork for the Taft-Hartley Law. The list of his worthy achievements is lengthy. He is a tower of strength in the Congress and considered by many as its most outstanding member.

I know many of you are familiar with the notable address Judge SMITH delivered at the New York Herald Tribune Forum on October 24, 1950, entitled "The Kind of American I Am." It was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD immediately following its delivery, and again last year by a colleague who deemed it appropriate to commend it again to the membership of the Congress for its outline of sound doctrines and Democratic principles.

In that address, Judge Smith said he is proud to be known as a conservative Democrat and one who adheres unservingly to the fundamental principles of government embedded in the Bill of Rights. He is a worthy Representative of the congressional district of this great Commonwealth that was the home of George Washington, who conceived the idea of a Constitution; of George Mason, the great exponent of democratic government who wrote the Bill of Rights; Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence and founded the Democratic Party; James Madison, the father of the Constitution; James Monroe, author of the Monroe Doctrine, and John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who, by his decisions, breathed life and vitality into the Constitution.

I cannot find words adequate to pay proper and appropriate tribute to your beloved Congressman. His devotion to duty; outstanding capabilities; wise leadership and calm and courageous conduct are a source of inspiration to me.

It is always appropriate and fitting at all Democratic gatherings to pay respect to the memory of Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic Party. As every Virginian knows, he was its first champion and the most brilliant, farsighted, and bold philosopher the Republic has ever known. He envisioned the Democratic Party as the party of the people and declared that governments are not the masters but the servants of the people.

Jefferson stood for the legitimate rights of the States and in the most positive terms advocated the greatest degree of local government. He denounced the idea of government catering to groups seeking special privileges, and it was his belief that the greatest danger the young Republic would ever have to face from within was the threat of centralization of authority and its inevitable abuses of individual liberties. Although we have been saddened and perturbed to witness flagrant abuse of Jeffersonian principles in national administrations, claiming to be his adherents, it behooves us as Virginia Democrats to insist upon steadfast adherence to the principles and philosophies espoused by the sage of Monticello.

With masterful emphasis, Mr. Jefferson wrote: "I do verily believe that, if the princi-

ple were to prevail of a common law being in force in the United States in which the General (Federal) Government at once possesses all the powers of the State governments and reduces us to a single consolidated government, it would become the most corrupt government on earth." Let us exert our every effort to maintain State autonomy and protect the traditional American form of local self-government operating in the communities and the counties and the States.

Although he was born to wealth and position, Jefferson believed that tyranny could best be thwarted by letting the power reside in the people. He was opposed to tyranny in any form, and one of his most immortal utterances was, "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Jefferson's personal platform at the time he was elected President was as follows:

I do with sincere zeal wish an inviolable preservation of our Federal Constitution according to the true sense in which it was adopted by the States.

I am for preserving to the States powers not yielded by them to the Union.

I am opposed to transferring all the powers of the States to the General Government, and of that Government to the executive branch.

I am for a government rigorously frugal and simple, applying all the savings of public revenue to the public debt.

I am opposed to increasing the public debt on the principle that it is a public blessing.

I am for freedom of religion and freedom of the press, and against all violations of the Constitution.

We should likewise pay tribute here to the hallowed memory of that other great patron saint of the Democratic Party, the immortal Andrew Jackson. Although born in such obscurity that two States have claimed his birthplace, he rose to fame as a legislator, jurist, soldier, statesman, and President, and he espoused and upheld with vigor and determination the sound doctrines and high principles upon which the Democratic Party was founded. A recent visit to Jackson's beautiful country home, the Hermitage near Nashville, Tenn., was indeed an inspiring experience.

Senator BYRD, in addressing the Kiwanis Club in Richmond on April 3, pointed out that Andrew Jackson was the only President of the United States to pay off the Federal debt in toto. Although the debt was not large, he paid it off and boasted about it, and Senator BYRD said that when he is asked what kind of a Democrat he is, he is proud to reply, "I am an Andrew Jackson Democrat."

I am reluctant to disturb the sociality and conviviality of this occasion, and yet there are dangers confronting us so vital to the interest and welfare of our country I would not be doing my duty as a citizen of the Commonwealth were I to fail to point them out.

The most alarming is the pattern now employed by the Supreme Court of the United States in decision after decision which reveals a studied campaign to obliterate the rights of the sovereign states. Some of the recent decisions of this court break down our Constitution and shatter our Bill of Rights which was penned on the soil of this Commonwealth and which has found its way into the Constitution not only of the United States, but of every State in the American Union.

Prior to 1896 there was practically no public school system in any of the States, including Virginia. In that year the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision in the case of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, pronouncing what is known as the "separate but equal doctrine"; that is, that the States could provide separate schools for the races provided the schools were substantially equal.

The validity and soundness of this decision was upheld many times by the Supreme Court of the United States and by other courts. Even as late as 1927 the Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Taft, a former President, enunciated this same sound doctrine. Relying upon these decisions, the States have spent millions of dollars constructing school systems for the training and education of our children.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court overruled this and many other decisions of the court, striking down at the same time the Constitutions of at least 17 States, holding that if we operate public schools they must be integrated. No legal authority was cited in support of this infamous opinion which undertakes to substitute a government of men for a government of laws, and the only authority was psychology and sociology of a doubtful variety, referring to such men as E. Franklin Frazier, a Negro, who wrote a book entitled, "The Negro in the United States," and who extolled the characteristics of such Communists as Paul Robeson, and who signed a statement condemning any punitive measures directed against the Communist Party in the United States.

The Supreme Court in its opinion further referred to another authority, a man by the name of Gunnar Myrdal, who is a notorious Swedish Socialist, imported to the United States in 1937 by the Carnegie Foundation of Alger Hiss fame. Myrdal has an utter contempt for the principles upon which the United States was founded and the political system to which our people adhere. The very book to which the Chief Justice in his opinion referred, by this Socialist Myrdal, stated that the Constitution of the United States was "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions, and its adoption was merely a plot against the common people." This is plain unvarnished communism and is the authority cited by the Supreme Court of the United States for this improvident, unwise and, I believe, unpatriotic decision.

This loved prophet of the Supreme Court, Myrdal, has written another book entitled "An International Economy," in which he argues against the awkward fact of the United States bigness and urges equalization and integration of all peoples through redistribution of natural and commercial wealth. Apparently he doesn't approve of the size of the United States any more than he does the United States Constitution. So respectful of its prophet is our High Court (or was on May 17, 1954) that it might entertain an antitrust suit against the United States of America as a monopoly in restraint of trade. Also, of course, in restraint of Russia.

It is said that members of the bar are now forced in self-defense to study the works of Gunnar Myrdal and acquaint themselves with his philosophy in order to prepare for cases when there is a possibility of Supreme Court consideration.

It would seem that the school decision of 1954 would have done enough violence to our Constitution for at least one generation, but the Supreme Court thinks otherwise and continues to render these decisions which are disturbing to all thoughtful and patriotic Americans. The unbridled attempts of the Supreme Court to usurp the powers of Congress and to amend the Constitution of the United States by judicial decree may succeed in awakening and arousing the people, not only in the South but in all parts of the country, to the dangers which confront us, and to the fact that our Constitution is being jettisoned by the very branch of the Government designed to preserve and protect it.

Despite the fact that the wise legislation sponsored by Judge Smith contains a provision distinctly preserving the rights and powers of States to pass antisedition and anti-Communist laws, the Supreme Court, in the case of the *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson*, handed down a decision reversing the conviction of a Communist by the name of Nelson in the State courts of Pennsylvania. The Court declared that the Congress in passing the Smith Act, despite this provision to the contrary, had preempted the field and the States were without power to deal with Communists and subversives and others who would overthrow the State and Federal governments. The Supreme Court has struck down the powers of the States to convict Communists and other leftwing elements who wish to destroy our Constitution and to reduce each State as well as the Government of the United States to a shambles.

The people of Pennsylvania, and others who know of this decision, are incensed over the matter and are beginning to understand and appreciate the force and efficacy of the arguments which we have recently made in the South in respect to the school decision case. They now seem to realize what the members of the General Assembly of Virginia and other southern States meant when they passed almost unanimously the "Resolutions of Interposition" protesting the unauthorized and unprecedented acts of the Supreme Court of the United States. Citizens of other States are likewise beginning to understand the meaning of the language employed and the constitutional principles declared in that historic document known as the "Southern Manifesto," signed by more than 100 members of the Congress.

The great State of New York has likewise come under the hammer of the Supreme Court of the United States in a case involving the principle. In that State, a school teacher who had refused to testify before one of the congressional committees, seeking cloak and shelter under the beneficence and protective wings of the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, because of lost confidence in her loyalty, was discharged. The Supreme Court handed down a decision denying to the sovereign State of New York the right to fire the school teacher, whose compensation was entirely from State funds.

Among the most recent decisions of the Supreme Court was the one handed down in the Girard College case, where the late Stephen Girard of Philadelphia by his last will and testament created a trust fund for the erection, maintenance, and operation of a college for as many poor white male orphans as the income from the fund shall be adequate to maintain. The Supreme Court held that the operation of Girard College, pursuant to the provisions of the last will and testament of the individual who created the fund to finance its operation, was null and void because the student body is made up of white boys. In total disregard of the sanctity of the will of Stephen Girard, Negro politicians have now prevailed in their contention that he had no right to make a will which provided for the education of white boys alone and that the college must now be compelled to admit Negroes. As you know, the Supreme Court decreed that Stephen Girard's stipulation of white orphan boys must be disregarded for the extraordinary reason that the "board which operated the Girard College is an agency of the State of Pennsylvania" and that "the board's refusal to admit Negroes constituted discrimination by the State of Pennsylvania." A decision of this nature takes us far down the road to tyranny and presents a frightening situation showing a rapid approach to a centralized Federal tyranny.

As recently as Monday, May 6, 1957, we became aware of decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States which constitute flagrant substitution of the high court's

judgment for the judgment of the States. In the New Mexico and California cases where, after patient and careful consideration, the State authorities had denied two former Communists admission to the respective bars of New Mexico and California on the ground that their long and open activities as Communist Party members prove their moral unfitness to become members of the bars, the United States Supreme Court made it its business to trample underfoot the decisions of both State courts by holding that the due process clauses of the 14th amendment had been violated and the State court decisions were, therefore, unconstitutional. In a recent editorial on this subject, the able editor of the Richmond News Leader asked the following pertinent questions: "If a State no longer can fix standards of propriety and fitness for its teachers; if a State no longer can operate its public schools so as to avoid domestic strife; if a State no longer can establish its own rules for appellate proceedings; if a State no longer can pass upon the fitness of prospective lawyers who would become officers of State courts—what, then, is left to the States?"

Another iniquitous onslaught against the States rights is inherent in the so-called civil rights proposal now pending in the Congress. As Senator HARRY F. BYRD has so forcefully stated, this legislation is punitive in nature and clearly designed to punish the South for its refusal to submit to the Supreme Court's decision in the school case which is in complete violation of our constitutional rights. But these unwarranted and ill-advised so-called civil rights proposals are fraught with extreme danger not only to the South, but to every State in the Union. They constitute a grave threat to the sovereignty and to the future existence of our States on an autonomous basis.

I joined with seven of my colleagues on the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives in presenting the minority views on the bill H. R. 6127 in an earnest effort to outline in detail the unsoundness of these proposals and the shocking manner in which they would usurp the rights of the States. Our own able attorney general, Hon. J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., appeared before the Judiciary Committee and presented a masterful argument in opposition to the bill, as did many other outstanding lawyers.

Real craftsmanship was employed by the skillful and dexterous political professional who drafted the proposed legislation, and although his approach is a surreptitious one the flagrant violation of our fundamental rights is quite plain.

We are confronted with a proposal by the Attorney General of the United States to violate the sacred precincts of the constitutionally embedded system of trial by jury. He does this by the simple proposal of permitting the United States to become a party to what appears to be a civil suit, but before the suit is consummated it develops into a criminal procedure and he succeeds in abolishing, if this proposal is enacted, the time-honored safeguard and means of applying the sanctions of a penal statute. He proposes to lodge and substitute for these safeguards the contempt powers of the Federal Judiciary, some of whom rule with a ruthless and tyrannical hand. He would set at naught and banish from the American scene the right of an accused person to demand the nature and cause of his accusation, to be confronted by his accusers, to demand proof, to place himself in a position to plead former jeopardy, to cross-examine those hostile to his rights, to call for witnesses in his behalf, and to demand a fair, speedy, and impartial trial before a jury of his peers, without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty. In order to accomplish his purpose to amend the criminal conspiracy statute (which in effect these proposals do) he would sacrifice all of these constitutional principles.

One of the features of the bill provides for the establishment of a Commission on Civil Rights. On its face this appears harmless except as a foolish expenditure of public funds in a country where we are already overloaded with debt, but the serious objection is not the establishment of another costly and foolish bureau, but the establishment of one with sweeping powers so unlimited as to constitute a board of inquisition and ex parte condemnation. Such a Commission will serve no good purpose and will provide a source of harassment to the several States which it will seek to victimize in derogation of their rights under the Constitution to administer their own internal governmental affairs. The duties of the Commission, as outlined in the bill, are fantastic and the powers proposed to be invested in the Commission would be another abrogation of State sovereignty and in careless disregard of the rights of individual citizens of the various States.

One of the oldest and most thoroughly established and salutary rules in American jurisprudence is the requirement for the exhaustion of State administrative remedies before resort to a Federal court. The pending proposals provide for the abolishment of this principle in the amendment to the so-called civil rights statutes and the amendment relating to the right to vote. Every thoughtful person must agree that wherever parties may have their rights adjudicated at the State and local level, Federal courts should not interfere, and indeed they have no right to do so. The only conclusion to be reached is that the attempt to enact these so-called civil rights proposals into law constitutes a deliberate, open, and blatant expression of total lack of faith and confidence in the virtue and the integrity of our respective State governments in general and our State judicial systems in particular, and constitute an insult of the ugliest sort.

The proponents of this legislation completely overlook and refuse to recognize that there are no Federal elections. There is no Federal election machinery and no provision in the Constitution of the United States which authorizes it. No constitutional authority is conferred upon the Federal Government to conduct, regulate, and administer any election. On the other hand the Constitution expressly negates any concept of such authority in the Federal Government, and it is made abundantly clear that such authority resides only with the States. The States have clear constitutional rights to regulate and administer their own electoral processes. We should never agree to permit the Attorney General of the United States to meddle with State elections and brush aside State law, remedy, procedure, States' rights, jurisdiction, and authority in matters pertaining to elections.

One of the most frightening phases of this whole situation is the apparent complete lack of knowledge on the part of the President of the United States of what is going on. President Eisenhower admitted at a rcent press conference that he has not even read the so-called civil-rights bill. He is quoted by the press as having made the following amazing statement, "The civil-rights bill is a very moderate thing, done in all decency and in a simple attempt to study the matter, see where the Federal responsibilities lie, and to move in strict accordance with the Supreme Court's decision, and no faster and no further."

My friend, Jack Kilpatrick, the able editor of the Richmond News Leader, recently in an editorial described the President's apparent ignorance of the gravest issue of State and Federal relations now before the Congress, as a gross neglect of duties, and he very aptly suggested that the President "tuck a copy of the bill in his golf bag and read it while riding in his electric cart from tee to tee at Burning Tree."

Our mutual friend and your district chairman, Ben Garrett, kindly sent me one of the King William County medals cast as a part of King William's observance of the Jamestown Festival. It is a most attractive bronze medal with the seal of the circuit court of King William County on one side, and a picture of the old courthouse on the other, and with one of the most timely and appropriate inscriptions imaginable. The inscription reads, "The Constitution or the Supreme Court—Liberty or Tyranny." I shall fight with all the power at my command in support of the Constitution and liberty, and I appeal to every lover of liberty in this Nation to awaken to the dangers confronting us and recall the warning of the Founding Fathers and the makers of the Constitution, that an uncontrolled Supreme Court makes despotism—yea, tyranny.

The people are rightly concerned about high taxes and the current Federal budget which is the largest in peacetime history. I will not impose upon your good nature by dwelling upon this unpleasant subject unduly. I do want to say, however, that it is highly gratifying to observe that the American public is demanding a reduction in unnecessary Federal expenditures and I fervently hope that there will be such a compelling force of public opinion as to guarantee a large measure of return to fiscal sanity and solvency. The current budget can be reduced by six or seven billion dollars with no danger to our national defense or serious impairment of normal and essential functions of Government.

We in Virginia are blessed with good government. Our government is interested in the well-being and happiness of all for whom government was established. We still believe in the fundamental principle that all authority resides in the people, and that the government is the servant of the people and not their master.

Because of our steadfast and firm determination to adhere to the fundamental principles of government established on the soil of Virginia, and which has made our Commonwealth and our country great, and which we cherish, many of those who would change everything, even our form of government derisively refer to us as old fashioned. So much so that be believe with Jefferson, who asserted "that government is best which governs least," and with Cleveland, who believed "that it was the duty of the people to support the Government instead of the Government supporting the people." Indeed we are so old fashioned that we believe in economy and honesty in Government. So old fashioned that we believe in paying our debts. We have resisted socialism and its Russian counterpart, communism, and irrespective of what may happen elsewhere I firmly believe that Virginians will continue to resist these trends.

We believe that the faithful and impartial enforcement of law is paramount and we recognize that as the first and foremost function of Government. In short, we believe in those Jeffersonian principles upon which the Nation was founded and has grown to maturity as a leader among the free peoples of the world. We jealously guard our rights as individuals and as citizens under a free government, and we seek through our public services to strengthen and preserve those rights, rather than to weaken and destroy them.

We cherish this great heritage, unequaled elsewhere on earth. We recognize that these great blessings are accompanied by grave responsibilities, foremost of which is the obligation of so exercising our liberties that succeeding generations may enjoy the same rights and privileges, with neither fear nor restraint. With the benefit of the experi-

ence of those who have preceded us, we should be able to strengthen and revitalize the democratic institutions which are the very sinews of our American way of life.

At Williamsburg, we have the Nation's foremost example of the restoration of the physical reminders of our early heritage. We should also include a restoration of ideas, and Virginians should lead the way in restoring the sound ideas of government bequeathed to us by Jefferson and the early founders of the Democratic Party, and when we invoke their names and honor their memories we should also be mindful of and never depart from the fundamental principles they so courageously enunciated.

As one who has been actively identified with the affairs of the Democratic Party in the State of Virginia for many years, I am indeed hopeful that you will exert in your respective localities a steadfast and unflagging effort to advance the cause of the Democratic Party of the State of Virginia to the end that we may have a continuation of the fine type of government with which Virginia has been blessed and to which our people are entitled.

Labor Groups Favor School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I want to call the attention of the Members to the formal endorsement of H. R. 1—the Federal aid for classroom construction legislation—by major labor groups.

Prior to this action by the AFL–CIO groups, this legislation had the endorsement of the UMW and scores of independent union groups. Their position is a clear indication of how the average citizen feels about this emergency in our schools.

The statement follows:

For years the critical shortage of classrooms in the Nation's schools has continued unabated. At the beginning of the present school year there were 159,000 fewer classrooms than needed to adequately house America's more than 32 million schoolchildren.

Failure to build these needed classrooms has meant a terrible burden on the future of our children.

Hundreds of thousands are forced to go to half-day sessions in overcrowded buildings. As a result, they have not been able to get the kind of education which American society demands of its citizens and which they need if they are to compete successfully in a world where expanding technology makes greater and greater demands on individuals.

Other schoolchildren daily risk injury and death in ramshackle firetraps kept in use long after their useful life has ended.

This is a heritage to our children which America should not and cannot permit. The implication of poor education extends not only to the children themselves, but to the future of our Nation in a divided world.

We deplore the action of the United States Chamber of Commerce in misusing statistics to minimize the apparent school needs. Misrepresentation in this critical area is inexcusable.

It has been clear for some time that the States cannot meet this problem alone. Despite heroic effort, the States have been unable to erase the backlog of school construction.

Only the resources of the Federal Government are adequate to meet this challenge, and progress has been made to this end. The Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives has reported favorably a bill, H. R. 1, authorizing $1.5 billion in grants to the States for school construction.

The bill is a compromise measure. It is entitled to the support of all Americans, without any of the complicating amendments which have helped to defeat it in the past.

The AFL–CIO urges the Congress to meet its obligation to America's children by promptly enacting H. R. 1 into law, without crippling amendments.

Address by Hon. John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, Upon the Presentation to Him of the Bellarmine Medal, Bellarmine College, Louisville, Ky., May 13, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. DELANEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an address by the distinguished majority leader, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, upon the presentation to him of the Bellarmine Medal, May 13, 1957, at Bellarmine College, Louisville, Ky.

The award known as the Bellarmine Medal was established in 1955 by Bellarmine College, Louisville, Ky. Its purpose is to honor annually a person "who, on the national or international scene has exemplified in a notable manner the virtues of justice, charity, and temperateness in dealing with difficult and controversial problems."

The specific emphasis in the medal's definition of purpose is derived from the character and achievements of the college's patron, Robert Bellarmine, 16th century saint, theologian, philosopher, and educator. St. Robert lived and worked most of his life in the midst of controversy. His fairness, mildness, and dispassionate devotion to truth were the occasion of admiring wonder on the part of both friends and opponents.

The 1957 recipient of the Bellarmine Medal is the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, majority leader of the House of Representatives. He has been a Member of the United States House of Representatives since 1928. Since 1940, he has been majority leader of the House during the sessions when the House was organized by the Democratic Party. His achievements have been recognized by the presentation of honorary degrees from 10 American universities and colleges.

Bellarmine College finds in the career of Mr. MCCORMACK a notable exemplification of the qualities that the Bellarmine Medal was established to honor.

Mr. MCCORMACK's address follows:

The Most Reverend John A. Floersh, Archbishop of Louisville, the distinguished president of Bellarmine College, Monsignor Horrigan, right reverend, very reverend, and reverend fathers; Your Excellency, Gov. Albert B. Chandler, Your Honor, Mayor Andrew Broaddus, distinguished and invited guests, ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply touched by the honor that has been conferred upon me. The fact that those who selected me as the recipient of this year's Bellarmine medal feel I am worthy of it, touches me very much. While I have received many honors in the past, all of which I value very much, there is none that I shall treasure more than the one you have conferred upon me this evening, and Mrs. McCormack joins with me in expressing to you our deep appreciation.

I might also say that Mrs. McCormack and I will carry away with us from Louisville fond and lasting memories of your hospitality.

Down through the ages our church has given to mankind great leaders, not only in times of peace and tranquility, but particularly in times of pain and stress. Among those great leaders is a 16th century churchman, Robert Cardinal Bellarmine, Saint Robert Bellarmine—doctor of the church, educator, scholar, diplomat, and the patron of your young but dynamic college.

I know that Archbishop Floersh, the beloved spiritual leader of your archdiocese, derives great happiness and satisfaction, and rightfully so, in the existence of your fine college.

For after years of prayer and hope, it was under his far-seeing and courageous leadership that Bellarmine College came into being—the prayers, the hopes, and the planning of many years by His Excellency, and countless of others, and the fulfillment thereof some 7 years ago.

For many generations to come will go forth its graduates, possessing a complete education, and with its motto, "In the love of truth" firmly impressed upon their minds, graduate students possessing a truly integrated philosophy of life, and as so eloquently stated in the purposes of your college, aware that there is a higher and more certain source of truth, namely, the divine revelation entrusted by God to His church, and of the further fact that there can never be any genuine conflict between the truths of reason and the truths of revelation, since all truth, on whatever level, is from God.

And I can project my mind ahead and see for generations to come young graduates leaving the hallowed environment of Bellarmine College, becoming leaders in all walks of human activity, and wielding great influence for God, for country, for mankind, for college.

In the motto of your college the word "love" is an important part. How significant and meaningful is the word "love." And how significant and meaningful also is another word, the direct opposite and the enemy of the word "love"—the word "hate."

Let us apply those two simple, but significant, words to the world of today. One could well say that the struggle today is between the forces of love and the forces of hate—that love is the origin of our way of thinking and acting, of our philosophy of life; that hate is the origin of everything destructive and in the world of today, of the Communist ideology and thought and action.

Love of God, love of neighbor, the grave is not the end; position and power is a trust and not a personal attribute. The rights of the individual are God-given, such as liberty, freedom, and the pursuit of hap-

piness. Government is the servant and not the master; the result is popular sovereignty, democracy, and representative government, and a government of law, and not of men.

Let me convey to you a short but comprehensive picture of the results that follow with hate the origin of Communist thought and action.

Hatred of God, hatred of neighbor, the grave is the end, power is personal, might is right, destroy all who do not agree or do not submit; the result: Vicious dictatorship in the form of atheistic or international communism with the imposition of persecution, imprisonment, death, and martyrdom. And the other important word in your college motto is "truth." For it is truth that makes men and women free; and the doctrine of popular sovereignty, the people determining their own form of government, has been taught through the centuries by the great doctors of the Catholic Church. One of the most notable in the world, as well as in church history, is Robert Cardinal Bellarmine, whose feast the church celebrates today.

From the time of his ordination in 1570 to his death in 1621, the brilliant cardinal had a most fruitful life. He has left his imprint on the prominent pages of church and world history.

The period in which he lived was one of religious and temporal controversy. It has been said of him that when he spoke, his words made him seem like one inspired.

As an illustration of his brilliant mind and the deep respect in which he was held, when Pope Clement VIII nominated him a cardinal, he did so on the ground that "he had not his equal for learning."

While in the controversy with King James I of England, Bellarmine stood out uncompromisingly as the champion of the Pope's supremacy in all things spiritual; he also wrote extensively on temporal authority, and is one of the great figures of history against the absolutism of his day, and a great advocate of the doctrine of the consent of the governed. It took a brave man to take such a position in his day.

There are remarkable facts about St. Robert Bellarmine's advocacy of the principle that all just government rests upon the free consent of the governed. He popularized the principal of popular sovereignty and democratic procedures at the time when kings and emperors were in the ascendancy, with the result that today whenever a scholar writes about King James the First's pretentions about "the divine right of kings" he completes the story by describing Robert Bellarmine's role as the King's most honorable, redoubtable and invincible critic whose victory in the controversy of his day and age is a source of satisfaction to all who hated tyranny in the 17th century, and has been ratified by an overwhelming vote of approval and confidence in our own age.

For Robert Cardinal Bellarmine was the outstanding champion in the age of royal absolutism, of a philosophy of the state that is best described as "perennial." He is one of those rare figures recorded in the pages of history who has truly and effectively influenced the course of history. It was the cardinal's vocation to revivify basic truths and, by the solidity and style of his presentation, to win a new audience for sound tradition. He knew how to put first things first. Let me quote a few of his utterances on the subject of popular sovereignty, as clear as they are explicit. "Political power in general, without reference to particular forms of it such as monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, has its immediate origin from God alone. This is so because such power is a necessary corollary of the nature of man, and consequently must have its sanction from Him who made that nature."

The next question to be decided, however, was the juridical principle that brings the state into being as a concrete reality under a particular form of government. Once more, this prince of philosophers expresses himself in unmistakable terms:

"In the second place, it is to be noted that this power rests immediately, as in its subject, in the whole multitude of the people, for the power comes from God, and God having assigned it to no particular man must have given it to the multitude."

"For it is obvious," Bellarmine continues, "that concrete and particular forms of government have their sanction from the law of nations and not from the law of nature. For it is obvious that it rests with the people as a whole to decide whether they shall set over themselves a king, or consuls, or other magistrates. Furthermore, for a legitimate reason the people can change their government from a monarchy to an aristocracy or democracy, and also the other way about, as we read happened in ancient Rome." He also believed, as we do in America, that the interests of the general public are best served by a government of checks and balances. The distribution of powers among the coordinate branches of government, executive, legislative, and judicial, is the very core of Bellarmine's doctrine.

Commenting up the desirability of the nation or tripartite division of civil administration, the brilliant cardinal resumes his advocacy of popular participation in government. "All men," he writes, "assuredly prefer a form of government in which they can each have a share, and such a form is the one that we propose because in it a man's worth and not his birth is what counts."

These words are completely consonant, not only with the American Declaration of Independence, but also with the soul of the Constitution of the United States. According to Robert Bellarmine, every official of each one of the three coordinate branches of civil administration is obliged, under God, to seek "not his own advantage but the good of the people.". "The citizen," he adds, "is governed with a view to his own interest, not to that of his ruler."

There is no question but what the views on popular sovereignty or Robert Cardinal Bellarmine had a profound impression upon George Mason when he framed the famed Virginia bill of rights, and upon Thomas Jefferson and James Madison in their contribution toward framing the Declaration of Independence and later the Constitution of the United States.

It is well known that these distinguished fathers of our country were students of the teachings and political philosophy of Bellarmine and the other great doctors of the Catholic Church.

For example, when the framers of the Declaration of Independence proclaimed, "All men are created equal" they were stating in condensed form the view of the ballarmine that "in a commonwealth all men are born naturally free and equal."

When the American patriots in the Declaration of Independece proclaimed that governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the Government, they were reasoning in terms comparable to those used by Bellarmine that "the people themselves immediately and directly hold a political power as long as they have not transferred this power to some king or ruler."

When Thomas Jefferson, writing in the name of his colleagues, declared that "prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes"-he was emphasizing the same principle of caution and discretion which was proclaimed by Robert Bellarmine who taught that "if there be a lawful cause the multitude may change the kingdom into an aristocracy or a democracy."

When in giving the ultimate justification to their struggle for independence the Founding Fathers appealed to God, and insisting that the people "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights"; they could have summed up their whole position in the words of Bellarmine, who wrote that "political power emanates from God."

Cardinal Bellarmine lived in a period of intense controversy. Today, you and I are living in a period of controversy, one of the most trying periods of the known history of man. The thoughts and words of Bellarmine are just as applicable today as they were in his day.

As the church has given to mankind great leaders in the past, particularly in every crisis, so has the church given to the world a great leader during the period of pain that it is now undergoing. For in Pope Pius XII the church gives not only to the universal church, but to the world, one of the great leaders of all times.

On December 23, 1956, His Holiness Pope Pius XII gave his Christmas message to the world. It was an eloquent and effective message from one of the great men of all times, churchman, scholar, diplomat. What His Holiness said on that occasion will take its place as one of the great historic documents of all time.

In a few words his message could be characterized as one "calling for stronger alliance against the Communist conspiracy." Since 1939, His Holiness has made not less than 18 Christmas messages, but this one was direct and vigorous in its broad political sense, making in effect a ringing call for realism. It was a call against appeasement, inaction, and fear. It was the church militant speaking in the light of present world conditions.

The Pope reminded the world of the grim realisms of the life of today.

Among other things His Holiness said was, "men do look upon the struggle unjustly forced upon them by their enemy as a crusade." Like the conditions of the early centuries of the church, the days of martyrdom have returned again. And like we had the crusaders and their spirit of those days, so do we need the spirit of the crusaders today, the spirit of affirmative and dynamic democracy.

The days of martyrdom exist again. Catholic, Protestant, and Jew have all suffered through the vicious persecution of atheistic communism.

To all who want life and freedom, and without respect to race, color, or creed, or geographical location, the Christmas message of Pope Pius XII, if followed, charts the road to success and to peace.

As I have said, Pope Pius XII made a ringing call for realism. It is the duty of each and every one of us to be realistic and objective in our evaluation of world conditions. In doing that we have to take the hard road, oftentimes forming our opinions contrary to our hopes and desires.

For we must realize that we are faced with a cold, sinister ideology dominated by leaders with the minds of "world killers" bent on world revolution and world domination, and that as long as those who control the Kremlin adhere to doctrinaire communism, they are prisoners of an ideology that forces them on and on in their determination to dominate the whole world and to impose communism, if necessary by force and through fear.

The Holy Father spoke to the entire world, not to communicants of the Catholic church alone. He spoke with profound knowledge of the Communist conspiracy of world domination, its intents and its purposes. He spoke with knowledge of the inhuman consequences that follow wherever communism takes over. He knows that in this battle of "Love versus hate" that all peoples without regard to race, color, or creed putting into

active and dynamic operation the commandments of God, is not only the answer to international communism, but is the only sure and ultimate road to victory. For while it is necessary for us to be powerful from a military angle, Pope Pius XII also knows it is necessary for us to be powerful from a moral and spiritual angle, for he knows that the moral and spiritual forces of the world, both outside and behind the Iron Curtain, with their love of and faith in God, will be the deciding influence between victory and defeat.

From the angle of our own beloved country, it is very apparent that we have a rendezvous with destiny. Whether we want it or whether we like it or not, the United States is the leader of the non-Communist world. All persons and all peoples who want to be free under their own law, and there are countless of millions of them behind the Iron Curtain, look to America for leadership.

In forming our policies we must think in terms of realism as so well stated by His Holiness in his message of last Christmas. We cannot afford to think and act alone in terms of a dream world, one that we dream and hope for. We can pray for such a world and ask God to guide and direct us in making our contribution toward such a future world, but in the face of the enemy that confronts us, to form our Nation's policies on hope alone in the road to inaction, weakness, uncertainty and appeasement. And Chamberlain showed that appeasement is the road to war.

I have said that the world is undergoing one of the most, if not the most, trying and challenging periods in the known history of man. It is the forces of dictatorship in most vicious form, dedicated to world conquest and determined to control not only the body, but the will and the spirit of man—to try and force that will and spirit to forget their beliefs, their faith in God and his law, and to be remolded to the likeness of atheistic or international communism.

To some the present period is one of frustration, of confusion, and of defeat. To others a period of faith and confidence and ultimate victory. This trying and challenging period is one that tests our faith, our courage, and our strength.

No matter how dark the situation may be, possession by individuals and nations of deep faith might well be the sustaining difference between victory and defeat. Faith keeps alive confidence and above all, spiritual strength, which is so important in any crisis.

I have made reference to the fact that there is now a return to the days of martyrdom. The history of the past 25 years shows that the days of persecution, death, and martyrdom are not over. This has been particularly evidenced by recent events in Hungary, and one of the principal ways by and through which the vicious forces of international communism can be frustrated and stopped is by the return of the spirit of the crusader.

I emphasize the fight of the brave people of Hungary because it is a living scene in our lifetime, historic to future generations, of the sacrifices people will make to possess liberty.

Hungary is representative of the hopes of people everywhere to either regain or retain liberty.

For the rights of the individual, called liberty, are God given and therefore inherent, which man may temporarily suppress, but can never destroy.

Bellarmine knew this and taught it in his day, as Pope Pius XII and others do today.

For Hungary has taught the Communist and non-Communist world of today that the spirit of freedom and desire for liberty cannot be killed by tanks and superior guns.

And there will be future Hungarys—for example, Poland, East Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, and even in the Soviet Union itself—for the inherent desire for liberty cannot be destroyed.

In the event of such uprisings, as in Hungary, we should, we must, have a policy to capitalize the situation, because the ultimate defeat of international communism is going to be made by those who, if necessary, are willing to fight and die for their liberty. There are many Patrick Henrys in the world of today.

The brave action of the people of Hungary shows: (1) That the Kremlin masquerade of moderation is over; (2) that peaceful coexistence is exposed for what it is, an expediency to try and deceive the free world and to lull it into complacency; (3) that severe tensions exist behind the Iron Curtain; (4) that the world killers of the Kremlin cannot depend upon any satellite nation; (5) that if we capitalize the situation, Hungary will be the turning point of this era and the beginning of the death of atheistic communism.

But we can only capitalize by sound policy and by being strong, firm, and unafraid.

It is vitally important that our people be united in this grave emergency. In connection with this, a sound, objective public opinion is necessary. For public opinion wields a tremendous influence, for good or for harm, in forming policy and in the passage of legislation in the national interest of our country.

This is a responsibility of each citizen. And in days like we are undergoing, we must think the hard way, not the easy way, like "the river flows along the line of least resistance."

Far greater at times than Presidents, Members of Congress, governors, and other elected officials is the voice and power of public opinion.

For example, 3 months before Pearl Harbor I saw the extension of the Selective Service Act pass the National House of Representatives by 1 vote, 203 to 202. Every Member who voted against this very important bill was just as good an American as I and others who voted for its passage.

There is no question in my mind but what the honest, but emotional and erroneous public opinion that prevailed against the bill played an important part in the minds of Members who voted against it.

It is in these trying days that we are undergoing, when there is neither peace nor war, we are faced with a grave emergency that a democracy experiences its greatest strain.

For, in time of peace, we can have disturbing conditions, but people can take care of them at some future election.

In time of war, public opinion, in response to the law of self-preservation of nation and individual, even when in disagreement with some governmental policy must silence itself and support.

But, in the period I term a "danger potential," when there is neither peace nor war, public opinion is usually aroused spontaneously, operates violently, is mainly based on hope, not reason, and while honestly entertained, is to a powerful extent emotional and erroneous.

We must, therefore, think along objective lines.

We must realize that we are faced by a cold, calculating, deliberate force, determined to dominate the world by any means possible.

We must realize that as long as the Kremlin adheres to doctrinaire communism, and that expediency may cause them temporarily to change their policy, that their intent and purpose never change.

We must also realize that we cannot negotiate with them on a moral level, because they hate God and His law, and they have no moral concept.

We cannot deal with them on the level of idealism because they have no idealistic concept.

As long as they adhere to doctrinaire Marxism and international communism, there is only one level on which we can negotiate with them, and that is on the level of the law of self-preservation. For they cannot deny that this law applies to the Soviet Union and its people as it does to other nations and their peoples.

And we must be strong militarily, for the only thing the Communists respect is what they fear, and that is force and power greater than they possess themselves.

But we must also have moral and spiritual strength, for that is a reserve strength that guns and tanks cannot defeat. It could well be the difference between victory and defeat.

And we must think and act not as Democrats, not as Republicans, but as Americans.

What Happens When Public Schools Slip

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in a recent edition of the Tupelo (Miss.) Daily Journal. The editorial follows:

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN PUBLIC SCHOOLS SLIP

One of the major dangers growing out of the current forced integration of public schools is the possibility that our schools will become so poor that wealthier parents will withdraw their children and send them to private institutions.

And as they do, our system of public education is likely to lose gradually its financial support, leading eventually toward a weak and inadequately financed system of education for the great mass of children in America.

At the moment some people still consider this a farfetched fear.

But the trend toward private education has been growing rapidly in several cities where integration has made unusually deep inroads.

And the fact that private schools may become a serious threat to public education unless we can maintain the quality of instruction in county and municipal schools is indicated by what has happened recently in New York City.

New York's Columbia University is one of America's largest and best known colleges. But it is more than that.

Its department of education is perhaps the most highly rated in the country, teachers and administrators from all over the country going there for the very last word in how to run a school.

Columbia is also a center of liberal thought which has brought forth such awards as the famed Pulitzer prize and similar forms of recognition for individuals and groups promoting brotherhood and harmony among racial groups.

It was, for example, an award from this university to Hodding Carter of Greenville that set this Mississippi editor on the road to national fame. And it was Columbia University which claimed Dwight Eisenhower as its president before he became President of the United States.

The fact that top members of the faculty of Columbia University have one by one pulled their children out of an integrated

public school and transferred them to a private institution is, therefore, a matter of significance to the rest of the Nation.

For if these men who hold the biggest names in the field of American education and who long have promoted classroom integration for others refuse to accept it in a public school attended by their own children, then there is likelihood that other parents may be even quicker to take this same step when faced with a similar problem.

And as they do, an educational system may develop in which good instruction is offered in private schools to children of upper income group, while the children of middle and low income parents attend schools even poorer than our present ones.

Here is the remarkable story of what has happened recently at Columbia University, perhaps America's leading center of liberalism and advanced study in the field of education.

Most faculty members at Columbia have for years sent their children to Morningside Heights public school, generally recognized as one of the best in New York City.

But this year under New York's program of deliberate integration, colored students made up more than half of the student body at Morningside Heights. The theory was that the children of the university professors would tend to raise the level of the poorer students so that all would benefit from the integrated classroom situation.

Actually, however, academic standards in the school sank so low that one by one the university professors began withdrawing their children and sending them to private schools.

Soon these withdrawals became so noticeable that a meeting of faculty members was called and the fact pointed out that if Columbia University was to retain its reputation as a center of liberal thought and a recognized leader among the Nation's educators, the professors must quit pulling their children out of public school.

Another meeting was held some time later to check on progress in this matter. And to the amazement of the Columbia faculty members, it was discovered that every single member attending the meeting had become so dissatisfied with the standards at the integrated Morningside Heights Public School that he had withdrawn his own children and put them in a private school.

The American Mercury magazine recently commented in regard to this situation.

"The leadership in the fight to end segregation is supplied by those best able to protect their own children from the full effects of this policy.

"Wealth is the perfect insulation against the common herd of all colors.

"Where integration lowers the standards of the public schools, the wealthy can and are moving in numbers to the private schools."

Wherever this trend to private schools becomes widespread, as in Washington, D. C. and among faculty members at Columbia University, there is likely over a period of time to develop a lack of interest among wealthier citizens for the Nation's system of public schools.

For having their own children in private institutions, they will come to resent any increase in their taxes to improve schools which they, themselves, are not using.

And when the leaders of a community develop this attitude, the public schools are likely the suffer financially regardless of what the ordinary people may desire.

The providing of the best possible education to all regardless of economic standing is such an important part of America's strength, that we must not let the trend toward private schools get out of hand.

And that, in turn, will require the maintenance of the highest possible levels of instruction in our public schools, allowing neither financial starvation nor a sudden influx of inadequately prepared students in a program of integration to destroy the standards of instruction which even now are lower than they should be.

The Pork Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MYRON V. GEORGE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial of May 24 by Rex Woods of the Arkansas City Traveler, entitled "The Pork Program." Mr. Woods describes herein the development of a systematized breeding, raising and marketing program for hogs that may revolutionize the entire industry in the next few years:

THE PORK PROGRAM

The rapid turn to milo growing in Kansas may change the farm economy and it promises to lift one phase of agriculture to a new level in Arkansas City. Since Maurer-Neuer packers announced this week they are cooperating with a milling company in sponsoring a new program for hog raising, farmers and businessmen have pricked up their ears.

At the outset the program sounds reasonable and feasible. It is something to get excited about. Since World War II it has been obvious there had to be a new twist to farming if some farmers were going to stay in the business. What is happening may make a lasting impression. Arkansas City should take more than a passing interest in the program.

Everyone knows the chicken business went aboveground and became a scientific undertaking. Chicks are hatched, fed and marketed and their feet never touch the ground. They grow fat and face the frying pan.

There is no logical reason why pork should not come to the table by a similar route. It will if the program proposed here is accepted. Up in the corn country fattening a hog is a rather expensive undertaking when one considers the price of corn and the cost of farm buildings that will protect porkers during the cold winter months. Kansas has something different to offer.

This State is growing milo and Iowa State College, after experimenting several years, finds milo and a supplemental feed will do the job at less cost. Furthermore, hogs can be turned out faster and at regular intervals if a program is followed. So Iowa State College recommended Kansas for the start of a program and Arkansas City was selected as the ideal place to get the campaign underway. This area seemed ideal from several standpoints and one was abundance of water in summer.

Cost of getting into this program is relatively low when one considers all aspects. The local packing plant is going to pay a premium for hogs that qualify.

A great deal of time has been devoted to explaining why the meat-type hog must be the breeding stock in this program. This animal produces meat where fat used to line the old-type larder. It seems the lady of the house—the buyer of the family rations—looks for the chop with the meat. She doesn't want the fat. So the packer must satisfy her, and to do this the farmer must raise the hog that has the meat.

One appealing angle to this program is the marketing plan. Pigs will be born at regular intervals and go to market throughout the year. Farmers in the program won't be worrying about the spring pig crop. They won't face the price slump that comes when most hogs are dumped on the market. Furthermore, to keep a unit that will produce 500 pigs a year should not take more than half the farmer's time.

Kansas is going to be doing something that has been left up to northern States for many years. It is going to feed the milo crop to livestock. It is going to be a feeder State. Then the livestock will be shipped west, not east, to meet the demands of a growing population.

The multiple hog farrowing program is so new it mentions such things as professional pigalow and a hog porch, but if interested parties will talk with packinghouse officials they'll see there is nothing complicated to the plan. It makes sense.

A unit will be started by the local plant and perhaps farmers will take time to look it over and satisfy themselves that although this is a first, it is practical.

This is an exciting adventure in a new agricultural program. If it hadn't been for the Maurer-Neuer Co. here any other city might have been the "ideal spot" to kick off the program.

An interesting editorial from the Pratt Tribune bears out the claims that Kansas is producing more milo. It said:

"Out on the western Kansas high plains farmers are preparing to plant what is shaping up as a record-sized milo crop.

"In Finney County, for example, farm agent Oscar Norby predicts that in the next week or 10 days farmers will plant some 200,000 acres of milo and should harvest some 4 million bushels in the fall.

"The milo planting is going to be big all over Kansas. No doubt about that. And plenty of it will go into the ground in this area.

"Milo is the No. 2 punch for the Kansas farmer. If the moisture isn't right for wheat planting in the fall, he can wait until spring and plant milo.

"This year you can look for a record milo yield in Kansas. Only since the war has milo been given a big planting play. The biggest previous season was back in 1951 for the high plains region.

"Farmers also can start anticipating soil bank payments. They should be out within the next 30 days. And that money from Uncle Sam will be an economic shot in the arm to not only the farmers but to the communities who list the farmer as their No. 1 industrial worker.

"The soil bank's future is clouded, but right now the farmer isn't too worried about it. Give him plenty of rain and he'd rather be planting, working, and growing crops than sitting around renting his land to the Government to let it idle along."

Public Opinion Survey, 11th Congressional District of Illinois

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, for the seventh consecutive year I have conducted a public opinion poll of my constituents in the 11th Congressional Dis-

trict, on the northwest side of the city of Chicago.

This year, 54,711 questionnaires were mailed, and, as of this date, 7,452 have been tabulated—a return of nearly 14 percent. The questionnaires were sent to every fourth name on the polling list of voters of every precinct in the 11th District which list is put out by the Board of Election Commissioners of the City of Chicago.

We have no means of knowing the political affiliation of the recipients of the questionnaire, and this, in our opinion, results in an impartial distribution which most nearly reflects a proper cross section of the voters in the 11th District.

The 1957 survey results are as follows:

	Yes	Percent	No	Percent	Answer	Percent
1. Are you in favor of the United States continuing as a member of the United Nations?	5,282	70.9	1,747	23.4	423	5.7
2. Do you favor the proposed $4,400,000,000 foreign-aid bill?	1,027	13.8	5,946	79.8	479	6.4
3. Do you approve of the Republican foreign policy in general?	2,674	35.9	3,738	50.2	1,040	13.9
4. Do you approve of the Eisenhower administration to date?	3,104	41.7	3,113	41.8	1,235	16.5
5. Do you approve of the recent action of Congress in giving the executive department the power to use troops under the so-called Middle East doctrine? (The Constitution reserves to the Congress the right to declare war, and this action practically transfers this right to the Executive. This legislation also included $200,000,000 of additional foreign aid for the Middle East.)	1,441	19.3	5,349	71.8	662	8.9
6. Do you approve of United States participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency to broaden the exchange of peaceful atomic information?	4,834	64.9	2,107	28.3	511	6.8
7. Do you approve of the performance of John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State?	2,631	36.3	3,324	44.6	1,497	20.1
8. Do you favor the President's proposal of Federal aid to education for school construction to be distributed on the basis of local need? (Present bills under consideration provide from $2,000,000,000 to $3,600,000,000 of aid over a period from 4 to 6 years. Illinois citizens will contribute an estimated $24,000,000 and receive back about $12,000,000.)	3,681	49.4	3,192	42.8	579	7.8
9. Do you favor the President's proposal asking Congress to enact a strong civil rights program to enforce the voting rights of all citizens, to establish a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department, and to create a bipartisan Commission to investigate violations of the law?	4,405	59.1	1,998	26.8	1,049	14.1
10. Have you ever had any personal experience wherein you felt you were deprived of your civil rights?	847	11.4	6,163	82.7	442	5.9
11. Do you favor more adequate laws providing for full disclosure to the public and to the U. S. Government of the operation of union pension and welfare funds?	6,722	90.2	463	6.2	267	3.6
12. Would you favor a "right to work" law which permits citizens to work regardless of whether or not they belong to a union?	5,552	74.5	1,502	20.2	398	5.3
13. Do you think the President's budget of $72,000,000,000 is too high?	6,078	81.6	757	10.2	617	8.2
14. Do you favor as a means of controlling spending under the budget that Congress temporarily fail to authorize new legislation creating projects not already in existence?	4,363	58.5	1,512	20.3	1,577	21.2
15. Do you agree with Senator BYRD of Virginia when he said "I think the present deal is going to finally land somewhere midway between the New Deal and the Fair Deal"?	3,774	50.6	1,309	17.6	2,369	31.8

Four of the questions on this year's questionnaire are a repetition of previous years, and a comparison of the trend during the years is as follows, the 1957 results having been compiled by a division of International Business Machines, Inc.:

	1957			1956			1955			1954			1953		
	Yes	No	No opinion	Yes	No	No opinion	Yes	No	No opinion	Yes	No	No opinion	Yes	No	No opinion
1. Are you in favor of the United States continuing as a member of the U. N.?	70.9	23.4	5.7	73.2	24.0	2.8	69.5	28.3	2.2	67.0	29.9	3.1	64.1	35.9	.....
2. Do you favor further arms and military aid for foreign nations?	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	44.9	49.8	5.3	45.7	46.4	7.9	44.7	55.3	.....
3. Do you favor continued economic aid (point 4) to foreign nations for development of backward areas?	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50.0	46.0	4.0	54.4	38.8	6.8	43.3	56.7	.....
4. Do you favor the proposed $4.4 billion foreign aid bill ($4.9 billion in 1956)?	13.8	79.8	6.4	22.3	72.4	5.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5. Do you approve of the Republican foreign policy in general?	35.9	50.2	13.9	62.3	29.6	8.1	56.9	30.3	12.8	52.9	36.6	10.5	78.5	21.5	.....
6. Do you approve of the Eisenhower administration to date?	41.7	41.8	16.5	76.4	16.1	7.5	65.3	23.9	10.8	58.0	25.9	16.1	84.2	15.8	.....

The Truth About the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, at this time when we are earnestly engaged in examining the Defense Department budget, I think it most appropriate to call attention of the House to the following editorial which appeared in the West Virginian, published at Fairmont, W. Va., on May 15, 1957. I am in wholehearted agreement with the sentiments expressed, and wish to commend my good friend, Mr. Richard Parrish, the editor of the West Virginian, for his clear thinking and timeliness of this editorial:

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BUDGET

It is timely to recall, as a followup to the President's radio and television defense of his budget, the many occasions on which Secretary Humphrey's remark about a depression that "will curl your hair" has been used as a club with which to assault the President and his budget.

The Democratic politicians have quoted the remark a thousand times, but not nearly as often, at that, as have certain of the Republican politicians—notably those who can't stand the thought of the party being in step with the times: that is to say, modern.

Now it develops, thanks to some research by Columnist David Lawrence, that Mr. Humphrey's "curl your hair" remark did not refer to the current budget.

Here is exactly what Secretary Humphrey said:

"I think there is some hope you can reduce expenditures all along the line. I would certainly deplore the day that we couldn't ever reduce expenditures of this terrific amount, the terrific tax take we are taking out of this country. If we don't over a long period of time, I will predict that you will have a depression that will curl your hair, because we are just taking too much money out of this economy that we need to make the jobs that you have to have as time goes on."

Like the President, Mr. Humphrey wants budget reductions but, as he said, "I think this budget as now drawn has been prepared with the very greatest care, and I think it is the best that we can possibly do right now. * * *"

Contrary to reports, the men are in agreement, so that when the President opposes damaging budget cuts he has the support of his Secretary of the Treasury.

The President's talk, which will be given editorial consideration on another day, can be expected to provide us with a better understanding of the budget and with the reasons why the President is opposed to a descent to political expediency in cutting the budget.

Remove the fat, but keep the solid meat.

In Defense of King Cotton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat-Times on Thursday, May 23, 1957:

IN DEFENSE OF KING COTTON

That King Cotton editorial in Life magazine last week was a slick piece of antifarm legislation propaganda. But the theme of the tirade just wasn't true.

Borrowing the most tried and proven methods of the political demagogue, Life pounced again upon Delta and Pine Land Co., "a British stock company," for its only cited example of farm program mishandling.

"The Government last year laid out $1.4 million in crop loans to one of the biggest of all these corporate cotton industrialists, Mississippi's Delta & Pine Land Co., a British stock company," the editorial declared. But it failed to point out that D&PL has sold most of the cotton put in loan last year. This means that the Government already has been repaid and has made a profit on the loan that Life was so upset about.

The editorial declares that no other industry as successful as the cotton production industry has received help from the Government, ignoring the direct loans or subsidies to shipping, the airlines, private manufacturers and—through low second-class mail rates—Life magazine itself.

The editorial hints that because of improved farming methods and mechanization, the cotton producer is rolling in money as never before. The fellow who wrote the piece should have investigated some of the cost factors involved.

The final and biggest blunder is the advocation that the cotton industry be left to struggle on its own, without aid or regulations. "It no longer makes sense," Life declared, "(to keep) the marginal uneconomic, hillside, patch farmers turning out poor cotton that isn't needed anyway. It keeps them at it when, if left to their own devices, they could go to a town and work at a useful job."

This, of course, is a gross example of pre-Hoover, big business first thinking, including some of the most carelessly uninformed assumptions about a situation the writer obviously knows nothing about. Putting such a program into practice would throw the entire cotton belt into economic panic. The ill effects would deal a death blow to small businesses in the area, since the squeezed out small farmer would not be able to find those "useful" jobs and therefore would lose his meager purchasing power.

We admit the Government's farm policy is not perfect nor even nearly perfect. Most of the current problems facing the industry and the Nation because of cotton surpluses have resulted from the mistakes of 1950 and 1951 when increased production was encouraged as a result of a wartime fear of shortages.

We doubt that the nonfarming people of the Nation will be misled by such slanted propaganda. Drastic changes in the direction sought by Life could result in a depression of such wide scope it would cause even the author of that editorial to sweat through his cotton shirt.

Relief to the Hungry Peoples of the Soviet Slave Empire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to draw the attention of the House to some possibilities and some grave dangers in our Government's apparent aim to win the captive peoples of Eastern Europe away from their Soviet slaveowners.

There has been much talk recently in administration circles of providing assistance to the people of Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic States who have for so many years suffered starvation and want as Red slaves. The idea apparently is to demonstrate the failure of communism by providing them with food and clothing which their Communist masters are unable to supply. The aim, if it works, is admirable.

But I submit there are extensive dangers in this proposal. The most important of these is that our altruism and free giving may boomerang. Instead of accomplishing our purpose of feeding the starving, and our ultimate goal of lighting for them the path to freedom, we may actually wind up bolstering the very tyranny which has caused the suffering in the Soviet orbit and which still beats the drums of world conquest.

A great American statesman who has served his country and humanity well for over 40 years has pointed the way to avoiding these pitfalls while still accomplishing our aims. As early as 1921, former President Herbert Hoover, then director of the American Relief Administration, foresaw the dangers and drafted a document to sidestep them. He undertook to feed and clothe the hungry and cold peasants and slum dwellers who for 4 years had been in the hell of Soviet slavery.

Mr. Hoover's proposals made in 1921 have been rediscovered by the Citizens Foreign Relations Committee and have been presented to Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson. It is to be hoped that this remarkable document has been passed on to others in the administration.

Mr. Hoover recognized fully the dangers of the Kremlin taking credit for the bigness of the American heart. So, he drafted a most careful contract to be presented to Maxim Litvinov, who represented the slave owners in this negotiation. Under terms of this unusually foresighted contract, American relief supplies would have to be distributed directly to the suffering. ARA representatives, Americans for the most part, would administer the program right down to the street-corner level. The ARA would pick those Russians needed in distributing the supplies—the Kremlin would have no say in the matter at all. In short, American supplies would be controlled by American relief agents until they actually reached the stomachs of the recipients. And there was to be no propaganda claims by the Russians; indeed, there could be no such claims. It was apparent to all who received, that their Communist masters had failed them; that free Americans were willing and able to do the job.

The administration now has a copy of this contract. Additionally, it could, if willing, now call on the elder statesman of the United States, this same Herbert Hoover, for advice on how, if we are to supply such relief to the hungry peoples of the Soviet slave empire, such a program could be administered so the people in need would receive and the Kremlin would not be permitted to appropriate for the collective leadership of Russia the credit. Unless some such precautions are taken, the results of American help would be to tighten the fast-slipping control of Moscow's masters over people who after 12 years of dark terror are beginning to see the first faint streaks of the dawning of freedom.

Nuclear Giveaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, while it is not within the province of this House to usurp the treatymaking authority of the other side of the Hill, I do not think it amiss to call your attention to an international agreement now pending in that body which will affect us all.

I refer to the pending ratification of the charter of the International Atomic Energy Agency whose authority will embrace the widely heralded atoms for peace plan first proposed by President Eisenhower before the United Nations in 1953.

From that initial proposal, the President went on to declare in New York City on October 26, 1956, that the United States stood ready to make immediately available to this Agency some 5,000 kilograms of nuclear fuel uranium 235 from 20,000 kilograms allocated earlier in the year, the 5,000 kilograms to go for peaceful uses to friendly nations.

According to the best estimates, this would mean giving away some $125 million to other nations. All told, the 20,000 kilograms, to be distributed over a 3-year period, have cost the taxpayers of the United States approximately $500 million, according to best available estimates of the cost of this precious material.

Aside from its cost, however, there are graver considerations involved in a congressional decision on whether or not the Agency charter shall be ratified.

Its announced purpose is the peaceful use of the wondrous power of the shattered atom to promote health, industry, and peace throughout the world. I, for one, do not believe that the United States needs to prove much further its peaceful intentions and its philanthropy to all and sundry, including those who were our enemies during World War II.

In its organizational structure, the Agency leaves much to be desired from the standpoint of our own national interest and security.

The total membership of the Agency shall consist of 90 nations. I am told that some 80 nations have already signed the covenant with Soviet Russia and its satellites being among the first to get on this new combination band wagon and gravy train.

It would be governed by general conference of 10 members at first, with a

rotation of 5 members annually after the first full year of operation.

Operation of this agency would be by majority vote, but here again, the United States will have, as it has in the United Nations, only 1 vote in contrast to the 3 satellites controlled by Russia. And beyond the satellite votes, there exists the generally sympathetic postures usually adopted by many of the so-called Asian and African members when matters affecting the Soviet Motherland come up for a vote.

Once again, it is the story of the United Nations—the United States will bear 80 percent of the cost, largely represented by our donation of 20,000 kilograms of uranium 235, but have only one-ninetyth of the operational control of the establishment which distributes the product made possible through the taxes paid by the citizens of this Republic.

As a threat to the security of this Nation, I cannot emphasize too strongly that the material to be distributed by the Agency is only two steps away from the fissionable material from which bombs are made. Some 90 percent of the processing necessary to make it suitable for bombs has been accomplished.

Think, Mr. Speaker, of the alarming possibilities should any member of the Agency fail to live up to its obligations and contractual promises once it had in its possession uranium 235. Solely on the treaty-breaking performances of a great many members of the United Nations to date, I am not so sanguine as to believe that their respect for international instruments would grow stronger in dealing with this precious and coveted material which American technical genius has created.

A great many careful studies have been made of this plan, and the only practical conclusion is that you can no more delineate between peaceful and military uses of uranium than you can resolve the old question of how many angels can dance on the head of a pin.

During United Nations debate on this matter, Soviet Russia contended that the meager safeguards set up in the original proposal were unnecessary. Her curious position was that in the absence of an agreement abolishing nuclear weapons, any safeguards having to do with inspection of even peaceful atomic installations constituted an invasion of the sovereign rights of a nation.

Her stand was immediately followed by the introduction of amendments by four neutralist but consistently pro-Russian United Nations members, which, although defeated, had an effect in sum total which watered down the original safeguard provisions.

And what will happen once we have made our initial giveaway of uranium 235?

I can foresee as the next logical step, a great demand from the recipients for continued billions in United States money to finance the industrial installations, to furnish the technicians, and the construction know-how necessary to utilize the raw energy of the uranium 235.

Most Members of this House are well aware that we have bought many a pig in a poke during and after World War II.

The wisdom of many of these international boondoggles has been disproved time and time again. In our case, the burned child does not dread the hot stove.

He seeks it out again and again as demonstrated in this instant case of another seizure of unwarranted international optimism.

International Communist Infiltration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, one of the paradoxes of the international situation of the world is that the free nations continue to main diplomatic relationships with the Soviet and satellite powers, notwithstanding the fact that these communistic countries so grossly and dangerously abuse and transgress every semblance of diplomatic propriety, and use their legations and embassies as nests for spies and agents who carry on, ceaselessly and relentlessly, the effort to undermine and destroy the free governments to which they are accredited.

These dangerous mischief makers love to fish in troubled waters, and in the peace-loving lands they foster and augment, almost unimpeded, every situation of local friction or discontent in order to bring about distrust of government, with a corresponding buildup for communism. Everywhere, and in every possible way, communistic infiltration is taking place in noncommunistic countries; and the very constitutional provisions and statutes for individual freedom are being perverted to protect the activities of these subversive agents.

In this connection, and under leave granted, I include as a part of these remarks the following editorial appearing in the May 25, 1957, issue of the Americas Daily, the ably edited and conducted Spanish-English newspaper published at Miami Springs, Fla.:

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST INFILTRATION AND THE COLD WAR

No one should believe that the campaign of international communism is manifested only in the acts and events known under the name of cold war, because that would be to turn our backs on reality, a very dangerous reality, as is the one regarding the quiet Red infiltration in different countries of the world.

Only that which assumes proportions of international scandal is, naturally, what finds echo in the newspapers and creates political problems to the great powers. However, it is convenient to think about the existence of many quiet, under-cover movements, with strict discipline and technical methods, that are taking place in all the continents of the world, following blindly the orders from the Kremlin.

These movements, although discreet and quiet, are very serious, in particular if one takes into consideration the lack of preventive measures in those countries which are the objectives in the almost imperceptible maneuvers of Moscow.

The tenacity of the leaders of international communism comes to light, in some cases, with plainly flagrant events, because they benefit Russian interests, creating international conflicts of very serious proportions. But in other cases, their tenacity is manifested with completely different tactics, in clandestine acts, sowing collective mistrust beneficial to any movement tending to create social instability, on which communism thrives.

The tactics used for the attainment of these objectives are so difficult to identify, that in this fact is rooted, basically, the seriousness of the matter, because the work of the Communists is developed within a great tolerance, and even with candorous participation of democratic people, of a moral and ideological background incompatible with the communistic doctrine and system.

Those who exercise some leading function in the community and who notice on time this type of Red infiltration, should sound the alarm to others, so they will be prepared, before it will be too late, against the threat that this sustained effort of Communist infiltration, cleverly directed from Moscow, represents.

Alabama Ore Makes Alabama Steel for Ingalls Ships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, mineral wealth is the backbone of my district. The Birmingham area is the only spot on the globe where coal, iron ore, and limestone are found in such close proximity. These minerals, of course, are the principal ingredients required to make iron and steel.

From the mines and quarries, these products have to travel less than 11 miles before reaching Birmingham's big steel mills. Steel made in Birmingham is found in all parts of the world. It is now being used to build two giant ocean liners on the Mississippi gulf coast. From the ore fields to the shipyards is a distance of less than 300 miles.

The luxury liners are being built by the Ingalls Shipbuilding Co., an organization which has its home offices in Birmingham. In my opinion, it is particularly noteworthy that this Jefferson County shipbuilding organization uses Jefferson County steel made from Jefferson County's rich mineral deposits to build its ships.

Under leave heretofore granted, I am happy to insert an article which appeared in the May 27, 1957, edition of the Birmingham Post-Herald, one of the fine dailies of my district:

ALABAMA ORE MAKES ALABAMA STEEL FOR INGALLS SHIPS

Alabama steel—more than 20,000 tons of it—is going into the fabrication of two modern luxury liners which in a few months will be plying the seas between New York and the east-coast ports of South America.

Under construction at the Pascagoula, Miss., shipyard of Ingalls Shipbuilding Co. are two modern passenger-cargo vessels for the Moore-McCormack Lines.

More than 90 percent of the steel going into the building of the big liners, each of which has a displacement of almost 23,000 tons, is being manufactured at the Birmingham district plants of United States Steel's Tennessee Coal and Iron Division.

Thousands of tons of plates and structural shapes have already been delivered from the Birmingham plants to the shipyard in Pascagoula and more is flowing steadily to the Mississippi coast.

Most of the principal raw materials going into the making of the steel for the ships traveled less than 12 miles from TCI's mines and quarries to the big steel plants at Fairfield and Ensley.

The steel itself moves only about 300 miles from the rolling mills to Pascagoula. Once it has been fabricated into the ships, however, it will be ready to range the hemispheres.

The two liners, which will be among the most modern and most luxurious ships ever built, will replace three older vessels being retired by the steamship line, with a speed in excess of 23 knots, they will clip 7 days from the round-trip traveling time between North and South America.

Each ship will have an overall length of more than 600 feet. Each will have luxurious accommodations for 553 passengers, plus a cargo capacity of 6,000 tons.

Passenger and crew accommodations will be air conditioned throughout. With all main structural work of steel, and decorative paneling of nonflammable material, both ships will be virtually fireproof.

Interior decoration for the vessels was planned by Raymond Loewy, famous industrial designer.

The vessels will raise to 19 the number of ships operated by Moore-McCormack which were built by Ingalls at Pascagoula, principally of Alabama steel.

Speaking of Teen-Agers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Times-Leader of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., for Tuesday, May 28, 1957:

SPEAKING OF TEEN-AGERS

So many derogatory references have been made about teen-agers in print that there is danger of giving a wrong impression to the public.

With this in mind, we call attention again to the fact that not all the news about adolescents, by any means, is bad. Take, for example, a gathering that is to be held at Fox Hill Country Club tonight by the Student Program Council of the Catholic Youth Center of Wilkes-Barre.

The council consists of 100 representatives of public and parochial high schools. In sharp contrast to the teen-agers who are making the front pages and other pages in the daily newspapers as well with their escapades, these youngsters attract relatively little attention, yet they are engaging in wholesome activities that augur well for their future as citizens.

The point is that the activities of normal boys and girls like members of this student council do not make spectacular reading with the result the public may overlook the fact they represent the vast majority and are typical of modern youth. The undesirables are a small minority.

It is a privilege to call attention to a group that provides such a refreshing contrast to the widely publicized delinquents.

The Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, it is with considerable pleasure that I bring to the attention of this distinguished House five letters received from residents of the Fourth Congressional District of Oregon, which I have the privilege to represent.

These letters come from the principal of Washington School in Grants Pass, Oreg., and four of her students in the fourth grade. They concern the recorded version of The Pledge of Allegiance. They indicate solidly that this recording has brought pleasure and more important, I believe, that it has given them a better understanding and love of our pledge. I think my distinguished and honored colleague, LOUIS C. RABAUT, of Michigan, deserves much credit for initiating this fine project.

I wish it were possible to share with you each of the letters from the students. They are carefully and neatly composed and written and bring much credit to their instructor. Additionally, I believe they are samples of the reaction people of our Nation had when they heard for the first time this new version of the pledge as set to music.

Certainly sincere thanks go to songwriter Irving Ceasar, the members of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers, the United States Air Force Band, the United States Marine Band and all others who joined forces in this inspiring work.

The letters follow. All were dated May 13, 1957:

MUSICAL PLEDGE IS PRAISED

DEAR MR. PORTER: Our primary children and teachers are thoroughly enjoying the Pledge by the Singing Sergeants. It is very satisfying to teach patriotism and ideals to young children because they are truly impressed and have such wonderful ideas of their own.

The beautiful record has proved a real climax to our year's "most important project," good citizenship.

Thank you for sending it.

Sincerely,

MISS EDYTHE ANDREWS,
Principal and Teacher.

DEAR MR. PORTER: Our school has been waiting for this opportunity to get such a good record as you sent us. The record you sent was one of the best records I have heard. When I hear a record like the one you sent I think of the brave men out on the battlefields fighting for our country. I think of the men that died on the battlefield for our country. Many like Washington helped save our country. We have been studying about famous people and have been enjoying studying about them too.

Sincerely yours,

BOBBY RAMBOLL, 4A.

DEAR MR. PORTER: We are studying how to be good citizens in our geography and Weekly Reader. In our geography (Your People and Mine) we are reading a unit on great Americans. We joined Junior Red Cross after we studied about Clara Barton and her wonderful work.

Thank you for the nice record of the Pledge. We all enjoyed it very much.

Sincerely yours,

LORI VANNICE, 4A.

DEAR MR. PORTER: Thank you for the record. It was very pretty. We have a good citizen quiz named Check-a-ways.

When our teacher plays that record it makes me think of "The Big Picture" (it is a television program), and a show named "Battle Cry."

Sincerely,

ERNEST MOFFIT, 4A.

DEAR MR. PORTER: We are studying how to be a good citizen in school. We have little folders called Checkaways, which is all about citizenship. We are the seniors of Washington School so we have to set a good example for the younger folks.

I like The Pledge sung by the Singing Sergeants and accompanied by the United States Air Force Band. Patriotic songs are one of my favorite kinds of songs. I think everybody should enjoy patriotic music.

I will be leaving Washington this year, and I am very sad, for as being my first year at Washington I like it very much.

Sincerely,

ANITA GROVES, 4A.

To Protect the Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of May 28, 1957:

TO PROTECT THE FUNDS

Congress should give a high priority to the proposed legislation for protection of worker welfare and pension funds. Disclosures before the MCCLELLAN committee of the misuse and abuses practiced in the Teamsters Union have made it sufficiently clear that something more than self-regulation of these large trust funds is essential. Not only is the interest of the union members—potential beneficiaries—involved. In the case of the Teamsters, for example, there was evidence that union officials had employed money from the funds in efforts to promote vice and control local politics and law enforcement—reprehensible activities bearing directly upon the public interest.

Legislation now recommended by the administration would offer protection against these abuses through the following requirements: Annual audits and registration with the Labor Department. Publication by the Department of financial statements on the funds. Establishment of penalties for embezzlement or tampering with fund records. Both the administration proposal, submitted

to the Congress by Secretary of Labor Mitchell and a comparable bill sponsored by Senator DOUGLAS, Illinois Democrat, would apply the regulations to management-operated funds as well as those controlled only by the labor unions. In several respects the new legislative proposals are stiffer than those submitted by the administration to the last Congress—admittedly reflecting reaction to the McClellan committee findings.

Mr. Mitchell has made it clear that there is no objective of securing "punitive legislation aimed at undermining or weakening the general body of organized labor." It is equally clear that the proposed regulations would not hamper or harmfully restrict the administration of the many funds already managed with integrity and effectiveness. It would, however, be a great disservice to labor-management relations at large to leave uncontrolled the obvious temptation for corrupt use and dissipation of these large funds. Congress has both the opportunity and the responsibility now to take constructive action.

Hungarians in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, many of the values in the resettlement of Hungarian refugee families in a particular American locale, for instance, Reading, Pa., are recounted in a recent article in Newsweek magazine. The article explains as well the role of a private organization, the Lutheran Refugee Service, in furthering this humanitarian work.

To judge the effectiveness of our national program for refugees we need special reports of this nature. I commend a reading of the article to fellow Members in Congress, and I ask at this time unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HUNGARIANS IN AMERICA—THE FORTUNE OF A FAMILY

(Camp Kilmer went back into mothballs last week, 6 months after the first Hungarian refugees arrived at the New Jersey barracks. A limited number is still coming in, but mass arrivals have ended. (In Austria, where 35,000 refugees are marking time, some 2,400 staged a 4-day hunger strike in protest against the curtailment of the United States program.) How are those already here making out? Have they found jobs, homes, friends? How many were tainted with communism? In this special report, Newsweek Associate Editor Jack Iams answers these questions and follows the fortunes of a typical refugee family.)

For the family of Lazos Ban, an electrician who took an active part in the Hungarian uprising, the American dream was a roseate reality last week. The four of them—Ban, his wife, his stepson, Andy, and his nephew, Bill—were living in a comfortable apartment in Reading, Pa. They all had jobs, bringing in a total of $180 a week, not counting overtime. They had a shiny, new television set, two-thirds paid for. To top off their good fortune, they had just had word that Erzsebeth Ban's other son (by a former marriage), George, who had vanished in the confusion of their escape last November, was alive and well in Switzerland, with reasonable expectations of coming soon to the United States.

Perhaps the Bans were luckier than most—harder working, more adjustable. But a look at the Hungarian refugee picture as a whole would indicate that the Bans' success story was typical of the great majority of the uprooted thousands who have poured by ship and plane into the country where liberty holds "the lamp beside the golden door."

Inevitably, after the first emotional wave of sympathy that caused the United States to open its doors for the Hungarian refugees, there was an adverse reaction. Perhaps the commonest charge against the refugees was that they included a large number of Communists who had taken advantage of Uncle Sam's good nature to slip in among the legitimate freedom fighters. On this score, the Immigration and Nationalization Service last week produced a figure to clear the air.

THE FACTS

Of the 31,983 admitted, as of latest count, exactly five have been involuntarily returned to Europe for security reasons, that is, Communist "taint."

Another 27 have been involuntarily returned for various technical reasons, mostly for giving false or inaccurate information on their original applications (such as misstatements as to marital status). Among those sent back involuntarily, seven were children.

In addition, 101 refugees have gone back voluntarily, mostly to Hungary, some to Austria, for such reasons as homesickness or because they thought they couldn't cope with American life.

As for the question of how the refugees have been faring materially, that is something for which there are, so far, no overall statistics. They are scattered through all of the 48 States (and one is in Alaska) and their well-being is left up to the hundreds of local welfare groups who sponsored them. However, the United States Employment Service estimates that 85 to 90 percent of the employables have found jobs by now.

TYPICAL FAMILY

Probably as good a way as any to see what has happened to most of the refugees is to trace the story of the Ban family.

Lazos Ban, or Louis, as he prefers to be called now, was a foreman in an electrical-heating-equipment plant in the small city of Papa, 80 miles west of Budapest. It was a good job and well paid—better paid, on paper, than the job he has now. But the buying power of his pay was pitiably low; it took a week's wages to buy a shirt. Erzsebeth (or Elizabeth) Ban helped out with earnings as a seamstress.

When the uprising started last October, Ban, now 35, was a member of the trade-union council in Papa and was one of those who voted to go on strike. This alone would have made him a marked man when the Russians eventually took over. But, in addition, as open warfare broke loose in Budapest, Ban and his older stepson, George (who is now 19), drove a truck from Papa to the capital with food and ammunition for the anti-Communist forces, often under the fire of Russian guns. When the Soviet troops and tanks finally crushed the desperate freedom fighters, Louis Ban and George knew that their only chance to avoid deportation, or death, was to get out while they could.

The Bans were luckier than most in having to wait only a short time in Austria before being flown to the United States, and they got another lucky break at Camp Kilmer. There a genial Lutheran minister from Reading, the Reverend Julius Sathmary, who was working with the Lutheran Refugee Service, liked the looks of the Ban family and chose them as the first to be resettled in his predominantly Pennsylvania-Dutch area.

STARTING ANEW

After spending a couple of rather cramped weeks in a trailer, the Bans moved into a reasonably spacious four-room apartment on the second floor of a red brick house on a street that is mostly of red brick houses, close to the business center of Reading. Their rent is $55 a month. Furniture—nothing fancy, but serviceable—was provided for them by well-wishers in Mr. Sathmary's congregation, and the Bans were particularly moved to find a closet full of good second-hand clothing.

Today they have new furniture which they are buying on time themselves, and above all, they have the television set, a $229 model, in the living room. The whole family is crazy about television—favorite program: The Lone Ranger—and they watch it for hours on most evenings. They are a little sheepish about the amount of time they spend viewing, but they justify it on the ground that it helps their English.

LANGUAGE BARRIER

Their English needs all the help it can get. Although all of them attend language classes two evening a week, they still have great difficulty in exchanging more than the simplest ideas. They manage things like shopping and bus rides, but their social relations are limited almost entirely to the forty-odd fellow refugees who have settled in Reading or to the few Hungarians who already lived there.

The language barrier has made itself felt in their jobs, too, but all things considered, they are doing remarkably well. Within a week of his arrival in Reading, Louis Ban had obtained work as a maintenance mechanic in the Marco Industries plant at Womelsdorf, about 15 miles west of Reading, a factory that makes small motors and employs about 700 people. He has proved to be an excellent mechanic and is well liked by his fellow workers. But his supervisor, master mechanic Anton Dahm, admits regretfully that "we have trouble getting ideas through to him." This is in spite of the fact that a number of the employees speak German which Ban understands. Ban went to work there at $1.65 an hour and has since had two small raises, bringing his present pay to $1.82 an hour for a 40-hour week.

LOVE AND GRATITUDE

Elizabeth Ban also found work soon after their arrival, as a seamstress in a bright and distinctly chic little establishment called the Bride Shop in Pottstown, 16 miles southeast of Reading. She is paid a dollar an hour, and though she has been offered a similar position at higher pay, she is happy working there and feels a debt of gratitude to the shop's proprietor, a rather dashing young woman named Lenny Holland-Moritz. Miss Holland-Moritz is equally happy with Mrs. Ban and feels that she is making progress in English except for overuse of the word "okay."

Andy, too, was quick in getting his job as a bus boy at Howard Johnson's, one of that chain's restaurants on the Pennsylvania Turnpike, about 10 miles south of Reading. He gives every impression of enjoying the work and he goes about it with great elan. Everybody likes him, says assistant manager Joan Lutz, and he is a good and willing worker. The pay is 85 cents an hour.

Bill was the slowest to find work, but recently, on the strength of Andy's showing, he, too, was taken on at Howard Johnson's, at the same pay.

That is the way the Ban family shapes up today. They are almost embarrassingly grateful to the United States for all that has been done for them—they love America with a passion that few native-born citizens ever get around to expressing. Last month they

had a chance to put their gratitude into concrete form. Unofficially, they undertook to sponsor another Hungarian family—a young couple and 2-year-old child—whom they took into their own apartment and supported for 4 weeks until they were able to stand on their own feet. That, the Bans feel, is the American way of doing things.

Employment of the Physically Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the very excellent talk made May 24, 1957, by A. J. Hayes, president, International Association of Machinists, AFL–CIO, at the luncheon meeting of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped:

REMARKS BY A. J. HAYES, PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, AT LUNCHEON MEETING OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED, HOTEL WASHINGTON, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 24, 1957

I appear here today as a sort of double paradox. I am a member of the President's Committee, but I am representing the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. I am substituting for President Meany, of the AFL–CIO, but the opinions I will express are my own. I take comfort in the fact that there is no area of disagreement between organized labor and the President's Committee in this worthwhile field of endeavor. And I am sure that when I air my own views on the subject I speak in substance for all labor.

It is 10 years since this Committee was established by the President of the United States, 8 years since his action was confirmed by Congress through legislation. In the decade of its existence, the Committee has, I believe, done a remarkable job in bringing the problems, the rights, and the abilities of our handicapped fellow Americans out from the dark corners of our civilization, to which they had been relegated by a sort of Victorian thinking, into the consciousness of the people of the United States.

Largely as a result of this public concern with the problems of our handicapped citizens and public appreciation of the contributions they can make to our expanding economy, the Secretary of Labor of the United States was able to state in his annual report for the fiscal year 1956, that in the 12-month period covered by the report more than 290,000 handicapped workers were placed in jobs by the public employment service. In addition, some 66,300 such handicapped persons were restored to productive employment through State-Federal rehabilitation programs. The number of handicapped workers placed represents the largest number for any peacetime year and the number of handicapped persons rehabilitated is also a record.

This record, I believe, is a tribute to the vision and determination of the members of the President's Committee and of the permanent staff which has conscientiously and ably given continuity to their program. It is a special tribute, I think, to the inspired leadership of Admiral McIntire and General Maas, and I feel sure that the inspiration and devotion which has brought the committee and its worthy cause so far in its first decade of existence will continue to guide it in the future.

It is proper that the committee take pride in the job it has done in arousing the conscience of America in regard to the problem of the handicapped and in developing widespread appreciation for the contributions which they can make to the future of our Nation. But that is only a beginning. An aroused conscience and a willingness to help are not enough to do the job. And the unpleasant fact is this: That the mechanics for restoring the handicapped to productive capacity and for fitting them into industry have not kept pace with the promotional work of this committee. If the committee's work is to be as valuable in the future as it has been in the past, the committee must, it seems to me, turn its attention more and more to the job of seeing that the mechanics of medical restoration, vocational training and actual placement are improved to the point where the job we say must be done will, in fact, be done.

Let us examine, for a moment, the weaknesses of our present rehabilitation and job-placement systems. First of all we do not really know the extent of the job before us. We have no census or inventory of physically handicapped persons in the United States. The National Health Survey now being conducted by the Census Bureau at the request of the Public Health Service, should help eliminate this deficiency. When it is finished, we shall have an accurate idea of the job which faces us.

In our goal to place the handicapped in jobs, we are still not being fair with prospective employers in most cases. We produce records proving that the handicapped are able, loyal, productive, and safe workers. But in the vast majority of our States, we leave employers of handicapped workers open to unfair liability in case of injuries to the handicapped. It is true that 43 of our 48 State workmen's compensation laws have provisions for some sort of second injury fund. As you know, the purpose of a second-injury fund is to limit the liability of an employer of a handicapped worker to the extent of injury resulting from an accident or illness incurred in the employer's employ. But the real fact is that fewer than a dozen States have second-injury funds of the type which really accomplish their objective. The rest of them leave employers wide open to extensive and unfair liability for subsequent injuries to handicapped persons. The result, of course, is to deny handicapped job applicants a fair opportunity of finding employment.

Inadequate second-injury fund provisions in the vast majority of our States constitutes only one of the many shortcomings of our workmen's compensation picture. Workers handicapped as a result of job injuries or occupational illnesses in many of our States are still denied the basic opportunity of physical restoration, by inadequate weekly compensation benefits and, even more seriously, by unrealistically low limits on the amount of medical care which they are entitled to receive under their State laws. In fact, the variations among our State workmen's compensation laws and the total inadequacy of compensation and medical benefits under many of them, raises a serious question as to whether or not we can afford to continue under our traditional system of workmen's compensation in the United States, or whether we must seek out a new system geared to the needs and requirements of injured workers in the mid-20th century.

In addition to these weaknesses in our State workmen's compensation laws, very few of them pay any attention to the basic need for rehabilitation of injured workers with a permanent disability. By and large, the framers and administrators of our State workmen's compensation systems are content to plod along with the concepts of workmen's compensation which prevailed 40 years ago when this type of legislation was first introduced on the American scene; and this, in spite of the fact that one of the purported purposes of workmen's compensation is to restore the injured employee to an employable status.

Perhaps we should not be too severe in our criticism of our workmen's compensation system and of those who are responsible for its status and its administration, in view of the fact that we as a people have paid precious little attention to the over-all job of rehabilitating the handicapped and fitting them for profitable employment. There are only about 30 true rehabilitation centers in the United States today, and all of them have developed over the past 10 years. In addition, figures released by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare show that we are dangerously short of the skills needed for the physical and vocational rehabilitation of handicapped persons. These are some of the serious bottlenecks we face in the essential job of implementing our good intentions to do right by our army of handicapped persons.

In its statement this year the the Committee of Appropriations of the House of Representatives, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation noted that in 1955 only 4 institutions in the United States were offering specific training in the field of rehabilitation counseling, and that these institutions graduated only 25 persons. The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation expects that by 1958, 510 persons will be taking training in rehabilitation counseling under grants provided by that office and that an equal number will be taking similar training without direct Federal aid. This is a hopeful situation, but it does reveal a serious backlog in a skill essential to the complete rehabilitation of the handicapped.

Another serious bottleneck lies in a serious shortage of qualified specialists in physical medicine and rehabilitation. In its report to the House Committee on Appropriations the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation noted that there are 500 vacant positions requiring qualified specialists in these fields of medicine, and that only 48 percent of existing residences in this field are currently filled in contrast to 80 percent in medical specialties generally. The expected increase in the number of physicians taking training in the field is a step in the right direction, but it will supply only a fraction of the number of specialists needed to serve the requirements of a complete rehabilitation program.

In sum, while we have been raising the hopes of the physically handicapped by sympathetic understanding of their problems and a new appreciation of their capabilities, and while we have been conditioning employers to look upon the physically handicapped job seeker in a new light, we have not been developing programs geared to the expectations of the handicapped or the needs of employers. If this committee is to continue as a vital force for progress in the employment of the physically handicapped, its members must, it seems to me, individually and collectively set about the task of modernizing our antiquated system of workmen's compensation and of cooperating with organizations in the fields of medical and vocational rehabilitation to obtain the funds and the personnel which they so sorely need to fit handicapped persons for employment.

As members of this committee we know, and I believe that more and more of the leaders of business and industry are coming to realize, that the job of rehabilitation is a practical and a profitable one. The rehabilitation of the physically handicapped is a humanitarian work, to be sure. And

even if there were no direct return to the Nation in a financial sense, we would have the obligation of giving the physically handicapped every opportunity to restore themselves to a position of independent and useful citizens. And this obligation would not be one merely to the persons directly concerned, but to our stated belief in the dignity of man and the opportunity of every individual to achieve for himself the kind of life to which he aspires and for which he is capable.

The inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, which the founders of this Nation set forth in the Declaration of Independence, are not conditioned by race, color, creed, economic condition of birth, or by physical handicap. And to fail to provide the physically handicapped with every possible opportunity to achieve dignity, independence, and profitable employment, is to deny in part the high principles upon which our Nation was founded. This is why organized labor in America is wholeheartedly behind every program designed to assist and enocrauge the physically handicapped. It is true, of course, that the vast majority of the physically handicapped fall within the ranks of wage earners or potential wage earners—those represented by the organized labor movement. But, in our minds, the problem is not merely one of enlightened self-interest. It is a question of achieving freedom and justice for the individual. And that is the basic purpose of labor in all of its endeavors.

It is fortunate that what is right morally is also profitable financially, in this as in other worthy fields of endeavor. Has it ever occurred to you how frequently this has been proved true?

There was a time in the history of our country when the efforts of unions and other groups in behalf of a system of universal public education were denounced as threatening the very foundations of our social and economic structures. Yet, today, all of us appreciate the fact that an educated and informed citizenry is the very foundation of free and democratic government. There was a time when labor's demands for higher wages and increased leisure time were denounced as threatening the prosperity of other segments of the economy, and even such a rugged individualist as Henry Ford was condemned by many of his fellow industrialists for his $5 a day pay scale and later for his 8-hour-a-day work schedule. Yet we know today that a high level of wages and ample leisure time are necessary to maintain and expand the mass purchasing power which makes possible our country's vaunted mass production. There was a time, too, when the apostles of industrial safety were looked upon as soft-headed "do-gooders." And yet, today, every efficient and responsible management knows that "safety is good business."

So it is, also, in the field of rehabilitation. And the money spent in fitting the handicapped for employment is more than repaid by their contributions to our economy and their increased ability to share the expenses of operating the Government whose assistance helped them to independence and employment. It was on this basis that Secretary Folsom was able to report last month to a mid-West conference of the Harvard Business School that "last year, largely because of modest budget increases in this (vocational rehabilitation) program, the number of persons rehabilitated was increased to 66,000—a new record. Before they received these services, these people had annual earnings of about $17 million. After rehabilitation, their earnings were increased to about $127 million per year. So the increased income taxes alone will pay for the cost of rehabilitation within a few years. Furthermore, about 13,000 of these people were receiving public assistance before they were rehabilitated. The cost of continuing public assistance for them would have been far greater than the cost of rehabilitation."

When the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped was first established 10 years ago it had little to go on except the general knowledge that many, many thousands of our citizens were being denied an opportunity for free and profitable lives because of their physical handicaps, and the moral sense that this situation was unfair, unjust, and undemocratic. By devotion to the cause and by the inspiration of its leadership, the President's Committee has brought about a revolution in the thinking of Americans in all walks of life in their attitude toward the physically handicapped. Because of the heightened interest it has brought about in the specific problems of rehabilitating the handicapped both physically and economically, we are beginning to obtain a clear picture of specifically what we must do and where we must do it to translate worthy desires into practical programs of action.

We know the tragic deficiencies in our present system of State workmen's compensation laws. We know the shortages in personnel essential to the task of rehabilitating the physically handicapped. Let us continue the committee's work of inspiration and guidance, by all means. But let us realize, too, that this work must be supplemented by increasing aid to those concerned with the specific problems of rendering service to the handicapped in their desires to obtain the full benefits of a society in which all men are free and in which each has full opportunity to develop himself to the limit which his abilities and talents will permit.

Ambassador of Ireland Visits Wilkes-Barre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader Evening News of Monday, May 27, 1957, commenting on the visit to Wilkes-Barre of His Excellency John Joseph Hearne, Ambassador of Ireland to the United States, who gave the commencement address earlier this week at the graduation exercises of College Misericordia, which is located at Dallas, Pa., near Wilkes-Barre:

It is a privilege today to welcome to Wilkes-Barre the Ambassador of Ireland to the United States, John Joseph Hearne, who is to be the speaker at the commencement of College Misericordia tonight. He is a familiar figure in the Nation's Capital where he has been stationed since 1950 and he is no stranger to Greater Wilkes-Barre, having been the city's guest in 1954.

Ireland has been described frequently as a land of poets and scholars. Ambassador Hearne easily qualifies for inclusion in the latter category. A lawyer, lecturer and educator, as well as a diplomat and public official, he has had an impressive career.

Here he will be in friendly hands, for Irish immigrants settled in this area in colonial days and their descendants, as well as later arrivals, constitute an important segment of the population.

The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in Wilkes-Barre and Pittston, as well as churches and schools, preserve the traditions, so dear to men and women with Irish blood in their veins. Americans of Irish extraction locally may not be so numerous as their New York and Boston counterparts, but they yield to neither metropolis in their affection for the land of their forefathers.

In the Pillory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am including the text of an editorial entitled "In the Pillory" from the March 14 issue of New Times, an English-language publication emanating from Moscow. Needless to say, I feel extremely honored at the uncomplimentary references to me in the Soviet-controlled press and hope that I shall continue to merit such "flattering" attention.

The editorial follows:

IN THE PILLORY

Amid all the events of recent weeks, the publication, has an Appendix to the United States CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, of what is known as the Kersten memorandum, has passed almost unnoticed.

The name of Kersten is notorious. When sitting in the House of Representatives in 1951, this arrant reactionary authored the scandalous Mutual Security Act amendment providing for the appropriation of $100 million annually for subversive activities against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

Under this provision alone, the United States Congress has since allocated $600 million for these purposes.

Kersten was not returned to the present Congress, but he has not languished in obscurity. From June 1955 to February 1956 he served, by his own account, as "White House consultant on psychological warfare." And he has his followers in Congress too. Congressman BENTLEY has put his new memorandum into the official congressional annuals, being of the opinion that "presentation of his views is both timely and useful."

In this memorandum Kersten, that tireless anti-Sovieteer, again urges forming military units of fugitive recreants from the Socialist countries to operate against the U. S. S. R. and the people's democracies "in affiliation with United States Ground Forces". He proposes developing air and naval units recruited among paid traitors and assassins. The nuclei of such units, he says, are already based at Kaiserslautern in Western Germany.

In a sense one can agree with Congressman BENTLEY that publication of Kersten's plan has been timely and useful. Timely, because it has come on the heels of the U. N. discussion of America's interference in the internal affairs of the people's democracies and its subversive activities against these countries. Useful, because it gives everyone a chance to see how much stock can be taken in the assurances of Messrs. KNOWLAND and Lodge that the United States is not engaged in any such activities and has not intention of being.

In an effort to sidetrack attention from the disgraceful doings of American sub-

versive centers, Lodge threatened to bring answering exposures which would, he said, "make your hair stand on end." But he failed to stir a hair on anybody's head. The exposures which the United States delegate announced with such a flourish proved to be nothing but a repetition of the oft-repeated and long-since-nailed lies about the machinations of world communism.

Lodge promised that his charges would all be within the bounds of demonstrable truth. All he succeeded in demonstrating was that there was nothing to demonstrate; for the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries adhere strictly in all they do to the principles of noninterference in other nations' affairs and peaceful coexistence.

On the other hand, the delegates of the U. S. S. R., Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania brought before the organization facts convicting the United States rulers of gross interference in these countries' internal affairs, and widespread subversion against them. These irrefutable facts have put the imperialists in the pillory. They conclusively prove that spying, sabotage, seditious propaganda have been raised by Washington to the level of official policy and that this is one of the reasons for the worsening of the international situation.

There is no form of subversive activity that the United States has not employed in these past years against the countries of the socialist camp. The counterrevolutionary putsch in Hungary is the latest, but by no means the only, proof of it.

Not content with encircling the socialist countries with bases of attack, the imperialist politicians have been smuggling spies and saboteurs into them, sending over balloons with leaflets inciting to sabotage and wrecking, forming armed gangs of reactionary riffraff. The elementary standards of international conduct, the most elementary decencies in relations between nations have been outraged.

It is 10 years in this year of 1957 since the adoption by the U. N. General Assembly of the resolution condemning all forms of propaganda which is either designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. For America's politicians they have been years of deliberate and systematic violation of the United Nations will.

It is during these 10 years that the Voice of America and Free Europe networks have launched their poisonous subversive propaganda. It is during these 10 years that American leaders have taking to aping soapbox orators and addressing inflammatory messages to other peoples on every occasion or none.

A characteristic instance of this was cited in the U. N. by the Rumanian delegate. Every year on May 10, the anniversary of the Hohenzollerns' accession to the throne, the State Department of the United States of America—"the great transatlantic Republic"—issues a statement declaring that this day should remain Rumania's national holiday. In coming forward as a champion of the Rumanian Hohenzollerns, whom the people have driven from the country, State Secretary Dulles seems bent on justifying the caustic observations of his great countryman Mark Twain, who said:

"Unquestionably the person that can get lowest down in cringing before royalty and nobility, and can get most satisfaction out of crawling on his belly before them, is an American. Not all Americans, but when an American does it he makes competition impossible."

Dulles' laughable appeals to the citizens of the Rumanian People's Republic might not be worth mentioning if it were not that they reflect in miniature Washington's broader designs. In proclaiming their doctrine of the liberation of the people's democracies, the American imperialists are out to restore in this part of Europe the worst regimes of the past.

What the objects are, the performers will be. Not for nothing do attempts to execute the liberation plans have to rely on the broken remnants of the routed exploiter classes, on reactionaries who have fled the country, on all that dirty scum which the great revolutions of our century have washed up on the hospitable shores of Western Europe and North America.

Needless to say, these plans are built on sand. But when the American radio talks of freedom and democracy, it is well to remember them.

A Farm Program on a Commodity-by-Commodity Basis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, there was a significant meeting in Washington yesterday that is encouraging to all of us who are interested in the well-being of the farmers of the Nation.

This meeting brought together representatives of a dozen national and regional farm organizations to explore the possibilities of all working together for a farm program, on a commodity-by-commodity basis, that would bring relief to our hard-pressed farm families and start agriculture on the road to a fair share in the Nation's prosperity.

In the last 4 years the house of agriculture has been divided. Farm organization has been alined against farm organization, crop against crop, and region against region. I personally am convinced that this was deliberately done as part of a scheme to destroy the price-support program that served our farmers so well for 2 decades.

Now it is encouraging, indeed, that a movement has been launched to restore the family spirit to the house of agriculture, through a community of effort by persons and organizations speaking for the various commodities.

Mr. Speaker, I am including as a part of my remarks a press release issued from the National Milk Producers Federation, following yesterday's meeting of the commodity groups. This matter follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 28.—A preliminary meeting of 12 national and regional farm organizations representing producers of individual commodities was held here Tuesday "to discuss a joint approach to the solution of agricultural problems on a commodity-by-commodity basis." A further meeting was scheduled for August 6 to which other commodity producer groups will be invited.

The group appeared to be unanimous in the view (1) that there is a common denominator in the interests of the several commodity groups; (2) that there is lack of agreement among the general farm organizations on farm policies; and (3) that commodity approaches which have the support of other commodity groups can be most effective toward the solution of farm problems.

It was emphasized that there is need for cooperation between the commodity groups to further the interests of their members. No one program will fill the bill for all farm commodities for all time to come, the spokesmen added.

Plans were reported being developed by poultry, livestock, wheat, and dairy groups under which producers would finance their own industrywide programs including farmer control over expanded production, research, advertising, and marketing development.

Among subjects listed for future study were (1) whether efficiency is the answer to the overall farm problem; (2) the development of a meaningful parity formula; (3) the effect of United States foreign policies on domestic farm difficulties; and (4) the problem of diverted acres as they affect individual commodities.

"The role of the commodity organization is the most vital one among all national groups representing farmers," stated E. M. Norton, secretary of the National Milk Producers Federation. "It is one which cannot be preempted by an organization in which there inevitably are conflicts of interests among various commodity groups. Every commodity group can be helpful in solving the problems of other commodity groups, when they know what those problems are."

Those attending the session included: George M. Strayer, Hudson, Iowa, executive vice president, American Soybean Association; Robert W. Scott, New River, N. C., president, United States Poultry and Egg Association; Chester C. Housh, Elkton, Va., executive committeeman, National Turkey Federation; George B. Blair, Lake Charles, La., general manager, American Rice Growers Cooperative Association; Alan T. Rains, Washington, D. C., executive vice president, United Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Association; Joseph H. Shelly, Washington, D. C., executive secretary, Vegetable Growers Association of America; A. E. Mercker, Washington, D. C., executive director, National Potato Council; James B. Nanse, Alamo, Tenn., president, National Swine Growers Council; Robert J. Novins, Toms Rivers, N. J., general counsel, United States Poultry and Egg Association; Roy Hendrickson, Washington, D. C., executive secretary, National Federation of Grain Cooperatives; Hubert J. Hughes, Imperial, Nebr., K. Kendrick, Stratford, Tex., and George L. Reid, Jr., Washington, D. C., president, national program chairman, and legislative representative, respectively, National Association of Wheat Growers; and E. M. Norton, Washington, D. C., secretary, National Milk Producers Federation.

Helping Poland's Scholars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of May 28, 1957, commenting on the grant of $475,000 made by the Rockefeller Foundation to Polish universities and research institutions:

HELPING POLAND'S SCHOLARS

From Copernicus to Madame Curie the contributions of Polish scientists and scholars to the fund of world knowledge and culture have been substantial. Over the past 18 years, however, Poland's opportunity

to continue to make such contributions has been hampered, first by the human losses and physical destruction of World War II, then by the breaking of old ties which Polish scholars had maintained with the West.

It is to both these problems that the Rockefeller Foundation's grant of $475,000 to Poland is addressed. Most of the money will be used to purchase equipment and materials needed by Polish universities and research institutions. The rest will finance renewed contacts between Polish scholars and their Western colleagues. If experience is any guide, these expenditures should prove well worth while in the years to come. Meanwhile, the Rockefeller Foundation's action, like the similar step by the Ford Foundation, gives evidence of the desire to reknit the ties of Polish-American friendship, ties which go back to the founding days of our Nation almost 200 years ago.

School Aid Cut Should Be 100 Percent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK IKARD
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. IKARD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial from the Vernon (Tex.) Daily Record, dated May 26, 1957, entitled "School Aid Cut Should Be 100 Percent":

SCHOOL AID CUT SHOULD BE 100 PERCENT

As a means of making the undertaking more attractive, sponsors of legislation to provide Federal aid for school construction have lowered the amount to be spent during the first year of a 5-year program from $2 billion to $1.5 billion. This is a concession to the advocates of economy in total Federal spending for the coming fiscal year.

Whether the reduced size of the package will improve its chance of passage remains to be seen. Of some significance is the fact that the House Rules Committee has ordered the measure reported in a form which will permit amendments. Certain to be offered is an amendment which would prohibit allocation of any of the money to schools in States which still practice segregation in the schools.

If this amendment should be adopted, which is not unlikely in spite of the President's plea that it be rejected, it can be taken for granted that the school-aid program will not get through at this session of Congress. If its adopton can be prevented this year chance of finally defeating it should be good, because it is becoming apparent as time goes on that State and local authorities are taking care of the situation.

But rejection at this session would be important from another angle. If it could be known at an early date that there is to be no Federal money available for construction of local school buildings local effort would be stimulated. No doubt many communities and some States will delay construction as long as there is a chance that Uncle Sam will pick up the tab.

The encouraging aspect of this struggle to keep the schools free from Federal control is that debate has shown a steady decline in measurable sentiment for the program. When the proposal was first endorsed by the Eisenhower administration, in spite of the President's repeated assertions that support of the schools is and should remain the responsibility of local units of government. Its early approval was taken for granted. A rigged White House conference didn't produce the ground swell of popular support which advocates of the plan had expected, and subsequent discussions has had the effect of exposing the phony character of the case for a program which means eventually handing over the control of public schools to the Federal Government.

There is reason for encouragement over the reduction in this year's appropriation by half a billion, but any amount is 100 percent too much.

North Dakota Has State Commission for Celebration of 100th Anniversary of Theodore Roosevelt's Birth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, in 1958 the Federal Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission will observe the 100th anniversary of the birth of Theodore Roosevelt, one of the truly great men of our times. "Teddy" was an early settler in North Dakota and built up his ranch at Medora in our State, and added much to the color and interest of the early days.

Mr. Hal S. Davies, editor of the Minot Daily News and a member of the Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission, has sent me an editorial from his newspaper which under unanimous consent I should like to have inserted in the RECORD:

T. R. AND CONSERVATION

North Dakota's action in creating a State commission to cooperate with the Federal Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission in observing the 100th anniversary in 1958 of the birth of that great American, is a welcome tribute to one of the State's most famous adopted sons. For Theodore Roosevelt, though born in New York City, made public acknowledgment of his enduring affection for the West and of his particular attachment to the North Dakota regions where he built up his physical strength as a young man just on the threshold of his extraordinary public career.

We are confident that the citizens of North Dakota through their cities and towns, churches, schools, patriotic societies, and other civic organizations will want to take full part in the observance which will be launched this year on Sunday, October 27 (on the conclusion of what would have been Teddy's 99th year) by the religious forces of the community.

At the same time, we venture to suggest that the national administration take fullest note of this centennial year, utilizing the occasion to particularly good purpose in a program designed to help strengthen the free world and, more particularly, the Western Hemispheric nations.

It was in 1908 Theodore Roosevelt convened the first conference of State governors, primarily for the purpose of considering action in regard to the conservation of our natural resources; 1958, therefore, is also the 50th anniversary of a significant public development with which Theodore Roosevelt's name is eternally linked.

Despite ups and downs, conservation concepts and programs that were initiated under the inspiration of Theodore Roosevelt have yielded the American people enormous values in the preservation of their water, forest, wildlife, and other national resources.

There is a similar need and opportunity for coordinated action by the countries of the Western Hemisphere. In our common struggle for an ever higher level of prosperity and for our increased strength against those who may have designs upon our security, all of us of the Western Hemisphere would do well to pool our knowledge on the subject of our natural resources and to consider jointly the policies to follow with regard to their preservation and wisest utilization. A squandering of these God-given resources, in the wastes of erosion, of reckless forest depletion, and of mistaken water and watershed policies will prove costly, not only for our national being but also for the well-being of all the people who live in the Western Hemisphere.

Is this not a challenging opportunity for the United States to take the lead in the convening, during 1958, of representatives of all of the friendly nations of North and South America for the mutual consideration of sound Western Hemispheric conservation policies?

Such a conference would, in the nature of things, constitute a special tribute to Theodore Roosevelt, whose influence on America's conservation thinking was greater than that of any other President.

At the same time, it will be more than a personal tribute. It will demonstrate that Washington is ready to provide international leadership of a high order toward the strengthening, without threat to any other power, of the resources of all the lands linked together in hemispheric friendship, that, in the long run, will determine our economic level, prosperity, and security.

Memorial Day at the Cathedral of the Pines, Rindge, N. H.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PERKINS BASS
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. BASS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow I will have the honor of representing President Eisenhower at Memorial Day services at the Cathedral of the Pines in Rindge, N. H. It is a particular privilege for me to participate this year just weeks after the Congress has recognized the dedication of the altar of the Nation at the Cathedral of the Pines as a memorial to all the war dead of all of our wars.

I am including herewith an Associated Press story which appeared in the May 26 issue of the Boston Sunday Globe:

NEW HAMPSHIRE CATHEDRAL OF PINES HAS UNIQUE SERVICE

RINDGE, N. H., May 25.—Unique among Memorial Day services to be conducted Thursday will be those high on a pine-crowned New Hampshire hilltop before a stone structure known as the altar of the Nation.

Congress in a resolve this May voted recognition to that altar—in the famed Cathedral of the Pines—as a memorial to all America's war dead in all wars.

Thus are commemorated, not only those who died in battles of land, sea, and air, but also the lives laid down by men and women in great war-service organizations such as

the Red Cross, and the sacrifices of war correspondents and entertainers, and others.

Those who met death in war effort in laboratory and shop, in shipyard and factory, or on merchant ships attacked on lonely seas.

Here are remembered the sacrifices of the pioneering men and women who gave their lives from coast to coast to transmit to succeeding generations the American heritage of freedom.

Built into the altar are stones from every State, each with a story of its own. There are stones sent by distinguished war leaders, stones sent from the far corners of the world, from battlegrounds and airfields where young Americans died.

WREATH FROM PRESIDENT

To this altar will come on Memorial Day—as on 4 successive Memorial Days in the past—a wreath from the President of the United States. Likewise, for the third successive year, the Governor of each of the 48 States and of Territories from the Virgin Island, to Hawaii and Guam, will add their tributes.

As the roll is called, a white rose will be placed on the altar as the personal tribute of each Governor to the war dead and of his State or Territory.

Memorials will come from the big national veterans' organizations: American Legion and Auxiliary, AMVETS, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Jewish War Veterans, Marine Corps League, and from the Grand Army Auxiliary, the Sons of Union Veterans, the Fleet Reserve Association, and other veterans groups.

There will be tributes from such other patriotic and fraternal groups as the Sons of the American Revolution, the Women's Overseas League, American National Red Cross, Knights of Columbus, Salvation Army, National YMCA, National Grange, 4–H Clubs of New England.

PARENTS OF PILOT

Memorials will be brought to the altar, also on behalf of the 5 million members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the 15 million members of the AFL–CIO.

Robert Burnette, president of the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council of South Dakota, will add a new stone to the altar as spokesman for these "First Americans." The service, beginning at 3 p. m., ends with the traditional sounding of taps by a bugler.

The Cathedral of the Pines was founded by the parents of a young American World War II pilot who perished with his fellow crewmen in a B–17 Flying Fortress. He had hoped to build a home after the war near today's site of the open-air cathedral. Even before the war his family had envisaged the spot as a perfect site for an outdoor chapel.

The young lieutenant, Sanderson Sloane, had wanted to live where he could always see what he called "the most beautiful view God ever put together"—a sweep of forests and hills, valleys and lakes, spreading westward to the majesty of Mount Monadnock.

His parents frequently came to this bit of America which he loved, and when finally hope ended that their missing son would ever return, they were encouraged by clergymen in founding here an outdoor place of worship—the Cathedral of the Pines.

In 1946, when their project was well begun, it was "dedicated to the glory of God and in loving and grateful memory of Sanderson Sloane, by his parents, Douglas and Sibyl Sanderson Sloane, as a place where all people may come and worship, each in his own way."

CAME BY THE THOUSANDS

Their fellow Americans have done just that. They have come by thousands, people of all races and faiths, Christians and non-Christians. Each has worshiped God in his own manner—individually or in groups, or as members of organizations, from early spring until chill of autumn.

Gifts, too, have come to this outdoor place of worship, now perpetuated under the care of a continuing group of trustees. A simple stone pulpit has been added, a lectern, a chaplain's altar, a baptismal font—and even a carefully shielded organ so that during services organ tones may blend with the endless hushing of the wind in the pines.

Foreign Trade Is a Two-Way Street

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the recent observance of National Cotton Week found cotton men in the United States looking to the future, and any such assessment must include a good, hard look at the present and future export market for cotton. It is clear that we need to preserve and expand commercial markets for cotton abroad. In other words, those markets now enjoyed by virtue of the Government surplus disposal program must be broadened and supplanted by commercial export markets in the days ahead. The future is certain to bring with it an increasing rise in productivity. Therefore, we must not neglect the advancement of sound two-way trade as a vital facet of our continuing search for lasting world peace.

It is timely and salutary to note the recent publication of the Cotton Trade Journal's 1957 International Yearbook. This annual issue, like the ones that preceded it, contains a wealth of information about cotton and its worldwide significance. Publisher Francis G. Hickman devotes individual sections of the Yearbook to more than 30 countries and traces the importance of cotton in each of these many areas of the world.

As I am privileged to serve as chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, this publication is of special interest for me. One of the articles presents a well-rounded picture of Switzerland. This tiny country, with its population of approximately 5 million people—just about the same number that live in my home State of North Carolina—buys about $40 million worth of American farm products annually and, though destitute of almost very natural advantage, meets her dilemma by exporting to other nations the products turned out by her highly developed technical skills.

Data about Swiss imports of American farm products and their relationship to her exports of watches and other manufactured goods are clearly explained. This article by Swiss political scientist, economist, and journalist, Emile Déléaval, indicated that the Swiss have an unfavorable balance of trade with the United States of one-half billion dollars and that Switzerland buys about $150 million worth of American products each year, paying for them promptly in cash.

Referring to the adverse effects which have stemmed from the 50-percent increase in watch duties imposed by the United States in 1954, Mr. Déléaval warned that the Swiss connot afford to widen the gap of their unfavorable trade balance with this country. Watch exports, he explained, are of major importance to sustaining the Swiss economy, financing 20 percent of their imports—including, of course, imports from the United States.

The article emphasized the importance of retaining and enlarging our commercial export markets and not posing threats to them by actions such as the watch tariff increase which, by resorting to protectionist methods, only served to disrupt our international trade relationships and injure our reputation as a champion of liberty in every form.

I commend this issue of the International Yearbook to my colleagues, and under leave to extend my remarks, I place in the RECORD the text of this excellent article by Mr. Déléaval.

The article follows:

SWITZERLAND

(By Emile Déléaval, political scientist, economist, and journalist)

Each year tiny Switzerland buys thousands of bales of good American cotton. In fact, she purchases $40 million worth of American farm products annually, including tobacco, rice, and peanuts. But little Switzerland and powerful America have much more in common than their mutual trade, important as it is.

Politically, both peoples have the same love for freedom. Economically, they have the same devotion to work, the same skills and compelling desire to make their place through honest competition. Historically, both peoples have fought against tyranny; their struggles against oppression have helped shape our world today. And, as mentioned, they have been good trade partners for many years.

However, more than a common heritage is required today for nations to live peaceably with each other. If a more harmonious relationship is to be achieved between our countries, Switzerland's peculiar individuality and national character—so rarely understood—must be duly recognized.

From every standpoint tiny Switzerland is unique. Destitute of almost every natural advantage, it is difficult to see at first glance how she can exist at all.

Geographically, the country occupies the mountainous, semibarren heart of Europe. She has no access to the sea and is completely surrounded by large and powerful neighbors. But despite these handicaps Switzerland enjoys robust and burgeoning trade relations with every continent.

Topographically, Switzerland offers little to excite the envy of any other state. Her territory extends over an area of about 16,000 square miles, of which only about 4,500 square miles are productive. The Swiss have no coal, no metallic ore, no oil. In fact, they have no natural resources whatsoever, except hydroelectric power. Yet, Switzerland is numbered among the world's most important industrial nations.

Ethnically, Switzerland lacks a common denominator. Within her borders are concentrated many different cultures and religious groups. Ordinarily, national unity is based upon a common racial, language, or cultural background. But in Switzerland patriotic feeling stems from the diversity of the people. Seventy-two percent of the Swiss speak German, 21 percent French, 6 percent Italian, and 1 percent Romansch.

Fifty-seven percent of the people are Protestants, 41 percent Catholic, and 2 percent are Jews or members of other religious groups.

Politically, Switzerland had to devise new systems to meet its unique problem. Because none of its ethnic groups would tolerate dominance by any other, a decentralized government was essential. The federalist system which the Swiss adopted leaves the maximum of liberty to the citizen and to the canton in which he resides. It is the basis of Swiss democracy.

Economically, Switzerland is hard pressed. Her only raw materials are the skills and enterprising spirit of her people. Though intensely cultivated, the nation's scattered patches of arable land cannot begin to feed a population of 5 millions. Nevertheless, her people enjoy one of the world's highest living standards.

When Switzerland was created, the founders of the Helvetic Confederation could set against the multiple disadvantages of race and land only their love of liberty. Yet so strong was their thirst for independence that they decided to persevere, to establish a new sovereign state in the center of the Old World. Six and a half centuries later the facts show their audacious dream was not unrealistic. Switzerland is an oasis of peace, harmony, and well-being in a world torn by rivalries, wars, and poverty.

But this "Swiss miracle" was not produced by magic. Switzerland is a creation of its own will. Its inhabitants have overcome the severest difficulties to achieve and preserve their national unity and independence. Today Switzerland has no internal political difficulties, but, on the economic plane, Switzerland daily faces a challenge as grave as any in her past.

Switzerland's vital problem is how to house, feed, and clothe 5 million inhabitants in a country which must export to live and yet has almost no tangible assets to export. Switzerland meets this dilemma by exporting her skill to other nations.

This situation obviously imposes definite limitations. Forced to compete with nations having local sources of raw materials for their industries, the Swiss must concentrate on quality rather than mass production. Additionally, geographical conditions are not favorable to the construction of vast industrial complexes necessary for mass production.

The economy of Switzerland is derived from the same conditions that have shaped her political structure. In both cases, natural conditions seem to be in conflict with extensive freedom. The confederation must maintain close relationships with the outside world in order to insure a sufficient supply of raw materials and to sell its finished goods, repudiating interference and protectionism for reasons of survival, as well as from conviction. Today, Switzerland's tariff policy is one of the most liberal in the world. Tourists are always surprised at the variety of consumer goods available here; merchandise from the United States, Germany, Australia, Japan, South America, Iran, and other countries scattered all over the globe. Switzerland can hardly ask other countries to welcome her own products without showing some degree of reciprocity.

In Switzerland it is not the government, but the wishes of consumers that dictates the selection of foreign imports. Manufacturers from every country are on the lookout for buyers in Switzerland, competing with Swiss factories in the domestic market. If Swiss manufacturers can't compete, they must turn to other activities. For example, the Swiss had to give up making automobiles because they couldn't compete with the huge American, French, and German industries. Local conditions force them to adapt their potential to restricted industries; watchmaking, textiles, metallurgy, chemicals, chocolate—products which, by their nature are marketable only in the 40 percent of the world where people can afford to buy these products, whereas other nations can sell their more basic products all over the world.

TARIFF AFFECTS QUALITY

It is therefore especially disappointing for the Swiss to see a country rich as the United States interfere with the law of supply and demand by imposing a heavy tariff on watches. This tariff has not affected imports quantitatively, only qualitatively. The reason for this is easily explained. The 50 percent tariff increase could hardly help but affect retail prices. Today, for the same dollar-price consumers are receiving watches of comparatively inferior quality than before; the Swiss are selling more but lower quality watches in the United States. This has grave consequences for both parties. It makes the public pay to support domestic manufacturers, and, in the long run, will affect the high quality reputation of the Swiss watch. For Switzerland, the watch industry is a most important element in export trade. Americans, with their vast resources, perhaps find it difficult to realize the importance in this industry. We shall attempt to explain this briefly.

As we have stated, Switzerland has practically no natural resources. Her industries work with imported raw material. In this respect, the watch industry is ideal in that it offers a maximum of employment, utilizing a minimum of raw materials. Regardless of quality, the quantity of metal used in a watch remains the same; only the degree of craftsmanship changes. This means, of course, that thousands of workers depend for their livelihood on the sales of quality watches.

The Americans were surprised at the reaction that the tariff increase provoked in Switzerland, and a degree of surprise might be expected on the part of people not familiar with the Swiss economy. Swiss problems cannot be judged in terms of American experiences. The Americans possess economic power and mobility undreamed of by the Swiss. If one branch of the United States economy falters, a hundred others can fill the gap. In Switzerland conditions are quite different; there is no such freedom of choice. If one of our industries is hit, it is impossible to make up the loss.

The watch industry alone, accounting for 20 percent of our exports, finances one-fifth of our imports. Loss of this 20 percent would put us in a very precarious position. Our balance of trade with the United States is already unfavorable to the extent of one-half billion dollars, indicating that the Swiss buy that much more from the Americans than they sell them. The Swiss cannot afford to widen the gap between United States imports and exports without searching for other markets more anxious to buy our products. It is simply a matter of self preservation.

And, aside from the question of business, is it not somewhat disappointing to see the United States, champion of liberty in every form, resort to protectionist methods which place in jeopardy the friendly relationship that we have enjoyed since the end of the last century?

In the beginning we noted that the Swiss buy American cotton, tobacco, rice, peanuts, and other farm products. But that is not all—we buy almost everything America makes, mines or grows—chemicals, metals, appliances, automobiles, aircraft, petroleum, woolens and furs. In fact, Switzerland's payments for American products each year come to $150 million, which she pays promptly in cash—making her America's best cash customer on the European continent.

The point is that Switzerland's cash earnings—in short, her ability to buy American goods—is earned right in America through the sale of her own products, mostly watches and watch movements. Therefore, anything which seriously handicaps Switzerland's ability to sell and earn must affect her ability to buy.

Address by Former Governor of Pennsylvania, John S. Fine, at Loyalty Day Program Held at Nanticoke, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address given by former Governor of Pennsylvania, John S. Fine, at the Loyalty Day program held at Nanticoke, Pa., under the auspices of Post 290, Veterans of Foreign Wars:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your very flattering introduction. To gain and hold the esteem of one's neighbors is one of life's richest possessions. It was near here that I first saw the light of day, and I am proud and happy that you have seen fit to ask me to talk here on this occasion in the city where I have spent the better part of my life.

Just for a moment, with your indulgence, I would like to comment on the chairman's references to the things I had a chance to do for Luzerne County while I was governor. First, let me say that I am eternally grateful that you good people and thousands of others like you in Luzerne County made it possible for me to get ahead in public life. It was your confidence and your support that set my steps toward the governor's chair. Once there, I was ever mindful of my indebtedness to you, and at every opportunity, where I could, consistent with sound public policy, I endeavored to make up for the past neglect of our area.

Permit me to say, my good friends and neighbors, that it is a source of immense satisfaction to me that we now have the magnificent new turnpike extension coursing from our region into Philadelphia, opening up, as it does, great new possibilities for business and industry. I liken the new turnpike to a massive shot of blood plasma into the body economic of northeastern Pennsylvania. And one aspect that pleases me so much is that I feel it will stimulate things so that conditions here will be materially improved and job opportunities will open up in increasing numbers for our young people. They are our greatest asset, our greatest hope. The future belongs to them, the safekeeping of America is in their hands.

Loyalty day, 1957, is a good time to think of youth, American youth, and the task we have of preserving American liberties untrammeled, American institutions strong and safe for the future.

Let us note well that the great freedoms which were our inheritance through the blood of patriots are not guaranteed to us in perpetuity. Each generation is the trustee of our liberties and institutions, and each succeeding generation has the task and solemn obligation to pass them on unimpaired, unvitiated to upcoming Americans. This is the highest duty of citizenship: preserving and protecting our free institutions which have made America the mightiest power on earth.

We might well pause today and take stock of our situation, to assess our stewardship, to survey the forces which would destroy

what has been built on this continent since the first patriots took up arms for freedom on a sloping New England green. Since those memorable days at Concord and Lexington, when the flames of freedom leaped high, American liberties and independence have been an inspiration of peoples all over the world.

But today we are confronted with a vicious menace, an insidious conspiracy; godless, atheistic communism, which seeks the enslavement of the whole world, a conspiracy that not only would destroy America and all it stands for but has already subdued three-fifths of the world.

We must understand the enemy. In too many places there has been a tendency to minimize the threat and force of communism. It is virulent, it is a spiritual plague; communism robs man of his dignity, it would make of man an animal; it regards man not as a child of God, endowed with certain inalienable rights, but as a thing whose whole being is to be sacrificed to the state. In a sense, communism is social cannibalism; it devours and destroys man, consumes his being in its voracious tyranny.

On this loyalty day, when so many nations are vast prison camps, when the Soviet Iron Curtain closes out the light and sunshine of freedom for millions, let us remember that the Kremlin is the one power that has elevated the denial of the existence of God to a fixed state policy. What, I ask you in the name of Heaven, can be expected from such a government?

Contrast this with the American dedication to the Almighty. Let us not forget that the whole spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States is one which gives basic recognition to the spirituality of man, as a creature of God. Throughout our history we have always dedicated ourselves to the Divine Creator. Two of the most vivid and moving moments in our national life were those of George Washington kneeling in prayer during the critical hours at Valley Forge, and of the great Lincoln invoking the guidance and blessings of the Almighty in the lonely watches of the night when the convulsive forces of the Civil War threatened to break the Nation apart.

So we see at once that two rival systems of thought are pitted against each other in the world today; the struggle is freedom versus Communist tyranny.

All of us were shocked to the depths by the terrible crucifixion that took place in Hungary; we grieve, I know, for the subjection of Poland to Soviet tyranny; the fate of Czechoslovakia, held in the Soviet vise, saddens all of us; so, too, are we immersed in gloom when we consider the captivity of the millions of souls in East Germany, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, North Korea, and China.

But it is not enough for us to grieve and wring our hands in despair. On the anvil of public discussion and through our democratic institutions we must forge positive policies that will bring aid and succor to the enslaved peoples of the world; we must by our acts and policies keep burning the flickering hope that is nourished in the breast of every human being held in Soviet slavery. We must realize anew that wherever the freedom of anyone in the world is denied, that is a threat to our own freedom.

And in acting and praying for the eventual liberation of all the peoples in captivity, let us in our charity be mindful that the people of Russia themselves were the first victims of Communist tyranny. The captive Russian people, properly, are one of the prime targets in the effort to expose the gigantic hoax of communism. I wonder how many of us realize that in all of the Russias, with its millions of people, only 3 percent of the inhabitants are members of the Communist Party. The Russian people know that communism is a stark failure. They know that communism is a fraud. The Russian people have been exploited to the fullest while the masters of the Kremlin endeavored to push along a frantic program of heavy industry to build up war weapons. The people have paid in inadequate housing, scanty food quotas, the denials of liberties. The best evidence of the shaky foundations of the Soviet regime is the defections that occurred in the Communist forces when the Hungarian patriots fought with their bare hands and indomitable spirits against Soviet tanks. One of the greatest stories of our times emerged from that heroic rebellion; the Soviet high command was so alarmed at the desertions in their ranks to the Hungarian patriots that the Kremlin quickly had to rush in Mongolian troops to stamp out the rebellion, and this they did with a savagery reminiscent of Genghis Khan. This forced withdrawal of the regular Soviet troops showed the Achilles heel of the Soviet regime—the disbelief of the Russian people and soldiery in the false tenets of communism.

I have made a point of this, and the fact that such a very small percentage of the Russian people are Communists, to warn you against a sophistry that has gained some currency in American thought; the members of known or registered Communists are so small in America that they can do no harm. This is the worst kind of ostrich thinking. In country after country we have seen how a handful of Communists, serving their masters in the Kremlin, have undermined democratic governments and brought about the downfall of nations. Make no mistake about it. Communists are dedicated to their case with a fanaticism; they submit to absolute discipline, they will die, and do, if need be, to advance their conspiracy. They will kill you, yes, kill you, if it serves their purpose.

America cannot be too vigilant to the menace of communism, not only its strong-arm methods, its kidnapings, but its subtler forms of attack; its propaganda, its various front organizations, its calculated and often effective efforts to destroy belief in American principles and institutions.

Remember this on Loyalty Day, 1957; the front is everywhere, the battle is unremitting, the Communist moles are everlastingly on the job. I had this brought forcibly to my attention when I was privileged to serve as your Governor. We set up a special subversive squad of the State police to deal with the problem. Our employees took the loyalty oath. We cooperated fully with the Federal authorities in their efforts to expose the Communist conspiracy and bring traitors to justice.

When you hear some say there aren't enough Communists in America to be worried about, just remember that because of the spy work of a half dozen people in the United States, Canada, and Britain, the Soviets were made a gift of secrets pertinent to the A-bomb and the hydrogen bomb, so that almost overnight, through treachery, the Communists were able to wipe out the substantial lead the free world enjoyed in nuclear weapons, and the great advantage we enjoyed was lost.

Having attempted to point up the problem posed today by the Communist conspiracy against the free world, I would like to emphasize the essential truth that throughout history freedom has always had a greater attraction for man than tyranny. Man in his very nature, yearns to be free and enjoys those God-given blessings that are his rightful inheritance. In the long run, unless we allow ourselves to be lulled too sleep or to be grossly deceived, we may count on free man emerging victorious from the struggle we find ourselves in. And because of this we may look with hope to the ultimate liberation of the enslaved peoples of Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, and the other nations which have had the misfortune to come under the Soviet heel.

It was freedom and free institutions that built up America. It was the advantages and the opportunities that abounded in the climate of a free America that enabled us as a people to grow from a small group of Colonies to our present great might. Today we are a nation of some 170 millions, our productive might is the greatest in the world, we have our freedom and liberties. As a result of our constitutional form of government we have religious, personal, and economic freedom.

These are the things we must cherish. These are the rights and institutions we must be loyal to—this is the atmosphere and climate we must protect and preserve and pass on so that succeeding generations of Americans may enjoy the same fruits of our system as has been our inheritance.

We are gathered today in a community and in a valley that has paid heavily in the blood of its young manhood in the armed services of our Nation so that America might remain free, and that freedom and peace might be achieved and preserved in the world. We cherish the memory of those of ours who fell in the name of freedom. No less than they, we have the duty of holding high the torch of liberty so that we may acquit ourselves honorably before the bar of history.

On this Loyalty Day, 1957, let us, in concert, dedicate ourselves anew to the noble principles that nurtured this Nation to greatness. Let us be loyal to our neighbors, our community, our Nation, and our God. In this way we shall keep alive the American dream and one day make freedom a reality for the millions of our fellow beings who languish in slavery behind the Iron Curtain.

Luther Patrick, Former Congressman, Dies at 66

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, the Members of the House have been previously advised that former Representative Luther Patrick, of Alabama's Ninth Congressional District, passed away during the night of Sunday, May 26, 1957. He was beloved by all who knew him, and his close friends numbered in the thousands. With the death of Mr. Patrick, Alabama has lost a great son and the Nation a fine citizen.

Under leave to extend my remarks heretofore granted, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a newspaper account of Mr. Patrick's death, which appeared in the Monday, May 27, issue of the Birmingham (Ala.) News:

LUTHER PATRICK, FORMER CONGRESSMAN, DIES AT 66

Former Congressman Luther Patrick—beloved poet, wit, writer, lawyer and radio entertainer—died last night at West End Baptist Hospital at the age of 66.

Death came after a long illness to the public figure who had been confined to a wheelchair in the closing years of his life. Although suffering with crippling arthritis, his courage never waned and he maintained a lively interest in Birmingham's civic affairs.

His frequent letters to newspaper editors made himself heard where his voice couldn't reach.

Funeral services will be held at 2 p. m. Tuesday at Johns-Ridout's Chapel, with the Reverend Paul Clem and the Reverend Frank

Ledford officiating. Burial will be in Elmwood Cemetery.

Patrick's life was the familiar American success story—from farm to fame, though his fame was limited largely to his own State and particularly to Birmingham, his adopted home.

He was a "Will Rogers type" radio entertainer and his folksy, down-to-earth comments and humor endeared him to thousands of listeners.

One of his many poems, "Sleepin' at the Foot of the Bed," was widely circulated and has been read or recited several times on national radio network shows.

He wrote three books: Hope Ye're Livin and Doin' Well, Friends, Neighbors, and Kinfolks, and Goosepocket. At the time of his death he was writing a book on folklore.

A veteran of four terms in Congress, he once said membership in the Democrat Party was a "southern requirement."

During his last term as Representative, he said he supported "education, industry, progress, good will, health, fair dealing, thrift, peace, knowledge, truth and virtue in general."

After his congressional service, he returned to Birmingham to live at 921 7th Street West.

Last year, he was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention.

Born on a farm in Morgan County, he first attended Gum Pond School and his teacher was Miss Effie Livingston. This also was the first school and the first teacher of Senator JOHN SPARKMAN.

Patrick worked his way through college. He first studied electrical engineering and then law at the University of Alabama, Louisiana State, and Purdue University.

He used his knowledge of engineering effectively as a member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

World War I interrupted his legal career. When he returned from service, he worked in a steel mill before beginning full time practice of law.

In 1919, he opened his law office in Fairfield, moving to Birmingham in 1922.

Patrick was an assistant Alabama attorney general during the Graves administration, and also served as an assistant United States attorney for the northern district of Alabama.

At one time he served as consultant on the war production board. In 1949 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the post of associate city commissioner.

A pioneer radio commentator, he started in this work in 1925 with stations WAPI and WBRC.

He was a member of McCoy Methodist Church and often served as substitute Sunday school teacher. He also was a member of Alpha Masonic Lodge, Shriners, Knights of Pythias, Eagles, Elks, High Twelve Club, Men of Prayer Club, and The Club.

Surviving are his wife, Mrs. Pearl McPherson Patrick; a daughter, Mrs. W. James Brasher, Birmingham; five brothers, Irving and Ivan Patrick, Birmingham; Gilbert Patrick, Jasper, and Ferris and E. L. Patrick, Cullman.

Written on the Wind

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, an extremely interesting though somewhat disconcerting newspaper report from Brazil was sent me recently by Mr. Hendrick J. Berns, a foreign correspondent of outstanding reputation for the Chicago Daily News and the Miami Herald. Because of the significance of the news article, particularly at this time when the Congress has the mutual-security program under consideration, I would like to call it to the attention of the Members.

Each and every American plays a part and shares the responsibility of selling our American way of life to the rest of the world. The moving-picture industry is no exception to this and, on the other hand, enjoys an invaluable and almost unequaled and unlimited opportunity in the conduct of its business to portray American modes and mores in a representative manner ideally suited for exhibition in foreign countries.

When one considers the energies, efforts, and funds expended by our Government to carry the story of America to people in all parts of the world, it seems tragic to me that our domestic industries and those individuals in charge of sending American-made products into these foreign countries for mass consumption, would not do so in a spirit of closer cooperation with our Government by making available for presentation overseas productions which are more truly representative of America's ideals and way of life. I do not think any one of us is willing to concede that the background of events in the story described in the attached newspaper report portray the average or typical American family of today. The article follows:

(By Hendrik J. Berns)

SANTOS, BRAZIL.—No matter how many millions of dollars the United States State Department spends annually to inform foreign countries properly of America—Hollywood continues to undo that job.

There is a picture playing here now that represents exactly what the doctor might order to tear down Americans and life in America.

Its title, "Written on the Wind," is as senseless as its story. But that would be little (or routine, for that matter) if it were not for the characters which the movie depicts.

With the exception of few, they are all overdrunk, oversexed, overly wild, overly rich. Surrounded by the castle atmosphere of Texas oil wealth, they move from private plane to fancy sports car and use both principally to reach the next bar.

Their hands have never been employed for anything but fist brawls or gun toting. Their minds are nonexistent.

The bottle is their only piece of conversation. And there is even a scene where cigarettes are extinguished in unemptied glasses of champagne.

Gas station attendants are picked up to perform the duties necessary to satisfy the lust of some female for the broad male torso. And jazz music, accompanying the weird nightgown contortions of a millionaire's daughter, is the background to her father's death.

The whole thing is nothing but the sum total of life's perversities anywhere and seen in America, with the proper knowledge of American life and many grains of salt, it would be bad enough.

But shown abroad, to people so eager to know America better and so frightfully ignorant of America yet—in spite of the State Department millions—the effect is tragic.

Such movies may well bring loads of foreign currency to the box office; yet only at the dire expense of wiping out all inter-American understanding.

No American individual and no American Government agency can possibly accomplish for America what such Hollywood concoctions do against it.

The Soil Bank Has Brought Problems to Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to enclose a very enlightening article which appeared in the Florida Times-Union of Jacksonville, in the Sunday, May 26, 1957, issue. This article explains the concern that many of us expressed over the results of the soil bank when we voted in the House a few days ago to suspend operations after this current year as far as the acreage-reserve part of the soil bank is concerned until we had time to explore this whole legislation again. I hope all of my colleagues will have a chance to read this article because it tells of conditions in some of the parts of my district and in areas close by in the State of Georgia. The complete article follows:

SOIL BANK SEEN $4 MILLION DRAIN IN 12 FLORIDA, GEORGIA COUNTIES

(By Chris Trizonis)

VALDOSTA, GA., May 25.—Businessmen, bankers and farm experts are beginning to be uneasy about the economy of the north Florida and south Georgia agricultural areas later this year as a result of the acreages which have been placed in the soil bank by farmers.

Boiling the situation down, they see a loss of $6 million which would be realized from the sale of corn, cotton and tobacco that has been placed into the soil bank against $1,760,000 in payments the participating farmers will receive in soil bank payments. This means there will be $4,240,000 less money circulating through the area where interviews and research on the soil bank effects were carried out.

This area includes Berrien, Brooks, Clinch, Cook, Echols, Lanier, Lowndes, Thomas and Tift Counties in Georgia and Hamilton, Madison and Suwannee Counties in Florida.

The squeeze resulting from less farming activity has already been felt by fertilizer dealers, implement dealers, seed and insecticide distributors and suppliers of gasoline and tires.

Fertilizer dealers and those who handle insecticides were hit hard by a 20-percent reduction in acreage on tobacco allotments. This was topped by an average throughout the area of 12 percent of the remaining acreage being placed into the soil bank. The highest percentage placed in the soil bank in a single county was 38 percent by Clinch County, Ga., farmers. The lowest was the 6-percent figure of Berrien, Colquitt and Cook Counties in Georgia.

COTTON AVERAGES 20 PERCENT

The average that went into the cotton program of the soil bank was 20 percent. This ranged from 54 percent in Clinch to 15 percent in Tift. The soil bank received 11,240 acres of cotton, 3,740 acres of tobacco and

12,129 acres of corn from 5 of the Georgia counties which voted acreage controls on the crops for the year.

The tightest economic squeeze is expected to occur during the months when cotton and tobacco are harvested. It is during this time that most of the day labor is employed. Day labor accounts for almost half of the money paid out by the farmer in the production of his crops. Because of this, businessmen who are dependent upon credit buying will feel the pinch soon. Most of those who have been employed as day laborers in the past will be without employment this year. The biggest factor in the lack of jobs will be the cutback on acreage but soil-bank acreage will play a large role.

County agents in these counties report that most of the single-family farms, farms from 100 to 175 acres in size, retained their acreages and are working them. The majority of the harvesting on these farms is done by the family with only a minimum of day labor help.

Most of the day labor pool was used on the large farms and county agents say the majority of the acreage placed into the soil bank came from these large farms. In many cases, all the acreage allotted for cotton and tobacco went into the soil bank.

SOIL BANK IS INVESTMENT

One county agent reported that a North Carolina man bought several farms in a north Florida county after the soil bank went into effect. All of the acreage on these farms went into the soil bank and tenant farms had to move off to seek employment in industrial areas. By way of explanation, the North Carolina man was quoted as saying the soil bank offered him a 12 percent return on his investment, a return much higher than he could get on bonds or stocks.

The United States Employment Service office at Valdosta, the largest industrial center in the north Florida and south Georgia farming, backs up the reports of county agents.

L. R. Guthrie of this office stated he has been able to attribute a heavy increase in the workload directly to the soil bank.

"For years the tenant farmer has been gradually leaving the farm. This has been due to mechanization. The farm owner has had to cut every corner possible in order to decrease the cost of production. Machines have enabled him to do this. As the number of farm machines increased, there has been less and less need for a large number of farmhands. The soil bank is just making the final departure of the tenant farmer take place faster," Guthrie said.

"In our office we anticipate a heavy run of applications for employment from the day laborers when the time comes for harvesting. So far, the expansion of industry in the city has been able to absorb the gradual flow from farm to urban areas. But now we will be faced by the day laborers situation on top of applications already on hand from small farm owners who have placed part of their acreage in the soil bank and want city work while they farm the remainder of their land on a part-time basis," Guthrie added.

PART-TIME FARMER INCREASING

He said the part-time farmer is on the increase. With cotton and tobacco in the soil bank, there are farmers who prefer to have a steady payyroll from industry while tending the rest of their land.

As for the effect of this on business, the summation provided by Comer Cherry, manager of the Credit Bureau of Valdosta, presents a gloomy outlook for merchants. He points out that the $40- to $60-a-week wage earner is the backbone of business in any community. Any move which affects these wage earners will have a detrimental effect on the economy.

With over $4 million less money to circulate in the 12 counties mentioned the loss is bound to be felt. Some sources claim that every $100 received from the sale of farm products turns over in a community 7 times before it loses its buying power by spreading out to pocketbooks outside the community. Based on this formula, these counties will suffer a loss of more than $28 million worth of buying power.

Edwin Shiver, president of the Georgia Cotton Ginners Association, predicts a loss of $35 million buying power in Georgia as a result of the cotton alone which has gone into the soil bank.

In a recent appearance before a congressional committee in Atlanta, Shiver used Bartow County as a typical example of the cotton situation in Georgia.

He said there will be a total loss of sales and services amounting to $33,210.78 in the county this year. Of this total, $53,938.80 would have gone for fertilizer and soda, $28,478.40 for insecticides, $33,141.61 for gasoline and oil, $2,568.86 for tires and tubes, $7,209.12 for sweeps and disk plows, $36,189.35 for ginning, $12,744.66 for transportation of cotton, seed, and fertilizer, $151,079.20 for labor to pick, chop, hoe, and operate equipment to produce the crop and $7,860.78 for machinery.

BROOKS HARD HIT

One of the heaviest hit counties as far as loss of population is concerned is Brooks County, Ga. Burney Humphreys, superintendent of the county schools, reported that the rural schools lost 504 students from September 1, 1956, to May 1, 1957, although he pointed out that the soil bank was not responsible for the entire loss.

He said indications are that the cut in tobacco allotments played the largest role in the loss and the placement of acreages in the soil bank was next on the list of reasons for moving away. He added that because Quitman had no industries, most of the population had left for Valdosta, Moultrie, Albany and a number of industrial and military centers in Florida.

Because of this heavy drop in enrollment Brooks County schools face a loss of 20 teachers in the next school year.

Mrs. Beth Williams Powers, associate editor of the Quitman Free Press, said a study of the soil bank and its effects on Brooks County showed disastrous effects on the economy of the county and the city.

Probably the least affected counties in the area will be Berrien, Colquitt and Cook in Georgia and Hamilton and Suwannee in Florida. In these counties, most of the farms are one-family operations of less than 200 acres. The majority of those who own these farms have utilized every acre of allotment permitted under the support programs. Most of the acreage which went into the soil bank in these counties was from the handful of large farms in each county. A small amount of acreage from the small farms went into the soil bank because the owners were unable to afford irrigation systems and feared another drought year.

PREVIOUS LOSSES CLOUD IMPACT

Madison County, Fla., Agent Rudy Hamrick said effects of the soil bank on the economy will not be felt strongly there because of 3 bad crop years in the past. Most of the farmers in that county have suffered severe losses during the 3 years and buying is limited because of tight credit and merchants whose books are already overloaded.

Since the soil bank has the earmarks of becoming a political football in Washington and throughout the Nation, many of those who are in position to evaluate the program also are Government employees. This prevents them from speaking too freely on the matter. Many of the comments ranged from bitter disgust with the program because it kills initiative and promotes laziness on the part of the less progressive farmer to absolute condemnation of the program as one that fails to accomplish its goal.

The soil bank was devised to cut back production in order that surplus tobacco and cotton raised in this area could be sold by the Commodities Credit Corp, which handles the commodities purchased under the support programs.

Those who feel the soil bank misses its goal point out that cotton and tobacco on hand in CCC stocks are inferior grades. They contend that tobacco on hand consists largely of undesirable 139 and 140 varieties grown in the Carolinas. This tobacco is slick and pale rather than reaching the quality of tobacco sought after by cigarette manufacturers.

COTTON SAID SHORT STAPLE

The cotton is allegedly short staple cotton which cannot be used on American machinery. The only possible place it could be used, these sources say, is in Europe where older machinery can handle shorter staple cotton. However, the European markets are uninterested in inferior grades of American cotton when top grades of cotton grown in Egypt, north Africa, and the Near East sell approximately 6 cents a pound less than the asking price for the short staple American cotton which is glutting warehouse floors.

"It would cause a lot of stink, I know," one Government employee said, "but the farmer and American business, which will suffer ultimately in the deal, would have been better off if only a fraction of the money had been used to haul the surplus to the middle of the Atlantic for dumping or for the purchase of gasoline to burn it."

Some contend that the businessman in this area who is now feeling a drop in sales has a worse situation to face yet when the dollars for harvesting what would have been produced, except for the soil bank, fail to come rolling in.

Address by the Honorable Peter A. Quinn at a Meeting of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York, at the Hotel Sheraton Astor, New York City

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, I have just come across an address by one of our former colleagues, Hon. Peter A. Quinn, which he recently delivered at a stated meeting of that great society known as the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in New York. Our former colleague is now the chief justice of the city court of the city of New York. When in the House, Judge Quinn was noted for his ready wit, his gracious manner and fluency of speech. He rose to the heights when he delivered the remarks which follow:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE PETER A. QUINN AT A MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, AT THE HOTEL SHERATON ASTOR, NEW YORK CITY

Mr. President, fellow Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, gentlemen of the glee club, and guests, you will notice the emphasis on that word "friendly." For of all your noble and notable talents, it is upon your friendliness I shall have greatest need to draw tonight.

The last of the High Kings of the whole of Ireland, Conn of The Hundred Battles—

and by the way, the present-day pronunciation and spelling of that name "Conn," is the corruption of clumsy Saxon tongues and illiterate Saxon pens, struggling with the Gaelic music in the ancient Milesian name of Cuinn.

Conn, or more properly, Quinn of the Hundred Battles from whom, of course, I am directly descended—and I have had a hundred battles myself upholding that claim, but fortunately I have the mark as proof: you know how certain hereditary physical characteristics identify the blood royal in descendants of some of the older European dynasties, such as the famous Hapsburg lip which indelibly marks the Hapsburg line; well, just so; those whose forbears in a direct line for generations wore the heavy metal, uncushioned crown of the Ard-Righs of Erin have a shining area of denuded scalp to mark the seat of that ancient crown; that mark which I wear in such pronounced degree is known as the "Tara bob"; now, of course, that doesn't mean that all bald-headed Irishmen are descended from the High Kings; only the Quinns with the Tara bob are so descended.

But Conn of the Hundred Battles, thinking of the succession one fine spring day, decided it was about time he married. He consulted with his chief minister of state. But this battle-scarred old veteran of all the wars, military, diplomatic, and matrimonial too, was immediately and violently opposed to the idea, arguing that if Conn married, his rare genius as a great civil and military leader would be undermined by the subtle influence of a woman.

Conn, a very reasonable man, decided to take evidence on the question. So he summoned all the married nobles of his court to the great hall at Tara and he put the question to them very fairly. He said, "If there are any of you who, searching your minds and your hearts in strictest honesty, are compelled to confess that your acts or decisions are influenced by the suggestions of your wives, let him take 5 paces to his left."

"Now, all of you who say to the contrary, take five paces to the right."

Slowly the company began to move, until every married nobleman had taken five paces to the left. That is, all but one.

In the center of the hall, a big, strapping fellow stood uncertainly. He looked lingeringly at the crowd on his left, hesitated and then took five giant strides to the right.

Conn of The Hundred Battles said, "Words fail me at this amazing spectacle. I leave it to you, noble sir, a born, lorn figure of freedom from the domination of woman, to tell this crowd on your left how it is that you stand your ground alone."

And the big fellow said, "Well, Sire, it's like this: Only this morning, as I left the house to come here to Tara, Catherine—my wife, that is—Catherine said to me, 'Now, mind you, Terence, at this season of the year there are all sorts of catching sicknesses abroad, so when you go up to Tara remember—stay out of crowds'."

I stand here a lone, lorn figure, looking lingeringly and lovingly at my rightful and customary place in the very midst of you. And as I think of the great wealth of learning, eloquence, wit, and good looks there is among you, in all honesty I am compelled to confess that I have less reason than even Terence for standing here apart from you and staying out of the crowd tonight.

There was an old friend of mine—and I think some of you have already made his acquaintance—an old friend, Michael Joseph Fidelis O'Flaherty, who was a member of the fire department of the city of New York. And one night while attending a fire he had the misfortune to fall out of second-story window. His partner, O'Sullivan, who had been working at his side, stuck his head out the window, and seeing the still form of O'Flaherty below, he called down "O'Flaherty, are you dead or alive?" And O'Flaherty answered, "It's killed dead I am."

And O'Sullivan said, "O'Flaherty, you're such a blasted liar, I don't know whether to believe you or not."

And O'Flaherty said, "Then it's certain sure I am dead, for if I were alive neither you nor any man living would dare call me a liar."

And it was as a result of what happened later when they got back to the firehouse and O'Flaherty none the worse for his fall, undertook forcefully to prove his point to O'Sullivan and refused to desist at the command of a superior officer—it was because of this that some time later he found himself before the trial commissioner on the charge of conduct unbecoming a member of the Fire Department of the City of New York.

O'Flaherty was supremely confident he would be exonerated, or at the worst, receive a light reprimand. But it seems that the trial commissioner had had a bad night. Or, maybe he had had too good a night. At any rate he was having a bad morning. He listened with obvious impatience and annoyance to the charge, cut O'Flaherty short in the middle of his defense, and without so much as batting an eyelash he found O'Flaherty guilty and fined him 30 days' pay.

O'Flaherty was struck speechless, for fully 2 seconds. Then he said, "Mr. Commissioner, I would like to ask a question. I would like to know, could I have a receipt for the fine assessed against me here today?"

The Commissioner said, "A receipt? Why, of course, not. I never heard of such a thing. And anyway, what would you want with a receipt?"

O'Flaherty said, "Well, Mr. Commissioner, you asked for it, and I'll tell you. It is my firm religious conviction that when I die I shall first appear before St. Peter and there in the great Book of Life he will have a full record of all the good and evil I have done here below. But just before he swings wide the pearly gates to usher me in, he will ask me to state for the record the good and evil done to me by others. And when I tell him of the mischief that befell me here today maybe he will think I am after making a mistake, accusing someone unjustly. And like as not he will say to me 'Come now, O'Flaherty, what proof have you of this?' And, Mr. Commissioner, what proof have I? Because, mind you, there'll be no time then to go searching all through hell to find you and get a receipt."

Now is the appropriate time for me to deliver my receipt, in full acknowledgment of the very great honor which is mine in being permitted in so distinguished a company to address this ancient and honorable society which in the 173 years of its existence has been regularly addressed by presidents, statesmen, prelates and priests, soldiers, scholars—and in the old days, Tammany chiefs.

But apart from the honor, addressing this society is a very serious undertaking, one which I have often heard has made stouter hearts than mine quail. But as my friend O'Flaherty was fond of saying "What's the sense of taking life too seriously when there's none of us who will ever get out of it alive?"

Nor is getting out of it dead the worst thing that can happen—as O'Flaherty demonstrated himself on his deathbed, when the parish priest broke the news to him that his last hour was at hand O'Flaherty insisted that he be helped out of bed to shave. His family, unable to dissuade him, began weeping wildly in the notion that the shock of such fearsome news had shaken O'Flaherty loose from his reason. O'Flaherty laughed at them.

He said, "Calm your fears. There's nothing wrong with my mind. I know very well what I'm doing. I am going to shave now simply because I won't have that clumsy blackguard of an undertaker nicking me."

Like a true Irishman, perfectly reasonable to the end. And with a laugh, even in the face of death.

Now there is a trait which is so characteristic of the Irish, that even the British jingoist, Kipling, accepts it as completely typical—when he says:

"There were lads from Calway, Louth, and Meath,
Who went to their death with a joke in in their teeth."

Indeed, it is so significantly characteristic, so peculiarly typical of the Irish, that I regard it as very strong proof of what the geneologists have long suspected—and that is, that the London-born martyr, St. Thomas More, was an Irishman by blood.

Great scholar, humanist, philosopher, statesman, theologian, lawyer, judge, chancellor, he lost his head when he ran afoul of the stubborn, selfish policy of His Majesty's government under Henry VIII. That in itself is enough to make him an Irishman.

Erasmus called him "the most angelic wit in England." Swift said he was "the man of the greatest virtue this kingdom ever produced." What else could he have been but an Irishman?

And yet Edward Hall, the English chronicler of the 16th century, who was a witness at the execution, in his official report, in which supposedly he was reflecting the opinion of the day, called St. Thomas More a jester, a mocker, a taunter of death, a wise foolish man, or a foolish wise man, he couldn't say which, but a man of no fit dignity and no serious mind. Largely because, I suppose, not unlike O'Flaherty, who out of respect for his person was determined to forestall the undertaker's ineptness as a barber, largely because St. Thomas More, as all the world well knows, with his head on the block and the ax about to fall, stayed the executioner, while he untucked the long beard he had grown in prison since his travesty of a trial for treason, untucked the beard from under his neck and his chest and laid it over the end of the block, saying, "This beard shall not be cut; at least it has done no treason."

Now, this extreme sense of humor, because it functions even in extremis, this Irish sense of humor, as it is called, this propensity to laugh and see the humor in even the most dire circumstances, while it has won for the Irish the universal reputation of an acute and unfailing sense of humor, in some quarters has drawn down on them the same criticism and misunderstanding and even sneers and contempt which Hall and his contemporaries heaped upon St. Thomas More. And sometimes, otherwise well disposed persons, baffled by this Irish sense of humor, impatient with it, sometimes they are inclined to put us down as pleasantly weak-minded or genial madmen.

But if you dissect laughter and examine the anatomy of a sense of humor, I daresay you will find not only that it is an integral and functional part of the God-given power of reason, but by corollary that those richest in a sense of humor are those necessarily richest in reason. Now, I know that comes very close to saying that the Irish, by the common trait commonly accounted to them of a surpassing sense of humor, must therefore be the people who naturally are most plentifully endowed with the divinely given gift of reason; by racial trait the most reasonable people in the world. Well, I won't go that far—out of deference to the non-Irish. But let's see:

The Angelic Doctor, also known as Aristotle baptized, probably the most profoundly reasonable man in the whole of strictly human history, Thomas of Aquin—a Quinn, mind you, and I am sorry we haven't time for a side excursion into the interesting question, if it's a Quinn he is, then what

part of Ireland did he come from; it would be profitless anyway, because I think at the time of his forebears Ireland was not in parts but all in one piece, as, please God, it soon will be again—but Thomas of Aquin, more commonly known as St. Thomas Aquinas, of whom Pope Leo XIII said, "Reason borne on the wings of Thomas scarcely can rise higher." St. Thomas Aquinas in exhaustive treatises and disquisitions and summas proved it up to the hilt that faith is the continuation of reason and that philosophy and revelation, therefore, harmonize.

Now, accepting St. Thomas' thesis—as any thinking person must, even on brief inquiry—and leaving aside for the moment the question of grace, or better still, leaving it to the theologians, isn't it obvious that those who will make the quickest and easiest transition from reason to faith, those who will lay their hands most naturally and readily and firmly on the eternal verities of revealed religion—isn't it obvious that they will be the people of the highest reason?

And what people in all the annals of history, hearing the Christian revelation for the first time, ever went for it like a ton of bricks the way the Irish did when they heard it fall fresh from the lips of a returned captive and former slave, our patron, the great and glorious St. Patrick?

And highly reasonable people, convinced of a great truth, are not content to accept it passively. Reason commands that they do something about it. And isn't that exactly the way the Irish behaved? They couldn't build churches and abbeys fast enough, in which to study and absorb the many-sided beauties of that fulfillment of reason found in the new truth, and they couldn't take ship fast enough to carry the blaze of its manifold glories including the Creator's endowment to all men of the unalienable freedom and peerless dignity of the individual—they couldn't take ship fast enough to carry the glad tidings to the neighboring islands and the whole continent of Europe, where men's minds, still sunk in the gloom of superstitution and the darkness of barbarism, were struggling aimlessly for the light.

And isn't it only a highly reasonable people who can become so engrossed, so enamored, so possessed with the compulsive grandeur of absolute truth, that no temptation, no fell design of great power or pelf can ever wrest it from them? And how many times in song and story have you heard of the centuries of murder and pillage and rapine, in which it was attempted to drown in a torrent of Irish blood the flame that Patrick lit? And the flame still burns. Come rack, come rope, come hell or Connaught, nothing could shake them loose from the way, the light, and the truth, because they had bound it to their souls with reason's finest hoops of steel.

And coming down to less important though more modern instances, who but a highly reasonable people after centuries of barehanded resistance and heartbreaking struggle against the sustained oppression of monstrous religious persecution, on gaining their freedom would choose as the first President of their Republic, no matter what other qualifications he might have had, one not of their faith but of the faith of their oppressors? And who but a highly reasonable people, in a world filled with the degraded politics of petty racial and religious hatreds, of which they themselves have too often been victims, in selecting the lord mayor of their chief city and capital, could look only to his qualifications and ignore as wholly irrelevant the accidental fact that he is not of the race or religion of 95 percent of the population?

Now, I suppose there are those who will say, "Well, if the Irish are such a highly reasonable people, as attested by their great sense of humor, how is it that so close to their laughter are always their tears?" Not, I assure you, as I have heard it put, in a very homely phrase, "because their bladders are too near their eyes"—but because humor and pathos are the extremes of a single psychological balance, which when poised on the fulcrum of fine reason, is always delicately atremble between—in minor concerns—between what is pleasant and what is unpleasant, what is agreeable and what is disagreeable, and in major concerns, between what is good and what is evil.

So that even taking Chesterton's familiar lines, as something more than a mere tour de force in rhymed paradox: The "Great Gaels of Ireland" were far from "mad" and if "all their wars were merry and all their songs were sad," it must have been because they were good wars fought in good causes; and it must have been that their songs had in them the remembrance of evil deeds and evil men.

And what Irishman today has anything less than tears for the poor starved, hunted, exiled brave people of Hungary, who under the Red terror of atheistic communism, with their bare hands, have had to fight and are fighting and dying all over again for their freedom and their religion. Yes, the Irish salute them, with nothing less than their tears. And they know how to fight and die, God help them, like Irishmen.

But can't you see the myriad ghosts who rise from the bloodstained pages of the centuries of Irish history, shaking with supernal merriment as they behold the three unwise men in the Kremlin? And can't you hear the whisper of their ghostly laughter echoing down the corridors of history as they call out to that unholy trio, "Oh, you blundering blackguards, don't you know that every time the nail-studded boot heel of the tyrant grinds down on the glowing embers of religion and freedom to crush them out, you only send a thousand new sparks flying in a thousand different directions to light a thousand new fires of faith and hope?

"Don't you know they piled us into transports and sent us into exile to die in the jungles and plantations of their New World? The same old idea you think you have patented anew under the name of slave-labor camps. Don't you know they starved and hunted us out of old Ireland into leaky emigrant ships, with little more than the few sad rags we had on our backs to cover our nakedness?"

And yet wherever we went or however little else we possessed, we carried with us Ireland's greatest treasure—the priceless spiritual deposit of truth with which God through Patrick had endowed us.

Fellow Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, wear well that Irish sense of humor with which the world has dubbed us. It is a treasured decoration; the bright badge of our belonging—our identification with a people to whom God gave the power on mighty wings of reason and of faith to rise above the storm wrack of life and soar to man's true destiny—beyond the farthest star.

Thank you.

Business, Congress, Education—Where Are We Going?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. POTTER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, in the rush of human events, it is sometimes forgotten that the investment in higher education is vital and productive. Faced with heavy burdens of taxation from all sources, education becomes a target. This holds true not only for the individual, but for every Member of Congress if his constituents are deluging him with demands for cuts in the budget.

In a talk which Dr. Harlan Hatcher, president of the University of Michigan, gave recently at the 11th annual Michigan congressional dinner at the Statler Hotel here, he discussed this kind of thinking in a most forthright and enlightened manner.

I ask unanimous consent that his remarks may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD so all may have the benefit of Dr. Hatcher's informed thinking.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUSINESS, CONGRESS, EDUCATION—WHERE ARE WE GOING?

I address you in a period of continuing, high-level prosperity. Human and property losses during World War II were vast and almost incalculable. Peoples were displaced. Currencies were upset. On the analogy of World War I, we should have endured economic disaster and paralyzing inflation. We did not. No more dramatic contrast could be cited than that of Germany in the 1920's–1930's and West Germany since World War II. Her recovery has been remarkable. We ourselves have not fared too adversely—up to now.

Though the lengthened shadow of the great depression of the 1930's still falls ominously across our path and influences our thought and planning, it gives no authoritative sign of striking us another immediate blow.

The reasons for this encouraging state of affairs are no doubt many and complicated. We know more about the world we live in, and we are, on the whole, wiser about what we do know than we were in the 1920's. And we have learned how to learn. The two World Wars stimulated research. Research has given us new knowledge, new products, new processes. It has speeded up the cycle from idea, to product, to obsolescence. A heavy percentage of the businesses represented here are based on products that were unknown only a few years ago. Witness our present-day chemical, electronic, and aeronautical industries.

In 1910 on Belle Isle Bridge, Byron T. Carter tried to crank a stalled car for a woman. The engine kicked back and the flying crank broke Carter's jaw.[1] He died of ensuing complications. Cadillac's Henry Leland asked Charles F. Kettering to do something. Ket went to his makeshift laboratory in the old Deeds barn in Dayton, sorted out his hardware, and revolutionized the automobile, and emancipated women, by inventing the electric self-starter.

Forty-five years later he helped dedicate the multi-million-dollar General Motors Technical Center. The road from Deeds' Barn to the technical center is an outward and visible symbol of the dramatic march of science, and its resulting technology as applied to one industry. The inventive genius of the solitary mind is still vital, but to develop its ideas into useful products and involve them in our industry and culture require education, hundreds of related skills, and a thousand supporting processes, as well as considerable capital and business management. We are committed to this activity.

The mechanical aspect of our world is concrete and easy to isolate. Our mastery of the processes of research and understanding in economics and social procedures is

[1] T. A. Boyd: Professional Amateur, 1957.

less assured, but it is demonstrable and it is increasing. It is harder to dramatize what the economists are doing. They work in a complicated and illusive field. They have come a long way since the illiterate days of the early 1920's. As Kenneth Boulding, Michigan economist, quoting Schumpeter, says, "How nice economics was before anybody knew anything."

Our more exact knowledge and skill in this field are, at least in part, responsible for the relative stability of the economic order of the past dozen years. That is, they are responsible for a more accurate reading of the forces and the phenomena which, in turn, has helped us understand them and adapt them to our needs. We know enough to be confident that we do not have to suffer the capricious blows of economic disasters as in the past, any more than we have to suffer epidemics of smallpox or typhoid. We do have some maneuverability to order and control the direction and results of these forces under a concept of harmony with natural law.

This new concept of stability and orderly development is just as important to us as our nuclear weapons and our ultraspecialized industrial structure. In the longer perspective of history it may dwarf them into insignificance.

I have isolated only two samples of the forward thrust of our creative power. They are typical and illustrative, and must suffice for our purpose here.

America is exhibit A of modern industrial civilization. Our culture and the prosperity which supports it are based solidly upon business, industry, and scientific agriculture. These in turn are based upon, or more accurately, rooted deeply in, the nurturing soil of education for all our people, and a growing mastery over science, technology, and professional skills. No other nation has invested so heavily, as a matter of fundamental faith and national policy, in education.

Our forefathers bought into education for the Nation as a growth stock. They expected no immediate dividends for themselves. They did expect it for their children, and their children's children. Their investment has paid off handsomely. The stock has been split 10 for 1, the yield has risen, and the inventory is in reasonable balance.

The differential which accounts for our present greatness in a distraught and poverty-ridden world is the direct fruit of this policy. We have had no more raw resources than other peoples. We invested in education in its broadest and most specialized reaches. Other nations have not.

Our triumphant successes have been in science, technology, and agriculture. They speak for themselves. They have given us confidence and optimism along with some illusions.

We have not done so well in those subtler areas of necessary human knowledge that deal with man's emotions: A primitive force more dangerous and more devastating than nuclear fission.

We have given little thought to the force of different religions, their values and taboos; to nationalistic aspirations in the Near and Far East, nourished in part by some of the ideas on freedom we have left lying around since 1776; to the explosive fact of the rise in the world birthrate; to the skills of diplomacy that must take into account these overriding human factors.

These factors and these regions have had a minimum of attention in our American culture and our college curricula. Yet they are deeply affecting both our national and our private lives.

We are now reaching some crises of our own.

The first is psychological, and, therefore, somewhat frustrating. We are stunned to discover that, despite our high motives and the unprecedented deluge of American dollars, other peoples do not love us. They receive the gifts and stone our Embassies. We thought the banner of the American concept of freedom needed only to be raised and all good men would, with valor, repair thereto.

They do not, and have not, and we are surprised and hurt. They do not understand the decades of education and hard work that lie behind America's present position in the world. They would like to arrive there on some magic carpet without enduring the heavy burdens of the long journey.

We have been too ignorant and inexperienced to show great wisdom in our policies, or skill in carrying them out. And great wisdom is required to guide and restrain the impulsive generosity of the warm American heart.

We have, unnecessarily, found ourselves too alone in the world, waging a devastating, unstable, and too costly kind of peace. It now appears that we are also reaching a financial crisis that is a part of this total psychological state.

Under various successive pressures, we have been somewhat recklessly making all kinds of uncorrelated commitments on the Federal level. We have committed for veterans ($6 billion), for welfare ($14 billion plus), for foreign aid ($6–$8 billion, military and economic), for farmers ($5 billion), for interest ($5.5 billion), for armed services ($38 billion), for Atomic Energy Commission ($2.3 billion), for highways (X billions)—to name a few big items.

It took the shock of a cash peacetime budget of almost $72 billion, submitted by an economy-minded administration, plus another $11 billion in highway and social-security programs, to startle an installment buying nation into a realization of the magnitude of its Federal commitments, and the enormous bureaucratic structure which we have thrown together to handle them.

We have followed the same uncoordinated policy on the State level. The affairs of state in Michigan last year required approximately $1 billion. Well over 50 percent of this sum was restricted or dedicated in advance. The State was a collecting agency. The gasoline tax and the sales tax are already committed to State and local units, and are out of reach of the legislature. Only one-third, approximately, of the total tax collections in Michigan are at the disposal of the State legislature. A significant portion of that sum is for higher education. When a sudden wave of economy hits us, we do not reconsider the total picture; we strike wherever there is vulnerability.

Higher education is a ready victim.

It is odd, and ironic, that the most vital and productive part of our spending should be the most vulnerable and unstable, and so handicapped for effective operation and long-range planning.

The present outcry, however, is not surprising. It is the cold, logical outcome of failure to exercise priorities and choices in our spending program, both State and National. And the equally unwise response of outraged rebellion and reckless slashing is also a normal human reaction to frustration.

We are all fed up with Federal taxes, so we lash out at any vulnerable spot on the local scene. Father has had a rough day at the office; he comes home and spanks the children.

The most serious danger here is a further shift of responsibility from State to National Government. Local and State responsibility and rights seem now to have been doomed when the Federal Government discovered how to usurp the tax function through the collector of internal revenue. This process was first introduced as a trickle, it became a subsidence, and now is an avalanche.

The psychology of the shift is insidious, deadly, and, I fear, it may be both irresistible and incurable. Like the digger wasp Pepsis stinging the tarantula spider, it leaves the victim alive but paralyzed in its nest as food for its young. While the State of Michigan agonizes to find money to meet its minimum local needs, the Federal Government nonchalantly reaches in and removes some 5,000 million from the State through income tax alone—five times our own State's budget.

The resulting general protest of numbed unhappiness has no place to focus—only the great awesome sweep of the wilderness of a 72 billion budget and a responsibility lost somewhere among the Senators and Representatives of 48 States, among thousands of offices and bureaus, among other thousands of items, big and little, among subsidies to farmers and shippers, peasants and potentates, global aid and local pork barrels. "They" recommend, "they" tax and appropriate, "they" spend.

And "they" collect by quarterly installments, in advance, under heavy penalties, or through payroll deductions. The source, after periodic outcries, grows passive, accepts the new concept of "take-home pay," and surrenders to the vague, absentee power. He even deludes himself into believing that the Federal Government has great independent resources, which it can send to his rescue or relief, and he exults if he gets a few of his dollars back as "Federal aid" from Washington.

And here is precisely the point where business, Congress, and education meet at the summit.

We are moving straight and headlong into a crisis in higher education. Our population increased another 19 million in the last 7 years—19 million people who have never heard of your product—more than the entire United States when President Polk took office. We are now over 170 million. The census clock has been ticking off one birth every 8 seconds. On March 28 it had to be reset for a new child every 7½ seconds.

This is an overwhelming fact. You consider it in your future business plans. We live with the figures in planning for higher education.

I make certain assumptions. You must have known what you were doing when you decided to expand the size of your families, and that the resulting taxes you would increase might be your own. You did not suppose that 5 or 7 could live as cheaply as 2 or 3. You did not intend to bring them into this modern, shrunken, teeming, technological, unequal world without providing them with the knowledge and the skills required to cope with it successfully and even to advance it further.

You certainly did not intend, did you, or expect, that the standards would go down in proportion to the rise in population? What a folly that would be.

The contrary is possible.

I am pretty confident it will come to pass.

I have said that higher education is the one differential that America has to support her present greatness. It must continue, it must involve more of our able and willing youth, and it must reach higher levels and higher standards.

You fathers and mothers, the citizens of this Nation will require that this be accomplished. We have no alternative.

How is it to be done? We have a good basic pattern, but it is in danger of breaking down.

We are clearly drifting fast toward an answer, but not the best or sound answer, through the Federal Government.

The new enlarged generation of American youth are now beginning to converge on the high schools, and the college population will double in the next dozen years. We have plans, but we do not have places or teachers now in sight for them. We are making oxcart progress in a jet age.

Private colleges are important to American education. With more adequate support they can expand. But under optimum conditions they cannot enlarge enough to serve their traditional share of students. In our present society and economy, revolutionized by the graduated income tax, private sources of finance have been moved from individuals to corporate bodies. And corporate bodies, though their gifts increase, have not yet come to grips with the problem or its opportunities.

The State has had to move in. One of the wonders, and I would add the glories, of our time is the rise of public support for higher education. We have not changed our philosophy or direction to accomplish this; we have only extended the opportunities.

Now the State universities confront the mounting problem of support. There is an alarming tendency this year to stand still or cutback, to Balkanize the Republic by building walls between the States to shut out "nonresident" students. Because of the economic and psychological facts already cited, State legislatures are reluctant or unable to face up to the urgency of the problem and the necessity for taking one forward step each year. Present proposals made to the Michigan Legislature by the senate finance committee would even call an abrupt halt to all building, including planning for urgent facilities in engineering, physics, dentistry, and medicine. If this policy should prevail, it would make higher education a disaster area.

Basically, the Federal Government has so heavily preempted the sources of revenue that the State does not know how to meet its needs with what is left.

With private and corporate support unavailable, and with the State feeling poor and crowded out of a tax supply, the task of outfitting the colleges and the universities will inevitably shift to our great white magician father of more and more—the Federal Government.

The task will get done. The need and the shortage will mount over the next 5 years. By that time the youth will be ready for college, but the college will not be ready for him. There will be a stampede, a scramble for available places, there will be more shocked realization of our present neglect. There will be knocking on the door and no room at the inn.

At that point the Federal Government will be moving in under popular demand. The State barriers will have to give way and it will require Federal authority to achieve it. If we go on into the next decade without altering present tendencies, we may expect a system of Federal universities to be set up to meet the absolute needs for expensive higher education available to selected youth from all the States. The costs of the new Air Force Academy indicate some of the dangers we may encounter.

Scholarships will be needed, and the Federal Government will finance them. It is already beginning to do so. Laboratories and classrooms will have to be erected, and dormitories built; and Federal appropriations or aid or loans will provide them. And a vast new Parkinsonian bureaucracy will rise up to allocate and to administer.

Back in the 1860's, when the State colleges and many of the State universities were founded under national encouragement and support, the Federal Government had something to give. It owned public lands ceded to it by the several States when the Union was formed. What better use for this national land than to give some of it to the States to help them establish a new kind of college in a time of critical need?

They did, and it paid off.

In this day, the Federal Government has nothing to give except what it has first exacted from the pockets of those to whom it pretends to give back. And then, it gives back only a portion of what it takes, for its brokerage fee is high. Moreover, in the light of its present budget, it would have to increase taxes to get the money in the first place.

I view this further intrusion of the Federal Government with dismay. I think business, Congress, and education, should prevent it—not by blinding our eyes to the need, as we are now doing, but by positive and immediate action.

The best aid the Federal Government can now give to the States and the schools is to surrender back to them some of the sources of taxation to be used directly for the support of education. This, at least, would keep the schools in their rightful and traditional place in their local communities.

The State and local authorities should then abandon the present system of dedicated taxes for specific purposes, or place higher education in a more assured position along with other items in the budget. The present method effectively prohibits intelligent priorities and choice in the use of our disposable income.

Business and industry can support these reforms. They can give more concrete and effective recognition to the vital role of higher education in our society and of their dependence upon it. They can help establish a less capricious base of support for all higher education. They can give both moral and financial support by aiding universities in building new facilities, and in making new approaches to education.

There is no one way or single answer to solve our problem. We know enough to embark on various lines of attack. The Dearborn Center, of the University of Michigan, handsomely aided by Ford Motor Co. and the Ford Motor Co. fund, is a good example. The gift to the university provides the campus site and the capital for building. The State will finance the operation. It will link the educational process with business and industry through a cooperative plan, centering around science and the arts, business administration, engineering, and graduate training. It is a most heartening alternative to Federal sponsorship.

This plan puts the problem and its solution right where it belongs. It certainly makes no business sense whatever to have businessmen recommend $4.4 billion a year, indefinitely, for foreign aid; to plan so carefully great research centers and modern industrial plants to make goods for future populations; to face the already critical shortages in every profession and skill they, and America, require; and at the same time sit idly by on the present topsy-turvy tax wall and witness a possible downgrading of higher education at the moment of our most critical need.

The President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School is good as far as it goes. I would propose, however, that we need a more compact and action-minded group involving business, Congress, and education to make a pointblank ways-and-means attack on this problem.

It is easier and more fun to solve this one than to learn Russian. And, as General Motors' Dr. Hafstad is alleged to have said, "We will have to do one or the other."

Public Welfare Act of 1958

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AIME J. FORAND

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced for appropriate reference the Public Welfare Act of 1958.

This bill proposes to bring up to date the public welfare provisions of the Social Security Act and place our public-welfare program of aid and service to the needy, handicapped, and helpless on a realistic basis in terms of present conditions. Since the Social Security Act was originally conceived and enacted in 1935, major changes and advances have taken place in its social insurance aspects and these have, in turn, greatly modified the nature of public welfare responsibilities. Unfortunately, the assistance and child welfare titles of the act have not been brought up to date as these changes have occurred and this, in turn, has made it difficult for the States to make the adaptations in their own public-welfare programs necessary to meet actual needs. This bill incorporates basic changes long advocated by the major welfare organizations and leaders throughout the country. These changes would give the States an optional alternative to the present system under which they could develop a single welfare program which would be at once more adequate to meet existing needs and more efficient in terms of costs, personnel and flexibility.

The rapid growth of our social insurance program with respect to coverage and benefits has greatly reduced the need of persons in the average situation for public assistance. As we continue to apply the insurance principle on an even wider basis by gradual improvements in our OASI program, the role of public welfare will tend to become even more specialized. This trend is exemplified in the fact that today the average age of recipients of old age assistance is 75 years and the figure rises every year. This means that it is chiefly the very old—many of whom retired too early to benefit from OASI coverage—and those with special medical needs who have to turn to public welfare for help. Some of these need only money and are entitled to receive it with a minimum of investigation to establish eligibility. But a great many others require highly individualized attention to secure the kind of care they need, frequently involving more than average financial aid to secure necessary medical and nursing care. To meet this kind of need public welfare agencies require flexible provisions and adequate staff. Similarly in the families with small children requiring aid, social problems increasingly compound financial needs. Illegitimacy, desertion, and other family problems among the recipients of public assistance make the present arbitrary division between the child welfare and public assistance aspects of the public welfare function increasingly illogical and archaic.

The States have been moving steadily toward this concept of a single public-welfare program which can provide a real floor of protection against unmet social and economic need for all people. This does not mean, however, that they are seeking a monopoly on social services. For public welfare by its very nature moves in only when family and voluntary resources are unavailable to the individual seeking help. The strong support for adequate public-welfare programs shown by voluntary groups like

the Family Service Association of America, the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, and many other sectarian welfare agencies is good evidence that there is need in our society for both.

But State and local public welfare agencies have been handicapped in making the best use of their own resources and personnel by the rigid structure of Federal aid. This bill proposes to remedy this by providing the optional alternative of a single comprehensive public welfare plan with provisions which will make possible more adequate and flexible aid by relating Federal grants to the State's financial need, placing the ceiling on assistance payments on an average rather than individual grant basis, and eliminating the present arbitrary restrictions on eligibility. In return for this greater flexibility States are required to provide assistance for all persons who qualify within their own standards of need without arbitrary exclusions such as those based on residence. The bill also recognizes individualized service as an intrinsic element in all public welfare functions thus making it possible to bring about a closer coordination of all welfare programs in a single public welfare agency. The advantage of such a simplified approach to the person who needs help, to the Administrator and to the public constitute a major argument for giving early consideration to this proposal.

In the statement which follows a more detailed explanation of the provisions of this bill is given.

GENERAL

The bill provides a new title XVI for the Social Security Act under which a State could submit a comprehensive public welfare plan for assistance to needy persons and welfare services as defined in the bill. States that wished to do so could continue to operate programs of assistance under the existing provisions of title I, IV, X, and XIV but the new matching provisions described below are applicable only to title XVI and the usual provision is made to preclude assistance payments to any individual under more than one title of the act. For most States the scope, flexibility, and financial provisions of title XVI would probably prove an inducement to change, but the optional feature would ease the transitional process and make it possible for a State, which wished to retain certain programs—as, for example, aid to the blind—on the present basis, to do so.

COVERAGE FOR ASSISTANCE

This bill makes it possible for a State to receive Federal aid for assistance to any needy person and not exclusively for those over 65, blind, permanently and totally disabled, or those meeting the restrictive definition for aid to dependent children—as at present. Administration by categorical groups would, however, be optional with the States, provided the basis for establishing the categories was reasonable. Assistance could not, however, be paid to persons residing in public institutions other than medical institutions nor to patients in an institution for tuberculosis or mental disease.

HIGHER ASSISTANCE LEVELS

This bill would provide a more flexible, rational, and adequate financial base for assistance payments in all States by making the following changes:

First. Ceilings or the maximum payments subject to Federal aid would be increased to $75 a month for all adults and $37.50 for all children. Present maximums in old-age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to the permanently and totally disabled are $60 a month; in aid to dependent children the present ceilings are $32 each for the first child and adult caretaker and $23 a month for each additional child.

Second. Matching on the average of all payments rather than in terms of each individual payment as at present would, however, make it possible to receive Federal matching for higher payments in cases of unusual need—provided these were offset by other payments below the maximum level.

Third. A new and simplified matching formula would replace the present complex and inequitable formula which neither recognizes the special needs of low-income States nor the great efforts made by some States to provide more adequately for their own needy. Under the proposed formula the total of all assistance payments—within the average ceilings as shown in first above—would receive a 62 percent Federal reimbursement in any State whose average per capita income was the same as that of the United States as a whole. For States above this average the percentage of Federal reimbursement would be proportionately decreased but would in no case fall below 50 percent. For States with a lower than average per capita income the percentage of Federal reimbursement would be proportionately increased but the maximum level of reimbursement would be 80 percent. Under this formula the needy in both the high and low income States would benefit: the former by the higher reimbursable ceilings and the latter by the higher rate of reimbursement.

Fourth. Welfare services provided by the public welfare agency would be subject to the same rate of reimbursement as assistance payments. Increasingly those persons turning to public welfare agencies for aid are those with special needs requiring knowledgeable service for their solution. Such service can often help speed the return of the individual to self-support, secure for him the care he needs from other sources, prevent serious or long-term future difficulties, and reduce the cost to the public of extended dependency. For example, many people needing medical care or rehabilitative service do not know what provisions are available or how to go about applying for them: Many people are lingering in general or mental hospitals simply because they have no other place to go—and no one to help them find such a place; many people living in areas where their former source of livelihood has ceased to exist need help in moving to areas of new opportunity; many children might be saved from juvenile delinquency or other forms of costly social maladjustment if their parents received helpful guidance at the crucial time or—in cases where substitute family care was necessary—the child welfare services of the public welfare agency could make prompt and adequate provision for their adoptive or foster-care placement. An advantage of this bill to the child welfare program is the fact that it permits child welfare workers to apply assistance funds to the placement of needy children requiring foster care. The grave injustice done to this neediest group of children under the present act, which denies assistance to children not living with a close relative, was pointed out by the welfare report of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Fifth. Simplified administration, with consequent benefits to those requiring public welfare aid as well as to those who do its work and pay its cost, is provided in this bill in several ways. Matching on the average of all payments, the optional elimination of categorical administration, and the provision of the same reimbursement formula for all types of aid would permit an enormous reduction in paperwork with subsequent reduction in the cost of overhead administration. The bill also requires that the program be administered by a single agency at each level of government thus eliminating costly duplication, overlapping, and confusion of responsibility. From the point of view of the individual or family requiring help the advantage of a single agency is obvious.

Sixth. Availability of benefits: The bill makes it a condition of the broadened base of Federal financial assistance provided by this new title that its benefits should be available to all qualified persons without residence or citizenship requirements. No public welfare program can be considered to be fulfilling its function as the ultimate guarantee against individual need if it arbitrarily excludes needy persons solely because of their length of residence. The very factors that make it essential for the Federal Government to share the broad public welfare responsibilities of the States make it equally essential that such aid be available to all.

Seventh. The Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico: This bill rights a long-standing injustice toward our fellow American citizens in the Virgin Islands and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico by extending to these jurisdictions the same program provisions as apply in the States and territories.

Eighth. Confidential assistance records: This bill restores to all persons receiving assistance under this title the protection formerly required by all titles that the facts concerning their receipt of assistance be treated as confidential information.

Ninth. Personnel training: The bill recognizes the serious shortages in qualified public welfare personnel by providing special financial aid for training such personnel.

Selection of Outstanding Federal Administrator and Federal Employees of the Year for Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, many awards are given in the United States, and in the feminine contingent we admire our Miss Cottons, Mrs. Americas, and queens of everything from cherry blossoms to potatoes. While all of these are important, sometimes an award is given which stands out among these honors.

Since the Federal Government is so important in our lives, the selection of the Outstanding Federal Administrator and the Federal Employees of the Year for Michigan takes on a special significance.

A. M. Menninger, district director of internal revenue for the Detroit district, has achieved the first honor; and Lewis H. Gilbert, central service assistant at the Veterans' Administration Hospital in Dearborn, Mich., the second.

I ask unanimous consent to have the nomination statement made by James F. Deane, assistant district director of the Internal Revenue Service, regarding Mr. Menninger, and the remarks made by Dr. Thomas P. Crane, manager of the Veterans' Administration hospital in Dearborn, Mich., concerning Mr. Gilbert, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement and remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOMINATION STATEMENT BY DR. JAMES F. DEANE, ASSISTANT DISTRICT DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

I am honored to be able to nominate Mr. Albert M. Menninger, district director of the Internal Revenue Service, as "Outstanding Federal Administrator of the Year." As will be set forth in succeeding paragraphs, his record of leadership and accomplishment over a period of many years is particularly worthy of special recognition.

In order to obtain a clear and well-rounded picture of Mr. Menninger, a brief biographical sketch is necessary. He was born in Tell City, Ind., and served in the Army Air Corps during World War I. On August 7, 1923, he entered on duty with the Bureau of Internal Revenue as a CAF–5 and was assigned to Washington, D. C. During the next 12 years, he was assigned to various cities in the United States and performed tax audits with particular emphasis on excise taxes. In 1935 he was assigned to Detroit and, except for 8 years in Chicago, has remained here.

Early in his career, he demonstrated a natural flair for excise taxes. This talent stood him in good stead when the number and complexity of excise taxes ballooned drastically in the thirties. He was soon acknowledged as the number one excise tax expert in the Nation. Although stationed in Detroit, he was required to travel throughout the country resolving the most complex excise tax matters. On December 1, 1942, he was appointed Agent Investigator in Charge (miscelleanous taxes) and made responsible for miscellaneous taxes in 15 States. Since that date he has served in high-level administrative positions. In addition to his administrative responsibilities, he continued to serve as an expert on excise tax problems and made frequent trips across the Nation when new excise problems arose. Mr. Menninger remained in this dual capacity until May 1952. At that time he was assigned to assist the regional commissioner in Chicago with the problems inherent in the establishment of the first Internal Revenue region in the Nation. This appointment was terminated when he took the oath as district director of the Detroit district on December 1, 1952.

The position of district director of the Detroit district ranks at or near the top among the 64 districts. This district ranks first in the total number of tax dollars collected, second in the total number of tax returns received, and third in the number of persons employed. As an indication of the size of our operations, I would like to point out that last year our tax collections were $7,156,469,000, and we received 4,300,000 tax returns. In the last 4 years, a total of $25 billion have been collected or an average of $6¼ billion a year. Also, this district is responsible for collection and enforcement of 77 taxing statutes.

By nature, Mr. Menninger is a warm, friendly individual who has a real liking for people. His willingness to listen and his sincere interest in the problems and welfare of employees enabled him to become known and respected by all employees within a few months. He makes frequent visits to the work areas and always takes time to stop and chat with line employees. His willingness to fight for employees, to keep them informed and to listen to their complaints have gone a long way toward relieving their fears and anxieties. As a consequence, morale has shown a steady improvement. All employees are given to know that, if they are right, they will be backed to the limit, and if they are wrong, they will be overruled. Also, under Mr. Menninger the department became engaged in a gigantic public education program to clarify the tax laws and the rights of taxpayers. Through radio, television and speaking engagements by himself and other employees, the public became informed on tax matters than ever before. He established cordial relations with all the local newspapers, and through their cooperation, countless favorable and informative news items have been issued. Any taxpayer complaint is courteously received, thoroughly investigated and promptly and equitable resolved.

Probably the key to Mr. Menninger's success as an administrator is his ability to lead rather than drive his subordinates. The use of fear to secure accomplishment is entirely foreign to his concept of proper administration. He has the complete respect and unswerving loyalty of all employees and I doubt that a single employee fears him or the position he holds in this district. Line and staff employees do not produce merely because he expects or demands it. Rather, they are motivated by a sincere desire to do their best for the boss. Individual differences of opinion are quickly cast aside if it appears that pursuit of them will lead to any conflict with the best interests of the director and the service. In effect, he serves as a rallying point around which staff personnel can gather to determine the course of action that is most beneficial to us and the service as a whole. The ability to secure complete loyalty and devotion to duty from subordinates and to motivate them primarily through personal popularity and dynamic leadership is a gift not enjoyed by many administrators. His knowledge and practice of the best techniques of human relations makes us extremely proud that he is our district director.

In addition to his outstanding efforts as district director, he has found time to fulfill his civic responsibilities. A listing of all his actvites n this respect would require considerable research and would make this document needlessly lengthy. Suffice it to point out that he has been coordinator of the savings bond drives in Michigan, cochairman of the Federal section of the torch drive, a charter member of the local chapter of the American Society of Public Administration, and one of the original sponsors and participants in the Federal executive development program conducted at and with Wayne University. He is also an active member of the Economic Club, the Federal Business Association and the Federal Safety Council. Together with his religious and charitable activities, he more than meets the criteria for an outstanding citizen of the community.

Despite the length of this nomination, I do not believe that I have done him full justice. There are so many facets to his personality, his methods and his leadership qualities that to present them all would be a herculean task. If you asked 50 people about his qualifications, you would get 50 favorable replies and most of them would stress different points. Therefore, I am compelled to repeat that in all respects, Mr. Albert M. Menninger fully warrants selection as the Federal Administrator of the year.

REMARKS BY DR. THOMAS P. CRANE, MANAGER OF THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL, DEARBORN, MICH.

Mr. Lewis H. Gilbert, central service assistant, GS–3, is our nominee for the Federal employee of the year.

Mr. Gilbert's entire span of Federal service of more than 10 years has been at this hospital. During approximately the first 8 years of this period, Mr. Gilbert performed the duties of a hospital attendant (general) and those of a charge attendant (surgical), GS–2. His efficiency ratings through July 1952 were consistently very good or excellent. Since 1952 Mr. Gilbert has received four consecutive ratings of outstanding under the VA performance evaluation program. In September 1955, he was promoted to the position of central service assistant, GS–3.

In addition to the above, Mr. Gilbert has been given two cash awards for suggestions submitted under the Government's incentive awards program, in 1954 and 1955.

The following is extracted from the recommendation made by Mr. Gilbert's supervisor documenting his outstanding rating for the period from August 1955, through July 1956:

"He is always able to plan his workload to meet the emergencies that arise. Example: On July 11, he noted the excessive calls for G. U. drainage sets and without assignment proceeded to make up 17 sets to replace the depleted stock. This was not his assignment. He assumed the responsibility because the aid assigned the job was unable to organize his work to carry the additional load. On August 7, an aid became ill and was sent home. Her assignment was not anywhere near completed. He immediately adjusted his workload so he could take the additional responsibility of assisting Mrs. Young, the practical nurse, in completing the assignment. He had a heavy workload of his own, but managed to complete it and give the help needed to finish the work properly.

"He observes the workload and always gives help without assignment. On August 9, he observed a new aid in the department growing very nervous because of her workload, and without saying a word he stopped his own work and gave her a helping hand, calming her down by telling her, 'Every day is not like this,' and 'Everyone tries to help each other when the work piles up. Tomorrow you will probably be helping me.' He

boosted her morale and made her feel she was not doing too badly for a beginner.

On June 2 he was in charge of Central Service. There was an excessive run on oxygen and he became worried it would run out over the weekend. On his own he got in touch with the Supply Division and asked to have National Cylinder make our Monday delivery on Saturday, thus eliminating a serious situation without creating a lot of disturbance. This was an unforeseen increase in demand; the usage in 24 hours had equaled that of the preceding 6 days. He is very alert to increased demands and realizes the danger of running short of critical supplies such as oxygen.

He has exceptionally good relationships with personnel throughout the hospital. He has a very pleasant, even disposition, and creates warmth and friendliness wherever he goes. There are six men working the day shift in Central Service. He is always the one asked by the nurses on the wards to help solve their problems, to check equipment, etc. Example: On September 11, 1955, we were having difficulty with thermometer breakage on the TB wards because of the lack of adequate space for contaminated and soiled items, which were to be returned to Central Service. The wards were unable to obtain larger tables to place all these articles on, and most of the time the thermometer cups were crowded onto the tables in very hazardous positions. The nurses were concerned and asked him if he couldn't suggest something. He came up with the idea of attaching tumbler holders (old-fashioned bathroom cups) to the wall in the area where all the soiled items were left for Central Service pickup. These were purchased and installed at very little expense. This not only solved the nurses' problem, but cut down the costly replacement of thermometers in this service.

He always cooperates in carrying out Central Service duties. He keeps a watchful eye on others to insure that they follow instructions. On August 14 he asked me, "Has the procedure changed for handling contaminated syringe boats?" When I replied it had not, he explained he had observed three different people who were not following instructions when the nurse was absent. He had spoken to them, but they continued the practice so he came to me. He is fair but will not permit others to deliberately break procedures and feel they can get by. He is very interested in his work and does everything he can to see that everyone performs their duties as instructed.

He plans his work to complete his assignment and to have time for the extra things which have to be done, such as restocking shelves, putting away excess items, cleaning and checking equipment, checking supplies on hand, etc. Mr. Gilbert is a perfectionist and anything he does must be done well. Example: On May 2 he was cleaning cabinets and was very unhappy because they did not clean well. The next day he brought a package of Spic and Span from home and recleaned all the cabinets, stating, "That job looked half done, and I didn't want anybody looking at it and saying that Gilbert cleaned those cabinets."

Mr. Gilbert is a far above average aide. He takes a deep interest in his work and is constantly thinking in terms of improving the work of the department. He requires little direction or supervision. He is loyal, honest, and very conscientious. I consider him outstanding in all phases of his work.

In placing Mr. Gilbert's name before you as our nominee, we feel that he epitomizes all that is desirable in a career employee who has dedicated himself to serving others in a position which often escapes notice and offers little in the way of financial reward.

Shut-In's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, within a few hours, many of us in this House and our friends in business and industry will be closing our desks, packing our bags, and heading for seashore, lake, and mountain resorts to enjoy the long Memorial Day weekend. We will bask in the sun, relax, and come back refreshed to face the tasks ahead with new perspective, new interest, and vigor. It is good to put aside the daily routine, to see new places and things, to look up into blue skies and hear bird songs, instead of the steady pound of typewriters and the drone of our own voices.

But there are those among us who have no hope of getting away this weekend or any other weekend. They are the shut-ins, doomed through no fault of their own to spend the days and years in wheelchairs and hospital beds. For them the fragance of spring, the white stillness of winter, the flamboyance of autumn and the lazy luxury of summer are nothing more than the pages of a calendar to be flipped over. Alone and too often forgotten, they sit by their windows and watch the seasons slip by, remembering perhaps the world outside, yearning always for some release from the bonds of pain and illness that hold them prisoners within the four walls of their bedchambers.

There is a growing movement afoot to bring some bit of sunshine, some glimmer of happiness into the lives of our shut-in friends. Since 1941, Mrs. William Francklyn Paris, of New Jersey, and Ernest Barker, of Canada, have been working through the Shut-in's Day Association to have the first Sunday of each June set aside as a day of remembrance and recognition of the shut-in. Shut-ins themselves, they understand the aching need of the shut-in for acceptance, for friendship and understanding. Thanks to their tireless efforts, carried on with Herculean vigor in spite of their own handicaps, and aided by a growing band of shut-in and non-shut-in supporters they are making steady progress. From a limited observance that first year the movement has spread out in ever-widening circles, in this country and abroad. In 1955, official proclamations marking the first Sunday of June as Shut-in's Day were issued by the mayors of 69 cities in 29 States. My good friend and beloved colleague, the late T. Millet Hand, introduced legislation in this House last year to give recognition to this day. Currently there are pending before the Committee on the Judiciary 2 bills to effect this end, 1 sponsored by my own New Jersey colleague, PETER J. RODINO, Jr., and the other by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. HOLLAND. It is my sincere hope that this session will see some action on this worthwhile legislation. But we need not sit back and wait for this bright tomorrow, we can, each one of us make this first Sunday of June 1957, Shut-in's Day in actuality. We can pay a visit to some shut-in, send him or her a cheery card, a note, or a bright bouquet of flowers We can let him know that he is not forgotten, that somebody cares, that somebody is interested in his views, willing to exchange news and experiences from the world outside for the priceless philosophy and examples of courage that so many shut-ins have to offer. We can spread the word and implement it and, while we are doing it, may we never forget that many of today's shut-ins were the bright young heroes of yesterday; the boys whose blood bought the black beaches of Iwo Jima, stained the sands of Anzio and the snows of Pusan, and paid for the freedom we now enjoy. We can say "thank you" to them this weekend by remembering them on Shut-in's Day, and by giving as many shut-ins as we can, some cause to say with all sincerity, "What is so rare as a day in June?"

Preliminary Public Hearings Between Defense Department and Special Subcommittee on Military Discharges, Armed Services Committee, Necessarily Postponed From June 3; Announcement Follows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent, heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to produce for your information the following communication which has been sent to the 30 Members of the House who have heretofore filed companion bills on it relating to less than honorable discharges from the Military Establishment and from other interested persons.

Text of announcement follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., May 29, 1957.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND OTHERS INTERESTED: The previously announced target date, to wit: June 3, for the preliminary public hearings by the House Armed Services Special Subcommittee on Military Discharges (H. R. 1108) and companion bills, etc., will not begin June 3. The reason is that the House Armed Services Committee will not complete its public hearings and executive sessions on the military construction bill until about June 15 (estimated).

Promptly upon the completion of said hearings by the full Armed Services Committee, of which all members of the special subcommittee are members, these preliminary public hearings with the Defense Department as the only witnesses to be heard in said preliminary hearings, will be held.

Promptly thereafter it is planned to have public hearings in order that all Members of Congress who desire to do so, together with other interested and qualified persons, may appear and testify in public session.

You will receive notice of the date set for these preliminary hearings with the Defense Department as witnesses.

Sincerely yours,

CLYDE DOYLE,
Member of Congress; Chairman, Special Subcommittee on Military Discharges, Armed Services Committee.

(Subcommittee members: Hon. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, Jr., Alabama; Hon. A. PAUL KITCHIN, North Carolina; Hon. WILLIAM G. BRAY, Indiana; Hon. CHARLES S. GUBSER, California.)

Statement of Rev. James L. Vizzard on Mutual Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to call to the attention of the Congress and the American people the excellent statement of the Reverend James L. Vizzard, S. J., before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on the current mutual security program on May 28, 1957.

The statement follows:

My name is Father James L. Vizzard, S. J., with residence at Georgetown University. I appear before you today as vice president of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference and as treasurer and member of the executive council of the Catholic Association for International Peace.

I want to thank the committee for its courtesy in giving us the opportunity to express our observations and convictions on the mutual security program. I would also like to congratulate the committee for its wisdom and its deep insight into reality. By the very fact that these hearings are now being conducted the committee makes plain its judgment that in the grave and basic decisions we as a Nation must make, moral and spiritual considerations not only are pertinent but, when everything else is said and done, are overriding.

In consultation with Dr. C. J. Nuesse, who will appear here on June 5, it was determined that our testimony might conveniently be divided into two distinct parts. It will be my function and privilege to present the teachings of the church, i. e., the ideas and principles which influence the practical judgments which informed Catholics make on issues such as we are facing today. His testimony will present the concrete evidence of Catholic convictions in the form principally of statements and policy resolutions of Catholic organizations and spokesmen. He will also offer specific recommendations on the mutual security program which have come from the same sources.

My comments on the military aspects of the mutual security program will be brief. To be sure, they also have their moral implications, but their justification, as has recently been clearly explained, lies chiefly in our own urgent defense needs. What previously has been presented under the guise of foreign aid is now seen to be largely American aid, and should be so billed. We have here, to put it directly, a very cheap way to buy ourselves essential military security. No doubt in this phase of our defense program, as very likely in others, some money can be saved by careful planning and administration. But we might well ask ourselves if we can afford to haggle or to try to make political advantage over a relatively few dollars when our lives may be at stake.

Neither will I spend any time on the more technical budgetary, fiscal, or administrative details of economic development and technical assistance. As I understand the chief purpose of these hearings, it is to reestablish, to emphasize, even to dramatize, the moral and religious bases of our programs. It is the motivation and the spirit rather than the details which are under consideration today.

As everyone here is quite aware, a great variety of reasons have been given to explain and justify the mutual security program: Our expanding economy demands overseas markets and sources of raw material. We need to win friends and thus bolster our national security. We need strong allies to check further Communist expansion. If we don't help, the Communists will. As a last resort, appeal has been made to our fears. Our flesh has been made to creep with vivid warnings of the horrors all of us may suffer and few of us may survive if we fail to support this program adequately.

No one would reasonably question the validity and even urgency of each of these motives, for they reflect different aspects of our national interest. But it has been the discouraging experience of many of us that where we have suggested that moral motivation might be more urgent, and even more practical, patronizing realists have tried to embarrass us into silence. They clearly imply or even bluntly state that charity and justice have no real pertinence to the issues, that these virtues represent only the sentimental idealism of international do-gooders. Moral interest, they claim, has nothing to do with national interest, and they'd be happy if we wouldn't complicate the matter.

This attitude is a strange one in a Nation founded by men who so clearly spelled out the moral basis of our political society. The Founding Fathers understood that our national interest is a much broader concept and reality than is embraced by military security, political stability, and economic advantage. For, unless our Nation has interests and responsibilities rooted in moral principles, just how do we differ from the arbitrary legality of totalitarian states? Unless our national interest is based upon moral interest, our society and our objectives can claim no superiority over those of the Communist nations. Unless our foreign economic policy recognizes opportunities and obligations which far transcend narrowly conceived selfish and temporary interests then do we not deserve to be weighed and judged by the world, and by God, in the same balance as Russia?

What's more, even in the terms of narrowly conceived national interest, motives of justice and charity have validity and value. It is my conviction, and I believe the results of these hearings will bear me out, that the mutual-security program will win much more sincere and practical approval from our citizens if it is explained and undertaken in terms of moral and religious conviction. In very concrete political terms, I believe that taxpayers and voters will respond more quickly and more heartily to this kind of appeal than to any other.

Moreover, again in terms of actual achievements of our goals, programs undertaken for and guided by these motives are far more likely to achieve, as byproducts, the stated aims of our foreign policy. It is the universal experience of mankind that gratitude and friendship cannot be bought. Neither individuals nor nations can be bribed into secure alliances. But disinterested service, genuine love, rarely fails to call forth a similar response. If we want friends and dependable allies, we will win them only if we can make it plain that we are interested in them for their own sake, and for God's.

On the conviction, therefore, that whether national interests be conceived either narrowly or broadly, moral and religious considerations are pertinent, I would like to explore these sources.

Start from the fact that while we and those in the world's relatively few other favored countries have been likely in our prayer to pass unthinkingly over the petition, "give us this day our daily bread," in large parts of the world hundreds of millions have known no prayer more urgent. Hunger, poverty, disease, and death have been their daily bread.

To this situation contrast the fact that we have an enormously productive economy, that as a people we possess a disproportionate share of this world's wealth, that we enjoy a standard of living almost intolerably superior to that of a great portion of the world's people.

What, then, are our moral obligations?

I'm sure that we would not subscribe to the proposition that God created the resources of this world for the exclusive benefit of those who might have had the power to seize them, or the luck to stumble upon them, or the good fortune to be born into them. I am sure we would agree that it would be supreme egoism for us to assume that God has granted us such material riches for our own use alone. We are not members of some kind of exclusive club, the sole residents of a high-walled garden of paradise, somehow specially chosen of God to enjoy the best of His creation while the great bulk

of mankind struggle outside for a meager and precarious subsistence.

One of Christ's parables comes to mind: Dives and Lazarus. We have no reason to expect that the fate of a nation which might scorn the obligations which go with wealth will be any different than that of the man whose very name implies wealth, selfishly and exclusively enjoyed. In today's world no one could mistake what nation is cast in the role of Dives.

It is also a fact, and it should be a disturbing one, that in the only portrayal of the final judgment which we have from Christ's own lips, the decision of the judge is based on the very simple and direct criterion: Did you feed the hungry, clothe the naked, heal the sick? We have no reason to believe that nations will be judged on any other basis.

A simple sense of decency and justice must convince us that we possess God's bounty not only that we might enjoy it ourselves but also that we might share it. In God's sight, we are His stewards. He has given us the opportunity and responsibility and privilege to use His blessings so that all might benefit. Justice suggests, demands, that wealth be administered to the welfare of all; and, if Christian teaching means anything, this is true of nations as well as of individuals.

But there are higher motives still than fear of judgment or the obligations of justice. The law of love, the law of charity, which has been taught by all great religions, was summed up in the simple but dramatic admonition of Christ, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." And we were not left in doubt as to who is our neighbor. The lesson of the parable of the Good Samaritan is that every man is our neighbor, even the stranger by the side of the road in a faraway land. The works of charity do not demand a passport. The obligations of charity do not end at our own shores. Our neighbor is any man who needs our help wherever he may be found and reached; and when he is found love dictates that we approach him, as it were, with an apology for having come so late to help him.

Someone who may have heard these last words of mine may agree with their religious idealism but insist, perhaps sadly, that charity is the responsibility of individuals and not of states. Such a belief is common, but it ignores the fact that states come into being to fulfill for us collectively what we cannot do individually. As individuals we are bound to charity toward all. But in a world so vast and complex, in our private capacities we cannot reach all who need and have a claim on our charity. The state, therefore, acts as our agent. When the state helps, it is ourselves helping.

One is also rebuffed by some opponents of foreign aid who with an uncompromising air of finality remarks, "Well, these give-aways have to stop. After all charity begins at home." For them that ends the argument. It is difficult to understand why, for the statement claims no more than that charity begins at home. It doesn't end there. It is not completed and perfected until it reaches out to the farthest ends of the earth, and embraces in its warmth and love all who are in need.

A number of other objections can be heard almost every day and can be read in almost any paper: We have not won friends, the countries we have helped most are still "uncommitted"; our generosity is not appreciated. Somehow these objections seem almost petulant and they have already been dealt with. Why should we expect friendship and gratitude, when in the past our aid has been explained and justified exclusively on the basis of our terms, our aims, our self-interest?

Others make the outraged charge that our foreign operations are shot through with inefficiency, boondoggling, and graft. There have been, I am sure, cases in which this has been true, and wherever it has been found it must be eradicated and every effort must be made to prevent its recurrence. But no honest critic can make a universal indictment. The people we have sent out and the operations we have conducted have been no better or worse than we find in our own country. On the whole, a remarkable degree of integrity and success has characterized our activities up to now.

Perhaps the loudest and most persistent objection we hear these days is that our economy can't stand the strain, that we need tax cuts more than foreign handouts. Frankly, I don't think we have to pay much attention to such nonsense. Our economy has stood, and, if called upon, could again stand the the much greater strain and waste of war. We have not even begun to make the kind of sacrifices, personal and national, which we can sustain, and willingly sustain if we are convinced of their necessity. Moreover, the part of the Mutual Security funds which have been expended on technical assistance and economic development have been very small indeed, and even if eliminated entirely could hardly lead to a perceptible tax cut. And if it were eliminated, or even significantly cut, I think we'd have a harder time living with our consciences and with the consequences of our folly than we have now living with our budget and the necessary taxes.

In the Mutual Security program, we have the opportunity of providing the world with one thing it desperately needs: A shining example of pure, undefiled and disinterested service. Our aid is and should be recognized as an important factor in stemming the advances of communism, but this program has an importance independent of the Communist threat. We should do the same things and even more even if communism were to disappear tomorrow. As stewards of God's abundance we must make available to others what we ourselves enjoy. In doing so, we are not called upon to sacrifice our own prosperity. In the long run such sharing will return a hundredfold.

If we dedicate ourselves to a program for shared abundance, we may never again be called upon to dedicate our lives and our wealth to a program of shared disaster. We believe that here the United States has the opportunity and the privilege to give moral leadership to the world as it has provided political and military leadership.

Ann Arbor, Mich.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE MEADER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article from the June issue of Fleet Flashes, published by Lykes Bros. Steamship Co., Inc., of New Orleans, La.

The article follows:

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

This is Ann Arbor.

Those who know Ann Arbor think of it as more than a home, more than a city. To the resident, Ann Arbor is a way of life. It it a quality of living generated by the provincial atmosphere of a college town along with the advantages of a large metropolitan area.

Beautiful Ann Arbor, with its famous university, its self-sufficient industry, its section after section of attractive shaded residential areas offers much to its residents. To the newcomer or the tourist, it offers an enchantment, a fascination which we can't forget.

It was in 1823 that a group of pioneers passed through a fur trading post known as Detroit, and pushed on along the banks of the Huron River in search of a location for a new frontier community.

Among the settlers was a Virginian named John Allen, and a fellow pioneer known as Elisha Rumsey. Both were married—and the wives of both were named Ann.

Some 40 miles west of Detroit, in the rolling slopes which bounded the Huron River, the pioneers established their settlement.

The wives of the two men—Ann Allen and Mary Ann Rumsey—eventually enlarged and beautified a wild grape arbor on the bank of a creek named for Allen. Here, they spent long afternoons together—knitting, mending, and probably gossiping a bit.

This meeting place they called Ann's Arbor—and it wasn't long before the entire settlement had adopted the name as its own. The name was shortened to Ann Arbor when the town was formally recorded in Detroit the following year.

The settlement began to grow. Today Ann Arbor is a university town on the immediate edge of one of the greatest industrial centers in the world. Its industries have developed sharply since the turn of the century.

And yet Ann Arbor has not lost its provincial flavor—for with its growth, its steady progress in all areas of industrial and commercial expansion, Ann Arbor remains primarily a city of homes—an informal, self-sufficient residential community large enough to offer its citizens the ultimates in modern living, small enough to retain its intrinsic friendliness, warmth, and informal atmosphere.

Known as the Mother of State Universities, the University of Michigan was founded in Detroit in 1817, and moved to Ann Arbor in 1837. Today one of the five largest universities in the Nation, Michigan is distinguished for the excellence of both its faculty and its physical facilities.

In Ann Arbor is located one of the Nation's foremost medical centers.

Since the university school of medicine was established over a century ago, the consistent growth of both the school and the public medical facilities has been outstanding.

Present medical facilities cover an area of approximately 4 acres. Included among hospital facilities in Ann Arbor are the university main hospital with a capacity of some seven hundred patients, and a number of specialized hospitals.

These include a complete isolation hospital; the Simpson Memorial Institute for medical research in blood diseases; the Neuropsychiatric Institute; the Veterans' Readjustment Center and a unique and beautiful maternity hospital.

A large seven-story out-patient clinic building houses over 100 physicians' offices and 196 examining rooms. Its function is to provide diagnosis and consultation for patients who do not require hospitalization.

Outstanding musical and dramatic offerings have become traditional in Ann Arbor. An annual winter concert series brings internationally famous symphony orchestras and Metropolitan Opera stars to the stage of Hill Auditorium. Top Hollywood and Broadway casts presents the Nation's best and most popular productions during the spring drama season.

Spectator and participant alike will find well-provided recreation in Ann Arbor. Opportunities for almost every sport—from golf to tennis, to water activities—are at all sides.

Nearby lakes and recreation areas provide excellent boating, swimming, and fishing.

There is no substitute for the thrill or color of football season in Ann Arbor. Stanch support of the famed Michigan varsity is evident everywhere—a support that extends beyond the gridiron, across the Nation wherever alumni are found.

Sports enthusiasts in Ann Arbor—and that includes practically everyone—crowd the benches for such other Big Ten athletic competitions as basketball, baseball, swimming, track, golf, hockey, and wrestling.

It would be difficult to overemphasize the attractiveness of Ann Arbor as a residential community. Residents take a uniform and justified pride in the appearance of their homes.

Tree-lined streets, gentle hills, numerous parks and wooded areas add much to the residential flavor of the community. Near the campus area, large fraternity and sorority buildings greatly enhance the city's impressive residential character.

New residential developments—in all price ranges—are constantly being expanded.

Probably as educationally minded as any city in America, Ann Arbor has long been known for the high quality of its schools and the educational programs that it consistently carries out.

Almost without exception, its public schools are modern. They are well lighted, well heated, equipped with libraries, gymnasiums, auditoriums, home economic and science rooms, and kindergartens.

And yet Ann Arbor is not merely satisfied with fine buildings. It is the work that goes on inside these buildings—transforming the student into the responsible citizen—that forms the vital function of the school system.

Comparing extremely favorable with the most modern retail shopping centers in the Nation, Ann Arbor retailers enjoy a gross business in excess of $80 million a year.

Because of competition with neighboring centers as well as Detroit, shoppers in Ann Arbor enjoy the newest and most modern facilities.

While Ann Arbor enjoys the benefits of purchasing power provided by industrial and university payrolls, as well as the constant influx of student population, the city also has specific agricultural assets.

The county seat of one of Michigan's most prosperous agricultural areas, Ann Arbor is the logical headquarters for agricultural interests.

The city itself is a choice consumer market for high-quality produce. It maintains a farmers' market which draws producers from many neighboring counties.

All this—consumer market, transportation facilities, location, physical assets, labor pool, and residential advantages—combine to make Ann Arbor a choice location for business, for industry, as well as an ideal place to live, to raise and educate a family, and to reap the benefits of the "Ann Arbor way of life."

More than 50 firms, ranging from 2 to 2,200 employees, comprise the industrial family in Ann Arbor. At present, more than 6,000 employees in industry receive wages in excess of $24,500,000 annually.

Recent trends toward the establishment of industrial research and development operations are being further developed by the chamber of commerce. Such operations help maintain the city's highly skilled labor pool, and take advantage of the many technical facilities made available by the University of Michigan.

The American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I am pleased to have placed in the Appendix of the RECORD a prize-winning essay written by William Bradley Dunn, of Detroit, Mich., who was awarded a national prize in 1957 in the Harold Harding memorial essay contest. The subject of the essay is, "The American Merchant Marine."

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE—ITS IMPORTANCE TO THE AMERICAN FARMER-MINER-MANUFACTURER IN WORLD TRADE

(By William Bradley Dunn)

Down through the years, the American merchant marine has played an extremely important part in the development of our native land. The merchant marine has always had two purposes: (1) to further and increase foreign trade and, (2) to assist in national defense. The United States first established a realistic policy toward the merchant marine when Congress passed the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. Then in 1939 a program of shipbuilding was launched to replace obsolete ships. During the war, an emergency reconversion plan for building and shipping was established. The rate of building was tremendous, and when the war ended, the United States was left with a considerable number of ships on hand. This supply gave the United States the largest merchant marine in the world; however, it was unbalanced. We had a great supply of ships that could carry troops, but too few could be used for cargo transportation. So in 1948, the Maritime Commission launched another program which gave us the vital ships that we needed. These needs have been increased tremendously today. Hugh Gallagher, past president of the Propeller Club and vice president of Matson Navigation Lines, says this:

"Basically, on the sea, we need fast cargo ships, tankers, and troop ships. They must be fast enough to go in alone, and large enough to be capable of doing the job required of them.[1]

Merely constructing ships was not sufficient, so the merchant marine opened academies which provided extensive education for seamen. Through these extra facilities, the capacity of the merchant marine for service to our country was increased.

Outside of our national defense, the merchant marine's most important duty is to export our products to countries abroad. In this job, there are three main categories: farm products, mined products, and manufactured goods.

After the war, the merchant marine was busier than ever. Their job was to transport millions of tons of food products to the devastated nations of Europe and Asia. In a speech, Walter Ploeser said:

"The welfare of the farmer and American shipping are both essential to the prosperity of every man, woman, and child in the country."[2]

In 1952, the farmer exported one-half of the rice crop, two-fifths of the wheat crop, and one-quarter of the tobacco and cotton crop. This volume of exports indicates how dependent the farmer is on the sales of his products to other countries for his income. He must also expand foreign trade if he is to diminish the heavy stockpiles. Three products—tobacco, cotton, and wheat—make up two-thirds of the farmer's export dollar. Since the farmer and the merchant marine have only scratched the surface of possible trade with foreign countries, they are working toward an expansion of foreign trade. To safeguard the farmer, the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 insured that our oceangoing ships would carry the farmer's products. If the merchant marine would not ship the farmer's goods, then this country would be in a dire state, for the merchant marine is the only feasible way of shipping our farm products overseas.

The miner is also considerably aided in world trade by the merchant marine. In the first place, the ore miners around the Great Lakes would be nearly helpless without the inland merchant marine. Through many years, trade travel on the lakes has increased steadily. The merchant marine has transported over four billion tons of raw materials through the Great Lakes. Three billion of this total has been iron ore.

The coal which runs our many factories around the Great Lakes is carried by merchant marine vessels. To meet the demands, the ships are being built larger and better. On even a greater scale, our oceangoing tankers do a task for the oilman. Eleven new deep-sea tankers have been built in the past 9 years. These new tankers and supertankers are designed not only for utility, but also for speed of delivery. J. D. Pogers, president of the Esso Shipping Co., has this to say:

"Progress has been the keynote of the tanker industry ever since the first true tanker came into being in 1886—progress not only in size and speed of the vessel, but in employee-welfare safety and efficient operation. As the oil industry meets new goals in oil production and refining, this progressive spirit will insure the availability of the tanker tonnage that will be needed to move an ever-increasing volume of petroleum and its products over our ocean trade routes."[3]

The foreign trade of the United States miners will increase only as the strength and capacity of the merchant marine increases.

Along with the farmer and the miner, the manufacturer also is indebted to the merchant marine. He depends upon its services both in the import and in the export fields. During the time of war, it is vital to the manufacturer in shipping valuable relief supplies abroad; and the people abroad are dependent upon it for their much needed materials. Although a great deal of our trade across the sea and on our lakes is in raw materials, a substantial quantity is made up of shipments of manufactured goods. Ships on the Great Lakes transport ready-made automobiles, for example. Transoceanic trade between the United States and other countries is part of America's foreign policy. Our Nation depends heavily upon the manufacturer and the merchant marine for the continuation of this essential service.

The farmer, the miner, the manufacturer—these three make up the backbone of American prosperity. Without the American merchant marine, however, they would not be able to conduct their businesses profitably. As the farmer, miner, and manufacturer look toward the future, they can count on the American merchant marine being on the job, doing bigger and better work, and playing a larger role in our Nation's prosperity. Not only do the farmer, miner, and manufacturer benefit from the American merchant marine, but the entire American people are confident that the merchant marine will continue to play its important role in the Nation's welfare.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary

Encyclopedia Americana. New York-Chicago. The American Corp., 1951.

Collier's Encyclopedia. New York. P. F. Collier & Son, volume 13.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

have been, I am sure, cases in which this newcomer or the tourist, it offers an ention wherever alumni are found.

Secondary

1951 Proceedings of American Merchant Marine Conference.
1956 Proceedings of American Merchant Marine Conference.

---

[1] Gallagher, Hugh, speech, Our Basic Shipping Needs, American Merchant Marine Conference Proceedings, 1951.
[2] Ploeser, Walter C., speech, The Farmer Must Go to Sea, American Merchant Marine Conference Proceedings, 1956.
[3] Rogers, J. D., speech, Tanker Trends, American Merchant Marine Conference Proceedings, 1956.

A March on Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I include the following editorial from the May 20, 1957, edition of the Vicksburg (Miss.) Evening Post:

A MARCH ON WASHINGTON

A march was made on Washington Friday, the third anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision to outlaw segregation in the public schools of the Nation. It was called by various names, but it was most generally described as a prayer pilgrimage for freedom. It was designed to appeal to President Eisenhower and to the Congress to join the judicial branch of our Government in giving strong, aggressive leadership in the civil rights field.

The civil-rights issues have become so prominent in the minds of politicians and pressure groups, that all other considerations seem to fade into insignificance. Witness the remarks of Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, who bluntly told his audience "I don't give a tinker's damn about foreign policy, about the farm problem, about the money situation, about anything except civil rights." Yet, the main issue does not come to the surface. And it will remain obscure, just so long as vote scrambling and fanaticism hold sway. The real issue is the deprivation suffered by the States of the sacred rights written into the Constitution. Much is said about the 14th amendment—the 10th is scarcely mentioned. Yet year after year, and decision after decision, the 10th amendment has been emasculated until we now have little vestige of substance left in the powers and rights of the various States.

Cunningly and with great finesse, the forces which would destroy constitutional government in this country, have raised issues to obscure their real purpose. Behind the emotionalism of these issues, those forces continue to work to deprive us of rights which have been the bulwark of our glorious history. Loyal Americans who pierce the screen and see the real issue at stake are branded as disloyal, as traitors, as reactionaries, as enemies of America. JIM EASTLAND, one of the great stalwarts of the fight for constitutional government, is the current whipping boy. He dared to raise his voice in protest and to point the finger at the subversives and to show them in their true light. Joe McCarthy got the full treatment and he died a broken man, whom even his enemies had to grudgingly admit was intensely loyal to his country.

The march on Washington was a pilgrimage, entered into by hundreds in a sincere belief they were in a pilgrimage for freedom. Yet history will reveal that it was an observance of the anniversary of a day when our glorious Constitution was undermined and made to totter—when nine men, not elected by the people, wrote a new law into statute books and thus denied the people of the 48 States those rights for which our forefathers died, and, at the same time, usurped the functions of the legislative branch.

The time has come for a prayerful pilgrimage of clear-eyed Americans to insist that the damage which has been done be removed and no further efforts be made to strike down the foundation of America—our Constitution.

One Reason Why

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the May 16, 1957, edition of the Wall Street Journal:

ONE REASON WHY

President Eisenhower made two points in his defense of the budget speech that seem particularly significant so far as his $2 billion Federal school-aid program is concerned.

One point was his statement that no great budget deductions are possible unless the people stop demanding more and more services from the Government. We know of no great clamor from the general public about the need for $2 billion from Washington for their schools. The States, cities, villages, towns, and school districts across the Nation are going about the business of providing their own needs and meeting their own responsibilities. In the 9 months that ended March 31 last, the people taxed themselves to provide $1.5 billion to build their schools. Our guess is that Mr. Eisenhower is misled by the noise of a small, dedicated minority that claims—without any proof at all—that if public education is not to fall apart the Federal Government must go into the school-building business, temporarily

And that brings us to the other point Mr. Eisenhower made. The budget is so big, he said, because the Federal Government is already doing a lot of things that "are established by law, and the bulk of the expenditures under those programs) are established by law."

All of them, though, like foreign aid, began as "temporary" programs just as the President says Federal school aid will be only temporary. All of them now, however, are locked in by law and custom. Veterans, farmers, and foreign governments have come to expect the handouts and the public has come to accept the handouts.

"All these," Mr. Eisenhower noted, "are programs long ago enacted by the Congress." Since the same argument will be made by others later, it strikes us that Mr. Eisenhower is not on the soundest ground when he says that the school aid program will be a get-in-and-get-out temporary one.

The history of Federal aid—as the Republican leader in the Senate noted a short time ago—argues persuasively against the chance that an aid program once started can be easily ended. In fact, Mr. Eisenhower himself said that, in the cases of farmers and veterans, the programs and expenditures "have tended to grow rather than shrink over recent years."

To argue that Federal handout history will not repeat itself in the matter of school aid is to blink the clear record. And to argue that the public should support another vast spending program which the public neither demands nor requires will hardly reduce the growing budgets.

Mr. Eisenhower, we think, was quite correct when he said the other night: "I deeply believe, as I am sure you do, that education is clearly a responsibility of State and local governments—and should remain so."

We do believe the President believes that deeply. It makes us wonder all the more why Mr. Eisenhower chooses to support those who would not let it remain so.

Present Inequities in Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, through the years the Congress has, wisely I believe, recognized that people receiving social security should be allowed to supplement their benefits with a modest amount of earnings. The amount of outside earnings allowed has been increased from $14.99 per month to $50 per month in 1950, to $75 per month in 1952, and finally, in 1954, to $1,200 a year. The 1954 amendments also changed the law so that persons aged 72 and over have no restrictions on earnings whatsoever. I have been concerned, however, with some inequities which have arisen through what I am convinced must have been an oversight in the drafting of this legislation. In shifting from a monthly income test to an annual test, inequities have arisen. These problems occur in the year of retirement and the year in which the individual reaches age 72.

The $1,200 per year exemption is based on average monthly earnings of $100 a month. But to relieve problems which arise with uneven earnings, the act states that an individual cannot lose a benefit for any month in which he earns $80 or less even though he exceeds the $1,200 limit.

Let us see how the system works in a specific fact situation—first in the year of retirement and then in the year of age 72.

For instance, let us take the example of a 65-year-old teacher who finishes his school year in June and must retire. He applies for benefits on July 1. During the first 6 months of the year he had earned $2,200. When he applied for social security he already had, therefore, exceeded the amount of earnings he is allowed for the year. He is told at the social security office that the law will still allow him to earn $80 monthly, but if he exceeds this amount his benefit for that month will be canceled.

If, however, he could have retired in January, instead of July, he would have

been allowed to earn $100 a month for the entire year in addition to his retirement benefit. Thus the teacher, solely because he retires at midyear, loses $20 a month in earning power during his first 6 months of retirement. This is an arbitrary discrimination without basis in reason. It puts a premium on the date of retirement which seems wholly unrealistic. Moreover, it imposes a retirement test on income earned before retirement actually takes place.

Now let us see what can happen to the same teacher in the other situation—depending in this case entirely upon the accident of when his 72d birthday occurs. He has been earning $100 per month in the last few years and has also received a maximum social security benefit of $108.50 a month. Now that he has reached his 72d birthday he assumes that there is no longer any restriction on the amount of money he can earn and still receive benefits. He, thereupon, gets another job which pays him $150 a month—or $50 more than he was earning. At the end of the year he finds out, however, that he must pay back four monthly benefits—totaling $434 because he exceeded the $1,200 a year. In other words, because of earnings after age 72, he must return benefits he received before he became 72. He also discovers, to his dismay, that the extra $50 per month—totaling $300 for the 6 months on the new job—is more than canceled by the amount he owes to social security. He must repay them $134 over the extra $300 he earned to cover his $434 debt. This repayment in many cases, constitutes an extreme hardship.

The two bills I am introducing today will cure these inequities by very simple changes in the law. The first bill makes a special provision that will allow an individual to earn $100 a month in every month of the year in which he retires. The second bill removes completely the income limitation for the entire taxable year in which he becomes age 72. The two bills place him in the same position as that of other individuals who are fortunate enough to have their retirement dates and their birthdays in January, and thus, merely by happenstance, are attuned to the vagaries of existing law.

Certainly it is unrealistic to assume that most people can retire, or have their birthday, in January and thus avoid the complicated and sometimes confiscatory workings of the present provisions. We know that, for most people, the time of retirement is not a matter of choice. Frequently it is compulsory. Often, as in the case of school teachers, it is governed by provisions of law. In other cases, it is at the caprice of the employer. Clearly, the month in which a man was born should not influence the amount of social-security benfits to which he is entitled.

The cost to the social-security fund of the changes I propose would by very insignificant, and are fully warranted by the equities they effectuate. I urge the Congress to take prompt action on these bills so that the unfortunate characteristics of the present system can be changed.

America's Crusade for Freemen's Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars sponsor a national essay contest as part of their Americanism program. The contest is conducted on a local level by VFW auxiliaries and the winning essay is submitted to the State essay competition. From this level the winning essay is then submitted to compete in the national essay contest.

This year the topic for the essay is "America's Crusade for Freemen's Rights." The winner of the contest on the local level in Smithville, Tex., was Miss Clara Brosch, whose essay will be entered in the Texas State competition. Owing to the nature of the topic, I believe that all Members of Congress would be interested to read what the youth of our country write about this important subject and I therefore submit Miss Brosch's essay for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S CRUSADE FOR FREEMEN'S RIGHTS

It can truly be said that America exemplifies a constant crusade for the rights of the freeman. Life in the United States is based upon the freeman's rights. Not only do Americans strive for freedom within their own country, but there is a constant effort to free others. It is in the preamble to the Constitution that we find these words, "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, we do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

From the time that the Mayflower landed at Plymouth Rock, the most outstanding belief has been that of freedom, for that is the very reason the first settlers ventured into a strange new land. These were truly brave people. Their desire for religious, political, and economical freedom was so strong that they felt this journey was their only chance to secure them.

The most current example of the constant strife to free others is the Hungarian relief program which the United States has established. But this is not unusual, for the United States has come to the aid of practically every country which has suffered difficulty. Only a few years ago the United States went to war in Korea to help the South Koreans resist communism.

The most imminent threat to freedom today is communism. Communism is seeking to destroy the freedom of the entire world by conquering. Communism is rapidly spreading throughout the world. Education seems to be our best weapon. Of course, there is always the thought of war, but wars are never really won. People and things are destroyed in war, and nothing is really gained.

Freedom is perhaps the greatest characteristic of the United States of America and its people. Freedom exists in every action of the Americans. The Constitution, although it is a document of rights and freedoms within itself, was not enough for the people. Amendments were, and still are, being made and discussed constantly. The purpose of the first 10 amendments, called the Bill of Rights, is the protection of the rights of the people and of the States against encroachment by the Federal Government. This Bill of Rights guarantees some of our fundamental freedoms. They are known as civil liberties, because they insure our domestic rights.

Often we are prone to take our inalienable rights for granted. A course in American history very well teaches us to appreciate the freedoms that we do have by explaining the hardships of our ancestors and how many of them lost their lives fighting for freedom.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in 1941, described the four freedoms, which he expressed as (1) freedom of speech and expression, (2) freedom of worship, (3) freedom from want, and, (4) freedom from fear.

President Roosevelt was trying to get the country back on its feet. He thought that these were the most important freedoms for the Americans. It would be well for us to think about these freedoms. Where did we get them? Does everyone have them? Of course not, very few people have as many, or any, freedoms.

The biggest problem within the United States itself, perhaps, is segregation. It is hard for us in the South to agree with, and to abide by the Supreme Court ruling. We have grown up believing that the Negroes and the whites are different races, and that they should be separated. If we search deep into our hearts, however, most of us have no real objection to being integrated with the Negroes. We must admit that the colored people were not meant to be inferior to us. All men were created equal. A conflict within the United States could easily destroy us and our freedoms: it would be much easier for the Communists to conquer us if we are divided. "A house divided cannot stand." When the problem of slavery was in its worst stages, Abraham Lincoln stated, "Our paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not to save or destroy slavery." We should take an example from a brilliant man. Although segregation in the South is a big problem, we must find some solution in which we can remain united and save the Union.

With the fine leaders we have in our Government today, we should be able to remain the world power, but if not, the most important thing is that we maintain our freedom.

Purebred Dairy Cattle Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, in my State of Michigan, the month of May has been proclaimed as Purebred Dairy Cattle Month in recognition of the great progress that has been made in the dairy industry through the combined efforts of various organizations interested in the farmer and all of our citizens.

It is fitting that such recognition be given the purebred dairy-cattle industry and I would like to ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD, the words of this proclamation, which are most appropriate.

There being no objection, the proclamation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Much of the credit for the vast progress that has been made in breeding and developing the dairy-cattle industry of this land should be given the purebred dairy-cat-

tle association, the service work done by the State and National Departments of Agriculture, the extension staff of our colleges of agriculture, and the master breeders of the Nation. The able and energetic men who are concerned with bettering our dairy breeds never cease to strive for better animals that will provide greater production.

All dairymen profit from the program of the purebred cattle associations, thus producing more and better dairy cattle and products more economically. The cow is the production unit that is the key to an industry giving employment to one-seventh of our population and furnishing about one-fourth of our food supply. Dairy products provide nature's most nearly perfect food, which is the basis for building young, strong bodies for a greater America.

Statement of Theo. N. Tsangaris

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following are excerpts from a statement made by Theo. N. Tsangaris, of Gary, Ind., before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee hearings at Gary on May 20, 1957:

Mr. Chairman, opening my remarks, I would like to express my sincere thanks to your committee and your chairman, Hon. A. S. J. CARNAHAN, for the opportunity extended to me to appear before you and present my remarks.

As I understand, through your visit to our city, Gary, Ind., with the largest steelworks in the world, you are seeking to obtain local views on various aspects of the United States foreign policy, giving particular consideration to the mutual-security program. This being the case, I would try to use a few minutes of your valuable time to speak about the case of a country, small in size but very important in the society of nations because of its strategic location, her continuous struggle for the preservation of the ideal of liberty and freedom and its strong belief that honesty should be the basic rule of real friendship. I mean, Hellas, or better known, Greece.

Greece is the birthplace of democracy. It has a history that stretches back almost 4,000 years to a time when the people who inhabited the island of Crete had developed a notable civilization known as the Minoan period.

Greece joined the United States and the other Allies in fighting Germany and the other Central Powers in World War I and again fought with the Allies against the German-Italian-Japanese Axis in World War II, and her resistance to the Nazi invasion won the admiration of the world and upset the timetable of Hitler's plans against the Allies, giving them the valuable time to build up their strength.

Greece won another victory in 1949, this time against the forces of international communism which launched an all-out attack against Greece in an attempt to drag the country behind the Iron Curtain.

The war, occupation, Communist aggression, and the earthquake of the Ionion Islands in 1953, in Volos and Thessalia in 1955, Achaias in 1956 and only recently in Dodecanese Islands, brought about a total destruction in Greek ports, railways, bridges, and rolling stock, not mentioning the destruction in agriculture, Greek merchant marine and industry. Thanks to the valuable and great American moral and financial assistance, the deplorable conditions and suffering were alleviated.

The refugee program of 1953 accepted the earthquaked victims to immigate to the United States of America. The problem of Greece in some respect was temporarily solved. A great number of these homeless poverty-stricken victims, found refuge in this land of opportunity and justice for all.

In the last 4 years the Greek Government with generous American help has built roads, linking Athens to all the major tourist areas, agricultural and industrial centers, great postwar hydroelectrical plants, permitting people to enjoy the benefits of electric power and water availability. Greece, devoted to peace, gladly opens its doors to all those who wish to gain a better knowledge of both the country and its people.

A good beginning has been made—but very far from the status of conditions which will help the Greek Government and the people of Greece to be able, on their own efforts and initiative, to formulate plans and policies for a definite and brighter future.

International conditions force the Greek Government to spend 65 percent of the national budget for military preparations. Probably this is the highest percentage among all NATO nations. This undoubtedly causes the deplorable low standard of living of the great majority of the Greek people. The Government doesn't have the means to develop any kind of sizable industry, which would help unemployment. This is really the core of the most serious problems that the Greek people are facing. It was really very disheartening to me, during my visit to Greece last fall, to see boys, who just graduated from high schools or even from institutions of higher education, to be strolling along the streets of Athens seeking employment, knowing ahead of time that their chances to find any kind of a job are practically null.

People in Greece, young or old, like to work. They want to work, because they know that that is the best way to make an honest living. Can we create that opportunity for them? Encourage outside investments in Greece. Help the Greek Government, with proper supervision from the United States of America to develop productive industries, so people can find jobs. Don't send surpluses to Greece. The benefit of the people from such measures is very limited.

Every year at least 50,000 people are added to those who are seeking employment, while nothing is done to absorb any of those. The best way to fight communism in Greece is to give her people the opportunity to work.

The Greek Government is very much aware that the fundamental weakness which has acted as a restricting force in connection with further development is the lack of adequate capital. To remedy this situation, the Government encourages foreign investments and to that effect it has promulgated a constitutional law which provides guaranties for capital and profits.

Before closing my remarks, I would like to impress upon this committee the fact that a measure which will help some way is to help the emigration of Greeks to the United States in some good numbers. Unemployment will be helped, working capital will be sent back to the relatives in Greece by the emigrants, and very definitely, a terrific good will will be established between the United States and Greece. After all, the number of people allowed under the quota system from Greece to come to the United States is really a joke.

Greece enjoys a long and treasured friendship with the United States, with whom she shares common beliefs in democracy and liberty. The Greek people very definitely understand and appreciate extensively the great help given to them by this great democracy. It is their strong belief of the friendship between the United States and their country that has given them the courage to continue their fight for survival. They have been sincere and honest friends to us. They deserve our consideration.

May God, who knows everything, influence your thinking and guide your actions for the good of this country of ours and all the people who believe in Him.

Respectfully submitted,

THEO. N. TSANGARIS.

Visit of a Great Statesman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 30, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, Konrad Adenauer has been called the greatest German statesman in modern history. The record shows this is not an exaggeration.

Dr. Adenauer has been the leader and guiding light in rebuilding Germany to its present position as the mightiest industrial power of Western Europe. He has helped lay the foundations of a stable democratic society in a land wracked by totalitarian dictatorship and war. His support for the concept of a united Europe has been a moving factor in the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community. And today, Germany is taking her rightful place in erecting the military defenses of a united Western Europe.

Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a pleasure for the American people to again welcome this distinguished visitor to our land. With each successive visit, Chancellor Adenauer has been more widely recognized by our people as a man of courage, wisdom, and determination, whose vigor of mind and body belie his years.

We know him as both a great German and great European; indeed, as a champion of the free world itself.

Born in 1876 in the city of Cologne, where his father was registrar of the court of appeals, Konrad Adenauer prepared himself for the legal profession. A highly educated man, he studied law and economics at the University at Freiburg, Munich, and Bonn. He began to practice law in his native city, but soon entered public service as a deputy mayor of Cologne. In 1917, during the First World War, he was chosen to be lord high mayor. He occupied this office continuously from then until 1933 when he was ousted by the Nazis. He was mayor again for a brief period at the end of the Second World War. While in office, Adenauer rapidly became known as the greatest mayor in Germany. He founded Cologne's University, rebuilt its river port, provided superb housing for the workers, surrounded it with a green belt and started the famous Cologne fair. During this same period, Konrad Adenauer served in the Prussian state council and became its president. Twice he

was offered the post of chancellor of Germany in the days before Hitler. Both times he refused, preferring to remain mayor of Cologne.

When the Nazis came to power, Adenauer would have nothing to do with them. In 1933 he refused to display the Swastika from the venerable town hall of Cologne. For this, he was promptly fired from all his high posts and forced to flee from the city where he had been the leading citizen. He was imprisoned for a brief period by the German gestapo in 1934 and then retired to private life until the end of the war. Throughout the Hitlerian reign of terror he remained a staunch foe of this barbarian movement that ripped asunder the high values for which western civilization had stood through the ages.

When the war ended, Dr. Adenauer was almost 70 years old, an age when most men think of retiring. But for him it marked only the end of one public career and the beginning of a second.

Adenauer's second career has made him world famous. It began after the Second World War when he traveled throughout Germany carrying a blanket and a few slices of bread in his brief case, in an attempt to organize the Christian Democratic Party. This party was a cooperative movement of Roman Catholics and Protestants, seeking to apply Christian ethics in politics without, however, encouraging the participation of the churches themselves in political activities. A party based on cooperation of these denominations was itself a great help in attempting to build a sense of unity and stability in war-torn Germany.

Dr. Adenauer soon became president of the Christian Democrats in the British Zone of occupied Germany, and prominent in the North Rhine-Westphalia Provincial Diet. Then in 1948, when a Parliamentary Council was formed to draft a new basic law for West Germany, it was Dr. Adenauer who was elected its president. This position of leadership was continued when, in 1949, the Bundestag voted him the first Chancellor of the new Federal Republic of Germany.

This was a far different Germany from that which had existed before World War II and before the days of Hitler, when he had first been offered the job of Chancellor. His native city of Cologne was reduced from a population of 600,000 to a mass of holes and cellars inhabited by a scant 40,000 hungry men, women, and children. Many other parts of the country were also devastated. Germany had lost her eastern provinces to Poland and was herself divided into four military occupation zones.

The United States, British, and French zones soon cooperated in the rehabilitation of Germany, but the authorities in the Soviet zone moved further and further away from their wartime allies. The Soviets concentrated on making sure that Germany would never again be a threat to their security.

Russia thus insisted on heavy reparations from Germany including the dismantling and export to Russia of a large number of industrial plants. She further made it obvious that it had become a fixed part of her defense plans to continue occupation of the Soviet zone in Germany. It was promptly cut off from contact with the western parts of Germany and a Russian satellite government installed there. Eighteen million Germans in the east were thus cut off from all hope of any immediate reunion with their fellow countrymen. Many more continued to exist in prison camps within the Soviet Union.

To top it off, of course, the spirit of the German people had been trampled upon by Hitler for 8 years and they had been led into a war upon the world. A whole generation of youth had grown up in Germany without any experience of the normal decencies of western society, to say nothing of democracy itself. Hitler had been especially strong in his denunciation of democracy. How could this Germany be turned into a reasonably happy, prosperous, united democracy—with a soul? This was the task that faced the German people under the leadership of Konrad Adenauer.

Events move so swiftly today and our lives are so caught up in their rapid pace that it is difficult to realize this was Germany less than 10 years ago. The changes that have been wrought in the land beyond the Rhine have been called a miracle, so prodigious is their magnitude. It would be an injustice to the vitality of the human spirit of all the German people to claim that what has been accomplished is the result of the actions and words of but one man, Konrad Adenauer. But it would be an equal injustice to the facts of history to deny that Dr. Adenauer has been the dynamic leader of the forces in West German life, who has guided them and given the German people exactly the type of inspiration they required in this hour. A hard-working people, blessed with natural resources and aid from the western allies—all these have moved together to bring about that which we call the German miracle. But it is not too much to say that without the Chancellor, the parts of this miracle might not have been put together.

The first thing that strikes one about postwar Germany is the amazing growth of its industrial might. In 1956 the gross national product of the Federal Republic reached a peak equivalent to $45 billion. Since 1950 the income of all employed persons has risen about 60 percent. But these advances have not been easy. Indeed, they are the direct result of hard work and self-denial. During these years of reconstruction, a steady 22 percent of the gross national product has been poured into the rebuilding of factories, homes, and capital goods that has made possible the continuing economic expansion.

Now there is talk of automation being applied to the German economy. Nearly everyone in Germany who wants a job has one. And there is a mounting scarcity of labor that has led both the unions and the employers to favor the devices of automation. Both sides are hopeful that it may permit Chancellor Adenauer's booming economy to move toward a 40-hour workweek, as well as to produce more goods at a lower cost to the public.

Chancellor Adenauer has been a strong advocate of free enterprise. Just this month we have seen the development of new plans to increase the ownership of industry by private persons. State-owned industrial plants, beginning with the famous Volkswagen automobile plant, are to be sold to individual investors through low-priced bonds. It is reported that the shares will be priced as low as $11.90 and that no one will be permitted to gain control of the company by monopolizing the purchases. Profit sharing by workers in all privately owned companies will be encouraged by investment plans operated by insurance companies and savings banks. In addition to all this, the Government is planning to make additional financial help available to people who want to buy their own homes.

At the same time that economic recovery has taken place, the communists and the neo-nazis have been decisively beaten. In the 1949 elections, the communists received 5.7 percent of the popular vote. By the time the next elections rolled around in 1953, the German people slashed even this small figure to a mere 2.2 percent.

There is clearly no love of communism in the Federal Republic. Why should there be any love for this system that has enslaved 18 million in East Germany, refused to send home the many prisoners of war that remain in Russia, and refused to permit the reunification of the German nation? Why indeed should communism be popular in Dr. Adenauer's Germany when the people there can see with their own eyes the poverty that exists in East Germany compared to their own well-being?

Communism promises a workers' paradise as an alternative to slavery under capitalism. Germany today is conclusive proof of the utter nonsense underlying this claim. In the Federal Republic, under 20th century capitalism, the people are enjoying the benefits of a fully operating, efficient economy. In East Germany, the people look with longing eyes at the prosperity of the West while they themselves live under an inefficient economic system that operates more in the interests of the Soviet Union than the German people.

Naziism has also died in Germany under the impact of Dr. Adenauer's government. In 1949, the neo-Nazis received only 1.8 percent of the popular vote and in the next election 4 years later, they tumbled to a shaky 1.4 percent. In that election Dr. Adenauer refused to seek the neo-Nazis' support. Instead, he saved his most biting condemnation of nazism and all its works for his speeches in the heart of the right-wing country.

Many feared it would be impossible to establish anything resembling a democracy upon the ruins of Hitler's Germany. But the facts of the last 12 years have shown how wrong they were. Chancellor Adenauer's government has become one of the most stable democracies in Western Europe, while communism and nazism have been vanquished.

West Germany today is well on the road toward building a humane democratic society, with protection for individual rights. But this Germany is incomplete. It is divided by the famous Iron Curtain which for many years separated the two parts of the nation. It is this division of Germany that has constituted the most important problem in German foreign policy since the end of the Second World War. Chancellor Adenauer has directed himself toward its solution with insight and tenacity.

His policy has been consistently based on the premise that a weak Germany will remain a divided Germany. It is only from a position of strength that the Federal Republic can face Soviet Russia across the conference table with any hope of gaining reunification based on free elections throughout both East and West Germany.

The events of the past year have made this problem even more difficult. It appears now that Russia is turning East Germany into a fortress from which she will send forth troops to maintain control throughout the whole satellite empire in Eastern Europe. It was from East Germany that the Soviet troops departed to quell the revolt of the Hungarian people. It is East Germany that is apparently now slated to receive Soviet atomic installations. A united Germany would eliminate the opportunity for the Soviet Union to control their satellites from the western side. It would thus further weaken her ability to keep the satellite empire intact.

In February of this year, Soviet Russia declared that reunification has become "ever more remote" as a result of the Federal Republic's participation in NATO, and her rearmament. In April the Soviets made their warning even stronger when the Soviet note said that any atomic armaments in the Federal Republic would "gravely endanger the reunification of Germany." Chancellor Adenauer has answered the Russian charges contained in these vindictive notes by stating clearly and unequivocally that his Government's policy of continued membership in NATO is entirely defensive in nature. It thus offers no threat to the Soviet Union. Moreover, he has pointed out that Germany has pledged not to arm herself with atomic weapons.

But what do these Soviet policy statements imply for the future of German policy? Is it true that a policy of weakness and isolation would guarantee German reunification on the basis of free elections? A policy of weakness would mean German abandonment of NATO and the withdrawal of NATO forces from Germany.

What if Russia should agree to recall all her forces to Poland, or even to the Soviet home border? Dr. Adenauer has pointed to the inevitable result of such a troop withdrawal. The Soviets would be only a stone's throw from Germany, while the United States would pull its troops back 3,000 to 6,000 miles. In the Chancellor's own words:

> On the one hand we would have the powerful Soviet bloc, and on the other hand a totally isolated Germany without any connection with the United States, and a number of other relatively weak European nations.

Thus a weakened, isolated Germany would be more a prey to Soviet power. Soviet Russia would have no reason whatsoever to agree to German reunification on the request of a weakened and isolated Federal Republic. Russia would gain absolutely nothing by agreeing to do this since she would have already achieved her main goal in central Europe, which is to guarantee a permanently crippled and ineffective Germany.

At the same time Russia would gain nothing by agreeing to reunification, it would lose a great deal by such a move. If current reports are correct in estimating that Russia is now using East Germany as a military base from which to keep her European satellites in line, then Russia will not willingly agree to surrender this vital base.

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that Chancellor Adenauer is quite correct in insisting that the only hope for German reunification lies in the alliance of a strong German Federal Republic with the free world. While reunification has not been achieved in these last years, and will not be easy to achieve in the immediate future, there is greater basis for hope in a policy of strong alliance than in one of weak isolation.

This policy of strength must be coupled with a door constantly open for negotiations with the Soviet Union that may reduce international tensions and thus lay the groundwork for an eventual settlement that recognizes the realities of Europe. These realities are, on the one hand, that the West is united and has absolutely no aggressive intentions toward the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Russia cannot expect to extend her control in Europe without risking war. Until a final settlement is achieved, NATO serves as both a deterrent to Soviet aggression and a shield that will enable the allies to defend themselves in the event war should prove necessary.

But beyond the problem of German unification and the matters of European defense, there is the growing experiment in European unity, which has excited the imaginations of us all. Konrad Adenauer has been a prime mover in these great experiments such as the Coal and Steel Community, the European Payments Union, and now the Common Market and European Atomic Energy Community. They are further reflections of Dr. Adenauer's conviction that the fate of Germany is now inextricably linked with the fate of Europe as a whole. The cornerstone of economic and political survival is cooperation between France, Germany, and Great Britain. His support for these movements, since he became Chancellor, has helped heal the old wounds that separated these powers for so many years.

The expansion of international politics to the current global struggle between the Soviet bloc and the free world has made it evident that cooperation must replace discord in Western Europe if the individual nation states are to live in security and prosperity. Modern industrial developments have further impelled the European states toward cooperation to reduce wasteful competition and organize for more efficient production and distribution. The Federal Republic, under the strong inspiration of its Chancellor, has taken a leading role in this movement so that today Germany is a respected and responsible member of the Western European community of free nations.

All of these many developments put together constitute the German miracle and the German part in the European miracle. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has perhaps been more responsible for these events than any other single person. It is for these many reasons that we join with others in hailing our honored visitor as the greatest statesman of modern Germany.

Prize-Winning Essays on the Importance of the American Merchant Marine to the Farmer, the Miner, and the Manufacturer in World Trade

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH. W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two prize-winning essays in the national competition on the subject, "The American Merchant Marine—Its Importance to the Farmer, Miner, Manufacturer in World Trade." One of the essays is by Louise Rembert Lamar, of Galveston, Tex. She is 18 years old. The other essay is by Joe York Thomas, of La Porte, Tex. He is 16 years old.

These essays are national prize winners in the 1957 Harold Harding memorial essay contest, sponsored by the Propeller Club of the United States.

There being no objection, the essays were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE—ITS IMPORTANCE TO THE FARMER, MINER, MANUFACTURER IN WORLD TRADE

(By Louise Rembert Lamar, Galveston, Tex.)

The United States merchant marine is a major industry. It employs 225,000 people; it sends $2.8 billion into our Nation's economy each year for goods and services. Altogether foreign trade activity creates jobs for 4.5 million American farmers and workers who earn $13 billion annually. These may seem like cold statistics, but they prove how very vital our merchant fleet is to our entire country. Those who feel that the economy would not suffer if ships of other nations carried our precious cargoes are right, up to a point. If and when a world war occurs, the shipping of other countries would become utterly unreliable for us, whereas both importing and exporting would soar to peaks of importance. Our merchant marine is as vital to our Nation's safety as is our Army, Navy, and Air Force.

For the farmer more than for any other group exporting is extremely important now. The millions of tons of surplus foodstuffs bought by the Government and stored at a cost of $3 million a day have been a drug

on the market since the last war. Stores of wheat, rice, corn, cheese, butter, and dried milk are growing each year, as the Government spends tax money from the farmers themselves as well as from other citizens to buy surplus products which eventually must be given away or even destroyed. For 6 years the merchant marine has been carrying parts of this surplus to India, Japan, Europe, and the Near East. Every year, every month, more rice, wheat, corn, rye, barley, and flour are shipped abroad. Slowly but surely our enormous stockpiles are dwindling. When they are gone the farmer will once again have a sure footing in the national economy. In the meantime other crops are streaming out of the country to world markets. American tobacco has a large European market as do meats, animal oils, citrus fruits, and many of our packinghouse products.

Although we import great quantities of mined products, there are two fields of American mining which depend greatly upon foreign exports. Sulfur, a product essential for medicines, gunpowder, and bleaching agents, is mined exclusively in the United States and is supplied to the world by our fleet. In 1955, 40 million tons of American coal were exported, and it is estimated that the demand will jump to 100 million tons by 1960. In addition to direct exports, coal is necessary for production of the steel that is exported in scrap metal or finished products. Shipbuilding and repairing take 9 percent of our steel mills' total output. If more steel were produced, shipyards would gladly use it, for they now have hardly enough steel to rebottom present ships, much less to build all the new ships that are planned.

In addition to its importance to farmer and miner, the American merchant marine is vital to American industry. The manufacturer in America today can no longer depend upon raw materials from our own country. Industrial methods are so complex that the necessary supplies must come from every section of the globe. It is the job of the American merchant vessels to transport the wide variety of these supplies that are so vitally essential to production. Our rubber is shipped from the Far East to be widely used in all industry; 90 percent of the diamonds used in dies for fine-wire drawing, gem polishing, drills, lathes, and engraving come from Kimberley, South Africa. The tungsten for light-bulb filaments must be brought from Spain. From Malaya and Bolivia, we get tin ore which, processed into tin, is used for containers for food in peacetime and is vital for our defense in wartime. Even the production of metals whose ores are available in the United States is dependent upon alloys which must be imported. From Malaya antimony, vital because of its expansion during cooling, is used in aluminum and for type. Manganese and chrome are important to strengthen steel. Uranium from the Belgian Congo, mercury from Mexico and Spain, aluminum and bauxite from Canada, vanadium, molybdenum, zinc, and a host of other metals and ores vital to the life of industry are brought in a steady, dependable stream to industry's doorstep by the American merchant marine.

Hemp and jute for rope, kyanite for wood preservation, raw silk—more materials than can be listed—flow from every corner of the world into the United States through the channels of our merchant fleet. As for our exports, there is hardly a spot on earth where American products ranging from tractors to toothpaste are not recognized as superior. American machinery or American cosmetics—you can find them anywhere—thanks to our merchant marine.

America is in a period of great prosperity. The Census Bureau has estimated that American merchants exported a record $18,900,000,000 of goods in 1956. Our merchant marine is vital to the continuance of this prosperity because it transports the growing output of our farms and factories to foreign markets and brings in foreign raw materials critically needed for our industries. Congress has recognized this importance by authorizing the construction of an atomic-powered merchant vessel which will be completed in 1960. Our Nation's economy and the American merchant marine will continue to grow together through interdependence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Coal Shipping Head Addresses Kings Point Alumni, Marine Engineering Log, January 1957.

Brandt, Karl, Expanding Outlets for Farm Products: Analysis of Opportunities in the Foreign Field, Agricultural Policy Issues, Chicago, Ill., Farm Foundation, 1956.

Grain Exports Show Increase, the Galveston Daily News, March 7, 1957.

How's Business? Nation's Business, October 1957.

Military Aid Drive United States Exports Up as Imports Drop, the Log, July 15, 1953.

Paper Ships Only Product of Maritime Administration Policy; Shipyards Must Have Steel for Tankers, the Marine Digest, January 12, 1957.

Shipping Gains Shown in Reports, the Galveston Daily News, March 7, 1957.

Shipping Policy Book Is Hit by Steamship Lines, the Marine Digest, February 9, 1957.

Ships Laden With Cargo Leaving Isle, the Galveston Daily News, February 14, 1957.

United States Exports at High in 1956, the Forwarder, January 7, 1957.

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE—ITS IMPORTANCE TO THE FARMER, MINER, MANUFACTURER IN WORLD TRADE

(By Joe York Thomas, La Porte, Tex.)

Since America's infancy the American merchant marine has been the lifeline of her people—the lifeline flowing with commodities of American industry at home and abroad. Its service has been indispensable to the miners, farmers, and manufacturers, and because of the dependence of other industries on these three, it can be truly said that the merchant marine controls the lifeline of the American people.

Although this land is regarded as a land of abundance—a land flowing with "milk and honey"—there are some commodities, raw materials as well as manufactured items, which must be imported; likewise, or her abundance America must export to peoples abroad both raw materials and manufactured items which in these days of plenty have tended to pass from the class of luxury to necessity. In this interchange of goods the American merchant marine is loyal in its service both at home and abroad.

One grant industry which has grown even greater because of service rendered by the merchant marine is mining. Each year thousands of tons of iron ore are transported along the Great Lakes from the mines to the steel mills of the Nation. If it were not for the large-scale transportation of this raw material made possible by the merchant marine, mining operations could never have reached the proportions they have, because overland transportation could not have met the needs of the industry. The steel mills, a natural outgrowth of a plentiful supply of raw materials delivered from foreign as well as domestic mines, have given employment to thousands of laborers. Indirectly it is the services of the American merchant marine which make it possible for miners and steel-mill workers to earn a livelihood.

Another industry not generally thought of as mining but technically classed as such is the oil industry. Still another is sulfur. The vertical holes drilled to the oil or sulfur beds are mines; and much of the equipment used in drilling, including steel casings and drilling tools, is delivered by vessels of the merchant marine. This is really only a beginning, for from these mines pour the black gold of the oilfields and the black, boiling liquid, later yellow brick sulfur, which in turn are delivered to ports all over the world by our own merchant marine. Again indirectly it is the seamen of the merchant marine who put money in the pockets of millions of workers and gasoline in the tanks of millions of cars.

Who privileged to walk along any great ship channel has not thrilled at the sight of an American tanker riding low with her cargo of oil, headed for the open sea, or, in retrospect, shuddered at the sight of a cargo of scrap iron destined for Japan? Both, products of mines and mills, are part of the Nation's trade and as such are transported by the American merchant marine.

The little farmer on his dryland farm in central Texas, happy and content with his wealth of rich black soil which produces all he needs for his family plus a surplus for educating his children, would probably raise an eyebrow if it were suggested to him that his life was touched by the merchant marine. Yet, it is in two ways. His being able to supply his own needs releases just that amount of produce—even though it be raised on a much larger farm in some remote part of the United States—for transport to some foreign country by the merchant marine. Also, if he were made aware, he could look about his farm and in his home and recognize, against a backdrop of mighty ships plowing the deep furrows of the sea, his own farm machinery that turns his sod and harvests his crops, his household appliances that cook and preserve his food, and his breakfast cup that steams with inviting goodness of coffee grown high in the mountains of South America sweetened with sugar from the West Indies as commodities which would probably remain as raw materials in places far removed from the little dryland farm of central Texas if it were not for the merchant marine. The cotton farmers, however, are more likely to recognize the link between their farms and the millions of yards of material which help to clothe parts of the world's population as being the service rendered by the merchant marine. The same can be said of the cattle and poultry growers of America.

Another facet of American industry deeply indebted to the service of the merchant marine is manufacturing. Whether or not the factory owners halt to pay tribute, there is little doubt that they are aware of what the service means to them. Before there can be a factory, suitable locations with respect to climate, laborers, tax conditions, and sources of power for running the machinery must be found. Frequently these locations are far removed from the source or sources of raw materials. It is then that the American merchant marine comes to the rescue. Ships of the merchant marine shuttle back and forth across the seas, up and down canals, around lakes, and up and down rivers transporting raw materials to the factories. Then when the factories have transformed the raw materials into commodities in demand at home and abroad, the ships fill their holds with these finished products and deliver them to seaports nearest the points of consumption.

The farmer, the miner, the manufacturer—these are but a few of the people of America served by the American merchant marine, a lifeline in a complex economic system characterized on every hand by interdependence. What better can be said of any organization in a democracy than that it serves its people well?

The Unfair Trial of Jesus of Nazareth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the House the following excellent address by the Honorable GEORGE S. LONG, of Louisiana. Dr. LONG did considerable research on this speech and has delivered it upon a number of occasions. It is characteristic of Congressman LONG and the principles and ideals which he upholds.

THE UNFAIR TRIAL OF JESUS OF NAZARETH

(By Hon. GEORGE S. LONG, of Louisiana)

In the beginning may I say that I am attempting to tell the story of the trial of Jesus Christ from a layman's point of view, just as though I had walked into a courtroom when the trial began, not knowing anything about the case, and sat through it, and after having heard all the evidence and arguments, made up my own mind.

My conclusions and thoughts on this earth-shaking event are based on a great deal of research and study. I have read The Robe, by Lloyd C. Douglas, The Trial of Jesus from the Standpoint of a Lawyer, by Walter M. Chandler, I have personally heard the lecture of the Honorable Prince Freling, former attorney general of the State of Oklahoma on the same subject, and have studied the account of the trial in the Bible many times. I have been aided by this and by the writings of Dr. Gerald L. K. Smith. I will make no attempt to show that I am a lawyer or that I have studied the case from the standpoint of law, but will merely express a layman's viewpoint of the trial after having heard it. I wish now to give you my own thoughts and the conclusions I have reached.

I believe this was the greatest miscarriage of justice that has ever been recorded in the history of mankind. No man, as far as I know, has ever been tried by a court with all of the rules of law disregarded as they were in the trial of Jesus.

One particular point that I want to emphasize is that in that day it was the custom to try one for a capital crime in the daytime. No one was tried at night. They had no electric lights at that time—they had only torches and candles, and it was thought that by having capital crimes tried in the daytime, the witnesses could be clearly seen and a just trial would be more likely to be had. That was for capital crimes. Yet, this custom was not followed in the trial of Jesus. They tried Him at night.

Another law of that day was that if all the judges in the trial unanimously voted to convict the accused, it was presumed that they were biased and prejudiced and the accused was deemed not guilty and would be acquitted. It was said that several of the judges who tried Jesus voted "guilty" because they felt that all having voted Him guilty, He would then be freed according to the law of that day. But the officials disregarded their own law and ordered Him crucified.

They knew that Jesus had never done anything except good, but in spite of this He was crucified.

Let's consider Jesus when He first appeared, speaking as a man or as a prophet, when His mother found Him after He had been away and asked where He had been. He answered, "wist ye not that I must be about My Father's business," but from this moment for 16 years history is silent.

Suddenly He appears on the banks of the Jordan, and is baptized of John and begins His short but glorious ministry, which ended in a judicial fiasco at Jerusalem. His ministry portrayed the character of the man.

The Jews, after they returned from captivity, looked forward to the coming of a King. Their daily prayers were of His coming. When they retired at night, they thought He might appear before the morning, and take His place on the throne of David. They were looking for a King to appear with great pomp and with a large army who would rule the land.

Jesus boldly proclaimed that "I am the King, the Son of God, and the kingdom of God is within Me."

If this belief prevailed, it meant the destruction of the ruling class, and the priests themselves, who were the representatives of the ruling classes, set out to destroy Him. Their first effort was to entangle Him in His talk, in order to assure evidence against Him from His own lips, and for this purpose, they employed detectives. This is the first record in history we have of detectives. It is a sad fact that during the last days of our Master's life, His footsteps were dogged by detectives. In seeking to secure evidence against Him, one detective asked Him, "If several men successively married the same woman, whose wife would she be in your kingdom?"

The next detective asked Him a harder and more difficult question and one it was thought impossible to answer, and one whether answered in the negative or in the affirmative was thought would convict Him.

This man asked Him, "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Caesar?" It was thought if He answered "Yes" it would ruin Him in the eyes of the Jews, and if He answered "No," it would make Him guilty of treason to Rome. He made the remarkable answer: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God, the things that are God's." In other words, He meant simply, in plain words—obey the laws of your state and pay your taxes. Be a good citizen—but on the spiritual side, when you come to receive God, there shall be no person or thing that you should bow down to—then give unto Caesar the things that are his and unto God the things that are God's.

That answer was the basis of the foundation of this Republic. The separation of the church and the state. It sustained Roger Williams, who pleaded for religious liberty in the depths of a Rhode Island forest. The answer simply meant that a man owed a duty to God and one to his country, and our great Republic was founded on the fact that no church, however strong, shall ever control the Government of the United States of America.

These efforts having failed, more desperate proceedings were resorted to. Jesus had been preaching in Nazareth and had had many conversions. The Feast of the Passover was approaching and His enemies knew He would be in Jerusalem, and they set out to destroy Him. It is a significant fact that the great Sanhedrin Court had three secret meetings for this purpose. The first was held in September; the second in February, prior to His death, and at this meeting it was said, "It is better that one man should die rather than a nation should perish."

Just a few days after this, one act occurred which hastened His destruction. This was the sublime miracle He performed when He raised Lazarus from the dead. Immediately following this, the Sanhedrin met and decided to put Him to death.

As I said, the Feast of the Passover was approaching and they knew Jesus would be present. He arrived, and they were surprised at the ovation which He received. The first day He was there He spent not as has been said, in hiding, but in the wilderness in constant prayer.

On the 6th day of April He ate the Last Supper at the home of Mark. It must have been an impressive scene. John, whom Jesus loved, was there. Peter, who was to deny Him, was there. Judas Iscariot, who was to betray Him, was there. Jesus gave an example of humility to all when He bathed His disciples' feet.

About midnight, after the singing of psalms, they left the home of Mark, and entered the Garden of Gethsemane, so called because a wine press was located there. The disciples slept—the Man of Sorrows prayed. Suddenly a noise was heard. Soldiers were approaching. We knew it was night because they carried lanterns, staves and torches. The remarkable and inexplicable thing is that they were Roman soldiers.

When they approached, they asked, "Where is Jesus of Nazareth?" Some confusion seemed to have resulted in determining which was He, and Judas kissed the Master's cheek to indicate the man who was wanted. The impetuous Peter drew his sword and cut off the ear of Malchus, a Roman soldier. This was an act of treason against the Roman Government, yet no arrest was made for this—only one of the gospels mentioned the fact that Jesus stopped and healed the ear of Malchus, and this was Luke. He would probably have been more apt to record it, because he was a physician.

Jesus is now under arrest and the first question that arises is—was the arrest legal? No warrant was issued, and the law, as it existed then, required that no arrest be made during the week of the Feast of the Passover. Here again we see the disregard for their own laws in their eagerness to crucify the Savior of mankind.

As the officers started off with Him, they did not go to any magistrate first. They went to the home of Annas, the smartest, the meanest, the craftiest Jew that ever lived. He had been chief priest of the temple and had conferred the honor on his son, and at this time his son-in-law, Caiphus, held the position. It is a remarkable thing that Annas and all of his household were up, and the time must have been between 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning.

It might be said here that they chose night because their deeds were evil. They were out to kill—to manufacture evidence or to do anything in any manner to hasten the death of Jesus. One asked Him concerning His preaching—whether or not He had said He could destroy the temple made with hands and build another made without hands. Jesus remained silent and one of the servants slapped Him in the face and He simply said, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of evil—if not, why smitest thou Me?" This was not a plea for sympathy, but for justice from their hands, which they knew nothing about, cared nothing about—justice meant nothing to those people who had set out to destroy and crucify Jesus of Nazareth.

The procession starts again and wends its way to the great halls of Sanhedrin. The Sanhedrin was the great court of the Jews. Its members were the highest type of men without a blemish of character. They came up on graduations from lower Sanhedrin, like advancing a judge from a justice of the peace through the county and district courts and on to the Supreme Court. No man could be a judge who had indulged in usury. He had to be a man of unblemished character. There were 70 of these judges and the chief priest presided, making 71. The court was established under the direct authority of God, as found in Deuteronomy. The court had unlimited jurisdiction. It tried every conceivable kind of offense in that day and the remarkable thing was that there were no lawyers in that time. Yet, I am unable to explain the case of St. Paul, for an orator was employed to speak against him.

The court had peculiar rules, one of which should be mentioned. If witnesses testified differently in any given case, no verdict

would be had. The judges simply said somebody was lying and they did not know who it was, that it was impossible to see the human heart and the human brain and they did not assume the responsibility of determining the facts and the case was therefore thrown out of court. What a remarkable tribute to a country that could secure a conviction of any criminal on such a rule of law as this. If this rule were in force today, no district judge could grant a divorce or convict a bootlegger. This was the court then, which Jesus was taken to. The court was in session, with all members present, and the chief priest presiding. When Jesus was led before the court, they began to question Him and when He refused to answer, the chief priest rent His garment. This was not an error of law, but merely an act of bad taste.

Two witnesses were ushered before the court and they testified, "we heard Him say that He could destroy the temple made with hands and build another temple within 3 days made without hands." No denial was made of the statement and indeed no denial was necessary.

This is it at last. The chief priest put the question to a vote and they unanimously voted He was guilty of blasphemy and worthy of death, but to accomplish this, they had to violate the law they themselves had made. The trial was held at night, and I have pointed out under the law, a capital case could not be tried at night. The great law writers pointed out that the examination in such a case is like that of a surgical case, where light is needed, and therefore, it was the law that no capital case could be tried at night, but this law was disregarded in the trial of Jesus. They tried Him at night, against the law, convicted Him and sentenced Him to death.

Another fatal error in the trial was this—the balloting was irregular. The law was that the roll should be called—that the youngest judge should vote first, and so on up to the eldest and the high priest—the reason being that this would show that no one was influenced by his elders. This was wholly disregarded in the case of Jesus. They voted all together that He should suffer death.

Another absolutely fatal error was this; according to the laws of that time, a unanimous verdict operated to acquit the defendant. The old Jew said that in such a case bias and prejudice entered in, and they would not permit a citizen to lose his life under circumstances such as these.

The vote in the case of Jesus, was unanimous. Now, there were judges who knew Him and knew His innocence. His great character, His great courage, and they voted "guilty." Nicodemus was a judge, and voted "guilty." The greatest lawgiver of his day and one at whose feet the Apostle Paul sat, was a judge, and voted "guilty." Surely they did not do so ignorantly, and we must assume that, knowing there was a sufficient number to convict, they voted guilty in an effort to render a unanimous and hence a void verdict, hoping the court would sustain the law.

Jesus, however, is not convicted of blasphemy, but here another obstacle appeared; Rome, in her idea of sovereignty, retained always the power of life and death, and while the Sanhedrin Court could render the verdict, they could not carry it into execution without the approval of Rome, and for this purpose they repaired to the Temple of the Caesars.

It must have been a beautiful morning in April when they started to the judgment seat of Pilate. Their way took them through a beautiful park where fountains were glittering in the sunlight and hundreds of doves were preening their feathers at the water's edge.

The Roman Governor at this time was known by the name of Pontius Pilate. This was, perhaps, not his name. He had been a soldier in the army of Rome and had been decorated for bravery and given the police for distinguished services in battle, and probably took the name Pilate from this occurrence.

Pilate had many of the elements of greatness, but the less said of his family, the better.

Pilate was on the judgment seat when the party arrived and immediately asked them, "what charge do you bring against this man?" They hesitated, but finally forced to prepare a charge, they named three; first "He stirs up all Jewry, from Galilee to this place." Pilate knew this charge was too vague and dismissed it at once. The charged, second, "He refuses to pay his taxes." Pilate knew this to be untrue. Third, "He makes himself the king of the Jews." Pilate was inclined to dismiss all of the charges, and took Jesus inside of the royal residence to question Him privately. He asked Him about His mission, and Jesus answered, "That I should bear witness to the truth, for this purpose I was born, and for this I came into the world."

Pilate disdainfully asked, "What is truth?" and again repaired to the judgment seat and pronounced his judgment.

He tried to avoid the issue and sent Him to Herod. He must have known of the ill feeling between Herod and Jesus, for just a few days before Jesus spoke before the great multitude and said, "Go tell that fox that I perform these miracles, and today and tomorrow, and the third day I shall be perfected." The hearing before Herod amounted to nothing except to effect a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate, who had been on bitter terms.

Jesus was now bedecked with raiment, and again led to the judgment seat of Pilate. Pilate began to temporize and to avoid the issues. He said, "I will scourge him and release him." Cowardly subterfuge of a cowardly man. If he held to his first judgment, he would have come to us as the greatest judge that ever lived. He tried again to avoid the issue; "I will release either Jesus or Barabbas, whom do you choose?" Of course, the choice was Barabbas, for the friends of Jesus were not there.

They uttered in Pilate's ears the fateful words, "If you let this man go, you are no friend of Caesar's." This sealed Jesus' doom, and consigned to destruction the Master Spirit of the age.

It is unnecessary to dwell at any length on the execution, as every schoolchild knows it by heart.

They took Him to the hill called Golgatha. My own opinion is that the cross was lifted first and Jesus nailed upon it. A cup of wine was handed Him. He seemed not to know at first what it was, but He touched his lips to it and realized that it was aromatic wine which the Jewish women always prepared for those who were to undergo execution, that their senses might be dulled when they passed through the valley of the shadow. Jesus thrust it away, preferring to cross through the shadow unintoxicated, without the aid of any narcotic or anything else. He was ready to meet his Father—was there to pay the price for the sins of the world, and die—which He did.

His physical body must have been of the finest texture. He was placed on the cross about 10:30 o'clock in the morning and at the close of the day, the thieves placed with Him were not dead and they had to break their legs to hasten death, but about 3 o'clock in the afternoon Jesus uttered an awful cry. His head fell upon his breast, and He ceased to breathe.

A great many things enter into the life of Jesus which probably may have been overlooked. One thing is Mary, the mother of Jesus. I am thinking at this particular time when the dark hour came and when Jesus hung on the cross between two thieves and had been crucified for the sins of the world—she stood close to the cross.

Of course, this merely portrays and causes to stand out the true mother love, and to show how much greater was the love of Jesus for all mankind, who gave his life for our sins. I sometimes wonder in my studies if Mary was not conscious of the fact that her son Jesus was at that moment making history that would stand throughout time.

We all know that Jesus loved His mother and was giving us the lesson of humility. One of the outstanding things that will be noted in the life of Jesus was that He was not a scholarly man, but God chose to bring His message to the people in a manner that all could understand. Therefore, our Saviour would not be considered at this time as a highly educated, or scholarly, gentleman. I am sure the jeers and hisses that were hurled at Jesus in His dying hour were also cast at His mother.

Jesus was crucified for one reason and one reason only—because He was good and evil men feared Him. He went about preaching the laws of mankind, teaching us that we are our brother's keeper, and if we have plenty in store that we should be willing to divide with our neighbors and friends without price. That this earth was created by God Almighty and all the good things put upon the earth for the use of human beings, and that we are God's creatures, and that if we follow in His footsteps and love Him, He will devise ways and means where there will be no hungry men, women, or children. Starvation will never stalk the land so long as we, His children, adhere to the teachings of Jesus Christ, and when the time has come that all men believe alike and are willing to put the teachings of Jesus into practice, there will be no war, we will comfort the sick and dying and this will be a great and glorious world to live in. We will have no need for courthouses or jails for everyone will do right because it is right and because they love their God and their Maker.

In conclusion, I would like to quote the words of a great historian: "Rest now in Thy glory, Noble Founder, Thy work is completed, Thy divinity established. Fear no more to see the edifice of Thy efforts crumble through no fault of Thine. Henceforth above all frailty Thou shalt witness from the depths of Thy divine peace, the enduring work that shall follow Thy deeds. At the cost of a few hours suffering, which has not even touched Thy great soul, Thou hast achieved immortality the most complete. For hundreds of years the world will breathe life from Thee. Above Thee as an ensign, will be fought our hottest battles. Take possession of Thy kingdom, Thou who has conquered death. Whither, by the royal road Thou has pointed out, long generations of adorers shall follow Thee.

"As for us, ever more children doomed to impotence, who labor without reaping, and who will never witness the fruits of that which we have sown, let us bow before Thee, Divine Man. Thou could do that which we cannot do—create, affirm, act."

Out of this background of what seemed to be defeat came the greatest victory mankind has ever witnessed; namely, complete defeat translated into complete victory.

Will greater originality be born again or will the world be content to follow the bold explorer of ancient days? We do not know, but whatever unlooked-for events may come, Jesus will never be surpassed. His worship will unceasingly renew His youth. His story will invoke the noblest tears. His suffering will subdue the noblest hearts; all nations and all ages will yet proclaim that among the sons of men no one has been born who is greater than He. There will never be another who is perfect on this earth until Jesus comes again.

Appendix

Fair Employment Practices Ordinance in San Francisco

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 3, 1957

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by my very good friend, Supervisor J. Eugene McAteer, giving his well-thought-out reasons for voting in favor of the fair employment practices ordinance before the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco. As one who has spent all of my life supporting measures to guarantee equal opportunity for all races and creeds, without regard to color or religious denomination, I am very proud to insert this excellent statement in the RECORD. We here in the Congress have again come to the stage where the words of men and of political parties must be measured finally by their actions and their records.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY SUPERVISOR J. EUGENE MCATEER ON PENDING FAIR EMPLOYMENT ORDINANCE, MEETING OF BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO, MAY 20, 1957

For many years I have considered the principles of fair employment practices legislation. I have pondered the fundamentals of it from a moral position and from a practical viewpoint. In the past, I have concluded my position to be one of the school which believes that "morality may not be legislated." On this point I have maintained, until recently, that the fundamentals of fair employment practices must come from within the people involved and may not be forced on these people by laws and regulations from without.

During the past several weeks, I have read and reread the legislation before us today. I have reexamined my own previous beliefs and convictions in the field of State regulation. Through all of this recent study, I have been unable to adequately and conscientiously reject a statement made to me recently by a friend of mine of many years, Mr. Harry Kingman, recently retired as the secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association at the University of California, who has devoted over 30 years toward combating community prejudices and discriminatory acts. At present, at his own expense, he is in Washington, D. C., endeavoring to convince Federal legislators that one of the necessary ingredients toward curbing juvenile delinquency and race prejudice, on a national level, is the enactment of a fair employment practices bill.

Mr. Kingman's recent statement to me, when discussing this proposed ordinance, was, "Virtually every statute and judicial decree—local, State, or Federal—to some extent is a regulation of morality. In fact, if moral standards of individuals were not susceptible to community definition and regulation, we would probably not have emerged from primitive barbarism." To me, this statement will withstand the onslaught of whatever weapons the opponents of this particular legislation choose to use.

It must be clear to everyone in our democracy that our laws are founded on consensus. Sanctions and restraints are applied by the community. By legislative action, executive orders and judicial decrees, the race prejudices of Americans have been denied public sanction during the past 20 years. We have seen the elimination of white primaries, the removal of racial restrictions in many professional associations and in public housing, the creation of fair employment practice commissions in a number of States and municipalities, the integration of our Armed Forces, and the racial integration of many segregated schools.

At practically every stage in this current American social transition, strong opposition pleaded that "morality could not be legislated." However, in my opinion, the results indicate a high degree of compliance and only a few isolated instances of firm resistance. Further, the success of moral legislation of the nature of fair employment practices need only be measured and evaluated against the usual standards of law enforcement—not against the hypothetical standards of 100. We all know that our laws against rape and homicide, which have universal and overwhelming support, are occasionally violated. Therefore, obviously the proponents of this legislation cannot, and do not, expect to attain 100 percent compliance.

After wrestling with my conscience, I have concluded that I am no longer able to support my former academic position that "morality may not be legislated." Investigation and personal knowledge convince me that the continuation of the "voluntary plan" of fair employment practices is wishful thinking and hopeful evasion on the part of the opponents of this legislation. Truthfully, I wish that this were not the case. I wish that San Francisco, my native city, could proclaim to the world that our city's morals and community version of the Constitution preamble's reference to "liberty and justice for all" were such that we had voluntarily accomplished fair, equitable, and nonprejudiced employment for all of our citizens in our community. However, such is not the case, in my opinion.

Along with some of my colleagues, I had hoped that the State legislative body would enact a statewide fair employment practices bill. However, this has not happened. It may be that other sections of the State are waiting for a "proving ground" to be created within the State. They may be waiting to see how such legislation succeeds or fails within a certain city in California. If this is true, it now appears to me that this is a golden opportunity for San Francisco to take the lead and to clearly demonstrate that our city is the "city that knows how—to award all her citizens full citizenship."

There is one aspect of this legislation that has been briefly mentioned by Dr. Ertola in our discussion. Each of us is aware of it. This is an ordinance. It may be repealed by this body. If chaos, turbulence and economic unrest result from it, the board of supervisors will know it soon enough. In such case, the legislation may be repealed by six members of this board. Therefore, those of you who are opposed to creating of this Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity may justifiably view this as an experiment. It is not being accomplished by charter amendment which, as we all know, would require a majority vote of the electorate to place it into operation—and the same procedure to repeal it.

Our Declaration of Independence of 1776 indicates that "We hold these truths to be self-evident * * * that among our unalienable rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It is about the latter right that I would like to briefly comment. Happiness infers a state of well-being, peace, and comfort. It infers a freedom from frustration and insecurity. When individuals, families, and communities are enjoying happiness, there is less juvenile delinquency and immorality. How is it possible for a member of the Filipino, Chinese, Negro, or Indian groups of our city to attain complete happiness, when he knows that, at present, there are very few positions available for him, regardless of his education, ability, and desire to progress up the ladder of business and industry? He knows that the denial of the opportunity to prove his ability is a denial built upon a flimsy, non-American, nondemocratic principle of dislike of skin pigmentation. It is understandable why there is so much unrest and frustration in these groups.

We must recognize that the major exterior difference among us is the God-imposed one of skin color. Those of you who have seen a Negro infantryman with his chest torn open by shrapnel will remember that his blood was red and that his ribs and liver were the same color as yours. Those of you who have seen a Filipino scout with his hand blown off at the wrist will recall that his blood and tendons were of the same color as that of the Ute Indian, alongside him in the foxhole, who was hit in the shoulder by a sniper. If you have seen the deck of an LST filled with battlefield amputees, you will agree, I am sure, that the blood that each of them shed for his country was of equal quality and dignity. I am positive that it was, in the eyes of the Lord.

In wartime we afford all of our eligible citizens an equal opportunity to get killed, regardless of race, creed, or religion. I know of no instance where a soldier, sailor, or marine was denied an equal chance to get shot at by the enemy, because of skin pigmentation. It seems that we should now provide our peacetime citizens an equal chance to get a shot at employment without reference to his skin pigmentation. Accordingly, I shall vote for the fair employment practice legislation before us today.

Trinity River Project—Another Job Private Enterprise Can and Is Willing To Do

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, the Congress has an opportunity to save the tax-

payers $55.5 million, and, at the same time, create a $145 million tax-revenue source.

It can be done by approving H. R. 6997, the bill to authorize joint development of the power facilities of the Trinity River project in northern California. In addition, the Federal Government will realize a substantially greater profit from sale of falling water if a private utility company is allowed to construct, operate, and maintain the hydroelectric power phases of the project.

The Pacific Gas & Electric Co. can integrate the energy from this project to serve more people, and spread the benefits for the general public welfare. They have submitted a sound business proposal to the Federal Government which, after careful review, has been recommended for approval by the Secretary of the Interior.

When private enterprise is capable of handling the requirements consistent with the development of our natural resources, it should be encouraged to do so. The Trinity River partnership plan has wide support among the people of California, particularly in the northern part of the State where the project is located. For example, the Eureka, Calif., Chamber of Commerce has reiterated its position in support of the joint development proposal. Their reasons are set forth in a letter to me, dated May 21, 1957, which I desire to include with my own remarks, as follows:

EUREKA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Eureka, Calif., May 21, 1957.

Congressman HUBERT B. SCUDDER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SCUDDER: At a regularly scheduled meeting of the Industrial Committee of the Eureka Chamber of Commerce, held Friday, April 26, the committee again reiterated its position pertaining to the power development of the Trinity River Project.

The industrial committee went on record favoring the following:

That the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. be allowed to install power facilities in connection with the Trinity River project.

That the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. pay for this installation with its own funds.

Our industrial committee feels that private enterprise should develop our own natural resources wherever and whenever possible. Whenever the project is too large to be handled by private enterprise capital and the result would benefit our country at large we then feel that Government support is necessary. In the case of the Trinity River project, the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. is financially capable of developing power facilities at its own expense and we feel that they should be encouraged to do so.

The Pacific Gas & Electric Co. pays $1,010,000 per year in taxes to Humboldt County. These taxes represent a large percentage of our Humboldt County budget that is used for the good of all our people in the school system, roads, parks, and administrative costs.

Our committee feels that private enterprise, such as the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., should be encouraged in developing our natural resources. In this case, the company is anxious to assume its responsibility by expending some $56 million to install power facilities at the Trinity River project site. According to the Pacific Gas & Electric report, there would be $165 million net gain in project revenue, plus $145 million that would be paid in Federal, State, and local taxes.

We ask your support in favoring the installation of power facilities at the Trinity River site by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

Sincerely,

FRANK MCGARAGHAN,
President, Eureka Chamber of Commerce.
R. F. DENBO,
Manager, Eureka Chamber of Commerce and the Humboldt County Board of Trade.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BYRNES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 30, 1957

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution:

RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICE OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, A WISCONSIN REPUBLICAN

The members of the eighth GOP congressional district were grieved to learn of the untimely passing of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland on May 2, 1957. Few people sensed the seriousness of our Senator's last illness.

Senator McCarthy was born November 14, 1908, at Grand Chute, Wis. He received his early education in the Underhill Elementary School of his home community, the name of which school was recently changed to McCarthy School in honor of the Senator. While an elementary school student he conducted a poultry business on the farm of his father, Timothy. This farm the Senator recently purchased. In 1929 he enrolled in the Manawa High School where he completed the prescribed 4-year course in a single year, graduating in 1930. In addition to his high-school work, he owned and managed a country grocery store. In 1930 after his graduation he started a similar store in Shiocton.

In the fall of 1930 he enrolled in the engineering school at Marquette University, but 2 years later he transferred to the law department, and in 1935 completed the prescribed 6-year course in 5 years. While attending Marquette he was completely self-sufficient, paying his own way by working as a boxing coach and operating a filling station at night. Six hours after his graduation from Marquette he had opened a law office in Waupaca.

In 1936 he became associated with the law office of Michael Eberlein, a prominent Shawano attorney, which association lasted about 3 years.

In 1939 the Senator entered the race for circuit judge of the 10th circuit and won a 3-cornered race. In 1945 he was reelected to the bench without opposition.

Meanwhile, early in 1942, he received a commission in the Marine Corps and served in the Pacific theater until December 1944 when he returned to the political arena. During his tour of duty he was granted leave of absence to run against the incumbent Senator ALEXANDER WILEY in the Republican primary of 1944, but he was defeated.

Following his military career he began his campaign for the Senate seat of Robert M. La Follette whom he defeated in the primary of 1946. The Senator's campaign was considered one of the best organized campaigns seen in this State. He was reelected in 1952. His self confidence in challenging the younger La Follette, one of the Nation's best known legislators, was an early indication of McCarthy's aggressive conduct in a turbulent career in the years to come.

The Senator's career mounted after 1950 when he came to grips with the issue of communism. History will record him as one of the most aggressive and courageous fighters against communism among the members of the United States Senate and the man who did more to awaken the public to the dangers and immediacy of communism in our Government. Because of his continuous and courageous fight against the threat of communism, he became the most controversial United States Senator of the century. During the peak of his career his name was before the public daily and the people followed every move he made avidly. A man of firm convictions, he had strong friends and equally firm opponents. Many who disagreed with his methods admired his devotion to the cause he espoused, and his courage of conviction. As a result of his activity he was awarded many citations from civic and patriotic organizations.

Although Senator McCarthy himself never aspired to the presidency of the United States, he played an important part in every presidential election since his arrival on the Federal scene. Because of his hard-hitting campaign techniques and desire to take issues in grip and expose the communistic menace, he more than any other Republican in America was credited with the election of our present President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, that brought about the end of 20 years of rule under the Democrat Party.

In view of the high office to which the people of Wisconsin twice elected Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the devotion to his country for which he did in fact lay down his life; be it

Resolved by the eighth district Republican caucus membership, That they express their deep sorrow at the untimely passing of the Senator and express to his wife and other survivors their most heartfelt condolences for their loss; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be made a part of the minutes of the eighth district caucus assembled at Green Bay, Wis., on May 18, 1957, and that copies be sent to the Secretary of the United States Senate, to Senator Alexander P. Wiley, Congressman John W. Byrnes, and to his widow, Jean, at her address.

Father of Roadside Tables Finally Ready To Use 'Em

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 30, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to insert the attached article from the Detroit News of May 26, 1957, regarding the retirement of Allan M. Williams as engineer-manager of the Ionia County Road Commission. Mr. Williams is considered to be one of the leaders in his field and is known throughout Michigan for originating the idea of placing roadside tables along the public highways. It is believed that not only were Ionia County's tables the first in Michigan but very probably the first in the Nation. Mr. Williams has a fine record of service

in his profession as well as in civic activity. It is a pleasure for me to call this account of his retirement to the attention of the House and wish him many happy years of activity in whatever fields he may decide upon:

FATHER OF ROADSIDE TABLES FINALLY READY TO USE 'EM

IONIA, May 25.—The man who put the table into roadside picnics—and thereby started a Michigan tradition—is retiring from one of his jobs next Saturday.

He is Allan M. Williams, 65, who has spent 38 years making roads smoother, parks prettier, and picnics more enjoyable, especially in Ionia County.

As engineering-manager of the county road commission, the job he is now leaving, the man with ideas originated the roadside table in 1929 when he put up one on U. S. 16. It was a scenic grove at the junction of Morrison Lake Road, south of Saranac.

A FAVORITE SPOT

There's a plaque on the spot today, marking an innovation in Michigan hospitality that was to sweep the State and gain fame and familiarity around the country.

It's a favorite spot with Williams.

In the early days he drove past the intersection many times, often seeing some family parked by the roadside with their lunch spread out on the grassy knoll, or a tree trunk.

"Why not?" he finally asked himself, "give them a table to sit at so they can really enjoy their picnic and the view?"

Williams fashioned a table out of ordinary planks, unlike the 4,200 of the rustic variety that identify Michigan trunklines today.

GAINED WIDE FAME

It drew so many compliments and letters—at Ionia and at the State highway department in Lansing—that Williams got permission to put tables at convenient spots throughout the county.

Finally, the State asked Williams to build 1,000 of them for use in other parts of Michigan. For 5 or 6 years, Williams' office was in the picnic table business, until the task took to much of his time.

Williams has been Ionia County's only road engineer, taking the job when it was created in 1919 after serving as resident engineer in west Michigan for the State highway department.

One of his "bosses" was a road commissioner, named Fred W. Green, who later became governor. Another was Fred A. Chapman, who became secretary-manager of the Michigan State Fair in Detroit.

IMPROVED ROADS

When he took over, county roads were gravel affairs. The county even had 24 horse-drawn graders. There was only 1 mile of concrete highway in the county—linking Ionia with the nearby Ionia State Reformatory.

That was a three-way project, a township supplying the cement, the State putting in the gravel and the reformatory furnishing the labor.

Today the county has 6 major trunklines—U. S.-16 and M-21 bisecting the county from east to west; and M-66 from north to south, plus M-50, M-44 and M-91.

DEVELOPED PARK

Among Williams' accomplishments was the obtaining of the first extra right-of-way grant in the State—beyond the then legal width of 66 feet—to make a wide curve on M-91, north of Lowell, at Pinckney Corners. He worked on it with Otto Hess, Kent County engineer, who becomes the dean of county engineers upon Williams' retirement.

Williams also pushed the development of Bertha Brock County Park from a 23-acre tract into a 200-acre domain of natural woods, streams, and meadows, 2 lodges and a caretaker's home.

West of Ionia on M-21, it is booked solid all summer long and is popular for winter sports as well.

After next Saturday, Williams will devote his time to the Ionia Free Fair, of which he is president.

But he plans also to put some of those roadside picnic tables to personal use.

What Farmers Can Do

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 30, 1957

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from a recent issue of the Farm Journal, a popular farm publication.

Mr. Speaker, during the last several years there has been a persistent pursuit of a solution for our farm problem. Perhaps the time has come for us to pause a moment, observe where we have been, examine where we now are, and determine where we are going.

Every problem has a solution, and a solution comes into being only when all parties associated with the problem exhibit a willingness to cooperate and work toward the problem's end.

The prime principle in this consideration is the farmer, and because the farmer is immediately affected by political and economic impulses generated by government, the second principle becomes the Federal Government. To the extent that these parties effect a desirable solution, in that degree does a third principle become a benefactor—the consumer.

A blending together of the cooperative efforts of the farmer and the Federal Government might well contribute to the desired solution, with congressional committees interested in agricultural functions calling into conference farmer representatives from the various areas of agricultural production throughout the United States.

Such a program would provide an opportunity to air and identify all farm problems, to examine all suggested solutions, and to formulate concepts for delaing with the problem or problems.

Such an approach would perform as a concrete base for the advancement of a farm policy that is comprehensive in nature and effective in application—proving a benefit not only to the farmer but to all other segments of our economy as well.

The above-mentioned editorial follows:

WHAT FARMERS CAN DO

The day is coming, fast, when farmers will have to depend on themselves more and on Government less.

The signs are clear to see. Farmers wield less power with every election. City Congressmen are voting the consumer's viewpoint more emphatically. Their vote on the soil bank this month was merely the most recent and most striking instance. And many farmers are growing skeptical as they watch one program after another come and go. Many would agree with Secretary Benson that the evidence of the last 24 years is inescapable: farmers will not accept, legislators will not vote, administrators cannot impose the kind of controls necessary to get the job done.

Is there reason, then, to despair? Certainly not. Farm Journal believes there is a great deal farmers can do. Some things they can do for themselves. Some they have a right to ask Government to do.

Doing things yourself is surest and best. And farmers are doing much. As commodity groups they are improving their product, then getting out and selling it. Several groups have voted a checkoff to finance selling campaigns. They are spending their own money, and vigorously.

Many an individual farmer has found someway to sell an individual product at a special price. Some are processing their product and collecting a middleman's profit.

Perhaps half of the Nation's farmers—and many farm women—are working off the farm part time. It's strenuous but they are getting into good financial health.

But farmers have a right to call on their Government for some help, too. Farm Journal believes that for now farmers need support prices to help them through a transition period. Such help is in the national interest. Farmers run greater risks, beyond their control, than any major group. To raise enough food they will occasionally raise a surplus, and the whole Nation can well charge the cost to food insurance. But support prices should be at a level that lets farmers make a maximum of their own decisions, and that won't inevitably build surpluses. We may have to get such levels gradually.

Farm Journal would like to see the soil bank retained, altered to make it more effective, then given enough money to work. That won't be cheap, but it would be cheaper than what we've been doing. Handling surpluses hasn't been exactly inexpensive.

We could make it more attractive to take out whole farms rather than spoil the efficiency of others—we haven't fully explored the great possibilities of the conservation reserve.

We could demand research to find new uses for farm products, and new crops we aren't raising at all. And we could find the money right within the present USDA budget.

Farmers can legitimately demand that Government keep credit available, strengthen its program for low-income areas, help establish area vocational schools, help industry move to rural areas to furnish employment, continue marketing agreements—just to make a partial list.

The future for farming is good. But we are justified in vigorously asking Government to help in such ways as can actually work. And we can be prepared to do still more for ourselves.

H. R. 7238: A Bill To Amend the Public Assistance Provisions of the Social Security Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 30, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix

of the RECORD, I include the following letter:

MASSACHUSETTS SELECTMEN'S ASSOCIATION,
Boston, Mass., May 28, 1957.

Re H. R. 7238

Hon. THOMAS J. LANE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE LANE: To amend the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act so as to provide for a more effective distribution of Federal funds for medical and other remedial care.

At is regular meeting held on May 25, the executive board of this association voted unanimously to direct me to let you know that they are in favor of the passage of the above entitled bill.

They feel that if it becomes law it will greatly simplify the administration of medical care in public assistance, and assure Massachusetts of its fair share in Federal contributions for such care.

Respectfully yours,

HAZEL G. OLIVER,
Executive Secretary.

The Marine Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. T. RUTHERFORD
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 30, 1957

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, some 5 or 6 years ago an issue was presented to the Congress. After extensive testimony, discussion, debate, and deliberate consideration, the Congress arrived at its conclusion. This decision once again demonstrated the genius of our system of Government for sifting and sorting and finally arriving at the correct decision.

This incident to which I refer is the action of Congress on the Marine Corps bill, as it is commonly termed. At the time the 82d Congress considered this bill in 1951 it was apparent that the efficiency of the Marine Corps was being seriously impaired and its role as the Nation's traditional force-in-readiness was endangered. This caused great concern, as you can remember, not only for this outstanding military organization, but, more fundamentally, for the safety and security of our country.

As a result of Congress' searching inquiry into this vital defense matter, the role of the Marine Corps as our ever-ready striking force was confirmed by law, the Marine Corps was to be represented on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the size of this readiness force was firmly established by law as not less than 3 full combat-ready divisions, with supporting elements, and 3 air wings.

The occasion for my comment at this time is to express approbation for the manner in which the Marine Corps has carried their responsibility under the law. Rather than adopt an impotent, inert position the Marine Corps has continued its history of strength and dynamic productiveness in the field of military accomplishment.

Starting 10 years ago with the development of a new approach tuned to the requirement of contemporary war and equipment, the Marine Corps has effectively developed its doctrine of vertical envelopment, using helicopters to increase mobility, versatility, and security.

Today our country can be pleased with and proud of our Congress, who provided a strong Marine Corps to assure the safety of our country. I am pleased to learn that the Marine Corps has lived up to its responsibilities. In this period of crucial and critical conditions throughout the world we are at peace, and this is due, no doubt, to the fact that our Nation has a strong Marine Corps posed to support our national policy and protect our interest wherever and whenever it be required.

With one marine division in the Far East, finely trained and equipped for instant use, the enemies of our country cannot mistake the resoluteness and firmness with which the United States views the necessity of peace. This force is proof positive to those who would hamstring our country that we are ready to and capable of effectively striking down any aggressive force unleased in that area.

Dramatic evidence of the effectiveness of the Marine Corps force in readiness was recently demonstrated in the explosive Middle East. At the very moment when war eruption appeared certain, the United States Navy moved its Sixth Fleet into the area, with a Marine Corps landing force. We all witnessed the electric effect this had upon the aggressive forces then on the move. War or warlike action was averted, and the interests of the free world were protected and advanced.

The Marine Corps has lived up to its obligation and requirement of law by maintaining 3 combat-ready divisions and 3 air wings as our Nation's first force of protection from danger and war. The will of Congress has been followed, and I am of the opinion that the efficient and effective way in which it has been accomplished is worthy of comment.

The Formosa Outbreak—Causes and Lessons To Be Learned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 30, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Minneapolis Tribune of May 27, 1957, which is by all odds the best analysis I have seen of the basic factors underlying the recent explosion on Formosa.

Much of the resentment that has been building up was visible and could have been prevented, but that is water over the dam. The problem is what to do now—to correct, or at least to reduce the tensions.

Americans cannot be asked to live on Asian standards; and Asians cannot in the near future attain American standards. So a certain amount of envy is inevitable. But we must for the sake of our own security interests, and we can, make adjustments to prevent the envy from proceeding to irritation, then resentment, then alienation. One of the prices of successful world leadership is to discover and make such adjustments.

A first step is to be more selective and to pay more attention to the views and feelings of those in Asia who want to be both our allies and our friends. We must screen more carefully all American personel sent abroad, both civilian and military—and including wives. We would not send them over unless they were competent in their particular specialties. But what they do and how they live off duty is just as important to their usefulness to our country, as how proficient they are in transmitting the technical skills they are sent over to communicate. It is self-defeating needlessly to antagonize or alienate those whom we are helping to become stronger, because their independence and well-being are vital to our own.

The editorial follows:

ONE PRICE OF LEADERSHIP

The anti-American rioting on Formosa illustrates some of the difficulties the United States faces as the leader of the free world.

Without American support, Formosa would fall rather quickly to the Chinese Communists. American military and economic aid has given Formosa a higher living standard than most other nations in southeast Asia, and much better than on the mainland, now governed by the Chinese Communists.

Yet in spite of this American help, the large-scale rioting that broke out shows there is a strong anti-American feeling on Formosa. Why should this be?

We don't pretend to know all the answers, but many factors are involved in the growth of anti-American feeling throughout many areas of the world.

In the first place, the United States helps many nations, but we still are envied. Our wealth and our high standard of living put us in the category of the rich relative who is envied more than he is loved.

In the second place, the Asians want respect, understanding and, above all, treatment as equals. Any incident that hints—accurately or not—that there is one code of justice for the Asian and another for the white man rankles with the Asian. On Formosa, an army sergeant was acquitted by an American court-martial for killing a Chinese "Peeping Tom." This may well have appeared to the Chinese as another example of special justice for the white man.

In the third place, Americans who go abroad for our Government and for private industries often live in segregated colonies. They take with them the American culture and as much of the American standards of living as they can afford. This automatically sets them off from the local people.

On Formosa, most of the Chinese and Formosans walk or ride bicycles. Most Americans, of course, own automobiles. Americans usually have their own clubs and swimming pools, and live apart from, not as a part of, the local people, in the minds of Asians, these actions show that Americans do not regard the Chinese as equals.

In the fourth place, the Communists have been conducting an unremitting propaganda war against the United States bases around the world. Prime Minister Nehru of India, a

neutralist, also is critical of our system of military alliances. And Formosa, after all, is an American base.

There may well have been other reasons, too, for the anti-American feeling, such as the frustrations of the Formosans who want independence more than they want American aid or rule by Chiang; the refusal, for very good reasons, of the American Government to support Chiang's desire to return to the mainland of China; the problems raised by the retirement of many overage men in Chiang's huge army, and perhaps others.

But similar anti-American feelings have been displayed recently in Japan, on Okinawa, in South Korea, in the Philippines, and in many other Asian countries. Even Europeans have been more critical of this country in recent months.

Yet even if we improve our relationships with the overseas people, as we should, we cannot expect to buy friendship with the dollars we invest in military and economic aid. Our purpose in stationing our Armed Forces in various parts of the globe and providing funds for economic development abroad is to strengthen the free nations and to help protect them from international communism. The hostility we incur is part of the price we pay for world leadership.

Another Broken Pledge to the Indians?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 30, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, there is now pending before the House Public Works Committee a so-called flood-control project, which, if approved, will haunt the conscience of this Nation for generations to come. I refer to the proposed dam across the Allegheny River at Kinzua, Pa.

If approved, it will inundate some 9,000 acres of an Indian reservation in western New York which was granted to the Seneca Nation under solemn treaty by the first President of our country, George Washington. It will destroy the Indians' habitations and farmlands, leaving them nothing but hilly and precipitous mountain land on which to eke out a living.

This dam is being promulgated as a flood-control project, but a study of the hearings makes it abundantly clear that flood control could be provided by a much smaller structure or by other alternatives, with far less cost to the taxpayers of the United States and far less violence to the moral conscience of this Nation. As presently envisioned, it will, in fact, cost in excess of $100 million, and it will be built, not solely for flood control, as its sponsors claim, but for power purposes.

Mr. Speaker, the people of western New York are aghast at this bland and cavalier disregard of morality and fundamental decency in this project. I have received hundreds of letters from residents of the area, expressing their sense of shock and concern that the great Government of the United States could so lightly ignore the plain but solemn pledge to the Indians which it wrote into a treaty 163 years ago, and which the Indians themselves have scrupulously observed.

If this project is carried out, as presently planned, and over the intense and unanimous opposition of the Senecas, it will indeed be a black day for America. If we cannot keep faith with the first Americans in our own country, who will trust the solemnly pledged word of the United States Government?

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD, an article from the Democrat Chronicle, of Rochester, N. Y., with respect to this issue, and a group of letters from today's mail on the subject. These letters are of particular interest, because they come from a group of fourth-graders, who find themselves unable to understand how the great Government of the United States could so lightly ignore a treaty made by the Father of his Country. I confess I cannot understand it either.

The article and letters follow:

PLEDGE TO CORNPLANTER—CONTROVERSY OVER PLANS FOR NEW KINUZA DAM CENTERS ON A 1794 PROMISE TO INDIAN CHIEF

(By Floyd King)

In 1790, George Washington addressed himself as follows to the great Seneca Chief Cornplanter:

"The merits of Corn Plant (Cornplanter) and his friendship for the United States are well known to me and shall not be forgotten."

Four years later in solemn council at Canandaigua, President Washington's emissary ceded certain tribal lands to the Iroquois family and gave this pledge:

"The United States will never claim the same nor disturb them or either of the Six Nations nor their Indian friends * * * in the free use and enjoyment thereof."

One hundred and sixty years later, Col. H. E. Sprague, of the United States Army engineers, said:

"The property right of the Seneca Nation * * * is subject to the inherent right of the Government to appropriate property for public use."

These apparently contradictory statements are important right now because around them swirls the heated controversy over the right of the Government to build a flood-control dam that would wipe out the Cornplanter Indian Reservation. This Indian homeland and burial place of the immortal Seneca is astride the Allegheny River in Pennsylvania just below the New York border.

The controversy has sentimental overtones for Rochester because of the shadowy figure of Cornplanter, still dominant in the picture although he has been dead these 100 years. The remarkable Seneca leader was born at the old Indian village of Conewaugus just south of Rochester on the Genesee River.

All of the Indian trails in this area probably felt his moccasined feet; he was the subject of numerous writings by the late Dr. Arthur C. Parker, former director of the Rochester Museum; and when the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania granted him a tract of land where he is now buried, it was called Jenniseo in memory of his boyhood home along the Genesee.

Generally, man has little time for sentiment when he is making the inexorable changes that he calls progress. Nevertheless, plans for this modern-day dam are so interwoven with the legends of Cornplanter that to build for the future without consideration for the past would be historically unthinkable.

It was Cornplanter's fate to be a leader of his people during the tortured years when the tide of migration was sweeping over Indian lands. The literary legacy that he left to history is made up largely of letters to Washington and the Governor of Pennsylvania protesting with pathos and dignity the steady encroachment on Indian territory and the constant breaking of treaties.

The situation of the Six Nations was not a happy one. In addition to holding land coveted by the white man, they had fought on the side of the British during the Revolution. In one of the most eloquent letters in history, Cornplanter wrote to Washington explaining why the Senecas had fought with England against the Americans.

He reminded Washington that in the beginning the colonists told the Indians that they were "the children of one great father (the King of England) who regarded the red people as his children" and invited the Indians to accept his protection and to obey him. Cornplanter continued:

"What the Seneca Nation promise, they faithfully perform. When you refused to obey the King, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober. In obeying him we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise. We were deceived; but your people, teaching us to confide in that King, had helped to deceive us, and we now appeal to your heart. Is all the blame ours?"

This paragraph contains the germ of the misunderstanding that has plagued Indian and white man since they began dealing with each other. To the Indian, a promise is a promise and a treaty a treaty. They now hold a deed to land and a solemn promise that "the United States will never claim the same nor disturb them in the free use and enjoyment thereof."

The United States proposes to scrap the treaty and break the promise. It plans to build a 181-foot dam across the Allegheny at Kinzua, Pa. It would flood out all of the 700-acre Cornplanter Reservation and a considerable part (over 9,000 acres) of the Allegany Reservation in New York State.

In protesting the building of the dam that would wipe out the homeland of the Seneca Nation, Indian spokesmen pointed out that this homeland "is essential to the maintenance of our vital community life. Here is our Long House, center for community and religious life. This community life has great significance not only for those now living on the reservation but also for hundreds of their relatives who have their homes elsewhere but return to the homeland at regular intervals for the social and spiritual strength they derive from the community."

The Indians not only have protested the treaty breaking on moral grounds but the Seneca Nation retained two of the country's most noted flood control engineers who studied the project and offered the opinion that the proposed dam is "not even a good second choice."

Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, former chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and Barton E. Jones, who built Norris Dam and 75 other major flood control projects, proposed instead a 41-mile diversion channel that would drain flood waters into Lake Erie.

"There is every indication," Dr. Morgan declared, "that permanent and complete control of the floodwater orginating in the upper Allegheny River should be accomplished by diversion."

The Indians also proposed a series of small headwater dams. On this plan they have the support of the Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture which maintains that upstream control is the efficient and economic way to prevent floods.

The total program proposed by the Indians would cost between forty and sixty million dollars. The plan was dismissed without

comment by the Army engineers who are going ahead with plans for the downstream dam at an estimated cost of 125 millions.

The big dam is part of the Rivers and Harbors bill now before Congress. A Senate subcommittee considering an appropriation for the dam was told at a hearing last week that there are many protests against the treaty being violated. However, the indications were that the money would be made available.

Col. H. E. Smyser, of the Army engineers' explained to the committee that the Government does not want title to the Indian land but would be satisfied with a lease. Indian spokesmen professed to see no difference between a title grab or a lease inasmuch as both took their land away and flooded out their homes.

However, opposition has been mounting. Only last week the Erie County Amvets Council voted to oppose construction of the dam. And Representative HAROLD C. OSTERTAG, who was made a member of the Tonawandas when he visited their reservation in western New York some time ago, has served notice he will not approve the project as long as the Senecas object.

"My mail," said OSTERTAG, "reflects the widespread concern of people of good will and good conscience everywhere over this project. The taking of the Senecas' land for flood-control purposes poses both legal and moral questions of considerable magnitude."

It is on these moral grounds that we return to Cornplanter ever the spokesman for his people against the injustices of the white man. His birth, life and death were marked by these injustices, which now threaten his grave.

Cornplanter was the son of John Abeel, an Indian trader and renegade son of one of Albany's most distinguished mayors. John was recorded as an "alleged lunatic" for the following reasons:

"He early developed a taste for hunting and finally became a fur trader among the Indians of the Six Nations with whom he was on terms of intimate friendship, so much so that he became enamoured with an Indian princess, named Aliquipiso, of the Turtle Clan of Seneca Tribe, and married her. Their son, born about 1742, became the famous Corn Plant."

This was a forest ceremony performed after the Indian fashion. John soon abandoned his Indian wife and child, married the daughter of a prominent German family and settled down to a life of respectability. The lunatic label apparently then was dropped.

Years later in one of his eloquent letters to the Governor of Pennsylvania, Cornplanter told how he learned of his parentage and his subsequent meeting with his father. He wrote:

"When I was a child I played with butterflies, the grasshoppers, and the frogs, as I grew up I began to pay some attention and play with the Indian boys in the neighborhood and they took notice of my skin being a different color from theirs and spoke about it; I inquired of my mother the cause and she told me that my father was a resident of Albany.

"I then knew where my father lived and went to see him and found he was a white man and spoke the English language—he gave me victuals when I was at his house, but when I started to return home, he gave me no provisions to eat on the way—he gave me neither kettle nor gun, neither did he tell me that the United States was about to rebel against the Government of England."

Cornplanter has been named after his father, John Abeel. This name became corrupted to O'Bail. The common reason given was that the white man either could not pronounce Abeel or misunderstood it. Dr. Parker suggested there may have been an effort on the part of those interested to cover up the facts by permitting a misspelling of the name which passed into history as O'Bail.

Thus it was that Cornplanter, after a lifetime of futile dealing with the white man, always marked by integrity and dignity on his part, came to his deathbed under a name not his own and saddened by the knowledge that he had lost much of the land of his ancestors to the white people. He asked that his grave not be marked.

But Pennsylvania could not ignore the great Indian leader and 30 years after his death it erected a monument at his grave. Inscribed to John O'Bail, known as Cornplanter, the eulogy reads:

"Chief of the Seneca Tribe, and a principal chief of the Six Nations from the period of the Revolutionary War to the time of his death. Distinguished for talent, courage, eloquence, sobriety, and love for tribe and race, to whose welfare he devoted his time, his energy, and his means during a long and eventful life."

If the Kinzua Dam is built, the waters will rise many feet over this monument and leave the grave unmarked, as Cornplanter asked.

AUDUBON SCHOOL No. 33,
Rochester, N. Y., May 21, 1957.

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: As a result of our intense study of the Seneca Indians in fourth grade, our class searches avidly for any information about New York State Indians. Thus the enclosed article about Cornplanter's Indian Reservation came to our active attention during morning news discussion.

The children were so concerned about the plight of these Indians that this letterwriting was the direct outgrowth, and in a very realistic way they have expressed their views. Their sincerity of purpose is evident.

Respectfully yours,
(MRS.) ETHEL S. ANDERSON,
Teacher, Grade 4.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., *May 20, 1957.*

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: I would like to discuss the problem of the Seneca Indians. I think this is an important topic.

The dam Congress plans to build will flood the Senecas' 700-acre reservation and a big part of Allegany Reservation, in New York, which is theirs, too. If it is flooded, it will break the pledge Washington made in 1794. Two famous flood-control engineers suggest that, if you had smaller dams at the source of the river, it would be much better all around. There is another way, too. They can make a 41-mile diversion channel that would drain floodwaters into Lake Erie. I think that either of these ways would be better than the 181-foot dam planned at Kinzua, Pa.

They have the support of the Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, which says that upstream control is the efficient and economic way to prevent floods.

I hope you will take my letter into consideration and do what is best for the Indians.

Respectfully yours,
KATHLEEN ANN ROGERS.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., *May 20, 1957.*

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: I have studied the Seneca Indians and I believe they should not be driven off their land. If the Government stops the Allegheny River with a dam at Kinzua, Pa., it will flood the Indians off their land. Two engineers know two ways of doing it without flooding them out. One way is to make some small dams near the source of the river. Another is to redirect the course of the river.

Remember the promise that George Washington made to Cornplanter. He said that Cornplanter could keep the land that was given to him. Where would the Indians go if they were driven off their land? Where would you go if you were a Seneca Indian? Please save Cornplanter's Reservation for the Senecas, who have always kept their promises to us.

Respectfully yours,
JANET ANN MACKAY.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: I think you should let the Indians keep their reservation. Instead of building the 180-foot dam at Kinzua, Pa., the Government could put in some small dams. If the Allegheny River destroys the reservation because of the new dam, we will be breaking the promise that George Washington made in 1794.

Respectfully yours,
THOMAS DELEYSER.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., *May 20, 1957.*

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: I am concerned about the 181-foot dam that may be built on Cornplanter's Indian Reservation. I don't think it should be built, because of George Washington's promise to Cornplanter that was made in 1794. I think it is a good idea to redirect the Allegheny River into Lake Erie, or make some small dams near the source of the river.

Respectfully your,
VIRGINIA WRIGHT.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., *May 20, 1957.*

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: We have studied about the Senecas and we think you should not put the 180-foot dam on their reservation, because it would flood the land and drive the Indians away. Cornplanter got the land from George Washington and he promised it would always be theirs. Please find another way to solve the Allegheny flood problem.

Respectfully yours,
MARIA POLITO.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., *May 20, 1957.*

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: Our teacher read us about the big dam you are planning to build which will destroy the middle of the Indian reservation. I think you should build some small dams near the source of the river, or find another solution to the problem, so the Cornplanter Reservation will be safe.

Respectfully yours,
DONALD D. CARLSON.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., *May 20, 1957.*

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: Our class read an article in the Democrat and Chronicle about Congress building a dam at Kinzua, Pa. We would like to choose one of the other ways mentioned to accomplish what has to be done.

The reason we are against the dam is because of our good neighbors, the Indians. The dam will flood their reservation and they

will be driven from their homeland. We studied about the Indians in our fourth-grade classroom this year.

We know that our Government promised Cornplanter that it would never take away land that had been given to the Seneca Nation. Now they say they want it back.

I try never to make a promise that I can't keep. Don't you think the United States Government can keep its promise to Cornplanter? We have taken away almost all the land the Indians once had; please let them keep their homeland now. After all, where would we be if they took our homeland away from us? I hope you will give this matter your attention because it is very important to us.

Respectfully,

NANCY MARIE MARAILLE.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., *May 20, 1957.*

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: I do not approve of Congress taking the Indians' land away from them. George Washington made a promise to Cornplanter in 1794 that this land would always be Seneca territory. I don't think that promise should be broken.

Some engineers found out that they could build smaller dams up the river farther. Things would be better all around if the smaller dams were built. There is also another way. A canal could be built to drain floodwaters into Lake Erie. I hope you take my letter into consideration and do the right thing for the Indians.

Respectfully yours,

BARBARA AHRENS.

International Atomic Energy Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 31, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address entitled "Approval of Atomic Agency Essential to United States Leadership," delivered by the distinguished junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE] to the New Jersey Young Republicans in Atlantic City, and published in the New York Herald Tribune of Sunday, May 25, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

APPROVAL OF ATOMIC AGENCY ESSENTIAL TO UNITED STATES LEADERSHIP

(By Senator CLIFFORD P. CASE)

The following are excerpts from a speech by Senator CASE delivered recently to the New Jersey Young Republicans in Atlantic City:

"Nearly three and a half years ago President Eisenhower appeared before the United Nations and pledged this Nation to find the way by which nuclear forces could be dedicated to the benefit, not destruction, of man.

"His words sparked new hope throughout the world. Thus was launched an effort that is more than a key feature of the President's foreign policy. In a very real sense, it is key to our future and that of every man.

"For many years following the war the United States labored to bring about a system of international control of atomic energy. Those efforts were unavailing, primarily because of Soviet refusal to agree to effective control measures such as inspection.

"It was against this background that the President made his historic address in December, 1953. He suggested a new effort that would concentrate on the peaceful uses of the atom. From his suggestion, over long months of negotiation, has developed the International Atomic Energy Agency. Last October the draft statute of the Agency was adopted unanimously by an 81-nation conference. Recently, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee opened hearings looking toward ratification by the Senate. Prompt ratification by the United States is, I believe, of the utmost importance.

"At this point in history the United States no longer has a monopoly of the nuclear energy field. A number of nations including, of course, the U. S. S. R., are engaged in nuclear development. Many others, especially the under-developed nations are eagerly seeking an opportunity to avail themselves of the marvelous benefits the atom can bring.

"The question is whether the United States will join with other nations in an effort to insure that the development of peaceful uses of the atom will go forward in ways which will best serve our interests and the peace of the world.

"We are faced with an opportunity that is unlikely to come again. For the first time there has been achieved well-nigh universal agreement on a plan of development and control in the atomic energy field and fortunately this comes at a time when relatively few nations are yet engaged in weapons development. We have an opportunity for leadership. If we forego that opportunity, we run the risk that others—of whose basic hostility to our way of life there can be no doubt—will exploit our failure to take the lead.

"What of the risks, it is asked, that are involved in membership in this new Agency? To that I can only say I have been unable to discover any substantial risk that can be avoided by refusing to join the Agency.

"The draft statute specifically forbids the use for military purposes of fissionable material supplied through the International Atomic Energy Agency. To insure the effectiveness of this prohibition, a comprehensive system of safeguards is provided. These safeguards are the equal, indeed the same I am informed, of any the United States now prescribes in its bilateral atomic agreements with other nations.

"Among the most important of the safeguards is the right of inspection, of free access by Agency personnel to all places, persons and data having to do with a project. This means, of course, that like any other country that seeks Agency assistance, any applicant among the Soviet satellite countries will have to submit the projects for approval and agree to continuous inspection and accountability procedures. This would at least open a window on an area now cut off from our view, though not from a major source of nuclear materials and technology.

"Qualified technical experts state that diversion of fissionable materials of the quality specified to military purposes would be most difficult, if not impossible, to achieve clandestinely. At the same time the strict accountability features in conjunction with other technical factors and the requirement that excess material be stored in Agency storehouses make it most unlikely that diversion could be accomplished secretly.

"We can refuse to join the IAEA but this does not mean we can stop the drive of other nations to secure for themselves the benefits of atomic energy. Or we can ratify the Charter and take the lead in establishing what the President has called 'an international body in which all may safely pool their knowledge and skill for the advancement of all.'

"To me the choice seems clear. We, no less than other nations, want and need 'this new instrument of peaceful progress.'"

Democrat Charge That Eisenhower Policies Enrich the Rich and Impoverish the Poor Is Gross Untruth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 30, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a factual article that sets the record straight on the results of the Eisenhower administration fiscal policies that have strengthened the economy and benefited all. The article is by the distinguished economist, Dr. Arthur Upgren and appeared in the Minneapolis Star of May 21, 1957.

The article follows:

FISCAL CRISIS? IT "JUST AIN'T SO"—FACTS BELIE DEMOCRATIC ADVISORY COUNCIL'S CHARGES

(By Arthur Upgren)

The advisory council of the Democratic national committee recently asserted that our fiscal policies, those of the Eisenhower administration, are approaching a crisis; that the net effect of all the administration's economic and financial policies is that the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer.

First, let's take a look at the fiscal policies. The authoritative, official Economic Indicators shows that there was a deficit in the Treasury's cash consolidated budget of $6.1 billion in 1953, most of the deficit resulting from the Truman budget for the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1953.

The same publication shows that this $6 billion plus deficit was converted into a surplus of $5.5 billion by 1956.

This is, indeed, a strange way to create a fiscal crisis, as the Democratic committee claims the Eisenhower administration has done.

In addition, between 1953 and 1956 there was a cut in defense expenditures and there was a cut in taxes. President Eisenhower recently estimated that this cut, to date, has given taxpayers $25 billion in relief from the high taxes prevailing in 1953 and the years immediately preceding.

How could a deficit of $6.1 billion be converted into a surplus of $5.5 billion at the same time that there was a tax cut of $7.4 billion? Part of the answer is that there was a $10 billion cut in defense outlays.

The rest of the answer is that our total national income rose from $298 billion in 1954 to $342 billion in 1956. That's a rise of $44 billion, and the Treasury's tax collectors got a lot of it.

Yet personal disposable incomes—what you've got left after taxes—rose by $30 billion, a nice 10-percent gain in 2 years, 1955 and 1956.

In the years from June 30, 1955, to the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, net budget receipts of the Federal Government have risen by more than $10 billion while net budget expenditures have risen by less than $5 billion. This, too, is not the way you go into a fiscal crisis.

What has happened has been that we have had marked economic growth and expansion, sparked by wise economic and fiscal

policies. That's just about the complete opposite of having produced a fiscal crisis.

Now as to the Democratic committee's charge that the rich are getting richer and the poor getting poorer, Dr. Arthur F. Burns, until last fall Chairman of the President Economic Advisory Council, has shown that it is the other way around. The rich have been getting relatively poorer and the poor have been getting absolutely richer.

In an annual report to the National Bureau of Economic Research of which he was chairman (a post he has reassumed), Burns some years ago pointed out that since 1929 we had moved more than half of the way toward absolute equality of incomes.

Progressive income taxation, interest rate control, and rent control have aided in cutting back the incomes of the richest groups.

Again Economic Indicators reveals that disposable income—what is left after tax deductions—rose from $538 per capita in 1939 to $1,737 per capita in the first quarter of 1957. Leaving out price inflation the gain was more than 70 percent in 18 years.

Since 1939 the gain in average weekly earnings of our 17 million factory workers has been from $23.86 weekly pay to $82 in March 1957. The rise has been from $68 a week in 1952 to $82 at the present time.

That is a gain of over 20 percent in the first Eisenhower administration.

A Tribute to Our Jewish War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOS. E. MARTIN
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 31, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, on May 24, 1957, it was my privilege to attend the annual memorial services honoring Jewish War Veterans of the United States, held at Adas Israel Synagogue, Washington, D. C., and to take part in these memorial services. I ask unanimous consent that my address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TRIBUTE TO OUR JEWISH WAR VETERANS

(Address by Senator THOS. E. MARTIN, Republican, of Iowa, at the annual memorial services honoring Jewish War Veterans of the United States, Adas Israel Synagogue, Washington, D. C., May 24, 1957)

It is a great honor to take part in these memorial services honoring the Jewish war dead. The ideals of your organization and the way in which you have carried these ideals into practice are eminently worthy of emulation.

Recently, I took the time to read part of the constitution of the Jewish War Veterans. I was particularly impressed by article II of this constitution. I would like to quote a portion of it:

"To maintain true allegiance to the United States of America; to encourage honor and purity in public affairs; to combat whatever tends to impair the efficiency and permanency of free institutions; to encourage the doctrine of universal liberty, equal rights, and full justice to all men.

* * * * *

"To instill love of country and flag in our youth and to foster such activities as will tend to perpetuate the objects and ideals of our organization."

The history of our country's struggle to secure and maintain the principles cited above is an inspiring story of purpose and devotion. The part played in these struggles by people of the Jewish faith is equally inspiring. From the first days of the Revolutionary War, American Jews have taken their place alongside men of all faiths and all beliefs in the common cause of freedom.

Early in our history the rumblings of freedom were heard in the Colonies. One of the first visible signs of the oncoming struggle was the Non-Importations Resolutions of 1765—the first real step toward independence—when a group of colonists indicated desire for freedom by refusing to trade with the English. It is highly significant that among the signers of these resolutions were nine Jews whose principal livelihood depended on such trade. Six Jews signed the more stringent agreement of 1770. But they took this action without fear because of their faith in the ideals of liberty and freedom.

When the fight for independence turned into actual war, the Jews of the Colonies carried their share of the burdens. Deeply etched on the rolls of the Revolutionary heroes are such names as Lt. Col. David Salisbury Franks who served with great distinction; Lt. Col. Isaac Franks, an aide-de-camp to General Washington; Mordecai Sheftall, who put his entire salary at the disposal of the Army physicians for the purchase of much-needed medicines, and was badly wounded at the siege of Savannah; Manual Mordecai who also served on Washington's staff and who gave a fortune of $100,000 for the cause of independence; and Hayn Solomon who was arrested by the British as an American spy and who later extended financial help to James Madison, Edmond Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, Arthur Lee, General Steuben, and Robert Morris and still later became the financial link between the United States and Europe. The Jews truly contributed their share of sacrifice and valor to the infant United States.

That the Hebrew played a conspicuous part in the drama of the revolution, despite the relatively small size of his community, there can be little doubt. His aid was both military and financial. The record reads creditably on both counts.

When the tragic War Between the States broke out, Jews were found on both sides fighting for the causes in which they believed. Simon Wolf, who made an exhaustive study of that war, estimates that 8,400 Jews served with the northern army, and it was reported that John Seddon, Confederate Secretary of War, one time said there were between 10,000 and 12,000 Jews serving in the Confederate Army.

Although it is impossible to estimate accurately the total number of Jews who served in the War Between the States, some of the names and deeds of fighting Jews will live forever—names like Leopold Karpeles, who turned a retreat into a victory at the Battle of the Wilderness by rallying the northern soldiers; Benjamin Levy, the 16-year-old drummer boy who won the Congressional Medal of Honor for his bravery at the Battle of Charles City Crossroads; Leopold Blumenberg, about whom Lincoln once said, "He has suffered for us and served us well, had the rope around his neck for being our friend, raised troops, fought and been wounded"; and Edward Soloman, who served with great courage and valor at Gettysburg.

On and on this list of Jews who fought so gallantly could go. In each war there were Jews, great numbers of Jews, who compiled records that rank with America's bravest.

More than 1 million Jews have served in our Armed Forces in our country's wars. The list of Jewish heroes could go on for hours and we still wouldn't list them all. While we cannot possibly list all the Jewish heroes of World War I and World War II and Korea, we can pay special tribute to Chaplain Alexander D. Goode who, together with 3 other chaplains, 2 of the Protestant faith and one of the Catholic faith, gave their lives in the sinking of the *Dorchester* in the North Atlantic early in World War II. The story of Chaplain Goode and his fellow ministers of religion, Chaplains Clark V. Poling and George L. Fox, Protestant ministers, and Chaplain John P. Washington, a Catholic priest, is an epic of human dignity and sacrifice. As a lifeboat drew away from the stricken *Dorchester*, a young sailor who knew the four chaplains had given their life preservers to four enlisted men, saw them locked arm in arm and deep in prayer. And then suddenly the men and the ship were gone—gone beneath the icy waves.

In the First World War there were 3 Medal of Honor winners, 1 of whom is your genial and able national executive director, Ben Kaufman, 147 winners of Distinugished Service Crosses and Medals, and 982 other decorations, citations, and awards that were given to American Jews. In World War II, 2 more Jews won the Nation's highest award for bravery, the Congressional Medal of Honor, 64 men who won the Distinguished Service Cross, 27 who won the Navy Cross, and 34 who received the Distinguished Service Medal. In addition to this inspiring list there were actually thousands of additional awards and citations given to men of Jewish faith who served with distinction in the Second World War.

I have not been able to secure a breakdown of the decorations won by Jewish servicemen in the Korean conflict, but I am confident when the full story is written the pattern of service and patriotism forged by Americans of the Jewish faith in all our wars will be reproduced.

Perhaps the best description of the place of the Jew in the military history of the United States was made by Congressman Julius Kahn, of California, when he drew the first draft number for the First World War. I would like to repeat to you what he said:

"Many of the boys who go to the front will be wounded. Many of them will be killed. But Jews at all periods of the world's history have been ready to make the supreme sacrifice whenever the land that gives them shelter demands it. I know that I voice the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of the Jews of the United States when I say we will do our share toward keeping Old Glory floating proudly in the skies so that it may continue to shelter under its fold the downtrodden and the oppressed of every land."

The Jews of our country have always upheld the high appraisal of Congressman Kahn. Your record of sacrifice for the country you love has been far and beyond the call of duty. I consider it an honor to meet with you today.

Address by William Treadwell at Eighth Annual Conference, Institute of Public Relations, at Brighton, England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 31, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have been pleased to comment previously on the splendid work of the People-to-People Foundation.

This foundation, which fulfills the great mandate expressed by President

Eisenhower at the special White House Conference in Washington on September 11–12, 1956, can be and is a most notable contribution to the cause of peace, freedom, and prosperity throughout the world, through better understanding.

I have in my hands the text of the booklet published by the United States Information Agency entitled "People-to-People—A Program of International Friendship," as published by the United States Information Agency. I commend this booklet to the reading of all interested Americans and organizations.

I send to the desk the text of a significant address made by Mr. William Treadwell, manager, public relations department, Leo Burnett Co., Inc., who was an official representative to the eighth annual conference of the Institute of Public Relations at the Grand Hotel in Brighton, England, on Sunday, May 19, 1957.

The comments of Mr. Treadwell, a noted expert in the field of public relations, make, I believe, for most interesting and stimulating reading.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, to be preceded by a list of the committee chairmen and cochairmen of the people-to-people program.

There being no objection, the list and address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PROGRAM—COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN AND COCHAIRMEN

ADDRESSES

Advertising organizations: Theodore S. Repplier, president, the Advertising Council, Inc., 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Armed services: Carter L. Burgess, Assistant Secretary of Defense, the Pentagon, Washington, D. C.

Banking: Fred F. Florence, president, Republic National Bank of Dallas, Dallas, Tex.

Books: George P. Brett, Jr., president, the Macmillan Co., 60 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Business Council for International Understanding: Sigurd S. Larmon, president, Young & Rubicam, Inc., 285 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Meade Brunet, vice president, Radio Corporation of America, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

Business organizations: Harry A. Bullis, chairman of the board, General Mills, Inc., 400 Second Avenue, South, Minneapolis, Minn.

Cartoonists: Al Capp, River House, 145 Pinckney Street, Boston, Mass.

Civic: Dr. George N. Shuster, president, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Education: Dr. Albert Jacobs, president, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.; Dr. Corma Mowrey, director, professional services, West Virginia Education Association, 1558 Quarrier Street, Charleston, W. Va.

Farm groups: Allan B. Kline, 4209 Grove Avenue, Western Springs, Ill.

Fine arts groups: Dr. David E. Finley, chairman, United States Commission of Fine Arts, United States Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

Foreign affairs: Dr. Brooks Emeny, 221 Elm Road, Princeton, N. J.

Foreign Service alumni: David McKendree Key, 2543 Waterside Drive NW., Washington, D. C.

4–H clubs: T. A. Erickson, 1403 Chelmsford, St. Paul, Minn.; Norman C. Mindrum, the National 4–H Club Foundation, 8561 Fenton Street, Silver Spring, Md.; Guy Lee Noble, National Committee on Boys and Girls Club Work, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.

Fraternal organizations: Gen. William J. Donovan, Donovan, Leisure, Newton & Irvine, 2 Wall Street, New York, N. Y.

Handicapped: Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, USMC (retired), Chairman, President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Hobbies: H. L. Lindquist, president, National Federation of Stamp Clubs, 153 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y.

Hotel industry: Robert K. Christenberry, president, Ambassador Hotel, Park Avenue and 51st Street, New York, N. Y.

Insurance: Frederic W. Ecker, president, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., 1 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Labor: George Meany, president, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Letter writing: Miss Anna Lord Strauss, 27 East 69th Street, New York, N. Y.

Magazines: Paul C. Smith, president, Crowell-Collier Publishing Co., 640 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Medicine and the health professions: Dr. Louis H. Bauer, secretary general, World Medical Association, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y.

Motion pictures: Y. Frank Freeman, chairman, Association of Motion Picture Producers, Inc., 8480 Beverly Boulevard, Hollywood, Calif.

Music: Eugene Ormandy, music conductor, the Philadelphia Orchestra, Academy of Music, Broad and Locust Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.

Nationalities groups: John Slezak, 711 West State Street, Sycamore, Ill.; Judge Juvenal Marchisio, nationalities committee, 65 East 55th Street, New York, N. Y.

Professional societies: Chief Justice Robert G. Simmons, Nebraska Supreme Court, Lincoln, Nebr.

Public relations: Edward L. Lipscomb, director of public relations, National Cotton Council, Post Office Box 9905, Memphis, Tenn.

Radio and television: Dr. Frank Stanton, president, Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., 485 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Harold E. Fellows, president and chairman of board, National Association of Radio & Television Broadcasters, 1771 N Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Religious Groups: Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, president, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., 510 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Howard J. Carroll, general secretary, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.; Dr. Abraham J. Feldman, president, Synagogue Council of America, 110 West 42d Street, New York, N. Y.

Science and engineering groups: Dr. Joseph W. Barker, chairman of the board, Research Corp., 405 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Service organizations: Charles E. Wilson, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Speakers: Cyrus S. Ching, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D. C.; A. Maceo Walker, Sr., Post Office Box 241, Memphis, Tenn.

Sports: Edward P. F. Eagan, 48 Wall Street, New York, N. Y.

Talent group for the entertainment industry: George L. Murphy, 205 South Beverly Drive, Beverly Hills, Calif.

Transportation agencies: John W. Hanes, chairman, finance committee, Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp., 460 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Travelers: Ralph T. Reed, president, American Express Co., 65 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Veterans: Capt. Edward V. Rickenbacker, chairman of the board, Eastern Air Lines, 10 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.; Lewis K. Gough, 15 N. Euclid Avenue, Pasadena, Calif.

Women's groups: Mrs. William Barclay Parsons, Jr., president, National Council of Women of the United States, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y.

Writers: William Faulkner, Oxford, Miss.; Harvey Breit, New York Times Book Review, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Youth: Dr. Arthur A. Schuck, chief Scout executive, Boy Scouts of America, New Brunswick, N. J.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE PROGRAM

(By Bill Treadwell, eighth annual conference, Institute of Public Relations, Grand Hotel, Brighton, England, May 19, 1957)

As a member and official representative to this conference of President Eisenhower's people-to-people program, I greatly appreciate your invitation to briefly tell you something about this most interesting and extensive program.

My remarks are merely some personal conclusions about what President Eisenhower termed "the central fact in today's life—the existence of different philosophies in contest for the loyalty and support of the world's people."

The institute conference this year has again been very stimulating and informative. Your country, like ours, has assumed that other nations have properly understood your foreign policies, your internal problems, and your people and it is so important that we in our profession, as your program chairman has aptly put it, "spotlight weaknesses" in the public-relations program of a country and suggest remedies.

In the United States we have started working on just such a program for our own people and our Government. It is known as President Eisenhower's people-to-people program. The whole concept of this program can be reduced to the following three essential points:

First. Every dollar we in the United States spend for defense—every atom bomb we can build, every plane, every ship, every gun—is wholly negative. These are purely and simply a means of buying time, for they are designed only to prevent physical aggression against us. We will not employ them for attack. We use them to hold off potential enemies while peaceful ideas take hold, and peoples come to friendship and understanding which will make them unnecessary.

Second. In today's basic world battle of ideas and ideologies, what governments do and say is important, but the sum total of what individuals do and say is decisive. Government actions and government statements are often suspect, but the actions and statements of individual citizens are universally accepted as a true measure of the attitude and atmosphere of the country from which they come.

Third. Our Government alone, therefore, cannot conceivably do the job of achieving friendship and understanding for America on the part of the citizens of other nations throughout the world. It is a job which can be done only with the active cooperation and assistance of individual Americans working through their own contacts with individuals in other lands. It is the purpose of this program to enlist such assistance.

One day during the United Nations General Assembly when the Egyptian crisis was at its height, a little old lady sat in the gallery listening to a simultaneous translation. She had the headphones glued to her ears. As you know, the listener to U. N. sessions is able to throw a switch and pick up 1 of 5 languages which he understands best—English, Russian, French, Spanish, and Chinese.

When the meeting was over, a man sitting directly behind her, who had been watching her with great interest leaned over and said, "I beg your pardon; did you enjoy that debate?" She turned around, and she said, "Oh, yes; very much."

"Well, what was it that you enjoyed the most?"

She turned her twittering blue eyes on him and said, with obvious awe in her voice, "I think it's perfectly wonderful how all those 81 delegates can understand and speak Chinese so well."

Sometimes one gets the impression that people and nations around the world understand each other in about the same degree as this dear little old lady who had been listening in Chinese.

Person-to-person relationships, such as are made possible by our cultural and educational exchange programs, help us to learn more about one another. Such relationships thus promote understanding and good will among people of different races, creeds, and nationalities, and contribute to the establishment of peace with justice in the world.

People are what count. A sympathetic understanding of the aspirations, the hopes and fears, the traditions and prides of other peoples and nations is essential to the promotion of mutual prosperity and peace. Such understanding is a compulsory requirement on each of us if, as a people, we are to discharge our inescapable national responsibility to lead the world in the growth of freedom and human dignity.

It is most fortunate that we have in President Eisenhower a great American leader who is well aware of the fact that Americans are misunderstood and because of his keen understanding of the battle that is raging in men's minds has organized this people-to-people program.

He has selected men and women from private industry to distribute information about America on a worldwide basis. This points to the fact that the great strength of America and any nation today lies not in its Government information organizations and programs, but in its private groups and individuals in these groups. Ladies and gentlemen, * * * this, then, is America's unused weapon.

Its unifying force is clearly the realization that the day of American isolation is gone and that we have entered a new one of interdependence and responsibility. We are all determined to make more and more friends for the United States.

When President Eisenhower initiated this program last fall, he said in his opening remarks:

"Every bomb and implement of war we manufacture, in the long run has no purpose other than negative: to give us time to prevent the other fellow from starting a war, since we know we won't.

"The billions we pour into that ought to be supported by a great American effort, a positive constructive effort that leads directly toward what we all want—a true and lasting peace."

I was in Nevada where the hydrogen bomb was tested. It has five times the destructive power of the sum total of all the bombs dropped on Germany during World War II. This development proves obviously that today's bombs cannot accomplish anything but racial suicide.

We can also conclude from this that the ideological struggle will probably be settled in the years to come by those people who can convince the world that justice and hope are on their side.

We, as citizens of the United States, also realize that our country is being subjected to the greatest campaign of vilification, slander, and distortion in the history of the world. This shrewd and never-ending campaign always shows Americans as immoral, unjust, and cheap. Every method is used to discredit us. Our crime rate, juvenile delinquency, racial conflicts, slums, and even our divorce rates are greatly misrepresented.

Never has one nation been so persistently smeared. Your great country and the other democracies are also on the receiving end of this smear treatment from time to time.

Perhaps you would like to know a little about the people-to-people committees and the program itself.

We have more than 40 different committees made up of representatives from advertising, publishing, business, education, fraternal organizations, motion-picture industry, religious groups, the Armed Forces, and women's organizations.

We have even formed a People-to-People Foundation with Charles E. Wilson, former president of General Electric, as its president, to properly and privately finance the activities carried on by these committees.

The working arrangements of the public relations committee falls into two broad areas. The first consists of supplying public relations counsel and service to the other 40 committees which have been chosen to conduct various phases of this program.

The second broad area consists of four programs dealing directly with public relations practitioners and the public relations field in our country. It is this group that is responsible for contacts with public relations groups outside the United States.

We have a subcommittee working with American-owned companies operating in foreign areas.

Another subcommittee has the job of planning and developing special public relations materials within the United States to make better ambassadors of citizens who will travel outside our borders.

When your president, Alan Campbell-Johnson, visited the States several months ago, he mentioned that your membership is very much interested in studying our public relations case histories, printed matter, speeches, annual reports, and public relations textbooks. In fact, all public relations literature published by our corporations, associations, industries, and Government.

Through the public relations committee of the people-to-people program, we have shipped to your institute some 5,000 different public relations items for your library. Duplicate materials can be sent to other libraries in England. These materials were contributed by more than 200 different representatives of the public relations profession in the United States.

This program of international friendship and understanding is not a one-way street. Our people want to and should know more about you and your country.

We look forward to further exchanges of public relations personnel and materials from your people to our people.

This, then, is President Eisenhower's people-to-people program.

Ike Created New United States Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, May 31, 1957

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, on April 14, 1957, in the Sunday Gazette of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, there appeared a very interesting article entitled "Ike Created New United States Policy," written by Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar.

Dr. Muzumdar was born in India. He received his higher education in this country and has been a United States citizen for a number of years. He has a deep interest in matters affecting India, especially its relations with the United States.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IKE CREATED NEW UNITED STATES POLICY

(By Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Dr. Muzumdar, friend and biographer of the late Mahatma Gandhi, is professor of sociology at Cornell College and a keen student of political affairs.)

The Eisenhower doctrine, now officially accepted by Congress and the American people, marks the birth of an independent American foreign policy.

It is not so much the Eisenhower doctrine as defined by Congress that is significant; the real significance lies in the background of the conditions that led to the emancipation of this country's foreign policy from the apron strings of Britain and France.

Whether the British, the French, and the Israelis were well advised in launching their attack on Egypt in the midst of the American presidential campaign is a moot point. They had reasons to believe that American policy under the Eisenhower administration was opposed to imperialistic and colonial ventures by her friends as well as by her foes. Hence, they decided not to take the United States into their confidence before launching their attack on Egypt.

They further reasoned that President Eisenhower, involved as he was in the tail end of the presidential campaign, would remain noncommittal in regard to their military adventure and would be forced to accept a fait accompli.

But they underestimated their man. Their calculations miscarried and their actions boomeranged.

SINGLE STANDARD

In the history of American diplomacy no statement on American foreign policy is likely to have a more far-reaching effect than President Eisenhower's dispassionate enunciation of the objectives of American foreign policy during the heat of our domestic political campaign.

In his radio and television address to the Nation from Washington on October 31, 1956, the President reiterated his conviction that:

"The United Nations represents the soundest hope for peace in the world. For this very reason I believe that the processes of the United Nations need further to be developed and strengthened. I speak particularly of increasing its ability to secure justice under international law."

Then President Eisenhower made a statement which will from now on be the cornerstone of American foreign policy: The single standard in international diplomacy, not the double standard—one for our friends, another for the rest of the world. Here are Eisenhower's magnificent words:

"There can be no peace without law. And there can be no law if we invoke one code of international conduct for those who oppose us and another for our friends."

The value of the Eisenhower declaration consists in the freedom of action it allows the American Government in the formulation of our foreign policy in terms of standards of international morality rather than in terms of helping out our friends and allies in their nefarious ventures.

Without any tinge of political partisanship I must point out that this doctrine, as

well as practice, of a Republican President is in sharp contrast to the doctrines and practices of preceding Democratic Presidents.

WILSON WENT ASTRAY

For instance, no high Government official in this country or elsewhere was more adept at the use of words in enunciating noble principles than President Woodrow Wilson. Indeed, not a few of his speeches and state papers embody some of the noblest aspirations of the American people—and of mankind. However, his stand on "too proud to fight" and his 14 points lost their moral significance because of partisanship for America's friends and allies.

Wilson had two standards—one for America's friends whose empires were to be immune from the encroachment of the right of self-determination for all subject peoples, and another for the defeated Central Powers whose empires were to be broken up in the name of the right of self-determination. Indeed, at the end of the war to make the world safe for democracy and to extend the right of self-determination to all peoples, the British Empire waxed fattest in all its history with the addition of mandated territories.

This double standard of international morality lost America many friends in Asia and Africa in the interwar period.

F. D. R. FOLLOWED

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, like Wilson, had magical facility with words. Some of Roosevelt's speeches and state papers contain the abiding aspirations of America—and of mankind. But alas. Roosevelt, too, like Wilson, had American foreign policy tied to the chariot of the Anglo-French empires.

For instance, the third article of the Atlantic Charter specifically laid down that they, the signatories (Roosevelt and Churchill), respect the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

If language means anything, this article endorses the doctrine of self-determination for all nations. But within less than a month after the signing of the Atlantic Charter, Churchill announced in the British Parliament that the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter did not and would not apply to the British Empire, and stated:

"We had in mind primarily restoration of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the states and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke, and the principles which would govern any alterations in the territorial boundaries of (European) countries which may have to be made."

President Roosevelt saw fit not to challenge Prime Minister Churchill's interpretation, thereby strengthening the belief of Asians and Africans that American foreign policy, like that of England and France, was compounded of a double standard of international morality—a standard of equality applicable to the European peoples, and a standard of inequality and inferiority to be applied to the peoples of Asia and Africa.

ROOT OF DISTRUST

Now, let me at once say that these actions of our wartime Democratic Presidents do not, in my judgment, make them traitors to America. They imply a wrong orientation on their part.

If you believe, subconsciously or consciously at the Europeans are a breed superior to Asians and Africans, you cannot help arriving at the position that Wilson and Roosevelt took. The tragedy consisted not in absence of desire on their part to serve the best interests of America and the world; rather did the tragedy consist in their wrong ethical orientation, leading to politically mischievous conclusions.

This is the root cause for distrust of America rife in Asia and Africa during the last generation. We are today reaping the whirlwind of distrust sown by the wind of wrong orientation.

It is against this background and this sort of interpretation by Asians and Africans that President Eisenhower made his historic pronouncement of the single standard of international ethics in America's dealings with friends and foes, with Afro-Asians and Europeans.

No wonder Prime Minister Nehru declared that President Eisenhower's stand raised America's moral prestige immeasurably throughout the world.

Once the logic of the Eisenhower doctrine is accepted as the point of departure for American foreign policy, the administration's demand for congressional legislation on the Middle East can be viewed as one of the detailed steps in implementation. The warning to the Soviet Union against subversion in the Middle East is entirely in order; it is merely an extension of the same sort of protection our Government stands ready to give European nations outside the Iron Curtain.

Let us not, then, confuse the Eisenhower doctrine merely with warning to the Soviet Union against subversion in the Middle East or with military and economic aid to the Middle Eastern countries at the President's discretion. Let us rather realize that the Eisenhower doctrine embodies a historic departure from previous American foreign policy:

1. That henceforth American foreign policy shall be based not on expediency to suit the convenience of our friends the British and the French.

2. That henceforth American foreign policy shall be broadbased upon the concept of equality of Asians and Africans with the Europeans.

Foreign Market for Southern Cotton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 31, 1957

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Foreign Market Big Boon to Southern Cotton Farmer," published in the Birmingham News of May 28, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXPORTS INCREASING—FOREIGN MARKET BIG BOON TO SOUTHERN COTTON FARMER

AUBURN, ALA., May 28.—Large foreign markets have created a boom in American cotton sales.

And with each shipload of cotton sent across the seas, the southern farmer's marketing situation becomes a little more favorable.

API Extension Marketing Specialist A. W. Jones says this foreign cotton sales boom began last summer with vast increases in cotton exports. Thus, this factor alone is the biggest marketing development affecting southern farmers this year.

According to the specialist cotton from Government surplus stocks sold for export during the current cotton marketing year totaled 7,585,600 bales through April 30. Exporters are rapidly revising their estimates of total exports for this season upward. In fact some forecasters see foreign sales of cotton hitting the 8-million-bale mark.

To make the situation even brighter, Jones said, cotton is now being sold for export after August 15—in the 1957–58 marketing year. Through April 30, sales for shipment overseas next year add up to 2,520,300 bales.

"These heavy cotton sales can be traced directly to the Government's competitive pricing program," declared the specialist. "Under this program United States cotton can move onto world markets at a price competitive with foreign-grown cotton.

"On April 30, the price of middling, inch cotton sold for export this year averaged 27.61 cents per pound," said Jones. The monthly prices paid for export cotton during the year give us a much better idea than we have had in the past of an average price range farmers could expect on the world market, and just how sharp market competition would be with other cotton growing countries.

A long-range view of world markets holds good possibilities of a continued high level of foreign sales at prices that should be favorable for a vastly stepped-up cotton production program.

Jones said cotton exports aren't the only farm exports that are on the increase. Total agricultural exports from July through March increased 44 percent in value over the year before, totaling $3.6 billion compared to $2.5 billion last year.

"So far this year cotton is out ahead of all other commodities in the percentage increase over last year's exports," he said. "Value of cotton exports this year totaled $855 million as compared to $217 million from July 1955, through March 1956."

The specialist also reported that only the big combination of grains and feeds shows a greater export value this year than cotton. The long list of other products recording fair-size increases in exports include vegetable oils, oilseeds, fruits, vegetables, dairy products, meats and poultry products. Tobacco alone is showing a decline in exports from last year. But private relief donations are running 19 percent under last year.

"Certain exports are going more and more to particular countries," explained Jones. "Cotton and wheat are the two things remaining on the shipping lists to a long series of farflung markets. Some other commodities—particularly dairy, poultry and meat products, fruits and vegetables—go to a more selective list of countries."

For example, Jones noted that during February 83 percent of the condensed milk exports went to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Venezuela received 84 percent of our dried whole milk and 74 percent of shell eggs. Italy and Mexico took 72 percent of our nonfat dry milk solids export. And Spain received more than 90 percent of our exported beef, hams and shoulders. About all of our peanut exports went to Mexico and Switzerland.

Millard Military School in Curry County, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 31, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, Col. and Mrs. Homer B. Millard have wone justifiable fame in training young men for entrance to the United States

Naval, Air Force, and Military Academies.

Since 1954 Colonel Millard has operated his preparatory school in the southwestern Oregon coastal community of Langlois, in Curry County, and has students from many States. From 1925 to 1946 Colonel Millard conducted his school in Washington, D. C., and had among his students sons of our leading generals, such as Dwight D. Eisenhower, George S. Patton, Henry H. (Hap) Arnold, Alfred Gruenther, and many more. Colonel Millard earned a reputation for successful training of young men, and during the 20 years of operation of his Washington school roughly 10 percent of the West Point graduates prepped at his school.

Mr. President, I base my appointments to the various military academies solely on merit, from scores obtained in the United States civil service designation examination. Young men who have been trained by Colonel Millard stand near the top in these examinations. Both Colonel Millard and his wife have a fine military background, Mrs. Millard having served as a lieutenant commander in the Waves during World War II.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article by Ralph P. Stuller, editor of the Coquille Valley Sentinel, which appeared in the Northwest Rotogravure magazine of the Sunday Oregonian on May 12, 1957, describing the Millard School. The title of the article is "It's a Tough School but the Students Like It."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT'S A TOUGH SCHOOL BUT THE STUDENTS LIKE IT—AMBITIOUS TEEN-AGERS PREPARE THEMSELVES FOR UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMIES IN SECLUDED CLASSROOMS IN CURRY COUNTY HILLS

(By Ralph P. Stuller, editor, Coquille Valley Sentinel)

If you called the Millard School the Northwest's most unusual school, you could be right. Certainly when a visitor is told of this Curry County school, he raises a questioning eyebrow. Sure, it prepares lively young men for Annapolis, West Point, and the Air Force Academy, but who ever heard of rugged youngsters giving up TV, rock-and-roll on the radio, soft chairs, magazines, and hotrods? More than that, who goes to school 6 days, sometimes 7 days a week, with night work thrown in for good measure?

They do it all at the Millard School, which nestles high above the Curry County coastline on a 1,200-foot hill, where an attractive early American ranchhouse serves as home and school for a group of eager young military-minded eagles.

Students from all over the Western Hemisphere are coming to this school run by Col. and Mrs. Homer B. Millard on spartan but loving rules designed to make come true the words of Confucius.

"In all things, success depends upon previous preparation, and without such preparation there is sure to be failure."

This is a school that makes a Saturday night movie in nearby Port Orford or Bandon—with a chaperone, too—a privilege for high grades, and not the right of a teen-ager.

This is a school that gives no grades, but failure means you go home.

In today's world when many schools seemingly have lost sight of the old-fashioned purpose of education—to make a youth the master of his skills so he can master his fate—the Millard School holds a fascination for both thoughtful parents and thinking boys.

And whether the story being told lies in the founder of this colorful preparatory place for the Nation's military academies, whether it is in the peaceful and lush hillsides of Curry County, or in the eager students who sign up for 6 tough monastic months of training, it is hard to say.

Col. Homer B. Millard founded the Oregon school some 290 miles south of Portland off Highway 101 and the hamlet of Langlois, in 1954. Previously he had operated his famed Millard School in Washington, D. C., from 1925 to 1946—with time away during active war service in World War II.

In Washington Generals of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower and Henry H. Arnold, Gens. George S. Patton, James Doolittle, Lucius Clay, Alfred Gruenther, and presidents of South American countries, admirals in the United States Navy, and many more sent him their sons. Of 21,000 men who entered West Point during those years, Colonel Millard prepped over 2,000, or roughly 10 percent.

So it was that when Colonel Millard closed his school in 1946 and decided to come back to his native State of Oregon, he had a reputation for success.

He hoped to set up a school in Oregon that eventually will have a top enrollment of 30 students. Today he averages 10. The 6-month term begins in September and finishes the 1st of March. A June course completes just before the July appointment exams for West Point, Annapolis, and the Air Force school.

As for military background, Colonel Millard served from Oregon in the Mexican dispute and World War I, attended West Point—and in World War II was on the staff of the 9th Bomber Command in north Africa, aided in designing the Colorado Air Force Academy, and later served as executive officer to the secretary general of Nuremberg, Germany. He had good cause to know what it takes.

His charming wife also knows both the military and the English she teaches. A former faculty member on the University of Hawaii staff, she helped set up the Armed Forces Institute in Madison, Wis., was a lieutenant commander in the WAVES, and at one time served as senior WAVE officer in San Francisco.

The Millard School sits on a 300-acre ranch 4 miles east of Langlois. Cattle and sheep range the pastures, and students get outside exercise by aiding with the work.

This winter there were 10 boys at the Millard School, all of whom took their West Point examinations at the Presidio.

The boys are housed in rooms upstairs in the modern ranchhouse, and their rooms are rigidly inspected each day, and they make their own beds and clean their rooms daily.

When a student enters he is given aptitude tests and other standard exams to check his weak and strong points. There's no guesswork in his training. Colonel Millard knows what he must know; he makes sure he knows it at the end of the courses. The student who finishes Millard is a master of algebra, plane geometry, and English.

A ship's clock calls the bells for time.

All studying and letter writing is done in the classroom. No books are taken from the classroom.

At Millard, keen-eyed youngsters are up and ready for the day at 7 a. m. They breakfast. Then to class. Here they study, drill, repeat, explain, and ask questions. A basic rule is that a student must ask questions on anything he does not know or understand. Penalty is for not asking.

Evening study period is from 7:15 to 9:45 p. m. There is no talking allowed during study hour.

Telephone calls are allowed only on an incoming basis and from 7 to 8 a. m.; noon until 1 p. m., and 6:30 to 7:15 p. m. No student is called to the phone at any other time.

The kitchen is off limits for all students except those on wood and dining table details.

At Millard School a visitor finds himself addressed as sir. And the 24-hour control, 7 days a week, seems to work miracles in making boys into forward-looking, upright young men.

It's both a family and a school. Millard, Colonel and Mrs. Millard are part of the group with each individual having a goal in sight, his military academy entrance. The top students help the poorer ones. It all makes for good learning.

The textbooks used are many and solid, old-fashioned ones. They're the ones where drill and repetition come into the learning situation. Colonel and Mrs. Milard's goal is that the students they have, master their subjects.

Periodic tests including the famed Ivy League college boards are given to check progress. Physcal activities include hiking, working, and rifle-range shooting.

The student at Millard comes lightly packed. Informal clothes are worn during the day. A suit and shirt and tie, however, is required for the evening dinner. He also brings blankets, comforter, bath towels, washcloths, pair of four-buckle shoes, work shoes, a good dictionary, and the The Complete Works of William Shakespeare. The latter is the only recreational reading he has.

Because there is little chance to spend money he is allowed only $3 per week. Thanksgiving is not a holiday. He goes to school. At Christmas those students who have made good progress get a short Christmas leave, otherwise they stay at the school and study.

No student is permitted to leave the school ranch.

A visitor to the classroom generally is amazed. The class marches in, stands at attention, and the platoon leader salutes Colonel Millard and says: "The geometry class is prepared for instruction, sir."

And that they are.

One student makes a mistake.

After questioning from the colonel, the student suddenly says, "Sir, I was wrong, this is the correct way to prove this problem, sir." Mistakes are always corrected at once. No student leaves the classroom until he knows what he is doing.

In English the emphasis is on vocabulary, and it would delight a university professor's heart. Millard School believes the communicative device invented by the man who wanted to talk is important.

I met the 10 boys who finished the school this March and found them keen, alert, and happy.

They had come through and found it fun to sharpen up thinking abilities. With Shakespeare as a substitute for fiction and the radio, they also developed a vast reservoir of certain sage wisdom that matured them.

The March graduates of The Millard School came from a variety of places—one was the son of the mayor of Colon, Panama; others came from Virginia, Arizona, Oklahoma, California, and four came from Oregon. All had appointments for West Point.

When the boys left for their final competitive examinations at the Presidio they had gained from 10 to 20 pounds. The food, much of it home-grown runs from fried country chicken to wild blackberry pie.

The Millard School is the only school of its kind west of the Appalachians. It's really quite a place, this Oregon school that points young men to our three proud military academies.

And, as Colonel Millard points out, too, the job is worth doing. After all, an education at West Pont, Annapolis, or the Air Force Academy is worth $10,000. Really quite a scholarship to win.

Department of Defense Appropriation Bill, 1958

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7665) making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, one of the great chapters in medical research today is being done by the Medical Research and Development Branch of the United States Army.

Defense efforts are primarily directed toward developing and maintaining constantly improved means for destruction of an enemy aggressor, in order to protect the Nation from attack. However, certain elements of the defense program provide constructive advances of remarkable value to the continuing welfare of our people and of all mankind. The Army Medical Service Research and Development program is a clear example of such beneficial, constructive activity.

Historically, Army doctors have been leading pioneers in the improvement of American medicine, ever since Army Surgeon John Jones wrote the first American textbook on surgery in 1776. Maj. Walter Reed, famous to everyone, made possible the practical control of the scourge yellow fever, and thereby enabled construction of the Panama Canal. Similar historical Army victories in medicine are too numerous to detail. More important, Army medical research continues to make valuable contributions to the health and welfare of our people. Although directed to solving the problem of preserving fighting strength in combat, results achieved are immediately applicable to civilian disease and injury.

New and improved treatment of severe burns, proven at the United States Army Surgical Research Unit, have been widely adopted by the civilian medical profession.

Research on blood-vessel surgery, emphasized during the Korean conflict, carried out in part at frontline hospitals, and since pursued at both Army laboratories and Army contract supported universities, has helped to save innumerable lives and limbs. The torn arms and legs of automobile-accident victims, as well as the weakened arteries of the older aged group, are now more effectively repaired.

In the event of either natural disaster or enemy attack, large quantities of whole blood are always needed. Heretofore the storage life of this precious commodity has been far too short. The problem of storage life was particularly acute when American forces fought at the end of thousands of miles of supply line. Army medical research has now discovered means for greatly extending the useful storage life of human blood so that soon it is expected that stockpiling for national emergency will be made easier—an advance which could be lifesaving to any one of us.

Thanks to another facet of Army medical research, stock handlers, slaughterhouse workers, and others who work with livestock will work in greater safety from Q fever.

In another area, rapid progress is being made by the Army Medical Service in developing a fat emulsion suitable for intravenous use. Such an emulsion provides needed food to those badly injured or ill individuals who cannot take food by mouth.

All of these examples aer only random samples of immediate benefits accruing to our Nation from constructive efforts of the Army Medical Service's research and development program.

Uniform Admission to the Federal Bar, H. R. 818

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on January 3, 1957, I introduced H. R. 818 to make uniform the rules for admission to the Federal bar.

THE PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of this bill is to promote consistency and certainty, and to eliminate the present inequities and anomalies, in admissions to practice before the lower Federal courts.

The bill would amend title 28 of the United States Code by adding a new section 1657, so as to provide that membership in good standing at the bar of the United States Supreme Court shall be the sole requirement for admission to practice before the Federal courts of appeals and district courts, including the district court for the district of Alaska but not that of the District of Columbia. This provision would not apply to any person who is barred from practice before the district courts and courts of appeals by reason of holding public office.

THE PROBLEM

At present, the extreme diversity of admission rules in the Federal courts gives rise to many inequities and anomalies. Attention was recently called to this problem by an article in the American Bar Association Journal, volume 42, page 721, 1956. An article by Hugh Williamson, discussing the various admission rules of the Federal district courts was placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by me on July 21, 1953.

For admission to the bar of the United States Supreme Court, it is only necessary to be of good moral character and admitted, for 3 years past, to practice in the highest court of a State. Seven of the 11 circuit courts of appeals—the 3d, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th and the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia—admit attorneys on this same basis. But these 7 circuits include only 29 States. In all the other States, there are special, additional requirements. One example will clarify the problem. For admission in the first circuit—Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, and Rhode Island—the attorney must have been previously admitted to practice in some other United States appellate court. If all United States appellate courts adopted this rule, there would be no further admissions.

An even stranger spectacle of diversity and confusion is presented by the Federal district courts. Thirty of them will admit anyone who has been licensed to practice in the highest court of any State. But 22 others require a previous license to practice in the State in which the district court is located. It is this requirement that causes the most trouble, since admission to the State bar—not the bar of the attorney's own State, to which he has already been admitted, but of the State where the Federal court sits—involves a period of residence which is often as long as a year. Other delays occur in studying for the State bar examination, waiting to be examined, waiting for the results of the examination, and waiting to be licensed. Meanwhile, an important pending case may be brought to a standstill, or lost to another attorney. In addition to delay, substantial expense may be incurred, especially by attorneys who practice in a number of Federal jurisdictions.

Like the circuit courts of appeals, particular Federal district courts have special rules of admission. Eight will admit anyone who has been previously licensed to practice by a district court in any other State. Two require examinations.

Even attorneys of the United States Government in the performance of their official duties are often not recognized in the lower Federal courts, except pro hac vice, and, even then, in association with local attorneys. Only 6 of the 85 Federal district courts make special provisions for attorneys of the United States Government.

Other anomalies arise from geography. In the Southern District of New York, a New Jersey lawyer is admitted freely, but a New York lawyer cannot be admitted in the Federal district court for New Jersey until he has been licensed in practice at the New Jersey bar. Similar situations exist in many parts of the country—for example, between New Jersey and Philadelphia, the two Kansas Citys, and so forth.

The closed shop kept by many of the State bars is in sharp contrast to the liberality of the Federal courts in admitting attorneys licensed by the States. This exercise of local monopoly simply aggravates the problem already discussed, arising from the requirement in many Federal district courts of a pre-

vious license to practice in the State where the court sits.

A recent State decision will illustrate this problem, but first a little background information may be helpful. Any members of the Federal bar in either district of California is freely admitted to the Federal district court in Arizona. But a member of the Federal bar in Arizona cannot be admitted to either Federal district court in California until he has become a member of the California State bar.

In *Application of Wasserman* (240 F. (2d) 213 (C. C. A. 9, 1956)), an attorney had applied for admission to practice in the United States District Court for the Southern District of California. He was a resident of California and a member of the State bar of Arizona though not of California. The district court denied the motion for his admission, on the ground that he was not a member of the California State bar.

In affirming this decision as not appealable, the circuit court of appeals delivered some interesting dicta:

(a) The Federal district court is an independent court and can make its own rules.

(b) On the other hand, "each—Federal district court—is considered a court of the particular State in which it sits and by which it is bounded"—page 214.

(c) It is a criminal offense to practice law in California without having been admitted to the State bar.

(d) On the other hand, California cannot regulate practice in the Federal courts.

As to the two arguments (a) and (b), it may be observed that a truly independent court would exercise its independence by determining, in its proper discretion, the admission of attorneys to its own bar. The second pair of arguments, (c) and (d), cancel each other out, so that the circuit court seems to have answered this argument itself.

Furthermore, it is hard to believe that any Federal court would permit a convict, who lost his right to practice law by reason of his conviction, to continue to practice in that court.

The circuit court then advanced its third argument, which merits serious discussion. It pointed out the danger that an attorney admitted in some other State which inadequately tested his qualifications, or who was subsequently guilty of unprofessional conduct, might be permitted to practice law in California through admission to the Federal district court. This danger, said the circuit court" far outweighs, in our opinion, any theoretical desire that there may be a uniform rule for admission in the district courts of the United States"—page 216.

What about the equal danger that the qualifications of attorneys may be inadequately tested by the very State in which the Federal court sits?

What about the danger that an attorney admitted by the State in which the Federal court sits may later be guilty of unprofessional conduct?

The circuit court, in Application of Wasserman, has pointed out dangers but has not presented any adequate solution. Whatever rules of admission may be adopted, they would be deficient if they did not provide for revocation of the privilege upon the happening of anything that would have disqualified the practitioner as an applicant. As to substantive qualifications, the present situation is far from satisfactory; it has already been noted that only 2 of the 85 Federal district courts require examinations.

The real choice is between diversity and unity. Either the Federal courts in each State must take separate precautions against the dangers mentioned by the circuit court in Application of Wasserman, supra, or there must be a uniform system of admission to the Federal bar. If a uniform system of admission is adopted, by which attorneys admitted in the United States Supreme Court are freely admitted in the lower Federal courts, the moral qualifications of the applicants will be assured initially, as they are now. It may be necessary to supplement this system by periodic or ad hoc reinvestigations. Professional qualifications could also be assured by examinations on Federal law and procedure. But surely this matter can safely be left to the discretion of the United States Supreme Court at the time it makes the applicable rules and when it revises them from time to time as experience dictates.

THE ADVANTAGES OF THE BILL

The advantages of H. R. 818 may now be summarized:

(a) The bill would promote simplicity, consistency and certainty in admissions to practice before the lower Federal courts. By so doing, it would facilitate and economize the administration of the Federal courts, and would eliminate the present inequities and anomalies (previously discussed). In turn, the elimination of these inequities and anomalies would save much time, effort and expense of American lawyers whose practice has grown enormously in mobility and geographic extent owing to the continued expansion of economic activity and the economic role of Government.

(b) Under this bill, the admission of attorneys in the Federal courts would rest in the sole discretion of the Federal judiciary.

(c) The bill would give substance to the principle that the practice of law is a conditional privilege under the Federal Constitution. See *Ex Parte Garland* (71 U. S. (4 Wall.) 333, 378 (1866)). In that case, an act of Congress prohibiting the admission to the bar of United States district and circuit courts of any person who had not taken an oath that he had not aided in the secession was held contrary to the fifth amendment.

(d) Finally, Congress has power to regulate the admission of attorneys in the lower Federal courts under the Constitution, article III, section 1, which expressly authorizes Congress to ordain and establish such courts.

I urge the early enactment of my bill.

Department of Defense Appropriation Bill, 1958

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7665) making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, I wish to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article by Donald Baldwin entitled "Tour of Korean Front Finds United States Force Weak," which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on May 27, 1957. Mr. Baldwin's story follows:

TOUR OF KOREAN FRONT FINDS UNITED STATES FORCE WEAK

(By Donald Baldwin)

SEOUL, May 26.—United States forces in Korea today are woefully weak. Their unmanned battle positions are overgrown with weeds—an invitation to Communist attack.

In contrast, the North Koreans and Red Chinese across the demilitarized zone have built up an army in 4 years of armistice far more powerful than at any time during the Korean war.

The Communists have new jet planes, new tanks, new artillery, and in the opinion of South Korean intelligence officers they may also have atomic weapons. All the weapons in South Korea are either obsolete or obsolescent.

TEN-DAY INSPECTION MADE

A 10-day inspection by an Associated Press team found alert, seemingly well-trained South Korean soldiers manning 150 miles of the front from well-entrenched positions, although they were equipped with old, World War II weapons.

But a 5-mile-wide sector, athwart the classic invasion route north of Seoul, is entrusted to an American division only 60 to 80 percent of normal strength. The South Koreans—criticized during the war for failing to stand and fight alongside Americans—call the American sector the weakest link in the battle line. United States field commanders openly express concern.

This is how the opposing sides stack up today:

In the south, there are about 700,000 South Korean troops, about 80,000 Americans including 2 infantry divisions and logistics and command units, and fewer than 5,000 other United Nations troops, including a British regiment in the process of being withdrawn.

This compares with an 800,000-man U. N. army at the end of the Korean fighting in 1953—but the weapons are old now and have not been replaced because of a ban in the armistice agreement against introduction of new-type equipment.

RED STRENGTH GREATER

In the north, according to intelligence reports, the North Koreans have a reorganized and reequipped 400,000-man army and the Chinese Communists have a 350,000-man garrison. There are also at least a million Red Chinese troops across the Yalu River in Manchuria. The Communist forces in Korea during the war were estimated at more than a million.

The Communists have ignored the ban on new weapons. They have shipped in 1,672 artillery pieces, 340 new tanks, in addition to the 480 they already had, 500 jet and 300 propeller-driven planes.

There are recurrent—but unconfirmed—reports that their new artillery includes atomic cannon with a range of 15 to 20 miles, which is manned by Soviet technicians.

The Red jets include about 250 Mig-17's—later model interceptors than the Manchuria-based Mig's which were bested by United States Saberjets during the Korean fighting.

The U. N. forces still have about 150 Sabres, half flown by American pilots and half by South Koreans. Other United States fighter-bombers and light bombers have been withdrawn because of their age. Even the Sabres have been superseded elsewhere by newer fighters.

United States strategy appears to be based on the assumption that the Communists will not attack so long as there are any American forces in South Korea, even though understrength. South Korean generals, however, feel sure the Communists will invade the country again as soon as they feel able.

YANKS EXPENDABLE?

On the Allied side is the knowledge that a fast jet bomber could deliver an atomic bomb from its Okinawa base to a Korean target in under 2 hours, and the general assumption here is that no holds will be barred if fighting breaks out again.

In that event, some officers here say, American troops on the scene might of necessity be expendable if evacuation proved impossible. Asked what would happen if there was another Communist attack, a high officer in United States headquarters, said:

"We'd be in a terrible position."

On paper, both United States divisions are fully manned for action, with Americans firing every gun. But a visit to the two units showed both were far below strength.

All but one of the frontline regiments are miles from the frontline. It would take them from 1 to 3 hours to reach their battle positions, now weathered and overgrown with weeds in the almost 4 years of suspended combat.

The regiment that is close to its positions is located north of the Imjin River above Seoul, and in event of attack would probably have to pull back quickly behind the natural barrier or risk annihilation.

All across the American-held sector, however, continuous and active training programs are under way and morale appears to be good.

Still, a lieutenant colonel commanding a United States tank battalion said:

"If my outfit had to go into combat today I'd be forced to leave 15 or 20 tanks behind because I haven't the crews to man them."

Reports Indicate Tito Is Reshipping Machine Tools to Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John J. Casserly, of INS, writing from Belgrade, Yugoslavia, states that during a guided tour of a seaport town, he slipped away from tour officials and saw dock workers inking out the letters "U. S. A." on wooden crates and restamping them for transshipment to Hong Kong.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the article by Mr. Casserly which appeared in the Milwaukee Sentinel on May 15:

REPORTS TITO RESHIPS UNITED STATES TOOLS TO MAO

(By John J. Casserly)

BELGRADE, May 14.—American-made machine tools apparently are being shipped from Yugoslavia to Red China—possibly violating United States-Yugoslav agreements.

During a guided tour of the port of Rijeka on the Adriatic coast, this correspondent slipped away from tour officials and saw dock workers inking out the letters "U. S. A." on wooden crates and restamping them for transshipment to Hong Kong.

Between cracks and openings in the boxes, precision hand and similar small tools could be spotted. A dock worker who spoke some English said the boxes were bound for Red China. He said the tools had just arrived from New York in a ship flying the Nigerian flag.

The dock worker also reported Rijeka was increasingly busy with such shipments since it was popular as a free port and customs inspectors were easy.

Inside the nearby shipbuilding plant, a director denied that Yugoslavia was carrying on any trade with Red China from Rijeka. He said, however, that the port was receiving much air-sea radar equipment from the Radio Corporation of America as well as ship radio instruments and similar gear.

Address by Gov. Marvin Griffin, of Georgia, Before the Citizens' Council at Greenville, Miss.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, Gov. Marvin Griffin, of Georgia, recently spoke to a meeting of citizens' council members at Greenville, Miss.

I have read his magnificent address delivered on that occasion.

Governor Griffin is an eloquent speaker. He is a believer in local self-government and a staunch defender of States rights. In this present era of turmoil and confusion, when radicals in both the judicial and executive departments of our Government are undertaking, through usurpation of authority and other fraudulent means, to change our Federal Constitution by judicial decrees and Executive orders, Governor Griffin has resolutely and firmly stood his ground as chief executive of the State of Georgia against these efforts. He continues to do so.

His eloquent and informative address deserves the consideration of thoughtful Americans everywhere. Under unanimous consent previously granted, I insert the address herewith:

Chairman Waits, Attorney General Patterson, distinguished guests, and fellow southerners, it is a great pleasure, indeed, for me to appear here tonight before this courageous group of Mississippi patriots who are fighting side by side with the people of our State of Georgia in the dedicated battle to preserve the rights of the States in this Nation as set forth in our immortal Constitution.

The people of Georgia have a kindly feeling for the people of Mississippi because this territory which has risen to such high repute was once a part of the State of Georgia when we were one of the original 13 States.

We have also a close bond in the fact that we have the same traditions, the same ideals of government, the same economic and geographic conditions and have been united in other great movements in past years which have linked us firmly together.

And I am deeply grateful for the invitation extended to me to visit the good people of Mississippi by Mr. Martin Heard, of Leland, and our common friend, State Senator Peyton Hawes, of Elberton, Ga., who is with us tonight.

Almost 100 years ago the people of the great State of Mississippi joined with the people of Georgia and the people of other Southern States and fought shoulder to shoulder in one of the most sanguinary wars in history for the causes and principles they thought were right.

And today their valiant descendants are ready, I believe, to battle, side by side for those same sacred rights which are today threatened with destruction through ruthless decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States which have, I believe, deliberately ignored the Constitution of this mighty Nation.

The court's decision in the school segregation case and later in the intrastate transportation case have brought the people of the South face to face with a monstrous situation which threatens to bring internecine strife never before seen in our country and indeed menaces the very existence of this Nation in the immediate future.

These segregation decisions of the United States Supreme Court have, indeed, ignored the cherished and revered Constitution of our country.

The segregation decisions ignore State constitutions, State laws, and inheritance reserved to the people.

The segregation decisions ignore 123 long-established precedents set by the Nation's appellate courts in previous opinions handed down by the most learned judges in the history of our land.

Instead, the Court based its ruling on the opinions of certain individuals which it termed "modern authorities" in the fields of psychology, sociology, and anthropology.

The qualifications of the authors cited in the decision are dubious, to say the least. An investigation by your great statesman, Senator EASTLAND, recently exposed several of them as having long and notorious records of association with Communists or Communist-front organizations.

Two of the authors, the Senator revealed, have records listing 28 citations of Red-front activity.

While another author, Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish professor, whose work, An American Dilemma, primarily relied on by the Court, was quoted by the Senator as stating in this book that the United States Constitution is "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people."

This man Myrdal, Senator EASTLAND pointed out, was brought to the United States in 1937 from the University of Stockholm by the Carnegie Foundation to compile this study in spite of the fact "he was a Socialist who had served the Communist cause, and admitted he had no knowledge of the race relations in the United States."

Another so-called modern authority upheld by the decision was actually a paid employee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which brought the cases before the Court.

It is a treasonable miscarriage of justice for any court to accept a party litigant's associate as an authority on anything, let alone as an authority on psychology, and to put such opinions above the United States Constitution itself.

The Supreme Court, for obvious reasons, did not give counsel for any of the Southern States an opportunity to shatter once and for all the baseless claims of these fuzzy-minded theorists who could have been discredited easily with recognized opinions of reputable persons in these fields.

Senator EASTLAND concluded properly: "The Court took the writings and teachings of pro-Communist agitators and people who are part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to destroy our country and substituted them for the law of the land."

The people of the South, who refuse to accept this decision, are acting according to the clear provisions of the United States Constitution in their resistance to their blood-won rights as American citizens. By doing so, they are the ones who are following the law of the land.

In our State of Georgia the Constitution and the laws prevent the expenditure of State tax funds for the operation of mixed schools.

Our general assembly will never appropriate money for mixed schools.

Let me say to you definitely and unequivocally—Georgia will have separate public schools or no public schools as long as I am Governor of that State.

There is no choice under our laws.

There is no choice as a matter of practical application but to adhere to our long-established social traditions.

The issue now is the same as it was 100 years ago.

The question is whether we are going to surrender our free nation under God and the priceless heritage it affords.

That is the question we alone can answer.

How much usurpation of our rights are we going to allow?

When are we going to say, "Hold, enough"?

That time has come now, my friends.

Submission to tyranny invites more tyranny.

The school segregation decision by the Supreme Court is not an expression of law and order but is an effort to bring about by naked force alone and amalgamation of race and destruction of our very form of government itself.

No pretense was made by the Supreme Court to justify its ruling as a matter of law. It is anarchy by the Court.

The South was making great progress, unimpeded; but now the good relations between the races of this region have been set back over a hundred years.

It cannot be said that the people of the South have defied the Court when it is the Court itself which acts unconstitutionally. The States and their people refuse to recognize a ruling which is clearly an unlawful usurpation of authority by the Federal judiciary.

It is the Court which flouts the law of the land, not the States nor their people.

All attempts to mix the races, whether they be in the classrooms, on the playgrounds, in public conveyances or in any other area of close personal contact on terms of equality, imperil the institution of the South.

I am unalterably opposed to any breakdown in such barriers and do not feel that I can, in good conscience, condone one breech and be opposed to another.

The decision of the Court does not rest upon established precedent, previous rulings, the law or any construction of the Constitution. It ignores all of these in favor of vague theories on sociology and psychology.

These are not exact sciences.

Their application to public education brings every phase of that subject under Federal jurisdiction. The laws respecting marriage and divorce likewise are subject to revision and review under this theory, upon allegations of unconstitutionality, by this new ruling of the Court.

Of course, there is no provision in the Federal Constitution dealing with education or schools. Not one word or syllable.

The States have the inherent right to operate and maintain their public schools, utilizing such educational methods therein as are conducive both to the welfare of those to be educated and the people generally.

Rights of the States in this respect have not been delegated to the Central Government, but on the contrary have been reserved unto the States by the 10th amendment of the Federal Constitution.

Being possessed in this lawful right the States are clothed with power to repel every unlawful interference therewith.

If the South surrenders the operation of her schools to the Federal Government, such action would sound the death knell of constitutional government as it is known in this country.

That is the issue which overshadows all other questions.

The heavy percentage of colored population in the South makes it mandatory for us to practice segregation in this region.

It is in poor taste and bad judgment for States which do not have our problems to seek to tell us how we can best solve it.

I say to these States—be careful, for you may be next.

Both races must preserve their integrity.

Throughout the course of history, it has been proved over and over again that in those countries where the population loses its heritage and identity, they also lose their capacity for world leadership and retrogress into second-rate powers.

Let us say with our fathers that no government, no governmental department, no court or other tribunal, has the right to dispose of the fundamental liberties of man.

We believe that these liberties are derived from Almighty God. That when the great Creator of the universe breathed upon the dust and made an immortal soul. He gave man certain rights and freedoms beyond the power of government or any court to deny.

It is unnecessary to catalog these immunities, but among them are the rights possessed by every man to have a home and rear a family, to choose his own associates, to rear his children according to his belief, to stand erect in the dignity of his personality, and to maintain the pride of his inheritance.

Upon the great issues of the day the people of the South always have played their valiant part. Let no one be mistaken about this and upon this issue the South and her peoply firmly will stand.

In this perilous situation that confronts the Southern States we find that we have several ways by which we can prevent this disaster by means just as legal as is the Supreme Court of the United States itself.

In Georgia our answer to the school segregation decision was the adoption of the following amendment to the education article of the constitution of the State:

"Notwithstanding any other provision of this constitution, the general assembly may by law provide for grants of State, county, or municipal funds to citizens of the State for educational purposes, in discharge of all obligation of the State to provide adequate education for its citizens."

The regular 1956 session of the general assembly implemented this constitutional amendment by providing a legislative program to go into effect in each school district, if, as, and when the public schools in such district are brought under the coercive power of the Federal courts.

Under this program, if, as and when the Federal Government prohibits operation of the public schools in a particular school district in accordance with the present homogeneous method of separate education, all authority to continue public schools in that district is abolished.

This is known as the private school plan.

The result of such action of the Federal Government will be to terminate public schools in that district.

If, as, and when such action occurs, this legislation provides for an adequate system of grants from State and local funds to the parents of all children, on an equal basis, for the education of their children.

Under this legislation Georgia complies with the decisions of the Federal Supreme Court inasmuch as the State and local governments go out of the public-school business.

Under this legislation the education of the children of Georgia will be committed to the people themselves.

Through a system of private schools organized and founded by the school patrons in the local communities an educational structure serviceable and satisfactory to Georgians will continue as long as the people desire.

The social structure of the State is, therefore, secure by reason of the action of the people of the State in amending their constitution and the action of the General Assembly of Georgia in its implementing acts.

As a result of these laws, the integrity of the two races in Georgia will be maintained.

After this legislative program, the general assembly enacted into law a resolution of interposition in relation to the decisions of the United States Supreme Court against the public schools.

I shall demonstrate the correctness of our position by examining with you the nature and structure of the Government provided by the Constitution of the United States, and the fundamental principles of relationship between the States and the Federal Government with particular reference to its judicial department.

Here are some fundamental truths:

1. In this country sovereignty resides in the people of the respective States.

2. When the Constitution of the United States was formed and the Federal Government established, the people of the respective States delegated a portion of governmental authority to the Federal Government.

3. All of the power not so delegated to the Federal Government is retained by the people of the respective States.

4. The three departments of the Federal Government—the executive, legislative and judicial—are agencies for the people of the respective States, created for the purpose only of carrying out the authority granted to each department.

5. The Supreme Court of the United States is one of the units of the judicial department of the Federal Government, and can have no authority beyond that delegated by the Constitution of the United States to the judicial department.

6. When any of the three departments of the Federal Government undertakes to exercise authority over matters concerning which it has not been granted power, such an undertaking is illegal and unconstitutional, because it is beyond the authority granted. No exception is made for the Supreme Court of the United States, and if it undertakes to exercise power over a subject concerning which no authority has been granted, its acts are illegal, unconstitutional, and without any lawful force.

7. The Supreme Court of the United States has no jurisdiction to entertain a suit against any State of the Union except in the case of suits between States respecting boundary disputes and the like; and suits between the States and the United States in cases of that character.

8. Since the Federal Supreme Court has no other authority to render any judgment against a State, its declaration that the

States are prohibited from operating their own public schools according to the segregated system is wholly without authority of the Constitution.

9. The judicial power of the United States does not in the nature of things extend to interfering with the States in respect to their public-school systems.

10. By these baseless decisions the Court undertakes to establish that its pronouncements are the supreme law of the land. The court thus disobeys the Constitution, for it is there provided in that document that the Constitution, the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, and treaties made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land.

The Court assumes further unlawfully the power to judge all the laws of the States according to facts created by the Court, and to veto such laws if in the judgment of the Court they do not meet with its approval.

11. The Supreme Court has no power to judge the extent of its own authority. Its jurisdiction is that which is authorized by the Constitution. When it goes beyond the Constitution, it oversteps its powers. It cannot, by a mere claim of additional authority, confer the same upon itself.

12. The authority which the Supreme Court may exercise must be found within the limits of the judicial power delegated by the States. If the Court attempts to intrude into an unauthorized field, a State possesses the right to take note of the unlawful conduct of the Court and formally to declare the true nature and character thereof, and to denounce the same as null and void.

It is the duty of the State in flagrant cases to so interpose its powers between its people and the effort of the Court to assert an unlawful dominion over them.

This right of interposition, though not expressly referred to in the Constitution, arises out of the nature and character of that instrument and the government established by it, and exists of necessity.

The Constitution is in writing so that the powers granted to the Federal Government may be stated.

No other reason exists for a written Constitution.

A government of unlimited power needs no written constitution.

To prevent the Federal Government from thereafter claiming to posses powers not delegated to it the first Congress submitted to the States for ratification the Bill of Rights, the Tenth Amendment of which is in the following words:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

John Adams described this amendment as containing a complete Bill of Rights.

The outer limits of the powers of the Judicial Department are set forth in the third article of the Constitution.

The Supreme Court is a part of that Department.

This article does not attempt to elevate the judicial department over and above any State of the Union or over and above the legislative and executive departments of the Federal Government.

When the Supreme Court of the United States acts beyond the powers delegated to it, it oversteps its authority.

Such acts cannot bind the States from whose people all its powers are derived.

Interposition is based upon the premise that the powers of the Federal Government resulted from a compact to which the States were parties.

The States have the right to interpose their sovereignty in a case of deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of powers not granted by the compact.

This would be done either by the legislature or the people themselves in convention.

If the question be decided in the affirmative, the legislature or convention will then determine in what manner they ought to be declared null and void, within the limits of the State.

This solemn declaration, based on her rights as a member of the Union, would be obligatory, not only on her own citizens, but on the Federal Government itself, thereby placing the violated rights of the State under the shield of the Constitution. This action is subject to the overruling authority of a higher power—the amending power—the acts of which none can object.

If on appeal the decision be favorable to the Federal Government (ratification by three-fourths of the States), the disputed power will be converted into an expressly granted power.

But on the other hand, if the decision be adverse (13 States refuse to ratify) such rejection would uphold the State action that the act of Congress or the Supreme Court is null and void. Here is the true method whereby the people themselves, through the amending power, correct dangerous usurpations of authority.

Will the States stand meekly by and allow themselves to be illegally stripped of all their rights?

Must they conform to a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous usurpation of their Constitution by nine political appointees?

Free courageous people in all the States will use all legal and honorable means toward defending their Constitution. One of these means is the placing of these violated rights of the State under the shield of the Constitution by the act of interposition. To use the words of William Pitt, they will be "invoking the genius of the Constitution."

Now, my friends, the Supreme Court, emboldened by its arrant usurpation of power in the school segregation case, has now come forward with a new decision which outlaws segregation on intrastate transportation lines.

This is, indeed, an arrogant and unauthorized step taken by the Court in the face of the doctrines laid down in the last decade by the Interstate Commerce Commission which has jurisdiction over common carriers.

The Interstate Commerce Commmission assuredly has never been known in any manner as a friend of segregation on common carriers. It ruled several years ago against segregation in interstate transportation but in its own ruling made no reference to segregation in intrastate transportation.

Now comes the Supreme Court with a contemptuous 10-word decision and rules that there shall be no segregation in intrastate traffic, that is within the limits of each State, itself.

This new decision adds to the complexities of the segregation situation in all its phases.

Let me assure you that we shall fight this new attack with all the zeal we have shown in our resistance to the Supreme Court's decision in the school cases.

One of the important measures passed at the recent session of the Georgia Legislature was a joint resolution requesting the Georgia representatives in the United States House of Representatives to bring impeachment proceedings against Chief Justice Earl Warren of the United States Supreme Court and Justices Black, Douglas, Reed, Frankfurter and Clark, associate members. These proceedings were recommended on the basis of charges set forth in the resolution principally for usurpation of power and total disregard for the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

Let me assure you of my hearty approval of this resolution.

No greater danger to the rights and liberties of the people exists than illegal decisions made by a Supreme Court which are contrary to all principles of law and precedents as well as to the principles set forth in the Constitution.

Thomas Jefferson, one of the founders of this Government, set forth these dangers in a statement he made in 1820 as follows:

"The judiciary of the United States is the subtle corps of sappers and miners constantly working underground to undermine the foundations of our confederated fabric. They are construing our Constitution from a coordination of a general and special government to a general and supreme one alone. This will lay all things at their feet. I will say that against this every man should raise his voice, and more, should uplift his arm.

"Having found, from experience, that impeachment is an impracticable thing, a mere scarecrow, they skulk responsibility to public opinion. An opinion is huddled up in conclave, perhaps by a majority of one, delivered as if unanimous, and with the silent acquiescence of lazy or timid associates, by a crafty chief judge, who sophisticates the law in his mind, by the turn of his own reasoning."

Thomas Jefferson knew whereof he spoke.

Up to the present time, we have resisted by legal means the imposition of the nefarious ruling of the Supreme Court in our State.

There has been no mixing of the races in the schools of Georgia.

We are opposed unequivocally to any breakdown in segregation, whether it be in school classrooms, on the playgrounds in parks, in public transportation facilities, or in any other areas of close personal contact on terms of equality.

Let us all join hands in the South and with united efforts resist these tyrannous decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the same spirit that our forefathers fought for their cause in the dark days of 1861–65.

Almost 3 years have passed since the United States Supreme Court, in its decision of May 17, 1954, sought to usurp from State and local governments the administration of school affairs.

The effect of this unconstitutional, unlawful decree has not been felt in Georgia as yet.

That fact is no mere accident.

The determined and cooperative efforts of dedicated people, a steadfast general assembly, and an administration committed unequivocally toward preservation of our cherished institutions—all of these working in concert, have stemmed the tide.

Never before in our history has it been so necessary for our people to work in complete unity to present a solid front to the threats that assail us from many sides.

No matter what any court may rule, the Constitution of the United States and the crystalized public sentiment of an overwhelming majority of the people remain the law of the land.

We are going to protect both our white and colored citizens in Georgia from mob violence, abuse, and unbridled intimidation from whatever source it may come.

We are going to do this by maintaining Georgia's sacred heritages and traditions.

My friends, I bring you good news from all parts of the South.

Three years ago our citizens were stunned at the drastic usurpation of power by the United States Supreme Court.

The blow came so unexpectedly that the people were bewildered and in a state of shock at such an arrant act of unauthorized power by the highest court in the land.

But all over the Southland the people began to rally for the fight against tyranny.

Public sentiment crystallized so sharply that a strong resistance movement was launched.

Today it is growing at an amazing rate in all States seeking to preserve the rights granted them under the Constitution of this Nation.

In Georgia, as I have said, we have thrown up all the ramparts possible to protect us from attacks from all sides.

Here in Mississippi your courageous legislature has enacted the doctrine of interposition into law. You have passed other measures which will enable you to utilize the private school plan or the pupil assignment method.

Florida and some of the other States also have adopted interposition laws.

South Carolina has passed an array of laws as strong as any in the South and the sentiment in that State is almost 100 percent in support of them.

North Carolina, Alabama, and Virginia have taken strong action and these States have developed strong leaders to conduct the battle.

The great State of Texas is coming into the front ranks of the fight.

Its house of representatives has already adopted 8 bills designed to preserve segregation in the schools. Five of these bills have been recommended favorably by a Senate committee and three others are awaiting hearings.

In Louisiana the legislature meets later this month and Gov. Earl Long has pledged to maintain segregation.

Earlier this year the Arkansas Legislature passed laws that no student should be required to attend an integrated school. It passed a law requiring that organizations advocating integration—such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—report contributions, expenditures, and other information.

The Arkansas Legislature also established a commission "to protect that State and sister States from encroachments by the Federal Government."

Even in Tennessee, where the first skirmishes over the Supreme Court's decision arose, the legislature has adopted segregation bills keyed on the pupil assignment plan.

In all these States the resistance is growing stronger every day. They are falling in line to win this battle through legal means and through court action.

They are unanimously opposing violent measures of any kind.

The liberties of men never have lasted long under governments of total power.

As the immortal Tom Watson said:

"Democratic institutions exist by reason of their virtue. If they ever perish it will be when you have forgotten the past, become indifferent to the present, and utterly reckless as to the future."

Freedom is a fragile flower and must be tended by the people with alert vigilance which can be given only to governments close to home and responsive to the local will.

Upon the great issues of the day the South always has played a valiant part.

Let no one be mistaken about this.

Upon this issue the South and her people firmly will stand.

We rejoice that the Commonwealth of Mississippi and all the other States of the South are now standing undaunted and unafraid. They are uniting with us in this mighty battle for preservation of government and freedom from judicial tyranny.

Under the great banner of liberty and the rights of man we move into battle formation, and under an Almighty God, we will win an imperishable victory for our children and the generations yet to come.

Secretary Benson Picks Up Farm Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Wisconsin Agriculturist and Farmer is published in Racine, Wis., and has gained an enviable reputation for conducting opinion polls among the farm people it serves. Included in my remarks is an article prepared by this outstanding farm paper which indicates that Ezra Benson has gained ground among the farmers in this country.

The article follows at this point:

BENSON PICKS UP FARM SUPPORT

(By W. C. Voskuil)

Secretary of Agriculture Benson still isn't very popular with Wisconsin farmers. However, he is better liked now than a year ago.

That about sums up the most recent Wisconsin Agriculturist poll on Benson and the farm problem.

The following question was again asked of hundreds of Wisconsin farmers during on-the-farm interviews.

"On the whole, do you think Ezra Benson is doing a good, fair, or poor job as Secretary of Agriculture?"

	Percent
Good	8
Fair	38
Poor	38
Undecided	16

You can see why we say that the Secretary is not especially popular in Wisconsin. Only 8 percent of the farmers will say that he is doing a good job.

Thirty-eight percent will grant that Benson is doing a fair job. They are kind of on the fence—not voicing either approval or disapproval.

THIRTY-EIGHT PERCENT SAY BENSON IS DOING A POOR JOB

Another 38 percent have a more decided opinion. They argue that the Secretary is doing a poor job, and they are definitely unhappy with it.

The rest, 16 percent, took the easy way out. They don't know how to rate Mr. Benson in his job. We find that many of these undecided folks were women who were less interested in the question than their husbands.

We said that, in spite of the above figures, Mr. Benson is now better liked than he was a year ago. Take a look at the following table, and you will see why we say this:

How farm opinion on Benson changed

[In percent]

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Doing good job	30	14	12	4	8
Doing fair job	42	38	34	26	38
Doing poor job	13	37	45	55	38
Undecided	15	11	9	15	16

It can be seen that Wisconsin Agriculturist Poll has kept close touch with farm opinion on Secretary Benson. The question above has been asked once each year for the past 5 years.

Low point in Benson's popularity came in 1956. At that time only 4 percent would say he was doing a good job while 55 percent declared that he was doing a poor job.

Notice that the "good" and "fair" percentages have gone up during the past year while those who say the Secretary is doing a poor job have dropped in number. It isn't much of a change in farm opinion but it is in Mr. Benson's favor.

Why this slight shift in sentiment? Milk prices probably have a lot to do with it. A year of two ago milk was low compared to other farm products. Since then, milk prices have stiffened and dairymen are somewhat more optimistic.

REPUBLICANS MORE SYMPATHETIC THAN DEMOCRATS

Politics seem to affect a person's thinking on the Benson question. As might be expected, Republicans are more sympathetic to the Secretary of Agriculture than are Democrats.

Thirteen percent of the Republicans say that he is doing a good job, 46 percent rate him fair and only 25 percent say he is doing a poor job.

By contrast, only 2 percent of the Democrats say the Secretary is doing a good job. Twenty-eight percent concede that he is doing a fair job, but a big 62 percent rate him as doing a poor job.

There were only minor differences in Benson's popularity with men and women. Many more of the ladies were in the undecided column. Otherwise they seemed to feel about as the men did.

Age seemed to make a difference in people's views on Benson. It may be a surprise to know that the younger group thinks more highly of him than the middle-aged and older farmers.

This bears out the same thing which was found in earlier polls on the same question. For some reason the group below 34 years of age is more friendly to the Secretary than are older farmers.

What reasons do farmers give for liking or disliking the work of the present Secretary of Agriculture? Just about everything one could think of.

"Another 4 years of him would about squeeze me out of business," declared a Barron County dairyman.

THINKS BENSON IS TRYING TO LOWER FARM INCOME

"He is always trying to cut farm prices instead of getting more for us," grumbled another.

"This is the first year I didn't have money enough to pay taxes and it gets worse all the time," said an unhappy Pierce County man.

A Waukesha County dairyman was more charitable. "We would have gone through the price wringer no matter who was in Benson's chair," he contended.

One thing may be significant. Criticisms were not quite as bitter and personal as a year ago. The Secretary could perhaps take some comfort from that.

Roger Kyes Says Foreign Aid Fails As United States Solution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 23, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article which appeared in the Washington Star under date of May 4 in which Roger M. Kyes, former Deputy Secretary of Defense, declared that the United States foreign aid programs have not succeeded in solving our international problems or winning universal friendship. The article follows:

KYES HOLDS FOREIGN AID FAILS AS UNITED STATES SOLUTION

Roger M. Kyes, former Deputy Secretary of Defense, declared here last night that the United States foreign-aid programs "have not succeeded in solving our international problems or winning universal friendship."

Their failure, he suggested, might be credited to attempts by this country to buy respect and loyalty.

Mr. Kyes, a key defense figure in the first 3 years of the Eisenhower administration, prefaced several references to the foreign aid programs by assuring some 500 listeners at an evening session of the Associated Harvard Clubs at the Mayflower Hotel that he had "no wish even to comment" upon them, "let alone criticize."

He, nevertheless, proceeded to do just that.

PROBLEMS UNSOLVED

"I am sure," the industrialist said, "that a good deal of careful thought has gone into planning and executing them, but by themselves our foreign aid programs have not succeeded in solving our international problems or winning universal friendship."

Among those present at the meeting, one of several to be held through tomorrow, were a number of Senators and Representatives.

"If economic aid often has not worked," Mr. Kyes said, "it is for one simple fundamental reason—loyalty cannot be bought; respect cannot be purchased; conformity with our point of view is not traded for dollars.

"On the other hand, pride can be offended by money. If we act as a rich spendthrift who cares not what he pays so long as he gets what he wants we must expect to be regarded accordingly."

UNDERSTANDING SUGGESTED

The crux of the problem, Mr. Kyes declared, is "perhaps understanding."

"We must learn to look at others from where they sit, not from where we sit. We must try to look at Frenchmen, Germans, Italians—and particularly the people of the underdeveloped countries—through their eyes, not our own."

Mr. Kyes was 1 of 2 featured speakers. The other was Senator KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts. They were introduced by Senator SALTONSTALL, Republican, of Massachusetts.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

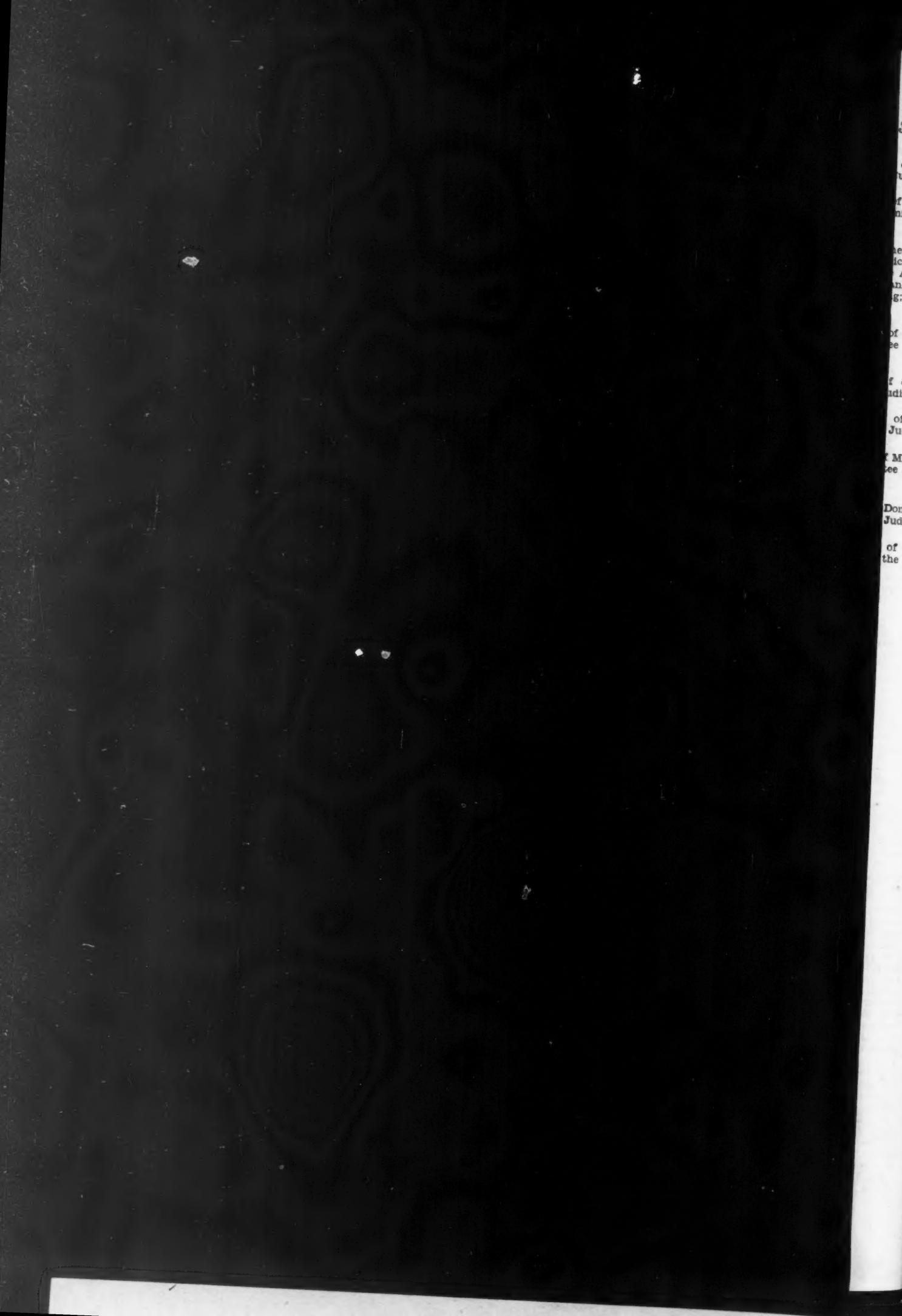

Appendix

Commencement Addresses by Hon. Mike Mansfield, of Montana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, during the past week I delivered four commencement addresses in Montana and Iowa. I ask unanimous consent that the addresses made by me on those occasions be printed separately in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NATION'S FUTURE IN THE WORLD

(Address by Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, commencement exercises, Central Catholic High School, Billings, Mont., May 26, 1957)

Ladies and gentlemen of the graduating class of 1957, distinguished members of the faculty, parents, relatives, and friends, I am deeply honored to be asked to participate with you in this graduation.

To me, graduation means more than an end or a beginning. It means both at the same time. It means, in other words, a continuity which links one phase of life to another.

In this sense, a graduation is an expression of the law of life, which is change in the unchanging. That may sound mysterious and profound. In fact, it is neither.

Look around you, think for a moment, and you will see the meaning of this law of life. You will see that in the past few weeks spring has come to replace winter and the earth has grown green again. You will see that boys and girls are moving into manhood and womanhood. Those of you who are old enough to remember—that would include only the gentlemen present—those of you who are old enough will note that even Billings has grown into something different, into a larger community with a new look, in the space of a few short years.

If you look around you, then, if you think about it for a moment, you will be aware of change in all things—constant, endless change.

There is a sadness in some of this change. We are reluctant to see the passing of a time with which we are familiar, a time which has brought many happy associations. We are not certain of what will come in its place and it is hard to trust what we do not know.

Yet, change must come; that is clear. It seems to me that we can find strength to face the challenge of change, if we bear this in mind: the law of life is not only change; it is, as I noted, change in the unchanging.

Just as the spring has come this year, it will come again and again. Just as the earth has grown green this year, it will grow green each year in all the years to come. That is the constant. That is the unchanging in the changing.

So it is with the things that have lasting meaning in each of our lives. There, too, we will find things that are enduring in the midst of the changing. What, for example, made your days as students in this high school worthwhile? Your studies? No doubt. But studies change. Some will continue to interest you and some will not. Your extracurricular activities? Undoubtedly. Perhaps some of you may think that they were even more worthwhile than your studies. But extracurricular activities also change and some will continue to interest you and some will not.

I think that beneath these things, beneath the day to day routine of the past few years there was something deeper that made high school worthwhile for you. There was something less tangible perhaps than studies or extracurricular activities, but, in the long run, more important. There was something which gave lasting meaning to these years in your lives.

Was it, perhaps, the understanding that you had from friendly members of the faculty? Was it the affection which you shared with one another? Was it the courage with which you faced the problems of learning and living? Was it the faith you felt that life was good and God was good?

I know that these are things that a person is not aware of every minute of the day. That does not make them any less important. They are there, in all of us, and they are fundamental. They are constants, the enduring. They will be there with you throughout your life.

What we see, then, changes. What we do, changes. But what we are and what we feel underlies everything we see and do. That is the unchanging in the changing. If you do into the future with the understanding and tolerance, with the honesty, with the courage and with the faith, which gave deeper meaning to your life here during the past few years then you can go into it without fear. These feelings will guide you in dealing with whatever may arise in that future.

What applies to each of us individually also applies to our country. I talk to you today, about our country because its future and yours are closely interwoven. Just as your responsibility for your own future will grow increasingly heavier in the next few years, so too will your share of responsibility for the Nation's future.

Countries, ours no less than others, are governed by the same law of life that governs each of us: change in the unchanging. It could hardly be otherwise, for nations are the creations of human beings. This Nation is constantly changing. What we call the United States at this moment is not an abstraction. It is the product of the lives of all the individuals who have composed the Nation since the beginning. It is the sum of the great lives and the unknown lives, the lives of the countless millions who have made their contribution in conquering a wilderness, in agriculture, in labor, in defense, in science and industry, in religion, in education, in ideas, and hopes, in the raising of each new generation to maturity. All of these lives have left their impression on the shape of the Nation and that is your national heritage. But just as the Nation is different today than it was 50 years ago, 50 years from now it will be still something different.

The United States, in short, grows and changes as the individuals within it grow and change. It must change if it is to endure. As it is with the individuals so it is with the Nation. In growing and changing there are certain constants which make our national existence worthwhile, which enables us to meet new challenges successfully.

When we think of our Nation's future in the world it will be helpful to think of it in those terms, as though it were a growing individual. And I want you to think of the Nation's future, today, for as I mentioned, it is interwoven with your own. Each of you will have much to do with shaping the future of the United States and that future, in turn, will exercise a great influence on yours.

Time does not stand still and neither does our country. I would like for you to reconstruct from your studies of history a picture of the United States a century ago. You will recall that our State of Montana, most States west of the Mississippi were settled then by a handful of people—many of them were your grandparents and great grandparents—many of them immigrants. They lived in isolated communities with little contact between one community and the next. They hunted and fished. They did some simple farming. They raised stock. They dug minerals from the mountains. They had few machines to help them. They had few of the conveniences that we take for granted today. There was no electricity, no telephone, no theaters, no radio or TV. They had few schools in which to educate their children.

Until the railroads came, there was little regular contact with the more settled areas of the eastern part of the country. Not many people knew or cared what was happening west of the Mississippi if they were east of it. And if they were west of the river they know little of what was happening in the East. As for the rest of the world, few people in the United States knew anything about it or gave much thought to it.

Now, that has changed. The people who came to Montana, to the West, their children and their children's children built a new way of life here. Population has grown. The powers of rivers has been harnessed through dams like Hungry Horse, Kerr, Tiber, Canyon Ferry, and more will be harnessed in our service through new dams like Libby in northwestern Montana and, in this section, Yellowtail, if we are ever able to convince the President that we need it, as you and I know that we need it. New industries have developed and more will develop. Schools have multiplied and we have learned many new ways of thinking and doing.

Most significant in the changes of the past century within our State is that we are no longer a scattering of communities, isolated and unconnected. We are linked together as never before by a complex system of airways, rails, and roads. We can pick up a telephone here in Billings and call any point in the State. Soon, I hope, TV will link every part of the State and the State with the rest of the Nation, as radio already does.

What is all this leading up to? The point I am trying to make is that, over the past century, the citizens of this State have been drawn by the processes of change into closer and closer integration. What is happening within the State is also happening within the Nation. All of the States are now tied together more closely than ever before.

What happens in other States and in Washington is now known to us immediately and affects us very directly. In turn, what we do affects the rest of the Nation profoundly and is known elsewhere promptly. In other words, a great interdependency and unity has developed throughout the United States. This means that, more and more, the Nation grows and prospers as a whole or it does not grow and prosper at all.

And what is happening in the United States is happening throughout the world. Other countries are no longer remote from us. We know promptly what is happening beyond our borders and others know promptly what is happening here. Our products are sold in vast quantities on every other continent. We draw on those continents for many of the essential products of our daily life.

A few decades ago we would not have even learned of a political upheaval in the Middle East until days or perhaps weeks after it had occurred. Today, almost simultaneous with its occurrence, the President finds it necessary to dispatch a fleet of naval vessels to the scene because he believes it may invoive our vital national interests.

In other words, a process similar to the integration which has gone on within our State and within the Nation has also taken place in the world. We are no longer immune from the impact of events thousands of miles away. These events may act to hurt the Nation or to help the Nation. One thing is certain, however, sooner or later, they are bound to affect us.

No single person brought about this situation. It is the result of the never-ending process of change which goes on wherever there is life. We may not like the situation. We may feel uncertain as to where we are headed, just as I noted earlier you men and women may sense a sadness and uncertainty in graduating. Nevertheless, out of consideration for the Nation's future, we have got to face these changes in the world. We have got to try to understand what they mean to us. We have got to try to deal with them in a way which safeguards the Nation and its future.

What are the changes which have taken place in the world during these past few decades? Again, if you will recall your studies of history, you will have a picture of what the world was like a few decades ago so that we may contrast it with what it is like now. You will recall that Europe, particularly Great Britain, a half century ago was the citadel of international power. It shaped events practically everywhere else in the world. The United States and Japan were the principal exceptions. These two countries were growing rapidly in independent strength. Elsewhere, however, the countries of Europe controlled a seemingly inert and motionless world. The Europeans directed international commerce and industry and the political life of many peoples. China, India, and most of Asia were in a state of political sleep. Latin America, Africa, and Australia-New Zealand were great but little known continents. They poured natural wealth into the channels of international commerce but otherwise had little effect on events in the world.

The Europeans themselves were divided into rival national states. So long as they keep their rivalries from erupting in war among themselves, however, the rest of the world did not challenge their combined power. Their rule over other peoples produced at least a semblance of peace and calm over the face of the earth.

Under the surface of this calm, however, change—that constant law of life—was at work everywhere. It was hidden and it was often suppressed but it was not to be denied. In two great wars and the swift cavalcade of international events in their aftermath, the force of these long pent-up changes burst upon us.

We find ourselves, today, in another world, far different from that of a half-century ago. Europe is no longer the great citadel of power that once it was. Instead, the nations of that Continent have had to struggle for years merely to restore the devastation of World War II and to preserve their independent survival. And they would have been unable to do either had it not been for the help which this country extended to them. A dozen years after World War II, the European nations have still to regain their former importance and they are not likely to regain it unless they draw closer in unity among themselves. They are suspended between two poles. The one pole is the expanded totalitarian power of the Soviet Union. The other is the power of freedom of the United States. They are attracted towards us but many of their citizens look towards Russia or fear the power of Russia.

This new world in which we find ourselves today is also a world in which the slumbering nations of the past have awakened. India, China, nations in the rest of Asia, in the Middle East and Africa—these nations are coming out of a long night of political sleep. Some have awakened in a friendly, cheerful mood. Some have awakened growling and scowling. And some have just plain got up on the wrong side of the bed. Whatever the case, however, all of these nations are a part of this changed world in which we find ourselves and they have to be reckoned with.

So, too are the developing nations of Latin America and elsewhere—Canada, for example. Each in their growing strength and in their expanding achievements are new factors in the world in which we must work out our future.

This world of today is also a world of instant communications. And it is a world in which space is losing its meaning. In aviation, distances are no longer calculated in miles but in hours of flying time; with the coming of the jet age they will soon be calculated in minutes and seconds.

It is a world in which nations depend intimately upon one another for the food, the minerals, the countless products which are essential to their existence. It is a world in which no one part is far from or can be separated from the rest.

It is, in short, a greatly different world from that of a century or a half century ago. It is a world of new dangers. You graduates know from your science studies the grim possibilities which it contains. You know the implications of the threat of atomic war.

Even the testing of nuclear weapons let alone war with these weapons, raises complex questions. When a single hydrogen bomb is set off in a test in the Pacific, for example, it is necessary to close off over 400,000 square miles of the ocean to all ships to guard against accidental death or injury. And we do not yet know with any degree of certainty what the long-range effect of the so-called radioactive fallout from nuclear explosions will be on human life and future generations. We do know, however, that like X-rays, the effect of this fallout is cumulative and that it can be highly dangerous to mankind in concentrated amounts. Moreover, no nation is immune from it, even though the nation may be hundreds or thousands of miles from the scene of the explosions.

Three countries are already testing these nuclear weapons—the United States, Soviet Russia, and Great Britain. Others will in all probability have them in the not too distant future. The level of radioactive fallout in the atmosphere will increase as testing increases.

That is the kind of new danger which confronts us in the present world. If testing of weapons alone is such a serious matter, it is not too difficult to imagine the danger posed by such weapons in the hands of an aggressor nation capable of delivering them in jet planes and guided missiles.

If the world today contains new dangers for the Nation as it most certainly does, it also contains new hope. You graduates know from your studies that there are two sides to the coin of scientific progress. You know it is rich in the promise of a better tomorrow. You know that this world of today and tomorrow contains infinite possibilities of material progress for all mankind. Even more important, you know that the new international contacts which it compels can enrich our spirits and bring this planet closer to that brotherhood of man which God has enjoined upon us.

Let me turn now for a few minutes before closing to the implications of this world of today and tomorrow for the Nation's future and for your individual futures. I think it is clear that we cannot safeguard the Nation's place in this world if we start by imagining that we are living under conditions that existed a half century ago.

We can no longer dismiss other nations as too remote to be of concern to us when we know that, in fact, they are no longer remote. We cannot assume that events thousands of miles away have no meaning for us when we know that three times in the lives of some of us, those events have plunged the Nation into war. We cannot proceed on the old assumption that Europe still dominates the world and will keep a kind of peace in it when we know in fact that power has gravitated from Europe toward the Soviet Union and toward the United States. We cannot ignore the fact that many new nations have come into independence in recent years and that they will be a force for good or evil in what happens from now on. We cannot, in short, turn back the clock.

To do so would be to try to preserve the Nation in a world and time that no longer exists, a world and time when the principal dangers we faced were frontier conflicts, fought with bow and arrow and musket, when people in this State and the West lived largely by hunting and fishing and simple agriculture. If this Nation today were to plan and act on what existed yesterday, the real world would soon leave us behind. Even more likely, it would submerge us in its swift and ever-changing currents.

That is why this Nation must be ever alert to the continuing changes in the world. Our relations with other nations must reflect this awareness. The foreign policies which were adequate 50 years ago to protect the Nation and its future had ceased to be satisfactory 25 years ago. Those of today will undoubtedly have to be adjusted tomorrow.

In other words, change is to be expected and it must be faced. If you recall, however, I stressed that the important thing was change in the unchanging. There are constants which have marked the life of this Nation from the beginning. These can provide us with the strength to move into an uncertain future with the conviction that we can make it a worthwhile future no matter what it may contain. These constants include a belief in human freedom, in human equality and in human dignity.

They include a respect for the past coupled with a willingness to explore new paths of understanding and achievement. They include a willingness to defend our own rights coupled with full respect for the rights of others. They include a faith in ourselves and in God's infinite wisdom.

The task for the Nation, and that means all of us, then, is to seek always to enlarge our understanding of the world around us. The task for the Nation is to adjust our relations with other nations in the light of its realities. The task for all of us is to see to it that in making these adjustments we do so without losing the unchanging, the enduring in our national life. I call upon you young men and women of the graduating class of 1957 to join with us in that task.

GRADUATES IN 20TH CENTURY WORLD

(Address by Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, commencement exercises, Butte Public High School, Butte, Mont., May 28, 1957)

Ladies and gentlemen of the class of 1957, distinguished members of the faculty, parents, relatives, and friends, to each of us this graduation means something different. For you who are parents of graduates, the occasion is a landmark in the growth and progress of those closest to you. For you who taught the graduates, it is a moment of gratification which can be fully appreciated only by those who have dedicated themselves to the heavy responsibility of educating the youth of the land. For the invited guests like myself, it is both an honor and a pleasure to be permitted to participate.

And for you who are graduates, this commencement marks a significant point in your lives. It is a symbol of change, of the ending of an era and the beginning of another. Your thoughts at this time, I am sure, must be mixed. There must be in them both a reluctance to leave the old and the familiar and yet an anticipation of the new and the unknown. With each of you, I am sure, these thoughts take on a highly personal form. You are concerned with your particular experiences at this school over the past few years and your particular regrets at their closing. You are also concerned with your individual futures and what each may contain.

It is natural at decisive moments in life that you consider most carefully what affects you most closely. Let me suggest, however, that you have plenty of company when you ask yourself the question "What lies ahead for me?" If you stop to think of it, you will realize that not only are you asking that question, but graduates in Anaconda, in Lewiston, in Missoula, in Miles City, in Plentywood, all over the State and the Nation, are asking the same question. You will realize, too, that thousands of graduates in London, Paris, in Tokyo, in Calcutta, in the new African Republic of Ghana, in Moscow, graduates throughout the world are asking the same question: "What lies ahead for me?"

Each graduate wants to work out in his own way the answer that is right for himself. In that sense, each answer will be a personal answer, but it will also have much in common with the others. And one of the things, perhaps the most important thing, that the answers will have in common is that they will be dependent to a large extent on the kind of country or environment in which each graduating group lives and on the kind of world in which we all live.

Let me try to illustrate this point. Suppose for a moment, that this graduation in Butte were taking place not today but a hundred years ago. To you, gentlemen of the class of 1857, the answer to the question, "What lies ahead for me?" would still be a personal one but it would also be a simpler one than it is today in at least one respect. The number of choices open to you would be limited. For most of you, graduation would be followed by homesteading somewhere in the West. Or you might find a job in a store of some kind or open one yourself. Or, if you were restless, you might set out to prospect for gold in California. Five or six of you might head eastward to one of the Nation's few colleges. If you came back at all, it would be as a minister, a doctor or perhaps a lawyer or teacher.

As for the ladies of the class of 1857, it is unlikely that there would be any of you, for in those days people had very serious doubts about the wisdom of educating girls. But if there were, the choices of a future would be even narrower than the men's. One or two of you might have become teachers and you would, of course, be in demand as wives. But with a high school diploma, you might be regarded as having too much education even for that honorable profession.

What I am trying to get across to you is the fact that your futures—all of your futures—will be sharply influenced by the kind of world and the part of the world in which you find yourself. Let me, then, try to give you a picture of the different situations which confront high school graduates in different parts of the world, not in 1857 but in 1957.

Beginning in the United States, what is the setting in which you and your fellow graduates throughout the country must shape your future? It is, first of all, the setting of a growing country with a rapidly expanding population. It is a setting which finds us at a new peak of technological progress and on the threshold of even greater progress. Advances in agriculture, science and industry are transforming our economic way of life at an incredible speed. We are learning new ways, easier ways of growing and making the things that are necessary for daily living. We are only at the beginning of the age of nuclear energy, of the new power of the atom. Developments in transportation and communication have unified the country as never before. The science of medicine is steadily increasing the life expectancy of all of us. Developments in other sciences are expanding our knowledge of the planet on which we live and, indeed of the universe of which the earth is a part.

This setting opens wide horizons for careers for all of you, horizons that are by no means limited to those whose talents run to science, agriculture, and to industry. The fact is that the changes in technology in these fields will find their counterparts in education, in the arts, in the law and in all other aspects of human endeavor in this country.

All of you, whatever your interests, can look forward to a future of promise. It is not, however, a future without problems. And perhaps the greatest problem which the Nation will face in the next 25 years is to see to it that our technological progress does not run away with us, overwhelm us and, in the end, destroy those things in our way of life which make it most worthwhile.

We must not, in our fascination with the dazzling achievements of science, overlook the fact that technological progress is not an end in itself. It must enrich the lives and open new possibilities for the spiritual development of all our citizens or it will have served no useful purposes.

We must see to it, therefore, that this progress does not get out of hand. We must see to it that it creates opportunities for employment rather than destroys them. We must see to it that its benefits reach all our citizens, in better living conditions, in greater security, in better educational, health and recreational facilities. And we must see to it that the burdens of progress, for there are burdens as well as boons in progress, are borne equitably by all.

Most important, we must see to it that progress takes place in a pattern which preserves the fundamental values of American life. Those values are a high and equal respect for the dignity, the freedom, and the worth of every individual citizen.

You graduates will also work out your futures in a Nation whose position with respect to the rest of the world has undergone great changes in the past few decades. Once isolated by the oceans from other countries, we are now linked with them by the airways and modern communications. Once a small Nation with little influence or interest beyond our borders, we are now an enormous Nation with worldwide influence and worldwide interests.

The great power of the United States places us in a position of great responsibility. It is first of all a responsibility to ourselves and to future generations. If we no longer have the immunity of distance and remoteness from developments in the rest of the world—and technological progress has ended that immunity—then we must take steps to safeguard the Nation in its new contacts. What we do or fail to do in our relations with others has a great influence throughout the world. Our actions are an important factor in determining whether the world will keep a measure of peace or whether it will be plunged into a great war from whose destructiveness no nation will escape. What we do or fail to do in our relations with others also has a great influence on the continued progress of all mankind and ourselves as a part of it.

These are new problems to which a short time ago people in this country gave little thought. Now we have no choice but to give a great deal of thought to them. We will have to use our great power with wisdom, with restraint, and with economy to safeguard peace or we shall be compelled to use it recklessly in the terrible waste of war. As your Senator, I have tried as others have tried to give these international problems the attention they must have if your Government is going to handle them successfully. I have done so because they involve the safety and well-being of the people of this State, of all the people of the United States; in fact, of civilization itself. They are the major problems confronting us today and they will become even more important tomorrow.

That, then, is the kind of situation in which you graduates will work out your futures. What of graduates in Western Europe—in London, Paris, or Rome? In Germany and in Scandinavia? The young people in Western Europe will find themselves in a situation which has many similarities with yours. They, too, have grown up in an atmosphere of freedom and scientific progress.

They will not have as great an opportunity as you will have. The European countries are older and more crowded lands. Many of the graduates will migrate, as did our forebears, to seek a new life in Canada, in Latin America, in Australia or Africa. Some will come to this country. They will add their labor, their spirit, and their thought to the continuing stream of American life.

For those who remain in Europe, life will not be easy. Their countries lie directly in the shadow of the massive totalitarian power of Soviet Russia. They know that if they are to live in freedom they must be prepared to defend themselves. Yet they know the price of past wars, and they live in dread of a new one. These graduates in Europe today almost without exception have felt the effects of war themselves. They have seen the marching armies of World War II. They have heard the bursting bombs.

They know, too, that their countries are small countries, as the world measures countries these days and that individually, they have little influence on the course of international developments. They know, finally, that for centuries their countries have been torn by rivalries and conflict which in the end have weakened them all.

Yet, for all its weaknesses, Europe is not without promise for its graduates of 1957. You know from your readings of history that that continent has many sources of strength. It is the birthplace of most of the great ideas of freedom which have spurred people throughout the world to action for human betterment—ideas which today, we take for granted in this country. Europe has also had its geniuses of science and industry. Indeed, the development of atomic energy in this country during World

War II was at least as much of the work of Einstein, and other European-born scientists as it was of our own. Europe has produced its great men of art and literature, and music. Finally, Europe has made its contribution in the struggle for freedom. Countless thousands of its soldiers fought and died for liberty in our revolution, in the two great wars of this century and in Korea.

A Europe which can produce men of genius, works of civilization such as it has, is not without hope for the future. A Europe which can rise up in the cause of freedom as it has done many times is not a dead continent. A Europe which can recover from the terrible ravages of World War II as it has done with assistance from the United States, is not without inner strength.

If Europe is to continue to survive and to grow in freedom, however, it has two great challenges which it must meet. It must bring Germany, a united Germany, into a peaceful place in a unified and peaceful Western Europe. And Western Europe must stand fast together against the threats, the taunts and the harassments of totalitarian Russia. These two questions dominate the situation in which the graduates of the class of 1957 in Western Europe will work out their futures.

What of the graduates on the other side of the globe, in Japan? Their situation is a difficult one. Japan is a small country, no larger than our State of Montana. It has less natural wealth and only limited land fit for farming. Yet, within that country live 90 million people. You might try to imagine what it would be like in Montana if, instead of 650,000 citizens, we had 90 million. For one thing, you might expect that the population of Butte would be not 40 thousand, but several million. We would have, to say the least, a housing problem to end all housing problems.

Yet Japan must feed, clothe, house, educate, and otherwise take care of its 90 million people. How is it done? For one thing, by a lower standard of living.. There is less to go around in the way of food, clothing, shelter and conveniences and the Japanese have adjusted themselves to doing with less. The Japanese also produce high yields of rice and other crops from their limited lands by intensive cultivation and extensive irrigation. They fish the waters of the Pacific from the Arctic to the Antarctic. Most important, they depend on trade with other countries based on their highly developed industry.

For Japan, the problem is literally one of having to fish and trade abroad on a large scale if they are to survive in peace and independence. In order to do both, the Japanese are turning increasingly to relations with Russia and Communist China. Before we condemn them for this, however, we had better ask ourselves, "What alternative do they have?"

The situation, then, that is faced by the Japanese graduates of 1957 is that: They live in a poor country which brought great destruction upon itself and others by the militarism of its leaders in World War II. By their own efforts and with assistance from the United States, the Japanese have restored their country and now have a fairly prosperous existence, perhaps more prosperous than they have ever known, but in no way comparable with what we take for granted in this country. They have a responsible, elected government, and they have independence.

Even under the best of circumstances, however, it will be difficult for the Japanese to maintain this situation. The Japanese islands are close to both of the centers of totalitarian communism—Russia and China. Economic circumstances compel the Japanese to deal with both. The Japanese will have to walk a narrow line if they are to trade goods with these Communist lands without ending up in their camps. Whether the new generation of Japanese will be able to walk such a line, whether they will be able to work out their futures in freedom, will depend to a great extent on how well the ideas of freedom, implanted by the United States after the war, take root. It will also depend on the understanding with which other free nations, including ourselves, treat Japan's very real needs for cooperation in economic matters.

Let me turn now to the class of 1957 in India, let us say in Calcutta or New Delhi. What is true for the students in these cities is also to a great extent true for graduates in the Middle Eastern countries—Egypt, Syria, and Pakistan, for example. It is true for graduates in Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and the countries of Indochina.

In connection with the work of the Senate, I have had occasion to visit newly independent countries many times. I have done so because what happens in them, the way they go, is of the greatest significance to us. Their vast population, numbering in the neighborhood of 750 million, is almost a third of the world's total. These people can be a decisive factor in determining whether there will be peace or war, and I can think of no question which is more important to the people of this State, to the people of the United States. As these countries develop, moreover, our trade and other relations with them can become increasingly beneficial to both sides.

This huge world of newly independent nations which stretches from Africa through the petroleum-rich Middle East to the shores of Australia is already of great significance to us. It will have become even more important by the time you graduates have reached the age of your parents. I venture to predict that many of you will be at work in these distant places. You will be carrying skills which you have learned here in the United States to help others to a better way of life. You will be carrying on business affairs since commerce, more and more, no longer stops at our national boundaries.

What kind of situation, then, is it that the graduates in the newly independent nations find themselves? They find themselves in countries which for the most part have known for centuries only poverty almost beyond imagining for the many beside great wealth for the few. They exist in countries like one I visited several years ago—Nepal—in which there is sometimes only one doctor for hundreds of thousands of people, where less than half the children born survive their first year. They live in countries where the number of people who can read and write is often less than 10 percent of the population. They live in countries where a foot-powered sewing machine would be an example of advanced mechanization. They live in countries where many people have seen airplanes overhead, but never a railroad or an automobile.

Until recently, these countries were colonies of European nations. The Europeans brought many improvements and they also developed the natural resources of the lands largely for the benefit of Europe. The ideas of liberty and Christianity also entered these lands from Europe. Over the years these ideas built in the hearts of native leaders a burning desire for national independence and improvement in the conditions under which their people lived.

The desire for independence has now been fulfilled in virtually all of the countries of Asia, and it is being fulfilled very rapidly in Africa. The graduates of 1957 in these two continents have lived through this change from colonialism to national freedom. As children they heard their present leaders deliver impassioned pleas for independence. They have now grown up to see those pleas answered.

Independence, however, has not solved the problems of poverty, ignorance, and disease from which their countries have long suffered. It will fall to these graduates to tackle these problems if the promise of independence is to be fulfilled for all of the people of the newly independent nations. It will fall to them to use the power of independence boldly yet responsibly to bring their countries fully into the modern world. It will fall to them to rise above the bitter hatreds which the struggles of their fathers for freedom engendered. Other nations, like our own, can help to some degree but the initiative must come from them if their independence is not to be an empty word.

The graduates of 1957 in the newly independent countries have a difficult but inspiring future ahead of them. It is one of hard work, heavy responsibility, and many challenges. If they make of it what they can, however, they will have contributed immeasurably to the growth of their countries, the welfare of millions of people and to the strength of freedom throughout the world. I hope you graduates will keep an interest in their work and do what you can in the future to help them.

Before concluding, I should like to turn to one other class of 1957, the graduates of Moscow or Leningrad or any other city in Soviet Russia. Because of the great tension which has existed between this country and Russia, it is easy to overlook the fact that many of the same problems of life confront the people of Russia as we ourselves know. Their graduates, I am sure, also ask the question, "What's ahead for me?" And the setting in which they live as is the case anywhere else, to a great extent, controls their answer.

The graduate in Russia lives in a country which in a technical sense is not unrecognizable to us. The Russians in the last 20 years have laid great stress on industry. They have their extensive mining operations. They have their tractor factories, their railroads, their automobile plants, their mechanized farms. Most important, they have developed atomic and nuclear weapons, and the jet aviation and the guided missiles with which these instruments of destruction are linked in modern warfare.

The quality of Russian production is in general inferior to the material things we know and so is the quantity. The standard of living of the average person is far lower than it is in this country.

Except for these differences, however, what we might call the look of Russia to its graduates is not too dissimilar to the look of the United States to you graduates as you both contemplate the question, "What's ahead for me?"

Yet we sense and we sense correctly that there are enormous differences in the situations which confront the Russian graduate and the graduate in the United States. I believe if you think of it for a moment you will discover that of these differences, two are outstanding. They are the principal differences between freedom and totalitarianism. The first is the degree of freedom of choice you will exercise over your future, as compared with the Russians. In this country, it is you who will eventually choose what work you will do, where you will live and what you will make of your life. For the Russian graduate, that choice will be largely determined by the state. The task of choosing what we are to do with our lives is sometimes a difficult one. It is a price of freedom which the Russian graduates will not have to pay. But it is also a priceless heritage of freedom which they will never know.

The second great difference is that while you maye criticize your Government and prefer Republicans to Democrats or Democrats

to Republicans, I believe you have a measure of confidence that life in the future in this country will continue on a fairly level keel. You know that you will not be plunged into the nightmare of war by some sudden act of a mad ruler. You know, in short, that you live in a country with a responsible, an accountable government. It is a government which the people of this country have made and can unmake by orderly processes.

The Russian graduate has no such assurance. He must work out his future under an autocratic government. Today, it is run by the combination of Khrushchev and Bulganin but sudden upheavals in the night and tomorrow's ruler may be another power-mad Stalin. Even in the case of the present Soviet leaders—this week they may smile at the world, and next week frown at it. This week they may talk peace. Next week the order may go out for war. A graduate in Soviet Russia, as he develops his career, may make a great contribution to science and be honored for it in 1 year, but the next he may be sent into exile because the party in control has changed its mind.

Since such is the state of affairs in Russia, I believe you can see that the Russian graduate deserves our sympathy as much as his totalitarian government deserves our condemnation.

Unfortunately, the effect of the situation in Russia is not confined within the borders of that country. The totalitarian influence of that country is worldwide. Not only has it suppressed the independence of neighboring nations, but it has kept the entire world in constant fear of aggression and war.

That brings me to the final thought I wish to leave with you tonight. As you graduates, not only here in Butte High School, but throughout the world, work out your futures in accordance with your personal desires and the setting in which you find yourselves, there is one problem which all of you must face. That is the problem of maintaining peace in the 20th century world. That is a problem for which no single country can find the solution. There are no simple answers to this problem, yet all of us must do what we can to contribute to a solution. We cannot pass it off as futile and sit down to wait for our fate. If we can conquer this problem, a world—a universe—of undreamed of possibilities will open before us. Your creative contributions together with all those who have gone before will provide the key. If we fail, then all mankind in this nuclear age stands on the brink of unspeakable disaster. We cannot fail. We must not fail.

A Foreign Policy for Peace

(Address by Senator Mike Mansfield, of Montana, commencement exercises, College of Great Falls, Great Falls, Mont., May 29, 1957)

When Monsignor Donovan asked me to deliver the commencement address here at the College of Great Falls, I felt both honored and flattered. When the Monsignor also asked me to receive the honorary doctorate degree, I was overwhelmed. It was with a deep sense of gratitude and humility that I accepted.

I wish there were some way, some special honor, some higher degree—some superior mortar board, so to speak—that I might in return bestow upon the Monsignor, not because he needs it more than I but because he deserves it more.

This year, as you may know, is his silver anniversary in the priesthood. Twenty-five years of devotion to religion and years of service in the education of the youth of all faiths are ample testimony to his superior worth.

I regret, Monsignor, that I cannot give you a higher degree or a better mortar-board. I can however, express on behalf of all here, the deepest admiration and affection for you for your great contribution to this community. I can also express the hope that your next 25 years will be spent among us so that your magnificent work may go on.

This year is also the silver jubilee of the College of Great Falls. The 25 years of its existence have been years of astonishing growth, for the school, for the city, for the State and the Nation. The progress of the College of Great Falls is all the more remarkable since the school was founded at a time when the Nation was in the lowest depths of the great depression. For you graduates the great depression may be just a title in history. For your parents, however, it is far more than that. They will remember it as a time when colleges, like banks and businesses were busy only at closing their doors. It took courage and faith to establish a school in that climate. The vindication of the courage and faith of the founders of the College of Great Falls is to be seen in this graduating class of 1957.

Since all numbers seem to lead to 25 today, I should also note that a quarter of a century ago with the coming to power of Adolf Hitler in Germany, preparations began in earnest for World War II. We did not know it then but less than a decade later the entire world was to be engulfed in a struggle which brought civilization very close to the edge of doom.

The world has now recovered from the material damage of that war. The physical scars have healed even though the personal losses are still felt by those who suffered them. War has become an unpleasant subject for discussion. Many would prefer not to talk about it, just as people preferred not to talk about it in 1932.

Yet the shadow of war still hangs above the earth. The shadow today, moreover, is darker than that which preceded World War II. It is a darker shadow than any in the history of mankind. It is the shadow of a war which threatens not only the Soviet Union and this country but all countries. It is the shadow of a war which threatens not solely civilization but the human race itself; not merely this generation but all generations to come.

I shall not dwell at length, today, on the terrors of this war of the future. You have read of them. You have heard of them. Sufficient to say that each year its potential destructiveness grows larger as atomic weapons are brought to an ever higher state of perfection. We have already reached the point where it is necessary to clear an area three times the size of the State of Montana in order to test a hydrogen bomb. Think of it for a moment. Over 400,000 square miles of the Pacific Ocean must be emptied of unprotected shipping before a single explosion can be set off safely. Even then, there must also be a prayer that the winds hold and that there has not been a miscalculation. If we have already reached this state merely in testing nuclear explosives, it is not difficult to imagine what would happen if such explosives were released in actual warfare.

The United States, Soviet Russia, and Britain already have these weapons. It will not be long before other nations add them to their arsenals.

And we are only at the beginning. Guided missiles are commencing to replace piloted planes for delivering nuclear explosives in warfare. These missiles now travel several hundred miles with uncanny accuracy. Both Russia and the United States are already experimenting with new models that will speed to targets 1,500 miles away in a matter of minutes. It is only a question of a few years until these devices will have been developed to the point where they will carry nuclear explosives between the continents and reach speeds of 15,000 miles or more per hour in their flight.

This is not science fiction but scientific fact. These are the realities of the world in which we live in this second half of the 20th century.

It is no wonder that the conscience of humanity has begun to speak out. We have heard it in the words of His Holiness, Pope Pius XII. We have heard it from the depths of Africa in the words of that great missionary, Albert Schweitzer. We have heard it from other religious leaders throughout the world.

The words of each may differ but the message in every case is the same. The warning is clear: Mankind is walking blindly on the brink of an overwhelming catastrophe. There is little margin for error. There is little margin of time.

I said that I would not dwell at length today on the dangers inherent in war and I shall not. What is essential is that we recognize these dangers as very real. What is essential is that we do not close our minds to them as being beyond our comprehension. What is essential is that we seek to understand the problems that these weapons pose for the Nation and do what we can to deal with them.

That brings me to the question I wish to discuss with you in detail today. What is the alternative to accepting the inevitability of a nuclear war? The alternative, it seems to me, the only alternative is to work actively for peace.

There is no more important problem facing our State or the Nation. It is a problem which has a special significance for you young men and women who are graduating in the year 1957. You will be face to face with this problem through your maturing years. You will work out your dreams, your careers, your lives, under its overpowering influence.

As your Senator, I have given a great deal of thought and time to this question. If he is to serve the citizens of his State, a Senator must be concerned with a Hungry Horse or a Tiber Dam. He must be concerned with the price of wheat or cattle. He must be concerned with the cost of government as it is expressed in the budget and taxes. He must be concerned with the improvement of transportation and communications and the countless other problems of the citizens of the State.

As he considers these domestic matters, however, he is in much the same situation that you young people find yourselves in thinking of your futures. He must consider them in the light of the immense problems of war and peace which face the Nation.

The cost of past wars and preparations for defense in the event of another runs to over 80 percent of the $71.8 billion budget presented to Congress by the administration a few months ago. You have heard much, I am sure, of the so-called battle of the budget. Actually, it is more a skirmish than a battle. Congress has done what it can to reduce spending, to increase efficiency. The major costs of government, however, have to do as I noted, with defense costs, with what might be called war costs. So long as serious threats exist to the security of the Nation these are the most difficult costs to reduce.

The questions of war and peace, therefore, are not remote from the interests of the people of this State, or any State. They are at the core of our interests. And because they are, as a Senator, I have been deeply concerned with them. I have traveled widely in the world these past few years in an effort to grasp their implications as fully as possible. I have tried to understand what roads lead to peace, what roads to war.

The way the nation acts for peace is primarily through foreign policy, just as we work to defend ourselves in war through defense policies. A foreign policy is not a mystical formula no one can understand except the President and the Secretary of State, and of which ordinary citizens need stand in awe. In this Nation, it is your foreign policy

and the more you know about it, the better policy it is likely to be. You will gain if this country has an effective foreign policy. You will suffer incalculably if it is an inadequate policy.

Foreign policy is the course of action we follow as a Nation in the world. It is what we do or fail to do in our relations with others to safeguard our national interests. Fifty years ago or even 25, these interests did not appear to be of great consequence. Yet 3 times in the lives of many here today, they were sufficient to plunge the Nation into the deep sorrow and the tremendous losses of great military conflicts.

In the light of these experiences can we believe any longer that the Nation's international interests are of little consequence? In the light of these experiences, is it reasonable to assume that if a major conflict breaks out in the world we can avoid it? If we were unable to do so when other nations were more remote from us, when the oceans provided a defense of insulation, are we likely to do so now? Are we likely to do so when technological advances continue to bring nations into ever-closer contact with one another? Are we likely to do so when not only the oceans but even the polar regions have ceased to be a barrier to this contact?

It seems to me that there is only one way in which we can hope to safeguard our overriding national interest in avoiding an involvement in war. That is by reducing the liklihood of an outbreak of war. It is by building a positive foreign policy for peace.

A policy of peace is one which first of all, recognizes and is based solidly on the realities that exist in the world. It is one which is adjusted not to conditions as we would like them to be but to conditions as they are. Most important, it is a policy which isolates the principal dangers of war in the world and acts, insofar as it is within our capacity to act, to curb or remove those dangers.

Before I deal with the dangers to peace and the actions that are necessary to cope with them, let me say this about the nature of foreign policy. No matter how effective it may be, peace depends on what others do as well as on what we do. The most that we can expect is that those responsible for our foreign policy assess accurately the situation that exists in the world, that they face this situation honestly and then set a courageous course of action for dealing wih it. They can do no more. We can ask for no more.

I have spoken, as you may know, many times in recent years on matters of foreign policy, in the Senate, at home in Montana, and elsewhere. As a result, some have come to regard me as a critic of the administration's foreign policy. I can assure you, however, that my purpose has not been criticism for the sake of criticism. My purpose has been to impress upon those responsible the commonsense principles of policy I have just mentioned: Assess the international situation accurately; face it honestly; deal with it courageously.

In these terms, a foreign policy for peace requires that first of all we isolate the dangers to peace in the present international situation. When we consider these dangers, most of us think automatically of Soviet Russia. There are sound reasons for this chain of thought although I should like to emphasize that the problem of maintaining peace involves much more than the actions of any single country or any single ideology. The problem has been with the world long before "communism" was even a word in the language and it may well be with us even after communism is remembered only in history.

At this moment, nevertheless, a major threat to peace does arise from the Soviet Union. That is because Russia is a militant totalitarianism and a powerful totalitarianism. It is the second industrial power of the world and possesses enormous military strength. Moscow is the summit of a world-wide system of power which extends over most of Eastern Europe and deep into the heart of Asia. The Russians have allies in the Middle East and support wherever Communist Parties operate in the world.

Soviet Russia is cut from the same cloth that has characterized all tyrannies. The threat it poses to peace lies basically in the unpredictability of the rulers of the Communist system. They are ruthless men and if they are like Stalin, they are men obsessed with a fear and hatred of freedom. They are men who cannot rest content while people or nations who do not agree with them continue to exist in independence.

The danger to peace arises from that fact that these men—these men without fixed responsibility to their peoples—control vast forces of destruction. They can unleash these forces in a moment of fear, in a moment of miscalculation, in a moment of whim.

Strangely enough the hope that peace shall not give way suddenly in these circumstances lies in the fact that these Soviet rulers are not only ruthless men, they are also intelligent men. They are fully aware of the dangers to themselves as well as to others in modern warfare. They know something of the power of nuclear weapons since they themselves have them and they are fully aware that these weapons are held by the United States and other free nations. They know that if they launch a military aggression it will be met by retaliation. Since such is the case, if they act as intelligent men, they will not invite their own destruction by precipitating a war.

That is not much of a hope for peace. It is a delicate fulcrum on which to balance the fate of civilization. For the moment, however, there is no other. That is one of the realities of the situation which confronts the Nation, and we have no choice but to live with it.

There is still another hope, however, a hope for a more durable peace. To realize it, will require endless patience and the deepest wisdom and restraint on our part. This other hope, this long-range hope lies in the fact that the Soviet totalitarianism is no more impervious to change than any other system and changes within the Communist realm could lead in the direction of greater stability, greater responsibility, and a more secure peace.

Pressures for change already exist throughout the vast stretch of the Soviet system, from Eastern Europe to the Pacific. There are people living within the Communist countries who resent oppression and who resist it. We have seen their influence in developments in Yugoslavia, in Hungary, and in Poland. In time, that influence is likely to reveal itself elsewhere in the Soviet system, even within Soviet Russia itself.

What, then, does the situation within the Soviet system add up to in terms of a foreign policy for peace? What attitudes and actions on our part does it suggest? It suggests, first of all, that we cannot underestimate the continued danger of aggression from the Soviet system. It also suggests, however, that if we can do anything to lessen the threat which a potential war with the scientific weapons of today represents to all mankind, we ought to be prepared to do it. We should be prepared to negotiate at any time and at any place and on any matter which relates to the control of this warfare of the future. These negotiations must be pursued not with blind optimism but with all the soberness we can command, with full awareness that there is no room for false steps or empty promises.

I am confident that we can trust the President of the United States to negotiate in that fashion. It amazes me when people say that the President, our representatives, or other Americans cannot talk with the Russians without being contaminated or without getting the worst of the bargain. If we ever reach the point where we fear negotiations on any matter because we believe we are less capable, less competent or more subject to contamination than others, or because we regard ourselves less able to distinguish between what is good or bad for this Nation then we shall indeed have reached a sorry state.

To afford immediate protection against war, then, we need a combination of military strength and a willingness to negotiate to reduce the risks of war. For the long-range hope of peace we need to be constantly alert to developments inside the Soviet system. We need to be flexible in our policies for dealing with these developments. Whenever changes within that system promise to lead to greater freedom and to peace we ought to do what it is prudent to do to encourage these changes. One thing we ought not to do is to stimulate uprisings in any country by incendiary words or promises of liberation and then provide only tears and sympathy to the martyrs to liberty when these uprisings are crushed by brutal power.

Freedom will come to the countries now suppressed by Soviet Russia and even to the people within Soviet Russia. It will come, however, primarily on the initiative of the peoples of these lands. Our words and actions in this connection can be harmful as well as helpful unless they are governed by great wisdom, understanding, and restraint.

If I may turn now from the problems posed for foreign policy by the Soviet system, I should like to consider with you another threat to peace. The threat which arises from within the circle of the free nations themselves. Twice in this century the world has been plunged into wholesale conflicts. The origins of World War I and World War II had little to do with Soviet totalitarianism. They were wars which began primarily in Western Europe. They were wars which resulted from the disunity and rivalries of the very nations which are closest to us in culture, in traditions, and in outlook. They were wars, in short, which struck at the heart of the free civilizations of the Western World.

World War I dealt a severe blow to the ideals and achievements of Europe. World War II almost brought an end to liberty in Western Europe. It took an enormous effort on the part of the people of that region, great human and financial sacrifices on the part of the people of the United States, to restore that region, to give it one more chance to live again in freedom.

I believe it is the last chance. The countries of Western Europe now have little choice. Either they move toward greater unity or they will once again split apart into the rivalries which characterized them before World War II. They will lay themselves open to a new suicidal conflict and to a long night of totalitarian domination.

In recent years, I have had occasion to talk at length with many of the political leaders of Western Europe. Most of them recognize that the hope for the continued freedom of their countries lies in unity. They have done much to overcome the fears and suspicions of centuries, such as those which have characterized German-French relations, and they have moved their countries a long way toward integration. Much remains to be done, however, if the unity of Western Europe is to become a living reality. There is a need to rejoin the two halves of a divided Germany in peace and there is a need for a continued advance in binding together all of Western Europe in common efforts for defense and for economic and scientific progress.

During the past decade this country has done a great deal to contribute to the stability of Western Europe and to encourage

its integration. Public funds, funds to which all of us contribute in taxes, were used to bring about economic recovery in the European countries under the Marshall plan. They have been used through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to promote a common defense against totalitarian aggression.

We have made this contribution because it has been in our national interest to make it. We have made it because, as I suggested earlier, the advances of techniology and science have linked our peace with the preservation of peace elsewhere. We have made it because there is no real defense against a major nuclear war except the defense of a strongly maintained peace.

I should like to turn now to a third major danger of war. It is a danger which arises from the vast political transition which is taking place in Asia and Africa. On those continents, one-third of mankind is on the move. These peoples have moved or are moving from colonial systems into a status of independent national life. They are impelled by the same urge to freedom and to better conditions of life that has inspired many others since the American Revolution in the 18th century.

This country can ony sympathize with the motives which underlie this urge to change in the Afro-Asian world. To do otherwise would be to deny our noblest political beliefs and traditions.

When that has been said, however, we must also recognize that the vastness and the rapidity of the transition, creates major problems for the maintenance of peace. As we have seen in the recent Suez and Middle Eastern cirsis, this transition can involve bloodshed and it can bring the nations of the world close to major war. It can, as we have seen in the case of China, create aggression. Unless the transition to political indedence is coupled with economic progress and the growth of responsible governments it can lead to disillusionment with freedom and to the rise of new totalitarianisms.

A foreign policy for peace must be acutely aware of these possibilities in the colonial transition. It must act to encourage the strengthening of the forces of freedom in the newly independent countries and their peaceful economic progress. It must not, however, produce an unending dependence on this country or an irresponsibility or an arrogance in the leadership of these new nations.

The point 4 program of technical cooperation has done much to help the peoples of the newly independent nations in an appropriate fashion. It has assisted them in acquiring the skills necessary to promote public health, education and other basic and essential services of modern life. I have seen this people-to-people undertaking in operation in many countries. The men and women who are engaged in point 4 work, the teachers, the public health specialists, the county agents, are performing an outstanding service to humanity and, in the process, are doing a great deal to promote an understanding and an appreciation of the finest qualities of our national life. However, I have also seen other types of foreign aid, often excessive and ill-advised military and economic aid that has been wasteful and harmful. It was for that reason that last year I suggested a full investigation of foreign aid by the Senate. That investigation has now been completed and I believe we have the facts which will enable us to separate the necessary from the superfluous, the wheat from the chaff, in foreign aid in the future.

If I may summarize, then, a foreign policy for peace has to deal with three principal dangers of war: the threat of aggression from the Soviet totalitarian system, the tendency toward disunity in Western Europe and the difficulties of the transition to freedom in Asia and Africa.

There are ways, as I have tried to indicate, in which we may cope with these dangers. We can stand firm with others against the threat of aggression from Soviet sources while we bend every effort to reduce by negotiation the perils which modern warfare and weapons pose for all humanity. We can do what we are able to do, to encourage the greater unity of the free nations of Europe and the Western world. We can help to guide the progress of the newly-independent nations into channels of freedom, responsibility and economic progress.

We have no choice but to face the fact that all of these efforts require money. Let us, however, bear this in mind. It costs about $200 million a year to run the Department of State, the agency charged with primary responsibility for peace. It costs over $40 billion a year to run the Department of Defense, the agency charged with primary responsibility for defending the Nation in war. Further, most of the foreign aid we now provide supplements these expenditures for defense. If there is to be a major reduction in the price of government, in taxes, therefore it will be brought about only by an effective foreign policy that reduces the danger of war and the cost of defense against war.

Let me make this one final point clear. Money is not a guarantor of the success of a foreign policy for peace. Peace cannot be bought. Money is not a substitute for an intelligent understanding of the international problems we face. It is not a substitute for wise leadership in dealing with these problems. Least of all is it a substitute for an essential human compassion and for an essential human courage. Least of all, is it a substitute for the faith and the determination that what must be done can be done to keep a decent peace in the world so that this Nation may live and prosper in peace.

Your Heritage of Freedom

(Address by Senator Mike Mansfield, of Montana, commencement exercises, Clarke College, Dubuque, Iowa, June 1, 1957)

It is customary on occasions such as this for the speaker to begin his remarks with some comments, lighthearted and otherwise. He might truthfully refer, for example, to the fact that his wife had been on this campus as a young student several years ago. He might point out that they were, perhaps, the happiest years of her life and that the Christian education she received here has been the mainstay of our lives. Or he might comment on his own days in college.

Usually by the time such comments have been exhausted, the commencement address is far enough along so that the more restless graduates—or their parents—are looking for the nearest exit. Thereafter, those portions of the address which the speaker is likely to think are the most important may not receive much attention.

I propose to reverse that procedure today and plunge immediately into my subject. I may make some assertions without proof of their validity. But bear with me for 20 minutes and I will try to tie these remarks into a bundle you may carry with you for the next few years. There may even be some time left to tell you what a fine-looking group of graduates you are.

There are two periods in the life of man (and I use the word "man" in its generic sense) when he is likely to contemplate his place in history.

First, he is expected to think of his potential contribution to history when he graduates from college.

Secondly, he is likely to think of his contribution to history when he begins to think of death.

Most of the rest of the time, however, man is so occupied with living—he is so close to the stirring event of life itself—that he is usually not able to assess his impact on history.

I was once a schoolteacher. During those years, I discovered that the time to teach a student something was when he was paying attention. I believe you are attentive today because this is one of the moments in your personal life history when you are ready to learn and to plan.

There is one simple thought that I want to leave with you. It is this:

Every man and women has an opportunity to leave his or her mark on the history of the human race.

If we could somehow visualize the history of mankind as a total, it might look something like a pyramid—perhaps a pyamid of people, or of ideas, piled one on the other.

The essential of any pyramid which can be built to its apex is that it rests on a sound foundation.

The foundation for this pyramid of life is that it rests on man's belief in God. It is by that belief that man knows his contributions will not be lost for any divine reason. He knows the foundation will not fail. If man's contribution is to be lost, it will be because of man's failure, not God's failure.

A second essential of a pyramid is that each stone rests firmly on another. Lives and ideas must be fitted together so that each succeeding level of construction rests firmly on the foundation beneath it.

Your place in this pyramid is yet to be determined. Determine it well for I assure you that one day you will be called upon to tell what you have contributed to mankind. When you are ready to pass from this life, you must ask yourself: What have I contributed?

You have heard the story of the rich and favored king who asked a wise Athenian whether he considered the king lucky. The answer was quick: How can I tell? You aren't dead yet."

And this, I suppose, a characteristic of the contributions we make. Their total impact may not be known until we have passed on.

I have been told that one point impressed on men when they are learning to fly is that they owe their lives to the men who went before them. The pilot who first flew into a cloud and crashed because he could not maintain his equilibrium must not have felt that he was making a contribution to life. But lives sacrificed in all lines of endeavor have contributed to man's knowledge and growth and have helped to build the pyramid toward its apex.

All that man is able to do today he owes to what others have done before him. What man will be able to do tomorrow, he will owe to those of us who live today.

But what can you do? You are but one of billions of people on this earth.

One thing is clear. You can do worse than nothing. You can live a life that destroys rather than builds. You have the potential of becoming a burden on your community. You can force others to take care of you in the county jail or elsewhere. You can be a source of destructive acts in your community and not contribute to the growth of mankind. In short, you can act in such a way as to sap the resources of your community and require others to devote extra energy to your protection, rather than to be able to devote themselves to the growth of man.

But at the opposite end of the scale from doing nothing or worse than nothing, it is also clear to me that you have the potential—as an individual—of contributing to the advance of mankind.

One of our great contemporary authors has written: "Nothing was ever created by two men. There are no good collaborations, whether in music, in art, in poetry, in mathematics, in philosophy. Once the miracle of creation has taken place, the group can build and extend it, but the group never in-

vents anything. The preciousness lies in the lonely mind of man."

The preciousness of our religion and our Government lies in their ability to preserve and to promote the capability of every individual to make his unique contribution to the progress of mankind.

None of us can know the contribution he may make toward man's progress. Some may develop new ideas; others will improve our physical surroundings; some will influence the lives of their companions; others will pass their heritage on to children capable of greater contributions than their parents. We each have the capacity to leave the world a better place than it was before we arrived in it.

Man as an individual has laboriously struggled upward. He understands things today he did not understand last year or the year before. He moves ahead step by step. He can continue this progress when his spirit and mind can operate in freedom. His growth will be stunted if his freedom is impaired.

It is for this reason that it is so important that we as individuals and as a sovereign entity shape our destiny toward protecting and promoting the freedom of this Nation.

You young women gathered here today to take an important step in life are the offspring of a free people. You are here to carry on the heritage that has been built. You are each fitting yourselves to make your unique contributions to the progress of mankind.

I have now completed what are the more serious portions of my remarks. The time has come to stop talking philosophy and to talk practicalities. You have jobs ahead of you. You have a community and a world in which you must live.

What is this world you face? Is it likely to be a peaceful world?

Last year I delivered an address to the graduating students of Montana State University. I told them that for the first time in my experience I could state my belief that a world war in their lifetime might be avoided. I said that I believed this was possible because of things done by men and women from many nations.

I reminded them of the discovery of atomic power—a discovery which was a threat, and still is—but which may also be a benefit in disguise because any nation which might start a war may now reasonably expect to bring about its own destruction. Nations of the world have realized in the past 2 years that another war might destroy all life. We live at peace as the result of what Sir Winston Churchill has described as the mutual terror resulting from the threat of atomic destruction.

Two years ago, at the summit conference, the United States and the Soviet Union crystallized an unspoken and unwritten understanding. The understanding was that neither country on pain of self-destruction could start a major war or permit a situation between other powers to deteriorate to the point where a major war might threaten.

Today if we get into a world war, it is not likely to be because the great powers want war, but because they will have slipped into war inadvertently.

Recall, for a moment, the most serious situation of last fall, the situations in the Middle East. Israeli troops had moved on Suez. France and Great Britain brought force to bear in the same area. The situation was fraught with danger that a small war might become a big war.

I cannot go into the details of those historic months. But I call your attention to the fact that the world stood virtually united in demanding that the use of force cease. The United States and the Soviet Union, with no understanding between them, found themselves on the same side. Together, unwillingly together, they worked through the United Nations to snuff out the fire of military action in the tinder box of the Middle East.

I do not attribute the stopping of hostilities in the Middle Eastern crisis to any great diplomatic finesse on the part of the United States, the Soviet Union, or any other nation. I attribute it to the overriding, but unspoken, threat posed by the existence of weapons of mutual terror. These weapons might inadvertently have been unleashed had the use of force in the Middle East continued unrestrained.

It has been 2 years since the President met at Geneva with the chiefs of state of France, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. It may well be that the time is approaching for another such meeting.

Much has happened in these 2 years which might shape the thinking of such a meeting. Britain has a new Prime Minister. President Eisenhower has been reelected by the greatest majority of any President. The leaders in the Soviet Union have faced the crisis of rebellion in the satellite nations. The Middle East crisis has warned us all that war lurks around the corner for nations not ever mindful of the terrible consequences that might flow from relatively isolated military action.

It seems to me that the people of the earth have the right to expect that the chiefs of state of these great powers should gather at least once every 2 years to discuss the issue of war or peace.

I believe that another summit conference will soon be due, and I suggest a new technique for such a conference. Past conferences of this kind have been followed by disillusionment and disappointment, I believe partly because they tried to do too much.

Would it not be advisable then in devising an agenda for such a conference to limit it to one important problem? Could the nations not agree, for example, to consider only one question on which agreement might be expected?

One of the difficulties in past conferences of this type has been that the agenda has been as wide open as the problems that face the great powers. Such an agenda tends to concentrate discussions on all the problem areas on which we disagree.

Why could not the chiefs of state take up just one problem—a big one I must admit—but one upon which there is some chance of agreement?

I have felt for some time now that real progress might be made toward agreement for the suspension of testing of hydrogen bombs of great size.

This should not be a suspension of tests on our part only. I propose instead that we endeavor to reach agreement with the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom on suspending tests of bombs over a certain strength level.

An agreement of this kind would be self-enforcing. We know from reading the daily press that our detection devices as well as those of many other countries can infallibly detect hydrogen test explosions when they exceed a certain size. It follows therefore that if any party to an agreement not to test the biggest bombs were to violate that agreement, the violation would instantly be known to the entire world.

I grant that such an agreement would not be without its dangers. But I believe that the time has come when the dangers of further uncontrolled big tests outweigh the dangers of agreement to suspend such tests. Surely this is an important enough issue for the heads of state to explore together ways of agreeing to limit or stop altogether the testing of hydrogen bombs so large that their fallout of radioactive material poses a threat to mankind.

It is a strange thing that the United States which has been the leading nation in the development of military uses of the atom has somehow failed to occupy a leadership position in the development of the peaceful uses of the atom. It is a strange thing that this Nation has somehow failed to convince much of the world that we are in the forefront in seeking to control the devastating effects of the atom and to put it to peaceful uses.

The time has now come for a vigorous and vital effort, led by the President of the United States, to begin to roll back the dangers of atomic warfare.

The President cannot exert this leadership by occasionally authorizing his press secretary, Mr. Jim Hagerty, no matter how competent, to respond to pronouncements by Bulganin or Khrushchev. Neither can Mr. Dulles counter the propaganda moves of the Soviet Union by authorizing his press secretary, Mr. Lincoln White, to answer Mr. Gromyko. The voices of our leaders must be heard, not the voices of their press secretaries.

Moreover, leadership can never be exerted by waiting for the other side to make a statement to which this Nation can then respond.

An essential element of leadership on the part of a man or a nation is willingness to take the initiative, to move out ahead. Leadership requires imagination and boldness and coolly calculated assessment of alternatives in any course of action.

Leadership is not based on big talk, big size, or big emotion. I am sure that you have had experience enough to know that some men are assumed to be leaders, just because they are big, strong, and have a powerful voice. But you also know that real leadership among men or nations is not based on appearance, but rather is based on performance. Acts speak louder than words, as the saying goes.

There has been a tendency in the past few years for this Nation to rely on words instead of deeds. This situation is illustrated by recent hearings which were held in the Senate on the annual appropriation for the United States Information Agency, one operating part of which is the Voice of America. After sitting through some days of hearings when witnesses testified to the need for additional funds to carry the story of America abroad, I had the impression that much of this Agency operates under the philosophy that if we can just manage to shout louder than anyone else that we are good and they are bad, we will establish freedom and democracy throughout the world and communism will be defeated.

Leadership depends not only upon what we say, but upon what we do. Reverting to my opening remarks, the pyramid of your life—the pyramid of your Nation—cannot rest on words alone. It must rest on solid ideas and acts.

One of the reasons I have commented on what has seemed to me to be a deterioration in our leadership in the world in the past few years is the fact that our future as a Nation is molded by the present and past, just as your futures as citizens are molded by the present and the past. Your world of the past 4 years has been Clarke College in the heart of the American Midwest. You will carry the impressions of these years, of your devoted teachers, of this campus, of your fellow students throughout your life.

The same is true of our Nation. It's future is being molded by the acts of today. Our acts of today are establishing the United States as a great leader, or as a great failure. Nations rise and fall. The past is studded with the relics of empires which were unable to adapt themselves to the new. It is studded with the relics of nations that lived in the glory of past victories and were never able to face and to deal with the problems of the present.

Can we look at our Nation today and know that we are willing to face the issues? Are we able to look a fact in the face and recognize it as a fact? Or do we look at facts and

call them fancies because we aren't willing to face them? Do we see the Russians as they are, or as we would like to think them to be? Do we recognize the threat of hydrogen weapons, or do we hide from it? Do you read the comic section of your newspaper because you are unwilling to face the hard issues of the editorial page? Do you say, "Let those in Washington worry about that one—they're the experts"?

In asking these questions, I have intentionally mixed together those we should ask as a Nation with those we should ask as individuals, because what we are, as a group of individuals, we are as a Nation. If we as individuals adopt an attitude of "let George do it," if we as individuals are unwilling to face facts, be honest, and do the best we can with what we've got, then we as a Nation cannot expect to exercise the leadership essential to the creation and maintenance of a world in which freedom shall not perish.

That brings me to the final thought I wish to leave with you tonight. As you graduates, not only here in Clarke College but throughout the world, work out your futures in accordance with your personal desires and the setting in which you find yourselves, there is one problem which all of you must face. That is the problem of maintaining peace in the 20th-century world. That is a problem for which no single country can find the solution. There are no simple, no cheap, no quick, no easy answers to this problem, yet all of us must do what we can to contribute to a solution. We cannot pass it off as futile and sit down to wait for our fate. If we can conquer this problem, a world—a universe—of undreamed-of possibilities will open before us. Your creative contributions, your abilities and capabilities, together with all those who have gone before, will provide the key. If we fail, then all mankind in this nuclear age stands on the brink of unspeakable disaster. We cannot fail. We must not fail.

Floods and Tornadoes in the Southwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I have prepared concerning damage caused by floods and tornadoes in Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and other parts of the Southwest.

I ask unanimous consent also to have printed following my statement, the text of a letter, dated May 31, 1957, I have received from Welcome W. Wilson, regional administrator of civil defense, containing a summary of the damage as of May 22, 1957.

I ask unanimous consent also to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Loss in Floods Is $32 Million," written by Allan Cromley, and published in the Oklahoma City Times of June 1, 1957, and an article entitled "Congressmen See Bulging State Dams, Flood Havoc," written by Joseph E. Howell, and published in the Tulsa Tribune of May 31, 1957. These articles give estimates of the flood damage and describe the terrible devastation which has been created by the unprecedented floods, the worst in Oklahoma history.

Mr. Howell's article details the devastation which was revealed on the trips made by Members of the House Subcommittee on Public Works, as they surveyed the flood damage from the air on a recent trip to Oklahoma.

There being no objection, the statement, letter, and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FLOODS IN OKLAHOMA

Mr. President, on Friday, our distinguished majority leader told the Senate something of the tragedy that has hit the Southwest in the form of floods and tornadoes. He related some of the experiences of the House Public Works Subcommittee as its members visited Texas.

Today's and Sunday's newpapers brought news of new furies lashing at Oklahoma and Texas, with new warnings of additional flooding on our already swollen rivers. The Oklahoma City Times carried a dispatch by Allen Cromley describing the testimony of Army engineers at a hearing, in Tulsa, Okla., that dams and levees already built had reduced the flood's damage in Oklahoma and adjoining strips of Texas, Kansas, and Arkansas nearly $12 million, but estimating the overall disaster cost thus far at $32 million.

Congressional inquiries to the Denton, Tex., regional office of the Federal Civilian Defense Administration, which has been coordinating State and Federal activities in this disaster, brought a reply a few minutes ago, which includes an estimate for the overall damage in Oklahoma alone at $40 million, a larger figure. That is the figure given by Mr. Tom Brett, Oklahoma State civil defense director, who has included agricultural damages over the States. He lists 61 of our 77 counties with damages severe enough to make them eligible as disaster counties, and 28 cities, including the three biggest cities in the State, as disaster cities under Public Law 875, the 1950 Disaster Act.

Five persons were killed, according to Red Cross preliminary estimates, although news stories have now listed 9 deaths, and 88 were injured, while families suffering loss were listed as 1,877 with nearly 2,000 homes or buildings damaged. Continued rainfall and flooding has made it impossible to survey damage adequately, but between 60 and 75 percent of the counties in my State have damaged roads. I have a map with 110 crosses on it indicating damage to the State highway system.

A newspaper report in the Tulsa Tribune of Friday describing a visit of the House subcommittee in Tulsa, with reports of the first part of its trip through Oklahoma, describes the spectacular but tragedy-packed scenes observed by the congressional party more vividly than I can picture it.

DENTON, TEX., *May 31, 1957.*

Hon. MIKE MONRONEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MONRONEY: Thank you for your letter of May 22 with regard to the Oklahoma flood situation.

Tom Brett, Oklahoma State civil defense director, has estimated the overall damage at $40 million. Included in this estimate are agricultural damages over most of the State, particularly along the main streams and their tributaries.

Mr. Brett indicated the following counties and cities have sustained damage that will be eligible under Public Law 875, commonly known as the Disaster Act of 1950: Counties: Adair, Alfalfa, Atoka, Beckham, Blaine, Bryan, Caddo, Canadian, Carter, Cherokee, Choctaw, Cleveland, Comanche, Craig, Creek, Custer, Dewey, Ellis, Garfield, Garvin, Grady, Grant, Greer, Harper, Haskell, Hughes, Jefferson, Johnston, Kay, Kingfisher, Kiowa, Leflore, Lincoln, Logan, McClain, McIntosh, Major, Marshall, Mayes, Murray, Muskogee, Noble, Nowata, Oklahoma, Okmulgee, Osage, Pawnee, Payne, Pittsburg, Pontotoc, Pottawatomie, Pushmataha, Roger Mills, Rogers, Seminole, Sequoyah, Stephens, Tulsa, Wagoner, Woods, Woodward.

Cities: Alva, Bixby, Canton, Coyle, Dover, Elk City, Enid, Fort Gibson, Guthrie, Haskell, Hennessey, Jenks, Kingfisher, Lawton, Lexington, Lindsay, Moffett, Muskogee, Nowata, Oklahoma City, Owasso, Pauls Valley, Sayre, Shawnee, Stillwater, Tulsa, Wanette, and Waurika.

Mr. Brett estimates that between 60 and 75 percent of the counties have damaged roads. Some of the major highways are still blocked and damage to the Federal-aid road systems is estimated at between $4 million and $5 million. Approximately 110 locations on Oklahoma highways have bridge and other flood damages affecting traffic. These are located on the Federal-aid systems, for the most part, however, and do not include any rural and county roads. A newspaper article and drawing showing the damaged facilities is enclosed.

Preliminary reports of the American Red Cross indicate the following statistics up to May 22:

(NOTE.—Much more damage to persons and property, especially homes has occurred since.)

Persons killed, 5; persons suffering minor injuries, 88; dwellings destroyed, 18; dwellings with major damage, 217; dwellings with minor damage, 1,355; other buildings destroyed, 12; other buildings with major damage, 50; other buildings with minor damage, 178; the total number of families suffering loss, 1,877.

Requests for surveys for specific damages have been made by Alva, Canton, Elk City, Lawton, and Stillwater, for damages to sewerage disposal plants; Guthrie, damage to water mains; Stillwater, damage to school; Fort Gibson, damage to water plant; Sayre, damage to water lines.

One Federal team composed of 2 engineers from the Corps of Engineers, 1 health and sanitation representative from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and a Federal Civil Defense Administration representative is now in the field and other teams are being formed and sent to the cities as rapidly as possible.

At the present time, it is somewhat difficult to estimate the total amount of Federal funds that will be needed for Oklahoma. As you undoubtedly know, civil-defense survey teams go into each damaged area and make every precise inspection. In many instances, the surveys have not been possible yet because of continued rainfall and flooding. The most severe damages have apparently been to roads and bridges. Federal funds will be provided for the temporary repair of those not on the Federal-aid system. Some funds will also be necessary for the control of mosquitoes, flies, rodents, and for the purification of wells and other health measures. When we have been able to make a fairly accurate estimate of the total amount needed, we will be happy to advise you.

Sincerely,

WELCOME W. WILSON,
Regional Administrator.

[From the Oklahoma City Times of June 1, 1957]

STATE TALLIES UP: LOSS IN FLOODS IS $32 MILLION

(By Allan Cromley)

TULSA.—The United States Army Engineers Saturday estimated flood damage totals $32 million in 8 river basins of Oklahoma.

Col. John D. Bristor told a visiting congressional flood inspection team and approximately 200 persons at a public hearing that the damage would have been $43,800,000 if existing flood control projects had not been in place.

He said the total would have been $21,900,000 if all authorized large flood control projects had been completed.

TEXOMA CRITICAL

He said there is a critical problem at Lake Texoma, where too much rain above the dam and too much water below the dam are combining to threaten further widespread damage.

He said there was a 6-inch rain Friday night on the lake itself and that water is 1.6 feet over the spillway. The levee was 4 feet Friday when the congressional investigators flew over the lake on a 1,600-mile aerial survey of flood damage in Texas, Oklahoma, eastern Arkansas, and southern Kansas.

Brig. Gen. L. E. Seeman, division engineer, Fort Worth, told the group Saturday morning, "this flood season is still not over." He urged the lawmakers to approach the flood control problem on a broad river basin basis.

STORM TOLL SET

A regional civil defense official estimated that floods and tornadoes have caused $40 million damage in the State. Gaines P. West director of educational services, civil defense regional headquarters, Denton, Tex., said this is a very conservative figure.

United States Army engineers at Fort Worth Thursday told the committee damage in Texas was almost $70 million. This brings the official estimate of the region total to more than $100 million.

Ironically, rain was pouring down outside the building here where the hearing was held, and a number of would-be witnesses telephoned that they would be unable to attend because of the weather.

MAYORS ON HAND

Some 20 mayors of cities in the Oklahoma flood region were prepared to detail devastation in their areas.

Bristor broke his official flood damage estimate into 8 river basins which either flow into, through, or out of Oklahoma.

He listed the damage as follows: Red River, $6,250,000; Arkansas and minor tributaries in Kansas and Oklahoma, $15,700,000; Cimarron River, $5,900,000; Verdigris River, $1,420,000; Grand River, $870,000; Illinois River, $75,000; Poteau River, $235,000; and Canadian River, $1,885,000.

ONE MILLION DOLLARS MINOR

Bristor estimated Red River flood damage would have been $9,300,000 without the protection afforded by Lake Texoma and Altus Reservoir.

He said the $1 million already advanced by the Federal Government to the State for storm disaster relief "seems a very minor sum."

He said civil defense officials probably will advise Governor Gary to request another million.

West estimated 11,500 persons in Oklahoma have been evacuated from flood areas, some of them more than once.

ELEVEN LOSE LIVES

He said 11 persons have lost their lives in floods, 4 in tornadoes, and 150 have been injured. He said 1,400 homes have been partially or completely destroyed by mother nature.

He said a total of 152 bridges have been damaged by floods, and estimated a $5 million to $6 million loss on highways and for which the State receives Federal aid funds.

West estimated agriculture losses from floods at about $20 million.

Bristor said his flood damage estimates do not include losses in headwater areas.

FIGURE NOT COMPLETE

Bristor said his estimates do not include secondary losses such as those sustained by merchants who suffered business reverses through decreased income of persons flooded.

He said loss of income and manpower hours are not included. He explained that the estimates are based on figures gathered in previous floods, and an actual determination of loss cannot be made until a year or two.

Representative ED EDMONDSON, Muskogee, 1 of 3 visiting members of the House Public Works Committee, said, "Knowing acreage destroyed, and municipal damage, I have a feeling the estimate is very conservative and that damage exceeds $50 million in the State."

[From the Tulsa Tribune of May 31, 1957]

TULSA HEARING SATURDAY—CONGRESSMEN SEE BULGING STATE DAMS, FLOOD HAVOC

(By Joseph E. Howell)

Scenes which in theory at least will not be reenacted for 100 years, spread out today before a congressional subcommittee inspecting flood damage and flood control work in the Southwest.

The committee flew over giant Lake Texoma, which recently has filled for the first time since it was completed 13 years ago.

"This is a sight we may never see again in our lifetime," said Joe Brennan, engineer consultant for the House Committee on Public Works.

He explained the Denison Dam was built to exactly hold a flood of the size which has filled it this month and that the studies which the engineers made in designing the dam based on the flood history of the Red and Washita Rivers, indicated this flood would occur but once in a century.

Brennan said, however, the fact the flood had occurred this year is no guarantee it will not occur again next year or every year for 10 years.

He said that when the experience this year goes into the record books and a new analysis made, it may develop that it will be considered an 80-year flood instead of a 100-year flood.

The subcommittee members flew 600 miles over flooded river valleys between Fort Smith and Tulsa this morning.

After leaving Forth Worth, where they saw streets filled from curb to curb when 2.22 inches of rain fell Thursday night, the party flew north to Ardmore and then down the Washita arm of Lake Texoma to the Denison Dam.

There, they saw about 5,000 cubic feet of water per second going through the 2,000-foot uncontrolled spillway and more than 30,000 cubic feet per second being discharged through the penstocks.

Below the mouths of these giant tubes, the water roared out in a great mass of foam, filling the river below the dam bank to bank.

Down the river for more than 200 miles, the Congressmen flew before they again found the Red River in flood near Idabel and on down to Index and Fulton, Ark.

Roy Penix, chief of technical liaison for the southwestern division of the Army engineers, said the water being discharged from Texoma will flow down the valley of the Red behind the flood which is spreading out today at Fulton.

The congressional party saw the proposed sites of a series of dams in the Kiamichi Mountains, designed to hold back the mountain streams which have been causing the flooding on the lower Red River.

The Millwood site where a controversial dam has been proposed on Little River just before it joins the Arkansas, came in particularly for attention. Thousands of acres of timberland spread out below the Army plane carrying the party, and the water standing on the ground around the trees was plainly visible from the air.

From Millwood, the tour went up Little River and Mountain Fork across the mountains and over Lake Wister.

Wister, like Texoma, is full to the brim and discharging water over an uncontrolled spillway, but the Poteau River below the dam appeared to be back within its banks.

There still were patches of water in the low places in the Moffet Bottoms at Fort Smith where the Arkansas has been nearly 7 miles wide, but the Arkansas itself appeared to be back within banks today.

The flight continued up the Arkansas River, past the Short Mountain Dam site to the point where the junction of the South Canadian and the Arkansas was visible on one side of the Army plane and the lake behind Tenkiller Ferry, at the highest level in its history, was visible on the other side.

There was some water being discharged at Tenkiller.

A more spectacular sight was provided by the Fort Gibson Reservoir which had nearly all of its gates open and was creating some flooding in the Grand Valley.

The Arkansas, Verdigris, and Grand Rivers were clearly defined as they met at a common junction northeast of Muskogee.

Congressman ED EDMONDSON, of Oklahoma, and JIM WRIGHT, of Texas, spent a busy morning checking the Red and Arkansas Rivers flood problems with the help of Brig. Gen. E. L. Seeman, the division engineer for the Army from Dallas.

The third Congressman, Representative EMMETT BYRNE, Republican, of Chicago, took a much less active interest in the southwestern flood scene.

Seeman said the trip "stresses again the extremes of nature and of the vast amount of water that flows unused out of Texas and Oklahoma."

He said it calls attention of taking advantage of the occasion when nature is bountiful.

"You go from many years of drought to a flood very suddenly," Seeman related.

"The reverse is not true of drought. Drought creeps up on you."

The general said the trip has given "the Congressmen a real bird's-eye view of the problems we face.

"We couldn't have done it from the ground."

From the airship the flooded streams below seemed more like a giant model on which the engineers can work out flood control measures.

The congressional party by noon today had flown areas which have suffered $118 million in damages since arriving in Texas Wednesday night, Representative WRIGHT said.

It was estimated that by the time the committee had completed its 2-day tour it would have seen a million acres of flooded land.

Wright said his first reaction as he looks at the flood scene is to think of the problems of the people whose property has been inundated. He said it gives you a weird feeling to step from a motorboat to the roof of a house as he has done in the last few days, and to see the stunned expressions on the faces of people who have been evacuated or have refused to leave their homes.

Wright lived in Seminole as a boy and delivered the Tulsa Tribune there.

The congressional party was scheduled to fly over the Cimarron Valley and upper Arkansas in the afternoon. Its itinerary included Enid, the Great Salt Plains Reservoir, the Toronto and Oologah dam sites on the Verdigris River, Hulah Reservoir on Caney River and Grand Lake.

A public hearing will be held beginning at 9 a. m. Saturday in the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce Building.

In addition to the Congressmen, Brennan, Keeman, and Penix, the touring party includes Richard J. Sullivan, chief counsel for the House committee on public works, and Lt. Col. Robert W. Dairymple, Assistant Chief of Civil Works for the Army engineers.

Danger of Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Danger: Inflation Fog Ahead," written by Nate White, and published in the Christian Science Monitor of June 1, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TREND OF THE ECONOMY—DANGER: INFLATION FOG AHEAD

(By Nate White, business and financial editor of the Christian Science Monitor)

BOSTON.—The United States needs a bold, imaginative idea setting forth rallying points and specific ways to control inflation.

It is not enough to say:

We must increase savings;

We must show restraint in borrowing;

We must live within our Federal, State, and municipal income;

We must balance the budget;

We must restrain labor's demands for wages which cannot be justified by evident increases in productivity;

We must hold prices in line; and

We must resist price advances at all levels.

These are not the kind of things businesses, governments, labor unions, and consumers do when they know they can find money to spend.

National indifference is all that is needed to keep inflation growing. Either inflation must be controlled or individuals, businesses, trusts, and institutions must find their own ways of coping with it. And opportunism is an ally of inflation. The current mood of drift and alibi is dangerous. It is dangerous because it creates a foggy attitude about a critical problem.

Pointing fingers is not the answer. Everyone knows that the big elements of the current inflationary twist are a very large gain in wages (up $12.1 billion since May a year ago); exceptionally large Federal, State, and municipal expenditures; exceptionally large business expenditure for plant and equipment; a near-capacity economy; large consumer borrowing (up $11.5 billion since May 1956); and an almost fully employed labor force.

This is a cost inflation. Costs of running business are increasing. Profits are squeezed (up $1.6 billion, after taxes, over a year ago). Prices must be raised. The costs of running the country are going up. Cities, States, and the Federal Government are scrambling for money in every corner.

Costs of running private homes are going up. Costs of running schools and colleges are up. The squeeze on institutions is very tight. A great deal is heard that there are not sufficient incentives to encourage investment.

The solution is not a simple one. It is not the answer to say, "This is a big country. Inflation is our price for growing. We can afford it."

It is not the answer to say, "We must hold everything strictly in line. We must find a shell and conform ourselves to it. We must restrict, restrict, restrict."

It is not the answer to say, "Stop raising wages." Nor is it the answer to say, "Profits are too big. Make business absorb the costs."

What is needed is a goal of progressive stabilization for all—growth with evenness, a willingness on the part of some segments to hold back where excessive advantages have been won over other sections of the community, a speedup and catchup in slower segments where it is long overdue, and a national objective of price stabilization.

It would certainly seem to be in order and in accord with the United States' way of doing things for President Eisenhower to name a commission of citizens whose personal statesmanship would lift them above political considerations, to study the problem and recommend a national policy.

If there were large unemployment, hunger marches on Washington would compel policy formation as they did a New Deal.

Perhaps it's old-fashioned to worry about losses due to inflation. But if we accept the estimate that every time the cost-of-living index goes up 1 point, $2.5 billion goes down the drain, then we as a people have poured nearly $12 billion down the drain since April last year, enough to give President Eisenhower what he needs for foreign aid and then some, enough to put over the school-aid bill, and then some. There might even have been some room for bigger debt reduction and a willingness to bring about some fundamental tax reforms.

Some $12 billion down the drain is a loss no nation can afford. Think of the loss to institutions, churches, insurance companies, pensioners, States, cities, the Federal Government itself, due to this silent, subtle waste.

Lacking a national campaign for inflation control, each individual, business, institution, and citizen is left to his own devices, such as: fight every price rise, do without, drive the old car a little longer, wear the old clothes a little longer; defer painting the house or church this year, go to the credit agency once again for a time loan.

The facts indicate this is what is going on. Even so Americans spent $9 billion the past 2 years on alcoholic beverages and $5.7 billion on tobacco last year. Essentials, such as clothing, have been taking a loss, meanwhile. Biggest consumer expenditures are on automobiles, gasoline, and food.

If the United States cannot reach a national policy of effective price stabilization—another phrase for inflation control—this means, of course, that, as a people, Americans are adopting shifting values in their money as national policy (and without a vote on it). This can go on without panic, as it has gone on for 17 years, for an indefinite period. To those who see them, the visible losses will be astounding and the invisible losses and suffering cannot be imagined.

Inflation seems unreal to those whose dollar income preserves an illusion of gain. It is very real to those whose dollar income does not.

Stassen Undercut on Arms Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, on Sunday, June 2, there appeared in the Washington Post an article entitled "Stassen Undercut on Arms Control," written by Chalmers M. Roberts. The article is a thought-provoking one, and I desire to call it to the attention of my colleagues.

I would say that Mr. Stassen possesses much ability, and I am confident that he is doing a very constructive job in negotiating with the Soviets some plan for disarmament and an aerial inspection of some areas of the world.

It is highly necessary that such disarmament programs be developed throughout the world. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STASSEN UNDERCUT ON ARMS CONTROL

(By Chalmers M. Roberts)

Those who report the day's news for the daily press suffer from the lack of time for the reflection which permits the historian to achieve perspective on world events. At the risk of premature judgment, however, this reporter has the feeling that America and Russia have reached a critical point in their relationship.

The issue is called disarmament. The primary and immediate point is whether the two great powers have the will to find an agreement first, to slow down the nuclear arms race, then to halt it and finally to reverse the road to Armageddon.

What goes on in the Kremlin is the world's best kept secret. One may put bits and pieces of evidence together, one may theorize. But one never knows until the chips are down and a Kremlin decision is made known by action to carry it out.

American policy, on the other hand, is more easily discovered though this is not to say that our policies are simple, clear, or even lived up to when formally adopted by the President at the National Security Council table.

Before Harold Stassen took over the disarmament task, the official American policy line was that the United States should accept no disarmament agreement with the Soviet Union which was not to the net security advantage of this Nation. Such phrases appeared in the NSC documents.

Stassen, as stubborn a Swede as one can find, recognized that thesis for the nonsense that it is. Slowly, surely, he swung the administration around to the idea of seeking an agreement mutually beneficial to both great powers.

But after the new principle was enshrined in administration thinking, a battle began to turn the generalization into specific proposals. Time and again Stassen fought the Pentagon and the Atomic Energy Commission for approval of specific ideas to carry it out. Last December Secretary Dulles went to the President to obtain a decision blocked by Admiral Radford and AEC Chairman Strauss.

And so Stassen, at the current London arms talks which began in January, was able to put forward a batch of proposals, all based on the thesis of mutual Soviet-American interest. The Soviet counterproposal of April 30 represents the Kremlin's acceptance of that mutuality thesis, in the view of those in Washington who back Stassen's search for a breakthrough in the decade of fruitless East-West arms talks.

Stassen came home in late May to find out how far the President would let him go in meeting the Soviets. He was convinced that this was a moment of supreme opportunity and one which the United States must fully utilize.

The result was the most violent internal administration battle yet over the disarmament talks. Radford's public statement about not trusting the Soviets on this or anything else was carried over into the

secret discussions fourfold. Strauss was his ready and able ally.

The outcome was an Eisenhower decision which was widely painted as a victory for Stassen but which, in fact, restricted his area of maneuver. The President preserved his public position that the United States must not be picayunish and must meet the Soviets halfway. But, in the eyes of Stassen and his supporters, Radford and Strauss were worse than picayunish and the restrictions on Stassen will make it exceeding difficult, if in fact even possible, to meet the Soviets halfway.

Yet what evidence there is of American public opinion on disarmament is that the Nation has been swinging over to the halfway idea, that Americans are fully aware of the possible alternative to no agreement. For example, Senator BRICKER, the Ohio Republican stalwart, is now saying there is hope enough to keep working at it. Senator CAPEHART, from reputedly isolationist Indiana, is saying "we've got to continue."

President Eisenhower, while helping to create a climate of American opinion in which negotiation is possible, has yet to give Stassen the kind of backing necessary in the crucial weeks ahead. The President can do that only by making it clear to Radford, Strauss and company that they cannot cut the guts from American proposals while pledging fealty to the principle of agreement itself.

City of Pendleton, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, a column by Harlan Trott, entitled "Pendleton—a Reporter's Roundup" and subtitled, "Intimate Message From the Northwest" appeared in the May 28, 1957, issue of the Christian Science Monitor. Mr. Trott, judging this very progressive Northwest city on the pattern established by New England towns, observes some interesting comparisons and yet also notes certain striking contrasts. It is nothing unusual to find writers characterizing Oregon towns in terms of reference to historic New England. Mr. Trott has a keen eye, a good nose for news, and a style which reflects the vividness and individuality of the people he meets.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this fine column be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PENDLETON—A REPORTER'S ROUNDUP—INTIMATE MESSAGE FROM THE NORTHWEST

(By Harlan Trott)

PENDLETON, OREG.—Pendleton is a horseman's town. Here lilacs grow up into trees that lavish their white and purple shade on little white houses with lush green dooryards kept cropped by the vogue in palominos.

In America, often as not, you may stroll into an old-fashioned railroad depot, and if you would find the formula to the town's fame, observe the walls.

In the railroad depot at Concord, N. H., for example, hangs an outsized old Currier & Ives lithograph showing a train of Boston & Maine flatcars loaded with 100 of the leather-slung stage coaches that made Concord famous, consigned to the Wells Fargo Company of San Francisco.

Concord is east and Pendleton is west, but the two towns are not too remote in time or meaning when you compare Concord's Currier & Ives with the 8-foot panoramic photograph of the 1913 Pendleton Roundup in the Union Pacific depot here in the Oregon town where the horse has long outlived the cart.

Cupped in a tree-covered valley of the Umatilla, Pendleton is a New England town. Certainly Pendleton is a Down East name. yet it's a frontier town, too, where from the surrounding rim the West unfolds all at once into a vast, rolling world of cattle ranges and farms now green with new wheat, and where the horizon is a day's canter away.

North by east, for fifty miles to Walla Walla in the neighboring State of Washington, you can pile up statistics until they spill out the ears of towering grain elevators that advertise eastern Oregon's bounty. These grain elevators are as unabashedly ubiquitous as oil derricks on Oklahoma's statehouse lawn. They are the best kind of outdoor advertising here in a State that is just as particular about this as is Vermont.

Pendleton has one of these tall, concrete cylindrical "billboards" looking down on the roof of the Temple Hotel in the heart of town. Long after Pendletonians and their palominos are bedded down, the lights stay on in the big mill that is making white swan's-down out of last year's harvest as the trademark on the mill implies.

"Walla Walla" in Indian lingo means "many waters." It must also mean "waving wheat." The early Indians couldn't have known much about that. The Umatillas were nomads and hunters. Some of them still are. Pendleton's Fred Hall picked up an Indian hitchhiker the other day who asked to be let off at a prosperous big spread a few miles out on the Walla Walla highway. "Oh," said Fred, "do you work here?"

"No," replied the dungareed hitchhiker in a cloud of Umatilla loquaciousness, "I own it."

Once this eastern Oregon empire belonged to all the Umatillas, and some of them, still holding Indian title to vast chunks of it, ride around in dilapidated old pickup trucks and collect their rents. Being nomads and hunters by instinct, tracking down tenants beats working.

Fred Hall is a cowman of sorts, too. Beef, that is. He combs Pendleton's Angus and Hereford feedlots that supply his tables at the Fraternity Club restaurant upstairs over the Western Union office here. "The best steakhouse in town," a clerk at Hamley's told me.

Hamley's is like Maine's L. L. Bean for the frontier. Out back in the saddle shop, a white-mustached craftsman smiled up through his thin gold spectacles and went on rubbing neat's-foot oil into the square skirt of a $400 saddle.

This was a special job, the artisan explained, for a quarter-horse man from out of State. When you say quarter-horse to a Hamley's, they know exactly how to fit a horse that is pretty wide through the withers. Each year at the famous Pendleton Roundup, the J. J. Hamley trophy saddle is presented to the world's champion steer roper. Last year, cowboy Carl Sawyer of Torrington, Wyo., rode off with this $750 tooled-leather masterpiece.

Not all Hamley saddles cost more than the horse. They'll sell you a bangup Northwest roper with a full Cheyenne cattle binding for as little as $225. That's exactly what it once cost an Oregon traveler to hold down a horsehair seat in one of Ben Holliday's Concord coaches for 18 days from St. Joseph to Pendleton in the time of the old Overland Trail.

Here the horse is no luxury. It's a way of western living—one to a man and his neighbor. Every autumn the panorama on the UP depot wall here comes alive with plunging broncs and whooping cowboys in the annual frontier festival they call the Pendleton Roundup.

Right now it is foaling time and in some of Pendleton's dooryards the newcomers are trying their wobbly stilts in ecstatic gallops across the springy carpet and stopping short to sniff the lilacs in the wind.

Perpetual Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the column by Henry Hazlitt entitled, "Perpetual Foreign Aid," which appeared in the June 3, 1957, issue of Newsweek magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PERPETUAL FOREIGN AID

(By Henry Hazlitt)

The President's decision to throw the weight of his great military prestige behind his military budget might have been more effective had he not chosen to defend nearly every other segment of his budget with equal ardor. "No great reductions in it are possible," he declares, "unless Congress eliminates or curtails existing programs." If this merely refers to some programs, it is self-evident. But it seems to assume that any program, once started, must continue without reexamination forever.

And this assumption appears to be the chief reason for the continuance of the foreign-aid program. If we had not previously embarked on that program, and got everybody inured to it, and some public figure came along now and suddenly proposed that we give $4 billion away next year to some 60 different countries, he would be thought to have taken leave of his senses. But as we have already handed out some $62 billion on foreign aid since the end of the Second World War, the burden of proof is assumed to be on those who would "desert our friends" now.

Let us begin, for example, with the arguments that attempt to belittle the size of the foreign-aid program. Its cost, declares the President, "amounts to only 5 percent of the budget." But the more extravagant the total budget, the smaller a percentage of it is any given sum. The $3.8 billion proposed for 1958 for foreign aid alone is greater than the entire Federal budget in any fiscal year from 1922 to 1932.

WHAT IT COSTS US

The most realistic way of measuring the present fiscal burden of foreign aid is to ask how much taxes could be reduced if foreign-aid spending did not exist. On the basis of estimates compiled by the Tax Foundation, I find that if no one were taxed at anything higher than a combined normal and surtax rate of 30 percent (which now applies to the income-tax bracket between $6,000 and 8,000 a year), the loss in revenue

would be no more than $3.5 billion. Anybody paying any higher personal income-tax rate than this, therefore, can figure that the addition is what the foreign-aid program costs him personally.

An elementary point constantly forgotten is that it is impossible in practice to tell the difference in net effect between foreign "military" aid and foreign "economic" aid. When we pay for part of a country's defense, we free that much of its own funds to enable it to buy other things. When we give a country "economic" aid, it has that much more to spend on its military establishment. This means that the constant distinction made between "military" and "economic" aid is of dubious practical importance.

UNPROVED ASSUMPTION

Our military aid (which in 1958 would be some $3 billion, or three-fourths of total foreign aid) rests on the unproved assumption that none of the aided countries can fully pay for its own defense. This assumption is implausible on its face. The President tells us: "Around the world we have provided our allies, over the past 7 years, some $17 billion in direct military assistance. Over the same period, the defense budgets of our allies have totaled some $107 billion." The question naturally arises why these allies could not have increased their military budgets an average of 16 percent to pay for the whole of their own defense? A year ago (April 16, 1956) I pointed out in this place that whereas the United States was spending some 62 percent of its total budget on defense, 13 of our principal allies spent an average of only 26 percent of their total central government budget on defense.

To claim that we are getting our own defense cheaper by paying also for part of 38 other countries' defense begs an enormous question. Generally speaking, countries that think they need us for allies continue to want common defense treaties with us whether we help to support them financially or not. Countries that think they do not need us for allies, but only that we need them, may of course consent to take our money. But we merely delude ourselves about what we are buying with it.

The case for foreign economic aid is far weaker than the case for military aid. But that is another column.

The Problem of Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, in a recent issue of the New York Herald Tribune there was published a letter entitled "A Letter to a Son in Jail." This letter was written by a man by the name of David J. Willig, of Niskayuna, N. Y., the owner of a motel as Rensselaer, N. Y.

In light of the problems of juvenile delinquency that we are constantly noting in the papers, and the studies that are being made of that difficult and baffling subject, I think Mr. Willig's letter is a real contribution and should be read by all those who are trying to solve this serious national problem.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD this inspiring letter to which I have referred.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A LETTER TO A SON IN JAIL—FATHER ASKS GOD "WHY" FINDS PRAYER ANSWERED

(The following is a letter written by David J. Willig, of Niskayuna, N. Y., owner of a motel in Rensselaer, N. Y., to his 18-year-old son, Jon, who is in the Chemung County Jail, in Elmira, N. Y., awaiting grand-jury action. Jon was arrested with another youth in Hartsdale, N. Y., on May 8 after police found a rifle, 500 rounds of ammunition, a pistol, 2 revolvers, and 48 bullets in a car in which they had been speeding. On May 10 Jon was transferred to Elmira, where he is being held on suspicion of burglarizing the Thompson Gun Shop on March 29.)

DEAR JON: It's your 10th day in jail today and I sit here at home wondering what thoughts are going through your mind. It will be 14 more days until your hearing before the grand jury comes up and I'll be wondering every day until then how this life in prison is affecting you.

Don't feel bitter about it, Jon. There are doctors' sons, ministers' sons, newsmen's sons, rich men's and poor men's sons sitting in other jails all around this great country of ours at this very moment. You're not alone in your misery and neither are Mom and I alone in ours. You could be sitting at home with us right now if we had decided to put up the bail money to get you out. However, getting you out of jail right now wouldn't solve anything, Jon. The big problem is to discover how you got there. It won't do you a bit of harm to sit there and think about it for a few weeks. You can hardly be suffering any more than Mom and I are at home. I've been going around day after day with my head in a whirl and feeling as if I'd been kicked in the stomach by a mule and I know Mom feels the same way.

It's a deep emotional shock to all of us, Jon, but sometimes, during periods like this, if we quietly and sincerely seek the truth and get down on our knees and ask God to show us the light, He answers our prayers. Suddenly we find the solutions to what we thought were deep, unsolvable problems. I think God has answered my prayers, Jon, and I'm going to try and put down in writing for you the information which I believe came directly from Him.

It takes a mature mind to understand God. It takes a mature mind to understand that God's laws are absolute, that they act automatically, that whatever we ask for in His name has already been provided for, that the sins for which we ask forgiveness have already been forgiven. Comparatively few people ever reach maturity, Jon. In all their physical aspects many of them may appear to be men and women but their minds are still immature. It's the men and women with the minds of children who cause all the trouble and heartaches in the world. Many men gain positions of great importance in the world but some of them eventually do more harm than good because they have immature minds.

It took your daddy more than 50 years to grow up, Jon, and that's the main reason why you are sitting in jail right now. Crimes are committed by people who have never grown up and by the sons and daughters of people who have never fully grown up.

There is only one man who ever reached the zenith of mental maturity. He lived on earth two thousand years ago. If all men could understand His teachings, we would have no further use for jails, or even locks and keys. There could be no such thing as wars and animosity between men.

What Christ taught was as easy as simple arithmetic, yet, like simple arithmetic, some people just can't understand it. All of His teachings, everything in the Sermon on the Mount was based on the premise that, if we are to have the wonderful, satisfying life here on earth which God intended we should have, we must live and love and understand each other. "Love thy neighbor." "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." What Christ taught was that we should banish all hate and replace it with understanding, that we should banish selfishness and its place put love and consideration for others. That is God's whole formula for peace of mind and happiness and to do otherwise, to disobey His laws, is just as foolish as a fish trying to live out of water. Too many of us are wrapped up in a small, selfish world of our own making and we consequently miss the best things of life.

There is not much I could add to the above, Jon. If you can understand it and take it into your heart, you need never again worry about your future. God will take care of it for you and your life on this earth will be wonderful and rewarding.

When this is all over Jon, when you have paid whatever penalty the authorities mete out to you for having committed a crime against society, you and I are going off fishing. We're going to spend a week or so in the woods together and do a lot of soul-searching. When we come home, we're going to be a lot closer to God than we ever were before and, from there on, we're going to grow up together.

God bless you, Jon.

DAD.

Annual Questionnaire to Sixth District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, each year it has been my custom to submit a questionnaire to the people of my district setting forth various questions which will be considered by the Congress of the United States in its deliberations. This year through the cooperation of the fine newspapers of my district, the questionnaire was published, and to supplement the publication in the paper, I also mailed out a number of questionnaires to broaden the base of the coverage. I am pleased to be able to say that over 23,000 people have answered this questionnaire, which I think is one of the highest participations of any like questionnaire.

The Sixth District of Florida is comprised of 11 counties. The district extends from the east coast to the west coast and has many interests, including not only the tourist business, but many small businesses, industries, fishing, and agriculture. This district in 1950 had a population of about 284,000; presently, the population of the district is over 500,000. It is populated by residents who have settled there from all over the United States, therefore, I think the response to the questionnaire reflects not only the thinking of the people of the sixth district but in good measure reflects the thinking all over the United States.

I greatly appreciate the fine response we have had and I am gratified to say that the people of the Sixth District of Florida are intensely interested in their

Government and are willing to take time to participate in it because they know that government is everybody's business.

The following is the questionnaire and the results, first in the actual figures and second in percentages:

1. The President's budget for fiscal 1958 proposes that the Federal Government spend $71,800,000,000. Do you favor the reduction of this budget by congressional action? Yes, 19,489 (89.9 percent); no, 2,177 (10.1 percent).

2. The President's budget requests the Congress to appropriate an additional $4,400,000,000 for foreign aid (military and technical). Do you—

(a) Favor this amount? Yes, 2,494 (12.5 percent); no, 17,532 (87.5 percent).

(b) Favor no additional money for foreign aid when there are unspent appropriations still on hand? Yes, 13,930 (70.2 percent); no, 5,904 (29.8 percent).

(c) Favor discontinuing all foreign aid? Yes, 8,170 (41.9 percent); no, 11,306 (58.1 percent).

3. Do you favor Federal aid to education? Yes, 12,155 (58.8 percent); no, 8,529 (41.2 percent).

(a) If Federal control is included? Yes, 4,533 (23.3 percent); no, 14,923 (76.7 percent).

4. Do you favor extending minimum wage law coverage to include retail, chain store, hotel and other employees not now affected? Yes, 14,655 (71.6 percent); no, 5,725 (28.4 percent).

5. Should postal rates be increased on:

(a) First-class mail? Yes, 7,323 (36.6 percent); no, 12,657 (63.4 percent).

(b) Second-class mail? Yes, 12,822 (64.2 percent); no, 6,920 (35.8 percent).

(c) Third-class mail? Yes, 13,314 (69.8 percent); no, 5,758 (30.2 percent).

6. Should present excise taxes be extended for one more year? Yes; 10,410 (52.2 percent); no, 9,502 (47.8 percent).

7. Do you favor enactment of my bill, H. R. 2494, to extend the Kennedy-Rogers Act to place the Federal budget on a yearly basis (recommendation of bipartisan Hoover Commission)—estimated to save $4 billion annually? Yes, 21,366 (98.4 percent); no, 349 (1.6 percent).

Segregation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an outstanding editorial entitled "Federal Interference," from the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle of April 24, 1957. The Chronicle is a most excellent newspaper. The editorial has to do with the matter of segregation and the decision of the Supreme Court in the segregation case.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL INTERFERENCE

The United States Supreme Court has not only assumed legislative functions in some of its recent enactments but has decided, evidently, to take on the duties of law enforcement also.

In denying an appeal brought by the Wichita Falls, Tex., school board in connection with the board's appeal from a United States district court order instructing a district court to keep on its docket a suit by Negro children for admission to public schools nearest their homes, the Supreme Court again emphasized that it expects Federal district courts to keep tab on steps taken to eliminate racial segregation in the schools.

The contention of the school board was that the request of the Negro children had been granted under the policy of desegregation adopted by the board. The district court for northern Texas had agreed with the board and dismissed the Negroes' complaint.

Subsequently, the United States court of appeals in New Orleans directed the district court to retain jurisdiction in the case. Despite the fact that the court admitted that Negro children had been admitted to the public school nearest their homes, the court commented that "it is by no means certain that they had the same free privilege of transfer to or attendance at any school of their choice as was accorded the white children."

The school board appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court, with emphasis on the point that the ruling of the appellate court would compel the district court to act as a super school board in overseeing day-to-day administrative action of the duly elected board in the conduct of the public-school system.

The Supreme Court ignored all such arguments, ignored the provisions of the United States Constitution—which limit the Court's function to one of interpretation of existing laws in relation to the Constitution itself—and sustained the order of the appellate court requiring the district court to keep tab on school administration.

This is an example of Federal interference with the administration of public education that might well serve as a warning as to what will happen if the currently proposed Federal aid to schools bill should pass. If the Supreme Court will go as far as it has in the Texas case, without any right or justification under constitutional law, how far would it and the Federal Government go in assuming administrative powers over the schools after the Government has bought its way into public-school administration by vast grants of money?

Christian in Politics: That's Brooks Hays, Man Baptists Elected

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I have the privilege of including an editorial which appeared in the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal, which pays tribute to our colleague, BROOKS HAYS, upon his election as president of the Southern Bapist Convention.

I also include a personal tribute paid him by Mr. Edward J. Meeman, editor of the Memphis (Tenn.) Press-Scimitar. Mr. Meeman learned to know our colleague back in the thirties.

Mr. Meeman's tribute is so intimate and so true, that I am sure all who read it will be inspired.

The editorial and personal tribute by Editor Meeman follow:

CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS: THAT'S BROOKS HAYS, MAN BAPTISTS ELECTED

(By Edward J. Meeman)

I rejoice in the election of my friend, Representative BROOKS HAYS, as president of the Southern Baptist Convention. Not because of the recognition it gives him, for recognition he does not want or need, but because it means that in this position the inspiration of his character will reach hundreds of thousands of people as it has come to me.

We met in the thirties when we were both members—BROOKS was vice chairman—of the National Policy Committee. Among other members were Charles P. Taft; Herbert Agar; Sherman Adams and Marion Folsom, who are now in Ike's Cabinet; Christian Herter, now assistant Secretary of State; Col. Francis P. Miller and Helen Hill Miller; James B. Carey, the CIO leader. The committee was conceived in this thought: Policy in our democracy is actually made by the compromises of pressure groups. There should be a better way. Let persons from different walks of life meet on a weekend somewhere, sit down around a table, talk about some problem of the day, not from the standpoint of their interests, but to find out what's good for the country as a whole. It worked fine. People gave others the benefit of what they knew, but nobody ground any axes.

No one exemplified the spirit of this committee better than BROOKS HAYS.

GROWS ON ACQUAINTANCE

Out of our association on that committee grew a friendship that has grown stronger during the years, though the committee itself no longer exists. The better I become acquainted with BROOKS HAYS' mind and heart, the more I think of him.

Impossible to be a Christian in politics? Impossible to be a Christian amid the swirling ambitions, passions, schemes, and rancors of the National Capital? The life of BROOKS HAYS will always be the answer to that. For he has been a consistent Christian in the midst of it all. BROOKS has never disappointed those of us who believe in him; he has never let us down. He remained modest always; he walked with kings yet kept the common touch.

Some professed Christians bring religion into disrepute among the worldly by being long-faced, irritable, overcritical—killjoys. Christians should be happier than other people, pleasanter than other people, radiate good humor and fun. Here BROOKS qualifies.

He writes a weekly letter to his constituents. He always closes it with a chuckle. You have often seen the chuckles reproduced in the Press-Scimitar—some of the best jokes I ever heard.

If a pagan should ask a Southern Baptist "What is a Christian?" he need only point to the man whom his church has elected as their leader and say "There is one."

BROOKS HAYS, BAPTIST

The Congressional Directory merely says BROOKS HAYS, Democratic Member of the House from Little Rock, is a Baptist. But the next revision will show him to be president of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Mr. HAYS has been often in the news as a Member of Congress since 1942. While his position at the head of this large and growing denomination will give him new stature among readers at a distance, there is nothing surprising in it for Baptists or Arkansans. He has frequently been in Baptist publications for other denominational offices, and the move to name him to the high office originated in a Sunday School class Mr. HAYS once taught.

Baptists have once more shown the democracy of their methods by choosing a layman for this office of high honor and extensive responsibilities.

It Is Later Than You Think

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address, which I made on June 1, 1957, at the Catholic War Veterans' convention in Baltimore, Md.

Included is the statement of T. S. Bruchalski, commander of the Christopher Post of the Catholic War Veterans' 1957 Americanism trophy presented to Congressman WALTER by Commander Bruchalski:

IT IS LATER THAN YOU THINK

(Address by Hon. FRANCIS E. WALTER before Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America, Baltimore, Md., June 1, 1957)

On the letterhead of your organization appear these words: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing." This might well be the text upon which to base my remarks before this organization, the roots of which stem from spiritual sources, belief in God, the dignity of the human soul, and the direction of which is toward patriotic service.

These intangibles are the priceless heritage of the free West, to which approximately one-third the population of this globe adheres. The way of life which these intangibles sustain has been 2,000 years and more in development.

Just 100 years ago a German scholar, Karl Marx, under the influence of Hegel's philosophy of contradictions, and Ludwig Fuerbach's philosophy of the primacy of material things, developed a philosophy which, in essence, denies the existence of God and of the human soul. As a corollary, it denies the existence of morality stemming from a code of spiritual values. It asserts that man, his institutions, and society are determined exclusively by materialistic considerations. It conceives of a world class struggle as inevitable because of presumed clash of interest between those who produce and those who own; it proclaims that upon the elimination of the ownership class, the bourgeoisie, and a merging of production and ownership in a dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class, each will give according to his ability and will receive according to his needs, the state will wither away, evil will disappear, the millenium will have arrived.

Just 50 years ago the philosophy of Karl Marx gained impetus as an organized force at a conference of the Russian Social Democratic Party, held in London, where Nicolai Lenin formed a Bolshevik faction, later known as the Communists, to be the catalytic agent of this inevitable class warfare. Here are the words from the Communist manifesto:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

Here are the words of Nicolai Lenin:

"The existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end, and before that end supervenes a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable.

"We must be able to withstand all this, to agree to all and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to various strategems, artifices, illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges."

You and I may agree that this Communist force is unsound and unworkable, and we, like the overwhelming majority which it enslaves, do abhor it, but nevertheless today, just 50-odd years from its inception by Lenin, this force, called communism, controls one-third of the population of the world. In other words, today one-third of the population of the world are adherents to the basic philosophy to which you and I adhere, grounded in faith in God and spiritual value. One-third of the population of the world is enmeshed within the grip of international communism, and the remaining one-third—the so-called neutral bloc, the Middle East and the Far East, consisting of 800 million people, appear to be gravitating within the orbit of the international Communist conspiracy.

Now, let us face up to two elemental cold, hard facts:

First, today, of the 86 nations of the world, there is only 1 principal deterrent to world domination by the Communist conspiracy, and that is the United States of America.

Second, the Soviet Union, its satellites, and all within its influence are at war with the United States of America. It is a war which has already cost billions of our Treasury and the blood of our youth. It is a total war—political, economic, psychological, diplomatic—and it is a global war. Finally, it is a war which they, and not we, are winning.

In the course of the last year the Committee on Un-American Activities has assembled and released factual material on the international Communist conspiracy. We released some several months ago a report prepared for us by the Research Institute of America, which is one of the outstanding research organizations of the Nation. This report, after an appraisal of each of the many facets of the world Communist conspiracy, has this conclusion:

"These are the hard facts: Economic and military strength of the Moscow-directed one-third of the globe is rising steadily. The new Soviet leadership's domestic and foreign policies are far more subtle and shrewd than those of Stalin. Most important, the new Soviet policies have been astonishingly successful. It adds up to this: Right now we and our allies are losing the battle against world communism."

Several months ago, our committee brought to the United States for consultation, Ernest Tillich, who is head of one of the strongest anti-Communist groups in Europe. This group is the fighting group against inhumanity. In the course of his testimony, we asked him how late it is on the timetable of international communism. His response was "it is 5 minutes until midnight and the clock is moving fast."

We likewise received the testimony of experts on the Hungarian revolt. We were impressed with two conclusions on which the experts agreed. The first is that the Hungarian revolt demonstrated to the neutral bloc nations the impotency of the West, and second, that the result was a clear warning that there can be no successful deflection from the grip of the Red octopus.

We likewise received testimony from experts respecting the Communist penetration in the Middle East where the recent Suez crisis has been exploited by Communist propagandists, and where the minds of hundreds of millions are being swayed toward Moscow. May I mention in passing that the testimony before our committee by experts on world Communist propaganda is to the effect that over $3 billion annually are spent by the Communist bloc on its ideological offensive, with hundreds of millions being spent in the Middle East alone.

Our committee received testimony from authoritative sources respecting the Communist penetration and now virtual control of vast areas of Asia. We heard of the narcotics offensive stemming from Red China, in which there is a deliberate highly financed campaign piercing principal capitals of the non-Communist countries of Asia for the purpose of demoralizing these pockets of resistance and to obtain hard currency with which to run the war machine of Red China.

I have given you just a few highlights of this international world conspiracy which is controlled through a network of 25 million Communist agents encircling the globe. My purpose in alluding to these few facets of the world conspiracy is so that my discussion of the Communist Party in the United States may be in proper perspective, because we must never overlook the fact that the Communist Party in the United States is a fifth column of foreign agents on American soil—foreign agents who are working zealously night and day as part of a world conspiracy for which the principal target is this Nation.

Here are the words of William Z. Foster, who is now the leader of the Communist Party of the United States: "When a Communist heads the Government of the United States—and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises—the Government will not be a capitalist government, but a Soviet government, and behind this government will stand the Red army to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In the United States today, there are an estimated 17,000 trained hard-core agents of the Kremlin, who are the nerve centers of our society. These are the so-called members, and I emphasize the word "members," of the Communist Party. Under date of June 4, 1951, the national committee of the Communist Party issued an order that "only those members whose membership is approved by the appropriate committees of the Communist Party on or before August 8, 1951, will be, and remain, party members."

At that time the Internal Security Act of 1950, which was developed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, was just beginning to take effect and so the Communist Party burrowed deeper underground. How many comrades relinquished formal membership but remained in the apparatus, I do not know. We do know, however, that for every 1 of the 17,000 members of the Communist Party, there are an estimated 10 who are under Communist Party discipline. This apparatus of 170,000 people operates in this country through over 600 front organizations, and through thousands of fronts which they have created in front of the fronts. Compare this army, if you please, with the FBI, which is a magnificent organization, but which has roughly five to six thousand agents who are committed for all kinds of enforcement work, of which internal security matters are only a small part.

As chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, I say to you now, as the witness Clifford Miller, who had served as an undercover agent for the FBI in the Communist Party, testified at our recent hearings held here in Baltimore, that the Communist Party today in the United States is a greater menace than ever before.

How does this conspiracy operate? What are its objectives? What is it accomplishing for the world conspiracy here, now?

Let me pause to quote one of the top world figures of the Communist Party, George Dimitrov, who was a leading instructor in the Lenin School in Moscow:

"As Soviet power grows, there will be a greater aversion to Communist parties everywhere. So we must practice the techniques of withdrawal. Never appear in the foreground; let our friends do the work. We must always remember that one sympathizer is generally worth more than a dozen mili-

tant Communists. A university professor who, without being a party member, lends himself to interests of the Soviet Union, is worth more than a hundred men with party cards. A writer of reputation, or a retired general, are worth more than 500 poor devils who don't know any better than to get themselves beaten up by the police. Every man has his value, his merit. The writer who, without being a party member, defends the Soviet Union, the union leader who is outside our ranks but defends Soviet international policy, is worth more than a thousand party members.

"Those who are not party members or marked as Communists enjoy greater freedom of action. This dissimulated activity which awakens no resistance is much more effective than a frontal attack by the Communists. Our friends must confuse the adversary for us, carry out our main directives, mobilize in favor of our campaigns people who do not think as we do, and whom we could never reach. In this tactic we must use everyone who comes near us; and the number grows every day."

Let me say here, that one of the principal objectives which the Communist Party has attained in the United States, is to develop a spirit of apathy, an attitude that those who fight the Communists are the real menace and not the Communists themselves. Let me give you a few illustrations of what I have in mind. Some few months ago, a man who was a professor in a college in my State was identified as a hard core Communist by a witness of unimpeachable integrity under oath before our committee. In accordance with the practice of our committee, this professor was subpenaed and interrogated respecting the identification of himself as a hard core member of the Communist conspiracy. This professor invoked the fifth amendment as he had a right to do. A copy of the transcript of the entire proceedings was requested by the college and after the proceedings were carefully studied, this professor was called before the governing body of the college for examination. He was thereafter discharged. Within the course of just a week or two, the American Association of University Professors issued a censor condemnation of this college for firing this Communist. The censure condemnation was on the ground that the action taken by the college constituted an interference with academic freedom.

I could spend literally hours reciting to you similar incidents of the growing strength of the anti-anti-Communist movement in the United States, including the work of the $15 million tax-exempt Fund for the Republic which spent $120,000 on a dishonest report to the effect that there is a wave of hysterical discrimination in employment against people because of political belief. We investigated the background of this report and revealed that in every instance used as a basis for the report, the individual involved was an identified Communist, and that the actual discrimination or so-called blacklist has been and is against those who are dedicated, patriotic, anti-Communists, rather than against the Communists whom the report characterizes as merely persons of a particular political belief.

May I say in passing that it was this same fund for the republic that made an award of $5,000 to a church group in my State on the erroneous theory that this church group employed an identified Communist as a librarian. The facts are, of course, that the church group, the Plymouth Quaker meeting, was opposed to the employment of the Communist librarian; that the members of the Quaker faith who served in the library board that did engage the Communist librarian, resigned in protest, and that the $5,000 award has not been accepted.

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, some several months ago, was in the process of developing factual material on what we termed "Communist political subversion," namely the efforts of the Communists to bring pressure on governmental agencies through grassroots organizations controlled by the conspiracy. In the course of the hearings which were then being conducted in Los Angeles, certain lawyers who are representing identified Communists, and who themselves had been identified by witnesses under oath as members of the Communist Party, so disrupted the proceedings by every conceivable type of disorderly conduct that the subcommittee had no alternative but to cause the Communist lawyers to be ejected from the hearing room. Thereafter, the Bar Association of California issued a scathing indictment of the Committee on Un-American Activities on the theory that by evicting disorderly Communist lawyers from our proceedings we were in some way depriving their clients of a free selection of the attorneys who should represent them.

I think I should mention that congressional committees do not have contempt power such as the courts have for punishing those who disrupt the proceedings. The only contempt power that a congressional committee has is to refer, via the Congress, to the courts for trial, anyone who fails to furnish information which the law provides that the committee is entitled to receive, or who commits perjury. Beyond that, committee of Congress are powerless, and of course the Communists know this and take every advantage of it.

I have often thought that the effectiveness of the Committee on Un-American Activities is in direct proportion to the amount of attack and criticism which we receive. I was therefore a little surprised to find that we did not receive more criticism than was actually leveled at us as a result of the hearings which were held recently here in Baltimore. I was glad that the hearings were telecast, so that the average Mr. and Mrs. American here in this great area could see for themselves not only the facts which were developed in the course of the hearings, but the procedures and practices of the committee itself. May I say that with a few notable exceptions, the communications we have received from this area respecting the hearings are most heartening. We knew that our hearings in Baltimore produced only a fair sampling of Communist activity in this vital area. Our responsibility as a congressional committee is so broad and our facilities are too limited for us to attempt to run down all possible leads in any given area. We have a staff of only 35 persons, with just 8 investigators for the entire Nation. We did, however, I believe, develop information here of significance and value in the discharge of our duty.

Some several months ago, the Communist Party created an organization with the innocent name Citizens Committee To Preserve American Fredoms whose purpose is to coordinate the activities of all Communist fronts and the fronts in front of the fronts, for the avowed objective of abolishing the Committee on Un-American Activities. Before the Baltimore hearings, we knew that the Communist Party had sent instructions to comrades here as to how they were to proceed and the manner of their attack against our committee.

Recently my attention was directed to an article in a Baltimore paper carrying a severe criticism of our Baltimore hearings by a member of the clergy, who, among other things, is alleged to have said that the real reason for the public inquiry was that it was necessary in some people's minds to cultivate fear of Russia. I would not for a moment suggest, because I do not know, that the author of the attack is under Communist Party discipline. I do know that in April of 1943 he was listed as one of the signers of a letter asking the then President to set aside deportation orders against international Communist agent Harry Bridges. I do know that in January of 1953, he was listed as one of those from Baltimore who urged the President to extend clemency to atom spies Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. I do know that he has lent his name and prestige to the Communist-front American Council on Soviet Relations.

Let me quote J. Edgar Hoover, in his testimony before our committee in 1947: "I confess to a real apprehension so long as Communists are able to secure ministers of the gospel to promote their evil work and espouse a cause that is alien to the religion of Christ and Judaism."

I know too, that the force which we fight is dedicated to the destruction of religion; that in its ascendency to power it crushed within Soviet Russia alone, 20 million human beings and it destroyed an estimated 40 million human lives in Red China. I am more than a little puzzled that a minister of the gospel would be so blind that he would rely upon the integrity and good faith of the cynical atheistic conspirators instead of the integrity and good faith of the elected representatives of the people of the United States.

How serious is the Communist conspiratorial operation to our national defense? Glance, if you will, at just two typical items of information before our committee. Right now the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers having an estimated 85,000 employees in mines vital to the defense of this country, is controlled lock, stock, and barrel by the Communist Party. Right now, employees of the American Communications Association, the top leaders of which have all been identified as members of the Communist conspiracy, man the tie-lines and lease-lines emanating from the Pentagon itself, and service the North Atlantic cable.

What is the political objective of the Communist Party now in the United States? The No. 1 objective, as announced to the comrades assembled at the National Communist Convention in February, is the destruction of the Immigration and Nationality Act. In the course of the last 2 or 3 years, the Communist Party has created in the United States 180 organizations in 15 key States all for the purpose of bringing pressure on the Senators and Congressmen to repeal the Immigration and Nationality Act. Most of the people who are in this apparatus do not have any idea that they are being used by the Communist Party.

Now I would not say, although I suspect, the leftwing press will misinterpret my statements, that everyone who advocates changes in the Immigration and Nationality Act is a Communist or under Communist Party discipline. The fact is that the Communists have found ready allies in the professional immigrationists, the do-gooders, and in the politicians who seek to woo the so-called nationality bloc vote, promising more and more visas at a time when we have the highest immigration since 1926.

Masquerading behind a facade of humanitarian appeals, this drive which is now in process, if successful, would destroy the principal safeguards of our immigration system. It would triple immigration to this country and abolish the only nonpolitical formula, the national origin quota system, which has ever been devised for apportioning visas among the clamoring millions of the world. As coauthor of the Immigration and Nationality Act, and as one who has spent literally years in careful study and investigation of our immigration system, I say to you that weakening amendments to the Walter-McCarran Act which are currently pending in the Congress, will undermine the security structure of this Nation. I shall fight those weakening amendments with every fiber of

my being, because in my studied judgment, I will be fighting the cause of preserving this Nation.

How late is it?

Here are excerpts from an article by Msgr. William McGrath, as it apepared in the Brooklyn Tablet of July 1955:

"No war. No hydrogen bombs. No mass slaughter—till after the victory has been won.

"The coup d'etat, in course of accomplishment even while you are reading these lines, will be engineered to final success by the entrenched and untouchable traitors in high places, aided and abetted by their strategically placed cohorts in the nerve centers of the Nation.

* * * * *

"It will be the fulfillment of the prophecy made by Lenin in 1923: 'First we will take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States, which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands.'

* * * * *

"Condone. Appease. Pretend. But above all forever surrender. Peace in our time, wherever we've heard that before. Bury your head in the sand while Russia enslaves the rest of the world and hope—that it cannot happen here.

* * * * *

"Thank Heaven not all people have given up. A few brave souls in America are trying to arouse the country from its sleep of death."

Yes, my friends, it is later—much, much later than you think. It is happening, and it is happening here, now.

PRESENTATION OF CHRISTOPHER POST, NO. 841, CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS, 1957 AMERICANISM TROPHY, JUNE 1, 1957

(By T. S. Bruchalski)

Mr. Toastmaster, our honored and most distinguished guest, Congressman WALTER, distinguished guests at the dais, reverend members of the clergy, officers and members of the Catholic War Veterans, ladies and gentlemen, a few weeks ago we in the Baltimore area were privileged—if it can be called a privilege—to partake in a drama—really a tragedy—at which the very soul of our beloved Republic was being torn asunder by those whose hate should have been a love, whose calculated betrayal should have been a dedicated devotion.

However, that which we witnessed, either in person or in our homes, was actually an epilogue. For it was, in reality, a sorrowful summation of a series of traitorous events by those who would destroy, yes, by those who would destroy within the very shadows of that lady whose majestic mantle was so richly woven with the faith and devotion of dedicated men, dedicated to the principle that we posses inalienable rights, rights whose origins of their very essence come from God—not from men.

Tonight, however, we have with us some of those who were a part of that drama, but those who have supped and drank freely of these truths, those in whose minds the memorable words of Lincoln, that "to sin by silence when they should protest, makes cowards of men," must have been indelibly enshrined.

Out of a tremendous love for their country, they gave freely of themselves, out of that same dedicated devotion so characteristic of our fathers of yore for their beloved Republic so richly blessed.

They must have known what it would mean to play the role of a traitor—knowing all the while—that others surrounding them were actually and consciously dedicated to this horrendous crime.

Tonight, we of the Christopher Post have asked them to share the joys of this evening with our honored guest. We felt proud that they should have sacrificed their sterling individuality—at least for a while—to have immersed it into one so deathly alien to them.

It was a difficult thing. Even the best of us would have desisted from this bitter task.

Our unit has already formally extended to them our gratitude, and tonight, all of us here assembled to honor the driving force—as it were—of that courageous Americanism as exemplified in our honored guest, have an opportunity to express our sincerest wishes to Miss Irene Barkaga and Mr. Charles Craig, present here this evening as guests of our post. (Because of his unexpected work schedule, Mr. Clifford Miller could not attend but verbally sends his personal wishes to his other two compatriots and to our honored guest of the evening.)

Congressman WALTER, we of the Christopher Post feel that this presentation of our 1957 Americanism award is really a token of boundless appreciation from all of us here assembled.

Let it be an emblem of our united faith in you and the tremendous task to which you are so completely dedicated.

Let this humble award—but a human symbol of our dedication to your noble cause—be ever a spiritual reminder of our hope in you and in those like you, yet remaining in the ranks of the valiant, against this unholy breed.

We cannot help but feel that they who would destroy are dissipating our ranks. And yet by silence, we cannot and shall not sin. For that is a coward's lot.

Nor are we afraid. For, as has been so ably said, that even one with God, is a majority.

To Him, therefore, we send up our prayer when we in the simple words of this inspiring Irish wish would want to say:

"God be good to you in all your days
God be kind to you in all your ways
God give strength to you when crosses lean
God send light to you the clouds between
God give peace to you in times of strife
God bless everything that fills your life
God send joy to you when grief is o'er
God make way for you at heaven's door."

Farm Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, Mr. Lauren Soth has written several articles which have appeared in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune. I hold one in my hand, under date of May 30, 1957, and wish to read one paragraph from the article, as follows:

Americans need only look to the outside world to see what an inefficient agriculture can do to an economy. High productivity per man in farming is a priceless asset that permits America to devote relatively little manpower to supplying basic food and fiber needs.

I have read that paragraph because we constantly hear remarks to the effect that there are too many inefficiently run farms in the United States, that the operation of the inefficient farms should be stopped and that larger farms should be established in their places.

Mr. President, if this Nation should ever be so unfortunate as to lose the family farms and become solely dependent on corporate types of farming, I think we would see disappear the blessing of abundant supplies of food and fiber which American consumers have always had.

For the reasons stated, I ask unanimous consent that the two articles written by Mr. Soth, one appearing in the May 30 issue and the other in the May 31 issue of the Minneapolis Morning Tribune, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I hope some writers will devote some of their thoughts and writing efforts to instructing the American people, first, concerning the splendid job American farmers have done, and, secondly, instructing the American people to appreciate the fact that every time a better service is provided the consumer it is usually at the expense of the producer. The consumer has not derived any great benefit from the initial low cost of the product as it leaves the farm and goes into channels of processing or into channels of manufacturing.

I ask unanimous consent that the two articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of May 30, 1957]

WHY NOT SUBSIDIZE FARMERS' MOVE FROM FARMS TO CITIES?

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the fourth of six articles condensed from a new book, Farm Trouble, by Lauren Soth, editor of the Des Moines (Iowa) Register and Tribune editorial pages. Soth won the Pulitzer prize for his editorial invitation which led to the visit of a Russian farm delegation to the United States in 1955.)

(By Lauren Soth)

What can be done to reduce the pressure of excess supplies on prices of farm products—to balance demand and supply at a level which will give farmers' income on a parity with nonfarm incomes?

One answer, of course, is to do nothing, let nature take its course. This appeals to many who have a philosophical distaste for government intervention in private business. But it has no chance of being adopted as a national policy.

A "do nothing" policy would be feasible if the community were willing to see the basic agricultural adjustment between demand and supply take place by means of bankruptcy, liquidation, and abandonment of farms.

This would mean that the best brains, the most capable young people would leave farming even faster than they now are leaving. It might mean that twenty-odd years hence agriculture would fall far behind the rest of the economy in technical efficiency.

Meanwhile, with a growing population, it is possible that real food shortages would overtake us.

Americans need only look to the outside world to see what an inefficient agriculture can do to an economy. High productivity per man in farming is a priceless asset that permits America to devote relatively little manpower to supplying basic food and fiber needs.

A sharp contrast may be seen in the Soviet Union, which I visited in the summer of 1955 as a member of the American farm delegation.

The Soviets have neglected agriculture until recently, putting their major emphasis on industrialization. Farm living standards have been kept low by deliberate policy of the state. The state has used farming as a source of capital for manufacturing development.

The result has been a stagnation in agricultural production. The U. S. S. R. even now has 40 to 45 percent of its people in agriculture. It has no surpluses; it runs on the borderline of hunger all the time. Diets are not as rich in protein foods as they were before World War I.

It was in 1861 that two fundamental policies were laid down which have been the backbone of our economic development. These were expressed in the Homestead Act, which stimulated private development of land resources, and the Morrill Act, which set the stage for the land-grant-college system of agricultural experiment stations and extension services.

Here was direct Government action, subsidy, if you please, for stepping up farm production.

Thus, in the last half of the 19th century we had a great subsidized injection of land resources into the farm economy. In the first half of this century we have had an even more powerful injection of new scientific technology into agriculture.

In the light of this historical background, it should not be surprising that supply of and demand for farm products have got out of balance in the last 35 years.

If there were no other reason for community responsibility to the farm population, the fact that public policies created the present surplus situation would be reason enough.

The built-in tendency for farm production to expand faster than demand for food is a consequence also of the enormous stimulation to production during the last 15 years by wartime and postwar public policy.

Understanding the causes of the surplus situation in farming leads to some logical solutions. Why not a homestead policy in reverse, for example?

Theodore W. Schultz, of the University of Chicago, has suggested the Federal Government offer farm families a cash payment to help them get started in city life and nonfarm work. Such a payment, say, $5,000, would be given only for bona fide transfers out of agriculture.

Speeding up the movement of some farmers out of agriculture would permit those who remain to increase the size of their operations and raise their incomes. The national farm income would be divided among fewer people.

The movement of farmers into other occupations would also tend to reduce farm production and thus ease the surplus problem.

If such a homesteads-in-reverse program were in effect, it would prevent a great deal of hardship. Farm folks would not stay on the farm until they had lost everything.

Those with little liking for and ability in agriculture would get a chance to better themselves. Many such families now are tied down to farms they cannot afford to leave.

It cannot be emphasized too much that the fundamental adjustment needed to take care of the surplus situation in American agriculture is a reduction in the number of farm families.

The question is whether this adjustment should be allowed to take place "by itself," without any help from the State, or should be smoothed and speeded up by a subsidy.

Many of our public policies and programs in agriculture conflict directly with the policy of reducing surpluses, in fact, practically all Government intervention in agriculture is on the side of increasing output—with the exception of the acreage-allotment programs, and they have not been effective in limiting output.

Almost the entire Federal and State bureaucracy in agriculture is mobilized to get farmers to produce more—at the same time that acreage allotments and the "soil bank" are being tightened down to limit production.

What agriculture needs instead is more research in economics and the other social sciences to provide answers to the complex human adjustments required.

Of course it is true that advances in science are beneficial to society as a whole, and one should not take a short-run view of these matters.

There are strong reasons, compelling reasons, for continuing or even increasing funds for research in basic science. What is questionable policy, however, is the pumping of more money into the development of new technology.

New technology can be considered as a resource of production, like land, machinery, or fertilizer. Why not slow down expansion in this field in the same way that we hold land out of use until it is needed?

[From the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of May 31, 1957]

FARM PROGRAMS SHOULD BOOST INCOME, NOT PRICE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the fifth of six articles condensed from a new book, Farm Trouble, by Lauren Soth, editor of the Des Moines (Iowa) Register and Tribune editorial pages. Soth won the Pulitzer prize for his editorial invitation of a Russian farm delegation to the United States in 1955.)

(By Lauren Soth)

If the incomes of farm people are to be brought up more nearly on a par with the incomes of the rest of us, something beside price stabilization will have to be done.

Several things have been done in the past with this goal in mind, and several things are being done today.

In fact, the aim of the price-support programs has been to increase income, rather than merely to stabilize prices. But added all together, these efforts have done very little to redress the balance between farm and nonfarm incomes.

After more than two decades of Government programs designed to raise farm income, the ratio between farm and nonfarm income per person remains about what it was at the start.

The simplest and most direct way of bringing farm incomes into line with nonfarm incomes would be for the Government to pay farm people an outright subsidy.

Open subsidies would be easier to administer, would be plainly visible to the general public and would not interfere with the normal functioning of the competitive market system in agriculture.

Such direct subsidies are used to keep American shipping firms afloat in competition with the maritime services of other countries.

Although farmers complain about their disadvantageous position in a modern, administered economy, they would turn down overwhelmingly direct handout of this nanature from the Government.

They may accept soil conservation payments and even payments on price guaranties for livestock but they would hate to be in a position of taking relief grants.

Direct subsidies to farmers can be made more acceptable both to the taxpaying public and to farm people themselves if the payments are made in return for some kind of performance by farmers.

Payments to farmers for performing certain agricultural conservation pactices have been popular with both farmers and nonfarmers. The logic behind this acceptance is that farmers are performing a service in the public interest by preserving national soil resources.

Congress would be doing far more to help agriculture if it tripled or guadrupled the present conservation-payments program than it would by keeping price supports at a high level.

Moreover, if these payments were for true conservation, they would not create surpluses.

This line of reasoning is behind the so-called soil-bank plan which was passed by Congress in 1956. The only action necessary to make this program a real income-support program would be to increase the amounts of the Federal contributions.

A Federal-payment program of this character ought to be coupled with a corresponding payment program to farm families who want to leave agriculture and get established in urban occupations.

In the long run, the most effective action the Government can take in behalf of agriculture is to expedite the transfer of farm people to other occupations by means of education, employment services and grants and aids to encourage people to leave farming.

Another way to protect farm income without detailed controls over production, and without Government fixing of prices above the market, would be to subsidize consumption of food.

The most far-reaching plan of food subsidy yet proposed in the United States is the food allotment plan which Senator GEORGE D. AIKEN, Republican, Vermont, has introduced into Congress a number of times, without success.

Under this plan the food-purchasing power of low-income families would be increased by issuing them coupons. These coupons would be spent in grocery stores like money. The grocery stores would turn the coupons in to the Government and get full cash value. In this respect the plan is like the old food-stamp program.

But unlike the food stamp program, this plan would make coupons available to anyone who wanted to buy them. The stamps would be issued in units designed to provide a good diet for one person. To get them, a family would have to turn over 40 percent of its income.

The good diet would be determined by food scientists and would embrace as many foods as possible to allow for differences in tastes. Suppose this diet came to $5 a week. For a family of 4, coupons would cost $20 a week. A family with income of less than $50 a week would benefit by buying the coupons—providing it wanted to spend as much as 40 percent of its income for food.

The 40-percent figure was suggested in the Aiken bill because several surveys have shown that low-income families with fairly good diets spend about that proportion of their incomes for food.

How much would such a program cost the Government? That would depend, of course, on the state of prosperity and the amount of unemployment. During a severe depression the Government would be paying out large amounts of money—probably on the order of two billion to four billion dollars a year.

If that were looked upon as farm subsidy alone, it probably would freighten Congress away. However, if it were considered as part of a general antidepression program and as a national nutrition measure, it might be acceptable.

In times of prosperity, expenditures for a food allotment program would be much smaller. One estimate of the effects in 1955, a year of high national income, places cost to the Federal Government at around $700 million.

How much of this extra spending for food would come back to farmers? Farmers get about 40 to 50 percent of the consumer's

food dollar, so it is reasonable to assume they would get at least that proportion of the new spending. They might get considerably more.

The subsidy programs would permit prices to move freely and to guide consumers in their decisions. They would permit a greater degree of freedom in individual farm decisions on productoin and marketing than present farm programs.

Subcommittee on Mines and Mining Adopts Resolution Supporting Funds for Mineral Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Mines and Mining of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, chairmaned by our colleague WALTER ROGERS of Texas, on May 24, 1957, adopted a resolution urging the House to approve the $30 million provided for tungsten, asbestos, fluorspar, and columbium-tantalum by the Senate in the third supplemental bill, H. R. 7221.

The mining subcommittee spent many days of hearing when this program was authorized under Public Law 733 in August 1956, and received further testimony on the subject on May 24 of this year.

The resolution adopted by the mining subcommittee supports a similar position taken by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the Senate Appropriations Committee, the Senate itself twice by overwhelming votes, and by the executive agencies—the Department of the Interior, the Office of Defense Mobilization, and the Bureau of the Budget.

So far as I know, the House Committee on Appropriations is the only committee or agency that has had anything to do with the problem that has recommended against this appropriation.

A copy of the resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON MINES AND MINING OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Whereas during World War II and at the beginning of war in Korea in 1950 the United States was almost wholly dependent upon supplies of foreign produced tungsten; and

Whereas by Public Law 733, 84th Congress, approved July 19, 1956, the domestic tungsten, asbestos, acid-grade fluorspar, and columbium-tantalum miners were encouraged to believe by the highest authorities in the land—namely, a law passed by both Houses of the Congress and approved by the President—that general purchase programs (as distinct from individual negotiated contracts) to be in effect through December 31, 1958, were to be carried out; and

Whereas the General Services Administration, to which was delegated responsibility for administration of this program, indicated to the domestic miners that the necessary funds to carry out the programs were expected to be forthcoming and that the miners should conduct their operations on this basis (as detailed in letters from GSA in November and December, 1956); and

Whereas one of the surest ways to encourage all the citizens of the land to respect the laws of the land is for the Congress itself to carefully respect the very laws that it itself causes to be enacted into law; and

Whereas any present official statements as to defense requirements for high temperature metals, such as tungsten, columbium, and tantalum, are completely obsolete (as noted in the letter of December 13, 1956, from the Deputy Secretary of Defense to the Office of Defense Mobilization); and

Whereas future defense requirements for high-temperature metals such as tungsten, columbium, and tantalum can only be expected to increase significantly in view of the fact that tungsten is the metallic element with the highest melting point known to man—about 6,152° F. (indeed of all the elements, the melting point of tungsten is exceeded only by that of carbon)—while columbium and tantalum are also high-temperature metals, iron-free asbestos is necessary for electric-cable coverings, and fluorine is a constituent of high-temperature fuels—and our entire technological civilization requires the utilization of ever higher temperatures (as acknowledged by the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization in the February 26, 1957, hearings by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on the Necessity for Implementing Public Law 733); and

Whereas it would be the utmost folly and it could be disastrous to let our present domestic mining mobilization base collapse, as it will surely do in the face of the competition of cheap foreign-mined material coming largely from sources of extreme vulnerability in time of emergency; and

Whereas there is as yet no other program to maintain the domestic mining mobilization base, although the Congress has been promised on several occasions that a long range minerals program would be recommended to it; and

Whereas the real cost of the material acquired under this program is substantially less than the base price set forth in the law when Federal, State and local taxes paid by the mining companies and their employees and suppliers are taken into consideration; and

Whereas the costs of any future Government procurement programs for metals and minerals that may be found to be necessary in the uncertain years ahead in this age of peril will of necessity be much higher if the operators have before them the example of breach of faith in the execution of prior programs such as failure to carry out that set forth in Public Law 733; and

Whereas while it may well be that the present spot price of foreign material is lower than that for domestically mined material, history in the case of many strategic materials shows clearly that the price of foreign material can rise many times over once the domestic source of production has been scuttled, and consumers are then put through a real price wringer when it is too late to reactivate domestic mining properties that are flooded and caved: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Subcommittee on Mines and Mining of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives, That the House of Representatives is hereby urged to forthwith take the necessary action to implement fully the provisions of Public Law 733, 84th Congress, the Domestic Tungsten, Asbestos, Fluorspar, and Columbium-Tantalum Production and Purchase Act of 1956, and in particular to agree to make available the sum of $30 million which is provided therefor by the Senate amendment to H. R. 7221, 85th Congress, 1st session, the 3d supplemental bill, 1957.

Adopted May 24, 1957.

WALTER ROGERS,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Mines and Mining.

NANCY J. ARNOLD,
Clerk.

Fremont, the Town That Refuses To Die

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the May 30, 1957, issue of the Current Local, Van Buren, Mo. The article praises the spirit of the residents of the little Missouri Ozark town of Fremont. Mrs. Carnahan and I each taught in the public school in Fremont for several years. We know just about all the people there and visited the area shortly after the recent disastrous tornado. We join in the sincere tribute to these fine substantial people. Of course they will rebuild and they will not just rebuild their shattered homes, churches, schools, and businesses. They will build a better and even more friendly and cooperative community than they had before the disaster.

Mrs. Carnahan and I also express our appreciation to the Red Cross for the most commendable job being done in assisting in the rebuilding of this little community.

The article follows:

FREMONT, THE TOWN THAT REFUSES TO DIE

Today, amid the ruin and rubble where the little town of Fremont, Mo., had lived and grown for nearly 70 years, the American people through the American Red Cross are bringing hope and help in its fullest measure to the 200 citizens of this tornado-torn community. Today, less than a week since a roaring funnel dipped down out of an afternoon sky to leave its terrible toll of 6 dead, 16 injured, and a path of nearly total destruction, the people of Fremont—secure in the knowledge that Red Cross has opened its heart and hands to help solve their problems—are beginning to rebuild their shattered lives.

Fremont's Methodist Church, one of the few building to survive the great winds of last Tuesday, has become the center of Red Cross disaster relief operations in this crippled Ozark community; and today, as people of all faiths attended the Sunday morning services in what is now Fremont's only church, their courage and determination in spite of the week's hardships gave testimony to their abiding trust in God and their gratitude to all who have come to their aid.

No flowers decorated the minister's pulpit; instead, the small wooden platform was surrounded by rows of coffee urns, and fruit baskets, and portable milk refrigerators from the Red Cross mobile canteen in front of the church. Racks of Red Cross clothing, and supplies of blankets and bedding formed a unique kind of canopy over the crowded pews; and the entire church service was accompanied by the musical ringing of the

Red Cross emergency telephone which continues to serve as the community's only source of communication.

Exactly 12 hours before, these same people had attended a Saturday night gathering in this same white church where they met with the Red Cross disaster workers who have come from various parts of the country to help Fremont come back to life—people who have brought food, and clothing, medical care, and welfare assistance; Red Cross workers who are here to meet their immediate needs, and others who will stay to help them in the tremendous job of reestablishing their homes and businesses. It was a weary and somewhat apprehensive group of 86 people that filled the little church to capacity; but as the meeting progresses and each of the Red Cross workers repeated the encouraging words, "we're here to help you—all that we give you and all that we do is a gift to you from the American people," 86 faces relaxed and even smiled as they realized that here was a force still mightier than a tornado—the indestructible force of man's humanity to man. The Saturday night meeting reached a high point of enthusiasm when L. D. Smith, one of Fremont's leading citizens, addressed his stricken neighbors in the following words: "Fremont is going to rebuild * * *. Let's stamp out completely any idea that we can't do the job. Our friends and former citizens have come back to see us and they expect us to go on. The outside world is depending on us to come back and we must not disappoint them. If we use our own resources together with the help which Red Cross has come to give us, we can get back on our feet; and with God's blessings, we will." Following Smith's inspiring message, the entire audience echoed their enthusiastic approval with a stirring round of applause.

And so, with the lifeline of help reaching out from Red Cross and hundreds of others who are not content to want what would seem most comfortable and easy for themselves, Fremont, the town that refuses to die, is lifting its head from the ruins and looking toward the future. Once again, tragedy, the great leveler, has become a great bond.

The National Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Senator BYRD Sounds Off," from the Camden (S. C.) Chronicle of May 24, 1957.

This weekly newspaper is edited by Mr. William Calk, who was formerly connected with the Augusta Chronicle.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR BYRD SOUNDS OFF

Most of us know that the Federal debt is about $275 billion. But few have any concept of what that means—it's just a figure, almost beyond human comprehension.

Senator BYRD, writing in National Review, gives a vivid picture of the debt. That $275 billion, he says, "is the equivalent of the assessed value of all the land, buildings, mines, machinery, factories, livestock—everything of tangible value in the United States."

Then he goes on to say something that must be far better understand than it is now if this country, as we know it, is to survive: "Public debt is not like private debt. If private debt is not paid off, it can be ended by bankruptcy proceedings, and maybe not many people are hurt. If public debt is not paid off—paid off with taxes—the result is disastrous inflation or repudiation. Either would destroy our form of government."

The proposed new budget is the largest in our peacetime history. According to the estimates, there will be a small surplus if this budget is approved. But it is evident that even a very moderate decline in the business boom, with the effect that would have on tax revenues, would eliminate such a surplus and put a deficit in its place.

Senator BYRD believes the budget can be cut by more than $6 billion without harm to an essential Federal function. If we cannot do that now, with the economy running at peak speed, when can we?

Federal Financing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Offers Plan," from the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle of April 24, 1957. The editorial deals with an address delivered by the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE] before the Atlanta Rotary Club in which he dealt with Government financing.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFFERS PLAN

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE, of Georgia, has advanced a five-point program by which inflation and high taxes can be stopped. In an address delivered before the Atlanta Rotary Club, the junior Senator from Georgia warned that the people will "reap another whirlwind of taxation and inflation" unless Congress acts now to reduce the Federal budget and establish proper controls on Federal spending.

The five steps to be taken as enumerated by Senator TALMADGE are as follows:

1. Eliminate nonessential Federal spending;

2. Press for a systematic beginning on debt reduction and outlaw deficit spending;

3. Adopt new legislation guaranteeing better budgetary control;

4. Institute a reduction in Federal income taxes of at least 10 percent to restore incentive and to stimulate new job opportunities; and

5. Halt encroachment of the Federal Government on the revenue sources of the States.

This offers a sound and constructive approach to the problems that now confront the Nation in the field of finance and taxation.

Unless something is done to put the Government on a stable basis, the economy of the country will not be able to withstand the drain now being made upon its people and its resources.

"If this country is to survive as we have known it," Senator TALMADGE warned, "Congress must set itself to the task of eliminating waste and extravagance."

Perhaps the one valuable thing achieved by the proposed Federal budget for next year, with its incredibly large totals, is the fact that the very size of it is so staggering that it has at last awakened the people to the realization of approaching financial disaster.

If that be true, some good may come yet out of the present situation, if Congress has the courage to take the necessary steps to protect the Nation.

Progress Report on Saline Water Research Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, in 1952, legislation which I authored, was enacted initiating the saline water research program under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior. The objective of this program was to find ways and means of economically converting saline or salt water to fresh water. The progress made under this program during the 5 years since it was initiated has been disappointing; however, eventual success is foreseen if the program is put in high gear with the view of producing concrete results at an early date. This is the conclusion of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee as the result of recent hearings held for the purpose of reviewing the program.

The objective of the committee's hearings was to determine, first, just where we stand at the present time with respect to finding economic means of converting salt water to fresh water; second, whether the Department of Interior is in agreement with the expressed views of Congress with respect to the degree of urgency warranted in this research program; third, what measures the Department has taken to speed up the program; and fourth, if additional legislation is needed or would be of assistance in meeting the objectives of the program at an earlier date. In 2 days of hearings the committee heard and questioned officials of the Department, contractors, and consultants.

The committee's report on the hearing is critical of the Department of the Interior, both for its handling of the program, and for misrepresentation to the American people of the progress made under the program. The hearings indicated that the Department has not attached to this program the degree of urgency directed by Congress in the 1955 legislation amending the 1952 basic act, and has allowed it to drift along without concrete results while numerous optimistic statements by high officials of the Department have left the impression that large-scale use of converted saline or salt water is just around the corner. My concern and that of the committee is that such misrepresentation of progress may lull the Nation into a false sense of security with respect to water

and that the immediate need for conserving and making better use of the water available from natural sources will be overlooked and not properly emphasized.

No concrete evidence was presented to the committee as to measures to accomplish a speed-up in meeting the objective of the program, nor did the Department indicate any immediate need for additional legislation. While it was made clear that pilot plants or demonstration plants of appreciable magnitude to test the more promising processes would require specific congressional authorization no positive program was presented for getting the demonstration plant phase of the program underway.

With respect to the nature of the research work the Department seemed to be placing emphasis on small and special purpose conversion units, whereas the committee believes that the immediate need is for processes capable of producing large quantities of water for municipal and industrial use near populous or potentially populous areas.

It is not the purpose of the committee's report to present a pessimistic view with respect to the possibility of economical saline and salt water conversion at an early date; however it is the committee's purpose to apprise the American people of the true situation with respect to sea water conversion in order that those charged with responsibility of providing water supplies do not expect too much from this program too soon and do not reduce efforts to fully conserve and make maximum use of the water available from natural sources.

The committee believes that, eventually, converted saline or salt water will be used extensively for municipal, industrial, and perhaps even agricultural uses. The problem has become one of economics or cost.

The Ax Came a Little Too Close

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to call attention to an editorial from the Charlotte (N. C.) Observer under the caption, "The Ax Came a Little Too Close."

In addition to the points raised in the editorial as to the position of the United States Chamber of Commerce, the action over the weekend of Secretary Wilson in canceling a half billion dollars in defense contracts should bring home to the chamber the old axiom "it depends on whose ox is being gored."

The editorial follows:

THE AX CAME A LITTLE TOO CLOSE

The United States Chamber of Commerce has been in the forefront of the campaign against President Eisenhower's budget.

It has been pressing the attack against foreign aid, against Federal aid to education, and against many of the President's domestic programs.

Now the chamber is backing water a bit. The economy ax has come a little too close for comfort.

The House of Representatives, in cutting away $3,500,000 from the Commerce Department budget, knocked the props out from under the Business and Defense Services Administration.

It would be tragic to lose that agency, protests the chamber's president, John S. Coleman. Its task of passing information and opinion between Government and industry is vital. It handles much of the Government-industry planning for a war emergency.

In running up his red flag, Mr. Coleman was forced to say that the chamber is not "against everything" in its crusade for Government economy.

What he is really saying is that budget cuts are tragic when they hit too close to home; they are healthy when they strike elsewhere.

Thus the chamber is against Federal aid to education, although it raised no objections to huge Federal expenditures for a highway program.

It is the old, old story of governmental economy. Swing that ax hard but be sure it is hitting the other fellow's house.

An Honor Well Deserved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, today in my home State in the city of Morgantown, the University of West Virginia will confer an honorary degree of doctor of laws upon a most distinguished American, John L. Lewis. Mr. Lewis has been president of the United Mine Workers of America since 1919. During his presidency of that proud organization America's union coal miners have become the highest paid industrial workers in the world.

West Virginia has been for some years the largest coal-producing State in the Union. It is fitting that Mr. Lewis' first honorary doctorate should come from our State university. He has led West Virginia's coal miners from the depths of economic depression and personal indignity to the place they now enjoy in our State as well paid, free mountain men.

In commenting on the degrees to be awarded this year by the University of West Virginia, one of the largest daily papers in our State, the Charleston Gazette, said:

One name stands out as distinctive and that is John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers of America. In coming up from the coal pits to eminent status in the American labor movement, and giving dignity to the coal miners in this largest of coal-producing States, we think his is a degree long overdue.

This editorial states only the truth. Mr. Lewis is a great man and an erudite man. It is fitting that he be formally recognized as such.

Petroleum Marketing on Highways of the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a copy of an address by C. Z. Hardwick, executive vice president of the Ohio Oil Co., Findlay, Ohio.

In my opinion Mr. Hardwick has given us a true statement of the facts as are seemingly existing relative to our Federal highway program. I fear that some of our highway officials, State and Federal, are forgetting the rights of the property owners, forgetting that all pay taxes regardless of whether they are on an interstate, or intrastate road, the primary system, the system of city streets, or the system of the farm-to-market roads. Some of these officials, Mr. Speaker, are putting into effect rules and regulations that are certainly detrimental to the economy of our country and not in accordance with the freedoms that many of us have fought for.

I am hoping, Mr. Speaker, that all of the Members of Congress will read the address of Mr. Hardwick and I personally would appreciate having any comments from the membership of the House because I know we are all interested in our highway program and want fair and equitable treatment for all, regardless of where we live.

The address follows:

PETROLEUM MARKETING ON HIGHWAYS OF THE FUTURE

(Address given by C. Z. Hardwick, executive vice president, the Ohio Oil Co., Findlay, Ohio)

On June 29 of last year President Eisenhower placed his signature on the 1956 Federal-Aid Highway Act, giving the green light to what has been accurately called the biggest public works undertaking in history. As everyone knows by now, this new act calls for a Federal-aid highway construction program scheduled to last 13 years and to cost about $50 billion—more than 1½ times the total amount spent for all State highway construction over the last 40 years, including toll roads.

As the industry which supplies asphalt to build highways, collects the taxes to pay for them, and provides the gasoline and oil which keep the vehicles running, the petroleum industry has an important stake in this program.

We in the oil business want good highways because our living depends upon them, because we're responsible citizens who realize the vital importance of a modern highway transportation system and because we also happen to be motorists, and do as much driving as anyone else.

Oilmen are not exactly enthusiastic, however, about one feature of the new program—the imposition of an additional Federal tax on gasoline. As industry spokesmen pointed out to Congress while the program was being considered, gasoline already had the distinction of being the most heavily taxed basic commodity in America.

As you know, these arguments were to no avail. The Federal gasoline tax was increased by a full cent a gallon, so that today the national average State and Federal tax on a gallon of gasoline is equivalent to more than 70 percent of the refinery price, over 50 percent of the wholesale tank wagon price and nearly 40 percent of the price paid by the customer at the pump.

In all, special taxes on gasoline and other motor fuels are slated to carry more than 75 percent of the Federal portion of the new highway program's cost. What's more, many of the States now seeking added revenue to hold up their end of the program are considering increases in their own gasoline taxes as a likely source of funds.

It is not my purpose today, however, to dwell at any length on what is past history. The new program is now getting underway. At its heart, of course, is the plan to create a 41,000-mile network of interstate highways built to standards adequate for 1975 traffic. Approximately 1,300 miles of these expressways will be built within the borders of Ohio.

For people in oil marketing, the most significant single fact about these highways of the future is not that they will be multilane, divided routes—not that they will be free of stop lights and intersections at grade—not that they will be designed throughout for speeds of 50 to 70 miles an hour. For oilmen, the most significant single fact about these highways is that access is going to be strictly limited from start to finish. No one will be permitted to enter or leave one of these highways except at points predetermined by the State.

This fact has brought everyone in the oil business face to face with a series of difficult problems. To begin with—in plain language—it is going to create a revolution in petroleum marketing operations. Since the first filling station opened its doors in St. Louis in 1907 we have been selling gasoline to the American motorist for the most part on locations of our own choosing right by the side of the road. So far as our major highways are concerned, that pattern is about to be drastically changed.

With conversion of the interstate system to limited access standards, the day when you could pick a spot, hang out your flag, and start to pump gasoline is over—at least so far as the important roads are concerned.

Moreover, use of the limited access principle will shortly extend beyond the interstate system to our other main roads as well. An estimated 6,000 additional miles are already being planned here in Ohio. As Sam Bohlen pointed out recently in an address at Cleveland, the time is not far off when as much as 75 percent of highway travel in Ohio may be over limited access roads.

Now, I don't want to give the impression that I look upon limited access design as some kind of 20th century monstrosity. In the first place, there's nothing new about it. Access was controlled along the royal road through Nineveh in biblical times. In this country the first truly limited access highway was built in 1886 through Central Park in New York City and is still operating.

In the second place, control of access contributes greatly to the safety, efficiency, and carrying capacity of a highway, and—like every other oil man—I want to see the best roads in this country that we can afford to build.

Our quarrel was not with the limited access idea, but with what we consider to be some extremely serious results of its misuse in the past—and I think you know what I'm talking about.

Our first taste came the day the State authority called for bids on service facilities along the original section of the Pennsylvania Turnpike, a process which culminated in the award of an exclusive franchise to a single company to provide gasoline and oil along that highway for a period of 50 years.

This established a pattern for toll road marketing which has persisted—with variations—to this date, and which amounts to a denial of the basic economic principles under which this country has operated since the Founding Fathers. It denies the right to compete to the business community, it denies a choice of product to the consumer, it bars the independent and the small- or medium-size operator from getting his product up for sale, and it results in price inflation.

In recent years, it is true, this exclusive marketing pattern on the toll roads has been broadened somewhat, to allow for what is frequently termed "reasonable" competition. This so-called reasonable variety however, is as different from real competitive enterprize as a modern turnpike is from a back alley.

Take our own Ohio Turnpike, for example. By comparison with some other roads of this type, the marketing arrangement can be called enlightened, since it permits five different companies to participate.

The presence of 5 competing marketers operating a total of 16 stations along a 241-mile stretch of highway might strike some people as a pretty reasonable arrangement. You and I know better.

To begin with, these companies represent less than a quarter of the 21 principal suppliers marketing petroleum products in the State of Ohio.

Secondly, the market involved is no ordinary market. On the basis of the rentals reported for the first year of operation, gasoline sales on the turnpike added up to a staggering total of more than 23 million gallons. Average sales per station were clocked at just under 1½ million gallons a year.

Thirdly—and most significant in its implications—the financing commitments involved, including royalties ranging up to 7 cents a gallon, mean that all but the larger marketers are out of the picture. The jobber, the independent, and the small operator are shut out as effectively as if they were legally barred from submitting a bid.

This is a pretty far cry from competition and free enterprise as we've always understood those terms in this country.

These are some of the reasons why oilmen have tended to look with some suspicion on the limited-access concept. As I have pointed out, however, their dissatisfaction has stemmed not from the concept itself—but from the manner in which limitation of access has been carried out on our toll facilities so as to substitute State-dominated marketing for freedom of enterprise.

When the creation of a 41,000-mile nationwide network of new limited-access highways was proposed, the petroleum industry was justifiably apprehensive lest this monopoly or quasi-monopoly concept might be clamped over this vital system too.

Fortunately, Congress recognized the danger also, and, in that respect, I might say that Ohio's Congressman HARRY MCGREGOR played a key role in getting an amendment into the law safeguarding freedom of enterprise. This, as you know, is the amendment barring all commercial enterprise from the State-controlled rights of way of any highway on the interstate system. In my opinion, Congressman MCGREGOR has earned the thanks not only of oilmen but of everyone in Ohio who believes in our economic system for his efforts to see that this guaranty was written into the law.

By categorically excluding business from the right of way, this provision puts commercial enterprises on private property, where they belong. It is an important step toward keeping them out of the reach of State control. By this means, the door is held open to businesses of every size to compete for a share of the market. The independent, the jobber, the individual operator are given the chance to buy or lease a site on the approaches to the interstate system just as they do today. Some choice locations are inevitably going to command high prices under this system, of course, and I'm aware that a number of jobbers and others are skeptical of their ability to secure such spots. One solution in this case is supplier assistance to the jobber in financing new outlets—an arrangement which is being given increasing consideration within the industry.

To get back to the main subject, however, some of you may wonder why I am dwelling so long on this point. If protection of the right to compete is written into the law, what is there to be concerned about, in other words. Let me give you a few of the reasons:

In the first place, a provision one Congress can write into a law can be written out by another—and there have already been demands for repeal of the free enterprise amendment. Most of you are undoubtedly aware of a recent attack on this provision in which barring commercial facilities from the right of way was characterized as a "ridiculous prohibition", and in which it was argued that publicly controlled service facilities were the only sensible solution.

Behind this kind of argument lies a failure to understand the basic difference between toll and free roads. In thinking about these new interstate highways, many people make the mistake of picturing them in toll road terms—with long unbroken stretches up to 30 miles or more without an intersection. This isn't going to be the case.

Despite the fact that our interstate highways are going to bear a strong resemblance to toll facilities in general design, we have to remember that these are free roads, and linked with the entire State highway system. All important cross highways along the route are going to be feeder roads, and so are a lot of minor State and county roads where traffic patterns require an access point. One of the places where service facilities will be located is in this interchange area. Generally speaking, the motorist using an interstate highway is going to find service as frequent and adequate as on a conventional road.

Nevertheless, advocates of State-controlled service facilities cry with alarm that the fact that stations aren't located smack in the middle of the right-of-way will mean a breakdown of service. Everybody's going to be running out of gas and the highway will be a mess.

I think the answer to that is, of course, people are going to run out of gas. Short of police inspection of gas tanks, there isn't any way you can stop them. Some of them run out of gas right now on roads which have stations every couple of hundred yards. They'll even go dry right in front of a station—but the vast majority of motorists will only make that mistake once. Very shortly they'll get into the habit of checking their tanks before they pull onto any limited-access highway.

I think we in the oil marketing business know as much about the motorist's needs as anyone else around. We've been meeting those needs ever since it was discovered that an internal combustion engine will propel a four-wheeled vehicle. In the process, incidentally, we have handed out more free and "human" services than any other business in the country. If we're left free to compete, those needs will continue to be met, wherever they are found.

Despite all this, as I said, some people would like to see the free-enterprise provision repealed so that the State can take over marketing arrangements. It should be one of our primary concerns to resist any such attempts.

There's another reason for keeping our attention focused on this problem. Protection of the right to compete on the interstate

system does not automatically mean similar protection on the rest of our highways. Here in Ohio, for example, it appears likely that the greatest mileage of limited-access roads will be located off the interstate system, and there is no guarantee in the law that competition will be preserved on this important mileage.

Let me say that in Ohio we are more fortunate in dealing with this problem than is the case in a number of other States. Over recent years a pattern of mutual understanding and cooperation has developed between the petroleum industry and the highway department. We have worked together on common problems and come to understand and respect each other's viewpoints, which have turned out to be a good deal more similar than we thought at one time. After all, we're both working for the same boss—the man who pays the bill and uses the roads. We want to give him the best possible service and they want to give him the best possible highways.

Because of this excellent relationship with our highway people here, I am confident that we can continue to arrive at reasonable solutions to the problems which face us, including that of preserving competition on all of our State highways.

In this particular case, I think the solution is to follow the lead given by the Federal Government and to provide by State law that no commercial facilities will be permitted on the right-of-way of any State highway whatsoever. Until this is done we'll be living with the constant danger that a lot of station operators will wake up some morning and find themselves out of business because the State has cut off access and made its own arrangements for supplying service.

I don't think there is anyone in the highway department who would want to see this happen any more than we would want to see it happen, but the only way to be sure it won't come about is to write a guaranty into the law.

This by itself isn't going to be the end of the problem by a long shot. Deciding that stations are not going to be located on the right-of-way doesn't answer the question of where they are going to be placed. Together with our highway officials, we've given a good deal of thought to this problem and have worked out a series of possible solutions which are familiar to all of you who read the Ohio Petroleum Marketer.

These include linking the new road with existing service facilities nearby, establishing facilities on approaching feeder roads, building new parallel service roads, and setting up commercial facilities at the interchanges. While these plans have been worked out with the interstate system in mind, the same arrangements could readily apply to any other limited access highway which may be built.

At the present time, we don't know just what solution is going to be approved by the American Association of State Highway Officials and the Bureau of Public Roads. It is our hope, and that of the Ohio Highway Department, that whatever standards are adopted will be sufficiently flexible to permit a commonsense solution to each of the differing situations which will arise.

Regardless of what type of arrangement for service facilities may be employed, there is another aspect of limited access design which we're going to have to face—and that's the problem of letting our customers know where we are.

Obviously, these highways are going to have to be signed in order to let the motorist know where gasoline, food, and other services are available. The simplest type of sign, of course, is one which says merely "service facilities," or carries a symbol of a gas pump or something of that sort and tells the motorist where to turn off to the service area.

While the merits of this approach are obvious, it isn't a method guaranteed to let any oil man sleep easily—whether he's a station operator, a jobber, or a supplier. This is a tough and competitive business and none of us likes the idea of trusting to luck that customers are going to wander up to our own pump rather than to someone else's. Moreover, countrywide surveys have demonstrated that motorists on trips decide where to stop primarily on the basis of two criteria: brand name and station appearance.

No matter how much we spend to improve our product, and to advertise it, and to step up service, and keep spic-and-span restrooms and all the rest, none of these things are going to be visible to a potential customer wheeling along a limited access highway at 60 miles an hour.

Unless he can see at a glance that a particular brand—and all he knows that brand represents in terms of quality, service, and other assistance—is available, we're mighty apt to lose our best customers.

This is a problem which reaches right down to the level of the individual station and can have a considerable effect on whether or not that particular dealer makes a living or not. For example, a substantial number of the motorists in the United States have a favorite brand and usually buy it. Likewise, a substantial number not only have a favorite, but buy it exclusively.

Then there is the credit-card customer. On a nationwide basis upwards of 12 percent of all motorists hold a credit card, and in some areas the percentage runs to nearly 30 percent. These people—more than 1 out of every 10 on the road—are looking for their own station. Moreover, they represent more business than mere numbers indicate. They're by far the biggest gasoline buyers. They purchase 10 gallons on the average, as against 7 gallons per cash customer. On an individual sale basis, they spend nearly 50 percent more than the motorist who pays cash. None of us wants to lose them.

On this question, I don't know what the answer is going to be. We realize perfectly well that you can't have a jungle of banjo signs at every turnoff. Perhaps a method could be worked out to use a simple brand trademark in some manner. I think it is clear that we should be giving some serious thought to the problem if we expect to continue to provide high-quality competitive service to the motorist.

In trying to arrive at some solution, it is important to keep in mind the group of motorists we're primarily talking about. The Bureau of Public Roads has preliminary data from studies conducted in 12 States indicating that about 60 percent of all passenger car trips were for distances of less than 5 miles. Nearly 80 percent of passenger car trips covered less than 10 miles. Ninety-eight percent were for less than fifty miles. Even in terms of vehicle mileage, over 70 percent was accumulated on trips of less than 50 miles.

These figures cover statewide travel, and I would presume that the average trip length on the interstate system would be longer. Even if it turned out to be considerably higher, however, it would still appear that the bulk of the traffic would be more or less local in character and composed of people who would be less likely to have to get off the limited access highway for gasoline and service.

If this should be the case, perhaps some of our concern about the effects on the gasoline business might prove to be somewhat exaggerated. Regardless of that, the hard fact remains that relatively long-distance traffic is certainly going to make up a big portion of the vehicle miles run up on the interstate system and other limited access highways. We will have to continue to reach this business, and, to do so, we will have to find some way to let them know where we are located.

These, then, are a few of the difficulties which will have to be ironed out in the course of providing the necessary service facilities for any limited-access highway:

We'll have to resist attempts to scuttle the free-enterprise amendment in the Federal highway law. For the jobber and the independent, this is the first line of defense, insuring their right to compete;

We'll have to secure similar protection in our State law to keep commercial enterprises off the State-controlled right-of-way on all of our State highways;

We'll have to continue to work for flexible arrangements for service locations along limited-access highways;

And, finally, some plan will have to be evolved which will permit us to notify the motorist of our station location.

The petroleum industry stands ready to do everything it can to cooperate with highway officials toward the solution of the problems involved. We are convinced that plans can be worked out which will meet all service needs without interfering with any of the design characteristics of these new highways.

But no sound solution is going to come about unless informed people are willing to fight for it. We have before us the possibility of serious damage to the competitive structure of one of the State's most important industries.

If competition in supplying petroleum products is permitted to be gradually extinguished along our important highways, we—and the people of Ohio—will have lost a very significant battle, the results of which will be felt far beyond the petroleum industry. We have an obligation, not just to ourselves, but to everyone who believes in a man's right to try to make a living in the business of his choice, where he chooses, which we cannot afford to disregard.

If we remain alert, and are not afraid to speak out, this obligation can be met.

Hysteria About Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to call attention to an editorial in the Madison (Wis.) Capital Times under date of May 8, under the caption "Hysteria About Federal Aid to Education."

The editorial is quite critical of both the Republican Party and the United States Chamber of Commerce. It points out the inconsistency of the position of the chamber in favoring the $33 billion road program but opposing a $300 million grant for school classroom construction over a 5-year period for a total of one and a half billion dollars.

The editorial follows:

HYSTERIA ABOUT FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

There is probably no educational proposal today that is opposed with greater hysteria than Federal aid to education, a subject on which the assembly education committee holds hearings today.

The specific measure is a Democratic resolution favoring Federal aid.

Hysteria seems to be the only explanation for the violence of the opposition to Federal

aid. The most frequently heard argument is that Federal aid would give the Federal Government control over our schools.

The people who argue this seem to think that the Federal Government is foreign government. They seem to forget that Government in Washington is just as much their government as the government in the State capital, county seat, or city hall. If they don't like it they can change it.

The chamber of commerce and the Republican Party seem oblivious to the inconsistency of their enthusiastic support of Federal highway aid and their opposition to Federal school aid. Why don't they fear that the Federal Government would dominate the highway program?

And the people at the local levels of government will argue that aid means domination of the local school system by the Government granting the aid. They overlook the fact that the State of Wisconsin has been sending back educational aids for years. The same people who are arguing against Federal aids are supporting legislation in the current session of the legislature to increase State aids.

The objection to Federal aid could hardly be the expense involved. The educational aid program calls for an expenditure of a piddling $1.3 billion. Compare that to the staggering $30 billion provided in the highway aid program.

Or consider the $3.6 billion which big industry is asking for in tax-amortization applications. We don't hear of any objections to such Federal aid for private business. So it can't be the expense.

Perhaps there is this difference between highway aids and educational aids: Highway aids are supported by one of the most powerful and free-spending lobbies in the world. The cement interests, the automobile interests, the road-machinery interests, and many more spend millions to lobby for highway aid. And in return they get billions.

But who is there to lobby for education?

A Long Strike's Human Damage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article which appeared in Life magazine May 20, 1957, dealing with the issues and history of the 3-year-old Kohler strike.

This is probably the bitterest industrial dispute pending in the Nation. I am sure that the people of goodwill throughout Wisconsin and the entire country continue to hope and pray that it may be settled at an early date in justice and fairness to all.

The article follows:

A LONG STRIKE'S HUMAN DAMAGE

(By Robert Wallace)

An enormous mess, not just an everyday, run-of-the-mine botch, requires good, strong men to produce. Weak men lack the courage and tenacity of purpose, the dignity, and, above all, the individualism to produce a well-nigh hopeless shambles. Consequently, what is happening in Sheboygan County, Wis., and radiating outward from there to all corners of the Nation, is a rare thing. Let there be no doubt about it: these men are the salt of the earth, the backbone of America, and the mess is a large one.

The mess is a labor dispute involving the wealthy, family-owned Kohler Co., second largest manufacturer of plumbing ware in the United States, and the United Automobile Workers, the second largest union. The UAW's Local 833 has been on strike against Kohler for more than 3 years, having begun the fourth year on April 5. This is by far the longest and bitterest major strike in the Nation, and there is still no indication as to how, when, or whether it may ever end.

What makes the strike so prolonged and so difficult to settle is the fact that it is not about wages or hours or pensions or hospitalization plans or any other issue that lends itself to arithmetical compromise. It is about principles. And they are not the tepid, flaccid principles so frequently encountered today but good old-fashioned ones involving no less than human rights and dignity.

There is nothing old-fashioned about the way the strike is being fought. The principal weapon, still not perfected and still fairly ineffective, may be the industrial hydrogen bomb of the future, a fearful device that had always been possible but only became really practical when the CIO and the AFL merged into one superunion in 1955. The device is a boycott, not local or regional but nationwide, which the striking union, with the help of organized labor throughout the United States, dropped on the Kohler Co. a little over a year ago.

The potential power of such a weapon is enormous: when and if it is fully developed it will be capable of destroying any corporation in the country, even the largest and wealthiest. It will also be capable of destroying any union, since the ruin of an employer is also the ruin of his employees.

In point of fact the boycott is not destroying the company, yet, although it is doubtless causing some trouble and loss of profit. However, if the boycott is pressed into the indefinite future, and if the UAW pumps more money and manpower into it, it may indeed wreck the company. It is a matter of determination, and the leaders of the UAW are exceedingly determined men.

Beyond the issue of the strike and the boycott lies the human damage the strike has caused. In the city of Sheboygan, where most of the Kohler strikers and strikebreakers live, thousands of old friendships have turned into hatreds. During the long strike there have been more than 800 separate acts of violence and vandalism, many of them of the most cruel and disgusting nature, and these are merely the acts that have got onto the police blotter. The private, unrecorded indignities and miseries are numberless.

What sort of people are capable of creating such a large mess?

A NAME THAT RINGS A BELL

Sheboygan has a population of about 45,000 and stands on the shore of Lake Michigan about 60 miles north of Milwaukee. The name Sheboygan rings a bell with most people, who feel they have heard of the place in some connection but cannot remember what. Perhaps the connection is to be found in a popular song of some years ago, which went: "Mention my name in Sheboygan, it's the greatest little town in the world."

The people of Sheboygan are largely of German ancestry with infusions of Dutch and Russian. Their grandparents came to the United States to escape political and economic oppression in Europe, the floodtide of immigration having occurred around 1880. They were stolid, long-suffering people, accustomed to hard labor, slow to be provoked, but once provoked, slow to be reconciled. A partial explanation of the bitterness of the Kohler strike lies in this heritage.

The churches are strong in Sheboygan, the strongest being the Lutheran and Catholic. There is very little organized sin in town, or disorganized sin for that matter. In the evening the average citizen has a couple of beers in a tavern and goes early to bed. There are 155 taverns in town, so no man is hard up for a place to put his elbow. One night a week, usually on Wednesday, Sheboygan husbands stay home and watch the kids, of whom there are larger numbers, while their wives go bowling, to the taverns, or both. Germany food, especially bratwurst grilled on charcoal, is popular.

There are no Communists in Sheboygan, although the accusation is sometimes laid on the strikers by people who have no sympathy for them. Take the case of Mrs. Ethel Fesing. Mrs. Fesing was having a beer not long ago in Christ & Elly's Oui Oui Bar, one of the 155 taverns, and talking casually about the strike. Her husband is a striker. As it happened a nonstriker came into the tavern and made what both Mrs. Fesing and her husband, who was present, considered an untoward remark.

"I'll beat his brains out," said Mr. Fesing.

"Oh, no, you won't," said Mrs. Fesing. "I will."

And with that Mrs. Fesing, a lady of considerable muscle, picked up the nonstriker, to whom she referred in loud tones as an indelicate scab, and threw him through a screen door. This was done with such violence that although the nonstriker landed outside the tavern, his shoes remained inside. Mrs. Fesing is not a Communist. She was just sore.

Stubborn independence, perhaps a little slow to be asserted but asserted with emphasis when at last it is, is a prime ingredient in the Sheboygan personality—which is to say, in the personalities of the Kohler strikers. But the identical ingredient is also prominent in the personality of the strikers' archopponent, Herbert V. Kohler, president and board chairman of the company. He too stems from the rugged Teutonic stock and he too, even at the age of 65, is as tough as an oak post. There may be minor differences in education and other matters, but the principal difference between Herbert V. Kohler and the strikers is that Herbert V. Kohler has all the money. Exactly how much money he has is no one's business, but his personal wealth runs well into the millions and the tangible net worth of his company is about $40 million.

The Kohler family has been prominent in Wisconsin politics, 2 Kohlers having held the governorship—Walter J. Kohler, Herbert's half-brother, in 1929–30, and Walter J. Kohler Jr., Herbert's half-nephew, in 1951–56. The Kohler Co. has also done its part in philanthropies, having given large sums to Sheboygan churches over the years and having donated so much to the local hospital that a new wing was named Kohler Pavilion. "Nobody says Herb is a bad-hearted man," one of the strikers observes. "He's not mean. He just tromps on us out of habit."

For many years the Kohlers, in running their family business, have been sedulous practitioners of old-fashioned paternalism, or father-knows-bestism. The union sometimes refers to this as benevolent dictatorship, but more often omits the benevolent. In reply, Herbert V. Kohler stoutly maintains that it is the union which practices dictatorship, the union which tries to tell him how to operate, and that this is a damnable outrage.

The Kohler Co. was founded by Herbert's father, John M. Kohler, in 1873. Herbert V. Kohler has been working full time in the company ever since 1914, and much of its growth and success is attributable to his hard work. Is there, he asks, something wrong with success and the accumulation of wealth? Is there some good reason why

some outsider should move into his plant and tell him what to do—particularly those leftwingers from Detroit, who run the international union, and who ought to stay home and keep their noses out of the little family quarrel in Sheboygan?

The little family quarrel has been simmering for many years. When the grandfathers of Sheboygan came to America they brought with them the memory of the landlord-peasant relationship they had known in Germany. They had rebelled against this relationship in its harshest form, but were not unwilling to accept it in a watered-down version. At the Kohler Co. they slipped into it easily, and a long time passed before they began to think there was anything uncomfortable or undignified about it. There were, in the old days, no summer vacations for shopworkers, but the company did see that every married man got a goose for Christmas, and every single man a wallet or a pocketknife. Hours were long, wages were low, but if a man died, the company saw that his family got $100.

As long ago as 1913 the then president of the company, Walter J. Kohler, began to build a model community in which Kohler employees might live. This was an advanced, indeed a radical thing for management to do. Moreover the model community was no drab "company town." It was and still is a handsome, landscaped village of 500 homes, close beside the plant. It is shown on Wisconsin maps as the village of Kohler and accounts for the company's trade name, Kohler of Kohler.

"Sure it's a fine place," says a striker. "But there was a catch to it. Today there are 10 supervisors for every production worker living there. But even in the old days there was a catch. If you didn't behave the way the boss wanted, they'd throw you out of your home. That's a strong grip to have on a man—not only his job but his home too."

The Kohler Co. introduced a pension plan somewhat in advance, at least chronologically, of the rest of United States industry. In this instance too there were signs of a breakaway from old-world conditions. But today the pension plan is one of the union's talking points when it sets out to attack Kohler. In a UAW strike publication, for example, there is a picture of an elderly Kohler worker with the following caption: "Sixty-eight-year-old John Razal has been working for the Kohler Co. 27 years. When he retires, the company will give him a gold watch—and a pension of $5.93 a month. That's why he's kept on working. He and his wife, they've figured, just wouldn't be able to live on $5.93 a month."

The one old-world condition that the Kohler workers at last found intolerable was the Prussian variety of discipline maintained in the factory. It was discipline based on fear, demanding a sacrifice of personal dignity that finally became too great. There are no Patrick Henrys or Tom Paines in Sheboygan. To the question, "Why are you striking?" man after man shrugs, reddens and says, "Well, I got sick of kissing the foreman's elbow," or, "Well, I wanted them to treat me decent, like a man," or, "It was—well, I don't know how you put it, but it got so I couldn't breathe."

"THEY KEEP BOOKS ON US"

None of the strikers questions the necessity for discipline of the right of the management to enforce it; it is only the manner of enforcement that rankles. "They keep books on us like FBI files," a striker says. "I'm not kidding, I mean real books. John Smith spent 6 minutes in the washroom. Bill Green made a dirty crack about the second supervisor in the pottery. Everything you do or say goes down in the books, even loud talking or laughing too much. The way the company punishes you is by transferring you.

"Suppose you've got a nice clean daytime job at high pay. I mean high for Kohler, maybe $2.30 an hour. You tell a joke the foreman doesn't think is funny, and all of a sudden you're on the night shift, and you've got a black mark on you, they're gunning for you. Next thing you know you're working in the foundry at a worse job, maybe $2 an hour. It's hotter than hell in the foundry, but not hot enough, so they put you in the pottery. Did you ever work around a kiln at 2,400 degrees, Buster? For maybe $1.85 an hour? Then they pull you off that and make you a sweeper, $1.30 an hour—you can't do a thing about it, except quit. A young guy, he can quit, but I've seen men way past 60, guys who used to have good jobs, pushing brooms on the night shift. They can't quit because nobody else will hire them."

In almost all of United States industry today, grievances arising from disciplinary transfers and the downgrading of elderly men are submitted to arbitration. There are clauses providing for arbitration, not only of transfer cases but of various other grievances, in approximately 93 percent of the labor contracts now in force. The Kohler Co., however, will not agree to arbitration. Herbert V. Kohler takes the view that arbitration is a surrender of management's function.

The Kohler workers have been trying for more than 25 years to force some sort of satisfactory grievance-arbitration mechanism on the management. In the early 1930's many of them joined an AFL union which recruited in the plant, hoping to achieve a position of strength from which to negotiate. The management opposed the union; a strike and a bloody battle ensued. In July 1934 there was a riot outside the gates of the plant which was quelled with tear gas and gunfire, resulting in the death of 2 men and the wounding of 28 others, all strikers or spectators. The AFL union was broken.

In the middle 1930's a company union, the Kohler Workers Association, was formed with the encouragement of the management. The KWA had no affiliation with any outside group. It also had no strength.

In 1952 the UAW began to organize the plant, and after several months of furtive work succeeded in enlisting a majority of the production workers.

The motivation of the Kohler workers in joining the UAW cannot be overstressed. It was not because they were interested in advanced politico-economic theories; the phrase "class struggle" to them was something that might be applied to a high-school ball game. It was not because they were greedy for more money; their pay was not high by the standards of Detroit or Gary, but it was good for the Sheboygan area and they were reasonably content with it. All they wanted to do was to get the foremen off their backs. This required that they go out and get a big, husky friend to help them. If the big, husky friend had some advanced ideas, the workers were not concerned. They just wanted muscles.

The first contract negotiated between the Kohler Co. and UAW Local 833, as the new union was numbered, ran for a period of 1 year and expired early in 1954. It did not have an arbitration clause that satisfied the union members, having been negotiated rather gingerly. Neither side was anxious, at the outset, to provoke a fight. But before the contract expired both sides served notice that they would not renew it, and the lines of battle began to form.

The executives of the Kohler Co., including Herbert V. Kohler and his chief attorney and negotiator, Lyman Conger, have a great deal in common with the executives of the international UAW including President Walter Reuther and Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey. The remark may cause them to choke on their cigars but it is nonetheless true. Politically and in economic theory, needless to say, they have basic differences. But they are all good citizens of the Republic, honorable men, and they are nearly identical in matters of courage, stubbornness and the willingness to fight for a cause. It is a pity that the four men, as a team, cannot go and negotiate something with the Russians, as they would doubtless come back with Bulganin's goatee. And it is a pity that the 4 men, as 2 teams, had to square off against each other.

Herbert V. Kohler approached the battle determined not only to hold his ground but, if he could, to smash the union. He made no bones about it. In reference to the fact that the Taft-Hartley law requires employers, as well as employees, to bargain, he agreed that he did have to bargain with them but was heard to say, "You don't have to give them anything to bargain."

The executives of the international UAW—they, rather than the local's executives, are the ones who call the shots—approached the battle determined to make Kohler yield or to leave him dead in the market place as an example to any other employers who might try to go back to 1928. And so the ultraconservative employer and the ultraliberal union took each other by the throat.

A FINAL, ODD CIRCUMSTANCE

Before the demands of the union and the replies of the management are brought up, there is a final bit of circumstance that should be pointed out. It is one of those minuscule, silly things that have, all too often, ponderous influence on the affairs of men, like the fact that Adler did not popularize elevator shoes until far too late to save the world from Napoleon. As it happens, Emil Mazey, of the UAW, is a veteran of many a battle on the picket line, a rugged, aggressive citizen who would never under any circumstances be called pretty. Emil Mazey no doubt has a heart of pure gold, believes in home, the flag, and mother, and loves children and dogs. But he does look as though, words having failed, he might settle an argument with a two-by-four. Lyman Conger, the Kohler negotiator, is no doubt at heart the living embodiment of the Boy Scout oath, a kindly and gentle fellow altogether. But he does look as though, as a traffic judge, he might jail his mother for double parking.

That Conger and Mazey should have come face to face at a negotiating table was a most unhappy coincidence, but it happened. Mazey set the tone of things at an early session when he walked into the room, skewered Conger with a gimlet stare and said, "Well, here I am. Let's stop fooling around, and sign a contract." Conger replied with a rasping noise, and they were off.

The opening demands of the UAW might have made even old Sam Gompers' hair stand on end. Some of them were "straw men," set up for the company negotiators to demolish so that they might more readily accept other demands. However, a partial list of them, as Herbert Kohler bitterly recites them in his public speeches, makes gloomy reading for any employer anywhere. "The union shop—the outrage of compulsory unionism—was one of the demands we refused," Kohler says. "Others included: No shop rules without the union's agreement; no increase or reduction of hours without the union's agreement; no subcontracting of work without the union's permission; automatic wage progressions with no merit increases; promotions on a strict seniority basis."

As anyone who has tried to run even a lemonade stand knows, these are rugged demands, and Kohler's description of them as a collective outrage may make a great deal of sense. Mingled with them were other, more reasonable demands concerning wages and pensions, and the eminently reasonable demand concerning arbitration. However, the company's reply, in sum, was a firm "No," now and forever, to everything.

When the strike began some 2,600 of the plant's 4,200 workers walked out. (The remaining 1,600 included supervisory personnel, executives, clerical workers, and nonunion members.) A mass picket line was thrown around the plant, in violation of both State and Federal law, and the company was completely out of production for 54 days. When the picket line was reduced to legal size, some nonunion men went back to work, and soon a large force of strikebreakers was taken on, mostly from nearby rural areas. Within a few months the plant was again producing at nearly full capacity. Three years later the plant is still producing, with perhaps 2,000 strikebreakers inside, and the pickets still outside.

SUPPORTING THE STRIKERS

After the strikebreakers moved in, the UAW undertook one of the most expensive financial ventures in United States labor history. Drawing on its large strike fund (currently $22 million), which is constantly maintained by contributions from the 1.3 million members of the international union, the UAW began to support all of the strikers and their families. A system of allowances was established in which each striker was paid $15 a week for food for himself and his wife, with an additional $3 for each child. All or part of the striker's rent, or the interest on his mortgage, was paid by the union. In addition, each striker received $25 per week to cover routine living expenses.

The UAW supported the strikers for 2 years, pumping about $10 million into Cheboygan (local merchants, who might have been ruined by the strike, have never felt its full impact). Last April, the Kohler Co. having shown no signs of surrender, the union terminated the support plan and began to find jobs for the strikers. Today only about 300 strikers are carried on the union's support rolls, enough to maintain the picket line and perform other work connected with the strike. All others are now supporting themselves. Many commute to work in Milwaukee, others have quit the union and gone back to work at Kohler, and some have moved out of Sheboygan forever. In all, nearly 200 families have taken the latter course, a lonesome road for people whose roots lay deep in the community.

The end of the support plan merely marked a change in union strategy; the rapid expansion of the boycott.

The boycott functions like a sales organization in reverse. The union has divided the Nation into 12 unsales territories, in each of which hardworking, full-time unsalesmen constantly call on potential Kohler customers, trying to unsell them on the Kohler line. The union's unsalesmen are instructed not to threaten anyone, although there are those who see an implied threat in their very appearance on the scene. The unsalesmen merely say, "Don't buy Kohler," never, "Don't buy Kohler—or else." Of course, there are building contractors who have jumped to conclusions. Recently in Los Angeles, for example, a contractor canceled an order for $100,000 worth of Kohler plumbing fixtures, on the ground that it might take his plumbers too long to install them. "They have to install them," he says, "because that's the law. But you take a union plumber who can set 7 or 8 toilets a day. If he's—well—unfamiliar with Kohler ware, maybe he can only set 3 or 4 a day. I can go broke that way."

The union's unsalesmen have an unsales talk directed at consumers as well. "These bathtubs, lady," they say, "are made by what you might call scabs, who don't know their ears from their elbows. Just ignorant farmers, mostly. Now, you've seen a ring around a bathtub, lady—but wait'll you see the ring that can form around this bathtub. You can grow mushrooms in it."

Direct mail also plays an important part in the boycott. The UAW maintains a large clerical staff in Sheboygan, which in the past year has sent out more than one million pieces of mail to contractors, architects and consumers. Moreover, almost every union publication in the country has received, and printed, news releases about the boycott.

"The boycott?" says the Kohler Co.'s Lyman Conger. "Why, it's not hurting us a bit. It's helping us. It helps us for the obvious reason that it makes people angry. Nobody wants to be told what to buy and what not to. That turns people against the union, and they get so they insist on Kohler products."

In reply to the unsalesmen's claim that strikebreaker-made Kohler products are somehow inferior, Conger points to the rate of complaints lodged with the company concerning faulty goods. Today, he says, the percentage of complaints is lower than it was before the strike.

Without an acetylene torch it is impossible to obtain the company's financial figures. However, the company files annual tax returns with the state of Wisconsin, and on the basis of these it would seem that the boycott has not yet had any wrecking effect. For 1956, during the last 8 months of which the boycott was in full swing, the company paid $336,856 in State income tax. For 1953, the last full year before the strike began, it paid $390,508. The difference of $53,652 may indicate some loss because of the boycott, or it may merely reflect a normal increase in the company's production costs. In any case it scarcely reveals a staggering drop in gross income. Today the union contends that the boycott is just beginning to operate effectively, and that the 1957 figures will show that Kohler's gross sales are more than 50 percent below the prestrike level. In the past few months, the union says, carload shipments from the plant have fallen from a prestrike monthly average of 264 to a current 130, and the production man-hours per week have dropped from 155,161 to 78,225. This the company firmly denies. When the 1957 tax return is finally available—and if the company does not later apply for a rebate—someone's contention will look rather feeble.

"PEOPLE," A RUSTY WORD

At the bottom of all the figures, buried under the claims and counterclaims, demands and refusals, speeches, broadcasts and written reports, there are some people. "People" is a rusty word in this business, so little used that it almost requires definition. However, with a little effort the principals in the dispute may recall what people are: the ones with the holes in their shoes, the higher vetebrates who bleed when they cut themselves shaving, and upon occasion are capable of thought and tears.

Frederick Kuehlmann fits the definition. He is 52 years old, has lived in Sheboygan all his life and worked for Kohler for 30 years. He is still working for Kohler, which makes his a scab, as the strikers say. He is not a big man, but wiry and well made. For the past 15 years he has been severely afflicted with arthritis. He works in the Kohler shipping department at a clerical job that requires little physical effort.

Kuehlmann did not join the U. A. W. when it unionized the plant. "I had nothing against it," he says. "I just never joined it. Quite a few guys never joined it." Primarily Kuehlmann wanted to say out of trouble: "At my age, and with arthritis, do you think I could get a job anywhere if I got fired or went on strike?" Kuehlmann must support his wife, his youngest son and a teen-aged daughter. He has two older sons, but they now support themselves.

As soon as Kuehlman returned to work at Kohler, which he did in 1954 shortly after the mass picket line was removed, he began to have trouble. Some of his old friends stopped speaking to him. One morning as he drove to work he noticed what the thought was rainwater on the hood and fenders of his car, which he had left outdoors all night. It turned out to be sulphuric acid. "A little while after that," he says, "they slashed all my tires. I got some new tires and they slashed them too. They did it four times."

For the first 2 years of the strike Kuehlmann's phone rang constantly at night. "I mean late at night, like about 2 o'clock. They must have called me at least 150 times. I'd pick up the phone and there'd be a voice, 'You dirty, rotten, lousy, yellow scab.' They'd never say who they were.

"We used to live in an apartment above a store." Kuehlmann says. "But I saved my money and I bought this old house. A real wreck. But my older boys and I worked on it for half a year and we fixed it up good. We just had it finished, pine paneling and a wall-to-wall carpet and everything my wife and I always wanted. I was sitting in the living room, smoking a cigarette and admiring the place about 11 o'clock at night. My wife was in bed already. I was sitting there, and then Bang! Bang! Three quart jars full of red paint busted through the windows and smashed all over the place. I don't want to hurt anybody. I just want to make a living."

Kuehlmann's case is typical of many in Sheboygan. Today the violence and vandalism have largely disappeared, there having been no serious cases since late in 1956, but the memory and the expectancy of them are always present.

AN OLD SHEBOYGAN RESIDENT

Leo Breirather is 42. He lives with his wife, Beulah, and their three children in a small house on the outskirts of Sheboygan. He built the house, which is of brick, with his own hands, having a great deal of energy and desire to get on in the world. Breirather's family has been established in the Sheboygan area for a long time. His father worked for Kohler for many years, and Breirather himself had been employed there for 20 years prior to 1954. He sometimes makes a point of this in conversation, because it amuses him that Kohler executives should say, as they sometimes do, that the trouble in Sheboygan is caused by outsiders.

Breirather is one of the strikers who are still supported by the union. He is chief steward of local 833 and has an important job in the boycott. The supervisor of the entire operation is Donald Rand, an international representative of the UAW whose office is in Detroit. Rand comes to Sheboygan only once a week, and in his absence Breirather is in charge.

Before the strike Breirather worked about 45 hours a week at Kohler and made about $80. Today he works fully 70 hours a week and can barely exist on the money the union pays him. He lives mainly on boiled dinners and tenacity, and it pains him to see his children deprived of the things he might have given them. After 3 years of strike he does not enjoy thinking about the future; sometimes he can see the trouble in Sheboygan stretching beyond the horizon. "Last Christmas," he says, "we had a little party here for the strikers and their kids. After it was over, some of the strikers got to talking about mistakes we'd made in planning the party, and I heard one of them say, 'Next Christmas we'll do it differently.' And I thought to myself, my God."

Breirather is at heart a constructive, solid citizen—the brick house perhaps is a token of this. He wants to build something, not to destroy anything. He knows that if his work in the boycott eventually succeeds he will ruin the company, and thus remove the principal source of employment in the area for men like himself. He knows that as he tries to strangle Kohler he strangles Breirather, but he will not and cannot quit. A student of Greek tragedy would feel at home in Sheboygan.

Breirather is willing to talk in detail about the strike and to be quoted publicly. Other strikers are not. There is good reason for this. Whenever Breirather or any other striker makes a remark which receives public attention, researchers employed by the Kohler Co. transcribe it and swear an affidavit concerning it. On the basis of hundreds of such affidavits—enough, quite literally, to fill 4 large volumes—the company has compiled a blacklist of 89 individuals who are never under any circumstances to be reemployed if and when the strike ends. Breirather is one of the 89, and has nothing more to lose.

"I'm on that list," says Breirather, "because I'm chief steward of the union. Kohler says he isn't trying to smash the union, but by some coincidence the 89 names on that list include the president, the vice president, and all the other officers of the union, along with the committee heads and everyone else who's held an important union job."

The problem of reemployment for the strikers has become, after arbitration, the second real issue of the strike. Herbert Kohler, in hiring strikebreakers for his plant, gave them a promise that they would never be replaced by returning strikers when the dispute is at last settled. Today there are perhaps 1,500 strikers, working at temporary or permanent jobs elsewhere, who would return to Kohler after an honorable settlement. However, the company maintains that it cannot rehire them, and will not rehire the 89 blacklisted men.

In negotiations the union has indicated that this is not an insoluble problem. There is a fairly brisk labor turnover at Kohler, and if the returning strikers are placed on a preferential hiring list and given jobs as soon as jobs become available, this might take care of the situation, so long as Kohler acts in good faith and does not unreasonably delay the rehiring. As for the 89 special cases, the union again mentions the dreadful word "arbitration." Not all are union officers. Some no doubt have been guilty of violence and should not be rehired. The arbitrators can settle that.

There have been countless negotiating sessions since the strike began, and there were many beforehand. All manner of men have tried to mediate—various political wheels, members of the National Labor Relations Board, and Herbert's half-nephew Walter, who was Governor of Wisconsin when he made the attempt. (Uncle Herbert replied to nephew Walter in a public letter of some 1,000 well-chosen words, the substance of which was, "Don't bother me, boy.") The most recent attempt at conciliation was made by three nationally prominent clergymen—Father John F. Cronin, Rabbi Eugene Lipman and Rev. Dr. Cameron P. Hall—who managed to get union and company representatives to attend exploratory talks in Chicago, New York, and Sheboygan early this year. But last April 26, when the talks began to take a specific turn, the mediation attempt collapsed in an outburst of recrimination from both sides. No further talks are scheduled.

The big union brass from Detroit has long since receded from the remarkably tough position that so outraged Herbert Kohler at the outset. Today the strike could be settled on these terms: insert a standard arbitration clause in the contract; set up a mechanism for rehiring the strikers within a reasonable time; and arbitrate the 89 special cases. Thus it seems that Herbert Kohler has gained an edge over big labor, which in recent years has not been in the habit of losing arguments. Today big labor is in a defensive posture because of the changing currents of public opinion and the operations of that singularly sad apple, Dave Beck of the teamsters. Walter Reuther and Emil Mazey may not in the immediate future find it wise or convenient to throw enough men and money into the boycott to make it a real buster.

Herbert Kohler, therefore, is in a position of strength and, in some quarters, honor. His conservative colleagues are delighted to see any union lose any argument and a great many middle-of-the-road Americans are not displeased to see big labor receive an occasional belt in the chops. Keep things from getting monotonous.

But some settlement remains to be made between Herbert Kohler and little labor, the decent, courageous men who worked in his plumbing factory and struck because their sense of personal dignity demanded it. Such a settlement cannot be made unless Kohler himself accepts a measure of defeat. And there they stand—a partial winner who must take some loss, and a loser who must be given some gain. Neither side can win the strike in any clear-cut fashion. At the moment the company is ahead, but times change. If the strikers cannot be given peace with honor, then the dispute will drag on bitterly, interminably, fruitlessly.

Leadership, Work, Money Win Victory for Ohio G. O. P.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Detroit News of May 27, 1957:

LEADERSHIP, WORK, MONEY WIN VICTORY FOR OHIO G. O. P.

(By Will Muller)

COLUMBUS, OHIO, May 27.—Three successive comeback victories have put the Ohio Republican organization in fine form today for a double test in 1958.

Under a 1956 constitutional amendment, Republican Gov. C. William O'Neill and his elective cabinet will be running for 4-year instead of 2-year terms.

So, too, will be Ohio's 34 State senators, of whom 22 are Republicans. The State's 139 house members, of whom 97 are Republicans, will continue to run for 2-year terms.

MOSTLY INCUMBENTS

Between now and February 1958, the filing deadline, Republican United States Senator JOHN W. BRICKER must decide whether to run again or retire.

If BRICKER runs, it will be the first time since 1928 that Ohio Republicans were able to set a complete array of incumbents in the field in a statewide partisan election.

It is this recovery of the Ohio Republican Party from 1950 desperation that has State Republican chairmen from both coasts writing party headquarters here.

They are sure that Ohio's Republican Chairman Ray C. Bliss has discovered some magic formula that will grow winning Republican candidates in Democratic soil.

WINNING FORMULA

And so Bliss has. His formula consists of leadership, organization, money, candidates—and unselfish hard work.

In contract to Ohio, Michigan in 1958 will see a buffeted Republican Party struggling mightily to save United States Senator CHARLES E. POTTER and put a full ticket of State candidates in the field.

If BRICKER doesn't run in Ohio, there's a line of replacements waiting that stretches from the Mahoning Valley to the cornfields.

"We've got candidates running out of our ears," says Bliss happily. "It wasn't this way a few years ago."

LEARNED TO WORK

Eight years ago, businessmen didn't find Republican activity an asset. They preferred buying a ticket to a $100-a-plate fundraising dinner to punching doorbells for the party—like many Michigan Republicans today.

But, almost overnight, contributing to the party and being seen at its rallies became "the thing to do." Under the new regime in Ohio, party workers are learning that work is as important as money. Politics has joined the country club.

"The Republican Party is lucky to have Henry Ford II as a contributor," says Bliss. "But think of what the effect would be if he also did a little canvassing in his precinct.

"Everybody in the Ford organization suddenly would decide a little political participation would help his own chances of getting ahead."

HAVE GOOD FACILITIES

A look at the party organization, built on the ruins of 1948, which will go into battle here in 1958, would tempt a Michigan Republican to move southward.

Party headquarters occupies a full floor. It has everything from a photographic laboratory to a newspaper clipping file and research facilities equal to that of many daily newspapers.

Among his 15-member staff, the $18,000-a-year chairman has top-notch assistants. They're veterans, and they all say they'll stick—but only as long as Bliss does.

There's Robert M. Krier, immediate assistant to Bliss, a Columbus attorney; Joseph John Flanagan, sharp in mind as he is rotund of figure, publicity consultant, former newsman, former aid to BRICKER.

NO STRINGS ON AVREN

And there's Frank E. Avren, who says Bliss, has one trouble. He may have "8,000 ideas and only 1,000 of them will be good." His field is publicity.

A block away is the office of the Ohio Republican Finance Committee, charged with raising the budget Chairman Bliss sets—and turning it over with "no strings attached and no favors asked."

The finance committee, every election year, hires a professional soliciting firm to direct a united foundation type money raising drive for the party in Ohio. It hits the eight big cities, only the richest of the counties.

EIGHTY-EIGHT ACTIVE CHAIRMEN

The Republican State Central and Executive Committee, of which Bliss is chairman, gets only the money for the statewide campaign.

Every 1 of Ohio's 88 counties has an active chairman. If he isn't active, he can retire. Few do as long as they can deliver, for in Ohio the county chairman is a king.

All State partonage is settled between county chairmen and the Governor. All post office appointments are agreed upon between county chairmen and Republican Congressmen.

Bliss, National Committeewoman Katharine Kennedy Brown, and National Committeeman Clarence J. Brown sit with Senator Bricker to decide Federal appointees.

CAN BE REACHED

Permanent county headquarters are maintained the year around in most big cities. In the smaller counties, the chairmen have businesses or political quarters of their own where they can be reached by party workers any day.

The State headquarters publishes a paper—the Republican News—weekly. In election years, special editions may be printed for every county. Rarely does it quote Chairman Bliss—always the candidates.

There's no room for cliques and factions in Ohio. The Republican Party is owned locally. A committeeman is elected in each precinct. The committeemen—not the party nominees, as in Michigan—choose the county chairmen.

PACKAGE LITERATURE

Ohio has no party convention system, such as picks Michgan's State chairman. Here, the members of the party's State central committee run for election by congressional districts in the primary elections.

The elected State committeemen pick their own chairman. Everybody in the organization owns a piece of the party, a portion of its platform, a share in its winnings.

Bliss insists on "package" campaign literature. That means that literature printed at party expense carries the entire list of Republican candidates who will appear on the ticket where the literature is distributed—from President to sheriff.

The party headquarters here is in strange contrast to that bare building at 400 North Capital, Lansing, owend by the Lincoln Land Co. and used as a State center by Michigan Republicans.

UNOFFICIAL GOVERNOR

From February 9, 1949, until January 1 of this year, Bliss was the unofficial "Republican governor" of Ohio, with Democratic Governor FRANK J. LAUSCHE sitting in the capitol less than a block away.

Every Monday night, legislators trooped to party headquarters. There, policy was written, legislation discussed, the general direction of the Republican lawmakers determined.

Bliss never went to the capitol. The lawmakers came to headquarters. They shaped up and hammered through most of each years' party platform, even in the lean time when Republican legislators were in the minority.

VICTORY ONLY GOAL

Governor O'Neill holds those party legislative conferences now. His is the responsibility. Bliss says he's glad to "get out from under the responsibility."

Through Ohio, now, there's talk that jealousy over power may alienate Bliss and O'Neil. Bliss belittles that report.

"There's nothing I want but victory for for the party," says Bliss. "I've got an insurance business needing me in Akron."

Today, though, Bliss may not know it, there's one more world for him to conquer. Betty, the girl who runs the creaky elevator up to the chairman's office, is still a Democrat.

Address of Robert E. Merriam, Assistant Director, Bureau of the Budget, Before the Seventh Annual Conference National Society for Business Budgeting, Palmer House, Chicago, Ill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I am inserting in the RECORD a very informative address delivered by Assistant Director of the Budget Robert E. Merriam, at the seventh annual conference of the National Society for Business Budgeting, held in Chicago on May 23. The address follows:

ADDRESS OF ROBERT E. MERRIAM, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF THE BUDGET, BEFORE THE SEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR BUSINESS BUDGETING, PALMER HOUSE, CHICAGO, ILL.

Thanks to certain events in Washington in the past several months, the art of budgeteering is now very much on everybody's minds. For this I honestly believe we should all be most thankful. Far too many people think of a budget as an extremely dry, technical, painful, and perhaps useless document. Budgetmakers, from family head to Federal Budget Director, are at best thought of as necessary evils and at worst as the chosen instruments of the devil. If my children are any sample of the reaction of those subjected to budget limitations, one doesn't ever win any popularity contests in his budgetmaking activities. I would suspect that you may have had some of the same reactions in your own jobs. Perhaps the main point of departure between us, you and me, is that we in government must consider not only the operators who resent the limitations we place on their spending—but we also must take into account, and rightly, the billpayers who seem to be somewhat upset because we haven't placed enough limitations on this spending.

I am glad to note from your program that you are looking at budgetmaking from every direction—inside out, upside down, right side up, and from the human angle. While it would take many hours, or even days, to look at the Federal budget from all these angles, I would at least like to clear away a little of the debris and oratory and discuss with you some of the myths circulating about the 1958 Federal budget.

1. What is the Federal budget?

The budget is a plan that can be looked at in at least 3 ways—

The consolidated cash budget, represents a summation of the cash intake and outgo of the Federal Government, including transactions of trust funds. Many economists agree that this representation of the flow of money into and out of the Treasury is the best indication of inflationary or deflationary effects of Government transactions. Very few people even look at these figures.

The appropriation budget represents the new spending authority to be enacted by the Congress for any one year. These are the proposals with which the Congress is now wrestling. Actually, the recommended appropriation budget is $73.8 billion.

The expenditure budget represents the President's estimate of what will actually be spent in a fiscal year by the various agencies of Government as a result of new spending authority granted both by the current Congress and from spending authority already available from previous congressional authorizations. The estimate for fiscal 1958 is $71.8 billion. Two-thirds of these dollars will be spent as a result of spending authority granted by this Congress, but one-third of the dollars actually expended in 1958 will come from previously granted spending authority (some of it made as long as 5 years ago). It is the expenditures that determine how much tax revenue we must have to pay our bills each year—and therefore this budget is the significant one in determining tax rates. Also, it is the comparison between the expenditure budget and the actual receipts to the Treasury that gives us our estimate of budget deficit or surplus. The real budget, then—as all of us usually think of it—and the surplus (which we like to talk about) or deficit (which we like to forget), is the expenditure budget.

2. Which of these budgets is the Congress considering?

The proposals for new spending authority—the appropriation budget—is what the Congress now has before it. As has already been indicated, some of these proposals do not necessarily have a direct effect on actual expenditures for the next year.

But there are other complications. The box scores which many papers are now running on cuts made by the Congress in presidential requests for new spending authority in the annual appropriation bills usually fails to consider the fact that specific dollar authorization for new spending authority often is embodied in substantive legislation which does not go through the Appropriations Committees. In the last session of Congress, for example, over $4 billion of new spending authority was authorized by the Congress without reference to the Appropriations Committees. And already this year, one pending bill which was not referred to the Appropriations Committees—the housing legislation—adds as much new spending authority to the President's proposals as has been eliminated by all the House actions to date on appropriations bills.

In addition, many of the cuts in new spending authority which have been voted by the House may not reduce actual expenditures in the next year. For example, veterans' compensation and pensions and related benefits are based on a formula which is written into law. The payments by the Federal Government to eligible veterans are mandatory. The House cut $193 million from the President's estimate of what would be needed to meet these mandatory payments next year, on the ground that the estimate might be 5 percent too high. But the estimate is based on long experience in computing the requirements, and has usually proved accurate. If one followed the House reasoning, he could just as easily say that the estimate is 5 percent too low. If the judgment of the House is wrong, this money will have to be appropriated before the end of the fiscal year.

To illustrate further, in the fiscal year 1956 nearly a billion dollars was added to the new spending authority for the departments by supplemental appropriations which were made after the regular appropriation bills were enacted. In some instances, appropriations committee reports specifically state that if the new spending authority which is granted is not enough, the department should come back for more.

The long and short of it is summed up in this week's report of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. They indicate that 1958 budget expenditures will be higher than originally estimated, regardless of what the Congress does on pending appropriation bills. As has already been revealed, defense expenditures are running considerably higher than expected.

3. Are there a lot of new programs in the budget?

Undoubtedly, you have read statements that there are many new programs in this budget. The implication has been that the administration was entering countless fields of new endeavor in a blind spending of the people's money.

Fact 1: We identify 13 so-called new Federal-aid programs in the President's 1958 budget request. They involve estimated expenditures in 1958 of $248 million, of which $185 million is for Federal aid to school construction. Of the remaining $63 million in expenditures, one-half is for: Disaster loans for small-business enterprises, such as those wiped out in the New England floods of 1955; a nuclear indemnity program which will make it possible, we hope, for private enterprise to build and develop nuclear power facilities rather than the Federal Govern-

ment; and a stepped-up program of assisting States to organize themselves in the civil defense field. Most of the remainder is for a program (already enacted by the Congress) to assist farmers and ranchers in the drought areas to reseed their grazing lands.

Fact 2: The Congress is now considering many pieces of legislation, not supported by the administration, as, for example, bills to provide a general pay raise, cost $1,750 million; raise rates of compensation for veterans, cost $170 million; authorize a federally constructed dam at Hells Canyon, cost probably not less than $500 million; liberalize public assistance grants, cost $43 million; liberalize benefits payable under the War Claims Act, cost $100 million; liberalize Spanish-American War pensions, cost $20 million, etc.

4. Is the administration budget for 1958 exorbitantly above the low point in 1955?

It is true that expenditures projected for 1958 are $7 billion higher than 1955, but the implication that the increased spending estimates are the result of vast new-fangled programs isn't true. The fact is that $4.5 billion of this increased expenditure is associated directly with past wars and security against future ones—$2.7 billion of the increase is in major national security items (the military, Atomic Energy Commission, and military assistance). This is caused by the fact that we are shifting to new guided missiles as our major deterrent weapon, but we dare not abandon our older, conventional defenses. We have just entered into an era of overlapping, double costs; research and development of missiles, at a fantastic price, on top of a complete, strong conventional weapons arsenal. Who is to say that at this critical moment in the world's history we should abandon either? Other parts of the increase since 1955 associated with past wars or present security include $263 million in the international field; $922 million interest on the national debt (largely war-derived); and $570 million for increased veterans benefits.

All other increases in the budget of 1958 over 1955 total $2.8 billion. In this figure are included salary increases for the Federal employees, substantial increases in public-assistance grants to the States (which the Congress authorized), increased retirement payments by the Government, a greatly enlarged health research program searching for the cause of the modern killers—cancer, heart, etc.—improvement of our parks and other natural resources, and all of the other things which the Government does for 170 million people. Some or all of these increases are caused by price rises.

5. Is this the highest peacetime budget?

Thankfully, not a single American today is fighting in the hills and valleys of Korea or any other faraway place. Yes, this is, in that sense, a "peacetime" budget. But the world is far from tranquil, and for the first time in our lives we are readying ourselves in advance of possible trouble in the fervent and prayerful hope that this state of readiness will prevent war.

But the cost is high. Just compare, if you will, our military and other security spending in this budget—$43 billion—with the last pre-Korean "peacetime" military and security outlay which was $13 billion. Perhaps this difference represents the determining margin which has prevented another armed aggression somewhere in the world.

Actually the 1958 expenditures projected in the President's budget are $32 billion higher than that 1950 peacetime budget. Of this total, $30 billion is in this national security item. What can we show for this enormous jump? An Army and Navy 50 percent larger. An Air Force doubled in size. In total, 2,800,000 men in uniform, their payroll being $10 billion; a military establishment scattered over the world, with 1,000 warships, 41,000 airplanes, and 6,200 installations of all types in 33 countries. The airplanes of 1958 go higher and faster and farther than their 1950 counterpart—and they cost over twice as much for a bomber and five times as much for a fighter. The submarines (nuclear now) cost twice as much, but they can stay under water almost indefinitely and they cruise under water at surface speed, 1950 style.

These are gruesome and awful facts, but they are the price of freedom in an uncertain world. And we are able to hold the military expenditures to this rate only because of a relatively small investment in assistance to our allies, through our mutual assistance program, which allows them to maintain 10 times the number of our troops, and an equal number of ships and planes.

Can these enormous outlays of money be cut down? Yes; but in the judgment of our best strategists only at the risk of encouraging an unpredictable and ambitious despotism to strike again somewhere in the world, as he did in Korea in 1950. It's a high price that we pay, but it isn't blood.

With all this, in the past 4 years as a percentage of the gross national product the Federal budget has been reduced from 20 percent to 16 percent, per capita expenditures have dropped from $469 to $416, civilian personnel is down 10 percent.

Yes; a budget is merely a plan designed to guide us toward some goal. For you in industry that goal is a salable product offered attractively to meet some need of our people, and to garner a profit. For those of us in Government that plan involves not only the healthy growth and development of our Nation and our people, but our national security and even existence as well. President Eisenhower's plan for 1958 is a sound one, a well thought out one, a sensible one, and a safe one.

Congress Should Enact H. R. 7574 to Change the Methods of Computing the Basic Pay for Members of the Armed Forces

---

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, I speak for economy. Not for the kind of economy which whittles and slices at this or that appropriation bill with hoping and longing to save a few million dollars. No. I speak for long-term continuing, self-perpetuating economy which will save many billions of dollars while at the same time paying a bonus of increased national defense.

On several occasions I have introduced legislation aimed at rectifying the compensation of the personnel of our Armed Forces. I say with determination that I intend to go on introducing such bills until we have achieved a state of equity in the realm of military pay; until we reward the members of the uniformed services with pay comparable to that received by their nonmilitary counterparts. I do not say commensurate with their value to national defense for I nor any other man can make an appraisal of the security of the United States.

Recently I introduced H. R. 7574 to change the method of computing basic pay for members of the uniformed services. Founded on the recommendations of the Defense Advisory Committee on Professional and Technical Compensation—the Cordiner Committee—the bill is aimed at instituting a modern concept of military pay and concurrently achieving the greater combat effectiveness of our defense forces.

I do not claim this as the bill to end all military pay bills or that it is the panacea for all the manpower problems of our Armed Forces. It is also not a patchwork and piecemeal approach to a problem which canont be solved in small parts but which must be treated as one inseparable whole. My bill is a beginning and a basis for us, the Members of Congress, to take the greatest step toward real economy. As the Committee Chairman, Mr. Ralph J. Cordiner, said, "We must begin somewhere to halt and reverse the inflationary trend toward ever higher costs of Government, and here, for a small initial investment, is a very promising place to start."

On May 14, 1957, President Eisenhower addressed the Nation on the size of the budget. He emphasized the gamble involved in reducing that portion which contributed to national security, and specifically to that part allotted to the Department of Defense. Relief from world tension, he said, is about the only way to reduce military spending. The statement is absolutely true when applied to the quantity and quality of arms and equipment we must have to maintain our edge of strength over the Soviet Union and international communism. But the statement is partially misleading when applied to the personnel who use those arms and equipment. Let me explain this paradox.

Today, 2,800,000 men and women make up our Armed Forces, Not all of these are engaged in supplying direct military defense for the country. Roughly 500,000 members are involved in formal training activities, while other hundreds of thousands are undergoing on-the-job training in operational units. This trainee force is a corps of amateurs in an otherwise professional organiaztion. If the time should come when our Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps were thrown into combat—and let me say that there will be little warning—those trainees would be of little or no help to the effort.

It is taking 500,000 trainees just to maintain an effective combat force and to support the services of 2.3 million. In other words, 22 percent of our personnel strength is noneffective, not combat-ready. Why is this so? Because of the high turnover rates in professional and technical skills. Because these skilled people leave the services and obtain employment with higher wages in companies working in fields related to technical military specialties. The Armed Forces are creating and maintaining an expensive training ground for industry. Not only this, but the turnover is costing the country not less than $2 billion a year.

The implications are obvious. This is a poor business practice, inefficiency. Any good businessman will tell you that a 22-percent personal loss is poor em-

ployee utilization; it is nonproductivity and waste.

One of the country's outstanding businessmen, Ralph J. Cordiner, president of General Electric, has pointed out the guidelines for not only eliminating this waste but of improving the combat effectiveness of the services as well. Our objectives, he says, are first, to offer genuine incentives in order to retain the high quality officers and enlisted men in the services and thereby second, to build a professional force.

Ours is a country of free enterprise. Here the individual citizen is our prime concern. In this democratic atmosphere our people have the opportunity to develop their talents and are free, even encouraged, to go to those jobs or positions which offer them higher pay and greater benefits.

Human motivations must be recognized. Among them patriotism is a strong force. Fortunate for the Nation, patriotism has held many of the dedicated and devoted in the Armed Forces during peacetime and given us their great leadership in time of war. Patriotism is, however, a nebulous thing, manifesting itself most frequently in times of cirsis. Cold wars do not have the impelling force of a crisis, and patriotism is pitted then against compensation.

The compensation practices in the services today are contrary to human motivations. They were adopted from the British Navy in 1812, and are as outmoded now as the 1812 navy itself. Without a doubt, those practices are the major impediment to national security.

The more of the 2.3 million trained people we can induce to remain in the services, the fewer trainees we will need to build a professional force. In fact, this professional force can be achieved only by increasing the retention rate. Expensive as it is to build and maintain, the professional force is by far the cheapest and most effective in the long run. Rather than composed of members forced by law to serve, it will be made up of career-professional members wanting to serve.

The problem in its basic form is manpower. Manpower is mindpower, brainpower. The human brain still remains the inventing and guiding force behind the machine. And never can the machine substitute for man. As one of our Air Force leaders said, "You can't build creative ability into a machine. You can't design a circuit to take the place of courage. Above all, you can't enclose dedication to freedom in a magic black box." Plainly then, our most precious national resource is our men and women.

The manpower problem, and the coordination of manpower and machines, is our most compelling concern. It is more important than providing increasing amounts of money for complex equipment because that equipment becomes only a metallic heap when trained hands are not available to use it.

This bill will provide a long-term solution to the basic manpower problems of the Armed Forces.

It will result in about a 15-percent improvement in the combat capability of the Armed Forces.

It will bring about sharp reductions in training accidents now, and in military and civilian losses in the event of war.

It will reduce the number of military personnel required to produce a given level of national security.

Finally, and significantly, it will result in savings up to $5 billion annually by 1962, in the cost of producing our present levels of combat capability.

Let me pronounce again, the purpose of the bill is to change the method of computing basic pay. Those who believe that this is nothing more than a general pay raise for military personnel have been misled by misinformation. If they see the bill as inflationary, they are incorrectly reading the label. This is a bill for readjustment pay computation. It is a bill for increased management efficiency and for savings. It is a bill for reducing the cost of defense, the largest single item in the Federal budget.

The Cordiner report upon which my proposal is based has received the approval of the Secretary of Defense, the Secretaries of the three military services, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Department of Defense has even agreed to absorb the entire cost of the program for the first year without an increase of its budget.

Failure of the Congress to act on this manpower and defense problem will have dire consequences. Those members of the armed services who have been waiting for this pay adjustment, and who have remained in service expecting it, will find no further cause to remain. Enlistments will drop sharply. Officers in large numbers will ask for release. Combat efficiency will decline with the shrinking of what we now have to a professional force.

I urge immediate action on this proposal. I ask that we not be penny wise and pound foolish, but that we recognize the long-term investment in annual savings of billions and in increased combat effectiveness. I ask that we think big and act boldly. This proposal is not limited, idealistic, or unsound. It is broad in scope, realistic, and purely economical.

The Nation's security is at stake.

An Act of Memory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very thoughtful editorial which appeared in the Chelsea Record, Chelsea, Mass., on May 29, 1957:

AN ACT OF MEMORY

As events recede into the past, they become increasingly dim. After weeks or years or decades, depending on their apparent significance, experiences that once had the freshness and color of life are hidden in the gray chambers of memory.

Down through recorded history, men have sought to halt this process of receding and dimming; they have defied the shadowy figure of time that at length engulfs all human memory. In certain bright instances, this defiance has successfully withstood the encroachment of time.

In our country, a notable example of this defiance, this refusal to let memory grow dim, is to be found in the annual celebration of Memorial Day. On this day we honor those who have died in defense of the Nation and of the principles which undergird our American way of life.

Memorial Day is a time for ceremony and for rededication. The ceremony is important because it signifies our desire to honor those who have fallen. But without rededication, in our hearts, to those principles and values for which the fallen sacrificed their lives, the ceremony becomes but an empty form.

An act of memory is demanded, a straining to remember the issues and events that dominated the life of the Nation in times of crisis. It is not enough to recall vaguely that at such a time there was a war in which men fought and suffered and died. Even at cost of inner pain, we must seek to remember what the fighting and suffering and dying were all about. Such an act of remembrance will infuse the day's ceremony with profound meaning. For all genuine commemoration of the dead must take place in the hearts of the living.

Ohio's Republican Chairman Converts Gimmicks Into Votes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Detroit News, May 28, 1957:

OHIO'S REPUBLICAN CHAIRMAN CONVERTS GIMMICKS INTO VOTES

(By Will Muller)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Republican State Chairman Raymond C. Bliss has become a political legend after turning a disintegrating Republican Party in Ohio into a winning organization. His story is the last of three by the Detroit News political analyst, showing what was done in Ohio when the two-party system of government there was threatened with total collapse.)

COLUMBUS, OHIO, May 28.—Among the storied miracle men of American politics Republican Chairman Raymond Charles Bliss, of Ohio, stands oddly alone.

As far as the record goes, he is the only politican to manage the campaigns of both a queen of the May and a United States Senator. Both won.

The Senator was the late Robert A. Taft. The name of the May queen has gracefully been left out of the record.

Her crowning caused inquisitive faculty members to question the campaign methods of a political combination at Akron University, headed by Bliss. He left school, at

the time, with instructions to send his diploma after him. The university obliged.

The incident is mentioned only to prove the best of politicians are born, being only slightly improved by a college education and later experiences.

In 1931 Bliss was a handy man at Summit County Republican headquarters. Three months later he was assistant county chairman. The university's diploma didn't reach him until 1935.

The slim, modishly dressed political leader with his snap brim hat and rimless glasses has replaced the "long cigar" conception of what an American politician looks like. Both friends and foes today credit him with recapturing Ohio from the Democrats.

When defeat-ridden party contributors literally drafted Bliss for State chairman in 1949, they knew what they hoped to get.

In 1932, Bliss had campaigned in Summit County, seat of Akron, for Dave Ingalls, running for Governor. Ingalls lost, but he carried Summit County.

YOUNGEST MEMBER

Four years later, Bliss, at 27, became the youngest member ever to serve on the Summit County Board of Elections. It was a part-time job, with a small salary, but it enabled Bliss to support a widowed mother and still stay in politics.

He was the protege of Summit County Chairman Jim Corey, known about the State as a wizard at politics. Corey died in 1941. Bliss was Summit County chairman from 1942 until he took the State job.

At only one time did Bliss falter in his loyalty to politics as a way of life. In 1948, he dropped politics for a general insurance business.

He organized Tower Agencies, Inc., at Akron, stopped talking politics and started talking insurance.

"My friends refused to believe it when I said I was through," Bliss recalls. "But I got just as immersed in the insurance business as I had been in politics. I was ready to resign as county chairman. I started going back to those clubs I belonged to and the social contacts I once had."

SWEEP IN 1948

Then came the fall election of 1948. Democrats swept every office in the State, carried Ohio for President Harry S. Truman.

Ohio Republicans turned to Bliss. He dictated his own terms. The Ohio Republican Finance Committee was to raise the money, Bliss was to spend it without obligations other than to the best interests of the party.

Bliss, a bachelor, left his mother in Akron, moved into a Columbus hotel room. He started his present political hours, 10:30 a. m. to 2:30 a. m. daily, sometimes Sunday, too.

He organized a headquarters staff. He set up a $600,000 budget for the State campaign. He established liaison with his old Ohio friend, Senator Taft, who had wanted Bliss for his own manager in 1950.

PROVIDED IDEAS

The national party had raised money for Taft outside the State. What Taft needed was ideas, and Bliss provided them.

He directed a poll of the agricultural counties, traditionally as Republican in Ohio as in Michigan. He found 150,000 unregistered voters there.

One afternoon, he was discussing the results of the poll with Joe Neuger, publisher of Here in Ohio magazine. Bliss needed a gimmick for the dragging campaign.

"Joe wondered what would happen if we polled some of the upper-crust organizations for their voting record," Bliss recalls.

"After we had a second beer, the idea sounded even better. I went home and got things underway."

FIGURES TALK

That poll showed 34.3 percent of the local medical association hadn't voted in 1948, that 31.1 percent of the local grocers and 44.5 percent of their wives weren't even registered.

"The ones who did the most beefing about how the country was run didn't seem to participate," Bliss recalls

He polled the local chamber of commerce, learned 24 percent of the members didn't vote, 17.3 percent were not even registered.

"Suddenly, the luncheon clubs, the chambers of commerce, the auto dealers, the grocers, and the medical association were in the midst of a competitive registration drive," Bliss said.

WENT IN DROVES

"Our work was being done for us. We set up a report card in triplicate, one copy to party headquarters, another to the unregistered voter, a third to his club or association. The pressure got so great that folks went to registration clerks in droves."

Bliss' gimmick qualified more Ohio voters than at any time in history.

Bliss designed a poll book, gave it to precinct workers, told them to question every resident and learn his politics. On election day, the party concentrated its efforts on getting all Republicans to the polls.

Television was relatively new. The Madison Avenue Boys—advertising experts—warned Bliss away from it as not having enough viewers.

Bliss drove his car around at night, counting aerials, and discovered neighborhood viewing groups, big audiences in bars and night clubs. Those were the people candidate Taft wanted to reach.

TAFT TAKES TO AIR

His headquarters drew up a TV program. Finance headquarters raised the money. Taft went on the air.

Bliss still has a book published by one of the Madison Avenue Boys. It credits Ohio with the most effective use of TV of any political organization in the country.

"The same pattern won't work every year," says Bliss. "This is a Barnum & Bailey business. You've got to steam up the voters with new gimmicks."

It's an old trick with Bliss. He once drew 60,000 to a Summit County Republican picnic.

They are wondering in Ohio now if Bliss will ever quit. He hasn't had a 2-week vacation since leaving college. His mother died recently, and the new home he built for her and himself is rarely seen by Ohio's chairman.

NOT INTERESTED

Bliss says he has no personal interest in elective or appointive office. He dropped all his insurance business with the State when he went back into politics.

His one recreation, if he can find a half hour of an afternoon, is to drop into a local bar for a beer and a chat with the bartender.

"If politicians ever learn about bartenders," says Bliss, "Mr. Gallup will go out of business."

To a wealthy Republican friend who took him to task for shunning the country club for the corner bar, "Ohio's best listener" offered a bit of human philosophy:

"It's there that you can hear the sidewalk vote of America talking."

Michigan Republicans, hunting a comeback trail from the political disaster that came to the party with the arrival of one G. Mennen Williams on the State scene, might wander in, too, to listen.

The Consumers Study Subcommittee Points the Need of Our Postal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, retail food prices have increased 16 percent in the past 10 years, according to the preliminary findings of the Consumers Study Subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture, and which were recently made public.

The subcommittee, and the purposes for which it was created, represent something of a departure from the scope of the Agriculture Committee's previous activities which have, pretty generally, been confined to dealing with the Nation's farm problems as such. This year, however, the constantly rising cost of living prompted the committee for the first time in its history, to take a look at the high prices of food from the consumer's angle.

The Consumers Study Subcommittee was created on March 14, 1957, to study and investigate, among other things, the reasons for the continuing spread between the retail prices city dwellers pay for what goes into their market baskets and the prices farmers receive for the foodstuffs they produce for market. And in another precedent-breaking move, let me add, also for the first time in the Agriculture Committee's history, the chairman appointed to head the new subcommittee is himself a representative of urban consumer groups. He is the Honorable VICTOR ANFUSO, Congressman from New York City's teeming Eighth District—one of the first, I believe, if not the first Member of Congress from a big city to serve on the House Agriculture Committee.

In the preliminary report of its work to date, Mr. ANFUSO's subcommittee has produced a great many thought-provoking facts, and I am confident that before its work is completed, it will have rendered an outstanding service to the Nation.

Returning to the opening statement in this column, that retail food prices have risen 16 percent in the past 10 years—a figure which I have no doubt the subcommittee will be adjusting upward with the latest statement from the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics, reporting the 14th month straight rise in consumer prices—it is, I feel, significant to note that during this same 10-year period, the average city family increased its expenditures for food by $500, or 50 percent, while farm prices were declining 14 percent.

"Of this additional family outlay," the subcommittee reports, "$400, or 80 percent, went to food processing, transportation, and distribution agencies, and

only $45 to farmers. The remainder was expended on imported foods."

Breaking this data down into specifics, the subcommittee states that—again over the 10-year period—the farm price of wheat dropped 7 percent, while retail prices of cereals and bakery products rose a staggering 34 percent.

In other words, most of what we pay for today is in the processing, packaging, and distributing of the product and not its content. For example, there is less than 3 cents' worth of farm-produced corn in a 22-cent package of corn flakes; only 4 cents' worth of wheat in a 28-cent package of soda crackers; and only 2.6 cents of wheat—at farm value—in the pound loaf of bread we purchased in 1956 at an average price of 18 cents.

Here are some other price facts culled from the report that should be of great interest to city and country housewives, alike. In 1956 the contents of the can of sweet corn or peas for which they paid a retail price of between 18 and 22 cents brought the farmer only 2 to 3 cents. A can of tomatoes—staple commodity on most housewives' shelves, as it is on mine—which retailed for 15 cents, had only 2.3 cents' worth of tomatoes in it.

I am greatly concerned with these facts and figures because of legislation which is presently pending in the Congress to grant cost-of-living pay increases to postal employees and other Federal classified employees. Bills have also been introduced, although no action has been scheduled on them, to increase the minimum social-security retirement benefits of older citizens who now average between $30 and $40 a month.

The average city family spent about $1,500 for food in 1956 compared with $1,100 in 1950 when, according to a Bureau of Labor Statistics survey taken at that time, the income before taxes of the average city wage and clerical worker's family was $4,332. Most of the families interviewed in this 1950 survey spent more than their incomes in that year.

Today in West Virginia, the average take-home pay of a top-grade regular clerk in the post office is about $3,800, after deduction for taxes, retirement and life insurance. With the slightly more than $1,500—because of rising prices—that this worker would spend, on the average, for food for his family in 1957, this would leave him approximately $2,300 to take care of all other living expenses—rent and repairs, clothing, medical and dental care, group hospitalization, transportation, recreation and something put aside for the future education of his children. Obviously, this worker cannot get by economically without going heavily into debt, taking a part-time outside job or having his wife work to help eke out the family income.

As for our older citizens living on retirement pittances of $30 to $40 per month, it is clear that they cannot hope to maintain even the most substandard existences without outside aid—either from grown children, hard-pressed and with families of their own to support—or through public assistance.

Both of these groups stand in dire need of economic help—in the form of pay raises for our postal employees and of an increase in the minimum benefits paid to our older citizens covered by the old-age and survivors insurance program. It is my intention to remind the Congress of this inescapable fact at every possible opportunity—until something is done about it.

Large Importation of Woolen Textiles Harmful to the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of mine at the hearing conducted by the Office of Defense Mobilization on the effect of the importation of woolen textiles upon the American woolen industry and the threat to national security:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., May 29, 1957.

Mr. CHARLES H. KENDALL,
General Counsel,
Office of Defense Mobilization,
Executive Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. KENDALL: I have the honor to submit my views for the record of the hearing being held on June 3 by the Office of Defense Mobilization concerning the effect of woolen textile importations on the woolen industry in the United States and the threat of these importations to our national security needs.

The woolen textile industry in the United States of America has been one of our national basic industries. It is an industry not only of importance within the general national economy, but also of tremendous importance in the Nation's national defense. Since World War II the contraction of the woolen textile industry in the United States has been so great it has presently reached a point of strategic seriousness in regard to just how long the industry might continue to survive and how long and how adequately it can be of service to our military forces in the requirements of national defense.

I am particularly interested in this alarming situation because almost 50 percent of the woolen and worsted spindles in the United States are located in the New England States. Although there are woolen textile plants in over 30 States of the Union, the industry is largely concentrated in the New England area. For many years it has been one of the backbone industries of the New England economy.

In the decade 1946–56, production in the woolen textile industry in New England has declined over 40 percent. Employment has declined approximately 50 percent. In Massachusetts, and particularly in the Fifth Congressional District which I have the honor to represent in Congress, the constant, continuing liquidation of woolen textile industries has been taking place at a tragic and serious pace. In the daily newspapers of Boston, Lawrence, Andover, and Lowell advertisements of auction sales, of woolen machinery and equipment and mill liquidations are constantly appearing. I need only mention the great Shawsheen Mills in Andover, Mass., one of the finest woolen textile plants in the world, which was liquidated at public auction. There are the Wood and Ayer Mills of Lawrence, Mass., and many others. Hardly a week passes but there is an advertisement in the Boston papers advertising the sale of modern textile machinery and equipment. At the present rapidity of liquidation, the woolen textile industry in the New England area certainly cannot long endure.

This is an appalling and shocking situation, and it deserves the most careful examination. The causes of this situation must be found and pinpointed, and eliminated. In my view it is the duty of the Government of the United States to protect completely our national economy, and this cannot be accomplished unless the basic industries of America receive the support of their own Government.

According to my information, the principal cause threatening the woolen textile industry of the United States, and particularly in New England, is the overwhelming increase in the importation of woolen yarns and woolen woven fabrics. Within the last 10 years, the importation of woolen fabrics has increased over 700 percent and the same is approximately true of the importation of woolen yarns. The principal countries from which these importations take place are Great Britain, Japan, Italy, France, and Belgium. It is very easy to understand that these nations having a vastly lower wage pay schedule in their mills than the wage scale paid in the mills of the United States, and particularly New England, have a tremendous advantage over the industry in the United States in the American market. This advantage is due to the fact that the present tariff schedule does not offer sufficient protection to close the wage gap existing between these foreign industries and those here in America. This difference in the cost of production, which is not made up and leveled off by the present United States tariffs, I say is the major cause for the failure of the American woolen industry to compete in their own national market.

Now here in America we are proud of the American standard of living. We are proud of the fact that people in America enjoy much that makes life easier in this land of freedom. Our officials and leaders are constantly saying to the American people that the best ways and means should be constantly devised and developed not only to maintain this marvelous standard of living but to constantly increase and constantly better it and constantly make it available to more and more and more of the American people. I ask you how this can be done and at the same time subject a great basic industry such as the American woolen industry to the underpaid, yes, and underfed and ill-housed populations of foreign countries. How can this American standard of living be preserved and increased with unprotected competition of this kind. It is impossible to do it without adequate protection and every high-school student is sufficiently mature to understand this simple principle of economics.

You can't have your cake and eat it, too. I realize that is a rather trite phrase, but it certainly is completely true in this case. You cannot hold up America to the world as the land of freedom and opportunity, possessing the highest standard of living, and at the same time be undercutting this standard of living with procedures and methods the eventual effect of which would be to make life in America the same as it is in those foreign lands where life means only existence. In all of those countries constituting the principal competitors threatening the American woolen textile industry, the workers and the people are striving to immigrate to America, the land of opportunity. How long can this take place?

The answer to this question depends entirely upon the protection of American econ-

omy. In the practical operation of the Trade Agreements Act sufficient precaution must be taken to see to it that the American economy is protected to the extent at least that the American standard of living can be maintained. If the American standard cannot be maintained on a solid basis under the Trade Agreements Act, then certainly there is no other choice for the Congress of the United States but repeal of the Trade Agreements Act. As a nation, the United States of America and its people cannot be expected to give and give and give its billions and substance for the welfare of foreign nations and at the same time have the national economy threatened and thousands and thousands of jobs liquidated for the American people whose tax money is financing the giving. This is inconsistency of a serious nature. This is subjecting the American people to an impossible situation which cannot long continue.

In these times the United States of America is the bulwark of freedom in the world. This freedom is constantly being attacked by the Communist nations with all of their power and forces. The nations of the free world depend upon the United States for protection and for their survival. To fulfill this great and grave responsibility, the national economy of the United States must first of all be completely and adequately protected. The military forces of the United States must possess every requirement and every need to do their job. The military forces of the United States, just as much as they are dependent upon airplane industries, important as they are, are dependent upon the woolen textile industry. Soldiers, airmen, and seamen must be protected against all kinds of climatic conditions. Their requirement is woolen textiles, woolen fabrics of every description, and even woolen textiles in certain types of defense mechanisms. The military forces of the United States are just as dependent upon the woolen textile industry of this country as they are upon those industries which provide the ammunition and mechanics for victory.

It is to be remembered and to be noted that it is presently the strength of the military forces of the United States which makes peace possible. So, both in peace and in war, American responsibilities as the bulwark of freedom are very gravely dependent upon the American woolen textile industry.

In view of the significance of this problem, and in view of the rapid decline of the woolen industry in the United States, I plead and urge the leaders in the Office of Defense Mobilization to take whatever steps that are open to them to provide adequate protection for the woolen textile industry of America. I urge you to consider that your first duty is to the welfare of our own country. It is perfectly obvious to anyone that when a great industry such as the American woolen textile industry is being forced to liquidate as rapidly as it is, that something very vital and serious is wrong. These wrongs must be discovered. These wrongs must be made right. The strength and power of your country and mine must come first if freedom is to continue, if life as we know it is to survive. This great bulwark of freedom, devised by man for the benefit of man, must prevail. To do so, its sinews of industry, of quality of living, and spirit cannot be weakened.

Protective action for the woolen textile industry of America is needed immediately. I urge you with all the force at my command not to postpone this action until it is too late.

EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
Member of Congress.

Protect Our Workers Against Further Intrusion by Foreign Fuel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, the coal industry has been bludgeoned by unfair competition from international oil companies for the past 10 years. Since 1947 more than a billion barrels of foreign residual oil—the equivalent of 275 million tons of bituminous coal—have entered America's fuel markets.

To communities of West Virginia and other coal-producing States, this deluge has brought needless destitution and despair. More than 250 million manhours of work have been lost—never to be regained—for coal miners alone. Consequent unemployment in the railroad industry has also been staggering. American families have been forced to survive without many of the necessities of life. In this period of aggression on the part of international oil shippers, many children have grown to adolescence without proper nourishment—a deficiency that in many cases can never be remedied. Young men and women have been deprived of an opportunity for higher education because their fathers had to suffer the ignominy of idleness in order that rich international oil companies might get richer.

We in Congress who are familiar with this situation have pleaded in vain that the prayers of our people may be heard by responsible officials in the executive department. We were given some hope 2 years ago when a Presidenial Advisory Committee took cognizance of the danger inherent in excessive oil imports. Unfortunately, there has been no enforcement of the recommendations thus submitted by the committee and later included as the national defense amendment to the Extension of the Trade Agreements Act. Residual oil continues to sweep onto our shores in whatever volumes the shipping companies choose to send.

The President recently ordered the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization to take action toward reducing import levels, yet we have no actual assurance that a cutback in imports will be insisted upon. Furthermore, the White House directive did not specify that residual oil should receive specific consideration in the import matter. Unless this product is categorized apart from crude and imports in general, it would be possible for the shippers to make up a preponderant portion of their import allowables with residual oil; for that matter, if a total of a million barrels per day of crude and products were permitted to come in, there would be nothing to stop the shippers—unless the ODM rules otherwise—from increasing their residual oil import schedules to 366 million barrels per year.

While the coal industry is forced to operate in an atmosphere of insecurity that will prevail so long as the extension of the violation of its markets is to be determined by the whims of international oil executives, still another threat is forming from outside our borders. A group of international financiers is now striving to encroach anew upon the coal industry and the people who depend upon it for a living.

Mr. Speaker, I refer to the applications now before the Federal Power Commission for bringing natural gas from Canada into Midwest markets being served by coal from West Virginia and other Appalachian areas. Our people do not understand why the United States Government should permit world fuel merchants to flimflam them out of their means of livelihood. In the past several weeks I have spoken with coal producers and mine union representatives about the problems confronting us. I have told them frankly that I feel Congress has been negligent in not making it clear to the Federal Power Commission that it is obligatory upon the Commission to reject applications for bringing natural gas across our borders when such imports would be inimical to the general welfare. While to me it is inconceivable that the Commission would approve applications which would inevitably result in layoffs for a great number of American workers, it is nevertheless our duty as Members of Congress to make certain that the Commission understands its duty in this respect.

Earlier I mentioned that many sons and daughters of coal miners have been deprived of college educations because their fathers' paychecks stopped coming in when residual oil imports began to flood American markets. Can this Government permit a repetition of this situation by approving this promotional scheme which will benefit most those few people who expect to make a financial killing through the Canada-United States pipeline? I have been to many high school graduations. I think that most of us adults share similar emotions as our young men and women consummate more than a decade of scholastic training by participating in the traditional ceremonies that mark the termination of a high school career. We recognize that the ceremonies are a tribute to a meritorious achievement of those young people, but at the same time we—better than they—are mindful of the responsibilities that lie ahead. For those children who aspire to additional learning but realize that the roads to colleges and universities are closed to them because their parents are unable to pay the way, graduation day's joys are tempered with dismay and frustration. This outlook is in prospect for many boys and girls who will be graduating in West Virginia and other coal-producing States in the days immediately ahead. For the FPC to allow further destruction of the labor market in those States would be to

add immeasurably to the woes of those young people and their families.

Now let us consider the situation of some of the promoters of the plan to bring natural gas across our border and at the same time debilitate the employment capacity of the coal industry and of the railroads which are accustomed to carrying this fuel to market. Let me quote a portion of a news dispatch from Timmins, Ontario, that appeared in the Toronto Daily News of May 11, 1957, in its reference to an address by a member of the Conservative Commonwealth Federation:

M. J. Coldwell, CCF leader, last night kicked off a national campaign in this gold-mining city with a charge that United States promoters of the Trans-Canada pipeline have already harvested more than $26 million in profits.

"And this before a single cubic foot of natural gas has been moved through the pipeline; indeed, before the pipeline has ever been completed," he remarked.

Two Canadian officials of Trans-Canada alone * * * would make more than $1 million each, as a result of Trans-Canada stock options, the CCF leader charged.

Mr. Speaker, I of course cannot vouch for the authenticity of this statement. There has been, however, so much criticism about the financing of the pipeline project that I question whether it would be either moral or practical for the FPC to agree to allow this proposed invasion of United States markets. On March 27, 1957, the Stratford, Ontario, Beacon Herald printed an editorial which began this way:

Who says there are no more success stories?

Consider the case of Mr. Nathan Tanner, of Alberta, and of Mr. Charles Coates, of Texas.

Mr. Tanner, president of Trans-Canada Pipe Lines, Ltd., took up an option on 55,000 shares of Trans-Canada at $8 a share, and Mr. Coates, vice president of Trans-Canada, an option on 50,000 shares.

On a recent Friday Mr. Tanner's and Mr. Coates' Trans-Canada shares were selling at $24.

Nice work, if you can get it.

I ask whether it would be moral to approve of a United States connection with the Trans-Canada pipeline because it seems to me that there is too greatly a disparity between the financial and economic positions of our coal miners and the pipeline promoters to permit further enrichment of the latter at the expense of the former. I ask whether it would be reasonable and practical to allow this pipeline to oust coal and oil from the Midwest markets that they have established and have come to depend upon. If there is already so much debate in Canada about the financing of this project, who is to say that—once it were established and our markets were to depend upon it—there would not be a tendency to raise drastically the price of the gas or even to put an enormous tax upon it as a means of replenishing what reportedly has already been lost to the Canadian public because of the manner in which it has been promoted?

Mr. Speaker, I do hope that the FPC will reject the applications for bringing Canadian gas into these markets if the evidence in the case indicates that American interests may be adversely affected by the Canadian gas proposals. An indication of the serious public questions involved in this case is indicated by the fact that the applications for Canadian gas are being protested by the following:

National Coal Association.
United Mine Workers of America.
Fuels Research Council, Inc.
Anthracite Institute.
Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co.
Maher Coal Bureau.
Midwest Coal Producers Institute, Inc.
Truax-Traer Coal Co.
Baukol-Noonan, Inc.
Dakota Collieries Co.

Meanwhile I believe it would be judicious and humane on our part to make whatever revisions are necessary in the Natural Gas Act to be sure that our men, women and children in coal-mining communities will not be exposed additionally to a predatory foreign fuel.

The Cold War: Are We Losing the Battle for Men's Minds?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by the Honorable Salvador de Madariaga, one of the truly great democrats and scholars of this age. An outstanding historian, Mr. de Madariaga has been very critical of American policy for being too "soft" on Soviet aggression. He was the first voice in Europe to come out openly against the so-called spirit of Geneva. I earnestly commend his statement to the attention of my colleagues:

The chief features of the world situation today seem to me to be the internal weakness and external advance of the Soviet Union, and the internal strength and external receding of the United States. This has been illustrated by recent events both in Egypt and in Hungary.

Since the days of the Marshall plan, when the prestige and moral force of the United States were at their peak, these two great assets of the free world have been steadily declining.

The future of the free world and therefore that of civilization require that the United States should maintain and even increase its moral force, its prestige and the friendship and good will of all free nations as well as of the peoples of the nations that are not free.

This in its turn requires that the peoples of the world, whether living in free societies or under totalitarian or dictatorial rules, should believe in the word of the United States.

For all these reasons it is essential to remove the doubts harbored in the world about the attitude of the United States toward pacts and alliances with dictators and police states, whether of the so-called right or of the so-called left.

Too many dictators and military rulers appear to be able to boast of enjoying the friendship and backing of the Government of the United States.

The requirements of defense are sometimes mentioned in this connection. But the invention of the H-bomb and the access of the masses of the world to a say and a share in the shaping of world affairs make it more imperative for the side who would win to count and rely on the heartfelt backing of world public opinion. In other words, the cold war is a fact while the hot war is but a possibility. Therefore, nothing should be done which, in order to make more likely a victory in a possible future hot war, would imply a defeat in the present and actual cold war. The West may be winning hot-war bases at the expense of its own very moral basis for the cold war.

Wool-Textile Imports Weaken a Basic American Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my statement at the hearings which began today at the General Services auditorium, under the auspices of the Office of Defense Mobilization, on petition by the National Association of Wool Manufacturers on alleged "threat to national security presented by wool-textile imports."

The statement follows:

WOOL TEXTILE IMPORTS WEAKEN A BASIC AMERICAN INDUSTRY

(Statement of Congressman THOMAS J. LANE, Democrat, of Massachusetts, at the hearings beginning June 3, 1957, General Services auditorium, under auspices of the Office of Defense Mobilization, on petition by the National Association of Wool Manufacturers on alleged threat to national security presented by wool textile imports)

Mr. Chairman, the textile industry as a whole, has been suffering from many complications since the end of World War II. The woolen-worsted section of that industry is actually fighting for its very existence, due to the added danger of foreign imports.

It is an astonishing and disturbing fact that the Federal Government, under international trade agreements, is making it more difficult for this industry to survive.

Repeatedly we must hammer home the following official statistics, in order to awaken responsible agencies of the Government, so that effective steps will be taken to protect this vital industry.

In New England alone, from 1949 through 1957, 145 woolen and worsted mills have liquidated, displacing over 65,000 skilled operatives.

As most of these workers have had to establish themselves in other industries, their special skill in textiles have been lost to the industry and to the Nation, in the event of an emergency.

Of the various factors, regional competition within the United States was once thought to be the principal one that forced many older woolen and worsted textile mills in New England to go out of business.

Unnoticed for some time, was the growing volume of foreign competition.

In 1951, imports of wool yarn from Japan were none. By 1956, they had reached a total of 1 million pounds for that year.

Since 1948, when cloth tariffs were slashed, imports of woven woolen cloth from Britain, Japan, Italy, France, and other sources, in-

creased by over 25 million yards. From 1946 to 1956, these imports jumped 738 percent.

Corporate net income after taxes, of the wool textile industry in the United States, dropped from $82 million in 1946, to a loss of $7 million in 1952.

On the basis of the three-fourths of a man-hour per yard needed to produce 16 ounces of Army serge, British manufacturers can produce it for 82 cents per yard less, and the Japanese for $1.10 per yard less. This startling wage gap receives no protection from our export-import policies. Without such protection, our manufacturers and workers cannot possibly compete with imports, even right here in our own home market.

This unfair competition is forcing more and more of our mills out of business, and is preventing the remainder from expanding or even modernizing the plant and equipment that would be called upon for extra duty if a military emergency should arise.

In 1942, output for the military alone was three-fourths of the total production in 1956. The reserve capacity of the industry is lower than it ever has been, in relation to our growing population.

Official indifference to the problems of the industry has resulted in the present dangerous situation where the mobilization needs for essential wool textiles would probably exceed our capacity to produce. Technological progress along other lines has not replaced the Nation's dependence upon a woolen and worsted industry located within the United States, to provide an adequate supply of clothing for its civilian population and its defense forces.

The embattled wool textile industry is not looking for any handouts. It only seeks protection to insure fair competition.

Is this too much to ask, when its very existence depends upon action by the Government to halt the flood of imports?

The threat is present, and it is serious. It materially affects our national security.

We therefore ask the Office of Defense Mobilization to advise the President of the danger, and recommend adjustments by him to reduce wool textile imports, to protect a basic and strategic American industry.

Twenty-sixth Annual Americanization Day Celebration at Pershing Field, Jersey City, N. J., on April 28, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is always a pleasure to hear from our beloved friend and former colleague, the Honorable Edward J. Hart of the 14th District of New Jersey and to abide by his request. Ed is now president of the department of public utilities of the State of New Jersey.

In his recent letter to me on the celebration of Americanization Day in Pershing Field on April 28, 1957, Mr. Hart writes:

I have never missed the celebration throughout the many years it has been conducted, and when in the House, made it a practice to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an account of the celebration at the field and a mention of the great parade which is held in connection with it.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, included herein is an account of the Americanization Day celebration at Pershing Field this year. The account is in five parts: the letter from Congressman Hart; an address by the commander of the New Jersey National Guard, Maj. Gen. James F. Cantwell; an address by Mr. Harlan W. Barnes, national commander, Veterans of World War I; an address by Mr. Dominic L. Strada, national commander, Amvets; and a program of the proceedings by the Captain C. E. Fisk Post, No. 132, with its theme, "Loyalty Means Liberty":

STATE OF NEW JERSEY,
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC UTILITIES,
May 20, 1957.

Hon. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR AL: You will remember that the annual Americanization Day celebration took place this year at Pershing Field in Jersey City on April 28. I have never missed this celebration throughout the many years it has been conducted and when in the House, made it a practice to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an account of the celebration at the field and a mention of the great parade which is held in connection with it. Invariably the national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars was the chief speaker on this occasion and I managed to obtain from him a manuscript of the speech which he delivered and included it in the insertion of my remarks.

This year both you and Congressman DELLAY were on the program to deliver addresses at Pershing Field. You did not appear nor did Congressman DELLAY and in your absence I volunteered to endeavor to have a description of the parade and ceremonies inserted in the RECORD and also some of the addresses that were delivered. I think it would be a helpful thing from more than one angle if you were to undertake this insertion.

I would have written you sooner except for the fact that for the first time in the history of the celebration to my recollection, it was not possible this year for the national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars to appear. In his place, however, the vice commander and chief of that organization, Mr. John W. Mahan, of Colorado, appeared, but since he did not have a manuscript with him I asked him to send me one which he promised to do. Waiting for this manuscript has been the cause of the delay in writing you concerning this great event. I have not received any from him as yet but have concluded that it is not practicable to wait on him any longer. I do, however, have a set of manuscripts of addresses delivered by Maj. Gen. James F. Cantwell of the New Jersey National Guard, Mr. Harlan W. Barnes, National Commander Veterans of World War I, and Dominick L. Strada, national commander Amvets, who lives in west New York. The parade itself was a huge demonstration of loyalty to American principles and consisted of four divisions. The grand marshal was Lt. Col. John P. Carbin, Jr., antiaircraft artillery coordinator, State of New Jersey, Department of Defense. Mayor Berry delivered the welcoming address and a special feature of the occasion was the appearance of Governor and Mrs. Robert B. Meyner. The Governor has attended each of these celebrations ever since he became chief executive and spoke at them all. Other addresses were delivered by Brig. Gen. Daniel deBrier, commander, 9072 Air Reserve Group; Charles Kinney, department commander, New Jersey Veterans of Foreign Wars, Frances Totora, president, Department of New Jersey Veterans Foreign Wars Ladies' Auxiliary, and the invocation and benediction were in the hands of Rev. Abram Pepling, Second Reformed Church of Jersey City. A prayer was also delivered by Rabbi A. L. Gottesman, Congregation Beth David of Jersey City. To keep the record straight, I myself for the 26th time delivered an address.

I am sure that the Captain C. E. Fisk Post No. 132, Veterans of Foreign Wars, would much appreciate your having an account of this celebration inserted in the RECORD and I would suggest, if I may, that copies thereof be sent also to those, the manuscripts of whose speeches I here enclose.

With warm regards and hoping that your leg is back in good condition so that you will be able to pound out a victory for the Democrats in the ocming campaign, and hoping to see you soon.

Sincerely,

EDWARD J. HART.

AMERICANIZATION DAY ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. JAMES E. CANTWELL AT JERSEY CITY, N. J., APRIL 28, 1957

Governor Meyner, Mayor Berry, reverend clergy, the people of this great city are, for the 26th time, giving a public testimonial of their faith in the American ideal of liberty.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars, with the active cooperation of the city government and many civic minded citizens, have given us this opportunity to declare to the world that the meaning of American has not changed: that we are a free people; that we choose our own destiny and build our lives, our communities, in accordance with the highest principles of self-government.

Ours is a representative democracy. This democracy works because individuals and groups help to make it work; and, under it, political and economic freedom are ever moving forward to greater accomplishments.

But, democracy is, and must be, more than a form of government.

It is a way of life: the why of life of each individual, who works together with other individuals to get better government, and a progressive and more prosperous community.

Democracy is the individual who contributes to his community chest and his religious charities so that all in the community may share in the good things of life.

In democracy we see individuals working through the community for the greatest good of all.

I read with interest the motto of this celebration on the printed program. That motto, Loyalty Means Liberty, is brief in words but long and deep in meaning.

We Americans have much to be loyal to. The whole spirit and essence of our democracy is defined in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. And we are loyal to these principles.

We are loyal to the equality of all men, endowed with equal rights, theirs by natural right.

We practice loyalty to our form of government by performing our duties of citizenship; going to the polls; voting for the best candidates; and obeying the laws made by our representatives.

Loyalty is respect for our American institutions and for all men.

From the practice of this loyalty comes liberty. Liberty as we understand it.

For us, liberty is the freedom to control our own affairs by working together for the greatest good of all.

The essence of American liberty is that government derives its authority from us, the people; and, through the government, we control our affairs and our freedoms.

Now we have often heard that vigilance is the price of liberty. The experience of the many countries which have fallen captive to aggressors proves the truth of this saying.

We Americans do practice vigilance, we do protect our American way of life. But, in these dangerous times, a more positive effort is necessary.

In the first place we can and do safeguard our liberties through a spirit of cooperation. It is in this spirit that we recognize the dignity and worth of all individuals, and their ability to govern themselves.

Another way to exercise vigilance is "To know." The educated population will not lose freedom by default. This process of knowledge starts with ourt schools. It contains also information received from other sources of knowledge; the newspapers, books, radio, and television.

We must know something about the machinery of government, economic and social conditions in the Nation, and the country's relations with the rest of the world.

Only with this knowledge can we help to guide the course taken by our communities and country.

With a willingness to cooperate with each other, and armed with knowledge, we are prepared to take positive action for our public welfare.

This action takes two forms. One is that which I have already mentioned, namely, exercising our greatest right of citizenship at the polls. It is a shameful fact of our democracy that barely half of all eligible voters go to the polls.

Let's face the truth: the reasons for nonvoting in most cases are indifference, laziness and lack of a sense of responsibility.

If we are to have a truly representative Government, then all must express their preferences at the polls.

Liberty and freedom, expressed and practiced in our Democracy cost money. Sometimes the cost of freedom is more than just money. The thousands of Americans who have died in our wars are proof of this. But, let us consider only those costs which we, as free citizens, must bear to maintain our free Government and institutions.

These costs are paid by taxes. But then, what would our country be like if no one had to pay taxes?

There would be no public schools; only the rich could then afford an education.

There would be no public water supply. Each of us would be required to dig wells. As we look around us in this great city, we see how impractical this would be. Indeed, it would be impossible.

There would be no sewage and garbage disposal. Our country has been singularly free from epidemics because we, the people, have paid for the best sanitation system in the world.

There would be no police protection, no courts to try criminals and no jails in which to confine them. And—no protection for property.

Our beautiful roads and highways would, without taxes, still be rutted, narrow dirt lanes. There would be no bridges, airports or seaports.

And, without taxes, there would be no welfare for the handicapped, the old and the indigent.

If, in these troubled times of international tension, our country were not safeguarded by adequate Armed Forces, our property, our lives, our freedoms would soon become prey to the totalitarian aggressors who would make us slaves in a godless political system. Remember always that our taxes maintain our strength and have made our country the world leader in this war of freedom.

From its foundation, our country was committed and dedicated to democracy and freedom. It is this democracy which helps to unfold the richness and goodness of human society.

We Americans are dedicated to the work of liberty, a work which must be a persistent effort of cooperation, because freedom does not come easily. And freedom is the responsibility of the individual.

If we do not take a continuous and active part in public life, there can be no true democracy. The most important job in this country, therefore, is that of being a good citizen.

This great city of Jersey City exemplifies the story of our country. We have in this city a mixture of races, religions, and cultures. This city reflects the genius and labors of men and women who came to these shores from all corners of the world.

And here, united in the single faith of democracy, individual dignity and worth, they became Americans. They assumed the deepest obligations which came with the opportunities they found.

Our late, great President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, speaking of these people, said:

"They came to us speaking many tongues—but a single language—the universal language of human aspiration.

"How well their hopes were justified is proved by the record of what they achieved. They not only found freedom in the new world, but by their effort and devotion, they made the new world's freedom safer, richer, more far reaching, more capable of growth."

This, then, is our heritage: "Loyalty and liberty."

We must not endanger that heritage by indifference, complacency, and reluctance to keep up with the needs of a progressive society.

That heritage is great indeed, but we must build on it, we must make it greater, because we must pass it on to our heirs.

Democracy must ever grow. It cannot remain static, for to do so it would wither and die.

Let not future Americans say that our Demcracy started to lose its vigor and its idealism in this century.

"You and I," to quote Justice Frankfurter, "are heirs of a noble past. But * * * what's past is prologue, what is to come, is your and my discharge."

SPEECH BY HARLAN W. BARNES, NATIONAL COMMANDER, VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I OF THE UNITED STATES, GIVEN AT THE JERSEY CITY AMERICANIZATION PARADE, APRIL 28, 1957, AT PERSHING FIELD, JERSEY CITY, N. J.

I thank you for the privilege of speaking to you and feel I should talk about those things that are dear and nearest to my heart, the Veterans of World War I of these United States of America. I hope you will forgive me for reminiscing for a little bit.

A question that fishes back into my mind a great many times is, "How great is our country's debt to the men who laid their lives on the line in 1917–18, the men who stopped the enemy, who drove them back, who turned defeat into victory? They offered themselves as a living sacrifice, to die if need be, to win at any cost that America might live and the world made safe for democracy. That is literally.

John McCrae's poem, In Flanders Fields, has lived through the years and has been repeated on many occasions, and you may recall the first line of the second stanza. It begins, "We are the dead."

The dead spoke to the living, and we were the living. We caught the torch from failing hands, we held it high, we kept faith with those who died.

Today I speak for the living. I stand alone before you, but as national commander of the Veterans of World War I of the United States, I represent 100,000 members of 900 barracks in the United States. And I speak for 2,995,000 living American veterans of World War I. My strength is the strength of 2,995,000 veterans.

I wish to recall to your memory a poem written by Louis Untermeyer about World War I. The title is "Reveille," and I quote:

"Summoned by a supreme and confident power
That wakes our sleeping courage like a blow,
We rise, half shaken, to the challenging hour.
And answer it—and go."

And go we did. And when it was all over, over there, we came marching home again. A grateful nation gave us a hearty welcome then, the men cheered, the boys shouted, the ladies all turned out, and they all felt gay when we came home. There were reception committees, parades, speeches. We were heroes for a day—but only for a day.

We were quickly forgotten in the roaring twenties, submerged in the depth of the great depression in the thirties and swallowed up by the Second World War in the forties. Unnoticed excepting by those who cared, the First World War and the surviving veterans receded into the past and, instead of a living memory, existed only in a paragraph or two or possibly a page in a school history book.

Forgotten war, forgotten men. Who remembers Armistice Day? Who appreciates the meaning of the hour of 11 a. m., November 11, 1918? We remember because we were there.

I well recall a number of posters throughout the land of ours which showed Uncle Sam pointing his finger directly at us, and the words, "Uncle Sam needs you." We were young and strong and we were taught to love our country as a man loves his mother and father. We did not ask the reason why because we said to ourselves, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man offer his life for his coutnry."

Forty years have gone by and we have reached the age when many of us must turn to our Uncle Sam and say, "Uncle Sam, we need you."

I have been speaking of the living, and time is running out. For us the hour is getting late, perhaps later than we think. So please do not forget us in our hour of need, the veterans of World War I of the United States of America.

ADDRESS BY DOMINIC L. STRADA, NATIONAL COMMANDER, AMVETS

Days such as today, I believe, are a good time to stop for a moment and spend a little time thinking about the purpose behind them.

We have many great days which we celebrate throughout the year. Days which are honored because of their significance in the history of our Nation.

And we set aside other days for occasions like this to serve as reminders each year of what our heritage is and what our future can be. I am honored to be invited to share the platform with my neighbor, Joe Burke, the national commander of a great veterans' organization, the Disabled American Veterans on a program sponsored by still another fine veterans group, the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Americanization Day reminds me that being an American brought me an invitation. It wasn't an exclusive invitation by any means * * * about 140 million people have received the same one.

I am speaking of the invitation given to us by right of our citizenship to participate actively in our democracy. It is an invitation which some Americans have passed by.

But those who do accept can take part in the vital and exciting business of shaping their own future in their community, in their State, and in our Nation. Only in free

nations have we citizens this great opportunity.

Participating in government is a privilege and a right guaranteed to us by our Constitution. We should remember that with every right there is a responsibility to accompany it.

Our responsibility here is to exercise the right of governing ourselves. This right or privilege is like a muscle in our bodies. It must be exercised to remain strong. If we neglect it or ignore it, that muscle will lose its strength. It will be of no use to us when and if we should need it.

We have an additional responsibility in this respect. We must use our right of self-government intelligently. We can best do that by making ourselves well-informed on the issues that affect us. By asking questions and finding out the answers, we learn the facts that will help us make a wise decision. If we are uninformed we will lack the capacity to decide the best action to take on matters that may have an important effect on future events.

It is the uninformed people who are most easily controlled. History shows us that the first thing that dictators do when they come to power is to seize and hold all possible sources of knowledge. Then they can spread their poison, knowing that the people will never learn the truth.

Certainly it takes time and trouble to search out the facts, to study and listen enough to form an intelligent opinion. But isn't freedom worth it?

We can use our knowledge to make our wishes known by using your right to vote or by just using the mailbox to let your elected representatives know how you feel.

Senator COTTON, of New Hampshire, made this point very clear recently when he said, "No king ever wielded a scepter more powerful than a 5-cent pencil in the hands of an American citizen when he sits down to write to his Congressman or Senator." And the same thing is true for anyone holding public office. They are responsible to the citizens. It is our duty to make our wishes known to them. It is one of the most important rights granted to those of us rejoicing in American citizenship.

I would also like to urge your participation in another form of good citizenship. That is by taking an interest in the work and perhaps joining some of the civic organizations that exist in your community.

It has been said that Americans are the most organized people in the world and that we are a Nation of joiners. I suppose it's true. There does seem to be a club or association for almost every known purpose one can imagine. But each of them performs some useful function.

We have learned that more can be accomplished through an organized effort than by people working alone. I suppose that is why we place a premium on teamwork. We know that by working together for a common cause we can get much more done than if we each went our own way.

Each one of us has something in which we are particularly interested. By joining others with the same interests we can make progress toward our goals. We can make our position clear with the strength of many behind us. It is the organized effort of free peoples working together that brings results. It can be said that this is part of the American way of life.

I imagine that all of us have heard that phrase, "The American way of life," many times. And I would guess that there has been some puzzling over the many definitions given to it. There are many ways of defining the American way because it means something different to each of us.

Actually there is no single definition. It is like religion or like love. It means different things to different people.

I believe that the moment we accept one, single definition for the American way of life, or for what is Americanism, we are in danger. That would mean that everyone's thinking about their country had been forced into a single mold. And that would be the exact opposite of the purposes of our democracy. We prize individual thinking and individual liberty. And we should also prize and respect each individual's thoughts on Americanism.

If any general definition is offered of this term, I would like to suggest that it should include the thoughts that Americanism is love of our country and a desire to see it preserved, strengthened and improved in every way.

I spoke earlier of the need to seek information and answers. All of us are free to do it. It is this freedom to search for knowledge and understanding that I think is one of our best ways of preserving our Nation as we know it today.

I look on the knowledge of the history of our country and its great heritage of ideas and documents regarding the freedom of the individual as protective armor in the cold war in which we are now engaged.

This cold war is a struggle of rival ideas. The battlefield is within men's minds throughout the free and captive world. We can repel foreign and subversive ideas with a strong knowledge of what our Nation stands for.

Too often we have heard of Americans accepting the most outrageous lies about our country and its actions circulated by our enemies. If they had taken the trouble to learn the truth themselves they would have known full well what was fact and what was false.

But if they won't take the trouble to learn, and there are many who will not, then it is up to us to strengthen ourselves and pass along that strength to all others.

Let us remember that power lies within each one of us. It is a power that is as important to the defense of our Nation as anti-aircraft batteries and rockets and planes. That power is a belief and appreciation of what this Nation means to us.

Let us develop this power, this inner strength, through knowledge and understanding. If we know the things that have made our Nation great, then all of us have made a genuine contribution to making it even greater in the future.

TWENTY-SIXTH AMERICANIZATION DAY CELEBRATION, JERSEY CITY, N. J., 1931–57, SPONSORED BY CAPTAIN C. E. FISK POST, NO. 132, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES, IN COOPERATION WITH THE CITY OF JERSEY CITY

"Loyalty means liberty."

PARADE ORDER, SUNDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 28, 1957

General committee: Honorary chairmen, Mayor Bernard J. Berry, George A. Thornton, Sr.; general chairman, A. Pat Menendez.

Parade organization: Grand marshal, Lt. Col. John P. Carbin, Jr., antiaircraft artillery coordinator, State of New Jersey, Department of Defense; chief of staff, Samuel Bardach; adjutant, Arthur Devey; assistant adjutant, Exee Martel; bugler, Jack Robert.

GENERAL ORDERS

To all organizations participating in the Americanization Day parade in Jersey City, N. J., Sunday, April 28, 1957. The following is published for your information and guidance:

1. Order of parade and place of assembly:

GRAND MARSHAL'S HEADQUARTERS

(Assemble at Belmont Avenue and Boulevard)

Mounted police escort.
Grand marshal.
Chief of staff.
Adjutant.
Bugler.
Staff: Aids to grand marshal.
United States Army Band, First Army.
Regular Army units.
United States Marine Corps.
Band, United States First Air Force (Mitchell Field).
New Jersey National Guard, Commanding Officer Maj. Gen. Charles F. Kenny, 650th AAA BN (AW) (SP).
Headquarters and Headquarters 254th AAA Group, New Jersey National Guard, 1st Lt. Charles Peer, commander.
Band, Keyport Fire Department Band (Keyport, N. J.).
Organized Reserve Corps of the Army.
Fourteenth Special Infantry USMCR Marine Corps Training Center, Jersey City, N. J.
Band, St. Michael's High School (Jersey City, N. J.).
United States Naval Surface Battalion 3–5: Comdr. E. G. McGovern, commanding officer; commanding 3–19 Division, Lt. Comdr. R. A. Cosgrove; commanding 3–33 Division, Lt. Comdr. C. V. Storer; commanding 3–22 Division, Lt. Comdr. J. T. Crowley.
Reserve Officer Association of the United States.
St. Peter's College ROTC Band.
Band, Melrose Drum and Bugle Corps (South Amboy, N. J.).
Band.
Color guard, Jersey City Police Department.
Jersey City police honor guard.
Color guard, Jersey City Fire Department.
Honor guard, Jersey City Fire Department.
Jersey City Fire Department equipment.
Red Cross mobile units.
New Jersey Amputee Veterans (auto).
United Spanish War Veterans Camp, No. 6, (auto).

FIRST DIVISION (FIRST SECTION)

(Assemble on Glenwood Avenue, east and west of boulevard

Assistant marshal, Louis Lepis.
Assistant marshal, Clarence Doud.
Assistant adjutant, Harriet L. Reitze.
Assistant adjutant, Bob Maretzky.
Band, Perth Amboy Drum and Bugle Corps.
Boy Scouts of America.
Band, Girl Scouts of America (Hoboken, N. J.).
Girl Scouts of America (Hoboken, N. J.).
Band, Girl Scouts of America (Jersey City, N. J.).
Girl Scouts of America (Jersey City, N. J.).
Band.
Band, Jersey City Lassies.
Jersey City Board of Education.
Band, Junior Herd No. 108—Essex Temple, No. 42 (Newark, N. J.).
Pride of Newark Lodge, No. 93 I. B. P. O. E. W.
Roxie Juvenile Elks, No. 25 (Newark, N. J.).

FIRST DIVISION (SECOND SECTION)

(Assemble on Kensington Avenue, west of boulevard)

Assistant marshal, Clinton C. Cook.
Assistant marshal, Arthur Praet.
Assistant adjutant, Andrew A. Gallagher.
Assistant adjutant, Joseph Knoeringer.

Bands: John Hand Tri-County No. 2906, VFW (Pompton Lakes, N. J.); Storr-Richie No. 506, VFW (Plainfield, N. J.); St. Vincent's Cadets, National Champs (Bayonne, N. J.); Fairlawn No. 281, VFW (Fairlawn, N. J.); Mendel School of Baton Twirling (Union City and Fairlawn, N. J.); Capt. Rodney Fiske Post 335 (Cranford, N. J.); Alexander Hamilton Post 139 (Paterson, N. J.); Woodbridge Post 4410, VFW; Choimer-Trace 7914, VFW (Glendora, N. J.); Carlstadt Fife Drum and Bugle Corps, Snyder High School.

Department of New Jersey VFW Colors and Color Guard (Mounted) (Courtesy Lucky 4 Ranch, Pompton Lakes, N. J., Oliver McKeeby, ranch foreman.)

Department of New Jersey Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and auxiliary will march in numerical sequence with their respective counties in alphabetical order.

FIRST DIVISION (THIRD SECTION)

(Assemble on Kensington Avenue, east of boulevard)

Assistant marshal, Peter Amoroso.
Assistant marshal, George Bradley.
Bands, Union Beach Community Band (Union Beach, N. J.).
Department of New York Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and Auxiliary.
Department of Maine Post 932, VFW.
Department of Connecticut Colors and Color Guard, Posts 511, 583, 585, 5095, 5964, 8075, 201, 1979, 7790, and 1946, and Ladies Auxiliary.
Gold Star Mothers (colors and color guard).
American War Mothers (colors and color guard).
Navy Mothers of America (colors and color guard).
Widows of World War I (colors and color guard).
Band, Wilson Gugelman Post No. 1302, VFW (Brian Boru Pipers, Kearny, N. J.).
Military Order of Cooties, VFW and Cootiettes Club of United States.

SECOND DIVISION (FIRST SECTION)

(Assemble on Jewett Avenue, east of boulevard)

Assistant marshal, Joseph Plattner.
Assistant marshal, William Cullinane.
Bands, West New York Post No. 15, American Legion; Quinn Post No. 52 (Jersey City); Morristown Post No. 59, American Legion (Morristown, N. J.).
American Legion and Ladies' Auxiliary, Department of New Jersey.
American Legion and Ladies' Auxiliary, Department of New York.
Forty and Eight, all units, Department of New York and Department of New Jersey.
Isien Fire Department Band, Barringer Walker 139, Lyndhurst, N. J.

SECOND DIVISION (SECOND SECTION)

(Assemble on Jewett Avenue, west of boulevard)

Assistant marshal, James Calabrese.
Assistant adjutant, Al Young.
Band, Dickinson High School (Jersey City, N. J.).
Disabled American War Veterans and Ladies' Auxiliary.
AMVETS and Ladies' Auxiliary.
Veterans of World War I and Ladies' Auxiliary.
Band, Lincoln High School (Jersey City, N. J.).
Catholic War Veterans and Ladies' Auxiliary.
Jewish War Veterans and Ladies' Auxiliary.
Marine Corps League and Ladies' Auxiliary.

THIRD DIVISION

(Assemble on Fairview Avenue, west of boulevard)

Assistant marshal, Franklin Perkins.
Assistant marshal, Al Larsen.
Assistant marshal, D. C. Coon.
Assistant adjutant, Joe Yunker.
Band, Polish Falcons No. 126 (Elizabeth, N. J.).
Chinstrap Post, 29th Division Association and Ladies' Auxiliary.
Uniformed Special Deputy Sheriff's (Passaic, N. J.).
Army-Navy Union and Ladies Auxiliary.
Ancient Order of Hibernians No. 1 (Jersey City, N. J.).
Canadian Legion Department of New York, New Jersey, Newfoundland, and Canada.
Foresters of America and Spirit of '76.
Improved Order of Redmen and Degree of Pocohantas.
Band—Ferris High School of Jersey City.
Grand Council Order of DeMolay.
Loyal Order of Moose 848 and Women's Chapter 848.
Legion of Guardsmen.
Jersey City Lodge of Elks 211 (color guard).

FOURTH DIVISION

(Assemble on Fairview Avenue, east of boulevard)

Assistant marshal, Francis Gill.
Assistant marshal, Harold Gotthelf.
Assistant adjutant, Max Reason.
Surma Ukrainian Band.
Ukrainian units.
Band, Our Lady of Lourdes (Paterson, N. J.).
Louis La Pointe Association (Jersey City, N. J.).
Polish Legion of American War Veterans (Post No. 9, Jersey City, N. J.).
Polish Association of America No. 51 and Ladies Auxiliary War Veterans.
St. Demetrios Greek Orthodox Community—Federation Hellenic, Community of Greater New York.
Cowboys—cowgirls—all mounted units.
Rainbow Rangers—West Hudson Rangers (Hudson County, N. J.).
Captain Clinton E. Fisk Post 132 and Ladies Auxiliary.
All bands not listed will be assigned positions by chief of staff. All units not listed will go in this division.

PERSHING FIELD SPEAKING PROGRAM

1. Invocation, Rev. Abram Pepling, Second Reformed Church, Jersey City, N. J.
2. Welcome address, Hon. Bernard J. Berry, mayor of Jersey City, N. J.
3. Address, Hon. Robert B. Meyner, Governor of New Jersey.
4. Address, Harlan W. Barnes, national commander, Veterans World War I.
5. Address, Dominic L. Strada, national commander, AMVETS.
6. Address, Joseph F. Burke, national commander, DAV.
7. Address, Brig. Gen. Daniel DeBrier, commander, 9072d Air Reserve Group, Atlantic City, N. J.
8. Address, Charles Kinney, department commander, New Jersey VFW.
9. Prayer, Rabbi A. L. Gottesman, Congregation Beth David.
10. Address, Frances Tortora, president, Department of New Jersey, VFW Ladies' Auxiliary.
11. Address, Hon. VINCENT J. DELLAY, Congressman 14th District.
12. Address, Hon. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI, Congressman 13th District.
13. Address, James F. Cantwell, major general, New Jersey National Guard.
14. Address, John W. Mahan, national junior vice commander in chief, VFW.
15. Pledging allegiance to the flag of the United States (after parade).
16. Benediction, Rev. Abram Pepling, Second Reformed Church.
17. National anthem, Captain Clinton E. Fisk Post band, Walter Lippengoen, conducting. Gloria Santo Mauro, soloist.

OTHER GUESTS

Commissioner Lawrence A. Whipple.
Commissioner Joshua Ringle.
Commissioner Joseph Soriero.
Commissioner Joseph T. Michalski.
Comdr. William Stuhr, USNR.
Harry N. Weeks, department commander, New Jersey American Legion.
Hon. Edward Hart.
Frank G. Hahn, national council member, VFW.
Brig. Gen. Walter D. Lamont, Jr., commander, C. G. Armored Division, New Jersey National Guard.
James F. Patten, State commander, New Jersey DAV.
Col. John G. Cassidy, representing First Army.
Charles T. Brown, New Jersey State commander, Marine Corps League.
Commissioner James P. Clark, president, Boulevard Commission.
Dr. Louis R. Panagrosso, State commander, New Jersey CWV.
Gustave G. W. Leagler, department commander, New Jersey Veterans World War I.
Daniel S. Brady, department commander, New York VFW.
Harry Zax, Department of New Jersey JWV.
George Hunt, junior vice supreme commander, MOC.
Thomas Bennett, department commander, Connecticut, VFW.
Alex M. Shields, national commander, 29th Division Association.
Frank Sturges, general chairman, Connecticut Loyalty Day Committee.

AMERICANIZATION PROGRAM COMMITTEE

A. Pat Menendez, general chairman.
Commander: Francis Gill.
Auxiliary president: Lisa Russell.
Parade chairman: Samuel Bardach.
Adjutant: Arthur Dovey.
Auxiliary chairlady: Mary Gill.
County commander: Harold Nievelt.
Military liaison: Maj. Charles F. Kenny, Comdr. William Stuhr, United States Naval Reserve, Col. Frank B. Chapman, Maj. Richard F. Carlisle, United States Marine Corps Reserve.
Field chairman: Harry Young.
Public relations: Harold Nievelt.
Music chairmen: George A. Thornton, Sr., Jack Robert.
Reception chairmen: Clinton C. Cook, Francis Gill, George Bradley.
Aids to grand marshal: Capt. Francis X. Burke, C. M. H., Lt. Stephen R. Gregg, C. M. H., Sgt. John W. Meagher, C. M. H., Nicholas Oresko, C. M. H., Hector A. Cafferata, C. M. H., "Marty" Mahar.

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

2. Time of assembly and march, first call, 2:15 p. m.; assembly, 2:25 p. m., forward march, 2:30 p. m.
3. All organizations are urged to be in line in their appointed place at 2 p. m. to enable their division aid to make his report to the grand marshal from 2 to 2:15 p. m. on the northwest corner of Belmont Avenue and Hudson Boulevard. Therafter, until the demobilization at the head of the parade, division aids will report to the grand marshal at the command post immediately after first call at 2:15 p. m.; after reporting their respective units present, they will rejoin their respective divisions. Colors will not be massed in the parade.
4. After each division passes in review all colorbearers will assemble with their colors at the north end of Pershing Field, for massing and parade of colors.
5. Units that do street drills are requested to put on their drills whenever possible, but they are not to hold up the parade.
6. The reviewing stand will be at Pershing Field.
7. The reviewing officials will remain in their positions after the parade for the review of the massing of the colors passing the reviewing point. All division commanders and unit commanders will salute the reviewing officer. Units will execute eyes left upon command and standards will be dipped. The parade will be reviewed by the Honorable Governor Robert B. Meyner; Hon. Bernard J. Berry, mayor of Jersey City; Hon. Vincent J. Dellay, and Hon. Alfred D. Sieminski, Congressmen of New Jersey; Commissioners of the city of Jersey City; the grand marshal and his staff; and national and State officers of all veterans' organizations.
8. Route of march: Parade will move off at 2:30 p. m. following Hudson County Boulevard north to Manhattan Avenue, thence east on Manhattan Avenue to Pershing Field, where organizations and

units will be assigned positions for review and the massing of colors.

9. Floats: Floats will enter Pershing Field from Manhattan Avenue and follow to new ramped exit, at the southeast end of the stands to Central Avenue.

Sgt. Harry Young, commanding.
Sgt. William Sewell, assisting.

Lt. Col. JOHN P. CARBIN, Jr.,
Grand Marshal; Antiaircraft Artillery Coordinator, State of New Jersey, Department of Defense.
SAMUEL BARDACH, *Chief of Staff.*

Water Transportation Policy for New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a copy of a news release on the report to the New England governors' conference by the New England governors' committee on public transportation, entitled, "Water Transportation Policy for New England."

The news release follows:

The chief value of water transportation to present-day New England is its low-cost delivery of fuels and raw materials, essential to the region's economy.

This is the major conclusion drawn from the report on water transportation made public here today by Donald W. Campbell, chairman, New England governors' committee on public transportation. It is the eighth in the series of reports published by the committee.

In its latest report, the committee finds that the enormous tonnage of freight handled through New England's ports has doubled since 1945. It adds, however, that "almost all the traffic, and the increase in traffic, is in the form of fuels and industrial raw materials, to the extent that petroleum products, bulk commodities and coal, all incoming cargoes, constitute well over 90 percent of New England's waterborne tonnage."

"These cargoes," it asserts, "are of the utmost importance to New England's economy. It is to the region's interest to be sure that they move at minimum cost."

The committee states further that "these cargoes move in privately operated ships. Most New England ports are not used for public transportation at all." Only Portland and Boston, it asserts, now regularly handle any significant volume of general cargo.

The committee's conclusions are based largely on the results of the most comprehensive study ever made of New England's ports, their operations and development which is published with its report to the governors. This study was made by Dr. Romney Robinson, associate professor of economics, Brandeis University.

The committee sees "little prospect for the establishment of general cargo service through other New England ports, desirable though this might be with respect to land transportation costs. The true requirements of a shipper or receiver, coupled with the requirements of the steamship companies, give enormous drawing power to the very largest ports (such as New York). These ports have frequent sailings from and to all parts of the world."

The committee finds that "coastal general cargo traffic, once of tremendous importance, has almost completely disappeared. This fact indicates that water transportation today is less desirable than it once was if there is a land transport alternative. * * *

The report states that it is possible that technological developments may substantially alter port operations, and may restore the coastal trade, but it also goes on to say that "with respect to technological development the ocean transportation industry has lagged behind manufacturing industry. There have been few changes in the manner of shipping and handling general cargo. As a result, all branches of the industry, including the ports, are especially afflicted by high labor costs." This fact, the committee asserts, is especially disadvantageous to New England.

"The coastal traffic will not be revived until and unless innovations accomplish considerable reductions in the per-ton cost of cargo handling and ship operation. One such prospect is the roll-on, roll-off ship for transport of heavy trailers. At one time Providence seemed likely to become an operating base for trailer-ship service, but these plans have been suspended."

The committee concludes that "it does not seem appropriate or possible to develop a common New England policy with respect to port affairs or port development." Rather, it believes that the development and functioning of each of the ports must be dealt with by their respective authorities on an individual basis, with each port striving for the maximum use of its facilities, and continuing alert to take advantage of any favorable change in conditions or operations.

Professor Robinson's research report presents considerable data concerning the 15 New England ports, each of which handles 500,000 gross tons of cargo annually, and detailed analyses of the situation and prospects of the 6 largest ports. These are Portland and Searsport in Maine; Boston; Providence, R. I.; and New Haven and Bridgeport in Connecticut. Eleven pages of his report are devoted to the problems and opportunities confronting the port of Boston, which generates, he states, local expenditures of $81 millions a year.

From its consideration of the port of Boston, the committee derived two recommendations, as follows:

1. That an intensive study be made of the precise extent of New England's need for waterborne traffic, in order to determine Boston's potential traffic base.

2. That Boston give serious consideration to the establishment of new facilities for the storage of petroleum and petroleum products, perhaps on one of the islands in the harbor.

Citing the latter as an example of the need for keeping up with developments in the private transport of fuels, the committee points out that already the larger tankers now in service are too big for Chelsea Creek, where most of Boston's oil-storage facilities are located. The harbor islands, on the other hand, can be reached by vessels of any size now in prospect. Under this plan, individual oil plants would be supplied by pipeline from the proposed island facility.

Asserting that the "extent of Boston's decline has sometimes been exaggerated," the committee finds "it is still a ranking United States port, and one which has made considerable progress in overcoming its old problems. Boston's physical facilities have been greatly improved. The new Massachusetts Port Authority should afford the port greater freedom of operation than it has hitherto enjoyed. Success in the rail rate parity case, now pending, would give Boston equality in rail rates to and from central territory with the ports of Philadelphia and Baltimore.

"But this should not be regarded as a panacea, for Boston would then compete with New York on the same basis as it now must do. Yet one reason why Boston does not secure more central territory business at the present time may be that the rail and water carriers are insufficiently aggressive in soliciting bookings via Boston. Removal of the rate disparity would dispense with their principal excuse for not giving Boston equal status with the ports of Philadelphia and Baltimore. To increase its traffic, Boston must increase its work of traffic solicitation, and the new authority should afford it the opportunity of doing so."

The Gerry Murphy Case: Certain Corrections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES O. PORTER
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], in the Appendix of the RECORD May 27, beginning at page A4065, states that he is indeed sorry that I see fit "to continue this unfriendly controversy with regard to one of the foremost neighboring republics to the south and one of our stanchest friends in the free world, the Dominican Republic, and its President Trujillo."

I point out that Mr. LONG, not I, began this exchange. And I cannot allow the gentleman's gargantuan and fantastic inaccuracies to go unchallenged. In the interest of brevity, let me deal tersely with the main errors in his latest remarks.

First. The gentleman believes the Dominican Republic to be "democratic and progressive" and, in another place, "great and democratic," "one of our stanchest friends in the free world." The fact is that it is terror-ridden dictatorship. Our State Department will so testify. Every authority says the same thing.

Second. The gentleman accuses me of attempting to convict the Dominican leaders for Gerry Murphy's disappearance on hearsay evidence. I am a lawyer. My distinguished friend from Louisiana is a dentist. I say that the evidence against Dictator Trujillo, both real and circumstantial, is sufficient to convict him in any American court and would not be subject to being stricken as inadmissible hearsay.

Perhaps my friend from Louisiana made his statement before he had an opportunity to hear the CBS Edward Murrow broadcast, The Galindez-Murphy Case: A Chronicle of Terror. I say again, as I have said off the floor of the House, that the Dominican Government, which means Rafael Trujillo, is guilty of Gerry Murphy's kidnapping and probable murder.

My colleague has never deigned to discuss the evidence, just to characterize it. I refer him to my speech in the House on February 28 where the evidence is discussed. I also remind Mr. LONG that the Dominican Government's explanation of Murphy's death was sternly re-

jected by our State Department and that the House Foreign Affairs Committee has decided to consider the Murphy-Galindez matter in executive session June 4.

Moreover, in its latest note to the dominican Republic, our Government cited the investigation into Murphy's activities and stated that "sufficient evidence has now been uncovered to indicate that Mr. Murphy may have been connected with the disappearance of Dr. Jesus de Galindez in New York on or about March 12, 1956, acting on behalf or in association with certain Dominican and American nationals."

Our Government has asked that the former Dominican consul general, Arturo Espaillat, return here without diplomatic immunity "in order that he should be amenable to the usual and lawful procedures in matters of investigation and trial."

This request was made on May 2. As of May 29, no reply had been received from the Dominican Government which had previously made repeated official declarations of willingness to cooperate in this investigation.

Third. The gentleman from Louisiana states that the Murphy case is one of the "shapes and forms" of the Communist effort "to overthrow the present great and democratic Government of the Dominican Republic." He gives no evidence for this allegation, which implicates me, the State Department, and many others. He says my article in the June Coronet magazine, The Butcher of the Caribbean, is "a lurid rehash which reeks with its communistic origin." Again, no evidence. Again, no discussion of the facts. The reaction to my article from those who know Trujillo has been entirely enthusiastic, as has the reaction from those who previously did not know about this tyrant. It may be a "lurid rehash" to my colleague but to date I have found no such reaction elsewhere.

Fourth. The gentleman from Louisiana states that I impugned, "if only by implication," the character of Majority Leader JOHN MCCORMACK by using his name in my Coronet article. I did nothing of the sort. I indicated a disagreement but I specifically wrote:

> My respect and admiration for Mr. MCCORMACK was—and is—immense.

No other colleague, including the distinguished and beloved majority leader himself, has indicated to me, directly or indirectly, that my mention of Mr. MCCORMACK was in any way discourteous. The disagreement between my colleague from Louisiana and myself centers about entirely different matters, namely, the nature of the Dominican Government, its responsibility for the disappearance of my constituent, and the motivations for my pressing for a change in our Government's policy toward such tyrants. I am aware of no such disagreements with my good friend and mentor, the kindly and truly liberal JOHN MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts.

Fifth. The gentleman from Louisiana states that my saying I must carry a gun impugns the honor of every Member of the House. No other Member has even hinted that he held a similar view. I carry a gun, on occasion, for self-protection because I have been so advised by the police, because I have received many such recommendations from responsible persons who know Trujillo and his gang, and because my own conclusion on all the facts is that a weapon might come in handy. My colleague asks me if I carry the gun on the floor of the Congress. The answer, of course, is that I do not.

I shall continue to fight, as best I can, tyranny of every kind, whether Communist or otherwise. My constituents in Oregon, along with other American citizens, proud of their heritage as free people, rightfully expect this of the Representatives they send to Congress.

All Asians Are Anticolonial and They Will Protest Violently Even to Their Best Friends, if the Latter Seem to Them To Be Acquiring Special Status or Privileges

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, the growing resentment toward the United States in Asian countries, of which the outbreak in Formosa is only the latest and most serious manifestation to date, is being interpreted by some as just anti-Americanism and lack of appreciation for the vast help given these countries by the United States. That is too simple an explanation. Rather, the resentment is a hangover to the opposition to western colonialism, extra territoriality, special privileges, and status for white men, which the Chinese have resisted since those practices began with the Opium War in the 1840's.

Many Americans seem to have forgotten that it was Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Nationalists which led the first anti-imperialist movement on the Asian continent and succeeded, with American encouragement and help, in abolishing the old foreign concessions in major Chinese cities. When anyone, whether European, Russian, Japanese, or American seems to the Chinese to be reestablishing positions of special privilege, the stage is set for some incident to set off an explosion, whether the incident is spontaneous or planned by enemies of good relations between China and the country involved. Gratitude for outside aid cannot be expected to include subservience to foreigners in their own land, even if those foreigners are American.

Some of us have warned repeatedly against stationing too many Americans in Formosa, living in the best quarters on the island, and enjoying the highest living standards in Asia. In a speech here last year I warned that if we did not better screen and indoctrinate our personnel abroad we would find that we had trained good armies in areas where the populace might not be solidly on our side. We might find ourselves in Korea, Japan, Formosa, Okinawa, the Philippines, like Britain on Cyprus.

The above is not to justify the inexcusable outrage that happened to our Embassy in Taipei, it is, rather to try to understand it, to learn from it, and to take necessary steps to prevent further deterioration. Just as prompt understanding and realistic action in the Middle East have greatly improved the situation there in recent months, similar prompt changes in certain policies and procedures in Asia can give us better relations and greater security there with fewer Americans on foreign soil and less cost to American taxpayers.

One of the best articles I have seen on the whole complex situation is by Keyes Beech, of the Chicago Daily News Service, and I include it under leave to extend my remarks:

RESENTMENT GROWS IN ASIA

(By Keyes Beech)

TOKYO.—The savage attack by a Chinese mob on the American Embassy in Formosa spotlights the growing anti-Americanism in almost every Asian country where United States forces are stationed.

The mob action in Taipei—sparked by acquittal of an Army sergeant who shot and killed a Chinese peeping tom—cannot be divorced from the jurisdictional dispute between the United States and Japan over an Illinois soldier accused of killing a Japanese woman who was picking gun shells.

Okinawans showed their resentment of American military rule by electing a Communist mayor of their largest city.

In the Philippines, negotiations for United States military bases broke down over the question of which side will try American servicemen charged with crimes against Filipinos.

In Japan there is continuing pressure for the abrogation or drastic revision of the American-Japanese security agreement on the ground that it is unfair to Japan.

And in Bangkok, it's page one news if a drunken American soldier makes a pass at a Siamese girl on the street.

The violent outbreak in Taipei reminded old Far Eastern hands of the bloody anti-foreign riots in pre-Communist China when unreasoning mobs stoned or killed every white man they could lay their hands on.

It also was a sharp reminder of what well-meaning Americans too easily forget, if indeed they ever knew—that they are foreigners in Asia.

The problem is as old as the arrival of the first white men in Asia, but with modern twists.

As the British did when they first went to China in the middle of the last century, Americans today have where possible brought their own law with them for their own people.

The name for this is extraterritoriality, and it's an ugly name in the Far East with its memories of white domination.

Envy, frustration, an inferiority complex and clash of cultures all lie behind the furious outburst in Taipei.

In America it may be legally permissible for a husband to shoot a prowler who is peering through the bathroom window while his wife is taking a shower.

But in the Orient it is not. In Japan, for example, you can be indicted for murder if you kill a robber who enters your home unless you can prove he was armed and you acted in self-defense.

In Formosa as elsewhere in Asia the standard of living which Americans bring with them—symbolized by two-toned cars

and big white refrigerators—arouses envy and resentment. To Asians, all Americans are rich beyond belief.

So long as there was war or immediate threat of war in Asia, the presence of American troops could be justified on the grounds of military necessity.

But with Asia apparently embarked on a peaceful path, it will be more and more difficult to justify keeping American forces on foreign soil.

It could be that the sacking of the Embassy in Taipei will mark the beginning of a movement to withdraw all United States forces from the Far East. Certainly Red China couldn't have been presented with a juicier propaganda plum.

Housing Conference Report Offers Chance for Big Savings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, while the other body last week, by amendments, made considerable improvement in the housing bill reported to it by the Banking and Currency Committee, if the Members of the House, when considering the conference report that will soon come to us, will stand firm and refuse to concur on certain provisions of the bill, which yet should be corrected, we can save the taxpayers in the future billions of dollars.

The House bill, when it went to the other body, contained the Fisher amendment, which was stricken out by that body. The difference between these two bills in this one instance with respect to public housing is so fundamental that the House should refuse to concur. If the Fisher amendment can be maintained over future years, it alone will save the taxpayers billions of dollars.

Then, again, 4 or 5 of the public-housing amendments approved by the other body are so far reaching, in adding additional expense that they should be stricken, as they go beyond the welfare purpose which was the original intent of the law.

Here are their provisions:

First. Would permit over-income tenants to remain in public housing indefinitely if the public housing authority determines that adequate housing is not available in the private market consistent with the tenant's income less all his exemptions—section 401 (a) of the Senate-passed version of H. R. 6659.

Second. Would repeal the requirement that a community have a workable program for the prevention of slums or blight as a prerequisite to public housing—section 401 (c). Note: The workable program was placed in the law in 1954, repealed in 1955, and reenacted in 1956.

Third. Would increase the income exemptions for determining whether a family is eligible for admission to public housing. Exemptions are also increased for determining eligibility for continued occupancy. The exemptions relate to adult members of the household other than the principal wage earner, and apply to the wages of this other adult group; that is, grown children, in-laws, and so forth, section 401 (b).

Fourth. Would increase the construction cost limits for public housing from $1,750 to $2,000 per room; and where designed for elderly persons, from $2,250 to $2,500 per room—section 401 (d).

URBAN RENEWAL SHOULD BE REDUCED

The Senate bill carries $250 million more in authorizations for urban renewal than was carried in the House bill. The House by all means should refuse to concur, and reduce the amount by $250 millions.

In urban renewal the House bill provided that no one State could have allocated to it over 10 percent of the total funds allocated in the bill. New York City has been allocated and committed an amount of $92 million, which has about reached its allotment, and consumed the State's allotment.

Chicago has $74 million, Philadelphia $54 million, and many other big cities many other millions.

The mayors of these large cities have been insisting the allotment percentage per States be raised from 10 to 15 percent.

The Senate bill raises these allotment rates from 10 to 15 percent, which will lift the ceiling to the extent that New York City and other cities can secure up to $200 million of the taxpayers' money in grants—none of it to be returned. The House adamantly refuses to concur in this amendment.

There has been allocated for urban renewal a total of $1¼ billion in grant money to do a face-lifting job, so to speak, mostly in improving large cities at the expense of every taxpayer in every congressional district in the United States.

I am wondering how many Members of Congress know that these funds are all grants to be given away, with not a single dollar returned to the Treasury, from which it comes.

It would seem to me that no Congressman can defend before the people in his own district the giveaway of over a billion dollars of the taxpayers' money out of the Treasury to the wealthy big cities of the country, and to many cities of smaller size—all of which are more able to improve their own cities than is the Federal Government—thereby taxing all laboring men, farmers, professional and small-business men throughout the Nation.

It would seem to me that if we believe in economy that we ought to put on the brakes and reduce the costs carried in this housing bill rather than to expand and increase them year after year.

The House of Representatives, which reduced the defense budget by $2½ billion, ought to seize upon the opportunity of reducing the intolerable and unnecessary waste provided in the housing bill that will come before us shortly in a conference report.

Budget-Cutting Time—Everyone Must Do His Part

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, one of the important reasons for the magnitude of the budget is that in the years past, both during peace and war, people generally believed in economy in Government by and for the other fellow. The chief obstacle which we now encounter in cutting the budget, in this economy drive, is that everyone wants the cut to be borne by the other fellow.

If this alltime high peacetime budget is to be substantially trimmed that selfish policy of "letting George do it" must be abandoned. The cuts must be borne proportionately by all American citizens.

Under the title "High Taxes Result of Unbridled Spending," on March 19, 1952, I laid before the House my own views as to the necessity for applying the brakes on the inflationary trek the Government was pursuing. Among other things, I pointed out:

> The policy of everybody "touching" the Federal Government had likewise developed into the policy of the Federal Government "touching" everybody. Even the humblest citizen now realizes that the Federal Government is no Santa Claus. In fact, we have reached the saturation point in taxation.

Under a 10-point program, I then said among other things:

> And finally, the citizens of the Republic, now conscious as never before of the burdens of taxation, must practice the doctrine of States responsibility as well as States rights. The practice of looking to Washington for Federal aid in civil responsibilities of their own must cease. They must realize that there is no State, county, or city whose financial statement is not sounder than that of the Federal Government.

Among those who have practiced the selfish but shortsighted policy of attempting to get everything they could out of the public till while at the same time clamoring for economy in Government—by the other fellow—have been many of our big industrialists and business people. It was, therefore, with much interest that I read a recent editorial from the Iron Age of May 30, 1957, taking businessmen to task for this policy, which was called to my attention by the able and highly respected veteran of the Washington press, Paul Wooten.

The editorial by the able editor in chief of that splendid magazine, Mr. Tom Campbell, follows:

BUDGET-CUTTING TIME—EVERYONE MUST DO HIS PART

> This is a soul-searching piece. Unless you want to search yours, don't read it. Because we aren't going to mince words.
>
> Everyone in his right mind wants our Government to cut its costs. We realize we are going hog wild in national spending.
>
> Business people are clamoring for a reduction in the budget. Congressmen are hear-

ing from home. They listen when the trend is toward rigid economy. That's why they are on a rampage to cross up the President on the budget.

It is improper to wave the flag when using an argument for cutting Government spending. Business can dispense with the patriotic gesture. Management wants less spending because it is tired of the permanent tax gun held at its head.

If we must yell for reduction, let's be honest about it: Let's not be hypocritical—either consciously or as the couch boys would say "with socially acceptable symbols." The best way to deal with this question is to decide right now that we will withdraw some of our demands from the Government pork barrel.

Let's not change our hats so often. If we are on the chamber of commerce and want more Government help for our city or pet project, then it is up to us to cut it down—or out.

Suppose we are trying to get this or that project built or changed at Government expense; let's either ask for it and shut up about a cut in the budget; or ditch it and go all out for economy.

A deep cut in the budget will eliminate some important statistics from the Census Bureau. Do we want that? If that's what we want, we must not be so prone to say that what the other fellow wants is silly and uncalled for. Let's be consistent—even if being consistent is quite a miracle these days.

If we want the budget really cut, we must see some defense contracts go down the drain. If we are willing—as we say in our private clubs—to believe that the Reds are bluffing with a lot of their talk, then we can demand a cut. But if we do, we must see some of our projects wiped out. It can't always be the other fellow's pet. There aren't enough other fellows to stand what we won't take.

Let's fish or cut bait: Either we want less Government spending and will give up our pets or we don't. It calls for basic honesty.

Too Many People?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of Wednesday, May 29, 1957:

TOO MANY PEOPLE?

It is startling, and some would even say dismaying, to note how human beings continue to increase in numbers. Right now, according to the latest United Nations statistical study, they are multiplying at a rate of 120,000 a day or 43 million annually. And as a result, unless there is a marked slowdown in this trend, the world's present population of 2.7 billion may double to a total of 5.4 billion by the end of the century, which is barely more than 40 years away.

Accordingly, assuming that an atomic-hydrogen war does not intervene to wipe out most of mankind, the world between now and the year 2000 will almost certainly find itself having to undergo unprecedented adjustments and readjustments to meet the political, economic, social, cultural, and other pressures that are sure to develop if people keep on increasing at the current rate. In our own country, for example, the prospect is that our population will grow from today's 170 million to well over 300 million in the next 4 decades or so. There is little doubt, of course, that our richly endowed Nation can become more prosperous than ever with such a growth. Even so, a gain of that size can hardly fail to have a profound effect on our way of life or to cause problems and changes of the first magnitude in fields as diverse as education, traffic controls, conservation of resources, urban development, and the length of the workweek and work year.

As for the rest of the world, there will be comparable problems and changes. Worse still, according to the pessimists, this population "explosion"—apart from crowding far too many humans into the far too little territory of the smaller countries—may easily become extreme enough to create a nightmare of global famine. As these observers see the future, mankind, even if it succeeds in doing away with war, ridding itself of disease and thus increasing everybody's life expectancy, will by its vast growth make mass starvation inevitable. But there are others who take a brighter and more persuasive view. In their judgment, if the nations can manage to conquer pestilence and establish an enduring peace, they should be equally capable of producing sufficient food and achieving a reasonably good life for tremendously larger numbers of people—especially so because of the great promise inherent in things like modern technology and atomic energy.

Yet, although the pessimists thus seem to have been much too easily dismayed by it, the potential population growth between now and the year 2000 is full of unparalleled significance. For human beings cannot multiply from 2.7 billion to 5.4 billion, within a span of only some 40 years, without bringing to bear on their own lives, and on the lives of individual nations and the world in its entirety, the most far-reaching and most complicating influences. The outlook is one that challenges the wisdom of man, and if he is to deal with it successfully, he must begin to deal with it now.

Rights of the Workingman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, no Member of this Congress has a more profound belief in the rights of the workingman than I have. He has a right to organize and bargain collectively for those things that improve his economic position in our great economy. He also has a right to a binding contract that insures those things for which he lawfully bargains. He has those rights when dealing with private industry. The law gives them to him. But he does not have those rights when dealing with Government when the Government or some segment thereof is operating a proprietary business venture in competition with its citizens.

Many leaders of organized labor, in fact the majority of them insist that the Government should build and operate these hydroelectric projects. In fact, some of the leaders of labor think the Government should produce and distribute all of our electric power. But what leaders of labor or members of an organized union are better able to judge what is best for them than those working in the electric industry?

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers at one time supported Government development of power facilities but they have found through bitter experience that Government ownership is not what it is cracked up to be. Their rights, working conditions, pay, and other benefits when working for Government power operations are inferior to those obtained from private industries.

Those leaders of labor who so ardently support Government ownership of electric properties might well listen to their brothers in the IBEW who, from past years of experience, are much better informed on the subject.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include at this point an article from the March 1957 issue of the Utility Reporter, an IBEW monthly, entitled "Trinity River Project":

TRINITY RIVER PROJECT

One of the biggest political battles of recent years is shaping up over the power which will be developed in connection with the giant Trinity River project.

Public power advocates seek Federal construction, operation, and distribution of the power facilities generated on the project. Private power offers to construct the hydroelectric plants and to distribute the power, paying the Government for the falling water used in power generation. The latter is referred to as the "partnership plan."

The main difference between this and other public-private battles lies in the joint venture proposal as contained in the partnership plan offered by private industry. The underlying principles here are still at odds in that the right of the private power industry to remain in regulated private business is at stake.

Now we are just as concerned as any citizen regarding proper and beneficial utilization of our natural resources. We want adequate flood control, wildlife protection, irrigation water, reasonable power rates and reasonable taxation. It is up to the Congress to work out these things for the general good without ignoring the fact that a regulated private power industry exists which employs thousands of utility workers engaged in public service.

While our brotherhood supported Federal development of power facilities during the early days of the Federal power programs, we have had a bitter lesson with respect to the results of public power expansion over the country.

Many areas where governmental agencies have gone into the power business are now disgraceful examples when it comes to the working conditions and wages of utility workers. The right to self-organization, grievance procedure, contracts and the right to strike have been stripped from thousands of American workers.

Yes, we are a minority voice in this great controversy, but we are the voice of thousands whose rights have been disregarded and whose families suffer as a result.

Fortunately, many municipal and other governmental power producing and distributing groups are organized under the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Some have good wages and working conditions; yet a great many groups are still at the mercy of amateur "utility executives" who sit on governing boards and who know little about the management and operation of the power business. These operations are covered by laws which effectively strangle the right to organize and to be

represented by a legitimate union for the purpose of collective bargaining.

We represent both private and public agency employees in our local union jurisdiction. Fortunately, we have good management and good conditions and wages in our public groups at present. We do not have legal contracts in any of these public power agencies. We find it nearly impossible to organize many workers in other public agency groups in our jurisdiction. These groups are examples of what we mean when we talk about disgraceful conditions and wages.

We do have contracts, and fairly good ones, in all of our private companies plus limited union security. Here self-organization and free collective bargaining are guaranteed by law as contrasted with laws against us in public agencies.

Our local union has a direct stake in the method by which the Trinity River project is developed. First, we are losing people and jobs to the ever-increasing mechanization and automation of the power industry. We need more, not less, work opportunity for the working people we represent. Should the partnership plan be adopted, it will mean some more jobs for our people in the construction, operation, and maintenance of the powerhouses, transmission and distribution facilities. If the Government takes over these facilities, we lose not only those jobs, but more jobs if the invasion spreads to Federal power marketing in communities and industries now served by Pacific Gas & Electric who employ the members of our union.

Our brothers in some other unions might pause and take note of a few other facts surrounding this issue. We note that many support public power, highway construction, and other public works projects financed by the taxpayers through the United States Treasury.

Why? Mainly because they want jobs for their members.

On the Trinity River project there will be thousands of jobs for construction workers no matter who builds and operates the power facilities.

The record shows that the tremendous postwar expansion program of Pacific Gas & Electric involved hundreds of millions of dollars in construction work performed by many thousands of union building trades workers. Fair union contractors built dams, tunnels, hydro plants, and steam plants for Pacific Gas & Electric, employing members of organized labor.

The record also shows that the Federal Government constructed a big transmission line in connection with the recently completed Folsom project.

Who built it?

The contract for this line was let to a nonunion electrical contractor from out of State who brought his nonunion workers and equipment into California. He made his low bid pay off because by use of substandard wages and conditions.

We believe that the joint venture proposal embodied in the partnership plan can be worked out so that the public good is protected by the Congress, the rights of our members in private industry will be protected, and organized labor will be afforded job opportunities in the construction trades under union contracts.

We stand with our brotherhood in support of properly regulated private power and the right of free organization and collective bargaining in the power industry.

Therefore, the policy of Local Union 1245 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers supports the joint venture principle of the partnership plan in the development of the Trinity River project.

Northwest Citizens Favor Power Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point an editorial from the Bellingham Labor News, a publication circulated among labor-union members in the Bellingham, Wash., area. This publication, edited by Charles E. King, has consistently exhibited its interest in the Northwest and development of its industrial future, and has supported its interest in the Northwest and development of its industrial future, and has supported programs designed to bolster our present industrial economy and to encourage new industries.

The editorial which appeared in the May 23 issue, is a discussion of a recent survey which tested public opinion in the Northwest regarding development of hydroelectric power. It is written in an analytical style and points up the results of this survey and the interpretation of this veteran labor editor of these results.

It is of benefit to our area that publications such as the Bellingham Labor News take a responsible, objective look at developments which will influence the future of all of us. Certainly power is a major factor in our future, and I am pleased that more and more groups are beginning to realize that we must work together, that there is no room for bickering and the endless lawsuits and appeals that some groups have used to delay power development.

Text of the editorial is as follows:

NORTHWEST CITIZENS FAVOR POWER COOPERATION

Citizens of the Puget Sound-Cascade region prefer the concept of cooperation between public and private power to either alternative of all public or all private power by a 4-to-1 margin, a scientific survey just completed by Louis Harris for this region discloses.

In the 1957 survey people were asked what they felt were the five major concerns on their minds when they went to the polls last November. The results indicated these were the international situation, the high cost of living, schools and education, labor problems—initiative 198 was cause of deep concern at that time—and the need for strong leadership in troubled times.

Scarcely more than 2 out of 100 persons interviewed said the power issue (public versus private) was of much concern to them last fall, the survey revealed.

The main facets of public opinion on power today in the Puget Sound-Cascade region are these, the survey indicates:

Support for the philosophy of partnership and cooperation in the power field has grown substantially. In 1956 by nearly 3 to 1 count, the people of the region preferred the concept of cooperation between private and public power; now it is 4 to 1. In fact, close to 7 out of 10 people in this region express a rather firm belief that electric utilities work in harmony to meet today's and future power needs and to fully develop the Puget Sound-Cascade region.

Right here in Whatcom County we have a stupendous example of private and public power working almost side by side. On the upper Skagit River the city of Seattle is continuing its power development. Just now it is building the high Gorge Dam. A few miles away on the Baker River the Puget Sound Power & Light Co. is erecting a $17 million dam to harness more power from that turbulent stream.

On this theme the survey states:

"The people indicate satisfaction with the approach Puget Power has taken in working with its neighboring electric utilities in the Puget Sound Utilities Council. Strongly advocating this 'new era of cooperation,' the people have grown to recognize many of the specific advantages the entire region will receive from the council.

"We find, then, from the day in and day out service in the home, to the key role of electric power in the future of the region, and to the new and unique approaches of cooperation among private and public utilities, the record of the Puget company receives an exceptionally high vote of endorsement. It should be taken as a challenge to the company to raise its sights even higher, for when a people are this responsive and when a utility is this much in step with its customers, there is no ceiling on what attainment can be reached."

Barges Help Build Our Area's Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Barges Help Build Our Area's Future," which appeared in the May 23, 1957, issue of the Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

BARGES HELP BUILD OUR AREA'S FUTURE

A lot of publicity was given the recent christening of the Mark Eastin, West Kentucky Coal Co.'s towboat which will ply the Ohio and the Mississippi and power big barges hauling coal whose final destination is Tampa, Fla. The Mark Eastin, as has been mentioned before, is the largest and most powerful towboat on inland waters.

Naturally the company that ordered it, the Nashville Bridge Co. that built it, and General Motors, which powered it, are proud of the craft. It is not just another boat, but it marks the beginning of a new era in coal marketing in our area. Most of the papers know it and gave it proper attention, Louisville being the exception, as often is the case.

Anyway, the reason that the Mark Eastin marks a new epoch is because it is a notable unit in a wave of expansion which is sweeping along the great inland waterways in the heartland of the United States. This expansion is destined beyond any doubt to affect profoundly the Nation's future and the Nation's population. Being a part of this heartland, we can appreciate properly what is going on, and applaud it.

Along the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Gulf of Mexico, a new multibillion dollar industrial network is springing up, as most people already are aware. And revitalized water transportation has helped make this economic advance possible.

We were surprised the other day to note that the big barge lines which are hauling an increasing amount of freight chalked up in 1956 the big total of 25 billion ton-miles of freight. The barge lines, together with the unlimited water supply afforded by the Ohio, the Mississippi and the tributaries of those big streams are basic factors in the industrial boom in the areas on and in the vicinity of the rivers.

And quite a boom it is. The whole Nation is beginning to wake up to the fact that from Minneapolis to New Orleans, from Pittsburgh to Brownsville, Tex.; from St. Louis to Carabelle, Fla., and from Uniontown and Grand Rivers to Tampa, industry is alert to the advantage of new plants with river connections.

Rail freight rates have reached a point, for instance, where railroads in many shipments charge more for hauling coal than the mines and miners receive for producing it. With this situation applying to other industries as well as to coal, it is no wonder that a lot of people are looking riverward for haulage.

Purring quietly along, slick new diesel towboats like the *Mark Eastin* are pushing massive barges by the thousand up and down the waterways, carrying coal, phosphate, motorcars, and what not—also carrying the material to build new industrial plants, then the raw materials the plants use, and, finally, the finished products the plants turn out.

To point up the importance of this trend toward barge transportation, a southern governor recently said in a TV interview which was noted everywhere: "I have been all over the United States trying to lure industry and payrolls to my State. The first thing I am asked about is do we have plenty of water and barge transportation."

The diesel towboat like the new *Mark Eastin*—which pushes rather than pulls—is strictly 1957, as pictures in recent editions of the Messenger showed. The captain consults radar to make sure his channel is clear of obstacles. He calls his dispatcher on the radiotelephone to pick up shipping information, weather, and landing instructions. His crew lives well in spacious air-conditioned quarters.

To summarize, today the importance of barge lines in national transportation is proven. It is proven in our own territory, and our mines and miners will benefit therefrom.

TVA Pays in Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am enclosing a very timely editorial which appeared in the Memphis Commercial Appeal on the matter of taxes paid by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Many of my colleagues, and many in the country, do not have proper information in this respect, and I think this editorial will be very revealing.

The editorial follows:

TVA PAYS IN TAXES

Cleverly worded attacks on the Tennessee Valley Authority by power companies have left people at a distance with the idea that TVA is tax free. The idea is to reduce the sting of comparisons between the price of electricity in the TVA region and in other areas.

Within the TVA area there are annual stories when TVA makes its annual payments to States and counties. It is understood that TVA puts more into local and State government treasuries than private power companies ever did. The TVA advantage in taxes thus comes down to the fact that the Federal Government does not tax Federal agencies.

This is much less than being tax free; and when it is understood outside the Tennessee Valley, the attack on TVA is blunted. We can settle for that gain in understanding without going on to the matter of much of the Federal taxation being on profits, of which the TVA pays none in cash, or taking up the matter of how much more income tax is collected in this region than before TVA.

Far from being tax free, TVA is the largest taxpayer on the books of the Tennessee State government. It put about $400,000 more into the State treasury than the next biggest taxpayer last year, and the gap is much larger this year.

TVA is paying more than the law requires.

TVA is paying more each year—$596,000 more this year than last and $865,000 more than 2 years ago.

The payments by TVA itself this year come to $4,744,000. That is the wholesale end of the business.

The municipal power systems and co-ops are paying another $7,500,000. They are the retailers.

TVA pays the Government and the region in ways beyond taxes. But TVA pays in taxes, too.

Hon. Harold D. Cooley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. R. POAGE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, last week one of our distinguished colleagues, chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, and my good friend, Hon. HAROLD COOLEY, was the recipient of a degree from the State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina. Along with the degree went a well-deserved citation for his outstanding work in behalf of farmers and farming.

The citation read:

CITATION, NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND ENGINEERING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, HAROLD DUNBAR COOLEY

HAROLD DUNBAR COOLEY, who was born in Nashville, N. C., attended law schools at the University of North Carolina and Yale University. In February 1918 he was licensed to practice law. During World War I he served in the Naval Aviation Flying Corps.

Now a Member of the United States Congress, he has served the Nation since 1934 as Representative from the Fourth Congressional District of North Carolina.

In the 80th Congress he was a member of the Select Committee on Economic Aid to European Countries. This committee made recommendations which became the basis of the Marshall plan.

He has served as chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture in the 81st, 82d, and 84th Congresses, and continues so to serve in the present Congress.

Mr. COOLEY has long maintained a sympathetic and active interest in teaching and research programs of North Carolina State College, as well as of State universities in general. He sponsored legislation permitting schools of textiles to purchase from abroad, without payment of existing heavy import duty, machinery and apparatus for purposes of education and research.

North Carolina State College gratefully recognizes him as a statesman and leader who has contributed to the educational, agricultural, industrial, and economic well-being of our State and Nation.

On Taking the Fifth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of June 1, 1957:

ON TAKING THE FIFTH

When our Constitution was in process of construction Thomas Jefferson pleaded ardently for a Bill of Rights and James Madison, who did not consider the omission of such a Bill of Rights "a material defect," used his influence for purely political reasons in the First Congress to secure the adoption of what became the first 10 amendments. Presumably all parties concerned thought that settled the matter.

But today the Supreme Court still finds it necessary, under some prodding from the lower courts, from congressional committees, and from public opinion, to reassess what the fifth amendment means in terms of today's life and today's law. This week, in a ruling involving this and other points and two other defendants, it held that Max Halperin was entitled to a new trial on three counts of an indictment against him because a judge in the Federal Court of Appeals had instructed the jury that Mr. Halperin's use of the fifth amendment when testifying before a grand jury could be considered in arguing the question of his truthfulness and trustworthiness as a witness.

This is not the first time that the High Court has felt impelled to rule in this manner. This ruling may not even be the most important. It is, however, fairly simple, since Mr. Halperin was actually a defendant in a criminal case and refused to answer the grand jury's questions in his own protection and not for conscience' sake. Mr. Halperin, indicted, tried and convicted in connection with tax frauds, was in a different position from those present or former members of the Communist Party who have "taken the fifth" to protect former associates.

But the reasoning in this phase of the case against Mr. Halperin and his two associates is compelling, no matter what the nature of the case. The defendant's refusal to answer questions put to him before the grand jury was in effect used in his trial to "reflect on his credibility" and thus to impair the value of his testimony at his trial on his own behalf. It seems clear that he was thus deprived of the protection which the fifth amendment was intended to give to innocent men—and we must never forget that every person on trial must be considered innocent until he is proved guilty.

To the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren and Justices

Black, Douglas, and Brennan added a brief comment of their own. Justice Black, speaking for these four, said:

"I can think of no special circumstances that would justify use of a constitutional privilege to discredit or convict a person who asserts it. The value of these constitutional privileges is largely destroyed if persons can be penalized for relying on them."

The question here is not whether Mr. Halperin and his associates are or are not guilty of the offense charged against them. Nor would the question be any different if they were charged, as they are not, with conspiracy against the United States as members of the Communist Party or of any other potentially destructive group. The constitutional guaranties are properly available to the guilty as well as to the innocent. The most harmless and innocent of us, the least conspiratorial, may feel the more secure in our lives, our liberty and our opinions because of such decisions as this handed down by the High Court.

The lower Federal courts and the State courts must act in harmony with the principles laid down by the Supreme Court. The majesty of the law will rule. We cannot bring the same compulsion to bear on the acts and opinions of private persons and organizations. We must, however, be logical and fair in our attitude toward persons who invoke the principles of the Bill of Rights.

In the first place, we should insist that they have the protection of those rights to the full extent of the law. In the second place, we must make a distinction between legality and competence. A banker who invokes the fifth amendment when charged with embezzlement will scarcely retain the confidence of his depositors. Labor organizations need not continue to support a labor leader who invokes the fifth amendment or any other amendment to avoid accounting for union funds.

But when all the exceptions are noted and when all allowances are made for the pressure of public opinion in cases that stir hot emotions, still it must be said that no court conviction and no punishment can be just or good for the Nation if it is achieved to the detriment of any one of our basic liberties. We think that is what the Supreme Court has been trying to say and we hope it will keep on trying to say it.

Insatiable Public Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, the present controversy raging between the proponents of public power and those who, like the people of Pennsylvania, must pay the bill for subsidized current, is pointed up by the article by George Peck which appeared in the Coatesville (Pa.) Record on May 29, last, and which is included in these remarks.

No reasonable person with whom I have talked wants public power projects turned back to private ownership. All we ask is that the consumers who live in these favored areas shall pay the full cost of production and expansion, including full State and local taxes, which should be written into their monthly tax bills just as it is in Pennsylvania where our electricity is produced by private firms.

Mr. Peck's article follows:

TVA OCTOPUS REACHES FOR MORE SUCKERS

(By George Peck)

The TVA octopus, not content with being the biggest single electric utility monopoly in the world, is stretching out its tentacles to grab more power for itself. The suckers of these tentacles are reaching to suck more from the American taxpayer, who in this TVA picture (to make a play on words) is himself a victimized sucker.

The Tennessee Valley Authority now wants to do its own financing through sale of revenue bonds to the public without congressional control of how or where it shall expend the funds thus raised.

A brief review of the original intent of Congress and how TVA has consistently circumvented this intention is necessary at this point to make crystal clear how this new reach for power could vest total authority in the TVA Board—the ultimate goal of the Socialist supporters of this vast Government operation.

TVA was created in 1933 as a flood control and navigation project, with the sale of surplus power incidental to these purposes. In 1935 the TVA Act was amended to give the Authority sweeping new powers in performing service to electric preference customers by authorizing it to acquire existing electric facilities and establishing new rules and regulations in the negotiation of power sale contracts.

The Authority used these new powers to force all electric companies in the area out of business and, as a result, set about through rigid contracts to make all rural and domestic users in the valley captive customers of TVA. Created originally as a purely hydroelectric operation, TVA next set about to convince Congress it needed steam plants to adequately service all of the customers. Today the operation is 61 percent steam; 39 percent hydro.

Moreover the TVA Act instructs the Authority to sell surplus power to local and public agencies with preference to the former, and to give primary attention to the needs of domestic and rural customers. But the 1956 Annual Report of TVA shows that less than 15 percent of its total sales went to domestic and rural customers.

In other words, it has created a crisis by selling the bulk of its power to other than the preference customers designated by Congress.

Even though American taxpayers already have invested approximately $1.5 billion in TVA power facilities, the Authority thinks this is not nearly enough. It is demanding a free hand to do its own financing with revenue bonds, instead of as presently handled through tax-free congressional appropriations or from power revenues.

A noted authority on electric power, Walter H. Sammis, has pointed out to Congress that well over one-half of TVA's sales were taken by the Atomic Energy Commission and other Federal agencies. He cited the Comptroller General as stating that "there is no assurance that the demands of AEC and other Federal agencies will not sharply decrease, leaving the TVA system with surplus capacity of millions of kilowatts."

Mr. Sammis has been active in electric industry affairs for more than 30 years. He is president of both the Ohio Edison Co., and the Pennsylvania Power Co.; is a past president of the Edison Electric Institute and has served on the board of the National Association of Electric Companies. His words, therefore, cannot be taken lightly, when he says that "the existence of a considerable surplus capacity could be a temptation to further expand the TVA area in order to find additional markets."

"To permit TVA to issue revenue bonds," he told Congress, "would inevitably result in the unleashing of tremendous additional amounts of subsidized electric power upon an industry already unfairly affected by TVA's operations. TVA, as an unregulated monopoly, could ultimately destroy investor-owned companies now serving the areas in which TVA might expand."

But of prime interest to the everyday, taxpaying citizen, is Mr. Sammis' statement that such expansion of TVA, which he called a form of socialism, could result in a loss over the years of billions of dollars in tax revenues to local, State, and Federal agencies.

Taxpayers everywhere already have paid $1.5 billion in tax dollars to give a comparative handful of people in the TVA area subsidized electric power. Moreover, these taxpayers have been losing millions of dollars every year through TVA's tax-exempt status. They would stand to lose additional billions if TVA were enabled to expand outside its present area through moneys raised by sale of revenue bonds.

Congress can and should stop this new grab for power by cutting off the tentacles of the TVA octopus.

Economic Highlights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, with leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include a clipping from the Greenville Advocate, published at Greenville, Ill., one of the most progressive newspapers in my congressional district.

This paper publishes a poll taken by the American press of the opinions of the country editors of the Nation on major public questions, which I thought would be of interest to the Members of Congress:

ECONOMIC HIGHLIGHTS

How would the country editors of this Nation vote on major public questions if they were in their Congressman's shoes? The American Press, which is an independent magazine for hometown newspapers, decided to find out by means of a survey. In its March issue it publishes the results, tabulated from the replies of 794 country editors, representing every section of the country. Here, in brief form, are some of the questions and findings ("No Answer" replies are not included in this summary, hence the percentages do not total 100).

1. Should the President have the authority to use United States forces in the Middle East if he deems it necessary to stop Communist aggression? The "Yes" faction has the overwhelming majority—71 percent to 27 percent.

2. Should foreign aid (which has been running at about a $4 billion annual rate) be increased, decreased, or maintained at the same amount? Only 6 percent of the editors say "More," while 63 percent say "Less," and 26 percent favor the same amount.

3. Should John Foster Dulles continue as Secretary of State? Mr. Dulles is given a vote of confidence—57 percent to 38 percent.

4. Should farm price supports be returned to the old 90 percent of parity level? Only 22 percent favor this, as against 74 percent opposed.

5. Should corporation taxes be moderately reduced, by returning to the rates of some yeras ago? This is a very close one, with 32 percent favoring reduction, 35 percent favoring continuance of, and 29 percent endorsing reductions on the first $25,000 of profit?

6. Should corporations be exempt from taxation on that portion of earnings they distribute as dividends and upon which individuals pay taxes—that is, should this form of double taxation be eliminated? The vote is 69 percent "Yes" to 28 percent "No."

7. Should any budget surplus be applied to reducing taxes or to reducing the national debt? A big majority, 70 percent, prefers to reduce the debt, as against 25 percent favoring tax cuts.

8. Should the bill authorizing a minimum of $600 million a year of Federal money for school construction be approved? Here is another close one—45 percent of the editors say "Yes," and 53 percent "No."

9. Should bills requiring that cooperatives and savings and loan associations be subject to the same taxation as other businesses be approved? The "Ayes" have it, overwhelmingly—86 percent to 12 percent.

10. Should first-class postage rates be raised to 5 cents, along with the provision that airmail would be used when possible? This proposal received a "No" majority of 60 percent, as against 39 percent saying "Yes."

11. Should the Vice President be relieved of his job presiding over the Senate, and given special executive duties? The editors strongly favor this much-discussed possibility by a margin of 63 percent to 33 percent.

The American Press prints pages of comment from country editors on these and other issues. One thing is clear—whatever side or solution they favor, most of them have definite ideas and they don't hesitate to express them vigorously.

Industrial Planning in Birmingham District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, my district abounds with choice industrial sites. Many areas, of course, are already widely known for their bustling industries. Plans are now being formulated for the development of at least six select sites in Jefferson County into large, well-planned "industrial parks."

This type of orderly development is the latest concept in industrial planning. It is something of the counterpart of the successful neighborhood shopping center or the residential subdivision. In an "industrial park," services to plants may be consolidated in order to provide improved facilities for all. Such a development can assure the potential industry a satisfactory location with adequate transportation facilities and utility services already available.

One of the largest industrial developments now under way in Jefferson County—indeed, in the entire South—is in Pinson Valley just northeast of Birmingham. This area, stretching from Tarrant to Pinson, has a tremendous industrial potential. It is near a large industrial water supply, on a four-lane superhighway, with level tracts large enough to accommodate any type of industry. It is significant that a railroad, the L. & N., is taking a leading role in this important development, for this assures more than adequate rail transportation.

It is forward, orderly planning like this which pays off in economic prosperity. We are fortunate indeed that Jefferson County has such ideal industrial sites. It is also encouraging that our county has the industrial know-how and foresight with which properly to plan the full and maximum development of these areas.

Under leave heretofore granted, I am happy to insert a news article entitled "Pinson Valley To Be Developed Into Bustling Industrial Park," which appeared in the Birmingham News of May 26, 1957, and an editorial headed "Pinson Valley Industrial Sites Are Developing," which appeared in the same fine newspaper on May 28, 1957:

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News of May 26, 1957]

PINSON VALLEY TO BE DEVELOPED INTO BUSTLING INDUSTRIAL PARK

(By Irving Beiman)

Development of Pinson Valley into a new industrial district attractive to industrial prospects received substantial stimulus today from the Louisville & Nashville Railroad.

Through Birmingham's Committee of 100, the railroad announced it has purchased 600 acres from L. P. Munger and others in the heart of Pinson Valley. The L. & N. last year bought more than 200 acres just south of Mount Pinson; the current purchase makes the railroad the largest landowner in the valley.

John E. Tilford, L. & N. president, said the entire area between Tarrant City and Mount Pinson is to be developed by the L. & N. and other owners into one of the largest industrial parks in the entire South.

RESIDENTIAL COUNTERPART

Paul S. Sieverling, director of the Committee of 100, said today's modern planned industrial district is a counterpart of a modern residential subdivision. The success of this type of development has been phenomenal wherever established.

Owners of the Munger land bought by the L. & N. had refused many times in the past to sell any part of it, because they were waiting for a purchaser with the know-how and financial ability to develop the area for expansion of Birmingham's industrial establishment.

A. C. Montgomery, president of Montgomery Real Estate and Insurance Co., handled sale of the land to the L. & N.

Mr. Tilford said experience has shown that unless industries "can be assured of satisfactory locations, with adequate transportation facilities and utility services, along with a friendly and responsible civic attitude, they will establish themselves elsewhere where these conditions prevail."

A WAY TO GROW

"Acquisition of the Pinson Valley property opens up a great new area for industrial expansion and fills a vital need," said Mr. Tilford.

"We are now beginning to feel in Birmingham for 'a way to grow.'

"In addition to acquiring this industrial property, the L. & N. is spending $10 million in expanding and modernizing its nearby Boyles Yards, which will enable us to provide unexcelled rail transportation to industries locating in the new area.

"This substantial investment by the L. & N. is in line with our traditional policy of assisting in the development of the Birmingham district and demonstrates our faith in the continued growth of the area.

"The specific manner in which the Pinson Valley will be developed will be governed somewhat by the character, size and specific needs of the industries which all of us working together may influence to establish themselves in the area.

"Our industrial development department and other company representatives will continue to cooperate closely with the Committee of 100, civic officials and other agencies in these development efforts.

"I wish to express my appreciation for the real interest and assistance of all the civic and business leaders who are working with us to make this a development of which everyone in the central Alabama area may be proud."

RIPE FOR DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Sieverling said the Committee of 100 for the past 2 years has been working steadily to establish a number of industrial districts in Birmingham. He said the committee felt the Pinson Valley was one of the finest tracts of land in the entire South, and was ripe for orderly, planned development.

The south end of Pinson Valley already is under development just north of Tarrant City, where the Birmingham Realty Co. has a 75-acre area which is being subdivided into tracts for small manufacturing, warehousing and truck terminal facilities. This area, as well as the entire valley, is served by the L. & N.

Sidney Smyer, president of Birmingham Realty Co., said improvement of this property, including all utilities, streets, etc., will be made and already widespread interest is developing among firms seeking locations which provide the facilities they require, including easy access and close proximity to Birmingham.

"We have already signed a contract with a large distributing firm who will occupy 8 acres," Mr. Smyer said.

A number of new plants already have located in Pinson Valley. They include Ketona Chemical Co., Hutchinson Metal Decorating Co., Dixie Electrical Manufacturing Co., Birmingham Lead & Smelting Co., Richards Tank Corp.

MANY DUE CREDIT

Mr. Sieverling said credit for the start of the Pinson Valley industrial district is due many, including the Jefferson County Commission, which has authorized an immediate study for a sanitary sewer system and access roads to serve the area; W. Cooper Green of Alabama Power Co.'s industrial development department, on power problems; Clarence Cook of Alabama Gas Corp., on gas problems; the Jefferson County Planning and Zoning Commission; Birmingham Mayor James W. Morgan; S. D. Moxley, chairman of the Industrial Water Board of the City of Birmingham, on studies and planning for doubling the supply of industrial water available for industrial users; a number of Birmingham realtors: L. & N. Railroad officials, and individual property owners.

OTHERS PROPOSED

The Pinson Valley industrial district is the first for Birmingham, Mr. Sieverling said, but since interest has been so widespread, other districts have been proposed and will be developed.

Among these are:

Robert Field, a 132-acre tract in the western section of Birmingham, is to be developed by the Frisco Railroad into an industrial park. All utilities will be available.

An area of 2,500 acres south of Bessemer is available for development and already the new Natco plant for manufacturing clay conduit is being constructed there.

The vast valley between Birmingham and Trussville and beyond toward Chattanooga contains some outstanding industrial sites. No actual development has been made here, however, but it is a definite possibility for a planned district.

Both the Bessemer and Trussville areas are served by the Southern Railway.

An 80-acre tract at Irondale has been made into an industrial park and General Motors has purchased a site here for a district warehouse to serve several Southern States. Birmingham Manufacturing Co. will erect a plant on a 10-acre tract in this park for the manufacture of trailers. Construction on both buildings is to start in the near future. This park is served by the Seaboard Railroad.

The increase in facilities at Birmingham Airport has opened up approximately 200 acres of manufacturing sites which the city of Birmingham will lease to manufacturers serving the aircraft industry. A large tract here is served by the L. & N. Railroad.

WHAT INDUSTRY WANTS

The importance of these developments for industry around Birmingham cannot be overemphasized, Mr. Sieverling said. "If Birmingham is to take advantage of the vast industrial growth of the South it must furnish the facilities industry wants and can get in other cities," he said.

"In the Pinson Valley, industry can find what it needs—tracts large enough, and properly planned and zoned, to accommodate any size industry—a four-lane highway for easy access—level land with a minimum of grading for plant sites, all utilities and railroad facilities, and close proximity to a major airport and to the Birmingham metropolitan area with all its diversified industries and transportation facilities."

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News of May 28, 1957]

PINSON VALLEY INDUSTRIAL SITES ARE DEVELOPING

Development of Pinson Valley northeast of Birmingham into a flourishing industrial park should be greatly stimulated with purchase of 600 acres in the area by the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. The railroad, with the aid of the Committee of 100, plans to offer the land as sites for new plants, distribution centers, and other business establishments.

The valley is one of the most promising areas for industrial development in the Birmingham district. It has all the necessary utilities and railroad connections, a four-lane highway for easy access, tracts large enough for any size industry, level ground requiring a minimum of grading, and close proximity to the city.

With vigorous promotion of its advantages, the area can become a major industrial park contributing to the economic strength of the entire community.

The Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, the cover story in the May 15, 1957, issue of Investor's Reader is on the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., its management, history, and philosophy. The story also records the election to the presidency of the company of Raymond C. Firestone, the fourth son of the founder.

The worldwide headquarters of the company is in my district, the 14th of Ohio, and I am proud that the thousands of men and women who are employed in Firestone's Akron plants and offices are my constitutents.

The magazine carrying this story is published "for a better understanding of business news" by Merril Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Beane.

While the story on Firestone gives a brief historical account of one American business, in my opinion it does much more than that. It epitomizes all that is good in our American system of free enterprise.

On August 3, 1900, the Firestone Co. was only a newly issued charter, an office, a small bank account, and one man, self-pledged to the ideal of quality and service, who staked his capital and his efforts on a vision of the future.

Today, Firestone is part of the American scene. It is one of America's greatest industrial organizations. It gives employment to more than 45,000 persons in the United States and to 40,000 more in other parts of the world. Firestone has served with distinction in three wars. And the company and its products are known and respected throughout the world.

Such sound and desirable growth takes place only where there is freedom and men like Harvey S. Firestone.

Fortunately for our country we have freedom to venture and to grow. We have men with ideals and vision. These two factors, freedom and men, helped to make our country the great Nation it is. Such freedom, such men, will always help to keep it great.

And since this truth is obviously implicit in the Investor's Reader story on Firestone, I feel that it is appropriate at this time to make the story a part of the record of this body.

The headline reads as follows: "The New Voice of Firestone—Founder's Son Combines Past and Present To Mold Tiremaker's Future."

And the story itself, in part, goes on:

After the middle of next month radio and TV's Voice of Firestone will be stilled for a while as the venerable concert program takes its first summer vacation in 28 years on the air. In the fall only the TV version of the Voice will return. But this revision of its most famous advertising showcase is not expected to interrupt the song of continued profits and growth by the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.

A prominent voice in this triumphant corporate chorus is Raymond Christy Firestone who stepped into the company presidency in January. At the same time 66-year-old Lee R. Jackson became vice chairman of the board after serving as president for 9 years. Senior brother Harvey Samuel Firestone, Jr. (59), retains top post as chairman, a job to which he was elected in 1948 after 7 years in the presidency.

Through such a skillful blending of family succession and other personnel the Akron, Ohio, rubber company has grown to be an industrial giant without losing its family personality. The Firestone management team is now headed by Chairman Harvey, Jr., and President Raymond, along with brothers Leonard (49), who heads the California subsidiary, and Roger (44), president of Firestone's plastics company, plus nonfamily Directors Jackson, James Trainer (executive vice president), John Shea (vice president), Harvey Hollinger (financial vice president), and Joseph Thomas (secretary and general counsel). Together they apply the policies and philosophy of founder Harvey S. Firestone, Sr., to today's problems.

The new Firestone president, a handsome, youthful-looking man with a quiet friendly manner and sparkling blue eyes, is the fourth of Founder Firestone's five sons. In his suite at Manhattan's Ambassador Hotel last week he smilingly summed up his career with the company: "I'm 48 years old, so I guess you could say I've been with Firestone for 48 years."

EXECUTIVE TRAINING

Ray Firestone got his first taste of executive duties as manager of the football team at the Hill School. At Princeton he majored in psychology and was elected polo captain as well as the member of the class of 1933 most likely to succeed. After graduation he began by pumping gas at a Firestone service station in Los Angeles. He moved on to successive jobs as salesman, store manager, district manager, division head.

In 1937 he became president of Memphis manufacturing and sales subsidiary Firestone of Tennessee, remained there until 1948 with time out for a stint as a War II Air Transport Command pilot. Ray Firestone next became vice president in charge of Firestone research and development, 5 years later was named executive vice president. By the time he was elected to the presidency this year he had gained first hand experience of almost every phase of company operations.

Although his Firestone responsibilities currently offer no time for polo playing, sportsman Firestone does enjoy riding, hunting, shooting. He also does some farming (but "I'm not a good farmer; for good farming is a fulitime job") and takes an active interest in Homestead Farms, an experimental farm maintained by the company at his father's birthplace in Columbiana, Ohio. He is also a director of the national 4-H committee and in 1951 was named honorary American farmer by the Future Farmers of America. But Ray Firestone has no secret yen to substitute farm for Firestone: "I always wanted to be part of the company. I never wanted or even thought of doing anything else. Dad always made the company very interesting to us."

EARLY TREADS

Harvey, Sr., and his sons made Firestone a company of international interest. Starting in 1900 with $20,000 cash and a tire mounting patent, Harvey Firestone set up a corporation to manufacture solid rubber tires for horse-drawn carriages. To compete against large established firms in the field he set out to manufacture tires which could win acclaim on their merit and coined the phrase which is still the company's motto: "Extra quality at no extra cost."

Soon however fledgling Firestone ran into difficulty. A new "clincher" type pneumatic tire was developed and patents were controlled by a monopolistic licensing association. Harvey Firestone countered by securing patents for a "straightside" pneumatic tire. All he then needed was a market. At this stage another young pioneer named Henry Ford was laying plans to build 2,000 cars to sell at $500 apiece. In 1906 he gave Firestone the contract for the tires. Firestone delivered and the company that year reported sales of over $1 million for the first time.

Firestone now supplies Ford, General Motors, Studebaker-Packard, and most of the major truck, bus, and farm machinery makers with a substantial but undisclosed percentage of their tire needs. (Chrysler has an exclusive contract with Goodyear.)

Tires remain the major part of Firestone business. The company also does a hefty volume in replacement tires and when the original equipment market is off in years of reduced auto output, ws usually find a good increase in our replacement business. This happened last year and Firestone still managed to sell a near-record number of tires.

In its 57-year career Firestone has grown into the world's largest rubber producer tonnagewise although in sales it ranks second to industry leader Goodyear which last year racked up $1.4 billion in sales or $300 million more than Firestone. The company operates 38 plants in the United States, 34 more in 12 foreign countries; it owns rubber plantations in Liberia, is setting up others in key spots throughout the free world.

The plantation venture began in 1926 when the company created its own source of supply by establishing a natural rubber plantation in Liberia. The investment has proved a boon to all concerned. Ray Firestone cites: "We've been in Liberia for many years and we're glad we pursued it. It's been a fine thing for the company and during World War II it was vital for our country. There were some things that could not be made without natural rubber. And our Liberian plantation was one of the two major sources available to the United States."

In its turn, Firestone has been singled out for its contribution to the African Republic. The National Planning Association last year wrote up the story of the company's Liberian operations as a model venture in American business aoroad. Encouraged by this success in Liberia, the company recently set up a rubber plantation in Brazil, is adding still other plantations in the Philippines and Guatemala in the near future.

Synthetic stretch: At the same time, Firestone has made big tracks in synthetic rubber. The company operated the Government-owned plant which turned out the country's first synthetic latex in 1942. It now has 2 synthetic plants able to produce 230,000 tons of synthetic rubber a year. They turn out over 25 different types of the material in solid and liquid forms.

Tireman Firestone points out: "We use synthetic rubber over natural rubber on about a 60-to-40 ratio for automobile tires and other produtcs. Up until now, however, truck tires had to be made exclusively of natural rubber. We have just developed a new synthetic which matches, may even surpass natural rubber for truck use."

The new synthetic which is called Coral rubber possesses the properties of natural rubber. Although still in the pilot plant stage, tough Army Ordnance tests on military truck tires have proved the substance behaves as well as natural rubber even when subjected to high speeds, heavy loads and intense temperatures. Ray Firestone says proudly: "It can do away with stockpiling supplies of natural rubber, make us completely independent of outside sources in case of war."

Even apart from synthetic content, tires have changed greatly in Firestone's 57 years. Like its competitors, Firestone has introduced many improvements: nonskid treads, insulation against internal heat, tubeless models, etc. President Firestone explains: "We have always looked for ways and means to make a better product. The tire industry has been highly competitive—that's why it has developed so. The cost of tires and tubes per mile of driving is a small fraction of what it was years ago—less than $1 for each 1,000 miles of service against almost $4 in 1915."

On Memorial Day 1911 Firestone tires were used on the first full 500-mile Indianapolis Speedway auto race. From 1920 on, Firestone tires have been on every winning car (as well as most of the other cars) in this classic and next month Firestone tires will be used on the 10 fastest American cars sent abroad to race the 10 fastest European cars at a meet in Monza, Italy. Ray Firestone proudly offers: "We test on the speedways to give more safety on the highway."

In addition to these headline events, Firestone carries on an extensive research development, and testing program. Research-minded Ray figures: "Each year we spend increasing amounts of money for research and development. We think we're in a fine business and we want to take care of its future."

President Firestone is quite optimistic about the future: "As I see it, tires are the major part of our growth business." Echoing his father's philosophy, "the whole structure of business is making and doing useful things for others," he links this growth to people. "Population is steadily growing, so is the standard of living. There will be more people throughout the world—and more people wanting cars, more people needing tires."

Address by the Honorable Dewey Short, Assistant Secretary of the Army, at Dedication Ceremonies, Paul W. Shafer Memorial Bridge, Battle Creek, Mich., May 27, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include an address delivered by the Honorable Dewey Short, Assistant Secretary of the Army for Civil-Military Affairs at the dedication ceremonies opening to use the Paul W. Shafer Memorial Bridge at Battle Creek, Mich.

As most of you will remember, the late Paul Shafer and our distinguished former colleague, Dewey Short, were comrades in the dearest and finest tradition. Devoted one to the other, they spent many happy hours in both pleasure and in constructive undertakings.

I should like to have heard this address as it was given by my good friend, Dewey Short. Limited as he was by the proprieties and regulations of the Department of the Army, much of the tribute paid to his old friend was not reduced to manuscript. But all of us, who remember the eloquence, the splendid voice and the superb use of words which have so long associated any effort of Dewey Short with speech, must know that he rang a golden bell.

That part of the speech which was prepared is included and follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, I am doubly honored and pleased to be with you, today. On this occasion "wild horses could not have kept me away." Project Battle Creek is an excellent, but unfortunately too rare, example of joint Army—Federal Government—local partnership. Many advantages spring from such a relationship. As the representative of the Army, I am proud to be here to pay tribute to your vision and hard work.

The Army has a particularly close interest in Battle Creek as three of my close colleagues are loyal Michigan sons. They are Secretary of the Army, Wilber Brucker, formerly governor of your State; Army General Counsel, Frank Millard; and the Assistant Secretary for Financial Management, George Roderick, who you may recall participated in the ground breaking ceremony here, last summer.

Secondly, this Paul W. Shafer Memorial Bridge represents a particularly fitting tribute to one of our closest friends. Paul Shafer and I spent many years as Congressmen and comrades in Washington. Indeed, we both served on the House Armed Services Committee, so that I have an intimate professional, as well as personal knoweldge of the kind of man Paul Shafer was.

His continuing concern for the well-being of his constituents is physically manifest in this bridge and in the related civic project promising relief from recurring floods, average annual flood damages are estimated at $490,000—relief from the blight of city slums—relief from the congrestion of downtown railroads—and relief from the frustration or chocked highways.

But these physical manifestations are like drops of water in the river of Paul Shafer's lasting influence over his fellow men. His deeds, his example, his spirit will remain forever.

Paul, along with former Mayor Bill Bailey, who maintains his extremely active interest in these matters as chairman of the railroad and planning board here in Battle Creek and as secretary for the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, supplied the initiative needed to get the original idea translated into action. Mayor Frank C. Wagner, the city commission, and the Kellogg Foundation through its president, Dr. Emory W. Morris have made major contributions. And, of course, your Congressman AUGUST JOHANSEN, formerly Paul Shafer's assistant, ably and tirelessly represents you in Washington and continues the work toward project completion.

The job of coordinating the several, sometimes conflicting, interests in this project of municipal improvement must have been most difficult. And yet such coordination is essential for the sound planning and construction of comprehensive programs such as this. The Army long ago learned to appreciate the value of coordination of all interests involved in a major undertaking. It pays off.

This extraordinary project has an even greater significance than many people may perhaps realize. The administration constantly points to project Battle Creek as an example of the best in Federal and local partnership in major public works—the method of joint enterprise.

We believe that joint enterprise is the best answer to the great historical problem of how to get big jobs done. And you in Battle Creek have shown the Nation how to do it.

President Eisenhower devoted a considerable portion of his state of the Union message to the critical problem of conserving and utilizing our natural resources. Perhaps you will be interested in his exact words:

"The whole matter of making the best use of each drop of water from the moment it touches our soil until it reaches the oceans, for such purposes as irrigation, flood control, power production, and domestic and industrial uses clearly demands the closest kind of cooperation and partnership between municipalities, States, and the Federal Government. Through partnership of Federal, State, and local authorities in these vast projects we can obtain the economy and efficiency of development and operation that springs from a lively sense of local responsibility.

"Until such partnership is established on a proper and logical basis of sharing authority, responsibility, and costs, our country will never have both the fully productive use of water that it so obviously needs and protection against disastrous floods."

In concluding the President uttered this rather impressive and thought-provoking warning: "If we fail in this, all the many tasks that need to be done in America could be accomplished only at an excessive cost, by

the growth of a stifling bureaucracy and eventually with a dangerous degree of centralized control over national life."

So you can see what underlies the administration's joint enterprise concept, exemplified so well by this project. It is not, as some interests have misconstrued, Government support of various private power interests.

As Abraham Lincoln once said, "The role of government is to do for the people what they cannot do at all for themselves, or so well do in their individual capacities." And he said, "In all those things where people can do these things for themselves, Government ought not to interfere."

That is why we are so proud of this splendid project here in Battle Creek. It is an object lesson in civil enterprise. You did not just turn everything over to the Government, wash your hands of the responsibility and wait—with the emphasis on wait. You went to bat for your own ideas; you put up your own money; you insisted quite properly in taking the lead in planning, and in general you saw to it that things were done correctly—as a joint enterprise.

Whenever the Federal Government, either by design or default, assumes complete control of a project, several noxious corollaries usually crop up. First, there is a transfer of initiative, self-reliance, and responsibility from local bodies (which are most effective and often more knowledgeable, because they are on the scene) to a Federal bureaucracy in Washington. I know that by personal experience.

Second, the whole process of public-works development tends to become the subject of political manipulation at the national level and intensifies the struggle of section against section for both Executive and congressional favor.

Third, it inevitably dooms many areas to indefinite delay and disappointment. No matter how large the Federal tax revenues and appropriations are, there can never be enough to do all the jobs that need to be done. Some areas are bound to wait or go without development.

As you may not realize, over three-fourths of our total Federal budget is committed in advance to present defense needs and the cost of past wars. The remaining 25 percent must cover such essentials as your postal service, the Weather Bureau, civil defense (with headquarters right here in Battle Creek), our national parks, the school-lunch program for your children, public-health programs for all of us, a Federal judicial system to insure justice and to maintain the FBI to keep our society a safe and democratic place to live in. Believe me, there are many proper demands for the available Federal dollars. Is it any wonder that useful projects must be delayed?

Finally, when we relinquish our local responsibilities and turn them over to the Central Government, we destroy the very concepts on which this Nation was founded and which led to its greatness. Too often in recent years people lose sight of the importance of local governments. They are the basis—the foundation—of our Federal system, and we must not destroy the structure by weakening the foundation.

Joint enterprise, then, as so dynamically typified here in Battle Creek, is the culmination of our democratic philosophy and experience in this field. Through it, we shall progress to our goal of bringing a better life to all our people. Your administration, your Congress, and your Army congratulate you on your accomplishments and the manner in which they are being achieved.

In closing, may I congratulate you on preserving the memory of a fine Congressman and an excellent friend, Paul Shafer, in such a fitting manner. He would be proud. And, I am sure, all of us are very happy.

Civil Aeronautics Board Audit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, on May 22, 1957, I discussed on the floor of the House two orders of the Civil Aeronautics Board dealing with audits of the books of Pan American World Airways, Inc. I was not, at that time, aware of the position and steps taken by Pan American and, in view of additional information that has come to my attention, I believe that in fairness to Pan American such matters deserve further comment. In my previous remarks I suggested that in view of the nature of the charges made in the orders of the Civil Aeronautics Board, Pan American, if these charges are without merit, should welcome a complete and thorough investigation. The fact that Pan American does welcome the Board's investigation has since been confirmed to me in a letter of May 29, 1957, from Mr. Samuel F. Pryor, vice president and assistant to the president of Pan American World Airways.

Mr. Pryor's letter also referred to a letter written by Pan American's comptroller, Mr. John S. Woodbridge, on May 22, 1957, which reflects Pan American's position and which has been printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It appears that there is, and for some time has been, considerable controversy between Pan American and the staff of the CAB with regard to the matters I mentioned. These matters are under review and litigation. I recognize the tentative and preliminary character of the Board's incompleted audit as mentioned in Mr. Pryor's letter and commend Pan American's attitude of cooperative willingness that both sides should be fully heard and adjudicated by competent authorities in accordance with our American tradition of fair play. In my statement on May 22, 1957, it was not my purpose to prejudge the pending complete audit by the Board. Obviously, it would be unfair and improper to prejudge any pending case before the Civil Aeronautics Board. I commend Pan American for its willingness to cooperate fully with this complete audit.

Mr. Speaker, in the interest of fairness, I insert the letter I received from Mr. Pryor in the Appendix of the RECORD. The letter is as follows:

PAN AMERICAN WORLD
AIRWAYS SYSTEM,
New York, N. Y., May 29, 1957.

Hon. MELVIN R. LAIRD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LAIRD: This is in reference to your remarks on the floor of the House on May 22, 1957, concerning two orders of the Civil Aeronautics Board issued in March 1957, one to investigate transactions between Pan American and its affiliated companies in which it holds investments, and the other seeking to reopen the Atlantic division mail rate for the years 1946 through 1954 on the basis of an incomplete report of an audit made for 1954 which raised questions primarily in regard to certain such transactions. As you are aware, the Board's order No. E-11146 dealing with such matters, included:

"The Board recognizes, of course, that the information now available to it may be subject to substantial qualification. As heretofore noted, the audit to date is incomplete, and substantial further investigation and analyses are required. Also, it is possible that the questionable areas disclosed by the audit may already have been, to some extent, taken into account by disallowances made in this or other mail rate proceedings; and Pan American is yet to be heard in connection with all of these matters."

As for Pan American's welcoming a complete and thorough investigation, apparently Pan American's 1956 annual report had not come to your attention at the time of your remarks. Therein the company stated that it "* * * welcomes the Board's investigation, which will demonstrate that these affiliations have been of tremendous benefit not only to the company itself, but also to the national defense, the foreign relations, and the general aviation position of the United States, as well as to the countries concerned. Equally important, they have resulted over the years in substantial savings in United States subsidy. The company has petitioned the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit to review the Atlantic division mail rate as inadequate, because of the Board's action in computing a fair return from these affiliates on the basis merely of the company's initial investment rather than current book value (as determined in one instance by the Board itself), and for other reasons. Prosecution of this appeal in the courts will be resumed at the earliest opportunity."

Further, on May 22, 1957, Pan American's comptroller, Mr. John S. Woodbridge, addressed a letter dealing with the same subject to a Member of the Senate. For purposes of your additional convenience, pertinent excerpts of that letter are as follows:

"For years there has been a fundamental area of disagreement between the Civil Aeronautics Board staff and Pan American with regard to mail rates and the proper accounting principles upon which to base them.

"For example, in fixing the mail rates for Pan American-Grace Airways (Panagra), which is owned 50 percent by Pan American and 50 percent by W. R. Grace & Co., the Board has accepted an investment base of several million dollars, most of which has been built up by plowing back a very large part of the earnings over the entire life of this pioneer company. While the Civil Aeronautics Board staff has apparently permitted one owner, Grace, to take its full share of the earnings based on the actual investment, it has allowed Pan American to retain less than 20 percent of its share of the earnings, and has disregarded the great bulk of Pan American's investment representing its share of the earnings plowed back over a period of 25 years. Pan American has no objection to Grace receiving its half of the earnings based upon the true investment fixed by the Board, but considers it grossly discriminatory and illegal not to grant Pan American the same treatment as to earnings from their joint company. The Civil Aeronautics Board has adopted this same philosophy in dealing with all of Pan American's other affiliates. It would treat Pan American's investment on exactly the same basis as it would if all of the earnings of these affiliates had paid out in dividends over the years instead of being retained in the business.

"Pan American has taken this and other related questions to the courts for adjudication. Pan American certainly feels that it has a good case and we believe that nothing

should be done to prejudice it before the courts have finally decided the matter.

"• • • Pan American welcomes the CAB inquiry, and we are confident that when the courts finally have decided the mail rate case the result will not be adverse to Pan American. Meanwhile, it would be inappropriate for me to comment on the specific matters referred to in the Board's order of investigation. These will be fully answered in that proceeding.

"The further order of the Civil Aeronautics Board itself reveals that the Board's conclusions are tentative and that they may be subject to substantial qualification. It also points out that Pan American is yet to be heard in connection with all of these matters.

"There is a very substantial area of controversy between Pan American and the CAB staff. Both sides should be fully heard, and the matter should be settled in accordance with our American tradition of fair play. Meanwhile, it would be unfair and improper to prejudge the case."

Upon consideration of the foregoing, we are confident that you will want to bring Pan American's side of the controversy to the attention of your colleagues in an appropriate manner.

Should you wish any additional information concerning Pan American's operations and activities please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

SAMUEL F. PRYOR,
Vice President and Assistant to the President.

The Simple Facts About Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under previous unanimous-consent request, I include for printing in the Appendix of the RECORD a short explanation of where the money in this country has gone.

In a few simple words, a banker points out why money is in short supply and the danger of artifically created low interest rates. If my colleagues will take a few moments and read this brief statement, they will get more out of it than they ever would have obtained from the reading of an entire proceedings of a congressional investigation into the banking and monetary system of this country. So, if all the disappointed Members who supported a resolution calling for such a study really want to know the answers, read this:

WHERE THE MONEY HAS GONE

(By Dietrich Schmitz, president, Washington Mutual Savings Bank)

The Argus of May 17 carried a front-page article headed, "Where's the Money Gone?" which briefly summarizes the effects of the present monetary situation. Comments are also made relative to the attractiveness of series E United States savings bonds.

Where has the money gone? The answer very simply is that we just have too many borrowers and not enough savers. So, like any other commodity where we have a greater demand than supply, a shortage ensues.

All any interested person has to do is look over the statistics, which are readily available and which show the fantastic increase in debt that has been developing in recent years. This refers not only to our National Government, but to State, local, and school district debt, corporation debt of all kinds, real estate mortgage debt, and, last but certainly not least, personal installment debt incurred for the purchase of automobiles and all other types of consumer durable goods.

Money, like any other commodity or service, finally winds up in the same position as tickets to New York's most popular musical comedy, My Fair Lady. As everyone knows, there are not enough seats to go around, and so, if you insist on attending, you have to pay a premium.

So the answer to your question is not too complicated. We need more savers and fewer spenders. To attain that position is not so simple, however. Our whole modern philosophy is to enjoy the so-called material pleasures of life before we have the money to pay for them.

If we are going to effect any change in that attitude, it is apparent we must offer a greater reward to the man who is willing to save first. In other words, higher interest rates benefit the saver at the expense of the borrower, who, after all, ordinarily does not have to go into debt unless he wants to.

And just a word on your comments relative to buyers of savings bonds. Series E savings bonds are still the world's best investment. Possibly as of this date a 3¼-percent return is not exactly in line with the market. But you must not overlook that an article like series E bonds cannot be adjusted from day to day, and, most importantly, any holder of a series E bond always has the privilege of redeeming his bond for cash, with a positive guaranty against loss, if he feels he can do better in some other preferred investment. Over the years savings bonds have directly created a sounder and better financial background for millions and millions of American citizens.

The greatest threat to the future of America—aside from another world war—is inflation. Artificially created low interest rates to encourage a further increase in debt would lead the way to further and sharper inflation of the American economy and a further devaluation in the purchasing power of the United States dollar.

In all seriousness, may I conclude, "Let's not be so foolish"?

Costly Low Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an excellent editorial as result of the long and studious investigation and study by the Cordiner commission, which merits the immediate attention of the Congress. The editorial appeared in the Boston Evening American on May 27, 1957:

COSTLY LOW PAY

We doubt whether any business could survive an 87 percent turnover in its skilled technical personnel.

Our Armed Forces are not a business in the ordinary sense, but in another, they comprise the most important business in the free world since they are our only real guaranty against subjugation and death.

But they just cannot hold the men they train in electronic and other technical skills against the greater lures and incentives of private life.

This theme has been effectively stressed by Ralph J. Cordiner, president of the General Electric Co. and the head of a civilian committee which has been looking into salaries in the Armed Forces.

All the "dream weapons" now in existence or on the drawing boards are not enough. They must be combined with brains and skills.

"The challenge to stay ahead of a potential aggressor," says Mr. Cordiner, "means staying ahead in quality of men as well as equipment. The public apparently has assumed that advanced weapons alone will produce an adequate defense and deterrent to war. That is not true."

He has reason to know. His committee recently completed a year-long study and recommended wide changes in the methods and rates of pay for both civilian and uniformed technicians on the Armed Forces rolls—based on knowledge and skills instead of the "Methuselah" system of seniority.

Nothing has been done about it. The Budget Bureau keeps on insisting that this is not the right time to put it into effect.

Yet reliable figures support Cordiner's contention that pay rates based on ability would save $5 billion a year by 1962—and improve combat efficiency by 15 percent.

Can we afford to ignore such savings? Or delay them as inopportune? We don't think so.

Coal and Our National Capitol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Coal and Our National Capitol" which appeared in the May 23, 1957, issue of the Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

COAL AND OUR NATIONAL CAPITOL

Coal was first mined in America near Richmond, Va., in 1701, but for half a century there seemed to be no urgency for developing another fuel when so much firewood was available in this country. Then coal came to be appreciated in the forging trade, and this was to become the principal market after the first shipment was sent down the James River in 1758.

As enthusiasm for freedom and independence flamed through the young Nation, bituminous coal became established as a vital ingredient in the manufacture of war materials. Considerable quantities of coal were shipped to Washington for use in Government buildings and the navy yard in 1800 and 1801. Deliveries were made via the James River, Chesapeake Bay, and Potomac River.

The year 1804 is generally considered as the start of coal mining in Western Maryland, the next source of coal for the Nation's Capital. The Maryland Geological Survey reported:

"Coal was discovered near the present site of Frostburg in 1804, and although various openings were made from time to time and a small amount of coal taken out, more than a quarter of a century passed by before min-

ing operations of any note were inaugurated. The first eastern shipment of coal was made in 1830 * * * the coal was loaded on barges in Cumberland and floated down the Potomac River to Washington. Although profitable for a time, this mode of conveyance was too destructive to life and property to be long utilized and was soon abandoned. The first shipments of coal over the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad were made in 1842, and over the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal from Cumberland in 1850. Since then shipments have been continuous and the record of annual output is complete from 1842."

Nowadays, most of the bituminous coal consumed in the Washington area is produced in West Virginia and transported by rail. The Benning and Buzzard Point plants of Potomac Electric Power Co. consumed more than 700,000 tons per year. Other important consumers include the Naval Gun Factory, and the West Central, Government Central, and Capitol heating plants.

The total United States output of bituminous coal in 1917 was 552 million tons. Last year, production totaled approximately 500 million tons. Whereas the electric utilities burned less than 30 million tons in 1917, today they have become coal's biggest customer, having some 155 million tons in 1956.

Ike Fails To Cast Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, it has been rumored a movement is on foot in Cumberland Township, Adams County, Pa., to change the voting place to the clubhouse on the golf course so that the President will vote at the next election.

The Republicans of Cumberland Township, Adams County, feel certain that if the polling place is on the golf links the President will not have to break up his game while he votes.

It seems strange that the chief author of Modern Republicanism, Arthur Larson, did not vote at the last general election, and the President did not vote at the last primary.

If this is an example of modern Republicanism—it is due for a short life.

The enclosed clipping by James Helbert, political writer for the Pittsburgh Press, appeared in Sunday's edition of June 2:

LIKE LARSON, IKE FAILS TO CAST VOTE

(By James Helbert)

The President of the United States is a very busy man—which is as startling as saying that Pittsburgh has a rough traffic problem every time it rains and many times when it doesn't.

Dwight D. Eisenhower has a cold war with the Commies and a hot war with Congress over the budget. He has the boiling Middle East and atomic power to contend with.

TOO MUCH GOLF?

Politicians on both sides often nag him and his foes charge he spends too much time out where the grass grows greenest on the golf course.

And it is now being brought out that the President didn't vote in the Pennsylvania May 21 primary at the polling place near Gettysburg where he is a registered Republican voter in Cumberland Township, Adams County.

Now it goes almost without saying that voting is the first duty of a citizen. Presidents, Senators, governors, judges, legislators, mayors, ward chairmen, teachers of civics all agree to that.

It is votes which put Presidents, lawmakers, and other officials into office and it is they who make the decisions which pretty much run our lives.

As the first citizen of the United States of America, it is expected that the President will set the example for all—and especially the younger among us.

LARSON DIDN'T VOTE

Maybe Ike was too busy on that Tuesday election day, but there were contests in Adams County which his vote would have helped decide. It should be noted, though, that he has been stressing the importance of voting.

This recalls Arthur Larson, chief author of Modern Republicanism, who failed to vote for President Eisenhower at last November's election. This was brought to light, and Mr. Larson made it a point to vote at the recent primary election in Pittsburgh.

Modern Republicanism includes let us all hope, the belief and the iron conviction that every citizen should vote at each election.

If the new GOP creed does not include that dogma, the Modern Republicans may stay home some election day and find themselves retired to private life by Democrats—both modern and old fashioned.

Luther Patrick—Editorial Comment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 31, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted, I am privileged to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD editorial comment of the two daily newspapers in the Birmingham, Ala., district regarding the death of former Representative Luther Patrick of Alabama, Sunday, May 26, 1957. The first of the following editorials is from the Birmingham Post-Herald of May 28, and the second is from the Birmingham News of May 28.

The editorials are as follows:

GALLANT FRIEND

Luther Patrick who in death must have found merciful relief leaves behind a host of friends to mourn his passing.

Nothing he did during his active years, in or out of politics, perhaps earned him as much admiration and respect as the gallant, cheerful manner in which he accepted the adversities of his final years.

He learned to live with pain, to face life with a smile and to work long after most men would have given up in despair.

If ever he complained it was never in the presence of the hearing of his friends.

To live as Luther Patrick lived requires great courage and a brave spirit. He was endowed generously with both.

His example leaves us a warm and glowing memory.

LUTHER PATRICK

Birmingham will greatly miss Luther Patrick. Luther—the first name was virtually imperative with him—was much alive, much concerned with the problems of living, much amused by life even when the going was hardest with him. He "took" life—much in the same sense as reaching out physically and seizing it; life was a thing he very much seemed to hold in his hand, to observe it, to savor it, to enjoy it. Yet always with a tender compassion.

This paper often had not seen "eye to eye" with Luther. Yet it always was with good humor that we and he disagreed. He wrote us letters. He wrote us a good many letters, over the years. They were always sharp, incisive, one might say well honed. It gave The News pleasure to print them. We are certain that the reading of Luther's letters gave many people pleasure also, and even if the reader disagreed, we are sure that the reason for disagreement was clear; Luther could point up an issue.

As a Representative in Congress, he served Birmingham and all this district devotedly. One uses the word "faithful" with care and precision in Luther's case.

As a writer of verse, he was entirely professional. His thoughts were transferred into language with an aplomb rare and, one can quite easily say, thoroughly professional. It takes an unusual man to produce something like "Sleeping at the Foot of the Bed." Great poetry? No; and Luther would have granted as much with his gentle humor and kindly smile. But pleasant, entertaining, and reaching into the human heart, yes. Yes, very much.

Birmingham without Luther Patrick will not be the same place. But his warm spirit will long linger, as will the memory of his hardiness in the face of crippling arthritis.

So long, Luther.

Fiscal Mess

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following item from the Wall Street Journal of June 3, 1957:

FISCAL MESS

Early this spring the Treasury raised its interest rate on Government savings bonds from 3 to 3¼ percent. Despite this, the parade of people walking up to cash in their savings bonds has hardly diminished.

Early this month the Treasury, faced with the job of refunding nearly $4.2 billion of the public debt, offered a 57-month note at 3⅝ percent. It was a flop. People who held the expiring securities preferred cash over the new Treasury notes to the tune of $1.2 billion.

And just a week ago Treasury officials gave up hope of selling the public a long-term bond to raise cash. They found the market wasn't receptive at the interest rate the Treasury was willing to pay.

In the meantime the Government's expenses have been rising and tax collections have been coming in only moderately well. The national debt is already some $5 billion more than it was 4 years ago and officials expect it to go higher before it goes lower.

Although there are plenty more such unhappy statistics, this is enough to show that when Robert Anderson takes over as Secretary of the Treasury this summer he will have his job cut out for him.

The plain, simple, and incontrovertible fact is that the Government of the United States is in a fiscal mess.

To put it bluntly, the Treasury of the richest Nation on earth is short of money.

At one point this spring it had hardly enough cash to pay a week's worth of bills. And with current spending rising faster than current income, despite the balanced budget, the squeeze threatens to get worse.

The basic cause of all this is a decade of uncontrolled spending which has now brought us to the point where even the present high tax rates cannot keep the Government's pocketbook filled. But in addition, the mess has been compounded by bad fiscal policy.

To imply, as recent Treasury decisions do, that the Government of the United States cannot borrow money in the marketplace is nonsense. And dangerous nonsense at that, for it also implies that the Government's credit is deteriorating.

The reason the Treasury cannot persuade individuals to invest in savings bonds is that it offers them no real inducement to do so; its recent increase in interest rates was not tailored to the requirements of savers but to a political notion of what the Government ought to pay.

So, too, with the recent financing fiascos, the United States Government can borrow money for 57 months or for 10 years. But short of putting a gun at the public's head it cannot borrow it at a lesser interest rate than the public is willing to accept for tying up money into the long, uncertain future.

Hence the present fiscal mess is purely manmade. The Government has let its own spending get out of hand; the armament program, the foreign-aid program and all the rest have put huge demands on the money market. Yet it is trying to escape the pains of what it has created.

If the Government clings to that fiscal policy only a miracle will keep the mess from getting worse. For if the money squeeze continues and the Government refuses to do what is necessary to borrow from the public, the only alternative will be to borrow it from the Federal Reserve System. In short, to print the money.

There is already tremendous pressure on the Reserve to pump money into the market so that the Treasury can borrow money at a politically satisfactory price. So far it has been resisted but the Reserve can be overpowered because when the day arrives that there are no dollars in the Treasury even Reserve Chairman Martin will have to yield.

We do not envy Mr. Anderson his new job. It will take a man bold and determined enough to sell a sensible fiscal policy in Washington. Or one lucky enough to head the Treasury when Uncle Sam is living so that he doesn't have to borrow beyond his means.

Current Views on Mideast and U. N. Force Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the following current views on Mideast and U. N. force problems of Ernest Gross, former United States representative at the United Nations:

CURRENT VIEWS ON MIDEAST AND U. N. FORCE PROBLEMS

Let us turn to the serious Palestine and Suez problems and the significance of the United Nations force in connection with them. Several years ago, Trygvie Lie wrote: "All through the first half of 1948 I was acutely conscious how different things in Palestine could have been had the U. N. had an international force at its disposal."

As it was, the crisis built up.

When the long-smouldering tensions finally burst into flame last fall, many responsible persons at the United Nations and elsewhere feared that this would set off the explosion of world war III. Almost every element of discord, of division and of disaster was present. The festering hostility between Arab and Jew; the Egyptian stranglehold on the economic jugular of Britain and Western Europe; the discord between ourselves and our major western allies concerning the most effective methods of handling the crisis; our long-continued ignoring of Israel's right to passage through the Suez Canal as determined by the United Nations Security Council as far back as February of 1951; the Soviet efforts, both subtle and open, to exploit the tensions and economic sickness of the area; and the suspicions of newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa toward what they rightly or wrongly regarded as the continuing colonial ambitions of their former overlords—all these factors appeared to defy solutions.

Nevertheless, the cease-fire was effected and the overhanging threat of world disaster was removed.

The primary instrument by which this was accomplished was the very action we are commemorating here and now—the mobilization of international forces by the United Nations.

I should like to look back for a few minutes to see how this was done and on what basis. I do so not merely to record the history of an action important to our times, but also to try to gage a little more accurately where we are headed. For, proud as we are of the mobilization of the international force, the basic problems which brought about the bloodshed in the first place have not in fact been resolved. A good hard look at the future role of the United Nations emergency force is, therefore, of grave moment to our own national interest.

Almost at once, after the fighting broke out last year, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution which remains a key to the future. It is well to recall that on November 2, 1956, the United Nations did more than merely urge a cease-fire. In addition, it urged all parties to "observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements." The Assembly also urged that when the cease-fire became effective steps were to be taken to reopen the Suez Canal and to "restore secure freedom of navigation." I ask you to remember these terms of the resolution in the light of what follows.

Two days later the General Assembly requested the Secretary General to submit within 48 hours a plan for the setting up of an emergency international United Nations force to secure and to supervise the cessation of hostilities "in accordance with the resolution of November 2." By brilliant and untiring effort, he actually did so in less than 24 hours.

May I repeat, the resolution of November 2 called for the scrupulous observance of the armistice agreements and the restoration of secure freedom of navigation in the Suez.

Through further brilliant effort, the Secretary General successfully organized a United Nations Emergency Force and worked out with the Government of Egypt the necessary agreements to assure the cooperation of that government. This was necessary for the most obvious reasons, in order to settle in advance such questions as the freedom of movement of the United Nations forces, their immunity from Egyptian jurisdiction, their access to sources of supply, their right to use bases and facilities, and all the other problems incident to such an operation.

In the course of his negotiations with the Egyptian Government the Secretary General gave his interpretations of the General Assembly resolutions relating to the character and functions of the force. These interpretations were approved by the advisory committee of nations set up by the General Assembly. It was on the basis of the resolutions, as interpreted by the Secretary General, that the Egyptian Government consented to the arrival of the United Nations emergency force in Egypt.

In his report of February 11, 1957, to the General Assembly, the Secretary General stated that he was "able to report that the Government of Egypt reaffirms its intent to observe fully the provisions of the armistice agreement to which it is a party, as indicated earlier in its acceptance of the November 2 resolution of the General Assembly." This was, of course, on the assumption that it would be reciprocal on both sides.

When the British and French, and later the Israelis, withdrew their forces in favor of the United Nations emergency force, it was against this background of policies and commitments. It is likewise with this perspective that we must appraise the mission of the United Nations Force and the duration of its stay.

The Secretary General himself announced that the functions of the force would be "to help maintain quiet during and after the withdrawal of non-Egyption troops, and to secure compliance with the other terms established in the resolution of November 2, 1956." (Report of November 6.) He went on to say that the force should not have military functions "exceeding those necessary to secure peaceful conditions, on the assumption that the parties to the conflict take all necessary steps for compliance with the recommendations of the General Assembly."

Again I repeat: The November 2 resolution called for scrupulous compliance with the armistice agreements and secure freedom of navigation in the Suez.

What this all comes to, I believe, is that the test of the success or failure of the accomplishment we honor today will be whether the United Nations Force is permitted to carry out the mission spelled out in the General Assembly resolutions and reports of the Secretary General, to which I have referred.

Its presence should insure against the recurrence of frontier raids, against blockades either of the Suez or the Gulf of Aqaba and against other acts of belligerency outlawed by the armistice agreements. It must stay in position so long as its presence is necessary to prevent a recurrence of the conditions which brought about the crisis. Again to quote the Secretary General: "There is universal recognition that the condition of affairs of which the deterioration formed part, should not be permitted to return." Or, in the words of Ambassador Lodge, our United Nations representative speaking in the General Assembly on the first of March, the role of the United Nations force should "continue until there is a definitive settlement respecting the Gaza Strip" and that the United Nations force should be stationed at the Ttraits of Tiran "until it is clear that the non-exercise of any claimed belligerent rights has established in practice peaceful conditions of navigation." Reference might well have been made by Ambassador Lodge also to peaceful conditions of navigation through the Suez.

This would be entirely consistent with the explanation of our position made by the President of the United States on February 21. In that speech, President Eisenhower said: "We should not assume that if Israel withdraws, Egypt will prevent Israeli shipping from using the Suez Canal or the Gulf of Aqaba. If, unhappily, Egypt does hereafter violate the armistice agreement or other international obligations, then this

should be dealt with firmly by the society of nations."

There is no reason to assume that the President did not mean what he said or that his words do not mean what they so clearly say. With respect to the Suez Canal, therefore, I believe that if Israel is denied passage, the least the society of nations can do in dealing with the situation would be to insist the U. N. force carries out its responsibility. Logic as well as justice demands this.

Egypt accepted the resolution of November 2, calling for compliance with the armistice agreements. In 1951, the Security Council had interpreted the armistice agreements to preclude acts of belligerency, specifically such acts as blockading the Suez against Israel. Egypt consented to the arrival of the United Nations emergency force in Egypt on the basis of the resolutions of the General Assembly, including the resolution of November 2. It follows that the mission of the United Nations Emergency force in Egypt is as much directed toward precluding the blockade of the Suez as it is of assuring against the resumption of any other acts of belligerency, such as border raids or stoppage of shipping to the Gulf of Aqaba. Unless the United Nations emergency force is allowed to perform this function, I fear that the peak of progress we are commemorating today will become badly eroded and undermined.

Moreover, if its mission is restricted unduly, or if the force is withdrawn prematurely—whatever the sources of pressure or provocation may be—the one tangible means of progress toward the goals of the uniting for peace resolution will have been shattered.

The fate of the League of Nations shows that institutions will perish if they are not capable of taking actions and making decisions essential to their survival. This is so self-evident a proposition that it seems trite to say it. But the challenge is always to identify the action or decision which must be taken.

I believe that the accomplishment by the United Nations force of its broad and vital mission is one of those testing points which from time to time confront human institutions. If the force fails, either through fear or favor, we will be navigating a disaster course.

I do not think our credit is so low, nor the will of the free world so weak, that we shall steer ourselves onto the rocks.

Dangers of Communism in Latin America

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, since I first became a Member of this House, I have been concerned with the dangers of communism in our Latin American countries, and particularly in our neighboring countries of Central America and the Caribbean area. To show that I am not alone in recognizing these dangers is proven by some facts in the book entitled "El Libro De Galindez, Una Obra Cinica y Procaz" and written by an American author—and I use the term "American" as meaning all of the peoples in our Western Hemisphere—was sent to me by a friend and correspondent. In 1956 Señor J. A. Osorio Lizarazo wrote this book which was published in Santiago de Chile and portions which I now desire to quote and place in the RECORD refer to the controversial figure whom I have publically branded, most charitably I believe, as at least a Communist Party-liner.

The book, written in Spanish, has had widespread circulation in Latin America, and I quote the translation as follows:

The thing that makes (Jesus de) Galindez so furious, the thing which apparently leaves him entirely irrational, is the fact that Trujillo has gained a worldwide reputation for his political and economical genius, and has received innumerable citations and awards from the governments, peoples, and educational institutions of other lands all over the world, as well as the fact that the Dominican benefactor has received the highest honors, rewards, and positions of honor and trust from his own fellow Dominicans, and occupies a unique place in the affections of his fellow countrymen. It is certainly more than mere coincidence that this irrational indignation of Communist-murderer Galindez coincides exactly with the position taken by atheistic communism the world over, and particularly by Communist and fellow-traveling leftwing writers.

An indication of how malignantly determined are the men who attack and vilify Generalissimo Rafael L. Trujillo Molina and the Government of the Dominican Republic is to be found in their determination to make of their entirely false and trumped-up charges, as set forth in the stale and rehashed Galindez book, a "continental" matter—that is, an attempt to persuade the people and governments of the continental nations of the Western Hemisphere that the healthy political and economic regime at Ciudad Trujillo in some way presents a "danger" to such continental nations.

The truth is, of course, that without the undoubted political and economic genius of Trujillo, the Dominican Republic today would be, like its neighbor Puerto Rico, no more than a vassal state of its great neighbor, the United States of North America, its people, like those of Puerto Rico, engaged in one of the greatest mass migrations of all history away from their native land.

Beginning in 1930, the Dominican Republic was itself subjected to military occupation by the United States of North America. While that occupation was most benevolent and was undertaken for the benefit of the people of that great island nation, there is no getting around the fact that any nation which is subjected to a military occupation undergoes the greatest humiliation and despair, regardless of the motivation of such occupation or the benevolence of the occupation forces. In the case of the Dominican Republic, the United States of North America, in invoking its Monroe Doctrine, seized the customhouses of the Dominican Republic, and its customs officers were appointed by Washington, not Santo Domingo (now Ciudad Trujillo). Under such circumstances, the easy thing would have been to forget honor, dignity, and sovereignty and permit such benevolent occupation to continue indefinitely—just as Puerto Rico has done. To bring about an end to the causes which made that occupation necessary and to bring about political peace and economic stability—particularly in the face of gross discrimination on the part of the occupying power in the matter of sugar, the staple crop at that time—required almost superhuman abilities.

Such abilities were provided by that Christian God whose ways remain so inscrutable to the finite man.

To the despair and frustration of such as Jesus de Galindez, Communist, murderer, embezzler, there came forth in the Dominican Republic a man who could and has literally performed miracles. Not only has the generalissimo—as he is known by his people who hold him in such great affection—Rafael L. Trujillo Molina brought political peace and tranquility to his island homeland; not only has he made of the Dominican Republic the one nation of the earth free of debt and a model which is the despair of all other nations, but he has succeeded in erasing the bitterness that is the natural consequence of a military occupation.

Such traitors as Jesus de Galindez and Jules Dubois look in vain for a weak spot in the makeup of this great American statesman. They find none, for none is present. Thus, they are driven more and more into desperation, and reckless frustration. The desperation and frustration of these evil and iconoclastic men is only made more burdensome by them by the benevolent and good-natured derision in which they are held by the generalissimo and the people of the Dominican Republic.

History will surely record the life and work of Rafael L. Trujillo Molina as that of a great genius and a great statesman. If history even remembers such of his unimportant detractors as Jesus de Galindez and Jules Dubois, they will rate only a brief and passing notice as human monsters, traitors to all mankind.

Ohio GOP Differs: It Wins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following article from the May 26 issue of the Detroit News by Will Muller entitled "Ohio GOP Differs: It Wins." This is the first of a series of three articles giving the comparison of the political situation in Michigan and Ohio:

MICHIGAN PARTY'S PLIGHT CONTRASTED—OHIO GOP DIFFERS: IT WINS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Interested in preserving a strong two-party system in Michigan, the Detroit News as a public service sent its political analyst to report how Ohio Republicans revitalized their State organization after years of Democratic domination. Michigan Republicans now stand where the Ohio Republicans did after their 1948 defeat. This is the first of three articles.)

(By Will Muller)

COLUMBUS, OHIO, May 25.—Only a line unnoticeable to a motorist today divides a land of Republican want from a land of Republican plenty.

South of the Michigan-Ohio border to the Ohio River, Republicans have won every statewide office, but that held by bushy-haired and unpredictable United States Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE.

Northward from the same line to Lake Superior, Michigan Republicans have lost every statewide elective office but that held by United States Senator CHARLES E. POTTER.

Frustrated Michigan Republicans, seeing the party's tide running out in their State and sweeping back in across Ohio, are asking: "Why?"

In 10 years the picture in Ohio and the picture in Michigan have been reversed. The Ohio desert has bloomed with Republican victories. The Michigan paradise has be-

come a Republican disaster area, eligible for relief from Washington.

Already the suggestion has been made—quietly and not from Michigan—that Republican National Chairman Meade Alcorn send election shock troops into Michigan to save Senator POTTER in 1958.

The easiest answer, and the one mostly heard when the divergence of party fortunes in the two States is discussed by the nonprofessional politician, is this:

North of the border is G. Mennen Williams, five times Democratic Governor of Michigan, whose personal popularity is overrunning State boundary lines toward the Presidency.

And south of the border is Raymond Charles Bliss, chairman of the Ohio Republican central and executive committee.

Those seeking a serious answer to Republican success in Ohio and Republican failure in Michigan will find other and equally vital contrasts between the two branches of the party itself.

In Ohio the "moneybags" offer no target to their Democratic opposition. When Chairman Courtney Burton and his Ohio Republican finance committee have raised the money for the budget drawn by Bliss, their participation in party affairs is ended.

Any casual reader of politics in Michigan is aware that the big money raisers in his State are determined to say who can spend it. The policies and the very existence of the party are in their hands.

"We couldn't operate that way in Ohio," says Bliss. "We have a pact that the money will be spent for the common good of the party, and the party's objectives are going to be so high it will mean the money goes to provide the best government for everyone."

There is party discipline in Ohio. Anyone availing himself of the Republican label to win an election must abide by the party platform. A party "popoff" survives in the Ohio Legislature like a geranium in January

Last month a proxy to a Michigan Republican central committee meeting covered his colleagues with embarrassment by reading a paragraph of the party promising adequate schools. In Michigan, a platform isn't supposed to survive the campaign.

PROMISE TO BE KEPT

In Ohio, Republicans push their platform as a contract with voters. Afterward it is the Bible for Ohio legislators, Congressmen, United States Senators, and State officers. It is a promise to be kept.

"A politician's only stock-in-trade is his word," says Bliss. "If he wants public confidence, if he wants to win, he'd better keep it good."

In Michigan, party leaders wonder how to "motivate" the precinct workers. In Ohio, the precinct committee owns the party, from the county chairman through Bliss and the State committee.

County committees and county chairmen are elected by the precinct committeemen (delegates in Michigan). A bill to give Republicans that same tool in Michigan was introduced in the legislature's latest session. Republicans killed it.

To run for governor or United States Senator in Michigan, a candidate either must have wealth or commit himself to wealthy contributors. In Ohio, last fall, the State central committee took $150,000 of the approximately $800,000 raised by the finance committee and gave it to the party's nominee for governor.

There was only one string attached. If elected, he must stand by the party platform on which he was running.

The central committee gave another $150,000 to its candidate for the United States Senate, George Bender. He failed of reelection.

In addition, the party asked each candidate to raise all the money he could from his private sources. It refused to provide any campaign literature that didn't tie together all Republican candidates, from the White House to the legislature.

MUST VOTE FOR EACH

"In Ohio," Bliss explains, "it's a party campaign. But we have the office ballot, and we expect each candidate to identify himself to the voters in the campaign."

With the office ballot there can be no straight-ticket voting in Ohio. The voter must place an X before every candidate he wants.

Ohio Republicans have no reputation as labor's foes. In the 1955 legislature labor had sponsored a bill to revise the workmen's compensation system. Industry opposed it.

A bill badly wanted by the State's chambers of commerce was held up until labor got its bill through the legislature. Republicans got credit for the maneuver.

In Michigan today the great debate is on whether the party organization should be controlled by modern Republicans or Taft Republicans. That argument is unheard in Ohio, the late Senator Taft's home State, for Ohio's brand of Republicanism is written into the party platform each election—and all who live up to it are just plain Republicans.

Michigan Republicans are just taking the first step, in their desperation, toward a permanent, year-around party organization. Lawrence B. Lindemer, newly elected chairman at $21,000 a year, has passed his first election and still has only a token staff.

At 17 High Street, Columbus, Ohio, Bliss is sitting down with a 15-member staff of veterans to put the final polish to plans for the 1958 State and congressional campaigns.

Nothing has been left to chance, to trial and error. In politics the game, Ohio has learned, goes to the professional.

Puget Sound Shipyard Sets Work Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the May 24, 1957, issue of Salute, publication of the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard, describing a new method of removing armorplate from warships:

You first read about Puget Sound Naval Shipyard's amazing new procedure in armorplate removal back in June of 1954 when the *Franklin D. Roosevelt's* conversion timetable jumped 5 full weeks ahead as the result of its initial use on the big carrier while still waterborne.

As a production news story it was a natural that clicked instantly with the Navy's economy-minded Bureau of Ships, attained further prestige with its inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

NO PARALLEL

Fifteen months later the story did a press repeat on September 26, 1955. It read even better. This time the plate removal was from off the *Midway*, 43 (26-ton) plates removed from hull to barge in 18 working hours.

Navy production heads everywhere marveled even more at this waterfront feat that telescoped time and labor costs, but to paraphrase the sideshow barker—"They hadn't seen nothing yet."

For last Thursday and during the first 33 minutes of Friday's day shift there took place a plate removal job on the *Coral Sea* that for production speed and dispatch is perhaps unparalleled in this shipyard's history.

EYE "CORAL SEA"

Old-timers could only recall certain phases of the Louisville construction in the early 1930's and those battle damage repair jobs done during World War II as coming anywhere near matching last weekend's record performance.

How did the new record get off the ground? Masters Walt Bruns, S–72, and Dean Calhoun, S–11–26, have the answer. "We had our eyes on the *Coral Sea* from the moment the big carrier docked."

Bruns and Calhoun were soon to find they weren't alone in their thinking. Shop 99's temporary services, transportation, supply, and even administration's tug facilities were to respond to their proposal of a record-breaking assault on the *Coral Sea's* hull plates as if these activities had been tuned in on the Bruns-Calhoun mental circuit all the while.

ZERO HOUR SET

The starboard plates were the first to go in a warmup test carried out over a 3-day period. Forty-three plates going in 14-plus hours, while if not a record, told all concerned one thing—they were ready.

Zero-hour was set at 0745 Thursday, May 16, and all participating shops and activities alerted.

The morning dawned bright and clear, the waters of Sinclair Inlet lay still against the *Coral Sea's* massive hull as the wreckers began their race against time.

By 0800 the first plate had been loosened and lowered onto the barge and all hands knew their timing was as perfect as a 21-jewel watch.

TORRID PACE

As the morning hours sped by, the individual plates fell with increasing speed and rhythm as the time count dropped steadily from 20 minutes a plate to 15, then to 10 minutes and even as low as 8 minutes a plate and then seemingly leveled off at a 9-to-11-minute-per-plate average.

If the pace was torrid, it had more than met its match in the spirit and determination of the workers. When the noon-hour whistle blew, 18 plates had been removed, 25 to go.

At 12:30 they resumed the race. By 1239 the 19th plate was accounted for and by 1247, No. 20 had hit the barge decking. And so it went throughout the day, a minute gained here, a minute lost there, the plates steadily dropping all the while.

RECORD SET

At 1403, the 28th plate was talied, at 1508, the big crane had landed plate 33, and by 1618, plate 40 had gone by the boards. For all intents and purposes the workday was done but there could be no doubt that a record had been set.

In the elapsed time of 7 hours and 48 minutes, 40 plates had been taken off and loaded on the barge.

Forty plates down and three to go the following morning. To show they had not lost their drive, Friday morning saw the production shop combo wrap up the final plates in 33 minutes at an amazing clip of 11 minutes a plate.

PRAISE FOR ALL

In their postrecord recaps, Burns and Calhoun had nothing but praise for all hands. Bruns for the yeomen services of his riggers, divers, tank cleaners, Calhoun for his welders, shipfitters, drillers, calkers, chippers, and burners.

To Lt. Comdr. J. T. Burrill, ship superintendent, they expressed their appreciation and admiration for the smooth way in which he maintained the ship's ballast at the proper draft.

Both masters took cognizance of the tug and barge assistance by Administration, by Transportation's crane and rail service, and Supply's dispatching.

NO ACCIDENTS

Of the latter, Bruns said that Supply had secured all 86 plates on flatcars and ready to ship east within 8 hours after the last plate had been removed from the *Coral Sea*.

Safety, too, came in for a well deserved plug. It was duly noted that on all three plate removal operations, the *Franklin Delano Roosevelt*, *Midway*, and *Coral Sea*, not a single disabling injury had occurred.

Forty-three plates in 8 hours and 21 minutes—no wonder the Armed Forces House Committee acknowledges Puget Sound Navy Shipyard as the leading carrier yard on the Pacific coast.

REMOVAL TIME STATISTICS

Here's the complete running time of the record-setting removal of the *Coral Sea's* 43 portside hull plates. Below is actual time each plate came free from the ship's side and was hanging on the armor removal barge.

Plate:	*Time*
1	0800
2	0820
3	0835
4	0847
5	0900
6	0909
7	0918
8	0926
9	0936
10	0946
11	0956
12	1006
13	1019
14	1034
15	1046
16	1100
17	1123
18	1134
19	1239
20	1247
21	1257
22	1306
23	1316
24	1325
25	1336
26	1346
27	1355
28	1403
29	1412
30	1423
31	1435
32	1451
33	1508
34	1517
35	1529
36	1540
37	1549
38	1558
39	1609
40	1618

Friday, May 17, 1957:

Plate:	*Time*
41	0757
42	0806
43	0818

The Third Party in Medicine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged on June 2, 1957, to address the Conference of Presidents and Other Officers of State Medical Associations at a session preceding the annual meeting of the American Medical Association in New York City. My speech was entitled "The Third Party in Medicine" and it deals in part with the proper role that the Federal Government can play as a third party to the physician-patient relationship. Because of the importance of the question, I call it to the attention of our colleagues and under unanimous consent I include my discussion herein:

THE THIRD PARTY IN MEDICINE

I consider it a great honor that you have asked me to address you today. I may assume, of course, that you do not expect me to impart to you any knowledge in the field of medicine which I do not possess. I would rather think that you want me to discuss some issues which concern both physicians and Members of Congress because legislative proposals involving these issues have been entertained in the Congress in the past and are apt to be considered again in the future.

Not a day passes on which I as an individual Member of Congress or as chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee do not receive a number of communications involving some questions of health and health care. You may wonder why the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of all congressional committees should concern itself with questions of health. Certainly the name of the committee does not appear to imply any such concern. As frequently is the case, the explanation is a historical one and readily explains the connection between commerce and health.

Since colonial days our country has depended on merchant vessels to bring goods from foreign lands to our shores and to carry our exports abroad. Merchant seamen manning these vessels, when falling ill or becoming incapacitated, imposed an undue burden upon local facilities and local resources in our port cities.

When the Congress met in 1789, a resolution was adopted appointing a committee to prepare a bill providing for the establishment of hospitals for sick and disabled seamen. However, no such legislation was enacted until 9 years later when the 5th Congress passed an act to establish the Marine Hospital Service (I might say parenthetically that things today are still pretty much the same as they were during the early days of the Republic—it usually takes several sessions of Congress to develop and pass major legislation).

The Marine Hospital Service Act was approved by President Adams on July 16, 1798. It authorized the President "to nominate and appoint, in such ports of the United States as he may think proper, one or more persons, to be called directors of the marine hospital of the United States, whose duty it is to provide for the accommodation of sick and disabled seamen."

The Marine Hospital Service formed the basis of the United States Public Health Service as we know it today, and from this interesting bit of history you will appreciate the historical connection between commerce and health which has resulted in the assignment to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of legislative jurisdiction over public health and health care problems.

I would like to make it abundantly clear that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce feels very strongly that its responsibility in the field of health is one of the most important legislative responsibilities given to it, and the committee takes these responsibilities very seriously indeed. This field of the committee's legislative responsibility differs somewhat from other fields assigned to it because in the case of health legislation the committee deals with human needs of all of our citizens. In many of the other legislative fields assigned to us we are dealing primarily with business organizations and trade associations, etc., and economic considerations frequently predominate and necessarily so.

In an effort to more effectively discharge the committee's responsibilities in the field of health, I have as chairman of the committee appointed a Subcommittee on Health and Science, of 11 members, with Congressman JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, of Mississippi, as chairman. It is my purpose to see that special attention is given to the problems and legislation in these two fields. It is also my aim that this subcommittee of able Members of the Congress keep in mind in the consideration of these matters, the subject which I have in mind for you today, The Third Party in Medicine.

I have not related to you the history of our committee's legislative responsibilities in the field of health merely to explain why our committee and not some other congressional committee has legislative jurisdiction over health measures. I wanted, however, to call to your attention that from the very inception of the Republic, Congress, in case it found such action was justified on the basis of a clearly established need, has accepted the fact that a third party might be required in special situations to provide needed medical services.

Every thoughtful person appreciates, no doubt, that a third party entering into a two-party relationship creates quite a problem. In the case of a marriage relationship, intervention of a third party almost invariably results in a breaking up of the marriage. Fortunately, however, this is not the rule with regard to all third parties. Take for example the case of the relationship between a Member of Congress and his constituents. A third party in the form of an interested group or an executive agency, might attempt to influence the Congressman-constituent relationship. Quite frequently a third party may improve this relationship by helping both the constituent and the Congressman. Then, there are other instances where nothing is further from the mind of a third party than to strengthen the relationship between the Congressman and his constituent, but on the contrary, is out to sever the relationship and to sever if for good.

What am I trying to say? I am trying to say that in the case of the relationship between a physician and his patients, just as in the case of other relationships, each case of a third party must be examined carefully on its own merits in order to determine whether the third party is likely to benefit or harm the relationship.

Let me examine then the nature and purpose of some of the third parties which participate in the physician-patient relationship and let us try to determine whether their participation has been beneficial or adverse. I do not mean with a view of determining the advisability of whether they are good or bad. Most of us have our own opinions about some of these programs. I merely wish to point to some results and with particular emphasis to the trend of today.

Let us take hospitals, for example. Surely they must be considered third parties when it comes to the doctor-patient relationship. However, could you imagine practicing medicine today without hospitals. As a matter of fact, it might be said that the construction of many hospitals, particularly in rural areas and small communities, has contributed to the establishment of new physician-patient relationships, because in many instances physicians could be induced to practice medicine in rural areas and small communities only after adequate hospital

facilities were made available in those areas. Hospitals also help train new members of your profession by providing the facilities where medical students, interns and residents gain the practical experience required by physicians.

If we consider hospitals third parties then can we consider the Federal Government a third party once removed because the Federal Government, through the hospital construction program, has given impetus and support to the construction of new hospital facilities by State and local governments and private, nonprofit organizations.

While hospitals on the whole must be considered third parties which greatly benefit the physician-patient relationship, there have been some instances in which some hospitals have been criticized for disturbing established physician-patient relationships. Such criticism has come from physicians as well as from patients. It has been directed against the practice generally followed by hospitals of being selective about admitting members of the medical profession to their staffs. This selectivity (and I am not criticizing it when I refer to it) definitely affects the relationship between some physicians and some patients.

Where does that leave the hospitals as third parties? On balance, I would think, your profession would not want to do without hospitals. This does not mean however that each and every act of these third parties invariably is beneficial to the relationship with exists between a given physician and his patients.

Let us look at some other third parties. Their number has become legion in recent years. Private insurance carriers and prepayment organizations have increasingly become third parties which importantly participate in the physician-patient relationship. These carriers may be commercial insurance companies, or, they may be nonprofit organizations like the Blue Cross or Blue Shield. They may be prepayment plans organized by employers or employees, or they may be organized jointly by both employers and employees. They may be prepayment plans organized by consumers on a communitywide basis, or they may be prepayment plans organized by local medical societies which compete with consumer-sponsored prepayment plans.

All of these third parties greatly differ from each other with regard to the methods which they employ in participating in the physician-patient relationship. Your profession, through its local, State, and national organizations has scrutinized, and appropriately so, these methods for many years. You have approved some and you have actively opposed others. As I understand it there are many different points of view as to whether a given plan or method is beneficial or detrimental to the traditional physician-patient relationship.

This is a fundamental issue that has beset many Members of Congress, and especially the members of our committee, in the consideration of the many proposals, and I might say, demands which we have had in matters of public health. I am personally concerned about the trend in the thinking that goes into these legislative proposals but want to emphasize here that this is the fundamental principle involved between the traditional system, the freedom and unrestrained relationship on the one hand and governmental interference, or often referred to as socialized medicine on the other.

As new third parties appear on the scene, new issues will be raised for some time to come and perhaps the debate will become heated in particular cases to the point where some of these controversies will, as they have in the past, reach the courts, State legislatures, and the Congress of the United States.

There are other third parties that are not thought of quite as frequently as third parties because their attempts to influence the traditional physician-patient relationship are of a different character. I have in mind drug and pharmaceutical firms on the one hand and foundations and voluntary associations operating in the health field on the other hand. The committee has received a number of interesting communications from members of your profession pointing to the increasing amount of advertising engaged in by some pharmaceutical firms addressed to the public in general. The purpose of this advertising obviously is to create a demand on the part of the general public for particular drugs. Some of these drugs may be sold on prescription only. Therefore, such public advertising is aimed at creating a demand on the part of the patients that physicians prescribe particular drugs. Thus, the pharmaceutical houses engaged in such advertising seek to influence the physician-patient relationship. Some physicians who have communicated with our committee have suggested that such advertising constitutes an unwarranted interference on the part of the particular drug manufacturer in the traditional physician-patient relationship. It is my understanding that the problems have been the subject of study by a special committee established by the American Medical Association. If these practices continue and increase in frequency, our committee too may desire to study how these practices affect the public welfare, or should I say public tranquility.

Public demand for particular drugs, or biological products, is created not only on the basis of public advertisements. Foundations and voluntary organizations concerned with particular diseases aim at reaching the public to arouse interest in these specific diseases and to stimulate their prevention or cure. In some instances substantial differences of opinion have arisen on the part of medical experts, whether a vaccine or a pharmaceutical or biological product is safe and efficacious and whether it should or should not be given to patients. There might be further disagreement among medical experts with regard to the methods which should be employed in applying the vaccine or the pharmaceutical product. The direct contact however which a foundation or other organization may have with the general public may greatly influence traditional physician-patient relationships. We cannot easily forget an experience so recently had which pointed out so forcefully this particular problem.

So, you can see we have a multitude of third parties which seek to participate in the physician-patient relationship. Some of the third parties have become generally accepted by physicians and patients. As to other third parties the situation is often not so clear, and this is particularly true with regard to some of the more recent third parties whose potential power for good or evil is very great indeed. As an example, you have the existing contentions which have arisen recently on certain kinds of prepayment plans.

It is impossible for me to discuss the benefits and disadvantages, both actual and substantial, of all the third parties that I have referred to so far. Therefore, I would like to single out for attention one third party to whose role with regard to the traditional physician-patient relationship I have given particular thought—and I refer to the Federal Government as a third party in medicine.

How are we to judge the role of the Federal Government as a third party? In order to do this we must be ever mindful of the nature of the physician-patient relationship.

In spite of the general tendency toward increasing specialization on the part of the medical practitioner, modern medicine appears to stress more and more the interrelationship of all human functions and the need for dealing with the whole person of the patient. This concept of medicine requires more than ever a peculiar relationship of confidence between patient and physician. Any attempt to make this relationship of confidence over into a service which can be routinized or standardized and which may be purchased at a going price in the market place can only result in destroying that relationship. This does not mean, however, that ways and means might not be found in the future by the medical profession on the basis of carefully conducted experiments of facilitating the rendering of medical services through the utilization of new and improved methods of prevention, diagnosis, and treatment.

If this personal relationship of confidence is to be preserved—and I, for one, am determined that it will be—it follows that the role of the Federal Government as a third party in that relationship must be carefully circumscribed if it is to further and not harm that relationship.

We might postulate, first, that the Federal Government should not play any "third party" role unless there is a clearly demonstrated actual need for such a role, and unless there is substantial agreement that such need cannot be met in any other way.

Secondly, we might say that after the actual need has been clearly demonstrated, and after substantial agreement has been reached that the Federal Government should become a "third party," then the needs should be met, wherever possible, through indirect rather than direct methods. In other words, the Federal role should not be, except in special circumstances like in the case of our Armed Forces, for example, to provide medical services but to help provide the facilities in which, or to create the conditions under which, physicians are enabled to furnish the needed material services without further participation of the Federal Government.

I believe that these two yardsticks—the yardstick of clearly demonstrated actual need and the yardstick of indirectness—have been employed by the medical profession in judging the merits—or the lack thereof—of health legislation. Those legislative programs which the medical profession has supported in the past, such as programs for Federal aid in the construction of hospitals and research facilities, have met this dual test of need and indirectness.

Another program which is pending before our committee, calling for Federal aid for the construction of medical school facilities likewise appears to meet these two tests and thus is receiving your support. Even though there is great urgency for this program to meet an emergency with the economy wave and the consciousness of ever great Federal responsibilities I have as chairman of the Committee experienced difficulty thus far in getting off of the ground with further authorization. Our committee has observed the caution sign emanating throughout the country.

The fact that in the case of some programs the Federal Government is an "indirect third party" does not mean at all that it is an "insignificant third party." Take the appropriations for the National Institutes of Health for medical research. These have grown over a 20-year period from slightly less than one-half million dollars in 1938 to more than $220 million in 1958.

In the case of the Hill-Burton program, Federal funds appropriated for the current fiscal year amount to $125 million, and the budget request for the next fiscal year is only slightly less. Since the inception of the program in 1946, the Congress has appropriated over $937 million for the construction of hospitals.

On the other hand, plans calling for compulsory health insurance which would have resulted in a substantial curtailment of the independent character of private insurance carriers and prepayment organizations have met with your spirited opposition, and I can

truly say, mine too, consistently. I venture to say that in regard to that proposal you probably felt that there appeared to be no clearly demonstrated need for such a far-reaching program, and that the methods proposed in these measures directly injected the Federal Government as a "third party" in physician-patient relations.

Finally, let me say that in my judgment the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, whenever health legislation comes before it for consideration, will exercise the greatest care to see to it that the Federal Government does not unnecessarily become a "third party" in medicine. When a need for Federal participation has clearly been established, the Committee will examine the proposal to determine whether the methods by which the Federal Government would be called upon to participate are such that they will not adversely affect the all important relationship of confidence that must exist between physician and patient.

I want to remind you, however, that the American people have always felt free to call upon Congress to act in any area of their lives if they feel that a need for action exists. As you well know, a considerable amount of public attention has been focused on the high cost of medical care (of which doctors' fees are only a part). If the American people should feel that large segments of the population, as for example, the aged or the chronically ill are unable to secure adequate medical care because the cost of such medical care is beyond their ability to pay, then they will call upon the Congress to meet these needs.

In this respect the American people have changed little if any since the days when the famous Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, visited these shores. Upon his return to France in 1830 he wrote: "These Americans are the most peculiar people in the world. You will not believe it when I tell you how they behave. In a local community in their country a citizen may conceive of some need which is not being met. What does he do? He goes across the street and discusses it with his neighbor. Then what happens? A committee comes into existence and then the committee begins functioning on behalf of that need."

Today, when individual needs remain unmet, through the efforts of private groups or through local or State government programs, the outcry to have something done in behalf of these needs reaches the Congress with increasing frequency.

I hope that some of the serious health needs to which I have referred can be met by your profession with the aid of private third parties. If they are not met in this manner, public pressure will be growing steadily at enlarging the area in which the Federal Government should participate as a "third party in medicine." The dangers inherent in such expansion of the Federal role in medicine are very real indeed, and much is at stake for your profession. I am confident, therefore, that you will not slacken in your effort to participate actively in trying to meet some of these urgent needs.

Politics and Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, in the May 30 edition of the New York Herald Tribune, Columnist David Lawrence wrote what I believe to be the best summing up to date of the actions by the House last week in slashing the defense appropriations.

I was among the minority who voted against these cuts. I did so because I believed our President—certainly one of the great military leaders of history—had more knowledge and more experience to sustain his words of warning against major defense cuts than we in the Congress had to support our stand.

I heeded the President's warning that any major cuts in these appropriations would seriously endanger our defense efforts; I believe the majority of the House, in ignoring that warning, has gambled with the security of our Nation.

I believe it would be well for every Member of this body to study Mr. Lawrence's column. For that reason, I am inserting it in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The column follows:

HOUSE DEMOCRATS' NAY VOTE ON DEFENSE LAID TO POLITICS

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, May 29.—The rollcall vote they took in the House of Representatives today was a most telltale affair, pointing up how capricious are the wiles of modern politicians.

For it reveals the deliberate strategy of the Democratic Party in Congress to play politics with the national-defense budget in the hope of embarrassing the Eisenhower administration at the polls in the 1958 congressional elections.

There were 203 Democrats who voted against the President's request to restore certain items that he felt were necessary for the Military Establishment. Only 11 Democrats went along with the President. Even if the 39 Republicans who didn't vote with the President had joined with the 140 Republicans who supported his proposals, the total vote would have been only 179. Adding the 11 Democrats would have made the total 190—still not enough to overcome the solid bloc of 203 Democratic votes against the President.

SUCH UNITY HELD UNUSUAL

It is most unusual to find on military matters such a unity in any political party. The 39 Republicans who differed with the administration for a variety of reasons constitute a minority of the Republican Party, and it is rare indeed for the party in power or the opposition party to command complete support from its respective membership. What is significant is that this time there were only 11 Democrats who dissented from party discipline and went along with the request to sustain the military planning of the President. Why did 203 ignore the request of a President who is himself a military man and whose recommendations are based on the best judgment of military advisers dedicated to the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force and who are not themselves involved in partisan politics?

One reason for the curious lineup in which the Democrats recorded 203 votes against the President is that it seemed to most of them a clever way to put Mr. Eisenhower at a political disadvantage before the country—to discredit his leadership, if possible.

A "BOOKKEEPING" MATTER

But actually, it will be asked, will the vote hurt the military program seriously? The answer is that nobody knows what international emergency at any moment may catch us short of equipment and manpower, as happened when the Korean war broke out. The Democrats who voted to cut the appropriations for the military services were assured by their leaders that no real damage was being done because the cut is largely a "bookkeeping" matter. Thus, out of the $2.5 billion which the headlines will announce as having been cut from the President's request for funds for the next fiscal year, more than half, it is conceded, represents transfers or postponements of projects. Later on, in the next fiscal year, the usual deficiency or supplemental bills will be offered and a large part of the cuts may be restored. That's been the practice in the past but, meanwhile, the "cut" makes a good showing, politically, and the Democrats feel they will gain votes by their performance.

Actually the record of the last 8 years is that the final appropriations in every fiscal year were in excess of the amounts first given approval by Congress. The following shows these increases:

In 1948 by $6 billion, in 1949 by $3.7 billion, in 1950 by $6.2 billion, in 1951 by $7.6 billion, in 1952 by $1.7 billion, in 1953 by $2 billion, in 1954 by $3.3 billion, in 1955 by $900 million, in 1956 by $2 billion.

SPENDING HARD TO GAGE

The net effect is to make it difficult to gage the spending from year to year. Many people do not know that, when contracts are let and firm commitments are made, the fulfillment of the projects extends beyond 12 months. This carryover of unspent funds, held in reserve to pay for uncompleted work, cannot be utilized unless the work in process is discarded altogether, with huge losses of the initial expenditures.

The division today between the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government is unparalleled in the world. There is no way to fix responsibility here in either party. If a war broke out in the near future—whether a local war or a big war—the executive would have to fight the war with the inadequate tools and insufficient manpower voted by the Congress. If the same party were in control of both branches of the Government, there would be little opportunity for playing politics with national defense. The dissenters in both parties would offset one another.

The failure of the voters to elect in November 1956, a single party to control both Congress and the Executive may yet prove the most costly blunder in American history. For the military program is being disarranged and delayed at a time of crisis in world affairs while a vote of lack of confidence in the Executive is broadcast to the world, including the enemies of the United States.

The Mobilization of International Forces by the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert portions of the address, The Mobilization of International Forces by the United Nations, by Ernest A. Gross, former United States representative at the United Nations, given Monday, June 3, 1957, in Pittsburgh, Pa., at the annual Peaks of Progress breakfast given by Kaufmann's Department Store for a distinguished group of the civic and educational and business leaders of Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania.

The address follows:

THE MOBILIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL FORCES BY THE UNITED NATIONS

There has never been a time in history when men have been free from the menace of aggression. There probably never will be. And when I use the word aggression, I think not only of prowling imperialism or dictatorship, but I refer also to those equally ancient enemies of man—hunger, disease, illiteracy, and despair.

But even though, as the French say, the more things change the more they stay the same, it is true that even in the political life of nations there can be something new under the sun.

There are at least two facts of international life which mark our world today which all must agree are unique and unprecedented in the long history of mankind. One of these facts is what I would call the new-found power of the individual. For the first time, all over the world, vast multitudes are attempting, in their own lifetime and through more or less organized effort, to achieve higher standards and to live richer and more meaningful lives. In fact, most are less concerned about where the next invasion is coming from, than where the next meal is coming from. The other unprecedented fact is the new-found power of the atom.

Is this a force for good or evil, for war or peace, for extinction or survival?—these are the questions the atom asks us.

We are expected to find answers to these questions in a rapidly shrinking but divided world, overshadowed by the threat of Communist imperialism. In face of these complex and clashing problems, some people are inclined to seek escape from reality. Some time ago I heard a radio commentator wind up an analysis of foreign policy with the impassioned announcement: "There is no other way out—we must have peace, whether the Russians like it or not."

Frustration may be a good cellar in which to hide, but we have been given a role to play—whether we like it or not—which requires somewhat more initiative than crouching in a cave.

Peace connot be achieved by incantation. It must be built.

I hope you will agree with me that this introduction does have a direct bearing on the purpose for which we meet this morning. The mobilization of international forces by the United Nations is being celebrated as the most important human achievement during the past 12 months. I believe that future historians will fully confirm the wisdom of the committee of eminent Pittsburghers who have selected this achievement as a peak of progress.

This is so, not only because of the hard practical value of the development of the United Nations Emergency Force but also because of its symbolic importance and the promise it holds for the future—as part of the effort to make the United Nations a more effective force for peace and justice.

It seems to me to require an unusual degree of scepticism to regard it as a mere coincidence that the United Nations came into being at the precise moment of history when atomic force was unleashed. The charter was signed in San Francisco on June 6, 1945. Four weeks later the first atomic bomb, produced at Los Alamos, was exploded in the desert. That same month the United States Senate ratified the charter, just 1 week before Hiroshima was destroyed.

It would not be accurate to say that the creation of the United Nations was a direct response to the challenge of atomic force. Indeed, very few people were aware of this new fact of international life when the charter was signed in San Francisco. But I believe it is fair to say that the same creative power, the same surge of human effort and the same outreaching for the secrets of mind and of nature, accounted for the one as for the other.

However, the United Nations today is a different organization from that which the successful wartime coalition built 11 years ago. There was never any doubt that the veto, if abused, could gravely limit the effectiveness of the United Nations. This did not deter all of the big powers—ourselves included—from insisting upon reserving the veto power. Soviet abuse of the veto has gone much further than anyone anticipated. It has greatly impaired and indeed deformed the organization. Nevertheless, the abuse of the veto is not a disease of the charter. It is a symptom of the disease of nations and in particular of the one nation which has from the beginning failed to carry out its obligations.

Another casualty of the Soviet revolt against the charter is the original plan to set up United Nations military forces. Observation of the death struggles of the League of Nations had shown that no nation could feel secure unless there were brought into being a system of general or collective security. It was also understood that an important element of such a system was to place armed forces at its disposal. It is difficult to see why this should have come to anybody as a surprise. Throughout history, people had been finding it out the hard way in their own villages, cities and nations.

The refusal of the Soviets to go along with what the rest of the world regarded as reasonable proposals, nevertheless, destroyed the original grand design; the World Organization has not been vested with actual preponderance of military power for peace. Again, this is not a state of affairs which one can blame on the United Nations or on mechanical defects of the charter. Like the abuse of the veto, it is a symptom of the disease of nations. However, history does not stop because solutions are hard to find.

In fact, the lessons of history show that, like forging iron, problems can sometimes be hammered into shape while they are red hot. Palestine and Korea are examples.

The Soviet Union, which had obstructed for so long the creation of any machinery to enforce peace, unintentionally set that machinery in motion when it pushed the button for the unprovoked aggression against the Republic of Korea. Their absence from the Security Council was a fortunate circumstance from the standpoint of speed—although I cannot agree that we would not have been able to move if they had been present. As American representatives to the Council on June 25, 1950, I can attest that if the Soviets had shown up that Sunday at the meeting, we would have convened the General Assembly forthwith.

However, the important point is that we did move—and the free world marched in step with us. For the first time in history, military forces were mobilized by a world organization, placed under a unified command and charged with a collective responsibility. And the resolution calling upon the aggressor to withdraw was enforced under the United Nations flag.

But the cumbersome procedure, the difficult improvisations and the inadequate degree of material contribution from our friends, all this made it clear that although overt Communist aggression had been checked, much more needed to be done if security was to be more than the shadow of an idea.

One big stride was taken in November 1950—the year of Korea. The uniting-for-peace resolution was approved by the General Assembly of the U. N. The aim of this was clearly expressed in the document itself: Responsibility of the Assembly is not ended because of the failure of the Security Council to discharge its duty to maintain peace. Abuse of the veto, in other words, can obstruct the U. N., but it will not be allowed to suffocate it.

The three major steps required were also set forth: Observation which would ascertain the facts and expose aggressors; the existence of armed forces which could be used collectively; timely recommendation by the General Assembly to members of the U. N. for collective action.

If we are forced to note that we have only stumbled and faltered in the direction marked out by the uniting-for-peace resolution, we must also realize that it is precisely the event we are celebrating today which constitutes the first real stride toward that goal.

There are some who belittle the achievement, who are inclined toward the view that the U. N. can ever be anything much more than a debating society. Yet, practical minds are more often than not the best source of lofty ideals.

To those who are cynical, it may be of interest to hear a sentence from a letter to former Secretary-General Lie, sent by a person whose reputation shields him from charges of softheaded one-worldism:

"It is my personal view confirmed by many thoughtful men who have conferred with me that you should now proceed vigorously to provide within the structure of the United Nations a permanent supreme military command adequately staffed to develop and maintain current, on a global basis, strategic and logistical plans designed to effect the immediate deployment of the available military force to meet any emergency situation and to keep the United Nations constantly informed on the military aspects concerning any area of actual or threatened trouble."

This was the studied opinion of one who had some familiarity with military affairs in general and Korea in particular—Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

P. G. & E. Co Has Been Biggest Beneficiary of Central Valley Project Low-Cost Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, in its efforts to grab off the Trinity project power facilities for its own benefit, the P. G. & E. Co. has made a big fuss about Central Valley project power being given to a favored few at subsidized rates. Of course, as I have pointed out many times previously, the CVP power operations are not subsidized, and as a matter of fact, Central Valley project power is paying its way with interest, is financially aiding irrigation development, and in addition is returning a nice profit to the Federal Government. However, the power is marketed, pursuant to existing law, at the low rates compared to P. G. & E. rates.

If the energy is going to a favored few, then the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. must be particularly favored because, over the 13-year CVP operating period, the P. G. & E. Co. has received 80 percent of all the energy generated while preference customers have received about 10 percent, with the other 10 percent going to Federal agencies and project use. The

P. G. & E. Co. has profited greatly by this purchase from the Central Valley project of 19.2 billion kilowatt-hours at an average of 3.7 mills per kilowatt-hour and the disposal of this energy at from 2 to 4 times that amount.

For the information of my colleagues, I am including an excellent editorial on this subject from the Sacramento Bee:

LOOK WHO IS RECEIVING THIS SUBSIDIZED POWER

In its efforts to defeat the Government generation of electricity the private power lobby has been trying to make the public think the taxpayers in general are subsidizing the low rates enjoyed by those who receive electric energy from the Federal projects.

This attempted brain washing is, of course, sheer nonsense since the power sold from the Government undertakings pays back all the money advanced from the Federal Treasury, plus interest, plus operation and maintenance costs, plus replacement and in nowise is a charge against the taxpayers.

But it is interesting to note that if purchasers of Government power are "subsidized," the biggest subsidy from the Central Valley's project has been going to the privately owned Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

Since its generators first began turning, the Central Valley's project has developed 23,900,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity.

Of this amount the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. got 19,200,000,000 kilowatt-hours.

Only about 3,700,000,000 kilowatt-hours went to Government installations and public agencies such as the Sacramento Municipal Utility District and for project use.

In March the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. promoted large advertisements in support of the so-called partnership on the Trinity River. These stated:

"Don't be fooled by those whose purpose is Government distribution of power. They want the Government to build the power-plants and transmission lines and sell power on a Government-ownership basis. This would result in an unnecessary burden on taxpayers and water users, and use of electricity at subsidized rates by only a favored few."

In view of the fact the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. has received more than two-thirds of Central Valley's project power, a good question is who is fooling whom?

What should interest the customers of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. very much is that the publicly owner Sacramento Municipal Utility District is selling its share of Central Valley project power at rates about 30 percent lower than those of the privately owned utility.

And the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. currently is asking the public utilities commission for another 6-percent rate increase.

Waste and Fantasy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial, which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of May 29, 1957, is most timely:

WASTE AND FANTASY

Some years back Variety, the show business weekly newspaper, reported that among movie offerings as part of the United States Information Agency's attempts to win men's minds the one called Christmas in Vermont proved quite popular among unenlightened natives who had never seen snow. The Fulton Fish Market and Window Washing in the Empire State Building weren't quite up to the snow scenes.

And not so many years ago Mr. Eugene Castle noted in a book which listed some of our more unusual foreign aid ventures that, when USIA propagandists needed a headquarters in Paris they bought a Rothschild palace.

These criticisms come to mind because of a statement by Mr. Abbott Washburn, Deputy Director of USIA, about crippling the Agency's operations. USIA wanted $140 million for spending in fiscal 1958, compared to $113 million for fiscal 1957 and to $87 million for fiscal 1956. The House cut the most recent request to $106 million and the Senate went even further. Mr. Washburn says that while his agency can do a relatively effective job on the money the House would allow, the Senate figure of $90 million will cripple operations. So the joint conference committee gave USIA $96.2 million.

Whether USIA—admittedly a propaganda instrument—has ever done or can ever do an effective job will be forever debated, we suppose. What, however, seems to be beyond argument is that whatever sort of job it does could be done far less expensively and expansively than USIA did it in the past.

We say that because when it was engaging in such fantastic waste as buying a Rothschild palace and in such wasteful fantasies as trying to win the battle for men's minds with free movies about the Fulton fish market and snow scenes in Vermonth, it was getting by on considerably less than what it now says would cripple its operations.

Atomic Giveaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I am including an article by William Henry Chamberlin which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on May 14:

ATOMIC GIVEAWAY—THE GLOBAL AGENCY FOR PEACEFUL NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT COULD POSE A SERIOUS THREAT TO UNITED STATES SECURITY

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

There has been far less discussion of the atomic giveaway program involved in United States membership in the International Atomic Energy Agency than the importance of the subject demands.

The alluring slogan, "Atoms for Peace," and the sponsorship of the Agency by the President and other high officials have tended to stifle doubts, or at least the open expression of doubts. But there are some disquieting features about this scheme, which seems better adapted to an age of far-reaching international confidence and good will than to the real world of the cold war and hostile coalitions.

Here are some of these disquieting features which, it is to be hoped, will be thoroughly canvassed during the current hearings and during the Senate debate preceding the vote on whether the United States should enter the Agency.

First, we shall be in the invidious position of a "have" Nation subject to the voting control of a majority of "have-nots." The Agency, to which 80 nations have given initial endorsement, is organized on the principle of one nation, one vote. The United States is expected to contribute to the Agency information, scientific and technical personnel, fissionable material, and money.

Very few of the other member nations will be in a position to contribute any of these things. Yet their votes can control the distribution of our contributions. This might lead to consequences that would startle American public opinion, to say the least.

There is nothing to prevent the Agency, by majority vote, from admitting Red China to all the benefits of have-not membership. Nor is there anything to prevent part of the 11,000 pounds of enriched uranium, which the United States has already promised to make available to the Agency, from being shipped to the Soviet Union, to Red China, or to any Soviet satellite state.

GROTESQUE POSITION

It is somewhat grotesque that this country simultaneously imposes so many restrictions on exports of strategic material to the Soviet bloc and to Red China and leaves such a large loophole open for the shipment of uranium, surely the most strategic material of all.

Second, the difficult if not impossible problem of control is not clearly solved under the terms of establishment of the Agency. The enriched uranium which this Government has already promised to make available is supposed to be for nonmilitary use. But it is scientifically possible to convert uranium of this type into fissionable material for A-bombs.

The only safeguard against this would be a system of continuous close inspection to which Communist nations have been extremely allergic in the past. Nothing less than such inspection would afford any guaranty that the United States was not supplying its enemies with the deadliest kind of munitions.

Third, the sanctions which can be invoked in the event of breach of the agreement seem inadequate. All the Agency can do in the event of violation is to cut off the supply and report the affair to the United Nations. There have been many occasions when it was impossible to get a clear-cut decision from the United Nations. The Agency could do nothing if the nation guilty of violation should seize the material and throw out the Agency's inspectors.

Fourth, the establishment of an International Atomicy Agency could set a precedent for other international bodies, dealing with electrical power, steel, wheat, cotton, or almost any foodstuff or raw material under the sun. In any such body the United States would have the same unfavorable position of a have among the have-nots.

What makes United States membership in the International Atomic Energy Agency still less desirable is that there is an entirely safe means of realizing the benefits which are supposed to flow from the Agency. The United States has already concluded almost 40 bilateral agreements with friendly countries looking to cooperation in atomic research and in the construction of power reactors.

CHANCE TO CHOOSE

The advantages in the bilateral approach are that the United States is in a position to choose which countries may be helped without risk to American national security and to impose safeguards which seem adequate in the judgment of the men charged with responsibility for America's own atomic program. Both these advantages would be forfeited if the United States should enter the International Agency, which maintains complete control over all the fissionable material it receives.

An International Atomic Energy Agency of the type now proposed might well be a logical development in a world where national differences had been reduced to a minimum, where there was no fear that some nation or group of nations might have the design of using the terrific destructive power of nuclear weapons to achieve world domination. This is not the situation, at the present time.

It is a very curious sense of relative values that makes the administration throw as many roadblocks as possible in the way of American newspapermen going to Red China and haggle with other powers over what is permissible for exports to China and the Soviet bloc and at the same time support a scheme which could result in the transfer of such a vital nuclear material as uranium to Communist countries. If this is not possible under the constitution of the Agency, it is the obligation of its administration sponsors to explain why it is not possible.

SPEED IN MOSCOW

The suggestion is now being made that the recent Soviet ratification of this plan should hasten its approval by the United States Senate. But it could certainly be argued with equal plausibility that any scheme accepted with such unusual speed in Moscow should receive long second look in Washington. Just because there has been so little advance discussion of the International Atomic Energy Agency, every detail of the project should receive a thorough going over at the hands of independent-minder Senators.

The apparent defects should at least inspire some sweeping reservations, if it is not decided that they warrant the scrapping of the whole project.

Brooklyn Is Seventh Among Nation's Leading Industrial Counties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, the following interesting article was published in the May 1957 issue of Highlights, put out by the New York City Department of Commerce and Public Events:

KINGS IS SEVENTH AMONG NATION'S LEADING INDUSTRIAL COUNTIES

Kings County—Brooklyn—is seventh among the leading industrial counties of the United States. Its total volume of employment in industrial countries in 1954 was outranked only by Cook County (Chicago); Los Angeles County; New York County, and Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), in that order.

In New York State, Brooklyn ranks second to Manhattan among the most highly industrialized counties. The volume of manufacturing employment in 1954 exceeded that of Erie, the State's third leading manufacturing county, by nearly 59 percent.

These data are a result of a City Department of Commerce analyses of a New York Commerce Department report on trends in Brooklyn's manufacturing industries.

Brooklyn accounted for nearly 25 percent of New York City's total manufacturing employment and value added by manufacture. The stability of diversity of the borough's industrial structure is cited as the principle reason. A view of the development of Brooklyn from 1899 (when sugar and molasses refining accounted for 86 percent of New York State's production, and cordage and twine for 52.5 percent of the State's manufacturing in this category) discloses that little change in Brooklyn's total share of industry has taken place since 1899.

Nineteen of the twenty major manufacturing groups are represented in Brooklyn, and employment in 1954, the last available census figures, showed that industry was concentrated in five broad lines:

	Percent
Apparel and related products	24.4
Food and kindred products	13.3
Machinery	10.7
Metal products	10.4
Miscellaneous manufacturing	9.8
All other industries	31.4

Since 1899 the pattern of the borough's industry has shifted.

In 1947, the latest census of manufacturers figures it is recalled that Brooklyn produced 63.6 percent of New York State's ships and boats; 39.2 percent of beverages; 37.1 percent of special industrial machinery, and 36.3 percent of paints and allied products.

By employment, Brooklyn's major industry is apparel and allied products which represent 24.4 percent of total borough employment. Second, is food and kindred products with 13.3 percent, third is miscellaneous, including ordnance, representing 9.8 percent, and fourth is fabricated metal products, representing 9.1 percent.

Four of the seventeen major industry categories in Brooklyn showed a decline in the number of establishments: Chemicals, losing 3 plants; apparel, losing 10; stone, clay, and glass, dropping 16, and leather and leather products, 45.

A New York City Department of Commerce and Public Events survey discloses that 575 industrial structures were completed in Brooklyn from 1946 to 1956, 34.5 percent of the city total. Brooklyn was second among the 5 borough in the addition of new factory buildings, being outranked by Queens which added 782 during this period, 47 percent of the 5-borough total.

Census of Manufactures data on new plant and equipment expenditures discloses that Kings County ranked third in New York State in 1947, following, in order, Erie and New York. During this period Kings County (Brooklyn) spent $53,471,000 or 10.7 percent of the State total of $497,443,000. In 1954 Kings County spent $45,032,000 or 7.8 percent of the State total of $572,125,000.

Resolution of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the texts of the resolutions adopted by the 44th general assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which met in Toronto, Canada, from April 28 to May 2, 1957.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations is the parent body of 540 reform synagogues throughout the United States and Canada and, since its inception in 1873, the union has sought to apply the majestic moral principles, which underlie both religion and democracy, to the crucial issues of the day.

These resolutions were recommended by the Commission on Social Action, whose membership is drawn from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods and the National Federation of Temple Youth. It has been my happy privilege to serve as a member of that commission for many years.

The resolutions are as follows:

RESOLUTIONS OF SOCIAL ACTION SIGNIFICANCE ADOPTED BY 44TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS, TORONTO, CANADA, APRIL 28–MAY 2, 1957

DISARMAMENT AND WORLD PEACE

One of the most sacred of our Jewish religious teachings is the messianic vision of universal peace. In this nuclear age, this vision has become a sheer necessity if total world suicide is to be averted. With undimmed faith in man's capacity to establish God's kingdom on earth, we rededicate ourselves to the pursuit of lasting peace with justice. Accordingly, we:

1. Commend the efforts of the United States, Canada, and other governments toward the achievement of universal, enforceable disarmament, and we urge that all such efforts be carried forward with the utmost urgency, imagination, and flexibility.

2. Call upon our congregations and social action units to continue earnest study of the problems threatening world peace. Such active concern is incumbent upon all who seek to translate religious principles into action.

3. Urge the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to join hands with other religious groups in strengthening the United Nations and advancing the ideals of universal peace.

Believing that the achievement of an enduring and just peace is the paramount moral issue on the agenda of mankind, we pledge our energies and our resources to this indispensable religious task.

SEGREGATION LAW AND ORDER

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations reiterates its unequivocal support of the United States Supreme Court decisions banning racial segregation in the public schools, as set forth in the resolution adopted by the 43d general assembly.

SEGREGATED HOUSING

We recognize that racial segregation is not a problem which applies to one section of the country only, but that it presents a moral challenge to every community in America with varying forms and intensity. One of its serious and widespread expressions is in residential housing. In the North, as well as in the South, the continuing pattern of segregation in private housing threatens to invalidate much of the progress which has been made in civil rights in recent years and, also, to impair the spiritual values of religion and democracy alike. We therefore commend those Christian denominations which have recently met this challenge with boldness and courage by calling upon their members to open housing on a nondiscriminatory and nonsegregated basis. By their action these church groups have pointed to the path of religious duty.

In this spirit, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations herewith pledges its support to the principle of equal housing opportunities for all and urges the members of its constituent congregations to follow nonsegregated practices in the selling, buying, and leasing of residential housing. By such action, we will contribute significantly to the strengthening of democracy, to the moral health of our communities, and to the real-

ization of the prophetic principles of our faith.

CIVIL RIGHTS

At its last general assembly, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations urged our Government to take measures for protection of the civil rights and civil liberties of all Americans. President Eisenhower's civil rights program is an important forward step in the safeguarding of these rights and liberties.

Our union fully endorses the President's program and urges the Congress to enact it speedily into law.

IMMIGRATION

We feel constrained to express our deep disappointment over the decision of the Administration not to admit to the United States a fair number of refugees from Egyptian persecution. This decision, as stated by Deputy Attorney General Rogers on April 18, was that the President would not exercise the parole authority of our immigration law in behalf of the Egyptian refugees.

This indifference to the tragic plight of the innocent victims of Nasser's inhumanity stands in sharp contrast to the prompt and generous succor offered with the warm support of the American people, to those who fled from Communist tyranny in Hungary. There is no justification in law or in morality for such a double standard. The United States failure to aid Egyptian expellees is unworthy of the great American tradition of asylum. The United States should do no less to ameliorate this human tragedy than have other free nations, notably Canada, which has sent a mission to Cairo to facilitate family reunions on Canadian soil for the victims of Egyptian terror.

We urgently request the President of the United States to reconsider this decision so that the United States may open its doors to a fair portion of the hapless refugees from Egypt.

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM

The American Council for Judaism has, through official statement and by publications of its representative leaders, repeatedly slandered the U. A. H. C., misrepresenting our positions and casting aspersions on the American loyalty of our adherents. The U. A. H. C. has, until now, remained silent, in the face of these untruthful accusations. But, in view of the most recent attack, continued in a letter to our president which was further released to the public press in advance of its receipt by Dr. Eisendrath, we are constrained to make the following statement:

1. We recognize the right of the American Council for Judaism to freedom of opinion and expression; but we insist that the great majority of individuals and congregations which compose our Union have the same right of opinion and democratic action.

2. The American Council for Judaism misrepresents historical Judaism as well as what it calls "classical Reform Judaism." There is no antithesis between Judaism as a religion, and Jews as a people.

3. The American council has wantonly impugned the national loyalties of all those Jews who disagree with it. We insist that the Jews of Canada and the United States are properly interested in and concerned for the State of Israel without, in the slightest degree, diminishing their abiding loyalty to their respective countries.

4. The American Council for Judaism has furnished material for professional anti-Semites, who have publicly endorsed its position, and has played directly into the hands of Arab propagandists.

5. In a number of communities, representatives of the American council have employed morally reprehensible methods to undermine existing congregations and to introduce division and discord into them.

Therefore, this General Assembly of the U. A. H. C. declares that the view of Judaism held by the American council is at variance with the view of the overwhelming majority of Reform Jews in the United States and Canada. We shall continue to uphold the positive ideals of Judaism in general and of Reform Judaism in particular, without fear or hesitation.

Steel's Second Century

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, last year, 1956, Gary, Ind., now a city of 170,000, celebrated its 50th anniversary. Today it is in the heart of the greatest industrial region in America, the Calument region of Indiana.

The following is an editorial from last Sunday's edition of the Gary Post Tribune:

STEEL'S SECOND CENTURY

The beginnings of the modern steel industry are reckoned from the time a century ago when Sir Henry Bessemer in England and William Kelly in Kentucky developed nearly identical ways of producing steel quickly, cheaply, and in large quantities.

A lot has happened in the last century. Steel is the industry that has put backbone in our fabulous skyscrappers all across the land, has flung 60 million cars onto our streets and highways, has provided the sturdy frame for our multiplying factories and made our homes into veritable workshops of automatic machinery.

American steel also was the tough muscle that enabled this country and its allies to strike victorious hammer blows at the enemies of freedom in two World wars. Today it provides the core of our continuing effort to keep new aggressors in check.

As early as 1890 the United States steel industry has pushed to the fore in the world. By January of this year, our steelmaking capacity had attained the record level of 133.5 million tons annually, or about 40 percent of the world's total.

The industry employs 675,000 persons in 270 communities, spread over 31 States. Obviously it is basic to the American economy as is no other activity.

If a look back is satisfying, a look into the next 100 years is just as pleasing. Benjamin Fairless, now head of the American Iron and Steel Institute, foresees structural marvels of stainless steel lending a wholly new aspect to our great metropolitan centers. He envisions, too, that steel will play a vital part in the revolutionary developments that will bring incredible air transport speeds, still wider use of electronics, solar energy, and atomic power in industry. The steelmakers' laboratories already are researching special steels to assist these advances.

For the industry, the real problem is how to build fast enough, how to finance and construct the added facilities that the expanding economy must have, and how to get the trained manpower for their operation.

Individual companies are going forward with programs extended over varying periods of years. Overall, however, their projects indicate investment in new plants and equipment may average arountd $1 billion a year for the next decade.

American steel's first century has been one of the wonders of industrial civilization. Its second hundred years promise a new cavalcade of progress that should help to lift the living levels not only of Americans but of many who live beyond our borders. And the Calumet will make a steadily increasing contribution to the advance. Last week's announcement of a new mill for Gary Works is further evidence of that.

Guy Bizzell Top Teacher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER THORNBERRY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Guy Bizzell, high school speech and English instructor, A. N. McCallum High School, Austin, Tex., has been named as a cowinner of the Teacher of the Year award sponsored by McCall's magazine, the United States Office of Education, and the National Council of Chief State School Officers—a division of the National Education Association. Mr. Bizzell received earlier recognition in Austin when he was awarded the Scarbrough award for excellence in teaching in 1956.

Last Wednesday, Mr. Bizzell was received at the White House by President Eisenhower and was honored by the Texas delegation on Congress at its weekly noon luncheon in the Speaker's dining room as the guest of Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON, majority leader of the Senate, Senator RALPH W. YARBOROUGH, and myself.

In the June issue of McCall's magazine an article appears announcing that Mr. Bizzell, along with Mrs. Mary Field Schwarz, Independence, Mo., have been selected for the award. It appears in the Appendix of the May 28, 1957, issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD where it was included in the remarks of the distinguished gentleman from Missouri, Mr. CHRISTOPHER, who has the privilege of representing the congressional district where Mrs. Schwarz resides.

On Tuesday, May 28, 1957, there also appeared in the Austin American, Austin, Tex., an excellent article by Miss Anita Brewer, which tells the wonderful story of Guy Bizzell. Because the story is inspiring to all of us who recognize the importance of dedicated men and women in the field of education, I know that it will be of interest to those of us in Congress.

The article is as follows:

GUY BIZZELL TOP TEACHER

(By Anita Brewer)

Guy Bizzell, teacher at A. N. McCallum High School, is winner of the 1957 national Teacher of the Year award sponsored by McCall's magazine and the United States Office of Education.

Wednesday morning Bizzell will be presented to President Dwight D. Eisenhower at the White House and congratulated for the high honor he has received and the great example he has brought to the profession of teaching. Sharing national honors with Bizzell is Mrs. Mary Field Schwartz, third-grade teacher from Independence, Mo.

The Guy Bizzell story is an inspiring one—of a boy who chose speech as a career because he considered himself to be shy and inarticulate. A modest and unassuming man, he gives his students credit for his nationwide fame as a teacher. He has refused positions outside the classroom because he believes his success depends on work with individual students. Bizzell invests much care and interest in his high-school students.

His students have the highest praise for him, both as an instructor and as a friend. His principal, N. H. Wittner, commends him with these words:

"He makes a real difference in the lives of children. There's no way to measure the great influence that he exerts. With his good humor, sympathy, and respect for personality, coupled with a thorough knowledge of his field, he creates an atmosphere for learning to which children respond almost as if by magic."

Bizzell's success as a teacher was described by a colleague in these words:

"In the field of English he is one of those rare persons who possess the gift for making literature a vital and exciting experience for children. When you get high-school students to hurry to a class in Shakespeare, so they won't miss anything, as Bizzell can do, you have achieved the pinnacle."

Bizzell takes a personal interest in all his students, and, in return, each feels he is an individual in the eyes of Bizzell. He will not tolerate unkindness on the part of any student toward another and maintains a relaxed, informal classroom manner that is mild, but controlled. He is never too busy to talk with students or give them extra help.

The Teacher of the Year was selected after months of study and observation by representatives of the Office of Education and McCall's. All nominations were made by State departments of education, at the invitation of Dr. Lawrence Derthick, United States Commissioner of Education. Nominees were observed at work in their classrooms, and students, parents, civic leaders, and educators were interviewed on the effect of a teacher's work on the community.

An example of Bizzell's innate modesty was his appearance at a meeting of the Austin School Board shortly after he was nominated as the Texas representative in the national contest.

"This honor," Bizzell said, "is not a personal one. I only stand for the work that is being done by all teachers."

A native Texan, Bizzell attended Lon Morris Junior College and graduated from the University of Texas. He spent four summers at the Pasadena Playhouse School of the Theater, and following service with the United States Army during World War II, took a summer course at Northwestern University's school of speech, returning in the fall to his high-school teaching job in Austin.

In addition to his English and speech courses, Bizzell has taught his pupils the art of choral speaking and his groups have appeared on radio and television, before teachers' associations, and at university conferences. He himself writes most of the material for these programs.

Married to a French girl whom he met during the war and the father of two children, Bizzell lives modestly at 5509 Shoalwood.

Although the financial benefits from teaching are small, Bizzell is dedicated to his job "because it keeps me in close contact with young people and ideas. I only hope that my students learn half as much from me as I learn from the experience of teaching them."

Last summer Bizzell and his family walked to France to visit Mrs. Bizzell's family. The Bizzells do not own an automobile, and to save bus fare Bizzell walks wherever he goes and to and from school each day. The money transportation would cost, the Bizzells put in a bank. Finally the nickels and dimes piled up enough for the trip to France.

In Washington Bizzell will visit with Representative HOMER THORNBERRY, of Austin, and Senators LYNDON JOHNSON and RALPH YARBOROUGH. Bizzell and Otis Wiese, editor of McCall's magazine, will have lunch Wednesday with the Texas delegation at the Capitol.

Georgetown Visitation Convent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday of this week the 158th graduation ceremonies of Georgetown Visitation Convent will be held for high school and junior college girls and on the same afternoon ground will be broken for a new classroom building.

In this connection, the following highly interesting article entitled "School With a Past," by Meredith S. Buel, was published in the Sunday Star magazine, Washington, D. C., June 2, 1957:

SCHOOL WITH A PAST

(By Meredith S. Buel)

In Georgetown, protected from prying eyes by an encircling fence, lies a reverent and scholarly retreat from which proper young ladies have emerged with their diplomas later to be heard of around the world.

This Wednesday, during commencement week, the 158th graduation ceremonies of Georgetown Visitation Convent will be held for high school and junior college girls. In the afternoon, groundbreaking ceremonies will be held for a $550,000 classroom building on the 35-acre school site at 1500 35th Street NW.

The convent story concerns numerous women who have been in the national spotlight as a result of training by a group of devoted nuns who in the past have had to scrape for every nickel and piece of bread to keep the school going.

Georgetown Visitation was founded in 1799 by the Most Revevend Leonard J. Neale, S. J., then president of Georgetown University and later second archbishop of Baltimore. It was the first Catholic girls' school in the Thirteen Colonies and is a year older than Washington. The convent's direction was entrusted to three pious ladies who became Sisters of the Visitation, the order charged with running it.

Hardship plagued nuns and students alike during those early years. Snow blew through the cracks of the original small schoolhouse. Heat was rationed to five sticks of wood a day for the iron stove. Nuns had to sleep on straw pallets. In the War of 1812—1 of 7 wars the school has lived through—the horrified nuns watched from their garret window as the British burned the Capitol and the White House.

The convent's Sister Stanislaus Jones was a daughter of Commodore Jacob Jones, a hero of that war. Sister Stanislaus, through corresponding and sympathizing with convicts, was instrumental in starting the first United States prison chaplain service.

During the period of the Mexican revolution Emperor Agustin de Yturbide, who later was assassinated, sent his wife and three daughters to live at the school, the children becoming students.

Around 1829 President Andrew Jackson, whose relative, Mary Wilcox, later graduated from the school, had sisters and students visit him at the White House. The year before the school charter was approved by President John Quincy Adams and certified by Henry Clay, then Secretary of State.

The beautiful Harriet Lane, a convent honor graduate, was the niece of President James Buchanan. She served as White House hostess during his term in office, 1857-61. One columnist wrote that it was "Harriet's convent training that provided her with the grace and accomplishment she used to fill the leading role in American society."

During the Civil War only 24 students were enrolled. A Protestant baker, John Gissell, supplied free bread daily to keep the nuns and their charges alive. They still found enough refreshments to give some to Union Army troops outside the school's walls. Union Gen. Winfield Scott, whose daughter had attended the convent, saved it from being turned into a military garrison, telling the Government "it is a place made sacred by the grave of my child."

Close ties developed between convent graduates and prominent figures of the Civil War period. Adelaide Cutts, grandniece of Dolly Madison, became the wife of Stephen A. Douglas, famous for his part in the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Irene Rucker married Northern Gen. Philip H. Sheridan and Caroline Julia Deslonde married Southern Gen. Pierre Gustave Toutant de Beauregard. Gen. George G. Meade's sister Minnie was an important alumna.

Shortly after the war, one convent graduate, Emily Warren, helped to build the Brooklyn Bridge. Emily married Engineer Washington A. Roebling, who became ill while building the bridge in 1869. Watching its erection from his bedroom window, he would give detailed instructions to his wife. She then would go over construction changes with his engineers, climbing over the bridge to show them.

About that time the convent began to prosper. In 1873 the present red brick classroom building went up. The year before that, Ida Honore received her diploma. She went on to marry Gen. Frederick Dent Grant, son of former President Ulysses S. Grant. Her sister Bertha Honore (class of 1867) became Mrs. Potter Palmer, whose husband built Palmer House in Chicago. She has been called the Pearl Mesta of the Gay Nineties.

An 1879 graduate, Harriet Munroe, became a nationally known poetess. She was known as the "patron saint" of young poets, having published so much of their works in the magazine Poetry which she edited in Chicago. Her convent teacher had been Sister Jane Frances, cousin of Ralph Waldo Emerson.

The convent has continued its success during the 20th century, its buildings and grounds now being valued at close to $1.5 million. One of its students was Suzanne Silvercruys (now Mrs. Edward Ford Stevenson), a gifted sculptress. She is the sister of Baron Robert Silvercruys, the Belgian Ambassador.

One of the 374 girls now attending the convent is Uoeli Kilmer, granddaughter of poet Joyce Kilmer, who was killed in World War I.

The school prides itself on ties that hold from one generation to the next. For instance, Ellen Ewing, a daughter of Thomas Ewing, a former United States Senator and Cabinet secretary, married another Civil War hero, Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman. Their two daughters, Ellen and Rachel, attend the convent.

Recently a school visitor noticed rice on the convent floor and a hastily snuffed-out cigarette in an ash tray.

"That happens often," Mother Mary Cecelia Clark said with a smile. "A graduate is likely to stop by for a chat after her wedding, even before going on her honeymoon."

H-Bombs for Posterity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. A. L. MILLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the text of a sermon entitled "H-Bombs for Posterity," delivered by the Reverend Paul T. Dahlstrom in the Plymouth Congregation Church in Scottsbluff, Nebr., on May 19, 1957.

The Reverend Mr. Dahlstrom brings out with startling clarity some of the gnawing fears of mankind as man moves deeper into the nuclear age. These fears will continue to grow in the weeks and years that lie ahead of us until men of science can set down the unquestionable truth about the effects and aftereffects of nuclear explosion. Perhaps it will then be too late.

There can be no feeling of security in this world while this question exists in the mind of man, "Have we gone beyond the prerogative set by God for man and harnessed a cosmic monster that will one day destroy us?"

Only recently, Mr. Speaker, some ghastly new testimony has been made public by press and radio. You have read and heard this testimony presented by scientific witnesses before a Joint Atomic Energy Subcommittee. As an example, I quote this paragraph from the May 29 edition of the Washington Post and Times Herald:

> Based on Russia's expected atomic capability by 1960, this country could be showered with 250 superbombs, equivalent in explosive power to 2.5 billion tons of TNT, enough to cause 82 million deaths, half of them from radioactive fallout alone.

That testimony is horrible almost beyond comprehension. Consider the implication: 250 superbombs—2.5 billion tons of TNT—82 million dead.

Do you recall how few the years have been since the B–17 was called the ultimate in airpower; the blockbuster the ultimate in destruction?

As evidence mounts to greater and more horrifying proportions, is it not time for a reevaluation?

I can remember when poison gas was outlawed as something too horrible even for warfare. It is still outlawed. But you and I know the use of poison gas is only childish play as compared with the horrors of atomic war.

You know and I know that an all-out world war would mean the destruction of civilization as we know it.

The United States will never start a war of aggression but in the case of an atomic attack, no matter how severe, America has the men and resources to retaliate instantly and annihilate the aggressor. From what I can learn, the fallout from a worldwide atomic war might have the capacity of destroying all life—animal and plant—making this a dead planet for a thousand years.

If the nations of the world can outlaw poison gas in war, those same nations can go further and eliminate from their arsenals the most ghastly death potential in all the history of earth. We can't do it alone; there must be cooperation of the nations.

I am hopeful the disarmament conferences will bring to the nations of the earth and their leaders the full impact of what may happen at any moment in any year—an atomic war that could leave this a dead, charred planet without life, without hope, without future—spinning uselessly in endless space.

The Reverend Mr. Dahlstrom brought the nuclear weapons sermon to his people in a typical Nebraska city to exploit the theme, "We are dealing with the fate of mankind." I present it for your consideration and discussion.

The sermon follows:

H-BOMBS FOR POSTERITY

In the May 16 copy of the Reporter magazine, the editor, Mr. Max Ascoli, asserts that: "All nuclear weapons tests, no matter how tiny the weapon, are acts of hostility against mankind." This spirit sets the tone of the whole issue of that periodical and it is obviously the fruit of some very serious and sober thinking through of the implications of the power of atomic energy.

The significant fact about this statement and the information of this issue is that it is the first important periodical to my knowledge which points out facts which contradict the official line of our Government and the Atomic Energy Commission. This is the first breakthrough of the silence and assent which the American people have afforded themselves since the A-bomb was first released. And one cannot help but hope that this will be the beginning of a thorough public discussion of the use of atomic energy. The purpose of this sermon is to keep the pot boiling, and I trust you will become missionaries of the boiling pot.

Until this time, there has been some reason to assume that the experts are all agreed that adequate safety precautions are both possible and have, in fact, been taken relative to the use of atomic energy, but now it comes out that such is far from the case. In fact, there seems to be a raging controversy within the ranks of the experts about the dangers and the problems.

There is, on the one hand, the people charged with the defense of our country, and on the other hand, those who know the scientific facts and the medical facts. These two are obviously in conflict, and, frankly, one cannot help but hope that this controversy will get on the front pages of our papers. Our lives and the lives of our children are at stake, and we should be the ones to decide how many lives should or should not be sacrificed on the alter of fear and curiosity.

Perhaps the most significant fact about the initial stages of this controversy is that the military mind is on the side of continued testing and of continued weapons development, while the moral minds of such greats as Dr. Albert Schweitzer and the atomic scientists of Germany are against it.

Listen again to the editor of the Reporter magazine: "Of course, there is a remedy. An old man in Equatorial Africa has said the word. The leading German scientists have said the same word. The word is 'no.' No cooperation on the part of any man who can deny his skill—not to speak of his enthusiasm—to this insane, unending race."

If that seems too strong a potion for you to take, it might add some force to note that the same periodical reports that on a ranch near Warm Springs, Nev., about 100 miles north of the test site, little Martin Bardoli used to wait excitedly to see the sky light up with atomic flashes, but he is not doing this now. He died recently from leukemia, which is one of the results of exposure to the debris of atomic explosions. Perhaps this would go unnoticed by many, but it was revealed last Sunday on TV that the amount of radiation in children's bones now is four times what it used to be, and this is a known cause of childhood leukemia. Granted these are reports, but the significant thing is that the Atomic Energy Commission has repeatedly refused to inform the public as to the real nature of radiation exposure. It is time that the American people put the heat on their Government so that they can know the truth. Obviously, less than the truth is being released to the public.

This is no accusation that the people charged with the responsibility of this knowledge are evil people. That is not the case. They are in reality, dedicated public servants. They are hamstrung, though, by the fears of war and the military mind. Atomic energy is not only a weapons force. It is a force for human betterment, and it is time that we inform our Government that we want to know the truth and all of it. The foundation of democracy is faith in people and their judgment when it comes to their own welfare. The AEC is not keeping faith with the democratic process, and it is time that the American people rise up and insist from their representatives that the AEC practice democratic principles. When citizens begin dying, it is time to get at the facts. To paraphrase an old slogan, "No dying without representation."

In the same issue of the Reporter magazine, the statement was made that the AEC kept a prominent genetecist from reading a paper at the Geneva Conference relative to the effects of radiation on future generations. This is a overt confession that the facts are too inflammatory of public opinion. This is enough to indicate that the lives of future generations are jeopardized. Again the question reverts back to an attitude of secrecy which is a denial of the democratic process (p. 28, the Reporter, May 16).

Recently, Dr. Warren Weaver of the Rockefeller Foundation, Chairman of the National Academy of Science's Committee on Genetic Effects of Atomic Radiation said, "I do not think it is fair to the people of the United States or the people of the world to give them the impression that there is no danger involved in this, for there is." He was here referring to atomic testing on the Nevada flats (the Reporter, p. 11, May 16).

Now we are not living in Nevada, but we are in a direct line of fallout, if upper winds are any indication of where this debris goes. And I have heard that we are indeed having heavy fallouts here. This is all hush-hush information and it is whispered, instead of spoken. Now, this again is rumor; but if there are rumors like that going around, then we ought to get the facts.

Of course, the official line of the governments involved in this thing, and that includes our own, is that all is well and that there is no fear of much permanent hurt taking place.

Listen to Eric Sevareid's statement relative to the kind of people who are concerned enough to speak out, "In any case, the pressures are piling up. The Pope has been expressing concern; Mr. Adlai Stevenson has returned to his proposal that we

suspend our own tests of the bigger bombs; from his African medical mission, Dr. Albert Schweitzer has issued his own plea that the tests be stopped—there is no reason to suppose that he possesses information other than already published, but he accepts the pessimistic view of radiation. The British Government is under heavy pressure; Bertrand Russell is among those trying to organize a shipload of direct actionists to sail into the area of the next projected British tests in order to prevent the test and dramatize the issue to the world" (p. 13, Reporter magazine, May 16).

Eric Sevaried is a responsible reporter and this is of enough concern to him to say this on the Columbia Broadcasting System.

It would seem then that we are not being wise in covering up what is such a deep concern to people of the stature of Drs. Schweitzer and Russell.

For a full generation of scholars it has been known and discussed that the major problem of our time is cultural lag. This means that our technological development is far and away ahead of our knowledge of human nature and behavior. The sudden breakthrough of atomic knowledge is, of course, a spectacular advancement of the problem so that now we are in a crisis which could undo everything.

The seriousness of atomic testing is pretty well summed up in the fact that not much is known about levels of toleration and there is no going back. Once the air and soil as well as the sea is polluted, that's it. It will go on for thousands of years.

I remember a prominent physician in Minneapolis, who attended the Bikini underwater explosion, telling a group of clergymen that it is very possible to so pollute the air and soil and sea that all forms of life will be destroyed. He noted in 1947 that 500 Hiroshima-type bombs might do it.

In the May 20 edition of the New Republic, the following facts are revealed by Dr. Jack Schubert, a world famous authority on radioactivity who is a former senior scientist with Argonne Laboratory, lecturer at the University of Chicago, and United States delegate at the Geneva "Atoms for Peace" Conference; and Dr. Ralph Lapp, atomic physicist who has served as General Staff adviser to the War Department, Director of the Research and Development Board, and head of the Nuclear Physics Division, Office of Naval Research.

1. "Microscopic fragments, which arise from every nuclear bomb explosion, consist of fission products of bomb material, and ordinarily they would float around in the atmosphere for very long periods of time before coming back to earth."

2. The Bikini test threw debris up over 100,000 feet. "This gargantuan 'Bravo' explosion was the equal of that which would be produced by 15 million tons of TNT and created a fiery crown which capped the island and its surroundings with a 3½-mile wide fireball. The entire island was extirpated from the sea, leaving a gaping hole in the ocean floor. The evaporated metal of the test structure, the pulverized concrete underneath, and millions of tons of sand, coral and sea water were sucked upward by the ball of fire as it roared into the sky."

3. "AEC officials estimate that when all the strontium injected into the atmosphere from all bomb tests to date, falls out, the total will amount to 22 millicuries per square mile (this is a value of twenty-two one-thousandths of a gram of radium) in the Midwest of the United States. This means that there has been a commitment of 44 megatons of fission energy to the atmosphere within the past 4 years. (This approaches a value of 100 megatons through January 1957.) Such a staggering weight of explosives corresponds to 50 times the total bomb tonnage dropped on Germany throughout World War II."

4. In conclusion, these doctors say this, "Some risk must be run for the sake of national security, but where one fixes the limit beyond which risks must not be taken is the all-important question. And we should insist that the calculation of the risk be made in the open, in the light of all available physical and biological data." The world has suddenly become a small sphere—too restricted in surface area for the 'safe' testing of superbombs like the 'Bravo'."

5. The British Atomic Scientists Association, along with many reputable American scientists say positively that: "every bomb test creates additional radiopoisons which kill a certain number of people."

Now I do not for a moment think that the people who are doing this bomb testing have as their intention, the destruction of the human race. Neither do I think that they feel this program is endangering many lives. I am sure that they realize they are endangering some, however, for even the basic science courses in college teach enough about radiation dangers to reveal the fact that this is poisonous stuff. If you do not believe this, ask a radiologist and then look up the mortality tables of radiologists.

It was not too long ago that shoe-fitting X-ray machines were labeled dangerous by doctors and there is an effort to keep anyone from absorbing too much X-ray damage by limiting the number of X-rays. This is hint enough of the power of this type of energy.

The point is that the people who are in control of this atomic energy program are geared into the military mind, and I do not need to remind you that this is not a particularly peaceful mind-set. This is, in fact, a real danger, for the military mind deals with people in terms of statistics and not in terms of ethical values at all. Furthermore, the military mind deals with that inflamatory thing called nationalism. And it avowedly exploits it for all it is worth. Thus, it is dealing with physical power unlimited, plus human emotions. This is a potent combination. The problem is in ourselves and in the ways in which our fears are used and the ways in which we succumb to the psychology of belligerency.

In a meditation which was recently written by myself, I said that, "In our time, religion has returned from the battlefield of human affairs to the role of a narcotic. Gone are the prophets of justice and the apostles of peace and good will." Of course, this is a strong statement, but in essence it is true. The Christian forces of the world are much too willing to win status by conforming to the pressures of the world. than by protesting them. There is much too much willingness to deal with the minutae of the daily grind than the really big and enduring problems of mankind.

The purpose of saying this is to point out the need for the churches to speak for the Christian conscience in the manner of Dr. Schweitzer and the other lone voices of the Christian conscience.

Part of our problem is that we have never, within the memory of any of us, seen modern warfare conducted on our own soil. We do not know conventional bombing, so that it is understandable that we are not too frightened of the consequences of atomic bombs. The German people know about this, though, so perhaps that is the reason that the German atomic scientists have simply said "No." They do not want any part of it.

It seems to me that there is intelligence in learning from the experience of others. This is also true of the English people. They, too, are fed up with this mad race for mutual destruction. And I am suggesting that it is about time that we do the same thing.

The cry nowadays is for economy in government. Well, if we really want to economize, here is one place where the logic of economy makes sense. The fact that it does not make sense when applied to human-welfare programs further heightens the need to conserve human resources by stopping the military expenditures, or at least cutting them back to a small part of the total national budget.

The idea that we must prepare for war to maintain our economy is one that has been foisted upon the public mind with a great deal of effectiveness, and it is time that that, too, is exposed for what it is, namely, a trap to prevent the Nation from really going to work on the matter of solving the problems of human welfare which properly are the responsibility of the community. The large military budget simply destroys this basic concern, for it creates a false economy and it puts the pressure on the wrong things.

Our need for schools is illustration No. 1. We think we need bombers more than schools, and the fact is that the bombers are getting built and our schools are not getting built.

Actually, what I am saying is that the matter of keeping the cold war going is just as much our responsibility as anyone else's. The temptation to blame others for it is much too convenient, and it is too easily tied in with our irrational fears. The fact that the cold war is turned on and off by each of the contending sides is proof of this. If it can be turned on and off, it can be turned off for keeps. Our own involvement cannot be abdicated, either. We are a part of this madness, and it is time we return to sanity.

When the atomic scientists put a picture of a clock with a reading of 4 minutes to 12 on the face of their own periodical, after the first A-bomb was exploded, they were saying in clear language that this is it. We are dealing with the fate of mankind, and it is not just the few accidental deaths like Japanese fishermen and Nevada children. And, anyway, our Christian conscience cries out for them as for ourselves. This is the meaning for the Christian view of life.

The purpose of this sermon is to create discussion and openness toward public issues within the Christian community. This is part of our responsibility, and when we begin to measure up to its purpose we will begin to build a world which is gloriously fit to live in.

Do you want to?

Prophet Unheard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, back in 1913 when the 16th amendment was ratified, the Honorable Richard E. Byrd, of Virginia, father of the present Senator HARRY BYRD, prophesied that a hand from Washington would be stretched out and placed on every man's business. His words have indeed come true and now the Federal income tax has reached a point where it is seriously hampering initiative and competition. This article was printed in the San Antonio (Tex.), Light, and follows:

PROPHET UNHEARD

So, you've just shoveled up your Federal income tax, pursuant to the 16th amendment, ratified in 1913 after its proponents

vowed it would never take more than a split fraction of anyone's earnings.

But there was one prophet who warned as follows while the amendment was under consideration:

"A hand from Washington will be stretched out and placed upon every man's business; the eye of a Federal inspector will be in every man's countinghouse.

"The law will of necessity have inquisitorial features; it will provide penalties; it will create complicated machinery. * * *

"An army of Federal inspectors, spies and detectives will descend upon the State. They will compel men of business to show their books and to disclose the secrets of their affairs. They will dictate forms of bookkeeping by which men must keep an account of their earnings.

"When the Federal Government gets a stranglehold upon the individual businessman, State lines will exist nowhere except upon the maps. Its agents will everywhere supervise the commercial life of the States."

The prophet was Speaker Richard E. Byrd, of the Virginia House of Delegates, father of the present Senator HARRY F. BYRD.

Few bothered to listen to him.

Did Judge Hoffman Have His Mind Made Up Before Hearing Integration Cases?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the complete text of an editorial which appeared in the Roanoke World-News on Thursday, May 30, 1957, under the title, "Did Judge Hoffman Have His Mind Made Up Before Hearing Integration Cases?"

There recently appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the extension of my remarks a forthright and interesting address delivered by the Honorable HARRY F. BYRD, senior Senator from the Commonwealth of Virginia, before the Hampton Roads Maritime Association in Norfolk, Va., on May 9, 1957, in which Senator BYRD referred to the manner in which United States District Judge Walter E. Hoffman had rendered his decision in the Newport News and Norfolk school cases.

I have been associated with Senator BYRD in public life for 35 years and I have never known him to make a statement which it was necessary for him to retract and he will not have to do so in this instance because his statement is absolutely true. I am in wholehearted accord with the statements made by my friend, Senator BYRD and with the views and comments of the editor of the Roanoke World-News as contained in the following editorial:

[From the Roanoke (Va.) World-News of May 30, 1957]

DID JUDGE HOFFMAN HAVE HIS MIND MADE UP BEFORE HEARING INTEGRATION CASES?

The Norfolk Virginian-Pilot has taken vigorous exception to an editorial in the World-News of May 14 criticizing United States District Judge Walter E. Hoffman's conduct on the bench in handling Newport News and Norfolk school integration cases.

Our editorial was based upon Associated Press stories of the cases dating back to last October 18 and on remarks by Senator HARRY F. BYRD before the Hampton Roads Maritime Association on May 9.

In the course of his address, Mr. BYRD accused Judge Hoffman of "arrogance and prejudice" and of "bombastic and political statements." Hoffman, said BYRD, reportedly stated before hearing evidence or arguments in the cases that he was inclined "to throw the whole case out of the window" and "this he did by reading a decision prepared before the hearing."

In addition, said BYRD, "this judge further said from the bench 'the integration problem will never be resolved in Virginia until we have a different political leadership.'" Later challenged about this, the Senator stated that he had good authority although the stenographic record failed to show the remark was made.

It might be well to point out here something that all newspaper and court reporters know: remarks frequently are passed before, during, and after actual hearing of evidence, which are not put in the record.

DETAILING THE CASE

The Virginian-Pilot, in defending Judge Hoffman, dwelt largely upon the matter of whether or not the decision was prepared before the hearing. Senator BYRD said it was. Let us go back a bit in the record.

On October 18 Newport News and Norfolk school boards with aid of the attorney general filed a motion to dismiss NAACP suits which demanded immediate integration. They contended that administrative remedies were open to the plaintiff under State law. Judge Hoffman ordered briefs filed by December 20.

Was the judge's mind already made up? We quote from an Associated Press story of November 17 which makes it obvious that his mind was not open either when the hearing started or when it ended:

"And just before he adjourned court, Hoffman reiterated a statement he had made shortly after arguments began this morning:

"'I have very serious doubts' about the constitutionality of the legislation, designed to preserve Virginia's traditional system of racially segregated schools.

"The legislation, enacted by the general assembly at a special session this year, is good politically but does not reflect good judgment, Hoffman said."

EXAMPLES OF CONDUCT

Farther down in the story:

"The proceedings were spiced by numerous exchanges between Hoffman and Almond. The attorney general became visibly more irritated as Hoffman interrupted his impassioned arguments time after time. Most of the interruptions occurred just as Almond was approaching a peak of a burst of oratory."

"They sure made it complicated, didn't they?" Judge Hoffman was quoted as saying of the new laws. At another point the AP quoted him as saying "We've got it and we've got to eat it." Again, he told Almond: "Norfolk will never close its public schools."

At conclusion, the AP story said:

"Courtroom spectators, amused over the exchanges between Hoffman and Almond, recalled that Hoffman unsuccessfully opposed Almond for the position of State attorney general several years ago."

As arguments ended, said the AP, Judge Hoffman observed: "If I had to rule on it today, I would have to throw it out the window" (constitutionality of the new State act).

On January 11, 1957, Judge Hoffman read a lengthy prepared statement denying the petitions to dismiss the NAACP suits. Languade contained therein made it perfectly plain what his attitude would be when he actually heard the suits against Newport News and Norfolk on February 11–12. Evidently this was the statement to which Senator BYRD referred. In it Judge Hoffman held new legislation passed by the general assembly special session in September to be unconstitutional on its face.

HIS MIND MADE UP

This meant unquestionably that Hoffman had made up his mind and that the hearings on February 11–12 would be mere formalities. That is what happened. He handed down his rulings without leaving the bench after "hearing" arguments and to quote the AP, "relying on notes taken during closing arguments."

We put "hearing" in quotes because Judge Hoffman continually interrupted Attorney General Almond and attorneys for the defense. He made plain his dislike for the general assembly and the legislative process.

On February 12, the Associated Press, detailing the Norfolk case hearing and decision, said:

"The Norfolk school board could have submitted a reasonable plan for gradual compliance if the general assembly had not made 'whipping boys of school boards and school superintendents,' Hoffman said.

"Norfolk has endeavored 'to formulate some ideas and plans' looking toward eventual integration in the schools, Hoffman said. 'But the general assembly put everything in reverse in September. I am glad the Norfolk members of the legislature did not participate in that action.'"

IMPROPER LANGUAGE

This, we repeat, is not proper language from the bench. The court's personal antipathy toward the General Assembly of Virginia had no place in a decision which should have been carefully deliberated and written rather than extemporaneous.

Further, it was not within the proper province of Judge Hoffman to discuss what the assembly and its Norfolk members did or didn't do.

There was yet another incident. Again quoting the AP:

"In his extemporaneous remarks from the bench, Hoffman said: 'I understand that some of the leaders of Virginia have said they would like to see whether a Federal judge has nerve enough to punish for contempt, and I can assure you the order will have to be complied with. I might be reversed but the order will have to be complied with and there is no sense fooling anybody about it.'"

HE WENT FAR AFIELD

Here Judge Hoffman obviously went so afield to threaten the State's leadership with punishment for contempt when no such matter was before him. It would be time enough for him to consider such a matter after his order had been tested in higher courts, as is being done, and when and if contempt were demonstrated.

Several times Judge Hoffman displayed anything but a judicial temperament. For example, when the State endeavored to introduce evidence which it considered pertinent to a plea for more time in putting integration into effect, he declined, saying "there is no use putting all this hullabaloo in the record."

Since when did the rights of both white and colored children in the public schools become "hullabaloo"?

AN ADMITTED FAULT

Concluding its editorial, the Virginian-Pilot said:

"But the record does not seem to us to subject Judge Hoffman to the criticism that he came into court with a prepared statement rejecting all contentions of the defendants prior to hearing a word of argument, or that

before attorneys took the floor he stated that he was inclined to throw the whole case out the window.

"We say this after having said that Judge Hoffman has sometimes spoken too freely from the bench. His friends, and probably he himself, know he has come under criticism for doing so. But there is an important distinction between extraneous, or irrelevant, comments from the bench, and the attribution to Judge Hoffman of comments on a case before him, or a mode of conduct toward such a case, so grave in import as perhaps to constitute judicial error. In fairness to Judge Hoffman we think the errors of attribution should be corrected."

We must beg to disagree with emphasis. Everything that a judge says on the bench during the conduct of a case—his very attitude in dealing with attorneys—becomes an important part of a case. What the Virginian-Pilot calls extraneous, irrelevant comments become interwoven with testimony and formal argument.

Once again we point out that Judge Hoffman is an appointee of the President, confirmed by the Senate of the United States, but this does not automatically make him omnipotent or superior in judgment to the elected representatives of 3,000,000 people. He has shown very questionable judicial temperament and at times an amazing lack of judgment. It is obvious that he talks too much on the bench and all too often without thinking.

Whether or not the statement was prepared before hearing evidence is not too important but it is important whether or not he had his mind made up beforehand and the evidence points in that direction.

British Decide To Go It Alone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, David Lawrence, writing in the Evening Star recently, called attention to Britain's decision to trade with the Red Chinese. The United States still maintains its embargo on trade with Red China but this country must reexamine its exports to England to prevent machine tools and other strategic material from being reshipped by England to Red China. The article follows:

BRITISH DECIDE TO GO IT ALONE—DECISION TO RELAX EMBARGO HANDS COMMUNISTS A COLD WAR VICTORY

(By David Lawrence)

Sometimes it seems that, if the Communists only wait long enough, they will outtrade and outmaneuver the West. For apparently the alliance of the free world is not sufficiently sturdy or patient enough at times to maintain unity against the common enemy.

Pressed by British businessmen who want to sell their goods, the London government now has decided to relax its embargo on trade with Red China. Without getting a single concession in return, the British Government has yielded to the Red Chinese and will ship to them many of the commodities which hitherto have been banned.

This will strengthen Red China and help industrialize a country which is hostile to the West.

The United States Government is disappointed over the action and has said so publicly.

The British, on the other hand, are repeating a fallacious argument they have made often in the past, namely; that, since the goods can go into Soviet Russia, it is illogical to bar direct shipment to Red China of goods now going there indirectly.

The answer is that at present it costs the Soviets and the Red Chinese lots of money and takes a great deal of valuable freight space to send the goods over the trans-Siberian railway from Russia to China. Likewise, it is expensive to send by long sea voyage from Britain cargoes that can only be landed either in Eastern European ports or carried to Siberian coastal ports, and all this with great difficulty and delay in certain seasons of the year.

Why should things be made easier for the Red Chinese, and the expenses of Soviet Russia cut down and her internal burden with scarce goods eased? These are questions which the British have not satisfactorily answered.

It is known here that an influential lobby in England has been steadily pressing the Conservative government to relax the trade embargo. Britain exists to no small extent on world trade, and it is a sad fact that, even in the early years of World War I, some British businessmen traded with the enemy, much to the discomfiture of the United States, then a neutral, whose goods were stopped at that time on the high seas even when destined for other neutral countries.

The power of the trader in politics is well established. In a sense, the losers in business could be taken care of through indemnities or through purchase of surpluses. After all, if a trade embargo will help to keep the Communist countries weak and if, through trade embargoes, the military machine of a potential combatant can be kept from reaching effectiveness, the people of many western countries might rather see the business interests compensated in some other way.

Now the Red China regime is to have access to tractors, trucks, locomotives, generators, and other vital commodities hitherto embargoed. It could lead to a breakdown of controls on the really strategic items, too. It may be the beginning of the crumbling of the alliance that has thus far kept the economic sinews of the West from helping the Communists of both Soviet Russia and Red China.

It is too early to tell how Congress will react to the change made by the British. Long and earnest efforts were made in vain by the State Department to persuade the London Government not to relax the embargo. Each government, of course, decides for itself, as there is no control over the policies of independent nations. Whatever has been agreed heretofore has been by voluntary action.

But if the alliance breaks down, America will have to make her own decision with respect to other phases of the embargo. Will American companies, for instance, furnish the British vendors with any goods to ship to Communist China? The rule here is that the same ban will be maintained as before on American exports, but it will be much harder to police this now since the British have begun to let down the bars.

Fifteen countries have been meeting in Paris for more than a month trying to work out a unanimous agreement on maintaining the embargo, but the talks broke down because the British wanted to go it alone.

It is an unfortunate development and must be marked up as a signal victory for the Communists in the cold war. It was handed to them on a platter by Great Britain.

Investigating the FCC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to offer my congratulations to our colleague, JOHN DINGELL, of Michigan, for his energy and resourcefulness in bringing to the attention of this body—and of all American citizens—the strange maneuverings of the Federal Communications Commission in recent months.

Mr. DINGELL has performed a real service which will not go unnoticed, I feel sure, by the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in the investigation which it is now initiating into activities of administrative and regulatory agencies. If the public interest is no longer being protected by the agencies created by Congress to protect it, then it is high time that the American people were made aware that political favoritism, rather than the public good, is determining public policy. I sincerely hope that the subcommittee will make its first order of business turning the spotlight of publicity on the Federal Communications Commission.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw the attention of this body to an editorial which appeared in the Madison (Wis.) Capital Times on May 29, 1957. Here is described yet another instance of the FCC's apparent susceptibility to partisan pressure. I trust that this case, too, will be thoroughly investigated by the subcommittee.

STRAIGHT TALK BY REPRESENTATIVE DINGELL ON POLITICS IN FCC

The Capital Times is glad to note that there is one Member of Congress with the courage to stand up and call public attention to the part politics is playing in the affairs of the Federal Communications Commission, particularly in the granting of TV licenses.

Representative JOHN DINGELL, Democrat of Michigan, charged in the House of Representatives Tuesday that the FCC is the "most politics-ridden of all regulatory agencies."

He demanded a congressional investigation of the FCC and charged that the Commission Chairman, George McConnaughey, "is a man who tried to take care of his friends."

Representative DINGELL has hit at a problem that has been concerning more and more people as they watch the way in which TV licenses are handed out to corporate interests and to newspapers who have thrown their political support to Republicans.

He is the first Member of Congress who has had the courage to tackle the problem head-on. Most of them have ducked around, pussyfooting on the issue because of their fear of antagonizing the TV stations who are able to hand over free time to Congressmen to build up their political stock.

It is obvious that Representative DINGELL is putting the public interest over selfish personal interest in the stand he has taken on this issue.

He referred, in his indictment of the Commission, to the way it recently overruled its own examiner's recommendation in the granting of a hotly contested VHF license in

Boston. The Commission ruled that the license go to the Boston Herald-Traveler.

The Capital Times knows from its own experience of the Boston incident to which Representative DINGELL refers. The Badger Television Co., in which the Capital Times has an interest, was party to an application for a Madison TV license before the Commission. That license was being sought by Badger Television Co., Inc.

This application had behind it 30 years of pioneering radio experience in this community through station WIBA. During those 30 years not one black mark was entered in the FCC records against WIBA.

The Commission examiner who investigated the Madison situation recommended that the license be granted to the Badger Television Co. But for the first time in his experience with the Commission he was overruled and the license granted to the Murphy interests of Superior, which now has been granted four TV licenses.

Representative DINGELL's charge of "politics" on the Commission is not one that surprises the Capital Times. In our case the Commission was pressured by the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, whom we opposed in this State from 1946 on, to vote against granting a license to any firm in which the Capital Times was interested.

Commissioners McConnaughey, Lee, and Doerfer were known to be friends and supporters of McCarthy. In addition, Doerfer had carried a grudge against the Capital Times from the time that he served as a member of the Wisconsin Public Service Commission, which has frequently been under attack from this newspaper because of its subserviency to utility interests in this State.

The political decisions of the Commission can be no better illustrated than in Wisconsin where the people of the State, whenever they turn on a TV set, stand virtually no chance of tuning in a station owned by interests that did not support Eisenhower and McCarthy in 1952.

The notable exception is the Milwaukee Journal station which got its license before the advent of the Eisenhower administration.

But in Milwaukee, the Hearst interests have also been given a TV license and the Hearst interests have been solidly Republican and pro-McCarthy.

The Columbia Broadcasting System, which dominates the FCC, has also been given a TV outlet in Milwaukee. When CBS wanted a Milwaukee outlet, the FCC, which originally ruled that no 1 concern could own more than 5 VHF outlets, changed its rule to accommodate CBS and permit the addition of 2 more UHF outlets.

In Wausau the station is owned by 6 Wisconsin River Valley newspapers, all of which supported Eisenhower and McCarthy in 1952 and all of which enjoy a monopoly situation in the city in which they publish.

These papers own the only VHF license granted in the whole Wisconsin River Valley. Every week they advertise that Representative MELVIN LAIRD (Republican of Marshfield) will speak over the Wausau outlet.

In Eau Claire the Murphy interests, which have the VHF outlet in Madison, own a large share of the station in that community.

In the northwestern corner of the State, Duluth dominates. The station there is owned by the Ridder newspaper interests, also Republican.

The western tier of Wisconsin counties look to Minneapolis and St. Paul for TV service. In Minneapolis the big station is owned by the Cowles interests, which also have a monopoly of the newspaper field in that city. Republican, of course.

In St. Paul the Ridder interests are again found dominating TV and holding a monopoly of the newspaper field.

In La Crosse, 40 percent of the TV station is owned by the La Crosse Tribune, a solid Republican paper which went down the line for Eisenhower and McCarthy in 1952.

In Madison, the Murphy interests were awarded the VHF outlet over The Capital Times. The Murphy interests, which are Republican, hold four TV licenses. The Capital Times holds none.

Representative DINGELL's charge that politics has influenced FCC decisions should be investigated. Representative DINGELL might be interested in knowing that there is on record in the FCC two letters from the late Senator McCarthy, whose political advancement we fought from 1946 onward, urging that no TV license be granted to any firm in which the Capital Times is interested.

Address of Edgar F. Kaiser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of Edgar F. Kaiser to the Advertising Club of Washington, April 30, 1957:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen of the Advertising Club of Washington, several months ago, I received your invitation, from Bob Lewis, to talk with you today. I was advised that you had selected me to receive, in behalf of the Kaiser organization, your Achievement Award. We are deeply appreciative of this honor.

Whatever achievements we have made is, in our case, the result of having a founder—my father—who gave responsibility to young men * * * and of being privileged to have an organization composed of men who operate on the fundamental precepts of any successful operation—integrity, hard work, service to others, and faith.

I must confess frankly that when one receives an invitation like yours, the first thing he usually does is to look at his schedule and find out if the date will fit with his other commitments. The second thing he does is to heave a sigh and say to himself, "What shall I talk about?"

I went through the first one easily, that is, if the date would fit, because of the honor to our organization and because of the privilege of meeting with you.

On the question as to what I should talk about—I received specific instructions from Chad Calhoun who, as many of you know, has for over 20 years headed all of our companies and divisions here in Washington. Also from Walt Cloke, head of our public relations here in Washington and, likewise, from our good friend and counsel, Lloyd Cutler.

They really worked me over. But when it was all done I could sum it up by saying that they all said: "This is basically an advertising group and, therefore, they are primarily interested in what you are doing in advertising and public relations."

They next said, "Edgar, because you have spent more time than anyone else in the organization in South America, we think the members would be interested in hearing about what we are doing and how we are doing in South America."

They then decided that I should talk, primarily, about South America and specifically, what we have done in South America with respect to advertising and public relations.

Now, bear in mind, I'm giving this talk but, at this point I really hadn't had much to say about it.

They prepared several drafts for me and I must admit they were pretty good. Then, as a result of a meeting I had in New York with Brownie Reid of the New York Herald Tribune, who needled me, not about what we were doing in South America, but about what constructive action we were taking on an overall basis to stimulate other American business in taking an active interest in foreign operations, I decided that this would be a good forum before which I could present the opinion of an expert, and you all know the definition of an expert.

When the drafts were completed I found myself in the position of being an oracle on philosophy and general conversation as well as a general adviser to the administration. So you can sum this up by saying the boys wrote a pretty good talk for me, but I loused it up thoroughly by trying to become an economic adviser on foreign operations. I finally decided yesterday that I had better talk to you on the subject of our businesses. This is a subject of which I have some understanding.

Our organization was founded by my father, who is a great leader. He taught our organization some fundamental principles, which I mentioned earlier as being characteristic of the men in our organization. These are integrity, hard work, service to others, and faith.

I want to tell you first how we operate. The head office of our companies and divisions is in Oakland, Calif. There we operate as a staff on a horizontal basis. The independent companies we operate, such as Kaiser Steel, Kaiser Aluminum, Permanente Cement, and all the divisions of Kaiser Industries, such as Willys Motors, Kaiser Engineers, Kaiser Metal Products, are vertical operations, autonomous in their own management, and with full responsibility.

The staff operation at Oakland consults on policies, but the operations themselves are run directly by the heads of the divisions and the heads of each company. These companies and divisions did a sales volume in 1956 of approximately $900 million.

We are diversified, it's true, and diversification is a very popular word and idea, but don't misunderstand it in our case. We are not diversified merely for the sake of diversification. We entered into every phase of business we are in today because the founder saw an opportunity for service and growth, and not primarily for profit.

Profit is a requirement of a successfully operated business, and this is true in any country in the world, but it is not an exclusive goal. Profit is a part of the mechanics of good business practice, but, in our judgment, and in the planning of our businesses, the real goals are the principles of growth and service. If you exercise good management practice, and carry the principle of service foremost in everything you do, the profits will expand proportionately.

We went into sand and gravel, which was our first industrial operation. Existing quality and delivery, in this case, were undependable. There was a need for better service, and we went into it, first, to supply our own contracting operations, and then we saw the opportunity of serving the entire building industry. Today, in northern California, the industry is sound, the quality and delivery are dependable.

In 1937, just before World War II, there was a great shortage of cement on the west coast, particularly in northern California. When Shasta Dam was proposed, and the Bureau of Reclamation called for bids on cement only, we made a bid without even

having a cement plant. We were the successful bidders, and that was the start of Permanente Cement. There was a shortage, a need, a service to be performed.

We went into the steel business in southern California during the war. There was a shortage, and we couldn't get balanced tonnages to meet our shipbuilding requirements.

Following the war—in 1945 and 1946—the entire country, you will remember, was suffering terrific shortages in steel. Yet, the wartime aluminum plants were idle. They were considered "white elephants." Again, our founder had vision. He saw the future of aluminum.

Bear in mind that many people thought we were making a great mistake. We were operating a steel business—and they thought that we were starting an industry that would be competitive. It is true—we were, to some extent, but the point is, however, there was a shortage, a need, and, irrespective of its competitive effect, we started an aluminum business.

At the same time we started an automobile business. I think you all may have heard something about that. It had troubles—and plenty of them. I had some personal experience with this one. I went to Detroit to spend 30 days—and wound up spending 8 years—in a rather highly competitive business, to say the least. But the point is still the same—there was a shortage at the time, and, here again, the principle was to serve a need.

Regardless of the problems that developed, we did perform a service. Subsequently, we acquired Willys Motors, and today we are the largest manufacturers of 4-wheel-drive equipment in the world.

Instead of permitting the passenger-car business to go through bankruptcy, injuring suppliers, dealers, and stockholders, we looked for a need. We found the 4-wheel-drive field, and we reorganized the company so the automotive stockholders now own a share in all the businesses we operate.

You may well say to me, "Well, I've heard something about Honolulu. What about Honolulu? Why are you building a hotel—the Hawaiian Village—in Honolulu?"

The answer is just the same. The mechanization of modern business plus the necessary increase in standard of living to our economic way of life has increased vacation time. Some years back, only a few could afford vacations. Today, many can afford them.

When my father went to Honolulu he recognized the need and saw the opportunity. He immediately started building a facility to service this need. While some—those who don't really know him—have said, "He likes Honolulu" or "It's a pastime for Henry." I can tell you one thing, the minute he has finished that project he'll be back here doing something else.

I can't stop talking about service to others without mentioning Kaiser hospitals and the Kaiser health plan. There again, look back in the life of our founder. His mother died when he was 16 and she died because of inadequate medical attention. He knew it at the time and there was nothing he could do about it. As a result, all of his life he has had a burning ambition to develop a plan that would make it possible for people to afford to be sick.

That's a strange way of saying it, I know, but it is the fact. Sickness comes to many and they can't afford it. So, there again, with a need for a service in mind, we established the nonprofit Kaiser hospitals and the Kaiser health plan. Today the health plan has a membership of over half a million people.

We were not the only ones to do this. We have stimulated others to enter the field of prepaid medicine. The result has been a medical plan which is able—and this is another important phase of it—not only to furnish good medical and hospital service at a price people can afford, but to support itself. In addition, it is able to expand without outside assistance. The doctors are not employees but a partnership with their own patients. It is just the opposite of socialized medicine, which some of its misinformed critics have labeled it.

Now I have taken you sketchily through some of the independent companies for which we have management responsibility, but not all of them.

I haven't given you this picture of the Kaiser organization for the purpose of a commercial, but for the purpose of laying the foundation to talk to you on the subject that is the key to American business in South America—service to others.

There is no doubt that the opportunity to make a contribution of this nature—service to others—exists in Latin America. The challenge is obvious. There is a tremendous need for improved transportation, better roads, water systems, steel plants, power, and dozens of other elements that contribute to a higher standard of living.

And now I come to what we have done in South America. Years ago, in the early 1920's, we went into Cuba, as contractors, to build 220 kilometers of highway in the Province of Camaguey. That was the center section of the central highway from Santiago to Habana. This was our first Latin American experience. From then until 1954 we concentrated our activities domestically.

You will recall, earlier, I mentioned something about the automobile business. When we phased out of the passenger-car business in this country, we had equipment which from the standpoint of the automobile business was practically new, that was idle, not required. We had both Willow Run and Toledo equipment.

So, there we sat with a substantial amount of excess machine tooling and die capacity that was not required for the four wheel drive manufacturing business at Toledo. Instead of selling it off, however, which is what happened in the case of most automobile businesses, we looked for a need. South America was the obvious place.

Our surveys indicated that one of the greatest deficiencies was adequate and efficient transportation. As manufacturers of the Jeep, Jeep station wagons, and Jeep trucks, we were confident that Willys Motors could make a contribution in this field.

We went to South America and started negotiations. The result was the formation of a new company, Industrias Kaiser Argentina, now known as IKA. Construction began in early 1955. Fourteen months later the first Jeep rolled off the line. Today, the main plant, located in Cordoba, is producing over 1,000 units a month.

You will be interested in some of the facts about that operation. We had heard a good many stories about the efficiency of Latin American labor. There was a great doubt as to whether it was as efficient as labor in this country.

I'm not talking about labor rates because there is, for both hourly workers and supervision, a substantial difference between what we pay in this country, and what is paid in Argentina. This important point is that the productivity per man is almost 1½ time that which we experienced in this country, using identical equipment. In other words, the output per man is higher. The quality is equal, or better, once they have had the training.

To go on with our Argentine operation, IKA was based on a three-way partnership. First, the Argentine people; second the Argentine Government; and, last, the Kaiser interests.

More than 8,000 Argentine stockholders purchased approximately 46 percent of the common shares of IKA. The Argentine Government invested 22 percent, and we hold the balance of 32 percent.

This decision was based on sound business practice, and it expressed our philosophy. It also had public relations overtones, which have been very beneficial to the Argentine operation.

When I say "our philosophy," I want to make clear that we believe that the best method of operating in the Argentine, or in any foreign country, is to have an ownership where at least 50 percent, and, preferably, a little more, is vested in the hands of the people of the country in which you are working.

I realize this is a broad, general statement, but it is a firm belief of the Kaiser management. I know there are many who may question this belief. However, it is our sincere conviction that any successful company in South America, or anywhere else abroad, will be one in which the public of that country owns a majority stock interest.

There must be centralized responsibility, and it is, likewise, our belief that in the initial period of establishing a company American business can make a contribution, if it has the management responsibility. But, what is the use, when you really strip it down, of trying to retain management responsibility, or control, by a majority stock interest?

We believe that any management group will hold responsibility if they do a good job. If they don't do a good job they won't and shouldn't.

But, you can also theorize on another point. Suppose, to be specific, the Kaiser management is good, but, for some reason or other, after the operation has been running a while the management isn't wanted. You are in a foreign country. What are you going to do about it? In our judgment, if they don't want you as management, you had better be out anyway.

If you are doing a good job, and making yourself wanted, you will be given management responsibility, regardless of the amount of your stock control.

I don't think you are thinking it through if you take the position—well, let's take IKA as an example. The Kaiser interests own 32 percent of the stock. It could be said that we must retain management control in order to protect our stock interest. I don't think that holds true. The best protection for the 32 percent stock interest is to continue to do a good job and to make ourselves wanted.

Now, how do you do that? We soon learned that there was more to being an accepted member of the industrial family of Argentina than just being a partner. We discovered that to be accepted we first had to know, and understand, the Argentines. Secondly, they had to know us.

You must understand their national customs, their attitudes, and, if possible, learn their language. Some of these things may sound unimportant and apart from the job of building a plant and manufacturing automotive vehicles, but, believe me, they are not. Perhaps this could be described as the "people-to-people" approach.

When President Eisenhower called a conference, in September of 1956, for the purpose of discussing ways and means of building better international understanding, he defined it as being the active support of thousands of independent, private groups, institutions, and millions of Americans acting through person-to-person communication in foreign lands.

To assist the Argentines to learn more about us, and our reasons for establishing an automotive plant in their country, we started a program of telling the story of the Kaiser affiliated companies in news releases. The releases outlined our experience and our

background, not only in the automotive field but in all of our various businesses. They were translated into Spanish and sent to virtually every newspaper in Argentina. Simultaneously we began an advertising program. (At last, I got to that subject of advertising.)

That advertising program combines the features of an institutional—or public-relations approach—and, I must admit—some of the characteristics of what you—in your business—define as the "soft sell."

We are still using this campaign. Its copy is brief. It is directed to the Argentine people. It carries the message that IKA—not the Kaisers—makes a quality product—a dependable product—and is making a real contribution to the national economy of Argentina. The ads point out that, during the building of the plan, more than 1,200 men were on the job of construction, that more than 50 major contracts were placed with 37 Argentine contractors—and that orders in excess of 100 million pesos—for production parts—had been placed with Argentine vendors. This, in turn, was related to the Argentine economy.

When the first Jeep rolled off the line, we announced—by advertisement—that the first Argentine Jeep had been born. The copy emphasized that this would not have been possible without the staff of Argentine engineers, Argentine technicians, Argentine workers, Argentine suppliers, and, last but not least—in fact, the most important—the confidence and trust of the Argentine people.

One of the latest advertisements of IKA points out how its operations benefit the Argentine buyer, and his country. The copy states that IKA is making 4 Jeeps, at the same cost as importing 1 Jeep from the United States. The ad further points out, that this Argentine Jeep not only aids the country's foreign exchange position, but it provides jobs, stimulates other local industries, provides economical transportation, and increases personal income.

Now, let's stop here for a minute. You and I know that advertising is a vehicle, and you can't sell any public, whether they are citizens of the United States, or citizens of any country in the world, unless you state facts. You can't fool people—and the facts are, in this case, that IKA's Argentine operation is really doing the things IKA says it is doing.

IKA is not an assembly plant. It is a manufacturing plant. It builds its own engines complete, the first and only such plant in all of South America. It has a tremendous automatic stamping plant, the first of its kind in South America.

And, by the way, that plant down there is no small plant. It's almost a million square feet—and growing larger day by day.

But, again, you and I know, it doesn't do any good to have these things exist unless you tell people about them. Advertising—in all its forms—is the vehicle to tell them about it.

When you have the responsibility for managing a company in South America, or any foreign country, don't tell people how good you are. Tell them the facts. Tell them how good they are, and what they are doing to make the operation possible. We think that that is what is meant by "people to people."

You can have a shortsighted policy. You can place the emphasis on exporting from this country, but it is shortsighted because a change has taken place. Certainly, in the South American countries, of which I have some knowledge, they are facing a very serious situation. Almost without exception, they recognize—and we recognize—that they must raise their standard of living.

Certainly we'll all agree that the only way for real world peace is to raise the standard of living of the people of the world. You can't have in this day of communication and transportation a standard of living such as we enjoy in this country, while the great majority of the rest of the world exists on a substantially lower standard of living. This breeds discontent and unhappiness aside from the fact that it is basically wrong.

So, therefore, back to my point. The standard of living must be raised. As it is raised, it will create a terrific demand on the foreign exchange, because it means these countries must buy more than they export. However, the minute they do that, the country is in trouble. I know these are obvious things. We all know them, but it is good to talk about them once in a while.

So, what is the answer? There is only one. If we admit the fact that they are going to raise the standard of living, then that means they must, where the demand justifies it economically, produce more and more of the products needed to support their national economies.

Regardless of whether we think, in one country or another, they should concentrate on, let's say, agriculture, or some particular product, because of their geographical position; they are not going to do that. They are not willing to shift between feast and famine, depending on the world price of a single product, such as wheat or coffee.

They are going to make at home the things they have to have to bring up their standard of living, or there won't be any peace within the country, nor in the world.

So, what is our job? Our job is to give every bit of know-how—and technical assistance—we can to help them produce the things they need and can't afford to buy because of their exchange position.

Some American companies will gradually lose some of their export business. However, they can replace some of this volume by establishing companies in foreign countries that are required to build their own economies. But also the facts are that we do a greater volume of business with the highly developed manufacturing countries than with the underdeveloped areas.

We are constantly expanding our businesses in this country. But, you might ask, "How do you expand if the volume of American exports declines?" There is a change. You expand not by exporting but by being a part of the businesses that the foreign countries need to raise their living standards.

Now, you can say to me—"Well, what is going to happen in this country? Does that mean we are going to lose our position as the world's greatest mass producers?"

No—it doesn't mean that at all. We are going on to new fields—and there are thousands of them. We are going to do other things with that labor. We in the Kaiser organization believe that.

We don't believe that you hold anything by protection or monopoly. You only hold something if you are providing a service—and are constantly searching for new fields of growth and expansion.

Now I have talked a lot about the Argentine. The reason I have done it is because it is the first country we went into. Today, we are in Brazil—building jeeps, starting to do the same thing we did in Argentina. Our engineers are working with Colombia and Paraguay—and it is our hope that we will continue to expand in many other countries in South America.

South America has unlimited opportunities. There are 150 million people—and, 10 years from now, there will be over 200 million. A very substantial percentage of the 150 million are nonconsumers—don't buy a thing. Just look at the opportunity. As you and I know, those people are going to enjoy the same things we have just as quickly as the Lord will let them. They are going to practice the precept, "God helps those who help themselves."

I believe in the people-to-people program. I believe that is the only route to world peace and I believe that it is not "Let Joe do it" or "Let the Government do it."

Certainly we need Government help and assistance. In our country our people have as yet failed to recognize that some of our good friends—England, France, Italy, and others—have much better programs for assisting their private businesses in developing and growing in foreign countries than we do.

I believe we will correct that in time. I believe there will be a recognition, as our people travel more and understand the needs of the world better, that we must give every reasonable, practical, constructive assistance we can to private business to help the world achieve a higher standard of living.

This is an opportunity for American business. This is an opportunity for the United States. This is the road to peace, and you, as advertising men and women, have a vital role to play in developing this people-to-people concept.

By advertising, by all forms of communication, we must let the people of the world know what we are doing. We must try to understand the people and their needs, and we musn't approach it as though we know it all. We had better find out first: What do they think? What do they need? And how can we help them attain that need?

Louis Newman wrote:

"I sought to hear the voice of God
And climbed the topmost steeple.
But God replied: 'Go down again;
I dwell among the people.'"

Opinion and Comment From the Fifth District of Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1957

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, my 1957 Opinion Questionnaire was recently sent out to obtain the views of my constituents on four questions. More than 1,000 replies were received, and I have just tabulated the results. I am sure that many of my colleagues will be interested in the results, and in the supplementary comments volunteered by my constituents.

1957 OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE

Question No. 1:

Congressmen have different theories on how best to serve the citizens they represent. For example:

Type A, in order to promote private or local interests of his constituents most effectively, may follow the line of least resistance and avoid fighting hard on controversial questions.

Type B may go to bat vigorously for what he believes in, even though by so doing he may antagonize other Congressmen and thus be less able to obtain his colleagues' support for measures of special concern to his own district.

If you had to make a choice, would you think it better to be a type A or type B Congressman?

Answers: Type A, 14 percent; type B, 86 percent.

"I think a fighter is always respected, even by his colleagues," was a typical comment. Another: "I dislike anyone

taking a back seat—too timid to speak on issues. I believe in giving them hell."

Some persons checked type B with evident hesitation, expressing the view that the proper ground lay somewhere between A and B.

I would like to see my Congressman be firm and bat vigorously on issues where principles are involved, but a compromising give-and-take attitude may be wise in other cases—

One woman said.

It requires study, shrewd judgment and a good personality to trade votes effectively—

Commented another.

And a dentist came up with this one:

How about a type C, a vigorous diplomat?

PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

Question No. 2:

Do you feel that President Eisenhower is or is not providing adequate leadership?

Answers: Is, 33 percent; is not, 67 percent.

On the affirmative side, there were partisan comments:

Ike has given the Government back to the people after 20 years of mismanagement.

And nonpartisan ones:

I feel the President is not satisfying either party 100 percent but watching the interests of all the people, or at least he is trying to.

A number of those who thought that the President had failed in leadership expressed either their sympathy or liking for him. Some felt he faced an impossible task requiring superhuman abilities; others mentioned the handicap of ill health; a number saw him as the victim of his own party's obstructionism.

A few specific criticisms:

I think the inadequate national leadership of the present administration is indicated by the apparent confusion regarding the budget.

Ike has failed to utilize his capabilities by not getting men in his Cabinet who would implement, and not question, policies which the President calls his own; by not taking a strong, clear stand on desegregation, and by talking morals when things get rough (Hungary and Sues) and sitting idle when at least some of his principles could be given effect.

President Eisenhower should devote more time for his pay and less to his play.

REPUBLICANS COMMENT

The most bitter attacks seemingly came from members of the President's own party. For example:

Ike is wrong. He has lost his head. I have been a Republican all my life but I am sorry I voted for him. We should bring our own men back home and mind our own business.

Or this one:

The big crusade that began in 1952 has bogged down and will remain so because the real Republicans have been driven into silence by the offensive nature of much of the present administration's program.

And finally:

President Eisenhower's attitude toward inflation—his continuation of policies inaugurated by the Democrats—is appalling. He is creating untold hardships among people, especially old people, with fixed incomes. He is also eliminating the middle class which was the very backbone of this Nation. I'm looking for a new party.

REDUCE TAXES OR DEBT?

Question No. 3:

It appears that the Federal budget now under consideration cannot only be balanced, but a surplus obtained. In your opinion, for which purpose should a surplus be primarily used—for a general tax reduction, or to reduce the national debt?

Answers: Tax reduction, 48 percent; debt reduction, 52 percent.

Those favoring debt reduction argued that the surplus would be too small to give real tax relief; that the national interest calls for debt reduction in good times no matter how attractive tax relief might seem; that failure to reduce the debt merely hands it on to our children and grandchildren; and that tax cuts may be penny wise, pound foolish acts, not only leaving the debt undiminished but also, if achieved by haphazard budget slashing, jeopardizing programs such as foreign aid and defense which will determine whether our country and our children have a peaceful, independent future.

Those who argued for immediate tax reduction had equally strong reasons.

You take my take-home pay of $90.31 every 2 weeks and I cannot afford high taxes—

One person wrote.

I think there should be a general tax reduction because my husband earned $4,056.50 total income last year and we are a family of 4 so we paid in $254 in Federal taxes plus $33.96 in State taxes, and yet our minimum in order to have a decent living standard is supposed to be $5,592. With that we would be able to buy more things, and we sure need a lot of essentials, and that would put more people to work and they will pay taxes too—

Said a housewife.

One woman wrote that, although she believed in reducing debt, personal and governmental—

Psychologically we have reached a point of frustration because of hidden taxes and double and triple taxes on money earned, and it is therefore time to reduce taxes.

Some called particularly for tax reduction for the low income groups, not only on grounds of greatest personal need but also on the contention that increasing the purchasing power of those who spend the major part of their income would provide a boost to the whole economy.

ENTERTAINING DICTATORS

Question No. 4:

Do you think that the United States should invite the chiefs of other nations to be official guests of this country, even if the governments they represent are totalitarian dictatorships?

Answers: Yes, 57 percent; no, 43 percent.

Those who opposed expressed fear or pessimism concerning the results of such visits, assuming that the visitors would represent unfriendly powers.

One man said that "We Americans are so easy going and trustful" that foreign visitors would "pick up a lot of information about our country which could be of great value to them."

Others doubted that such visits would win friends or diminish antagonisms toward us. Some linked arguments against foreign visitors to their opposition to foreign aid programs in general:

It seems every time a chief from another nation is our guest, all he wants is money. Let's use this money for the benefit of Americans.

Those who answered "Yes" frequently qualified their replies. They suggested that the visitors and their staffs be closely supervised and that lavish red-carpet welcomes be avoided. Many said that such visits should be carefully timed and their potential benefits weighed in terms of our country's self-interest and the development of a more peaceful world.

The conviction that international tensions can be removed only through contact and negotiation appeared in most of the comments favoring visits by foreign leaders.

"We should not be afraid to show our democracy to anyone" and "Let them see our capitalist country so they get impressed as to how much better life is here" were two typical remarks.

Many replies pointed out that totalitarian governments would not just dissolve if we ignore them. As one said:

While I am opposed to the type of government in some countries, such as China and Yugoslavia, I feel we cannot pretend they don't exist by refusing to recognize them or refusing to invite them to our country as official guests. We must begin somewhere if we want to solve our international problems.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

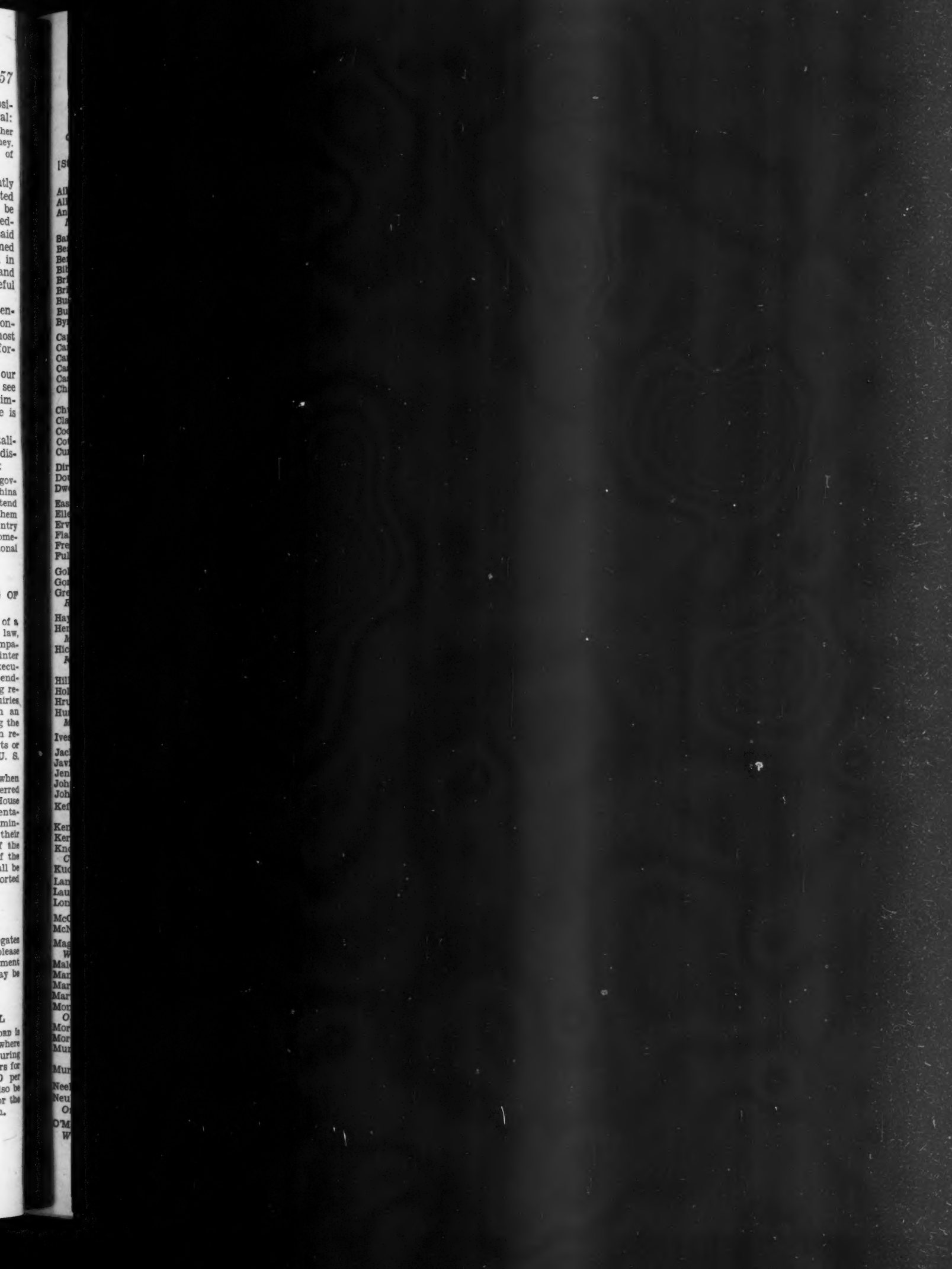

4, 1957

II,

petition of
Commerce
opriate suf-
of the Fed-
authorized
gress, which
n Appropria-

Appendix

Federal Government Promotes Growth of Monopoly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of the House to a significant address by Dr. Walter Adams, professor of economics at Michigan State University, before the 23d annual convention of the Independent Bankers Association at Miami Beach, Fla. This important address on the growth of monopoly is printed in the June 1957 issue of the Independent Banker.

The address follows:

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PROMOTES GROWTH OF MONOPOLY

Speaking on the monopoly problem recalls what Alexander Pope said in the 18th Century: "Vice is a monster of such frightful mien that to be hated needs but to be seen; but seen, too oft, familiar with the face, we first endure, then pity, then embrace."

Monopoly is much the same story. And large segments of American society have taken bigness and monopoly for granted.

It is always a pleasure to address this association, which not only pays lip service to the ideals of a free competitive enterprise economy but, rather, is an organization which puts up a militant fight often against great odds on behalf of this ideal. And it would not be surprising if the leaders of this association at times lost courage.

I am reminded of the story which is a favorite of Senator KEFAUVER of Tennessee. Senator KEFAUVER tells about the vast atomic energy experiment conducted in his neck of the woods, and the Atomic Energy Commission had assembled experts, scientists, leaders in various fields, to study this experiment. When everything was set, the scientists backed off to a safe distance.

The atomic blast occurred, and after a safe interval, the scientists slowly edged up to this huge crater in the earth that had been created by the blast, and, there, to their amazement, at the bottom of the hole, they saw the figure of an old man dressed in a Confederate uniform and carrying an old Confederate musket. As this man reached the top of the crater, he said, "I don't care what General Lee says. I'm giving up."

Well, fortunately, this association doesn't play the game that way. Now, everybody is the small-business man's friend. Small business is part of the American institutional fabric. Small business ranks with truth, justice, motherhood, the American flag. Everybody is for it, but very few people do something on behalf of small business.

If we look at the facts, we find that according to a recent survey of Fortune magazine for 1955, there is a picture of vast concentration of economic power in the American economy. The 50 largest insurance companies have 90 percent of all insurance company assets. The 50 largest manufacturers made 27 percent of all manufacturing company sales. This is 50 companies, out of 325,000 such companies in the United States.

The 50 largest corporations in all fields had sales of $86 billion or 28 percent of the total gross national product. Concentration is high, and in many fields may be increasing rather significantly. Why, Let's review some of the factors that explain this phenomenon. First and foremost is the merger problem.

Mergers have been going on in a veritable wave over the last 6 years. In 1950, Congress passed the so-called Celler-Kefauver Act. This was an antimerger act that provided that all mergers which have the effect of substantially lessening competition are unlawful.

Now, this did not mean that every single merger, regardless of its competitive significance, would be outlawed. Nothing of the sort. Only those mergers which had a tendency toward monopoly, which had the effect of substantially lessening the competition—only those mergers were considered unlawful.

Let's see how that law is applied. Not long ago, the Bethlehem Steel Co., the second largest steel company in the United States, proposed to merge with the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., the sixth largest steel company in the country.

What was the rationale behind it? Bethlehem argued, "Here, we are located in Bethlehem, Pa., Sparrows Point, Md., and Buffalo, N. Y. Youngstown is located in the Chicago area primarily. If we are allowed to merge, then Bethlehem will be in a stronger position in the Chicago area to compete with the giant United States Steel Corp. and the Gary plant they have out there."

Bethlehem argued that this would be no danger to the competitive system in the steel industry because, "After all, the combined Bethlehem-Youngstown Co. would still be significantly smaller than United States Steel. Therefore, "this would increase rather than decrease competition."

The Justice Department has filed suit to block this merger, and I think rightfully so.

Let me give you my views if I may on the significance of this merger. We are all for increased competition, but competition can be increased in 1 of 2 ways. If you want to move into the Chicago area, you can either build or buy. If Bethlehem moves into the Chicago area by building additional plants, then what you have is an addition to competition, a strengthening of competition. You have one more company in the field.

COMPETITION LESSENS

But if you permit Bethlehem to buy Youngstown, the competition against United States Steel may be strengthened, but instead of having 3 companies in the country, you only have 2, and potential competition from a strong outsider has been substantially diminished.

Certainly, we can say that in the steel industry, Bethlehem standing on its own legs or Youngstown Sheet & Tube standing on its own legs should be large enough to be efficient. The solution to the competitive problem in the steel industry may not be so much to build up Bethlehem and Youngstown, but, perhaps, to question the present size of United States Steel. If you want to increase competition, it is wise to achieve that purpose by making companies build additional plants rather than by permitting them to buy out existing competitors.

Now, you find that despite the Celler-Kefauver antimerger act, mergers have been on the increase. In 1954, you had 617 mergers. In 1955, you had 846, and in 1956, you had 905.

I need not tell you what the story is in the banking field. During 1955, 225 banks with total assets of $9,616 million were merged, consolidated or acquired by other banks. During the 6-year period from 1950 to 1956, 830 banks with assets of $18,600 million were merged, consolidated or acquired. Moreover, these mergers took place for the most part in the key industrial areas of the country.

These mergers were part of the process whereby big banks grew even larger, and smaller banks were swallowed up. Today, there are about 14,000 commercial banks in America. Twenty-four of these have a billion or more of assets each.

In California, there is the fabulous Bank of America with resources of $9 billion. In New York City, there are two giant banks, the Chase Manhattan and the First National City, each with resources of over $7 billion. Ranging below them in size, New York has four $3 billion and two $2 billion banks. Together, these 8 banks have perhaps 85 percent of all of the deposits in New York City.

It is strange that these huge banks should be trying to expand through merger and consolidation when, as a matter of fact, some bankers tell me, a bank with $500 million can do everything in the public interest which such a large bank can do. In other words, there is little economic justification for this expansion.

Within the last 6 years, 147 banks in New York State have been merged, consolidated, or acquired by other banks. The resources of the banks, which have just disappeared, were $10 billion, almost one-sixth of the resources of all the banks in all of New York State.

The story is the same in California, in Oregon, in Washington, in Pennsylvania, in Rhode Island, in numerous other States. California, for instance, had long been the scene of bank mergers and consolidation. By 1950, California had only 149 banks compared to 600 in the little State of Kansas, but between 1950 and the end of 1955, 86 of these 149 California banks were merged, consolidated or otherwise taken over, a reduction of over 60 percent in the number of banking institutions in this huge and growing State.

MOUNTING DANGER

The story is the same in many other parts of the country, and the end result is not only a decreased number of banks and less competition, but a more highly centralized control of the Nation's financial system with mounting danger to the entire national economy if a relatively few individuals should decide for whatever reason to misuse their control over the lifeblood of the economy.

This is the merger picture. It is a pattern of lack of enforcement, in part, by the Government. The Justice Department and the Federal Trade Commission, to some extent, have become policemen looking the other

way, but I think there is another aspect of the monopoly that ought to be stressed.

I say to you that monopoly in America today does not come about merely as the result of private restraints and private monopolizing. Monopoly is fostered, is promoted to some extent, by the Government itself.

The Government today is a big spending unit. It spends over $70 billion annually and no longer can we say that what Government does has a neutral impact on the economy. Any outfit spending that much money certainly has no neutral impact.

POWER OF GOVERNMENT

How does the Government use its power and how does that power often result in greater concentration rather than in competition? First, in the field of defense contracts, you will find that during the Korean war, the 50 largest corporations got two-thirds of the Government war contracts. The largest 10 corporations got 40 percent of these war contracts.

"Well," you say, "that is only natural. Maybe only big business can do the job. But these big business firms subcontract a great deal, and the small-business man has an opportunity to participate in Defense Department spending that way." But you find that the subcontracting picture is pretty much the same.

Again, during this same period, we find that 56 percent of the subcontracts went to other large firms and left only 14 cents of the total procurement dollar to small business.

These are not the findings of Walter Reuther or John L. Lewis. These are the findings of Senator THYE, Republican of Minnesota, in one of the most devastating reports ever published by the Senate Small Business Committee on this question of concentration of defense contracts.

More serious aspects of these Defense Department contracts are the research contracts. In the fiscal years 1954 to 1956, the Department spent $4,771,000,000 on research contracts. These, too, were highly concentrated. The 100 top contractors got 85 percent of this total. The 200 top contractors got 91 percent, and the 500 top contractors got 98 percent. Obviously, there was very little left for small business in this pattern.

Curiously enough, the fruits of this research that was paid for at public expense accrue not to the general public, not to the business community as a whole, but rather to the people who did the research as contractors for the Defense Department. There were 6,788 patents issued to these people who did research for the Government at Government expense, and 52 percent of these patents went to just 15 companies—52 percent going to 15 companies out of more than 600,000 corporations in the United States.

Maybe this is a good thing. Our present Secretary of Defense feels that it is. He believes that we ought to have a narrow mobilization base. We ought to rely only on a few large contractors. He says, "This is sufficient."

TAXPAYER PAYS

But look at the implications. When Mr. Wilson took office in 1952, there were four contractors making the medium tank for the United States Army. There was General Motors, and three other small fly-by-night organizations, the Chrysler Corp., the Ford Motor Co., and the American Locomotive. Mr. Wilson moved in and said, "This job has to be done by a big outfit. It is more efficient to have 1 rather than 4," and so Ford, Chrysler, and American Locomotive went down the drain, and there was only one company building medium tanks for the United States Army.

Maybe in the short run, this is more efficient, but I submit to you that 2 years later, how many people would be bidding on a medium contract for the United States Army? Maybe General Motors offered the best deal to the Government in the short run, but, certainly, if you eliminate the other companies, you are not going to get much competitive bidding, and the taxpayer is going to pay through the nose in the long run.

I am not a military strategist, but from a purely military point of view, it would appear that it is unwise to put all of your eggs in one basket. General Motors may be good, but it isn't that good.

On the question of taxes, we find the same story. Here, again, what the Government does has considerable consequence as far as the future of competition is concerned. Now, we have heard a great deal about tax relief. A bill was introduced into the Senate at the beginning of this session by Senator SPARKMAN, of Alabama, and by Senator FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas.

This bill had fairly broad bipatrisian support in the Senate. The purpose of the bill was to reduce the corporation tax on small business. The bill was defeated in the United States Senate. The argument was, "We can't afford tax relief for the small-business man, moderate though that tax relief may be."

This is the same Senate, ladies and gentlemen, which sanctions giant tax loopholes for powerful pressure groups in the United States, primarily the oil industry. This is the same Senate that sanctions the 27½-percent depletion allowance, which is an absolute outrage, for the giant oil companies.

Most recently, we had this come to our attention. This, I think, is a scandal of major proportions. It involves the overseas operation of four giant American oil companies. They are Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard Oil of California, Socony Vaccum, and the Texas Co.

These four companies jointly own the Arabian American Oil Co. Under their concession agreement in Saudi Arabia, they agreed to pay Ibn Saud 27 cents for every barrel of oil they lifted. It turned out that their profit on every barrel of oil was $1.10. Ibn Saud came back to the Arabian American Oil Co. and said, "I don't think I am getting a fair shake. I am getting less than one-fifth of the profits. I want an even shake."

TAX DODGE

They tried to figure out a way whereby Ibn Saud could get more without Aramco getting less, and they devised an ingenious way of having Ibn Saud get more without Aramco getting less, and the United States Treasury footing the bill. This is the way it is done. Let me illustrate it for you. Maybe you can use it. Professors are not all eggheads, not all of them. They can't afford to be when they speak to a noncaptive audience like this one.

If you earn a hundred dollars in the State of Pennsylvania, and there is a Pennsylvania tax on you to the tune of $10, then for Federal income tax purposes, what can you do with the $10 tax you paid to Pennsylvania? You can deduct it from your $100 tax income, and your Federal liability is only $90. If the Federal tax rate is 10 percent, then you pay $9 in taxes to the Federal Government.

Assume you make a hundred dollars in Saudi Arabia. This $10 is no longer a deductible item. It becomes an offset item. This means that you pay your tax to the United States Treasury on the basis of 10 percent on $100, which would be $10, but since you have paid $10 in taxes to Saudi Arabia, you can use that as an offset against the $10 you owe to the United States Treasury, and what do you pay into the United States Treasury? Zero.

For 1956 Aramco paid $80 million to Ibn Saud in the form of royalties. They paid $200 million in the form of taxes. By the way, this tax legislation is democratically enacted by Ibn Saud himself, giving him a total of $280 million in income. Aramco also got $280 million. They had a 50-50 split.

For tax purposes, how is that $280 million of Aramco treated? Ordinarily, under the Federal income tax, they would have to pay 52 percent into the Treasury, amounting to, roughly, $145 million, but they had an offset of how much. Two hundred million they had paid to Ibn Saud. This offset was more than enough to balance out the tax liability of roughly $145 million. So, this fantastically profitable company paid nothing into the United States Treasury.

IN VENEZUELA, TOO

This is not only Saudi Arabia. The same thing goes on in Iran, in Iraq, in Venezuela. I submit to you that here is a loophole in the tax laws amounting to at least a billion dollars, but when you say, "Let's give some piddling tax relief to the small-business man," the United States Senate in its infinite wisdom says, "We can't afford it." However, Aramco goes on merrily, and then we say Aramco is big because it is efficient. Aramco is big because it is good. Aramco is big because people want it to be big.

I say to you, this is not the result of natural selection. This is not the result of immaculate conception. The fate of these companies is determined by what the Government does and by the manner in which the Government treats them. I will not go beyond this point, to suggest that the oil companies have not been particularly bashful about infiltrating their personnel into the State Department and Treasury, both.

Now, I think important areas we ought to give some consideration to are the so-called regulated industries. In the 1930's, New Dealers and others believed that every time you set up a regulatory commission that this was an excellent way of protecting the public interest. The more regulation you have, the safer the public interests will be. The less you rely on competition the better off you are. Well, I suggest to you that after 20 years of experience, we can no longer accept this philosophy, because some of these regulatory commissions have abused their trust, and some of them have promoted monopoly, and they have stifled competition.

BUREAUCRATIC REASONING

Let me give you a concrete example—In the trucking industry. No man can enter the interstate trucking industry today unless he has a certificate of convenience from the Interstate Commerce Commission.

If you want to haul steel rods between Detroit and Chicago, you have to prove to the ICC that nobody is capable of performing the job, and if you say to the ICC "but, gentlemen, I can do the job cheaper than the one company that is now in the field," the ICC will say, "That matters not." And you say, "I can do the job more efficiently." "That matters not." "Potential customers want me to do the job rather than X." "That matters not. You cannot enter into the trucking industry."

Under Federal regulations, there is only one area of the trucking industry, which is exempt from this bureaucratic stranglehold of the ICC, and that is the segment dealing with the hauling of agricultural commodities. If you haul agricultural commodities, you are exempt from the commission regulations. That is, they can't tell you where you can operate or how you can operate. All they can check is safety regulations, financial responsibility and so on.

The ICC has been very unhappy about this agricultural exemption, because this provided a breath of fresh air, a breath of competition in the industry. They said, "Okay, we will define the meaning of agricultural commodity. We will tell you what you can haul and what you can't haul."

These are some of the definitions. They decided that redried tobacco on stems is an

agricultural commodity but that redried tobacco leaf is not; that a live chicken is an agricultural commodity, but a chicken with its head cut off is not; that nuts in a shell are an agricultural commodity, but that shelled nuts are not; that milk is an agricultural commodity, but that buttermilk is not.

COURT LAMPOONS ICC

So bad has this situation become that the ICC is being lampooned in the decisions of the courts. They have lost every single case in which they have interpreted the meaning of an agricultural commodity. Here you have one situation where the Secretary of Agriculture moves into court and says, "I think this is an agricultural commodity," but ICC says, "No. The Secretary of Agriculture doesn't know anything about this field. We tell the court this is not an agricultural commodity, this is not exempt, this is subject to our regulations."

Let me read an excerpt of how the late Judge Frank in the second circuit court characterized such a commodity. This was an evacuations case of the ICC:

"If, however, the Commission is sustained in this case, and, accordingly, behaves similarly in future cases, then its conduct will indeed be a mystery. Its so-called 'valuations' will then be acceptable no matter how contrived.

"In that event, it would be desirable to abandoned the word 'valuation'—since that word misleadingly connotes some moderately rational judgment—and to substitute some neutral term, devoid of misleading associations, such as 'valuation' or, perhaps better still, 'woosh-woosh.' The pertinent doctrine would then be this: 'When the ICC has ceremonially woosh-wooshed, judicial scrutiny is barred.' It would then be desirable to dispense, too, with the Commission's present formula. 'Taking into considerations, etc.' replacing it with patently meaningless words—perhaps the same words spelled backward (i. e., Gnikat otni noitaredisnoc, etc.).

"Then no one would be foolish enough to believe that the figures in a commission plan necessarily have anything to do with deliberation, but everyone would know that the figures might well have been the product of omphalic inspiration, or ornithomancy, or haruspication, or aleatory devices, and that the conclusions of ICC might well be but the conjurations of mystagogues."

These are the people who protect the public interest in the trucking field. You find that the great exponent of free enterprise, like our Secretary of Commerce, Sinclair Weeks, came before the Small Business Committee and said, "The ICC is doing a good job. Competition is a dangerous thing. You can't let too many people get into the trucking industry."

This doesn't sound like Mr. Weeks that you read about in the newspapers.

UNHOLY ALLIANCE

Here is an unholy alliance of vested interests curtailing freedom of entry into an industry. You have the railroads, the big trucks, and the teamsters, strangely enough, joined with the ICC, to prevent entry, and when a little owner-operater tries to engage in what he reads about as freedom of enterprise, he is being told, "You are just a gypsy. You are irresponsible. You can't be trusted."

In the automobile industry, our problem is that we can't get enough firms into the industry to have more competition. Here, we have an industry where people are breaking their necks to get into it, and who says, "You have to stay out"? The United States Government itself.

I submit to you that by many of these regulatory commissions the Government itself promotes exactly what the antitrust laws are designed to prevent. The same story is true not only in the trucking field but to a lesser extent also in airlines. If you examin the field of television, if present trends continue, you will find that the United States will end up with two major networks, and a great opportunity for a competitive allocation of channels will have been missed.

I don't know all the answers. I don't know very many of them, as a matter of fact, but I have a feeling that a great myth has grown up. The apostles of big business keep assuring us that bigness is inevitable, that "big" is more efficient, that "big" is superior, and since they can do the job better, they will survive, and the little man, like the Indian and the Buffalo, will be a thing of the past.

I don't share that view. I am reminded of the story they tell about Jim Farley and Al Smith. One weekend Farley and Smith wanted to get away from it all. They went on a hunting trip in a remote area of the woods. You know what men do on an occasion like that. They arrived Friday night, sat down and played cards, drank a little bit, played way into the night, and early the next morning, they got up, did their hunting, their fishing, came back to repeat this pattern on Saturday night, and they got to bed about 4 in the morning.

They got up early the next day, Sunday morning, to go to mass. Jim Farley turned back and looked at his Protestant friends snoring away in the cabin and said to Al Smith, "Wouldn't it be the damndest thing if they were right and we were wrong?"

Well, I say to the apostles of bigness, maybe they are not right, and maybe their attitude ought to be more tolerant. They, too, may not have all the answers.

The Late Honorable Robert Crosser

SPEECH
OF
HON. BRENT SPENCE
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I have heard with profound regret of the death of our distinguished former colleague, Robert Crosser. He was born in Scotland in 1874 and moved to Cleveland, Ohio, with his parents when he was 7 years old. He had been a teacher of law, a member of the Ohio State Constitutional Convention, and had attained distinction in his profession before he came to Congress in 1913. Robert Crosser had a long, distinguished, and useful career in the House of Representatives where he served 19 terms. He was chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee for many years and was the author of much progressive and constructive legislation. Under his chairmanship his committee explored the pioneer field of railroad retirement and unemployment insurance. He was author of laws on these subjects together with the Railway Labor Act of 1934.

Bob Crosser served his people with fidelity and zeal. He had an infinite capacity for work and an intense interest in legislation beneficial to the plain people. He was a man of genial and friendly disposition as was evidenced by his many friends in the House. The confidence and respect his people had in him is expressed by the many approvals they gave to him in succeeding elections.

The country and his community has sustained a greal loss and he will be remembered with admiration and respect by all who knew him. After his long, patriotic, and devoted life, I know the great Judge of all will render His judgment, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

Fifty Years of Teaching

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SHUFORD
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. SHUFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include an editorial of the Times-News published in Hendersonville, N. C. This editorial pays tribute to Miss Sue Lanning and her distinguished teaching career, and I feel it is worthy of the attention of all Americans, as well as the people of the 12th Congressional District of North Carolina, and should be inserted in the RECORD.

Miss Lanning's life has been a dedication to the personal development of her pupils, as well as to their educational development. By her example and teaching she endeavored to send into the world a fine group of boys and girls with stanch characters, fitted for a more mature life. North Carolina should be proud to have such an outstanding teacher in the State, and it is hoped that the work to which she gave 50 years will inspire North Carolina to carry on the educational program which she helped develop and to which she contributed so much.

FIFTY YEARS OF TEACHING

Fifty years is a long time for a person to devote to any profession or job but in a few more weeks Miss Sue Lanning will have rounded out 50 years as a school teacher.

Miss Sue is a member of the faculty of Fletcher School and it was at the school auditorium that former students, associates, and friends gathered Monday night to honor her long service to the youth of Henderson County.

Miss Sue is finishing her long career in almost the same place she first attended school as a small girl. The Fletcher School is a consolidation of several smaller schools (in 1928), one of those being Patty's Chapel where she started.

She has taught 45 of the last 50 years in Henderson County and 36 of them at Fletcher. She is well along in her second generation of students and there are now pupils in the school who are grandchildren of her earlier students.

Her long career covers almost all of the recorded history of public school education in Henderson County. She began teaching in a 1-teacher school where she taught all 7 grades. She has seen public-school educaton progress from the 1-teacher schools, taught for only a few months of each year, to the present consolidated schools with a 9-month term. With this visible progress in physical facilities and with the development of teaching methods she has kept pace.

If the product of our public schools has kept pace with the physical development (and we believe that it has), it is because of the dedication by such people as Miss Lanning of their lives to the instruction of

young people, instruction not only in the subjects that are taught from the book but also in the intangible field of character development. As former County Superintendent R. G. Anders said on Monday night: "Your students may have forgotten what you taught them, but they have not forgotten you."

Miss Sue hasn't made a lot of money in the last 50 years. If she was working only for the financial return, she probably would have quit long ago. But she must derive great satisfaction from the knowledge that for each working day of the last half century she has had some part in developing the character of boys and girls. There is no way of knowing what she has accomplished because her work was with intangibles that cannot be valued in the market place.

On any other subject, this newspaper would not attempt to speak for the people of Henderson County. But we feel that we do not assume too much authority when we say to Miss Lanning: The people of Henderson County thank you for your long years of devoted and dedicated service. May God bless you.

Does Aid Help or Hurt Friend?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALTON LENNON
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. LENNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert in the RECORD an editorial from the Wilmington Morning Star of May 27, 1957, entitled "Does Aid Help or Hurt Friend?" The able editor of North Carolina's oldest daily newspaper sets forth some provocative and timely suggestions as we consider the foreign-aid program.

The editorial follows:

DOES AID HELP OR HURT FRIEND?

If, without knowing the author, you read the following statement, who would you guess said it?

"Economic dependence on the United States (by foreign nations) has grown beyond expectations. The sooner nations get on their own feet, the better off they will be."

Would it have come from the late Senator Taft, or from Senator KNOWLAND, or from some other Old Guard Republican or conservative Democrat?

Well, such a statement was made by Amjad Ali, Finance Minister of Pakistan, who clearly pointed out the recipient of American aid sometimes thinks it hurts more than it helps. And, goodness knows, the United States has poured plenty of financial and military aid out to Pakistan.

Whenever a nation or an individual becomes dependent upon financial handouts, that nation or individual loses its natural desire to work out personal problems. If the Federal Government would only let industry, individuals, nations, and all other segments of finance seek their respective levels by removing the false economy it has created to serve its own ends, perhaps this world would be a better and more interesting place. But as long as foreign nations can count on a weekly or yearly allowance from the United States, those countries are going to discover they cannot stand on their own economic feet if and when the subsidy is withdrawn.

Formosa is totally dependent upon American aid—but obviously they don't love us there for our kindness. The Chinese people on Formosa who rioted and destroyed American property were giving vent to their emotions—expressing open resentment at having to be dependent on the United States even for existence.

Just as man has pride, so do nations want to stand alone. Foreign aid is necessary in wartime when allies are fighting for a common cause. But to carry that program over year after year under one guise or another will eventually result either in open resentment or smoldering mistrust.

Address of Hon. Peter F. Mack, Jr., of Illinois, at Memorial Day Service, Honor Roll Park, Morrisonville, Ill., on Thursday, May 30, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CARLTON LOSER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, the Honorable PETER F. MACK, JR., delivered an outstanding address at Memorial Day services at Honor Roll Park in Morrisonville, Ill., on Thursday, May 30, 1957.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting in the RECORD this very fine address:

ADDRESS OF HON. PETER F. MACK, JR., OF ILLINOIS, AT MEMORIAL DAY SERVICES AT HONOR ROLL PARK, MORRISONVILLE, ILL., ON THURSDAY, MAY 30, 1957

I am proud to have been asked to participate in your Memorial Day service. But I am wondering why I was selected for this high honor.

Possibly it is because I am your neighbor and treasure the association and friendship of your fellow townsman.

Perhaps it is because I have served in the military service and have a continuing interest in it through my participation in the active Naval Reserve.

I think it is more logical, however, that you chose me because of my office as your Representative in Congress.

This office has been made possible by those men who have given their lives to protect our democratic form of Government.

Without their sacrifices our Congress would not exist nor would the liberties which we enjoy under our representative form of Government.

Therefore, it was appropriate for you to call on me, as your Congressman, to participate in this memorial service, so that I can be reminded of the responsibilities we have assumed in continuing the fight for a peaceful world.

Many of the Morrisonville men who gave their lives, and whose names appear on the honor roll in this park, were personal friends of mine.

There is no honor we can pay that is too great for the one who has made the supreme sacrifice of giving his life for his country.

In our feeble way, we are trying to remember the great contributions of our war dead and the sacrifices they made, by inscribing their names on this scroll and coming to honor them every Memorial Day. This is little enough for the service they rendered.

We should pray to God every single day of our life in this democratic country that these men we honor today will be sufficiently rewarded and decorated in the halls of heaven for their sacrifices on the sea, in the air, and on the battlefields of Europe, Korea, and the South Pacific.

Most of us here today are old enough to remember Memorial Days when there were still a few Civil War veterans around to occupy seats of honor on the platform.

We can recall when men who had fought in the Spanish-American War of 1898 were in the vigorous prime of early middle age.

Youthful veterans of the First World War led the march to the cemetery on Memorial Day. Most of us called it Decoration Day then.

Now, it is we veterans of World War II who have turned gray at the temples.

Veterans of the Korean war are the latest group of Americans who offered to give their lives that the Nation might live.

Each of the earlier wars had its troublesome aftermath. But none posed as many vexing problems, as much uncertainty or as grave a threat to our very existence, as our present concern with the hydrogen bomb.

In Washington this week the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, composed of Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, began public hearings on the question of radioactive fallout from nuclear weapons explosions and its effect on man.

These hearings probably won't get as many headlines as the investigation of Dave Beck, but a Washington newspaper calls the fallout hearings the biggest quiz show of the century. As this newspaper put it, the question is: How much radiation from weapons tests, natural cosmic rays and medical X-rays can man tolerate without placing a veto on future generations?

The answer of the scientists seems to be nobody knows.

Nobody knows for sure how much radiation the human system can tolerate without hazard to health.

Nobody knows for sure how big a nuclear dose can be absorbed without harm to future generations.

We do know that radiation from any source—natural or manmade—is harmful.

The fallout hazard probably is greater in countries like the United States where medical X-rays already have subjected many people to considerable radiation.

Just what is fallout? I have heard it defined as the dropping back to earth of radioactive particles hurled into the atmosphere by nuclear explosions.

Scientists tell us that the most dangerous element of radioactive fallout is strontium 90. Two physics professors, John Fowler of Washington University in St. Louis and Norman Goldberg of the University of Pennsylvania, told of the dangers from strontium 90 in an article reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

They wrote: "There is a strong possibility * * * that any amount of strontium 90 can cause serious damage—leukemia or bone tumors. Many scientists strongly suspect that any radiation which takes us appreciably above the existing natural level of radiation, which is due to cosmic rays, natural radioactivity in the soil, etc., is dangerous. We do not know what amount of damage is being done by these natural radiations and so cannot safely evaluate the effect of adding to them."

Yet we are told by a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Willard Libby, that the risk from fallout is extremely small. Dr. Libby feels that these risks have been exaggerated by the many scientists and others who have called upon the United States, Britain, and Russia to stop testing large nuclear weapons.

On the other side of this question we have such scientists as Linus Pauling, winner of the Nobel prize in chemistry, and Laurence H. Snyder, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Scientists; such humanitarians as Pope Pius XII and Dr. Albert Schweitzer, and such statesmen as Adlai Stevenson, all of these men have

urged that the testing of nuclear bombs be halted.

Just this week a petition signed by 25 prominent scientists, including Dr. Pauling and Dr. Snyder, states that—and I quote—"Each added amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world and causes damage to the pool of human germ plasm such as to lead to an increase in the number of seriously defective children that will be born in future generations."

Even Dr. Libby, who sees no real danger in continuing the tests, concedes that—and again I quote—"No scientist maintains that there is no risk at all from test fallout."

Another official who holds somewhat the same view is Dr. Charles L. Dunham, Director of the Biology and Medicine Division of the Atomic Energy Commission. Testifying before the joint committee, Dr. Dunham said that there is no question that any quantity—I repeat, any quantity—of radioactive fallout is undesirable.

But then he went on to say that other policy considerations besides health govern the continuance of weapons tests. Dr. Dunham said that from 300 to 500 scientists employed by the Atomic Energy Commission are now devoting their full time to studying radiation hazards.

My own view is that the United States should take the initiative now—with or without an international agreement—to stop the testing of large nuclear bombs.

Limited experimentation with small nuclear weapons may be necessary. But we should strive for an agreement that will put a stop to explosions of hydrogen bombs and other large nuclear devices that scatter harmful radioactive ash all over the world.

The United States was the first Nation to achieve atomic fission. We were the first Nation to drop an atom bomb. We are the only Nation that has ever used a nuclear bomb as an instrument of warfare. We have a greater moral responsibility than any other nation in this matter. I am not criticizing the decision to drop the atom bomb on Japan during World War II. Responsible statesmen and military leaders say these bombings actually saved lives by shortening the war.

I do say, however, that because we were the first to use the atom bomb in war, we have a moral responsibility to take the lead in taming the atom.

We should concentrate our efforts on adapting nuclear energy to peaceful uses so that it will become a blessing to mankind instead of a curse.

In my humble opinion there is nothing constructive to be gained from continued testing of hydrogen bombs or other large nuclear weapons.

I am not an atomic scientist. But as a layman with a continuing interest in this subject, I have been convinced that we already are capable of devastating one-quarter the surface of the earth in a matter of a few hours. Must we carry the art of destruction to any greater degree of perfection?

The small nations of the world look to the United States for leadership in this matter.

We must remember that nuclear weapons are now being manufactured by only three nations—the United States, Britain, and Russia.

But the peoples of the small countries of Europe and Asia, Africa, and the Americas, cannot evade the hazards to which they are exposed by our continued experimentation.

It has been said that the soil of Japan has been contaminated by Russian experiments in Siberia while the fish that are the staple of the Japanese diet has been contaminated by American experiments at Bikini.

Our moral responsibility is all the greater because of these risks to other peoples because of a national policy over which they have no control.

Why do not the United States, Britain, and Russia come to an agreement to end the testing of atomic bombs? Albert Schweitzer, the great humanitarian and winner of the Nobel peace prize, gives this answer.

"The real reason," Dr. Schweitzer wrote, "Is that in their own countries there is no public opinion asking for it. * * * Public opinion in all nations concerned must inspire and accept the agreement."

The Gallup poll recently reported that 63 percent of Americans believe the United States should stop testing nuclear weapons and H-bombs if Russia also agrees to stop.

It is my belief that the United States, without risk to our security, can stop these tests now, without waiting for agreement from Russia.

The effect of such a decision by us would go farther toward winning allies in this troubled world than the billions we have spent on foreign aid.

It has been said that the cold war is principally a battle for minds and souls of peoples in the neutral nations.

The proposed ban on further testing of H-bombs is a propaganda weapon of the greatest magnitude. Let's use it to advance the cause of peace in the world.

Armenian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN H. MAY, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, on June 2, in New Britain, Conn., I had the distinct privilege of being principal speaker at a gathering of 350 people of Armenian descent who were celebrating the 39th anniversary of Armenian independence day.

On May 28, 1918, Armenian independence was proclaimed and a democratic republic was established. Independence for this valiant people was short-lived, however, and after 2½ years the Armenian Republic was beset by Soviet intrigue and invasion. During the existence of the republic, the United States was generous in its assistance to the Armenian people by sending clothing, food, and medicine.

A heroic stand was made against the occupation by the Soviet Union in February 1921. The Soviets were ejected and for a period of 3 months were kept from occupying the country. Ultimately, the small republic, faced with overwhelming military odds, fell and since that time, Armenia has been under the heel of Soviet tyranny. It is now one of the so-called independent republics of the Soviet Union.

In the United States and elsewhere in the world there are people of Armenian origin who will never rest until the beloved land of their origin is again a free and independent nation. To work toward this end, an organization was formed and is known as the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia.

Let us in Congress remember that the cries and prayers for freedom from the Armenian people, although not audible from behind the Iron Curtain, are, nevertheless, as real and as fervent as the cries of the Hungarian people and those of the other captive countries. Let us work and pray, too, for the eventual liberation of the brave and suffering people of Armenia.

Vision, Work Made Ensley South's Steel Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding steel-producing centers of the world is located in my district. Ensley, Ala., one of the larger suburbs of Birmingham, has long been known for its wide variety of steel products. It is also famous for its steel-producing techniques.

Before the South's first commercial heat of basic steel was tapped at Ensley on Thanksgiving Day, 1899, there were those who said the mill could not produce steel from the Birmingham red iron ore. Those disbelievers had discounted the ingenuity, devotion, and foresight of the pioneer residents of the Ensley district. True, it takes far more than the basic mineral ingredients to produce steel, but the Ensley folk overcame the obstacles and handicaps. At times, it was necessary to go beyond the shores of our own Nation for experts in the field, but Ensley succeeded in producing steel by the open-hearth method and also in using open-hearth steel to make top-quality rails.

Today, I am proud to state, through many long years of hard work, patience, and endurance, Ensley has become the steel capital of the South. Under leave heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert a short history of this distinguished steel-producing area which appeared in the May 31, 1957, issue of the Birmingham Post-Herald, one of my district's fine daily newspapers:

VISION, WORK MADE ENSLEY SOUTH'S STEEL CENTER

The Birmingham district's ancestor of all southern steel mills is still going strong. And what's more, it shows no signs of slowing down.

Dean of southern steelmakers is the Ensley Steel Works of United States Steel's Tennessee Coal and Iron division.

There the South's first commercial heat of steel was produced almost 60 years ago. It was here, too, that the Nation's first open hearth steel rails were turned out more than half a century ago.

Since then, many millions of tons of steel have flowed from the Bessemer converters and the open-hearth furnaces at Ensley, and enough rails have been produced at the plant to crisscross the continent. A large proportion of the wide variety of steel products made at TCI's other plants in the Birmingham district are rolled from primary metal made at the Ensley works.

Giving the South a steel industry was not easy. As a matter of fact, only a few men at first thought it could be done.

It was widely known that the Birmingham district had all the major ingredients for steelmaking, but, unfortunately, the red iron ore so abundant in the heart of Red Mountain was not suitable for making good steel by processes then in use. To begin with, it contained a very low percentage of iron. Furthermore, it also had many chemical substances which would have to be removed before good steel could be made from it.

TCI's officials at Ensley, however, refused to concede that steelmaking was impossible here because nobody had yet found a way to do it.

A young engineer was brought from England to study the low-grade ore and see if he could devise a furnace which could handle it. After much experimentation, he developed a basic ironmaking furnace, the lining of which was capable of counteracting the undesirable chemical elements in the ore, thus producing what has come to be known as basic iron.

At first TCI contented itself with making and selling basic iron in the form of blooms and billets. Then, however, it found that some northern plants were buying its iron and converting it to steel.

"If they can do it, so can we," said TCI officials, and so they set about to develop an open-hearth process capable of making good steel from Birmingham iron.

Utilizing essentially the same principles evolved in building the basic blast furnace, they devised the basic open-hearth furnace. On Thanksgiving Day, 1899, the South's first commercial heat of basic steel was tapped from the new open-hearth furnaces at Ensley.

It had not been many years since steel rails had replaced the relatively brittle ones made of iron. At the turn of the century all of the American rails were being made in certain northern mills, from steel produced in the bessemer converter, and it was believed that open-hearth steel was not suitable for that product.

Again, however, TCI people were not convinced that it could not be done, so by 1902 the Nation's first mill for making rails from open-hearth steel had been installed at Ensley. That mill is still producing high-quality rails for the railroad industry.

Rails are the only finished steel products made for the trade at the Ensley plant, although great tonnages of its billets and slabs are transported to plants at Fairfield and Bessemer for making many dozens of useful products.

The Ensley works, however, does make one other consumer product which is of considerable importance in the South. That is basic slag, an excellent soil conditioner for farms, pastures, and lawns. The plant at Ensley is America's only producer of basic slag soil conditioner.

The very chemical elements which at first made it so difficult to produce satisfactory steel from Birmingham ores are responsible for making the Ensley slag a good plant food In the steelmaking process, these elements are absorbed from the iron by molten limestone.

When this material is taken from the furnace, it is allowed to cool and harden, after which it is pulverized and bagged for sale. Experiments conducted throughout the South have proved that it is one of the best soil builders available.

General superintendent of the Ensley Steel Works is Dudley Vaughan, who began his career at that plant more than 45 years ago, as a blueprint boy. Largely self-taught in the steel business, Mr. Vaughan has become a foremost authority on open-hearth practice. He had served as assistant general superintendent of the big Fairfield Steel Works from 1943 until his appointment, last October, to the general superintendency at Ensley.

J. J. Shannon, a widely recognized expert on blast furnaces, is assistant general superintendent of the plant. Mr. Shannon was for many years superintendent of blast furnaces at Ensley.

Revision of the Natural Gas Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, the following is a statement which I made before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in opposition to the measures which call for the revision of the Natural Gas Act. My statement to this committee is as follows:

STATEMENT BEFORE INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE COMMITTEE ON JUNE 4, 1957, BY HON. MERWIN COAD, OF IOWA

Mr. Chairman, I am MERWIN COAD, Representative in Congress from the Sixth Iowa District, and I appreciate the opportunity afforded me in coming before your committee. I will be brief in my statement as I know you have heard many learned persons to date on the subject under consideration and many are yet to be heard.

The Sixth District of Iowa is composed of 15 large counties which are largely rural but are dotted with many towns and some small cities. We already have many of our communities using natural gas and at the present time arrangements are being made and negotiations completed to bring more natural gas to still additional towns and communities in the district. The people desire the efficient, clean, and moderately priced natural gas for use in their homes and for industrial purposes.

There are no oil or gas wells located in the State of Iowa, much less in the Sixth Iowa District. Therefore, all of the people whom I represent are consumers and I am stating this case in their behalf. However, even though all my people are consumers, they are still aware of the fact that those who produce, transport, and distribute natural gas must make a healthy margin of profit in order to continue their operations. There is no controversy whatsoever about this. But on the other hand, it is obvious that the rights of the consumer must be protected in those measures which would change the situation which has seemingly been fair and equitable to all involved. Admittedly the producers through to the distributors of natural gas have been regulated by one or another agency of the Government whether Federal, State, or local. But even so, there have been no cases recorded publicly to my knowledge wherein any Government agency acted in such manner as to bring about the economic death of any natural-gas producer, transporter, or distributor. In fact, the economic picture of the entire gas industry has been, throughout the years, one of good health. The general utility field has been one of the surest and safest attractions for capital.

It is obvious then, when an industry which has fared well under the observation, supervision, and regulation of a governmental agency wants to be removed from this control, it is not to reduce its pricing structure, nor to lower its profit level. Quite to the contrary, the only reason any group would want to free itself from any constricting regulation would be to further enhance its own economic picture.

Let us remember that those who are natural-gas consumers are limited and controlled. They are limited to using natural gas for they are controlled by the fact that they have a heavy investment in those appliances which utilize only natural gas. It is not a matter of deciding one day to change from one fuel to another.

Further, it should also be remembered that the industrial users will not shoulder the load of any increased costs, for already the home user pays the bulk of the costs which include the profit and the industrial users pay little more than the actual cost of the gas plus transportation.

Obviously, the consumer will pay for any increase in the cost of natural gas, just the same as the consumer pays the increased cost of any commodity. With the pricing structure the way it is already set up, it will mean that the families, in their homes, will pay any increase in the cost of natural gas.

There are millions of American families tied to the natural gas lines. Unless the Congress maintains a constant vigil for their rights, they stand unprotected.

Originally, the Natural Gas Act of 1938 was to protect the consumer against exploitation at the hands of natural gas companies when it was clearly seen that the States could not adequately supply this basic protection. It is also a known fact that the large oil companies control the production of natural gas. These companies have fared very well under the present regulatory law and the people's rights have been protected. Surely, for the sake of justice and fairness it would be unwise to turn loose these industrial giants upon the unorganized forces of our family unit consumers.

There have been many attempts to repeal the Natural Gas Act, but always there have been those who have stood firmly voicing the concern of the people who are not in a position to speak for themselves. Today, I stand in opposition to H. R. 6790 which would only free the producers of natural gas from pricing control. I do not believe this bill would be in the best interests of my people, nor would it be in the best interests of the total American consuming public. The only ones who would benefit by this measure would be those who are the producers of natural gas and their profit-and-loss sheets do not provide evidence that they have been the recipients of any economic abuse under the present Natural Gas Act.

I take this opportunity to express to you again my appreciation for the graciousness of your committee in permitting me to make this statement.

Poll on Immigration and Deportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to insert the following results of a vote taken by the Commonwealth Club of California on immigration and deportation. This poll was taken following the circulation to all their members of a report of the club's

immigration section preceded by an 18-month study of the subject.

Should the immigration law be amended so that—

1. (a) Quotas will be changed from the present 1920 census base [1] to that of the most recent published census? Yes, 926; no, 555.

(b) Unfilled portion of annual quotas will be made available for use by other nations in succeeding years? Yes, 673; no, 794.

2. (a) All immigrants, regardless of race, will be charged to country of birth? Yes, 967; no, 418.

(b) Quotas for specific countries will be abolished, and an overall quota established to which every immigrant would be chargeable, regardless of origin, birthplace, or race? Yes, 421; no, 975.

3. Immigrants born in Western Hemisphere will be made subject to quota? Yes, 951; no, 491.

4. Broader discretion will be given for administrative relief against exclusion or deportation regulations? Yes, 1,012; no, 461.

5. Commencement of deportation proceedings will be limited to 10 years after cause for deportation? Yes, 760; no, 714.

6. The immigration and nationality laws will be administered by an independent commission rather than by a bureau in the Department of Justice? Yes, 581; no, 883.

7. A visa review board will be established to consider appeals from denial of visas? Yes, 1,005; no, 477.

8. Specific provision will be made for court review of decisions of administrative authorities in all important immigration matters? Yes, 1,185; no, 299.

[1] Whereby quotas have been prorated on a percentage basis to each country according to the national origins of the United States population.

Extension of FDIC Power Hits State Bank Departments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, many Members of the House have a high regard for Ben DuBois, secretary of the Independent Banks Association, and respect his sincere interest in sound economic policies to promote general prosperity and assure the healthy growth of small and independent enterprise.

In the June 1957 issue of the Independent Banker, Mr. DuBois discusses an apparent infringement on the responsibility of State banking departments by the FDIC. What he has to say is worthy of our study and consideration. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include his article entitled "Extension of FDIC Power Hits State Bank Departments."

EXTENSION OF FDIC POWER HITS STATE BANK DEPARTMENTS

(By Ben DuBois)

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation came into being for the purpose of insuring bank deposits as a protection to the depositing public. It was permitted to examine nonmember State banks and, in case of necessity, State members of the Federal Reserve System and national banks. The purpose of this examination privilege was to minimize the Corporation's risks. This has been accomplished.

During the 22 years that the Corporation has been operating, the total net loss has been a little less than $21 million. For the year ending December 31, 1956, net income from United States Government securities alone amounted to over $43 million. Total expenses and losses for that year were about $10 million dollars. The total losses in 22 years were much less than the income on investments for 1 year. The Corporation certainly has minimized its risks.

From the insurance standpoint the Corporation has done an excellent job. It is very much a worthwhile organization. It has brought a high degree of stability to banking. It has proved that the insurance of deposits is feasible, and the banking fraternity and the public in general look upon the Corporation with deep respect.

COMPLAINTS HEARD

But through its examinations, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation is becoming a policymaker. Monetary policies should be left to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Also, the FDIC is encroaching upon the prerogatives of the banking departments, in some instances pushing the State banking departments into subservient position.

We hear more complaints about the examinations of the FDIC than we do of the other examining agencies. The Comptroller of the Currency sits on the FDIC Board. We hear little criticism of national bank examinations.

Is there a movement on foot, abetted by the Comptroller as Director of the FDIC, to encourage State banks to change to a National charter or to avoid the irritating examinations by the FDIC by becoming a member of the Federal Reserve System?

ALL EXAMS THOROUGH

It can be assumed, we believe, that examinations by the National Banking Department and by the Federal Reserve banks, are fully as thorough as the examinations by the FDIC. From personal experience, we believe the examinations by the State banking departments are equally good.

Is the assumption of more and more direction to banks by the Corporation through its examinations a scheme of the FDIC to break down the autonomy of the States and to supervise, direct, and make policies for State banks through a Washington office?

Perhaps there is no well-laid plan to do any of the things enumerated above. Maybe it is merely Washington bureaucracy stretching out for more control.

We believe we see dangerous handwriting on the wall that should be heeded. We often wonder why the FDIC as an insurer needs to examine all nonmember State banks. It accepts in general the examinations made through the Comptroller of the Currency's office as well as examinations made through the different Federal Reserve banks. Couldn't it accept the examinations made by the different State banking departments?

The State banking departments have a responsibility for seeing to it that the banks under their supervision are properly run. These agencies will do their utmost to protect depositors of State banks. It is patent on its face that the Corporation sort of looks down its nose upon examinations made by State banking departments.

State banks, of course, pay a fee for examinations by the State banking departments. The FDIC makes no charge, but the banks pay for this examination nevertheless through the premiums they pay to the Corporation.

If the Corporation maintained only a skeleton crew for examining problem banks, it could lessen its cost of operation and we believe that ultimately it could return more of the premium the banks pay the FDIC.

As long as the Corporation fails to recognize the competency of examinations by State banking departments, the more it puts our State banking departments in a subservient position.

SETTING A TREND?

Perhaps the trend is toward eliminating examinations by the State department. Then the only thing that would be left is the right of chartering. These rights are infringed upon a bit because when a State issues a new charter, the new State bank may get insurance or it may not.

On the other hand, a charter issued to a national bank automatically gives it insurance. If a going bank can't secure insurance from the FDIC, it may join the Federal Reserve System and then the Corporation will insure it. It appears to be a lopsided situation.

When a newly chartered State bank makes application to the FDIC for insurance, the Corporation in many instances withholds insurance until the bank management selects an executive officer satisfactory to the FDIC.

The Corporation does not leave it to the State banking department to decide whether or not the proposed executive officer is competent. Taking away from the State banking departments their responsibilities weakens these departments.

Perhaps in some instances the shucking of responsibility is pleasant. Final disposition of troublesome problems can be placed on the other shoulders. However, if we are to maintain strong State banking departments, these departments must measure up to their responsibilities.

It is our belief that when the Congress permitted the FDIC to examine banks it was for the purpose of minimizing risks, not to give the Corporation power to set policies and to select managing officers for the banks.

It was not the intent of Congress, surely, to have the Corporation dominate the situation and to put State banking departments in a position of less responsibility.

Unless corrections are made, our dual system of banking will become a hollow shell and by indirection its substance may be destroyed.

A 51-Million-Acre Corn Base Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, the following is a plan presented to me by a constituent, Mr. Carl Hoyer, of Fort Dodge, Iowa, who is president of the Webster County Farm Bureau. It deals with the farm problem and is evidence that Mr. Hoyer is continuing with those of us who are constantly working of this situation. I present the plan here so that the entire membership of this House might study its merits:

A 51-MILLION-ACRE CORN BASE PROGRAM

This plan would provide for approximately 20 percent of crop acres to be put in soil bank with average payments of $28 per acre.

This program would take care of the objections of farmers not wanting to participate. First, it would allow a farmer to plant about 60 acres of corn on a 160-acre farm that is all cropland. If this were done it would allow

farmers to plant more corn (which is by far the best pay crop in the agricultural corn producing area) and thereby eliminate the possibility of diverting acres from corn to grain sorghum or other feed grains.

By taking 20 percent of crop acres and putting them into a soil bank, we would take 2 times as many acres out of production, as the acreage reserve of the present soil bank bill now does at the same cost to Government. This would be the same land on which farmers are being paid about $50 per acre this year, only this plan would give the farmer the choice of putting into the soil bank the cropland he chooses. Land would most likely be taken out of oats or hay. Farmers would not object to taking this land out of production because they say they don't make money on these crops anyway.

This program would solve the surplus feed problem because by taking 20 percent of crop acres out of production we should cut total feed units by about 5 to 10 percent. This would balance supply and demand, and take care of surpluses.

Land placed in this soil bank should be seeded, but no extra payments should be made, as the farmer is the one who benefits from the seeding. Also setting up of seeding requirements by ASC offices would raise administration costs. These regulations cannot be enforced because who could tell where the seed was planted?

This program should be tied in with a flexible support program of from 75- to 90-percent parity. I see no reason why we should take less than 75 percent of parity with a reduction program of this kind. A floor of 75 percent would take away much of the criticism and 75 percent is low enough to increase consumption and not stimulate high production. A farmer would have to participate in the soil bank in order to be eligible to seal any feed grains or ASC payments.

I have talked to quite a few farmers and other leaders in the county. They are very favorable to this program and thought I should write it up. I would welcome any suggestions as to changes that you think would improve it.

I humbly and prayerfully present this program to you, with the hope that it may in some way help to set up a farm program that will help agriculture out of the very distressful conditions we are now facing.

CARL HOYER.

FORT DODGE, IOWA.

Protest Against Reduction in Wheat Price

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, the farmers in my area are bitterly opposed to the recent reduction in wheat prices, and I have made my own feelings a matter of record with the Secretary of Agriculture. I would like to extend my remarks in the RECORD to include a resolution presented to me by the Farmers Union Local, No. 1624, Belle Plaine, Kans., urging that the support price on wheat be restored to $2 per bushel:

Whereas the price of gasoline has gone up from 1 to over 3 cents a gallon. Farm machinery, cars, and trucks have also gone up in price. In fact, all costs of operation except those involving other farmers have gone up;

Whereas Kansas has reduced its wheat acreage from over 14 million to just over 5 million acres and the expected yield is 83 million bushels compared to 195 million bushels for the 10-year average;

Whereas there is now in operation production payments on wool and sugar which have not caused surpluses: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the support price of wheat be set at $2. The agricultural situation is about the same as last year and unless last year the price was raised as a political move to get votes, it should be set at $2 again; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent by the secretary of the Redman Farmers Union Local, No. 1624, on May 20, 1957, to President Eisenhower, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson, to Senator Andrew Schoeppel, Senator Frank Carlson, Representative J. Floyd Breeding, and to the State Farmers Union paper.

FRANKLIN BURGER,
President.
MRS. GERALD WATKINS,
Secretary.
H. H. ZIMMERMAN,
Legislative Director.

Panama Canal: Capacity Threatened by Water Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 6, 1957, page A804, I commented on the proposal to widen Gaillard Cut—formerly Culebra—from its present minimum width of 300 feet to 500 feet as a step in the right direction for the adequate modernization of the Panama Canal.

The navigational hazards and other adverse effects on capacity of the present restricted cut have long been recognized. But these are not the only grave problems involved in the modernization of the Panama Canal.

In the May 19, 1957 issue of the New York Times, a special dispatch from Balboa, C. Z., reported a closing of the canal to certain types of deep-draft vessels, because of shortage of water in the summit level, as narrowly averted. The situation described cannot be considered alone, for it is merely another of seven major canal operating problems that must be considered in any realistic handling of the question of modernization.

For a listing of these problems the attention of the Congress is invited to a summary and discussion of them on pages 43–44 in the hearings on the operations of the Panama Canal and Canal Zone Government before the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, March 29–31, 1955, in which I was a participant.

The limited operating range of Gatun Lake—87 to 82 feet—as indicated previously, is but a single problem. Its obvious solution, as stated in the summary, consists of raising the lake level to its optimum height—approximately 92 feet.

The current water shortage together with the growing traffic, which in April was 905 vessels of all classes, is further reason for immediate consideration of the overall canal problem. Certainly the time has passed for individual treatments of operational symptoms that have featured recent canal official efforts, and which have only served to delay, if not confuse, the real issues.

This latest operating crisis, I submit, as the result of almost a decade of close observation of Panama Canal matters, can be adequately and economically met only by means of an independent inquiry under congressional authorization along the lines contained in measures to create the Interoceanic Canals Commission, which are now pending. The time for procrastination should be over.

Under leave granted to extend, I quote the text of the indicated news dispatch:

CURB IS AVERTED AT PANAMA CANAL—RAINS RAISE LEVEL OF GATUN LAKE PERMITTING CONTINUED TRANSIT BY TANKERS

BALBOA, C. Z., May 17.—The closing of the Panama Canal to heavy-laden tankers and ore ships has been averted for the time being, it was revealed today.

An extraordinarily long and severe dry season lowered Gatun Lake to such extent that canal officials had fixed June as the day when they probably would deny transit to deep-draft supertankers and ore vessels plus any other ships equally unwieldy.

However, heavy rains last week end, plus some rain since, have averted this necessity.

Gatun Lake remains between 3 and 4 feet lower than normal. Today was about 5 inches above the level at which canal authorities would have had to start picking and choosing vessels able to make the transit.

The dry season on the isthmus normally extends from about Christmas to mid-April.

Even in this time there are normally periodic showers.

But this year it was mid-May before the first rains came, and there had been scarcely a sprinkle anywhere on the watershed since December.

In 1946 Gatun Lake fell to a lower level than this year, but at that time canal traffic did not include supertankers.

Further complicating the problem of canal officials is the fact that traffic continues at record levels.

Nine hundred and five ships of all classes used the canal in April. This made April the second best month in canal history.

The best month was March, when 60 more oceangoing vessels transited than in April.

The Late Robert Crosser

SPEECH
OF
HON. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, I was greatly saddened when I learned of the passing of our former colleague, Robert Crosser. I wish to join in paying tribute to his memory.

I had the great pleasure and privilege of serving on the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce when Mr. Crosser was chairman. I soon learned to admire his sterling qualities and recognized him as an outstanding

American. My service on this committee under the leadership of Bob Crosser was a most happy experience, and I shall always have pleasant memories of my association with Mr. Crosser.

He told me the story of his life and of the fight that he had to make in order to reach the pinnacle of success that he obtained. It is an inspiring and challenging story and made a deep impression upon me. He was a philosopher and a keen student of history.

I always enjoyed a visit with Mr. Crosser. He was always in good spirits, in spite of his physical ailments. I was proud to have him as a friend, and my life is richer for having known Robert Crosser.

I wish to extend my sincere sympathy to his daughter and son, and to the other members of the family.

Joint Statement of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

JOINT STATEMENT OF SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN FOSTER DULLES AND SECRETARY OF DEFENSE CHARLES E. WILSON

The case of United States Army Sp3c. William S. Girard has far-reaching implications, involving as it does the good faith of the United States in carrying out a joint decision reached under procedures established by treaty and agreement with Japan.

The case involves actions by Girard which caused the death of Naka Sakai, a Japanese woman, on January 30, 1957. The issue arose as to whether or not Girard should be tried by United States court-martial or by a Japanese court. After careful deliberation in the joint United States-Japan committee established by the 2 Governments pursuant to treaty arrangements, the United States representative on this committee was authorized to agree, and on May 16, 1957, did agree, that the United States would not exercise its asserted right of primary jurisdiction in this case. In view of this completed action, attempting to prolong the dispute over the jurisdictional issue would create a situation which could basically affect United States relations not only with Japan, but also with many other nations.

For these reasons, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson have carefully reviewed all the available facts in the case. They have now concluded that the joint committee's agreement that Girard be tried in the courts of Japan was reached in full accord with procedures established by the treaty and agreement, and that in order to preserve the integrity of the pledges of the United States, this determination by the joint committee must be carried out.

The Secretaries' review disclosed the following:

The incident occurred in a maneuver area provided by the Japanese Government for part-time use of United States forces. The Japanese Defense Force uses the same area about 40 percent of the time. When the area is not in use by either the United States or Japanese armed forces, Japanese civilians are permitted to farm or otherwise use the area.

Efforts to keep civilians away from the area during such military exercises have not proved effective. In this particular case, red boundary flags were, as customary, erected as a warning to civilians to keep off, and local authorities were notified of the proposed exercises. But, as was frequently the case, a number of Japanese civilians were in the area gathering empty brass cartridge cases at the time of the incident. These civilians had created such a risk of injury to themselves in the morning exercises when live ammunition was used that the American officer in charge withdrew live ammunition from the troops prior to the afternoon exercises. In the interval between two simulated attacks during the afternoon, Girard and another soldier, Sp3c. Victor M. Nickel, were ordered by their platoon leader, a lieutenant, to guard a machinegun and several field jackets at the top of a hill. Girard and Nickel were not issued live ammunition for this duty.

It was while these soldiers were performing this duty that the incident occurred. Mrs. Naka Sakai, a Japanese civilian, died a few moments after being hit in the back by an empty brass rifle shell case fired by Girard from his rifle grenade launcher. She was not over 30 yards from Girard and was going away from him when he fired the rifle. Girard had previously fired similarly in the vicinity of a Japanese man, who was not hit.

Girdard's action in firing empty shell cases from the rifle grenade launcher was not authorized. He asserted that he fired from the waist, intending only to frighten the Japanese civilians. Others stated, but Girard denied, that empty shell cases were thrown out to entice the Japanese to approach.

Under the United States-Japanese Security Treaty and article XVII of the administrative agreement under that treaty, as established by the protocol adopted September 23, 1953, the authorities of Japan have the prior right to jurisdiction to try members of the United States Armed Forces for an injury caused to a Japanese national, unless such injury is one arising out of any act or omission done in the performance of official duty.

The Japanese authorities have taken the position that Girard's action in firing the shell cases was outside the scope of his guard duty and was, therefore, not done in the performance of official duty.

The commanding general of Girard's division certified that Girard's action was done in the performance of official duty.

In accordance with the procedure established under the treaty and administrative agreement, the disputed matter was, on March 7, 1957, taken before the joint United States-Japan committee established under the provisions of the treaty and administrative agreement previously referred to.

Various meetings were held between the United States and Japanese representatives on the joint committee. As is customary, a representative of the American Embassy in Tokyo also attended these meetings in the capacity of observer. Both sides continued to press their respective claims to primary jurisdiction, and the committee was unable to reach agreement.

The commanding general, Far East Command, reported the facts to the Department of the Army, the executive agent for the Department of Defense. The Department of Defense considered having the joint committee refer the matter in dispute to the two Governments for settlement, but rejected this procedure as inadvisable under the circumstances. Department of Defense instructions were accordingly issued, through the Department of the Army, to the Far East Command to the effect that the United States representative on the joint committee should continue to press the claim for jurisdiction, but that, in case of continued deadlock, he was authorized to waive jurisdiction to Japan. After 3 weeks of additional negotiations, the United States representative waived jurisdiction in the name of the United States.

Girard was subsequently indicted by the Japanese judicial authorities for causing a death by wounding—the least serious homicide charge for which he could have been indicted under Japanese law. In determining whether Girard's actions were in violation of law, all the facts, as presented by both sides, must now be weighed by the Japanese court, just as they would by a United States court-martial, if trial were held under United States jurisdiction .

In accordance with Public Law 777 of the 84th Congress, the United States Government will pay for counsel chosen by Girard to defend him in this trial. Pursuant to the administrative agreement under the Japanese treaty, Girard will be guaranteed a prompt trial, the right to have representation by counsel satisfactory to him, full information as to all charges against him, the right to confront all witnesses, the right to have his witnesses compelled to attend court, the right to have a competent interpreter, the right of communication with United States authorities, and the presence of a United States representative as an official observer at the trial. This observer is required to report to United States authorities on all aspects of the trial and the fairness of the court proceedings.

The United States authorities will, of course, see that all evidence is available to Girard and his counsel, and will render every proper assistance to him and his counsel in protection of his rights.

United States troops are stationed in many countries as part of our own national defense and to help strengthen the free world struggle against Communist imperialism. The matter of jurisdiction in cases of offenses against the laws of host countries, whether by our servicemen abroad or by servicemen of other countries in the United States, is dealt with by mutual agreements.

In the operation of this system in Japan there has been the greatest measure of mutual trust and cooperation. Since the present arrangement became effective in October 1953, Japan, in the overwhelming majority of the cases in which it had primary right to try American personnel, has waived that right in favor of United States action. There is every reason to believe that trial of United States Army Sp3c. William S. Girard in the Japanese courts will be conducted with the utmost fairness.

Item Veto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I quote herewith an editorial which appeared in the June 1, 1957, issue of the Lynchburg News, concerning the item-veto power in support of which several of us who authored the bills on the subject have recently been testifying before the Willis Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary:

WHY CONGRESS BALKS

The item-veto power for which President Eisenhower has recently asked the Congress, and which Presidents before him have recommended, is one of those things that makes such good sense that the wonder is that it was not done long ago. Everybody has talked about it, everybody has approved it in principle, and nobody has done anything about it. It is still in the talk stage and seems likely to remain there for an indefinite time to come.

The item veto is aimed at one of the oldest evils in the Congress—the pork barrel. Under the law requiring the President to accept or reject an omnibus appropriation bill in whole, to take it or leave it, a President has generally left it with strong words that break no pork-barrel staves. The result is that when several legislators join together to add one appropriation to the bill they succeed because there are other legislators waiting with their pet little appropriations and don't want to antagonize anybody. "You tickle me and I'll tickle you" and let the taxpayer foot the bill. The President is helpless. He can't veto these little vote-getting expenditures without vetoing the whole measure which contains the appropriations necessary for the operation of the Government.

The laws of 40 of the 48 States empower the Governor to veto items in a measure without having to veto it all, and no State has returned to the old money-wasting system. In Virginia no one has really ever dreamed of going backward. But in the Congress of the United States it is different. The Congressmen have easy access to a big, fat pork barrel and have no idea of blocking it. And that's why it's not a wonder that while everybody talks about doing something about it nobody does.

In Virginia and many other States a roll call vote on every piece of major legislation is required for final enactment, and we hear of no calls for changing that system of keeping tab on how the legislators vote. But in the Congress of the United States it is different. Many measures of importance are passed and sent to the White House by a voice vote. That is to say, in such instances the Congressman is not required to put himself on record, something supposedly an essential part of the democratic process. Sometimes Congressmen don't want their constituents to know how they vote and sometimes they can prevent them from knowing when they do not have to stand up and be identified. Nobody openly defends this system but every Congressman expects some day he may want to take advantage of it. So shifting from secrecy to openness isn't an easy thing to do, and hasn't yet been done in the Congress.

So here are two things that make sense but aren't done and, it seems likely, never will be done and the reasons in both cases are simple. There's nothing to wonder about at all.

Resolution on Aid to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following resolution which was adopted by the Polish Roman Catholic Union, group 224, Natrona, Pa., petitioning the Government of the United States to render economic and technical assistance to Poland:

RESOLUTION ON AID TO POLAND

Whereas the courageous fight for freedom waged by the Polish people inside of Poland has gained for them admiration all over the free world; and

Whereas the emancipation from Soviet domination achieved after the mass demonstrations in Poland in October 1956 is only of limited extent; and

Whereas the reforms introduced by the present regime since its accession to power represents, in fact, a strong deviation from the orthodox Communist doctrine, as proclaimed and followed by the Kremlin; and

Whereas we must, after all, recognize the humanitarian principles transcend that form of government; and

Whereas the people of Poland at this moment face a war not of bullets, but a struggle for their very existence; and

Whereas the western allies forgot geography, and forgot that Poland is historically the bulwark of the Christian West against Asiatic barbarism; and

Whereas upon every battlefield of World War II Polish blood was shed without stint, in the cause of a free fatherland which the allies of Poland were legally committed by treaty to restore; and

Whereas families of Polish soldiers, sailors, and airmen killed in the battle of Britain, at Monte Casino, at Alamein, in Burma, and in the Pacific mourn their dead, frequently in dire financial straits, as do the surviving relatives of Polish officers murdered in the notorious Katyn massacre; and

Whereas these Polish citizens today lack food, fuel, and the barest amenities of comfort; and

Whereas these great people have been oppressed, looted, robbed, and driven to desperation by lack of basic necessities of life as demonstrated by the Poznan uprising which sparked other revolts; and

Whereas millions of gift parcels of foodstuffs, clothing, and drugs were shipped by Polish-Americans to their destitute relatives but today this zeal is thwarted by the imposition of prohibitive import duties, which few of the intended recipients can afford to pay; and

Whereas the people of Poland have always been among our stanchest friends whose ancestors have stood in ranks with George Washington in the War of the American Revolution and all wars since, in which the United States was involved; and

Whereas these people have participated in the development of our great American economy as we know it today; and

Whereas there is little danger that Soviet Russia would profit directly or indirectly from any economic and technical assistance given Poland under her present regime, and a realistic appraisal of the situation points rather in an opposite direction: Wherefore be it

Resolved, That we, members of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, group 224, assembled in convention on Sunday, April 14, 1957, in Natrona, Pa., call upon and strongly urge the United States Government to give financial aid and economic assistance to the downtrodden people of Poland, and that it is in the interest of the United States, as the acknowledged leader of the free world in its fight against communism, that adequate economic help be given to Poland at this particularly propitious and crucial moment; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the following: Hon. JOSEPH CLARK, United States Senator; Hon. EDWARD MARTIN, United States Senator; Hon. ROBERT J. CORBETT, Congressman.

POLISH ROMAN CATHOLIC UNION,
GROUP 224,
WALTER BARANOWSKI, *President*.

Address by Fred C. Scribner, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Department, at the 71st Commencement Exercises of the United States Coast Guard Academy, New London, Conn., June 1, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VINCENT J. DELLAY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. DELLAY. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged on June 1, 1957, to attend the 71st commencement exercises of the United States Coast Guard Academy in New London, Conn. Mrs. Dellay and our grandson, Vincent John, accompanied me. We were cordially received and so impressed by the ceremony and the address of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. Fred C. Scribner, Jr., that I have asked unanimous consent to have Mr. Scribner's address printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that his outstanding remarks may be brought to the attention of my colleagues:

We meet this morning in historic New England to write another major chapter in the record of this academy. I am grateful for the opportunity which tradition and your invitation have given to me to participate in this important event. The presence of members of the Treasury Department at this commencement emphasizes once more the importance of your school and your service in Treasury tradition and operations.

This Department, of which we are all a part, has been described as being responsible for more varied and diversified activities of major importance than any other governmental department in this or any other country.

We collect the revenue. This means the collection of income taxes from more than 60 million Americans, as well as the collection of excise, social security, and other taxes. We operate the customs through which all persons and shipments of commodities entering the United States must be cleared. In 1956 a record number of more than 128 million people were cleared through customs. We are required to manage the public debt which now stands at approximately $274 billion. Through the Secret Service we guard and protect the President of the United States and his family, one of the most responsible duties in the Government. We operate the mint, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, keep the accounts of the United States, do our best to prevent the use and distribution of narcotics, and carry out hundreds of other functions.

Through your operation under the Treasury we have responsibility for the enforcement of maritime laws and the provision of marine safety. Your service from its earliest days has been a strong right arm of the Treasury.

The Revenue Marine Service was authorized by the First Congress at the urging of the first Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, whose bicentennial we celebrate this year. That service was essential in 1790 to guarantee the solvency of the new Nation by the prevention of tax evasion through smuggling. The marine service with 10 vessels did its job well. Ever since the Coast Guard has been called upon to do difficult and essential tasks. It always responds.

Alexander Hamilton is, in a sense, responsible for the ability of the Treasury Department and the Coast Guard to give you the education and training which you have received at this institution. We are indebted to him for his vision in establishing the forerunner of our Coast Guard service. As part of the year-long bicentennial celebration we might well have designated this the Hamilton class of the Coast Guard Academy.

A study of his life and service would be a source of real inspiration to you as you begin your own careers as officers of the United States. Hamilton was a most ambitious man. He was not, however, ambitious for great wealth or for powerful position. He desired rather to build something which would endure for the lasting benefit of his country. He set an example of country over self and public service over private profit which we can emulate to the benefit of ourselves and the people whom we seek to serve.

Not only do we of the Treasury take the utmost pride and satisfaction in your contributions to your country, both in time of peace and in days of conflict, but, in like fashion, the American people have a tremendous and deeply felt affection and esteem for this seagoing service which you represent. Yours is indeed a unique organization—a military organization which is fully functioning and in active status in peace as well as in war; a highly specialized, technically trained service which each day brings to our people and the visitors to these shores the many essential services which you and you alone are trained to provide.

Since the undeclared war with France in 1798 through the hostilities in Korea, the Coast Guard has been an important part of the country's fighting forces. Vessels and men of this service have written distinguished records wherever they have been called upon for combat service.

Equally great is your record of service to humanity in times of peace.

In the coastal areas of our country—yes, in all sections of our Nation—when disaster strikes our people think at once of the United States Coast Guard, and you are there promptly. You are there if the call is for a dangerous rescue far at sea. You are there when word comes that one of the hundreds of planes which daily approach our shores is in trouble and needs escorting. You are there if major floods require the removal of marooned men, women, and children. You are there when a helicopter is needed to bring a sick or injured seaman from the sea for hospitalization. You are there if a small sailboat in Casco Bay has overturned.

One cannot live on the shores of New England and be very far from a Coast Guard station. Your installations and men are known to us as neighbors and admired and respected as we admire and respect all who follow the sea. We know from firsthand observation your daily service to those who travel by sea, and we witness your many rescue operations—some dramatic—but many unheralded although of equal importance to those involved. We know, too, that your aid does not ask the nationality or the religion of those who need your help. Perhaps more than anywhere else, the brotherhood of man is practiced at sea.

In the past few months, as in prior years, many records of heroic deeds have been written into the annals of this service. Coast Guard men and equipment saved hundreds of lives in the New England and California floods of 1955. You well remember the thrilling rescue by the *Pontchartrain* of the 31 people on board the Pan American aircraft which ditched in the Pacific last October after the plane had spent part of the night circling that Coast Guard ocean station vessel. Acting under even more adverse conditions, the *Chincoteague* rescued 33 crewmen from the *Helga Bolten* just 2 weeks later.

Less than a month ago the cutter *Duane* on ocean station Echo in the Atlantic, rescued the entire crew of the freighter *Bornholm* when it became necessary for that crew to abandon ship in heavy weather.

One cannot meet here this day, not far from the first settlement in this north country and in this beautiful spot, mindful as we are of the hundreds of your brother officers who preceded you, without calling to mind the changes which this Nation and the world have witnessed since the first vessel of the marine service slipped into the water shortly after 1790. We call to mind too the skill with which this service has adjusted to these changes.

This service has grown and remained vital because, through the foresight of its officers and those responsible for its course, it has, to a remarkable degree, kept pace with the needs and demands of those who travel by sea and with all those scientific developments which will enable you to be a more effective service. From sail to steam, from wood to steel, from shore patrol and tower to radar, from the sea to the air, you have rapidly and effectively adopted those changes which have kept the service in the forefront of this country's military forces. The first use of wireless aboard a service ship was aboard a vessel of the lighthouse service. A revenue cutter, the *Grant*, was the first United States ship to employ wireless for tactical purposes. Radar was quickly and effectively adopted by the service at the earliest possible date.

You played a prominent part in the development of the famous electronic system known as Loran or long-range aid to navigation which was born shortly before our entry into World War II. Loran was of inestimable value in that effort. By 1956, 49 Loran stations were being maintained in the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Gulf of Mexico. Thirteen additional stations have been or are to be added providing further coverage in the Caribbean area and at the northern and southern approaches of the vital Panama Canal.

You have been quick to serve not only at home, but also to aid other peoples throughout the world.

In the last decade the Coast Guard has assisted many foreign nations in establishing and training organizations similar in purpose and scope to our own service. Your service has given foreign representatives the opportunity to study at Coast Guard schools, training stations, and installations and gather ideas to take back to their own lands. You have furnished vessels for service in foreign countries.

In 1946, at the request of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Coast Guard furnished a detail to aid the new Government of South Korea in the creation of a Korean coast guard.

Today a Coast Guard detail is in Liberia training native personnel in the operation of 40-foot patrol boats, furnished to that Government by the United States.

Assistance from this service has gone to Portugal, the Philippines, Formosa, Thailand, Brazil, Argentina, Costa Rica, Spain, Greece, and many other countries. Intergovernmental cooperation of this type puts into active practice our President's desire to bring closer the people of all the world and is a valuable contribution to maritime safety and world peace.

Now this class of 1957 comes to add its names to the roll of Coast Guard leaders and to carry on in the fields of service at peace and at war, at home and abroad, which I have so hurriedly sketched. We are proud of this class and you have every reason to share this pride.

Some 5 years ago thousands of American boys, who had already marked themselves as more than average young men by the completion of a secondary school education, began to think of this Academy and of service in the Coast Guard. More than a thousand completed their preliminary papers and presented themselves for examination for admission to this class. Out of every 6 who stood for the examinations only 1 was chosen. And so, 197 were accepted to undertake this difficult Coast Guard training approximately 4 years ago; a training requiring exceptional physical and mental capacity. Two-thirds of the class did not survive the rigorous requirements you have completed. Your records which have brought each of you, after matching you in competition with your fellows, to this point justifies my great confidence in the capabilities and the future of those who constitute this class. We know that you fully appreciate the capacities which you possess, the demands made on you by the courses which you have completed, and your prospects for the future.

We do, however, expect far more from you than was demanded of those who sat in your places in earlier years. No longer will it be sufficient to know and to do well the daily tasks of your appointed rounds.

My generation has discovered the means whereby man can destroy himself. This Nation and other nations now hold the almost incomprehensible power developed by atomic science. We leave this awesome heritage to you. It will be for you, our leaders of tomorrow, to make certain that man's ability to live with man catches up with man's ability to destroy himself.

This calls for concern by all Americans, in service or out, with world events everywhere. We must now know and understand not only the hopes and ambitions of our own people, but of the peoples of Asia, of Africa, yes, of the world. This is not a knowledge for someone else to acquire. This is not a problem for someone else to solve. The fact that you are about to become commissioned officers of the United States does not entitle you to turn away from the demands of this problem. It's your problem and my problem.

Force must be replaced as a means of settling international disputes. To meet this challenge we must be concerned with the stirrings of people who today seek for themselves the privileges they have now learned can be held and treasured by free men everywhere. We are indeed one world. We are called to the labors which this fact entails. Our people must fully realize the burden which this Nation, the leader of the free world, now has as it strives to lead the peoples of the world to the goal of lasting peace.

We might wish this burden was not ours. Such wishing will solve no problems. Every American must share the burden. He must keep alert to developments everywhere in the world. He must, in his small way, do to the best of his ability that which he can to solve the problems of this atomic age.

It is because I believe you are to be leaders in your generation, because of the amazing record of this service in recognizing new demands created by the advances of science, because men of the sea have always seen the need to cooperate with other nations and other peoples, and because in serving humanity your predecessors have not been concerned with race, color, or creed but only with the needs of those in peril, that I have discussed with you this new and heavy burden which my generation has passed to you and the responsibilities which will be yours.

The problems are not easy and the solutions are not readily at hand, but the job can and will be done.

I voice here to you the hope which our great President so eloquently expressed in his second inaugural address. He then said:

"So we voice our hope and our belief that we can help to heal this divided world. Thus may the nations cease to live in trembling before the menace of force. Thus may the weight of fear and the weight of arms be taken from the burdened shoulders of mankind. This, nothing less, is the labor to

which we are called and our strength dedicated."

Shortly, the class of 1957 will take the time-honored and traditional oath administered to commissioned officers of the Coast Guard. You will join the ranks of thousands of brother officers, past and present, who in their time in this beloved place have stood with pride and pledged "both their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" to this service and to our country.

West Point each year pays tribute with understandable pride to its "long gray line." You, too, have your line. Your "long blue line" extending from Hopley Yeaton, and including Alex Fraser, John Faunce, Mike Healey, Harry Hamlet, and R. R. Waesche, and other Coast Guard greats, right down to that noble soul, the anchor man of this class of 1957.

With this ceremony, you take your places in the brotherhood of commissioned officers of the Coast Guard. Of the Coast Guard, perhaps more than any other service, we can with full propriety speak the words of Shakespeare, "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers." You have earned an honored position. May you always be worthy of this great tradition, the fine professional heritage which will be yours.

It has been a rare privilege to be present at this commencement. In the months and years of your service in this vigorous, progressive, closely integrated organization, we shall depend on your support and assistance in the common tasks which we shall undertake. I bring you the best wishes of Secretary Humphrey. Wherever you may serve, whatever duty you may undertake, you are officers of the United States Coast Guard and of the Treasury Department of the United States, and we will be with you all the way.

The Kansas Mental Health Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, since World War II the State of Kansas has made amazing strides in the field of mental health. The State is now recognized as one of the leaders in this field. A long-range program was started under the administration of Senator FRANK CARLSON, then Governor, in 1947. Since that time the people of Kansas have devoted their efforts to a progressive program regarding mental health.

The following article, which appeared in the Topeka (Kans.) Daily Capital on Saturday, May 11, 1957, indicates the results of this excellent work. The people who staff our hospitals in Kansas are highly qualified, and in addition are most dedicated to their work. This letter which is referred to in the newspaper article speaks for itself:

LETTER SHOWS APPRECIATION OF TOPEKA (KANS.) STATE HOSPITAL WORK

Appreciation could not have been expressed more sincerely than in a letter received recently by Dr. Alfred Paul Bay, superintendent of Topeka State Hospital.

The letter was written from a man in California, whose mother had been a former patient at the hospital. In part, it read:

"DEAR DR. BAY: We always have time to find fault, but at the same time we're always too busy to write a letter of thanks.

"I want to take this opportunity to thank you and your fine staff for the loving care my mother received when she was a patient at your hospital.

"My sister visited my mother on many occasions while she was there and gave me a fine report on the operation of your hospital, and especially the doctors and nurses taking care of my mother.

"I am sure if more States, my own included, would pattern their State hospitals after your hospital in Topeka, this would be a better United States to live in. Thanks again. Very truly yours."

Dedication of New Branch Post Office at Davenport, Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, June 1, I had the privilege of participating in the dedication ceremonies for a new branch post office at Davenport, Iowa. The speaker at this event was the Honorable Bert B. Barnes, Deputy Assistant Postmaster General. His remarks for that occasion enlightened me on the forward-looking program which has been mapped out to improve our mail service. With the thought that my colleagues will find these remarks of interest, under unanimous consent, I insert Mr. Barnes' speech in the Appendix of the RECORD:

ADDRESS OF DEPUTY ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL BERT B. BARNES AT THE DEDICATION OF THE NORTHWEST STATION, DAVENPORT, IOWA, JUNE 1, 1957

Dedication of a new postal facility is always a pleasure. It is, believe me, a keen personal pleasure to be in Davenport on this occasion, and an honor to bring to you the greetings and good wishes of Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield who is endeavoring to give to the American people the kind of modern efficient mail service they so richly deserve.

TRIBUTE TO DAVENPORT

This postal facility is symbolic of the vigorous, forward-looking spirit of the many public-spirited men and women who have worked so hard to make this building a reality. Among these I want to mention specifically Postmaster Kroppach, Mayor Beuse, Mr. Henry B. Hook, president, chamber of commerce, Mr. Harvey Hoffman, of the Davenport Daily Times, and Mr. C. U. Nolan, president of the Northwest Davenport Businessmen's Association. No doubt there are many others whose names should be mentioned. And I am sure you know that none of these accomplishments could be realized without men like Senator HICKENLOOPER, Senator MARTIN, and Congressman SCHWENGEL.

THE AMERICAN POSTAL SYSTEM

This dedication is further recognition of the great growth of the entire American postal system, and the contribution of that system to the development of the expanding American economy. Without such communications, this country could never have developed its increasing pace of progress, its higher and higher standards of living.

Let me give you some dimensions of the American Postal Service:

In our 37,000 post offices we will handle about $23 billion this year. We will sell more than 24 billion stamps in spite of the fact that more than half of our mail is handled under permit by use of postage meter machines or otherwise. Our 32,000 rural letter carriers will travel more than a million and a half miles each working day. We will operate 85,000 vehicles, the largest motor vehicle fleet in the world.

This year, our 508,000 postal employees will handle nearly 60 billion pieces of mail—far more than all of the rest of the world combined.

The Census Bureau reports that in a recent 12-month period, 1 out of every 5 persons in this Nation changed his address—a staggering total of 33 million people moved in one 12-month period making postal adjustments necessary. I think anyone will agree that this is big business. And it is a growing business—one that has doubled in the last 20 years and which is still expanding at a consistent and regular rate. In 10 years we expect our volume to be more than 70 billion pieces and we will be furnishing service for an estimated United States population of about 200 million people.

POSTAL MODERNIZATION

All of this shows that your postal service must be dynamic and progressive to keep up with the Nation's vital needs now and in the years ahead. To meet these needs Postmaster General Summerfield embarked on a program which is the most revolutionary in the history of the American Postal Service. He has established the foundation for the postal service of tomorrow. The fruits of this program are becoming more and more apparent. This is one building of many we are having constructed under our leasing program—in fact they are being contracted for at the rate of about two each working day. And buildings are only one phase of the massive reorganization of your postal service.

Service has been improved in many ways. We made some bold alterations in our transportation patterns to speed the mail. We expanded the use of highway post offices, trucks, and buses, when these surface carriers could deliver the mail faster than the trains.

As you know, we have been experimenting with flying regular 3-cent letters by airplane on a space available basis. The experiment has been a tremendous success and last year more than a billion first-class letters arrived 24 to 48 hours earlier than they otherwise would have. And this was done without increasing our cost.

To meet the service needs caused by the growth and spreading of our cities, we have added in 4 years the equivalent of 20,000 new carrier routes, serving approximately 5 million more families and 800,000 additional business firms.

There have been many changes in mailing procedures for the public, and every change has been an improvement aimed at streamlining the service and making it easier to use and more efficient. We have added new services long needed, such as certified mail at less cost than registered mail and combination mail to permit mixing of letters and parcels.

We have given the postal service a New Look. You are now seeing the new modern lobby counter for ease in conducting postal business, the eye-saving fluorescent lighting, new equipment, electric tying machines, conveyor belts, as well as sparkling red, white, and blue collection boxes and trucks, and the new uniforms for letter carriers and other employees who are required to wear uniforms. And, to show that we haven't overlooked anything, we have retired the traditional scratchy post-office pen and replaced it with modern ball points.

While we have been doing all this, we haven't ignored the human element—the

welfare of our dedicated postal employees. With the help of the Congress, we have an entirely new pay plan, with incentives and opportunities for promotion, low-cost group life insurance, liberal retirement and survivorship benefits, uniform allowances, and unemployment compensation.

More payments are authorized for suggestions made and adopted. Competitive examinations are held for promotion to most first-line supervisory positions. Employee skills and understanding are improved through a variety of training programs. We have better working conditions through new buildings, improved heating, lighting, ventilation, and color arrangements, new vehicles, office machines, rest bars, caddy carts, and various automatic equipment. Much has also been done to make work safer for all. Our safety program, for example, has reduced our motor-vehicle-accident rate by more than two-thirds. We are giving our management and our employees the techniques and tools they need to do an efficient job.

Our office of research and engineering has inaugurated an unprecedented program of scientific research and development to give us improvements such as machines to face and cancel mail, to sort mail, to read addresses electronically, and to otherwise expedite the movement of the mail. Some of these machines are already in pilot operation.

For example, the first automatic letter-sorting machine ever installed in the American postal system was officially put into operation recently. This machine, sorting mail for 300 destinations at the mere touch of keys, is a major breakthrough from the past.

We are doing other things. In Baltimore, Md., for example, we already have the first mechanical parcel-post sorting machine with an electronic memory system. In Detroit, Mich., conveyors move letters effortlessly from workspace to workspace on the post-office floor. In cooperation with the National Bureau of Standards and 11 American firms, we are developing many other postal machines of tomorrow.

Electronic brains will read addresses on mail, remember tens of thousands of items, and sort millions of letters a day. Other machines will separate raw mail according to size, automatically locate and cancel the stamps, and postmark the mail.

Our program is paying off, not only in service improvement but in cost reduction. Let me give you three simple statistics:

1. Within less than 3 years we reduced our transportation costs by approximately $50 million on a comparable basis—or 12½ percent.

2. Our accounting and financial reorganization has reduced unnecessary manual bookkeeping, resulting in the savings of millions of dollars each year.

3. During the current fiscal year we will handle 18 percent more mail than in 1953 and we will do it with less hours of work, except for the increase in city carriers to improve service in growing urban and suburban areas.

THE POSTAL DEFICIT AND POSTAL RATES

In solving our financial problem, however, we still have a long way to go. In 1952, the year before we took office, the reported postal deficit was $720 million. That was $2½ million every working day. At the end of the current fiscal year the basic comparable deficit will be about $211 million. However, due to newly added costs of $304 million annually consisting of such items as salary and rail rate increases our deficit at the end of this year will be about $515 million.

Of course, the deficit is still far too high. It is high because postal rates are virtually the same as they were in 1932, and our postal costs have doubled in the last 25 years. We are paying 1957 prices for the things we purchase, and we are charging 1932 prices for the things that we sell.

That's why we are asking Congress again this year to grant us modest increases in the postage rates. Without a rate increase, despite all our efforts, the deficit for the fiscal year 1958 will amount to about $651 million.

In the last 12 years postal deficits have totaled more than $5 billion which means that we have added that much to our national debt. We think that there is no excuse in the world for expecting our children and our childrens' children to pay our postal bills for us. And many polls have shown that the American people agree with us and are willing for the rates to be increased.

OPERATING FUNDS

All postal receipts are deposited in the United States Treasury. The only operating funds we have are those appropriated by the Congress. I am sure you are aware of the difficulty we have experienced in our effort to secure sufficient funds with which to properly operate the postal service this fiscal year. Finally a supplemental amount of $41 million, instead of the $47 million requested, was appropriated.

As result of this lack of funds we have made very few extensions to the city and rural delivery services since February 15 and some of the curtailments started on April 13 are still in effect. By June 30 there will be somewhere between three hundred and four hundred thousand families and thousands of small-business concerns in surburban areas without suitable mail service.

Unless we receive a supplemental appropriation for the fiscal year 1958, additional curtailments of service will be necessary soon.

We have done everything possible each year to submit an absolutely honest estimate of our needs, with no inflating or padding. You will be interested in knowing that at the end of fiscal years 1953, 1954, and 1955 we returned to the Treasury of the United States $84 million; $109 million, and $43 million, respectively, or a total of $236 million. During 1956 we requested and received a supplemental appropriation of $16 million and during the current fiscal year we needed $47 million and received $41 million. These amounts were needed due to added costs, a tremendously increased volume of mail and an unusual spreading in city population over which we had no control.

When you consider the fact that we have an annual budget of approximately $3 billion, it is amazing how close our estimates have been to our actual needs. No one is more anxious to reduce expenditures than are we and we will continue to operate as economically as possible and hope that we are not forced to further inconvenience our patrons.

A SYMBOL OF FREEDOM

And now, as a conclusion, I come to perhaps the most important point of significance about our meeting here today.

It is the one thought that we as American citizens should hold paramount in our minds as we dedicate this postal station, and that is the meaning and value of our postal system as a symbol of American freedom.

We all know the human importance of the postal service—the way in which we are privileged to be the means of holding scattered families together, of giving comfort and love and news to all the peoples of the world.

It has helped foster the material progress of civilization. It is the handmaiden of our great free press and has served well the cause of democracy.

Consider this for a moment—tyranny and a free and uncensored postal system cannot exist in nature together. In the sick and sunless lands behind the Iron Curtain, there is no such freedom as we enjoy and take for granted.

Think what any one of the 800 million slaves of the totalitarian despots would give for just a small touch of our God-given freedom to write without fear or reprisal.

That's why we must strive to make of our postal service the greatest system of communications, the pride of free men everywhere and the despair of despots—for the better and stronger we make it, the more secure will we all be. If we preserve this freedom, all the other freedoms are safe.

So with this in mind—it is a great honor and a privilege for me to declare this latest example of national progress in our postal system—the northwest station of the Davenport Post Office—open for business beginning next Monday morning.

Thank you.

Contrasts in Costs: American Ships and Their Foreign Competitors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ALLEN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. ALLEN of California. Mr. Speaker, on May 31, 1957, there appeared in the Journal of Commerce an article comparing the costs of construction of 2 new ships, 1 the Matson Line's *Matsonia*, and the other the Swedish-American Line's *Gripsholm*.

The article points up rather well one of the difficulties which the operator of American-built ships must overcome when competing with operators of foreign-built ships. Accordingly, I incorporate it as a part of these remarks:

SHIPPING OUTLOOK: SOME CONTRASTS IN COSTS

(By Edward P. Tastrom)

The port of New York during the past 10 days has played host to several new vessels ranging from maritime training school ships to new passenger liners.

Two of the maiden voyage arrivals deserve particular notice because of the contrasts which they offer that pinpoint the question of shipbuilding costs.

First, let us take a look at the Matson Line's *Matsonia*. This is an 18,600 gross ton reconversion job done in an American shipyard at a cost of $20 million. The result is a handsome ship of which both the yard and the line can be proud.

Now let us turn to the Swedish-American Line's new *Gripsholm*, which arrived here a few days later. This is a 23,190-gross-ton passenger liner, beautifully turned out in every respect. She was built new from the keel up at Italian yards, at an estimated cost of $14 million.

What this all adds up to is that the Swedish owners obtained a ship that is 25 percent larger at a price that is 30 percent lower than the latest addition to the American-flag passenger fleet. If the *Matsonia* were built new here from the keel up, the cost difference would be even greater.

The facts we have mentioned speak for themselves. They mean that without construction subsidy aid we cannot hope to get new American-flag shipping. This is a specific example that should be remembered and cited whenever the question is raised, "Are subsidies necessary?"

The $6 million difference in construction costs means approximately $300,000 higher annual capital charges alone for the American operator, assuming a 5-percent rate on

borrowed money. This takes no account of higher wage and other operating costs.

The Swedish Government, it should also be noted, is quite realistic in the matter of aids to its shipping industry. To insure that its merchant marine is kept in a strong condition and is composed of modern ships, owners are permitted to accelerate depreciation on new vessels.

The allowance is 30 percent annual writeoff of costs. This means that in 3⅓ years the cost of any new ship can be written down to a nominal book figure or written off in full.

The law also provides that during years when a shipping company has losses or no profits to report the depreciation writeoff can be husbanded and resumed when profits again permit its application.

The net result of this is quite obvious. By accelerating depreciation, the steamship industry in Sweden can build up capital reserves, assuring the lines of some "fat" in the lean years and providing the needed cash funds for new construction. This assures a strongly entrenched shipping industry that can keep itself competitive.

High costs are an integral part of the American economic system. This promises to be so in the foreseeable future. If we recognize this as one of the facts of life, then the only question that remains with respect to our merchant marine is what we propose to do in order to keep it in a strong competitive position. Subsidies provide a sensible answer.

Flour Millers' Objections to Flour Giveaway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include several letters which I have received in protest to the administration of the relief program for surplus food. These letters illustrate graphically the severe economic penalty imposed not only on the flour millers but their employees and related local businesses. I believe that these people deserve consideration of their views:

CLAFLIN, KANS.

Congressman J. FLOYD BREEDING,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Claflin has a flour mill, has had one for 70 years or more, and it has employed up to 30 men at times, and is a big factor in the prosperity of the town.

Now the mill is down to two 4-hour shifts a day and the incomes of the employees are below a decent living standard.

The reason: The Federal Government give-a-way program of food for the needy. Thirteen big mills are making the flour distributed from Government aid programs, and small mills cannot compete on bids with these favored big ones.

I don't know whether the flour given away is produced from surplus wheat in Government warehouses or not. That is immaterial in respect to the effect on the small mills.

You are from a wheat country and State and I imagine you are against the program. If not you should be, against it, that is.

The relief program could be handled by issuing script, which would be used to purchase the flour as needed, and the producers, handlers, and distributors of the flour would not lose the business now given to the big mills. The script would be redeemed by the Government, the money being spread out among millers, handlers and grocery stores, instead of being given to the big millers, and the railroads that haul the flour.

I have no doubt that there are many other mills out here in the wheat country that are having the same curtailment of business because of the giveaway program of the Federal Government.

Yours truly,

W. M. HUFF.

CLAFLIN, KANS., *May 10, 1957.*

Congressman J. FLOYD BREEDING,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As our Representative I am asking you if something could be done about the giveaway food program. I'm employed at the Claflin Flour Mills and have to bear the burden of small pay checks due to the little amount of running time, caused by the giveaway flour which is shipped directly into our trade territory, the smaller mills cannot compete with the large plants, and the result is we are penalized and have to bear the burden of decreased income. Salesmen visiting our plant tell us about the abuse of this giveaway flour. Perhaps the program could be handled by issuing script which could be used as money, and the distribution would be made through regular channels, giving producers, businessmen, and the transport and distribution agencies their usual business.

Hoping you will make a special effort and try to work out a program, that will benefit us all,

Sincerely,

FRANK GERSTEUKORN.

CLAFLIN, KANS., *May 1, 1957.*

Congressman J. FLOYD BREEDING,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Please take notice that I as an employee of the Claflin Flour Mills am working very few hours on account of the so-called free flour being distributed. Not only am I suffering but many other fellow employees here as well as in many other smaller mill operations.

As our Representative, we feel you will do all in your power to find a solution to this problem.

I suggest that the Government program could be handled by issuing script which could be used as money and distribution would be through regular channels giving producers, businessmen, and the transport and distribution agencies their usual business.

Thanking you.

ALEX HEKELE.
ELEANOR HEKELE.

CLAFLIN, KANS., *April 28, 1957.*

Congressman J. FLOYD BREEDING,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We would like to highly protest the flour giveaway program conducted by the Government for the last couple of years.

Since it is carried on in our trade territory the Claflin Flour Mills has been forced to run two 4-hour shifts each day, which caused a hardship on the mill employees, as the mill is small and cannot compete with the larger mills in bidding on the Government contracts.

If this practice is not discontinued immediately, most of the small mills in Kansas, including your district, will be forced to close down.

We would like to bring this to your personal attention and would appreciate anything you can do concerning this matter as our Congressman.

Sincerely,

HERMAN A. STEIMEL,
Second Miller and President of Local 160, Claflin, Kans.

LIONS INTERNATIONAL CLUB,
Claflin, Kans., May 8, 1957.

Congressman FLOYD BREEDING,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Lions Club of Claflin is concerned about the fate of the milling industry in this area. The local mill is operating half time, because of the administration's relief program, with which you are no doubt familiar.

This is just one of the many problems resulting from the Government's attempt to get rid of surplus commodities, and in most cases the small manufacturer is hurt by Government practices.

We hope you will do all you possibly can to remedy this situation.

Sincerely,

WAYNE E. HUFF,
Secretary.

THE CLAFLIN CLARION,
Claflin, Kans., May 21, 1957.

Mr. TRUE D. MORSE,
Under Secretary of Agriculture.

DEAR SIR: Regarding a letter written by you recently to Congressman J. FLOYD BREEDING, of Kansas, I would like to point out a few facts. You state that small mills are not equipped to process flour to Government specifications. Any mill not equipped to process any grade of flour would very soon be out of business, or would have to switch to producing feed entirely.

The local mill is owned by the Colorado Milling & Elevator Co., of Denver, and can produce the finest quality of flour. You quote figures on distribution of commodities in Kansas, which has no bearing on this case. The bulk of flour sales from this mill have been in the South, mostly Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina. The relief program which is the cause of the difficulty is most abused in the South. Commodities are given freely, without regard of actual need. A cafe operator in southern Oklahoma made the remark that he got all the flour he needed by trading with people who were on relief or were receiving Government flour regardless of need. In other words, surplus flour has become a bartering medium in some areas. Sugar is another commodity which is being handled the same, apparently.

The system of relief adopted in most of this country makes the salary of the administrator directly proportional to the amount of relief administered. Naturally, this results in a disregard of the actual need of a relief client.

The Claflin flour mill has produced flour for the Government surplus program, but only in small amounts.

Because of the loss of their markets in the South, this mill is operating on half time, with each worker getting only 4 hours per day. Eventually half of the workers will have to be laid off, in order for the other half to make a living wage.

I doubt very much if the school-lunch program or the charitible institutions are at fault. It is the careless distribution of relief to persons who are not actually in need.

With sincere regards, I remain,

WAYNE E. HUFF, *Publisher.*

(Copy to Hon. J. FLOYD BREEDING.)

CLAFLIN, KANS., *May 1, 1957.*

Hon. J. FLOYD BREEDING,
Representative, Fifth District.

DEAR SIR: I am writing you to tell you that I am opposed to the Government free-flour program. It has affected our working time

greatly. Most of this free flour has been going to the areas where we sell flour. I am employed by the Claflin Four Mills, Claflin, Kans. We have been reduced from a 40-hour week to 30-hour week and in some cases even less. With prices going up this cut in earnings is greatly affecting our living standard. Please consider this matter.

Thank you.

BERNARD SCHNEWEIS.

Tribute to War Dead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following item from the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Times-Leader of June 1, 1957, appearing in Harrison Smith's column Valley Views:

TRIBUTE TO WAR DEAD

On each Memorial Day for nearly 4 decades the traditional ceremony involving the destruction of a miniature vessel has come to be regarded by Wyoming Valley residents as a regular annual feature of local services honoring heroes of past wars who have given their lives for their country.

While considered locally as a commonplace activity each year, the observance has earned an enviable reputation as the Nation's most unique Memorial Day tribute.

According to Michael F. Teresinski, former commander and now judge advocate of Christian E. Stegmaier Post 50, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the ceremony originated as the result of an idea discussed during World War I by William P. Williams, trustee of General John J. Pershing Post, VFW, as Post No. 50 was originally named.

INITIAL LAUNCHING

It was on May 30, 1918, shortly after the local 109th Field Artillery had landed overseas, that the first miniature battleship was launched from the river common, as a cannon salute was simultaneously fired.

Originally, the launching was to pay special tribute to the sailors and marines of Luzerne County who lost their lives at sea, and it was planned that the miniature boat should float down the Susquehanna River to the Chesapeake Bay and thence into the ocean.

On this first occasion, Secretary of the Navy Daniels came to Wilkes-Barre to deliver the principal Memorial Day address, which was witnessed by thousands of spectators who gathered on the North River common opposite Hotel Sterling.

The first committee to conduct the launching program, headed by W. P. Williams, had as its members Isaac Hess, Sidney DeLeon, Gustave Johnson, Michael Canyuch, John Casey, Harry Hafner, John Ross, and Edward B. Rehill.

In addition to Pershing Post, No. 50, other veterans organizations of the period also participated in the ceremony, including a large representation from Encampment, No. 135, Union Veteran Legion.

The attractive replica of the then flagship of the United States Navy, however, did not even reach Nanticoke before it was commandeered by a group of boys who had obtained a rowboat and towed the flower-laden vessel to the shore.

NEARLY REACHED HARRISBURG

The next year, due to advance publicity in the newspapers, the boat floated nearly to Harrisburg before it was again captured by some persons fishing in a rowboat, which led to the decision by the post committee on the following year to blow up the boat in midstream as it floated by the reviewing stand on the river common, and the firing of a cannonade was discontinued.

To accomplish the destruction of the boat a time fuse was set on several sticks of dynamite placed in the hull of the small boat so that it would explode as it passed downstream. On one occasion, however, the boat passed out of sight at the bend below Wilkes-Barre connecting railroad bridge before it exploded, and ever since that time, as a safety precaution, the boat is now moored to an anchor in the middle of the river.

While first intended as a special salute to those Luzerne County navy and marine personnel who were lost at sea in the service of their country, as the years progressed the launching and subsequent sinking of the flower-laden vessel eventually became a symbol in memory of all servicemen who gave their lives in past wars. Instead of firing cannons or aerial bombs, which used to accompany the launching on each Memorial Day, the incident is now marked by three volleys from a firing squad, followed by the blowing of taps.

On each Memorial Day, Wyoming Valley can indeed be proud of this tribute to its war dead, conceived 39 years ago by William P. Williams, which, as far as it is known, is the only such program held throughout the United States.

Single Service Threatens Anew

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of May 28, 1957:

SINGLE SERVICE THREATENS ANEW

One of the most disturbing developments of recent months is the growing number of well-meaning people being led astray by the illusionary advantages of a single military service.

Perhaps the most striking conversion was revealed at the recent annual convention of the United States Chamber of Commerce in Washington. The 2,000 delegates approved without a single dissenting voice a resolution calling for Congress to provide Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson with the power necessary to complete the unification of the Military Establishment."

If the Military Establishment was completely unified, there would be one supreme commander, one service, one uniform, one promotion list.

What do the proponents claim for complete unification? One argument—it was uppermost in the minds of chamber of commerce delegates—is that billions of dollars would be saved. The other is that complete unification would end the interservice rows which flare up in the Pentagon from time to time.

The drive for greater efficiency in the armed services has the support of every American. In eliminating duplication, a completely unified Defense Establishment might cut some costs. But in doing away with wasteful duplication, there is a terrible likelihood that essential competition would also be destroyed.

Perhaps there can be greater coordination between services. Recent Defense Department attempts to select either the Army's Jupiter intermidate-range ballistic missile or the Air Force's Thor IRBM are a good thing. But it is highly significant that during this decision making, the Navy was authorized to accelerate the development of the Polaris, another IRBM. Why a third when two seemed to be a crowd? Because the Polaris will be launched at sea and thus has different requirements. The Navy had a chance to state its own case.

The idea that unification will end interservice bickering is another mirage. Defense Secretary Wilson has stated that a single service "would only force differences of opinion to appear in other forms." Furthermore, he declares, the "stifling of intelligent discussion for the sake of unanimity is foreign to our concept of a free society."

Here may be the most eloquent argument against Prussianizing our Armed Forces. It was the defect that Senator STYLES BRIDGES, Republican, of New Hampshire, warned his colleagues about in a recent address. "I know of no proposal which, if adopted, would place our national security and form of Government in greater jeopardy."

The whole concept needs to be pushed back into the oblivion from which it sprang so recently and impetuously.

Emerson Has a Birthday and a Lesson for Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New Castle, (Ind.), Courier-Times of May 30, 1957:

EMERSON HAS A BIRTHDAY AND A LESSON FOR US—HIS WISDOM IS JUST AS APPLICABLE TODAY AS DAY HE WROTE IT

This month marks the anniversary of the birth of Ralph Waldo Emerson. This famous early American poet and philosopher was born May 25, 1803. It was he who wrote those famous and veracious lines:

"What will you have?
Pay for it, and take it."

How appropriate to a time when our Federal Budget is getting a going over. The philosopher's observation on life is just as true today as it was when he wrote it. The only thing that has changed is the sequence. In his day you paid for a thing and then took it; today we take it and then we pay for it.

Well, we, the American people, have ordered a lot of stuff, and now the bills are coming in, and so we complain about high taxes. We've ordered more benefits for agriculture and labor, and bigger payment to veterans; a big super-duper highway program, housing projects, and school-building programs.

Some of it is necessity and some of it is luxury parading in the garb of necessity.

Besides this, the cost of everything to the Government has risen, just like costs have risen for everybody.

Then there's a lot of money involved in the changeover that our defense forces are undergoing from traditional arms to a nuclear fighting force. This involves a lot of scrapping of old dies and making of new ones, as well as replacement of obsolete ships and guns with those of the new age.

The most ridiculous thing in this whole clamor to reduce governmental expenses is that the guns have been trained on foreign aid—our program to win the war with Russia by peaceful means.

In the first place, this program really involves only about $1 billion out of the total budget of about $72 billion. If all of it were cut out, the budget would be reduced by only one-seventy second. (Foreign aid current request sometimes is listed at $4.4 billion, but this includes such items as the cost of our own airbases in Spain and Saudi Arabia, etc., and is really a military item of our own. Stripped of such things, the aid that goes to other countries is only about $1 billion.)

Secondly, this item was $6.3 billion in 1949. If other things had been reduced like foreign-aid appropriations, we'd have a tax cut worth talking about.

Finally, a lot of plain extravagance and waste have been glossed over like they weren't there. The Hoover report, for instance, pointed the way to saving of $5½ billion in governmental administration alone. There's something to holler about.

Speech of Hon. E. L. Forrester, of Georgia, Before the Georgia Bar Association, Savannah, Ga.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am glad to include an address delivered by our able colleague, the Honorable E. L. (TIC) FORRESTER, before the Georgia Bar Association in Savannah, Ga., on May 30, 1957.

The gentleman from Georgia is an able and distinguished lawyer. I am glad to be associated with him on the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives.

The address of Congressman FORRESTER should be of particular interest at this time because of the so-called civil rights bill which will come up befor the House tomorrow. It is as follows:

SPEECH OF E. L. (TIC) FORRESTER, OF GEORGIA, BEFORE THE GEORGIA BAR ASSOCIATION, SAVANNAH, GA., MAY 30, 1957

Mr. Chairman, my colleagues of the bench and bar of Georgia, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure that all of us have experienced certain satisfactions from our professions, our public life, and public service. Over all of the experiences I have had over many years the most satisfying are those I derived from being just a country lawyer and being one of you. One of the finest compensations in my life has been the privilege of knowing you, working with you, sometimes maybe working against you, associating with you, and at all times partaking deeply of the generous friendships which the Georgia bench and bar has undeservedly but completely extended me through the years.

I have always loved the bench and bar of Georgia. I always will. I know as a fact that there has never been a greater bench and bar than the bench and bar of our great State. Almost 7 years of service in Congress, and during that entire time being a member of the House Committee on the Judiciary, has further pointed up that positive fact.

I am keenly and deeply appreciative of the great honor extended me when, in your generosity, you permitted me to appear on your program. I have looked forward to being with you. It is a distinct pleasure to be here. Unless I get news from Washington that certain legislation is likely to be brought upon the floor this week I plan to stay through this convention and indulge my desire to have the opportunity of fraternizing with you and to renew the bonds of friendship and affection that we have had for each other over the years.

It is an additional honor, and additional privilege, to appear before this convention at a time when my warm and genuine friend, Howell Hollis, is president. Under Howell's leadership the Georgia Bar Association has had one of its most productive and progressive years. He is an outstanding lawyer, a conspicuously brilliant public servant, a man of incorruptible integrity, a devoted friend, and one whose future demands our brightest hopes and fondest expectations.

Permit me to express my gratitude over the splendid but most generous introduction by my long-time friend, Ernest Vandiver. I have observed Ernest as you have observed him, both as a lawyer and as lieutenant governor of our State. He has made a brilliant record. He is capable and efficient, the possessor of that rare indomitable courage necessary to support his convictions and a most effective champion of the principles in which you and I believe.

It was suggested to me that you would like for me to discuss the legislation pending in Congress masking itself under the spurious label of "civil rights." That I will attempt to do.

Those of you who know me, I do not have to assure that I was perfectly happy down in the little town of Leesburg, Ga., in the role of a country lawyer and solicitor general of our judicial circuit. I believe you know that I had no desire whatever to leave the section of Georgia which had been so kind to me, to leave the bench and bar, which had been a part of my life, and to take up my abode in Washington, other than the desire to try to be of assistance in restoring our ancient landmarks, to preserve our Constitution, to preserve our racial integrity and the racial integrity of any group or groups which take pride in their respective races upon the premise that their race is worth preserving. To that end I committed myself and to that end have I labored. If, and when, those desires are to any appreciable extent gratified, then I will consider that my work has been done and you can certainly expect me to return to Georgia for the balance of my days, with a generous amount of those remaining days being used in associating with you and the people who are the bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh. Yes, you can expect me then to spend the remainder of my days with the people whom I respect, admire, and genuinely love.

It so happens that I have been exposed to civil-rights legislation during the entire time I have been a Member of Congress. I have been on the committee which has handled this legislation, and I have had the opportunity to know this legislation as fully as any man in Congress. In order to discuss this legislation with you, it will be necessary that we discuss some of the background of this legislation.

This type of legislation had its inception as an aftermath of that terrible War Between the States when brothers were arrayed against brothers. It had its birth in an era of hysteria and at a time when there had not been a sufficient cooling period for minds of ordinarily reasonable men to act calmly and with judgment. Maybe with generosity, maybe with truth, we could draw upon that principle of legal jurisprudence that persons acting under the excitement of passion, without any mixture of deliberation whatever, and without malice, will not be held to the same strict accountability to the law as would a person acting in a calm atmosphere and at a time when irresistible passions were not aroused. It is not surprising to lawyers that civil-rights legislation was passed shortly after the War Between the States, for our legal minds are trained to take into consideration the infirmities and weaknesses of mortal man. Though that legislation was unjust and added to the problems of a prostrate section trying to arise from the ashes, we can see extenuating circumstances, perhaps, and ponder whether that legislation was inspired by malice or because of passion destroying reason and deliberation.

Neither is it surprising to lawyers that in a few short years, when hot blood had cooled, and reason had its sway that Congress on its own volition would annual some of that legislation and that the United States Supreme Court would void portions of that legislation because of its manifest unconstitutionality.

It is not surprising to you that by 1875 the high-water mark of that era had reached its peak and that no further civil-rights legislation was enacted by Congress since the year 1875, and during many years following 1875 Congress set itself to the task of annulling some of that legislation and the United States Supreme Court rose to the occasion and struck down those portions that they agreed were offensive to our Constitution.

It is surprising to you and surprising to me that 50 or 60 years later, and after we had become a united nation, indeed, and as comrades in arms had fought to victory through two wars—one a world war—and with indications that we would be called upon to fight other world wars and, if so, the South would cover itself with glory and distinction upon the battlefield, that agitation again would rear its ugly head, and that groups would urge, yes demand, that the very legislation which was annulled by Congress and the very legislation which was struck down by our Supreme Court as being unconstitutional, together with other more offensive and stringent legislation completely at odds with our Constitution and our philosophies would be placed upon the back of our people, despite the fact that we had the same Constitution and despite the fact that every one admits that those so-called problems are disappearing year by year.

It is to that startling development that I ask you as lawyers to address yourselves today.

Just why have our principles of jurisprudence been so rudely upset? Why is it that at a time when reason should hold sway and hot blood should have long ago cooled, that the people of this country are being assaulted with fervor unparalleled in our country? We do not have to look far to find the answer. You need look no further than the 178th Georgia Supreme Court Report, pages 832-869, in the case of *Herndon* v. *the State*. There was unfolded the Communist conspiracy to agitate and to overthrow this country by force and violence.

The Georgia court did its duty, convicted Herndon, but the United States Supreme Court reversed that conviction, I believe, on the premise that the State failed to show that the defendant and his coconspirators intended presently to overthrow our Govern-

ment. Nevertheless, that Court was evidently not prepared to hold that the Federal Government had preempted the field as the present United States Supreme Court held in the Nelson case and thereby striking down the laws of the States punishing insurrection, or attempts.

It might be of interest to you to know that the Communist Party platform of 1928 set out its demands regarding social and racial equality, and that virtually all of those demands have been fully met by judicial, administrative, and executive decrees and that the proposed legislation is simply for the purpose of implementing them.

One of the most unfortunate decisions ever rendered by the United States Supreme Court was in the case of *Missouri* v. *Holland* in 1920. There the Court ruled that treaties overruled our Constitution.

In the report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, issued in 1947, will be found the following:

"It is true that the Federal Government does not possess broad, clearly defined delegated powers to protect civil rights which it may exercise at its discretion. A detailed examination of the constitutional aspects of the civil-rights problem makes clear that very real difficulties lie in the way of Federal action in certain areas."

But, let's continue reading; they gleefully say:

"In its recent decision in *Missouri* v. *Holland* in 1920, the Supreme Court ruled that Congress may enact statutes that carry out treaty obligations, even where in the absence of a treaty, it has no other power to pass such a statute. This doctrine has an obvious importance as a possible basis for civil-rights legislation."

But, read on:

"The Human Rights Commission of the United Nations is at present working on a detailed international bill of rights designed to give more specific meaning to the general principle announced in article 55 of the charter. If this document is accepted by the United States as a member state, an even stronger basis for congressional action under the treaty power may be established."

In 1949, 81st Congress, the then Attorney General Tom Clark, now a Justice of the Supreme Court, made a statement before the House Committee on the Judiciary while advocating an omnibus bill encompassing civil-rights legislation or proposals in every field the human mind could conceive of, and his entire statement can now be found in hearings before subcommittee No. 5, 85th Congress 1st session, pages 325–347.

Mr. Clark made the following statements, among others:

"Following the Civil War, a number of civil-rights statutes were enacted, but over the years, through decisions of the Supreme Court and congressional action in 1894 and 1909, the laws implementing the 3 amendments (13th, 14th, and 15th) were reduced in number and scope," page 326.

Also the following:

"I am not unmindful, of course, that serious questions of constitutionality will be urged with regard to some of the provisions of this bill. But I am thoroughly satisfied that the bill, as drawn, is constitutional. It is true that there is a line of decisions holding that the 14th amendment relates to and is a limitation or prohibition upon State action and not upon acts of private individuals (*Civil Rights* cases (109 U. S. 3); *U. S.* v. *Harris* (106 U. S. 629); *U. S.* v. *Hodges* (203 U. S. 1).) * * * However, without entering here upon a discussion of whether or not these decisions are controlling or possess present-day validity in this connection, it may be pointed out that such a provision punishing persons as individuals need not rest solely upon the 14th amendment. Upon proper congressional findings of the nature set forth in H. R. 4683, the constitutional basis for this bill would include the power to protect all rights flowing from the Constitution and laws of the United States, the law of nations, the treaty powers under the United Nations Charter, the power to conduct foreign relations, and the power to secure to the States a republican form of government, as will as the 14th amendment" see page 347.

On page 329 Mr. Clark said that the legislation he was proposing would bring about a greater awareness of the obligations of this Nation as a member of the United Nations.

Page 334 shows that Mr. Clark pointed out that he was removing by his proposed legislation what appears to be an unnecessary technical limitation to citizens, and it may be properly urged, at this date, that the extension of coverage is in accordance with the general public policy of the United States, as subscribed to in the United Nations Charter, to promote respect for, and observance of, human right and fundamental freedoms for all.

On page 331 Mr. Clark said that his Civil Rights Department "has aided the Office of the Assistant Solicitor General in cooperating with the State Department in connection with United States participation in the preparation by the United Nations of the universal declaration of human rights and of a proposed covenant to enforce some of these rights." And, on that same page, Mr. Clark said that his Civil Rights Division assisted in the preparation of amicus curiae briefs submitted by his Department to the Supreme Court in the restrictive covenant cases. All of that is well known to the legal fraternity and the pity is that his successors have followed in his footsteps.

Alger Hiss contends that he was virtually the architect of the United Nations Charter. He may have been the inspiration, but he had lots of help. I have in my office a book entitled "Review of the United Nations Charter," published pursuant to Senate Resolution 126, 83d Congress, 1st session, presented by Senator WILEY and I believe you can obtain that work by ordering same from the United States Government Printing Office. That book ought to be in the library of every lawyer in our country. That charter was signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945, by the United States and 49 other governments. It was ratified by the United States Senate in July 1945, and ratified by the President on August 8, 1945.

On July 2, 1945, President Truman submitted the charter to the Senate for approval and among other things said that the objectives were, among other things, "to achieve universal respect for, and observance of, human right and fundamental freedoms for all men and women without distinction as to race, language, or religion." Also, he said, "It seeks to remove the economic and social causes of international conflict and unrest."

On page 69 of that work, entitled "Purposes of Legislation," the committee said that "unless we are prepared to take all steps which are necessary to effectuate our membership in the United Nations, we will merely be defeating the hopes of the United States and humanity in ratifying the charter. The committee feels that the people and the Members of the Senate understand clearly the consequences and requirements of our membership in the United Nations and that they are prepared to undertake the responsibilities of membership in order to enjoy the privileges which that membership may ultimately bring in the form of world security."

Pages 247–251 show the universal declaration of human rights adopted by the General Assembly, United Nations, December 10, 1948. Page 251 shows the address of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt before the United Nations Committee 3, September 30, 1948. She identified herself as Chairman of the Human Rights Commission and as a delegate of the United States, charged with the responsibility of the subject of human rights. In her statements she said:

"The importance which my Government attaches to the promotion and preservation of human rights in general and to this declaration in particular has already been made amply clear by Secretary Marshall."

Also, she said:

"The United States looks forward to the approval of this declaration by the General Assembly as one of the great achievements of this session. The declaration will serve as a challenge to all nations and all peoples so they will all strive to achieve the standards set forth in the declaration. The declaration of human rights is of course only the first step in the implementation of the human-rights program called for by the Charter of the United Nations."

On page 253 she said:

"My Government is nevertheless prepared to accept the declaration as it stands and we will support its approval without amendment if other states are ready to follow that course."

I pause to say to you here that you will find the United Nations Charter and the universal declaration of human rights of great value in your attempts to reconcile any recent decisions of our United States Supreme Court, with our Constitution and the respect you have been taught to have for the rule of stare decisis.

Indeed, Thomas Jefferson said: "If the treaty power is unlimited, we have no Constitution."

If the *Missouri* v. *Holland* decision is correct, and I dispute it, or even if the United States Supreme Court thinks it is correct, then you may be willing as lawyers to concede that they had some basis for their rulings in the famous school case decisions. It may be that they were not ignorant of stare decisis, but were of the opinion that the ruling of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* and other cases did not apply, because *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* was applicable to the Constitution only and was decided before the United Nations Charter overrode our Constitution.

This thought may be speculated upon with interest, inasmuch as in the recent football case (*Radovich* v. *National Football League*, February 25, 1957) the same court refused to disturb the decision rendered 25 or more years ago holding that baseball was not a business under the interstate commerce laws, recognizing the rule of stare decisis, and suggested that if Congress wished to legislate upon that subject Congress had the power.

Indeed, under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, implementing the United Nations Charter, a lawyer can see some kind of basis for the rulings that the States exceeded their authority in denying admission to the bar of applicants confessing that they were once upon a time Communists. (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, art. 2, reading:

"Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status.")

Rulings that passports must be issued to suspected Communists might be understood under the Charter and the Declaration. (See Universal Declaration of Human Rights, art. 13 (2), reading:

"Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.")

Even the upsetting of Stephen Girard's will might not be considered so heinous.

You are, of course, familiar with the Genocide Treaty, adopted by the United Nations, December 9, 1948. That was the proffered treaty that people, particularly lawyers, in the United States became highly interested in and opposition developed to

such an extent that the Bricker amendment was proposed. It was never ratified, true. Bear in mind, the universal declaration of human rights did not require ratification. They are enunciations of charter principles.

The book I have referred to as presented by Senator WILEY, page 262, shows a letter written by Secretary Dulles to Mrs. Lord, the United States Representative before the Human Rights Commission, United Nations, dated April 3, 1953, saying:

"The President and I are anxious that you carry a personal message to the Commission. We believe that the American people are determined to do all within their power to make the United Nations become an ever more effective agency for promoting, in the words of the charter, 'respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion'."

On pages 263–264 Mr. Dulles tells Mrs. Lord to say to the Commission that the covenants will not be as widely accepted by United Nations members as initially anticipated and he recommended a change in approach, saying:

"We recognize that in presenting to the Commission a change in approach, extended discussion will be required in the Commission and later in the Economic and Social Council and General Assembly as well. By reason of the considerations referred to above, the United States Government has reached the conclusion that we should not at this time become a party to any multilateral treaty such as those contemplated in the draft covenant on human rights, and that we should now work toward the objectives of the declaration by other means."

What are the other means? Are they Executive orders, administrative orders, new interpretations of our Constitution? Certainly, they have had that deleterious effect. Also, can one of the ways be the recitals set out in an article entitled "A Reappraisal of the Constitutionality of Miscegenation Statutes," by Weinberger, Cornell Quarterly, volume 42, No. 2, Winter, 1957, pages 208–222, and particularly page 218, saying:

"Under the sponsorship of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 12 scientists representing physical anthropology and human genetics met in June 1951 to consider the preparation of a statement which would effect the crystallization of scientific theory and opinion on matters of race and race differences."

Also:

"The statement on the nature of race and race differences was released by UNESCO in September of 1952. The statement at article 7 said concerning pure races: 'There is no evidence for the existence of so-called pure races. Skeletal remains provide the basis of our limited knowledge about earlier races. In regard to race mixture, the evidence points to the fact that human hybridization has been going on for an indefinite but considerable time. Indeed, one of the processes of race formation and race extinction or absorption is by means of hybridization between races. As there is no reliable evidence that disadvantageous effects are produced thereby, no biological justification exists for prohibiting intermarriage between persons of different races.' "

In the footnotes Weinberger said that certain school boards had voted unanimously to discontinue use of textbooks containing un-American ideas on the origin of races.

Also, the UNESCO has distributed the statement in a variety of publications, and it is only one of several publications in the series.

I ask you: Was your conception of the United Nations Charter a mutual undertaking for mutual security, or was it for one-world government, and the wiping out of our philosophy? We all believe in mutual security, we believe in uniting for that protection, but we contend that only the people themselves have the right to destroy their Constitution.

Certainly, you view with interest and alarm the quotations of Justices Black and Douglas in *Oyama* v. *California* (332 U. S., pp. 633–689) and the expressions of Justices Murphy and Rutledge, same case, page 73. Those four Justices said that as additional reasons for striking down a law of the State of California is the United Nations Charter which this Nation had recently pledged itself to observe. You would doubtless like to read the case of *U. S.* v. *Pink* (315 U. S. 203), where the Supreme Court extended the treaty doctrine to executive agreements. Also, you might wish to read United States Reports (Cunard Steamship Co.) (262 U. S., p. 100), which involved a secret negotiation made by President Coolidge authorizing importation of prohibited liquors on British ships though the 18th amendment was in full effect.

In the 84th Congress there were introduced 51 so-called civil-rights bills. Many of those bills contained a declaration of public policy and as a part of that public policy recited:

"To promote and enforce universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race or religion in accordance with the undertaking of the United States under the United Nations Charter, and to further the national policy in that regard by securing to all persons under the jurisdiction of the United States effective recognition of certain rights and freedoms proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in the universal declaration of human rights."

These so-called civil-rights bills were introduced in the present 85th Congress, many of them containing the same recitals regarding a declaration of public policy. Last year, I called the committee's attention to the declaration and that all of this civil-rights legislation was predicated upon the United Nations Charter. Last year, when it became evident that H. R. 627, a bill by the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER], was going to be reported favorably by Subcommittee No. 2, with the recitation relating to the public policy aforesaid being stricken, Mr. Brownell hurriedly prepared and sent over to Republicans on our committee what is now known as the Brownell civil-rights legislation.

Mr. Brownell did not set out any declaration of public policy. You, as lawyers, know that it was not necessary. The United Nations Charter and the universal declaration of human rights are either the law of the land or not. That Mr. Brownell was depending upon the United Nations Charter and implementing declaration there can be no doubt when the language of his legislation is considered. "By their fruits ye shall know them" remains a true criterion.

The Brownell legislation was voted out of Subcommittee No. 2 by a vote of 6 to 1, I being the only dissenter. The legislation was rushed through the committee and upon the floor of the House, and was passed by the House in the waning days of the 84th Congress, but too late for the Senate to consider. At the beginning of the present session of Congress the Brownell civil-rights legislation was taken up in subcommittee upon the convening of Congress. In this connection, an NAACP official in Washington is quoted as of a week or two ago as saying: "To Republicans, civil-rights legislation is a happy hunting ground; to Democrats civil-rights legislation is a necessity."

The Brownell version consisted of four parts. I will attempt to discuss each of those parts with you briefly.

Part I provided a Commission, to be appointed by the President, to investigate allegations that certain citizens are being deprived of their right to vote, or are being subjected to unwarranted economic pressure by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin; to study and collect information concerning economic, social, and legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution.

Here, let me say that this year for the first time was the opposition permitted to appear and testify in opposition to civil rights legislation. I availed myself of that privilege and I called upon the Governor to furnish to me the attorney general and the Honorable Charles Bloch of Macon. The Governor complied—those gentlemen appeared. They performed magnificently. I can hear Charlie Bloch now saying: "Mr. Chairman, how can you legislate on religion? Is not the first amendment to our Constitution a complete bar? Mr. Chairman, does not that amendment provide for the free exercise of religion?"

You know that the free exercise of religion carries with it indubitably the right to discriminate. Were that not so, there would be no basis for religious groups such as Catholic, Episcopalian, Baptist, Methodist, Seventh-day Adventist, and so forth. That amendment was for the purpose of conferring upon each and every one the right to be different in his religious faith, so as to protect against the very tyrannies that churches in Europe had practiced upon our ancestors by requiring them to conform. The American Civil Liberties Union tipped its hand by saying: "Free censorship of books, magazines and motion pictures is rapidly disappearing," but criticized boycotts whereby religious and other groups not only exercise their right to guard their membership from material believed objectionable, but also may keep other people from exercising their judgment. Also: "That the Roman Catholic Church was one of the religious groups that had moved in that direction."

That first amendment guarantees to all churches, including the Catholic Church, a right to recommend to their congregations, their members, and the public the boycotting of theaters, picture shows, the reading of books and magazines, and any other recommendations they desire to make in the religious field. By the way, it preserves the right of the ministers of our faith and our churches to the same extent.

Frankly, it is my considered opinion that the fight made by the attorney general and Charles Bloch caused that subcommittee to strike the phrase "or being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures by reason of their color, religion, and so forth." and restricted such investigations to deprivation of the right to vote by reason of color, race, and so forth.

Pressure mounted, and the word religion was placed again in the legislation, so far as deprivation of the right to vote on account of religion was concerned. That is innocuous, but unwise. It is my personal opinion that the word religion should never appear in such legislation, and it would be salutary to adhere to the first amendment. To tamper with that amendment is unwise.

As that provision now stands, the only excuse for such a Commission can be on political grounds. Every lawyer knows that existing statutes are sufficient to protect anyone who has been unconstitutionally deprived of the right to vote.

The Justice Department in the past has administered that provision, and if the Justice Department, with its horde of assistants, and with the cooperation of all of the district attorneys in the United States, cannot protect those rights, then we need another Justice Department and another Attorney General.

As the bill now stands, we have stripped it of the phrase "unwarranted economic pressures" and the words "economic," "social," none of which can be identified in the Constitution, but which are words and phrases taken bodily from the United Nations Charter. Of course, attempts may be made to reinstate those provisions when we get upon the floor. Then, too, to establish such a Commission will mean an abdication on the part of Congress toward its responsibility.

If an investigation is going to be had, it ought to be a congressional investigation. I challenge them to rise up to their responsibility, hold such investigations as they think necessary, and accept my challenge to televise the proceedings, giving us the right to cross-examination and right to produce witnesses to testify. If we could have that kind of investigation I would be willing, for the good people of the United States, sitting in their homes or their offices, after hearing the truth and both sides, to bring in their verdict.

The Commission still has the right to have volunteer and uncompensated personnel, which, of course, will be the NAACP and other leftwing organizations, and, also, a waiver that persons otherwise disqualified because of service with the Government can be eligible. Of course, those provisions are completely political.

Part II appears to be an innocent provision, providing for an additional Assistant Attorney General. The trouble is, it does not tell how many assistants to the Assistant Attorney General will be required. We tried to get the Department to say, but they would never express themselves. Will Maslow, general counsel, American Jewish Congress, testified that it ought to have at least 50 lawyers in it. The cost of this Commission and the assistants to the Assistant Attorney General would probably be at least $2 million for the 2 years that the Commission is to operate, and a million dollars a year thereafter for the assistants to the Assistant Attorney General.

You, as lawyers, know that with this additional personnel there will be the requirement that we have additional judges to a number not even capable of envisioning.

Part III would amend section 1985, volume 42, United States Code, by adding 2 additional paragraphs. That, of course, is the conspiracy statute, and the one referred to as the Ku Klux Klan Act. One of the paragraphs to be added provides that whenever any persons have engaged or there is reasonable grounds to believe that they are about to engage in any acts giving rise to a cause of action under that section, the Attorney General may, in the name of the United States, institute a civil action for preventive relief, permanent or temporary injunction, or other order, without regard to the requirement that the aggrieved shall have exhausted the administrative or other State remedies, and without the consent of the alleged aggrieved.

The effect would be that in every imaginable conspiracy the United States, at the taxpayers' expense, will throw the entire Justice Department against our school officials, our registrars, and persons charged with the electoral process, free of cost to the alleged aggrieved, while the defendants will have such representation and assistance as their pocketbooks permit. What the phrase "about to engage" means, I do not know. No one else knew in the committee, including the authors of the legislation.

Part IV would amend section 1971, United States Code, so that "whenever any person has engaged or is about to engage in any act depriving any person of the right of any privilege secured by subsection A or B, the Attorney General, in the name of the United States, for the benefit of the real party, may institute a civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order or other order; and that the district courts shall exercise jurisdiction without regard to whether the party aggrieved has exhausted any administrative or other remedies provided by law.

Make no mistake, the district courts would be required to entertain suits arising by virtue of any kind of election, general, special, and primaries, for the purpose of selecting candidates down to the lowest local levels including trustees of schools, justices of the peace, county surveyor, etc. The question is, does Congress want to approach this subject in such a general and blundering manner?

In view of the ruling in the Cloverleaf Butter case and the Steve Nelson case, to the effect that the Federal Government had preempted the field, and in view of the ruling in *U. S. v. Classic* (313 U. S. 299, 3) reading as follows:

"The right to vote for representatives in Congress is a right 'derived from the States' only in the sense that the States are authorized by the Constitution to legislate on the subject, as provided by section II of article I, to the extent that Congress has not restricted State action by the exercise of its powers to regulate elections under section 4 and its more general power, under article I, section 8, clause 18, to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers," and in view of the provision in this proposed legislation that all State judicial and administrative remedies shall be bypassed, it is my opinion that lawyers will seriously ponder whether or not the Supreme Court would hold that the Federal Government had preempted the field so far as the voting rights, the mode of holding our elections and primaries are concerned, and that these fields would hereafter be dominated from Washington.

Under parts III and IV of the proposed legislation, the district courts would have the right to grant ex parte injunctions upon the petition of an all-powerful government, with such an extensive staff that they could grind out over night thousands of affidavits, perjurous or not, and the judge then having established manmade law, whether right or wrong, could punish the defendant for contempt and sentence him to prison, the judge being the legislator, the prosecuting attorney, the judge, and the executioner. In other words, there is no provision for the right of trial by jury. The Attorney General has seen to that. He says that juries might not convict. You and I think that is why jury trials should be provided, because after all, there are some innocent defendants. By making the United States a party, the Attorney General has deliberately sidestepped the provision requiring that a suit be for at least $3,000 before the Federal court can entertain jurisdiction, that requirement not applying where the United States is the plaintiff. He has also proposed eliminating a jury trial in criminal contempt cases, realizing that jury trials are not permissible where the United States is the plaintiff, except in the one instance providing jury trials in labor disputes. The Attorney General knows full well that these exceptions applicable to the Government were for the purpose of preventing the defense of our country from being stymied. He well knows that it was not intended to make the Government a Frankenstein. Except where the Nation's defense is involved, the Government should be more than willing to go into court under the same terms and laws as the private individual.

When this bill gets upon the floor of the House, and it probably will on June 3, we certainly intend to offer an amendment for the purpose of deleting the provision that State judicial and administrative remedies can be bypassed and an amendment providing jury trials in all contempt cases. When we do that we will be asking only for the same privileges that Donald Richberg, Clarence Darrow, Easby-Smith, and other brilliant attorneys argued that labor should have and which Justices Taft, Hughes, Frankfurter, Cardozo, and others said labor should have.

We will be asking for exactly what the platforms of both the Republican and Democratic Parties in 1928 said labor should have. We will only be asking for what the House of Representatives said in 1932 that labor could have; 362 Congressmen voted for those rights for labor, while only 14 voted to deny those rights. We will be asking for those things which Gov. Al Smith said that labor should have. I have checked the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and southern Congressmen, including my distinguished predecessor, Hon. Charles Crisp, voted for labor to have those rights. It was a southern chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary, Hon. Hatton Sumner, Texas, who stood upon the floor and fought for this legislation in behalf of labor. That legislation was designed to protect people, guilty or innocent, against the abuses knowingly practiced by some judges and from the ignorance of other judges. Also, for protection against the strong arm of the Attorney General, who reaches out over every Federal court district and who, it is said in Washington, tells every prosecuting attorney whether he can or cannot nolle pros a case.

The debate of this labor legislation I have referred to showed that Congressman LaGuardia charged Harry Daughterty, the Attorney General in the time of the Debbs case, with handpicking Judge Wilkerson to try that case and quoted from an article by Mr. Daugherty saying that he was most fortunate in getting Judge Wilkerson. "Judge Wilkerson listened to my argument with profound attention. He agreed with me on every point and granted the temporary injunction without a minute's delay."

It further developed that Judge Wilkerson was appointed, at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Daugherty, just a few weeks before.

I do not have time to go into it, but I am familiar with the ex parte injunction and the contempt proceedings arising out of the school desegregation issue in Clinton, Tenn. Without commenting upon the justice or injustice of the proceedings so far as the facts are concerned, but only from a lawyer's standpoint, interested in each and every defendant being tried according to law and having his rights accorded to him, that case standing alone, should cause legislators to provide the right of trial by jury.

I have talked too long and I know it. In a matter of a few days now the House will work its will. I can only assure you, that in my limited way, I will be upon that floor every minute of the time and I will do my best in an effort to defeat this legislation and at least try to preserve some of our constitutional concepts, the sovereignty of our States, the right to regulate and conduct our elections, and the right of trial by jury.

President Hays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, it was as a student at the University of Arkansas that I first met BROOKS HAYS. He was a freshman; I was a junior in the same

school. He was a 17-year-old boy then, but a man with all that—a leader in student affairs, a member of the university debating team, and a member of the YMCA cabinet. I have known him all the years since. He is today the same fine, clean, modest lad as of yesteryear. The world is better by having his like living in it. He cannot hate. He does not do mean and little things. He is one of God's princes.

Recently he has been honored by his church. The Arkansas Gazette of June 1 has this to say in its editorial of that date:

PRESIDENT HAYS

The election of BROOKS HAYS as president of the Southern Baptist Convention is a fitting tribute to the Arkansas Congressman who has served his denomination faithfully and well.

Mr. HAYS will be the first layman to head the convention in 12 years, and the second in all its long history. And it is significant that the fact that he is not an ordained clergyman was the only reason offered in opposition to his election in, as is usual for the Baptists, a spirited contest.

As a member of the Second Baptist Church in Little Rock, and as teacher of its Brooks Hays Bible Class when his duties in Washington permit, the Congressman has been active in church affairs since 1925. In recent years he has held important national posts with the denomination, as vice president of the convention in 1952 and as a member of its social service commission. In the latter role he has had a major influence in setting the convention on a moderate course in this time of racial tension.

It is singularly appropriate that a man who holds high Federal office should head the denomination which is perhaps most outspoken in its defense of the traditional American separation of church and state. Mr. Hays in his own career has made the necessary distinction between the things that are God's and the things that are Caesar's, and has demonstrated that religion can be mixed with public service without any suggestion of violence to the constitutional concept.

We congratulate Mr. HAYS on his fitting honor—and we congratulate the 8,700,000 members of the Southern Baptist Convention on their wise choice.

Resolution by the Croatian Fraternal Union of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a resolution concerning Cardinal Stepinac unanimously adopted by the executive board of the Croatian Fraternal Union of America, a fraternal benefit society with a membership of over 108,000 in 34 States of the United States and in 6 Provinces of Canada. The resolution adopted at a meeting held on Wednesday, January 9, 1957, is as follows:

Whereas the Croatian Fraternal Union of America, whose membership is composed almost entirely of Roman Catholic citizens of Croatian descent, is dedicated to the principles of freedom of religion for all peoples throughout the world; and

Whereas the Croatian Fraternal Union of America, speaking for these freedom-loving peoples, feels very keenly that the continued restrictions on His Eminence Aloysius Cardinal Stepinac, of Zagreb, Croatia, Yugoslavia, from enjoying the rights and privileges of his high office in the Roman Catholic Church, violate the principles of religious freedom in which we firmly believe: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the executive board of the Croatian Fraternal Union of America, That the Secretary of State and the State Department of the United States of America inform the government and peoples of Yugoslavia of the desire and wish of the membership of the Croatian Fraternal Union of America that the rights and privileges of the high office of Cardinal Stepinac as a primate of the Roman Catholic Church be recognized and that his eminence be permitted to exercise the duties and to assume the responsibilities of a prince of the Roman Catholic Church in Yugoslavia.

Dated this 9th day of January A. D. 1957, at Pittsburgh, Pa., under the seal of the Croatian Fraternal Union of America.

For the executive board:

V. I. MANDICH,
Supreme President.
JOSEPH BELLA,
Supreme Secretary.

The Right Reverend Monsignor Francis A. Costello, V. F.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Times-Leader of June 1, 1957:

TWO MILESTONES FOR PASTOR

Tempus fugit. It is difficult to believe 10 years have elapsed since the Right Reverend Monsignor Francis A. Costello, V. F., succeeded the Most Reverend Martin J. O'Connor, D. D., as pastor of St. Mary's Church of the Immaculate Conception in Wilkes-Barre. Memory is refreshed by the announcement that a reception will be held at the Catholic youth center on Sunday afternoon to mark this milestone and the 30th anniversary of his ordination as well.

On the occasion of his appointment, this newspaper observed editorially:

"For a man who has been in the priesthood just 20 years, Father Costello has made amazing progress. His advancement from a rural charge to the cathedral (St. Peter's in Scranton) parish was unusual recognition for a young clergyman and his transfer to the mother church of Wilkes-Barre, now in its second century, is equally impressive evidence of the confidence of his superior and proof of the success he achieved at the seat of the diocese of Scranton."

On the occasion of his installation, Monsignor Costello had this to say:

"Your pastor promises to pray all the days of his tenure, through the patron of this church, the Immaculate Mother of God, and his own patrons, Sts. Francis of Assisi and Anthony of Padua, for the help of God to do the will of God. In his prayers, he will be most mindful of the spiritual needs of his people."

Monsignor Costello not only has kept that pledge, but he has supplemented it with service far beyond the call of duty, as a citizen as well as a clergyman. The community shares the sentiments of the congregation in sponsoring tomorrow's testimonial.

Representative Glenn Cunningham, of Nebraska, Shows How Matching Funds Penalize Industrious States and Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT D. HARRISON
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, my colleague from Nebraska, Representative GLENN CUNNINGHAM, was given the 1957 outstanding alumnus award by the University of Omaha Alumni Association. Mr. CUNNINGHAM received this annual award in recognition of his work in civic and governmental affairs since his graduation from the university in 1935.

At the annual award banquet June 1 in Omaha, Mr. CUNNINGHAM spoke out sharply against certain matching funds of the Federal Government which allow reapportionment of unused State quotas. He pointed out that these programs are penalizing those States and cities which have gone ahead and done the job on their own, not waiting for or looking for a handout from Washington. His address follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE GLENN CUNNINGHAM, MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM NEBRASKA, ON THE OCCASION OF THE 1957 ALUMNI ACHIEVEMENT DAY BANQUET, UNIVERSITY OF OMAHA, JUNE 1, 1957

Ladies and gentlemen, these past few months in Washington have been interesting—perhaps fascinating is a better word—but they have also been quite revealing. The manipulations of those in Government are interesting to follow, and the workings of our vast and complex Government sometimes leave you shaking your head.

Tonight I would like to take a few minutes to discuss an area of legislation which involves a sizable share of the 1958 budget. It is an area which promotes and fosters spending—not only by the Federal Government—but by States and cities as well.

It is an area that must be the delight of the free-spenders and big dealers * * * those implanted in Government during the days when it was so fashionable to outbid the fellow at the next desk in devising schemes to give away Federal money.

JUST ONE FACET

Let me briefly describe this activity that is costing all of us a lot of unnecessary money. And please bear in mind that this information is the result of a study I have undertaken of just one small facet of the huge budget which contains 1,150 pages in all. There are many other parts where great economies can be made, such as in the public works bill—better known as the pork barrel. Year after year, this bill includes some public works projects which have not been approved by the departments concerned. Fortunately, last year President

Eisenhower vetoed such a bill because of the unauthorized projects. But the good and approved projects get set back too. Senator ROMAN HRUSKA, a past recipient of the award given me tonight, made a valiant but futile fight on the floor of the Senate to strike out these unapproved projects this year, but the economy forces could not muster the needed strength, and the pork barrel rolled on.

But to return to my subject—matching fund programs. I am sure you are all familiar with matching fund projects, where Federal funds help pay for a State or local project, provided there is a certain share of the program paid by State or local contributions. In most projects of this type, State and local money is matched dollar for dollar by the Federal money.

TYPES OF PROGRAMS

There are three general types of matching programs. In the first, communities go to the Federal Government with their individual projects. If the plans meet certain standards and specifications set up by Congress or the administrator of the program, then the project is rated according to various criteria and placed on a waiting list. As Federal funds are available for the programs, the money is transferred to the communities. A program of this type is the watershed protection and flood-prevention program. Many Nebraska farm areas and cities are safer as a result of watershed protection and flood-prevention program.

Secondly, there are programs in which money provided by Congress is divided among the States on a quota basis, each State receiving a certain amount for its own use. If the State, or cities within the State, want Federal funds for the program, they apply to Washington, and the money is committed as long as it lasts. If there are not requests for all of one State's quota, the funds revert unspent to the Treasury. A program of this type is Federal aid for hospital construction, which has been of benefit to a number of Nebraska hospitals.

In the third type of program we find a real culprit. There is again a State quota of funds as in the second case mentioned. But if a State does not use all of its quota within a certain time, the unused Federal funds are made available to other States that have used their shares and still want more. A classic example of a program of this type is Federal aid to airports. Let me say now that using the airport program as an example does not mean I oppose the entire idea, but I was disturbed to find this certain section.

EXAMPLE CITED

Recently the Department of Commerce and the Civil Aeronautics Administration announced State quotas for $60 million worth of airport aid. Nebraska is scheduled to receive a little more than $750,000 of this money.

Now let's suppose that for some reason there is no interest in airport work in Nebraska, or that we have no need of additional airport facilities. There would be no applications to Washington, and none of the $750,000 would be spent in Nebraska.

After holding Nebraska's share for 2 years, the officials would then cancel our right to the funds, but the money does not revert to the Treasury in this case as it does with hospital construction funds. Instead it is reapportioned among the 48 States again. So let us assume now that Maine has spent all of its share of the original $60 million. But there are still some cities in Maine that would match Federal funds if they were available. As a result of Nebraska's lack of interest or need, the Nebraska funds are now available for cities in Maine, and in any other States that want the money.

So what happens is that Nebraska taxpayers contribute their share of this $60-million program through income taxes. After a small servicing charge by Washington administrators, a share of this money was reserved for us here in Nebraska to improve our airports. But we assumed nobody here wanted or needed airport improvements, so Nebraska loses its share of this money and it goes to Maine and other States to help them. The only way to get our own money back from this program is to spend more money on the local level. And if we don't, we find our taxes going to other States for their programs.

THE GRAB FOR FUNDS

Thus, in the cities and States of the country we find persons who can say of a certain matching fund program, "If we don't get the Federal money, somebody else will." I heard this said from time to time when I was mayor and interested parties made an effort to push a new local spending program through. In Washington I became interested in the matter again, and I have been able to do some research on the matter.

I was shocked to learn that there are several programs of this type which allow this Federal money, which is really your money and mine, to flow into those States which spend the most money themselves. Here in Nebraska our State government is trying to save money by reducing the budget and lowering taxes. How does such a policy affect these matching programs?

You know that answer yourself. If we don't have the State money to match a Federal fund, Nebraska's share goes to other States which then benefit from our taxes. So we end up with this ridiculous situation: States and cities increase their tax rates to raise money to match the Federal funds involved in these programs. The taxpayer is squeezed by the pressure from Federal income taxes and from State and local taxes. And remember this, so long as some States and cities match all this Federal money, the programs will roll on. For the sponsors who come back year after year for Federal money from Congress can show that all the previous year's appropriation has been gobbled up and more was wanted. So more Federal money is appropriated into matching funds of this type, and the people of the whole country keep paying their Federal taxes to support these programs.

NEARLY $2 BILLION

I said a few moments ago that I was shocked to learn that there are several programs which reapportion this matching money. And I think you will be equally shocked to learn that these few programs I have uncovered so far are listed in the 1958 budget to receive $1,870,575,000—nearly $2 billion, or more than 9 percent of the total domestic budget.

That's a lot of money flowing from State to State by way of Washington. It penalizes those States and cities that are sincerely interested in trying to save tax money. Worse yet, it penalizes those States and cities that have gone ahead and done the job on their own, not waiting for or looking for a handout from Washington. Such programs could very well destroy the initiative so vital in State and local affairs. And I can prove it.

I received a letter earlier this year from a school district that was going to build a new school building. The officials of this small school district wanted my opinion about building now with their own financing or waiting to see if there would be a handout from Washington. And while they would wait for some of this free money from Washington, the children would also be waiting—for schoolrooms. Needless to say, I wrote them to get going and not to count on Congress to act, because they could get 435 different views on Federal aid to schools in the House of Representatives alone.

I was happy to see this ridiculous reapportionment provision knocked out of one bill already this year. And as my research finishes in the next few weeks on other matching aid programs, I will enlist the support of other economy minded Congressmen in trying to make the necessary changes in the basic laws setting up these programs so that this spender's holiday can be slowed down, at least a little.

Perfidious Albion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, the caption to these remarks was prompted by an enlightening quotation embodied in the able article by Constantine Brown appearing in yesterday's Evening Star. Mr. Brown quotes Britain's Victorian slogan: "Britain knows neither friends nor enemies; it knows only interests" as her answer to this country's plea not to resume trade relations with Red China.

Mr. Brown points out that this action by Britain, for a mere $30 million a year in trade, may well imperil the entire western alliance, to say nothing of perhaps ultimately losing Hong Kong after the Reds have solidified their position economically. He then goes on to remind us of a bit of recent history, which should have prepared us for this latest move, by this observation:

It was the democratic concept which caused the British Government in the late fall of 1950 to prevail upon President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson to go easy on the Chinese who had joined the battle in Korea. It was only after Prime Minister Clement Attlee rushed to visit Mr. Truman in Washington that we ordered General MacArthur not to bomb the Chinese lines of communication from Manchuria to the Yalu River. It was Britain's Minister of Defense Shinwell who maneuvered skillfully in Washington to have MacArthur dismissed as supreme commander in the Far East. He modestly admitted this in a speech in the House of Commons 18 months later.

And while we are on the subject of our relations with Britain, where are those critics who so roundly scored President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles when they refused to condone the British and French attack on Egypt last fall? It is now universally admitted that the Eisenhower position prevented war in the Middle East, but what is not so often recognized is the fact that in refusing to support their precipitate action—planned behind our backs—we thereby saved both France and England from the economic collapse which subsequent events have indicated their abortive military venture would have brought about.

I am not an isolationist, but it is becoming increasingly apparent that our principal allies are going to take unilateral action when it is to their selfish interest to do so, and I feel that the time is now here when our foreign policy must be formulated in Washington rather than in London and Paris, as has been the case so many times in the past.

Mr. Brown's fine statement is included in full with these remarks, as follows:

BRITAIN'S CHINA ACTION HURTS U. N.—RENEWAL OF TRADE RELATIONS DAMAGES WEST'S POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE COMMUNISTS

(By Constantine Brown)

There were creased brows and worried faces in Washington when London announced that it would renew trade relations with Communist China. Not only had the American representative at the Paris conference, where this matter was discussed, argued that such a position would seriously impair the West's position vis-a-vis the Communists, but Washington's highest officials had pleaded directly with the British Foreign Office not to give us a black eye by strengthening considerably Peiping's prestige in the Far East.

London's answer was a 20th century paraphrase of the famous Victorian era political slogan: "Britain knows neither friends nor enemies; it knows only interests."

It will take quite some time before either Britain or Communist China can feel any practical results from the decision of the Macmillan cabinet. But what worries our political leaders in the administration and in Congress is that Britain's selfish actions, under the guise that she follows a policy totally independent of that of the United States, will impair the effectiveness of the United Nations.

Communist China was branded as an aggressor by the U. N. soon after the Chinese legions began to pour into Korea, where British troops were fighting side by side with the Americans, Koreans, and other U. N. forces. At no time has the Peiping regime even vaguely attempted to purge itself. Quite the contrary, it is still holding some 450 American prisoners of war despite the terms of the armistice signed in 1953.

It is recognized here that Prime Minister Macmillan and Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd felt compelled to take the trade step—even at the risk of further disrupting American-British relations—because of internal politics. The Conservative Party is slipping badly in popular esteem, and resumption of trade with China is popular not only with the British industrialists and bankers but also with the rank and file of labor. Thus, to our pleas to at least delay the move, we received the answer: "Sorry, indeed, but it must be done."

The decision of the British Government on China is worrying our policymakers not so much because the Peiping regime has obtained a political victory over us, but because it shows to the world that Western unity is breaking at the seams. This is inherent to the democratic system in which every unit of an alliance preserves the right to do whatever is best for its own interest. There is no teamwork in alliances between countries with democratic systems except possibly under actual war conditions. But when the guns are stilled even temporarily each wants to do exactly as it wishes and thinks best for its own interests.

It was the democratic concept which caused the British Government in the late fall of 1950 to prevail upon President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson to go easy on the Chinese who had joined the battle in Korea. It was only after Prime Minister Clement Attlee rushed to visit Mr. Truman in Washington that we ordered General MacArthur not to bomb the Chinese lines of communications from Manchuria to the Yalu River. It was Britain's Minister of Defense Shinwell who maneuvered skillfully in Washington to have MacArthur dismissed as Supreme Commander in the Far East. He modestly admitted this in a speech in the House of Commons 18 months later.

At the last meeting of President Eisenhower, Secretary Dulles, and Prime Minister Macmillan at Bermuda the American spokesmen urged the Briton to do nothing which might strengthen the Communist position in the Far East. It was pointed out to him that the amount of profit the British could expect from almost unrestricted trade with Red China was negligible compared to the damage to the free countries' position in the Far East. And, according to reports, when Macmillan pointed to the immense British interests in that area including the continued possession of Hong Kong, he was admonished that even that crown colony might be lost once the Peiping regime becomes stronger.

So long as trade between the Chinese Communists and the West was carried out in a bootleg manner, with Hong Kong as the center of distribution, it was in the interest of the Communists to have that territory in British hands. But as soon as Communist China is rehabilitated and slips with British help into the ranks of the law-abiding nations there is no reason to believe that Chou En-lai will not pull the same trick as President Nasser did with the Suez Canal.

All the arguments were of no avail. Our ally had decided that a potential $30 million worth of trade a year must take precedence even over Anglo-American relations.

The Last Bell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep regret that I learned of the recent death of my very good friend, Johnny Kilbane, the former featherweight champion of the world. A fighter and a warrior in the truest sense, Johnny finally lost his last battle after waging an uphill and courageous fight with cancer for the past several months.

At the time of his passing, Johnny was clerk of court of the city of Cleveland, and he served his post most ably and well. Johnny will be missed by us all, and I wish to express my deepest sympathies to his family.

Editorials which appeared in the June 3 edition of the Cleveland Plain Dealer and the Cleveland News follow:

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer]

THE LAST BELL

Johnny Kilbane was more than a champion back in those days before radio and television when he became a whirlwind featherweight wonder. He was an idol for the city's young manhood and the young in heart, as they partook of his strength through following his deeds in the ring.

He was a symbol of a fast-moving David bringing fame to his hometown. He was a popular member of a popular race. It was no wonder then, though many may wonder at it now, that the whole town turned out for him when he returned as champion in 1912.

Though there was less than half the number of people in Cuyahoga County in those days, a tremendous gathering, variously estimated at 100,000 to 200,000, greeted him. We can't conceive of that sort of heartwarming welcome for a pugilist now; we are more sophisticated, many of us jaded, and television brings championship fights into the living room, if anyone wants to turn the thing on.

Johnny Kilbane, who rose from humble beginnings through wise use of his hands, gave Cleveland many a thrill and helped many bask in reflected glory. And Cleveland understood his ambitions and gave him political office when he asked. His death will not still oldtimers' recounting of his achievements.

[From the Cleveland News]

JOHNNY KILBANE, HIS WILL TO WIN

Johnny Kilbane's two greatest victories were scored in tough rings through sheer tenacity—the prizefight and the political arenas.

Back in 1912, in a brawling 20-round battle he wrested the world's featherweight title from savage Abe Attell, and he wore that crown until 1923.

Later, he went on to take a seat as an Ohio senator in 1941–42, and in 1951 he whipped William J. Reichle for the clerkship of municipal court, proving that there was still a punch in the Kilbane name.

This white-mained, ruddy-cheeked official was a target for the unorthodoxy of some of his methods in the clerk's office but his popularity rode high, and his friends stayed stanchly in his corner.

A champion who campaigned unceasingly for sports as a character builder, Kilbane fought his rocky way up from a grade-school education to positions of trust in government. He will hold a firm place in fistic history as one of the greats of the ring. He demonstrated convincingly that the will to win could be a valuable asset in the court of public opinion as well as in the prize ring.

More Views on the 22d Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am appending to these remarks three additional responses I have received from historians and political scientists whose views I have solicited on the wisdom of the 22d amendment.

I present today the opinions of Dr. M. R. Merrill, head of the political science department at Utah State College; Dr. James Hart, of the University of Virginia, political science department; and Dr. Lane W. Lancaster, of the political science department at the University of Nebraska. All three of these scholars favor the repeal of the 22d amendment.

Their replies follow:

STATEMENT BY DR. M. R. MERRILL, HEAD OF POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT, UTAH STATE COLLEGE

There are sound arguments for a two-term tradition, but the incorporation of a tradition into the basic law of the land is both unwise and positively dangerous. The ill effects of the 22d amendment are already evident. They will become more acute with time and with the election of Presidents whose popular appeal is considerably less potent than that of the incumbent.

Foreign affairs have become of first importance in the mid-20th century, even for the United States. The proper conduct of foreign affairs demands presidential leadership. Anything that weakens that leadership, and obviously the 22d amendment is in that category, serves to undermine the

foreign policy of the country. Admittedly leadership in foreign affairs cannot be separated wholly from leadership in domestic affairs. In the light of our precarious position as a great world power in a violent world we should simply take the chance of strengthening the domestic power of the President in the grim necessity of maintaining the dominance of the executive in the foreign field. The normal clash of competing interests may serve to modify and even control the presidential power at home. Abroad the presidential power must not be curtailed. As the Bricker amendment with its numerous progeny is a menace which should be stifled because of its antiexecutive bias, so likewise should the last amendment be voided.

Emotional as we, the people, may be we can still be trusted on fundamentals, and were the amendment abolished no President would serve more than two terms unless we ourselves decided that a crisis or major threat demanded the continuance in office of the incumbent. That is a decision for the majority of any given time, and should not be denied by our own assumption of superior judgment.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA., *May 5, 1957.*

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. UDALL: I am happy to reply to your letter asking me to comment upon your joint resolution proposing an amendment to repeal the 22d amendment to the Constitution.

I

Let me first quote from my volume on The American Presidency in Action: 1789: A Study in Constitutional History (1948), which at pages 2–3 reproduces an opinion on the reeligibility of the President which George Washington expressed in a letter to Lafayette under the date of April 28, 1788:

"There are other points on which opinions would be more likely to vary. As for instance, on the ineligibility of the same person for President, after he should have served a certain course of years. Guarded so effectually as the proposed Constitution is, in respect to the prevention of bribery and undue influence in the choice of President: I confess, I differ widely myself from Mr. Jefferson and you, as to the necessity or expediency of rotation in that appointment. The matter was fairly discussed in the Convention, and to my full convictions; though I cannot have time or room to sum up the argument in this letter. There cannot, in my judgment, be the least danger that the President will by any practicable intrigue ever be able to continue himself one moment in office, much less perpetuate himself in it; but in the last stage of corrupted morals and political depravity, and even then there is as much danger that any other species of domination would prevail. Though, when a people shall have become incapable of governing themselves and fit for a master, it is of little consequence from what quarter he comes. Under an extended view of this part of the subject, I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man, who on some great emergency shall be deemed universally, most capable of serving the public."

II

The issue is not whether it is ordinarily a good thing for a man to be reelected indefinitely to the Presidency. For several reasons, 8 or, at the most, 10 years should normally be as long as a man should serve. By that time the American people usually tire of the President's personality and lag in their response to his leadership. So great a load has the Office become that the limit of the President's mental and physical endurance may well be reached before then, unless we start choosing young and unseasoned politicians. So artificial is the life the Office creates for the incumbent that he may well lose his perspective after a decade in the White House. These are powerful reasons for an anti-third-term tradition and for thinking twice before making an exception to it.

The issue, however, is whether it is the part of wisdom to preclude the making of any exceptions to a generally wholesome rule that two terms is enough. It will be useful to weigh the merits of the three main arguments against doing so.

The first argument is that it is undemocratic to save the people from themselves by forbidding them in advance to reelect any man for a third term. To call something undemocratic is a sound argument if it limits the responsibility of the governors to the community, but is unsound if it merely prevents the people from doing what they have no moral right to do or are patently unqualified to do. The first amendment freedoms are so fundamental to a scheme of ordered liberty that most Americans are happily prepared to have them set limits to what the people may do. Again, it is one thing for the people to choose in a presidential election between candidates nominated by national party conventions and quite another thing for them in national presidential primaries to select the nominees. The 22d amendment seems undemocratic in the sound sense of that objection, for it prescribes in advance that even a leader of the people against special interests may never, even if he could win his party's nomination for a third term, be among those from whom the people may choose the next President.

The second argument is that the President will be weakened in his second term if it is certain that he cannot take issues to the people by running again. So important for national welfare is strong presidential leadership that the present experiment of seeing whether this is the case is a dangerous one. Of course the third term tradition, which I should like to see continued as a presumption, may have weakened the President in his second term. But if so, the effect will be greater now. For there was always the possibility that a President might feel constrained to ask the people for a third term to carry through his policies over strong opposition in Congress and among certain powerful groups; and it has generally been assumed that Theodore Roosevelt did not show his wonted political shrewdness and weakened himself politically when, as soon as it was clear that he had defeated Judge Parker in 1904, he issued a statement which made it impossible for him to run in 1908 without stultifying himself. It is now being debated whether President Eisenhower is being opposed more openly by those who dislike his program because of their knowledge that his days in office are legally numbered. These matters are too subtle to be measured or even surely understood even after the event. I for one prefer not to run the risk which the 22d amendment makes all too probable.

The third argument is that situations may readily be imagined in which the national safety may demand continuation in this key office of the incumbent, both because any crisis creates a presumption in favor of continuity and because in the given case the man in the White House seems decidedly superior in capacity and experience to the alternatives who are actually available. Now of course, it is in some circumstances highly advantageous to change horses while crossing a stream. Great Britain did well to exchange Asquith for Lloyd George and Chamberlain for Churchill after the two world wars broke out. It is, however, enough to cause one to be opposed to making a change compulsory that it might in some grave emergency involve great risk to the Nation. Herein lies the chief objection to the 22d amendment; and it should be conclusive.

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES HART.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA,
Lincoln, Nebr., May 7, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. UDALL: The pressure of work here has prevented an earlier reply to your letter asking my opinion of the proposed repeal of the 22d amendment. Even now, I am not far enough out of the woods to send you the sort of reply that your proposal deserves.

If my memory serves me correctly, the amendment was based not so much upon any principle as upon hostility to the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. Since it was at the time a matter of record that Mr. Roosevelt had been dead for some time, that fact must have been known to those who proposed and ratified the amendment. It is to be hoped that in time it may be known even more generally.

As to the substance of the amendment: It is no doubt true that long tenure of power is undesirable in any branch of government, but it seems to me unwise thus to make it impossible for the people to use any available political or administrative talent. I did not myself approve of all that was done during Mr. Roosevelt's administration, but I do think the situation was unusual. I am inclined further to believe that most of what was done during those years would have been done under administrations bearing a different party label. In any case I look in vain for any reversal of those policies under the present administration. As matters stand in this country at present it seems to me that less is to be feared when the Executive has real power than when he is weakened by the general knowledge that he is without political authority. The 22d amendment seems to me to be designed to deprive him of legitimate authority.

Sincerely yours,

LANE W. LANCASTER,
Department of Political Science.

Eisenhower Administration Gift to Idaho Power Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the June 2, 1957, issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. The editorial entitled "Taxpayers' Bill at Hells Canyon," follows:

TAXPAYERS' BILL AT HELLS CANYON

The whole financial basis of the rationale through which the Eisenhower Administration forfeited the rich Hells Canyon stretch of the Snake River to the Idaho Power Co. has now been brought into question.

The chief accountant of the Federal Power Commission, Russell C. Rainwater, estimates the Federal tax subsidy to the utility on its projected dams there will cost the Treasury about $83,500,000. He estimates that compounded at 6 percent over the 50-year period involved, the saving to Idaho Power will amount to $339 million.

The cost of the two dams is estimated at approximately $103 million. Accordingly, the taxpayers will in the final picture have put up some 80 percent of their cost. And the Idaho Power Co. will have received the dams virtually as a gift, plus their value twice over from the tax subsidy—plus a third sum equal to their total value in profits from the sale of power.

Yet the announced reason of the then Secretary of Interior, Douglas McKay, for withdrawing from the projected Federal dam at Hells Canyon 4 years ago, was economy.

"The cost of the Hells Canyon project is not small, and bears examination in the light of present efforts to balance the national budget," said Mr. McKay. He estimated the cost of the dam and power plant at $357 million.

The question that rises larger and larger is: Would it be preferable for the people of the United States to spend $357 million to own a dam that would pay for itself and produce valuable byproducts of flood control, irrigation and phosphate fertilizer while doing so?

Or would it be better for the taxpayers to pay four-fifths of the cost of building dams for a private company—inferior in power production, in power cost and in flood control—and have nothing to show for it in the end?

Democrats Can't Have It Both Ways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, I have consistently held that we should refrain from spending billions of dollars all over the world in an endeavor to buy friends and buy peace. I am a firm believer in maintaining the strongest military forces as a deterrent and bulwark against Communist aggression. During the past week an earnest effort was made to restore essential funds in the Defense Department appropriation. Surprisingly, we found advocates of large expenditures during the last fiscal year now urging a deep cutback. They were either right then or they are right now—it cannot be that they were right on both occasions.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the column of Roscoe Drummond on this subject:

DEMOCRATS CAN'T HAVE IT BOTH WAYS

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—In cutting the administration's defense budget the Democrats in Congress are putting themselves in a morally, politically, and intellectually indefensible position from which slick argument will not extricate them.

The voters will catch up with them sooner or later.

It is difficult to believe that a donkey, even with only one ear to the ground, could get itself into this distorted posture; but it has, and you can see what's happened if you look at it from these three angles:

1. One year ago this month the Democrats in Congress forced the administration to accept a $900 million higher defense appropriation than President Eisenhower and Secretary of Defense Wilson felt necessary or could be economically expended.

2. During the presidential campaign last fall and regularly now for several months from the floor of Congress the Democrats have been telling the country—and telling themselves—that the Eisenhower foreign policy is badly conceived, badly managed, is falling to pieces, that the world situation is deteriorating, that the danger of war grows.

3. In the House of Representatives this past week the Democrats voted against restoring even a modest 25 percent of the recent severe cuts in defense by 203 to 11; the Republicans in favor of restoring the cuts by 140 to 39.

The Democrats can't have it both ways. You can fool some of the people some of the time, and so forth. But they can't count on confusing the public indefinitely.

If the Democrats were right a year ago in forcing the President to increase defense spending and are right in contending that the world situation is worse than ever, then their action in voting last week to cut the defense budget below the administration's request is illogical, inconsistent, reckless, and partisan politics of the most irresponsible kind.

On the other hand, if the Democrats are wise and right in thinking it is not dangerous to cut the defense budget right now, then by all reason and honor they ought to admit that they erred grievously in pushing it up $900 million a year ago and ought to retract their assertions that the free world is worse off and admit that prospects for a better peace are improving.

Giving the Democrats their own premises and only one conclusion is possible: either their words are unsupportable or their actions are unsupportable because they are inconsistent with each other.

It is not necessary to accept as rational the Democratic premise that the free world is losing the cold war or as wise the Democratic action that now is the time to cut back our defenses.

It seems to me that the developments of the last 6 months indicate that the West is improving its position vis-a-vis Russia and that the initiative in the cold war is either within our hands or within our reach. I refer to these developments:

Khrushchev has been unable to woo Tito back into the Soviet fold.

As illustrated by what has happened in Poland, the Soviets have lost much of their control of the Eastern Europe satellite world.

Eastern Europe's 1 million satellite troops are today a source of weakness, not a source of strength, to Moscow.

The position in the Middle East is more stable.

The reorganization of Soviet industry was necessary not because things were going as planned but because they were not going as planned.

For the first time since the end of World War II the Kremlin is making signs of being seriously interested in a disarmament agreement.

To cut the President's defense recommendations on the Democratic theory that the Eisenhower foreign policy is weakening the West just doesn't make sense.

To cut the President's defense budget and the means of waging the peace at the very time when the initiative in the cold war is moving our way doesn't even make good nonsense.

Minnesota Republicans Support Budget Proposed by President Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution:

Whereas President Eisenhower's proposed 1958 Federal budget "guided by national objectives" including:

"1. Peace, justice, and freedom for our own and other peoples;

"2. Powerful Armed Forces to deter and, if need be, to defeat aggression;

"3. A healthy and growing economy with prosperity widely shared"; the following resolution is submitted.

Whereas the $71.8 billion estimated Federal budget is 19 percent of the gross national income, which represents a smaller percent of expenditure than any Federal budget in the preceding three decades; and

Whereas this will be the third consecutive balanced budget under the Eisenhower administration; and

Whereas, the President's budget proposes that the Federal Government spend $1.8 billion less than its estimated revenue; and

Whereas, President Eisenhower will continue to bring economies into the Federal Government as recommended by the Hoover Commission report: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Ramsey County Republican Committee go on record supporting President Eisenhower's proposed 1958 Federal budget; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to President Eisenhower, Republican members of Minnesota's congressional delegation and the Republican State Central Committee.

(NOTE.—The above resolution was passed unanimously by the Ramsey County Republican Committee at their regular monthly meeting Wednesday, May 22, 1957, St. Paul, Minn.)

All Funds Disclosed by ILGWU

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, in these days when so much is being heard of dishonesty and corruption in labor unions and on the past of labor's leaders, it is refreshing and enheartening to learn that at least one international union continues to make public to its members and to the world at large a report on its finances. The International Ladies' Garment Workers, under the guidance of its president, David Dubinsky, has for many years published annual financial reports to its members through the medium of its own publication Justice. Now the ILGWU has released a unique financial report presenting in detail the receipts and disbursements of the health, welfare, and retirement funds of its local unions. President Dubinsky is to be commended upon his actions.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an article which appeared in Labor's Daily which summarizes the contents of this financial statement:

ALL FUNDS DISCLOSED BY ILGWU

NEW YORK.—David Dubinsky, president of of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, has released a unique financial report, which presents in detail the receipts and disbursements of 134 funds of affiliates of the union. Of these, 87 are health and welfare funds, and 47 are retirement funds.

The report, covering 1956, and making comparison with 1955, is the only report by

an international union which covers comprehensively the health and welfare and retirement funds of all its affiliates. Prepared by the union's welfare and health benefits department of which Adolph Held is director, the report shows that receipts by the funds of employer contributions plus interest totaled more than $64,844,000 in 1956, while disbursements for the year totaled $44,732,638. The membership of ILGWU totals 450,000.

ILGWU funds are employer contributed, and contributions are calculated as percentages of payroll. The women's garment industry lacks national labor agreements, and the funds have been established through collective bargaining in individual markets and trades.

ILGWU is the only union in the Nation in the position to make such a report. Each of the separate funds audits employers' records to insure full contributions as provided by the collective agreements. In return, a staff of 40 accountants of the international union's general office audits the books and records of these funds of the affiliates.

EIGHTY PERCENT DISBURSED

Among other things, the report indicates that in 1956 80 percent of fund income was disbursed. A table of receipts and disbursements of health and welfare funds lists for each of the 87 health and welfare funds the rate of employer contribution and its amount, how much is collected per member, total disbursements in dollars and as a percent of receipts, then the amount and percent of receipts distributed in benefits. A final figure shows actual administration costs of each fund and the percentage of receipts this constitutes.

The administrative cost of all health and welfare funds is 5.61 percent of receipts. Approximately half of this is the cost of periodic audits of firms' books to prevent any losses in funds.

The President's Case Against Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, in the Wall Street Journal of Thursday, May 23, 1957, there appeared the following article by Mr. Loren M. Berry, of Dayton, Ohio, under Review and Outlook.

In view of the discussions presently being carried on concerning the highly important subject of foreign aid, I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues. The text follows:

Let us assume for a moment that President Eisenhower is correct when he says that to cut even a dollar out of the foreign aid program would be reckless, would weaken the Nation, and could lose both peace and freedom. What does that actually mean?

Mr. Eisenhower contends that without our military help overseas, we would have to spend "many billions of dollars more" on our own defense, put more men in uniform, and keep them there longer. If that is so, it plainly means that but for our aid the 42 nations with which we are associated in defense treaties would do little or nothing in their own defense.

And if that is true, it means in turn that these 42 nations have no real determination to oppose communism; they are building up their own defenses mainly because the United States helps them. If that is the case, they are highly unreliable allies.

If all this, moreover, is the real significance of foreign and, it clearly indicates we can never stop. To do so, ever, would be to bring the whole anti-Communist defense structure toppling down, since it presumably rests on nothing more substantial than handouts from Washington.

The President, in fact, offers no hope that foreign aid will ever end. On the contrary, he seeks to establish the principle of permanance, first by proposing to make military aid a direct charge against the Defense Department budget, and second by recommending to Congress a long-range revolving loan fund for some types of economic aid. The program that was originally to last 4 short years is now to be a program in perpetuity.

It is thus the bleakest kind of picture the President paints. For ourselves, we do not believe the outlook is all that bad.

We doubt very much that the alternative to military aid is going it alone. We think a good many of our allies would make considerable defense efforts in their own self-interest and would remain allies, without any dollars from us. A nation like Britain has never been unaware of the need for military preparedness, or allergic to its national interest. Even now the British Government is glad to show, by developing its own hydrogen bomb, how much it can defend itself.

Many other allies have powerful defense capabilities with which to deter the Communists. What's more, they would still come under the protective shield of the United States even without American military aid. The greatest deterrent to Communist aggression is not the number of jets in Europe or Formosa but the United States treaty obligations to assist its allies should they be attacked.

But if that is somehow not the case—if the allies are so crass and so blind that they will do little or nothing without our help and the assurance of our help forever—then God help us. Such allies would not be worth having in a showdown.

In making this kind of argument, the administration is not making an argument for foreign aid. It is unwittingly making the strongest possible case against foreign aid.

I appeal to you and your colleagues to concentrate on putting an end to our excessive spending and the outright waste of the American taxpayer's money.

LOREN M. BERRY.

Atomic Energy Commission Press Release Tends To Give False Sense of Security From Civil Defense Standpoint

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith a statement made by the Honorable CHET HOLIFIELD, chairman of a special subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy to study radiation problems:

MR. HOLIFIELD'S STATEMENT

"I have just read the press release issued by the Atomic Energy Commission for before noon release Wednesday, May 29, 1957, announcing progress in their so-called clean weapon program," it was stated today by Representative CHET HOLIFIELD, Democrat, of California, chairman of the Subcommittee on Radiation of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Mr. HOLIFIELD says:

"In view of the fact that this press release has been made in the midst of our hearings which have been trying in an objective way to find something out about the nature of radioactive fallout from nuclear explosions, I have the following comments to make:

"1. The AEC's issuance of this release violated their own rules of informing the joint committee at least 24 hours in advance of a press release. It was received at the joint committee's office at 5:59 p. m. last evening, May 28, under circumstances which would make it difficult for the committee members to be informed or to prepare comment. The release bears a curious parallel to the original 'clean bomb' press release last July 19 (1956), in which the committee was given even less notice of the AEC statement.

"2. Testimony before the joint committee during the current fallout hearings and in prior executive sessions has indicated that the AEC statement that 'the success thus far achieved (in developing cleaner weapons) has convinced us that widespread hazard from fallout is not a necessary complement to the employment of large nuclear weapons' is misleading for the following reasons:

"(a) It tends to give a false sense of security from a civil-defense standpoint. We can be certain that the Soviet Communists will use the dirtiest bombs which they can devise when and if they make the mistake of attacking this country or any other country.

"(b) It may give the wrong impression to our friends and allies that the use of large-scale megaton bombs under the cleanliness program will not entail widespread radioactive fallout. It is true that fallout is being reduced. But there is and at present cannot be such a thing as an absolutely clean bomb, i. e., no fallout. Moreover, in any large-scale war, it would seem inevitable that weapons of varying degrees of cleanliness will be used, and the inevitable result will be large-scale fallout.

"(c) It tends to give the impression that weapons tests from so-called clean bombs have little fallout. This is a subject which these hearings will explore further. So far we have been provided with no evidence to prove the Commission's assertion. We have no assurance that Russian or British tests are or will be free of substantial radioactive fallout.

"3. This statement ignores the alternative suggestion of Commissioner Thomes E. Murray that rather than rely solely on large-scale thermonuclear bombs we develop and produce numbers of small-yield nuclear weapons which can be widely dispersed and used on a selective and limited basis in brush fire wars.

"Senator ANDERSON has asked me to add that he fully endorses this statement."

Policy With a Broken Back

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, last week in a syndicated column entitled "Policy With a Broken Back," Walter Lippmann made a major contribution to the cur-

rent reappraisal of our China policy. This column follows:

POLICY WITH A BROKEN BACK

(By Walter Lippmann)

There can be few left among us who do not have serious doubts about our China policy. For it is not possible to shrug off the anti-American riots in Formosa as if they were an unfortunate accident which has nothing to do with anything significant. Whether or not there was official complicity, the indubitable fact is that whoever incited, organized, equipped, and directed the rioters knew he could count upon a deep and widespread popular resentment against Americans. This resentment shows that our China policy is not working well even among the Chinese whom we are protecting and subsidizing.

It is often supposed that the President is by no means an unqualified believer in our China policy but that for the sake of peace with Congress and inside the administration he has put the issues on ice. Thus in public at least, he has avoided a reappraisal which might be very agonizing to many of his friends.

There is, however, no way of postponing the reappraisal much longer. For it is becoming very evident indeed that our China policy has no future, that time is running out, and that the real question is whether there is still time and opportunity to save the things that matter the most.

What is our China policy? A good way to get at the inner principle of it is to ask and to answer the question, why are we uncompromising in our boycott of Red China and so much less uncompromising in our relations with Red Russia? The key to our policy is the fact that besides the Chinese in Formosa, there are some 10 million Chinese in southeast Asia. In Singapore, they are three-quarters of the population. In Malaya, they are two-fifths of the population.

In those countries which have diplomatic relations with Red China (Burma, Indonesia, and Cambodia), the Chinese tend to look to Red China for guidance. In the countries recognizing the Nationalists, such as South Vietnam, Thailand, and the Philippines, the Chinese tend to look for guidance to Formosa.

The object of our China policy is to keep the overseas Chinese separated from the Red Chinese government, and thus to prevent it from ruling and from representing all the Chinese.

Some years back, when the Nationalist Chinese had been driven off the mainland and were first installed in Formosa, the overseas Chinese were entitled to believe that eventually, with American help, the Chinese Government in Formosa would fight its way back to the mainland and become again the Government of all China. Thus there was hope for the anti-Communists that they would go home triumphantly. For the neutrals there was some good reason to remain sitting on the fence. As long as the Red Chinese were weak and distracted by the problems of the revolution, while the United States, which then had a monopoly of nuclear weapons, was so strong, the China policy had a credible foundation.

It no longer has a credible foundation. When in 1955, President Eisenhower asked Congress for a guaranty of Formosa and the nearby islands, he also took the necessary measures to prevent Chiang from making warlike moves against the mainland. Indeed, the President put an end to the idea that the United States would back an invasion of the mainland. He went even further and made it clear that the United States would not permit Chiang to attempt an invasion. All this was, no doubt, a sound and prudent diplomatic action to prevent dangerous and foolish adventures.

But it broke the back of our China policy. It deprived the Chinese in Formosa of any hope that they could return to the mainland except by coming to terms with Red China. Ever since then, our China policy has had no future, and has been no more than a holding operation, designed to put off as long as possible a deal among the Chinese themselves.

Our attitude toward trade with China and our attitude toward letting American newspapermen go to China are part of this holding operation. They are a rather desperate and forlorn attempt to keep the Chinese in Formosa from coming to terms with the Chinese on the mainland. Thus we are trying to induce Britain, Germany, and Japan, as well as Western Europe, to restrict trade with Red China more severely than they restrict trade with Red Russia. As this means merely that Russia becomes the broker through which China trades with the rest of the world, the restrictions are not substantial. They are psychological. The purpose of the restriction is to make the overseas Chinese feel that all the world, outside of Russia, is the enemy of Red China. For the same kind of psychological reason, Mr. Dulles and Mr. Robertson do not want to let American newspapermen go to Red China. They are afraid it would discourage the overseas Chinese and reduce their determination to oppose Red China.

The rational solution would have been what is called the two-China policy—to establish Formosa as an independent and neutralized state under the protection of the United Nations as part of the bargain which admitted Red China to the United Nations. Both Chinese governments are on record against such a solution. But it is still the best and indeed the only solution which corresponds to the whole reality of the Chinese situation—to the fact that there is a Chinese community which is opposed to placing itself under Communist rule, and that there is on the mainland of China a powerful government which cannot be ignored.

The question is whether it is too late to deal with the situation by a negotiated compromise, like the two-China policy. If it is too late, then, unless the improbable happens and there is a counterrevolution on the Chinese mainland, we must look forward—with the Formosa riots as a warning sign—to the disintegration of our China policy.

Another Crisis Ahead for Lead-Zinc Mines?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, on May 29 I introduced a bill to maintain the price of domestically produced lead at 18 cents a pound and that of zinc at 15 cents.

I did so after the administration had brought in its so-called long-range minerals program, which was 2 years in the making. A complicated combination of higher tariffs and excise taxes on imports, it would put a floor of 17 cents a pound under lead and one of 14½ cents under zinc.

That program is slow death for our lead and zinc miners and the business communities which serve them. The average production cost in this country is close to 17 cents for lead and just under 15 cents for zinc.

Under my bill, whenever the domestic price, averaged over 1 calendar month, fell below 18 cents for lead and 15 cents for zinc, an import tax of 6 cents a pound would automatically replace the existing tariff upon imported lead and zinc. The President would suspend the special tax after the domestic market price averaged at least the minimum price for 2 consecutive months.

The need for prompt action in this crisis is emphasized in the following editorial from the Spokesman-Review, of Spokane, Wash.:

ANOTHER CRISIS AHEAD FOR LEAD-ZINC MINES?

The people in Washington, D. C., who seem to think that if you close your eyes long enough the lead-zinc problem will go away are about to get another rude shock.

Congressmen from the mining States are worked up again. They have been aware that foreign metal, generally produced cheaper than at domestic plants, is taking over an increasing share of the United States market. In 1950, zinc imports were equal to 70 percent of United States output; in 1956 imports were estimated at 137 percent of domestic production. Lead imports were 179,000 tons in 1951, 262,000 tons in 1956.

Latest development was the announcement by the big Eagle-Picher Lead & Zinc Mining Co. that it was closing mines, mills, and smelters in Oklahoma, Kansas, and Missouri indefinitely because of flooded market conditions.

All this has come about because in this day many diplomats regard "tariff" as a nasty word. And it is true that tariffs can cause resentment overseas at a time when the United States is strengthening alliances. But what is the alternative? Stockpiling of metals for an indefinite period is simply too costly. And besides, our stockpiles are getting huge, augmented recently with foreign lead and zinc bartered for foodstuffs by the Agriculture Department.

The mining industry at one time pushed a solution with considerable appeal—a tariff which would operate only when domestic metals prices fell below a level necessary to keep the industry going. But United States companies were not unanimous in their support of this proposal, since some have big plants overseas.

Meanwhile, the administration has been considering a long-term minerals policy, though progress has been exasperatingly slow.

It's the old story—everybody in Government is the friend of the miners in times of emergency, when metals are vital and overseas supplies uncertain. But where can the miners, whose congressional sympathizers are in the minority, turn during peace? The industry obviously, has not yet found that answer.

Invasion From Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, there is published at Winchester, Va., one of the outstanding evening daily papers in Virginia, the Winchester Evening Star.

Hon. Harry Flood Byrd, Jr., a member of the State Senate of Virginia, is the editor of this paper.

Senator Byrd is one of the outstanding young statesmen of Virginia. He understands the problems confronting our people. He has the ability to recognize the needs and desires of the people of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

On Friday, May 31, 1957, there appeared in the Winchester Evening Star an editorial entitled "Invasion From Washington." The editorial points out very clearly the attitude of the people of the Commonwealth of Virginia and their resentment to certain outside newspapers attempting to unduly influence the course of action in Virginia and particularly the Washington Post, which has been so outspoken in its efforts to hoodwink the American people into believing that integration has worked in the public schools of Washington. The situation in the Washington schools is deplorable, but the people of the country have been deprived of the facts surrounding the school problem due to the suppression of the news by the Post.

The editorial is as follows:

INVASION FROM WASHINGTON

The Washington Post is upset about school segregation in Virginia. The Post was an early advocate of integrated schools for the District of Columbia and is worried because the Virginia people feel that integration should be resisted instead of embraced. One of its columnists writes about the subject each week and says very harsh things about Virginia's leaders. Indeed, he gets so worked up that we fear he may suffer apoplexy.

But not content with turning its columnists loose on the Old Dominion, the Washington newspaper uses its editorial columns as well. The Post feels the problems of desegregation have been magnified and it has mean words for the congressional committee which pointed out that the Washington school system has sharply deteriorated since integration came to that community. The Washington school population is now 65 percent Negro, many white parents having moved across the river.

The Virginia people are not attempting to tell Washington how to run its schools. The Washington Post favors desegregation and if it wishes to use its newspaper columns to expand the integration process in the District of Columbia then, of course, it has a perfect right to do so. But the Washington newspaper is not content with integrating Washington. Whether on the theory that misery loves company, or on some other theory, it has turned its guns on Virginia in an effort to bring about desegregation here. Here again we do not protest the Post's right to explode over the issue if it wishes. But we are inclined to the view that the Virginia people and their leaders have a little better knowledge of conditions in Virginia, and the desire of the Virginia people, than does the Washington newspaper.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect about the Post's explosive attitude toward Virginia and Virginia's No. 1 problem is this comment from a recent Post editorial: "For 3 years this faction (Virginia leaders) has been screaming about the Supreme Court decision without accomplishing a solitary thing about the problem it raises."

What has Virginia accomplished? Virginia has accomplished precisely what it seeks to accomplish—it has maintained segregated schools. The Virginia people feel that there is no advantage to either the Negro race or the white race in mixing the two in the classrooms. Under the leadership of "this faction," as the Post calls the State's political leadership, segregation has remained intact throughout the State. Not one Virginia school has been integrated and not one Virginia school has been closed. That is what the people of Virginia have sought to accomplish during the past 3 years and this is exactly what the people of Virginia have accomplished.

A Federal court of nine men rendered what the Virginia Legislature, by an almost unanimous vote, declared to be an "illegal" decision. The Federal court decision, if complied with, would destroy Virginia's public school system. Virginia's Legislature and her Governor have been attempting to prevent the destruction of the public schools. The mission to date has been accomplished and as a result Virginia's public schools have been spared the deterioration that has been forced, with the help of the Washington Post, on the public schools of the District of Columbia.

Dean Pike's Realism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, an article which appeared in the May 31, 1957, issue of the Detroit Jewish News authored by my close personal friend, Mr. Philip Slomovitz, is worthy of reading and insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

In spite of what appears to be a temporary cessation of the fighting in the troublesome Middle East, we must recognize that no true peace has been achieved and that the real causes of unrest remain to plague the people of the Middle East and of the world. Mr. Slomovitz quotes from the remarks of the Very Reverend James A. Pike, dean of New York's Cathedral of St. John the Divine, a prominent Protestant churchman who has come up with some ideas which we hope may become a guide in the difficult problem of securing peace to this troubled area of the world:

DEAN PIKE'S REALISM

There is far greater realism in the program proposed by the Very Reverend James A. Pike, dean of New York's Cathedral of St. John the Divine and adjunct professor of religion and law at Columbia University, in a special article in the New York Times Sunday magazine. We were saddened to read the reiteration of his view that, as a non-Zionist, he was unconvinced by the arguments for the establishment of Israel in the first place. He is a remarkable person, he has inspired us with his fiery speeches in which he has defended Israel, and we would have assumed that he would be among leaders in an effort to assure justice for Jewry through an Israeli state. But he is fair in recognizing Israel's existence and in the need to protect the state, and we are not unappreciative.

In his tackling of the refugee problem, he is realistic in recognizing the existence of tragic factors. For instance, he makes use of a statement, already quoted on an earlier occasion by your commentator, made by Ralph Galloway, until recently head of United Nations relief in Jordan, who said: "The Arab States do not want to solve the refugee problem. They want to keep it an open sore, as an affront to the United Nations and as a weapon against Israel. Arab leaders don't give a damn whether the refugees live or die."

Dr. Pike points to the Arab aim to foster in the refugees the notion that return to their former homes is the only desideratum, and he hastens to discredit such an idea. He thus describes the danger and the real possibility:

"Assume that there is a minimum of 800,000 refugees (it is hard to get a firm figure; there were probably 500,000 to 600,000 to start with). The population of Israel today is 1,900,000. No nation, regardless of past rights and wrongs, could contemplate taking in a fifth column of such size. And fifth column it would be—people nurtured for 10 years in hatred of Israel and totally dedicated to its destruction * * *. For an analogy we must think of this: the scrupulosity with which the United States examines the views of each potential immigrant does not encourage us to imagine that we would be willing to take in nearly 71 million sworn enemies of the Nation, which is what the proportionate figure would be."

Dr. Pike anxiously searches for a solution. He recognizes that the clock of history can't be turned back; that the Israel territory, literally, is not the same that was abandoned by the refugees; that there are barriers in the path of the refugee problem. But he believes there is a solution, involving these elements:

"A permanent peace treaty," he declares, would acknowledge Israel's existence and would remove trigger-happy anxieties.

"Mutual development, with outside aid, of water projects," he believes, would contribute toward an increase of the arable land of both Jordan and Israel.

"Economic union and mutual planning," he asserts, would increase employment opportunities.

Then he tackles the question of the refugees' resettlement, suggests that Israel, "her borders secure, her existence recognized by her neighbors," should admit a proportionate number of refugees—he mentions the number of perhaps 100,000, "which back in 1949 Israel offered to take, though the offer was declined."

Dr. Pike recognizes that not too many of the refugees may be willing to go back to Israel, a land that is now strange to them. "This quota filled," he suggests, "let the rest be settled in Arab nations on new arable lands made available by new water and in the new industry and service trades that will follow."

There is realism in the eminent clergyman's plan when he points out:

"The pattern for this has already been set by Israel in its resettlement of some 400,000 Jews from Arab lands in western Asia and north Africa who abandoned their property and whatever wealth they had and arrived penniless in Israel. There have been refugee camps in Israel all along—but with this difference: they have been temporary reception centers, because Israel really wanted to settle the newcomers."

To finance the plan, Dr. Pike suggests the use of large sums available from the refugee relief fund and by Israel's adding to it "the value of the Arab property which it now utilizes for others. Then let the Arab countries add to the account the value of the property of the 40,000 Jews who fled Arab lands into Israel." He also suggests help from the United States.

At last, we have an equitable proposal that takes into consideration not only the lands evacuated by Arabs but also those confiscated from Jews by Arab countries where they had lived, in many instances, for thou-

sands of years before they were compelled to flee for their lives.

Can Arabs and Jews live together? Dr. Pike doesn't believe the enmity is undying. He relates:

"Maybe it was just a straw in the wind, but when I visited with a class at the new University of Tel Aviv, I observed that an Arab student seemed to be well received and he was friendly enough to the others. And at the Mandelbaum gate, at the Jordan-Israel border in Jerusalem, we observed something that is a foretaste of what could be.

"On the Israeli side I saw a pile of new Arab picture magazines. 'Where did you get them?' I asked the guard. 'From the guards on the Jordan side,' he answered. 'We trade them.' I pressed further. 'When you do that, do you smile at each other?' 'Of course,' he retorted. 'We're friends; we have coffee together.' Individuals can always get along with each other—or at least can judge each other for what each one is—once the official tensions are relaxed.

"Among the narrow, winding streets of old Jerusalem [in Jordan], shared as they are by native Arabs, tourists, and donkeys, is a tiny side street surmounted by a large sign which reads, 'For People Only.' This provides a good slogan for any plan for the resettlement of the Arab refugees and the consequent chance of peace for all in the Middle East—not pro-Israel, not pro-Arab, but for the sake of people."

These are heartening statements, and it is high time they were uttered.

Ike's House Finances

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Drew Pearson, which appeared in the New York Mirror of May 31, 1957, makes most interesting reading:

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

(By Drew Pearson)

IKE'S HOUSE FINANCES

WASHINGTON, May 30.—There's been a lot in the papers about different departmental budgets, not much about the President's own White House.

During the 1952 campaign, Ike used to stand on the rear platform of his special train and tell how, when he was a boy in Kansas, he and his brothers dropped a nickel. It slipped through the cracks of the porch, and they got down on hands and knees to fish it out.

General Eisenhower told the story over and over again—until newsmen knew it by heart—as an illustration of how he would save every nickel if elected.

The year that Ike was elected—1952, the last year under Truman—the cost of running the White House was $1,883,000. This year Ike is asking $2,051,000 for servants, gardeners, food, and other housekeeping expenses.

The cost of his office has increased even more.

The last year of Truman, the executive office cost $8,166,000. Eisenhower's first year it was $8,725,000. This year, 1957, it is $10,715,000, and for next year the President is asking $12,047,000.

This does not include his two helicopters which are charged to the Defense Department, his private plane which is charged to the Air Force, his military aides and staffs which are charged to the Pentagon, nor his chauffeurs which are charged to the Army. The telegraphers and code room cryptographers were civilians under FDR and Truman but were put under the Army, by Ike. It now takes double the number of Army personnel to do what civilians once did.

Figures on the total White House staff are not available. But it's estimated that the overall figure has about doubled, though this does not show in the budget, because so much personnel is borrowed from other departments.

The White House has grown under each succeeding President to that it now occupies the building which once housed the entire State, War, and Navy Departments, adjacent to the White House. Plans are even under discussion to tear this building down and replace it with a modern office building in order to house the evergrowing White House offices.

Farm Program in the Spotlight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a radio talk given by R. K. Bliss, of Iowa State College, on May 24, 1957:

FARM PROGRAM IN THE SPOTLIGHT

(Radio talk by R. K. Bliss, May 24, 1957, extension service, Iowa State College)

A suitable farm program is still the unsolved legislative enigma confronting Congress. After a quarter of a century of debate Congress appears to be no closer to an agreement than at the beginning. We have recently had a remarkable illustration of congressional uncertainty as to what to do and how to do it in regard to the farm program. For example, a year ago Congress passed the soil-bank plan too late in the crop year to be given a fair trial. A few days ago the House of Representatives voted to junk the acreage reserve of the soil-bank plan even before giving it a real trial.

Let us take a look at the legislative record.

President Eisenhower sent a detailed message to Congress on January 9, 1956, recommending the soil-bank plan and urging prompt action on the part of Congress so that the plan could go into effect in 1956. The soil-bank phase of the President's recommendation had almost universal support. The Farm Bureau was strongly for it, other farm organizations were friendly, the Izaac Walton League and other conservation groups approved. It appeared that at last a plan had been developed that could be generally supported.

Prior to receiving the President's recommendations, congressional committees had been working for months in developing a program. It was however, in April about 3 months after receiving the President's proposal before a farm bill was passed. The bill endorsed the soil-bank plan but it included a multiple price plan for wheat which would have subsidized feed-grain competition for Corn Belt livestock farmers. It also provided mandatory rigid support prices for feed grains in addition to corn, thus further encouraging the production of more feed grains at a time when there was already a big surplus of such feeds on hand. An increase in feed grains would encourage more livestock production. President Eisenhower's veto of the bill was a good thing for Iowa and Corn Belt livestock farmers.

Then Congress passed another bill which the President signed but which came into law after the corn had been planted and too late to be effective in 1956. This law was a step forward in farm legislation although it had a gimmick in it that later permitted a minority of the corn farmers to determine how an important part of the corn program would be conducted.

SOIL BANK USED IN DROUGHT RELIEF

In view of the lateness of the passage of the act, the Department of Agriculture expressed doubts as to whether the soil bank could be put into operation in time to be of any real value in 1956. However, because of a widespread drought and the urging of Congress the attempt was made. In Iowa the program was in fact converted into a drought-relief program.

Everyone apparently approved this action at the time. Iowa's State ASC committee and county committees deserve credit for the quick and efficient way in which the program was put into effect. Iowa received the most money in soil-bank payments of any State. I believe Iowans generally were very glad to see farmers in the drought areas get some return out of the year's work through soil-bank payments.

Now, however, there is grumbling in Congress and elsewhere about the money paid out on the program. It was paid, however, with congressional urging and approval. In Iowa it was paid in a good cause and carried through efficiently by farm committees.

It is hoped that the Senate will not concur in the action of the House in nullifying the soil-bank plan before it has had a fair trial. The soil bank had great support on the part of farmers and conservation agencies generally at the time of passage. It still has large support. It should be given a trial.

SOIL BANK: REALISTIC PLAN TO ADJUST PRODUCTION TO DEMAND

The soil bank is the first realistic plan to actually decrease production in an effort to adjust production to demand. The soil bank takes land out of production completely for the time of the contract. Heretofore, we have had diversion of production, not necessarily reduced production. In Iowa farmers largely switched from corn to beans and some more recently to milo maize. In regions growing one crop such as cotton or wheat, the switch was generally to corn, milo maize, forage, and grass crops. This diversion in production in all probability increased the total production of farm products particularly in the cotton area. The extra production of feed grains and forages had to be fed to livestock in order to be profitable and thus brought the cotton farmer into direct competition with Iowa and other Corn Belt livestock producers.

One thing seems sure, the only practicable way to reduce production is to take land out of production. Land is the basis of production. I have heard the argument advanced that the soil bank, that is taking land out of production, will not reduce production. One might as well argue that cutting down a quarter or half of the Ford automobile plant would not reduce the number of cars manufactured. If reduced production is what is wanted, land must be taken out of production for land is the factory on which and in which farm products are produced.

Why do we have so much difficulty relative to specific farm programs. One reason is that farmers constantly cope with uncontrollable conditions such as drought, floods, hails, blizzards, insect pests, etc. When an Iowa farmer lays his corn by in June he doesn't know whether it will yield 30 or 40 or 80 or even 100 bushels to the acre more or less. The crop is temporarily out of his hands. Farmers cannot control production in the way manufacturers control it.

CENSUS LISTING OF FARMS MISLEADING

However, it seems to me that we have also added man-made difficulties to the farm situation. For example: The 1950 census lists as farmers all those who have 3 or more acres of ground and the value of whose products exclusive of the home garden have amounted to $150. The $150 worth of products produced could either be sold or consumed by the farm family. Places of less than 3 acres were counted as farms if the value of the farm products in 1949 amounted to $150 or more. Think of it, the absurdity of counting anyone a farmer who produces only $150 worth of products and which includes what the family may have consumed in the home.

Let us make a few comparisons on the basis of this classification.

Gross farm income in Iowa for 1956 and which includes all farms of all sizes, little and big, is estimated by the United States Department of Agriculture at $11,685 per farm. It would take approximately 78 of these $150 farms to equal the gross income of one average Iowa farm.

Let us take another comparison. Reports are now being summarized from 955 farms which in 1956 cooperated with the college in keeping farm records. These farms are mostly family sized farms but are above average in management. The average gross returns from these farms less purchase of feed and livestock was $15,789 per farm which is more than 100 times as much as the lowest census classification of farms.

The trouble with the census classification is that a small farm figures in the statistics as the equal of a large farm. Thus, statistically the per capita income of farmers appears much lower than would be the case if none but real farmers were included in the computation. These so-called very low-income farmers, who are really not farmers, figured in general averages and make good statistical fodder for people who do not understand or who want to keep the agricultural political pot boiling.

LOW-INCOME FAMILIES IN IOWA GROUPED AROUND TOWNS AND CITIES

Low-income families classed as farmers are quite generally grouped around our cities and towns. They may not have gotten along too well financially in town or city and have moved to the suburbs or on land near the town to raise a garden and farm a few acres while earning extra money on town and city jobs. City people generally are glad to have them go out on these little holdings. Many of these families appear to like this kind of life. If they are a problem, they are a community and social problem and not a farm problem. They are, in fact, mostly a city or town problem. Agriculture has enough worries with drought, floods, etc., without taking on these low-income families living mostly around cities and towns.

Agriculture is going through a great technological change, almost a revolution. A farm family today, with modern machinery, gas, and electrical power can operate twice as much land and do it easier than the same family could have done it in the horse-and-buggy days, when farm power was furnished by horses working on small implements and machines. We have to adjust our farm programs to this new situation. The family farm that is a farm that occupies the time of the family is much larger than it was 40 years ago.

Why does land keep going up in price? Why is most of it being bought by family farmers? The answer is because the farmer considers it a good investment. He knows that with modern machinery he can farm more land with his present help and thus add to his income. The urge of the family farmer for more land is an economic one.

In the meantime, the sensible way to reduce production is to reduce the size of the plant, that is the land under cultivation, and that is what the soil bank is designed to do. Let's give it a fair trial.

American Policy in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, at his own expense Mr. Garland Evans Hopkins, a resident of Virginia and a student of early colonial history, has had excerpts printed from the farewell address of George Washington. His statements at that time seem especially applicable to American-Middle Eastern policy in this day and age.

Mr. Speaker, I am including as part of my remarks a brief foreword by Mr. Hopkins and the excerpts referred to:

[George] Washington is a well-known authority on American foreign policy. Some years ago, on the occasion of his retirement from Government service, he addressed a farewell message to his fellow citizens. The address, highly regarded at the time, seems more recently to have been lost sight of. Because of its pertinence as regards the developing American policy in the Middle East, certain excerpts seem worth of reprinting in this connection.

Some older readers will remember that Mr. Washington, now deceased, served for several years in the American Army, after which he was selected for important civil responsibilities in the American Government. Younger readers in areas where certain special interest propaganda has not penetrated too deeply may well remember hearing their parents refer to the wisdom of his farewell message and be glad of an opportunity to read for themselves some of the things he said. Indeed, even in New York City and along the eastern seaboard, the present generation may, if only to compare how far advanced its own ideas are, find the excerpts interesting. Some may possibly desire to call this reprint to the attention of Mr. Washington's successors in the city that bears his name.

WORDS OF ADVICE,[1] ESPECIALLY APPLICABLE TO AMERICAN-MIDDLE EASTERN POLICY

Friends and fellow citizens, * * * a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present to offer to your solemn contemplation and to recommend to your frequent review some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel.

* * * Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas, is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation, which indulges toward another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate envenomed and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation to commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils * * *.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial: else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

* * * Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our com-

[1] Excerpts from the Farewell Address of G. Washington.

mercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed; in order to give to trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels, of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our Nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

G. WASHINGTON.

Philippine Memorial Hospital

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

(Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention to the very fine editorial which appeared in the New York Times today regarding the importance of expanding the Veterans' Memorial Hospital in the Philippines. It might become a great research center for the entire eastern part of the world. I visualize the importance and far reaching value of such a project in many ways.

The people of the Philippines have expressed deep gratitude for the hospital. I instantly think of their great contribution to us in loyalty and fighting men—we owe them much—they have been our best friends.

The editorial follows:

A PHILIPPINE MEMORIAL

There is now an opportunity greatly to expand the functions and scope of the Veterans' Memorial Hospital in Manila. Thus far, operating in a sense as an adjunct of the United States Veterans' Administration inasmuch as its costs have been reimbursed, the hospital has been obliged to work in a limited field. This can be modified as the Philippines take over complete responsibility for the service, which under present law will take place by 1960.

Meanwhile, modest amendments to existing legislation and perhaps some new authorization can make it possible to embark on a much more ambitious program. What has been suggested in the Philippines and what will probably be discussed at this session of Congress is the creation of a great Asian medical center with the Veterans' Memorial Hospital as its nucleus. Its primary service for veterans would not be changed, but it could be enlarged and thrown open to others.

Most important, it could be made an invaluable place for research and training in the field of tropical medicine. The possibilities presented are enormous and the hospital and medical center could become the greatest and most useful memorial to the fruitful Philippine-American association. The background for such a project is almost ideal. The Philippines have been a magnificent laboratory in the field of tropical medicine for almost three generations. In addition to this scientific background, however, is the geographical background. Manila could become a training point for young men from Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and even Indonesia and Malaya. It could become a truly "Asian" health center. This is not an idle dream. It is a practical possibility.

Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954

SPEECH
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will whoever is in charge of this bill on the Democratic side tell me, is this an Eisenhower program?

Mr. O'NEILL. I do not know; apparently it is an Eisenhower program.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Does the leadership on the Republican side agree that this is an Eisenhower measure?

Mr. MARTIN. It is a measure that has been submitted by the Department of Agriculture; yes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. That will be helpful. I hope the Congressional Quarterly will take notice, if someone is not here and does not vote; that it will not do as it has been doing in the past, charge it up against that Member as a vote against the administration. That has been a fraudulent practice on the part of the Congressional Quarterly.

It has not been my effort to have anything to do with what it publishes or does not publish. The point that I have been urging against that publication is that it is sailing under a false flag. It is just like a pirate ship; it does not tell the truth about how a man votes. That is all I want it to do.

Now back to this program. As I understand, this bill adds $1,200,000,000 of authorization; is that right? May I ask that question of some gentleman on the Democratic side?

Mr. COOLEY. One billion three hundred million dollars.

Mr. HOFFMAN. That goes, part of it, for the purchase of cotton, does it not, if I may ask the gentleman again?

Mr. COOLEY. Certainly not.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Is not cotton in surplus?

Mr. COOLEY. Yes; but it is not restricted to cotton.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I know, but cotton is in it, is it not?

Mr. COOLEY. Absolutely; yes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I notice that in 1955 and 1956 one former Member of Congress from the South, a Democratic Member, got $230,734.68 under that cotton program. That same provision is in the law today, for the cotton grower and the wheat grower, is it not?

Mr. COOLEY. The gentleman says that some Member of Congress got that much?

Mr. HOFFMAN. A former Member of Congress. But I say that that provision, enabling a cotton grower to get a subsidy of that amount in 1 year, is still in the law; all he has to do is to grow enough cotton.

Mr. COOLEY. Yes; but Mr. Benson has not advocated the repeal of the law to which the gentleman refers.

Mr. HOFFMAN. He has not?

Mr. COOLEY. No.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Would the gentleman support it if he did?

Mr. COOLEY. I am not sure that I would.

Mr. HOFFMAN. No; I guess not. Of course the gentleman would not.

Here is the thing that bothers me a little bit. The President said in his state of the Union message that if we did not watch our step we were going to ruin ourselves by spending too much money.

Then he said the other day, if I got it right, that if we did not go along with this defense appropriation, if we cut that any substantial amount, we were in danger of losing our freedom, that our national security was in danger.

Of course, we all know that somewhere there is a ceiling on the number of tax dollars we can collect. I want to go along with the President. I want to support the Eisenhower program if I can. But what puzzles me is, if there is a ceiling on the number of dollars and if we cannot take any away from defense, is it wise for the administration to come up here with another $1,300,000,000 to take care of the farmers' surplus? That is a question I have been thinking about. I do not know whether anyone else has or not.

Can I follow a President, keeping in mind his state of the Union message, who says we must watch our step about appropriations but that we cannot cut defense? Of course, I think we can. We can squeeze enough water out of, cut enough fat off, our defense appropriations.

About this bill, is someone else going to tell us where we are going to get that extra $1,300,000,000 and take in payment foreign currencies? I can understand how that is helpful to Congressmen who

go abroad and get these counterpart funds.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. JUDD. This bill does not authorize the appropriation of an additional $1,300,000,000, it authorizes the sale for foreign currencies of a billion dollars' worth of surplus commodities that have already been bought and paid for——

Mr. HOFFMAN. By us.

Mr. JUDD. And the grant for relief purposes of $300 million worth which has already been bought and paid for by the taxpayers. It does not authorize or appropriate additional money.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Of course, we could use that money to replace some of these other expenditures.

Mr. JUDD. Yes; if we abandon the program of agricultural price supports. But the money has already been appropriated and spent by the Commodity Credit Corporation when it bought the surplus commodities. When we can use these commodities in our foreign-aid program, the dollars appropriated for foreign aid are used to repay the Commodity Credit Corporation. It requires just that much less to restore the capital or purchasing capacity of the CCC.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Does the gentleman mean that we take the foreign currency, counterpart funds, instead of getting it in dollars?

Mr. JUDD. If the countries are unable to pay in dollars, yes, we get foreign currencies instead of dollars.

Mr. HOFFMAN. When the gentleman and I go across we get it.

Mr. JUDD. Otherwise we get nothing.

Possible Solution of Problems of Federal-State Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I wish to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following Senate Concurrent Resolution 116 and Senate Memorial 530, which have been passed by the Florida State Legislature during its 1957 session. These documents have been called to my attention by Hon. Richard W. Ervin, attorney general of the State of Florida, and I am glad to place in the RECORD his letter of May 30, 1957, transmitting the documents to me.

I feel that both the resolution and memorial from the Florida State Legislature deserve the fullest cooperation by the Congress:

STATE OF FLORIDA,
Tallahassee, May 30, 1957.

Hon. BOB SIKES,
Congressman, Washington, D. C.

DEAR BOB: I am enclosing herewith copy of Senate Concurrent Resolution 116 and Senate Memorial 530, which have been passed by the 1957 Florida Legislature.

You will note these two resolutions deal with the important subject of States rights, and I will appreciate you and the other members of our Florida delegation doing everything possible to bring about their serious consideration by the Congress as a possible solution to the ever-growing problem of Federal-State relations.

With kind personal regards, I am,

Sincerely,

RICHARD W. ERVIN,
Attorney General.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 116

Concurrent resolution memoralizing Congress to call a convention for the purpose of considering an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to appeals from decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States involving States rights to the Senate of the United States

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of Florida (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Florida State Legislature does hereby make application to the Congress of the United States to call a convention for the purpose of proposing the following article as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to wit:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. Jurisdiction of Senate as an appellate court: The Senate of the United States shall comprise a court with final appellate jurisdiction to review decisions and judgments of the Supreme Court of the United States, where questions of the powers reserved to the States, or the people, are either directly or indirectly involved and decided, and a State is a party or anywise interested in such question involved and decided. The Senate's exercise of such final appellate jurisdiction shall be under such rules and regulations as may be provided by the Senate, including the time within which appeals shall be taken. The decision of the Senate affirming, modifying or reversing the decision or judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States shall be final; be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States be, and it is hereby requested to provide as the mode of ratification that said amendment shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution of the United States, when ratified by the legislature of three-fourths of the several States; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a duly attested copy of this resolution be immediately transmitted to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States and to each Member of Congress from this State."

Senate Memorial 530

Memorial to the Congress of the United States of America proposing an amendment to the 10th amendment of the Constitution of the United States by enumerating certain of the reserve powers of the States in respect to the exercise of State police power and providing means to safeguard such powers from encroachment

Whereas it is imperative to maintain an equilibrium of power in a federated system of government that contemplates a division of responsibility between the National or Central Government and the respective sovereign States;

Whereas it appears that unless the States' residual power is at least broadly delineated and safeguarded to some appreciable degree the Central Government will continue by lack of definitive guidelines and checks to encroach upon the powers of the respective States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Florida, That the Congress of the United States is hereby memorialized and respectfully urged to propose such amendment to the 10th amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide that among the rights and powers reserved to each State are the police powers to enact regulations to promote the public peace, safety, and welfare of the State and to provide for good order, education, and harmonious race relations therein. In these enumerated fields except where the Congress of the United States by legislation provides expressly to the contrary the laws and regulations of the State shall govern.

Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. HILL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6974) to extend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, and for other purposes.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at this point?

Mr. HILL. I yield for a question.

Mr. WHITTEN. I would like to announce, with the gentleman's permission, that I have sent an amendment to the desk, because for 2 or 3 years we have sold under Public Law 280 and we have refused to sell for dollars. That has since been corrected, and we are selling those commodities for dollars now. For several years this bill was used in substitution for normal sales. I am simply calling attention to an amendment which I expect to offer at the bottom of page 1. Add the following proviso:

Provided, That no commodity of which the Commodity Credit Corporation has a supply, and which commodity is not being offered for sale in world trade through normal channels at competitive prices for dollars shall be eligible for sale to foreign countries under the provisions of this act.

That means you have to offer them for dollars first. History has proven that we should have that proviso here, because for several years that course was not required.

Mr. HILL. I thank the gentleman. In my remarks I shall attempt to cover that subject.

Mr. Chairman, 3 years ago the Congress enacted Public Law 480 as a temporary measure to "expand international trade among the United States and friendly nations, to facilitate the convertibility of currency, to promote the economic stability of American agriculture and the national welfare, to make maximum efficient use of surplus agricultural commodities in furtherance of the foreign policy of the United States, and to stimulate and facilitate the expansion of foreign trade in agricultural commodities produced in the United States by providing a means whereby surplus agricultural commodities in excess of the usual marketings of such

commodities may be sold through private trade channels and foreign currencies accepted in payment therefor."

To accomplish these objectives the legislation provided that surplus commodities could be sold at competitive prices in foreign markets for local currency, could be bartered for strategic materials needed by the United States, and could be given as outright grants for emergency assistance to friendly peoples of other nations to meet famine or other disasters. The legislation also expanded the availability of surplus food for needy persons in the United States and the school-lunch program.

Under our agricultural programs, we are producing vast quantities of food and fiber that is in excess of our domestic market needs. These surpluses are being stored and warehoused at tremendous expense to the taxpayer while we continue to increase the production of the same commodities.

Public Law 480 was designed to help eliminate these surpluses so as to restore to a more normal condition our domestic markets. With the surpluses hanging over the heads of the farmer, he is subject to a depressed market that has not kept pace with the general rise in other segments of our economy.

The program has been successful, as far as it has gone, and all this bill does is extend it for another year. Each year under its operation the disposal program has accelerated until in the last 12 months we have reduced the holdings of the Commodity Credit Corporation by approximately $1,300,000,000 from its peak $8,900,000,000 in February of 1956.

At the same time, our export trade in agricultural commodities is higher than it has been at any time except for the Korean war year of 1952–53.

Further reductions of Commodity Credit holdings are likely as a result of the combined effects of continued surplus disposals if this program is continued.

The bulk of our disposal has been under title I, and the foreign currency accumulated therefrom may be used for our Government expenses abroad. Part of the money is being spent to develop new markets for our surplus products throughout the world. Continued success of the program will assist in eliminating surplus Government stocks and, at the same time, increase the demand for commodities in foreign markets. Properly controlled and directed, much of this foreign market will be directed into actual dollar sales.

Although we all are gratified with the quantity of surplus farm products which has been sold for foreign currency under title I of Public Law 480, we must never lose sight of the fact that our primary goal is developing foreign markets is to develop dollar markets for our products which will be moved through regular commercial channels.

For example, title I sales have been made to certain west European countries which have generated local currencies that are now available for market development purposes. Such funds can of course be used to develop markets for commodities other than those which are sold to generate the funds in the first place. Moreover, the funds can be used for market development purposes over a period longer than the 1 year in which the Public Law 480 commodities were moved into the country. In this way, the funds can be and should be used to promote the expansion of dollar markets through commercial channels. It is my understanding that this is what is meant, for example, by the language on page 13 of the Report No. 432 dealing with the extension of Public Law 480, where the report makes specific reference to the poultry program which was started in Germany last year. Using this case as an illustration, I understand that local currency funds are available for continued market program activities this year. If those activities can be directed to expansion of a dollar market for United States poultry in West Germany, for example, then this kind of program will have accomplished one of the primary purposes that Congress had in mind when we enacted Public Law 480 during the 83d Congress.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. SPRINGER. Is it not fair to say, to bring this down to a realization of its effect upon the farm population of this country that if this bill had not been in operation during the calendar years 1955 and 1956, that meats, particularly pork; cotton, soy beans, wheat, rice, and 1 or 2 other commodities would have been selling on the local market at very substantially lower prices than they did during those 2 calendar years?

Mr. HILL. The gentleman is exactly correct.

Mr. SPRINGER. May I just make one addition statement: It is estimated that in my congressional district—and this will be true I think in every district where soy beans are raised—that if it had not been for the 65 million bushels that were sold overseas in the calendar year 1956, soy beans would have been selling in the open market from 50 to 75 cents a bushel lower than they did.

Mr. HILL. I thank the gentleman.

I would like to turn for one moment to the testimony given before our committee on this bill, then I will be glad to yield. I think we get tangled up in our thinking as to what this bill is supposed to do. First of all, it is a bill to dispose of surplus products that we already own. It is not a purchase program, in any sense of the word. We are trying to dispose of the surpluses that are now in the bins, bought, paid for, and under the control of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Mr. BROWN of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. BROWN of Missouri. In view of the gentleman's statement that here we have something we do not need, something that is costing us money to store, and, further, it is depressing the value of some things we have that could be more valuable if it were not for the surpluses, it would look to a country boy that if we got nothing but a pocketknife or an airplane trip for Secretary Dulles out of it we have gained by cutting down on the surplus storage expenses.

Mr. HILL. There is no question about that statement because of the fact that we already own this product.

Now, Mr. Chairman, here is something that most of us forget. We are paying storage every day amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars. Now, let us take corn. In my area we have from 500,000 to 1 million head of stock on feed. Not a single feeder would look at corn that was over 4 years old. You are going to take that loss. Everyone in the United States is going to take that loss.

Let me make another statement about wheat. How many in this room know that after you have had wheat from 10 to 14 years in storage you would not get a single copper per bushel for it? You are going to lose that. This program takes the top off of the surpluses that we have paid for and that are now in storage.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. O'NEILL. The truth of the matter is if you take off the surpluses and send them overseas, as soon as you get more storage space in the bins you buy more surpluses, and the storage bins are always full.

Mr. HILL. Does the gentleman believe that?

Mr. O'NEILL. I do; yes.

Mr. HILL. The gentleman thinks that because he does not know the figures. These are true and the gentleman can check them if he wants to. A year ago we had more than $600 million worth of wheat stored. That is your wheat, that is my wheat. It is already paid for. Does the gentleman know what we have today? He will be surprised. A little over $325 million. That is a wonderful record. I do not think we are going to do what the gentleman said.

Mr. O'NEILL. But you are asking for an additional billion dollars this year, is that so?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. O'NEILL. In the report there is shown that of the money in the various nations overseas, for example we spent $7,500,000 for the purchase of strategic materials, and also for military procurement.

Mr. HILL. Do not quote strategic material figures to me because that is not what I am talking about.

Mr. O'NEILL. I want to ask this question: The Defense Department spends money for the military program or it spends money for the purchase of strategic materials. Now do they in turn pay that money back to the Commodity Credit Corporation?

Mr. HILL. The gentleman asks a double barreled question. Of course, they do to a certain extent. In Spain alone they are using these counterpart funds up to 25 to 30 percent. In country after country they are using these funds that we have purchased in other countries. We are using them for the purchase of, let us just make it plain, air-

plane strips or let us say they are for buildings that we must have, not only to house our military men but to house some of our other personnel.

Mr. O'NEILL. I appreciate the problem of farm surpluses, make no mistake about that. I realize it is a terrific problem. Whether this is the correct way I doubt very, very much, when I see all of this money piled up over there the way it is in the various nations of the world.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. On the question of buying additional commodities, the law fixes the requirement for the purchase of commodities under the price-support program, and the Commodity Credit Corporation will purchase those commodities or take them under loan regardless of any Public Law 480 program, so it will not add at all to the number of purchases made by the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Mr. HILL. Of course, there is no question about that. There is no one against this program if they understand it. I make that statement without fear of contradiction.

Mrs. KELLEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentlewoman from New York.

Mrs. KELLEY of New York. Since we have the surpluses which we cannot use here in the United States to a greater degree, would it not be better to give these surpluses to these nations abroad who are on the borderline of diverting or defecting from Communist control? In that way we would have the right to distribute them, thereby making sure that the people of that nation received our aid.

Mr. HILL. Using the old TV gag, I am glad the lady asked that question. Nothing could be more true than what she said. But, we are doing that, and I have always felt in my own heart if we had done the thing the lady suggests in the beginning with surpluses and put no strings onto any hungry people, whoever they were or wherever we could find them, and gotten the surpluses to them, I think we would have been money ahead. But, we did not. Now, we have a complex program. It is working excellently not only in the way I suggest, but it is the very thing that the gentlewoman suggested. Time after time in disasters in foreign countries the Secretary of Agriculture has done a magnificent job in seeing that these surpluses get into the area that is in distress. And, he has done the same thing in these United States. Now, that answers the gentlewoman's question completely.

Mrs. KELLEY of New York. It has been a good program, I agree, and I would vote for it, but I cannot see selling it to governments and thereby relieving the necessity of the Soviet regime in bearing the responsibility for the failure of their economic theory.

Mr. HILL. That is a fine suggestion, and I wish we would have started out on it, but we did not. We are not going back; we are going forward, and I am glad the gentle lady said she would support it.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. PELLY. I would like to ask the gentleman if these agricultural commodities must go, at least up to 50 percent of them, on American ships.

Mr. HILL. As I understand, that is legislation that passed in this House and it is still on the books. I would have to ask the chairman of our committee: Are half of these supplies shipped in our own bottoms?

Mr. COOLEY. Donation supplies go 50–50.

Mr. PELLY. Anything financed by our Government must go at least 50 percent in American ships?

Mr. HILL. I think that is correct.

Mr. PELLY. Does the gentleman know of any effort that has been made in connection with the legislation to eliminate that 50–50 provision?

Mr. COOLEY. We have eliminated it a few times, and if I had my way, I would eliminate it again. But, they have put it back each time.

Mr. PELLY. Some of us would like to know if there will be any amendment offered to that effect.

Mr. COOLEY. I do not know.

Mr. HILL. I doubt if we could eliminate it on the floor of this House.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. NEAL. I would like to get a little more clarity on this question of where the United States comes out on this thing. I understand that before these commodities can be distributed, the Government must purchase those things from the Commodity Credit Corporation. Is that true?

Mr. HILL. Let me read the gentleman a paragraph that will answer his question fully. I was just going to read it and I am glad the gentleman asked the question. This is testimony delivered before our committee. I believe these 10 or 12 lines will answer the gentleman's question:

> Title I agreements are reached through the coordinated efforts of several Government agencies affected by the sale. Although the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to determine the countries with whom agreements shall be negotiated and the commodities and quantities which may be included in these negotiations programs are developed in consultation with such agencies as the Department of State, the International Cooperation Administration, the Bureau of the Budget, the Department of Defense and other departments and agencies. This coordination is necessary because Public Law 480 is a complex act. It combines many purposes which affect domestic and foreign economic policies and involves activities of several departments and agencies.

I think the report will show how many agreements we have made with these countries. I hear some of our friends talking about this and one would think that this was a free, open, dumping program. It is nothing of the kind. A foreign country makes an agreement, signs up saying that it will do a certain thing. We make a contract that we will furnish the surplus commodity that we own, to which we have title—you and I and the taxpayers of America.

Have I answered the gentleman's question?

Mr. NEAL. When the agency makes that contract it does not own that commodity. It belongs to the Commodity Credit Corporation; is that right?

Mr. HILL. That is right. It never passes out of the control of the Commodity Credit Corporation until it passes through the Export-Import Bank, if I recall the testimony that was given to our committee. They are the financial agency for this activity. I am sure I am right on that.

Mr. NEAL. As the financial agent——

Mr. HILL. Our financial agent.

Mr. NEAL. As our financial agent do they repay to the Commodity Credit Corporation the cost of these commodities?

Mr. HILL. Any dollars they get back, yes. Sometimes they do not get dollars back. That is all right, because in the course of the next 2 or 3 or 5 years we will be able to use those funds in the trades that we are making with that country. In other words, we will get back at least 25 percent or 50 percent in dollars, which dollars we would have had to provide if we did not have the currencies of those nations.

Mr. NEAL. Insofar as we are able to use the currencies of the foreign nations to our advantage we will benefit by that much, by not having to appropriate dollars to take care of certain things?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. NEAL. The difference between the actual cost to the Government of the commodities it purchased and stored and the amount of money we receive, represents the loss that the Government takes which it has to pay to the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Mr. HILL. You are putting money back into the Commodity Credit Corporation right in this bill to make up for some of those losses. And you will never spend money to any greater advantage than in that effort, in my own personal opinion.

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield on that very question?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HIESTAND. Do I understand that the appropriations for such expenditures are to come from other subcommittees, such as the subcommittee handling foreign aid, or the subcommittee handling domestic aid, or whatever the subcommittee may be? Or will the appropriation have to come from the Subcommittee on Agriculture, because this is an agricultural bill?

Mr. HILL. The gentleman is talking about what kind of an appropriation now? I do not quite understand the gentleman.

Mr. HIESTAND. This authorizes expenditures, as I understand it.

Mr. HILL. This authorizes the sale of surplus commodities up to a definite amount.

Mr. HIESTAND. That is correct. Can the gentleman assure me that there will

be no additional expenditures necessary because of the passage of this bill?

Mr. HILL. The gentleman means there will be no money taken out of the Treasury; yes. There will be no additional cost or funds expended for the surpluses.

Mr. HIESTAND. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. OSTERTAG. I should like to return to the question raised by the gentleman from Massachusetts in regard to what happens when these commodities are sold or bartered or given away to foreign countries.

Mr. HILL. The gentleman does not mean to say "given away" because these are not given away, unless the gentleman assumes that the currency is no good; and the gentleman is not making that assumption.

Mr. OSTERTAG. There are provisions in this bill for donations.

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. OSTERTAG. To me, "donation" means "give away."

Mr. HILL. For disaster; that is right.

Mr. OSTERTAG. The gentleman from Massachusetts referred to the fact that as fast as you sell these commodities or barter or trade or give them away, the bins and the storehouses of America are continuously filled. That is true. We all agree about that, except that unless this bill passes and this program goes forward we will not have storeroom enough to take care of the surplus that is continuing to develop and exist.

Mr. HILL. Of course the gentleman is correct. If we are going to carry on that type of program, which I do not think we will, the bins in our country will be too small to hold what we are going to produce. As a unit, our entire farm program needs overhauling. But that is no reason why we should not pass a bill like this that will help us in our immediate need. We are now searching for a better agricultural program. I think it will come in time.

Mr. OSTERTAG. In other words, it will cost us more for storage than it does today if something like this program is not passed?

Mr. HILL. Of course.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BOW. The gentleman said a few minutes ago there is confusion about this bill. I admit there is some, and I am confused somewhat.

The gentleman said this is to get rid of surplus property. I notice it is said in the report, among other things, that Spain has received canned hams. I assume from that that we are in surplus in canned hams. At the same time, we can go into our markets and buy Polish ham, Holland ham, and other ham shipped in here. Can the gentleman explain that confusion to me, why we have the surplus we are sending out under this, yet these Polish, Holland, and other hams are coming into the country?

Mr. HILL. In order to answer the gentleman intelligently I would have to know why the Federal Government through its operations, and I include all the departments, sold hams to Spain, and I would naturally assume that we may not have been short, but the Department of Agriculture feels and I feel this very day that the price of pork is on a fairly stable level at this time. If they could use more ham shipped into Spain, where we are spending plenty of hard dollars, it might have been a good business deal regardless of what the gentleman says.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FULTON. For the purposes of our own defense we are building tremendous bases in Spain, putting millions and millions of dollars in there for United States security so of course there are many transactions back and forth. Under this bill the International Cooperation Administration has the power to make the grants and set up loans under State Department policies. So that is part of our foreign policy, a part of our United States security.

Mr. HILL. I would say to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow], and I think he is entitled to the information, and I know I am entitled to it, that we shall ask the Department to give him, with a copy to me, a full and complete report, because I have the feeling that this is a legitimate deal, and probably the gentleman would be happy that the Department made it.

Mr. BROWN of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. BROWN of Missouri. I believe the distinguished gentleman's point was, Why are we still importing hams from foreign nations when we have it in surplus enough to include it in the agricultural disposition of surplus act?

Mr. HILL. We have talked that over in our committee time on time. So far as I know we have never had it answered. The truth of the matter is that the amount of pork produced in this country compared with what little ham you have shipped in from other countries is so small that really and truly, it has never made any imprint. It is just something to talk about, but it is something that so far as having any effect on our agricultural economy is concerned, amounts to nothing. I think I can prove that by the amount of pork that we produce and use.

Mr. BROWN of Missouri. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. Would it be possible for Poland under the terms of this bill to buy feed grains at bargain prices from the United States?

Mr. HILL. Well, No. 1: Do you know what feed grain is in surplus?

Mr. GROSS. What feed grains are in surplus? Why, wheat and corn are in surplus.

Mr. HILL. How much?

Mr. GROSS. A good many bushels, I am sure.

Mr. HILL. Just because corn is in storage in American storehouses in the United States is no reason to come to the conclusion that corn is in surplus. I am of the opinion that you do not have too large a surplus of corn—although I could be wrong.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to the gentleman if he has the answer to that question.

Mr. COOLEY. I think our committee was advised that the surplus in corn amounted to about 120 days supply.

Mr. HILL. I think you will find there is no surplus there so really corn is out. Let us get on to something else.

Mr. GROSS. May I ask the gentleman this question then. Are we exporting any corn under this surplus program?

Mr. HILL. Very little corn is being exported. I did not read the record, but I have it here. Very little corn, as I recall it, was exported. Corn does not lend itself, and this is a strange statement to make, to exportation. Why?

First. They are not used to feeding it. Corn was an Indian food and it has never been able to work its way into European consumption.

Second. It does not ship as well—it draws moisture a little more than wheat does.

Mr. GROSS. Of course, I am talking about corn for feed purposes and I based my question to you originally along that line.

Mr. HILL. For feed? Do you mean people?

Mr. GROSS. I mean feed for livestock.

Mr. HILL. I did not see, when I visited Europe, any corn being fed to livestock.

Mr. GROSS. I assume that hogs in Europe will eat corn, will they not?

Mr. HILL. My guess would be that they do not feed too much corn to hogs anywhere in Europe.

Mr. GROSS. They could eat it and they would eat it, if they could get it at bargain prices.

Mr. HILL. But, corn is not in great surplus and would not fit much into this program.

Mr. GROSS. I do not know what you mean by much.

Mr. HILL. There is not a surplus of corn in the world market, let us put it that way.

Mr. GROSS. I will get some time on my own tomorrow and try to get the answer to my question.

Mr. HILL. I am sure the gentleman will find just exactly what I said is true.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. FULTON. Under title I of this program, 75 million bushels of feed grains were shipped so the answer to the gentleman from Iowa is that there were feed grains shipped under this program, but not any large amount.

Mr. HILL. We would have to break that down and see what was corn and what was maize and how much was in

other types of grains. We could get that for the gentleman from Iowa, and I can get him the actual number of bushels.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. JUDD. I do not know whether this answer applies to the question raised about the Polish and Dutch hams and why we are importing these hams when we have our own American canned hams in surplus, and with reference to certain other commodities. The reason is that there are Americans who will pay their money to buy from the channels of private trade certain foreign products which they prefer to our American products. We think Minnesota cheese is the best blue cheese in the world, but we have people in Minnesota—Danes who will buy blue cheese from Denmark even though we have cheese stored here in caves which we have bought under the surplus commodity program and it could well be that there are people who like Polish and Holland hams enough that they will buy them. Unless we are going to regiment our economy, we cannot forbid them from buying them through the ordinary process of international trade.

That leaves us sometimes with such wonderful hams cured by our American packers, which we must dispose of before they spoil.

Mr. HILL. There is also the possibility that by selling hams we might be able to sell other products that are in tremendous surplus, which would be a good deal as far as the United States is concerned.

Statement of Hon. Kenneth B. Keating, of New York, To Extend the Refugee Relief Act of 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill to extend the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 for some 58,000 immigrants cut off by termination of the act.

Under terms of the bill, special nonquota immigration visas would be issued to spouses and minor unmarried children who for various reasons were left behind, when their breadwinner came to the United States under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

Another section of the bill would grant special nonquota visas to "pipeline" cases—those people and their spouses and unmarried minor children whose assurances had been received and whose applications for entrance into the United States had begun to be processed, but who were unable to come to this country due to the expiration of the act, or the shortage of visas.

Under both sections of the bill, the immigrant involved wolud be required to file an application, have assurances from American sponsors submitted and verified by State Department officials, and undergo investigations as provided in the Refuge Relief Act. An exception to this rule would be in cases involving immigrants for whom assurances had been submitted and verified under the old act. They would merely be required to have their original assurances reverified. If the old assurance were found to be no longer valid, however, a new assurance would have to be submitted and verified.

All safeguards of the Refugee Relief Act, including thorough investigatory provisions are retained in the proposed act, which would terminate 2 years after the date of its enactment.

The plight of families separated by expiration of the Refugee Relief Act is stark in the extreme. Many families sent their breadwinner on ahead to America, in full expectation the dependents could follow, only to be thwarted by the end of the act, a dearth of visas, or the complexities of the immigration laws.

Today, those from countries with heavily oversubscribed quotas face years and years of separation from their loved ones while awaiting visas. We must end these heart-rending separations.

This country should also permit entrance to those pipeline cases whose hopes for coming to America were raised only to be crushed when quotas became filled. After having earned the privilege of a visa, they now face the prospect of waiting for years for such authorization. We should grant these people special nonquota immigration visas.

According to estimates supplied by the Department of State, the following is a list of pipeline applicants who failed to obtain visas:

Belgium	1,601
France	2,001
Germany	368
Great Britain	1,563
Greece	11,323
Italy	24,175
Netherlands	362
Norway	24
Sweden	402
Jordan	367
Kuwait	36
Lebanon	495
Turkey	20
Burma	2
China	694
Hong Kong	13,357
Japan	1,865
Korea	175
Singapore	29
Australia	6
Costa Rica	1
Spain	2
Total	58,868

Passage of this legislation could strike a telling blow for America at a time when we are the target of so much worldwide criticism because of the stringency and inflexibility of our immigration laws. By enacting this bill into law, we can thus help ourselves abroad by raising our prestige, and can help ourselves at home by enriching our national blood with new and worthy citizens.

It is my hope that early hearings can be held on this legislation, as well as all other legislative proposals which have been made to amend our immigration statutes.

Mental Health Services Could Deprive Citizens of Constitutional Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, all over the country there seems to be a movement designed to take away from persons designated as mentally ill, their individual rights guaranteed to all citizens under the Constitution. The right to trial by jury, to legal representation, and to habeas corpus, are all being bypassed in what appears to be a determination to "railroad" more and more people into mental institutions.

As one example of this, I should like to commend to the attention of the Congress a letter to the editor, published in the May 16, 1957, issue of the Modesto Journal, of Modesto, Calif.:

To the EDITOR.

DEAR SIR: Introduced in the 1957 session of the California Legislature are a number of mental health bills that could be used to suppress individual rights, if the power fell into the wrong hands. These bills refer constantly to the mentally ill. Just who is a mentally ill person? Is he an insane person? Or is he a person whose beliefs and opinions are abnormal or different to those of the psychiatrist or whoever it is that examines him?

Farfetched? What about the Finn twins, who were sent to a mental institution when they became obnoxious in resisting the Government? What about the case of young Ron Ramsey, of Compton, Calif., who wrote some letters to the editor that were strongly anti-U. N.? After his committal as a mental case, he was paroled on the provision that he not write any more letters to newspapers.

Senate bill 244 (or assembly bill 630) would proyide for a vast and expensive network of community mental health services. Under this act, each county, and each city of over 50,000 population, may establish a mental health service. These services are to augment and promote the improvement and if necessary, the expansion of already existing psychiatric services in general hospitals or clinics that help to conserve the mental health of the people.

Senate bill 244 has been passed by the senate on May 9, 1957, with only four no votes. They were Desmond, Dilworth, Donnelly, and Berry. However, before passing, the bill was amended to eliminate any bed care, to eliminate the requirement of issuing propaganda to schools, etc., on mental health. Another amendment excludes alien doctors from the program. It is now before the assembly.

Assembly bill 3787 appears to have the purpose of eliminating the right of trial by jury to those charged with being mentally ill: "Any person committed to the care and custody of the counselor in mental health under the provisions of section 5076, may make application, by petition duly verified, for an order adjudging that such person is competent. The hearing shall be conducted by the court, without a jury, in the same manner as civil cases."

(This bill deletes the present words: "and on demand, by the petitioner, shall be tried by a jury," and substitutes the words: "without a jury.")

The danger of assembly bill 2496 could leave the person charged with being mentally ill virtually friendless before the judge. It pro-

vides: "All persons not necessary for the conduct of the hearing may be excluded if it appears to the judge, or the commissioner, if one has been appointed, that his best interests will thereby be served; provided, the judge, or the commissioner, if one has been appointed, together with the two medical examiners shall examine the alleged mentally ill person in or out of court."

Once committed, assembly bill 968 would allow confiscation of the individual's property: "In all cases where a patient is committed to the care and custody of the counselor in mental health for placement in a county or licensed private institution, the counselor shall be authorized to receive, hold, and disburse for the necessary care and expenses of said patient, money and cash income, including but not limited to old-age security payments, and social security retirement payments, and pension payments, up to a total of $1,000 at any one time. The counselor shall also be authorized to sign applications, affirmations, and reaffirmations for old-age security and to endorse and cash any checks, warrants, drafts, and other evidences of indebtedness payable to such patients."

Contrast the above with the provisions of the proposed senate bill 609 which states, "If in a criminal prosecution a defendant pleads not guilty by reason of insanity, and it is found that such person was insane at the time the committed the offense, but has recovered his sanity, and he is committed to a State hospital because of his insanity at the time of commission of the offense, neither such person, nor his estate, nor his relatives shall be held liable for such person's care, support, or maintenance in such State hospital."

Unbelievable? Here is one that eliminates the fourth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. If enacted, S. 1299 would allow: "Any peace officer may, at any time of the day or night, in the execution of any of the provisions of this article, enter any dwelling or other building if the patient is therein or if the officer has reasonable cause to believe the patient to be therein, and, if the officer is not admitted after his authority and purpose have been made known, he may, at any time of day or night, break open any outer or inner door or window of such dwelling or other building or any part thereof in order to make entry for the execution of any of the provisions of this article."

Now, let us go back to the question of just who might be considered mentally ill, and be subject to some of the above. Perhaps the following quotations from an article of March 16, 1956, attributed to Dr. William Menninger will help: "At the latest count, there are 750,000 persons in our mental hospitals—as many as in all other kinds of hospitals combined. Outside of hospitals more than 10 times that number are suffering from severe mental or emotional disturbances; the alcoholic and the addicted, the delinquent and the criminal, the suicidal, the incompetent, the chronically unhappy—the 1 in every 16 Americans whose personality problems keep them from enjoying useful, effective, satisfying lives."

Well, 1 out of 16 are not too bad, as odds go. But let us read further: "As a matter of fact, this figure is too low. We have known for years that about 50 percent of the general practitioners' patients are actually suffering primarily from emotional disorders."

Still leaves you out? Read further: "All of us are at some times and in some degree affected by mental health. We may be persistent worriers or have difficulty in controlling our tempers; we may be sleepless in our beds or lonely in a crowd—mental ill health affects 1 out of 1."

ONE OUT OF ONE.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Memorial Day Address by Hon. Richard L. Neuberger, of Oregon, at Hyde Park, N. Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, our colleague, the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER], delivered the commemorative address at the annual Memorial Day ceremonies held on May 30 at Hyde Park, N. Y., in memory of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The junior Senator from Oregon is a Senate member of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Commission, and he spoke on the conservation ideals and programs of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

No man in the Nation has given more of his thought and of his time to the conservation of our great natural resources or has used his able pen more in this vital cause than has the junior Senator from Oregon. He truly speaks with authority and is a devoted and valiant disciple of Franklin D. Roosevelt in waging the never-ending struggle for the conservation of America's God-given resources.

The address delivered by the junior Senator from Oregon is most timely, informative, and challenging, and I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSERVATION IDEALS AND PROGRAM OF FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT ARE HERALDED AT HYDE PARK CEREMONIES BY SENATOR RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

(Excerpts from the address delivered at the grave of Franklin D. Roosevelt on Memorial Day by RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, junior Senator from Oregon and Senate member of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Commission)

Like Antaeus of old, Franklin Roosevelt gained strength just by touching the goodness of earth. He treasured the land and all its kindred—water, trees, wildlife, soil, flowers, shrubs, and the air above. He had a feeling about America which stemmed from Jefferson and Thoreau and Gifford Pinchot. He believed that resources were a gift from the Almighty, and that we all are under a sacred duty to hand them on to the next generation—undefiled and untrammeled. He was the greatest conservationist of our era.

Perhaps some of Franklin Roosevelt's philosophy in this respect originated on the shores of the Hudson River, where he was born and raised, and where he today lies at eternal rest.

The quiet majesty of this spot may have helped to inspire the governmental policy which did so much to assist the American people in laying renewed claim to their natural resources in every distant corner of the land. It may be that, at Hyde Park, there was begun the idea which had a far-off fruition in the great canyons of the Columbia and the Colorado, on the uplands of the Yellowstone and the Sierras, and along the forested seacoast of the Olympic Peninsula.

The first time I ever saw Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the municipal auditorium of the city where I was born—Portland, Oreg. He stood there, on September 21, 1932, and promised that the next great hydroelectric-power development to be undertaken by the Federal Government would be along the surging river where lurked more than 40 percent of all the latent hydroelectricity in the Nation.

CAMPAIGN PROMISE KEPT

No promise during a political campaign was ever kept with greater fidelity, rectitude, and with greater benefits.

From that promise came the biggest water-power system ever built anywhere in the world, a system which included Grand Coulee Dam, the most massive single edifice yet reared by man on our planet.

I am glad my wife Maurine is here with me today. I think she could tell something about the tangible benefits to humanity from that one deed initiated by Franklin Roosevelt.

Maurine's widowed mother runs a dairy farm which lies about 10 or 12 miles from the banks of the Columbia. It is one among thousands of farms in the Northwest which had no electricity prior to the arrival in the White House of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The farm was a short distance from the greatest source of hydroelectric power on our continent—but Maurine's mother cooked with kindling, she had no refrigeration, she carried a kerosene lamp from room to room at night, the dairy barn could not be fitted with milking machines or floodlights because there was no power to operate such equipment. In the midst of potential plenty, countless American farm families lived like this—in frontier conditions despite the presence of the electrical age.

Franklin Roosevelt brought about the construction of Grand Coulee and Bonneville Dams. He innovated the Rural Electrification Administration. Today, the farm of my wife's mother—and innumerable other farms—enjoy the blessings of electricity, and at substantially lower rates than are paid in the major cities of this State, for example.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION INCREASED

When Franklin D. Roosevelt entered the White House in 1933, less than 10 percent of America's farms had central station electric service. When he died approximately 12 years later, 50 percent of our farms had such service.

This single statistic tells a story of natural resources put to work for the benefit of humanity. It tells the story of farm wives and mothers spared the aches and indignity of drudgery; it tells the story of life made more comfortable and bearable; it tells the story of a President who cared about the personal happiness of his people.

I have chosen today to discuss Franklin Roosevelt as a conservationist for two reasons which seem to me to be important. To begin with, few nations have looted their natural resources as profligately and in so short a period as the United States, and we need to be reminded of an era when a great man and his associates dedicated themselves to a program of genuine respect and protection for this legacy which we have received from the Almighty.

And, secondly, as we stand here in this hallowed and historic spot at Hyde Park, an administration reigns in Washington which has surrendered surging rivers, valuable forests, rare wildlife preserves and immense mineral deposits to private groups for piecemeal exploitation. It is well, I think, that the contrast in this vital domain of government between the present administration and that of Franklin Delano Roosevelt should be emphasized on this Memorial Day of the year 1957.

CCC PROVIDED MANY BENEFITS

I wish many of you could go with me into the national forests of the Western States. Today, a quarter of a century after Franklin D. Roosevelt swore the oath of the Presidential office for the first time, we still can trudge trails and camp at picnic grounds in those magnificent outdoor realms which were built by the Civilian Conservation Corps. The CCC may be merely a bygone set of governmental initials now. But, in 1933, it was a program inaugurated by Franklin D. Roosevelt which achieved a dual purpose. It got off the streets and alleys of eastern cities thousands of boys who came from broken homes, who were potential inmates of prison cells and who had no economic chance in life. These boys not only were rehabilitated personally in the scenic arena of our western mountain ranges, but they also helped to restore watersheds, to fight erosion and to provide the finest recreational facilities ever furnished in our marvelous national-forest system.

The program of conservation implemented through the CCC has probably never been matched. Not only did this program help make good citizens of 2½ million American youths, but it resulted in the planting or seeding of over 2½ million acres of trees, the development of 10,000 acres of public campgrounds, construction of nearly 32,000 wildlife shelters, the building of over 6 million check dams to halt soil depletion, plus numerous other conservation and recreation structural improvements which continue to benefit our country today. Yet this great public works project cost less than $3 billion, only a fraction of the value it represents in the protection and maximum development of natural resources.

RIVER VALLEY RESTORED

I wish there were time during this brief ceremony to describe all the achievements in the field of conservation of Franklin D. Roosevelt. I wish time afforded me the opportunity to discuss in detail the Tennessee Valley Authority, which restored perhaps the most worn-out river valley of our Nation and made it a haven for prosperous industries, for modern farms, for growing cities. The dams of the TVA have attracted payrolls with cheap power, they have electrified farms and homesteads, they have retarded and prevented floods, they have provided recreation and boating on vast artificial lakes.

The vision of Franklin Delano Roosevelt is perhaps no better evidenced than in his policies regarding water and power resources development. He saw the problem and the particular projects, not as something isolated and apart, but as a springboard for comprehensive development. In many ways the

TVA serves to illustrate. In his message of April 10, 1933, to the Congress proposing TVA, he said in part:

"It is clear that the Muscle Shoals development is but a small part of the potential usefulness of the entire Tennessee River. Such use, if envisioned in its entirety, transcends more power development; it enters the wide fields of flood control, soil erosion, afforestation, elimination from agricultural use of marginal lands, and distribution and diversification of industry. In short, this power development leads logically to national planning for a complete river watershed involving many States and the future lives and welfare of millions. It touches and gives life to all forms of human concerns."

At the dedication of Grand Coulee Dam in my own great Northwest, the President declared:

ROOSEVELT'S VISION CONFIRMED

"We are going to see, I believe, with our own eyes electricity and power made so cheap that they will become a standard article of use, not only for agriculture and manufacturing, but also for every home within reach of an electric light line."

Today's electrified rural America confirms this vision.

As a native of the Pacific Northwest, I feel a particular sense of appreciation to Franklin Delano Roosevelt that he made certain the great hydroelectric resources of our region would be widely distributed to all the people through a so-called postage stamp rate. It is somewhat distressing now to see certain people in Franklin Roosevelt's home State who are taking the leadership in violating this principle. Franklin Roosevelt believed that rivers belonged to everybody, to all the people. We only can hope and trust that his political descendants in the great State of New York will return to this ideal.

The realm of nuclear fission represented an even more adventurous deed by Franklin D. Roosevelt. After the genius Albert Einstein had told President Roosevelt that it might be possible to end World War II with a prodigious weapon produced from the atom, the President staked $2 billion of the American people's funds on the mysterious Manhattan project, a project which never could have been feasible without the immense quantities of waterpower available from Grand Coulee Dam and the TVA. It was a success. It attained its cosmic and unfathomable purpose. But can we imagine the outraged howls which would have gone up from Franklin Roosevelt's political foes, from those who never gave him credit for the Manhattan project, if that colossal undertaking had failed?

F. D. R. ADVOCATED COMPREHENSIVE DEVELOPMENT

I believe it might be fitting to reduce to specific terms exactly what the philosophy of Franklin Roosevelt meant, when applied to natural resources, as compared with some of the attitudes which prevail in high levels of Government today.

Within a few weeks the United States Senate will vote probably for the last time, on the fate of the finest hydroelectric-power site remaining in our country. The choice is decisive. Either the Federal Government will construct at Hells Canyon, in a mile-deep chasm, a dam capable of storing nearly 4 million acre-feet of water for flood control and of making possible 1 million kilowatts of power. Or, as an alternative, a private utility company will impound some 1 million feet of water and produce approximately half the quantity of firm year-around power of the Government dam. Furthermore, the Government dam would sell energy at a cheaper rate and over a far wider geographic area than the private project.

The present administration has used its utmost influence to favor the private project. While he was President of the United States, Franklin Roosevelt employed his prestige, authority, and influence to bring about authorization of water-conservation projects which would combine maximum development of resources with a sharing of the benefits of this development among the entire population. Should a great river be the property of a single absentee-dominated corporation or should it be the possession of all the people, developed in their interest and welfare by their Government—with power revenues used to finance such benefits as flood control and irrigation of land? This is a crucial question.

In such a clash of philosophies, the views of Franklin D. Roosevelt stand in direct contrast to those of his present successor in the highest elective office of the free world.

PRESIDENT INSPIRED CONSERVATION EFFORTS

I never knew Franklin Roosevelt intimately. Through the kindness of Mrs. Roosevelt and others, I was privileged to talk with him occasionally. I was then a young journalist specializing in books and articles about conservation and related matters. I always found in the President a source of inspiration to press forward harder and more tirelessly on this vital frontier. Others have told me of similar experiences. Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON has said that Franklin Roosevelt instilled in him an awareness of the vital importance of water to his arid State of Texas. I have heard from Tom Corcoran, Judge Rosenman, and Ben Cohen of FDR's constant insistence upon the benefits of natural resources being widespread among all the population, instead of narrowed to a powerful few. Oregon's Senator Charles L. McNary, although the Republican leader in the Senate for many years, once remarked to me, "You know, President Roosevelt is a whole lot more familiar with what needs to be done on the Columbia River than are a lot of our own folks right here in the Northwest."

F. D. R. had read his history, his geography, and his economics well. From an observation-car platform in Pendleton, Oreg., or at Boise, Idaho, he could talk more conversantly than some of the local people about the condition of the upland grazing range in that area or how the water table was faring in a year of limited snowfall.

ROOSEVELT CONSIDERED CONSERVATION NONPARTISAN

Although Franklin Roosevelt's faith in conservation was in sharp contrast to some of the exploitation tolerated today by those in charge of our Government conservation was never to him a partisan issue. Under his aegis the United States Fish and Wildlife Service was originated, thus consolidating in one agency all governmental efforts directed toward a safeguarding of our big-game animals, of our migratory water birds, and of our fisheries.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's first appointment as the new Director of this great Agency was of a lifelong Republican—Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, one of the Nation's most noted biologists in this field. F. D. R. wanted the best man available to be in charge of our animals and wild creatures. As F. D. R. realized, the man's political party had nothing to do with his knowledge of elk, his familiarity with the seals of the Probilofs, his ability to detect the safest nesting ground for ducks and geese. But we need only compare F. D. R.'s nonpartisanship in this respect with the fact that the present administration discharged the then head of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service when it entered office—not because of any incompetence upon the part of a faithful career servant, but merely because he happened to be registered as a Democrat.

For more than two decades prior to 1933, conservation enjoyed what some have called obscure respectability. The problems of resource use had not been forgotten, but adequate solutions had not yet been applied and many of these problems were becoming increasingly and painfully noticeable to more and more people. In philosophy and experience Franklin Delano Roosevelt was ideally equipped to spark what has since become known as the Roosevelt era in conservation.

CONSERVATION RECORD REVIEWED

I would like to review briefly just a few of his many other accomplishments while he held public office in New York State and during his historic tenure as President of the United States.

Between 1910 and 1914, Franklin Roosevelt was a State senator in the New York State Legislature and served as chairman of the senate committee on forestry. In 1912 he secured the enactment of two laws creating a yield tax provision for small forest owners. When we remember that forestry was just in swaddling clothes at that time, we can see how far Franklin Roosevelt was looking ahead in his effort to recognize the problems of the small timberland owner.

He did not return to State government until 1928 when he became Governor. Conservation was an important part of his legislative program. Governor Roosevelt supported continuation of a monumental study to determine what should be done about the submarginal farmlands of New York State, and under his leadership a constitutional amendment was adopted which provided for the acquisition of lands for timber-growing purposes outside of the Adirondack and Catskill preserves. This farsighted program resulted in New York State acquiring several hundred thousand acres of land better suited for forestry purposes than for farming or dairying. The State is dotted with these forests which are now producing timber and which also serve as demonstration forests, lighting the way toward better forest practices in the Empire State. While there are many people associated with that great effort, full credit must go to Franklin Roosevelt for the interest he showed in solving a critical problem. The land-management concept that was involved later came to be a Federal program when, under his leadership as President of the United States, the Bankhead-Jones Act was enacted.

There were other forward steps in conservation that Franklin Roosevelt took while Governor. Tree nurseries in the State were expanded in 1929. The activities of the conservation department were enlarged to provide for better information to the public on conservation and recreation. In 1931 the area in the Adirondack Park was increased from 3 million to 4.6 million acres. He also lent his support to a constitutional amendment, which was adopted by a vote of 3 to 1 by the people of the State, which allowed the State to incur debts to fight forest fires.

These are just a few of Franklin D. Roosevelt's many accomplishments for conservation in his 8 years in the State government. Because he practiced conservation principles in the management of his own forest lands here at Hyde Park, he knew intimately the problems involved in preservation of this natural resource. He successfully applied these principles through the machinery of State government. The additional training and experience that he received in these 8 full years enabled him to provide this Nation with his tremendous conservation leadership in his 12 years as President.

That the long-standing interest of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in conseravtion was not quickly devitalized by the far reaches of new political horizons, soon had abundant testimony.

Although much major forestry conservation legislation was already on the books before 1933, a major untouched field of development was land purchase for reforestation. In 1933, the first year of Franklin Roosevelt's administration, land purchase for this purpose

jumped from 83,086 acres to 667,314 acres and in 1934 the figure was 4,206,817 acres. These amounts represent more than cold statistics. They are ample evidence of President Roosevelt's desire to protect our God-given resources.

In addition to this massive reforestation project, some 78 primitive wilderness areas, in total area about 14 million acres, were set aside by the Forest Service, thus permitting millions of Americans in future generations to enjoy the beauty of our great outdoors in its pure and undefiled original state.

RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD ESTABLISHED

Though planning is not in itself action, it may well be the basis of more effective action. The recognition of this truth by President Roosevelt was expressed in his continuing interest in the National Resources Planning Board, an organization established by the President in July 1934, to prepare plans of procedure "dealing with all aspects of the problem of development and use of land, water, and other national resources in their physical, social, governmental, and economic aspects."

In January 1935 the President was able to report to the Congress: "For the first time in our national history we have made an inventory of our national assets and the problems relating to them." And the President outlined the direction in which he hoped that the Nation would move in utilizing these resources:

"We think of our land and water and human resources not as static and sterile possessions but as life-giving assets to be administered by wise provision for future days. We seek to use our natural resources not as a thing apart but as something that is interwoven with industry, labor, finance, taxation, agriculture, homes, recreation, good citizenship."

This study represented a milestone in resource planning. Some of the fundamental studies are even now very nearly the only comprehensive factual surveys of parts of the field. In its entirely, it was a great influence in the promotion of integrated thinking and planning with respect to the interrelationships between all natural resources and between difference parts of larger regions.

In April 1935 the Soil Conservation Service came into being. During the 1930's, for the first time in our history, the Nation became thoroughly soil-conscious. The Roosevelt period provided much of the foundation of engineering design, conserving practices and grassroots growth of the program which had by the mid-1950's included nearly a half-billion of our acres and more than 1½ million farmer participants. This handwork of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Hugh H. Bennett is on our land, with us and our grandchildren, for scores of years, if not for centuries in the future.

SHELTER BELT PROGRAM INITIATED

Allied with the soil conservation efforts were the immediately acute problems of the Great Plains, especially during and following the major drought years of 1934 and 1936. In 1936, the President allocated to the Forest Service an initial $1 million of emergency funds for large-scale shelter-belt planting. As of June 1942, when the project was transferred to the Soil Conservation Service, some 18,600 miles of shelter belts had been planted with 30,000 farmers cooperating. Today the magnificent success of this program is widely acknowledged.

A major milestone in the development of public land policy for those areas chiefly suited for grazing was accomplished with enactment of the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934, a measure which permitted Federal regulation of grazing on public domain in the interests of national conservation.

Under Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, a national flood-control policy and program were created and the groundwork was laid for the water pollution legislation enacted after his death.

America's national park system was greatly expanded during President Roosevelt's administration, a conservation achievemet of marked significance today for millions of peripatetic reaction-seeking Americans. The President's words at the dedication of Shenandoah National Park illustrate his belief in the value of our national park system: "This park, therefore, together with its many sisters which are coming to completion in every part of our land is in the largest sense a work of conservation. Through all of them we are preserving the beauty and the wealth of the hills, and the mountains and the plains and the trees and the streams. Through all of them we are maintaining useful work for our young men. Through all of them we are enriching the character and the happiness of our people."

Under Franklin Roosevelt's leadership, further protection was extended to our wildlife through enactment of the duck-stamp bill, creation of game sanctuaries on all public properties, and conclusion of the Migratory Bird Treaty with Mexico supplementing a similar treaty with Canada.

INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION ACCORDED

In January 1935 the President was awarded the Sir William Schlich Memorial Medal, which is made in rotation to five English-speaking countries in commemoration of a world-renowned British forester. In response to this international recognition of his effective work for forest conservation, he said in part: "A forest is not solely so many thousand board feet of lumber to be logged when market conditions make it profitable. It is an integral part of our natural land covering, the most potent factor in maintaining nature's delicate balance in the organic and inorganic worlds. In his struggle for selfish gain, man has often needlessly tipped the scales so that nature's balance has been destroyed, and the public welfare has usually been on the short-weighted side. Such public necessities, therefore, must not be destroyed because there is profit for someone in their destruction. The preservation of the forests must be lifted above mere dollars and cents considerations."

Like Thomas Jefferson, who was his idol, Franklin Roosevelt had a feeling for our land. It stirred him deeply. He once said, in a little speech in the Northwest, that every American lad should go out to the coast by train on the southern route and back by train on the northern route. This, continued Mr. Roosevelt, would afford that lad some appreciation of the vast dimensions and scope of the American Continent. Tales of the pathfinders of old fascinated Mr. Roosevelt—of Lewis and Clark and Fremont and Bonneville and Kit Carson. He knew about our Indians, and his keen sense of injustice was prodded by his historic awareness of the injustices committed by the white invaders against that sublime and noble race. This was why men with real social consciences, men like John Collier and others, served as Commissioners of Indian Affairs when Mr. Roosevelt was President.

"O beautiful for spacious skies, for amber waves of grain—for purple mountain majesty above the fruited plain": these were more than mere words to Franklin Roosevelt. Exactly 20 years ago, back in 1937, I rode with him on a special Great Northern railroad train over the Washington State uplands which led to the settlement of Ephrata, where he would disembark for an automobile ride with Senators Bone and Schwellenbach to the site of Grand Coulee. The President pointed to the snow-tinted pinnacles of the Cascades at our back, to the gaunt swales of sagebrush billowing all about the railroad right-of-way.

ROOSEVELT SERVED AS EDUCATOR

"Just imagine," said he, "water can make this desert bloom like the Garden of Eden. Orchards and alfalfa and row crops can grow here, if only we use water wisely. That is what I am trying to do, if the people of this country will help me to accomplish it."

He went as fast as the people would let him—occasionally a little faster. He served as an educator, too, and he constantly related to his fellow Americans of what had happened to civilizations which had wasted water, plundered forests, and slaughtered wildlife. He had a respect for government. He did not deride it, as some in our time are prone to do. He saw the wisdom lurking in John Muir's famous remark that "while only God can grow a tree, only Uncle Sam can save a tree." And Franklin Roosevelt did not want Uncle Sam to get into the hands of the wrong people. He knew that no trees, or other parts of our heritage, would be saved then.

He is gone now, and his task has become ours. In this quiet grave of stately trees—trees which saw him grow to manhood and which will be growing when we, too, are gone—let us join with Mrs. Roosevelt in pledging ourselves to a preservation of his ideals. This, of course, will mean a preservation of the resources which are our legacy and those of the future generations who will come after us. Our chief obligation to Franklin Roosevelt is not to eulogize him in words but to perpetuate his program in deeds. Perpetuation of his program, in time, will perpetuate in wise and careful custodianship the water and scenery and forests and animals of this magnificent domain we are privileged to inhabit.

Texas Water Problem: Drought and Flood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Fort Worth (Tex.) Star-Telegram, one of the outstanding newspapers of the entire Nation, recently published an editorial in which the basic nature of the Texas water problem was set forth lucidly and realistically.

The floods in Texas this spring, comments the Star-Telegram, have shown the need for more dams, and the newspaper calls for engineering studies to determine the number of dams which are needed and where they should be built.

I ask unanimous consent that this thoughtful editorial to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR WATER PROBLEM: SCARCITY, FLOOD

The torrential rains of the last few weeks, pouring an immense volume of water over the spillways of storage reservoirs and inundating hundreds of downstream homes, have demonstrated beyond question that water is a two-sided problem in Tarrant County. It is a problem of too little water at some times and too much at others. It is a problem both of safeguarding against scarcity and shielding against floods. The problem not only is to save a precious asset but to

prevent that asset from turning into a damaging liability.

In some respects the control of floods and the storage of water for municipal and other uses appear incompatible. Obviously a reservoir standing near to spillway level has little capacity to contain additional waters that might result in flood. But as Tarrant County residents were acutely aware, the lakes above Fort Worth stood nowhere near the maximum level at the beginning of the current rainy season. They were in condition to make their utmost contribution to holding back the heavy runoff that otherwise would have caused even greater floods. Just as obviously, the contribution would have been greater if there had been greater capacity—either in the present reservoirs or in the existence of more dams. So the functions of preventing water scarcity and preventing floods do combine.

Another dam, or series of dams, on the Trinity River above Fort Worth or on principal tributaries could not have been expected to contain the tremendous runoff resulting from the recent unprecedented rainfall. But any such dams would have helped to regulate the flow and lessen its damaging effect and would have been a valuable addition to the capacity to catch and hold water for future use. In more than one way the people of the county, and particularly those whose homes have been under water, would have been thankful for their existence.

More than incidentally, to the Corps of Engineers the people of the hard-hit watersheds of Texas owe a vote of commendation for the judicious way in which the dams under its control have been operated. The coordinated release of water from all dams on a watershed, and the timing of this release in accordance with an overall view of conditions, has done much to prevent and reduce flooding and flood damage. Though the engineers control only one dam above Fort Worth—that at Benbrook Lake on the Clear Fork—it is operated in close coordination with those of the Tarrant County Water Control and Improvement District No. 1 on the West Fork.

That one lake built and controlled by the Army engineers on the city's immediate watershed is important. It is a major addition to the area's flood protection system and a sizable emergency water supply reserve. Along with the new Arlington Lake, it is an essential element in harnessing the water resources of the upper Trinity watershed and in any adequate system for control of floods.

The experience of the last few weeks suggests that there should be more such dams. How many and where is a matter for engineering study to determine. During the anxious years of drought there has been a natural tendency to discount the watersheds of the Clear Fork and the West Fork as producers of water. In light of recent conditions, it seems clear that thinking in this regard must undergo some revision.

In the inseparable planning for water supply and flood control, what has happened in April and May of 1957 will have to be taken into account. The conditions of the present are without exact previous parallel. But there have been periods of excessive runoff in the past—as in 1922, 1932, 1941–42, 1945–46 and 1949–50—and these can be expected to recur in the future. The need of the countywide area for water, and the need of built-up lowland areas for protection, demand attention to efforts to save as much of the water yield as possible and to guard against flood as far as is reasonably possible. This applies not only to the main forks of the river but to such principal tributaries as Mary's Creek and Big Fossil Creek. In the minds of many at the moment, flood protection may even take precedence over considerations of future water supply.

Tarrant County's problem is one of water scarcity followed by devastating flood. It is plain that the two parts of the problem must be solved together.

The Human Approach to Foreign Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, it was my privilege to speak to the American Pharmaceutical Advertising Clubs of New York, the Middle West, and Montreal, Canada, in joint session on the noon of June 3, 1957, in New York City. Also in attendance at this meeting were members and officers of the American Medical Association; the AMA is now holding its convention in New York City.

The subject matter of my address was entitled "The Human Approach to Foreign Relations." I ask unanimous consent that the text be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HEALTH, HAPPINESS, HOPE—THE HUMAN APPROACH TO FOREIGN RELATIONS

(Address by Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, American Pharmaceutical Advertising Club luncheon, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, June 3, 1957)

It is indeed an honor to be speaking before this great assembly of representatives of many pharmaceutical firms and of the professions of pharmacy and medicine today, on the opening day of the American Medical Association annual convention.

I am even more pleased because there is a special personal element in my appearance before you. As many of you know, I am still a registered pharmacist and a part owner of our family drugstore in Huron, S. Dak.

My dad was a pharmacist and pharmacy was my first love. I studied it and worked behind the prescription counter. So this setting is warm to my heart.

How true to our national tradition are you research and manufacturing pharmacists. Less than 20 years ago, the United States was dependent on our European cultural parents, hanging on to the skirts of their pharmaceutical chemistry and industry, just as we were in several other scientific and industrial fields.

With the Second World War we learned we had to produce not planes and tanks alone, but new medicines. And we did it. We produced a stream of fantastic new chemicals and biological armaments against infection.

And it is heartening to report that our creativity in biotherapy and chemotherapy has never left us. Right through the sulfas, broadspectrum antibiotics, hormones, poliomyelitis vaccine, a series of breathtaking developments have taken place which I hardly need to mention here. We can take pride that these developments have enabled our physicians and people to face courageously the problems of degeneration, disease, and death.

To the practicing pharmacist, what a difference the last few years have made. He has to know and keep up with all the potent and specific new agents. Comparisons are odious, but sometimes interesting. For instance, in 1929, our pharmacists filled 166 million prescriptions. Today the figure, I am told, is beyond half a billion.

And the pharmaceutical industry has grown immensely. From a scientific industry of two or three hundred million dollars a year, it has grown to almost a billion and one-half dollars.

If you like to play around with averages, as I do, you might be interested to know that since 1947 alone a new compound has been made available to physicians every day.

Among the people working together in fields associated with you, are more than 188,000 practicing physicians, 50,000 pharmacists, 500 pharmaceutical firms, 9,000 hospitals, 600 distributors of ethical preparations, 300 leading medical and pharmacy journals, and 15,000 "detail" men who help to inform physicians.

This biochemical confederation has helped to save almost a million lives in recent years through the use of pharmaceuticals that were unknown a generation ago. Our pharmaceutical industry is not taking a back seat and gloating over past achievements. It continues to pour more and more of its financial and scientific resources into research. From a research expenditure of $10 million two decades ago, the amount has increased to $100 million a year. This is one of the most intensive research programs throughout American industry. I am proud to be associated with this whole intensive pharmaceutical endeavor, however small my contribution may be.

But while there is this personal element, I want to speak to you as a United States Senator who is concerned with the problems of world health and how they influence our foreign relations. I know that you—the pharmacists, the physicians, the drug manufacturers, the pharmaceutical chemists and the students of medicine—that you are as vitally concerned as I.

Living here in the United States—in this prosperous country of ours and in light of our technical accomplishments—it is difficult for us to believe that more than two-thirds of the world is sick. There are those who would say the figure is closer to 4 persons out of every 5. This is serious food for thought.

Millions of suffering people are bound by the oppressive chains of disease. In large sections of the world, malnutrition, illiteracy, and inadequate shelter are still part of the everyday life of many millions of our fellow men.

Drugs are playing a major role in freeing these people.

For example, the World Health Organization reports that there are still 10 to 12 million lepers in the world. In Nigeria alone, the estimate for 1956 was 195,000. But this high incidence has a new outlook. Lepers are no longer ashamed as they have been for thousands of years. They report to health authorities. And they report largely because of the growing confidence in new drugs to treat this old scourge.

In many parts of the world, trachoma has been a terrible, disheartening enemy of the people. As an American travels, he is deeply affected to see children blinded by this eye disease. Now, many countries are organizing their people against it. In one effort in Egypt, for example, an antibiotic ointment was used to treat 2,500 school children twice a day for 60 days. Five thousand preschool children received sulfa drugs. One can see how drugs enable and inspire society to organize itself against disease. More needs to be done—these are but beginnings.

There are an estimated 300 million annual cases of malaria. There are an estimated 50 million cases of tuberculosis. There are, as well, an unestimated number of cases of other preventable disease, running into additional hundreds of millions. These are dis-

eases which strike in the productive years of life—or before life has barely begun.

I am happy to say there seems unanimous support in Congress this year for President Eisenhower's proposal to fight malaria. The United States under the President's program would pay one-fifth of the $500 million that would eradicate the disease. The antimalaria project has engendered much good will for America.

A vigorous, peaceful, happy, productive world can arise from abundant health and vitality of men and women * * * it can never grow under the existing burden of sickness, malnutrition, and poverty. No amount of diplomacy or armament can bring peace where the bodies and minds of men are sick.

I have seen how communism thrives on misery. Recently the Soviets have moved into the Middle East and the Far East. There on my recent factfinding mission for the Foreign Relations Committee, I saw poverty and misery provide the fertile ground for the very dissatisfactions that so often make communism acceptable.

Faced as we are with a new Soviet approach in those areas where the greatest doubt and misunderstandings as to our way of life exist, we are now, more than ever, challenged to help the starving and disease-ridden people of the world to raise themselves up out of their misery.

Had Karl Marx never lived, and Lenin and Stalin never come to power in the Soviet Union—had communism never been heard of—there would still be great social challenges that we cannot afford to ignore. We ought not to need, as our motivation for doing what we ought to do anyway, the wicked and evil philosophy of communism. Sick people ought to be healed even if a Communist never lived. Illiterate people ought to be educated without ever having to receive the inspiration for this noble work out of fear of Communist infiltration.

What we Americans need to do is to be ourselves. Just do what comes naturally—to be the generous humanitarian and compassionate people that have endeared us in the past to our neighbors and has become the hallmark of our tradition and heritage.

But I know that the American people have never needed prodding to help others who needed our help. One of the proudest and most cherished traditions in our history is to help those who are suffering or are afflicted.

By helping suffering people to rid themselves of disease, we can place those people on a firmer foundation. It is up to us, a people with tremendous technical ability and know-how, to supply the way for people everywhere to achieve freedom from preventable disease.

There is a growing awareness of the fact that disease-ridden populations are unproductive and therefore a drain upon national economies and upon the world economy. This in turn becomes a drain on our own economy.

The promotion of international health is one of the best means of promoting international cooperation and understanding. Whatever we can do to promote health will also promote peace and will reap for us tremendous dividends in friendship and appreciation of our way of life.

Just as it is right for us to share our blessing of abundance with victims of hunger, so it is also right for us to share our medical skills, supplies, and technical equipment with the victims of disease and ill health. May I assure you, the sharing of our abundance of food and fiber can be a powerful factor in our foreign policy. We need to look upon our great agricultural production and productive capacity as a source of strength in the world scene.

Health is intimately associated with man's cultural, emotional, social, and economic problems. And I recognize, as you do, that pharmaceuticals of both chemical and biological types are fundamental factors in the health field. So I feel I can talk to you and make suggestions for the usefulness of your particular specialty in this battle.

Now all this is not to say that nothing is being done. Far from it. In fact the record is quite impressive.

One of the leaders in the field is the World Health Organization. WHO is participating in 700 health projects in 102 countries. It is this invaluable work which is paying off in terms of a lowered mortality rate throughout the world. This organization is certainly to be commended for its tremendous achievements.

It was my privilege in the last session of Congress to sponsor the joint resolution which authorized an appropriation to enable the United States to extend an invitation to the World Health Organization to hold the 11th World Health Assembly in the United States in 1958. The Assembly will afford another invaluable opportunity for nations of the world to pool their knowledge and line up forces in the fight against ill health in the world.

The World Health Organization, with a membership of 88 nations, was established shortly after World War II as one of the organs of the United Nations. It has the responsibility to serve governments in building up the health and vitality of their people. As you know, WHO welcomes the interests of private and voluntary agencies who want to help humanity everywhere.

In recent years, more and more voluntary agencies have given material help and have cooperated with the World Health Organization in establishing hospitals and clinics.

There are 43 nongovernmental organizations with whom WHO maintains official relations. The World Medical Association, which stemmed from the American Medical Association, is among these. Among others is the International Pharmaceutical Federation, the International Council of Nurses, and the League of Red Cross Societies.

WHO is collaborating with 1,800 scientific institutions in the world, including laboratories research units and scientific studies. Most of these institutions are devoting time and energy on a voluntary basis in the interest of the advancement of science. I understand that only 40 of the 1,800 organizations get any funds from WHO at all. Research is being coordinated in more than 50 laboratories in the field of influenza. Another large number are busy in polio research.

Projects approved by the United Nations Children's Fund, known as UNICEF, bring food, medical care, and other aid to more than 32 million children, annually. Impressive as these figures are, they represent only a small proportion of the critical needs of so many children. How many will forget the heartwarming television presentation by Danny Kaye earlier this year in which the dramatic role played by UNICEF in children's health was so well depicted?

Work on the treatment of leprosy in French Equatorial Africa and Gambia and Thailand; on yaws in the Gold Coast and Nigeria among others; on trachoma control in Morocco and Indonesia; on tuberculosis to children in Cambodia, Ceylon, and Vietnam—these are the dramatic attacks on ancient diseases still prevalent in the 20th century. UNICEF is out to eradicate these ancient enmeies of mankind.

Keep in mind that UNICEF is a voluntary, cooperative program of self-help. Each country desiring assistance must first request aid and must be able to give satisfactory evidence that it will be able to develop and continue the program on its own initiative after the UNICEF part of the work has been terminated. In addition, each assisted country must agree in advance to contribute in goods or services an amount equal to the UNICEF contribution. Being the only program devoted solely to children, this work supplements the broad objectives of United States assistance.

Under the Fulbright Act, the United States currently has 27 students, lecturers, and specialists in the field of medicine, including 1 pharmacist, in Europe in post-graduate study. There are 166 foreign students, lecturers, and speicalists, including 13 pharmacists, in the United States for study on the graduate level.

The United States Public Health Service is in the field of international activity, cooperating with other nations in tackling world health problems of concern to us and to others. It also participates in programs in which we give a helping hand to friendly naitons on a country-to-country basis to remove disease and build national strength.

At the National Institute of Health, there is at all times a small group of research projects which require that individual scienists conduct research in foreign countries or that they work in close formal collaboration with foreign investigators.

The Voice of America and the Public Health Service cooperate closely in preparing broadcasts on international health activities. The Voice interviews trainees from abroad who come to the United States under ICA fellowships. The Voice also broadcasts programs on the activities of the World Health Organization and on United States participation in WHO.

I cannot stress too strongly the cooperation which exists between the various Government agencies and private interests in combatting world health problems. Permit me to cite only a single example of scores that can be made.

A number of agencies were jointly concerned with helping the Greek Government in its malaria-eradication program. The Rockefeller Foundation came in first, and later the United Nations Recovery and Rehabilitation Administration came in, followed by the assistance given by the World Health Organization and the United States bilateral program. At one time or another these agencies all worked hand in hand to help Greece tackle various aspects of the malaria problem.

There is cooperation between governmental groups. Tuberculosis, for instance, is still a serious world problem though virtually licked in the United States. WHO and UNICEF continue to cooperate with governments on mass-vaccination campaigns, and on studies of diagnostic and control procedures that might be usefully adopted for antituberculosis programs under primitive conditions. As a result of pilot projects administered by UNICEF and WHO in the field of trachoma, it is now clear that mass treatment with antibiotics has given hope of eventually controlling this serious eye disease which often leads to complete blindness.

The more I have visited various places in the world, the more I have witnessed what we have done in our aid programs, the more I am convinced that it isn't only the money, but rather the people who really count. It is the people * * * their attitudes * * * all over the world that are important in putting across a program. Among the best instruments of this method are the American voluntary agencies, including those supported by the three great faiths. They have been active in 78 countries and areas of the world giving not only first aid, but planful care to the most dispossessed of humanity.

I could relate for hours the work these organizations have done in the field of health, but time will permit me to only give you an idea of their work.

The Jewish American Joint Distribution Committee gives generous support to medical institutions, schools, and children's institutions not only in Israel, but throughout north Africa. * * * In cooperation with an advisory committee of both French and American doctors, the Unitarian Service

Committee assisted in the placement of nine French interns in United States hospitals. Also under sponsorship of the Unitarian Service Committee, five American medical scientists shared their knowledge of anesthesiology with Japanese physicians. The American Friends Service Committee runs a surgery and pathology wing in the Kunsan, Korea, provincial hospital and has hope that during this year medical specialists will be sent to Kunsan to give special training to Korean doctors. Incidentally, under this scheme a gynecologist already has been sent.

The American Bureau for Medical Aid to China's overseas program is conducted along various lines—training personnel for all branches of medicine and surgery, providing financial support, medical supplies, and supervisory services for a nurses' training program, supporting nine medical and nursing fellowships for training in America.

My friends, in breaking the vicious circle of poor health, low productivity, and low-living standards leading again to poor health, these voluntary groups, the world organizations, our Government, and some private interests, are helping to eradicate the social and economic causes of war. The goals are not beyond reach: in those places where project goals have been reached, complete cooperation has been assumed by local governments.

Yet despite these recent improvements in health conditions, there are major problems still to be solved. It will be many, many years before the incidence of malaria, sleeping sickness, yaws and the numerous parasitic infections are reduced to minor proportions.

Forward-looking groups such as yours can and should perform a service in advancing ideas and establishing a favorable climate for a new world health leadership. Science has given us the tools with which to wipe away disease from the face of the earth. What we need is the personnel and research to carry out the work and the funds with which to operate.

There is a need in the world today for a nonpublic, international, professional medical group or foundation whose aim would be to lift the burden of disease from the shoulders of mankind through research, study, assistance, and information exchange.

This foundation could be composed of representatives of medical and pharmaceutical professions and the pharmaceutical industry from all parts of the world. As I have tried to indicate, there are many areas of world health where private enterprises are much more effective than governmental units. And we must keep in mind that the more we can do on a private scale, the less a government is required to do.

The aims of such an interprofessional organization can be generally outlined as follows:

First, to bring the great benefits of American advances in chemotherapy to more people everywhere.

Many countries are extremely backward when it comes to new drugs. If all peoples everywhere were made aware of all the antibiotics, insecticides and new vaccines which are available, it would be possible, not only to control disease, but to eradicate it in many areas. Work with these drugs could be the inspiration for new discoveries, new applications.

A second aim, to encourage the development of pharmaceutical research and other research facilities in countries less advanced than the United States, always with the help of professional, scientific, and industrial experts from other countries with modern technology.

This could be achieved through agreements between a needy country's government and American pharmaceutical firms or those in other countries. Here we see the possibilities of a program designed around private group to government—a relatively new concept.

As we move into countries with preventative medicines, we should realize that this is the only type of health program which is reaching mass populations. In many instances, it is the first contact of modern medical attention these people have had. This mass preventative program lays the foundation for acceptance of curative drugs. Pharmaceutical research could be a vital link in this chain.

A third aim would be to encourage the appreciation, adaptation, and application of our medical and pharmaceutical institutions in other countries.

Many countries and their professional organizations have already shown their interest in studying American institutions and methods such as the Food and Drug Administration, the United States Pharmacopeia, the educational curriculums and many others.

These suggestions and recommendations could be made acceptable through a broader application of person-to-person contact through exchange, hence—

A fourth aim, to encourage many more contacts among physicians, pharmacists, pharmaceutical scientists and industrialists, hospital people and other medical specialists.

Let me give you an example:

Recently a representative of Israeli pharmacy was in the United States seeking assistance for pharmacy colleges there. Through the new group I have suggested, young men and women from pharmacy colleges in Ceylon, Israel, Chile, if they wanted to, could come here. They could become acquainted with our colleges, our pharmacies, our pharmaceutical laboratories, our physicians.

On the other hand, American pharmaceutical firms might organize teams of research chemists, pharmacologists, clinical investigators, to visit other countries to help in problem analysis and the establishment of professional schools.

It is hardly surprising that person-to-person contacts are coming to play a still larger role in international affairs than they have in the past. Experience has indicated the desirability of this expansion, and the ease of arranging international travel in recent years has made it possible.

The opportunities are readily apparent: a growth in understanding on the part of visitor and visited alike, and deeper insights and more lasting impressions than other means of communication usually permit.

We should remember that numerous governments and hundreds of private groups already are supporting programs to exchange students, teachers, and scholars between this and other countries. A few also are enabling persons who are leaders in other walks of life to travel for study or observation. I already have mentioned the Fulbright program. The World Health Organization has 1,000 grants a year in its fellowship program. Foreign governments have invited our doctors to their hospitals, and we have reciprocated. However, there still exists a need for expansion if the people of the United States and other nations are to understand each other better and work together for world health and understanding.

A fifth aim, to help alleviate the shortage of trained pharmacists, chemists, and other related specialists in many coutnries, including ours, by encouraging students through scholarships to enter the various fields, and by subsidizing the professional institutions either directly or through research projects.

A final, and sixth aim might well be for the private foundations to focus the attention of all governments on such related questions as the status of pharmaceutical development and the standards of education in medicine and pharmacy, through close liaison with such organizations as WHO and UNICEF.

It is my relief that this objective can be more readily obtained if we integrate with the Federal Government's efforts, the potential of the Nation's private economy—the professional people, investors, civil, religious, and educational establishments.

Sometimes any kind of intervention—whether to alleviate hunger or to alleviate ill health—may be misunderstood or resented. People who may be wary of accepting aid from the United States will more readily accept the assistance of an international organization to which they themselves belong. The world professional foundation, of which I have talked, could be one such organization through which professional and industrial members can work to help each other and to help themselves.

Permit me to summarize the aims of this plan once again: They are to bring the great benefits of American advances in chemotherapy to more people everywhere; to encourage the development of pharmaceutical research and other facilities in countries less advanced than ours; to encourage the adaptation and application of our medical and pharmaceutical institutions in other countries; to encourage more person-to-person exchanges; to help alleviate shortages of trained personnel and to focus attention of all governments on aspects of the medical field as developed by the plan.

Through official and private channels, the foundation could offer help with public health education, distributing visual and literal aids.

Meetings could be held in major cities of the world to discuss the pharmaceutical challenges in relation to world health problems. The group could encourage the dissemination of knowledge through publications and, as I have said, person-to-person contact.

Unless I have overlooked limitations of a highly resistant nature, I think the American pharmaceutical industry will not shirk its humanitarian obligations. Again and again it has demonstrated that it cares by shipping needed drugs abroad to help their fellows overcome emergency.

Yours is an industry that has thrived on the challenge and the excitement of creating new medicines. You sometimes even "live dangerously" as business goes, by making a maximum financial effort to find an elusive aid against a disease, with no assurance of success and return to your stockholders.

Such a plan as I have outlined, cannot and should not be achieved solely by the efforts of governments working either independently or together. We need the coordination of private interests and private investments—we need the sharing of skill and experience—we need the helping of the weak by the strong.

The underdeveloped countries, especially those in Asia and Africa have acquired a new importance to the United States and the free world. No one privileged to serve on our American delegation to the United Nations, as I have been at the current session, can fail to grasp that these new and developing nations of Asia and Africa, now numbering 27, control more than a third of the votes in the General Assembly. Almost all future additions to the family of free nations will likely be in Asia and Africa. The outcome o fthe great struggle between freedom and communism will unquestionably be decided by the turn of events in these countries. Our future is tied in with theirs.

People can only start thinking of freedom and the rights of the individual when they are freed from the day-to-day concern of trying to eke out a bare survival and are in good enough health to turn their attention to matters other than sheer subsistence. In helping others to help themselves, we are

achieving in a practical way a means for these people to live fuller lives.

It is through an increasing coordination of endeavor within nations and between nations—on a people-to-people basis—that the modern need of worldwide health can, will, and is being transformed from a hope into a reality * * * resulting in happy relationships between people. This sort of security can be the basis for a lasting world peace.

But the requirements of a just and enduring peace are exacting and difficult.

Clearly we cannot expect to live peacefully in a world slum overflowing with disease, tension, and hate. Nor can we impose peace by bombs and tanks.

As former President Truman said: "The only kind of war we seek is the good old fight against man's ancient enemies * * * poverty, disease, hunger, and illiteracy."

We must join in this all-out attack on poverty, disease, hunger, and illiteracy. We must share our technical assistance—the scientific know-how—in food production, industrial development, health services, and education. Such a program will increase the wealth and welfare of the underdeveloped countries and bring greater opportunities to their people.

All of us—through consistent practical, concrete action, must demonstrate in unmistakable terms our genuine concern for the rank and file of humanity, and our willingness to help them build a better life.

Such a program will take time. The poverty and insecurity that beset the majority of the world's people were centuries in the making, and they will not be erased overnight. But delay cannot be tolerated. We must march ahead with confidence, hope, imagination, and boldness.

Commencement Address by Hon. Lister Hill, of Alabama, at the University of Kentucky

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, on May 27, 1957, the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL] delivered an address at the commencement exercises of the University of Kentucky, at Lexington. The senior Senator from Alabama is held in high regard in Kentucky, and the people of my State were glad to welcome him.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the very aspiring address he delivered be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. LISTER HILL, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM ALABAMA, COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY, LEXINGTON, KY., MAY 27, 1957

May I express my deep appreciation for the honor that Dr. Dickey has done me in asking that I speak to you today. It is always a privilege to speak in Kentucky, so glorious in her history and so rich in her contributions to our Nation. But this is a particularly auspicious day—auspicious because you, our young friends of the graduating class, go forth to launch your careers and to begin your life's work; auspicious because the University pays tribute to a great son of Kentucky and of the Nation, my cherished friend, the late Alben W. Barkley. Today you receive his personal papers—intimate and priceless record of so much of the history of our time. Here these papers will be preserved and studied for our benefit and the benefit of future generations.

Alben Barkley was truly a citizen of this century. His political life began literally in the horse and buggy days. It ended in the nuclear age.

Alben Barkley's time overlapped four historic periods in the development of our Nation:

First, America's coming of age with Woodrow Wilson, when a people became conscious of their destiny and their leadership in the family of nations.

Second, the days of the great depression, when it was demonstrated that in time of domestic crisis a vigorous, determined Government can act to protect the people from stagnation, and despair, and needless suffering.

Third were the years of World War II and after, when America used her might to beat down the totalitarian enemies of the free world and then to hold back those who sought world domination by infiltration, subversion and cold war.

And finally, he lived into the age of nuclear energy, of flight faster than sound, of man's first tentative thrust into outer space with the building of the earth satellite.

Alben Barkley was at home in all these times. He retained always the resilience of youth, the zest for new things, the willingness to try uncharted paths. He looked always to the future.

This man lived for us in our time the sturdiest, the most romantic tradition of American political life—the rise from humble and unlovely beginnings to power and international fame. He was born in a log cabin. He worked long and hard on the farm. As he said, he "did man's work at a boy's age." He put himself through college. He became successively county prosecutor, county judge, Congressman, Senator, and Vice President. Like that other immortal Kentuckian, Henry Clay, his name outshines many of those who have held the office of President of the United States.

Alben Barkley had his moments of disappointment and sorrow. But he knew that only the stream impeded has a song. To him, the test was not that he always should win, but that he should carry on. When he lost, he never complained. He met disappointment with determination, and defeat with renewed vigor. His sense of justice, of the eternal fitness of things, never failed him.

In his autobiography, Alben Barkley declares:

"For my part, every time I get to taking myself too seriously, I remind myself of several stories.

"One was told me by a prominent Englishman, who was explaining to me why governmental problems are more complex in the United States than in his country. 'There are at least 57 varieties—like those famous pickles—of you Americans, and every one of you has different ideas,' he said. 'In my country there are only 4 kinds of people with 4 ideas. There are the Scots, who won't wear rubber heels because they give. There are the Welsh, who pray on their knees—and prey on everyone else. There are the Irish, who don't know what they want and are willing to fight for it. And finally, there are the English, who are self-made and worship their creator.'

"The moral, so far as I am concerned, is that every time I get to thinking of myself as a self-made man, I remember not to get too enthusiastic about my 'creator.'"

Thus did Alben Barkley laugh at himself. But he did not laugh at other men. He was too sensitive of the feelings of others, too understanding of human nature, too loving of his fellow man. He laughed with people. He broke their tensions. With his rich fund of stories and his inimitable humor he brought joy and delight to their hearts.

Sir James Barrie tells us that courage is the lovely virtue—the rib of Himself that God has sent down to His children.

Of all the great qualities of Alben Barkley, perhaps the most notable were his courage and his integrity. Throughout his life there runs the shining thread of his courage, his deep sense of personal integrity.

Alben Barkley's courage carried him to a place among the leaders of our Nation. And where he felt his integrity was at stake, Alben Barkley with courage put aside all personal considerations.

During much of his life in Washington, Alben Barkley was the staunch ally and confidant of Franklin D. Roosevelt. In his autobiography he tells the story of his break with President Roosevelt over the tax bill in the spring of 1944. He tells of the President's veto of the tax bill. And of his stinging reply on the floor of the Senate to the veto message, which he felt was a calculated assault upon the legislative integrity of the Members of Congress.

Alben Barkley's courage led him into the break with Franklin Roosevelt. His integrity led him to follow it through, whatever the cost.

In his reply to the veto message, Alben Barkley declared: "There is something more precious to me than any honor. This is the approval of my own conscience and my own self-respect. That self-respect and the rectitude of that conscience I propose to maintain."

The speech may well have cost Alben Barkley the Presidency of the United States. For these words were spoken a few short weeks before the 1944 Democratic National Convention. Alben Barkley knew that the time was too short to heal a breach and open the way for his nomination as the Vice President, the nomination which led to the Presidency. Above this honor he placed his integrity, his self-respect.

But Alben Barkley did not have it in his heart to harbor ill will toward any man. The old friendship for President Roosevelt was still in his heart, and throughout the war years and up to the time of Roosevelt's death he continued to be the President's strong right arm on Capitol Hill.

The lessons we learn from the life, the character and the service of Alben Barkley are many. But one central fact stands out.

In a sophisticated age, he was not afraid to be himself. He treasured the homely virtues of truth and honesty, of courage and forthrightness, of humility and love of his fellow man. Because of his belief in these old and homely virtues, Alben Barkley was at home in any time and any place. Seated on a rock for Thanksgiving dinner with the GI's in Korea, in the company of princes and heads of state, in the bosom of his family, this man bore always the sterling stamp of his pioneer Kentucky folk.

We know that Alben Barkley left the company of living men while addressing the students of Washington and Lee University. This was most fitting. He loved young people, for he was ever young in mind and spirit. He saw in the young the hope and promise of the future. As a true patriot, he went to that great source of patriotism—the enthusiastic spirit and idealism of young men and young women.

As you young people today go out into the great adventure—life—you feel, perhaps, like many other young people that you have missed something exciting by being born in the 20th century. The frontiers, you feel, have disappeared and with them—adventure.

True, there is scarcely a spot on the globe that has not been discovered and charted. But the days of adventure are not past. Never has there been a time in our history

when the Nation so greatly needed the pioneer.

Ever present, ever more challenging, is the intellectual frontier. For as we seek new raw materials and new sources of energy, we must delve deeper into the earth's crust and ever outward into space; we must look deeper into the heart of matter and its nuclear secrets. And, as we seek within man himself greater understanding of his being, we must search relentlessly into the human mind.

Bold new adventures lie before us—in the field of medicine, in scientific advancement and engineering, in teaching, in business, in industry and agriculture, in politics and public affairs, and in the building of the peace of the world.

We stand today at the threshold of a golden age of medicine. I predict that within a few short years the world will see a tremendous breakthrough of medical knowledge that will enable us to overcome the dread diseases that have plagued and baffled mankind through the ages. There is reason for confidence that this breakthrough will yield the answer to heart disease, cancer, mental illness, the virus diseases, and the many other crippling and degenerative ailments.

The Salk vaccine has given at last the means for wiping out poliomyelitis in its dread forms. We have radioactive isotopes, antibiotics, multiple vaccines, new drugs and chemicals, and diagnostic tests. Dramatic new tools are now in use or near practical application.

With these tools the hopes and dreams of today can become the realities of tomorrow.

The breakthrough of knowledge will not come from any one discovery. It will be the accumulation of many discoveries. And from you who go forward in the study of medicine—or in chemistry, physics, biology, engineering—from you may come the overlooked fact, the vital unnoticed clue, that causes a host of other facts to fall into place. And brings another sensational step forward.

It has been said that science has compressed into the past 50 years more advances than the previous sum of all man's scientific achievement.

The advance of science and technology unfolds new wonders to this world of ours. It holds out new opportunity and new adventure for you.

Today science and technology serve us in almost every phase of daily living. They produce the food we eat and the fiber we wear, purify the water we drink, and in some localities even cleanse the air we breathe. They are present in industry with new materials, automation, and new equipment for productivity. They form the foundation stone of national defense and our international relations.

Before us lie further developments in nucleonics, electronics, aerodynamics, and other fields. Even as we seek full knowledge of atomic energy and its constructive uses, man turns to renewed study of solar energy, and the life-giving effects of the light as well as the heat of the sun.

The march of science, the amazing economic growth, the needs of national defense, the increasing complexity of the world we live in have combined to generate a rising demand for trained and skilled people in the United States.

World disorder has forced us to adopt a radically different and a higher concept of defense, employing the most terrible and costly weapons that man can devise, yet we have been willing to limp along on an educational system that is wholly inadequate to turn out sufficient numbers of highly trained citizens and to meet the multiplied demands for moral discipline and for wisdom in great affairs.

The hour demands a radically different and higher concept of education, and a far greater support for our schools, colleges, and universities.

To attract workers industry is spending millions of dollars in newspaper advertisements and sending swarms of recruiters to the campuses of our colleges and universities.

Behind this need for trained manpower lies a more fundamental need—the need for more teachers.

Record school enrollments, and college enrollments which are expected to double by 1970, further accentuate this need.

Teachers are our seed corn of knowledge. We are told that to assure the succeeding harvests of trained young men and women 1 out of every 12 trained persons must be retained for teaching.

In recent years we have been in danger of consuming our seed corn. The shortage of trained people has drawn many teachers out of education and into business and industry.

I have worked with and for teachers for many years. I know the fulfillment that comes with the giving of themselves for the knowledge, the guidance, the inspiration they impart to others. But the teacher, like the rest of us, is human. He has human wants and needs that must be met.

The teacher, in this era of remarkable contrasts and swift change, must be assured of opportunity for continued study and educational growth. Salaries must be high enough to enable the teacher and his family to enjoy a good standard of living, know recreation and travel, and look forward to security in later years.

The Nation must recognize the essential worth and dignity of the teacher. The Nation must realize it is the teacher who nurtures our national destiny.

Here in Kentucky, we see a new day of industrial growth and diversification. This new day gives encouragement to business initiative. It offers opportunity to young men and women in commerce, in production, in distribution, in business management.

You know Kentucky's natural resources. In the production of coal your State is third in the Nation; in production of fluorspar second only to Illinois; it is well endowed with natural gas, petroleum, lead, zinc, and refractory clays. Nearly half of Kentucky's land area—11 million acres—is covered with rich hardwood timberland, a resource that replenishes itself year after year through the selective cutting of your lumber industries. Kentucky burley tobacco is famous and is enjoyed throughout the world.

Upon the foundation of these God-given resources, Kentucky is now building a mighty structure of business, industry, and agriculture. At Paducah the billion dollar atomic energy installation with TVA power has brought new jobs for Kentucky workers and new markets for Kentucky coal and other products.

Kentucky has seen a phenomenal growth in new and expanded industries. Aluminum, steel, chemicals, plastics, electronics, synthetic rubber, glass fiber—these and many more have strengthened and prospered your economy.

Kentucky's splendid growth is an inspiration to all the South. But the very magnificence of her achievement presents a challenge, and particularly a challenge to you young graduates.

With all her progress, Kentucky ranks 43d in per capita income. The South's per capita income is still only 70 percent of the national average. The leading southern State in per capita income ranks only 24th among all the States.

This is a challenge you cannot refuse. Kentucky's proud record of progress demonstrates to you what can be done. The South's young people no longer need migrate to other States to find opportunity and success. Kentucky has cradled you, reared you, educated you—here in Kentucky you can find endless opportunity to use your knowledge, your skills, your training to serve her, while you build your own future.

Today, my friends, we look upon a world, ever new, ever changing, ever bright with opportunity and challenge. In this world one task compels us all, the building of a lasting peace.

We have fought two world wars to bring peace. We have poured out our blood and our treasure. We have shared our wealth, our goods, our resources to rebuild our allies shattered by war. We have stood guard for the free world to preseve an uneasy peace.

Now, new compulsions for men to live without war press upon both sides of the Iron Curtain. The United States and Russia have the atomic means to destroy each other. War within the next decade will mean guided missiles that can travel into space at 16,000 miles an hour and plummet to the other side of the earth, blasting the largest city to atomic dust—or worse, spreading death from bacteriological warheads.

There are signs that even the masters of the Kremlin shrink from bringing such searing, deadly war to this planet. But we must not be misled into false security. The end to danger is not in sight. America must stand strong—flexible in her ability to meet massive attack or the corrosion of minor conflicts. America must hold fast to her historic allies. America must continue to strengthen her friends among the newly independent nations.

Let us look with the eye of history on the events of the past decade. The problems of world politics in this period are the birth pangs of a new world community that must—of necessity—be born. The shape of this world community will depend so much upon the courage and determination, the leadership and vision that we of our Nation give. We are the leader among nations. We must measure up to the demands and responsibilities of leadership.

My young friends of the graduating class, this hour I bid you—whatever may be your life's work—go forward, play your part in public affairs, be leaders in the building of the peace of the world. Go forward with the qualities that were ever Alben Barkley's. Go forward with his untiring dedication to duty, his understanding and sympathy, his skill at bringing agreement among men, his steadfast courage to fight for the right, his love of country.

Go forward, not with the sickly complaint of Hamlet, "The time is out of joint. O cursed spite, that ever I was born to set it right." But rather in the spirit of Rupert Brooke, the Christian Crusader, who gave his life to set men free, and who declared, "Now God be thanked who has matched me with His hour."

Sovereignty of the Canal Zone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, on the 18th instant, my wife and I were guests of the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C., at its 22d annual meeting—with luncheon—at the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel in this city. The subject discussed was Suez and Panama. The principal speaker was former Congressman Maurice H. Thatcher, of Kentucky, the only surviving member of the Isthmian Canal

Commission, which had charge of the actual construction of the Panama Canal. Other speakers were Capt. Miles P. DuVal, United States Navy, retired, and Prof. Charles S. Collier, of the George Washington University faculty. The addresses were informative and interesting and made very clear, indeed, the basis for the authority and control of the canal and the Canal Zone, in perpetuity, by the United States. On the 24th instant, my esteemed colleague, Representative BROOKS HAYS, of Arkansas, also in attendance at the meeting, placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the indicated addresses, together with his own comments, with respect to the occasion.

Subsequent to the indicated meeting—that is to say, on the 21st instant—there appeared in the Christian Science Monitor a very interesting article by Gen. William E. Potter, present Governor of the Canal Zone and President of the Panama Canal Company, dealing with the question of United States authority at Panama. The views were identical with those of the speakers at the indicated Panama Canal Society meeting. His contribution to the subject was opportune and he speaks with authority. It should, therefore, be of value in combating the wave of propaganda that is being put forth as regards the rights, power, and authority of the United States with respect to the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone. Therefore, under leave accorded, I am including Governor Potter's article as a part of these remarks:

PANAMA CANAL PLAYS VITAL ROLE IN WORLD'S INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS—UNITED STATES IS SOLE AUTHORITY IN STRIP ACROSS ISTHMUS

(By W. E. Potter, Governor, Panama Canal Zone; President, Panama Canal Company)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—All previous records for traffic through the Panama Canal were broken recently when 808 oceangoing commercial vessels, plus 32 United States Government ships, transited the waterway during March. In response to an invitation from the Christian Science Monitor, W. E. Potter, Governor of the Panama Canal and president of the Panama Canal Company, discusses in a series of four articles the unique status of the United States Government-owned canal in international law, the necessity of the existing form of government in the zone area, how essential the canal is to world trade, and the canal's future in the new world of supertankers that has developed in the present decade. This is the first article.)

BALBOA HEIGHTS, C. Z.

With the great forces of nationalism, self-determination, and revolution taking over the world's headlines in recent years, we Americans, perhaps, have too easily tended to overlook the vital role played by the Panama Canal in the world and United States industrial complex.

For more than 40 years the canal has operated in what once was a jungle pest hole with clean, quiet efficiency that ever ceases to amaze visitors.

A treaty that perhaps is unique in world history—between one of the world's greatest powers and one of the smallest—made the canal possible.

Recent world conditions, however, have turned the spotlight on the strategic 50-mile-long waterway cut through the heart of Panama and connecting the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans.

RETURNS TO LIMELIGHT

Before the Suez crisis, the Panama Canal had dropped from the world's limelight. The exceptions were occasional headlines involving the sea-level versus lock-type canal controversy, when an increase in shipping tolls was hinted, when there was a threatened rock slide as in 1954, or an anniversary such as last December when the one-billionth ton of goods moved through the canal.

But the Suez crisis focused the attention of the world on the Panama Canal—not to question its operating efficiency, but its legal status.

In short, not because of its exemplary service to world shipping and national defense for four decades, but because of the seizure of a great waterway on the other side of the world, the Panama Canal was thrust into the news.

The key question raised, of course, was, Could this happen to the "Big Ditch"?

Without attempting to forecast the course of world events in future decades, my answer would have to be, "No, this could not happen to the Panama Canal."

UNIQUE LEGAL STATUS

I say this without equivocation because nowhere else in the world is there an area of land or water with the same legal status as the 10-mile-wide strip of land known as the Canal Zone.

There is a wide misbelief that the canal is leased from Panama for an annual rental. We neither lease it nor pay rent for it.

In the 1903 convention which conveyed the use of the Canal Zone to the United States, there is used the word "grant" (not "lease") and the grant is "in perpetuity."

For this grant, the United States paid Panama $10 million outright and established an annuity of $250,000 a year effective 10 years after ratification. This annuity has since been increased to $1,930,000 annually.

The United States at the time of the 1903 convention also compensated individual landowners in the Canal Zone for the rights and titles of their property.

DUAL PAYMENTS MADE

In effect, the United States paid for the right and also bought the land.

The 1903 treaty was ratified by the two governments and has not been basically altered by subsequent agreements between them.

Thus we see that the Canal Zone is territory under the jurisdiction of the United States, a jurisdiction which admittedly has been modified by subsequent treaties, and that it can be regarded as a possession for purposes of applying United States statutes.

To clear up any misconceptions, I would like to discuss further the treaties between the United States and Panama regarding the Canal Zone.

Article II of the 1903 treaty says, "The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation, and control of a zone of land and land under water for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of said canal * * * extending to the distance of 5 miles on each side of the center line of the canal to be constructed."

FULL AUTHORITY GRANTED

Under article III, "The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, power, and authority within the zone mentioned and described in article II of this agreement and within the limits of all auxiliary lands and waters mentioned and described in article II which the United States would possess and exercise if it were sovereign of the territory within which lands and waters are located to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power, or authority."

It was for this grant that the United States gave the newly founded Republic of Panama a $10-million grant and established a $250,000-a-year annuity.

A 1936 treaty with Panama increased the annuity to $430,000 to offset the potential monetary loss to Panama after the United States abandoned the gold standard. In 1955, another treaty increased the annuity to $1,930,000. But neither of these two treaties changed the basic legal status of the Canal Zone.

I think it is interesting to note at this point that although many Panama politicians have suggested internationalization of the canal, the Panamanian Government never has. And in view of the clarity of the existing treaty, I do not consider it likely that any such suggestion will be made officially.

DIFFERENCE IN STATUS

I hope I have made it clear there is no analogy between the status of the Panama and Suez Canals. The Suez was under private ownership on a concession basis with a very definite time limit.

In addition, Egypt retained reversionary rights in the Suez concession, whereas the grants by Panama to the United States were in perpetuity.

A number of other points were involved in the 1936 and 1955 treaties which I would like to mention briefly because they will have a bearing on future articles.

Under the 1936 treaty, the United States agreed to limit the exercise of its rights in the zone by defining and limiting those entitled to conduct private business enterprises in the zone and those entitled to purchase and free-entry privileges. In the 1955 agreement, limitations also were placed on the sales of merchandise to vessels in canal waters.

These restrictions are of considerable importance to the zone resident since they remove any ability to engage in private business. They also make necessary the engaging in such small normal private-enterprise activities as may be necessary by the United States entity operating the canal.

TRADE GOES TO PANAMA

The main effect has been to cause a large amount of trade to cross into Panama. In future years this trade will grow with the good result of lessening the need for large activities of Government in business.

Not only did the 1955 treaty increase the annuity to $1,930,000, but it promised that properties owned by the United States within the Republic of Panama and valued at $25 million would be transferred to Panama.

Furthermore, it promised that we would build a bridge which will cost around $20 million over the Pacific end of the canal, and as of January 1 this year barred from the zone's commissaries Panamanian employees of the zone living in Panama, retired United States citizen and noncitizen zone employees living in Panama, and others.

This has cut the zone's commissary business almost $14 million a year, business which ostensibly has been taken over by Panamanian business establishments.

The 1955 treaty also permitted Panama to tax its citizens employed by United States Government agencies in the zone and nationals of third countries employed by such agencies but residing in Panama.

Knowledge of these basic controls is necessary to understand not only the way of life in the zone, but also the restrictions on free enterprise which usually is inherent in the democratic way of life.

Resolutions of National Society of New England Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, the National Society of New England Women has furnished me with a copy of the resolutions adopted at its 44th annual congress, held in Swampscott, Mass., May 22, 1957.

The positions this organization has taken on a great many issues of national and international importance to the United States should be of interest, and I ask unanimous consent that these resolutions be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL SOCIETY OF NEW ENGLAND WOMEN, RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE 44TH ANNUAL CONGRESS, MAY 22, 1957, NEW OCEAN HOUSE, SWAMPSCOTT, MASS.

I. REDEDICATION

Whereas the 44th annual congress of the National Society of New England Women comes at a critical period unparalleled in socialistic threats and communistic dangers to the Republic and to Christianity; and

Whereas the society's fundamental principles are more sorely needed today than ever before for constitutional government and individual freedom under God:

Resolved, That the National Society of New England Women rededicate itself to the emulation of the spirit and service of the forefathers and reconsecrate its best efforts to their crusading zeal for the perpetuation of their courage and faith.

II. REAFFIRMATION

(See resolutions of 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956.)

A. Dedications

1. Principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.
2. Sovereignty and integrity of the United States.
3. Appreciation of our heritage.

B. Preserve the Constitution

1. Expose world government and Atlantic Union.
2. Restrict the United Nations, UNESCO, Red China.
3. Oppose the Status of Forces Treaty, the Genocide Convention, International Labor Organization, Organization for Trade Cooperation, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Reciprocal Trade Agreements, Covenant on Human Rights.
4. Support the Bricker amendment on the treatymaking power; the Reed-Dirksen (now Dirksen-Gwinn) amendment on the taxing power; the Byrd-Bridges amendment on expenditures and receipts; the Mundt-Coudert amendment to reform the electoral college; the Reed-Walter (now Gwinn) amendment to give States full power to originate amendments to the Constitution.

C. National defense and foreign policy

1. For superior air power and adequate Army and Navy.
2. Sever diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R.
3. Outlaw the Communist Party.
4. Curtail foreign spending.
5. Oppose drafting of women for military service.
6. Release of American soldiers held in Communist prisons.
7. Oppose pooling atomic information and resources.

D. Domestic security

1. Preservation of McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act.
(a) Oppose influx of additional refugees.
2. Oppose Federal aid to education with inevitable control.
(a) Urge a recognition of divine guidance in school programs.
(b) Urge study of American history.
3. Support Sons of the American Revolution bill of grievances.
4. Urge oath of allegiance for candidates for public office.
5. Question membership of public officials in world government promoting groups.
6. Oppose socialized medicine.
7. Caution on fluoridating water.
8. Support of right-to-work laws, forbidding compulsory unionism.
9. Resumption of its constitutional obligations by the Congress.
10. Gold redemption.
11. Economy in government.

E. Endorse investigations

1. Tax-exempt foundations.
2. Congressional committees of investigation.

F. Endorse patriotic programs

1. Alexander Hamilton bicentennial celebration.
2. Amendment to flag code requiring display of United States flag when U. N. flag is displayed.
3. Flag protection and flag on graves of war dead in Korea.
4. Urge General MacArthur's counsel on Japanese Peace Treaty.

III. CURRENT RESOLUTIONS

1. Atoms for peace

Whereas a statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency has been submitted to the Senate for advice and consent to its ratification as a treaty; and

Whereas the United States has already concluded more than 40 bilateral agreements with selected countries looking to cooperation in atomic research; and

Whereas the United States is expected to contribute its knowledge, materials, and money to said international agency in which it is outvoted by nations, most of which are unable to contribute anything; and

Whereas by majority vote Red China can be admitted and there is nothing to prevent shipping uranium, etc., to the U. S. S. R., Red China, or Soviet satellites;

Resolved, That the 44th annual congress of the National Society of New England Women urge the Senate of the United States to refuse to give its advice and consent to the ratification of the statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency as a treaty.

2. United Nations emergency force

Whereas the control of the people over their Armed Forces is one of the vital elements of sovereignty; and

Whereas the lesson of the Korean "police action" is that the United States, while bearing 90 percent of the cost in lives and dollars, was denied victory by the political considerations of the United Nations;

Resolved, That the 44th annual congress of the National Society of New England Women urge the President of the United States not to transfer any of our United States Armed Forces to the United Nations or any international command under "treaty obligations" or otherwise.

3. United States aid to satellite governments

Whereas the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has drained the satellite countries of their resources; and

Whereas it is proposed to give money and materials to the Governments of Poland, Hungary, and other satellites of the U. S. S. R. which enslave their people;

Resolved, That the 44th annual congress of the National Society of New England Women oppose financial and material aid to the satellite governments of the U. S. S. R. which make it possible for these oppressors of their people to stay in power.

4. Reduce the $71.8 billion budget

Whereas the budget of fiscal year 1955 was $64.6 billion and has increased to nearly $72 billion, the larger part of the increase being in domestic civilian expenditures and not in the military; and

Whereas to curb inflation, reduce taxes, and prevent the triumph of socialism by spending ourselves into destruction;

Resolved, That the 44th annual congress of the National Society of New England Women support the bi-partisan leaders of both Houses of Congress who are determined to cut this largest peacetime budget in history.

5. Proposed legislation on civil rights

Whereas so-called civil-rights legislation would sacrifice liberties guaranteed to all citizens by the bill of rights of the Constitution of the United States and wipe out States' rights for government by commission and police state methods of enforcement;

Resolved, That the 44th annual congress of the National Society of New England Women oppose all so-called civil rights legislation now pending in the Congress of the United States.

6. Senate cloture rule

Whereas civil-rights agitators are working to change the Senate rule on the closing of debate in that body in order to make easier the passage of civil-rights legislation; and

Whereas seven bills before a subcommittee of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee propose (1) to change the presently required affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Senators duly chosen and sworn to (2) to two-thirds of those present and voting, or (3) to a simple majority vote; and

Whereas traditionally the Senate is a curb upon hasty action by the House and is now the only free parliamentary body left in the world:

Resolved, That the 44th annual congress of the National Society of New England Women urge the Rules Committee and the Senate of the United States not to stifle freedom of speech on the Senate floor, but to maintain its present rule requiring an affirmative vote of "two-thirds of Senators duly chosen and sworn" as this country's greatest protection against adoption of harmful legislation promoted by special interest groups for selfish ends.

7. Federal aid to school construction

Whereas professional educators have lobbied for Federal aid to schools for 30 years under any pretext and now are the chief advocates of Federal aid for school construction; and

Whereas the evidence is overwhelming that the States do not need or want more Federal aid to school construction:

Resolved, That the 44th annual congress of the National Society of New England Women reaffirm its opposition to more Federal aid to education, in whatever guise, and urge continued faith in the ability of crossroads America to best know and meet local school needs, without the risk of control, inevitable with so-called Federal aid.

8. Socialism in the churches

Whereas socialism is fruit of the same tree as communism; and

Whereas church social action programs in the name of "peace" and "brotherhood" make socialism respectable:

Resolved, That the 44th annual congress of the National Society of New England

Women recognize the fallacy and danger of promoting measures which can lead only to world socialism and the autocratic state and protest using our churches and our money for such political purposes.

9. Courtesy resolution

Mrs. ERNEST H. PERKINS,
Mrs. FRANK PARCELLS,
Mrs. FLOYD WOOLSEY,
Mrs. GERALD O. INMAN,
Mrs. WM. D. LEETCH, *Chairman,*
Resolutions Committee.

The South's Progress Prospects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, on Saturday, June 1, 1957, an excellent editorial entitled, "People of Nation Are Impressed by South's Progress Prospects," appeared in the Birmingham News, one of the Nation's finest daily newspapers. The editorial forcefully points up the growing realization by all our people of the advantages of the South and its economic prospects. I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEOPLE OF NATION ARE IMPRESSED BY SOUTH'S PROGRESS PROSPECTS

In recent years it has been widely evident that the people of this country have been specially impressed by advantages of the South and its economic proposals. Much comment to that effect has been backed up by the coming of many new citizens from other sections to this region and by the marked growth of business and industry that already has occurred.

The advantages of this area in manpower, natural resources, climate have, of course, been major factors in this advance. But fundamentally what has counted most has been the growing recognition by the people of the South and of the rest of the Nation of the opportunities there advantages afford. Whatever stimulates and extends such recognition contributes to the expantion of the opportunities these advantages

It is highly gratifying, then, that the results of a poll announced yesterday by the American Institute of Public Opinion emphasize anew the recognition by the people of the Nation as a whole of this region's potentialities for continuing advance.

Dr. Gallup's interviewers put this question to a carefully balanced cross-section of adults: "Which section of the country—East, Middle West, South, or West—do you think will go ahead most rapidly in the next 20 years?"

The West led in the replies but only by a small margin over the South. Thirty-five percent named the West, 31 percent the South, 19 percent the Middle West and 16 percent the East.

As was to be expected, sectional loyalty influences judgment on such a question, the survey indicated. Naturally many are strongly inclined to think well of the prospects of the region in which they live. But despite such feelings, objective considerations obviously entered very importantly into the formation of answers. For instance, more people in New England put the prospects of the West and South above those of the East than put their own section first.

Clearly the high regard for the South's future shown over the country is a widespread and effective influence that can make for more newcomers, more activity, more investment in this region. The survey indicated a high degree of confidence also among the people of the South, with 65 percent of those interviewed in this area putting its prospects first.

Whatever southerners can do to expand sound realization of this region's opportunities and advantages will contribute toward new progress. What we certainly can do is to strive to see our many continuing problems as comprehensively and as realistically as possible and to press on to the utmost with our efforts toward constructive solutions. Effective endeavor of that kind makes both for growing realization of our advantages and potentialities elsewhere and for soundly increasing confidence among ourselves.

Let's find fresh impetus in the appreciation of this region's possibilities in other parts of the country and get on with our many tasks. And may Americans in other areas achieve more and more understanding of our special problems and of the key importance of our own efforts in striving to work them out and of the need for adequate latitude and responsibility in doing so.

Meat Inspection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, among the activities we too often take for granted are those of the Meat Inspection Division of the Department of Agriculture. An article recently appeared in the St. Paul Pioneer Press for Saturday, May 25, 1957, which discloses just how important this operation can be. The article is written by Alfred D. Stedman and is entitled "United States Meat Sleuths Halt Beef Parasite."

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES MEAT SLEUTHS HALT BEEF PARASITE

(By Alfred D. Stedman)

Coming home from his hitch in Europe, an American GI brought back in his body a parasite called cysticercus bovis, or, in lay language, a tapeworm.

As a hired farmhand in Marshall County, he unknowingly infected a herd of cattle with it. Ten of the animals, when shipped to South St. Paul for slaughter, were in condition to spread tapeworm to people who like beef rare.

But the whole story has now come to a happy conclusion, with a cure for the GI and avoidance of infection to others. This is because the beef cattle shipment was sent to a federally inspected meat plant staffed with United States Government inspectors who detected the trouble.

The story came Friday to attention of the Pioneer Press. This newspaper was informed that Federal condemnation of the 10 head of infected cattle cost a South St. Paul meat packer more than $2,200. But the packer gave the Government full cooperation in running down the facts, and was happy to do it. He gets his money back in public confidence in his meats that are stamped with the round U. S. inspection stamp.

The story's moral was described as being that, if the cattle had been shipped to a non-Federal plant lacking an efficient meat inspection service, their infection could have gone undetected with resulting risks of spreading to beef eaters. A bill providing voluntary State inspection to any of the State-licensed plants in Minnesota wishing to pay the costs was introduced in the last legislature with veterinary backing. But it didn't pass.

The parasite cysticercus bovis is described as one that must spent one cycle of its life in the body of man and the other in the body of cattle. Instances of the ailment have been sporadic in Minnesota for years.

INFECTION TRACED

Main facts in the case were obtained from Jacob Brand, Federal meat inspector, and Dr. C. A. Ward, inspector in charge of the USDA Meat Inspection Branch at South St. Paul. In all, some degree of infection was found in 22 animals, but only 10 were of a nature to require condemnation. Dr. Harold L. Geick and Dr. J. V. Shannon of the United States Meat Inspection Branch detected the infection.

With cooperation of the South St. Paul packer, the infection was traced back to the farm in Marshall County. Dr. Joe R. Held of the Minnesota Public Health Service, with cooperation of the local physician, traced the infection to the hired hand. He is now undergoing treatment for tapeworm. No infection has been found thus far in the farmer's family. Failure of the hired hand to use modern sanitary facilities was blamed for spreading infection to the cattle herd. That failure, too, the case record states, has now been corrected.

Commencement Address by Hon. Sherman Adams at Centre College, Kentucky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, on June 2, 1957, the Honorable Sherman Adams delivered the commencement address before the graduating class of Centre College, Danville, Ky.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the excellent address delivered by Governor Adams on that occasion.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SHERMAN ADAMS, THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT, AT THE COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES OF CENTRE COLLEGE OF KENTUCKY, DANVILLE, KY., JUNE 2, 1957

This is a wholly unexpected and indeed a surprising privilege. Few Vermonters consider themselves permitted in Kentucky, let alone entitled to address a fine old college such as this. Lest my dialect confuse you, written translations of these remarks are available for home perusal, should you care to have them.

I need not be reminded before such a convocation to beware of political subjects. I do think that, in our political loyalties, too many have become disciples of terms rather than of principles. Whatever our political labels may be, they ought to be affixed to no chauvinistic creed but to something that is vital, understood, and meaningful.

You have claims here both to soundness and distinction. The fact that, as an independent institution, Centre College continues to exist is a testimonial in itself to its vigor and resourcefulness. You will, as alumni, devote some of your time and talents to keep this institution a vital and effective force in American higher education. The small college, the mother of much of the brains and energy that motivate the free competitive system in America, must now seek sustaining support from its legatees, its sons and daughters. To whatever extent your lot in life gives you the opportunity, you will find the sharing of yourself and your means gives a fuller satisfaction to your own accomplishments.

Among the products of my small world of New England is a poet. To some of you these verses are familiar, to others reminiscent.

"Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveler, long I stood
And looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the undergrowth;

"Then took the other, as just as fair,
And having perhaps the better claim,
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;
Though as for that the passing there
Had worn them really about the same,

"I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence:
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference."

As Robert Frost so eloquently says, a privilege we share in America is that of choice. The decisions about the ways we take may now seem trivial, but the choice you make will presently commence to make all the difference. What a man does with himself and his talents is pretty much his own business. The college gives him horizons and helps him focus his sights. His country confronts him with an opportunity. The capacity to capitalize on that opportunity never comes in full measure to the man who uses his leisure to camp in front of a TV screen or to indulge himself in the whims of life at a dog track or at a drinking club. No one ever needed a college education to be able to interpret Confidential magazine, or the romanticisms of the comic strips.

College education offers an introduction to the interesting experience of exploring worlds that to the casual traveler are foreclosed. I matriculated in the year 1916, in the first year that Ernest Martin Hopkins became president of my college. Some years later he had something to say about what he called the aristocracy of brains. He did not mean that opportunities for intellectual accomplishment ought to be arbitrarily reserved to the few, but rather that those who were willing to join intellectual capacity and self-discipline could belong thereby to a distinguished company. An educated man, said Dr. Hopkins, is a disciplined man. Indeed, a prerequisite of holding responsibility is learning how to hold yourself, which leads to a very old legend.

You students of ancient history may remember that Alexander the Great, during his conquest of India in 325 B. C., once stormed a great fortress. As the king went over the wall his side was pierced by an arrow, which settled in the bone under his heart. His aids being unable to remove it, the physician, Critodemus, found the arrowhead so firmly embedded that it had to be cut out. He told Alexander, and called upon several of his aids to hold him during the operation. Alexander stayed them, saying: "the man who has learned how to hold himself needs no one else to hold him."

Perhaps the first task in this business of taking on the weight of things is to do a little reasoning about the future. Right off, let us admit it is a different kind of world—and that has its bearing upon you, your job, your family, and your future. You can figure things out for yourself on the same basis as your father or grandfather did if you want to. But some of you will have to put yourselves to different tasks, for there is different work which confronts the educated man and woman in this age, and there is no escape from it.

For one thing, you are lucky that you are at the beginning of things, and that is an exciting place to be. The proof of the ominous change that demands the attention of some of you, needs only a statistic. It is called simply, the explosive index, the measure of the relative destructive power of weapons in the hands of men.

This explosive index increased from a factor of 1 in the Middle Ages to a factor of 8 on the eve of Hiroshima. Next day it jumped to 10,000. With the firing of the H-bomb at Eniwetok the index of destructiveness jumped to 10 million. In just over 10 years the capacity of man to devastate the world has increased more than a million times.

There is no graduate of Centre College but who knows this fact if no other, that the best that is in us, in brains, ingenuity, devotion, and selflessness must be devoted to preserving a peaceful world. Toward this end there are many roads that a young man, and indeed a young woman, may travel.

For myself, concerned, as I have been, among other things, with the staffing of government, I know whereof I speak when I say that there are not only opportunities but great responsibilities that must fall upon those who have the talents that fit them for public service.

To those determined aristocrats with the vision and determination to be willing to undertake it, let me direct some remarks. There are fields of human service which still have the promise of taking a fearful, frustrated world out of its exasperation and hopelessness. These fields are far from wholly explored.

I speak not of science, which by its ingenious devices lightens more and more of the drudge of life, and lifts so much of our routine out of the sordid and the ordinary. While scientists have performed with great brilliance, they have brought humanity to the precipice of its own downfall. Much of the best brains of the world are now devoted to the connivance of machines of destruction. At this grim task they have literally wrought miracles. But with each diabolical discovery, more anxiety and uncertainty are added to the daily living of every citizen, and, to the young person the significance of this has the maximum emphasis.

The philosophers have tried as best they could to rationalize for us a moral code, but we have seen few acceptable theories beyond those based in faith that make much sense out of things. There have been no theorems that have commenced to solve the mysteries of the Soviet mind, nor have they been able to furnish acceptable common denominators for the ideological differences that divide the world.

What I have to suggest is the worthiness of engaging your heads and hearts in the solution of the riddles which lie at the roots of political and economic questions which are the world issues of this age. This is no task for the scientist nor the abstractionist. It calls for tremendous human understanding. It is one of today's highest callings.

If you had lived in the time of Webster or Clay and were intelligent and ambitious, there were three occupations to which you would probably have aspired. They were the ministry, the law, and the profession of teaching.

In the vernacular, lawyers are today a dime a dozen; we have almost relegated teaching by our treatment and paltry pay to a second-class profession; great success in the ministry demands extraordinary talents, which, unfortunately, are much better rewarded in other fields of activity. For all these professions I have the profound respect, never having, apparently, the aptitude for any of them.

But if it is frontiers that you want and a challenge to face, take a long look at the political and economic complexes faced by this Nation in the world today. As every one of you know, we are diligently in quest of a peaceful world. This is what the President calls waging the peace.

How we get along with England and France is of great importance.

But it is no longer unimportant how we get along with Vietnam and Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Morocco, Indonesia, and Ghana, and the host of small nations all over the world. They have all become important. Each one presents a separate and a unique problem. Each possesses national characteristics, a national personality, and each reflects the particular aspirations of its own people.

Some of these nations have become newly independent, some are weak in resources, others wracked by disease. Most of them lie along the perimeters of the Soviet world, from the Baltic to the Adriatic and the Aegean Seas, past the Red Sea, the Arabian and China Seas, to the Yellow Sea and the sea of Japan. They are a chain of nations which are the objects of Soviet aggression and subversion and are literally battlegrounds upon which we wage peace today.

The Soviet vary their efforts; some have been military, some are economic, others political or diplomatic. Some of these areas are now quiet. Others are still active. Not one of these can be regarded as finally lost, nor as finally won, although these people are slowly and surely edging toward freedom's cause.

Most of these small countries have problems of survival, of obtaining enough to eat, something to wear, the bare necessities of shelter, of schooling, even the rudimentary conveniences of this modern age. Their people have little interest in the doctrinaire debate between communism and democracy. Their primary problem is existence.

The remedies to these weaknesses they must find if they survive. These weaknesses are not going to be removed simply by our dollars or by our foodstuffs or by modern machinery, or wholly by new techniques or modern methodology. All these help, but there is another critical need. It is hope, incentive, the will to survive.

In such hope lies the strength which they need. What is of the utmost importance to you and your future is that such strength is about as indispensable to us as it is to them.

All of this complex problem, every aspect of it, calls urgently for our understanding and best efforts. As in most worthwhile accomplishments, to have an understanding of what this is all about takes long apprenticeship, a kind of internship, but it is the important world's work, whether it be in diplomacy, foreign economic policy, administration of economic aid programs, or whatever activity you choose.

Diplomacy is the politics of international affairs, so I suppose it could be said that diplomacy is the politics of peace, and the diplomat the architect of stability and freedom. Modern diplomacy demands skills of many kinds—it demands political scientists, economists, linguists, administrators, historians, lawyers, and, not least, it demands salesmen—salesmen of freedom.

Foreign service nowadays includes a good deal more than conventional diplomacy. The mutual-security program, so-called foreign aid, requires agricultural, industrial, and technical specialists by scores. These people are more than teachers and demonstrators. They are truly missionaries for our values and way of doing things. All of these have the task of spreading the truth about freedom to oppose the propaganda of slavery. Foreign service includes as well certain forms of informational work, requiring diverse abilities of high order.

Never in American history has there been a time when you could serve your Nation in so many places and in so many ways.

In this world of change, forms of government change, problems of government change, policies change, and, above all, people change. With the diversity of personalities, of heritages, interests, and needs, the problems of foreign representation become far more intricate and demanding than they were in the old days of royal succession and social diplomacy.

If I have any explicit hope to express about the future of any one of you, it would be that among you, there might come to a few an unquenchable urge to put your talents to the test of such service. Centre College could bequeath no more precious heritage.

In any event, I hope one thing will remain always clear in your minds. If out of this discussion there is but one recollection, never forget this. Whether you ever enter any one of these pursuits; whether you ever serve a day in public service; everyone has the citizen responsibility to take time enough from his daily duties to know what is going on, to form an opinion, and to keep his point of view both current and decisive.

It is his privilege and responsibility to express a conviction.

An educated person can do no less than to speak and to vote with current knowledge of the overwhelming responsibilities to which our Republic has fallen heir. A sure death for freedom, an inevitable loss of every real privilege to which an individual here in America is today the inheritor, can result from visionless, ignorant citizenry, national leaders, and policies.

So let us tend to the business of knowing what we are talking about. If today's apparent conflict is one of economic theories, or forms of government, the underlying struggle deals with the nature of man. It is a struggle that goes to the roots of human spirit, and its lights and shadows fall across the whole sweep of man's destiny.

Not long before this present college was founded, this Nation was itself struggling for its own independence. Today we are a great nation in a world that is ideologically divided against itself. What power lies in man to resolve the philosophical conflicts of the human mind must now be directed to find the means whereby human beings can live together on the same planet.

To this elusive purpose the ingenuity of man must be relentlessly dedicated. Each of you must assume his share, his place, and his duty.

In this great adventure (and a great adventure it is) the dependable ally is not the thing seen, the argument or the weapon, the stratagem or the invective; but rather the unseen, the conviction, and the faith. The new horizons are the concepts still unborn in man's mind to which dissident mankind can turn, in the confidence of his soul, that in them lies an acceptable human common denominator. This task is never done while there is a mind left to be persuaded or a peace to be won. And in all this life your work is the bread—and fun is the leavener.

And so let us say "So long" to each other and to Centre College. Along the way may luck and laughter reward your labor and lighten the burdens on whatever road you undertake to travel.

The Marshall Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, we are meeting today on the 10th anniversary of one of history's most important dates—the origin of the Marshall plan. It was on June 5, 1947, that former Secretary of State George C. Marshall unveiled the program at Harvard University. It was a daring, imaginative plan, adapted to the needs of the times.

The Marshall plan has passed into history. There are new situations and new problems which call for new concepts. But it met a basic crisis of history, and should be commemorated.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Ten Years After," from this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEN YEARS AFTER

When George C. Marshall, then Secretary of State, rose to accept an honorary degree from Harvard University on June 5, 1947, the course of world affairs was at one of those fateful turning points seldom identifiable except in retrospect. The hopeful vision of lasting world peace and restored prosperity which had emerged toward the end of World War II was not coming to pass. Except in Moscow, general fear, frustration, and uncertainty seemed to have paralyzed policy here and abroad.

Russian and Chinese Communist expansionism had shattered the dream of East-West political harmony and cooperation. The fond expectations of Bretton Woods days that Europe could quickly rebuild and modernize its shattered industry had proved to be wrong. Britain, rationing even potatoes, was unable longer to sustain Greece and Turkey, beset by Communist subversion and outright Russian threats. The severe European winter of 1946–47, hard on a season of bad harvests, had added to the Continent's economic woes and all but killed its spirit.

In the first two postwar years the United States had distributed some $8 billion in emergency relief and rehabilitation assistance, designed to tide over war-battered European countries until they could get on their feet. But enormous problems remained. And so the Marshall plan was born—really no plan at all, but a refashioning of foreign-aid policy to meet the needs of reconstruction. The policy bears the name of a great soldier and an outstanding Secretary of State. But it was developed and carried out with a unanimity of purpose and method by Congress, the executive branch, the American people generally, and the participating European nations that would have been remarkable even in wartime.

This 3-year $12 billion program has long since more than paid for itself in terms of economic recovery and stability. It continues to bear fruit in the steady movement toward European economic and political unity. The unhappy measure of the Marshall plan's success was the desperate turn in Russian policy which followed Stalin's refusal to join in the program. But a revived Western Europe, joined with America in NATO, survived these Communist thrusts, too—the Berlin blockade, disruptive tactics in Italy, France, and elsewhere, and the coup in Czechoslovakia.

Since Korea, American foreign aid has been largely military. Now, in consequence of the Russian-American atomic stalemate, the active East-West struggle has shifted to new ground: the continents of Asia and Africa where a third of mankind freshly emerged from colonialism is seeking a way to economic development and political stability. And so a decade after Secretary Marshall urged American aid to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, a new kind of challenge calling for new assistance concepts faces America. President Eisenhower has proposed the kind of program that is needed—long-term economic development assistance, free of political and military strings. If Congress will respond, as it did to the challenge in Europe, the rewards may be even greater than those which flowed from George Marshall's historic policy.

The Organ as the Voice of a Greater Patriotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHAPMAN REVERCOMB
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, one of our splendid American cities, Montclair, N. J., has recently set an example which it is hoped will influence the entire Nation. Under the leadership of one of its leading citizens, who was a distinguished member of this body, Hon. Albert W. Hawkes, of New Jersey, the people of that community have been planning for a revitalization of the deep meaning of Memorial Day in the hearts of the people. In the beautiful new auditorium of the State Teachers College in Montclair, the citizens of the city and vicinity are installing one of the greatest pipe organs in the country as the voice of a greater patriotism. For this purpose a large sum of money has been raised. With that organ as an inspiring center their aim is to rally Americans everywhere to a more vivid realization of the cost of our heritage.

On the eve of Memorial Day, at a meeting attended by several hundred, addresses were delivered by former Senator Hawkes and by our own Senate chaplain, Dr. Frederick Brown Harris. This event may have such salutatory influence on the entire Nation's future observance of this day of memory that I ask that portions of these two addresses be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the extracts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEDOM IS NOT FREE

(By the Honorable Albert W. Hawkes)

My only reason for being on the program tonight is to tell you why I have a real interest in the installation of the memorial organ in the new, beautiful memorial auditorium of the New Jersey State Teachers College at Montclair. There is much that I could say in praise of our forefathers, including those who made the supreme sacrifice or

offered to make it during the centuries when our form of liberty was born and almost handed to us on a silver platter. I say almost because since 1917 we have participated in the fighting of two Great Wars in the defense of liberty and freemen. We have carried a tremendous part of the burden of the whole world and we must be careful not to go the same way as all nations of the world who have preceded us have gone through assuming more than their abilities, powers, and finances could stand. The world has not changed much since the time of Pericles in the 5th century before Christ. Even today the Athenians or Greeks look to the government to support them rather than following a policy wherein the citizens support the government.

Many years ago I realized that the reason the United States of America was moving toward world leadership was because our whole philosophy of life was founded on the freedom of the individual under God. That freedom involves the voluntary cooperation of our citizens in accomplishing important things in the interest of the human individual both singly and collectively. I came to realize that the day we called Decoration Day was slipping away from the people and if it slipped away too far we could not expect to have in the future valiant, voluntary soldiers to defend us. Compulsion of law can only make a slave army and a slave army is always a failure in ultimately defending the liberties of man.

During my term in the United States Senate I listened attentively to the debates on the draft law. It became apparent that no nation through the power and force of government can legislate a true soldier to defend freemen. The kind of an army that this Nation needs to defend the principles of freemen must develop from the better impulses of men and women in voluntarily defending things in which they believe to the point where, if necessary, they are willing, yes, even anxious, to make the supreme sacrifice, or at least put themselves in jeopardy where the supreme sacrifice can easily be the result unless fate decrees otherwise. The point I make is that we cannot have that voluntary group of defenders of liberty if the people do not show the oncoming generation that liberty was born of voluntary action and further, and quite as important, that those of us who have profited by the sacrifices of others in the cause of liberty are grateful enough to voluntarily give up a few hours of our time once a year in a memorial service to express our deep respect and gratitude to the men and women who died or who were willing to die on the battlefield in defense of these precious privileges which are the most valuable things in life. Liberty is freedom but freedom is not free. It is the most precious thing in life; therefore, it is the most costly thing, involving the willingness to make the supreme sacrifice and the willingness of our citizens to put themselves in jeopardy and if fate decrees to be maimed in battle and perhaps incapacitated for life.

I have flown pretty much around the world and have visited the hospitals where our maimed and injured have been treated and were convalescing. I have visited American cemeteries where thousands of little white markers testified to the fact that our men prized liberty and opportunity for the human family higher than they prize life itself. I have wondered as I looked at the headstones and saw the little white markers whether our people back home realized that under each marker lies a human being who died for his country and was just as precious to his family as any member of our family who had served in the same great cause was to us.

This organ which we plan to install is tied in the hearts and minds of those whose gifts make it possible to the past sacrifices which have bought our freedom. Nothing touches the soul or consciousness of a human being more than beautiful organ music. Somehow something from the soul of the organ enters into ours in a way that often surpasses the greatest sermon that could possibly be preached. We hope that our accomplishment here in Montclair may be used as a pattern to revitalize our citizens throughout the country to observe Memorial Day in the spirit which was intended as our forefathers set aside this day of remembrance. Without a proper observance of Memorial Day, at which once a year music and speech inspire our young people, we will greatly lessen the voluntary response to the call of duty in times of vital need and peril to defend ourselves.

THE LOST CHORD

(By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain, U. S. Senate)

I count it a privilege and an honor to share with you this significant hour on the eve of our National Memorial Day. If the vision splendid which flames in the heart of your fellow citizen, my good friend, that great American, Senator Hawkes, come to fruition, then Memorial Day will be hallowed in all America with a deeper meaning than its present observance suggests.

Because of its possibilities, this gathering here tonight may be memorable. The torch of a genuine remembrance and the expression of a heartfelt gratitude lighted here may indeed be carried by kindred hands across the land from sea to shining sea. For surely one cannot be justly charged with being a killjoy and a prophet of gloom if he calls anxious attention to the evident fact that what we call Memorial Day is being given almost entirely to today rather than to the yesterdays. It is predominantly a day for pleasure and travel. Instead of any part of it being devoted to contemplation of the past, it is devoured by transportation on fast cushioned tires over the roads of the present.

Jesus said to those who had made religion a racket that His Father's house, which was meant as a place of prayer, had been made into a den of thieves. With equal concern we might say to unthinking Americans by the million that the day designed as a cathedral of grateful remembrance, ye have made into a picnic of selfish and trivial indulgence.

Now this is not a plea that the 30th of May be turned into a day to be dreaded by those anxious to escape from the routine of ordinary days or by youngsters tingling with the wild joy of living—not at all.

* * * * * *

There is no thought on Senator Hawk's part or in the minds of those who share his radiant hope that Memorial Day be shut off from the unfettered delights of a holiday, but certainly any patriotic American who becomes at all conscious of the desecration of the day in the light of its hallowed purpose will gladly agree that on the morning of that day for at least 1 hour, millions, millions of Americans ought to throng their common places of assemblage in their various communities to actually make the day a holy day as well as a holiday. Certainly that is not too much to ask, and the beneficial effects of such a custom would be beyond calculation in fostering patriotism pure and undefiled.

No matter what else the day may hold, if in all minds top priority is given to remembrance, if on that day a nation really gathers around an altar of gratitude under the spell of stirring music and of words fitly spoken, then year by year there will be left in a multitude of receptive hearts rich deposits of understanding and appreciation that can be found only in a contemplation of the exploits of other days and hours.

How quickly we forget the sacrifices of tense days of conflict which tried men's souls. More than once I have seen the spires of Oxford against the sky in an English twilight—somehow the sacrifice of other days always is very vivid in my mind as I read again those stirring lines.

"I saw the spires of Oxford
As I was passing by
My heart was with the Oxford men
Who went abroad to die
They left the peaceful river
The cricket field—the Quad
The shaven laws of Oxford
To seek a bloody sod
The gave their merry youth away
For country and for God."

The hearts of Senator HAWKES and myself were welded together in the fires of World War II when as Chaplain of the Senate I was with him in that body and came to know something of his keen thinking with regard to those troubled days and of his deep spiritual insights. When it was over over there his boy came not back, he gave the years that would have been as part of the price of our freedom. My own son-in-law did not return. We loved him as a son. Both of them sleep now in storied Arlington. The Senator and I comforted each other in our grief and our hearts were knit together as with bands of steel.

An air pilot was killed in aerial combat. In the midst of the poignancy of their grief the family put a death notice in their hometown paper. In it was printed just the boy's name, the date of his supreme sacrifice, and then the eloquent sentence, he gave his life for a grand country. In those tragic days when the precious things we hold nearest our hearts were being preserved by boys like his and mine, while Senator Hawkes was in the Senate, one morning I used as a Senate prayer lines that I had written at Christmastime—to bring back perhaps something of the feeling of those dread days. May I quote them:

"Our father, God, who stooped so nigh
When love flamed in the Bethlehem sky
With face uplifted seeking light
We peer with hope on Christmas night
Above earth's gloom and hate of men
Hang in the heavens thy sign again
If in the window where we kneel
A flag tells price of nation's weal
Calm anxious hearts
If blue the star
God bless and keep the one afar
Oh, kindly light with love enfold
The weeping heart whose star is gold."

Memorial Day keeps those gold stars forever in our firmament. Memorial Day points to our heritage.

We need to stop in the midst of the rush and roar of our acquisitive day with achievement as the badge of success and remind ourselves at least one sacramental day a year that the biggest part of our lives is our heritage. For, after all, what have we that we have not received. We choose our attitude to our heritage—we can be grateful for it, live up to it, rejoice in it, and be worthy of it—or, we can take it for granted, we can forget it, be irreverent concerning it, or unappreciative of it. It has been well said that a man's spiritual quality in part is tested by his possession of a past tense, his grateful recollection of the sacrifices that have purchased his liberties.

And so Memorial Day is the time for making out anew our I O U for unpaid and unpayable bills. Not to do that is to reveal ourselves as ingrates. When we try to compute the plied up opulence whose symbol is the Star Spangled Banner, in all decency about the only thing we can do is to make out our I O U.

When we come to deal with the things that cost most, that are worth most, our only recourse is to acknowledge our debt. For every one of us there are enough unpaid bills recorded on the debit side of life's books to

dynamite the smug complacency of anyone tempted to strut and boast that he is self-made. It will help keep our feet on the ground of humility and save us from an inflated sense of self-sufficiency if frequently we recall that we are eating at vineyards that we did not plant and drinking at cisterns that we did not dig, and that we are beggers and borrowers. We can do so much and see so far because we are standing on other men's shoulders. In our hands are bills made out in crimson by other hands now dust. Surely out of that realization will come an humble Memorial Day I O U for America, the beautiful.

Turning to one who seemed so bent on selfish personal concerns that he did not even go through the motions of making out his I O U one of the great patriots of our generation said to him scornfully, "You act as though it were a negligible matter that for innumerable generations forward-looking men paying a price in sacrifice which no imagination can compute, have been building up the decencies, the securities, and the opportunities of civilized life."

And so Memorial Day is a time of sacred remembrance that America is a thing not of the earth but of the heart. It is a way of thinking and a way of acting. It is not bound by oceans, rivers, and degrees of latitude, but by principles, ideas, and attitudes more precious than life itself.

Memorial Day is a time to rejoice that America is an unbarred thoroughfare for freedom. It is the stairway of opportunity, open from the first step to the top to those who would climb. It is a classless society whose aristocracy is based not on pedestals but on personalities, not on birth but on worth, not on who you are but what you are.

And so as a salute to the past, as a pledge for the present and a guaranty of the future, may this movement begun in Montclair with its voice and symbol a glorious organ with its swelling notes heard across the land thus make a vital contribution in sounding once more in our national symphony the lost chord of a great amen as a nation gratefully remembers its past.

The Five Outstanding Senators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Connecticut Society of the Sons of the American Revolution at a meeting of its board of managers in Greenwich on May 4, 1957, concerning the selection of the five outstanding Senators.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CONNECTICUT SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,
Waterbury, Conn., May 17, 1957.

The Honorable JOHN F. KENNEDY,
The United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The Connecticut Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, at a meeting of its board of managers, in Greenwich, May 4, 1957, through its officers agreed on the following resolution to be sent to the Committee of Selection of Outstanding Senators, of which you are chairman.

"Be it resolved, That the Connecticut Society of the Sons of the American Revolution hereby offers its congratulations to the Selection Committee for its commendable judgment exercised in its selection of the five outstanding Senators to be recommended for approval by the Senate. We recognize the difficult and delicate task imposed on the committee to make a choice among such an extensive field of distinguished men who have served their Nation so nobly. We hereby express our wholehearted approval of the results of its labors. We note that of the 5 Senators selected, 3 were trained in colleges of New England; be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Senator KENNEDY, as chairman, and that a copy also be spread on the records of the Connecticut Society of the Sons of the American Revolution."

Very truly yours,

THE CONNECTICUT SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,
HOWARD E. COE, *Secretary.*

Position of America in World Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from a commencement address entitled "America Can't Enjoy Permanent Peace and Well-Being by Itself," delivered by John Cowles, publisher of the Minneapolis Star Tribune. This is a most excellent address regarding the world situation. It is informative, and therefore I am asking to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, so that it may be available.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA CAN'T ENJOY PERMANENT PEACE AND WELL-BEING BY ITSELF

(By John Cowles)

We are living in a revolutionary age—perhaps the most revolutionary in recorded history. The world has changed more in the last 40 years than in the previous 400, much more in the last decade than in the previous century.

Technological progress is taking place at a rapidly accelerating pace. Each new scientific discovery stiffens the technological competition in which the great powers of the world are now engaged. If this country fails to keep ahead of Russia, or at least stay abreast of it, the penalty may be national disaster. It may even be national extinction.

In our lifetime, most of the world's people have radically changed their forms of government. Since the end of World War II, 19 countries have won their independence. Throughout the world there has occurred what someone has well called "The Revolution of Rising Expectations." In this revolution, more than half the peoples of the world have rebelled against the social and racial discriminations and low living standards to which they had submitted for centuries.

Most of the new nations which have recently won their independence do not have a sufficient number of educated and trained leaders to staff their governments. While many have retained the revolutionary fervor that produced their freedom, they often lack the wisdom and perspective to act in their own long-range best interest. The situation is further complicated by the skillful exploitation by the Russian and Chinese Communists, for their own selfish ends, of the aspirations and grievances of the earth's uneducated and underprivileged peoples.

It is, in fact, almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of American foreign policy in this revolutionary period.

Our foreign policy is a thousand times more important now than when I was a boy. Then, we felt secure in the protection of the two oceans and behind the friendly shield of the British Navy. Today the two oceans no longer offer such protection and the friendly shield no longer functions.

WHY THE AMERICAN BUDGET IS BIG

The current fight over the Federal Budget is only one indication of the immense importance of our foreign-policy decisions. The budget inspires controversy because it is big, and it is big because the great bulk of our total Federal expenditures relates to national defense and foreign policy.

International affairs have become so complicated that the Secretary of State today with the single exception of the President, has the most difficult job in the world. Secretary Dulles is an indefatigable worker and a superb international lawyer. Perhaps he knows more about world diplomatic history than any other living American. Nevertheless, I believe that some important aspects of our current foreign policy, particularly those relating to Asia, should be dispassionately reviewed and then basically modified.

First of all, we cannot have a sound foreign policy unless the public is well informed. Secretary Dulles made a serious error. I believe, when he ruled that American newspaper correspondents could not go to Red China. Mr. Dulles has since offered a variety of different reasons to justify his decision, but his arguments, in my opinion, will not stand analysis.

Basically, Mr. Dulles simply fails to comprehend that the function of our foreign correspondents is to inform the American people of what is happening in other parts of the world, not to act as agents of the Government. Whether or not we officially recognize a foreign government is completely irrelevant as to whether our newsmen should be permitted to report what is happening in that country. American press correspondents should be permitted to gather the news wherever they can in the interest of our having a well informed American public.

Wholly apart from Mr. Dulles' ruling with respect to newspapermen, there is also the question of the wisdom of our overall policy toward Red China.

PROGRESS AND SUFFERING IN RED CHINA

Some people seem to regard it as tantamount to treason to suggest a reexamination of our China policy. I disagree sharply with that attitude. I believe that our China policy should be objectively reviewed, because I fear that if we continue the present policy we shall probably suffer a futile and humiliating diplomatic defeat.

Regardless of how ruthless the present Communist government of Red China may be, most Asians believe that Mao has accomplished many creditable things of a distinctively Asian kind in China. There is, to be sure, much suffering and starvation in China, but there always has been. We must not blind ourselves to the evidence that the Communist Chinese Government has made, and is still making, significant economic progress. It is, furthermore, steadily con-

solidating its control over all mainland China.

The notion that Chiang Kaishek's nationalist forces on Formosa will ever be able to invade and reconquer the Chinese mainland seems to me absurd.

Equally unrealistic, in the eyes of most Asians, is our State Department's contention that Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa government constitutes the true blood-stream of Chinese history.

At the last meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, the United States had extreme difficulty in lining up enough votes to prevent the recognition of Red China, instead of Nationalist Formosa China, as the Chinese U. N. member. Most informed observers think it is unlikely that we shall be able to block Red China's admission to the United Nations for more than one more General Assembly at the most.

If we adopted a more flexible and realistic policy toward Red China, we might be able to secure important concessions in return for our acquiescing in its admission to the U. N. But our present policy is a sterile one. We are walking down a blind alley that will end in nothing but a humiliating diplomatic defeat.

Let us shift from China to South Asia and to Africa and Latin America. In these areas I believe that the United States needs a much bolder and more imaginative national policy relating to world economic development than we now have.

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IS NOT A WASTE

It is quite impossible for America to disassociate itself from the economic welfare of other countries. It is clearly in our national self-interest that the whole world experience a sound economic growth and increase in wealth. For one thing, such economic growth tends to promote political stability and therefore world stability. For another, the United States needs dependable supplies of raw materials from all parts of the globe.

Therefore we should, I believe, substantially increase the amount of funds we are currently providing for foreign technical assistance and economic development. Contrary to the widely held misconception, we are not wasting billions on giveaway programs of foreign economic aid. Aside from our foreign military aid and defense support, we are spending only between $400 and $500 million a year for genuine technical assistance and economic development aid.

This is the total for the whole globe. It amounts to less than $3 per year per American citizen. I think we would be wise to double or triple that amount.

The relationship between a giver of financial aid and the recipient is always a sensitive one. We should recognize this psychological fact by revising our foreign-aid policy to encourage the recipient nations to give us something in return for the dollar aid that we extend them.

These underdeveloped countries would feel a sense of pride and satisfaction, I believe, if we made it clear to them that we believe they have in their cultures and civilizations things that we lack and want. We might ask them, for example, to provide us with teachers in their languages and their history and culture. These teachers would then come to the United States and serve in our educational institutions. We could learn much, too, from extended visits to our colleges by Asian philosophers.

Many of the economically underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa would be happy, I believe, if we asked them to give us some of their art objects to enrich our museums, in partial return for our dollar aid.

Other countries might, for example, give us animals for our public zoos. In countless way we could make our foreign-aid programs more truly reciprocal, with resulting psychological, cultural, and financial benefits to everybody.

To those of you who may be inclined to feel that foreign economic aid should be reduced because taxes are already too high, I would suggest that there are other things in our governmental setup to which your attention could more profitably be devoted.

Perhaps the need that is of paramount importance is to redefine the roles and missions of our own Army, Navy, and Air Force so as to reduce the present enormous waste resulting from duplication or triplication.

Under the existing military setup, our Army, Navy, and Air Force constitute three largely independent defense establishments. Because of nuclear weapons and long-range guided missiles, the traditional definitions of the roles and missions of the three services are now meaningless. Whenever a new technological invention comes along, each of the three services tries to develop it without regard for the other two services.

MILITARY PROGRAM NEEDS REDEFINITION

While I lay no claim whatsoever to possessing any personal expert military knowledge, I have talked with enough military and scientific people of high competence to have reached the conclusion that we should probably completely redefine existing military roles and missions to produce two new complementary forces:

One of them should be a strategic force built around SAC's long-range bombers and intermediate and long-range guided missiles. This strategic force should probably also include many more atomic submarines than we now have, to serve as mobile platforms for launching guided atomic missiles.

The second major element should be a tactical force equipped with atomic weapons and the essential supplemental conventional weapons for fighting so-called brush fire wars. This second, or tactical, force should possess an airborne capability far surpassing anything we now have, so that we could quickly fly a couple of ground divisions to any part of the world and supply them by air.

If we redefined roles and missions along these lines, we would be greatly minimizing, if not completely eliminating, the separate, semi-independent entities of the present army, navy and air force. The generals and admirals would henceforth have to think of themselves solely as officers of the United States defense establishment, not as officers of simply one of three separate—and frequently jealous and conflicting—services.

But even if we reorganized our military establishment along these lines, and eliminated several billions of dollars a year of overlapping expenditure and waste, I doubt that we could safely cut our total defense expenditures below their present levels. This is because the new weapons are fantastically expensive.

If we do not fundamentally reorganize our over-all defense establishment, I think we are going to have to increase our defense expenditures unless we are willing, which I for one am not, to gamble with our national security.

We cannot safely make any enormous savings in our defense spending until we have achieved a foolproof, airtight, enforceable system of universal international disarmament.

WHY TAXES WILL CONTINUE HIGH

Our taxes are high, extremely high. Much as I favor governmental economy and hope for the elimination of every possible dollar of waste, I believe our taxes will have to stay high for years to come. It might be well for us to recall what Oliver Wendell Holmes said—"Taxes are what we pay for civilization."

And speaking of civilization, let us not forget that the great British historian, Arnold Toynbee, recently suggested that the 20th century would be remembered not as the age of the atomic bomb but as the first time when man thought it practicable to distribute all the benefits of civilization to all people.

We in the United States constitute only 6 percent of the world's population. The majority of the people of the world live in Asia. One-third of all the babies being born in the whole world today are Chinese. If one adds the other Asian countries, far more than half of all the babies born today are Asian.

We Americans must comprehend the fact that the concept of permanent peace and well-being for the United States has become indistinguishable from the concept of peace and well-being in the whole world.

A few weeks ago Dr. Edward Teller, one of the world's most distinguished nuclear scientists, told me his definition of an optimist. "An optimist," he said, "is someone who believes that the future is uncertain."

Well, I am an optimist. I believe the future is uncertain. But I also have a deep conviction that if the American people become sufficiently well informed on what is happening throughout the whole world today, we will support the right policies and do the right things.

In that way we will avoid a devastating world war III that might destroy what we call civilization, and instead help produce a new era of freedom and well-being—a richer, fuller life for all the peoples of the world than any of them has ever previously known.

You Can Help Cut Federal Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by George E. Stringfellow, vice president of Thomas A. Edison Industries, McGraw-Edison Co., West Orange, N. J., and past president of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association, before the annual spring luncheon of the Missouri public expenditure survey which was held in St. Louis, Mo., on May 22, 1957.

This address by Mr. Stringfellow contains a penetrating analysis of Federal spending.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOU CAN HELP CUT FEDERAL SPENDING

(Address by George E. Stringfellow)

Mr. President, executive director, officers, distinguished guests, and members of the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, in reading your organization's 17th annual report and noting its long list of accomplishments in the direction of better and more economical government, I was interested in the title of one of your publications, "You Can Help Cut Federal Spending."

I have chosen the same title for my discussion today and I propose to discuss the subject with particular reference to the pending Federal budget of approximately $72 billion for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958. Its enormous size—the largest in the peacetime history of the United States—has raised questions as to whether we may be seeing the fulfillment of the comment made 150 years ago by John Marshall, Chief Justice

of the Supreme court, that "the power to tax is the power to destroy" and of the boast made 35 years ago by Nicolai Lenin, patron saint of communism, that "Sooner or later we hope to force America to spend her way to destruction."

Gen. Douglas MacArthur, a wise, patriotic citizen, who places the welfare of his country above that of himself or his political affiliation and who lives in the rarefied atmosphere of the philosophy of George Washington, gave clear warning of what can happen when he said, "If this Nation is ever destroyed, I unhesitatingly predict it will not be from external force." Our own internal hazards, the spontaneous combustion from the accelerating complextions of modern life in an ever-multiplying community, are the ones which give rise to anxiety. They are too numerous for me to attempt to enumerate, but surely one of the most dangerous of these is excessive taxation and its sinister by-product and offspring, inflation.

There is little wonder that these questions should arise—little wonder that there is a flood of congressional mail from the grassroots of the country demanding reductions in the Eisenhower luxury budget. This budget brings to a climax a 44-year history of rising Federal expenditures and taxes that thoughtful Americans regard with dismay and apprehension.

By the terms of the 16th amendment, the Federal Government was first authorized to levy income taxes 44 years ago and in that year—1913—the Government collected $80 million, a per capita tax of 82 cents. In 1946 the income tax brought the Government $55 billion which was about $328 per capita.

In 1913 per capita income was around $358; in 1946 it was around $1,647. So, during these 44 years, dollar income increased 4½ times and income tax increased 400 times. Rates in 1913 were 1 to 6 percent; now they are from 20 to 91 percent.

During the 1952 presidential campaign, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower said: "I pledge that the full resources of our new administration will be thrown into the battle against inflation. * * * I pledge an elimination of waste, inefficiency, and duplication in Government. Expenditures and consequently taxes are too high. We must take steps that will make a reduction possible."

The record shows that when it came into office in 1953, the Eisenhower administration cut the Truman budget for fiscal year 1954 by nearly $12 billion, due largely to the ending of the Korean war. For fiscal year 1955 a further cut of nearly $3 billion was made. But in fiscal year 1956 there was an increase of $2 billion dollars and in fiscal year 1957 a further increase of $3.6 billion, while the pending 1958 budget proposes still another increase of $3.5 billion.

From 1940 to 1953 inflation had cut the value of the dollar about half. This depreciation stopped during the reduced spending in 1953 to 1955, but was resumed when spending increased in 1956. The cost of living increased in each of the last 7 months and is now at an all-time high.

During 20 of the past 26 years, of which 13 were peacetime years, spending exceeded income and resulted in deficits from which a large part of the present Federal debt of $275 billion was accumulated. The interest on this debt amounts to more than $7 billion annually and is increasing as a result of the higher rates which the Treasury Department must pay when maturing obligations are refunded.

In addition to the direct Federal debts, the Federal Government has liabilities amounting to approximately $250 billion for insuring bank deposits, deposits of savings and loan associations, Federal housing programs, and other similar purposes.

The magnitude of these obligations alone is sufficient to give every thoughtful American profound misgivings.

The Honorable HARRY FLOOD BYRD, senior Senator from Virginia, and one of the ablest and one of the most patriotic statesmen in the history of our Republic, has called attention to the fact that, during the past 2 years, in spite of increasing prosperity and correspondingly rising tax revenues, the margin by which total receipts exceeded expenditures was so narrow that, without the increasing revenue or even with a very small decrease in revenue, substantial deficits would have resulted. He then said, referring to the budget for fiscal year 1956:

"The present budget is in precarious balance. A surplus of only $1.8 billion is estimated when the year ends June 30, 1958. This surplus which amounts to about 2 percent, is based upon 2 unpredictables. It contemplates an increase of approximately $700 million from higher postal rates, which have not yet been approved by Congress. The second unpredictable lies in the fact that the budget for 1958 anticipates a 6-percent increase in tax revenue from existing sources. This, of course, anticipates more inflation. The Government plans in advance to spend this revenue from inflation. The fact is, however, that no one can safely predict that such revenue will develop."

Based on this slender margin, tied to two unpredictables, it is very possible that we may have a deficit in the coming year instead of a surplus.

Compared to the pending $72 billion budget it is interesting to recall that the highest Roosevelt peacetime budget was $13.3 billion in 1941, and the highest Truman peacetime budget was $39.6 billion in 1950.

Many Americans are asking these simple questions: If we can't reduce expenses, debt, and taxes during a period of peak prosperity like the present, how and when will we ever do it? If expenses continue upward, what might happen in event of a recession? Suppose the recession were to reduce the income of the people available for tax revenues? Or were to require the Federal Government to pay some part of its $250 billion of contingent liabilities? To what extent might its very solvency be impaired?

There is nothing in this world more important than the preservation of the financial integrity of our Federal Government, except the salvation of the soul.

One of the most disturbing features of the pending budget is that it proposes 18 new State-aid programs. It is disturbing because the record shows that most new programs for the expenditure of Federal funds, once begun, tend to become permanent and to grow far beyond their original size.

State aid programs serve as a good example of how new spending programs snow ball. In 1932 expenditures for State aid programs amounted to $250 million. These expenditures are now running in excess of $2½ billion annually, an increase of 1,400 percent.

Another example is foreign aid, which began as the so-called Marshall plan and which originally was proposed as a program to continue for 4 years and cost $17 billion. Instead of ending after 4 years, it is now in its 11th year and has cost more than $62 billion, as shown in a special report submitted by the Department of Commerce on May 5, 1957. This $62 billion has been added to the debt of the United States which is now 2½ times as large as the combined debt of 12 European nations that have received aid. All have a smaller per capita debt than we have. Norway and Sweden were given $400 million which both applied to reducing their own debts—just two of many examples of funds that do not contribute to mutual defense.

I now read an excerpt from an article in the Kansas City Star of August 22, 1955, which was sent to me by Mr. Edward Staples, your executive director: "A veterans' bonus proposal has been introduced at every session of the Missouri Legislature since 1946. Every one would be financed by new taxes in one form or another. The survey analyzed each proposal and in ensuing educational campaigns showed most of the veterans would have to substantially finance their own bonuses. As a result Missouri veterans the past two sessions haven't been very active for a bonus plan."

I cite this accomplishment of yours because the taxes the Missouri veterans would have to pay to finance their own bonuses is exactly the same, in principle, as the taxes all citizens must pay in order to finance the Federal grants to States which, in the pending budget, represent an expenditure of nearly $9 billion.

Of course this item is not the only one in the pending budget that needs to be cut. But the kind of educational work your organization has been doing is what is needed now on a nationwide scale.

One of the Roosevelt campaign promises in 1932 was to cut expenditures 25 percent. But before the end of his first year in office, the New Deal reversed from a policy of economy to a philosophy of spending.

As recently as June 22, 1954, in his remarks to the National Editorial Association convention at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, President Eisenhower said: "The United States cannot be an Atlas. It cannot carry all other nations of the world on its own shoulders and we should stop giveaway programs." Since then his modern Republican administration has changed its thinking and has adopted the philosophy of the New Deal.

To sum up, unless the course of this modern Republican administration is reversed, both major parties will be spending parties. Big spending, more inflation, higher taxes, higher debt, and insolvency will be the result.

Unless the people increase their protests to their Congressmen and Senators against the modern Republican spending spree, they may find they missed their last opportunity to do so.

The Government will be as efficient as we demand and as wasteful as we permit. The time has arrived, I think, when we taxpayers, if we are to preserve our way of life, must speak out.

Joseph P. Healey, State Tax Commissioner of Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the May 16 issue of the Globe, Boston, Mass., in connection with the selection of Joseph P. Healey as State tax commissioner, which I believe was an outstanding appointment.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOOD SELECTION

Governor Furcolo's choice of Belmont Attorney Joseph P. Healey for the important position of State tax commissioner is consistent with his determination to bring order out of chaos in the Commonwealth's revenue structure.

An honor graduate of Harvard College and Business and Law Schools, Mr. Healey served

with distinction for 5 years as chairman of the State's special commission on taxation.

This excellent background of education, experience, and training should serve him and us advantageously in his new and arduous job.

Address by Harold B. Wess Before the Institute of Appliance Manufacturers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "What Is Past Is Prolog," delivered by Harold B. Wess, professor of business administration and marketing, School of Business Administration, the American University, at Cincinanti, Ohio, on Tuesday, June 4, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT IS PAST IS PROLOG

(By Harold B. Wess, professor of business administration and marketing, School of Business Administration, the American University, Washington, D. C., former vice president of R. H. Macy & Co.)

If the major trends in our country of the last 25 years are not reversed, we will end up in the same plight as Great Britain and France now find themselves—or perhaps in an even worse condition. It is a great pity that the only true free enterprise system today, which saved the world from tyranny in World War I, from nazism and fascism in World War II, and the only power capable of saving the rest of the world from enslavement, has allowed itself to bleed to death because of failure to face the facts as they exist and to take appropriate action.

A trend can only be stopped or reversed if the underlying causes are discovered soon enough and eliminated. This, I submit, we have not done. We have preferred optimistic forecasts and pleasant prophecies.

Can we not agree that our recent years have been dominated by inflation? Why should we expect this trend to stop? We are now caught in a vicious circle; the more the Government spends, the more inflation; the more inflation, the higher the Government expenses. Another vicious circle is the continuing increase in labor costs. The higher the labor costs, the higher the prices, the more inflation; the more inflation, the higher the labor costs and prices until the bubble bursts, as it must.

Budgets, Federal, State, and local, have been rising and will continue to rise despite pious speeches made about cutting Government expenses. Consumer prices, which have doubled since 1939, will continue to go up as they have in recent years despite promises made by those who ought to know better. Confiscatory taxes of business firms and the individual will continue to go up despite talk of tax cuts and they will continue to go up at the Federal, State, and local level unless the underlying reasons for their rise are changed or eliminated. There is no indication that those who promise tax cuts are doing any more than wishful thinking. As a nation we seem to prefer dealing with symptoms rather than the disease itself.

Featherbedding and restrictive practices by labor unions sap the great productive power of our country and will continue to do so unless this trend is reversed. Restrictive practices are reducing employee productivity and potential productivity, soaking up the benefits that should be derived from automation and better tools and machines.

It is predicted that by 1975 we will have a population of 220 million and that 12 to 15 percent of that population will be over 65 years of age, with fixed incomes steadily purchasing less as the value of the dollar is reduced. This inflationary squeeze will make it exceedingly difficult for this group to exist except at the lowest living standard. Further, in 1975, despite increased automation and greater productive know-how, the labor force to support a population of 220 million will be inadequate because of the higher proportion of those under 21 years of age and those over 65 years of age.

Unless labor statesmanship reverses its present type of leadership—which still behaves as if we were living in the depressed thirties instead of the prosperous fifties—the present trend of giving less and less work for more and more money will so reduce our productive power that we may achieve full employment in a decaying economy. If the average worker knew where this process will lead him and our country, I am certain that he would stop, look, and listen, for the inevitable results of continuing these policies will be the complete elimination of the profit incentive resulting in socialism and slave labor. Russia is a good example of a country with full employment, bureaucratic mismanagement (as evidenced by recent proposals for reorganization), captive unions, and a very, very low standard of living.

It is significant that a person of the economic persuasion of writer John Dos Passos says that the best way to put a man in the frame of mind to learn is to give him a good scare. His scare follows: "One of our problems today is how to control and direct our own American type of socialism. If we don't, socialism will run mad as it has in Russia and China." Dos Passos is calling a spade a spade and correctly characterizing the present trend of our economy.

Here is another scare which I hope will arouse the American people out of their lethargy before it is too late. Dr. Karl Fuerbringer (Viennese economist, translated by H. Howard Thurston) says, "If socialism, a scheme of mediocrities rather than men of proven ability, is financially unworkable, what happens when the United States is at last socialized by confiscatory income taxes and strangulation of industry in the British manner? Without a capitalist nation to produce wealth, civilization may expect chaos."

What good will it do labor to get higher and higher wages, shorter and shorter hours, more and more restrictive and featherbedding practices if in the end union members become the victims of labor dictators, or find themselves paid with a dollar that is almost worthless? Somehow we must get across to the workingman in this country that the ideas contained in a letter sent by Walter P. Reuther to President Eisenhower on November 28, 1956, apply to labor as they do to the other segments of our economy. Mr. Reuther stated:

"Ours is the challenge of achieving the delicate economic balance within the framework of our free economy in which we encourage maximum voluntary economic decisions, with a minimum of governmental economic directives. The degree of Government interference into our economic life will be determined in a large measure by the degree of social and moral responsibility and concern for the general welfare that free economic groups demonstrate in making their voluntary economic decisions. When free economic groups fail to carry out their basic social and moral responsibilities to the community as a whole, the vacuum created by such failure will inevitably be filled by greater Government intervention into the economic sphere and the area of voluntary economic decisions will be narrowed in like proportion."

I would like to go back and quote again one sentence from this letter:

"The degree of Government interference into our economic life will be determined in a large measure by the degree of social and moral responsibility and concern for the general welfare that free economic groups demonstrate in making their voluntary economic decisions."

Mr. Reuther, by his actions, seems to think that the social and moral responsibility and concern for the general welfare applies to every segment of our society except labor unions. I insist, on the other hand, that labor unions have a decided moral and social responsibility for the general welfare of our economy and society and that with very few exceptions present labor leadership is not supplying it. The moral and social responsibility of labor unions to the general welfare of our economy may in the end be the determining factor of our whole way of life because of the great strength of labor unions both in numbers and accumulated wealth. I suggest also that political parties may give in to the demands of labor unions to win support of their members although such friends may prove labor's worst enemy.

We have heard a great deal about labor's productivity but the fact is that labor's productivity is the result of better tools, better machines, and innovations in production know-how. We must not forget also that in past years there has been a shift of workers from the farm to industry, from low productivity on the farm to very high output in industry, thus accounting for part of the increase in labor productivity. How long these factors will be able to counterbalance featherbedding and restrictive practices artificially forcing a low output per man-hour is a crucial question.

The Congress of the United States should at the earliest possible opportunity make a thorough investigation into the featherbedding and restrictive practices which will ultimately strangle our economy if unchecked. It must protect labor against itself as it is now protecting labor's rights and pension and welfare funds which apparently the labor unions were unable to do for themselves.

An investigation into the building industry, for example, will show that it is riddled with featherbedding and restrictive practices. In the April issue of Fortune magazine, there is a statement which I know to be true from my own experience as a builder of branch stores for a large department store.

"The building industry has done nothing to end labor practices that demand a day's pay for an engineer to press a button starting a cement mixer at the beginning of the workday, press the button once again at the day's end."

This is not an isolated example. I remember having to discard about $25,000 worth of metal shelving and substitute wooden shelving because two labor unions insisted that each had the right to make the installation and each threatened to strike if the other did the job. If one union struck, all the other unions on the job—and there are many on a building project—would walk off, too.

I remember one man sitting on the roof of the building under construction, day after day, doing absolutely nothing, but he had to be there to represent his union because of some restrictive and featherbedding interpretation union leaders made for the particular job.

The high cost of building, which practically makes it impossible to produce housing at

prices the general public can afford to pay, will continue so long as we permit restrictive featherbedding practices to exist in the building industry today. In this connection, Fortune quotes a pertinent excerpt from House and Garden:

"Costs hardly seem to matter if you could just get FHA to cover them in its appraisal. • • • We learned to hide increased costs under easier terms. What difference did it make if your price went up from $10,000 to $12,000 if extending the mortgage from 15 to 20 years made the monthly payment lower on the higher price. The truth is that it made virtually no difference at all to the builder, so long as the easy mortgage money lasted, and so long, of course, as climbing costs has not too drastically narrowed his market."

Mr. Peter Drucker, in his recent book, the Next Twenty Years, has this to say: "Housing will be a major political issue, nationally as well as locally. We are at present building in the new industrial areas some of the worst slums this country has ever seen. • • • These new slums are expensive, but the fact that a tar-paper shack costs $14,000 does not make it any less of a shack."

Those who keep agitating for cheap Government money as the answer to building more and more houses, and, of course, at higher and higher prices, are following the dangerous pattern of the times. Getting a Government subsidy has become a matter of each for himself rather than a matter of ethics and the well-being of our total society. Something is happening to the moral fiber of our society. The so-called robber barons of the past would be shocked at the kind of invisible robbery we tolerate today.

The tragedy slowly unfolding for us is the more serious because the big companies are no longer in the hands of the owners but in the hands of professional managers. Inevitably there must be a difference, and there is, between an owner and a paid manager. I believe it is not unfair to say that it is easier and safer for professional management to give in to union demands, no matter how unreasonable, and then pass the increased costs on to the consumer. In my humble opinion, I think that is exactly what has been happening. Once that pattern has been set, the small-business man is completely helpless and must accept higher costs whether he can afford them or not. As a matter of fact in many cases, such as the building industry, for example, the contractor works under the authority of the labor unions rather than vice versa.

If what I have said thus far prompts someone to suggest that I am antiunion, I must state very emphatically that I believe in labor unions. I believe they could be and have been in many ways an asset to our economy. I believe in the rights of labor to bargain collectively but I also believe that labor must voluntarily give of itself freely to raise production to even a higher level and make its moral contribution to our total social structure. I believe in higher wages when tied to increased productivity. I believe the workingman is first a citizen of the United States and only secondly a member of a labor union and labor leaders must not be allowed to behave as though a worker is first a member of a union and only secondly, a citizen of the United States.

These are the reasons why I chose the title, "What Is Past Is Prologue" and these are the issues we are facing today. The prologue must be judged by what has been done in recent years and on that basis we should not be surprised that the great economist, Joseph Schumpeter, just before his death in 1949, stated that he was pessimistic about America's ability to survive because he felt that the American public does not understand the danger of inflation and that inflation is destroying our society.

This is a very serious indictment of the leadership of both our political parties because they know that to prevent inflation we must resort to unpleasant and uncomfortable measures. They know that those measures, for a time, may be even more unpleasant than those which were taken to combat depressions. But they have been reluctant to educate the public to the fact that it is not a depression that threatens our economy but that the imminent danger is inflation and the destruction of the middle class. Historically, inflation has usually destroyed the middle class.

The recent political campaign is a clear example of the lack of public interest in issues that so vitally affect the future of our country but were not debated. The public's lethargy to the basic economic problem and the failure of courageous leadership to wake them up is a very serious threat to our country.

In the face of what has been happening in the past, can those who glibly talk about any significant reduction in Federal, State, and local expenditures or significant reduction in Federal, State, and local taxes be serious? Our people must not be misled by false promises and prophecies. As a matter of fact, the people who talk about reduction in government expenditures must know, for example, that at least 30 percent of the increase in defense procurement expenditures in the last 10 years is due to the fact that prices have risen. Inflation accounts for at least 20 percent of all increased government spending in the last 10 years. How can anyone promise significant cuts when month after month prices go up and the value of the dollar is eroding?

The Economist, the noted British weekly, in a recent issue presented the Parkinson Law which states that British Government employees multiply by about 5 percent a year even though their total output does not increase in proportion. This should have a familiar ring for us too.

The National Bureau of Economic Research found that in the United States between 1900 and 1950 that labor rose about 125 percent while the number of government employees increased almost 500 percent. In 1900 1 employee in 25 worked for the Federal, State, or local government. Now it is 1 employee in every 8. In this connection the First National Bank of New York concludes that, "if these trends are projected into the future, one finds that in the year 2069 we will all be working for the government."

I started with the statement that unless the trend of the last 25 years is reversed we will end up in the same plight as Great Britain and France or perhaps even worse. There, featherbedding on the part of labor, restrictive practices and confiscatory taxes have almost destroyed the economy and put them on the brink of, if not into, socialism. The incentive to expand and to reinvest earnings into better and more productive machinery has been lost in these countries, knowing as they do, that increased productiveness of machines will be soaked up by labor and any better profit will be consumed by taxes.

If the trend here is not changed or stopped, it must inevitably bring us also to the brink, if not directly into, socialism and an economic system abhorrent to freedom-loving Americans. The real danger is that we are rapidly approaching the hour of decision and it will take many courageous men of stature who would rather be right than President to turn this tide.

I sincerely believe that if the American people, all the American people, understand the real meaning of recent trends and where they are leading us, they will face up to the situation. It will not be necessary to feed them political tranquilizers in order to keep them ignorantly happy.

I have great faith in the commonsense of the American people and therefore I cannot help but believe that the right kind of leaders will emerge from labor, from Government, and from industry, in time to save us from losing the social and economic system which has proved to be the bulwark against communism, nazism, and fascism and is the only strong social system left that the rest of the world can count on to keep it free.

Opinion Poll Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. JAY NIMTZ
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. NIMTZ. Mr. Speaker, for the past several weeks I have been conducting an opinion poll among my constituents in the Third Congressional District of Indiana on eight important issues currently confronting the Congress.

Starting late in April and continuing through most of May, questionnaires were mailed from my office in Washington to approximately 100,000 voters in the 4 northern Indiana counties I represent, St. Joseph, Elkhart, La Porte, and Marshall. Ballot forms also were printed as a public service by several daily and weekly newspapers in the district, and readers were invited to mail them directly to me.

Questionnaires were sent to practically every household in the district. Wherever possible, mailing lists of registered voters were used, particularly in the South Bend-Mishawaka area. In cities such as Elkhart, Goshen, La Porte, Michigan City, and Plymouth, telephone directories were employed. Ballots also were mailed to every rural and post-office boxholder in the four counties.

The response has been most gratifying. A total of 12,356 ballots have been received and tabulated to date, and they are still coming in.

A great many voters who took part in the poll added comments to their ballots or wrote separate letters explaining or qualifying their replies. Others expressed views on issues not covered in the poll.

These comments have been carefully studied by me and have been most helpful in determining the sentiment of my constituents on current problems.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news release reporting the results of my 1957 opinion poll:

BUDGET AND TAX CUTS FAVORED IN NIMTZ POLL

Congressman F. JAY NIMTZ, South Bend Republican, today reported the results of an opinion poll among his northern Indiana constituents showing overwhelming support for a cut in Federal spending and a general reduction in taxes.

More than 12,000 voters in St. Joseph, Elkhart, La Porte, and Marshall Counties returned question forms in the poll, which has been underway for more than a month, Congressman NIMTZ reported.

The closest division of opinion was on the question of Federal aid for school construction, NIMTZ said. The vote in favor was 46 percent, with 45 percent opposing and 9 percent expressing no opinion.

A limited program of Federal grants for new school buildings has been proposed by

President Eisenhower but is opposed by Indiana Gov. Harold W. Handley.

Eighty-nine percent of those questions favored legislation to regulate and safeguard labor union welfare funds, with only 6 percent opposed.

Greatest opposition in the poll was shown to proposals for a more liberal immigration policy, with 76 percent voting against a change in the law and only 14 percent in favor.

Two key programs of the Eisenhower administration were endorsed by votes of nearly 2 to 1 in the poll. They were the foreign-aid program and the Federal program of flexible farm price supports.

Voters also endorsed Postmaster General Summerfield's request for an increase in postal rates by a margin of 72 to 21 percent.

The vote in favor of a tax reduction was better than 10 to 1, while cuts in the Federal budget were advocated by 65 percent of the voters.

The Nimtz survey got replies from 12,356 voters who either returned question forms sent out by the Congressman or clipped out ballots from newspapers. Here is the final breakdown of the voting:

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Do you favor—			
1. Reducing the budget even if it means cutting out programs of direct benefit to you?	65	25	10
2. Legislation to regulate and safeguard labor union welfare funds?	89	6	5
3. A general tax reduction if cuts can be made without leaving the budget out of balance?	89	8	3
4. Increasing postal rates on all classes of mail to help reduce the postal deficit?	72	21	7
5. Direct Federal grants to States to help build more schools?	46	45	9
6. Foreign military and economic aid as a means of resisting Communist expansion?	54	31	15
7. Changing our immigration laws to admit more people to this country?	14	76	10
8. A flexible program of Federal price supports for basic farm products?	52	28	20

The Arthur MacArthur Army Reserve Training Center at Springfield Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a message from General of the Army Douglas MacArthur and the speech made by Lt. Gen. Thomas W. Herron concerning the dedication of the Springfield Army Reserve Training Center in honor of Lt. Gen. Arthur MacArthur.

There being no objection, the letter and address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

As a native of Chicopee Falls and a loyal and lifelong admirer of Massachusetts, my father would be greatly moved by this dedication. He was an ardent believer in the citizen soldier. He felt that from this category comes the very essence of our success in war; that they provide that invincible will for victory which results from the combination of leadership, training, and discipline which such centers as this produce.

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR.

ADDRESS BY LT. GEN. THOMAS W. HERRON

Colonel Foley, Mayor Brunton, Mayor Grocki, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a privilege to be with you today to represent the MacArthur family in the ceremony dedicating this Army Reserve Training Center to the memory of one of its distinguished members, Lt. Gen. Arthur MacArthur.

I bring you greetings and warm good wishes from his son, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, who regrets that he is unable to be present.

In acting for General MacArthur, I am in the enviable position of being able to do what he could not have done. I can point out some of the striking parallels in his character and that of his father.

The history of this region is interwoven with that of the MacArthur family. The paternal forebears of Arthur MacArthur were scottish highlanders and had established themselves here in the early days of the Republic. His mother's family, the Belchers, were distinguished citizens of Springfield and Chicopee and Chicopee Falls for generations. It was Arthur MacArthur's maternal great grandmother, Sara Barney, who numbers among her descendants not only two great generals named MacArthur, but through the Delanos, a President of the United States named Franklin Roosevelt, and through the Jeromes, a distinguished Briton named Winston Churchill. General Arthur MacArthur's father himself was an author and essayist of note and an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, now the United States District Court in Washington.

Historians disagree as to whether Arthur MacArthur was 16 or 17 years old when he finally persuaded his father, Justice MacArthur, to allow him to enlist in the Army. It is a known fact, however, that he won the Congressional Medal of Honor before he was 19. He and General of the Army Douglas MacArthur are the only father and son in American history who have won our highest military decoration. As a young officer, Arthur MacArthur was several times wounded, as was his son in later wars, because of an utter disregard for his own safety in combat.

Later, in the Spanish-American War, Gen. Arthur MacArthur became Military Governor of the Philippines, a position his son was to hold later in Japan. His rule there has been described as having combined a stern sense of justice and magnanimity. He introduced into the system of justice in the Philippines the right of habeas corpus, as his son was to do years later in Japan. Father and son demonstrated in every act patriotism and integrity of the highest order.

And so it is particularly appropriate that this training center should memorialize the name of Gen. Arthur MacArthur, native of Springfield and Chicopee and Chicopee Falls, and a distinguished and brilliant officer of the United States Army. The real meaning of this dedication only begins in the brief ceremonies held here today.

It will become increasingly significant as the years pass, and the MacArthur name takes its proper place on the pages of history as an inspiration to the young men who train here.

The MacArthurs leave a heritage of love of country and devotion to duty unsurpassed in our military history. Without such men no nation can survive.

Acting for the MacArthur family, I accept the honor conferred upon Lt. Gen. Arthur MacArthur by the dedication of this important United States Army Reserve training center to his memory. I express the hope that the young men who are trained in this center will be prepared to defend this Nation in war and to serve her in peace as did this outstanding American in whose honor it is dedicated.

Thank you.

Radioactivity in the Columbia River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an exchange of correspondence between myself and the Atomic Energy Commission relative to the health and safety aspects of using the Columbia River as a coolant for the Hanford Atomic Works.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAY 21, 1957.

Mr. LEWIS L. STRAUSS,
Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. STRAUSS: In Albert Schweitzer's Declaration of Conscience, given upon receiving the Nobel prize, and reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for May 15, 1957, there is the following paragraph:

"What this storing of radioactive material implies is clearly demonstrated by the observations made when, on one occasion, the radioactivity of the Columbia River in North America was analyzed. The radioactivity was caused by the atomic plants at Hanford, which produce plutonium for atomic bombs, and which empty their waste water into the river. The radioactivity of the river water was insignificant. But the radioactivity of the river plankton was 2,000 times higher, that of the ducks eating plankton 40,000 times higher, that of the fish 15,000 times higher. In young swallows fed on insects caught by their parents in the river the radioactivity was 500,000 times higher, and in the egg yolks of water birds more than 1 million times higher."

I would appreciate hearing from the Commission any comments it might care to make concerning this statement, and concerning the health and safety aspects of using the Columbia River as a coolant for the Hanford plant.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY M. JACKSON,
United States Senator.

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., May 24, 1957.

Hon. HENRY M. JACKSON,
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR JACKSON: Thank you for your letter of May 21, 1957 in which you ask for our comments on a part of Dr. Albert

Schweitzer's declaration of conscience, and also on the health and safety aspects of using the Columbia River as a coolant for the Hanford plant.

The data cited by Dr. Schweitzer are essentially those presented by Hanford employees of the General Electric Co. at the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. These data were published in 2 papers in volume 13 of the proceedings of this conference. They are:

Paper 280: pages 364–367, The Accumulation of Radioactive Substances in Aquatic Forms, by R. F. Foster and J. J. Davis.

Paper 281: pages 385–388, Radioactivity in Terrestrial Animals Near an Atomic Energy Site, by W. C. Hanson and H. A. Kornberg.

It is important to understand that the figures which appear in the tables in the papers referred to above, and from which Dr. Schweitzer apparently obtained the figures which appear in the paragraph quoted in your letter, represent ratios, that is, the relative increase in concentrations of of radioactivity from water to plankton and on down the plant-animal food chain. These ratios are not meaningful from the standpoint of health unless the concentrations are converted into amounts of radioactivity and a comparison is made with permissible concentrations of radioactivity in food consumed by humans. In other words, it is necessary to distinguish between rate of concentration and amount of radioactivity. In this connection, it is also important to take into account the normal process of radioactive decay.

The radioisotope of primary concern which enters the food chain in the Columbia River is phosphorus 32. It has a 14.3 day half-life and has a maximum permissible concentration in water of 2×10^{-4} microcuries per cubic milliliter. Its concentration below the Hanford site is a small fraction of that level, namely, 0.02×10^{-4} to 0.2×10^{-4}. At such levels in the water people could eat fish every day in the year without exceeding the conservative standards for exposure to the general population.

The manner in which Dr. Schweitzer presents the ratios implies that there is a progressive increase in the concentrations of radioactivity through the plant-animal food chain. This is not generally true. If one refers to the table from which Dr. Schweitzer took his values for birds (table 1, p. 385, vol. XIII of the proceedings of the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy) it will be found that the last column of the same table gives ratios of concentrations of P–32 in the bird to P–32 in its food. In only one case is the concentration in the bird higher than in its food.

Another problem is that Dr. Schweitzer takes his figures from two different tables. The value of 2000 which he uses for plankton is for gross activity. The other higher values in the paragraph quoted are for the specific isotope, P–32. Since the P–32 activity in the water is less than 1 percent of the total activity in water, the concentration from of P–32 from water to plankton is 200,000. Hence, the increases in concentrations from water to ducks, of 40,000, and from water to fish, of 15,000, should be compared to the value for plankton of 200,000, not the 2,000 figure which Dr. Schweitzer apparently obtained from another table. Therefore, as a general proposition there is not a progressive increase in the concentration of P–32 throughout the plant-animal food chain as implied by Dr. Schweitzer.

The fish in the Columbia River are monitored through the seasons the year around. The average concentration in whitefish (the species in which the highest concentrations have been measured) has been about 10^{-4} microcuries per gram (the unit of weight comparable to volume as measured in milliliters). At that concentration one could eat 7 pounds of fish a week, year in and year out, and still be within permissible levels.

As you know, the AEC has a substantial health research program at the Hanford site and at all other major AEC industrial sites, and at the Nevada and Pacific test areas. These programs include not only precise monitoring of radioactivity in air, water, and soil, but follow radioactive products as they pass along the plant-animal food chain. Special emphasis is given to consideration of the levels of radioactivity required to produce detectable injury in individuals and in population groups. A conservative estimate of the Commission's expenditures in environmental health research at AEC sites and at universities throughout the Nation, is about $1.8 million a year. This estimate does not include a substantial amount of laboratory support at AEC sites, nor does it include a vast amount of related research, such as, for example, the metabolism of fission products and instrumentation.

Should you desire additional information on the program at Hanford or on the broad environmental health program of the Commission, we shall be pleased to provide it.

Sincerely yours,

LEWIS L. STRAUSS, *Chairman.*

Taxpayer Comment on Battle of the Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, on February 4 the Conference of State Taxpayer Executives, comprised of organizations in three-fourths of the States, met in Washington to discuss the 1958 Federal budget. They decided that taxpayers and citizens must help both the executive branch and Congress to reach an expenditure-reduction goal which will permit tax and debt reduction. With the slogan, "I'll take less from Government, if Government takes less from me," these groups have presented the issue of Federal budget reduction constantly and specifically to the people of their States.

Recently, Tax Foundation asked the executive directors of these State organizations to wire their comments on the reactions they observed to the "battle of the budget."

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the replies from 21 States.

There being no objection, the replies were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROUNDUP OF TAXPAYER COMMENT ON THE BATTLE OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET

Eisenhower budget was shock to all Nebraskans. Economy is watchword here. Our people, press, legislature, and public officials demand budget cuts up to $5 billion. Drastic curbs on Federal aid, defeat of school aid, and control of expenditures. Then debt reduction and tax cuts in proportion, although our Senators and Congressmen are all completely in accord. Mail and press editorials pour in from all corners of the State. (Robert M. Armstrong, executive director, Nebraska Citizens Council, Inc.)

Never before in all our 25 years have the people, members of lower house, industry, business in general, farm organizations, the professions, and individual citizens, been so enthusiastically united in support of Congress making substantial cuts in pending budget bills to the very limit without imperiling security of America and its upstanding allies. (William R. Pouder, executive secretary, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, Inc.)

Grassroots response in Ohio for reductions in nonessential Federal budget expenditures has been most gratifying. The "I'll Take Less" campaign has active support of many community organizations interested in reducing Federal budget. Vote of Ohio congressional delegation on Federal appropriation measures thus far considered accurately reflects voter opinion in their home districts. (D. H. Sutton, executive director, Ohio Public Expenditure Council.)

Newspapers are cooperating. People recognize "I'll Take Less" buttons. Congressman DEMPSEY comments in his weekly newsletter, "In all my years in Washington representing the people of New Mexico, I have never before seen such unanimity and insistence in demanding a cut in Government spending and in taxes." Letters must be flowing. (Albert K. Nohl, director, Taxpayers Association of New Mexico.)

There has been no organized campaign as such in Utah against the budget. There has rather been a spontaneous outpouring of protest by newspapers, bulletins, chamber of commerce boards, groups, and individuals. Seldom have we seen such intense feeling and resentment against a proposed budget as is now taking place. (M. H. Harris, executive secretary, Utah Taxpayers Association.)

Members of our congressional delegation say they are receiving more mail re Federal budget than any other subject. Being voluntary it is effective. Our people are very Federal budget conscious. (Lloyd Griffin, executive vice president, North Carolina Citizens Association.)

News coverage and editorial comment has been good. Too early to measure full effect as it will be several weeks before impact is felt. Believe Eisenhower's speech will cause more "I'll Take Less" letters to flow to Washington. Individuals are wearing buttons. No adverse reaction noted. (Fred W. Bennion, executive director, Wyoming Taxpayers Association.)

Increasing concern in Wisconsin over the Federal budget as well as on high State and local governmental spending. Local taxpayer association action demanded a rolling back of big governmental spending reflects ground swell for economy. Strong opposition to Federal aid for school construction. (Arch Ely, executive director, Public Expenditure Survey of Wisconsin.)

Newspaper cooperation on "I'll Take Less" campaign has been excellent. We have reason to believe that more Nevadans than ever before are writing to Congressmen urging Federal economy. Senator BIBLE'S office reported nearly 1,000 letters received by May 3. NTA members have welcomed this campaign enthusiastically whereas previous Federal projects coolly received. (Neil D. Humphrey, executive secretary, Nevada Taxpayers Association.)

The high Federal taxes continued by the 1957–58 Federal budget has sparked a taxpayers' uprising in New York State. With State and local taxes to be paid out of what the taxpayer has left after Federal taxes, the tax squeeze has created awareness of the need to reduce the total tax load. That awareness presently is being manifested by the formation of school district taxpayer organizations which are bringing about rejection of swollen school budgets and building bond issues throughout the State. This striking out initially against the spending of tax money in the government unit closest to the people is a warning which their elected representatives in the overlying levels of government would do well to heed.

(James E. Finke, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, Inc.)

The 1957 Montana Legislature adopted the highest general fund budget in the history of the State resulting in tax increases in almost every area. This coupled with the proposed $71.8 billion Federal budget is bringing widespread protest from taxpayers throughout the State to the effect that an economy move for all levels of government is far past due. (S. Keith Anderson, executive secretary, Montana Taxpayers' Association.)

Public opinion in favor reduction in Federal budget started immediately high figures released. Developed to strongest opinion in recent years. Newspaper support economy widespread and likewise unusually strong. (Carter W. Atkins, executive director, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council.)

Heavy press support with favorable articles and editorials throughout Minnesota, also urban press excellent coverage with favorable comment. Citizen action widespread. Growing sentiment favoring Federal tax reduction. (Norman A. Borgen, secretary-treasurer, Minnesota Taxpayers Association.)

Three new county taxpayer groups officially chartered past few months in Colorado as direct result general taxpayer concern about local, State, and Federal tax burdens. Regarding the proposed Federal budget common statement here is "I've never written my Congressman (or Senator) before but I certainly have on this issue." (Raymond A. Kimball, executive director, Colorado Public Expenditure Council.)

Strong citizen demand for less Government spending, for debt reduction, and for lower taxes in all parts of California with widespread support for Byrd and Hoover Commission recommendations and widespread denunciation of Federal giveaway programs, particularly Federal aid to education. Many local proposals also being turned down. (S. J. Arnold, general manager, California Taxpayers' Association.)

Budget cutting sentiment strong and growing. State senate passed bipartisan-sponsored resolution for reduced Federal spending. Citizens' groups sponsored full-page ad in newspapers and sent shirts to Washington. Budget reduction urged in widespread newspaper comment and editorials. The Governor and other influential leaders have spoken out against Federal aid to schools. (Edward Staples, executive director, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey.)

There is much wider demand by Idahoans for reduction of Federal budget than in previous years. A demand which is being carried to the congressional delegation. To be effective, however, the expression must be continued until the last appropriation measure has become law. (Max Yost, executive manager, Associated Taxpayers of Idaho.)

We have had action that we've never had before. Even local newspapers which usually in the past ignored the Federal budget have jumped into the fight. People who were never interested before are writing their Congressmen and working hard to cut the budget. (Maurice W. Scott, executive secretary, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois.)

Economy-mindedness is at an alltime peak, not only Federal but State and local. Our Members of Congress are getting more mail than ever before. (Raymond E. Edwards, executive secretary, Iowa Taxpayers Association.)

I have stressed in my talks before various service organizations, in the New Hampshire Taxpayer and in numerous press releases that it is the duty of every citizen to write to our representatives in Washington insisting upon economy in Government and reduction of the gargantuan 1958 budget. As a result, our representatives have been flooded with mail, to such an extent, that most of them have had to resort to form letters in replying. (Barry T. Mines, executive director, New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation.)

Here in New Jersey, with its historic background of independence, we are encouraged by the response of Congress to the continuing grassroots demand for less governmental spending. We are hopeful that this renewed taxpayer interest will not only achieve the immediate objective of lowering the fantastic cost of Government, but help bring about reversal in the trend toward increased Federal aid which costs far more than its worth and begets more centralized government. (Carlton W. Tillinghast, executive director, New Jersey Taxpayers Association.)

The Accomplishments of Resistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Richmond News Leader of Monday, June 3, 1957, commenting favorably upon an excellent editorial which appeared in the Winchester Star on Friday, May 31, entitled "Invasion From Washington."

These two editorials in a very forthright and capable manner reply to the criticism directed by the Washington Post at the manner in which we conduct our school affairs in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The editor of the Winchester Star, State Senator HARRY F. BYRD, Jr., enjoys in an unusually high degree the confidence, esteem, and personal affections of many thousands of Virginians. His editorial comments shed considerable light on the present situation in Virginia and I am in wholehearted accord with the views he has expressed. The editor of the Washington Post had asked "What has Virginia accomplished?" and Senator BYRD very effectively answers that "Virginia has accomplished precisely what it seeks to accomplish—it has maintained segregated schools," and we shall steadfastly adhere to that course.

The editorial from the Richmond News Leader, to which I have referred, is as follows:

THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF RESISTANCE

The Winchester Star (circulation 8,913) recently teed off on the Washington Post (circulation 382,456), with some comments on Virginia's school segregation policy that merit a wide reading. For the past 3 years, the rabidly prointegration Post has been complaining loudly against Virginia's insistence upon maintaining segregation in public schools. In the eyes of the Washington Post, all is sweetness and light in the District's race-mixed schools, and the Post's editors are terribly distressed at Virginia's inability to see the advantages of compulsory integration.

"For 3 years," said the Washington Post bitterly, Virginia's political leaders "have been screaming about the Supreme Court decision without accomplishing a solitary thing about the problem it raises."

It was to that sentence that the Winchester Star, owned by Harry F. Byrd, Jr., provided a succinct reply:

"What has Virginia accomplished? Virginia has accomplished precisely what it seeks to accomplish—it has maintained segregated schools. * * * Under the leadership of 'this faction,' as the Post calls the State's political leadership, segregation has remained intact throughout the State. Not one Virginia school has been integrated and not one Virginia school has been closed."

In that brief paragraph, it seems to us, lies the proof of the pudding. So far as the public schools themselves are concerned, the demonstrable fact is that Virginia's schools are still operating; they are still operating on a basis of race separation. During the 3 years that have brought chaos to Washington's school system—3 years marked by an exodus of young white parents from the District and by frantic efforts to cover up the deficiencies of Negro students—during these 3 years, students of both races in Virginia have continued their own relatively tranquil progress in their own separate schools.

Now, if State senator Ted Dalton had had his way, this would not have been true. The Radford Republican is agreeable to just a little integration. He would abandon a State policy of unyielding resistance in favor of a fragmented nonpolicy of local surrender. Mr. Dalton must know that a little integration in one county would lead inexorably to more integration in the next county, and swiftly to massive integration in every county and city in the State. That is where his vaunted policy would take us.

Those who want to follow Mr. Dalton and the Washington Post are of course entitled to do so. But on the record, Virginia's policy of massive resistance has resulted in two significant accomplishments: It has preserved segregation in our schools, and it has focused attention dramatically upon the Supreme Court's rape of the Constitution of the United States.

In the eyes of the Washington Post, such accomplishments are deplorable. In our own view, these accomplishments merit grateful applause.

Mail Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH. W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Low Pay, Low Rates Handicap Mail Service," from the Fort Worth (Tex.) Star-Telegram of June 2, 1957, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial is self-explanatory. It is an examination of the callously low-pay rates, completely out of touch with the actual cost of living, received by our postal workers.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOW PAY, LOW RATES HANDICAP MAIL SERVICE

Though the House Post Office Committee at Washington has recommended a rate increase that would cut heavily into the annual postal deficit, passage of legislation to put the higher rates into effect would solve only half of the Post Office Department's serious financial problem. The other half involves pay of the postal workers.

The plight of these workers is not one that callously can be ignored. The one pay raise these workers have received in the

last 6 years has left them lagging far behind the rise in living costs and far behind the wage advances that most workers in private industry have enjoyed. Pay-raise legislation passed by Congress in 1954 and 1955 was killed by presidential veto. While these pay rates remain static, the cost-of-living index is creeping upward.

Recent testimony before the Senate Civil Service Committee has emphasized the effect of the situation on efficiency of postal operations and quality of the service. Low worker morale and the loss of experienced employees to higher-paying jobs cannot help but cause deterioration in the postal service. On the human side, there was figure-buttressed testimony that a topheavy percentage of postal employees manage to maintain themselves and their families only by holding extra jobs.

The problem, of course, is one of revenues. On the basis of present costs, the Post Office Department is expected to show a deficit during the next fiscal year of more than $650 million. The proposed increase in rates would do no more than lower this deficit by $462 million even if there is no raise in employees' salaries. Too, Congress probably would not feel justified in increasing postal pay without increasing the pay of other Federal workers at the same time.

Congress is reaping the result of maintaining so long a postal rate structure made obsolete by economic conditions. The problem is a difficult one to solve, but postal service workers cannot be expected forever to bear the brunt of failure to come realistically to grips with it.

Postal Workers Say Better Pay Improves Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the guest editorial appearing in the Portland (Oreg.) Journal, May 23, 1957. This editorial is entitled "Postal Workers Say Better Pay Improves Service," and was written by Richard F. Robedeau, president of Local No. 128, National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

Mr. Robedeau recently testified ably at the hearings of the Subcommittee on Federal Employee Compensation. His guest editorial focuses attention on a problem that should concern every citizen; his testimony before the subcommittee was equally cogent.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POSTAL WORKERS SAY BETTER PAY IMPROVES SERVICE

(By Richard F. Robedeau)

Why are postal employees made the scapegoats of every economy drive that hits the Government? This question in one form or another is being asked by postal workers throughout the Nation. They know that a letter still can be mailed in 1957 for 3 cents, the same rate as in 1935, because Congress considers it the postal service and not the postal business. They have compared the postal deficit with the deficit of other Government agencies and have noted that in 1956, in spite of low postal rates and of the many public services performed with little or no compensation, the postal deficit added only a fraction over one-half of 1 percent (0.6) to the Federal budget.

In 1956, the deficit of the Department of Defense (military functions) added 53.8 percent to the Federal budget; that of the Department of Agriculture, 7.8 percent; of the Veterans' Administration, 7.1 percent; mutual security (loans and gifts abroad), 6.3 percent; Health, Education, and Welfare, 3.1 percent; Department of Commerce, 1.9 percent; and of the Post Office Department, 0.6 percent.

Among the agencies listed, the Post Office stands at the bottom in the amount its deficit increased the Federal budget. Serving all citizens of our country and not just one special group, it is one of our most essential services. Why then, should the postal deficit be singled out for so much attention by the budget cutters?

Constant and threatened curtailment of postal service also is puzzling postal people. On April 8, 1957, a group including the secretaries of the National Association of Postmasters, the National League of Postmasters, and the National Association of Postal Supervisors presented at the White House to Jack Anderson, administrative assistant to President Eisenhower, a joint statement. It expressed the official concern of these organizations of postal management over a proposed temporary layoff of some postal employees. Here is an excerpt from this statement:

"We feel that, if any of the present employees are released temporarily, they will procure positions in private industry. Knowing how difficult it is, even now, to attract additional personnel on account of the comparatively low salaries offered, we feel that a large number of the postal people would not return to the service when they find the many additional benefits offered by private industry, such as hospitalization, insurance, better working hours (very little nightwork, if any) and many of the other so-called fringe benefits."

Postal clerks and carriers, even though they did not help formulate this statement, know that it is true. They know that the beginning base wage of $3,660 per-year gross is terribly inadequate; that the take-home base pay of a first-year regular clerk or carrier with a wife and two children, deducting Federal and State taxes and 6½ percent for retirement, leaves only $60.50 per week to support his family. They know that in the Portland post office in 1956, 298 new employees were hired and 282 left the postal service.

They know that good postal service can only be maintained by a permanent work force of career employees paid wages adequate to support their families.

With the salaries of State employees raised this year and the Portland city council's action in raising city employees' wages, postal employees are hopeful that Congress will recognize the best way to maintain efficient and economical postal service is to provide adequate postal salaries. This will make it possible for career employees to make a lifework of better postal operations.

Public Education Is a Community Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Public Education Is a Community Project," from the Anderson (S. C.) Free Press of May 30, 1957. The Free Press is one of the Nation's outstanding weekly newspapers, and it is ably edited by Mrs. Beth Klosky.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PUBLIC EDUCATION IS A COMMUNITY PROJECT

During its 38th annual convention last year, the American Legion adopted a resolution opposing Federal interference, control, or direction of the Nation's public schools and taking the stand that State and local government should take care of primary and secondary school needs. This resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote by the 3,158 accredited delegates to the convention—representing every State in the Union.

Recently, the United States Chamber of Commerce issued a leaflet containing excerpts from testimony on school construction legislation presented by Richard C. Cadawallader, member of the national Americanism commission of the American Legion, before the General Education Subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor. We believe that the points emphasized by Mr. Cadawallader combine to form a strong argument against Federal aid to education.

Among other things, Cadawallader pointed out that Federal aid is not the way to get good schools. Under any moderate program of aid, the amount going to individual States would not be large enough to be effective, he said, and Federal aid in an amount sufficient to mitigate the problem significantly could result in such an undermining of State and local responsibility as to seriously endanger the kind of educational system that has served us so well.

Cadawallader declared that the respective States have the financial capacity to meet their educational requirements if they wish to do so. He pointed out that local and State ability and willingness to deal with school problems would be impaired by injecting a third level of government. Administrative differences with respect to controls or agreements as to division of funds would result in delays and inequalities.

There are about 62,000 separate public-school districts or systems in the United States. If the National Government dealt directly with these local school organizations, it would seriously conflict with State educational responsibility and control. If the program were administered through the States, it could not achieve the objective sought by Federal grants or funds without imposing important and unwanted conditions.

If Federal aid is predicated on the determination of necessity of local school districts or systems, who will establish the criteria of need and formulas of distribution, Cadwallader asked. What weight will be given to the relationship between those districts which have for years taxed themselves to the bone to meet their requirements and those which have the resources but do not choose to impose adequate local taxes?

Federal funds for general public education could place in the hands of those in political authority the power to transform our whole way of life. The opportunity which would be opened up for the imposition of requirements as to what would be taught is frightening, Mr. Cadwallader asserted. Federal aid to education, even with an initial limitation on Federal control, invites the danger that in time the Federal administrative agencies will want to prescribe the curricula, textbooks, other instructional materials, teacher qualifications, methods and standards of instruction and accounting and fiscal procedures.

Once the United States Government enters this field of activity, it can never stop nor turn back. The history of other Federal legislation for education demonstrates this conclusively.

Pointing out that the current rate of school construction is steadily rising and is virtually at the point where a majority of the local school districts will have caught up with legitimate classroom shortages, Cadwallader declared that this demonstrates that local school districts are not waiting for the Federal Government and do not need Federal intervention or compulsion.

Under our system of Government, public education is basically a community function which has been and is being effectively discharged by local leaders. Planning for school construction should remain at the local school district level, Cadawallader concluded. This is not the kind of Governmental function which has to be performed by the National Government or which it can do best. In fact, efficiency, economy, opportunity for differences of approach and educational pioneering will be sacrificed if the Congress should embark the National Government upon a program of regimented aid to education.

"Americans Have Been Rediscovering That the Most Important Thing in the World Is Ideas With Ideals,' Says Mrs. R. I. C. Prout, President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Which Heralds a Significant New Trend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, a very important meeting is being held at this time in Asheville, N. C., by the General Federation of Women's Clubs which is holding its 66th annual convention there.

I was very interested to find the first vice president of this fine organization, Chloe Gifford, of Lexington, Ky., saying in her annual report:

Let us, I beg of you, no longer eye the educated with suspicion or refer to the intelligent individual as an egghead or a highbrow.

She keyed her remarks to this year's convention theme, "Knowledge Is Power," and warned the delegates that one of America's paramount dangers is "the growing loss of individualism." She declared "Let us outgrow our lust for the mediocre."

Mrs. R. I. C. Prout, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, told the representatives of the Nation's clubwomen:

Americans have been rediscovering that the most important thing in the world is, ideas with ideals.

It will be recalled that the terms "egghead" and "highbrow" became terms of derision and ridicule only in recent years, mainly in the 1952 political campaign when the Republicans made this the major point of their attack upon the Democrats and Democratic standard-bearer Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson.

At a breakfast in Los Angeles, on September 24, 1954, President Eisenhower said:

We had so many wisecracking so-called intellectuals going around and showing how wrong everybody is who doesn't happen to agree with them. By the way, I heard a definition of an intellectual that I thought was very interesting: A man who takes more words than are necessary to tell more than he knows. I hope that no one is going to get up and wisecrack to me and say, "You've already done it."

If you were to seek the deep psychological reason for the low estate of the schoolteacher, the college professor, the learned in the society of our time I think you will find it not only in their scandalously low salaries, but in this contempt that seems to have seeped from the top into our thinking about the people among us who can state a cause, a principle, a position without doing violence to vocabulary and to syntax.

I hope I am sorely mistaken if I hold the conviction that one of the reasons for at least the extent of the defeat of Governor Stevenson for the Presidency of the United States in the elections of 1952 and 1956 was the fact that he spoke good English.

It must, I think, go down in the history of elections that at least one quite important segment of the voting public did not understand the Democratic candidate. Yet, if we read his speeches in those campaigns, we would be hard put to it to find anything in them that was either esoteric or highfalutin, or too polysyllabic. His sentences were most simple and declarative, with flashes of wit, and while thoughtful and even profound, they were hardly a tax on the intellect.

Yet they were complained of—of all things—for reasons of style and for the respect which the candidate manifestly had for the intelligence of the American people. The complaint was that the speeches were over the heads of the voters. This complaint when summed up seems to mean that Adlai Stevenson's speeches failed to hit a sufficiently low level of maudlin simplicity.

I believed then, and I believe now, that these criticisms were as false and as distorted as that leveled in editorial and cartoon against Woodrow Wilson because of his professorial past.

Now that the captains and the kings of the era that was Wilson's have departed, who will deny him his place as one of the most brilliantly articulate Americans of our history? And one of the most wisely intellectual and learned? Should that be regarded a shortcoming?

In fact, in our time, what seems to commend a candidate for political office, to some portions of his audience at least, is precisely his inability to complete a sentence.

This is presumed to convey the relaxed attitude and the air of casualness that grafts onto politics and debate the television techniques of presentation.

It is as if a philosophy had been sedulously cultivated that the wrong way of doing things brings us closer to being our free and uninhibited selves.

In fact, I take it there is presumed to be some special sales advantage in being offhandishly ungrammatical. Thus there is this new advertising syntax which tells us that a certain cigarette tastes good like a cigarette should.

I include here as a part of my remarks a report in the Washington Post and Times Herald regarding the 66th annual convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUB DELEGATES TOLD: "DON'T CRACK AT EGGHEADS"

(By Eileen Summers)

ASHEVILLE, N. C., June 4.—The much abused "egghead" found a public defender here today at the opening session of the 66th annual convention of the General Federation of Womens Clubs, where some 3,000 delegates met amid the blue banners of their clubs. Chloe Gifford of Lexington, Ky., first vice president of the General Federation of Womens Club, in her annual report said:

"Let us, I beg of you, no longer eye the educated with suspicion or refer to the intelligent individual as an egghead or a highbrow."

She keyed her remarks to this year's convention theme, "Knowledge Is Power" and warned the delegates that one of America's paramount dangers is "the growing loss of indiyidualism." She urged them:

"Let us outgrow our lust for the mediocre."

The Federation's national president, Mrs. R. I. C. Prout, told the representatives of the Nation's clubwomen:

"Americans have been rediscovering that the most important thing in the world is—ideas with ideals."

To aid the Nation's clubwomen to reach a clearer understanding of current political and economic events, Mrs. Prout announced that a 2-day world affairs conference has been planned for members of the Federation's national board in October, following their meetings, October 10–11.

President Eisenhower sent his greetings to the Federation. The message said in part:

"Advancing toward common objectives of mutual benefit, your membership combines many talents with notable success. Congratulations as you continue your leadership in public service.

"DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER."

We Can't Buy Friends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Daily News of Monday, May 27, 1957:

WE CAN'T BUY FRIENDS

One of the weakest aspects of American foreign policy is the idea that we can buy friends abroad.

We do have a lot of money and have been generous with it since the war. Therefore, it is argued, everyone should be fond of us.

Neither human nature nor nations work that way. The anti-American riots on Formosa are the latest example—a rude awakening for those still indulging in myths.

The well-founded suspicion that they were organized riots doesn't change the fundamental significance of them.

Few places in the world have had more American dollar aid and political support than Formosa. Had it not been for the United States, Formosa would long ago have been part of Red China. Yet the American embassy is sacked.

It would be as ridiculous to belittle the Formosa events as it would be to abandon American operations there. But it is important to try to discover how and why such an anti-American mood could develop because the potential for similar outbreaks exists all over the Far East—indeed everywhere in the world.

No one ever likes foreign troops stationed in his country—whether friendly or enemy troops. This can't be changed and we will have to live with it.

But it seems to us there are three areas in which the animosity created by our necessary operations abroad could be diminished.

The United States has too many people stationed abroad. On Formosa, an island only the size of Maryland, there are between 8,000 and 10,000 Americans—military, civilian, and dependents. The job could be done with half that many.

Americans stationed abroad—by comparison with local peoples, especially in Asia—live in luxury. Our representatives should make the gap between our wealth and local poverty less conspicuous.

Too often Americans abroad demand and get special privileges which are only the old evil extraterritorial rights the United States did so much to end in China when such rights applied primarily to other countries. How and by whom our GI's in Asiatic countries will be tried when they get into trouble is the spark that has set off waves of anti-Americanism in Korea, Japan, and Formosa. We can't insist upon the old-fashioned colonial-type rights without asking for more trouble.

There is much argument here in Washington these days over how much money the Government should spend abroad next year on foreign aid, information services, and military programs. The Formosa incident may have its fortunate side. It should convince even the most extreme skeptic that our foreign operations are not suffering so much from lack of money or personnel. They are suffering from lack of know-how.

A New Approach to the Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from Time magazine of May 27, 1957, entitled "Agricultural Research—A New Approach to the Farm Problem."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH—A NEW APPROACH TO THE FARM PROBLEM

One of the basic causes of the American farm problem is the failure of agriculture to keep abreast of industry in research and development. Farmers have concentrated on learning how to increase their yields, leaving it up to the Government to worry about their surpluses, while hundreds of new industrial discoveries have pushed the farmer out of much of his market. Synthetics, for example, have taken over 45 percent of the market for natural fibers, 62 percent of the market for leather shoe soles, and two-thirds of the market for household soap. Last week, prompted by the recent report of the President's Commission on Increased Industrial Use of Agricultural Products, Congress was considering a handful of bills to authorize a concentrated attack on the problem. Main point of the report: while industry is spending some $3 billion a year on developing new consumer products and improving old ones, combined governmental and private agricultural research totals only $375 million—most of it to grow larger crops.

As a start toward making agriculture competitive with industry in research, the Commission recommended that the present $16 million utilization research budget of the Agriculture Department be tripled, with much of the money being used to farm out promising research projects to private laboratories. The Commission also recommended Federal incentives, such as fast tax write-offs, to encourage investment in industries using farm products.

But farm experts consider the Commission's plan only a beginning, urge a crash program costing 4 or 5 times what the Commission recommended. The Commission itself listed $211 million worth of agricultural research projects now underway that could be pushed through immediately. Among them: (1) Development of powdered whole milk that tastes like fresh; (2) a method to make newsprint from southern hardwoods, which would make up income small farmers have lost in cotton; (3) a process to extract fertilizer from chicken feathers; (4) a way to get rice from hulls 750,000 pounds a year of special wax, now imported; (5) development of a host of new drugs, such as antibiotics from tomato leaves and hormones from hay.

There is plenty of evidence that research can solve many farm-surplus problems. Powdered eggs have been so improved that they have hatched a new line of cake and cookie mixes. Only a few years ago surplus-ridden citrus growers in Florida were destroying tons of oranges in an effort to bolster prices; now about 50 percent of their crop is being turned into frozen orange juice and many growers are expanding. A new process, developed by the Agriculture Department, to dehydrate cooked potatoes has proved so successful that several manufacturers have put the product on the market. Predicts Dr. G. Edward Hilbert, research director of the President's Commission: "This development will do for the potato industry what frozen concentrated orange juice has done for the citrus industry."

The biggest, most stubborn surplus problem facing the Nation is corn. This year's estimated corn carryover will be more than 1.4 billion bushels, an alltime record, and the Government owns more than 900 million bushels of corn, for which there is no market. But the utilization laboratories of the Agriculture Department are working on processes for using corn in plastics, paper, oil-drilling mud, glue, heat-proof lacquer, tanning agents, and a host of other industrial needs. Anticipating a major industrial market for corn, the American Maize-Products Co. and Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts have set up a program for Midwest farmers to grow 30,000 acres of a special variety of corn tailored to industry's needs. Farmers will be guaranteed a price at least 12 percent above the regular corn market. Floyd J. Hosking, executive vice president of the privately financed Corn Industries Research Foundation, estimates a potential industrial need for up to 1.3 billion bushels of corn each year, more than last year's corn carryover, with $4 billion in new plants built to process it. But first there must be more basic research. The Federal Government recently increased from 3 to 12 the team of scientists working on a crucial phase of corn chemistry. Says Dr. Hilbert: "If a team of 50 could be put to work we could clean it up in 2 or 3 years."

Not even the research enthusiasts expect the farm problem to be solved quickly. But they argue that it makes more sense to spend $200 million or $300 million a year on research that will provide permanent solutions than to spend $3.7 billion a year on support plans that only make the farm problem worse. Says Purdue University Biochemist Roy L. Whistler: "The experimental stations at the universities are waking up to the fact that it isn't enough to tell farmers how to grow more. They have to be told what to do with the crops they've grown."

Seattle Postmaster Says Low Pay Keeps Staff Below Needed Strength

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under previous granted unanimous consent I include for printing in the Appendix of the RECORD a newspaper article which appeared in the May 26, 1957, edition of the Post-Intelligencer.

This points up a bad situation which results from the increasingly high cost of living in my congressional district. Certainly there is need for a Federal employee wage increase and I very much hope legislation will be forthcoming in the very near future.

PAY POLICY CAUSES POST OFFICE HELP SHORTAGE

All work and no play make jack. But all work and no pay is a different formula.

It's not quite all work and no pay at the post office. It's just plenty of work and too little pay to keep men around to do the work.

Because of the pay situation, Postmaster George Morry says, his Seattle Post Office is operating 100 persons below its needed strength of about 2,500. The post office is having to use substitutes and work many employees overtime to keep the mails rolling here.

Also it's having to recruit like mad.

In the 4 months ending April 15, Morry says, the post office hired 194 regular and temporary workers here—and lost 299.

Men just won't go to work and stay at work for the wages the post office can pay. Not with the Boeing Airplane Co. and other private industry bidding against Uncle Sam, Morry says:

"Boeing is a great—a good—let's say, a successful—competitor of ours."

Most postal wages range from $3,700 to $4,400 a year, Morry says.

Eddie Beals, the Terminal Annex clerk who took a survey of annex morale for his union recently, thinks he's average. He earns $170 to $175 every 2 weeks. After deductions, he takes home a little better than $130.

A big deduction for postal workers, as for other Federal employees, is the 6½-percent pension bite. That pension may be welcome 30 years from now. The 6½ percent, though, looks big today to the man who's trying to keep the family in bread and beans.

And the post office is having a hard time today "selling" its jobs to applicants. With

no regional differentials, the postal wage scale may be attractive to men in some parts of the country. Here in the booming high-cost Pacific Northwest, it doesn't pull the sort of applicants who used to come in when a post-office job stood out as comparatively good thing.

Fewer people are taking the tests these days, a smaller percentage are passing, and many who pass don't find it worthwhile to show up for work.

The past half year the Civil Service Commission has been running off postal clerk-carrier examinations here at the rate of about one a month. In that time, 1,608 have applied for the examinations, 916 have taken them, 338 have passed, and 144 have accepted work.

You may have wondered what the payoff was some time ago when postmen dropped invitations into Seattle mailboxes for people to apply for work.

After that campaign, 1,000 applied, 450 took the examination, 75 passed, and 35 came to work. The post office probably put more man-hours into the project than it got out of it in new employees.

Women can do only a certain share of postal work. With 30 percent female help, the Seattle post office has about as great a percentage of women employees as any post office in the country. It needs men now—male employees who can qualify for regular jobs in spots where they have to toss mail pouches around.

The plain, unvarnished fact is that post-office wages here aren't attracting enough men with the minimum education and intelligence it takes to pass the reasonable simple postal examination and handle the mails properly.

Eddie Beals gives one explanation when he says:

"It's impossible these days for a postal employee with a family to keep up with the cost of living unless his wife's got a job or he's got an extra job."

Morry says sadly:

"Our wages are low. But the only place we can get the money is Washington, D. C."

The Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Budget Cuts Are Largely Illusory," from the Greenville (S. C.) News of June 2, 1957.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUDGET CUTS ARE LARGELY ILLUSORY

Warnings continue to come from well-posted sources that the budget cuts being voted in Congress may not be nearly so big nor so real as they appear.

The Government's financial operations, in fact, have become so complicated that the average citizen can hardly be blamed for being badly confused in his attempts to keep track of what is going on in the way of income and outgo of public funds.

This is illustrated in an editorial in the Wall Street Journal discussing the illusory character of various "cuts" that are being made. The article is entitled, aptly enough, "Bookkeeping Bewilderment."

A more comprehensive analysis of the current goings-on in this financial maze is provided in an article in U. S. News & World Report. This undertakes to reveal the "jokers" in the budget cuts. On paper it would appear that reductions of over $4 billion have been made.

But on close examination it is seen that about $1.7 billion of this will not affect budget programs in the coming year. Some cuts merely postpone spending, and others may have to be restored later.

The biggest joker in the budget dispute "is that actions in Congress give the impression of sharp cuts in 'spending,' when they actually are cuts in 'appropriations' and are aimed largely at future spending."

That distinction must be kept in mind in attempting to evaluate congressional budget actions. Our Government is in the habit of authorizing large expenditures over years in the future. A present reduction in appropriations for future spending doesn't necessarily affect the spending for the ensuing fiscal year.

It might seem that continuing reductions in "appropriations" ultimately will force lower spending. But actually, such "cuts" can be, and often are restored before the time comes for actual spending of the money.

It appears that Congress still has a long way to go if it is to bring about any real reduction in spending and, thus, pave the way for tax reductions about which many taxpayers are so wistfully dreaming and some Congressmen are so promisingly talking.

As they say of losing ball teams, "Maybe next year."

People Deserve the Facts of Hazards From Fallout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Nashville Tennessean, commenting upon the necessity of the people having the facts about atomic fallout, and of the very fine efforts of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, through its present hearings, to bring those facts to light. The editorial notes how efforts were made to cover up these facts when Adlai Stevenson sought to bring them to light during the last campaign.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEOPLE DESERVE THE FACTS OF HAZARDS FROM FALLOUT

Congressmen are now engaged in hearings aimed at pinpointing the dangers to mankind from radioactive elements which are sprayed into the atmosphere from atomic weapons tests.

Certainly, there is no better time to try to unwrap some of the confusion that has gathered about the subject since Mr. Adlai Stevenson brought it up during the last political campaign. At that time, Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Dulles, and the head of the Atomic Energy Commission joined voices with a host of learned Republicans to cry that Mr. Stevenson was a visionary, a maker of false issues and a gross distorter of facts.

But in the intervening months many new voices have repeated Mr. Stevenson's warning, among them Pope Pius, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, top German nuclear scientists and the members of the British Atomic Scientists Association.

Mr. Dulles, having set his course during the campaign, is loathe to depart from it. So are Admiral Strauss and Dr. Libby of the AEC.

In an interview given to the Washington news magazine, U. S. News & World Report, recently, Dr. Libby commented on the fact that many reputable scientists agreed with Mr. Stevenson and disagreed with the AEC. He noted that the AEC is always gathering information, weighing new data and publishing new reports on atomic dangers. Part of the disagreement "was due to the fact that the information was so new that, in many cases, it wasn't known to all," he said.

But much more information is known today, and the warnings of reputable men—not politicians—are still being given.

Mr. Libby would pooh-pooh this on the basis that the United States is making "cleaner" bombs; that the vast reservoir of the stratosphere holds much of the fallout of nuclear explosions, and this fallout later drifts to earth in minute quantities and is spread uniformly about the world.

But Los Alamos atomic scientist Alvin C. Graves told the joint Senate-House Atomic Committee there is no such thing as a completely clean hydrogen bomb, free of radiation fallout.

And Weather Bureau scientists have some data to put before the committee which further undercuts the theories advanced by the AEC. This data would seem to indicate that strontium 90 fallout patterns are more complex than the AEC believes, being related to wind, rain, and other meteorological factors not previously taken into account.

The findings indicate that some areas of the United States—particularly the northern tier—have received and will receive 2 or 3 times more strontium 90 fallout than the Southern States.

Strontium 90 can cause bone cancer or leukemia after passing through the food chain, being absorbed by plants from the soil and then passing on to humans. Radioactivity can have its effect on mankind immediately in the form of cancer or shortened life span, or in the future in the form of genetic changes.

Certainly there is validity in former President Harry Truman's warning that to be panicked by fear at this stage would serve only the enemies of freedom and democracy; that the awesome implications of fallout can cause a more dangerous reaction than fallout itself.

The American people are entitled to as much clear knowledge of the situation as is available, they are entitled to have their national leadership stop riding the fallout horse in all directions. Such has been the case since Mr. Stevenson broached the subject, such is the case now.

In a recent appearance on a television program, Admiral Strauss, who heads the AEC, first said he was not prepared to say there was "no danger in anyway to human beings from fallout." But later, asked the direct question: "Is there any danger?" he replied, "I don't think so."

If meteorological factors influence fallout to any marked degree, some areas of the earth may be getting large amounts unknowingly. The Eisenhower administration and its AEC leadership does the world no good by continued hesitation in laying their facts on the line. A better course would be to say: "This much we know, and every effort will be bent, short of endangering national security, to end this deadly rain from the sky."

The hope of accomplishing this seemingly lies in the present congressional hearings. Confusion is the source of panic, for informed people can meet a problem squarely. And in this case the people deserve the facts.

Income Tax Exemption for Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, legislation which would enable Alaska to become the 49th State of the Union will come to the floor of the House in the near future.

The argument of those of us who had indicated it would be in the best interests of the people of Alaska to delay statehood and for a period allow Alaska, like Puerto Rico, an income-tax exemption apparently was not given sympathetic consideration by the House Interior Committee.

The reason the moratorium plan failed to win friends, I am informed, was due to the statement of former Governor Gruening that income-tax exemption for citizens residing in the Territory was unconstitutional. On this point, an editorial which appeared in the Ketchikan Alaska News indicates the former Governor has misled the people.

Alaska has the resources, but high costs of doing business have discouraged venture capital from establishing industries to increase employment in the Territory, so much so that right now the Commissioner of Employment Security is actually begging workers to avoid Alaska. There were 6,000 unemployed registered for work in mid-April in the Territory.

It seems unfortunate that no real consideration has been given to the Commonwealth idea which along with income-tax exemption would give Alaskans full self-government including an elected Governor; in fact, everything except a vote in Congress.

Here is the text of the editorial referred to:

GUEST EDITORIAL—INCOME TAX EXEMPTION FOR ALASKA

(By Emery F. Tobin, chairman, publicity committee, Ketchikan Commonwealth Club)

In his letter to the editor of the Ketchikan Daily News yesterday "Senator" Ernest Gruening has tried to make the point that income-tax exemption for citizens residing in Alaska is unconstitutional. But is it?

The former Governor quotes for his authority article I, second section, of the United States Constitution adopted September 17, 1787. It says, "all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States."

However, Gruening fails to reveal that the "duties, imposts, and excises" do not include income taxes. Income taxes were illegal.

A provision for a Federal income tax was incorporated in the tariff bill of 1894. But most of it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States the very next year.

In order to legally collect income taxes, Congress found it necessary to go to the various States and ask them to ratify an amendment to the Constitution. Congress did not ask the Territories, naturally, to ratify the amendment; hence Alaska had no voice in it.

The necessary number of States ratified the amendment by 1913 and it then became a part of the Constitution. It says:

"Article 16. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on income from whatever sources derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration."

That is all. It does not say that Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes on incomes in the Territories.

Congress has ample historical and moral justification for not collecting income taxes from the Territories. Territories, incorporated or not, do not have representation in Congress. Patriots of this country long ago declared that "taxation without representation is tyranny." The Declaration of Independence listed as one of its reasons for dissolving the bands which had therefore connected the colonies to England, "imposing taxes on us without our consent."

OTHER TERRITORIES DID NOT PAY

None of the present States paid income taxes while territories, because the present income tax law was not enacted until 1913 and as territories they were not burdened with them.

The Supreme Court has never been asked to rule on the constitutionality of the income taxes now being collected in Alaska and Hawaii.

There therefore seems to be no reason why Congress could not give us a moratorium on income taxes while we are a Territory or a Commonwealth. Federal employees in Alaska and Hawaii are exempted from paying income taxes on part of their income. Is this unconstitutional?

One thing is sure—we cannot be exempted from income taxes after we become a State. Congress should exempt us from income taxes now so that we can attract industries and grow so that eventually we may be able to support a State without having taxes throttle us.

William Prescott Allen, publisher of the Daily Alaska Empire at Juneau, will be in Ketchikan Friday night to discuss the matter of a proposed 20-year moratorium on taxes for Alaska. He will speak at the main school auditorium at 8 o'clock. Everyone is invited to attend. Let's go.

Statement of the Cabinet of the United Christian Youth Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, the United Christian Youth Movement is the cooperative expression of the youth movements of 27 denominations serving 10 million young people in the churches of this country.

On Wednesday, June 5, 1957, there appeared two fine young people representing this organization, before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. These two young people, Miss Florence Fray, chairman, Commission on Christian Outreach, and Charles H. Boyles, national chairman, made fine statements on behalf of the United Christian Youth movement, and submitted themselves as excellent witnesses to questioning by the House Foreign Affairs Committee members.

This participation of our young people in the development of United States foreign policy is an inspiring thing to those of us in Congress who have the heavy responsibility of assisting in the implementation of our United States foreign policy and security in this deeply troubled world.

As I was impressed with the thought and development of policies by the officers and members of the United Christian Youth Movement I am submitting the statement of the cabinet of the United Christian Youth Movement adopted in its meeting at Cincinnati, Ohio, on February 18, 1957:

Consistent with our historic Christian concern for the establishment of closer fellowship and more complete understanding among peoples of all lands and cultures, the United Christian Youth Movement has frequently recorded its support for an increased program of economic aid and technical assistance. At this time, when the entire foreign aid program is under review in both the Congress and the executive branch of our Government, we would restate some of the guiding principles which are essential considerations in the making of wise, forward-looking decisions in this area:

1. In an interdependent world, our well-being, economically as well as politically, cannot be guaranteed without insuring the well-being of people everywhere.

2. Assistance should be rendered, not alone as a matter of enlightened self-interest, but out of a deep sense of stewardship and concern for the plight of all God's children.

3. Such aid must not be used to destroy the self-respect or national dignity of the recipients. Programs of foreign economic aid or technical assistance must be seen as good in their own right. To think of them as tools of national foreign policy, weapons in a fight against communism, or lures in a web of military alliances is to decrease their effectiveness and destroy their worth.

4. Therefore, such programs should be administered through an agency independent of either Defense or State Department control, with a staff of competent personnel recruited on a career basis, and operating under a long-range mandate from both the Congress and the President that would guarantee stability to the agency's operations.

5. Without denying the value of bilateral aid arrangements, it seems clear that the ultimate goals of a foreign economic policy conceived as outlined above, could best be served through expanded channels of multilateral, cooperative programs of assistance. The channels for these would be most logically found in the structure and scope of the United Nations.

6. Facing the claim that expanded appropriations for such programs are to some extent dependent on reductions in staggering military budgets, it would seem our Government, and indeed all governments, have a clear and present responsibility earnestly and sincerely to undertake the development of a program of worldwide reduction in armaments with effective inspection and controls.

7. In the absence of such agreement, however, the wisdom of the centuries indicates that money appropriated for such constructive ends as have been undertaken through the foreign economic program will do far more to win lasting peace than all our massive expenditures for armaments

which never ameliorate the social, economic, political, and ideological tensions making for distrust and hostility.

In keeping with these principles, and out of conviction that the foreign economic program, properly administered, is a vital step toward world peace, we call upon the Congress, the President, and the administration to work for an improved and expanded program of economic aid and technical assistance commensurate with the needs of the hour, consistent with our national heritage of concern for the rights of all peoples, removed from the realm of diplomatic or military policy, and coordinated through an independent, continuing governmental agency working in the closest possible relationship with the United Nations. We authorize our officers and staff to make these concerns and principles known when and where they may be most effective in helping our Nation to move towards such a policy and program.

Breach Over China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, with so much discussion of trade with China, I am including herewith an article that appeared in the Manchester Guardian Weekly of May 30:

BREACH OVER CHINA

A breach with the United States over the embargoes on trade with China now seems almost certain. The Government has made it clear that if no agreement is reached in the current talks in Paris it will have to decide what action to take on its own. The latest word is that the committee in Paris, at the end of its second week of meetings, has advanced no nearer to a compromise. A further meeting is being held and great efforts have been made to reach an agreement. But the distance separating the two sides is so great that the chances that it will be bridged must be reckoned slim. The consequences of this failure are likely to be that Britain, together with the other European countries in NATO and with Japan, will decide to place their trade with China on the same footing as trade with the rest of the Soviet block. As the United States is determined to maintain its own restrictions, the whole machinery that controls the export of strategic goods to Communist countries will be in danger of breaking down. Though one may doubt if the military effects of this will be at all important, politically the breach is regrettable. It will come at an awkward moment when Anglo-American relations have still not fully recovered from the wounds implanted by Suez. And it will add to the embarrassment of the Eisenhower administration, which is trying to steer a large foreign aid program past a hostile Congress.

This unfortunate timing apart, America's allies can scarcely be blamed for wishing to remove the severe restrictions on Chinese trade. The list of prohibited exports was drawn up when United Nations troops were fighting in Korea. Though some small concessions were made last year, substantially the list has remained the same. Morally, there is no longer the same case for treating China more harshly than the other Communist countries. (Some people might argue that, after Hungary, Russia is the one that ought to be punished.) And what is more to the point, the controls have long since ceased to be effective. China still gets those goods from the West that she is denied but the other countries of the Soviet bloc can buy. All that happens is that they are transshipped to her from Eastern Europe. From the West's point of view, the controls may therefore be having the worest effect: China, in order to buy what she needs, is made increasingly dependent on Russian good will. This is the chief reason why the special embargoes should be brought to an end. Probably there will be some increase in trade between China and the West, though the extent to which this is likely has generally been exaggerated. Britain should benefit because she has applied the controls more rigorously than some European countries. But these are not decisive reasons why a change should be made. The point is that American objections, based sincerely though they are on moral grounds, are almost certainly bringing about the reverse effect from that intended.

More Than Enough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Daily News of Tuesday, May 28, 1957:

MORE THAN ENOUGH

A truthful, accurate program for disseminating official American Government information overseas is necessary.

We've found we cannot buy friends. The best we can hope for is that the truth about our Government and people, our aims and aspirations, our foreign policies, will, with our military and economic aid, help keep the free world free.

There must be another ingredient in such a program. It must be economically operated, without waste on useless and nonsensical projects.

It was because of this waste, poor planning, and sometimes downright silly tactics, that we supported the Senate's decision to cut next year's appropriation for the United States Information Agency back to $90,200,000, as against the $144 million the President asked.

Now, a joint House-Senate conference committee has decided to give USIA $96,200,000. This is a compromise between the Senate total and the $106 million voted by the House.

We don't believe the testimony of Arthur Larson and his assistants before House and Senate committees justified letting them have so much. But we recognize that compromises sometimes must be made—and that there has been a lot of pressure from the White House in recent days to boost the appropriations.

USIA officials have been complaining that their program would be crippled by any cut below $106 million. We remind them of these facts, brought out in recent hearings:

USIA maintains a library in Paris, at an annual cost of about $85,000, employing 21 persons, with 22,300 books; but there is in Paris already the American Library with 95,000 books.

In Formosa, USIA spent $286,942 in 1956 and it wants to spend $536,168 next year, and this is to be considered against the fact that one of the places attacked last week by the Formosan mob was the USIA information center.

USIA has scheduled $30,000 for television in India although India has no operating TV station now.

It plans to spend $9,000 in Egypt and $4,000 in Lebanon for TV, but in neither country is there now a TV station in operation.

In the Near East area, USIA is making free presentations of 1,360 subscriptions to the New York Times and Herald Tribune at a cost of $118,704.

The total cost to USIA of presentation subscriptions to the Times and the Herald Tribune was $359,369 last year, is $386,246 this year, and is estimated to be $400,194 next year.

USIA subsidized a movie to be shown in American theaters.

When USIA eliminates this and a great deal of other waste from its operations, it will have more than enough to spend under the compromise appropriation of $96,200,000.

Floods and Tornados in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH. W. YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I have been informed by the Corps of Engineers and the region 5 office of the Federal Civil Defense Administration that the cost of the physical damage caused by the floods which have ravaged my home State of Texas will exceed $100 million.

Existing flood-control projects in Texas, according to estimates of the Corps of Engineers and others, prevented damage in the amount exceeding $100 million. And at least another $50 million in damage could have been prevented, I am informed, if presently authorized but as yet unbuilt projects were in operation.

An untold amount of damage was prevented on the Colorado River watershed alone, to my home city of Austin, Tex., and to all the cities, towns, villages, and farms and ranches on the Colorado below Austin, by the dams of the Lower Colorado River Authority.

And so there is a lesson to be learned from this long-lasting and continuing state of disaster. The lesson is that flood control pays its way and is worth every cent it costs.

Additionally, for those of us whose home areas are subject to alternating periods of drought and flood, as is my home State, there is another lesson. About 80 percent of the floodwaters now roaring down the rivers of Texas are pouring into the Gulf of Mexico, wasted, when if multipurpose dams were in operation on these rivers, this water might be used to generate electric power and might be saved for use in time of drought.

I have no report yet as to the amount of precious topsoil scoured from the face of Texas by these devastating floodwaters, but it is certain to be tens of thousands of tons. This can never be replaced.

I have spoken only of physical damage. There has been another kind of damage—the impact of disaster on human beings. This, of course, cannot be determined in dollars. Some measure of what disaster means to people is contained in a new report just issued at Austin, Texas, by the American Red Cross.

This Red Cross report has been summarized in an article printed in the June 1 editions of the Austin American. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of these remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Austin American of June 1, 1957]

FLOODS, TWISTERS LEAVE IMPACT ON 9,000 TEXANS

Floods and tornadoes the last 2 months in Texas left their impact on 9,000 families and damaged or destroyed thousands of homes and buildings, according to a new report issued in Austin Friday by the American Red Cross.

Summarizing its disaster operations during April and May, the Red Cross said more than 36,000 persons felt the force of the State's turbulent weather.

Of these, 8,080 received mass care from the Red Cross—food, clothing, and shelter in the emergency phases of disasters.

Tremendous property loss is revealed in the report's figures on destruction and damage to houses, farm buildings, and other structures.

Floods and tornadoes, according to the Red Cross, destroyed 745 homes, 284 farm buildings, and 197 other buildings. There has been major damage to 1,636 houses, 334 farm buildings, and 665 buildings of other types. Minor damage was found at 5,623 houses, 638 farm buildings, and 665 buildings other than homes or farm structures.

The report also says that 3,738 families have applied to the Red Cross for assistance during rehabilitation phases of the Texas disasters of April and May. This assistance has been for repair or rebuilding of homes, replacing of household furnishings, clothing, food and medical care for the injured, and occupational supplies.

In addition, the Red Cross says it has fed 5,894 rescue workers in disaster areas.

"The Red Cross rehabilitation program for disaster sufferers in Texas for the months of April and May will cost $1,250,000," the report adds.

"Red Cross policy is to assist people affected by disaster in reestablishing themselves in the community * * *. This assistance is given on the basis of the need of the individual and not on the basis of his loss.

"The money spent by Red Cross for families will also help to restore the economic welfare of the disaster-stricken community. The families take Red Cross disbursing orders to local merchants * * * to buy their building materials, household furnishings, etc. In this manner Red Cross dollars in the normal trade channels of the community help to rehabilitate the entire community."

Drive Urged on Farm Surplus Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitle "Drive Urged on Farm Surplus Issue," which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on Monday, June 3, 1957.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DRIVE URGED ON FARM SURPLUS ISSUE

A National Planning Association report said yesterday there is little chance that the problem of overproduction by the Nation's farmers can be solved within the next 10 years.

The association's agriculture committee made the statement in urging the Agriculture Department and land-grant colleges to concentrate on problems associated with farm surpluses. It said present research is devoted to projects which tend to increase the surpluses.

The association is a nonprofit, nonpolitical organization devoted to planning in agriculture, business, labor, and the professions.

The committee said research is needed in four related fields, agricultural adjustment, distribution, family adjustment, and community adjustment. It said such study might find an answer to the No. 1 problem of American agriculture—production which persistently outruns markets."

In the field of agricultural adjustment, it said research could help answer the question: "How can farm output be adjusted and brought into line with the slowly rising demand for food and other farm commodities?"

Or, "How can land, labor, machinery, livestock, and even our stock of technology be used more extensively and less intensively?"

It said both the consumer and farmer would benefit from greater research into distribution.

It suggsted greater public aid in finding and developing economic opportunities for those forced out of farming.

Lauren K. Soth, editor of the editorial page of the Des Moines Register and Tribune, is chairman of the committee that prepared the study.

Extraordinary Scenic Features of Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Oregon Journal of May 28, 1957, describing the views of Lyle F. Watts, former Chief Forester of the United States, with respect to several of the extraordinary scenic features of the State of Oregon.

Mr. Watts, one of the most illustrious conservationists in the land, emphasizes that Oregon is fortunate in having both the Columbia River Gorge and a magnificent coastline of sweeping vistas.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT REALLY MAKES OREGON UNIQUE

Lyle F. Watts, retired Chief Forester of the United States Forest Service, who now makes Portland his home, has probably seen as much of the United States as most living Americans.

His appraisal of what is distinctive about Oregon is therefore meaningful. He told a Portland Chamber of Commerce committee the other day that other States have mountains equal to or surpassing our own, so they are not the things that have the greatest appeal for visitors.

The two features which make us unique, he said, are the Columbia River Gorge, with a transcontinental highway running through it, and our superb coastline. No other river canyon anywhere in the Nation is both so magnificent and so accessible. And no coastline in America is comparable to ours.

It is of transcendent importance, he said, that we protect these assets for posterity through bold and long-range planning. He wrote similar thoughts in a recent issue of the Oregon Democrat.

The gorge is on the way to being protected through activities of the Columbia River Gorge Commission, which has just received an assist for the legislature with a modest appropriation to help carry on its program of land exchanges.

Oregon's Highway Commission is building fine parks along the coast and the beaches themselves are protected by law, but already the parks are overtaxed, and it takes but little imagination to envision what the demand will be for recreational use of our coastal areas 25 to 50 years from now.

Watts thinks more land will have to be acquired by the State on a scale which few are now willing to contemplate. He foresees the payoff in a $1 billion recreational industry.

Watts, we are sure, did not intend to demean our mountains, which are certainly among our finest of assets, but we go along with him on the need to look with farseeing eyes at our unique gorge and coastline and to make sure they are properly protected and developed for the sake of ourselves and our visitors.

Flowers for the Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Flowers for the Living," published in the Knoxville News-Sentinel of June 2, 1957. The editorial comments on the 50 years that Edward J. Meeman, editor of the Memphis Press-Scimitar, has served with the Scripps-Howard newspapers. I know from personal experience of the courage and perseverence that Mr. Meeman has shown in serving, through his chosen profession, the best interests of his community. He is the kind of editor who follows a policy that he believes to be right, and who does not stop to calculate the odds against him. He has the courage of his convictions.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FLOWERS FOR THE LIVING

Fifty years ago Edward J. Meeman, then young and inexperienced, went to work in the editorial rooms of the Evansville (Ind.) Press.

Today, mature and full of the skill of his chosen profession, with a great record of journalistic accomplishments to his credit, Ed Meeman—now editor of the Memphis Press-Scimitar—celebrates his 50th year with the Scripps-Howard Newspapers.

One of our most beloved colleagues, one of the best editors in the business, Ed Meeman's enthusiasm has never diminished for the proposition that his newspaper should give light so the people could find their own way.

As editor of the Knoxville News-Sentinel, he was a controlling factor in helping preserve for all America the unspoiled scenic resources of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

As editor in Memphis, he bucked the local political machine, and won.

There, too, he has fought for the conservation of forest and soil resources.

His whole record has been one of fighting for good government, for the basic human values, for the advancement and security of his community, his State, and his country.

When we congratulate you, Ed, we congratulate, also, Memphis and the State of Tennessee and the Scripps-Howard Newspapers.

May these flowers for the living brighten your day of celebration.

A Georgia Minister Offers a Solution for the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 24, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of Look magazine carried a most interesting article by the Reverend Robert E. McNeill, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Columbus, Ga. Reverend McNeill's comments offer such a fresh point of view and present such thoughtful ideas that all those who are interested in finding a reasonable and proper solution for this difficult problem will, I am sure, find it profitable to read. I therefore am happy to include it in the RECORD.

A GEORGIA MINISTER OFFERS A SOLUTION FOR THE SOUTH

(By the Reverend Robert B. McNeill, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Columbus, Ga.)

On the outskirts of Columbus, Ga., on the Macon Highway, the traveler is greeted with an unusual sight. At a crossroads, a one-time grocery is painted a gleaming white with large green letters reading, "Welcome to Columbus, Knights of KKK, Unit 21."

The outsider remarks, "Can this be America?" The southerner observes, "See there, the Supreme Court put the Klan back in business."

What is the real situation? Recently, an abortive effort was made to have a four-State rally of klansmen at the local baseball park. A scrappy newspaper editor turned the meeting into a fiasco for the hooded knights. Permission to use city property was rescinded at the last moment, and in the confusion that followed, the klansmen were chased over town by public officials, law-enforcement officers and spectators, accompanied by horns and catcalls. The Klan was made to look ridiculous—a most effective weapon.

Their next sally was a motorcade through Carver Heights, a Negro residential area, and a stop in front of the newly organized Carver Heights Presbyterian Church, served by a white minister until a Negro minister could be called. From there, they went downtown and paraded on the street where recently a white man had been killed, presumably to avenge his gunning of an NAACP leader a year before. These fellows are masters of symbolism, implying a link between an integrated church and racial murder. A note was found at the church, written on an old Christmas card, charred around the edges: "White man, get yourself another congregation. This is your last warning."

The white minister is still there and so are the Negro members. Nothing has happened—yet. The white congregation of the First Presbyterian Church has been trying to help the Carver Church to find a capable Negro minister for a long time; it has not slowed its efforts, but neither has it intensified them because of the Klan's insistence.

The fact is that the Klan today is not so fearsome as it once was. I attended one of the public initiations one night in Alabama. Hardly could one believe this was the mystic order that once paralyzed Negroes and carpetbaggers with fright and established order again in the South. These white-robed people were no more awesome than a high-school graduating class. There were women in the Klan—imagine, a ladies' auxiliary. There wasn't a Carrie Nation among them—most of them were in socks and loafers. After some labored speeches on the sacredness of southern womanhood and white supremacy, they adjourned and rode the merry-go-round in the park.

Stopping at a steak house later, I recognized six Klan members chatting good-naturedly in another booth. "Those are the Ku Klux," I said to a woman sitting nearby, "Aren't you scared to death?" "Huh, they're just like anybody else," she replied, "and that fellow that calls himself a preacher tried to date one of my girls a while ago, and him with a wife and kids." "Yes, I know," I said. "I just heard them making big speeches on the sacredness of southern womanhood."

There was a time when the Klan was potent. I grew up in Birmingham on a ridge of charred ruins and racial hate. Negroes had settled the undesirable flats on either side of the hill and had consolidated along the railroad that cut through the ridge. They had no way to expand except in the direction of the established residences on either side of them. There seemed to be no legal way of stopping them, as the zoning line was in a constant state of flux. But there was the extralegal way, for which there was good southern precedent.

The neighbors strapped on their guns at night, and, the next day, a Negro family would have moved out of a house on the wrong side of the line. The Klan revived in those days right after World War I and took charge of our racial problems. These neighbors may or may not have been members of the Klan, but, if not, they used klannish tactics of that era to administer justice as they saw it.

To me, then, klansmen were heroes, I gave full and fierce consent to their midnight raids. They were still vindicating the stand of the old South and rectifying the wrongs of reconstruction. But the years have passed—an era of radical transition.

In 1939, I switched from law school to the theological seminary in Richmond, Va., where I had experiences that began to break down my bias. As a member of the basketball team, I refused to play against Virginia Union, a Negro college in Richmond. At an interseminary conference held on our campus, I rebelled at the idea of sitting at table with Negro delegates. I did sit with them, due to moral pressure, and got through undefiled—the first crack in my dike. I remarked at the time, however, that I would never do such a thing in the Deep South. It would destroy my influence with the people.

I then went to a Lexington, Ky., church to work with University of Kentucky students. Playing on a softball team that won the campus championship, I was again influenced by moral force and I played an international series against a good Negro team. As first baseman, I took a peg from the catcher in a pickoff play and jabbed it at the runner as he came back in. But he came back head first. I literally put the ball in his mouth. I thought I had a race riot on my hands, but the Negro's teammates rolled on the ground and roared with laughter. The crack in the dike widened—they were better sports than I would have been.

At the University of Texas, where I went to do similar church work, the students asked to have a Negro college choir give them a program on Sunday evening. I outlined the ways they could do it and predicted the consequences, but required them to make the choice. They chose to treat the Negroes in every respect like themselves. The reaction among the regular church members was strong. I had not been enthusiastic about the program, but I found myself strenuously defending the right of the students to conduct this experiment in race relations. Maybe I was just convincing myself.

THE REBELLION WITHIN THE MIND IS OVER

Later, in a small college-town pastorate in Alabama, a 14-year-old Negro boy was stabbed by a town roughneck who boasted later in the poolroom, "I stuck a nigger and he squealed like a hawg." A South Carolina sociology professor persuaded me to help find witnesses who would bring the assailant to justice.

Even a southerner can't hold out forever against the irrefutable testimony of his own experience, especially as it is tempered with the relentless persuasion of the Bible. Now, I can say without reservation that I am for these people, these God-loved, rich-in-pathos people. I shall never earn my own freedom until they have realized theirs.

This is not to say that my southern-bred emotions do not at times struggle against my mind, which has consented to the right precepts. But the rebellion within the mind is over, the civil strife in the spirit has ceased.

Most southern clergymen, I think, came by their conversion through the conviction of experience rather than the persuasion of logic. We try to remember this in our relationship with our people.

Few do we find of the middle and older generation who will take our word for it. Their racial feeling prevents their submission to experience, and their lack of experience prevents a change of racial feeling. The cycle must be broken somewhere.

Stubbornly, we cling to the conviction that if the Christian faith is soundly and bravely taught, there will be a breakthrough eventually. Ours is hack work; we are the plodders. We carry the burden of racial justice in the larger bundle of other issues, trying to do credit to them all, attempting to hold each in perspective and our congregation in some semblance of concord.

We seldom approach the racial issue directly unless some current event thrusts it upon us. We try to include it in the context of other pronouncements, to get the point across without goading the irrational side of people.

The southerner is acutely sensitive these days. He will accuse you of dragging in the race issue when you honestly meant no such implication. The matter weighs heavily on his mind, rankles in his subconscious. The issue is in every phase of his life, the kind of wage scale he will establish, to whom he will sell his merchandise, whom he will support for public office, where he buys his house, what he thinks about education, what preacher he will listen to, who will be his companions, how far he will go in public welfare.

Actually, he is not spiritually and intellectually free. There are few issues he can isolate from the race issue and think through

on their own merits. He can't make judgments about fundamentals like freedom, democracy, and justice on an absolute standard of right and wrong, because of the presence of a people for whom he must always make an exception. His constant practice in this relative morality affects all his decisions, major and minor.

He will make confessions like: "It's got to come someday" or "They are just as much people as we are." But back in his interlocking social and business relationships, he reverts to: "The overwhelming majority of the people feel * * *" and "You can't shove this thing down people's throats." In his moral judgments, he does not want independence, for independence can mean ostracism. Therefore, the southern mind will never be free until it grants freedom.

We who are bold enough, or fools enough, to face this issue are not understood by our people. In our soberer moments, we really don't expect them to understand. Then, why break our hearts on it? We don't know why, maybe divine compulsion is the only answer. Pushing from one experience to another, we think we have found a mode of operation that is workable. It is neither segregation nor integration.

Segregation on the basis of color alone implies inferiority, with the further implication that inferiority of nature permits inferiority of treatment. Segregation also legislates on the basis of group identification rather than individual accountability. This is at odds with regular democratic procedure.

The term integration has been weighted with meaning that did not originally belong to it. Now it implies the unnatural displacement of persons, abnormal gatherings of uncongenial people, awkward relationships, despoiling one group's culture by the encroachment of the other, sexual irregularities, and intermarriage. If integration means this, then no one recommends it.

The term that best describes our mode of operation is creative contact. It means that even while the State and Federal laws are in contention, there should be points of contact between the white and Negro people that are creative. This means representation of both groups on city councils, grand juries, school boards, medical societies, ministerial associations, and other public agencies. We have striven to reach a solution without even consulting the one around whom the controversy centers. We no longer understand him, his wishes, and his needs. We have presumed to speak in his behalf on the basis of our knowledge of him as he was a generation ago, or as he is represented to be by a household servant.

Our contact with the Negro people can become creative if we will sit with their leaders at the council table, listen to them with respect, and share with them the responsibilities as well as the privileges of living together. Then, they will take the initiative in preventing those contacts that are not creative but, rather, are destructive. At least, they will join us in meeting crises before they arise.

It is inevitable that laws of racial reference will be abolished. If we now establish this free enterprise in human relations at the leadership level, a just, orderly, and contented society should result.

It is at this point that we clergymen are most misunderstood. Our policy is taken to mean the first fatal step to total integration in the worst sense of that word. We have discovered two sentiments in the nature of the Negroes themselves that counsel otherwise. The servile class of Negro has made peace with segregation and discourages his white friends from pressing his case at all. He shudders at the thought of his white employers' being offended with him because of his race's rebelliousness.

THE NEGRO COMMANDS RESPECT

The leader class, coming to the fore during nearly a century of segregation, naturally has a sense of pride in both personal accomplishment and social progress. These leaders are not inviting us in to level off their social and economic structure, nor have they any desire to move in against the whites and start over against new and formidable competition.

I would not take anything for my experience as a member of the board of directors for the Negro YMCA. These Negro directors are business and professional men, highly respected and most capable in the conduct of their meetings. I am the rookie of the board, with little to offer in the way of money or advice. But I know what I am there for: I am a symbol, a mute symbol that says, "The white man has profound respect for the dignity of your personality and the integrity of your character, not because he thinks he ought to have, but because you command it." Perhaps, later, I can offer some counsel, for a Negro minister told me once, "In our struggle for advancement, don't let our efforts die from inbreeding."

Essentially, the Negro's struggle is for human dignity. The signs and the demeanor that bespeak his subordination oppress his soul. If, tomorrow, he were given equal opportunities in all areas of life, he might not take advantage of them immediately, but victory would be his—an ungrudging salute to his human dignity.

The strongest show of resistance in the South occurred 80 miles from Columbus at Montgomery. The issue was not rights but respect. The rear of a bus is as good as the front. But indignities resulted from keeping the races separate. Actually, separation was impossible, it was a symbol of separation that the whites tried to preserve. The symbol was indignity.

A Negro leader, in summing up the incidents in which his people have resorted to the courts, said this: "Tell our people that they can't, and we will show you that we can." Negroes will continue their drive to strike down the signposts of their inferiority. They neither demand nor desire to be invited to the white ladies' lawn parties, but they do feel that they have a right to a dignified use of those public properties and privileges which all citizens hold in common—a use without any symbols of humiliation.

The school problem is most vexing because legal force has intervened. Yet it is not too late for moral force to be used. The Negro is fully aware of the complications involved in mixed schools. The teaching standards and qualifications would have to be brought quickly into line, with disrupting effect. The positions of his teachers and principals would be jeopardized; the symbols of indignity removed could reappear in the demeanor of the children.

As it is now, we are in tension because the 2 races have pitted 2 legal forces against each other, State against Federal. To the winner, there will be no sweetness of victory and no peace—only an uneasy armistice. While these forces are in conflict, many forms of pressure are being used: physical, economic, political. And nobody wins.

Each precinct will have to rely upon the moral force that Christianity and American democracy have generated. This requires close communication between the races, with the council table as the anvil and mutual good will as the hammer. We cannot predict where this creative contact will take us or what sort of racial pattern it will form. But right methods inevitably produce right results. And we have learned, even from present international affairs, a lesson we memorized but never really practiced, that the only effective force left in the world is moral force.

As for the klansmen and their threats of violence, we do not fear them, we only pity them. God pity anyone who has to spread fear to be rid of fear, whose self-esteem is so low that he has to flatten someone else to feel that he is upright.

The White Citizens Councils are more formidable. They are smart enough to know that physical force will backfire against them. They resort to political and economic pressure to attain their ends. But they, too, will run their course.

Our greatest concern is with good citizens who create the climate of opinion, in their service clubs, in their coffee-break talks, in business transactions, in political decisions, in church affairs, in the management of the home. The heavy pressure we ministers feel comes from them. They elect the State officials who vie with each other in proposing bizarre methods for strengthening segregation. They furnish a Stars-and-Bars backdrop against which we have to speak cross-centered words of reconciliation. They lay upon us the pressures they feel all the time, everywhere, in the regular concourse of life, as though we were the real disturbers of the peace. There is little indignation expressed over the klan or racial violence, just silence, cold, sweaty silence. The klan is the impassioned tip of the community's refined prejudice.

Why do we stay with it, why not leave the South that resists us? Well, we happen to love this land and we love the people who are offended with us. We are called to the section that nurtured us, knowing that only the southern accent can speak intimately on the issue.

If the minister loses his sense of calling, he has nothing left to sustain him. The true prophet stays behind with his people, pleading, cajoling, lashing, soothing their wounded spirits, praying out their prejudices, taking their blows of resentment upon his own back, loving and forgiving them. Having spoken, he must remain to bear the brunt of his own words. The profoundest lesson God ever taught us is that the evil of a sin is never abated until it spends itself upon the innocent and is absorbed by a heart of infinite understanding.

A further question is: Why do we stay with the church when the strongest resistance seems to come from our own people? If we expended the same effort and ingenuity in some other work, we would make an ample living. If we expressed our convictions through some special society organized to speak on this problem, we would receive the plaudits rather than the complaints of our constituency.

Here is our answer: Of all the existing institutions, the church, even with its humanistic accretions, is the true means of a redemptive society and happiness among the races. Society's points of tension will find no permanent ease from those agencies that have no consciousness of a providential pattern or a divine concern for human conflict. With all our concentration upon making or altering our laws so that they are just, there must be some social organism that toils without ceasing at the task of making or altering men. Some consecrated body of men must start this ethical ground swell that will initiate and defend the statutes of civil justice.

The race problem will endure as long as there are races, and it requires the devoted attention of a permanent institution. Of all the institutions we know—economic, political, and social—the church, whose prime function is the revealing of Christ, is the only one that possesses the seeds of its own regeneration. The others, from their inception, produce the seeds of their own destruction.

The church's weakness is caused by its human composition, but its permanence is be-

cause it is God's. Paradoxically, it toughens under persecution, reverts to strength when it becomes weakest, waxes greater when it becomes smaller, grows militant when it loves peace, profits as it sacrifices, wanes under the excesses of success, but lives again as it dies. It is as inevitable as change, enduring as sin, as everlasting as God. There can be no destruction of it from within or without. The church will always be as strong as it is self-critical.

Happily, the ebb of complacency produces the flow of prophecy, the dry rot of sophistication invigorates the seeds of simplicity, the lull of contentment incites the outcries of dissatisfaction. The church is the conscience of society, the intangible controlling and quickening force of it. God willing, there I choose to remain.

Indiana Has New School Construction Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the Sunday Star, Washington, D. C., on May 26, 1957, entitled "Indiana Has New School Construction Plan."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDIANA HAS NEW SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION PLAN

(By Phil Yeager)

Indiana has a notion that it can get the schools it needs without any particular help from Uncle Sam.

At least the Hoosiers have come up with an alternative to the Federal aid concept—an alternative which, if it works, might set a pattern other States will want to follow.

A lot of ingredients are mixed up in the Indiana formula, but the major ones are:

A system of private financing designed to get around the sluggish bond market and avoid the need for immediate big cash outlays.

A slashing of the legal redtape which hamstrings many States in contracting for new schools.

Unique teamwork between designers and builders in providing, at low cost, the flexible, modern schools demanded by the future.

Legislation begun by the Indiana General Assembly in 1955 and completed at the current session a few weeks ago laid the groundwork for the Indiana plan.

Under the old system, a locality wanting a new school first acquired the necessary site. Then an architect drew plans for the school on speculation. If plans were approved by the school board, construction bids were asked. If and when bids were submitted within the desired financial limits, bonds were issued to finance the building. If the bonds sold, construction began.

Many States today operate in that fashion.

A PACKAGE DEAL

Under the new Indiana plan, a district wanting a new school advertises its intention to build with a description of what it wants. Bidders submit design and a construction bid combined, which cuts fees as well as costly construction corners. A single contract is let with a company which finances and builds the school, even providing the site if necessary. Component parts of the school are made, and sometimes partially assembled, at the builder's plant and shipped to the site where the school is erected.

Construction time under the new system is likely to be half, or even a third, that of conventional schedules. When the building is finished it is leased by the builder to the school board for a period of years, at the end of which time title passes to the appropriate school authority.

Here is what the State Assembly did to get its plan set up.

To cut school costs without sacrificing quality, it passed an "offsite construction" act which permits the acquisition, assembly and construction of schools away from the eventual site. The act takes advantage of the economies allowed by prefabrication, but gets around the inflexibility of function often associated with prefabrication by providing for use of "component parts" which may be assembled according to need, location, size, etc. The parts can be made cheaply but meshed with any plans the school district may have in mind.

The law also authorizes the acquisition of plans, parts and construction in a "single package" contract.

To ease financing problems, the Assembly passed a "profit-and-lease" act which authorizes private financing of new schools by permitting school boards to lease sites and buildings through private corporationsforprofit.

Under this law, school boards contract with private groups to provide the site and school and, at the same time, arrange for their long-term lease. A "fair and reasonable" rental is allowed such groups, the rental being paid by local taxes. Leases may run anywhere up to 50 years, but when they expire the school becomes the property of the community School boards have the option of purchasing the facilities outright at any time, nominal penalties attaching only during the first 10 years of the lease if the purchase takes place then.

Four other States—Maine, Pennsylvania, Georgia and Wisconsin—are also authorized to make use of the lease-purchase principle. But none of them has advanced to the stage set by Indiana and, apparently, no other State has ventured into this kind of financing.

NEW STYLES IN SCHOOLS

A critical element in the success of the Indiana plan is the development of more economical, more flexible schools. In this respect, parallel endeavors by two of the Nation's industrial giants, Republic Steel and United States Steel, are held highly significant.

During the past few years the steel companies have been working with designers to create flexible prefabricated components which will permit quality construction of the cheaper schools desired.

Republic has developed a pattern based structually on 3-, 6-, and 9-foot component modules; it is a flexible scheme, and it permits a choice of different building materials such as tile, brick, concrete block, and porcelain panel to suit the needs and financial limitations of the builder. A United States Steel system is based on all-steel room units; it emphasizes more rapid construction and is somewhat cheaper to build.

Republic is completing the first of its modular schools at Hymera, Ind. United States Steel has finished two, one at Gary and the other a parochial school at Emmitsburg, Md.

In both systems costs range between $18,000 and $22,000 per room, whereas the national norm is around $30,000 or more.

This kind of saving, added to the economy of construction time, is expected to more than compensate for whatever cost increase, if any, comes out of Indiana's new private financing system.

THERE ARE QUESTION MARKS

The Indiana plan is not without its question marks.

First, how would the system benefit the poorer areas of the country where need is greatest and the tax base lowest?

Protagonists say that the actual cost to the community of the new component part type of school is markedly below going rates in any part of the country—an absolute saving factor.

Meanwhile, the financing scheme puts a practical alternative at the disposal of small communities which cannot borrow the money or which do not have it on hand. Even in the larger communities it may make new schools financially possible. This is because in many areas (Indiana is one of them) the market is glutted with low-interest obligation bonds, or because the community has reached the legal limit of its borrowing power.

The system involves no big lump requisition of cash which major building programs usually require through a bond issue. Costs can be distributed among a number of financiers.

Finally, backers say, the Indiana plan may offer a lower and more flexible amortization schedule.

Second, would the plan conform to the laws of other States?

The answer is that in some places it undoubtedly would not. Some State constitutions, for example, do not permit title to facilities used for public schools to be in the hands of any owner but a governmental agency.

However, legislation sometimes can solve the problem. In Wisconsin recently the State supreme court declared a school-lease plan invalid. Subsequent legislation smoothed the legal wrinkles.

Third, will financiers be willing to get involved without Government insurance to minimimize the risks of having the school community's tax base depleted, impaired, or withdrawn?

On this point there appears to be a difference of opinion. Some think it is unnecessary or undesirable. Others, however, think that a kind of Federal insurance, similar to the guaranty provided on FHA or VA loans, will be needed to induce private lessor corporations to put up the money. The idea is to guard against recession, in which case tax revenues to support lease payments might dwindle, and to guard against political changes which might find a school board reluctant to continue arrangements made by its predecessor.

It is reported that a delegation of interested businessmen will be meeting with Members of Congress in the weeks ahead to draft legislation that would authorize Federal insurance for such purposes.

Among those who feel that a Federal insurance plan is needed, there seems to be a companion belief that if it can be obtained Indiana's plan might well go over on a national scale.

Why Pick on Dixie?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article

entitled "Why Pick on Dixie?" by Harold Lord Varney, published in the July 1957 issue of American Mercury magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY PICK ON DIXIE?

(By Harold Lord Varney)

A new and wonder formula for quick literary success is now emerging. The formula is a simple one—easily within the reach of the most uninspired plodder in American letters. Expressed in a single sentence it is this: Damn the South.

So rapidly has this new literary fashion fastened itself upon us that there is now scarcely a publishing house or a national magazine which does not have a dreary stable of hacks grinding out anti-South treatises or fiction. The theme assails our ears nightly on the airwaves via both radio and television. It comes to us cloyingly in the dignified columns of the New York Times or in the more tobasco pages of Mr. Luce's Time. It is becoming a literary occupation. We are all becoming South-baiters.

An incredible example of this new literary genre was displayed a short time ago on the mass audience TV Climax show, sponsored by one of the "big three" auto makers. Probably 30 million TV viewers saw an implausible political story, "Stain of Honor," confected by Adrian Spies. No TV fan could rise from this performance without the ineluctable impression that Southern politicians as a breed were a thoroughly bad lot, with unmistakable overtones of insanity. Whether intended or not, the fact remains that every Southern character in the play with the exception of the hero, who had repudiated his Southern heritage, was unsympathetic. The only role of nobility in the play was assigned to a Negro character.

Such a play—and it is only a sample of the dreadful tripe which is now on display—is vicious and malevolent. It attempts to place the Claghorn stamp on all Southern political leaders. Its effect is to fan hate between Northern and Southern Americans. The fact that the message is not spelled out—that it is conveyed by innuendo and through the heavy lines of caricature—makes it all the more deadly in its impact on the mass mind.

Going the rounds of the second-run movie house circuit at this time are three hit pictures stressing southern themes. These are Giant, Baby Doll, and Written on the Wind.

Of Giant, which is based upon the Edna Ferber book of the same name, Time declares that the book from which the screenplay was confected, "bellowed from the bookstalls that Texas in modern times is a microcosm of materialism, a noisome social compost of everything that is crass and sick and cruel in American life."

Although not as wholehearted in its malice as the Ferber original, the story which George Stevens directed for the movies is one continuous preachment against Texans. They are pilloried as cruel and inhuman in their treatment of the Mexicans. They are shown as vulgar and devoid of the human sympathies which characterize Northern Americans. A mounting atmosphere of disdain pervades the whole screenplay.

Although nowhere stated bluntly, the message comes through in every scene of the play, and particularly in the pumped-up overwrought finale. That message is that Texans aren't on the same emotional wavelength with the rest of us. It is a technique which Hollywood perfected in its depictment of Germans and Japanese during the late war. The vast Giant audience rises from its plush seats with the inevitable stereotype that Texans simply aren't good Americans.

In another picture, Written on the Wind, the unpleasant southerner stereotype is not quite so clear. Some sympathetic southern characters are allowed to enter the cast. The main action is in New York rather than in the Deep South. But in the central story line, the neurotic, wastrel protagonist who snatches Lauren Bacall from the clean-cut boy of the plot is—you have guessed it—the inevitable Texas oilman. Audiences all over the United States are now engaged in a collective emotional wallow, hating the Texan.

But the most malicious caricature of the South is given by Baby Doll, which Cardinal Spellman described as "revolting" and "morally repellent."

Baby Doll is slanted cynically at the Tobacco Road northern theater-going public. Its action takes place in Mississippi among a weird collection of unbelievable "Deep South" whites. The heroine, Baby Doll, is a near-cretin and a slut. Her middle-aged husband is a creep. They live together in one of the most nauseous situations ever depicted on the American screen. The most nearly normal character in the picture (all of the cast are fugitives from Krafft-Ebbing) is, of course, the northern outsider to whose obscene arms Baby Doll flees.

The whole story leaves a sickening savor in the viewer's mouth.

These three unpleasant examples are cited, not because they are any worse than other treatments of the South which Hollywood has ground out. What is noteworthy in them is that they represent a trend which seems to be dominating large areas of the communications media of the country. It is the trend to defame and defoul the composite picture of the southern American which is in the people's mind. It is the trend to libel 46 million Americans who happen to live south of Mason and Dixon's line, and to hold them up to national contempt.

This lynch spirit against the South is evident throughout the public opinion field, as registered by the various media. It is evident in book publishing houses which have discovered that a novel, such as Lettie Hamlett Rogers' Birthright, which draws a horrifying likeness of the best families of the South while sobbing tearfully over the wrongs of the Negro, will sensationally outsell any book about the South which presents white southern characters as ordinary, decent-spirited Americans.

It is evident in magazine publishing offices which, with a uniformity now becoming almost compulsive, invariably give their assignments of stories about the South to race-obscessed foreigners like Gunnar Myrdal or Alan Paton, or to unrepresentative southerners like Hodding Carter, Harry S. Ashmore, Lillian Smith, Robert P. Warren, Mark F. Ethridge—men and women who have achieved a quick, synthetic popularity among northern South-haters by affecting the pose of the "reasonable southerner." True experts on the South, such as Virginius Dabney, James J. Kilpatrick, Clifford Dowdey, James G. Stahlman, Jonathan Daniels, James F. Byrnes, Luther H. Hodges, are seldom if ever published in the mass circulation northern slicks. It is evident that most northern editors are little interested in the southern state of mind, but only in its denunciation.

When the brightest star in the southern literary constellation, Nobel prize winner William Faulkner, wrote a 2-page letter to a national weekly defending the attitude of the South, a deep stunned silence engulfed him. He has been invited to write no more articles on the South for the northern magazines.

Television is another medium which appears to have joined wholeheartedly in the anti-South brainwashing. Occasionally, a spokesman for the southern attitude is reluctantly included in a panel program or a discussion or interview show. When this is done, the announcer or interviewer is certain to make it plain, directly or indirectly, that the station disassociates itself completely from the views of the speaker. The bias of the station is so obvious as to nullify any gain in understanding which might result from the presentation of a southerner. The staffs of the network news interpreters, headed by such left-leaners as Edward R. Murrow and Chet Huntley, are unanimously anti-South.

The only time when an influential network discussion program attempted to give a fair break to the South was during the late lamented career of the Facts Forum. The Forum was continually harassed during its life by liberal pressure before the FCC to have it thrown off the air. It was smeared in exposés charging rightism in such leftist magazines as the Reporter, etc. It was cited before the Internal Revenue Bureau. Instead of welcoming this opportunity, in the American tradition of fair play, to hear this dissenting voice, the South baiters thought only in terms of suppression.

The climate of opinion in the North is similarly saturated against the South by most of the effective and well-financed organizational molders of public opinion. All the foundations stand in solid ranks, with their billions, in determined opposition to the traditional southern viewpoint. Instead of providing a forum for the honest discussion of southern issues, the foundations have underwritten a controversial organization in the South, the Southern Regional Council, which is staffed by southerners who have unreservedly accepted northern opinion patterns. The council, in a dignified way, is the clearinghouse of most of the indoctrination of the South which is now in furious progress by northern agencies.

In the last 3 years, the council has received a total of $445,000 from the Fund for the Republic of the Ford Foundation. The council has also been on the receiving end of sizable funds from the William C. Whitney Foundation, the Field Foundation, the Doris Duke Foundation, the Marion Ascoli Fund, the Sidney Hillman Foundation, and others. More militant organizations in the field of South baiting which have received Fund of the Republic money are the legal defense fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ($50,000), the Urban League ($50,000), the Commission on Race and Housing ($118,954).

All of these agencies are engaged in the determined task of discrediting in national public opinion the recognized leaders and spokesmen of the South.

The great national organizations which represent important occupational and religious belief blocs are, to an appalling extent, also enlisted in this indiscriminate "damn the South" drive. The South's right to observe its own folkways is being assailed on platform and in print by such potent national groups as the National Education Association, the National Parent-Teachers Association, the AFL–CIO, the League of Women Voters, the Americans for Democratic Action, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the clearinghouse of affiliated civil liberties organization, the National Council of Churches, the denominational secretariat of most of the church bodies, and many others. Even the national spokesmen of the Republican and Democratic National Committees make discreet political noises directed against the South on appropriate occasions.

Under this high-level prompting, indoctrination against the South is slowly blanketing most of the opinion-influencing agencies of the North. It is being taught openly in the classrooms of the public schools, and in many of the private ones. It permeates the newer textbooks and teaching aids which are given to the teacher. It is slipped slyly into the children's books and the comic strips. It is the theme of impressive seminars in the colleges and universities. It is being preached from the pulpits of religious liberals, proclaimed from the lecture platform and the women's club stage, re-

iterated ad nauseum at Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and other business-club luncheons. It saturates the northern press. The fair-minded American, seeking honest light on the southern question, finds himself asphyxiated in a suffocating fog of indoctrination and propaganda.

No such private war of spite and calumny has been directed against a minority of fellow Americans since the days of the Mormon persecutions.

It is inevitable, in such an atmosphere of all-pervading malice, that the people of the South are beginning to feel themselves outsiders in the national family. Thanks to seniority southerners still wield a potent influence over the committees of the Senate and House, but there their influence ends. They have lost the battle of national public opinion. Under this bludgeoning, the Deep South has become a sort of American Sudetenland—a deep fault of explosive political unhappiness and humiliation threatening our national unity.

Who has done this to the South? Certainly, this recrudescence of antisouthern animosity is not something which has just happened spontaneously in the North. The average northerner has no particular dislike of the southern American, although he may be conscious of certain surface differences. If, today, he is supporting movements and leaders which are engaged in all-out anti-southernism, it is because he is reacting unthinkingly to the propaganda that is filling the airwaves and the public prints. This propaganda emanates from a relatively small group of northern liberals. This group is willing to revive all of the sectional hates and passions which were buried almost a hundred years ago in the Civil War, in order to serve their own ignoble purposes of power.

Briefly stated, the men and women who are behind the anti-South drive are the familiar figures who, in other fields, have been trying since the days of Roosevelt to remake America in the image of their one-world, one-race ideology. It is the same inglorious crowd which has committed the United States to the United Nations, and to UNESCO and to the Mrs. Roosevelt-written Covenant of Human Rights. It is the same crowd which hounded Bob Taft to his grave, which humiliated MacArthur, which has declared political vendettas against Jenner and McCarthy and Knowland, and which is still unconvinced of the guilt of Alger Hiss.

To these resourceful schemers, the South, with its deep-running conservationism and with its unshaken Anglo-Saxon traditions, was an obstacle which had to be removed. Its leaders must be discredited as political pariahs, its way of life must be held up to public detestation and ridicule.

What better instrument was there to direct against the South than the Negro question? Americans, both northerners and southerners alike, have long felt a sense of national guilt over the Negro, and there has been general agreement that inherited discriminations must be gradually abolished. The fact that the South was doing something about it made little difference to the doctrinaire liberals whose book called for a political jehad against southern conservatism. It was determined to use the Negro issue as a smashing club against the South, to compel immediate compliance with the blueprints of "one world" liberalism.

What assured liberal success in this undertaking was the political potency of the northern Negro vote. An organization such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which has always been under left liberal (before World War II, even Communist) influence, offered itself as a ready-made instrument for this purpose. The NAACP could direct terrific influence upon northern politicians, both Republican and Democratic, by threatening reprisals by the Negro voters. The 6 million northern Negro voters, acting as a bullet bloc, could easily decide the outcome of a Presidential election. They meant the difference between victory and defeat in the hairline outcome of many a House or even Senate election in the North. No ambitious politician, who wanted to stay alive, would willingly affront such a balance of power.

Commencing sometime in the early 1940's and taking on accelerated speed as the years passed, we have seen the spectacle of an almost bandwagon rush of northern politicians to the NAACP side in local and national elections. The pressure of the local politicians, who get out the vote, upon individual Senators and Congressmen in Washington, became terrific. From a dominant place in the legislative picture, which they had enjoyed in coalition with conservative Republicans throughout the Taft-Wherry period of Republican leadership, the southern legislators have now sunk into a sad status of isolation. Through their control of committees they can exercise some restraining influence upon the speed of the antisouthern measures. But they can no longer check them. Republicanism under Eisenhower, and Democracy under Adlai Stevenson and Walter Reuther, are sternly against them.

In a period in which the South is no longer feared politically, it has ceased to be respected intellectually or socially. It has become the butt of mediocrity in literature, in journalism, on the screen and over the air waves. It has become the whipping boy of every political and journalistic demagogue who is seeking an easy road to quick success. Enlistment in the anti-South hate campaign is the surest pathway for the unscrupulous to win the great cinque of liberalism to further his career.

It is a shameful episode in the history of our times. It is also a disastrous experience for Americans. At an historic juncture when the hostility of the American people should be channeled exclusively against our enemies at home and abroad, liberalism has detoured us into a hate drive against other Americans. At a time when tolerance has become almost a national religion, the tolerance high priesthood is itself launched on one of the most intolerant smear campaigns in the annals of propaganda.

America, in releasing the antisouthern hate waves, is weakening our most precious possession—the unity of the American people. It will not be easy to recapture it after the present dementia is past.

States Protest Substitution of Personal Ideas for Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD editorial correspondence entitled "States Protest Substitution of Personal Ideas for Laws," written by W. D. Workman, Jr., one of South Carolina's most able and respected newsmen, and published in the Greenville (S. C.) News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATES PROTEST SUBSTITUTION OF PERSONAL IDEAS FOR LAWS

(By W. D. Workman, Jr.)

COLUMBIA, June 1.—Bit by bit, the States of the South are making out a bill of particulars against the present thinking of the United States Supreme Court in fields which go far beyond questions of race relations.

Three States already have documented their grievances against the Court with detailed statements, and other Southern States have similar charges under legislative consideration. Florida was the first State to make out a general case against the pattern of recent Supreme Court decisions, and it did so by way of a concurrent resolution adopted last August and signed by Gov. LeRoy Collins.

Then came the Georgia Legislature with a resolution which likewise enumerated the grievances against the Court and went to the extreme of proposing the impeachment of those Supreme Court Justices who had taken part in decisions which, in the eyes of Georgia legislators, subverted the Constitution of the United States. (A similar resolution has been introduced in the South Carolina General Assembly and is under study by the judicial committee of the house of representatives.)

Now comes the Legislature of Alabama, with a second "nullification" resolution which this time is not restricted to the school desegregation issue, but which specifies other instances of alleged impropriety by the Supreme Court.

It may be significant that most of the Supreme Court decisions objected to by these Southern States arose outside the South (except for the school segregation cases). Perhaps the strategy of this procedure incorporates the hope that non-Southern States will see their own sovereignty at stake and rally to the cause of States' rights on grounds other than racial.

In any event, a serious indictment is gradually shaping up against the high Court, as evidenced by these representative excerpts from the Florida resolution:

"(1) By decisions rendered May 17, 1954 (in the school segregation cases), the Supreme Court of the United States denied to the sovereign States of the American Union the power to regulate public education by the use of practices first declared constitutional by the State of Massachusetts, adopted by the Congress, approved by the Executive, affirmed and reaffirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States and practiced by States for more than a century."

"(2) In a decision rendered May 21, 1956, in Railway Employees Department, *AFL et al* v. *Robert L. Hanson*, the Supreme Court of the United States held that a union-shop agreement negotiated between certain railroads and certain organizations of employees of such railroads which had been authorized by an act of the Congress superseded the right-to-work provisions of the Constitution of the State of Nebraska and the State statutes enacted pursuant thereto."

"(3) By a decision rendered January 16, 1956, *Danton George Rea* v. *United States of America*, the Supreme Court of the United States held that it was within the power of the Federal Courts to enjoin an officer of the executive department of the Federal Government from testifying in the courts of the State of New Mexico in a criminal prosecution of one charged with a violation of a statute of that State prohibiting the possession of marihuana."

"(4) By a decision rendered April 2, 1956, in *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* v. *Steve Nelson*, the Supreme Court of the United States has declared that, so long as the present Federal law providing punishment for sedition exists, the sovereign State of Pennsylvania and those 41 of her sister States who have enacted laws against sedition, are

without power to enforce their statutes enacted for the purpose of preserving the lives and safety of their citizens from those who would by force and violence overthrow the Government of the United States, the States themselves, or any of their political subdivisions."

"(5) In a decision rendered April 23, 1956, in *Judson Griffin et al.* v. *People of the State of Illinois*, the Supreme Court of the United States held that the due process and equal protection clauses of the Constitution of the United States rendered illegal the imprisonment of one charged with armed robbery and duly convicted in the trial court of Illinois, unless the State of Illinois provided the defendant, free of charge, a transcript of the proceedings to be used in an appeal of his conviction."

"(6) By a decision rendered April 9, 1956, in *Harry Slochower* v. *Board of Higher Education of the City of New York*, the Supreme Court of the United States held that the city of New York had violated the Constitution of the United States by the summary discharge of a public employee who had refused to answer questions relative to his communistic activities and claimed the benefit of the fifth amendment to the Constitution in so doing."

In the light of those decisions said the Legislature of Florida, it is evident that the Supreme Court "has entered upon a policy of substituting the personal and individual ideas of the members of the Court as to what the Constitution of the United States should be. * * * The personal, social, economic and political ideas of the members of the Supreme Court of the United States do not constitute the proper criterion for the admeasurement of States rights or the powers of the several departments of the Federal Government or the rights of individual citizens."

To those observations, the Florida Legislature added this sentiment:

"If wise and beneficient men may make changes in the Constitution that are beneficial in the light of changing conditions, others may, with equal propriety, make changes which will destroy the rights of the people * * * while disobedience to constituted authority is the mother of anarchy, it is the history of freemen that they will not supinely permit government to become the master of the people, and will never yield unrestrained authority to any group of public officers."

The Nonsense About Depreciation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article, which appeared in the Journal of Commerce and Commercial of New York on Monday, May 27, 1957, entitled "Let's Stop the Nonsense About Depreciation."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S STOP THE NONSENSE ABOUT DEPRECIATION

(By Eric Ridder, publisher)

The time has come to take depreciation out of politics.

Entirely too much nonsense has been written and spoken on this subject. Reformers of various shades have joined hands with unionists in a campaign to malign the business drive for a modernization of depreciation practices as an attempted raid on the Treasury; as a grab; as a thinly veiled quest for subsidies by big business; or worse.

Ignorance reached a new peak during the recent congressional hearings on accelerated depreciation, which is merely one phase of the problem—and not even the most important one.

Business wants greater freedom on depreciation. Business has a right to such greater freedom, particularly since nobody has to get hurt as a result.

This is not a fight for continuance of the wartime system of accelerated 5-year amortization for defense or defense-supporting facilities.

It is a fight for a system of true flexibility in the determination of depreciation schedules. These determinations are not a tax collector's job; they are one of top management's major responsibilities and, as such, have a direct and important bearing on the continuance of prosperity.

Let us not forget that the current tax treatment of depreciation was "invented" in 1934 because the administration then in power needed extra revenue. It was strictly an emergency baby—and should never have been permitted to linger on after the big depression was over.

Depreciation is just as much a cost of doing business as meeting the weekly payroll.

It is nonsense to claim that the taxpayer is being robbed if industry is allowed to decide how quickly it wants to write off such capital expenditures. As long as it can be safely presumed that even 5, 10, or 20 years from now, 100 still will equal 100—and not 110 or 90—it is obvious that no businessman gets a "gift" if he decides to write certain capital items off faster than the tax collector thinks he ought to.

To be sure, there will be "lags" in tax collections—but in the end, the Government receives the same amount of taxes, barring changes in the tax rate, regardless of whether an item is written off faster or more slowly.

Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, in his recent appearance before a Senate committee, admitted frankly that the lag in tax revenues created by faster writeoffs really is nothing to worry about. I agree with Mr. Humphrey on this 100 percent.

The only argument of any validity against flexible depreciation is that the Government may have to borrow money temporarily that otherwise would have come in the form of higher corporate taxes. Of course, it has to pay interest for such money—under current conditions at a rate of about 3½ percent.

Secretary Humphrey has figured out that wartime accelerated depreciation since 1950 has cost the administration some $3 billion in interest charges which will not be recovered at a later date. I believe his figure probably is too high, but that does not really matter here. He does not like such interest charges—and we can't really blame him for this attitude. As a businessman—and one of the ablest in the country at that—it irks Mr. Humphrey not to be able to recover such "cost" items. That is why he objects to anything but the application of accelerated depreciation to strictly military projects.

Again I find myself in perfect agreement with Mr. Humphrey. But, at the same time, I have news for him: Actually, this is one time when he can have his cake and eat it too.

There is no cause to throw out the sound principle of flexible depreciation for this reason: Such a system does not have to cost the Government anything at all—in interest charges.

It is actually quite simple to adjust depreciation practices to the requirements of an expanding economy, instead of clinging to the archaic concept of a mature economy that pervaded our thinking in the thirties.

If there is a genuine desire to modernize depreciation in the interest—not of a few businessmen—but in the interest of the whole economy, there are at least two ways in which this can be done without costing the Government a single dime in interest costs.

If there is no such desire, then, by all means, let's call a spade a shovel and use it to bury the principles of our economic system.

It is easy enough to determine, in each individual case, the tax lag that will arise when a company wants to speed up the amortization of capital assets.

Approximately half the difference between the old slow depreciation and the desired faster writeoff represents the tax lag which presumably would have to be financed through borrowing if collection is delayed.

This could be done—cost free for the Government—through the issuance of non-interest-bearing, negotiable Government bonds to be purchased and paid for by the companies taking faster depreciation in the amounts involved from year to year.

Or, even more simply, it could be done by applying a 3½ percent higher tax rate on that part of a company's earnings that would be taxed away under the old depreciation setup but becomes an allowable deduction claimed as depreciation in any particular year.

To be sure, some technical problems may arise, particularly if the first alternative is used. But they would be minor.

The big point I want to make is that such a system would be of great benefit to the whole economy. And here is why: Capital thus freed for immediate employment by private industry can earn perhaps 3 times as much as the 3½ percent extra tax or the cost of a non-interest-bearing Government bond on a discount basis.

Assistant Postmaster Charles J. Eginton Retires From Brooklyn, N. Y., Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, a loyal and valued employee of the post office in Brooklyn has just retired, and I should like to pay tribute to him by including this announcement of the retirement of Assistant Postmaster Charles J. Eginton.

ASSISTANT POSTMASTER CHARLES J. EGINTON RETIRES FROM BROOKLYN, N. Y., POST OFFICE

Postmaster Edward J. Quigley, of Brooklyn, N. Y., today announced the retirement of his assistant, Charles J. Eginton, after completion of over 44 years of postal service.

Mr. Eginton, a lifetime resident of the Flatbush section of Brooklyn, entered the postal service when he was 19 years of age as a subcarrier in 1913. He served in many capacities including that of distributing mail on the old horse-drawn trolley cars of Brooklyn. In 1924 he was promoted from a clerk to his first supervisory position. Thereafter he served in varied supervisory assignments under the direction of nine postmasters. In 1955 Postmaster Quigley selected Mr. Eginton from his staff, to become his operational assistant. During his term of office he engineered and placed into operation many

innovations which produced an improved and expanding service.

Charlie, as he was known to his host of postal friends, remarked at a luncheon given in his tribute, "that the greatest honor an American can have, besides serving in the Armed Forces, is to assist in the operation of his country's business." Mr. and Mrs. Eginton have long awaited this retirement, and will move to a cottage in Greenwood Lake, N. J., which was purchased 20 years ago in anticipation of this event.

Postmaster Edward J. Quigley in saying farewell to his assistant, remarked that "Charlie represents the career officials in Government service who are energetic, capable, and dedicated servants." The opportunities under civil service to date can match, and in many instances exceed, private industry.

Constitution Makers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Constitution Makers," from the Anderson (S. C.) Free Press of May 30, 1957. The editorial deals with the subject of the Supreme Court altering the Constitution.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSTITUTION MAKERS

Former Governor James F. Byrnes' statement that "if the Supreme Court can alter the Constitution by its decisions, then five men—a majority of the Court—can make the Court a constitution maker instead of a constitution defender" should have, and we believe must have, aroused the members of the Ohio Bar Association to the danger confronting this country now.

As he usually does, Mr. Byrnes gave solid reasons for making his statement. He cited instances to show where the Court is exercising new powers without the public knowing that they are new. These new powers, he said, "are being exercised to destroy local governments."

One of the cases cited by Mr. Byrnes was the Slochower case in New York City. The board of education of New York City had dismissed Slochower from a college faculty in the city of New York for claiming the fifth amendment when called before a congressional committee investigating national security to answer questions regarding past membership in the Communist Party. The dismissal was affirmed by the highest court of New York State but reversed by the United States Supreme Court.

"How long," Mr. Byrnes asked the Ohio bar members, "can local government survive in the State of Ohio if, by State statute, you cannot declare that your children shall not be taught by a Communist or by a man who refuses to tell whether he is or is not a Communist?" That's a good question.

Mr. Byrnes said that a teacher has the right to claim the protection of the fifth amendment if he fears his answers will incriminate him "but the people of Ohio and every other State have the right to say that such a man is unfit to teach their children."

Another case cited by Mr. Byrnes was the Nelson case, which the Camden News has discussed on several occasions. In this case the Supreme Court held invalid a Pennsylvania State law which prohibits the knowing advocacy of the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence.

He also discussed the decisions in segregation cases and in dealing with them he spoke most forcefully.

"When the Court included such great Justices as Taft, Holmes, Brandeis, and Stone," said Mr. Byrnes, "it declared in *Gong Lim* v. *Rice* (275 U. S. 78), in a unanimous opinion, written by Chief Justice Taft, that segregation in public schools had been 'many times decided to be within the constitutional power of the State legislatures to settle without interference of the Federal courts under the Federal Constitution.'"

He also said that the Court, speaking through the great Chief Justice Hughes, had said in another case that the question could "no longer be considered an open one."

"The doctrine of stare decises," said Mr. Byrnes, "is not a sacred one; but when a case involving an interpretation of the Constitution was decided in 1896 and that interpretation is sustained by the Court's decisions over a period of 60 years, we should be able to rely upon it as the law."

While Mr. Byrnes did not say so, he could have said that the former decisions were made by great Justices, men learned in the law who were not appointed to the Court because of their political beliefs, but because they were of the judicial stature.

Mr. Byrnes has rendered great service to the people in the past, and he is rendering it now in getting the South's viewpoint heard in high places over the Nation. Some weeks back he spoke before the Vermont Bar Association, and then last week before the Ohio Bar Association. We hope he has many more engagements of this nature, because we believe that these appearances are helping to awaken the people of this country to the danger that confronts them in the recent trend of the Supreme Court. (Camden News.)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Although it was not mentioned in the above editorial, Mr. Byrnes also spoke before the Illinois Bar Association's Lincoln Day dinner earlier this year. The Illinois and Ohio Bar Associations are two of the largest such organizations in the Nation, and in addressing these groups Byrnes reached many hundreds of the best informed legal minds in the country, including State supreme court judges and possibly some of the judges of the United States Supreme Court.)

Jury Trials in Civil Rights Cases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by David Lawrence:

JURY TRIALS IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES—AMENDING OF SENATE BILL LAUDED AS STEP TOWARD INJECTING REASON INTO CONFLICT

(By David Lawrence)

It was a wise move on the part of the Senate Judiciary Committee this week to recommend that jury trials be provided by law in contempt cases arising out of the enforcement of civil rights. It will do more to help the cause of public understanding on the integration-segregation issue and similar questions than anything the Congress or the courts have done thus far.

This is because the action by the Senate committee comes at a time when emotion has been substituted for reason in many parts of both the North and the South in dealing with matters of law and constitutional rights.

A dramatic example was the case last week in Montgomery, Ala., when a white jury acquitted two white men who were defendants in a case involving the dynamiting of a Negro church. No one was injured, but property was damaged. It was apparent from the way the case was summed up by the prosecuting attorney and defense counsel that the issues were presented in the background of current antagonisms. Although the defendants had signed a confession, the claim was made later that it had been irregularly processed—that it wasn't made at police headquarters but in a hotel room under circumstances which led to the expression of many doubts.

This correspondent spent the weekend in Alabama and talked to many people about the integration question. Notwithstanding the individual beliefs of citizens generally, it is fair to say that many people who are on the antisegregation side were shocked by the verdict of the jury at Montgomery. Yet, in some respects the verdict wasn't surprising. As one man in the South put it, "Why should not 12 men in Alabama express their feelings in a verdict, when 9 sociologists on the Supreme Court do the same thing?"

Reference was made specifically to some of the recent cases of rape committed by Negroes against white women, cases in which confessions were duly recorded and guilt plainly established, only to have the Supreme Court of the United States reverse such verdicts on technicalities and allow the defendants to go free.

Emotionalism has brought a state of tension that is not going to be cured by any provision of law denying jury trials merely because the privilege has been or might be abused. While contempt committed inside a courtroom has always been punishable by a judge without a jury trial, and attempts to violate directly the terms of an injunction are ordinarily within the power of a judge alone to punish, the real issue is whether the judge's injunctions can be stretched to cover crimes committed outside the courtroom itself that normally are tried by juries.

It is better, therefore, for Congress to err on the side of caution and to put faith and trust in the people in all sections of the country, rather than to assume in advance that they cannot be trusted in the jury box. To apply such faith is to follow the path of reason as against emotionalism.

For the racial questions are far from settled, and those persons who think that, by the order of any court, the people of the South or of any other section will approve an edict which they honestly believe is not constitutional just do not understand the workings of human nature. The crusade, for instance, against the 18th amendment on prohibition—the willful disregard of the provisions of the law by millions of people—showed clearly that a reform which isn't sold to the people in advance by thorough understanding isn't accepted just because it is solemnly proclaimed as the law of the land.

It's a condition rather than a theory which confronts the Nation in dealing with the racial question which now has begun to present problems in all parts of the country, and not just in the South. Violence will not solve it, nor will coercion by broad injunctive orders of the courts. An adjusted society has to come voluntarily out of the processes of reason.

The amendment to the law which would grant jury trials in contempt cases involving alleged crimes is bound to assist the cause of reason. It puts the responsibility squarely upon the people to see to it that

jury trials are fairly conducted and fairly resolved.

There are, of course, extremists on both sides. Their number will diminish, however, only as a sense of fairness develops through the application of reason instead of violence. That's why the grant of a jury trial in criminal contempt cases would be a progressive step toward a better understanding of the responsibilities of citizenship. But if Congress, on the other hand, does deny jury trials, far more ground will be lost than gained in the emotionally complicated, if not presently unsolved, problem of sociology and Government.

The Lessons of Formosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, to see ourselves as others see us is not always the most pleasant experience. Yet it would seem the better part of wisdom for us to be aware of some, at least, outside reactions.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include herewith an article from the Manchester Guardian Weekly of May 30 by Alistair Cooke entitled "The Lessons of Formosa."

THE LESSONS OF FORMOSA
(By Alistair Cooke)

NEW YORK, May 27.—The American press and Congress have been stung by Friday's riot in T'ai-pei to consider the worth of foreign aid, the unloved lot of the proconsul, and the precarious relations of the American soldier with the peoples of the many countries in which he stands on guard.

Of them all, Formosa was thought to be the most unshakable of America's allies, if only because, 100 miles from the Chinese Communist empire, she can least afford a show of independence. Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Government is shored up there. The helpless Formosans have been braced by 600,000 troops trained by 2,000 American officers and men. One billion dollars worth of American aid has revived the island's economy, and every anxious Formosan has visible proof of Uncle Sam's protection in the floating patrol of the United States 7th Fleet.

Now that the panic of the first dispatches has cooled off, the facts that emerge are clear and forbidding. No fewer than 33,000 of Chiang's troops were required to suppress a riot that began with one complaining widow and a placard, and ended with the destruction of the United States Embassy, the damaging of the United States Information Center, the stoning of the Nationalist Foreign Minister and the United States Ambassador, and the flight of the American colony to safe hiding.

The sequence of events that led to these disorders is deceptively simple. But the prompting of them is not. On the evening of March 20 an American master sergeant, living 8 miles outside T'ai-pei, was warned by his wife that a Chinese was watching her take a shower. The sergeant loaded a pistol and went outside. The man came at him with a metal rod and the sergeant fired. The man stumbled, and the sergeant told his wife to call the Formosan police and the American Army police. When the man came on again the sergeant fired and killed him. This account was accepted by the court-martial, and the sergeant was released.

It was an American court-martial, and in itself this could have been the first humiliation. Occupied countries are always jealous of the jurisdiction of their courts, and in most of them "status of forces" treaties acknowledge the right of the native courts to try all cases of crime or misdemeanor committed by occupying troops outside the limits of their compound. The Japanese have such a treaty with the United States, and only in the past fortnight there has been a bitter protest in Japan against the American Army's claim that it should try a soldier who, while off duty, accidentally shot a Japanese woman on a target range.

Unfortunately, the United States is still dickering with the Formosans about a "status of forces" agreement. Nothing could have suited the Chinese Communists better than to keep the jurisdictional quarrels boiling until some incident seemed to prove their point that the Formosans are the prisoners of the United States Army and that Formosa is not the most loyal, but merely the most abject, of American allies. The incident happened. And the thought was bound to occur here, in news columns and radio commentaries, that the Communists could have provoked the incident and the protest of a widow who carried signs written in English and Mandarin, neither of which she could write or speak.

At any rate the widow appeared outside the Embassy on Friday and waved her accusation that the Americans had killed her husband and freed his murderer. A radio reporter broadcast by loudspeaker at the Embassy gates a recorded interview with the widow. That was the cue for the crowd to swell from 3,000 to 30,000, and go berserk for 6 hours. Radio Peiping has spent the weekend bombarding its satellites and neighbors with the news.

No doubt congressional committees will leap to full-dress inquiries into the relations of American troops and local populations everywhere from Britain to Japan: the reports of colonial highhandedness in Korea; of Japan's distaste for her security agreements; of complaints in Okinawa and the Philippines that the American armies pitch their camps where they choose; of the universal grumble that Americans live high among lean populations.

But before these sociological surveys get under way, Congress will be pressed to ask more practical questions. The answers may reveal whether Formosa is as loyal as everyone supposes, whether massive foreign aid can secure dependable alliances, and whether the T'ai-pei rebellion was contrived to explode 1 week before Britain, Japan, and Western Germany are to announce their resumption of strategic trade with Communist China. If it was all an accident, it was providentially timed to set Western Europe and the United States at each other's throats.

America's Wasted Human Resource: The Older Worker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, much has been said, and much needs to be done, about one of America's prime human resources, the older worker. An article from the May 1957 issue of the Industrial Bulletin, the official news magazine of the New York State Department of Labor, points up not only the business wisdom of utilizing the full potential of the older worker, but also his vital role in fulfilling our Nation's manpower needs. As the article concludes, "Finding enough people to fill growing job needs just isn't possible without making fuller utilization of America's older workers."

Together with three of my colleagues, the Senator from New York [Mr. IVES], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], and the Senator from Maine [Mr. PAYNE], I am the sponsor of the national act against age discrimination in employment, S. 1073, which would make unlawful discrimination against an individual with respect to employment because of age, when the reasonable demands of the position do not merit such an age distinction. While the whole problem of employment for those 45 or over cannot be solved by law alone, a suitable basis for solution, when coupled with negotiation, mediation, and technical assistance, can be brought about by law. It is such an affirmative approach which S. 1073 contemplates.

I ask unanimous consent that the article in the Industrial Bulletin, to which I have made reference, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MYTHS ABOUT THE OLDER WORKER

A good many myths and half-myths about the economic feasibility of taking on older workers persist in the minds of those at the hiring line of many companies. A recent United States Labor Department survey of labor markets in 7 major cities, for instance, showed that 41 percent of the 21,386 job orders placed with employment service offices in 1 month specified age limits of under 45. For clerical occupations, 57 percent of the job orders included "Don't bother to apply" signs for those who had reached their 45th birthday.

Of course, employer reluctance to hire older workers is not always based entirely upon fancy. Unquestionably, in some instances there are certain obstacles which rationally militate against such applicants. Often, too, some adjustments are called for in company personnel programs. The experience of employers who are hiring older applicants demonstrates beyond any doubt, however, that by using a little imagination these so-called obstacles and difficulties prove more illusory than real.

MYTH NO. 1: HE IS LESS PRODUCTIVE

This has consistently been one of the most frequent reasons cited by employers for failing to hire older applicants. Such facts as are available simply do not bear this out.

For instance, a 1954 University of Illinois opinion survey of the supervisors of 3,077 workers in the plus-60 age category (in a wide variety of occupations) found that, compared with their younger brethren, 56 percent produced roughly the same quantity of work, 24 percent produced more, only 20 percent turned out less. As to quality of work, the sexagenarians showed up even better: 34 percent did superior work, 59 percent the same, 7 percent were subpar, compared with those under 60. On overall job performance 80 percent of the senior employees were rated as good, very good, or excellent; only 2 percent were judged poor.

In 1951 the National Association of Manufacturers pooled 3,000 employers with 2½ million people on the payroll. The work performance of older workers was rated as equal or superior to younger employees by 93 percent of the respondents.

A 1956 United States Labor Department pilot study of the relationship between job performance and age among production workers in the footwear and men's clothing industries produced similar findings. Output per man-hour showed little significant variation among the age groups studied.

MYTH NO. 2: HE IS ABSENT MORE OFTEN

A 1956 United States Labor Department study of 16,500 male employees working in 109 manufacturing plants, showed older workers to have a 20 percent better attendance record than younger employees. The University of Illinois study of 60-plus workers showed that only 9 percent were absent more often than those under 60, while 66 percent were absent less often.

MYTH NO. 3: HE HAS MORE ACCIDENTS

A 1956 United States Labor Department study of 18,700 employees in a variety of industries shows that here again just the opposite is true. Workers 45 and over had 2.5 percent fewer disabling injuries and 25.0 percent fewer nondisabling injuries than those under 45.

This lower incidence of injury among older workers may or may not be due to a proclivity for caution. Indications are that lower accident rates may hinge at least in part on the fact that such workers are frequently placed in less hazardous jobs.

Also, there is a paucity of data comparing the severity of injuries of younger and older workers. One unpublished study of 466 employees in a New York firm (conducted by the New York State Department of Labor in 1950) indicates, however, that once injured, the older worker does stay out of work somewhat longer than younger workers. This study also indicated that where older and younger workers are performing equally hazardous work the frequency of injuries to older workers is higher.

MYTH NO. 4: HE WILL NOT STAY ON THE PAYROLL LONG ENOUGH TO JUSTIFY HIRING EXPENSES

An argument frequently advanced by some employers against hiring older applicants is that because of their age they cannot possibly stay on the payroll long enough to justify the hiring, orientation, training, and administrative expenses involved. The trouble with this proposition is that it assumes the average younger hiree will stay on the payroll for a longer period. The facts simply do not bear this out.

The seven-city study demonstrated clearly that separation rates are much lower for older than for younger workers. While workers 45 and over held about 35 percent of the jobs among the 2,000 employers surveyed, during the survey year they accounted for less than 25 percent of the separations which occurred and quit their jobs less than half as often as under-45 workers. Furthermore, in examining the work histories of 160,000 job hunters, the Federal Labor Department found that for the 3 years from 1953 through 1955, almost half of those in the 45–64 age group had held only one job, while only 35 percent of those under 45 could claim such a singular record. Simply put: older employees are not "job hoppers."

The fact remains that a greater loyalty, a greater maturity, a greater stability, a greater understanding that little is to be gained by changing jobs late in his employable life, and a reluctance to go through the rigmarole of getting used to a new job environment, together make the older applicant a particularly good bet for employers who find themselves plagued with turnover problems.

MYTH NO. 5: IT IS TOO COSTLY TO PROVIDE HIM AN ADEQUATE PENSION

This is an easy—and popular—generalization, high on the list of reasons cited for refusing to remove the age barrier. Rarely is it based on a careful scrutiny of the company pension plan to see just what the impact would be.

Whether or not a private pension plan is a legitimate barrier to hiring older workers depends, of course, upon the terms of the particular plan. If benefits are geared to length of service—and they usually are—the plan need not be a major cost obstacle. If the plan contains age limits on eligibility for participation, it will exclude new hires in the older age brackets and present no cost problem. If the plan provides for vesting of employee rights to benefits after a comparatively short period of years, little or no "saving" is realized by hiring only young employees in the expectation they will have left the company for greener pastures before retiring.

A somewhat more subtle, and self-conscious basis for the pension obstacle exists, however. Not infrequently an older job applicant, when told he cannot be considered because of the pension plan, will state flatly "I don't want any part of your pension. I want a job." Or, it may be that under the plan he will only be eligible to receive very nominal benefits upon retirement, or will be excluded altogether. In any of these circumstances it is pretty hard to see how continued employer reluctance to hire can be based on anything more than a kind of nebulous feeling that some sort of unsavory community relations problem may be created a few years later when the applicant in question must retire. This is the moral equivalent of saying "I won't provide you the opportunity of a livelihood now, because I may not be able to afford to later." Such a view contains just about as much logic as morality. For one thing, the public has not yet come to expect all employers to provide substantial pension benefits to all retirees. Even more important, the generally employed community is rightly subject to a good deal more public opprobrium for refusing to hire older job seekers than particular employers ever will be for hiring with a minimal pension workers whom they have hired only a few years earlier.

MYTH NO. 6: HE WILL CAUSE MAJOR INCREASES IN EMPLOYEE GROUP INSURANCE COSTS

Here, as in the case of pensions, it all depends on the nature of the plans involved. Unquestionably, for instance, if the company provides a flat amount of life insurance to every employee, the cost will rise somewhat as more and more older workers are hired. Generally, however, a modest number of older applicants can be brought into the group without substantially increasing such costs. Also, actual total dollar outlay by employers for group life insurance is so modest, when compared with pension costs for instance, that it is unrealistic to believe these costs should seriously militate against older applicants.

Likewise, group health insurance plans, at least where coverage does not continue after retirement, do not pose a major cost headache as long as the company does not become overloaded with older employees. In fact, where dependents are covered and maternity benefits allowed to the whole group, the per-employee cost may actually be lowered as more older employees are brought into the plan.

MYTH NO. 7: HE DOESN'T HAVE NEEDED JOB SKILLS

To the contrary, except possibly for certain unusual specialties, he is more likely to possess more skills, training, and job know-how than younger jobhunters. While 40 percent of the 160,000 jobhunters included in the 7-city study were 45 or over, this group contained 58 percent of all the skilled persons looking for work.

MYTH NO. 8: HE IS INFLEXIBLE, UNIMAGINATIVE, AND WILL HAVE TROUBLE GETTING ALONG WITH YOUNGER WORKERS

This objection to the older worker is essentially an attack on his personality—and presumably applies just as much to those on the payroll as to those who wish they were. Its validity cannot be proven, or disproven, by scientific measurement or statistics. And it is hard to imagine a generalization more susceptible to contradiction by the individual case. The practical experience of many companies indicates that this factor is seriously overrated.

Inflexible? One pretty good measure of this is the extent to which older applicants are willing to take new kinds of jobs in new industries. In the 7-city study, 57 percent of the older workers placed by State employment service offices accepted jobs in industries other than the ones to which they had previously been attached. Thirty-nine percent took jobs in occupations other than the ones in which they had previously been engaged.

Get along with others? The University of Illinois study of plus-60 employees found that, in the opinion of their supervisors, 32 percent of the oldsters got along better with their fellow employees than did younger workers. Another 59 percent got along with others just as well; while only 9 percent were comparatively less gemütlich.

More positively, older workers often possess a number of personality traits, often found lacking among less mature employees, which can pay big dividends in the office and on the production line. Many employers include stability, loyalty, reliability, will to work and work steadily, sense of responsibility, less off-the-job problems and distractions, stabilizing influence on younger workers, serious attitude toward the job, among the special "plus" characteristics found more frequently among older workers.

Such are the more common myths about older workers. There are, of course, other factors which properly should be considered in any impartial analysis of the employability of older workers. Some, if not all, of these "minus" factors can be sharply reduced or eliminated with a little imaginative planning.

Studies show, for instance, that the typical plus-40 job applicant is (1) more likely to suffer physical handicaps; (2) less likely to meet company educational requirements; (3) more likely to raise certain social insurance costs (such as unemployment insurance tax rates where, if laid off, he is likely to remain unemployed longer than a younger worker); (4) more likely to be limited insofar as performing work involving substantial physical exertion is concerned; (5) more likely to create problems vis-a-vis company policies of promotion from within; (6) more likely to have personality difficulties which manifest in the actual process of seeking work (such as being self-conscious, defensive, overaggressive, unrealistic about job demands, unrealistic about personal limitations and strengths, etc.), although these usually disappear once he is employed.

Furthermore, in many companies, hiring a more substantial proportion of older applicants creates certain internal administrative problems which must be faced squarely, and for which there are not always easy answers. If the employees affected are represented by a union it is essential that officers of that union have a basic sympathy for the idea of hiring older workers, and cooperate with management in working out mutually satisfactory solutions to problems involving compensation, the seniority sys-

tem, promotion from within, application of certain fringe benefits to older workers on a financially sound basis, and the like.

Also, certain morale problems among younger employees with longer service may crop up. The compulsory retirement plan may need reexamination. Special training of the supervisors of older new hires may be in order.

More research is needed into these and related problems by individual employers, their associations, and unions, as well as by governmental and nonprofit agencies. Some of the major frontiers for research on the older worker question are:

1. Productivity and work performance: Do older workers, collectively and in individual companies, actually do as good a job as younger workers? In all jobs? In which jobs?

2. Job design: How can jobs be redesigned to achieve maximum utilization of older workers' skills and abilities and to suffer minimum interference from their limitations. Can a practical set of criteria be developed for use in determining when, as to each employee, job transfer, job redesign, or retirement is called for?

3. Private costs: What are the actual cost differences, if any, on a company-to-company basis, respecting private insurance and pension plans? How, in practice, can these plans be accommodated to hiring more older workers?

4. Public costs: What is the actual impact of hiring more older workers on unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and related costs? Are there ways of altering these statutes to remove penalties, if any, which may accrue to the employer who hires the older applicant? Should positive incentives to hire older workers be written into these laws?

Nevertheless, on balance, and even in the absence of the new data which additional research might glean, there can be little question that it is the better part of business wisdom to give plus-40 applicants a fair shake in the employment office and a fair chance on the payroll.

Is hiring older workers a matter of business wisdom? A commonsense look at the facts shows the answer is most assuredly, yes. But perhaps even more significant than statistical persuasion about the capabilities of older workers, is the simple fact that hiring such workers is fast becoming a business necessity. About this there is no guesswork.

The total population and the working population of America is growing rapidly in two directions—larger and older. United States Bureau of Census estimates show the following startling comparisons in the percentage changes of the total adult population in various age groups:

Ages 25 to 44: 1945 to 1955, up 10 percent; 1955 to 1965, down 1½ percent.

Ages 45 to 64: 1946 to 1955, up 17 percent; 1955 to 1965, up 17 percent.

Ages over 64: 1945 to 1955, up 35 percent; 1955 to 1965, up 23½ percent.

While estimating changes in the size and nature of the labor force which are likely to occur by 1965 is a hazardous business, depending as it does on many factors which cannot be precisely measured, some educated guesses have been made recently by the United States Department of Labor. On the basis of projecting relevant current trends, and assuming a prosperous peacetime economy, our country can reasonably expect to have a total labor force of 79.2 million by 1965 (an increase of 10.3 million over 1955).

The point of fundamental significance to employers is that while the total labor force is expected to increase by 10.3 million from 1955 to 1965, only 900,000 of this increase will occur in the 25 to 44 age group. On the other hand, those 45 and over will rise by almost 5 million. That is, for every increase of 2 workers in the age group traditionally considered the most eligible for employment, there will be 11 new workers in the 45 plus age group.

Incidentally, the expected 10.3 million increase will include 5.4 million women. Among men only, it appears that a slight decrease in the 25 through 44 age category is in the offing.

Will employers need these additions to America's manpower? If our economy continues to show anything like the growth of recent years, the answer is clear. The gross national product (total value of all goods and services rendered throughout the United States) in 1955 stood at $391 billion—the equivalent of $2,370 for each our our then 165 million people. In recent years the per capita GNP has been increasing about 2.3 percent each year. If this rate of increase is to continue through 1965, and assuming the validity of expected population increases by that time, the gross national product will then have to stand at about $560 billion.

What size labor force will be needed to produce all these goods and services? This depends importantly on increases in productivity and possible shortening of hours of work per employee per year. Now in 1955, with an average of 63 million in the labor force, $391 billion gross national product was rendered—or $6,190 per worker. Over the past 25 years output per worker (calculated on this basis) has increased 2.8 percent per year. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to expect that from 1955 to 1965 the per worker output per hour will rise 28 to 30 percent. After taking into account a possible 6 percent decrease by 1965 in the average annual hours worked, the average output per worker should be about $7,500 by that time.

It would take about 74 million members of the labor force (11 million more than in 1955) producing at this average rate, to produce a desired gross national product in 1965 of $560 billion. When 2.8 million members of the Armed Forces (roughly the present level) and 2.4 million unemployed (about the same percent of the total labor force as at present) are added to the 74 million essential to produce the desirable gross national product, the total anticipated labor force of 79.2 million will be totally absorbed.

These facts about the Nation's manpower needs merely prove what every alert employer already knows: Finding enough people to fill growing job needs just isn't possible without making fuller utilization of America's older workers.

Textiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, we have been told many times that in the operation of the trade treaties the escape clause would cope with hardship conditions, but this promise has not eventuated except in a very limited way.

Under the trade agreements law with its complicated procedure required for invoking the escape clause, long hearings must be held following which the Tariff Commission must make recommendations to the President. In turn, the President must approve these recommendations. However, there are very few cases in which the President has followed the recommendations of the Commission. Moreover, whenever we avail ourselves of the escape clause, we have to offset this action by agreeing with other member countries to offer compensatory duty reductions on other selected products.

In a recent case the President listed 11 different products on which hearings were to be held to determine the ones slated for compensatory duty reductions, so-called. Our trade-agreement office seems at times almost to be straining at the leash to initiate action looking toward reductions of duty on various products. So far as I have been able to ascertain, no investigation is made to determine whether other countries have offset their reciprocal concessions to us, by various technical devices available to them, or by unilateral process such as import licenses, exchange controls, import quotas, devaluation of currency and other methods.

The President of the United States acting in these matters is bound only by the Trade Agreements Act of the United States, and cannot be vested with authority or directed to act by any international body. However, the Office of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade makes a practice of issuing notices of hearings to its members including our own country in proceedings looking toward some form of compensatory redress for nations alleged to be aggrieved by our own exercise of the escape clause.

I have had a sorry case in point on this question right in my own district and while I am most appreciative of the President's acceptance and approval of the Tariff Commission's action recommending an increase in duty for this industry, I must say that I never believed that it would entail compensatory contributions by other American industries yet that seems to be the interpretation and practice under the trade agreement laws. We are now faced with a threat to the book industry which has units in my district because certain products of that industry have been classified for possible duty reductions as a result of the increase in duty on linen toweling under the escape clause.

On this list are "unbound books of all kinds, bound books of all kinds except those bound wholly or in part in leather, sheets or printed pages of books bound wholly or in part of leather, if other than of bona fide foreign authorship." It is significant that throughout the years there has been a steady rise in imports of listed book items and the duty on such books has already been reduced from 25 to 10 percent under a trade agreement program.

I am at a complete loss to understand either the authority, the wisdom, the fairness or equity of the so-called policy of compensatory concession. So far as I can ascertain there is no authority for it in the act, and I believe that it goes far afield of anything that was intended by the Congress. It is another example of the pyramiding effects and unintended scope and method of some of our foreign programs which are presently under fire by the American people who are insistent that they be reshaped and

changed to bring some semblance of justice, equity, economy, and efficiency into these far-flung operations.

The recent statement of the able Chairman O. R. Strackbein, of the Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Import-Export Policy, is very revealing on this question, and I am inserting it as part of these remarks:

COMPENSATORY CONCESSIONS TO MEMBERS OF GATT FOR THE INCREASE IN DUTY ON LINEN TOWELING IMPOSED BY THE UNITED STATES UNDER AN ESCAPE-CLAUSE ACTION

(Statement of O. R. Strackbein, chairman, the nationwide committee of industry, agriculture, and labor on import-export policy, before the Committee for Reciprocity Information, April 17, 1957)

This is a statement in response to the notice of United States intention to negotiate concessions to compensate members of GATT for the increase in duty proclaimed by the United States in pursuance of an escape clause action before the Tariff Commission on linen toweling.

It is the purpose of this brief to challenge the proposed negotiations on the grounds that they have no standing in the laws of the United States.

The notice of hearings states that "the action to increase the duty was taken under the escape-clause provision of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade after a finding by the United States Tariff Commission that domestic industry was being seriously injured as a result of increased imports caused at least in part by a tariff concession which was initially negotiated with the United Kingdom in the agreement."

The President, who made the proclamation of an increase in duty, has never been authorized by law to act under the escape clause of the general agreement on tariffs and trade. He acts, if he acts at all, under the statutory escape clause of the Trade Agreements Act; and he did in fact so act.

Whether the notice of hearing was merely in error in ascribing the President's action to the escape clause of the general agreement on tariffs and trade is, however, immaterial. He can act only under the Trade Agreements Act of the United States. GATT cannot clothe him with any authority of any description under any existing circumstances. The President can derive no authority from a source outside the Constitution or the Congress of the United States.

Where then is the source of the authority for the presently proposed negotiations? Provision is made for such action in GATT; but GATT confers no authority on the President.

Nowhere in the Trade Agreements Act is the President authorized to reduce a duty for reasons other than those set forth in the act. The act says nothing about compensating other countries by reducing the duty on other items when a duty reduction on one item is increased. This is like drawing lots to determine who is to be shot. It is devoid of equity. It calls on innocent bystanders to be sacrificed in compensation of a previous error in judgment of the State Department representatives in granting an excessive tariff reduction. The proposed negotiations are no part of the trade agreements negotiations carried on under the provisions of the Trade Agreements Act.

That act requires a finding to be made that "existing duties or other import restrictions" are "unduly burdening and restricting the foreign trade of the United States."

The present purpose, however, is very different. It is to make a compensatory reduction in duty—not because the existing duties on the listed items are unduly burdening and restricting the foreign trade of the United States, but because we must buy the rectification of the previous error.

This would perhaps not be inequitable if those responsible for the error in judgment were called upon to foot the compensation bill. But that is, of course, not the case. Not at all. People who had nothing to do with the original trade negotiations are called upon to foot the bill.

To compensate for a duty increase on a minor item of trade, i. e., linen toweling, we find products classified under 11 tariff paragraphs listed for possible duty reductions. The sins of the United States negotiating team who reduced the duty on linen toweling from 40 percent to 10 percent in bargaining with the United Kingdom and Belgium are now to be visited upon the various domestic industries that produce the articles appearing on the list.

Among the list are "unbound books of all kinds, bound books of all kinds except those bound wholly or in part in leather, sheets or printed pages of books bound wholly or in part of leather * * * if other than of bona fide foreign authorship." This means of American authorship.

In 1952, imports of the listed book items were $267,000 plus, in 1953 they rose to $338,000 plus, in 1954 to $415,000 plus, and in 1956 to $570,000 plus.

The duty on such books has already been reduced from 25 percent to 10 percent under the trade agreements program.

Considering the doubling of imports in the past 5 years, how can a finding be made that the 10 percent rate of existing duty unduly burdens the commerce of the United States?

Apparently any such consideration is to be brushed aside.

Another question arises: Why producers of so many different products should be forced into this lineup. Will some of them simply be frisked and then let go? Will others be held without bond, so to speak, until their guilt is determined?

What are they guilty of?

Why should not the Government defray their expenses involved in preparing for these proceedings plus transportation and other expenses?

Is one answer to the high ratio of domestic products to the one foreign product (linen toweling) to be found in the limitation placed by the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955 on the extent of reductions that might be made in the duty of any one product? This limitation was 5 percent per year for 3 years. One of those years has expired and the second one is about to expire. Therefore only a 5 percent reduction would presumably be possible with respect to any one product.

Otherwise why the one-sided ratio? Imports of the listed products far exceed the imports of linen toweling.

The foregoing considerations lead to yet another question. Assuming that as a result of any compensatory tariff reduction under the proposed negotiations, another escape clause action resulted in a restoration of the duty. Would it then be in order to institute another dragnet operation to bring in another 10 or 12 presumed culprits?

The whole operation of such compensatory concessions is obviously unsound, inequitable and irresponsible. There is nothing in the Trade Agreements Act that even foreshadows such an operation; and the President could derive his authority to proceed in such negotiations from no other source.

These proceedings should therefore be stopped.

Poles Starved for Knowledge of the West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, a variety of reports have been coming out on Poland's desire to establish new contacts with the western world. Already, we see the need to help reinforce the liberties recently won by the Poles. Our extension of surplus goods and sales of machinery to Poland can help the Poles "shore up their gains."

On another front, however, the Poles are starved for knowledge of what has happened in the world in the past 20 years. History, literature, and technical progress over this period have been more or less dark spots for them.

Now that the door to "new contacts" has been opened by the Gomulka government, is not it to our self-interest to partake in furthering truth in the fields of scholarship and the arts and sciences?

I would like to point up a series of provocative articles in the Washington Post, by Delia and Ferdinand Kuhn describing the Poland of today.

In particular, the authors state the need for books in English or French and many more thousands in Polish translations. Yet, they also maintain that Polish publishers cannot obtain translation rights from American publishers.

It seems to me that if the "window of truth" is ever to open for Poland, we should take a sympathetic look at our policy of promoting increased contacts, not only through distribution of books and publications, but through exchanges of cultural and technical specialists.

I am pleased indeed that both the Ford and the Rockefeller Foundations have acted to help fill the deep needs of Polish scholarship—the hunger for more knowledge of the West.

Incidentally, there has been much concern expressed over the effectiveness of any organized charity program for Poland. What assurances would we have that charity packages really reached the people? As I have previously indicated, CARE is now concluding negotiations with Poland to distribute packets. Richard Reuter, executive director, informs me that "CARE's standing operating procedure in every country provides safeguards and controls including a signed receipt from the beneficiary. CARE packages are delivered direct to the recipient with no duty or other charges being levied against the packages."

I ask unanimous consent that the Kuhns' article be printed in the RECORD. I also append the texts of a New York Times editorial of May 28, entitled "Helping Poland's Scholars," and a Milwaukee Journal editorial of April 27, along the same lines.

I ask unanimous consent that all three of these articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 2, 1957]

AID CAN'T SAVE POLES BUT CAN SHORE UP GAINS

(By Delia and Ferdinand Kuhn)

BERLIN.—For Americans traveling around Poland today, the experience is like meeting an old acquaintance who has suffered a terrible illness and a long prison term.

He seems to be the same genial fellow with the same glint in his eye, though battered by life. But however he may try to explain what he has been through, you cannot really understand. You and he have traveled so far in different directions that the gulf cannot be bridged by shaking hands and talking frankly together.

For one thing, the Poles have not yet recovered from the shock and the wounds of war. The Russians did not let them join the Marshall Plan. So they have hung onto life without the massive blood transfusion which helped Western Europe work its way back to lusty health.

LIKE DIFFERENT CONTINENT

The best way to feel the contrast between Poland's anemia and Western Europe's energy is to fly as we did from Warsaw to Copenhagen and then on to Western Germany. We felt as if we had crossed to a different continent.

During their years of isolation in a Communist prison, the Poles have lost touch with European—and American—life and thought, to which they had given so much in generations past. Now the police terror has ended; the Poles crave new friends, new contacts with the world they used to belong to.

In view of the internal reforms since last October, should the United States give credits to the Communist government of Poland? Our answer would be yes, realizing that a loan to such a government would be a gamble rather than an investment. Dollars cannot save Poland from the realities of Soviet power. Dollars might, if honestly and wisely administered, help the Poles to hang onto the considerable liberties they have recently won.

Gomulka is seeking credits from many quarters, Communist and non-Communist alike. With each success he will be stronger in his people's eyes, and he is their best hope at the moment of keeping at least a degree of freedom.

MACHINERY, NOT FOOD

What kind of help do the Poles need? They need raw materials like cotton, and machinery to modernize their mines, mills, and farms—in short, the means to work and produce more. They do not need food; every Pole will tell you that where there are spotty shortages in cities of things like butter and meat, it is because distribution is poor and demand is rising.

Should Americans organize to send packages and other kinds of charity to Poland? Whoever sends a package should know that its contents probably will go to commission shops or to open-air markets. In this way, the recipient of a package gets a little money, the few rich Poles get luxuries—all American goods are luxuries in Poland—the middleman gets a fat profit, and the government gets a commission.

What the Poles need and cannot get are medicines and medical supplies. Every day on Warsaw's main street you can see a long queue of anxious people outside a commission shop waiting to buy or sell tiny boxes of aureomycin and other antibiotics. The Polish radio regularly broadcasts appeals for these precious drugs to save a dying child. Bulk shipments of medicines by private American foundations would crack the vicious black market which has sprung up.

STARVED FOR KNOWLEDGE

A different sort of need in present-day Poland is books dealing with what has happened in the world in the past 20 years. The Poles have been starved first by the Nazis and then by their Communist government, of the history, literature, and technical progress of this period.

They could use a few thousand books in English or French and many more thousands in Polish translations. Yet when Polish publishers write to America for translation rights, they do not get even the courtesy of a reply.

The windows are open now, with Gomulka's permission. Only now are Polish schoolchildren learning that Poles fought at Narvik, Tobruk, and Monte Cassino as well as on the Russian front—but the teachers haven't a single truthful textbook. In the fields of scholarship, entertainment, the arts and sciences, the Poles want what the West can give. The best thing America can do is to use the newly opened window into what has been a darkened room.

THREE DANGER SIGNALS

Whether this would affect political realities is another question. The Polish barometer is not easy to read, but whoever wants to discover whether storms are brewing should watch for three warning signs. The first is the reappearance of secret policy; the second is renewed persecution of the Catholic Church; the third is another drive to force the farmers into collectives.

Gomulka has just vowed that he will do none of these things. But he and his friends are only a handful among the conservatives and Stalinists on the Communist Central Committee. If he loses, the window will bang shut on Poland again and the people may react with violence to the prospect of another prison term.

[From the New York Times of May 28, 1957]

HELPING POLAND'S SCHOLARS

From Copernicus to Madame Curie the contributions of Polish scientists and scholars to the fund of world knowledge and culture have been substantial. Over the past 18 years, however, Poland's opportunity to continue to make such contributions has been hampered, first by the human losses and physical destruction of World War II, then by the breaking of old ties which Polish scholars had maintained with the West.

It is to both these problems that the Rockefeller Foundation's grant of $475,000 to Poland is addressed. Most of the money will be used to purchase equipment and materials needed by Polish universities and research institutions. The rest will finance renewed contacts between Polish scholars and their Western colleagues. If experience is any guide, these expenditures should prove well worthwhile in the years to come. Meanwhile, the Rockefeller Foundation's action, like the similar step by the Ford Foundation, gives evidence of the desire to reknit the ties of Polish-American friendship, ties which go back to the founding days of our Nation almost 200 years ago.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of April 27, 1957]

MORE CONTACTS WITH POLAND

The Ford Foundation has taken a bold new step forward in announcing a grant of $500,000 for projects related to Poland.

The Polish program is the first the foundation has made directly for an east European country. It will allow a two-way exchange between Polish and American and European teachers, students, writers, architects, and others for study and work purposes, and will provide American and European books and periodicals for leading Polish libraries, institutions, and individuals.

The west can only benefit from this sort of activity. Certainly the Poles will benefit. Developments in Poland indicate that the nation, although under a Communist government, is ready to increase its western contacts. Henry T. Heald, president of the foundation, said in announcing the new program:

"For the first time in many years, the Polish people seem to feel free to establish relationships with the west. The Polish Government has been carrying on negotiations to develop economic and other relations with the countries of Western Europe and the United States. The universities and scholars and students of Poland have given strong evidence of their desire to renew relations with the free institutions of Europe and the United States."

New barbs probably now will be aimed at the foundation for its action. Some congressional and other critics in the past have charged that it gave money to groups and institutions that furthered left wing and socialist aims. But foundation spokesmen when they presented its annual report earlier this month, said it would not be deterred by controversy. Their Polish program proves they meant it.

The foundation acknowledges that there is a certain amount of risk involved in the Polish program. Heald says the foundation recognizes that there are "many uncertainties in and around Poland," and that it has "full knowledge that reverses are possible."

But the stated reasons for going ahead comprise an excellent creed for those who believe in free government. Here it is:

"We are convinced that the western countries have nothing to fear from intellectual and scholarly contacts with individuals from the Communist dominated sphere. We are confident that philosophically and practically, the exponents of democracy and of a free society carry the future with them."

Good Government Is the Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, in our concern with the immediate problem of effecting economies in the appropriations bills, we should not overlook the long-range benefits to be gained by adopting the recommendations of the Hoover Commission. Our able colleague, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN], who was one of the sponsors of the legislation establishing the two Commissions on Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government, and who served with distinction on both Commissions, delivered an excellent address on the subject at the Third National Reorganization Conference, sponsored by the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report. Under leave to extend, I offer Good Government Is the Issue by our colleague:

GOOD GOVERNMENT IS THE ISSUE

(By the Honorable CLARENCE J. BROWN)

I want to congratulate, first of all, the Citizens Committee for the Hoover report for

the splendid work it has done throughout the last few years. You have done a grand job. You have alerted a great many people to the fact that there has been a commisison or two commissions operating in Washington to look into the affairs of government and to attempt to obtain greater economy and efficiency in the conduct of public business.

Yet, sometimes, I cannot help but wonder just how well the people have been educated by your efforts. I receive a great many letters in my office as a Member of Congress relative to the Hoover Commission reports; letters which indicate the writers do not know much about the Commission's recommendations, except that they favor them, because they think their tax money may be saved.

I even get some such letters once in a while that hurt me just a bit—letters, even from my district, which demand to know just where I stand on Hoover Commission recommendations. When I reply, I always include a form paragraph which reads something like this:

Inasmuch as I originated the idea of the two Hoover Commissions, personally wrote, sponsored, and guided through Congress the legislation which created both Hoover Commissions; served as a member of both, helped prepare and write all of the recommendations made by both, and now sit on the committee in Congress which must pass upon most of such recommendations when they come before Congress—I can assure you that I do have some little interest in the Hoover reports and the recommendations contained therein.

It is just over 10 years ago—10 years this month—that I introduced in the House of Representatives, and then later Senator Lodge introduced the same bill in the Senate, the bill which created the first Hoover Commission.

I am rather proud of the structure of that Commission and the ideas behind it. It was like nothing ever created, or which ever existed in the past. No other commission had ever been established like the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. It was a bipartisan Commission, 12 members, resembling the jury system which we value so highly in this country. Six members were from private life and six from public life. Four were selected by the Speaker of the House; four by the President of the Senate; and four by the President of the United States. So no one controlled the Commission.

That Commission, like the second one, labored hard and long in a nonpartisan way to make a series of recommendations for obtaining the greater economy and efficiency in government which we sought.

I would like to say here, if I may digress for a moment, that there was never a single division within the Commission along partisan lines, with the Democrats on one side and the Republicans on the other. Never was there a division between the civilian representatives on the one hand and those of us who were in public office on the other.

There were great differences, I think you should bear in mind, between the objectives and authorities of the two Commissions. The first Commission was authorized and directed to serve as an arm of Congress, not of the President, to chart better organization in the executive branch.

President Hoover was elected as Chairman of both Commissions by the Commissions themselves. He was not appointed by anyone. Those of us who were members of each Commission agreed unanimously that Mr. Hoover was the one man best qualified to head the Commissions, and to give to them his great prestige, wisdom, and leadership.

As I have said, we were confined, in the first Commission, to going into matters of organization only, to determine how to achieve a better organization, and a more efficient and economical organization, in the executive branch of the Government.

The second Commission was authorized not only to go into matters of organization, but also into questions of policy. There is a great difference between the two. We found out in the first Commission that it was not enough just to go into the matter of organization, but that we should also look into the factors that made an organization bad—in other words, some wrong or foolish policy that had been put into effect in the past.

To explain it another way, if the first Commission found the Government operating a barber shop somewhere, our group was limited to giving its suggestions as to how best the Government could operate a more efficient, more economical barber shop. But the second Commission had the authority to say: "You should close this barber shop; the Government ought not to be in the barbering business."

I have learned in my rather long and busy career in public life that you must always seek and know the facts. Let me say to you now, that I am not happy at all with the progress that has been made, and is being made, in effectuating the various recommendations of the Hoover Commission.

True, about 75 percent of the recommendations of the first Commission has been made effective, with savings estimated at from 2 to 3 billion dollars a year.

But the potential savings, if the recommendations of the second Commission are effectuated, are beyond the power of any of us to comprehend. The estimates—depending on the way matters are handled and how many recommendations are adopted—run anywhere from $5 billion to as high as $15 billion annually, and that is a lot of money.

We have saved 2 or 3 billion dollars a year as a result of the work of the first Commission. We are saving several hundred million annually now from effectuating the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission. Yet I wonder where the money we have saved has gone, because we are faced today with a Federal budget that is the highest in all our peacetime history. Virtually every year we have watched the cost of Government going up, notwithstanding, and regardless of, the Hoover Commission recommendations. Sometimes I become a bit frustrated, and just a little provoked—if I may use such words—with the fact that somehow or other the spenders seem to be able to get rid of the taxpayers' money faster than we can save it. There is something for all of us to think about.

Now I want to bring up to date what has been done in connection with the second Commission's recommendations. The Commission made 314 or 306 recommendations, according to the way you figure. According to the executive branch of the Government, we made some 479 recommendations, and I understand that since I obtained this information they have broken down the recommendations further to 491.

Of the 479 recommendations that were considered as dealing with the executive branch of the Government, as of last week only 189—or 39 percent—have been, and I quote, "accepted wholly or with minor modification" by the administration and the departments and agencies within the executive branch. Thus far, approximately one and a half years after the reports were issued, only 59—or 31 percent of those recommendations adopted by the agencies—have been implemented. Another 71—or 38 percent—are reported to be what they call, and I quote, "in process of implementation."

Some of us who are veterans on Capitol Hill have had a lot of experience with this process of implementation. It is a long, drawn-out, endless procedure that somehow never gets completed.

The departments and agencies have accepted, and again I quote, "partially or as to objective" the remaining 290 recommendations.

Personally, I do not believe it should take anybody over 2 minutes to accept as an objective the idea that we should have greater economy and efficiency in the conduct of public business. I cannot give much credit for that great decision, since only 11 of these recommendations have actually been put into effect—with an additional 52 reportedly "in process of implementation."

Stating it another way, the executive branch has adopted a total of 70 recommendations and is in the process of activating 123 additional recommendations in whole or in part. Assuming 100 percent completion of this endeavor, a total of 193 recommendations, representing 40 percent of the Commission's work, will have been placed in effect. Our job concerns the balance of 286 recommendations which seem to have fallen by the wayside.

Let us examine the record in more detail. If we assume for the moment that a 40-percent accomplishment is the record to date, let us see if this points to the way in which further progress may be accomplished. The greatest numerical progress has been achieved in accepting the reports on depot utilization and research and development, both of which are more than four-fifths completed. I must add, however, that both of these topics have been the subject of extensive hearings in Congress.

The paperwork recommendations fall next in line. I am told the agencies are making very comfortable progress in this field. Next we find that consideration of the food and clothing report is 73 percent completed. I need not remind you of the impetus given the acceptance of these recommendations by the famous "hamburger hearings," in which I had the great pleasure of being the chief cross-examiner. A great many faces became redder than the hamburger or the catsup involved before we finished.

Consideration of the budget and accounting report is 65 percent complete, after some very fine work by the committees of the 84th Congress. I was a member of the committee which considered the series of bills implementing the recommendations of this report. We did not get all we wanted, but we came out with a bill that at least is a good start toward forming sound budgeting and accounting practices in the Federal Government. Our hearings indicated that it will take several years to fully implement this splendid legislation.

But we at this conference are principally interested in areas where little or nothing has been accomplished. I was sorely disappointed to learn that 11 recommendations of the overseas economic operations report are still under review.

Only meager progress is reported on the findings of the task force on legal services and procedure, and the devoted work done by the water resources and power groups. Only 20 percent completion is reported on the suggestions for reducing expenditures in the field of medical services. The report on business enterprises relating to Government competition with private industry—about which we have heard so much—shows an acceptance factor of only 20 percent, not 100 percent as it should be.

Even more surprising, since it represents probably the greatest potential money saver of all, is the fact that only one-fourth of the recommendations on the business organization of the Defense Department has been put into effect. This report was compiled by a committee headed by Mr. Charles R. Hook, of Middletown, Ohio. No man has contributed more to his Government, or to the efforts of the Hoover Commission, than Mr. Hook. He is not only a great business-

man; he is a great leader and a great American.

Most of us know that a great many recommendations by the Hoover Commission can be put into effect through executive or administrative order. Others require legislative action. Some require both executive and administrative orders and legislative action.

The President, in my opinion, has endeavored and attempted in every way possible to cooperate with the Hoover Commission and to put into effect the recommendations which we have made that are subject to executive or administrative order. However—and I am speaking very frankly; for some people may not like it, but I do not particularly care—I am certain there are many within the administration who are only giving lip service to these recommendations.

These people may tell us, "Oh, yes, we are working on it; we are very interested," but they actually are attempting to submarine these recommendations because it disturbs the status quo and the way things have always been done. It remains for Congress and its various committees, and for organizations such as the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, to put what we sometimes describe in rough parlance as the "heat" on some of these agencies to see that they do what they are supposed to do.

There are many dedicated men and women in Congress who have set as their goal the introduction, sponsorship, and passage of legislation that will meet the legislative responsibility in connection with these recommendations. It is a big job. It is going to take a lot of time. But inasmuch as the second Commission deals with matters of policy, we have found that when you get into the field of policy, you also enter the field of controversy.

I think we should consistently bear in mind that there is nothing sacred or sacrosanct about the recommendations of the Hoover Commission. If the Congress or the President or the head of any executive agency can come up with some idea, some plan or program, that will better accomplish the desires and objectives of the Hoover Commission, and do a better job than the Commission's recommendations, in obtaining greater economy and efficiency in the Government, then we can only say, "God bless you."

Those of us who served on the Commission for 4 long years—as I did—and others who served for only 2 years, realize that all of the wisdom in the world was not incorporated in our particular group. After all, what we tried to do was set goals which we should strive to reach as a self-governing people.

If there are better ways, or shorter ways, to reach these goals let us hear of them. Otherwise let us get behind these recommendations of the Hoover Commission and, to the best of our ability, see to it that the Congress and the departments and agencies of the executive branch put them into effect.

The Opinions of Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an interesting compilation of opinions gathered from college students' essays on What's Wrong With Democracy, prepared by Mr. John Norman, professor of history and government at Fairfield University in Fairfield, Conn.

Like myself, I am sure that my colleagues in the Congress will find many of the expressed opinions tempered with impetuosity, idealism, and here and there we may recognize slogans and clichés which I am sure we all have come across at one time or another in our lives in public service.

The chief value in the compilation, a cross-section of thinking of young men and women possessed of various points of view, lies in the fact that it is discernible that the young people have strong feelings on what, in their opinions, are the weak points in our democratic form of government. Also discernible is the effectiveness on the minds of youngsters of oft-repeated political clichés such as one-party press, and so forth, which have in some instances been accepted as gospel.

Following is a letter from Mr. Norman and Mr. Norman's article:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MORANO: Over the past 4 years of my stay at Fairfield University, I assigned to my various political science classes, among other things, the listing of undemocratic or inefficient features of United States Government and politics and what alert citizens could or should do about them. The attached brief résumé by me is the result of my informal survey. Since the students represent a cross section of opinion, it is, of course, not to be supposed that any of them agreed with all the items in the attached list. Indeed, though I think highly of the list, I am not in accord with all the defects presented, and I doubt very much that you are.

Many of the students whose ideas are here listed were addressed kindly and eloquently by you about 2 years ago in my United States Government classroom. These and other students would be proud, as in fact I would be, to see their list embodied in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, where they would probably do more good than on a campus. I hope this additional presumption on your kindness will not inconvenience you too much. Thank you.

Most sincerely,

JOHN NORMAN.

WE NEED MORE DEMOCRACY

(By John Norman, professor of history and government, Fairfield University)

President Eisenhower's recent request that Congress grant him the item veto should indeed be favorably considered, but it will not be. Such a reform would provide, in the President's words, "one simple way to save a lot of money," for then he could veto any objectionable item in an appropriation bill without rejecting the bill in toto. Many governors enjoy this power.

This is one of the many reforms advocated by Fairfield University students in political science. Asked over a period of 4 years to list those features of United States Government and politics at the Federal, State, and local levels which should be reformed or abolished in order to promote more effective democracy, the Fairfield students presented many lengthy lists. It must be emphasized at the outset that they are all justly proud of our American government—faults and all, and that they are not necessarily agreed on every suggestion advanced by their colleagues. Nor are they confident that all these faults can be rectified simply by legislation or amendment. Long range reeducation in the democratic spirit is frequently indicated. The following list of shortcomings is composite and incomplete owing to limitations of space.

FEDERAL

1. At present it is unlikely that any Catholic, Jew, or Negro could become President.
2. The electoral college system is considered palpably unfair and undemocratic since a minority of popular votes together with a majority of electoral votes could make a man President.
3. Both the primary and convention methods of nominationg a Presidential candidate are faulty, because the clumsy and circus-like conventions ignore the choices made by primaries.
4. The President is overworked. He should be divested of his role as party leader and relieved of his many functions as chief of state, so that he could devote more time to his duties as chief of government.
5. The 22d amendment curtails the people's right to reelect a President for a third term.
6. Vice Presidential nominations are all too often made without sufficient care.
7. Undue centralization of government in Washington.
8. Bureaucratic inefficiency, redtape, duplication, and waste.
9. Abuse of patronage.
10. Abuses in our loyalty-security system.
11. Inadequate Presidential and congressional check on the nonelected Supreme Court to match the latter's check on the President and Congress.
12. The process of amending the Constitution is considered too cumbersome.
13. The House of Representatives is much too large in membership for efficient operation.
14. Congressional operation of the District of Columbia. Congress has too many national and global problems before it to be acting as a city council.
15. Abuse of congressional investigation.
16. Abuse of congressional immunity.
17. Congressional pennypinching with reference to Ambassadors to the various great capitals abroad.
18. Filibustering.
19. "Pork barrel" politics and logrolling.
20. Promotion to chairmanships of congressional committees on the basis of seniority instead of ability.
21. Parts of the Taft-Hartley Act are unfair to labor.
22. Unfair immigration law, which practices racial discrimination.
23. Unfair treatment of Indians.
24. Unfair riders on bills.
25. Unfair tariff laws.
26. Inequitable tax laws; for example, depletion allowances.
27. Lack of sufficient party discipline.
28. Abuses in lobbying activities.
29. Abuses in activities of pressure groups.
30. The "one-party press."

State

31. The "one-party South."
32. Continued segregation despite Supreme Court decision against it.
33. Poll tax.
34. Inadequate absentee ballot.
35. Not enough people vote. (Yet most Fairfield students oppose compulsory voting laws or giving votes to 18-year-olds.)
36. Failure to redistrict after a census.
37. Gerrymandering.
38. Overrepresentation of rural areas in the legislatures (and in Congress) as against the inadequately represented urban centers with large populations.
39. State constitutions too long and involved, and full of material that should properly be in statutes.
40. Unreasonably long ballot with too many candidates for anyone to keep up with intelligently.

41. Out-of-date and inefficient bicameral legislatures in contrast to the only unicameral legislature of Nebraska which has been highly satisfactory.

42. Governors' powers are too narrowly limited.

43. Popular election of judges tends to make them too politically conscious. Most students favor executive appointments as having produced the best results.

44. The "law's delay" because of our out-of-date and inefficient State and local court systems.

LOCAL

45. Out-of-date jury system. (Some suggest professional jurors versed in law, sociology, and psychology.)

46. Third degree police methods.

47. Wiretapping.

48. Out-of-date and inefficient county government duplicating much of the work of municipalities.

49. Bossism and machine politics.

50. Lack of sufficient home rule for our municipalities.

Most of the students are agreed that, if by some miracle all the foregoing shortcomings could be corrected at one stroke, it would avail us little unless we were always keenly vigilant of our common rights and genuinely motivated by democratic ideals. Mechanical readjustments alone would not suffice.

Constitutional Integrity and Foreign Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I have had occasion in the past to express my protests and state of alarm concerning the impact of our reciprocal trade treaties policies and practices. I am fearful that the dire predictions I have made in the past concerning the distressing results that would ensue from opening the floodgates of foreign competition have been realized in our economy to an even greater extent than I had feared.

The textile industry, badgered and plagued by foreign imports over a period of years, has suffered major losses with numerous textile units liquidated and very many others brought into a state of depression. The new plastic and electronic industries are now facing similar conditions because of imports, and many other industries are gravely threatened.

And yet the end of these disastrous developments does not seem to be in sight. Instead of reversing the harmful practices that have produced these economically and socially destructive conditions, this Government has stepped up the tempo, so to speak, and we have proceeded further down the road of free trade under the guise of abortive "internationalism, giveaway, and do-gooder" policies that in the last analysis do not result in much good for anyone concerned, but visit great harm and danger upon American industries as well as upon the economies of some other nations.

In this process facts have been distorted, the evidence has been twisted, speeches and arguments predicated on so-called commendable humanitarian motives have dominated the scene and have succeeded in blinding the eyes of a great many people to the great danger that is being done to our American economy. It is time for us to pause and ask ourselves whether the American Congress, acting under its historic constitutional mandate, or international agencies in which we are badly outvoted, will dominate policymaking for American trade relations and tariffs. I do not want to belabor this point because it has been very broadly discussed in this body by able Members of Congress, but we should never lose sight of the fact that under the Constitution, it is not only our right, but our duty, at all times to retain control of tariffs and imports, and we should never under any circumstances allocate this vital function which, depending upon the way it is exercised, could mean life or death for American industries, to be transferred to any international agency.

Every strategem has been used to throw dust in the eyes of the American people regarding trade and tariff policies, and to try to make them believe that, short of being harmful, present policies are beneficial, when the actual facts clearly indicate that the contrary is the case. We are asked not only to permit foreign agencies, in effect, to make our tariff laws, but also to allow foreign nations to pay for American exports by deluging this country with a flood of foreign imports manufactured and produced abroad at only a fraction of the domestic cost of similar competitive items.

Efforts have been made to amend certain of these internationalistic proposed controls to make them look innocuous and harmless and hence a more palatable dose, but nothing that is done can possibly conceal two facts: first, that these proposals look to placing American tariffs under international control, and, secondly, that the application of present trade policies is resulting in stagnation and threatening ruin to many American industries.

If these policies are continued this stagnation and ruin will spread and grow until it will encompass virtually every segment and every industry in the Nation. We should never forget that American methods of mass production, technology, machinery, and know-how have been, like American money, deliberately migrated to almost every nation in the world. But that is not all. In addition to technical advice and assistance, machinery, scientific methods, and know-how, we have also put up the money under our foreign-aid program by which foreign nations can build factories, powerplants, develop raw materials, and do other things necessary to set themselves up in competitive business with our own country and in increasingly wider, broader fields of activity. If present trends continue, this movement is bound to have fresh and steadily encroaching, damaging effects upon the whole American economy and its component parts, and subsequently upon the employment and well-being of millions of Americans.

It is undeniably true that this Nation must and should encourage world trade. This is in accordance with our historic practice which we have followed for many years. We realize that there are mutual advantages in this trade and that in this era particularly it is designed to strengthen the free world. The trouble with present programs is that they seek to go beyond the mere encouragement of trade and the mere exchange of goods and dealings on the basis of mutual advantage. Present programs, by affirmative provisions and methods, put all or most of the advantages in the hands of foreign nations. Thus, what is supposedly world trade is tending to become a one-way street. Foreign nations financially supported by our money enjoy marked trade expansion and great prosperity at the expense of the American businessman and workers.

It is time for the American Government to recognize that it exists to promote the welfare of the American people and not the welfare of other peoples. Our own Government exists under free institutions to support and defend the United States and to strengthen its way of life and to advance and improve the welfare of the people and that must continue to be the primary aim of this Government.

It is certainly not a crime, but rather a duty, to protect American interests first. When that has been accomplished, it may then be appropriate to render such help to other nations and peoples that we reasonably can, not only with humanitarian motives which are so compelling to all Americans, but also in our own plain interest to unify and strengthen the free world. But in these efforts we should never pursue policies that will result in weakening our own country. Yet that is what it seems we are doing when we allow foreign competition ruthlessly to assail one American industry after another.

No number of boards and commissions, hand picked usually to reflect extreme international views, is qualified to cope with these questions. It is only through study and action by the American Congress and its committees that appropriate solutions can be found and a proper balance struck between legitimate world trade, and imprudent, profligate, giveaway programs that threaten our very existence. We must remember too, that the American Executive, under our Government, exists to execute the laws, and not to make them. The regulation of foreign commerce and the imposition of tariff duties are duties which the Constitution specifically and definitely imposes upon the Congress, and these are duties which this Congress must discharge fearlessly and courageously and without being dragooned and wheedled by international propagandists and extreme internationalists into abdicating powers and duties which repose solely in the Congress.

It is our province and our obligation to listen to the voice of the American people, and not to the voices of foreign propagandists. We must listen to the men and women who till our soil, who produce and develop our natural re-

sources to sustain the Nation, the workers in our factories and our shops and their families, our professional people, white-collar workers and small-business men, the managers of our great industries, and all those whose livelihood and future destiny is so gravely threatened by foreign competition.

We should ponder well before we authorize any international body in any respect to control our commerce and our tariffs, and we should recognize that we can never permit that result. Foreign control of American constitutional functions is a gross breach of our Constitution and our traditions.

I realize that there are those who say no legislation is necessary to transfer these vast powers over our trade and commerce and imports and tariff to international agencies. I am not in accord with that view, because I do not think it reflects either the law or the facts of our present situation. It certainly does not accord with the public interest of this Nation, and to my mind there is no way by which these organic proposals could possibly be amended which would make them acceptable to the people or compatible with our constitutional provisions.

In a word, we have come too far along the road of allowing foreign nations to determine American policy regarding these matters. It is time, not for extension of these policies, it is a time for further restriction. It is time to revise these policies and the best thing that could possibly happen in the interests of the American economy and the American working man and woman would be if the Congress would reestablish its full power over foreign trade and provide for panels of scientists, educators, businessmen, commerce, trade, and monetary experts, and other highly qualified men and women who know their business to join with the Tariff Commission in regulating tariffs where necessary.

If this step were taken, it would put the Nation back on the original track of its historic policy. It would in the first instance protect our farmers, our workers, our businessmen, and our people. In the second place, it would result in fair treatment of foreign nations and in development of a sound policy whereby free, economic intercourse would be encouraged and a free flow of international trade assured, on a basis that would not be harmful to this country, or to any other country, but that would move in the direction of developing truly, mutually advantageous trade and commercial relations between our Nation and other nations of the world.

I realize we will always have Pollyannas in our midst who can see nothing ahead for future generations but milk and honey, and doubtless we have human ostriches who in the presence of danger and their enemies will hide their heads in the sand. But Members of this body are elected by the people. They are under a direct mandate to protect the Nation and to provide those policies in Government which will develop the economic and social well-being of the Nation. There is no place within the confines of this great land where there are so many able, experienced, patriotic men gathered trying to serve the Nation as in this body. We well know the problems of the moment, and I think most of us full well realize the ominous problems of the future. It may be, in fact, later than people think, but, in any event, it is not a time for glossing over these great problems. We must face them and we must face them soon and realistically, if we desire to carry on our great constitutional mandate and make sure that we have done our best, not only to protect the Nation against its enemies, but to insure the future well-being and development of its economy, its prosperity, and the happiness, safety, and security of its people.

Employment of the Handicapped Is a Community Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an essay entitled "Employment of the Handicapped, a Community Responsibility" by Mr. Bill Manasco, of the Carbon Hill High School, Carbon Hill, Ala. The essay won first place in Walker County, Ala., in a contest sponsored by the Governor's Committee on Physically Handicapped.

Mr. Manasco is one of Alabama's outstanding high-school graduates of 1957. He has made an excellent record at Carbon Hill High School and plans to enter college this year. I predict a bright future for him.

I commend to my colleagues this fine essay which points out the responsibility of a community to its handicapped citizens.

EMPLOYMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED, A COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

Employment of the handicapped is a community responsibility because an unemployed person is a waste to the public. A handicapped person can be a self-supporting person if trained in a job he or she can do. For example a man who has lost a leg or an arm or both legs or arms can be trained to repair shoes, inspect clothing in factories, repair watches or many other things that do not require a person to move around too much or stand up long at a time.

Many times a person that is handicapped can do a better job than a person who is not handicapped. For instance a person who is handicapped takes more pride in his work and is more careful on the job than a person who is normal. A handicapped person does not have as many accidents on the job and does not miss as many days out of the year as a normal person. A handicapped person is not likely to be late getting to work as much as a nonhandicapped person.

The handicapped have a right to a normal life. Many handicapped persons are born handicapped, but many have received injuries while fighting for you and me in the wars that we have had in the past. These people should be allowed to work or should be trained for jobs. We all owe the handicapped a chance, for they know that no one would want to trade places with any handicapped person.

There are about 7 million people in this country that are handicapped. With such a large number of handicapped persons in this country we will have to make provisions for the training which will assure them of a chance to support themselves, and by so doing relieve the Government of enormous sums of money now used for their relief. This in-service-training is being done by certain companies and factories that will hire the handicapped and train them for the job. Some companies hire only the handicapped because the product they produce can be made as well or better by a handicapped person.

The State and the Federal Governments are helping the handicapped also, by setting up rehabilitation centers where the handicapped are skilled for a job that they can do best. The Government is also training people to work in the rehabilitation centers. There has been a shortage of workers in the last few years and the Government requires a person to be trained in that work before he can begin to help the handicapped.

Most of the handicapped had much rather earn their own living than have it given to them. The country needs every one it can get to work, for at anytime we may be in another world war. We need people that are trained well and know their job, and can do that job well. Many times the handicapped are the answer to this need. Many handicapped people worked during the last war to help their country, and proved that the handicapped can turn out a creditable job.

The handicapped person must feel needed in order to have the inspiration to push forward against odds. These people in many cases can recover and resume their normal lives, but without the help of many people and the understanding of a trained person many times this handicapped person will never recover completely. A handicapped person that was not born in that condition is different from one that was born in that condition. He or she feels that they are of no use to the world and there is no use for them to try to get well or try to get a job. If the people can be convinced that they are needed by their friends and their country they will surely make a much better person on the job that they take up.

The people who were born handicapped need help also. A person that was born, for instance, deaf needs help to carry on a normal life. This person will never be able to hear, but he can be taught to read and write and to read sign language. This person can also be trained to work at a job where people that can hear couldn't work at long periods of time. It may be that the noise is too great on this job for a normal person to work. So you can see that in many cases a handicapped person can be well adjusted to do work that other people could not do satisfactorily.

Employment of the handicapped is for the good of the community, for everyone knows if a person cannot support himself someone will have to support him. If his own people do not support him, then the State and the Federal Government will have to do it.

This means an increase in our taxation system, as each person will receive money from some Government agency, dedicated to help the needy. The money that is spent on the handicapped people could be used to improve schools, roads, and take care of other important needs of our country.

Employment of the handicapped is a community responsibility. We must shoulder that responsibility. We must help make them self-sustaining, by mutual friendship and understanding. We must accept them as they are and not look upon them as

freaks of nature. They are human beings and as such are our most valuable resource. Let us all then help conserve them, respect them and find a place for them in our society.

The Wise Use of Federal Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT HALE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH:

THE WISE USE OF FEDERAL MONEY

(By Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH, United States Senator from Maine, senior Republican, Senate Subcommittee on Reorganization)

I am, indeed, pleased to have this opportunity to speak to this distinguished audience upon a subject of such vital importance to each of us: The Wise Use of Federal Money.

In my opinion, no problem of greater significance faces us today than that of restoring this Nation to the sound financial foundations upon which its strength, its integrity, and its greatness have been forged—and which have made it the mightiest Republic upon the face of the earth.

For, surely, it is obvious that we cannot hope to keep our economy strong, maintain the posture of military strength that we must, and move forward into what we fervently hope will be the Atomic Age of Peace, except upon a foundation of national solvency.

Today, many events, many forces, imperil our economic stability and our national security. World War II, the seething caldrons of Hungary, the Middle East, and Asia, the ever-present threat of another, perhaps final, global war, make it imperative that we maintain our military might at the hilt, with resultant imbalances in our own domestic economy and fantastic expenditures which threaten inflationary disaster.

As you are aware, the President on January 16, last, presented the Congress with a $71.8 billion budget for fiscal 1958—the largest peacetime budget in history. It is the fifth largest in the history of this Nation—only 3, in 1943, 1944, and 1945, the peak years of World War II, and 1, in fiscal 1953, after Korea, have been higher.

And, as each of us knows, the national debt, although reduced slightly in recent years, still amounted to a staggering $272.8 billion last July 1; with the grave danger, despite high Government receipts in 1953, that, if some curb is not placed upon expenditures, we could witness additional increases in the future.

Interest on the national debt, I might remind you, even with reductions in the amount of the debt, it is estimated will reach the alltime high-water mark of $7.3 billion for fiscal 1958—because of higher interest charges in the current "tight money" market.

To me it is almost a frightening comparison that the Federal Government today pays more in interest on its national debt than it paid for all governmental expenditures in fiscal 1938—just 19 years ago.

In addition to our fantastic budget—in addition to our "Frankenstein" of a national debt—the Federal Government has more than $450 billion in loans, commitments, obligations and guarantees outstanding—commitments which this Government must some day meet—debts which future generations some day must pay.

These are some of the forces which threaten our financial solvency—forces which, if not controlled, could set a torch to inflation, which, like a prairie fire sweeping across the plains, could wreck the financial stability of this Government—and this Nation.

In relation to this, it is a harrowing thought to consider that the Government today has outstanding in unexpended appropriation balances the tremendous sum of $74 billion hanging over the head of the Secretary of the Treasury like a dark ominous cloud—more in unexpended balances than the total Government budget for fiscal 1958.

I ask you, how can we have any semblance of sound financial policy when the Government has more money outstanding in unexpended appropriations, some dating back as many as 5 years, than it takes in either annually in tax receipts or appropriates annually for its operations.

How could any business firm or corporation operate in the black in such a Wizard-of-Oz atmosphere?

I think our commendations should go to those officials of the Government who have held Federal spending down, who have held the line against inflation and who have balanced the budget. I refer, among others, to the Honorable George H. Humphrey, the Secretary of the Treasury, who has steadfastly combatted tremendous pressures for more Government spending—the near ruinous policies of the 20 years between 1932 and 1952 which largely are responsible for the dangerous predicament we find ourselves in today.

Parenthetically, I would inform you that on the morning of January 17, 1957, immediately after reading in the papers that Secretary Humphrey had stated that there are a lot of places in this budget that can be cut I wrote him a letter stating that as a member of the Appropriations Committee charged with the responsibility of passing on the budget spending requests, and as one who has been rated by the Council of State Chambers of Commerce as being champion of economy in the Senate, that I would greatly appreciate such information and identification as to those places in the President's budget he felt could be cut. I could have stated that I am equally interested in this in my capacity on the Government Operations Committee, as ranking Republican and former chairman of the Reorganization Subcommittee and as a sponsor of legislation I shall mention later in my remarks.

I sincerely believe that Secretary Humphrey has a solemn obligation and responsibility to the American people and to Congress to specify where he feels the budget can be cut. It is not enough to say that the budget can be cut in several places. Such a public statement carries with it the serious obligation to specify those places instead of placing Congress in the position of guessing as to what those places are.

At this point in my remarks I must digress somewhat from the original text of my speech in the advance release that I made of it last Tuesday. The digression is caused by the fact that on February 1, 2 days after giving the advance release, I received a reply from Secretary Humphrey to my letter. I now read that letter to you:

"MY DEAR SENATOR SMITH: Thanks for your letter regarding my comments on the budget. As I have said publicly several times, as well as to the full House Appropriations Committee, I felt that the budget as presented was the best that we could do at that particular time, and I could point to no specific items which should be eliminated. I do believe, however, that in the next 18 months, before spending under this budget is ended, we should be able on a day-to-day, case-by-case basis to find savings that can be made without hurting our security or necessary services. To do this effectively will require the most earnest cooperation of the public, the Congress, and all the departments and agencies of the Government in searching out not only things which are no longer needed, but make sure that the things we have to do are done in the most efficient manner.

"The President in his state of the Union message asked that everyone in the executive branch continue to search out ways to save money and urged the cooperation of the Congress as well. The President has also expressed publicly the firm belief that if the Congress can find ways to cut spending without impairing security and services that it would be the duty of the Congress to do so.

"If we can achieve more effective control of our spending we will have brought about a desirable restraint on inflationary pressures which can open the way to lower taxes, greater incentive, and the making of more and better jobs for the long-run well-being of our Nation.

"Sincerely,

"G. M. HUMPHREY"

I note with interest that Secretary Humphrey replies that he "could point to no specific items which should be eliminated." Apparently the press statement attributed to him that "there are a lot of places in this budget that can be cut" was in error and he was misquoted. I gather from his reply that he feels the President's budget is fat free.

At this point, I depart from my text since I have received reports that some members of the press are unhappy about this next to last sentence of mine. I made the observation that in view of Secretary Humphrey's letter to me, apparently—and I stress the word "apparently"—he has been misquoted and the press report I read was in error. Representatives of the press complain about this saying that they have the verbatim transcript of the Secretary's press conference to prove otherwise.

If there is any difference on this it is between the press and the Secretary. However, I have never been shown or given the transcript of the press conference and all the proof in this matter that I have is the signed letter of Secretary Humphrey—and my conclusion is based upon the Humphrey letter.

I say here, with all respect to those in high position in the Nation's financial councils, that balancing the budget by taking more money from the people in taxes as their personal income rises or by taking more money from corporate industry as business actively expands is not the way to national solvency—as good as it might look in the newspaper headlines. Balancing the budget by reducing governmental expenditures is.

Time does not permit, nor am I a seer who can prophesy all the steps that must be taken by responsible authorities to bring to halt this trend toward increasing expenditures, toward financial irresponsibility, and, eventually, toward insolvency, but I do wish to mention what I consider to be one of the most significant developments toward financial responsibility of the last decade.

I refer to the Hoover Commission's recommendation to the Congress that appropriations be determined on an annual accrued expenditure basis—recommendation No. 7 in its budgeting and accounting report.

The Senate last June 20 acted favorably upon the Hoover Commission's recommendation when it approved Senate bill 3897, which incorporated all the Commission's recommendations on budgeting and accounting.

However, as you may recall, the all-important section relating to preparing appropriation estimates on an expenditures basis was stricken in conference between the two Houses of the Congress when it became obvious because of the objections of the House of Representatives that we could not get a

bill through the Congress implementing the other Hoover Commission recommendations, with the aforementioned appropriations provision in it.

As I stated on the Senate floor when the conference report was filed on July 25, 1956, deletion of the Hoover Commission's highly recommended revision of our appropriations procedures struck at the very heart of the objective we seek: Namely (1) improving financial management within the executive branch, and (2) restoring control of the public purse to the Congress.

A few days after that, and again on January 7, last, in the first days of the present 85th Congress, I introduced legislation to write the Hoover Commission's recommendation into law. I was joined this year in the introduction of this measure by Senator FREDERICK G. PAYNE, of Maine, and Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, on Senate bill 316.

I am confident you will agree that there is no more important legislation pending before the Congress than that which would provide for strengthening the financial foundation upon which this Government rests. The amount of money that the Federal Government spends is controlled when it is appropriated by the Congress—not when it is expended by the executive agencies, although improved fiscal management within the agencies can produce economies in operation which should have sizable sums.

The bill I have introduced would place the entire governmental financial structure on an annual accrued expenditures basis. In other words, the Congress would appropriate for each fiscal year upon the budget estimates of Government expenditures actually to be made or to be accrued during that fiscal year.

The executive agencies would present their estimates for the forthcoming fiscal year, their expenditures for the preceding fiscal year and their justification for new appropriations on the basis of the current fiscal year only—not on the confused, complicated "obligation" system presently in effect which frequently covers 3 or 4 fiscal years, thereby completely clouding any intelligent grasp of the current state of our finances.

To obtain firm command of Government finances there must be a direct correlation between tax receipts and expenditures for each fiscal year—because the annual budget surplus or budget deficit is measured by the difference between the two—and not the difference between appropriations and expenditures, as many people believe.

By establishing this direct correlation between annual appropriations and annual expenditures as the Hoover Commission wisely recommended, we vest not only in the Congress, but in the President as well, much greater opportunity to control the level of Government operations during the budget year on the basis of actual conditions existing that year.

Moreover, this would eventually mean the elimination of the vast carryover balances to which I have previously referred now available for expenditure some time in the distant future at the discretion of the executive agencies, with little or no control over their spending by the Congress, which is responsible in the final analysis to the people for the use of their money.

I conclude, therefore, with this thought upon the subject assigned to me, The Wise Use of Federal Money—I say without hesitation that I can think of no more important legislation to bring about the wise use of Federal money than the implementation of the Hoover Commission's recommendaton toward that goal.

In concluding, I would be remiss were I not to pay tribute to President Hoover for his leadership of the two Reorganization Commissions which bear his name.

The former President not only made a great contribution in heading up these two crusades for better government, but he did something else. He practiced what he preached.

At the expiration of both the Commissions he headed he returned to the Treasury of the United States a surplus. In other words, he took the apppropriation the Congress gave him, did the job Congress asked him to, and then had something left over. A rarity, indeed, in bureaucratic Washington, where the emphasis seems to be to spend, not save.

I am glad to say that I can join President Hoover's exclusive company. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Reorganization of the Senate Committee on Government Operations in the 83d Congress, I, too, returned to the Treasury a surplus, using less money than the Congress appropriated to get the job done.

So, my friends, I, too, practice what I preach.

Thank you.

Address Delivered by H. Stewart Potter, of Arlington, Va., at the Memorial Day Exercises at Hershey, Pa., Thursday, May 30, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER M. MUMMA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

Commander Chubb, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply honored and privileged to be invited here as your speaker on this occasion. My memory takes me back to the year 1917—40 years ago—when I was elected as county president of the Patriotic Order Sons of America in convention in your town. I am proud to still hold membership in that great patriotic organization. Two years ago I was the Memorial Day speaker in Hummelstown.

I am a native Pennsylvanian, having been born at Newport, Perry County. Mrs. Potter and I have been residents of the State of Virginia since 1920, but still retain our legal voting residence in Halifax, this county.

On this Memorial Day we join with millions of our fellow Americans in reverent remembrance of our honored dead. This day of memory has become throughout the years more than a patriotic occasion. Rather it has become a spiritual celebration, a time for quiet contemplation and dedication to the divine political principles our forefathers proclaimed nearly 2 centuries ago and for which more than 1 million of our fighting sons and daughters have sacrificed their lives upon the altar of their country's need.

Let us never forget the mighty acts of unselfish devotion and willing sacrifice by these American patriots of yesteryear. These were men imbued and ennobled by a sublime cause—the protection and preservation of Americanism—of the American way of life.

What is Americanism?

Americanism is the sum total of nearly 200 years of struggle by the American people to effectively promote, practice, protect, preserve, and perpetuate these fundamental and divine principles of liberty, equality, and justice to the end that no American need ever know fear of any man, nor envy of any man, but shall instead enjoy peace and righteousness under God.

We Americans can be justly proud of our mighty achievements.

For nearly 200 years we have maintained a representative form of government based upon the divine rights of man.

We have created and preserved a capitalistic, economic system which has been fostered and perpetuated by the fundamental principle of the greatest good for the greatest number.

We have carved out of an unfriendly wilderness the most palatial national abode, with the highest standard of living ever dreamed of or enjoyed by any people in history.

We have proved that men of goodwill, regardless of their race, religion, or national origin can live together in peace and prosperity.

We have provided a social climate that offers unlimited opportunity for success and wealth to the fit and protection and security to the unfit.

We have fought seven bloody wars, not for territorial acquisition or aggrandizement, but for the noble ideals of freedom and world peace. And we have done something more. When the guns were silenced, we sacrificed our substance to succor and rehabilitate our vanquished foe.

We have declared, as our national policy, the inalienable right of all men to be free and self-governing, and furthermore have practiced what we preached by granting independence to the people of our former possessions.

We are a Christian Nation. America was conceived and created by godly men. Our jurisprudence is out of the Old Testament. On the coin of the Republic we boldly declared "In God We Trust." America has achieved her greatness, not primarily because of her natural wealth—many others have such physical resources—but because the foundation of our form of government and the way of life is firmly embedded in the rugged rock of our Christian spiritual heritage.

For too many years past there has been a determined effort on the part of the so-called intelligentsia—and in more recent years, the disciples of dialectical materialism—to decry and condemn the teaching of orthodox history, which instills love of country and patriotism in the youth of our Nation.

The debunkers of our national heroes have told us that it is passé and that we are immature to eulogize our great men; that we are provincial and nationalistic when we revere our flag; that we are foolish and infantile to be willing to fight and even die in defense of our native land.

Yet it has been our heritage of heroes and their glorious example of unselfish devotion to God and country that has inspired many a boy born in humble circumstances to achieve greatness.

Memorial Day is not a tribute to war. It is a day of memory to our heroic dead who gave their last full measure of devotion that liberty, justice, and human rights might be protected and preserved for all posterity in a world of peace and brotherhood.

Today is one of the most significant days of the year. It is Memorial Day. We have gathered here to pay tribute to our honored dead who have made the supreme sacrifice that this Republic may live, and to honor those still among us who have borne the strife of battle for the glory of our country. By appropriate ceremonies which are being held in almost every community of this great free land, we commemorate the valor and the sacrifice of the veterans of all of our wars, from the Revolution to the conflict in Korea.

The formal observance of Memorial Day, or Decoration Day, as it was popularly called for many years, dates back to 1868. The graves of the soldiers killed in the Civil War were decorated with flowers before that year. It was the women of those war years who initiated this expression of sentiment. The

date of May 30 was no doubt selected because nature is so full of life at this season of the year.

We in America are still looked to as the world's best hope for freedom. Our own history of freedom, dating from our war of independence, has earned us a reputation of dedication to liberty wherever men of good faith assemble. Our ready granting of citizenship to all who come to our shores for most of our history gave proof that we are respectful of free people everywhere. Our traditions of anticolonialism are recognized throughout the world.

It is America, indeed, who must provide the hope and inspiration to all people who are, for the moment, under the heel of tyranny.

We must certainly keep ourselves strong to combat the threats of Communist imperialism. If we do not see to the defense of freedom where it still reigns, the people who have temporarily been deprived of theirs will have no hope.

We must recognize that economic stability and self-assurance is necessary to preserve national self-respect and international balance—that peace is inspired by international hope and contentment.

It is a well-known trait of human character that all of us want to be remembered. However, primitive or advanced may be the man and of whatever race or color, we all have the same universal longing to be remembered. So today, we remember yesterday and remember their glory forever—all war heroes who have made contributions to keep this country free. Inspired by their example of sacrifice and patriotism, we pray in words and deeds "God Save America." God bless America, that has been made safe for us since the beginning of glorious America. Let us rededicate ourselves anew to keep faith with the brave men who have gone before, and pledge ourselves to keep America strong, four-square with the winds that blow, and faithful to all, while we do our best to make it better. Will you join in honoring all great heroes? May the memories that rise before us in this solemn hour banish indifference and lethargy from our souls, and let us go forth in the spirit of our soldier dead to finish the task they have left for us to do.

At this season of the year, we commemorate the valiant deeds of our fallen heroes by placing American flags above their graves, by heaping floral tributes on their last resting places, by Memorial Day parades, by statements and speeches apropos to this occasion, and by religious services and affairs such as these in which we are participating. How feeble our attempts to do them honor when what they did and what they have accomplished speaks far more eloquently than anything in which may be said on this Memorial Day in the year 1957.

Not only is this a day of doing honor and paying tribute; not only is this a day when we recall with ever-deepening pride the many valorous acts performed by so many patriotic Americans on the battlefields throughout the world. Actually this is a day of dedication. We dedicate our minds, our hearts, and our lives to the cause for which so much has been sacrificed.

Americans everywhere around the world gather reverently, as we do here at Hershey, today, to honor the Nation's dead. Their dust remains an inspiration to their countrymen.

Because of their sacrifice, on the Capitol Building at Washington—kissed by the sun of day and watched by the stars at night—waves the unconquered flag of your country and mine.

The struggle for freedom never ends. It was purchased with blood. It must be preserved by devotion. So Memorial Day is a day of honor, a day of remembrance, a day of reckoning, a day of accounting, and above all, a day of high resolve. We resolve anew today "that these dead shall not have died in vain" and with the help of God, who has never forsaken this favored land, we shall maintain our high resolve through future generations.

If the time should ever come when we no longer remember what brave men and women, living and dead, have done for us, in that day our Republic will no longer deserve preservation.

Our observance of Memorial Day is now a tradition of American life. It is right that this should be so. For today we honor the dead—men and women who died that you and I might live.

These men and women are legion—men and women of all races and creeds, and faiths. Their history, their deeds, roll down through the ages. They were there at Valley Forge, at Yorktown, at New Orleans. Years later they carried that flag with its ever-growing stars into the battle at Antietam, at Gettysburg, through the bloody slaughter of the wilderness, and to the final victory at Appomattox. Years later the thunder of their guns were heard in the Argonne and Chateau Thierry. And only a short decade ago, on land, on sea, and in the air, these men scattered over the five continents of the globe, fought once again that we might live.

What names those are: Kasserine Pass, Anzio, Omaha Beach, the Bulge, Okinawa, and Inchon—there is music in them—the music of battle, fierce, raucous, thundering, dying to a dirge as the smoke slowly clears. There is pain and homesickness in that music; and the sudden, quick, sharp stab of death.

Yes; they have died. We live. The Star-Spangled Banner still waves. It is grief, of course, that we feel, but also pride—pride both in their achievements and in the country they have left us as their heritage.

Because of our fighting men, we have a heritage that is our dream, our promise of American life. True, America is dogwood and the greenery of spring; it is rolling prairies and the cornfields of the West, and our own fertile Pennsylvania fields in all of their beauty. But the men we honor today did not fight for a town, or a region, or a State. Whether they went out from the State of Virginia or the county of Dauphin, they fought equally as valiantly, equally as bravely, for the cause that is America.

In some respects Memorial Day means more than the Fourth of July, or the birthdays of great men of the past whom we honor from time to time. It commemorates in our hearts the sacrifices of our grandfathers and our great-grandfathers who fought through 4 long years of bloody civil conflict. They died that our country as a united nation of freemen might endure. But Memorial Day is also a day of homage to all those men and women of all religions, race, and creed, who have made the supreme sacrifice. The sun never sets on the white crosses that mark the graves of our departed heroes scattered over the 5 continents, the islands, and the 7 seas of the world.

To me, Memorial Day is also one of reverent respectfulness and honor to the memory of those whom each of us may hold dear.

Across the length and breadth of our land—Alaska, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the Virgin Islands, and wherever the Stars and Stripes greet the morning sun—Americans are gathered just as we are here today, not in a spirit of glorification of the victory of the North over the South, nor of rejoicing over the pyrrhic victories of World War I and World War II, but rather to lay a symbolic rose on the collective grave of more than a million men and women who have died in all of our wars since 1861; and in placing that rose, to collectively rededicate ourselves, reconsecrate our hearts, and requicken our minds to the solemn purpose for which they died. Whether it was Bull Run or Antietam, Gettysburg or Atlanta, the blood they gave welded the unbreakable bond that now binds together the 48 States of our Union—insoluble, inseparable, invincible. Their sons and their grandsons in even greater numbers gave their lives for a much broader cause—that the people of all countries over the entire world might have an opportunity to live out their lives in peace and freedom.

I am more than a little saddened as I reflect on Memorial Day and think: How short is the memory of man?

I can recall as if it were yesterday, and I am sure many of you can too, the tremendous surge of gratitude toward our veterans that swept over the Nation immediately after World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict. Americans were stirred with deep emotions of praise, of thanksgiving, of a sense of eternal debt to the veteran. I am wondering if that spirit is as strong today as it was then?

Certainly we cannot, and we do not, expect a feeling of gratitude to remain at an abnormally high pitch through the years. We do not expect it, and our veterans would not want it.

But you do get a feeling that the pendulum has swung too far in the other direction.

Today I hear statements, and you probably have heard them as well, to the effect that bearing arms to defend your country in time of war is merely one more duty of citizenship; that it ranks no higher than paying your taxes, or exercising your franchise of voting.

Of course, we must never forget that every citizen in our land has the right to speak his mind on these things. But I wonder if they have reasoned matters out in the light of fact?

Many of these men entered service and took the same risks as all the rest. Yet fate decreed that theirs should be the supreme sacrifice. Military service to country in time of peril is something more than a normal duty of citizenship.

Veterans have done all that their fellow citizens have done, plus something more. They served in the Armed Forces in time of desperate peril for this Nation. It is immaterial that others might, could, or would have served, had things been otherwise.

The fact remains that veterans did serve—that, by virtue of their service, they are deserving of extra considerations as veterans.

Let us never forget it. Even though war fades further and further into the distance of history, even the first flush of joy of peace becomes but a vague memory.

Let us always keep faith with our veterans—the living and the dead.

Let us keep faith in another way, by doing all within our power to maintain peace upon this troubled earth. For the sacrifices, the tragedies, the loss of life would lose all meaning were our Nation plunged into another war.

Peace—peace with honor—does not come by wishing for it. It must be forged by intelligence, by realism, by sacrifice, by the will to see it achieved.

Our war dead have already shown us the cost of war. By their death they have made it possible for us to strive for peace that may banish war.

To give anything other than our full share in the achievement of this peace is to break the faith we hold with them.

Let us make a solemn pledge—within our hearts—each one of us—that we will not break the faith.

Let us remember our dead forever, and what their sacrifice has meant to us, the living.

For their sake and for ours, let us this day, under God, dedicate ourselves anew to building a world in which men may live in freedom without fear.

It is no difficult task to recount the splendid victories won by our service men and women in the several major conflicts in which our Nation has been engaged. But what about the conflicts of the average American citizen? Has he been adroitly

lulled into focusing his attention on foreign propaganda and thereby failed to witness the planned undermining of our Government? Is he content to listen to the lullabies of the intellectuals who are far more concerned about the rights of traitors than the preservation of this freedom-loving land?

But today we are primarily gathered here to pay our homage to our service men and women who have passed to the Great Beyond. What a flood of thoughts come to each of us when this subject is mentioned? Each one of them had encountered more dangers and risks in a few hours than a civilian would experience through a lifetime. Try to think of the change brought into the life of these young Americans. Called to the service of their country, abandoning their way of life, their families, their business, they do not have time to ask: "What of the future?"

On this Memorial Day in the year 1957, we should all thank Almighty God that we are citizens of the greatest country in the world. Though you might lose all your earthly possessions—even your health—you still will possess this priceless distinction. You should always be thankful and deeply grateful to those who brought these countless blessings to you.

This America of ours is the finest heritage ever handed down to a people. America's position in the world did not just happen; it was attained through toil and privation; the talent and genius, yes, the sweat and blood of thousands of men and women who were determined to prove that human agencies through divine guidance could create and maintain a form of government which would provide free institutions for a whole continent.

America, under divine guidance, has enjoyed a glorious past; and we, its present trustees for the future, though the trail be somewhat dimmed and uneven, and in the face of difficulties which appear to be almost insurmountable, now pledge that the freedom for which generations of our forebears have toiled and sacrificed, will not perish, but will blossom forth to reestablish free thought and free action among men.

We are not unmindful of the black pall of slavery which hangs over many nations; and the fear of insecurity which envelops all lands, yet, there has always been a silver lining in the midst of this worldwide misery.

The spirit of America, with her free institutions, must be the light that never fails.

May I close with this poem?

"God bless America,
Land that I love;
Stand beside her and guide her
Through the night with a light from above;
From the mountains to the prairies,
To the oceans white with foam,
God bless America,
My home sweet home."

I thank you.

Dr. Curtis Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial published in the Nashville Tennessean concerning the retirement of Dr. Harry A. Curtis, Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The editorial is a tribute to the outstanding service Dr. Curtis has given the TVA and to his integrity in fighting for what he believed to be the best interests of the Nation, in spite of personal cost. Dr. Curtis is deserving of this tribute to his fine service and loyal devotion to the TVA.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DR. CURTIS: A CHAMPION IS LOST

Last midnight, the term of Dr. Harry A. Curtis as Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority came to a close, and with it, perhaps, the end of an era in TVA history.

For with Dr. Curtis' retirement, a majority membership on the board—for the first time since it was created in 1933—will owe its allegiance to a Republican administration which appears, at worst, bent upon destruction of this valuable national asset, and at best, completely uncharitable toward it.

And while it is too early to make an appraisal of Dr. Curtis' possible successor, it is noteworthy that the man reported to have the inside track, Mr. Adolph G. Ackerman, has served as an executive of a private power holding company.

Whatever the fate of TVA may be under such a directorship, though, Dr. Curtis is entitled to the deepest appreciation of this region and of the Nation. He has served well.

It is always to an individual's credit when he is able to change his philosophy and viewpoint, once honestly convinced that an opposite view is best for his country. Such has been the stature of Dr. Curtis, who began his adult life as a conservative Republican, but who retired last night a champion of a liberal concept which saw a near-impoverished region blossom under imaginative development.

The pressures upon Dr. Curtis these past few years have undoubtedly been heavy. He has refused to bend. When a fight was demanded, he entered it hammer-and-tongs.

Dr. Curtis came to TVA as a chemical and agriculture expert, interested secondarily in the power aspects of the agency. But forced, as a board member, into the midst of the private-versus-public power fight, he stood firm in what he believed to be the best interests of the Nation. That, for him, was the side of public power.

Regretfully, we bid him godspeed as he leaves a position he could have retained had he bowed to the pressures and expediently cast aside his convictions.

Refusal to sacrifice principles in the face of certain loss of position is the measure of a man. And Dr. Harry A. Curtis has met that measure.

Though there be scant reason to encourage it, our best hope is that President Eisenhower will appoint such a man to succeed him.

Resolutions Adopted by 16th Annual Convention of the Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I should like to submit to the House the resolutions adopted at the 16th annual convention of the Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women, May 18, 1957:

We, the resolutions committee of the Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women, have received, studied, revised, and amended all proposals submitted for our consideration. We have endeavored, to the best of our ability, to so perform our duty that it would not add a burden to the task of our spiritual director, Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. Jerome Reddy, whose approval is required by our rules.

In many instances proposals were received from more than one person or group on the same topic; and we have tried to take the best from each in an endeavor to meet the aims of our organization.

We have received items which have been the subject of resolutions in past years, and in the interest of brevity, have not resubmitted such resolutions; but rather believe that our members are doing all within their power to fulfill the resolutions adopted in prior years in convention.

We thank our members for the items submitted; and if any have been omitted in our resolutions, recommendations or commendations, it is no indication that such items did not receive consideration. Everything has been considered, and we are trying to follow our policy of persuasion through quality rather than quantity.

We renew our pledge as Catholic women to further the religious and material programs recommended to us by the board of Catholic bishops of the United States, by our own diocesan authorities, and by the National Council of Catholic Women.

RESOLUTIONS

I. PROTEST AID TO AND RECOGNITION OF COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED GOVERNMENTS

A. Whereas in his encyclical letter, divini redemptoris, of 1937, Pope Pius XI declared that "communism is intrinsically wrong and no one who would preserve Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever"; and

Whereas the Catholic bishops of the United States, in their annual meeting of 1953, deplored the continued persecution of the Catholic Church, which, they stated, "rages from Korea to China and to Indochina; from Russia to the Baltic lands; from Poland and Lithuania to Yugoslavia; from the Ukraine to Albania; from Czechoslovakia to Hungary, to Rumania and Bulgaria"; and

Whereas contrary to these clear and righteous indictments, American funds have been diverted to the support of atheistic communism in Yugoslavia; and

Whereas Communist Poland has recently petitioned for similar financial assistance from the United States of America in order to support and continue the existence of atheistic communism in Poland: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the members of the Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women call upon all county and diocesan councils of the National Council of Catholic Women to urge their members to write to the representatives in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives and protest against this evil misuse of American funds for the continuance of atheistic communism by the Governments of Yugoslavia, Poland, and any other Communist nation; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, to all Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, and to the secular and religious press of America.

B. Whereas Communist China has been declared an aggressor by the United Nations; and

Whereas Communist China has persecuted the church—killing, mistreating, torturing

publicly, imprisoning many bishops, missionaries of all denominations, nuns, and devoted laity; and

Whereas American citizens are still being held prisoners by Communist China in violation of the Korean Truce: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the members of the Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women oppose recognition of Communist China by the United States, and further oppose the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

C. Whereas the bishops of the United States, in their 1956 annual statement, said that foremost in our thinking are the heroic peoples of Hungary; and

Whereas our holy father, Pope Pius XII, has urged that every licit means be tried to restore dignity and freedom to the people of Hungary: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the members of the Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women urge the President of the United States to withhold recognition of the present Soviet-dominated Hungarian government ,and urge the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, to take action in the United Nations Assembly to help the peoples of Hungary to regain their freedom by their liberation from the communistic violation of their civil rights.

II. EDUCATION IN AMERICAN HISTORY AND PROMOTING INTEREST IN UNITED STATES WEEK

Whereas the proponents of atheistic communism and of subversive ideologies recognize that the youth who are pupils in our school system are malleable material for their propaganda; and

Whereas such propagandists have made and are continuing to make determined efforts to devaluate the glorious American heritage of our American history and of the patriotic traditions of our country;

Now, therefore, we, the members of the Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women, mindful of our duties as parents and citizens to protect our youth and to pass on to them the inheritance of the background of American freedom which we enjoy, do hereby resolve that we will take every opportunity to increase interest in the patriotic education of our youth by recommending and supporting laws looking to the teaching of American history and study of the science of Government in our schools, and by closer supervision of supplementary reading material distributed and recommended through the schools; and

The Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women further resolves that it will promote interest in United States Week, the 7-day period beginning October 19 in each year, as a means of instilling in the youth of our Nation a deeper appreciation of the magnificent heritage of the United States and a stimulation to a greater interest in the study of the traditions and history of the United States.

III. THE SALE AND DISSEMINATION OF OBSCENE PRINTED AND AUDIOVISUAL MATERIALS

Whereas Catholic citizens have an obligation and responsibility to safeguard the moral welfare of all their fellow citizens in the State of New York, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin, by ensuring the strict enforcement of those laws which curb the sale and dissemination of all types of obscene, lascivious and lewd printed and audiovisual materials; and

Whereas in 1954 two statutes were enacted into New York State laws which were designed to curb the sale of such indecent and disgusting materials; and

Whereas in 1957 one of these laws was amended to include the sale and dissemination of indecent, obscene cards with other items in the first statute; and

Whereas in 1957 the second law was amended in relation to tie-in sales of publications in order to include allocation and consignment as well as delivery, and to make it a penal offense to threaten to impose any penalty on the person who refuses to resell obscene publications; and

Whereas these amended statutes become effective on July 1, 1957; and

Whereas we are aware that experience proves and the press publicizes the evil results of obscene literature, and regardless of the legalistic definitions of what constitutes obscene literature, we, as a federation of Catholic women hope to reduce the dissemination of the sources of this evil to a minimum if unable to suppress the dissemination entirely: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women, a federation of 240 organizations representing over 300,000 Catholic women in the 4 counties of Long Island, commend Hon. W. Averell Harriman, Governor of the State of New York, for placing these laws on the statute books of the State, and petition him to insure their enforcement; and be it further

Resolved, That the Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women commend the leaders in each county of Long Island who have been untiringly foremost in the valiant drive against the sale and dissemination of obscene printed and audio-visual materials, and urge them to help in the enforcement of these statutes of 1957.

IV. COOPERATING WITH CIVIL DEFENSE

Whereas His Excellency Archbishop Thomas E. Molloy (deceased), bishop of Brooklyn, supported civil defense and urged full cooperation of all Catholics in the diocese of Brooklyn; and

Whereas this resolutions committee is cognizant of the deterrent force to an enemy of a citizenry organized in its own defense: It is therefore

Resolved, That this committee urge all Catholics to enroll in civil defense or to take an active part, either spiritually or by attending courses provided by civil defense, and to be informed as to the approved methods of survival in the event of a disaster.

V. DR. ALLEN'S RULING ON COMMUNIST TEACHERS

Whereas Dr. James E. Allen, State commissioner of education, released to the press on August 8, 1956, his decision that boards of education may not require admitted former Communist teachers to name other teachers they know or have known to be Communists; and

Whereas this decision holds that the board of education "may not properly utilize" the power to compel teachers to answer questions about individuals who were associated with them in Communist activities within the public schools; and

Whereas Dr. Allen has ignored the basic point at issue which is the necessity to safeguard the common good and the welfare of all the children in the public schools of our State against the disastrous influence resulting from the presence of even one Communist teacher in the classroom as a superior and an instructor; and

Whereas the primary function of our public schools, being State-run, must give first place to public interests and public security; and

Whereas the welfare of the children is synonymous in this problem with the common good; and

Whereas the good of the children takes precedence over confidential information; and

Whereas no secret can prevail against the right of children to be protected against atheistic communism by those entrusted with the responsibility for their well-being: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women, representing over 300,000 women in the counties of Kings, Queens, Nassau, and Suffolk, in the State of New York, protest the decision of Dr. James E. Allen released to the press on August 8, 1956, and urge Dr. Allen to come to a more considered judgment in this case.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The resolutions committee recommends:

1. That the members of the Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women study the problem of the aging and cooperate with the Catholic Charities program for the aging, which includes friendly visiting of the aging, finding foster homes for them, supporting parish recreation centers, and other corporal and spiritual works of mercy.

2. That the members ofthe Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women participate in a crusade of prayer in answer to the call of the bishops of the United States who in their annual statement of 1956 said, "As the bishop of the United States we solemnly call upon the faithful throughout the land to pledge themselves to a veritable crusade of prayer. Let it be for the specific ends that international sanity will triumph over war; that justice may be vindicated by the nations united under law; and that our own beloved country, under God, may lead the way to that better hope for all mankind. Nor let us forget those who have suffered and suffer now; that out of the crucible of their sacrifice may come the milted gold of freedom. We stand with the Vicar of Christ, and our prayer is for peace for our country and all the world—a peace with justice and charity."

3. That the members of the Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women send letters of commendation to the following: The Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, United States representative in the United Nations, the Honorable FRANK J. BECKER, Congressman from New York, Washington, D. C., the Honorable THOMAS S. GORDON, Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee, Washington, D. C., for their continued efforts to have each day's session in the U. N. opened with a prayer.

It is further recommended that each of these statesmen be sent a copy of the Brooklyn Diocesan Council of Catholic Women 1956 resolutions which include a resolution to the above effort.

Committee: Mrs. Gerald Rigney, chairman.

Ex-officio: Mrs. Arthur C. Reilly, diocesan president; Miss Marie F. Berry, Kings County Council president; Mrs. John Paul Fitzpatrick, Queens County Council president; Mrs. Albert H. Trageser, Nassau County Council president; Mrs. Robert B. Howell, Suffolk County Council president.

Committee members: Miss Mary L. Riley and Mrs. Andrew P. Backus, Kings; Miss Mary Moran and Mrs. Percy Bailey, Queens; Mrs. Thomas Fitzgerald and Mrs. J. D. Nicholas, Nassau; Mrs. Charles Hafeli, Suffolk.

An Adequate Juvenile Court for the Nation's Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, when the Congress created the present juvenile court in the District of Columbia, its caseload was approximately 2,500 annually. By 1948 the court was hearing 3,000 cases a year, by 1953 the load had risen to 10,000, and presently this 1-judge court is handling more than 16,000

eases a year. Of these some 2,000 are felony type cases. The United States District Court for the District of Columbia uses a minimum of 3 justices to handle its annual felony caseload of 1,500; the District of Columbia juvenile court must rely on 1 judge.

The Bar Association of the District of Columbia, the Law Enforcement Council of the District of Columbia, the Washington Criminal Justice Association, the Metropolitan Washington Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers, and other civic groups, have joined the District of Columbia Commissioners in their recommendation for a second judge in this most important court. Legislation to this effect, S. 2154, is presently pending before the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia.

As attorney general of the State of New York, I was deeply concerned with crime by youths, and juvenile delinquency, and so my interest as a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia is attracted to that problem in the city of Washington. We find the juvenile court in the District of Columbia heavily overloaded, and a grave need for an additional judge in that court. It is for that reason that I call attention to this matter.

The District of Columbia Council on Law Enforcement asserts that a real emergency exists; and, as the Washington Post, in its editorial of May 25, 1957, emphasizes: "The emergency concerns essential human rights and the welfare of children. It should be met by Congress just as speedily as possible."

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OVERLOADED COURT

It would be hard to point to a community need more clearly demonstrated than the need for an additional judge for the District's juvenile court. The court has a load of more than 16,000 cases a year. No single judge, no matter how dedicated and industrious, could handle such a load with the attention to individual problems which is peculiarly requisite to juvenile court. Judge Orman W. Ketcham, who began service on the court only last week, managed to dispose of 192 cases during his first 3 days on the bench by sitting for a 9- or 10-hour day; even so, he acknowledged, he had a distinct feeling that many persons felt they had not had their proper day in court. In urging the creation of a second judgeship, the District's Council on Law Enforcement was amply justified in asserting that a real emergency exists. The emergency concerns essential human rights and the welfare of children. It should be met by Congress just as speedily as possible.

Going Against the Grange

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to protest what I belive to be unfair treatment of the National Grange regarding seizure by the Government of National Grange headquarters.

The Government has issued an order of taking on this property, an 8-story building located in the heart of downtown Washington. The property is to be used for landscaping and for a corner of the seventh in a series of Government office buildings.

As I have previously stated, I am opposed to the seizure of this property, which for more than a decade has been the headquarters of one of our outstanding farm organizations. The plans for the new building have been drawn with absolutely no consideration for the special site involved. I am particularly displeased with the fact that the major portion of this property is going to be used for a garden. This may be esthetic, but it is highly impractical for an area which has a limited amount of property that should be put to maximum use. Monumental structures with palatial gardents are not necessary for the efficient conduct of Government business, and their contemplation is testimony to the visionary type of castle building that will cost the American taxpayers millions of dollars to satisfy the whims of a few master planners.

There is no reason why a nice-looking, functional office building could not be erected on the remainder of the block harmonizing with the Grange building, which in itself is an attractive structure. However, since Congress already has alloted funds over which the General Services Administration has sole control, it is evident that seizure of the building is almost inevitable.

My objection to the method being used by the Government is that the Grange will be forced to pay rent on this property, yet the General Services Administration has not signified when it intends to use the site for the new building.

Franklin G. Floete, Administrator of the General Services Administration, in a recent release said that since building costs are at present so high, it would be advisable for the Government to postpone indefinitely its lease-purchase building program because the costs of new buildings would be out of line. Since the order of taking has already been issued, the law says the Grange must start to pay rent on its property until the Government gets ready to use it.

I do not believe that this is fair. This organization will be faced with the problem of seeking another site, a task that borders on the impossible as far as getting a convenient location similar to the present headquarters. The Grange is being offered about a third of the $1 million price of the property. Moving the headquarters will be expensive.

I believe that the proposal by National Grange Master Herschel Newsom that the title be restored to the Grange until the Government definitely gets ready to use the property has merit. If restoration of title is not possible, I believe it only fair that the General Services Administration should assist this organization in its process of being transplanted by canceling out the rent payments. Somehow it seems rather un-American to me to seize an organization's property today with no particular date in mind for use of this property, and then to force the organization to pay rent until the Government decides what it is going to do with the building and land.

Since the Government's lease-purchase program has wisely been postponed to save the taxpayer the burden of excessive building costs, it appears only logical to me that actions instituted under the old schedule should be subject to review and that amelioration of unjust and onerous burdens which the postponement would impose on groups such as the Grange would be in order.

Soaring Exports Uphold Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the New York Times of Sunday, June 2, 1957, entitled "Soaring Exports Uphold Economy."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOARING EXPORTS UPHOLD ECONOMY—FOREIGN SALES, UP 28 PERCENT, ARE A BRIGHT SPOT IN A CLOUDY BUSINESS PICTURE—FARMS, INDUSTRY AIDED—COTTON SUBSIDIES A FACTOR—IMPORTS ONLY MARK TIME AS PROTECTIONISM GAINS

(By Brendan M. Jones)

Foreign trade has been giving a timely lift to the Nation's economy.

While the domestic business climate in recent months has been overcast with uncertainty, exporters have found the weather abroad highly stimulating. So much so that exports made a heady leap of 28 percent in the first 4 months of the year.

The Department of Commerce's preliminary estimate of April exports last week indicated a 4-month total of more than $7,280,000,000. This compares with $5,739,000,000 in the first 4 months of 1956.

The 28-percent gain is highly unusual for peacetime. And it follows the exceptional 18-percent rise in exports in 1956 to a new high of $19 billion.

Effects of the accelerated exports in bolstering the economy would be difficult to pinpoint at the moment. Detailed data not yet available would be necessary. But there can be little doubt that a considerable amount of production has been sustained by strong foreign demand for American crops, fuels, materials, and manufactures.

UP TO 25 PERCENT OF SALES

Exports of cotton, coal, machinery, and farm produce are notable in a wide range of commodities figuring in the export boom. Foreign sales now take 20 to 25 percent of this country's output of wheat, rice, cotton, and tobacco, more than 10 percent of its coal, 15 to 20 percent of its heavy machinery and vehicles.

One recent instance of the influence of foreign trade on the business cycle has been recognized among economists. It was noted during the recession period of 1953–54. While the gross national product (the total nominal value of all goods and services sold) declined 1 percent, exports rose 2 percent.

Afterward, economists of the Department of Commerce termed the trade gain a "significant factor supporting the economy over the past 2 years." The percentage changes noted may seem small, but they represented billions of dollars.

Occuring when it did, the export rise evidently helped to check the downtrend. The dip would have been more pronounced in terms of production, jobs and business if exports had gone down instead.

Present trends of United States trade also give some insight into the vigor of world economic development. They present less reassuring prospects on the other side of the trade coin—imports. These rose 10 percent last year to a record total of $1,200,000,000.

The early months of this year, however, have not brought any appreciable gains. With exports forging ahead, the spread between them and imports will tend to grow even wider than presently. If so, the principle of two-way trade, involving foreign nations' need to sell if they are to go on buying, promises an eventual check to exports.

This does not necessarily mean exports will nosedive. It means simply that a limit to one-sided trade will make itself felt.

There is a sustained movement through most of the world for economic betterment. It is most dramatically evident in the newer nations of the Far East and Africa.

Highly industrialized Western Europe is seeking closer economic and trade ties to fill its special need for greater proficiency. Europe, with its dense population and growing import needs, must advance technologically if its renewed gains in living standards are to continue.

Indirectly, the strength of these varied movements has been illustrated in the relatively slight impact of the Suez crisis. While the important waterway was blocked, nations affected were able to draw on financial resources, such as the International Monetary Fund. Europe filled its oil needs from reserves and from United States supplies, although a mild winter helped materially.

With crisis conditions under relative control, the free world has quickly gotten back to the business of economic progress. Britain's trade is recovering; France has come up against inevitable financial difficulties, but help is available. Other parts of the free world wonder about more business with Communist countries, but still look to the United States for what they need right now.

All of this makes a pleasant, prosperous picture of progress for everybody, except that it is still quite utopian.

In efforts to solve the farm surplus problem, exports have offered a natural outlet.

The heavy cotton surplus, for example, is being moved abroad with substantial subsidies, which some nations regard as dumping. Cotton textiles are also being exported with the aid of subsidies as a result of the campaign that brought restriction of low-priced Japanese exports to this market.

Samuel C. Waugh, president of the Export-Import Bank, predicted last week that subsidized cotton exports would hit a quarter-century record of 5 million bales this year.

But restrictive moves against imports continue vigorously. For example, wood fabrics, hit only last fall by a tariff-quota limitation, were threatened with further restriction on grounds of national security. The Office of Defense Mobilization will open hearings in Washington tomorrow on the domestic industry's plea for more protection.

The nub of the issue will be the industry's essentiality in supplying military woolens. Under a new administration order, no more than 14 million pounds of woolens this year may enter at a liberal tariff rate. Any excess will be subject to old statutory rates, which importers consider prohibitive. The quota nominally represents 5 percent of domestic output. The Office of Defense Mobilization must decide if this is detrimental to national defense.

Last week Britain, most seriously affected by the woolens curb, decided against continuing the strict controls on trade with Communist China favored by the United States. There was no apparent connection, except that the new move against woolens came while American representatives were still trying to talk the British out of more China trade. Last Friday, Britain formally protested the quota action.

The United States is not alone in restricting trade. Last week Canada, which has been sharply critical of this country's protectionist trend, was embarrassed by the need to embargo imports of cheddar cheese. Price supports have produced a mounting Canadian surplus.

This business of economic cooperation is still a new one. Slowly, more practical methods are evolving, such as "loans, not gifts" to go with "trade, not aid." Trade for this and other countries, meanwhile, continues to suggest new potentialities for progress.

New Jersey's Debt to Paul Troast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
OF
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, following the recent announcement of Mr. Paul Troast, of Clifton, N. J., that he had declined reappointment as chairman of the New Jersey Turnpike Authority, Gov. Robert B. Meyner and both houses of the New Jersey State Legislature have expressed regrets and officially lauded the services of Mr. Troast, which have earned him national fame as the prime builders of the fabulous New Jersey Turnpike.

It is now reported from Trenton that the legislature is proceeding with plans to provide a State award for Mr. Troast which will be presented him at a testimonial dinner at the Essex House, Newark, on Tuesday, July 2, next.

In a recent editorial captioned, "New Jersey's Debt to Paul Troast," the Passaic, N. J., Herald-News, paid the following tribute to Mr. Troast:

NEW JERSEY'S DEBT TO PAUL TROAST

To serve the people of New Jersey is every citizen's duty. Normally, service merits no special commendation. The State has a right to expect that any person it calls will serve and that he will give his best efforts.

Yet it seems that the services performed by Paul L. Troast, of Clifton, deserve more than perfunctory thanks and praise. They have been of surpassing excellence and beyond the call of duty. He took the highway dream of former Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll, and by business sense, know-how, foresight, and long hours of hard work, transformed it in the fabulous New Jersey Turnpike.

He did not do it alone. He had the help of one of the best public commissioners ever appointed in New Jersey, and of a band of devoted engineers and executives. However, his was the driving force that produced the road in record time and his was the "savvy" that enabled the authority to avoid political entanglements and scandal in an operation involving almost half a billion dollars.

To the State, the turnpike has meant many things. Without it, the State's north-south through roads would, by now, have been impassable. It has saved business millions of dollars in time, wear, and tear. It has been an invaluable factor in inducing expansion of industry. And, if the powers that be decide to continue to operate it as a toll road, a not impossible decision in view of the fact that two-thirds of its traffic is made up of out-of-State vehicles, it may eventually provide the State with an annual income of about $35 million.

The turnpike has won Mr. Troast national attention. That fame earned him, in 1953, the Republican nomination for governor. It is evidence of the character of the man that he was able to put aside any bitterness the unsuccessful campaign may have engendered in him and to cooperate, to the fullest extent, with the man who defeated him. It speaks volumes of both men that Governor Meyner offered Mr. Troast reappointment as chairman of the authority.

For 8 years, Mr. Troast has served at considerable sacrifice to his business and to his family. His position was unsalaried, but he has frequently spent 4 or 5 days a week on it without expense to the State.

Mr. Troast's imminent retirement from public life deserves more than a passing notice.

Recognition by the Governor and legislature is in order.

Meade Alcorn Proves His Worth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted I am inserting in the RECORD a column written by Gould Lincoln which appeared in the Washington Evening Star. Those of us who know Chairman Meade Alcorn certainly agree with Mr. Lincoln that he is proving to be a real asset to the Republican Party.

MEADE ALCORN PROVES HIS WORTH

(By Gould Lincoln)

Meade Alcorn, new chairman of the Republican National Committee, has already proved his worth to the GOP. Traveling almost constantly to all parts of the country, in six regional party conferences he has provided a safety valve for party leaders to blow off steam. He has answered successfully many of the complaints by Republican business and financial men who have been angered because they did not get a reduced budget and tax cuts from the Eisenhower administration this year. Indeed, Mr. Alcorn has done a good job, and the atmosphere of hostility to the President and his policies has begun to evaporate.

He has stressed to the business people the probable alternative to a Republican administration similar to the Eisenhower administration following 1960. He has asked how they would feel if the Democrats should take over with Gov. G. Mennen Williams, of Michigan (with Walter Reuther as a likely mentor), or some other liberal Democrat in the White House. He has argued that to split the Republican Party will result in almost certain defeat in the congressional

elections of 1958 and in making the Republican presidential nomination practically valueless in 1960.

Furthermore, he has pointed to the necessity of running a congressional or presidential campaign on the record made by a Republican administration in the White House. Candidates for office who buck the record of their own party President are not likely to be successful.

PARTY FEELS PINCH IN FUNDS

There is no doubt about the fact that Republican businessmen have been engaged in a financial squeeze, which has made it difficult for the Republican National Committee to collect the funds needed to keep the committee working effectively and needed to get the campaign for the election of a Republican Congress fully underway. Too many who have been large contributors in the past have been saying: "Don't ask me for anything this year; I don't like what has been going on in Washington."

It is not the small contributors of $10, $25, or $50 who have failed to kick in. It is those who in the past have contributed $500, $1,000, or more. This financial stringency is an immediate cause of worry. It is one, however, that is likely to be overcome.

An example is found in Massachusetts where today the Republican Party organization is literally confronted with the possibility of having to close down its operation. John S. Ames, the party's harried chief fund raiser in Massachusetts, is quoted by the Boston Globe as saying: "I am trying desperately, with my back against the wall, to keep the Republican organization in business. I simply feel that Republicans couldn't care less.

"This is purely a party problem. Its own friends may feel they are spanking the party by failing to contribute, but if they look at the situation realistically, they will recognize they are destroying their own political friend."

Mr. Ames' problem is the necessity of raising about $282,000 and as of today he has managed only $75,000.

RISING COSTS POINTED UP

Chairman Alcorn, sitting down with Republicans across the country, has listened to many complaints. One Midwest manufacturer who insisted he would not contribute as he has in the past, blamed the President's budget. Mr. Alcorn finally obtained an admission from him that the cost of operation of his own business had increased about 7 percent in a year, and the national chairman pointed out that Eisenhower's budget really provided for an increase in cost of Government of approximately 3 percent.

Mr. Alcorn has called a meeting of the Republican National Committee in Washington June 6-7. At that time the problems, financial and otherwise, which confront the GOP are expected to be thoroughly aired. Both President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon will meet with the Republicans who will include, in addition to the members of the committee, all those participants in the six regional conferences. At one session Vice President NIXON not only will speak, but will answer questions directed to him by any of the participating Republicans.

Members of the Republican National Finance Committee will be in Washington at the same time as the national committee. Mr. Alcorn hopes to appoint a new chairman of the finance committee before the meeting of the national committee. Since J. Clifford Folger, the national finance chairman during the 1956 campaign, resigned to become Ambassador to Belgium there has been no finance chairman. This in itself has slowed down the campaign for funds.

ALCORN TO REPORT TO PRESIDENT

Mr. Alcorn will report to President Eisenhower on the regional conferences and the party's problems within the next few days. He himself found the party leaders confident they would be able to make a good showing in the congressional elections next year, notwithstanding the protests and complaints which have been made against the Eisenhower budget and the Eisenhower program, which some of the conservative Republicans have criticized as another New Deal.

It is no secret that he feels the election of a Republican majority in the House next year is a sine qua non. He believes, too, after his travels that such a victory is entirely possible and even probable. Admittedly, the election of a Republican majority in the Senate will be a little difficult due to the fact that only one-third of the Senate comes up for reelection next year, and a large majority of the seats in jeopardy are Republican.

Robert Crosser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Monday it was my sad duty to inform the Members of the House of the death of Hon. Robert Crosser, my predecessor, who represented the 21st District of Ohio for 38 years. Every Member of this body remembers his courageous and devoted work as a Member of Congress, as a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of this House, and as chairman of that committee in the 81st and 82d Congress. His legacy is a record of a vigilant struggle for human betterment. His record will live long in the memories of our people, who regret the passing of this devoted public servant.

Following are two editorials on the life and work of Robert Crosser which appeared in the Cleveland Press and the Cleveland Plain Dealer on Tuesday, June 4:

ROBERT CROSSER

Robert Crosser, who served the people of Cleveland in Congress for 38 years, was a man of wisdom, courage, and stubborn independence.

He had the wisdom to pioneer in great fields of legislation. The railroad labor bills which he framed and pushed into law almost three decades ago still serve today.

He had the courage to vote the way his conscience and principles dictated, even at the risk of political suicide.

His vote against the draft in World War I led to two political defeats. But this was a decision which he never retracted, and never regretted.

His stubborn independence was best typified by his reluctance to take outside advice. He steered his own course, and it was a ccurse which, over the years, was good for his city and for his country.

Mr. Crosser's skill won him the respect of his colleagues, and his determination to continue his service, even after physical disabilities had begun to overtake him, generated great admiration.

His defeat 3 years ago was in no sense a rejection of his political philosophies.

Rather, large numbers of voters simply thought he had earned a retirement which he himself was overly reluctant to accept.

The people of Cleveland were proud of Robert Crosser, a man who served them long, and served them well.

His death at 83 closes a distinguished and immensely useful career.

The story is told of the Cleveland political leader who in the early days of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration went to Washington to get action he considered absolutely vital. He saw two close friends of F. D. R., one an elected official and the other a top appointee, who said they would see what they could do. Nothing happened.

Disheartened, he happened to meet one of Cleveland's Congressmen in the House restaurant, and he unburdened himself. Half an hour and a telephone call or two later, the Congressman announced that the matter had been taken care of. And it was.

The only party in this incident whom we'll name was Robert Crosser, the 21st district's representative for 38 years, whose power in Washington was shown in the way he got quick action.

Once he was elected to Congress in 1912, Mr. Crosser was beaten by only three things: the reaction to his voting, as a matter of firm principle, against the World War I draft, which led to his defeat in 1918; old age, contributing to his losing at the primaries in 1954 to his successor, Representative CHARLES VANIK; and, finally death, which came yesterday, 4 days before his 83d birthday.

He had conquered many times; in working his way through college and law school; in forging a liberal philosophy for himself which sustained him in doing what he thought was right, regardless of what others did; in winning elections often; in battling or ignoring the county Democratic organization when he disagreed with it; in championing labor legislation, particularly for railroad employes, and in refusing to let crippling arthritis get him down. He suffered from this affliction for more than 20 years and a lesser man would have given in to it many years before.

Mr. Crosser was another of those fine examples of immigrant boys who worked their way to positions of power and trust in this country. He was born in Scotland and came here when 7 years old.

Though we sometimes disagreed with his views, we respected his abilities and his courage. His long life was a useful one, and he contributed the best he had to a country he loved for its people and the opportunity it gave him.

Highway Horror Show

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT HALE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post of May 29, 1957:

HIGHWAY HORROR SHOW

The Senate Public Roads Subcommittee has at last reported favorably on a moderate proposal to prevent the new 41,000-mile Federal interstate highway from becoming an ugly, billboard-rimmed scar cutting through the countryside. Yet time is short, the billboard lobby powerful, and many in Congress shamefully indifferent. This indifference is not shared by any driver who has been offended by a roadway packed with hot dog stands, billboards, and honky-tonks; nor is it shared by the Federal Highway Administration and most highway engineers, automobile clubs, and conservation groups. From all outward appearances, the main group op-

posing Federal controls are the outdoor advertisers, who are understandably interested in the vast captive audience on the new highway.

The Senate bill is a compromise between the views of Senators NEUBERGER and GORE, the administration, and others on the subcommittee. It does not ban billboards outright as Representative ROBERT HALE of Maine and others have urged. However, it does provide the carrot of a three-fourths of 1 percent addition in Federal funds to States which agree to comply with Federal billboard standards; it also encourages the States to eliminate unsightly junkyards and other eyesores on the roadway.

But inexplicably the Senate subcommittee has linked the billboard-control measure to a second title which some feel may weaken the chances of the bill. The subcommittee bill incorporates a proposal by Senator CASE of South Dakota to add 7,000 miles to the Federal system, extend the construction period from 13 to 20 years, and add $17 billion in costs. This proposal is completely unrelated and ought to be divorced from the billboard-control measure when the parent Public Works Committee meets next week. The billboard bill provides the very least that American motorists have a right to expect on a highway system supported 90 percent by Federal funds. Congress ought to vote on this proposal on its own merits, unencumbered by any unrelated hitchhiker.

Key West Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 9, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to insert an article concerning close ground support which appeared in the Army-Navy-Air Force Journal of June 1, 1957.

KEY WEST DOCTRINE

The longstanding dispute over military roles and missions erupted anew this week with charges that current Armed Forces doctrine has undermined the Army and caused it to lose both power and prestige.

The charges—growing out of a House Armed Services Committee member's concern about close air support for Army ground troops—are made by one of the Army's senior retired officers.

In a letter to Representative LEON H. GAVIN, Republican, Pennsylvania, the top-ranking retired general declares that a fatal weakness in the Key West agreement gives the Air Force and Navy complete independence but forces the Army to rely on her sister services for needed tools to fight the ground war.

Congressman GAVIN, who has been waging a battle for the development of techniques to give the ground soldier better air cover, made the letter available to the Journal, but asked that the author's identity not be revealed.

Representative GAVIN said, "It is essential that the conflicting views on the subject be aired in order to place the problem in its proper perspective.

"We need to be assured that our infantrymen, who are on the ground in the cold, heat, filth, fatigue, misery, and mud of mechanized warfare, are given every tool they require to see them through combat. If that means integral tactical air units for every Army division, then I say they should be given every opportunity to develop such a program."

Congressman GAVIN advocates at least a token training force to gain the air-ground know-how which characterizes Marine Corps training and operations.

The letter addressed to Mr. GAVIN notes that present battle doctrine places the Army infantry commander in the unhappy dependent role of a suppliant with hat in hand. In the Pacific during World War II, Air Force tactical support for the Army was pitifully small and grossly inept, the letter states.

The Air Force, in reply to an earlier inquiry from the House Armed Services Committee (the Journal, March 23) said recent policy decisions at the top level in the Pentagon tend to move the Air Force out of the ground battle zone. As for Marine Corps close air support, the Air Force said such lavish use of airpower may be desirable in highly specialized operations such as amphibious landings but not in large scale, extended-time ground operations.

Mr. GAVIN's correspondent notes that of the 61 major amphibious landings in World War II, the Army participated in 58 and the Marines in 14.

The Army has been asked by the House Armed Services Committee to give its views on the Air Force statement. Mr. GAVIN said he is anxiously awaiting this study and added that he understands it is now nearing completion.

Here is the complete text of the letter which Congressman GAVIN has received from one of the Army's top general officers, now retired:

"DEAR MR. GAVIN: Thanks for your letter of March 29 enclosing the Air Force explanation of their tactical air support doctrine.

"May I say this is the same old Air Force line.

"The roles and missions assigned to the three services under the so-called Key West agreement, 1948, contained a fatal weakness for one of the services—the Army—which, I think, fundamentally undermined the Army and is the cause of the succession of losses of its power and prestige over the last 10 years, as well as currently."

FUNDAMENTAL WEAKNESS

"This fundamental weakness lies in the fact that both the Air Force and the Navy are assigned missions which serve as a basis for organization, bases, equipment, and weapons which make each service entirely independent and self-contained for carrying out those missions. The Army, on the other hand, is dependent on the Air Force for tactical air support and air transportation; and upon the Navy for tactical air support, gunfire support, and sea transport.

"Thus when the chips are down in war (and during peacetime due to budgetary limitations) and men or equipment are in short supply, it is only natural that the independent services (i. e., Air Force and Navy) give priority to their own respective missions and the Army is left holding the proverbial empty bag. Worse than that, the Air Force by way of its bases in the United States and the Western Hemisphere and its growing air police for defense of overseas bases, as in north Africa; and the Navy by way of the Marine Corps, are actually independent of the Army and can do their own ground fighting. That is, as far as they need—or at least as far as they think they need—they can perform within themselves the ground fighting mission assigned the Army under the Key West Agreement."

HAT IN HAND

"So when the Air Force, as on page 530 of the report, states that 'it is natural for a (Army) division commander to feel that his job is of primary importance but he must realize that there are other commanders who feel the same way,' their collective tongues must be protruding through their collective cheeks. No doubt the division commander (Army) does realize that there are Air Force and Navy commanders who feel the same way—and that's the hell of it. For in a pinch, when they are in short supply of means, they are going to follow these feelings and use these means to accomplish their own missions surely and primarily. So the Air Force commander, with what he requires available to him, is just not in the same spot as the infantry division commander who fills the unhappy dependent role of a suppliant with hat in hand.

"In fact it was the Air Force's feeling of frustration, due to the intolerability of dependence on the Army, that led, more than any other factor, to the establishment of the Army Air Force as more or less a self-contained unit in 1940, and later to its complete independence as another service in 1947. Therefore, that part of their reply which parallels their commanders to the Army's division commanders may well be regarded as a new high in hypocrisy."

FLEXIBILITY ESSENTIAL

"I quite agree with their theory that there must be a centrally controlled tactical reserve, but the point is that each division commander must have under his own control a basic minimum support which he can count on to use; otherwise he has virtually no flexibility to stem a sudden attack or to take advantage of the all important element of surprise. However, this is a basic principle of all military doctrine. For instance, the infantry division has a minimum force of engineers and artillery; when they need more the corps has organic artillery and engineers to support such of the divisions that need it; so with the next higher unit, the field army. And so on. If tactical air is a weapon, why shouldn't the same principle hold true? I don't think our division commanders necessarily feel their jobs are of the greatest importance, but I do think they question, and are concerned that they do not have a reasonable minimum of air support under their own control as do the Marines.

"In this latter connection relative to the Air Force argument sidestepping the need of a wing because of the 'special nature' of amphibious operations, the speciousness of the Air Force position can be illustrated by the fact that of the 61 major amphibious landings in World War II, the Army participated in 58, and the Marines in 14. Of the number of divisions participating in major landings the Army had 143 and the Marines 21. Of the 61 major operations the Army commanded 45 and the Navy 16, and I take it none by the Marines, that is, overall commanders.

"Another significant figure is shore-to-shore operations which usually take place after the Navy with their landing boats pull out and are undertaken by the commander of troops ashore to capture some off-lying island or strong point on the mainland some distance from the original landing beach. There were 324 such landings made by the Army against 20 for the Marines."

ROUGH ON THE DOUGHBOY

"Our tactical support by the 5th and 13th Air Forces in southwest Pacific was pitifully small and grossly inept until March 1945 when the Jap air was pulled back for defense of the home empire. Whereas the naval support from escort carriers at Leyte (we had no carriers for the first 2 years, 1942–44 in New Guinea) was superb; and the Marine wing that supported us in the Luzon campaign was a wonderful experience for all of us.

"The Air Force position was just that described in their statement, namely that the greatest threat was the Jap air and they

couldn't take care of both. As long as the Army has no organic air support it will always be the same, but it is a little rough on the doughboy who sees his Marine colleague getting the best support on earth."

Memorial Day Address by Larry H. McWane

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, June 2, Mr. Larry H. McWane, executive secretary of the Lynchburg, Va., Chamber of Commerce, made a splendid Memorial Day address at Appomattox, Va. Mr. McWane has devoted considerable study to Virginia history, and he draws from this in his fine address.

I commend his speech to the reading of the Members of the House, and I take pleasure in inserting this in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The speech follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a privilege to be here on this occasion. You have honored me with your invitation.

As we stand on this ground we confine our thoughts to the year 1865 when on April 9 Gen. Robert E. Lee and Gen. U. S. Grant came to terms thus bringing to an end the 4 most devastating years of war in United States history. However, I want to go beyond those years, back to the time this country was founded.

In 1607, the Susan Constant, the Godspeed, and the Discovery landed at Jamestown, in Virginia. It was to be the beginning of a new nation. The closing words of the detailed instructions given to those Englishmen of that colony were as follows:

"Lastly and chiefly, the way to prosper is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God, the giver of all goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out."

Lets repeat those first few words, "the way to prosper is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own." Certainly if we are divided into various and sundry groups who are working to destroy each other, we not only cannot prosper, but we do not deserve to prosper.

But lets go back again to 1607. When each colony in America was settled, adventurers and soldiers and priests stood side by side in their joint efforts. Some came just for the adventure, others because they wanted to start life all over again, and still others because they wanted complete freedom of their lives, including the freedom to worship as they pleased.

It was from that sort of beginning that this Nation was born. Back in Jamestown, in 1619—1 year before the Mayflower landed—representative government was established in Virginia. We read that the first House of Burgesses met in the log church at Jamestown, and with their hats on their heads the members were led in the opening prayer by Master Buck, the village minister. From that day it has been the custom for legislative bodies in America to invoke the guidance of almighty God as the first step of their deliberations.

Ironically, too, that same year 1619 that saw the first legislative body meet in America, also saw a Dutch man-of-war land at Jamestown and sell 20 Negro men—N-e-g-a-r-s, as early history spelled it—as slaves to the new colony. Human slavery and democracy were both instituted here the same year, the two opposites in human relationships.

This new country was to have a rocky road to travel. Perhaps it was that rocky road that made it a success. It might not have been so under different conditions. If England had read the signs reasonably well, and had interpreted the temper of the people here, there probably would never have been a War of the Revolution, and never would have been a free United States of America. We would probably have been a dominion of the United Kingdom, as Canada is and has remained.

But the British Government refused to see the American situation as it was. It imposed laws and rules on its own people in America that it would never have accepted if they had been imposed on them at home. The policy of England prior to and during the War of the Revolution was utterly stupid, and that stupidity lost England her chance to continue as the greatest Nation on earth.

This new country was settled by every race on the globe, yet grew into power as one people. It contained groups of every denomination and every church, yet it has only one religion. That is the way it began, without much else except the determination to be a land of the free and to grow in that freedom.

No price was too great to pay for that freedom. When Patrick Henry pronounced his famous words in St. John's Church in Richmond, "Give me liberty or give me death," it was not just the dramatic utterance of one man. It was the echoing of a general sentiment of many thousands of patriots who made an army of too great strength for any nation to withstand.

Look at Valley Forge, there where Washington's soldiers were hungry, were cold, and almost naked in ragged uniforms. Where, when they walked they left blood in their tracks in the snow. Soldiers who stay to fight under those conditions cannot lose.

It was in that campaign, on the night before the battle of Trenton, that General Washington issued his famous order to "put only Americans on guard tonight." It was a confidential order issued to his department commanders on the whole front. The liberty of a whole nation depended on a victory in that battle. A defeated army would lose everything.

That same Army under George Washington, at Yorktown, only a few miles from the Jamestown that had set the pattern of American courage accepted the sword of Lord Cornwallis in token of the victory for American arms. At that moment, the greatest Nation the world has ever known was born. Because those people made themselves all of one mind for the good of their country and their own.

Many truly American customs have since been developed. From the beginning of the making of American money we have put "In God We Trust" on every coin produced by our Government. Even our games are typical of our sort of folks. Baseball, with its hardhitting brand of good sportsmanship where we admire the winner but will not countenance his winning by unfair means. And football, simple and rugged sport that teaches the value of team work to both players and spectators alike; where only a few men carry the ball, but most must block and tackle and run interference. Those seldom get the applause of the crowd, but they know the game could never be won without their good playing.

Then there are the American homes, where little children are taught—or should I say were taught—to get down on their knees at night and say their little, "Now I lay me down to sleep," in recognition of the protection of a heavenly Father while they are asleep.

Yes, and those early Americans learned that there is dignity and honor in hard work, even if it be in the splitting of rails. They established a sort of code among Government officials, that insisted that public money and property belonged to all the people, and must be protected, not just from thieves, but in a manner to get the best possible results and public services at the least possible cost. That is one way American governments at all levels have been able to keep the confidence of the people, and one way, if violated for long, the people will lose that confidence.

Those people back yonder believed in personal integrity in self-reliance, a proper ambition, a pride in personal independence, and a bit of jealousy of personal rights but a wholesome respect for the accomplishments of others. The Nation made up of people who held those beliefs led the world further in the last 100 years than the world had progressed in the previous ten hundred years.

American ingenuity made that progress. It was the spirit that inspired men to do things for themselves rather than accept things done for them. They wanted to experience the pride of their own accomplishments. And they wanted the individual rewards that come from doing those things well. We have come to call that spirit the system of free enterprise.

In this Southland of the United States we had no Marshall plan, no ECA, ninety-odd years ago. I don't say that is not best for today's problem in Europe because I am not sure I know conditions well enough there. But I do say that doing for themselves brought out the best that we had in the South after the War Between the States, and no chapter in human history is brighter than the accomplishments of what was a devastated land nearly 100 years ago, and through their own development by a people still determined to remain free.

It was that sort of American who was put on guard the night before the Battle of Trenton. It was that sort of American who made themselves all of one mind for the good of their country and their own, and who served and feared God. It is that sort of American that we must look to today, with the same sort of spirit as shown by our fathers, and put him on guard of our defenses of liberty today.

For today we are facing a menace that will tear down every good thing our fathers have built up, and will place this whole Nation in slavery if we are not alert. We are not all of one mind for the good of our country today. We do not have only Americans on guard tonight.

We have seen many insiduous things develop here that tend to destroy us. Men are now encouraged to drift with the current rather than fight to get ahead. The competitive spirit, instead of being used to bring out the good in productive enterprise, has been directed to set labor against capital, the farmer against the city man, the white man against the colored man, the Christian against the Jew. A Nation founded upon the principle that all men are equal under the law cannot long endure when such class distinctions are deliberately created and one group attempts to destroy another. It is not the American way.

But it is the Russian way, the Soviet way to cause its enemies to disintegrate while it gets ready to take over later at a small cost. Whether those who today lead movements that cause hatred among us realize it or not, they are faithful allies of the wishes of communism.

We concern ourselves most with things here at home. While strikes, and riots, and quarreling in high places in our government take up our interest here, we have little time or inclination to think whether Russia's atomic bomb is ready for war with us. Besides, we look upon that as somebody else's business even though all of us will suffer.

We have just been through another horrible war, and peace is supposed to follow war. But today there is no peace. The minds of men are troubled today, and because of a Nation that was an ally in the war just ended. There is no real happiness where there are troubled minds.

We cannot look now toward England as a real barrier against any European menace. In that same England where stupidity lost the American colonies almost 200 years ago, we see state socialism now in control. We see production of essential goods and services limited by the mandates of men who are not concerned with the development of a great people, but only for power for themselves. Stalwart England that could not be beaten by two devastating wars, has now succumbed to alien philosophies while the minds of its people were turned to the problems of reconstruction.

We look toward France and Italy. There we see the long arm of communism reach out to control the labor unions through their Communist leaders, and when any worthwhile movements are begun there, strikes in essential industries and services are called to hinder.

You have heard the principles I am going to recite here, but they cannot be repeated enough to an American audience. Listen again:

1. You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging production;

2. You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong;

3. You cannot help small men by tearing down big men;

4. You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich;

5. You cannot lift the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer;

6. You cannot further the brotherhood of man by inciting class hatred;

7. You cannot establish character and courage by taking away a man's initiative and independence; and

8. You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves.

Of course, I don't approve the acts of men who make money unjustly off other men's labors. There has been too much of that sort of thing all over the world and all down the pages of history. The labor union movement would never have come into being if there had not been too many abuses of the power of employers. The right sort of labor union, in which its members know the facts that concern them and have the opportunity to express their free wills, is a necessity in the world of today.

But that necessity does not justify a situation where one man can, by a nod of his head, create a shutdown of all coal mines while a nation may freeze and starve, because a few other men do not behave as he wants them to behave.

Real success in America has required only ability and integrity. That is why 85 percent of our outstanding leaders in American history have risen from humble beginnings. They rose because they did their own individual thinking and because their diligence made or discovered their own opportunities. Has that system that gave those humble boys their chance proved a failure? It could not happen anywhere else than in America. For God's sake, lets keep it here.

There can be no real progress of mankind without truth and justice guiding the way. No one has to tell us what is truth, nor what is justice. We know because this Nation was built upon them. We learned those principles at our mother's knee. We know that when we lose truth and justice in our high places, we will have lost something very precious indeed. We will then have begun to decay.

Liberty does not die from direct attack. No man ever rose in America and cried out, "Down with liberty." And no man ever will. When liberty dies in America, it will die from decay of the principles that give it life. And those principles can only be maintained by men who are determined to be free.

These are grave problems we face today. Because our national differences have generated so much hatred we are inclined to be blinded by our emotions. We may not see the real picture clearly. Remember the old adage "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."

Will we remain a free people? Will we hand to our children the same torch of freedom that was handed to us? Will it have been undimmed by our use, and untarnished by our hands? Or will we stand by, each of us, waiting for someone else to come along and do the things we know must be done to maintain our integrity as a free people?

We are terribly busy with our individual affairs. We are so terribly busy that we haven't time to study what our duties ought to be. We know that government has a great part, but we leave it to the other fellow to take care of that. We don't want to be bothered with this thing called politics, anyway.

Will history record, 200 years from now, that America was lost because of the same sort of stupidity that lost us to England just about 200 years ago? England gave up only one of her colonies then, but it was one that was populated by her own people, most of whom would have stayed loyal to the mother country if conditions had not become unbearable. In our case, we stand to lose all we have—our own selves—either to a system of state socialism or to be a vassal to communism with its headquarters at Moscow. England's former stupidity will be small compared with what may happen to us.

There are those who have been terribly afraid since it was announced that Russia has the atomic bomb. This is no time for cowards in places of leadership. Nor is it a time for men who do not believe in the American way to stand guard over the interests of American citizens. This is a time of opportunity for brave men, for capable and loyal American men, an opportunity to help bring about a condition of all of one mind for the good of our country and our own.

I want to read to you a few lines from Sir Owen Seaman which I think are appropriate to the situation of today:

"Ye that have faith to look with fearless eyes
Beyond the tragedy of a world at strife,
And trust that out of night and death shall rise
The dawn of ampler life;
Rejoice, whatever anguish round your heart,
That God has given you for a priceless dower,
To live in these great times and have your part
In freedom's crowning hour;
That you may tell your sons who see the light
High in the heavens—their heritage to take—
'I saw the powers of darkness put to flight,
I saw the morning break.'"

It seems only yesterday that our boys were on the battlefronts, willing to die, if need be, that we might live. Those boys would never have put a Frenchman, or a Russian, or even an Englishman, on guard on their firing lines there, even when they were their allies.

The boys who came back have again taken their places here. We owe those who did not come back, the obligation to maintain the principles for which they died. They were of all races, and colors, and creeds, but they were Americans all, dedicated to the cause of freedom.

At this late hour—and it may be later than we think—as we see the dark clouds rise again on our Nation's horizon, let us determine that we, too, will follow General Washington's order issued at the Battle of Trenton—that we, too, will "Put only Americans on guard tonight." If we do not, we cannot be certain to maintain those good things that our fathers handed down to us. If we do, we may be sure that our children will enjoy the liberty that has been ours.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is just as simple as that.

Let's Dedicate Ourselves to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, in observance of Memorial Day, the editorial of the Family Weekly, a magazine supplement distributed by over 150 daily newspapers in the United States, featured in the May 26, 1957, issue a portion of my Memorial Day message under the title, "Let's Dedicate Ourselves to America."

The article follows:

Memorial Day is a day of memories and a day of rededication.

We Americans know that the man who dies in the service of our country makes this sacrifice in order that the hopes and ambitions of our Founding Fathers might be realized, and that our Constitution may continue to stand as the bulwark of our Nation.

Those whom we honor were adequate to the challenges before them. Now is the time for the living to resolve that we will be adequate to the challenges before us. This is the greatest honor we can give those who have gone before.

We Americans write and speak and think freely. We worship God as we please. We are protected from unlawful searches and seizures. We enjoy the freedom to elect those who administer and legislate for us, and we fix conditions and limitations on their authority. We are secure in our property rights and in living our lives as we wish.

These great privileges, far from being a matter of course, were never enjoyed by any nation until 170 years ago. Are the fortunate and happy conditions in which we live entirely of our own making? They are not.

They are gifts from the dead, not conquests of the living.

Let us not only acknowledge our debt, but let us try to pay it. There is one way in which we can make some small payment. These men gave their lives for our Nation and the principles upon which it was founded. We can honor America's dead by understanding our heritage and, further, by preserving unity among the living.

If our honored dead could tell us what reward they would wish us, they would, I believe, say, "Continue the fight for the great cause for which we gave our lives."

These heroes know that our Nation may be destroyed as ruthlessly in times of peace as by ruthless enemies in time of war. In peace, it may be destroyed by subversive doctrine, by abandonment of fundamental prin-

ciples, by surrender of the rights and privileges of the citizens, by an economy which denies to men their political freedom, or by a vicious and wasteful fiscal system which destroys individual initiative.

Against the armed enemy we rush forward to do our part in defense of our country. Often peacetime undermining of our civic structures comes in such pleasing disguise it leads many to welcome and encourage it.

We are apt to forget history's lesson that government by the people is not eternal and that such governments have fallen victim to internal decay. In paying our debt to the heroes to whom Memorial Day is dedicated, let us be as vigilant in guarding against our own apathy as again foreign foes.

The American form of government is only for those who appreciate it, who deserve it, and who are willing to defend it against all enemies at home or abroad. Let us resolve that, no matter what the cost, we will deserve our form of government, we will protect it, and we will pass it on unimpaired to those who follow.

Today, tomorrow, next week, next month, let us take time to recall in grateful appreciation the services and sacrifices of those who have made possible these blessings which we enjoy.

Let us make Memorial Day truly a day of renewed dedication to all the ideals for which America stands.

Robert Crosser: A Tribute

SPEECH
OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, it is with unfeigned sorrow that I have to announce to the House the death, on Monday last, at Suburban Hospital, Bethesda, of my dear and honored friend, Robert Crosser, late representative from Ohio. To you also, Mr. Speaker, I know the news brings especial grief, as it must at the same time evoke many memories across the years, for you both became Members of this House on the same day, March 4, 1913, the day which saw the first inauguration of Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States. How far away and long ago that must seem to you.

Robert Crosser was born June 7, 1874, the son of a Scotch physician, Dr. James Crosser, of Holytown, Lanarkshire. We are told in a biographical sketch which appeared some years ago that the first book Robert ever owned was awarded him by the headmaster of the Glengowan School for learning to read well. The book was entitled "Being Afraid," a singularly inappropriate title, it would seem, for one who was never to be afraid of anything. In that same year, 1881, the family immigrated to America, settling first in Cleveland, Ohio, and later in the little town of Salineville, in Columbiana County of the same State. Here the boy grew to manhood.

As Dr. Crosser's income as a country physician was not large, Robert was obliged to fend largely for himself. His grit and ambition were early manifested. During summers he worked on farms or as a bricklayer's tender. He won a scholarship to Kenyon College from which he was graduated in 1897 with a fine record both as student and athlete.

So far back as his high-school years he set his heart upon becoming a lawyer. In the autumn following his graduation he entered Columbia University Law School, but for financial reasons was unable to complete the first year's attendance. He found temporary employment in Allegheny, Pa., and in the fall of 1898 entered the Cincinnati Law School where one of his professors was a future President and Chief Justice of the United States, William Howard Taft. After a 3-year course at the Cincinnati Law School he received his bachelor of laws degree and was admitted to the bar of the Ohio supreme court as attorney and counselor at law, solicitor in chancery, and proctor in admiralty. The Scotch lad was now ready to face the world, and as the first step of his career he began the practice of his profession in the office of Ford, Snyder, Henry & McGraw in Cleveland.

After 2½ years in the Cleveland firm, Crosser was appointed professor of the law of torts in Baldwin-Wallace University Law School. In 1907 he formed a partnership in Cleveland with Clyde M. White, which lasted until Crosser's first election to Congress.

Crosser had early manifested keen interest in politics. There appears to be some element in the soil and air of the Buckeye State that predisposes one to such a calling, as I am sure my distinguished colleagues from Ohio on both sides of the aisle will agree. So the presidential campaign year of 1908 found Crosser energetically stumping the State for the Democratic candidate, William Jennings Bryan and against Crosser's old professor, Taft. Two years later Crosser himself won his first public office by his election in November 1910, to the Ohio Legislature for the term 1911–12.

An indication of the rapidity of his rise in popular esteem, both in the practice of his profession and as legislator, was seen in his election to the Fourth Constitutional Convention of Ohio—a very great honor for so young a man who had been in the public eye for so brief a time. The judgment of Crosser's friends and constituents was immediately confirmed by his election by the convention as chairman of the initiative and referendum committee. It was this committee which reported those provisions of the present constitution of Ohio which are embodied in the initiative and referendum amendments. The chairman himself contributed a scholarly discussion of the committee's work to the Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science for September 1912.

With his interest in public affairs and the prestige he had acquired as a member of the constitutional convention, it was inevitable that Crosser should be a contender for a seat in the National Legislature, and in the elections of November 1912, which witnessed the overturn of the Republican administration, Crosser was elected as Democratic Representative at Large from Ohio to the 63d Congress.

I sought a seat in Congress—

He remarked at this time—

because I believe the best place for a man who has a philosophy of things is in the law-making body where he may speak openly, and freely advocate principles believed by him to be right.

Two years later Crosser was reelected, this time as Representative of the 21st Ohio District, covering several wards of the city of Cleveland. He quickly made himself felt in this House. During his first term he had attracted considerable attention by sponsoring a resolution to instruct the House Commerce Committee to report on a bill for Government ownership of the railroads which, he declared, had been "operated in a manner prejudicial to the country." Two years later, in 1916, Crosser was instrumental in bringing about passage of the Adamson Act limiting working hours of railroad employees to 8 hours a day; concomitantly, he advocated municipal ownership of public utilities. All this, at the time, was considered by many to be very drastic indeed, but Crosser never hesitated to sponsor radical measures when he thought radical measures were called for, and looking back we can see that in many respects he was ahead of his time. For instance, in his capacity as a member of the first Flood Control Committee, Crosser was "one of the first advocates of reforestation and system of tributary dams and reservoirs to control floods."

With the advent of the First World War Crosser's strongly marked traits, arising from deeply cherished convictions, came dramatically to the fore. Those of us, Mr. Speaker, who are old enough to hark back to that far-off period, can remember the irresistible wave of warlike enthusiasm, bordering at times on hysteria in certain quarters, which swept the country and did not leave this body unaffected. It has been true of every war: it has always been so, and it always will be so. Representative Crosser, along with his Ohio colleague, Representative William Gordon, could not accept the principle of conscription. To him, it was deeply repugnant: it attacked the sacred dignity of the individual—and if ever there was one who might truly be described as a symbol of rugged individualism that man was Robert Crosser, of Ohio. His conviction in this matter, it may be added, was shared by the then Speaker, Champ Clark. Crosser was one of 24 Congressmen who had the temerity to vote aaginst the President's conscription bill; more, he offered to Mr. Wilson's espionage bill an amendment "for the behoof and protection of philosophical anarchists," conscientious objectors; and, finally, for the purpose of financing the war, he proposed a national single tax. His course at the time was terribly unpopular, but, while men might deplore his judgment, they were compelled to admire his courage. It is never easy, at any time, to make a Scotchman's blood quail—and Crosser was born in Lanarkshire. The inevitable happened: Crosser lost the support of the Cleveland

Democratic organization and was defeated for renomination in the summer primaries of 1918 by the organization candidate. Two years later, in 1920, he ran again and was defeated by a single vote. This, considering the unpopularity of his war views, was really a great tribute: it demonstrated impressively that he still held the respect of his old constituents. Say what one will, men do respect courage.

This was presently confirmed by Crosser's reelection to the 58th Congress, and on March 4, 1923, he resumed his old place in the House. It is not the time or the place, Mr. Speaker, to review the brilliant and fruitful legislative career which followed Mr. Crosser's return to the House. In the 32 years which ensued until his retirement in 1955, Mr. Crosser achieved a record which, for constructiveness and fidelity to duty, was second to none in this Chamber. I could not hope, in a brief summary, to do it justice.

Always interested in the problems of tranportation, Mr. Crosser had the hearty support of the great railroad brotherhoods.. He introduced, as early as February 1932, a bill to encourage operation of American passenger airship lines between the United States, Europe, and the Orient by amending the Merchant Marine Act to enable the Postmaster General to make mail contracts with airlines similar to those of ocean liners. Six years later, the Air Line Pilots Association, an affiliate of the AFL, conferred upon Crosser honorary membership carrying the title "Chief Pilot—International" in recognition of meritorious and unselfish service repeatedly rendered to the airline pilots when their horizons were beclouded with trouble and uncertainty.

With the return of the Democratic Party to control of Congress in March 1933, Crosser was named to the new Democratic Steering Committee in the House; he became its first chairman and was again to serve in that capacity in the 78th Congress—1943–44. As a member of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Crosser was instrumental in the passage, in 1934, of amendments to the Railroad Labor Act which, in the words of D. B. Robertson, president of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen, established the right of railroad workers to organize and bargain collectively.

Mr. Crosser's 25th anniversary was fittingly celebrated at a testimonial dinner in Cleveland upon which happy occasion the guest of honor and his fellow guests were fortunate enough to have you, Mr. Speaker, as the principal speaker. An editorial at this time, which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, hailed Mr. Crosser "an uncommon Congressman" who "with Caledonian tenacity sticks to his convictions, whether or not they are popular at the moment."

Illness forced him into a wheelchair in 1937, but he continued steadfastly to discharge his duties as a Member, and later chairman, of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. At last, as the end of his service in the 84th Congress approached, he felt it necessary to bow to the creeping infirmities against which he had battled so long and so bravely. In 1945 he had lost his wife, to whom he had been married for nearly 40 years. Two children and five grandchildren survive him. To them, I know the House extends its deep sympathy.

At the time of Mr. Crosser's retirement, Mr. Speaker, to pronounce his eulogy. You fittingly observed of Mr. Crosser that "he has performed a great service not only to the people of Ohio but to the country."

Let those words stand as his accolade as we bid our departed friend an affectionate farewell.

Address of Rear Adm. R. S. Clark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the address of Rear Adm. R. S. Clark, United States Navy, commander, Naval Air Advanced Training Command, at Corpus Christi, Tex. This address was delivered on Friday, May 17, 1957, at Shreveport, La.

The address follows:

Gentlemen, Saturday, May 18, is the eighth observance of Armed Forces Day. On that occasion, we in the Armed Forces hold open houses, parades, demonstrations of new equipment, and try in many other ways to show the civilian members of our communities just what we are doing. It is an important and ambitious undertaking.

I say ambitious because in 1 day I wonder just how successful we can possibly be. Sometimes—I might almost say frequently—we professionals find something going on in one or the other of our services that is completely new and different and a big surprise to us. This points up a fact that everyone knows, but doesn't always fully appreciate—that the Defense Establishment today is big, complex, and forever changing.

Appropriately enough, the theme for Armed Forces Day is "Power for Peace." President Eisenhower in a special message to Congress in January stated, "It is well to remind ourselves that our basic national objective in international affairs remains peace—a world peace based on justice. Until a degree of success crowns our efforts that will assure to all nations peaceful existence, we must, in the interest of peace itself, remain vigilant, alert, and strong."

Summarized in this brief statement by the President is our present-day national policy, the philosophy which employs the thinking moments of the leaders of our Government and of our armed services. It is a philosophy defining our ultimate objective—peace—and the means by which for the present, the path to this goal must be approached—by remaining strong and secure. In this statement, we in the Armed Forces find the what and the why of our job—to build, develop, and train the best in men and materials to safeguard world peace.

On occasions such as today, a great temptation exists to dwell on the more spectacular aspects of our business—the big carriers launched, the electronic wizardry of our missile-guidance systems, or the performance of our newer jets in the fleet. But are bigness, complexity, and newness in themselves true measures of strength? Not always. We in the military services must repeatedly renew our investigation and sharpen our sense of practical values to be sure we aren't being carried away by the glamor of bigness, the awe of complexity, or the glitter of newness. Our Navy today, as a member of the national-defense team, is evolving into a service the shape and size of which would be unbelievable to the mariner of even a dozen years ago. We must be sure that this new Navy is more potent, more practical, and more efficient than it has ever been. A few basic principles cannot be forgotten if we are to master our evolution and not be mastered by it.

The need for mobility is the first of these principles.

In the present age, it is a startling fact that all targets, regardless of how tough or heavily defended, can be severely damaged or destroyed by nuclear weapons—provided they can be located prior to launching an attack. This puts an unusually high premium on the ability to move around—on the ability to prevent an enemy from knowing your whereabouts sufficiently in advance to plan on an attack against you. An enemy may know at any given moment where one or more of our ships is located, but he cannot predict where they will be several hours or days later. Reconnaissance planes which he sends out in an attempt to keep track of a fleet at sea could be quickly shot down. The mobility of our fleets gives them a very significant advantage in the nuclear-missile age.

Another important principle is flexibility, diversification, and openmindness in planning.

Let us review the nature of the success that our military policy has achieved over the past few years.

We have been confronted with a totalitarian-type opposition which has clearly demonstrated its readiness to resort to military force whenever the time was ripe to further its objectives. Against this type of enemy, only one attitude could be adopted—to be prepared for any eventuality.

The most obvious eventuality to prepare against has been, naturally, the surprise nuclear attack. As a defense, we have readied a potential counter-punch so powerful and so lethal as to prevent this initial act of aggression. This is our military policy of deterrence.

So far, our Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine team has won this phase of the struggle. But what happens as this faceoff continues. It seems reasonable to expect our enemy to examine other ways of furthering his interests—ways perhaps not so spectacular, but nevertheless ways which promise greater return for the risk involved.

Here is where the need for versatility arises. Planning for these other tricks which an enemy may have up his sleeve is considerably more complicated—and not nearly so glamorous—as readying a nuclear counter-punch. Our national weapons must not be frozen to the deterrent-force type of planning. They must be useful in all sorts of ways. It is unfortunately a fact that the development of weapons of warfare is cumulative, and just because a man may now be killed by radiation doesn't rule out the possibility that a clout over the head with a caveman's club won't still accomplish the same effect.

A government's freedom of action in international affairs depends largely on the ability and readiness of its military forces

to function effectively in any situation. If military capabilities are relatively few—in other words if flexibility is lacking—the number of courses of action open to our Government in any particular situation are also few.

Fortunately our country has avoided the pitfalls of restrictive military channelization. Our Government recognizes the danger of channelizing military capabilities to the point where we might be forced to choose between looking on helplessly and initiating all-out nuclear war. We have, therefore, developed our powerful and closely integrated team of Army, Navy, Marine, and Air Force components—a team with a wide range of military capabilities. Emphasis is on readiness for any eventuality—from cold war to nuclear conflict. And any development within the Armed Forces which at this time would institute a blind uniformity of thought, tactics, or weapons is not wise.

It may be interesting to note some of the advantages that from time to time accrue to a country possessing naval strength.

Long established custom permits ships of our fleets to move in and out of foreign ports, showing the United States flag, giving courage to our friends, giving pause to our enemies. No question of violating the sovereignty of another state is involved in such visits.

The ships of our Navy are sovereign United States territory wherever they may be. They are free from control or limitation by any foreign power. They are ready for use, by the United States, for the United States.

Our 6th and 7th Fleets are on the spot in overseas troubled areas, standing by for any eventuality, the 6th in the Mediterranean, and the 7th in the Far East. They are positive proof that the United States makes common cause with her allies in Europe and Asia. And yet, if they are needed elsewhere, they can move quickly and easily through international waters to the new trouble area.

The ability to deploy our fleets overseas and to keep them there indefinitely without political complications has other unique and significant advantages. Any conflict which develops between our fleets and enemy forces automatically establishes the principal areas of combat and devastation beyond our shores, between our fleets and the centers of military power in enemy territories. This means that a great portion of the destruction of combat, which, in a nuclear war, would be beyond our comprehension, takes place in enemy territory or on the high seas.

As you know, the world oceans cover over 100 million square miles. By comparison, our own country covers only some 3 million. The more a potential aggressor must worry about our wide-ranging carriers, about our jet fighters and attack planes, and about our guided missiles, all on the move around his extensive coastline, the less effort he can devote to our stationary military bases, our industries, and our cities.

Our overseas fleets have a significant nuclear delivery capability, and they constitute a very powerful deterrent to aggression. In addition, the offensive power of our Navy will soon include a complete family of successful missiles and will be augmented by jet-powered seaplanes. The fleet ballistic missile, which is under development, will add greatly to our offensive power, which means our deterrent and retaliatory power.

Since last we observed Armed Forces Day, a new carrier, the *Saratoga*, has joined the fleet, and the guided missile cruiser *Canberra* and the guided missile destroyer *Gyatt* serve with the cruiser *Boston* as the world's only guided-missile ships. The dramatic performance of the nuclear-powered *Nautilus* forecasts a Navy of the future with striking forces of unprecedented range and mobility. Already advance procurement has started of critical components for the propulsion plant for a large carrier with eight nuclear reactors. In our sister services, shock and firepower have been added by integration of guided missiles and atomic weapons. Helicopters enhance the mobility and flexibility of our ground forces, while supersonic Air Force bombers and fighters reach farther and faster for their targets. It has been a revolutionary year.

I have mentioned some of the requirements that must be observed if our Armed Forces are to do their job successfully. I have two more. They both concern people. The first is a need for men of ability, imagination, and dedication. The old proverb, "A short sword may be lengthened, by taking one step towards the enemy," is as valid today as centuries ago. Brave men and inspired leaders are always a necessity, no matter what the state of mechanization in our military services.

My last thought also concerns people—the citizens of the United States. Without your support, understanding, and cooperation, we are nothing, for I believe that an inspired, devoted, and effective armed services is not possible unless matched by an understanding and sympathetic public. I solicit your interest in our problems, and your support for our needs.

I consider it a distinct pleasure to have been invited to speak to you today. I sincerely hope that the next Armed Forces Day finds us measurably nearer the objective that our Commander in Chief has set for us—world peace based on justice.

On Right Road

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point an editorial from the Lynden Tribune, a weekly newspaper published by Bill and Julian Lewis at Lynden, Wash., heart of the Northwest's dairy empire. Title of the editorial is "On Right Road."

The editorial comments on the recent findings of an independent research organization which conducted an impartial survey based on the simple question of whether or not the people of the Northwest like the partnership and cooperation program of power development now being employed in the Northwest.

This editorial stresses the fact that these findings are emphatic, and that they reveal the people of the Northwest are desirous that all agencies concerned with the production of power unite their forces and work together for the mutual benefit of their own future and the industrial development of the Pacific Northwest.

Text of the editorial is as follows:

ON RIGHT ROAD

That the Puget Sound Utilities Council is on the right road in its firm conviction that cooperation among electric utilities is the key to ample low-cost power and economic progress was proven in a recent survey.

The findings showed that support for the Puget Sound Utilities Council has risen to a margin of 17 to 1 as compared to 15 to 1, in 1956. The new power philosophy of partnership and cooperation in the power field has now reached overwhelming proportions. Tiring of Government controls entirely, citizens are demanding that the future of the Northwest be free of partisan politics and that the middle course on power is best suited to the maximum growth of the area.

This unique, cooperative endeavor was first undertaken in this country by Puget Power, the Seattle and Tacoma municipal systems and the Chelan and Snohomish Public Utility Districts. These electric utilities have played a major part in speeding the development of the Northwest, by working together instead of looking out only for their own interests.

Ambassador Romulo on Extraterritorial Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, recent events have focused attention on problems created by the presence of our military personnel in Formosa, Japan, and other countries in the Far East. In one respect, these questions involve matters of high national policy. Under the circumstances it might be wise for us to heed the advice and counsel of our proven friends in that area. Such a counselor is the Philippine Ambassador, Gen. Carlos P. Romulo. I present herewith remarks on this vital question by General Romulo delivered in New York, May 26, 1957:

EXCERPTS OF ADDRESS DELIVERD BY GEN. CARLOS P. ROMULO, PHILIPPINE AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES AND REPRESENTATIVE ON THE U. N. SECURITY COUNCIL, AT THE ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA, WALDORF-ASTORIA, MAY 26, 1957

The recent unfortunate developments in Japan, Korea, and Formosa are indeed most deplorable. Violence is unexcusable and must be condemned. However, while we must express our shock and dismay at such manifestations of mob rule, those of us who are friends of America and who come from that section of the world, must trace the cause of the outbursts because it is evident that they are not confined to one particular region but are spreading wherever the United States has military bases in the Far East.

We err when we attribute these disturbances to Communist agitation. While there is no doubt that it is welcome ammunition for the Communists and that they would aid and abet them whenever they are given the opportunity, the fact is that these disturbances are not Communist-inspired. They also err who say that they are an expression of a growing sentiment of anti-Americanism because of the large number of Americans employed in Korea and Formosa or because of these American's high standard of living which, it is claimed, has aroused envy on the part of the natives who are not as well circumstanced.

The truth is that in Japan as well as in Korea and Formosa, these recent outbursts were ignited by incidents resulting from the trial of American soldiers. The crimes for which these soldiers were accused did not arouse the indignation of the populace as much as the fact that the courts of the country where the crimes were committed were not allowed to try the accused. What

was resented was that the native civil courts were made to yield to the American military.

May I say in this connection that even in the Philippines—and I daresay you will not find anywhere a more friendly people, more appreciative of American friendship than my people—the recent Philippine-American negotiations on military bases have been stymied because of disagreement between the American and Filipino panels on the question of court jurisdiction, precisely the same question that is the root-cause of the troubles in Japan, Korea, and Formosa.

We in Asia recall with gratitude and admiration that it was the United States that pioneered in exposing, denouncing and opposing the extra-territoriality rights in China. It is therefore difficult for Asians to understand why America should now insist in denying court jurisdiction to civil authorities for its soldiers. To us, court jurisdiction is part and parcel of our national sovereignty, and especially to peoples newly liberated, national sovereignty is sacrosanct. Anything that violates it arouses the resentment.

Japan, Korea, and Nationalist China are unquestionably aware of the incontestable fact that they have no better friend than the United States. In the history of the world, there has not been as generous a victor in its treatment of a vanquished foe as the United States has been to Japan. Korea and Nationalist China do not have to be told that they owe their present security in large measure to American largesse and American protection.

It is certainly not ingratitude that has caused them to forget themselves. The Communists are mistaken in exploiting the riots as a sign of anti-Americanism. The Koreans and the Nationalist Chinese have not changed their loyalty to democracy and they remain true friends and allies of the United States.

But the events of the recent past can serve as a reminder that even among the closest of friends there must be at all times mutual respect for each other's rights, that only that friendship is worth having that is based on equality, that one nation cannot demand for itself what it denies to others, and that it is not anti-Americanism for the Japanese and the Koreans and the Nationalist Chinese to defend their national self-respect. A nation devoid of self-respect falls in the category of a puppet, and those of us who believe in America know that America wants no puppets but only equal allies and friends.

Why Disarm?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Daily Press, St. Marys, Pa., Wednesday, May 29, 1957:

WHY DISARM?

Harold E. Stassen, the man thoroughly repudiated by his own party last year when he tried to ditch Vice President NIXON in favor of Christian Herter, seems determined to work out some kind of a disarmament agreement with Russia and has been in almost constant conference with Soviet Union representatives on this matter the past several weeks.

He has been called a minister without portfolio, but that has not deterred him from trying to bind United States to another treaty with a nation that has already violated more than 30 treaties to which she was a signatory power.

Why any nation, much less United States, would put any trust in Russia, passes all human understanding. She stands out today as the sole menace to world peace, violator of every standard of human decency, has made prisoners of millions of her own people, has murdered other millions who have raised their voices in protest and has sent her murderous agents into every country on the globe in an effort to incite rebellion and overthrow other forms of government.

She has done nothing to earn the trust of other powers. She has walked on the most helpless of human being, as witness last year's outrages in Hungary where a freedom-loving people were machine-gunned to death. Today Russia has built a cordon of wire fencing around the escape corridors of Hungary to prevent others from leaving that land, pictured as so happy under Soviet domination.

Better toss Stassen to the dogs before he gets this country so deeply involved we'll be up to our neck in trouble.

Cadet John H. Vickers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's graduation at the United States Military Academy at West Point was a remarkable day for those who attained their commissions after their strenuous but wonderful 4-year course of scholastic and military training.

I am sure all my colleagues in the House of Representatives join me in rejoicing in the outstanding success of Cadet John H. Vickers, my appointee from Fairfield, Conn., son of Mr. and Mrs. Irving H. Vickers, who graduated as No. 1 in his class and who received 12 of the 29 military and academic awards presented to the members of the first class. The awards to Cadet Vickers were:

A life membership in the National Geographic Society given by the American Legion for the highest rating in chemistry; a wristwatch by the Military Order of Foreign Wars of the United States for the highest average in social sciences; the Francis Vinton Greene memorial pistol for standing first in general order of merit for 4 years; a camera by the Veterans of Foreign Wars for the highest average in physics; and a wristwatch by the Steuben Society of America for the highest rating in foreign languages.

Also, a set of books from the American Bar Association for the highest rating in law; a pair of binoculars by the Ladies Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars for the highest rating in mechanics of solids; the Robert E. Lee saber by the United Daughters of the Confederacy for the highest rating in mathematics; a set of books as a memorial to the late Brig. Gen. William A. Mitchell for the highest rating in military engineering and military history; a portable radio by the Armed Forces Communications and Electronics Association for the highest rating in electrical engineering; a portable typewriter by the Daughters of the American Revolution for the highest rating in mechanics of fluids; and a rifle by the American Ordnance Association for the highest rating in ordnance.

This is the largest number of prizes a cadet has won in recent years; in fact, it might be termed "quite a haul."

I am justly proud and pleased in the brilliant record achieved by this young man who should go far in his chosen career. Each of us entrusted with the privilege and responsibility in naming candidates to the Academies must rejoice with this outstanding example of an opportunity to attend one of those and the remarkable result attained through the application to his studies and using to the fullest his natural talents.

Bogus Jury Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the issue of whether or not the right to jury trial should be attached to contempt proceedings under the civil rights laws has raged for some time. Traditional Anglo-Saxon common law and American jurisprudence, with very few special exceptions, has never provided for such a right, since contempt is not a crime in the meaning of the Constitution or the common law of England. The Washington (D. C.) Post of June 5, 1957, has a very illuminating editorial on this bogus issue and it would be well for all who consider this issue to read this explanation of why the jury trial in contempt procedures has rarely been allowed.

BOGUS JURY ISSUE

The addition of a jury-trial provision to the right-to-vote bill is undoubtedly a clever maneuver on the part of those who are determined to destroy it. They have taken their stand behind the popular concept of trial by jury, hoping that the public will not notice that the principle invoked is out of place in the enforcement of court orders in civil-rights cases. The only answer to such tactics is for an alert public to insist on getting the facts and to be guided by commonsense rather than misleading slogans.

Trial by jury is indeed a sacred right in all cases of criminal prosecution. State and local officials who administer voting laws in a discriminatory manner now have the right to a jury trial if they are prosecuted for that crime. Experience has shown, however, that criminal prosecutions after voting rights have been denied are an ineffective means of assuring the vote to all citizens. Consequently, the bill before the Senate committee would permit the Attorney General to

bring civil suits for preventive relief of the victims of discriminatory practices before an election takes place.

This would enable the courts to decide whether the law was being impartially administered, in accord with constitutional guaranties, and to issue orders to any official acting or threatening to act illegally. Orders of this kind are issued in many cases. For example, the Government now has power to seek enforcement of the Atomic Energy Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and many others in this way. The committee majority insists, however, that a jury shall determine whether or not the order of the court shall be enforced.

The traditional way of enforcing court orders is through the power of contempt. Judges rather than juries customarily pass on contempt charges for the very good reason that the issue at stake is enforcement of the court's orders or protection of its dignity. Congress made an exception to this rule in passing the Clayton Act in 1914. It extended the right of trial by jury to criminal contempt cases arising under that act where the alleged offense would also constitute a crime under Federal or local law. But it expressly exempted from this concession contempts arising out of disobedience to court orders in suits brought by the United States.

Congress also provided for jury trials in contempt proceedings arising under the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932, and that language has been written into the right-to-vote bill. In this case, however, there was a special reason for the action. Congress felt that crimes alleged to have been committed during enjoined strikes were being improperly punished as contempt. This seemed to be an evasion of the right to a jury trial that would have prevailed under ordinary criminal prosecutions.

This section of the Norris-LaGuardia Act was virtually nullified when Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act. More important is the fact that crimes of violence committed during a strike have no similarity to the deliberate acts of discrimination on the part of local officials in some southern communities against Negro voters. Under an orderly legal system this is precisely the type of action that can be properly restrained through equity proceedings. And once court orders have been issued, their enforcement should not depend upon finding a local jury that would uphold the court against the local official in contempt.

Seen in this light, the trial by jury amendment is a bogus issue. The committee acted not to uphold a sacred right of accused citizens but to thwart reasonable enforcement of the law in the traditional American way—the only way in which effective enforcement is possible.

Robert Crosser

SPEECH
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, to have learned of the passing of one of our beloved former colleagues, Robert Crosser, is to learn again how life both enriches and deprives. These many years I have known Robert Crosser, and many the hour he spent with me in my office granting me the benefit of his wisdom, of his sentient observations, his grasp of essentials. I feel myself one of the beneficiaries of his wisdom, and I feel most keenly the deprivation of this friendship which I valued. He left his legacy of wisdom for all of us to share.

His passing moves me to pause and take note that it is a portion of the lot of those of us serving in the Congress to make many friends here and then suffer their loss. This is true, in a measure, of all people, but because we work in closer relationship with other Members of the Congress each departure carries with it a poignancy of personal loss.

His was an indomitable spirit, and for that, as well as for his sensitivity, his courage and his learning, we honor him. Along with his many, many friends I offer my sympathy to his beloved family.

Memorial Day Address of Col. William H. McIntyre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include with these remarks a transcript of the address delivered by my very good friend, Col. William H. McIntyre of New York, on Memorial Day, last.

Colonel McIntyre has distinguished himself not only by his splendid military service but more particularly by his devotion to the care of his disabled comrades and their widows and orphans since the war has ended. A veteran of World War I, he was one of the original founders of the American Legion and has devoted himself to the welfare programs of our leading veterans organizations. During the period of World War II and throughout the years following that conflict, he rendered particular service in meeting every ship arriving at the port of New York carrying the bodies of those who were lost in battle.

I know of no one who has helped more to lighten the impact of the loss of our war dead than has Colonel McIntyre, and I believe very firmly that his outstanding services should be more fully recognized than they have been to date. His remarks on last Memorial Day reflect the character of the man and are commended to you for your careful perusal.

COMMEMORATIVE ADDRESS MADE BY WILLIAM H. MCINTYRE, MAY 1957

My fellow Americans, again we are observing a day of remembrance. Memorial Day has come once more with its silent but eloquent reminder to all of us—the living.

It is the reminder—coming like a voice from beyond thousands of graves—that the challenge of all the hero dead of all of our wars, who served and died for our ideal of freedom, still stands.

It is a recollection that the struggle for enduring peace with justice and liberty for all is a continuing one. It is just as necessary for us today—and every day—to give selfless devotion to this cause as it was for those legions of gallant patriots whose memory we honor.

We must establish in our minds and our hearts a new recognition and a greater awareness of the cost that has purchased and preserved our free insitutions and happy way of life. God forbid that the time shall ever come in this great land of ours when our people shall turn away from the patriotism of our forefathers as old fashioned. Our Memorial Day ceremonies at home and abroad, are a fitting and proper way to pay our respects to those who have fallen in battle that we might live as free men. These ceremonies are an essential part of the great American tradition of preserving and transmitting the torch of unity and liberty to succeeding generations.

Memorial Day is the sacred rallying day of this Republic. It is a clinging together bonded by precious memories of valor and of love of country that survived the test of death. Along with the tender remembrances of wreaths and prayers, there is an inspiration in Memorial Day ceremonies that posterity never swerve from our national ideals. Once we start discounting the supreme sacrifices of our hero dead, we shall be on the road that leads to the downfall of our society. Every great empire of the past that toppled, laid the groundwork for its fall when the people turned their backs on public service as civic virtue.

Memorial Day is the occasion on which we should honor our hero dead by rededicating ourselves to the emulation of that fierce loyalty to God and country which is the wellspring of our national strength. Without it we cannot hold onto our freedom and independence.

In April 1863, while the conflict between the States still raged, a group of ladies in Columbus, Miss., gave expression to their devotion by laying spring flowers at the graves of Confederate dead, as well as those of the Union forces who were buried in the same cemetery. Other communities followed this example.

For many years the GAR in the North and the Confederate veterans in the South—and their ladies—led in the annual observance of Memorial Day. Today the ranks of the Blue and of the Gray are gone. They belong to history now.

Recently, we celebrated the birthday of U. S. Grant, a great general and a President of the United States; he knew the ravages of war. On his tomb in New York City are inscribed the words "Let us have peace." In the White House we have another general who also knows the horrors of war and the suffering caused by it. He is also a lover of peace.

Today, it is the American Legion with its 17,000 posts in our great country which has taken over the responsibility for the leadership in Memorial Day observance everywhere. Legionnaires of three wars and their auxiliary ladies now march in the annual Memorial Day parades and gather around hallowed ground where their comrades-in-arms rest.

My presence here as a speaker is only incidental. You are here, not as observers or listeners, but as participants in a ritual of personal and national remembrance. My task has been to put in words some of the thoughts and feelings which I'm sure are common to all of us.

I salute each one of you who has been impelled through his own inner convictions to observe this Memorial Day in the way which seems most proper and fitting.

It is most important that we display our flag. It is the inspiration of our youth, the strength of our maturity, and the comfort of our old age. It symbolizes the free press, the right to think and to express our thoughts without fear. It guarantees religious freedom, the right of assembly, and the right to vote. It is the emblem which can be freely saluted by our citizens regardless of their race, creed, or color.

As the passing years inevitably lengthen the honored rolls of the post eternal, may

we continue to find peace and strength through this annually returning day of memorial. When at last other hands place the wreaths and other lips speak the time-honored sentiments, may this land which we love, continue free and strong, blessed in the memory of the countless thousands of her departed defenders. They will not pass this way again. But through the reverence paid them, new generations will be dedicated to the same high principles which we today attempt to honor.

Let us not forget that they who died did so not to be honored with tears, flags, and flowers. They died so that the future would be better than the past. The future is in our hands. America belongs to the living generation. Our dead have done their part, but the task they have discharged so faithfully is not yet finished. Freedom is never safe.

Let us, the living, rededicate our lives to support the truths for which those served and died, and may God in His wisdom help us accomplish that end.

This concludes my Memorial Day address.

New York State Junior Chamber of Commerce Opposes Kinzua Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the pending proposal to build a $101 million dam on the Allegheny River at Kinzua, Pa., thereby completely flooding one Indian reservation and inundating most of the habitable land of a second, has shocked and dismayed the people of New York State. Many are shocked because of the moral wrong being done to the Indians, who were promised the use of their lands in perpetuity, by George Washington, and others are equally shocked by the economics of this project, which will supply only a minimum of flood control at a fantastic cost.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD a resolution bearing on this subject from the New York State Junior Chamber of Commerce, and also a letter and resolution from the Seneca Nation of Indians, whose Allegany Reservation lands are threatened with inundation.

NEW YORK STATE
JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
May 24, 1957.

Re Resolution, United States Government appropriation of the lands of the Seneca Nation of Indians.

To Congressmen, Senators of New York State:

This resolution was adopted by 500 delegates representing 102 junior chamber of commerce chapters throughout New York State assembled in convention May 18, 1957, at Lake Placid:

"Whereas the first President of the United States of America, George Washington, when he signed the Pickering Treaty in 1794, guaranteed to the Seneca Nation of Indians, their reservation lands along the Allegany River known as the Allegany Reservation and the right to live and occupy the same; and

"Whereas the Seneca Nations have peacefully lived thereon, cultivated its lands and made it their tribal homeland, to the exclusion of all others since that time; and

"Whereas certain and various industries downstream in the State of Pennsylvania have induced the Congress of the United States of America to propose and to appropriate funds for and have directed the United States Corps of Army Engineers to proceed to invade such reservation lands with the purpose in mind to appropriate between 9,000 and 10,000 acres of such lands under the right of eminent domain, to construct a giant dam in the Kinzua Valley for the purpose of storing water to provide the industries aforesaid with a constant supply of fresh water primarily, and secondly as a flood control measure (the lands flooded by this dam would cover much territory in the State of New York); and

"Whereas, the Seneca Nation of Indians have engaged competent engineers to study the situation and such engineers have made findings and suggestions that other means to alleviate flood conditions would be more practical and successful and would entail less taxpayers' money to construct; and

"Whereas, the New York State Junior Chamber of Commerce, proud to be a part of the land of the Senecas, is interested in seeing that these first Americans rights are protected, and that they are not deprived of their last homeland without having fair consideration in a congressional hearing; and we believe that the issues involved are more than matters of laws and precedent, but are matters of public responsibility and matters of governmental integrity; and

"Whereas, the New York State Junior Chamber of Commerce is vitally interested in the recommendations of the Hoover Commissions on economy in Government: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the New York State Junior Chamber of Commerce is opposed to the United States Government appropriation of the lands of the Seneca Nation of Indians on the pretext of eminent domain for the Kinzua Valley Dam; and that we request the Congress of the United States to allow the said Seneca Nation of Indians to have a congressional hearing on this matter, and that every consideration be given to other methods of flood control in this area which also would be much less expensive to the American taxpayer; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the secretary of this organization be directed to send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, Secretary of Interior, Governor of Pennsylvania, Governor of New York, Senators from Pennsylvania, Senators from New York, United States Corps of Army Engineers and the tribal chief of the Seneca Nation of Indians."

THE SENECA NATION OF INDIANS,
May 31, 1957.

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: It is with great disappointment that this date my people received the news that the House Appropriations Subcommittee had approved the million-dollar appropriation to start the construction on the $101 million dam on the Allegheny River at Kinzua, Pa. When the Seneca Indians had been able to show that the construction of this proposed dam was not sound economic engineering, my people had confidence in Congress that their treaty rights would be respected and their homelands preserved. We can see no justification—either moral or economical—for this action of a subcommittee of the Congress of these United States to arbitrarily recommend the violation of a promise made 163 years ago to a minority people by George Washington, the Father of His Country.

If it is the feeling among the congressional delegation that the Seneca Indian's loss of his homelands can be displaced by a dollar payment, then that impression is erroneous. I have talked with my people on this matter and they are uniform in their demand that we carry this fight to preserve our homeland into the highest court if necessary, so that this entire record of utter disregard of a fundamental right shall be fully known to the public of these United States and of the world.

Respectfully,

CORNELIUS SENECA,
President, Seneca Nation of Indians.

Sitting at the courthouse, Allegany Indian Reservation, N. Y., June 3, 1957:

"*Resolved*, That the Council of the Seneca Nation of Indians instruct the president of said nation to take any and all court action as may be necessary to prevent the construction of the Kinzua Dam, and preserve our homelands to our children; and further

"That no settlement negotiations of any manner whatsoever are to be conducted with representatives of the United States Government and this action to preserve our homelands is to be carried unremittingly through all the courts of this country.

"Unamiously adopted."

I hereby certify the above to be a true copy of the Seneca Nation records.

JOHN VAN AERNAM,
Clerk, Seneca Nation of Indians.

Visitors From St. Mark's Methodist Church of Houston, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT THOMAS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, this morning we were privileged to have present in the House gallery a fine representative group of young men and women of the St. Mark's Methodist Church, Houston, Tex., during the prayer given by one of their pastors and counselors, the Reverend John D. Davey. The prayer was a beautiful, inspirational one and well received by the Members. It is a good thing for the Nation for these young people to be brought to the Capitol under the tutelage of their patriotic church leaders. It is upon these young people and others like them that we must depend for the protection of our homes, our churches, and our country against the ever-present threat of communism.

I want to commend the Reverend C. T. Morris and Reverend Davey for their ingenuity and leadership. They are an inspiration to all. Their counselors, Mr. E. R. Beadle, Mrs. Ben E. Loeffler, Mrs. Joyce Thompson, and Mrs. Ruth Froehner also are deserving of much praise for their unselfish, important activities in behalf of this outstanding group, composed of Beverly Nixon, Anne Maresh, Karey Patterson, Marilyn Froehner, Arlie Moore, Bonnie Knepple, Bettye Marie Pfeffer, Verna Bertucci, Sylvia Hughes, Joan Castle, Carolyn Prince, Barbara Gail Kobs, Jeanne Broker, Carol Phillips, Virginia Massey, Jaunece Atteberry, Margaret Jane Nunez, Rhea Jean Brogdon, Thomas Morris, Jr., Johnny Klep-

per, Ritchie Atteberry, Ella Lee Campbell, Mary Pruett, Mary Standish, Carol Ann Keen, Allen Lee Norton, Richard Wagenhauser, Gary Lee Homburg, Jimmy Mooney, and Richard Gebhardt.

Fast Tax Writeoffs and Proposed Hells Canyon Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the Record a letter I received from Mr. Wedding, of Bedford, Ind., dealing with the fast tax writeoff issue; a telegram I received from the Surprise Valley Electrification Corp., by C. P. Hunter, general manager, dealing with the problems of construction of Hells Canyon Dam; and a letter which I received from the Ten Mile Lakes Sportsmen's Association, signed by Norman Porritt, president, dealing with the problem of Hells Canyon Dam and proposals for the construction of other dams.

There being no objection, the letters and telegram were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BEDFORD, IND., *May 29, 1957.*

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wonder who pays the taxes that will be deducted from income tax of these power companies when they deduct it from their income tax. Why don't they tell about the free interest money given to Idaho Power Co.?

HARRY A. WEDDING.

ALTURAS, CALIF., *May 24, 1957.*

Hon. WAYNE MORRIS,
United States Senator, State of Oregon, United States Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

At its regular monthly meeting yesterday the board of directors of Surprise Valley Electrification Corp., representing approximately 2,000 member-consumers in Coby and nearly 600 member-consumers in Lake County, Oreg., passed a resolution commending you for your courage and convictions on pushing Government construction of the high Hells Canyon Dam. Also resolution respectfully requesting the support of the two California Senators were passed and have been forwarded to them. The board and the membership sincerely hope you will be successful in your efforts in this regard. All good wishes.

SURPRISE VALLEY ELECTRIFICATION CORP.,
C. J. HUNTER, *General Manager.*

TEN MILE LAKES
SPORTSMEN'S ASSOCIATION,
Lakeside, Oreg., May 20, 1957.

Re Senate bill S. 555.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
The United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: With reference to the above-mentioned Senate bill 555 I would like to notify you that the Ten Mile Lakes Sportsmen's Association, as a group, is definitely in favor of a high dam at Hells Canyon rather than the three smaller dams on that same stretch of the Snake River; which dams are to be built by the Idaho Power Co.

The building of the high dam at Hells Canyon will not damage, appreciably, the forests, farms, and game areas, whereas the three small dams will result in the construction of more small dams to compensate for the loss of water storage. The Bruces Eddy, Penny Cliffs, and Nez Perce Dams, which have been proposed, would do irreparable damage to the forest and farms, wilderness areas, spawning grounds of salmon and steelhead, and destroy some of the most magnificent elk range in the United States.

I know the State of Idaho very well and have hunted and fished over a large portion of that country and believe that these smaller dams would result in the loss of millions of dollars to the State of Idaho in recreational and hunting income alone. We think that the Federal Power Commission is very shortsighted in this particular instance.

If properly developed the Hells Canyon dam will cost no more than the Idaho Power Co.'s plan and we will still retain these wonderful natural resources.

We agree with Senator HARRY BYRD's statement that the tax-free subsidy to the Idaho Power Co. of $65 million is utterly indefensible. Why on earth should this company obtain a tax-free loan at the taxpayers' expense? Instead of giving away such a sizable chunk of the taxpayers' money; why not use it to help build the Hells Canyon dam and let us own it? We think such an interest-free loan is a blight upon our country and that in these days of high taxes every effort should be made to conserve our money or to use it in such a manner that our citizens may reap the greatest benefit from such expenditures.

We know that you have done your utmost toward obtaining the construction of the Hells Canyon Dam, but wish you to know that we are behind you in your efforts and sincerely hope that they will be crowned with success and that Senate bill 555 will pass.

Very truly yours,
NORMAN PORRITT,
President, Tenmile Lakes Sportsmen's Association.

(Copy has been sent to Senator NEUBERGER.)

Purpose of the Cuts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, in the current national discussion of the budget, there is a good deal of misunderstanding about the reasons for the economy effort.

I wish to include herewith an editorial entitled "Purpose of the Cuts," which appeared in the June 4 edition of the Lynchburg News, of Lynchburg, Va. Although this is a short commentary on the situation, it appropriately sets out the purpose of the economy drive. I feel that, if nothing else is accomplished this year, the important thing is that our people are beginning to awaken to the necessity for curbing excessive Federal spending and to turn the tide of Government control from Washington.

The editorial follows:

PURPOSE OF THE CUTS

The Council of State Chambers of Commerce announces as a result of a survey that even if the defense budget cuts in the House of Representatives are not restored but are increased there will not be enough reduction in Federal spending "to permit a worthwhile tax reduction."

There will be few to deny that. All hope of a tax reduction in the near future was abandoned some time ago. There is even growing doubt that there will be any substantial tax reduction until the world has reached that stage at which peaceful coexistence with the Communists is possible with safety, and, to understate the case, that time isn't near.

The real purpose of the fight to reduce the Eisenhower budget as much as possible, isn't after all, to permit a tax reduction now or next year. It is to halt the spending spree that has cursed this Nation for several decades. Unless that is not done now when the country is at the highest peak of its prosperity the hope that it ever will be done is dim.

USIA in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, knowing from personal observation the splendid work the USIA is doing in Cuba under the brilliant direction of Richard G. Cushing, I am happy to have this occasion of extending my remarks by unanimous consent to include the following article from the Times of Habana of May 27, 1957:

THE USIS AND YOU—INFORMATION SERVICE DOING VITAL JOB IN CUBA

(By Milton Guss)

Congressmen who wield the economy ax over the appropriation of the United States Information Agency need travel no farther than Cuba to see Uncle Sam's overseas spokesmen doing an effective job.

For here, operating on a shoestring, the United States Information Service (as it's called abroad) is winning friends and influencing people in a way that could soften the attitude of USIA's toughest congressional critics.

Spending less than goes into a soap powder advertising campaign, the shirt-sleeve diplomats of USIS are carrying on a highly effective operation involving, among other things, news and commentaries for the Cuban press, radio, and television.

They are showing documentary films to 2 million Cubans a year, throughout the island. They are producing high-circulation pamphlets at the rate of a new one every 2 weeks. They are sending Cubans to the United States to observe and to study. They produce a monthly wall newspaper which is a valued poster for stores, schools, and labor halls.

Cubans pick up USIS reading matter from racks in bus stations and train depots, and they find it in the waiting rooms of doctors' offices and beauty shops. They see USIS films on television virtually every day of the week. They read USIS political commentaries and news items in their daily paper.

Editors use so many commentaries, articles, pictures, and photographic features on a regular basis that USIS feels a good

percentage is getting through to make a definite impression on the Cuban people.

USIS spends not a cent for newspaper space, nor for radio or television time. Its output is used because it is a quality and newsworthy product, and because USIS officers have built up friendly relations with the Cuban press, radio, and television over a period of years.

USIS is basically dedicated to the promotion among Cubans of a sympathetic understanding of the United States—its people, its policies, its ideals—and to help build a fuller appreciation of the aims of the United States toward insuring a peaceful world.

USIS pamphlets deal with such varied themes as atomic energy for peace, the Hungarian fight for freedom, the Communist threat to the Americas, the progress of the United States Negro, and people's capitalism. This latter is a project to show that the broad and solid base of the booming United States economy is the participation of all the people, from factory workers, with their savings accounts and stock-sharing plans, to the titans of Wall Street.

In the cultural field, besides the exchange-of-persons program, USIS distributes hundreds of books, and provides guidance to approximately 2,000 Cubans who visit the Embassy each year to obtain information on United States schools and colleges. The cultural section thus helps Cuban students chart their future academic course in the United States.

There are four American USIS officers here: Richard G. Cushing, Director of USIS, who is a veteran newspaperman with 15 years' experience with the Associated Press; Sherwin P. Helms, information officer, with an advertising and newspaper background; Francis J. Donahue, cultural officer who has a broad academic background in history and Latin American relations; and Robert S. Bryan, assistant information officer, who handles the films program and exhibits, including the big "Atoms for Peace" and "The Family of Man" exhibits which were such resounding successes at the Palace of Fine Arts here.

Five of the 26 USIS local employees are stationed in the interior. Two are based in Santiago, where USIS operates a downtown reading room known as the Maceo-Lincoln Library. Two are at Camagüey, running the Agramonte-Lincoln Library, and one motion picture operator works out of Santa Clara.

USIS in Cuba has become a vital part of the American mission here. Dealing in the truth, its output carries the impact of authenticity. USIS officers constitute one of the Embassy's chief contacts with Cubans of all social strata, and their success is measured by the mounting goodwill built up for Uncle Sam in this island so important, in all ways, to the United States.

On Hallowed Ground

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, it is well for us from time to time to stop and cogitate about the great heritage we in this country have. We should pause often to think upon the great civilization we have in America and try to ascertain if we are going down the right road to maintain the heritage that was handed down to us.

On Wednesday, May 29, Red Hill, in Charlotte County, the last home of the great American patriot, Patrick Henry, was dedicated. On Tuesday, June 4, there appeared in the Farmville Herald, Farmville, Va., owned and published by J. B. Wall, a splendid editorial entitled "On Hallowed Ground." I wish every American would read and study this masterpiece. When we think about great patriots like Patrick Henry and realize the great sacrifices they made that we might be a free people and then realize the predicament that we are in today—great judicial tyranny in the highest court in the land and the anti-civil-rights bill up for consideration in the House of Representatives—it is enough to make us downhearted, discouraged and fearful for the future. But, like Patrick Henry of old, we must not, we cannot, we will not surrender, give up or stop fighting for the things we know are right, just and necessary if we are to continue our way of life.

J. B. Wall is a great example of the good that a consecrated, Christian editor can accomplish in his community for the betterment of the community, the State, and the Nation. I commend him for the great work he has done, is doing, and will continue to do in the future for the preservation of individual liberty, sovereignty of our States, and the preservation of Constitutional Government in America.

Mr. Speaker, the editorial follows:

ON HALLOWED GROUND

On hallowed ground we stood last Wednesday at the dedication of Red Hill, the last home of the great American patriot, Patrick Henry. Modern day orators paid tribute to the life and character of this first defender of the sovereignty of the States about to form a union. Along the paths, among the boxwood, before the fireplace in the modest house had walked a great American.

Viewing the fertile low grounds and the rolling fields from the promontory upon which was built the house, we were impressed as so often we have been, with the evident care and study the early settlers gave to the selection for an established home. Many beautiful homes along the Roanoke, Staunton, James, York and Appomattox rivers have such pleasing panoramas. Life was leisurely, if at times uncomfortable and exasperating. We have no preconceived ideas that plantation life was easy, or at all times abundant and comfortable, but it was free and leisurely allowing time for cogitation, for planning, for meditation. Surrounded by the beauties of nature, knowing the rigors of a despot's heel, the early settlers now free faced the future, reverently and confidently, with a determination ever to be free.

Patrick Henry, of all of the famous Virginians, loved his newly found freedom and he fought to protect it against all odds. He fought in the legislative halls, and we could imagine him even in conferences in the spacious yard under the virgin oaks, now an old man at 58, advising with his neighbors, resigned to plantation life, though not yet satisfied with the safeguards he had been able to write into the Constitution by his stanch stand and fiery oratory against tryranny.

Red Hill, Patrick Henry's last home and last resting place is not a local shrine, not a Virginia shrine, but a national shrine. We predict in the years to come it will be visited widely by those who now recognize him as an exponent and advocate of individual freedom, and more—the sovereignty of the States which form the Union. We were touched by the appropiateness of the floral design on his grave, with the simple inscription "The First Defender," placed there by the Charlotte Chapter, Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. What a heritage now calling for recognition, development, yea, we say reverently, defense. The spirit of Henry still lives in the hearts and minds of millions of Americans, who know and appreciate the fundamental principles upon which this great Nation was founded and has developed in the short space of less than 200 years. May the establishment of this shrine serve to rekindle interest in Patrick Henry, that those who still hold his high ideals and principles may emulate his example of fearless advocacy, undaunted determination and fiery oratory.

As we stood there, to hear Eugene B. Casey say that Patrick Henry had been his ideal through life, we could but thank God that he had prospered and had seen fit to use his material substance for such a noble purpose as to perpetuate the life and example of a great man by giving a replica of his last home to the Nation. Came to mind John D. Rockefeller, Jr., whose benefactions in revivifying and saving American heritage may be seen from the giant redwoods of California to the towering Palisades of the Hudson, but no where so vividly as the restoration of our own Williamsburg. These men with reverence and inspiration have controlled their benefactions personally, to the end that hey will forever serve a great people.

In contrast we meditated upon the abuse of funds, established to the memory of some early Americans, which have ben used, at least in part, by liberals, uninspired, possibly irreverently, to change, yea, to tear apart, fundamental concepts of our government and remake this great nation contrary to the principles of the Constitution, through studies and published treatises by sociologists of questionable ability and reverence for American principles. An example being the study of Gunnar Mydal, a Swedish political sociologist, whose study the United States Supreme Court has cited as a guiding post for the future of America despite the plain words of Patrick Henry in the first 10 amendments of the great American Constitution. God give us more men, like Eugene B. Casey and John D. Rockefeller, dedicated to the salvation of American heritage and all it now and forever will mean in shaping the progress of future human relationships.

Unassuming and modest was James S. Easley, chairman of the Patrick Henry Memorial Foundation, whose untiring work had brought fruition and Mrs. William P. Williams, whose dream had become a reality. To these two Virginians and their co-workers we, Americans, owe a debt of gratitude.

So long as there are people like these the spirit and the character of the patriot Patrick Henry will live.

Drew Pearson Makes Some Points About the Dominican Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following column by Drew Pearson published this morning

and an excerpt from yesterday's column by Mr. Pearson. The points he makes there indicate that the operations of Generalissimo Trujillo are not confined to personal vengeance against individuals such as my constituent, Gerry Murphy:

WASHINGTON.—This column was the first to reveal that ex-Congressman Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., had been hired by Dictator Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. It's only fair, therefore, to report on other relatives of those in high places who have been playing footsie with the caesar of the Caribbean.

The list includes:

1. The son-in-law of John Foster Dulles, Robert Hinshaw.

2. The brother-in-law of President Eisenhower, Col. Gordon Moore.

3. The ex-Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Latin American Affairs, Henry Holland.

The chief source of Dictator Trujillo's wealth is the Dominican sugar industry. He owns most of the sugar mills in his country. It was no accident, therefore, that Congress last year increased the quota of Dominican sugar admitted to the United States. It took this action despite opposing pressure of beet sugar growers in our Rocky Mountain States and cane growers in Louisiana.

Here is part of the backstage story of what happened:

In 1954, Dulles' son-in-law offered to help Trujillo get his sugar quota increased. The dictator then sent his personal plane, a luxurious flying yacht, the *San Cristobal*, to fly Dulles' daughter, Mrs. Robert Hinshaw, her husband, and children to the Dominican Republic.

For 3 months the Hinshaws stayed at the beautiful seashore Hotel Jaragua, running up a bill of no small proportions. Hinshaw tried to promote several deals with the dictator, finally overstayed his welcome. Trujillo paid his bills.

Hinshaw, when queried by this column as to why he had not registered as a foreign agent, as required if an American works for or accepts funds to represent a foreign government, said that he did not do any work for Trujillo.

Informed that some people registered if they received expenses from a foreign government, Hinshaw admitted that his expenses were paid, but did not agree that he should have registered.

Under the Foreign Registration Act there is nothing wrong about an American working for a foreign government, but it is specified that the American public has a right to know when someone is so working. The law firm of Secretary of State Dulles has been registered in the past as working for various foreign governments; also the law firm of ex-Secretary Dean Acheson. It is a criminal offense not to register.

NOTE.—The Justice Department recently indicted John Frank, an ex-FBI agent who wired Trujillo's palace for sound, for failing to register as a foreign agent.

EX-STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL

One former high official who definitely helped put across Trujillo's sugar quota increase is able Henry Holland, former top official in the State Department for Latin American affairs. Holland scarcely got out of the State Department when he headed for the Dominican Republic. He not only made several trips, but got on the payroll of Trujillo's mining consultant, William Pawley, the former Ambassador to Brazil.

It can be argued that Holland gets his fees directly from Pawley, therefore doesn't have to register. Likewise Franklin Roosevelt, Jr., might have argued that he got his fees through Charles Patrick Clark, lobbyist for both Franco and Trujillo. However, Roosevelt registered.

IKE'S BROTHER-IN-LAW

The most highly connected of all Americans in Trujillo-land is Ike's brother-in-law, Col. Gordon Moore. The colonel, now retired from the Army, is a genial soul, frequently at the White House. His appearances in the background of the President's nationwide telecasts haven's hurt his prestige in Washington where much depends on influence.

Colonel Moore has made several trips to the tightly controlled island of the Caribbean; has sometimes taken his family along. During one of these trips he negotiated a highly complicated sugar deal with the American-owned but Trujillo-tolerated South Puerto Rican Sugar Co.

This involved 7,000 tons of "green sugar" which Moore got shipped into the United States of America as hog feed. This classification meant first, that the sugar was never counted against the Dominican quota.

Second, it passed through customs with a cheaper tariff rate. As blackstrap molasses for cattle or hog feed it paid a duty of 1.5 cents per hundred pounds instead of 66.5 cents per hundred charged for green sugar. Later the United States Customs Bureau reversed itself and demanded the 66.5-cent rate on Moore's shipment.

Later a considerate Congress passed a law exempting "green sugar" from the high tariff rate, though too late to affect Moore's shipment.

But even more considerate friends in Congress then introduced a bill which would give Colonel Moore's shipment special treatment. It would make the lower tariff rate retroactive to June 30, 1955. By happy coincidence this would apply chiefly to Colonel Moore, since his 7,000-ton import is the only major shipment affected.

* * * * *

NOTE.—Those connected with the green-sugar deal claim Moore merely acted as a broker, that the purchase was made by the Robert G. Lynch Co. However, Lynch is hired by Moore and occupies the same offices with him.

DOMINICAN-GO-ROUND

Representative BROOKS HAYS, of Arkansas, today begins closed-door hearings on the bloody operations of the bloody dictator of the Dominican Republic. Here are some tips he might probe regarding a country founded on terror which has had the blessing of certain high-placed Americans. The dictator himself is suave, charming, a master showman. He has beaten his daughter Angeleta so badly that she has required plastic surgery. His spies are everywhere. John Frank, the former FBI man now indicted by a Federal grand jury, wired Trujillo's palace for sound so the dictator could listen to every word spoken in every room.

General Espaillat, former Dominican Consul in New York, now on the lam, is the man the State Department wants returned to the United States for questioning in the murder of Columbia University Prof. Jesus de Galindez. Espaillat is one of the rising young men among Trujillo's conspirators.

The seven Dominicans who robbed the Royal Bank of Canada in Santiago could tell you how Espaillat operates—if they were alive to tell the story. Manuel de Moya, who has arrived here to become Ambassador to the United States, but whom the State Department doesn't want as Ambassador, has handled many of Trujillo's large investments in the United States. His pay is high and he earns it. Hector Trujillo, brother of the dictator, is official President of the Dominican Republic. His title is a paper one. He lives with his mother, is supposed to be very religious, has a 16-year acquaintance with the daughter of an ex-Marine sergeant who helps run the island. Rafael Trujillo, son of the dictator, is chief of staff of the air force, a handsome, conceited, unattractive playboy, a great disappointment to his father, but great admirer of the love-making of Rubirosa.

These are a few of the weird cast of characters who have made the Dominican so-called republic one of the most terror-ridden places in the world, and have extended part of their terror to the United States.

Protection for Eggs and the Human Brain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Traffic Safety, I would like to state that while it is evident there are many, many factors which contribute to automobile accidents, it is also becoming evident through the subcommittee's investigation that a safe automobile can and must be manufactured.

The consumer knows that it is impossible for him to buy a car which does not have accidents but it should be possible for him to buy a car that is as safe as possible when in an accident. The fact remains that it is the interior and exterior design of the automobile which determines whether or not the occupant will be dead, severly injured, or not so severely injured as a result of the accident.

Under unanimous consent, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement entitled "Operation Egg Drop." An egg was dropped 115 feet, traveled at an estimated 55 miles an hour and did not break when it landed upon a newly developed padding. This is padding which can and should be used on the dash boards in automobiles. I can see no reason why such padding should not be a feature in the manufacture of every single car when science has shown that this new material can so strikingly reduce brain injury in an accident.

I personally hope that the automobile industry will act voluntarily, but if it does not, it will be mandatory upon Congress to act in behalf of all the people. This Nation is suffering an epidemic and we public servants cannot stand by idly watching 40,000 persons die on the Nation's highways when we are aware of injury prevention steps which can be taken to help save these very lives:

OPERATION EGG DROP

A joint project by the Colorado State Medical Society and the Denver Police Department demonstrated once again that designing the automobile for safety can bring rewards in the form of reduction in deaths and injuries. On the afternoon of Monday, May 13, 1957, these two organizations cooperated in "Operation Egg Drop," in which 5 fresh hen eggs were dropped from a height of 115 feet in the rotunda of the State capitol at Denver, down upon sheets of United States Rubber "Ensolite" (Type AL).

Mr. Hugh De Haven in Buffalo in 1946 first carried out these tests and demonstrated with the materials then available that excellent protection for the eggs (and the human

head) could be rather easily achieved. Over 10 years elapsed before practical application of these findings was made in the motorcars of America, and then, not as standard equipment.

The sheets of padding were only 1⅛ inches. While some skill was involved in dropping the eggs from this height (and under the circumstances involved) with accuracy upon the target, the eggs hit the mark each time. The bounces were 30 inches, 40 inches, 5 feet and 8 feet respectively on the basis of observation by several people. One of the eggs broke because it landed on the crack between the two adjacent sheets of padding. In the case of the four eggs that survived, the yolk in three of them was not broken, showing the remarkable energy absorption properties of this padding material. The other egg which did not break showed some darkening which indicated that the yolk had broken

The significance of this is that when the human head strikes an object the force may not be enough to fracture the skull, but brain damage may result unless the energy absorption is particularly efficient That the yolk of these three eggs had survived indicates that in comparable experiment with the human head, the brain likely would not be damaged. The diameter of the human skull is 7½ inches with a radius of about 3¾ inches, and the radius of these eggs which were dropped was about 1 inch. It indicates that a pad of this material 4 inches thick would prevent a skull fracture in a drop of this distance, 115 feet. It indicates further that brain damage would rarely occur. This has been shown experimentally by studies elsewhere in which plastic replicas of the human head were hurled by catapult at a speed of 70 miles an hour against heavy steel plates without injury because a pad of 4 inches had been interposed. The eggs in our demonstration were calculated to have reached a speed of over 55 miles per hour.

These studies were undertaken by the Colorado State Medical Society because many of its members have become convinced that injury prevention is equally important with, and probably more effective than, accident prevention. This demonstration proved, we think, that the human head can be protected from dangerous and fatal injuries in automobile crashes if pads 1 to 2 inches thick are placed on those spots within the automobile where the serious blows so often occur; that is, the instrument panel, the corner posts, the door frame, the windshield header, the roof, and the steering-wheel column.

James T. Fain: In Memoriam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SHUFORD
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. SHUFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD an editorial of the Times-News, of Hendersonville, N. C., written in memory of Hon. James T. Fain, its former editor. This editorial expresses the sentiments of all who knew him, but I wish to add my personal tribute to his life.

Mr. Fain was a dedicated newspaperman. He might have been what could be called an old-fashioned editor, but only in that he possessed the old-fashioned virtues of his profession. He was tireless in his search for the truth, and throughout this search he maintained an intellectual honesty. He won the respect of those in his profession, as well as the people of North Carolina. Mr. Fain's personal integrity and devotion to duty were admired by all of us, and we sadly note his passing.

The editorial follows:

IN MEMORIAM

(By Noah Hollowell, editor of the Tribune)

The pen of Editor James T. Fain has run dry. His pencil has worn down to a stub. The clatter of his typewriter has hushed. The spirit of a fine citizen and courageous editor who loved his community has flown. A pall of gloom seems to hang over both the flat-top and roller-top desks in his office, but something of his fine spirit lives on.

When I heard of the death of Mr. Fain I went to the Times-News office prepared to render some service. I offered this and the proffer was received in the spirit given and "Jimmy" Fain said he had been thinking that it would be nice for me to write the editorial for today. It was a bigger task than I sought and an unexpected honor to write of a passing contemporary I very much admired.

Too often feeling has been tense among contemporaries, but relations between us for many years have always been so pleasant that this assignment is easy and an honor. The circumstances of our work might be related briefly in order to prepare you for my admiration of Mr. Fain, with whom my relations have been fine since he entered the newspaper field here something like a quarter of a century ago. We ran our newspapers less than a block apart. Relations were of the best. I sold him and his associates the Hendersonville News in 1927. About 8 years thereafter I was employed for about 3 years by the Times-News. Our relations were good and have continued so. Our newspapers have been on the best of working relations. When either needed a service or material possessed by the other, we didn't hesitate to ask for it. This situation with frequent contacts served to make life richer for both of us. Thereby we were enabled to know the spirits and motives of each other to best advantage.

A fine citizen has passed. He was a Christian of the highest order and service, and was loyal not only to his own church but to the better institutions of his community.

Mr. Fain was the head of a very, very fine family and each has contributed in various ways to its uplift and ongoing.

Editor Fain was a knowing man. He was a good student of State and National affairs. His duties led him to read and learn daily of these things. He wrote largely on a State and National rather than a local or provincial slant, yet he was not neglectful of local needs and situations.

Mr. Fain was unusually courageous. He spoke his convictions boldly when others would have been more timorous than he. He spoke when he knew it might not be good for his business, but he had honest convictions and he treated them honorably. He didn't mind lashing out at the high and the low if he thought circumstances warranted such, and he had many readers who cheered him on.

And so he wrote year in and year out. In late years his physical strength waned but a fighting spirit took him to his desk often when he most likely was not much in a working mood.

A good man, a Christian man, a community-loving man, and a successful newspaperman has written "30" to his career.

Thompson Rounds Out 25th Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday was the 25th anniversary of Gen. Ernest O. Thompson's distinguished public service to the people not only of Texas but to our country and the world as a member of the railroad commission of Texas, among the many responsibilities of which is the important one of oil and gas regulation.

May I submit here an article by Mr. Max B. Skelton, Associated Press staff, apearing Sunday, June 2, 1957, in the American-Statesman, Austin, Tex., telling of General Thompson's great public service and of the fine tribute paid him by our Speaker, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN. General Thompson has a distinguished record not only in the service of his State and Nation in time of peace, but in his country's military service during time of war. To know General Thompson is to know a splendid gentleman and a great public official. All of us are proud of our fellow Texan:

THOMPSON ROUNDS OUT 25TH YEAR

(By MAX B. SKELTON)

The man House Speaker SAM RAYBURN says knows more about oil than any other man in the world observes on Tuesday his 25th anniversary as a member of the Texas Oil and Gas Regulatory Commission.

On June 4, 1932, Gov. Ross K. Sterling appointed Ernest O. Thompson, a redheaded fighting mayor of Amarillo, to the Texas Railroad Commission.

Thompson intended to stay only a short while, but one challenge and fight led to another. Today he holds an international reputation as an authority on oil- and gas-conservation statutes. His quick wit and sharp tongue are known to oil circles around the world.

In 25 years he has seen his State's oil proration statutes become models that have been studied and followed by many other States and several foreign countries.

Oil proration was brandnew when Thompson accepted the Sterling appointment. A few days after accepting, he took over a tough job in the fabulous east Texas oil field when the Supreme Court held that the National Guard could not be used in efforts to halt the flow of "hot oil."

GUARD CALLED

Discovery of the field in late 1930 led to the commission's receiving proration regulatory authority in 1931. Sterling had called out the guard after flush production from the huge field toppled crude-oil prices from $1.10 to from 5 to 10 cents a barrel.

Thompson won the battle of east Texas and stopped the flow of oil that was being produced in violation of the new proration statutes. By 1934 prices were relatively stable at about 95 cents a barrel. Procedures designed during the east Texas crisis to control the field's reservoir pressure have since been adapted to hundreds of other fields in the State.

At Thompson's urging, the State legislature in late 1932 authorized the commission to control crude output by limiting production to market demand.

The 65-year-old Thompson has seen the State's production grow from 740,000 barrels

a day in 1932 to a current rate that exceeds 7 million barrels daily.

A champion of state regulation as opposed to Federal control, Thompson probably holds a record for testimony on oil and gas matters before congressional committees.

RAYBURN, in an unprecedented procedure, earlier this year introduced Thompson before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee as the individual who "knows more about oil than any other man in the world."

Although frequently a critic of domestic companies which import foreign oil, Thompson has defended vigorously the commission's across-the-board proration policy that permits all producers, large and small, to receive a fair share of authorized production.

Last week the Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association (TIPRO) presented Thompson its annual "recognition award."

"The independent has thrived in Texas as nowhere else in large part because of the conservation measures inspired and defended by General Thompson," said the outgoing TIPRO president, A. E. Herrmann of Amarillo. "Texas is a stronghold of the small independent, largely because of his insistence upon equal treatment for all."

SECOND LARGEST

Thompson, a lieutenant general in the National Guard, told the TIPRO convention public service has been a source of great and lasting inner satisfaction.

Only one man has served longer on the commission than Thompson. A tenure of 26 years and 17 days for the late Allison Mayfield ended on January 23, 1923. Thompson can break this record on June 21, 1958.

"I'm not interested in breaking anybody's record but I'm willing to serve," Thompson said.

His fourth 6-year term expires January 1, 1961. He announced his candidacy for a third term in 1948 by releasing a statement of only 45 words.

After disposing of the formalities, Thompson concluded the statement by saying:

"I am thoroughly familiar with the work of the railroad commission and enjoy it."

Six Hundred Thousand Dollar Question: Do British Need Our Propaganda?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, during the past several weeks both the House and the Senate have considered the USIA appropriation bill and many instances have already been pointed out suggesting ways to improve this program.

Mr. Ernie Hill, a reporter for the Chicago Daily News foreign service, in his article of June 3, points out the attitude of the British people toward our attempt to sell the English on our American way of life.

Mr. Hill's article is as follows:

SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLAR QUESTION: DO BRITISH NEED OUR PROPAGANDA?—WE'RE WASTING OUR TIME, MOST IN LONDON AGREE

(By Ernie Hill)

LONDON.—The $1-million-a-year American information program in Britain is being hacked down to $600,000.

And the consensus among British and Americans alike is that another $400,000 might come off without our suffering any dire consequences or anybody missing it.

The pitch seems to be that even if President Eisenhower gets cuts restored to the budget, less will be spent here anyhow.

The British, it is felt, just don't need as much propagandizing as the uncommitted peoples of the Middle East, Asia, and Africa.

The United States Information Agency operation in England is regarded by many as a waste of money.

This is true because the British speak the language, read American press association reports in their papers, see American movies, read American magazines and books and usually have a relative or two in the United States writing frequent letters back.

In fact, many Britons feel resentful that we spend so much trying to sell ourselves to them when they often know as much about us as we know about ourselves.

W. Bradley Connors, public affairs officer, who runs the program, has fired 30 British employees. He is closing the Manchester and Edinburgh USIA offices.

He has marked eight American staff members for transfer to other parts of the world.

There can be no question that his small empire of high-salaried staff members would have an excellent chance to contribute more to the information cause if stationed in the Middle East, Asia, or Africa.

"I have decided tentatively," he said, "to cancel $60,000 a year worth of subscriptions to the European editions of the New York Times and Herald Tribune."

These newspapers are now presented daily with the compliments of the American taxpayer to all members of the House of Commons, House of Lords, foreign office employees, colonial office, and many libraries.

There has been feeling both here and in the United States that taxpayer Joe Blow might be just as happy if British Government officials bought their own newspapers.

The London USIA staff has included at least nine full-time staff members drawing upward of $12,000 per year, counting allowances, which comprises a pretty high-powered team.

I asked six Fleet Street newsmen whether they or their newspapers got much information out of the USIA.

They said they occasionally got a little free bourbon at cocktail parties but little hard news.

"The trouble is," said one of them, "that any time there is a really big issue—like the reign of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy or Secretary of State Dulles' foot-in-the-mouth diplomacy—the USIA becomes as silent as the tomb. It has to be."

Connors proposes to abandon the daily mimeographed news sheets that are distributed to newspapers playing up the brighter side of official Washington pronouncements. They generally duplicate news agency reports with all of the acrimony squeezed out.

The film lending library is to be abolished. Cultural reports on the United States are to be made quarterly instead of monthly.

The USIA's most effective activity—the presentation on television of a monthly "report from America"—also may go down the drain.

It is a documentary presented by the British Broadcasting Corp. and USIA dealing with current events such as the success of desegregation in Louisville schools and Pittsburgh's conquest of smog, soot, and factory smoke.

Many Americans feel that all we need here is Connors, plus one assistant, and two secretaries.

Connors lines up such events as meetings with Ambassador John Hay Whitney and briefing sessions with Harold Stassen, President Eisenhower's disarmament representative.

Announcement of a 40-percent cutback in USIA spending has failed to arouse the British press to a single protest.

Some very nice guys and their wives are going to be missed from London's diplomatic cocktail circuit but it won't make much difference in the average Englishman's attitude toward the United States.

A Judge Repents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENDERSON LANHAM
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, some 10 years ago I made a statement on the floor of the House condemning Judge Samuel A. Weiss, of Pennsylvania, for refusing to send James Moreland, a Negro, back to Georgia to finish a prison sentence there for assault with intent to kill. In the Atlanta Constitution for Friday, May 31, there appeared a story quoting Judge Weiss as admitting that he made a mistake in refusing to return Moreland to Georgia because of the fact that Moreland had amassed an impressive criminal record in Pennsylvania since the judge had refused to return him to Georgia.

In view of Judge Weiss' frank admission that he was wrong in his refusal to let Moreland be carried back to Georgia to serve his prison sentence, I must modify my opinion of Judge Weiss and say that he at least has the grace to admit his error and repent in "sackcloth and ashes."

With my own remarks, I submit the article I have just referred to:

JUDGE JAILS FUGITIVE HE ONCE SPARED

An embarrassed Pennsylvania judge who 10 years ago believed a Negro convicted of theft rather than Georgia's highest officials, Thursday had to eat humble pie as he sentenced the man he once had refused to extradite.

Judge Samuel A. Weiss, who back in 1947 refused to send James Moreland back to Georgia to finish a prison sentence here, imposed a 3½-to-7-year term on the Georgia escapee for assault with intent to kill after a knifing attack.

When he imposed the sentence, Weiss reminded Moreland that he had blocked his extradition 10 years ago.

RECALLS CLEMENCY

"Do you remember me?" the jurist asked Moreland. "Once before you stood before me as you are doing today. I wrote a 51-page opinion giving you a new chance and denying your extradition to Georgia."

Moreland, in 1947, had claimed that he had been sentenced to 12 years for a $20 burglary and had sworn that he had seen Negroes beaten, shot, and burned alive in Georgia chain gangs.

Georgia officials at the time refused to enter any court contest with the Negro, other than filing the usual extradition papers.

J. B. Hatchett, then assistant director of the State department of corrections, said at that time that Georgia was not on trial in the case, but the convicted man was.

HIT BY LANHAM

Congressman HENDERSON LANHAM said on the floor of Congress after Judge Weiss refused to extradite Moreland:

"If the State of Pennsylvania wants to harbor all the burglars, murderers, and rapists of Georgia, white and black, that is perfectly all right with me, but when this judge, or so-called judge, makes a statement that is absolutely without foundation in fact, I cannot refrain from speaking. I say that he disgraces the judicial robes he wears and is unworthy of the position he holds.

"The statement that James Moreland would suffer death by torture, lynching, or murder upon his return to Georgia, is entirely without foundation."

LONG RECORD

Georgia records show that Moreland, alias Jacob Head, first ran afoul of the law in 1938 after a burglary in Butts County. He was sentenced then to 3 to 5 years in prison, but was paroled after 3 months to take a job in Ohio. While in Ohio, he was sentenced to 2 to 30 years on conviction in a case of assault to rob and assault to kill. He served his minimum time there.

His Georgia parole was revoked and he was returned to this State. He was discharged in 1944, but was caught and convicted on 4 separate burglary charges in 1946 and given 3 years in each case. On May 17, 1946, he escaped from a hospital at the Grady County prison camp.

Since the kindhearted Pennsylvania judge refused to extradite him in 1947, Moreland has served an 18-month workhouse term in an assault and battery case, 11 to 23 months on a similar charge, a 12-month probationary term in an assault case, and 11½ to 23 months in a burglary case.

Rise of Russian Naval Power Should Cause Concern in West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following item from the San Diego Evening Tribune of May 23, 1957:

RISE OF RUSSIAN NAVAL POWER SHOULD CAUSE CONCERN IN WEST

One of the gravest oversights the free world could make would be to ignore or underestimate the rise of Russian seapower.

Yet, in the view of some military authorities, large sections of the non-Communist world are doing just that.

The disclaimer is sometimes heard, "Why do we need a Navy when Russia doesn't have one?"

Or, acknowledging the existence of a Red navy, others will pooh-pooh its effectiveness with the equally invalid statement that the Soviets have no naval tradition to draw upon.

Both of these attitudes are based on false assumptions—dangerous false assumptions.

Col. J. D. Hittle, writing in the Marine Corps Gazette, has performed a notable and needed service in dispelling these illusions.

Hittle calls the emergence of Russia as one of the great seapowers probably "the most fundamental and potentially dangerous Soviet development since World War II."

Continuing, he says, "Viewed in terms of its strategic implications, both with respect to Russian policy and United States national security, the rise of Russian seapower may well be the most important single development in the vast and continuing east-west conflict."

The world seapower picture has changed radically in just 10 years.

A decade ago, the United States easily was the world's first ranking seapower. Britain was second. Russia was seventh.

Today, the United States still is first. Russia numerically is second. England is third.

Russia's in-being naval strength is impressive in its own right. But of even greater significance is the rapid rate at which the present strength is being augmented. For example, the Soviet building program in cruisers and destroyers is larger than that of the combined Western navies, Hittle says.

In another important category—submarines—Russia has an estimated 450 underwater craft. This is more than triple the submarine strength of the United States Navy. And Hittle adds this ominous comment:

"There is much to ponder in the fact that the present Russian submarine fleet, the world's largest, is eight times as large as Germany's at the start of World War II."

Naval tradition is an intangible, but prime, component of a nation's naval might. England has it. The United States has it.

And, despite historical examples of debacles, disasters, and downright inefficiency, so does Russia, although not in the same measure as that of the English-speaking nations.

But it is perilous to dismiss Russia's seafaring history as inconsequential. Hittle quotes the naval historian, Fred T. Jane, on the early origin of the Russian navy:

"A century before Alfred built the first English warships, Russians had fought desperate sea fights, and a thousands years ago the foremost sailors of the time were Russians."

What are we to make of Russia's naval buildup?

Considering the emphasis on certain types of vessels—cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, with virtually no construction of carriers—the Red navy appears to have two major roles:

Destruction of enemy sea lanes and protecting the sea flank of land forces.

Such employment of naval forces appears peculiarly appropriate to the requirements of possible Russian aggression in the Baltic, the Black Sea, and along the Western Pacific littoral.

Russia's deficiencies—notably in carriers and amphibious forces—may be calculated.

Whatever the design, however, as long as the United States possesses balanced fleets based on strong carrier and landing forces, the balance of naval power should rest with this country.

But there can be no complacency or relaxing our guard.

Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954

SPEECH
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6974) to extend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, and for other purposes.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I just want to say again it is unfortunate that the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN] did not bring this amendment to the attention of our committee, when we could very thoroughly have considered it. I hope the Committee will vote it down because, as the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] pointed out, we do not know just what effect it will have on the program. I ask the House to vote down the Whitten amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto do now close.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Ike Needs Nation's Support in His Striving for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the commentary of John S. Knight, editor of the Chicago Daily News, which appeared in his column, the Editor's Notebook, under date of Saturday, June 1, 1957:

THE EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK: IKE NEEDS NATION'S SUPPORT IN HIS STRIVING FOR PEACE

The observance of Memorial Day has a poignant meaning to those who have lost their dear ones in our Nation's defense.

The futility of war, the senseless sacrifice of our country's youth, the victories that fail to bring permanent peace—these realizations must weigh heavily upon the collective conscience of world statesmen.

Wars of the future will be even more fearsome, with the intercontinental ballistic missile aprpoaching an advanced stage of development.

There is no defense against this most terrible of all weapons. It will change all traditional concepts of the science of warfare.

Battleships, vast armies, submarines and jet aircraft will no longer be able to protect any nation's cities from the death and destruction that can be visited upon them by a missile attack.

It is appropriate, therefore, to give heed to President Eisenhower's words on disarmament as stated at his news conference on May 22.

"It seems to me," said the President, "that the more any intelligent man thinks about the possibilities of war today, the more he should understand you have got to work on this business of disarmament. * * * I think our first concern should be making certain that we are not ourselves being recalcitrant, we are not being picayunish about the thing."

The President's reference was to the discussions now being conducted in London, where the Russians have proposed:

1. That eastern Siberia, Alaska, the Western part of the United States and much of

Europe should be opened to aerial inspection.

2. Substantial cuts in the armed forces of Russia, Red China, Great Britain, and France.

3. Public renouncement of the use in war of nuclear weapons, including rocket missiles. Commencement of negotiations leading toward the abandonment of nuclear-weapons stockpiles.

4. A cut in defense budgets of 15 percent.

RUSSIA'S SINCERITY ALWAYS QUESTIONED

The initial reaction to these proposals ranged from the characteristic optimism expressed by Harold E. Stassen, the President's disarmament representative, to growls from Adm. Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to the effect that the Russians cannot be trusted.

On the record, Admiral Radford is right. The Russians have broken promises, violated pledges, ignored treaties.

There is no certainty that the Russians are sincere. It is entirely likely that they are merely seeking temporary relief from the huge armament burden.

Nor has any supportable evidence been introduced to convince a skeptical world that Russia has abandoned her plans for global conquest.

Nevertheless, as our President has said: "We have got to reach honest understandings on these things, in which each can have confidence which is fair, and the world can see is fair. * * * We ought to have an open mind, and make it possible for others—if they are reasonable, logical men—to meet us halfway, so that we can make these agreements."

PEACEFUL AIM OF UNITED STATES MADE CLEAR TO WORLD

The difficulty in the past has been that any proposal advanced by Russia, no matter how reasonably it was couched, was immediately greeted in this country with scorn and derision.

This was the shrill "diplomacy" of Truman and Acheson, the curious paradox of constantly preaching peace while rejecting out of hand even the tiniest peaceful utterance from Moscow.

With Eisenhower, there can be no doubt of his sincerity and earnestness in pursuing the quest for peace. At the beginning of his first term, the President, in two magnificent addresses before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and the United Nations, made it abundantly clear that failure of the world to disarm would spell its own destruction.

Again, at Geneva, the President effectively shaped world opinion to a new confidence in the peaceful aspirations of the United States.

His latest efforts to advance disarmament are in the same vein—consistent, realistic, and sincere.

SOVIET TRICKERY ADDS A HANDICAP

It may well be, as Admiral Radford and the other skeptics are saying, that the Russians can't be trusted.

Judging from the past, there is certainly no reason to believe that they can be trusted.

Should we conclude, therefore, that the gigantic arms race between the United States and Russia must go rushing madly on, and that war's terrible carnage and destruction are inevitable?

Or is it better to say, as Eisenhower is doing, that "we must * * * keep our minds open and keep exploring every field—every facet of this great field—to see if something can't be done?"

It seems to me that the choice is clear.

Obviously, we must not be so naive as to accept the Russian proposals on blind faith.

Soviet guile being what it is, they are probably booby-trapped to the full extent of the Kremlin's ingenuity.

And, personally, I would feel more comfortable if someone other than the idealistic but often misguided Harold Stassen were representing our country in these negotiations.

Still, there can be no serious quarrel with the view that the United States must explore every avenue to peace, even though we have traveled the same approaches before to a dead-end street.

THE CHOICE IS CLEAR: PEACE OR DESTRUCTION

Our choice is between a crushing and accelerating arms race with Russia, with war as its climax, which can only result in the destruction of much of the civilized world, and a sincere, persistent, and courageous effort to avert this catastrophe by ceaseless negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Admittedly, this is an oversimplification of the problem.

The discussions may get nowhere.

As in the past, agreements can prove meaningless.

We risk being tricked. But the hazards of negotiation are as nothing compared to the terrible consequences of failure to reach a mutually tolerable understanding with the Soviets.

The awful and futile tragedy of war is fresh in our minds from the honors we have paid on Memorial Day to the brave defenders of our land. Let us resolve that our youth must never be sacrificed again by the failure of our statesmen to exhaust all the resources of reason and humanity in their quest for peace.

JOHN S. KNIGHT.

Mr. Speaker, may I add that another global conflict might well result in a tragic end to modern civilization as we know it today. It is difficult to imagine the havoc, misery, and devastation of the next war. God forbid that the world will ever have to endure the suffering that it will impose upon humanity. In the face of the race in nuclear armament certainly there is nothing more important to this and future generations of the peoples of all nations than peace. Disarmament appears to be the solution to the impending destruction of war. It must be achieved in good faith and with the understanding of the peoples of all nations and not just their leaders. Achieving this final peace is not something that can be accomplished by treaties alone which rarely outlive those who create them and so frequently are not worth the paper upon which they are written. Yet we must all hope and pray that there is an answer and that it is the task of the peoples of all nations to seek and find it.

A Dangerous Thing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert herewith an editorial entitled "A Dangerous Thing," which appeared in the June 4 edition of the Lynchburg News, of Lynchburg, Va.

I feel that the comments contained in the editorial are extremely pertinent to the situation we have before us this week with reference to the civil-rights bill. The editorial follows:

A DANGEROUS THING

John Kasper, the notorious racial agitator and rabble rouser, has lost his appeal to a United States circuit court from conviction by a Federal judge of contempt of court, and if his appeal to the Supreme Court is disallowed, as he has every reason to fear, he will have to serve his time in prison.

There's no sympathy here for the man, and little, we believe, among the people of the South generally. He is a promoter of race hatred. He is a nuisance and an evil. He is better off behind bars.

There is, however, cause for apprehension and it is, we believe, widespread in the South and should be in other sections. Kasper was tried before a single judge appointed from Washington for what was in reality, whatever the legal fiction, a crime, and sentenced without benefit of jury as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land.

It is a dangerous thing that has happened, a threat to the constitutional rights of all of us. If a Federal court can make a criminal case into a civil case by an injunction and jail 1 man for 1 offense it can do the same thing in the case of a criminal case of any kind. If constitutional guaranties can be swept away by pretext in the case of one man they can be swept away in others. Not alone in the South which is immediately affected but in all sections of the country where the threat is potential there ought to be protest and a demand for future security against judicial tyranny.

Living on a Postal Employee's Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to call to the attention of the Members the following letter which I received several months ago from one of my constituents who is an employee of the Post Office Department, stationed in West Virginia. This letter, I feel, vividly illustrates the difficult problems encountered by our postal employees, the austere and barren existence demanded of their families, as these hard-working public servants struggle to make ends meet on their present inadequate salaries.

At the same time that our colleagues read what my constituent has written, I should like to remind them, Mr. Speaker, that discharge petition No. 2 on House Resolution 249 lies on the Speaker's desk awaiting their signatures to provide cost-of-living pay increases for postal and other deserving Federal employees:

BLUEFIELD, W. VA., *February 16, 1957.*

Mrs. ELIZABETH KEE,
Member of Congress, West Virginia Fifth District, New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. KEE: I am writing you in connection with proposed, current postal legislation. I shall try to tell you briefly why it is so necessary that postal employees receive a substantial pay increase. I will mention only my own personal problems. I believe

they differ only in slight detail from thousands of other employees.

My take-home pay after all deductions, including $10 for savings bonds, is $141.33. On this I must maintain my home and two children in school. Fortunately, my home is paid for.

For the past 2 years I have been unable to save anything at all except in savings bonds. I had to cash some of these to pay for a paving assessment. Our 1941 model washing machine is making strange noises. Our stove and refrigerator were purchased the same year. I haven't owned a car since 1945. Doctors' and dentists' bills that I used to pay promptly now have to be paid on the installment plan in very small payments.

I have spent all my vacations at home the past several years—but not from choice. I would love to be able to make just a short trip somewhere to be able to show my wife what some other place besides Bluefield looks like.

My son, a junior in Beaver High School, has an I. Q. of 149. I should like to be of some help in getting him a higher education, but as matters stand now my help will be of little value.

The Postmaster General's 1955 Annual Report stated that during the past 2 years productivity had increased in excess of 10 percent. There has been no decrease, but a constant effort on the part of both the Department and employees to improve it. The U. S. News & World Report, on page 101 of its January 18 issue, lists 36 American industries where the average worker is now paid more than $5,000 per year. Four thousand seven hundred and ten dollars is the highest annual wage a letter carrier or postal clerk can earn and this only after many years of service.

Thanking you for your past support, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

OTHO DIXON.

Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954

SPEECH
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6974) to extend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] desire to be heard?

Mr. COOLEY. Yes, Mr. Chairman; I do want to be heard very briefly.

Mr. Chairman, I think the Chair is aware of the fact that this legislation was originally reported by the House Committee on Agriculture. It came before the House some time in June or July of 1954. On July 10, 1954, it became a law. The bill is not in any sense of the word an appropriation bill. The original bill only authorized the President of the United States to negotiate certain contracts—sale contracts, if you please, under which we sought to sell or to barter or to give away these tremendous agricultural surpluses. The bill we now have before us extends that law and only increases the limitation. You cannot call it an appropriation. It merely changes one limitation from $3 billion to $4 billion and another from $500 million to $800 million limitations on the President's authority under this act. It authorizes the President to negotiate in a certain fashion and with reference to certain uses, the ultimate aim being two-fold. First, to rid ourselves of these surplus commodities, and second, to improve the internal economies of other countries, friendly nations with which we are dealing. It does not amount to any appropriation at all, and I submit that the point of order should be overruled. But, before concluding, I would like to say that when I have concluded, I intend to move that the Committee do rise for the one purpose, and that is to permit our committee to go before the Committee on Rules in the hope that we can obtain a rule waiving points of order. Assuming that we do secure a rule waiving points of order, the point of order raised by the gentleman from New York will prove to be only dilatory and will delay final action on the pending bill.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, a point of order. I do not believe the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina has the right at this time, in arguing a point of order, to refer to the gentleman from New York in the fashion that he does.

Mr. COOLEY. I am arguing the parliamentary situation. If it pleases the Chair, I certainly do not mean to reflect upon the gentleman from New York. The gentleman from New York has a perfect right to raise the point of order that he has. I am a little bit apprehensive that the point of order may be sustained, if the Chair is called upon to rule on it. But, I think it would be very unfortunate for us to delay final action on the bill, and in the circumstances we have no other alternative other than to move that the Committee do now rise, and so, Mr. Chairman, I make that motion.

Military Air Transport Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. MAHON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, May 29, in connection with my remarks in the body of the RECORD, I inserted a statement in regard to the Military Air Transport Service. For some reason or other, the Government Printing Office failed to print my references to MATS in the May 29 RECORD. I am told that in the permanent copy of the RECORD proper corrections will be made and my statement will appear. Having received unanimous consent to do so, I wish to place in the RECORD at this time the statement which was omitted from the RECORD of the proceedings of May 29.

MILITARY AIR TRANSPORT SERVICE

Mr. Chairman, several hundred pages of the hearings were devoted to a consideration of the Military Air Transport Service, better known as MATS. The civil air carriers want to get a proper proportion of the business of the Department of Defense. For this attitude the civil air carriers are to be commended. This is a free-enterprise country, and we like to see free enterprise carry the load in the defense program to the extent that such a course may be proper and practical and in keeping with the best interests of national defense.

MATS is a terrifically big organization. There must be no disposition toward empire building. That course must be repelled, and the MATS program must not be permitted to mushroom beyond proper limits.

The committee has discussed all of the major problems involving MATS with the Secretary of the Air Force and with the big and little commercial air carriers of the Nation. I think our studies and investigations have been helpful. I would like to serve notice on the Department of Defense that the committee expects to continue to keep the MATS program under close observation with the hope that commercial air carriers can receive as much consideration as may be desirable in the transportation of personnel and cargo. We realize that MATS must be a large organization by reason of requirements which would be instantaneous in the event of war, but we do not want this program to get out of hand.

Last year we put quite a statement in the committee report on the defense bill in regard to MATS. We did not think it necessary to repeat the language in the report this year, but our concern and interest in this field have not diminished. I trust that the commercial air carriers and military officials will be able to work out an arrangement which will be reasonably fair to business, the Department of Defense, and the taxpayer.

Resolution Urging Grants of Money to Flood-Stricken Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JARMAN
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I should like to include enrolled house concurrent resolution 550, which was adopted by the Oklahoma State House of Representatives of the 26th Legislature on May 22, 1957, and by the Oklahoma State Senate of the 26th Legislature on May 23, 1957:

Enrolled House Concurrent Resolution 550

Concurrent resolution memorializing Congress to make direct grants of money to heads of flood-stricken city and rural households for the repair and refurnishing of flood-damaged homes; further urging that farmers be granted the right to pasture livestock on lands set aside by the soil bank wherever other pasturelands have been made unsuitable by floodwaters

Whereas recent unprecedented rains have adversely affected large areas of the State of Oklahoma by causing heavy flooding of creeks and rivers to the detriment of the inhabitants of these areas; and

Whereas such floods have resulted in over $25 million worth of damages to property,

livestock and growing crops, in addition to the tragic loss of lives; and

Whereas thousands of householders have witnessed destruction and severe damage to their homes; and

Whereas many farmers have suffered a heavy blow upon their economic livelihood through th loss of crops, livestock, and pastureland; and

Whereas initial surveys reveal that these disaster victims are in need of immediate economic assistance in order to restore the ravages of the flood: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the 26th Oklahoma Legislature (the Senate concurring therein):

SECTION 1. That the 85th United States Congress, 1st session be hereby officially memorialized to enact legislation making direct grants of money up to, but not exceeding $500 to the head of each flood-stricken city and rural household for the repair and refurnishing of flood-damaged homes.

SEC. 2. That Congress be urged to grant to farmers in flood-stricken areas the authority to pasture livestock on lands which have been set aside for soil-bank purposes wherever other pasturelands have been made unsuitable by flood waters.

SEC. 3. That a duly authenticated copy of this resolution be forwarded to each member of the Oklahoma congressional delegation.

Adopted by the house of representatives the 22d day of May 1957.

B. E. HARKEY,
Speaker of the house of representatives.

Adopted by the senate the 23d day of May 1957.

DON BALDWIN,
President of the senate.

Merited Recognition for Rear Adm. Husband E. Kimmel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, pivotal events in history have often been accompanied by such overwhelming consequences as to impair perspective at the time. Nevertheless, with the passage of years, they tend to assume due proportion and key figures in them to emerge in true light. One such event was the battle of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, when important portions of the United States Pacific Fleet, of which Adm. Husband E. Kimmel was commander in chief, was attacked by Japanese naval forces and very seriously damaged.

Long a subject of heated controversy and repeated investigations, the part of Admiral Kimmel in events prior to Pearl Harbor are now better understood. Voluminous records and a number of scholarly books portray them in vivid detail, with the result that Admiral Kimmel has gained greatly in stature.

The latest event in his unfolding story is election as president of his class of the United States Naval Academy, where he graduated in 1904. Chosen by professional associates, who, by training and education, are the best qualified to judge his case on the basis of its merits, this choice is an honor of historical significance.

Formal announcement of Admiral Kimmel's election was made in the June 1957 issue of Shipmate, the United States Naval Academy Alumni monthly, which featured in its alumni notes an illuminating article by Vice Adm. John F. Shafroth, United States Navy, retired, president of the United States Naval Academy Alumni Association and a vice president of the Naval Historical Foundation.

The suggestion of Admiral Shafroth that the wartime rank held by Admiral Kimmel on December 7, 1941, should be restored to him merits serious consideration by Department of the Navy, the Department of Defense, and by the Congress. Such action would not cost the American taxpayer a single cent.

To make Admiral Shafroth's article available to the Nation at large, I quote it full text:

HUSBAND E. KIMMEL 1904

(By Vice Adm. John F. Shafroth, United States Navy, retired, 1908)

The choice of a man to be the president of his class is an honor and an indication of the esteem in which he is held by his classmates. The choice of Rear Adm. Husband E. Kimmel to be president of the Naval Academy class of 1904, has a significance far beyond that in the normal election of a class president.

For more than 15 years Rear Admiral Kimmel has endured "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" while many who served under his command and those upon whom he relied for advice and help have been promoted to ranks far higher than has been granted him by his Government.

Under the above circumstances his selection to be president of the Naval Academy, class of 1904, is a mark of trust and an affirmation of faith by those who have known him well for more than 50 years, and who, by their education and professional experience, are among those of our country's citizens best qualified to judge the events before, on, and after that tragic 7th day of December 1941.

The basing of the Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor was a matter of policy determined by the highest authorities of our Government. In the determination of that policy Admiral Kimmel had no part.

Such a policy imposed upon the authorities in Washington the obligation to make sure that all things necessary for the protection of the Pearl Harbor base were provided and that the naval and military commanders in the Hawaiian Islands were furnished the most complete information available as to our national policy and information gleaned from Japanese sources as to their probable intentions.

The tense situation in the Atlantic made it impossible to furnish either the Asiatic or the Pacific fleet with all the things that were needed. The men urgently requested by Admiral Kimmel could not be furnished him; ships were detached from his command and ordered to the Atlantic; of the 100 patrol planes authorized in the spring of 1941 for the 14th Naval District to permit efficient long-range scouting from Pearl Harbor, not one had arrived prior to December 7; of the 180 Army bombers (B–17's) authorized at the same time for the Army stationed in the Hawaiian Islands, only 12 had arrived and 6 of these were inoperative due to the fact that they had been stripped of parts required by aircraft of similar type en route to the Philippines; shore based antiaircraft weapons were seriously insufficient. While it may not have been possible for any agency to supply all the needs of the Pearl Harbor base, that was something far beyond the control or responsibility of Admiral Kimmel.

The basing of the Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor also made it imperative that the naval and military commanders there be kept fully informed of the policy of the Government and the changes that were made in that policy as they occurred from day to day. Despite Admiral Kimmel's urgent request that he be furnished with all pertinent information with regard to the Japanese by the quickest safe means he was not furnished with vitally important information such as the so-called ultimatum note issued by our own Government nor with many intercepted and decoded messages which disclosed great interest in the berths occupied in Pearl Harbor and the movements of ships even from one berth to another. Nor did he receive many of the intercepted and decoded dispatches exchanged between the Japanese authorities in Tokyo and Washington. Admiral Kimmel was unable to decode these messages and was entirely dependent upon Washington for this very important material.

The dispatches that were sent him were based upon estimates of the situation as it appeared to the authorities in Washington, which indicated that if and when hostilities arose, the Japanese were expected to strike at the Kra Peninsula, the Philippines, Borneo, or even Guam. Through the dispatches that were received there were repeated admonitions that if hostilities could not be avoided the United States desired the Japanese to commit the first overt act.

These and many other facts were carefully considered and weighed by the naval court of inquiry ordered by the Secretary of the Navy on July 13, 1944, in compliance with a congressional resolution passed earlier that year.

The members of this court of inquiry were Adm. Orin G. Murfin, United States Navy (retired), former commander-in-chief Asiatic Fleet and Judge Advocate of the Navy; Adm. Edward C. Kalbfus, United States Navy (retired), former commander battle force (now the Pacific fleet) and president of the Naval War College; and Vice Adm. Adolphus Andrews, United States Navy (retired), former commander of the scouting force (now the Atlantic fleet). These eminent officers have all passed to the Great Beyond but the alumni of the earlier classes will long remember them as men of courage, competence, and integrity. They had all exercised high command afloat; they knew the capebilities of the Pacific fleet and also the limitations imposed upon it by logistical and operational factors.

At this court of inquiry in accordance with time-honored customs and regulations for naval justice, Admiral Kimmel was made an interested party with the right to be present at all proceedings of the court, to call witnesses and present evidence to the court, and to cross-examine witnesses.

After a careful and comprehensive investigation the court found certain facts established and formed certain opinions, and concluded with the following: "Finally, based upon the facts established, the court is of the opinion that no offenses have been committed nor serious blame incurred on the part of any person or persons in the naval service." Then followed the recommendation of the court which reads: "The court recommends that no further proceedings be had in the matter."

Half of the present alumni were not in the Navy when the Pearl Harbor tragedy occurred. Nevertheless, the above cited facts should never be forgotten by Naval Academy alumni.

Nothing can be done to erase the suffering that Admiral Kimmel has undergone in the

last 15 years but, to some extent, that suffering could be alleviated by the restoration to him of the rank of admiral which he held as commander-in-chief of the Pacific fleet. His classmates have not forgotten nor have they hesitated to take the stand that they felt was just and right. All honor to them and to their loyal, able, and devoted president.

Interstate and Intrastate Trade in Barbiturates and Amphetamines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Health and Science of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, of which I am chairman, held hearings on April 18, 1957, on H. R. 503, introduced by Congressman BYRNES of Wisconsin; H. R. 504, introduced by Congress BOGGS of Louisiana; and H. R. 2498, introduced by Congressman SADLAK of Connecticut. These bills contain provisions with respect to interstate and intrastate trade in barbiturates and amphetamines.

In the course of the hearings on these bills, the subcommittee submitted to Mr. John L. Harvey, Deputy Commissioner, Food and Drug Administration, a number of questions and requested Mr. Harvey to answer these questions in writing. Mr. Harvey has submitted his replies and I feel that all those interested in this legislation will want to study both the questions and the replies before the subcommittee proceeds with the hearings. Therefore, I am making the questions and replies public at this time. The questions and answers are as follows:

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOR CONGRESSMAN WILLIAMS ON H. R. 503, H. R. 504, AND H. R. 2498

1. What is the nature of the problem with respect to barbiturates?

(a) Is it the use of the drugs without knowing the consequences?

Answer. The use of barbiturates by persons under the care of a physician does not constitute a problem and is not likely to result in habituation. The use without medical supervision is a serious problem.

(b) Is it the purposeful abuse of the drugs?

Answer. The purposeful abuse of barbiturates is likely to result in habituation and addiction as well as death by suicide or accident. Since the result is a form of intoxication prolonged abuse leads to moral degeneration and offenses against society.

(c) Who is particularly involved? Young, old, male, female, city people, country people?

Answer. Our experience in encountering habituation and misuse in persons from early adolescence to the elderly shows there seems to be little distinction between male and female. Perhaps because of more ready access to sources of information in the urban areas the cases that we have investigated appear more in towns and cities than in country areas. However, the Subcommittee on Narcotics of the Ways and Means Committee found that the illicit traffic in barbiturates attacks small as well as large communities. We have encountered businessmen of previous god repute who have degenerated and lost their jobs resulting in broken homes and other tragedies. Similarly a comparable number of cases have been investigated involving reputable housewives in middle age who became addicted and neglected their families.

1. What is the nature of the problem with respect to amphetamines?

(a) Is it the use of the drugs without knowing the consequences?

Answer. The use of amphetamines to offset fatigue and loss of sleep leads to habituation perhaps without realization of the consequences. This has been observed among people in certain types of employment such as truckdrivers and others who work at night, jockeys who must keep weight down and energy up, entertainers, and the criminal elements who use the drugs for the false courage needed to commit crimes.

(b) Is it the purposeful abuse of the drugs?

Answer. The purposeful abuse of amphetamines leads to habituation and addiction. Their euphoric effect tends to produce a feeling of invincibility and leads habitual users to commit offenses such as crimes of violence while exhilarated.

(c) Who is particularly involved? Young, old, male, female, city people, country people?

Answer. The age and sex pattern of amphetamine abuse is comparable to that of the barbiturates. Again our cases investigated more often involve people living in urban areas, probably for the same reasons as mentioned in barbiturates. (However, the Subcommittee on Narcotics of the Ways and Means Committee found that the illicit traffic in amphetamines attacks small as well as large communities.)

2. What are the channels of distribution in cases of abuse?

(a) Usual channels which disregard present law (drug stores)?

Answer. The retail drug store has been the source of most of the drugs obtained by persons who have abused them. Where we have been able to locate the source of diversion of drugs sold through filling stations, beer parlors, and similar outlets, the trail has usually led back to a retail drug store. However, in many cases where amphetamines have been sold by filling-station operators, we have been unable to identify the persons who supplied the drugs to the filling-station operators.

We have had some cases in which doctors have been the source of supply, and other cases in which drug salesmen have diverted the drugs outside proper channels of sale.

(b) Unusual channels (filling stations, restaurants)?

Answer. Our facilities have enabled us to make only limited investigation of sale of drugs through filling stations, restaurants, beer parlors, poolrooms, etc. The cases we have developed have been the result of complaints made to us in which the filling station, restaurant, beer parlor, etc., was identified to us by the complainant. Where we have been able to initiate prosecution against filling station operators, etc., we have ordinarily not been able to establish from whom or where he purchased the amphetamines for sale. We have had to establish the fact that the drugs had previously been shipped interstate by microanalysis methods. The only organized investigation of sale of amphetamines in unusual channels was our recent investigation of sale of amphetamines to truck drivers, by filling stations located along major highways. That investigation, limited though it necessarily was, convinced us that there is a substantial problem in the sale of amphetamines through filling stations.

(c) What proof do you have?

Answer. The proof that we have is the evidence acquired in completing cases for prosecution under the law. During the past 5 years, since the effective date of the Durham-Humphrey amendment, prosecutions have been had against 434 drugstore outlets, 26 non-drug-store outlets, and 4 physicians who were peddling the drugs other than in the course of their professional practice. These figures apply only to illegal sales of barbiturates and amphetamines and do not include 91 cases of the sale of other prescription drugs illegally.

3. How does the problem of barbiturates and amphetamines differ from other dangerous drugs which are sold on prescription only?

Answer. The problem of the nonprescription sale of barbiturates and amphetamines differs from problems of other dangerous drugs in that while other dangerous drugs may constitute a significant source of harm to the individuals who purchase them they are not used for intoxication and abuse which results in social evils and danger to the public generally.

How does it different from tranquilizers?

Answer. The distribution of tranquilizers, all of which are subject to control under the new drug provisions and are limited to sale only on prescription, has not yet produced definite evidence of existing or potential abuse comparable to that involved in amphetamines and barbiturates. Whether the tranquilizing drugs may lead to habituation and evils to society resulting therefrom is as yet undetermined. This class of drugs is receiving careful study.

4. Is there any likelihood that if legislation is enacted for barbiturates and amphetamines, that similar legislation will be demanded for other dangerous drugs?

Answer. It is unlikely that if this legislation is enacted for barbiturates and amphetamines that similar legislation will be demanded for other dangerous drugs except as other drugs may be discovered which have the same potentiality for producing the social evils that are attendant upon the misuse of barbiturates and amphetamines. It is entirely possible that other drugs will be found which have similar effects but we cannot say that there is a clear and present danger from other groups of drugs of the same kind at this time.

5. What are the quantities of barbiturates and amphetamines involved in—

(a) legitimate use?

(b) illegitimate use?

Answer. It is not possible accurately to estimate the quantities of barbiturates and amphetamines as between legitimate use and illegitimate use. Figures we have obtained from the Department of Commerce and the Tariff Commission indicate that in 1955, 486,000 pounds of barbiturates and barbiturate derivatives were sold. This had a value of $2,800,000, and, on the basis of average dosages of one-half grains, would constitute 1,540,000,000 doses, or the equivalent of 10 doses for every man, woman, and child in the United States. Other figures indicate that 864,000 pounds of barbiturates and barbiturate derivatives were produced in 1955, but we are unable to account for the difference between production and sales figures. We do not believe, however, that this difference can be explained as a difference between legitimate and illegitimate use, and we are inclined to believe that the difference lies in more accurate reporting of production than sales.

During 1955 these figures show that 57,000 pounds of amphetamine base were produced, but there are no accurate figures as to the quantities of this that were converted into dosage form and sold.

Our investigations have convinced us that there have been illegitimate sales and abuses of these drugs in a very large number of cases; just how large the problem is remains to be seen when an adequate investigation effort is put into it.

6. Spell out how the bills, if enacted, will eliminate or curtail abuse.

Answer. The proposed legislation would do three important things. First, the bill requires all persons engaged in the production of dosage forms of barbiturates and amphetamines to identify themselves to the Government by registering their names and addresses, and it describes the legitimate channels of distribution from the manufacturer to the person who obtains the drugs for his own medical use. Second, it provides that the diversion of these drugs from the lawful channels of distribution is an offense and no proof is required that the drugs have been shipped in interstate commerce prior to the diversion from lawful channels. Third, the bill requires that records be kept and that they be available for inspection, so that unlawful diversions of the drugs can be discovered.

7. How many establishments would you have to control:

(a) Manufacturers?
(b) Wholesalers?
(c) Retailers?
(d) Others?

Answer. The present law already requires that amphetamines and barbiturates be dispensed only on prescription. It is a criminal offense for a retailer to sell the drugs without obtaining a lawful prescription. This gives us the responsibility for investigating the manufacture and wholesale and retail distribution of these drugs. Thus, the proposed bill does not add new responsibility of inspection and investigation in that field. What it does is to simplify and strengthen the control by requiring the manufacturers to identify themselves, thus facilitating the inspectional operation, and it writes into law the requirement now in regulations that the drugs be handled in authorized channels of distribution from the manufacturer to the retailer. At present we have no accurate figures as to the number of manufacturers and wholesalers, but on the basis of our best estimate, it is believed that there are approximately 500 manufacturers and perhaps as many as 800 repackagers, that there are about 500 wholesalers and between 55,000 and 56,000 retail drugstores. This bill would increase our operations against persons engaged in the bootleg traffic of these drugs. Heretofore, our operations against bootleggers have been predicated upon complaints, and we have made no organized effort to determine the precise size of the bootleg traffic.

8. How much personnel would you need for such control?

Answer. We have estimated that an additional force for investigation of this traffic of 50 man-years would be sufficient to constitute a sound beginning. This would be in addition to the 30 to 35 man-years which the Food and Drug Administration now is devoting to the unauthorized sale of prescription drugs.

9. What methods of examination would you use?

(a) Spot checks?
(b) Regular checks?

Answer. We would expect to continue investigations based upon complaints and definite leads that give us reason to believe that particular persons are diverting these drugs. We do not contemplate regular routine auditing of records and would expect to check the records only when our inspectors were engaged in the investigation of an unlawful diversion of drugs that had come to our attention by other means. The check of records would be used as supporting evidence after our inspector had learned of unlawful sales or other distribution to persons outside legitimate channels of distribution.

10. Would you work with or through State and local enforcement agencies? If so, how?

Answer. We would expect to continue our cooperation with State and local enforcement agencies to every extent possible, and to follow the policy we have frequently expressed that we are entirely willing to leave the investigation of purely local abuses of barbiturates and amphetamines to State and local officials where they are ready, willing, and able to act through the local courts. We would expect to encourage the State and local officials to do all they can to stamp out the abuse of these drugs. Where the State and local officials can and will do a good job, we can use our inspectors and facilities for other things. But wherever there is strong State enforcement, the problem many times is large enough to require the combined efforts of both State and Federal inspectors. And, as we have pointed out to the Committee, many States and local authorities have inadequate laws and in some instances either no personnel to do this job or wholly inadequate personnel.

11. Spell out in detail the obligations under the bills which are imposed on manufacturers and distributors.

Answer. Manufacturers, compounders, and processors of barbiturates and amphetamines would be required to list their names and places of business. Upon the effective date of the bills they would be required to submit a complete record of all stocks on hand and keep such records for 3 years. Thereafter there would be prepared and kept for not less than 3 years a record of the kind and quantity of barbiturates and amphetamines manufactured, compounded, and processed and the date of such manufacturing, compounding, or processing. They would be required to keep for not less than 3 years records that show the kind and quantity of any barbiturates and amphetamines received, sold, delivered, or otherwise disposed of and the names and addresses of the processors or firms from whom received or to whom delivered or otherwise disposed of and the date. They would be required to make such records available for examination and copying by duly authorized officials of this Department at reasonable times and to permit copying thereof. Distributors, whether at wholesale or retail level, would be required to keep for 3 years a record of all barbiturates and amphetamines received by kind, quantity, supplier, and date of receipt and records showing distribution, and to whom. Distributors are not required to list their names and places of business. They would have to make their records available for examination and copying as in the case of manufacturers.

12. How do these obligations differ from obligations imposed by laws which would license manufacturers and distributors?

Answer. The obligations covered in question 11 differ from the obligations imposed by laws which license manufacturers and distributors, in that they are not required to obtain a license or permit, and the Secretary does not control whether or not they engage in such business by granting, refusing, or revoking licenses. They are not required to employ special forms or to use records that are not now employed in the manufacture, distribution, and sale of these products. The proposed bills do not require any new obligations of physicians or impose upon them any changes such as the use of special prescription forms or a physician's permit number. No recordkeeping is imposed upon physicians.

13. How would enforcement differ in case of licensing laws?

Answer. Enforcement in the case of licensing laws would involve routine audit rather than special investigation where there is apparent need and would subject manufacturers and distributors to securing a license or permit and give the Department control over whether or not they engage in such business. Such licensing provisions would require a large staff of employes to act upon applications for licenses, to monitor requests for purchases, and to audit performance under the licensing provisions. In the case of narcotic laws the enforcement agency checks on office practices of physicians which are wholly outside the contemplation of these bills.

14. Could you de-list a violator?

Answer. These bills do not provide for delisting violators nor do they provide for any action against manufacturers or distributors of an administrative character but would require in each case of alleged violation that all the facts pertinent be presented in courts of law.

15. What do the bills provide with respect to unlawful possession without prescription?

Answer. Under the bills, unlawful possession, including possession without having obtained drugs on lawful prescription, would be classed as a misdemeanor and subject to the penalties provided under the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

16. How would you enforce the unlawful possession provision in the case of individuals?

Answer. The unlawful possession feature is in our view designed as an aid to enforcement against underground bootleg traffic and is intended to facilitate apprehension and prosecution of peddlers who make possible the abuse which arise from unauthorized use. It is not our view that the possession feature of the law should be applied in actual prosecution under the Federal act to an individual who has such drugs in his possession without intent to pass it on to others as a part of a chain of illegal distribution.

17. What do the bills provide in regard to enforcement with respect to individuals, and what does the Department suggest in this regard?

Answer. The bills provide that it is unlawful for a person to possess barbiturates and amphetamines unless he has lawfully obtained them on the prescription of a practitioner issued in the course of his professional practice. The person who obtained the drugs through a sale made in violation of the Durham-Humphrey amendment would be an illegal possessor. If the committee believes that possession of illegally obtained drugs by persons for their own personal use, and not for disposition to others, should not be an offense, the Department is prepared to go along with that idea. We do believe, however, that possession of barbiturates and amphetamines by an individual for illegal disposition to others, and not for his own personal use, must be made an offense if we are to cope with the bootleg traffic.

18. How would enforcement differ from the present law with respect to individuals?

Answer. Enforcement would differ from the present law only in that the unlawful possession of the drug by an individual, rather than dispensing without prescription by him, would be an offense. There would be no requirement that prior interstate shipment of the drug be established before the offense could be proved.

19. Does present law prohibit unlawful possession of any drugs?

Answer. The present law carries no prohibition against the possession of drugs.

20. Would you need a search warrant to search an individual for unlawful possession?

Answer. There is nothing in the bills that authorizes the search of any individual for unlawful possession. If we wanted to make a search, we would have to obtain a search warrant in accordance with the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure.

21. Could your agents enter a home or a car to search for unlawfully held barbiturates and amphetamines?

Answer. There is nothing in the bills which gives our inspectors the authority to search any establishment, home, or automobile, or to arrest any person whatever. The bills would provide for the inspection of establishments and vehicles in which these drugs are manufactured, transported or held.

This inspectional authority would be the same limited authority that Congress approved a few years ago. We would not interpret that authority to authorize the inspection of a private home or a private automobile, but we would interpret it to authorize inspection of establishments and vehicles used in the chain of distribution of these drugs. As the committee knows, that inspection authority does not authorize the use of force or entry into an establishment or an automobile without the consent of the person in charge, but it does make the refusal to permit a reasonable inspection at reasonable times, and in a reasonable manner, a criminal offense.

22. Is the unlawful possession provision necessary? Why? Could it be eliminated without rendering the proposed law ineffectual?

Answer. Certainly, a provision penalizing unlawful possession for disposition to others, and not for personal use is necessary to reach peddlers and bootleggers. To require proof that possession was for the purpose of sale would, of course, make enforcement more difficult. On the other hand, it may well be that possession for personal use and not for disposition to others could be eliminated as an offense without greatly impairing the effectiveness of the law in actual practice.

23. Are there other ways in which distribution of barbiturates and amphetamines could be controlled without exposing individuals to Federal inspection for unlawful possession?

Answer. We know of no way that unlawful holding for sale can be effectively reached without making such possession for the purpose of sale unlawful.

24. How do these bills differ with respect to unlawful possession from narcotic laws?

Answer. It is our understanding that, under the Harrison Narcotic Act, possession of narcotics not bearing internal-revenue stamps and not obtained on a valid prescription constitutes sufficient evidence for conviction. In the case of the Narcotic Drugs Import-Export Act, the possessor is deemed guilty unless he explains his defense to the satisfaction of the jury.

25. What is meant by paragraph at top of page 3 of report? (Would not proposed legislation go way beyond present law, particularly with regard to unlawful possession?) (namely):

"We believe that the legislation proposed by these bills is necessary for the adequate enforcement of the present law in relation to these drugs and in order to protect the public health and safety. We therefore recommend its enactment, with certain amendments suggested at the end of this report."

Answer. The present law cannot be adequately enforced since although many drugs may in fact be interstate in origin it may be impossible to establish evidence to prove it.

United States Minerals Program: The Stress Is on Speed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the Eisenhower administration recently announced its long-range program to afford domestic producers of lead and zinc some protection against low-wage foreign producers of these metals. The alternative to this program is to close the mines in this country, making the Nation entirely dependent upon the production and price whims of the rest of the world.

For the first time, it is not so much a question of what to do but a question of time. The need for immediate action is at hand. In this connection I am inserting at this point in the RECORD an article from the Salt Lake Tribune by Robert W. Bernick, its knowledgeable business editor.

The article follows:

UNITED STATES MINERALS PROGRAM: THE STRESS IS ON SPEED

(By Robert W. Bernick)

With only about 6 weeks remaining for Congress to act on the administration's long-range minerals program, it is plain that great speed and dexterity will be required to steer the plan, as amended, through the legislative halls to the President's desk.

The issues inherent in the tariff program might strain some ties within the lead-zinc industry, as they have in the past.

This should be of little importance to the congressional delegations from the mining States.

The 1 or 2 imports of these 2 metals, who for too long have had the ear and support of the United States State Department, are not voters. Jobs their imports would liquidate are held by voters however.

As for the operators, only by presenting a basic unity and refusing to compromise on the principles of tariff as laid down in the administration program, will the entire industry be able to survive on a rewarding basis the immediate years ahead.

There are those in the Utah segment of the business who believe that where opposition is presented by self-seeking foreign producers of these metals, then these interlopers to this domestic issue should be effectively exposed once and for all.

TIME HAS PASSED THEM BY

Time has long since passed these people by. Even during the halcyon days of Federal (taxpayers) support of the metals started by the administration as an alternative to the tariff principle now recommended, foreign producers did not abide by Mr. Eisenhower's request to voluntarily limit dumping of their metals on our shores.

They cannot now appear in Washington with clean hands.

The long-range minerals program is not being established for the benefit of low-wage cost foreign producers of metals.

Its necessity results from a final battle for survival for the remaining operating properties in the Western and Middle Western States.

Nor are we, as Americans and westerners, called upon to make any apologies to anyone, anywhere, for fighting to the last inch to protect and to expand the basis of our employment and our livelihood.

Salt Lake City is no different from mining areas such as Wallace, Idaho; Butte, Mont.; or Ely, Nev. It's only a bit bigger town. But it doesn't live on air, any more than do those other towns.

Close the mines down and every merchant on Main Street will feel the pinch.

Close the mines down and every school district will be hurt.

Close the mines down and limit the opportunity of our children.

Close the mines down and eventually you close us all down.

For lead and zinc are but a few of the metals that are in trouble. The long-range minerals program aims to aid by establishment of its principles of protection of all important metals.

To say otherwise is to say it is but half a loaf.

Tungsten, copper, mercury, fluorspar, manganese, potash, chromite—all face these selfsame issues in varying degree.

WITHOUT BASIC TARIFF OR IMPORT

Without basic tariff or import quota protection, mines, smelters, refineries, and concentrators producing these materials for American consumption must face: (1) Declining profits placing a squeeze on wage increases, (2) dropping production, which affects employment, (3) closure, which eliminates jobs, stockholders, and taxes paid to cities, counties, and States.

Today it is lead, zinc, tungsten, and other metals.

Tomorrow it may be copper, potash, iron, ore, oil.

Lateness of the hour by which the administration finally prepared its "bare bones specifics" as to the minerals program may pose problems.

By adhering to the tariff principle, many complaints can be downed.

A "dogfight" over commodity amendments can be avoided.

Consumer objections (generally raised, not by consumers, but by manufacturers desiring cheaper raw materials—can be faced resolutely and frankly.

Giving the lead producer the same sort of protection afforded fabricators of lead products in the United States of America against competing finished materials from abroad would add 30 cents on the dollar to import of raw lead.

Giving the tungsten producer like consideration with the domestic fabricator and processor of this metal would double the existing tariff on tungsten metal. (Not a bad idea.)

You can include other domestic metals in this same situation.

INCLUDE OTHER DOMESTIC METALS

Such actions will not "raise the price" to the consumer. The price is there now, on the finished goods.

Western raw-material producers seek only elimination of growing inequities in this relationship.

By any conceivable index, they too long have been denied a just share of our expanding economy.

For too long has the western economy been stilted by an injurious Federal policy now forcing our minerals industry to its knees.

A New Leader for the World's Nurses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, 3 years ago it was my privilege to congratulate one of Connecticut's outstanding "ladies in white" when she became the national president of the American Nurses Association. Again it is with pride that I and the citizens of Connecticut point to the well-deserved international recognition that has come to Miss Agnes Ohlson, of Hartford, for her splendid contribution to the profession to which she is profoundly dedicated. The following editorial from the June 1 issue of the Hartford (Conn.) Courant tells of her selection as president of the International Council of Nurses:

A NEW LEADER FOR THE WORLD'S NURSES

No one woman in Connecticut has done more to foster high professional standards of nursing than has Miss Agnes Ohlson. The State has benefited from her guidance as chief examiner for the Connecticut Board of Examiners for Nursing. And her influence nationally has been felt particularly as president of the American Nurses Association. Now the International Council of Nurses at its quadrennial congress in Rome has chosen Miss Ohlson as its president. Thus Connecticut, where Miss Ohlson was born and took some of her training, can be proud of this new stature for one of its citizens.

Improvements in the nursing field, whether they were sought before the State's own legislature or before Congress, always found Miss Ohlson as a leading advocate. It was inevitable that her zeal be given international notice. And certainly the 37 national nurses' associations which comprise the council will benefit under a leader dedicated to high nursing standards everywhere.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor Backs Single Federal Dam at Hells Canyon—Government Expert Says Tax Writeoff Granted Idaho Power Co. by Administration Would Cost the Government $83,595,827

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, one of the top officers of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, Vincent J. Murphy, secretary-treasurer, recently wrote:

The Federal Power Commission has already awarded a license to the Idaho Power Co. to build three small dams on the Snake River, despite a report by one of its own examiners that a single Federal dam would be a far more economical investment for the development of the Middle Snake. The Federal dam, according to our information, would produce more than twice the hydro power than the three low-level dams.

Moreover, this greater abundance of hydro power could be produced at less than half the cost of power from the three small dams. The Federal dam would also encourage the expansion of industry in the area, and would create about 70,000 new jobs in the district.

The single high dam would store about 3.8 times as much water as the small dams for flood control, navigation, and downstream power benefits. Construction of the Federal dam would aid development of a large natural playground for recreational purposes, protect fish and wildlife, and create a large amount of water for irrigation purposes.

The New Jersey State Federation of Labor antedates the American Federation of Labor. It is the oldest State labor federation in point of continuous existence. It has also achieved the reputation of being one of the most active labor groups in the Nation.

Louis P. Marciante, president of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, recently declared that the organization has gained a record number of new affiliations during the last few years. It now has over 1,000 affiliants, inclusive of local unions, central labor bodies, State associations, and building trade councils.

Mr. Marciante has served as president of this important statewide body for 23 years. Mr. Vincent J. Murphy, former mayor of Newark, N. J., is now completing his 24th year as secretary-treasurer of this important organization.

Much of the activity of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor for many years past has centered on State and Federal legislation and each year it seeks to further a specific legislative program. Mr. Marciante and Mr. Murphy are the group's legislative agents and are assisted by Wesley A. Taylor, legislative committee chairman, and Thomas L. Parsonnet, legislative counsel.

I include here an article from the Newsletter of May 22, 1957, of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor on the Hells Canyon Dam, as well as a news story in the New York Times of June 1, 1957:

[From the New Jersey State Federation of Labor Newsletter of May 22, 1957]

DAM ISSUE HOT AT HELLS

WASHINGTON.—Those who wanted a Federal dam in Hells Canyon can cheer up: They're building two of them.

At least that's the interpretation some observers put on the fact that Uncle Sam is paying a huge chunk of the cost, while the Idaho Power Co. is taking the title.

This latest and strangest chapter in the story of Oregon's celebrated canyon began when the Eisenhower administration in April awarded the company a tax-amortization certificate. The paper gives Idaho Power an interest-free loan of $30.5 million repayable over half a century an excuses the company from income taxes for 5 years.

Public power advocates in and out of Congress are looking into the affair with amazement, and in some cases, anger. Several predict a scandal bigger than Dixon-Yates.

This seems doubtful because of the apparent absence of a dramatizing factor such as Adolphe Wenzell proved to be in the Dixon-Yates case. Wenzell was a vice president of the giant First Boston Corp., invited into the Government by the Director of the Budget. The investment banker worked out a plan to give four power companies a contract to supply power to TVA, which was prohibited from expanding its own generating facilities. The First Boston Corp. would have handled the financing, if the deal had gone through.

IT'S A LOAN

In the Idaho Power case, the nearest answer to the question, "Is there a Wenzell in the play?" is that the two men running the program in the Interior Department are former electric company officials temporarily in Government.

George H. English came from the Tennessee Power & Light Co., and Gardner George from the Niagara Mohawk Power Co. They handle tax-amortization matters in the office of Fred Aandahl, Assistant Secretary of the Interior for water and power, and a former Republican governor of North Dakota.

The $30.5 million interest-free Federal loan isn't called a loan. The technical name, "rapid amortization," has scared off public interest in the case. But it's a loan just the same, according to most impartial authorities.

It works this way: A company announces that it is building a dam, or several dams. If the Government classifies it as an emergency facility needed for national defense the company can deduct from its net earnings each year for 5 years one-fifth of a certain cost figure. For Idaho Power, this figure averages 62½ percent of construction cost of the 2 dams.

The yearly tax deduction for the 5 years is so great that no taxes need be paid.

The idea originally behind tax amortization was encouraging industrial facilities needed in a hurry for national security. But the Hells Canyon Dams hardly fall into this emergency category. Besides, other companies could certainly be found willing to build the dams without aid on the Nation's last remaining major dam site.

REPAID IN 50 YEARS

The amount of the forgiven tax—really a loan—will be repaid during the next 50 years, the usually accepted standard life of a dam.

The story goes further. The 5-year loss of Federal tax revenue means that the Government will have to borrow more money than it otherwise would to meet expenses.

The National Rural Electric Cooperative Association estimates that the loan to Idaho Power will cost the Government $329 million in 50 years. Of this amount, $97 million will be interest payments.

The tax subsidy to the Idaho Power Co. is apparently the last one to be given to an electric company. The award was announced on April 28 while Congress was in recess, although Defense Mobilizer Gordon Gray signed the papers on April 17.

PAPER CURTAIN

Many of the facts about how the certificate was granted are hidden behind a paper curtain.

It has been discovered that, whoever put the paper on Gray's desk for signature did not tell him that 10 Congressmen and 3 Senators had been led by Gray's predecessor to believe that amortization would stop until congressional committees could explore the issue.

Gray had been in office only about a month on April 17. He wasn't familiar with the background. He probably didn't know, for example, that the Idaho Power Co. had told the Federal Power Commission that it did not want Government help. Actually, the company had already applied for it.

Gray probably didn't realize that in approving the dams' construction the FPC said the license was granted on condition that the dams be built "at no cost to the United States."

Which subordinate laid the innocent-looking paper before Gray and told him it was routine, as Gray has reportedly described the event?

The subordinate surely knew that once Gray had signed, practically nothing could reverse the decision. And who told the subordinate to act?

The plot grows complicated. The responsibility of investigating and recommending action on tax amortizations rests with the Water and Power Division of the Department of the Interior. Final review and approval is the job of the Defense Mobilizer, whose Office is part of the White House.

A spokesman in Interior's Water and Power Division, said on the telephone that the Division "sought guidance from the electric industry" on the Idaho Power application. He declined to give his name.

George English, however, who heads the office, said that the Electric Industry Advisory Committee had been abolished in July 1953, a month before the Idaho Power application arrived. Since then, he said, the Division has "asked a few questions" of the power industry on pending matters, but not about the Idaho Power case.

Although the World War II tax amortization program was continued in 1950 only because of the Korean war, the Eisenhower administration let it go after the peace. On October 17 of last year the Government was actively considering amortizations totaling

about $4 billion. Many have already been granted and more are expected to be, although apparently no more for dams.

The law requires that electricity start flowing by the end of 1958. But Idaho Power statistics published in February by Barron's magazine show that this deadline won't be met, purposely. The probable reason: no demand for high-cost electricity. Construction on 1 of the 2 dams has not been begun.

WON'T BUILD THREE

Senator HARRY BYRD, who has introduced a bill to end amortizations, called the Government's action in this case "utterly indefensible." To Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, it was "executive immorality."

MORSE has also pointed out that the company was granted the license to develop the canyon (prohibiting the high Federal dam recommended by the Army engineers) because it promised to build three dams. The third dam will not be built, MORSE charges, because the company threw it into the plans merely as an arguing point. The fact that there is no request for amortization of the third dam seems to bear out the charge. The dam site has not even been adequately surveyed.

[From the New York Times of June 1, 1957]

WRITEOFF LOSSES PUT AT $83 MILLION—EXPERT ESTIMATES COST TO UNITED STATES—WHITE HOUSE PRESSURE FOR IDAHO POWER DENIED

(By William M. Blair)

WASHINGTON, May 31.—A Federal Power Commission expert figured today that the fast tax writeoff granted to the Idaho Power Co. would cost the Government $83,595,827.

The estimate came from Russell C. Rainwater, chief accountant for the Commission, in testimony before the Senate Anti-Monopoly Subcommittee. Previous estimates had been between $17 million and $31 million.

Fred G. Seaton, Secretary of the Interior, told the subcommittee on Wednesday that he had been informed the cost to the Government had been exaggerated and that the best information he could get was $17 million.

USE OF INFLUENCE DENIED

The subcommittee also heard Jerome K. Kuykendall, Commission Chairman, testify that no influence had been applied by the White House or anyone else on him or any member of the Commission to license Idaho Power to construct two dams in the Hells Canyon stretch of the Snake River.

Mr. Kuykendall, under questioning, said that the Commission had not contemplated that the company needed a fast writeoff when the Commission granted the licenses in 1955. Nor had the Commission been informed by the Office of Defense Mobilization that that agency intended to authorize the tax concession announced on April 17, he said.

His testimony brought a suggestion by Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat of Tennessee and chairman of the subcommittee, that the company might be engaged in fraud and deception.

Senator KEFAUVER asserted that at the time the Power Commission was saying the dams would be constructed without cost to the Government, Idaho Power was prodding ODM to get the tax certificates.

KEFAUVER PRESSES ISSUE

Mr. Kuykendall replied that "I think I can see how Idaho Power can say that the two things they were doing were not inconsistent." But, he went on, the question was the concern of the subcommittee, not the Commission.

"Do you think you have a right to cancel licenses in cases of fraud or deception," Senator KEFAUVER asked.

"I think we would where there has been material fraud and deception," Mr. Kuykendall answered.

"It is not material when they're going to get $85 million from the Treasury by deception," Senator KEFAUVER continued.

Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican of Wisconsin, interjected:

"You don't want to put him in the position, of disqualifying himself if this matter came to court."

EXPERT EXPLAINS VIEWS

Mr. Rainwater said he had based his estimate on the cost to the Government of the money it must borrow to make up for the postponed tax payments from Idaho Power.

Under the writeoff, the company is permitted to deduct almost two-thirds of its construction costs from its taxable income during the first 5 years the dams are in operation. This amounts to more than $65 million of the total construction of the approximately $104 million.

After the first 5 years, the company would pay above-normal taxes and in the end would pay the amount of taxes it should have.

Normally, the entire cost of the dams and their powerplants would be written off in smaller amounts over the 50-year life of the projects. The writeoffs are granted under a law designed to stimulate the expansion of the defense and defense-supporting industries.

COURT RULING CITED

Senator KEFAUVER also noted that the Commission had cited the "no cost to the Government" in briefs it presented to the Supreme Court, which upheld the Commission in its licensing of Idaho Power. The Court case stemmed from the long public versus private power controversy over the administration's decision to abandon high Federal dam in Hells Canyon and let the Power Commission decide whether private utilities should build smaller dams in the big canyon.

Mr. Kuykendall observed that he was certain Idaho Power officials had read the briefs closely. He also said he "conceded now that we made a mistake in saying there would be no cost to the Government." But, he added, "we didn't know what another agency would do."

He indicated he doubted knowledge of the tax benefits would have changed the Commission decision to license Idaho Power because the writeoff factor was not a major consideration for the Commission.

The hearings were recessed subject to the call of the chairman. The Senate is expected to consider next week a bill to authorize the construction of a high dam in Hells Canyon.

Salute to a Teacher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. R. HULL, JR.

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an interesting and thought-provoking article written by Irving Ben Cooper, chief justice of the court of special sessions of New York City, and appearing in the June 1957, issue of the Reader's Digest magazine.

The article deals with the remarkable career of one of Missouri's most beloved individuals, Calla Varner, a former schoolteacher from St. Joseph, Mo., who mixed love with learning to mold her pupils into honest and responsible citizens.

Of my friend Calla Varner, it can accurately be said that she is more than a schoolteacher, more than an intelligent counsel, kindly guardian and good Christian. She is a wonderful way of life.

The article follows:

SALUTE TO A TEACHER

The skinny, undernourished 17-year-old boy stood in front of the bench waiting for me to sentence him. There was no doubt as to his guilt. But he was a first offender, and something made me hesitate. I told the bailiff to bring the boy to my chambers.

"We're alone now, son," I told him, "and what you say isn't testimony and can't be used against you. Let me ask you some questions."

Gradually he thawed. He talked of his dead father, of his mother who supported him and his three sisters by working at night as a waitress. I realized that this boy hungered for affection. He wasn't getting it at home from a tired overworked mother; nor at school, where his shabby clothes and shyness prevented him from belonging.

The boy's name was Johnny, but as I listened I was hearing a shy, poverty-stricken kid named Ben Cooper pouring out his heart. If a schoolteacher in St. Joseph, Mo., hadn't put a comforting arm around me one day and made me welcome in my little world, I might well have done something as foolish and as desperate as Johnny had done. I signed a paper suspending sentence, and Johnny walked out in the company of a kindly probation officer.

I could almost feel Calla Varner's presence there in my chambers, and see her nod of approval because I had just given a boy what she had once given me.

My childhood—like Johnny's—had been an ugly one. My father had brought his brood from the slums of London when I was 8. He was a tailor who worked 18 hours a day trying to support 5 hungry children. The desperate fight for existence somehow killed the love my parents had once had for each other. And any affection they had for us children they were either too tired or too inarticulate to express. I felt completely alone, growing up without anyone in whom I could confide.

I dreaded my first day at high school in St. Joseph. I still had a London accent; my shoes were reinforced with cardboard, and my patched pants were hand-me-downs. I was "different," and the neighborhood kids made me the butt of their pranks. At 13 I was on my way to becoming a withdrawn, wretched misfit.

I slipped into the classroom, and a tall woman came forward, put her arm around me, smiled, and said in the kindest voice I have ever heard, "You're Ben Cooper. Well, I'm glad you're going to be one of us. I know you'll like it here at Central, and I know we're going to like you."

No stranger had ever before given me the divine gift of a welcoming smile, and suddenly, for the first time in my life, I felt wanted. After that I was constantly sustained by the thought that tomorrow I would see Miss Varner again. She always stood by the classroom door as we filed out. Sometimes she would smile at me, sometimes merely pat my shoulder, but every day she gave me a message of faith: she believed in me.

In her classes, too, Miss Varner did something more for us than make us learn mere facts. Oh, she equipped the mind all right, but never to the neglect of the soul. She never made patriotic speeches, for example, yet somehow she made fervent patriots of us all. I had known nothing except poverty and spiritual starvation—yet she convinced me that this was the greatest country in the world and that I was a lucky boy to be part of it. I had never known kindness, but she

taught me that most people are kind and decent.

Through those years I thought that my experience with Miss Varner was unique. She was my personal mentor who inspired me through high school and on to college and law school. Then, summer before last, I learned that this remarkable woman—as teacher, vice principal and principal—had exercised the same influence over hundreds of pupils in Central High School, and that each one thought of her as his own personal mentor.

I was speaking in St. Louis before the judiciary of the State of Missouri on my theories of handling first offenders. Something prompted me to stray from my prepared speech. I said that my approach toward juvenile delinquency had stemmed in no small degree from the sympathetic and intelligent treatment given me by one of my teachers in St. Joseph. I didn't mention her name, but when the meeting was over Judge C. A. Leedy, chief justice of the supreme court of Missouri, came up to me, and said, "You obviously meant Miss Varner. You'll find that some of the judges here today have been deeply influenced by her."

A moment later Judge Laurance M. Hyde, one of the country's most respected jurists, smiled, and said, "You could only be talking about Miss Calla Varner, of St. Joseph. She was a wonderful teacher. She taught her students not to be satisfied at merely learning what was in a book, but to cross-examine the author, challenge statements, inquire further into the subject. That way they discover the joy of learning."

Four other judges came to discuss Miss Varner. All revered her.

Next day I went to St. Joseph to see Calla Varner. The woman who greeted me was as erect as the elmtrees that bordered the street outside her home. Her thick black hair showed only a touch of gray; her dark eyes were bright, and the lines around her eyes and mouth were lines formed by smiling. Her voice was strong, her handclasp steady. It was hard to believe that she was 81.

Born on a farm near Marysville, Mo., only 25 miles from St. Joseph, she had received her early education in the usual one-room rural schoolhouse. Farmers in 1890 were not enthusiastic about higher education for their daughters. But Stephen Varner saw something special in his youngest daughter, Calla, who devoured every book she could lay her hands on. So, when she was 16 he sent her to Cottey College in Nevada, Mo., a private school for girls.

It was there that she began to realize that her destiny was to teach. Later, after acquiring a bachelor of science degree, she taught for a year and became convinced that she needed more cultural background. So she returned to school, alternating teaching years with studies of history, literature, philosophy, at the Universities of Michigan and Missouri, and at Columbia, in New York, where she earned a master's degree. Then, in 1912, she settled down in St. Joseph and began her career at Central. The little farm girl had grown into a cultured, dedicated woman.

This was the Calla Edington Varner who greeted me 43 years later. Now retired, she was the first principal emeritus of Central High School, and had received about every civic honor St. Joseph and Missouri could give her.

As we chatted we were interrupted by a boy with a telegram. She read it and smiled. "I've been in the hospital with a bad back, and a lot of people have sent me wonderful messages. This is from one of our Missouri Senators, STUART SYMINGTON. A fine man."

She spoke of other former students then—of David Hopkins, for instance, who was her vice principal for several years. "Went to Congress later. Often he consulted me before making appointments to Annapolis or West Point. Incidentally, one of the boys I recommended is now a rear admiral, three are captains in the Navy, and two are generals."

As she talked, any remaining notion I held that I was something unique in her life was dispelled. Obviously, Miss Varner had influenced hundreds of lives.

* * * * *

Miss Varner, I realized, felt that her pupils were her charges and that her responsibility did not end when classes were dismissed. Woodrow Barnett, manager of the local cab company, said frankly that he had been one of those kids who had gone to high school just to play football. "During my senior year," he chuckled, "I took just enough courses to stay eligible—not enough to graduate. Miss Varner was home with a fractured ankle, but darned if she didn't find out what I was doing. She made me come to her house, and she put me through a tough few weeks making up work I had missed. Because of her, I graduated, and I've been glad ever since. Here at the company my boys have orders that every time she phones in for a cab I'm to drive her. Wouldn't trust her to anybody else. I guess everybody in this town loves her."

Generals, cab drivers, farmers, judges, all were beneficiaries of her warmth and devotion. But she was more than a great teacher. Ray Blomfield, secretary of the St. Joseph school system and formerly a teacher on Miss Varner's staff, said: "Occasionally there was a youngster whom the rest of us felt to be incorrigibly delinquent. 'There is no such thing,' she'd say firmly, and she'd take over. She'd give the youngster understanding and affection, and before our eyes we'd see that boy change."

Harry Crowell, chief of police, told me: "Many a time this department has taken youngsters, charged with petty but technically illegal acts, to Miss Varner. She'd talk to those kinds, and we'd never see them in trouble again."

Miss Varner retired as principal in 1944, but she never retired from civic responsibility. She helped organize St. Joseph's leading social agency, the Family and Children's Service. Its members work their miracles in private, just as Miss Varner always conducted her own good deeds. "I know how much of her income went to needy pupils," Miss Varner's secretary told me. "I know how many she helped through college. But she always disguised her help so the pupil wouldn't think he or she was receiving charity."

* * * * *

All of us whose lives in one way or another have been shaped by Miss Varner's personality seem to be joined in a common bond. All of us remember scraps of conversations we've had with her. "Poverty of mind and spirit is as awful as poverty of the body," she told us. "Serve with honor, not for honor * * *. Bring your religion into the thick of the world and put it to work there * * *. In our democracy, everyone counts. And above all, we must imbue everyone—especially every young person—with a sense of belonging."

I thought you'd like to meet Calla Edington Varner. You can meet her almost anywhere: at Oak Ridge, in the Pentagon, in Hollywood, in a dozen universities, in the office of the Mayor of Kansas City, in operating rooms in St. Louis hospitals. She is wherever there are men and women who had the privilege of having her as their teacher. Certainly she is always present in the chambers of the chief justice of the court of special sessions of the city of New York.

Land-Procurement Practices of the Corps of Army Engineers in the Oolagah Dam Area on the Verdigris River in Northern Oklahoma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JARMAN
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I should like to include Enrolled House Resolution 571, which was adopted by the Oklahoma House of Representatives of the 26th Legislature on May 27, 1957:

Enrolled House Resolution 571

Resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States and the Appropriation Committees thereof; to direct special attension to the land-procurement practices of the Corps of Army Engineers in the Oolagah Dam area on the Verdigris River in northeast Oklahoma

Whereas the Oolagah Dam on the Verdigris River in northeastern Oklahoma is in the very early initial phases of construction, with work proceeding on only the first stage embankment contract on one side of the river, under the direction of the Corps of Army Engineers; and

Whereas only a few hundred acres of land actually has been acquired for the project and with condemnation proceedings now in progress on an additional few hundreds of acres of land; and

Whereas this $37 million project will finally take more than 70,00 acres of land in a well-developed and productive agricultural and ranching area, resulting in the dislocation of several hundred farm homes and related schools, churches, cemeteries, Federal and State highways, county roads, electric power lines, telephone lines, oil transportation pipelines and gas lines; and

Whereas the proposed lake will inundate and destroy the birthplace and home of the great Oklahoman, Will Rogers, which has become a national shrine and each year is visited by thousands of Americans who have come to love the simple and homely virtues of this great man; and

Whereas on the lands to be taken for the Oolagah Dam project is located a sizable portion of the world's greatest shallow oil field, which has been producing oil continuously since its discovery before the turn of the century, and which today is recognized as having been the birthplace of the oil business in Oklahoma, the laboratory where secondary recovery was first tried and proven in Oklahoma and the field which has produced more oil by the water flood repressuring method of secondary recovery of oil than in any other field in Oklahoma; and

Whereas the United States Bureau of Mines, in a report dated August 1, 1951, stated that a recoverable reserve of more than 50 million barrels of oil could be produced by today's known methods from the more than 25,000 acres of proven productive, but undeveloped, lands that are to be taken for the Oolagah Dam project; and

Whereas a portion of the lands to be covered by Oolagah Lake have now been developed for the production of oil and this developed area is now producing several thousand barrels of oil each day; and

Whereas the developed oil lands to be inundated by Oolagah Lake now give employment to hundreds of oilfield workers,

pay tens of thousands of dollars each year in taxes to the State of Oklahoma and to the United States, and produce millions of dollars worth of economic wealth annually; and

Whereas the oilfield is served by a crude oil purchasing company whose storage tanks, pump stations, gathering lines, and pipeline transportation system is located on lands to be inundated by the Oolagah Lake; and

Whereas the same crude oil purchasing system, tank farms, pump stations, and transportation lines, that will be inundated by Oolagah Lake, also, serves other oil productive acres located on lands adjacent to the proposed lake; and

Whereas the engineering difficulties that will result for the pipeline operation following the building of Oolagah Dam and the loss of business to the pipeline as a result of abandonment of that part of the oilfield that will be inundated by Oolagah Lake, could make it unprofitable and economically impossible to operate the pipeline oil gathering system to serve the remainder of the oilfield, and with the resulting loss of a pipeline market for that part of the oilfield adjacent to the lake, the entire oilfield could be forced to shut down with a further economic loss to the entire section of the State; and

Whereas congressional appropriations for the Oolagah project, which is a very minor part of the Arkansas Basin development program, were first made last year after almost 20 years of being seriously questioned as to the economic feasibility and the doubtful advisability of destroying a great known recoverable reserve of oil and a tremendously rich agricultural area; and

Whereas the farmers and ranchers and oil producers of the Verdigris River area repeatedly through the years have voiced their objections to this project in personal and delegation appearances before the Congressional Appropriations Committees of both the House and Senate; and

Whereas proponents of the project residing in other parts of Oklahoma, and other States, have envisioned great economic gains to groups of people, cities and towns, transportation users and great industrial organizations as a result of the construction of Oolagah Dam, it was also recognized that a great displacement of people and business operations in the Oolagah Dam area must occur if the project was to be built, and, therefore, solemn assurances were repeatedly given to the people and business concerns to be displaced by said Oolagah Dam, both by the congressional committees and the personnel of the Corps of Army Engineers that, in the event of the construction of the project, every effort would be made to see that the people in the affected area would not be forced to bear unjust and undue economic hardship and loss while others are reaping the great economic gains that proponents have promised would result from the building of Oolagah Dam; and

Whereas appraisals and purchases of land and residential properties in said Oolagah Dam area are in the process of being started at this time by the land procurement office of the Corps of Army Engineers; and

Whereas appraisement of property in the Oolagah Dam area is being made on the basis of assumed values in the present location with no consideration being given to replacement cost in kind in another location; and

Whereas appraisement of many properties in the Oolagah Dam area are being made without due recognition of the known mineral values in the form of valuable coal deposits, gas reservoirs, and oil; and

Whereas representatives of the Corps of Army Engineers procurement office in Tulsa, Okla., are quoted in newspapers of recent date as telling oil producers and mineral owners that "only in the dam site and construction area does the Government have definite plans for buying mineral holdings outright," but would seek only to acquire flowage easements on minerals and under the flowage easement agreements oil operators would be required to subordinate their operations to the basic functions of the dam and reservoir; and

Whereas the appraisement and procurement policies being followed by the Corps of Army Engineers in the Oolagah Dam area have met with the active and determined opposition of the landowners as is evidenced by the fact that the Corps of Army Engineers only recently has found it necessary to resort to condemnation action to acquire much of the initially needed lands in the dam site and construction area; and

Whereas in the condemnation actions pending as of this date against the landowners in the immediate vicinity of the Oolagah Dam itself, said actions covering more than 1,500 acres which is underlaid with valuable coal deposits, attorneys representing the Corps of Army Engineers have petitioned the court to take the surface land rights and reserve to the present owners all mineral rights and values, and to subordinate the reserved mineral rights and values to the prior rights of the United States to flood and submerge the land as may be necessary for the construction, operation, and maintenance of said project; and

Whereas under several hundred acres of said lands now being condemneed by the Corps of Army Engineers for the Oolagah Dam project, the school children of the State of Oklahoma own one-half of the mineral rights and values; and

Whereas the school children of the State of Oklahoma, through the trusteeship of the State school land commission, own thousands and thousands of acres of mineral rights under lands located in the remainder of the Oolagah Dam area, the Keystone Dam area, the Eufaula Dam area, and in other areas where such projects are planned; and

Whereas the mineral rights and values owned by the school children of the State of Oklahoma in the Oolagah Dam area now under condemnation will be forever inundated and the value of said rights will therefore be eternally lost to the school children of the State of Oklahoma; and

Whereas the schoolchildren of the State of Oklahoma will suffer great and irreparable loss of wealth if the Corps of Army Engineers continue, through the length and breadth of the Oolagah Dam area, the Keystone Dam area, the Eufaula Dam area, and in the other areas where like projects are planned, this policy of taking, without payment, the mineral rights and values belonging to the schoolchildren of the State of Oklahoma, and by force of condemnation then subordinating those mineral rights and values to the prior rights of the United States to flood and submerge said mineral rights and values: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Oklahoma, That we respectively urge, request, and petition the Congress of the United States to make such inquiry into the land procurement procedures of the Corps of Army Engineers, issue such directives and take such action as may be necessary to insure the fulfillment of the intent of Congress in the protection of the rights of the people in the Oolagah Dam area and in safeguarding the mineral values and rights of the schoolchildren of the State of Oklahoma in accordance with the laws and Constitution of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the House of Representatives of the State of Oklahoma be directed to send a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, each member of the Oklahoma congressional delegation, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget of the United States, and to the Chief of the United States Corps of Army Engineers.

Adopted by the house of representatives the 27th day of May 1957.

B. E. HARKEY,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Ike Asked for It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, I have just had the opportunity of reading a very enlightening editorial which appeared in the Standard-Times, of New Bedford, Mass., on Tuesday, April 3, 1956. This editorial points out very cogently the disastrous consequences inflicted upon this country by the purely political decision of the Supreme Court of the United States made in the school-segregation case decided on May 17, 1954.

I am glad to know that some of the people in Massachusetts realize the dire consequences of the Supreme Court of our land departing from law and indulging in politics. I am equally glad to know that at least some of our people realize that the executive department of this Government aided and abetted the Court in this departure. It is a serious thing—yes; extremely dangerous—when the courts of our land, at the insistence of people high in the executive department, trifle with the rights of our people and make decisions upon purely political grounds rather than the established precedents and constitutional law of the land.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the editorial entitled "Ike Asked for It." I commend this editorial to all the Members of this body and to Americans everywhere who are interested in preserving constitutional government in our Nation:

IKE ASKED FOR IT

In two recent press conferences President Eisenhower discussed the school-segregation issue in the South, saying this is "a time when we must be patient" and try to avoid "a tremendous fight that is going to separate Americans and get ourselves into a nasty mess."

Unfortunately, the mess which the President deprecates already exists, and should have been foreseen when, under White House pressure, the Supreme Court reversed the law of 60 years' standing with reference to school segregation in the South.

Several cases involving alleged discrimination against Negroes in southern schools were pending in the Supreme Court when former Governor Warren became the new Chief Justice. The views of the President against segregation were well known, as may have been those of Chief Justice Warren. But to make doubly sure the Supreme Court made the right decision, the President instructed Attorney General Brownell to appear in the case, as a friend of the Court, urging desegregation.

Two important provisions of the Federal Constitution are involved in the desegregation decision. The 14th amendment, approved in 1868, forbids any State to "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The other provision of the Constitution directly affecting the desegregation problem is that one which specifically says: "The powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people."

Under the former provision of the 14th amendment, no State could discriminate between Negro citizens and whites with reference to schools or otherwise. Under the second provision, the 10th amendment, control of the schools was specifically reserved to the States, as not having been delegated to the Federal Government.

Obviously, under the 10th amendment, the South had the undisputed right to control its schools, unless its policies violated the 14th amendment forbidding discrimination between Negroes and whites. For 60 years the Supreme Court had ruled the 14th amendment requires equal school and other facilities, but not identical; in other words, schools and other facilities may be separate, but must be equal.

The Warren decision, which the President now faces with pleas for patient destroyed the school formula of the South, a formula under which admittedly the Negroes of the South and the South had made steady and peaceful progress for more than a half a century.

In a windy decision by Chief Justice Warren himself, the chief justice said in effect, "The very fact of segregation constitutes discrimination, gives the Negro a sense of inferiority, etc."

That this is untrue is evidenced by the fact many of the leaders of the Negroes in the South and the North, including many of the Negro schoolteachers of the South, not only feel no inferiority as a result of segregation, but object to attempts to force desegregation upon either Negroes or whites.

Though the President may not himself have been influenced by political considerations, the Warren decision was heavily weighted with politics.

Leaders close to the President undoubtedly told the President desegregation, if accomplished during his administration, would go a long way toward winning back the Negro vote of the North. This vote had been lost to the New Deal of the Roosevelt-Truman era.

Not only was such a purpose highly improper, but it has not and it will not work. For one thing, there is no segregation problem in the North—for there is no segregation. For another thing, the Negro vote, to whatever extent it was and is Democratic, is influenced by the New Deal philosophy, which only can be cured, if at all, by the process of education, a process which has been rudely struck down in the South by the recent Supreme Court decision.

Another equally improper consideration which is thought to have been influential in the Supreme Court's political decision is that there was thinking emanating from the State Department that desegregation would eliminate Communist-inspired criticism of the United States in India and others of the countries of the dark races.

Here again the administration did not see beyond its own nose. The antipathy of India does not spring from segregation in Southern schools, etc. It springs from the fact that India, while recipient of our generous bounty, is basically Communist in its sympathy and is interested in the segregation issue of this country only because it suits its own propaganda purposes.

We're sorry for the Southern whites and Southern Negroes to be pawns in this politicking of the Supreme Court. We're sorry for Ike now that he sees what he helped to procure and produce. It's going to take a lot more than patience to solve this one—on Ike's part as well as of those in the North and South whom he beseeches.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Address by Nguyen Huu Hanh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I have here a copy of an address delivered by Mr. Nguyen Huu Hanh, director general of the Banque Nationale du Vietnam, on April 1, 1957, before the Metropolitan Club in New York City.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows;

ADDRESS MADE BY NGUYEN HUU HANH, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE BANQUE NATIONALE DU VIETNAM, ON APRIL 1, 1957, AT THE METROPOLITAN CLUB, NEW YORK CITY

Mr. Foye, ladies, and gentlemen, now at long last Vietnam has achieved real independence with the establishment of a true democratic government of the people.

We owe this newly hard-won independence to the determination of our people, their love of freedom and democracy, and to the energy, courage, and leadership of our President, Ngo Dinh Diem.

I would like to emphasize the happy consequences of a complete state of security on our national economy and the efforts made by our Government during the last 2 years to solve the economic difficulties arising out of 15 years of devastating war.

Before attacking the problem of future development, let me review the present situation impartially and objectively. It would be naive to expect the economy of a country dominated for 80 years by a foreign power and ravaged by 15 years of continual warfare to become immediately established and stabilized. Although the economy needs considerable reforming and reorganizing it already is presenting many encouraging signs for us, as for the whole free world.

Our country is primarily an agricultural country, thus the efforts of our Government are directed to increasing our agricultural production, and reclaiming the abandoned lands. Our Government is fully aware of Communist tactics of infiltration and is attacking this problem with a double purpose: the development of the economy, and the improvement of internal security. Orientals have the habit of concentrating on the flat plains leaving virtually uninhabited the swamps and forests, generally the most fertile land. The Communist is trying to exploit this habit and infiltrate into these empty sections. Our President, quickly recognizing this threat, is taking advantage of the Communist slowdown (their internal problems are keeping them occupied) and has skillfully managed to move the refugees and idle population of the urban areas into the high lands thus filling the vacuum created by past generations. It is his hope that the resettlement of the refugees will convert our highlands, generally very fertile, into something comparable to the American West. These refugees possess a natural aptitude for achievement and conquest of the wilderness, and the pioneer spirit so characteristic of America in the past. Based on recognition of these factors the projects of Dong Thap Muoi, Cai San, and the highlands were initiated. Hundreds of thousands of refugees have been resettled into the local communities. The Cai San and Dong Thap Muoi projects, under the guidance and with the aid of the National Government, have attracted more than 40,000 refugees, with another 50,000 to come soon. The new crops are expected to be very good.

Our problems are threefold, economic, social, and military. The Highlands project is a typical example of our attempt at a solution with the least possible financial means.

The map of Vietnam indicates that the highland regions border Laos and Cambodia wherefrom Communist infiltration is most likely to come. These lands are inhabited by only lethargic mountain tribes.

Our President has effected the movement of some 20,000 militia whose duties include clearing the land and establishing their own farms, thereby creating an attractive and tempting place for the refugees. Once out of military service they will continue to keep local order and preserve the peace by themselves thus representing a manifestation of the true spirit of the pioneer. These 20,000 are the nucleus of a future settlement of perhaps 1 million persons, thereby easing the pressure of overpopulation in the cities and on the plains. The development of this vast and fertile territory, now lying waste, may close the western frontier to Communist infiltrations.

We concede the fact that our means are limited for the execution of these tremendous plans. We have at our disposal but a few bulldozers and a half-dozen tractors, but we have to our advantage the extraordinary quality of the land, the courage and dynamism of our Government to win the political economic battle.

Besides rice, our rubber plays the most important part in the improvement of our trade balance. With a complete state of security reestablished and an improvement of labor relations, the rubber plantations have regained their normal activity and we hope that, with the new trees being planted, our current production will be increased by 150,000 tons within the next 5 years.

As you can realize we do not want to specialize in 1 or 2 crops for fear that our economy may be hurt in time of crisis. We do not want, at least in the foreseeable future, to produce more than 500,000 tons of rice yearly for export. We will endeavor to induce our farmers and our plantation owners to plant such industrial crops as coffee, tea, and castor oil.

In the field of foreign trade many Vietnamese concerns have been recently established. Our Government is trying to help and encourage them, but, unfortunately, because of the lack of experience and capital, many of them have failed and their number is reduced from 15,000 in 1955, to 1,200 in 1957. Anyway we want to make a selection of them, as usually, the people who want to step into import business want to make a fast dollar but generally lack experience and financial means. We also try to reduce our imports and to encourage the introduction of mechanized equipment. We are doing this by influencing the demands for equipment goods on the part of the local firms rather than passing unworkable laws. Even with that our balance of trade has been unfavorable and the American aid has been particularly valuable during the last 2 years in helping us reduce that deficit. In 1957 we are planning to import $10 billion of goods, $8.5 billion of which will be financed by American aid. Our foreign-trade relations have been undergoing considerable changes. France, which used to occupy the first place, has now dropped to the third, from 76 percent in 1954 to 52 percent in 1955, and to 24 percent in 1956. The United States is now the most important supplier with 28 percent, followed by Japan which has 25 percent. But France still remains the most important buyer from Vietnam, taking 68 percent of our exports, followed by the United States with 19 percent.

In order to improve our balance of trade, we are making every effort to increase local production. Our businessmen with the help of our Government are now contemplating the establishment of a glass factory, a cement factory, a paper factory, and a textile factory. We do not have the unreasonable ambition of industrializing our Nation overnight. We are conscious of our lack of capital, lack of know-how, and the narrowness of our internal market. Also within the framework of our development of the country, our Government has conceived many public projects which will provide the basis for future development. We intend to build a hydroelectric center, to develop our railway system and to improve our highway network.

These achievements, during the past 2 years, have been made possible with the great amount of American aid that has been helping us fight inflation.

But many people have exaggerated the inflationary pressures in our economy and have described our finances to be absolutely insane. I do not wish to deny the inflationary pressures created by 15 years of warfare but I do not think it is as dangerous as one would tend to believe at first sight. It is true that we have inherited many serious problems from the French administration, but with 2 years of hard work we have succeeded in progressively solving part of these problems.

In 1954 when our president came into power, the financial situation in Vietnam was extremely dangerous, our national resources were exhausted after 15 years of uninterrupted war, and because of the lack of security and efficiency of the administration, taxes could not be collected and fiscal control was almost nonexistent. The national budget, burdened with a deficit of $2 million in 1953 and $3 billion in 1954, was bled white by extravagant expenses, by secret funds and multiple subsidies to different political groups and religious sects. After Geneva, the first objective of our president was to lay solid foundations for our finance, to fight against corruption and fraud, and to push forward the program of national reconstruction. Important efforts have been made during 1955–56 to balance our budget controlling the receipt and expenses, and to render more effective our tax collection. The results are so far satisfactory. Our 1956 budget is balanced not without difficulty however. But our efforts are not limited witin a series of decrees and laws, neither do we intend to impose heavier taxes. The best way toward increasing tax receipt is to increase the national income to help in the development of our economy and the reorganization of our finances. Our Government

has organized many different fiscal and financial institutions, such as the superior council of money and credit, the national bank, the state-owned commercial bank, and the national investment fund, etc.

On the field of international finance many measures have been taken to better utilize the American aid to encourage export, to stop the importation of luxury goods, and to improve our reserve in foreign exchange.

In order that our policy of austerity neither affects the development of the private enterprise nor the flow of foreign investment, we created a free exchange market in July 1956. Financial transfer can be effected through this free market for remittances of profits, foreigners' savings, and tourist expenses.

At the beginning of 1955, at the time of the creation of the national bank, we had at our disposal but 5 billion francs as reserve. At the end of 1955 our reserve was increased to 22 billion francs. In 1956 Vietnam detached itself from the franc zone and we started to accumulate our reserve in dollars, sterling, and other currencies. Our balance sheet shows that on December 31, 1956, the reserve in foreign currencies for our money was 29.11 percent, American-aid funds being included, or 14.01 percent, if we count our own reserve, as compared to 4 percent in June 1955.

Besides, from our effort in stabilizing our economy and reorganizing our finance, we also are looking ahead into the future and working toward improving the standard of living of our people and toward becoming less dependent on foreign aid. It may interest you to know that lately our President has released a declaration on foreign investment of agriculture and exploitation of nathe development and reconstruction of our country. In my opinion, our 5-year plan is very rational because it is not ambitious and because it deals primarily with the development of agricultural and exploitation of national resources. I will not come back to the agricultural projects which I talked about before. I will only deal with a few projects for the exploitation of industrial raw materials, which may be of some interest to you.

The coal mine of Nongson, abandoned by the French firms, was reopened in 1956. A study made by our engineers has given very satisfactory results. The production in 1956 was 2,200 tons. As for 1957, our projects include the opening of one section to bring the monthly production to about 2,000 tons which is about one-third of our coal import in 1956, therefore permitting us to save approximately $600,000 at the end of the year. We are also preparing for the opening of another section to bring the 1958 production to 4,000 tons monthly. We hope to reach the annual production of 150,000 tons in 1960.

Starting from May 1957, about 1,000 tons of puzzolane or baria will be introduced to be mixed with the imported cement. Plans have been made to put the cement factory Long-Tho, near Hue, under production again. This factory is expected to reach a monthly production of 2,400 tons by 1958. The possibility of installing another cement factory in south Vietnam capable of producing about 100,000 tons per year is being studied.

Concerning the glass industry plans have been made to utilize the sand of baria and of camranh. A glass factory will be opened for operation in Saigon in 1958 with an expected production of 8,000 tons annually.

The phosphate deposits on the Paracels Island will be exploited soon by a Vietnamese firm. The production, according to official estimates, will be 50,000 tons per year in 1958.

The final objective of our 5-year plan and of our project is to increase our national income by 25 percent after 5 years, and also to improve our trade balance by the elimination of our importation of coal, cement, glass, and chinaware within the next 4 years. Our 5-year plan also will permit us to create more jobs; millions of people will be resettled on our highland and 5,000 workers will be employed in the various industries.

In order to finance this 5-year plan we intend to encourage savings and the formation of local capital, by creating investment banks and national insurance companies. But we are well aware of the fact that our local capital is limited, and we intend to appeal for foreign investment in Vietnam. You already know of the terms of our President's declaration on foreign investment, I do not need to repeat them here. However, I would like to emphasize a few points which in my opinion seem to be very important. Our Government is following a policy of encouraging private enterprise within the framework of our plan and our law. Our policy is to foster close cooperation among all free nations. The aid which we solicit from our friends in the free world should not be in the form of free grant but could take the form of long-term loan with which we can buy our equipments, or could take the form of participation in our enterprises.

That is the summary of the financial and economic situation in Vietnam and the possibilities for future development which our government is contemplating to follow during the next 5 years.

You would certainly not forgive me if I ended my talk without saying a few words about the American aid which has been a tremendous help to us in the fight for our survival and which will continue to be of great assistance to us in this important task of building and maintaining our position as a free nation. As a banker, without any direct connection with the government, I can say with objectivity and impartiality that the American aid under the present form has already the maximum efficiency. Although some minor modifications in the procedure and a little more emphasis on economic aid are desirable, I sincerely think that any drastic changes either in the volume or in the implementation of it would immediately stop our progress and weaken our position as well as the position of the free world.

Silting of Lakes Points Up Need for Effective Soil-Conservation Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the problem of water is always with us in Texas. Sometimes it takes the form of drought. Sometimes, as this spring, it is manifested in disastrous floods.

One aspect of this overall problem, the siltation of the big reservoirs we have built in Texas, recently was the subject of a highly intelligent editorial discussion by the Paris News, an outstanding daily newspaper in North Texas. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SILTATION SITUATION CONTINUES BIG PROBLEM FOR LAKES OVER NATION

When the engineers completed the dam on Lake Texoma 13 years ago they made a prediction: that lake won't go over its spillway but once in every century.

The lake can rest for a century now, for this week it went over the spillway with plenty of water to spare.

Lake Texoma is the largest artificial lake in this part of the country. There are only six larger ones in the entire country and a seventh now under construction. The kingbee of America's reservoirs is Lake Mead, which piles up behind the Hoover Dam—almost 30 million acre-feet.

Lake Texoma is rated at 5,715,700 acre-feet. Next in size in Texas is the newest, Falcon, in Starr-Zapata Counties, with 4,096,000. Lake Travis, on the Colorado above Austin, holds 1,600,000 acre-feet and the older Lake Buchanan, 831,000. Lake Whitney on the Brazos above Waco is rated at 2 million acre-feet and Lake Possum Kingdom, also on the Brazos, at 750,000. Abilene's Lake Fort Phantom Hill holds 73,960 acre-feet, and Lake Brownwood 125,000.

In the fullness of time, however, the engineers' prediction that Texoma would go over its spillway only once in a century is destined to be nullified. As is characteristic of nearly all Texas streams, the siltation problem is bad, and the time will come when the capacity of Texoma will be gravely reduced.

That is true in greater or lesser degree of all our artificial lakes. The situation is not without a remedy, but the application of the remedy will take a lot of time and more money than the lakes originally cost.

It involves widespread soil conservation practices, religiously carried out and kept up. It involves the building of thousands of small upstream detention dams on the tributaries of our rivers. The problem is to hold as much water as possible in the area where it falls—on crop- and rangelands to prevent soil erosion, behind smaller dams on smaller streams so floodwater can be released gradually to avoid floods, to settle out some of the silt before it reaches the larger lakes.

All this will take, as noted, a lot of time and money, but it is absolutely essential to the continued well-being of the Nation. The alternative is a Chinafied America.

Assuring Fair Trial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Post of June 5, 1957:

ASSURING FAIR TRIAL

The principle underlying the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case is an elementary principle of fair play—that an accused person shall have every reasonable means of defending himself. The sole novelty of the decision lies in its application to confidential reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, hitherto considered sacrosanct. Indubitably, the decision raises problems for the FBI. But there seems no warrant whatever for Justice Clark's extravagant lament in a dissenting opinion that the Court has afforded criminals a Roman holiday for rummaging through confidential information as well as vital national secrets.

The Court has not authorized rummaging of any sort so far as the FBI's files are concerned. In prosecuting Clinton E. Jencks for filing an allegedly false non-Communist affidavit, the Government relied heavily on

two witnesses, Harvey Matusow and J. W. Ford, former Communist Party members and undercover agents for the Bureau. These men had made reports to the FBI. For the purpose of impeaching their credibility, the defense wanted to determine whether the contents of these reports were consistent with the testimony of the witnesses at the trial. All that the Supreme Court did was to declare that the defense was entitled to an order directing the Government to produce for inspection all reports of Matusow and Ford in its possession, written and, when orally made, as recorded by the FBI, touching the events and activities as to which they testified at the trial. This is narrowly and precisely limited. It gives a defendant no more than he genuinely needs to defend himself effectively.

In some situations, no doubt, the Government may feel that, in the interest of national security, confidential reports should not be disclosed. It may be necessary then to forgo prosecution. This is a choice which the Government must face frequently—in deciding whether to produce undercover informants as witnesses in court; in deciding, as in the Coplon case, whether to make pilfered documents public; in deciding whether to make available to the defense other relevant material which it considers privileged. As Judge Learned Hand observed some years ago, "The Government must choose; either it must leave the transactions in the obscurity from which a trial will draw them, or it must expose them fully. Nor does it seem to us possible to draw any line between documents whose contents bear directly upon the criminal transactions, and those which may be only indirectly relevant."

It is less important to a free people that, in some instances, a criminal may escape punishment than that he should have an untrammeled opportunity for self-defense. The frenzied bills which some Members of Congress have already introduced, in response to the Supreme Court decision, to protect the confidentiality of FBI reports tend to ignore the protection of individual rights which lie at the heart of the American system of justice. In the last analysis, the assurance of a fair trial is one of the first essentials to the security of the United States.

The Cancer War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I have expressed to the Senate my views that a vastly expanded cancer research program, under the direction of the National Cancer Institute, is needed for hastening urgent solution or amelioration of the malevolent threat of cancer. A long-range program, with assured financial support by the Federal Government, is necessary to lend stability and continuance to cancer research programs.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an able editorial from the Denver Post of June 2, 1957, entitled "The Cancer War," supporting more intensified effort toward unlocking the riddle of cancer.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CANCER WAR

Denver's annual cancer drive is nearing a highly successful conclusion, but the ravages of the Nation's No. 2 killer continue unabated. Every 2 minutes some American man, woman, or child dies of cancer.

Denverites will give about $185,000 this year to the American Cancer Society (compared with 163,000 in 1956), and Colorado's total contribution will amount to about $400,000 (compared with $306,000 last year).

Nationally, it seems assured that the goal of $30 million will be exceeded—but only one-fourth of this will go into research. The rest will be spent on public and professional education and service, and because the patient load is so great only a small number of teaching cases can hope for any financial assistance.

To fill the gaping research hole in the ranks of the Nation's dedicated cancer fighters, Senator NEUBERGER has proposed a $500 million cash program of Federal aid. If this seems like a lot of money, reflect a moment: We are spending nine times more to prepare for a war that may never be fought, while the cancer war is already upon us, imperiling 40 million now-living Americans and dooming 26 million.

President Eisenhower's record $72 billion peacetime budget actually cuts funds for cancer research by 3 percent. Including all Federal, State, and voluntary contributions, only $45 million was spent on cancer research last year, the cost of one atomic submarine.

Senator NEUBERGER's thesis is that no war can be won by a halfhearted, piecemeal, year-to-year attack. So he proposes unwavering, long-range medical research programs, resolute national offensives on all fronts to redouble basic investigation, to recruit, train and hold an army of scientists, and to expand laboratory facilities. The cost? Little more than 1 percent of the $45 billion defense budget.

Last year Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH, in one of a series of bipartisan pleas for permanent medical research programs, pointed out that the Hoover Commission's medical task force criticized annual medical appropriations and recommended 5-year block grants so concerted long-range studies could be started without fear of an abrupt end to financial support.

Such men as Drs. Leonard A. Scheele, former United States Surgeon General, Sidney Farber, Harvard cancer specialist, and Cornelius P. Rhoads, director of the Sloan-Kettering Cancer Institute, all have voiced support for federally stabilized long-range cancer programs.

True, progress has been made in the war against cancer. But still only the few most promising leads can be pursued in the search for a preventive, a cure, or even a palliative, because of uncertainty about long-term funds, and the incidence of cancer continues to rise all over the world.

Americans have proved we can lick pneumonia and polio, influenza and tuberculosis. And we have the scientific potential to lick cancer, heart disease and mental illness, too. But, as Senator NEUBERGER laments, we still lack the necessary determination.

Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, last Saturday, at a banquet of the Maryland Forty and Eight, I had the honor of delivering an address on the subject of communism. Among those in attendance were Chef de Chemin de Fer Chester Naumowicz, of Silver Spring, Maryland's first national president of the Forty and Eight; Charles W. Ardery, national secretary; and many patriots from all areas of the great Free State of Maryland. I ask unanimous consent that my remarks on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH DELIVERED BY UNITED STATES SENATOR J. GLENN BEALL, OF MARYLAND, AT BANQUET OF LA SOCIETE DES QUARANTE HOMMES ET HUIT CHEVAUX, LE GRANDE VOITURE DE MARYLAND, ON JUNE 1, 1957, IN THE SOUTHERN HOTEL, BALTIMORE

Although I am a charter member of the American Legion post in my hometown of Frostburg, I never had the honor of belonging to the legion's famous Forty and Eight.

I am, however, a member of another body in which forty and eight is a rather magical number.

The other group to which I refer is the United States Senate, where 48 Senators, plus the Vice President, can give political control to a party.

I might mention, in passing, that leaders of both parties have been known to settle for a forty and eight combination quite similar to the one your fine organization commemorates, that is: 40 men, who ordinarily would vote in accordance with their party's philosophy, and 8 others, who occasionally might act like mules or jackasses.

I shall now drop this particular subject before some of you try to classify your speaker.

Whenever the newspapers write about the Forty and Eight they describe it as the legion's fun-loving organization.

Never permit yourselves to lose that description.

As Joseph Addison, the English poet and essayist, once said:

"If we consider the frequent reliefs we receive from laughter, and how often it breaks the gloom which is apt to depress the mind, one would take care not to grow too wise for so great a pleasure of life."

On the other hand, the members of the Forty and Eight and all of their legionnaire associates have another essential attribute, the ability to recognize when not to laugh.

This has been demonstrated time and again, especially in your determined and continuing fight against communism.

I consider it a privilege to be able to discuss that issue with you this evening.

As all of us know, democracy found a home in America when a group of men and women decided that they wanted to be free individuals instead of unquestioning subjects of a domineering mother country.

Today, however, there is a false belief in many quarters that we must accept all philosophies in order to preserve the spirit of freedom we have fostered.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

If democracies are to preserve their health, they cannot permit the growth of systems dedicated to their destruction any more than healthy bodies can be allowed to have cancer spread through them.

That is why we in this country must never yield to the false propaganda that our four freedoms must embrace all doctrines, including communism.

Other nations have failed to see that communism, like a disease, destroys the very area in which it is allowed to thrive.

Some of those areas have died because of their mistake.

Others are desperately ill.

Despite this, there are still persons who refuse to believe that communism is a threat in this country.

Perhaps these people failed to read a report on the matter which a Senate subcommittee released about 18 months ago.

In their report, the Senate investigators said:

"Those who declare that the Communist Party is no menace, because its membership and voting strength constitute only a fraction of a percent of the total membership and voting strength of major political parties, are deluding themselves and others."

Here's the reason why, and again I quote:

"A party member or sympathizer may be an official of a labor union with thousands of members which can tie up a given community or industry.

"He may be an unpublicized Government official who prepares memorandums on policy affecting the entire Nation.

"He may be an atomic scientist with access to highly secret information vital to our security.

"He may be a writer, a preacher, or a radio commentator with a vast audience."

"He may be an actor or the descendent of some well-known family or the leader of a community organization.

"In each case the individual's influence radiates to ever-widening circles with an effect similar to that of a stone thrown into a pool."

That, in the words of men who have studied the issue closely, is why communism is a menace.

It is well to remember these points, and it is also extremely important to keep in mind that the Communist threat is not always pointed at the atomic-energy installation in Oak Ridge or at some testing grounds in the West.

In 1951, for instance, the Federal Bureau of Investigation estimated that Maryland alone had 250 Communists and our neighboring State to the north had 1,441.

But that was 6 years ago, and the Senate report from which I quoted is now a year and a half old.

What, then, about the present—now—today?

When the members of the House Un-American Activities Committee began their recent hearings in Baltimore I contacted Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover to ask about the current situation.

Mr. Hoover stated, as he previously had done before a congressional committee, that there were 17,360 Communists in our country at the beginning of this year.

That is about 14,000 less than there were in 1951, but in the remaining group are the ones which Mr. Hoover described as the hard core.

These Communists, he emphasized, are as cruel and as merciless as their Russian masters.

Our problem, therefore, is twofold.

In the first place, we must decide what to do about the individuals who are accused of being Communists but who refuse to answer questions about their alleged connections with the party.

We must also determine how we can best continue our fight against subversion under today's laws.

Let us consider those points one at a time.

Less than a month ago, just several blocks from where we are now assembled, 22 persons invoked the first and fifth amendments in refusing to answer questions about their reported Communist activities.

One of them—a man accused of being the head of the Maryland-District of Columbia region of the Communist Party—was the same fellow who was one of my bitterest critics when I was in the House of Representatives and who later was sent to a Federal jail for violation of the Smith Anti-Communist Act.

I mention the fact that this man did everything he could to defeat me in order to show how an individual's personal feelings—in this case mine—can become involved in a matter such as this.

That is one reason why, despite our hatred of communism, despite our desire to protect our own free land, we must be extra careful not to allow ourselves to join a sort of "mental lynch mob" against those who employed the first and fifth amendments in their testimony.

Admittedly, this is an extremely delicate issue and the distinctions within it are quite narrow.

Therefore, before we proceed further, let us review the law and our philosophy of government.

First, we must remember that every person is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty.

Second, the Constitution specifically provides that a person is not obliged to testify against himself.

Third, there is no law which makes it a crime merely to be a member of the Communist Party in this country.

And finally, the courts are still testing laws passed to make it illegal for a person to participate in Communist activities if he has full knowledge of the aims of the organization.

Now, what does all of this mean?

It means, in the case of the persons named as Communists during the recent hearings, that these individuals are, at most, only suspected of something which itself might or might not be illegal.

The allegations have not been proven.

The illegality of their reported acts has not been established in the courts.

I am stressing—perhaps overstressing—these points because, in our constant fight against the menace of subversion, we must never inflict unintentional wounds on the philosophy of government we are trying so zealously to protect.

On the other hand, what should we do about men and women who use the first and fifth amendments to refuse comment on their alleged Communist connections.

We must, of course, try to find out what is behind the refusal of those individuals to cooperate in legitimate investigations, and I can assure you that this is being done most effectively by numerous experts of your Government and the patriotic citizens with whom they are working.

Then, however, we are faced with the dilemma which arises from our personal and business contacts with those who, in effect, have hidden behind the Constitution.

In most cases this becomes a matter of individual decision, and I would like to tell you how I, personally, feel.

Granted that it is the right of any person to protect himself from questions about his Communist connections by invoking the fifth amendment, it is also my right to hold such individuals in the utmost contempt, and I do so.

Yes, in keeping with the philosophy which underlies our democratic processes, it is our duty to respect the right which every man has to make certain decisions, even though those decisions might have originated within the walls of the Kremlin.

We are not obliged, however, to respect the decisions themselves or the persons who make them.

As I mentioned previously, the distinction is quite delicate, but on it rests the future of our form of government.

Before I change the subject, I would like to take this opportunity to commend publicly those employers who have taken direct action, which they sincerely felt to be justified, and have suspended those persons on their payroll who refused to cooperate with legitimate investigations affecting the security of our country.

Now, for a few minutes, I would like to discuss our day-by-day efforts to head off the ever continuing threat of communist infiltration.

I know full well that most persons feel that their lives on farms or in factories or in offices will never cross the paths of subversives.

That is exactly the attitude that the Communists want.

Then they can move in and work under the protective cover of public indifference.

Frequently, in such cases, their camouflage is built around the very idea I just mentioned, the false belief of many persons that they have far more chance of meeting a man from Mars than a Communist.

Preying on such mistaken attitudes, the men who would overthrow our democracy masquerade as respectable citizens and distribute their false philosophy through various front organizations.

Suppose, for a minute, that a well-dressed man with an honest smile circulated through your neighborhood seeking signatures for a petition being circulated by the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Or suppose a motherly individual requested the support of you and your neighbors for the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

What would be the result?

Some persons, I'd be willing to bet, would go along with the petitioners as readily as they would with a March of Dimes drive.

But those are just two of the many groups that a Senate subcommittee has listed as Communist-front organizations.

The Maryland Committee for Peace might have had a noble-sounding title, but the peace it sought was a Soviet-brand servitude.

Likewise, the Methodist Federation for Social Action had nothing to do with any religion, and particularly nothing to do with any of the fine churches of Maryland.

Its only connection with a religion, if that word can be used at this time, was its link with the godless creed that has been promoted by the rulers of the Soviet.

Nevertheless, good, sincere Americans, believing that Communist infiltration is conducted strictly on a cloak-and-dagger basis within the secret agencies of the Government, added their endorsements to both groups.

Our task, therefore, becomes clear.

We must maintain a strict, unrelenting vigilance.

We must guard against the men who pledge allegiance to our flag with their right hands while stealing the secrets of our security with their left.

Remember, the wall of defense installations which protects our shores cannot protect us from such conspirators.

They work within the walls.

Our most advanced weapons are ineffectual in these cases, for the enemy is looking over our shoulders as we prepare to fire.

I repeat, therefore, that our major defense is vigilance.

More than that, though, we must step up our offensive in the fight.

One of our Nation's greatest troubles today, I think, is that we are beginning to develop a listless attitude toward good old-fashioned patriotism.

Don't be ashamed of your feelings.

Wave the flag.

Sing the national anthem.

I know it seems unnecessary to say these things to Legionnaires, but I would rather repeat them too often than take a chance on missing one individual who might profit by my remarks.

Now, in closing, I would like to express my personal thanks to you fellow Marylanders, who, as good Americans and good Legionnaires, have been doing so much to guard the strength of our Nation.

Keep up the excellent work.

Commencement Day Address by Hon. Thos. E. Martin, of Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOS. E. MARTIN
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, on Sunday, June 2, I was accorded the honor of delivering the commencement address at the commencement exercises of Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa.

I ask unanimous consent that the address delivered by me be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FUTURE, OPPORTUNITY, AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE EDUCATED AMERICAN

(Address by Senator THOMAS E. MARTIN at the commencement exercises, Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa, June 2, 1957, 2 p. m.)

The educated American is up against everything the free world is up against in this second half of the 20th century, only more so.

This makes the role of the graduates of Parsons College and the role of the graduates of other institutions of learning everywhere in our country one that is touched with a proud but a fearful destiny.

There is a burden of responsibility upon your generation of Americans. This burden is balanced by the promise of a full and an ample life, rich in the realization—actually—of great dreams. No people in all the ages have ever had the state of wellbeing, the national and individual dignity, that cloak you as you leave this, your alma mater, for the great world in front of you.

And no previous generation in all the annals of history was ever confronted by a greater peril.

It is in this context that I ask you to evaluate your career that stands before you and relate these coming years to the story of man since the beginning of time.

Let us ask ourselves—Is this generation really unique in terms of the problems that face it? Or is this term, this word unique, merely the text that invests every commencement address?

As I see it the answer is that every age is of course unique in some form.

In the days of early Christianity the issue was between God and Caesar, an issue that has a strikingly identical parallel today.

In the days of Columbus there was the task of bringing whole new continents within the compass of contemporary civilization.

In the latter part of the 18th century there was the question of a small group of American Colonies seeking freedom and independence from an oppressive tyranny.

We are the immediate beneficiaries of the incredible success of these incredible ventures.

The Civil War raised the question—and answered it—whether this Nation or any nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal * * * can long endure.

World War I and World War II presented supreme tests to mankind of certain fundamental tenets of civilization, and of government.

Today the issue I firmly believe is clearer than it ever has been, for the world of this generation stands clearly divided between the slave and the free. It is the collateral issues that are complex.

There is nothing unique in this primary issue—except possibly its greater clarity—since the days of the Old Testament.

But there is this about your generation that is unique—our age is more extraordinary than any comparable period of the past because what is done anywhere on earth engulfs the whole planet whether it is the development and use of penicillin, nuclear fission, or the question of what ships may or may not pass through the Suez Canal.

This time in which we live presents the whole race of man on this earth and everywhere in it with certain basic questions.

The first question is whether man, under God, wants to be governed by himself or whether, without God, he will submit to the tyranny of dictatorship and the erasure of his own personality and the elimination of the dignity of the individual

The second question is whether man has the intelligence to recognize that a democracy or a republic sincerely means government by consent of the governed, or whether he can indeed be deceived into believing that a Soviet despotism is a people's democracy, and whether he can be blinded to the omnipresent fact that communism is a dictatorship of deceit.

Unless this generation of graduates of Parsons College and kindred institutions knows, recognizes, and acts upon its role in this unique crystallization of the issue of the centuries, then this much of the victory is lost to the free world.

The Napoleonic wars were fought without our participation.

The Civil War was fought without Europe's participation.

We know now that wars like these can never again be localized, or isolated, or contained.

Thus, your generation of Americans is unique in that your horizons, as of this moment, cover this entire planet and may, before long, be obliged to reach into stellar space.

All this represents uniqueness indeed on a canvas so sweeping, so enormous, so total, it engulfs not only all of mankind, but it carries with it the question of whether there is to be a future at all, the question of whether man is so limited in his capacity to manage himself that he will use the power that is now his to destroy forever all life on this planet.

Your generation is unique because until this hour man has never been presented with so vast and so final a decision.

The burden of my message to you today is that you are the recipients of the richest fruits our civilization has within its gift, and that as the custodians of this intellectual and spiritual wealth there rests upon you precisely a certain concentration of responsibility.

All Americans are involved in the issues, the educated, the near-educated, and the uneducated, and all, in a democracy, have a voice. But democracy has never denied the principle of leadership under law. The educated men and women of America constitute certainly a selected fragment of mankind towards whom, in the first instance, the mass of Americans will look for guidance, so that when the decision is made by all of us, we shall have taken counsel properly and duly with those among us who are presumably, the better trained and the best informed.

What I plead for is not a priesthood of the educated. What I plead for is the service of the dedicated.

The United States has a right to expect that its educated citizens will serve as an echelon of enlightenment on all local, State, national, and international issues that confront a Government such as ours. This is not to be construed to mean that I expect that we shall have Government by college graduates per se. It is of the nature of the intellect to be controversial and probing. Men who think never conform to a single pattern. It is the contest of ideas that gives democracy its strength. But feeding the contest we want knowledge and not prejudice. It is at this juncture that education plays its most magnificent role.

Thomas Jefferson put it this way:

"I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."

Having quoted a distinguished Democrat, permit me to quote an equally distinguished American whose thinking constitutes, I believe, the foundation of the Republican Party of today. Alexander Hamilton put it this way:

"A representative democracy, where the right of election is well secured and regulated, and the exercise of the legislative, executive, and judiciary authorities is vested in selected persons, chosen really and not nominally by the people, will, in my opinion, be most likely to be happy, regular, and durable."

Here are two men, among the greatest political scientists this Nation has produced, political opposites, yet agreed on the basic tenet that the best democracy is, of cuorse, an informed democracy. Woodrow Wilson has insisted that "the informing function of Congress should be preferred even to its legislation function."

One of the dangers of our time, and therefore pregnant with threats to the republican form of government and the free world, is the weariness of the average voter with the problems of the day. This weariness may better be described as a boredom derived in the first instance from the complexity of the issues collateral to the struggle between the free and the Communist world. The weariness may have deep psychological roots in two World Wars and Korea. If so, it is the youth now coming up, and the educated youth more directly, to which I am now addressing myself, that, it seems to me, must take up the slack.

The workload of knowledge about public affairs with which a self-governing people must burden itself is more considerable and more complicated in detail than it ever has been in the life of nations. It goes to the very heart of representative government and the effectiveness of its operation. In a republican form of government like our own we must have representatives of the people, not delegates. When I speak in the Senate of the United States my voice is only as good as the constituency I represent. Once a Senator or a Representative is obliged to think of himself as a delegate whose thinking bears no relation to the thinking back home, or whose constituency is too wearied or preoccupied to think of public affairs, then we have arrived at the beginning of the end of free government.

If we are to persist successfully in this extraordinary phenomenon of government where 170 million people are actually governed by themselves (for civilization as we know it hangs upon our survival) then the duty for the electorate to be informed, to vote and act on their information and their convictions, is not only sacred in the most exalted meaning of the term, but it is indispensable. Either we know or we cease to be citizens. This means that the man in the street must have some understanding of a $71.8 billion budget? True, yesterday it was Korea, then Formosa, now the Middle East. But if we know, as we must, that civilization for a certainty, and perhaps all life on this planet rests in the balance, then how can we fail to participate in the government which must make the decision and which is

founded on the idea of the people's participation? It is not only up to us here in Iowa, to know the difference between fixed and flexible price support, but it is up to the agriculturally withdrawn folk in the canyons of Manhattan also to know their respective meanings. We are all citizens of the same nation, and again unless we recognize our close interrelationship we stand on the doorstep of doom. It is not enough that we know the Monroe Doctrine, like something learned by rote in grammar school.

We must know the Truman doctrine and what it did and we must know the Eisenhower doctrine in favor of which I voted. We should look to see what it is doing now to stop dead in its tracks a communism that has its Red tentacles over one-fourth of the world's surface and one-third of the earth's population.

Nor am I one of those who is altogether convinced that the brain of the electorate is too tired to be informed. We are gifted with an immense and an extremely competent system of private communication, instantaneous, free as communications have never been free in the history of civilization, and richly endowed not only with talent, but with resources and overwhelming technical proficiency. This communication comes to us by voice, in print, in pictorial form, and by television and recordings, newspapers, magazines, periodicals, trade journals, and radio. It is of the very heart-stuff that democracy and the republican form of government is made. Thus the educated men and women of today, the graduates of Parsons College, have at their hands, created for them, a vast arsenal of communication to be used by them as a tool for the dissemination of the ideas that make up the genius of America. If our regional arrangements, NATO or SEATO or the Baghdad Pact, call for clarification to the general public, is it too much to expect that, in the interest of representative government, you will help to inform your fellow citizens? Is it too much to expect that, your training having made you intellectually more accessible to understanding of the problems that shake the world, you will now serve as the interpreters and the explainers of the complex?

For we are living in an age when the function of the Congress to inform the people must have reenforcement. If the representative process is to work so that the liaison between the Members of the Senate and the House, and the people, is close and constant and fluidly informative, then our system of Government under its present burdens must look to you for participation. I argue that this participation must of necessity be far more intense from your group, the educated American, than from any other, short of the Members of Congress themselves. My faith in the electorate's eagerness to know, as distinguished from their alleged weariness with public affairs, has its concrete testimony in a questionnaire I have composed and mailed from Washington each year for the past 8 years to people in this State.

My purpose in sending out a list of some 36 highly significant questions about contemporaneous events and trends, legislative propositions and issues, was as much to widen the range of public interest in these issues, as to determine public reaction to them in Iowa. Out of more than 41,000 questionnaires this year, I got no less than 6,256 replies, many of them indicating the wealth of discussion the questionnaires precipitated among farmers, laboring people, businessmen, the professions, the white-collar category, women's groups, and others. More than half wrote me highly informative and illuminating letters along with their questionnaires. Nothing than I can recall in my public life has helped so much to establish the close contact I seek with the people of my State so that my action in Federal affairs may be invested with the thinking, the support, the cooperation of the people whose representative I am in the Senate of the United States.

That is how I see one function of my role in the Senate of the United States.

When I speak of the obligation of the educated American to the representative form of government, I am not speaking in merely ideological equations. I speak rather in terms of contractual commitments. Our universities and colleges are State supported, in many instances tax exempt, privately and publicly endowed. Parsons College, as you know, gets its financial backing from its endowment income, from gifts from the town of Fairfield, the alumni of the college, the Presbyterian Church of the United States, and the Presbyterian Synod of Iowa, the trustees of the college, corporations, and other friends of the institution. Campaigns are now afoot to augment the facilities of this institution, and I hope these efforts receive the wide and wholehearted support they certainly have earned for themselves. But my point is that all this combined communal effort to provide higher education for our youth must call forth a concomitant response wholly independent of one's concentration upon the advancement of one's own career.

I note, from a survey of the Council for Financial Aid to Education, that present private giving falls $600 million short of meeting the rockbottom annual needs of the Nation's nearly 1,900 colleges and universities during the next decade. It has been estimated that it will cost the average American college and university $1,000 a year in the near future to educate each student. It is possible that enrollments will reach well beyond 6 million in 1970. I am informed that this will bring the total annual educational bill to $10 billion or more. These figures do not take into account the need for additional buildings. It is not my point here to go into the situation of privately controlled as against publicly controlled institutions of learning. The products or graduates of both owe something to the community whose substance provides them their training and their learning. Certainly, in the case of Parsons College, it provides them the strengthening of their spiritual and moral background.

But consider what a force rests behind democratic and representative government in a republic like ours if we could depend for our first line of intellectual defense, of missionary effort, of communication of the problems and ideals that concern us, upon the more than 3 million students enrolled in 1956–57 in our institutions of higher education in Continental United States. Next year, 1957–58, this enrollment will be 3,450,000. By 1970 it will, as I said, be well over 6½ million. We are, incidentally, proud that standards today are higher than in the past.

Ten billion dollars for the cost of higher education in the United States is no criterion by which to evaluate the inspirational and moral values instilled in the minds and hearts of four, five, or six millions of American youth. But it does indicate in at least one concrete form the measure of the burden. There is the element of selection. Youth admitted to certain of our institutions of learning and receiving their benefits constitute a properly and correctly favored group in our society. Inherent in this fact is a reciprocal contract that has profound meaning both for the individual student and for the country. Here is the force upon which the Nation must depend to help overcome the appalling statistic that almost half of our citizens do not vote. In the light of the average the citizens of the State of Iowa emerge well ahead of the rest of the country in their sense of political responsibility. The figures show that while throughout the Nation the average of citizens of voting age who went to the polls in the 1956 presidential year was only 60.4 percent. In Iowa it was 74.1 percent.

Iowa was 6th among the 48 States. Our 74.1 percent was bested by Idaho with 77.3 percent, Connecticut with 76.6 percent, Utah with 76.1 percent, Massachusetts with 75.3 percent, and New Hampshire with 75.2 percent. What these figures prove is that Iowa might do better but it proves also that our State is well toward the top and this is something of which we may be reasonably proud. I like to think that the influence of institutions like Parsons College is a contributor to this exemplary record.

Finally, in seeking citizenship participation in representative government let us remember that election or appointment to office is perhaps the highest and the most direct of all forms of service. I do not hold the opinion by any manner of means that a college graduate is ipso facto an ideal legislator or the perfect public servant. But in a definitely preponderant number of cases it it surely an asset. Easily the heavier proportion of Members of Congress have been touched by the advantages of some kind of collegiate training. The technical age that confronts us with petrochemicals, plastics, antibiotics, radioisotopes, nuclear energy, electronics, nucleonics, and automation, is reaching out for the trained mind with an almost savage desperation.

The geopolitical age that confronts us demands a new dimension in statesmanship. It is possible to travel now between New York and Paris faster than it was possible 30 years ago to travel between Boston and New York by motor. Overall the issue before mankind—whether the immediate problem is civil rights or Taft-Hartley, or Suez, or Foreign aid, or aid to education, or Federal authority over the money structure—is a moral one. Your fellow citizens will, consciously or unconsciously, reevaluate you 5, 10, 20, 30 years from now. In the utlimate the tabulation of your contribution to yourself, your community, your Nation, your family, your alma mater, will be a moral tabulation.

If you take away with you from Parsons College the powerful Presbyterian precepts that do so much to mold character, you will be found in the coming years, to the limit of your capacity, performing services in every aspect of life, that will keep your country strong and free and that will put the underpinnings of moral might and righteousness beneath what is today a badly shaken world.

I give you my salute and I wish you Godspeed.

Freight Absorption

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, those of us who live in the West and Far West are keenly aware of the economic fact that our industry can neither prosper nor survive without the competitive opportunity of selling our manufactured goods in the consuming markets to the East. The right to absorb freight—that is, to meet the competitive lower prices of more favorably located sellers—is indispensable to our right to compete in the Eastern markets.

Necessarily, therefore, sugar-beet farmers in the West have been deeply

concerned over the possible impact on freight absorption of pending legislation to restrict the right of sellers to meet lower prices of their competitors.

I have received correspondence from the Executive Secretary of the National Beet Growers Federation, made up of 19 local associations, of sugar-beet farmers in the States of Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, Utah, North Dakota, South Dakota, California, Kansas, Nebraska, and Wyoming. He expresses his deep concern and confusion over the application of S. 11 to freight absorption.

He asks my help in straightening out the conflicting views given him on this subject, and in my effort to do so I welcome any possible assistance. Particularly, I hope that any report of the Committee on the Judiciary will fully explain whether freight absorption is outside the provisions of S. 11 or whether it is not any different than any other price reduction.

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from Richard W. Blake to the chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, dated May 16, 1957, and the chairman's letter of April 8, 1957, to Mr. Blake, both of which letters were sent to me by Mr. Blake.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

APRIL 8, 1957.

Mr. RICHARD W. BLAKE,
Executive Secretary, National Beet Growers Federation, Greeley, Colo.

DEAR MR. BLAKE: I am very glad to have the opportunity of giving you my reaction to your statement with regard to S. 11.

I believe that I understand from what you and others have said that freight absorption is essential in selling beet sugar. The hearings on S. 11 have made it clear that freight absorption is but a name for lowering prices in a given area in order to be competitive in that area. Such being the case, S. 11 would effect freight absorption precisely in the same manner as it would any other lowering of price to meet competition, that is to say, in the absence of conspiracy, and when done on an individual basis, such lowering of prices could continue so long as there was not such a discrimination between competing customers as would probably lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly.

I have emphasized the words "between competing customers" because in the campaign conducted by some manufacturing interests it has been stated over and over again that the lower price would have to be made throughout the entire country or among all customers. Such is not the purpose or effect of S. 11.

It seemed to me as I read your statement that your opposition might have stemmed from the misconception of the purpose and effect of the bill which I have tried to correct above.

With kindest regards, I am,
Sincerely,

ESTES KEFAUVER,
Chairman, Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee.

MAY 16, 1957.

Hon. ESTES KEFAUVER,
Chairman, Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, Committee on the Judiciary, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KEFAUVER: I appreciate very much your letter of April 8, 1957, but I must say that it leaves me even more confused about S. 11 than I had been previously.

I assume you have now changed your mind about the application of this legislation to freight absorption. Your letter of April 8 says that freight absorption is but a name for lowering prices in a given area, and presumably S. 11 would affect freight absorption in the same way it affects any other pricing practice. However, during the hearings last year you said several times that freight absorption would not be in any way affected by the enactment of S. 11; see for example, page 7, first paragraph, and page 252 of the 1956 Senate hearings on S. 11.

Our concern is over the propriety of absorbing freight to distant markets in order to meet prices already lawfully available to customers in those markets from more favorably located buyers. You say that this would be lawful under your bill as long as it would not properly lessen competition; but we cannot understand when such a competitive pricing practice would ever lessen competition. It would seem to me that this practice merely permits additional sellers to compete in the market and, when it is done individually in order to meet prices already lawfully available to the buyer, it could never lessen competition. Therefore, I cannot understand what situations your bill is intended to make unlawful with regard to the competitive practice of freight absorption.

Your letter then underlines for emphasis "between competing customers" and suggests that price discrimination is unlawful only when it is between competing customers. After rereading your bill several times I do not find the phrase "between competing customers" in the bill; and even if it were included I do not see any indication of how we can ever determine when customers in Chicago are in competition with customers in, say, Kansas City.

There are many cases holding price discrimination is unlawful in the absence of injury to competing customers, and as you probably know in the Corn Products case the Commission found that candy manufacturers in Chicago were in competition with candy manufacturers in Kansas City.

Yours very truly,

RICHARD W. BLAKE,
Executive Secretary, National Beet Growers Federation.

Installment Sales Credit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the National Automobile Dealers Association recently paid tribute to one of the Nation's outstanding sales finance institutions which, I am exceptionally pleased to say, has its home office in the great Free State of Maryland. The recipient of the National Automobile Dealers Association's honors was the Commercial Credit Co., which on last May 31 observed the 45th anniversary of its founding. Coincidental with this memorable occasion was the 10 millionth financing of a motor vehicle by Commercial Credit. In recognition of these events I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the appendix of the RECORD a statement on behalf of myself and my colleague from Maryland [Mr. BUTLER].

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INSTALLMENT SALES CREDIT

Installment sales credit has been a large factor in the growth of the American economy during the last two generations. In recognition of the accomplishments which this section of American business has made I wish to commend those who contributed toward its development.

One of the institutions which played a major part in the growth and development of installment sales credit was founded on May 31, 1912, by Alexander E. Duncan, an industrious and foresighted young man from the State of Kentucky, who knew that American business was ready to expand with great growth. To assist in bringing about this development a new kind of financing was necessary. Accordingly he founded Commercial Credit Co. in Baltimore, Md., with a total invested capital of $300,000. This beginning marked a new era in financing manufacturers and wholesalers which was to demonstrate its utility to the American economy so that today this financing plan has broadened its services and its applications to the point where it is now internationally accepted and represents billions of dollars in advances.

Until 1916 this company confined its business to this commercial financing. However, in that year it expanded its operations and became one of the first companies to finance the retail purchase of an automobile for a customer. In 1922 Commercial Credit acquired the majority of the capital stock of Continental Guaranty Corp., of New York, formerly Guaranty Securities Corp., the granddaddy of all the automobile finance companies.

Acquisition of this company broadened Commercial Credit Co.'s operations to where it became national inscope. Commercial Credit was now handling both the retail and wholesale financing of new cars for the motor dealers throughout the United States and Canada. The manufacturers of household appliances, machinery, and equipment, having studied the merchandising success of this installment plan, requested from Commercial Credit Co. and received, a similar program to finance the distribution and sale of such articles through distributors and dealers.

Commercial Credit Co. grew rapidly and in 1929 its business had skyrocketed to almost 50 times the amount of business done in its first year. But even during the depression years that followed the company sought to expand its facilities to better service American industry. In 1933 it acquired one of the best known and oldest of the factoring houses, Textile Banking Co., Inc., of New York. In 1935, it acquired a second factoring company, Edmund Wright Ginsberg Coporation of New York.

In 1936 the company purchased American Credit Indemnity Company of New York thereby broadening the services of New York industry through the issuance of credit insurance to protect manufacturers and wholesalers against losses on open accounts.

From the beginning of installment sales of automobiles it had been the custom of the industry to require that cars be insured against the hazards of fire and theft and, as traffic hazards increased, also against damage from collision. Commercial Credit Co. experienced endless difficulties maintaining a mutually satisfactory connection with independent insurance companies in connection with the protection of and service to its customers. The company came to the conclusion that only by ownership of the insurance

company could continuous and satisfactory service be rendered. Accordingly, in 1939, the company ventured further into the insurance field by creating Calvert Fire Insurance Co. to write physical damage insurance on automobiles and other articles usually sold on the timepayment basis. In 1946, it further broadened the insurance facilities it offered by creating American Health Insurance Co. to write group health and accident insurance.

During 1941 the gross volume of receivables acquired by this company for the first time amounted to over a billion dollars. Certainly an indication of its service to American industry and the American consumer.

The war years that followed thrust upon the company new problems. First, how could a finance company make a contribution to the war effort? Second, how could it employ its available resources so that when victory was achieved the company could resume its role as one of the Nation's great financing houses, prepared once more to contribute its strength to the resumption of our way of life. The management, therefore, prepared a program looking to the purchase of manufacturing companies where its capital could increase their productivity and thus it acquired a number of manufacturing companies which produced bombs, shells, pyrotechnics, gun mounts and special purpose machinery. This was an extraordinary departure for a finance company, but the fact is that these manufacturing companies made a notable contribution to America's productive efforts during the war.

Today Commercial Credit Co. is one of the largest sales financing institutions in the world with capital and surplus in excess of $200 million and a broad financing program that serves all elements of our national economy. Today the company and its subsidiaries employ more than 13,000 employees in over 400 offices and plants throughout North America.

Commercial Credit Co. now has over $1,400 million in total resources and it has paid out to its preferred and common stockholders an excess of $220 million in dividends. The annual volume of its finance subsidiaries exceeds $3 billion, net sales of its manufacturing affiliates are in excess of $100 million, and the earned premiums of its insurance subsidiaries exceed $30 million.

The National Automobile Dealers Association in recognition of the 45th anniversary of the founding of Commercial Credit Co. directed the following statement to E. C. Wareheim, chairman of the board:

"In expressing congratulations to Commercial Credit Co. upon occasion of its 45th anniversary as a sales finance institution, the National Automobile Dealers Association pays sincere tribute to the important contribution made to the retail automobile industry and to the car buying public by finance companies.

"Probably no single factor has been so vital to the mass production and sale of automobiles as has been the development of installment credit as it is made available to purchasers of automobiles. Commercial Credit Co.'s important role in automobile financing is pointed up dramatically at this time by its financing of the 10 millionth motor vehicle.

"On behalf of franchised new car dealers, through whom your sales financing service is carried on exclusively, National Automobile Dealers Association extends to Commercial Credit Co. its best wishes for continued growth and progress."

I feel that these remarks are most appropriate because they briefly summarize the contribution which this organization has made to the betterment of the American way of life.

Address by Ngo Dinh Diem, President of the Republic of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I have received a copy of an address which His Excellency Ngo Dinh Diem, President of the Republic of Vietnam, delivered before the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry in New York City on May 14. The address deals primarily with economic conditions in Vietnam.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY NGO DINH DIEM, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, BEFORE THE FAR EAST-AMERICA COUNCIL OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, MAY 14, 1957

Ladies and gentlemen, during the last few days I have had many occasions to talk about the political problems that have plagued Vietnam in the recent past, and of the progress we have made in solving them. I am happy to be able to speak today of our economic problems which are of such great importance for our future. I am particularly pleased that I can talk about these problems to you, who, by virtue of your position in the world of business, are best able to understand why we must solve these problems if we are to survive.

In the Asia of today, no major question of politics can be solved unless the inherited economic and social conditions are overcome. We must raise the living standard of the masses. To enable the masses to buy more and live better is for us not only an end in itself; it is also a means to spark the industrialization of our country, and thus to enable Vietnam to remain both independent and free.

During my stay in your country as a political exile a few years ago, I was constantly reminded by friends and well-wishers that Americans—and particularly you American businessmen—are practical people. I was told that if I wanted to be of use to my people, I should talk to Americans from a commonsense, practical point of view.

Now I have come back to do just that. And I believe that it comes easily to me as a Vietnamese. My Vietnamese ancestors were practical and constructive people. They were never under the compulsion of their rulers to build the wasteful, gigantic monuments that have so often been the economic ruin of great peoples. Historically, there was never an excessive centralization of power in our country to enable conscription of labor-power for such monuments. Thus, my people remain what they have been since the dawn of recorded history, hard-working, productive, always tilling their rice fields, and harnessing the rivers.

I wanted to make this point because it explains why I shall not present you today with any grandiose program for rapid economic progress based on dogmatic and theoretical views. Our people have had, in the short time since the Geneva agreements surrendered half of our country to the Communists, a revealing display of what Communist dogmatism can mean. Vietnam above the 17th parallel has witnessed starvation, exploitation, and misery. The Communists have created such suffering and chaos that our fellow countrymen in the north have openly rebelled.

But exploitation and economic misery were known to Vietnam long and before the Indochina War. The 10 years of war between the French colonial government and the Communist-led Viet Minh further impoverished the country. In the north, the Communist leadership adopted a scorched earth policy. Between their destruction and the havoc wrought by the actual fighting, industrial plants were demolished, the handicrafts deteriorated, communications were wrecked, rice mills were dismantled, our livestock reduced, and even the irrigation systems were allowed to fall into disuse. Only 20 percent of the prewar river transport, so important to marketing our rice crop, remained, when the fighting finally ended.

Another great economic problem, one that resulted from the insecurity in the countryside was the movement of masses of rice farmers into the cities. There they ceased to be producers in the economy, becoming instead part of the swollen layer of middlemen which lived off the artificial economy that grew up during the war and around the French expeditionary force.

For the south, partition brought innumerable extra difficulties. Vietnam's coal is located north of the 17th parallel, as are most of its mineral resources, such as iron, copper, tin, zinc, and manganese. What was left of our little-developed industry—cement, glass, paper, and textiles—also remained mostly in Communist hands. Our problems were intensified when fear of Communist tyranny forced almost 1 million refugees to flee their ancestral homes in the north and seek the protection of our Government in the south.

During the first year after the Geneva Conference, the economic picture was dark, but the political crisis was even worse. We had to fight the defeatism engendered by the fact that we were threatened by the powerful army of the north, ready to engulf us. In the south itself we were threatened by the petty local tyrannies that had grown up during the 10 years of war, the so-called sects. The supression of these states-within-the-state was as necessary for economic progress as for political stability.

It took over 2 year to overcome these initial political difficulties. We are aware of the fact that our political consolidation would not have been possible without the generous and timely aid of the United States, which carried us through our great crisis after Geneva. Since Geneva, United States aid to Vietnam has averaged some $250 million a year. We in Vietnam believe that no American taxpayer need regret these expenditures, and that this investment has been wisely made. Let me strike a balance sheet and show you what your aid has produced.

It has saved us from the disaster of an inflation that would have wrecked our crippled economy. And it has enabled us to build up an army of 10 divisions, one of the best in Asia according to competent professional observers. As a consequence we successfully held two free elections, proclaimed our country a republic, and promulgated a constitution that gave us our first National Assembly. Vietnam is now one of the most stable countries in all of Asia.

With the phase of political consolidation completed, we were at last in a position to turn our attention to our economies and social problems.

In the field of agriculture we have already made long strides. Our program of land reform is being judiciously carried out. We have already transferred a good deal of land to landless farmers. It is the conviction of my government that the individual farmer must own the land he cultivates. With this program we meet the false claims of land reform by the Communists. We give the farmers land, and we do it without the inhuman techniques of compulsion and confiscation.

We are steadily increasing the surface of our cultivable land, by regaining rice fields that had been abandoned, by opening up the Plains des Joncs for cultivation, and by winning for agriculture the vast undeveloped territories of our richer regions. This work, which is being done largely by the refugees from the north, will bring Vietnam back on the world rice market; and mounting exports will reduce our present national deficit. We are also beginning to tap the wealth of our forests, to increase our livestock, and to revive our old handicrafts and village industries. Our money is stabilized, and our policy in regard to prices has proven to be sound.

In increasing our rice crop and developing other products of the land such as rubber, coffee, and tea, we pursue a twofold aim. Our growing agricultural wealth will also stimulate the growth of the industries which we believe to be suitable for our country, necessary for our economy, and indispensable for the preservation of our independence.

Our own means, however, are quite insufficient to give us a good start. We can make little progress in industrialization without the development of our hydraulic resources, the improvement of our roads and railroads, the creation of a modern system of communications, and the training of business executives, technicians, and qualified workers. For this we again need help, both international and American. Some we have already received, as for instance from the group of United Nations experts headed by Professor Goodrich, and in particular from the Michigan State University team under Professor Fishel, who have been working with our own experts for several years. I want here to pay tribute to the outstanding work of the experts and technicians sent us by your Government under the ICA program. The USOM in Vietnam under the direction of Mr. Leland Barrows has been a persistently constructive force working closely with us in the achievement of mutually beneficial economic objectives. We hope soon to set up a group of long-term advisers for our Government, perhaps with the help of one of your foundations interested in the problems of economic development of Asia. And we also hope that we can get the advice of some of your management consulting firms.

Our country needs industries. It is a result of colonialism, that we are merely a producer of raw materials, and forced to import all finished goods. Economic survival requires that we break this colonial pattern. We do not aim at self-sufficiency, nor do we plan to build major capital goods industries in the near future. For the present, we plan on a gradual industrialization program consistent with our needs and capacities. Our present major industrial undertaking will be the development of our unused but excellent hydroelectric potential and we hope to do this as a joint undertaking between Government capital, foreign private advisers, and private companies on the basis of open bidding. Otherwise our program of industrialization is a modest one, adapted to our resources and needs. We aim at producing some textiles, sugar, cement, paper, glass, and plastics. Together with some other plants producing goods for daily use, this would, for the time being, be the core of our industrialization plan.

If you ask me whether our aim is a directed economy or a completely laissez faire doctrine, whether it is capitalist or Socialist, I have but one answer: such preoccupations are to us purely theoretical. The policy of our Government is based on present, practical needs, and not guided by theoretical speculations. Our principal guide is that we seek to solve our economic problems with the best means on hand.

We are convinced that an important method to enable us to meet our problems can come from overseas investors who seek opportunities in Vietnam. That is why in March of this year my Government issued a policy directive under which all foreign firms can justly operate. The Vietnamese Government guarantees foreign investors against nationalization or against expropriation without due compensation. We grant any new foreign investor 3 years' exemption from real-estate taxation, as well as free registration of incorporation. New agricultural investments are exempted from land tax until the enterprise shall have harvested its first crop. Industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises will receive 100 percent remission of income taxes for their first year of operation, 25 percent for the second and third years, and 25 percent on reinvested income. Imported capital goods is exempted from income duties. Or if foreign exchange is requested from the Government, import duties will be reduced by 50 percent. Foreign personnel will be afforded opportunities to repatriate family savings, bonuses, and other payments. Repatriation of capital will be permitted within 5 years of the initiation of the enterprise at an annual rate of 20 percent. Additional advantages beyond those presently allowed for repatriation of profits will be granted according to the importance of the enterprise for our economy, and the currency involved. But in no case do any of these regulations remain rigid but can be changed whenever attractive opportunities arise for the economy of Vietnam and the potential investor.

Let me say here and now that my Government and the Vietnamese people do not share the hostility toward the West which is so much the vogue in Asia today. We regard the United States, in particular, as our friend. Perhaps the most tangible test of this is our attitude toward private business, especially American business. We recognize the crucial role which private enterprise has historically played in raising the living standards of all people. Further, and possibly in contrast to other Asian nations, we do not regard American private investment as a threat to our national integrity. On the contrary, we welcome it as a necessary and cooperative factor, in the development of free Vietnam, and we will do everything within our means to create a hospitable climate for American investors who wish to cooperate in strengthening the economy of Vietnam.

Far from attempting to build a rigid frame for our economy, the system at which we aim will be an open one, capable of adaptation to changing needs.

It was the discipline, the determination, and the working capacity of our people which carried our Republic through its first few difficult years. These same qualities, we hope, will also enable us to solve our economic problems. We must show to the other Asian peoples that the economic progress they desire can be brought about by democratic means. To succeed in this will be as important for the whole free world as it is for ourselves.

The Graham Boys

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, with leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, it is with considerable pride that I call attention to the success and rather outstanding achievement of two young men from my home town, Herman Graham, Jr., 22, and Tom Graham, 19.

I take this time to call attention to the Graham boys because I have known their father, Herman, and these two boys when they first persuaded their dad to get them a pony. Their interest in horses continued, as you would have noted had you attended the harness races during the past weeks at the popular and beautiful Washington Rosecroft Racetrack. The Graham boys, along with their father, have been in the racing business only about 6 years, and have made such remarkable progress, by winning so many firsts, seconds, and thirds in the Rosecroft harness races, that they became the talk of all of their competitors, and most of the fans.

To me, this is quite an accomplishment for two young men who handle their own racing stable and do their own driving. They have come a long way in a new business in a few years, and you need not be surprised if harness-racing enthusiasts find them among the top men in the racing business for the next quarter of a century.

I had the pleasure of having Herman, Jr., with me for lunch in the House of Representatives dining room last Saturday, the closing day of the races at Rosecroft. At the time he told me that his brother Tom had taken most of their stock to Detroit for the harness meet there, and later they had a number of their horses entered in the great Illinois State Fair races. They are optimistic about future success with their highly bred, well-trained horses in the fast competition they will meet in those races and others to come.

After winning 9 firsts, 9 seconds, and 4 thirds, just to give the fans something to remember, on last Saturday night Herman, Jr., finished up in fine form with Hal's Peg E upsetting the supposedly favorite, and carrying the Graham boys' banner to victory in their closing entry at Rosecroft.

Naturally, I am proud of their parents, my close personal friends from my home town, and of these hard working young people who are making a business success of their chosen profession.

Here is what the Washington Daily News says about the Graham boys' racing here at Rosecroft:

[From the Washington Daily News of May 11, 1957]

Not since the famed Insco invasion from the Midwest has the Maryland harness pic-

ture been knocked out of kilter the way the Graham clan has been doing it.

This pair of youngsters, Tom and Herman, Jr., hail from Salem, Ill., and they should be run out of town for showing concern as to whether their stock would be ready for Rosecroft.

Thursday night their Sea Rover, with 19-year-old Herman, Jr., driving, won in a romp in 2:04.4. Not only is this the fastest time of the meeting, but Herman looked like he was just out for the breeze.

They started with Goose Win opening night, Hal's Peg E Wednesday night, and Sea Rover Thursday in the win column. In between, they managed to sandwich Secret Brook in close for a second. All of the horses have paid off in oil-well figures.

And speaking of oil wells, Herman Graham, Sr., is in the business of selling oil-well pumping machines to the companies that are working in the fields. We asked Herman, Jr., why he and brother Tom hadn't turned their talents to oil and he said, "Actually, there isn't much to do once things get pumping. So as a hobby and a means of building up the breeding program, we are in the harness game."

If you think the horses they brought to Rosecroft are good, wait until you see Herman's eyes light up when he mentions Jochobed.

This is the foundation mare that Graham family is hoping can produce a top classic pacer or trotter. Three of her offsprings on the female side have won over $500,000.

"Last year at Lexington we sold her colt, by Rodney Scott, for $8,200 to Curley Smart," said Herman. They have every reason to be proud of the grand producer. She is 23 years old and has been blind since she was 3.

Papa Graham was a late arriver at Rosecroft but he was a beaming owner and proud of the boys when they won that trophy Thursday night.

What U. N. Needs Most: Peacemaking by All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an article from the New York Times of December 9, 1956, by Clifford R. Johnson, 106 Campus Road, Staten Island, New York City, entitled "What U. N. Needs Most: Peacemaking by All."

The article follows:

WHAT U. N. NEEDS MOST: PEACEMAKING BY ALL—PRAYER PLUS BALLOTS EQUAL PEACE—U. N. CHARTER REVISION FORMULA

Both the recent Bulganin disarmament statement of November 17 and the October letter asking for a suspension of H-bomb testing, give President Eisenhower a really wonderful opportunity for testing Soviet sincerity with the following very practical new approach. Will the Russian rulers agree to give their peoples the opportunity to vote for peace or war by referendum before taking military action beyond their borders if the United States agrees to do the same? This can be called testing of public opinion or peacemaking by all instead of the few.

This basic idea was developed to some extent in a letter sent to President Eisenhower and Premier Bulganin by this writer. Although it was dated March 26, 1956, it is just as timely as ever in view of current Mideast problems. Heads of state and all U. N. delegates or policymakers and all voting citizens are implored to give it their most careful consideration. The letter reads as follows:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT AND MR. PRIME MINISTER: The unusual depth of sincerity in behalf of world peace as expressed by both of you during the past year inspires and persuades me that the time has come to send this communication.

I am writing to you as the author of an atomic-age peace proposal which has been deservingly described as the political formula for constructing the spiritual equivalent of the H-bomb for preventing wars of aggression.

Needless to say, I have taken full cognizance of your views, as expressed in the published account of your exchange of letters, starting September 19, 1955, to March 1, 1956.

Your comments upon the issues discussed make a lot of sense to me.

But let us be quite frank. Both countries are getting nowhere. There is very definitely a need for a new approach. This letter has the answer, if you will forgive me for being so confident.

As you both well know, the fear of sudden and surprise attack is the root of the tensions and armament race now gripping both nations. The reason for this fear, and you must be profoundly aware of it, is the simple fact that at the present time a comparatively few men in both countries have an influential voice in making the decision for peace or war. Peacemaking by the few is as outdated and unworkable in this atomic age as would be bows and arrows in a struggle against nuclear weapons. Peacemaking by all is the amazingly simple answer. Its proof rests on the following statement. That the common people of all countries are definitely opposed to war, is universally recognized and acknowledged. Hence, it follows very logically if they had something to say about it there would be no global wars.

Peacemaking by all would be on the road to becoming an effective reality if both the United States and the U. S. S. R. would sign an agreement for the adoption of the following proposal:

I. Each country would allow all its qualified voters to participate in a national referendum or plebiscite to decide the issue of starting armed aggression against any nation.

II. No referendum to be held if the nation is attacked by armed invasion or if the United Nations asks each member nation to supply its quota of men for a police action.

III. This agreement would only go into effect when provisions I and II would be incorporated into the written constitution of both countries and the United Nations Charter.

Such a political formula (or its equivalent) for registering accurately public opinion is the atomic age answer for preventing world war III.

It is almost impossible to imagine a majority of the voters of either the United States or the U. S. S. R. voting in favor of attacking the other, in view of their record of historic friendship. After this system has been in use for sometime there will be such a great sense of confidence developed that it will be relatively simply to work out the problems of disarmament. The "problem of the prohibition of atomic weapons" would evaporate.

And could there be any better warning system devised than a nation debating and then voting on a question of commiting armed aggression?

Very obviously my proposal would effectively correct or neutralize the limitations of your ground inspection and aerial photography plans. Leaving the warmaking power in the hands of a few men who secretly make the decisions is the real cause of the fear of sudden and surprise attack. This universal practice needs to be replaced with the referendum process as soon as possible so that the common people can enjoy the maximum benefits of the atomic age.

It is so appropriate to recall that both East and West have spoken a lot about the subject of free elections and peace-loving states.

The constitutions of both countries are exactly alike when it comes to ignoring the electoral process with respect to a declaration of war based on popular will. And to capture the will of the majority is of course the heart of my proposal. The world would benefit enormously from example of both countries in extending and strengthening the electoral process which is the basis of so many problems, including elections in Germany. My proposal could be applied to Germany and so remove the threat of German militarism.

My proposal would of course abolish or neutralize the effects of the indispensable leader type of government which so largely caused World War II.

Peacemaking by all represents rule by the majority which is the most precious principle of good government. Bad government produces today's tensions. It is as simple as that.

The reason peaceful coexistence is so shaky at present is because it rests on such a small base (peacemaking by the few). Peacemaking by all represents the very largest base for building the most endurable structure of peaceful coexistence. It is an accepted engineering principle that the bigger the base, the more stable the structure.

My proposal could be made a part of your proposed friendship treaty (or any other tension reducing agreement) as a starter and later it could be incorporated as an amendment in the U. N. Charter by using it as a definition for a peace-loving state.

Such an amendment would transform the U. N. into an effective atomic-age organization which would eliminate the need for all the existing little U. N.'s on both sides. You are both in agreement as to the need for a stronger U. N. A treaty is always in danger of becoming "a scrap of paper" unless it is written into a nation's constitution. If both countries adopt my proposal, its acceptance by the U. N. would almost be automatic.

I am in full agreement with both of you when you speak about the need for "deeds and not just words" as the best prerequisite for establishing a basis for peace. This all boils down to the need for honesty. My proposal would enable a maximum of honesty on the part of all people to be effectively utilized to prevent war.

It is sheer folly to think that either country would be willing to really weaken its position in any way with respect to the other under existing conditions.

Here is where my proposal could break the log jam. Can you just imagine the effect on public opinion in bothe countries if you would make a simultaneous appeal to start the ball rolling with respect to the principle embodied in my proposal? Such a daring display of honestry of intentions would be an unsurpassable expression of dynamic deeds at the very top levels of both Governments. Such an appeal would immediately receive the enthusiastic support of peace-loving peoples throughout the world because they would clearly realize that their desire for peace could be effectively harnessed for the first time in history.

No two other persons in the world today can do so much with such little effort to help establish the right conditions for a sound and lasting peace.

I humbly and prayerfully ask both of you to peruse this letter so that the understanding of all peoples may be effectively used to prevent wars of aggression and thus estab-

lish the best political climate for a workable disarmament in our time and so speed the day when your children's grandchildren or generations yet unborn will no longer be required to study the art of war.

With sincere best wishes, yours for peacemaking by all,

CLIFFORD R. JOHNSON.

The above letter refers to the need for an amendment to the U. N. Charter for a definition of the phrase "peace-loving state" based on the peacemaking-by-all principle. This has been specifically developed in a U. N. Charter-revision resolution introduced on several occasions in the Congress of the United States and now known as House Concurrent Resolution 118 by Congressman ROY WIER. It reads in part as follows:

U. N. CHARTER-REVISION BILL

"*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring)*, That the Congress of the United States favors the adoption of the following definition of the phrase 'peace-loving state' as used in article 4 of the United Nations Charter:

"SECTION 1. A peace-loving state is hereby defined as any nation which gives its people the right to vote in a referendum for peace or war, except in the case of direct invasion and except for the use of joint military power by this organization.

"SEC. 2. It is further the sense of the Congress that any member nation of the United Nations which does not comply with this definition, taking the necessary political action within 5 years after its adoption by the United Nations, shall be automatically dropped from membership in the United Nations.

"SEC. 3. The Congress requests the President to instruct our chief delegate to the United Nations to take all steps possible to effect the purpose of this resolution."

Let no other nation feel that it is a matter of etiquette to wait for United States congressional action on this proposal. What a glorious opportunity for the small nations or the so-called neutral U. N. members to study and officially initiate action as soon as possible on this charter-revision proposal. And under no stretch of the imagination should said action be considered interference in the internal affairs of the United States.

Problems of Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "MANSFIELD Says It's Time That Benson Recognized Small Farmers' Dilemma," and an editorial entitled "MANSFIELD Points to Benson's Conflicting Statements," which appeared in the May 31 and June 1, 1957, issues of the Great Falls (Mont.) Tribune.

The editors of the Tribune share the concern of my distinguished colleague and myself over the Eisenhower-Benson farm policy.

They conclude that—

There is serious question whether the farmers or the country can afford many more of Benson's kind of forward steps.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Great Falls Tribune of May 31, 1957]

MANSFIELD SAYS IT'S TIME THAT BENSON RECOGNIZED SMALL FARMERS' DILEMMA

Charging the economic welfare of the farmers has been "tossed back and forth like a football," Senator MIKE MANSFIELD said Thursday it is time Secretary Benson recognized the dilemma faced by the small farmer and did something about it beside viewing the situation "through rose-tinted glasses."

MANSFIELD issued the statement Thursday prior to returning to Washington, D. C. He arrived Wednesday to deliver the commencement address at the College of Great Falls graduation ceremonies and was conferred an honorary degree.

Continuing, MANSFIELD said facts and figures indicate "we have a Secretary of Agriculture and a department under his jurisdiction who tell completely different stories."

"Farm prices are 15 percent below the level prevailing when President Eisenhower took office. Farm surpluses are nearly three times as large as they were in January, 1953. The Federal Government spent more on agriculture in the first 4 years of the Eisenhower administration than in the preceding 20 years.

"In February, Secretary Benson indicated that organized labor was to blame for this situation when he said, 'When there is * * * strong demand for industrial products and a tight labor market, "soft" settlements of wage disputes are all too frequently made * * * These increased costs are passed forward to consumers in the form of higher prices, and backward to producers of many raw materials, especially farm products, in the form of lower returns.'

"However, the facts show that the farm family income dropped by $3½ billion between 1952 and 1956, but none of this drop is accounted for by increases in farm production expenses. These expenses were $300 million less in 1956 than in 1952.

"The Secretary of Agriculture has indicated on a number of occasions that farm surpluses were under control. This is what the departmental figures show: Commodity Credit Corporation losses between 1933 and 1953 were $1.1 billion. CCC losses between July 1, 1953, and January 31, 1957, were $2.9 billion. The total CCC inventory on January 1, 1953, was $1.09 billion. CCC total inventory in February on February 28, 1957, was $5.7 billion.

"The CCC has three times as much corn on hand now as when Secretary Benson took office: 266,711,000 bushels in January 1953, and 967,122,000 bushels in February 1957.

"There were 127,779,000 bushels of wheat in CCC storage in January 1953. In February of this year, there were 798,918,000 bushels of wheat on hand.

"Secretary Benson and I agree that 'The family farm has long held an important place in the economic and social life of our country.' We do disagree about their present status. The secretary says that their relative position has not changed. I disagree; the family farm is disappearing from the American scene. Between 1952 and 1956, the total number of farms in the United States decreased by 460,000. The farm population dropped by over 2,000,000.

"During this 4-year period the farm debt rose $3.3 billion and the farm foreclosure rate doubled. Since 1952, the farm credit interest rates rose 108 percent over the 1947-1949 level.

"In regard to the Department of Agriculture's budget, the secretary says: 'We don't want to increase our department by any number of thousands. We only want to have the people who need to carry out the programs for which we have responsibility.' The department's modest employment increase has amounted to 16,258 persons since 1953 and the budget has risen over $2 billion since 1954."

[From the Great Falls Tribune of June 1, 1957]

MANSFIELD POINTS TO BENSON'S CONFLICTING STATEMENTS

Before returning to Washington Thursday from his speaking engagement in Montana, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD made some pertinent remarks by the dilemma faced by the small farmer. He charges that in the more than 4 years of the Eisenhower-Benson farm administration the economic welfare of the farmers has been "tossed back and forth like a football." He thinks it is time Secretary of Agriculture Benson did something about the situation besides "viewing it through rose-tinted glasses."

MANSFIELD says we have a Secretary of Agriculture and a Department under his jurisdiction who tell completely different stories. He points out Department statistics show farm prices are now 15 percent below the level prevailing when President Eisenhower took office and farm surpluses are nearly three times as large as they were in January 1953.

In February Secretary Benson indicated that organized labor was to blame for the squeeze of the farmer between higher costs and lower market prices. But Department of Agriculture statistics show that between 1952 and 1956 the family farm income in this country dropped by $3½ billion. But none of this drop is accounted for by increases in farm expenses. These expenses were $300 million less in 1956 than in 1952.

About a week ago Secretary Benson said in a U. S. News & World Report interview that we "must quit trying to legislate scarcity." But he adds that farmers have a right to expect Government help "in this period of transition."

In the same interview, Benson reports the total agricultural budget submitted for the coming fiscal year exceeds $5 billion. And he points out that this is an amount equal to nearly half the total net income of all the farmers in the nation. He concedes, however, that "much of this huge budget does not go to the farmer at all."

He says also, "it is becoming increasingly clear that our present complicated legal formulas governing acreage allotments and price controls have failed in their principal purpose—to maintain an adequate farm income."

That series of statements could be supplemented by a lot of others from Secretary Benson. But they all add up to the most expensive Federal farm program we ever had and results distinctly on the deficit side.

Benson says his program was developed after calling on more than 500 people to participate in a study of farm programs.

It can be added that Mr. Benson was pretty choosey about what part of their recommendations he would accept.

Now he says the program is a failure and adds: "It is time for Congress to consider another forward step in farm legislation."

We will agree that it is time to consider forward step but there is serious question whether the farmers or the country can afford many more of Benson's kind of forward steps.

Republican Platform and the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Republicans Should Read Plat-

form," from the May 29, 1957, issue of the Metropolitan Herald of Atlanta, Ga.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPUBLICANS SHOULD READ PLATFORM

If the Eisenhower administration leaders would only reread the 1956 Republican platform, they might understand why the President's budget is under so much justifiable fire from taxpayers and thus from Congressmen and Senators.

"We will faithfully preserve the sound financial management which has reduced the annual spending $14 billion below the budgets planned by our Democratic predecessors." Yet, the budget proposed by the President is the highest peacetime budget in history.

"We will ever fight the demoralizing influence of inflation as a national way of life. We are proud to have fulfilled our 1952 pledge to halt the skyrocketing cost of living." According to the Government's own figures the cost of living continues to skyrocket. Costs of materials vital to the operation of small businesses continue to mount.

"We pledge further reductions in Government spending as recommended in the Hoover Commission Report, without weakening the support of a superior defense program or depreciating the quality of essential services of Government to our people." The cost of Government continues to rise and so does Federal employment.

"Insofar as consistent with a balanced budget, we pledge to work toward these additional objectives:

"Further reductions in taxes with particular consideration for low and middle-income families.

"Initiation of a sound policy of tax reductions which will encourage small independent businessmen to modernize and progress."

The Republican administration is in trouble because it has not followed its own platform. The failure to reduce the public debt substantially when tax collections are at an all-time high. The continued highest peace-time rate of spending make this impossible. The fact that the average American, despite record employment, is having to struggle to make ends meet leaves little support in this group for the President's budget. The farmers' income has dropped so much that there is little support in this group for continued high spending.

Small-business men, the backbone of this Nation, are having a difficult time keeping their doors open and these independent citizens know the danger of continued high Government spending in relation to their own problems.

Congress is determined to reduce the budget because the people of the United States are demanding this cut.

What Is Ike's Idea of GOP?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the associate editor of the Park Region Echo, Mr. J. H. Ulvan, has written a thoughtful and interesting editorial entitled "What Is Ike's Idea of GOP?" Now this editorial is good reading for everybody and it is must reading for every Republican. In fact, Democrats too will find it helpful and educational.

Mr. Ulvan is known in Minnesota as one who does not let partisan prejudices dominate his thinking on problems. He speaks and writes with clarity and objectivity.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Park Region Echo, Alexandria, Minn., of May 23, 1957]

WHAT IS IKE'S IDEA OF GOP?

With the battle of the budget still going on in force in Congress and the two sides pushing for all they are worth, the struggle simmers down to the honest fact that President Dwight D. Eisenhower has suffered a serious setback in his following. His political popularity is the lowest it has been since he took office, though his personal popularity may still be high. In politics Mr. Eisenhower has lost the support of more than half of his Republican lawmaker friends because of the powerful debate on the $71.8 billion budget.

This debate has gone so far that it should have made the President wonder whether he should be a Republican at all. Our readers might recall that before Mr. Eisenhower ever thought of running for the office of President he did not exactly know whether he was a Republican or a Democrat. He was undecided for at least a couple of years before he wanted to state his opinion and this even led some Democrats to go to him with the idea of having him run on the Democratic Party ticket. These days when the GOP leaders have practically abandoned Mr. Eisenhower we just wonder if Ike does not get to thinking that he should never have been a Republican.

If Mr. Eisenhower had ever had the idea that he could revamp the GOP he must have gotten to know by this time that such a thing cannot be accomplished. He has stated in the past 2 years that he was going to liberalize the GOP and in his 1956 campaign he stated on occasions that he was to make the GOP a party of "modern Republicanism." With the known fact that Mr. Eisenhower cannot run for reelection it is apparent that his friendship with the leading Republicans does not mean much now after he won the election. It must be taken to mean that when Mr. Eisenhower was a general in the Army he did not get well versed in politics, at least not American party politics.

The President has made a fight for the budget and he merits praise for what he is doing. Little argument can be put up in an honest-to-goodness opposition on the different phases of the budget. The down-to-earth truth is that the conservatives want low taxes and that regardless of the consequences. This encounter has led to a situation that parallels the struggle President Franklin D. Roosevelt had with the Congress regarding the issue of increased membership in the United States Supreme Court. President Harry Truman had some spats with Congress, but it never got down to being as serious as the fight on the budget today. The GOP has created a dilemma of which the outcome is very uncertain as of now.

As an illustration showing how some GOP groups have changed their position in this present situation in Congress we want to quote the Fergus Falls Daily Journal, a publication that has been stanch GOP through its lifetime. Now the Journal editor charges that Mr. Eisenhower is inconsistent when he is demanding Federal aid for schools. The assertion is that Ike has always opposed the idea of extending Federal services to the public, and then states that Ike has asked $2 billion for Federal aid for schools. The fact is that Ike has not asked for that much. His request has been for $1,350,000,000 for a period of 4 years. Moreover, the President has in general supported measures that embraced the country's welfare. He had stated he was against Government operation of private business but that cannot be construed that this includes our public schools.

An analysis by a Washington periodical shows that the Democrats have supported the President in the congressional session more consistently than the GOP. Statistics show that the Republicans have opposed the President 52 percent on important issues while the Democrats have opposed him only 36 percent on the same issues. On rollcall votes the GOP has supported Ike 44 percent of the time while the Democrats have a support mark of 57 percent. When the opposition to Mr. Eisenhower's proposal is considered from what it was in the previous Congress, it has more than doubled. The overall GOP opposition then was at only 22 percent. In the present Congress the opposition has increased to the overall percentage of 52.

The present opposition to Mr. Eisenhower stems from the very strong propaganda put on by the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce. The National Taxpayers Association, which has active units in every State, has joined actively with the two above-mentioned groups, so the country has been flooded with propaganda literature. And it is easy to stir up support when it gets down to the subject of taxation. No one wants to pay taxes and hence the big reaction of the present budget.

The amount of reduction that can be made is a small fraction of the total proposed budget. At the most, the full amount of the cuts would be less than $3 billion. That is only a cut of 5 percent of the budget as asked by the President. Of course, the idea behind the GOP opposition is the fact that the Republicans have been highly critical of the Democrats for the past many years about their big budget. Promises for substantial reductions have been made since 1952 but little of these have materialized. Now with the 1958 campaign coming on a cut would be a GOP need.

It cannot be denied that the Democrats in Congress have been playing politics. Politically it is to their advantage that the GOP is quarreling in itself. For the Democrats to support cuts will be added votes for the next election. However, there are Democrats who support Ike, as the national safety cannot be endangered.

The Communist Menace—Report by General Wedemeyer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a broadcast by Dean Clarence E. Manion over the Mutual Broadcasting System on May 26,

1957, in which he interrogated Gen. Albert Wedemeyer. The subject of the broadcast was A Disillusioned Patriot Speak His Mind.

There being no objection, the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A DISILLUSIONED PATRIOT SPEAKS HIS MIND

DEAN MANION. Lt. Gen. Albert Wedemeyer, now retired, is one of the most widely experienced military men now living. He has served this country with great distinction in all parts of the world. During World War II, he was commander of the United States forces in China where he was also Chief of Staff for Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. In 1947 at the request of President Truman, he made an on-the-spot survey of conditions in China and Korea. To the great misfortune of this country, his report was deliberately suppressed. General Wedemeyer has made a careful professional diagnosis of the Communist menace—he knows what it is and he is here tonight to tell us what America should do about it. It is my pleasure now to make way for a new, unsuppressed Wedemeyer report:

General WEDEMEYER. Thank you, Dean Manion. I am grateful for the opportunity of explaining to my fellow Americans why I believe the United States should withdraw recognition from the Soviet Union and its satellites.

May I emphasize that the thoughts I express are my own, and that I accept full responsibility for them.

During the past several years I have traveled considerably throughout this great land, talking to business and professional men, to farmers and to laborers, in fact, to men and women in all walks of life.

Ten years ago, if I had suggested that we expel all Communists, and that we break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, most of my countrymen would either have greeted such a proposal with indifference, or they would have violently disagreed with it.

May I explain why this was true? World War II had just ended and, through the efforts of allied propagandists, the Soviet Union was a popular ally. Her armies unquestionably had made an important contribution to our hard-earned military victory.

Further, Americans were fed up with war. We wanted to return to our families, our jobs, and our friends. Anyone who would help us to achieve those goals could win our support. Also many of the world leaders praised Stalin. Harry Truman himself told us that Uncle Joe was a jovial fellow. We were given reassuring bits of evidence confirming the so-called equitable and peaceful agreements reached at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam.

"Anyway," we asked, "why should we bother about the Chinese, the Greeks, the Italians? If they want to be Communists, that is their business."

Yes, that was America back in 1946, 1947, and 1948. There was little or no interest in the portentous events occurring in other parts of the world. We were equally naive or apathetic with regard to Communist activities on our own doorstep.

Responsible Government leaders poohpoohed the idea of Communist infiltration into the Government, even when there was no longer room for reasonable doubt. Mr. Truman referred jokingly to "red herrings."

However, there were some farseeing Americans, who had long realized, that communism was as great a threat to our security and liberty, as nazism, fascism, or the military jingoism of Japan. In spite of the insults and diatribes by certain elements of the press and radio, these courageous Americans carried on their campaign to collect facts concerning Communist infiltration and subversion.

They were finally able to present irrefutable evidence involving acts of espionage and sabotage in the United States by foreign agents and individual American traitors, some of whom were in key positions in our Government.

But a great change has taken place in our country since that unfortunate period. Today, when it is suggested that we expel all Communists, and that we break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and its satellites, there is enthusiastic response across the length and breadth of the land, except perhaps in official Washington.

As is often the case when the facts about a situation are available to the American people, their intuitions and judgments are sound. They are usually far in advance of their Government leaders in recognizing dangerous developments, and in recommending the positive steps that should be taken to cope realistically with them.

SOVIETS FAIL TO MEET REQUIREMENTS

What does our own State Department consider as the generally accepted criteria or qualifications that a foreign government must meet before it is recognized as a legitimate government? And how does the Soviet Union measure up to these tests for recognition?

First, a government must have effective control over the territory of that particular country. The Soviet Government certainly has effective control over its territory. Everyone is familiar with the ruthless and barbaric methods of Communist control.

Second, according to our State Department, a country must have sovereign independence. Not a single state under Soviet control, or within the Soviet orbit, could possibly meet this requirement.

Third, the government must be truly representative in character, that is, the people must determine how and by whom they will be governed. It is common knowledge, that the people behind the Iron Curtain have no voice whatsoever in their government.

Fourth, the government must honor its foreign commitments and treaties and must adhere to a well-established standard of decency in the treatment of foreign nationals within its borders. Here we find an undeniable record of Soviet atrocities, broken agreements, treaty violations, sabotage, kidnappings, brain washing, and every conceivable act of terrorism.

Although the Soviet Union unquestionably fails to meet the prescribed tests of our State Department, yet, there still are proponents of continued diplomatic relations with the Red governments.

They argue, that we must maintain diplomatic representatives in the capitals of the countries behind the Iron Curtain in order to obtain information. They refer to foreign capitals as the windows through which our diplomats may observe developments and thus transmit vital intelligence back to Washington. But, it simply does not work out that way, at least not in the Soviet Union or in any Communist capital.

In all Communist countries the representatives of western nations, and especially our own, are constantly hounded by secret police, subjected to indignities and humiliations, and harassed by restrictive regulations. They are watched wherever they may go. Everything they see and hear is carefully censored.

My fellow Americans, why continue this farcial exchange of diplomatic amenities? These Communist governments do not legally represent their own people, for they seized and now maintain themselves in power by murder, lies, intimidation and secret police.

If we broke off diplomatic relations with them, the people they have enslaved would be overjoyed and resistance movements would gain confidence and momentum.

Further, we would be rid of thousands of Communist spies, saboteurs, and propagandists, operating under the cloak of respectability in Soviet Embassies, consulates, and undercover rendezvous in the various parts of our country.

Like many of you, I supported the Republican Party in 1952 and again in 1956. I heartily approved of the Republican pledge to place America's interest first in the international field and, further, to cope with communism, both at home and abroad, realistically and courageously. Here is a direct quote from the Republican platform:

"To repudiate the futile, negative, and immoral policy of containment; to make liberty into a beacon light of hope; to repudiate all commitments contained in secret understanding, such as Yalta, which aided Communist enslavement; to make it clear on the highest authority of the President and the Congress, that the United States seeeks the genuine liberty of these captive peoples."

I like that statement. It might very well have been written by a tried and true patriot of yesteryear—for example, a Patrick Henry or a Thomas Paine. Apparently millions of other Americans liked that statement too, for they enthusiastically gave the Republican candidates a mandate to carry out their program. We sensed a return to a type of leadership in the Washington, Lincoln, Cleveland, and Teddy Roosevelt pattern—a dynamic leadership based on courage and realism.

FOUR YEARS OF NONFULFILLMENT

Like many other American voters I have waited patiently for more than 4 years for the fulfillment of those campaign pledges. While it is not my purpose to single out individuals for criticism, or indulge in acrimonious discussions, I do intend to use every legitimate and honorable means of urging those steps, which I believe to be, not necessarily in the interest of a particular leader or political party, not in the interest of a lobby or pressure group, but in the best interest of our country.

We all recognize that the job of President of the United States is probably the toughest one in the world. We are aware of the pressures of professional lobbyists with their selfish interests. Also a newly installed administration must continually cope with subtle resistance by firmly entrench bureaucrats.

Whatever the cause, we are still immersed in deficit spending—trying to buy votes at home, and friends abroad. More than 4 years have passed and still our Republican leaders do not seem inclined or able to make the basic changes in the New Deal philosophy, which the American voters strongly repudiated at the polls.

If you and I really believe that diplomatic relations should be broken off with the Soviet Union and its satellites, is it not apparent that we must carry out a grassroots campaign? Let the impetus come from every crossroad, village, farm, city, and State.

I can imagine no more appropriate place to launch a fight for true Americanism than right here in the heartland of our Nation. May I suggest that everyone within range of my voice should read the recent Indiana State Concurrent Resolution No. 1, which boldly prolaims admiration of the current Hungarians' fight for liberty. It is to the credit of every citizen in the State of Indiana, that the resolution was passed unanimously by the Indiana State Legislature and then signed by Governor Handley on March 7.

Not only are Americans worried about the international situation, but they are gravely concerned about exorbitant taxes, deficit spending, and astronomical budgets. In varying degrees these problems are caused by our foreign policies, particularly with regard to communism.

I feel confident that sizable economies could be effected if we would break off diplomatic relations with all red regimes; repudiate all agreements made with Commu-

nist governments since 1933 and adjust realistically our program of economic and military assistance to other countries, that are directly or indirectly strengthening Communist nations.

Every move on the international chessboard should be made from here on out with a view to conserving our national resources, both human and material, while preserving American ideas and ideals of justice, dignity of man, and decency in all human relationships.

Dean MANION. Thank you, General Wedemeyer. We are happy that the Indiana Legislature agrees with your recommendations and we hope the Congress may be inspired to do likewise.

Retirement of Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Rush of Farmers To Retire Studied," which appeared in the May 14, 1957 issue of the New York Times.

It is stated in this article that—

Self-employed farmers are retiring about four times as fast as the Social Security Administration estimated when the 1954 Old Age and Survivors Insurance amendment covering this group became law.

It is also noted that Mr. Benton J. Stong of my staff 2 years ago more accurately forecast the rate of farmer retirement during his research on my bill to permit farmers to substitute their earnings in years between 1950 and 1954 for their low earnings in 1955 and 1956 in calculating old-age and survivors insurance benefits.

The distinguished senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. KERR] and my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] joined me in the introduction of this bill, S. 670, which is before the Senate Finance Committee. A companion bill has been introduced in the other House by my distinguished colleagues from Montana, Representative LEE METCALF and Representative LEROY ANDERSON.

Our proposed legislation would put farmers on par with other groups previously covered by social security, who can pick out their better income years for retirement purposes.

It would prevent injustice and hardship to many farm couples, now reaching retirement age, who because of drought, Benson, and other disasters have had considerably less than $4,200 income during the 2 years upon which their retirement must be based under present law.

I commend a study of our proposal as embodied in S. 670 to my colleagues, particularly the members of the Senate Finance Committee. Favorable action on this proposed legislation would, in my opinion, correct a serious injustice to our senior farm citizens.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RUSH OF FARMERS TO RETIRE STUDIED—CLAIMS FOR SOCIAL SECURITY ARE FOUR TIMES GREATER THAN OFFICIALS ESTIMATED IN 1954

WASHINGTON, May 12.—Self-employed farmers are retiring about four times as fast as the Social Security Administration estimated when the 1954 old age and survivors insurance amendment covering this group became law.

The claims started rolling in during April 1956, when the farmers could first qualify under the 1954 amendment by showing net earnings of $400 for 1955. During 1956, the claims filed totaled 160,000.

In 1956 another amendment was enacted by Congress. It broadened coverage to include the city farm owners who supervise their sharecroppers and the crew leaders in charge of the traveling fruit and vegetable pickers. A few of those newly covered started drawing benefits in April 1957.

This year 400,000 claims have been filed by farmers ready to retire or widows of the recently qualified asking survivors benefits for themselves and their children under 18 years of age.

OFF-THE-CUFF CONCLUSIONS

Officials of the Social Security Administration and the Department of Agriculture said today that they were unable to account for the large number of applications. However they offered these off-the-cuff conclusions:

Many of the self-employed farmers probably had wage-credits piled up previously in some other employment.

Large numbers of farmers are far past the retirement age and have waited only long enough to be covered to retire.

Distribution of 7,500,000 social security information leaflets to every rural mail box and star route box in the land through the cooperation of Treasury, Post Office, and Health, Education, and Welfare Departments made every self-employed farmer aware of his possible benefits.

The old folks are willing to pass the farms on to sons and daughters if some spending cash is assured them.

On Capitol Hill, however, a researcher was found who had a memorandum to prove that in 1955 he had predicted a possible onrush even greater than has occurred.

BASIS OF ESTIMATE

Benton Stong, brother of the late Phil Stong, author of State Fair, foresaw that at least 900,000 farmers could retire in 1957. He based this on the 1954 farm census that showed 786,000 farmers 65 or older at that time, and also farmers coming into the 65-year group at the rate of about 100,000 a year.

Mr. Stong, who is Iowa born, noted that this 1954 census further showed that 26 percent of farmers making $1,000 or less a year were in the age group of 65 or older, whereas only 11 percent of farmers making $3,000 or more had reached 65. On the basis of these figures he correctly predicted that self-employed farmers would be retiring in numbers as soon as they were assured social security benefits.

Mr. Stong's researches were for Senator JAMES E. MURRAY, Democrat, of Montana, who has introduced a bill that would permit farmers to substitute their earnings for any year since 1950 for either 1955 or 1956 or both in calculating social-security benefits.

Senator ROBERT S. KERR, Democrat, of Oklahoma, also has introduced such a bill.

Mr. Stong said that there was little incentive for a farmer to work if he secured only $600 a year. The social-security payment for himself and wife would be $45 a month or $540 a year. Or if he were making $1,200 a year or $100 a month, he would still get $8.50 a month for himself and wife by retiring.

Two Great Frenchmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on September 6 there will be issued by the Post Office Department a commemorative stamp to mark the 200th anniversary of the birth of one of the great men of Europe and in the history of the United States—the Marquis de Lafayette.

Here is a hero rightly revered by the two longtime allies—the sister republics of France and the United States.

I was interested to read in the Monday, May 13, 1957, issue of the Milwaukee Journal a description of the dramatic life of this gallant nobleman who served so immeasurably the cause of the American Revolution.

It is well indeed that this country does him honor.

We were all reminded, however, by a recent article in the same paper that there is another great son of France whom we must also not forget, Father Jacques Marquette.

The article described how Mr. Robert Valeur, the first counselor of the French Embassy, rightly pointed out to a group of students from Milwaukee's Marquette University High School that it is well indeed for all of us to recall the great contributions of this almost legendary priest-explorer. Father Marquette's name is inextricably related with the history of my State, as well as this Nation as a whole.

He is, of course, one of the two distinguished sons of my State who is honored by a statue in a corridor of the Capitol very close to where I am speaking now. The other Wisconsin statue is, of course, that of "Fighting Bob" La Follette.

I might recall, too, in connection with Father Marquette and General Lafayette, that other great explorer Louis Joliet, who discovered the Mississippi River at Prairie du Chien, Wis., on June 17, 1673.

When the Marquette University High School students were here they laid a floral wreath at the base of Father Marquette's statue, and they presented a plaque to Mr. Valeur, as the representative of the French Government.

The plaque noted that this gift to Laon, France, birthplace of Father Marquette, was from the pupils, faculty, friends, and alumni of the Milwaukee school in its centennial year, "in grati-

tude for the inspiration and leadership provided by Laon's illustrious son."

I was happy to participate in that ceremony.

I recall this event now, in particular, because France is once more in an hour of great trial—she is in the process of forming a new government to replace that of Premier Guy Mollet. And looming in the background of the parliamentary problem is the dark cloud of continued strife in Algeria—a conflict which is bleeding France seriously, a conflict which aroused the conscience of mankind most recently in the shocking slaughter of innocent Algerian men, women, and children by extremist nationalist forces.

In this hour when our friends in the land which gave the world the slogan "Liberty, equality, and fraternity" are so hard pressed at home and abroad, it is especially well for us to recall our debt to France. It is well to recall, as well, all of the other contributions which Frenchmen in all walks of life—in the arts, in science, in industry, in politics, in jurisprudence, in philosophy, and in countless other fields—have made to mankind.

It is well for us to show toward France the understanding, the sympathy, the good will which was symbolized by Lafayette's own contribution to our cause when we were so hard pressed.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the Milwaukee Journal article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FIGHTING FRENCHMAN OF 1776—LAFAYETTE'S 200TH BIRTHDAY RECALLS GALLANT NOBLEMAN'S DRAMATIC LIFE, INCLUDING VITAL ROLE IN AMERICA'S FREEDOM BATTLE

(By Walter Monfried)

"Lafayette, we are here." These words were spoken at the Lafayette grave in Paris on July 4, 1917. Two months earlier the United States had declared itself on the side of France in World War I. The statement was made by one Col. C. E. Stanton of the American Army, not by General Pershing, as is generally believed.

From the 1750's when young George Washington was fighting French invaders in the Ohio Valley, to the 1950's, when the Suez issue has stirred bitterness among nations, America and France have had their differences. But the differences are always resolved in the spirit of "Lafayette, we are here."

This year is the 200th anniversary of the birth of that citizen of two republics. The first of many ceremonies has just been held in Wilmington, Del., where the du Pont-Winterthur museum displayed Lafayette items. Although the actual birth date is September 17, the official Lafayette Week of France will be observed June 28 to July 4, when it is hoped many American visitors will take part. All of France is being decorated this spring with red, white, and blue posters showing the gallant marquis on a white horse.

The mutual affection of Lafayette and America constitutes one of the great love stores of history. But the why of it is equally intriguing. Here was a boy, born to immense wealth, of a family of ancient nobility. At 16 he was an orphan and a millionaire, a colonel in an exclusive regiment of dragoons, the husband of a 14-year-old girl of equally lofty lineage. Why should this lad have been willing to sacrifice family, fortune, and life itself to endure the hardships of warfare in a raw new world? And for such a concept as "liberty," a word hardly known in his blueblooded circles?

First of all, he was a born fighter, instinctively a good soldier, fearless, overly bold.

"I love the trade of war passionately; I consider myself born to play that game," he declared as a young general. And, in the trade of war, the attack was his favorite action. Time and again General Washington and the older officers were compelled to restrain the young Frenchman sternly when he proposed to carry the battle against superior numbers in better positions. Indeed, in his first battle, at the Brandywine River in Pennsylvania, Lafayette was wounded by a musketball in the leg when he slipped away from his corps of guards and charged into the midst of the victorious foe.

HE WAS GILBERT TO HIS FRIENDS

The marquis was much stronger in the heart than in the head. A veteran of several revolutions, he never quite realized that other men could be false. When he was past 60, he was instrumental in placing on the French throne a supposedly well-meaning and honorable duke, Louis-Philippe, of the Orleans dynasty. Lafayette was instructed, and he fully intended, to get from the new king written concessions for constitutional government and other democratic reforms. But Lafayette was so charmed by the royal personage that he forgot his mission—and Louis-Philippe turned out to be a renegade to republicanism.

Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier Lafayette was the marquis' full name. He was Gilbert to his family and friends. When he was 18, serving with a garrison in Lorraine, he first heard about the rebellion in America. He received the news from the duke of Gloucester, a brother of King George III of England. The duke, a dinner guest of the French officers, asserted that he disagreed with his brother and hoped the colonists would win.

Lafayette already hated the English for having taken Canada from the French. By aiding the American colonies, he could injure England. After the colonies declared their independence in 1776, the youth resigned from the French Army, secretly bought a small ship and sailed to America. American diplomats had promised him the rank of major general—at 19—when he demonstrated the wealth he could contribute. He kept his word, spending hundreds of thousands of dollars to help the American cause. At one point in the war, at Baltimore, he noticed that his 2,000 men were in rags. He immediately bought complete attire for each of them.

WASHINGTON LOVED HIM AS SON

When he first reached the Capital, Philadelphia, Congress rebuffed him. American leaders had become irked by European fortune hunters swarming over the land. Shrewd old Ben Franklin interceded for the youth. Lafayette was warmly welcomed when he said that he would serve without pay. He received his commission and was introduced to General Washington. A lifelong friendship began immediately. Washington loved the boy as a son. The boy at last had found a father.

After a year of spirited service in several battles, Lafayette returned to France on leave. He received a hero's reception and persuaded the government to grant military, naval, and financial aid to the Americans.

In 1780 he returned to America. Lafayette by his own admission, had an actor's craving for adulation. One of his letters to Washington contained these words: "I well know that you, my dear general, will get me the one thing for which I thirst: Glory."

Washington accommodated the lad. Major General Lafayette served steadily in the field through the 3 remaining years of the war. He led the all-important army which bottled up the forces of the British at Yorktown. His record in the American struggle for freedom is remarkable. He chose to shiver through the terrible winter at Valley Forge with Washington's ragged troops. It was his lot to be one of the officers who sentenced Major Andre to be hanged as a spy after Benedict Arnold's treason was revealed.

Having helped the new Nation in its revolution, Lafayette returned home in time for the bloody French revolution which swept the Bourbons from the throne and set up Napoleon as Emperor.

TRIED TO CALM THE WHIRLWIND

Nobleman though he was, Lafayette was worshipped by the masses for his American exploits. In the early years of the chaotic French uprising, he became the most powerful man of the realm. The mistrusted King Louis XVI and his queen, Marie Antoinette, were in his charge. Both hated him. In Lafayette's youthful days at court, Marie Antoinette had snickered at his clumsy dancing, but now she laughted at him no more.

"Better to perish than be saved by Lafayette," she muttered—and perish she did, on the guillotine.

Between the remorseless factions of blood thirsty radicals and reactionary aristocrats, Lafayette tried to steer a course of democratic liberalism. He pleaded for jury trials, religious tolerance, abolition of titles, and representative government.

"He worked with a passionate energy that seemed to take him everywhere at once and with controlled patience that calmed myriad storms," writes biographer David Loth. "People clamored around him, asking for orders, pleading to enlist, begging favors. Overnight the national guard grew to 200,000 men. This was an unprecedented force: the great battles of the century never had involved a single command so large."

But, in 1790, Lafayette refused to continue in supreme command, which would have given him a dictatorship. He would not sacrifice liberty for order.

Lafayette could not calm the whirlwind of revolution. The fanatics—Marat, Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre—gained control and declared war on monarchial Austria. Lafayette was placed in charge of 1 of the 3 armies on the frontier.

Then he received a curious order to return to Paris. He surmised that the guillotine might be his destination, and he fled to Belgium in the hope of escaping to America. But, in Belgium, he was captured by German forces; they hated him as a revolutionary.

A LIMPING, BALD VETERAN

For 5 years he was held in German and Austrian prisons, despite the pleadings of George Washington for his release. At length, Napoleon Bonaparte attained continental power and ordered freedom for the marquis. Lafayette, however, never sided with the dictatorial emperor, and it was Lafayette, after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, who demanded and secured the abdication of the great conqueror.

In the several governments that France endured thereafter, Lafayette generally was active on the liberal side.

In 1824, the limping, bald veteran of many struggles attained the crowning glory of his career. President Monroe invited him to visit the United States as guest of the Nation. He visited all 24 States. He was astonished by steamboats, Sunday blue laws, and the Bunker Hill Monument. He, in turn, astonished many Americans by shaking hands with Negroes and urging that slavery be ended.

"For more than a year," says historian Frank Monaghan, "his triumphal tour provoked demonstrations of frenzied enthusiasm without precedent or parallel in American history. This was one of the happiest years of his life, for he had never lost his one great foible, as Jefferson had described

it, 'a canine appetite for popularity and fame'."

Lafayette, who had lost his fortune in the French upheavals, received from grateful America $200,000 and 23,000 acres in Florida. Within a few years, he gave all of it to needy friends.

At 77 Lafayette succumbed to pneumonia. He was buried, at his request, beside his wife. She had asked that she be buried amid the hundreds of headless bodies of guillotine victims at Picpus Cemetery. A mound of earth from Bunker Hill was placed over his grave.

Markets: The Golden Key to Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "Markets: The Golden Key to Opportunity," delivered by Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz at the June dairy month celebration, Barre, Vt., on May 28, 1957.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARKETS: THE GOLDEN KEY TO OPPORTUNITY

(Address by Earl L. Butz, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., at the June Dairy Month celebration, Barre, Vt., May 28, 1957)

We who work in agriculture face a challenge unparalleled in world history. Ours is a land of plenty. Yet that very same abundance often gives rise to surpluses which burden markets, depress prices, and otherwise trouble our economic life. This condition is most serious in agriculture, where we have not yet learned how to keep farm output flowing into constructive use as rapidly as it flows from our farms.

Too much of our national thinking has been directed toward curtailment of output, and too little toward expansion of markets.

During the last 2 or 3 decades, Government program has been piled upon Government program until farmers themselves are understandably confused by the crazy-quilt pattern of governmental assistance to agriculture. Farmers are told by Government what to plant or not to plant, what to market or not to market, and otherwise how to run their business. The maze of controls and regulations which accompany these assistance programs have become increasingly irritating. More and more farmers are wondering about the price they have to pay for all of this kind of governmental assistance.

In the meantime, the problem of surplus remains unsolved. Still confronting us is the challenge of abundance which can and must be met. We will be able to meet it only if we are willing to face the problem realistically.

The American dairy industry has taken some important steps in developing the kind of teamwork that can provide the answer to the problem of its own surpluses. Dairy farmers and others in the industry have increasingly been merchandising their products and moving them into human consumption. A great and fundamental lesson in farm economics is being taught through this demonstration. Effective pricing and aggressive merchandising, teamed together, can move more and more dairy products into human stomachs rather than into Government warehouses.

This great industrywide effort to promote and merchandise dairy products is now continuous throughout the year. June Dairy Month is symbolic of the dairy industry's teamwork in meeting the challenge of abundance.

It is a real pleasure to join with you in inaugurating your teamwork project for June Dairy Month. In this project you have a common goal—to put dairying in the limelight, to remind everyone of the importance of the dairy industry to community health and to the economic well-being of the community. Your united effort demonstrates the many avenues by which the dairy industry moves forward. Here you have represented the producers' interest, the distributors' interest, and the public interest. But for the moment, you are all concerned with a promotion program for dairy products.

VERMONT LEADS THE NATION

Nowhere in the United States is dairying more important than it is to the people of Vermont. There are other States where gross cash receipts from dairy products are greater, but Vermont leads the country in cash receipts per person. The importance of dairying in this area is illustrated by the fact that there are more cows than people in Vermont. And, according to census and United States Department of Agriculture reports, the number of cows relative to people is increasing. In 1950, the number of cows and heifer calves on farms exceeded the number of people in Vermont by 36,000. In 1956 there were 452,000 cows and heifers on Vermont farms, 82,000 more than the number of people in the State.

The demonstration of community do-it-yourself activity illustrated by this event, is typical of the independence and self-reliance of the rugged New Englander. It is this kind of activity which holds the golden key to opportunity for industry growth and individual freedom of action.

We take pride in the fact that the dairy enterprise is still a free enterprise in the sense that it is unhampered by quotas and limitations on output that stifle the producers of some restricted commodities.

This is a day of science and technology in agriculture. It is a time of far-reaching change in both production and marketing.

During the past decade, dairymen have had an opportunity to take advantage of many improvements in the technology of milk production. Many of these advances can be utilized most efficiently with increased output per farm unit. More capital is needed to purchase the latest laborsaving devices. For a profitable investment such equipment must be used to capacity, rather than half full. The opportunity for individual decision permits each dairyman to make the choice best for him. He is not limited to a milk output quota or restricted to a certain number of cows. In that sense the dairy enterprise is a free enterprise.

But the dairy enterprise is not "free" in terms of its price-supported programs. During the 7½-year period ended December 1956, net expenditures by the Federal Government for price support purchase of dairy products totaled $1.4 billion. Indications are that this year alone price support purchases of dairy products will approximate 4 billion pounds of milk one way or another. The cost of the dairy price-support program for the current marketing year which began April 1 will be in the neighborhood of $315 million.

With expenditures of this magnitude by Government, we must expect the public to have a keen interest in what the industry is doing to help itself, and whether the cost is worthwhile. Each mail delivery to Washington brings suggestions for increasing or reducing Government assistance to the dairy industry. But coupled with the suggestions for more help from Government often come recommendations for control of the industry. They would impose limits on production or marketing similar to controls now applicable to other price-supported commodities. With such controls, the power to make decisions would increasingly be transferred from the individual dairy farmer to the Government.

Consider the impact of a freeze being placed on output of milk per farm. Where would we be today if a limit on dairy farm output had been imposed 5 years ago? Vermont dairymen selling milk on the Boston market delivered in March this year an average of 110 pounds more milk per day per producer than they sold in March 1952. The gross milk check per producer was $619 this March, more than $100 greater than the average check in March 1952. Vermont dairy farmers achieved that increased gross income in spite of the fact that they received about 1 cent per quart less this year than in 1952.

PRODUCTION EFFICIENCY IS UP ONE-FOURTH

Increased efficiency of labor on dairy farms is the key to the greater farm productivity. The Department of Agriculture's continuing study of farm costs and returns on sample northeast dairy farms shows production per hour of man labor increased one-fourth during the 4-year period, 1952–55. In 4 years' time, efficiency of labor increased so that a farm worker could accomplish in an 8-hour day what it took him 10 hours to do in 1952. Stated another way, each worker was able to produce about one-fourth more milk.

Increased production of milk per cow has been an important factor in bringing about the higher rate of labor productivity on dairy farms. Annual average milk production per milk cow in the United States has risen 1,000 pounds in a decade.

This increased productivity of labor on dairy farms has been accompanied by some increase in hourly returns for labor on dairy farms, but increase in returns has not kept pace with increased productivity. Retail prices have stayed relatively constant since 1952. The increased costs of marketing have offset to some degree the benefits of more efficient production.

Much of the increased marketing cost is due to higher wage rates paid in marketing channels that have not been compensated for by increased labor productivity. Some increase has occurred in productivity of labor in the marketing of dairy products, but recent increases in unit output of labor in handling milk have been greatly outdistanced by increased efficiency of production.

From 1952 to 1955, Department of Agriculture studies show hourly earnings in dairy products industries in the United States rose 15 percent, and labor costs of fluid milk handlers rose 7 percent per unit of product. During the same period hourly earnings of farm operator and family labor on northeast dairy farms rose 23 percent, but the increased labor productivity on these farms reduced the labor cost per unit of output nearly 2 percent.

Dairy farmers have set a pace that challenges the marketing segment of the industry. It is an inspiring experience to see that challenge taken up as you here have done. There is no point in calling the race off just because dairy farm production has taken a spurt not equaled by marketing. The marketing process hasn't reached its finish line—there is plenty of room for increased sales and for marketing efficiency.

There is a growing market for the dairy industry of the United States in the bumper crop of babies arriving each year and the longer life span that we can anticipate today. The population of the United States is increasing at the rate of 3 million persons each year. This alone provides an additional out-

let for 2 billion pounds of milk each year at present per capita rates of consumption.

THE CONSUMPTION POTENTIAL IS GREAT

There is no good reason why the dairy industry must reconcile itself to present levels of consumption per capita. Look at the levels of consumption in other countries. Consumption per person in the United States of all dairy products in 1955 was less than half the level of consumption in Ireland and Finland. The United States ranked 15 among 17 reporting countries. By major dairy products, the United States ranked 8th in fluid milk consumption per person, 15th in butter consumption, and 11th in cheese consumption. We hold only two first ranks. These are in per capita consumption of evaporated and dried milk, both relatively small items when compared with the three major products.

These figures refute the notion that we have reached some maximum of appetite for dairy products. The lag in consumption can't be due to income. We are the most prosperous country in the world and we are reaching new peaks of personal income each year.

The conditions for merchandising are excellent. The difficulty is that conditions are excellent for marketing just about everything today. When the housewife goes to the supermarket today she is not only attracted by hundreds of presliced, prepackaged, precooked, and precleaned items of produce, all ready for the dinner table, she can also purchase there the tablecloth, cooking pots and dishes for serving the meal. In that same supermarket she can also buy flowers for the table, drug supplies, and a new pair of hose.

To compete with all this array, either at the store or delivered to the home, takes continuous selling. There is no reason for dairy products to lose popularity to a better product or to a changing fashion fancy. Merchandising dairy products must keep the consumer convinced that "Dairy products are better products" and that dairy products do in fact consitute a "good buy."

YOUR PROGRAM IS GETTING RESULTS

Progress is being made in merchandising dairy products. Here in New England your stepped up promotional efforts appear to be paying off in increased consumption. Whole milk sales in 1956 to consumers in the five Massachusetts marketing areas where Federal milk orders operate, were 2.6 percent above sales in these areas in 1955. The estimated increase in the population of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was less than 1 percent from July 1, 1955 to July 1, 1956. This indicates that sales per person are increasing in these areas where Vermont dairymen market a large share of their milk. Whole milk sales in the first quarter of 1957 showed another increase in these areas of 2.6 percent over the first quarter of 1956.

The sales promotion programs in these areas appear to be getting results. Some of the increase in whole milk sales can be attributed to the special milk program, but even its use has required some promotion effort. School and welfare authorities have to know the program is available and how to use it.

Nationwide, sales of dairy products are not showing the increases we would like to see. Last year per capita consumption of all dairy products, on a milk equivalent basis, rose only one pound from the previous year. But we can be encouraged by the fact that we have seen an end to the downturn in dairy products consumption which plagued the industry for a number of years.

The one-pound gain in per capita consumption of dairy products last year was due to increased disposals of Government-owned stocks and the special milk program. Commercial disposition per capita dropped slightly below the 1955 level. The commercial market for dairy products has held relatively constant over the past 4 years on a per capita basis, varying only from 677 to 679 pounds per person annually. But prior to 1953 it had been dropping steadily since 1950 for an accumulated loss in 1953 of 7 percent from the 1950 figure. Last year, although per capita consumption of all dairy products rose one pound from the 1955 level, commercial sales dropped two pounds per person from the 1955 figure. The difference was made up from domestic distribution of Government held stocks of dairy products and the expanded special milk program.

YOUR COMPETITORS ARE ON THE BALL

The industry has pulled itself out of a nosedive, but will it be content to coast along on a level plane? We may be sure that merchandisers of other products are not going to coast. Milk producers are not ready to coast. They want to keep expanding production.

It is time now for full teamwork among producers, processors, distributors and Government to push hard for a decided upturn in commercial sales of dairy products. This is a job for aggressive merchandising. But it won't be accomplished with salesmanship alone. We must make gradual but realistic price adjustments as production and marketing efficiencies permit. Dairy products must offer consumers the best buy for their dollar in order to hold their share of the consumers' dollar.

This is a program for the industry. Salesmanship is a job for private enterprise. Government can help through research and aids to marketing, like Market News, Plentiful Foods activities, and the regulation of marketing practices such as through the Federal milk order program. Government can also lend assistance to encourage private enterprise. But it should never take over the lead role. It must always remain the junior member of the partnership.

This job of selling dairy products to consumers, with a goal of further increasing per capita consumption, is no easy task. There is a long period of apathy to overcome. The long crutch of a Government guaranteed market has tended to soften selling efforts. Moreover, we are living in a highly competitive economy. New products and new marketing methods are with us each day.

It will take cooperation from all segments of the dairy industry to bring about a real upturn in per capita consumption. The combined strength and ingenuity represented in this great industry must be equal to the task.

By pulling together as you are doing in this June dairy month promotion program, continued teamwork will make possible the kind of progress we need. This sort of teamwork is our golden key to opportunity.

The Primrose Path

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 16, 1957

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the drift of our Government over many years toward centralization and socialism is of continuing concern to many American citizens. No finer expression of the American way as opposed to this alien foreign philosophy of socialism can be found, to my knowledge, than the following statement by Mr. W. G. Vollmer, president of the Texas & Pacific Railway Co. of Dallas, Tex., entitled, "The Primrose Path." Under unanimous consent I am including it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of those colleagues and American citizens who have not read it and who may benefit from it:

THE PRIMROSE PATH

(By W. G. Vollmer)

The concept of national economic planning for the people's welfare had its inception in the twenties, long before World War II or the Korean conflict. Since that time it has gained steadily in strength, in scope, and in adherents.

In the turbulent and tortuous history of nations the principle of economic planning is nothing new. It is the very keystone of communism, just as it was of nazism and fascism.

When any government takes over the peacetime planning of the economic affairs of its people it becomes also the high executioner of individual freedom and opportunity.

In the drafting of the Constitution our Founding Fathers must have recognized the inherent evil of national economic planning for they made no provision for such Government activities. As a matter of fact, many of them fled their native countries to escape the serfdom which such planning imposed.

In times of peace no economic plan of the Federal Government is worth the paper it is written on unless it is supported with the power of execution. And the power of execution carries with it the power to control individual action and to destroy individual freedom.

PLANNED ECONOMY

A planned economy by a central government means precisely what the word "planned" implies.

It means that the Federal Government assumes the right of exercising control over certain phases of the economic affairs of the people. Governmental officials and bureaucrats decide what they conceive to be good for the people and then issue orders telling them what they can and cannot do.

Our farm program is a case in point. The once rugged and independent farmers have surrendered a considerable measure of their freedom of action upon the altar of artificial security disguised as a fair return for their products.

The farmers now plant whatever crops the Government decides upon. And they also market their products in a manner carefully prescribed and rigidly administered by the Government.

The farm program is but one segment of our national economy which has given way to national planning. Numerous programs directly influence in various ways the supply and the price of food and clothing, while controls of one form or another are exercised over employment and wages.

IN TIMES OF PEACE

In times of peace if we accept the principle that the Federal Government possesses the right to plan any segment of our economic welfare, then we must be prepared to relinquish the right to a segment of our individual freedom.

We cannot have both. Any disposition to temporize or compromise the principles of freedom merely strengthens socialistic planning.

Every real American has within his heart a sincere desire to see everyone properly fed and clothed, educated, and sheltered, employed at good wages, secure in his job, in his health, and in his old age.

There is a wide difference of opinion, however, as to how all of these things can be obtained. Some people look to the Government to provide them, which means they expect the Government to produce an economic miracle.

It cannot be done that way. The Government itself produces nothing. It is the people who produce the goods and services that make life richer, more comfortable, and more enjoyable.

The only way to provide more things for more people is for the people themselves to produce more. The solution thus rests with the people, not the Government.

DISTRIBUTING INCOME

In times of peace the national planners of our Nation have supported and advocated the principle that the Government, when vested with the power to distribute income and productivity, can bring about an improvement in the material welfare of all the people. This is economic nonsense, for the more the Government provides, the more it impoverishes the people through increased taxation.

It is the belief of those who still subscribe to our constitutional democracy, and thus often are accused of being reactionaries, that it is the responsibility and the right of the individual to produce according to his capacity and to consume or dispose of what he produces according to his own judgment, provided he respects the similar rights of others.

The Constitution does not say that the Federal Government, acting in the capacity of an economic planner, shall promote the welfare of one person at the expense of another.

Nor does the Constitution provide that the Federal Government has the power to capture through taxation a portion of a person's income and then distribute it, in the form of grants-in-aid, to others.

A government which promotes and practices in times of peace, through taxation and national economic planning, the distribution of the Nation's income and productivity ceases to be a defender of equality and justice and of the rights and property of the people. It becomes, instead, a government dedicated to taking the earnings of one person and giving it to another without any regard to the desires or wishes of the earner.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGES

Those who contend that the Government of the United States owes a living to any citizen, or group of citizens, or that it should provide special privileges and benefits to various communities, are contributing to the destruction of freedom of action and of opportunity.

Those who contend that Federal economic planning is superior to that of individual planning are advocating the supremacy of the state over man.

Those who contend that the Government should engage in national economic planning are advocates of a share-the-wealth principle. This principle is predicated upon the false assumption that private saving is a sign of greed, and that the accumulation of wealth is a sign of selfishness. As these are sacred rights, the Government should never use its power in times of peace to seize the fruits of one person's labor and distribute them among those whom the Government deems worthy of its benevolence and its bounties.

Those who contend that the Federal Government should provide man's material welfare overlook the vital fact that the only security any person can have lies within himself.

Unless man is free to act as an individual * * * free to be productive in his own behalf * * * free to determine what part of his production he will consume and how much he will save * * * and free to protect his savings and his property, he will have neither freedom nor security.

GOODS AND SERVICES

It should be repeated over and over again that the Federal Government cannot provide the people either with goods or services, or with real security.

The Government cannot make people rich. But it can make the rich poor by taxing away their substance and by stifling their initiative and their incentive to work, to produce, and to save.

The only thing the Government can distribute evenly is poverty and enslavement. These things are achieved through excessive taxation and regimentation, both of which are the principal tools of all economic planners.

It is worth recalling what the great Greek writer, Plutarch, who lived nearly 1900 years ago, had to say about benevolent governments. He made this observation:

"The real destroyer of the liberties of the people is he who spreads among them bounties, donations and benefits."

All economic planners should heed that great truth before the principles of our constitutional democracy have been weakened and made important. The people of the Nation also should heed it.

BY THEIR VOTE

By their voice and by their vote, the people should insist that our Federal Government cease the distribution of bounties, donations and benefits. And the people themselves should cease demanding such costly gratuities.

The people should remind themselves and their public servants that the demands upon the Government for aid and assistance encourage and strengthen the hands of the planners. And that these demands constantly add to the cost of living.

It is indeed a strange phenomenon of reasoning upon the part of businessmen and others, when they literally demand that their own money be used by the Members of Congress to bribe them with bounties and benefits disguised as Federal aids and grants.

It is alarming when you realize that the average Member of Congress oftentimes is judged by the amount of so-called Federal money he obtains for community and regional projects rather than for his ability to contribute to the welfare of the Nation.

Encouraged by the disciples of national economic planning and by the apostles of government bounties, the people are turning more and more from the principles of self-reliance to that of dependence upon the Government. They are being led along a primrose path to a mirage of easy money and easy living. But what this primrose path actually leads to is an ever-increasing measure of taxation, regimentation and controls.

DEMANDS FOR MORE

In short, a great many people, through the pressue of their demands, are contributing to the establishment of a state of national socialism which will be presided over by a government vested with the power to tax, to distribute, and to control.

Even though we talk volubly against Federal aid and assistance, it does not appear that the people either despise or resist it.

There has been no real opposition to the numerous inland waterway projects throughout the Nation which annually eat up millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money.

There has been little public opposition to the Government's housing program.

There has been little opposition to the millions of dollars spent annually by the Government to subsidize in one form or another commercial airlines, trucks, buses, and inland water carriers.

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

It is time we ask ourselves a few soul-searching questions.

Are we as a people turning away from our constitutional democracy toward national socialism, disguised as benevolent economic planning?

Are we as a people turning our backs upon our system of free, competitive enterprise, a system which enables us today, with only 6 percent of the world's population, to produce industrially more than all of the rest in the world combined?

Some of us may deny this, but our actions belie our words. The mute record of our deeds stands as convincing evidence against our protests of innocence.

Socialistic economic planning can be effectively promoted by constantly increasing the number of people on the public payroll, as well as by deceiving the people into believing that the Government is better able to provide the basic needs of life than are the people themselves.

Under our free competitive enterprise system we have amassed the greatest productive power the world ever has known. No planned economy even remotely approaches what we have achieved under our constitutional democracy of freedom of action and opportunity.

We should solemnly pledge ourselves to support and promote this constitutional form of government handed down to us by our Founding Fathers.

HELPFUL SUGGESTIONS

Here are a few suggestions which I think will be helpful in preserving our freedom:

1. We should start matching our words and deeds if we are sincere about preserving our free, competitive enterprise system.
2. We should resist the temptation to demand and accept Federal funds for local and regional projects.
3. We should stop demanding more Government services and benefits.
4. We should oppose socialistic schemes disguised as Government aids, no matter how attractive they may be.
5. We should depend upon our own resources to provide local and community needs rather than upon the Federal Government.
6. We should recognize that the bounties and benefits received from the Federal Government come out of our personal incomes, and that the Government is simply being generous with our money.
7. We should assign ourselves the task of telling our associates and employees that the greatest volume of goods and services for the greatest number has come from our own free, competitive enterprise system.
8. We should tell our friends, neighbors, and fellow workers that a planned economy is a socialistic economy, and that it destroys freedom of action and opportunity.
9. We should support economy in Government, even if it affects pet projects in our own community.
10. We should recognize that there is no primrose path to easy money or to a more abundant life.

Retirement of Frank E. Andrews, Regional Engineer, United States Bureau of Public Roads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, faithful career Government employees have played a vital part in the development of our Nation, and particularly of the American West. Such a person is

Frank E. Andrews, who retired on June 1 as regional engineer of the United States Bureau of Public Roads in my home city of Portland, Oreg.

I had an opportunity to see some of Mr. Andrews' able and skillful work at close hand when he was in charge of civilian construction on the great Alcan Highway project during World War II, and I was stationed at Whitehorse, in the Yukon Territory, as aide-de-camp to Gen. James A. O'Connor, of the United States Army Corps of Engineers.

In tribute to Mr. Andrews upon his retirement, an excellent summary of his career appeared in the Oregonian of June 1, 1957.

I join in congratulations to Frank E. Andrews and his wife, Naomi, and ask unanimous consent that the Oregonian article be printed in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROADS POST VACATED—ANDREWS RETIRES AS UNITED STATES ENGINEER

Forty-three years of highway construction was laid aside Friday night when Frank E. Andrews, 70, retired from the position of regional engineer of the United States Bureau of Public Roads in Portland.

But for Andrews, it may not be the end of his highway work. He is seriously considering an overseas position where he would be able to pack in 2 more years of highway building in southeast Asia.

Meanwhile, he expects to catch up on home gardening, golf, and visiting with his daughter and grandchildren in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Andrews joined the Bureau of Public Roads in April 1919, shortly after he was discharged from the World War I Army. He was born in Deming, N. Mex., May 16, 1887, was educated in Colton, Calif., at Stanford University and University of Oregon extension department. His first engineering was for a railroad in New Mexico and his first roadbuilding was in San Bernardino County, Calif.

FIRST JOB PAID WELL

Andrews' initial assignment with the Bureau of Public Roads was as resident engineer on the construction of the Mt. Hood Loop Highway, where no road existed and travel had been by foot or horseback.

His first highway job paid off well. He met Naomi C. Faubion, daughter of a pioneer family, and married her.

Then came assignments in Montana, and back to Portland, and finally to Alaska and the Yukon country where he was in charge of location and construction of the westerly 850 miles of the Alcan Highway during World War II. This big job brought him a staff of 600 engineers and assistants, and the engineers had to match wits with the seething tundra, which alternately froze and thawed, causing no end of trouble for the roadbuilders.

Andrews returned to Portland in 1943 as principal assistant to W. H. Lynch, division engineer, and when Lynch retired in 1953, Andrews succeeded him, later becoming regional engineer with authority over Federal highway building in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Alaska. Alaska was taken away from him January 1, 1957, when a new regional office was created for the Territory.

ANDREWS NOTES PROGRESS

During his many years in the bureau, Andrews recalled, he has helped plan and build many units of the Oregon coast, Pacific, Columbia River, North and South Santiam Highways in Oregon, others in Washington, Idaho, and Montana.

"When I compare the modern freeway with its control of access and other safety and travel ease characteristics with the highways of even the 1930's, I realize just how far the science of highway engineering and the construction equipment techniques have come," he said. "It has been most gratifying to have had a role in that progress."

Andrews announced his successor in Portland will be Baird M. French, now the district engineer at Phoenix, Ariz., who is expected to arrive here about July 1 to assume the position, with offices in the Morgan building.

Mr. and Mrs. Andrews reside at 2641 NE. 44th Avenue.

Dumping of the Soil Bunk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, one of our leading weekly newspapers in Minnesota is the Triumph-Monterey Progress. Its editors, Phyllis and Gordon Spielman, have a keen insight into the needs of our agricultural economy. I call to the attention of Senators a recent editorial entitled "Dumping of the Soil Bunk." This editorial should be read with care and study. The editor has put the finger on the central weakness of the soil bank, namely the manner in which it has been administered. It is time for the United States Senate to make a full scale investigation into the operation of the soil bank.

This program can be of help to agriculture. America needs an expanded soil conservation program. Such a program need not be a heavy burden on the taxpayers. It can be reasonable in cost and effective in purposes.

It is with deep regret that one must note that the soil bank as presently administered is a cause of concern and doubt in the minds of Members of Congress as well as farmers themselves.

I pay tribute to Mr. and Mrs. Spielman for this fine editorial. Again from out in the country in rural Minnesota comes the kind of clear thinking and high level and understandable conclusions that this Congress needs.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DUMPING OF THE SOIL BUNK

When the House of Representatives dumped the soil-bank program, it was more a reaction against Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson's administration of the soil bank, rather than either an attempt to cut the budget or opposition to the soil-bank principle.

Under Benson's misadministration of the United States Department of Agriculture, the program became known as the "soil bunk" and was used for every purpose but for which it was intended—to cut down surpluses. It must be remembered that Benson initially opposed the soil-bank idea when it was advocated by farm-belt Congressmen, then pulled a switch in time for the 1956 election campaign.

Under Benson, the program became a substitute for hail and flood insurance, and a political catchall intended to snare votes from farmers who were beginning to desert Ike.

As either a conservation practice or an attempt to cut surpluses, the soil bank as operated by Benson was a complete flop. There were far fewer acres left uncultivated under the soil bank than under the old ACP, and the cost was three times as high. In addition to this, charges of a windfall are somewhat justified in that a number of huge corporation-type farms benefited most. For example, the 11 largest recipents of soil-bank checks received a total of nearly half a million dollars.

All these abuses, however, do not mean that a soil bank properly administered would not be a good thing, both to protect the farmland, and to cut surpluses.

What is needed, first of all is a new Secretary of Agriculture sympathetic to the needs of the farmers. Then a fair price-support program is urgent. Allotments should be based on tillable acres, not on the ridiculous historical experience that is now used. With proper supports and a realistic allotment basis, participation in a soil-bank program would be feasible for nearly all farmers.

Tight Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, there is now much discussion throughout the Nation concerning what is called tight money. The discussion even relates to the credit of the United States. This is a subject which should have the very careful and deep consideration of all Americans.

A very good article on this question, entitled "Officials Deride Treasury Crisis," written by Edwin L. Dale, Jr., was published in the New York Times of June 2, 1957. I ask unanimous consent that the article may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFFICIALS DERIDE TREASURY CRISIS—THEY CONCEDE PROBLEMS IN REFINANCING THE DEBT IN A TIGHT MARKET—UNITED STATES CREDIT STILL GOOD—DRAWBACK IS THAT FREQUENT BORROWING FROM BANKS ENLARGES MONEY SUPPLY

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, June 1.—Top officials of the Treasury are more amused than annoyed by recent reports of a "crisis" in Government finances. They insist—and produce evidence to prove it—that there is nothing, like a crisis.

But they concede that conditions in the money market are creating problems in managing the national debt—problems that have not been mentioned in most of the crisis articles.

The financing problem is of particular interest now because of the impending change in the top leadership of the Treasury

Secretary George M. Humphrey has resigned, to be replaced by Robert B. Anderson.

SELF-IMPOSED SQUEEZE

The Treasury's problems, to the extent that they exist, arise from the self-same tight money policy of the Federal Reserve System that the Tresury under Mr. Humphrey has always supported. Counting the allegations that have been made, difficulties are of these kinds:

A problem of raising enough cash to run the Government. The charge of crisis here is based mainly on a recent financing operation in which holders of more than one-fourth, or $1,200,000,000, of a maturing issue demanded cash rather than a replacement issue in exchange, even though the replacement issue carried exceptionally high interest rates. This drained the Treasury's cash balance.

In the terms stated, this is not a problem at all. The Treasury can always borrow all the cash it needs. A few weeks after the heavy—and pretty much expected—attrition mentioned above, the Treasury easily raised $1,500,000,000 in new cash. Bids for the issue were more than double the amount the Treasury wanted to raise.

The problem of paying ever-higher interest rates, with a resulting higher budget expenditure for interest on the national debt.

PRICE ACCEPTED

This is a fact but, as Mr. Humphrey and his Under Secretary, Randolph Burgess, saw it, is not properly described as a serious problem. They have made it plain all along that they are perfectly willing to pay the price, in the form of higher interest rates, for a policy of credit restraint that they deem essential to keep inflationary pressure from running away.

Because only about one-fourth of the debt matures each year and must be refinanced, the effect of higher interest rates on the budget has not been as dramatic as might be expected. Nonetheless, over President Eisenhower's entire term, the rise in rates has added almost $500 million to the annual cost of carrying the debt, or about 8 percent. The rest of the increase has come about because the size of the debt has grown a little.

A setback in the Treasury's effort to stretch out the debt into longer-term issues, with a consequent increase in the frequency of trips to the money market, again due to tight-money conditions.

This is both a fact and a problem, but it is not considered a matter of great seriousness. In brief, Mr. Humphrey and Mr. Burgess do not have quite the same enthusiasm today for stretching the debt as they had when they took office. They feel that they had overlooked somewhat the great need of the Nation's money mechanism for an adequate supply of short-term Treasury securities.

They are not happy, however, about increasing the frequency of their financing operations, because these operations tend to upset somewhat the efforts of the Federal Reserve to keep an even degree of tension in the money market.

The problem of where the money is being borrowed—from the banking system or from nonbank investors.

Here, at last, comes the true problem as they see it. Other things being equal, Treasury borrowing from banks tends to be inflationary because it fosters "creation" of new money. And the Treasury has been forced to turn to the banks more than it would have liked.

The reason is the impact of the present level of interest rates on some almost forgotten securities, called F and G bonds, that were sold during World War II.

At the present level of interest rates on other types of investment, holders of these bonds have been cashing them in to invest their money at a better yield. The resulting cash drain on the Treasury, augmenting the aforementioned attrition and several other factors, has forced the Treasury to sell short-term securities to the banks to raise cash.

The situation has not been as bad as it might have been. For various technical reasons, the Nation's money supply has not increased by as much as the Treasury's operations might have indicated. None the less, this Treasury operation has more or less forced the Federal Reserve to pump up the lending capacity of the banks somewhat more than it would have liked.

Thus to some extent, the recent Treasury debt management operations have worked at cross purposes with the Federal Reserve's effort to curb an inflation that is now the greatest single economic preoccupation of the Government.

Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an editorial which recently appeared in the Mount Vernon (Ohio) News, relative to our fellow Ohioan, our able Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey.

This editorial, expresses the views of the people it is my honor to represent. At least, I am sure, it represents the views of those who know George Humphrey or are familiar with his record.

We, in Ohio, are very proud of George Humphrey, Mrs. Humphrey, and the entire family. They have done much to bring praise and glory to our State. Their record in public life, and their unselfishness, will go down in the history of our Nation as one which exemplifies the spirit of willingness to help their fellow man and further the principles that have made our country great:

LEAVES FINE RECORD

President Eisenhower is not only losing an able Secretary of the Treasury in the resignation of George M. Humphrey, of Ohio—the effective date of which has not been determined.

He is also losing a valued adviser and a close personal friend.

That Humphrey was an able Secretary of the Treasury there can be no question. Some have said he is one of the best the country ever had.

In addition to his Treasury duties, Humphrey has been one of the most influential advisers to the President, and the two, with their wives, have been on intimate social relations.

Humphrey was a member of the original Eisenhower Cabinet.

He gave up an income of some $300,000 a year to take the Government position at $22,500 a year as he considered Mr. Eisenhower's policies a call to public service.

He resigned from offices in the M. A. Hanna Co., Pittsburgh Consolidated Coal Co., National Steel Corp., Industrial Rayon Corp., and Iron Ore of Canada and as director of a number of other corporations to do what he could to help steer the Eisenhower policies to a successful conclusion.

Thus every day he served in the Cabinet he did so at tremendous personal financial disadvantage. There was never any indication, however, that he regretted he had cut loose from his great industrial holdings and had turned his talents to a career in Government.

Humphrey can be replaced as Secretary of the Treasury—no man is indispensable; if that were true the world would have gone to pot long ago.

But he set such high standards of conduct in public office that his shoes will be hard to fill.

In going out, however, he has the satisfaction of knowing he is leaving such a fine record behind him; one which others in Government might well emulate to the benefit of themselves, the Government and the people.

Address by Hon. James A. Farley, 11th Annual Varsity-SJ Dinner, Long Island Division of St. John's University, Jamaica, N. Y., May 29, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. DELANEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following address given by the Honorable James A. Farley at the 11th annual varsity-SJ dinner of St. John's University on May 29, 1957.

I agree with Mr. Farley that greater active participation in sports by the youth of our country would not only be beneficial to health, but would help in the development of qualities which make for good citizenship:

I am honored to have a part in the 11th annual varsity-SJ dinner, honoring the athletes who have represented St. John's in baseball, basketball, bowling, cross-country, golf, rifle, tennis and track. As I look about me I am moved to wonder. Most of what I see here was accomplished in my lifetime. When St. John's University was founded in 1870 its total assets consisted of a small farmhouse, 40 students and a faculty of 5 Vincentian fathers, whose assets were courage and vision rather than capital. But courage and vision paid off in the field of learning just as they have on the field of play. Today St. John's enrollment is more than 8,000 men and women. The university is an integral part of a community which counts upon the wisdom and genius of its graduates to further its business, industry and culture.

Tonight we are honoring more than twice the total of the 40 students of 1870 as knights of good sportsmanship. Each of these men played his game for all there was in it. Each learned to obey the rules of his game. Each was dedicated to loyalty—loyalty to his school, loyalty to his team and loyalty to his coaches. Each learned the joy of victory—the satisfaction of a task well done. Finally, each learned the hardest lesson of all—to be a good loser—to accept defeat without excuses and without criticism, but with the high resolve to do better the next time.

While this night belongs primarily to each of you who contested so proudly and so well

under the red and white of your alma mater, it is not your accomplishment alone. While no one would detract from the solemn pride that is yours for having striven so valiantly on various fields yet, I am sure, each of you recognizes the debt you owe to your good parents and to your coaches and teachers, all of whom have joined in preparing you for the best use of your lives so as to attain and to help others to attain the sublime end, under God, for which man was created.

As I stand before you I am moved to humility. It was not my good fortune to attend college. Life has brought me many honors, including some 18 honorary degrees. I would gladly exchange them all for one such letter as you men are receiving tonight and for one degree such as you are all earning by your pleasant and profitable attendance in the many classrooms of this now extensive institution.

While I was not privileged to strive for any alma mater, I feel I can understand your joys and woes because sports were and still are one of my great loves. Although time has long since relegated me to the spectator class, I have always fancied myself as something of a ballplayer. I started at an age when my fingers were scarcely able to grasp the ball. I enjoyed the usual succession of neighborhood and schoolboy nines. Later, when I was grown, I made the team—the Alphas, which represented Grassy Point, N. Y. You will not find the team or its first baseman in the record books, although one of my proudest possessions is a fading newspaper, which carries the banner sports headline, "Farley's double clears the bases."

In those days I considered myself quite a performer. Looking back now, I must confess, I am not so sure. I was paid the astronomical sum of $5 a game in days when $2 or $3 was the customary rate. Now, I am not so sure I was worth it. I was tall and could do a fair job of covering the bag. I was a fair hitter and, because of my size, could give the ball a ride when I connected. But I wasn't very fast and I hated to slide. Because of my height, the fans nicknamed me "Stretch"—that was long before people generally learned my name is Jim.

Ah, well, I am not here to sigh over doubtful glories of my playing days. He also serves who stands and cheers. Unhappily, we have too many persons in the stands and too few on the field of play. Rooters are not confined largely to persons, like myself, limited to such participation by the inexorable course of time, but by those who elect to so limit their participation through lacking confidence in their own worth or, even worse, be refusing to try. To judge by the amount of space devoted to sports in our newspapers, one would imagine we were the greatest Nation of athletes in the world. One would think that we were the greatest Nation of participants in outdoor sports in the world. The cold fact is that most of us get our exercise by reading the sport pages and that comparatively few of us turn out even to stand and cheer, let alone play.

Some of us are not very good sports when it comes to cheering. A fan who couldn't catch an easy pop fly roars his abuse at a fielder who muffs a vicious grounder. A spectator, who couldn't punch his way out of a wet paper bag, will scream "yellow" at a game fighter trying his best to drive weary muscles against a superior opponent. This unsportsmanlike conduct is unfortunately not confined to those who follow professional athletes. It is found on our college campuses. Many students will not support a team that is not winning, when perhaps the one thing that the team needs is the confidence of the school. Many students will knock a coach who is doing his best to build a team into shape during a short season.

It is most unhappy that so many in our colleges confine their participation in sports to buying tickets and to rooting. God has given most of our youth bodies sufficiently strong or capable of being developed to the strength demanded by competition. What is needed is the development of perseverance which will train bodies to their best efforts. Minds must be trained in the spirit of fair play, which is the moral essential of a truly great athlete. If the Nation strives to develop young bodies and train young minds in perseverance there is little reason why most of our young should not be athletes.

They cannot all be great athletes, but it is important that they learn to play the game not only for themselves but for their country. Millions of dollars are spent by our colleges each year on college athletics, yet only a small fraction of all college students take any active part in athetics. We all remember, I am sure, the musing of Thomas Gray, the great poet, on the fact that the graves in the quiet country churchyard might hide some mute inglorious Milton or some Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood. Who can tell how many Walter Johnsons, Jim Thorpes, or Red Granges have by their own election hid the glories that might have been theirs and their colleges by not choosing or by not daring to try?

In these days of international trial, play is not only one of man's greatest privileges, but one of his most important rights. It is part of man's right to pursue happiness. In all earnestness I call for infusion in all of our schools of the spirit of play in all our students. I call for taking students out of the bleachers and putting them on the field of play. This will not only enable them better to play the game of life but it may enable us better to survive as a nation.

I need not remind you that today we are engaged in a great struggle between the forces of freedom and the forces of totalitarianism. In that struggle between good and evil everything has been mobilized, even sport. Play has become an ideological weapon as well as a conditioner. You have all doubtless been shocked, as I have been, by the statistics on the proportion of American youths rejected as unfit for military service. I am confident that if these youths had elected to contest on the playing fields the proportion of the rejected would be much lower. There is still time to improve our proportion of physically fit young men, if we can but persuade them to play the game and not merely look on. It is not essential that we become a nation of professional athletes but vital that we become a nation of as nearly physically fit men and women as play can make us.

Sports became a weapon in the fateful contest between East and West in the last Olympics. The games are over and we lost. It is easy enough to say we won most of the important events and lost because the unofficial point system took into account events in which we did not offer competition. In Soviet Russia all talents in all sports were recruited and trained most intensively. There was totalitarian mobilization of muscles so that the Soviets might proclaim their way of life superior in play as well as in politics. Against this systematic mobilization, we offered our traditional heritage of individual enterprise. Where we contested we were, for the most part, superior, but we did not offer competition in fields which might have helped empty our bleachers and bring to light new American energies.

There is no need for explanation, excuses, or criticism. The 1956 olympics are over and done with. The 1960 olympics are on their way. At the next olympics nothing on earth should stop us, if we can get all our youth into the games. All we need do is to recognize the importance of getting into the game. Once in, we can handle ourselves with dignity and skill. There is no doubt now of the good in athletics. Certainly then, every student should be accorded every opportunity to get all the good he can out of athletics since they are so intertwined with the survival of our way of life.

In our contests on the field of play we have learned never to underestimate the strength of a foe. Today we are locked in a deadly struggle with an enemy who does not play the game by any rules except to win by fair means or foul. This enemy has extended its territory and influence by gorging on free peoples and free territory. This does not mean that we should abandon traditions of fair play in which we have been steeped for generations. We must not and we will not stoop to deceit and trickery, no matter how great the pressures put upon us by a godless enemy. As long as we have the saving graces of morality and dedication to God we will play the game by the rules of decency and so long as we cleave to the rigid letter of the rules we can be confident we will win. Those who debase the rules debase themselves and put off victory.

In our contest with a terrible enemy our strongest supports are liberty and freedom. In a darkened world it is more difficult to keep alive liberty than it was in the days of our Founding Fathers. The strains of our time are being exerted upon liberty and freedom. We need not despair of keeping them so long as both are rooted in faith, which you are being taught here and in fair play which you have learned here. So long as we stand rooted in faith, so long as we fight the good fight fairly, so long shall we endure free. And by faith and fair play we will triumph in the conflict with darkness to bring freedom and liberty and justice to all nations and to all men.

Address by Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts, Before Graduating Marine Lieutenants of the Basic School at Quantico, Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, on May 11, the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts, LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, addressed the graduating Marine lieutenants of the basic school at Quantico, Va. Because he is the ranking minority member of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, his opinions regarding our Defense Establishment are particularly worthy of note. Unanimous consent is requested to insert at this point in the RECORD excerpts from his speech of May 11:

In our new role of world leadership among the free nations, the United States cannot follow the easy road of expediency but must always follow the sometimes hard road of keeping to our word.

We helped to establish the United Nations and we are firmly and irrevocably committed to abide by its charter. Sometimes we find ourselves confronted with the bitter choice of keeping our promises under that charter and taking actions which appear in the short run to be against our friends.

Such was the case in Hungary and again in Egypt. Here the leaders of our country had to make trying decisions but in each case the decision was that we should keep our word. Future generations will determine

whether the courses we followed were right or wrong but it is my firm conviction that it is never wrong to stand by solmn promises. This applies to a nation as well as an individual. We want to live up to our word as we have in the past, and this is even more important to us now as leaders of the free nations of the world so that we can inspire the confidence of others in us.

We must also make other important decisions. We must remain strong and powerful in our armed services and in our economy. We must make the determinations as to just what our force levels should be and how much of our national productivity should be expended for our national defense. We must continue to develop new weapons for defense and retaliation and we must maintain and most modern military doctrines. Overall, we must be alert and imaginative as well as realistic and practical.

Marine Corps officers must be prepared to be first-line diplomats as well as frontline soldiers.

They must demonstrate to the world the high integrity and good character of American citizens. The time has passed when our military officers can consider their qualifications complete when they attain technical and military proficiency. Today our officers all over the world represent symbols of the American way of life. On you rests the great responsibility of demonstrating to people in foreign lands wherever you may be the qualities of Americanism and the traditions of our heritage of which we are so justly proud.

You have reason to be proud of your corps and of the school from which you have today graduated. These schools at Quantico have had the distinction in modern military history of being among the outstanding doctrinal leaders in new military concepts. After the disastrous defeat of the British amphibious landing force at Gallipoli in the First World War, military strategists discarded the amphibious attack. The Marine Corps nonetheless persisted in its beliefs in a balanced fleet and through the bleak thirties developed the successful amphibious doctrine which was ultimately responsible for our victory in the Pacific during World War II.

Your own commander after the Second World War inspired the development of another new concept—the vertical envelopment, an amphibious assault tailored to an atomic era. Gen. Merrill B. Twining has been imaginative and vigorous in his development of new military concepts for our Navy and Marine Corps. He has indeed recognized the unique function of the marines when in a Navy Day address he said, "The United States Fleet, in the form it exists today, is just such a force (versatile, highly mobile force in being), and is tailored to the exact requirements. Its flexibility enables it to meet nearly any situation. An occupation, a brush fire war, a nonatomic war in a Communist controlled satellite area, or a major assault on the enemy's homeland—all these require varying degrees of military force, nicely graduated to fill the gap between scattering leaflets and dropping hydrogen bombs."

The Marine Corps, unique among military organizations as an integrated, coordinated military team, is an important part of our Nation's balanced military defense concept.

The Marine Corps has throughout its history and does today represent a mobile force in readiness. We hope that we will not have to use our forces. We do not start wars. But if they start one, we have mobile fleet marine forces which are always ready.

The United States Marine Corps has traditionally stood as a symbol to the world of American determination to resist aggression and tyranny, whether by Barbary pirates on the shores of Tripoli or Communists in Korea.

You can be proud of this tradition. You can be proud to be marines.

New Playlands in the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the excellent article by Mr. C. E. Wright, which appeared in a recent issue of the New York Times under the heading "New Playlands in the South," which refers to the Jim Woodruff Dam and surrounding areas located at the confluence of the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers.

Mr. Wright's article follows:

NEW PLAYLANDS IN THE SOUTH—TRI-STATE SPORTS AREAS WILL BE DEVELOPED NEAR DAM SITE

(By C. E. Wright)

CHATTAHOOCHEE, FLA.—The $64 million Jim Woodruff Dam here at the confluence of the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers, one of the largest, south of Tennessee, is something of a sightseer's objective. In coming years it is likely to become a major tourist attraction in these parts, for large recreational areas adjoining the dam and its big reservoir are to be opened to the public.

The new mile-long structure is right on the Georgia-Florida boundary line, northwest of Tallahassee and about 22 miles from the southwest tip of Alabama. Recreational areas will be established in all three States. The reservoir, which extends into Georgia for about 24 miles up the Chattahoochee and 29 miles up the Flint River, provides a new water area of 37,000 acres and a shoreline of 243 miles.

Plans have been made for coordinated and comprehensive development of the damsite area to include access roads, parking spaces and boat-launching ramps, while State, county, and municipal agencies are developing park areas for such recreational activities as fishing, boating, and bathing.

THE RIVERS

The Chattahoochee rises in the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains in northwest Georgia, passes within 12 miles of Atlanta and for a part of its length forms the border between Georgia and Alabama. The Flint River also rises in Georgia not far from Atlanta.

The Apalachicola River, formed at the confluence of the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers, is a picturesque stream running south from here to the Gulf of Mexico near the little city of Apalachicola, where most of the Florida oysters are harvested.

Other dams scheduled for completion by 1962 will provide navigation of the Chattahoochee as far north as Columbus, Ga. Eventually, perhaps, a channel will extend almost to the limits of Atlanta, making that city an inland port with water egress to the Gulf of Mexico via the Chattahoochee and the Apalachicola Rivers. At the moment, however, this is just a dream for the future.

For the present, boating enthusiasts can use portions of the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers as well as the reservoir and can navigate the Apalachicola River to the gulf. Passage around the Jim Woodruff Dam is provided by a 450-foot long, 82-foot-wide navigation lock with a 33-foot lift.

The Army's Corps of Engineers, which has been at work on the dam for 10 years, is providing the major portion of the recreational developments in the damsite area. State and municipal parks and privately developed areas will provide a large number of recreational spots. The Army engineers have already created 16 boat-landing and launching sites. Two Florida State parks have been designated in Jackson County, on the west side of the reservoir, while Georgia has set aside an area northeast of Chattahoochee on Spring Creek near the Decatur-Seminole County line.

MUNICIPAL PARK

Chattahoochee itself is developing a municipal park on the east shore of the reservoir near the dam. This will include a yacht basin, parking area, picnic area, a sandy beach, and bathing facilities. Sneads, a town in Jackson County, Fla., is also planning a municipal park. In Georgia, a city park and boat landing have been developed at Bainbridge, while Seminole County in that State has plans for a recreation area at Fish Pond Drain, about 20 miles south of Donalsonville, Ga. Decatur County, Ga., has designated two areas for public use.

Altogether, the areas now licensed or planned for public use comprise about 3,000 acres, of which 1,250 are being developed by State agencies, 1,300 by county agencies, and 450 by municipalities. Combined public access and operational use is proposed for 20 strategically situated areas along the reservoir shoreline. These vary in size from 20 to 50 acres.

Eight or ten concession sites are planned at suitable points around the reservoir to provide fishing tackle, bait, rental boats, rental motors, gasoline, light refreshments, and other recreational services. Eventually there will be overnight accommodations and restaurant facilities. Three concession sites were recently leased to commercial concerns for development as boat docks.

When the project was started, the Federal Government acquired 66,000 acres of land for the dam and reservoir, but Congress required that land acquisition be later reviewed so that private owners could reacquire some of the land they gave up. As a result, a number of sites are being returned to private owners. Some of this property will undoubtedly be developed as sites for motels, restaurants and private residences.

For navigation purposes on the reservoir and rivers, main navigation channels have been marked by posts, to be replaced later by permanent buoys. A station for the United States Coast Guard, which will supervise navigation, is being set up at the east end of the dam. As there have already been a number of drownings at the dam site, fishermen and boat operators will be cautioned against the danger of sudden squalls, which can stir up the shallow reservoir into exceptionally rough water, and also to guard against submerged hazards such as logs and stumps and to make certain their boats are in good condition.

PIVOTAL POINT

Chattahoochee, the pivotal point of this new recreational area, is a city of less than 10,000 population situated on U. S. 90, 42 miles northwest of Tallahassee. Gadsden County of which Chattahoochee is one of the principal cities, is almost entirely surrounded by water. The Apalachicola River runs along its west border, the Ochlockonee River forms the east boundary and Lake Talquin lies along the south border.

This area of Florida is much more typical of the Old South than the Florida with which most tourists are familiar. It is more largely agricultural than industrial, and it is not a tourist center. But the completion of the Jim Woodruff dam and reservoir seems likely to change that. Tourists with boating and fishing inclinations are expected to flock to this area within the coming months. Boatmen will find long navigable stretches, including about 100 miles of the Apalachicola River with a 9-foot channel, in addition to the reservoir and sections of the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers, to explore.

Citation to Former President Herbert Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. WALTER STAUFFER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. STAUFFER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks by the President in conjunction with his presentation of a citation to former President Herbert Hoover for distinguished civilian service to the citizens of the United States at the luncheon given by the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., February 4, 1957:

THE WHITE HOUSE.

President Hoover, Mr. Chairman, and my friends, you see, there was some excuse for my question addressed to the chairman because I had been assigned a very specific and succinct part of this program. But I did feel I wanted to express a few personal sentiments with which I hope most of you can agree.

First, my purpose was to pay a great tribute—as great a tribute as I am capable of delivering—to the youthfulness of our guest of honor, Mr. Hoover.

Someone said that any man is young who retains his optimism. And optimism, I believe, is a capacity for looking toward the future with hope and enthusiasm.

Now our guest of honor has shown his optimism twice. He has headed great commissions determined to deliver to us better service in the Government that we must maintain, and at less cost to ourselves. He remains optimistic, or he would not have devoted so many years of his life to this work.

And in his case, I think, there would be a great deal of excuse—at least at times I feel so—for an opposite conclusion.

He spent many years in public service, and I know something of some of the frustrations and difficulties he had during at least 4 years of that service.

He knows what it means to attempt to install new methods, new procedures, in a great hierarchy, in a great bureaucracy.

Now, I would not have any of you think that your public servants in the civil service and in other areas are not good people. Indeed they are. Some of them are extraordinarily intelligent and capable. But they are a very large group that has been accustomed to operate according to certain procedures—certain methods. We do it ourselves, in our daily lives. We become creatures of habit.

I won't venture to remark about the ladies. But I would bet any man here puts the same foot into his trousers first every morning.

In all our daily lives you can find that we fall into habits. Take the one of eating. How many people are in this room, I wonder, whose doctors have not asked them to keep their weight down, but who go on indulging themselves?

The same way in government. We become used to these procedures and practices, and they involve these millions of people. I declare, if you could provide for the Government, through the Bureau of the Budget, a new accounting system, with the utmost expedition and efficiency, it would certainly take you many months before you could reach the last echelon of government. And why not? They will plead: Why, we have blank forms printed for the next 3 years. We will have to retrain our clerks. They have every good reason in the world for not doing this hastily.

Our guest of honor has never lost his enthusiasm for better government through all this kind of thing.

I merely wanted to point out, this is an unusual kind of enthusiasm and leadership, from which all of us benefit.

And may I say that every one of the recommendations submitted by the people—by the leaders of the Hoover Commission, have been the subject of earnest study. They have been monitored within the Government by one of our noted businessmen, Mr. Meyer Kestnbaum, in order to get every one of them implemented as rapidly as possible. I am very sorry to admit that that speed has not been sufficient and all we could ask. But it is progress, and it will continue. That I promise this body, which has worked so hard to bring it about.

And now after that, the real purpose of my coming to this platform to speak: I have been privileged to prepare—to get ready for Mr. Hoover a short citation which I shall now read:

CITATION TO FORMER PRESIDENT HERBERT HOOVER FROM PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

To Herbert Hoover, statesman and citizen, honored in every field of human endeavor: Science, business, government, education, art, charity, I address the Nation's recognition of a crowning achievement.

To a searching examination of the executive branch of the Government, you have freely applied unparalleled knowledge. Inspired by your concern for the whole truth, disciplined by your unremitting insistence on accuracy, united by your respect for majority opinion, your Commissions have wrought incalculable good.

Through your efforts, ours will be a stronger country. In so adding strength to the American Republic, you have added strength to the free world.

We are grateful.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

FEBRUARY 4, 1957.

Mr. HOOVER. Mr. President, fellow members of this Citizens Committee, I have only to express my deep emotion and appreciation for the extraordinary honor which the President has just conferred upon me. And I also want to express to him the appreciation which you have for the constant support that he has given to the work of this body of citizens.

And I have the idea that when he has finished this term, he will certainly merit even a greater tribute than that which has come to me.

For he will have, I hope, a successor of an appreciation of a great national man.

Thank you.

The All-American Family for Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, in the Eighth Congressional District of Florida there is a family of whom I am very proud. I refer to Mr. and Mrs. Stacey Quincey, of Route 1, Trenton, Fla., and their 3 children, James, 21; Horace, 16; and Kathy, 5. I am certainly not alone in my high opinion of this outstanding family, because the Quinceys have recently been named All-American Florida Family, and then tied for third place in the nationwide All-American Family Search. Stacey Quincey is the kind of farmer who is the backbone of my congressional district. He raises corn, peanuts, and watermelons. He and Mrs. Quincey are hard-working, Christian people who typify the finest in American citizenship, and they have raised their children in the same traditions and ideals which they possess.

The oldest child, James, recently left the University of Florida for one semester in order to discharge his duties as a national vice president of the Future Farmers of America. James has achieved national recognition through his FFA work, and is one of the finest, most personable young men that I know. His younger brother, Horace, is coming along in the same path and is already a leader at Trenton High School. The little girl, Kathy, like her mother, is beginning to contribute to the family those priceless feminine qualities and touches which make American family life so meaningful and gracious. I have been well acquainted with this wonderful family for a number of years, and I am sure my pride and happiness almost equaled theirs when the good tidings of their selection became known. As we all know, the family is the foundation unit of our American democracy and is the place where our boys and girls receive the love, training, and encouragement which enables them to grow and progress into fine American citizens. The Quincey family is representative of all the attractive families who can be found on the farms and in the small towns of my district and throughout rural America. They were chosen by a national selection board composed of editors of the Book of Knowledge and members of the national staff of the Boys' Clubs of America, conductors of the All-American Family Search, together with members of the national advisory committee of civic and service leaders and educators from each State. I feel humbly grateful to have people like this living in my district whom I can represent in the National Government. It is with a great deal of pride and pleasure that I can call this family to your attention.

National Park Service Fails To Develop Mount Rainier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I include an editorial appearing in the May 25 issue of the Tacoma News Tribune. It expresses the sentiment of most of the people in the State of Washington.

The editorial follows:

WHO CAN BLAME HIM?

Who can blame our touring Charles B. Welch for being "wroth" with the National Parks Service for its failure to develop Mount Rainier?

How could any red-blooded Washingtonian ride in a funicular rail car up the slope of a mountain half the size of ours and not boil, even at that high altitude, at the way our own Government has disregarded the wishes of our citizens?

As Mr. Welch wrote from Lucerne, "the stupid American bureaucracy that controls our national parks ought to study the Swiss example and profit thereby."

Maybe that particular bureaucracy will be forced to profit from comparisons and advice. The Interior Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, in passing appropriations for the Interior Department, directed the Department to forget about moving Mount Rainier Park headquarters from Longmire to Barnes Flat, and to plan something feasible for overnight accommodations high on the mountain.

You know, anything the Swiss can do we can do better. But we'd better start proving it pretty soon. We could build a hotel high on Mount Rainier about which the Swiss would be glad to write home. It is time, as the Washington State Hotel Association also pointed out just the other day, that the National Parks Service reconsiders its policy for Mount Rainier.

Statement of Hon. John E. Fogarty, Member of Congress, Second District of Rhode Island, Before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the United States House of Representatives, on Proposed Amendments to the Natural Gas Act, June 4, 1957

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement made by me before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives on proposed amendments to the Natural Gas Act, June 4, 1957:

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity of testifying on H. R. 6790 and related bills which have received the earnest consideration of your committee for the past several weeks. While I do not regard myself as an expert on the matter of natural gas, I have followed these hearings with a great deal of interest and wish to commend you and the other members of the committee for the attention which you have given the views of both proponents and opponents of the basic legislation.

As Congressman from the Second District of Rhode Island, I represent thousands of consumers of natural gas who are totally dependent on a source of supply located in areas of the country far removed from them. These people have been appropriately termed "captive consumers" of natural gas. They have no freedom of choice between competitors in this all-important commodity, hence they have no protection against unreasonable price increases in the cost of the basic commodity. This lack of a free market in an item so essential to their everyday needs is a compelling reason for me to view with some alarm the consistent efforts of the profitable and highly organized oil-gas industry to free itself from the regulation intended by the Natural Gas Act of 1938. I say the oil-gas industry for the reason that natural gas as a byproduct of oil exploration is principally controlled by the same small group of powerful oil companies which recently rocked the consuming public from coast ot coast with their post-Suez petroleum-product increases. The basic purpose of Federal regulation under the Natural Gas Act is and should be the advancement of the public interest by balancing the self-interest of the owners of producing gas wells with the interest of the more than 21 million American families who have come to depend upon gas for family and household needs. Since the Phillips decision in 1954, however, the Federal Power Commission has scarcely been given the opportunity to carry out this public-interest purpose, and yet this proposed legislation would make that task impossible for the simple reason that it is weighted in favor of the producers.

I am sure you are surfeited with statistics after these many weeks of hearings and I do not propose to burden the record further on that score. Moreover you have had presented to you a careful section-by-section analysis of this bill by both proponents and opponents. For my part, I propose to state my objections in a nontechnical, simple fashion. After a careful examination of H. R. 6790, I am compelled to the conclusion that there has been no demonstrated need for this legislation. I have been unable to learn of one single natural gas producer who has suffered from the appropriate regulation which the Federal Power Commission is authorized to administer under the present provisions of the Natural Gas Act. Financial statistics available on the pages of any of our newspapers have told us during recent months that the oil-gas industry is enjoying its period of highest prosperity. For them the recent 1-cent per gallon price increase in fuel oil and gasoline added to these rising profits and based on a 9-million-barrel-per-day consumption of petroleum products in the United States, it meant more than $1 billion a year out of the pockets of American consumers. Rising costs of natural gas would take additional tolls from the consuming public and add them to the rich profits already enjoyed by an industry which we favor with special tax treatment designed to offset the special risks which are inherent in their operations.

In his veto message of February 1956 returning H. R. 6645, President Eisenhower pointed out the need for any new legislation to include specific language protecting consumers "in their right to fair prices." Mr. Chairman, I am unable to find any such language contained in H. R. 6790. I believe with the President that consumers do have a "right to fair prices" of natural gas and I further believe that the only way to protect that right is through Federal regulation by the Federal Power Commission over prices charged for natural gas delivered to interstate pipeline companies. This bill, in my opinion, would only impede and hamper that needed regulation.

I have been much impressed with the provisions of H. R. 6813, a bill sponsored by Mr. MACDONALD, which in effect steers the middle course on this general subject of regulation of sales of natural gas in interstate commerce. As I understand it, enactment of this bill would remove from Federal regulation approximately 96 percent of the producers who make sales to interstate pipeline companies. However, it would leave subject to regulation those large producers who sell in excess of 90 percent of all the natural gas which is the subject of sale in interstate commerce. After hearing so much about the plight of the small independent gas producer, but never really seeing one who came before any of our committees to tell his story, I would imagine that this proposal would be welcomed by the vast majority of the members of the oil-gas industry. I am reliably advised, however, that to date there has been little enthusiasm shown by the industry itself in support of the Macdonald bill. If this is correct, it only confirms my belief that there has been no demonstrated need for any legislation whatever. But if we must have legislation designed to relieve natural gas producers from threatened Federal regulation, I intend to give serious consideration to full support of this enlightened proposal.

In conclusion, therefore, I respectfully submit that H. R. 6790 is not designed to serve the public interest in that it contains no assurance that consumers of natural gas will be protected in their right to fair prices, but on the other hand, will weight the scales heavily in favor of a monopoly industry which needs to be regulated in this phase of its activity.

Tax Writeoff Favoritism and Special Privileges to Private Utilities Condemned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article, commenting upon the Senate report of Senator HARRY F. BYRD, on rapid tax writeoff certificates, in the Appendix of the RECORD:

TAX WRITEOFF FAVORITISM

Just about everybody agreed that political favoritism had gone too far when the Eisenhower administration granted a fast tax writeoff privilege to the Idaho Power Co.

The original purpose of the wartime legislation, allowing a rapid writeoff tax depreciation, was to expedite production essential to national defense.

In the opinion of Senator HARRY F. BYRD, of Virginia, under present peacetime conditions, such special privilege can be justified only in exceptional and rare cases. Otherwise, as Senator BYRD points out, "There is danger of creating unfair competition, overexpansion and damage to small business."

Senator BYRD is leading the fight for repeal of the 6-year-old statute since the Eisenhower administration has so flagrantly permitted widespread abuses of the law.

Even Treasury Secretary Humphrey, shocked at the growing loss to the Treasury, points out that there is no logical end to such a program.

To the Washington Post, quite aside from the substantial loss to the United States Treasury, "the evil of this program is that it cannot possibly be applied equitably and invites an unending series of pressures from various industries for tickets on the gravy train."

Most recent to join that gravy train was the Idaho Power Co., which not only substantiates the need for repeal of the legislation, but makes a hollow mockery of the Eisenhower partnership policy concerning the Nation's natural resources.

Over and over again, the Eisenhower administration has emphasized that its partnership policy means that the private com-

pany would foot the bill, without cost to the taxpayers. In the caseo f Hells Canyon, the Eisenhower-influenced Federal Power Commission licensed the Idaho Power Co. to build three inferior dams instead of the one high dam at Hells Canyon, at a substantial waste of power benefits. The FPC insisted that the private dams would be built without expense to the American people and the Idaho Power Co. asserted that it would carry out the project without 1 cent of cost to the taxpayers of the United States..

But the 5-year tax exemption granted to the Idaho Power Co. adds up to at least $30 million for the private utility at the expense of the American people.

Americans Should Keep Their Eyes on the Main Struggle Which Is Not Between the Executive and the Congress, but Between a Free World and Communist Enslavement or Destruction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

RED MENACE OVERSHADOWS IKE-CONGRESS FRACAS

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

Most Americans profess love of peace but like a good fight, particularly when it is in an area which we understand.

This accounts, I think, for the current dramatization by newsmen of the perennial struggle between President and Congress and for the public's intense interest—particularly when that struggle is enlivened by such incidents as Senator MORSE's moral comparison of Dwight D. Eisenhower to Dave Beck.

So let us hope that—like the world series which it resembles—the President-Congress battle will be with us for centuries.

It will, I think, provided we do not allow it to take our attention off today's life-and-death struggle with Soviet Russia.

It is this struggle which is keeping taxes high. It is this struggle which is keeping under arms a couple of million Americans most of whom would gladly do something else.

It is this struggle which has brought the United States into a position where we can be 50 percent destroyed by a Soviet sneak attack at any time and, if we survive, have the satisfaction of knowing—if it is a satisfaction—that we have destroyed 75 percent of the U. S. S. R. With such stakes this struggle might seem far more fascinating than the intergovernmental shindig. But that is not the case.

PREFER MOVIES

Many more Americans worry about what Senator MORSE called the President than about what Comrade Khrushchev called Secretary of State Dulles, even though the first has no particular importance and the second could betoken anything from peace to war.

The chief reason, I think, is we are used to, and understand, the internal dogfight. We do not entirely understand nor have we sincerely accepted the worldwide struggle of freedom versus communism. Because we do not entirely understand or accept, except temporarily if we must, we feel we might as well forget Khrushchev and go to the movies.

This, however, is exactly what our President cannot do. If we are to escape catastrophe, he must do the escaping. Therefore, whether we citizens like it or not, he insists upon considerable cash for foreign military and economic aid.

And he has come to believe peace is essential and some sort of disarmament agreement with the U. S. S. R. may be possible. Others may argue that disarmament on the present basis is undesirable—it would not only leave the Russians in control of all the peoples and territories they have criminally occupied since 1939 but lead to further gains on their part, since they predominate in conventional weapons able to prevail in local snatches.

President Eisenhower has reached another opinion. He definitely wants disarmament, and is ready to accept the risks. As he told his press conference:

"It seems to me that the more any intelligent man thinks about the possibilities of war today, the more he should understand you have got to work on this business of disarmament. * * * I think our first concern should be making certain that we are not ourselves being recalcitrant, we are not being picayunish about the thing. We ought to have an open mind and make it possible for others, if they are reasonable, logical men, to meet us halfway so we can make these disarmament agreements."

POPULAR LINE

Politically, this is a popular line. It will also please most of our foreign allies. For who wants to bear the burden of armaments that can safely be reduced by agreement?

On the other hand, suppose Admiral Radford is right and that all agreements, self-enforcing or not, with totally perfidious Communists are dangerous? The alternative is to set one's political sights high and make no concessions or no agreements with the Kremlin until it agrees to get out of East Europe, if it takes 40 years.

But the President—as periodically reported in these columns ever since the Geneva Summit Conference of 1955—has decided that the risks of carefully regulated disarmament are less than those of trying to win the cold war. He is in control of the ship and has chosen his course. Not even Congress can make him change it unless it refuses to ratify some sort of disarmament agreement, which seems unlikely.

The role of the good citizen is therefore, it seems to me, to support the President's efforts even if disagreeing with them, and hope for the best, as long as the Russians let us.

Greetings From the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, as a high point in the course of the 44th annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, the President of the United States sent a short letter of greetings to the convention. The letter was personally brought by the Honorable Jack Z. Anderson, of the White House staff, and personally read by him to the convention. It is certainly timely, and was well received by the hundreds of delegates who crowded the main dining room of the Mayflower Hotel for this occasion.

The letter follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, May 16, 1957.

The Honorable OVERTON BROOKS,
Member of Congress, President, National Rivers and Harbors Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR OVERTON: It is a pleasure to send greetings to the members of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress assembled in their 44th national convention.

The importance of your objectives cannot be overestimated. With the continuing growth of our country, every effort must be directed toward the wise use and orderly development of the Nation's water resources. And, as each year passes, it becomes more apparent that sound programs can be assured only through broad participation by the public on every level of interest, Federal, State and regional, local communities and private individuals. All of these must be coordinated through comprehensive long-range planning and the acceptance of just financial responsibility.

The recent floods following the drought in the Southwestern States are a forceful illustration of the need to avoid inadequate, piecemeal, single-phase planning of our water resources.

Progress is being made on actions recommended by the report of the Cabinet Advisory Committee on Water Resources Policy which I sent to the Congress last year. That report contained a working arrangement within which all the levels of Government, and other public and private interests, could join in developing our water resources. With your support and the united efforts of all groups working together in this vital matter, I am sure we can achieve a sound and equitable water-resources program for the good of our land now and for all future generations.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

Three Billion Dollars Lost to United States Treasury Through Fast Tax Writeoff Grants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I have asked that the following Associated Press story which appeared in the Nashville Tennessean on Saturday, June 1, last, be included in the Appendix of the RECORD:

DAM WRITEOFF COST PUT AT $83 MILLION—FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION ACCOUNTANT SAYS POWER COMPANY CAN GAIN $339 MILLION IN DEDUCTION

WASHINGTON.—The chief accountant for the Federal Power Commission testified yesterday the Federal Treasury could lose as much as $83,595,827 through a fast tax write-off granted the Idaho Power Co.

Russell C. Rainwater also testified that the benefits to the company from the certificates could total $339,144,000.

Rainwater and other FPC officials appeared before a Senate antitrust subcommittee investigating the case.

The Office of Defense Mobilization gave Idaho Power certificates totaling $65 million on two dams in the Hells Canyon region of

the Snake River between Idaho and Oregon. This represented 60 to 65 percent of the total cost of the dams.

CAN DEDUCT FROM TAXES

Under the fast writeoff system the company can deduct from its taxes the cost of the project, up to the amount allowed by the certificate, in 5 years instead of the normal 20 to 50 years.

This results in payment of a much smaller tax than normal in the first 5 years, but in above-normal levies over the remainder of the depreciation period. In the end, in theory, the company pays the same amount of taxes, assuming that rates do not change.

Rainwater said his Treasury loss estimate was based on money the Government would have to borrow to make up for the delay in tax payments under the rapid amortization procedure.

As to the $339 million estimated for Idaho Power, he explained this was based on an assumption the company would make a 6 percent return over a 50-year period on the tax benefit. Critics have described this benefit as an interest-free loan.

aRinwater's Treasury loss estimate was higher than any the subcommittee had previously received. Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton testified 2 days ago he believed such figures were exaggerated. He said he thought the loss would be $17 million.

HUMPHREY SAYS $3 BILLION

Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey has told the Senate Finance Committee the cumulative Treasury loss because of all fast writeoffs granted since 1951 would be $3 billion.

Jerome K. Kuykendall, FPC Chairman, testified that his agency, in granting licenses to Idaho Power to build three dams in the Hells Canyon region, based its decision on an expectation the company would use conventional financing without any tax benefits.

He said he and other members of the Commission had not expected allowance of the writeoff and the first he knew of it was when he read it in the paper.

Re H. R. 7249, To Enforce the Duty of Support in the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the District Committee has reported for action by the House H. R. 7249, a bill to improve and extend, through reciprocal legislation, the enforcement of duties of support in the District of Columbia.

Every State in the Union has similar legislation. It is high time that the District of Columbia added similar provisions to its statutory law.

I take pride in the fact that Mrs. Grace Clyde Seaman, an assistant district attorney for Kings County, was a pioneer in this field of legislation, and is entitled to much of the credit for bringing about the enactment of uniform laws throughout the country.

I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following letter on this subject, written to me by the Honorable Edward S. Silver, district attorney of Kings County, on April 30, 1957, in support of the principle of this legislation. His letter is as follows:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MULTER: I am calling to your attention a matter pending in the committee for the affairs of the District of Columbia, you being a member of such committee. The bill being considered concerns the reciprocal support law to compel support for children and dependents across State lines, which originated in our office in 1949 and has subsequently been passed by every State and five Territories and possessions. The only jurisdiction lacking this much needed legislation is the District of Columbia. In our office there are cases where wives and children are receiving public assistance in Brooklyn and the father is in the District of Columbia, sometimes employed by the Federal Government, resulting in creating in the District of Columbia a haven for runaway husbands.

On December 17, 1956, the United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the reciprocal procedure in *Landes* v. *Landes* (352 U. S. 948, 1 L. ed. 241 (1956)).

You will be interested in knowing that the procedure has been very successful in obtaining support for abandoned dependents and as a result has decreased the burden of support by the Federal, State, and city relief agencies. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C., in answer to our inquiry, has informed us that the approximate payments for 1955 to families receiving aid to dependent children in which the father was not in the home because of divorce, separation, or desertion, or because he was not married to the mother, amounted to from $375 million to $380 million and the State's share of the payment was about 45 percent of the total.

In New York State, the uniform support of dependents law has been amended to include support for illegitimate children under certain circumstances, needy parents, and needy grandchildren.

You will be interested in knowing how successful the reciprocal support law has been financially.

In New York City, the domestic relations court statistics are as follows:

These figures begin with the operation of the law on April 1, 1950:

Apr. 1, 1950, to Dec. 31, 1950	$8,843.49
1951	83,836.58
1952	219,044.26
1953	473,468.62
1954	747,346.56
1955	1,198,937.76
1956	1,597,335.24

Returns from every jurisdiction are incomplete but the trend can be shown from the following:

California: Total collection since mid-1952 in excess of $2.5 million for Los Angeles County.

Connecticut: Collections for 1956, $550,894.

Massachusetts: In 1956, collections amounted to $318,407.

Michigan: In 1955, collections were $505,000 for Wayne County only.

New York: In 1956, $320,034 was collected in Erie County.

Ohio: In 1955, $291,522 was collected in Cuyahoga County.

Puerto Rico: In 1956, total collections amounted to $260,168.

Texas: In 11½ months of 1956, $132,500 was collected in Dallas County.

We are informed by the Council of State Governments that the original difficulty in your committee in drafting the bill was due to the question of what court would have jurisdiction. However, since this question has been determined, there appears to be no reason for delay in proceeding and I am writing to you to do what you possibly can to expedite this much needed legislation.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely,

EDWARD S. SILVER,
District Attorney.

In addition, I would like to submit, for the consideration of our colleagues, the following suggestions for improvement of the bill, which have been prepared by Mrs. Seaman and which unfortunately reached me too late for inclusion in the record before the District Committee. Mrs. Seaman's memorandum is as follows:

RE BILL H. R. 7249, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DATED MAY 6, 1957, TO IMPROVE AND EXTEND, THROUGH RECIPROVAL LEGISLATION, THE ENFORCEMENT OF DUTIES OF SUPPORT IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

This bill is in addition to two former bills, namely, H. R. 5334, dated February 26, 1957, and H. R. 5965, dated March 13, 1957. Bill H. R. 7249 is preferable; however, I suggest some changes, as follows:

Section 2 (f), page 2, line 23: Omit "in need of and." The word "need," if narrowly construed, could limit the remedy to persons on relief or likely to become public charges and would eliminate the great number of cases where the wife is employed, although at a small salary.

(g), page 3, line 1: I suggest that "plaintiff" be changed to "petitioner."

(h), line 6: Change "defendant" to "respondent" and carry these changes through the balance of the bill.

You will note that section 3, line 10, specifically states "the civil remedies herein provided * * *". Therefore, in view of the civil nature of the act, it would seem that "petitioner" and "respondent" would be more appropriate.

Section 8, page 5: I believe this section should be drastically changed by omitting, on line 10, "Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia" and substituting "court". Also, by inserting after "threatened" on line 12, the words "or that petitioner's means are such that fees for private counsel would create a hardship, liberally construed, upon petitioner."

Line 13: Omit "his duty" and substitute "the duty of the Corporation Counsel."

As it now stands, section 8 gives to the Corporation Counsel the jurisdiction of determining what petitioner he will represent. This would seem to be the function of the court, which also determines whether or not fees are to be paid.

Section 11: This section is objectionable in that it covers two extremes, namely, those persons who are on home relief or about to become public charges on the one hand, and persons who are able to pay for private counsel on the other. The majority of complaints we have heard come from wives who are struggling on a small salary to support children. The salaries run from about $35 a week to tops of $60 a week. Some of these working wives depend on their parents to care for the children, and others must pay persons to supervise the children while they work. These wives are walking a financial precipice. If the children become sick and it is necessary to lose time from work, they become unemployed and are liable to become public charges. The help that can be obtained through the reciprocal support laws can create a firmer foundation for the family and not only keep them off relief rolls, but create a more secure atmosphere in the home and eliminate some of the causes of juvenile delinquency.

Section 9, page 5, line 20: This section is good and I think superior to section 12 of the R. E. S. Act, in that it permits the complaint

to be made by "any person or agency as next friend of the minor, regardless of whether such person or agency has been appointed guardian of such minor." The R. E. S. Act limits the complaint to "a person having legal custody of the minor without appointment as a guardian ad litem." I have in mind such agencies as Boys Town, Nebr., to whom I have written to ascertain if the reciprocal support law has been helpful to them. I have not as yet received an answer.

Section 10, page 6: I suggest that this section be continued as in section 13 of the R. E. S. Act, as follows:

"If the name and address of such court is unknown and the responding State has an information agency comparable to that established in the initiating State, it shall cause such copies to be transmitted to the State information agency or other proper official of the responding State, with a request that it forward them to the proper court, and that the court of the responding State acknowledge their receipt to the court in the initiating State."

Eventually, this addition might not be necessary when all courts are properly acquainted with procedures in responding States. But from the fact that our office, although we are not petitioner's representative in New York City, receives papers from other States, sometimes improperly addressed, and we in turn must notify the sender of the papers as well as forward them to the domestic relations court in Brooklyn, we believe that the suggested addition is warranted at this time in order to establish a more efficient procedure.

Section 11, page 6, line 23: Insert after "is" the word "in." Eliminate "or a political subdivision or agency thereof."

The court should direct waiver of payment of such fees and costs whenever the plaintiff is in a State having similar provisions. Furthermore, I do not believe that children should be penalized and deprived of the benefits of this bill simply because their States do not have such a provision. It should be noted that in the latter cases, if the dependents become public charges the Federal Government will have to supply the largest proportion of relief payments. Moreover, if a pauper's affidavit is supplied, why should it be discretionary with the court to say whether or not court costs should be paid? (Line 17.)

Line 24: Strike out "nothing in this section shall be construed to deprive the court of its discretion to assess costs and fees."

While no one can object to the payment of court costs and fees if the petitioner is a person of financial affluence, I have yet to find such cases. The people we are dealing with comprise two classes: those on relief or about to become public charges and those where the wife is employed, and although she might earn $60 a week or even more, cannot possibly pay counsel fees or court costs when it is considered that her earnings must provide food, clothing, and shelter for herself and the children and pay medical expenses, and also provide supervision for the children while she is employed.

Section 14, page 8, the following changes are suggested:

Line 4: Omit "refer" and substitute "notify."

Line 5: Insert after "or" the word "refer."

Line 5: After "appropriate," eliminate the balance of the sentence and substitute "set a time and place for a hearing and proceed to have respondent appear before the court without delay either by service upon him of a summons or by obtaining the body of the respondent by appropriate process as provided in section 12 herein."

Section 20, page 10, line 11: Add "or (c) when the child is the issue of a bigamous marriage."

Section 26, page 11, line 19: It is noted that without an appropriation for the expense involved in carrying out the act it will be ineffective.

I assume that the age of the child and the basic duties of support will be found for the District of Columbia in their 1956 act establishing a domestic relations branch in the municipal court.

I suggest that the bill include provisions for depositions and interrogatories as in the New York Uniform Support of Dependents Law (McKinney's Unconsolidated Laws—Domestic Relations—Section 2116—Procedure).

I believe this provision should be included so that if the respondent claims upon a hearing that he has a home for the wife and children but she refuses to live with him in the respondent's State, the court should have the power to send such depositions and interrogatories to the court in the initiating State to find out whether there might not be a valid reason for such refusal. Perhaps the omission of this section in the R. E. S. Act has been the reason why reports have come to us from our family court that all a man has to do in a responding State is to say that he has a home and the wife refuses to live with him and the court thereupon dismisses the petition. We can realize that there may be valid reasons why the wife's refusal can be justified.

Further Unification—A Tragic Error

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a column by Hanson W. Baldwin from The New York Times of May 31, 1957. Much of Mr. Baldwin's column concerns statements recently made on this floor by the esteemed chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Mr. VINSON.

As Members of this body well know, Mr. VINSON has been involved with the problems of national defense for more than 40 years. His long experience and his vantage point for observation of defense problems during that long period justifies the high degree of respect in which his opinions are held.

The article follows:

THE DEFENSE BUDGET—AN ANALYSIS OF POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF CUTS ON RESEARCH PROJECTS AND MANPOWER

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

The heavy cuts in the defense budget by the House of Representatives, if sustained by the Senate, may curtail some research and development projects and force some reduction in numbers of men in uniform.

The House budget debate ended Wednesday with the passage of an appropriation bill for $33,562,725,000. This was $2,565,275,000 less than the President originally had requested. The debate was highlighted by a forceful speech by Representative CARL VINSON, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, opposing the merger of the armed services and denying the existence of wasteful duplication in the Pentagon.

Mr. VINSON was one of several who attempted to estimate the results of the reductions. Under them the Army, he said, would have to reduce its strength by 15,000 men during the next fiscal year, starting July 1. It had been scheduled to maintain an average strength of 997,000 men; the reduced appropriations may mean the loss of manpower equivalent to about one division.

Other Representatives stressed that a cut in the Army's research and development budget would mean, in effect, $35 million less next year, and that this cut would inevitably affect the Army's attempt to develop an antimissile system.

Several Members stressed the austere nature of the funds provided for transport aircraft and emphasized the limited amount of airlift available for the Army.

PLANES AND SHIPS AFFECTED

President Eisenhower and some supporters in the House also declared that the cuts would hurt the development and procurement of planes and missiles. Flying hours of the Air Force would be reduced and the Navy would lose one ship in its modernization and conversion program.

The House cuts, however, are still tentative, the Senate may well restore some of them. Moreover, it cannot be said, and none of the speakers asserted, that the Nation's security has been really imperiled by the reductions.

By fair the most important highlight of the debate was Mr. VINSON's speech against elimination of the separate services or substitution of a single Chief of Staff for the present Joint Chiefs of Staff system.

In defense matters Mr. VINSON's voice is one of the most influential in Congress. His outspoken criticism of merger in the Pentagon is certain to have effect.

SEES A BASIC DIFFERENCE

"We will hear for years to come," Mr. VINSON said, "many well-meaning persons strongly advance the argument that billions in potential savings can be effected through a complete merger of our armed services. Should we ever be so foolish as to succumb to this illusion we have jeopardized the security of this Nation to such an extent that our continuation as a free Nation would be extremely doubtful.

"There is a basic difference," he continued, "between the unification of our armed services as contemplated by the National Security Act (the organization now in existence) and merger as recommended by those who believe that the savings of dollars possible in merger are far more important than the functions of the separate services. I do not believe for one moment that the merger of our armed services would save the taxpayer one thin dime. If anything, I am sure that merger might well bring about added costs. Were we to merge our four services under one single staff system; were we to adopt one uniform—we would be creating a military monstrosity that would be an open invitation to disaster.

"I do not question for a moment," Mr. VINSON continued, "that there is duplication of effort, but it is a competitive type of duplication that assures this nation military supremacy in the quality of its weapons. Controlled competition, instead of being wasteful, is vitally necessary.

"It would be possible, though fatally injurious, to eliminate missile competition between the services."

REPORTS GREAT STRIDES

Mr. VINSON said that, contrary to publicized statements, joint and coordinated procurement, purchasing and management systems had produced "great strides in unification," that there was no "extensive duplication of buying by the military services" and that there was neither organizational magic nor savings in centralization.

No "military command system has ever been devised," he said, "that is equivalent to our present Joint Chiefs of Staff system.

"When the day arrives," he concluded, "that we have a super staff, or a single staff, or a single uniform, or a merger of the four services, we will have destroyed not only the morale of the armed services, not only the wisdom of the joint staff made up of representatives from all four services, but we will also be placing our dependence upon an assumption that four separate missions, involving the technicalities, the complexities and the skills of these four services, can be merged into one at a time when it is even difficult for each of the separate services to maintain the skills necessary in their particular fields. I trust that the nation will never make the fatal error of merging our armed forces, or of even adopting something approaching merger."

Who Partitioned Korea?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an article which I prepared for the June issue of the National Republic on a topic which has been quite controversial since Korea was partitioned.

The article follows:

WHO PARTITIONED KOREA?

(By Hon. LAWRENCE H. SMITH, United States Representative from Wisconsin)

Who partitioned Korea at the 38th parallel, and why? Thus far we do not know who made the decision, or exactly when. But history does reveal clearly that the partition led ultimately to the Korean war, in which the United States suffered 154,000 battle casualties between June 1950 and July 1953.

New light on the epochal partition decision comes to us in a recent book by Elizabeth Churchill Brown, a well-known New York journalist and wife of Constantine Brown, foreign editor of the Washington Star. The book is styled the Enemy at His Back.

The foreword by Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, of California, presents the theme of the work in these challenging words: "We must recognise that in dealing with the Kremlin, the road to appeasement is not the road to peace. It is only surrender on the installment plan."

Mrs. Brown's book is rich in new historical documentation on Yalta, Potsdam, Warm Springs, Los Alamos, and Hiroshima.

The partition of Korea was not, so far as we know at this point, a part of the Yalta agreement. On the other hand, Mrs. Brown explains that the partition at the historic 38th parallel came about in this way (p. xvii):

"Shortly after V–J Day a round-robin telephone conversation took place between the War Department and the White House. One of the participants in this unusual conference told me that those in the Pentagon did not know to whom they were talking in the White House—and that it was the White House parties who ordered the partition of Korea at the now infamous 38th parallel."

This shocking vignette of raw history suggests the quality and fiber of many of our pivotal postwar decisions in Washington, touching foreign relations, under President Truman and Secretary of State James F. Byrnes.

"After a study of the map of China it is easy to realize that, without Russian control of the areas demanded and obtained in the Yalta agreement, China would not have been lost to the Reds. And without Red control of China and the partition of Korea, the Korean war would never have happened."

In 1954 the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, under the direction of Chairman WILLIAM E. JENNER, of Indiana, held extended hearings on the Korean war. In those hearings Gen. James A. Van Fleet and Gen. Mark Clark, among others, voiced the conclusion that unknown and unidentified men in our State Department forbade a decisive military victory in Korea north of the 38th parallel. Later in his book, From the Danube to the Yalu, General Clark wrote: "I could not help wondering and worrying whether we were faced with open enemies across the conference table and hidden enemies who sat with us in our most secret councils."

Woman's intuition guided Mrs. Brown to her scholarly labors in historical reconstruction, sometime after the death of President Roosevelt, on April 12, 1945.

"I determined to discover what influences in high places had perhaps inspired the decisions made by our leaders, and also to check our policies with those of the Communists, as set forth in their own publications. The similarity of these policies and the Communist aims was startling."

Through the Senate and House hearings on oCmmunist subversion and infiltration, Mrs. Brown learned of the Kremlin's plans and program for Europe and Asia after the war.

"So it was that I learned how Soviet Russia had placed her agents in high places in our Government—agents who not only stole top secrets, but, most important of all, influenced the policy makers of this Nation. Agents, in key Government posts, I learned, also worked hand in hand with agents whose job it was to influence and condition the public mind in order that public opinion would accept the policies as they were made."

From President Roosevelt's Yalta Conference, in February 1945, to President Truman's Potsdam Conference, in July 1945, Washington was mostly free-wheeling. Between March 1 and Mr. Roosevelt's death on April 12, nobody was really tending the store. President Truman took over his new post without having experienced any continuing contact with the great issues of world affairs.

"During the time he was Vice President," Mrs. Brown notes, "he had never been invited to go to an international conference, nor even to the important conferences in Washington. He was completely uneducated in high-powered international politics."

White House Secretary Jonathan Daniels records that at Potsdam, "from the beginning Truman liked Stalin."

In a quiet moment President Truman had remarked: "Stalin is as near like Tom Pendergast as any man I know" (p. 146).

General Dwight Eisenhower, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, journeyed to Amsterdam early in July 1945 to confer with President Truman, then en route to Potsdam. General Eisenhower emphatically warned Mr. Truman against soliciting Russian participation in the war against Japan. He urged that the war in the Pacific be ended before Russia could get in. But at Amsterdam, General Eisenhower did not know that at Yalta (in February) Roosevelt had accepted Stalin's pledge to put Russia into the Pacific war 3 months after VE-day. This made Russia's entry into the war on August 8 a certainty. However, President Truman did not know at Amsterdam that Russia already was pledged to enter the Pacific war.

On July 26, near the end of the Potsdam Conference (and 2 full weeks after the first test explosion of the atomic bomb at Alamogordo on July 16) Secretary Forrestal noted in his diaries that Secretary Byrnes said he was "anxious to get the Japanese affair over before the Russians got in" (p. 143).

At the end of the Potsdam Conference on August 1, General Eisenhower again remarked to President Truman that he hoped he had not made any concessions to get the Russians in. At the same time, Secretary Forrestal noted in his diary that "50 divisions could not have kept them out."

Secretary Byrnes paid glowing tribute to his personal advisers at Potsdam, Ben Cohen, who had been a guiding influence in State Department decisions since the early days of the Roosevelt administration in 1933; H. Freeman Matthews, and Charles E. Bohlen, of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff.

"A new Secretary of State could not have asked for a finer trio of advisers," Byrnes noted late in his book.

Admirals King, Leahy, and Nimitz assured Mr. Truman before Potsdam that Japan was crushed, as Eisenhower insisted later at Amsterdam. But the Foreign Economic Administration and the Office of War Information, where Owen Lattimore was in charge of the Far Eastern Branch, insisted Russia must come into the Pacific war. Gen. George Marshall agreed, arguing that Russia's declaration of war against Japan at the proper time "would save millions of American lives" (p. 148).

Russia's determination to get into the Pacific war was dictated by the Kremlin's demand for continued lend-lease shipments after VE-day, in May. Stalin estimated he needed 3 million tons more of lend-lease to supply his armies for the war against Japan. "By the time of Potsdam, the Russians were sufficiently equipped and stockpiled to be a major power in the Pacific—and they still weren't in the Pacific war," Mrs. Brown notes.

General MacArthur told in the Senate hearings (1951) of orders from Washington in May 1945 withdrawing 100 of his transport ships from the Luzon battle to transport Russian lend-lease supplies to Vladivostok. He protested bitterly that withdrawal of these ships would jeopardize the entire Philippine campaign. But Washington's orders stood. The ships were withdrawn from MacArthur's supply lines to carry lend-lease to Russia—the very supplies and equipment which later enabled Russia to take over China and North Korea (p. 156).

Japan had been suing for peace since October 1944, and had announced to Stalin on July 18, 1945, that Prince Konoye would visit Moscow for conversations looking to peace arrangements. This information was not conveyed to President Truman by Stalin until near the end of the Potsdam Conference. On July 28, Stalin remarked casually to Truman that he had received a request from Japan to mediate. On that very day, he added (the 28th of July), he had received a second proposal from Tokyo—too vague to permit of an affirmative answer. But between July 18, the day of the first formal Japanese peace advance to Moscow, and July 28, the date Truman was informed of the peace feelers, the Potsdam Conference had decided to drop the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima early in August (p. 159).

The bomb was dropped August 6. Russia declared war on Japan August 8. The second bomb fell on Nagasaki August 9. And on August 10 Japan sued for peace on the Potsdam terms.

Russia, in the war for 2 whole days, now was a major factor in all the Pacific settlements. All the rich territorial awards to Russia, as initialed at Yalta in February 1945, now were due for payment.

Jonathan Daniels recorded some time later that President Truman had observed at Potsdam: "I got the impression that Stalin would stand by his agreements. * * *"

When the Japanese armistice did come, Russia was assigned the task of receiving the surrender in all of northern China and all North Korea, above the 38th parallel, the partition line drawn by an unnamed somebody in the White House in May.

Mrs. Brown concludes this amazing jigsaw with the arresting observation: "But at Yalta and again at Potsdam someone was calling the plays and giving the signals, and it is tempting to guess it was Stalin himself. Who on our team was interpreting the signals and putting them into effect?"

If woman's intuition is the vast power for good that so many claim, perhaps we should all dig around a bit for the answer to the lady's question.

The Case of a Strong Military Reserve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, last week the House passed the defense appropriation bill for 1958. I had more than a passing interest in one of the provisions of the bill—providing funds for the Army Reserve.

The committee had recommended $197 million for this purpose, as contrasted to the Department's request for $207 million. However, the committee later offered a floor amendment providing that $10 million of the unobligated balance of the appropriation "Reserve personnel, Army, 1957" would remain available until 1958 and should be merged with the appropriation for the Army Reserve in the Appropriation Act of 1958.

I was pleased to support this amendment and it passed with a minimum of debate, because over a period of years the Congress has sought to build a strong Reserve force and at no time has the Congress failed to provide funds toward this objective.

Following discussions I had on the floor regarding the Reserve obligation, I found that some Members believed that the Army had summarily lowered the Reserve obligation in order to make some of its Reserve programs more attractive. Although it might not have been intended, the committee report seemed to lend credence to this belief.

I think I should set the record straight on this matter and, for those who may not be fully informed, I will try to briefly explain the total military obligation assumed by every young man upon entering military service, together with the resulting ready and standby obligations.

I believe I can best make myself understood if I go back to the enactment of the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1952. This act provided, for the first time, new categories of reserves. It established the Ready, Standby and Retired Reserves, and all members of the reserve components now must be in one of these categories.

The Universal Military Training and Service Act had previously provided for a total 8 year military obligation for all persons, below age 26, who were inducted, enlisted or appointed in the armed forces.

Therefore, it can be said that whereas the Universal Military Training and Service Act established the military obligation and provided for the active duty phase, the Armed Forces Reserve Act made provisions for the performance of duties in the Reserve after the reservist had been released from active service and while he remained in the Reserve components.

The Armed Forces Reserve Act provided that persons, upon release from active duty, would become members of the Ready Reserve for the balance of their military obligation, unless they elected to participate in accredited reserve training for a period which when added to the time spent in active service totaled five years, and if so they could request transfer to the Standby Reserve for the balance of their military obligation.

Perhaps an example would best serve to illustrate how the obligation could be "worked off" under the provisions of the Armed Forces Reserve Act. If a man was inducted for 2 years he was obligated to remain in the Ready Reserve for an additional 6 years, unless he chose to participate in Reserve training for 3 years. If he did this he could request transfer to the Standby Reserve at the end of 5 years—2 years on active duty plus 3 years active participation in the Reserve—for the remaining 3 years of his total military obligation.

By the same method a person having served 4 years on active duty need only serve 1 year participating with the Ready Reserve before he became eligible to transfer to the Standby Reserve for the remaining 3 years of his total military obligation.

Keeping in mind that the Universal Military Training and Service Act established the total military obligation for each youth at 8 years, it is important that we take special note of one provision of the Armed Forces Reserve Act. I have reference to section 269 (3) (2) of title 10, United States Code, which provides that the Secretary of the military service concerned, with the approval of the Secretary of Defense, may provide for a shorter period of Ready Reserve service for satisfactory participation in an accredited Reserve program.

Now, this simply means that whereas the total military obligation is set by law, and cannot be raised or lowered except by amendment to the law, the Ready Reserve obligation, within the total obligation, may be shortened or lengthened by the Secretary of the military service concerned, with the approval of the Secretary of Defense.

In 1955 the Congress enacted the Reserve Forces Act. This law changed the military Reserve programs in two respects, which are pertinent to this discussion. For the first time it provided two military obligations, the length of each depending on the age of the person when entering military service and the type of program in which he volunteers to serve. Thus, a person under the age of 18½ enlisting in the 6-month training program receives a total 8-year military obligation and, on the other hand, all persons over that age, regardless of the type of program entered, receive a 6-year obligation.

The 6 months training program was first instituted by this act. Prior to this a 2-year enlistment, or induction for 2 years, have been the shortest period of active duty service—disregarding 1-year enlistments authorized by the Selective Service Act of 1948 and implemented for only a short period.

Under the 6 months training program a person under 18½ years of age may enlist for a period of 8 years, 6 months of which will be spent on active duty for training with the remainder of the military obligation spent in the Ready Reserve where active participation is required.

In January of this year the Department of the Army administratively revised its reserve program by reducing the Ready Reserve obligation of the 6 months training volunteer from 7½ years to 3 years, with the remaining 4½ years to be spent in the Standby Reserve. In addition, the 6 months training program was opened to those persons between 18½ and 26 years of age with the Ready Reserve obligation set at 5½ years, which is the remainder of the total military obligation for all youths above 18½.

Mr. Speaker, I have taken this time to explain the background of the total military obligation and its relation to the Ready and Standby obligations because I felt it was necessary that incorrect impressions not be left in the minds of some of the Members.

There may be some differences of opinion on the necessity or advisability of providing a 6 months training program for youths 18½ years of age and over. To my way of thinking the Army has made a wise decision to open this program up for these young men. Today we find the manpower pool growing larger and larger. Statistics will show that many more young men are coming of military age with each year that passes. Since the draft calls are low we cannot escape the inevitable result that many young men will be able to evade the draft if a suitable program is not found in which they will volunteer.

To be sure, we are hopeful that more and more young men below the age of 18½ will volunteer for the 6 months' training program, and for that reason we recommended lowering the Ready Reserve obligation to 3 years in order to encourage them to complete their active military service at an early age, when it would least disrupt their personal lives. However, I felt that the 6 months' training program should also be made available to young men over the age of 18½, not to the exclusion of the draft but in a limited program so that those persons not needed in active service can be made available to the Reserve components, after a period of active duty training.

I have studied and worked with Reserve legislation during the entire 22

world and bringing sense out of confusion.

full truth of the possibilities of the Ter-

is because a great deal of the money spent

years of my service in the Congress and until this year I have never known the time when the Reserves have had so many volunteers. This is the day which we have been waiting for and working toward. Now that the ball is rolling I hope that it can never be said that the Congress impeded its forward progress.

Remarks by Dr. Lewis Webster Jones, President of Rutgers, the State University, in His Charge to the Graduates at the 191st Anniversary Commencement on June 5, Rutgers Stadium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

REMARKS BY DR. LEWIS WEBSTER JONES, PRESIDENT OF RUTGERS, THE STATE UNIVERSITY, IN HIS CHARGE TO THE GRADUATES AT THE 191ST ANNIVERSARY COMMENCEMENT ON JUNE 5, RUTGERS STADIUM

We are assembled here to honor you, the members of the class of 1957 at this the 191st anniversary commencement of Rutgers, the State universtiy. As your teachers, parents, friends, and fellow citizens we join together to congratulate you on your achievement, and to wish you well.

For everyone here, this particular ceremony has a very special personal interest; and as citizens of the United States, we are also thankfully conscious that you, and the thousands of other qualified young people graduating from our colleges and universities throughout this country, are collectively an invaluable national asset.

This is a particularly cheerful occasion, because the immediate outlook seems to be rosy. There are plenty of jobs, and we are not at war. As a veteran of commencement exercises covering some 30 troubled years, I assure you that you are fortunate. The prospects of solving your personal economic problems are unusually favorable.

You are quite naturally preoccupied with your own personal and family affairs. But whether you can look forward to secure lives as happy consumers and prospective pensioners, leaving politics to somebody else, is extremely doubtful. The world is cooking up some serious problems which will inevitably affect you closely, and with which you will be obliged to concern yourselves.

I am sure you all recognize that citizenship is not a specialty. Every American must make political judgments. Politicians are brokers of ideas and emotions, dealers, and bargainers for power. They cannot formulate and carry through constructive policies unless they have the backing of an intelligent and informed electorate.

This is one reason why, from the beginnings of our national history, we have set a high value on education. It is why you, as men and women privileged by your educational opportunities, owe your country a duty as serious and responsible citizens.

I propose to talk briefly about two aspects of national policy which are certain to impinge upon your personal lives, and demand your attention. One is education. The other is foreign policy. In both, we are faltering badly.

In this richest of all countries, in this most productive of all periods, we are not providing the necessary resources to educate our children. Schools are disastrously overcrowded and understaffed, teachers underpaid. The doors of educational opportunity are rapidly closing. We face a drastic shortage of college facilities, teachers, and research staffs. And we are cutting educational budgets right and left, while we paralyze our magnificent highways with solid blocks of larger, longer, lower, and more expensive cars.

You will come up against the educational problem very soon, as your younger brothers and sisters try to get into college, or as your own children reach school age. I hope and believe that you will do something about it. Don't blame the politicians, but give your elected representatives the courage and incentive to fight for the educational advances the country so sorely needs.

One of the most inspiring tenets of American democracy has been that every individual should have the opportunity to develop to his fullest capacity. Are we abandoning this ideal?

If so, I believe our period of greatness as a Nation will be ended. Moreover, mere literacy and commonsense are not enough even for national survival. Let me quote a warning issued by Alfred North Whitehead, as long ago as 1916; it strikes an even more ominous note in 1957:

"In the conditions of modern life the rule is absolute: the race which does not value trained intelligence is doomed. Not all your heroism, not all your social charm, not all your wit, not all your victories on land or at sea can move back the finger of fate. Today we maintain ourselves. Tomorrow science will have moved forward yet one more step, and there will be no appeal from the judgment which will then be pronounced on the uneducated."

The second crucial area in which we are faltering is foreign policy. Foreign policy is not something we can do without, or leave to specialists. It is a necessary extension of our domestic goals. We want freedom of enterprise, continuing economic advance, continuing prosperity, peace. But we can't achieve any of these in isolation. We must concern ourselves with the rest of the world. Our system, indeed our whole way of life, is being challenged. In order to have what we want in domestic affairs, we must evolve and carry out an intelligent and far-seeing foreign policy, adapted to the realities of the contemporary world.

But this is our weakest point. During the 19th century, when conditions were simpler, the British did very well as world leaders by a policy often described as "muddling through." We are certainly muddling; but are we muddling through? Madison Avenue techniques of winning friends and influencing people don't seem to be conspicuously successful exports. Even our closest friends and allies view us with suspicion and alarm born of uncertainty as to our purposes.

Why is it that, after a popular world figure has been elected as President of the United States by an overwhelming majority, he finds himself without effective backing even from his own party? Why is it that our Secretaries of State, whether they be Republicans or Democrats, seem to be favorite targets for bitter criticism from all sides?

I suppose the reason is that we Americans are suddenly precipitated into a key role in world problems which are new, bewildering, and threatening. We wish we could ignore them and get on with our own business, but they are an aspect of world revolution, and are inescapable, either for us or for the rest of the world.

The revolutionary force which is altering our relations with other countries is the rapid spread of technology, and with it of the material aspirations which have been so characteristically American.

One sees astonishing contrasts in the underdeveloped areas now rising into independent national status: earth-moving machines from Detroit being watched by Buddhist monks, surrounded by mud huts, illiterate people, wooden plows. People living under unimaginably primitive sanitary arrangements demand streptomycin, and are aggrieved when it is not immediately available or if they think it costs too much. There is a worldwide and urgent desire for material improvements, and this is one of the strongest revolutionary forces the world has ever felt.

This could be our great opportunity. The point 4 program, and the economic- and technical-aid programs which have followed it, seem to me to be inspired and statesmanlike political inventions, worthy of our best American traditions. These policies are also essential to our own self-interest. Only by helping the underdeveloped countries help themselves, and achieve national independence based on a reasonably satisfying level of health and prosperity under democratic governments, can we hope to build a lasting peace.

But if we are to work out and carry out a long-range constructive foreign policy, we shall have to think more seriously, and with greater unity, about our own values. American technology is spreading rapidly, with a momentum of its own. New areas are adopting the surface phenomena of western material culture at a breath-taking pace. But in the process, they are often destroying their own traditional values, and substituting—what? No one can foretell what may happen politically in Africa, India, China, and other regions as the technical revolution proceeds.

Certainly we have not been able to convince the rest of the world that there are any strong and valid moral convictions underlying our obvious technical supremacy. We are faltering here too, and seem to lack conviction.

This is not a weakness confined to America. It afflicts the whole western world, including, I believe, Russia. Our 19th century moral capital seems to be used up. Nineteenth century formulations of political theories—capitalism, socialism, communism and so on—are, I suspect, obsolete or inappropriate. We simply have no political or philosophical ideas capable of interpreting the contemporary chaos, and of rallying support behind long-range, peace-promoting policies among the great variety of peoples who are our new neighbors.

These, I believe, are some of the most important problems which will inevitably occupy you in the years to come. They lie just below the surface of our present nervous prosperity, and are likely to disturb its tranquillity.

Tranquillity and leisure sound most attractive; but are they really appropriate and challenging ideals? Your generation is often accused of being preoccupied with security, lacking in protest or the spirit of adventure. I doubt this very much. Students are no more complacent that they ever were. If they are not making as much noise as some of their elders did about their views, it is probably because they share with those same elders a sense of bewilderment: What should be done about a world situation which, overtly prosperous, is felt to be full of insecurity and menace?

I think I can promise you that your world won't bore you with its tranquillity. But there are creative forces at work under all the confusion. I hope you will take hold of these. Among them are industry, research, education, and scholarship. Let me remind you that scholarship, least valued in the market place, is capable of transforming the

is the Seattle Post Intelligencer. It costs $1.71 a week to buy the Post Intelligencer

of fact and a matter of record, I have long favored statehood for the Territory and

those in the States, and taking out the Ten

world and bringing sense out of confusion. We need it in history, politics, philosophy, and the humanities as well as in science. Indeed, the overriding need of our times is understanding, and the moral conviction based on understanding. We may be in for a time of austerity, and austerity has at least the advantage that it is a powerful stimulus to thought.

You will come up against both the crucial problems I have singled out, education and foreign policy, in your own experience. You will have to take them seriously, and personally. Your own children will have totally inadequate schooling, unless you yourselves take action. And the United States may lose its prosperity, if not its very existence, unless you and all of us take an intelligent and farsighted interest in our foreign policy.

I rejoice with you in being graduated during a prosperous period, and wish you happiness and success in your jobs and your personal lives. Let us also rejoice on living in a world of rapid change and bewildering potentiality, in which crucial problems of citizenship demand your creative attention. Your lives may not remain as tranquil as you could wish, but they will not be dull.

This is an exciting and fascinating as well as a dangerous period. What is at stake is the whole destiny of man.

I charge you, as educated men and women, to accept your full moral and civic responsibility and ally yourselves with those constructive forces which may yet transform our marvellously productive technical culture into a humanly productive worldwide civilization.

Statehood For Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith the text of an advertisement printed in the June 4 edition of the Washington Daily News over the signature of the Daily Alaska Empire, a newspaper published in Juneau, Alaska.

Publication of this advertisement as an open letter to me adds one more chapter in the long drawn out controversy over statehood for Alaska. I have asked publication in the RECORD for the reason all of us in Congress are highly interested in the Alaska problem. The statehood bill has been reported out of committee and I assume it will soon come to the floor.

The Empire advertisement levels some specific charges at me and some general charges at the Congress.

In reading this open letter and my answer into the RECORD, it is for the purpose of clarifying the atmosphere. The text charges me with the reversal of position on statehood for Alaska and on a suggested 20-year income-tax moratorium for the Territory. This is not true.

In the long story of the battle for admission of Alaska I have been in favor of statehood. However, I have asked to probe every possible angle to get the full truth of the possibilities of the Territory and the desires of the citizens.

The open letter signed by the Daily Alaska Empire follows:

Congressman A. L. MILLER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MILLER: Monday we printed your complete reversal to your earlier statements.

The reversal stated you would not vote for a 20-year tax moratorium for Alaska.

In your statements of a few weeks ago which we published on page 1 of the Daily Alaska Empire, you informed us you didn't believe the allegation made in Congress that all people of Alaska were for immediate statehood. Therefore, you were going to ask that a poll be made which would express the wishes of the Alaskan people.

Earlier you suggested that it was possible to have a 20-year tax moratorium so industry could grow. You also stated that if statehood was granted to Alaska, undoubtedly the 15,000 Federal employees in Alaska would lose their 25-percent, tax-free bonus, now given all Federal employees because of the high cost of living.

Every constitutional authority points out that under statehood no Federal employee or member of the armed services can receive this 25-percent bonus.

It was you who started this whole investigation. You reported back to all newspapers in Alaska and all radio stations in Alaska that the people in Alaska were more than 2½ to 1 against statehood at this time. Now, you come along and try to blast the hopes of these honest Alaskan people, repudiating the findings of your own survey which came from more than 50 towns in Alaska.

None of this is to question your honesty or your integrity. We believe all Senators and Congressmen are by far the highest type of citizens that we have in the United States. At the same time, we realize a few will play politics for what is called political expediency.

For the information of all Members of Congress, the people of Alaska were never given a right to vote except on a loaded question. All of us are for statehood. But, the real questions are: When do we want statehood; How much will it cost; When can we afford it; and Under what conditions? These questions have never been presented to the 50,000 taxpayers in Alaska.

We now pay the United States Treasury $44,500,000 according to a statement to Congress by Hon. Fred Seaton, Secretary of the Interior. This places Alaska 42d on a per capita basis of average income against the other States. But with the cost of living here, 25 to 60 percent above the other States, the average income of the people in Alaska would actually be below the sharecroppers of Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississisippi.

During 1956 the United States Department of Commerce reports that Alaska received or spent an approximate $500 million divided as follows: $8 million from farming; $34 million from forest products; $78 million from fish; $24 million from mining. Eight million dollars of this amount was merely sand and gravel. But the big figure was Federal spending of $355 million. This gives you some idea that an area over twice the size of Texas and more than one-fifth the size of the United States, doesn't have any substantial income except Government spending. This $355 million did not include all of the Government doles and subsidies for Alaska.

Actually, over half the people of Alaska are connected directly or indirectly with the Armed Forces. They are here for about 3 years. Previous to the second war, only 40,000 people lived in Alaska other than the natives. The reason I separate the natives is because a great deal of the money spent in Alaska is on basis of assistance to the natives. Aside from this, some of our most outstanding and distinguished citizens in Alaska are Indian and Eskimo people.

Congress is not only going to vote on what is good for Alaska but they are going to vote on what is good for the United States.

Figures show that the Federal spending in Alaska is actually $10 against $1 paid to the Federal Government by the taxpayers of Alaska.

The 48 States are subsidizing Alaska on a basis of $10 to $1.

Our suggestion to the Congressmen and Senators is that they approach this problem on a realistic basis—what is good for the United States is good for Alaska.

The suggestion is that Alaska's economy be changed from a Federal subsidized economy of a 10-to-1 deficit basis to an economy which will attract the development of the natural resources of Alaska. Then Alaska will help support the Treasury of the United States rather than deplete it, as is now the case.

The people of Alaska are not looking for something for nothing. They realize immediate statehood will eliminate $30 million cost-of-living bonus from the Federal employees and members of the armed services.

A per capita cost of government basis for Alaska under statehood shows that the States of Washington or Oregon, using their cost of government figures, would cost the taxpayers of Alaska $60 million additional to operate as a State. This would break 90 percent of the people of Alaska.

A 20-year tax moratorium would merely be a means to the end. Industry could be built, and at the earliest possible moment Alaska would become a State. With industry built up, this 10-to-1 deficit spending for Alaska out of the pockets of the other States would come to an end, with the development of our natural resources.

We would then pay into the Treasury of the United States a probable $400 million a year rather than $44½ million. The people of Alaska do not want to do anything less than share equal responsibility to the greatest Government in the world. We consider paying taxes a privilege.

All Western States were built on grants or subsidies. All railroads were built on subsidies, the airlines, steampship lines; in fact, all of the big airplane manufacturers not only were built on subsidies and grants, but continue to look to the Government for subsidies and grants. We in Alaska merely want to approach this problem from a realistic basis.

The most outstanding men in Congress continue to stand up and be counted in that it would be possible to develop Alaska's natural resources and develop industry on the basis of a 20-year-tax moratorium.

This letter is intended also for these honorable gentlemen of Congress who stood fast and voted against immediate statehood, the Honorable JAMES A. HALEY, the Honorable JOHN R. PILLION, the Honorable WALTER ROGERS, the Honorable J. T. RUTHERFORD, the Honorable GEORGE A. SHUFORD, and the Honorable J. ERNEST WHARTON.

We want to call your attention to the recent action of the Alaska Department of the American Legion, which last week in territorial convention at Skagway eliminated the word immediate from an official resolution urging statehood for Alaska.

Most Congressmen and Senators realize that of the 33 strategic metals necessary to national defense and security of our Nation, all but 3 are in abundance in Alaska. But they cannot be developed because of the 25 to 60 percent higher cost to do business in Alaska than in any other area of the United States. For example: The largest metropolitan newspaper to come to Alaska

Need for Import Quotas

The House Ways and Means Committee will start hearings on the Lanham bill No. 2815, in about 2 weeks. This bill would put

mittee received testimony on 41 applications for approval of projects, of which it recommended for endorsement 16, estimated

is the Seattle Post Intelligencer. It costs $1.71 a week to buy the Post Intelligencer in Juneau. Farther north and west, the price is even higher, more than $2 per week. This gives you a thumbnail idea of costs and why only $16 million in minerals were mined in Alaska last year.

The defense of our Nation depends on an abundance of these strategic metals. One of the most necessary metals used for guided missiles and aircraft is titanium. This we have in abundance, also cobalt, nickel, and many other metals. These are in short supply elsewhere and are awaiting a realistic approach so they can be profitably mined.

A tax moratorium is merely a means of allowing private industry to come in and develop this country rather than having the Congressmen and Senators appropriating $10 of Federal money to spend in Alaska against receiving $1 back.

We are sure the voters in Nebraska are interested in a realistic correction of this Republican spending or Democratic spending, whichever you want to call it.

You charge that the Democrats in Congress are the ones who are delaying statehood. We wonder if both the Democrats and Republicans in Congress who are delaying statehood are not the real heroes who are actually trying to work this problem out on a realistic basis of what is good for not only Alaska but what is good for the other 48 States.

Actually, the records show in Congress that most of the Republicans and Demacrats are opposed to statehood at this time. Some have suggested that an election be held on an honest basis, not on a loaded question, so the true feelings of the Alaskan people can be expressed.

Let us assure you, your survey or poll of the Alaskan people, you admitted, showed that over two and a half to one were opposed to statehood at this time. This represents the real feelings of all people in Alaska, and an election will verify it.

Your survey has at least opened the eyes of the Alaskan people. So, you have certainly contributed a great deal to this cause of truth, honesty, and integrity. In no way will your attempt to scuttle the will of the people, keep these Alaskan voters from being heard if given the opportunity to express themselves on immediate statehood for Alaska.

We challenge any one to come forward with a survey showing what statehood will cost. These facts have been kept from the public by a small group of greedy politicians who have been afraid to let the people know the truth.

The hearing in Congress about statehood should look into the money paid the Tennessee plan members without authority of law.

With sincere thanks and aprpeciation to you.

THE DAILY ALASKA EMPIRE.

My reply to the publisher of the Alaska Empire follows:

JUNE 6, 1957.

Mr. WILLIAM PRESCOTT ALLEN,
Daily Alaska Empire,
Juneau, Alaska.

DEAR MR. ALLEN: This is in reply to the open letter you published as an advertisement in the June 4 edition of the Washington Daily News.

I would like to take sharp exception to some of the statements embodied in the open letter. You charge, among other things, that I reversed my stand on statehood for Alaska; that I reversed my stand on a 20 year income tax moratorium for Alaska; that I am scuttling the will of the people, and that my actions have been a matter of political expedience.

Please permit me to take up these charges one by one.

In Alaska, I have been called both a friend and foe of statehood. As a matter of fact and a matter of record, I have long favored statehood for the Territory and since my first visit there have had a strong personal interest in the welfare of your people.

During the most recent committee hearings on the subject, I endeavored to make my position crystal clear. I said I continued to favor statehood and would probably again support such legislation but that I wanted to learn more of the thinking of the people at the grassroots. I said I would endeavor to find, through a variety of efforts, if the people of Alaska are ready. I believe I have found the answer.

My desire was to be completely fair with the people of Alaska, both those for immediate statehood and those against. I pointed both to the attractions of statehood and the hardships of statehood. I pointed out the high cost of living in Alaska might discourage new population and new industry. I pointed out that the extra pay for Federal employees would probably be forfeited. I pointed out special grants which are given to Territories would be lost to the new State, as Alaska then would be on an equal footing with the rest of the States. I also pointed to certain advantages of statehood.

The early testimony at the hearings seemed too conclusive, too pat. I could not conceive that practically all the people of Alaska were demanding statehood. It did not seem reasonable. In the case of my own State of Nebraska, there was bitter controversy over statehood in the middle of the past century and when an election was held, the margin in favor of statehood was very small, in fact, it was an even 100 votes.

Therefore it seemed to me there might be a question of loaded testimony. I conducted an unofficial poll, without expense to the Government and made possible by the fine newspapers and radio stations of Alaska. As you know, I asked this question, "Do you favor immediate statehood for Alaska?"

I received 1,916 replies to that question, with no duplication so far as I know. Many Alaskans wrote interesting and informative letters explaining why they were for or against immediate statehood. There were 522 votes in favor, 1,394 against. I conducted this poll to obtain information. At no time did I ever say the results of the poll would govern my vote.

Although opponents of immediate statehood led by a substantial margin, the poll was only one of several elements taken into consideration in determining the way I would vote. No unofficial poll can be accurately conclusive and, as you know, this poll did not cover all of Alaska.

In addition, there was some argument up there against the poll. It was both praised and condemned. Some called it political; some called it malicious. It was neither. It was a simple effort to learn the thinking of the people of Alaska and I deeply appreciate the replies, the fine letters, the sound reasoning, and the great public service rendered by the newspapers and radio stations.

I repeat, the poll was only one of the factors. One of the considerations was the reasoning of people in the United States. Each year I send out a questionnaire to my home State of Nebraska, covering some of the vital problems of the day. This year I asked my constituents, as 1 of 10 questions, if they favored Alaska statehood. The latest tabulation shows 80.7 percent in favor.

Another factor, of course, was the evidence presented in the hearings and my own study of Alaskan history and ambitions. Another vital factor was the approval of some of the amendments I suggested, including doubling the acreage originally planned for the new State, bringing it up to 182 million acres; repeal of the Jones Act on foreign shipping so Alaska ports would be treated the same as those in the States, and taking out the Tennessee plan of election of officials which I feel is unconstitutional. These changes made a better bill, adding more potential for Alaska to grow and prosper.

The move for an overall vote in Alaska on the specific statehood question was defeated much to my regret. After taking into consideration all the various factors, I became convinced the Territory is ready to become a valuable member of the team of States.

In your letter you state the records show in Congress that most of the Republicans and Democrats are opposed to statehood at this time. Since no vote has been taken during this session, I am at a loss to know on what factors you base this conclusion. Personally I will wait until the ballots are counted.

Your second charge deals with a so-called reversal of stand on a 20-year income tax moratorium. I was a bit amazed when I began to receive scores of letters asking the moratorium, many saying they understood I approved such legislation. I am sure some of you folks in Alaska jumped to conclusions not based on fact. I have never endorsed an income-tax moratorium. I have many times called the plan not feasible.

I have said time after time that I will gladly consider any plan of action for Alaska. I was and am willing to listen to any suggestions for any Territory or for any State, but the fact I will listen does not mean I will endorse or vote for any plan suggested. I have said that I was willing to listen to any arguments for a plan to give tax advantages that might induce new industry and business to come to Alaska. I further suggested if the proponents of such plans were interested, they should write to their Delegate in the Congress, Mr. BARTLETT, but I repeat my earlier statement, "I could no more vote for an income-tax moratorium for Alaska than I could for one for my home State of Nebraska."

Now the charge of political expediency. It is far from the truth. I get no votes in Alaska. Mine come from the good people of the Fourth District of Nebraska. While statehood for Alaska is a matter of interest in my State, it is not a matter of controversy. The issue will gain no votes, lose no votes, for me in Nebraska. My activities in connection with Alaska are solely as a Member of the Congress of the United States, with a desire to serve the States and Territories to the best of my ability.

The Empire charges me with scuttling the will of the people. The charge is not true. Neither you, sir, nor any man on the face of the earth knows the will of the Alaskan people as of this moment. Neither my poll nor the last plebiscite nor the Tennessee plan election gave a a true and complete picture of the will of the people as a whole. Each represented a small segment of the total potential vote.

Apparently you would be governed by the result of my poll. I am appreciative of that. You charge the Tennessee plan election to be illegal. That is a matter for your people to care for in the Territory.

I want to assure you that I gave the hearings on statehood a great deal of time and study. That study was not confined to the hearings but extended many, many hours beyond. From my study I reached my conclusion.

Under separate cover I am forwarding to you a copy of the hearings on Alaska statehood. I believe you will find my trend of thought clearly outlined, with no endorsement of an income-tax moratorium.

I have always looked upon Alaska as a great Territory which could become a great State. I believe it will.

Sincerely yours,

A. L. MILLER,
Member of Congress,
Fourth District, Nebraska.

Need for Import Quotas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include a letter to the editor of the Clarksburg (W. Va.) News, in behalf of the Lanham bill, imposing import quotas.

I commend this letter to the attention of my colleagues. It forcefully points up the problems faced by many industries resulting from the administration of our foreign trade policies. To the men and women working in these plants, the loss of a livelihood is a very real, concrete issue, far closer to home than any ephemeral advantage which might be gained elsewhere.

I might also point out that whenever and wherever there are created conditions described in this letter, there exists a pocket of depression. These pockets should not be kissed off. A so-called pocket in and of itself may not be necessarily alarming; but we must not allow these pockets to increase in number.

If we have a tailor cut too many pockets, we may wind up with not enough cloth to hold the jacket together.

The letter, published in the News of May 30, follows:

GLASSWORKERS ASK CITIZEN HELP IN FIGHT FOR IMPORT QUOTAS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following letter was received by the News with a request that it be published in an attempt to rouse citizens to action on the plight of the domestic glass industry.)

DEAR MR. EDITOR: My fellow workers and I are greatly concerned about the importation of glass to this country because of what it may do to our jobs.

Our warehouse is full of glass and our sister plant the Adamston Flat Glass is, with the exception of a small crew, shut down for a lack of orders. Prospects for improvement in the glass industry are very dim at this time.

Other manufacturers of window and plate glass are also affected by the importation of glass. Hundreds of men have been laid off in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, and Arkansas.

You can readily see why we are so concerned. The importation of glass has risen from 53,000 boxes in 1950 to over 4 million boxes in 1956. This 4 million boxes is more than the combined production of Rolland, Adamston Flat, Fort Smith Glass, and the Blackfort Glass Co. in Indiana.

At one time the pottery business was fluorishing in West Virginia. There were plants in Mannington, Grafton, Paden City, and Clarksburg. Now, due to the reciprocal trade agreements, only one plant is operating in Clarksburg, and that to a limited extent.

My fellow workers and I are a little reluctant to trade our jobs for foreign good will. Are we to be sold down the river like our fellow workers in the pottery industry to save the world from communism? I hope not.

There is something the people in Clarksburg and Harrison County can do to help us save our jobs. After all, what would Clarksburg be like without our glass factories?

The House Ways and Means Committee will start hearings on the Lanham bill No. 2815, in about 2 weeks. This bill would put a quota on the importation of glass into this country, and do much to save our jobs.

The people of Clarksburg could do much to help us and help themselves by writing to members of the Ways and Means Committee urging them to act favorable on the Lanham bill. They should tell them what glass means to us here in Clarksburg and how our city depends on glass for its very existence.

I wonder if our chamber of commerce and other civic organizations are mindful of what is slowly happening to our glass industries. They could be of help too.

There are 25 Congressmen on the Ways and Means Committee. I am listing some of them in the hope that some of your readers may write to them.

The address is: The Ways and Means Committee, House of Representatives, Washington 25, D. C.

The names of the members are: JERE COOPER (Indiana), WILBUR C. MILLS (Arkansas), HERMAN P. EBERHARTER (Pennsylvania), HALE BOGGS (Louisiana), NOBLE J. GREGORY (Kentucky), AIME J. FORAND (Rhode Island), CECIL R. KING (California), THOMAS J. O'BRIEN (Illinois), EUGENE J. KEOGH (New York), BURR P. HARRISON (Virginia), FRANK M. KARSTEN (Missouri).

We glassworkers at the Rolland Glass Co. will be grateful if you publish this letter.

Sincerely,

CARL LEJEUNE.

National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I present a report which I, as President of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, made to the 44th annual convention held in the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., on May 18, 1957. It is as follows:

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT, REPRESENTATIVE OVERTON BROOKS, OF LOUISIANA, TO THE 44TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS AT THE MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 18, 1957

Ladies and gentlemen of the convention, it again becomes my duty to make a report concerning the activities of the Congress during the year since we last met on May 10–12, 1956, for our 43d national convention. I am happy to report that we have had another fine year marked by progress in every direction toward our goals.

Our 43d annual convention achieved a new high in enthusiasm for conservation of water resources. An outstanding event in the organization's long history of accomplishment, the gathering attracted 358 official delegates from 43 States, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, and one foreign country (Colombia, South America). In addition, there were several hundred others in attendance, guests, visitors, and representatives of the press and radio. Again Louisiana led the States in number of delegates, with 41; North Carolina was second with 30; while Ohio and Texas were tied for third place with 22 each.

The projects committee's all-day hearings opened the convention on May 10. The committee received testimony on 41 applications for approval of projects, of which it recommended for endorsement 16, estimated to cost $242,416,998. The committee put 10 projects in class II, meritorious; 6 in class III, expeditious report requested on authorized survey; 7 in class IV, survey recommended; and 2 in class V, not classified.

The resolutions committee, composed of one delegate from each State, dealt with a wide range of subjects as outlined in the agenda for the convention; gave careful consideration to each proposal; made many suggestions; and reached agreement on the committee's report which was further amended from the floor of the convention and adopted unanimously; thereby constituting the policy and program of the Congress for the ensuing year.

One other committee report attracted widespread attention, the report of the Special Committee on the Panama Canal, which devoted 2 years of intensive study to the problem and unanimously recommended construction of a sea level canal.

During the last year we have noted with growing uneasiness certain disquieting developments regarding the Panama Canal Zone. The backwash of the Suez crisis of last year has begun to lap at the shorelines of the Western Hemisphere. There has been a succession of significant events. We hear reports that elements in Panama are beginning to suggest that we share our sovereignty over the Canal Zone with them—despite the exclusive sovereignty granted the United States in perpetuity under the 1903 Treaty with Panama. Simultaneously, Soviet shortwave stations are beaming programs to Central America, demanding that the United States withdraw from the Canal Zone. And, more recently, we hear suggestions by a few misguided Americans urging us to turn over operation of the canal to the United Nations. The idea is that we would thus dramatize our good faith of last year, at the height of the Suez crisis when we suggested that all the world's key waterways be internationalized.

In the light of such developments, your president issued a statement through the National Rivers and Harbors Congress on April 28, warning that "we will have trouble in our own backyard if we fail to exercise the most skilled diplomacy." The NRHC has had a traditional and almost godfatherly interest in the Panama Canal project since its inception.

The United States has no territorial ambitions. At the same time, it has no intention of turning over one of its main assets to the United Nations in exchange for a mere pat on the back. I trust we have not become that softheaded.

Passage by the House of Representatives on May 22, 1956, of the civil works appropriations bill for 1957 was a fitting climax for our 43d national convention. The bill as reported by the House Appropriations Committee on May 21 carried a total of $787,453,000, a cut of only $26,000 in the budget estimates for the Army's civil functions (river and harbor improvement, flood control, shore protection, multipurpose projects, etc.) as contrasted with the reduction of nearly $60 million the committee recommended in these appropriations in the previous year.

When the bill was taken up on the House floor the next day, the chairman of the committee referred to the effort made the preceding year when Vice Chairman Simpson and I called a meeting of our colleagues to discuss the very drastic cuts made by the committee in the budget estimates, and said, in part: "Here we have a bill giving something to everybody. And I voted for it. A year ago we thought we had a very reasonable bill. * * * But the boys held a little caucus over it in the caucus room in the Old House Building. Both sides of the aisle got

together and they agreed * * * and they came over here and ran over us like a bunch of wild steers. You knew, 2 or 3 experiences are enough. So I am going to 'jine 'em'—I am going to vote with them today."

Whereupon the House added $460,000 for 2 projects and took out $25,000 for 1, rejected a motion to recommit the bill, and sent it to the Senate. On May 28, 1956, accompanied by Representative PAUL G. ROGERS, of Florida, resolutions committee chairman at our 43d convention, and the executive vice president, William H. Webb, I appeared before the Public Works Appropriations Subcommittee of the Senate. The bill as finally approved carried a total of $856,727,000, an increase of $38,226,000 over the amount recommended by the budget and $65,969,000 more than was allowed by the House of Representatives.

The bill's total of $635,012,500 for the Army engineers' public-works program was the second largest amount ever made available for a single year, being exceeded only by $4,739,690 in the 1950 fiscal year. Construction of 235 individual projects and planning of 98 were provided $446,387,500 and $9,562,000, respectively, these projects being located in 46 States, Alaska, Hawaii, the District of Columbia, and the Virgin Islands. They included 121 continuing projects and 114 new starts and resumptions.

Representative Rogers, Mr. Webb, and I made our second appearance before the full Committee on Public Works of the House of Representatives and presented our resolutions and projects committee's reports. On July 7, 1956, that committee reported favorably an omnibus flood control and rivers and harbors bill authorizing $80,604,000 for 29 navigation and 7 beach-erosion projects, and $1,263,267,000 for flood control and multiple-purpose projects in 21 river basins throughout the United States and in Alaska. Subsequently, the bill was passed by the Senate after the Public Works Committee of that body had added numerous projects, but it met with a veto by President Eisenhower because it included projects which had not been through all the processes of engineering reports and studies as now prescribed by law.

On June 27, 1956, both House and Senate agreed to a conference report on the bill to strengthen and extend the Water Pollution Control Act and authorize grants of $50 million per year to States, municipalities, etc., for the construction of sewage-treatment works, and the bill was approved by the President on July 9.

Also, on July 5, 1956, the Senate agreed to the House amendments to the bill authorizing $10 million per year for small flood-control projects and increasing to $400,000 the limitation for any individual project, and on July 11 President Eisenhower signed it into law.

Fourteen national directors attended the board meeting immediately after adjournment of our 43d national convention; reelected all national officers; authorized the president to appoint an executive committee of not less than 5 members, in addition to the budget committee; agreed to meet semiannually; and pledged cooperation with the national officers to increase the membership of the congress and thereby its effectiveness.

Efforts by the national headquarters office to increase the number of active, contributing Members of the Congress have continued throughout the year with marked success. Also, during the latter part of last summer and early fall, our treasurer, William G. Zetzmann, of New Orleans, organized a membership campaign in that city by selecting a small membership committee and corresponding with a number of firms, corporations, organizations, and individuals who it was believed would be interested in affiliating with the Congress and sharing in its work. Mr. Zetzmann will report to you a little later on this morning's program on this fine job which he and his associates in New Orleans did, and as you listen to him, I hope every one here will give consideration to doing a similar job in his own city and community. Only by this means can we expect to enlarge our membership and thereby equip ourselves with the necessary sinews to do the job that more and more is expected of our organization.

Today we detect a marked improvement in the public's attitude toward water development programs. The public seems more favorably disposed toward appropriations and authorizations for flood control and harbor projects.

Formerly, efforts were made to ridicule them out of Congress by using such terms as "pork barrel," "log-rolling," and "boondoggling." It tried to make the public believe that it was somehow wasteful and prodigal to spend money for flood prevention projects. Floods were frequently shrugged off as natural catastrophes. Somehow, it was supposed to be a divine virtue to endure them stoically. Of course, this was a comfortable and contented philosophy as long as the weather remained normal and favorable—and polite.

Within our lifetime it has taken about a half a dozen major catastrophes to bring those who were brain-washed back to their senses. There was the great Mississippi River flood of 1928; the Ohio River floods of 1936 and 1937; and more recently floods in California, the Connecticut Valley and in the Southwest. In addition, there was a series of vicious hurricanes that harassed the eastern seaboard and Gulf of Mexico areas.

Prodded by these catastrophes, we have made a sound beginning on a nationwide flood control program during the last two decades. Today, more than 400 flood control projects have been placed in full or partial operation. We have now accumulated sufficient statistics and experience with these projects to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that they have already justified their existence many times over.

The House Public Works Committee last month published a staff study showing the amount of damages estimated to have been prevented by existing projects. You should have a copy of that report: Costs and Benefits of the Flood Control Program. One table, based on figures supplied by the United States Army engineers, gives flood prevention figures for the 391 Federal projects in full or partial operation as of June 30, 1954. Over an average operational period of 11 years these 391 structures saved $7.3 billion. This is already twice the total amount spent for their construction. Assuming an economic life of 50 years, these projects will ultimately provide annual benefits of more than 3 times the annual charge for everything—amortization, interest, maintenance, and operation. These dollar-and-cent benefits do not take into account all the lives that otherwise would have been lost. Nor do they reflect such secondary satisfactions as wearing dry shoes, having dry basements, and keeping the mud off the living room carpet.

The National Rivers and Harbors Congress has just compiled similar figures showing flood savings during the past 12 months. In that period, the Nation has experienced floods in five areas: The lower Mississippi; the Ohio River Valley of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia; the Tennessee River Valley; the Pacific Northwest; and more recently in the Texas-Louisiana area. Our survey, based on official figures, shows that existing Federal projects have prevented damages of from $230 to $280 million during the last year. (In my judgment, these figures are on the conservative side.) These savings represent more than one-third of the $635 million requested in the pending budget for projects all over the country during the next fiscal year.

Congressional committees are now holding hearings on flood control and harbor bills. Many of you have made appearances. In the light of proven savings, as shown by the figures I have just cited, we can make an affirmative presentation. The Nation's water development program has entered the payoff period. We should take advantage of this fact by emphasizing all the more the benefits that are accruing each year through the prevention of floods.

With this sort of approach I am confident that we will find due consideration given to our case on Capitol Hill. In its commendable efforts to economize, I do not believe that Congress will penalize the flood and harbor program, because the program is now making such an impressive showing of tangible savings. These demonstrated savings represent economy in the true and wisest sense of the word.

At our last year's convention it developed that there was considerable interest in the study programs which are underway in various Government agencies dealing with the conservation, development, and use of our national water and land resources. Consequently, in an effort to assemble the data concerning these programs I addressed a questionnaire comprising 18 topics to the heads of 39 Federal agencies concerned with various phases of water and soil resource development and control. The more important replies when received were included in an extension of my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and widespread distribution was given to this report.

The questionnaire, which was answered by 40 Federal agencies, revealed how many facets of the water problem have interested the Government. Research and experimental programs are going on in the fields of hurricane and tornado reporting, artificial rainmaking, conversion of salt water, long-range weather forecasting, nuclear fallout, industrial water supply and the reuse of water, stream pollution, atomic power as a new source of energy, atomic-propelled merchant ships, weather observations in the Arctic and Antarctic, and the declining water level.

Many of these programs are in the laboratory or pilot plant stage, but sufficient funds should be appropriated to continue and expand them. They are already contributing much toward the success of the older Federal water programs—flood control and harbor improvement, power development, and irrigation and reclamation. There is no way of telling when one of these obscure experimental programs will produce some revolutionary result that will alter our whole approach toward the important water problem.

On June 30, 1956, a simultaneous meeting of the Executive and Budget Committees was held in Washington, attended by all of the members. The Budget Committee approved a budget for the year ending June 30, 1957, which was ratified by the Executive Committee, based on anticipated income of approximately $30,000. This was approximately the gross receipts for the calendar year 1956, which has heretofore been the fiscal year of the Congress, so we see that we still have to increase our efforts to reach the goal of $50,000 fixed by our board of directors as our annual budget.

On March 28 of this year a dinner meeting was held in the National Press Club in Washington, to which were invited the officers, directors, and members of the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the Washington Board of Trade. This meeting was attended by about 40 persons and indicated a very real and definite interest in our program on the part of the business people in the Nation's Capital. Following this meeting, Mr. Graydon F. Smart, of Shreveport, La., at my request, spent a week calling upon prospective members in the District of Columbia,

and the indications are that our membership roster will be increased by a goodly number of local firms and corporations. Eventually we hope to expand this membership campaign to other areas throughout the United States, with the assistance and cooperation of our national and regional directors and State vice presidents.

A liberal platform plank on river and harbor development was submitted to the resolutions committees of the Democratic and Republican National Conventions; in the latter case, by the splendid cooperation of the Honorable Herbert G. West of the Inland Empire Waterways Association, who journeyed to San Francisco at his own expense and presented our proposed platform plank in person to the public works subcommittee of the Republican National Convention's resolutions committee. Both platforms adopted by the national conventions of the major political parties last August, and the campaign pledges subsequently made, promised vigorous action on this program. The year 1957, therefore, it has been said, should be "the year of fulfillment" in our long campaign for adequate control of the destructive floodwaters, and the conservation and development of our water and land resources.

This year, I have appointed two special committees to deal with particular phases of water resource development, and to give us the benefit of their views and recommendations as to the best method to pursue to reach our goals. I refer to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, under the chairmanship of Representative A. L. MILLER, of Nebraska; and the Committee on Water Conservation and Pollution Abatement, chaired by Representative JOHN A. BLATNIK, of Minnesota. I am sure we shall all look forward with keen anticipation to the reports of these two committees this afternoon.

And now, in closing this report on the activities of our Congress during the past year, may I express my gratitude to the many hundreds of individuals who have cooperated with us in advancing our program, not the least of whom have been the members of our advisory committees for the respective States and congressional districts. These outstanding citizens, devoted to the public welfare, have all been recommended by their Senators and Congressmen as being able, ready, and willing to work with us, and we have been most fortunate to have had their assistance in carrying on our activities. We shall look forward to a continuance of their efforts, and in return, we pledge the best endeavors of our national headquarters office, as well as our regional and State offices, to carrying forward this great program for the sound and orderly development of our national water and land resources.

Taxation of Cooperatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the pressure against cooperatives and in favor of the taxation of cooperatives has led to a further rather interesting exchange which I believe will do much to clear away the confusion which often arises from accusations which, for one reason or another, remain unanswered.

Therefore, as requested by Mr. Leonard J. Calhoun, I am inserting in the RECORD his letter and the reply thereto submitted by Mr. Jerry Voorhis, executive director of the Cooperative League of the United States of America:

PUBLIC INFORMATION COMMITTEE
OF THE COTTON INDUSTRIES,
Washington, D. C., April 29, 1957.

Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In a letter from Mr. Jerry Voorhis dated April 8, which you inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 18, he makes a series of statements respecting taxation of cooperatives and concludes by stating:

"Maybe you have some questions to ask us. If so, feel free to do so. We will gladly give you all the facts in as much detail as you desire about the tax status of cooperative business."

His key statement is:

"Revenue Act amendments passed in 1951 finished the job of putting co-ops and profit corporations on essentially the same tax basis. The point these letters to Congress attacking cooperatives don't make is that co-ops return to customers according to their purchases what the corporations can accumulate as profits."

You may wish to ask Mr. Voorhis to explain the income-tax treatment of co-ops on earnings actually kept by the co-op and merely allocated to members. An example is afforded by a letter of advice in our possession which states:

"This is to inform you that $100.98 has been allocated to you from the net savings of the association for the year ending June 30, 1954. The allocated reserves, like the capital stock, provide the funds which pay for the bricks and mortar, trucks, and equipment, that make possible the operation of the business. Since the allocated reserves are invested in such facilities, it is not expected that they will be paid to our members in cash within the foreseeable future. We have been advised by our lawyers that under the existing circumstances, according to a tax court decision, the amount specified above as your allocated reserves will not be taxable to you at this time."

This, obviously, is not a situation where the co-op (to quote from Mr. Voorhis) "returns to customers * * * what the corporations can accumulate."

Instead, it is a situation where the patron has received nothing but a letter which the courts properly have held is not income, yet the co-op keeps the earnings referred to in the letter tax free.

You may also wish to ask him whether his conclusions that co-ops and ordinary corporations are "on essentially the same tax basis" under the 1951 law, which makes deductible to co-ops covered thereby:

"(A) Amounts paid as dividends on * * * capital stock; and

"(B) Amounts allocated during the taxable year to patrons * * *(whether paid in cash * * * certificates, or letters of advice, or in some other manner that discloses to each patron the dollar amount allocated to him."

Is Mr. Voorhis willing for co-ops to be put on essentially the same tax basis as ordinary corporations? Is he willing to have co-ops taxed when, like other corporations they issue capital stock and pay dividends on this stock? Is he willing to give them special tax treatment only to the extent they actually distribute current earnings on a patronage basis?

If you would secure and publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Mr. Voorhis' answers to these questions it might go a long way toward clarifying the co-op tax issue.

I should appreciate very much your own views as to limiting special tax treatment to rebates actually paid customers.

Very sincerely,

LEONARD J. CALHOUN.

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE
OF THE U. S. A.,
Chicago, Ill., May 20, 1957.

Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: You have been kind enough to pass on to me a copy of the letter from Mr. Leonard J. Calhoun, of the Public Information Committee of the Cotton Industries. Mr. Calhoun's letter is directed as much to me as it is to you and therefore perhaps some comment on my part is in order.

I would assume that Mr. Calhoun would not advocate that a corporation should be subject to income tax on money which is invested in its capital stock. Corporations have access to the capital markets of the country where they are able to sell their capital stock. Cooperatives do not. Cooperatives must raise their basic capital from their members, most of whom are people of no great financial resources. The onetime cooperatives have a real chance to secure investment is at the time they pay their patronage refunds to their patrons. Cooperative patrons in many instances agree to an investment of their own money, which they receive in patronage refunds, in capital stock or some other form of ownership in the facilities of their cooperative. It is true this investment is somewhat different in form, but it is not at all different in substance from what happens when a person buys stock in a corporation. Any reasonable concept of tax equity would have to hold that the cooperative should no more be taxed on investment in its stock than should a corporation.

It has been the belief of cooperative leaders in general ever since the 1951 Revenue Act was passed that cooperative patrons were taxable on patronage refunds received by them in whatever form paid at the time of payment provided that those refunds affected the business income of those patrons.

When Mr. Calhoun says that the patron has received nothing but a letter and that the courts have properly held that this is not income, this is a matter of opinion, certainly. It is my strong suspicion that the real reason that Mr. Calhoun argues as he does against noncash patronage refunds is because, for obvious reasons, he and his organization would much prefer that all patronage refunds be paid in cash in order that cooperatives might be starved for investment money and thus rendered unable to keep up with their competitors in improvement of facilities and services.

The question may well be asked, however, whether a farmer, for example, is better off to receive a hundred dollars in cash than he is to receive a hundred-dollar ownership interest in a fertilizer plant which can assure him of high-quality, open-formula fertilizer throughout his entire lifetime at cost to him.

Mr. Calhoun's next point refers to the fact that certain agricultural cooperatives, which are strictly regulated by the law as to their methods of operation, whose rate of dividend payments on capital stock is limited by law, and which are required to pay patronage refunds to nonmembers as well as to members are not at present double taxed on dividend payments to stockholders. This is all that remains of the longstanding policy of Congress to encourage farmers to attack directly their problems and the problems of American agriculture by forming cooperatives for that purpose rather than relying on governmental programs. Opinion among

cooperatives is divided as to the question of a continuance of this particular provision. Some believe it is wholly justified as a means of encouraging the cooperative method of solving farmers' problems and is preferable to other methods. Others believe that this provision is of little value and that it should be changed. Except for this particular group of agricultural cooperatives, cooperatives are now on essentially the same tax basis as ordinary corporations.

Certainly, we are willing to have co-ops taxed like other corporations and to the extent that other corporations are taxed. But I would point out again in this connection that no corporation is taxed on patronage refunds paid out by it and that so far as investment in their capital stock is concerned no corporation is taxed on such investment, and neither should cooperatives be.

In answer to Mr. Calhoun's question, we certainly are willing to say that only when a co-op distributes into the ownership of patrons the current net margins on a patronage basis should there be any excludability for tax purposes. This, however, is exactly what the present situation is, and it is the reason why I said in my former letter to you that Revenue Act amendments passed in 1951 finished the job of putting cooperatives and profit corporations on essentially the same tax basis.

Sincerely yours,

JERRY VOORHIS,
Executive Director.

Dedication of the New Eberhard Faber Pencil Co. Plant at Wilkes-Barre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I rise to call attention briefly to a subject that is constantly in the thinking of all Members of the Congress.

My reference is broadly to the industrial development of our respective States and, in turn, to their respective areas.

A gracious Heaven has richly endowed this land of ours with endless bounty. There is within our borders an abundance of natural resources for satisfying all of man's ever-growing wants. These blessings have attracted to us from less-favored lands the most vigorous and most enterprising, who have here found the opportunities they needed to achieve fulfillment and complete personal dignity.

Adapting their natural talents and skills to the new land, they have been largely instrumental in building an awe-inspiring American industry, to which no goal seems impossible and most goals seem relatively simpl..

We cannot yet be too proud. We have built only with what a benevolent God has given us, and much remains to be built before maximum opportunity is available to all.

But we can take pride in this: That in those areas where Nature has withheld some of her favor, we have not been frustrated by a lack of natural resources. The Nation has forged a great and efficient system of distribution which has freed many industries from the paralyzing necessity of proximity to its sources of supply. Industry has thus become more flexible and can give more attention to other factors.

The abundance of these advantages offered by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is pointed up by a symbolic event that will occur there on Wednesday, June 19, 1957. On that day, on a mountaintop overlooking the city of Wilkes-Barre, one of the Nation's oldest yet most enterprising industries is dedicating its new factory. For both that industry, the Eberhard Faber Pencil Co., and for the area, the event opens also a new era.

It is no paradox that the Nation's oldest manufacturer of quality writing instruments is the creator of the world's newest and most advanced facility for such manufacture.

The spirit of enterprise and progress is a young spirit and is kept always green by an unflagging faith in the future of this Nation. For 108 years this spirit has been kept brightly burnished by the descendants of the first Eberhard Faber. They have always chosen as their associates men of like vision and youthful spirit.

Nor is it strange that they selected the Wilkes-Barre area for their principal factory and world headquarters. In this area repose the skills and the talents which Eberhard Faber requires above all else to sustain its enterprise and to broaden further its world markets.

From ships that have crossed oceans, from remote forests, and from farflung mines come the raw materials that are blended and welded by men into the writing tools they must have for the earliest expression of their ideas and for the communication of these ideas to others. Indeed, graphite, which men use to lubricate their wonderful machines, is here enclosed within a simple pencil to serve an even more important purpose, that of lubricating the flow of thought from man to man, from nation to nation.

From Wilkes-Barre, which now becomes truly the pencil capital of the world, these basic implements will move speedily out on glistening rails, over white concrete highways, and along the fast-flowing streams of the air above, to all corners of the globe.

For here, all these efficient means of communication are at hand.

It should be instructive to all other parts of this Nation which can accommodate industry, and which require it to sustain and develop the standard of living of their citizens, that the massive decision to relocate in Wilkes-Barre did not occur to Eberhard Faber spontaneously.

It was enterprise and zeal and abundant faith and local pride of a very practical kind that led to the decision. Working together, the Wilkes-Barre Chamber of Commerce, the Wilkes-Barre Industrial Fund, and the Committee of One Hundred, later given unstinting aid by the Pennsylvania Industrial Development Commission, took the initiative.

For Eberhard Faber, the removal means not only an opportunity to acquire newer and more modern production facilities. It means also new room for future growth. To the locality mainly affected, it means more jobs, better jobs, the use of its people at their highest skills, and thus greater prosperity and happiness.

There is another lesson here for industry-starved areas of our country. In their desperate efforts to attract industries, local sponsors sometimes lose sight of the stability of an industry in prospect. It must be sound in structure and in management, however small it may also be. Its primary advantage to the area must be that it will create employment, but this employment should bring solid and lasting benefits to those who take it.

The character of management should therefore be weighed carefully, lest a new industry bring with it more chaos than benefit.

In the arrival of the Eberhard Faber Pencil Co., the Wilkes-Barre area has taken a clear, long step forward in its progress. In making the move, the community-conscious Eberhard Faber people have shown American industry that no business is limited by rigid frontiers.

They have shown that expansion and progress are up to men, and that men of sagacity and vision can effectively control their own destinies, subject only to the will of their Creator.

Indeed, American communities and American industry can learn much from this happy wedding of Eberhard Faber and Wilkes-Barre. From this union will come gladness to the community, to industry, and to the Nation itself.

Tax Subsidies to the Private Utility Companies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, several days ago I addressed the House on the subject of the TVA and in the course of my remarks I mentioned the tax amortization certificates private utilities had received and the tax relief and subsidy they have thereby enjoyed. Several members have spoken to me concerning the need for additional information on the subsidies enjoyed by private utilities in their States. Having obtained a list of subsidy certificates, interest free loans and other benefits to private electric companies, I ask unanimous consent to have reproduced these tables of grants and favoritism in the appendix of the RECORD.

These tables were obtained from the Power Facts Handbook prepared by Paul Nelson and Clay Cockran and published by the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. The following comments may increase the value of those tables.

A tax certificate permits the recipient to amortize his capital investment in 5 years instead of the much longer period

provided by conventional practice. The actual life of power projects is normally considered to range from 25 to 50 years. On a $2 million powerplant construction—with a 50-percent or $1 million tax certificate grant—the company would be permitted to depreciate $200,000 a year instead of $20,000 each year under normal procedure. Assuming that the company was already in the 52-percent bracket—as most of them would be—the tax saving, as compared to what it would have had to pay if it had followed the 50-year depreciation pattern, would amount to $93,600 per year. Over the 5-year period the total saving would be $468,000. So that during the 5 years the company enjoyed rapid amortization it would pay a total of $468,000 less in taxes than under normal depreciation procedures—the private utility company also would have the benefit of using the funds represented by the tax saving and therefore the total tax relief amounts to an interest-free loan from the Government.

The first of the following tables presents the picture for the 48 States; the second for most major power companies in the United States. The first column gives the amount of tax certificates obtained, the second the amount of tax relief these certificates have or will yield or, to put it another way, the interest-free loan they have thereby received; and the final table gives the total subsidy from these grants.

I certainly agree with Senator BYRD who said in a report on these rapid amortization scandals that they clearly and obviously represent a subsidy to the private utilities—a subsidy that should be discontinued.

It is easy to see how these beneficiaries of clear and measurable dollar and cents subsidies can spend millions of dollars in magazine and newspaper advertisements trying to give the impression that public-power projects like the TVA, Bonneville Power Administration, the REA co-ops, and others, enjoy what the private electric companies call subsidies—they should know. I might point out also that the next time we see one of these propaganda ads asking "Where do your taxes go?" that these tables will provide one very clear and incontrovertible answer—to subsidies, in the form of fast tax writeoffs, interest-free loans, and favoritism to the private utilities.

The tables follow:

TABLE I.—*Estimated value of accelerated depreciation certificates, interest-free loans, and other subsidy benefits to private electric companies from June 9, 1951, through July 11, 1956*

[Application under the electric power goal was suspended on Dec. 3, 1953, reopened in April 1955 and closed again on Jan. 1, 1956]

State	Amount certified for accelerated depreciation	Amount of interest-free loan	Total subsidy up to 33⅓ years at 6 percent	State	Amount certified for accelerated depreciation	Amount of interest-free loan	Total subsidy up to 33⅓ years at 6 percent
Alabama	$52, 539, 226	$23, 222, 337	$78, 808, 839	New Hampshire	$33, 146, 000	$14, 650, 532	$49, 719, 000
Arizona	11, 688, 700	5, 166, 405	17, 533, 050	New Jersey	43, 309, 000	19, 142, 578	64, 963, 500
Arkansas	33, 812, 000	14, 944, 904	50, 718, 000	New Mexico	24, 045, 237	10, 627, 994	36, 067, 855
California	312, 200, 799	137, 992, 752	468, 301, 198	New York	165, 884, 515	73, 320, 955	248, 851, 011
Colorado	29, 932, 350	13, 230, 099	44, 898, 525	North Carolina	51, 235, 944	22, 646, 288	76, 853, 909
Connecticut	43, 356, 727	19, 163, 672	65, 035, 090	North Dakota	3, 040, 000	1, 343, 630	4, 560, 000
Delaware	28, 136, 000	12, 436, 112	42, 204, 000	Ohio	371, 531, 333	164, 216, 847	557, 296, 998
Florida	82, 621, 365	36, 518, 643	123, 932, 047	Oklahoma	73, 448, 600	32, 464, 282	142, 637, 182
Georgia	60, 322, 554	26, 662, 569	90, 483, 831	Oregon	63, 605, 693	28, 113, 716	95, 408, 540
Idaho	10, 971, 000	4, 849, 182	16, 456, 500	Pennsylvania	184, 316, 026	81, 467, 683	276, 491, 486
Illinois	77, 927, 273	34, 443, 765	116, 890, 609	South Carolina	44, 335, 014	19, 596, 076	66, 554, 387
Indiana	130, 048, 870	57, 481, 600	195, 073, 304	South Dakota	899, 502	397, 580	1, 349, 253
Iowa	31, 820, 698	14, 064, 748	47, 731, 047	Tennessee	3, 934, 908	1, 739, 229	5, 902, 363
Kansas	47, 987, 160	21, 210, 325	71, 980, 740	Texas	202, 594, 337	89, 546, 698	303, 891, 506
Kentucky	8, 707, 905	3, 848, 894	13, 061, 857	Utah	1, 664, 640	735, 771	2, 496, 960
Louisiana	71, 924, 862	31, 790, 790	107, 887, 293	Vermont	1, 402, 000	619, 684	2, 103, 000
Maine	28, 119, 628	12, 428, 875	42, 179, 441	Virginia	170, 306, 691	75, 275, 558	255, 460, 036
Maryland	33, 209, 400	14, 678, 555	49, 814, 100	Washington	94, 173, 050	41, 624, 497	141, 259, 605
Massachusetts	26, 711, 571	11, 806, 514	40, 067, 356	Washington, D. C	6, 399, 000	2, 828, 358	9, 598, 500
Michigan	122, 167, 926	53, 998, 223	183, 251, 888	West Virginia	148, 559, 534	65, 663, 313	222, 839, 301
Minnesota	39, 384, 068	17, 407, 758	59, 076, 102	Wisconsin	33, 979, 000	15, 018, 718	50, 968, 500
Mississippi	33, 367, 694	14, 748, 521	50, 051, 541	Wyoming	14, 917, 500	6, 593, 535	22, 376, 250
Missouri	75, 728, 435	33, 471, 968	113, 592, 652				
Montana	12, 286, 000	5, 430, 390	18, 429, 000	United States total	3, 146, 932, 585	1, 390, 944, 203	4, 720, 398, 877
Nevada	5, 232, 850	2, 312, 920	7, 849, 275				

Source: Electric Consumers Information Committee.

TABLE II.—*Estimated value of accelerated depreciation certificates, interest-free loans and other subsidy benefits to private electric companies from June 9, 1951, through July 11, 1956*

[Application under the electric power goal was suspended on Dec. 3, 1953, reopened in April 1955 and closed again on Jan. 1, 1956]

Name of company	Amount certified for accelerated depreciation	Amount of interest-free loan	Total subsidy up to 33⅓ years at 6 percent	Name of company	Amount certified for accelerated depreciation	Amount of interest-free loan	Total subsidy up to 33⅓ years at 6 percent
Alabama Power Co	$52, 539, 226	$23, 222, 337	$78, 808, 839	Columbus & Southern Ohio Electric Co	$19, 509, 750	$8, 623, 309	$29, 264, 625
Appalachian Electric Power Co	159, 519, 334	70, 507, 546	239, 279, 001	Commonwealth Edison Co	39, 481, 000	17, 450, 602	59, 221, 500
Arizona Edison Co., Inc	66, 000	29, 172	99, 000	Connecticut Light & Power Co	12, 808, 537	5, 661, 373	19, 212, 805
Arizona Public Service Co	11, 300, 000	4, 994, 600	16, 950, 000	Connecticut Power Co	1, 905, 750	842, 341	2, 858, 625
Arkansas-Missouri Power Co	71, 000	31, 382	106, 509	Consolidated Edison Company of New York	57, 512, 250	25, 420, 414	86, 268, 375
Arkansas-Power & Light Co	33, 812, 000	14, 944, 904	50, 718, 000	Consolidated Gas & Electric (Maryland)	24, 939, 000	11, 023, 038	37, 408, 500
Atlantic City Electric Co	7, 625, 000	3, 370, 250	11, 437, 500	Consumers Power Co	51, 559, 943	22, 789, 495	77, 339, 914
Basin Light & Power Co	66, 750	29, 503	100, 125	Dallas Power & Light Co	21, 489, 000	9, 498, 138	32, 233, 500
Black Hills Power & Light Co	69, 502	30, 720	104, 253	Delaware Power & Light Co	28, 136, 000	12, 436, 112	42, 204, 000
Boston Edison Co	13, 109, 594	5, 794, 440	19, 664, 391	Derby Gas & Electric Co. (Connecticut)	150, 000	66, 300	225, 000
California Electric Power Co	9, 240, 132	4, 084, 138	13, 860, 198	Detroit Edison Co	68, 478, 983	30, 267, 710	102, 718, 474
California-Oregon Power Co	33, 563, 193	14, 834, 931	50, 344, 790	El Paso Electric Co	7, 308, 000	3, 230, 136	10, 962, 000
Carolina Power & Light Co	48, 695, 755	21, 523, 524	73, 043, 625	Electric Power, Inc. (Connecticut)	3, 904, 000	1, 725, 568	5, 856, 000
Central Arizona Light & Power Co	46, 200	20, 420	69, 300	Empire, District Electric Co. (Kansas)	9, 106, 100	4, 024, 896	13, 659, 150
Central Hudson Gas & Electric Corp	4, 385, 200	1, 938, 258	6, 577, 800	Florida Power & Light Co	43, 440, 000	19, 200, 480	65, 160, 000
Central Illinois Electric & Gas	4, 330, 200	1, 913, 860	6, 495, 000	Florida Power Corp	28, 513, 200	12, 602, 834	42, 769, 800
Central Illinois Light Co	5, 378, 000	2, 377, 076	8, 067, 000	Frontier Power Co. (Colorado)	198, 000	87, 516	297, 000
Central Illinois Public Service Co	1, 705, 000	753, 610	2, 557, 500	Georgia Power & Light Co	212, 000	93, 704	318, 000
Central Kansas Power Co	1, 187, 000	524, 654	1, 780, 500	Georgia Power Co	60, 085, 554	26, 557, 815	90, 128, 331
Central Louisiana Electric Co., Inc	11, 748, 300	5, 192, 749	17, 622, 450	Gulf Power Co	10, 693, 165	4, 726, 379	16, 039, 747
Central Maine Power Co	27, 300, 453	12, 066, 800	40, 950, 679	Gulf States Utilities (Texas)	26, 196, 000	11, 578, 632	39, 294, 000
Central Power & Light Co. (Texas)	22, 286, 300	9, 850, 545	33, 429, 450	Hartford Electric Light Co	19, 675, 000	8, 696, 350	29, 512, 500
Central Vermont Public Service Corp	1, 187, 000	524, 654	1, 780, 500	Houston Lighting & Power Co	37, 745, 893	16, 683, 685	56, 618, 840
Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co	46, 018, 145	20, 340, 020	69, 027, 217	Idaho Power Co	10, 827, 000	4, 785, 534	16, 240, 500
Citizens Utilities Co	739, 940	327, 053	1, 109, 910	Illinois Power Co	19, 472, 775	8, 606, 966	29, 209, 162
Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co	82, 711, 245	37, 000, 370	125, 566, 867	Indianapolis Power & Light Co	19, 430, 123	8, 588, 114	29, 145, 184
Colorado Central Power Co	766, 350	338, 727	1, 149, 525				

TABLE II.—*Estimated value of accelerated depreciation certificates, interest-free loans and other subsidy benefits to private electric companies from June 9, 1951, through July 11, 1956*—Continued

[Application under the electric power goal was suspended on Dec. 3, 1953, reopened in April 1955 and closed again on Jan. 1, 1956]

Name of company	Amount certified for accelerated depreciation	Amount of interest-free loan	Total subsidy up to 33⅓ years at 6 percent
Indiana & Michigan Electric Co	$53,859,348	$23,805,831	$80,789,021
Iowa Electric Light & Power Co	6,541,000	2,891,122	9,811,500
Iowa Illinois Gas & Electric Co	1,713,700	757,455	2,570,550
Iowa Power & Light Co	14,972,700	6,617,933	22,459,050
Iowa Public Service Co	5,128,098	2,266,619	7,692,147
Iowa Southern Utilities Co	4,460,360	1,971,479	6,690,540
Kansas City Power & Light Co	28,144,550	12,439,891	42,216,825
Kansas Gas & Electric Co	23,710,950	10,480,240	35,566,425
Kansas Power & Light Co	7,848,000	3,468,816	11,772,000
Kentucky & West Virginia Power Co	835,000	369,070	1,252,500
Kentucky Power Co	780,000	344,760	1,170,000
Kentucky Utilities Co	6,031,000	2,665,702	9,046,500
Kingsport Utilities, Inc	655,942	289,926	983,913
Knoxville Power Co	610,155	269,689	915,233
Lake Superior District Power Co	1,148,000	507,416	1,722,000
Long Island Lighting Co. (New York)	27,687,000	12,237,654	41,530,500
Louisiana Power & Light Co	30,127,712	13,316,440	45,191,568
Maine Public Service Co	819,175	362,075	1,228,762
Marietta Electric Co	49,000	21,658	73,500
Michigan Gas & Electric Co	14,000	6,188	21,000
Minnesota Power & Light Co	17,984,068	7,948,958	26,976,102
Mississippi Power & Light Co	19,901,000	8,836,022	29,986,500
Mississippi Power Co	13,376,694	5,912,490	20,065,041
Missouri Public Service Co	2,884,900	1,275,126	4,327,350
Monongahela Power Co	16,927,216	7,481,829	25,390,824
Montana-Dakota Utilities Co	3,040,000	1,343,680	4,560,000
Montana Power Co	11,285,000	4,987,970	16,927,500
Nantahela Power & Light Co	5,156,000	2,278,952	7,734,000
New England Power Co	29,705,000	13,119,610	44,557,500
New York State Electric & Gas Corp	25,928,000	11,460,176	38,892,000
Niagara Mohawk Power Corp	40,964,065	18,106,117	61,446,097
Northern Indiana Public Service Co	446,000	197,132	669,000
Northern State Power Co. (Wisconsin)	626,000	276,602	939,000
Northern States Power Co (Minnesota)	22,230,000	9,825,660	33,345,000
Northern Virginia Power Co	64,000	28,288	96,000
Ohio Edison Co	43,652,000	19,294,184	65,478,000
Ohio Power Co	186,232,760	82,314,880	279,349,140
Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co	30,383,300	13,429,419	45,574,950
Pacific Gas & Electric Co	178,640,401	78,959,499	267,962,101
Pacific Power & Light Co	80,069,550	35,390,719	120,104,325
Pennsylvania Electric Co	24,252,000	10,719,384	36,378,000
Pennsylvania Power & Light Co	59,306,926	26,213,661	88,960,389
Pennsylvania Power Co	4,897,000	2,164,474	7,345,500
Pennsylvania Water & Power Co	6,772,000	2,993,224	10,175,447
Philadelphia Electric Co	52,865,000	23,366,330	79,297,500
Portland General Electric Co	$30,042,500	$13,278,785	$45,063,750
Potomac Edison Co	15,505,150	6,853,276	23,257,725
Potomac Electric Power Co	17,399,000	7,690,358	26,098,500
Potomac Light & Power Co	616,000	272,272	924,000
Public Service Company of Colorado	28,968,000	12,803,856	43,452,000
Public Service Company of Indiana, Inc	52,642,724	23,268,084	78,964,080
Public Service Company of New Hampshire	13,656,000	6,035,952	20,484,000
Public Service Company of New Mexico	7,616,750	3,366,603	11,425,125
Public Service Company of Northern Illinois	863,000	381,446	1,294,500
Public Service Company of Oklahoma	43,065,300	19,034,863	64,597,950
Public Service Electric & Gas Company of New Jersey	35,684,000	15,772,328	53,526,000
Rockland Light & Power Co	9,408,000	4,158,336	14,136,235
South Carolina Electric & Gas Co	24,204,014	10,698,174	36,306,020
South Carolina Generating Co	20,131,000	8,897,902	30,248,366
South Indiana Gas & Electric Co	5,280,000	2,333,760	7,920,000
South Penn Power Co	179,000	79,118	268,500
Southern California Edison Co	124,319,266	54,949,115	186,478,860
Southern Nevada Power Co	5,232,850	2,312,920	7,849,275
Southwestern Gas & Electric Co	12,084,850	5,341,504	18,127,275
Southwestern Public Service Co	36,269,665	16,031,192	54,404,497
Texas Electric Service Co	32,087,000	14,182,454	48,130,500
Texas Power & Light Co	45,722,300	20,209,257	68,583,450
Toledo Edison Co	18,468,000	8,162,856	27,702,000
Union Electric Company of Missouri	43,242,885	19,113,355	64,864,327
Union Electric Power Co. (Missouri)	6,086,138	2,690,073	9,129,207
Union Light, Heat & Power Co	1,061,905	469,362	1,592,857
United Illuminating Co	4,665,000	2,061,930	6,997,500
Upper Peninsula Power Co	75,000	33,150	112,500
Utah Power & Light Co	1,808,640	799,419	2,712,760
Virginia Electric & Power Co. (Vepco)	94,582,061	41,805,280	141,873,121
Washington Water Power Co	30,022,000	13,269,733	45,033,030
West Pennsylvania Power Co	35,871,700	15,855,291	53,897,550
West Texas Utilities Co	7,815,916	3,454,635	11,723,874
Western Light & Telephone Co	7,136,210	3,154,205	10,704,315
Western Massachusetts Electric Co	3,386,977	1,497,044	5,080,465
Wheeling Electric Co	1,907,352	843,049	2,861,028
Wisconsin Electric Power Co	16,957,000	7,494,994	25,435,500
Wisconsin-Michigan Power Co	1,387,000	613,054	2,080,500
Wisconsin Power & Light Co	15,423,000	6,816,966	23,134,500
United States total	3,146,932,585	1,390,944,203	4,720,398,877

Source: Electric Consumers Information Committee.

Senator Martin Speaks on Flood Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present an address delivered by the Honorable EDWARD MARTIN, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, before the fifth annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress held in Washington, D. C., on Friday, May 17, 1957:

ADDRESS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE 44TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS AT WASHINGTON, D. C., FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 17, 1957

Mr. Chairman and my fellow Americans, I am highly honored by your invitation to address this important meeting.

Your organization is outstanding in its devotion to a great and patriotic purpose. With each passing year the objectives to which you are dedicated grow increasingly important.

The economic well-being of our country, the expansion of our industrial production, the growth of our commerce, the prosperity of our people and the defensive strength of our Nation are becoming more and more dependent upon the development of our water resources.

This covers a broad area and I cannot praise too highly the distinguished public service which your organization has contributed in the national interest.

The subject assigned to me for discussion today is the River and Harbor Flood Control Act of 1957. But first I would like to make some observations of a more general nature relative to the situation in our country today.

We are in a period when spending by Government has become a matter of deep concern to a large part of our population. Never before in my experience has the average American been more seriously alarmed over the high cost of government and the heavy burden of taxes.

In every section of the country there has developed a demand for economy, for reduced spending and for lower taxes.

That, my fellow Americans, is a good sign. It reflects a growing and more widespread interest in the affairs of government. It is good for the United States when more and more people question the wisdom and the safety of expenditures that take one-third of the earnings of everyone who works for a living. That applies to the taxes imposed by the three levels of government—Federal, State, and local.

It is good for the United States when the people see cause for worry in a budget which is 17 percent greater than the combined spending of 32 other countries, including all the important nations of the world except Russia.

Those of you who are familiar with my record in public life know that I have always been on the side of economy in government. I can say, without meaning to be boastful, that I have always fought against waste and extravagance at all levels of government. I have always believed that the sound principles of business efficiency and economy should be applied to the conduct of governmental affairs.

As a member of the Senate Public Works Committee and as a former chairman of that committee, I can tell you that sound business principles, taking into account all the economic and engineering factors, have been applied to every navigation project and every flood-control project that has come before us for authorization.

We have looked upon these projects as investments in the future of the United States—investments that have paid big dividends in the past and will continue to do so in the future.

Every American is a stockholder in our ocean ports and in our great inland waterways. Year by year they pay generous dividends by providing low cost water transportation for commerce and industry, bringing prosperity to countless cities and towns, building up great centers of production and expanding opportunities for gainful employment for our working men and women.

Therefore we are on solid ground when we maintain that a constructive national pro-

gram that expands the usefulness of our rivers and harbors and brings real and lasting benefits to our country can never be called a waste of public funds.

On the contrary, such expenditures are sound, prudent investments in a great national asset, contributing in a large measure to our economy in peacetime and to our defensive strength in time of national emergency.

In the same way the flood-control program undertaken by the Federal Government has more than justified its cost. In the prevention of property damage it is paying off at the rate of more than $3 for every $1 invested. And that does not include the saving of lives and the security established for homes and farms in areas formerly endangered by destructive floods.

One of the most beneficial developments in connection with flood control has been the increasing emphasis on related purposes, such as hydroelectric power, conservation of water for municipal, agricultural, and industrial uses, the abatement of stream pollution, recreation and sanitary facilities.

As you are well aware, the River and Harbor-Flood Control Act of 1957 is before Congress today because the bill passed by the 84th Congress was vetoed by the President.

The President did not minimize the importance of the legislation. In his veto message, he said—and I quote:

"I believe the periodic enactment of river and harbor and flood-control legislation is an important step in the formulation of a sound Federal program for the wise development of the Nation's water resources."

In his message, the President referred to 28 projects involving about $530 million to which the Budget Bureau had found reason to object.

The bill in its present form, as approved by the Senate Public Works Committee without a dissenting vote, is essentially the same bill that was passed by the 84th Congress. Most of the projects to which exception has been taken have been reviewed on the basis of recommendations submitted to Congress by the Corps of Engineers. As stated in the report on the bill, it includes those projects which the committee considered fully justified for authorization at the present time.

A substantial majority in the Senate agreed with that view and passed the bill by a vote of 42 to 22, after rejecting two proposed amendments. One amendment sought to give the President authority to postpone $375 million of its total authorization. The other would have recommitted the bill with instructions to reduce the authorizations by not less than $350 million.

This is a good bill. It should be enacted into law without delay in order to expedite the beginning of work on urgently needed projects. But I am unable to tell you whether the Budget Bureau experts will give their approval.

That brings up a matter which should be given serious thought and careful attention. It has to do with a fundamental principle of our system of government which places exclusive control of the Federal purse within the jurisdiction of the legislative branch.

Many are wondering whether the executive branch, in the exercise of those functions assigned to the Bureau of the Budget, should be permitted to override the will of Congress.

Let me give you one example in which I am very much interested because it has great strategic importance from the standpoint of the national economy and national defense. I refer to the project for deepening the channel in the upper Delaware River. This was authorized by Congress in 1954 after thorough debate. The authorization calls for a 40-foot channel depth from Philadelphia to Trenton but the Bureau of the Budget continues to define the improvement as an "interim 35-foot channel," even though it has been clearly established that a substantial saving could be achieved by completing the improvement to 40 feet in one operation.

I hope the day will never come when Congress will weaken its legislative responsibility by surrendering any part of its powers granted by the Constitution, to the Budget Bureau or any other agency of the executive branch.

You men here know that after authorization it is necessary to go before the Appropriations Committee for funds with which to carry out the approved project. This gives an opportunity for further congressional study, so that each proposal, no matter how meritorious, is placed under strict scrutiny in relation to the whole national picture. I maintain that is a proper and exclusive legislative function and that the decisions of the Budget Bureau should never be considered as binding on the Congress of the United States.

The national program for the improvement of our rivers and harbors has been a Federal responsibility since the beginning of our Nation. As early as 1827 President John Adams in his message to Congress, referring to appropriations for waterway and other internal improvements said they may be considered, and I quote, "as treasures laid from the contributions of the present age for the benefit of posterity."

In more recent times Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, speaking in 1927 about prudence in expenditures for the modernization of the Mississippi River system said, and I quote:

"Upon this point, we can do no better than quote the most successful statesman in economy in our national history—President Coolidge—who in his message to Congress said in referring to these very projects:

" 'Expenditure of this character is compatible with economy. It is in the nature of capital investment.' "

Again, at Louisville, on October 29, 1929, upon completion of the Ohio River project, President Hoover said:

"As a general and broad policy I favor modernizing every part of our waterways which will show economic justification in aid of our farmers and industries. * * *

"A nation makes no loss by devotion of some of its current income to the improvement of its estate. That is an obligation we owe to our children and our grandchildren. I do not measure the future of America in terms of our lifetime. God had truly blessed us with great resources. It is our duty to make them available to our people."

The Late Honorable Robert Crosser

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened this morning to learn of the passing of our former colleague and my good friend, the Honorable Robert Crosser, of Ohio.

Bob Crosser became a Member of this House on March 4, 1913, and served for 38 years as a Representative from the city of Cleveland, Ohio. Except for a short interval he served continuously until the time of his retirement in 1954. His was a long and distinguished career. He served as a member of the Interstate and Commerce Committee since the 69th Congress and as chairman of this great committee in the 81st and 82d Congresses. He was well known for his leadership in the enactment of the Railroad Retirement Act, the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, and many improvements in them from time to time. He was affectionally known as "Bob" to the rail workers and millions of other workingmen and women in this country for whom he fought through his long and brilliant career.

It was my privilege to have known Bob Crosser since I first came to Congress in June 1944, and I always found him to be a kind and conscientious legislator whose chief interest was the welfare of the people of his district, his State and his adopted Nation.

His achievements are legend and all the more noteworthy when we remember the fact that for many years he suffered from a physical ailment that would have caused many another person to abandon or curtail their activities. However, his spirit and determination never diminished in his fight to carry on for his fellow man.

I have lost a good friend. I join my colleagues in extending deepest sympathy to the members of his family in their bereavement.

Massachusetts Family To "Storm" Annapolis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the following article gives a brief description of splendid midshipman Roger H. Rotondi, one of my West Point appointees. The fact that special privileges have been granted proves his worth. He belongs to a fine family and his lovely fiance, Jean Polke, belongs to a fine family. Jean's father has held fine State positions and he held the very important position as Administractor of Public Roads here in Washington. I am very proud of my appointee and feel sure he will make a fine naval officer:

[From the Boston Traveler of May 31, 1957]

MASSACHUSETTS FAMILY TO "STORM" ANNAPOLIS

A king-sized Winchester family will practically take over the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis next Friday.

They'll be on hand—14 strong—to cheer at the graduation of Midshipman Roger H. Rotondi.

Roger has also asked his girl friend, Jean Volpe, of Winchester, and her parents, which will boost the section to 17.

Jean is the daughter of John A. Volpe, former State public works commissioner and Federal highway administrator.

Roger is the third oldest child of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene B. Rotondi, of 224 Forest Street.

"This is the chance of a lifetime for me," says his father, a general contractor. "I

haven't been to the Academy since Roger entered."

Jean Volpe and three Rotondi girls will leave tomorrow morning.

"Jean wants to be there for a hop tomorrow night," Rotondi said.

Roger and Miss Volpe plan to become formally engaged during June week which opens tomorrow. They hope to be married after he has completed a tour of sea duty.

NAVY CUT SOME REDTAPE

The remainder of the Rotondi family will drive down in separate groups throughout next week.

"The Navy had to cut some redtape to let us go," the father says.

Navy regulations limit each midshipman graduate to seven tickets. It took special permission from the Academy's commandant to squeeze the Rotondi and Volpe families aboard.

"The graduation will be an especially big day for Roger's mother," Rotondi said.

"He saved her life once. She needed a blood transfusion—he was the only member of the family with the right type blood. I'll always remember him baring his arm for the transfusion tube."

The Rotondi children are Eugene Jr., 25; Mary, 24; Earl, 20; Albert, 19; Janet, 16; Gloria, 14; George, 12; Samuel, 11; Claudia, 9; Anna, 7; and Charles and Dianne, 4.

Midshipman Rotondi will graduate in the upper third of his class.

"He loves the sea and wants to stay in the Navy," his father says.

Roger has been assigned to duty aboard the destroyer *Purdy*, out of Newport, R. I.

He is a graduate of Winchester High School and attended Tufts University for a year.

There Is an Issue, but This Isn't It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to call to the attention of my colleagues, a recent editorial in the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot-News, under the caption "There Is an Issue, but This Isn't It."

The editorial deals largely with the situation in the State of Pennsylvania with particular reference to some of the arguments being used by the chamber of commerce and other opponents to the proposal that the Federal Government lend aid to assist States and local schools in building much-needed classrooms.

The editorial follows:

THERE IS AN ISSUE, BUT THIS ISN'T IT

Some articulate Pennsylvania politicians and statewide organizations are putting the blast on the proposal of President Eisenhower and the Republican and Democratic Parties for Federal aid to build schools and overcome an emergency shortage of classrooms.

They have a variety of reasons. One of them is that as one of the richer States Pennsylvania would pay more in taxes than it would get back in Federal subsidies.

Of all the reasons advanced against Federal school-building aid, this one strikes us as the least valid.

Certainly it is true that Pennsylvania as one of the wealthier States, would pay more proportionately than one of the poorer States.

If this is wrong on Federal aid to education, isn't it wrong every place and on every level of government?

If this argument is valid, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is dead-wrong in the way it has subsidized public schools all these years. The Commonwealth uses a formula based at least in part upon need and ability to pay. Under this formula, a poor school district gets more than a rich one.

For that matter, where all State subsidies and services are concerned, everything must be wrong. The wealthy areas of Pennsylvania long have been paying far more proportionately in taxes than the medium well-heeled or poor areas.

That's true, too, right on the municipal level. The rich wards wind up paying more taxes in any city than the poor wards.

That's true, too, in the relationship of the States to the Federal Government all along—for such things as paying for the national defense and any other program the Federal Government carries on.

There is only one valid question where Federal aid for education is concerned: Can the States and local governments build the needed classrooms, overcoming a shortage that built up in a major depression and two wars, and equally important can they build them fast enough so that this generation of schoolchildren will not suffer?

We don't think they can. That's why we are for the President's proposal.

We favor his proposal over the one offered by the Democrats, because it is based on a needs formula and would not be a subsidy distributed on the basis of a simple head count.

We are willing to accept the compromise that has been worked out between the two plans because we want to see the classrooms built right now when they are needed.

We believe, as the President set forth in presenting his Federal-aid program, that the Federal Government must do for the States and local communities what they cannot do for themselves.

We believe that the politicians and the organizations who argue in opposition by deploring that Pennsylvania as one of the wealthier States would be paying for some of the classrooms in some of the poorer States, are raising the old cry:

"There's not enough in it for me!"

We would suggest that the opponents of Federal aid for schools stick to the real issue. "There's not enough in it for me!" is neither an acceptable nor a worthy argument to raise in this controversy.

In Support of a Department of Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, I am gratified to announce that my bill, H. R. 4298, to create a Department of Peace in our National Government has recently won the endorsement of the South Wisconsin Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD the following resolution:

The South Wisconsin Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, comprising 77 congregations, in regular session at West Bend, Wis., heartily endorses bill H. R. 4298, introduced in the National Congress by HAROLD C. OSTERTAG, of New York, creating a Department of Peace and a Secretary of Peace with Cabinet rank, under whom there is to be consolidated the International Cooperation Administration (ICA), the United States Educational Exchange Program, and the United States Information Agency, whose sole function shall be the advancement of peace and good will among men.

What Americans Don't Know About Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 29, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article appearing in the current issue of McCall's magazine, entitled "What Americans Don't Know About Russia," written by Harrison Salisbury, specialist on Soviet affairs for the New York Times, as well as a copy of House Joint Resolution 193, 84th Congress, which I introduced:

[From McCall's of June 1957]

WHAT AMERICANS DON'T KNOW ABOUT RUSSIA

(By Harrison Salisbury)

What is the capital of Russia? Thirty out of one hundred Americans don't know. What proportion of Russians are Communists? Only 1 in 20 midwesterners can give you even a rough estimate. Who runs Russia? Seven out of ten American women can't say. Two out of three of these women would turn down a free trip to Russia.

American men and women who don't know whether Russia produces more or less steel than the United States, who don't know whether Russia is bigger or smaller than the United States, who can't name three countries behind the Iron Curtain, confidently declare that we need not fear war with Russia—or insist that the Russians do not support their own government.

We Americans do not realize how big Russia really is. We can't name a Russian author or composer. We assume free love is encouraged by the Soviets.

These facts emerge as the result of a nationwide survey made by McCall's among varying age groups with different educational backgrounds. It reveals what we really know about Russia and what we think of the Soviet menace. It gives a clue as to how well we are equipped to understand the greatest issue of the 20th century—the struggle between freedom and totalitarianism. The survey, furthermore, affords dramatic backing to President Eisenhower's proposal that our schools teach the facts about communism, so that young Americans can discriminate between our way of life and that of Russia.

How well equipped are we to judge the seriousness of the Soviet threat if our information about Russia is wrong?

What decisions about our future relations with Russia are we prepared to make if many of us do not know whether the United States recognizes the U. S. S. R., whether Russia is a member of the United Nations, whether there are churches in Russia, whether there is a difference between the words "Russian" and "Communist" or whether automobiles and locomotives are manufactured in the Soviet Union?

We asked these questions:

Do you think American children should be taught the facts about communism in school? Yes, 70 percent; no, 27 percent.

Among college graduates, support for such instruction runs better than 6 to 1. As one elderly Indiana man said: "All different type of government should be taught so that children would learn that democracy is best." One of his neighbors, a woman, concurred, "* * * provided that someone teaches who understands communism."

What percent of the Russian people belong to the Communist Party?

In a population of a little more than 200 million, the Communist Party at last count had about 7,200,000 members—or approximately 3 percent. A third of those polled thought about half the Russian people were members; more than a quarter thought everybody belonged. Only 8 percent said membership was 5 percent or less.

Probably most Americans would agree with the sentiments of a young California woman who observed: "I don't know how many there are, but it's far too many." One of those who knew the correct answer pointed out that only when we know how a tiny minority of Communists rule a vast majority of Russians can we begin to understand the importance of Communist Party discipline and control—and gage how much effort it might take to shift Soviet sentiment from the side of communism to democracy.

About how long has Russia been a Communist country?

Ten years, 2 percent; 20 years, 11 percent; 25 years, 13 percent; 30 years, 25 percent; 40 years, 40 percent.

Five percent thought Russia had been Communist for more than 40 years, and a few people said this had the form of Russian Government always. Actually, this year the Soviet Government celebrates its 40th anniversary.

What is the capital of Russia?

Moscow, 71 percent; Stalingrad, 5 percent; Leningrad, 4 percent.

One out of 5 college graduates missed the correct answer. Moscow. Of those who had not been to high school, 46 percent did not know. Among the cities they guessed were Warsaw, St. Petersburg, Petrograd, and 1 person said Budapest.

Give the name of the first Russian composer that comes to your mind.

Tchaikovsky, 16 percent; Rimski-Korsakov, 4 percent; Shostakovich, 2 percent; Rachmaninoff, 2 percent.

More than 7 out of 10 frankly admitted they didn't know any, and several named composers who were not Russian at all. The percentage of don't knows ran above 90 among grade-school graduates.

Does the government own all industry in Russia?

The answer to the question is "Yes," but nearly half of us are not aware of this. One-third of those asked thought that the Russian government owned most industry; and 2 percent answered "none at all."

Can you name a Russian author?

Tolstoi, 18 percent; Lenin, 4 percent; Dostoevski, 2 percent; Marx, 2 percent; Stalin, 1 percent; Chekhov, 1 percent.

Those who "don't remember any" run to 68 percent, and that figure would be over 70 percent if it is noted that Lenin, Stalin, and Marx (a German) were primarily political personalities.

If the situation were reversed—if we were told that 7 out of 10 Russians could name neither an American composer nor an American author—we might conclude that Russians were very poorly educated.

Who is head of the Russian government? An acceptable answer would be either Khrushchev or Bulganin. More than half of those polled simply said they didn't know; in the South and Midwest the "don't knows" totaled two-thirds. Only 1 out of 4 grade-graduates would hazard a guess. A Brooklyn woman said (with considerable accuracy), "A group of men." And a Pennsylvanian thoughtfully remarked, "That's open to question."

Is Russia larger or smaller than the United States?

Russia larger, 80 percent; United States larger, 8 percent; both about the same, 9 percent.

Among grade-school graduates, a third believe the United States is larger than the U. S. S. R. or the same size, and 1 in 4 southerners and midwesterners think the same thing. The fact, of course, is that Russia's land area is roughly equal to a sixth of the world's surface—almost three times the size of the continental United States.

Are there any free public schools in Russia? Yes, 39 percent; no, 50 percent.

"They have schools for the chosen," said a woman from Kansas. The truth is that Russia has universal free public education, and American leaders, as well as the Russians themselves, believe that education (their kind, at least) is a main source of their strength.

DIVORCE, ABORTION, AND FREE LOVE

Is it easy to get a divorce or an abortion in Russia? Half of us think it is easy, and half of us think it is hard. A majority of northeasterners say it is easy; a majority of southerners say it's hard. "They want babies," said a Kansas woman. And an Indiana housewife said, "They are trying to populate the earth." Actually, during the early days of the Revolution, getting a divorce or an abortion was no problem. But this has not been true for many years.

Is free love encouraged by the Russian Government? In every part of the country, this picturesque fiction (which was never true) is still believed. Only in the West did less than half answer this question "yes." The fact is that the Communist Party line is vigorously moral. One of the most provocative answers to this question came from the Midwest: "Do they believe in love at all?"

Are there any Christian churches in Russia? Two out of five Americans say no, and in the Midwest and South a majority believe there are no churches at all in Russia. "The church as we know it has been wiped out," said an Alabama woman. A Kansas man said there still were churches, "but the government doesn't know it." Actually, about half of Soviet citizens worship in churches of their choice.

Are the Russian people in favor of their system? Yes, 28 percent; don't know, 4 percent; no, 68 percent.

Probably the most nearly right answer to this question was given by a women in Nebraska: "Who is to know?"

Does the United States recognize Russia? Yes, 90 percent; no, 7 percent.

We have had diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R. for 24 years.

Is Russia a member of the U. N.? Yes, 88 percent; no, 9 percent.

Despite Russian vetoes, Russian walkouts, 1 in 4 grammar-school graduates is unaware that the U. S. S. R. has been a member of the U. N. for 10 years.

Should we have fought on the side of Russia or Germany in World War II? Russia, 54 percent; Germany, 10 percent; neither, 31 percent.

A Midwesterner's comment on this: "We did the right thing. It was the devil or the deep blue sea."

Is Russia preparing to attack us within 2 years? Yes, 32 percent; no, 63 percent.

Confidence on this question is less in the Midwest, is greater among those with a college education. Many who were interviewed agreed with a Westerner who said: "It's coming some time. I don't know when."

Does Russia fear we will attack her? Yes, 29 percent; no, 68 percent.

The remarkable feature of this answer, and the one before it, is the small proportion of people interviewed who admitted they didn't know—5 percent on the question of Russia's preparing to attack us; 3 percent on the question of their fear of attack by us. "No one fears the United States," commented an Indiana man.

If Russia attacked France or Britain, should the United States fight? Yes, 62 percent; no, 34 percent.

"It's a matter of self-preservation," said a Bostonian.

Name three countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Two-thirds of those questioned named Hungary, almost that many mentioned Poland, and a third said Czechoslovakia. Few could suggest any other countries, and some listed nations which do not properly belong in the category, such as Austria, Western Germany and Yugoslavia. A surprising 11 percent could not remember any.

Should the United States give military aid to countries revolting against Russia? Yes, 51 percent; no, 44 percent.

The majority in favor disappeared in the West, in medium-sized and larger cities, among age groups over 35, and among college graduates. Aid to countries revolting against Russia was favored most strongly by young people.

A Kansas man said: "A small amount is O. K., but we never know where to stop." And a Rhode Islander observed that aid to the satellites "would mean war."

Do you think the American democratic system and the Russian Communist system can ever exist together peacefully in this world? Yes, 29 percent; no, 69 percent.

On this, as on many other questions, women were more skeptical than men. College graduates were more optimistic than those with less schooling. And northeasterners are much less pessimistic than midwesterners.

Since Stalin's death, would you say that relations between the United States and Russia have improved, gotten worse, or are about the same? Improved, 25 percent; gotten worse, 17 percent; about the same, 57 percent.

Those who thought the situation had improved were largely young people, university graduates, and big-city residents. But many more concurred with a midwesterner, who said: "It's gone both ways. For a while it was better, but now it's worse."

Should the United States and Russia settle their problems directly or through the U. N.? Directly with each other, 23 percent; through the U. N., 75 percent.

Strongest backing for the U. N. method came from the supposedly isolationist Central States.

Which of these is the biggest obstacle to friendship between the United States and U. S. S. R.? Communist way of life, 37 percent; Russian determination to overthrow capitalism, 27 percent; competition for world power, 18 percent; inability of Russians to understand United States intentions, 12 percent; subversive plots by United States Communists, 3 percent; difficulty of Russian language, 1 percent; some gave more than one answer.

These statements were submitted to the people who were polled, and they were asked to tell whether they were true or false:

1. Russia has more coal than the United States.

2. Russian oil production is rising faster than ours.

3. Russia makes as much steel as the United States of America.

4. Russia makes her own automobiles and locomotives.

All of these are true except the third, about steel production. But a majority of

us believe that we have more coal than Russia and that our oil production is rising faster. A large minority (one-third of those polled in the South) does not know that Russia manufactures automobiles and locomotives. Almost a quarter of us believe that Russia makes as much steel as we do (actual production is about 40 percent of the United States total).

What sort of people do we think the Russians are?

Those questioned were given two lists of character traits—one good and one bad—and were asked to check those which applied to the Russians. Leading the list of good traits were: ability to endure great hardship, ability at sports, capacity for sacrifice, scientific genius, patriotism, artistic talent, warmth, and hospitality.

Bad traits in the order of choice were: brutality, atheism, unpredictability, insistence on having their own way, overwhelming ambitions, and treacherousness.

Hardly any one said the Russians had no good characteristics. A frequent comment about the bad list ran something like this: None applies to the people, but all apply to the Government. Or, as a Warwick, Ga., man said: "I can't truthfully answer, as we do not know too much about the people. Most of our knowledge is of the Government heads.

HOW THE M'CALL'S SURVEY WAS MADE

A representative cross section of 500 men and 500 women was personally interviewed in a sample designed to parallel the distribution of the population of the country by sex, geographic area, education, and city size. The method of polling was worked out by A. S. Bennett-Cy Chaikin, Inc., 65 East 55th Street, New York, N. Y., and that company made the poll.

House Joint Resolution 193, 84th Congress

Joint resolution to provide for a Commission to make available information as to the basic differences between the theories and practices of the American way of life and the theories and practices of atheistic communism

Resolved, etc.—

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMISSION

Section 1. (a) There is hereby established a Commission to be known as the Commission to make available information as to the basic differences between the theories and practices of the American way of life and the theories and practices of atheistic communism (in this joint resolution referred to as the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall be composed of 11 members as follows:

(1) Two Members from the Senate of the United States, appointed by the President of the Senate;

(2) Two Members from the House of Representatives, appointed by the Speaker of the House;

(3) Three members appointed by the President from among individuals each of whom is a member of the Standing Committee on American Citizenship of the American Bar Association, and who have been nominated by the Board of Governors of the American Bar Association;

(4) Three members appointed by the President from among individuals each of whom is a member of the Association of American Colleges or the American Council of Education, and who have been nominated by the respective governing boards of those organizations;

(5) One member appointed by the President from private life, to be Chairman of the Commission.

(c) Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 2. The Commission—

(1) Shall make a study of the testimony relating to the theories and practices of atheistic communism which, since the end of World War II, has been taken under oath by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the House Select Committee To Conduct an Investigation of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre, the House Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression and the Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States into the U. S. S. R., and by any other standing committee of the Senate or House of Representatives, and by any agency in the executive branch of the United States Government; and on the basis of its study, shall prepare material for a book, incorporating only testimony taken under oath by the committees and agencies referred to above, selections as to give the fullest possible information as to the theories and practices of atheistic communism; and

(2) Shall prepare suggested curriculums of studies, suitable for us in the teaching of courses in schools, colleges, and universities, which will make clear the basic differences between the theories and practices of the American way of life and the theories and practices of atheistic communism, and for this purpose it shall be the duty of the Commission to review all pertinent data available to it.

QUORUM

SEC. 3. Six members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. (a) Members of Congress who are members of the Commission shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for their services as Members of Congress; but they shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of the duties vested in the Commission.

(b) The members from private life shall receive $50 per diem when engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Commission, plus reimbursement for travel, subsistence and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of such duties.

STAFF OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 5. The Commission shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable, without regard to the provisions of the civil-service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended.

EXPENSES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 6. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, so much as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution.

AVAILABILITY OF RECORDS AND DATA

SEC. 7. To the extent necessary in order to enable the Commission to carry out the purposes of this joint resolution, the Commission shall be permitted to have access to the records and data of committees and agencies referred to in section 2.

APPLICABILITY OF CERTAIN LAWS

SEC. 8. Service of an individual as a member of the Commission or employment of an individual by the Commission as an attorney or expert in any business or professional field, on a part-time or full-time basis, with or without compensation, shall not be considered as service or employment bringing such individual within the provisions of sections 281, 283, 284, 434, or 1914 of title 18 of the United States Code, or section 190 of the Revised Statutes. (5 U. S. C. 99.)

REPORT

SEC. 9. Upon completion of its work, but not later than December 31, 1955, the Commission shall submit to the President a report containing the textbook and curriculums of studies referred to in section 2. Not later than March 1, 1956, the President shall submit the Commission's report to the Congress, together with such comments and recommendations as he deems advisable.

TERMINATION OF COMMISSION

SEC. 10. The Commission shall cease to exist on the 30th day following the date on which the President submits the Commission's report to the Congress.

Powerful Partner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point an editorial from the Northwest Farm News, a twice-monthly publication edited and published by Harry J. Allyn at Bellingham, Wash.

This publication is an independent farm publication which for 40 years has been presenting the news of agricultural problems and developments to the Northwest. This paper has consistently fought for a better farm program, full and adequate development of power and other resources that will benefit the entire Pacific Northwest area.

The editorial taken from this publication indicates the revolution that is transforming the power situation in the Northwest from a political battleground to a cooperative effort by representatives of many different generating groups. I believe this editorial points out emphatically that the real progress that has been made in the development of hydroelectric power in the Northwest has been made through the efforts of men who have thought beyond today to the needs of tomorrow and who have quietly and diligently worked to get power on the line.

Text of the editorial is as follows:

GIVE US BIG MEN

Newspapers recently commented widely upon evident approval of people of the Puget Sound-Cascade region with the partnership approach to solution of the electric power question when it leads to cooperation in place of strife and destructive rivalry between private and public power forces. These comments were based on two surveys of public opinion which were made this spring for Puget Power & Light.

Puget's president, Frank McLaughlin, was apparently concerned due to results of the last election when Washington voters went heavily for Eisenhower who advocated partnership, but also elected the strongest supporters of exclusive public power.

Had Puget failed in trying to be a good partner?

Had the best possible service which McLaughlin wanted Puget to give been found wanting?

And there was now another element—the new gas supply coming to the region. Was there going to be a switch away from electricity to gas?

How did people feel?

McLaughlin had to know. Hence two separate surveys, such as all large industries employ professional opinion-testing agencies to make for them from time to time in order to determine how good or how badly they are doing.

If the surveys could be relied on, power had almost nothing to do with the way people voted in the areas where Puget operates, either as a partner with public utility districts in planning future power developments, or as a faithful supplier of ample power at low rates.

Among several thousand questioned in the first survey, only two out of a hundred mentioned power at all. This included the whole Puget Sound and Columbia River-Wenatchee region.

In the second survey which took in Puget's more limited customer area, 9 out of 10 said Puget was doing an outstanding job of service to the public. Seven out of ten thought Puget and Boeing were doing the best jobs of all industries in the area.

MAN OF BIG PURPOSE

What is being said here is not meant to indicate a defense of private power companies. Rather, it is meant to be a tribute to a great industrial leader who is also an even greater leader in public service and devotion to the longtime interests of the region he wants to continue serving.

Frank McLaughlin was a big man when he counted up the loss of part of the territory he had planned to serve and then immediately set about gathering support for the utmost he could do for the part that was left. He proved to be a still bigger man when he turned to the utility districts which had taken over part of his service empire and said: "Let us work together."

"Let us work together, Puget Power alongside with you, for the best we can all give and do for the region as a whole. We can be partners in providing for the future power needs of the Puget Sound-Cascade area. Let us counsel together for the greatest good we can all help bring to pass. Let the goal be an assured supply to our region of all the power that can be used at the lowest cost our combined planning can provide."

It doesn't need a survey to indicate that Puget Power under the McLaughlin leadership has been a helpful partner to the municipal and county utility districts that became the other partners in the Puget Sound Utilities Council. McLaughlin is helping some of them to build dams which they, not Puget, will own. Puget will be repaid with a share in the power.

FULFILLMENT MAIN GOAL

When one of the districts won Columbia power generation at Rock Island away from Puget ownership, McLaughlin helped to arrange for expansion of generation there and remained to manage it for them, Puget getting only part of the power.

So does bigness of mind and heart beget confidence and like bigness in others. There had to be big men, too, in the municipal and district leadership.

McLaughlin believes that enduring public confidence is something that is earned by trying to understand the needs of people and trying to provide the best means of meeting them. "We in America live in a free choice society," he points out, "and a business rightly prospers only by the bestowed confidence of the people."

"A corporation like Puget Power," he says, "should be a responsible part of the human community—at all times a good citizen and a good neighbor—keeping the public informed about its business in such a way as to enable full understanding of its policies and objectives."

Here is a dynamic leader with much accomplished behind him. Yet, no longer young, he embraces the challenge of still more to be accomplished.

Farm leaders are confronted with problems that often seem almost insurmountable. Only a few short years ago, it looked to many as if Puget Power & Light could not possibly survive, in spite of all that McLaughlin could do. But he did not give up. He found a way, looking to the greatest good for the greatest number that he could help bring to pass.

The Contribution of Weekly Newspapers to Rural Communities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, millions of Americans in rural communities, in addition to receiving a daily metropolitan newspaper, find in their weekly newspaper a true source of local pride and information. The editor of the weekly newspaper and of farm publications is a respected member of community life. He has the recognized responsibility to use his considered judgment in interpreting both national, State, and local news to his subscribers. In a sense, he presents the conscience of the community.

At this time, I should like to pay tribute to this venerable form of newspaper tradition, which, in essence, constituted the very basis on which our present worldwide system of mass communications media is founded; in particular, I should like to recognize and commend the 68 weekly newspapers of the Fifth Congressional District of the State of Kansas: Anthony Republican, Argonia Argosy, Bushton News, Jacksonian, Conway Springs Star, Clark County Clipper, Belle Plaine News, Caldwell Messenger, Claflin Clarion, Cunningham Clipper, Attica Independent, Bucklin Banner, Chase Index, Western Star, Dighton Herald, Elghart Tri-State News, Ellinwood Leader, Hardtner Press, Haviland Journal, Hutchinson Record, Jetmore Republican, Kingman Journal, Rush County News, Lewis Press, Macksville Enterprise, Mineola Record, Mulvane News, Fowler News, Harper Advocate, Hoisington Dispatch, Johnson Pioneer, Kinsley Mercury, Lakin Independent, Meade-Globe Press, Montezuma Press, Ness County News, Great Bend Herald-Press, Kiowa County Signal, Haven Journal, Hugoton-Hermes, Leader-Courier, Kiowa News, Leoti Standard, Little River Monitor, Barber County Index, Mullinville News, Nickerson Argosy, Oxford Register, St. John News, South Haven New Era, Sterling Kansas Bulletin, Syracuse Journal, Ulysses News, Plains Journal, Protection Post, Sawyer News, Spearville News, Sublette Monitor, Greeley County Republican, Pretty Prairie Times, St. John Capital, News Chronicle, Stafford Courier, Sylvia Press, Turon Press, Wellington Monitor-Press, High Plains Journal, the Central Kansas Farm Journal.

On several occasions I have had the pleasure of inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD editorials from various weekly newspapers in my district. Today I would again like to insert several excellent well-informed weekly editorials which have come to my attention. I compliment their style, associate myself with their content, and ask, Mr. Speaker, that at this time they be incorporated in the RECORD.

From the April 3 issue of the Wellington Monitor Press:

WASHINGTON SNAPSHOTS—KEEP WRITING URGED

Demands from the voters for trimming the $71.8 billion budget—looking toward a tax cut—continue to pour in both to Congress and to the White House.

Members of Congress say the volume of mail is unprecedented—that it is generally spontaneous—that it reveals a surprising depth of feeling on the part of voters.

Already this demand for economy in government has borne fruit—the House of Representatives has made some cuts in appropriation bills.

OPPORTUNITY TO CUT

A new appropriation bill will appear either in the House or Senate each week; so there will be opportunity for additional cuts.

Economy leaders' advice to voters is: Keep writing the White House and Members of Congress urging reduction of the budget.

Meanwhile, President Eisenhower and Budget Director Brundage say they will seek to save money.

While defending his budget as a reflection of desires of the people, Mr. Eisenhower ordered an investigation to determine whether the rate of spending can be slowed down.

From the May 30, 1957, issue of the Mullinville News:

THE FARMER AND HIS HIRED MAN

Farmers who hire agricultural labor in 1957 should be aware of two changes in the social-security law which affect both the farmer and the hired man. First, the tax rate has increased from 2 to 2¼ percent of cash wages paid to be deducted from the employee's wages, and the employer's share is also increased so that he will owe 4½ percent instead of 4 percent as in previous years. The total tax is now 4½ percent instead of 4 percent.

Second, the hired man's wages are covered, if they amount to (a) $150 or more from one employer during the calendar year regardless of the length of time worked; or (b) if the man worked for the same employer on 20 or more different days his wages are subject to social-security tax regardless of the amount of wages.

For example, if a high-school boy worked on a farm on 20 or more days but earned only $140 his wages would be covered because he worked on 20 different days. On the other hand, if a man worked less than 20 days and earned $145 his wages would not be covered because he did not work for the one employer 20 days and his wages did not amount to $150. This is effective on wages beginning on January 1, 1957.

From the May 30, 1957, issue of the Rush County News:

HERE WE GO AGAIN

Watch out for another summit conference. The global scene-shifters, at home and abroad, are peparing for it. Russia

frankly wants it, as Premier Bulganin revealed in a Soviet-Mongolian friendship speech in the Kremlin. That means every trick and every pressure will be used to include Red China.

President Eisenhower sees the Russians growing more serious in their attitude toward disarmament. Secretary of State Dulles suggested that we might begin the President's aerial inspection plan by flying over Siberia while the Reds fly over Alaska and northern Canada. Since such a plan would render our three radar warning lines in the north completely useless, we presume Mr. Dulles would have the Russians cross their hearts they won't drop any bombs without letting us know in advance.

There would be plenty to talk about, such as atoms for everybody at United States expense, trade with Red China, whether to fill in the Suez Canal, perhaps even the Korean truce. And as Bulganin says, "• • • experience has shown that such contacts are useful." Furthermore, since Geneva, we know to whom.

MAKES YOU THE JUDGE

We feel no compulsion to review Alger Hiss' book, In the Court of Public Opinion, beyond observing that its author emerged from the Federal Country Club at Lewisburg, Pa., with the standard attitude of the hardened convict—utter, complete innocence.

More newsworthy is the tempest among the booksellers stirred up by patriot Lyle Munson. He runs a service called the Bookmailer, which is sending a free copy of Whittaker Chambers' Witness to each buyer of the Hiss book ($5), and pays the postage on both. This, he says, is to provide a balanced court of public opinion. But it has also caused book dealers to demand free copies of Witness from Hiss' publisher, Alfred Knopf.

Only Munson, Box 101, Murray Hill Station, New York, N. Y., is this much of a hero.

From the Ulysses News published May 30, 1957:

SCANNING THE NEWS

President Eisenhower, according to word from the White House, got his dander up, and decided to make a fight to preserve his budget of $78.1 billion, the biggest budget in the country's history. The President, at the start of his campaign found himself in an almost untenable position. Even his chief of the Government's fiscal policy, Secretary Humphrey, has declared the budget could be cut considerably, and should be. When Members of the Congress, in a spirit of cooperation, sent a formal request to the President asking him wherein cuts could be made in the budget without endangering security or the President's programs, Mr. Eisenhower, rather superciliously sent back word that was not his job, but the job of the Congress. Had the President then and there, sent back a second budget message, saying that at the time the budget was presented at the beginning of this Congress, it appeared the money would be needed, but that after some consideration, he believed it could be cut, and had pointed out where, there is every likelihood the Congress would have gone along with him.

Now, with his program of legislation endangered, he found it too late to compromise and considered an all-out fight to retain his budget requests. Even his friends of the business community, members of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers are demanding huge chunks be sliced out of the budget. But even these demands do not get at the real fat which could help the taxpayers. They cite cuts in foreign aid, farm supports, social services, aid to education, even school lunches. But the chamber of commerce and the manufacturers have not mentioned such fiscal matters as the hard-money policy of tight credit and high interest which added $1.2 billion to the budget for national debt interest; nor the 27½ percent oil depletion tax allowance which costs the United States Treasury some $750 million a year; nor the billions in rapid tax writeoffs in 5 years instead of 20; nor the lease-purchase program which is costing the Government about double to own public buildings than it did when the Government built them itself on bid contracts; nor the policy of letting private industry do jobs which the Government has been doing itself.

Under this policy the Government has been divesting itself of many services which it has been doing itself for years, and turning these jobs over to private industry. When Government officials complained it cost them more money, Mr. Brundage ruled: "The decision to continue or discontinue an activity as being in the public interest should not depend primarily upon whether the product or service can be produced cheaper by the Government. As a general guide our policy is that apparent cost or savings should not be the deciding factor where adequate competition exists."

Of course it's anybody's guess, but the best informed people in Washington predict the budget will wind up with a cut of up to $4 billion, even though it might be that some of the top fighters might be hurt, like for instance, Secretary Charles Wilson, who says all this hue and cry for budget cuts by his friends, "Gives me a pain."

From the May 30, 1957, issue of the Nickerson Argosy:

The Bureau of the Budget is an important adjunct of the executive department of the Government today. As originally set up, the Bureau was intended by the Congress to assist the legislative department to keep track of the expenditures of the various departments by holding them in line under the law setting up the budget system.

As it works out, however, how the Budget Bureau operates largely depends upon who is running the department, and as it is being operated today, there are reasons to suspect that the various departments are being shown how much they can spend under the appropriations of Congress, rather than how much they can save the taxpayers.

A case in point is the Atomic Energy Commission. This important agency has spent some $15 billion dollars of the taxpayers' money in the development of atomic weapons, and is now at the head of the civilian and peaceful development of atomic energy for industry, medicine, and agriculture. The Chairman of the Commission, Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, is, to say the least, a man of strong convictions. Many call him arbitrary. He wears two hats, in that he is at once the chairman of a regulative and licensing agency of the Government, and at the same time, official adviser to the President on atomic energy. Since the weapons divisions of this agency is under direct command of the President and the Department of Defense, it cannot operate in the traditional manner as an independent agency of the Government engaged in civilian licensing and regulation, such as the Federal Communications Commission.

Chairman CLARENCE CANNON, of the House Appropriations Committee, says that in almost every expenditure it has made in the civilian applications of atomic energy the Commission has violated the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 and the intent of Congress. Speaking on this point Chairman CANNON said:

"The Commission's method of defeating the statutory direction has been to arbitrarily divide the various atomic electric power programs into two fiscal categories." With the approval of the Budget Bureau, the Commission sets up part of its electric power programs as "operating expense" which under the act does not have to be specifically authorized by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. The rest of the same project it sets up under plant acquisition and construction, which must be authorized by the committee.

"The result has been," Chairman CANNON said, "that for fiscal years 1956, 1957, and 1958 the amount appropriated and requested for the civilian power reactor program totals $236.8 million, of which only $40 million was authorized under authorizing legislation reported out by the Joint Committee and approved by the Congress. Thus it is readily seen that less than 20 percent of this program was authorized and more than 80 percent of this indivisible program was not specifically authorized."

CANNON pointed out that although the Atomic Energy Act contains a specific "no subsidy clause," on the construction of one reactor alone, the Commission in bonus prices for plutonium, waivers of fuel costs and other services had contracted with the private company to pay the company cash subsidies of $58,050,000.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, I have had the extreme pleasure of having had printed an article penned by myself in one of Kansas' finest pictorial periodicals, the Dodge City Pictorial, edited and published by Mr. Rolland Jacquart. With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I now express my commendation and appreciation to Mr. Jacquart, and submit the article referred to above for incorporation in the RECORD:

OUR HOME

Southwest Kansas has been my home for nearly 29 years. Mrs. Breeding and I moved to Rolla, Kans., with our two sons, Charles and Ralph, in August 1928. Southwest Kansas was a new country then and great portions of it were still in grass. It wasn't long after we started farming and ranching that we discovered the great productivity of this land. It seemed that the soil had everything in it that a plant desired and as long as we received plenty of rainfall we could grow abundant crops. Then the bad years of the thirties struck us, and everyone knows what that did to our country.

Many of us had the determination to stick it out, knowing the richness of the soil and that if rainfall ever came the land would again be productive. Along with many of our neighbors, Mrs. Breeding and I and our two sons weathered out the bad times in Morton County. We did everything possible to earn a few dollars in order to provide for our bare necessities. At that time we owned no portion of any acres in western Kansas. It seemed at times that it would be impossible for us to stay another year. However, the years rolled on, and beginning in 1939 and until 1949, the rains came and the snows came and our country was like a garden spot of the world. It was the reward for many long years of drought and suffering for those of us who had persevered. When the country came back we were there to come back with it because of our faith in this land—the country was good to us.

Now this country is again faced with a sad picture—drought, hard times, tight money, acreage controls of wheat and below-parity prices. The future doesn't appear too bright. Rainfall will correct a lot of these problems and the ever-increasing population of our Nation will certainly help. My advice to the younger people living in southwestern Kansas today is to stick it out somehow because eventually, as it has done before again and again, the country will come back. The land will return to its former abundance and your efforts will not be in vain. Many people say to me, "Why doesn't the Government take over the land, put it

all back to grass, and force the people to leave." They don't seem to realize that this country, where we have raised our children and grandchildren and built our churches and our schools and our community life is a part of us. Indeed, to many of us this is the greatest spot in all the world, and we have no intention whatsoever of leaving it now or at anytime in the future.

I am fully aware of the fact that wheat and milo and livestock are our principal sources of income, and we will do everything we possibly can to help improve conditions and the general welfare of our High Plains area.

Irrigation now coming into this great area has all the possibilities of making this country the most productive of all. We are presently doing some research on a program to bring the water in from the Great Lakes or from the many rivers in Canada down through the High Plains area. This water will irrigate perhaps 20 million acres. At present many areas are getting underground water but eventually that may play out, so let's do some tall thinking. It may cost $10 billion to complete this program. In years to come we may need more food. It is something to think about. Southwestern Kansas will never be far away from us because that is our home and the people who live there are our finest friends.

Life Is Now "Worthwhile" for Truman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I felt a thrill when I heard on the radio Wednesday morning that Mr. and Mrs. Clifton Daniel had a son and that Harry and Bess were both doing fine. The trip from Kansas City to New York by the grandparents was no great surprise. While being a grandfather has gotten to be regular routine with me, I am always glad to welcome newcomers to the club. I know of no one more deserving of being a grandfather than President Truman.

I believe you will enjoy what Andrew Tully has to say in the Thursday, June 6, issue of the Washington Daily News even though you may not agree with all he says:

LIFE IS NOW "WORTHWHILE" FOR TRUMAN
(By Andrew Tully)

With the headlines screaming warnings against fallout and cigaret smoking, it is a lot more pleasant today to think about a politician named Harry Truman who finally made it.

Though it, of course, is Mr. Truman's first grandson, for a man who has been merely President of the United States it must be quite a thrill. Anyway, that's what the man told a bunch of reporters once who were sitting around chinning with him in Kansas City.

"What I want to be now is a grandfather," Mr. Truman said. "That will make me feel my life has been worthwhile."

Coming from a gent who ran some big things like the Marshall plan and the Berlin airlift, such a statement would seem unnecessarily—even showily—humble. But above all, Harry Truman is a plain man and he was speaking sincerely, in that capacity. He is the kind of guy who just naturally gets a big kick out of playing grandpa.

Aside from the fact this new baby has a couple of classy parents in Clifton and Margaret Truman, he is lucky to have a grandpa like Harry Truman. There is a lot of honest ruggedness in Grandpa Truman and a good helping horse sense, plus an assortment of other qualities which always have made him an appealing figure even when he seemed so confounded wrongheaded.

One of these qualities is a fierce loyalty to family and friends, which too often is considered unfashionable in modern circles. If young Buster Daniel inherits only this from Grandpa Truman he will have a big head start in life. For folks instinctively respect loyalty, even in somebody they disagree with, and if they feel you don't have it they're apt to be suspicious of your dealings with them.

Harry Truman never gave much of a hoot what people said about him because he figured he was a fair target. But when a music critic lambasted Margaret's singing, he wrote the critic a smoking letter in Margaret's defense. It doesn't matter much whether the critic was right; the appealing thing was that a busy President reacted with such honest normalcy.

Similarly, Harry Truman always was grateful whenever anybody said anything nice about his little girl in print. He'd sit down and write a thank-you note, because in his book you are supposed to acknowledge such things even if you are President of the United States.

It probably won't be long before the young Daniel sprout climbs up on grandpa's knee to quiz him about life. This should be a rewarding experience because Harry Truman is full of ideas about life and he is always ready to expound them.

Perhaps young Daniel should take grandpa's political speeches with a grain of salt, but if he is wise he will listen when Harry Truman dwells on mankind's duty to mankind. For on informal occasions the Truman philosophy can be pretty inspiring.

Clif and Margaret Daniel will be wise to let the youngster absorb as much of this kind of thinking as he can manage, but they must not overlook another duty. With a grandpa like Harry Truman to defend, that kid had better be taught how to handle his dukes.

Wilbur D. Mills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding men of the Congress is our colleague from Arkansas, WILBUR MILLS. We of the Arkansas delegation are proud of him and are grateful for the many things which he has done for us through the years. He is always going about doing good.

Lately an honor has come to him which adds to our pride and adds also to his imposing record of service. On June 1, the University of Arkansas conferred upon him its honorary degree of doctor of laws, an honor well deserved.

At the same time, he delivered the commencement address to the graduating class. Those who heard that address tell me it was enthusiastically received by everyone and was an inspiration to the young graduates. I am delighted to insert that address in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

The address follows:

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY WILBUR D. MILLS, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS, JUNE 1, 1957

Friends, I am deeply grateful for having been invited to participate in these exercises today. The American calendar is crowded with observances, but academic commencement ceremonies, I think, best express the continual beginning which is the basic ingredient of life. It is epitomized in the graduating class, the instrument for transmitting our cultural heritage to the future, enriched and strengthened. To be asked to assume an active role on this occasion, therefore, is indeed a privilege of which I always shall be proud.

I have alluded to our curtural heritage. It is, of course, a concept of tremendous dimensions, but I want to offer some brief remarks about just a few of its aspects which events in recent years have cast into critical focus.

This Nation has achieved its greatness through the spirit of its people. It is a spirit of the quest, the seeking out of opportunities and challenges. Opportunities and challenges do not exist as objective conditions of life anywhere in the world. They are created, sometimes out of of material circumstances, sometimes out of spiritual and cultural demands by a people for whom challenge and opportunity are synonymous descriptions of a basic attitude toward their surroundings. It is the spirit of a people who are vigorous and vital, who live instead of merely exist their allotted time. It is the spirit which makes progress possible and inevitable.

It is, however, a spirit which must be carefully nurtured. Paradoxically, the more effective this spirit in providing the Nation with material and cultural riches, the greater the threat to its perpetuation. Self-satisfaction may replace self-confidence, contentment may replace venturesomeness, smugness over past achievements may replace the drive for further accomplishments. The community may grow fat and lazy, short of wind, and hard of artery. Organic weakness, when finally recognized, may lead to fear which either paralyzes or panics and, in any case, hastens breakdown. The therapy required to restore good health may become increasingly rigorous, and may, therefore, be too long postponed. The spirit may expire and with it the greatness it had produced.

Are we now so threatened? In material terms, the progress which both reflects and depends upon our striving has in recent years been impressive indeed. Since the end of World War II, our annual production of goods and services to meet material demands has increased by well over $100 billion, in real terms. Over the period, gross additions to our private capital stock amount to the fabulous total of $591 billion, in 1956 prices. Similarly measured, we have consumed almost $2½ trillion of goods and services while our Governments—Federal, State, and local—have added $350 billion in products.

As reflections of our material achievements there are other measures which may be even more impressive. The physical aspects of our daily lives have drastically changed in recent years. Our foods are grown, processed, and delivered into our hands with the use of machines, techniques, and processes which did not exist when those receiving their diplomas here today first began their schooling. Our clothes have changed similarly. Our automobiles would have been regarded as designers' and engineers' fancies less than half a generation ago. Our homes, offices, factories, and stores are built and equipped along mar-

kedly different lines from a few years ago. We accept with equanimity the production of complicated commodities without the immediate agency of human hands. Man today can cross this continent in 3½ hours and we can be sure that tomorrow he will do it in 2½ hours. We are soon to explore space as confidently as 20 years ago we explored the stratosphere. Our progress with things is rushing us headlong into transforming the very face of the world.

There are grounds, therefore, for confidence that in its materialistic manifestations, the quest for challenge and opportunity is receiving abundant encouragement. Indeed, according to some evidence the very process of seeking new ways to satisfy wants is, in itself, becoming an automatic or a built-in feature of our economic lyife.

There is, however, another side of the question—whether we may have as much confidence in our advancement as human beings. Our world is full of pessimists—those who believe that every silver lining must have its cloud. They are loud and long in their assertions that our concern with and achievements in advancing our material well-being in fact are escape outlets for energies which, had we not become intellectually and culturally timorous, we would apply in improving human beings instead of machines. They contend that we devote ourselves to the superficial lest we be faced with the realization that we are early 20th century people fast becoming antediluvian in a 21st century physical environment.

I would not minimize the importance of our material achievements. I have no faith in the romantic notion that truth and beauty can be cultivated in surroundings of economic retrogression. Nor would I suggest that our spiritual and intellectual resources are so limited that we cannot find and meet challenges for improving simultaneously our cultural and material circumstances.

Our native State affords a magnificent illustration of this contention. We are, I believe, experiencing a great drive forward in many fields of human endeavor. Between 1950 and 1955, for example, wage and salary disbursements to Arkansas employees in farming have increased almost 8 percent, in contrast with the national average which experienced a decline. Wage and salary payments in Arkansas in mining and manufacturing have increased at a faster rate since 1950 than the average for the economy as a whole. Total civilian income arising from production in mining and manufacturing also increased more rapidly in Arkansas than in the Nation as a whole.

This university has taken an active role in the State's advance. It has assumed leadership in exploring and making known our regional attractions. It has brought under fresh and careful scrutiny the strength and weaknesses in our political, social, and economic institutions, and pointed the way to better fitting them to the demands of our people.

It has led a renaissance in our arts and sciences. Its own programs for meeting the educational requirements of our youth have grown and developed at a rate and in a manner that has served to focus increasing attention on the impressive potentialities of our community.

Recent experience in Arkansas, therefore, demonstrates that balanced growth in material, cultural, and intellectual resources is feasible and eminently desirable.

Looking at the broader community of the Nation as a whole, however, the scene is not so encouraging. We have learned to wage the ultimate in war, but we apparently have not been able to find the boldness and daring needed to achieve a meaningful peace. We thrash over the problems of sharing our material progress with the underdeveloped nations of the world, but when these problems, in one small part of the world, become really difficult we seek to resolve them not with insight, nor with understanding, nor with new concepts, but with dollars. We observe fundamental changes occurring in the structure of our economy and instead of finding in this situation a challenge and an opportunity to achieve real progress, too often we cloak our minds in dogmatic assertions that this price support program is superior to that one. Too often we react to movements for profound changes in life by engaging in the "Yes; you will"—"No; I won't" disputation of small boys.

I think we must, therefore, be concerned with evidence of an increasing hesitancy to explore the universe of ideas. I do not know its source. It has been suggested that the war years, following hard on a decade of depression, so whetted our appetites for things that we have been compelled to devote an unduly large proportion of our resources to the satisfaction of such wants. It is also claimed that we have been made fearful of intellectual innovation by the unhappy consequences in Eastern Europe and in China of its radical extremes. Some argue that intellectual and cultural inertia are the consequences of prolonged prosperity, draw dismal comparisons with prior eras from antiquity up through the 1920's, and conclude that catastrophe is required to reinvigorate our spirit.

It is impossible to evaluate such explanations. But regardless of the extent to which we have allowed our progress in the humanities to lag behind our technological achievements and regardless of the causes, the means for overcoming this deficit are here before us today. They are this great educational enterprise and its products. It is up to them and similar institutions throughout the Nation to refocus the attention of us all on the really great opportunity of our time—the orientation of man and his society to circumstances of growing material abundance. They must renew our intellectual capital stock. They must restore the dwindling eminence of achievements in the arts and in pure science. They must prove anew the worth and great rewards in striving for new ideas and fresh concepts about man's proper relationship to his fellows and to his physical and cultural environment.

The applied sciences and technologies have compressed space and time and shown us, in physical terms, a single world community. It now remains for other intellectual disciplines to show us how man may realize the advantages of one world.

This, I believe, is the proper outlet for our restless spirit. Whether we exploit it adequately, I think, will have much to do with whether our greatness as a national community is perpetuated and extended or whether future generations know us as a race of tinkerers and gadgeteers.

I have emphasized the desirability of progress and change. In doing so, I do not intend thereby to dismiss the established and the old. Our inheritance can hardly be discarded without our becoming impoverished. It is the foundation upon which we must build. But we must continually examine this foundation to be sure it is properly reinforced so it may be preserved for the future.

I have set out, I know, the notion of restiveness and of striving as a way of life that is inherently good and indeed necessary. Yet, all of us appreciate that ultimately we are seeking tranquillity. The paradox is more seeming than real. As we recognize the sources and consequences of our striving, this understanding provides us the strength and confidence upon which peace—both within and external to ourselves—truly rests. We must be careful to avoid confusing resignation, indifference, or fatigue with tranquillity. We cannot accept tranquilizers as a substitute.

I have expressed my hope that this generation, whom we honor here today, will improve our perspective and extend our horizons. We give into their charge our quest for challenge and opportunity upon which our future depends. We ask them to improve the balance in our cultural, intellectual, spiritual, and material achievements. Finally, we convey to them our very best wishes—that they will live all the years of their lives.

Thank you.

Civil Rights Must Lead in More Than One Direction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHELF
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to include a very fine editorial of June 5, 1957, that appeared in that outstanding, progressive, and liberal newspaper, the Louisville Courier Journal, on the subject of so-called civil rights now being debated before the House of Representatives. It is for the reasons stated in this editorial, plus my own knowledge of the many bad features of this bill, that I shall oppose it as I did the rule on yesterday.

The editorial follows:

CIVIL RIGHTS MUST LEAD IN MORE THAN ONE DIRECTION

Southerners in the Senate won a notable victory in their battle against President Eisenhower's civil-rights program. After 4 months of skillful filibuster in committee, delaying a showdown until so late in the session as to make compromise or inaction inevitable, the Senate Judiciary Committee approved an amendment that would grant a jury trial to persons charged with violating Federal court injunctions forbidding interference with the right to vote.

It is a victory not so much for the South, however, as for the general idea that creating new powers for the Justice Department without preserving the safeguard of trial by jury could create a centralized tyranny endangering the civil rights of every American. And it was on this ground, eloquently argued by North Carolina's Senator ERVIN, a former member of his State's supreme court, that the Southern minority on the Judiciary Committee was able to win the somewhat reluctant suport of some non-Southerners in both parties.

The new powers sought by Attorney General Brownell had a commendable aim—protection of the Southern Negro's right to vote. And there is considerable truth in his argument that Southern juries in many cases would be unlikely to convict a person charged with violating court orders in voting or other civil-rights cases.

But the commendable aim scarcely justifies the proposed means, whereby a considerable increase in Federal power over State or local governments, centered in the key ruling of a single judge, would not be checkmated by the right to jury trial. And though Mr. Brownell contends that the jury-trial amendment would permit "practical nullification" of the proposed civil-rights legislation, he overlooks several important factors.

One is that the Attorney General would still be empowered to intervene in a suspected case of civil-rights violation and get a Federal injunction against it—and that even in the South jurors from Federal panels tend to be both more representative and more respectful of Federal judicial processes. Another is that the approved legislation still provides for creation of a bipartisan commission to look into allegations that citizens are deprived of voting rights or subjected to "unwarranted economic pressures by reason of their sex, color, race, religion, or national origin"—and for creation of a new section in the Justice Department to follow up such complaints.

There is, too, Mr. Brownell's own admission that, distasteful as he finds it to be, the Attorney General can undertake unduly harsh criminal prosecutions against respected local officials guilty of circumscribing the Negro's right to vote. He was arguing that "no amount of criminal punishment" after an election "can rectify the harm" done while it is being held—but a few instances of such vigorous or unduly harsh prosecutions might prove a healthy discouragement to future denials of rights.

Far better to rely on this seldom-used power, surely, even if no additional civil-right legislation is ever passed (and none of much significance has been enacted since 1875) than to accept Mr. Brownell's basic argument. That argument, it seems to us, is that democratic processes are not always to be trusted, hence, in order to insure more democracy for some should sometimes be circumvented by the Government itself.

Edgar Allen Poe: A Real Fine Guy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include a deserved editorial tribute to one of the finest newspapermen I have ever been privileged to know. The editorial which follows was written by Mr. Gene Wirth, of the Jackson (Miss.) Clarion-Ledger, and appeared recently in that paper, and I am confident that all who know Ed Poe will give full and unqualified endorsement to Mr. Wirth's observations:

EDGAR ALLEN POE: A REAL FINE GUY

Measured by the yardstick of professional ability, character, loyalty, unselfishness, and genuineness, Edgar Allen Poe stands second to no man.

What more could be said?

Ed Poe, since 1947 Washington correspondent for the New Orleans Times-Picayune, occupied a similar position in Jackson for 10 years. To know Ed Poe is to love him, and many, many are the friends that he has in Jackson and Mississippi.

In recent days two much-deserved honors have come his way.

First, he was chosen president of the Washington Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, a professional journalism fraternity.

Then, 3 days later, Ed Poe was elected to membership in the Gridiron Club, one of the highest honors that can come to a Washington correspondent. Membership in the Gridiron Club is confined to 50 active members.

He is also a member of the National Press Club and the Overseas Writers Club.

During World War II Ed Poe was detached from the Jackson bureau and sent to the Pacific area. He was aboard the battleship *Missouri* when Japan formally surrendered, and was one of the first foreigners to visit Hiroshima after the first atomic bomb was dropped.

Ed and his lovely wife, Frances, have two sons, Edgar, Jr., a student at the University of Alabama, and Thomas, who attends Wakefield High School in Virginia.

Paul Wooton, veteran Washington correspondent with whom Poe is associated, writes:

"Poe is from the Maryland family that produced Edgar Allan Poe. Because of the relationship, Edgar Poe's mother gave her son the name of "Allen," which was misspelled on the birth certificate.

"If Poe had his way, his middle name never would be used. He fears someone would suspect that he is trading on a famous name. This writer, however, never loses an opportunity to use the full name to which Poe has every right both legally and from the fact that he comes from the same family as did the famous poet."

Fifteen-Acre Wheat Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, in the interests of the wheat producers of the Fifth District of Kansas I am today introducing legislation to repeal the wheat marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as it affects the 15-acre wheat farmer and the 200-bushel exemption: paragraph (7) of Public Law 74, 77th Congress—United States Code, title 7, section 1340 (7)—and section 335 (d) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended—United States Code, title 7, section 1335 (d)—effective beginning with the 1958 crop of wheat.

To anyone familiar with the critical situation facing the areas dependent on a wheat economy it would be apparent that the number of 15-acre wheat farmers is spreading in ever-increasing numbers over the commercial and noncommercial wheat-producing areas of our country. It is my sincere belief that unless there is some adequate controls placed, and soon, to prevent the 15-acre wheat growers from increasing in numbers they will cause untold economic hardship in many areas.

Protection must be provided the one-crop producers of our Nation's agriculture, especially when there is proven evidence that the area is unable to support itself with any other crop.

My district, which is one of the larger commercial wheat producing districts of the United States, would be pleased to find new means of supporting our economy. We would like to have new industries in southwestern Kansas. Thoughtful people in my State are hard at work on these matters.

As further evidence of our efforts to help ourselves the Kansas Legislature recently passed the Kansas Wheat Act providing a seven-man Kansas Wheat Commission. The Kansas Wheat Commission will collect a levy of 2 mills per bushel for the purpose of conducting a campaign for development, education and publicity for uses of wheat and the finding of new markets for wheat and wheat products.

We have been hard hit with drought. While the recent rains will be of untold help to this year's crops we will still be faced with the unrestricted competition of the 15-acre wheat farmer.

The Department of Agriculture recently furnished me a figure of 1,026,424 15-acre wheat farmers in the commercial wheat-growing areas of the United States. Add to this the unknown number of 15-acre wheat farmers in the noncommercial wheatgrowing States and you will see the staggering numbers of wheat farmers producing in competition with the highly controlled commercial wheat farmer.

As rapidly as the 15-acre wheat farmers are increasing in number it will be only a short time before total domestic consumption needs will be supplied by the wheat produced on the 15-acre farms. With our present modern methods of production and marketing, together with the fact that every State in the Union does grow wheat, it presents an evergrowing threat to the economy of my district, limited as it is to a wheat producing country by the nature of its geographical location and climatic conditions.

Battle of the Budget Healthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include herewith an editorial in the Lincoln County (Oreg.) Leader by Mr. Elmer Price:

BATTLE OF THE BUDGET HEALTHY

Personally we're a bit glad to see some effort being made to trim down the huge Eisenhower annual budget, even if the efforts are a bit on the feeble side.

At least it is bringing to the surface the deep concern of a lot of Americans over the constantly rising costs of government. And in doing so, it may serve notice on the President as well as our legislators that people want some brakes applied to governmental spending.

All kinds of propagandists are making the rounds now—most of them close to the administration's official family—who are describing efforts at trimming the budget as "butchering" it, and predicting dire results in the national as well as the world scene if a single penny is eliminated.

We doubt this, for most Government spending is full of "fat" and in most cases could take drastic cuts without actually endangering the service rendered. The Hoover Commission recommendations which this

administration and others as well, have studiously avoided accepting, points the way to millions in "painless" savings.

But government which has for so long so easily wrangled more and more money out of the populace and has so expanded its bureaus and activities, faces any possibility of trimming its sails with little gracefulness.

This goes for all government, whether headed by free spending Democrats, or (as it is turning out) more free-spending Republicans, both nationally and in the State. You can't blame them, really: "Easy come, easy go."

Only the plaintive yips of a lot of little Joe Doaks who must pay the bills, rising in a swelling tide across the Nation, can eventually change it.

We hope these Joes keep yelling, just as they're doing now. It will serve notice on our legislators to settle down to the job of sifting the grain from the chaff in public spending. There has been far, far too little time spent sifting in recent years.

The Eisenhower-Benson Farm Program Is Not Very Popular With This Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, as the pocketbooks of the farmers in my district grow thinner and thinner under the Eisenhower-Benson farm program, the farmers are becoming more and more articulate about their problems. They are a long-suffering lot of wonderful people, but when they are pushed beyond their patience, they really have something to say.

I request permission to insert one of these letters. This one is from a good farmer, Mr. Ralph Leines of Bejou, Minn. He is, to say the least, disturbed about the administration's treatment of the family farmer, and expresses, clearly and to the point, his opinions about the farmer's situation under the Eisenhower-Benson program.

BEJOU, MINN., *May 30, 1957.*

Hon. COYA KNUTSON,
Congressman, Ninth District of Minnesota, Washington, D. C.

DEAR COYA: When the H. R. 12 bill was pending adoption in Congress, we, the members of the Farmers Union, supported it to the limit, unfortunately, however, it was vetoed by—would be President—Eisenhower and as a substitute they handed us the present soil-bank fantacy, we reluctantly accepted it as a feeble means, with anticipation of future improvements, and not as an end to all farm programs.

Now they tell us, "You wanted a soil bank, now you have it," and how.

We did not anticipate a billion-dollar program turned loose to an incompetent Secretary without conscientious management, reasoning, and foresight.

We did not visualize a billion dollars of taxpayers' money heedlessly poured into a hog trough so the biggest hog could get the lion's share in complete disregard for beneficial effects to agriculture or to our national economy.

There must be an elusion from this program cleverly designed as a wedge to sever friendly relations between the farmers and city workers in an unscrupulous attempt to gain big city votes for the Republican cause, and to gain grandiosment for Benson.

We could not be so naive as to expect the city worker to sanction a program which allows a farmer to soil-bank his farm and go to the city to compete with labor for jobs while the city worker is taxed to pay the cost of this fantastic idea.

Any man endowed with the faculty of common intelligence can see what is taking place. Thousands of overcropped acres no longer fit to produce a cost-plus crop is soil-banked, and greater emphasis on remaining acres will produce more than ever before.

Financiers buy out hard-pressed family farmers and soil-bank their land. In a few years' time the taxpayer pays for these farms, and the farmer's family is tossed jobless upon the sympathy of society, depending on a small relief handout for survival. If this is democracy, what does it offer to this depressed family that communism can't outbid?

May I kindly suggest that we move our heavy artillery into position before the rainy season. We must do something, and pronto. Let's kill this soil-bank idea before it kills us. Don't give the Secretary of Agriculture this $1 billion program to play Santa Claus with.

Please let it be understood that this is my opinion, which is not supreme and therefore, apt to be erronious. If my opinion does not synchronize with your opinion, please do not hesitate to express contrary views which will be regarded as friendly communication between fellow Democrats.

Very respectfully yours,

RALPH LEINES.

An Open Letter to Congress Re H. R. 4813: Site for National Cultural Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 15, 1957

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following Open Letter to Congress which appeared in the Evening Star under date of June 4, 1957:

AN OPEN LETTER TO CONGRESS RE H. R. 4813: SITE FOR NATIONAL CULTURAL CENTER

GENTLEMEN: At a time when—

1. You are trying to cut dollars off of the budget;

2. The tax rolls of the District are shrinking;

3. The District of Columbia needs funds for its schools, its public-welfare program, its hospital program for the needy.

You are being asked to pass H. R. 4813 authorizing the so-called 26-acre Foggy Bottom area to be acquired by the Government and used as a site for the National Cultural Center at a probable cost of from $15 million to $20 million to the taxpayers (based upon actual sales in the area), with the loss to the District of Columbia of over 20 acres of tax-producing real estate, resulting in delay and tremendously increased cost of the Inner Loop Throughway which might have to be tunnelled under the Cultural Center, resulting in the loss of important private developments in this area.

Although the Cultural Center could, with less practical complications, be placed on ground already owned or in the process of being acquired by the Government under the urban renewal program, such as the 300-acre National Training School site or the Southwest Redevelopment Area, at a minimum cost to the taxpayers, and with no such loss to the District of Columbia.

This is not an attempt to sabotage the Cultural Center. We can still have the Center, and quicker, on one of several available Government-owned sites. We urge that because of this tremendous cost, H. R. 4813 be defeated, and that thereafter, a Government-owned tract be designated as the site for the Cultural Center.

Sincerely yours,

American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, Local No. 10, AFL–CIO; Building Owners and Managers Association of Metropolitan Washington; Foggy Bottom Taxpayers' Protective Association; Home Builders' Association of Metropolitan Washington; Peoples Life Insurance Co., Washington, D. C.; Washington Taxpayers' Association; Foggy Bottom Citizens' Protective Association; Building Owners and Managers Association; Small Property Owners' Association.

We call your attention to the following resolution of the Washington Board of Trade: "The above statement is in line with the policy of the Washington Board of Trade and we endorse your position."

NOTE.—Your attention is invited to similar views expressed at the congressional hearing on February 8, by Costello Post No. 15, American Legion, and the Northeast Council of Citizens Associations, and also a telegram from Mr. George A. Garrett, president of the Federal City Council, to the Auditorium Commission, which was made a part of the record at the congressional hearing and which announced opposition to the Foggy Bottom site, pointing out that the Federal City Council's executive committee had voted unanimously to again bring to their attention "what we consider to be an ideal site in the Southwest redevelopment area designed as a cultural center and planned for auditorium use."

The Star-Spangled Banner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include with these remarks the following excerpts from a speech to be delivered by Prof. Bernard Joseph Rubenstein on behalf of County Commander John Borchardt of the American Legion, Kings County, at State convention of Grand Court of Foresters. The speech follows:

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

(Excerpts from speech by Brooklyn Law School Prof. Bernard Rubenstein, on behalf of American Legion Kings County Commander John Borchardt, at State convention of Grand Court of Foresters.)

The first Stars and Stripes, adopted June 14, 1777, had the 13 stars arranged in a circle, signifying a union without end as well as the equality of the States. There were 15 stars and stripes from 1795 to 1818, with some flags of 5 staggered rows of stars; while other flags had 5 unstaggered rows of stars. The flag with the staggered rows flew over Fort McHenry during the bombardment of the night of September 13–14, 1814, which

inspired Key's immortal national anthem, the Star-Spangled Banner. What could be more blood-tingling words than, "And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air, gave proof through the night that our flag was still there." In 1818, the stripes were once more 13 and more stars were added. The stripes have been 13 ever since. There are 7 red stripes and but 6 white stripes so that the flag can be seen at a distance with the outside stripes red. Since 1818, as more stars were added the arrangement of the stars was thereby ordered rearranged. Ancient flags' stars represented dominion, but the act of June 14, 1777, specifically said the stars represent a new constellation, signaling to mankind the birth of the first Nation on earth dedicated to personal and religious liberty, where its people may enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The blue is for loyalty; the white is for liberty; the red is for courage. In this connection, the first stanza of A Toast to the Flag, by George B. Harper, is most stirring, "Here's to the red of it, there's not a thread of it, in all the spread of it, from foot to head, but heroes bled for it, faced steel and lead for it, slept with the dead for it, bathing it red." The proportions of the flag are fixed by Executive order, October 29, 1912. The display and use of the flag is governed by the act of December 22, 1942 (see World Almanac, etc.). The term "Old Glory" came into being in 1831, see below. In January, 1861, while still at peace, Treasury Secretary Dix ordered the Treasury office in New Orleans to take possession of a revenue cutter, and said, "if any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." At the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, in 1876, the up to then obscure painter Archibald M. Willard exhibited his new canvas, The Spirit of '76, of the famous two drummers and a fifer followed by troops carrying the American flag which did not come into being until the following year of 1777. Nevertheless, it was a magnificent work. Likewise, the legend of Betsy Ross, of Philadelhpia, has been doubted by historians. Every schoolboy remembers Whittier's Barbara Frietchie, "Shoot, if you must, this old gray head, but spare your country's flag, she said."

Flag Day was established by President Wilson in 1916, as a day of renewal and reminder, the emblem of our unity, our power, our thought, and purpose as a Nation.

President Coolidge on the 150th anniversary of Flag Day pointed out that the flag is the symbol of our country's ideals.

When famous New York social worker Jacob Riis went back to his land of birth, Denmark, to see his mother, he came down with a deadly fever and the only thing he claimed that rallied him was the sight of a ship sailing by with the American flag.

One of the most thrilling stories ever told is in the American Legion Reader of June 1950, by Kenneth Forée, on The Flag That Wouldn't Stay Down, recounting the true story of a Dallas boy, buck sergeant Otto Charles Erler of Company I, 3d Battalion, 4th Marines, who secreted an American flag all through his most harrowing experiences as a prisoner of war after being captured at Corregidor.

The American Legion, from its lowliest member like the speaker (Brooklyn Post 500) to its highest officers, has always shown the greatest respect for Flag Day because it believes such respect serves to instil the proper spirit of Americanism.

The great orator, Edward Everett, said of our flag, "May virtue, freedom, and peace forever follow where it leads the way."

Some say our Declaration of Independence is the heart of our Nation; the Constitution the backbone; and the flag the soul.

In the words of O. W. Holmes, "It is the banner of the free, the starry flower of liberty."

Judicial Selection and Tenure, an Address by Hon. William P. Rogers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Deputy Attorney General, Hon. William P. Rogers, delivered a most interesting and important address at the Mountain and Plain regional meeting of the American Bar Association in Denver, Colo., May 10, 1957.

As Mr. Rogers has pointed out, the American Bar Association reported recently that its relationship with the Department of Justice has never been better. This is an indication of the excellent and efficient manner in which the Department of Justice is being administered.

I hope all Members of the House will have an opportunity to read Mr. Roger's discussion of judicial selection and tenure.

The address follows:

I appreciate very much your kind invitation to participate in this regional meeting of the American Bar Association. It provides an opportunity to renew old acquaintances and to talk over first hand a number of matters of mutual interest. It was suggested that I discuss Judicial Selection and Tenure today and I am happy to accede to this suggestion.

As you may recall, the Judiciary Act of 1789 provided for a total of 19 Federal judges, distributed as follows: The Chief Justice of the United States, 5 Associate Justices for the Supreme Court and 13 district judges, one for each district. No provision was made for circuit judges for the 3 circuit courts since they were to be composed of 2 Supreme Court Justices and 1 district judge, any 1 of whom would constitute a quorum. In 1802, Senator Breckenridge said: "The time will never arrive when America will stand in need of 38 Federal judges." Numerically, at least, the problem of judicial selection can hardly be said to have posed a serious problem at that time.

Obviously, when the President was called upon to make so few judicial appointments, there was no necessity for establishing any regular procedure for making recommendations concerning appointments. The problem was to find men willing to serve in view of the meager salary and the arduous requirement of riding circuit.

Such points of reference as there are disclose that President Washington sought counsel from members of the Cabinet generally. We know, however, that in 1793, Randolph, the first Attorney General, had been asked to prepare a list of candidates for the bench. He reported that one possible candidate "had no just pretensions to eminence;" another "was of indifferent elocution and his knowledge of the law scarcely placed him on the roll of fame;" one "was a good country court lawyer"; one "was clear in all respects save that he might have some connection with the land companies"; and another "was a valuable man of universal esteem and a much approved practitioner." Randolph cautioned President Washington not to appoint incompetent men stating: "If such an idea gains grounds, the State judiciaries will inevitably make a stand against the Federal bench."

For a time, the Department of State was given the function of making recommendations to the President concerning all appointments. However, in 1853, at the instance of Attorney General Cushing, this function, insofar as it related to judges and law officers, was transferred to the Department of Justice where it has since remained. Even so, Attorney General Bates complained in 1863 that the Secretary of the Treasury had been instrumental in making appointments to many judicial vacancies "without any reference to legal and judicial qualifications."

The making of recommendations for judicial appointments is not now, nor has it ever been, an easy task. There is an immense amount of work involved in the process of appraising possible appointees and in preparing the Attorney General's recommendation to the President. As Attorney General Wickersham said: "My function, in connection with the filling of judicial appointments is quasi-judicial in itself, and I must consider all the candidates without any commitment to any one of them." Mr. Brownell, at the very outset of his tenure as Attorney General, established a procedure, which he has followed consistently. It is designed to insure the selection of judges of the highest integrity and professional attainment.

Whenever a vacancy exists many individuals and groups, including United States Senators, submit recommendations in support of various lawyers for appointment to the vacancy. These recommendations and endorsements are all gratefully received, acknowledged and given careful consideration. At the same time the Department, through bar groups and governmental sources, initiates its own study in order to secure the best available person for the office.

Sometimes, persons wishing to become judges, make known their interest in person. Not long ago, a lawyer approached me on this subject and I asked him why a man with such a large and successful practice with so many substantial clients and retainers would want to give all that up. He thought a moment, and then said, "To be perfectly frank, I'm tired." This applicant got a high mark for frankness—but he flunked his "attitude" test.

For the most part, however, there is widespread recognition of the fact that the duties of a Federal judge today are difficult, time consuming and burdensome.

When the list of qualified persons is complete, the process of recommending one who appears to merit appointment begins. This process is conducted by the Department of Justice under standards which President Eisenhower has affirmed and reaffirmed at his press conferences.

First, and most important, the candidate must be an outstanding lawyer and leader in the community from which he comes. Both his personal and professional reputation must be beyond reproach.

Second, the age and the health of the candidate must be considered. This policy is designed to provide the bench with men of vigor who are physically capable of carrying the heavy burdens now imposed on Federal judges.

Third, whenever a vacancy occurs in a circuit court or in the Supreme Court, the President has expressed his desire that outstanding judges should be carefully considered. While prior judicial experience is not essential and it is possible to argue that prior judicial experience may be of little or no value on the Supreme Court of the United States, I believe all appellate courts benefit if some of its members, at least, bring an understanding of the problems of a trial judge to the conference table.

Finally, President Eisenhower has stated that in connection with judicial appointments he places considerable weight on "the

recognition of the American Bar Association."

On February 16, 1957, the standing committee on Federal judiciary of the American Bar Association reported that "Your committee's relationship with the Department of Justice has never been better," and that the "working arrangement * * * is excellent." The Department has "welcomed suggestions from the committee," and has "granted the requests of the chairman for personal conferences whenever they have been requested."

At the request of the President, Supreme Court appointments are now referred to the American Bar Association for its recommendation. The report referred to this as a "precedent shattering step forward of the utmost significance."

When a name is initially agreed upon, it is submitted to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for a full-field investigation covering the person's entire personal and professional life. At that time the name is also submitted to the Judicial Selection Committee of the American Bar Association which makes a thorough inquiry into his professional attainments and judicial competence.

The results of these two investigations, together with all the other information which has come to the attention of the Department of Justice, are then carefully weighed, following which the Attorney General makes his recommendation to the President. This recommendation, which the Attorney General discusses with the President, contains a complete factual summary of the candidate's background and qualifications for the President's consideration. Quite frequently, President Eisenhower will talk personally with the candidate before submitting a nomination to the Senate.

There are, at present, 335 lifetime judgeships in the Federal Judiciary. This total is made up of 9 Justices of the Supreme Court, 68 circuit court judges, 239 district court judges, 5 judges of the Court of Claims, 9 judges in the Customs Court in New York, and 5 judges in the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals.

In addition, pending legislation, which the Judicial Conference of the United States and the Department of Justice among others, are strongly endorsing, would create 39 new district judgeships and 3 new circuit judgeships for a total of 374 judgeships.

During the 83d and 84th Congresses (covering the 4 years of the first Eisenhower administration) 101 lifetime judicial appointments were made. There were 2 Supreme Court appointments, 23 appointments as circuit judges, 71 district judges, 1 judge of the Court of Claims, 2 judges to the Customs Court and 2 judges to the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals. Eight additional appointments have been made thus far during the first session of the 85th Congress: 2 additional Supreme Court Justices, 1 circuit judge, 4 district judges, and 1 judge of the Customs Court.

In 1953 over 80 percent of the Federal judges had been appointed during Democratic administrations. At the present time 61 percent of the judges were appointed during Democratic administrations.

Historically, and I suppose it will be true prospectively, each administration appoints principally from its own party. That, in practice, has not proven to be a serious weakness in the system of selections of Federal judges. The reason that the Federal court system has worked well is that Federal judges put aside all political consideration once they assume judicial duties.

Be that as it may, it would seem desirable as a matter of national policy to prevent a gross imbalance from occurring. Probably no fixed formula is practicable. However, I believe the public interest would be well served if the two major parties gave consideration to arranging some appropriate safeguard to prevent a gross imbalance from occurring in the Federal courts regardless of how long either party might be in office. It is my personal opinion that an 80–20 ratio is at least an undesirable imbalance.

The Constitution provides that judicial appointments shall be made "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." This means that the nominee must be confirmed by majority vote of the Senate. A tradition has developed over the years that if a nominee is not acceptable to the Senators of the State of residence, by senatorial courtesy the Senate will decline to consent to the appointment. Thus, the practice has grown up of seeking the advice of the interested Senators at an early stage of the selection process.

Many not fully informed as to how this procedure works assume that this practice results in the selection of persons who may be politically acceptable but professionally unqualified. This is not true. The Senators, too, are concerned in seeing that the best qualified candidates be selected because they share in the responsibility if the person selected turns out to be incompetent or unsuitable. Our experience on the whole has been that the Senators' main concern is that the man selected from his State have outstanding qualifications and be beyond reproach from every standpoint.

The Department's function—and sole function—is to make recommendations. But even being involved to a small degree in this function is enlightening. I am reminded of the story of the schoolteacher who asked her class if anyone knew who Socrates was. A small child raised his hand, and on being called on said:

"Socrates was an old Greek who went around giving advice and got himself poisoned for it."

A word about judicial tenure. The Constitution provides that "the judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior. * * *" This provision was adopted by the Constitutional Convention unanimously and for reasons most eloquently expressed in the Federalist:

"The standard of good behavior, for the continuance in office of the judicial magistracy, is certainly one of the most valuable of the modern improvements in the practice of government. * * * It is the best expedient which can be devised in any government, to secure a steady, upright, and impartial administration of the laws. That inflexible and uniform adherence to the rights of the Constitution and of individuals, which we perceive to be indispensable in the courts of justice, can certainly not be expected from judges who hold their offices by a temporary commission. Periodical appointments, however regulated, or by whomsoever made, would, in some way or other, be fatal to their necessary independence."

The high esteem in which the judicial branch of our Government is now held proves the wisdom of the Founding Fathers in providing life tenure for Federal judges. The two major occasions when, for political reasons, attempts were made to undermine this constitutional provision only served to strengthen and add further justification to it.

Wholly in keeping with this concept, the Judicial Conference of the United States and the Department of Justice have recommended to Congress several legislative proposals concerning senior judges.

H. R. 3818, which passed the House on March 19 and is presently pending in the Senate Judiciary Committee, would amend section 371 (b) of title 28, United States Code, to designate a judge who takes advantage of the retirement provisions a "senior judge" rather than a "retired judge," and to provide a "roster of senior judges" who are willing and able to undertake special judicial duties upon assignment by the chief justice. This would mitigate the present feeling of many judges that by retiring they mark themselves as useless and no longer fit for public service even on a limited basis. It would create a status whereby mature, experienced, and respected senior judges may serve with distinction and perform selective but important public service in their judicial capacity.

H. R. 3391, as introduced in the House, where it is presently pending, would provide that a chief judge of a Federal circuit or of a Federal district court shall relinquish his administrative duties upon reaching the age of 70. This proposal gives recognition to the established fact that the daily administrative problems of the courts are difficult and exhausting and that senior judges should not be called upon to handle them in addition to normal duties.

H. R. 110, which passed the House on March 21, would provide that if a judge is eligible to retire and fails to do so, upon a certification of disability by the members of the appropriate judicial council, the President may appoint with Senate consent an additional temporary judge if he finds it necessary for the efficient dispatch of business.

It should be emphasized that none of the above proposals affect tenure. They merely take cognizance of the fact that judges are human, and that as they grow older, the law should take this factor into account either in the form of reduced duties or enlarged temporary judicial manpower.

We are fortunate to live in a nation which appreciates the precious values of law and order. We know that, in large part, these can be secured only as our courts are removed as far as possible from the passion of the moment, from politics, from partisanship, from prejudice, from personal or sectional interest of any kind whatever. Public confidence in the soundness of court decisions and in their integrity is the foundation of authority. Equal justice under law is preserved and strengthened as we approach the problems of judicial selection and tenure with these principles foremost in our minds.

Eisenhower Administration Doctors at National Institutes of Health Touchy on H-Bomb Petition

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article written by Drew Pearson entitled Government Scientists and H-Bomb, which appeared in the Belleville (Ill.) News Democrat on June 3, 1957.

GOVERNMENT SCIENTISTS AND H-BOMB

Government scientists who tried to circulate a petition against continued H-bomb tests suddenly found their constitutional right of free petition yanked from under them at the National Institutes of Health last week.

About half of the scientists and medical experts at the Health Institutes, a Government agency at Bethesda, Md., had signed the petition when suddenly Dr. Francis Arnold, a dentist working with the Institute of Dental Research, seized it. He refused to

return the petition on the ground that it was being circulated on Government property and on Government time.

This aroused a terrific backstage furore at the Health Institutes, where many scientists have seen how strontium 90 in H-bomb fallout increases leukemia and other forms of cancer. Many doctors also felt strongly regarding the Eisenhower position taken last fall against Adlai Stevenson's proposal to ban H-bomb tests, if Russia would agree.

Dr. Arnold was not available for comment. However, Dr. James A. Shannon, director of the National Health Institutes, confirmed the fact that the petition had been confiscated by Dr. Arnold and that it had not been returned. He said he had supported Dr. Arnold's confiscation of the petition because Government agencies should not be allowed to circulate a political petition.

Asked whether scientists lose the power of engaging in politics merely because they worked for the Government, Dr. Shannon retreated somewhat. He said he was in a delicate position, but that he would return the petition to the scientists if they agreed to circulate it only in their homes and not on Government property.

Dr. Shannon did not mention the Eisenhower-Stevenson debate last fall regarding the banning of H-bomb tests.

Address by Senator John F. Kennedy Honoring the Honorable Herbert Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, one of the great misconceptions about the second Hoover Commission is that it undertook its studies with preconceived notions to curtail Government services to many citizens. I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues that Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, who is well know to the Members of this body in which he served from 1947 to 1953, refuted misconceptions about Hoover Commission recommendations in his remarks given at a dinner honoring former President Hoover on February 4, 1957, during the third national reorganization conference, sponsored by the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, at the Hotel Shoreham here in Washington. Senator KENNEDY is well qualified to speak on this subject, for he was chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Reorganization during the 84th Congress and he conducted many hearings on Hoover Commission legislative proposals.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I ask that Senator KENNEDY's speech honoring former President Hoover be included. It follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY, HONORING THE HONORABLE HERBERT HOOVER

I deem it a great privilege to be here tonight, not only because of my esteem for the guest of honor, but also because of my sense of gratitude for your invitation. Senators are not always asked to participate in ceremonies lauding economy and budget reductions. On the contrary, some schoolboys believe the Constitution gives the House the power to originate taxes and the Senate the right to originate spending. And Will Rogers always said that "It is not the initial cost of a Senator we have to look out for, it's the upkeep. He may be the deciding vote on an appropriation bill that will cost us more than 100 high-priced men."

One way in which we in public life can assist you who labor long and without notice in the cause of governmental economy and efficiency is to help clear up misconceptions in the public mind which impede your work. There are three popular misconceptions about the work of the second Hoover Commission which I would like to mention tonight.

First is the mistaken belief held by a few cynics that the greatest benefit given the Commission by former President Hoover was the use of his name and reputation. But anyone who makes this assertion doesn't know Herbert Hoover very well. He is totally unlike Senator John Sherman of Ohio over half a century ago, who was famous for two laws, the Sherman silver-purchase law and the Sherman antitrust law, although a contemporary Senator observed, "The first was adopted against his protest, the other he introduced by request. I doubt very much whether he ever read it, or, if he did, whether he ever understood it."

No. Herbert Hoover does not propose measures he has not read, nor approve those he does not understand. At the age of 81, when most men are firmly fixed to their rocking chairs, he accepted without hesitation the challenge offered by President Eisenhower to undertake once again an examination of the executive branch of the Government. And I have it from an unusually reliable source that he was a working chairman, probably the "workingest" chairman any commission or committee ever had. His prodigious efforts were reflected in the preparation of every draft and report, in the harmonizing of men with conflicting attitudes, and in the acceptance of their findings by the public, the Congress and the Administration. The name of Herbert Hoover has truly become synonomous with efficiency and economy in government and I am privileged to join with those gathered here tonight to pay tribute and thanks to you, President Hoover, for your notable achievements in the improvement of the operation of our Government.

Secondly, I want to mention a misconception which has resulted from the adverse comments of some pressure groups and politicians—and some of my best friends are politicians—and that is the notion that the Second Hoover Commission was a biased, reactionary group which reached preconceived conclusions in a slanted, controversial report that would deny services to millions of Americans. This position is best refuted by the facts. During the 84th Congress, a Democratic Congress, it was my privilege to act as chairman of the Senate Reorganization Subcommittee, to conduct hearings on many Hoover Commission legislative proposals and to participate in the Senate's discussion of them. Of the 59 measures relating to the second Hoover commission's recommendations which were referred to the Senate Committee on Government Operations, 36 were favorably acted upon by our subcommittee. After consolidations and approval by the full Committee on Government Operations, 16 bills, incorporating the objectives of these 36 bills on which the subcommittee had acted, passed the Senate, all by unanimous vote; and of those 16, 13 are already law.

Still another Hoover Commission measure I was privileged to cosponsor, with Senator LISTER HILL, far from being a step backward, established our Nation's first great medical library. Still another measure expanded, not reduced, funds for basic research in medicine and other fields. Whatever differences President Hoover and I may have politically or otherwise, this will never prevent us from working together in the interests of better government.

Third and finally is the misconception that must discourage you the most—the notion that since the Hoover Commission has completed its work the job is over. What happened to all those budget savings, taxpayers are going to be asking in a few months. But the job is far from complete, despite the gratifying progress which I reported to you. The legislative process in a democracy is a slow process, and it always will be. For as Winston Churchill once said: "Democracy is the worst form of government—except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time."

However slowly, there is every sign that we will continue to move ahead. A major piece of unfinished business is the bill which passed the Senate unanimously last year, and which provides that our national budgets be based on the actual expenditures to be incurred by the Federal departments and agencies during the budget year, the cost-type budget. This bill is important not only in terms of the savings it will bring, but even more significantly, I believe, in terms of developing greater cost consciousness on the part of all citizens, employees of the Government and otherwise.

If all of us, in the Congress, in the citizens' organizations and in the general public, can share but a small part of President Hoover's unselfish dedication to this task, regardless of critics and pressure groups and political considerations, then continued progress and achievement are ours. We may say of him whom we honor tonight as Edmund Burke said of Charles James FOX:

"He has put to hazard his ease, his security, his interest, his power, even his * * * popularity. * * * He is traduced and abused. * * * He may live long, he may do much. But here is the summit. He never can exceed what he does this day."

Funds Needed for Arab Refugees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most pressing problems in the Middle East today is that of the resettlement of the Arab refugees. In this connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of June 6, 1957:

FUNDS NEEDED FOR ARAB REFUGEES

There are more than 900,000 Arab refugees from Israel who are currently being cared for by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees. Many of them are in the Gaza strip, but there are more in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. Their presence in these countries constitutes one of the biggest and toughest problems in the Middle East. Until there is a permanent solution as to their future, there can be no permanent political settlement in that area. But in the meantime they must be fed, housed, and given medical care.

Mr. Henry R. Labouisse, the American director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, arrives here today on a trip to Washington, Ottawa, London, and other western European capitals, to buttress his plea for U. N. funds for carrying out his agency's work. This consists of two programs; direct relief, and rehabilitation;

the latter comprising efforts to help the refugees to become self-supporting. Because of lack of funds part of the rehabilitation program has had to be suspended. Plans for building four new vocational training centers have been put into cold storage. No new applicants for small grants, which would permit artisans and small farmers to set themselves up in business, are being accepted.

For the present fiscal year, which ends June 30, the United States contributed $17.5 million toward the relief program. Great Britain has already pledged a contribution of $4.4 million for the next 12 months for relief, plus an additional $1 million for the rehabilitation program. Corresponding allotments from other western nations are expected. The American contribution toward this program is part of the mutual security appropriation, on which hearings have just begun in the House and Senate. These funds should certainly be voted, not only with a view to maintaining peace in the troubled Middle East but also to alleviate the lot of some 900,000 persons who have no jobs, no permanent homes, no prospects for the future until a general political settlement is reached.

In the meantime the U. N. has taken over responsibility for their welfare. If its agency has to curtail its operations the results might well be tragic and jeopardize the entire position of the free world in that region. The greater the number of refugees who can be resettled and become self-sufficient the fewer the number who will have to be considered when a settlement is finally negotiated, and the smaller the drain on the U. N. budget. This is one part of the mutual-security program which should be enacted with the least possible delay, since the U. N. funds may well run out shortly after July 1.

Baccalaureate Address to the Class of 1957, United States Naval Academy, by Vice Adm. James L. Holloway, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the baccalaureate address of the distinguished Chief of Naval Personnel, Vice Adm. James L. Holloway, to the graduating class of the United States Naval Academy on Sunday, June 2, 1957.

Mr. Speaker, this is the first time such an address has been delivered by a layman. Usually, a distinguished member of the clergy performs this important undertaking. However, Admiral Holloway is recognized as the foremost leader in the field of naval officers preparedness. The famous NROTC program was created by his genius. It is now a part of 52 colleges and universities throughout the land.

He is a past Superintendent of the Naval Academy. He now directs the destinies of the whole worldwide naval personnel program. His words of wisdom are most fitting to the Naval Academy graduate. His great service to his Nation in time of peace and war qualify him for this delightful and sacred task.

Future generations, as well as contemporary Americans, should partake of his counsel. Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is the place for his address.

The address follows:

REMARKS OF VICE ADM. JAMES L. HOLLOWAY, JR., UNITED STATES NAVY, CHIEF OF NAVAL PERSONNEL, FOR THE BACCALAUREATE ADDRESS TO THE CLASS OF 1957, UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY, ANNAPOLIS, MD., JUNE 2, 1957

Admiral Smedberg, class of 1957, distinguished guests, and midshipmen of the Brigade, it is an honor and a challenge to be asked to speak to you young gentlemen on the eve of your graduation. It is a challenge to say something significant, something helpful, and perhaps even something you may hold memorable of a most important time in your careers. And as I face you, my heart warms with the memory of our last meeting, Class of '57, just before last Christmas in Mahan Hall.

At first thought, it may seem strange that a naval officer—a sailorman—is delivering the baccalaureate. The occasion is usually reserved for our respected and devoted clergy. But upon reflection, it may not be so strange after all—it can possibly be at once pertinent and significant.

When I talked to you last December, you may remember I remarked that the naval profession, and the profession of arms, is very close to that of the clergy. Like theirs, a career in the Navy is one of service to God, to country, and to our fellowmen. It is a life of self-discipline, self-denial, and self-sacrifice. It is a life of devotion to a worthy and lasting cause: the preservation of peace and God's way on earth.

I repeat what I told you then: your service as an officer in the Armed Forces of our country is essential to the well-being, to the integrity, yes, to the ultimate existence of our country, and our way of life. I know of no more enriching or rewarding career for a young man to advance through than that.

Men of the sea are traditionally close to nature, to the wonders of God's earth and His universe. In his ship, the sailor rides the swelling storm: he sees the massive seas, he sees calm waters. He watches the star-strewn skies; he rises to many dawns to calculate his ship's position using the faint lights of the stars whose precise movements across the vastness of time and in the immensity of our outer space are predictable and measurable to a microsecond.

The sailor—the soldier—the airman—all see God in all His power and all His handiwork; and he comes to know that such a universe did not just happen, but is under the guidance of a Supreme Being.

And in the fulfillment of his life's mission, the naval officer cannot but be moved by the words in that lovely prayer for the Navy which so reflect the beauteous golden age of our language—

"That they might be a safeguard unto the United States of America, and a security for such as pass on seas upon their lawful occasions."

As never before, our Navy is a guarantee for freedom and an instrument for deterring war so that free men everywhere may serve their God in peace and quiet.

The officer corps is responsible for the wel-being and the moral guidance of the young men who are entrusted to our care. The average age of our bluejackets is only 23. Thousands of them are still in their teens and away from the influence of home, school, and church for the first time of their lives. Each year, some hundred thousand complete their naval service and return home.

It is your responsibility to set the example of good conduct, of reverence and loyalty, of faith and confidence, in your commissioned careers.

In all this, faith is our sure foundation.

Faith is the essence of our lives. We all have faith in God and in His supreme direction. We must have—yes—we must, from day to day—practice faith—not only as a tenet of our religion, but as a militant, willful, overriding force in our career at arms.

And in the practice of this militant faith in our noble cloth, by no means the least important is the affirmative, the positive, the enthusiastic. A willing heart is golden.

Nothing is more disruptive than the complainer, the grumbler, the condemner of some vague, carelessly conceived "they." Remember the old saying in the Navy—we are they.

Not that we should be blind to error—rather, when we think wrongs or errors exist—gather facts, and marshal objective measures through responsible channels. And here too, in so doing, let us pray for a due amount of modesty and humility—so becoming to all of us regardless of age—but particularly appropriate and helpful as wisdom and judgment commence initially to accrue to us.

Have faith in our service, our institutions, our leadership. There is no finer form of loyalty than a subtle, yet nevertheless outward manifestation of faith in our seniors who precede us.

The good destroyer captain, the disciplined and steady man at the diving controls in the submarine, the jet pilot in flight formation following his leader, all practice faith in its purest form in everything they do, every order they obey, every direction they give. Make this faith, this confidence and loyalty, a part of your day-to-day life, as you would in battle.

We have all observed how effectively the competent, yes, that is essential too, and the enthusiastic and sanguine leader, brings his people to play far over their heads, and has a taut yet happy ship, or troop, or squadron.

When you graduate next Friday, you receive not 1, but 2 commissions, the visible, palpable commission of your rank, and a second, but invisible commission, as a servant of God and country. This beautiful thought shines forth in the famous window you know so well in the chapel where a new ensign reads his first commission. In the background, the Stars and Stripes lifts on a swelling breeze; opposite is the white-garbed figure of Christ, in a beautiful gesture, lifting His right hand as if to delegate mission and responsibility to the young officer in the foreground.

Your graduation from Annapolis represents many things. It has a deeper significance than the mere act of graduation and the commencement, or I should say, for most of you, the continuation of a career begun some 4 years ago when you were appointed a Midshipman, United States Navy, a historic and purposeful rank. It means the degree of bachelor of science. It means the beginning of fascinating new duties, of ever-broadening responsibilities in interesting places, and participation in parlous and history-making events. It means the farflung deployment, in our country's service, of a group of men who never again will be able to completely assemble. But to all, it means the acceptance of these commissions of high service to God and country.

For those of you who are to continue in the Navy, I admit, as a sailorman of 1918 graduation vintage, to some envy. I can think of no more thrilling time in which to graduate. The Navy is alive with opportunities, with challenge, with interest, with future. You will join, and contribute to, the greatest revolution in the history of naval development.

It is not far afield to say that the class of 1957 has a rendezvous with history in the making.

The years ahead are bright with promise—promise in spectacular developments—with promise in opportunity for enterprise and initiative—with promise in dedication and devotion in facing and overcoming hardships that strengthen us.

You are to live in a dangerous and turbulent period of history. Your lives will be charged with the continuing struggle for freedom and peace, during a long period of tension, and in a time when readiness, eternal viligance, and strength are the free world's best protection.

And as with all men who venture and accomplish, your future will include a share of trouble, sorrow and adversity. These, too, are an inseparable part of the fabric of the future.

Your future in the Navy, and in the other services to which some of you go, is in your own hands. You will shape your own career. You will determine whether or not you have a useful, productive, and happy service life. As sure as life goes on, your contributions will be a measure of your competence, your energy, your integrity, and your faith.

You leave Annapolis with at least 3 of the 4 basic ingredients for happiness and success.

First of all, you have time—not too much, but sufficient, with hard work, to meet the innumerable challenges that are yours; time to better the conditions about you; time to do your part to preserve the peace and security of our country.

Second, you have unlimited opportunity. Never in the history of the Navy have there been so many. Never has seapower been so important to this great Republic.

Third, you have knowledge. Each of you is completing 4 exacting years which leave upon you the indelible mark of an Annapolis graduate. Your diploma is evidence of indoctrination in a way of life of profound moral and spiritual connotations, and of the deep-rooted and proven education in which you have successfully attained, within these gray walls on the Severn.

But these three ingredients—time, opportunity, and education—important though they oe, are of small value unless you have the fourth—faith. Faith in God—faith in your calling and your cloth—faith in your seniors, your juniors, your coordinates—this is a most important ingredient in the life of any naval officer. These are the foundation of a successful career. And likewise, these are essentials to a useful and rewarding life.

Now I know that faith is not something which one can pick up and carry out of Bancroft Hall, or from this new fieldhouse like a book or a diploma. It is not something that can be suddenly conjured to reality. If faith is not a part of your life already, leave room for it. Faith will grow from within—slowly, perhaps haltingly, and with struggle.

In my youth there was a time when lack of faith was fashionable. But two world wars and many smaller ones have proved its supreme value to me and to many other sailors.

To have faith, or not to have it, is the transcendent, the eternal decision that comes in every age to every person. It will also be yours.

But like Emerson, you will come to say, "All I have seen teaches me to trust the Creator for all I have not seen." And like Lincoln referring to the Bible, "Take all of this Book upon reason that you can, and the balance upon faith, and you will live and die a better man."

Faith will strengthen you in times of peril and decision. Unless a man has faith, trouble and tribulation can leave him bitter, frustrated, and adrift. With faith, your life will be meaningful, happy, and productive. Faith will enrich your life. It will bring you prepared, to the moments of great decision.

This was Robert Browning's meaning in Rabbi Ben Ezra when he wrote:

"Then, welcome each rebuff
That turns earth's smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!
Be our joys three parts pain!
Strive, and hold cheap the strain;
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!"

To John Bunyan, tribulation was the blindness of his daughter and his long confinement in prison. He spent 12 years in Bedford jail writing his masterpiece Pilgrim's Progress, which has the greatest translation into foreign languages of any book in the world except the Bible. Milton's chastening was his blindness.

These and many other examples prove that with faith, great works are accomplished.

As you leave Annapolis, take with your three ingredients this all important one of faith: Faith in your brothers in arms and yourself, faith in your service, your country and its future, and faith in God.

George Santayana wrote, and one of his greatest lectures at Harvard consisted solely of repeating:

"O world, thou choosest not the better part.
It is not wisdom to be only wise,
And on the inward vision close the eyes;
But it is wisdom to believe the heart.
Columbus found a world, and had no chart
Save one that faith deciphered in the skies;
To trust the soul's invincible surmise
Was all his science and his only art.
Our knowledge is the torch of smoky pine
That lights the pathway but one step ahead
Across a void of mystery and dread.
Bid, then, the tender light of faith to shine
By which alone the mortal heart is led
Until the thinking of the thought divine."

My dear young friends, may you go forward from Annapolis in this faith.

Thank you very much.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

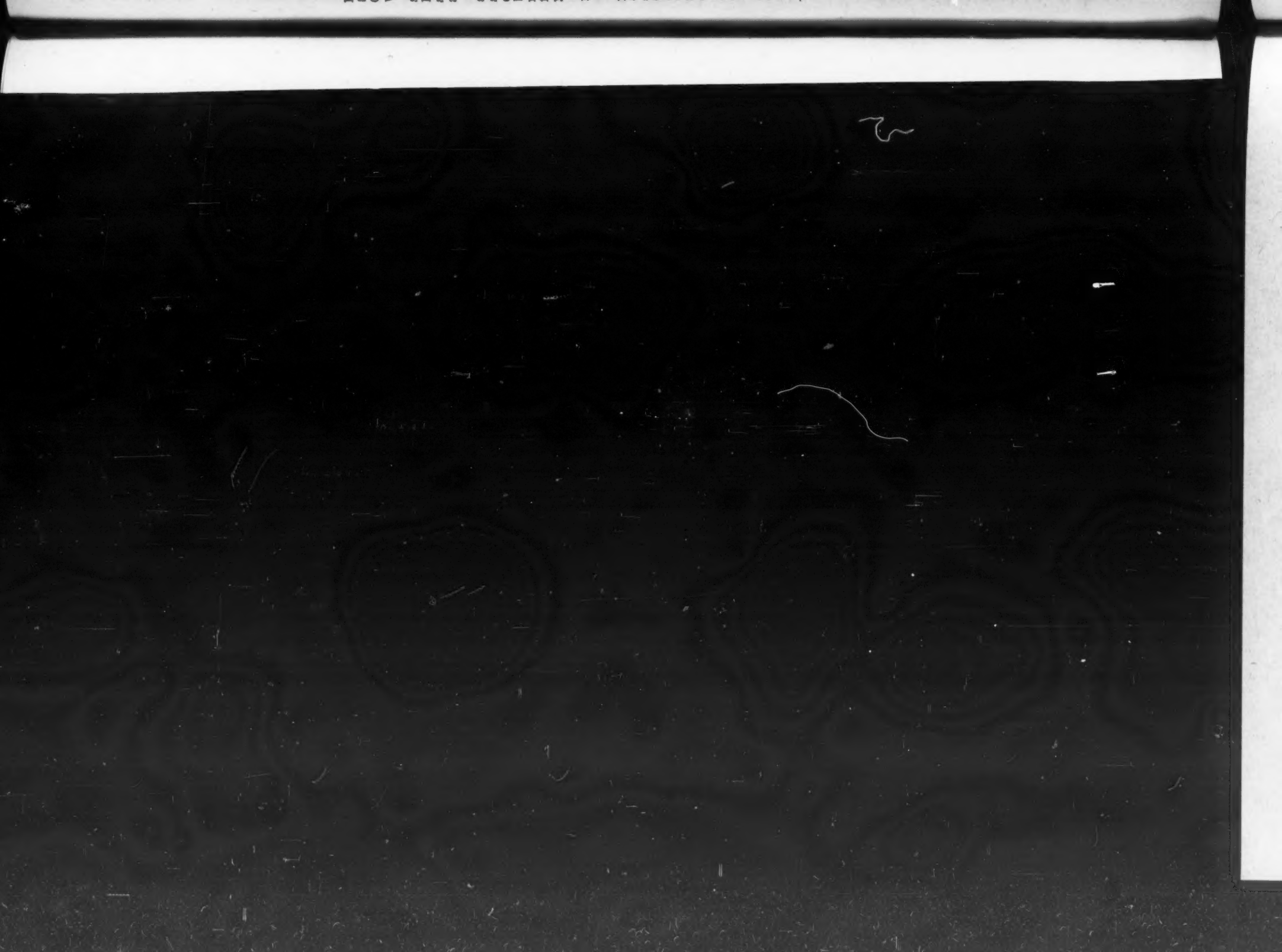

Appendix

Gen. George C. Marshall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, we in Pennsylvania are proud of our United States statesman, soldier, and friend, Gen. George C. Marshall, and his good wife and helpmate, Mrs. Marshall.

As a Congressman from western Pennsylvania, it a pleasure to claim General Marshall as a famous world citizen who spent his early youth among our hills and valleys of western Pennsylvania.

We salute General and Mrs. Marshall and wish them well on the 10th anniversary of the Marshall plan that has succeeded beyond our best hopes, and has been a keystone in the security and progress of all nations and peoples of the free world. We are deeply grateful to you.

[From the New York Times of June 6, 1957]

MARSHALL IS HONORED ON 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF AID PLAN

WASHINGTON, June 5.—President Eisenhower joined in tribute today to his old chief, General of the Army George C. Marshall. In a ceremony at Blair-Lee House, General Marshall was honored on the 10th anniversary of the address that set forth the Marshall plan for assisting war-torn Europe. Sir Harold Caccia, British Ambassador, gave General Marshall a silver medal struck by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. Herve Alphand, French Ambassador, gave him a tapestry in the name of the French people, and presented a clock to Mrs. Marshall. The President went to Blair-Lee House after his morning news conference. He shook hands with General Marshall and his wife and discussed the weather as they posed for photographs. The Marshalls had driven 40 miles in the rain from Leesburg, Va., where they live in retirement.

READ DURING CEREMONY

The President departed after the pictures, leaving a letter of tribute. It was read in the ceremony by Wiley T. Buchanan, State Department Chief of Protocol.

The letter declared that the address by General Marshall, then Secretary of State, had prevented economic and political chaos in Western Europe.

"That this tragedy was averted is due in large measure to the bold and imaginative undertaking which you proposed and which rightfully bears your name," the President wrote.

At Harvard's commencement exercises 10 years ago, General Marshall said the United States would aid those European countries that were ready to make a common effort to rebuild their economies.

Out of this proposal came a $12-billion-aid program lasting 3½ years, which was credited with having restored economic health to free Europe.

The 17-member Organization for European Economic Cooperation was formed in 1948 to put the Marshall plan into effect, and still functions.

Peter Thorneycroft of Britain, chairman of the Organization's council, said the 1947 speech gave sudden hope and encouragement to the peoples of Europe.

Sir Harold told the general:

"You made it clear that, if the nations of Europe got together and worked together for their own salvation, American aid would be forthcoming. Your inspired speech was destined to set in train an unforseeably rapid recovery in Europe."

Ambassador Alphand observed that without the Marshall plan, the OEEC and Europe's coal and steel community "would not have been born."

"Without your plan," he told the general, "there would have been no hope for a united Europe, a common market * * * or a free trade area."

General Marshall, who is 76 years old, received the tributes standing erect, arms at his side, as a soldier at attention.

"I came here today in a very real humility to receive this expression of your appreciation for the attitude of the American people toward Europe at the close of World War II," he said.

"I think what happened—and it is very much reflected by what has just been said—served as an example for the succeeding years when we were still troubled by the evil corrosion that was on us and continues on us today."

He voiced confidence that the Western World "in the end will triumph."

The medal bears the inscription, "Salus Europae: Pax terra marique parta." This means "The salvation of Europe: Peace by land and sea."

Later, at the German Embassy, General Marshall received a tribute from Dr. Hans Bluecher, deputy to Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

Every German realizes "how much vision and courage were needed to make the great United States see in a united Europe one of the necessary elements of the building of a progressive world," Dr. Bluecher said.

COMMON EFFORT HAILED

LONDON, June 5.—Peter Thorneycroft, Chancellor of the Exchequer, paid tribute tonight to General Marshall and the late Ernest Bevin, Laborite Foreign Secretary, in a broadcast commemorating the anniversary of the Marshall plan.

General Marshall's words inspired the European countries with new hope, he said, "This struck an answering chord in a great British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin. Europe was brought together in a common effort which is still going on today."

DENMARK IN TRIBUTE

COPENHAGEN, DENMARK, June 5.—The anniversary of the Marshall plan was commemorated in Denmark in a radio speech tonight by Jens Otto Krag, Minister of Foreign Economy.

He recalled that Denmark received $355 million from the plan's inception until the summer of 1953, when she told the United States she did not expect further aid.

ITALY IS GRATEFUL

ROME, June 5.—Giuseppi Pella, Foreign Minister, voiced Italy's gratitude to the United States today for its Marshall plan help.

Without it, he said, post-war reconstruction would have been slower and more difficult. Europe and America have a long road to go together, he declared.

[From the Washington Post of June 6, 1957]

MARSHALL PLAN APPRAISAL 50 YEARS' WORK IN 10

(By Ferdinand Kuhn)

PARIS, June 5.—If you remind a European that it has been 10 years since Gen. George C. Marshall made his famous speech at Harvard he is apt to say, "Good God—is it only 10 years?"

The changes in Europe since June 1947 have been of the kind that would normally have taken 50 years. To anyone who saw Western Europe in that tragic spring and who revisits it today it is a different world.

German civilians were grubbing in fields for food and fuel while the general was speaking at Cambridge.

The French and Italians were living on emergency food shipments from the United States. The British were staggering through an economic crisis that was harder in some ways than the war years themselves for there seemed to be no victory in sight, no light at the end of the tunnel.

The four horsemen whom Marshall called hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos were riding high through Europe and wherever they rode, except perhaps in Britain and Scandinavia, communism was rising to take advantage of the people's misery.

ONLY A MEMORY

Today all this is only an evil memory. Western Europe's industries last year produced 74 percent more than before the war. Its farms grew 30 percent more, its exports shot up to 84 percent more, and its internal trade was almost twice as much in quantity.

There no longer is such a thing as the Western European economic problem. It has become a series of problems of individual countries coping not with poverty but with prosperity. Most of the so-called Marshall plan countries have shortages of labor; all the industrialized countries at least are putting more into development plans for the future than their present economies could sustain.

Without the spark of General Marshall's speech and without the $13 billion America pumped in during the first 4 years Europeans could not have achieved their astounding recovery of today—and they know it.

OTHER PART OF STORY

But trade and economics are only part of the story. When Marshall spoke at Harvard he did not use a single statistic. Instead he pictured the situation in human terms and went on to propose a revolutionary procedure for curing it. This was his suggestion that Europeans themselves get together to determine what they could do for themselves and what they would need from the outside. Western European governments picked up the ball and ran with it—and they are still running with it 10 years later.

Their first response resulted in the creation of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation in which officials were not French, German, Italian or Dutch but European. The United States had hoped for more: it hoped that an integrated

Europe would be built into the work of rebuilding the continent. Yet the impetus of 1947 did not die, and since the ending of the original Marshall plan in 1952 Western Europe has sprouted a whole flower garden of supranational organizations in special fields. The Coal and Steel Community, for example, leaped over frontiers and reshaped the heavy industries of 6 countries as if they were 1. NATO in the military field, and soon Euratom in the atomic and the common market in the field of trade—all these are steps in the course which Marshall and his helpers charted 10 years ago.

ANOTHER CONTRIBUTION

The plan that grew out of Marshall's speech contributed one other idea that should be remembered today. This was the novel use of counterpart funds—that is, provision that every country getting grants from the United States should put up equivalent amount in its own currency for its own uses. Economists may frown at some results of these vast accumulations of local currencies. Some countries like France and Italy used them to speed their reconstruction from war. Britain used counterpart sterling to reduce its national debt. In retrospect, what matters now is not so much the uses of these billions of lire, francs, marks, but the fact that Europeans raised these sums themselves and so took a major share in their own recovery.

MISTAKES WERE MADE

Mistakes, of course, were made in the Marshall plan, and Europe will pay heavily for them. You can hear Germans and Italians say today that too much was poured in at the top, with the result that big industries are bigger and politically more powerful than in Nazi and Fascist days.

In addition Marshall planners made a basic error of treating underdeveloped Turkey and Greece in much the same way they handled industrialized societies of the Atlantic coast. These countries would be better off today if there had been greater emphasis on agriculture.

COMPARE IT WITH 1931

But few Europeans today will throw stones at the Marshall plan or its architects, beginning with the general himself. We now are 12 years from the end of World War II. One measure of how far Europe has come is a comparison with its condition 12 years after the World War I armistice—say, at beginning of 1931. At that time the Nazis were on the march throughout Germany, Fascists were firmly in control of Italy, Britain and France were struggling with worldwide economic depression. All Europe had begun the stampede to the shelter of protective tariffs and other devices of self-sufficiency that proved to be no shelter at all.

Not one European country, no even Italy, for all of Mussolini's bombast, had any faith in its future. Today every Marshall plan country believes in itself in spite of the tragic division of the Continent and the shadow of atomic war.

[From the Washington Post of June 6, 1957]

FREE EUROPE HONORS MARSHALL ON 10TH BIRTHDAY OF HIS PLAN

(By Jean White)

A soldier-statesman-gentleman came up from his Leesburg, Va., country home and retirement yesterday to receive the thanks of the free world.

Gen. George Catlett Marshall, who made a speech heard around the world 10 years ago yesterday to give hope to war-shattered Europe, was honored both here and in Western Europe.

Despite a streaming downpour, President Eisenhower made an unscheduled trip across Pennsylvania Avenue to Blair-Lee House to join in the tribute to Marshall on the 10th anniversary of his Harvard University speech launching the Marshall self-help plan for European recovery.

At the simple ceremonies at Blair-Lee House, General Marshall received a silver medal struck in his honor by the 17-nation Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the agency born with the Marshall plan. Around the figure of the Goddess of Peace burning arms, the face of the medal bears a Latin inscription meaning: "Salvation of Europe—peace on land and sea."

Mr. Eisenhower went to Blair-Lee House by auto immediately after his news conference and shook hands warmly with the man who was his World War II boss as Army Chief of Staff.

As he walked into the drawing room with Mr. and Mrs. Marshall, the President's eye was caught by a portrait of Marshall, as the 5-star general, near the fireplace.

"Oh, in uniform," the President said to the Marshalls. "Now I've never seen that before," and he pulled out his brown-rimmed spectacles for a closer look at the portrait by Thomas E. Stephens.

Then, like two country squires, the President and General Marshall discussed weather in their parts of the country.

After asking about the weather down in Leesburg, Mr. Eisenhower observed: "I've been looking for some rain. I hope we are getting some at Gettysburg."

Before returning to the White House, the President turned to General Marshall to say he had wanted to come back to salute his "old Chief."

He left the more formal words in a letter of praise to be read by Wiley T. Buchanan, Jr., State Department Chief of Protocol. In his letter, Mr. Eisenhower praised General Marshall for the "bold and imaginative undertaking" that helped avert tragedy when "the fate of all Western civilization hung in the balance."

General Marshall, a distinguished figure at 76, stood with an old soldier's stiff erectness during the brief ceremony.

He wore a dark blue suit with the sporting touch of a tattersall checked vest.

He received the tributes "in very real humility."

"I was fortunate to be in the position to represent the attitude of the American people at this fateful moment of chaos in the world," he said in his quiet voice.

"I think what happened," the general went on to observe, "and it is very much reflected by what has just been said, might possibly set an example for the succeeding years when we are still troubled by the evil corrosion that was upon us and continues today."

Sir Harold Caccia, British Ambassador to the United States, presented the silver medal to General Marshall for the OEEC.

Marshall's name, he said, will go down in history not only as a great military leader and the architect of European economic recovery, but also as the founder of European economic cooperation.

French Ambassador Herve Alphand gave the Marshalls a tapestry and antique clock purchased with money raised by popular subscription in France.

"After 10 years," Alphand said in a deeply felt tribute, "we don't forget * * *," and he went on to list the Marshall plan's part in restoring economic vigor, stopping communism, and breaking the way for the European Coal and Steel Community, Euraton, a common market and free-trade area.

Overseas many of Europe's leading statesmen issued tributes to Marshall as he was honored here. Two plaques were unveiled in his honor at OEEC headquarters in Paris.

From Blair House, General Marshall went to the German Embassy for another tribute.

Then the former Army Chief of Staff, Secretary of State, and Secretary of Defense—the soldier-statesman-gentleman—headed back for his Leesburg home and retirement after a rare visit to the Nation's Capital.

A Single Chief of Staff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. T. RUTHERFORD
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 30, 1957

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, I feel compelled to express some thoughts which are the result of my deep concern at this time. A reader of the press will note that in recent weeks there has been a resurgence of the long-extant movement to foist upon our country a supreme general staff ruled over by a single chief of staff in complete dominance and control of our military forces, policy, and organization.

A glance at congressional history reveals that this proposal has been pushed with vigor and force many times in the past 75 years. Congress, in committee and as a whole, has repeatedly and in great detail examined the philosophy and functioning of this method of military control, developed by and adopted from the Prussian system. The purported advantages have been aired and investigated and it has been concluded by our predecessors, in each and every instance, that advantages did not exist. As a matter of fact, the conclusion has been that monumental disadvantages and dangers would exist if a supreme general staff-single chief of staff was authorized. This repeated rejection by Congress of the system that led the Prussian-German people to disastrous defeat twice within 30 years is an example of the astuteness and soundness of our congressional-legislative process. I have no fear that examination of this present proposal under objective conditions will once again result in its complete and unqualified rejection.

There is one area of this matter that I believe deserves special mention in the light of today's thinking and current conditions. The shield behind which the present sponsors and advocates of this single chief of staff scheme advance is the shield of economy. This, incidentally, indicates the clever manner in which this proposition is being promoted. All of us are vitally and sincerely interested in the question of Government expenditures and economy. Adoption of this system, from a military and national policy standpoint, would be inviting; yes, almost assuring, a debilitation of our military power and effectiveness. Leaving that aside for the moment, however, I would like to examine the economy claim we read so much about these days.

Our best yardstick, it would seem, to measure organizational efficiency is found in the business-industrial systems of our country. These organizations are continually subjected to the test of practical application and if they fail they disappear. Competition provides the test. Our industrial and business leaders of today are agreed that the greatest efficiency is developed by a decentralized organization. The more successful business enterprises have found that decentralization increases efficiency and econ-

omy, and thus builds a stronger and sounder organization. Whereas 50 years ago the single industrial emperor dominated the business scene, this strong man has today virtually disappeared—the victim of progress and efficient organization.

To adopt a single Chief of Staff—completely unified military organization would be to follow a path of retrogression and to saddle ourselves with a system proven to be uneconomical, as well as inefficient. True, we are dealing with military, not business, organization. But every indication is that it would be just as uneconomical in its military application as in business. This was pointed out by Secretary of Defense Wilson, as quoted in the New York Times of May 17, where it was stated:

> Secretary Wilson said he had been trying to "overcome the handicap of bigness" for 20 years as president of General Motors. He said neither money nor paperwork would be saved by putting the services "all together in one big pot."

The handicap of bigness that Secretary Wilson mentioned as a great problem at General Motors would be dwarfed by the handicap imposed by merging the services into one gigantic combine. Suppose you take the assets of General Motors, American Telephone & Telegraph, United States Steel, Standard Oil Company of the United States, Du Pont, and General Electric as a starter for comparison. Add to them the assets of more than 30 of the other leading corporations of the country. The resulting combination in business size, and complexity, would be less than half of the aggregate if the 3 military departments' assets were lumped into one pot. Any man who seriously claimed that it would be good business management to merge some 40 of the largest business concerns of the country into one gigantic firm would be a candidate for mental examination.

Furthermore, no matter how economical, the security and safety of the United States, as well as its traditional constitutional civilian control of the military, would prevent adoption of the supreme general staff-single chief of staff concept.

In addition to the searching congressional inquiry in this field, the question was the subject of much attention by the Hoover Commission. This organization, dedicated without question to efficiency and economy, rejected on all counts the supreme general staff organization.

The present organization, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, provides us with the safest and surest method of advising on and carrying out our national policy. The victory of our Nation in two World Wars, when contrasted with the utter failure of the German supreme high command is ample evidence of the efficiency of this type system.

The JCS organization has been repeatedly examined in Congress and in each instance determined to be the best and soundest organizational form available. The Hoover Commission Task Force Committee on National Security concluded that there should be no change in our organization of military direction.

In dealing with this, the Task Force Report of the Hoover Commission concluded:

> There has been much loose criticism of the war efforts of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as constituting command by committee; yet there can be no doubt whatsoever that in the field of grand strategy a meeting of several minds is far safer—and in the end more sound—than the dictates of one. The responsibilities for strategic planning and the conduct of war are soundly placed by the National Security Act upon the shoulders of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who, in turn, are under the authority, and subject to the control of, the President and the Secretary of Defense. There should be no change in this concept.

The fallacious cloak of economy and efficiency once again has been wrapped around the single chief-of-staff idea in an effort to make it more acceptable to the people of the United States. Regardless of what form it takes or what cover it has, this concept can spell naught else but trouble and disaster for the United States. It would not be a panacea, it would be an anathema—on our way of life and our constitutional form of government. I would not cry "Wolf" or "Beware of the man on horseback." But any man worth his salt and placed in the position of Chief of the Supreme General Staff, or whatever it might be denominated, would naturally and automatically acquire powers far beyond those envisaged by the Constitution. This era of total war would make this system intolerable to everyone in our country, however he may be engaged, without practical exception, for its impact would be felt and borne by all.

Alaska Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. DAWSON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take just a moment or two to comment on the results of the meeting of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of Tuesday, May 28. At that time the full committee considered the bill which would admit Alaska into the Union. The Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Affairs had, a short time prior to the aforesaid meeting, voted out the statehood bill, after having conducted hearings and having considered innumerable amendments since the legislation was first taken up on March 11, at the 1st session of the 85th Congress.

Of the amendments that were adopted by the subcommittee, four principal amendments were considered separately by the full committee for adoption or rejection. First of all, an amendment providing that an election be held in Alaska to determine whether the duly qualified electors wished to have their Territory become a State, before it could legally become such even though Congress had favorably passed the legislation, was rejected by the committee. I felt that the people of Alaska had expressed their wishes on this matter previously; directly, in a referendum on the question in 1948, and indirectly, by approving the proposed Alaskan constitution drafted at a 75-day session commencing on November 8, at a constitutional convention formed pursuant to a law enacted by the 1955 territorial legislature. It is interesting to note that the Governor-designate of Alaska, Mike Stepovich, of Fairbanks, Alaska, indicated by telegram to the Interior Committee that while he would accede to the wishes of the Congress on this matter, he felt, as I have stated, that the foregoing was an indication of the feelings of the Alaskan people on this subject plus the further fact that a further referendum would be an unnecessary expense.

The second amendment considered by the committee was a proposal which would have delayed for 5 years after Alaska finally became a State, the transfer of jurisdiction over the fish and wildlife resources to the new State. This amendment, which was rejected by a 17–14 vote, means that the bill as it now stands, if enacted into law, would transfer these resources from the control of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service to the new State of Alaska. What this will mean to Alaska can be shown by simply referring to the 1956 Annual Report of the Governor of Alaska, where, on page 1, it is stated:

> Alaska's economic condition was generally good and did not change materially during the year. Total production from Alaska's natural resources totaled $131 million. Of this, $69.7 million was from the fisheries.

The third and fourth amendments, which were also considered separately by the committee, included a proposal by Delegate BARTLETT, of Alaska, to substitute language so as to require any Federal agency to obtain congressional approval before taking over 5,000 acres or more of public land for its use during the first 5 years of statehood, and a proposal for retention in the Federal Maritime Board of its exclusive jurisdiction over common carriers engaged in transportation by water between any ports in the new State of Alaska, and between any port in Alaska and other ports in the United States, its Territories, or possessions. While a somewhat similar bill to the substitute language proposed by Delegate BARTLETT, in respect to the maximum amount of public-land withdrawals without congressional approval is pending before the House Interior Committee, the proposal to substitute was also rejected by the full committee as was the final amendment.

The full committee then adopted the rest of the amendments contained in the bill before it and proceeded to vote out the statehood bill by a vote of 24 to 6. As a firm believer in statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, I was happy to see that 11 of the 13 Republicans who voted on the bill and 13 of the 17 Democrats, voted in favor of the legislation. It is this kind of bipartisan proceeding that will be necessary for the passage of this statehood legislation. I sincerely hope that it will

be demonstrated when the House of Representatives votes on this important measure.

North Pole Discovery Remains in Doubt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Frederick A. Cook devoted many years of his life to the exploration of the Arctic and Antarctic regions. He enjoyed a brilliant career in this field.

His claim to have reached the North Pole on or about April 21, 1908, aroused worldwide controversy. There remains considerable doubt as to whether Dr. Frederick A. Cook or Adm. Robert E. Peary was the first person to reach the North Pole.

I am inserting an article from the Buffalo Evening News, of May 1, 1957, in which Dr. Silvio Zavatti, an Italian expert, states his confidence in the claims of Dr. Cook and urges a restudy of the claims made by both Dr. Cook and Admiral Peary concerning the discovery of the North Pole.

The article follows:

COOK'S CLAIM OF FINDING POLE WINS GEOGRAPHER'S SUPPORT—ITALIAN EXPERT URGES SCIENTISTS TO RESTUDY BUFFALO EXPLORER'S ADVENTURE 49 YEARS AGO

The long-disputed claim of the late Dr. Frederick A. Cook that he was the first man to reach the North Pole is receiving powerful support from a well-known Italian geographer.

Writing in the Journal of the Italian Geographical Society, Dr. Silvio Zavatti, director of Italy's Polar Institute, declared without reservation that Dr. Cook should be acknowledged as the discoverer of the Pole.

Dr. Cook, a resident of the area in the 1930's and the father of Mrs. Helene Cook Vetter, 12 Oakwood Drive, Harris Hill, devoted the last years of his life to stressing his claim to having been the first man to reach the North Pole and the first man to reach the top of Mount McKinley in Alaska, highest peak on the North American Continent.

EXPLORER IS BURIED IN BUFFALO

He died in 1940 and is buried in Buffalo. Once denounced as the perpetrator of one of history's greatest hoaxes, Dr. Cook was a national hero briefly in 1909, after he returned from the Arctic with the claim that he reached the pole April 21, 1908. Five short days after he announced his discovery, Adm. Robert E. Peary announced to the world that he had reached the northern cap of the world April 6, 1909.

A committee of scientists, named to evaluate the rival claims, finally rejected Dr. Cook's account and accepted Admiral Peary as the North Pole's discoverer. Dr. Cook dropped from public sight, but he never gave up the battle for recognition.

Noting that this month marks the 49th anniversary of Dr. Cook's reported discovery, Dr. Zavatti is urging geographic societies to renew studies of the records.

More than 50 leading explorers and scientists have attested to the creditability of Dr. Cook's reports and the book about reaching the North Pole with two Eskimo companions.

An important aspect of the North Pole controversy is Dr. Cook's disputed claim that he climbed to the top of Mt. McKinley in 1906.

It is considered an important aspect because it would shed light on Dr. Cook's credibility—and because it may be more easy to prove or disprove than his claim that he reached the Pole.

CONQUERED GLACIER IN 8 DAYS

Mrs. Vetter said a new expedition may attempt the climb this year over the same route that Dr. Cook says he took. That is the route that Bradford Washburn, director of Boston's Museum of Science, says is impossible because of impassable crevasses.

Dr. Cook said he ascended the mountain by the Ruth Glacier route in 8 days. The record time up the mountain on the conventional route is 21 days.

A four-man expedition led by Walter Gonnason, Seattle explorer, tried to make the climb up the 20,300-foot mountain by the Ruth Glacier route last summer, but had to turn back at the 11,500-foot level because of bad weather.

Mrs. Vetter is sure that another expedition will make the Ruth Glacier climb eventually and prove her father's account, thus strengthening his claim to the discovery of the North Pole.

Global Indigestion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, during the past 2 weeks, we have had vividly called to our attention several cases involving American servicemen charged with crimes while serving in the United States Armed Forces on the soil of some foreign nation. The facts in these cases have varied as well as the locale, but the basic issue is the same: What is being done to protect the constitutional rights of our men in service?"

In view of what has happened in Formosa, Japan, and now in Greece, I believe it is high time Congress take a very searching look at our farflung bases throughout the world, and ask ourselves whether the price we are paying in dollars, and more important, in the lifeblood and constitutional rights of our young men in uniform, is worth what we are getting in return.

The following excellent editorial from the Wheeling Intelligencer for May 28, 1957, asks a very pointed question which has been uppermost in many of our minds, "Are our global defenses and alliances really built on sand?"

GLOBAL INDIGESTION

It is to be hoped all the fanfare over steps taken by Chiang Kai-shek to appease us and put down anti-American demonstrations in Formosa will not divert American minds from the real question raised by this violent incident—

Why does anti-American sentiment exist?

It is not a question confined to Formosa. It is almost global in application. It can be asked of any country where we have troops stationed; of any people with whom we have mutual defense arrangements or who are associated with us in any way in our foreign aid program.

It is not of particular importance to us that Chiang has discharged a number of military and police officials for taking less than prompt and vigorous action to stop last week's riots. It is not important that several hundred rioters have been arrested or that the "profound regrets" of the Nationalist Government have been expressed to the United States.

What is important is why the uprisings occurred. Nobody will believe that of itself the clearing of an American soldier in an American military court for the killing of an alleged "peeping Tom" Chinaman was responsible for all the violence. It was simply the match which set off the powder keg which had been spoiling to explode.

Why is this so? Surely Chiang and his Nationalists are no bargain from our point of view. Formosa is an embarrassment rather than an asset. Keeping Kai-shek and his cause and his followers alive not only has cost us heavily in material outlay, but even more heavily in world prestige. Practically every other country has deserted the cause of Nationalist China. Why, then, are these people so resentful? Don't they want to be "saved"?

Growing tension in Japan furnishes additional evidence of ill feeling toward us on the part of people we have tried to help and from whom we had come to expect at least friendship. Controversy over the case of an American soldier accused of manslaughter in the death of a Japanese woman killed on a rifle range is an evidence of this. Japanese authorities insist they have jurisdiction to try the man. The United States Far East Command, after agreeing originally to this procedure, has withdrawn the order under Defense Department instructions pending further investigation.

The incident is not important enough of itself to explain all of this uproar. There had to be a backlog of bad feeling behind it to produce such a reaction.

And so it is throughout the farflung scope of our mutual defense setup. The British, the closest of all our allies, have been critical and cool of late. It is becoming pretty clear that only necessity ties them to us. The French never have been very enthusiastic, although our support of them has earned us suspicion, and in the Middle East where we have offered to go to the defense of any people invaded by a Communist offensive, there is a disposition to look at the proposition with a fishy eye.

There must be some deep-seated reason for all of this which cannot be explained away by the assertion that it is the result of Communist propaganda. It is something more basic than that, something we should find out about before we build too many hopes on the sort of defenses we have set up around the world. Maybe, if a showdown came, we would discover that we have built on sand in many quarters.

Want No Trade With Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am including as part of my remarks a letter received from constituents in Racine, Wis., who are opposed to any relaxation of trade policies with Red China. This appears to be the preponderant sentiment in my district on this subject.

The letter follows:

JUNE 3, 1957.

The Honorable LAWRENCE H. SMITH,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We sincerely trust this one letter bearing our names will be as effective as many separate letters.

Recently the newspapers have been full of news concerning Britain relaxing her control in trading with Red China. It is a known fact that the United States has "loaned" Britain billions of dollars since the Second World War. This money has come from the little man, the taxpayer. In recent months Britain has cut the taxes of her people, while the taxes of the citizens of the United States are continuing to rise. It is also a known fact that Britain has been unsatisfied with the amount of money we have given her. The opening of her doors to Red China's trade appears to be a slap in the face, so to speak, to the American people in spite of what we have done for this nation.

This giveaway program on the part of the United States and the attitude of the recipients appears to be getting out of hand, and as our Representative in Washington, we would like you to know our feelings in this matter.

Yours very truly,

Harry C. Pierce, Harold Seberg, Varting Gregorian, George Piotrowski, Michael Gajdos, Richard Nelson, Edward Beth, Harold B. Olson, Jr., Richard Giese, Charles A. Nixa, Robert D. Powers, Lester Kiefer, Ralph Diedrich, Allyn J. Sorensen, Dick Krause, Victor P. Bruno, Arnold Bertelson, Clarence Carbonneau, Theodore Ricchio, Sam L. Fiorito, Edward Felbab, William H. Copeland, Richard D. Maurer, Richard Lonegan, Joseph Basak.

More Proof of Foreign-Aid Waste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to call the attention of the House to an editorial, published in the May 31 issue of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, under the title "More Proof of Foreign-Aid Waste."

No Member of the House has more admiration than I for the painstaking investigations and the clear and logical conclusions which have marked the work, here in the House, of the Honorable PORTER HARDY, JR., Representative of the Second Virginia District. The reports of the subcommittees of which he is chairman, both in the Committee on Government Operations and the Committee on Armed Services, are uniformly excellent.

Representative HARDY'S most recent contribution to the cause of more economical and efficient Government is contained in the report of the International Operations Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations. The attached editorial is a fine indication of the value of his report:

MORE PROOF OF FOREIGN-AID WASTE

Further convincing evidence, if any were needed, of the waste and extravagance in the Federal Government's mutual security program, is contained in the just released report of the International Operations Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations.

Representative PORTER HARDY, JR., of the Second Virginia District, is chairman of this subcommittee, which offers devastating facts concerning mutual security, without a dissenting vote from any of the eight members, chosen from both parties.

Glaring weaknesses in this program were pointed out by the General Accounting Office in 1954, and nothing whatever was done about its proposals, the report declares. GAO received a brief acknowledgment back in 1954, but there was no response when the same Office last January pointed out to the International Cooperation Administration, nonmilitary side of mutual security, that the principal deficiencies mentioned more than 2 years before had not been corrected.

Mr. HARDY'S committee also found as follows:

The program offers all kinds of opportunities for juggling funds; there is inadequate planning; there is often no assurance that the participating country wants the money or will provide any part of the total cost; reasons for wanting the money are not given in adequate detail by ICA; there is an average difference of 30 percent between the amounts illustratively proposed by ICA for individual country programs and the amounts actually expended; accurate data are lacking as to stockpile funds or the pipeline of unshipped commodities; funds to be needed for specific programs are reserved for contingencies; ICA consistently asks for and receives more money than it has ever been able to use in the year for which requested, the result being that there has been the hasty, last-minute obligation of unused funds, which precludes their return to the Treasury, and so on.

In the face of such a record, the Eisenhower administration is pressing for the nearly $4 billion which it claims is the minimum that must be appropriated for mutual security, lest the Nation be endangered.

Yet the Hardy subcommittee finds the most colossal inefficiency and waste in this very program, even more than was found by a recent Senate subcommittee.

The recommendations of the Hardy subcommittee afford insight into the sort of slaphappy financing that has been going on for years in Washington in the area of foreign aid.

Technical Assistance Is No Crash Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, we will soon have for consideration another so-called foreign aid bill. There is one phase of that program which, in my opinion, has considerable merit and I refer to technical assistance. This program was designed originally to serve much as our agricultural extension program has served the American farmer, only this principle would be applied to nations who desired assistance in the field of agriculture, health, and sanitation.

Mr. Speaker, as the program has developed over the years, technical assistance, as originally planned, has been losing its character and has become involved as part of a huge giveaway and is now mostly economic assistance.

The administrators of this program have too often considered technical assistance as a crash program, one designed to bring quick and everlasting results, something akin to the spectacular.

In 1953 it was my privilege to have been a member of a subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee which was authorized to visit the Middle East and check on the Arab refugee problem and also other programs that had been set up in that part of the world.

During our visit to Egypt and specifically Cairo the chief of the ICA mission at that time was anxious to show what had been done under his direction and he arranged a trip outside of Cairo for our inspection. In the automobile in which I was riding was the chief of the mission and an Egyptian who had several degrees from American universities and who had returned to his homeland to serve his people. On the way out the Egyptian and the American were discussing phases of the work and the progress being made at that time. I listened attentively while these two gentlemen talked and finally the chief of the mission turned to me and he said, "Congressman, you have been very quiet. We have been doing all the talking." My reply was that I had come to look and to listen but then I said, "However, I do have a question. Your conversation has been most interesting. My question is: 'How long do you think it will take to achieve its objectives?' "

Before the American could answer, the Egyptian replied quite promptly and vigorously, "Oh, it'll take about 200 years."

My American friend and the chief of mission was flabbergasted. He turned to the Egyptian and said, "Oh, Doctor, you don't mean that." The doctor replied, "Well, it'll take at least 100 years."

We are not fooling our foreign friends—they are realists. It is time that we quit trying to fool the American taxpayers.

Mr. Speaker, I relate this experience solely for the purpose of pointing out that a technical assistance program, if organized as originally conceived, is a long, long time project. It can never be related to the so-called crash programs.

Trial By Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I quote herewith an editorial which appeared in the June 4, 1957, issue of the Roanoke World-News concerning the jury trial amendment to the civil-rights bill:

TRIAL BY JURY STILL A SACRED RIGHT

The 7–3 vote by which the Senate Judiciary Committee managed to write a jury trial amendment into the controversial civil rights bill of the Eisenhower administration is a heartening development.

It is an indication of growing fears that the Federal court system is overstepping its constitutional authority not only in interpreting but in rewriting basic laws.

It marks an apparent realization by responsible people outside the South that ours would not be the only section whose fundamental rights would be infringed by denying the guaranties of the sixth amendment.

There never should have been necessity for acknowledging the right of trial by jury while writing Federal legislation. Until now this has been taken as a guaranty to be respected by Congress, the administrative branch of Government, and the judiciary alike.

The punitive zeal of some judges of the lower echelon in enforcing the Supreme Court's school integration decision of May 17, 1954, has led them far afield and to dangerous lengths. This was especially true when a district judge at Clinton, Tenn., assumed an unlimited authority which denied both freedom of assembly and of speech.

This would have been bad enough, violative as it was of rights Americans had taken for granted since 1787. But this judge has gone so far as to imprison citizens for contempt of court and deny them trial by jury. Only aroused public opinion and criticism in Congress later compelled jury trials to be granted.

Attorney General Brownell and sponsors of this legislation from both Republican and Democratic (northern wing) parties have contended jury trial must be cast aside under circumstances because southern juries would not convict.

Yet the sixth amendment clearly states that in case of criminal prosecutions, defendants shall have the right of trial by jury from a panel drawn from their own State and district.

Government by injunction could become a fearsome thing, equally as punitive and denying of basic rights as any evil measure conceived in reconstruction days. It should be clear that once courts were allowed to assume such authority in enforcing injunctions dealing with voting privileges, this tyranny could be extended to an unlimited degree. It would be only a short step back to 1740 and the imprisonment of John Peter Zenger for daring to criticise the king's court. We had supposed this issue to haye been settled for over 200 years.

If the full Senate is wise, indeed, if the House is wise, they will sustain the Judiciary Committee in upholding the right of trial by jury and not try to repeal the sixth amendment by indirection. The Bill of Rights is not a one-way document.

Europe From A to Izzard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER ROGERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the editor and publisher of the Amarillo (Tex.) Daily News, Mr. Wes Izzard, is currently on a grand junket in Europe concurrent with his attendance at Rotary International. Mr. Izzard's highly readable daily column From A to Izzard, continues daily and provides some of the finest reporting to come from the Continent since his last trip there.

I have, on several previous occasions, inserted examples of his vibrant journalism in the RECORD for the enlightenment of this body. Of particular note is his report from Bern, Switzerland, which appeared in the May 29 edition of the Amarillo Daily News, which I insert herein. Mr. Izzard's clairvoyance in the determination of government's function at the lowest possible strata is, I believe, a provocative treatise and I take pleasure in commending it to my colleagues:

EUROPE FROM A TO IZZARD

(By Wez Izzard)

GOVERNMENT OF AND BY THE PEOPLE

BERN, SWITZERLAND.—In the middle of Europe, surrounded by confused and frightened nations, stands little Switzerland, a monument to commonsense, and a stronghold of free enterprise and states rights.

For nearly 400 years the Swiss have known peace. For nearly 400 years they have minded their own business and taken care of themselves.

For generations diplomats have come to Switzerland to hold their conferences and write their treaties. It seems strange that none of them has taken the trouble to look about him and say, "Maybe we can learn from the Swiss."

Switzerland stands as a living refutation of most of mankind's misconceptions about men and nations.

Foremost among these modern misconceptions is the idea that both national and personal security depend on a strong central government.

But the Swiss, who have not been attacked for 400 years, and among whom there is practically no poverty, have no strong Federal Government. Switzerland is probably the world's greatest champion of states rights.

The Swiss do not elect their President. The Federal Parliament names a Federal Council of seven members, each representing a major department of Government. These men hold their jobs for life, unless removed by popular recall. The presidency rotates among them, each holding the job a year at a time.

This year the President is Hans Streuli, a grandfatherly old gentleman whose regular job on the council is that of finance and customs director.

The Federal Council is responsible to the Parliament and to the people, themselves. A referendum may be called on any drastic proposal offered by the council.

Recently the council proposed an elaborate civil-defense program for the nation. But there were murmurings from the forks of the glaciers, and a referendum was called. The plan was soundly voted down. Unnecessary and too expensive.

The Federal capital is Bern, a charming mixture of medieval and modern, with its quaint fountain statues in the middle of the streets. Its population is 165,000. The blocks of arcade-covered downtown sidewalks are a relic of the Middle Ages, but now provide modern window shopping protected from the sun and rain.

There are 22 cantons, or states. These have no governors, but are run by popularly-elected cantonal councils, which are the heart of Swiss Government.

Each canton is divided into bezirkes, corresponding to our counties. And at a still lower level are the 3,107 free communes, or organized communities.

Most of the governing is done at the communal and cantonal levels. Nothing is left to the Federal Government except those things which cannot possibly be done by the individual, the community, or the canton.

In short, the Swiss Constitution is precisely like ours in respect to state's rights. The difference is, the Swiss practice it; we don't.

It is unthinkable that the Swiss Federal Council should suggest to a canton how to run its schools or how to handle its welfare problems.

Education is strictly a cantonal and communal matter. There is not even a ministry of education in the Federal Government.

The same goes for welfare. Each commune has its own welfare program. If any Swiss should find himself destitute or in distress, he needs only to return to the town of which he is a native, and he will be cared for, and cared for well. There is no welfare and pension program on the federal level.

Why can't the United States do it this way? The argument runs that we are too diverse a people to permit such things to be handled only at the local level.

But what of the Swiss?

There are four distinct areas in Switzerland, each with its own customs and language. The German-speaking Swiss comprise 71 percent of the population; the French, 21 percent; the Italians, 6 percent. And less than 1 percent, down in the southeast corner, will speak the old Romansch language.

The Swiss are split religiously, too. According to Government figures, Switzerland is 58 percent Protestant and 41 percent Catholic.

They are divided into mountain people and city people; farmers and industrial workers.

In fact, there is no country in the world in which 5 million people, jammed together in 16,000 square miles of mountain and valley, have such a diversity of background and interests.

Yet the Swiss are unified. They don't live as one big, happy family, it is true. The German Swiss don't particularly care for the Italian Swiss, and the mountain people aren't overly fond of the factory workers. But they don't fight over it. Over the centuries they have developed a unity of commonsense and a quiet but intense sort of patriotism.

Another misconception of mankind is that a country without natural resources must forever be poor.

Yet Switzerland, with all its mountains, has no natural resources—unless you count scenery and waterpower. It has no coal, no oil, no metals.

Moreover, Switzerland has no seacoast—no port through which these resources can be imported directly.

But the Swiss, through sheer hard work and ingenuity, have built a dynamic economy in which there is no great wealth, but no great poverty, either.

Switzerland's No. 1 industry is not tourism, nor cheese, nor watches. It is heavy machinery.

Although the country has not a single passenger automobile factory, it makes many of Europe's finest buses. Also it turns out steam engines and turbines, diesel engines, railway rolling stock, and electrical equipment.

Tourism accounts for only 9 percent of the national income, and the Swiss is perhaps the one person in Europe who gives full value received for every tourist penny spent.

There is a misconception that Switzerland sits out all of Europe's wars in order to profit from them. This is not true. War in Europe hurts the Swiss economy badly. The people have suffered economically, along with the rest. But they don't complain, and they don't come to Washington with hat in hand.

They stay out of war because that has been their national policy since the 12th century.

There are several reasons why they are able to stay out of war. First, they have consistently refused to take part in the between-war squabbling among nations. They stay apart, and don't care whether the rest of the world likes it or not.

Second, they are blessed with a mountainous terrain that even the most modern army would find difficult to take and hold.

And, third, every able-bodied Swiss from 19 to 60 is in the army.

The military training of a Swiss soldier is spread out over a lifetime. Everybody is in the active reserve, and is assigned to a unit of some kind. Every Swiss keeps his gun, his uniform, and sometimes his horse or jeep, at home, ready for instant mobilization.

The traveler in Switzerland is sure to see troops moving from place to place, or on maneuvers. But he will not see the heavy gun batteries concealed in the mountains; the hydroelectric plant buried 6,000 feet under solid rock, and hidden fortifications in the passes.

Switzerland is ready, but does not expect war.

The real ruler of Switzerland is not the politician in the big stone building overlooking the Aar River in Bern.

It is the old man with the pipe who works his tiny field in the daytime, and sits outside his tidy little home in the evening, mulling things over. He may not be clever and quick, but he knows what he wants and he doesn't care what anybody else thinks about it. And when he talks, the politicians listen.

Never has a nation made so much of so little; and it's strange that the rest of the world has taken so little note.

Here is the world's last best hope of free enterprise and states rights. If only other men and other nations would pause in their headlong flight toward socialism and look in on this stronghold of commonsense we call Switzerland.

The CBS Broadcast by Khrushchev

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from the Columbia Broadcasting System relative to the CBS broadcast by Khrushchev:

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.,
New York, N. Y., May 27, 1957.

Mr. WILLIAM J. GILL,
National Commander, Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GILL: I have carefully considered the views which you have expressed in your wire to me of May 23 in which you urge that we cancel our plans to carry an interview of Khrushchev by two American correspondents on our Face the Nation program, Sunday, June 2.

You based your objection to the proposed broadcast on the ground that Khrushchev is not a free agent and that the Russians intend that the broadcast serve only as Communist propaganda. I cannot quarrel with this. I am sure, as you are, that Khrushchev intends to utilize the occasion for propagandistic purposes.

You and I disagree, however, on whether it is improper for television and radio, as vital parts of the free press, to schedule such a program. After the most careful consideration we came to the conclusion that our role as a part of the American free press fully justified scheduling the program. We based this conclusion on a number of considerations which I would like to review with you.

First, it is well to emphasize the exact nature of the program. We went forward with the program only after assuring ourselves that it would be conducted in all substantial respects as a part of, and like, our regular Face the Nation series. Specifically this means that we are going forward with the program, and will broadcast it, only if there is fulfillment of the Russian commitment that the questioning by the two American correspondent interviewers of our own choice will be free and unrehearsed. We are not submitting questions in advance, and the correspondents are to be free to pursue the questions as they see fit.

I believe that this procedure gives us assurance that the program will be conducted as an electronic version of a press interview, serving not as a one-way street but rather as a two-way street.

Second, I would call to your attention that interviews of Russian leaders, in which answers were given by the Russians to questions put by American newsmen, have long been comprehensively covered by the American press in circumstances which have given rise to no serious criticism. For example, an editorial in the New York Herald Tribune on December 28, 1952, notes the fact that as of that date "14 times since the war, Premier Stalin has answered questions written to him by newspapermen, or has expressed himself in interviews with prominent Americans." Recently, on May 11, 1957, the New York Times devoted a half page to a 2-hour interview by Turner Catledge, of the New York Times, with Khrushchev on May 10. In February 1955, William Randolph Hearst, Jr., interviewed Bulganin, Khrushchev, Zhukov, and Molotov in individual sessions, and extensive stories, including the questions and answers, were published in the New York Journal-American and other Hearst newspapers in articles written by Kingsbury Smith, European general manager, International News Service.

Other interviews in the last few years included that by Kingsbury Smith of Malenkov in the New York Times, January 1, 1954, and Marshall MacDuffie of Khrushchev in November 1954, carried in the New York Post on February 6, 1955. In addition, newspapers have frequently submitted questions to Soviet leaders which have been answered in writing and published in newspapers. Thus, James Reston, of the New York Times, submitted four written questions to Stalin, the answers to which were published in the Times on December 25, 1952. Answers to questions submitted by Hanson Baldwin, of the New York Times to Marshal Zhukov were published in the Times on August 7, 1956. On January 1, 1955, newspapers, including the Times, printed a reply by Premier Malenkov to six questions put by C. E. Shutt, chief of the Washington bureau of Telenews, a subsidiary of Hearst Metrotone News.

These are only some of the examples of full American newspaper coverage of answers by Russian leaders to questions put by Americans. And it may be noted that in a number of these cases, the interviews were far more restricted than that proposed for Face the Nation, since in those interviews the questions have been required to be put in writing.

There is, accordingly, quite overwhelming precedent for our projected program. But there is in addition a most important added element which justifies our proposed program. Print mediums such as newspapers are of course unable to reproduce the full flavor of the interview and the character of the interviewee. Television, on the other hand, provides to the American people a vivid, direct, and accurate firsthand impression of the person interviewed. Americans on next Sunday will have an opportunity for the first time to see for themselves the face and manner of a Russian leader as he deals with the free and unrehearsed questions put to him by American correspondents on behalf of the American public.

In such circumstances, I for one do not fear the consequences to American security or to the minds of our American citizens. It is one of the glories of our high American standards of civilization that with the knowledge which a free press gives and with the free interchange of ideas, the American people can be depended upon to reject propaganda which would destroy the American system. The benefits of American education, of the American press and of active, alert, and patriotic groups such as yours, provide, I am convinced, the best bulwark against American susceptibility to whatever subversion might be sought to be imposed upon Americans.

With this kind of confidence in Americans and their ability to reject the false which I am sure you and I share deeply, I think that the advantages to American knowledge which our proposed program will bring far outweigh the dangers. I do not think that Americans are best protected against the dangers of totalitarian philosophy by ignoring that philosophy or by pretending that it is not there. The greatest bulwark is knowledge. And I believe strongly that affording the American people an opportunity to see the face of communism and the face of a Communist leader at first hand will provide Americans with that fuller knowledge and understanding which strengthen Americans' faith in our own system.

I have, in short, too much faith in the strength of our own institutions and the wise discrimination of our own people to believe that exposing Americans to a firsthand view of American correspondents' free questioning of Khrushchev will do America damage. The people will know better than ever what communism is. They will take what Khrushchev says for what it is worth. And this is the strength of a free press of which CBS radio and CBS television are a part, and the strength of the American system.

In these circumstances, I hope that you will share our conviction that our proposed program is in the public interest because it will strengthen, not weaken, American knowledge and American institutions.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK STANTON.

Who Is in Charge Down There?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Triumph, Monterey, Minn., Progress by Editor Spielman:

WHO IS IN CHARGE DOWN THERE?

President Eisenhower's defense of his record $71.8 billion budget would be more con-

vincing if it were not for the fact that the rest of his team seems to be running the other way. Not only do Members of Congress feel that a budget cut is necessary, but each and every time that President Eisenhower has opened his mouth in favor of the largest peacetime budget in history, a member of the President's own Cabinet sounds off in opposition.

It would appear that the administration is playing a game designed only to confuse the American people by coming out both for and against the budget at the same time.

For example, in the President's budget message on January 16, President Eisenhower stated, "It is a carefully balanced budget. I consider it well adapted to the needs of the present and the future."

The very next day, Treasury Secretary George Humphrey denounced the budget saying, "There are a lot of places in this budget that can be cut." He predicted that if "this upward trend in spending isn't stopped, the result will be a depression that will curl your hair."

A week later, Ike vigorously defended the budget by telling a White House press conference, "As long as the American people demand, and, in my opinion, deserve the kind of services that this budget provides, we have to spend this kind of money."

The very next day, on January 24, however, he was not so sure and stated that Congress has the duty to cut the budget "if it can find places to wield the economy ax." And on February 10, Senate Republican leader WILLIAM KNOWLAND said, "I think there will be some cuts made."

On March 2, Commerce Secretary Weeks thought that if "Congress wants to start cutting, it could cut $50 million out of the budget." By the next day, Percival Brundage, Director of the Budget, was so confused he repudiated the budget saying, "This is the President's budget, not mine."

A few days later on March 6, the President was not sure either and told the press, the "Government should, to the ultimate of its ability, cut back. Now, there may be here and there some program that doesn't occur to my mind right now, that might be abandoned."

But, on March 8, Ike was again sure that "practically all the projects called for are necessary for the public welfare."

This didn't satisfy Treasury Under Secretary W. Randolph Burgess who on March 11, told the American Bankers Association, "After all explanations, the budget is still too big for the future best good of this country."

By March 20, Commerce Secretary Weeks backed down from his suggested budget cut of $50 million and told the House Appropriations Subcommittee that he wanted "to leave it—the entire budget—in the bill."

Then on April 3, Treasury Under Secretary Burgess made a statement that the budget "should be cut by two to three billion dollars." On the same day President Eisenhower issued a statement that he saw "no chance for a substantial cut such as $2 billion."

The very next day, Treasury Secretary Humphrey was no longer for cutting the budget and was upset because some cutting was done in his department. He urged the Senate to restore "an $8,205,000 reduction made by the House in Treasury funds."

On that same day Under Secretary Burgess also had a change of heart and said it was "a false alarm to say there was any difference between President Eisenhower" and himself on the budget.

Then only last Sunday, President Eisenhower's top assistant, Sherman Adams, told a television audience that a budget cut of one to two billion dollars "would not interfere with the quality of Government services."

Tax Writeoff Certificates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the shocking details concerning the issuance of rapid tax writeoff certificates to the Idaho Power Co. is only now unfolding as a result of the meritorious investigation being conducted by the Kefauver Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly. Two recent news dispatches concerning disclosures by administration officials involved in the issuance of these certificates are, I believe, of great importance and, I feel, will be of interest to my colleagues.

The first of these dispatches is from the June 1 issue of the Washington Post. It points out the extent of the actual cost to the taxpayers of these certificates, as well as the estimated cash benefits to the stockholders of the Idaho Power Co.

The second article appeared in the New York Times issue of May 28, and contains excerpts from a letter written by the Secretary of Interior, Fred A. Seaton, to Arthur S. Flemming, former Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. Mr. Seaton's letter is indeed an important document and I think it highly peculiar that Mr. Gordon Gray, present Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, should have completely ignored it.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including these two articles:

[From the Washington Post of June 1, 1957]

IDAHO WRITEOFF COST IS PUT AT $83 MILLION

(By Richard L. Lyons)

A Federal Power Commission official said yesterday the fast tax writeoff granted Idaho Power Co. on two Hells Canyon dams will cost the Government $83.5 million and give the utility a $339 million benefit.

These figures were given the Senate Antimonopoly Subcommittee by the FPC's chief accountant, Russell C. Rainwater. The subcommittee is looking into the monopoly effects of fast tax writeoffs. It is concentrating on Idaho Power which is also part of the public-private power Hells Canyon fight.

The fast tax writeoff is a wartime construction incentive which has lingered on. It permits a company to write off all or part of its construction costs in 5 years instead of the longer normal period—50 years in the case of Idaho Power's dams. This means a tax deferral during the first 5 years.

Rainwater said the $83.5 million cost is what the Government must pay in interest to borrow money to make up for the tax postponement granted Idaho Power.

Companies receiving fast tax writeoffs pay higher than normal taxes after 5 years, because there is less than normal depreciation to take. Theoretically, in the end the company would pay the same amount of taxes as under normal depreciation unless rates change. Critics of the program say it doesn't work that way; that the Government never catches up.

Rainwater's Government cost figure was the highest given yet. Secretary of Interior Fred A. Seaton, who opposed the fast writeoff to Idaho Power on grounds that it wasn't needed for financing, had placed the cost to the Government at $17 million. Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey has said the entire writeoff program will cost the Government $3 billion.

Rainwater figured the $339-million benefit to Idaho Power this way: Fast depreciation will save it $30 million in taxes during the first 5 years. Invested at 6 percent compound interest, this would build up to $339 million over the 50-year life of the dams, he said.

When the FPC granted Idaho Power a license to build the dams in August 1955, it stated that there would be no cost to the Government. FPC Chairman Jerome K. Kuykendall conceded yesterday that this language was not correct in light of the fast tax writeoff granted by the Office of Defense Mobilization 6 weeks ago.

Kuykendall said the FPC assumed in 1955 that the project would be financed conventionally with normal depreciation.

Congress has killed several bills to make Hells Canyon a public-power project. But its backers have brought another public power bill onto the Senate floor and hope the storm blown up by Idaho Power's fast tax writeoff will give them enough votes to pass it.

Kuykendall said he learned of Idaho Power's fast tax writeoff from the newspapers. It was released the day after FPC had approved an Idaho Power application to issue $40 million in promissory notes to help finance the project.

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, Antimonopoly Subcommittee chairman, said the writeoff would help market the notes and suggested that the timing of ODM's tax order was too close for coincidence. KEFAUVER said Idaho Power officials knew of the ODM tax decision, which was made a week or so before its public release, before FPC approved its borrowing. He wondered why ODM or Idaho Power hadn't told FPC about it.

[From the New York Times of May 28, 1957]

SEATON OPPOSED DAM WRITEOFFS—ODM IGNORED HIS VIEWS ON TAX AMORTIZATION FOR HELLS CANYON PROJECTS

WASHINGTON, May 27.—A Senate subcommittee was informed today that Fred A. Seaton, the Secretary of the Interior, had recommended denial of a $65 million rapid tax writeoff for the Idaho Power Co. The tax privilege was granted to Idaho Power last month for 2 of 3 dams it will build in the Hells Canyon area.

The staff of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee was supplied with a copy of Mr. Seaton's letter to Arthur S. Flemming, former Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. The letter was dated March 11.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court refused today for the second time to review Federal Power Commission licensing of the three dams.

The granting of the rapid tax amortization has been criticized in Congress. The subcommittee is considering legislation that would limit such benefits to industrial-expansion directly connected with defense.

Gordon Gray, the present ODM Director, was confronted with Mr. Seaton's letter when he testified before the subcommittee today.

GRAY DEFENDS DECISION

Mr. Gray, who took office before the writeoff privileges were announced, conceded that he had ignored Mr. Seaton's recommendations. But he insisted that the Seaton letter constituted an expression of opinion and had not dealt with whether the company had complied with regulations for obtaining the certificates.

He testified that Idaho Power had met all the requirements for getting the certificates.

The tax writeoff privilege permits a company to write off against income taxes all or

part of a project's cost in 5 years, instead of the normal 20 years or more.

Mr. Seaton opposed the issuance of the certificates because, he said, the Federal Power Commission had licensed the hydroelectric dams on the basis that their construction would be without expense to the Federal Government.

The Secretary contended that the granting of the certificates would require the Government to pay interest on money that it would have to borrow because of decreased tax revenues during the amortization period.

CITES FPC TESTIMONY

Mr. Seaton also wrote that in his view testimony before the FPC "appears to establish clearly the company made its case before the FPC on the basis that it would not need accelerated tax amortization in order to justify granting the license to the company."

An Interior Department spokesman said the arguments that Mr. Seaton had advanced were fundamentally beyond the established criteria upon which ODM based its issuance of certificates.

He said the Secretary had no legal authority in the matter, beyond making a recommendation "bearing on the discretion which the Director of ODM has."

The certificates for Idaho Power, announced last month, covered 65 percent of the estimated cost of more than $67 million for the Brownlee Dam and 60 percent for Oxbow Dam, estimated to cost $36 million. A third dam is to be built at Hells Canyon.

"Little Bill" Phillips, of Wilkes-Barre, Begins Twenty-eighth Year in Broadcasting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article on "Little Bill" Phillips, widely known radio personality, which appeared in the Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent of May 26, 1957:

PHILLIPS IN RADIO 28 YEARS IS LOCAL "DEAN OF VOICES"

William "Little Bill" Phillips, whose afternoon show on WBAX Radio is a household word in many homes, this week starts his 28th year on the airways to retain the local title of "Dean of Voices."

It was May 15, 1930, that he got a tryout at WBRE Radio announcing a studio presentation of Georgie and His Virginians, one of the valley's favorite dance bands of that period.

Now one of radio's ranking personalities and disc jockeys—and known nationwide in the trade—"Little Bill" has left the sports announcing arena, but the record books in local radio, show among his firsts, a broadcast of a local baseball game, radio coverage of a high-school football game (Coughlin-Larksville) and a basketball game—Forty Fort High School varsity versus Forty Fort High School alumni.

His interviews with the greats of the entertainment world number into the hundreds, but they include such memorable names as Rudy Valee, Ted Lewis, Mills Brothers, Amos 'n Andy, Morton Downey, Joe Penner, Kate Smith, Husk O'Hare, and on and on.

During the floods of 1936 that swept this area, Phillips did two coast-to-coast broadcasts that won him an award and praise from radio men in 44 States and Canada.

When the late Billy Waters, young Forty Fort High School gridder was fatally injured in a game, a "Give a Dime" show was broadcast by Phillips and the proceeds were turned over to his family.

For 7 years he staged an annual program for the Salvation Army.

He also planned and originated the first local news program from the old Evening News. He also broadcast many world championship fights by using the news ticker at the Evening News. In those days the big sports events were not broadcast direct.

Covered high-school championship games as far back as 1934 and did a play by play in 1936 when Newport Township won the State title at Zembo Mosque, Harrisburg.

QUIT SPORTS IN 1951

Gave up sports in 1951 to start his present Bill Phillips Show, which has featured many present-day stars, such as Perry Como, Patti Page, Ray Anthony, Ralph Flanagan, Jerry Vale, Fred Waring, Russ Morgan, Julius LaRosa, Charley Applewhite, Dorothy Collins, Jaye P. Morgan, Hugo Winterhalter, The Five Keys, Vaughn Monroe, and Julia Meade.

In December 1952 he scored a radio public service first by raising $20,000 for Betty Petroski, of Luzerne, who was seriously injured in a truck accident in conjunction with preparations for a school play. The late John Stenger turned over the full facilities of WBAX for this 21-hour marathon, and all of the station personnel and many outside volunteers assisted without compensation.

Originator of the slogan, "The Valley With a Heart," Phillips won much popularity with his Sunshine Club that tells of the doings of the valley's shutins.

NAMES THREE LITTLE GIRLS

In closing his broadcast each day, Little Bill would say, "So long" to three little girls. Listeners have been curious about the identity of these girls.

Little Bill says they are Lee Ann, a 7-year-old girl who was born blind; Freckle Face, a polio victim; and Linda, one of the Nation's worst cerebral-palsy cases.

Widely known for his support of fundraising drives for needy cases, Phillips was asked if he could estimate how much he had raised in 28 years. Modestly, he explained, "I never kept a running total." But station attachés estimate that contributions received by programs have totaled more than $50,000.

Letter From a Constituent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. HALEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a letter from a constituent of mine, dated June 5.

Mrs. Meharg is a widow; a former schoolteacher; and now a businesswoman. She is very active in the Pionette Business and Professional Women's Club in Lakeland, Fla.

It is most gratifying to me to find another citizen of these United States who is getting fed up with this overly centralized Government. Despite the fact that she has had many trials and tribulations in her own life, as we all do, she has maintained a strong interest in the workings of our Government. She has seen our Government become octopus-like in its far-reaching expansion. She is cognizant of the facts, and it pleases me that she is a watchdog of democracy.

Mrs. Meharg is not the first constituent to write me on this subject, but the able manner in which she so frankly expresses what millions of Americans are feeling today is certainly worthy of recognition; therefore, I call upon my colleagues to please take note of this letter, and I ask permission at this time to include it in the RECORD.

The letter follows:

LAKELAND, FLA.

Hon. JAMES A. HALEY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HALEY: Since hearing the President's appeal to the Nation over radio and television in behalf of his budget, it would seem from reports in the press that some Senators and Representatives are weakening in their stand that it is too high.

Just in case you would like to know what one of your constitutents is thinking on the subject, I am still of the same opinion as when I answered your questionnaire in the local newspaper; that is, I feel that the budget is too high, there are funds set up in it for projects that are absolutely unnecessary, and I, and thousands like me, are not asking for special services furnished by the Federal Government. For my part, I'd be very happy if the Federal Government would forget all about me and just let me alone.

I am tired of working every day to pay income taxes to be thrown indiscriminately around the world furnishing the so-called services for people who do not deserve them, not having worked for them. I heartily agree with J. Bracken Lee that it is unconstitutional to tax the American public to take care of people in countries not making any efforts to obtain these services themselves.

As far as our foreign policy is concerned, we have not had one in the United States worthy of the name of a policy since President Monroe promulgated the Monroe Doctrine. And of all the idiotic "isms" foisted on the American taxpayer in the past 40 years, the Marshall plan, in my opinion, is the worst.

Yours very truly,

ELLEN H. MEHARG.

A Growing Club, But Don't Join It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MERWIN COAD
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, an editorial appearing in the Fort Dodge Messenger on June 4, 1957, bears reading by the entire membership of the Congress. This editorial offers some prudent thoughts concerning the rush of activity in the grind of life. In this editorial is mentioned a club which it seems that all too many of the American people are prone to join.

The editorial follows:

A GROWING CLUB—BUT DON'T JOIN IT

All too many people are joining the type of club described in a recent State department of health news release. As the release states, it's a popular club * * * an easy club to crash, easy to get in and * * * guaranteed to take you out of this world.

The initiation fee isn't high but prolonged membership is very expensive. In fact, it sometimes takes years to pay and costs your life.

This particular club is called the coronary club and members are persons who:

1. Put their jobs first; personal considerations second.

2. Go to the office evenings, Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.

3. Take their briefcases home evenings when they don't work late. This provides opportunity to review completely all the troubles and worries of the day.

4. Never say "No" to a request—always "Yes."

5. Accept all invitations to meetings, banquets, committees, etc.

6. Do not eat a restful relaxing meal. Always plan a conference for the lunch hour.

7. Believe hunting and fishing are a waste of time and money. Golf, bowling, pool, billiards, cards, and gardening are also a waste of time.

8. Think it is a poor policy to take all the vacation time that is provided for them.

9. Never delegate responsibility to others—carry the entire load at all times.

10. When traveling is their job work all day and drive all night to make appointments the next morning.

"If you want to make lots of money, have heart trouble, suffer, die young, and leave the money to someone else to enjoy, follow the coronary club members' formula * * * you will," the department of health statement observes.

"Any further questions you may have concerning membership should be referred to your doctor. There's no use trying to contact old members * * * they can't tell you anything * * * they're dead."

Government Guaranty of Private Loans to Certain Air Carriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Civil Aeronautics Board I have today introduced a bill to provide for Government guaranty of private loans to certain air carriers for purchase of aircraft and equipment, and for other purposes. The following is a statement by the Civil Aeronautics Board of the purpose and need for the proposed legislation:

The local service carriers and the carriers operating wholly within the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii, it is estimated, are currently subsidized to the extent of approximately $30 million per annum. The most careful consideration should therefore be given to any development which might have the effect of reducing that obligation. A serious deterrent to improvement in the financial position of the local service carriers and the carriers operating wholly within the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii has been the relatively high cost of operating types of aircraft which have been available for the short-haul type of service for which these carriers are certificated.

New aircraft are being developed, which it is believed, will be much more economical and efficient. However, the cost of acquiring such new aircraft will be so great as in all probability to render the aircraft unavailable to the typical local service and short-haul carrier, on reasonable terms, without governmental assistance of some kind. It is believed that legislation should be enacted which will permit the Government, under appropriate conditions, to assist these air carriers in acquiring new equipment by guaranteeing private loans negotiated by the carriers for the purchase of such aircraft.

A Bill To Prohibit Certain Practices Regarding Passenger Ticket Sales and Reservations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Civil Aeronautics Board I have today introduced a bill to amend the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, as amended, so as to prohibit certain practices regarding passenger ticket sales and reservations. The following is a statement by the Civil Aeronautics Board of the purpose and need for the proposed legislation:

The purpose of the proposed amendment is to protect the right of the public to purchase airline tickets at the lawful tariff rates and to prevent the purchase of tickets by brokers or other persons with the intent of selling the tickets to travelers at a premium.

Section 403 (b) of the Civil Aeronautics Act prohibits carriers from charging more or less than the effective tariff rate. This provision is supplemented by section 902 (d) specifically penalizing ticket agents as well as carriers, or the personnel or representatives thereof, for rebating or charging less. There is no parallel penalty against ticket agents or persons other than carriers for scalping—charging more. To deter scalping effectively, passage of such a penalty provision is necessary.

The practice of ticket scalping, so called, has grown to such an extent as to constitute a substantial burden on the orderly development of interstate air transportation. The adverse effects of the practice are particularly evident on the most heavily traveled routes, such as that between New York and Miami. However, with the increasing demand for air transportation throughtout the country, it may be expected that these practices will increase, to the expense and annoyance of the traveling public, unless effective measures are taken to put a stop to them.

A common pattern of ticket scalping, as revealed by investigations conducted by the Board's Office of Compliance, is for an individual to make ticket reservations in anticipation of heavy travel demand. As it is required that the prospective passengers' names be given, the tickets are reserved in fictitious names. Upon being approached for assistance in obtaining travel accommodations by a bona fide prospective passenger, the individual picks up one of the tickets he has received, and delivers it to the prospective passenger, charging a substantial premium or gratuity, commonly ranging from $5 to $50. The purchaser is advised, of course, that he must travel under the fictitious name which appears on the ticket. The individuals engaging in these ticket-selling practices are frequently hotel employees and others similarly situated to come in frequent contact with travelers.

Certain travel agencies themselves may knowingly issue tickets to persons with names other than those in which the space was previously reserved, not necessarily to extract a premium price from the purchaser, but to get the commissions paid them by carriers for the ticket sales. The space reservations may actually have been made in fictitious names or may have been made for people later deciding not to buy the space reserved.

It is also essential that the above amendment be supplemented by a prohibition against purposely making reservations in fictitious names or selling tickets not bearing the name of that prospective passenger for whom such sale is made. This prohibition, coupled with a penalty, would further deter scalping schemes at inception and prevent a few unscrupulous individuals from monopolizing unsold space which should always be available through any legitimate agency or the carrier to those seeking accommodations.

There would seem to be no doubt that the recommended provisions would go far to prevent scalping and the usurpation of space which causes an undue burden on an anxious public seeking to obtain air-travel accommodations. Federal legislation is needed to provide an effective remedy for a general situation which cannot be adequately corrected by the carriers, by local enforcement of such State statutes or ordinances as are in effect, or by the Board under its present authority.

The Story of the Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, our colleague from Pennsylvania, the Honorable ELMER J. HOLLAND, recently wrote a newsletter which, in part, covers a subject which is all too little understood by many people. I am sure that it will be of great interest to many Members. Therefore, with the permission of Congressman HOLLAND, I am inserting it in the RECORD.

The newsletter follows:

THE STORY OF THE MONTH—WAGES, PROFITS, PRICES

Everyone who buys food and clothes—and a few of the luxuries—knows that it costs more to live today.

Why? There are several reasons, but the one we always hear about, the one that gets the greatest blame, is that wages are too high. It is because of them that prices are so high. This is not true.

The main reason for higher prices is that most of the big companies after granting a wage hike, increase the price of their goods many times more than the amount of the wage increase.

Look at United States Steel. In 1956 steelworkers gained wage and fringe benefits of approximately 20 cents an hour plus a later cost-of-living adjustment of 3 cents an hour.

These gains cost the steel corporation about $94 million—even if there had been no increase in output per man-hour (which reduces cost of production).

What happened? Steel prices were raised $8.50 a ton last year, and another $4 a ton this year. This totals to an increase of $12.50 a ton in cost of steel and brought in $340 million a year more for United States Steel. That new income amounts to 3½ times the $94 million allowed in wage and fringe benefits.

The steel price increase was passed on to all of us as purchasers of steel. They were felt in higher prices for food, which was canned; for automobiles; for transportation, for just about everything we buy as steel is used in every business and industry.

The industry could have absorbed those wage and fringe benefit costs and still have reported enormous profits. But prices were raised and the unions were blamed because they secured better wages for steelworkers. As a result of the price hike, United States Steel will get $246 million more in gross profits, and they will get an extra $118 million in net profits after taxes, even after paying higher wages and better fringe benefits.

Net profits after taxes for first 3 months in 1955, 1956, and 1957

1955	$72, 652, 000
1956	104, 160, 945
1957	115, 478, 109

The more wages paid and better fringe benefits provided means higher profits because the steel companies increase steel prices far more than enough to cover the cost of the higher wages and benefits.

Look at Ford and General Motors, the giants of the auto industry. They said in 1955 and 1956 prices would be higher on cars because they were forced to pay more wages. The gains in wages and benefits came to 20 cents an hour. However, in 1955—before prices were raised, but after the wage increase—General Motors' profit, after taxes, was $1.41 for each man-hour for 400,000 employees. Ford's profit after taxes was $1.47 per man-hour.

You can see then, it is not the wages and fringe benefits that the big corporations pay that cause prices to go up. The true cause is the fact that the companies jump their prices far more than enough to meet the cost of wage and fringe benefits.

City Man: The Farmers' Friend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Gwen Gibson which appeared in the New York Daily News of June 6, 1957, with reference to our distinguished colleague, Representative VICTOR L. ANFUSO, of Brooklyn, who is to be commended for the fine job he is doing as chairman of the Consumers Study Subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture:

CAPITAL CIRCUS
(By Gwen Gibson)

WASHINGTON, June 5.—Representative VICTOR L. ANFUSO was born in Italy, reared in New York, and—by his own admission—doesn't know beans about American rural life. Yet he currently is masterminding a unique and extensive probe into the Nation's most pressing agricultural headache—the high cost of farm products.

If ANFUSO's plan works out, his special investigation may well go down as the flashiest—if not the longest—single study of farm price problems in House history.

GROUP STARTED QUIETLY, NOW SEEKS PUBLICITY

The active New York Democrat was picked this spring to head a newly created, seven-man watchdog group, known technically as the Consumers Study Committee of the House Committee on Agriculture.

His group proceeded quietly at first, gathering preliminary data on the current spread between farmers' income and the retail cost of food.

Now the committee is getting set to branch out in a frank effort to milk its investigation for all the publicity it's worth.

BETTER SERVICE TO PUBLIC IS AIM

"No normal politician minds grabbing a bit on the public limelight," ANFUSO admitted with a grin, "but we also figure that we can render a better public service if housewives, farmers, and middlemen in the food business get interested in our work."

ANFUSO's group is out, basically to determine how the cost of getting food from the farm to city families can be cut back. There's nothing new in this subject matter. But ANFUSO's approach is novel.

The committee currently is busy sending out questionnaires to a nationwide sampling of farmers, seeking data on their dealings with food brokers.

EVEN TRADING STAMPS WILL BE SCRUTINIZED

With this background, it plans public sessions to question leading figures in the food-brokerage field. Then it will investigate business habits of food buyers, processors, transporters, and retailers. Even the trading-stamp industry will come in for scrutiny. And the ultimate expert witnesses will be a group of typical American housewives.

ANFUSO will set public hearings on this phase later this month, and he hopes to continue the sessions throughout the current session of Congress. After Congress adjourns he plans to put his show on the road.

"We tentatively plan to hold public hearings in New York City in late September," he said. "After that, out tentative schedule is upstate New York, Florida, Georgia, California, and possibly some Farm Belt States."

PANEL TECHNIQUE TO DRAMATIZE SHOW

ANFUSO has a plan for dramatizing his out-of-town hearings by turning them into something of a panel show. Instead of quizzing 1 witness at a time—normal House committee procedure—he plans to put up to 8 witnesses on the stand simultaneously.

"We visualize a semicircle of witnesses," he explained, "starting with a farmer on the left, followed by a broker, manufacturer, distributor, transporter, and finally a housewife."

ANFUSO insists he has no preconceived notions of what caused farm income to decline 14 percent over the past 10 years, while the cost of food to the average city family shot up by better than $500 a year.

But his probe will deal at length with questions like these:

1. Has there been collusion between food buyers and brokers to corner markets on certain farm products?

2. Has packaging and promotion of food products exploded into exaggerated importance?

3. Are trading stamps adding unnecessarily to the retail cost of basic staples?

HIS POINT OF VIEW DECLARED DIFFERENT

Chairman HAROLD D. COOLEY, of the agriculture group, said he appointed ANFUSO as chairman of the Special Consumer Study Subcommittee basically because the New York Congressman approaches the farm problem from a different point of view than Farm Belt committeemen.

ANFUSO is a cigar-smoking criminal lawyer who was elected to the 80th Congress. He has some flowerpots on a window sill of his Brooklyn home and that, he admits, is as close as he has ever been to the soil.

He could have got on the important House Foreign Affairs Committee through seniority last session, but plugged for the agriculture post because, he insists, he felt the farm price program should be approached from the city consumer's standpoint.

NEW LIGHT THROWN ON FARM FOOD COST

"I thought when I appointed him he could help develop an understanding between the housewife and the farmer and his committee seems to be doing that," said COOLEY.

ANFUSO hasn't produced any new facts so far. But his committee's preliminary probe put farm food costs in a new light. For example, the committee's first study points out that there is only 3 cents worth of farm-produced corn in a package of corn flakes that costs the housewife 23 cents.

A can of tomatoes, according to the Aufuso group, costs the city family an average of 15 cents but has only 2.3 cents worth of tomatoes in it.

"Something's got to give," ANFUSO insists, "and the only answer is to find ways of cutting marketing costs."

Tristate Anti-Air-Pollution Anthracite Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter which I received from Mr. Arthur A. Schmidt, managing director, Anthracite Information Bureau in New York City, as well as excerpts from papers submitted at the conference held at Elmira, N. Y.:

ANTHRACITE INFORMATION BUREAU,
New York, N. Y., May 29, 1957.

The Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR DAN: For your consideration, I am enclosing excerpts from some of the papers at the tristate anti-air-pollution anthracite conference, which was held in Elmira, N. Y., with the thought that you may wish to consider them for insertion into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This conference brought together leading experts in air pollution control from Government agencies and municipalities in the Northeastern States. The meeting emphasized anthracite's role in combating air pollution by providing safe, clean, economical, and modern automatic heat for large buildings and schools.

Because of the growing menace of polluted air, and the need for increased economy and smokelessness in operating Federal, State, and municipal buildings, we felt that excerpts from these papers, if read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, would broadcast information that would be extremely valuable to many communities, particularly municipalities and school

boards in the Eastern United States now engaged in extensive school-building programs.

I am therefore enclosing parts of three of the papers read at the conference. The first, Administrative Problems in Air Pollution Control, is by Austin C. Daley, now director, division of minimum housing standards, Providence, R. I., and formerly chief air pollution control engineer of that city.

The second, Problems of Modern School Design, is by John Hunter, Jr., of the architectural firm of Hunter, Campbell & Rea, Altoona, Pa., whose firm has designed more than 500 school buildings.

The third, Design Problems in Commercial Fuel Utilization, is by Ray E. Roushey, of Roushey & Smith, consulting engineers, Wilkes-Barre, Pa. Mr. Smith's firm has been active in design work for many different types of large commercial heating units.

You would probably be glad to know that we received the greatest help and cooperation from the United States Department of Commerce and the United States Bureau of Mines in planning and conducting the conference. There were about 200 in attendance, and everyone was most favorably impressed.

Sincerely,

ARTHUR A. SCHMIDT.

EXCERPTS FROM TALK BY AUSTIN C. DALEY

Since anthracite is our only smokeless primary solid fuel, we will stress its value in this talk. Coke, which is also smokeless, is disappearing rapidly in the Northeast. Therefore, we will concentrate on that wonderful solid fuel from eastern Pennsylvania; and wonderful it really is to anyone trying to clean the air in a city. A stack fed from anthracite boilers will never cause trouble for an air-pollution engineer. It just can't, no matter how poorly it is fired; so it is easy to see why the air-pollution-control staff in Providence loves anthracite.

We have talked with many control officials from cities who agree with us on the merits of our hand-firing law, but they hesitate to attempt its passage. This is where sales engineering comes into the picture. The citizenry of the community must be sold on the importance of this step and they must be persuaded to battle for their rights to breathe clean, fresh air. And fight they must if they are to win over the selfish-interest group which will muster great strength, hidden and overt, to defeat the cause of clean air.

We are only scratching the surface on this enormous problem of air pollution. Research findings from medical men may yet show, with complete finality, that foul air has been injuring and even killing an alarming proportion of our people. This should increase the importance of anthracite's role in keeping our air clean.

For too many years we have been considering anthracite as a fuel of the past. With the growing threat of contaminated air in our cities and the role your fuel can play in abating it, anthracite should rightfully be considered as a fuel of the future.

EXCERPTS FROM JOHN HUNTER, JR.'S, SPEECH

Let me suggest that I feel very strongly that the whole problem of heating as related to good planning and design for any building, which includes schools, and where heating is required, should be approached open-mindedly by the architect. The matter of heat distribution and air-conditioning systems should be as mechanically simple as possible, yet sufficient in serviceability. Of course, they are required to meet established standards of performance and must be installed in accordance with code regulations as directed by the State in which the project is located.

The search for a completely desirable and satisfactory fuel should be through a cooperative effort on the part of the school board members, school administrator, architect, heating engineer, fuel suppliers, and utilities—public or private. The point of final collection of information should be in the office of the architect, by whom a full report of the studies, including recommendations, should be made to the client. * * * There are two main areas for study, (1) the type and amount of heating equipment and space required to house it and the associated costs, and (2) the cost of operation and maintenance, annual depreciation allowance, annual interest charges, and amortization cost. * * *

In the research studies, it is sometimes difficult for the school board members to accept the findings, especially when they deviate from pure preference and local industry interest. Nevertheless, the board must make the choice finally because it is the owner.

Considerable assistance from two sources in solving the problems of modern school design as related to heating and air conditioning, should be flowing to the offices of architects and design engineers constantly. These natural sources are (1) the fuel industries, and (2) the manufacturers and distributors of all items that comprise a heating and ventilating system. * * * More specifically, let me say that fuel suppliers should keep the architects informed about the fuels available, the best and latest type of equipment required to obtain maximum use results, and research findings. Likewise, equipment distributors should bring the favorable findings of experimenters to the attention of architects. The architect should then exercise his prerogative by conferring with the board of education about the initial and long-term advantages of each fuel.

Now, finally, let me indicate several advantages of anthracite fuel which obtain generally in this area.

1. Cost: Anthracite is a strong competitor in the fuel industry.

2. Supply: There appears to be a firm guaranty through the Anthracite Industry Council that the supply will not fail.

3. Storage: Advantage can be taken of low spring prices by safely storing a full year's supply.

4. Safety: Anthracite can be stored indoors without risk of explosion or spontaneous combustion.

5. Cleanliness: Anthracite is consumed by complete combustion. Thus, there is practically no smoke, no air pollution, and no resultant deposit on neighboring properties.

EXCERPT FROM RAY ROUSHEY'S TALK

Anthracite fuel is low in volatile and high in carbon; it burns with a steady, even heat for most efficient results. This, more than all other considerations, makes anthracite fuel most desirable for use in modern, well-designed buildings. * * *

A well-designed anthracite fuel-burning system will operate at 70 percent to 75 percent overall thermal efficiency, and this can be maintained with automatic combustion control with only slight maintenance and periodic inspection.

The fact that anthracite fuel is low in volatile makes it the safest and most economical fuel. * * *

In recent years the manufacturer of anthracite equipment has been cognizant of the need for proper commercial-size equipment and nearly all modern adaptations to recognized principles have been developed in the last 5 or 6 years.

Historical, Legal, and Political Aspects on Western Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 16, 1957, page 6346, we find a lengthy and, to some extent, a one-sided discourse on the situation created by the Potsdam Declaration of the Allied Powers in August 1945, when certain territories east of the Oder-Neisse Rivers were placed under Polish administration.

The article delved into many aspects of this problem—historical, demographic, and economic.

In a quarterly review, Poland and Germany, we find the following article by a well-known Polish journalist, Boleslaw Krzeminski, on this subject:

THE POTSDAM DECISIONS AND THE WESTERN FRONTIERS OF POLAND

Political circles as well as the press in Western countries voice more often the opinion that the present western boundary of Poland on the Oder and Neisse is a constructive element of the European structure and should be recognized as final by the free countries, contrary to the revisionist tendencies which in the first postwar years found considerable support also outside Germany.

In the first place, it has become apparent that the territories encompassed by the new border have for Poland an economic and demographic value incomparably greater than that they were ever likely to acquire if they remained parts of Germany. At one time the opinion was accepted that without these territories Germany would face economic catastrophe and would not be able in any case to give meployment to the millions of refugees and immigrants from the East. At present anybody can see that the influx of these people, far from being a liability, is an asset for the German Federal Republic. It has supplied manpower, filled the gaps brought about by war, and rendered possible the remarkable development of West German industry. German economists expect that in a very few years, and in spite of the presence in West Germany of these workers from the East, there will be a shortage of manpower and the need will arise to admit further reserves from abroad. There is no doubt that the progressive integration of the refugees and exiles into the life of the Federal Republic is approaching a favorable end. The problem of food for the country has also been happily solved as far as can be seen from figures relating to consumption and balance of payments.

SETTLED BY POLES

On the other hand, the areas lying between the Oder-Neisse line and the Polish-German frontier of 1939 have been almost completely settled by a Polish population, which numbers more than 7 million, of which 1 million is composed of natives of these lands, while the number of Germans has dwindled to a few scores of thousands and continues to diminish in consequence of voluntary emigration.

Poland has devoted an enormous effort to the reconstruction of the economy of these territories sorely tried by war and the ensu-

ing Soviet transfers and plundering. Polish cultural life has also flourished there to a remarkable degree.

COMPELLING REASON

Some important British press organs have recently pointed out that there is a very compelling reason for a rapid recognition of the new Polish western frontier by the Western powers and Germany: the fact that Soviet Russia up till now appears as the only powerful guarantor of this frontier and the sole opponent of German revisionist trends, and frequently has recourse to this argument to make the Poles feel their dependence upon her. The recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier by the Western powers would deprive Russia of this trump card and bring Poland a step nearer to complete independence.

The history of the last 10 years shows that there was much to justify the decisions of the Western powers in 1944–45 concerning the delimitation of Poland and Germany, although as much cannot be said of other awards made at the expense of Poland, and although it was not yet possible at the time to foresee the course of events.

The problem of the Polish German frontier was raised for the first time at Teheran in 1943, during a conference otherwise ominous for Poland. Poland's right to territorial gains was stated, although no details were given. But on October 13, 1944, about a year later during a conference at the Kremlin in which Mr. Churchill, Mr. Eden (as they then were), Stalin, Molotov, Mr. Mikolajczyk (then Polish Premier) and Mr. Harriman as American observer took part, Mr. Eden recapitulated thus the decisions of the conference concerning the Polish-German frontier: "It has been said at Teheran that the new Polish frontier in the west would go as far to the Oder as the Poles would wish." Both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Molotov confirmed this statement.

BRITISH STAND

Somewhat later the attitude of the British Government in this question was more accurately defined in a letter from Sir Alexander Cadogan, at that time Permanent Under Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, to the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs. Here we read as follows: "The Prime Minister, after consultation with the Cabinet, has now directed me to give you the following replies: you asked in the first place whether even in the event of the United States Government finding itself unable to agree to the changes in the western frontier of Poland foreshadowed in the recent conversation in Moscow, His Majesty's Government would still advocate these changes at the peace settlement. The answer of His Majesty's Government to this question is in the affirmative.

"Secondly you inquired whether His Majesty's Government were definitely in favor of advancing the Polish frontier up to the line of the Oder, to include the port of Stettin. The answer is that His Majesty's Government consider that Poland should have the right to extend her territory to this extent."

Shortly afterwards, on November 17, 1914, President Roosevelt wrote to Mr. Mikolajczyk and gave his support to the point of view of the British and Polish Governments on this question. Here it was said:

"In regards to the future frontiers of Poland, if mutual agreement on this subject including the proposed compensation for Poland from Germany is reached between the Polish, Soviet, and British Government, this Government would offer no objections."

AMERICAN POSITION

As to the transfer of population. President Roosevelt made the following declaration to Mr. Mikolajczyk: "If the Polish Government and people desire, in connection with the new frontiers of the Polish State, to bring about the transfer to and from the territory of Poland of national minorities, the United States Government will raise no objections and, as far as practicable, will facilitate such transfer."

A similar declaration concerning the frontiers and the transfer of population was made by the Secretary of State, Mr. Stettinius, on November 18, 1944.

The line taken by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, when addressing the House of Commons, on the 15th of December of that year, was even stronger. Speaking of the broadening of Poland's frontiers to the west and north, he said:

"That is what is proposed—the total expulsion of the Germans from the area acquired by Poland in the west and north. For expulsion is the method which, so far as we have been able to see, will be the most satisfactory and lasting. There will be no mixture of population to cause endless trouble, as has been the case in Alsace-Lorraine. A clean sweep will be made."

As can be seen from these documents and texts, the two leading Western Powers declared themselves in favor of a new Polish frontier and of the transfer of the German population from the areas ceded to Poland, long before the Potsdam Conference. This deserves special notice because at a later time, a tendency became perceptible in a part of the press to gloss or pass over this important fact.

POTSDAM DECLARATION

After the final collapse of Germany the Potsdam Conference took place. The decisions promulgated by it were only a repetition and confirmation of earlier ones, yet their consequences were specially important as what was needed now were not plans for the future but the direct carrying out of decisions already taken.

The record of the conference reads as follows:

"The three heads of government agree that, pending the final determination of Poland's western frontier, the former German territories east of a line running from the Baltic Sea immediately west of Swinemunde and thence along the Oder River to the confluence of the western Neisse and along the western Neisse to the Czechoslovak frontier, including that portion of East Prussia not placed under the administration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in accordance with the understanding reached at this conference and including the area of former Free City of Danzig, shall be under the administration of the Polish State and for such purposes should not be considered as part of the Soviet Zone of Germany."

The record further contains the ruling that "the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should await the peace settlement." The stipulations concerning the transfer of the German population are specially important and read as follows:

"The conference reached the following agreement on the removal of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary:

"The three governments, having considered the question in all its aspects, recognize that the transfer to Germany of German populations, or elements thereof, remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary will have to be undertaken. They agree that any transfers that take place should be carried out in an orderly and humane manner."

CONTROLLED TRANSFER

In this way the three principal powers, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union took upon themselves full responsibility for the transfer of the German population and only informed the interested states of their decision. Proceeding to carry out the terms of the Potsdam protocol, the Allied Control Commission laid down the conditions for the transfer and the number of persons to be transferred to the three zones of occupation, American, British and Soviet. This agrement was signed on the 20th of November 1945. The Commission calculated that at the time there were within the Polish boundaries about 3,500,000 Germans. This figure did not only concern German residents in the former territory of Poland as far as the Curzon line (they numbered 700,000 persons before the war) but also the Germans who, at the time the agreement was signed, were in the territories handed over to Poland. In 1939 the German population there amounted to some 7,500,000 besides a local Polish population of about 1 million persons.

It must be realized, however, that only a minority of the former population of these districts remained there, a great number of Germans fled west in the last stages of the war, many were transported into the depths of Russia, many fell in the war or perished in other circumstances. For all these reasons the appraisal of the Control Commission can be regarded as approximately correct.

The transfer of this population began on a large scale in February 1946 and was finished, in the main, by the end of the year. The void thus created was gradually filled by incoming Poles and the rapidity of the subsequent resettlement of these lands, the rehabilitation and the restoration of agriculture astonished foreign observers.

At times the Potsdam Conference has been invoked in certain quarters to prove that the final delimitation of Poland in the west must needs await a formal peace treaty. Expectations of territorial readjustments are based on this argument. But the course of events described above shows the utter unreality of such an interpretation of the Potsdam clauses. The Potsdam stipulations were, as we have shown, only the repetition and confirmation of decisions take in fact 2 years earlier. Therefore the stipulation concerning the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland can only be understood as relating to the details of fixing the frontier line in the field, but not to a fundamental change of this line. Binding decisions were already in being when the Potsdam Conference assembled, and, more important still, the transfer of population had been carried out by virtue of a much more important Potsdam decision. No responsible statesman can wish to reverse the existing state of things. On the contrary, its final confirmation and acknowledgment will be beneficial not only for Poland, but for Europe and the world.

Army Fires Jupiter 1,500 Miles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, and with particular reference to sentiments expressed by myself, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD], and the gentleman from Montana [Mr. ANDERSON] in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 29, 1957, on pages 7092 to 7094, I insert following my remarks in the RECORD an item from the Aviation Daily of Wednesday, June 5, 1957, on page 236, noting that after 2 failures earlier this year the Army succeeded in firing a Jupiter IRBM missile

to 1,500 miles, whereas the Air Force's Thor IRBM has failed on all 3 tries:

ARMY FIRES JUPITER 1,500 MILES

After 2 failures earlier this year, the Army succeeded last week in firing a Jupiter mid-range ballistic missile to the limit of its designed range, or approximately 1,500 miles. The instrumented vehicle attained an altitude of approximately 250 to 300 miles.

Trouble with the first two Jupiter test vehicles apparently stemmed from sloshing fuel. Both exploded prior to scheduled burnout. The third Jupiter incorporated a set of fuel-tank baffles provided by the Air Force. These were designed to hold fuel slosh to a minimum without interrupting fuel flow.

The Army also took steps to eliminate two other potential weak spots in the third Jupiter. It removed a gust-sensing indicator mounted on a forward probe and installed a heat-blanket shield at the base of the missile to prevent eddies of exhaust flame from burning out the control wiring.

The Jupiter carried instrumentation in place of the warhead it would normally carry in operational use. It was controlled by a preprogramed autopilot which held its attitude during flight to the programed course. Later vehicles will be equipped with a full-fledged guidance system which will include computing as well as sensing elements.

The Air Force's Thor IRBM has been fired twice this year and has failed both times. On the first occasion, the vehicle rose a couple of feet from its launching pad, then fell back and burned. The vehicle was deliberately detonated on its second try because it appeared to be straying from its course. A third try was scheduled last month, but the missile burned up a few minutes before launching when the propellants caught fire.

Graham Calls It Sinful To Hate Man's Color

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I offer for inclusion in the RECORD a New York Times report of Evangelist Billy Graham's comments upon hate based on a man's color. Although there are those who would use false interpretation of biblical scripture to achieve their own ends, the comments which Mr. Graham has made are the teachings of our Christian heritage, supported by today's scientific knowledge:

GRAHAM CALLS IT SINFUL TO HATE MAN'S COLOR

NEW YORK, June 6.—A man who looks down on another human being because of his color, Evengelist Billy Graham says, is sinning against God.

"The heart of all men is the same in God's sight, despite the shape of their physique or the color of the skin," he told a crowd of 18,000 at Madison Square Garden last night.

He said God spurns the "prejudice and bigotry that I fear many often have even in the churches today."

Taking his sermon text from John iv: 1–29, in which Jesus defies the racial hostility between Jews and Samaritans by teaching a Samaritan woman at Jacob's well, Mr. Graham said:

"Jesus had no national animosities. * * * Jesus had no racial prejudice. * * * Jesus had no bigotry. * * * Whether a person walked different or talked different or had a different color of skin."

The evangelist said "God looks on the heart," not the physical characteristics; "God made of one blood all nations."

Mr. Graham touched on the subject only briefly, but it is one which he has mentioned repeatedly throughout his New York crusade, usually with a few quick but pointed references.

In one sermon he said he knew of many Christians who "sit down and sing 'Oh, how I love Jesus,' and hate a man because of his color."

"It's an abomination of God," Mr. Graham added. "It's taking the name of God in vain."

He said at another meeting, "I know of hundreds who hate others without cause, and use as an excuse the color of skin. And it's not confined to one section of the United States, but all over the world."

"God," he says, "does not judge by your color, by your social status, or your standing on Wall Street."

Mr. Graham said last night that accepting Christ transforms you and changes your attitude "toward God, toward yourself, and toward your neighbor."

Immigration Controls Spell National Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the National Republic, June 1957, issue:

IMMIGRATION CONTROLS SPELL NATIONAL SECURITY

(By Hon. FRANCIS E. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities, Subcommittee on Immigration, U. S. House of Representatives)

Another richly financed and highly organized campaign against the basic principles of our American immigration policy is now in full force. This campaign strikes not alone at our immigration policy, but endangers both the national security and sound cultural development of our country.

The number and type of immigrants coming into the United States has been a matter of Federal concern for more than a century. Throughout all our history immigration laws have been based on the premise that one of the first functions of sovereignty is control of both quality and quantity of prospective new citizens. The only yardstick in arriving at this determination has been the interest and welfare of the American people. Under international law, the right of every nation to control rigidly its immigration flow is recognized universally.

Immigrants coming into the United States are entering into the bloodstream of the Nation. It is like an injection into the bloodstream of an individual. It can be beneficial to him, increasing his strength and vitality. But, if the injection is one of improper quality or improper quantity—it could be fatal.

A comprehensive picture of our current problems cannot be presented without an outline of the historical background of American immigration.

From the first settlement of the North American colonies to the end of the Revolutionary War in 1783, immigration to the New World was regulated, not by the colonists but by the governments of Europe. The interest of the European ruler was enhanced by the size of the population of his domain. The more abundant the labor force, the greater his power, and the more gold accumulated in the royal coffers. Consequently, all European rules tried to prevent the exodus of their subjects, the peons, who were already attracted by the magnificence of the wide open land and the opportunities beckoning from across the seas.

The new settlers on this side of the Atlantic deliberately encouraged immigration. Here, more people meant more producers, more consumers, and more wealth to be extracted from the newly acquired soil and—last but not least—more people on the Indian frontiers meant increased safety of life and property.

It is estimated that in 1640, the population of the North American colonies numbered 25,000 and by 1700, had risen to 200,000. It took another 50 years to bring the population figure to the first million.

When the Articles of Confederation were adopted in 1777, the population of the 13 colonies was well over 3 million, and the first census taken in 1790 put it at 4 million. About two-thirds of the white population were of English, Scotch, and Welsh origin; about one-third were Dutch, French, German, Scandinavian, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Except for a short-lived restrictive period created by the alien and sedition law of 1798, immigration flowed into the United States unfettered by any legislation. The vast growth of the new American economy, its progression to the limitless frontiers of the West, and the ready acceptance of the newcomer by the thriving communities—already established—exerted an increasing attraction on poverty-stricken Europeans in the countries devastated by the Napoleonic wars. Recurring famines and the great industrial revolution resulted in increased population pressures and caused a gradual relaxation of the restrictive attitude of the European rulers, who suddenly reversed themselves and began to encourage emigration.

As a consequence, the first official record of arriving immigrants, established in 1820, indicated that the population of the United States had jumped to almost 10 million persons.

By that time public opinion in both Europe and America became aroused by reports of appalling conditions on vessels carrying immigrants on the transatlantic journey. Thousands were crowded in steerage space, where many died of hunger, thirst, and disease. In 1819, a law was enacted in the United States limiting the number of passengers a ship could carry, and prescribing the minimum amount of water and food to be aboard. The master of every ship reaching our shores was called upon to report the number of passengers and their personal data, such as age, sex, occupation, and country of origin. Thus originated our first immigration statistics.

The first legislative enactment which may be considered as relating to the quality of immigrants was passed in 1863. It prohibited Americans from carrying on the trade in Chinese coolies. Later laws, still qualitative in nature, established rules for the exclusion of immoral persons, paupers, and criminals.

A tremendous influx of Chinese immigrants after the discovery of gold in California prompted the enactment of the first Chinese

exclusion law, in 1882. That trend of legislation continued, as witnessed by the enactment, in 1885, of a restrictive immigration measure aimed at prohibiting the importation of cheap labor from abroad.

A few years later, in 1891, Congress excluded insane persons, persons likely to become public charges, felons, feebleminded persons, polygamists, and persons convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude.

The ethnic pattern of our immigration began to change in the last two decades of the 19th century. About 1890, there appeared for the first time an appreciable number of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. They came from the Balkans, Italy, and from Russia, where the czarist persecution of Jews began to drive out refugees in ever-increasing numbers.

These changes in the immigration pattern continued until after World War I. In the decade of 1871–80, almost 74 percent of our immigrants came from northern and western Europe, and only 7 percent from southern and eastern Europe. But, in the decade of 1900–10, only 22 percent came from northern and western Europe, while immigrants originating in southern and eastern Europe contributed about 71 percent.

It was about that time that the Congress turned its attention from qualitative restrictions to quantitative restrictions. The first law establishing a ceiling on the number of immigrants—a quota—was enacted in 1921. The second quota law was passed in 1924 and remained in effect with very little change until the enactment of the present law in 1952.

The 1924 act established the much discussed national-origins system, allocating to every national group a fixed proportion of immigrants based on that national group's proportion to the total population of the United States as of 1920. The purpose was to expand the population in orderly fashion from year to year, with roughly the same proportion of each immigrant strain as prevailed in 1920.

The 1952 law was not a step lightly taken. In final form the Walter-McCarran Act represented a comprehensive codification and modernization of some 148 immigration and naturalization statutes then on our books. The congressional study group which produced this codification had been at work on the problem since 1947. Scores of hardship inequities were ironed out of the old hodgepodge of piecemeal legislation, as enacted during the preceding century.

All countries of the globe were granted immigration quotas without discrimination, under a formula equally applicable to all areas, regardless of the color of the skin or the shape of the eyes of their inhabitants.

At the same time, the new law made it infinitely easier to rid this country of foreign-born subversives, criminals, racketeers, narcotic peddlers, professional gamblers, and aliens who had originally entered illegally.

These, in brief, are the major features of the law so many fellow-traveler groups have been trying for 5 years to uproot and destroy. Few measures in all our national history have afforded the United States so much protection against criminal and subversive elements at so little cost.

Nor may it be said that the law was passed by parliamentary sleight of hand. The bill passed the House on April 25, 1952, by a vote of 206 to 68. The Senate passed it by a voice vote on May 22. President Truman vetoed the measure on June 25. But on June 26 the House repassed it 278–113, and on June 27 the Senate overrode the veto 57–26. The act became effective December 24, 1952. Any measure enacted over a Presidential veto must command overwhelming national support.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities disclosed in its 1956 annual report that the Communist Party has created or sponsored no less than 180 different fellow-traveler organizations in the United States, having as their principle purpose the repeal or destruction of the Walter-McCarran Act.

One of these organizations, styled the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, has been formally branded as completely dominated by the Communist Party. It is also described as the oldest creation of the Communist Party still active in the United States. The committee report added: "The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, while dealt with here as a single organization, is in fact a complex of organizations at times numbering more than 300."

Three central policies of the law are under attack from this and other leftist groups. The international campaign for repeal seeks first to destroy the national-origins principle. Second, the repeal movement seeks to admit an estimated 1 million new immigrants a year instead of the average of 225,000 annually under the prevailing system. Third, the Communist-front section of the repeal movement seeks to strike out of the law every provision for screening immigrants for subversive activities or advocacy of revolutionary tactics in their native lands.

History demonstrates clearly that there have been but few native Americans in the top ranks of the United States Communist Party. World-wrecking communism in America is purely an import. Without effective immigration controls, communism easily might gain a free hand in America.

No country in the world has received desirable immigrants more hospitably than the United States. Since World War II we have extended the hand of welcome to some 1 million permanent immigrants, including recently many Hungarian refugees from Communist terror.

In addition, we have welcomed in temporary residence some 200,000 students from 127 countries, many of these under direct grants from the United States Treasury.

No American ever should allow himself to be chagrined that our immigration policies are in any way wanting in considerations of humanity and Christian decency.

The sole purpose of our immigration controls has been to exclude undesirable criminal, revolutionary, and anarchistic elements from the national bloodstream.

Since the war, this country has taken one-third of all the displaced persons resettled throughout the world. We have but 6 percent of the world's land area, but we have taken more than 33 percent of Europe's refugees.

The world's population is growing infinitely faster than jobs and food supply. Human fertility is heading for what the census experts call a "population explosion." Japan today has 88 million people crowded into an area the size of Montana. Try to imagine, if you will, half of the United States population living in Montana.

Communist China has more people than she can count—somewhere in the neighborhood of 600 million.

Here in the United States, our own population growth currently adds a new city of Chicago to our total every year. New jobs are needed to keep pace.

It is not difficult to demonstrate statistically that our current population increase is entirely out of proportion to our rate of new capital accumulation. We have not yet begun to expand our production facilities, housing, schools, and highways to accommodate our own foreseeable population increase. Unless we do expand new capital plant steadily in step with population growth, every American citizen faces the prospect of a lower standard of living somewhere in the not too distant future. Sound public policy would appear to dictate, therefore, that population increase should be held rigidly in line with our traditional American conceptions of living standards, education, and opportunity. In this equation our first consideration should be for the welfare of the American people.

Larger immigration quotas by the United States could never hope to solve the world's population problem. But careless handling of this explosive situation easily might undermine American prosperity and security for many generations.

No land in the world shows higher regard than the United States for the rights and privileges of immigrant minorities. But this noble tradition does not mean that the American people are ready to turn the country over completely to alien domination.

American citizenship for immigrants never has been a right granted by our Constitution. It always has been a high privilege, to be earned and retained by earnest support of our inspiring American traditions of freedom under law.

Only thus may we hope to grow in national strength and moral stature.

"The importance of foreigners into a country that has as many inhabitants as the present employments and provisions for subsistance will bear, will be in the end no increase of people, unless the newcomers have more industry and frugality than the natives, and then they will provide more subsistance, and increase in the country; but they will gradually eat the natives out. Nor is it necessary to bring in foreigners to fill up any vacancy which will soon be filled by natural generation." (Benjamin Franklin.)

How To Solve the Segregation Problem—The White Baby Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD an editorial by Harry L. Golden appearing in a recent issue of the Carolina Israelite.

Mr. Gordon's humorous yet pointed remarks illustrate clearly the ludicrous conclusions which can be reached by founding arguments on the false premise of racial superiority.

The article follows:

HOW TO SOLVE THE SEGREGATION PROBLEM—THE WHITE BABY PLAN

The vertical Negro plan is actually being implemented to some extent in Atlanta, Ga. The Negroes buy their bus and railroad tickets and proceed immediately to the platform where they are free to walk up and down unsegregated. The waiting rooms with all the concessions and beverage coin boxes, etc., are empty.

Now this new white baby plan offers another possible solution.

Here is an actual case history of the "white baby plan to end racial segregation." Some months ago there was a revival of the Lawrence Olivier movie, Hamlet, and several Negro schoolteachers were anxious to see it. One Saturday afternoon they asked some white friends to loan them two of their little children, a 3-year-old girl and a 6-year-old boy, and, holding these white children by the hands, they obtained tickets from the

movie-house cashier without a moment's hesitation. They were in like Flynn.

This would also solve the baby-sitting problem for thousands and thousands of white working mothers. There can be a mutual exchange of references, then the people can sort of pool their children at a central point in each neighborhood, and every time a Negro wants to go to the movies all she need do is pick up a white child and go.

Eventually the Negro community can set up a factory and manufacture white babies made of plastic, and when they want to go to the opera or to a concert all they need do is carry that plastic doll in their arms. The dolls, of course, should all have blond curls and blue eyes, which would go even further; it would give the Negro woman and her husband priority over the whites for the very best seats in the house.

Uniform Admission to the Federal Bar, H. R. 818

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on May 31, 1957, I inserted at page A4215 my remarks in support of my bill, H. R. 818. In those remarks I referred to a rule of the First Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States as being quite restrictive. Since July 1, 1953, however, the rule of that court, instead of being restrictive, is one of the most liberal in the country.

I am indebted to the Honorable Roger A. Stinchfield, clerk of that court, for calling attention to my error.

I am pleased to set forth in full his letter and the enclosures he refers to. They are as follows:

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE FIRST CIRCUIT,
Boston, Mass., June 3, 1957.

Re H. R. 818 and your remarks in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 31, 1957, volume 103, No. 93, Appendix page A4215

Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMEN MULTER: The fifth paragraph of your remarks (top of third column on page A4215) singled out this court of appeals for the first circuit for criticism as having an alleged requirement for admission that "the attorney must have been previously admitted to practice in some other United States appellate court." In so doing, you continued the erroneous and wholly baseless charge against this court by Hugh Williamson in the American Bar Association Journal, 1956, volume 42, page 721.

Enclosed is a copy of the rule of this court concerning admission of attorneys, showing that we do not have the requirement as alleged.

On October 1, 1956, I wrote to Mr. Gregory, editor of the American Bar Association Journal, pointing out the groundless charge and seeking retraction. To date, I have seen nothing in the bar journal about correcting this gross misstatement. For your information, I enclose a copy of my letter to the editor of the bar journal.

Incidentally, you will note from the second page of the enclosed letter that our requirements for admission are much more lenient than those of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Respectfully,
ROGER A. STINCHFIELD, *Clerk.*

RULES OF THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIRST CIRCUIT, EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 1953

7. ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS

1. Admission: Any attorney or counselor who has been admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States, any other United States court of appeals, any United States district court, or the highest appellate court of any State, Commonwealth, or Territory, and whose private and professional character is good, may be admitted to practice in this court upon oral motion of a member of the bar of this court. Motions for admission may be made at the opening of any daily session of the court.

2. Oath: Upon being admitted, each applicant shall take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation, viz: , do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will demean myself, as an attorney and counselor of this court, uprightly, and according to law; and that I will support the Constitution of the United States.

3. Suspension or disbarment: When it is shown to the court that any member of its bar has been suspended or disbarred from practice in any other court or has been guilty of conduct unbecoming a member of the bar of this court, he shall forthwith be suspended from practice before this court, and notice thereof shall be mailed to him, and, unless he shows good cause to the contrary within such time as the court shall prescribe, he shall be further suspended or disbarred from practice before this court.

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE FIRST CIRCUIT,
Boston, Mass., October 1, 1956.

Hon. TAPPAN GREGORY,
Editor in Chief, American Bar Association Journal, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. GREGORY: Mr. Williamson's article entitled "Disparate Rules of Admission in Federal Courts," in the August 1956 issue of the American Bar Association Journal, has just been called to my attention.

First, he commends the United States courts of appeals in seven circuits for requiring "only the acreditation for admittance to the Supreme Court of the United States." He refers to these circuits as "open land."

Then he attacks three circuits as maintaining "moats and lower battlements" against admission of attorneys and directs his initial and most lethal charge against the first circuit as requiring that "the attorney must have been previously admitted to practice in some other United States appellate court."

Rule 7 of the rules of the first circuit reads in part as follows: "Any attorney or counsellor who has been admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States, any United States court of appeals, any United States district court, or the highest appellate court of any State, Commonwealth or Territory, * * * may be admitted to practice in this court." This rule has been in effect since the revision of July 1, 1953. For several decades prior thereto, rule 7 in all of the revisions contained, among the alternative bar accreditations, the words "or any United States district court." There is no excuse for the error of Mr. Williamson in representing that the rules of the first circuit require that an attorney must have been previously admitted to practice in some other United States appellate court. This groundless accusation should be retracted.

Mr. Williamson represents that the courts of appeals for seven circuits require only the accreditation necessary for admittance to the Supreme Court of the United States, and he refers to the rules of that Court as being lenient. Since our admission requirements are so extremely liberal, I am constrained to observe that, although Mr. Williamson's "accredited legal traveler may journey with ease into the highest court in the land," such traveler may journey with even greater ease into the Court of Appeals for the First Circuit. We do not require that the applicant have been a member of the qualifying bar for any period, whereas paragraph 1 of rule 5 of the Supreme Court requires such membership for 3 years past; we do not require a certificate or a personal statement endorsed by 2 members of the bar, whereas paragraph 2 of rule 5 of the Supreme Court does; and we charge no fee at all for admission, whereas rule 52 (f) of the Supreme Court requires a fee of $25, and several courts of appeals make a charge therefor. The foregoing comments are intended to show by comparison that the requirements of the first circuit are even more liberal than those of the Supreme Court of the United States; and these comments are made with full appreciation of the worthiness of the requirements for admission to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States as set forth in its rules 5 and 52 (f).

Finally, carelessness in research is evidence in the fourth paragraph of Mr. Williamson's article. There he refers to the requirements for admission to the bar of the Supreme Court and he cites "United States Supreme Court rules 2 and 3." Under the former rules of that Court, rule 2 covered admission requirements; and rule 3 concerned law clerks and secretaries. Actually, the requirements for admission are contained in rule 5 in the revised rules of that Court which have been in effect for more than 2 years.

Sincerely yours,
ROGER A. STINCHFIELD, *Clerk.*

There Is No Substitute for Ocean Transport in the Movement of Masses of Men or Material

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, an excellent speech on the role of the American Merchant Marine during peacetime or war was made before the Portland Propeller Club and the Portland Chamber of Commerce on May 20 by Mr. Alex Purdon, executive director, Committee of American Steamship Lines. Mr. Purdon's speech is a most timely one which should be read with interest by many Members of Congress. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include it herewith.

The address follows:

ADDRESS OF ALEXANDER PURDON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN STEAMSHIP LINES, BEFORE THE PORTLAND PROPELLER CLUB AND THE PORTLAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, PORTLAND, OREG., MAY 20, 1957

I am honored by your invitation to address this joint luncheon meeting of the

Propeller Club and the chamber of commerce. It is a fitting combination. Too many of the audiences listening to Maritime Day addresses this week will be composed entirely of Propeller Club members. That isn't the way the Propeller Club wants it and that isn't the way it should be.

The business interests in every port city, indeed, the entire community, should join with the Propeller Clubs in acknowledging the contribution of the maritime industry to the economy of their cities and the areas they serve. This meeting demonstrates that Portland appreciates what too many other communities fail to recognize.

The statistics, furnished by the Port of Portland Commission and the chamber of commerce, convince me that this is a thriving and striving city. You thrive on the constant increase in your waterborne commerce but you strive to improve your position as one of the major seaports in this country. You are the largest port in the Pacific Northwest and the third on the Pacific Coast. Soon, I hope you will improve your national standing and edge up at least one notch. You will like being in 12th place much better than in unlucky 13th.

Statistics tell only part of the story, and behind your record of growth is another story—so frequently forgotten—of those who first had the vision and the courage to foresee the possibilities of a great deepwater port 110 miles from the ocean. This Maritime Day celebration should honor not only the port that built the city but the men who built the port. We should honor, too, those who are planning and building now for an even greater port with expanding facilities for an expanding future.

Among the projects in your blueprint for the future is a channel of greater width and depth. This is an endeavor which should be supported by everyone.

Just as you seek greater width and depth in your channel to the sea, so those of us who work at the national level seek greater width and depth in public understanding and support of America's need for a strong American merchant marine.

And just as you must expand your local facilities to match the expanding future of the great Pacific Northwest, so must the American merchant marine expand and improve to meet the challenge and opportunity of a changing world.

Let me speak first of the American merchant marine and its defense role. This is not because I place its defense mission ahead of its commercial contributions, but merely because later on I would like to make a point which this order helps to emphasize.

The development of new weapons—new technologies of waging war—inevitably raises questions about our need for ships in this jet-atomic era. It is only prudent to re-evaluate conventional concepts; but it is not prudent to assume that because Great Britain was forced to reshape her defenses around an atomic pattern, the United States is no longer dependent on the seas, or that surface ships will soon be museum pieces.

More than ever, we should realize the importance of sea communications to the free world. The tonnage of material moving by sea increases year after year.

We have had a very dramatic lesson in recent months. The struggle for Suez highlighted the strategic value of this narrow waterway and the critical importance of ocean shipping to the free nations. Our dependence on ships for prosperity and security is apparently not diminished in this atomic age.

In a recent address, the Secretary of the Navy reported on conclusions reached as a result of studies of ocean and air transportation. Let me quote these conclusions in full:

1. "The sealanes still have no rival for carrying the bulk of the millions of tons of the world's imports and exports. Ocean shipping alone can handle large tonnages per unit and extremely heavy and oversize items."

2. "The United States is no longer self-sufficient in raw materials. Almost one-half of the entire mineral production of the free world is today consumed by the United States industrial machine."

3. "More than ever before the United States has become the workshop and arsenal of the world."

4. "During the last fiscal year less than 1 percent of all cargo transported overseas was airlifted—more than 99 percent went by sea."

5. "Airlift will not be used to any large extent for civil imports and exports. The sealanes will continue to be America's lifelines."

6. "An improved surface transport system can provide a system to meet mobility requirements equally as effective as an air system, and at one-twentieth of the cost of air."

7. "The Navy must continue to guard the lifelines of America and protect the shipping that is vital to the support of our joint war plan and to our civil economy."

Nothing here is intended to minimize the specific and vital contribution of aviation to our economy and our defenses, or to claim more for ocean shipping than the facts warrant. What this study proves is that measured by standards of cost, efficiency, or even time, there is no substitute for ocean transport in the movement of masses of men or material. Aviation, both civil and military, is making giant strides forward, but it is a long way from displacing ocean shipping. Even in the passenger field, where the competition is keenest, steamships offer a distinctive service to peacetime travelers and a trooplift capacity in war which cannot be matched. Insofar as cargo is concerned, aviation is complementary and valuable for speedy delivery, but it is not yet competitive in quantity movements. The relationship of pay load to fuel consumption is a severe limitation. Every ton of material delivered by air to an overseas destination requires at least a ton of aviation fuel delivered by sea to enable the airplane to fly back home. Every ton of material moved by air to Korea required 4 tons of fuel delivered by sea. To paraphrase a famous military maxim—"It can get there fustest but not with the mostest."

I have gone to some lengths to place shipping in proper perspective in this jet-atomic age. Yet, I do not mean to underestimate the possibilities of this wondrous and fearsome development.

At the same time, I hope we will not underestimate the strategic importance of the vast ocean spaces.

Russia is not making that mistake. When she was short of everything else, she still devoted large quantities of manpower and material to naval building. The Soviets already have 500 submarines in commission and they are building at a rapid rate. In this great offensive, submarine fleet, they see the means of denying the freedom of the seas to the free nations. In addition, their newspaper, Izvestia, last week announced plans to build two atomic surface ships.

Vice Admiral Brown of the Sixth Fleet says, "If the lifelines of the Atlantic are cut, it is not a question of how long the Sixth Fleet can stay in the Mediterranean; it is a question of how long this oceanic confederation we call the free world can survive."

What he said about our Atlantic lifelines applies equally to the far reaches of the Pacific where a thin line of democracy—an outer rim of remote and isolated bastions of freedom—stands between us and communism.

The Russians are realists. They would not seek to command the seas if command of the seas was not important.

Scientific advance will not spell oblivion for shipping, for we intend to advance with science. Ocean shipping will move forward with the times and our Nation's increasing needs in peace or war.

For either purpose, America has a voracious appetite and one which will increasingly tax our transport resources. From 1929 to 1955, our total production more than doubled. During the next 20 years, it will double again. Our transportation capability must likewise expand. We cannot afford hardening of our transportation arteries.

Fundamentally, our greatest strength and our greatest security is in our ability to produce. Our agricultural and industrial muscles will do more to mold our destiny than all the guided missiles we or the Soviets can muster.

We can be stalemated in the race for atomic supremacy, but not in our ability to produce. We stand on the threshold of an era of abundance, but as the National Planning Association recently pointed out, this can only materialize "if raw material resources and energy supplies are available to satisfy the needs of industry; if labor can meet the requirements of modern technology for greater skills and greater knowledge; if the fruits of pure and applied research can provide the basis for further technological advances; if management continues to venture into new fields of endeavor and to expand productive capacity for tomorrow's market; and last but not least, if purchasing power and demand are encouraged to rise in accord with the rising capacity to produce and consume."

We can increase our output of manufactured goods by from 3 to 4 percent per worker per year. With 7 percent of the world's population on 2 percent of the world's surface, we consume nearly half of all the raw materials produced on the earth. But we are no longer self-sufficient in raw materials. We are dependent on foreign sources and this is the Anchilles' heel of our industrial supremacy. We must insure our access to the raw material resources of the world by controlling sufficient ocean shipping under own own flag so that we cannot be cut off entirely. We must also have assurance of access to the markets of the world.

This is most apparent today in farm products. We have an accumulated stock and a continuing production of farm products greater than even our growing population can absorb. We must sell that surplus abroad. This is easy to do when ours is the only true abundance. But it is not so easy when production increases as it has lately in other countries.

We have demonstrated that we can achieve miracles in production. The threat to our promised age of abundance is in the distribution of it. If we can distribute what we produce we can push to new heights of prosperity.

So we need materials and markets—and to assure access to both we need a merchant marine, under our own flag, big enough to service the growing needs of a growing nation.

We have a good merchant fleet today—the best in our peacetime history. It, too, stands on the threshold of challenge and opportunity as the partner of industry and agriculture in promoting our products and meeting our material requirements.

But, as a recent report prepared by a joint Marad-Navy planning group pointed out, the American Merchant Marine has some serious qualitative and quantitative deficiencies.

Although our fleet is currently active and carrying cargo at the rate of 216 million tons per annum—giving employment to about 70,000 seamen—90,000 shoreside workers—and sustaining 65,000 jobs in shipyards, it is carrying only 23.3 percent of our own com-

merce, and that percentage is falling. Included in that, incidentally, is the cargo required to be carried on American ships under the 50–50 law. This indicates that American importers and exporters must be persuaded to emulate the nationals of other countries and voluntarily patronize their own ships in larger measure. Perhaps no country in the world is so dependent on the earnings from its merchant marine as Norway, yet a recent issue of the Norwegian Shipping News says:

"Some people have concluded that it is unfair for other nations to maintain a merchant fleet with the help of substantial building and operating subsidies. But this line of reasoning ignores one important fact. That is, that among all nations today, only the United States can maintain the size merchant navy needed to meet foreseeable demands."

This statement from a friendly competitor is more sensible and objective than those sometimes made by misguided American economists who suggest that we eliminate the need for maritime subsidies by eliminating American shipping entirely.

The "foreseeable circumstances" referred to in the Norwegian article are not only circumstances affecting the United States. The article really points out that the whole world needs a strong American merchant marine.

Our hope to have a merchant fleet under our own flag, capable of carrying half of our own foreign trade, is a modest goal which recognizes the contribution to world commerce made by other maritime nations. But it is based on the inescapable conclusion that when the chips are down we must place our reliance on our own ships.

I don't see how anyone in his right mind could expect the United States to bet the future of its commerce and security on the kind of international maritime mercenary I heard described recently. This is an actual case—a citizen of one nation who became a naturalized citizen of another nation formed a Swiss corporation to purchase a French-built ship in order to operate her under the Liberian flag with a German license and an oriental unlicensed crew.

The investment we make in the form of operating or construction subsidies to maintain an American-flag merchant marine in our foreign trade is a sound investment which returns us substantial dividends.

As the economies of our war-worn allies and former enemies are restored and expanded, they become our competitors in the market places of the world. I appreciate that foreign ships will carry cargo wherever and whenever they can earn a profit, but I realize, too, that when they can carry their own national products in preference to ours it would only be commonsense to expect them to do so.

We don't need a merchant marine to give employment to seamen, or to support ship chandlers, or marine insurance companies, or any other of the many businesses which service or supply this industry; but we do need a merchant marine to service and supply the foreign trade of the United States.

The subsidies we pay to maintain the merchant marine in peacetime are not subsidies to shipping so much as they are support for our foreign trade. And the size of the Government contribution has to be measured against our growing volume of foreign trade and the contributions which our industry makes to the total economy. For example, it has been estimated that the maritime industry contributes over $5 billion dollars to the economy each year.

Another economic fact that is frequently ignored is the substantial and direct return to the United States. Since the war, the net cost of operating aid to America's steamship lines has been just under $500 million. But $422 million dollars of taxes was paid to the Government by these lines and their seagoing and shoreside personnel. This is roughly 5 percent of the Government's contribution to keep the American-flag ships on the high seas. If we add to the tax income the direct savings to American shippers from stabilized freight rates, the return to the Nation would probably be millions of dollars in excess of the outlay.

The cost to the United States for maintaining a merchant marine is undoubtedly less than the dollar value of the commercial benefits we receive.

The time has come when we have to think of benefit as well as cost, and in constructive terms respecting the kind of merchant marine we need.

Just the other day I saw that the Air Force decided to abandon a project on which it had already spent $70 million. I don't think that is necessarily bad, because a great deal of valuable information probably came out of the program; but I can imagine the reaction if somebody in the Maritime Administration spent that much money on a project and then abandoned it.

We are thinking in pretty big terms ourselves these days, but I assure you that both the Maritime Administration and the industry, while planning to rejuvenate and improve our merchant fleet, are being pretty careful to insure the wisest possible investment of both private and public funds.

The contract steamship lines, operating 303 privately owned dry-cargo and passenger ships on the essential trade routes, are required to replace their ships as they reach retirement age, 20 years. Their replacement programs will form the hard core of the entire industry's program and will cost not less than $3 billion over the next 10 to 15 years.

Already your city has felt some benefit from this program in the construction of the steamship *Mariposa* and the steamship *Monterey*. I share your hope that these great ships will be the forerunners of other additions to our fleet built in the Northwest to serve the Nation.

The west coast companies in my group—American President Lines, American Mail Line, Oceanic Steamship Co., Pacific Far East Line, Pacific Transport Line—are all great names on the Pacific. All of them have improved their existing fleets, and all have programs for further improvements and replacements. Included in these is the plan of American President Lines to build a great new superliner. Such a ship would bring prestige to the American flag on the Pacific comparable to the glory and renown we get on the Atlantic from the steamship *United States*.

The ships our companies are building, and will build, should give this country an active dry-cargo merchant fleet second to none.

The ships we now operate are growing older, but they are still the best maintained and most efficient units in today's fleet. These will be traded in to the United States Government as they are replaced by more modern ships, and will themselves replace the aging and obsolete Libertys in our national-defense reserve fleet. In this manner, both our active and reserve fleets will be upgraded by an orderly replacement program designed to eliminate the bugaboo of block obsolescence.

This program will also result in long-term economies and should increase shipyard efficiency through stabilized operations. It will encourage progress in research and improved design.

The future of our merchant marine is bright with promise. I have not said much about the possibilities of atomic propulsion, but it is thrilling to realize that a year or two from now we will celebrate an event surpassing the sailing of the *Savannah*. What a thrill it will be to celebrate, as we will, the sailing of a modern *Savannah*—the first atomic-powered merchant ship.

Thomas Jefferson once said that agriculture, manufacture, commerce, and navigation are the four pillars of our prosperity. More recently, Admiral Burke called ocean traffic the "lifeblood of civilization."

These are noble sentiments, but in this world of tension and turmoil the words of President Wilson are even more significant. He said, "Ships are the only shuttles which can weave the delicate fabric of sympathy, confidence, and mutual dependence among nations."

This is the challenge and the opportunity.

"If the Nation Is in Such Bad Condition—"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 7, 1957

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I have signed the discharge petition to bring before the House the bill to raise the pay for our postal employees, and was one of the first to sign this petition. I believe wholeheartedly in the purposes of the legislation to raise postal pay, and I have so informed the postal employees of my district who have written to me.

At the same time, I have felt it important to point out to them in all frankness that getting this legislation enacted is not going to be easy. I cited the current economy wave, which occasionally seems to get out of hand as when the effort was made to cut essential programs of health research and food and drug inspection, and so on. I also cited the fact that anything which is not in the President's budget is having particularly hard sledding in the Congress, and of course we all know the administration has seen little merit in the desperate need of the postal workers for a pay increase.

After sending such a letter of explanation to one of the postal workers in my district, I received a most interesting and compelling follow-up letter from him which I think deserves to be brought to the attention of the entire Congress. As a matter of fact, in his letter he specifically asks that I state on the floor of the House the substance of what he has written to me.

This is a dollars-and-cents outline of what it means to try to support a family of 7 on a postal salary of $3,785 per year. It is an angry letter in many respects, but it touches some very sensitive nerves in our body politic and for that reason, Mr. Speaker, I am herewith submitting it for the attention of the House and the Senate, as follows:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *May 23, 1957.*

Mrs. JOHN B. SULLIVAN,
United States Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: I received your reply with regard to postal pay increase legislation. You stated that in its present mood, Congress seems determined to cut the President's budget in every way possible.

I would like to state here and now that the sentiment of people I know, both in and out of the postal service, is that, if our Gov-

ernment cannot afford to pay its public servants a living wage, then it cannot afford to give away one penny to foreign countries. As you are and always have been a great supporter of Federal servants, I ask you respectfully to state on the floor of the House that if we can afford 50 diamond-studded Cadillacs for King Saud, our financial situation is not in such bad shape as to deprive postal workers of a badly needed and deserved raise. It might help to remind the Congress that postal workers are, incidentally, Americans. I further defy any Member of Congress to support a family of 7, as I have been trying to do, on $3,785 per year. I am forced to make loans to pay my taxes which is the only reason I am in debt. I have not bought anything as my neighbors are doing who work in private industry.

I have now found that I cannot even afford to get sick. I can no longer afford to remain in Blue Cross. There is one more place left for me to cut our family budget and that is to drop our life insurance which is costing us $11.87 per month.

I wish to further inform you that not one penny of our money is used for unnecessary items, such as liquor, which incidentally I noticed Congress provided to the State Department for wild binges and entertainment, an additional $500,000. Can you imagine, our fate being decided over a champagne glass?

As an example of how the cost of living has gone up, I cite the price of Pet milk which our baby must have. Six months ago, Pet milk sold at 3 cans for 37 cents at all Kroger stores. Today the price is 3 cans for 44 cents. This is the case with all foodstuffs. Imagine, just in the above example, about an 18 percent increase in cost in an item which my baby must have. We cannot economize here. I go to work with 2 potted meat or cheese sandwiches and 14 cents for 2 cups of coffee. I ask those in Congress who oppose a pay increase for postal workers to eat the same for lunch each day for 1 month. As for meat, our family eats hamburger four times each week, in one way or another. Steak is an unknown luxury. Sunday is our big treat. We have chicken or commercial grade chuck roast.

All of the above problems and many more plague our everyday lives. However, if the Congress feels that the Nation is in such bad condition, we, as Americans, will do without a pay increase but feel that every penny of foreign giveaway must also stop in the interest of internal economic security.

I wish to thank you for your kind and considerate support in our behalf.

With kindest regards, I remain

Respectfully,

——— ———.

The Unpopularity of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1957

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, as the date approaches for consideration by the House of Representatives of the so-called mutual security bill, I believe that careful thought and study should be given to the manner in which these funds are spent. Every day we learn of new waste on projects which are absolutely ridiculous—it seems incredible that supposedly intelligent people can even dream up some of them.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a column of George E. Sokolsky which appeared in today's Washington Post and Times Herald which points up a few instances of the waste of American taxpayers' money under the guise of "foreign aid":

THESE DAYS

(By George E. Sokolsky)

THE UNPOPULARITY OF FOREIGN AID

It cannot be said that foreign aid is unpopular in the United States because Americans are not a generous people. It can be said that foreign aid grows increasingly unpopular because too much of it is being wasted and there are no results in such a tangible form that the people can understand what is being done.

For instance, this countr has given plenty of foreign aid to Great Britain and the relations of the two countries have not been worse since 1812, except for a short period during the Civil War. True, the British Government has to face its own internal problem which is not to be thrown out of office because of the awful mess of Suez which Britons believe John Foster Dulles made for them; on the other hand, the British policy of selling obviously strategic materials to the Red Chinese and the Red Koreans and the Tibetans can only lead to a collapse of relations between the United States and Great Britain. The Taipei riots were not accidental and they were timed for international relations.

Whatever is done in any field requires intelligence and apparently that is where we have been weak. Our operators are just not smart. For instance, that one the Reader's Digest tells about is not unusual enough. Our Government built a $128,000 cowbarn in Lebanon to demonstrate to average farmers living on $100 or less a year, the equipment they should provide for themselves in order to get ahead. The dopes. The Levantine farmers who looked at that barn must have wondered what kind of a faker built the impossible.

And if the truth must be told, how many American farmers own a $128,000 cowbarn? Up in my part of Massachusetts, I can only think of one farmer who would have the money to build such a thing for the cows. Most of my neighbors just call in a couple of fellows who know how to put a hammer on a nail and before long, there is a barn. What do cows need—mink carpets?

This goes on all over the world without rhyme or reason. What American foreign aid is really trying to do now, apparently, is to bring the whole of mankind to the very highest mechanical proficiency of the United States at one jump. It was believed, at one time, that if Harold Stassen were relieved of association with foreign aid, there might be an improvement, but there has been no improvement under John Hollister, who before he took on this work was most vehement in denouncing the spenders. In fact, he was a member of the Herbert Hoover group of moneysavers, but since he has settled on the Potomac there is no evidence that he is any longer interested in saving the American taxpayers' money.

The Reader's Digest quotes an ICA man—the giveaway agency—as follows:

"After all, this is the air age. We'll give the Afghans an airline and an agency like our Civil Aeronautics Administration to regulate air traffic. American technicians will have to stay there to run the show, of course; we'll have no teach the nation to read and write before it can begin to produce technicians to replace ours."

At first I thought this was a joke because about 96 percent of the Afghans cannot read or write and most are nomads or simple farmers. It was like the old phrase: "Come the revolution you'll eat strawberries mit sweet cream—and like it." So this is the size of the job this bureaucrat would like to undertake at the expense of the American taxpayer. Of course, this means that large numbers of Americans will live in Afghanistan, converting dollars into local currencies, which is a grand way to live and to save money.

Why return to the drab life of the United States where the women do their own housework, which despite all the mechanized devices that seem so good in the advertisements are such a problem afterward? No. It is better abroad, where a native woman will look after a child and babysitting is not such a complicated family affair.

Policing the Giants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Post of June 6, 1957, and which is most enlightening:

POLICING THE GIANTS

The Supreme Court has struck a necessary blow for free, private enterprise in the Du Pont-General Motors case. It has, in effect, brought the full force of the antitrust laws to bear upon a neglected facet of American industrial interrelationships—the vertical tieup between two or more corporations. It is well established that mergers of competing industries, through stock acquisition, may in some circumstances constitute an unlawful monopoly or restraint upon commerce. Congress in 1950 acted to make it clear that a stock relationship between a supplier and a customer corporation may also be unlawful under the Clayton Act of 1914. All that the Supreme Court has done is to affirm that this was, indeed, the intent of Congress, and to apply the law in the Du Pont case, ordering a lower court to fashion an appropriate remedy for Du Pont's large holdings in G. M.

The need for the Government to move into this area of customer-supplier relationships seems self-evident from the facts in this case. As a result of stock purchases and splits over the past 40 years, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. owns some 23 percent of the stock of General Motors Corp. Over the years it was clear that Du Pont executives expected this investment to result in General Motors purchase of Du Pont products. In 1946 Du Pont did supply 52 percent of General Motors fabrics and 67 percent of its finishes for auto bodies. In 1947 the percentages were 38 and 68.

The Supreme Court majority opinion paid due respect to the wisdom of Du Pont's business judgment in attaining this profitable arrangement, but properly noted that this "cannot obscure the fact, plainly revealed by the record, that Du Pont purposedly employed its stock to pry open the General Motors market to entrench itself as the primary supplier of General Motors requirements for automotive finishes and fabrics." It might have been better if the Court had refrained from expressing so conclusive judgment on Du Pont's purposes, which may well have varied in emphasis and detail over 40 years of evolving management policy. It is the result that counts, not the intent, as the Court elsewhere noted.

In any case, this kind of arrangement obviously tends to give the stockowning supplier of a customer firm an advantage over other potential suppliers—and whether it actually did the Du Pont-General Motors case again is irrelevant. The purpose of the Clayton Act, as the Court reaffirms, is to prevent restraint of trade in situations where restraints are likely to develop. In the long run, the vigorous policing of American industrial giants to keep them as free of control by each other as they wish to be from Government control is the best safeguard of the private enterprise system. Unchecked monopoly would lead in only one direction: toward State control and, perhaps, State ownership.

The dissent of Justices Burton and Frankfurter is not persuasive. They argue that only the initial result of a vertical stock purchase may be considered—not what develops later, a construction that obviously deals more with appearances than with the substantive evil. They also contend that the Clayton Act, before its amendment in 1950, did not cover vertical mergers or stock purchases; but the majority effectively refute this point in citations of the act's congressional history. The dissenting justices observe that, in this respect, the Clayton Act "has been a sleeping giant all along." What they seem not to recognize is that other giants have been very much awake and that the Government cannot send a boy to deal with them.

A Sound Analysis of the Trial by Jury Controversy in the Civil Rights Bill Debate

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1957

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, for several days now I have sat in this Chamber listening to long debate over a proposal to include in the civil-rights bill a provision to require jury trials in civil contempt actions growing out of civil-rights violations.

Personally, as I stated earlier today from the floor of the House, I am against such a provision, or any other provision which will make ineffective the provisions of this long overdue legislation.

However, I believe it might be well for all of us to read the views of a qualified observer on this controversy in which we are engaged. I, therefore, am inserting into the records of this session, an article written by Mr. Arthur Sylvester, chief of the Washington bureau of the Newark (N. J.) Evening News. This article, which appeared on page 1 of the Newark Evening News of June 6, is the soundest analysis of the jury trial issue I have had the privilege to read. The article follows:

DIXIE BLOC FORGETFUL—CIVIL RIGHTS ARGUMENT VARIES FROM COURT RULES IN SOUTH

(By Arthur Sylvester)

WASHINGTON.—Southern Senators and Representatives opposed to civil rights are trying to write into Federal legislation a jury trial provision long since rejected by the high courts of every Southern State.

Senator SAM J. ERVIN, JR., Democrat, of North Carolina, leader of the move to amend President Eisenhower's civil rights legislation by guaranteeing a jury trial to persons cited for contempt in civil rights cases, has himself as a member of the North Carolina Supreme Court, participated in cases upholding contempt proceedings in which the accused had been denied trial before a jury.

But in the last-ditch effort to nullify the civil rights legislation ERVIN asserts that the Eisenhower administration by bypassing jury trials in civil rights contempt cases is resorting to a new procedure. ERVIN claims it violates constitutional rights, denies the rights of the States and threatens to rob State and local officials of basic and invaluable safeguards.

Yet the court of appeals of Georgia, upheld by the State supreme court, said long ago that "to try a case of contempt without the intervention of a jury violates no constitutional provision." This rule of law has been followed and upheld by the highest courts of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

SIGNED MANIFESTO

But with few exceptions the Senators and Representatives from these States recently signed what they called a southern manifesto against the provision of the civil rights bill which would permit Federal courts to punish without jury trial those who had violated injunctions against interference with voting rights.

The manifesto overlooks the fact that the Supreme Court of Tennessee has rejected the jury-trial argument in one case as follows:

"The general rule is that a constitutional guaranty of a jury trial does not apply to proceedings to punish for contempt of court whether in a court of law, a court of equity, a court having criminal jurisdiction, or other court." In the same opinion the court heid:

"The power to punish summarily by process of attachment, for contempt, has been coequal with the existence of courts. Hasty thinkers, proceeding on false notions of liberty, have sometimes maintained that this power is but little in harmony with the liberal institutions of England and America."

AUTHORITY NEEDED

"But on the contrary, it is obvious that wherever laws govern, and not the bayonets of the executive power, the courts must be armed with this summary authority in order to attain the ends of their institutions. To courts of chancery (equity) it is indispensable."

An analysis of the unanimity of southern high courts in opposition to the bogus jury issue being raised by Dixie civil-rights opponents is being circulated by the office of Senator CLIFFORD P. CASE, Republican, of New Jersey, and other leaders in the battle for Eisenhower's civil-rights bill.

It was being released as the House moved today into the first day of debate on civil-rights legislation. It came after President Eisenhower quoted the late William Howard Taft, President and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, at his news conference yesterday as upholding in 1908 the power of courts to punish for contempt without a jury trial.

The laws and court decisions of the Southern States are unanimous in denying to Senator ERVIN and his cohorts any precedent in the legal history of their States for the theory they are trying to write into the civil-rights bill. The rule in all those States is that a person charged with contempt of court does not have a constitutional or statutory right to a trial by jury.

WELL ESTABLISHED

In some Dixie States, like Florida, the power of the court to act in contempt cases without a jury is so well established there are no reported cases raising the issue. Indeed, in addition to defending the right of courts to punish without a jury, several Southern States have extended the power of contempt to administrative agencies. Thus in Senator ERVIN's State of North Carolina the contempt power is granted to referees, commissioners, clerks of court, county boards of commissioners, utility commissioners, and industrial commissioners. Other Dixie States have indicated in similar fashion their acceptance of the use of the contempt power in effectuating compliance with orders and decrees necessary for orderly government.

Currently State and local officials who administer voting laws in a discriminatory fashion may be prosecuted on criminal charges and consequently have the right of trial by jury. The record shows though, particularly in the South, that criminal prosecutions after voting rights have been denied aren't effective in protecting a citizen's right to vote. Election day has long since passed by the time the trial comes up.

In view of this experience the administration legislation would empower the Attorney General to bring civil suits in Federal court for preventive relief of the victims of discriminatory voting practices before or when an election takes place. Thus, the courts could decide if the law was being administered impartially in line with constitutional guaranties and if not to issue a desist order against any official acting or threatening to act illegally.

Attorney General Brownell, Senator CASE, and others point out the traditional way of enforcing court orders is through the power of contempt. In that event, they stress judges rather than juries pass on contempt charges since the issue at stake is enforcement of the court's orders or protection of its dignity. The person punished for contempt has the right of appeal all the way to the Supreme Court.

In 1890 the United States Supreme Court stated "it has always been one of the attributes—one of the powers necessarily incident to a court of justice—that it should have this power (the contempt power) of vindicating its dignity, of enforcing its orders, of protecting itself from insult without the necessity of calling upon a jury to assist it in the exercise of this power."

But Senator ERVIN and his Dixie cohorts would interpose a jury to uphold, or not uphold, the enforcement of a court's orders against a local official in contempt for failing to obey the court. Experience in the South in trying to protect Negro rights of life and property, much less voting rights, by jury trial has led to administration belief that the jury amendment is not intended as its proponents declare, to uphold the rights of accused officials, but to thwart the enforcement of civil rights for Negroes.

Attorney General Brownell has pointed out Congress has empowered courts to handle contempt actions without jury trial arising from injunctions to enforce the Atomic Energy Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Interstate Commerce Commission laws, and findings by the National Labor Relations Board, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and other agencies.

ADMINISTRATION'S CASE

Brownell has noted that civil remedies as opposed to criminal ones are used. The administration argues that Senator ERVIN and his group have failed to draw the distinction between traditional jury trials in courts of law and procedures in courts of equity, which do not call for jury trials.

In the Clayton Act of 1914 Congress made an exception to the rule that contempt charges are passed on by judges rather than juries. The right of trial by jury was extended to criminal contempt cases arising under the act where the alleged offense would also constitute a crime under Federal or

local law. However, Congress expressly exempted contempt cases arising out of disobedience to court order in suits brought by the United States.

Senator ERVIN and his Dixie group, in convincing some northerners to go along with their maneuver, point to congressional action in the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932. In the case Congress provided for jury trials in contempt proceedings arising from the law. It was this very language that the southerners induced the Senate Judiciary Committee, Tuesday, to write into the administration bill as an amendment.

CONGRESS CONVINCED

However in 1932 Congress was convinced that violent actions committed by workers during court enjoined strikes were being improperly punished as contempt whereas the strikers, should have been charged with crimes and tried before juries. To put a stop to what it believed an evasion of the right to jury trial by judges biased against labor, Congress provided for jury trials in such contempt cases.

The Republican 80th Congress virtually nullified this provision when it came to write the Taft-Hartley Labor Act. In addition, Senator ERVIN and his followers are finding it difficult to equate the acts of violence committed during a strike to the deliberate acts of discrimination by those southern local officials intent on denying Negroes voting rights.

H. R. 6328, To Provide an Additional Remedy for Persons Having a Claim Against the United States Arising Out of Contracts Relating to Certain Vessels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 5, 1957

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on March 25, 1957, I introduced H. R. 6328, for the purpose of clarifying the jurisdiction of the United States district courts and the United States Court of Claims in connection with the handling of claims against the United States arising out of contracts of the United States for repair, completion, or alteration of or addition to any type of vessel.

HISTORY OF PROBLEM

As recently as 1951, our Government took the position that claims against the United States arising out of a contract for the repair of a public vessel could not be brought under the Suits in Admiralty Act; and that position was sustained by the courts. *Eastern S. S. Lines* v. *United States* (187 F. 2d 956 (C. A. 1), 125 C. Cls. 422, 128 C. Cls. 775). Again, in the case of *Hadden* v. *United States* (132 C. Cls. 529), where suit was brought in the United States Court of Claims in connection with a contract for ship repairs, removals, replacements, renewals, additions, alterations, separations, and reconversions, the Government did not object to the jurisdiction of the court. Once more, in the case of the *Yankee Comett S. S. Corp.* v. *Brewer Drydock Corp.* (37 F. Supp. 512 (E. D. N. Y.)), the court held that an action for damages for repudiation of a contract to repair a vessel was not a maritime cause of action.

Nevertheless, in two suits now pending in the United States Court of Claims, to wit, *Anco Steel Construction Corp., et al.* v. *The United States*, No. 462–56, and *Continental Casualty Company* v. *The United States*, No. 63–57, the Government has taken the position that since they are based upon claims arising out of ship repair contracts, the United States Court of Claims does not have jurisdiction, such jurisdiction being exclusively in the United States district court under the Suits in Admiralty Act. A similar position was advanced and maintained in the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, in *Sword Line, Inc.*, v. *United States* (228 F. 2d 344), where a suit on a contract for the charter of a ship was held maritime in nature, and, therefore, the admiralty courts were held to have exclusive jurisdiction. Certiorari was granted in that case, and the Second Circuit Court was affirmed by the Supreme Court in a per curiam opinion. In the case of *Smith-Johnson Steamship Corp.* v. *The United States*, the United States Court of Claims—decided July 12, 1956—took the position that the Sword Line decision compelled it to hold that contracts involving the possession or operation of vessels are maritime causes of actions and that the Suits in Admiralty Act furnishes the exclusive remedy against the United States.

THE ISSUE

There is a 2-year statute of limitation which applies to actions brought under the Suits in Admiralty Act, and a 6-year statute of limitations for suits brought under the Tucker Act. The issue is whether suits on ship-repair contracts should be limited by the 2-year statute.

ARGUMENT

Claims arising out of contracts for the repair of vessels "can be no more deemed cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction than cases of common-law jurisdiction." Volume 3, Story's Commentary on the Constitution, 1833, section 1666, note, fifth edition, 1891, quoted with approval in *Taylor* v. *Carryl* (61 U. S. (20 How.) 583, 598), and in volume 1, Benedict on Admiralty, sixth edition, 1940, pages 25–26, 266. Contracts for the repair or alteration of vessels are quite similar to contracts for the repair or alteration of buildings. The same legal principles should apply. Moreover, there is nothing more maritime about the repair or alteration of a vessel than the construction of it. Since the construction of vessels is considered not maritime in nature, there is no logic in considering the repair or alteration of a vessel maritime in character.

However, assuming arguendo that there is some maritime aspect in a contract for the repair or alteration, and so forth, of a vessel, this does not mean that the jurisdiction of determining issues arising from such contracts should be exclusively within the Courts of Admiralty. Government contracts for the repair, alteration, and so forth, of vessels have the same "disputes" clause that is found in other types of Government supply and construction contracts. Such a "disputes" clause requires a contractor to appeal to an administrative board within 30 days after the contracting officer makes his findings of fact. In ship-repair contracts, in addition to the direct claims of the contractor, there are claims of subcontractors which must be asserted by the contractor for the benefit of the subcontractors. The situation is sometimes further complicated by the claims of banks or finance companies as assignees of the proceeds of the contract, their rights being derived under the provisions of the Assignment of Claims Act. Still other complications are posed when a surety company is involved as a result of a default and a reprocurement. In many, many cases the resulting situations cannot be resolved within 2 years. The Government's position that suit in such cases must be instituted within 2 years, within the limitations of the Suits in Admiralty Act, would preclude orderly exhaustion of administrative procedures; would compel resort to the courts in numerous cases where administrative disposition of the disputes is not only possible but desirable; and would impose substantial unnecessary burdens on the courts.

I hope that my bill will be set for early hearing by the Judiciary Committee and that it will be favorably reported.

Final Report on 22d Amendment Survey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 14, 1957

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, my survey of scholarly opinion on the 22d amendment has been completed. Last March, with the cooperation of the American Historical Society and the American Political Science Association, I undertook a cross-section survey of opinion on this important question by directing 37 letters to leading historians and political scientists in all parts of the United States. I am pleased to report that 28 of those whose opinions were solicited have replied, and each individual reply has been placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

In the near future I will present a summary of the views of these American scholars, and it is my hope that their responses can be collected under one cover.

I present today the two final replies which I have received. First, the statement of Dr. Thomas Barclay, who has just retired as professor emeritus of the political science department of Stanford University, and who opposes repeal of the 22d amendment. The second reply was written by Dr. Maurice Klain, of the department of political science of Western Reserve University. Dr. Klain favors repeal. The replies of these two scholars follow:

STANFORD UNIVERSITY,
Stanford, Calif., May 13, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. UDALL: In reply to your request for my opinion concerning the repeal of the 22d amendment to the Federal Constitution,

as proposed by you in House Joint Resolution 152, 85th Congress, 1st session, I take leave to submit the following reply.

I do not favor the repeal of the amendment. My reasons, briefly, are these:

1. The experience under the operation of the 22d amendment has not been of sufficient length to supply conclusive evidence of either the necessity or the desirability of repealing it.

2. The political power of the presidential office is so extensive that its occupant monopolizes the place of leadership in the party in power. This may be as it should be or must be. However, this power has been used to secure a third term nomination, or at least to prevent rival candidates from making an effective preconvention contest. A President can create or utilize emergencies in order to maintain that it is necessary to keep himself and his party in power.

3. It is true, of course, that a President who by constitutional mandate is limited to 2 terms must face during the last 2 years of his administration a waning of his influence over Congress and elsewhere. If he were permitted to seek a third or fourth or fifth term, he would face the same difficulty at a later time.

4. In respect to the enactment of important domestic programs, recent administrations have been most effective during the first 2 or 3 years of the first term. It is doubtful that a third or fourth term would materially affect this situation. The energy and momentum of the first 2 years could hardly be continued for 10 or 12 years.

5. The physical strain of the office and its continuous and pervasive responsibilities constitute burdens which few men can withstand beyond a period of 8 years, if indeed for that long.

6. The assertion that the people should be permitted to retain in office for more than 2 terms a President seems singularly inconvincing. Constitutional restrictions on governmental power, and most statutory law, prevent people from doing what they might wish to do. The 2-term limitation constitutes an effective check on prolonged power and should, in my opinion, be retained.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS S. BARCLAY,
Professor of Political Science.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY,
Cleveland, Ohio, May 13, 1957.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
Congressman from Arizona, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN UDALL: I have been following with considerable interest your efforts to alert the country to the hazards of the 22d amendment. In my judgment you deserve the strongest encouragement and commendation. For you are, it seems to me, working to restore the rights of the people and the powers of the President.

* * * * * *

My own partisan bias, which I made no attempt to conceal, has nothing to do with the validity of the argument or the reality of the dangers. In any event, the 22d amendment plays no favorites. It was passed to rebuke a great Democrat. Now it torments a great Republican.

My apprehensions are shared by a substantial and significant part of the Nation's political scientists. "I agree with your main points," declares Dr. F. W. Coker, former president of the American Political Science Association and professor emeritus of Yale University. Dr. Coker, the dean of all living students of the American political tradition, characterized the analysis as an "informed, cogent argument. * * * I'm going to pass it around."

Another former president of the American Political Science Association, Dr. William Anderson of the University of Minnesota, one of the chief authorities on our constitutional system, considers the argument "a very perceptive analysis [which] should prove to be very useful." Dr. V. O. Key, of Harvard, the next president of the association and the author of several distinguished studies of American politics, notes that Mr. Eisenhower, who disapproves of the 22d amendment, tends to underestimate its effect upon his own position. "I see * * * that the general has become aware of the problem posed in your Reporter article," Professor Key observes. "You are probably nearer right than he. * * *"

"I agree with you 100 percent," declares Dr. David Fellman, of the University of Wisconsin, editor of the Midwest Journal of Political Science and former president of the Midwest Conference of Political Scientists. "I am in complete sympathy with the point of view which you express," writes Dr. Glendon A. Schubert, of Michigan State University, whose authoritative work on The Presidency in the Courts, was recently published. Another leading student of the presidency, Dr. Clinton Rossiter, of Cornell University, remarks: "I had arrived at just about the same conclusions independently, and I was glad to have your support."

This sampling of comments make clear, I think, that among political scientists there is considerable foreboding about the 22d amendment. There is an awareness not only that the amendment curtails the democratic rights of the people but also that it impairs the leadership of the President and, indeed, the effectiveness of our Government. There is a realization that the weakness of the Executive has in other countries stultified, discredited, even destroyed democratic government.

Very truly yours,

MAURICE KLAIN,
Department of Political Science.

Resolution Adopted by the Automobile Manufacturers Association Against Advertising or Publicizing Speed

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 7, 1957

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of the Members of the House to a resolution recently adopted by the Automobile Manufacturers Association recommending that all members of the association who manufacture passenger cars not advertise or publicize their cars in any way that suggests speed.

This is a significant and an important step. It is a step in the right direction. It has been generally understood that automobile manufacturers and dealers have advertised the high speed of their cars. They now recommend that members of their companies engaged in the manufacture of passenger cars and station wagons not participate in any contest, competitive event or test of passenger cars involving or suggesting racing or speed. Furthermore, they have agreed they will not in their advertising publicize or suggest the high speed of their automobiles.

Mr. Speaker, this is in line with statements I have heretofore made concerning the high speed of automobiles as one that causes great destruction of human life.

The toll of traffic dead and maimed in 1956 is a grisly reminder that wild driving and breakneck speeds have turned our highways into the most vicious killers in history. Last year's record of 40,200 deaths and nearly 1½ million injured is most tragic. The National Safety Council has declared the situation a national emergency.

The murderous accidents are the ones on the open road, where high speeds have come to prevail. This by no means is confined to the main highway. Death and destruction have grown apace on secondary roads, where too many drivers go hurtling through the countryside without regard to life or property, lulled by the false impression they are the only ones on the road.

The Nation averaged 56.6 traffic fatalities for 100,000 population in 1955. The 22 States west of the Mississippi averaged 73.1. Twelve of these, in the plains and mountain area, averaged 89.5. The average in the 6 most sparsely populated states was over 100. Great stretches of open highway encourage excessive speeds in the States with the worst averages.

A copy of the resolution adopted by the Automobile Manufacturers Association follows:

Whereas the Automobile Manufacturers Association and the members of this board of directors share the public interest in increasing the safety of highway travel; and

Whereas the manufacturers of automobiles have directed their efforts for many years toward developing and maintaining the performance characteristics of vehicles at levels consistent with highway conditions and the requirements of the using public, utilizing research and testing facilities, laboratories and engineering proving grounds to conduct tests under controlled and scientific conditions and standards, and can best serve the public by continuing these efforts; and

Whereas the Automobile Manufacturers Association believes that the automobile manufacturers should encourage owners and drivers to evaluate passenger cars in terms of useful power and ability to provide safe, reliable, and comfortable transportation, rather than in terms of capacity for speed:

Now, therefore, this board unanimously recommends to the member companies engaged in the manufacture and sale of passenger cars and station wagons that they—

1. Not participate or engage in any public contest, competitive event or test of passenger cars involving or suggesting racing or speed, including acceleration tests, or encourage or assist employees, dealers, or others, or furnish financial, engineering, manufacturing, advertising or public relations assistance, or supply "pace cars" or "official cars," in connection with any such contest, event, or test, directly or indirectly;

2. Not participate or engage in, or encourage or assist employees, dealers, or others to engage in, the advertising or publicizing of (a) any race or speed contest, test, or competitive event involving or suggesting speed, whether public or private, involving passenger cars, or the results thereof; or (b) the actual or comparative capabilities of passenger cars for speed, or the specific engine size, torque, horsepower, or ability to accelerate or perform, in any context that suggests speed.